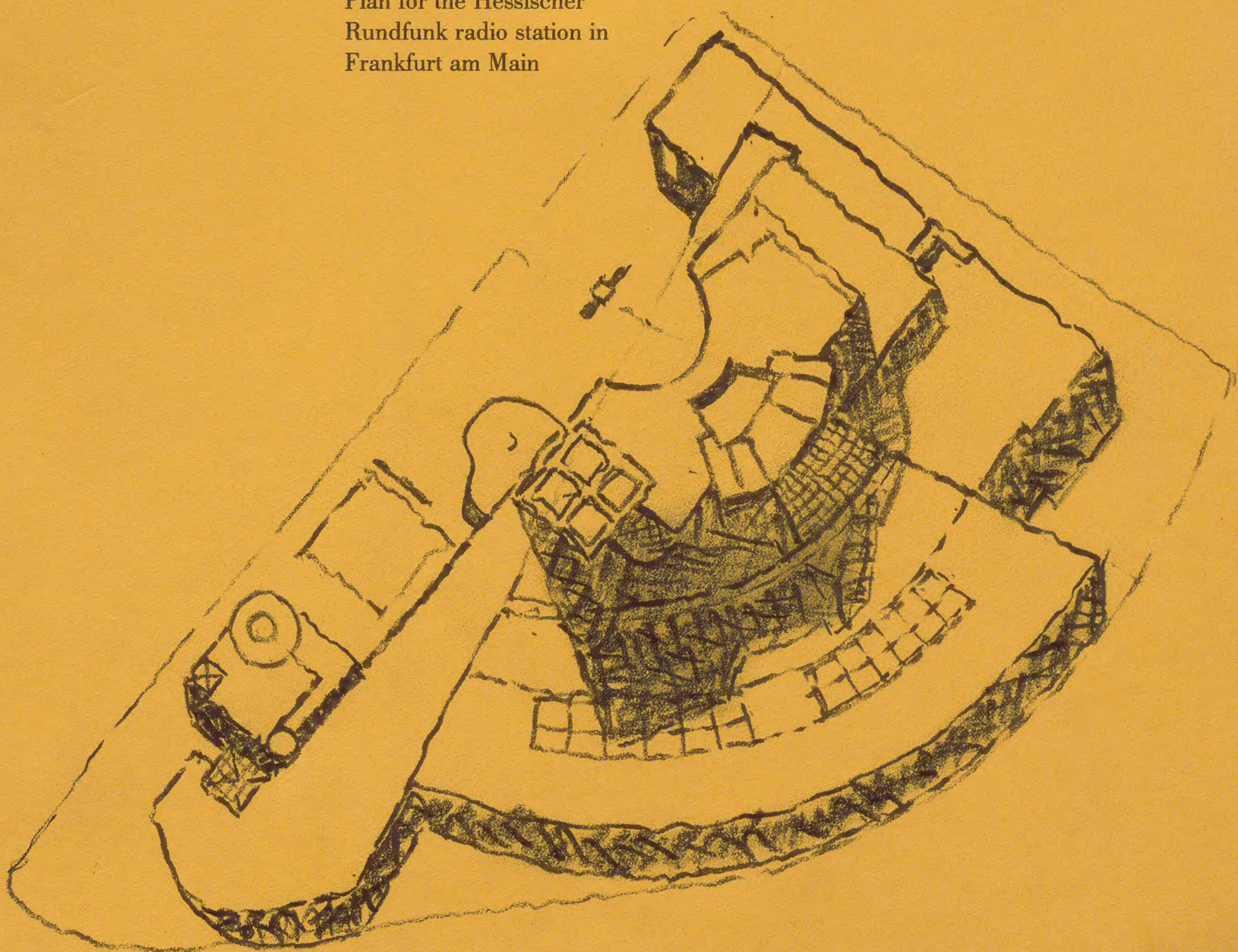
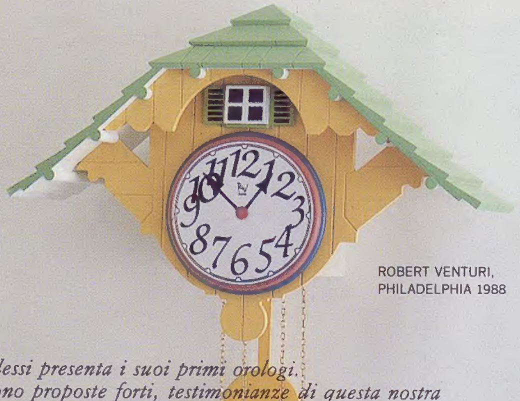
Zodiac 1



Quattro orologi Alessi ci dicono in che tempi siamo.

PRESENTE.



ROBERT VENTURI, PHILADELPHIA 1988

Alessi presenta i suoi primi orologi.
Sono proposte forti, testimonianze di questa nostra epoca fatta di compresenze di stili e maniere.
E gli orologi Alessi rendono omaggio ai nostri tempi, che hanno subito nostalgia di ciò che è passato da un anno o da un minuto.
Ecco il cucù di Robert Venturi: antico ma non artigianale; preciso ma colorato al limite del colore.
Oggi è oggi.

ALESSI CLOCKS

UN NUOVO EPISODIO DELL'AVVENTURA ALESSI

FUTURO SEMPLICE.



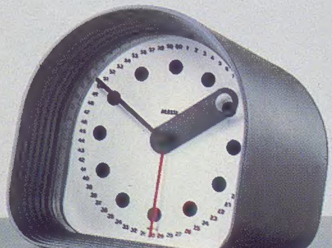
PIO MANZÙ, ULM 1966

''Cronotime'' è un orologio da tavolo di Pio Manzù.
È maggiorenne, assennato, ordinato, preciso, indiscutibile: ispirato alla linea estrema della ''gute form'' tedesca.
Eppure ''Cronotime'' è inquieto, gioca come un bimbo spostandosi a piacere per farsi leggere in ogni posizione.
Una ''macchina soffice'', capace di allungarsi sino ai nostri anni e oltre.
Ieri sarà oggi.

ALESSI CLOCKS

UN NUOVO EPISODIO DELL'AVVENTURA ALESSI

PASSATO PROSSIMO.



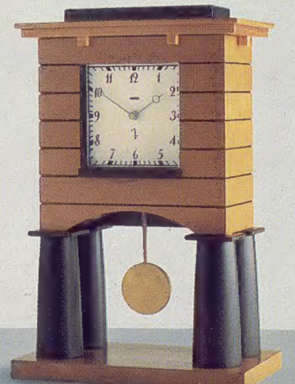
JOE COLOMBO, MILANO 1970

Minuto più minuto meno, anche questa sveglia di Joe Colombo è nostra contemporanea.
Oggi ''Optic'' rappresenta quel filone del design italiano che voleva essere ''globale'' oltre che ''good''.
''Optic'' è sempre vivace, autentica, poliedrica: può essere seduta o sdraiata, appoggiata o appesa ma mai neutrale perchè ci parla di idee importanti.
Oggi è stato ieri.

ALESSI CLOCKS

UN NUOVO EPISODIO DELL'AVVENTURA ALESSI

FUTURO ANTERIORE.



MICHAEL GRAVES, PRINCETON 1987

Michael Graves, orologio a pendolo.
Sarà stato ispirato alle architetture in miniatura? Un piccolo edificio all'interno di uno grande.
Oppure sarà stato ispirato all'idea di orologi come mobile? Lo conferma quella sua aria familiare, appartenente al paesaggio domestico di ognuno di noi.
Oppure all'idea di progettare un orologio come orologio?
Tac tic, tac tic... Domani sarà stato oggi.

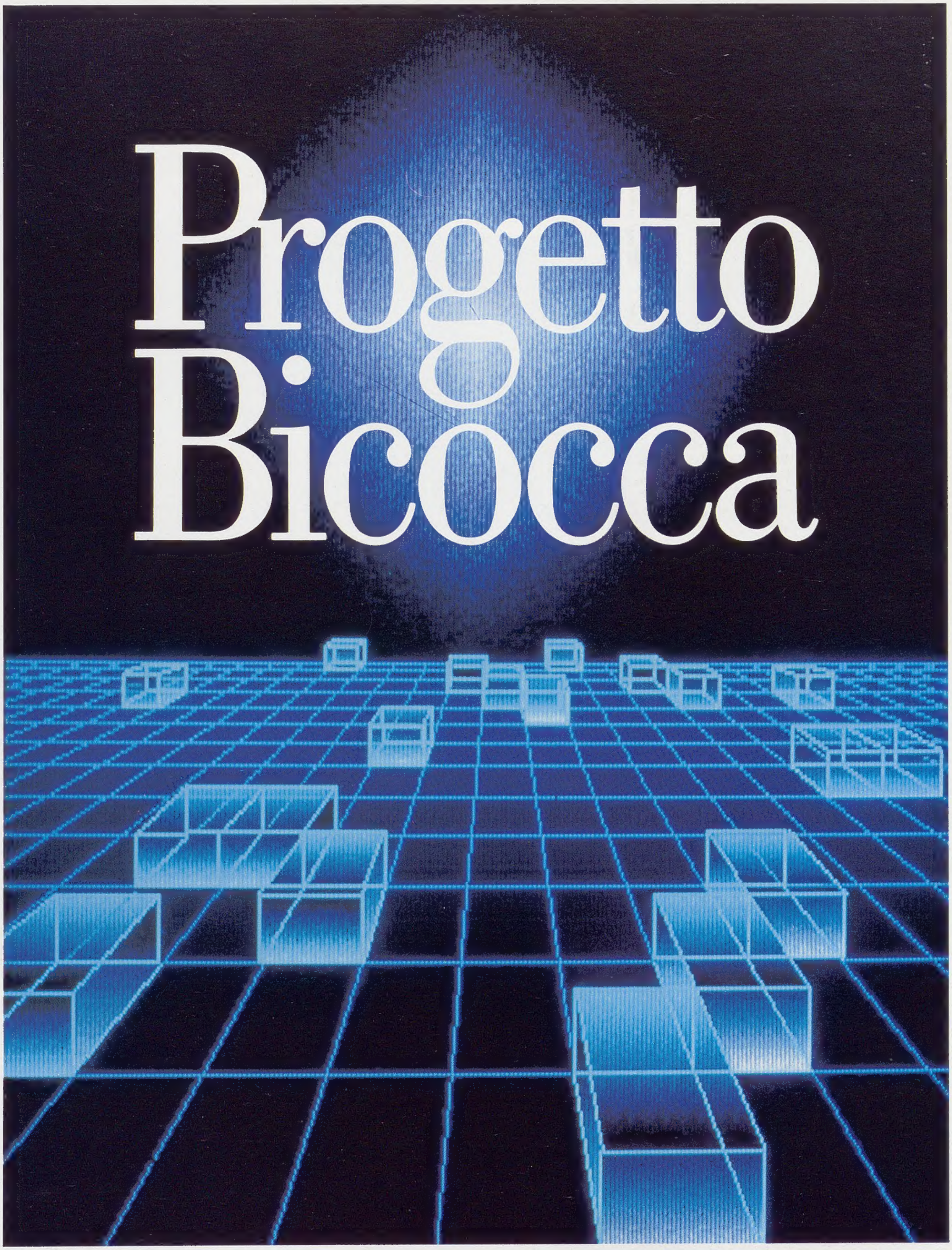
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UN NUOVO EPISODIO DELL'AVVENTURA ALESSI

SE CI MANDATE IL VOSTRO NOME E INDIRIZZO CON LA SIGLA OR/CK POTREMO FARVI AVERE UN CATALOGO ILLUSTRATO DEI NOSTRI PRODOTTI. ALESSI S.P.A. 28023 CRUSINALLO (NO). SHOW ROOM DI MILANO: CORSO MATTEOTTI 9.


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56014 ospedaletto - pisa
tel. 050/981091 - fax 983021
Wagneriane
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L. e M. Vignelli

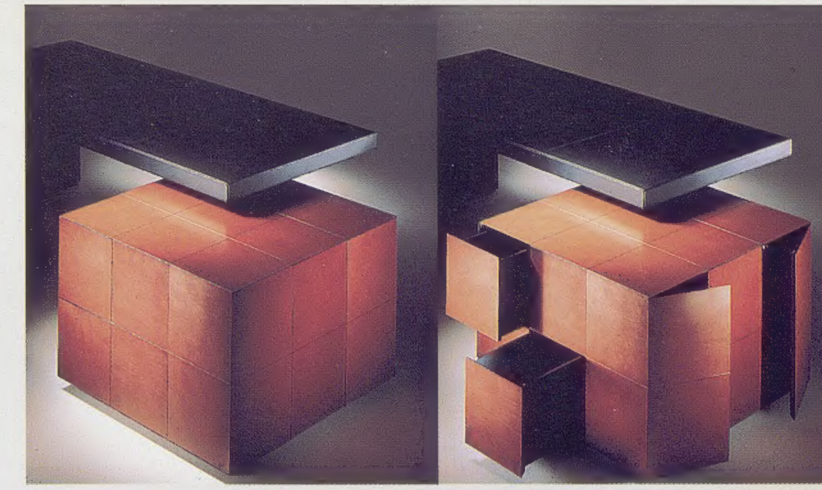



Progetto
Bicocca

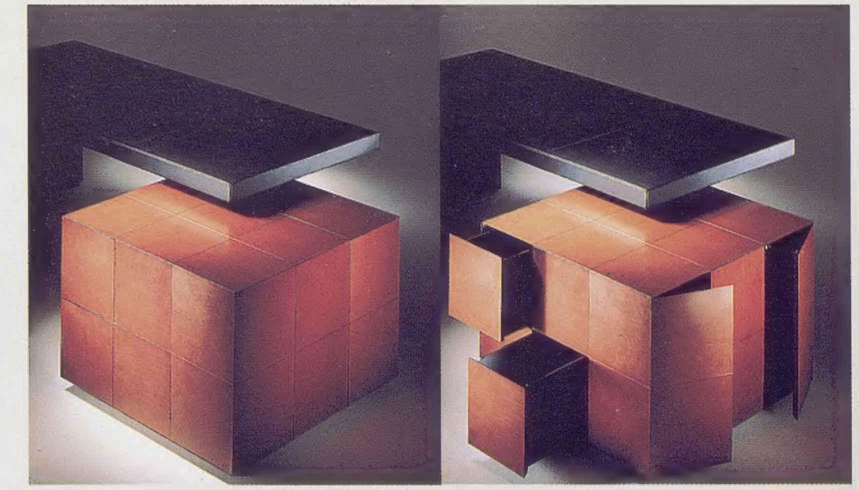
Poltrona Frau

Tolentino (Italy)

C.E.O. (Chief Executive Office) design by Lella and Massimo Vignelli







Tolentino (Italy)

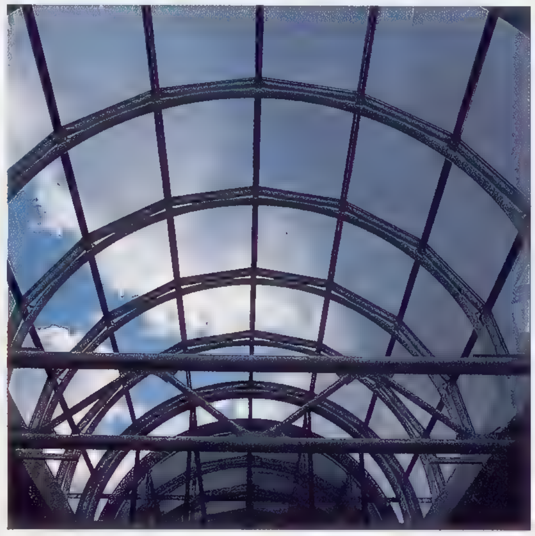
C.E.O. (Chief Executive Office) design by Lella and Massimo Vignelli

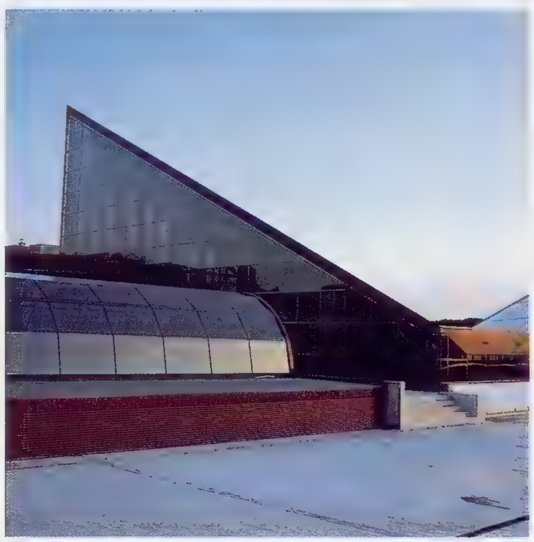


CENTRO COMMERCIALE CINECITTÀDUE: NELL'ARCHITETTURA DI VETRO L'EDIFICIO TROVA LA SUA MASSIMA ESPRESSIONE

NEL GRANDE COMPLESSO INAUGURATO A ROMA LA INDUSTRIE SECCO S.P.A. DI TREVISO HA REALIZZATO LA COPERTURA PIRAMIDALE E LE GALLERIE PEDONALI AFFERMANDO IL PROPRIO KNOW HOW TECNOLOGICO E COSTRUTTIVO.







Prof. Ing. L. Rolli e Arch. C. Savoino

La Industrie Secco Spa è un'azienda con oltre 50 anni di esperienza nella produzione di serramenti in profilati metallici pretrattati realizzati con proprie tecnologie originali d'avanguardia, frutto di una continua ricerca applicata che le ha permesso di mantenere i propri prodotti, i loro derivati ed i servizi connessi ai livelli più avanzati dell'industria dei componenti edilizi.
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design maurizio bertoni

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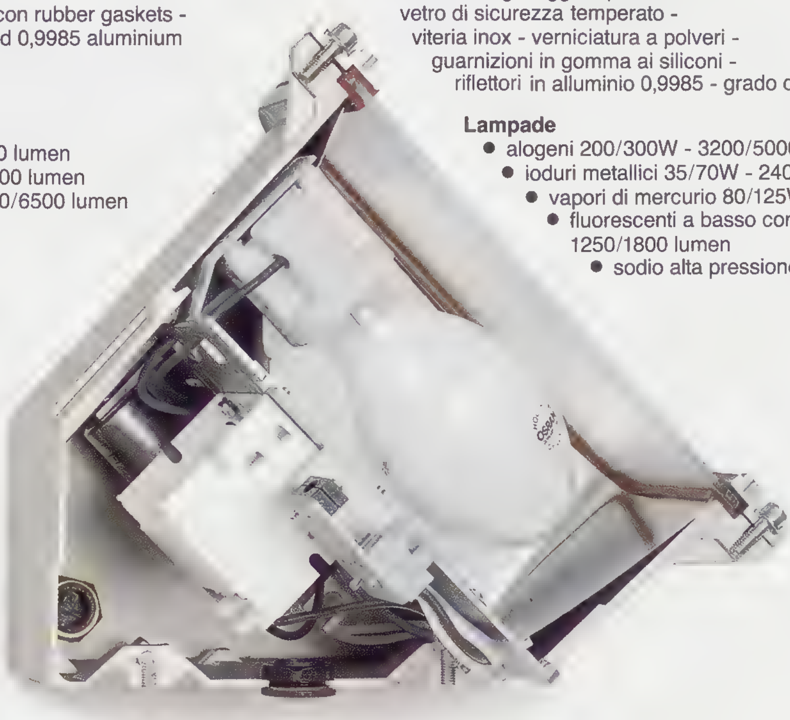
Innumerevoli applicazioni ed anni di esemplare funzionamento hanno fatto di egeo un programma preferito dai più quotati progettisti e da prestigiosi architetti che hanno individuato in questo apparecchio un oggetto di funzionale rigore e di grande versatilità tecnica.

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- high pressure sodium 70W - 7000 lumen

Lampade
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- ioduri metallici 35/70W - 2400/5500 lumen
- vapori di mercurio 80/125W 4000/6500 lumen
- fluorescenti a basso consumo 18/26W 1250/1800 lumen
- sodio alta pressione 70W - 7000 lumen





fotografie di enzo misefari


Gabriele Mucchi
Giuseppe Terragni
G. Levi Montalcini, G. Pagano Pogatschnig
Piero Bottoni
Carlo Mollino


Se sono nati per stare insieme,
perché dividerli?


cappellini
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cappellini
INTERNATIONAL INTERIORS

italstrade

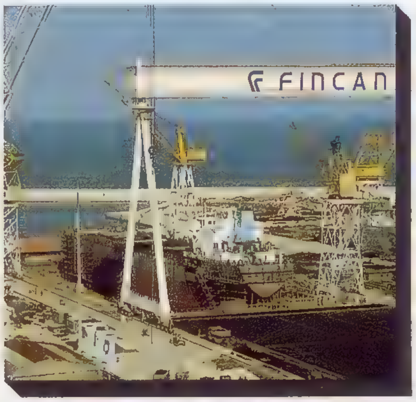
group
iri-italstat

Italstrade was founded in 1905 and has been part of IRI since 1936. Within the Italstat Group, it is the leader of a large number of specialized construction companies operating in all sectors of civil engineering. The work of these companies is a decisive factor in planning, building and maintaining the Italian motorway network. Italstrade and its associated companies have constructed or are currently at work on the construction of roads, motorways, railways, airports, seaports and hydraulic, hydroelectric and electronuclear plants. Italstrade operates in Italy and in numerous countries outside Italy: Algeria, Argentina, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Mozambique, Portugal, Tanzania, Tunisia and Turkey.

The Beni Brahim railway viaduct/Algeria.



The dry-dock in Ancona (Italy).



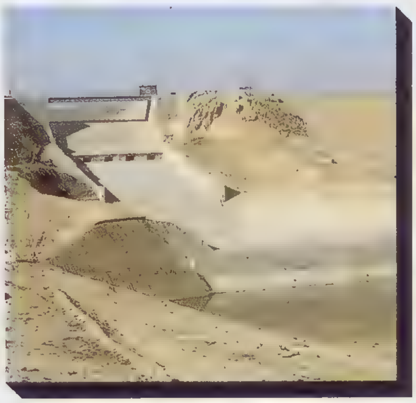
The Fella viaduct/Udine-Carnia-Tarvisio motorway (Italy).



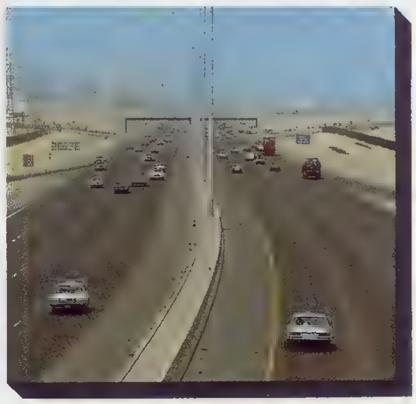
The "Dorsale Calabra" fast motorway Reggio Calabria (Italy).



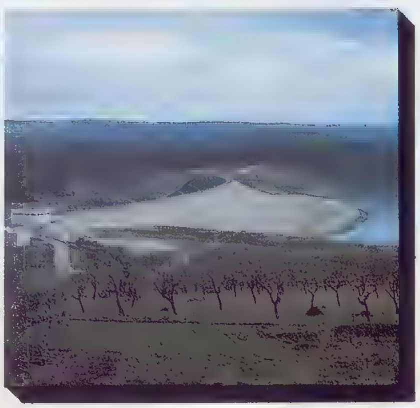
The Sidi Saad plant/Tunisia.



The Maghrib-Assafar motorway/Kuwait



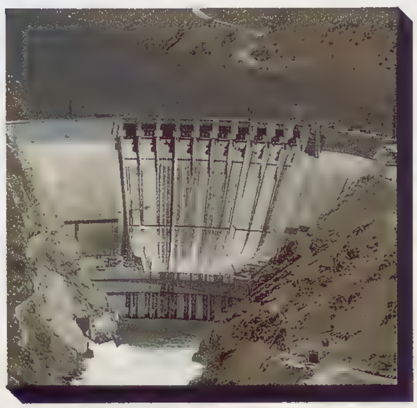
The dam on the River Locone/Bari (Italy)



The intercontinental airport of Fiumicino/Rome (Italy).



The hydroelectric plant of Karakaya/Turkey







How do you say living and building in Italian? Abitare and Costruire.

PIRELLA GÖTTSCHE LOWE

The world we live in is made up of cities, buildings, and interiors. Not to mention the people who live in them. And for those people, there is a magazine: Abitare. Each month, Abitare brings ideas, cultural trends, and furnishings and furniture from the world of design to its readers worldwide, helping them to get the most out of their homes, towns, and surrounding environment. And just in case you didn't know it, Abitare also has a sister publication: Costruire.



Costruire is the first magazine in Italy to deal with all aspects of the construction sector, from materials and techniques to designs, norms and regulations.

Abitare and Costruire: two magazines, two leaders.

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I nostri clienti sono abituati a visitarci raramente: infatti, una volta che ci hanno consegnato il lavoro, noi lo realizziamo perfettamente e nei tempi previsti. E' una regola d'oro che ci imponiamo da quando siamo nati e sebbene sembri quasi ovvia richiede una grande professionalità e una particolare attenzione alle tendenze di mercato. Infatti le esigenze dei nostri clienti sono sempre più articolate (d'altronde era inevitabile, li abbiamo così viziati!), i tempi che ci richiedono sono sempre più stretti e i lavori che ci affidano diventano sempre più complessi. Per mantenersi al passo é indispensabile quindi investire, in tecnologie e professionisti, uno sforzo che solo una grande azienda come la nostra può permettersi. Non a caso siamo stati i primi in Italia a introdurre il proof recorder e oggi siamo andati ancora oltre. Partendo da qualunque originale (disegno o fotocolor) siamo in grado di elaborarlo elettronicamente seguendo il lay out del creativo più esigente: possiamo introdurvi altre immagini, modificarne i colori, scontornarlo e inserirlo in fondi meccanici, disegnati o creati appositamente. Alla fine del processo produttivo possiamo anche fornire, oltre alle pellicole di quadricromia, quanti originali ci vengono richiesti e in tutti i formati desiderati. Oppure, se il cliente lo desidera, possiamo fornire una copia colore prima di scrivere da memoria le pellicole, in modo da intervenire con eventuali correzioni senza perdite di tempo. E quando il lavoro è terminato, se ci viene richiesto lo possiamo memorizzare: così, se l'immagine deve essere utilizzata di nuovo, basta richiamarla e, se occorre, modificarla secondo le nuove esigenze senza dover rifare tutto il lavoro daccapo. Grazie a queste tecnologie anche cambiare una casa in un fotocolor o in un lay out, diventa un gioco da ragazzi.

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d'una pietra,
il tuo corpo
la stirpe
accoglie.
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profumi
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Zodiac 1

new series
an international review of architecture
founded in 1957
by Adriano Olivetti
issued two times a year
in two editions: english, and italian

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Bruno Alfieri - Renato Minetto
Silvia Latis, assistant

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Contents

*Front cover: Richard Meier's sketch
for the Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport,
Connecticut, 1984-88*

The Rebirth of "Zodiac"
Renzo Zorzi

Introducing the first issue of "Zodiac" to readers in 1957, Adriano Olivetti emphasized two facts whose investigation would be sufficient to justify the existence of the new magazine and to represent the basis for the work it was about to embark on.

The first fact was identified as the need to overcome the "crisis of values" that, he felt, affected architecture and the very identity of the architect, despite the fervor of those years. This crisis was to be linked to the general uncertainties, disorientation and confusion of an essentially ideological nature, which in turn caused "*deviations and renunciation*" of an "*awareness*" of the "*human being*" and of his intangible worth. This was accompanied by a certain "*populist*" trend, perhaps generously lived out, but in the end superficial and leading to "*improper*" displays which in architecture ran the risk of becoming "*formal and not infrequently demagogic tributes to folklore*".

Today, one could say that this condition was correlated with other similar ones in other areas of creative work and critical investigation, including Neorealism in literature and the emphasis placed on formulations which tended towards a national-popular classification that was all too hastily assumed as a standard. This was especially true in Italy, in the form of the often inappropriate imitation and expansion of terms taken from Gramsci's reflections. This occurred during the exact moment in which, after the events of the two previous decades of substantial intellectual autarchy, it would perhaps have been more useful to throw open its windows on the world and regain experience from a historical, technological and social standpoint at a different level of awareness and coherence.

But Olivetti's remarks were not limited to the observation of the dangers and the illusory nature of this false sentimental rooting. He aimed particularly at discovering the conditions for a *new* relationship between the person, in his geographical and human space (the natural "community") and the institutions of power (a word that he used here with some discomfort to make himself immediately understood, but never employed by Olivetti, considering it to be a degenerative expression of the idea of authority and politics, which to him were the quintessential areas of responsibility and were identified with specific functions and institutional divisions). In his opinion (someone said "in his utopia"), it would be impossible to emerge from a crisis of values without the formation of a real "*democratic authority*", which would be the only authority capable of making sound and vital choices. In the specific field of architecture, it would represent social and public discipline *par excellence* and the correct relationship between the architect and client: an authority "*lacking in our modern society*", and the only one that could make "*the current discussions on architecture more successful and less sterile*". Thus, the crisis was first and foremost a crisis of goals and institutions. It was necessary acknowledge the facts and work in the proper direction.

The second fact originated from the first one and was its consequence and to some degree its culmination. If the architect's field of activity (and source) is the community, his environment, a space such as history, "*continuity through the ages*", that the lengthy task of research and refinement have produced, then his work, "*whether he likes it or not*", cannot be separated from that of the urban planner. "*Architecture and urban planning merge, and the former includes the latter; no one can escape*

this condition".
The structure and the appearance of the city ("*how many centuries had the building of Venice lasted; how many years were needed to reset Piazza dei Miracoli in Pisa?*") cannot be entrusted to one man's inspiration alone, no matter how brilliant he may be: they belong to a "system", and they must interact, architecture's role is to verify how the individual forms of a project, "*because of their coherence and their nature*", assume the "*right position in the broadest site in which they are meant to become matter*". The magazine's criticism was to have been based on this perspective as well. I have been lavish with quotations in order to reproduce the exact meaning of Olivetti's "hopes and desires", also taking into account the foolish ambitions and the inadequacies of what has happened in many cities over the past forty years if we measure them against the history of architecture, and even more so if we measure architectural construction against projects which have remained in the planning or dream stage. Therefore, I do not refer to that highly programmatic article based on reflection and guidance simply to repropose its themes after so much time has passed and under such different circumstances (nor would that be my function), in spite of the fact that recognition of the indissolubility of architecture and urban planning has now become a priority and has been accepted at all levels. Indeed, the misplaced authority of the client has produced devastating consequences, plain for all to see, just when immense resources that were unthinkable in the past, an increase in skill and professional awareness and revolutionary technological developments should offer the opportunity for serious meditation on what has taken place and where we all have made mistakes. At least one consideration from those far-off years and from the good faith of those proposals can be recalled and entrusted, together with one wish, to this new edition of "Zodiac", to the new publishing team (in fact, neither of the two publishers followed the development of those ideas as extraneous spectators, and one of them was the magazine's first editor-in-chief) and to the new editorial and administrative staff: to always be trustingly aware of the social, instructive and permanent value of architecture, which Olivetti always believed in heartily. Indeed, that is what makes architecture different from all the other arts, which can test and express themselves with complete freedom and no constraints, without any responsibility, or by negation, and withdrawal into the most radical Nihilism, into the asociality of a solipsism with no contacts.
Architecture *remains*: it lasts, and it cannot be swept away like an unsuccessful show. It does not enjoy extraterritorial status; for better or worse, it modifies what for everyone is the visible world. It does influence existence, makes life better or worse or unbearable, yet is never private.
The connection between the first "Zodiac" and the new edition of the magazine is the awareness of the "seriousness" about the need for profound morality in architecture, regardless of the times, trends or problems. "Zodiac" is a magazine for reflection on this field and its history, of proposal and discussion, analysis of concrete results, and critical presentation of emerging personalities and ideas. It is a new magazine, but it has been sown from land that has never been barren and from which we can expect a new blooming.

The Foundation and Return of a Magazine
Guido Canella

It is not easy to frame the publication of "Zodiac" between 1957 and 1972 in a continuous perspective, since the 21 volumes that comprise the illustrious collection do not represent an unbroken line. They did, however, assure the magazine tangible prestige and authentic international weight as a result of their authority and the enormous amount of materials and large number of personalities called on to participate in the project.
Nonetheless, these volumes should cause us to reflect upon the intentions expressed in the form of an encouragement by the magazine's patron; their significance is evoked here by Renzo Zorzo as new encouragement for the magazine's return.
Although our "encounter" with Adriano Olivetti, an extraordinary and complex businessman and a humanist, necessarily had to occur at a distance (since we were still students at the time of some of the conferences held by Olivetti's National Urban Planning Institute), we have voluntarily run the risk of going back to those volumes for consultation on the work that awaits us.
It should be remembered that in his earliest stage of intellectual maturity, Olivetti, who was raised in a progressive family environment, found himself forced to rely on what was young and effective as the only serious alternative to the regime: the corporativist wing that grew up around Giuseppe Bottai and so-called "left fascism". Although Olivetti did not embrace this concept at its most extreme (the position in which the philosopher Ugo Spirito placed himself when he proposed a "proprietary corporation" that would be able to put an end to class conflicts by representing the third possibility somewhere between capitalism and socialism), he did rely on an ethical concept of the world of production based on principles of responsibility, competence and authority, as appears in his presentation to the Valle d'Aosta planning commission in 1937.
In addition, the interest and reactions that the corporative phenomenon elicited abroad, especially in the United States between 1933 and 1935, are well-known. Indeed, the historian Ernesto Ragionieri has maintained that up to that time no other Italian experience had ever received similar attention. In the period between Corporativism and the New Deal, a relationship based on the exchange of research and information was established and thrived until its sudden interruption after the Italian incursion into Ethiopia.
Adriano Olivetti, who had completed his apprenticeship in business in the United States in 1925-26, certainly continued to follow the effects of the Roosevelt doctrine with interest. And that is not all he followed, since in 1934, in London, the provocatively titled book, *If I Were Dictator*, by the Darwinian biologist Julian Sorell Huxley (older brother of author Aldous) apparently went to press (it was translated into Italian the following year). What was the book about?
The book was based on the author's personal philosophy, defined as "scientific humanism", which saw man as the leading character in the general evolutionary process, capable of intervening so as to gradually favor his own progress, but also of destroying his possibilities for survival. Consequently, his "dictator" strove to apply the scientific method (especially in terms of experimentation) with the aim of improving his people's quality of life. Therefore, "*instead of attempting new, grandiose projects that involved the life of the entire nation, he experimented as much*

as possible with new systems by applying them to individual regions or industries for a short period of time". His frame of reference was "*President Roosevelt's gigantic experiment in government administration of the Muscle Shoals power plant, an experiment that proposed to reorder industry and life in the region of the Tennessee Valley*".
In fact, the Tennessee Valley Act, enacted in May, 1933, dealt with an experiment of a territorial development plan on a regional scale through the creation of an agency that had legal governing power, as well as authority, flexibility and the right to plan its own projects, like a private company. And it was Julian Huxley who became the interpreter of that experience in his 1943 work, *TVA, Adventure in Planning.*
Adriano Olivetti may have hoped for something similar and not overly utopian (at least from the perspective of that period) when, in 1957, he challenged the widespread skepticism that surrounded him by stating in the first issue of "Zodiac" that he hoped for the creation of "*a new democratic authority [that would be] stable, fertile and lofty, capable of building the new city, which would only make homogeneous, organic and unitary choices. This vigilant and keen authority*", the "new client", "*who is neither private nor governmental, does not exist in modern society, and hence is the cause of all its ills. Once, the new authority has been established, the problem will be reduced to dialogue between the Authority itself and the Architect or the architects selected. Current discussions on architecture will become more successful and less sterile*"
Thus, it was something similar, which today might make a breach in certain prejudices (including ours) that have become hardened when faced with a situation in which private interests too often win the decisive battle over the city's fortunes and bureaucratic public institutions too often leave choices up to public consensus, which may sometimes be in a nostalgic mood while other times making detailed demands (on everything from the Royal Palace to neighborhood associations). Today, we often — and rightly — note that a distorted use of democracy is about to kill our large cities.
Unlike those people who maintain that today modern architecture is finally showing some moderation and thus greater practicality, we, like Adriano Olivetti, find ourselves complaining that architecture has left the city in incompetent hands for much too long (in the best of cases) for the adjustment to the tasks and sacrifices essential for its daily and future functioning. Furthermore, the difficulty involved in standardizing, in a different fashion, new and unusual functional set-ups also makes the fulfillment of existing requirements by architectural design even more problematic.
Legitimate critics of functionalist particularism and its ideological determinism has led to a degenerating apathy towards the future of the city and the inhabited community, and, at the same time, to a prefiguration of the urban landscape (with the usual meaning of the term turned upside-down) in which it is supposed to be considered imaginative in terms of some generic "directional" or "technological" immunity in those features connected with consumption and recreation. And it should apparently be considered efficient, but only in terms of going to and from home and work within the hegemony of private transportation. As for the rest, it should be seen as frozen under a large *boule-de-neige* to preserve, for the sake of nostalgia, the hybrid mixture of authentic and falsified relics, mingled with

industrial trophies that have been cast-off and are now supposed to be tertiary or quarternary as well as a bit flowery. That which should be delegated to represent, in the metropolis, the current and future state of an advanced society is nonetheless destructured.

In the first issue of "Zodiac", Adriano Olivetti also stated that"*the appearance of the city cannot [help but] be entrusted to a system (a civilization of decentralized culture)*". This immediately leads us to think about the kind of architecture that was part of the Valle d'Aosta development plan, in which for the first time, in the 1930's, an attempt was made to concretely combine the natural and industrial landscape in a clear osmosis of the avant-garde. In that case, the problem of a new kind of functionality, without specifically detailed plans, but ready to place itself contextually, on a case-by-case basis, within the nature of the location, turned out to be connected with a problem of *taste*. (Here, we are referring to the meaning that Lionello Venturi gave to that word in the 1920's: the set of "*constructive elements of the work [of art], which can be separated from the work, which may appear in several works and which are not identified with art itself;... [which] are of varied types, from the technical to the ideal, but [which] have a common feature in terms of the synthesis, the creation of the work of art"*).

We may well wonder what motivations naturally and precociously pushed Olivetti (just graduated in chemical-industrial engineering from the Turin Polytechnic) towards modern architecture. Rejecting the technicalist influence of industrial integralism (which had influenced quite a few figureheads and trends of the Modern Movement), his tendency towards modernity may be more truly linked to the kind of prophetic spiritualism sublimable by science and technology, and the religious feeling of production that had inspired Piero Gobetti, who in 1925, in his *La Rivoluzione Liberale*, wrote, "*...Ford's secret is not a business or industrial secret... Ford knows that his is a religious secret, a moral system.*" Edoardo Persico, in his 1934 article *Punto ed a capo per l'architettura* (Back to Basics for Architecture) published in "Domus", also wrote "*...very few people know what was necessary for Germany to bring forth, for example, an Otto Haesler, the builder of the 'Siedlung Blumagerfeld' in Celle: the industrial organization of the entire country* (here, he added a note that referred to *Was wird werden?* published in 1920 by Walter Rathenau) *...The 'practical' content of the new architecture is only an ideal power; first of all, it is a moral explosion, not just a realistic preoccupation about needs. Our architects... will always be unaware of the fact that Haesler's secret, or that of Ernst May, the urban planner behind the new city of Frankfurt, is essentially a religious secret... The new German architecture, in content, is only expressed by this religious leitmotif. By the same token, Weimar Germany, which strengthened the new architecture and the life of the country before Hitler will be searched for in Max Weber.*"

There is no reason to be surprised that the jumping off point for Persico's comments was a review of the corporative City project presented in 1934 by a group of young architects for the competition on the urban development plan of Pavia. These were the same architects who, with others, were charged by Adriano Olivetti to give architectural shape to the Valle d'Aosta plan. In addition, through their active collaboration, between 1933 and 1936, on the magazine *Quadrante* edited by Massimo Bontempelli and Piero Maria Bardi, they attempted to speed up, in the corporative sense, the

advent of a socially more advanced society that would rely exclusively on avant-garde intellectuals (and architects). Olivetti had encountered and participated in Gobetti's opposition in Turin, and perhaps Persico's as well, and through his father Camillo and an initial trip to Germany in 1927, he had become aware of the "industrial communities" contemplated by Walter Rathenau's particular corporative program (even these plans were the "brainchild" of the president of AEG). Therefore, for Olivetti, fascism was a critical emergency to be lived through and overcome, though realistically, by helping to raise the economic, social and intellectual level of the nation and by preparing more advanced facilities.

The organization of work transferable to the setting of the inhabited community, which he had interiorized and idealized ever since his stay in the U.S. (when he wrote home that Henry Ford had developed and carried out the same ideals shared by his father, Camillo), was also taken on as the attainment of civilization and, in the Italy of that time, the prospect of freedom that could be built up and guaranteed starting from the growth of a public consciousness, for which architecture would become the symbolic incarnation.

Consequently, its is likely that the concept and task of modernity, as a metaphor for freedom and civilization in a Europe that would again be based on communities, were, for Olivetti, closer to Gobetti's and Persico's federalist ideas than to the proclamations of people who claimed their irrevocable, updated functional necessity.

This estranging from functional determinism (on which various expressions of modern architecture have been, and continue to be built) is the leitmotif that reappears incessantly in Perisico's writings. Indeed, we probably have to look to 1965 and Theodor W. Adorno's text, *Funktionalismus Heute*: "what was functional yesterday, today may be the opposite..." to find such an explicit declaration.

Adriano Olivetti also made the following statement in his presentation of "Zodiac": "*thus, some populist indulgings, such as the haste in adopting certain schemes which, while new and apparently suited to the environment in which they were created, soon prove to be incoherent even in the new residence.. impoverished in formal and not infrequently demagogic tributes to folklore.*"

In 1957, Olivetti, like Persico more than twenty years earlier, did not intend to raise the question of conformity in favor of or against a given form of expression of modern architecture. Instead, he wanted to establish a discriminant of authenticity. The examples collected in Ivrea between 1934 (i.e., starting from when Olivetti could personally supervise these activities) and 1959 testify to this: from the linearity of the earliest works by Figini and Pollini to the organic unity of their later works, and from the vibrant transparency of Gardella's cafeteria to Ridolfi's constructive expressionism. (Only one regret on our part: the only exclusion desired by Olivetti, according to Silvia Danesi, the hotel-motel designed by Cesare Cattaneo in 1942).

While it is true that contextually establishing a kind of poetics does not necessarily mean sinking into "environmentism", it is also true that today an excessive internationalism, equally folkloric, exists and prospers.

In 1973, Geno Pampaloni recalled that for Adriano Olivetti urban planning was "*the expression, the result of an interdisciplinary approach and*

intervention of the humanities in reality... [without] favoring any form of scientism... simply because... the real 'tension' that stirred it was one of spiritual nature". Indeed, he also noted in "Zodiac" that "*urban planning and architecture merge, and the former includes the latter*". Thus, the relationship is not deductive, but rather based on an operative dialectic harmony, just as Persico would have seen it.

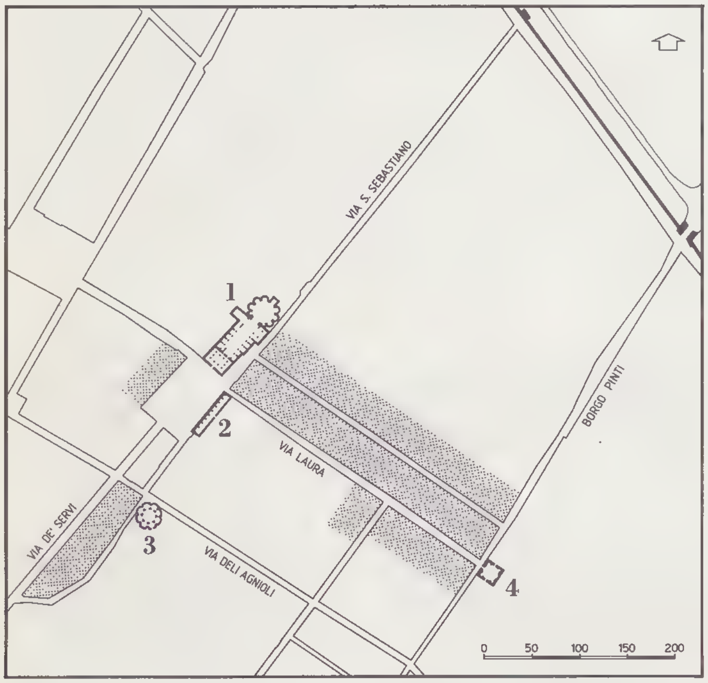
Why should this illustrious publication be revived?
We might as well admit that we do not have any clearly defined programmatic intentions, and their rhetorical creation would simply be a pretext.
In the first place, this is because the position of editor was unexpectedly offered to us and we have accepted it after considerable reflection.
In the second place, we wouldn't be able to create an ideologically or poetically homogeneous line-up with the people whom we have asked to help and guide us (age is also a factor).
In the third place, architecture is composed of several fronts, all simultaneously open including the role of the client, which is increasingly based on the incompetence created by an ambiguous public-private relationship and which raises contradictory questions about the future of our country.
In the fourth place, the ever more pressing intrusions of certain public opinion campaigns, which are often guided by commonplaces about indiscriminant preservation or derogation (where cause and effect are confused), work against innovation in the environment through the design of real architecture.
And finally, there is the fact that architecture has to defend itself from a significant segment of its own culture, which is occasionally so excited about performing that it legitimates compromise. Occasionally, it is so pleased with its formalistic self-contemplation that it ignores its future role in the construction of the city.
Thus, there are many (indeed too many) open fronts on which a halfyearly magazine could hardly make a significant impact.
Therefore, we felt that trying to restore history to criticism, which has wandered so far afield, and striving to attain certain objectives, such as helping the architecture-client relationship to become less precarious and incompetent, encouraging the principle of authenticity as opposed to functional and formal imitations of architecture, and rooting international comparison in the context of each typological and figurative experience (in other words, the same objectives essentially outlined by Adriano Olivetti over thirty years ago) would make taking on this new responsibility worthwhile.

Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Effetti del Buongoverno e del Malgoverno in città e nel contado, *details, 1337-39, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico.*
Photo: the Historical and Fine Arts Department, Siena.

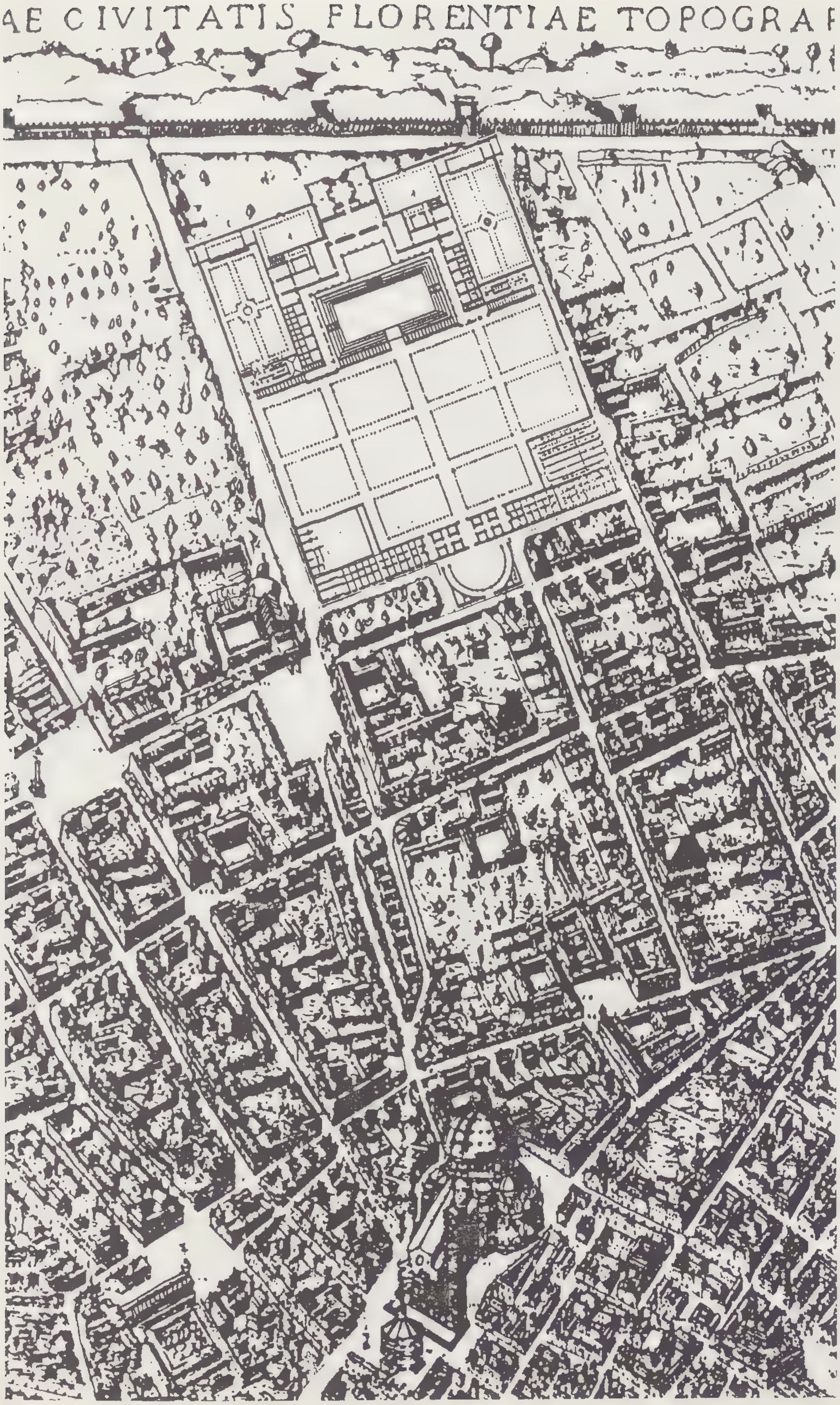




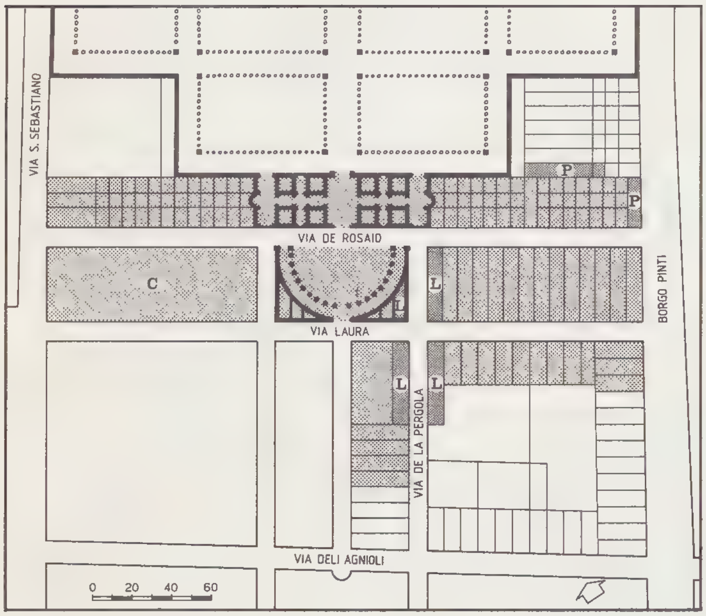
Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy*
Manfredo Tafuri



The most problematic word used in the title of this essay is the one that refers to a period that has become ambiguous: the Renaissance. To go right to the heart of the matter, the entire title implies a historiographic question: did recognizable means of using the city for political purposes exist (administered by whom, and generating what kind of internal conflict) during that segment of the "long Middle Ages" in Italy, which witnessed the establishment of territorial "Signorie" and absolutist experiments? Furthermore, how were these strategies reflected within the context of the surviving oligarchical republics? The question has numerous corollaries. The elimination of the term "urbanistic" from the dictionary used for the cities of the *ancien régime* tends to diminish the "mortal sin" of anachronism (recalling a concept dear to Bloch and Febvre). This elimination, which is controversial in terms of the "fashionable" manipulations of historic phenomena, is not designed to ignore the fact that Medieval cities were already governed by statutes, regulations, magistratures, agreements, group tendencies or the designs of the dominant social strata. Our problem is to discover in the short period between the late fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth the ways in which the system of administrative tools was modified, once new players, new ideal representations and new political questions came into play. This analysis cannot ignore the importance of resistance to change, the effects of which influenced greatly these new ideal representations postures.
The slow action of transformation is to be brought into focus. For this, it is wise to avoid abstract typologies by analyzing concrete situations, once parameters for comparison have been set. Such parameters include various political and economic circumstances, social power brokers and those against whom the various operations were aimed, the instruments and istitutions used, and the value attributed to various actions in relation to established ideal representations.
Three main cases are discussed in this essay: Lorenzo the Magnificent's Florence, Pope Leo X's Rome and Venice from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Several operations designed for the Milan governed by the Sforza family and for Genoa in the sixteenth century will be used for comparative purposes only. The reason for this sampling will become apparent from the narration itself. Let it be said the the first two *tests* have been chosen for analogical purposes, the third (humanistic Venice during the latter part



Reconstruction (by Elam) of the land acquired by Lorenzo the Magnificent for restructuring and expansions in Florence between 1477 and 1492. 1) Annunziata; 2) Portico of the Hospital of the Innocenti; 3) Rotonda degli Angeli; 4) Oratory of the Cestello (destroyed during the nineteenth century). Drawing by Demus Dalpozzo. Photomontage of Giuliano da Sangallo's plan for a Medici Palace (Florence, U 282 Ar., style of Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, ca. 1513-14) on Stefano Bonsignori's map of Florence, 1584.



Detail of Sangallo's drawing U 282 Ar. mounted on an urban background. Original captions contained on the Uffizi folio: L = M. Lorenzo, C = location of houses; P = Perugino's house. Drawing by D. Dalpozzo.

of the Middle Ages) to introduce a certain "diversity" from the historically significant results. In any case, analogies and differences belong to a diffraction of urban strategies which is typical of the historical era taken into consideration. The comparisons represent nothing more than an invitation to extend comparative analyses in order to avoid being locked into localistic studies and generalizations.

1. *Lorenzo's Florence*

In describing the various segments of this investigation, we have, to some degree laid, our cards on the table. The general question has already been divided into two subthemes, the first of which could be formulated as follows: is it possible to identify a "Medici strategy", in some way handed down from Lorenzo the Magnificent to his son, dating back to the papacy of March, 1513? The possible ambiguities implicit in this question will be dissolved during the course of the analysis, which takes its cue, when speaking of Florence, from Goldthwaite's studies and from Caroline Elam's fundamental essay (which is often referred to here), rather than from Chastel's and Gombrich's pioneering essays[1].

With her penetrating analysis, Elam has identified a precise relationship between the "building fever" of the late fifteenth century in Florence and Lorenzo the Magnificent's planned, but only partially completed, project for the urban development of the area between Via Laura and Via del Rosario, not far from the location of Bartolomeo Scala's palace. Landucci has testified to the Florentine building *boom* at the end of the fifteenth century, and the course of its development from a government point of view has often been dwelled upon[2]. As we know, the 1489 *deliberation* provided for a forty-year exemption from taxes for houses built or begun within a five-year period. The desire to increase rental dwellings to handle demographic pressure was obvious. The fact that Landucci used the construction of the Strozzi and Gondi palaces as an example of the *boom* obscures the actual significance of the law. Indeed, it could be maintained that the logic behind these *"lordly"* projects was paradoxically part of the policy represented by the *deliberation*, though they did beat a path in a totally different direction with respect to the original spirit behind it. Caroline Elam shrewdly poses the question of Lorenzo de Medici's responsibility in the enforcement of the 1489 measure by putting an unsuspecting observor like Nicolò Machiavelli on the witness stand.

"Volsesi," Machiavelli wrote in the *Istorie fiorentine*[3], alluding to Lorenzo, ... *a far più bella e maggiore la sua città: e perciò sendo in quella molti spazi senza abitazioni, in essi nuove strade da empiersi di nuovi edifizi ordinò; ondeché quella città ne divenne più bella e maggiore.*

Thus, Machiavelli viewed Lorenzo as the person responsible for carrying out the *deliberation*. The exact meaning of the words *bella* (beautiful) and *maggiore* (bigger) referring to the city have yet to be specified, although their combination already indicates their complementarity. This question may be answered by the activity that Valori and Cambi attribute, with abundant detail, to Lorenzo. According to Giovanni Cambi[4]:

Dal mese daghosto di detto anno [1491] Lorenzo di Piero di Cheximo de Medici chomprò dall'Arte del Chambio cierti tareni havero dallo Spedale dè Nocienti, e chominciò, e fecie una via che si muove dallo Spedale dè Nocienti di sulla piazza di S. Maria de Servi e va insino Ciestello et chominciò affarvi murare chase e le prime 4 si faciano a mezzo detta strada insù 4 chanti, che uno verso Horbatello e laltro verso la Porta a pinti e missevisi larme del Arte del Chambio, di che detto Lorenzo voleva chelle fussino, e finivansi a suo tempo, e appiggionolle, e beato a quello che stava per le chase a pigione, vi potè tornare per fare piaciere a Lorenzo detto, e dipoi voleva quella entrata di quelle pigione darla all'Arte, cioè le chase, e pigliarne altante possessioni di beni immobili, che aveva detta arte, che venera parecchi erano state lasciate dà sua antinati della caxa dè Medici per fare cierti leghati di limoxine et altro.

As mentioned above, the area involved was Via Laura, between Piazza dell'Annunziata and the Monastery of the Cestello; the houses were built not only to form a crossroads, but also to create an incentive for further construction. Cambi's words give an idea of the economic sense of the operation; it was Lorenzo the Magnificent's intention to use the revenue from the rents to purchase real estate owned by the Arte del Cambio (the Exchange Guild). But other interpretations are implicit in the chronicler's next passage:

Di che su bello disegnio, e facevansi tre bene chontenti; prima lui [Lorenzo], secondo il popolo che stava a pigione, terzo, l'arte, charebbe auto è denari per fare è lasci, e non sutogli tolte da Ciptadini come sono, ed era adornamento della Ciptà. Di che morte vi sinterpose honde nonffù, ma la via è rimasta, e tereno s'è poi venduto, e chi a comprato l'a fatte a suo modo[5].

The "*bello disegnio*" attributed to Lorenzo, who made use of this coordination of revenues for the "*adornment of the city*", was thus a private concern that coincided with the well being of the lower and middle classes. A Florence made "*beautiful and bigger*" by Lorenzo found its expression in a development on the outskirts of the city designed for the middle classes and craftspeople and involving modest building projects in keeping with the overall program.
These remarks may be expanded further by viewing Lorenzo's proposal within the history of the period. The two parallel streets, Via Ventura and Via Laura, and the perpendicular road, Via della Pergola, were the beginning of a checkerboard that could be extended into the irregular trapezoid bounded by Via di San Sebastiano, Borgo Pinti and the fourteenth century city walls. The area on which Lorenzo concentrated was a vast stretch of empty land between the inhabited section of the city and the last ring of walls completed in about 1333. This untouched land had not been conceived to be this way. Construction of the city walls, which doubled the area of Florence available for building, had actually been an optimistic act of faith in the city's development. It assumed that there would be a radical upset of urban morphology and political use of city space. In fact, this expansion was supposed to create outlets for an aristocracy concentrated in an urban center that had become dangerous, overpopulated and characterized by a mixture of classes. In addition, it was meant to dissuade feuds incited by the promiscuity of family *clans*. Such a situation had turned Florence into an arena for struggles aimed at the conquest or extension of power.
However, the events of the second half of the 1300's and the consequent depopulation thwarted hopes for city development. Furthermore, Richard Goldthwaite's observation that the construction of large fifteenth century palaces was a sympton of the deterioration of old *clan* associations does not undermine the previous point.
Changing our angle of observation, we may also consider the operations that Balestracci stressed in his recent analyses of expansions directed by the Tuscan city-states and bishoprics during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The aggregation according to places of origin and professions

supervised by Florence during the 1200 and 1300's was an expression of the considerable interest in the "propriety" of these expansions. The symmetry of the lots and the layout of the new roads (in Florence, Siena, Volterra and Prato) were indications of social control and urban discipline. In this regard as well, the plague of 1348 marked a crisis that caused an anarchic form of settlement, along with the surfeit of residential spaces that resulted.

Consequently, it is interesting to observe the activity begun by Lorenzo the Magnificent in light of these events. In 1489-91, the demographic trend and urbanization were on the rise; Florence had weathered the persistent crisis of the first three decades of the century. By choosing to invest in an undeveloped area by building houses for the middle classe and craftspeople, Lorenzo seemed to show the Florentines that the great optimism behind the building of the fourteenth century walls was still alive. In this case, however, it was an individual aware of every opportunity that could confirm his political and ideological role, breathing life back into the old act of faith in the city's development. In addition, this development was disciplined, specialized and "proper", exactly as Nicolò Machiavelli interpreted it. The fact that this *propriety* did not coincide with the aristocratic architectural effort made by the Gondi and Strozzi families is extremely important[6]. Lorenzo's own initiative, with its low formal profile, clearly contrasted what was intended to be family self-celebrations. In this sense, he seemed to be uninterested in grand actions aimed at the reassertion of the Medici family; instead, he worked towards public well-being. His "disguised signoria" found an adequate means of expression even in the field of urban development[7].

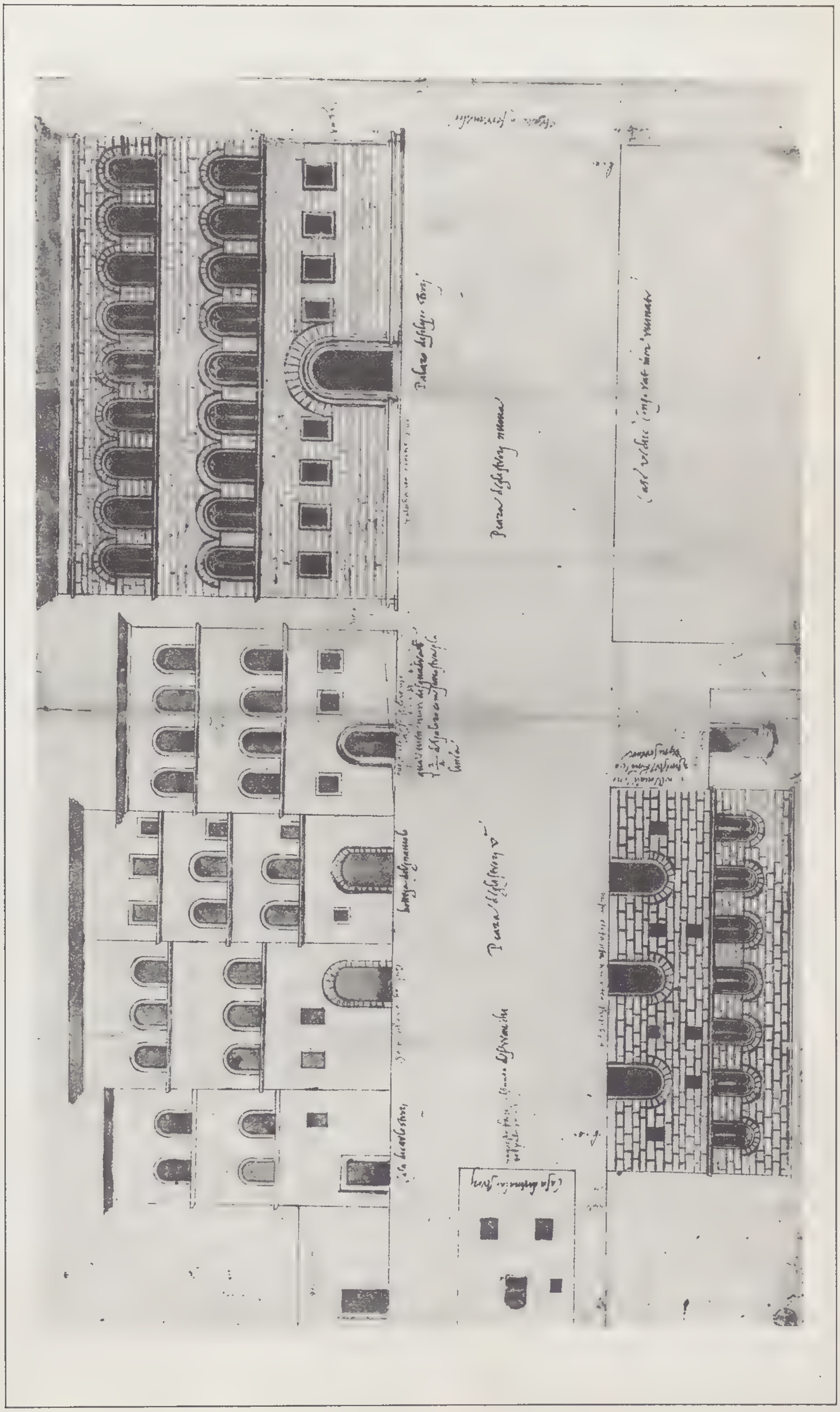
The reconstruction of Lorenzo's urban strategy attempted by Caroline Elam provides further information which should be carefully considered. This English scholar has established that just after a law issued in 1474 (also encouraging new construction, though its terms were less favorable than those contained in the 1489 *deliberation*), Lorenzo acquired land in Via dei Servi and on Piazza dell'Annunziata (the end of 1477 through 1478)[8]. When Lorenzo's real estate holdings are taken as a whole the result is something which, with a bit of effort, may be considered a kind of "plan" for the restructuring of Florence. Two routes forming an "L" from Piazza dell'Annunziata towards the Cathedral and towards the Castello were united by the square in front of the Church of the Serviti. In fact, it is likely that Lorenzo wanted to create a uniform platea with a *portico* facing the one created by Brunelleschi on the Hospital of the Innocenti, since a document dated January 3, 1477 (m.f. = 1478) contains the following:

et quod si huiusmodi alienatio et venditio fieret in evidente dicte domus et conventus utilitate et hornatu maxime quia platea prope dicta hedifitia et quadaretur et fieret pulcrior et hornatior[9].

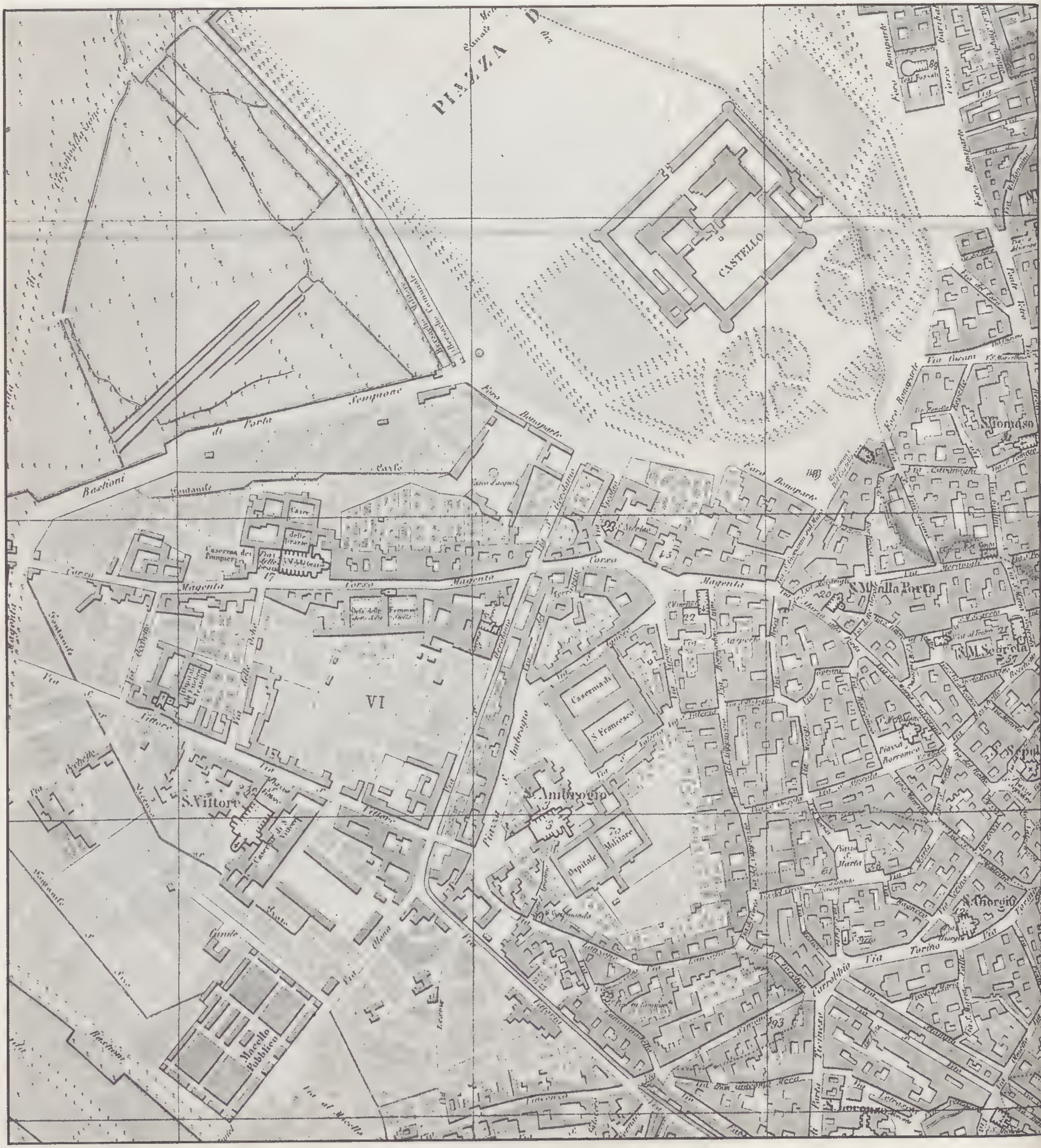
Elam's enthusiasm in emphasizing the precocity of Lorenzo's idea about the square is more than justified. This was not only a concept with a clear humanistic flavor, but also an urban axis aimed at the establishment of a secondary pole related to the Cathedral using the restructured and realigned Via dei Servi. The urban *ratio* as an example of "good government" again emerged as the idea behind Lorenzo the Magnificent's projects. Several problems do arise, however. Elam wonders why the purchases of 1477-78 and Lorenzo's plans for the area between Via dei Servi and Via di Castellaccio, made public in 1480, were not followed by actual accomplishments. Her hypothesis is that the project was blocked by events following the Pazzi conspiracy. But in that case, why didn't Lorenzo go back to his ideas of 1477-80 after 1491, and why was the plan for Via Laura created instead? In other words, Elam's hypothesis about the reconstruction of an overall plan cannot be denied, but the validity of an overlapping of plans devised during different periods, only one of which was to be carried out, is doubtful. In many ways the expansion plan seems to have been created as an alternative to the restructuring plan. Indeed, F.W. Kent has shown that part of Giovanni Rucellai's property in Poggio a Caiano was given to Lorenzo dè Medici starting on June 16, 1474, with final transfer in June of 1479[10]. Lorenzo lived on the property he had snatched from Rucellai for short periods during 1476 and 1477. During the summer of 1477, he built a *cascina* there[11]. Furthermore, Bernardo di Giovanni Rucellai wrote to Lorenzo on June 4 or 5, 1474, concerning "*ringhiere e ballatoi insieme con què giardini in su le loggie*", for which he sent a "*disegno*"[12]. Kent considered this document as evidence of the role of arbiter of artistic style that Lorenzo began to assume from that time[13].

The number of studies on Lorenzo the Magnificent's architectural knowledge and "Alberti-like" tastes has recently increased, making it possible to read Laurentian influences in some of Giuliano da Sangallo's plans[14]. The

Baccio d'Agnolo, plan and perspective drawings of Piazza Strozzi in Florence, 1533. Florence, U 132 A.
Photo from The Office of Drawings and Prints of the Uffizi, Florence.



G. Prada, nineteenth century map of Milan (Milan, Municipal Historical Archives, cartography collection). Detail of the area of Santa Maria delle Grazie and the Castello prior to the transformations carried out in the late nineteenth century. The area of Santa Maria delle Grazie still largely corresponds to that sketched by Leonardo da Vinci in the Codice Atlantico (foglio 377v.-a., 1497-98c.).



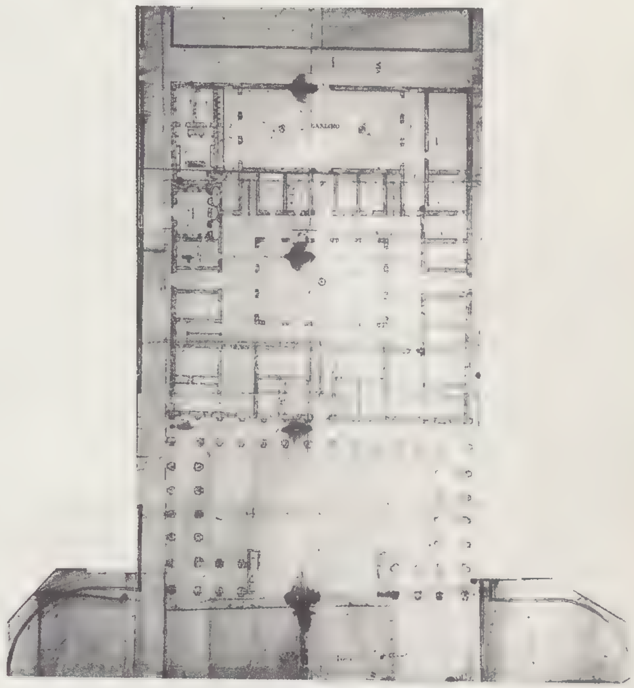
formal modesty of the work done in Via Laura thus becomes even more indicative of the plan for Piazza dell'Annunziata. It was clearly unwise to flaunt form in an area that was designed to be an "addition" offered to his fellow citizens. Therefore, Lorenzo's activity in Florence did not adopt criteria based on abstract theories, but was rather inspired by several models while following the criterion of "appropriateness". In that sense, the dates of the purchase of the properties in Poggio a Caiano noted by Kent lead to the question of whether there hadn't been a shift of interest and capital from the plan for the restructuring of Via dei Servi to the villa designed by Sangallo.
A monument to the humanistic *otium*, the villa appears to have replaced an urban restructuring plan during the years after the Pazzi conspiracy and the seizure of the Medici family's possessions in Rome by Sixtus IV. This celebration of Lorenzo as a humanist, outside the urban context, may take on new meaning if related to the Via Laura project.
If we take into account the pluralism of the Florentine commercial system as analyzed by Goldthwaite, Lorenzo the Magnificent's urban strategy appears extremely logical[15]. As *primus inter pares*, he indicated forms of investment that could play an intermediate role between private and public interests. In order to represent himself, he left the city to create the expressive villa-temple in Poggio a Caiano[16].

2. *A Princeps Christianus: Pope Leo X and the "New Rome"*
In 1513, Giuliano da Sangallo designed a majestic Medici Palace, as evidenced by foglio U 7949 A, by request of the newly elected Pope Leo X. The element of the plan that caused a considerable stir was the connection of the palace to Piazza Navona by way of a double order portico. A few years later, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger provided an alternative plan with two courtyards, thereby establishing a relation with the urban surroundings (U 1259 ar. and v.). In both cases, the huge Medici residence would have used Piazza Navona as its *vestibulum*, by connecting to the *Studium urbis* and a second Medici palace (owned by Alfonsina Orsini, Lorenzo di Piero's mother) begun in about 1514. On other occasions, we have maintained that Pope Leo X's original intentions included the establishment of an articulated *urbs medicea* in the "ancient" heart of Rome, symbolically connected with the university and terminating with the reorganized Piazza della Dogana[17]. Further considerations may also be made about this hypothesis. The palace-piazza association dates back to Constantine's *palatium* in Byzantium, which was studied by Antonio the Younger in foglio U 900 A. In the text written by the architect, the imperial palace and the piazza-hippodrome of ancient Byzantium were compared to Roman sites: Piazza Navona and the terrace of San Pietro in Montorio[18].
This was not an accidental association. As Alfred Frazer and Salvatore Settis have demonstrated, the palace-circus combination was full of symbolic significance starting from later antiquity[19]. The model, logically, was the Roman *Palatium* on the Palatine Hill, with the Circus Maximus at its feet. This model had already been evoked in Byzantium to signify a *translatio*, and it was as a symbol of *translatio imperii* that the association of the circus and the palace became a *topos*. The *Romae secundae* — Byzantium, Trier, Salonika, Antioch and Venice — considered the piazza-circus to be a privileged place for the exhibition of imperial power and for interaction between the "emperor" and the people[20].
The plans designed by the two Sangallos (uncle and nephew) thus referred to a symbolic *instauratio Imperii*, which may have flashed through the mind of the new pope during the early years of his papacy. In addition, the palace-circus association had already been repeated in symbolic form in Bramante's Belvedere, as Ackerman noted in 1951[21]. In that sense Pope Leo's ambitious project eliminated the private aspect, which was turned inwards and closed in on itself, of the new theater-hippodrome-xystus devised by Bramante for Julius II. Pope Leo's "circus" was a public square built on an authentic ancient circus, not an allusive *artificium* impervious to the urban setting.
Although the abandonment of the project may have initially been based on the death of Giuliano the Magnificent (probable recipient of the palace together with his wife Filiberta of Savoy) and perhaps that of Lorenzo the Magnificent, it is important to note that an entire "neo-imperial" plan was obliterated along with it. This plan was in line with the image of the pacifist and virtuous *papa-medious*, who was capable of regaining the faith and friendship of Erasmus of Rotterdam and aware of public needs and the well-being of the citizens, which Leo X began to create for himself from the start. The expansion of Rome, the newly devised means of assistance and the professed policy of friendship with the "Roman people" (which was actually deceitful and two-faced) were steps on the road to the ideal of the *princeps christianus* set out by Erasmus in his *Institutio*[22]. In addition, an overly triumphant papal image

Reconstruction (by Tafuri) on Nolli's map of Leo X's urban projects for Rome. A) Piazza del Popolo rearranged by Raphael and Antonio the Younger; B) Piazza Medicea; C) Piazza Navona; D) Piazza Farnese. 1) obelisk; 2) Sangallo's plan for the Medici Palace; 3) the Medici-Lante Palace; 4) Sapienza; 5) San Luigi dei Francesi; 6) the Pantheon; 7) the Farnese Palace; 8) Hospital of the Incurabili; 9) San Giovanni dei Fiorentini; 10) San Marcello al Corso; 11) Raphael's plan for St. Peter's.



Giuliano da Sangallo, Plan for the Medici Palace opening onto Piazza Navona, Rome, 1513. Florence, U 7949 Ar.
Photo from the Office of Drawings and Prints of the Uffizi, Florence.

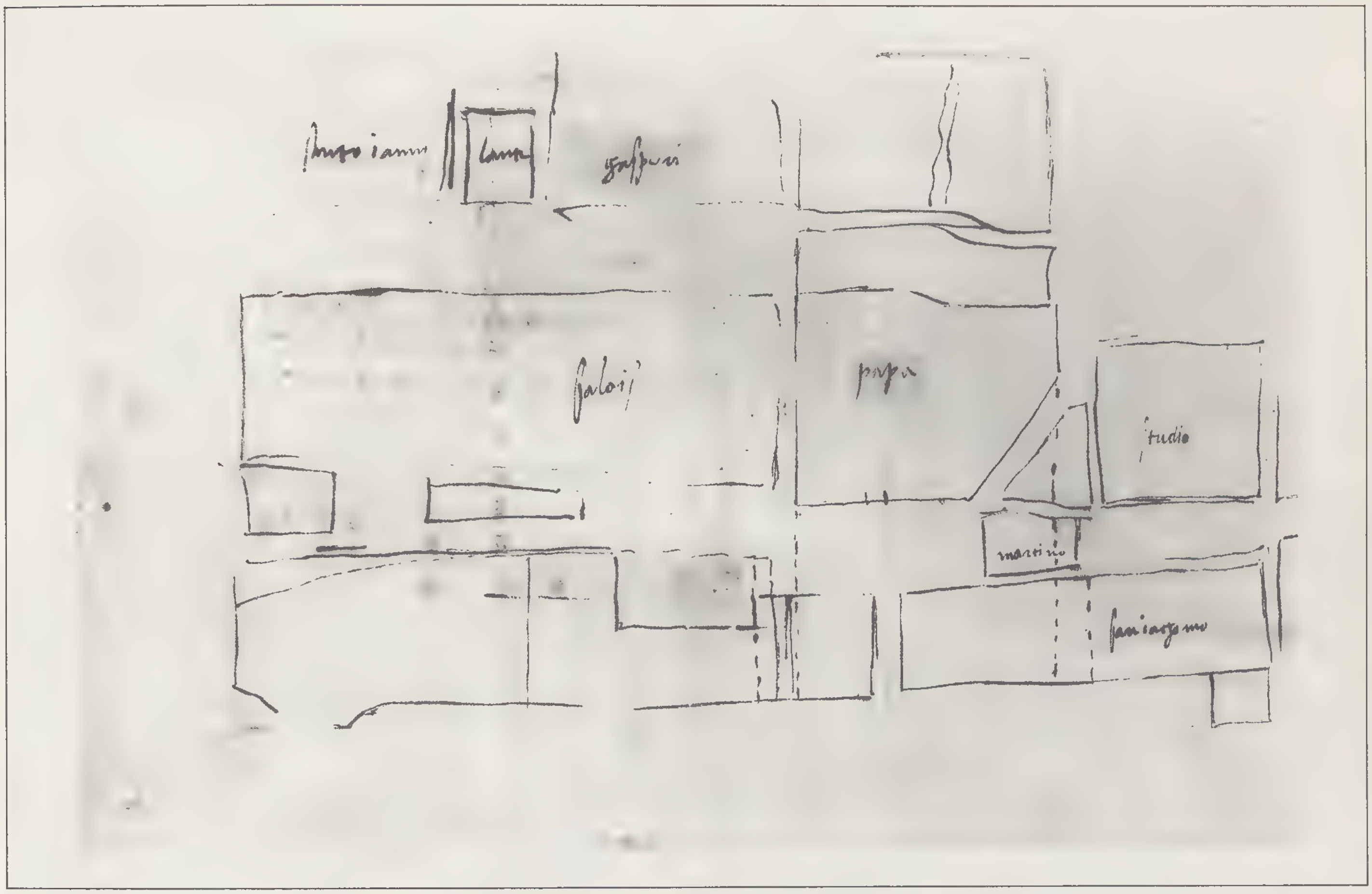


would not have been appropriate after the "Cardinals' Plot". The expansion of Rome in the direction of Piazza del Popolo, which is often interpreted as an alternative to Julius II's urban system, should be examined more closely.
Up to what point can we justly maintain that the opening of Via Ripetta and the plan for the Medici Palace were connected? The dates and documentation relating to the creation of the street provide little information in this regard, although it is not credible to imagine that an access road of some importance was not planned for the enormous palace designed by the Sangallos. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's drawings (U 1259 Ar. and v.) which can reliably be dated as 1514-15, show a street leading to the Medici Palace, in addition to the broadening of Via della Scrofa[23]. The former street was actually the Salita dei Crescenzi, which reaches the Pantheon continuing on to Via Lata. This perspective axis seems to provide evidence for the hypothesis of a main facade (in Antonio's plan) facing the Pantheon and therefore aligned with Via della Scrofa. In that case, the entire body would have been turned with respect to what Giuliano da Sangallo had envisioned; the latter architect had designed a garden tangent to the street. But the renewed importance of Piazza Navona, enhanced by Pope Leo X himself with his "new Carnival", seemed to exclude this placement of the palace. This is especially true when the ideological significance of the palace-piazza combination discussed above is taken into consideration. However, it is likely that the entire urban complex was conceived of as an organic connection with the Pantheon through a main street that was supposed to "close" the triangle whose two other sides were Via Ripetta and the Corso. This hypothesis leads to a further question, however: do the strategies of the two Della Rovere popes also contain a plan for what would later be Via Leonina? Was the opening of Via Ripetta actually the result of an alternative strategy to Julius II's program, or was it instead the accomplishment of already formulated plans whose construction had already been partially begun?[24].
It should be observed that the connection between Via Ripetta and Via della Scrofa was not undertaken by Pope Leo X, but rather by Pope Paul III. In fact, it has recently been demonstrated that the *via recta* ran into the so-called "palace of the two towers" owned by the Collegio Capranica located between the Baldassini Palace and the Church of Sant'Agostino[25]. The palace was later obtained in *enfiteusi perpetua* by Giovanni Mangone in 1527[26]. However, this

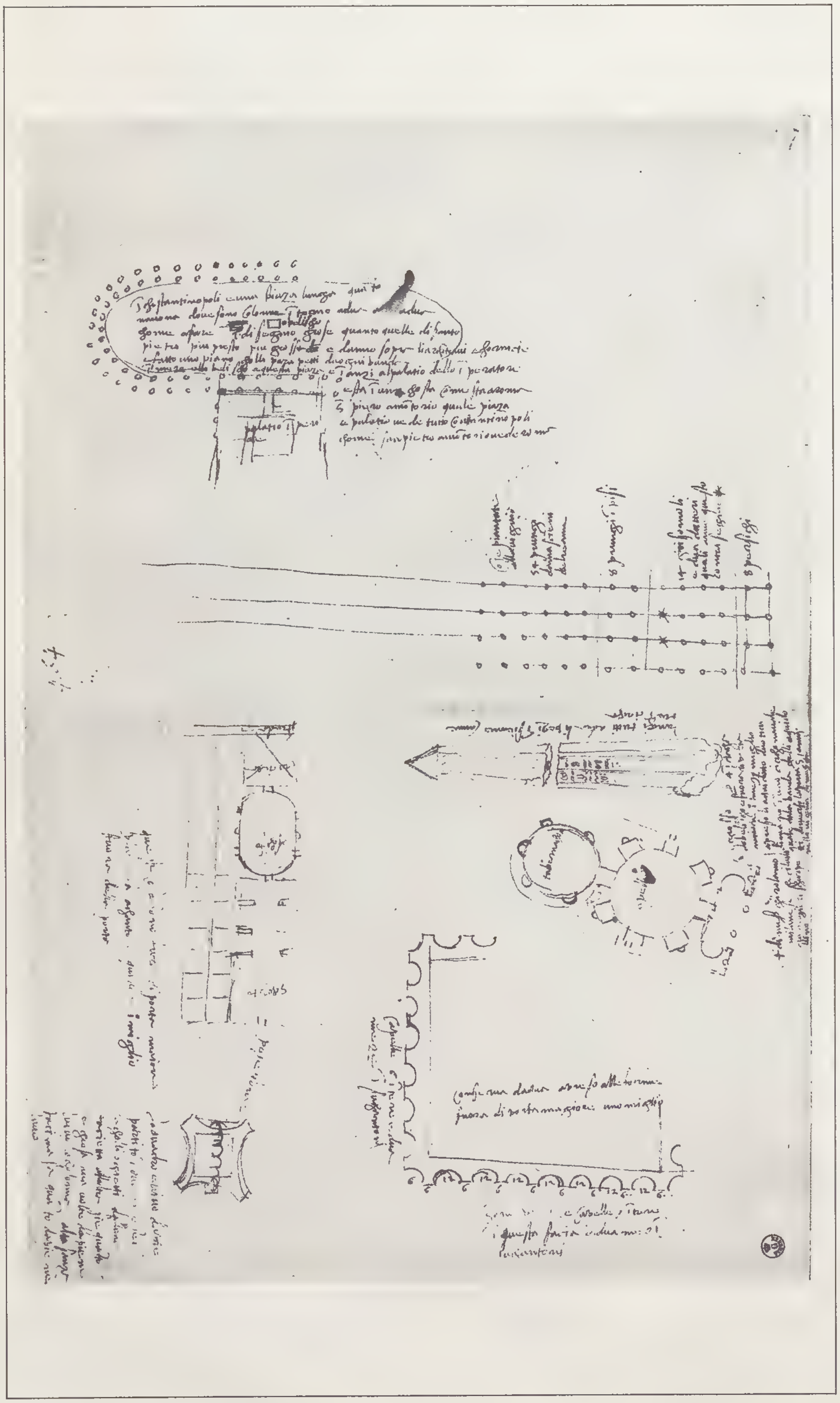
does not exclude the possibility of a plan for its demolition during Pope Leo's time, which may have been opposed by the powerful College.
The most important precedent for Via Leonina was the street opened by Pope Sixtus IV from Piazza di Ponte to Piazza Nicosia. Via Sistina was undoubtedly conceived as a main street connected with the Ripetta port, thereby forming a *pendant* to Via della Lungara, which in Pope Julius II's intentions (and maybe even Pope Sixtus IV's) was to reach the Ripa Grande port. Consequently, it seems likely that even Pope Sixtus IV felt that the street connecting Piazza di Ponte to Piazza Nicosia should be continued up to the Ripetta port and finally reach Piazza del Popolo, or the site of the Church of Sant'Agostino, which was dear to the Della Rovere pope. The fact that Pope Julius II completed this operation begun by his uncle during his reorganization of Via della Lungara leads us to suspect that it was also his intention to open what would become Via Leonina. In any case, the two streets were complementary, since they were both designed to reach the Roman river ports located at the opposite ends of the city. In addition, in 1451 Pope Nicholas V had entrusted the management and administration of the Hospital of San Giacomo to the Order of Santa Maria del Popolo. Pope Alexander VI had also contributed to the building development of the small Dalmatian neighborhood, in part to clean up the ill-famed neighborhood "dell'Ortaccio"[27]. To complete the picture of precedents for the creation of Via Ripetta, it should also be noted that under Pope Julius II (between 1509 and 1513) the Hospital of San Giacomo sold several pieces of its property between Ripetta and the Tiber and between Ripetta, Via delle Colonnelle, Via della Frezza and Via dei Pontefici[28].
This is sufficient information to support the statement that the operation on which Pope Leo X's 1517 *motu proprio* was based referred to ideas and activities encouraged by previous popes who viewed the Hospital of San Giacomo and the Compagnia di Santa Maria del Popolo as the centerpieces of important speculative undertakings. Consequently, Via Leonina was not a new idea in itself, and the same may be said of Via Lata. The shape that the two roads gave to the expansion of Rome by converging on Piazza del Popolo (reorganized by Raphael and Antonio the Younger) was new, however. Frommel's and Günther's studies established that Pope Leo's "new Rome" was included in a *bivium* which was designed as such[29].
The northern portion of the *bivium* was characterized by the Hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili just after Piazza del Popolo. The Hospital's renovation was decreed by the Papal Bull of July 19, 1515[30]. The end of Via Leonina, considering Via della Scrofa as its continuation (even after the Medici Palace project and the reorganization of Piazza dei Caprettari were abandoned), was noted in the *Studium urbis*, which was utilized and restructured by Pope Leo X. In its final version, the new urban axis (at least at its two ends) was characterized by urban facilities of primary importance; the *Charitas* and the *Sapientia* were the symbolic endings of the street. And that was not all; the "good government" extended to areas included within the large planimetric triangle.
Just after his rise to the papal throne, Pope Leo X froze the prices of construction materials. This was the first sign of a strategy that continued with the Papal Bull of November 2, 1516 (*Inter curas multiplices*) and the building credits granted to the *curiam sequentes*. Recognition of the latter aspect was expressed on September 2, 1517, in the words of the chief Curator Mario de Peruschi, who praised the consequences of the 1516 Bull "*in favorem curialum aedificantium in Urbe*", and added:
etiam videtue ut animus redificantium et volentium aedificare crescat ad effectum quod Urbs Roma augeatur et nobilitetur aedificiis et hominibus[31]. By making use of various devices, Pope Leo X promoted an urban policy that seemed to oppose the Della Rovere popes' desire for power with a pacifist and paternal form of "good government". However, Julius II's and Pope Leo X's strategies were not lacking in elements of continuity, as noted above.

It is worthwhile to take a moment to examine the formal layout of the *bivium*. On other occasions, we have attempted to demonstrate that the axis of Via Giulia, dominated by the *forum* composed of the new Palazzo dei Tribunali and its square, was supposed to join a second ridge through a *platea*. The *via recta* (Via dei Coronari) was defined by the 1452 Nicolini statues as one of three main axes of secular Rome, and it was later reorganized by Pope Sixtus IX[32]. By tearing down a few houses, the street would have been able to create a sort of axis with the *pons Triumphalis*, Albertini's renovation of which was in line with Pope Julius II's desires. On the other hand, Via Giulia would form an obtuse angle with the alignment of the bridge itself. According to this hypothesis, Bramante was responsible for introducing into

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, study for the area between Piazza Navona and Piazza dei Caprettari, ca. 1514-1515. Florence, U 1259 Av. Photo from the Office of Drawings and Prints of the Uffizi, Florence.

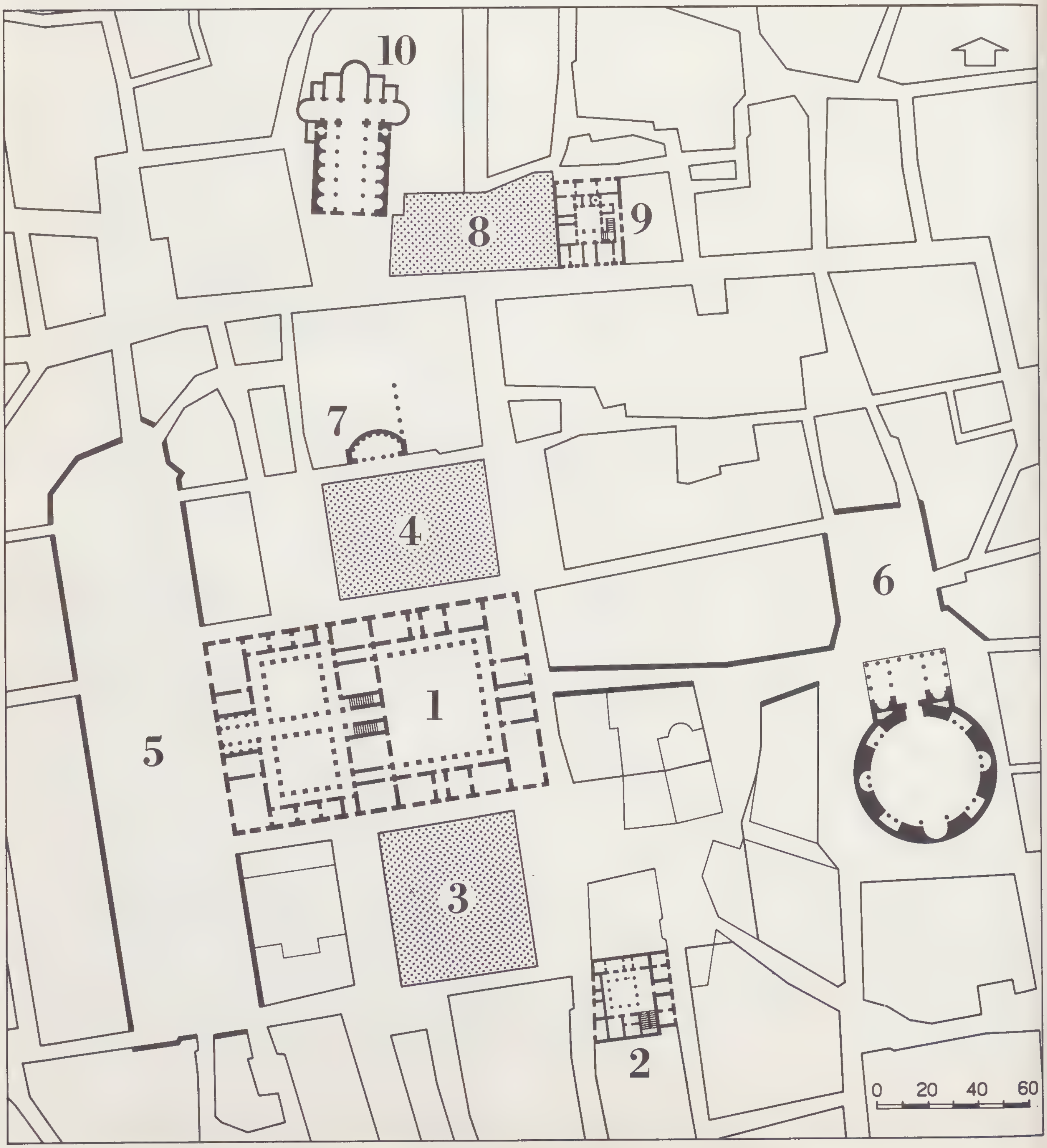


Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, archeological studies; above, the imperial palace and square in Constantinople. Florence, U 900 Ar. Photo from the Office of Drawings and Prints of the Uffizi, Florence.



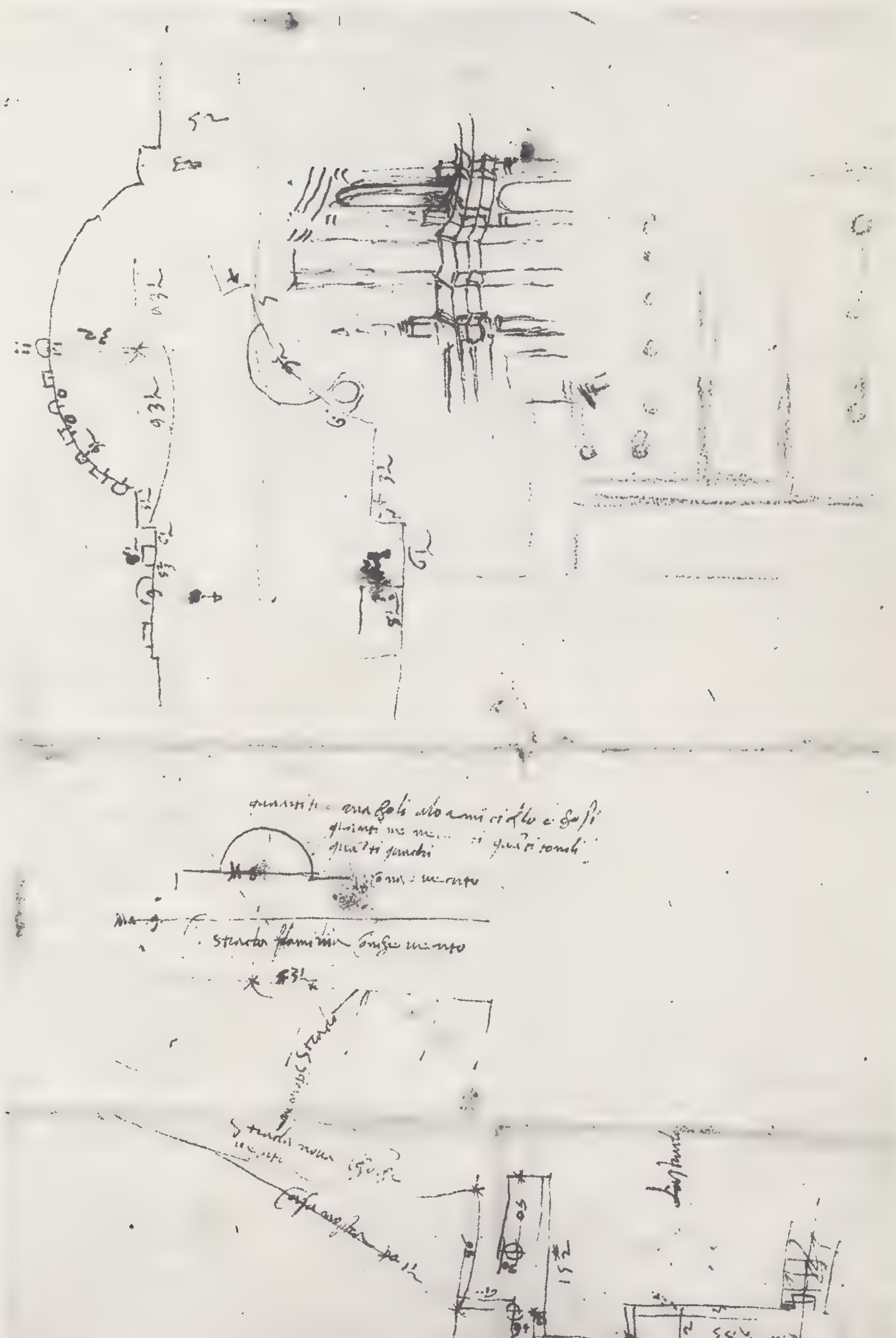
Rome a monumental *bivium* composed of axes connected with initial undertakings by the first Della Rovere pope (the Sisto bridge and Via dei Coronari). This would have been a precedent for the new plans designed during the time of Pope Leo X; the convergence of Via Lata and Via Ripetta on Piazza del Popolo was a return to Bramante's urban layout, though it was flipped towards the north of the city. At this point, the hypothesis attributing a plan for Via Ripetta to both Sixtus and Julius takes on particular significance. The continuity of the popes' urban strategies assumes an importance which should not be underestimated. In fact, what Hubertus Günther observed in drawing Y 1013 Ar and in the documents related to the 1524-25 tax "per la ruina della ponta della zecca nuova e della scala di Pandolfo della Casa" shows that Antonio da Sangallo the Younger designed a second *bivium* for Pope Clement VII, which was formed by the Canale di Ponte and what became Via Paola with the triangle closed by a street that created a visual relationship between San Giovanni dei Fiorentini and the new mint[33]. Both the *bivium* converging on Piazza del Popolo and the one designed under Pope Clement VII were transformed into *tridens* by Pope Paul III with the addition of Via del Babbuino and Via di Panico. Again, Günther's philological analyses would have been hard to forge[24].
The fact that there also existed a "Medici style" aimed at giving form to the spaces on which the street axes converged is displayed by the attention paid to the elevations of buildings located at the meeting point of the streets. The shape of the smaller facade of Jacopo da Brescia's palace (inspired by the oblique front of the Cancelleria), the plan for Raphael's house in Via Giulia (U 310 and 311 A), the curved facade of the mint and the angular design of the Balami-Galitzin Palace demonstrated Raphael's, Antonio the Younger's and perhaps Giovan Francesco da Sangallo's interest in architecturally defining the unification of new urban undertakings[35].
It is also significant that the *bivium* leading into Piazza del Popolo was to have a monumental elevation with an "*angulum ex lapidibus tiburtinis usque ad primum solare ad effectum ut possit in dicto angulo apponi et murari arma sanctissimi nostri pape...*"[36]. Other documents testify to the shape given to the square designed by Raphael and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. In fact, at this point the only thing left to do is refer the reader to Günther's reconstruction on the subject[37]. It is hardly necessary to note that large amounts of archival material and numerous studies reject the hypothesis of a trident desired by Pope Leo and taken from the Medieval *trivium* of Bologna and Florence or from the ideal models of radiocentric cities[38].
The fact is that the *bivium* introduced a bifocal aspect into the urban expansion and restructuring of the early 1500's, which offered visual richness in tune with the elegance encouraged by papal and curial circles. However, another phenomenon should be noted which also had its prelude in Pope Sixtus IV's urban strategies, as recently demonstrated by an excellent archival analysis concerning the Parione district of the late 1400's[30]: the political plan that intended to reduce the Cardinal's Senate to a "court" was reflected in the behavior of the "bourgeoisie" and the *curiam sequentes*. Examples may be found in the many individuals who inserted their own homes into the "*Roma instaurando*", turning to the most prestigious architects in the Medici city. After the precedent set by the Protonotary Apostolic, Adriano de Caprinis of Viterbo, this phenomenon involved Medici popes such as Jacopo da Brescia and the Sicilian Fernando Balami, a Consistorial Lawyer like Melchiore Baldassini, a papal datary such as Baldassarre Turini da Pescia, and artists like Raphael, Giuliano da Sangallo and Angelo the Younger, to name a few of the better known examples. A new, refined taste for *dwelling* within settings that reevoked ancient or paraclassical atmospheres extended to the middle classes, thereby indicating the success of the design announced in its time by Marcantonio Altieri as a maneuver aimed at the political and economic fall of the "Roman people"[40].

If we return to the fact that Sangallo's grandiose project (U 1259 A) for the Medici Palace and the reorganization of Piazza della Dogana was abandoned, it is streking that this fact corresponded to similar situations in the Florence reconquered by the Medici family. In addition to Leonardo da Vinci's plan for Via Larga, identified by Pedretti, there was also a project on an imperial scale attributable to Giuliano da Sangallo and dated 1512-13 by Elam on the basis of incontrovertible philological evidence[41]. This second project may have been commissioned by Lorenzo di Piero as an eloquent sign of the Medici's "return".
The majestic building complex designed by Giuliano, as well as the one planned by the same architect for the king of Naples, tied with antiquity in terms of the control of spaces with widened perspectives. Despite the fragmentation that Sangallo could not avoid, the open spaces of the


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Reconstruction (by Tafuri) of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's plans for the area beween the Pantheon and Piazza Navona prepared for Pope Leo X. 1) Plan for the Medici Palace (U 1259 Ar.); 2) Medici-Lante Palace (Giuliano da Sangallo ?); 3) Sapienza; 4) Area around San Luigi dei Francesi; 5) Piazza Navona; 6) Piazza del Pantheon; 7) ruins of the Alexandrian baths; 8) house later reduced by Paolo III; 9) Baldassini Palace; 10) Saint Agostino. Note Sangallo's reorganization of Piazza dei Caprettari (cf. U 1259 Av., here shown in preceding figure). Drawing by D. Dalpozzo.

Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, sketch of the Horti Aciliorum *and their position relative to Via Flaminia and Via Ripetta. Florence, U 915 A. Photo from the Office of Drawings and Prints of the Uffizi, Florence.*



courtyard-theater and of the enormous garden related and gave meaning to the volumes constructed. Such an immense conception couldn't help but be destined to display a sign of *imperium*, which was not lacking in recriminatory implications towards those classes that had banished the Medici family in 1494. Once the palace was constructed, it would have destroyed the smaller one owned by Bartolomeo Scala, the Chancellor of the Republic who then went over to the followers of Savonarola. It was to be a sort of symbolic *damnatio*, even if only *post-mortem*.

In comparison to the size of the fifteenth century palaces of the great Florentine families, Sangallo's plan took on symbolic meaning (reinforced by its location on the edge of the city near the walls) which was designed to represent the Medici family's restoration to power with its despotic overtones. These overtones were completely out-of-place in the uncertain political climate that characterized Florence during the second decade of the sixteenth century. The fact that the palace was not built is probably due to a prudent re-analysis by the client, in addition to his economic calculations.

It is also known that Lorenzo's uncle the Pope, as part of an ideal fraternity between Rome and Florence (the two, still unstable outposts of restored family fortune), proposed a policy of moderation. In Florence, Pope Leo X and Cardinal Giulio dè Medici were involved in the plan for the facade of the Church of San Lorenzo and Michelangelo's new sacristy, and the loggia facing Brunelleschi's portico of the Hospital of the Innocenti was begun in 1516. Another sign of continuity with Lorenzo the Magnificent's activities was the resumption of work on the villa in Poggio a Caiano.

In summary, several conclusions may be drawn. The expansion of Rome made vast untouched areas available for land speculation with construction incentives including the lowering of the cost of materials. The two extremes of *Via Leonina*, the Hospital of San Giacomo and the *Studium urbis*, were facilities for public well-being; the road network was significant, and a square was used to enhance the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo. The Florentine *communitas* was glorified by ground-breaking for construction of the church located at the extreme southern end of Via Giulia. And finally, the desire to triumphantly mark the Medici family's presence in the city was overruled; instead of construction of the palace, there was Villa Madama, isolated on Monte Mario and looking out, detached, over worldly conflicts. Like the villa in Poggio a Caiano, it reproposed the image of the humanistic *otium* and the cultural tradition of the Medici. Florence, on the other hand, witnessed the construction of a series of high quality works, which also proposed (especially after the *ingresso* of 1515) a humanistic, pious and antidespotic image of the Medici family[42]. In this sense, an affinity between the urban strategies of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Pope Leo X is finally evident. The expansion of Via Laura corresponded to Pope Leo's *bivium*; the middle and upper classes in the two cities were similar, and the decision to abandon the idea of construction prowess in the urban centers of Florence and Rome resulted in the construction of two villas out of town. There was one difference, however, attributable to Pope Leo X's personal tastes and his policy of transforming the Curia and the upper-middle classes into a "court": the architectural projects and urban layouts entrusted to Raphael and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger proposed a *instauratio Romae* with a high formal profile. This was in line with Pope Nicholas V's remote "spiritual testament", which remained in the memory of all the fifteenth and sixteenth century popes[43].

Consequently, it is not rash to talk about a "Medici style" in the development strategies adopted for Florence and Rome, although the peculiarity of the Roman case forced Pope Leo X to confront internal conflicts and economic problems, which Pope Clement VII would later attempt to tackle through various reforms[44].

3. *Venice: Urban Continuity and Hydrogeographic Problems*

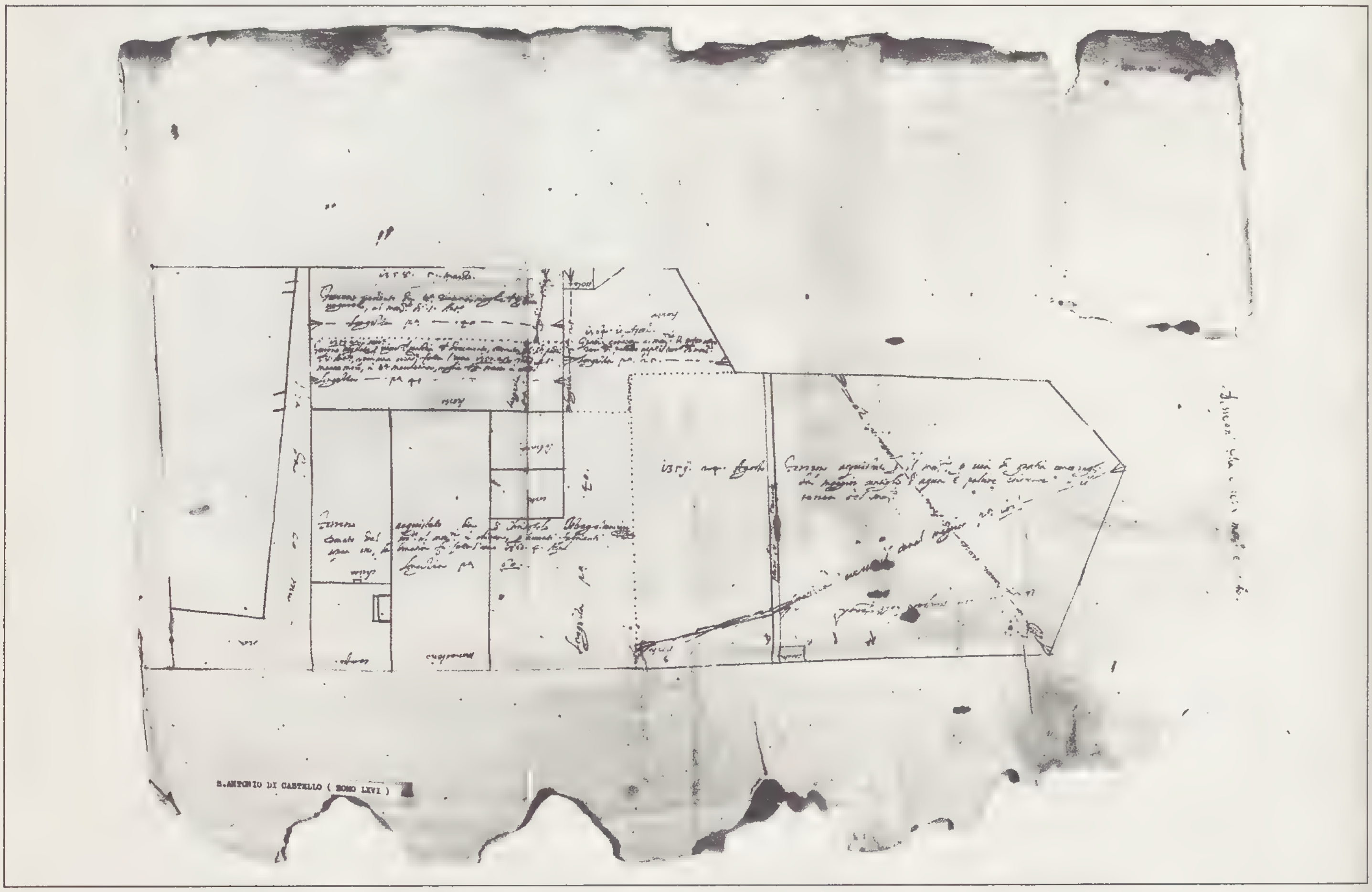
An analysis of the situation in Venice requires a different approach. The institutions which were the main characters and players in Florence and Rome were absent in the Republic of Venice, whose mythologies, goals and internal structures had been restored by the closing of the Maggior Consiglio (Grand Council) in 1297 and the fourteenth century constitutional consolidation. The basic concepts of the "mixed state" and "aristocratic equality", which were reaffirmed after the ousting of the "people" from the most important political positions, played a special role in Venice. The continous exchange between religious faith and civic identity, cleverly analyzed by Cervelli, Tenenti, Muir, Gaeta and Cozzi[45], attested to the *singularity* of Venice, expressed in the shrewd attempt to place the Republic in a position of independence from both the Empire and Rome. Thus, the persistence of the *imago urbis* was never so politically determinant in any other Italian city as it was in Venice. By

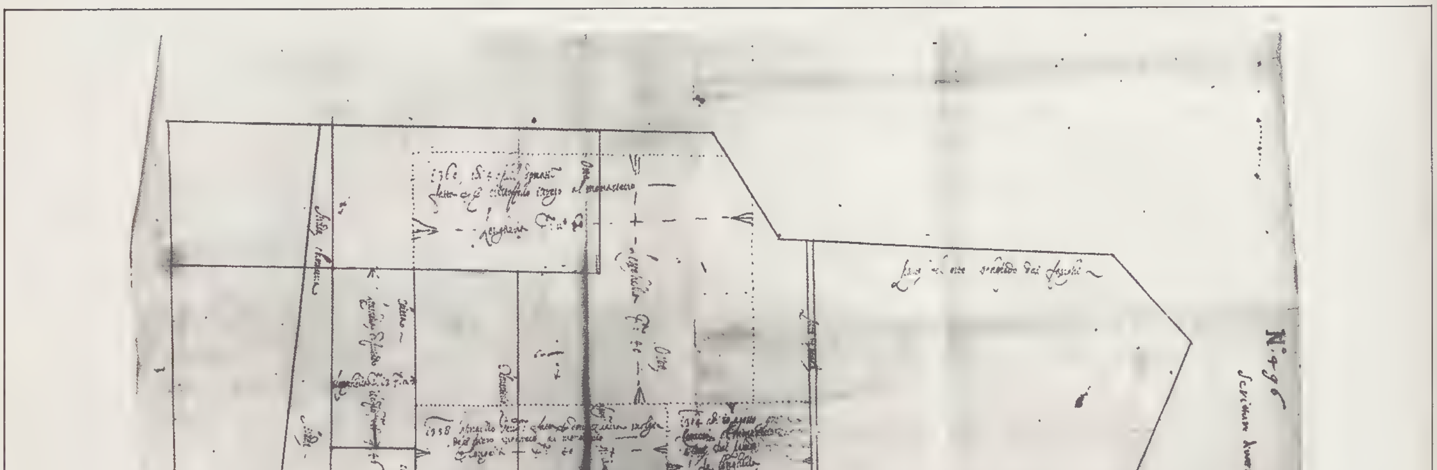
Detail of Jacopo dè Barbari's map (1500) showing the tip of S. Antonio di Castello in Venice. Beside the church and above, the complex of the Hospital of Gesù Cristo, destroyed during the nineteenth century.



constantly stressing the metaphoric identification of the city with the Virgin (immaculate and immortal, but also paradoxical and "miraculous"), those who exalted and invented the myth of Venice emphasized the perfection of this city "placed in the impossible", as well as its *uniqueness*[46]. During both the period of hegemonic attempts in Italy and the phase of retreat following 1530, the "sacredness" of the *urbs* of St. Mark was rooted in the aristocratic and popular imagination. No *instauratio* is possible where utopia is thought to have already been reached; only fragments of *renovatio* are possible within its context, and these must be limited to places in which "refoundation" is considered useful[47].
The consistency of the magistratures appointed for urban control, almost all of which were Medieval in formation, was a symptom of this "cult of continuity". The activity of the administrators, including the "Provveditori di Comun", the magistratures "del Piovego" and "del Sal", the "Provveditori de supra" and "de città" and later "dei Savi" and the "Esecutori alle Acque", form a network that filtered the desires of an aristocracy all but immune to internal conflict and intent on protecting the myth of the *concordia* on which the model of the *Stato armonico* was based. Nothing could be more distinct from Florence, with its own conflicts, or Rome, which continued to upset its own order. The changes in direction that Pope Julius II's, Pope Leo X's, Pope Julius III's and Pope Gregory XIII's new expansions and restructurings implied for the shape of the eternal city were unthinkable in Venice. Here, similar actions would have been considered sacrilegious. This is demonstrated by the isolation of the ideas expressed by a treatise (practically unknown to this day) like *De bene instituta re publica* by Domenico Morosini[48]. But it is also apparent from the failure of the new magistrature installed in 1535, which was an expression of Doge Andrea Gritti's attempts at "modernization" through the promotion of a radical *renovatio*[49].
It would be naïve and simplistic to evaluate the Venetian cult of continuity as conservativism taken to its extreme. The "memory of origin", which the Roman popes referred to in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was based on a mandate known as *absolutus*, especially after the *Laetentur coeli* proclaimed by Pope Eugene IV. Consequently, the *instauratio Romae* was "absolved" of its duty to respect "forms"; only places were venerable and free to take on shapes and meanings resulting from the new policy of the

Sixteenth century maps of the area around S. Antonio di Castello with a reconstruction of the history of the land. Venice, State Archives (SAV), S. Antonio di Castello, *T. LXVI, cc. 4r. and 5r.*
Photo from the State Archives in Venice.





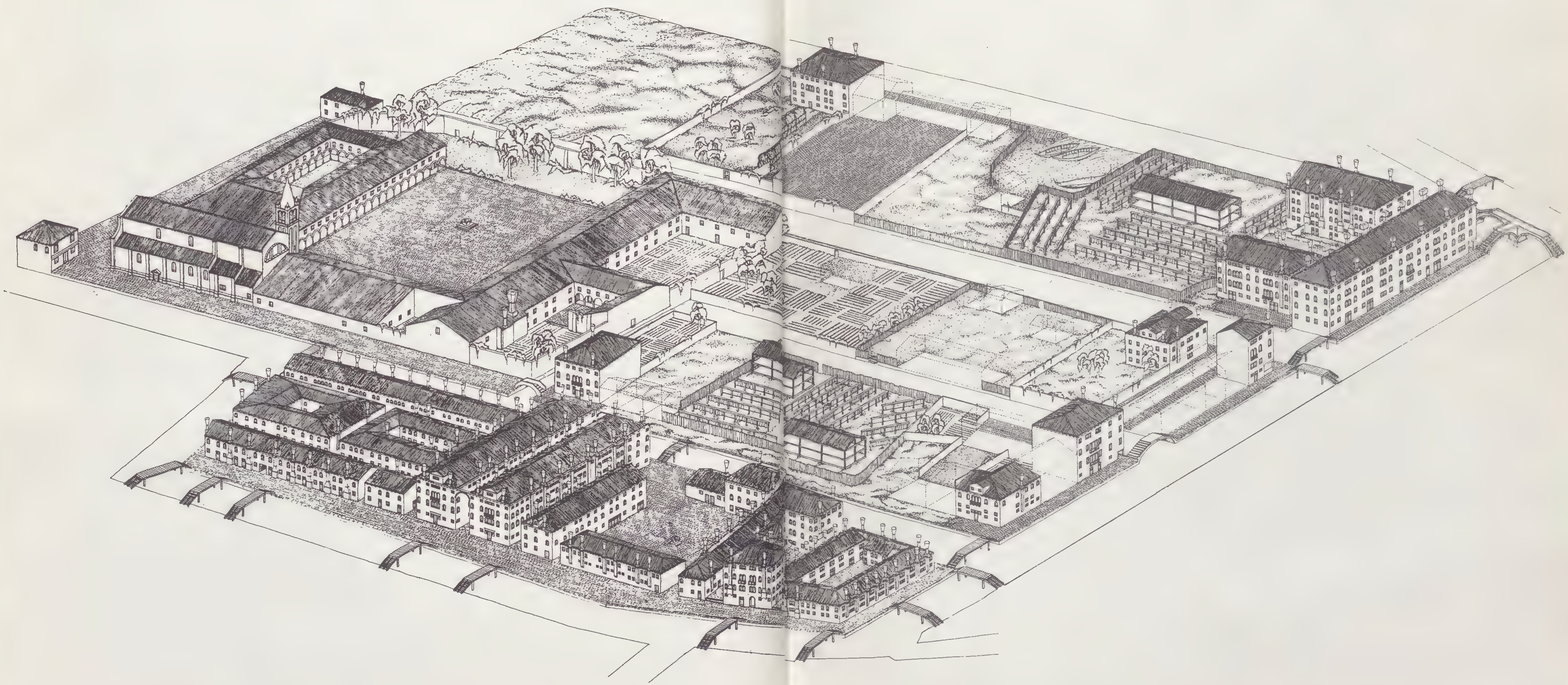
pope-kings. But the "resistance in origin" pursued by the supporters of the Republic's autonomy took on tragic connotations that wrapped the expressions of Venetian humanism in uncertainty and were reflected in the entire period of the "placement in the image of the world".

What does urban expansion mean in this context? Each expansion, which was the result of decisions made by the grand magistratures, involved reclaimings based on maintaining the hydrogeographic balance. In addition, there was the problem of the role to be attributed to these operations, which risked alteration of the overall *image* considered to be perfect. Indeed, the new areas were purposely used for structures housing public assistance or charitable institutions or facilities, and there was always a modest formal quality, which was a response to strict regulation. As in the case of the expansion of Florence favored by Lorenzo (though for other reasons), construction *mediocritas* resulted in the paternalistic or speculative nature of the projects. Unlike what occurred in Rome in the early part of the sixteenth century, reference to *novitas* was not permitted.

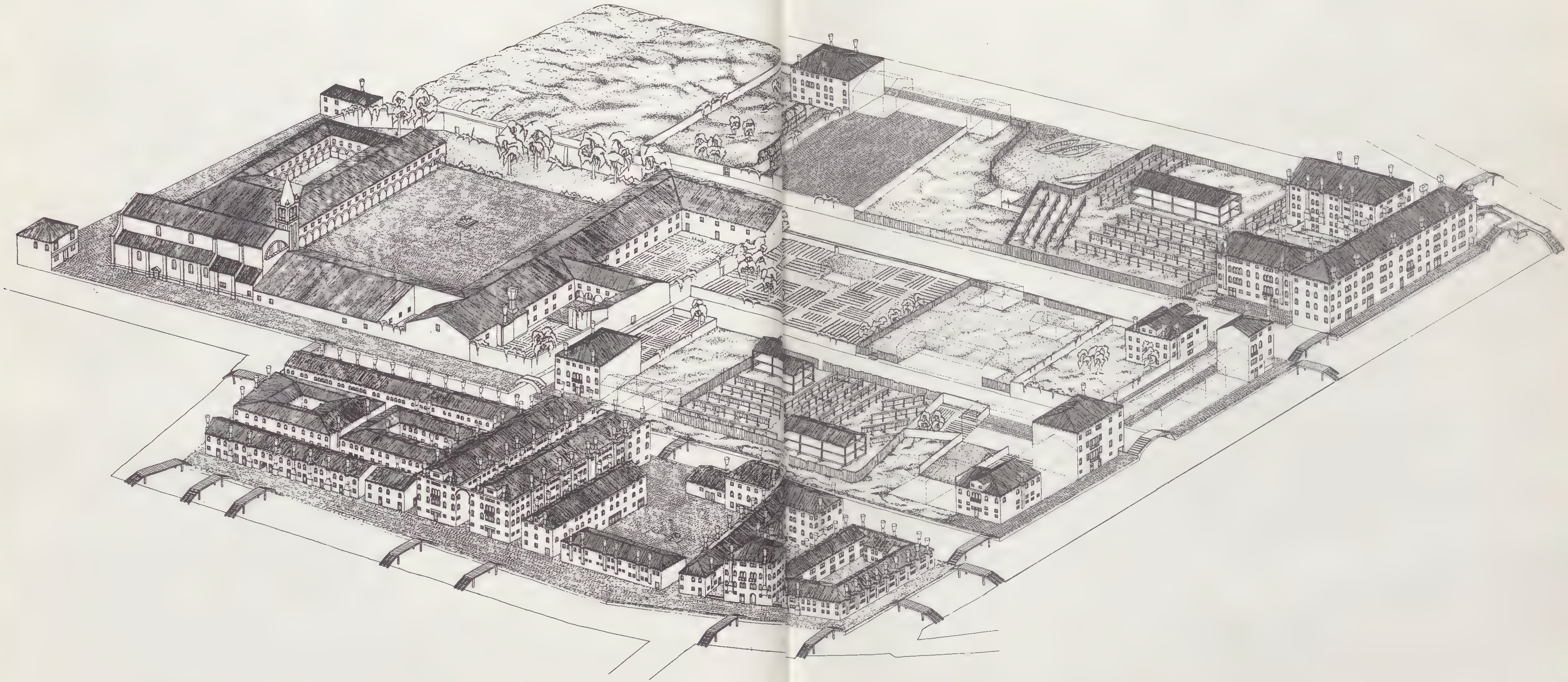
One concrete example was the reclaiming of the tip of Sant'Antonio di Castello. The operation was carried out through a concession to private individuals; in 1334, the Maggior Consiglio granted two citizens, Marco Catapan and Cristoforo Istrigo, a concession for a strip of land at the extreme southeastern end of the Castello quarter, authorizing them to reclaim the swampy land[50]. Once a wooden house had been built on the drained land, Catapan and Istrigo sold everything to the members of the congregation of Sant'Antonio of Vienna. In 1346, the first stone of the church was laid[51]. Private speculation authorized by public administration triggered activities meant to give the long strip of land stretching out into the basin a religious character. Some rare and surprising graphic documents (which may be from the sixteenth century), in which the ownership of the lots is noted, enables one to follow subsequent events in which Istrigo was the central figure[52]. After construction of a road and a bridge by order of the Maggior Consiglio in 1359 and 1364, the monastery proceeded with its small farm holdings which assured it the extreme "tip" of the strip of land; this turned it into an inevitable point of reference for access from the sea to the Venetian market[53].

In 1471, the areas adjacent to the monastery were given specific roles. On December 28 of that year, the Senate prohibited the poor from sleeping under the porticoes of the Doge's Palace and St. Mark's Church and decided to build a *cohopertum* for this purpose. In terms of its location, they realized that, "*nullus est aptior, et conveneintior... quam campus Sancti Antonii*"[54]. This modest plan to "clean-up" St. Mark's Square turned into an attempted emargination of the beggars, while the initial generic destination of the tip of Sant'Antonio was revised, and the monastery and the site were involved in social programs and plans for public decorum. From that point on, subsequent decisions were based on the specialized use of the area for public assistance and charitable facilities. On August 3, 1472, a food subsidy for the poor at Sant'Antonio di Castello was handed out. This may have been evidence of the beggar's understandable resistance to the idea of abandoning St. Mark's. On September 4, 1474, a decision was made to build a hospital at the convent in honor of the heroic defense of Scutari by Antonio Loredan[55]. This decision was exceptional for Venetian assistance. Indeed, it was "*un luogo di pietà, e ricetto de Poveri e Infermi, digno et amplo in nôme de Jesù Cristo fuori del corpo della Terra*". In other words, this was a centralized facility based on the Ospedale Maggiore (General Hospital) in Milan, meant to change the traditionally fragmented type of assistance that up to that point had been seen as an instrument for control of the "needy" classes[56]. Between September, 1474, and May, 1475, the governors consulted "*maistri et intendenti de simel edificiu*", insisting that "*hauta informatione de simel luoghi degni de Italia, debbano partire et disporre quel spazio, come giudicheranno convenire ad honor de Dio, et alla condition de questa terra*"[57]. And there was more. A note in the *Libro delle ordinanze* of the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan dated September 16, 1485, shows a credit to, "*Bramanti depictori, pro designio hosp. date ambaxatori venetorum*"[58]. Thus, Bramante's continuation of the project begun by Filarete certainly occurred in Venice, just after Bartolomeo Gonella, the curator of St. Mark's, was given the responsibility of overseeing the work on the hospital "de messer Jesu X" (starting in December, 1483)[59]. Even the presence in Venice of the Milanese observer, Michele Carcano, during the years in which the first stone of the building was laid has a certain significance, as Brian Pullan has noted[60]. Pullan himself concludes that during 1470-1480, Venice seemed to be working out a radical reform of its public assistance policy by undertaking the construction of a facility designed to handle, in a centralized

Axonometric reconstruction (by Gianighian and Pavanello) of the new land and the houses on Santa Maria Maggiore in Venice at the end of the sixteenth century.



Axonometric reconstruction (by Gianighian and Pavanello) of the new land and the houses on Santa Maria Maggiore in Venice at the end of the sixteenth century.



Cristoforo Sabbadino, Plan for the development and hydraulic organization of Venice, 1557. SAV, Laguna 14.
Photo from the State Archives in Venice.
The area of the current Fondamenta Nuove on Jacopo dè Barbari's map (1500).





Cristoforo Sabbadino, Plan for the development and hydraulic organization of Venice, 1557. SAV, Laguna 14.
Photo from the State Archives in Venice.
The area of the current Fondamenta Nuove on Jacopo dè Barbari's map (1500).





Giovanni Alvise Galesi, plan for the urban development of the area between the Fondamenta Nuove and the Rio dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, 1594. SAV, Laguna 29.
Photo from the State Archives in Venice.

Giovanni Alvise Galesi, plan for the plot division of the area between the Fondamenta Nuove and the Rio dei Crociferi and the Rio dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, with the names of the initial purchasers, 1600. SAV, Laguna 35.
Photo from the State Archives in Venice.





way, the problem of poverty on an urban scale[61]. The location of the new hospital, which was probably designed with several courtyards, on the peninsula of Sant'Antonio di Castello takes on symbolic significance. While it was "fuori del corpo della terra", it would have dominated the horizon of St. Mark's basin, thereby becoming a visual symbol of the innovative character of state *charitas*.

Of this facility, which Giorgio Spavento worked on as well, only one building with a closed courtyard and a small church, which was strangely isolated, was constructed[62]. The work, which ended in 1503, is clearly identifiable on Dè Barbari's map. In the meantime, something else had happened as shown by Brian Pullan. The large centralized plan was abandoned in favor of a return to the traditional conception of assistance: a divided system, as mentioned above, which was in line with a practice dating back to the establishment of the *Poveri al Pevere* (1362)[63]. The Hospital of Gesù Cristo was reduced from a general hospital to a public assistance facility for a particular group of poor people: ex-sailors and those who worked at the shipyard. A discriminatory policy aimed at favoring "deserving" classes that were particularly useful for the government was thus reaffirmed, while the job of providing assistance and control within a limited area was left to the Scuole Grandi.

The Milanese experience, which was also opposed by special interest groups and by the administrators of small hospitals, was rejected by Venice after an attempt to use it as a model[64]. The fragmentary construction based on a reform that was not carried out remained on the "tip" of Sant'Antonio di Castello until its demolition under Napoleon. In addition, the connection with the state shipyard established by decision of the Maggior Consiglio with the new, reduced role of the hospital, continued. In fact, the documents from the convent of Sant'Antonio di Castello still contain some interesting architectural plans for lower class, standard houses to be constructed aorund a rectangular field. The location of this complex, in keeping with the traditional form of government housing in Venice, was between the Rio della Tana and the Rio di San Daniele[65]. Comparison between this project and Lorenzo's plan for the expansion of Florence and the Medici program for Rome is useful. The motivation behind *charitas* was connected with "good government" in Venice as well. But in lieu of definite strategies, there was an accumulation of projects and swaying between the desire for innovation and a return to traditional, already tested policies. Instead of central figures interested in leaving their mark on these projects, there was an intermingling of public and private interests. In lieu of urban forms selected to make these actions "significant", there were empirical additions characterized by modest, standard construction, as might have been expected. In Venice, unlike in Rome, "*additions*" couldn't and in fact shouldn't have renovated a context invested with roles that redefined the overall significance of the city. Instead, these additions were supposed to silently work themselves into the fabric of a city viewed as a heritage to be passed on with minimal alteration.

All of this was confirmed by a second "addition" on Santa Maria Mazor at the extreme eastern end of the city adjacent to the Nicolotti quarter[66]. The system with which settlements were erected in new areas has been studied by Pavanini and Gianighian[67], and thus general remarks will be sufficient for the purpose of this essay. First, it should be noted that the way in which the tip of Sant'Antonio was "reclaimed" reflected methods that were no longer current in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Private interests, favored as we have seen in the "atterrationi' of the 1300's, were later excluded from similar activities. The state gradually took on the task of controlling embankments, pilings and foundations throughout the city and especially at its surrounding areas. A new collective responsibility emerged in terms of the relationship between the delicate hydrogeological balance and construction activity. Land-water boundaries assumed particular importance, while several documents show that the prior relative freedom to develop land by private citizens was now restricted. The regulations related to the "atterrazioni" and foundations met with underlying or outright resistance. This conflict between state and private citizen, or certain segments of the aristocracy, continued throughout the entire sixteenth century and involved sumptuary laws, reclaimings and control over the quality of building in the urban center[68].

In any case, the decision made by the Senate in 1494 with regard to the reclaiming of the area of Santa Maria Mazor was particularly significant. Unlike the case of Sant'Antonio di Castello, in which private interests were forced to limit their speculative goals, because of the demographic crisis that had affected the city since 1348 urban expansion began to meet renewed residential demand[69]. In addition, excavations and operations in the lagoon posed the problem of use of the mud generated. Reasons for the creation of the new islands, governed by a development proposal presented

Francesco di Pietro, Palace for the Doge Leonardo Donà; view from the Fondamenta Nuove, 1610 and after. Photo by Maria Ida Biggi, Venice.



to the Doge, were connected with this situation. The new land, which was still empty, was clearly marked on Dè Barbari's map. This expansion seemed to be a source of pride on the part of Venice, since on August 6, 1502, Anne of France promised the King of Hungary, "*andò a Santa Maria Mazor, a veder il monasterio si farà, e il terren per il qual è sgrandito Venecia*"[70].

The main pieces involved in fundamental urban development were public buildings (the Procurators of St. Mark, the Scuola Grande di San Rocco and the Scuola Grande di San Marco), with housing and building complexes for the lower classes or even *amore Dei*. Private speculation finally joined public activity starting in the 1540's. In any case, a basic street network was the only means of ordering the anonymous building complexes (e.g., the San Rocco quadrangle), which were designed according to already established simple construction techniques and were only expressive of republican *charitas*. This was exactly what an expansion such as Santa Maria Mazor attempted to show at least as far as the first island was concerned. The low formal profile was useful for a *decorum* whose main parameter was the public assistance provided by the enterprise. Here, there is more similarity with Lorenzo's objectives than those of Pope Leo X, although the state and the Scuole Grandi were central figures in Venice[71].

Another case of expansion, which is also well documented by essays (to which the reader is referred for a philological analysis) was that of the Fondamenta Nuove or the New Foundations[72]. The problem regarding use of the extra mud was connected with that of the strengthening of a delicate side of the lagoon with a stone foundation. The decision was made by the College on February 9, 1587 (m.v.), and in enough of the 1590. "Savi" and "Esecutori alle Acque" gave their approval to the work. The project began with a division of the areas, designed by Giovanni Alvise Galesi, the Vice Curator of the Magistrature[73]. The most important aspect of the plan was the reference, with regard to the "faction" of 1590, to the "opinions" formulated in his day by Cristoforo Sabbadino, the brilliant Curator of the Water Magistracy. In 1557, Sabbadino had presented a complete plan for the urban and hydrographic reorganization of Venice[74]. The expansion decided upon in 1588-90 was nothing more than a fragment of Sabbadino's plan. In addition, the situation in the city was no longer the same as it had been at the end of the fifteenth century. There were now political and constitutional crises, conflicts between

"youths" and papalists, tensions created with the Holy See and difficulties and delays at the shipyards which had consequences on trade. This was a generalized crisis which, as Nicolò Donà stated in 1610, was reflected in a depletion of public revenues and a drop in rents[75]. Unlike the new islands of Santa Maria Mazor, the land created by the Fondamenta Nuove did not respond to demographic pressures, nor were they to be used for public well-being. The operation was partially designed to obtain supplementary revenues for the state coffers. In 1598, Leonardo Donà, a member of the *zonta* of the "Savi alle Acque", asked Girolamo Righetti for a precise calculation of the costs and revenues related to the work done. Furthermore, the increased availability of buildable land was aimed at relaunching construction activity, with the hope that some of it would be of high quality (few, small examples indeed where that). The basic *quadrillage* designed by Galesi did not give rise to a settlement that was integrated into the northern context of the city. In every sense, the inflexible barrier represented by the Fondamenta Nuove was a point of crisis for the urban development strategies of Venice.

The most striking aspect was the complete absence of formal, high profile examples in Venetian expansions, which confirms the fact that any extension in the lagoon was considered to be a simple *boundary*. Consequently, one fact becomes clear: in Florence and Venice, both of which were republics (though quite different from each other), urban expansion did not involve monumental operations called on to represent the *auctoritas* or to emphasize the paternalistic relationship between the Prince and the people. In addition, faithfulness to fundamental, tested paradigms paralleled the *continuity* of urban forms that were jealously preserved. In Rome, and as we shall see below in the Milan of the Sforza family, significant additions that were concentrated in the heart of the city formed a system, at least as far as intentions were concerned. This fact is important in the history of the intersections between form and programmatic implications during the age of Humanism.

One further comparison is necessary. The Fondamenta Nuove could have been an opportunity for the Venetian aristocracy to concentrate high quality residences in new areas. In other words, it might have been an occasion to turn the new location into a "significant" district with a residential concentration of the ruling class. This occurred in Genoa with the creation the *Strada Nuova* or the New Street. As demonstrated by Ennio Polegi[77] this project, which was definitively decided upon in 1551, was the result of speculative choices which the Chamber architect, Bernardo Cantone, had started with his basic plot division plan. However, the result was the contruction of houses that were clearly exhibitionistic in their appearance. The Milan of the late 1400's may be seen as a precedent for the *Strada Nuova* in Genoa, although the different contexts that influenced the activities in question cannot be forgotten. According to Carlo Pedretti, some sketchs by Leonardo Da Vinci dating back to 1492 and 1497-98 (Cod. Atlant., ff. 393 r. -a, 377 v-a) contain ideas for the urban reorganization of the area around Porta Vercellina[78]. This hypothesis is confirmed by the testimony of Da Vinci's contemporary, Bernardino Arluno, who cites a plan for a "Sforza quarter", destroyed by the French in 1499 and 1500 and designed by Leonardo, Bramante, Caradosso and Jacopo Antiquario[79]. This idea of the settlement was the result of renovation of the tribune of Santa Maria delle Grazie, designed as a mausoleum for the Sforza family and a symbol of the "new ducal Milan". Furthermore, some of Ludovico il Moro's main supporters owned property around the area of Porta Vercellina, including Marquis Stanga, Galeazzo Sanseverino, the Atellani, Calco and Marliani families, Mariolo dè Guiscardi (Ludovico's valet) and Bergonzo Botta. Da Vinci himself received land near the Monastery of San Vittore as a gift from the Duke (April 24, 1498). Consequently, there is considerable proof of an intention to concentrate intellectuals and the ruling class in an organized area adjacent to the Castle, although apart from Da Vinci's uncertain graphic evidence we can only talk about a program for the "Sforza quarter". The connection between this program and plans for the restructuring of Piazza del Castello is clear. On August 22, 1492, Ludovico il Moro decreed the formation of a vast *platea*, which Arluno significantly called the *forum*, describing it as a *cavea* for *ludi*[80]. Richard Schofield has correctly linked this urban concept, attested to by another decree dated February, 1493, with the theme confronted by Ludovico il Moro in the square-forum in Vigevano, in addition to the ancient *fora* described by Vitruvius[81]. In Milan, however, the Piazza del Castello was supposed to be part of a system involving the large adjacent park and another open *platea* in front of the Cathedral. All of this would then be organically connected with the new quarter in the area of Porta Vercellina.

At this point, the difference that allows only broad comparison between the Sforza plan and the speculative

undertaking of the *Nuova Strada* in Genoa should be clear: it was the result of choices influenced and encouraged by the institutional structure of the oligarchical republic. Naturally, cross-interpretation of urban programs, strategies and systems must not fall into the kind of simplifications used by historians who generally reason on maps or by formal analogies. There is no relationship between the shrewd Genoese operation and the Piacenza-Farnese road, for example[82].

However, when the examples of the "Sforza quarter" and the *Strada Nuova* are compared with the Fondamenta Nuove in Venice, ideas about the substantial diversity of the urban strategies and mentalities at work in the three different institutional systems do appear. What prevented speculative and self-glorifying concentrations in Venice was the established *imago* of the entire city as a *domus collettiva* of republican freedom. The firmness of this ideal representation was strong enough to step over political conflicts and internal disputes among the aristocracy. In that sense, the Fondamenta Nuove represented both an event that was part of the continuity of the Venetian tradition and a moment of crisis in the disputed march towards "modernization" of the city. It is a well-known fact that during critical times, motivations emerge that clearly display differences in mentalities, conflicts and forms of "resistance". These indications and signs mark the crucial points in the history of long periods and thus are to be considered significant "events".

In this essay, we chose several events in an attempt to focus on one or more comparative methods that could link or separate groups of economically and politically motivated choices. This type of analysis is only one of many possibilities. Other questions could be integrated with the ones posed here: how did urban strategies interact with territorial policies, regulations, actions and choices of the middle classes, customs and old and new magistratures? Were there movements during the period that led to partial uniformity of behavior and that would allow aggregate analysis of the cities of the *ancien régime*? In other words, what parameters would enable us to extend the spectrum of verifiable analysis without being trapped by the naïveté of traditional "histories of urban development"? These questions have only been considered in part in this essay. Further comparative analysis could confront, explain and extend them in order to radically reform studies of the urban history of the "long Renaissance".

(*) This essay is a revised and expanded version of the text for a conference held in December, 1986 during the convention organized by the Ecole Française de Rome on "*De la Ville médiévale à la ville moderne*", whose proceedings will be published shortly.

1) Cf. the now classic essays by A. CHASTEL, *Art et Humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique* (Paris, 1959), Ital. trans., Turin, 1964, and E. GOMBRICH, *The Early Medici as Patrons of Art: a Survey of Primary Sources*, in E.F. Jacob, ed., *Italian Renaissance Studies. A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady* (London, 1960), p. 279-311, now in idem *Norm and Form* (London, 1966), p. 35-67, Ital. trans., Turin, 1973, p. 51-83. For Goldthwaite's works, cf. the following footnote. C. ELAM's highly innovative essay, *Lorenzo de Medici and the Urban Development of Renaissance Florence*, in "Art History", I, No. 1 (1978), p. 43-66.

2) L. LANDUCCI, *Diario fiorentino*, ed. I. del Badia (Florence, 1883), p. 59. Cf. also R. GOLDTHWAITE, *The Florentine palace as domestic architecture*, in "American Historical Review", vol. 77, No. 4 (1972), p. 977-1012; idem, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History*, (Baltimore, 1980), Ital. trans., Bologna, 1984; idem *The Renaissance Economy: the Preconditions for Luxury Consumption*, in Several Authors, *Aspetti della vita economica medievale* (Florence, 1985), p. 659-675; idem, *The Medici Bank and the World of Florentine Capitalism*, in "Past and Present" No. 114, 1987, p. 3-31. On the Medici Bank, cf. R. DE ROOVER, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), Ital. trans., Florence, 1970 (cf. GOLDTHWAITE, *The Medici Bank*, p. cit., p. 4-5, note 1 and throughout). On the "deliberation" of 1489 and the construction *boom* that followed it, cf. also V. FRANCHETTI PARDO, *Culture brunelleschienne et construction dans la Florence du XV siècle*, in Several Authors, *Filippo Brunelleschi 1377-1446*, (Paris, n.d.), p. 50-55, and C. ROMBY, *Norme e consuetudini per costruire nella Firenze del Quattrocento*, in Several Authors, *La città del Brunelleschi* (Florence, 1979), p. 93-99.

3) N. MACHIAVELLI, *Istorie fiorentine*, book VIII, chapt XXXVI.

4) G. CAMBI, *Istorie*, in F. Ildefonso di S. Luigi, *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, vol. XXI, p. 61, cited in ELAM, *Lorenzo dè Medici*, op. cit., p. 59, note 10.

5) Ibid., *Viae quoque novae* — wrote Valori — *quam plurimae in extremis urbis partibus eodem tempore factae sunt, in quibus una ampla et commodissima eius expensis, quae Laurea etiam nunc appellatur, constructa fuit. N. VALORI, Laurentii Medicei Vita*, ed. L. Mehus (Florence, 1749), p. 63-64. Cf. also the information provided by F. Baldovinetti and by a manuscript in the State Archives in Florence (ms. 117, f. 54 v.), cited in ELAM *Lorenzo dè Medici*, op. cit., p. 59, note 11. It should also be noted that Lorenzo sent a letter to Giovanni Lanfredini asking for the pope's approval for his new activity, given the obstacles created by ecclesiastical interests in the area. Cf. P. Sanpaolesi, *La casa fiorentina di Bartolommeo Scala*, in *Studien zur toskanischen Kunst*, Festschriff für Ludwig H. Heydenreich, Munich, 1964, p. 278, note 3.

6) On Palazzo Gondi, the client's plans and the site, cf. A. TÖNNESMANN, *Der Palazzo Gondi in Florenz (Worms, 1983). On Palazzo Strozzi, cf. R. GOLDTHWAITE, The Building of Strozzi Palace: The Construction Industry in Renaissance Florence*, in Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, X, 1973; and F.W. KENT, *Più superba de quella de Lorenzo. Courtly and Family Interest in the Building of Filippo Strozzi's Palace*, in "Renaissance Quarterly", 30, 1977, p. 311-323. Cf. also the excellent essay by C. ELAM, *Piazza Strozzi. Two Drawings of Baccio d'Agnolo and the Problems of a Private Renaissance Square*, in "I Tatti Studies... Essays on the Renaissance", I, 1985, p. 105-135. Elam shows that the Uffizi drawing 132A and 1561A with the horizontal and vertical plan of Piazza Strozzi were done by Baccio d'Agnolo, and dates the first one in the year 1533. The author also reconstructs the 1533 plan for the square, comparing this significant "private plateau" with the plan for Piazza Medici, attributed to Brunelleschi by the manuscript taken from Antonio Billi, and with Piazza Rucellai and Piazza Pitti. The author then outlines a fascinating history of Piazza Strozzi up to modern times, including the conflicts caused by its privatization. The comparison between Lorenzo's action, flauntingly directed at public well-being and the Strozzi

family's self-glorification is highly significant for the present analysis.
7) Caroline Elam offers a slightly different interpretation from the one given here to explain Lorenzo's choice of location. She correctly notes that the Church of the Annunziata has a strong Medici connotation, and that the Ionic arcaded court designed by Giuliano da Sangallo for the Church of the Cestello (it's model was finished in 1491) were paid for by Jacopo Salviati, Lorenzo's son-in-law. In addition, the oratory with the central plan (which may also be the work of Giuliano da Sangallo) located next to the Cestello and destroyed in the 1800's, closed the perspective telescope of Via Laura. Cf. ELAM *Lorenzo dè Medici*, op. cit., p. 48-49. The author's arguments are unquestionably sound and relevant to the remarks that follow, but they may be interpreted as complementary to our comments in the text.
8) ELAM, op. cit., p. 4.
9) Cf. the document from the State Archives in Florence, *Notarile*, G. 425, ff. 239 r.-245 r., quoted in ELAM, op. cit., p. 62, note 46. Giuliano da Maiano and Francione were witnesses to the deed.
10) F.W. KENT, *Lorenzo dè Medici's Acquisition of Poggio a Caiano in 1474 and an Early Reference to his Architectural Expertise*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", 42, 1979, pp. 250-257. In a letter dated May 29, 1474, Bernardo di Giovanni Rucellai notified Lorenzo dè Medici that his father had agreed to transfer to him the villa and the surrounding area (Florence, Medici Archives before the Princedom, XXX, 373, cited in KENT, op. cit., pp. 251-252). For the documents from 1477 and 1479, cf. KENT, *Lorenzo dè Medici's*, op. cit., p. 252, notes 17 and 18.
11) CF. P.E. FOSTER, *Lorenzo dè Medici's "Cascina" at Poggio a Caiano*, in "Mitteillungen des Kuntshistorischen Instituts in Florenz", XIV, 1969, p. 47-56.
12. Transcribed in KENT, *Lorenzo dè Medici's*, op. cit., p. 254.
13. Ibid., p. 256. Cf. also GOMBRICH, *The Early Medici as Patrons of Art*, op. cit.
14) Cf. M. MARTELLI, *I pensieri architettonici del Magnifico*, in "Commentari", XVII, 1966, p. 107-111; P.E. Foster, *Alberti, Lorenzo dè Medici and Santa Maria delle Carceri in Prato*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", XXX, 1971, p. 238-239; idem, *A Study of Lorenzo dè Medici's Villa at Poggio a Caiano*, I (New York and London: Garland Series, 1978), p. 91 onward; KENT, *Lorenzo dè Medici's Acquisition*, op. cit.; P.E. FOSTER, *Lorenzo dè Medici and the Florence Cathedral Façade*, in "The Art Bulletin", LXIII, 1981, pp. 495-500; P. MORSELLI and G. CORTI, *La chiesa di Santa Maria delle Carceri a Prato. Contributo di Lorenzo dè Medici e Giuliano da Sangallo alla progettazione* (Florence, 1982), p. 23 onward.
15) Cf. GOLDTHWAITE, *The Medici Bank*, op. cit.
16) Cf. FOSTER, *A Study of Lorenzo dè Medici's Villa*, op. cit.
17) On Giuliano and Antonio da Sangallo's plans for Palazzo Medici in Piazza Navona, cf. G. GIOVANNONI, *Disegni sangalleschi per palazzo Medici in Roma*, in "Architettura e arti decorative", IV, 1925, pp. 193-200; G. MARCHINI, *Giuliano da Sangallo* (Florence, 1942), pp.63-64 and 99; E. BENTIVOGLIO, *Il progetto per palazzo Medici in piazza Navona di Giuliano da Sangallo*, in "L'architettura cronache e storia", XVIII, No. 3 (1972), p. 196-204; C.L. FROMMEL, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, I (Tübingen, 1973), p. 17 onward, G. MIARELLI, *Il palazzo Medici a piazza Navona: un'utopia urbana di Giuliano da Sangallo*, in Several Authors, *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500, III. Relazioni artistiche. Il linguaggio architettonico europeo* (Florence, 1983), p. 977-993. On the urban role of the Sangallo's plans for Palazzo Medici, and especially those of Antonio the Younger (U 1259A r. and v.), cf. L. SPEZZAFERRO, *Place Farnèse: urbanisme et politique*, in Several Authors, *Le Palais Farnèse*, I/1 (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981), p. 85-123; M. TAFURI, "*Roma instaurata*". *Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo '500, in C.L. FROMMEL, S. RAY, M. TAFURI, Raffaello architetto* (Milan, 1984), p. 85 onward; C.L. FROMMEL, *L'urbanistica della Roma rinascimentale*, in Several Authors, *Le città capitali*, ed. C. De Seta (Rome-Bari, 1985), p. 95-110; idem, *Raffael und Antonio da Sangallo der Jüngere*, in Several Authors, *Raffaello a Roma. Il convegno del 1983* (Rome, 1986), p. 273 and Fig. 19.
18) "*In Chostantinopoli* — Sangallo wrote in U 900 A. — *è una piaza lunga quanto / navona, dove sono Colonne intorno a due / chome apare in disegno, grosse quanto quelle di santo / pietro (...) ed anno sopra li architravi e chornicie / e fatto uno piano cholli parapetti da ogni banda / mezo allo [o]belischo, e questa piaza è inanzi al palatio dello imperatore / e sta in una chosta come sta a roma / S. piero a montorio, quale piaza / e palatio vede tutta Costantinopoli / chome san pietro a montorio vede roma.*"
19) Cf. A. FRAZER, *The Iconography of the Emperor's Maxentius Buildings in Via Appia*, in "The Art Bulletin", XLVIII, 1966, p. 385 onward; S. SETTIS, *Continuità, distanza, conoscenza. Tre usi dell'antico*, in Several Authors, *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana, III. Dalla tradizione all'archeologia* (Turin, 1986), p. 429-439.
20. SETTIS, *Continuità*, op. cit., p. 430.
21. Cf. J.S. ACKERMAN, *The Belvedere as a Classical Villa*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", XIV, 1951, p. 70-91; idem, *The Cortile del Belvedere* (Vatican City, 1954).
22) Cf. ERASMO DA ROTTERDAM, *Institutio principis christiani*, 1516, Ital. trans. Naples, 1977, introduction by M. Isnardi Parente. Cf. TAFURI, *Roma instaurata*, op. cit., p. 76. On the religious and cultural debate in Leo X's Rome, cf. J. D'AMICO, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome. Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of Reformation* (Baltimore and London, 1983). An analysis of Leo X's plans for Rome should consider the significance of the new church of San Luigi dei Francesi located on land adjacent to Medici property. Refer to the essay by C.L. FROMMEL, *S. Luigi dei Francesi: das Meisterwek des Jean de Chenevières*, in Several Authors, "*Il se rendit en Italie*". *Etudes offertes à André Chastel* (Rome-Paris, 1987), pp. 169-193, with new hypotheses about the original project and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's drawings.
23) Frommel and I have related the writing that appears in the friezes over the door sketched on the left side in U 1259 Ar. to plans for the chapel of SS. Cosma and Damiano in Castel Sant'Angelo (cf. the works cited in note 17).
24) With regard to Pope Leo X's urban strategies, cf. R. FREGNA and S. POLITO, *Fonti di archivio per una storia edilizia di Roma. Primi dati sull'urbanizzazione del Tridente*, in "Controspazio", IV, No. 7 (1972), p. 2-18. F. BILANCIA and S. POLITO, *Via Ripetta* in ibid., V, No. 5 (1973), p. 18-47. FROMMEL, *Der römische Palastbau*, op. cit., I, p. 17 onward; G. CIUCCI, *Piazza del Popolo* (Rome, 1974); G. SPAGNESI, *Il centro storico di Roma. Il Rione Campo Marzio* (Rome, 1979); TAFURI, *Roma instaurata*, op. cit.; FROMMEL, *L'ubanistica*, op. cit.;H. GÜNTHER, *Die Strassenplanung unter den Medici-päpsten in Rom (1513-1534)*, in Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte, I, 1985, pp. 237-293.
25) Cf. E. BENTIVOGLIO, *Brevi note per la storia, la topografia, l'architettura di Roma nel XVI secolo, con aggiunto il "Testamento" dell'Elefante Annone* (Rome, 1986), p. 6 onward.
26) Ibid., p. 9.
27) Cf. TAFURI, "*Roma instaurata*", op. cit., p. 82.
28) State Archives in Rome (SAR), *Catasto delli canoni perpetui della Venerabil Compagnia, et Archiospedale di San Giacomo degli Incurabili di Roma*, 1661, p. 1 bis. Cf. the transcription of the document in R. FREGNA and S. POLITO, *Analisi tipologica*, in P. PORTOGHESI, *Roma del Rinascimento*, II (Milan, 1971), p. 589 (VII).
29) Cf. note 24. For further confirmation of this hypothesis, see foglio U915A by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, which also shows projections of the Horti Aciliorum. Cf. GÜNTHER, *Die Strassenplanung*, op. cit., p. 277, note 110.
30) On the events surrounding the Hospital of San Giacomo in Augusta, Cf. M. HEINZ, *Das Hospital S. Giacomo in Augusta in Rom: Peruzzi und Antonio da Sangallo i.G. Zum Hospitalbau der Hochrenaissance*, in "Storia dell'arte" No. 41 (1981), p. 31-48. S. BENVENUTO and D. DI CIOCCIO's article, *L'urbanizzazione del Campo Marzio. Considerazioni sui disegni di progetto dell'ospedale di S. Giacomo degli Incurabili*, in Several Authors, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. La vita e l'opera*, ed. G. Spagnesi (Rome: 1986), p. 145-53, is less persuasive.
31) Cf. E. RODOCANACHI, *La première Renaissance à Rome au temps de Jules II et de Léon X* (Paris, 1912), p. 413. See also P. Scavizzi, *Le condizioni per lo*

sviluppo dell'attività edilizia a Roma nel secolo XVII: la legislazione, in "Studi romani", XVIII, No. 2 (1969), pp. 160-471.
32) For Pope Sixtus IV's urban policy, cf. L. SPEZZAFERRO, *La politica urbanistica dei Papi e le origini di via Giulia*, in L. SALERNO, L. SPEZZAFERRO and M. TAFURI, *Via Giulia. Un'utopia urbanistica del '500*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1975), p. 15 onward. For an understanding of the urban conflicts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Rome, C. GENNARO's essays are essential: *Mercanti e bovattieri nella Roma della seconda metà del Trecento. (Da una ricerca su registri notarili)*, in *Bullettino dell'Ist. Storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, No. 78 (1967), pp. 155-203; idem, *La "Pax Romana" del 1511*, in "Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria", XC, No. 1/4 (1967), pp. 16-60; J.C. MAIRE VIGEUR, *Classe dominante et classe dirigeantes à Rome à fin du Moyen Age*, in "Storia della città", I, No. 1 (1976), pp. 4-26. See the excellent essay by H. BROISE and J.C. MAIRE VIGEUR, *Strutture familiari, spazio domestico e architettura civile a Roma alla fine del Medioevo*, in "Storia dell'Arte Italiana Einaudi, XII. Momenti di architettura" (Turin, 1982), pp. 99 onward. The hypothesis about Bramante's *bivium* composed of Via Giulia and Via dei Coronari is in TAFURI, *Roma instaurata*, op. cit., pp. 71-2.
33) Cf. H. GÜNTHER, *Il prisma stradale davanti al ponte di Sant'Angelo*, in "Raffaello architetto", op. cit., p. 231-234; idem, *Das Trivium vor Ponte S. Angelo. Ein Beitrag zur Urbanistik der Renaissance in Rom*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kuntsgeschichte", XXI, 1984, p. 161-251.
34) Cf. GÜNTHER, *Das Strassenplanung*, op. cit., p. 254-255.
35) Cf. C.L. FROMMEL, *Giovanfrancesco da Sangallo, architetto di palazzo Balami-Galitzin*, in Several Authors, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*, op. cit., p. 63-69.
36) SAR, *Notai Cap.*, *Stefanus de Ammanis*, vol. 65, c. 237 r. Cf. FROMMEL, *Der römische Palastbau*, op. cit., I, p. 20, note 40.
37) GÜNTHER, *Die Strassenplanung*, op. cit., p. 250, Fig. 7.
38) Cf. E GUIDONI, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane e l'urbanistica del '500*, in Several Authors, *Antonio da Sangallo*, op. cit., p. 217-230.
39) Cf. G. CURCIO, *Il rione Parione durante il pontificato sistino: analisi di un'area campione. I processi di trasformazione edilizia*, in Several Authors, *Un pontificato ed una città. Sisto IV (1471-1484)* (Rome, 1986), p. 706-32, which is an invaluable book for the renewal of studies on the fifteenth century and the Sistine papacy.
40) M. ALTIERI, *Li Nuptiali*, ed. E. Narducci (Rome, 1873), p. 17. Cf. also M. MIGLIO, *Roma dopo Avignone. La rinascita politica dell'antico*, in Several Authors, *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana. I. L'uso dei classici*, ed. S. Settis (Turin, 1984), p. 98 onward.
41) Cf. ELAM, *Lorenzo dè Medici*, op. cit., which challanges the hypothesis contained in G. MIARELLI's essay, *Il disegno per il complesso mediceo di via Laura in Firenze*, in "Palladio", XXII, No. 1/4 (1972), p. 127-162, according to which foglio U282A should be dated 1490-1482. (Cf. also the review by G. MARCHINI in "Antichità iva", XII, No. 6 [1973], p. 66-68). A stylistically based dating of Giuliano da Sangallo's drawings is dangerous. As it has been demonstrated with regard to the plans for the facade of San Lorenzo in Florence, Giuliano did not appear to have any scruples about re-adapting old designs prepared for different works when new occasions presented themselves. In the case of the plan for Palazzo Medici and Via Laura, Giuliano may have asked his brother to modify one of the (lost) designs presented to either Ludovico il Moro or Francis I. On Leonardo da Vinci's plan for a Palazzo Medici in Florence (Cod. Atl., f. 315r-b), cf. C. PEDRETTI, *Leonardo architetto*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1981).
42) Cf. J. SHEARMAN, *The Florentine "Entrata" of Leo X, 1515*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", XXXVIII, 1975, p. 136-154.
43) On this subject, cf. C.W. WESTFALL, *In this Most Perfect Paradise. Alberti. Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1477-1455*, (The Penn. Univ. Press, 1974), and the review by E.B. MACDOUGALL in "The Art Bulletin", LXI, No. 2 (1979), p. 311-312. A critical revision of Westfall's hypothesis has been attempted by M. TAFURI, *Cives esse non licere. La Roma di Nicolò V and Leon Battista Alberti: elementi per una revisione storiografica*, introduction to the Ital. ed. of Westfall's book, *L'invenzione della città* (Rome, 1984), p. 13-39. Cf. the review by L. ONOFRI in "Roma del Rinascimento", I, 1985, p. 103-106. Cesare De Seta attempted to criticize the approach of our essay through a hasty reference to book VIII of *De re aedificatoria*. Cf. C. DE SETA, *Come in uno specchio. La città rinascimentale nel "De re aedificatoria" e nelle tarsie*, in Several Authors, *Imago urbis. Dalla città reale alla città ideale* (Milan, 1986), p. 35, note 39.
44) For an analysis of the urban policies of the two Medici popes, cf. GÜNTHER, *Die Strassenplanung*, op. cit. Cf., for further remarks, M. TAFURI, *Il Sacco di Roma: fratture e continuità*, in "Roma del Rinascimento", I, 1985, pp. 23-35.
45) Cf. I. CERVELLI, *Storiografia e problemi intorno alla vita religiosa e spirituale a Venezia nella prima metà del '500*, in "Studi Veneziani", VIII, 1965, p. 447-476; A. TENENTI, *The sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World*, in Several Authors, *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London, 1973), p. 17-46, now in TENENTI, *Credenze, ideologie, libertinismi tra Medioevo ed età moderna* [Bologna, 1978], pp. 75-118); F. GAETA, *L'idea di Venezia*, in Several Authors, *Storia della cultura veneta. Dal primo Quattrocento al concilio di Trento*, ed. G. Arnaldi and M. Pastore Stocchi, 3/III (Vicenza, 1981), p. 565-641; E. MUIR, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981); G. COZZI, *Politica, cultura e religione*, in Several Authors, *Cultura e società nel Rinascimento fra riforme e manierismi*, ed. V. Branca and C. Ossola (Florence, 1984), p. 21-42. Cf. also some comments in J. LE GOFF, *L'immaginario urbano nell'Italia medievale (secoli V-XV)*, in "Storia d'Italia Einaudi. Annali 5. Il paesaggio", ed. C. De Seta (Turin, 1982), p. 5-43, and M. TAFURI, *Venezia e il Rinascimento. Religione, scienza, architettura*, 2nd ed. (Turin, 1986). A fundamental and exceptionally shrewd summary may be found in G. COZZI and M. KNAPTON, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia. Dalla guerra di Chioggia alla riconquista della Terraferma* (Turin, 1986).
46) Cf. GAETA, *L'idea di Venezia*, op. cit., and L. Puppi, *Verso Gerusalemme. Immagini e temi di urbanistica e di architettura simboliche* (Rome-Reggio Calabria, 1982); TAFURI, *Venezia*, op. cit., especially p. 212 onward. The phrase calling Venice an "impossibility" and hence "placed in the impossible" is found in F. SANSOVINO, *Delle cose notabili che sono a Venezia* (Venice, 1561), c.1.r. M. Luisa Doglio has noted that this quote is taken from Mariano Sozzini's legendary remarks to the Pope. Cf. M.L. DOGLIO, *La letteratura ufficiale e l'oratoria politica*, in "Storia della cultura veneta. Il Seicento", 4/1 (Vicenza, 1983), p. 166.
47) Cf. TAFURI, *Venezia*, op. cit., chap. II.
48) D. MOROSINI, *De bene instituta re publica*, ed. Claudio Finzi (Milan, 1969); and cf. G. COZZI, *Domenico Morosini e il "De bene instituta re publica"*, in "Studi Veneziani", XII, 1970, p. 405-458, and C. VIVANTI, *Pace e libertà in un'opera di Domenico Morosini*, in "Rivista Storica Italiana", LXXXIV, No. 3 (1972), p. 617-624.
49) Cf. the essays collected in the book, Several Authors, *"Renovatio urbis". Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)* (Rome, 1984).
50) F.L. CORNER, *Ecclesiae Venetae Antiquis Monumentis*, VI (Venice, 1749), p. 294.
51) Ibid., p. 295.
52) State Archives in Venice (SAV), *S. Antonio di Castello*, T. LXVI, cc. 4r. and 5r.
53) SAV, *S. Antonio di Castello*, T. LXVI, c. 5r. With regard to these events, cf. A. FOSCARI and M. TAFURI, *Sebastiano da Lugano, i Grimani e Jacopo Sansovino. Artisti e committenti in Sant'Antonio di Castello*, in "Arte Veneta", XXXVI, 1982, p. 100 onward.
54) CORNER, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, op. cit., XII (Venice, 1749), p. 404.
55) Ibid., p. 404-405 and p. 402.
56) On the events surrounding the hospital of Gesù Cristo, cf. B. PULLAN, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, 1971), p. 212-215 (now in Ital. trans., *La politica sociale della Repubblica di Venezia 1500-1620*, I [Rome, 1982], p. 226-230). Cf. also I. CERVELLI, *Machiavelli e la crisi dello Stato veneziano* (Naples, 1974), p. 137-139.
57) CORNER, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, op. cit., XII, p. 403.

58) Cf. L. BELTRAMI, *Bramante a Milano. La cappella di San Teodoro, il monastero di S. Ambrogio* (Dubini-Gavazzi marriage) (Milan, 1912), p. 19-20.
59) Document dated January 12, 1490, in P. PAOLETTI, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento a Venezia*, II (Vencie, 1893), p. 118.
60) According to Pullan, in 1497 Ludovico Sforza asked Battista Sfondrato, Milanese ambassador to the Venetian Republic, to describe the religious and charitable institutions found in Venice. Sfondrato, after having assured him that there were no buildings comparable to the Milanese Ospedale Maggiore in Venice, added that a hospital was under construction whose establishment could be attributed to the Milanese Franciscan, Michele Carcano, who, according to other sources, was in Venice in 1476-77. Cf. PULLAN, *La politica sociale*, op. cit., I, p. 226.
61) Ibid., pp. 228-229.
62) PAOLETTI, *L'architettura e la scultura*, op. cit., II, p. 117. Cf. also FOSCARA and TAFURI, *Sebastiano da Lugano*, op. cit., p. 103 and p. 121, note 25.
63) PULLAN, *La politica sociale*, op. cit., I, p. 229-230.
64) Cf. A. PASTORE, *Strutture assistenziali fra Chiesa e Stati nell'Italia della Controriforma*, in "Storia d'Italia Einaudi. Annali 9. La Chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea", eds. G. Chittolini and G Miccoli (Turin, 1986), p. 435-7.
65) SAV, *S. Antonio di Castello*, T. XLIII, cc. 3r. and 4r.
66) On the Nicolotti neighhborhood, its history and its particular institutional structure, cf. the excellent book by R. ZAGO, *I Nicolotti. Storia di una comunità di pescatori a Venezia nell'età moderna* (Abano Terme, 1982).
67) Cf. P. PAVANINI, *Abitazioni popolari e borghesi nella Venezia cinquecentesca*, in "Studi Veneziani", n.s. V, 1981, pp. 63-126; G. GIANIGHIAN and P. PAVANINI, *I terreni nuovi di Santa Maria Mazor*, in "Dietro i palazzi. Tre secoli di architettura minore a Venezia 1492-1805" (Venice, 1984), p. 45 onward; The first purchaser of the first island of Santa Maria Mazor was Alvise Pisani quondam Giovanni, who sold the land to the Procuratia de supra. On building for public use in Venice, cf. also B. PULLAN, *Abitazioni al servizio dei poveri nella Repubblica di Venezia*, in "Dietro i palazzi", op. cit., p. 39-44.
68) Cf. TAFURI, *Venezia e il Rinascimento*, op. cit., p. 11 onward.
69) On demographic trends in Venice and their consequences, cf. the summary by Cozzi, who points out Francesco Barbaro's function as *De re uxoria* during a situation of dangerous depopulation. The same author also cites Ermolao Barbaro's *De coelibatu* as a sign of a new climate. Cf. COZZI and KNAPTON, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, op. cit., pp. 117-120.
70) SANUDO, *Diari*, IV, 298.
71) The experience of the convent of Santa Maria Maggiore with a rearrangement of the canals dictated by the Senate is of considerable interest. Cf. TAFURI, *La chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore a Venezia: un'ipotesi per Tullio Lombardo*, in "Arte Veneta", XL, 1986, pp. 38-53.
72) For an archival analysis, cf. TAFURI, *Documenti sulle Fondamenta Nuove*, in "Architettura, storia e documenti", I, No. 1 (1985), p. 79-95. About the significance of activity in Venice during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and Leonardo Donà's role, cf. idem, *Venezia e il Rinascimento*, op. cit., p. 278 onward.
73) SAV, *Laguna*, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35. About the "faction" of 1590, cf. SAV, *Savi ed esecutori alle Acque*, reg. 347, cc. 4v.-5r. On the previous deliberations of 1546, 1569 and 1587, cf. C. TENTORI, *Della legislazione veneziana sulla preservazione della laguna. Dissertazione storico-filosofico-critica* (Venice, 1792), p. 142-144. For further documentation on the Fondamenta Nuove, cf. SAV, *Savi ed esecutori alle Acque*, f. 122, March 3, 1592; reg. 347, c. 23r. and 30v. Cf. also E. CONCINA, *Structure urbaine et fonction des bâtiments du XVI au XIX siècle. Une recherche à Venise* (Venice, Unesco-Save Venise Inc., 1982).
74) Cf. about Sabbadino and the 1557 plan, the bibliography contained in Tafuri, *Venezia*, op. cit., p. 214-215 note 3. Cf. also TAFURI, *Humanism. Technical Knowledge and Rhetoric. The Debate in Renaissance Venice*, Walter Gropius Lecture, Harvard University, 1986.
75) Cf. S. ROMANIN, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 2nd ed., VII (Venice, 1914), p. 531.
76) Correr Museum Library, Venice, *Donà delle Rose*, b. 457, No. 31. Cf. also about the Donà Palace, E. CICOGNA, *Delle Iscrizione veneziane*, IV (Venice, 1834), p. 433, which cites the Doge's *Memorie*.
77) Cf. the fundamental work by E. Poleggi, *Strada Nuova. Una lottizzazione del '500 a Genova* (Genoa, 1968), and the more recent essay by the same author and F. CARACENI, *Genova e Strada Nuova*, in "Storia dell'Arte Italiana Einaudi, part. III, vol. 5: *Momenti di architettura* (Turin, 1983), p. 301-61. Poleggi's hypotheses, which I fully agree with, have been questioned by the essays of L. Puppi, *G. Alessi sulla problematica urbanistica del Cinquecento*, and H: BURNS, *Le idee di G. Alessi sull'architettura e sugli ordini*, in the book of collected works, *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento* (Genoa, 1985), p. 67 and 151. The history of urban expansion, settlements and building styles in Genoa during the Middle Ages may be found in the book by L. GROSSI BIANCHI and E. POLEGGI, "Una città portuale del Medioevo Genova nei secoli X-XVI (Genova, 1979).
78) Cf. PEDRETTI, *Leonardo architetto*, op. cit., p. 71 onward. Cf. also Pedretti, *Newly Discovered Evidence of Leonardo's Association with Bramante*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", XXXII, No. 3 (1973), p. 223-227; A. BRUSCHI, *L'architettura*, in Several Authors, *Santa Maria delle Grazie* (Milan, 1983), p. 35-88, especially p. 79.
79) G. BRUSCHI, *L'architettura*, op. cit., p. 79 and note 63 on p. 88 about the subsequent story of the area.
80) "*...arcis aream contignatione domorum subruta* — wrote Arluno — *potentissimis spatiis intus forisque dilaxavit; intus quidem ut obsoletis vetustioribusque cellulis ad solum adaequatis tum recentibus subaedificatis ampliore impluvio magnificantius assurgeret; foris vere ut capaciore spectantem populum cavea cum repentinae solemnesque feriae ludos indicerent contineret*". B. ARLUNO, *Historia Mediolanensis ab urbe condita ad sua tempora*, Ambr. Lib., cod. 114 inf., f. 98v., quoted in R. SCHOFIELD, *Ludovico il Moro and Vigevano*, in "Arte lombarda", n.s. LXII, No. 2 (1982), p. 129.
81) Ibid. Schofield, in his excellent essay, also examined the urban improvements that Ludovico il Moro wanted to carry out in Milan, in addition to those in Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, Parma and Vigevano (p. 116 onward). In his chronicle, Giovanni Pietro Castagnola wrote for the year 1493: "*Questo glorioso e magnanime principe in Milano fece ornare el castelo de Porta Zobia de mirabili e belli edifici e la piacia che è inante al dicto castelo fece agrandire e nelle contrate de la cittate tutti li obstaculi fece torre via e le faciata fece dipignere, ornare e imbellire; et il simele ne la cittate di Pavia; per il che, come prima erano dicte brute e lorde cittate, adesso si ponno dire bellissime*". About the other plans for Milan mentioned further along in the text, cf. SCHOFIELD, *Ludovico il Moro*, op. cit., p. 116-117. This glorious and magnanimous prince of Milan had the Castello di Porta Giovia adorned with wonderful and beautiful buildings and had the square that is in front of the castle enlarged an had all the obstacles removed and the facades of the houses painted, adorned and beautified in the quarters of the city; and he did the same thing in the city of Pavia; because of which, though formerly they were considered ugly and dirty cities, they could now be called extremely beautiful.
82) About the Farnese road to Piacenza, cf. B. ADORNI, *L'architettura farnesiana a Piacenza 1545-1600* (Parma, 1982), p. 29-31.

The Nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venice
1981-88

Carlo Aymonino

with Luigi Calcagni, Gian Paolo Mar, Gigetta Tamaro



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Nuovo Ospedale di Mestre

Non avevo mai progettato un ospedale; mi sembrava un tema di difficile soluzione architettonica, in quanto tutto o quasi tutto era già deciso dal "funzionamento"; non ricordavo precedenti (per mia ignoranza del tema) con l'eccezione del Sanatorio di Alvar Aalto a Paimio, per altro del 1928 e per l'appunto un sanatorio e non un ospedale.

Quando il Consiglio comunale di Venezia deliberò, il 23 aprile 1980, di affidarmi l'incarico, come capogruppo, del Nuovo ospedale di Mestre (NOM), affiancandomi – per la legge della lottizzazione partitica – altri tre architetti (Luigi Calcagni, Gianpaolo Mar, Gigetta Tamaro, l'unica che conoscevo) al timore per il tema "costrittivo" da affrontare si aggiunse l'insofferenza per il gruppo "imposto", senza alcuna preoccupazione per i risultati architettonici.

Timore e insofferenza scomparvero ben presto, nel vivo di un lavoro complesso e solo parzialmente predeterminato: gli altri architetti – oggi carissimi amici – avevano già progettato strutture ospedaliere – Gigetta con Luciano Semerani il nuovo ospedale di Trieste; Mar conosceva bene Mestre e i suoi problemi urbanistici; Calcagni con il suo studio aveva una grossa esperienza di ~~ed~~ realizzatore – in pratica ognuno aveva di che contribuire a un ottimo risultato finale.

Il primo riferimento formale fu il progetto del centro Olivetti a Rho (1963) di Le Corbusier per la libertà compositiva tra la piastra delle attività produttive e di servizio e le due lamelle, di cui una a boomerang, degli uffici e della ricerca. In prima ipotesi, quanto di più simile alla contrapposizione "funzionale" tra la piastra dei servizi e la lamella delle degenze di un ospedale?

Lo spunto iniziale si è via via perso nell'approfondimento della prima stesura del progetto, conservando solo l'andamento curvilineo delle degenze, dovuto alla presenza nell'area del boschetto dei Carpini.

Indicazione di P.R.G. e bosco sono stati gli elementi – i vincoli – da cui siamo partiti.

Per realizzare una chiara impostazione del complesso nelle sue varie parti componenti, assai diversificate nelle loro funzioni; per consentire una razionalizzazione dei tre stral-

e propria strada di accesso e di distribuzione di questa parte di città che è il nuovo ospedale.

Conseguentemente il corpo delle degenze è stato riorganizzato secondo la figura geometrica di un arco di cerchio, in modo da confermare la migliore utilizzazione dell'esposizione a sud e del panorama circostante e l'unitarietà del corpo stesso come figura dominante del complesso.

L'unitarietà architettonica è confermata dall'uso, all'esterno, di due soli materiali: i pannelli di rivestimento in pietra di misura costante e gli infissi in alluminio unificati in due misure. Fa eccezione, nella parete sud, la grande superficie vetrata che ingloba i soggiorni delle degenze e permette, al piano terra, l'affaccio sulla grande terrazza e il godimento del bosco in corrispondenza delle sale comuni e della grande hall di incontro e di smistamento. Nello stesso materiale è prevista la copertura della galleria pubblica di accesso, vera e propria strada coperta che consente una rapida e chiara accessibilità agli ambulatori, ai servizi di analisi e cura, ai luoghi di sosta e di ristoro.

Tutti gli accorgimenti descritti tendono a ridurre il più possibile l'idea dell'ospedale come "macchina per cure" accentuando, in tutti i luoghi ove è possibile, i rapporti visivi con il paesaggio e la natura.

Una volta "esistente" (i due plastici, i 520 disegni, le prospettive, le pubblicazioni, le mostre, ecc.) il progetto ha incontrato riserve, ostacoli, consensi, entusiasmi, come sempre accade se una proposta è riconoscibile e ha una sua "bellezza".

Ostacoli. Per motivi difficili da capire e da seguire nei contorti meandri delle nuove presenze social/politiche (ecologisti, ambientalisti, naturisti, in parte presenti in tutti i partiti) il Nuovo ospedale di Mestre è divenuto il bersaglio di finte battaglie per la salvezza dell'ambiente e della vita: metteva in pericolo l'esistenza del boschetto dei Carpini, testimonianza storico/ambientale del luogo (si è scoperto poi che è vecchio di 30/40 anni! e per altro abbandonato!); anche se tutte le soluzioni da noi proposte tendevano a esaltarne la presenza e a inglobarne l'uso a favore delle degenze.

Da qui l'alt, le ricerche di aree alternative, forse oggi la soluzione.

Riserve. Da parte di amici, di quelli che fortunatamente ancora le esprimono, come Claudia Conforti, sulla compattezza dell'impianto simmetrico, forse sulla stupidità dello stesso.

ci esecutivi previsti, tale da non intralciare il funzionamento del già costruito e operante; per ottenere infine una omogeneità strutturale, distributiva e architettonica delle varie fasi di costruzione, il progetto fu impostato su un impianto modulare.

L'immagine complessiva del nuovo intervento era pertanto basata sulla massima integrazione
dei volumi per evitare – per quanto possibile – la tradizionale contrapposizione tra la piastra dei servizi e la lamella delle degenze e ottenere una notevole unitarietà architettonica.

La variabilità dell'allineamento del corpo di fabbrica delle degenze secondo le tangenti a una figura parabolica era dovuta a una migliore utilizzazione dall'interno del panorama circostante e all'esterno a motivi compositivi di successive variazioni della lunghezza della facciata.

Con gli anni i programmi sono cambiati, come sono cambiati i Presidenti della USL e le Giunte comunali e regionali.

La novità più importante, ai fini del risultato finale, fu la decisione della Regione – che finanzia l'opera – di ridurre i tre stralci esecutivi a due, il che ci consentì di modificare radicalmente l'impianto e la figura.

Fondamentale per il mutamento è stato l'affiatamento raggiunto nel gruppo: abbiamo praticato tutti quella costanza nell'immaginazione, che ritengo essenziale per raggiungere un buon risultato proprio nei tempi lunghi e che comunque dovrebbe sempre far parte del "bagaglio" di un architetto. Non sempre tuttavia mutamenti o nuove indicazioni significano automaticamente un miglioramento dell'opera; ne fanno fede le numerose versioni dei concorsi di secondo grado, peggiorative quasi sempre rispetto a quelle iniziali.

Nel nostro caso abbiamo riesaminato il materiale prodotto, cambiando radicalmente la strategia progettuale: quanto la soluzione a tre segmenti era condizionata dal dover articolare – rispetto al bosco e all'orientamento, prima di tutto, ma soprattutto rispetto alle misure architettoniche di una facciata troppo lunga e monotona – tanto la soluzione ultima è il risultato del compattamento delle quantità, permettendo da un lato di tornare in parte alla immagine di partenza (schizzo del 6 gennaio 1981) con la facciata compatta ma in curva, dall'altro di esaltare la possibilità di realizzare l'edificio in un'unica fase con un'architettura quasi monolitica, scavata nei vuoti necessari e organizzata intorno e sull'unico percorso pubblico centrale, vera

Consensi. Da parte di amici, come Giusa Marcialis e Gianugo Polesello, per gli stessi motivi: la compattezza monumentale e l'unitarietà dell'impianto. O come Manfredo Tafuri che nel progetto per il Nuovo ospedale di Mestre trova la conferma della volontà di approfondire la scarnificazione e l'essenzialità raggiunte nel Liceo di Pesaro.

Infine il biglietto di Mathias Ungers, dopo la mostra di Francoforte: "gratulations per il NUOVO OSPEDALE DI MESTRE, ein wunderschöne project. Hoffentlich wird es gebaut". Una prassi insolita, che forse sarebbe carino praticare di più.

"Mentre la questione tipologica separa sempre più la funzione di diagnosi e cura da quella dell'albergaggio, per l'architetto si restringono gli spazi d'azione: l'abito, il vestire del fuori, è dentro, ci è sembrato, quei luoghi in cui ancora interagiscono affetti esterni e affanni interni: la rampa, l'accesso, la scala, la galleria, il portico, punto di congiunzione tra attenzione e straniamento.

Né riteniamo possa l'architetto farsi mediatore tra forze culturali divergenti che tendono a destrutturare o al contrario a ristrutturare il fatto sanitario/ospedaliero; alcuni architetti credono o fingono di credersi i nuovi sciamani. Come se la storia della malattia e della salute, dalle epidemie all'istituto ospedaliero, dalla carità all'assicurazione, dopo l'egemonia successiva del clero, della polizia, del medico, possa oggi trovare equilibrio nelle mani dell'architetto, attraverso l'uso di quelle che vengono chiamate, ma non lo sono, tipologie flessibili per la moderna patologia".

Le lucide considerazioni di Gigetta Tamaro chiariscono su quali elementi compositivi (di "rappresentazione") ci siamo attestati, difendendoli fino alla ormai probabile ~~rappresenta~~ realizzazione.

Non più al bosco dei Caprini, non più nell'area di Cavergnaghi, ma in una terza a Zelarino, ove il bosco sarà da noi ricostruito in funzione dell'edificio, ormai stabile monumento di un servizio sociale.

Ed è proprio in base a questo giudizio che non ci hanno colpito gli sfottò sull'"ospedale a rotelle", che si sposta nel territorio fino a trovar pace.

Il meccanismo sanitario funziona, l'architettura c'è e vuole essere riconosciuta, il luogo al limite diviene "indifferente", dato che mai abbiamo tentato di mascherarci in un paesaggio che richiede, proprio per differenza, una architettura che gli si contrapponga.

Adesso aspettiamo, con ansia e con segreta gioia, la costruzione.

Carlo Aymonino

3/X/88

Plan for the Nuovo Ospedale in Mestre

Carlo Aymonino

I had never designed a hospital before; it seemed to me to be an architectural problem the solution of which would be difficult since everything (or almost everything) had already been decided by its "function". I couldn't remember any precedents (because of my ignorance on the subject), except for Alvar Aalto's Sanatorium in Paimio, which had been built in 1928 and was a sanatorium and not a hospital. On April 23, 1980, I was chosen by the Venice city council to lead the architectural team for the Nuovo Ospedale di Mestre (NOM). The city council also appointed three other architects — Luigi Calcagni, Gianpaolo Mar and Gigetta Tamaro (the latter being the only one I knew) — because of the division of assignments along political party lines (common practice in Italy). At that point, in addition to some fear about the "restrictive" theme of the project, I felt some annoyance about the team that had been "imposed" without any thought as to the architectural result.

But fear and annoyance quickly disappeared in the face of a complex and only partially predetermined task. The other architects, who have now become my dear friends, had already designed hospital facilities. Gigetta Tamaro, together with Luciano Semerani, had worked on the new hospital in Trieste; Mar knew Mestre and its urban problems well, and Calcagni and his firm had vast construction experience. In other words, everyone had something to contribute to an excellent result.

Our first formal reference was Le Corbusier's plan for the Olivetti center in Rho (1963). It was an example of compositional freedom between the base "slab", which housed production and support activities, and the two "sheets" (one of which was shaped like a boomerang) which contained the offices and the research department.

The initial concept was the following: what could be more similar to the "functional" contrast between a support area and a confinement area than a hospital?

Initial project sketches.



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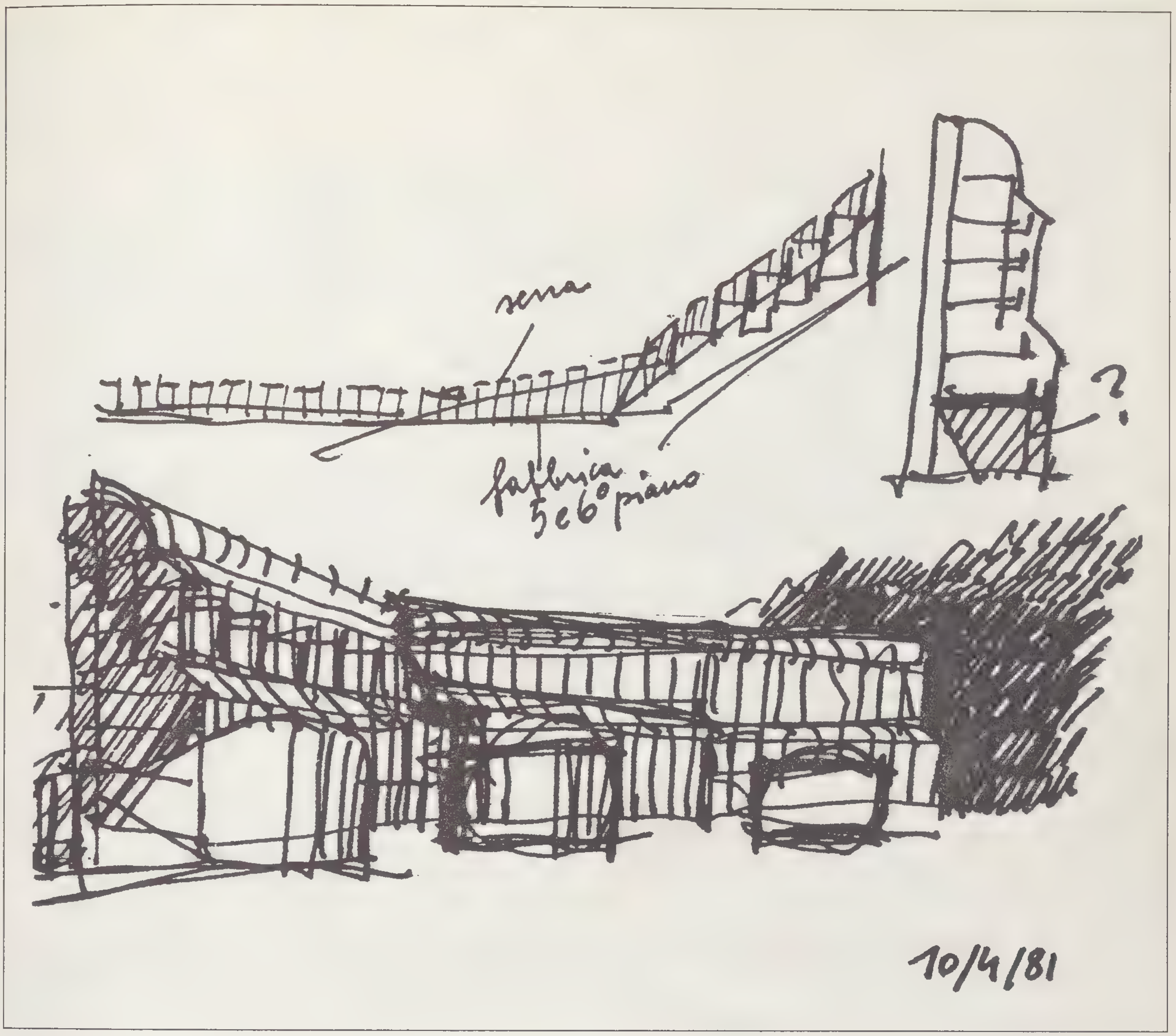
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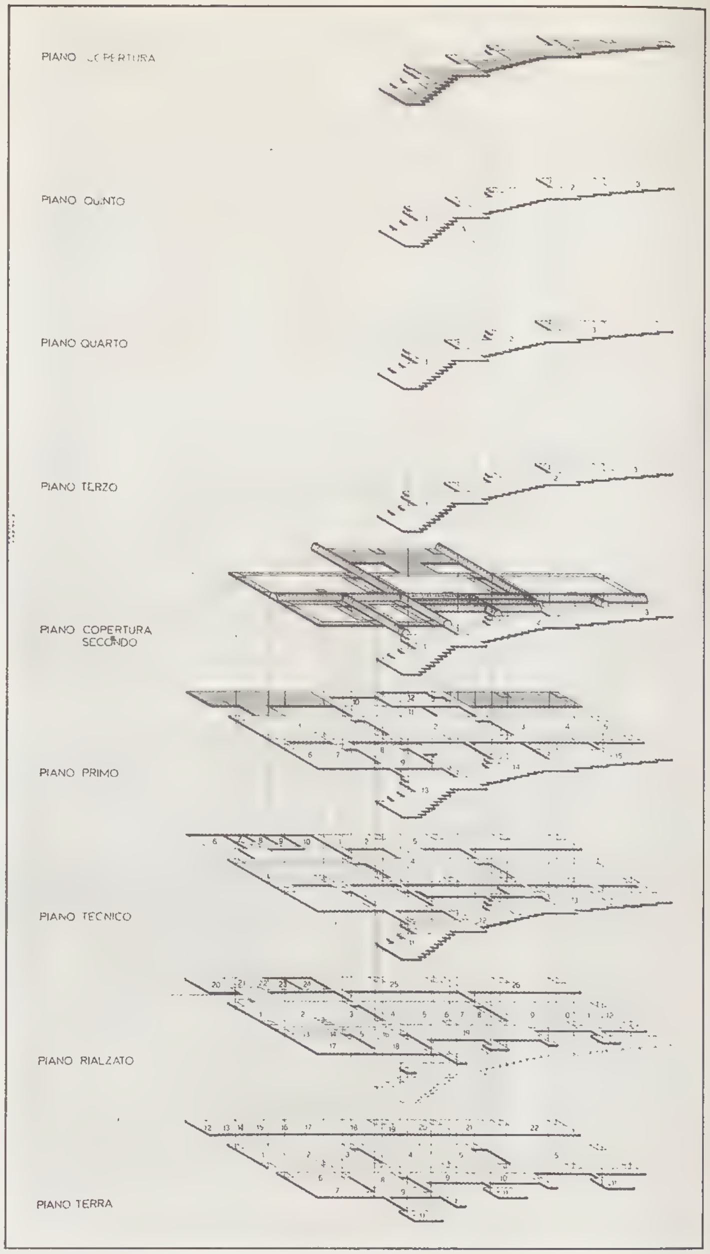


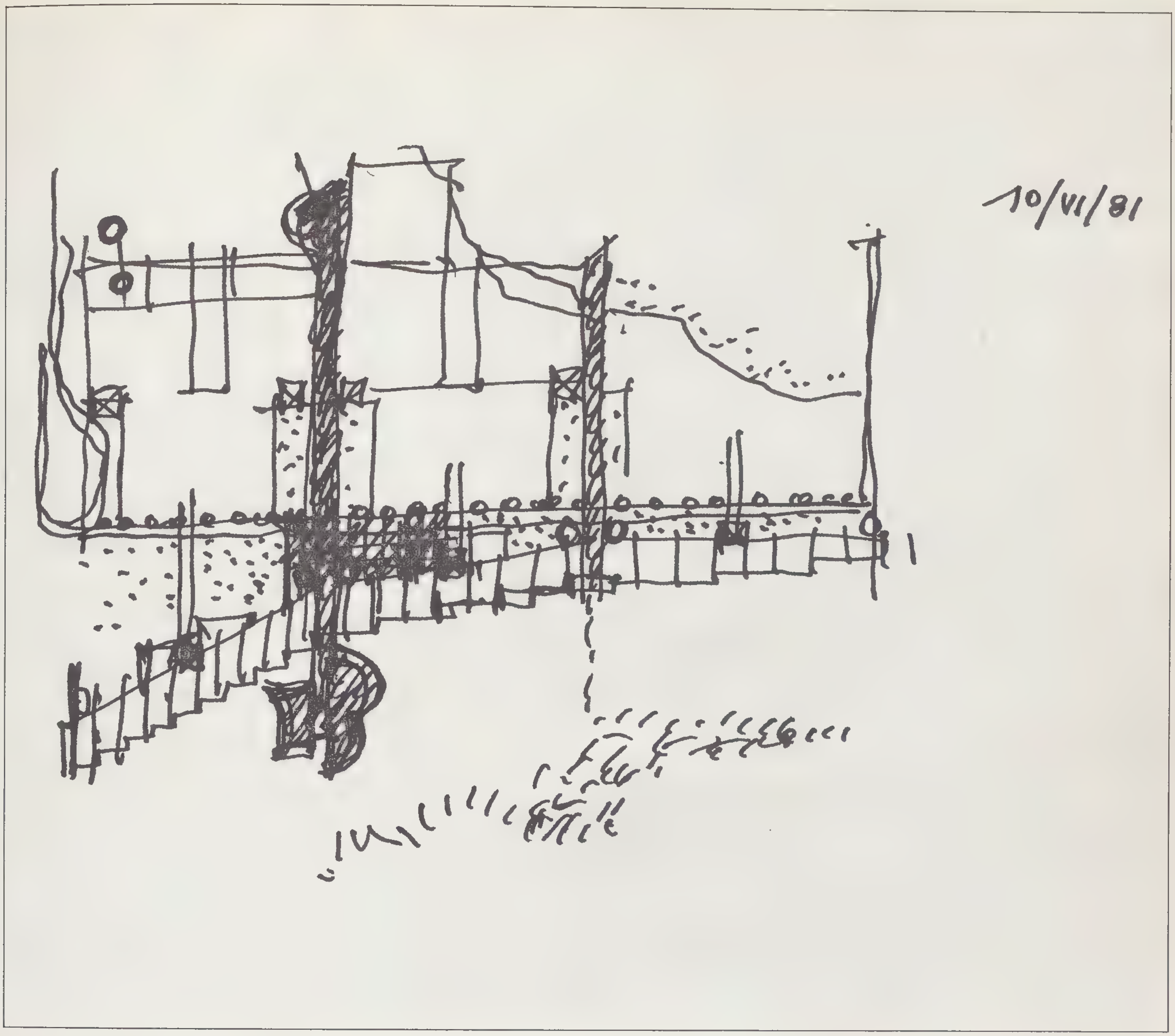
The original idea gradually got lost in the preparation of the first draft of the plan. Only the curvilinear development of the wards was preserved because of the presence of a hornbeam grove on the site.
The guidelines, provided by the P.R.G. (the city plan), and the grove were the initial elements (or constraints) we dealt with.
The plan was designed according to a modular system in order to create a clear layout of the various components of the complex (functionally quite different) and rationalize the three final segments that constitued the building to avoid obstructing operation of each single component once it was built and functional. This would also create structural, distributive and architectural continuity during the various phases of construction.
Therefore, the overall image of the new project was based on maximum integration of the volumes to avoid (as much as possible) the traditional contrast between support areas and the wards to obtain significant architectural unity.
The variation (in the shape of tangents to a parabolic figure) of the alignment of the patient floors was conceived to maximize the use of the surrounding panorama from the inside of the building itself; from the outside it was necessary for compositional aspects of the whole building volume and subsequent variations in the length of the façade.
Over the years, the plans changed, along with the chairmen of the local health units and the city and regional councils. The most important news in terms of the final result was the regional council's decision to reduce the number of sections from three to two (the Region was financing the project). This allowed us to radically change the layout and the shape of the building.
The agreement reached within the group was fundamental for this change. All of us practiced that "perseverance of the imagination" that I consider to be essential to achieve a positive result over long periods and should always be part of an architect's "training". But changes and new indications don't always automatically mean an improvement in the work; innumerable versions of second wind solutions, almost always worse than the first, may testify to this.
In our case, we re-examined our design and radically changed the design strategy. While the plan with three segments was influenced by the need to articulate with the existing grove, the orientation and, most importantly, the architectural measurements of an overly long and monotonous façade, the final plan was the result of "compacting". On one hand, this made it possible to go back to the original image (sketch dated January 6, 1981) with the compact, but curved, façade, and on the other it offered the possibility of constructing the building in one phase with a practically monolithic piece of architecture that was carved inside to provide the spaces needed and organized around and upon the one public passageway, which turned out to be the access and distribution road for the part of the city where the new hospital was sited.
Consequently, the building housing the wards was reorganized into an arc of a circle. This improved the use of the southern exposure and the surrounding panorama and the unity of the building itself as the dominant figure in the complex.
Architectural unity was strengthened by the planned use of only two materials on the building's exterior: stone-covered panels, all of the same size, and aluminum castings, in two sizes; the exception was the large glass surface along the southern wall which incorporated the ward lounges and made it possible to look out onto the large terrace and the grove from the common rooms and the large lobby on the ground floor. The same material would be used to cover the public entrance tunnel (an actual covered road) conceived to provide quick and clear accessibility to the out-patient clinics, labs and treatment facilities and waiting and refreshment areas.
All of these considerations were aimed at softening the



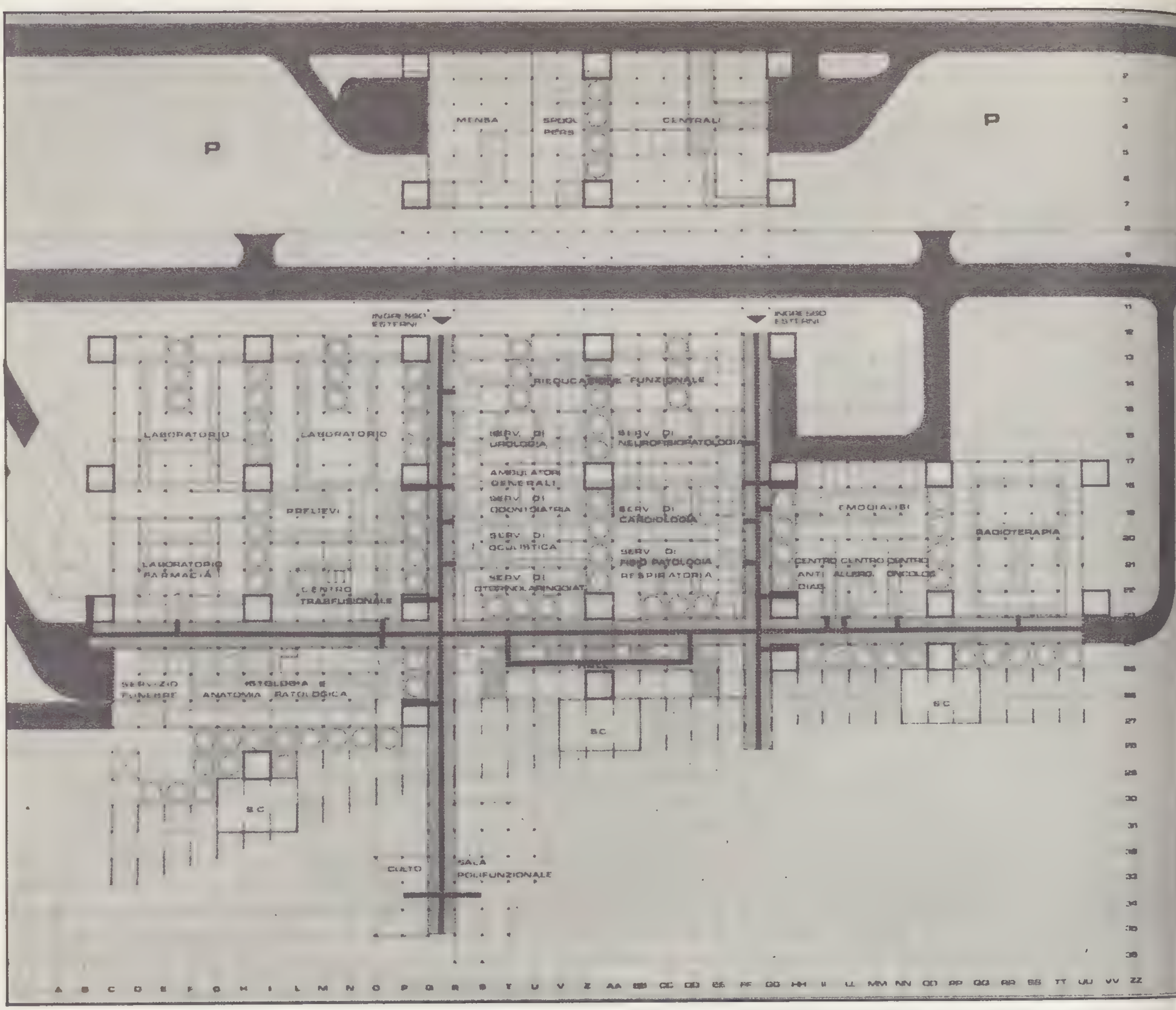
Project sketch.

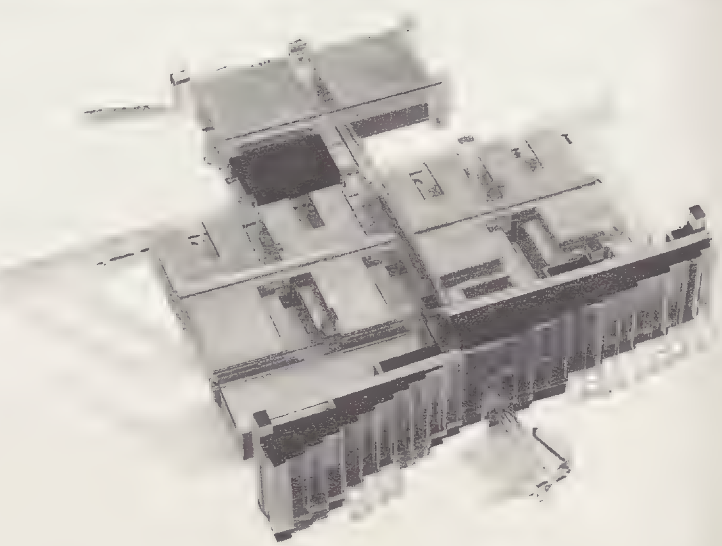
traditional idea of the hospital as a "treatment machine". Instead, visual relationship with the landscape and nature was emphasized wherever possible.
Once in its final form (i.e., two models, 520 drawings, perspectives, publications, exhibits, etc.) the project began to draw feedback from viewers, ranging from consensus and enthusiastic support to reservations, skepticism and the emergence of obstacles to groundbreaking: the array of reactions to be expected when a proposal is identifiable by its uniqueness and has a certain "beauty".
Obstacles: for reasons that are hard to understand or follow through the contorted maze of recent social and political stands (by ecologists, environmentalists and naturalists, who to some degree are represented in all political parties), the Nuovo Ospedale di Mestre became the target of fake battles to save the environment and wildlife. It was claimed that it would endanger the existence of the grove, which was a historical and environmental expression of that area (it was later discovered that it was all of 30 or 40 years old, as well as abandoned!), even though all of our proposals attempted to enhance its presence and incorporate it in the construction of the wards. In any case, that was the cause of the interruption and the search for alternative locations which might today represent a viable solution.
Reservations: on the part of friends, such as Claudia Conforti, who luckily are still willing to express concern about the compactness of the symmetrical plan, maybe even the stupidity of it.
Consensus: on the part of friends, such as Giusa Marcialis and Gianugo Polesello, for the same reasons: the monumental compactness and the unity of the layout. Or, like Manfredo Tafuri, who saw in the plan for the Nuovo Ospedale di Mestre a confirmation of the desire to investigate more deeply the stripping and essentiality achieved in the Pesaro High School.
Finally, there was Mathias Vogers' card after the Frankfurt exhibit: "*Congratulations for the NUOVO OSPEDALE DI*

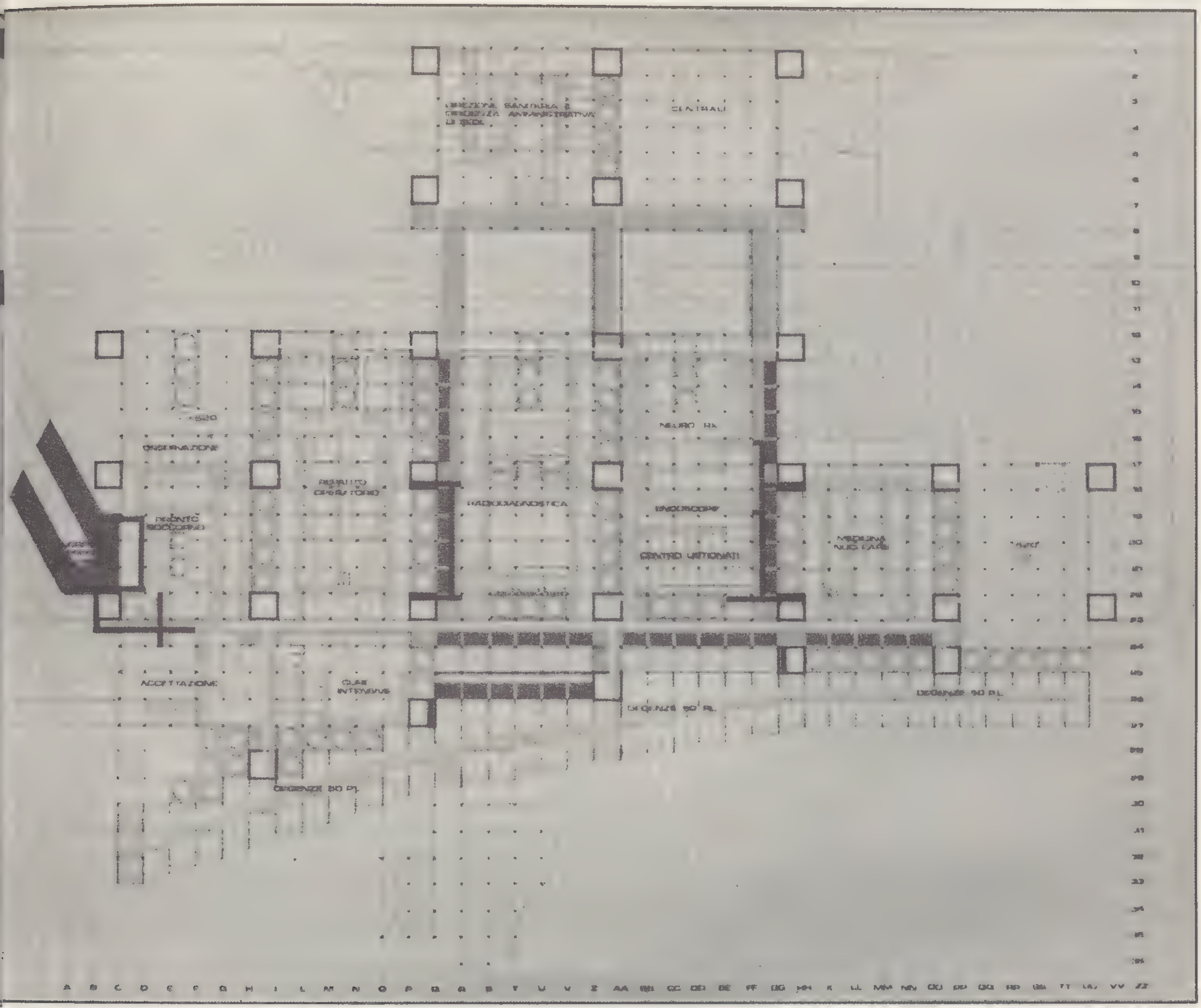




Axonometric of the building's functional distribution and sketch of the site lay-out of the original project.


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MENSA
CENTRALI
P
INGRESSO ESTERNI
INGRESSO ESTERNI
LABORATORIO
LABORATORIO
PRELIEVI
LABORATORIO FARMACIA
CENTRO TRASFUSIONALE
AMBULATORI GENERALI
SERV. DI UROLOGIA
SERV. DI ODONTOIATRIA
SERV. DI OCULISTICA
SERV. DI CARDIOLOGIA
RESPIRATORIA
EMODIALISI
RADIOTERAPIA
CENTRO CENTRO CENTRO
SERVIZIO FUNEBRE
ISTOLOGIA E ANATOMIA PATOLOGICA
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SC
CULTO
SALA POLIFUNZIONALE



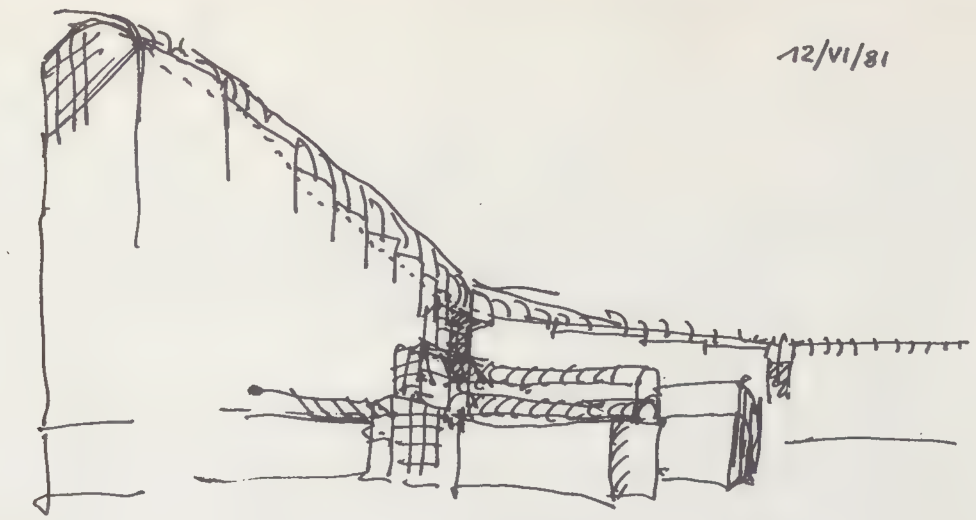


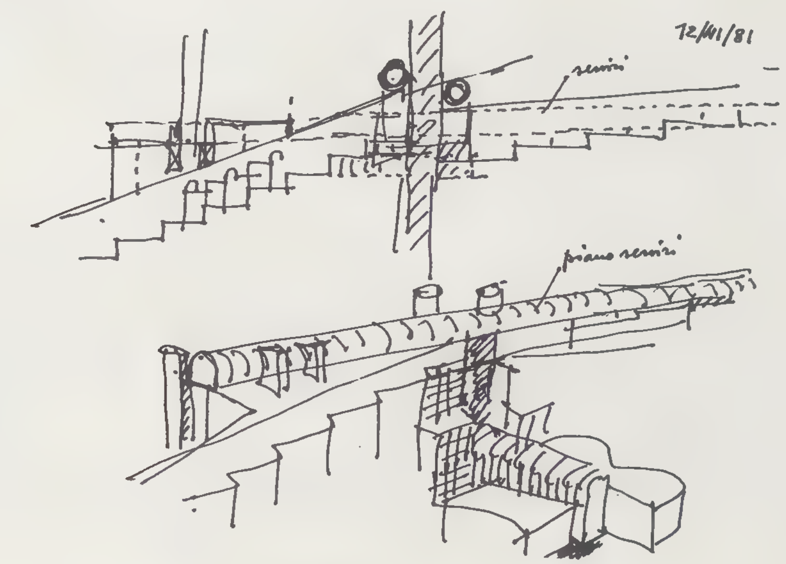
Plans for the ground and first floors and view of the model of the original project.

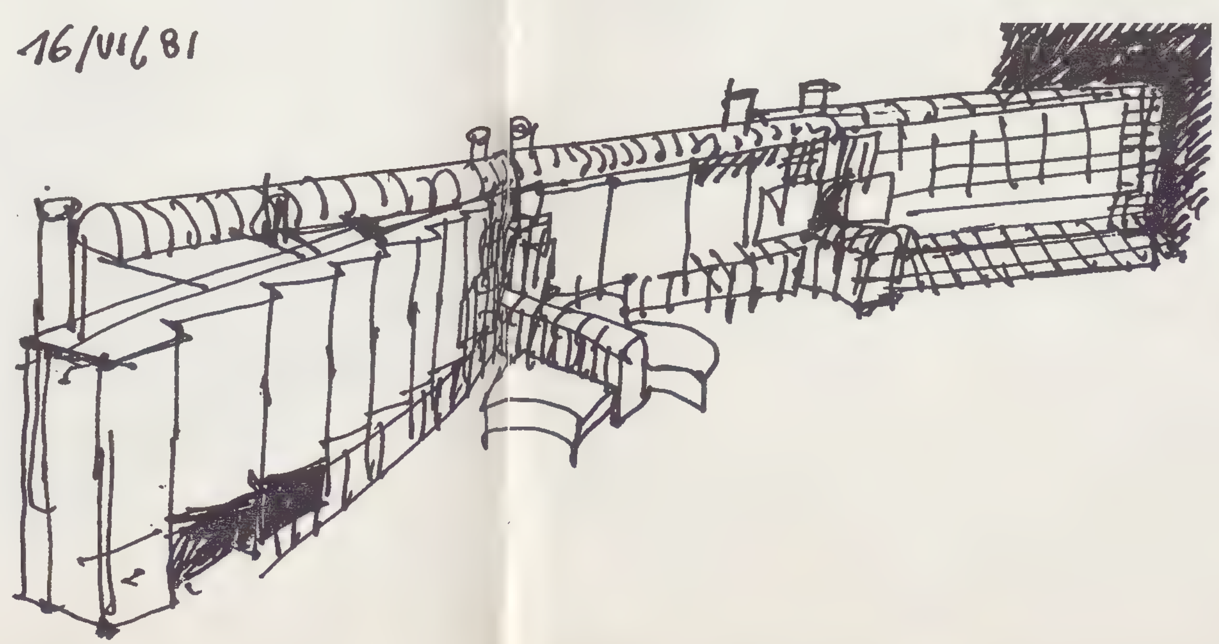
MESTRE, ein wunderschönes Projekt. Hoffentlich wird es gebaut". This was an unusual gesture, which might be nice to make more often.

"*While typology continues to separate the function of diagnosis and care from that of hospitalization, design areas are becoming limited for the architect: the clothing or the dressing on the exterior and interior spaces seemed to us to be places in which external feelings and internal anxieties still interact: the ramp, the entry, the stairs, the tunnel, the portico, all points of connection between attention and alienation. We don't, however, feel that the architect may become the mediator between diverging cultural forces which tend to destructure, or on the other hand restructure, the medical-hospital issue. Some architects consider themselves, or pretend to consider themselves, the new shamans. It's as if the history of disease and health, from epidemics to hospitals, from charity to insurance and after the successive hegemony of the clergy, the police and the doctors, may now find its equilibrium in the hands of architects through the use of what are called (but are not really) flexible styles for modern pathology*".

Gigetta Tamaro's lucid remarks clarify the compositional elements (of "representation") that we focused on above, defending them up till their now likely construction. The Nuovo Ospedale di Mestre is no longer near the grove, no longer in the Cavergnaghi neihgbrhood, but rather in a third location in Zelarino, where we will reconstruct the grove as a function of the building, which has now become a lasting monument to social service. That's why the joke about the "hospital on wheels" that moves around from one site to the next until it finally comes to rest hasn't had any effect on us. In the N.O.M. project, the health mechanism functions; the architecture is there and is waiting to be recognized; the location at best becomes "indifferent" since we have never tried to hide in a setting that requires a kind of architecture that is in contrast with it, simply because of difference. Now we are eagerly awaiting its construction with private delight.

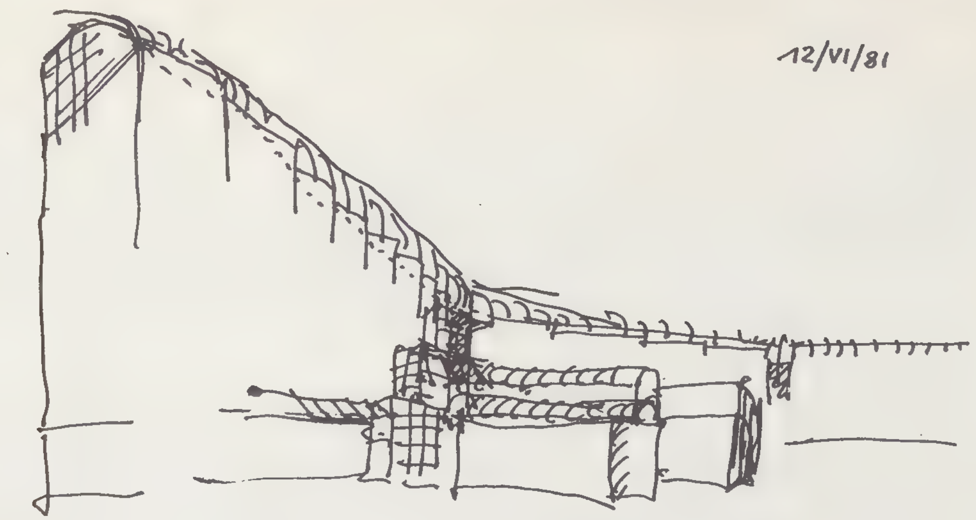


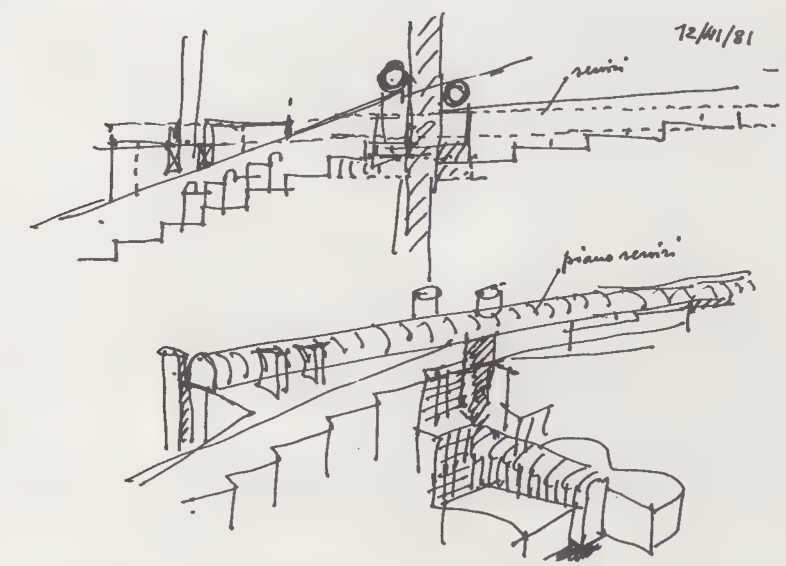


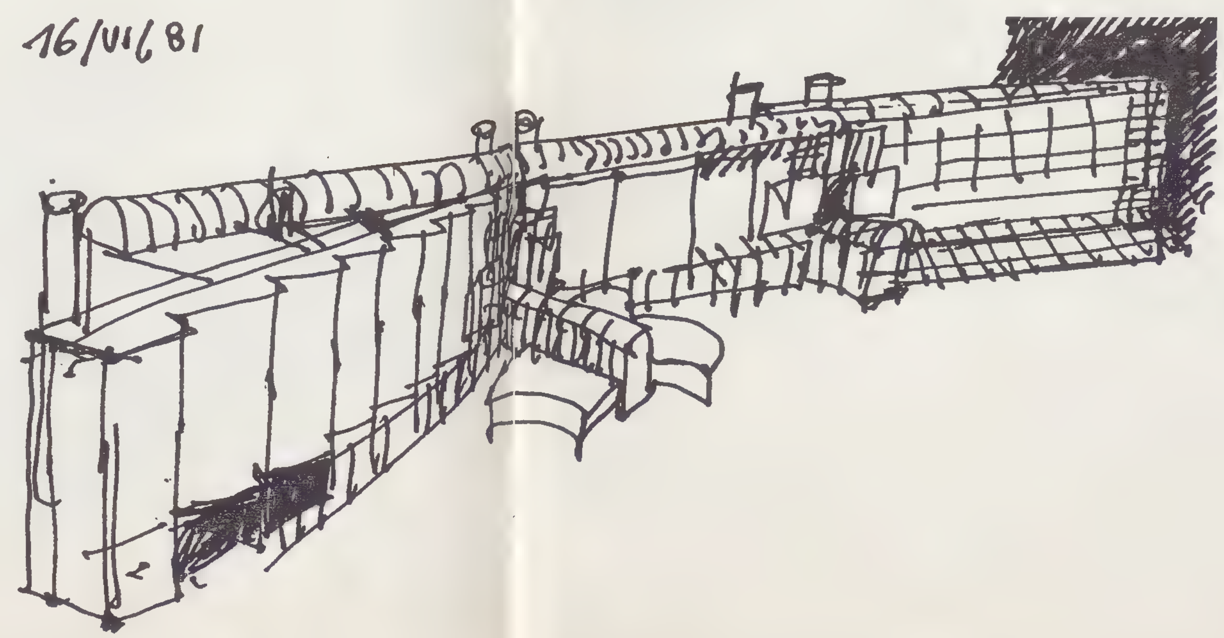


Sketches of the southern part containing the wards and service areas of the original project.

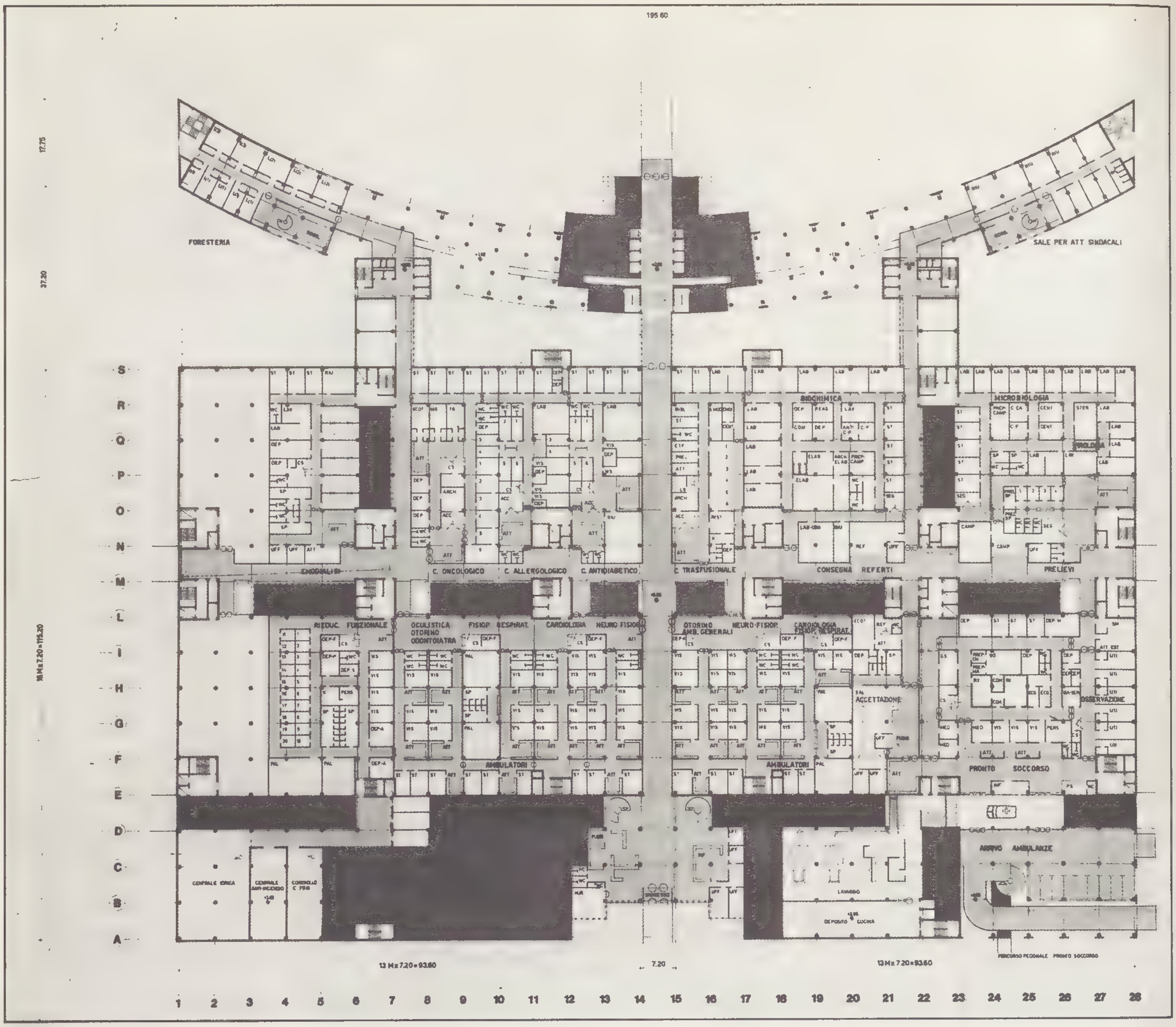
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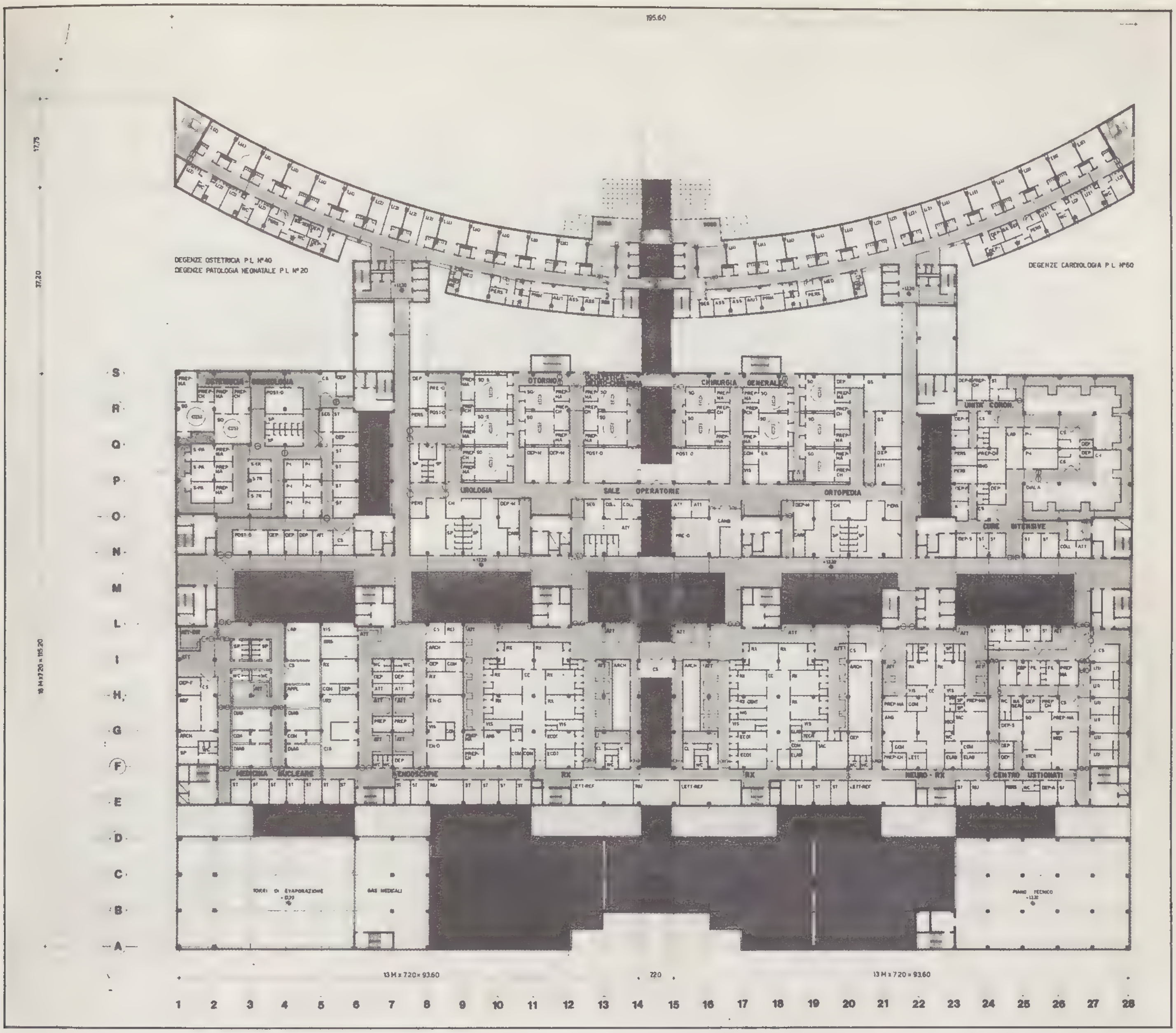


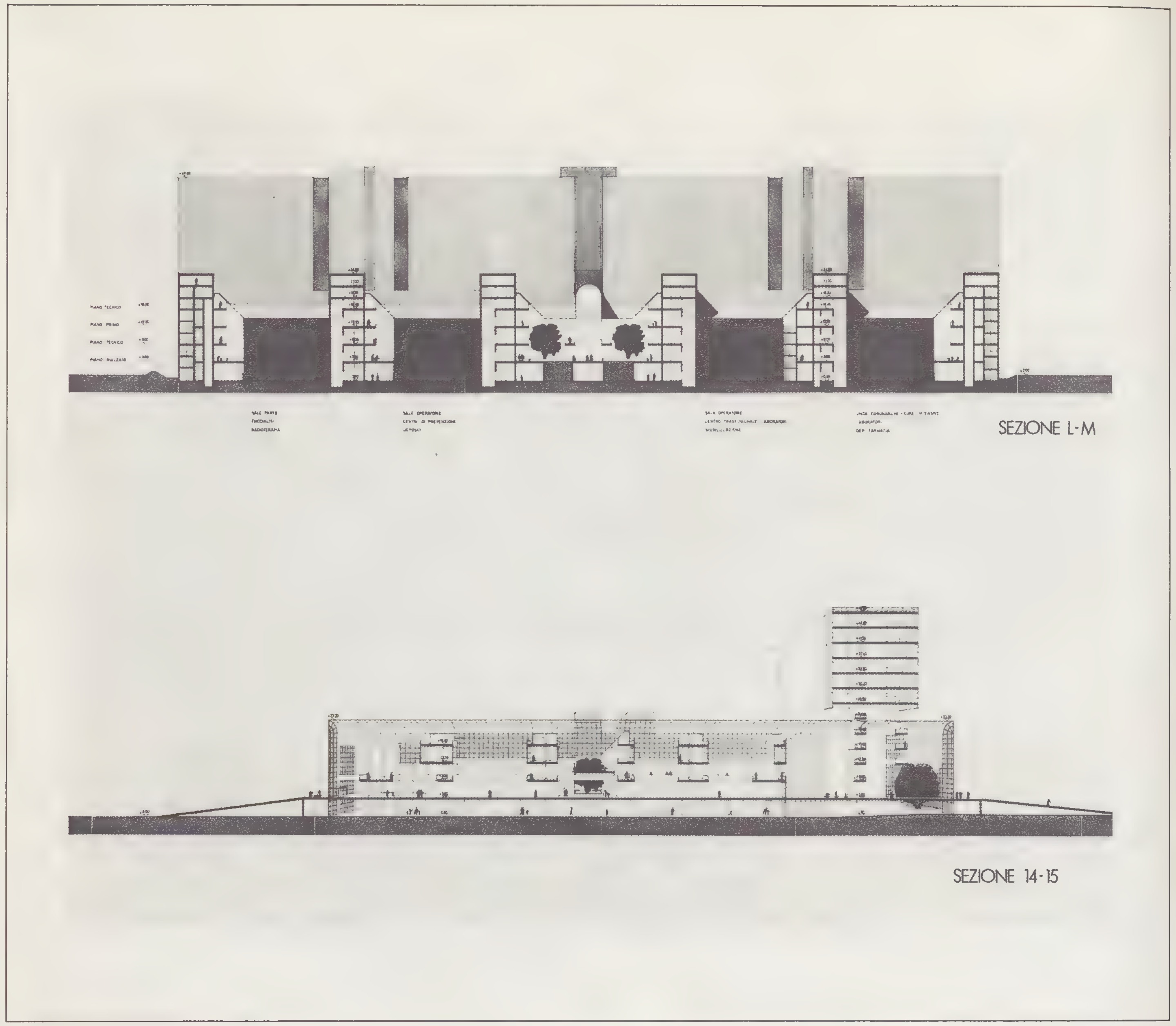


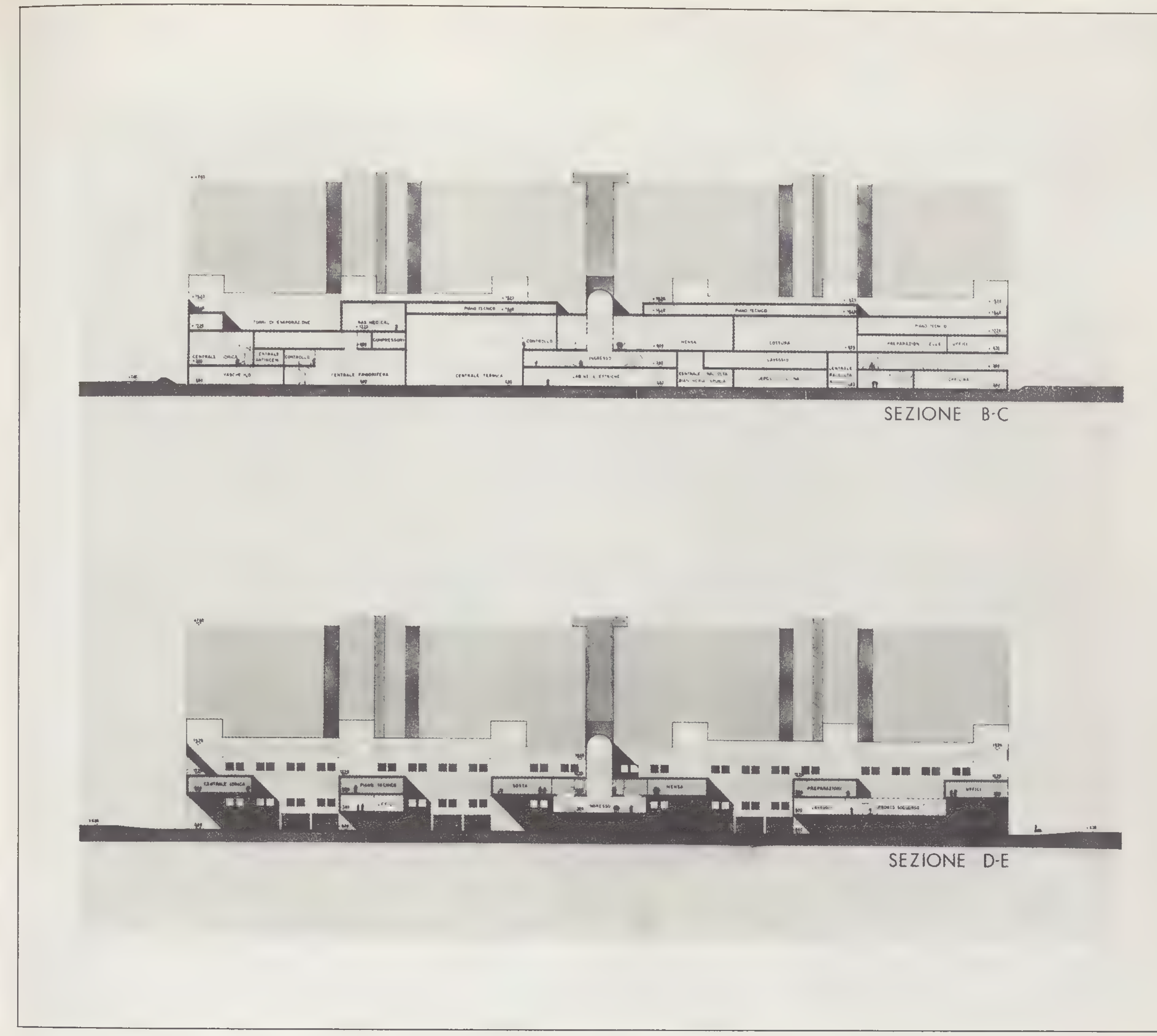
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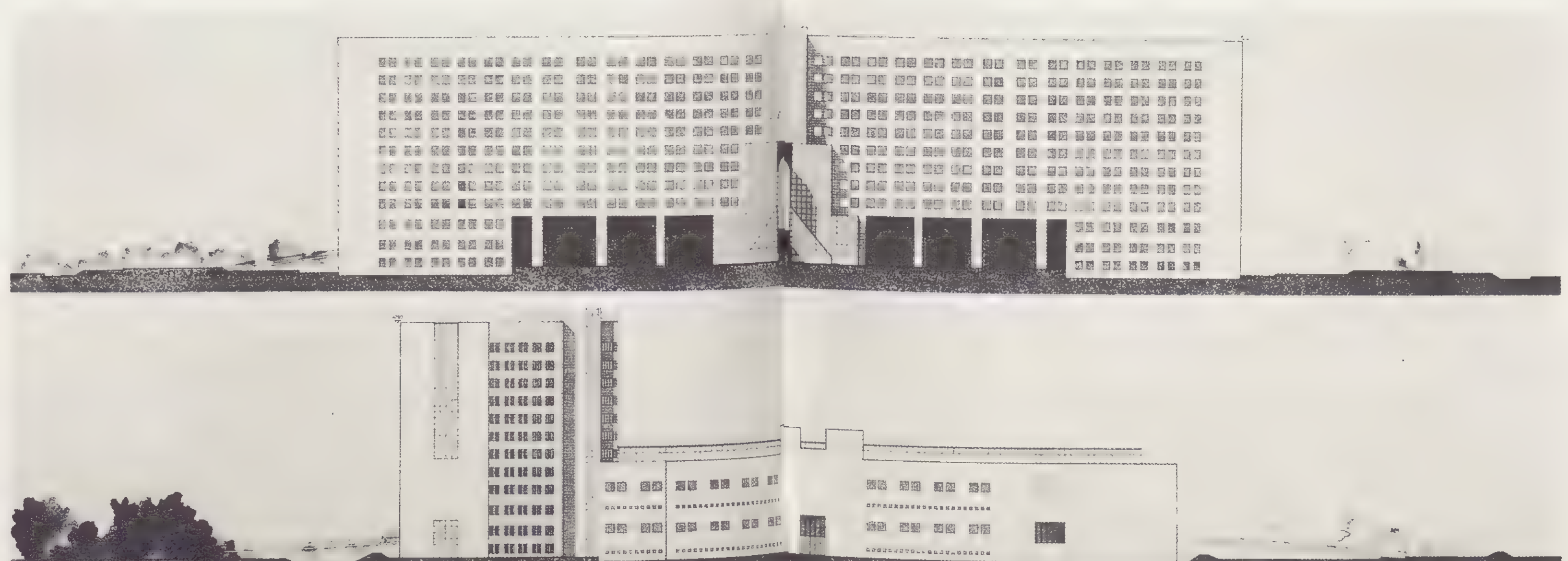
Plans for the mezzanine and first floor of the second project.

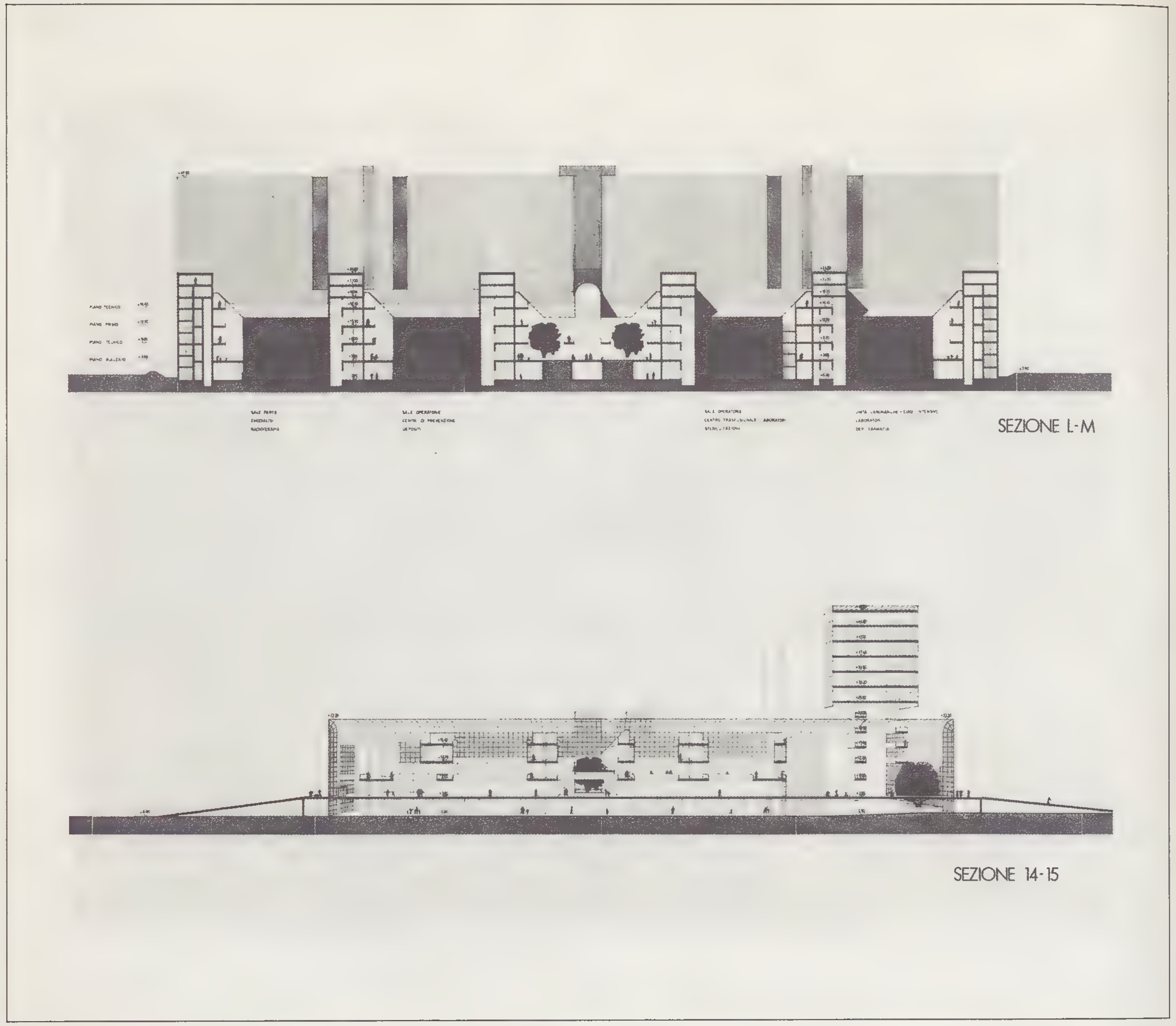

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DEGENZE PATOLOGIA NEONATALE P L N° 20
DEGENZE CARDIOLOGIA P L N°60
UROLOGIA
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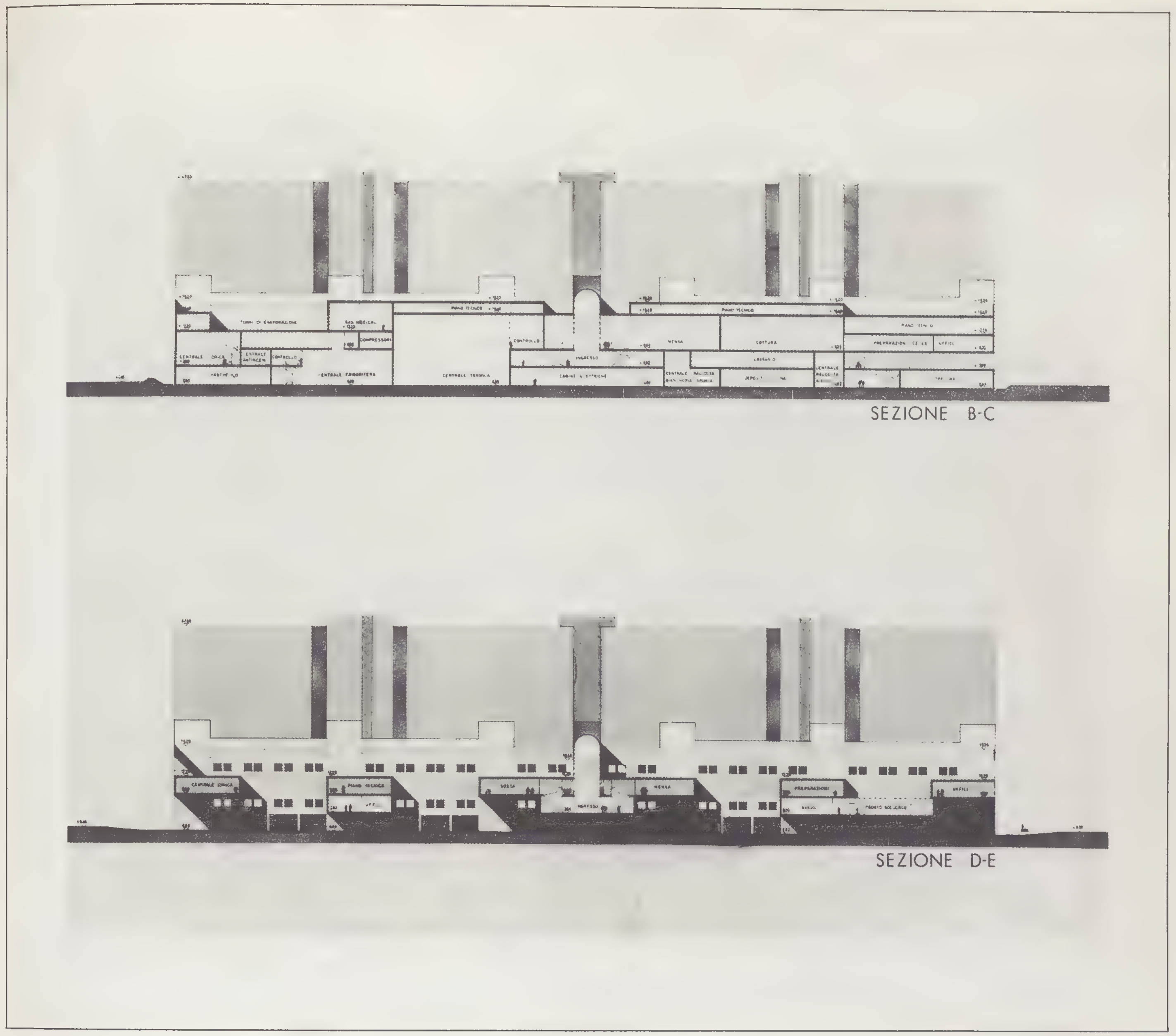




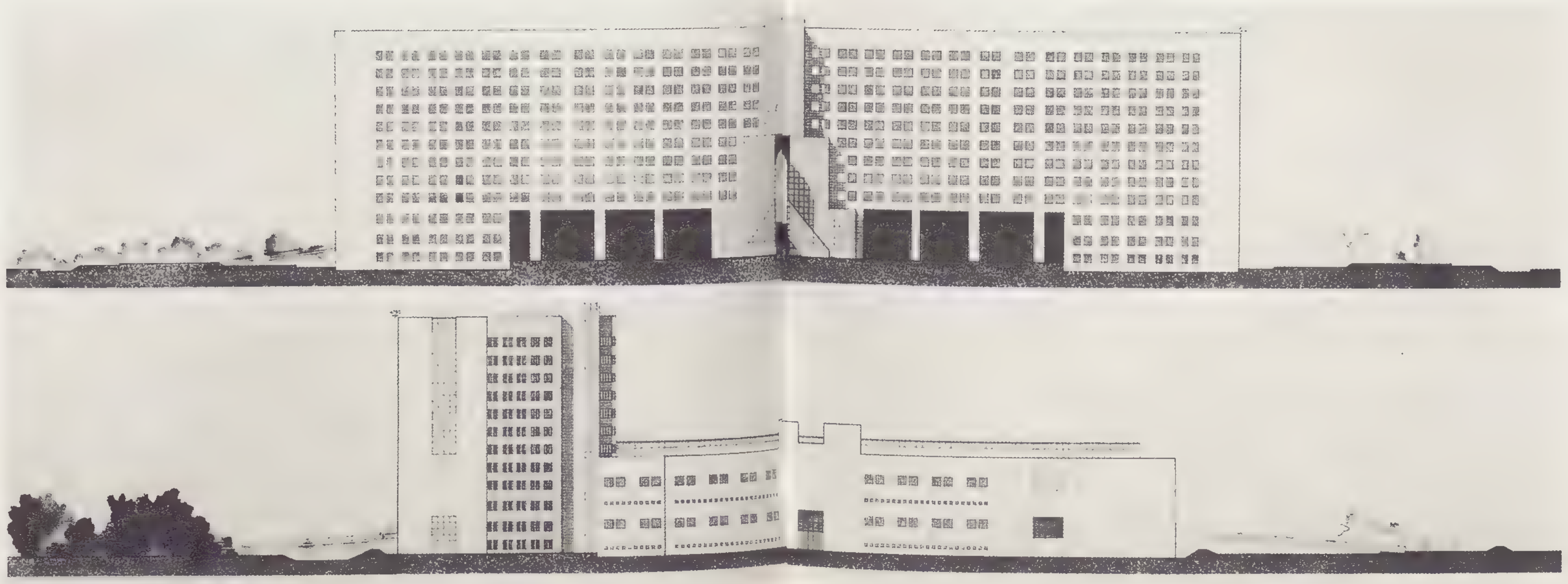
Longitudinal and cross-sections and southern and eastern elevations of the second project.

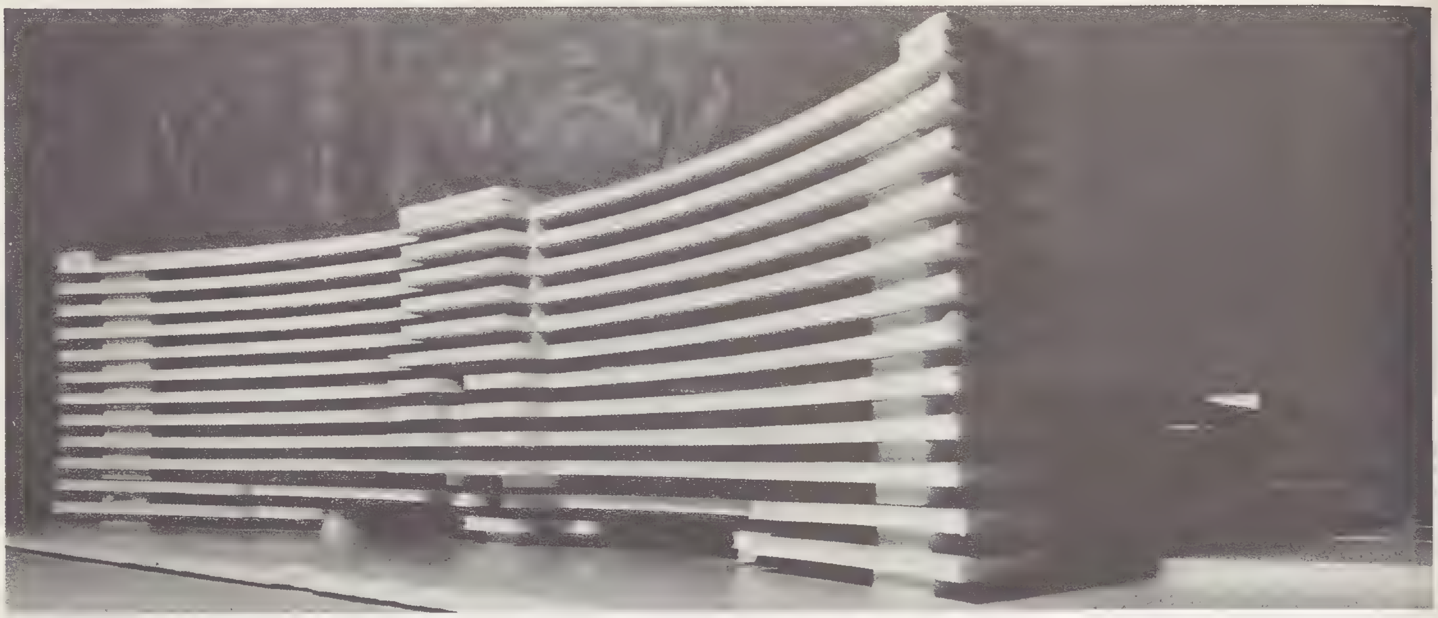


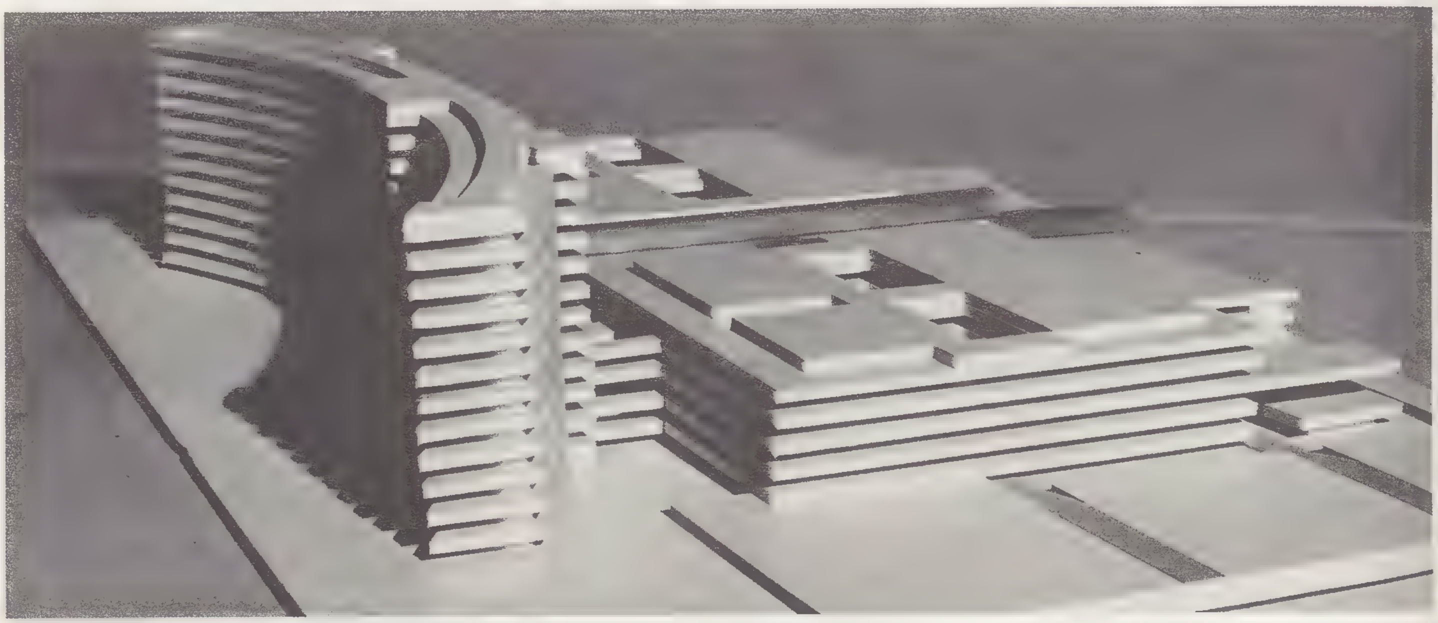




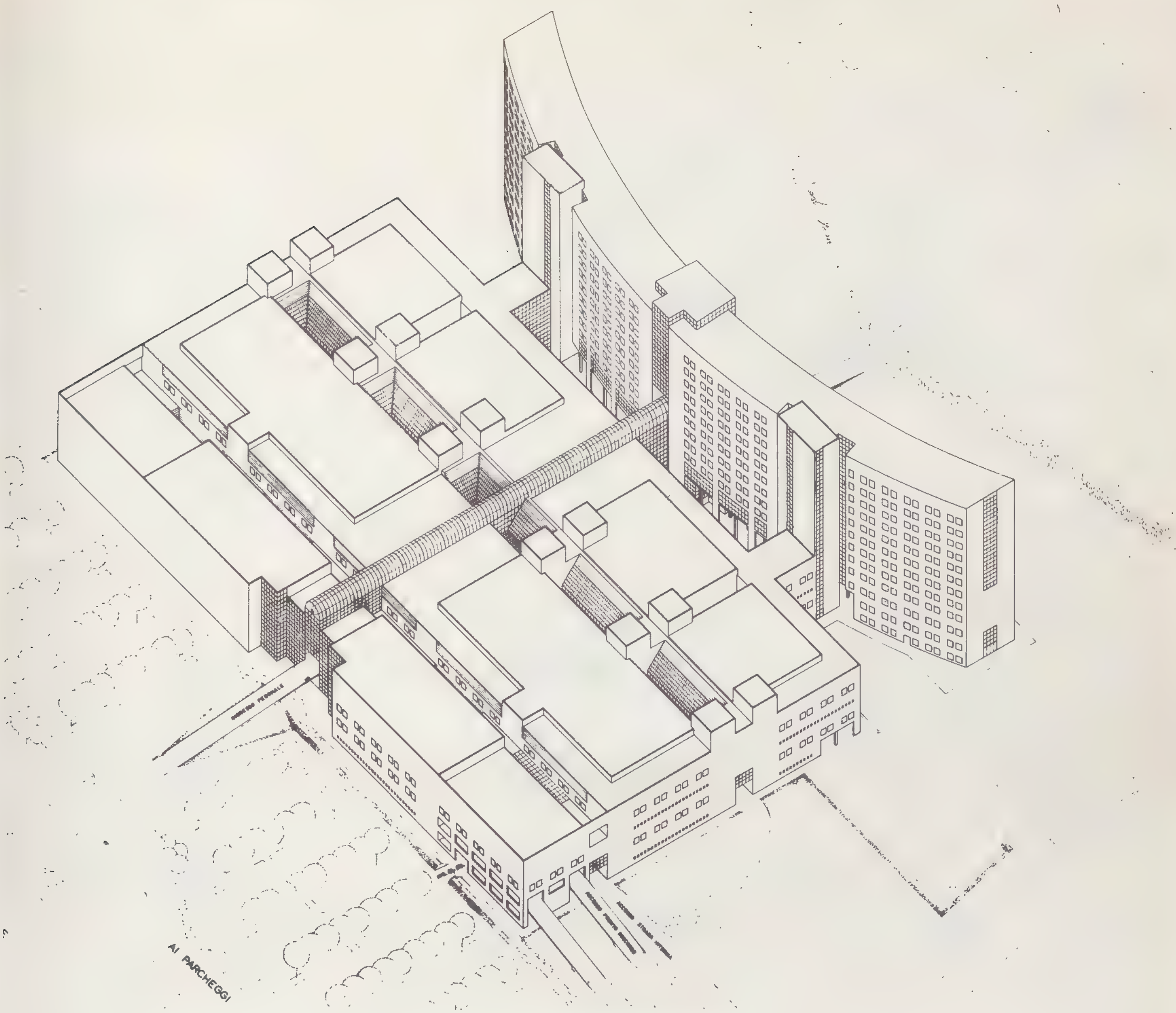
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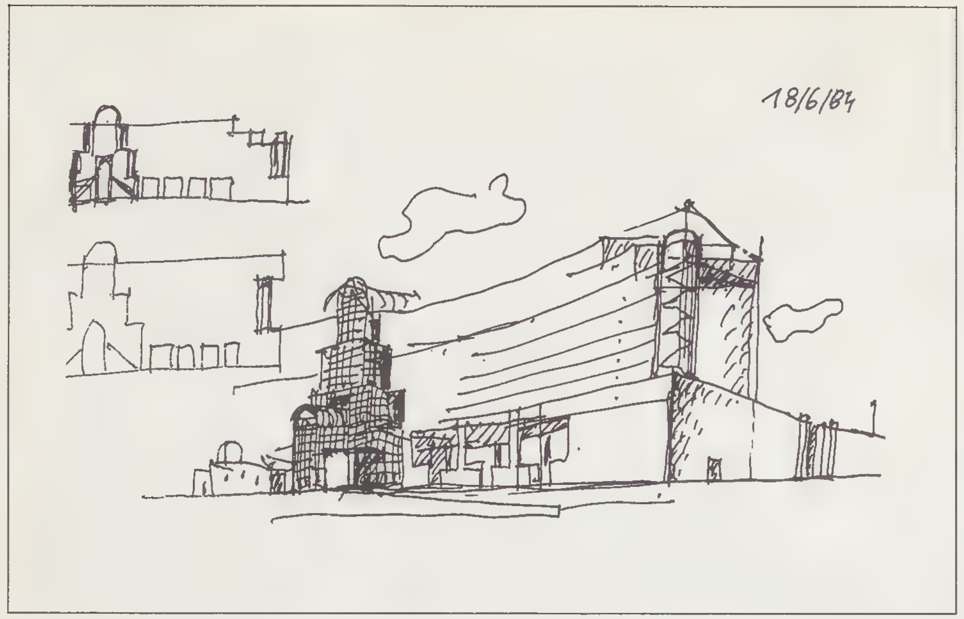


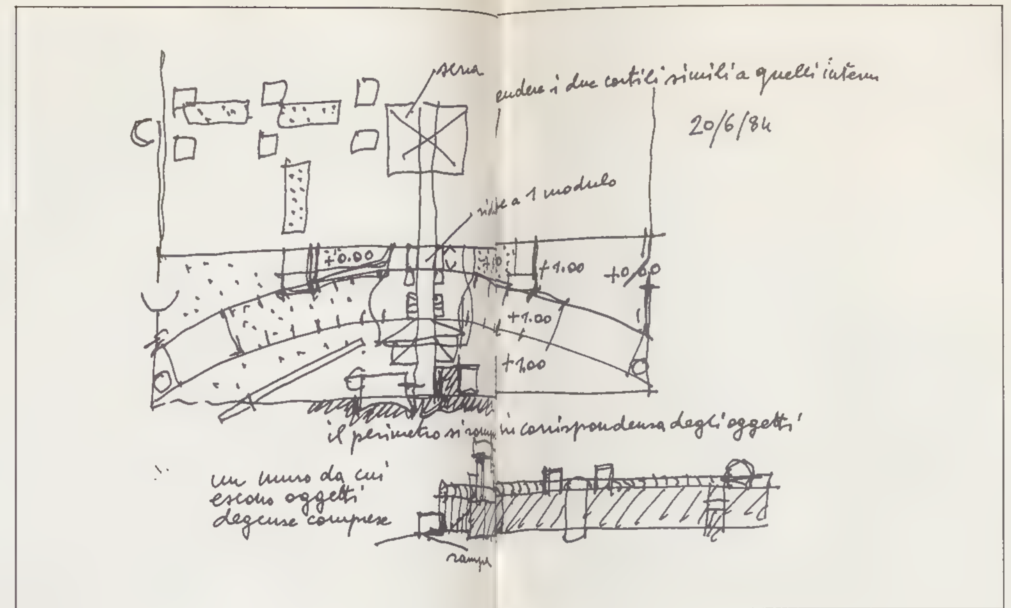


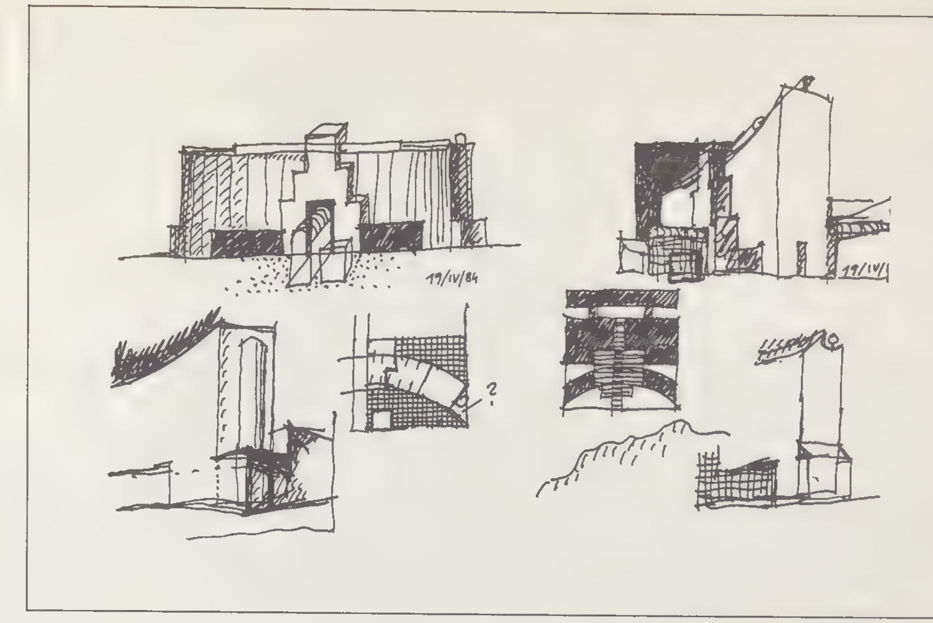


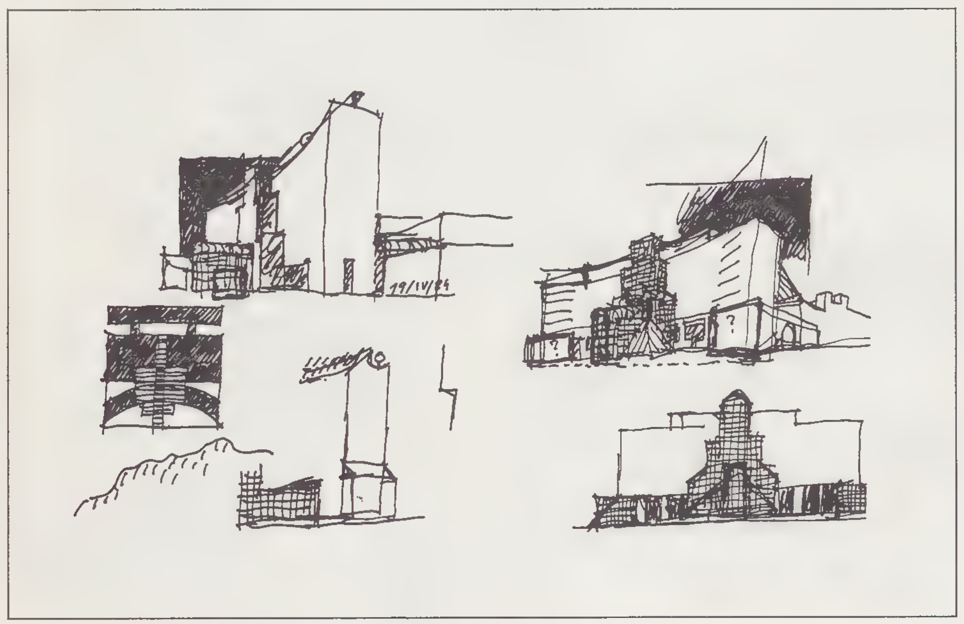
Views of the model and axonometric projection of the second project.

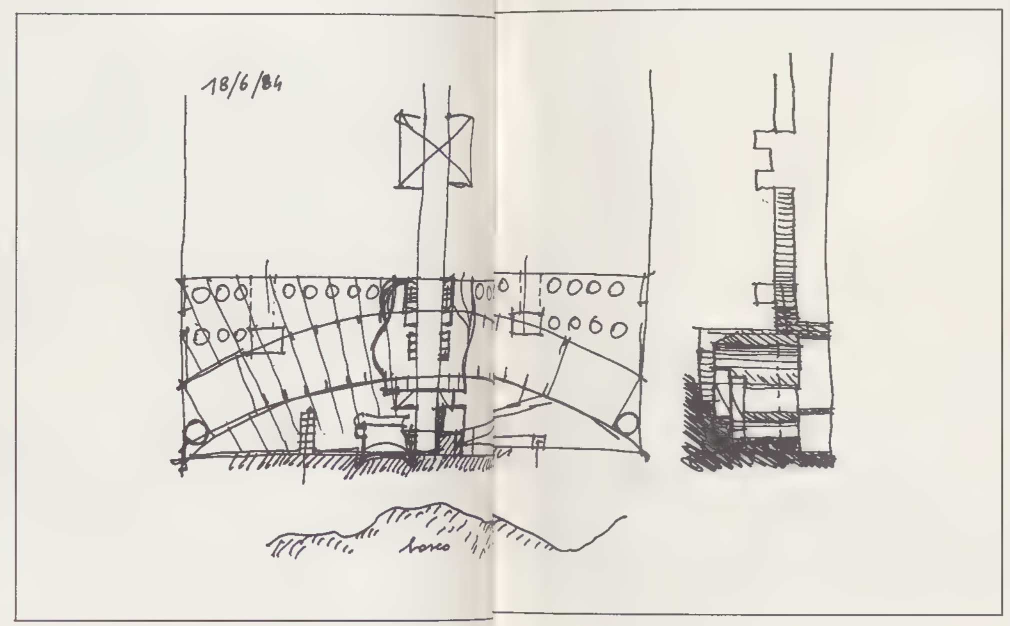

AI PARCHEGGI

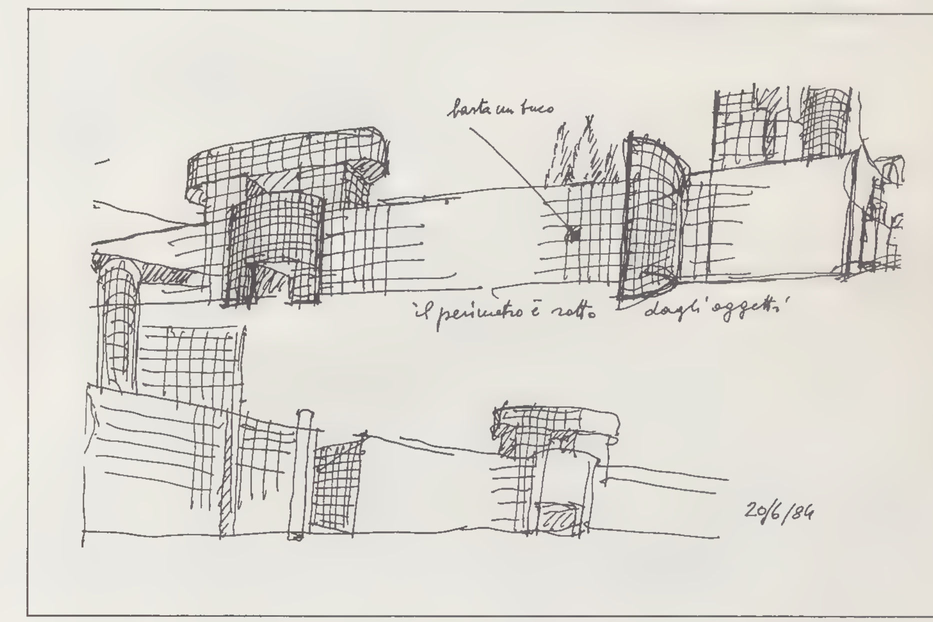




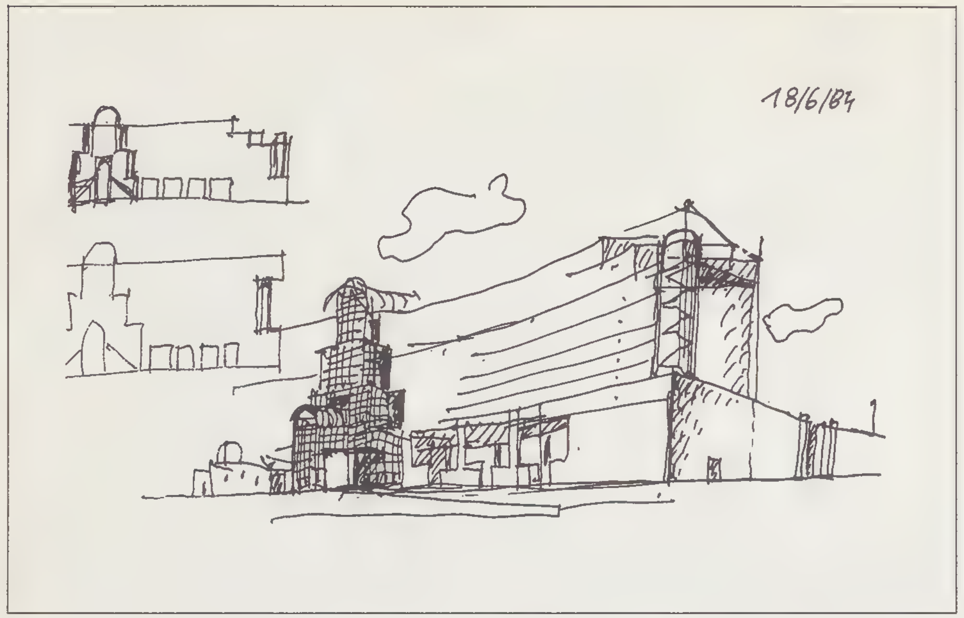


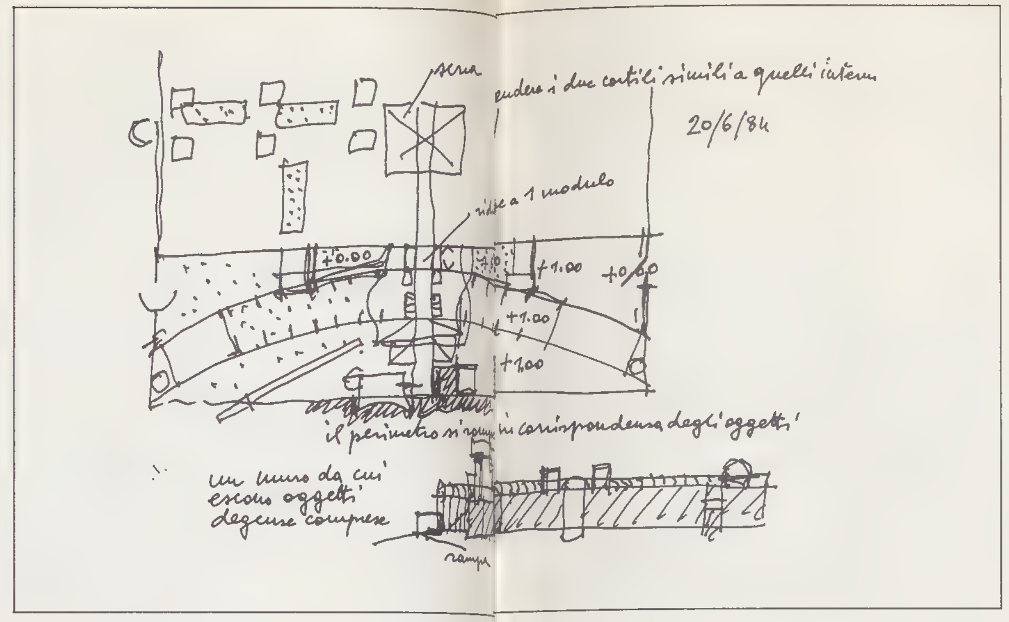


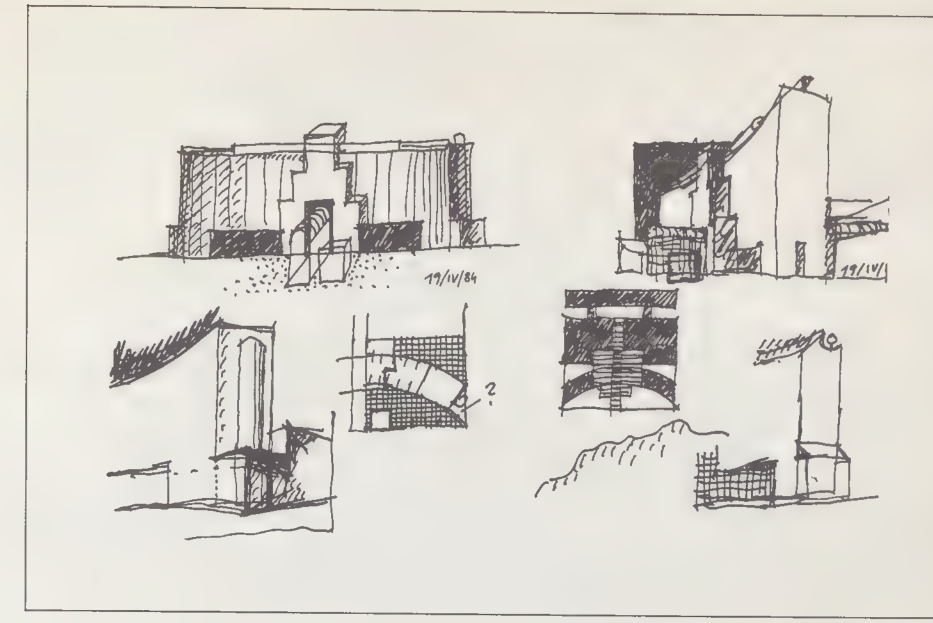


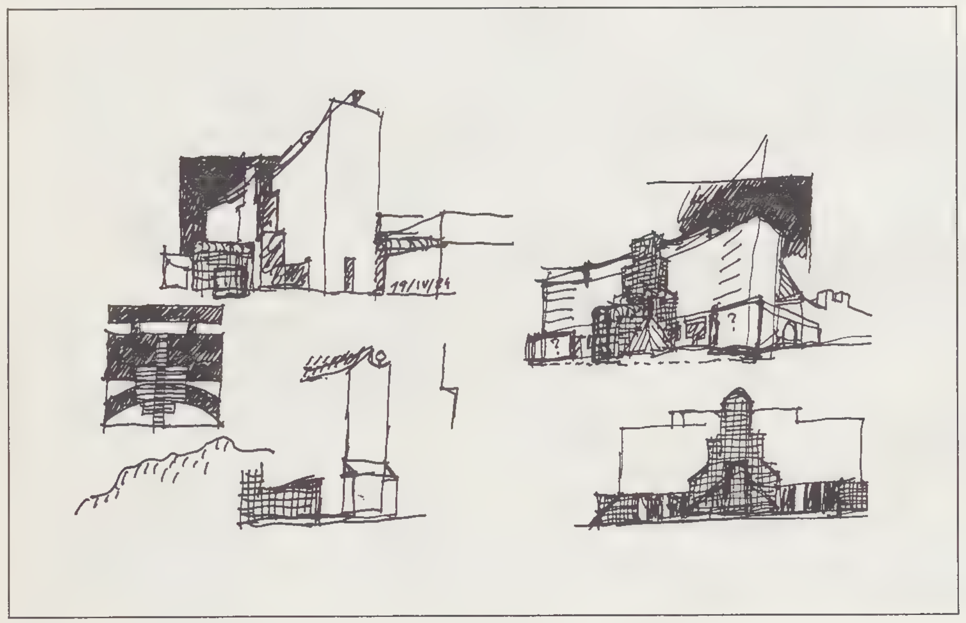


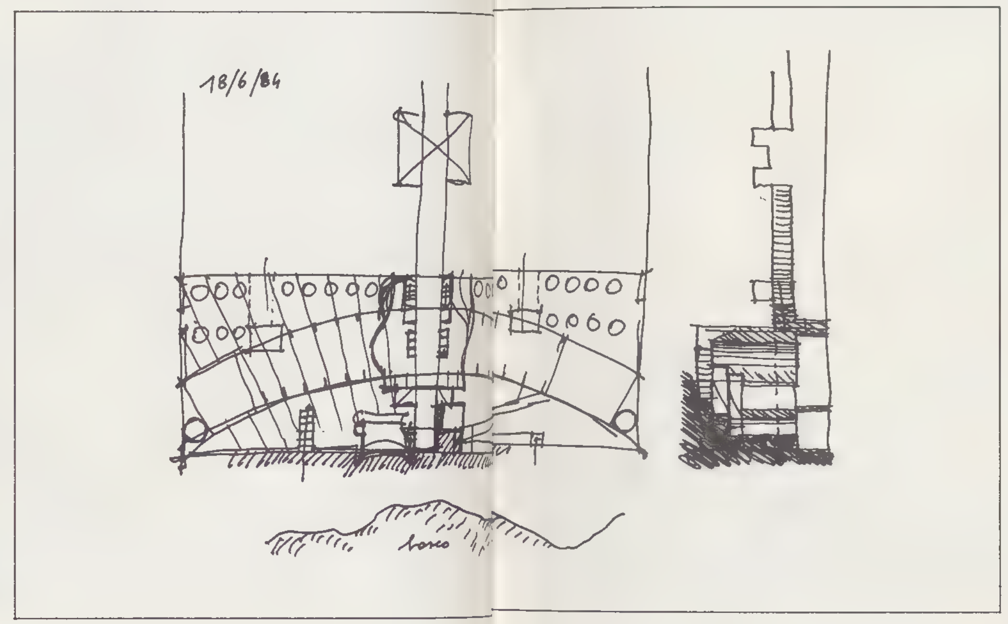
Sketches of the facades of the second project.

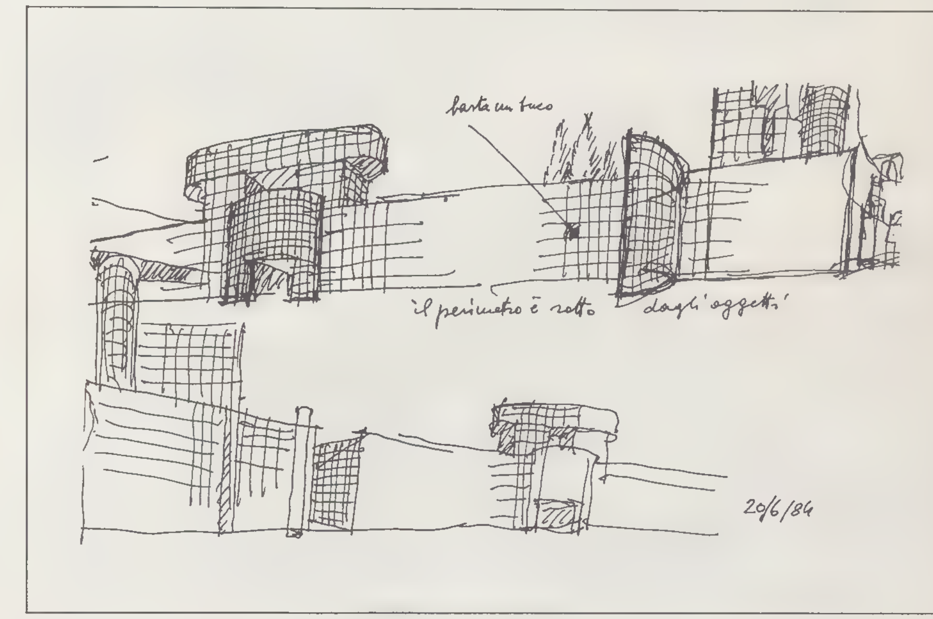




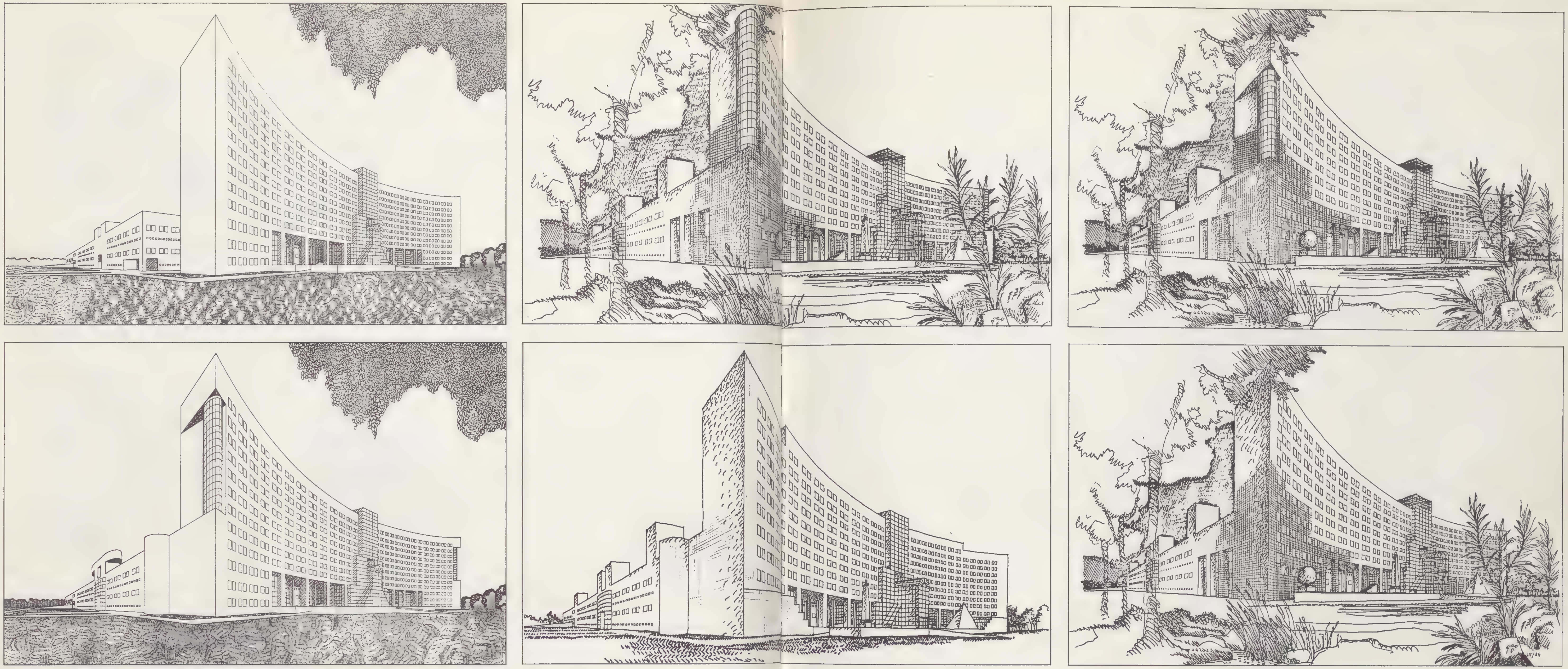




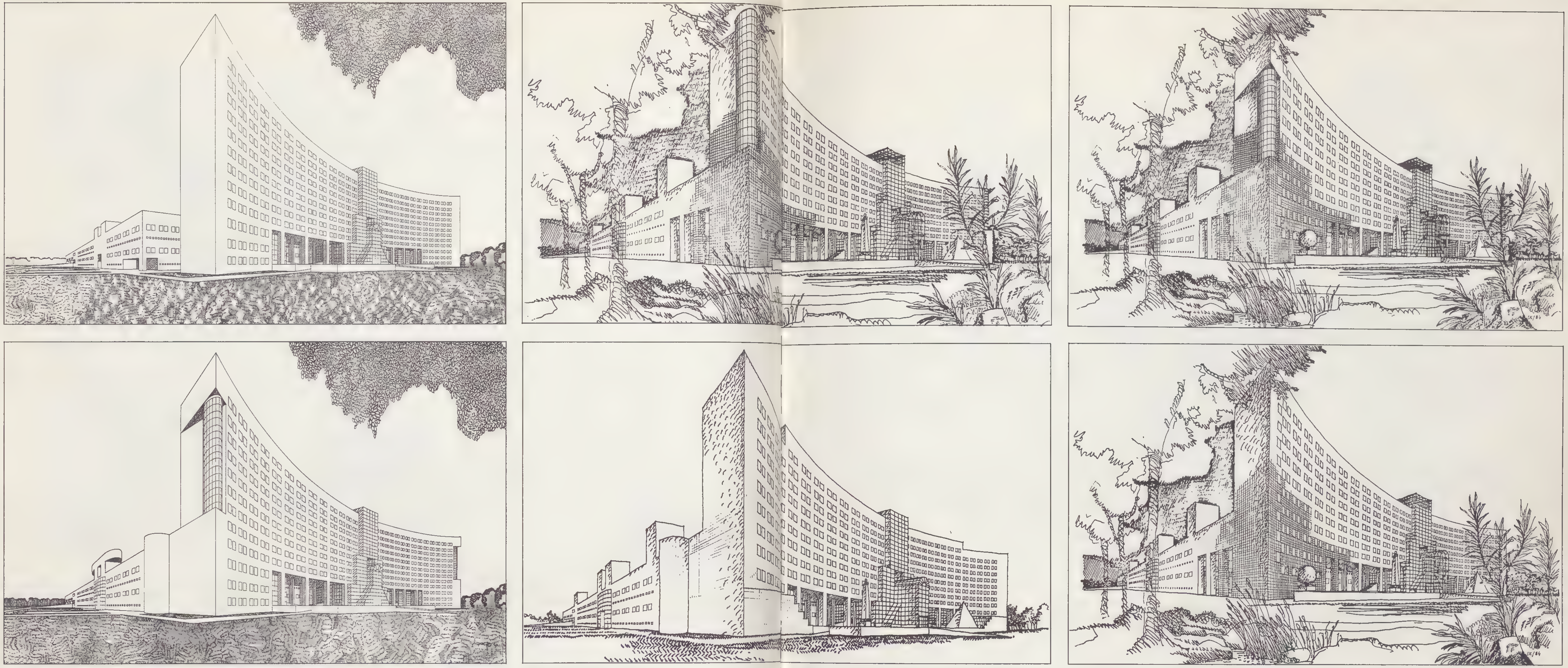




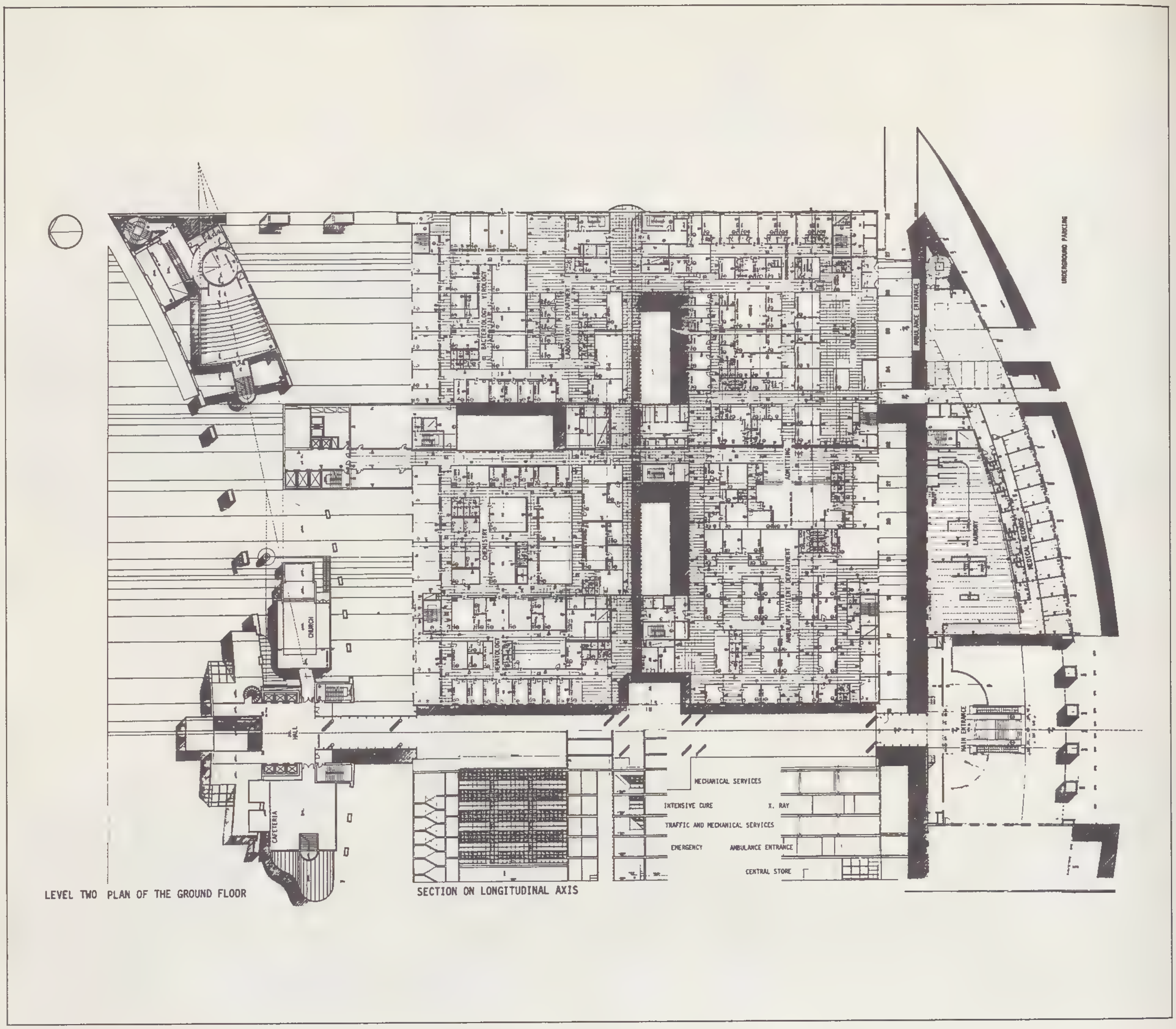
Sketches of the facades of the second project.



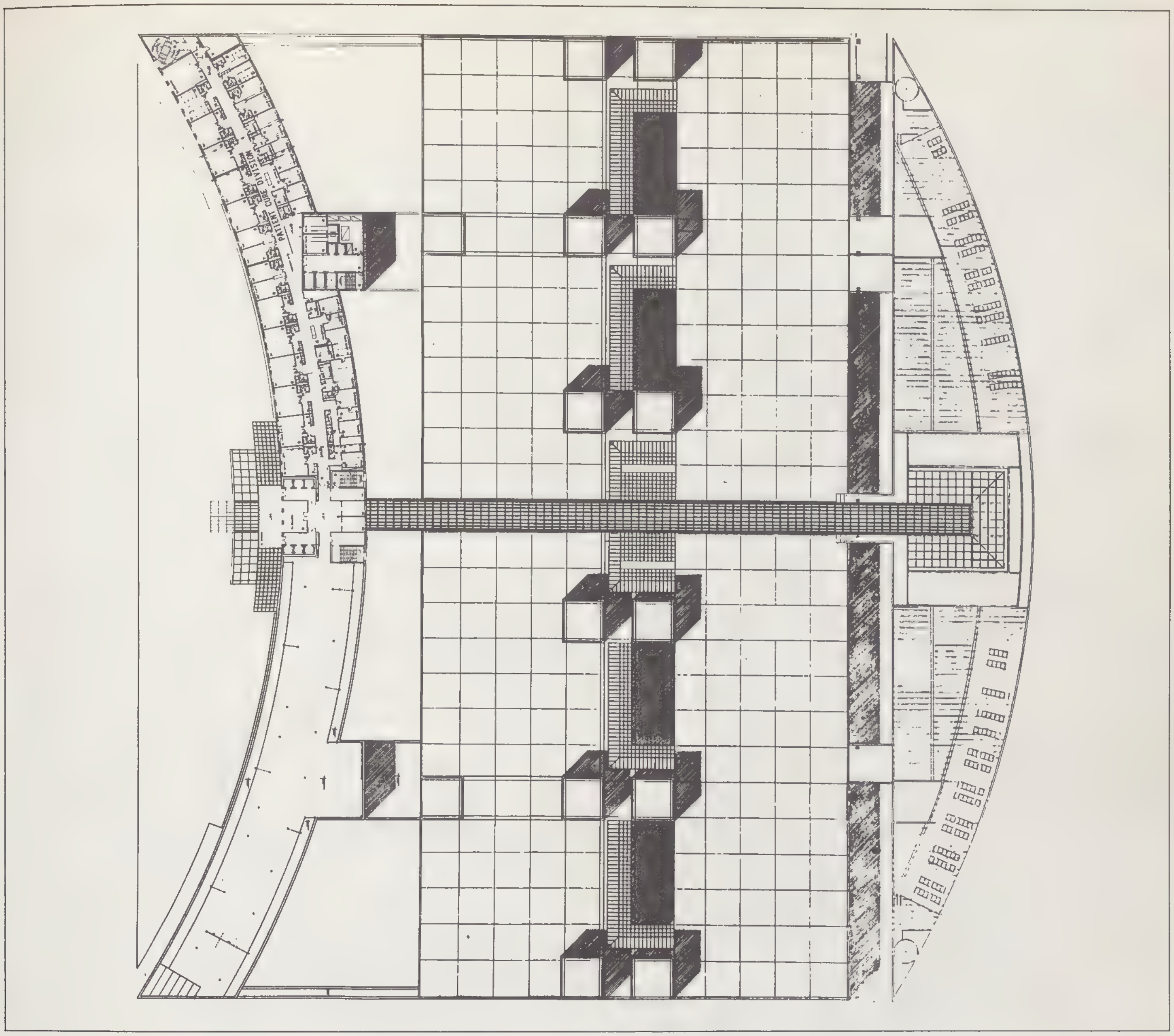
Perspective drawings of the second project.

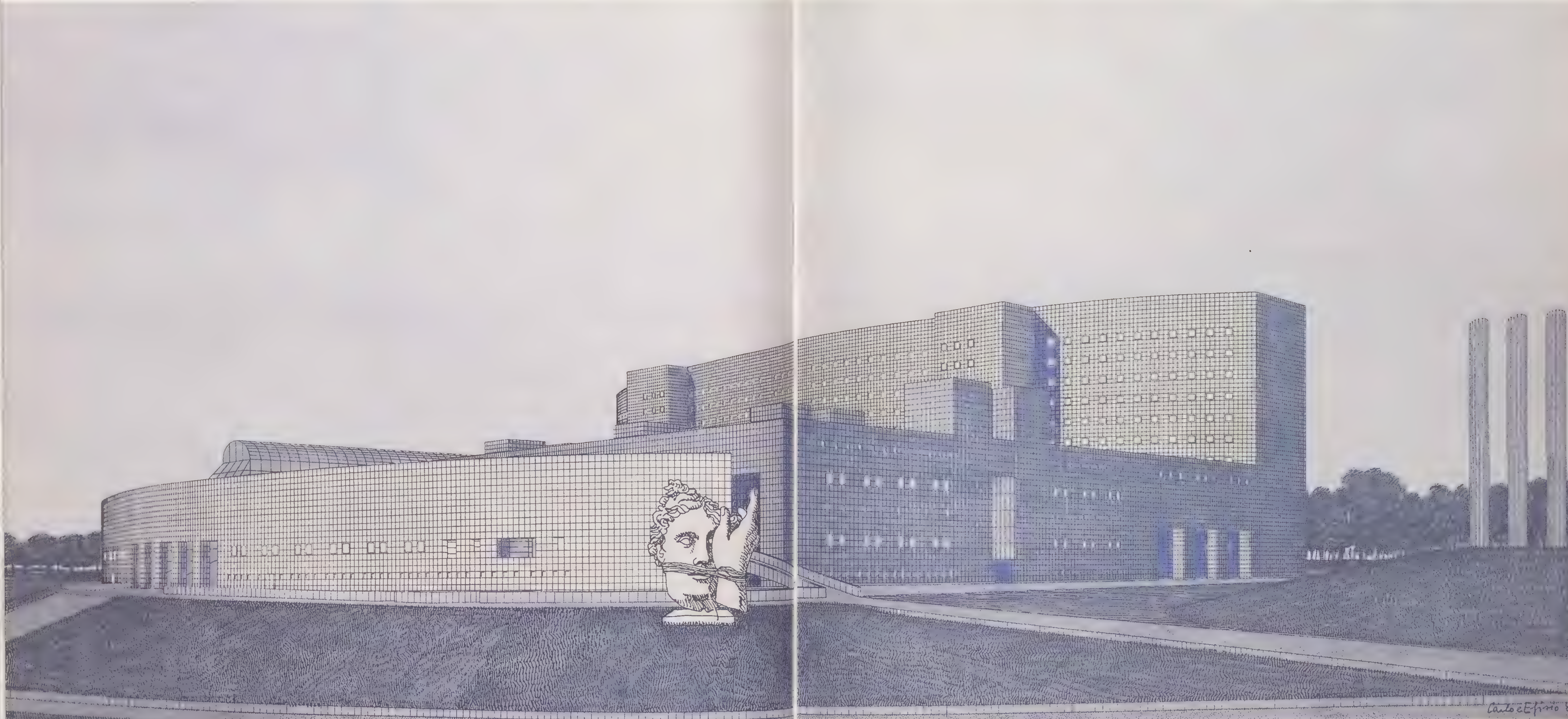


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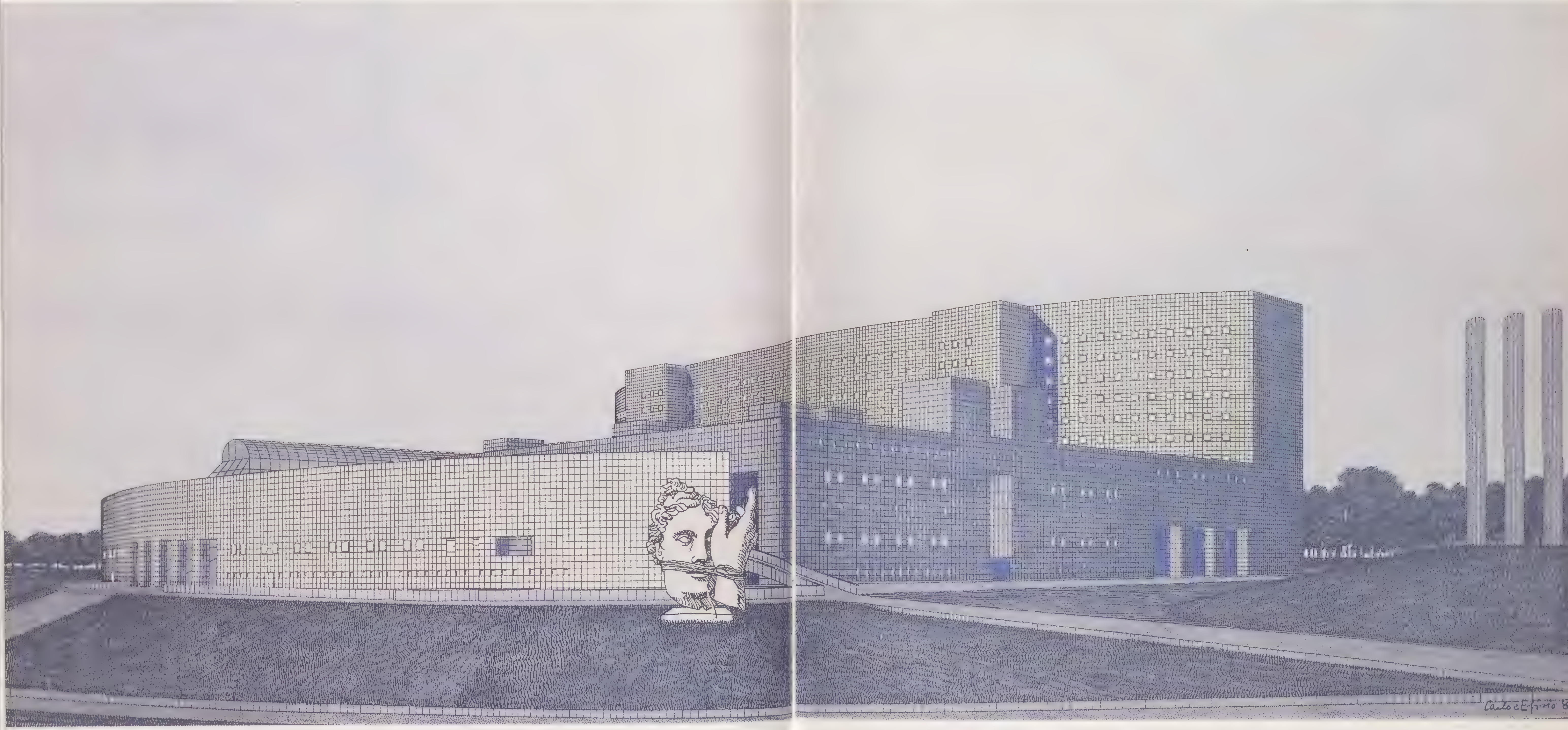


Plan for the ground floor and the roofs with the typical plan for the wards of the final project.

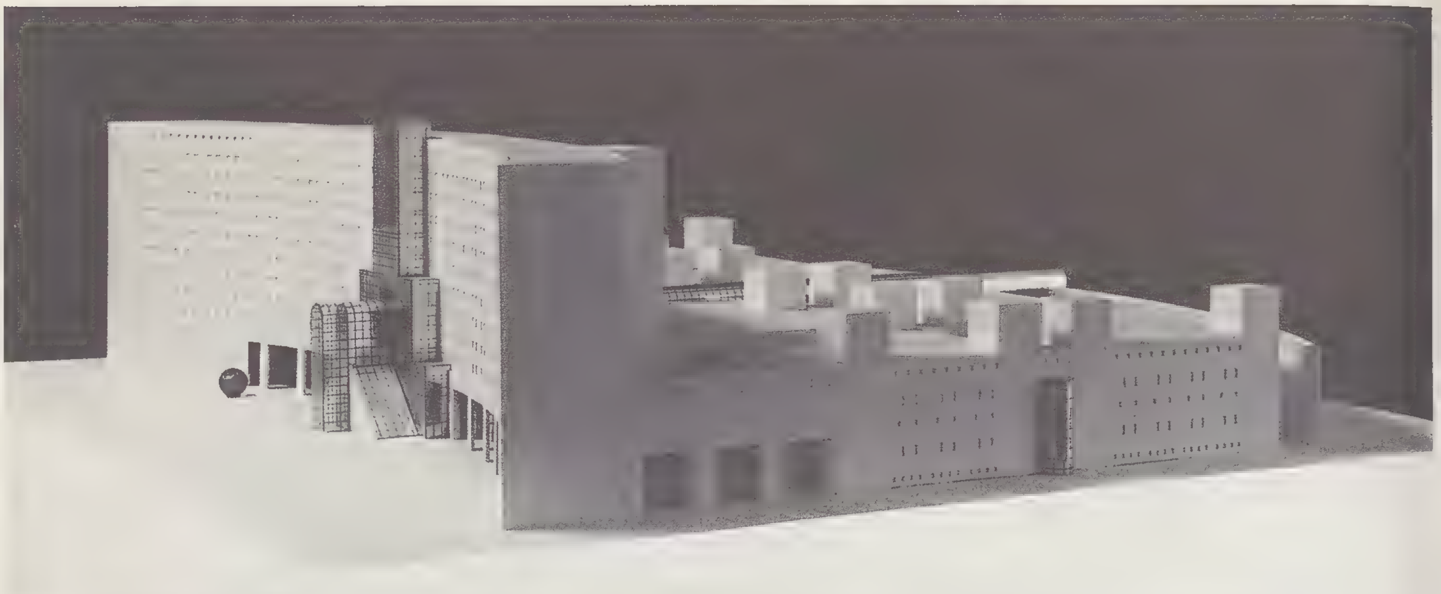

PATIENT CARE DIVISION

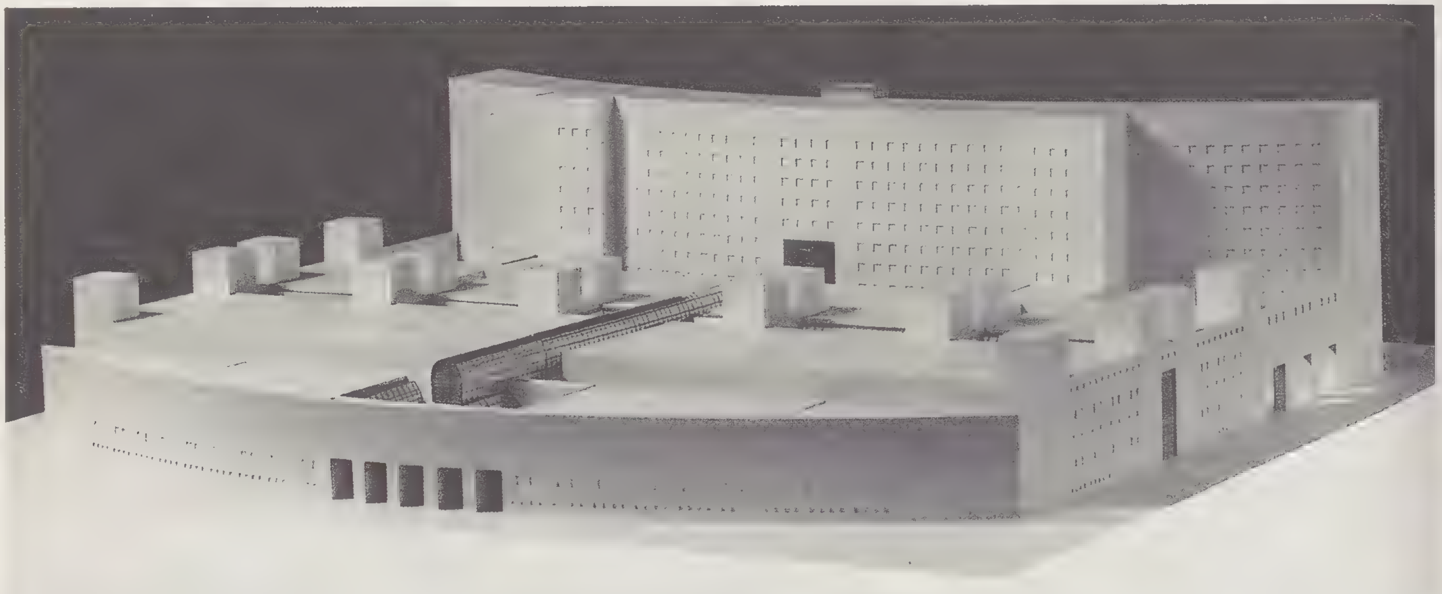


Perspective of the final project from the northwest.



Perspective of the final project from the northwest.

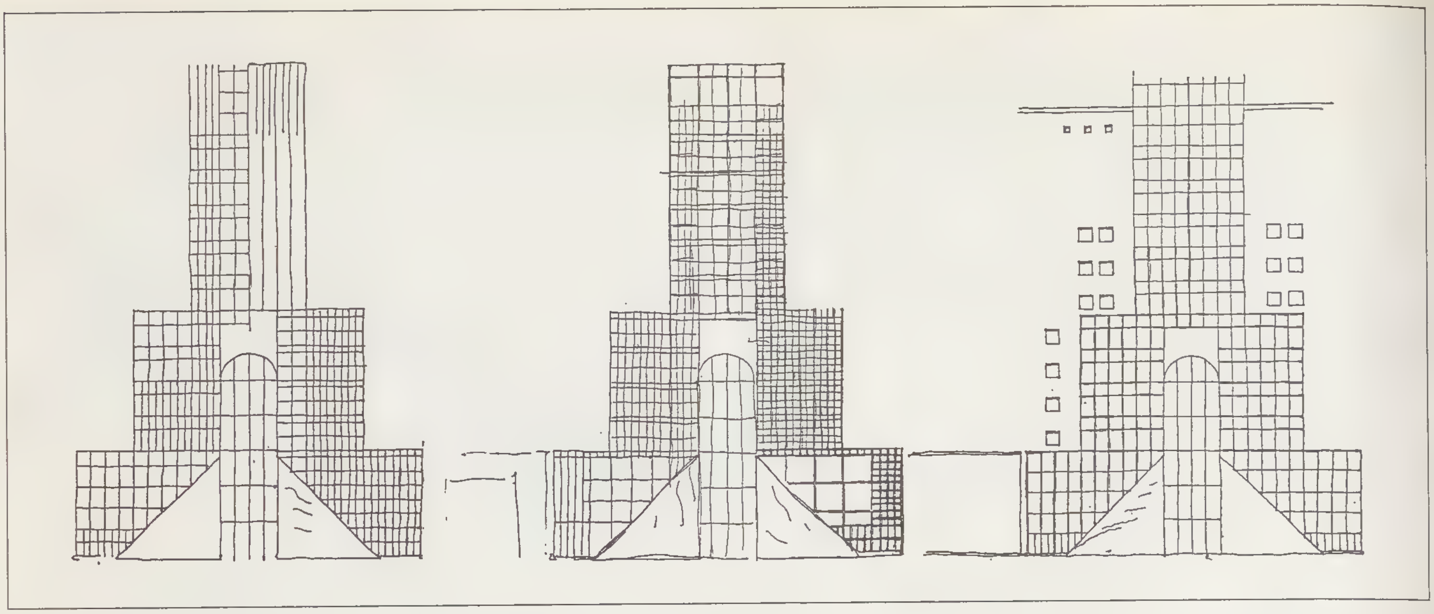


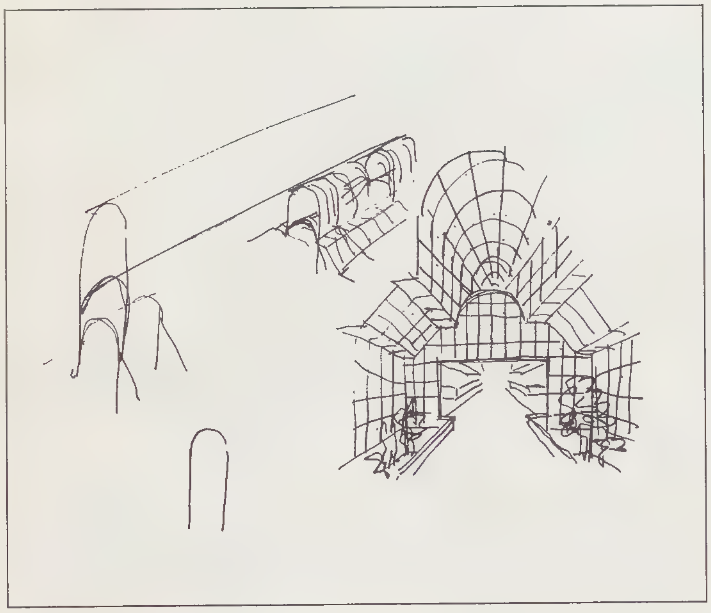


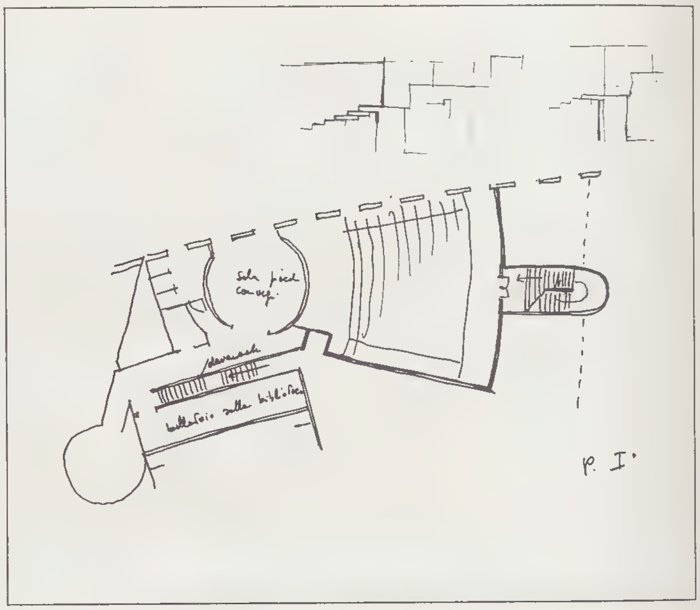
Southeast, northwest and southwest views of the model of the final project.





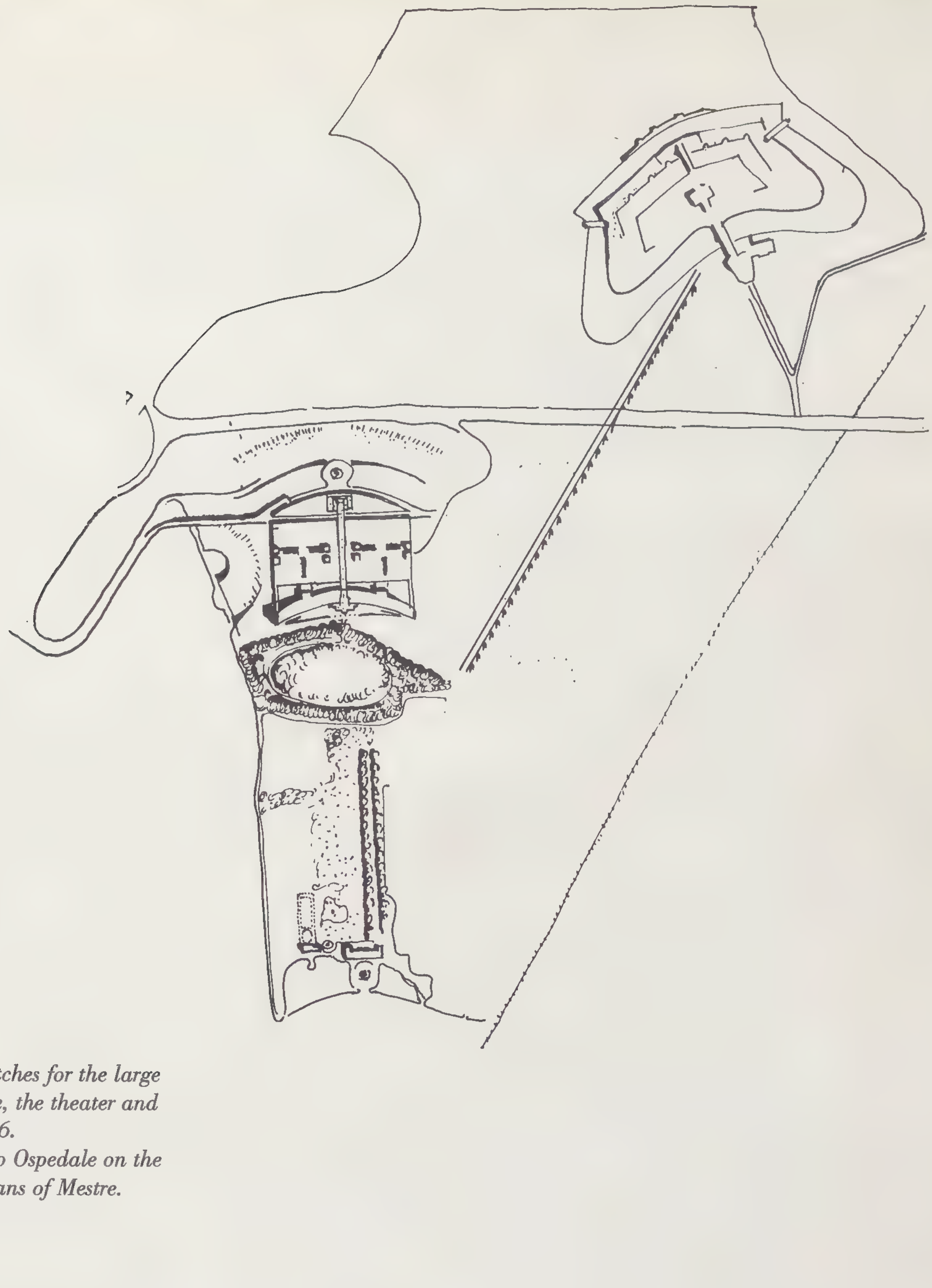





p. I°







Gigetta Tamaro's sketches for the large glass wall, the arcade, the theater and the city park, 1985-86.
Location of the Nuovo Ospedale on the city and territorial plans of Mestre.



Aerial view of the urban-scale model of the final project.

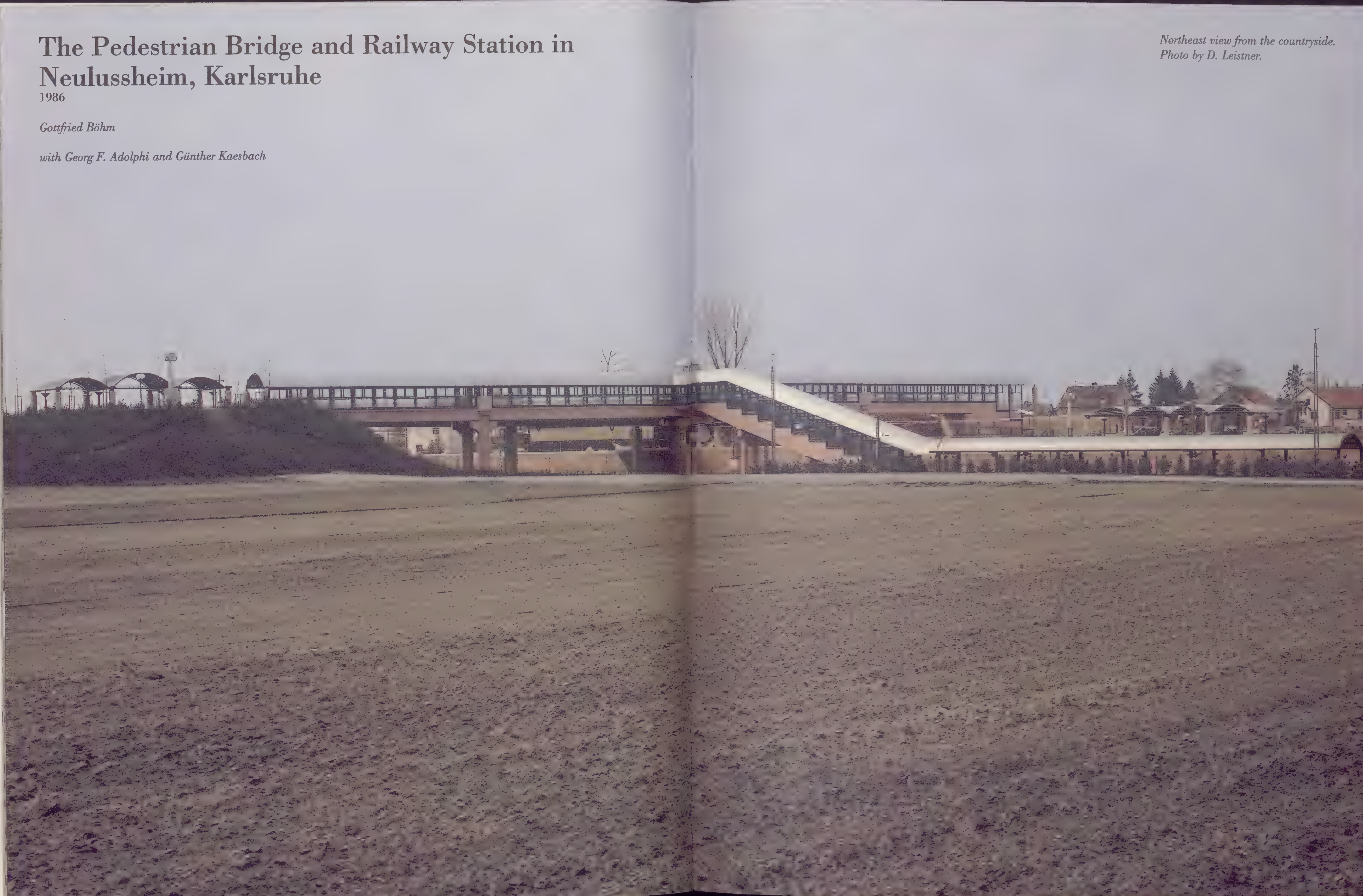


Aerial view of the urban-scale model of the final project.

The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe
1986

Gottfried Böhm

with Georg F. Adolphi and Günther Kaesbach



Northeast view from the countryside.
Photo by D. Leistner.

The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe
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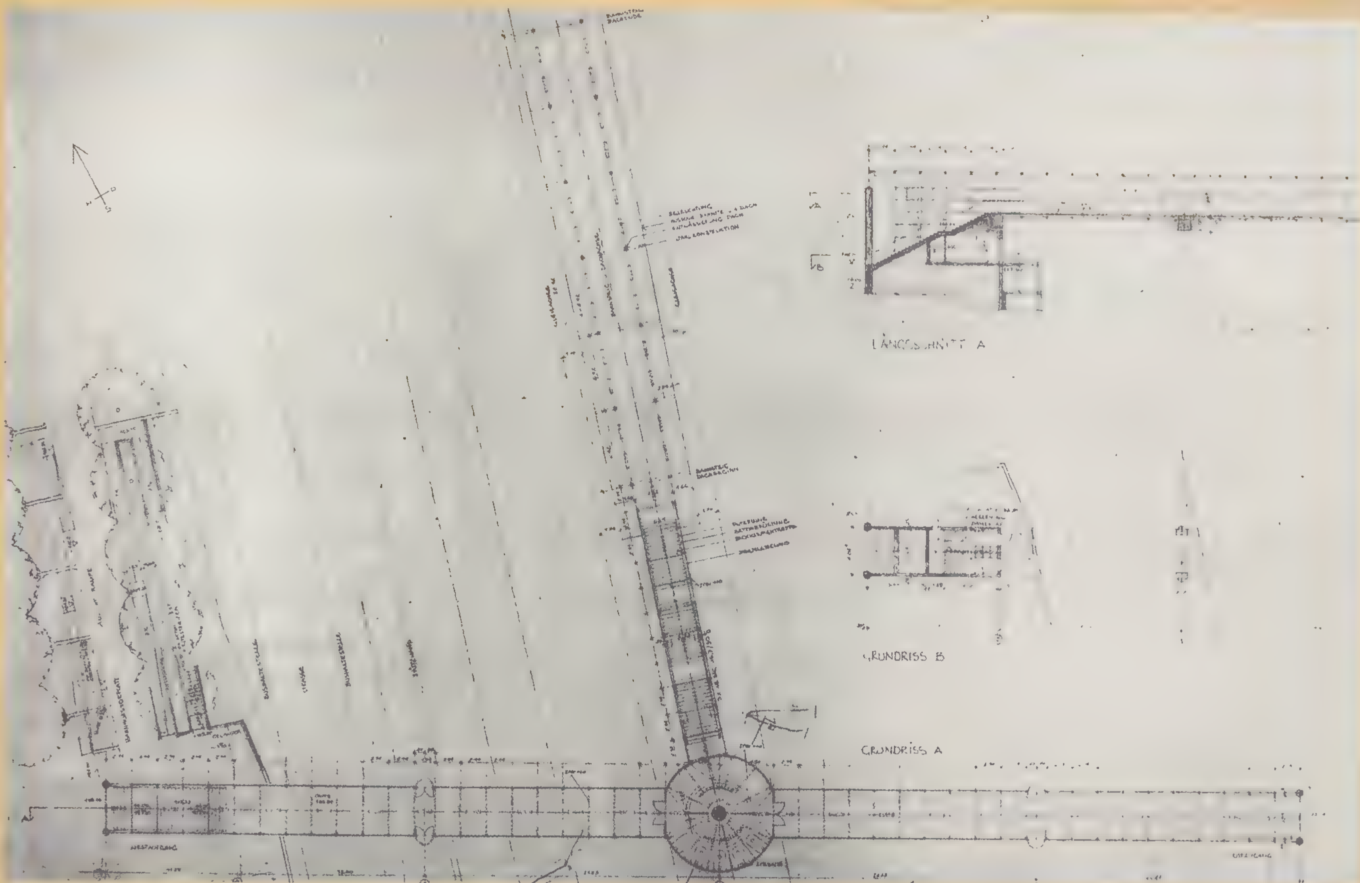
Northeast view from the countryside.
Photo by D. Leistner.



Location of the new station on the Neulussheim city plan.
Plans at the level of the pedestrian bridge and the street.

The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim

The town of Neulussheim is located along the Mannheim-Stuttgart railway line approximately eight kilometers from Hockenheim. The small train station, placed at street level, was originally located at the extreme eastern end of the town. In the same area, the main road running east towards Reilingen was cut off by a grade crossing with a movable barrier. The German Railway Authority decided to eliminate the obstacle represented by the grade crossing by moving the tracks approximately 300 meters to the east and lowering the railway ballast below present ground level. The old train tracks and station therefore became obsolete, and that required the construction of a new station, which was provided with a larger square in order to better define the town's eastern border. Given the lower position of the new track, the station was placed on a pedestrian railway bridge which also provided direct access to the lower level containing the platforms and tracks. The bridge can be reached from the square in front, over the platforms and through a high stairway incorporated into the building. The bridge's prefabricated structure is made of colored, precompressed, reinforced concrete and is supported by reinforced concrete posts that were poured at the site. The molding of the beams and their supports on the posts reproduce the progression of the static forces. The central rotunda above the platforms functions simultaneously as a waiting room and as an orientation and information center for this small train station. The steel structure of the pedestrian path is supported, as a self-sustaining element, by the reinforced concrete structure (beams and posts). The tempered steel-covered vault over the path is reminiscent of the form of the railway cars. The central portion of the bridge, which was designed as an elevated pedestrian road, broadens into a square, from which it is possible to go down to the platforms. The entire pavement matches the reinforced concrete structure in terms of colors and materials. The windows extend down to the level of the pavement, thereby providing maximum horizontal transparency. For safety reasons, they can only be opened for cleaning and maintenance.


LÄNGSSCHNITT A
GRUNDRISS B
GRUNDRISS A


INSTALLATIONSRAUM
HERREN WC
DAMEN WC
GRUNDRISS B



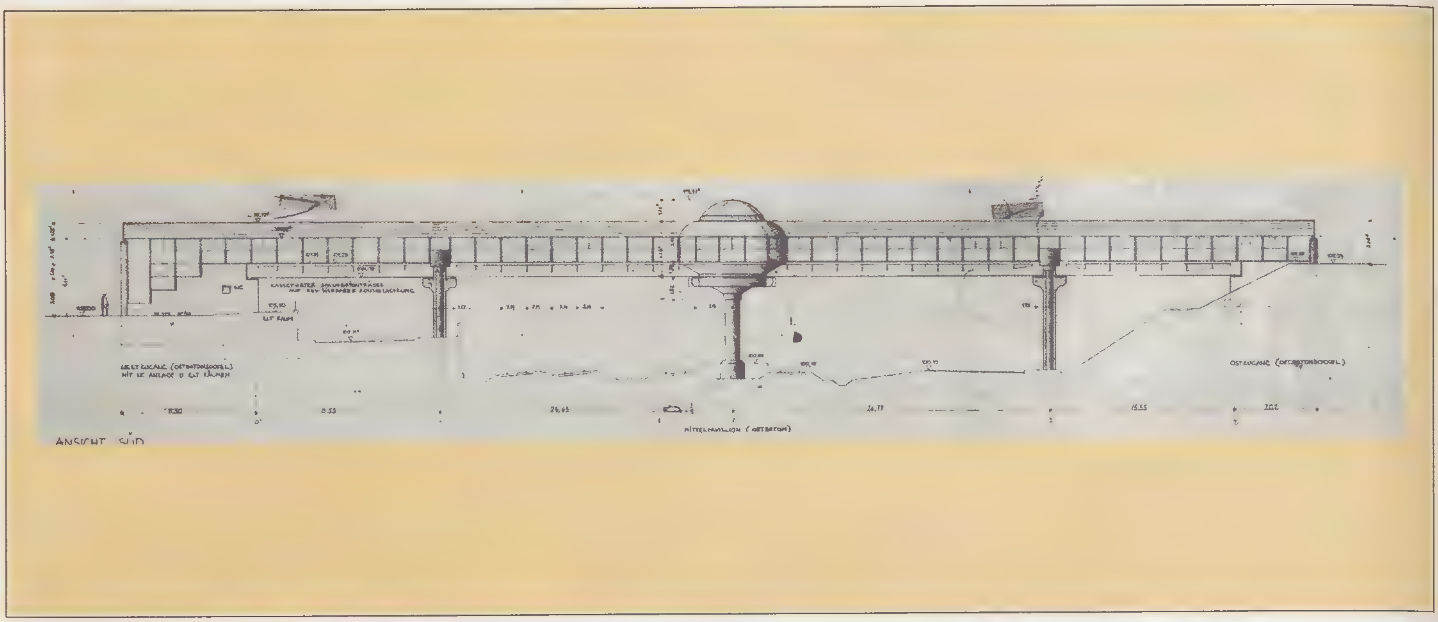
Northwest view of the city with the main entrance and the square in front of the entrance, and a detail of the rotunda viewed from the south.
Photo by D. Leistner.

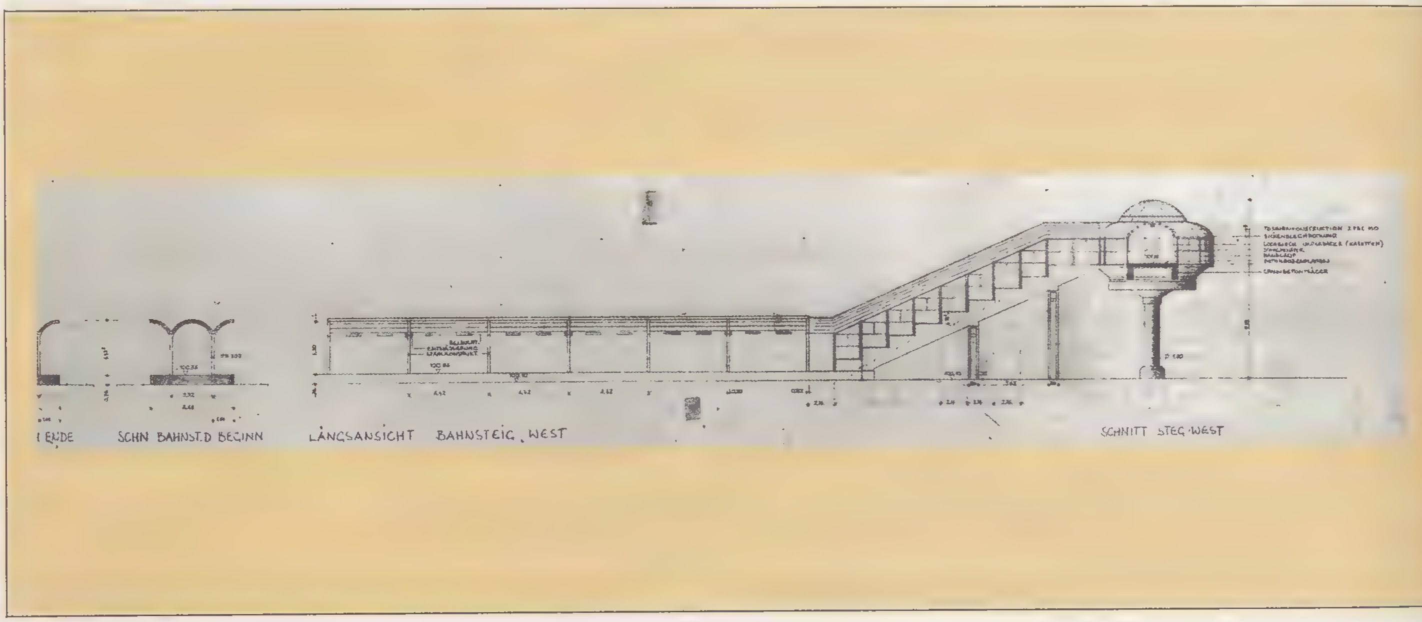




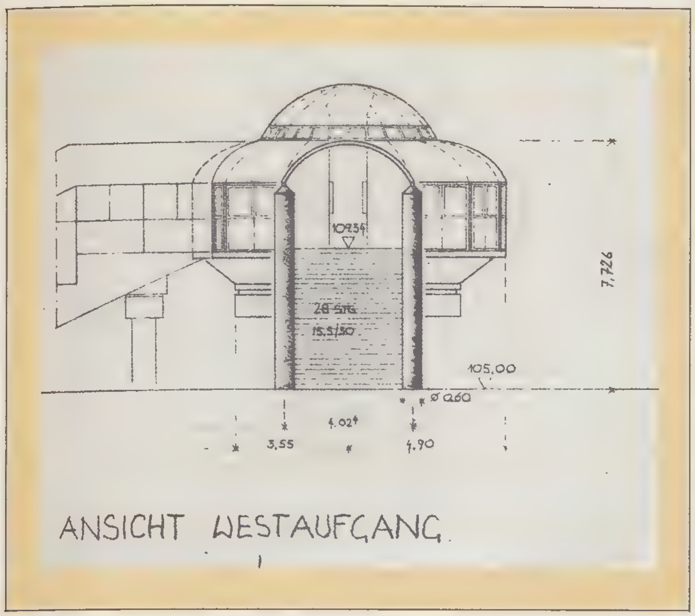
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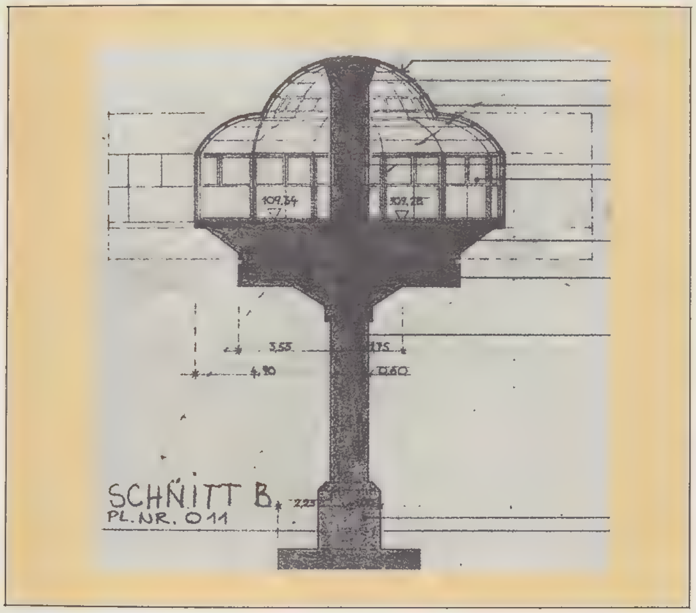




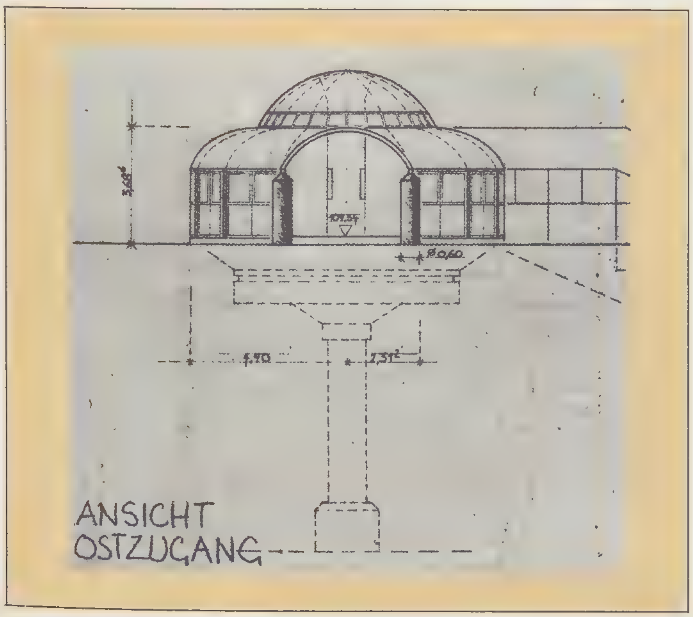
Southern and western elevations with a section of the pedestrian bridge. Elevation of the main entrance viewed from the city, section of the rotunda, elevation of the entrance viewed from the countryside and views of the rotunda and the pedestrian bridge from inside. Photo by D. Leistner.


ANSICHT WESTAUFGANG
105,00
7,726
3,55
4,90




SCHNITT B.
PL.NR. 011
3,55




ANSICHT
OSTZUGANG

Detail of the pedestrian bridge.
Photo by D. Leistner.



Detail of the pedestrian bridge.
Photo by D. Leistner.





Southwest and southeast views with the main entrance and the descent to the platforms.
Photo by D. Leistner.

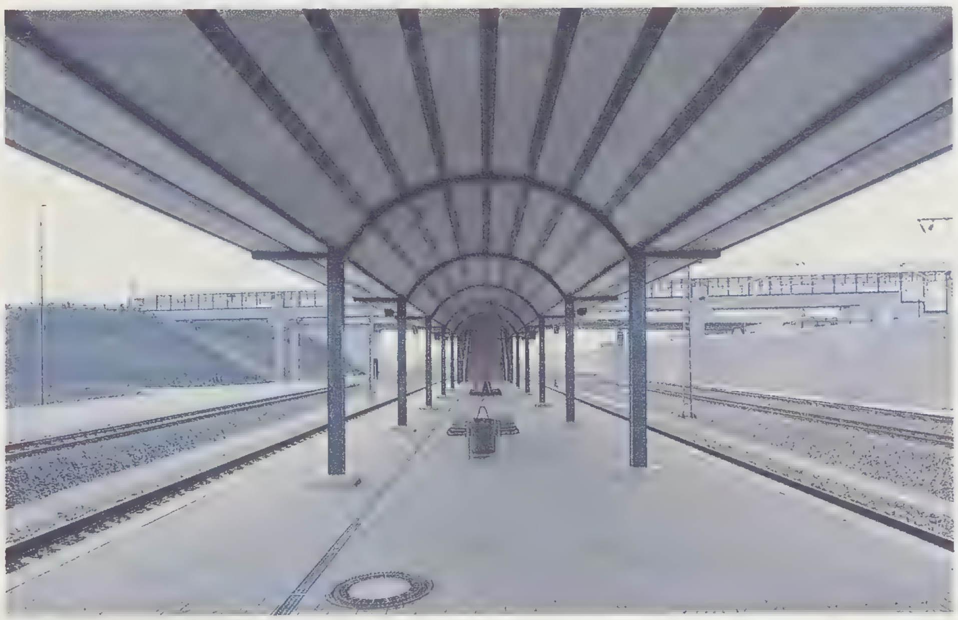




Southwest and southeast views with the main entrance and the descent to the platforms.
Photo by D. Leistner.







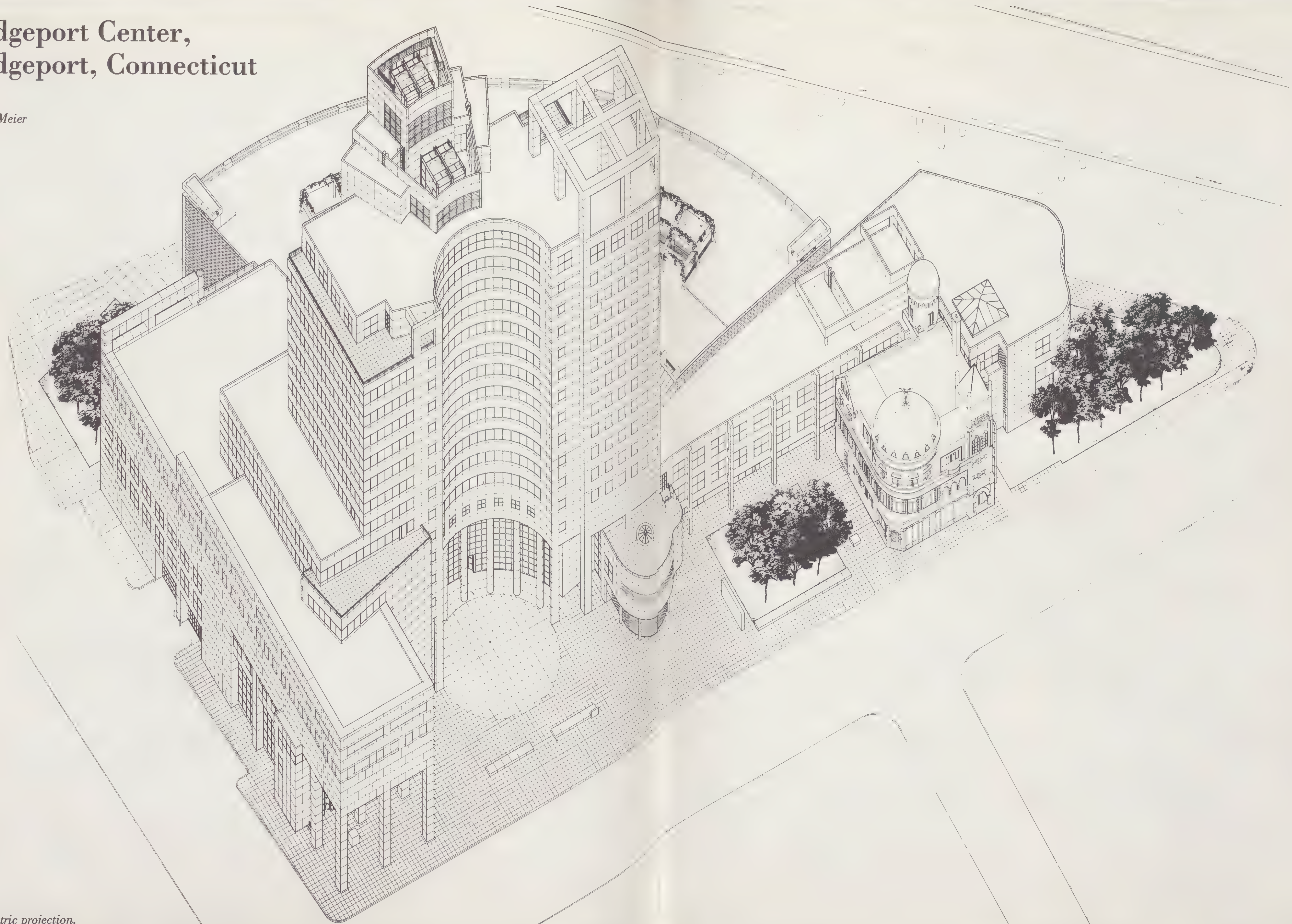
Southern view of the rotunda and details of the platform roof and the main entrance from the city. Photo by D. Leistner.



Bridgeport Center, Bridgeport, Connecticut

1984-88

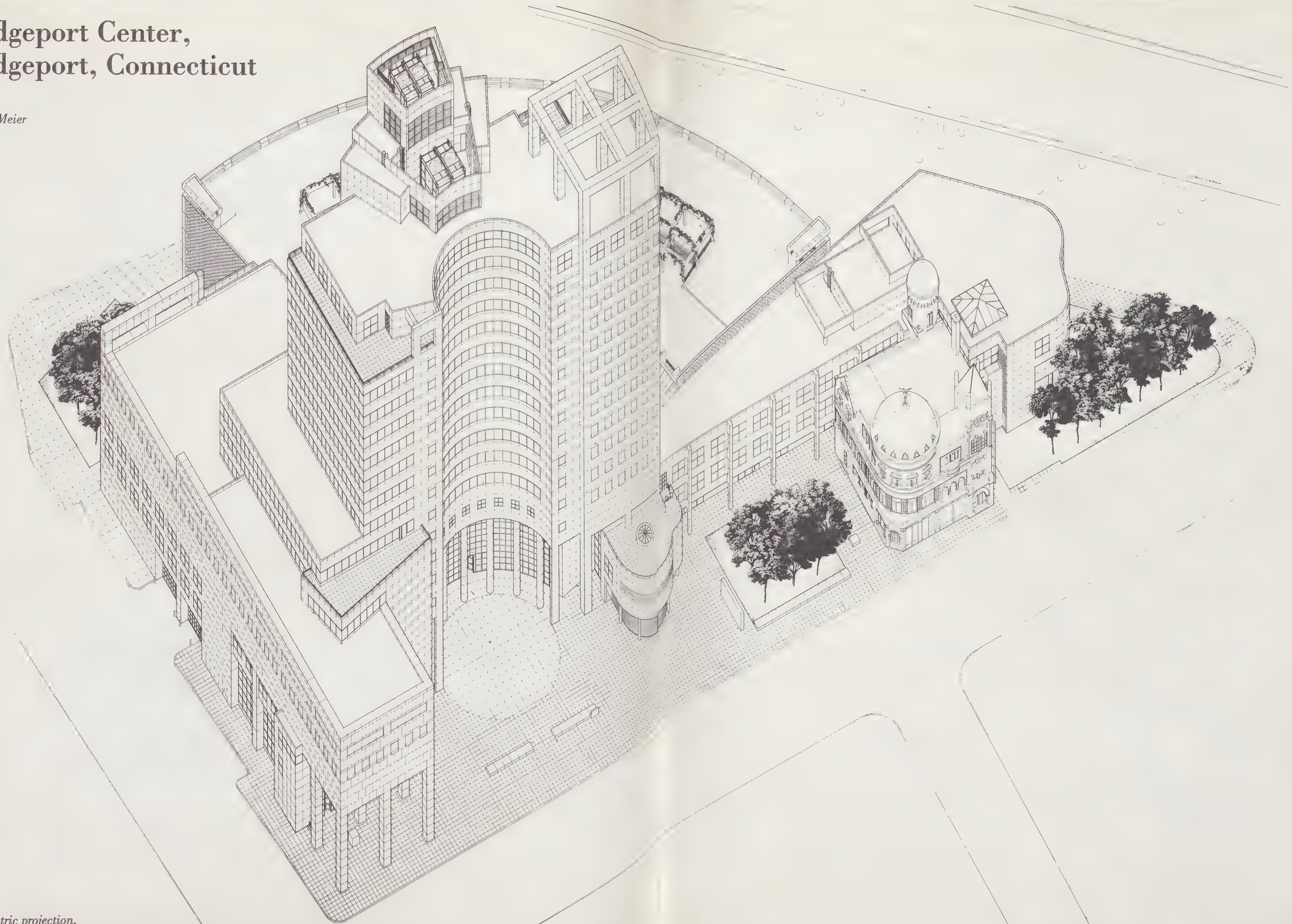
Richard Meier



Axonometric projection.

Bridgeport Center, Bridgeport, Connecticut
1984-88

Richard Meier



Axonometric projection.

Bridgeport Center, Bridgeport, Connecticut

The City of Bridgeport has anticipated and planned for change — change that heralds new development and economic vitality by the end of this century. Bridgeport Center is the cornerstone of this tremendously exciting urban renaissance which will bring renewed prominence to Bridgeport.

The design of Bridgeport Center is an illustration of a new way of building in the City. Rather than a single monolithic edifice, the Center is conceived as a composition of multiple buildings. It is the physical form of the City in microcosm and offers new direction for building in the urban environment. Not an agglomeration of competing towers on separate blocks, but, instead, the structure of a mixed, neutrally compatible complex of low and mid-rise buildings created with planned surroundings of human scale, embracing mixed uses, respecting existing open spaces while adding new ones.

This new complex on Main Street is responsive both to the prospect of the downtown area as seen from the highway and as experienced by the pedestrian from within, and to the established streetscape with its commitment to democratic function. People's Bank three-block center is the beginning of a strategic plan for ordered change in the central core of downtown Bridgeport.

A five story atrium is the focus of the building's internal organization. The east and west entry as well as the parking garage opens directly to this space, which is the control and distribution point for the mid-rise office tower.

The South Wing engages the existing Barnum Museum, providing gallery space on the ground floor, a training center on the second floor and an employes cafeteria on the third floor.

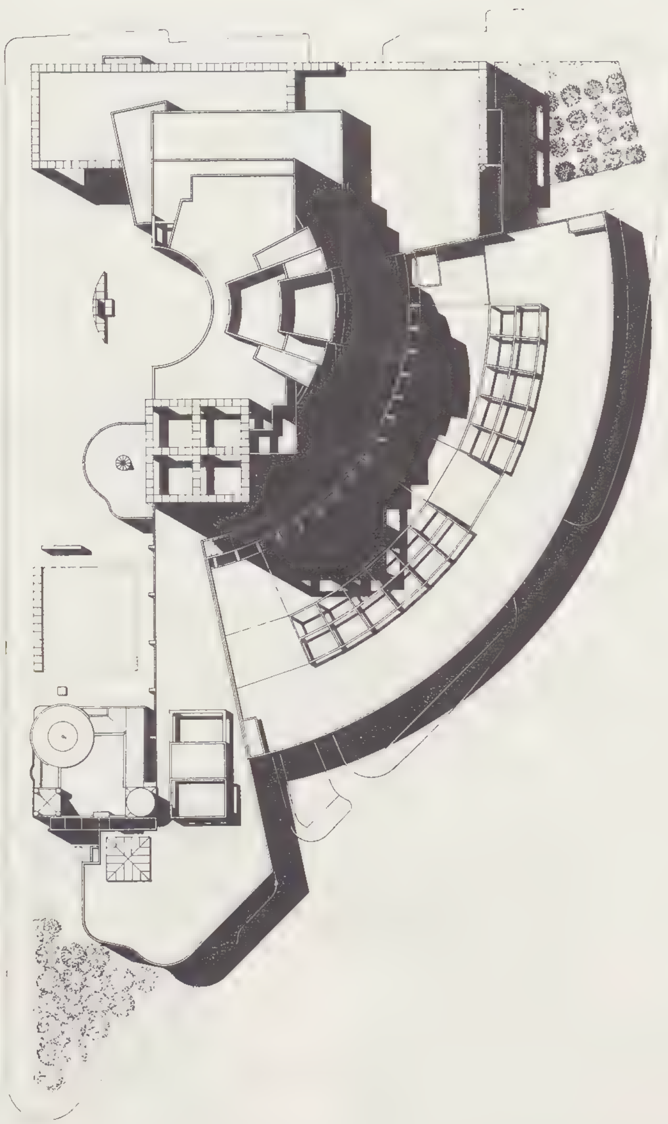


Location of the Bridgeport Center on the Bridgeport city plan.



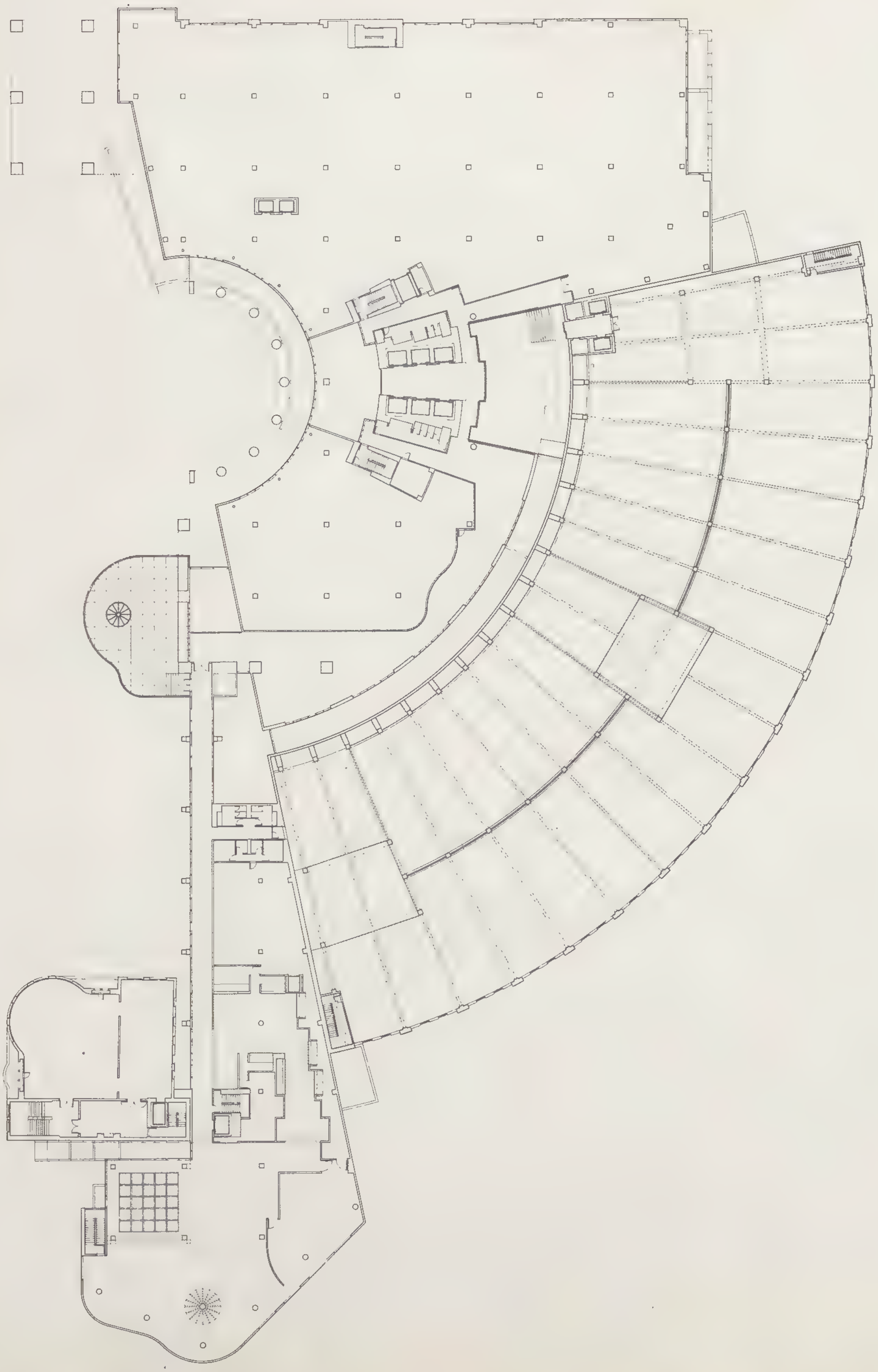
BRIDGEPORT
BRIDGEPORT HARBOR
Pequonnock Yacht Club
PEQUONNOCK
Tongue Pt
East End Yacht Club
Johnson's Creek
YELLOW MILL POND
RIVER
LAKEVIEW CEM.
Stillman Pd
PARK CEMETERY
Seeleys Pond
BEACHWOOD PARK
ST. MICHA
CEMETERY
Bridgeport Sta
CONRAIL FREIGHT YARDS
UNIVERSITY OF BRIDGEPORT
HARDING HS
BRIDGEPORT HOSPITAL
ST. VINCENT'S MED. CTR.
CITY HALL
PARK CITY HOSP
GILBERT CROSSWAYS MALL
FISHING PIER
TPKE.
CONNECTICUT
EAST END
PARK
BOSTON AV
NORTH AV
WASHINGTON AV
MAIN ST
HUNTINGTON RD
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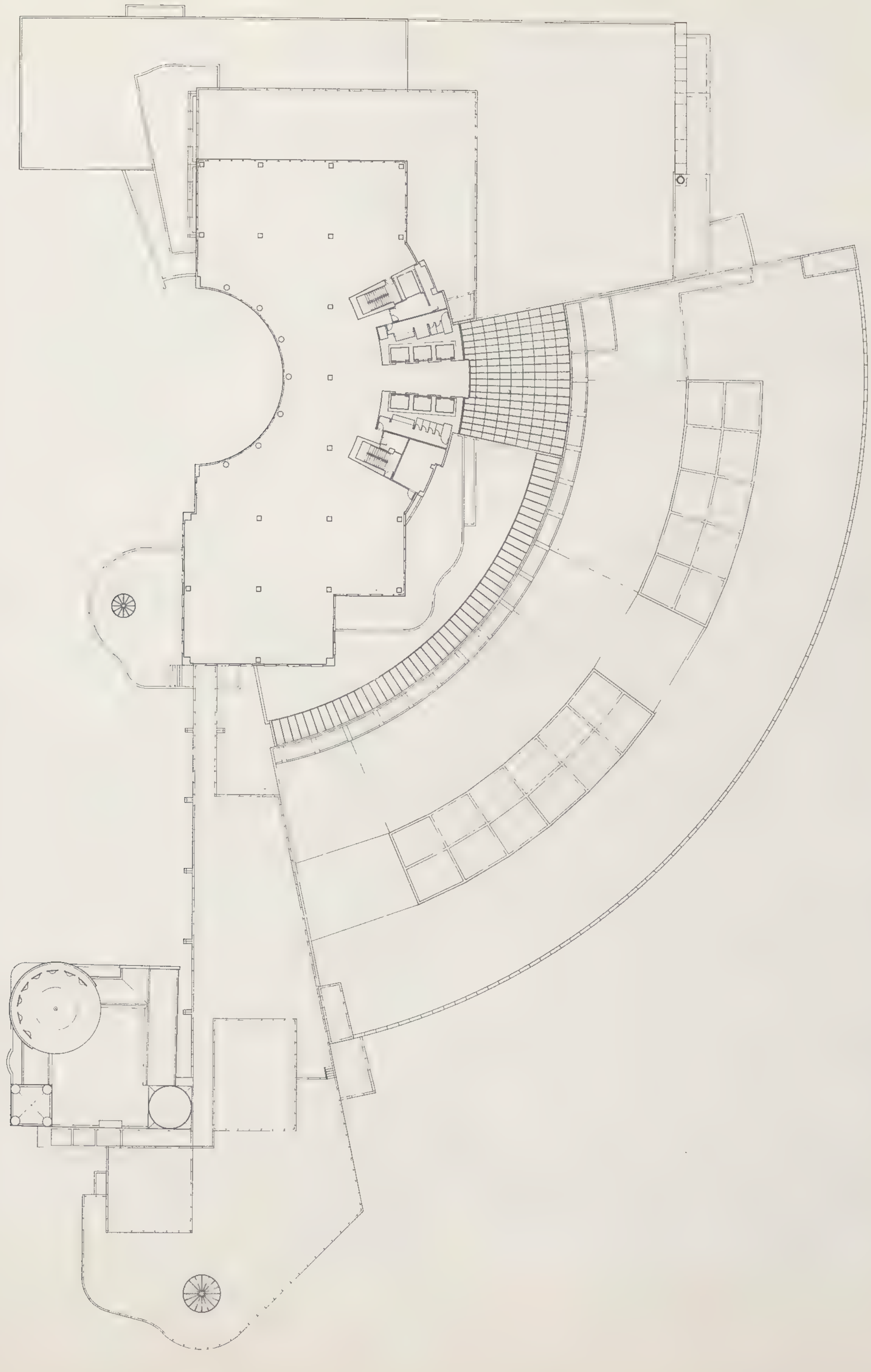
Site plan and northwest view.
Photo by J. Goldberg.

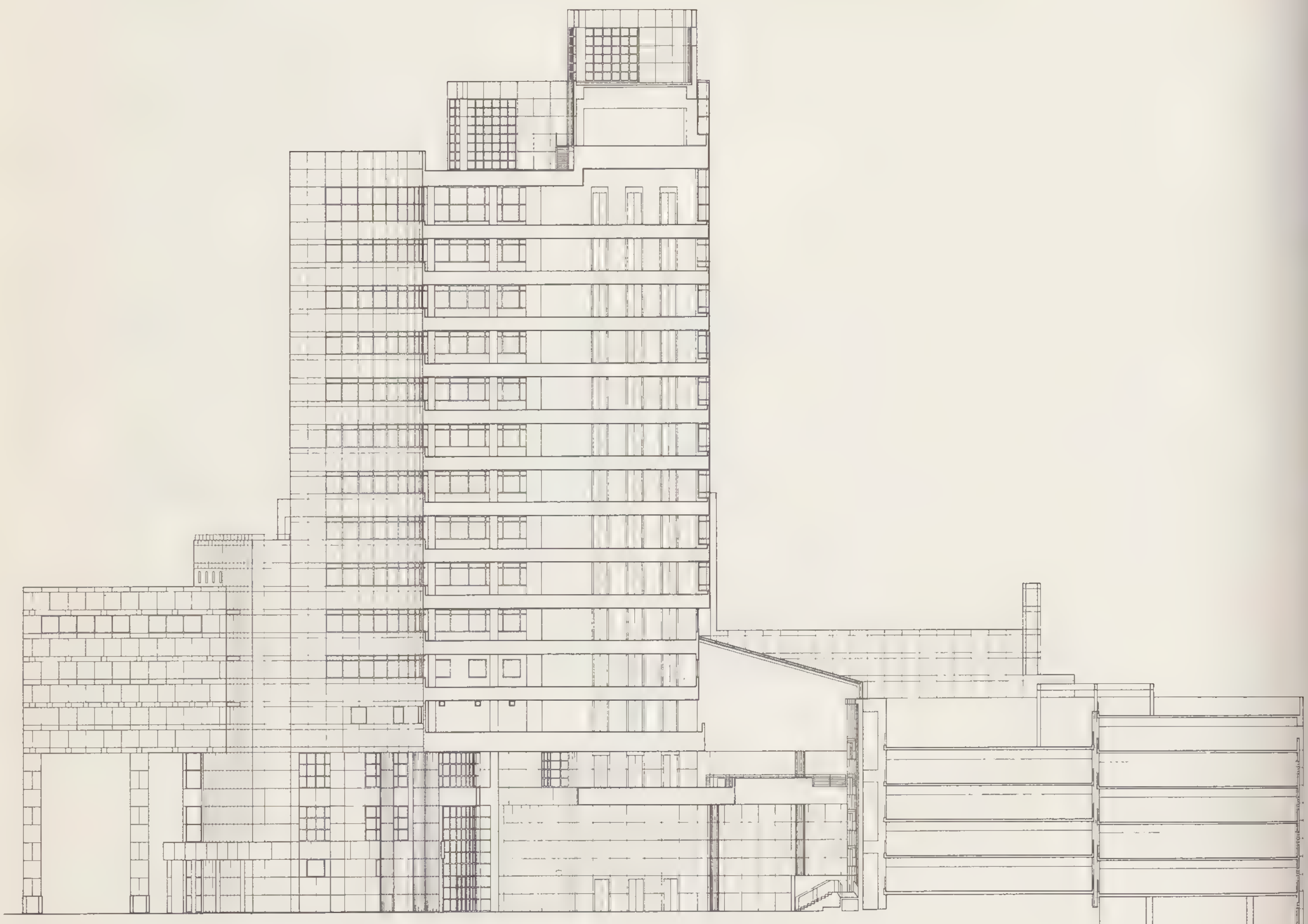



PEOPLE'S BANK

Plans for the third level and typical level.







Cross-section and western view on the small square with entrance. Photo by J. Goldberg.





View of the western side on Main Street
and detail of the central atrium.
Photo by J. Goldberg.

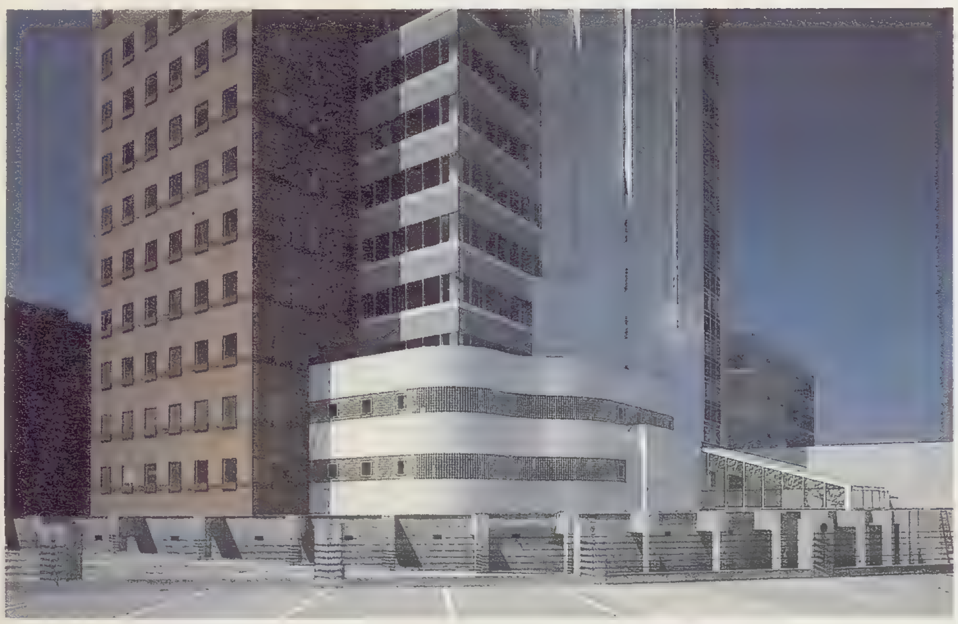




View of the upper part through the glass roof of the central atrium.
Photo by J. Goldberg.

View of the upper part through the glass roof of the central atrium.
Photo by J. Goldberg.





Detail of the southeast side from the roof terrace of the parking garage and northeast view of the upper part. Photo by J. Goldberg.

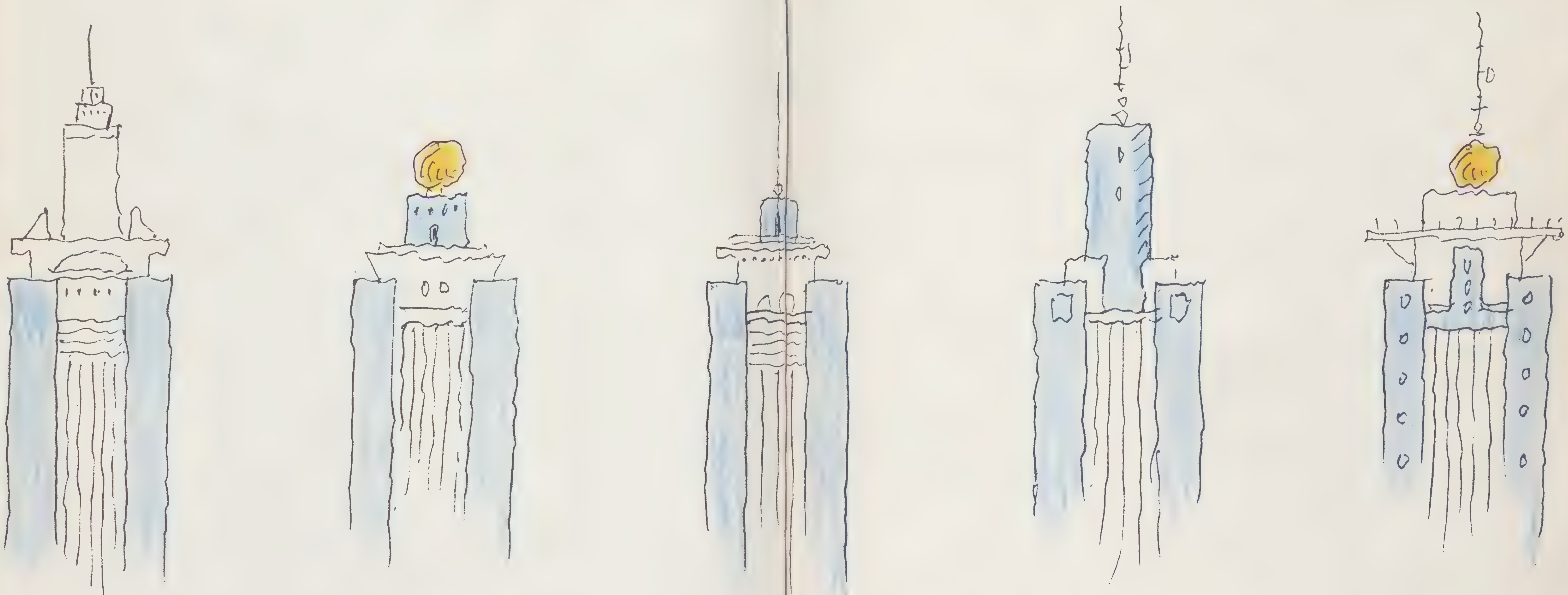


Gustav Peichl

with Peter Kuglstaetter, Peter Nigst and Günther Ecker

The Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main

1987-88



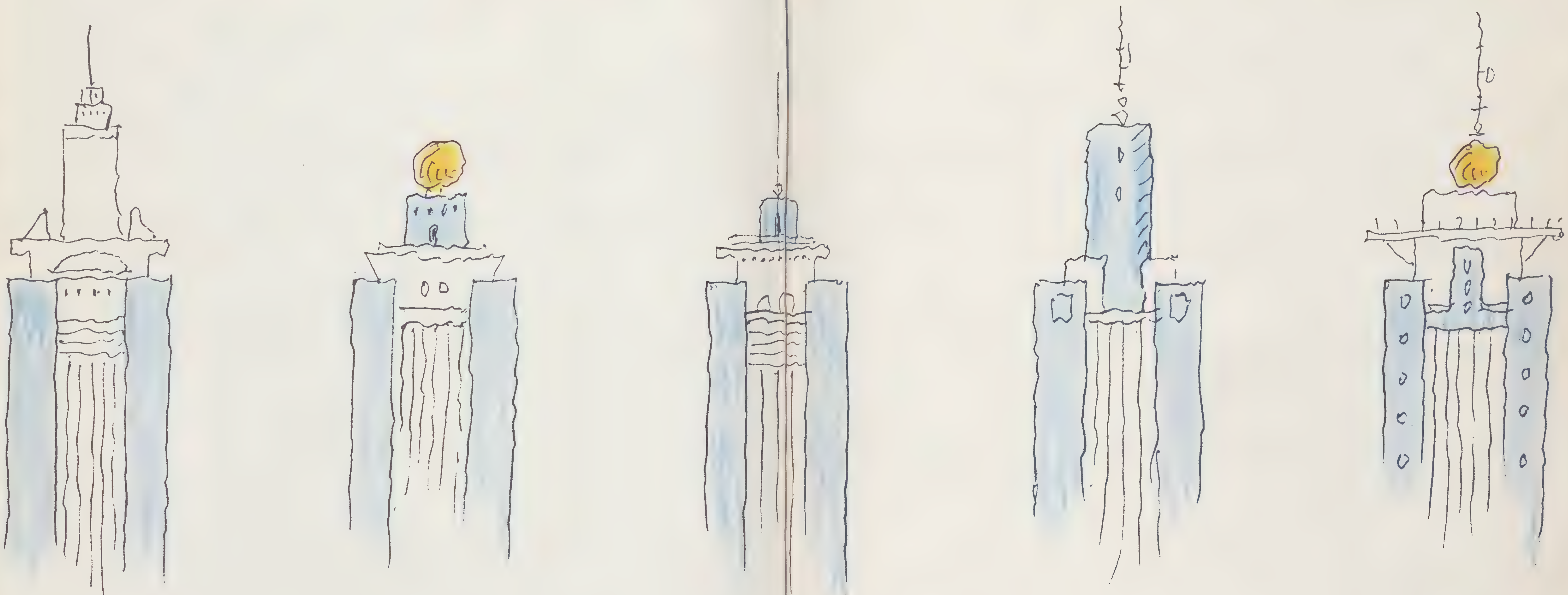
Sketches of the tower.

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Sketches of the tower.

Architecture and sensitivity*

Gustav Peichl

Of all the modern arts, modern architecture is certainly the one that most interferes with our lives. Whether we like it or not, we always end up with it around us. We may call it bankrupt, commonplace or even boring (and I think that a large part of it is all of those things), but it still concerns us all.

In the beginning there was the cave. The first man to lead his hordes to a cave was the forerunner of modern architects. He knew how to take shelter from bad weather, wild animals and his enemies.

From that time on with continually increasing ability, man figured out how to build shelters and places for collective gatherings: from the Acropolis to the Roman Forum all the way up to the Pompidou Center. Thanks to the archeological evidence provided by these places, today we have some idea of life during past eras. But sometimes we make mistakes. Take, for example, the "achromatism of classical antiquity" during the Greek and Roman period. This error in judgment was based on a defect in Renaissance man's power of perception, since that was the era in which the mistake first appeared. Men of that time were not able to imagine a multicolored antiquity and thought that monochromatism was an expression of "*edle Einfalt und stille Große*" ("noble simplicity and quiet grandeur", Johann Joachim Winckelmann). As if ancient painters, the children of the Mediterranean's chromatic splendor, could have ever come up with the depressing idea of doing away with the expressivity of color! On the contrary, for them "color" was an essential tool for making spaces more easily perceivable by our senses, that is *sinnlich.*

In addition to color, architecture's closest allies are form and material. They liven up or sadden an environment, depending on whether the architect manages to work in harmony with these allies or exerts force over them. Architectural styles are the calligraphies of human civilizations. In the technical world, a building's form and function rarely appear in their pure and independent state. Functionalism is the execution of a functional program without considering aesthetic forms; formalism, on the other hand, is the exaggerated accentuation of form that is indifferent to functional requirements. Architectural creations, like design products, are thus based on an operation that lies somewhere between purely artistic composition and technical activity. In fact, architecture cannot be equated with either science or art. While art may be totally free in terms of choice of forms and expressive means, architecture and design are empirical activities which are intentionally aesthetic at the same time. Today, industrial design is often a tool of economic forces aimed at increasing sales through the manipulation of consumers. On the other hand, modern design is also characterized by an attempt to optimize the object's technical and aesthetic attributes. Therefore, the problem of the legitimacy of industrial design lies in the discrepancy between intention and reality and the degree of prefiguration and possibility of accomplishment offered by design practice at a given moment in time.

Current trends in architecture are only understandable through a thorough analysis of functionalism. Architectural thoght in our time is mainly concerned with aspects related to the functional, technical and executive requirements of construction. The point of view on which it is based is predominantly, sometimes exclusively, utilitarian. In the future, however, the center of gravity of the architect's work will have to be shifted to the aesthetic sphere, and more attention will necessarily have to be paid to the values of form and space. I think the object of architecture should be the organization (planning) of the transformation of the space. The two things that count most in architecture are the purpose to which the building must correspond in terms of space and its artistic form. It is a commonly held belief that the history of modern architecture has been inevitably determined by individual artist and not by "trends" or "groups". In fact, no economic, technological or sociological trend could have created a Villa Savoye, a Barcelona Pavilion or a Berlin Philharmonic. In architecture, the so-called "klassische Moderne" (classic modernity) would not have existed, if it hadn't been for the individual creative acts of the great masters. Architecture is the sum of form, function, material, color and light. The tendency is towards an architecture of *Sinnlichkeit*, that is, an architecture of the senses, and an architecture that considers "Eros". Color and light ignite the senses. I think that atmosphere and environment are important criteria for the evaluation of architecture.

Every building and every kind of architecture arises out of the intersection of traditional forms and new rules dictated by the functional program. Two components determine the result: on the one hand the new sensitivity with which the forms of tradition are viewed, and on the other the practical requirements which the building must satisfy. A successful synthesis of these two components is a necessary condition for quality in both architectural works and urban development operations.

The life of a building mainly consists of the habits of the people who use it. Its quality does not lie in its representative or monumental size, but rather in its "atmosphere" (*Stimmung*) and the "poetry" that it manages to express in harmony with its real true purpose.

The aesthetic essence of a building has neither external nor internal boundaries; it does not end with the design of the facade, nor can it be considered fulfilled in the distributive solutions of the two-dimensional plan. In place of the sentimental nostalgia for the notion of beauty accepted by previous generations, I prefer a kind of beauty that comes from the life that goes on inside and outside the building. The individual components of a work of architecture should merge into a single, self-contained whole, the functional and expressive aspects of which are coherently worked out.

If we do not want the space surrounding us to experience an increasing loss of meaning, then our efforts cannot simply be aimed at the creation of new, quality architecture. Active preservation of monuments is also necessary, and it involves the revitalization of buildings of historic interest by providing them with new meaning. For this reason, new architecture must learn to live with the architecture of the past.

Interest in the architecture of the past, apart from its specific architectural significance, also involves emotional elements. The connection with the past, the pleasure of the *Gestaltung*, the creation of beautiful forms, and the harmony inherent in a building rooted in the collective memory contribute to the so-called "quality of life". Historic buildings enable man to identify with his living space, since they provide it with a particular intensity of meaning. This kind of reasoning is even more pertinent during a period in which sociological and utilitarian conditioning has an even greater impact on architectural intervention upon the surrounding environment, although this should not cause us to overlook the autonomous value of new architecture and its ability to establish new traditions.

Given the proliferation in our cities of standard construction and monotonous, modular facades that all look alike, we should never stop preaching the value of three undeniable principles that give formal vitality to the environment in which we live: the specificity of the location, the individual personality of the client and the creative originality of the designer. The importance of the *genius loci* as a mechanism for defense against the dulling and drying-up of so-called "*internationale Einheitsarchitektur*" (international architectural conformism) must be understood. It is not only important to build new works of architecture, but also, through them, create new places that are endowed with meaning. The architect's task is to create sensitive-sensible locations that residents can easily identify with. Architecture that doesn't create a feeling of pleasure is the worst kind of architecture! Architecture without poetry is not good architecture!

ARCHITEKTUR & SINNLICHKEIT!

DIE MODERNE A. SPRINGT VON ALLEN MODERNEN KÜNSTEN WOHL AM MEISTEN INS AUGE! – OB WIR SIE GOUTIEREN ODER NICHT, SIE IST ÜBERALL RUND UM UNS. SIE MAG ABGEWIRTSCHAFTET HABEN, SIE MAG BANAL

*The German word *Sinnlichkeit* means the human power of perception through the senses, sensitivity and sensibility, but it also refers to something like "meaning", *Sinn*.

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Gustav Peichl

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Every building and every kind of architecture arises out of the intersection of traditional forms and new rules dictated by the functional program. Two components determine the result: on the one hand the new sensitivity with which the forms of tradition are viewed, and on the other the practical requirements which the building must satisfy. A successful synthesis of these two components is a necessary condition for quality in both architectural works and urban development operations.

The life of a building mainly consists of the habits of the people who use it. Its quality does not lie in its representative or monumental size, but rather in its "atmosphere" (*Stimmung*) and the "poetry" that it manages to express in harmony with its real true purpose.

The aesthetic essence of a building has neither external nor internal boundaries; it does not end with the design of the facade, nor can it be considered fulfilled in the distributive solutions of the two-dimensional plan. In place of the sentimental nostalgia for the notion of beauty accepted by previous generations, I prefer a kind of beauty that comes from the life that goes on inside and outside the building.

The individual components of a work of architecture should merge into a single, self-contained whole, the functional and expressive aspects of which are coherently worked out.

If we do not want the space surrounding us to experience an increasing loss of meaning, then our efforts cannot simply be aimed at the creation of new, quality architecture. Active preservation of monuments is also necessary, and it involves the revitalization of buildings of historic interest by providing them with new meaning. For this reason, new architecture must learn to live with the architecture of the past.

Interest in the architecture of the past, apart from its specific architectural significance, also involves emotional elements. The connection with the past, the pleasure of the *Gestaltung*, the creation of beautiful forms, and the harmony inherent in a building rooted in the collective memory contribute to the so-called "quality of life". Historic buildings enable man to identify with his living space, since they provide it with a particular intensity of meaning. This kind of reasoning is even more pertinent during a period in which sociological and utilitarian conditioning has an even greater impact on architectural intervention upon the surrounding environment, although this should not cause us to overlook the autonomous value of new architecture and its ability to establish new traditions.

Given the proliferation in our cities of standard construction and monotonous, modular facades that all look alike, we should never stop preaching the value of three undeniable principles that give formal vitality to the environment in which we live: the specificity of the location, the individual personality of the client and the creative originality of the designer. The importance of the *genius loci* as a mechanism for defense against the dulling and drying-up of so-called "*internationale Einheitsarchitektur*" (international architectural conformism) must be understood. It is not only important to build new works of architecture, but also, through them, create new places that are endowed with meaning. The architect's task is to create sensitive-sensible locations that residents can easily identify with. Architecture that doesn't create a feeling of pleasure is the worst kind of architecture! Architecture without poetry is not good architecture!

ARCHITEKTUR & SINNLICHKEIT!

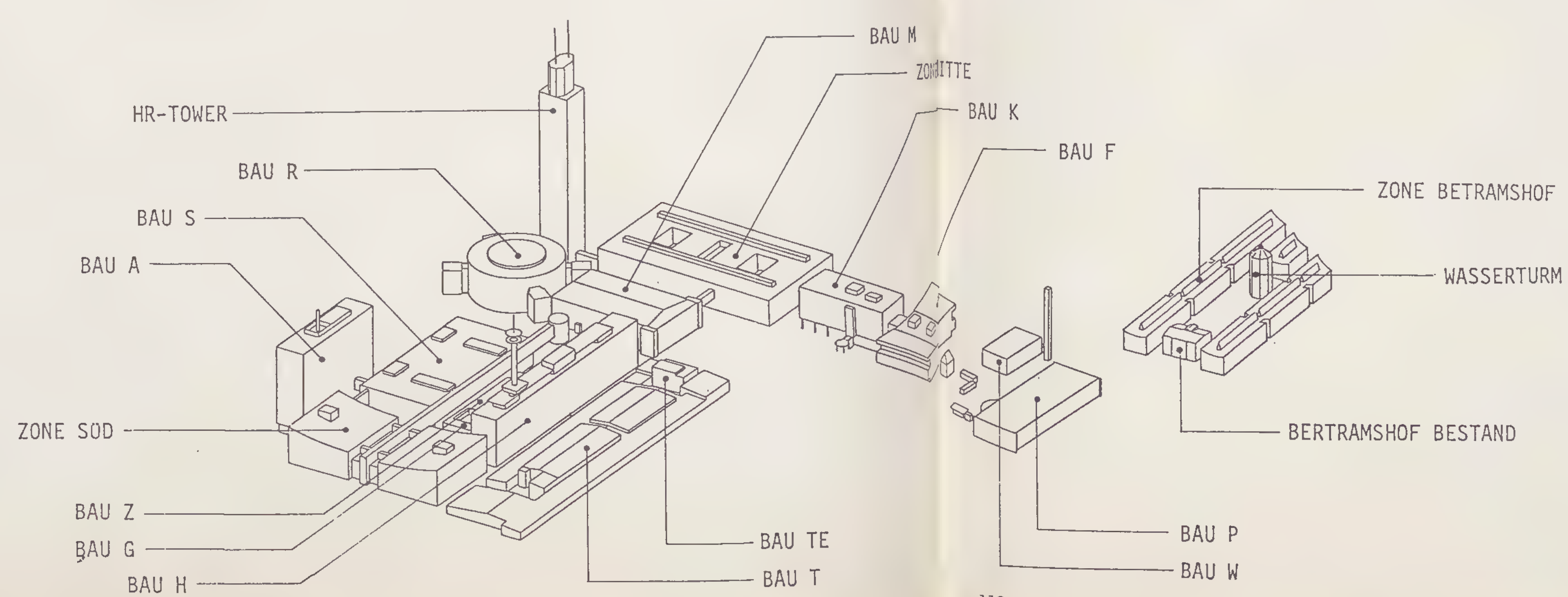
DIE MODERNE A. SPRINGT VON ALLEN
MODERNEN KÜNSTEN WOHL AM MEISTEN INS
AUGE! — OB WIR SIE GOUTIEREN ODER NICHT,
SIE IST ÜBERALL RUND UM UNS. SIE MAG
ABGEWIRTSCHAFTET HABEN, SIE MAG BANAL

*The German word *Sinnlichkeit* means the human power of perception through the senses, sensitivity and sensibility, but it also refers to something like "meaning", *Sinn*.

Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main
Gustav Peichl

This project is meant to be a unique contribution to modern architecture, as should always be the case when it comes to the special cultural commitment required of a public building.
Its goal is to satisfy the specific functional requirements of radio engineering and its administrative apparatus. The most prominent features of the project are the organization of the various departments according to a clear distributive solution with easy access and the creation of comfortable work conditions.
The goal is a single, homogeneous architectural structure in the interest of a simple, feasible project. The choice of a flexible plan has made it possible to meet all the company's requirements and take into account the speed at which the field of radio engineering changes. Progressive development in this industry requires planning that will make it possible to meet technical requirements and handle their continuous changes over time with extreme flexibility.
The plans for the three building complexes into which the project is divided enables each of them to form a self-contained unit, while the overall project guarantees functional and architectural unity with pre-existing buildings.
In the *central complex*, the old buildings have been replaced by two new constructions — a long, rectangular, three-story building with courtyards and a radio tower turned towards the city and located in front of the existing circular auditorium. Consequently, the tower is the main access for future building, while at the same time representing a punctuation mark or an architectural accent in the core of the city and a radio engineering "trademark" within the urban context. The broadcasting station (HR-Tower), which is twenty-five stories high, is the symbol of the cultural and informational function of Hessischer Rundfunk.
The open areas between the large parking lot and the "central complex" have been designed as tree-lined "gardens" giving the entrance a strong identity and a welcoming quality and guaranteeing easy orientation.
The offices located in the old building to the north of the circular auditorium (the director's office, the administrative offices and the legal department) will be moved into the new skyscraper, while the studios and respective control rooms will be located in the new three-story building in order to increase functionality.
The form and content (management, areas open to the public and radio broadcasting) of the plan for this aspect of the project (the *central complex*) was designed keeping in mind its particular urban impact.
The fact is that it is the dominant element of the entire operation and becomes especially important in light of its effect in terms of advertising an image. Because of its considerable distributive and functional division, one objective of the plan was to establish easy and direct connections between the various areas of radio broadcasting and the editing rooms and between the studios and control rooms. This access is guaranteed by short, easy to follow paths between the tower and the adjacent three-story building. The paths and connections from one building to the other have been made even more convenient and rapid through the use of short vertical connections and horizontal paths on the ground and first floors.
The *southern complex* has been designed so that new functional, technical and organizational requirements are on the north-south longitudinal axis that runs through the existing buildings. This should also ensure ease of orientation and maximum flexibility. The initial idea behind this architectural solution was the search for a direct space-function correspondence; thus, an element of the internal connection became the matrix for the external configuration of the building itself. The editing section and the technical equipment located in the new wing are directly connected to each other. The prop warehouses and the various production rooms are on the same level as the studios and are directly connected with them. The various vehicular entrances that were already in existence have been expanded by means of an underground garage.
The old manor house and the water tower in the *Bertramshof complex*, which was an old farm, are being preserved. In fact, these buildings represent the symbol-idea of the plan for this area, which is designed to preserve the traditional atmosphere of an old farm and the tree-lined interior courtyard by respecting the proposals and the character of the pre-existing context.
The plan calls for three aligned buildings of three stories each of which will defined and extended interior courtyard. The buildings are composed of double blocks, with a flexible plan, and their distribution is determined by a large atrium space with a skylight above circled by a gallery, reminiscent of a "grand atrium". All workplaces have natural lighting and have been designed to create optimal work conditions.

Construction and Materials
The overall project is based on a simple skeletal structure of reinforced concrete with solid floors, flexible dividers and utility (electrical, communication etc.) runs located in the floor. This decision also means economical construction.
Separate horizontal and vertical shafts of runs have been included for ducts, piping wiring. The outer walls are covered with white plaster and exposed stone where it is required. The tower is a suspended metal structure covered with stone slabs; the exposed metal portions create an aesthetic-technological effect.
The continuous band of skylights on the roofs with sheet metal covering give a unified look to the entire complex. The business orientation of the building is not concealed; in fact, it is clearly displayed since it is the basis for its architectural form.



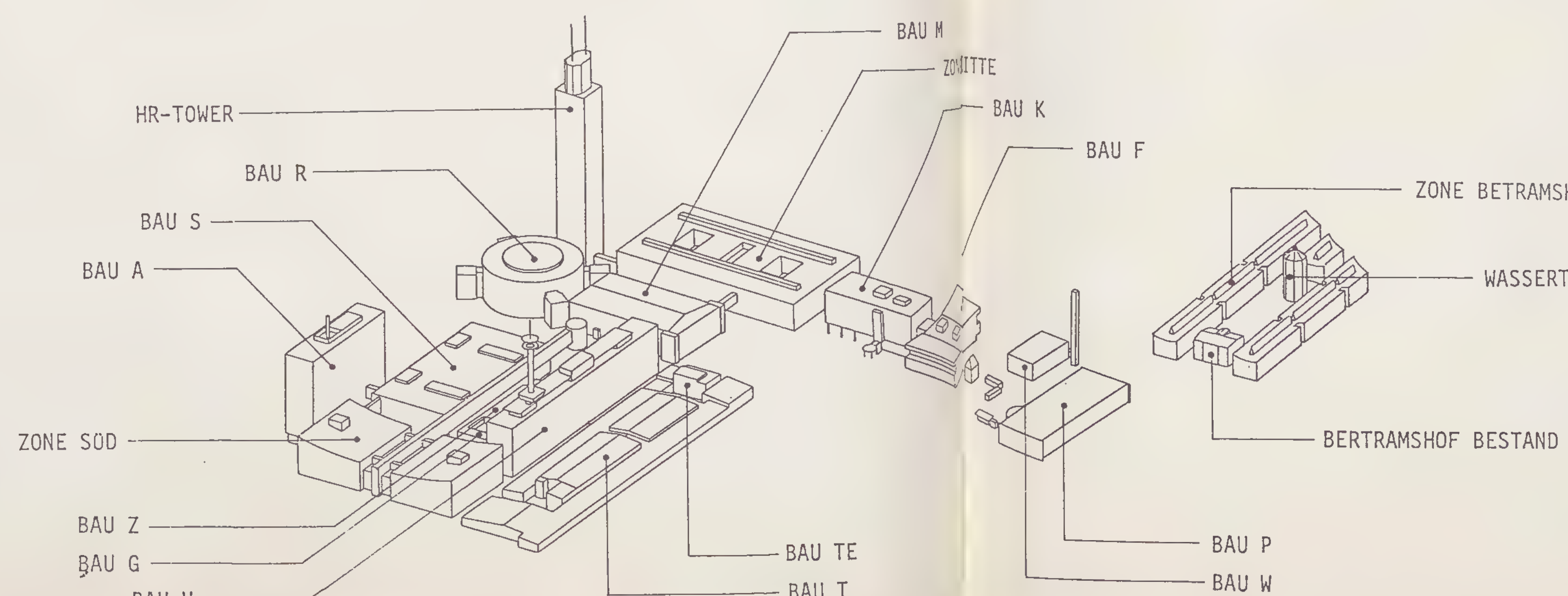
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General axonometric of the radio-broadcasting complex with the project buildings.

Design Competition for the Extension to the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main, 1987

The competition program, prepared by the Hessischer Rundkfunk (the radio-broadcasting agency of Assia), were based on the notion that according to the most recent trends in the field of radio broadcasting, the integration of individual company sectors could be the only guarantee of productive efficiency and economy in management. The competition's primary aim was to link the various departments in the radio broadcasting complex by connecting all the physical sites into which the system had been articulated. Thus a plan of action was prepared involving the existing real estate; the plan was broken down into existing buildings to be preserved, those to be renovated and expanded and new buildings to be added. The competition concerned new buildings and existing buildings that were to be enlarged only. Realization of the plan, though, was not supposed to interrupt the regular functioning of the existing structures.

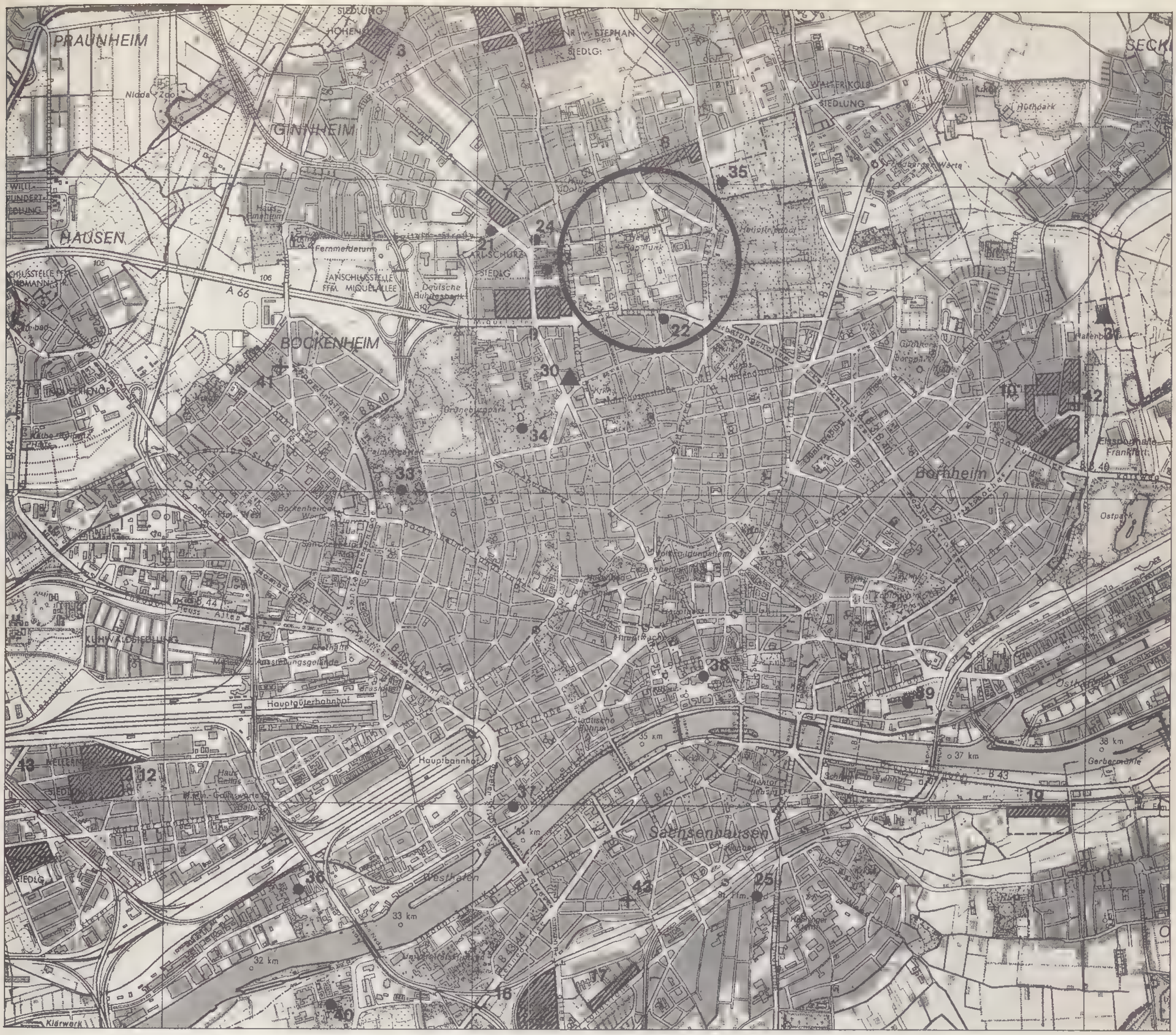
Taking into account the areas and the buildings involved, the plan for expansion, as contained in the competition instructions, was divided into three, adjacent zones:

the southern area: which followed the extension of the studio building (S) and the administration building (H), after complete demolition of the rehearsal building (PR) and the warehouse (L);



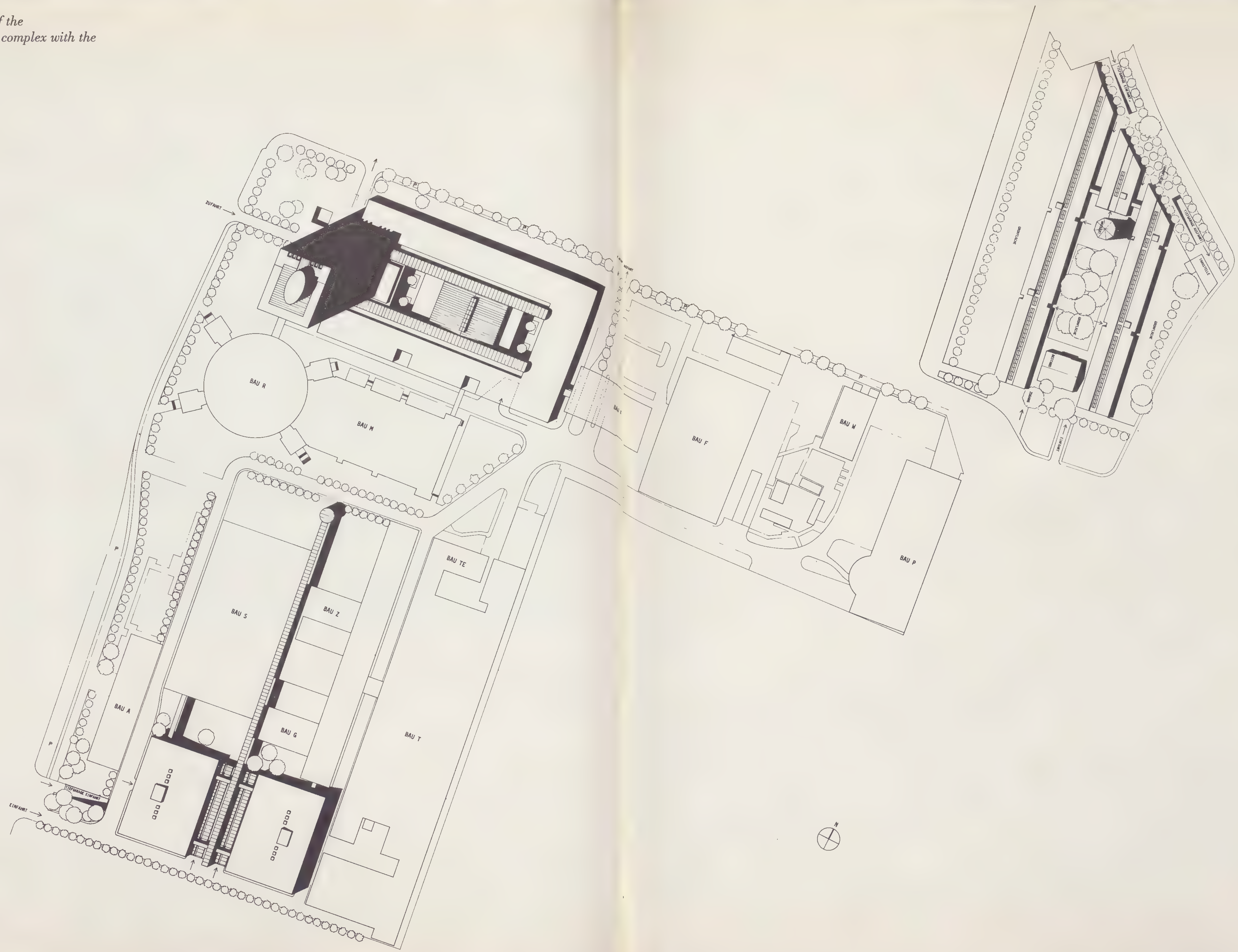
central area: contained within the rotunda of the auditorium (R) and the building (F) that faced the large green area called the Bertramswiese, after partial demolition of the existing structure; this area also included the section marked off by the streets Bertramstrasse and An der Bertramswiese;

the Bertramshof area: in this area, the plan included demolition of the service wings of what had been the Bertramshof farm, while preservating of the old manor house which would be integrated into the new building complex and given a specific function.

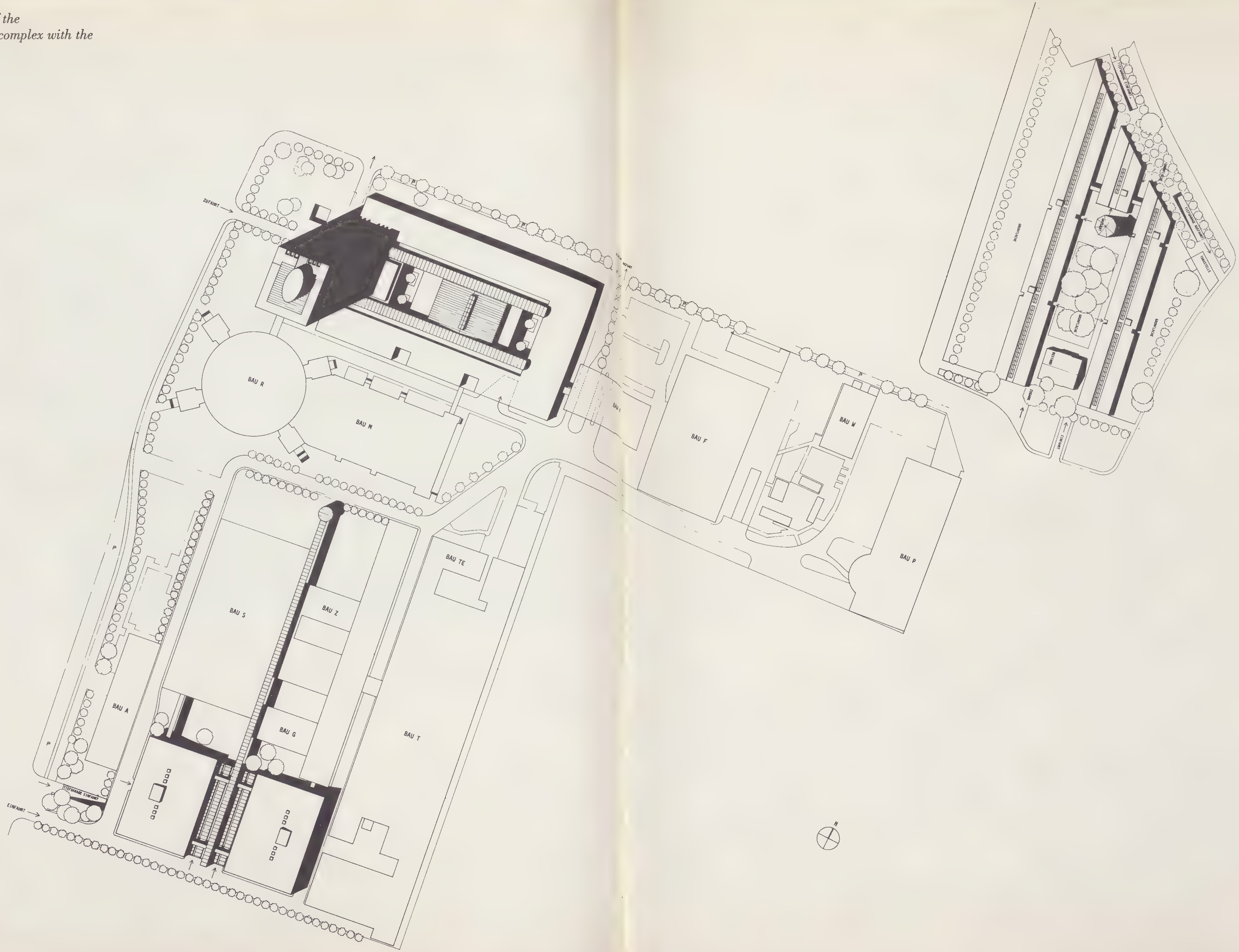


Site plan of the current arrangement with the three areas of intervention marked, and location on the Frankfurt am Main city plan.

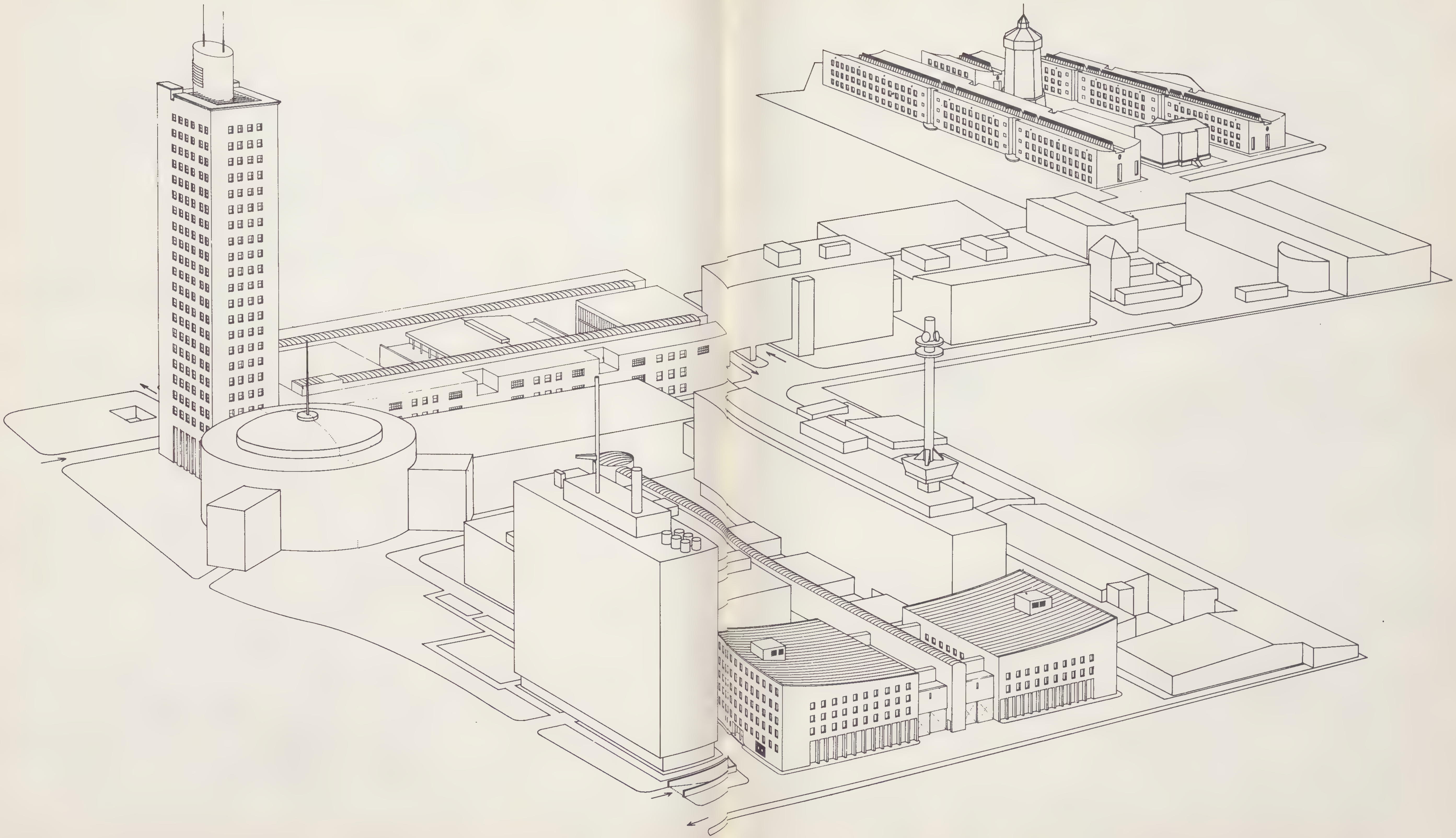
General site plan of the radio-broadcasting complex with the project buildings.



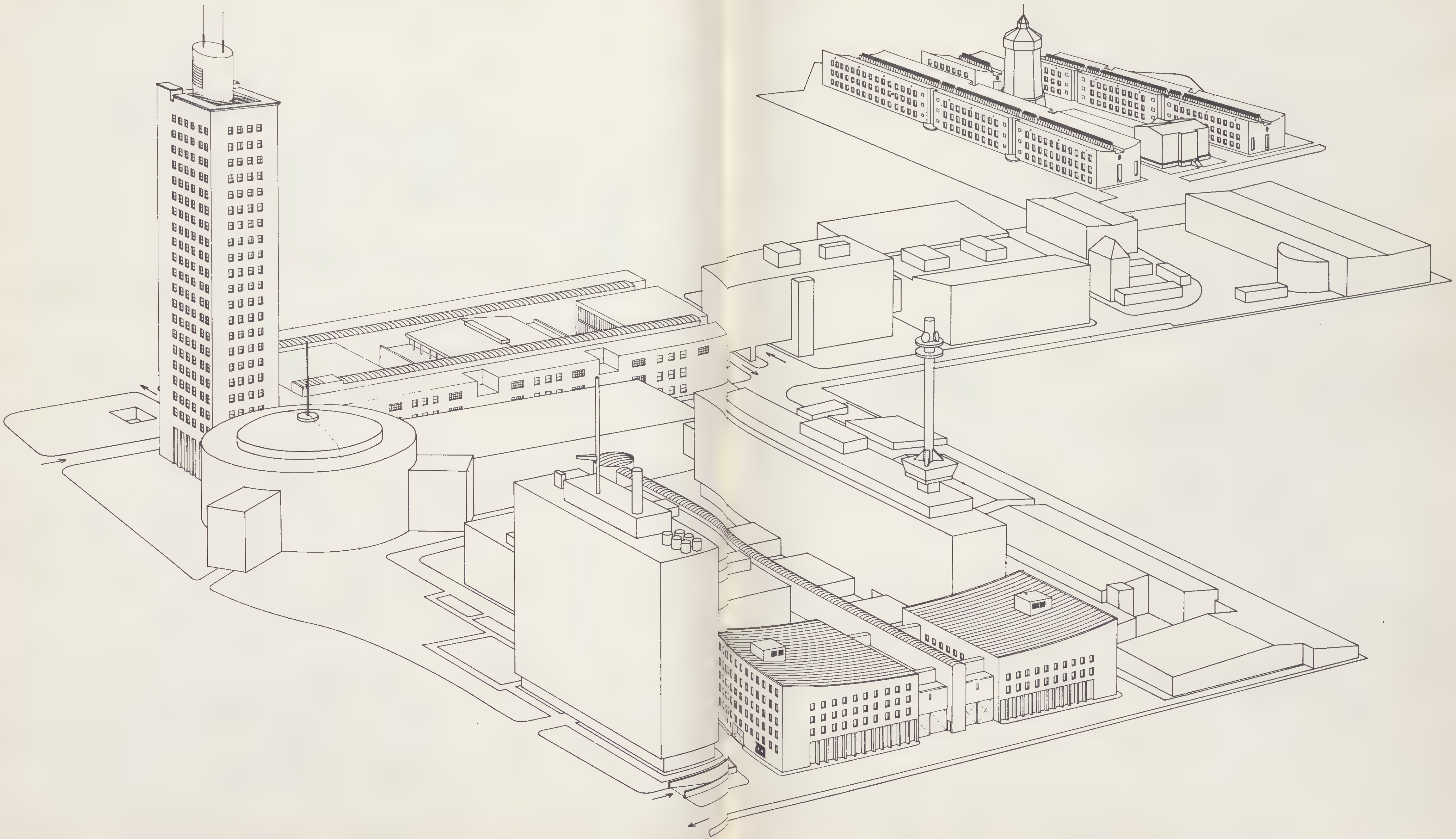
General site plan of the radio-broadcasting complex with the project buildings.

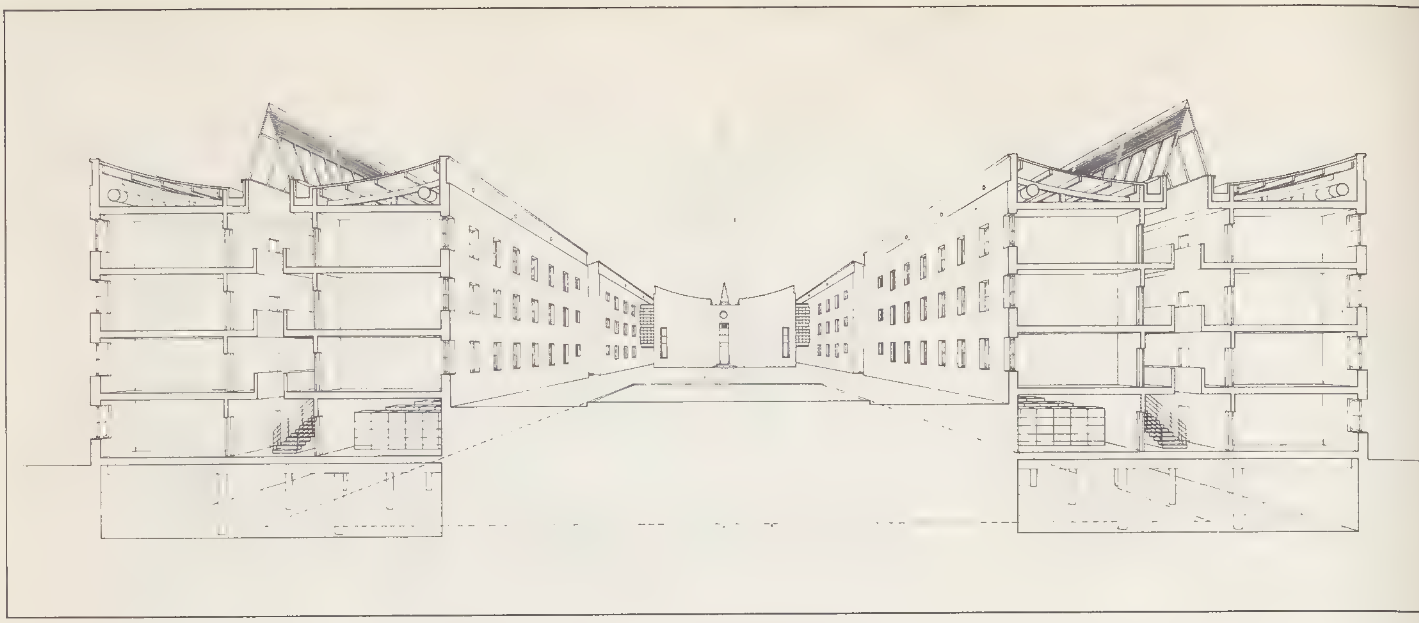


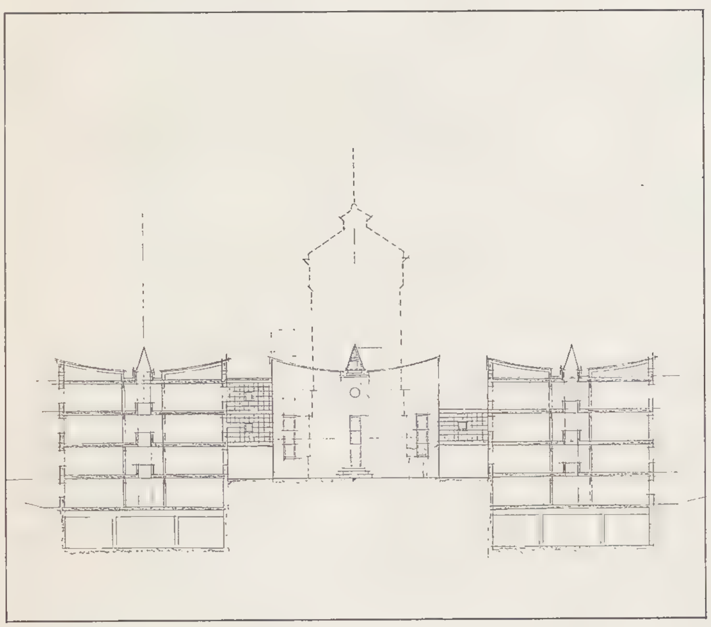
General axonometric with insertion of the project buildings.

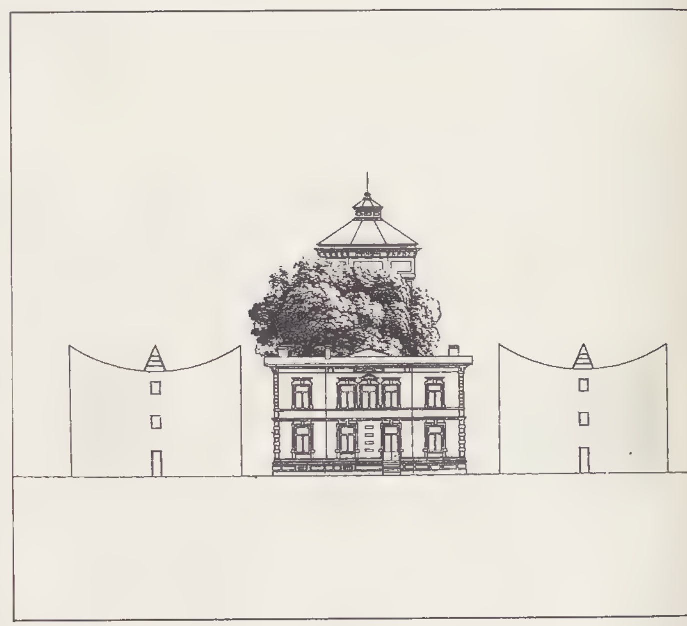


General axonometric with insertion of the project buildings.



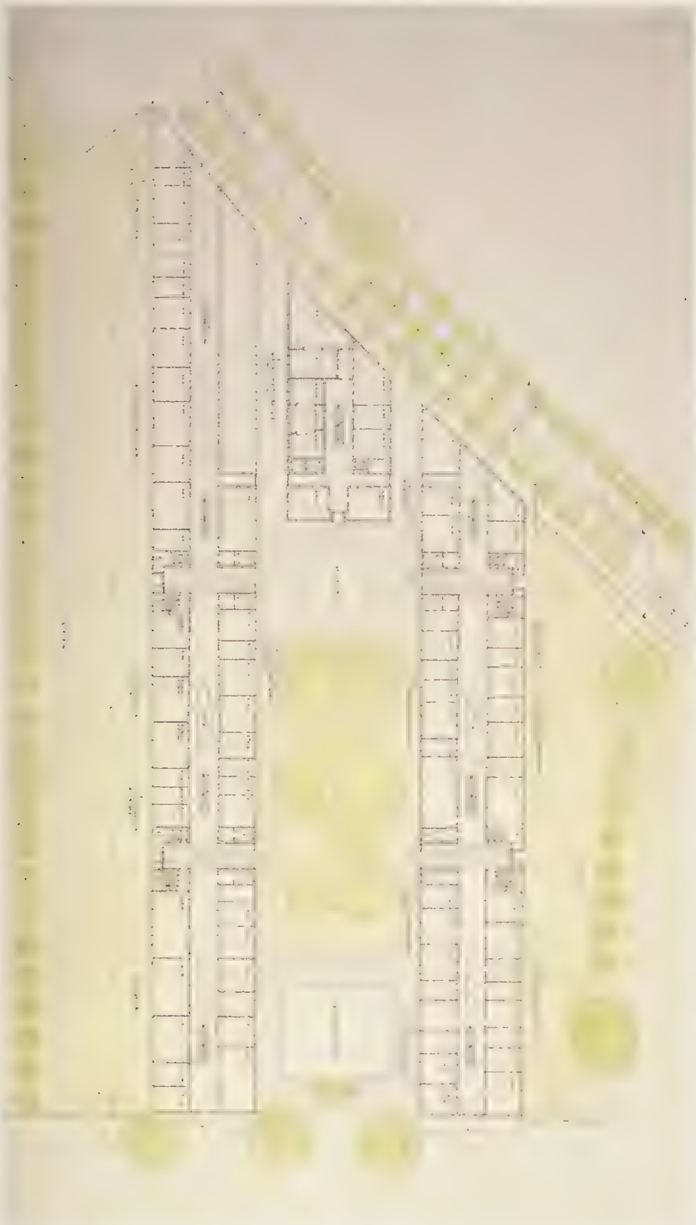






Perspective section, cross-section and elevation, with the old manor house, of the project for the area of the ex-Bertramshof farm.



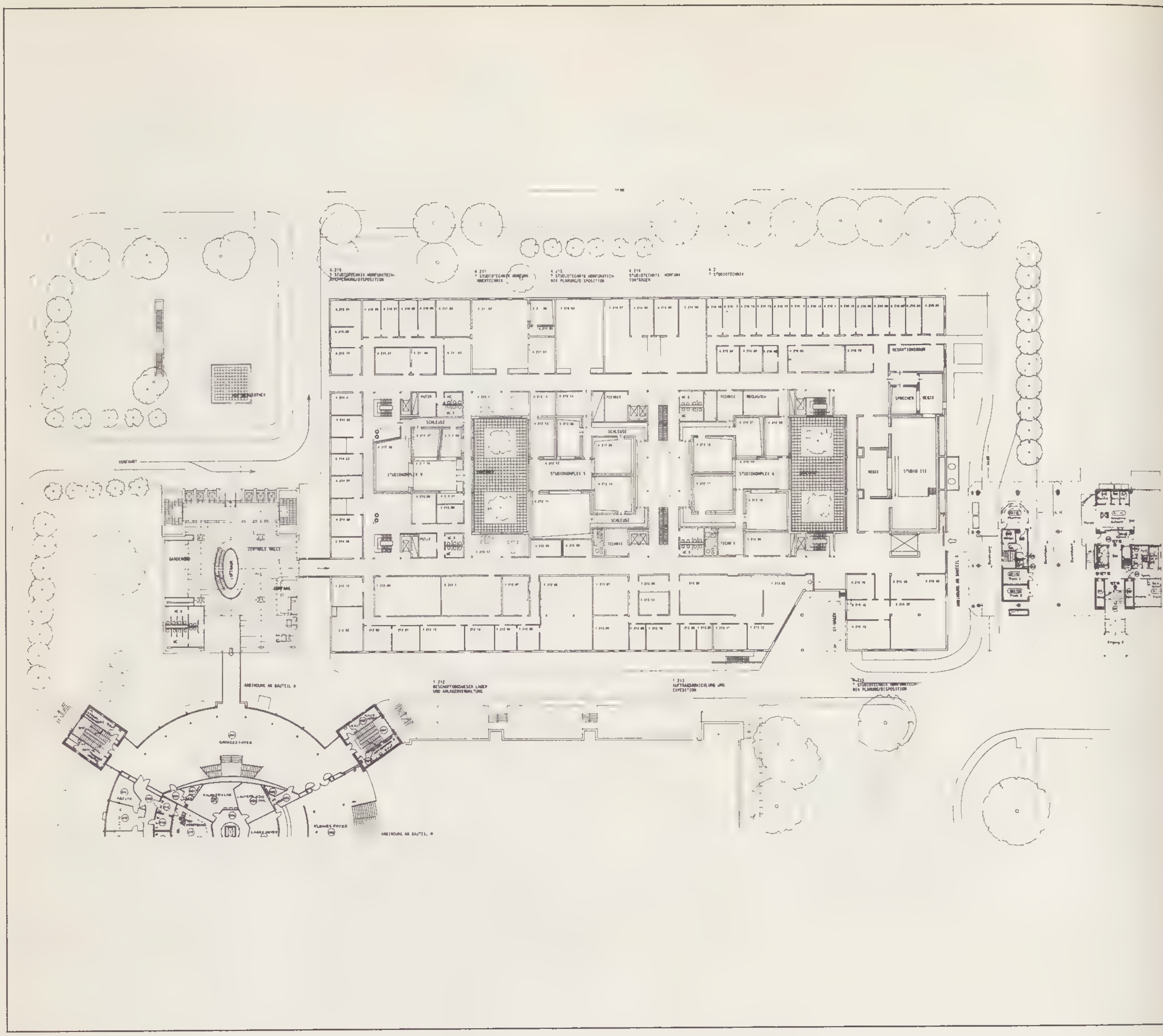




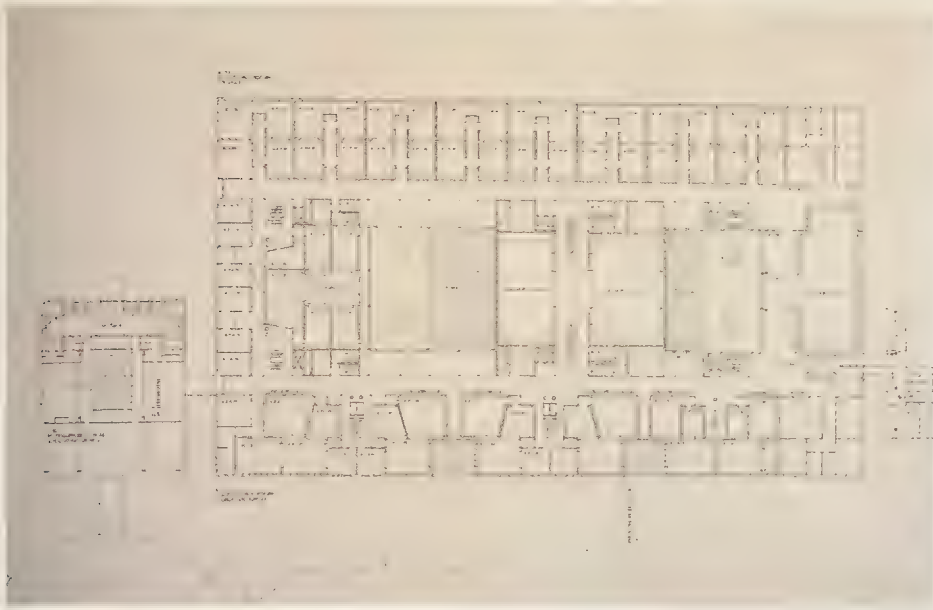


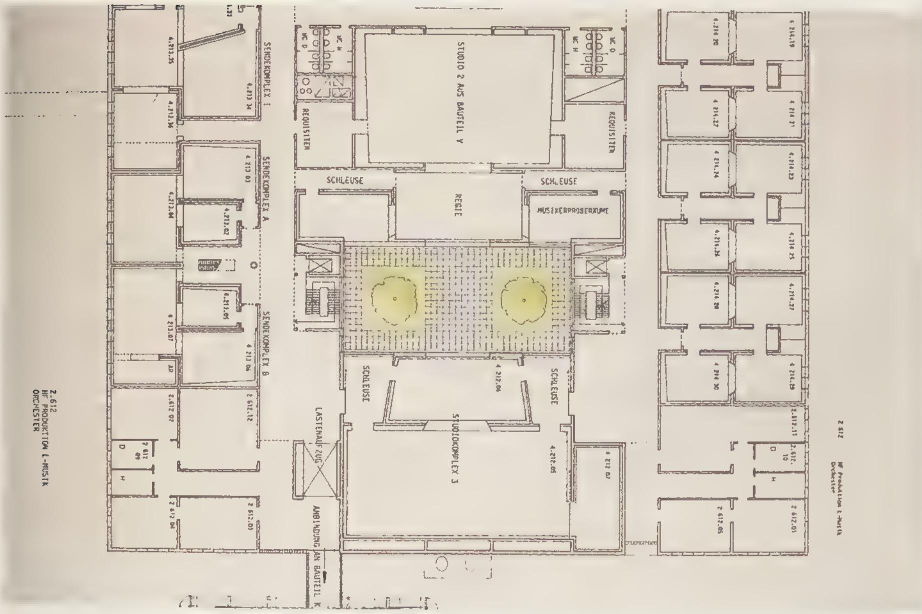
General site plan at the ground floor and sketches, with the water tower, of the project for the area of the ex-Bertramshof farm.

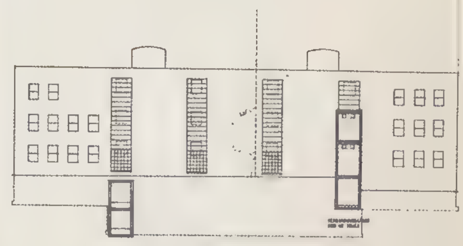




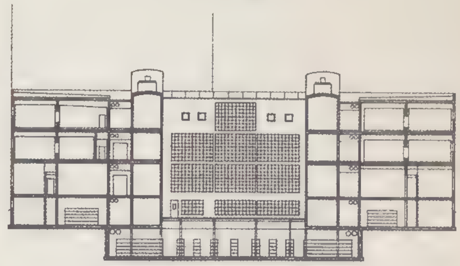
Plan for the ground floor of the building to be constructed in the central area, with the radio tower and the building housing the studios.
General plan and details of the second floor; section and elevation of the building housing the studios.



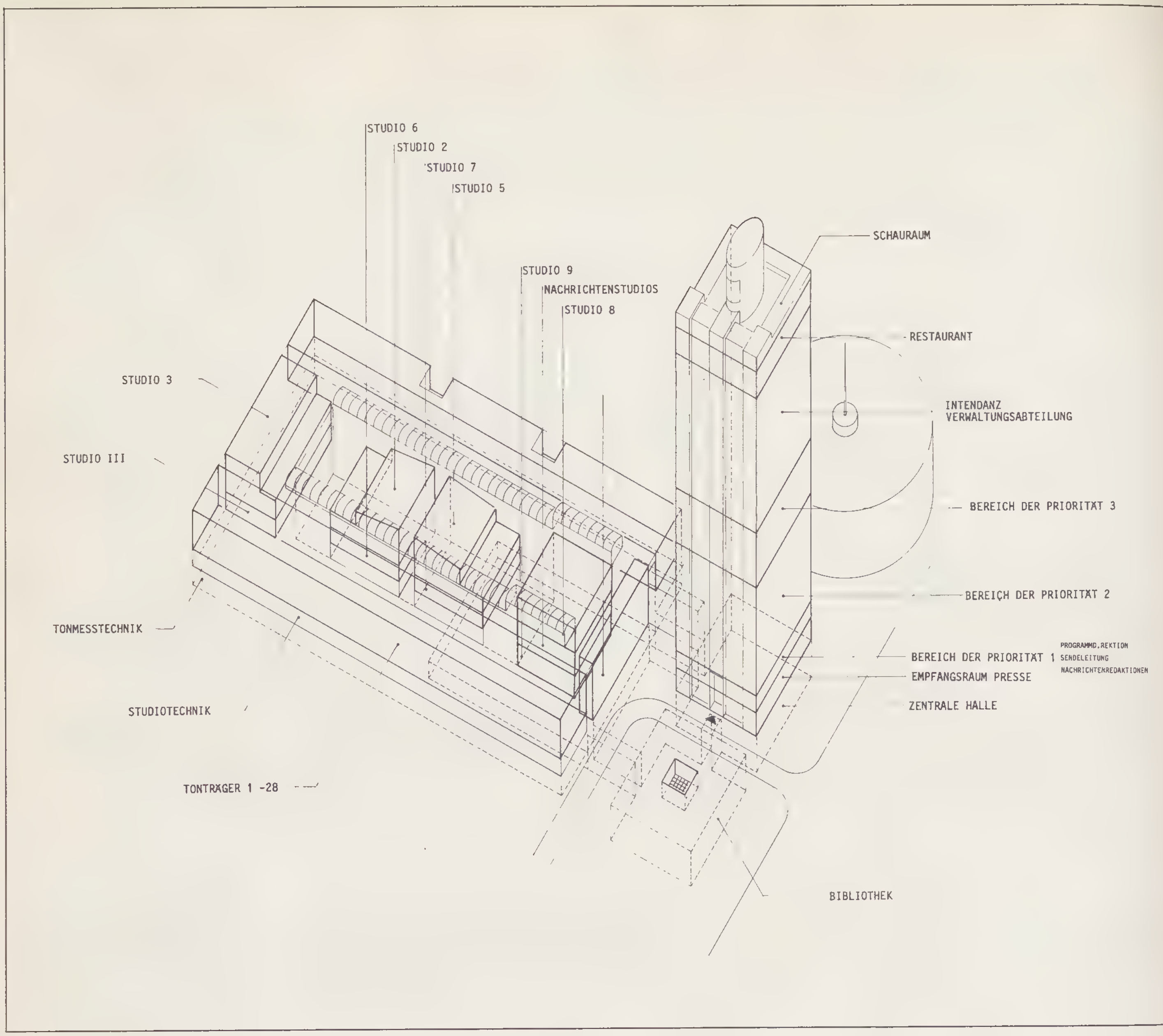




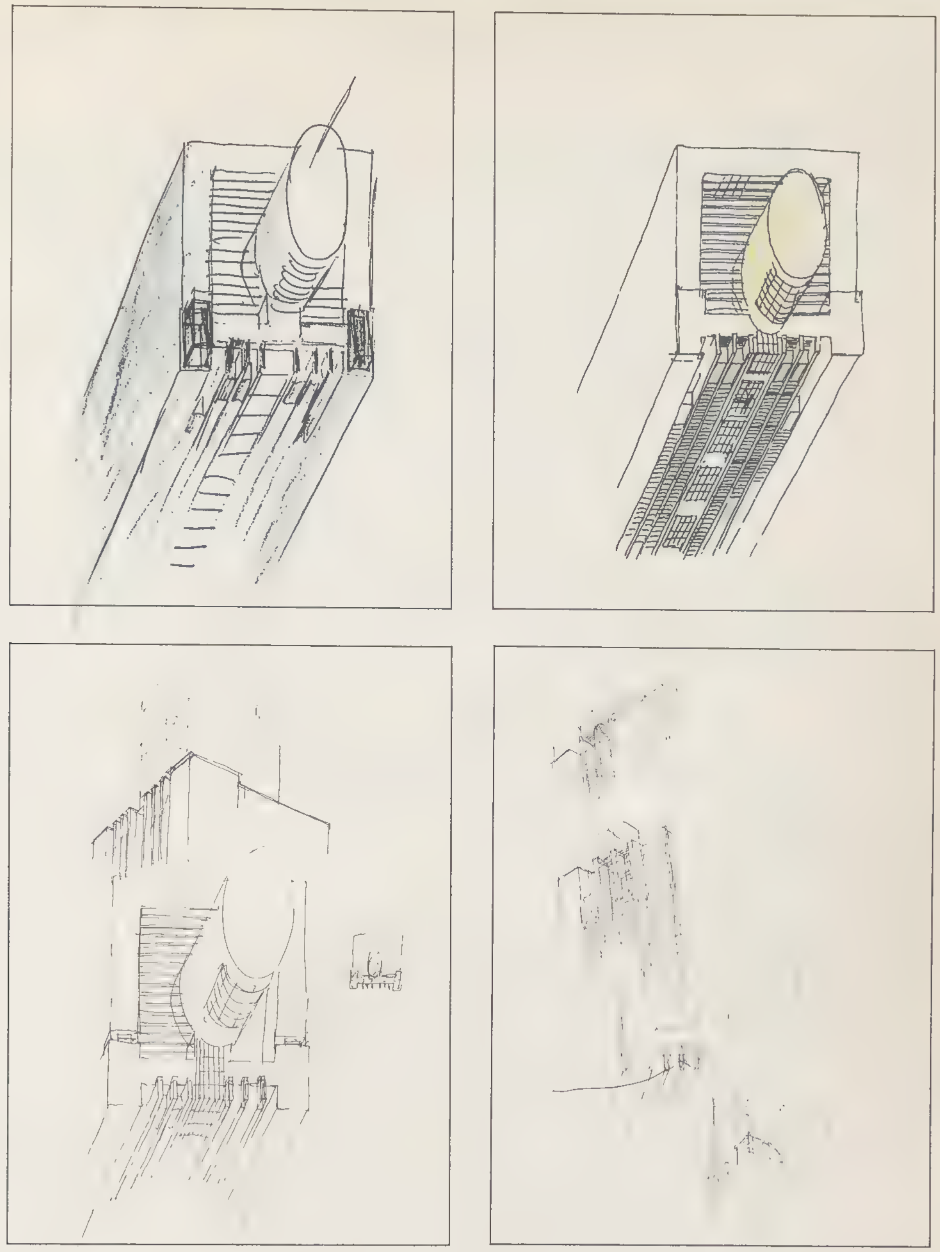
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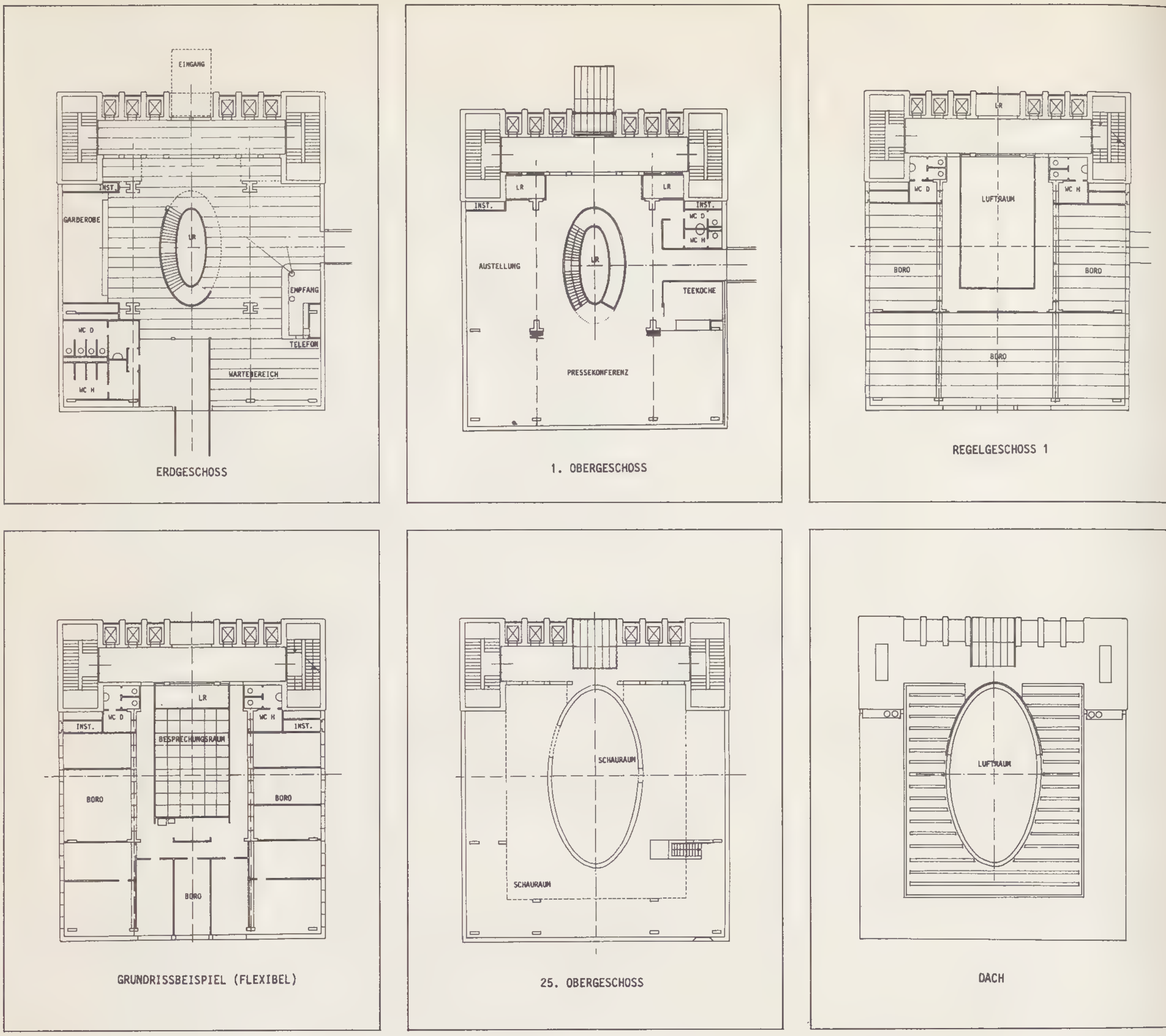


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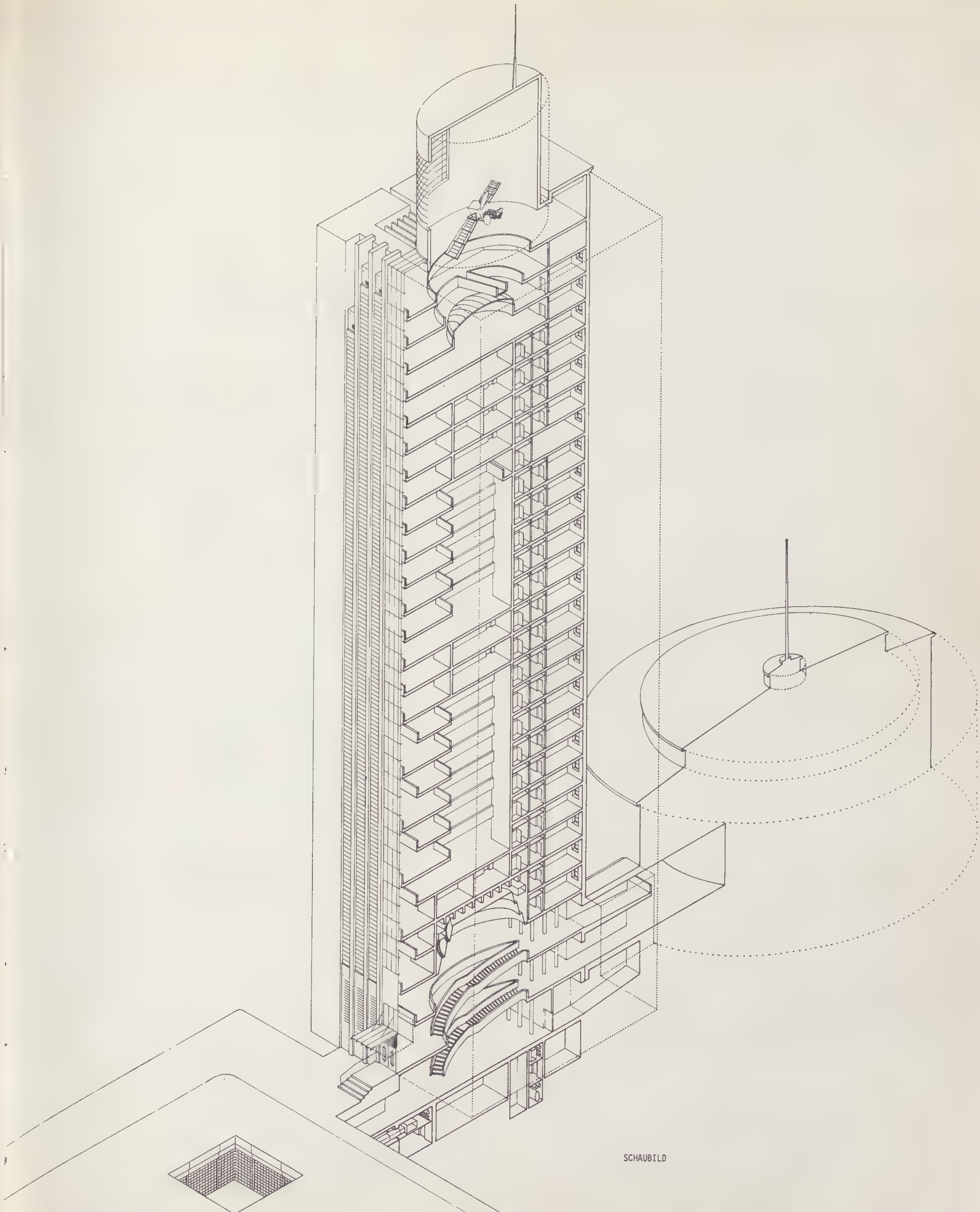

STUDIO 6
STUDIO 2
STUDIO 7
STUDIO 5
STUDIO 9
NACHRICHTENSTUDIOS
STUDIO 8
SCHAURAUM
RESTAURANT
STUDIO 3
STUDIO III
INTENDANZ
VERWALTUNGSABTEILUNG
BEREICH DER PRIORITÄT 3
BEREICH DER PRIORITÄT 2
TONMESSTECHNIK
BEREICH DER PRIORITÄT 1
PROGRAMMD.REKTION
SENDELEITUNG
NACHRICHTENREDAKTIONEN
EMPFANGSRAUM PRESSE
ZENTRALE HALLE
STUDIOTECHNIK
TONTRÄGER 1 -28
BIBLIOTHEK

Axonometric of the central complex with the building housing the studios and the radio tower.
Preliminary sketches of the top of the radio tower.





Floor plans for the radio tower at different levels: ground floor, first floor, typical floor, variation of the typical floor, twenty-fifth floor and roof. Exploded axonometric of the radio tower.



SCHAUBILD

The New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan

1988

Aldo Rossi

with Barbara Agostini, Giovanni Da Pozzo, Francesco Gatti, Luca Imberti, Alberto dal Lago, Franco Cislaghi, Antonio Cavallazzi, Francesca Cavallotti, Carlo Frediani and Luigi Piva

Support structure: Uniplan Srl, Milan; Hok Sport Facilities Group, Kansas City (architect: R. Labinsky); DLC Srl, Milan.
Milan Palasport Association: Acqua Marcia, Aster, Cogefar, CGP. CCV, Girola, Italstrade, Divier Togni 2, Philips, Tecnimont-Montedil



Drawing of the new Palazzo dello Sport with historic Milan monuments.

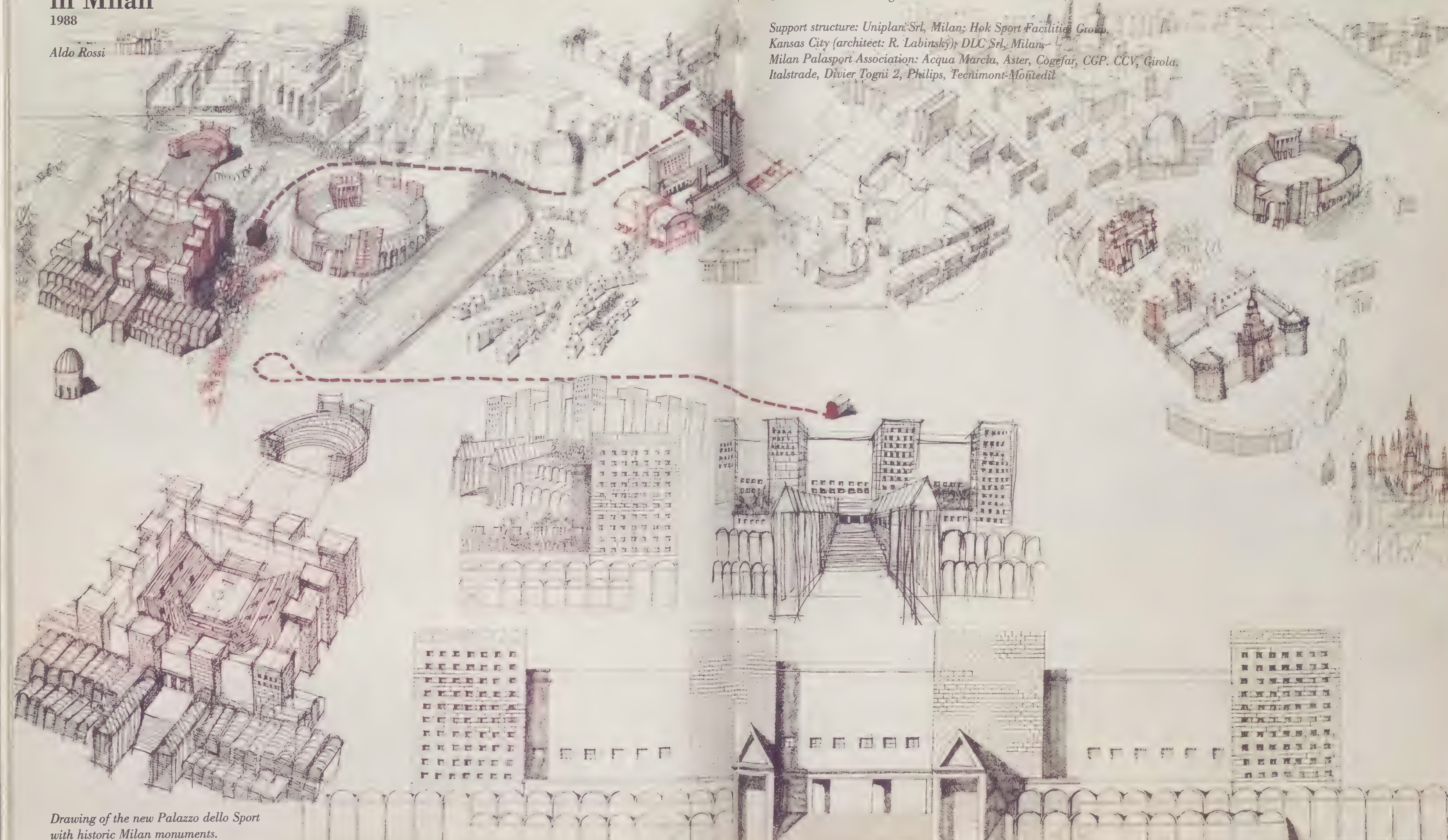
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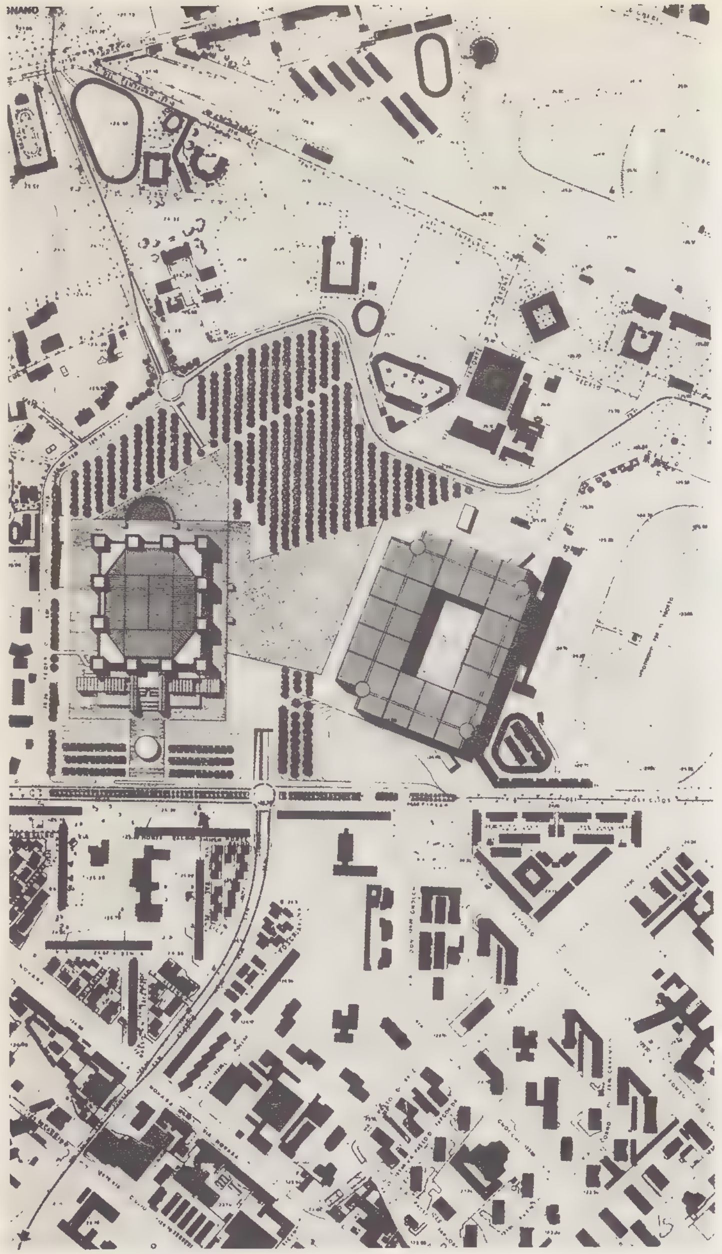
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Drawing of the new Palazzo dello Sport with historic Milan monuments.



Site plan of the new Palazzo dello Sport with San Siro stadium and location on the Milan city plan.

Milanese Buildings
Aldo Rossi

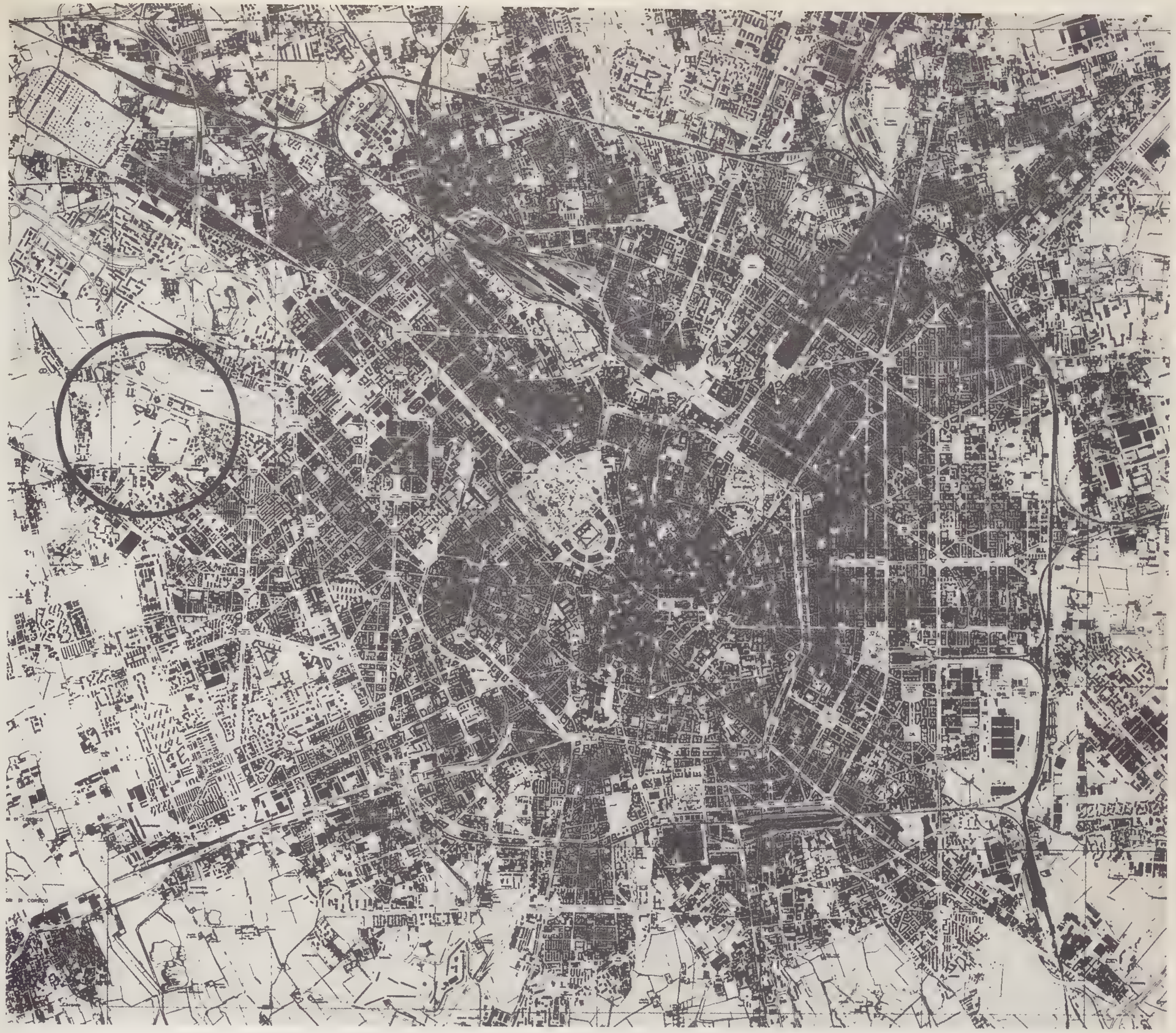
I viewed Palazzo dello Sport in the same way as a large Milanese building.

One evening, while I was visiting the area designated for Palazzo dello Sport with Ghego da Pozzo to better observe its relationship with the new stadium, we saw the large beams of San Siro stadium being mounted. It was quite a spectacle. Together we noticed how scale is part of large architecture. We went up to the highest steps and saw the deserted stadium with the floodlights pointed on the large tower and the movement of the beams. The beams were swinging in the sky as if they had come from another world. A slight fog lit up by the yellow light of the spots revealed this structure in the process of becoming a great show. What on paper might have seemed like an ordinary work took on exceptional value.

For some time now, I have been thinking about large-scale projects and the relationship between quality and scale; for example, the David or Gifu's Buddha. The Milanese building that comes to mind is the cathedral, a mountain of stone, a quarry of itself, and stronger or richer than its stylistic incongruties.

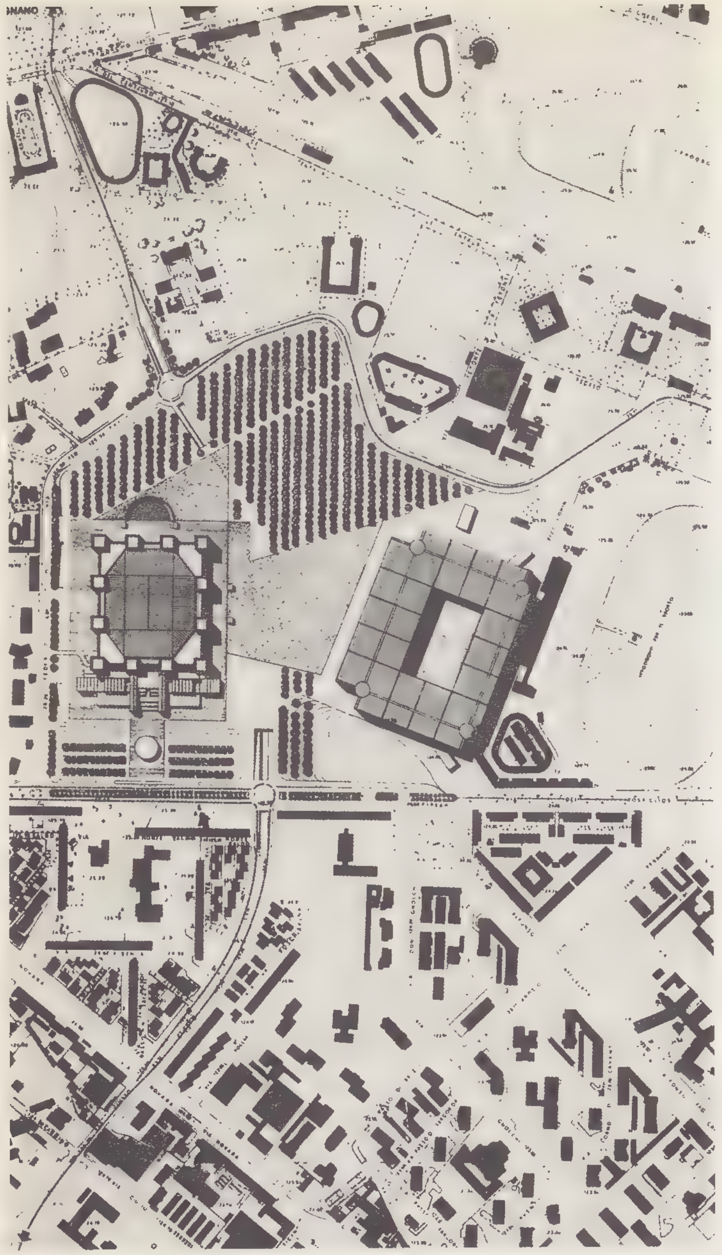
Thus, for Palazzo dello Sport which I enjoyed designing with the cathedral and other Milanese monuments in mind, I searched for the quality or value of the scale; the construction does not allow for stylistic affectations. The most sought-after detail is the cut and the quality of the stone, the iron used on the door and window frames, the staircase and the stairs themselves and even the surface of the parking lots and the plants that I see as rows of mulberries on the Lombard plain.

Milan does not need a mortifying urban development plan; the city should exterd building to the large areas that urban change has made available. These areas should be the site of new buildings, which, in coordination with each other, would provide the city with a new image. This describes the



Ho pensato al Palazzo dello Sport come ad una grande costruzione milanese.

Una sera, visitando l'area del Palazzo dello Sport con Ghego da Pozzo per vedere meglio il suo rapporto con il nuovo stadio, abbiamo visto collocare le grandi travi dello stadio di San Siro. Era uno spettacolo grandioso: insieme abbiamo constatato come la dimensione fa parte della grande architettura.



Milanese Buildings

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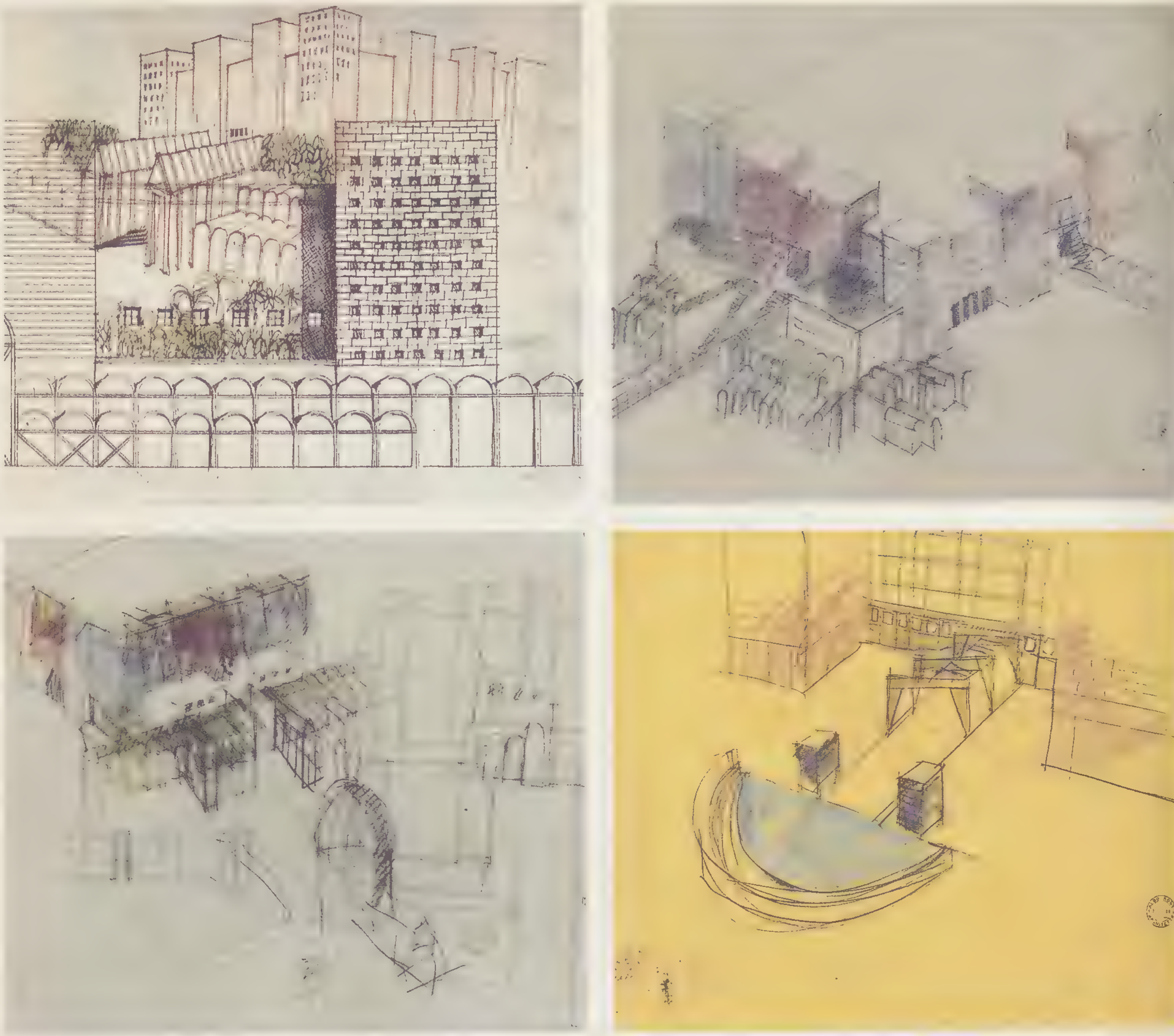
Site plan of the new Palazzo dello Sport with San Siro stadium and location on the Milan city plan.

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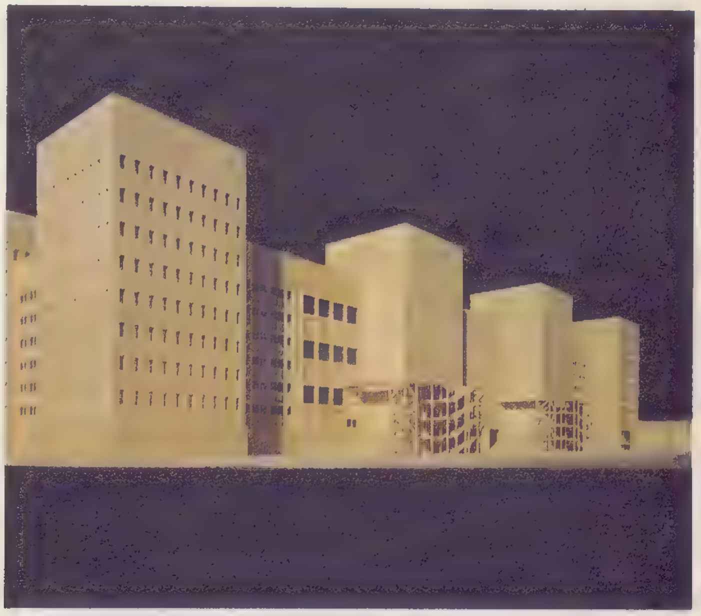


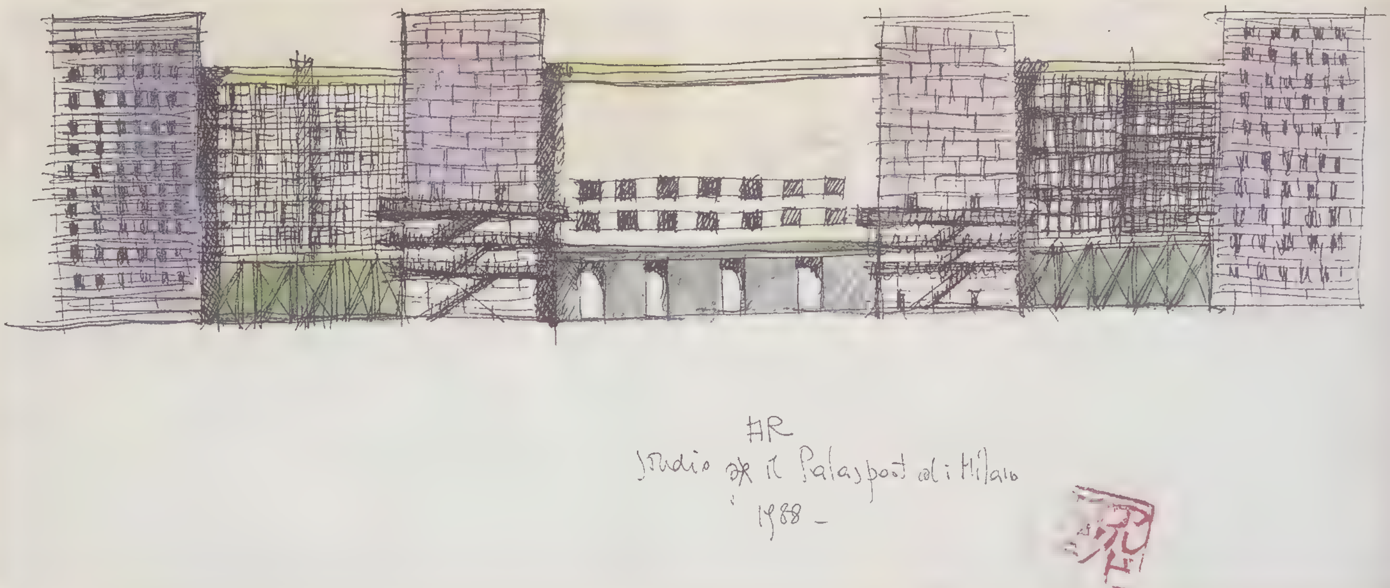


Sketches and views of the models.
Photo by S. Topuntoli.
On the preceding pages:
Drawing of the new Palazzo dello Sport
with the Milan cathedral.

buildings of Ducal Milan (the General Hospital of Cà Granda, the Navigli or canals, the Certosa or Carthusian Monastery and the University of Pavia), as well as those of Borromeo Milan (the Seminary, San Fedele, the municipal monument, the College in Pavia). They sought out and gave the city an image in the process of its becoming.
My plan for Palazzo dello Sport also seeks an image of the city and attempts to construct a milestone, that is, something that is capable of marking its development. It is extremely modern and old, because it has the potential for every possible transformation. Other structures cling to it, just as tiny shops and poor dwellings lean on the cathedral in Ferrara.
I don't care very much whether or not my plans are ever constructed, although as time passes I am seeing more and more of them built. In reality, they are always close to the expected image and are not the result of craftsmanship or skill, but rather, of they carry the idea of the architecture. Therefore, I hope that Palazzo dello Sport is built and exists as a concrete and stone structure next to the stadium. In any case, it has been conceived as an image of Milan like the foundation of the city, which is what I have always been after in all my projects, designs and everyday work.

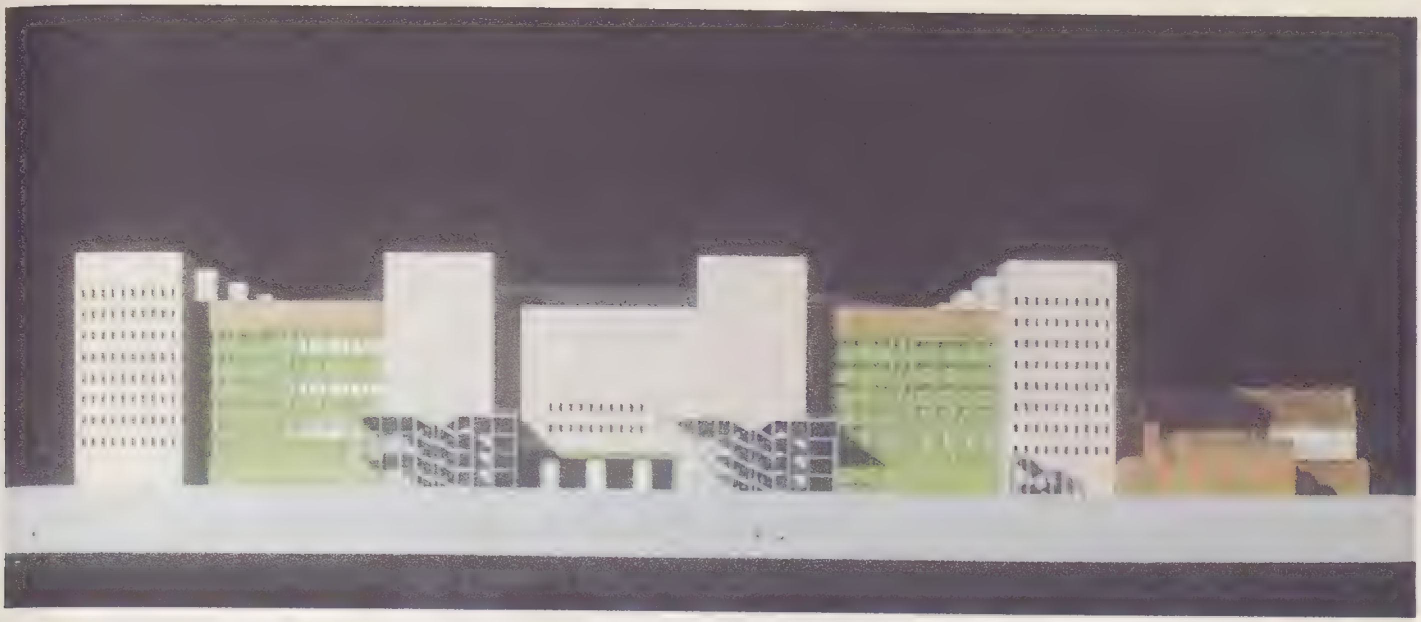


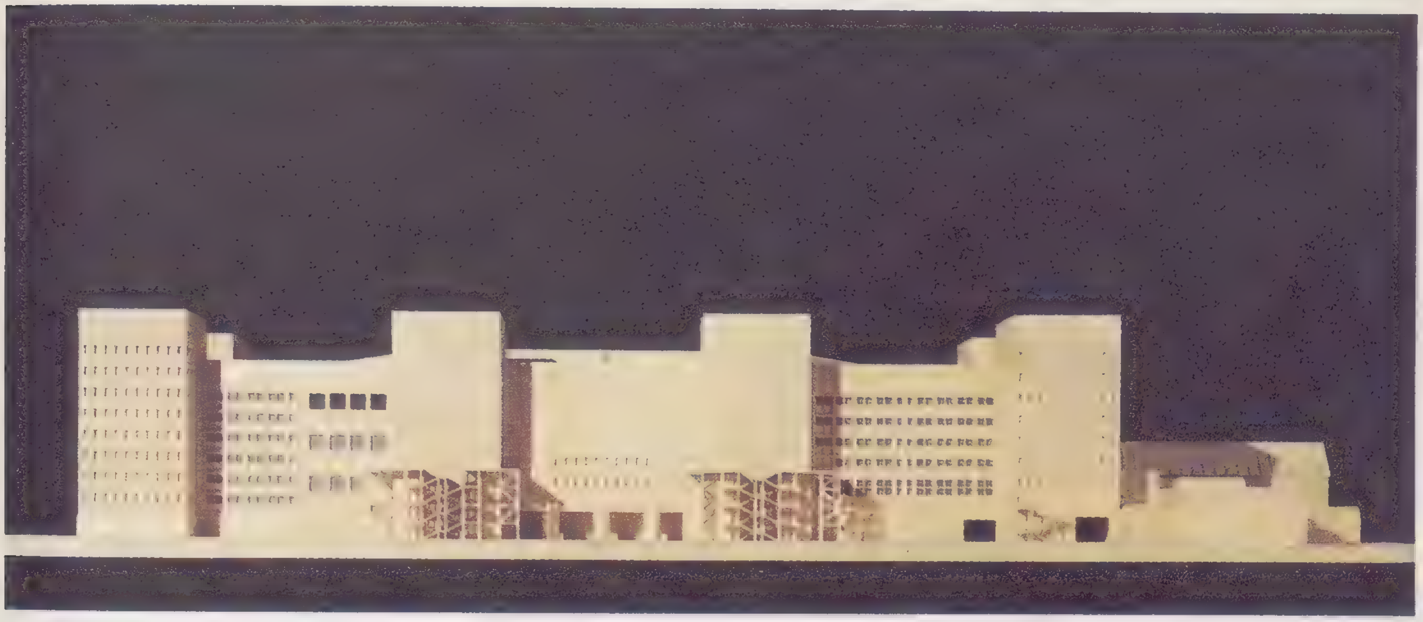



AR
Studio per il Palasport di Milano
1988 -







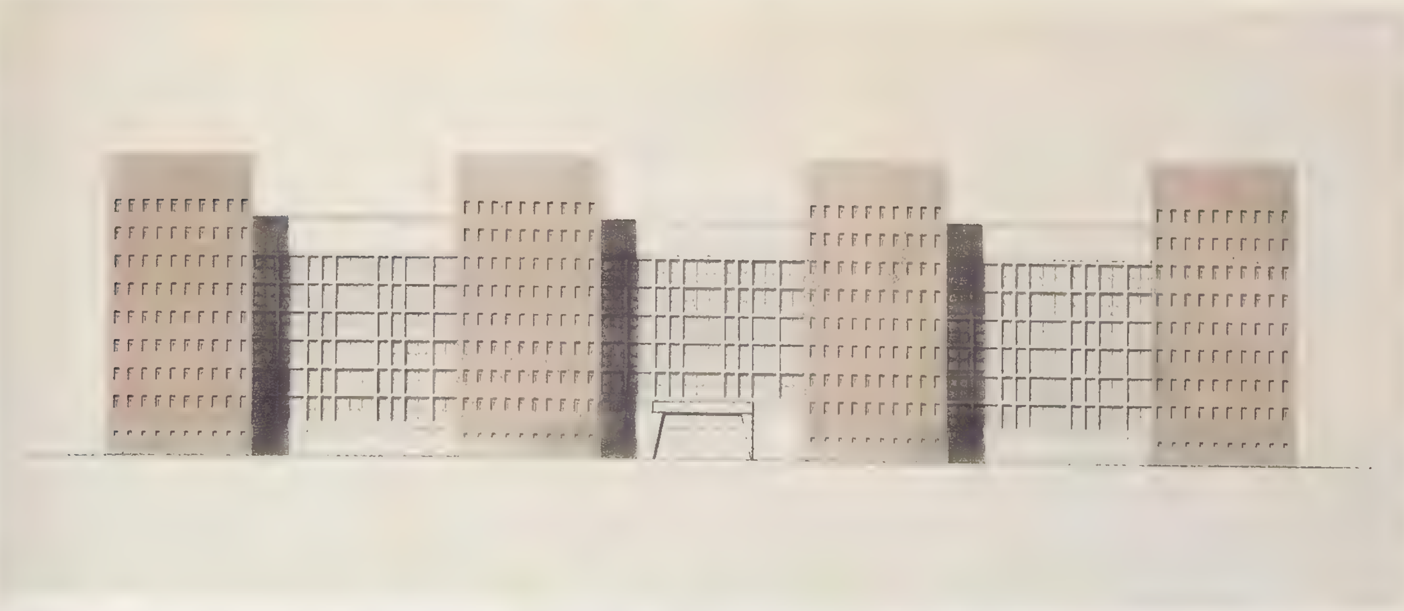


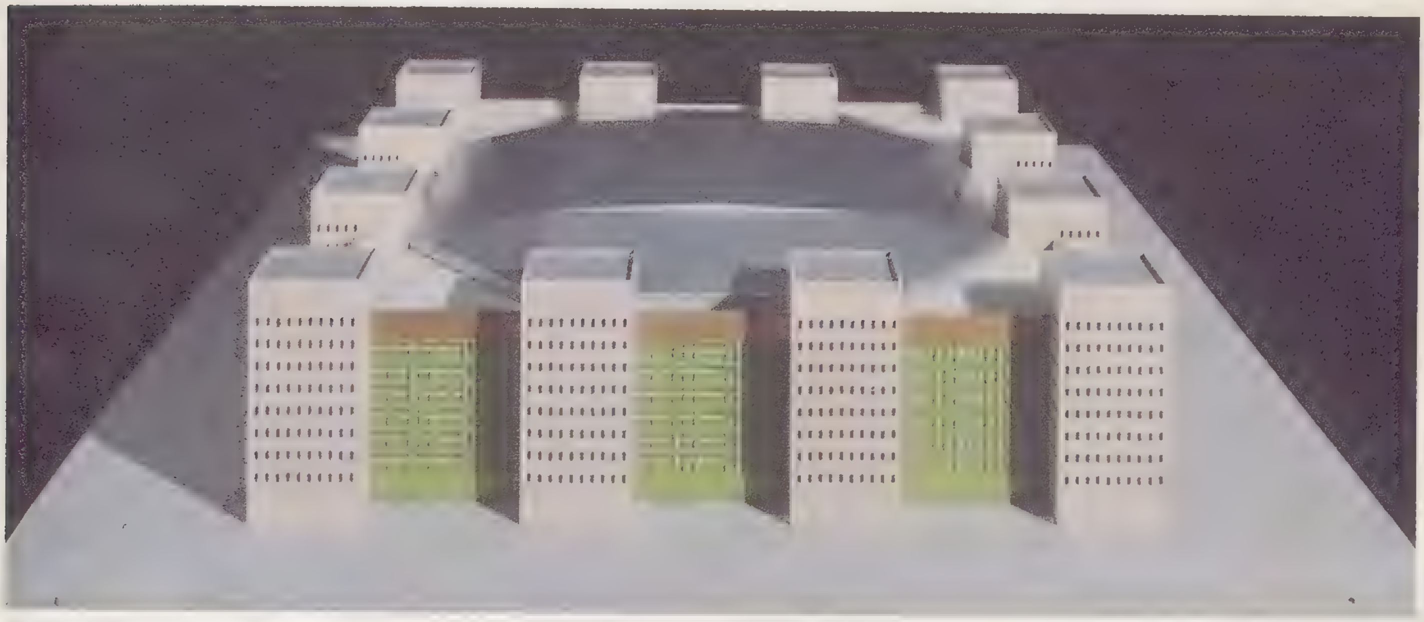
Sketches of side elevations, eastern elevation and west view of the models. Photo by S. Topuntoli.

The New Palazzo dello Sport and the City

Virgilio Vercelloni

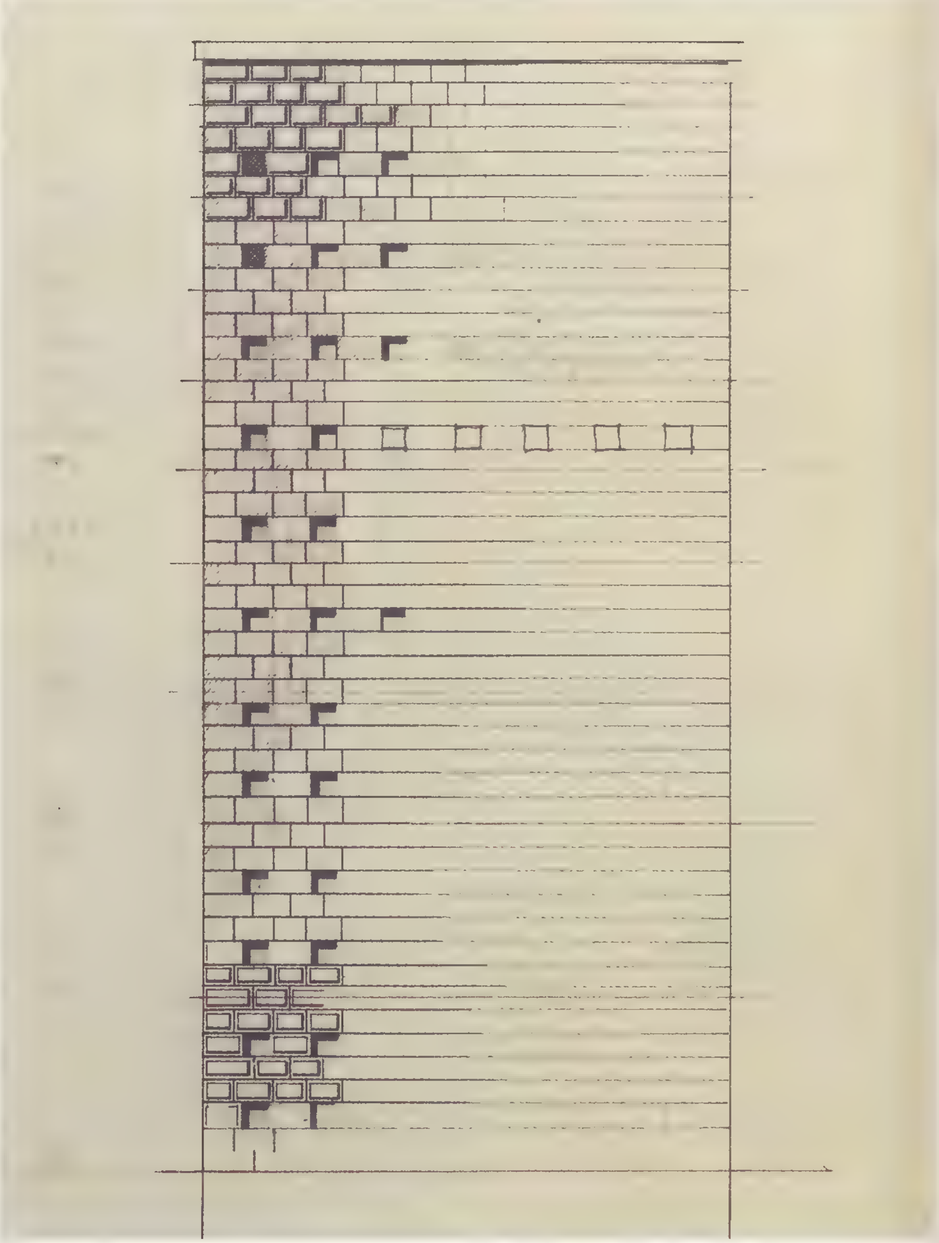
The new Palazzo dello Sport, which will host events in the "city of Lombardy", was designed by Aldo Rossi as a "gate" to the city and a point of reference in the area between the entrance to Milan in the "forums of free time" section and the exit from the city towards the supraregional zones devoted to the relationship between free time and nature (the Ticino Park).
The project is part of a relationship between the modern culture of complexity and the history of architectural styles.
This new multifunctional building, like others of its kind which are going up around the world, is also designed to host all sorts of indoor sporting, cultural, recreational and entertainment events.
This new-age structure and a similar building currently under construction in London (both are larger, with a maximum capacity of 20,000 seats, and more functional than Paris' recent *Omnisport*) represent a European pair that is now at the disposal of the international market for large indoor events.
Milan's Palazzo dello Sport has been designed to function as a *pole of attraction*, which is active and interacts with other poles making up the new international network of similar structures. The building is an active pole, not just an intelligent terminal, since a construction of this kind requires that the business spirit which promotes and manages it also produces events for the international network of similar structures. Sporting, cultural and recreational events will gain new potential from this kind of international network.
In Milan, as in the majority of developed countries, the cost of this project to the municipal government is non-existent, since it has granted use of the land it owns for a sufficient period of time to ensure amortization of the capital invested (while still reserving the right to public use of the building many evenings throughout the year). After that time, the land and the building will again become public property.
Palazzo dello Sport is a complicated structure as a result of its general requirements of multifunctionality and the specific requirements of the variety of events which will be temporarily or permanently held there. All of these events will be managed on the basis of the most advanced computer technology available in the world of sports, entertainment and cultural and recreational activities. Another aspect is the economy of scale that it produces and activates. This is a complex, mechanized construction that contains a series of structural interdependencies, including hotel and refreshment facilities, a sports club, a specialized shopping center, and services for sports clubs and all kinds of event management (who will be able to rely on a center for the promotion of long-range activities and a highly efficient terminal for contact with the various international networks).
The *Codice Atlantico* contains a highly architectonic sketch attributed to Bramantino which was a sketch for a *building with hydraulic pumps*. I'm sure that "machine" functioned well from a technical point of view. On the other hand, I'm skeptical about the false ideology that holds that an architectural work is determined by the constraints of technology. The result of this concept is the many "false machines" that are cluttering up cities around the world.
I think that our Palazzo dello Sport shows that the most advanced technology can only be fully expressed by the great cultural tension of architectural design, which is capable of creating a meaningful relationship with the city and the context into which it is placed. In this way, architecture again becomes a synthesis of human needs and the scene of men's lives, as it has always been in the history of cities.

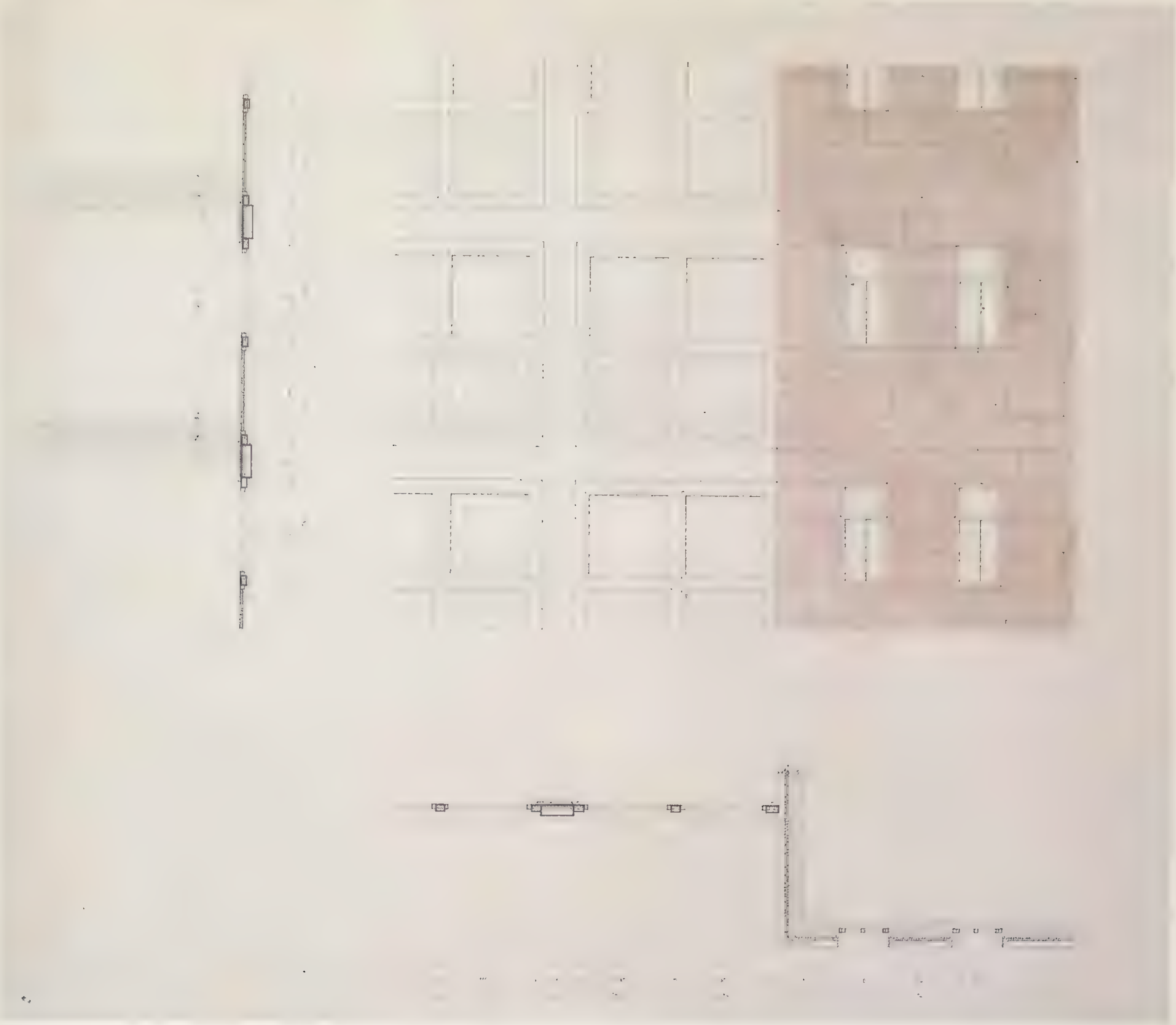




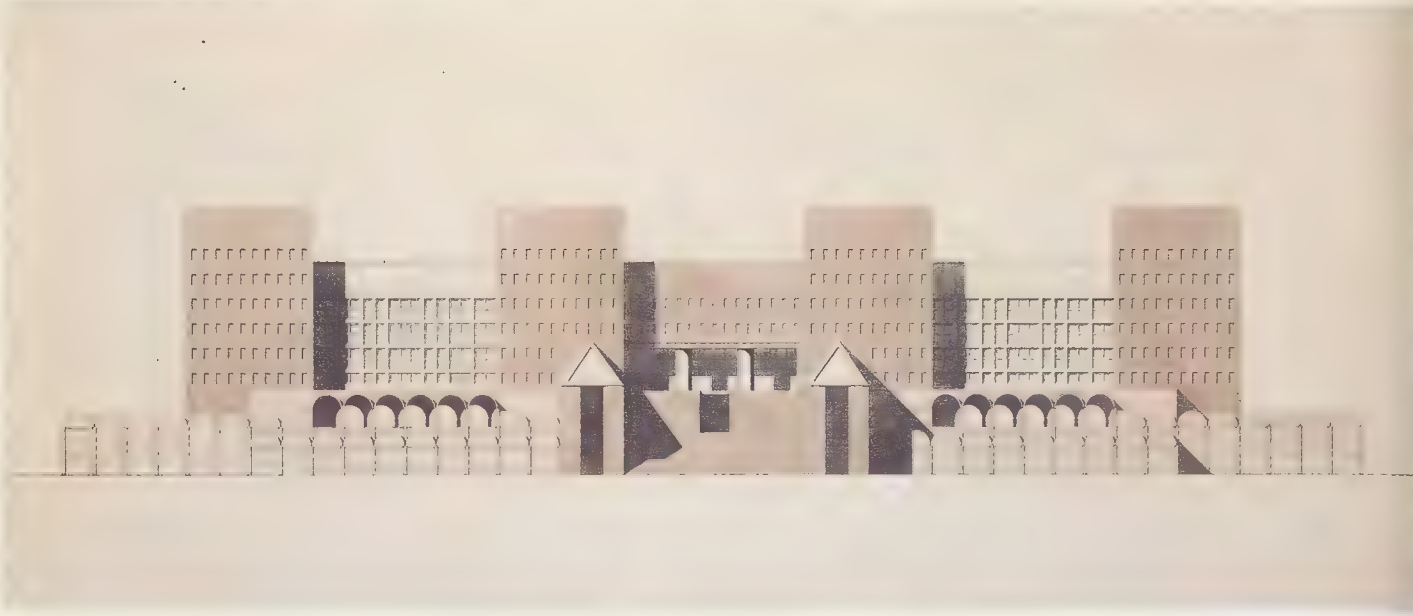
Northern elevation and northern view of the model.
Photo by S. Topuntoli.

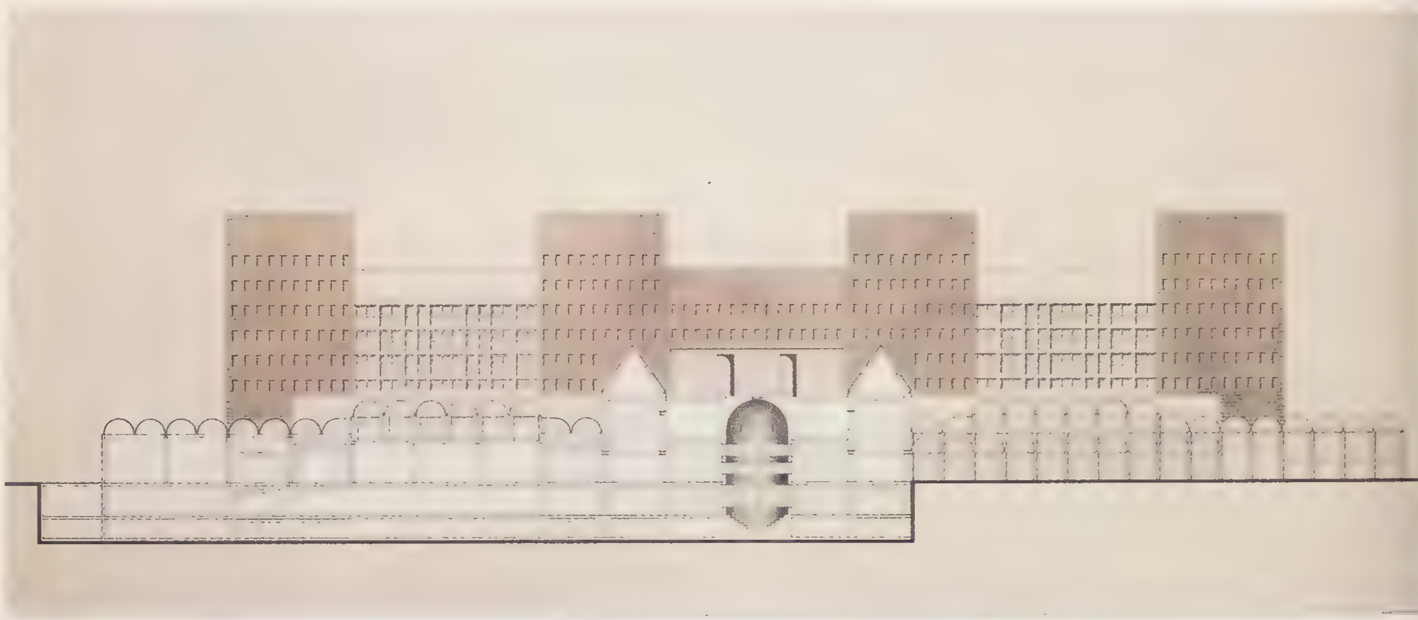
Elevation studies and construction detail.





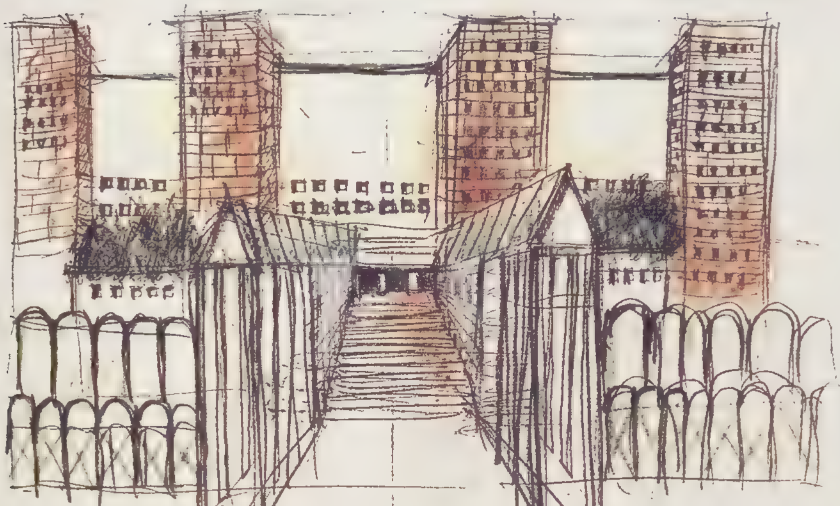






Elevation, cross-section, view of the model and sketch of the side of the entrance.
Photo by S. Topuntoli.

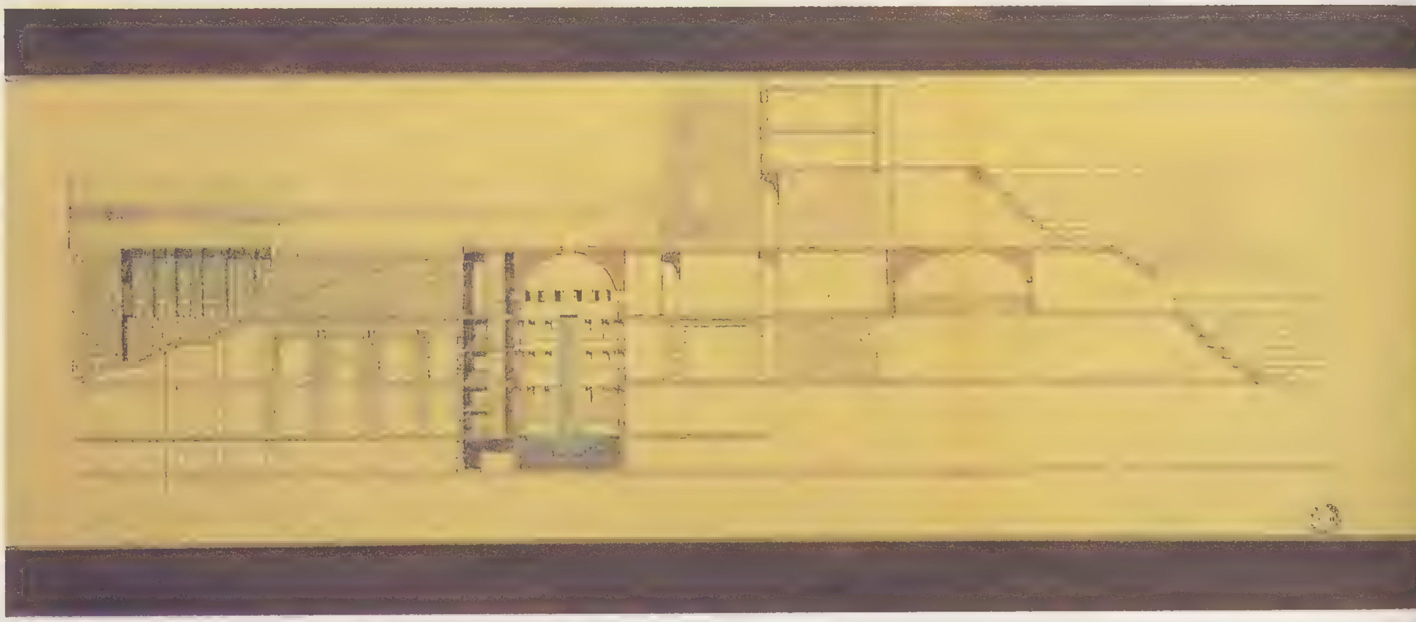


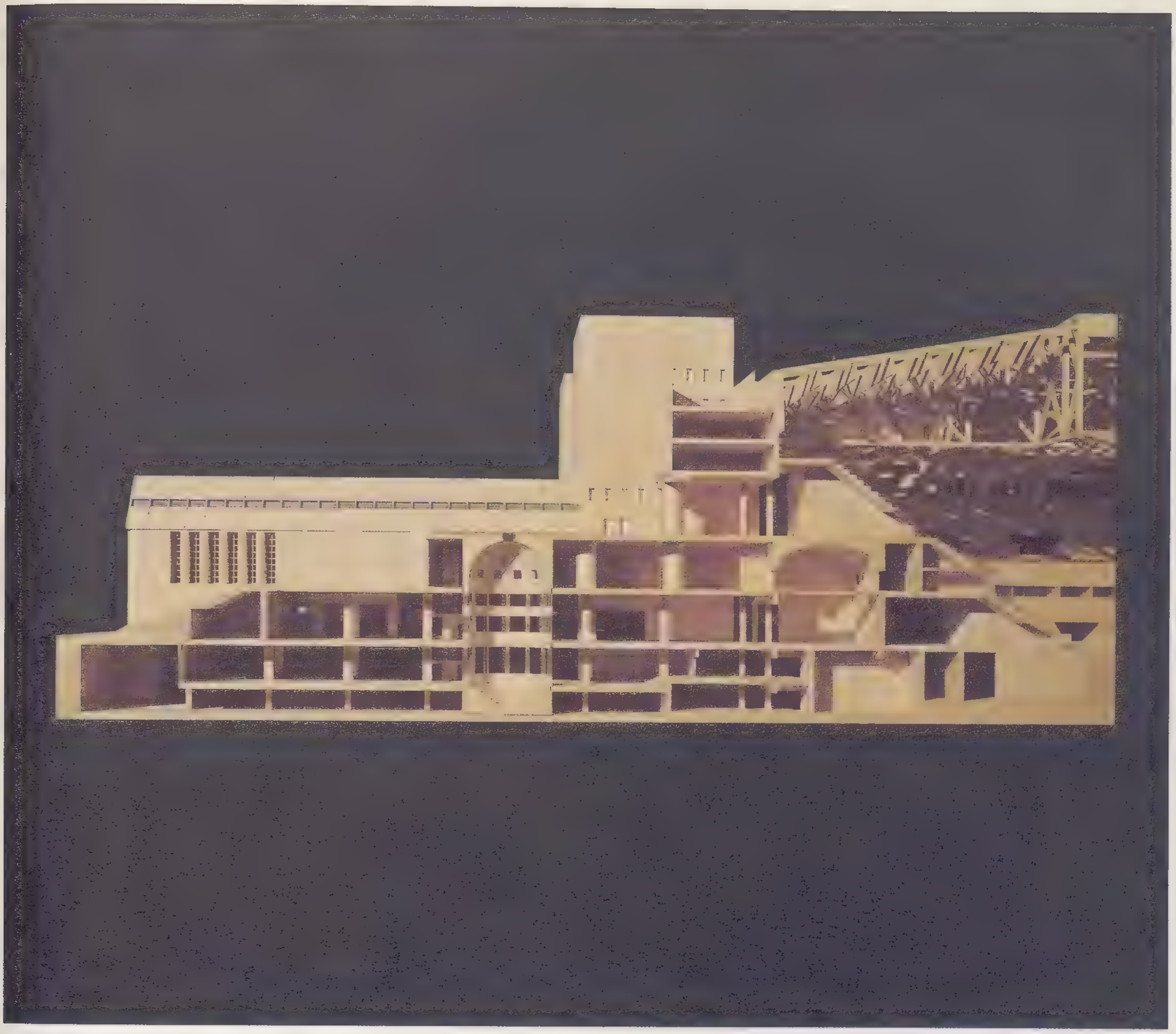




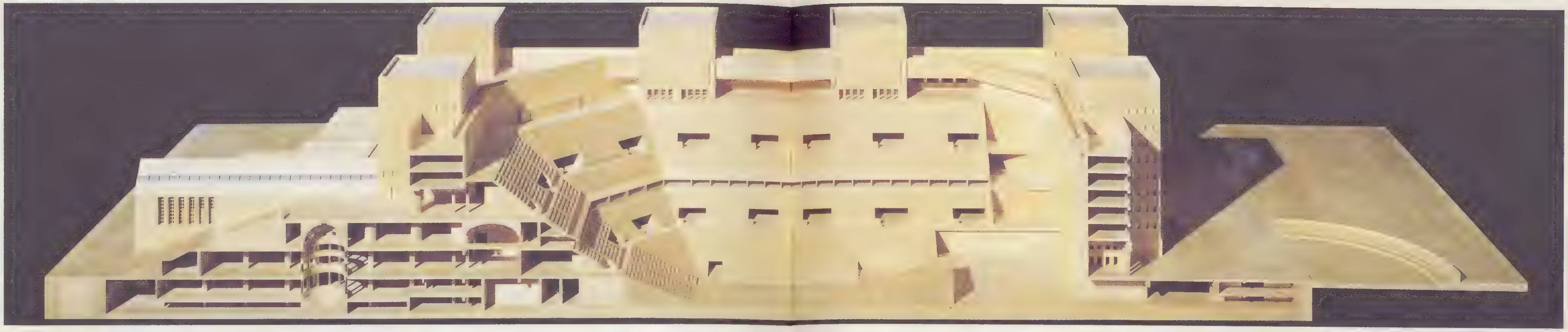


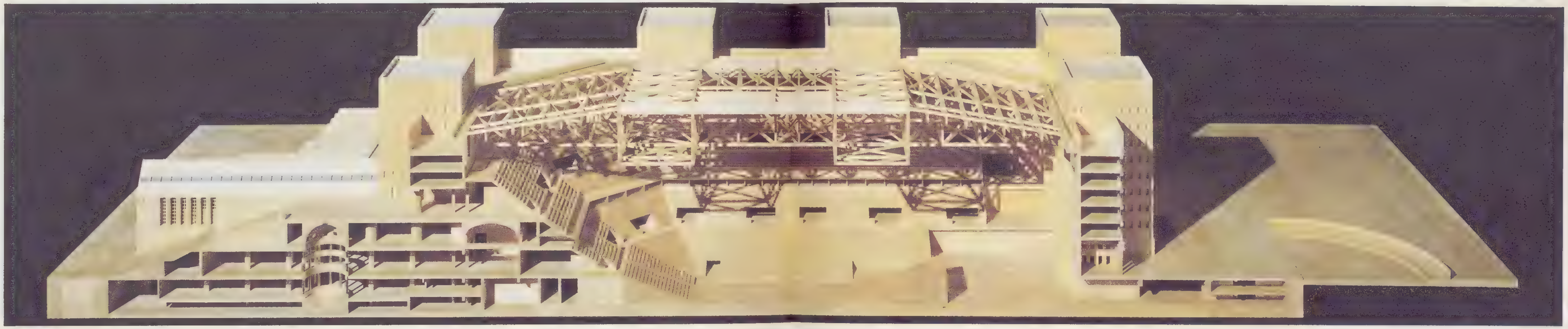




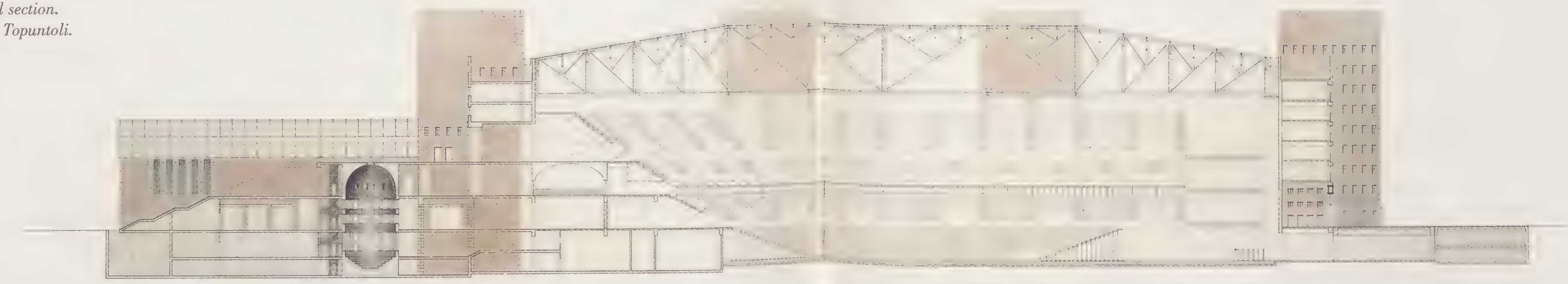


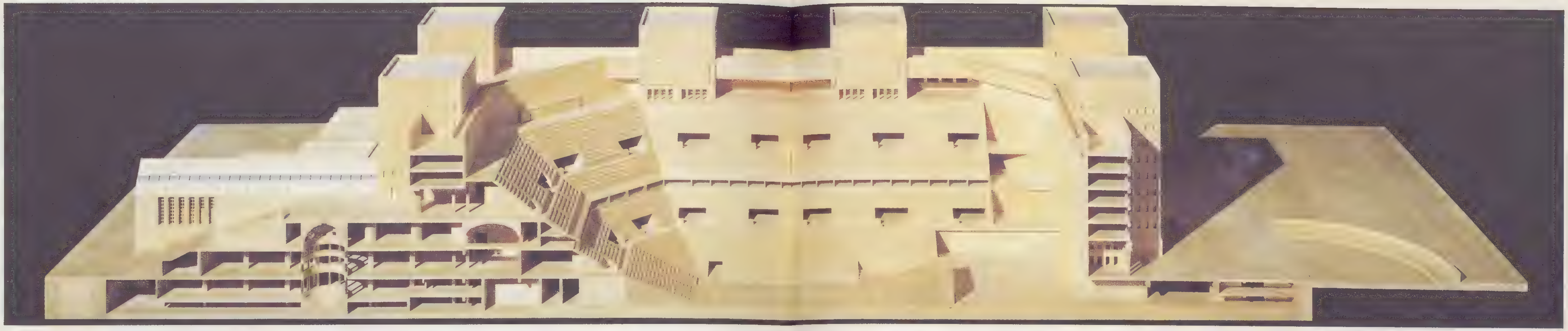
Section sketches and vertical section of the model of the part of the building containing the entrance.
Photo by S. Topuntoli.
On the preceding pages:
View of the model on the steps up to the entrance.
Photo by S. Topuntoli.

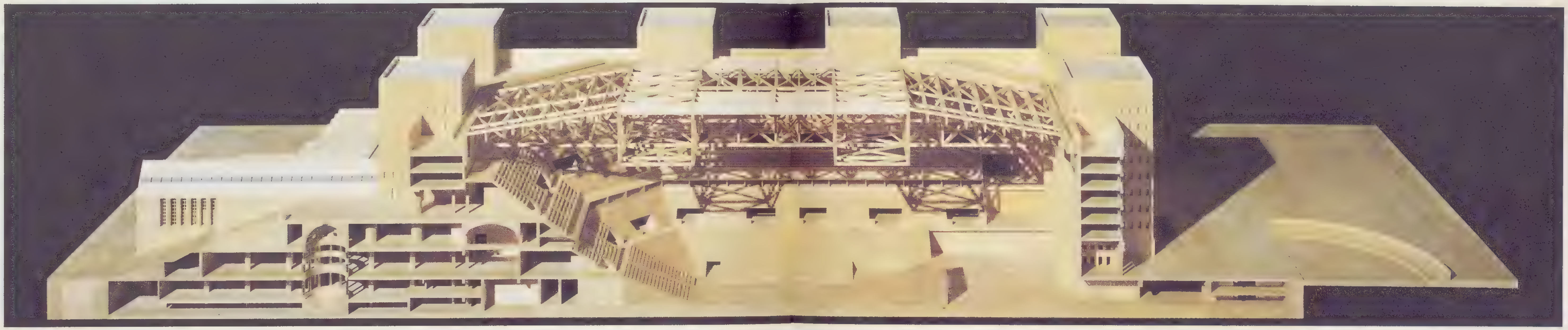




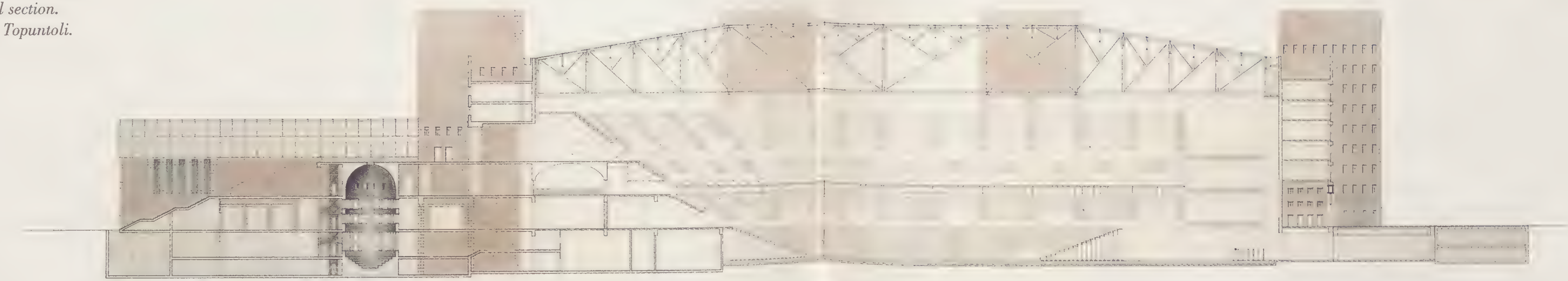
Vertical section of the model with and without the roof structure and longitudinal section. Photo by S. Topuntoli.



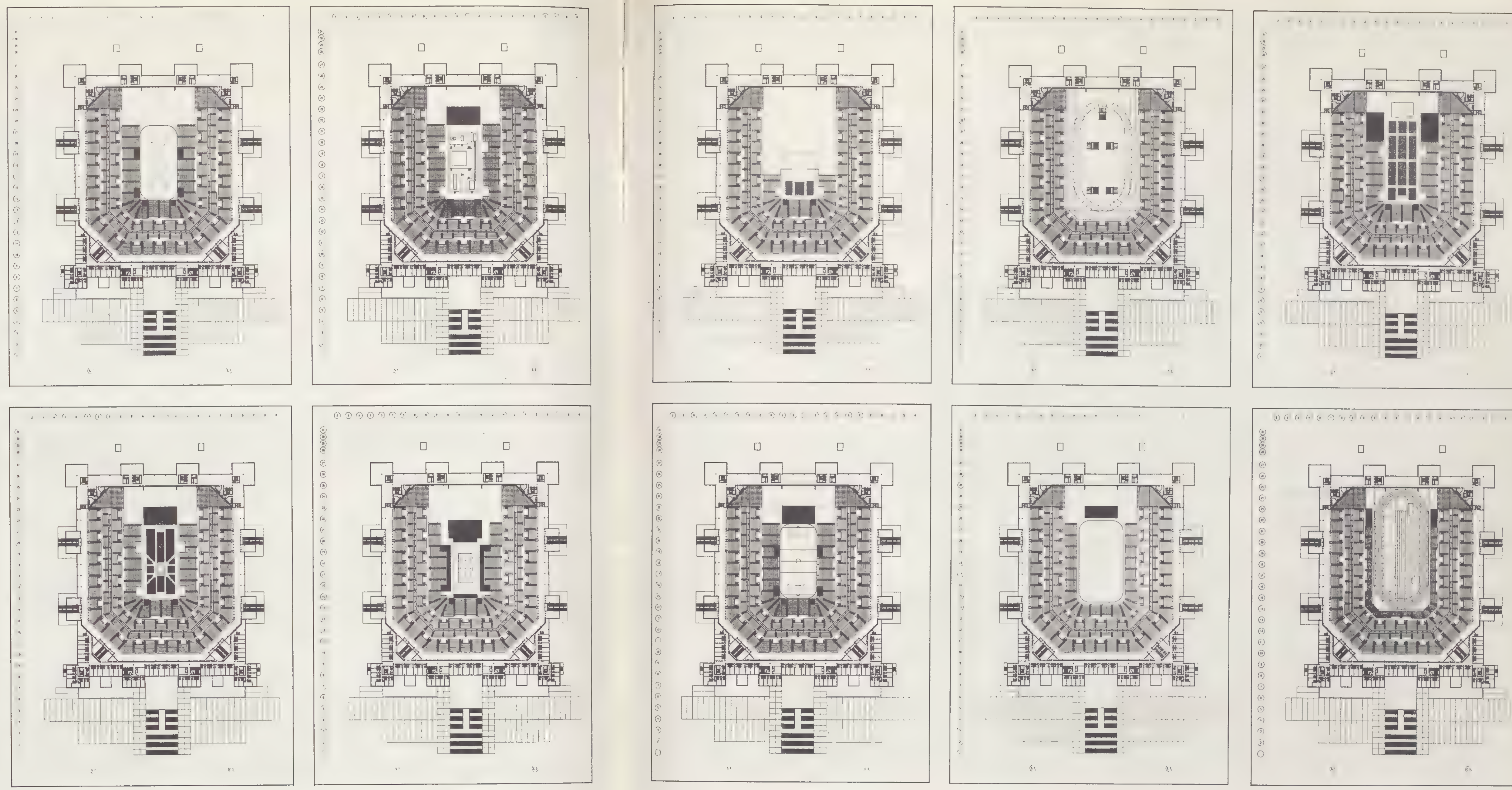




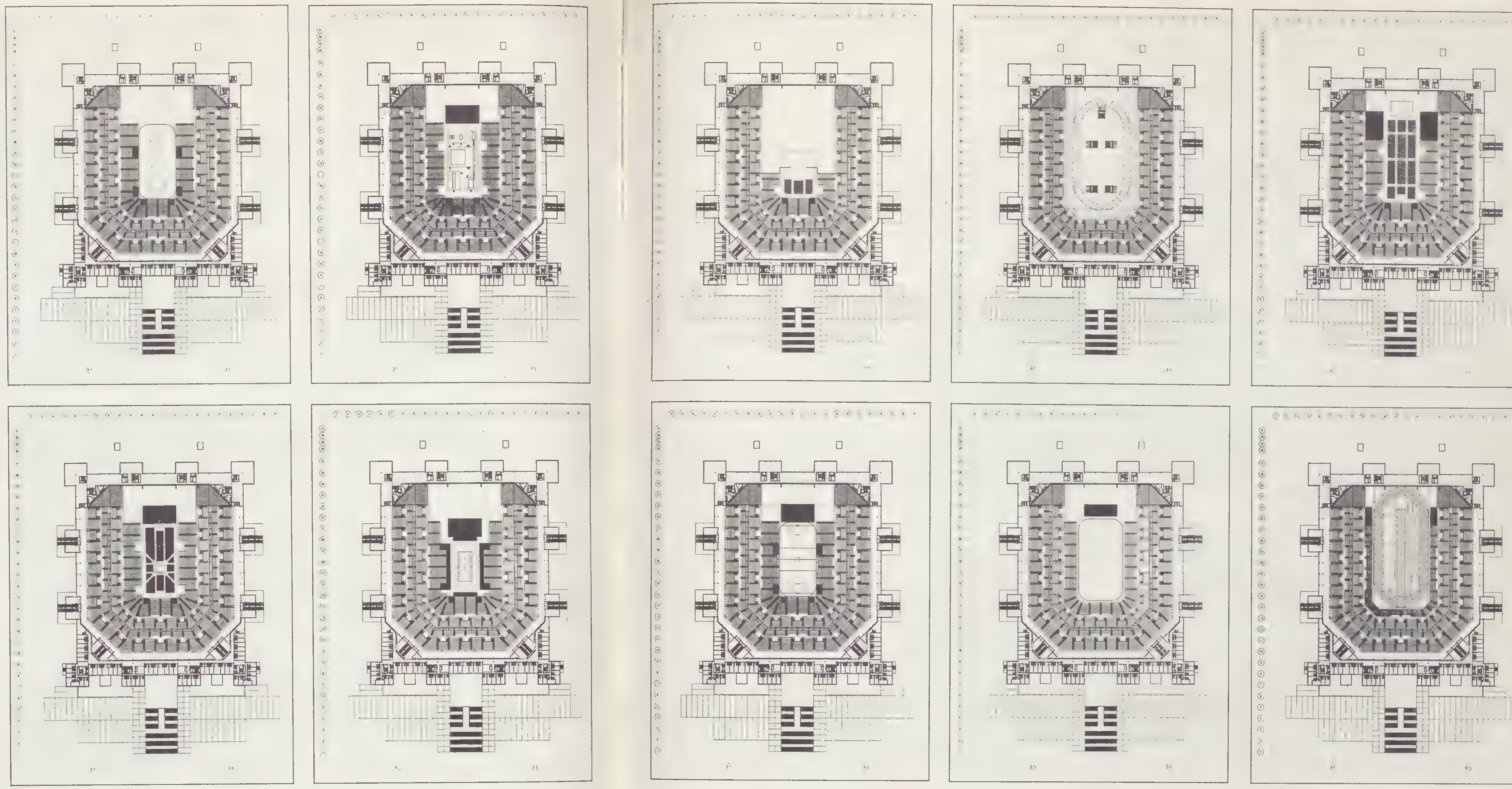
Vertical section of the model with and without the roof structure and longitudinal section.
Photo by S. Topuntoli.



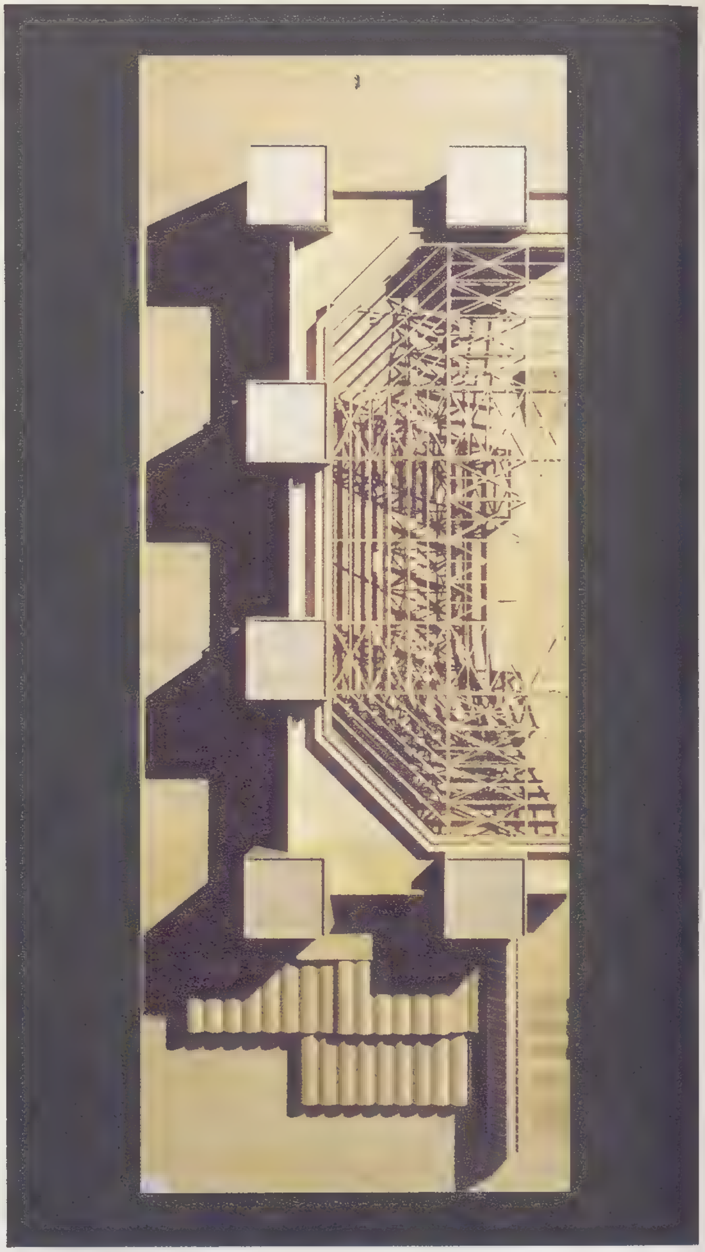
Plans for the various ways in which the central arena may be used.



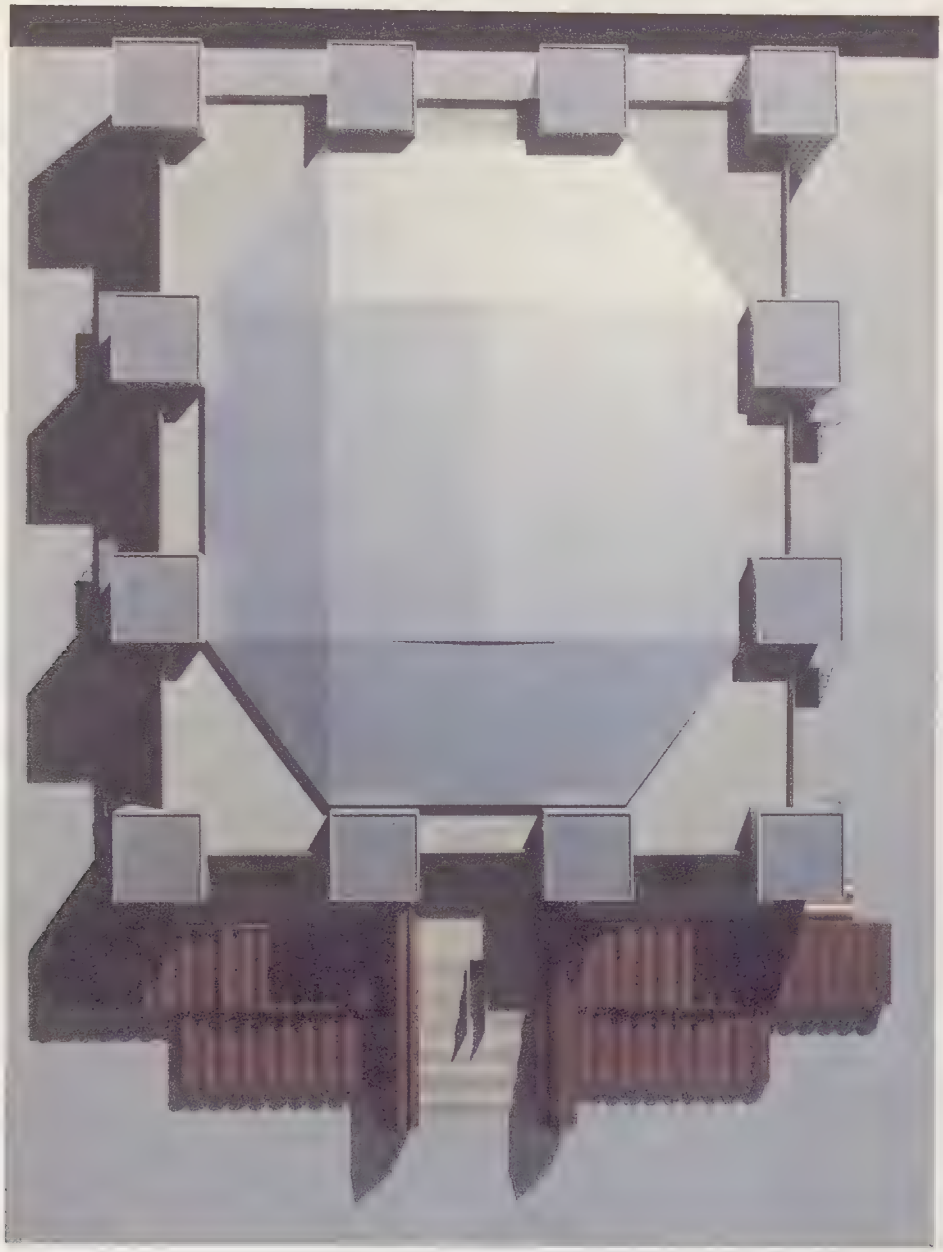
Plans for the various ways in which the central arena may be used.







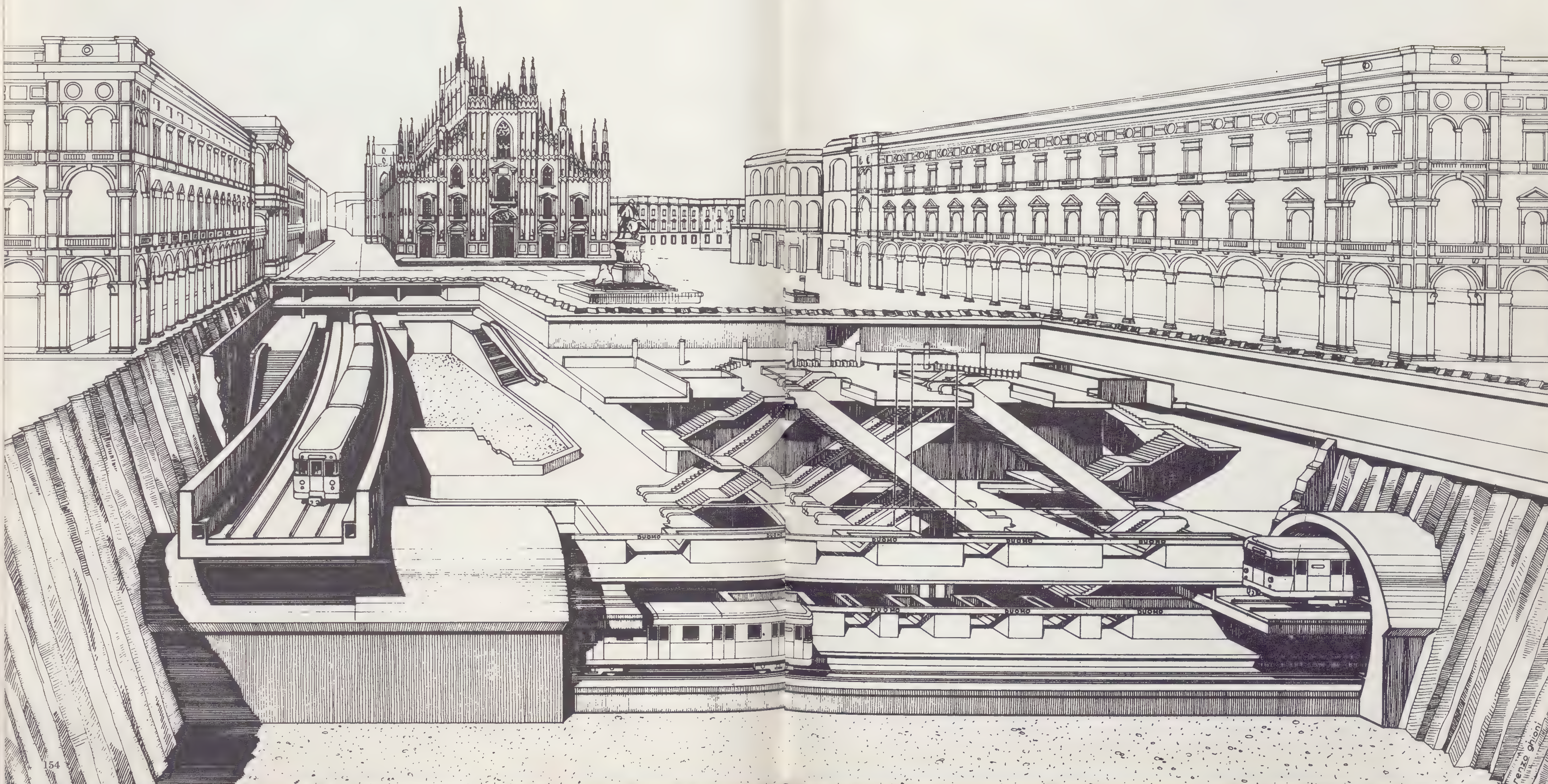
Aerial view of the model with and without the roof structure. Photo by S. Topuntoli.



Building Sites of the Milan Subway System

Claudio Dini

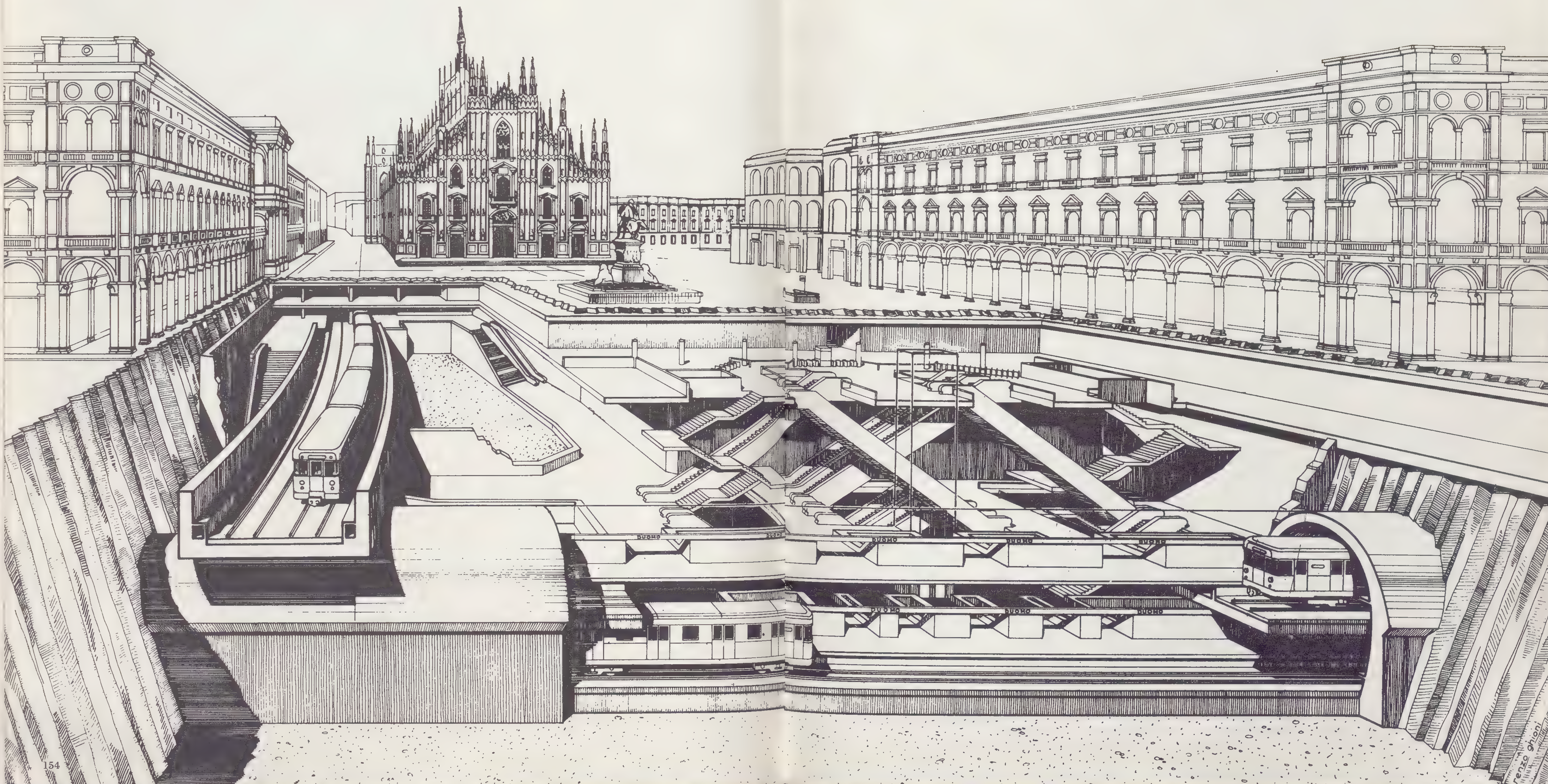
Perspective vertical section of Piazza del Duomo in Milan with the Milan subway stations (rendering by Metropolitana Milanese).



Building Sites of the Milan Subway System

Claudio Dini

Perspective vertical section of Piazza del Duomo in Milan with the Milan subway stations (rendering by Metropolitana Milanese).



Presentation

Claudio Dini (*)

We probably owe some kind of explanation to those who are wondering why the Metropolitana Milanese, which is a "railway" engineering company, has become involved in city planning.

First, there is the "institutional" reason, which compels us to renovate those parts of the city that have been burdened by building sites for long periods of time during subway construction. Then there is a "contingent" consideration more generally connected with the cultural evolution of society and increased awareness of the culture of design. It is no longer correct to assume that the unquestionable importance of an operation like subway construction justifies any kind of activity, including ingoring every other requirement of the urban landscape. Instead, the new relationship that this underground architecture may create for the city must be immediately analyzed, and building sites should be used as an opportunity to reconsider form and function from the standpoint of renewed "civic greatness". The accomplishment of a "civic" plan, in the past and today (with increased sensitivity, when possible) does not only mean meeting functional needs, but also satisfying the demand for aesthetic values while respecting environmental aspects. Both of these circumstances have encouraged us to pay more attention to the entire urban landscape, especially the areas of the city that are affected by work being carried out on the third subway line, causing irreversible changes in these locations. One example is Piazza Duca d'Aosta, the renovation of which is the subject of a national competition; other locations include all the "urban voids" left to the city by dismantleed subway construction sites. Piazza Duomo, Largo della Crocetta and Via Crocerossa will be the first to recover from such voids and have a new identity. All three of these sites are imbued with the centuries-old history of the city center and are deeply rooted in the hearts of the Milanese as parts of the city that are strongly tied to everyday life. Therefore, they required the highest quality plans, which were sensitive to the "locus", while still able to reinterpret it with the vitality of new creative proposals that were not necessarily restricted to "the way it was and where it was". This required three architects, three sensitive interpreters, three artists who could find the courage they needed to make new proposals somewhere deep in their Milanese relationship with the city. But Gardella, Canella and Rossi won't be the only architects involved, since Piazza Duca D'Aosta, Piazza Cavour, Piazza Missori, Piazza Velasca, Largo Richini and Piazza San Nazaro are waiting their turn. They are simply the first ones to try their hands at these "voids" so they can be returned to the city. Although these three architects are very different from each other, they share the same positive feeling for Milan, which according to often repeated commonplaces is monotonous, unlivable, irreparably compromised and basically ugly, but a city that they have always sincerely loved. However, these three architects have not had the opportunity to express their

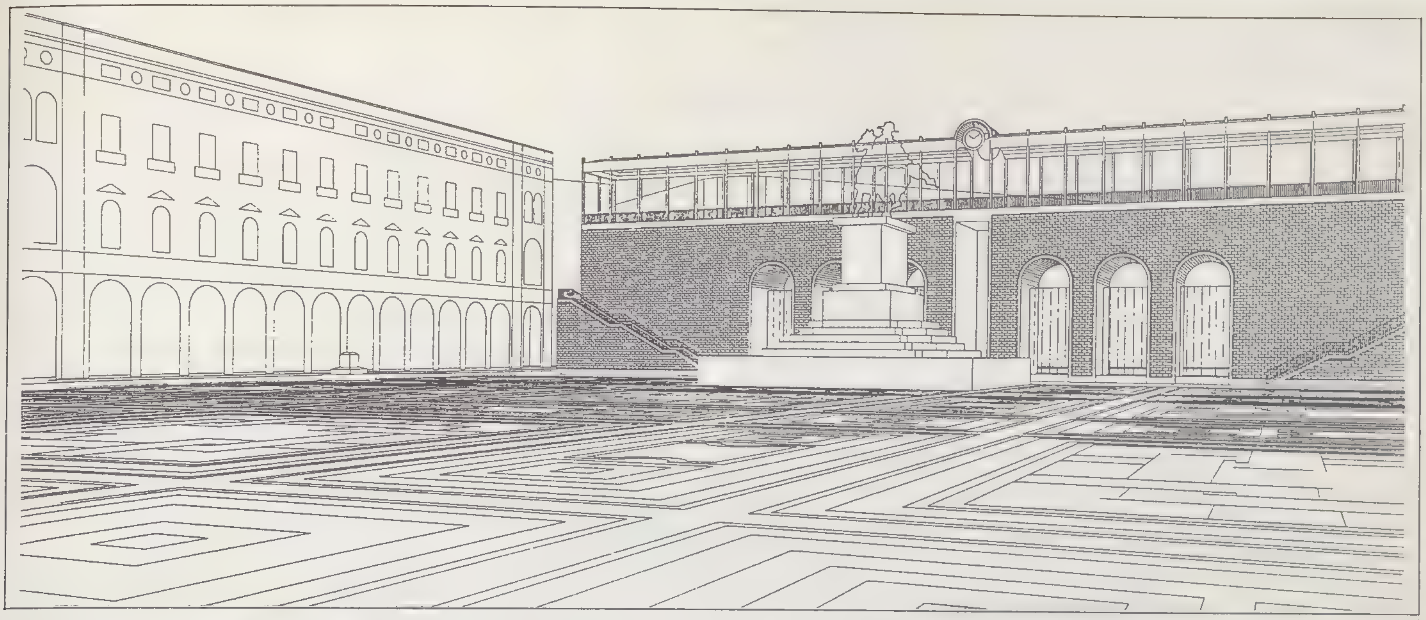
Location on the Milan city plan of the project areas Line 3 of the subway system: 1. the Duomo Station; 2. the Croce Rossa Station; 3. the Crocetta Station.

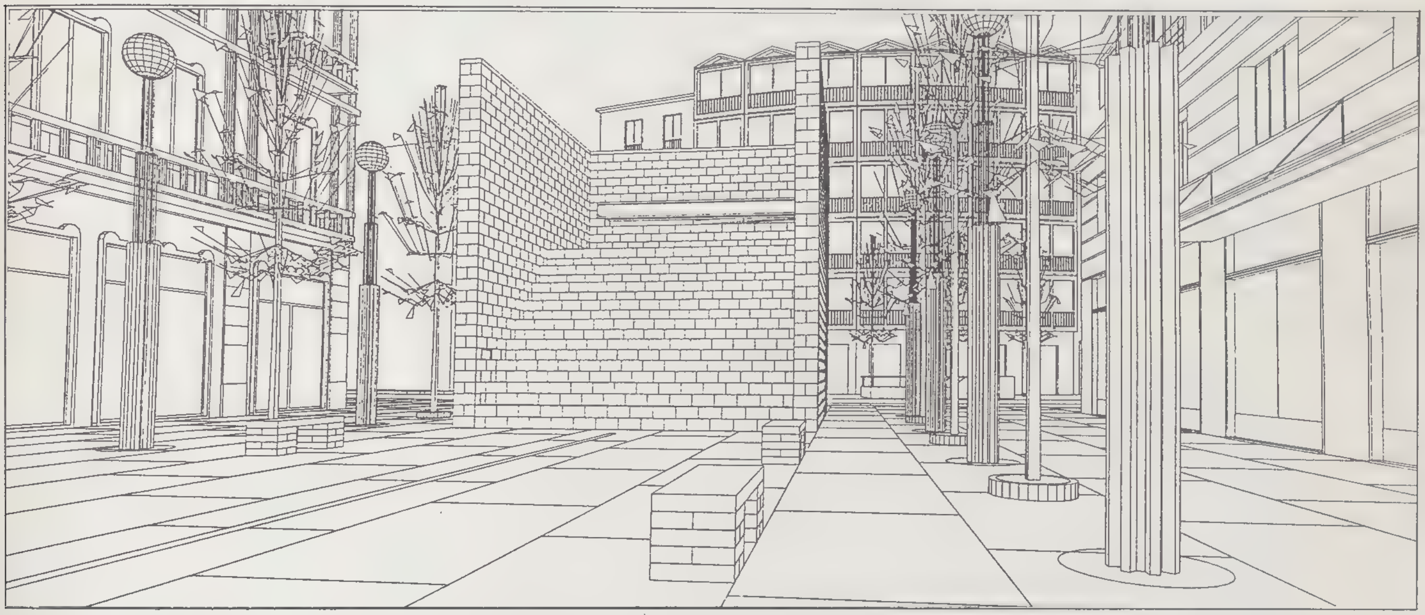
(*) Architect, President of Metropolitana Milanese.

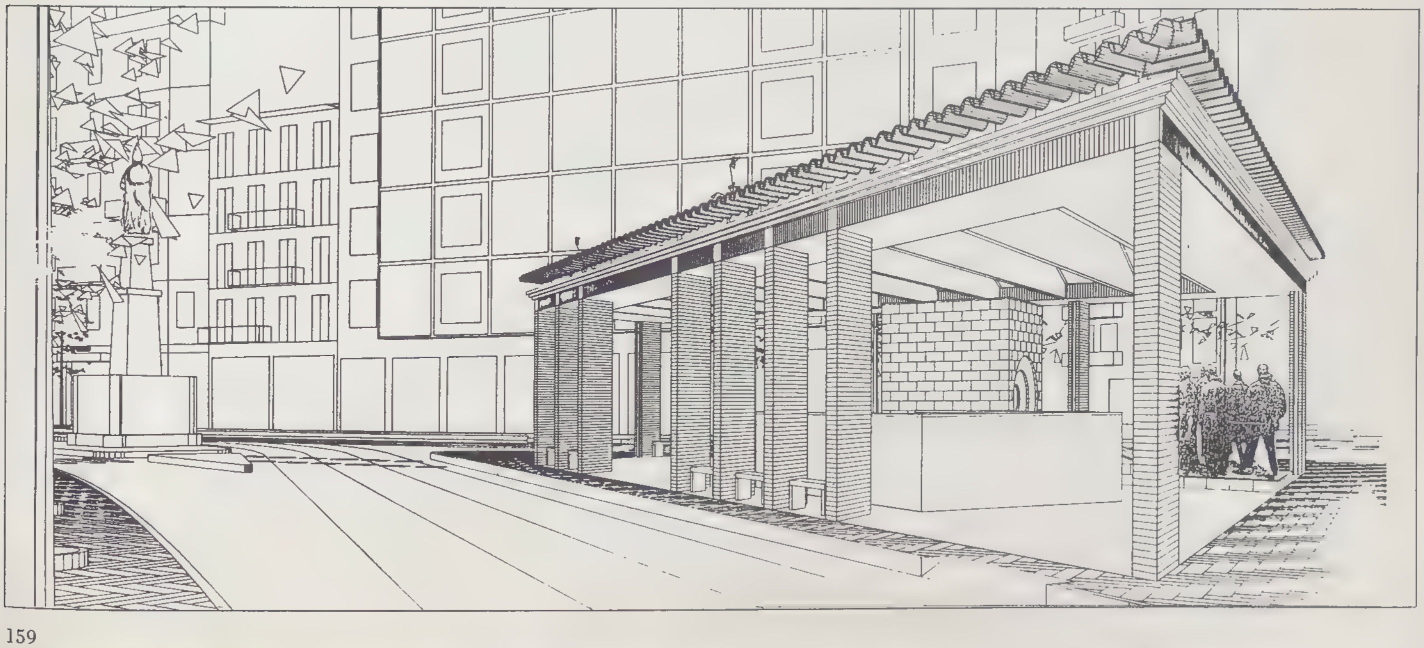


love for Milan, except sporadically, through the few projects that have actually been built.
Piazza Duomo, unfinished for almost a century now, will be returned to us by Ignazio Gardella in all its "Mengonian" proportions. An architectural backdrop, following the outlines of the square designed by Mengoni and never created, will face the cathedral. The central passage, with the large clock mounted on the pediment of the loggia, will emphasize the axis of symmetry of the large area up to Piazza Mercanti. Together with the large arches on the side that subtend a veil of continually falling water, it will bring the diaphanous transparency towards the wider portion behind it without contradicting the powerful corporeity of the white "candoglia" marble architecture. The result will be a new "Medieval town hall" crowned by Bramante's "ladies loggia", which will be a monument to secular power in front of the temple in order to regain the earlier proportions of an overly expanded void. This will also be a piece of architecture to be lived in brief museum-like moments from within and to be experienced by a passer by on the outside to become more familiar with the surroundings, deepen the relationship with the urban landscape and discover the various panoramas the city offers by rising towards the arcade. The pavement will be made of "rizzada" (50 × 50 precast pavers with gravel top finish), divided by continuous paths made of porphyry slabs giving unity to the whole area, from the outer perimeters of the square up to the existing Portaluppi pavement, which Gardella is going to treat as a valuable "carpet" placed in the center.
Another, equally delicate plan has been proposed by Guido Canella based on a new use for the broadening that has occurred over time at the merging of Corso di Porta Vigentina and Via Lamarmora with Corso di Porta Romana. To Canella, this slender triangle, snatched from the relentless demands of traffic, suggested a portico reminiscent of the lost Roman colonnade. In addition to the exit from the subway station, under the new portico there will be a beautiful fountain and a place to meet, to gather, to stop for a moment before continuing on one's way. Along with a row of trees, the dense, irregularly divided "columns" will filter the movement of the city around them and offer respite to anyone who stops there. The structures and pavement, made of brick, will seem like a Lombard echo of long ago. This will be a new scenery, a new landscape for anyone walking from the center of town towards the ramparts, catching a glimpse from faraway of the old streets that once led out of town through this piece of "civic" architecture with its discreet and carefully designed volumes.
Aldo Rossi, on the other hand, has tackled something completely new: a space that wasn't there before, a busy street transformed into a calm and peaceful place in which to "be at ease". The objective of his project can be understood immediately: to set a point of arrival, a focal point, at the end of the sparkling Via Montenapoleone, a new entranceway to the residential neighborhoods beyond it. With his unwavering insight, the architect has clearly designed a white "candoglia" marble cube, emptied on the inside, and has then inserted within the cube large steps that lead up to a terrace. As in the case of Piazza Duomo, the architect has used a path rising up towards new visual panoramas and to an isolated place in which music and entertainment may find a temporary shelter. A double row of mulberry trees and benches, lining the two stairways to the subway, will filter the image of the "monument" and divide the porphyry pavement leading to Via Borgonuovo into three parts. The last element is reminiscent of times past: in a corner there is the architect's signature, a triangular fountain that Aldo Rossi offers to the passerby walking towards the center of the city.

Perspective computer graphics of the plans for reorganization of the aboveground building sites for the Duomo, Croce Rossa and Crocetta Stations on Line 3 of the Milan subway system (rendering by Metropolitana Milanese).



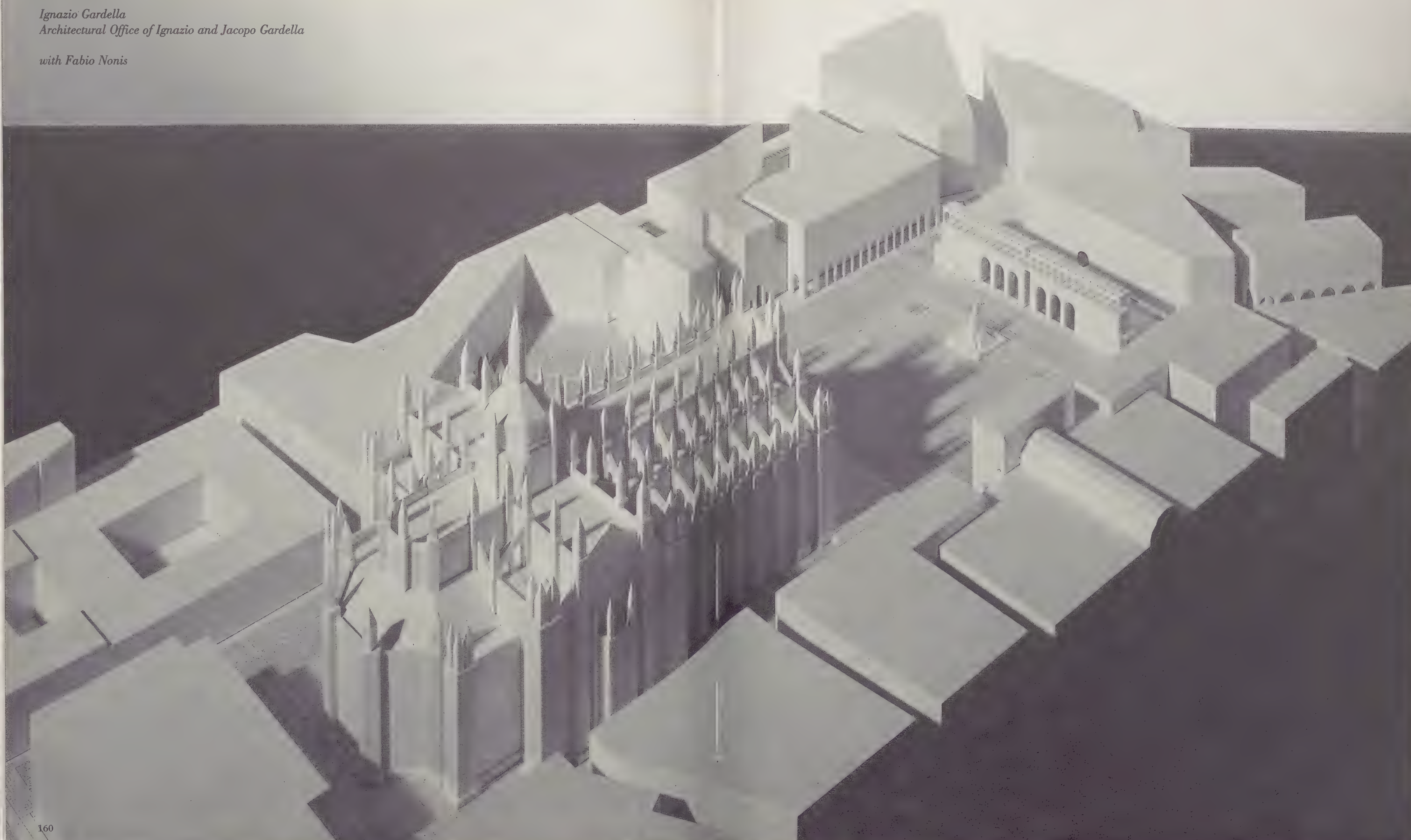




The Duomo Station in Milan
1988

Ignazio Gardella
Architectural Office of Ignazio and Jacopo Gardella

with Fabio Nonis

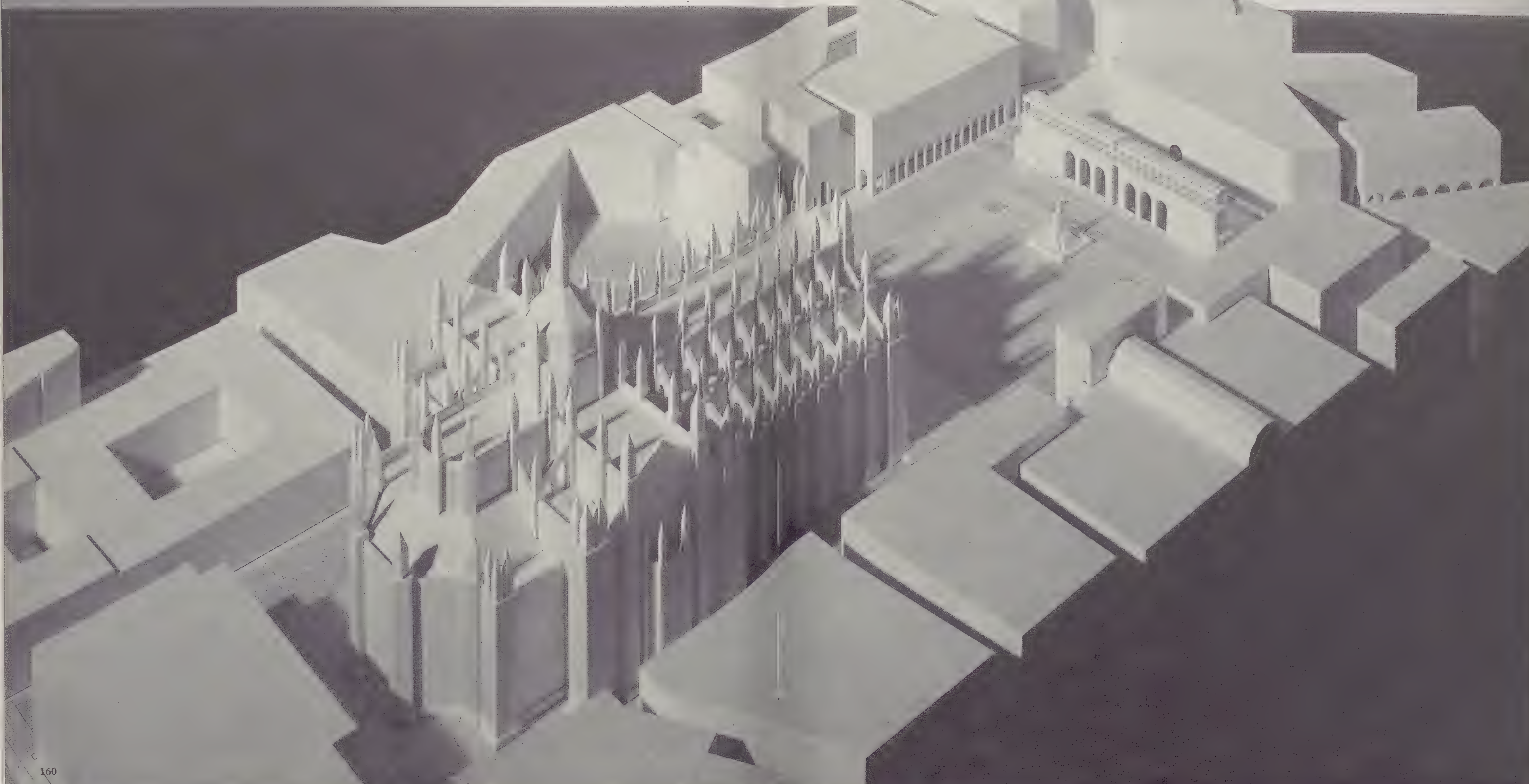


View of the model from the northeast. Photo by F. Brunetti.

The Duomo Station in Milan
1988

Ignazio Gardella
Architectural Office of Ignazio and Jacopo Gardella

with Fabio Nonis



View of the model from the northeast.
Photo by F. Brunetti.

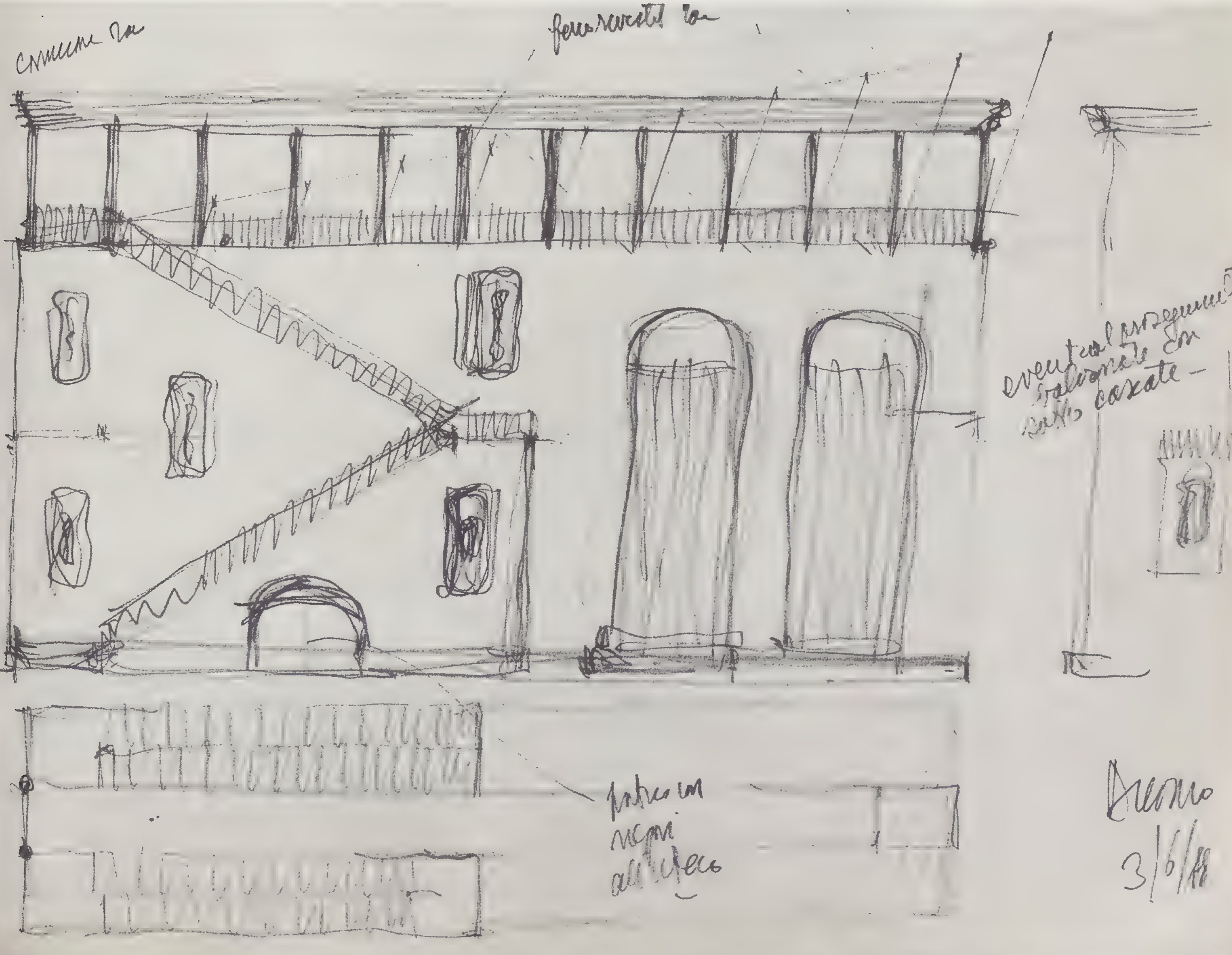
Novembre 1988

Piazza Duomo -

(1)

1a decisione - non ~~distruggere o alterare~~ fare operazioni di distruzione o alterazione nessuno degli edifici, dei manufatti che si trovano oggi nella piazza, ma solo operazioni di integrazione - Si possono discutere consultivi o discutibili dalle architetture del Mengoni, dalla demolizione della manica lunga di Palazzo Reale con la costruzione di due edifici che inquadravano piazza Diaz sull'asse della Galleria, dal disegno del sagrato di Portaluppi - opere tuttavia di architetti - ma comunque la piazza del Duomo così come si è venuta configurando nel corso del tempo rappresenta un "risultato" che ha un posto importante nell'immagine della città - Tuttavia osservando bene la piazza ci si può render conto che ~~...~~ la sua forma è ben definita su tre lati mentre è incerta sul quarto - Sul lato est è chiusa dal duomo, mentre i fianchi laterali del Duomo definiscono due accessi, due varchi collegati alla piazza, anche se sul lato sud uno dei varchi si allarga nella piazza del Palazzo Reale che è però più spazio chiuso e - si pensi - ha un po' il significato della piazza.


cornice

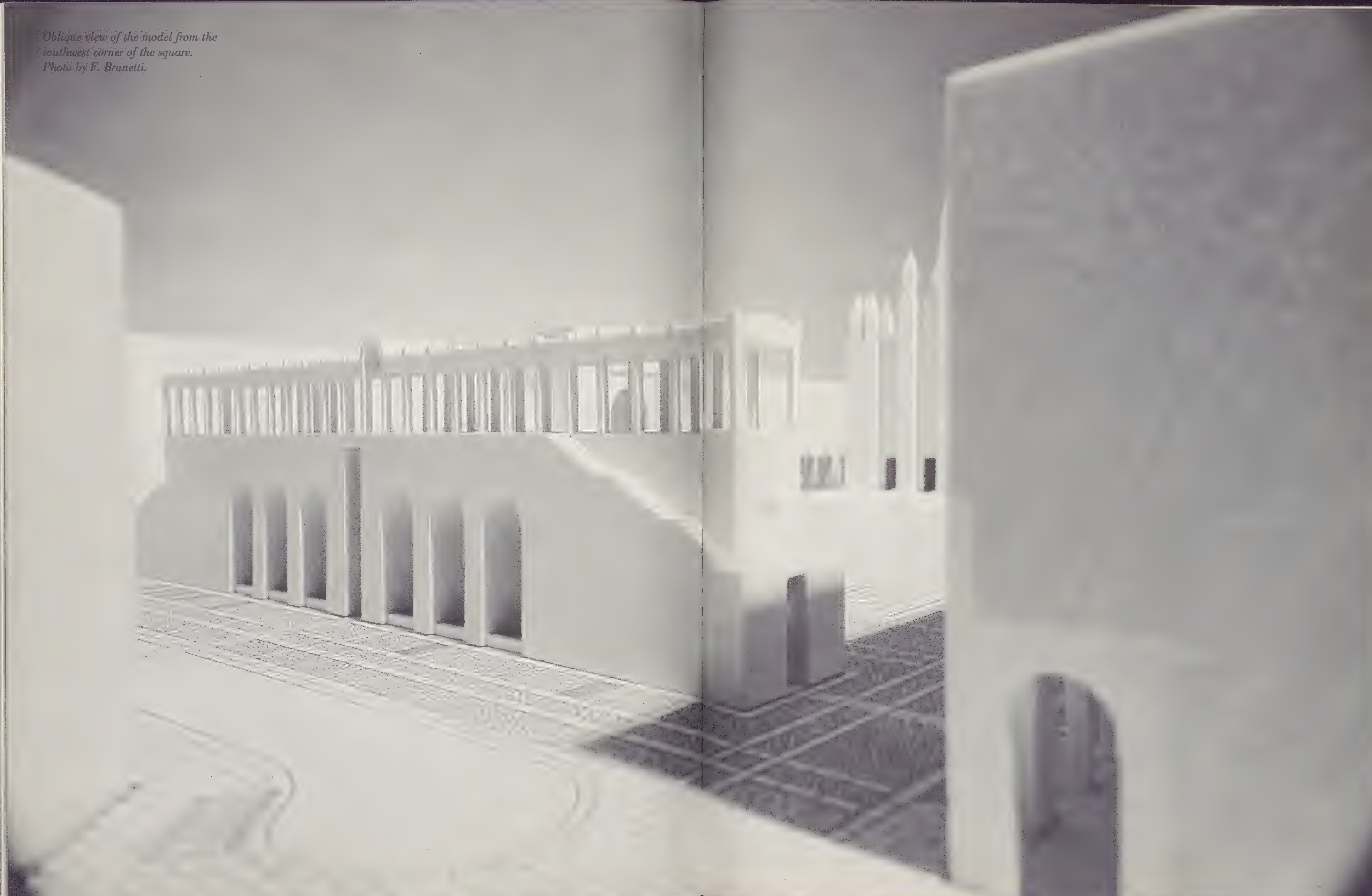

Duomo
3/6/88

Plan for the reorganization of the aboveground building site at the Duomo Station on the Milan Subway System
Ignazio Gardella
The plan was designed on the basis of a decision to only add supplementary constructions aimed at improving the quality of the environment to the degree possible. Actions that would destroy or significantly change the existing buildings and structures were excluded.
From a historical and critical standpoint, the largely, though not completely, accomplished plan for the square designed by the architect Giuseppe Mengoni (starting in 1865) is certainly debatable, as is the 1939 construction of two symmetrical buildings as a continuation of the southern porticoes designed by the architects Griffini, Magistretti, Muzio and Portaluppi and embellished by Arturo Martini's bas-reliefs. However, it is important to observe that the resultant square has now become an integral part of a Milanese "experience" which cannot be ignored, regardless of any other consideration, including economics.
In any case, while the form of the square is architecturally well defined on the northern, eastern and southern sides, it is not on the western side. In particular, rectangular openings into the square are clearly marked out on the eastern side, which is represented by the cathedral's facade: one opening is created by the northern porticoes and one side of the cathedral, and the other by the other side of the cathedral and the Palazzo Arcivescovile initially and then by the top of the Palazzo Reale. The latter opening widens into the enclosed space of Palazzo del Piermarini. This space animates the basic rectangularity of the square without destroying it by establishing a relationship to it which is similar to that of the Piazzetta with St. Mark's Square in Venice (if it is possible to compare two urban situations whose significance is so diverse).
On the western side, the square fans out in the form of various streets, including Via Torino, Via Orefici, Via Mazzini, Via Mercanti and Via Mengoni, while Palazzo del Carminati does not manage to act as an architectural boundary. In addition, Mengoni's plan was not completed on the western side; the architect had designed a building towering over the northern and southern porticoes to close the square.
On the basis of what has been explained here and through the preparation of various exploratory sketches, a plan was developed which included the constructions described below.

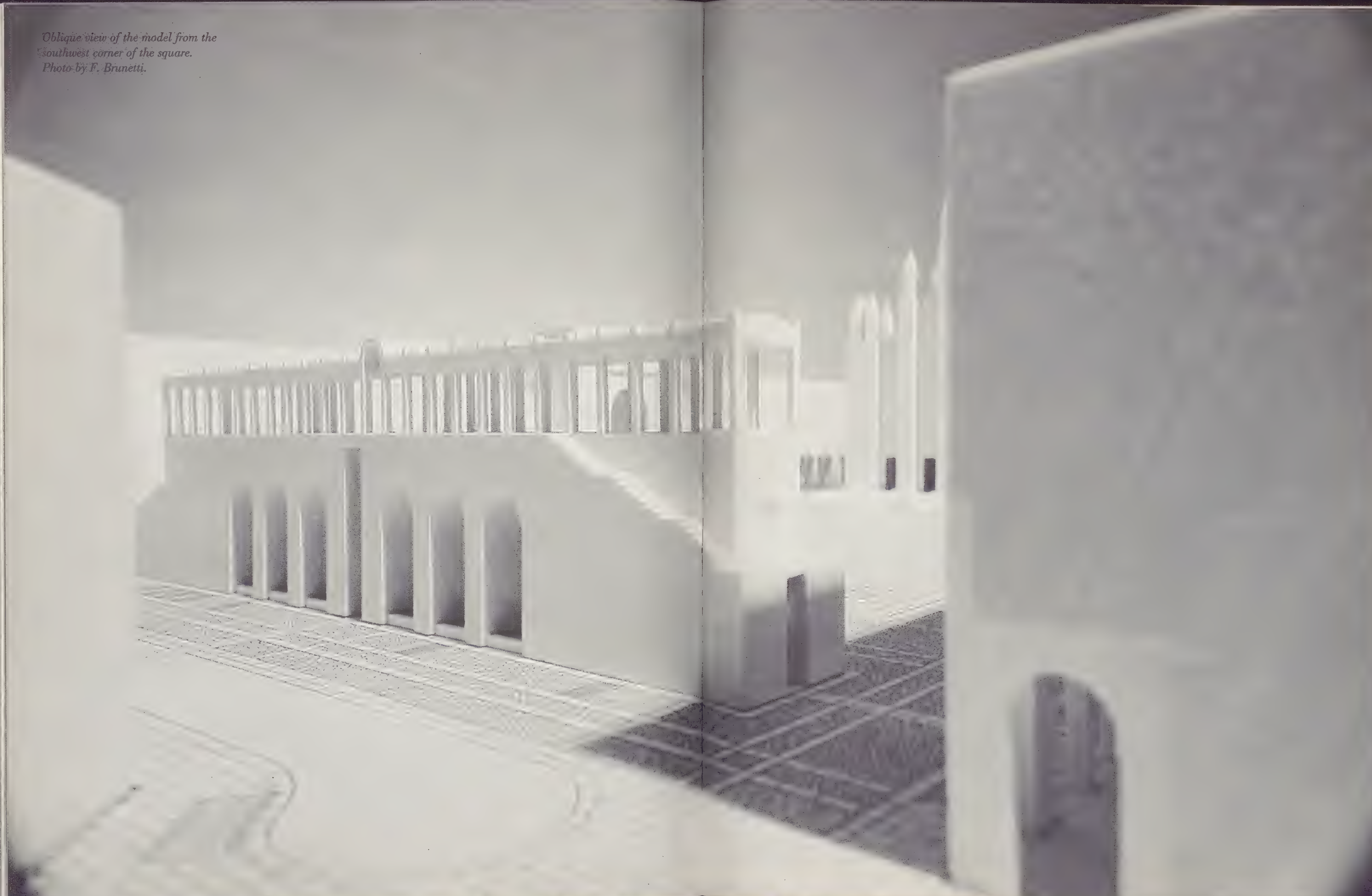
Monument with Waterfalls
The plan includes the construction of a monument with waterfalls on the western side of the square at the approximate point at which the building designed by Mengoni was supposed to have been built. Thus, the area marked out by this side, the cathedral's facade and the northern and southern porticoes will turn out to be relatively square.

View of the model from the west.
Photo by F. Brunetti.
On the preceding pages:
Project sketches.





Oblique view of the model from the southwest corner of the square. Photo by F. Brunetti.



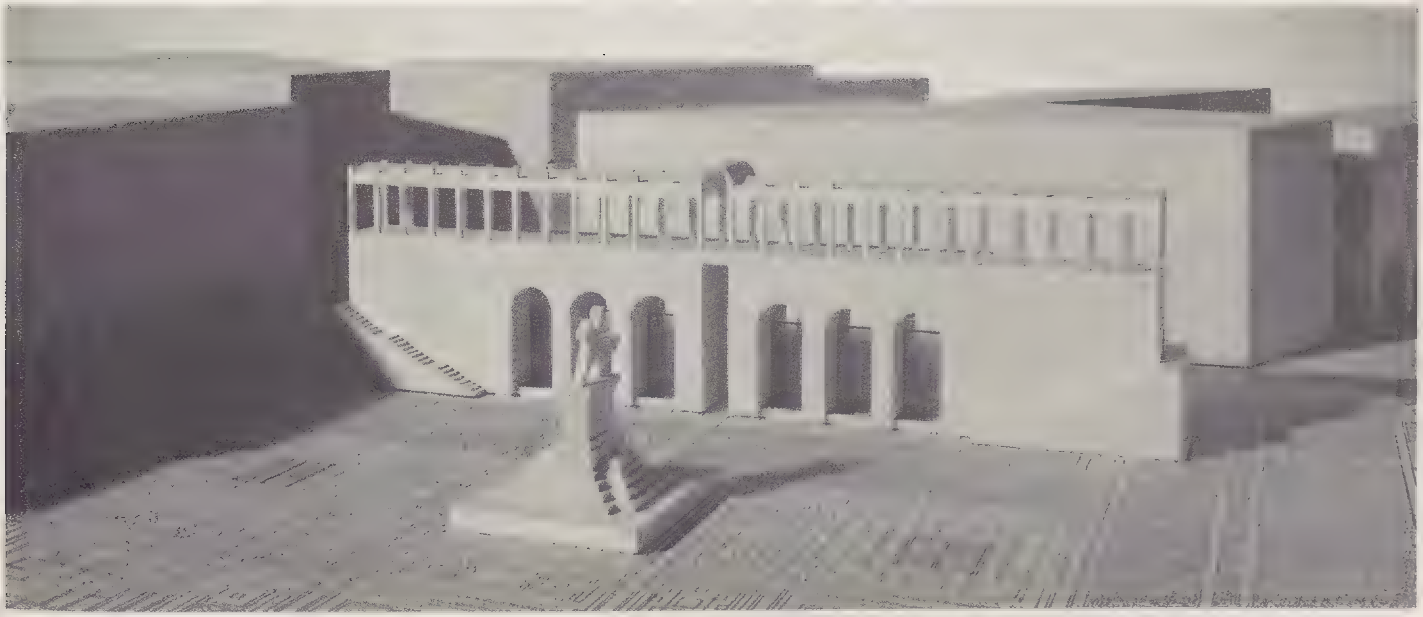
Oblique view of the model from the southwest corner of the square. Photo by F. Brunetti.

The monument is slightly longer than the cathedral's parvis; it is relatively narrow, but (following a suggestion made by the architect Costanza Fattori) its width is adequate to prevent the monument from assuming the strictly scenic function of a backdrop. It lies on an axis with the cathedral's facade, the spire of the Madonnina and Palazzo del Carminati's "passage to the cathedral" in the back.
Its axiality is emphasized by the tall, narrow opening of the base, which terminates in the arch of the central span of the open gallery located on top. Another six openings topped with barrel vaults will be located in the base and symmetrically arranged, with three on each side of the central opening. In the middle of each opening, a waterfall, or a "curtain" of water, will form a moving screen that covers the opening with a translucent surface. The water from the falls will be collected in large basins placed at square level, where other water displays may also be set up. Although the fountain is not a typical element of traditional Milanese architecture (as it is of Roman architecture), the city has always had a special relationship with water, which could be called "guided by man", in the form of its ring of Navigli (the now covered canals), basins and locks. The waterfalls in the openings of the new building are also designed to recall the old urban relationship with water, in addition to representing a point of interest and a bit of movement within the static square.
Two symmetrical, open staircases start from the monument's eastern facade and then curve around its sides and continue along the western facade until they reach the floor level of the open gallery, which is the upper termination. The stairs aid the upper portion in assuming the limiting function of an architectural facade, thereby preventing it from becoming a "cross section" created in any location whatsoever.
The stairs and the open gallery are a "promenade architecturale" that allows observation of the cathedral and the square from different viewpoints. In addition to being a "civic tribune" for municipal events, the open gallery can also be used for other activities, including the exhibition of endangered sculptures and old pieces taken from the cathedral and of stone or metal models illustrating particular periods in the history of the square (since an understanding of these periods would be made easier by the presence of the square itself), and so on.
The solid lateral portions of the base contain four large rooms (two on top and two on the bottom), which will be used for exhibitions. They are connected by internal stairways as well as elevators, which may also be used by the handicapped and which continue up to the level of the open gallery. These rooms are reached by openings on the upper portion, on square level and on the middle landing of the staircases.
The monument separates the part of the square for pedestrians only from the portion in front of the Palazzo del Carminati, in which an entry into a dead-end parking area is planned for taxis.
It is felt that the monument with waterfalls will be able to

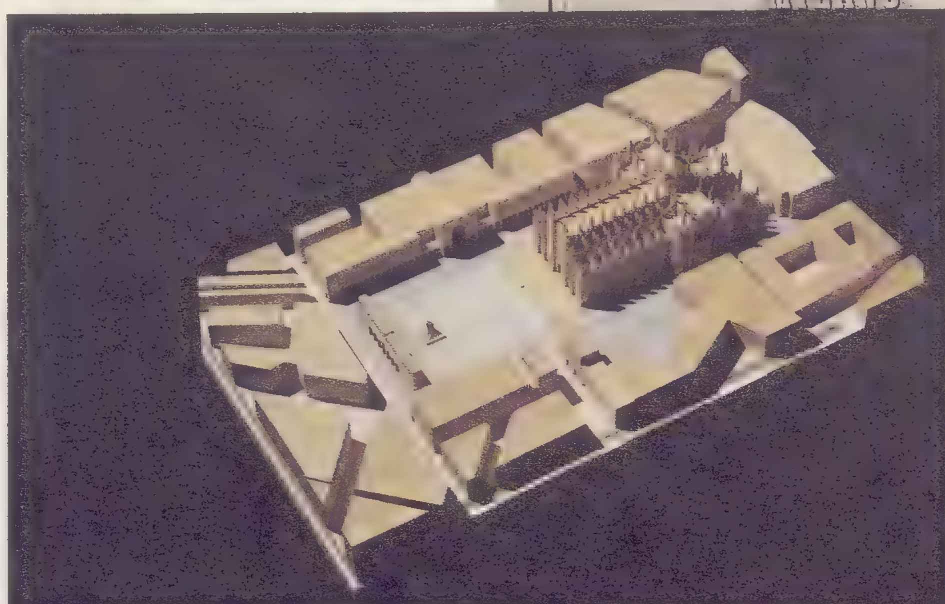
Views of the model from Palazzo del Carminati, from Piazzetta Reale and from the porticoes of the Galleria. Photo by F. Brunetti.

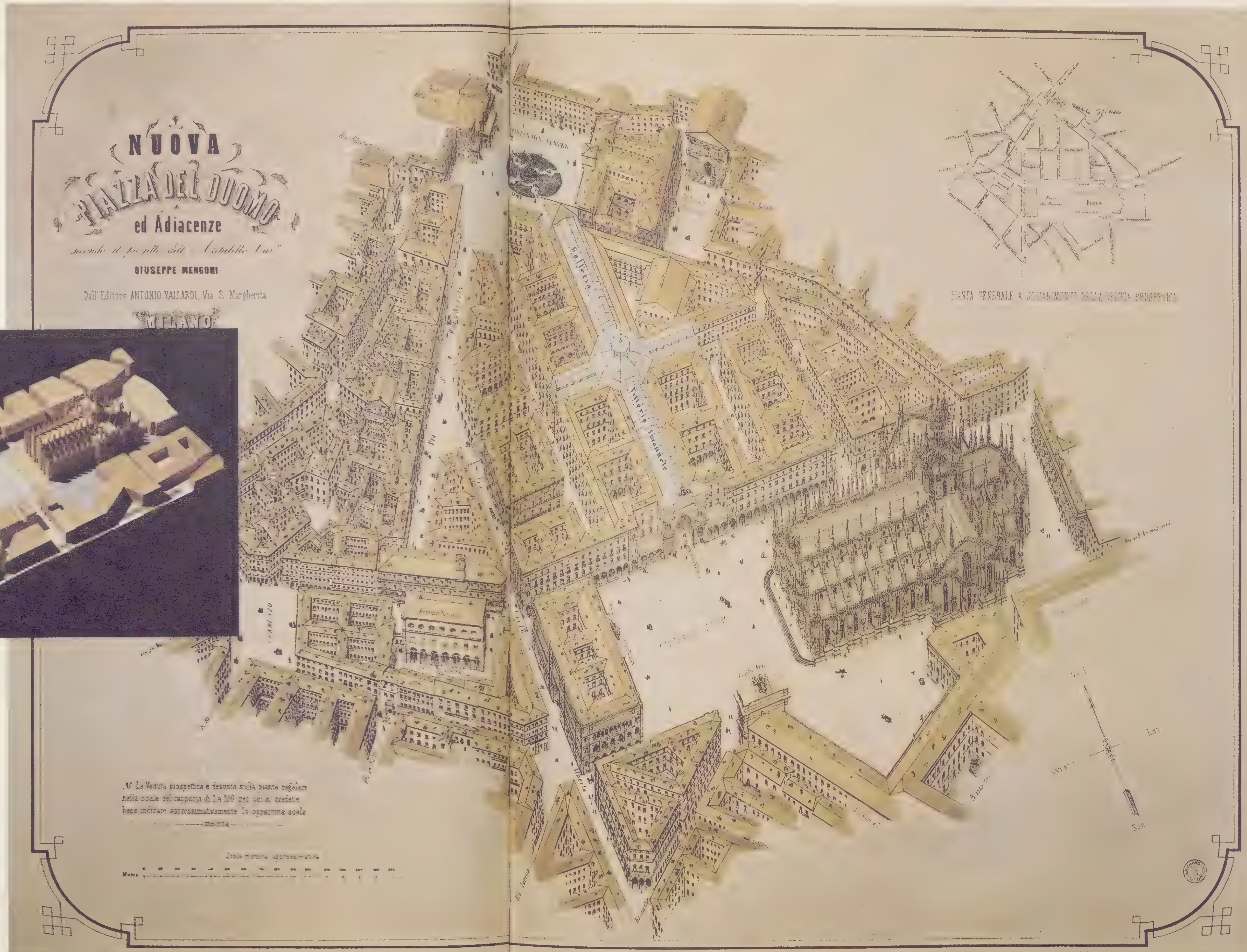




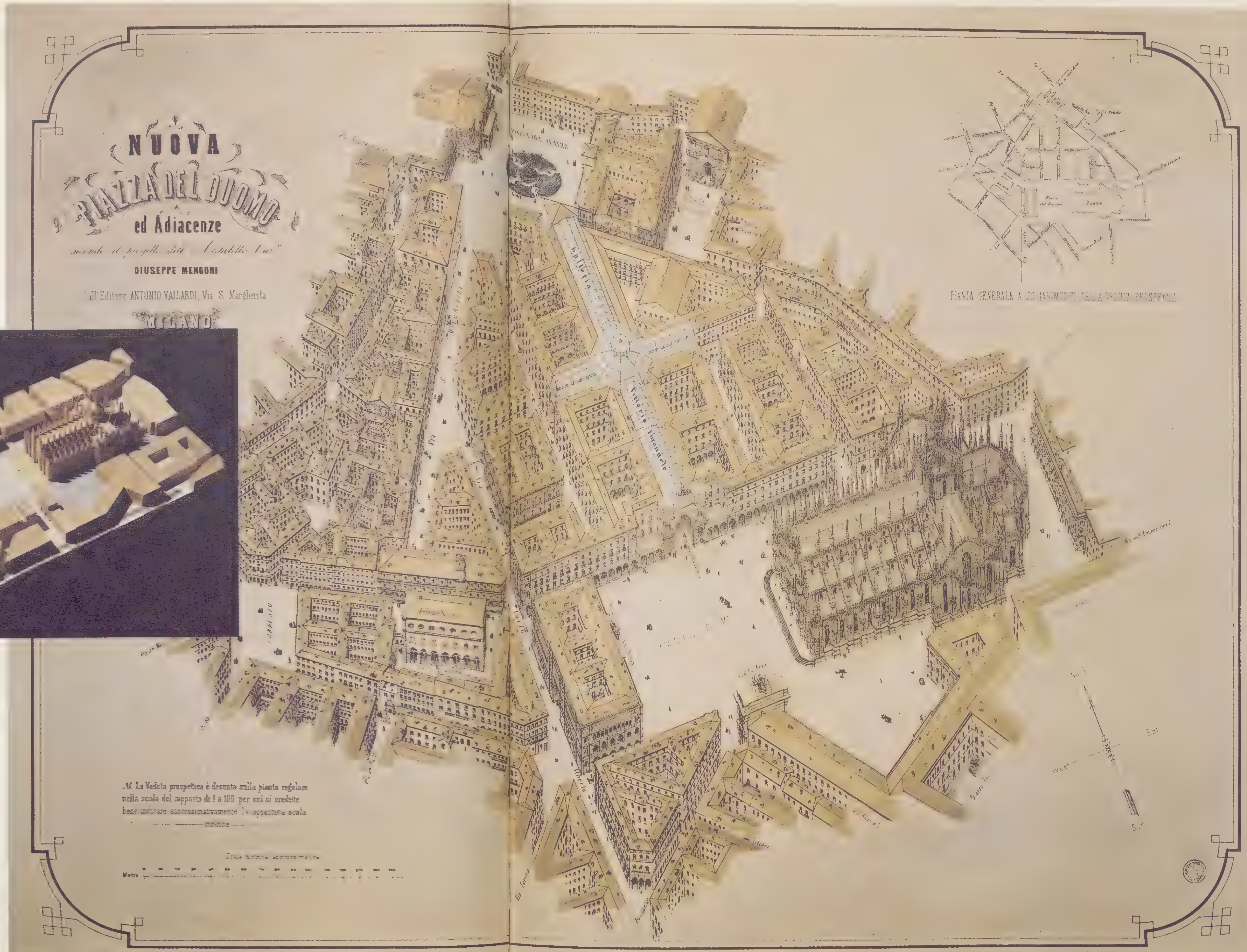


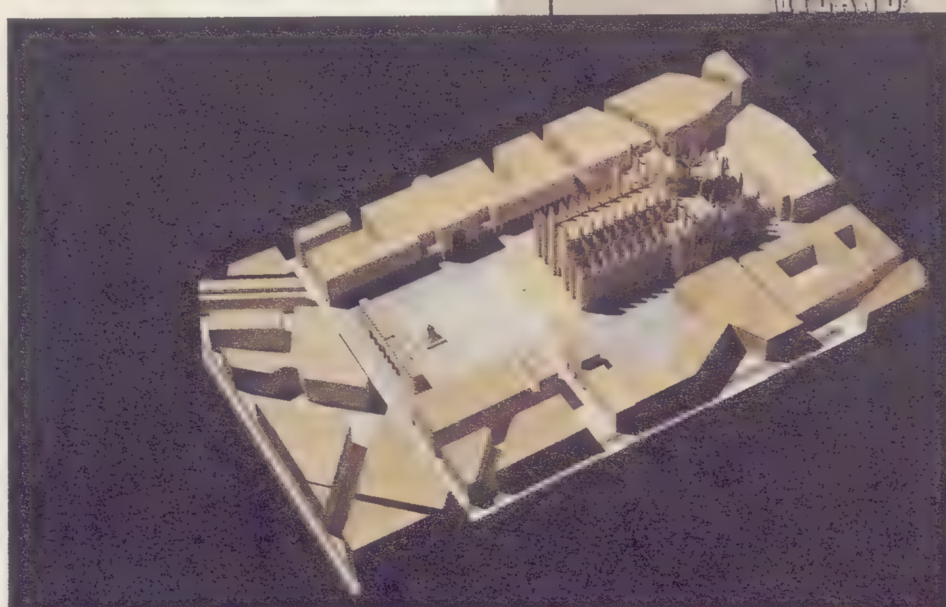
Axonometric of Giuseppe Mengoni's plan for Piazza del Duomo, 1863-78, and view of the model from the same viewpoint.
Photo by F. Brunetti.
On the following pages:
General site plan.
Profiles, elevations, ground plans and sections of the monument with waterfalls.





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provide the square with the feeling of enclosed space (in a smaller area, as Carlo Cattaneo had also wished), which is currently lacking. This will be achieved without diminishing the importance of the existing buildings, which will in fact be enhanced by it.

The monument creates two openings onto the square on the western side which are similar to those located on the eastern side. In addition, the facades of Mengoni's buildings glide along the sides of the monument just as the northern Porticoes glide along the sides of the cathedral, and this was also part of Mengoni's original plan.

Structure and Finishing Materials for the Monument's Exterior

The support structure will be made of iron so that the acceptable load for the roof over the Line 3 subway station directly below it will not be exceeded.

External materials include Candoglia marble for the slabs on the base, a darker stone (beola or serizzo) for the skirting, the fasciae, the exterior of the open gallery's newels, architraves and pavement, the steps, the cornices of the roofs, the exteriors of the walls and vaults in the openings containing the waterfalls, as well as the walls and the internal ceiling of the central opening. The border on the gallery's newels will consist of gold-plated metal. The roof mantle will be made of copperplate.

Paving the Square

Another activity involves paving the streets that surround the cathedral and the "lower" parvis and which were once used by vehicles. In addition, a proposal has been made to modify the steps and the ramp that lead up to the "upper" parvis in front of the cathedral.

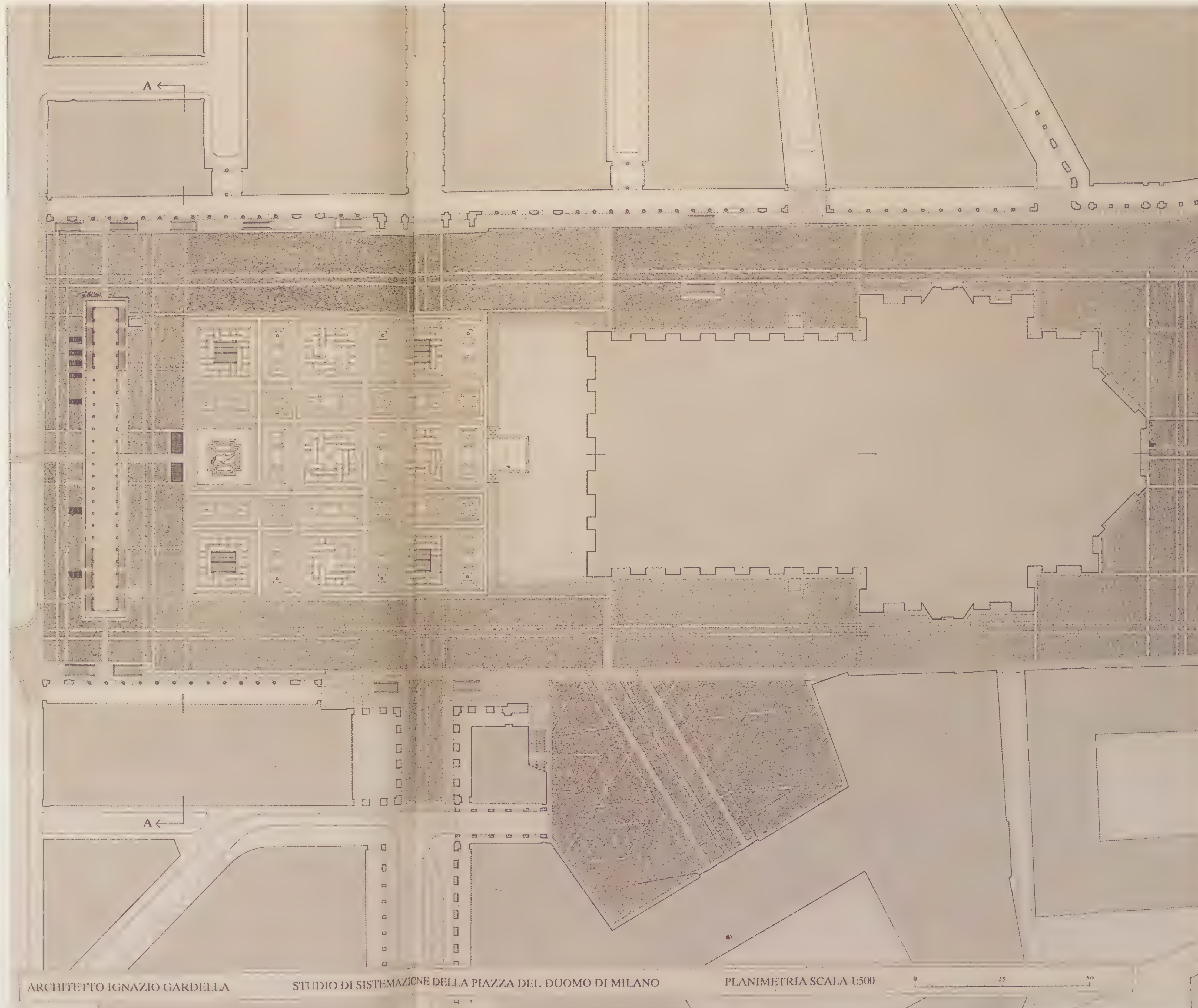
The pavement of the streets mentioned above will be brought up to the level of the parvis and the pavement of the porticoes; the result will be one pedestrian level without raised portions.

The typical Milanese pavement, which is still in existence in Piazzetta Reale, will be used in this case. This pavement, called "rizzata", is composed of stretches of river stones which are broked up and squared off by stone bands and "aisles". This pavement will reach the beginning of Corso Vittorio Emanuele, Piazza Fontana and Piazza Diaz.

The possibility of using flat stones (as in some Swiss and German cities; for example, Freiburg) that are easier to walk on is now under study.

In addition, the pedestrian entrances into the square may be emphasized by architectural cippi and possibly sculptures, as opposed to simple curbstones.

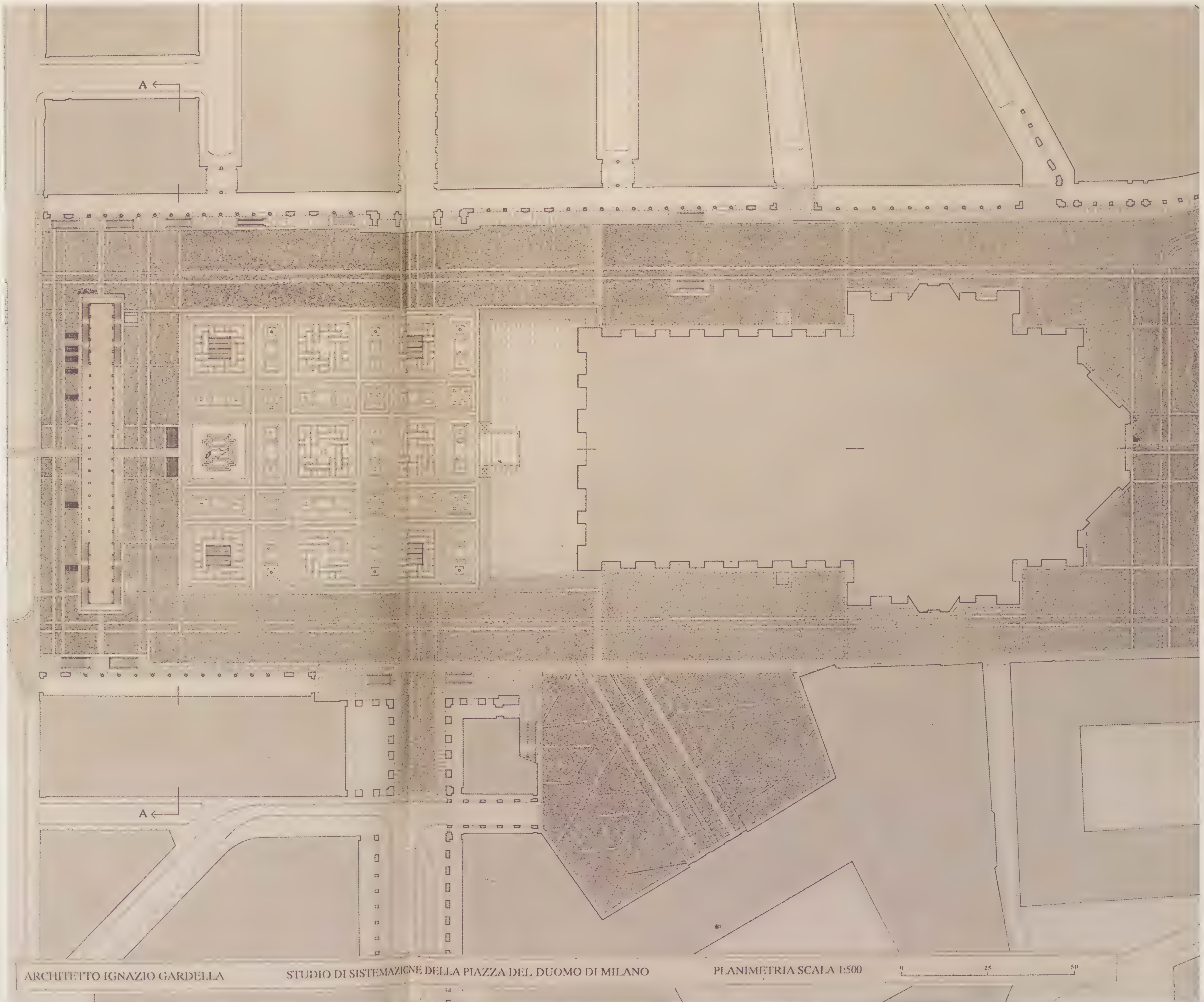
Pavement design also took into consideration the insertion of both air-holes for the subway station and an elevator, which would also be used for the subway. In addition, there will be two elevators for the two underground areas located under the street on the sides of the cathedral, which are to be used as warehouses for the Fabbrica del Duomo. The loading platforms of these elevators, which will be covered with stone slabs, will reach street level.

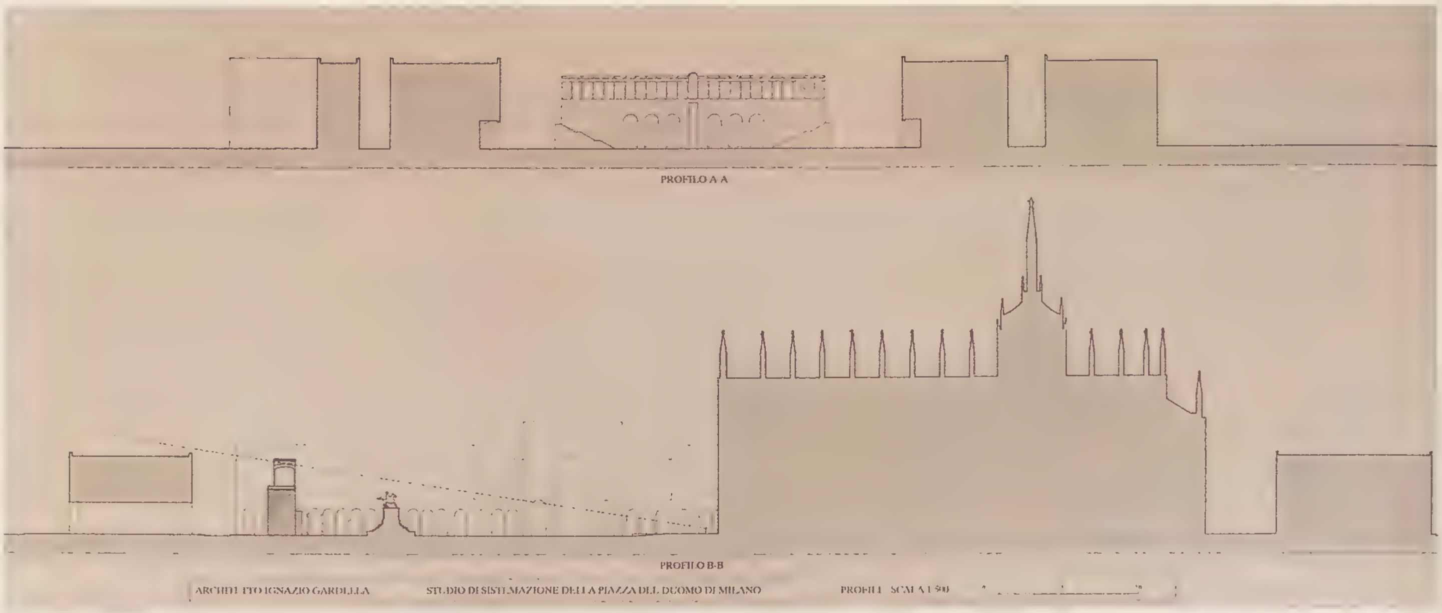


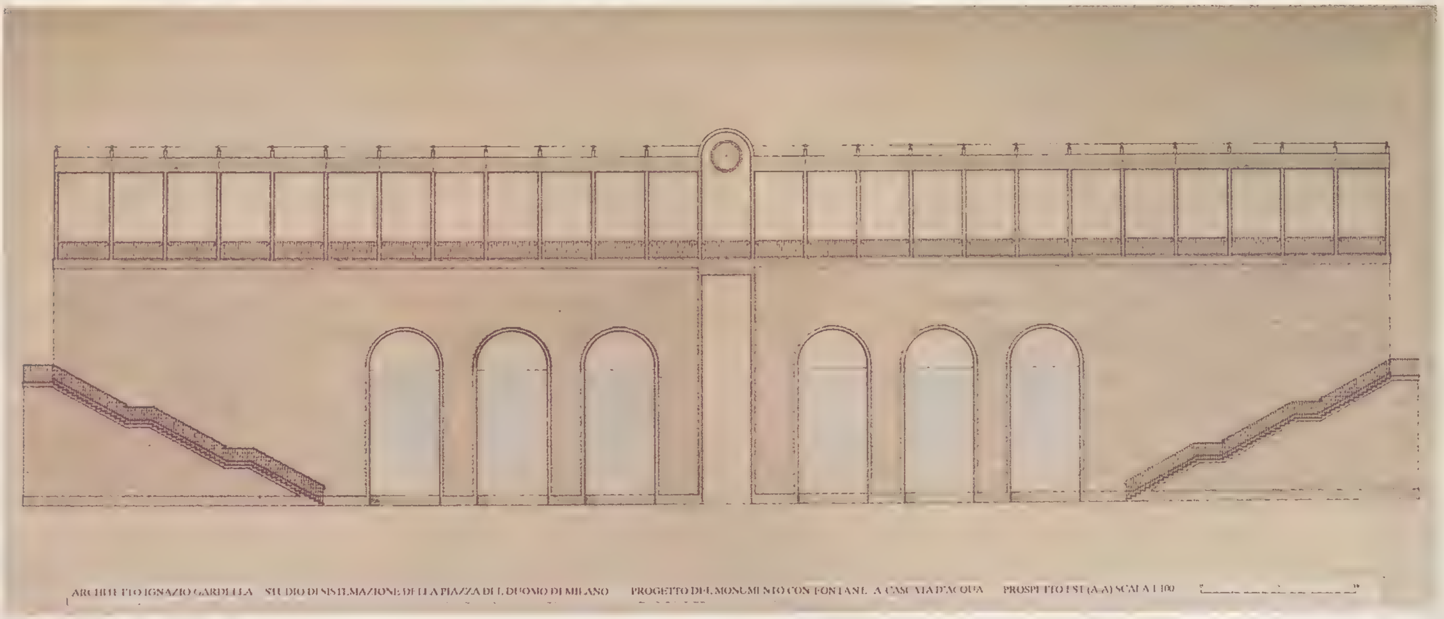
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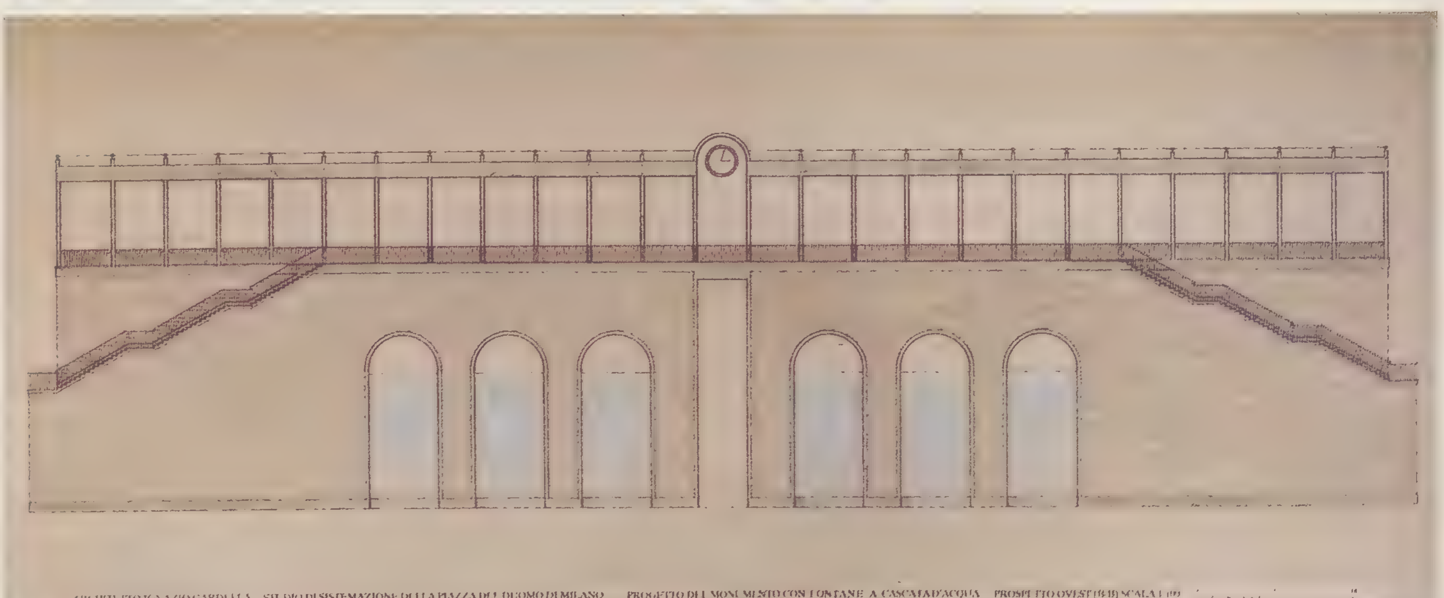
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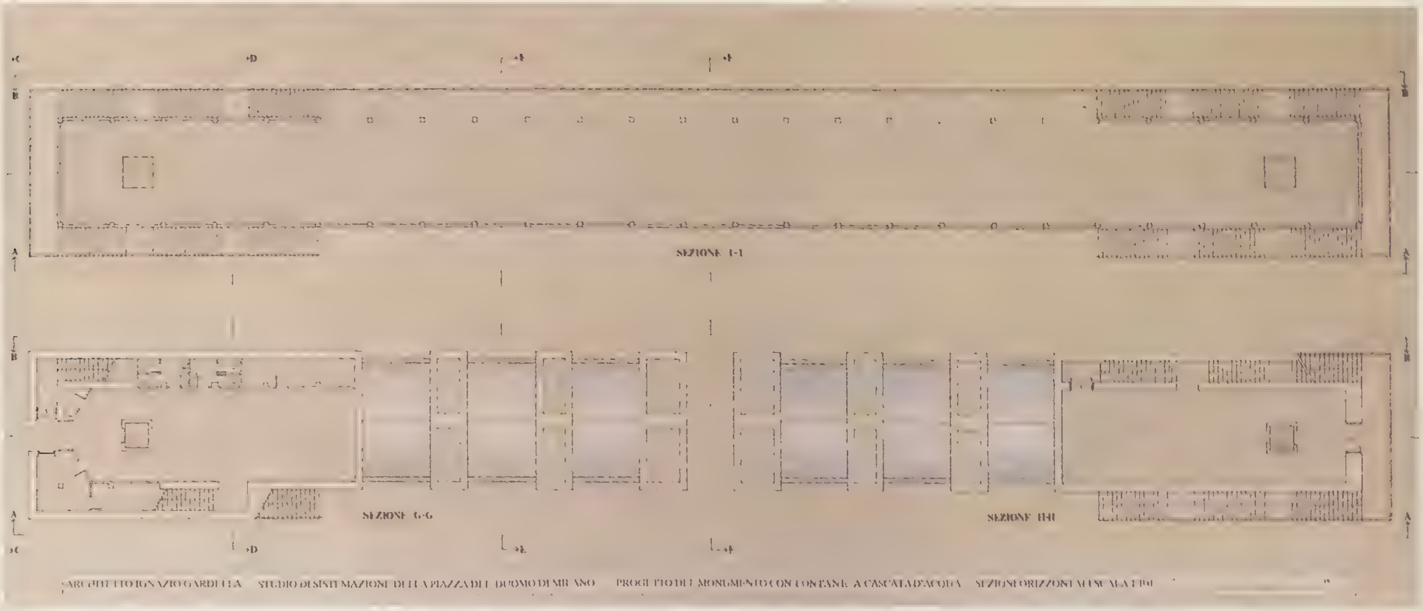
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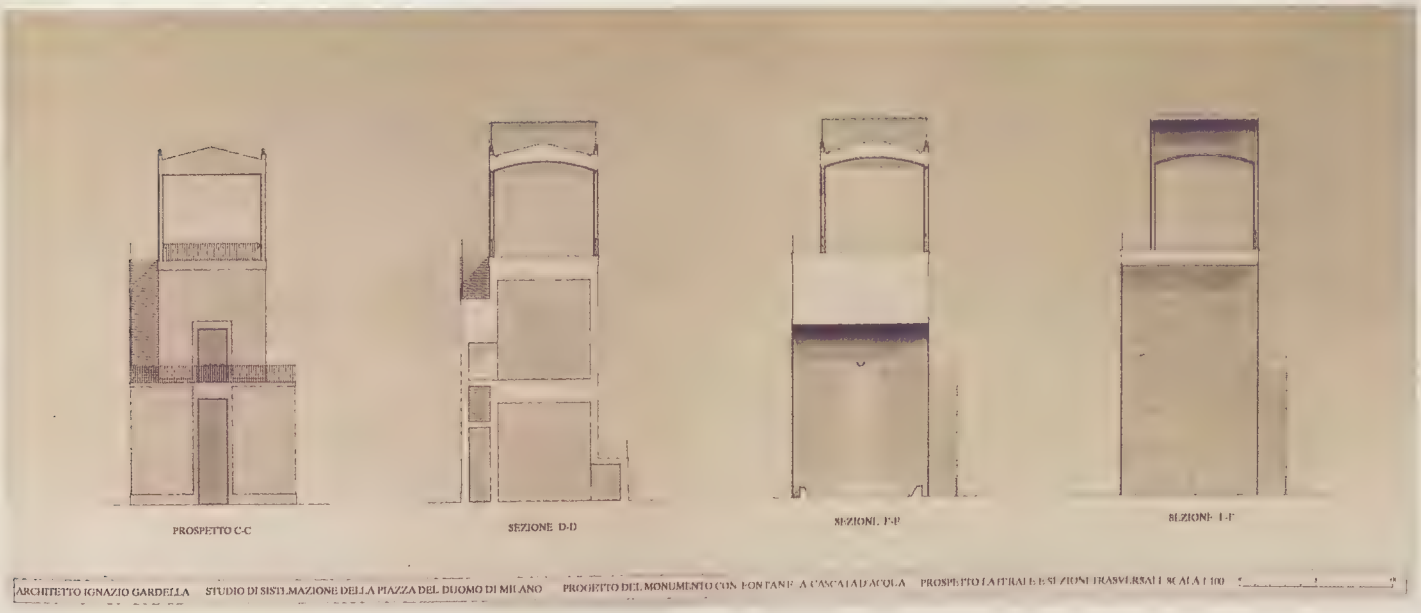

PROFILO A-A
PROFILO B-B
ARCHITETTO IGNAZIO GARDELLA
STUDIO DI SISTEMAZIONE DELLA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO DI MILANO
PROFILI SCALA 1:500

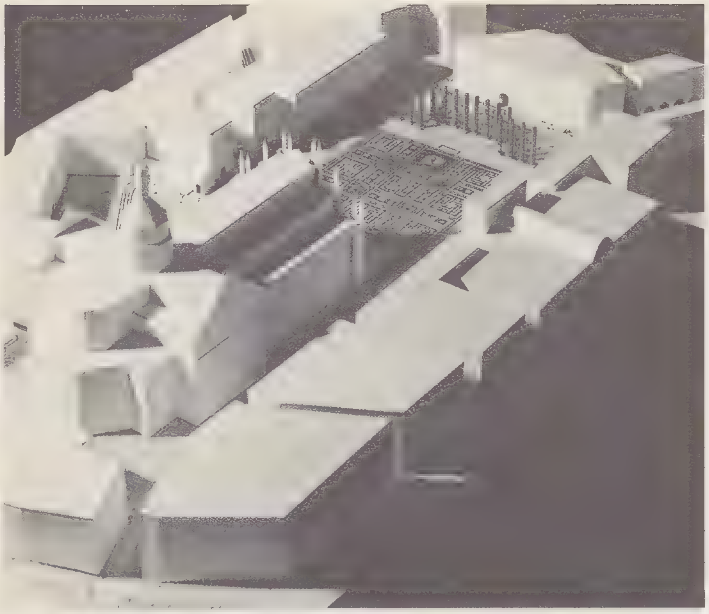

ARCHITETTO IGNAZIO GARDELLA
STUDIO DI SISTEMAZIONE DELLA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO DI MILANO
PROGETTO DEL MONUMENTO CON FONTANE A CASCATA D'ACQUA
PROSPETTO EST (A-A) SCALA 1:100

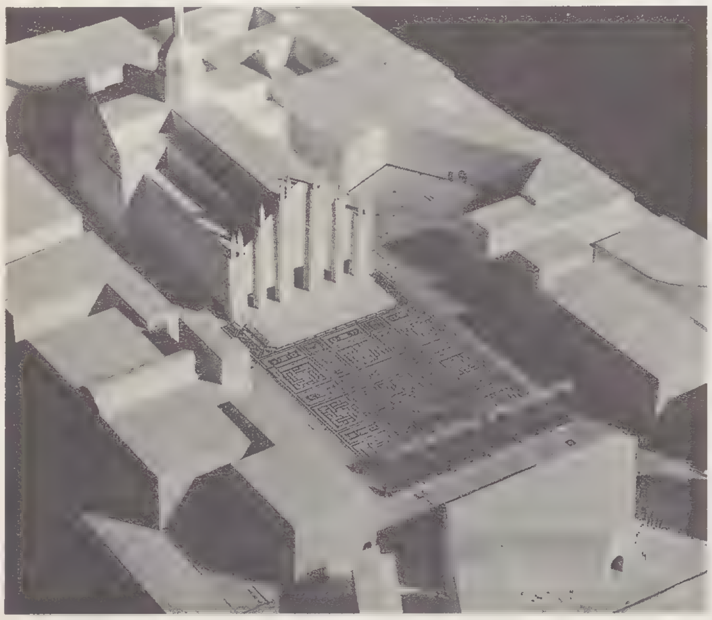

ARCHITETTO IGNAZIO GARDELLA
STUDIO DI SISTEMAZIONE DELLA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO DI MILANO
PROGETTO DEL MONUMENTO CON FONTANE A CASCATA D'ACQUA
PROSPETTO OVEST (B-B) SCALA 1:100

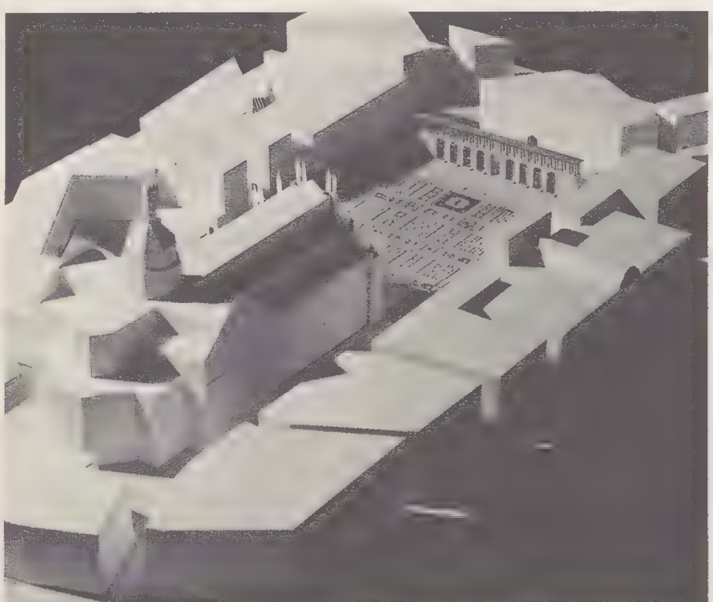

SEZIONE I-I
SEZIONE G-G
SEZIONE H-H
ARCHITETTO IGNAZIO GARDELLA STUDIO DI SISTEMAZIONE DELLA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO DI MILANO PROGETTO DEL MONUMENTO CON FONTANE A CASCATA D'ACQUA SEZIONI ORIZZONTALI SCALA


ARCHITETTO IGNAZIO GARDELLA STUDIO DI SISTEMAZIONE DELLA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO DI MILANO PROGETTO DEL MONUMENTO CON FONTANE A CASCATA D'ACQUA SEZIONE LONGITUDINALE (L-L) SCALA 1:100


PROSPETTO C-C
SEZIONE D-D
SEZIONE E-E
SEZIONE F-F
ARCHITETTO IGNAZIO GARDELLA STUDIO DI SISTEMAZIONE DELLA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO DI MILANO PROGETTO DEL MONUMENTO CON FONTANE A CASCATA D'ACQUA PROSPETTO LATERALE E SEZIONI TRASVERSALI SCALA 1:100





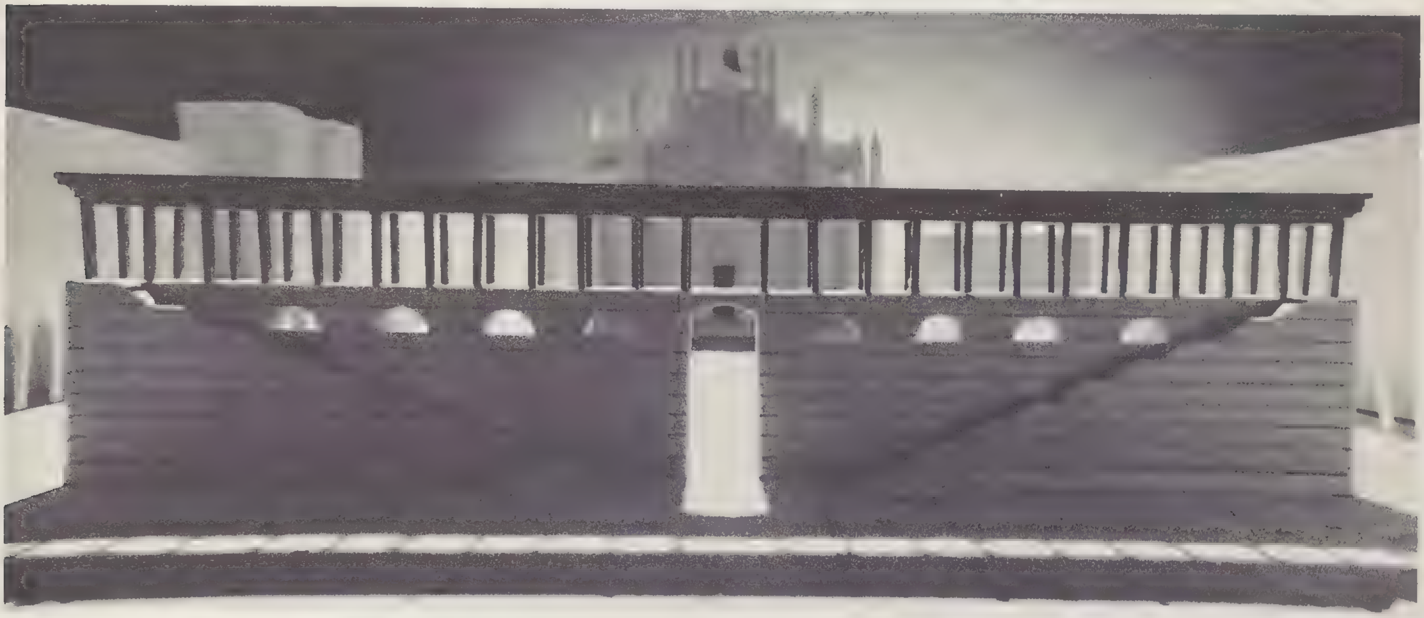


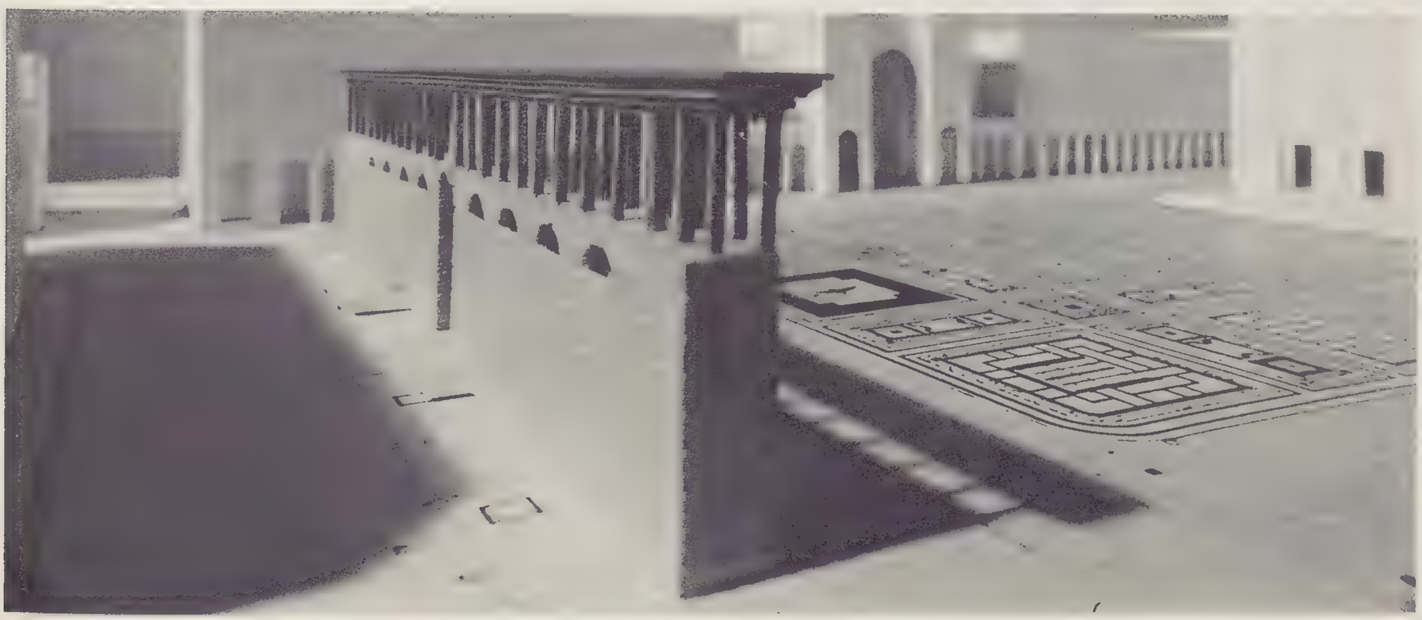
In the "lower" parvis designed by Portaluppi, the stairs leading to both the subway and the underground tunnel of the parvis will be concentrated into four stairways placed in four symmetrical squares in Portaluppi's plan, thereby eliminating the present stairs which are arranged in a disorderly fashion.
The proposal for modification of the "upper" parvis consists of the following aspects: a small extension of the parvis so that the entire facade of the cathedral is provided with a single supporting surface and removal of the two access ramps for the handicapped which are now poorly inserted into the socle of the lateral pillars and have a slope which is significantly greater than that provided by law; a decrease in the rise and an increase in the width of the steps up to the cathedral in order to make the climb more pleasant and to prevent the use of the steps as seating; the creation of a ramp located on the axis of the facade which will emphasize the main access to the upper parvis and make it easier to reach by the handicapped and the elderly as well as by any processions beginning outside the cathedral.

In conclusion, the fundamental aspects of the plan may be summarized as follows: preservation of existing buildings and structures; construction of a monument with waterfalls which will architecturally close off the western side of the square (in harmony with Mengoni's original plan), while redefining, reappraising and reducing the "void" of the square; one solid pavement throughout the square (except for the parvis and the porticoes) composed of "rizzata" (fields of river stones broken up and squared off by stone bands and "aisles"), which has also been used for the pavement in front of Palazzo Reale; thus, the latter pavement will again become an integral part of the square's urban setting, because the opening towards Piazzetta Reale is larger than the existing openings to the east and the new openings to the west.

Views of models of the initial projects.
Photo by F. Brunetti.







The Croce Rossa Station in Milan
1988

Aldo Rossi

with Francesco S. Fera



Southeast view of the model from Via Manzoni.
Photo by F. Brunetti.



The Croce Rossa Station in Milan
1988

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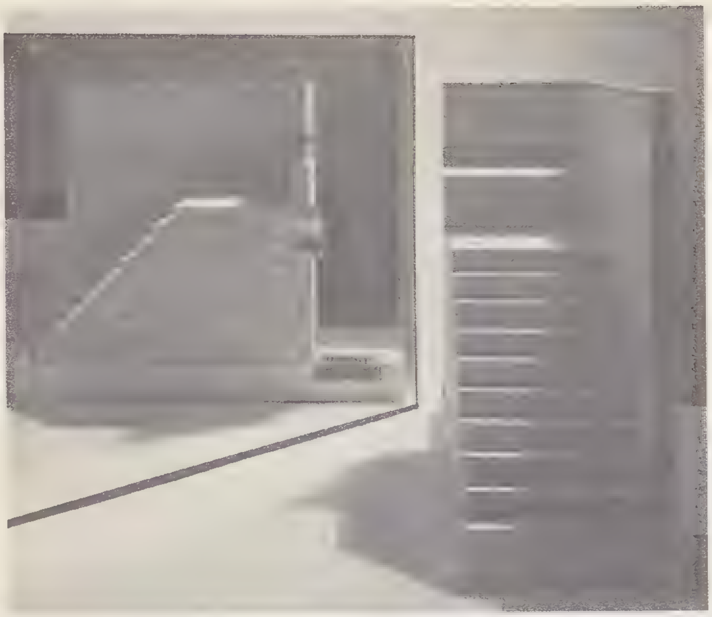
Southeast view of the model from Via Manzoni.
Photo by F. Brunetti.

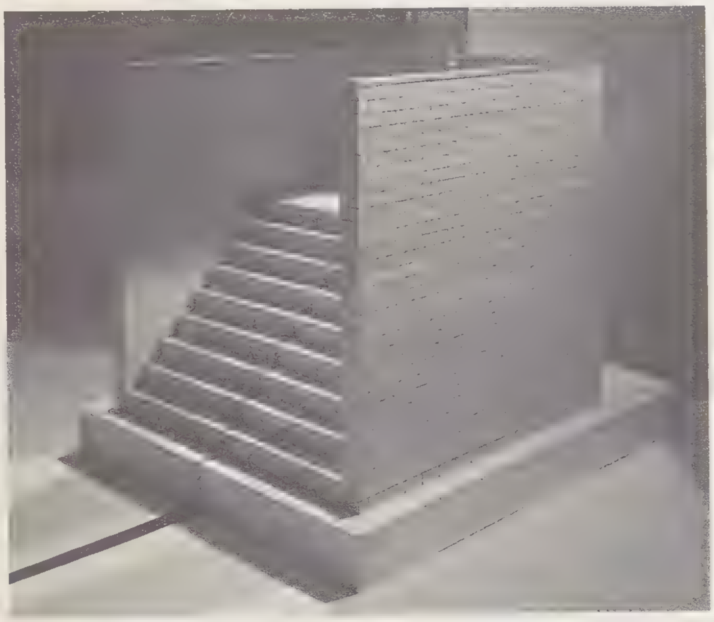
Plan for the reorganization of the aboveground building site of the Croce Rossa Station on the Milan Subway
Aldo Rossi
The new square that will be created at the exit of the Via Manzoni subway station is located at the intersection of two important Milanese streets: Via Montenapoleone and Via Manzoni. Although these streets have long been important in the history of the city, they are now the center of business, eccentric tourism and the artificial opulence of fashion.
The square was designed as a small, peaceful Lombard square, but it is still up to this new situation. In fact, it provides a staircase which is easy to recognize and remember as well as to find. It will not only be a meeting place for the Milanese but also for anyone who happens to be passing through.
I think that one could stop on the staircase to eat a sandwich, or that it could be the right setting for a group picture, like a well-known monument. In fact, it could certainly be a familiar monument, just like the square that surrounds it.
The latter is composed of a series of plants or Lombard mulberry trees (which have now disappeared from the landscape but which are very beautiful), stone benches, and a pavement made of porphyry or pink granite blocks. The latter should be taken from the municipal warehouses, in which they have been stored as the remains of city streets.
The center of the square contains a water drain, while the benches, alternating with mulberry trees and street lamps, will be placed along the sides.
These traditional elements of the square will help its identification, while creating, at dusk, a mixture of light and shadow, or light filtered by greenery, which is reminiscent of the timeless image of the square, whether located in the country or in the city.
On the other side, towards Via Borgonuovo, the cube of the staircase is enclosed by a stone wall cut by a bronze triangle from which water drops down to a grate set in the stone pavement.
This side marks the boundary of an old Milanese wall, while the fountain is used in the square as a ritual element. The fountain is a symbol of pause and hence of the plants and the site, and all of this is enclosed within a fence accentuated by the architecture.
Finally, it should be noted that the cube-staircase is covered by the same gray and pinkish Candoglio marble as the Milan cathedral. This material, which is rare and whose quarry seems to be the Cathedral itself, is the most valuable material being used in Piazza Manzoni, which will employ the simple materials traditionally used in Lombard squares.

Report on the Materials
The monument will be entirely covered in Candoglio marble. The other elements composing it, such as the fountain triangle, the drain cover for the collection of water, the architrave and the apron placed on the outer walls, will be made of bronze. The drain for the rainwater which intersects the square will also be made of bronze.
The benches will be made of Baveno granite block or Oriental stones (such as red sandstone), depending on availability.
The street-lamps will be either bronze or iron painted green; the fixture itself will be made of opaque glass.
The pavement in Piazza Manzoni will be composed of large granite slabs, which have been taken from the breaking up of city streets. Two statuary white marble stones bearing the name of the subway stop will be placed at either end of the square on the edge of the pavement. The writing on the stones will be Roman lapidary characters cast in lead.
Trees will be planted between the street-lights. The trees should either be mulberries (Morus), which when pruned regularlt take on the characteristic form of the trees normally observed in the countryside of the Po Valley.

Northwest view of the model from Via Borgonuovo.
Photo by F. Brunetti.

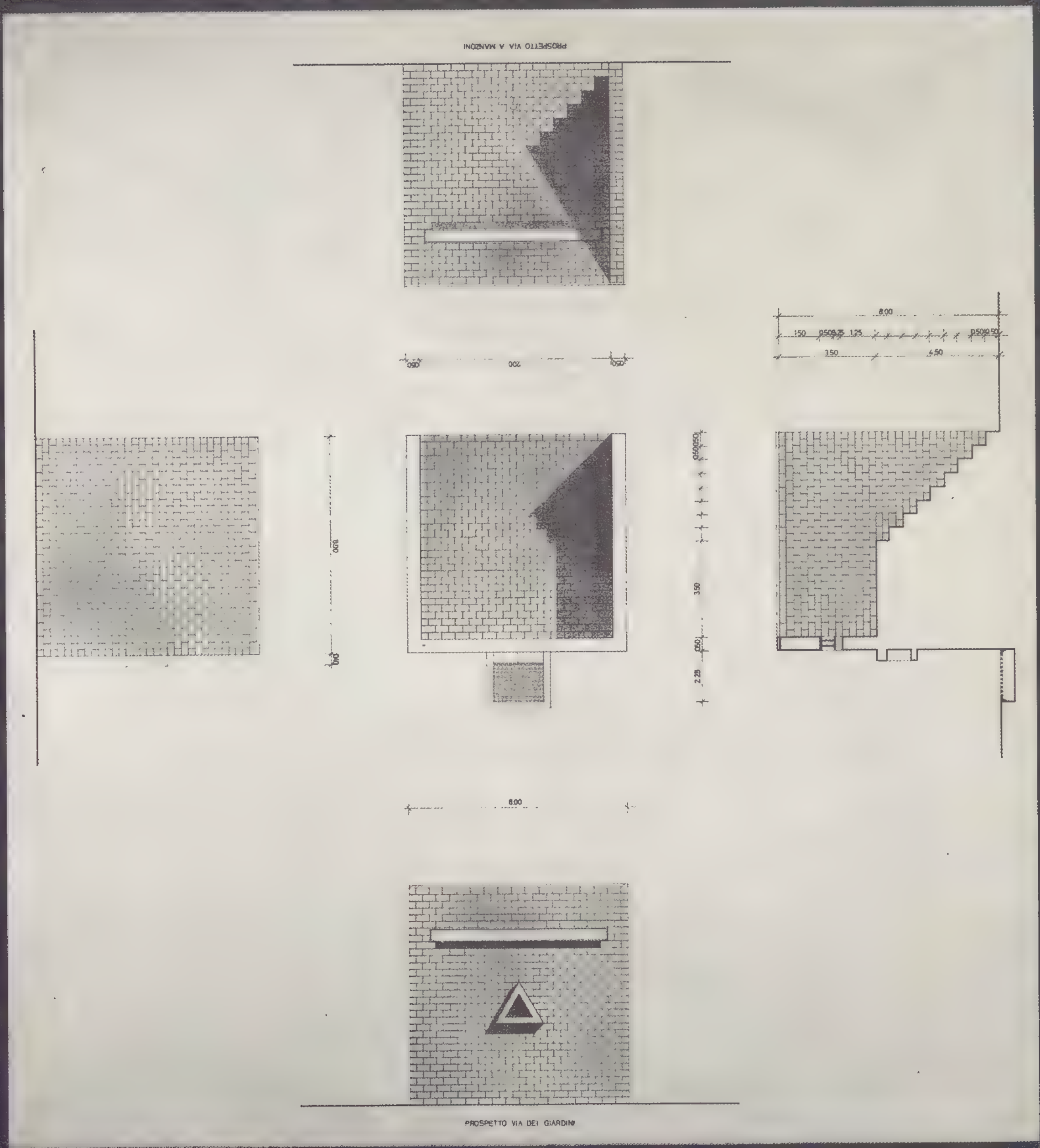


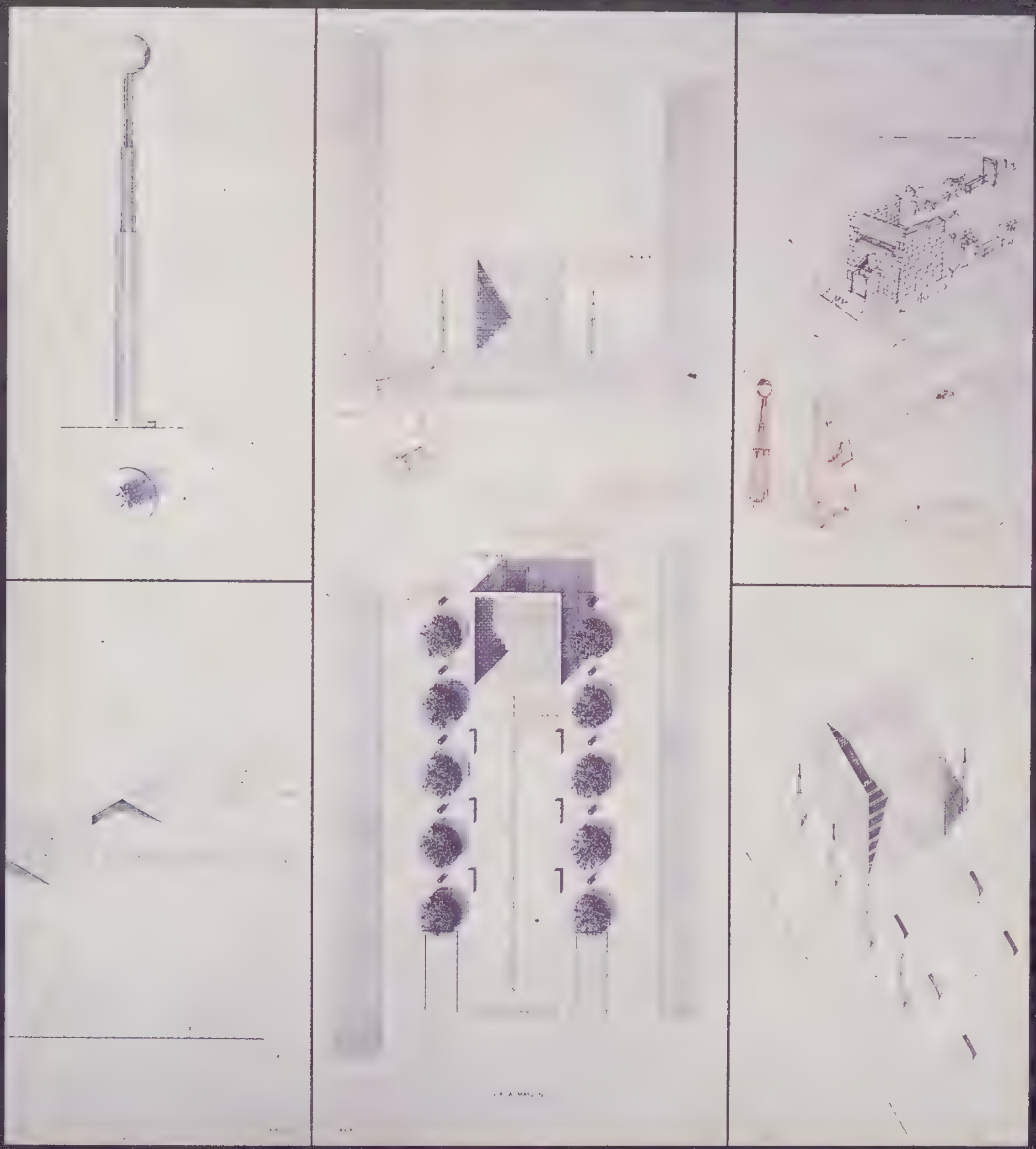


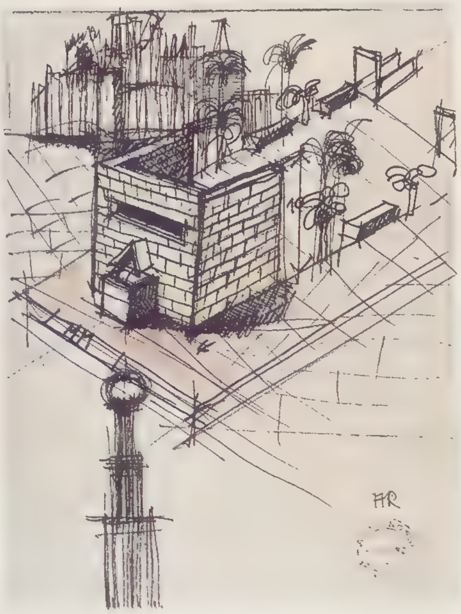


Views of the vertical section of the model.
Photo by F. Brunetti.




PROSPETTO VIA A. MANZONI
PROSPETTO VIA DEI GIARDINI







Project sketches.
On the preceding pages: Site plan, ground plans, elevations, sections and details.



The Crocetta Station in Milan
1988

Guido Canella

with Marco Molinari



Aerial view of the model.
Photo by F. Brunetti.

The Crocetta Station in Milan
1988

Guido Canella

with Marco Molinari



Aerial view of the model.
Photo by F. Brunetti.

Plan for the reorganization of the aboveground building site at the Crocetta Station on the Milan Subway System
Guido Canella

The architectural plan mainly consists of an *aedicula* (according to the real meaning of the term: "*construction designed to shelter people but also statues, shaped like a little temple*"), which acts as a shelter. Its trapezoidal layout is the result of the combination of alignments along the historic radials of Corso di Porta Vigentina and Corso di Porta Romana.

In the case of the latter street, the aim is to help bring into focus its ending at Porta Romana, the oldest gate inserted into the Spanish ramparts. The arc was designed by Martino Bassi and Aurelio Trezzi, and inaugurated in 1596.

The design was freely inspired by and reminiscent of Via Porticata Romana, once starting at the Diocletian Walls (today Via Maddalena) and extending 600 meters to the four-sided Roman Arch (now the Carcano Theater). This was an important construction in Imperial Milan, as described by Alberto de Capitani d'Arzago in 1942 and by Mario Mirabella Roberti in 1972, which marked the beginning of the road leading to Rome.

Also reminiscent is the selection of construction materials, including the exposed brick and imperial bardiglio marble, the *opus spicatum* composition of the external and internal pavement and then the adoption of a classic form of scanning for the architectural solution of the facades. The Salone d'Onore set up by in 1936 by Edoardo Persico at the VI Triennial Exhibition in Milan and some wash-houses which at one time were located along the Navigli (canals) and the artificial canals on the outskirts of the city also contributed towards inspiring this choice.

Therefore, the architectural construction and aboveground setting of the area of Largo Crocetta is based on historical (both old and new) memories that are still of interest today and which are adopted and enhanced by the design concept.

Architectural and Functional Description

The northwest side of the "temple", which encloses and covers the elevator shaft and the stairway for access to the subway, measures 5.6 m (on Largo Crocetta), while its southwest side measures 21.5 m (along Corso di Porta Vigentina). The southeast side is 17.85 m long, while the northeast side along Corso di Porta Romana is 17.6 m. The total covered surface area measures 206.36 m.

A trapezoidal fountain faced with marble slabs (20×44 cm) and displaying a bronze sculpture group (which is represented here by George Segal's "Rush Hour" exhibited at the XLIII Biennial Exhibition in Venice) will be located behind the elevator shaft, which will also be faced with marble slabs (20×44 cm).

The parapet for the stairway leading to the station's mezzanine will be made of brick list laid in a herring-bone pattern (25×6 cm) and faced with marble slabs.

The pavement in the covered area, is brick laid in a herring-bone pattern with parallel strips at the edges of the

Northern view of the model, from Corso di Porta Romana.
Photo by F. Brunetti.





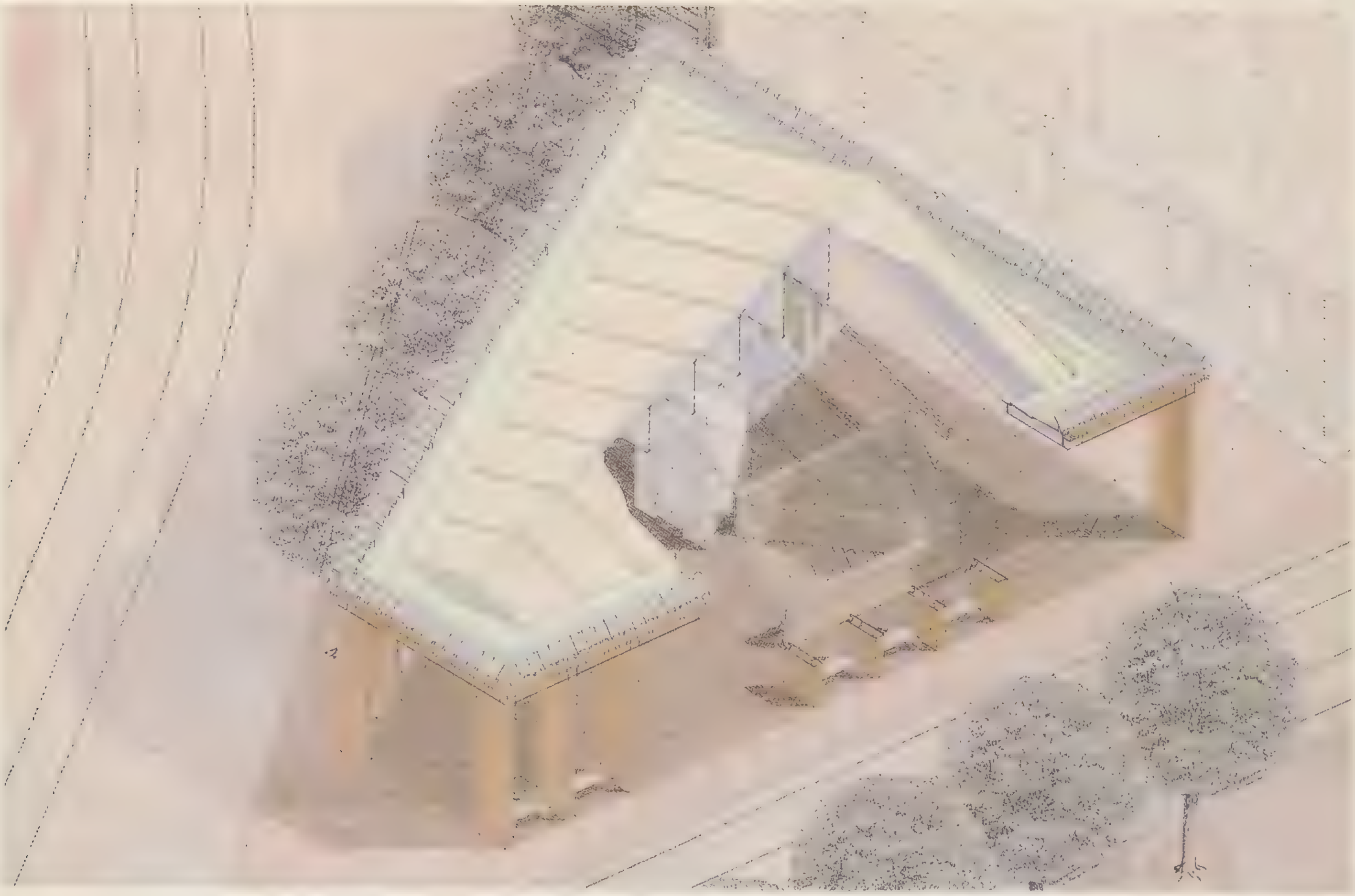
Northern and eastern views of the model, from Corso di Porta Romana and Via Lamarmora.
Photo by F. Brunetti.

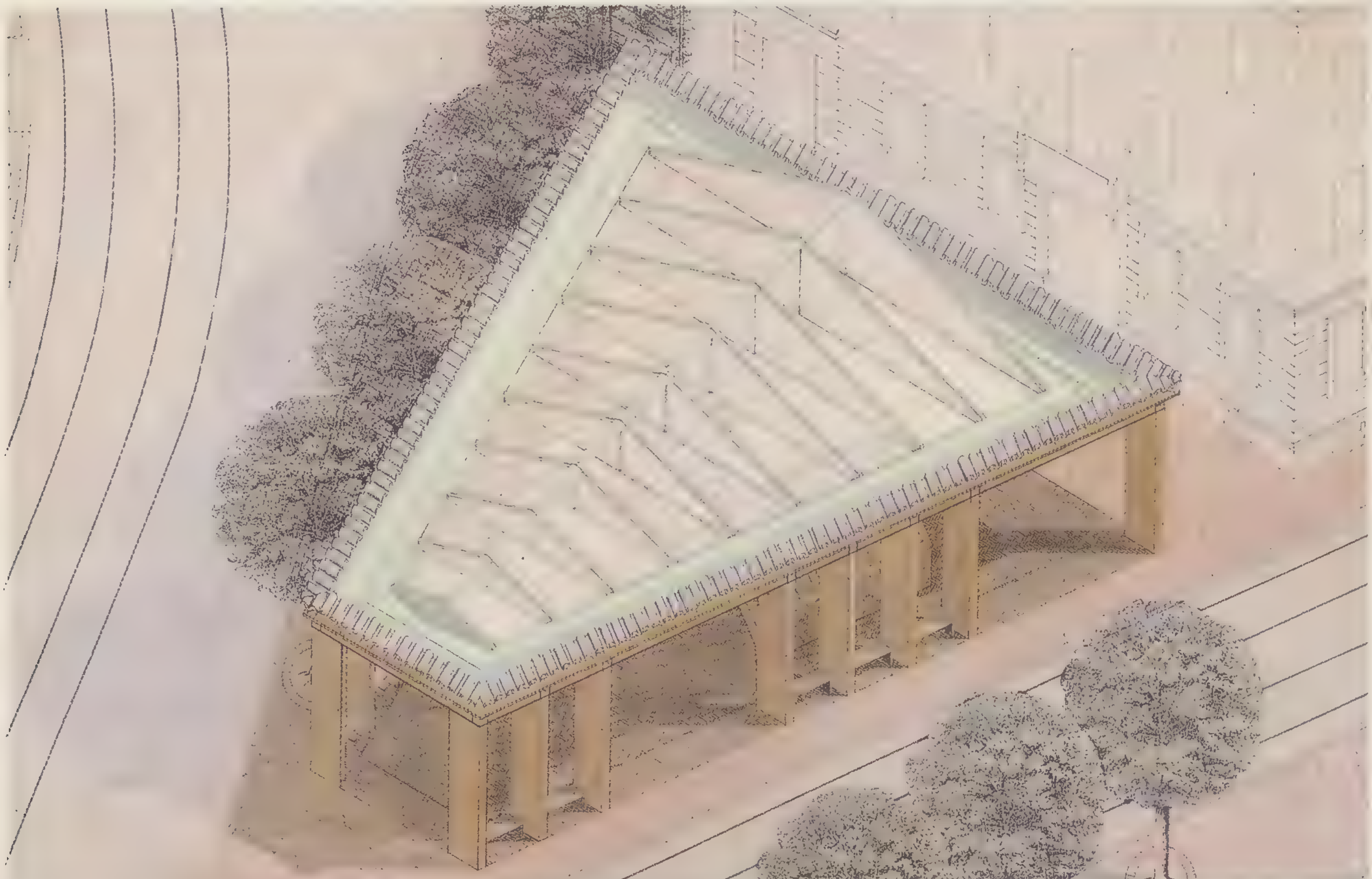


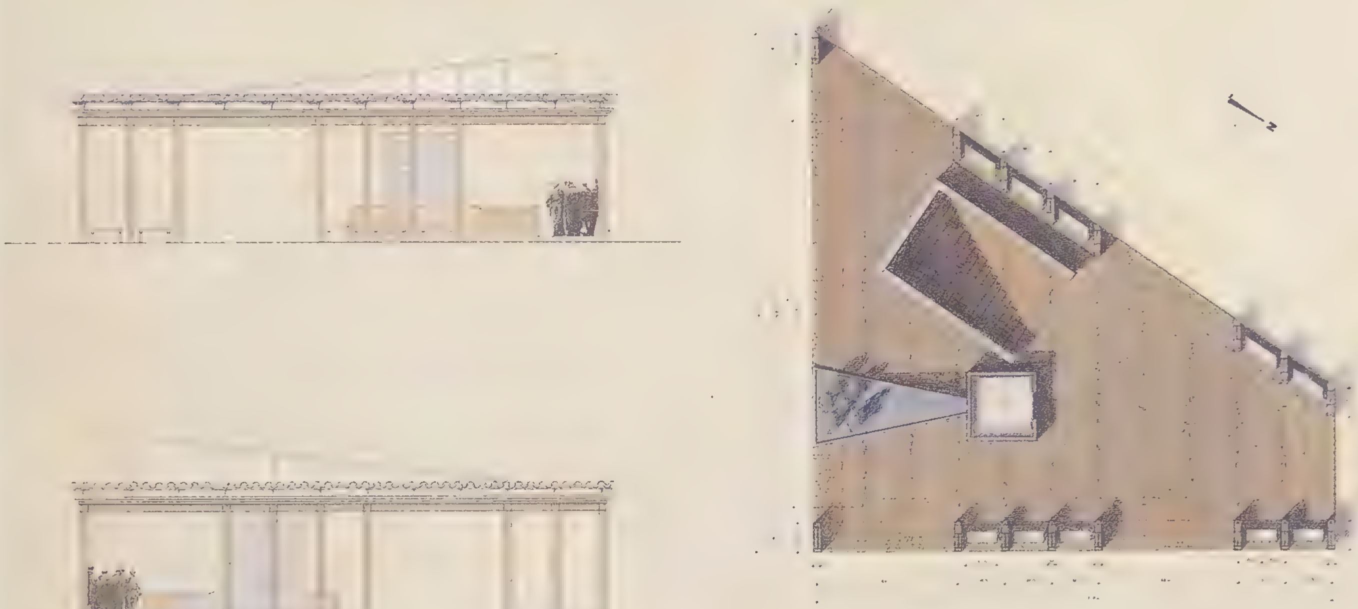


General site plan (bottom right, the building proposed as the Polyclinic's lobby), exploded axonometric and axonometric projection.

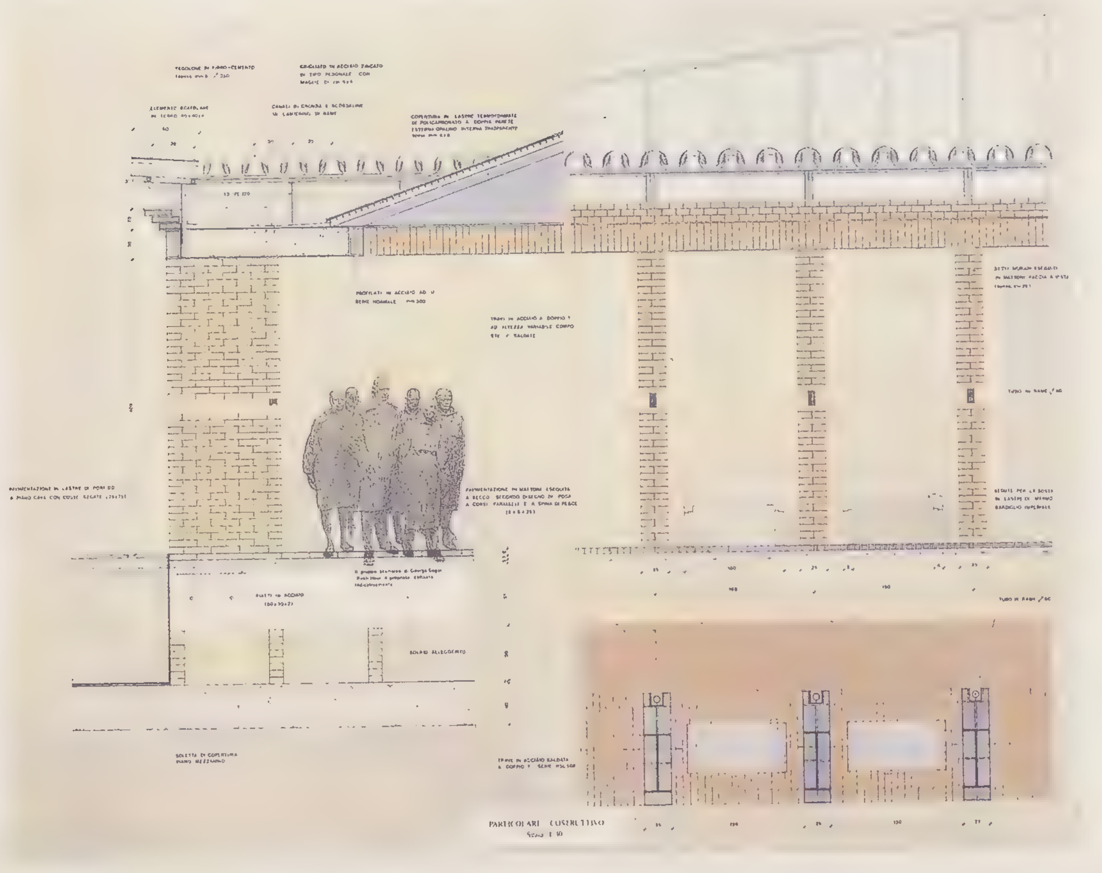
building's partitions outside the covered surface. The rest of the pavement will be made of porphyry slabs dry-laid in a herring-bone pattern. This pavement will extend to the sidewalks of Largo Crocetta, Corso di Porta Romana, Via Lamarmora and Corso di Porta Vigentina up to the beginning of Via Francesco Sforza. Various kinds of trees and shrubs (birch, linden oak or thornbushes) will be planted along these streets. As agreed upon with the Municipal Traffic Police, the statue of San Calimero will be placed on a median at the intersection of Corso di Porta Romana and Corso di Porta Vigentina.
The height of the temple's facades will reach 4.5 m at the extrados of the architrave, which is composed of two side-by-side U-shaped channels connected with stiffening cross brackets, supported by a series of HSL 500, double-T steel pillars.
These pillars will be faced with exposed brick and have a groove on the inside running the entire length of the pillar and containing a 6 cm diameter drain in painted steel.
The channels and the architrave will contain exposed bricks laid in ribs.
The sloping double-pitch roof will be made of polycarbonate slabs with two sides: an opaline exterior and a transparent interior (6 mm). The slabs will be attached to a galvanized steel grating with a 5×5 cm "mesh". The entire piece will be supported by a series of assembled and welded solid-section steel trusses, with variable heigths.
The coping, made of PVC roofing tiles raised by a welded structural steel section and painted iron box-shaped girders, protects the trabeation (exposes brick, projecting cornice resting on the steel architrave).
The aboveground area which is now occupied by the subway building site, located at the intersection of Via Alfonso Lamarmora and Corso di Porta Romana, will contain a building composed of two blocks, whose facades follow the layout of the streets towards the central vertical axis of the building, in which the spiral stairwell containing the elevator shaft is located.
The emergency ramp leading to the conference room is placed over the lower portion of the stairs that stand out from the facades in an independent block. The building, which will probably be the Polyclinic's lobby, is 30 m high, aboveground, with a total of 8 floors of 500 square meters each.
The entire complex, which is raised off the ground by stilts, will make it possible to expand the public area which could contain service facilities that would turn the area into a perfect "covered square" juxtaposed over the underground passageway that connects the "Crocetta" subway station to the Polyclinic.





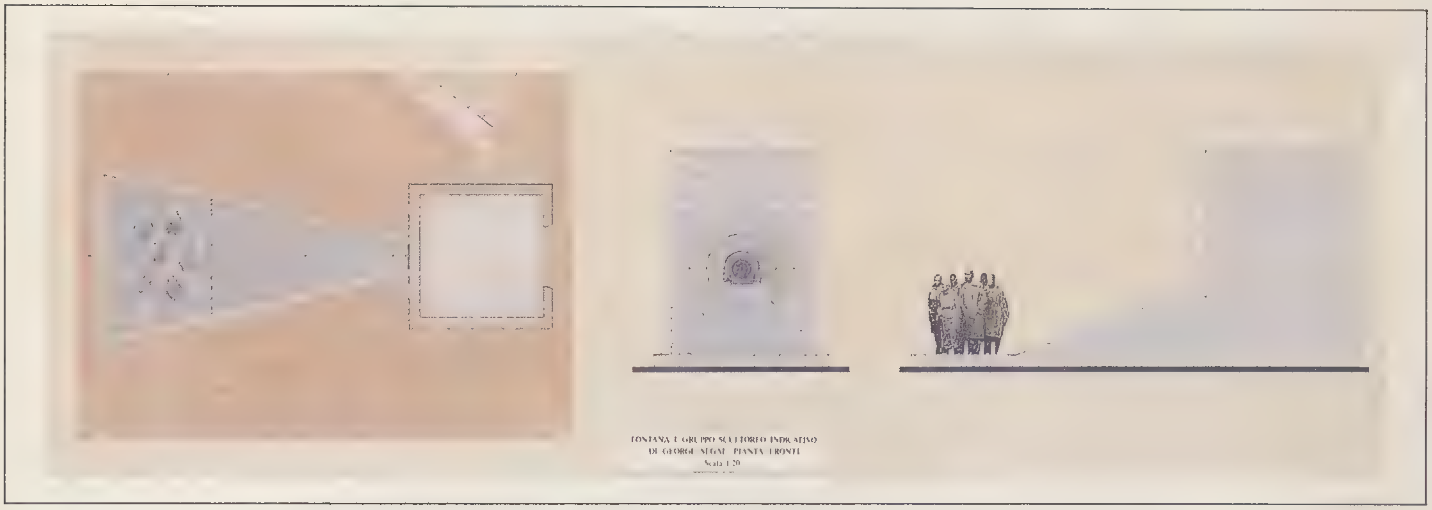


FRONTI SUD-OVEST E NORD-EST, PIANTA
Scala 1:50

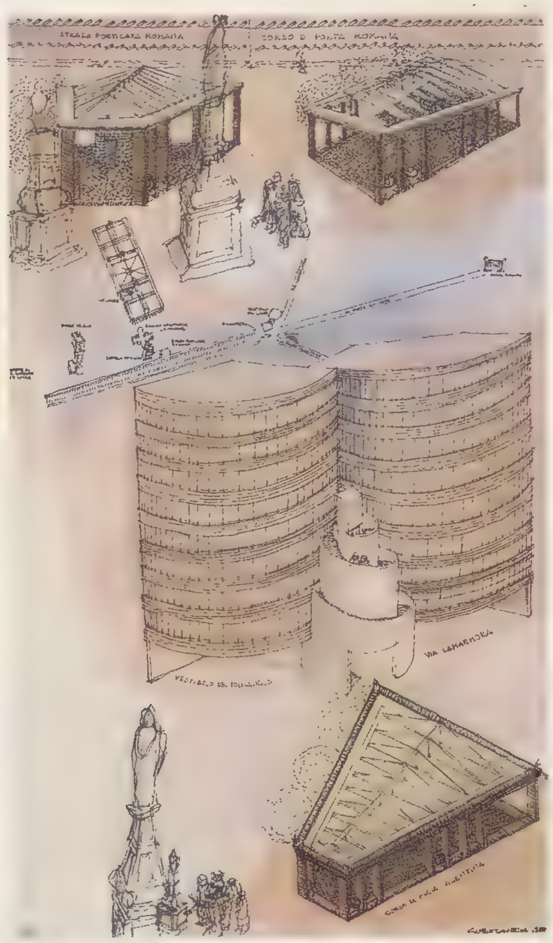


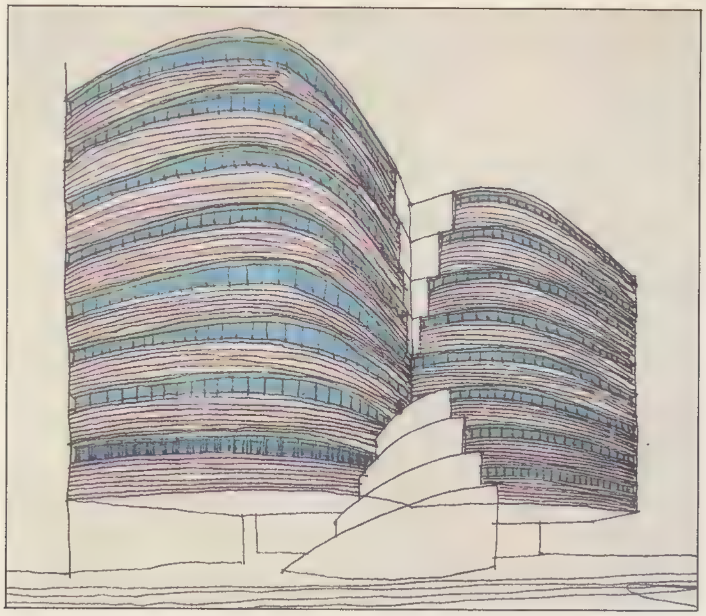
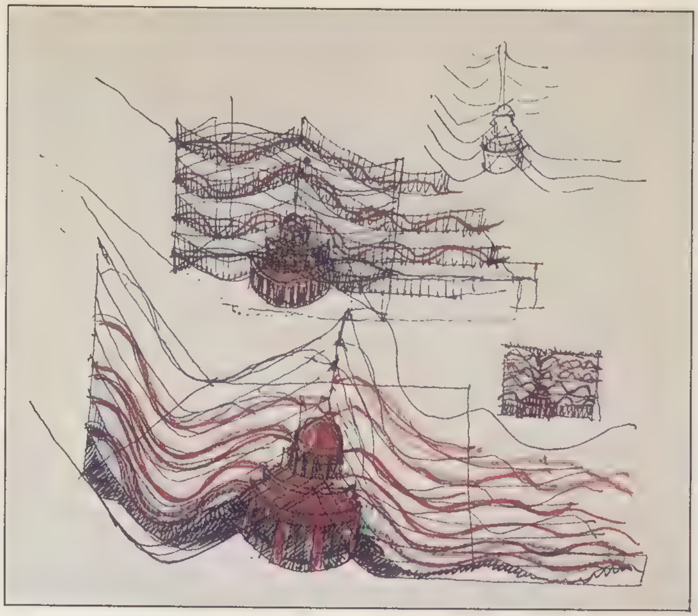
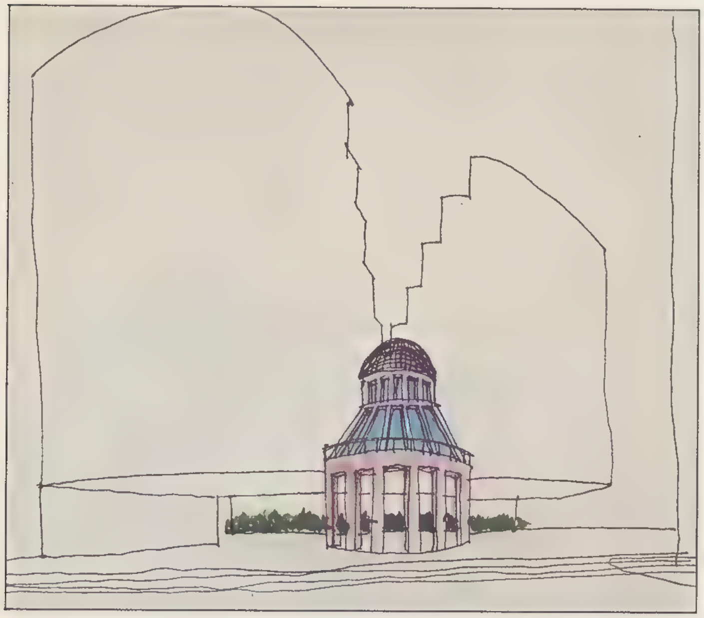
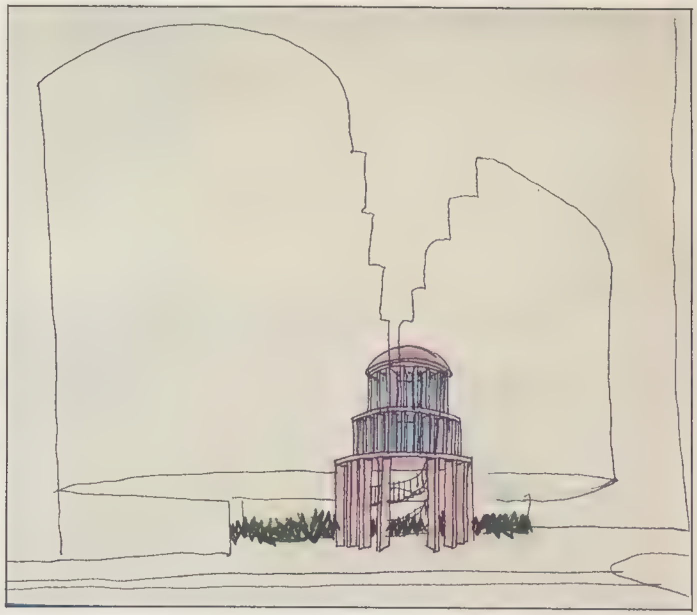
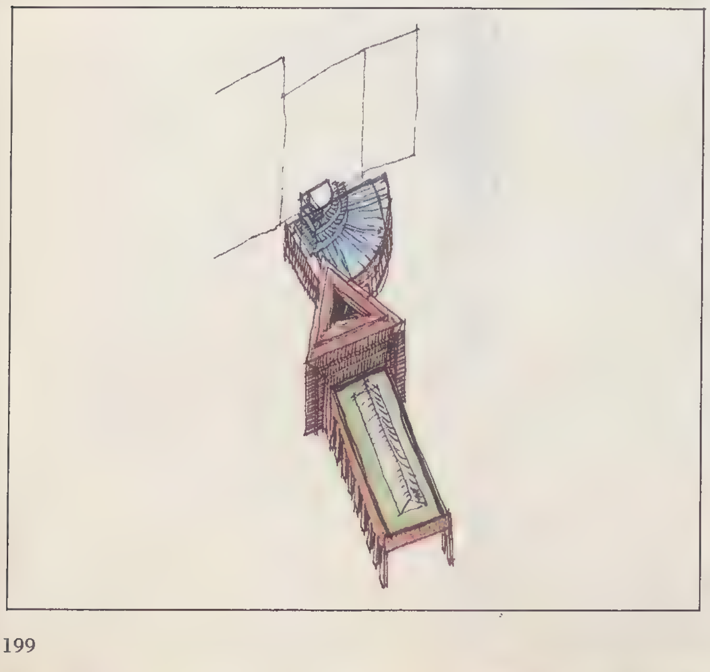
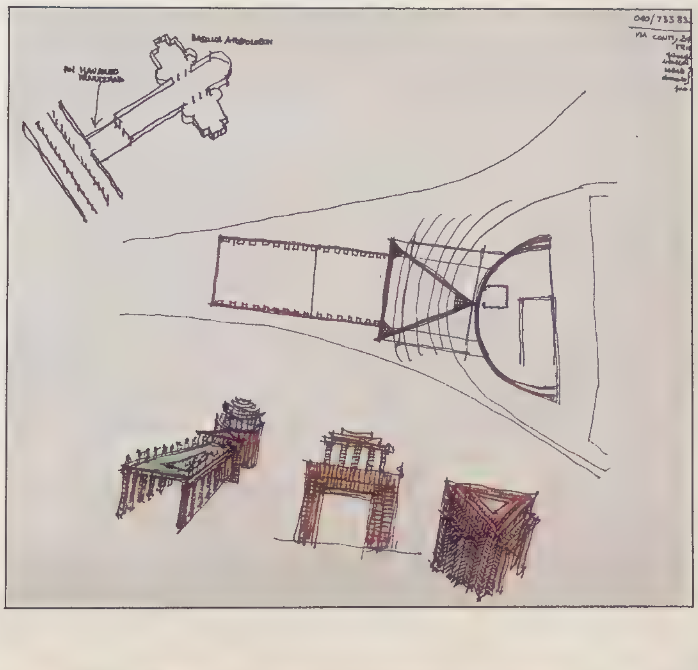
PARTICOLARI COSTRUTTIVO
Scala 1:10

Ground plan, elevation, construction details and close-up of the fountain (the sculpture group is represented here by George Segal's "Rush Hour", 1983, which was exhibited at the XLIII Biennial Exhibition in Venice).



Project sketches of the building proposed as the Polyclinic's lobby and of the "pavilion" over the subway station.



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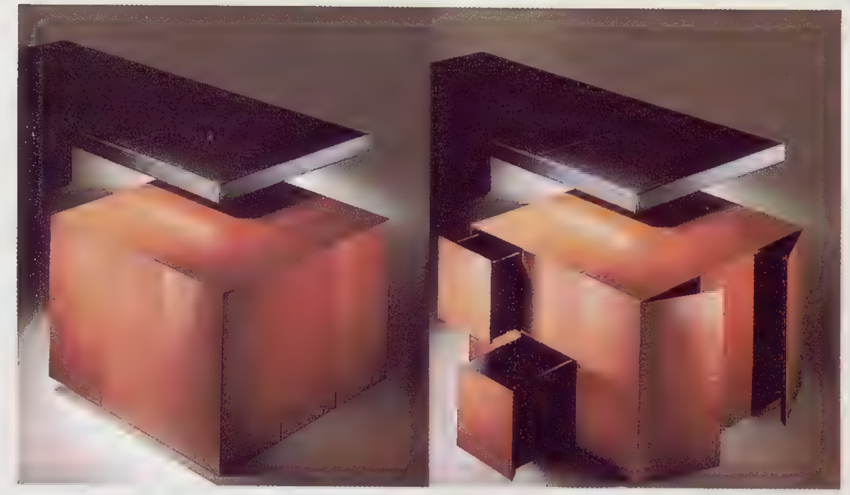
Zodiac 2



Poltrona Frau

Tolentino (Italy)

C.E.O. (Chief Executive Office) design by Lella and Massimo Vignelli

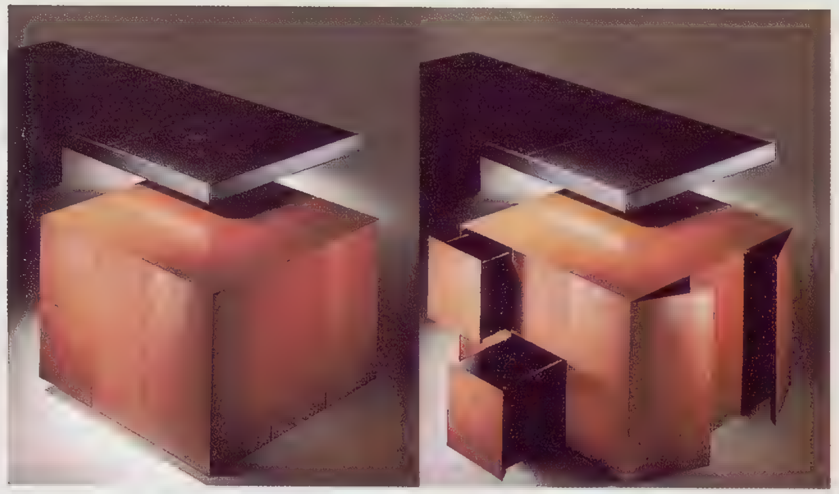




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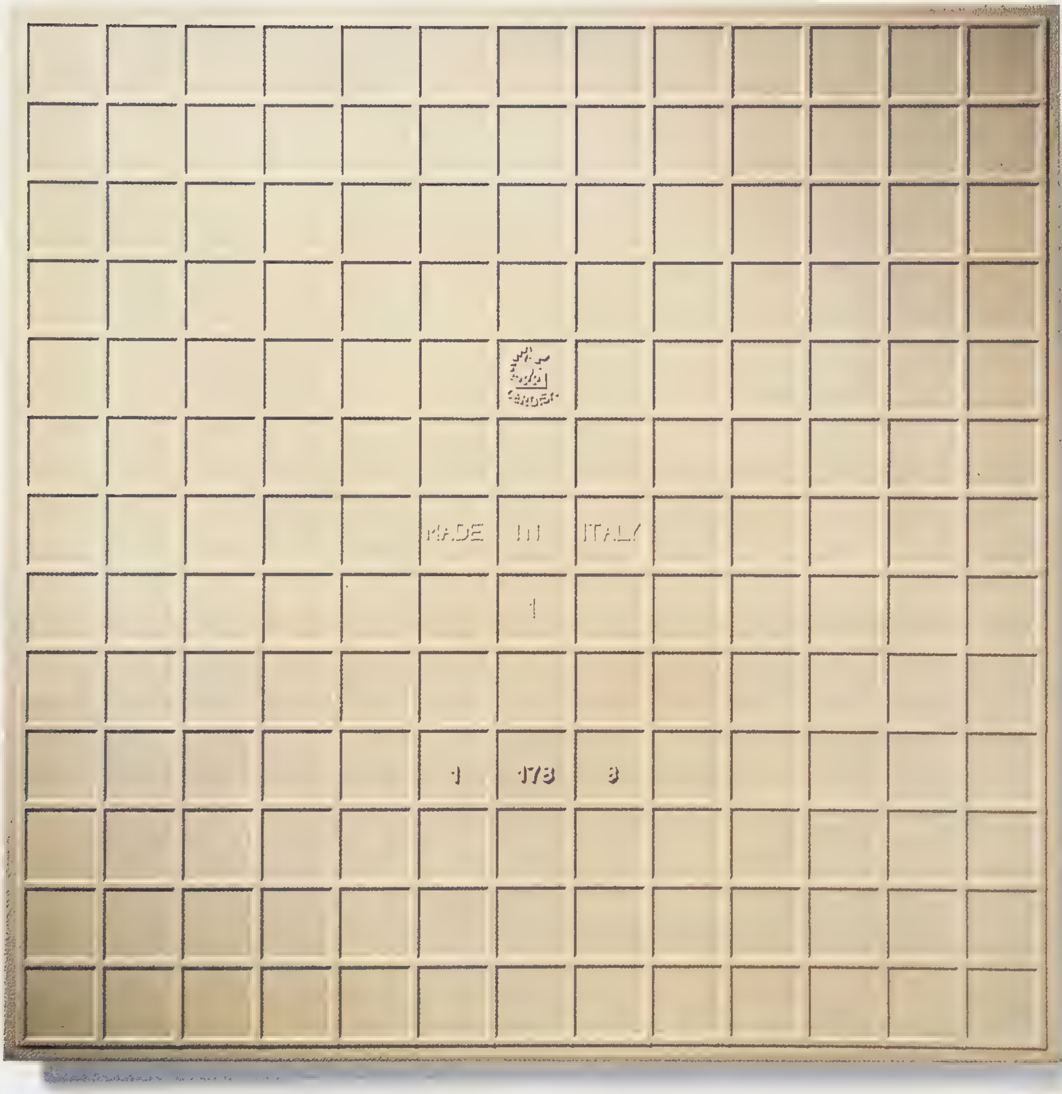


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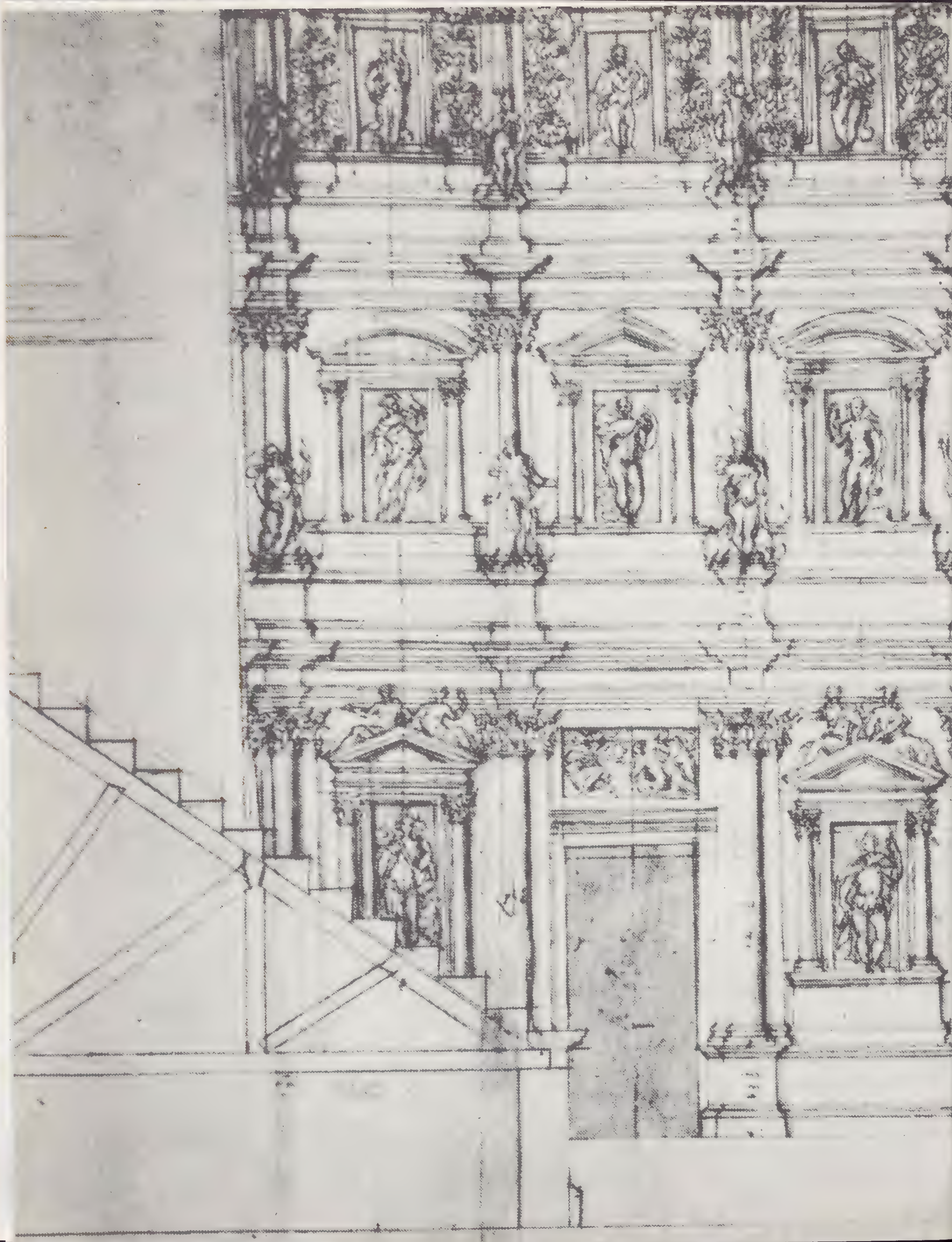
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Contents

Front cover: Scenography for the Wintermärchen, *by Emil Orlik, directed by Max Reinhardt, 1906.*



Built up around Julius Posener's article, to the point where the other contributions — whether historico-critical or designs — may seem as if dedicated to his exceptionally combative life of study and research, the significance of this issue now exceeds, to some extent, the original intention to make it monographic.
Posener, one of the few who endeavoured to bring an awareness of history to the pioneering of architecture, here poses the city of Berlin at the crossroads of modern theatre. And this reflecting the life of the city in the architecture of its theatres is a theme of such high social significance as to appear almost provocative. This above all when architecture is able to "decline" the paradigm of genres as a whole, not only different but even discordant one from another, in bringing them all to an extraordinary level of participation, even of responsibility, in what we call *urban* individuality. Perhaps — or because of it — since the act of identifying with a certain city, or even of founding it, in the conviction of its bright destiny, recalls an antique rite that magically continues. Almost as if society delegated it to do so, that identification most surely continues to perpetrate its imposition wherever theatre and music are performed.
This number also makes reference to *Verlust der Mitte* by Hans Sedlmayr (1896-1984) in relation to those "*new dominating themes*" which, it is said, since the end of the Eighteenth century, have one after another played their part in confusing a society in crisis. An exception to this was the theatre which, in the following century, was to mobilise around it a fresh unity of purpose. At that time, when the concept was spreading after the last war, the idea seemed extravagant though today there are signs, neither rare nor negligible, which appear to confirm it. Even more so since new themes require of architecture a superficial representation that, more often than not, seems to dissolve in the changing urban scene, deprived of any roots in the environment, almost as if betrayed at birth by lack of functional and symbolic substance. No emphasis (neither spatial, behavioural, nor moral) of invention holds any clearly identifiable position between site and architecture.
More frequently than others, however, the theme of the theatre provides an exception since, though internally it must adapt to celebration of a purposely imposed ritual, externally it has to saturate that public "valence" which makes the theatre site an enclosed extension of the city's consistently physical and historical discontinuity.
This is clear in the past of the European city and in some theatre projects for London, Essen, Toronto, Taranto, Los Angeles.
When the stage moves back, or approaches, the circle of spectators, just as when a theatre building remains close to its tradition or spreads out to redeem one part of a city, two extremes come to light: that of introverted purity or that of an extroverted organic structure, in respect of which, set among eternally recurring architectural features, any hopes of renewal must be related to the urban scene.

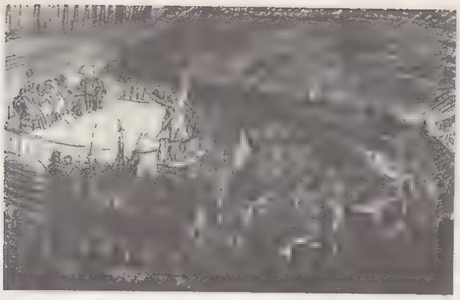
Andrea Palladio, Stage front of the Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza, 1580: detail of the drawing by Marc'Antonio, nephew of Andrea.

Theater construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig*
Julius Posener

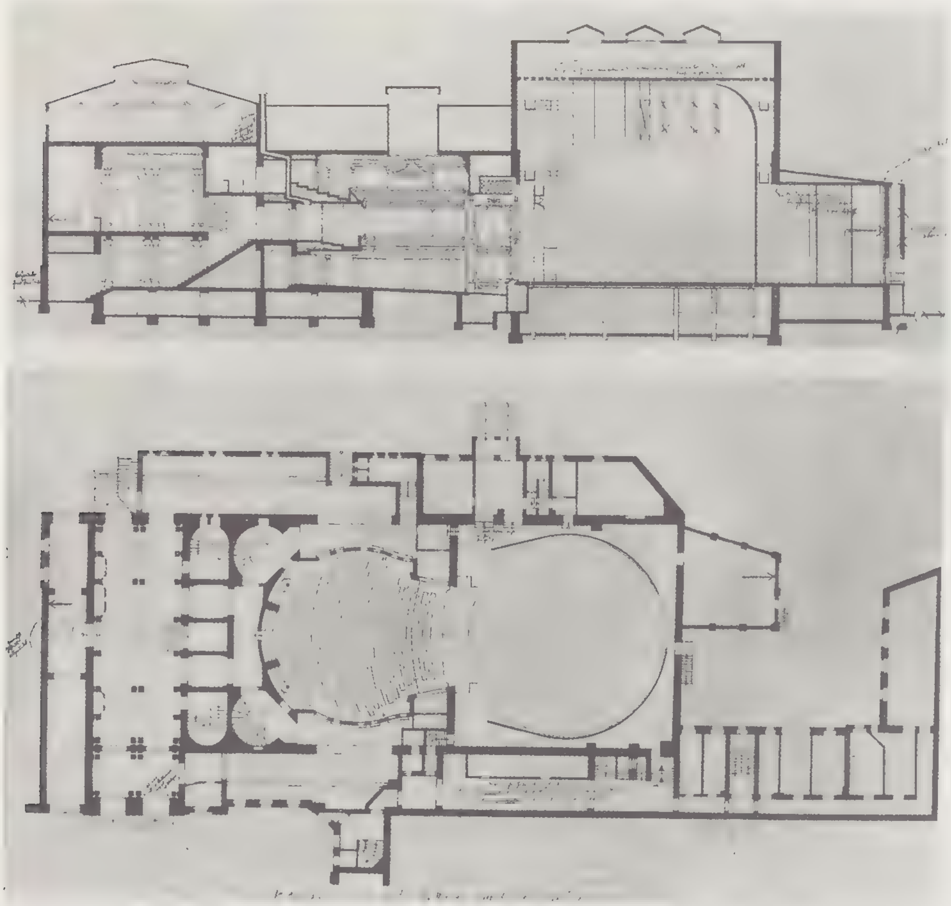


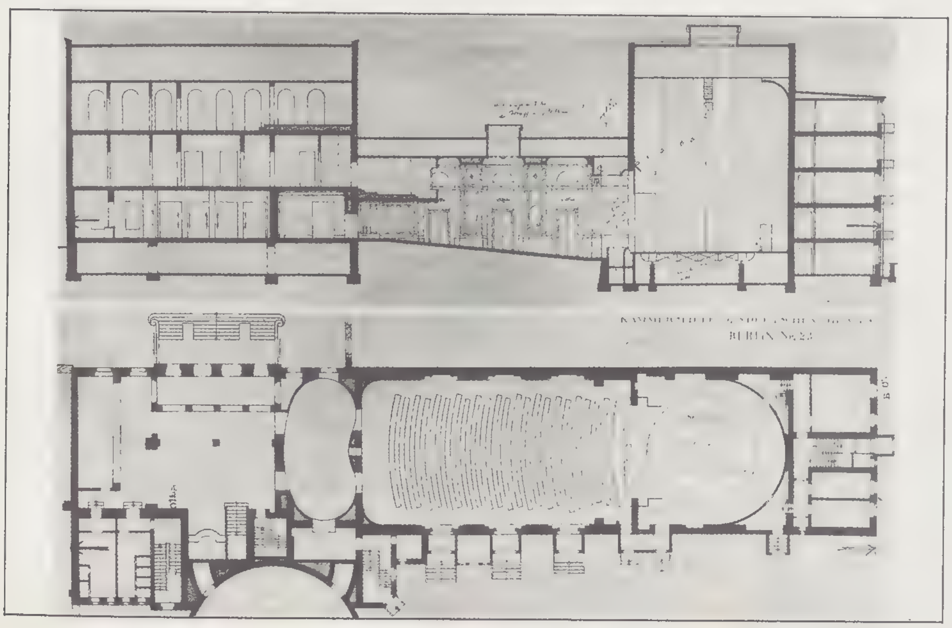
Ernst Stern, Study sketch for the ghosts scene in Shakespeare's Hamlet, *under the direction of Max Reinhardt at the Berlin Grosses Schauspielhaus, 1920. (Ernst Stern, painter, was from 1906 till 1921 staging director for Max Reinhardt's theaters).*

Fundamental names immediately come to mind: names of actors and names of architects. Of these, we shall speak further on. Among theater people, the name that more one than any other is connected to everything that during his life was considered as innovative is that of Max Reinhardt: and this for the simple reason that he possessed the histrionic quality of transformation. He successfully overcame in all senses the illusionism of the Meiningen School: instead of cardboard stage decorations he introduced a more extreme naturalism: that of trees on the stage that were both enthusiastically acclaimed and criticized in his version of a *"Midsummer Night Dream"*. He managed to go beyond Meiningen with a rigid, archaic stylism that he employed in the staging of *Oedipus* exactly in the circus where, after the war, the Grosses Schauspielhaus would have been built, his Reinhardts Schauspielhaus[1]. He was also capable of opposing to the grandiose theater-show, the Kammertheater (chamber theater) or, better yet, he presented it right next to the theater-show, by having the Kammerspiele for chamber *"pièces"* built right next to the main building of the Deutsches Theater on Schumannstrasse. When, a few years later, in 1919, also the Grosses Schauspielhaus was built not very far away, the "great impresario" had, all for himself, in his theatrical province his "Theater of the Five Thousands"[2], the average sized Deutsches Theater and the more intimate Kammerspiele. This meant having in his hands *a tool*, an organ on which he was in the position to play *any* music he wanted, and in the way he best liked. Obviously, if their plans are analysed, the three theaters emerge as completely different. The Grosses Schauspielhaus had a very wide proscenium and the stage extended far out into the hall for a more direct contact with the public, allowing to create the atmosphere of ancient theaters where the public was seated round the stage in an amphiteater. The width of the proscenium could be adjusted in order to bring it back to the normal dimensions of a traditional theater, even for a room of that magnitude. The Deutsches Theater was built with galleries one on top of the other, with a box-like stage with a proscenium according to the concept that was popular in those days. The Kammerspiele was what could have been defined a hall theater, that is relatively long and narrow room with a gallery of limited capacity at the end: what really made it different from a true hall theater were the seats which were bolted down and the fact that the rows were slightly arched on the floor which gradually went up going towards the end of the room[3].



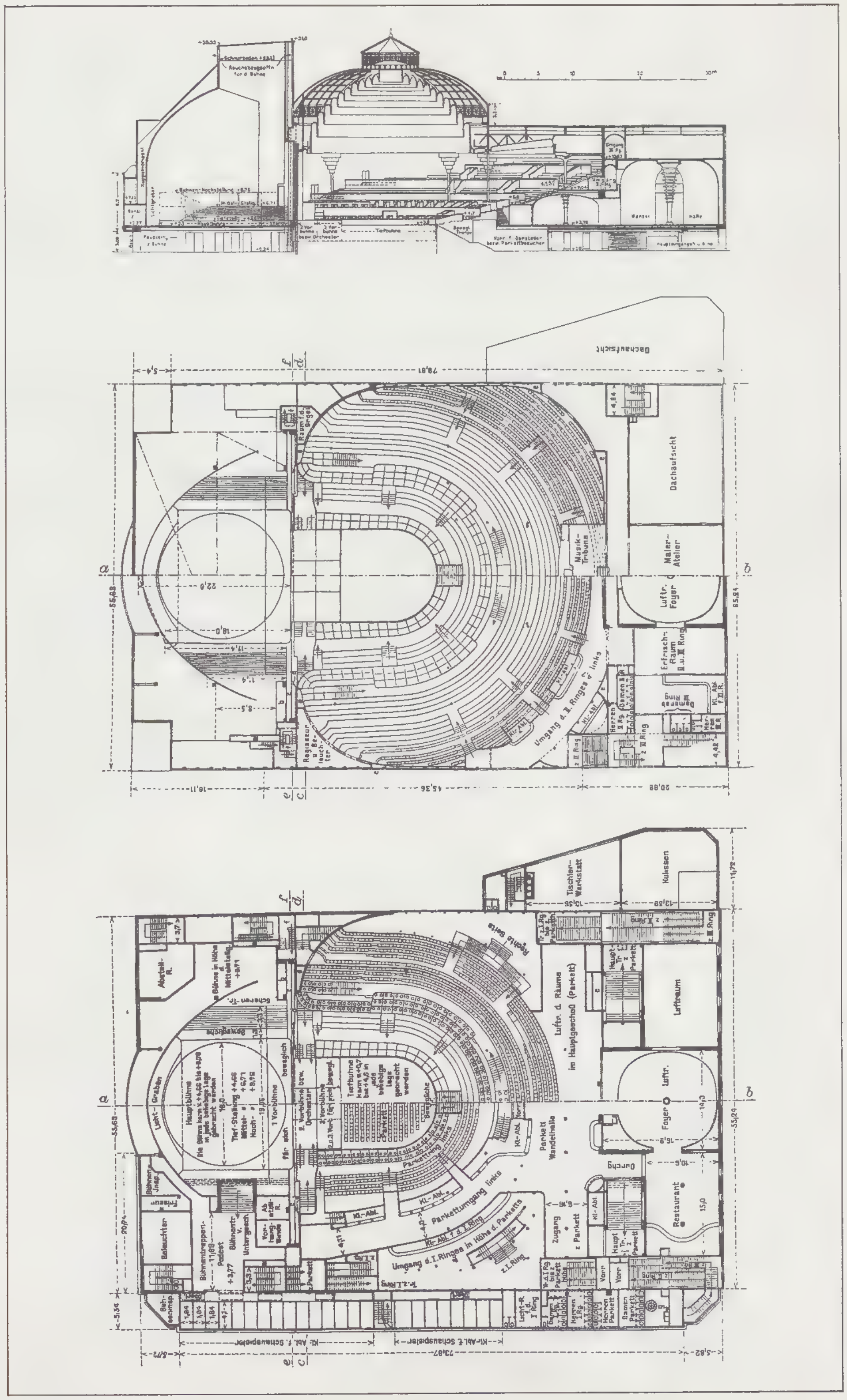




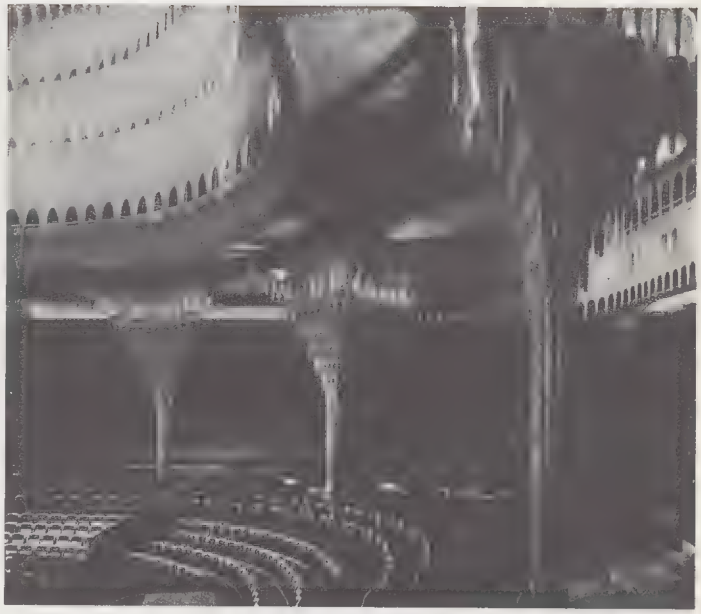


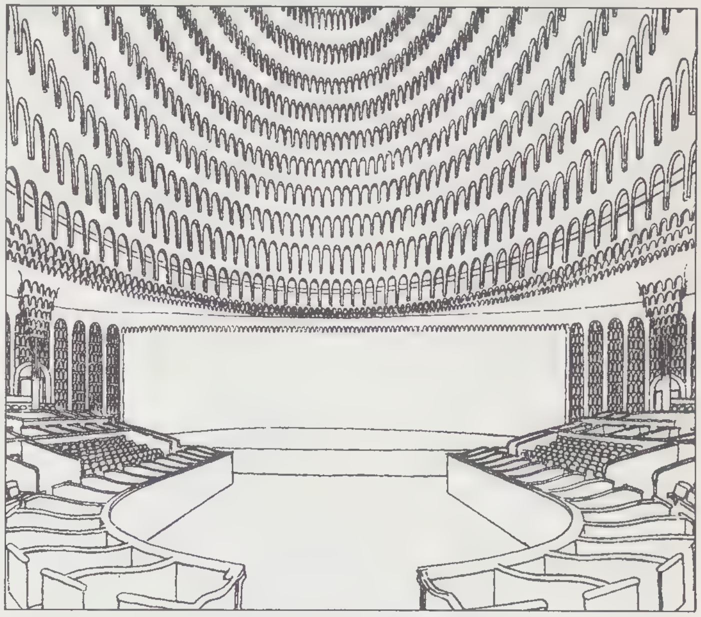
Ernst Stern, Study sketch for a scene of Romain Rolland's Danton *at the Berlin Grosses Schauspielhaus, 1920.*
View of Schumannstrasse with the facades of the Kammerspiele and of the Deutsches Theater. The facade of the latter was restructured in 1905, during Max Reinhardt's direction.
Eduard Titz, Deutsches Theater, Berlin, 1849-50 (the stage was enlarged in 1905): section and floor plan of the main floor.
William Müller, Kammerspiele, Berlin 1906: section and floor plan of the main floor.

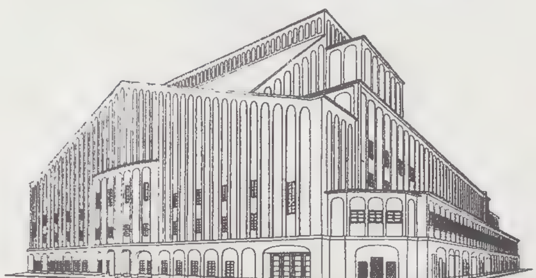
Hans Poelzig Grosses Schauspielhaus, Berlin 1919-1920: longitudinal section; plan of the first and second level (main floor and first galleries); plan of the third and fourth level. Inside view of the hall; perspective view of the hall looking towards the stage and of the outside.



The fact that Max Reinhardt could express himself in such a proteiform and eclectic way, so much so, in fact, that his theaters could allow for dramaturgical performances of any kind, demostrates that in the days of Wilhelm II theater existed different theater conceptions, and Reinhardt's eclecticism postulated a reform of the theater going in different directions; and this reform, or better yet, this mixture of reforms, obviously has a history.
In Berlin, it goes back to Friedrich Gilly, and Gilly himself is influenced by French theater of the late Eighteenth century. In his Parisian period, he studied and designed at least fourteen theaters. His most famous drawing is that of the outside of the Feydeau Theater, one of the first of such buildings where the semicircle may be seen from the outside, followed by the meticulous study of the Théâtre de l'Odéon. These are two of the most famous studies by Gilly, since they are those that will directly influence his production.
The first work to be influenced by these French studies is his theoretical project for a *Théâtre à la manière des Théâtres grecs et romaines* (sic!), whose outside shape, in a somewhat forced way, tried to inscribe within a circle the main floor, the galleries and the stage. This strongly recalls the project for the Opéra by Boullée and leads us to suppose that Gilly most probably knew this project. This seems definitely possible also because Gilly, like Boullée, foresaw a semicircular floor with an amphitheater-shaped gallery surrounding it. However, Gilly goes further in the direction of the ancient theater tha Boullée who, above this gallery, had placed four tiers of balconies, so that the spectators in the top ones could look at the stage through open compartments in the semi-domed, Pantheon-like ceiling! If Gilly avoided this compromise that appears rather grotesque when thinking of the traditional shape of theaters, neverthless he imitated rather faithfully Boullée's stage shape. In fact, both present the usual stage where its depth is enhanced by perspectively placed teasers and tormenters: a shape, therefore, that will not work with the semicircle of the galleries and that comes from the baroque tradition of the theater with tiers of boxes and upper galleries. The stage of the ancient theater was wide and short: what was soon known as the stage in relief[4].
In Boullée — and in Gilly, too — the reforming tendency is immediately evident: what they want to do is to oppose to court theater with balconies and top galleries a democratic theater, going back to the model of the ancient theater as



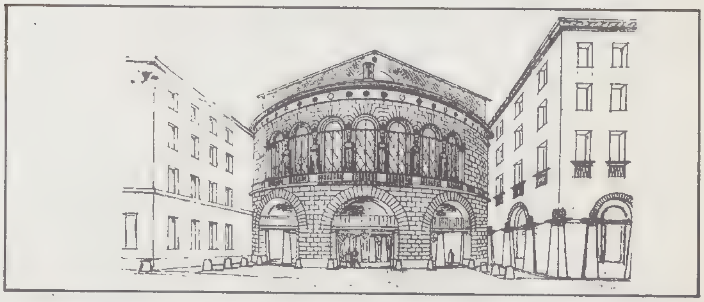


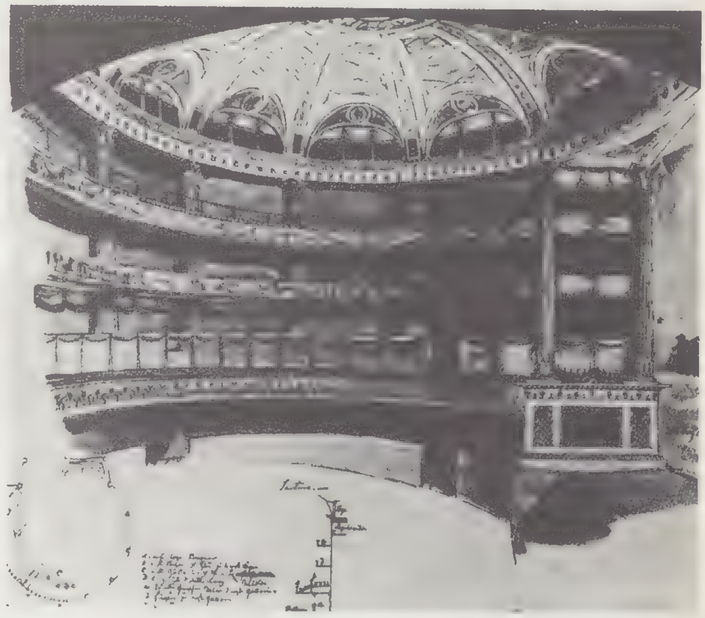


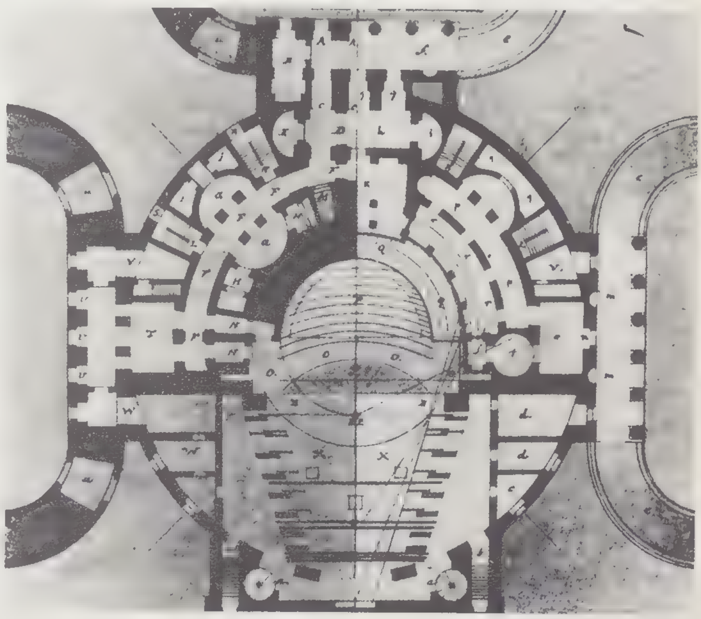
much as possible. Evidently, this tendency that totally coincides with the spirit of the French Revolution was so deeply felt by the architects of the first decades of the following century that Count Brühl, Superintendent of the Berlin Königliches Schauspielhaus (Royal Theater) in 1818 complained that "when building a theater, one of the most common weaknesses of the architects is that of imitating the theater of the ancient; nothing could be less reasonable and unconfortable, since our lifestyle is, in all its ways, completely different from what the ancient loved [5]".
Gilly's studies for the Schauspielhaus totally reflect this statement, and closely resemble classical theaters. His theater is once again an amphitheater, as in his ideal project: a floor with an amphitheater shaped ring, slightly raised, that surrounds it. Behind this ring, going straight up for nearly 7 meters, the back wall of the hall; in his most complete studies for the Schauspielhaus this wall is interrupted only by the royal box, placed in a central position right in front of the stage. There are no other boxes nor proscenium top galleries. However, above this wall, the amphitheater-like steps go on up directly to the ceiling, shaped like a *velarium*, the curtain of the ancient. The front part of the stage has a semicircular shape. In an earlier study the opening of the shape is as wide as the greatest diameter of the room and it would have been even wider if that stage had been moved all the way to the proscenium line. The plan that may be considered as the final version shows something similar to tiers of boxes: semicircular exhedras, created in the wall of the hall. If we take a closer look, we realize that these are not real boxes since the ascending, amphitheater-shaped tiers of steps go all the way up into these exedras. As in the Théâtre Feydeau, the external architecture reproposes the semicircular shape of the hall and this semicylinder is also repeated behind the massing of the stage, so that it seems to serve two halls. In reality, this second semicylinder hosted the wardrobe and other service rooms. In this project, too, the stage is deep, as it may be noted by the exterior massing. However, all the inside studies — and more specifically those of the variation that I defined as the most beautiful one — show a proscenium that extends into the hall. Here, we see an "ancient" conception, as the most progressive architects of those days interpreted it[6].
I would like to indicate another classical reminiscence which often recurs in Gilly's theater studies: a fixed proscenium of this type in one of his scenography projects where its similarity with the one tha Schinkel proposed some years later, in 1813, for the restructuring of the old Berliner Schauspielhaus (which was built by Langhans in 1800-02) immediately jumps to the eye. We are not in the position to state how much the ideas developed by Schinkel for the restructuring of the Schauspielhaus in 1813 come from Gilly's. Undoubtedly this project, whose end wall of the hall dissolves into a continuos series of a curvilinear niches, immediately brings to mind the Schausplielhaus project by his master, Gilly. In fact, Schinkel was the will executor of Gilly's artistical inheritance. Likewise, we can state with absolute certainty that the choice of the *velarium* shape for the ceiling of his Schauspielhaus in 1819 definitely had something to do with Gilly's studies. For what concerns the stage, instead, Schinkel developed extremely interesting ideas, and since Gilly's scenographical projects that we know are of a completely different nature[7], these ideas most probably are Schinkel's own. He starts out with a deep proscenium, a Corinthian portico with four columns on each side of the stage and proposes to entirely surrender the usual sequence of teasers and tormenters, and to finish the stage just with a painted back-drop. In his famous drawing for the inaugural representation on the 26th of May 1821, you can see the proscenium with Corinthian columns framing the back-drop which depicts the Schauspielhaus itself between the two cathedrals of the Gendarmenmarkt. Schinkel therefore insisted on the solution that he had already proposed in Iffland in 1813. The lack of teasers and tormenters and the painted back-drop as the only decoration will force the actors to mainly move in the space architecturally outlined by the proscenium columns. In any case, they must not go too close to the back-drop, since their human size would upset the proportions of the painted buildings and trees. In fact, this is one of Schinkel's specific requests:

"*The greatest advantage* [by the use of the painted back-drop] *would be that of developing in a more artistical way the scenographic representation and, notwithstanding this, of making it less detached from the action since this is not violently pushed forwards but it always keeps, in its function of symbolic background, a certain distance, which perfectly suits the imagination. If the scenography must have a more elevated character, then the proscenium should increasingly acquire the essence of the fixed scene of ancient times and therefore be the distinct frame for the entire*

Friedrich Gilly, Survey drawing of the Théâtre Feydeau in Paris, 1797.
Friedrich Gilly, Survey drawing of the Théâtre de l'Odéon in Paris, 1797.
Friedrich Gilly, Essai sur la Construction d'un Théâtre à la manière des Théâtres grecques et romaines, *1797.*





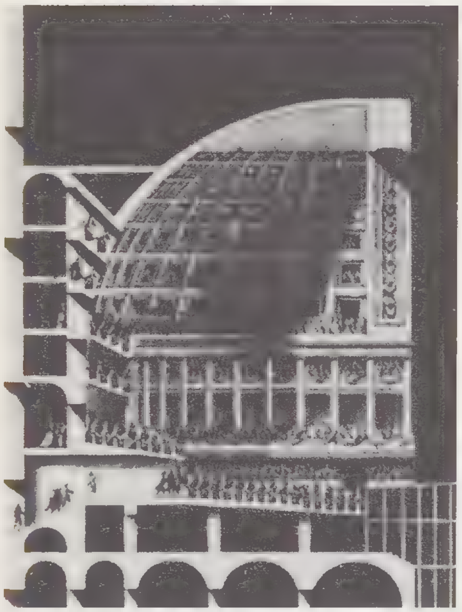


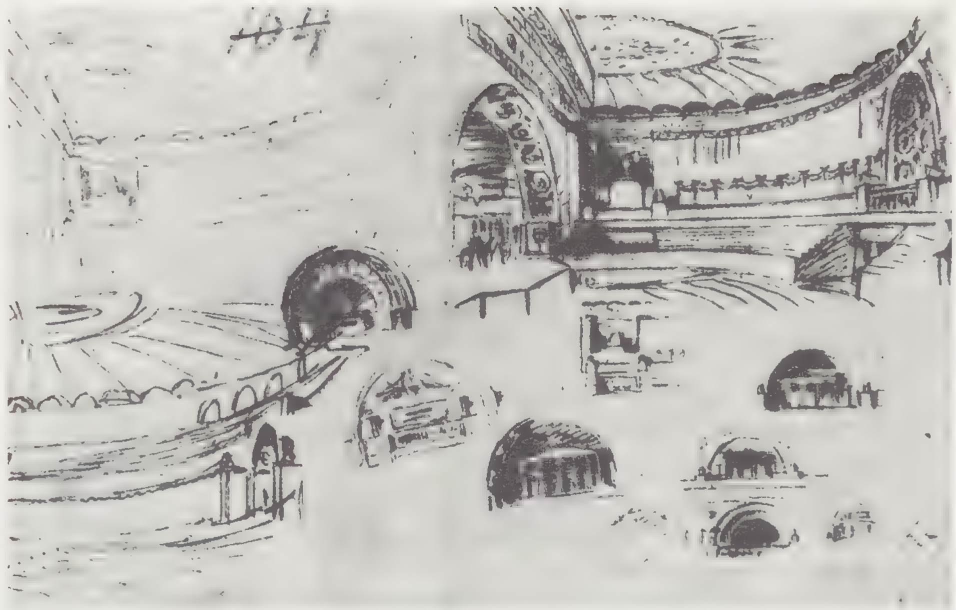
theatrical representation, a frame within which the action, coming out of the scene as a focal point projected to the outside, represents the most luminous spot of all representation"[8].

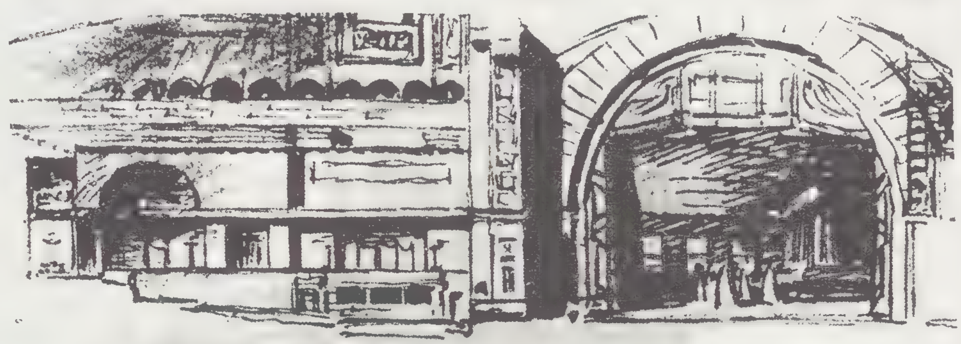
Even when it is the simple restructuring of a theater with galleries and balconies like the Langhans — and, if we take a second look, also in the case of his Schauspielhaus — Schinkel's starting point is once again classical theater. In fact, he states that:

"Far from wanting in the least to elevate to the level of artistical dignity any effect of illusion, even the most banal and material one (prerogative which only belongs to barbarism), the individual was elevated to the rank of category, therefore acquiring that universal and noble character which is the only one worth dealing with on behalf of the noble arts (...) The scene itself then [in the theater of the past] *was nothing else but a converging lens which concentrated the action into a single point, therefore removing it from all the neighbouring physical reality (...) The result (...) as what consciously had to be avoided (...) is a coarse physical and illusionistic effect of the scenography, effect to which modern theater has aimed at, and not in a totally wrong way, but where this problem was solved in the worst way possible, and that, for very good reasons, will never be solved. A symbolic hint to the place in which we presume the action is taking place is more than enough to stimulate the fertile imagination of the spectator (...) This is the only way to create true and ideal illusion, something that a modern theater, with all its teasers and tormenters will never be able to achieve (...) If we could, in the majority of cases, just decorate our stages with a single, big painted back-drop, we would be infinitely further ahead of the theatre of the past*[9].

We lengthily quote Schinkel because the reforms he proposed as a reaction to the illusionistic concept of the stage, created with carboard and colours, anticipate the reformist tendencies of the era of Wilhelm II which refuse any form of naturalism on the stage[10]. We have already said how even the Schauspielhaus that Schinkel was able to rebuild on the same foundations of the Langhans theater after a fire destroyed it, absolutely does not correspond to his ideal: it was a theater with balconies and he had to work according to a pre-established schedule. When he claims of



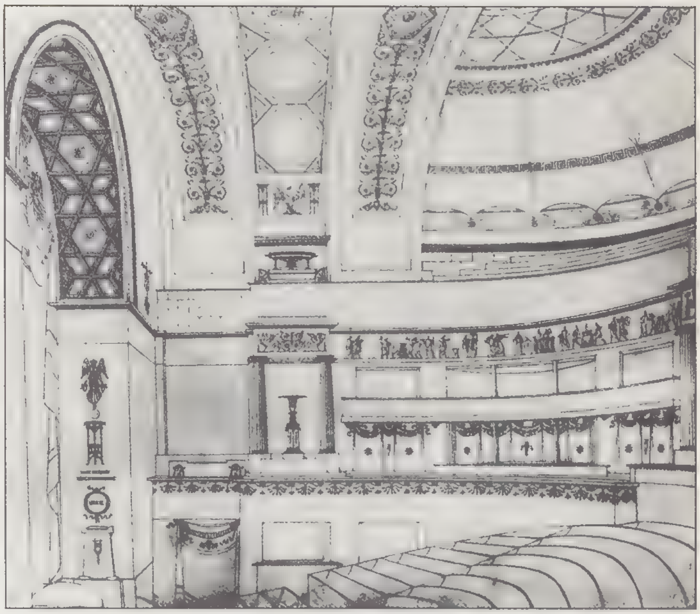


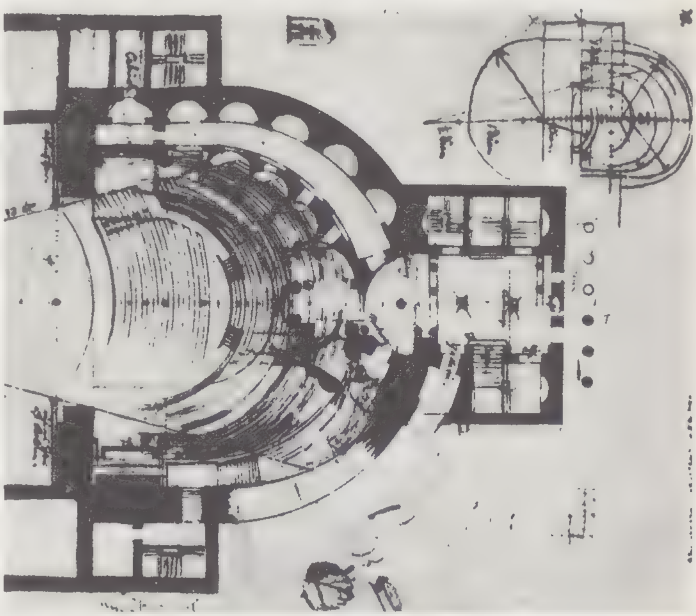


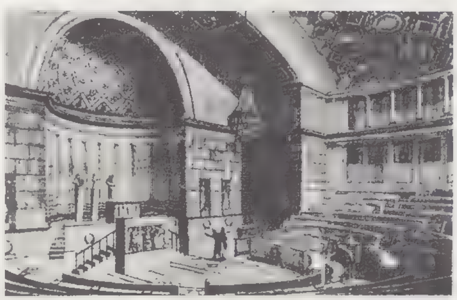


Etienne-Louis Boullée, Project for an Opera theater, 1781: longitudinal section.
Friedrich Gilly, Studies for the Schauspielhaus hall, 1798: perspective and detail sketches; sketches of the plan and interior elevations.
Friedrich Gilly, Schauspielhaus, view of the hall's inside.
Friedrich Gilly, Study of the plan for the Schauspielhaus, Bayreuth, September 6, 1798.
Jacques-Pierre Gisors, Hall of the Chambre des Députés in Paris, built in 1795.

"*having completed the architecture of the facade* — and boy this surely implying the entire external architecure — "*as rigorously as possible according to the Greek way*" we may conclude that this was practically the only classical characteristic that he managed the theater with (since even the proscenium with Corinthian portico, as it may be seen in his perspective, was not built). However, Schinkel expressed his concept of theater in some sketches that are rightly considered as the beginning of the theater reform of the Nineteenth century, and from which it is possible to follow a direct line that connects them to the theater projects by Semper and Wagner. The structure of which he is thinking may be defined as a prospective amphiteater, since the lateral walls converge towards the strage at such an angle as to ideally meet in a point in the forefront part of the stage. Therefore, the point of perspective flight is that "*focal point projected outside the scene*" that Schinkel spoke of when the described in such a plastic way the site of action on the stage. Furthermore, in these sketches, the ratio between the amphitheater hall and the stage which was impossible to have in theaters with galleries and balconies, but that was neither brought about in the semicircular ones of the period of revolutionary architects (Boullée and Gilly): the theater with balconies and a deep perspective stage are unsuperable concepts, as those of semicircular amphitheater and orchestra, that is of choir circle ending with a short "stage in relief". The compromise of the revolutionary architects, who reproposed the concept of the main floor as the ancient did, at the same tine maintaining the baroque shape of the stage, was a hybrid. Schinkel's innovation, that of reserving to the main floor an area with the shape of a circular sector whose converging walls highlighted the forefront part of the stage as the site where the action would take place, and a deeply back-set back-drop that completed the scene in an illusionistic way, all are precursors of Wagner's stage. In fact, this is the hall shape that will be repeated by Semper and Wagner in their projects for Munich and Bayreuth — or, possibly, Semper brought about a re-invention, even though it is more likely that he knew Schinkel's ideas, since even in Schinkel a projects also the orchestra pit was lowered further down. Already in 1813, in his Iffland report, Schinkel had stated that:







"*The lowering of the orchestra pit by two feet is extremely useful for the acoustic effect of music in that closed space: the single instruments fuse, meet and are closer to each other,*

and music comes out in perfect harmony... Singing, which had been up to then drowened by the impetuous sound of the nerby orchestra, now is the exquisite master of the stage. Furthermore, the musicians who had to play in front of the stage are not a disturbing factor any longer and, instead, a useful separation between public and stage is created".

On the issue, let us immediately read Wagner's opinion on the Bühnenfestspielhaus (Theater of scenic festivals) in Bayreuth. This building was built between 1872 and 1876, that is sixty years after Schinkel had expressed his ideas on theaters. Wagner states that:

"To explain the plan of the future Bayreuth festival theater. I believe I shall proceed in the way that suite the objective best, by starting from the need that I myself felt for the first, of making the technical origin of music invisible, that is, the orchestra: from the essential need. In fact, we gradually developed the integral transformation of the hall of our new European theater". Then he goes on to talk about *"the repugnant disturbance caused by the irksome view of the technical apparatus of sound production* [and of the need in the theater of] *channeling sight itself to the careful perception of an image, something which may only be brought about by completely deviating the sight organ from the perception of any reality that may lie in between, like that of the technical apparatus that evokes the image itself".* Wagner goes on to say that: *"We therefore needed to place the orchestra, without covering it, at such a depth so that the spectator would be able to directly see the stage. We immediately established that the spectator seats could be nothing else but a series of uniformly ascending chairs, the height of which has to be fixed only by the possibility of distinctly being able to see the scenic ensemble. Our system of tiers of boxes will therefore be eliminated: because of their elevated position that also occupied the lateral walls, it would have been impossible to bar out the view of the orchestra from them. In this way, the arrangement of our rows of seats donned the typical arrangement of the classical amphitheater: however, we could not consider building an exact replica of the amphitheater shape, with its two sides that jut out so much that they even overtake the semicircle because, for us, the object that has to be offered to clear vision is not the orchestra choir, which was practically all enclosed by this semicircle, but the stage, which was shown to Greek spectators only as an emerging surface, while we, instead, use it in all its depth. We therefore had to strictly obey the rules of* perspective, *following rows of chairs could be placed further apart the further up they went, always permitting direct view of the scene. On the stage, then, the* proscenium *had to determine any further arrangement: the frame proper of the scenic ensemble therefore became the decisive starting for this arrangement. My requirement to make the orchestra invisible, immediately inspired to the genius of the famous architect* [Semper, 1865-1867][13] *with whom I was lucky enough to talk about this problem for the first, the way in which to use the empty space between the proscenium and the first rows of seats for the public: we called it the "mystical abyss", because it had to separate the real from the unreal, and the maestro closed it in front by means of a second, wider proscenium, obtaining the following effect in relationship to the smaller, posterior proscenium: the wonderful illusion of an apparent removal of the scene itself, illusion that consists in the fact that the spectator imagines the action as taking place very far away from him while he, instead, is seeing it with the clarity afforded by true closeness; this also brings another illusion: the actors acting on the stage will appear to him in magnified and larger-than-human size"*[14].

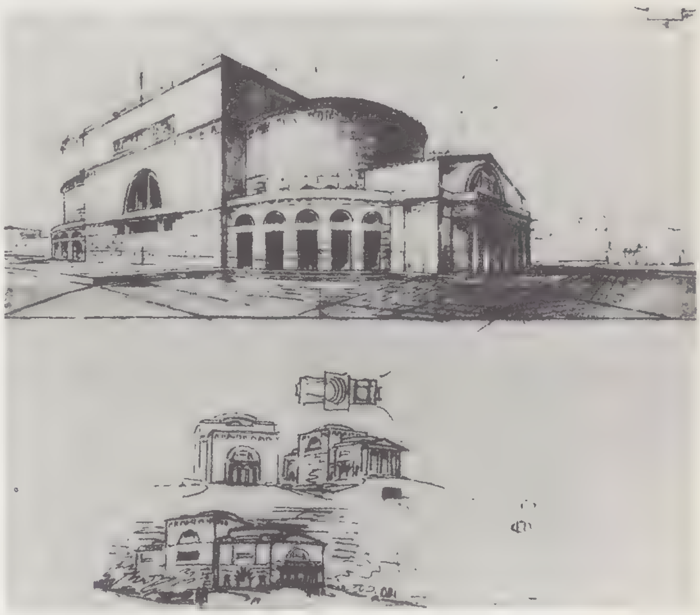
The idea, therefore, is to artificially create a perspective effect, like the one Bernini tried to obtain in more than one occasion, with his baroque trompe-l'oeil architecture; it is not by chance that in this text the word "*Täuschung*" (illusion, suggestion) is often repeated. In Schinkel, the painted back-drop seems to be a compromise with modern taste that does not want to give up on *any* illusion (*every* illusion) — therefore needing a deep stage — with these fundamental) requirements: illusion, perspective, stage depth, that in Wagner (and in Semper) become programmatically intentional. The conceptual difference between the two positions becomes evident even on the linguistical level, for example in the different sense attributed by Schinkel and by Wagner to the word "*entrückt*" (distant, detached, rapt, in ecstasy).
Talking about ancient theater, Schinkel says:

In those days, the stage itself was nothing else but a converging lens that concentrated the action in a single point, therefore removing it (entrückte) from the entire surrounding physical reality".

While Wagner:

Friedrich Gilly, Sketches for scenographies with architectural proscenium.
Friedrich Gilly, Schauspielhaus: Sketches of the outside.





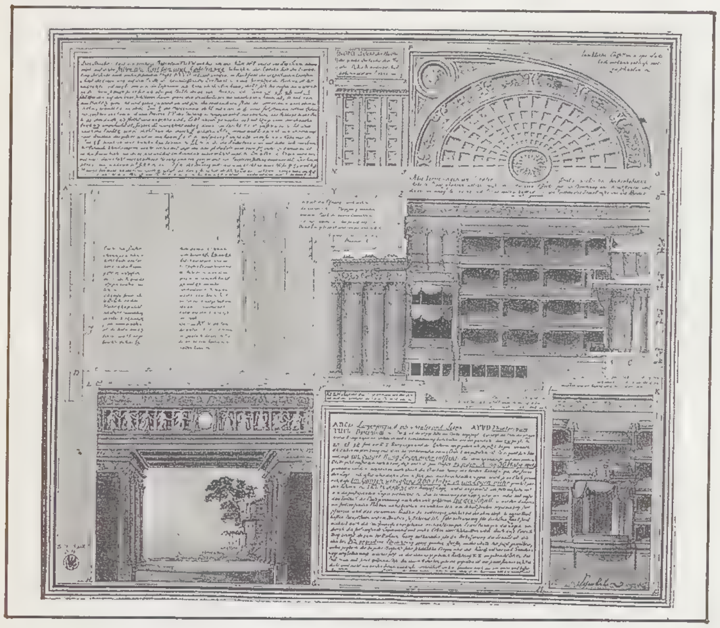
" (...) *The wonderful illusion of an apparent removal of the scene itself, illusion that consists in the fact that the spectator imagines the action as taking place very far away from him, while he, instead, is seeing it with the clarity afforded by true closeness.*

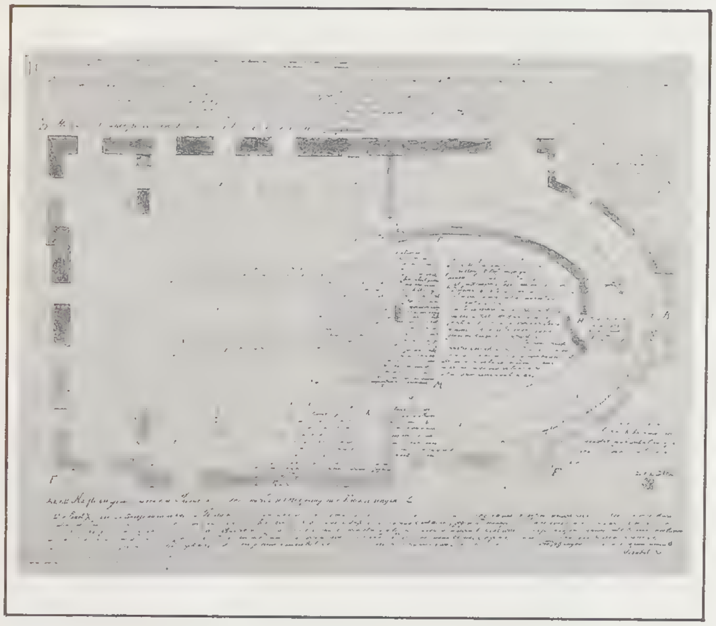
In Schinkel's description of the procedure used in ancient theaters, the site of the action is removed (*entrückt*) after having been concentrated in a single focal point, while Wagner, the spectator is subjected to a carefully prepared optical illusion, that makes him perceive the scene as farther removed (*gerücht*) than what it is in reality. And this is not just a game words. It is a concept that becomes immediately clear in the light of the difference which we are trying to highlight: it's the difference between Schinkel's era and that of Bismarck, the difference between post-revolutionary bourgeois idealism, with the continuous call of the ancient past, and the concept of total art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*), that, like an enchantment, proposes itself as the alternative to bourgeois life. From Wagner's words it is evident that the spectator becomes totally absorbed by art:

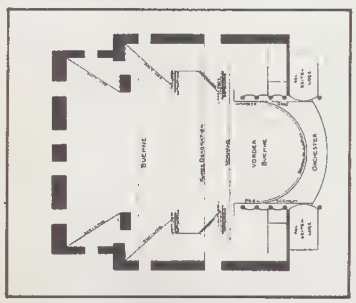
"As soon as the spectator has occupied his set, he immediately finds himself in a real, life-size 'theatron', that is, a place exclusively created for looking, and for looking in the direction in which his seat points to. Between the spectator and the image to behold there is nothing evident visible, but only a distance that an architectural artifice keeps suspended between the two proscenia, and which, by removing the image away from the spectator, shows it to him in the intangibility of a dream-like vision, while the music, mysteriously rising from the depths of the "mystical abyss" like the vapours that under Pithias seat rose from Gaia's sacred womb, place him in that ecstatic condition of clairvoyance, so that the contemplated scene then becomes for him the most truthful representation of life itself" [15].

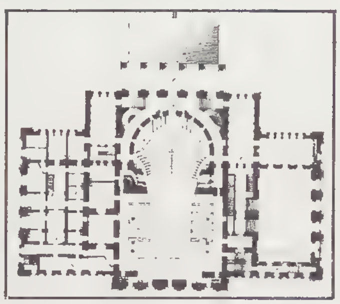
The condition of the spectator, transfixed in his seat, with his gaze "compelled" by the position of the seat itself, and almost willingly abandoned to the magic powers of art could not have been clearly expressed. Even though we have some reserves on the verosimilitude (this word appears here for the first time) of the representation of life presented to him. Let us try to image the words used by Wagner, *"oneiric vision"*, *"disquieting illusion"*, *"mystical abyss"* and even the phitiac vapours of music rising from it, as

Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Proposal, dated 1813, for the improvement of the main floor and of the stage of the old Berlin Schauspielhaus by Carl Gotthard Langhans: complexive table with prospects. insides, details and written description; table with plan and written desctiption. (In 1821, after a fire, Schinkel's Schauspielhaus was built on the foudations of this theater by Langhans on Gendamenmarkt).
Max Littmann, Schematic re-designing of the stage reformed by Schinkel.
Karl Friedrich Schinkel, New Schauspielhaus, Berlin 1818-21: plan.









being uttered by Schinkel! Yet, it was Schinkel who indicated the path to Wagner and Semper, by substituting the semicircular amphitheater of the democratic architects with a hall that has the shape of a circular sector, perspectively oriented towards the stage. Even though we may say that he suggested it in the captivating and totally pragmatic manner that characterizes all his work: by having the illusion of the painted back-drop — we imagine him saying — you do not want to give up the depth of the stage, for this reason I will create a suit able space. In this way he overcame the limitations of the experiment by the revolutionary architects to create a democratic theater. In the semicircular amphitheater, the public self-celebrated itself, was part of the show, as in the baroque theater with tiers of boxes that the reformers up until the Wilhelmian era tried to overcome because it was a type of theater that highlighted a society organized in classes. however, already in the type of theater by Schinkel and later on, with absolute certainty, those by Semper[16] and Wagner, a special type of relationship is created between the spectator and the representation on stage, described by Arnold Zweig in 1920 in his essay *Theater, Menge, Mensch* (*Theater, Mass, Men*):

"The spectator is alone in front of the show: a closed relationship is created, jealous and perfect, between him and the object. It is unimportant if there are thousands of spectators who turn their eyes onto that single curtain which is about to go up on Malvolio's existence and gestures, on Cassandra's existence and gestures: it is not the mass that will see Cassandra or Malvolio, but the single, thousands of singles"[17].

Therefore, the almighty power of art dissolves all social bonds. If any survive, this is only through the work of art. In other words: society will not consciously sit in front of the work of art, it just considers it as a form of entertainment; instead, through the work of art a new society is born, a rather, a new community. You only need to think of the chitter-chatter, between sacred and profane, triggered by the representation of Parsifal in Bayreuth, and you will then admit that the definition of community is not an exaggerated one. The work that trough the casual copresence of individuals creates this community is an illusion, as we have repeatedly found in Wagner's citation. But this is not the illusion ridiculed by Schinkel, nor that of the Meiningen School: the larger-than-human figures, the music

mysteriously rising from the mystical abyss, transform the stage and what happens thereon in an oneiric vision, that for those looking and listening becomes the *"image closest to real life"*. The illusion must therefore be perfect, nothing schould disturb it and it must be totally credible: what is to be believed is the emphatization and transposition of every-day life into real life. From the sceno-technical point of view, the stage must be adequately equipped according to the times[18]; however, there are no doubts that, more than the naturalistic effect, the most important thing was the congruence of the decoration with the contents and the atmosphere (*Stimmung*) of the work to be represented[19]. The word *Stimmung*, in this case, must be used with great care. The reader will recall that it played an important role in Richard Lucae's essay on the power of the space architecture. It may be stated that the reform of the stage setting, intended in this way to follow the action like a sort of second music, stemmed from the concept of Wagner's total work of art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*). However, it experiences decisive development in the days of Wilhelm II and, also in this instance, under the influence of the proteiform Reinhardt.

"Modern scenic art has, in common with figurative art of our days, the objective of awakening a spiritual resonance", said Felix Poppenberg in 1906 in an excellent essay entitled *"Die neue Szene"* (*The new scene*). *"The words* 'le paysage est un état d'âme' *are its motto and their goal is a fusion of all sensual impressions in a single, strong, global feeling"*[21].

This undoubtedly represents a further development of Wagner's position, even though he would not have liked the strongly stylized back-drops of 1906. At this point, it may be helpful to report two descriptions taken from Poppenberg's essay, since their language perfectly depicts those theatrical effects and the times they wanted to describe.
The first was a staging of the *Electra*[22]:

"Some light effects the glimmer of the dawn, the violent light of noon, evening light — when the action is over and fear and terror fill Oreste's heart — accompany in a symbolic crescendo the action's progresso. The costumes are finely in tone. Dressed in black, Elettra is standing, dark central point of the entire grandiose ensemble. From the deep, calm and reassuring green of the ballet's leader, the colours fading all the way to light violet and white, which incarnates the innocent beauty of the Greek virgins".

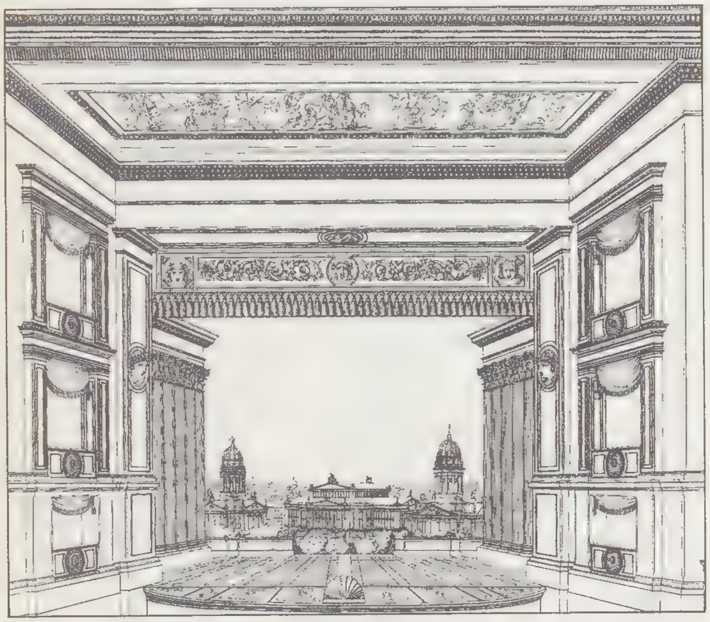
When describing *Oedipus und die Sphinx* (Oedipus and the Sphynx) by Hoffmansthal:

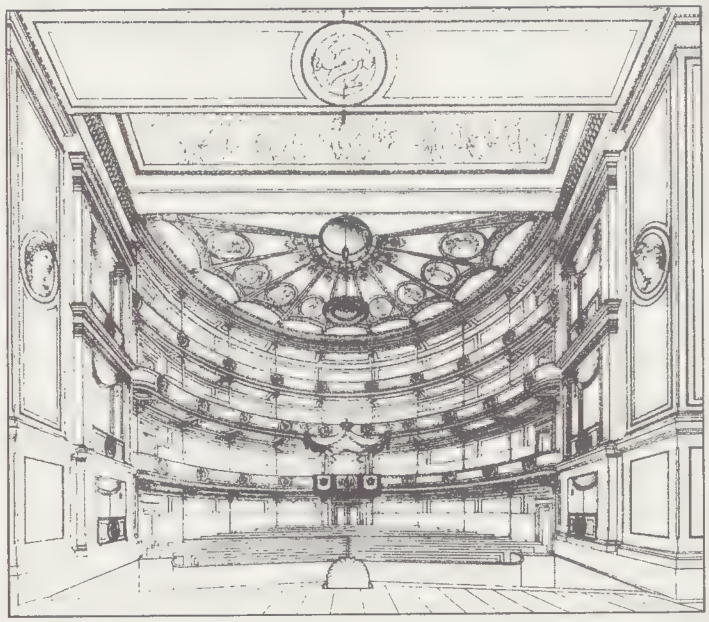
"The mass scene takes place between two walls. On the left cyclopic walls of prehistoric stone of the royal castle, on the right the thick dark green wall of a wood of cypresses, and among these another wall, the grey mass of men who, bending down, are shouting and pushing against the castle doors. All this distinctly standing out against the background of a clear, mirror-like sky. Another effect of grandiose simplicity is that of the last scene: the rocky mountain of the Sphynx. A sentence by Hoffmannsthal gives us an insight on its inspiring motiv: "Only big forms are visible". *A stone desert, a place of death extends ahead. Among the rocky blocks, the shivering light of a torch guides Oedipus on the road of his destiny: then it goes out leaving him in the dark"*.

Between Wagner's magic this game of atmospheres which, by finally imposing itself on sound and words, takes the lead in the representation, there naturally is a difference: the path of the great charmer is intricate. But these are the scenic effects that the bourgeois Berlin which went to the theater did not want to give up; and on the other hand it was due to the limiting conditioning exercised by Richard Wagner's work that the new interpretation of the amphitheater took shape: this still hindered the theater reform and, once again as in Schinkel, lead to a hybrid solution. New solutions wanted to be introduced, but the new technical consequests and possibilities offered by the stage had become unrenounceable. This attitude, the understandable desire of theater directors who wanted an instrument capable of satisfying all possible requirements of theatrical art then existing, or for the tome being just in the hypothetical state, determined the charatcter of theater building in the area of Wilhelm II.

We started out from Max Reinhardt's proteiform scienticism; we said that he was capable, with his three stages, of experimenting every possible novelty and, right next to this, if necessary, to stage traditional theater. Then we spoke at lenght of the history of a reform, Gilly's, and of its sources, all the way to the architects of revolutionary classicism in France up to Wagner and the outcome of







The Gendarmenmarkt with the new Schauspielhaus by Schinkel between the French Cathedral and the German Cathedral in a painting by C.G. Enselen, approx. 1830.

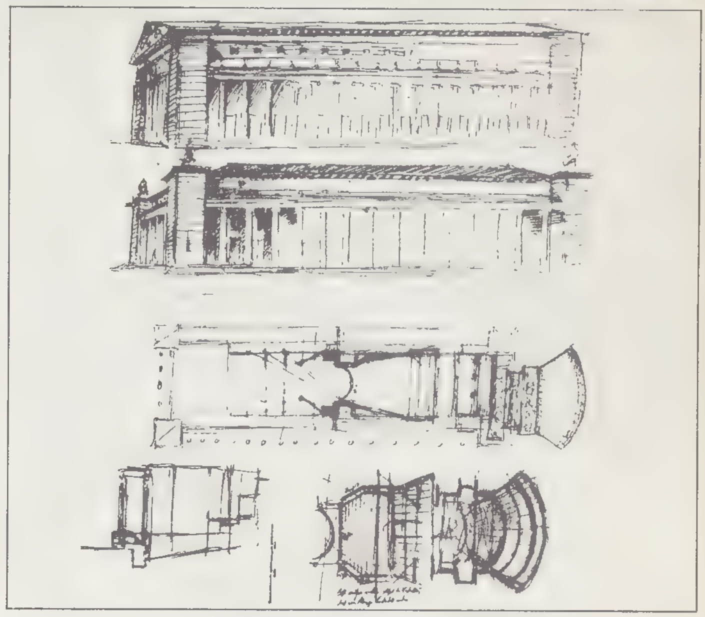
Karl Friedrich Schinkel, New Schauspielhaus, Berlin, 1818-21: perspective with backdrop for the première on May 26, 1821.

Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Back-drop for Mozart's The Magic Flute*: "Star room in the palace of the Queen of the night", 1815. With the scenographies for* The Magic Flute*, Schinkel began his activity as scenographer that produced more than thirty such works.*

Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Sketches for an ideal theater, 1813.

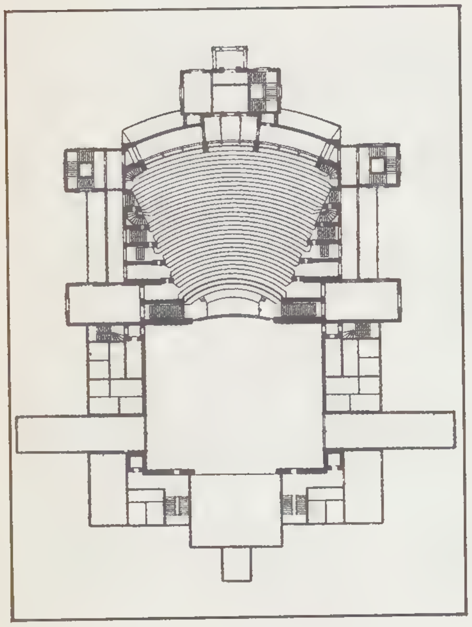
wagnerian scenic incarnation in the Emperor's era. We analysed this reform, whose objective could be expressed with these words: amphitheater versus theater with galleries and balconies, since this opposition implies other reforms as well; for example, by moving the action to the front part of the stage, (Schinkel had taken from ancient theatre), the exaltation of the word is naturally implied, and also that of the dramatic structure if compared to scenographic excess of the theater-show. Schinkel had also expressed this concept. Furthermore, we saw how his interpretation of perspective amphitheater as the instrument of total art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) had, as a consequence, a stylized stage and its simultaneous development in two opposite directions. On one hand, the effects of the new atmosphere theater required greater sceno-technical possibilities: revolving stage, trap-doors, attics, wide lateral stages, dome horizon. Without this last characteristic, for example, it would have been impossible to create the effect described in Hoffmannsthal's *Oedipus: "And all this distincly stands out against the background af a clear, mirror-like sky"*. On the other hand, the stylized stage simplified things: the step between stylization and allusion — and Schinkel had already stated this — is always a flessible one. All this takes place during highly eclectic period for what concerns the theater, in an era that distincly perceived the impossibility of perpetuating traditional theater — the one with boxes and box-like stage with proscenium (even though, now finding myself writing about it half a century later, I must definitely acknowledge that it had a surprising vitality); an era of this type had to try at all costs to bring about a reform of the stage and theater hall, and it was inevitable that it should try to find once again not just the classical theater but also the Shakespearian one. And with this, also another aspect that we, up to now, have only vaguely mentioned: a more intimate relationship between action on the stage and the public. We spoke of this in the beginning, when talking about the *Oedipus* that was represented in Reinhardt's circus and about the Grosses Schauspielhaus[23], which was born from these attempts. We pointed it out, implicitly, also when we were describing Gilly's proscenium. Finally, to resort to a focal point projected outside the scene, as Schinkel had indicated, may be interpreted as an expedient that would strengthen the relationship between action on the stage and the public. Schinkel's sketches show a proscenium, no matter how modest. However, the focal point may be projected further out towards the public. Even

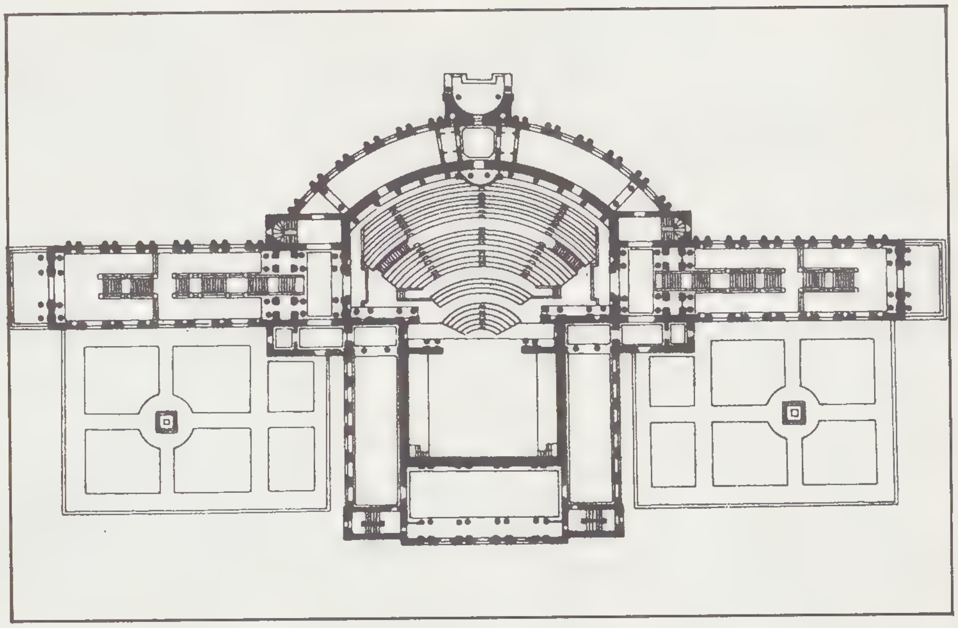


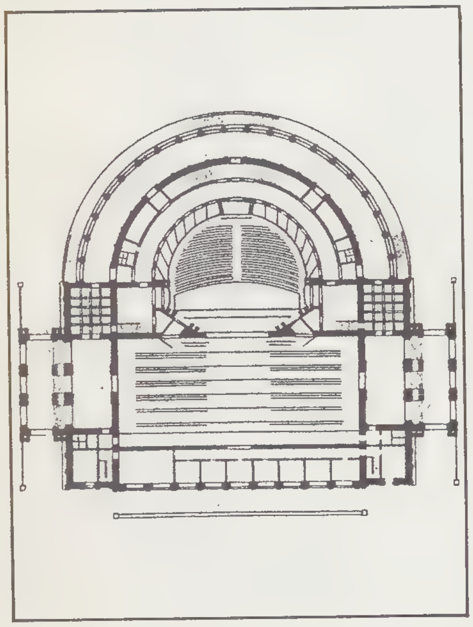


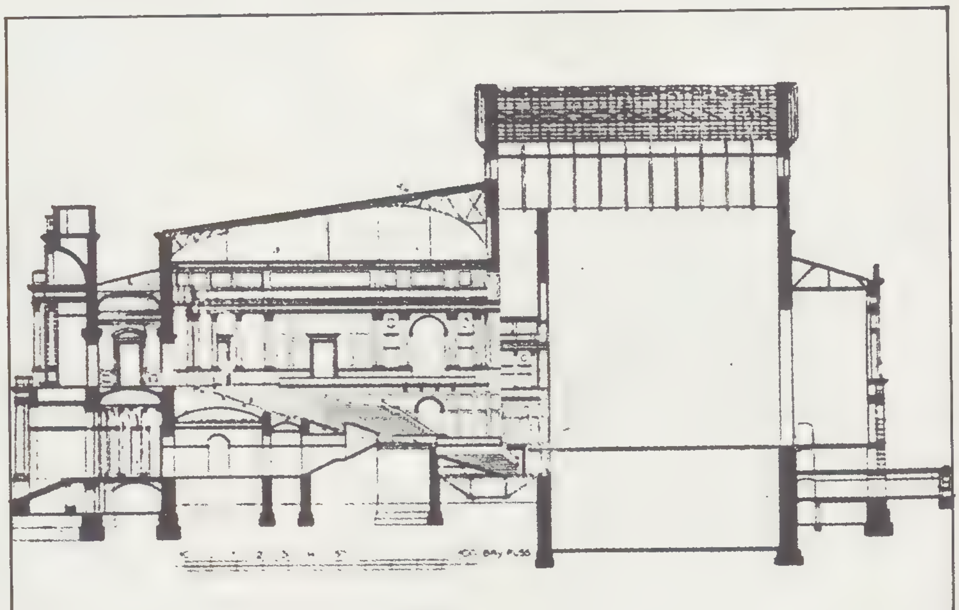
Otto Brückwald, Bayreuth Festspielhaus, 1876. (The first studies for the Festspielhaus go back all the way to Richard Wagner and Gottfried Semper, 1865-1867).
Gottfried Semper, Project for the Hoftheater, Dresden, 1835.

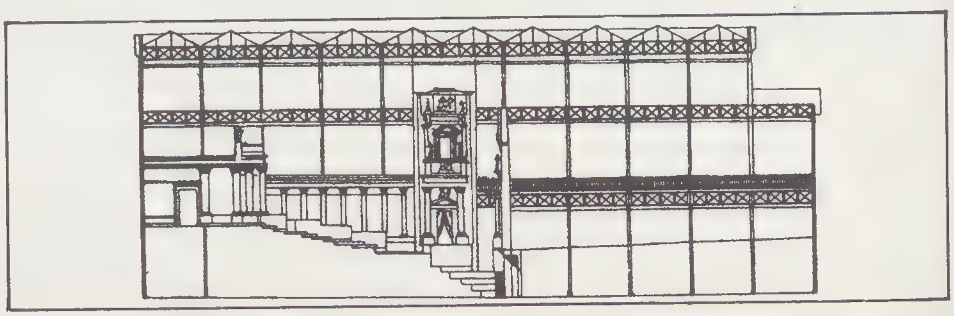
Gottfried Semper, Project for a monumental Festtheater in Munich, 1865: plan and section.
Gottfried Semper, Project for a provisionary Festspielhaus, 1862.











the imitations of Shakespearian stages have a story which is longer than what we may imagine. Tieck not only spoke on them, he even proposed a staging of this type. Immermann, too, dared such an experiment in Düsseldorf. Half way through the century, in Bismarck's era — and Wagner's — nothing was said on this topic. But this concept comes back to life during the period open to all scene reforms, that of Wilhelm II. In any case, the "reform theaters" of those days had a proscenium which could be further enlarged by rising the orchestra level, and from it, you could go down onto the auditorium floor. I have thus practically described the structure of the Berlin Schillertheater, the most important reform theater of the city. Its builder was the maestro of new theater architecture, Max Littmann. If we look at this theater's plan, it vaguely recalls Bayreuth or Schinkel's sketches; in the interesting brochure that the architect dedicated to his theater, he strongly underlines these references.
He interprets his amphitheater[24] — a sector of ancient amphitheater — in a different way from Wagner's: the amphitheater is chosen because it is a democratic theater. On this issue, Littmann says:

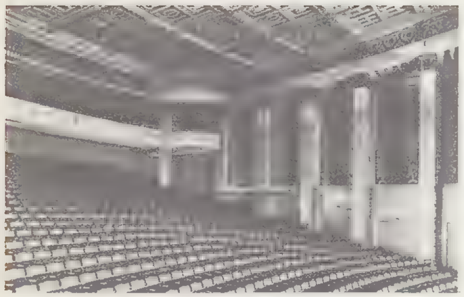
"(...) *The space within such a theater is absolutely democratic, since all the seats are the same. There are no boxes to underline social differences: furthermore, since this shape allows to create in an extremely simple way sitting places all with good and equivalent view of the scene, we are convinced that it is possible to build a model of popular theater only on an amphitheater basis, as initially ideated by Schinkel, then re-elaborated by Semper, provisionally experimented in Bayreuth and finally built for the first time in monumental form in the* [Munich] *Prizregententheater*[25].

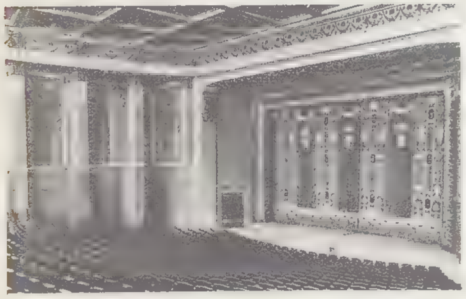
The democratic characteristic of the amphitheater shape are here reduced to two: the absence of boxes and the (virtual) equality of the seats. Therefore, this is the interpretation of a form of theater that, as we have seen, was not created because it was democratic, or at least not intentionally because of this reason. With Wagner, however, the old social make up, subdivided in social classes and delighting in its *status*, disappears, making room for a new type of community. Art takes the place of religion, also in the function of promoting the community. The wagnerian community maintained a certain cohesion *in spirit*: not an organizational type of cohesion, but rather an *élite* that was held together by art and that proposed itself a missionary-like objective, given that the spectator, as Wagner had stated, was dragged, by art, into an "*ecstatic condition of clairvoyance, so that contemplated scenic image becomes for him the most truthful representation of life itself*". In this way every member of this ephemeral community left the theater with the desire not to keep for himself this vision of real life, but with the desire of professing, of living his own faith in this elevation of life by means of art. Wagner further develops this bond between art and life, which will be later described by Van de Velde with the same missionary-like tone: "*To attain it, however, beauty must first of all manage to overcome the immorality of lust for money that annuls everything, and the misgivings that make any type of agreement and cohesion between men impossible*"[26].

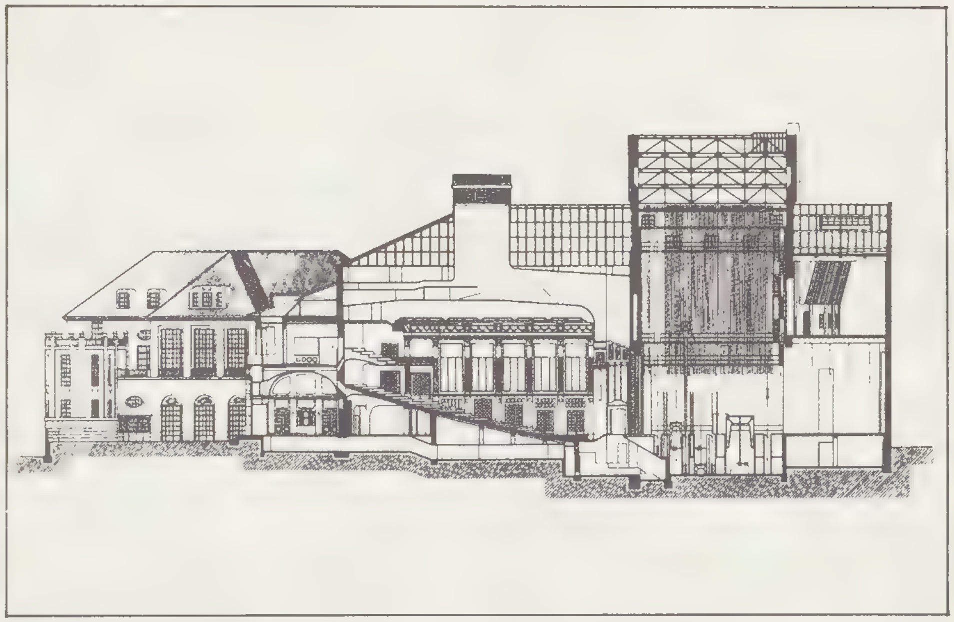
Littmann's interpretation of the amphitheater, as Schinkel, Semper and Wagner had developed it — that is, like a dramatic theater — has little in common with this idea of the creation of an *élite* through art. On the contrary, it stems from the concept of *Volkstheater*, that is, theater for people, already described by Littmann. In fact, the Schillertheater was born as an association that wanted to bring dramatic art closer to the people, nine yers before the building of the theater itself in Charlottenburg.

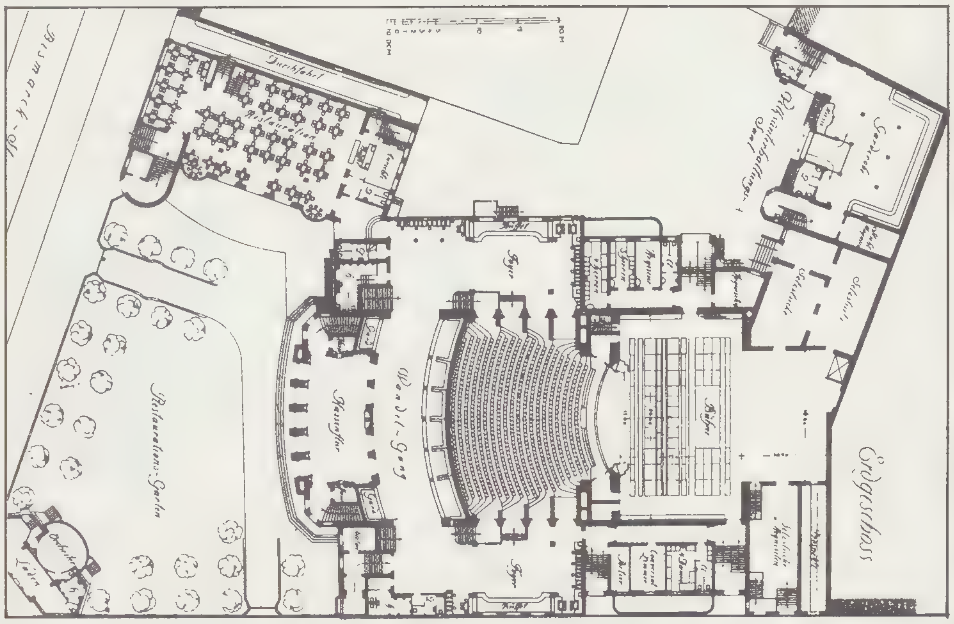
"*This* [the Schillertheater], *with its foundation that dates back to nine years ago, set out* (...) *with the target of offering good representations of dramatic art at a price as convenient as possible, to wide strata of the less well-off population* (...) *First of all, by presenting an excellent and safe repertoire, excluding everything that may seem, for one reason or the other, frivolous. The repertoire includes, above all, the classics: Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, Kleist, Grillparzer, Shakespeare, Molière and even Sophocles. Also modern authors are represented, like Sudermann, Hauptmann, Fulda, Hartleben, Ibsen, Björnson and so on, and also works of a lighter and more relaxing nature, like those by Moser, Schönthan, Blumenthal, Kadelburg and good Berliner burlesque comedy. In this way, the repertoire of the Schillertheater includes all different theater types and tendencies, and everything that of beautiful and good has been created by German and foreign authors is accurately and harmoniously presented, without privileging a particular fashion or tendency* (...)[27].

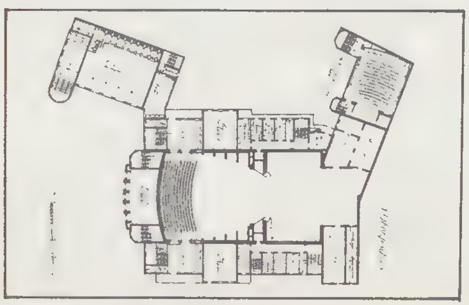
Max Littmann, Schillertheater, Berlin 1906: views of the inside of the hall; section; plans for the ground floor, first and second floor.

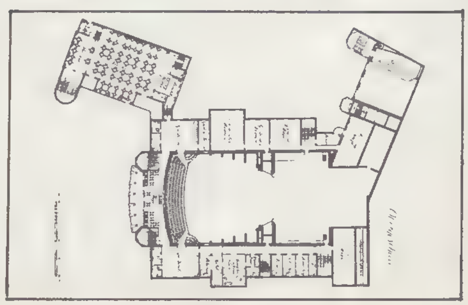












The reader will find this language familiar. The Schillertheater — the association and its new headquarters — represents an organization that wants to morally and spiritually *"reclaim wide strata of the less well-off population"*, therefore in an endeavour totally in harmony with the spirit of the era of Wilhelm II. This, just to say it one more time, must not be confused with Wagner's intentions. Nor can we imagine Schönthan and Kadelburg in Bayreuth! Bayreuth represents the highest expression of art for top men — and these, on their behalf, could then give their contribution for the redemption of life through art, as Van de Velde explains. Instead, in Charlottenburg, the idea was to enable the less rich segment of the population to see *"everything that of good and beautiful has been created by German and foreign authors, in accurate and harmonious representations"*, where the liberality of the repertoire, that goes from Kadelburg to Sophocles, must be considered as a sort of trap through which elevated works are offered to that *single* holder of a season ticket who in reality is only interested in less elevated representations. Wagner wanted to celebrate the incredible in front of his community, while the Schillertheater wanted to open bourgeois culture to the less fortunate (also spiritually). The precursor of Littmann's theater in Charlottenburg, the Munich Prinzregententheater, also by Littmann (1900-01), was not as yet dedicated to that purpose. Let us hear Littmann on this issue:

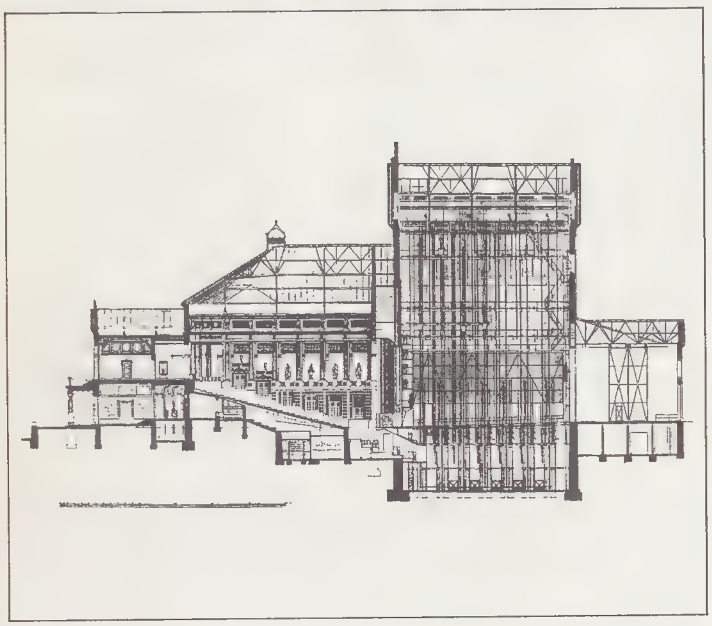
"In the Munich Prinzregententheater, the Bayreuth theater comes to life again after twenty-three years, with the monumental shape coherent to Bayreuth's principle (...) *Even if it was initially projected for wagnerian opera, a series of experiments* (...) *demostrated that by closing the double proscenium — through the creation of a sort of amplifier — the amphitheater is perfectly adequate also for "parlato" representations, whose acoustic conditions* (...) *are completely different from those either music or singing"*[28].

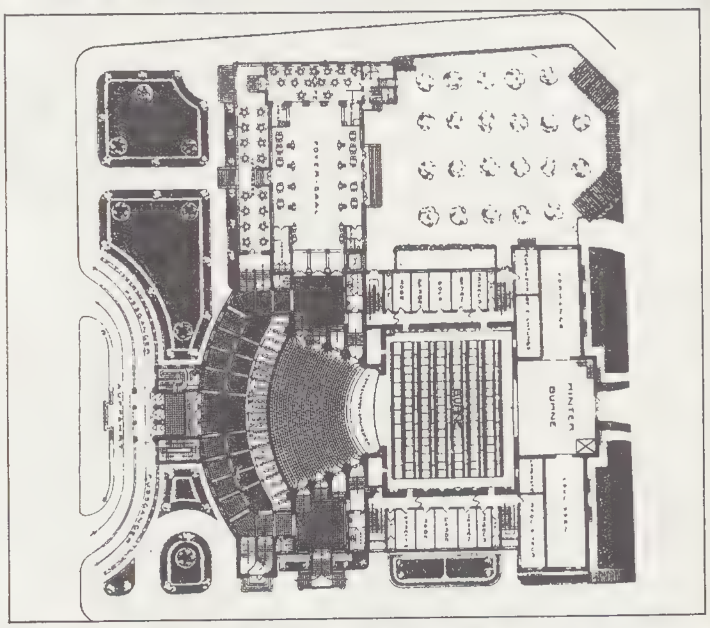
Only after this explanation was Littmann able to adopt also in the democratic theater, in the theater for people, the wagnerian amphitheater that he considered as the best possible shape. If we look at it from this angle, then Littmann's Schillertheater is nothing else but the most determined landing place in the midst of a long series of reforming experiments; attempts that had all basically considered the hall and that had proposed a reduction of boxes to minimum; greater distance between the balconies and the proscenium, at the same time reducing their number; an amphitheater arrangement of the seatings also in the balconies; a single balcony at the end of the pit. Numerous theater architects of that period completely dismissed the theater with balconies, like Schinkel before them; however, that type of theater had the advantage of being able to hold the desired number of spectators in relatively limited spaces and of not having to enormously increase the distance between the last rows and the stage, as would have been necessary in an amphitheater-like construction. We already saw that even Littmann was forced, because of this reason, to introduce a gallery in this Schillertheater[29]. This is exactly the same reason why even the second and definitely larger popular theater in Berlin, the Volksbühne in Bülowplatz by Oskar Kaufmann (1914) was built like a true theater with balconies, but without boxes (excepting the proscenium boxes, rather unhappily arranged). All considered, this may be defined as a step backwards compared to Littmann's concept of democracy. Kaufmann's theatrical space with his decoration in warm and precius wood, even though slightly oppressive, with his gay *foyer* and the monumental shape of its external configuration, must have given its popular theater-goers the impression of becoming, for an evening, elegant people. In other words, what was called the social question, in reality did not exist any longer, since one such building used as a theater was offered to the population. A modernly equipped stage, with a dome horizon, contributed in giving this impression: Paul Zucker talks about the *"rigging out of the stage with the most modern technical solutions: a revolving stage with an extraordinarily wide diameter, connected to two lateral sides, trap-doors and so on. The dome horizon is, at the same time, the scene's back wall* (...) *The first rows of seats in the pit may be transformed into a proscenium. In the same way, a second proscenium enables to limit the size of the stage"*[30]. If we compare this monumental structure with the serene, lighter, nearly bucolic external structure of the Schillertheater, the difference between the two concepts of popular theater immediately jumps to the eye.
Oskar Kaufmann becomes popular starting in 1907 — year during which the Hebbeltheater is built in the Königgratzer Strasse, Berlin — as a theater architect who, completely in contrast with wagnerian tendencies, interprets the theatrical space as a social-celebrative function: together with the Hebbeltheater, also the Bremerhaven theater is a good example of this tendency. With their concentrated shape

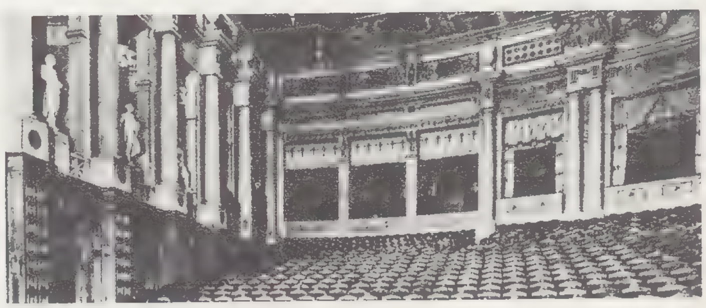
Max Littmann, Künstlertheater, Munich 1908: views of the inside of the hall.
Max Littmann, Prinzregententheater, Munich 1901: section; entrance level plan; view of the inside of the hall.











and shallow boxes, both these spaces create an intimate atmosphere, where the public gathers together and participates as one, in the spirit of time past. However, it is in Kaufmann's works after World War I that the tendency to represent the theater hall as the celebrative space of a society which, in reality, doesn't exist any more is highlighted with renewed vigour. This may be seen in his scenographies: before 1914, Kaufmann was the major exponent of the "Modern" style, and we may say that he was a great creator of style. Even today, as then, we feel the admiration of the contemporaries for his theaters. In those days, they were "new music" and from their external configuration they express an absolute theatrical effect: the rhythmical distribution of the windows of the lateral fronts of the Volksbühne, just to make an example, is definitely remarkable. After the War, he adopted that rococo-expressionist style, whose modules, around 1925, were used for the decoration of pratically every existing coffee-house. This coincides with his return to exclusive (or excluding) theater, that is that with boxes, such as the Komödie, 1923, and the theater on Kurfürstendam, 1924[31]. Even his grandest theater, the transformation of the Krollsches Theater into an opera theater, the Krolloper, reproposes this intimate atmosphere. Kaufmann attains this effect by using Gilly's project for the Schauspielhaus as reference: the second gallery is amphitheater-shaped and placed above the tier of boxes that surrounded the bottom of the first gallery and in this way visively closed the space[32]. I quote these theaters which were built later than 1918 because they express, taking them to their maximum level of development, the tendencies which already existed before 1914: and the measure by which this is brought about may be curiously read in the clearest way possible by looking at Kaufmann's structure for the Cinés am Nollendorfplatz cinema, where we would have least expected it. Here, the space with boxes at the end of the gallery and the staircase that from it goes down into the hall, has a festive effect, definitely communicative. Moreover, this effect was obtained by solving a precise functional guideline: since access to the theater is from both sides of the screen (therefore in front) these staircases are nothing else but the access to the gallery[33]. For the external structure, Kaufmann solved the problem of the absence of windows with walls rhythmically scanned. On this issue, one wonders the possible meaning of the great round dormer-window in a cinema. By means of the crown of suspended lamps, that lines its circumference, it gives centrality to the space, turning it into a celebrative environment. This idea of a celebrative place, of intimate theater, had already been conceived by other architects who had built cinema halls before the War. They even went further on this direction than Kaufmann, since in their theaters the gallery is far too close to the screen, in an arrangement which is not at all functional in a cinema, while Kaufmann's gallery, by being further back, is instead quite functional. Only the Kottbusser Damm cinema hall by Bruno Taut may be compared to the Cinès am Nollendorfplatz[34].

It may be stated that Kaufmann's theater before 1914 was anachronistic in two ways: first of all, because it evokes baroque reminiscences — even in a cinema hall — and, secondly, because it encourages the desire to flee the present, which will become common to the severely tried burgeois society only after 1918. Max Reinhardt tried, immediately after the war with the Grosses Schauspielhaus, to create a theater for the mass, a project at which he had been working since 1910. However, already in 1920 he realized that he had failed. From that moment onwards Reinhardt was, as a man of the theater, like Kaufmann as a theater architect, the maximum representative of the flight from reality, so that he now re-builds the Josefstadt theater in Vienna in an ancient key. When thinking about this development, we can only quote Siegfried Melchinger's interpretation, in 1968, of this choice Reinhardt:

"Reinhardt had discovered this space, which existed without really being there. By rebuilding it just as if it was born right in that moment, in all the preciousness of the past, Reinhardt managed to plunge a public made of today's men in a world that could not have appeared more real, even though it did not exist in the actual world. The enchantment that would spread among his contemporaries when, on the floor that was slowly engulfed by the dark, the crownshaped chandelier was raised, increased the public's positive response in letting themselves be lead into another "present", in that second "present" that does not seem artificial, synthetic, copied any more, but rather as real as a living tradition, like an ancient painting to which the centuries did not manage to take away anything of its past life, like a music passage that is subtracted from its ephemeral condition. Robert Musil (...) exaclty describes what this fact depends on: 'On the stage, no new world is created, and the minute the curtain goes up, everything becomes theater'. *The spectators, as if they were a*

part of theater, are accomodated in a single space that makes them one with the actors, united and fused together in the real dimension of that "second present"[35].

It is comprehensible that after 1920 Reinhardt should not be satisfied with the small size of the Josefstadt theater, exactly as it had happened before with the Deutsches Theater and the Kammerspiele. So, he transformed the entire city of Salzburg into a theater:

" (...) *The transformation of an entire city into a theather*" continues Melchinger, "(...) *the voices from the roofs and from the castle, while the sun, like a floodlight, makes the shadows grow on the scenario of facades and makes people turn their eyes towards the sky all this was* (...) *invented and created and* (*even though there are those who state the contrary all remained as a living reality*), *like a 'present reality ' up to our days through the yearly replicas in Salzburg of the* Jedermann (Each one) [by Hoffmansthal] "[36].

"*Even though there are those who state the contrary* (...)". In fact, there definitely was someone who stated the contrary. Ihering had already spoken decisive words long before Reinhardt undertook the task of transforming all of Austria into a theater.

"*In 1920, Reinhardt was told the following by the exponents of the Avant Garde* [Jessner, Piscator, Brecht]*: 'Reinhardt's inheritance are just stagings, no style* (...) *No tradition whatsoever that may become a reference point for the future*'[37]".

We occasionally introduced in this study Oskar Kaufmann's and Reinhardt's post-war works[38] since the conception of the theater as a "*second present*" was already reflected by their activity before the war. Quoting Melchinger once again, since he undoubtedly gave a correct interpretation of Reinhardt and his work:

"*That first idea, that the deepest illusion should be brought about in the public, pushed him to look for new theatrical spaces, where the great respect for art and faith should have spontaneously moved also the modern man*".

New spaces: however, a truly new space was conceived just once: the Grosses Schauspielhaus. The Deutsches Theater was a conventional building, dating back half-way through the Nineteenth century, and this pleased Reinhardt, while the Kammerspiele, instead, explicitly evoked the past: "*Shouldn't the period that it reflected have captured the spectators in a double illusion, immediately after the men of the present came onto the stage*?" Only after the war does this intention become predominant, but the "*convinction that the deepest illusion should take place among the public*" was a concept that existed since the beginning. Now, we must acknowledge the truth of this statement: theater always is an illusion, and every theater wants its public to participate to the dramatic action. Naturally, there are different levels, intensities and levels of participation to the illusion that depend from whether a community feels different from what is happening on stage, and therefore maintains its identity in relation to the drama being represented, or that it participates to the theatrical event as a direct invitation, convinced that *nostra res agitur*, as in Brecht's political mass theater; or that, finally, it abandons itself to the theatrical performance up to annulling itself as a community, as Wagner expected from his public. This last level of abandon may be achieved only when the public does not receive any longer form the representation, as in Wagner, the most truthful representation of life itself, and lets itself be led in this "*second present*" where it identifies itself with the characters and the time period of the play. In other words, what Musil intended when he said that "*with the raising of the curtain, everything becomes theater*" becomes reality. Only then, in fact, will the public participate to the illusion as to a masked ball. When, as the main floor is slowly engulfed by darkness as in the Josefstadt theater and the crown-shaped chandelier is raised, the public sees itself transposed into a celebrative event of the Eighteenth century. But since this is not such an event and since, on the other hand, the public completely lacks the determination of its own social identity in relationship to the theatrical work, the this plunge into the illusion may take the shape of an act of despair, since it corresponds to the awareness of the end of a society. Actually, it was the last society which, notwithstanding deep and harsh self-criticism, could still be called that way: the bourgeois society in the days of Whilhelm II, by then obsolete. Bus as Reinhardt and Kaufmann, before the defeat of 1918, had placed in the lime-light a culture that had the appearance of being "true" — and with great

Max Littmann, Staatstheater, Stuttgart 1912: view of the inside of the hall.



success — similarly, before 1918, the bourgeois society had serious doubts about its social and cultural identity. Also in the theater, thus, a new turn towards a Neobiedermeier, as for other artistical sectors of the time, was what marked the new way ahead. However, in the theater this tendency was more clearly expressed through the desire to indulge in a culturally rich past. Nor should it come as a surprise that right in the theater, site and instrument of illusion, this mistrust towards the culture of one's own times should be more markedly evident, like the ensuing attempt to simulate a "true" culture of the past. On ghe other hand, it would not be fair towards the theater of those days, to present this trend as the only one existing in that period; on the contrary, this was still a marginal phenomenon[39].

This text dates back to 1900:

"*Whe have understood our times, our new strengths, our new needs. We can use these strengths, satisfy these needs. However, with these strengths of ours, we can achieve more, and then we shall have greater and superior needs. We shall satisfy even these and always in a way that is both solid and beautiful at the same time. We are advancing towards a new culture — our culture*".

This text pertains to the topic we are discussing since the booklet *Feste des Lebens und der Kunst* (Celebration of life and art) from which it is taken, has the following as a subtitle: *Eine Betrachtung des Theaters als höchsten Kultursymbol* (A reflexion on the theater as maximum cultural symbol). The author is Peter Behrens, who is introducing his project for a new theater, described by Fritz Hoeber[40] as follows:

"*This circular building, topped by a tent-like roof, is accessible from four entrances diametrically opposite to each other, and is taken up, for more than half of its volume, by amphitheater-shaped ascending tiers of steps. These tiers end in a transversal passageway which resembles a proscenium, in front of which is the orchestra: this is lowered at a definitely inferior level from the main floor.* [From this proscenium-passageway] *two staircases go up, on the left and on the right, towards the large stage that, with another step, goes up into a backdrop. The entire semicircle of the stage is surrounded by a corridor with columns, behind which are the dressing rooms and the director's office*".

It is a Festpielhaus, it is a festival theatre:

"*This celebrative building must be built on the border of a wood, on the slopes of a mountain. It is incredibly resplendent with colours as if it were saying: my walls don't need the light of the sun! Its columns are decorated with garlands, and from seven tall spires, long white flags sway in the wind. In the top gallery there are trumpet players attired in splendid garments; they let out their long beckoning calls which spread beyond lands and woods. Very slowly the great doors are opened and we can enter the high-ceilinged hall. Here, all the colours are even more intense, as if they had been called to rally. If, down in the valley, in our customary enviroment, everything is organized according to our day-to-day requirements, to our normal way of thinking and feeling, instead, up here we feel invested by a more elevated dimension, one that stems from our spiritual sensitivity and from the need to satisfy our transcendence. The surprising audacity of the forms, the harmony of the colours, the perfume of celebration, the echo of the organ and exultant violins, the victorious spirit of the trumpets: everything opens our souls to a second live, to its immortal life. We grow, we become more wholesome, more transparent: we forget the inadequacy of our existence and the pettyness of the soul, also forgetting that it is our fault if many things are hateful. We forget the existence of secondary things and we realize that suffering is only sad. Now we perceive everything in a coherent way and we feel prepared for the great art of world conception* (Weltanschaung). *Now, in front of us, life's representation will unfolds: we ourselves shall act it out, the great performance of our sincere joy*"[41].

In this theater, also performances during the daytime were considered. Behrens is not so explicit in the description of his theater as his friend Georg Fuchs, with whom he worked in close contact during this period, even though Fuchs had Littmann design *his* theater. Fuchs explicitly says that the stage is lit by daylight, and in such a way the surface will not be visible to the public, and that the source of evening stage lighting is in exactly the same place. On the contrary, Behrens simply says:

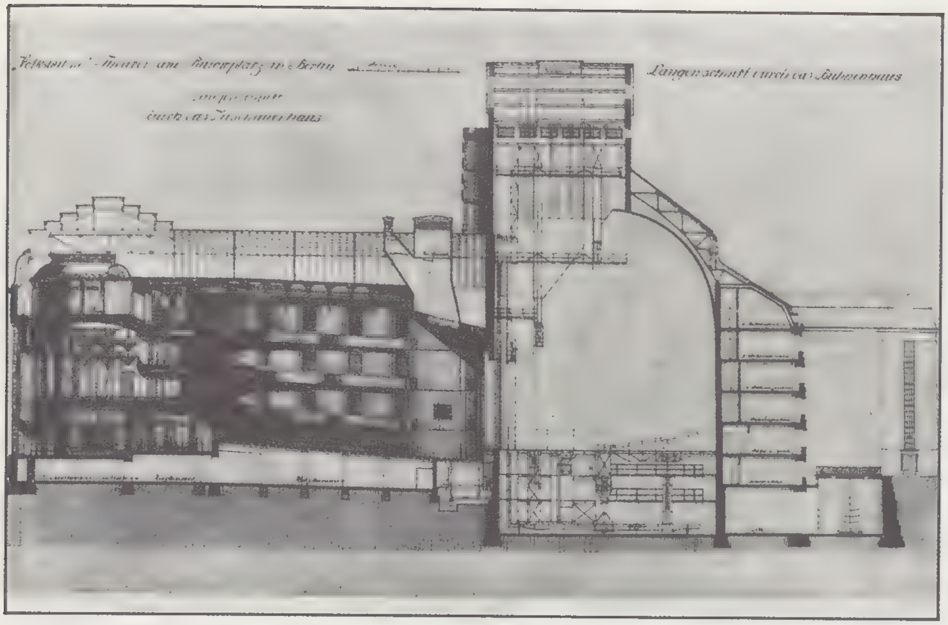
"*In the longest pauses, people may stay in a luminous room or go outside on the terrace, where their gaze will dominate valleys, mountains and even the city, incessantly alive. The hour for the performances shouls not be fixed: it may be either during the day or the night. The light of the day will penetrate through tinted glass panes and will blend with the artificial light*"[42].

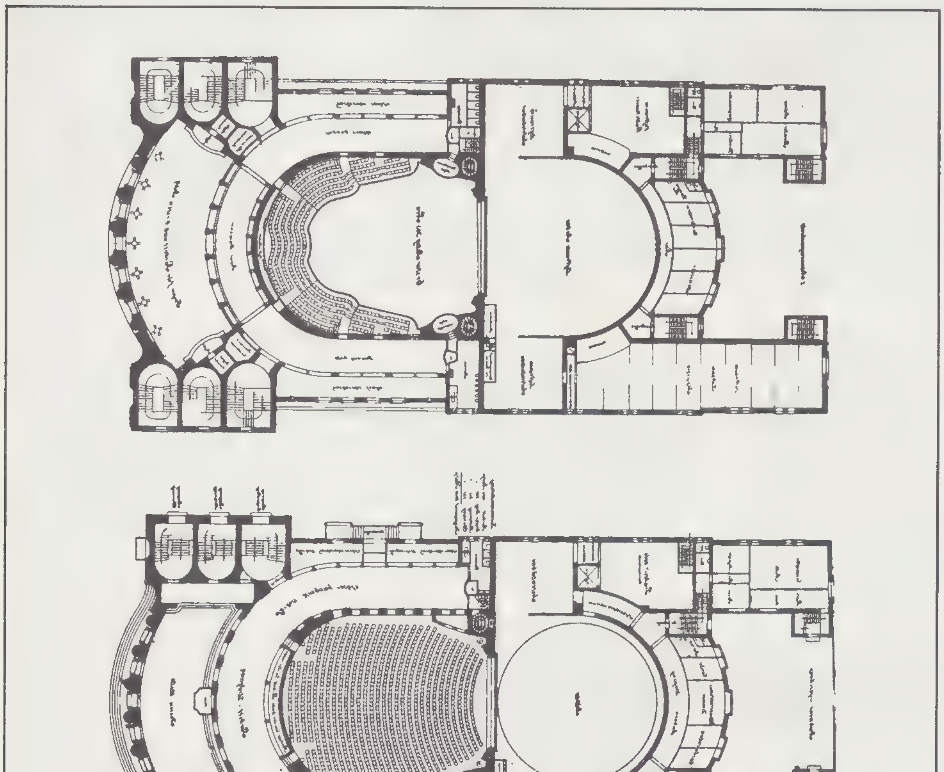
However, both Behrens and Fuchs introduced the proscenium that extended into the hall and the flat background, and both theaters (naturally) presented the amphitheater shape; but in Fuchs' case, this was an amphitheater sector that his architect, Littmann, had created according to Schinkel's and Wagner's tradition, while Behrens introduces in his circular theater a true, and definitely large, amphitheater. For both of them, however, it is not the total work of art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) and even less, therefore, the sum of all the different arts — like poetry, music, painting, as a performance and scenography, had become more important in Reinhardt's later works:

"*The type of theater to which we are used, accomodates its spectators in a space divided in seats and small boxes, so that every spectator will have the best possibile view of the perspective stage with proscenium. This follows, as its maximum guideline, the principle of giving the public an illusion: the illusion of nature, of the naturality of the plot and of its enviroment. For a short time we must believe what is happening on stage. The minute we consciously realize it everything is lost: there is nothing worse and contrary to art than this panoptic idea. Furthermore, we never managed to achieve a truly naturalistic effect: there are imperfections everywhere, the trees shake, the walls tremble, the cavern is as tall as a castle hall and so on. A depressing sensation penetrates us when we realize the weakness of our resources in comparison to Nature's power. This is a sad beginning, that makes us shiver: it gives an impression of bad taste*"[43].

These could very well be Schinkel's words, of whom we shall speak again in a short while. Behrens, however (like Fuchs), opposes to *this* theater a dramatic art conceive as something born from rhythm: "*You must remeber that the art of acting originates from dance*"[44]. How can we help not thinking about Nietzsche's work *Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Tanz* (*The birth of tragedy from dance*)? To tell the truth (even if it was never indicated in any quoted writing) this work ny Nietzsche, the anti-Wagner, in fact represented one of the strongest stimuli for the new theater, at least as it was conceived by Behrens and Fuchs[45].

Before analysing this concept in greater depth — or both



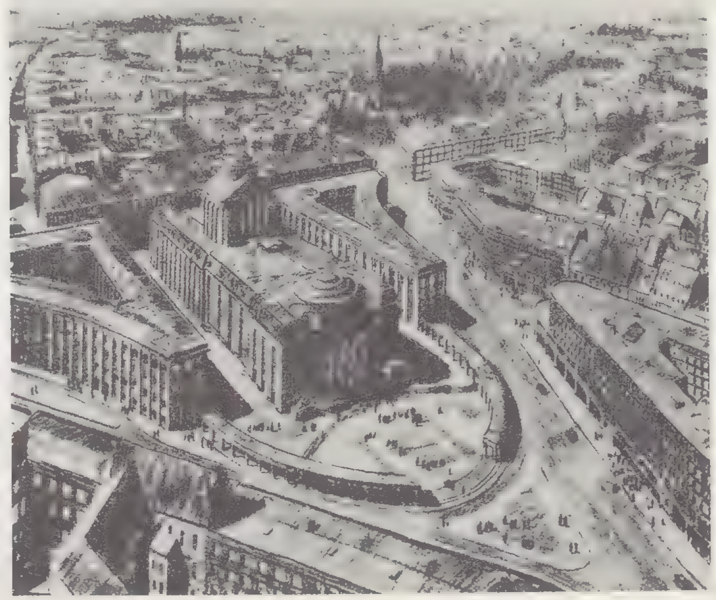


Oskar Kaufmann, Freie Volksbühne, Berlin 1913-14: section; plans of the first balcony and of the entrance level.

Oskar Kaufmann, Freie Volksbühne, Berlin: perspective view of the inside of the hall; view of the facade; bird's-eye view of the Volksbühne with the layout of the neighbouring streets.







these closely related concepts — it is necessary to motivate the sudden introduction on the first text by Behrens that we quoted: it expresses (and the whole concept of *new* theater as the most elevated symbol of culture expresses it) the most contrasting conception with "*the availability of being lead in another present, in that 'second present' that does not seem artificial, synthetic, copied any longer, but rather as real as a living tradition* (...)".
Melchinger, from whose's writing this sentence is taken, right in this context recalls Reinhardt's primary convinction that the deepest illusion had to be experienced by the public itself. Behrens reflects at length on this statement:

"*Shouldn't the theater give illusion, then? But of course! It must, since it is capable of giving one* (...) *Culture is the name of this illusion! We do not have to feel transported away from a reality, since we never did escape the old theater in which we are sitting, into a new one: we must rather enter the kingdom of art, through the symbols of our intellectual culture* (...) *Then, tears of enthusiasm will come to our eyes and the power of imagination and rhythm will move us, perhaps we may even feel horror for our ecstatic state, but we will be reconciled by the ultimate goal. We will not be conditioned by a understated performance, we will leave the theater in a serene state of mind. The most capricious humorism will not tickle us, the greatness of its art exceeding its simple physical effect. Shakespeare's humour will not make us laugh, it will make us serious because of its spiritual content. With our enthusiasm we become co-artists, we are no longer passive spectators, we participate, from the threshold, to a demonstration of life*"[46].

At this point, we may consider the finalities that Georg Fuchs sets for the new theater:

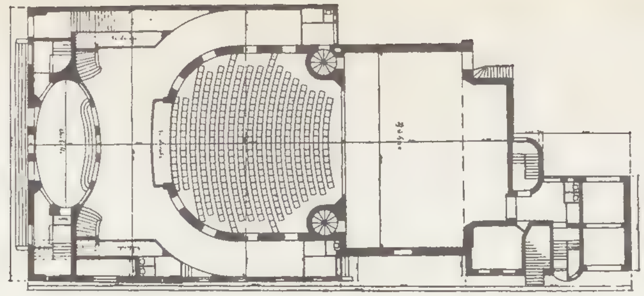
"*We want to run our lives in a loyal and respectful way, and in everyone of us an instinctive adversion for everything that degrades us to the condition of supine imitators has awakened. We do not care for a second-hand life. We have not just freed all the arts from the chains and ghosts of obsolete eras, we have also fought against any counterfeiting manipulation of life. The men who have joined this movement with their sentiments, their taste, their life-style, their works, for a new collectivity, where class predjudices of the feudal era are completely forgotten and where the striking contrast between the chaotic world of the 'great public' and that of the pseudo-culture of the nouveaux riches is deeply felt. They are already ten thousand and of these, the most gifted, demanding and superior men and women, are Europe's future; they are, at least, Germany's future. They will be the base to which all the creative forces of the ruling races must from now on refer to: of this I am sure*[47]. *Now they are dispersed in all the German regions and they are still unaware of their intimate affinity, because they lack a centre. This is the problem that we are trying to solve: the creation of this centre:* the theater of the future"[48].

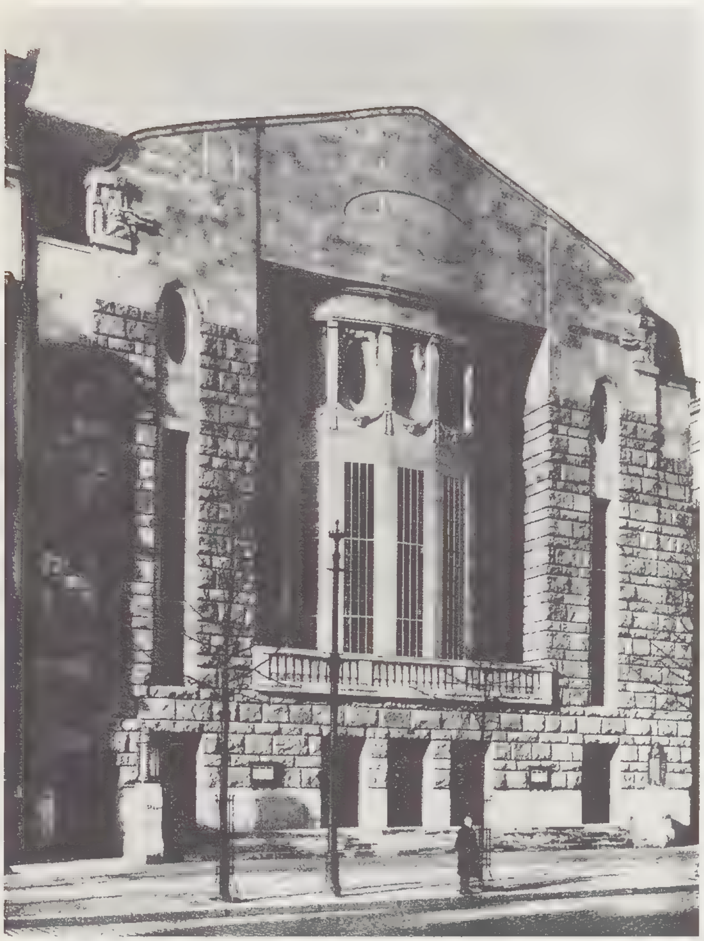
There are no doubts that from these statements one clearly perceives how the men of the 1900s believed they were witnessing the dawn of a new culture (after 1920, the men of the bourgeois theater lost all hope). This had to be a new and German culture[49]. Behrens and Fuchs had worked together in the Künstlerkolonie (Artist's Village) in Darmstadt, to which is dedicated a very precious pamphet by Behrens: but the way in which he expresses his thoughts, and even the book's graphics, nearly all by Behrens himself, are not entirely Jugendstil any more.
From the graphics, a certain angularity may be perceived, alluding to the change of style that would have materialized a little later in Behrens' works, but also to something else: when you hold it in your hands, this pamphlet recalls the *Blätter für die Kunst* (*Leaflets for art*) of George's followers, not to mention the typographical arrangement by Melchior Lechter for George's great edition, and, from far away, even Fidus.
The way in which Behrens writes this pamhlet should correspond to these impulses is also evident from the short passages that have already been quoted. However, at this point, we have to quote Fuchs' words describing *his* staging of Goethe's *Pandora*:

"*All of a sudden Eos appears, the dawn that together with daylight carries the redeemed. The painted back-drop in the background depicts the sea in all its vastity, with a steep cliff in the style of Feuerbach's* Medea. *In the foreground is the group of the damned, all in black, holding in their hands small bright red torches. And, lo and behold! The supple Eos, dressed in white, silver and pink appears from the farthest point of the background:*

'Incarnation of youth, blossom of the day,
I carry them, more beutiful than ever
from the bottom of the unknown Ocean'.

Oskar Kaufmann, Hebbeltheater, Berlin 1906: view of the ground floor plan; view of the facade; view of a part of the balcony.







This is how she introduces herself, as if she were a ray of the first morning's sun. And while she announces, in an agitated crescendo, the appearance of dawn of light and with it the resurrection of the redeemed, clear and luminous female figures begin to approach her, increasingly more numerous, playing brass plates, singing rhapsodies with clear voices and moving more and more like a luminous mass, until the entire stage is filled with them:

'From the shoulders coated with froth
brought by the kind sea monsters,
like a God he descends,
to then climb the cliff,
richly coated with my roses,
an Anadiomenes'.

At this point of the thundering choir, Fileros enters the scene from the background, with an armour of shining gold, reborn and as splendid as the sun. Then Epimeleia follows and reaches him, enveloped in a fire-red vest. The vest drops to the ground, the young girl is right next to the young man in a luminous splendor and what Eos had predicted becomes reality:

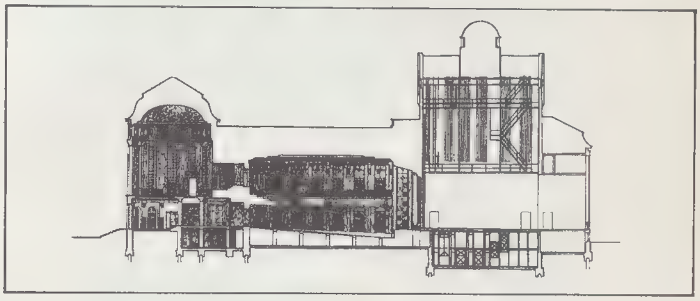
'From the waves comes Fileros,
from the flames comes Epimeleia:
they meet, and each
feels all of other and all of himself'.

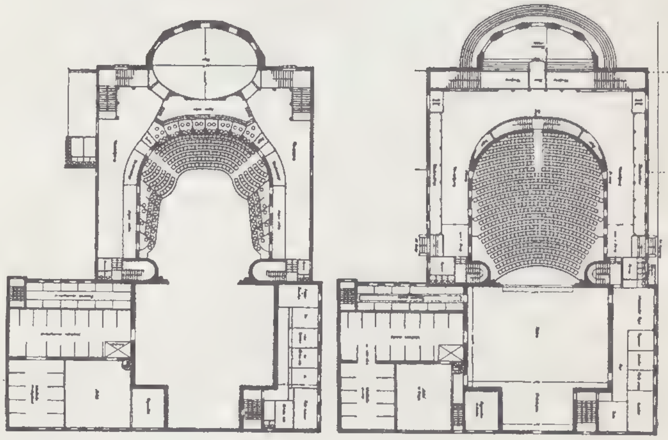
It is natural to ask oneself: how is it possible with the light of the day to create the effect of the night? There are no lights which may be simply put out. But we can have the actors enter the scene holding small torches in their hands, and we can light candles on high candelabra, thus obtaining the optical effect based on the fusion of one light with the other: the light of the sun with that of the candles. Like in thousands of other stylistic experiences, the rites of the Catholic church here supply a magnificent example. Is it not true that a long white candle in the hands of a woman with an imposing walk, wearing a black veil, more than suggesting the light of the day will talk to us of the 'night', of 'nocturnal' images, far more than extinguished chandeliers or than a moon, timidly emerging from under cardboard clouds?"[50].

We must admit that at a first glance, from a purely linguistic point of view, there is something that recalls the description of Hofmannsthal representation of the *Oedipus*, that we quoted beforehand. It is the language of those days; however, in this case, the unmistakably predominant style is

Oskar Kaufmann, Stadttheater, Bremerhaven 1910-11; external view with the museum to one side; section; plans of the entrance level and of the balcony.







is a more rigorous one, as Fuchs himself admits, a cult-like style, typical of the festival atmosphere. In fact, also during this period, a community (as with Wagner), an *élite* of more than ten thousand members is formed — as Fuchs stated — that will be first to experiment the unity between the theatrical event and the public. Since we quoted Wagner, we must immediately clarify the fundamental difference between him and Fuchs. In Wagner, the community is born "*post festum*": during its performance, the musical drama is perceived in an individual way by thousands of singles, those mentioned by Zweig. Instead, in Behrens and Fuchs it is the community that will participate, so that the division between spectator and stage postulated by Wagner — mystical abyss, perspective detachment — is eliminated in the structure of the theater building. This is why Littmann's Festivals theater projected for Fuchs is a hybrid: in fact, if in Wagner's theater the size of the room corresponds to a deep stage, in Littmann's theater the stage is short. Behrens' theater is the first — for all we know — that goes back and develops the old experiments by Boullée and Gilly; in fact, even these theaters were hybrid projects — even in a completely opposite sense when thinking of Wagner's theater — since the deep stage did not correspond to an equivalent hall, and this had, furthermore, the shape of a true amphitheater; Behrens' project, instead, is the first to bring about this synthesis[51]. If by adopting the shape of a perfect circle for the outside volume he went back to Gilly's theoretical project, this is a question that will only interest the history of art[52]. Instead, what we want to underline is how his theater responds to a different conception: stage and spectators are in the same space, composed of two semicircles with different radii, where the stage corresponds to the circle with smaller radius. The orchestra is the focal point, and is in an eccentric position in relation to the main building circle. The roof seems to foresee a round dormer-window above the orchestra and proscenium: from this eccentric circle, the ceiling irradiates and covers the hall, the stage and even the dressing rooms behind the stage. Had it ever been built, it would have been the ideal theater of the 1900s. But perhaps it would be more correct to speak of the ideal theater for a specific group of artists who were particularly interested in the theater as a nearly liturgical space. We have not spoken, as yet, about the trends which developed around 1900, but now we can acknowledge the role of the monumental work of Bruno Schmitz, more vigorous if compared to the delicacy of

Behrens', Lechter's and Fidus' texts that we have quoted, but with similar *pathos*. The cultural sectarism of the followers of the new theater closely resembles movements like the New Schlachtensee Community (*Neue Gemeinde*) of Berlin, whose initiatives were illustrated by Fidus (!), and numerous other groups active in Germany around 1900, that called for, with prophetic tones, the reform of the general life-style and a new culture.
The 1900 theater was specifically included in the framework of these *elitist* movements that wanted to display the new culture in their life-style. This implied the overcoming of the separation between the stage and spectators, who would have wanted to become, according to Behrens expression, participants. This participation, however, limited to a small number of people, as stated by characters themselves, must be understood in a representative sense. Since the new culture aimed at including the entire population, the elitist festival theater was considered as the avant-garde of the popular theater, and this is exactly where the relevance of these experiments resided[53].
At this point, however, there are two problems. The first, and greater, is that with the word "population" both rich and poor were clearly included, where the poor, the "simple" population was treated with the paternalistic tone typical of those times. It was not, as yet, a proletarian theater, but one for the community of the population; and this, anyway, was not going to be brought about in a theater. The second problem is that of its validity, its authenticity; because this culture, that never managed to effectively become a reality and haunted like a ghost the various sects of these élitarian groups — and that would have continued to haunt them — didn't take too long to demonstrate that it was an illusion.
Culture as an illusion. We have already heard this statement, and coming from Behrens himself: "*Shouldn't the theater give illusions then? But of course! It must, since it is capable of giving them* (...) *Culture is the name of this illusion!*" It couldn't be stated in clearer terms. But Peter Behrens meant something different from what we understand: for him, the new culture was still, provisionally, an illusion. Here we could even talk about prophetic irony, apart from tragic irony. Among all those reformers, Behrens was the only one that based his conception of culture on the reality of modern civilization:

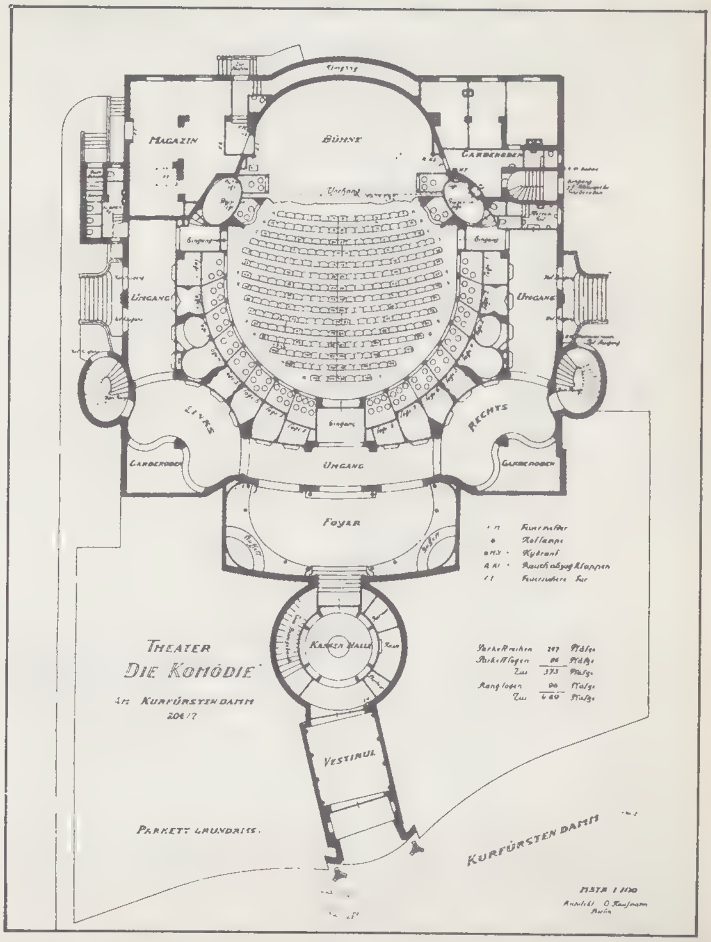
"*We all acknowledge the usefulness of our work, and we create for our own values necessary for our actions and for our lives. We feel that in everyday life we have attained something that never existed before and that will never be lost, and this sensation makes us happy* (...) *It is obvious that the serious man, with his great desire to work produtctively, will not enjoy those romantic dreams and representations. He wants to see what surrounds him, the things in which he profitably believes, in a form that will highlight his destiny* (...) *His joy has become more solid, it isn't a desire for futilities any longer, nor for childish vulgarity. It is joy for serious things. It is laughing with conscious awareness, assured by a firm will, by trust in oneself and in one's own times*"[54].

Here follows the extract from which we started out, where Behrens holds that, after having identified and satisfied our needs, we are now capable of doing more and of satisfying, in an equally strong and beautiful way, greater and more elevated needs. Behrens also speaks of "*new strengths*", hereby implying those of industry. Therefore, we do not interpret it incorrectly when, between the lines of this text, we read of the great hope that the power of industry may reconcile social classes. The separation between daily fare and artistical elevation, however, coincides with the division between the educated and the uneducated, and therefore with the differences between classes. Behrens conceptions are in no way in contrast with the social enviroment of the time of Wilhelm II. Only the educated, the public of which Behrens' friend, Fuchs, spoke with such contempt, had to be guided towards the elevated aspects of art. Even in this case, in the new theater, we are before the Whilhelmian reform on the bourgeoisie, as it may be found in Muthesius' work and that of others. The way towards a reform that could involve the entire nation not only is very far away, it is far too far away: it is an illusion.
From this, it follows that even Behrens, even though endowed with a more concrete vision of the modern working world compared to the other reformers, took refuge, a bit to rapidly, in that Stephen Georg type of a world, made of trumpet players in sparkling robes and colums decorated with garlands, and atop seven tall spars, long white flags sway in the wind. For Behrens, the most elevated spiritual sphere is based on the working world, but then also for him, who had only briefly lived through the Jugendstil experience, actually the post-Jugendstil, thise sphere keeps

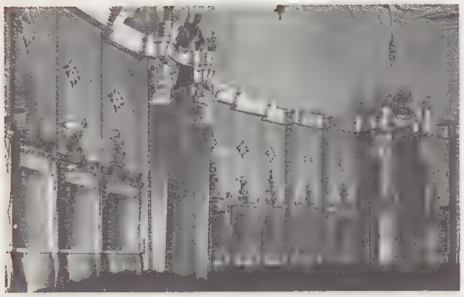
well away from this. From the text we quoted a little before, this sentence was left out: "*The right to joy becomes tangible, to a well deserved peace of mind, to a recompense earned through our work*". Here Behrens expresses himself in a definitely less petit-bourgeois way than the one used by Muthesius in his speech in Cologne in 1914: "*The liberal arts practically represent an exception from day-to-day life, and we turn to them when we want to escape our daily routine*"[55]; but, substantially, the concept is the same: art is celebration — a very popular word in those days. If Behrens tried to create a relationship between art and daily life, working life — (*Celebrations of life and art*) — this difficult search, we may even say misleading, was not even attempted by others: they tried in every way to transform life into art through art; on this experiment, the most precise comment is represented by Adolf Loos' protest "*words in the void*"[56]:
"*The name of this culture is illusion*: the further away we go from the time at the turn of the century the clearer it becomes that this culture, the one that Behrens and Fuchs wanted to celebrate in their festival theaters, was nothing but an illusion; what was still shown in these and other conventicles was future-less. Nothing is more obsolete than an ageing avant-garde. Behrens would have quickly gotten rid of if after 1900. To check which way the idealism of the 1900s re-echoes in Behrens work up to 1914 would be indoubtedly interesting, but it goes beyond the limits of the present text[57]. Nevertheless, the illusion that believed could elevate life to the heights of a new culture through new drama, either by walking barefoot, or by following a certain moderation in both attire and food or with other similar stupidities even more futile than the one that at least was kept within the boundaries of the theater? In any case, it was definitely more dangerous since it falsified not only the theater, but life itself[58].
With this statement, we are back to the theater, to the type of theater that was popular in those days, the bourgeous theater; it is necessary to stop awhile to briefly analyse which reforms were proposed apart from those by Reinhardt. As Fuchs correctly observes, Reinhardt's reforms deal more with the way of representation of internal space on stage, on the guideline traced by the Meiningen school: that is, how the perspective arrangement of teasers and tormenters could have been substituted with the construction on stage of authentic three-dimensional spaces, or what Fuchs calls: "*the cubic staging*". Notwithstanding

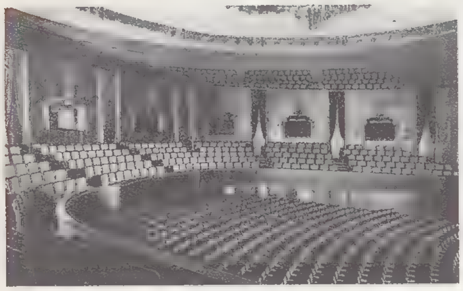
Oskar Kaufmann, Die Komödie, Berlin 1925: view of the hall with the first two tiers of boxes and ground floor plan.

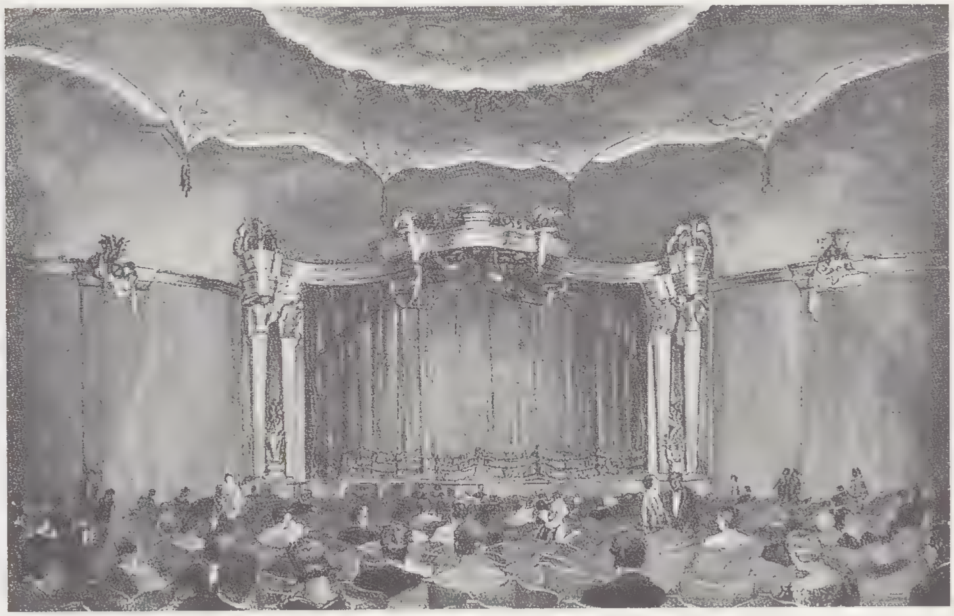


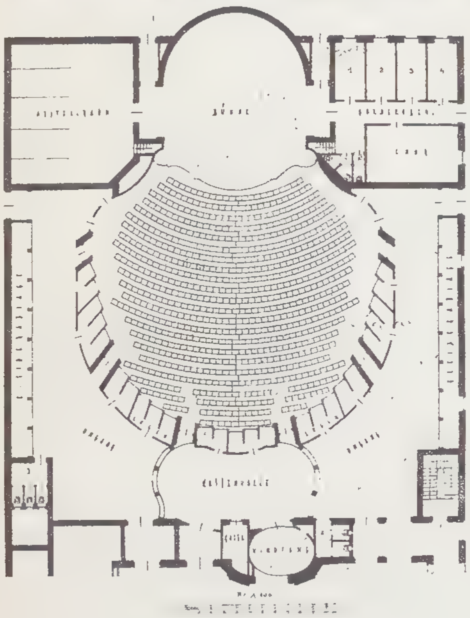


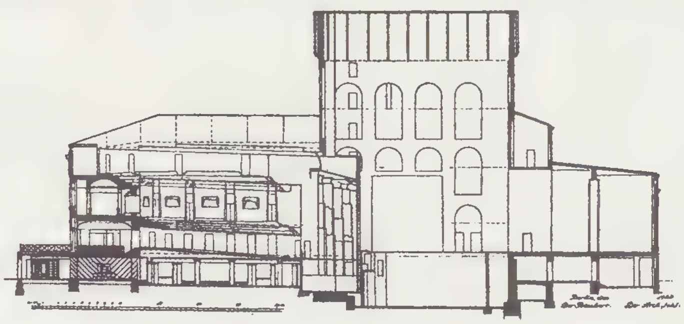
Oskar Kaufmann, Theater am Kurfürstendamm, Berlin 1923: view of the hall; perspective view of the inside of the hall looking towards the stage.
Oskar Kaufmann, Krolloper, Berlin 1924: view of the hall.
Oskar Kaufmann, Theater am Kurfüstendamm. Berlin 1923: ground floor plan.
Oskar Kaufmann, Krolloper, Berlin 1924: section; ground floor plan.

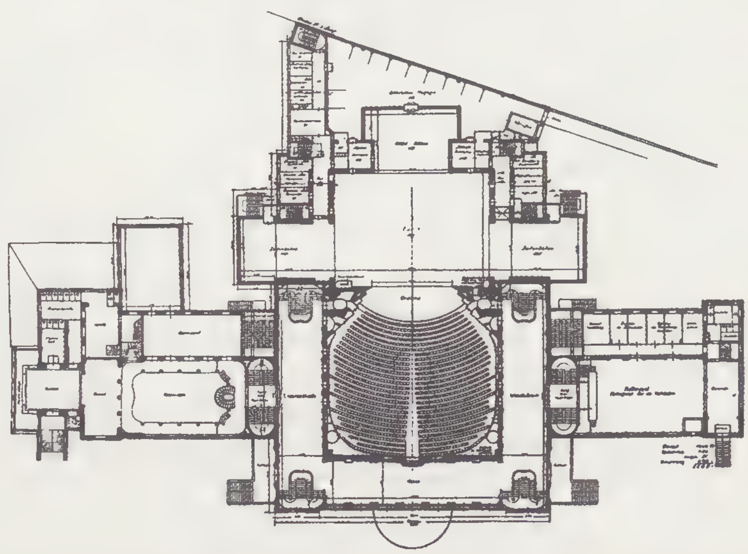












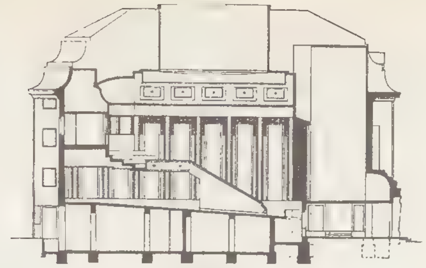
his admiration for Reinhardt, Fuchs goes beyond him since, if he wanted to act according to his own ideas, he had to substitute also on the traditional stage of the bourgeois theater the illustionistic effect with a monumental one. On stage, for those who observe, he wanted to evoke

"*the* impression *of totality, through the suggestive and grand representation of the essential, and nothing but the essential. If, in creating an open-air scene, every impression of futility has to drop, let teasers and tormenters drop away for the first, since an impressionist perspective in Turner's, Corot's, Monet's or Leistikow's style will, in any case, yield, by itself, a more organic and convincing impression of space, light and air*"[59].

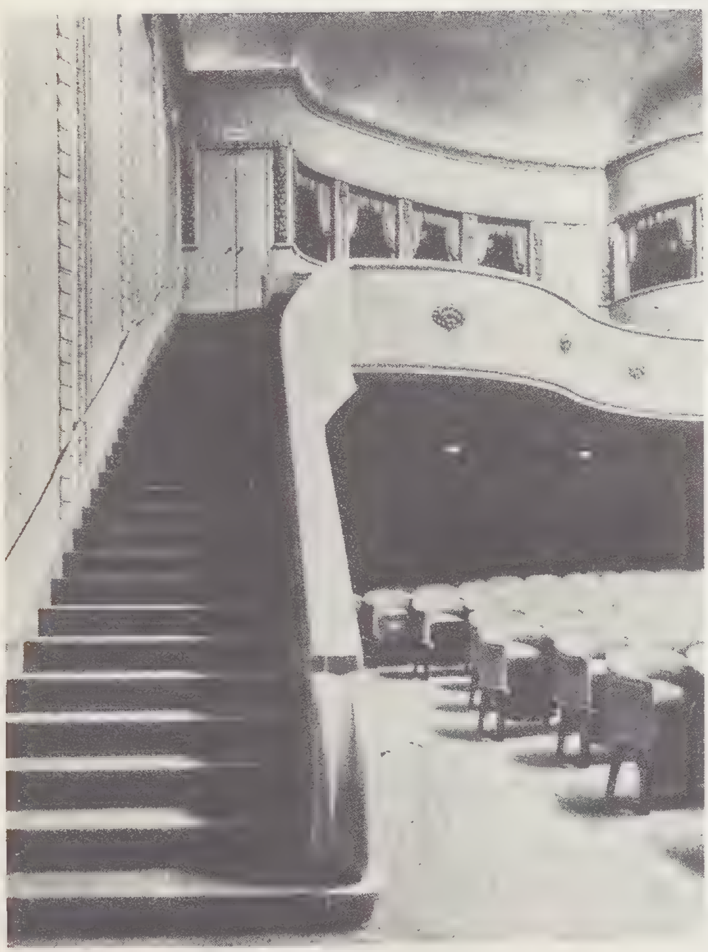
Even in the motivation, this is exactly what Schinkel had proposed to Director Iffland in 1813 for the reform of the Berlin Schauspielhaus' stage; Fuchs bowed to Schinkel and, even without declaring it, loyally followed his proposals, nearly a century old. Now, if we observe the scenography designed by Peter Behrens in 1919 for a work by Otto Erich Hartleben, it is possible to recognize in it the architectural proscenium included in the stage exactly like Schinkel had suggested, even though in this case it is included in an internal space, inside a scenography that takes up the entire space of a stage. In other words, the situation in which Schinkel had operatd may be compared to that of the 1900s: through the stylization of the stage he wanted, like his successors, to assimilate as far as possible the existing theater with a monumental one. And, if in Schinkel the painted back-drop was a compromise, in Fuchs, too, the painted back-drop and "*cubic staging*" represented a compromise even after 1900.

Between the two, Schinkel and Fuchs, runs the evolution that we briefly outlined and that may be summarized with one word: the predominance of the stage. Predominance that was in no way attacked even though it had been noted that the scenic effects were by now worn out and that neither Wagner's total work of art, nor Meiningen's naturalistic stage, nor Max Reinhardt's (and that of other contemporaries) atmosphere theater were successful in the attempt of creating what they really wanted: — and that *before* this evolution, was also extremely significant to the men of the French Revolution and to Schinkel — that is, the reconstruction of the unity, or better defined, of a converging action between the stage and the public. In the brief hints with which we anticipated the theatrical developments of the post-war period — Reinhardt and Kaufmann — we noted the determinating presence of the stage, more than in any other period: after the War, *everything* becomes stage, and the public not only watches, but is involved in the action as the subject. In order to achieve a similar involvement of the public with respect to the scenic illusion, the dichotomy between public and stage was tentatively eliminated, starting from the side of the public, through ideological and architectural revisions that should have served this purpose in order to then discover that even in this way what was represented was still an illusion: the illusion of a new culture. In addition to this the *élites* that pretended to become the avant-garde of a popular theater — here intended in a political sense — only existed on paper, so much so, in fact, that neither Fuchs' nor Behrens' theaters were ever built. Nevertheless, the influence of these ideas should not be underestimated, since Reinhardt — of whose work we just considered one aspect, that of the transformation of the world into a theater — would not have been that "great impresario", that "great eclectic" that the entire world hailed, if he had not also made these ideas his own. Our essay was triggered by this, by the verification that Reinhardt was that "great impresario" capable of simultaneously playing three different instruments: the Deutsches Theater, the Kammerspiele and the Grosses Schauspielhaus. We then could not avoid detecting a certain affinity between this great show-instrument and the great department stores of those days, for example the Berlin Wertheim Stores by Messel[60]. It is not by coincidence that we mention the Wertheim Stores, because even in Reinhardt's case, "everything" most certainly is "immersed in art", and everything that he offered was created under the sign of good taste. However, in both cases, the *kitsch* — like the one of the real trees for the *Midsummer Night Dream* and the Gothic one of the "Rug Department", or that of the crown-shaped chandelier in Josefstadt and the "Liberty living room" — was created and offered in such a seductive way as to find consensus even among the most demanding people. However, if Reinhardt really was the "Department Store" of the theater, it is equally true that, for the same reason, he was able to test himself — and with quite a few successes — with what pure artists like Behrens and Fuchs would have never been capable of creating: the "Theater of the Three Thousand", the people's theater. He, instead,

Oskar Kaufmann, Cines Cinema of the Nollendorfpaltz, Berlin 1910: section; main floor level and gallery plans; perspective view of outside and view of the hall with the stair that leads to the galleries.





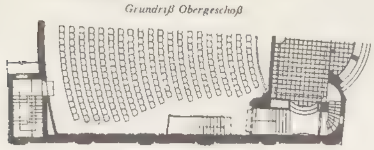


was in the position to master this dimension, one that the others could only dream of. We believe we should start from this consideration, when we look at the Grosses Schauspielhaus; this was the point from which, Karl Scheffler, a critic of those days, started from:

"*There is a coherence and a sort of poetic justice in the fact that the two unique talents that created the Grossess Schauspielhaus, that is, Max Reinhardt, the man of the theater, an Hans Poelzig, the architect, finally met. They were meant for each other, they had to find themselves when the "Theater of the Three Thousand" begun to take shape (...) Both have, within themselves, something American. Both think in terms of masses, of excessive dimensions, and make music with a triple orchestra (...) The affinity that unites these two men mainly consists in the fact that their theatrical and architectural works have the aspect of a beginning and seem to introduce a new era, while in reality they are only marking its end. The "Theater of the Three Thousand" looks like the product of a revolution, like a democratic symbol, it is the most popular theater of all ever built until today, and is like a social institution when it is full up to the last seat; and the idea of making the stage penetrate into the main floor, therefore somehow transforming the spectators into actors, has something modern, political, to it. On the other hand, Poelzig's architectural style has, as we say today, an expressionist character, it is primitive and at the same time romantically excessive, there is some "Gothic" in it, it aspires to expressive and colossal* pathos, *it seems to break away from all imitations and to introduce something new, it has something vaguely popular, it needs masses and thinks in terms of a proclamation and manifesto carved in stone. Yet, both Poelzig's architectural style and Reinhardt's theatrical style represent a conclusion. Both are, in their instincts and means, metropolitan, all the way to the extreme consequences. The metropolis is, however, at least in Germany, a structure that will first of all cease to grow, then will become smaller and in the end will slowly decay, and will, in any case, rapidly decompose. From this viewpoint, the Grosses Schauspielhaus is a fruit of the pre-war period; even with all the idealism that created it, it always is the product of that mania for grandeur that for some decades has dominated the German people and for which the figure of Wilhelm II was only a symbol. Every conclusion is characterized by excesses, by the instict for the colossal: in fact, what cannot interiorly grow any more wants to at least*



Grundriß Obergeschoß



Grundriß Erdgeschoß

grow externally (...) *Because here evertything, form the first to the last thing, is external appearance. This colossal building, of massive appearance and monumental effect, is a splendid scenario, a unique, complicated plaster mask, created with art. Everything that seems to grow, to carry, to bear and to curve, is carried, borne, and curved: all the mass hangs from the old iron structures. The building is an entire metallic frame coated with plaster, moulded with plaster and then boldly painted. Here, even architecture is doing some theater. This type of architecture, this hurried way of building has nothing in common with manual craftsmanship as it was intended in those days; it is entirely a product of modern entrepreneurship, it is metropolitan industrial building taken to the utmost degree of craft. If the gigantic stage, with its dome horizon and its revolving stage, and the proscenium with trap-doors and strange machinery are all industrially conceived, if all the work, including the theatrical element have an entrepreneurial and industrial character, in the same way also the architectural element is an answer to an entirely industrial conception, totally lacking the character of manual skill*"[61].

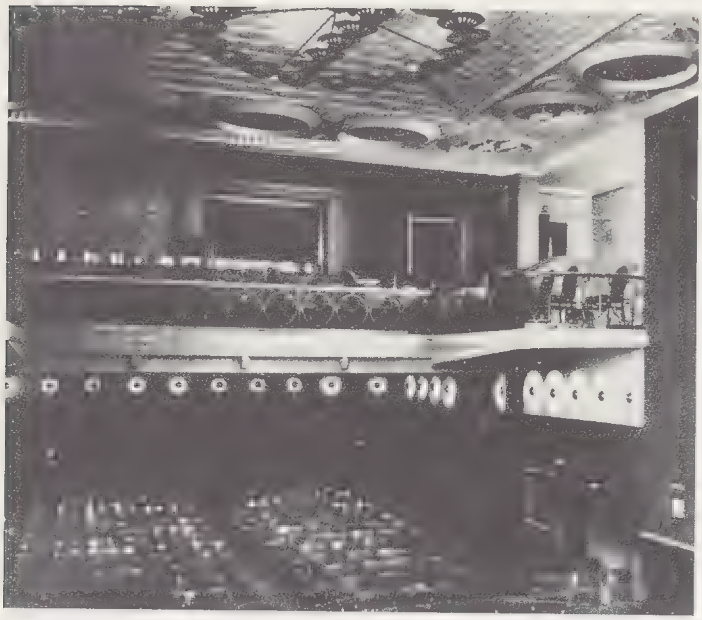
This judgement may seem unkind, even though Scheffler tries his best in the rest of his essay in order to pay justice to Poelzig (especially to him). Furthermore, evidently wrong statements recur in the text, due to the time in which they were written, like the observation on the metropolis that ("*at least in Germany*") would have slowly regressed until it would have completely decayed. However, for what concerns the Grosses Schauspielhaus, he is right on target: we cannot but agree with him, since the Grosses Schauspielhaus truly embodied only the *illusion* of popular theater. And Poelzig, on his behalf, had in mind a completely different objective: the expressionist space. Or it could be that the romantic clouding of the space of the Grosses Schauspielhaus, that at the same time is also its great fascination, is due to other, more contingent reasons: like Reinhardt's pretense of having a dome not just over the entire theater, as in the case of Behrens' theater, but only over the arena of the former Schumann Circus; or perhaps due to Poelzig's original idea of acoustically segmenting the internal surface of the dome with false stalactites; or, finally, because of the imposition, with which he had to deal during the entire restructuring of the former Circus, of having to preserve and re-use so many and uncomfortable iron pillars. Anyway, this space has a precise character, and those who will take a seat in it will never get the impression of finding themselves in a community, of being involved in what is happening on the stage, even though Poelzig and Reinhardt really did go a step ahead in their experiment to create a community of this type: if compared to Behrens, also in this case the proscenium, that has taken the place of the arena of the former Circus, reproposes the space of the ancient orchestra, the space for the choir and, simultaneously, the arrangement of the Shakespearian stage (Reinhardt, however, did not want to give up the deep stage even in this true amphitheatre).

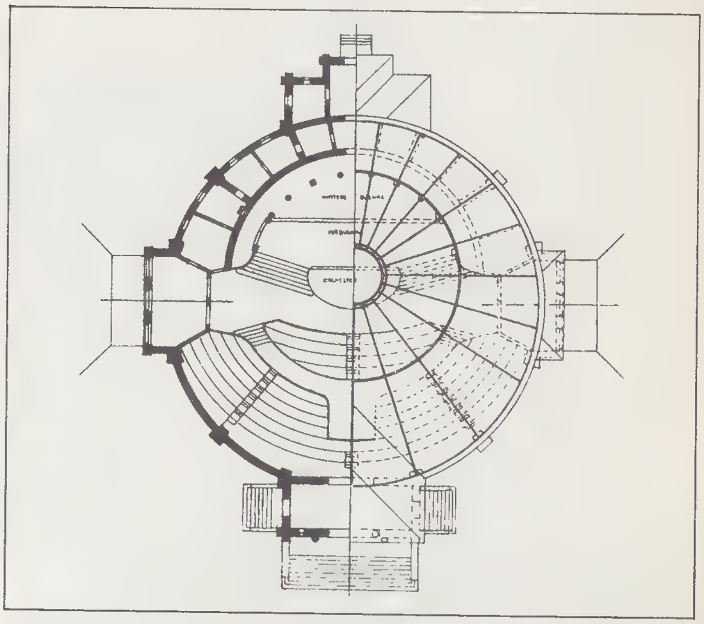
To acknowledge that the Grosses Schauspielhaus after just one season had failed does not mean to deny its validity: it was more the Berlin of 1920 that was not the right place for this type of experiments, entailing great spatiality. We only hold that, since the beginning, it never was what it wanted to be: a space capable of creating in its interior that close connection between people and theatrical event[62]. It could very well be that the representation of *Oedipus* by Reinhardt, staged in the same space when it was still a circus, is far closer to this objective. If this is true — we did not manage to see it — then it may have succeeded just *because* the Circus had not yet been disguised into "*grotto with stalactites*": it was that rudimentary and impromptu appearance that attracted the spectator's attention on the essential mass effects of the arena and stage, and this would have once more proved its efficacy. Must we repeat that not even this was popular theater? Undoubtedly it was one of Reinhardt's best known achievement, and some men of culture approved this attempt to bring back to life ancient times in that way; instead, some others critically declared that what is ancient is ancient, and that Reinhardt had brought about its denaturalization. The theater of those days, however, could not be a people's theater: not because Reinhardt didn't possess the ability (he was the only one who could try to experiment on this), but for the reason that not even the most studied and adequate space in the days of Wilhelm II could have produced a people's theater just by magic. On this, Scheffler's judgement remains unequivocable[63].

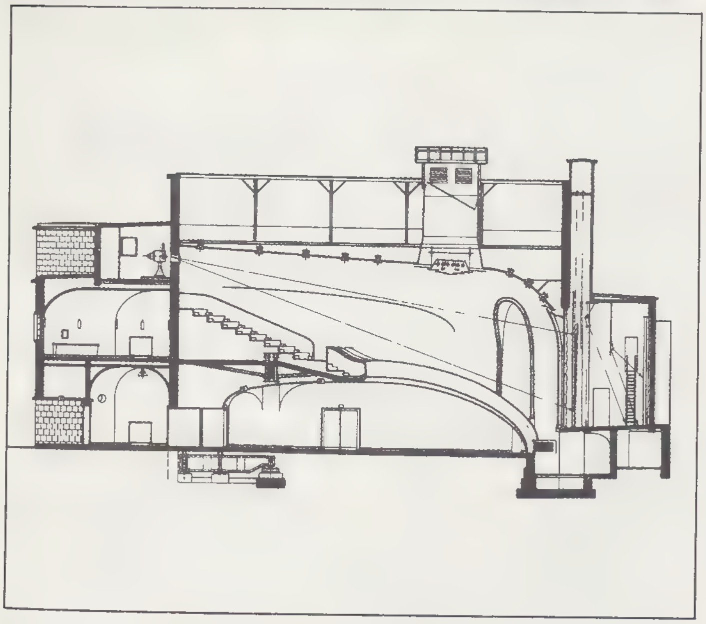
1) The Meiningen Theater Company had a fundamental importance in the history of German theater, between 1874 and 1890. The stagings were scrupulously accurate, with a special taste for historical evocation, so that every scene was, in fact, a living historical ensemble.
2) In reality, the Grosses Schauspielhaus had 3500 seats.
3) The true hall theater was a polyvalent space with horizontal floors and movable chairs.
4) Cf. E.L. Boullée, *Architecture. Essai sur l'Art*, forword by J.H. Pérouse de Monclos, Paris 1968, p. 103-104.
5) With his statement, Count Brühl tried to justify his hesitation, since it is common knowledge that he had consulted, aside from Schinkel, also other architects; and, in the end, it was Schinkel's propension for the ancient, of which more will be said, to worry him: "*It had been a long time since I wanted to reach an agreement with our excellent Schinkel. whom I consider, without exaggeration, as one of the most genial and sensitive architects in all of Germany. At the beginning, it did not seem like he would accept for the same reasons that make dealings with architects so difficult: in fact, his ideas on the theater, on its structure, on acting, literature and ballet are so completely diverging from the current opinion that I frankly despaired of reaching an agreement with him*". Letter by Count Brühl to the King, April 3, 1818, the day after having entrusted the job to Schinkel, in P.O. Rave, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel.* Berlin, part one, Berlin, 1941, p. 92.
6) It is quite legitimate to refer to reference models, especially when dealing with such original work: for what concerns the inside, we believe we may indicate one such reference model in the hall of the Chambre des Députés rebuilt in 1795 by Jacques-Pierre Gisors in Paris.
7) Excepting some of Gilly's sketches for scenographies with architectural proscenium. It may be supposed that these sketches inspired Schinkel, without by this implying that Gilly had preceded him in his ideas of a theater reform: Gilly's project for a *Théâtre à la manière des Théâtres Grecs et Romaines* once more adopts, as we have seen, the conventional stage of the Eighteenth century.
8) Schinkel's report to Count Brühl dated January 15, 1818, in P.O. Rave, op. cit., p. 90.
9) Ibid.
10) Already long before Schinkel, Boullée had spoken of the imperfections of the deep stage with teasers and tormenters. Cf. E.L. Boullée, op. cit., p. 103-104.
11) There are no doubts that Wagner really believed he was the fist to feel this need: in fact Semper could have known about Schinkel's ideas, but definitely Wagner didn't know a thing about them.
12) R. Wagner, *Das Bühnenfestspielhaus zu Bayreuth*, in M. Littmann, *Das Charlottenburger Schiller-Theater*, München 1906, p. 34.
13) Semper's relationship with the classical theater does not spring from the hall, but from the exterior structure, as shown by the semicircular shape of his first Hoftheater in Dresden, built in 1835-1837. One of the first semicircular theaters is the Moller theater in Mainz.
14) R. Wagner, op. cit., p. 36.
15) Ibid., p. 36: "(...) *nothing evidently visible*": Wagner reached the point where he even wanted completely obscure space. "*At this point it is completely dark*", writes Fontane in 1889 in Bayreuth, in H.H. Reuter, *Theodore Fontane. Von Dreisig bis Achtzig*, Leipzig 1959, p. 328. This was definitely new for 1889. The problem of theater illumination, instead, was already analysed by Boullée; cf. E.L. Boullée, op. cit., p. 447.
16) Semper participated to the preparatory studies. The Bayreuth theater was then built by Architect Otto Brückwald on the basis of these studies.
17) A. Zweig, *Theater, Menge, Mensch*, in *Das Grosses Schauspielhaus*, published by the Deutsches Theater zu Berlin during the inauguration of the Grosses Schauspielhaus, Berlin 1920, p. 25.
18) We want to recall that the Bayreuth stage was not excessively big. The stage in Semper's Dresden theater was definitely larger, especially when compared to the space left for the public.
19) Cf. H.-H. Reuter, op. cit., p. 325-328.
20) Cf. F. Poppenburg, *Die Neue Szene*, in *Neue Theaterkultur. Flugblätter für künstlerische Kultur*, Stuttgart 1906, p. 32 and foll.
21) Ibid.
22) We hereby recall that in London the scenographies were created according to Gordon Craig's principle; the description is repeated by Poppenberg, but in reality it is by Frank Freund.
23) The edition of *Oedipus* enacted in the circus belongs more to the classical tradition. Instead, the spatial organization of the Grosses Schauspielhaus resembles the scheme of the Shakespearian stage.
24) The Schillertheater has, at the end of the hall, a small gallery, whose rows of seats are arranged as in an amphitheater. This may be considered as an extreme solution, and the architect gave very little importance to the gallery in the spatial conception of the theater: from the architectural point of view it does not belong any more to the hall. Both Littmann's theater in Munich, the Künstlertheater, built in 1908, and the Prinzregententheater, built in 1901, are authentic amphitheaters with boxes at the end.
25) M. Littmann, *Das Charlottenburger Schiller-Theater*, Munich 1906, p. 38.
26) H. van de Velde, *Aperçus en vue d'une synthèse d'art*, Brussels 1895, now in H. van de Velde, *Zum neuen Stil*, writings chosen by H. Curiel, Munchen 1955, p. 44.
27) Principles for the building of the Schillertheater, as explained by the Mayor of Charlottenburg, Schustehrus, in 1903; in Raphael Loewenfeld in M. Littmann, op. cit., p. 38.
28) Ibid.
29) In the Munich theaters he managed to avoid it.
30) P. Zucker, *Theater und Lichetspielhäuser*, Berlin 1926, p. 29-30.
31) P. Zucker, op. cit., p. 38, on the Theater am Kurfürstendam, specifically speaks about the "*call for an atmosphere like that of a lady's boudoire*".
32) It is not our intention to hold that Kaufmann's Krolloper copied Gilly's project, even though an architect as educated as Kaufmann probably knew the drawings.
33) Hans Poelzig was evidently so fascinated by the topic of staircases that he repeated, in the Deli cinema in Breslavia in 1926, the idea of connecting the gallery with the first rows of the main floor: in reality, however, he only hints at the topic because, from the functional point of view, in his case the access to the main floor is below the gallery, therefore from the "back part".
34) The Taut cinema was destroyed: we only found a photograph, and not a very good one either. Furthermore, it is totally inadequate since it is in black and white, while colour undoubtedly had great relevance in Taut's spatial conceptions. A description is reported by the magazine "Der gute Geschemack. Wegweiser zur Pflege künstlerisch kulturellen Lebens" published by W. BlochWunschmann, issue No. 1, September 1911. We thank Professor Tilman Buddensieg for the photograph and for indicating the description.
35) S. Melchinger: *Sein Theater in Bildern*, Vienna and Hannover 1968, p. 13-14, the quotation by Musil is from T. Musil, *Theater*, by M.-L. Roth, Hamburg 1956, p. 166 and foll.
36) S. Melchinger, op. cit., p. 14.
37) Ibid., p. 13. This remark by Ihering was made one the 26th of September 1920. Cf. H. Ihering, *Von Reinhardt bis Brecht*, Vol. 1, Berlin 1959, p. 113.
38) They have also, obviously, worked together. Between them there was great affinity, not just from the artistical point of view, but because of the same origins — in fact, they were both Austo-Hungarian Jews. They were true men of the theater, experimenters full of imagination and open to novelties, who in their activity were never bound by any principle except that of direct theatrical effect. This is exactly what made them the most famous exponents of the declining bourgeois culture — actually, it would be more correct to say the already declined culture; instead, because of this same reason, the new — the representatives of mass political theater — rejected them.
39) Oskar Kaufmann built numerous villas in Berlin at the beginning of the '20s that became reference points for a new trend. The contrast between the lifestyle of those who inhabited them and the style of their homes became an incredibly tangible contrast. These were, naturally, "*theaters*". Their vibrating facades, like small rococo castles with their salons were built for the nouveaux riches, who had become wealthy with the War and inflation. We here talk about these villas

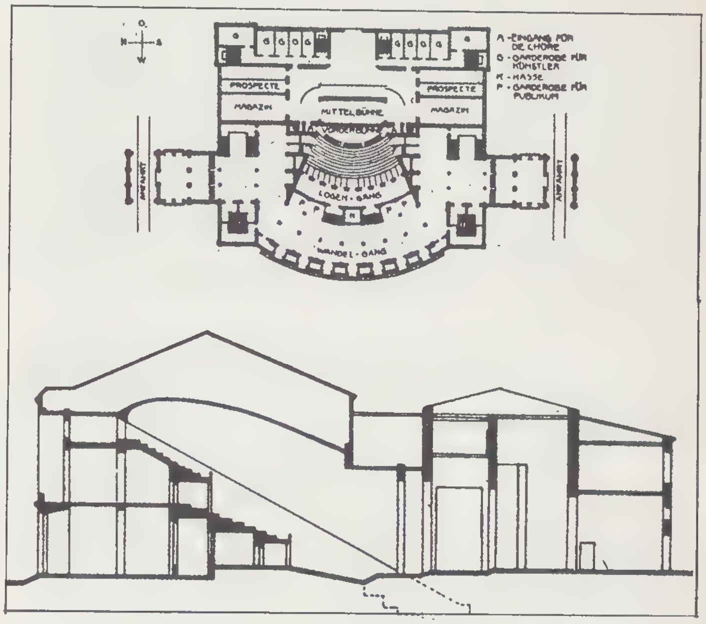
Bruno Taut, Kinematographentheater in the Kottbuss Damm, Berliner 1911: view of the hall.
Hans Poelzig, Deli Cinema, Breslavia 1926.

Peter Behrens, Project for a festival theater, 1900.
Max Littmann, Project for the Reformtheater for Georg Fuchs, approx. 1900: section and ground floor plan.



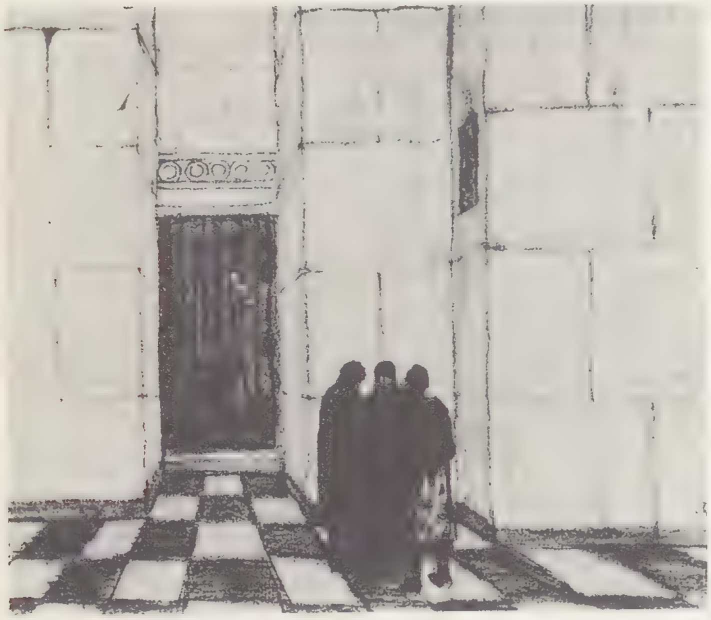




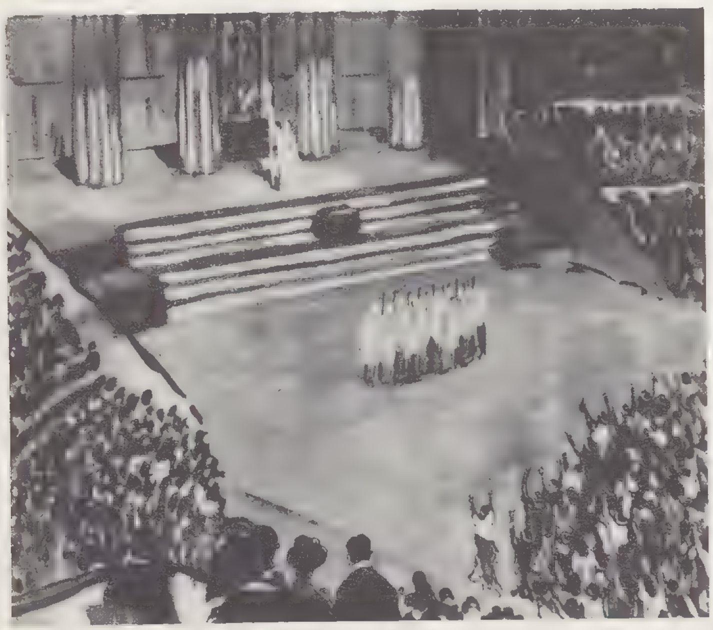


Scenography by Emil Orlik for the Wintermärchen, *directed by Max Reihardt, 1906.*
Scenography by Peter Behrens for the Diogenes *by Otto Erich Hartleben, 1909.*

Scenography for Oedipus *at Schumann Circus, Berlin 1910: sketch by Emil Orlik.*
Wood scene for the Sommernachtstraum *(Midsummer Night Dream) at the Neues Theater directed by Max Reinhardt, 1905.*







because we want to anticipate the objection that theatrical buildings had to be fleetingly artificial and illusory. This is something that must be admitted to. The fact that people *liked* to go to these theaters was because they were amusing, even though their gaiety was a little forced, not adequate for those days. These theaters would not have suited any one of the social classes existing before the War; they were, more explicitly, creatures and symbols of a rapidly acquired wealth, not yet consolidated. In the villas that these people had Kaufmann, a theater architect, built for them this lack of a well consolidated style is markedly evident: even the bedrooms were "in style". Nothing in them corresponded to the tendency of reforming the lifestyle that was at least felt by the Wilhelmian bourgeoisie: the desire to live a life of their own, bougeois, "better". They did not refer to any sort of future; they resembled far more, like theaters, old dresses from another decade, just slightly touched up; and this is the reason why they were the documents witnessing utter despair.

40) F. Hoeber, *Peter Behrens*, Munchen 1913, p. 218.
41) P. Behrens, *Feste des Lebens und der Kunst*, Leipzig 1900. p. 11-13.
42) Ibid., p. 18.
43) Ibid., p. 13-15.
44) G. Fuchs, *Die Schaubühne der Zukunft*, Berlin and Leipzig 1904, p. 66.
45) The two friends practically co-operated in a single occasion: on the 15th May 1901 when, in front of Olbrich's Ernst-Ludwig-Haus on the Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt, the play *Das Ziechen* by Fuchs was represented "*according to Behrens recommendations*".
46) P. Behrens, op. cit., p. 15-17.
47) The fact that Fuchs, who more than once in his book talks of a new culture, a culture closely linked to race, had already been detained in concentration camp by the Nazis, is tragi-comic.
48) G. Fuchs, op. cit., p. 6-7.
49) Even Behrens, op. cit., p. 24, was not alien to the national idea: "*In our population, serious, unique, strong-willed — and, we state with pride, in our population of geniuses — grow young people whose hearts beat with enthusiasm for the stage, which represents the world*".
50) G. Fuchs, op. cit., p. 80-82.
51) Also Otto March's Volkstheater in Worms (1887-1888) included in the three quarters of the hall Wagner's wedge-shaped amphitheater. The project by architects Davioud and Bourdais for a national Lyric Theater in Paris is inspired to the idea of an ancient-modern theater, of which Eberhard Werner says: "*We have here, in front of us, an authentic concert hall with a podium, while the real stage is a nearly excessive appendix*". (E. Werner, *Theatergebäude*, Berlin 1954, Vol. 1, p. 135). The stage looks like a surplus: but it is there and it is separated in the old way from the hall. Behrens included it in the global space.
52) It is not so certain that Behrens knew about Boullée's Opéra, even though there is in his work at least a building that recalls Ledoux: the foundation of one of the great silos of the Frankfurt's Gaswerke (1911-1912). Maybe he knew some architects of the French Revolution!
53) "*It would have been incorrect to suppose that this theater could only count on the participation of those who today are aware of the need of a more elevated form instead, it is evident that this theater harbours all the elements of a true people's theater. Experience has (...) demonstrated that these classical works are those which attract a particularly lively group of people. These people want to grow, they want to enjoy the greatest and most sacred products of humanity. The new theater that, and we shall see it, is still in the black even with low-priced entrance tickets, is capable of delivering them*"; in G. Fuchs, op. cit., p. 22-23.
54) P. Behrens, op. cit. p. 8-9.
55) H. Muthesius, *Die Werkbundarbeit der Zukunft*, conference held in Cologne during the meeting of the Werkbund, July 1914; in H. Muthesius, *Die Werkbundarbeit der Zukunft*, Jena 1914, p. 43.
56) This did not happen by chance: the experiment of making life more beautiful is, as we saw elsewhere, a reaction to mass production, a way of escaping. And this was brought about after the shock World War I with the *Gläserne Kette* and other similar movements. Before 1914, the Werkbund (like the Bauhaus after 1924) tried to esthetize industrial production itself, through higher product quality in



mass production; in a certain way, this was a limited mass prduction, since they wanted to halt production exclusively meant for quick consumption and with rapidly perishable characteristics. One of the prerogatives of Fascism was that of esthetizing the most extreme aspect of this consumer-aimed and highly perishable production, the war, as Marinetti did in his Manifesto on the colonial war in Ethiopia: "*War is beautiful because it brings together in a symphony the shooting of rifles, of cannons, the pauses between the shots, the perfumes and smells of decomposition*". Walter Benjamin (in *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*, Frankfurt a. M. 1973 says: "«Fiat ars — pereat mundus», *says Fascism and, as Marinetti admits, it expects from the war the artistical satisfaction afforded by sensorial perception modified by technology. Evidently, this is the accomplishment of art for art. Humanity, that in Homer was a show for the Gods of the Olympus, now becomes a show for itself. Its self-ostracization has reached such a degree that it enables it to live through its self-annulment as a first-rate enjoyment. This is the meaning of the esthetization of politics that Fascism is following. Communism answers back with the politicization of art*". *L'art pour l'art* belongs increasingly more strongly to the end of the Nineteenth century. Marinetti introduces his Manifesto by stating that for twenty-seven years the Futurists have repeatedly stated that war should not be defined as antiesthetic. For twenty-seven years, therefore since 1909, Benjamin (op. cit., p. 49) gives his political-economic explanation of how you can turn war into art: "*It is war, and nothing but the war, that enables to give a motivation to mass movements of great proportions, after the preservation of traditional ownership rights. This is how this situation may be perceived if looked at from the political angle. From the technical angle, it may be formulated as follows: only the war mobilizes all current technical resources, after the preservation of ownership rights. It is obvious that the apotheosis of war by Fascism does not employ these arguments*".

57) Fritz Hoeber, when presenting his work in 1913, even at this late date, identifies in idealism Behrens' essential character: "*The idealism of Peter Behrens personality implies the adjudication of a specific beauty to every object fruit of his artistical creation. Architectural naturalism, that imposes to exclusively use just the formal structure required by material building requirements, was never the artist's friend* [Brehmen's]. *His esthetic sense may be defined* "a priori" *as an absolute rhythmic ideal: in the beginning there was rhythm. He moulds objects according to a rhythmical conception, and in the first years of his training often against the nature of the objects themselves*". In F. Hoeber, op. cit., p. 215.

58) Such considerations within this essay, may look like a tardive attempt of re-evaluating Max Reinhardt. In this occasion, I would like to underline how the contrast between Reinhardt and the creators of new drama, Behrens and Fuchs, was not in reality felt by the protagonists themselves, or at least not in such a strong way as may be perceived by us when looking back to those days. Georg Fuchs who reflected, as a concrete man of the theater, on how, apart from the building of a new Festspielhaus (Festival theater), at least the existing theater could be reformed, declared himself favourable to Reinhardt's experiments: "*We already know that cubic staging, which represents an internal space, must be artistically solved. On the 'Reinhardt-like' stages in Berlin a new type of style specifically connected to cubic staging is developing right along the style of impressionist painting*" (G. Fuchs, op. cit. , p. 91). The Proteiform Reinhardt could instead bring about a stylized cubic staging (as the one for the *Wintermärchen*, 1906) but also an exquisitely naturalistic staging (like the one for the *Sommernachtstraum*, 1905).

59) G. Fuchs, op. cit., p. 95.

60) The Wertheim stores were built by Alfred Messel on the Leipzig Platz in Berlin in 1907 (both destroyed during World War II).

61) K. Scheffler, *Das Grosses Schauspielhaus*, in "Kunst und Künstler", year XVIII, 1920, p. 231-241; re-printed in J. Posener, *Hans Poelzig*, Schriftenreihe der Akademie der Künste, Vol. 6, Berlin, 1970, p. 136 and foll.

62) This connection becomes reality in Hans Scharoun's Philharmonie. "The-music-in-the-middle" did not remain just a program, it was effectively brought to life.

63) Since we have quoted the Philharmonie, we cannot however state that it has solved the problem of popular theater: one thing is music, prose is another altogether. The historical forms of popular theater had to meet two requirements: the dramatic event had to take place right among people but, at the same time, at one end of the theatrical space; in fact, nobody sat *behind* the stage. As a possible reference, the semicircular shape was offered: both the classic theater and Shakespeare's had a shape of this type. In the Greek's orchestra the acting was in the centre. The widely protruding Shakespearean proscenium was its correspondent. (The Grosses Schauspielhaus corresponds to this description.) It was allowed that the seats at the borders of the semicircle were in a less advantageous position if compared to those of the central sector: in the case of the stage in relief this was far less important than in the case of a deep stage. The most important thing was that the public should participate *collectively* to the dramatic event. In the Philharmonie "the-music-in-the-middle" corresponds to the theater-arena, for example like the Washington theater. Unfortunately, I never saw a representation in a theater-arena. The jazztags (Berlin Jazz Festival, held in the Philharmonie) are extremely close to this type of partecipation; furthermore, in relation to this goal, the space of the Philharmonie is far too aulic: the Waldbrühne (open-air stage in Berlin's wood), where the spectators move around, chat, sing, form small groups, is far superior to the Philharmonie as a people's music theater as the Schumann Circus was, in its quality of people's theater if compared to the Grosses Schauspielhaus. The enthusiastic observation of a young Malaysian: "*Here one must take his seat half an hour before the beginning of the concert: the music is already there in the architecture*". This statement, if we reflect a little, is a criticism to its efficency as a people's music theater; a people's theater cannot be a representative space. Cf. A. Zweig, op. cit., p. 25-36.

(*) From Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur, Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II, 1890-1918*, Prestel-Verlag, München 1979, pp. 402-452; reproduced by kind permission of the author.

The Theatre-Monument: a century of "French" typology, 1750-1850
Daniel Rabreau



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Coupe d'oeil du Théâtre de Besançon *(in the iris of the eye, a perspective of the amphitheatre), from* L'Architecture considerèe..., *1804. Photo CERCAM.*

Right until the opening of the Nineteenth century, ambiguity of exterior and interior space were the features characterizing Western theatre, located in a building of its own, no longer in some room adapted for the purpose. Ledoux, whose theatre in Becançon was revolutionary in its conception (1776-1784)[1] explained, as would a theorist, this phenomenon in precise terms:

"*Since, when compared with the stage, the auditorium is what the inhabited room is to the emptiness we see outside, the theatre* [the stage][2] *must be larger, more ample, than the space for the audience: this is the true site of the magic illusions of the theatre.*"[3]

The Italian Renaissance and Illuminism put new life into architectural representation, firstly by renewing figurative techniques (perspective, modelling), secondly by adding to them an immediately perceptible emotional content evoking the built-up environment. As I have already written elsewhere[4], Piranesi, influenced by Baroque scenography — though with the moral intuition of *effects* typically his own — and the French "landscape" or "panoramic" architects[5] were the original creators of a permanent *mise-en-scène* of urban antique revival typical of the second half of the Eighteenth century. In the theatre the image of the city, whether conveyed by a painting, a scenographic creation or a perspective view, was the background — a prop — for the acting or the drama. In the Italian structure of the auditorium it was presented as a painting, mirage or living mirror. Here too Ledoux showed most ingenuity in interpreting the phenomenon of a beneficial illusion produced by *cathartic* exercise: his famous engraving entitled *Coup d'oeil du Théâtre de Besançon* is a poetic evocation of the mental appraisal of the space (and forms) of the theatre as part of the dramatic *whole.*
Knowledge of urban architecture, of the town itself and of its walkways, amplifies the unconscious or intuitive perception of space. This knowledge, today acquired through books, photographs and audiovisuals was once obtained by scenographic *images.* Fictitious architecture, on the stage, and real architecture (enclosed space for the audience) within the city are proof of how the conception of urban space, throughout different periods, was *scenographic*, or else, *panoramic.*
At the basis of show ritual lies a two-way exchange: that between people in the audience, and that between actors

and audience. The artificial and the real meeting between the closed world of the auditorium and the open world of the imaginary represented on stage, conditions the structure, the architectural repertory and spatial layout of the theatre. Unlike the *impromptu* boxes set up at fairs, unlike the aristocratic theatre built up against a palace, the monumental urban theatre in the Nineteenth century was created to satisfy a need for a permanent building, proof of urban growth and civic maturity. The growing complexity of urban life called for a more clearly specified expression of meeting places, codification and clarification of spaces in relation to evolution of mentalities. Architecture of the theatre, for which the ancients had already provided a complete model, expressed itself by isolation, frontages and monumental aspects comprised within a continuously evolving urban landscape. At certain times the theatre, home of shared illusions, became one of the main attractions of the city. The rapid development of free-time and the cult of amusement experienced today in decreasingly monumentalized surroundings (television in the home, for example) induces us to reflect on the *character* of urban theatrical architecture and, more in general, on the meaning of this *monumentality* as part of a specific program of architecture. Is this evidence of a vanished civilization the consequences of which seem to us distorted? The many theatres that indicate the old city centres, as do churches and civic monuments, seem to have lost this role as the distinguishing hallmark of a civilized urban society. Is this merely a slow evolution in progress over centuries dominated by *classicism* right up to the Nineteenth century with its great stylistic crises? Or is it a cruel amnesia, the result of over fifty years of unconditioned *modernist* activity and, by this very description, anti-monumental?
Already more than thirty years ago — and we know how the study of mentalities reveals the speed-up in changes in fashions and behaviours — Pierre Sonrel wrote:

"*Today we are used to regular paid-for entertainment in between work, sleep and meals, at customary times and places. Once festivities were celebrated in a completely different way: they did not represent, as with us, a weekly event, necessary to our social organization.*"[6]

It was in fact the Nineteenth century that created, in modern form, this new ritual of permanent entertainment, establishing the overall structure (inside and outside) of the space assigned to it, opening then onto the street or, better still, onto the public square. The history of this evolution can be traced from the Renaissance onward: in those days architecture, vision of the city and stage decor were quite differently related. Taking an original structure as their basis, the Italian Humanists redevised and developed the stage, a realistic construction in the architectural sense, exactly the opposite of places barely hinted at in medieval shows. We are evidently thinking of the result of experiences, whether ephimeral or much more concrete, which Peruzzi, Bramante, Serlio, Palladio, Scamozzi and Aleotti brought to the great Italian theatre of the court, or academic as at Vicenza.
In the Middle Ages, contrary to this new antique-style architecture, places where theatrical performances were given were simply decorated interiors of some kind (the choir of a church for example) or the market square. They were placed alongside or added to architectural constructions in the atmosphere of an urban holiday which set greater store by magic and the irrational than by the illusion of a *performance* in the modern sense of the term. In those days the theatre, like religion, appeared to be more of a spontaneous expression of urban life depending entirely on the surrounding built-up space and without any idea of there being a specific space set aside for entertainment. Desirous of reproducing ancient formulae, artists of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries searched among antique documents for descriptions of how the theatres in Rome were decorated. Reading the works of Vitruvio, central to classical theory, was a point of reference for architects, painters and "scenographists" anxious to exhibit the fascinating effects of perspective. Their interpretations imposed a new kind of townscape whose rhythm, symmetry and architectural dignity represented a rational perception of the individual, of society and of the environment. The term "Renaissance" clearly suggests a reassessment of history, brought up to date, making itself felt by the semblance and revival of architectural archetypes. Even in ancient times Vitruvio had felt no doubt about the harmony existing between certain representative values of architecture and a conscious maturity in town planning. Criticising the phantasmagoric stage of a small urban theatre of his time, the theorist moralistically expressed his opinion thus:

"*Do you understand that if we accept a painting which*

The Odéon square seen today, through the colonnade of the theater's portico. Photo Musy.
The Carrefour of the Paris Odéon, in the mid-Nineteenth century. Photograph by Marville, Carnavalet Museum, Paris. Photo Giraudon.





represents something that does not exist, our city will risk being classified among those whose inhabitants (...) are considered as lacking in intelligence and in critical sense?"

It would seem as if the Renaissance, then the Age of Enlightenment had studied this like a lesson and meditated upon it: the former by opposing medieval irrationality, the latter by rejecting the lyrical — or possibly even oneiric — extrapolations of the Baroque period. The classicism of the Sixteenth century and the neo-classicism of the second half of the Eighteenth, set out to create an art in which perception of the city, and not merely its image or projection, received full expression.
In France, during the reign of Louis XV (1715-1774), following acceptance of the Italian style auditorium as an absolute model in Europe, the theatre assumed a permanent function as a building, immediately becoming a problem of urban aesthetics. In Provence, in Paris, as nowhere else in Europe before the French Revolution (excepting in Great Britain)[7], the antique art of the *Lumières* sought to give convincing expression to the cultural identity of an evolving community. In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries the material rules of this urban reorganization in a monumental direction, with the theatre as epicentre of a new civic cult, were similar. They consecrated the rise to power of capitalist companies which is some degree gave an official character to their entertainment in this *type* of building. Government dignitaries, rich shopkeepers, financiers who gave their protection to ballet dancers or singers, connected with the monarchy which, before 1789, was very "enlightened" in this sense, preceded the Nineteenth century capitalist entrepreneurs and speculators. In the days of Degas, the artist, for example, Haussmann's vision was radiating outward from the *Foyer de la Danse*: Carpeaux expressed it in his sculptures on the frontage of the Palais Garnier (the Paris Opéra) but with a "carnal" fascination, far from the seemly Muses of the Eighteenth century. He scandalized "respectable" people disturbed by the decidedly sensual renderings on the frontage.
Ideology, however, does not explain the variations in urban scale between the *antique style* theatre built under Louis XV and the sumptuous Palais Garnier built for Napoleon III nor, above all, the radical evolution in style of theatrical architecture that took place in France in the course of a century. The distance between the *antique revival* of the *Ancien Régime* and bourgeois *eclecticism* in architecture equals that between Gluck's musical and drama reform and that made by Wagner who reorchestrated Gluck in his spare time! The historical typology I am outlining here in no way intends to be a purely descriptive analysis of architectural forms and structures: it aims not to catalogue styles but to interpret the way they appear in monuments as a means of explaining their emergence, omnipresence, delirium prior to the destruction of aesthetic solutions characterizing artistic creation at a certain stage in our history.

"Theatremania" and town planning: the monumental statute of entertainment
In a history of the show in general the Eighteenth century occupied a crucial point: it is the period which, referring back to antiquity (Greece and Rome), in fact elevated theatrical activity — until the only ritual, sporadic, nomadic or reserved to certain social classes — to the rank of a permanent institution and, nowadays present everywhere. While development of interiors followed the Italian model, brought to perfection all over Europe until ca. 1750, in the same period the outward form of urban theatres seemed destined to remain without any specific appearance. Its rapid evolution in the second half of the century was summed up twenty years later as follows by the theorist of architecture Jacques-François Blondel:

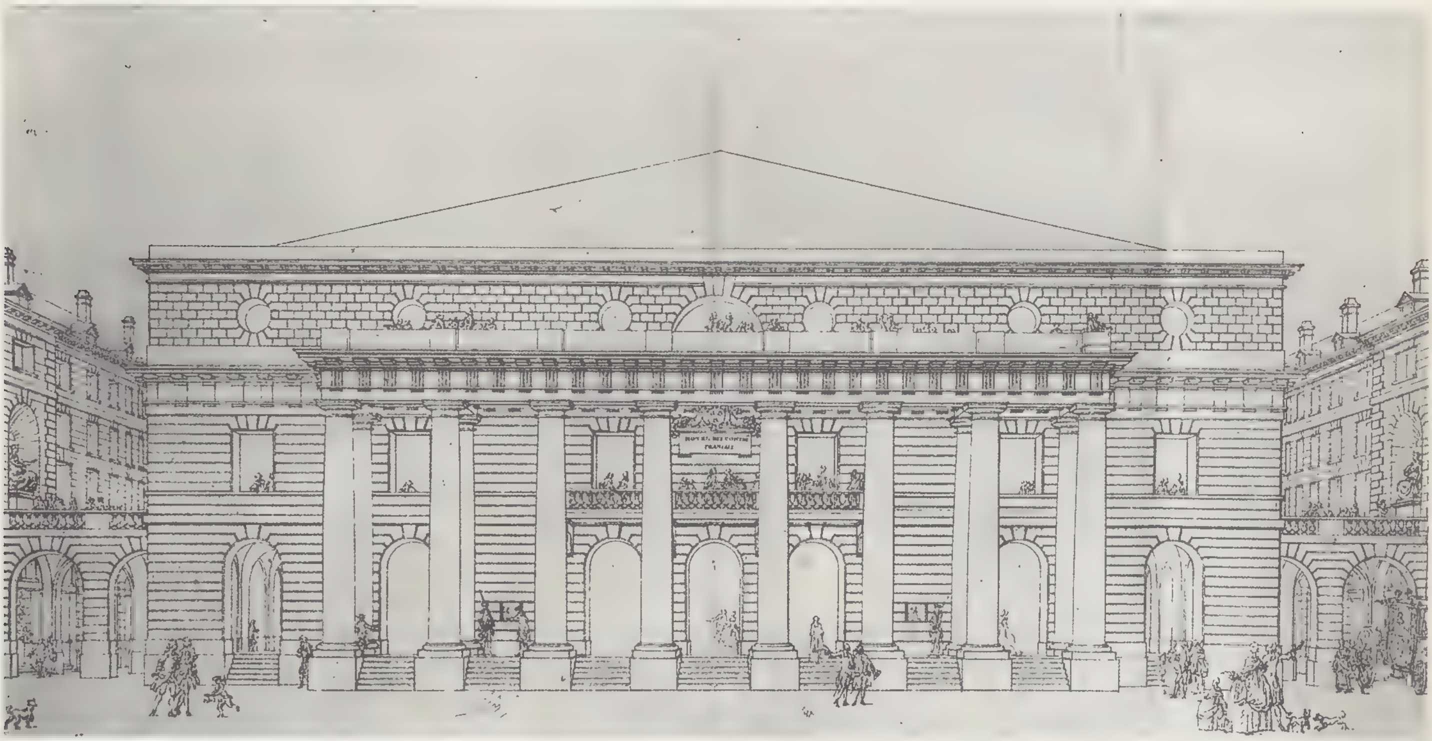
"*We call 'salle de spectacle' a special room near a palace or in one wing of a great building*" (1752); then "*To build a theatre means first and foremost erecting a public building in a city; secondly it means finding adequate accomodation for spectators within this building and, finally, preparing a show to put on in front of them.*" (1771)

At the end of the century the "theatremania" was replaced by the "architecturemania" to such a point that, in 1798, a journalist commented thus on this inversion of roles saying that it was normal that "in the theatre it is now architects who are worrying about how to attract the public".
At the close of the Ancien Régime the social role of the theatre was expressed through the urban interpretation of its architecture. The interplay of entrances and exits, the procession of coaches, the coming and going of servants, the wait for a ticket or search for gallant adventures, all made a kind of *preliminary show* making absolutely essential for what it was. The great architect-painters who designed theatres — De Wailly, Ledoux, Bélanger, Boullée —

animated their drawings with this brilliant crowd that enlivened the urban show. Interflow inside the theatre between stage and auditorium led to frenzy that soon surpassed the latter's limits. Between street and internal architecture spaces for entry, waiting, strolling round and meeting points were to become a characteristic feature of the varied forms of architectural choice. Construction of frontages, porticoes, arcades, brightly-lit stairways, great lobbies opening out onto the road, the street pattern itself, creation of open spaces leading into covered or open walkways came as the result of a new awareness of the role held by entertainment shows in defining the urban scene. This new awareness, moreover, included a series of activities linked to the presence of the theatre-monument, such as promenading, luxury shops, hotels, restaurants and cafés, gambling and prostitution.

Rue Richelieu in Paris and its neighbourhood, which includes the Palais-Royal garden and the Choiseul passage, were probably the best example in Europe of an architectural space conceived for leisure: between 1781 and 1826 eight monumental theatres were built in this newly laid out urban area made pleasing by the addition of arcades and porticoes for commercial activities. The Palais-Royal itself, a favourite place for public strolling, with its two theatres, was said to have been redesigned by Victor Louis as a *forum*! Religious prejudice against the theatre as a distraction from Church attendance lessened. In spite of a few rearguard actions against its immoral (or antisocial, according to J.J. Rousseau) character, the theatre was by then commonly viewed as part of a new civic ideal expressing the acknowledged identity between *citoyen* (member of a State) and *citadin* (inhabitant of a city) this too — like the despot, the enlightened member of the aristocracy, the important administrator or the artist — theorized by philosophists... Because of a kind of urban solidarity, the result of a satisfied conscience, a share of the profits from all shows was handed over to the hospitals. While this custom was kept alive until the end of the century, problems of "city policing" (for both prevention and repression) justified building important theatres in, for example, garrison-towns and ports. Around 1770 reports explaining these public works in cities like Besançon, Dunkerque, Le Havre, Lorient or Toulon, express concern over bringing within a single strategic area of the city an activity considered essential for controlling the disorderly amusements of soldiers and sailors. But in heavy-traffic ports like Bordeaux, Nantes or Marseille, as in Paris, the urban theatre tried, by its size and progressively inspired architectural forms, to express a new dignity pertaining to the owner class soon to become the ruling class.

Symbol of the urbanity and prosperity of the modern city, the theatre quickly became the pivot of new improvement schemes that were less and less the exclusive prerogative of the prince. The cost of putting up monuments and the desire for profits by financial companies were such that speculation became the driving force for the building of theatres in the second half of the Eighteenth century. At a time when city life was organizing itself on new bases, pressed by both demographic and economic growth, at a time when the city was expanding at increasing speed, official resources could no longer meet building requirements; even architecture had to face the risks of the money market becoming the prey of limited liability companies who speculated on the early stages of modern town planning. As time went on the greatness and magnificence of the urban theatre came to depend more and more on the extent and efficiency of the zoning operations in the urban areas around them. Buildings themselves underwent important structural and aesthetic changes that were to continue for two centuries. In France, where this phenomenon became generalized towards 1770-1780, modernization in the Arsenal area of Marseille, in the Louis block in Bordeaux and in the Graslin district of Nantes all provide evidence of this trend in places where great theatres with arcades represented the central element of important zoning operations. Further evidence was seen in the zoning of gardens and *hotels* of the indebted aristocracy and of certain Paris convents: the Condé, Choiseul, Louvois Hotels, the convent of the Filles-Saint-Thomas, giving rise respectively to the *quartiers* Odéon, Comédie Italienne (site of the present Opéra Comique), Théâtre Feydeau, the rue des Colonnes etc. Economy and profit making sometimes curtailed the generous choices that the architect would have made. Zoning and transformation of the urban territory however made it possible for architects to develop a new type of large-scale operation including the design of buildings for speculative purposes. Urban aesthetics also supported an ideal, at once moralist and pedagogic, that took shape under the influence of illuminist philosophy but also through the work of artists inspired by communicative sensitivity, supporters of a regenerative antiquity: Greuze, Gluck, Vien,



Charles de Wailly, Second project for the Nouvelle Comédie Française (currently Théâtre de l'Odéon), preliminary drawing for the engraving of the Encyclopédie, *approx. 1771-73. Drawing, Bibliothèque Hist., de la Ville de Paris. Photo Musy.*



Théâtre de l'Odéon today, main facade. Photo E. Revault.

Hubert Robert, David etc.
By 1789 the "revolution of customs" had made its effect felt in the transformation and embellishment of French cities[8].
Renovation in the "ancient style", brought in by neo-classic architecture, had added lustre to the theatres causing them to become some of the most representative buildings in the city. This *reform* of theatre architecture, thust part of the general tide of architectural renewal begun in 1750, owed much to encyclopaedists, art critics, theorists of architecture, authors of works condemning cities and the harmful nature of urban life and, finally to responsible politicians on whom they had a lasting influence. Already in 1733 Voltaire severely criticized Parisien theatres built in the Seventeenth century on the Italian model (but lacking the size and magnificence of the Italian originals), in temporary accomodation, uncomfortable, with no acces and without a frontage worthy of the name. Comparing the entrance to the Opéra with that to a prison, he wrote:

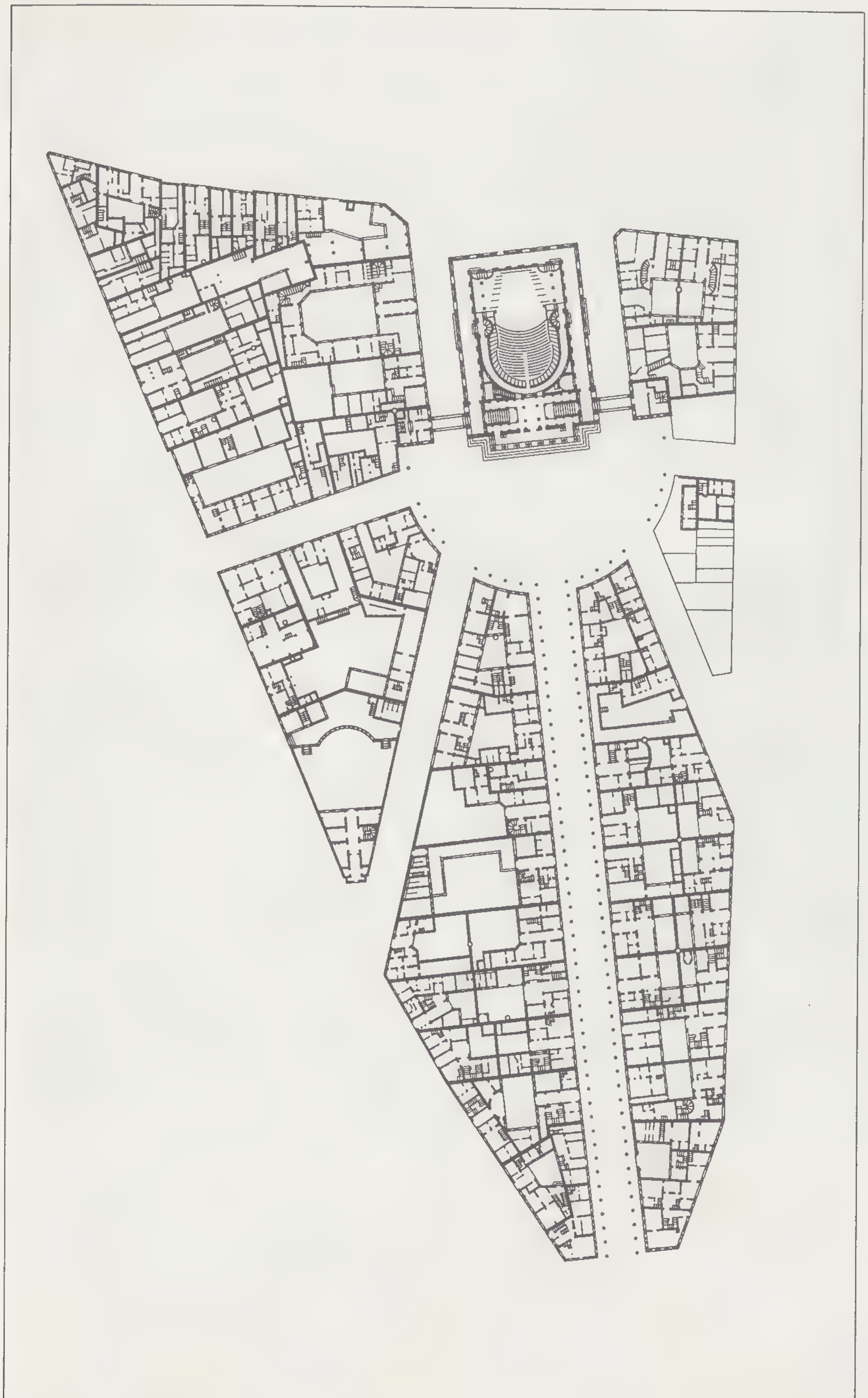
"*One day you will no longer have Gothic temples: the halls for your shows will be worthy of the immortal plays perfomed in them: now squares and public markets built under arcades will adorn Paris like ancient Rome*".

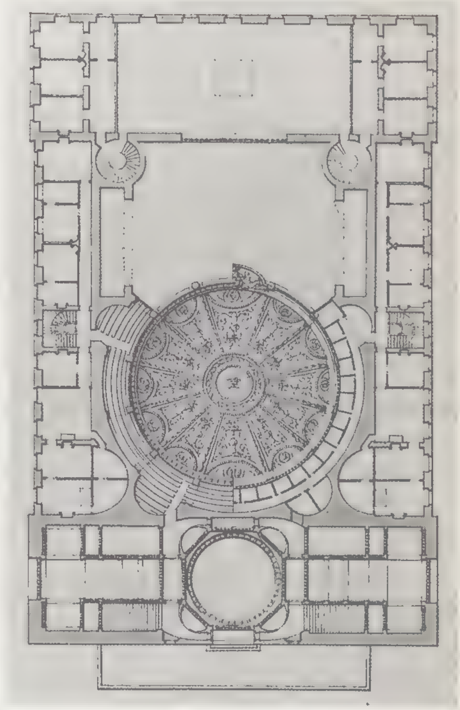
The idea of building a monument in honour of the *Parnasse Français* (the great authors of the national repertoire: Corneille, Racine, Molière) and of raising the theatre to the rank of a temple on the ancient model dedicated to Apollo and the Muses, lies at the basis of this great reform, at least at symbolic and formal levels. The Ancienne Comédie Française, built by François d'Orbay under Louis XIV, is nothing but restoration of an old hall where lawn tennis was played, and subsequently restored after its construction (1689). Appointed in 1768 to build a Nouvelle Comédie Française, at last an independent building with its own designs, architect Charles de Wailly in this way brought to mind the modest aspect of the old hall, seat of an institutionalized theatre the frontage of which merged into those of the adjacent buildings: "It looks as if the private house of a citizen had been borrowed for a certain period". The antithesis of a public monument!
In the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, early in the Nineteenth century (third volume of *Architecture*) Quatremère de Quincy praised the Nouvelle Comédie Française (the present Théâtre de l'Odéon)[9] built between 1779 and 1782 to a project by Charles de Wailly and by his friend Marie-Joseph Peyre, two famous French disciples of Piranesi:

"*The exterior of this theatre, built in stone* (...) *underwent no change*" Quatremère wrote[10]: "*from the point of view of architecture it is still the only theatre worthy to be called a monument. The space surrounding it, the regularity of the square in which it stands, and of the adjacent streets, above all its isolated position — an unusual situation in a crowded city like Paris — makes it worthy of admiration and no theatre can be compared to it as far as easy accessibility and circulation go*".

Returning to the opinion of Quatremère de Quincy: this influential theorist of classical rigour identifies the basic points to be observed in resorting to *good* ancient models. During the first thirty years of the Nineteenth century, in the middle of the crisis over establishment of the new Ecole des Beaux-Arts and that of the economic functionalism imposed on the Prefectures and sub-Prefectures by the powerful "Conseil des Bâtiments Civils", he tried, not without success, to oppose both a rising eclecticism and (like his colleague the engineer-theorist Durand) the individualistic and magniloquent lyricism of the architects of Ledoux's generation (he died in 1806). Spread over a century, but without being able to maintain complete chronological order (exemplifications differ according to whether a position is assumed before or after 1800), historical typology of the theatre-monument vacillates between two major trends.
The first, and most idealistic, belonged to orthodox classicism starting from the Renaissance: dignity of theatrical activity was acknowledged in the city if the building was raised to the rank of a *temple*. This was the *leitmotiv* of neoclassic architecture which triumphed in the Odéon theatre (1768-1782) and in a dozen or so great *theatre-temples* built in France between 1780 and 1820, again in Paris but also in Bordeaux, Nantes, Besançon, Marseille, Lille, Dijon, Nîmes, Strasbourg... This theme was later to be launched abroad by Germany, Great Britain, Italy and in Eastern countries well into the second half of the Nineteenth century.
The second trend, more pragmatic but also more respectful of the classic archetype, revived the features of the "historical monument": the Roman amphitheatre with arcades (intended for theatrical shows) or the Renaissance

Charles de Wailly and Marie-Joseph Peyre, Theater, plaza and Odéon block, 1778-82. Current plan. Drawing of the Atlas de Paris, *care of B. Portier, Institut Française d'Architecture.*
Charles de Wailly, Second project for the Nouvelle Comédie Française (currently the Théâtre de l'Odéon), built in 1779-82; plan of the ceiling with the Zodiac.
Photo Courtald Institute.





Jacques-Germaine Soufflot, Section and main elevation of the new theater of Lyon, built in 1753-56. Print by Neufforge.
Photo CERCAM.



basilica acted as models (with their civic, spectacular urban function) non longer ideal but rather because they could be reproduced. This dialectic of models became evident as from the Eighteenth century and led to antinomian results; it was the Nineteenth century however that was to witness the development of hall the many variations, from the lifelike imitation to the synthetic eclecticism in which Charles Garnier excelled. His polychromatic and hyper-engraved Opéra Theatre in Paris (1861-1875) in turn became a world archetype. The problem of the theater appearing in the city as a separate building, extrovert symbol of front rank institutional activity, would never have been presented had there been no will to improve the interior configuration. In France, criticism of the Italian baroque auditorium was the starting point not only for defining anew the relationship between auditorium and stage, but also for defining the influence of the stage on the poetic value of this kind of monument. The prevailing *idea* in historical subject painting, in dramatic and epic poetry as in classic sculpture and music, the *idea* — heading the hierarchy of academic subjects[11] — made the city image sacred through the meeting place for entertainment. Illuminism formulates this concrete plan for public architecture: the "Temple for reuniting the Arts" (speech, music, scenography, painting, dance, mimicry, etc.). Thirty years before the French Revolution, the city of philosophers and encyclopaedists had conquered the imagery of the court and academies!

The "Greek" theatre and the metamorphoses of the Zodiac Temple

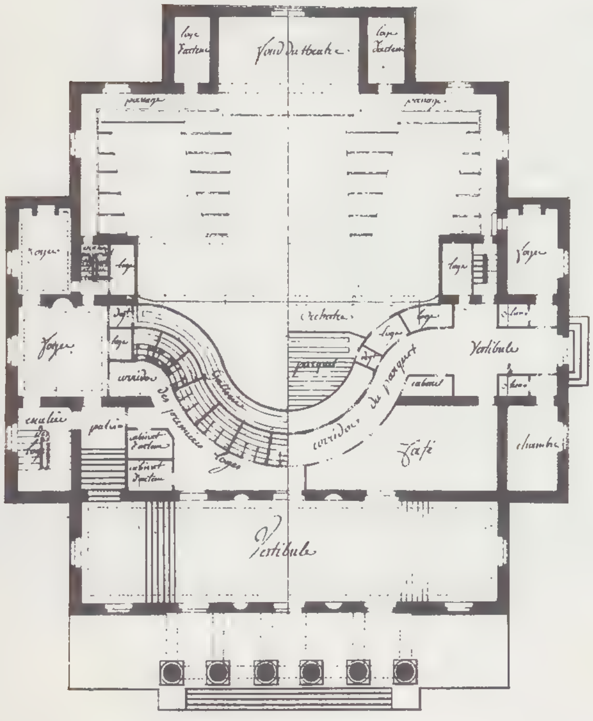
Shortly after 1750, the theatre in France became one of the themes, both theoretical and practical, of public architecture. The point of departure may be made to coincide with the famous trip to Italy by Madame de Pompadour's brother, future Marquis of Marigny, director of the "Bâtiments du Roi", together with Cochin and Soufflot. The artistic role of these promoters of the "Greek" style was well known in interior decoration, in decorative arts, painting and architecture. The consequences of the report on this trip to Italy, published by Cochin in 1758[12], also directly concerned the reform of theatrical architecture. All this at a time when the construction of the Versailles Opéra had been entrusted to Ange-Jacques Gabriel and to his staff (completed only in 1770), when thought was being given to reconstruction of the great theatres of Paris, and when some towns (in particular Metz and Montpellier) were



Nicolas-Marie Potain. View of the three-part stage for a theater project, 1763, showing the scenario for Voltaire's tragedy Sémiramis. *Ink drawing, ENSBA Library, Paris. Photo Musy.*

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Preliminary project for the facade of the Besançon theater, 1776. Drawing, Doubs Departimental Archives. Photo A. D.



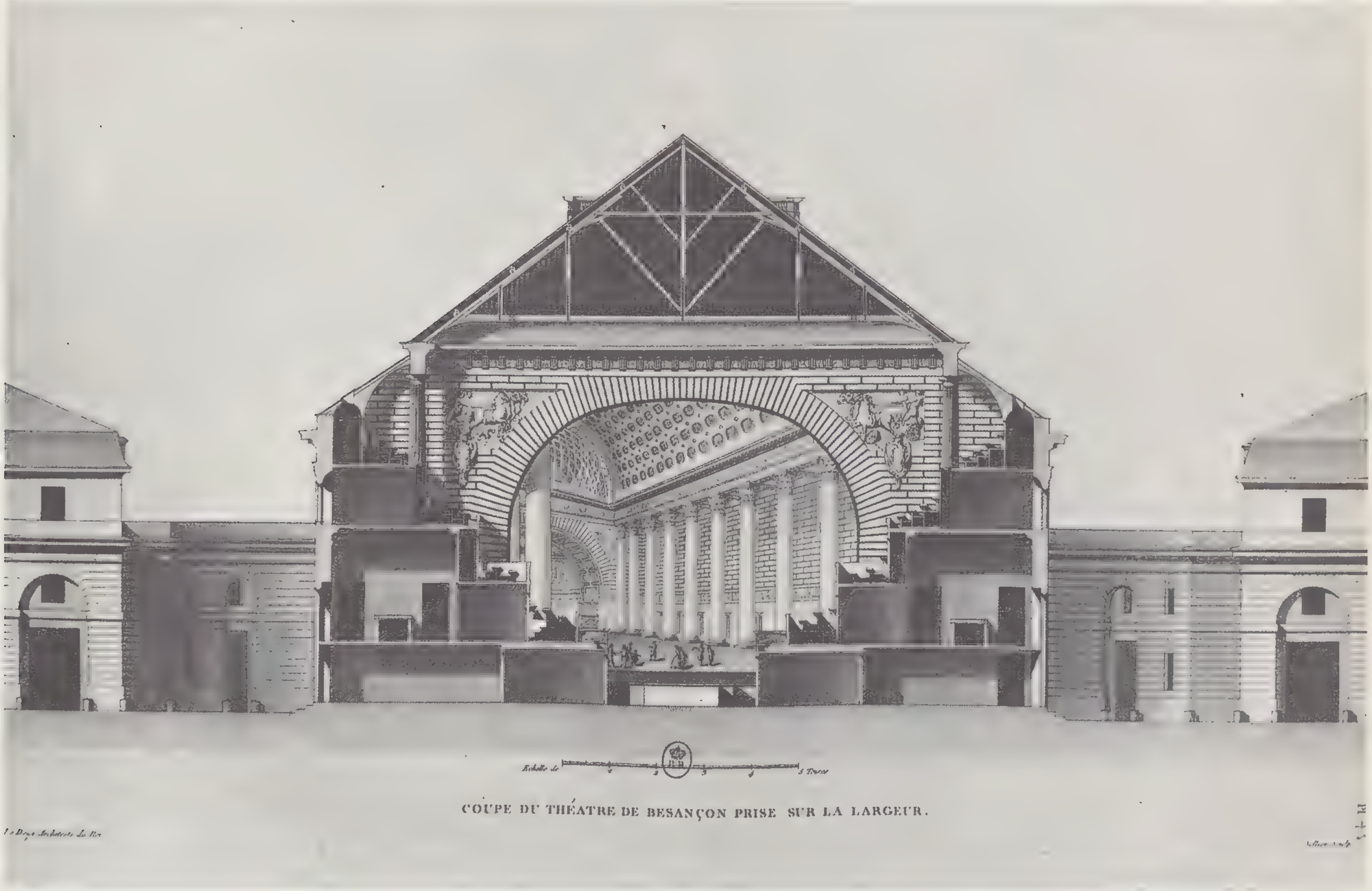


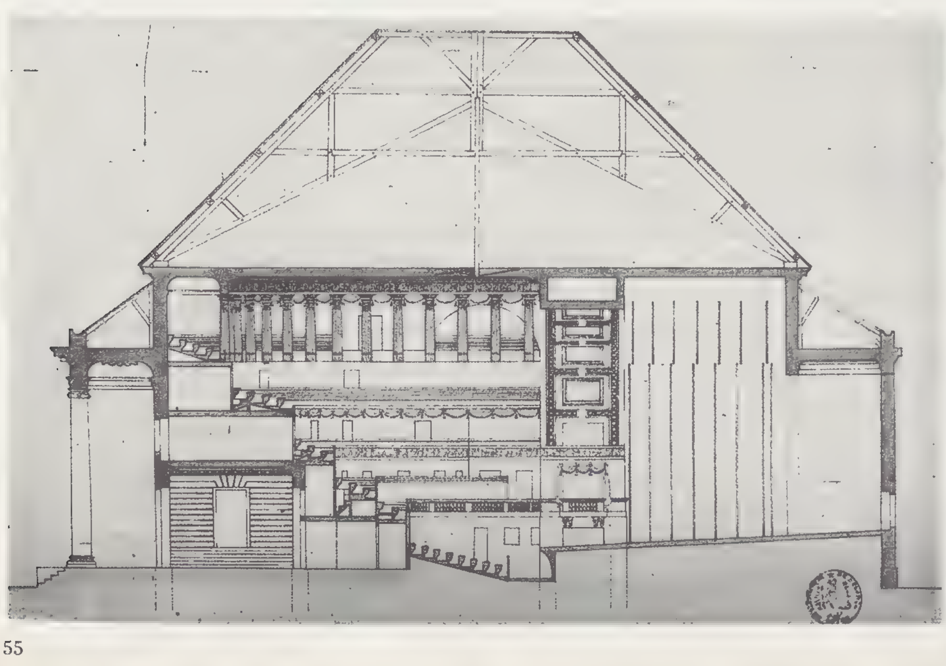
Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Preliminary project for the Théâtre de Besançon, 1776, ground floor plan (on the right) and of the first boxes (on the left). Drawing, Doubs Departimental Archives. Photo A. D.

building new ones on the by then obsolete model of the Ancienne Comédie Française. Unrelenting criticism of the modern Italian theatres — Cochin called them "hen coops", golden ones but without a "noble" architecture — contrasted with the praise both of ancient theatres and of Palladio's Olympic Theatre. Clearly the Italian theatre whose elliptic plan and absence of elevated projections were justly praised, was above all an *instrument* for the show. The closed boxes, perpendicularly arranged one above the other, were shaped in a way vaguely suggesting a convivial retreat that does seem suitable for what Parisien high society would expect. Supported by these comments, Soufflot, but also Cochin, Dumont[13] and Potain (Gabriel's colleague), then drew up an initial draft for reform of the French theatre. The Théâtre de Lyon (destroyed) built by Soufflot to his own design between 1753 and 1756, was the first material result; and while Cochin, Potain and soon Neufforge as well, multiplied the models inspired by Palladio, Soufflot's theatre was an extremely modern compromise between the Italian layout (imitated by Benedetto Alfieri's theatre in Turin), the Greek idea of the cavea with great steps and the projecting boxes with banisters further inset the higher up they went. The renewal that he theorized was soon to be exceeded by his emulators, the French "Piranesians", desirous of including the *great frame* around the audience: this however deserves treatment as the start of the *theatre-monument* question in France. The paper read by Soufflot to the Lyon Academy in December 1753, and which preceded by over ten years the publications on theatre by Dumont and Cochin, is of fundamental importance: it was an *Introduction à l'explication des dessins de la salle de spectacle de Lyon*. In it Soufflot revealed his idea when still in raptures over his discovery in Italy of several ancient monuments (the Arena of Verona, the theatre of Ercolano, etc.); "discoveries" that were at least his personal experiences. The manner in which the artist analyses the role of the theatre and its importance in the city prevailed over any prelimanary consideration:

"*Invention*" he wrote "*offspring of need, first and foremost taught man how to shelter himself from bad weather. Soon after, yielding to man's passions, invention gave him the means for satisfying them; thus we have the immense buildings of the Assyrians, the famous monuments that still survive in Egypt. The art of building, brought by those people to the maximum degree of magniloquence, was elevated by*

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Coupe du Théâtre de Besançon, *taken from* L'Architecture considerée... *1804. Photo: CERCAM.*
Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Section of the Théâtre de Besançon hall: final project, built in 1784. Doubs Departimental Archives.
Photo A. D.





the Greeks to the highest level of perfection. They built wonderful constructions of every kind and therefore theatres as well. However, nature preceded art and we find in sacred and profane tales that the presence of hills has often helped more spectators to see the scenes acted in the valley below.
It is perhaps due to these natural conformations that the theatre was invented: the Greeks, considered as being the inventors, built them first of wood, then of brick or stone. The Romans, who took them from the Greeks, became so passionately fond of acting that every Italian city of importance had, from that time, at least one theatre. We know that these buildings had no fixed roof and that the audience was protected by huge awnings pulled over it; even though this may seem a very complicated procedure, the ruins of ancient theatres and amphitheatres leave no doubt about it.
Their size was considerable and it is said that theatres were built to seat up to eighty thousand people."

Recalling the centuries of *barbarity and ignorance* that followed the fall of the Roman Empire, Soufflot paid homage to the troubadours, then to the authors of the Renaissance who, like Jodelle, gave France taste and feeling for the true theatre (classical obviously). It was Italy however who set an example:

"*The shows revived by the Medici family in Italy*", wrote Soufflot, "*required, as here in France, roofed theatres, but the architects from beyond the Alps, inspired by the ruins of ancient theatres, built them to designs different from ours. In its grandeur the theatre of Parma and that of Verona* (sic) *by Palladio are very similar to ancient theatres; those built at a later date repeat their main lines but with different details and like ours, are divided into small boxes one above another up to seven tiers. In my designs I have attempted to include the positive aspects that I found in Italian and French theatres and to avoid the drawbacks I noted in both*".

Contrary to Italian architects, who did not seem sufficiently sensitive to pay any special attention to the *importance* of theatres in the city — the Church was watchful! — until tardily with Malizia[14], Soufflot examined the reasons behind the creation of real monuments in cities of past ages. The first cleverly arranged sentences of his Introduction enabled him moreover list the forms that distinguished these monuments: first of all the tiers of step-like seats, introduced by the Greeks and inspired by "natural shapes"; secondly the *velarium*, a precursor of the ceiling of a modern theatre. To satisfy the most modest needs, but also a new desire for comfort, the modern theatre became an *interior space* losing any external architectural characterization; even the auditorium was altered in deference to the fact that any show today has someting of the social occasion about it. The simple and effective step structure of the amphitheatre was replaced by tiers of enclosed boxes representing one of those problems that the author would have preferred to avoid in French theatres. Along with reformists and philosophers, who would have liked to transform any meeting room into an amphitheatre, Soufflot came in conflict with the habits of the French public in relation to shows. Paradoxically, considering the function of boxes in Eighteenth century French theatres (especially when rented on an annual basis), we have to agree that their presence recalled, even if to a lesser extent, the *private* use made of them by the Italians! The criticism already mentioned ("hen coops", "lack of architecture") thus possesses that value of *perspective* often apparent in the spirit of reformism but which pragmatism rejects. Soufflot, the rationalist, tried to reconcile these two trends.
The author who carried furthest elaboration of the theory of the *modern theatre in ancient style* was Damun without any doubt; his pamphlet which accompanied his design for a new Comédie Française was published later, but successfully, in 1772. The result of twenty years of thought (this too based on a direct knowledge of ancient models, Damun's project was later to be carefully studied by the most important authorities, though this did not lead to the building of a theatre designed by him. His ideas however coincided with those of Peyre and De Wailly. The title of his pamphlet is a program in itself: *Le nouveau théâtre des Français fait avec les plans combinés du théâtre des Grecs et de l'amphithéâtre des Romaines: tracé géométriquement sur des principes d'optique, de physiqye, de mécanique et d'architecture.* Since it was essential to re-establish the sacral, equalitarian union of the Greek audience gathered together for the extraordinary event of a theatrical show and in order to revive customs, it was necesasry: first to change the architecture by adopting the most suitable form, then to make changes in the show itself by adapting it for this new audience (or else, a new show to create the public that would demand a new architecture). History and nature were the inspiring forces for this ambitious initiative; but to the

physical origin of the amphitheatre cut out of a hillside, as Soufflot recalled, Damun added an origin based on *human* nature: behaviour. Since the Comédie Française, the "Drama Academy of the Nation" was concerned, the author continues:

"*Inspired by this great idea, Damun thought it would be possible to add silent performances of dramas to aim at improving the education and studies of French youth; these new shows would be similar to those produced by Servandoni in the hall of the Tuileries*[15]*: the subject would be chosen on each occasion from history, legend, geography, art, ancient customs and ceremonies, natural phenomena, from all the significant events occurring in other countries and even from the deeds of our kings, from the most famous episodes of our monarchy* (...)."

These ideas, similar to those for which the dramatis-philosopher Voltaire fought — and thanks to which he was able definitively to drive away the privileged spectators from the stage of the Comédie Française in 1759[16] — prepared the *architectural iconography* for the great building site of Peyre and De Wailly.
Dedicated to Apollo Musagetes, as were the theatres of the Opéra at Versaille and in Paris (the latter, following the fire at the Palais-Royal, was built *in situ* by Moreau-Desproux between 1763 and 1770), Soufflot's theatre took inspiration from the great theme of the rites performed at Delos and Delphi for its paintings (on the spoke-wise ceiling and on the drop curtain), its sculptures (on the front pediment) and for the opening ceremony (declamation of *Le Réveil d'Apollon* as a prologue). But the painted or sculptured iconography (like that of Phoebus-Apollo representing, at Versaille, the interplay of art and nature in the service of the king) no longer satisfied the ambition of the architects, eager as they were to create new aesthetics based on a ritualized program, authentic symbol of Englightenment. Functional and illustrative, Soufflot's reform did not seem concerned with the exterior of the building which, strangely enough, had no monumental aspect, but the fact that it was isolated on four sides, added to introduction of arcades for shops along one of its longer ones, and to the context of urban speculation in which the theatre stood, gave forewarnings of the program that was to inspire the architect of the Nouvelle Comédie Française.
Here then is the content of the program as presented during the opening ceremony of 1782; it was found on view as a manuscript in the National Archives, with an Introduction to *Iphigénie* by Racine, performed that day after a civic celebration on stage:

"*Since the new theatre, built in the capital of the kingdom, is intended for French dramatic art, we must consider it as a monument owed to our authors, both of tragedy and comedy, to the honour of the Nation: until today, in fact, Paris has seen the masterpieces of its greatest authors performed in* impromptu *theatres* (...). *The opening of this theatre will thus be marked by public homage to the memory of our great authors whose works have immortalized the French language and have made it known in all European countries.*"

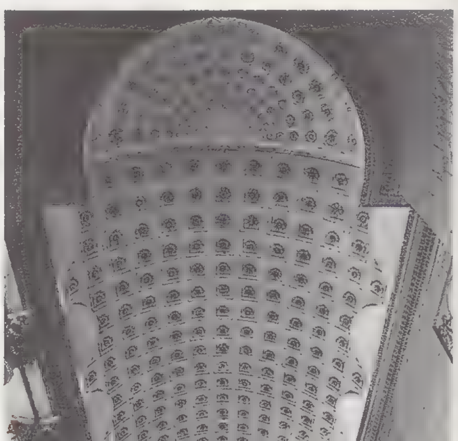
This ultra-nationalist text unequivocally legitimates the first "patriotic" temple ten years before Soufflot transformed the Church of Sainte Geneviève into the *Panthéon*. The energy that Marigny, director of the Bâtiments du Roi showed in defence of his project, and publication of their drawings in the *Supplément* to the *Encyclopédie* in 1777, prior to construction, provide evidence of the international prestige to which this future monument could legitimately aspire. It was intended that the "ritual" of the opening ceremony would cause the public to vibrate (thereby becoming educated) in unanimous optimism, in recognition of its own civic virtues. The program described the scene representing *La Parnasse Français*:

"*A great overture accompanies the rising of the curtain and then a new type of melody will be gradually heard. It will become louder accompanying the French genius led by young people under the emblem of the arts and sciences: this divinity will be followed by the Muses of tragedy and comedy and by a procession of the most important personalities of French theatrical works who will parade as in a triumphal march before the statues of Corneille, Racine, Molière, Regnard, etc., carried and accompanied by a great crowd of people, symbolizing the nations* (...)."

This curious example of staging, prologue to Racine's tragedy, is of great interest when compared with the toponomy of the surrounding streets and with the iconography for decorating the inside of the theatre. Naming the streets converging onto Place de l'Odéon (as it is called today) after dramatic authors (Racine, Corneille, Regnard,

Mathurin Crucy, Théâtre Graslin in Nantes, Portico and plaza, as seen today.
Photo Inventaire Général, D. Pillet.
Mathurin Crucy, Vault of the reception hall the Théâtre Graslin in Nantes, 1784-88, as seen today.
Photo E. Revault.





Place Graslin in Nantes, seen from the colonnade of the theater's portico. Photo Inventaire Général, D. Pillet.
Théâtre Graslin in Nantes, plaza and reception from Cours Cambronne.





etc.), the city authorities of the Eighteenth century to some extent increased the glory of a building consecrated to the ritual of the show, but whose official symbolism was part of a more general glorification of the progress of the arts and the nation. After passing the shaded arcades, decorated with Doric columns (Apollo's order was expressly chosen, explained De Wailly), the audience entered the vestibule and foyer there received by the court of author's busts, to which was added Houdon's famous statue of Voltaire seated. The Muses were also represented in high relief over the proscenium, while the twelve Signs of the Zodiac were painted on the circular ceiling of the auditorium. The analysis, deservingly detailed, reveals a singleness of purpose and high level of talent such as had not been since the days of Palladio's Olympic Theatre! As Quatremère de Quincy reminded us, however, the Odéon was distinguished above all by the quality of composition and of architectural forms, as well as by the vastness of the urban program, especially considering the period in which it was conceived. In putting up a monument inspired by the buildings of the past, architects took care to create an urban enviroment which would enhance its value. Not in the panoramic or hierarchical sense, as in the Baroque period, but in that of scenography, in a way materially representing dramatic art in cultural identity. From the twofold aspect of architecture and urban aesthetics, and in the context we have briefly described, the Odéon theatre must be numbered among the important buildings in architectural history.
Taking Vitruvio as an example, the regular geometric outline that determines the curving auditorium is, in the opinion of De Wailly — Peyre did not clearly express himself on this issue — the very foundation of the building, not only because of its volumetric configuration but also because of the *influence* that it exerted over the district in which it stands. The Nouveau Théâtre Français was extremely fortunate in having been built all in one piece, extending over a vast area to be zoned and completely laid out by its creators. From that time, the lines of streets, the square, covered passage-ways, shops, connecting arches, cafés, foyer, etc. all harmonized with the main internal lines governing the relation of auditorium to stage, and enhancing the position of the proscenium within the whole.
Charles De Wailly also includes in his theory the concept of human nature, his sensualism however being more explicit than was that of Damun:

"*The circular shape is the only one that should be used in theatres. Examples have already shown the correctness of what I affirm*, wrote De Wailly, *but Nature had already suggested it. Let us observe people when they are trying to see and hear a speaker in a square: first they form a semicircle in front of him and he will more or less represent the centre of its radii: if the radii become longer, new spectators will push in at the sides of the speaker, thus increasing the circumference and finally forming threee quarters of a circle* (...)*; in accordance with this natural principle, borne out by experience, I establish a geometric proportion valid for all theatres, that I have called the Proportional Scale for theatres.*"

The proportion described by the artists consists of the interpenetration of two circles according to a fixed proportion. De Wailly concluded the explanation of his formula with the following recommendation which, for the Odéon, he considered should constitute a system:

"*The lines at the extremities of the circles will outwardly form an elongated parallelogram.*"

The quadrilater *type* of temple, with the arcade extending outward from the frontage, was to become the archetype of the theatre-monument prior to 1800. It was not, however, the only model proposed in the design stage; this because many architects thought it appropriate to express the volume of the circular interior with a similar curve on the frontage. The attraction exercised by lines of arches one above the other following the semicircular Roman model, was however generally avoided in the Eighteenth century, unless the Théâtre Feydeau in Paris (Legrand and Molinos, 1790) could be considered the prefiguration of a new revolutionary symbolism. Rather were the artists inspired by the Greek *tholos* or small round peripteral temple. Before Dufart's Théâtre Français in Bordeaux, built in the heart of the radiocentric district of Grands Hommes (1799-1800) this shape was adopted only in a few designs: those made initially by Peyre and De Wailly in 1769 were abandoned in favour of the quadrilateral temple with a portico at the back like a *frons scaenae* closing the square in a hemicycle — a sort of pseudo urban amphitheare linking the surrounding buildings with the civic monument. There was however a new symbolism behind Boullée's conception of his project for the Paris Opéra in 1781: returning to the cult

of Venus to the round temple of Cnidus, he built an enormous *tholos* intended, he said, to display the *grandes toilettes* worn by the ladies for the show. Whatever the ancient model was, it was an ideal one since sacred architecture had to pay homage to the emblematic cult of Apollo, of the Muses, of Venus or of the inhabitants of Parnassus; and, in 1789, on the theme of the Great Masters of Art, Bélanger created a theatre in the form of the Roman *Pantheon...* Ledoux was no less explicit in his comment on the splendid theatre at Besançon. Some illustrations here show examples of those magnificent temples of culture whose spokewise principle, based on extrapolation of the *unifying* circle borrowed from the sacret layouts, absorbed the activities of a new district, or even a whole part o a city. In this field, after the Odéon, masterpieces actually built include the Nantes theatre by Mathurin Crucy (1784-1788) and, among the designs that remained on paper, the many great projects for the Paris Opèra between 1781 and 1800. Meanwhile, the civic holidays to mark the Revolution, animated by processions in the streets with actors and singers from various theatres as well as from the Opéra, contributed much to the *antique revival* the consequence of which also appeared in the success of female fashions in a new Athens-like style.
During the *Ancien Régime*, however, a theatre-temple existed of a rather special kind, having a richness of decorations that removed it from the Greek archetype, and an amply designed roof that stood out form the uniformtity of facades: the Grand Théâtre de Bordeaux built by Victor Louis and ordered by the wealthy governor of the city, the Duke of Richelieu. Some Nineteenth century commentators who contrasted it with the Odéon, saw in it an alternative to austere rigour (externally), to militant regeneration of aesthetics by revolutionary architects[17].

The historical model, or Romans against Greeks: rebirth of the "Basilica"

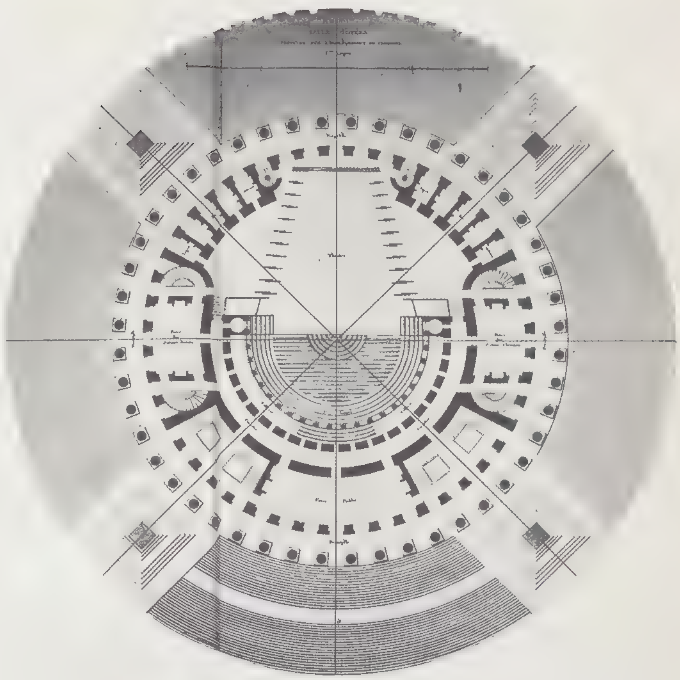
Between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, under the importat heading of "Thèâtre" in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Quatremère de Quincy drew up a sort of balance sheet and perspective on this subject. A neoclassicist theorist, deeply convinced of the unlimited faculties of *Stile* (like Durand, professor at the Ecole Polytechnique, whose influence we know of), he could not unreservedly praise the buildings constructed in his youth in the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI. Between the two French examples from that period, of which he gave a brief analysis — the Grand Théâtre de Bordeaux by Victor Louis and the Odéon by Peyre and De Wailly — Nineteenth century France mostly took the former as its model, while Germans, Poles, Russians and some Italians (for the exterior only) took the Odéon as theirs.
Quatremère did not actually suggest either as a model: he admired Victor Louis' theatre for the quality of its grandiose-decorative composition (the same that was later on to inspire Garnier for the *interior* of the Opéra) and he admired the Odéon for the way it harmonized with the city, for the way the surrounding space was organized in expressive sequences to facilitate movement of the public in and out of the show. Quatremère did not recommend the forms of this architecture: suspicious of all flights of fancy and opposed to any right to *innovation*, this learned theorist could not admit that buildings should too freely interpret the vital lymph of *Antiquity*. His conservative spirit, contrary to the syntactic expressiveness of the first neoclassics of the Soufflot and Ledoux generation felt at one with the early results of classic *historicism* which, arising in Germany about 1820, took shape in France under the July Monarch) of Louis Philip in development of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. The architecture of this period, inspired by an archeological interpretation of history (as Winckelmann had recommended) abandoned the thematic variations that characterized the art of the latter years of the *Ancien Régime*. In the sphere of theatre the two examples mentioned are archetypes of this original procedure of which Quatremère and his contemporaries were suspicious since they defended what was a mainly functiontalist kind of architecture.
Deriving inspiration from the monuments built on the Roman forum in a part of Bordeaux (Burdigala of the Romans) where there was one, Victor Louis gave his masterpiece the form of a basilica similar to those of Padua and Vicenza with an arched structure dominated by a high roof shaped like an overturned keel, to which a pronao, conceived as part of an arcade, was added but without a pediment. This latter, designed on a small scale, decorated the superstructure placed perpendicularly over the entrance to the auditorium. Nothing can be seen now of the rigour and severe architectural lines of the Odéon (today mutilated) representing the highest point of "Greek taste" transferred to stone for expressive purposes not for mere imitation. The architecture of both the Odéon and of the

Jean-François Heurtier, Théâtre Italien in Paris, 1781-83 (destroyed). Perspective. Print by Ransonnette. National Library, Paris. Photo IUP.

François-Joseph Bélanger, Grand Théâtre des Arts ou Temple d'Apollon, *Project for the Paris Opèra at the Carrousel, 1789. Print, Carnavalet Museum, Paris. Photo IUP.*





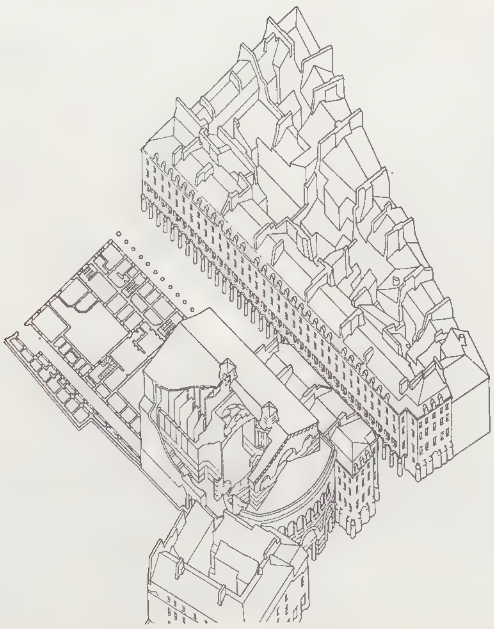


Etienne-Louis Boullée, Project for the Paris Opèra, 1781, general plan. Ink drawing, National Library, Paris. Photo B.N. Est.

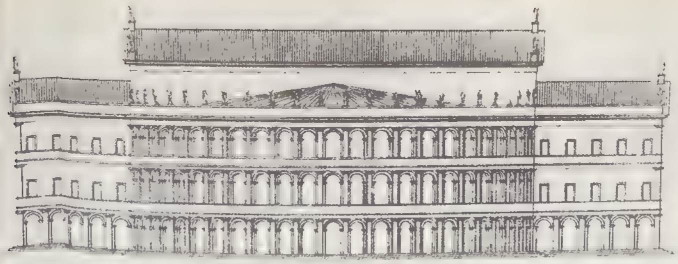
Grand Théâtre de Bordeaux is based on a visual *metaphor* as in a conventional mask where the symbology is easily recognizable under the physionomy. The art of Victor Louis, itself eclectic in its theoretical principles as in its results, was opposed by the synthetic vision of Peyre and De Wailly, close to the ideal of Ledoux, of Boullée and of the great architects of the Revolution. From this powerful *image*, integrated into the city plan by the style of buildings put up on street plans as "legible" as the symbolic figures inside the theatre, French architects later minimized the *character* of their theatre frontages now differentiated according to the specific use of each single building: Théâtre de la Nation, Grande salle polyvalente et festive (Bordeaux), Théâtre d'Opéra-Comique, Opéra de la Réunion des Arts, etc. The city of engineers of the empire and of the Restoration found it hard to identify with this play of metaphors which in effect had reinterpreted the antique, by analogy to the nature of the different cults on which depended, as we know, the rhetoric of the classical orders! Quatremère de Quincy believed it was unthinkable (supreme heresy) to reinterpret the Antique: archeology had won its independence...
It was most of all Germany, during and immediately after the Napoleonic interlude, that in turn propagated new models. Filiations were more evident in this case than in others: the famous sojourn of Friedrich Gilly in Paris during which he drew the Odéon and the Théâtre Feydeau in particular, preceded the new designs for the Nationaltheater of Berlin (1798) — a revolutionary proposal after Ledoux — destined to have a direct influence on his successors in this field.
K. von Fischer, who wished his Munich theatre to be at one and the same time "a pulpit, a school, a court of law" (National Munich Theater 1811-1818); Friedrich Weinbrenner at the Karlsruhe Hoftheater (1806-1809) and especially Schinkel at the Schauspielhaus of the Gendarmenmark in Berlin (1818-1821), a masterpiece by a neogreek in embryo.
In the pages on modern theatre in the Encyclopédie Méthodique, Quatremère de Quincy, obsessed by Winckelmann's theory, quoted this particular building as an example. Or a least he praised a stylistic rigour perfectly in line with the system *De l'Imitation* that he authoritatively defended. In his view the real model was in fact a different one. It would take too long to analyse here the paradoxical ideas of Quatremère, passionate toward any approach for interpreting stylistic historicism or, even more the

Théâtre Feydeau in Paris, Perspective view of the facade and reception from Rue des Colonnes, approx. 1796. Print, Carnavalet Museum, Paris. Photo IUP.





Isometric drawing of the Théâtre Feydeau (destroyed) and of Rue des Colonnes (interrupted) in Paris, complex designed by Legrand, Molinos and Vestier between 1790 and 1796. Drawing from Atlas de Paris, *by F. Dardel, care of B. Fortier. Institut Français d'Architecture.*
Entrance of the Quartier des Grands Hommes in Bordeaux, view with the double curvilinear portico of the Théâtre Français by Jean Baptiste Dufart, 1799-1800. Print, Municipal Archives, Bordeaux.
Photo Inventaire Général Aquitaine.
C. Millardet, Rennes theater, 1836. Print, private collection.



Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, Facade of the project for a "model" theater from Précis des Leçons d'architecture..., *Paris, 1809. Photo CERCAM.*

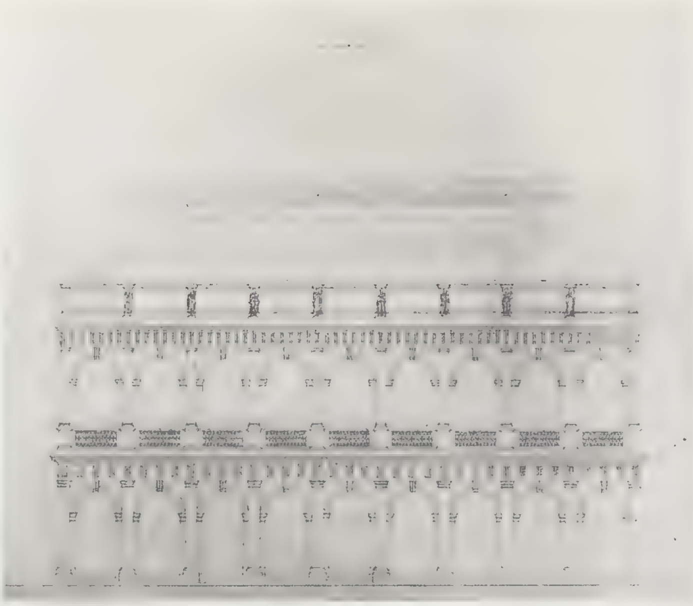




Jean-Jacques-Marie Huvé and Louis-Regnier Guerchy, Théâtre de l'Opèra-Comique (Ventadour hall) in Paris, 1827, prospect. Drawing, National Archives, Paris. Photo Musy.

Rue Ventadour and l'Ancien Opèra-Comique in Paris, mid Nineteenth century. Photograph by Marville. Carnevalet. Museum, Paris. Photo Giraudon.

progressive decline of classicism. His opinions were almost anachronistic for a period that preceded the Revolution... The first phase of the French-German itinerary was thus completed by about 1820, when Gottfried Semper, architect of two theatres one after another in Dresden, revived the function of reciprocal influences based on another type taken as a reference: that of the frontage of the Roman *theatre*, amphitheatre, colosseum or circus the variations of which were not to be less numerous than those of the previous type. This was the *real* model counselled by Quatremère, the only one since the beginning of the *antique revival* able to compete with the sacred character of the theatre though unable to prevail until the Nineteenth century. The temptation to imitate, strong in J.N.L. Durand, was still present in the Grand Prix de Rome by Gilbert in 1822 but much less so in important buildings in France, Italy and Germany, the theatres of Dresden, Vienna, Rennes, Palermo, etc., to the designs for Orphéon by Davioud, to the famous Trocadéro at the Universal Exhibition of 1878. Never before throughout a period of fifty years did the frontage with multiple tiers of arches on a curvilinear plane in the "Roman" style meet with such an "emblematic" success.
Rigorous adaptataion of the antique form to that of the frontage of a modern theatre was an arduous task considering what had to go into the enclosed space which the theatre had become. Was it an illustration on the first degree as historicism would seem to suggest? I am inclined to believe this explanation that, in the adoption of rows of multiple tiers of arches on a curved (or, rather, semi-cylindrical) of an antique theatre, an explicity functionalist and narrative function is present which is the opposite of symbolism. A modern theatre with a frontage like of an antique theatre in fact lays emphasis on the semi-circular auditorium to the detriment of any close relationship between auditorium and stage. The character of the building is an indication of the *social function* of the show (a meeting place for the public) and not its symbolic function (cult of the arts: pantheon pledged to celebration of the works of the Nation's great authors or composers).
Revival of the historical model accompanied by what was intended to be a rational explanation was, in that period, as evident as it was in other fields. If we consider the various or eclectic combinations of different types such as: pronao plus amphitheare, or triumphal arch plus pediment plus amphitheatre, etc. it is clear that eclecticism rose





Jean-Baptiste Labadie, Le Havre Theater, 1825, night view. Print, private collection.
Le Havre theater, modified after the 1848 fire, night view. The prominent portico, the statues and, above all, the great roof, all reinforce the image of the basilica.
Postcard dating to that time.

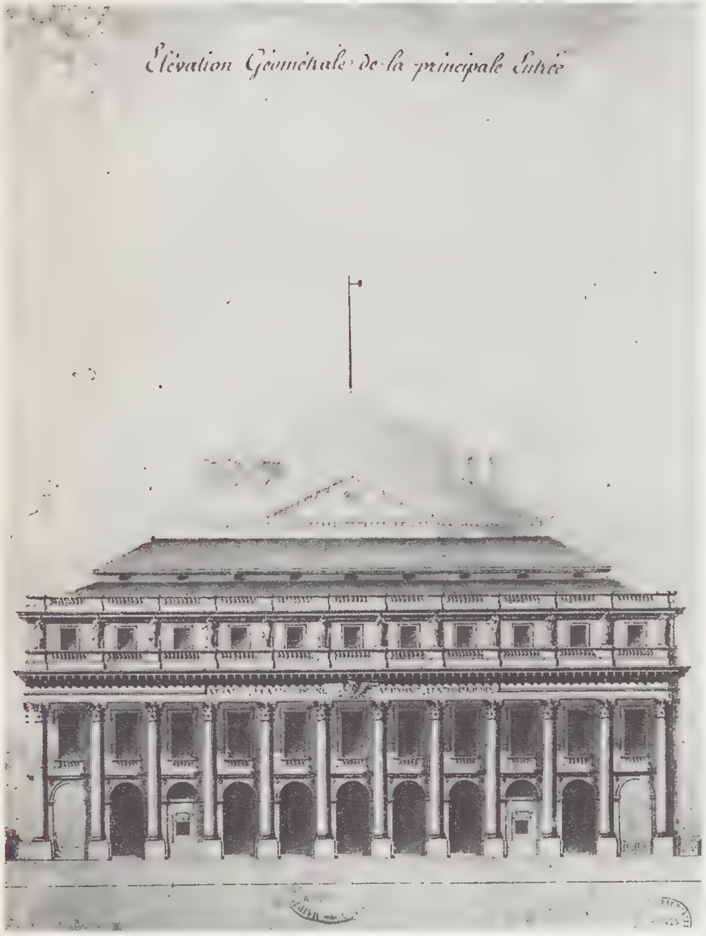
Le Havre: view of the harbour, of the Commerce basin with, the profile of the theater far in the background.
Engraving of the end the Nineteenth century.

spontaneously from the antithesis between symbol and property. Where propriety prevailed architects adopted an increasingly exuberant form of expression so as to be better understood. Sculpture and polychromy were to triumph. What a contrast, that between art of the Illuminist period and art of the "Bourgeois Century"! Research not yet begun should lead to analysis of the last building type successfully adopted in France: that of the *Palladian Basilica.* Here we outline, with its single roof shaped like an overturned keel, favoured the *loggia* on the frontage, transposition of two levels of internal galleries with or without the Serlian sequence. Features of this type are the oversized lobby and stairway and omnipresence of the foyer. The two less authoritative examples (we are concerned with eclecticism) compared with the model of the Master from Vicenza are, separated by over a century, the Grand Théâtre of Bordeaux and the Paris Opéra by Charles Garnier. On this subject I refer to further research[18] attempting to deal with this particular aspect fo bourgeois eclecticism that triumphed in France during the Third Republic of prefectures and sub-prefectures. Unlike the Roman theatre type, the basilica reintroduced the symbol through the visual metaphor, adding the virtues of the *negotium* (compulsory and complementary function of the basilica since Roman days) to institutionalized entertainment... But at what level of awareness lies the iconology of this architecture whose approach, according to perspectives outlined by Haussman, becomes *panoramic*?

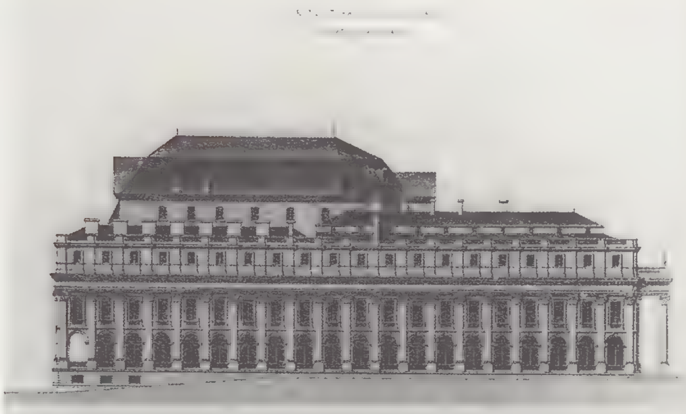


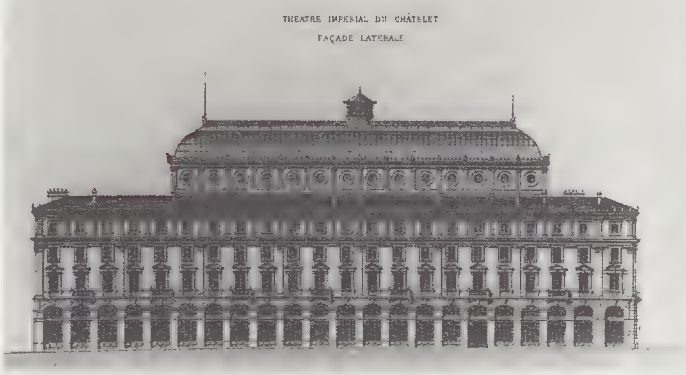












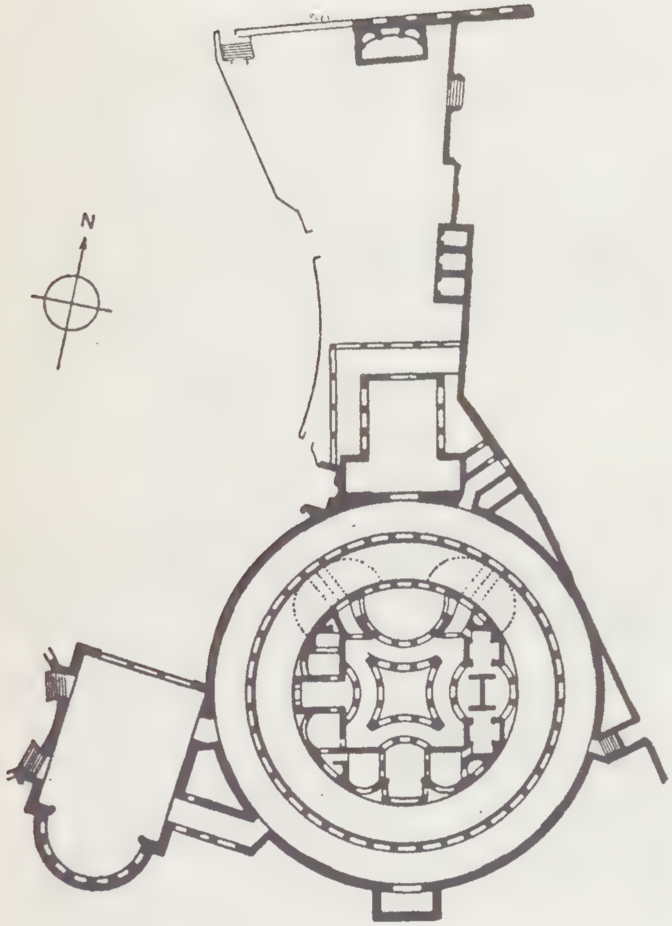


Victor Louis, Grand Théâtre of Bordeaux, 1773-80; prospect of the facade. Ink drawing, Municipal Archives.
Photo CRPD, Bordeaux, P. Bardou.
Comparison of side-elevations by: Charles Garnier, Opera, Paris, 1861-75; Victor Louis, Grand Théâtre of Bordeaux, 1773-80; Gabriel Davioud, Théâtre du Chatelet, Paris, 1861.
Gaspard Andrè, Théâtre des Celestins in Lyon, 1840-96. Postcard dating to that period.

1) In brackets: the first date is that of the drawings, the second that of the opening ceremony.
2) In the Eighteenth century, the term *théâtre* actually indicated the stage. Use of the same word in the Nineteenth century for the whole building is symptomatic of the evolution described.
3) Extract from the book by C.N. Ledoux, fundamental for the theory of theatrical architecture: *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation*, Paris 1804.
4) Cf. D. Rabreau, *Des scènes figurées à la mise en scène du monument urbain* (...) among the documents for the conference *Piranèse et les Français*, Villa Medici, Rome 1976 (ed. Rome, 1978).
5) Cf. Catalogue of the exhibition *Piranèse et les Français*, Rome-Dijon-Paris, 1976.
6) P. Sonrel, *Traité de scenographie*, Paris 1956.
7) Cf. the ancient tradition of the Elizabethan theatre (H. Leclerc, *Scènographie et architecture théâtrale en Angleterre*, in "Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre" No. 1, 1956).
8) On the aesthetic of the period see *Aux Armes et aux Arts. Les arts de la révolution, 1789-1799*, ed. P. Bordes and R. Michel, Paris, 1988.
9) Cf. M. Steinhauser and D. Rabreau, *Le Théâtre de l'Odéon* (...), in "Revue de l'Art", No. 19, 1973, and D. Rabreau, *Apollon dans la ville. Essai sur le théâtre e l'urbanisme en France au XVIII[e] siècle*, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1878, to be published shortly.
10) The theatre was twice burnt down inside without damage to the outside; the side arches were however destroyed after 1830.
11) Cf. *Aux Armes et aux Arts*, op. cit.
12) Cf. D. Rabreau, *Autour du voyage d'Italie (1750). Soufflot, Cochin et M. de Marigny réformateurs de l'architecture théâtrale française*, in "Bollettino del CISA A. Palladio", No. XVII, 1975, pp. 213-257.
13) Cf. P.G.M. Dumont,. *Parallèle des plans plus belles salles de spectacle d'Italie et de France*, Paris, 1765-1777.
14) Cf. F. Milizia, *Del Teatro*, Rome, 1771.
15) Cf. D. Rabreau, *Des scènes figurées à la mise en scène du monument urbain* (...),. op. cit.
16) At the Comédie Française, after its foundation, certain privileged spectators were seated on benches placed on the stage itself.
17) Cf. Documents of the conference *Victor Louis et le Thèâtre* (...), Bordeaux, 1980 (ed. Paris, 1982).
18) Cf. D. Rabreau, *Ce cher XIX[e] siècle... Palladio et l'éclectisme parisien*, in "Monuments Historiques", No. 2, 1975.

Theatres and pseudotheatres

Guido Canella



Marittimo Theatre of Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, 120 A.D.: plan.

Only some characteristics that link the dramatic action to the internal articulation of the theatre and to its position within the city fabric may be seen within canonical types of theatre architecture. Nevertheless, even those characteristics that do no become institutional, because they either escape or contradict conventions or stop in a propedeutical or anyway improper phase, in turn will bring about relationships of space and location. This means that to look with a broad interest at theatre typology, including its multiple, diffuse, latent, itinerant aspects, also means establishing a different point of view, maybe the exact opposite of the one that sees theatre buildings as marking a process of evolution where, time after time, an ideal spatial arrangement should correspond to different dramaturgical conventions.

There are two different ways of conceiving theatre architecture: the first is by implying that the relationship between actor and spectator is susceptible of continuous progress. It is believed that the architect should feel compelled to translate in stone a univocal conception even considering its versatility, since it was meant for the institutionalization of technical progress in stangings; on the other hand, instead, I believe that the architect should gather and formalize, point by point in the urban texture, what manages to survive in today's urban society of the expression of a multivariate dramatic eventuality.

If we extend this concept to the role that the theatrical space has in a given society and in its landscape, we can bring back to life those plots, those reciprocal effects that in a study I undertook twenty years ago I already defined with the term o *theatrical system*[1].

Even though they were mainly fundamental case-studies, those on which I shall dwell do not in any way intend to be the proof of a theory, but they should rather be looked at as pretexts upon which I shall develop some personal considerations. These may even digress into an authentic historical interpretation, since they stem from the angle of interest in design that, in order to be propelling, cannot be anything but transgressive. In fact, since the architect researcher, is not moving on scientifically formalized grounds, he or she cannot rely on linear derivations, and must instead proceed and orient himself guided only by the rigour that his intuition is capable of giving him.

The example with which I shall start, deals with the so-called "Maritime Theatre" of Hadrian's Villa, close to Tivoli. In the period during which it was conceived and

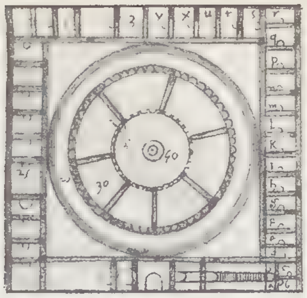
built, Greek and Roman dramaturgy, and consequently theatre's typology, had already a long tradition. This space — that was not a theatre, but possibly a study where one could gather his thoughts in isolation — is proposed as absolutely self-representing. In the circular plan among the column diaphragms, it is the light of dawn and the shadows of the sunset that, above all else, play undisturbed. Therefore, it is erected with a sort of archeological foreboding, with the desire to express in the formal perfection and finish a cosmic representation: the universe, that *tellus stabilita* recalled by Marguerite Yourcenar in *Memoires d'Hadrien*[2]. In its concentric circularity, as in a game of mirrors infinitely repeated, it reflects the synthesis of a model society and of a dominium that had no more boundaries or, at least, that had reached the boundaries of the world through acquired knowledge; knowledge from which it will be impossible to regress. It is, therefore, a *pseudotheatre*, where the protagonist is the spectator-visitor himself, in the event that anyone was admitted to disturb a purely immaterial evocation. It is a combination of marble and water that stops the flow of memory at the end of a long sequence. This idea of memory that finds time in space, is an aspect on which I want to insist since it crosses the paths of the theatre and it frequently recurs in its history.

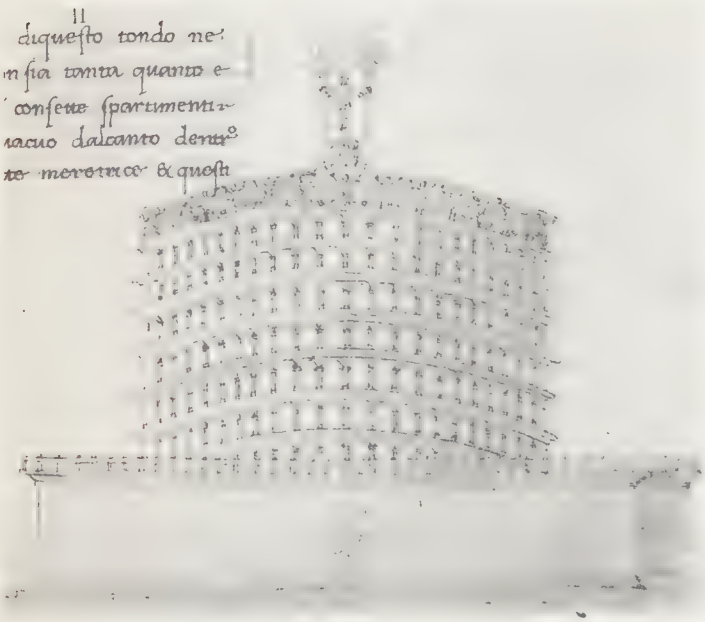
An interesting study-case is Filarete's project for the city of the Sforzas that the author imagines as entrusted to him by the Duke Francesco Sforza, where the theatre is identified in the "*Casa del vizio e della Virtù*", "House of Vice and Virtue". The description and interpretation are precisely followed in an essay by Franco Ruffini written in 1983, entitled *Theatre before theatres*, and to which we must necessarily refer[3]. What I want to stress in this instance is how it is with Filarete that the theatre space leaves the court's grounds in order to become once again a solid and popular meeting place for people as in ancient times. Vice and virtue are therefore considered as two extremes, moral but also physical, fundamental in order to create, for those days (side a from a dramatic enunciation) an *in itinere* development, to whose initiation one must necessarily participate the presence of who, spectator but at the same time as a protagonist and should progress along a pre-fixed introvert circuit in the shape of eschatological allegory. If we take a closer look, this is that form of progress by pedagogical sequences (*gradus ad Parnasum*) already present in the Sacred Medieval representation, in the *Divine Comedy* itself, and that will be represented also in the Holy Mountains, here spatially guided in order to restore in the urban landscape that construction capable of evoking, even if only symbolically, the convergence and centrality of the ancient archetype. And it is in this longing for realism that Filarete uses a nearly cryptic imitation, consciously sacrificing — I believe — a lot of the Renaissance's rationality, so that often his *Trattato* (Treaty) has been greeted in unfriendly, not to say abusive, ways in the storiography of the Italian Quattrocento (Fifteenth century). It is now some time that I insist that Filarete's metaphor seems to me as perfectly suited for the Milan of those days, not only from the point of view of the natural landscape so different from that of the formative centers of famous architects and artists of the central Italian Renaissance, but, first and foremost, when thinking of the anthropic landscape, still deeply furrowed by late Medieval ethics and efficiency, by that figuratively undetermined relationship between city and countryside, between hamlets ad agglomerations, between flat plans and rivers, where priorities and machinery aiding production already prevailed. Therefore the model of the *Renaissance citadel* of which — due to his knowledge of Vitruvio and Alberti — even Filarete was a carrier in thought, is deformed, transgressed in a fragmentary, spyral and fortified form, according to a process of contextual adaptation that — I believe — must be evaluated as a coefficient of realism rather than of irrationality.

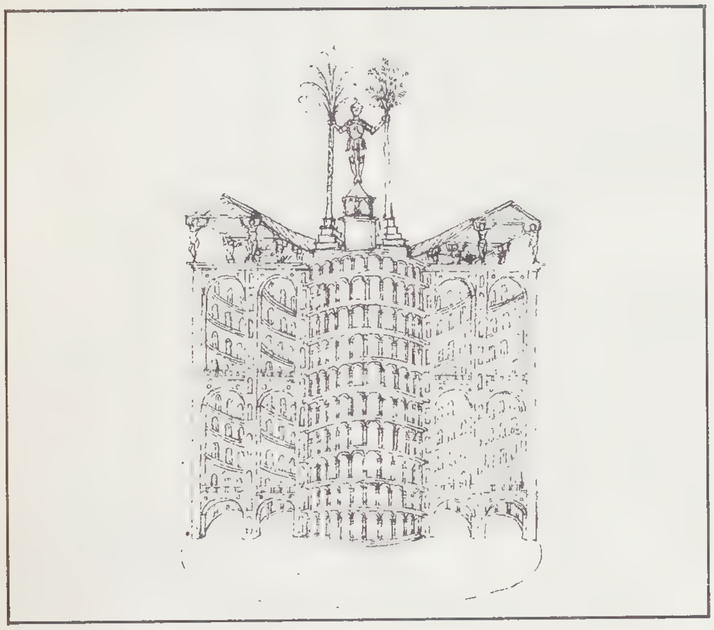
It is by coincidence that in these days, following less center focused conceptions, we are beginning to look with renewed respect at certain nuclei, certain peripheral poles that have developed Renaissance culture according to their own identity. And Milan is one of the most important of such centers, if not the main concentration of said anomaly.

Even the spyrally winding eschatological path is a functional device reccurrent in the history of architecture. You only need to think of the Minaret of the great Shamarrah Mosque (today in Iraq) built half-way through the Ninth century and of the famous project for the Monument for the III International by Vladimir Tatlin, built in 1919-1920. In fact, it once again proposes the experiments of the avant-garde of the Twenties. Starting with the kinetic structure ideated by Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, that had a spyral staircase for the public within a truncated cone by another internal and steeper ramp, reserved for the athletes. Other access pathways to the superior platform flow along a combined system of escalators and lifts and along a pole.

Antonio Averlino called Filarete, Casa del Vizio e della Virtù *(House of Vice and Virtue), approx, 1460: sketches of the plan, of the outside, of the section of the circular volume.*

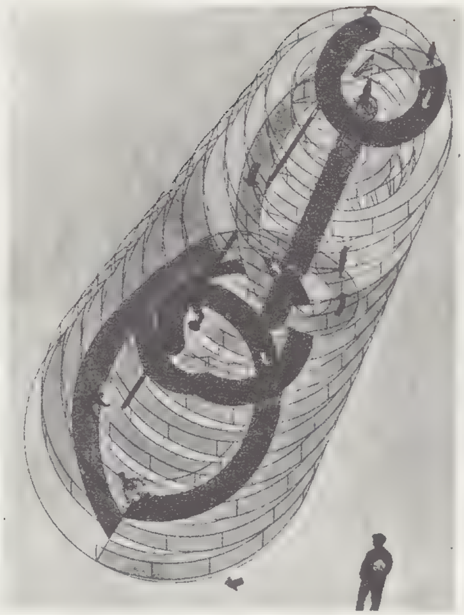






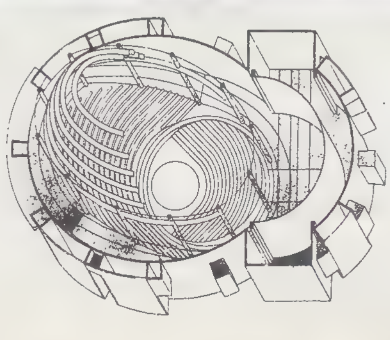
This system device was determinant for a series of successive proposals that, with a more subtle imagery, have reserved accessibility to the spyral to dramatic action: like those by Friedrich Kiesler — Raumbühne, prepared in 1924 in Vienna in occasion of the Internationale Ausstellung neuer Theatertechnik, and the "Endless Theatre" project of 1925 — all the way to the omnivalency of the famous project by Gropius, dated 1926, for Erwin Piscator's Totaltheater.
The researches and studies of which there is a trace in Leonardo's Milanese drawings somehow seem to refer to Filarete's behavioural system, whose intent often seems uncertain and even controversial. For example, in the Marquee for the labirinth garden of the Castle of the Milan's Duke, I find that desire for the Vitruvian amphitheatral archetype — directly displayed at the Colosseum — that even "l'omo senza lettere" has the foreboding of having to look for beyond the scenographies and stagings that are entrusted to him at the Sforza and French courts. Archetype that has to be understood as an autonomous building, wrapped in its pure centricity, in the geometrical antithesis between central circle and surrounding crown and in the antithesis, left virtual and ambivalent, between actor and spectator, each of which could occupy the centre or walk around the perimetral ring. If we imagine it with the public in the main floor and in the boxes and the stage pushed to one side of the diameter, the system seems to anticipate the Elizabethan theatrical arrangement and the contemporary Spanish *corral.*
In another Milanese drawing, entitled "*Teatro da predicare*" ("Theater for preaching"), Leonardo elaborates the amphitheatral type with circular arrangement, at the centre of which he places a twisted column used as the preacher's podium. Yet, this axiality cannot remove that ambivalence I have already mentioned that, instead, is increased, since its designer foresees that the theatre may be included in the apsed branches of both the Greek and Latin cross plans. However, when it maintains its independence, it takes, with the domed truncated cone shape, such an essential and peremptory expression as to recall the solid purity of certain "revolutionary" emblems like those of Ledoux, Boullée Melnikov and Leonidov.
Even the town-planning studies that Leonardo sketched during his Milanese period at the end of the Fifteenth century, such as the development of the city by decentering satellite nuclei, or of the superimposed levels of roads and





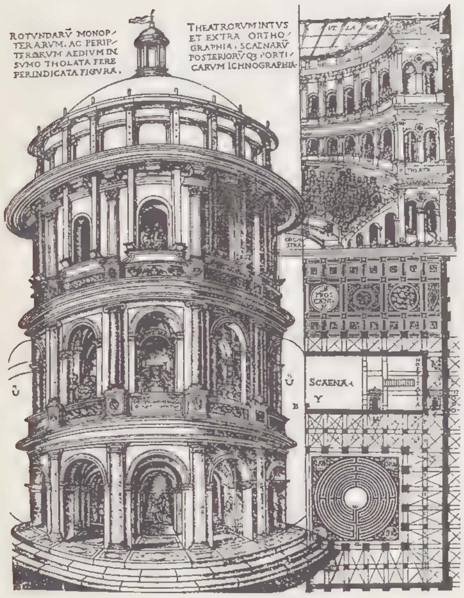
Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Kinetisches konstructives system, 1922.
Friedrich Kiesler, Raumbühne, Vienna, 1924: view of the staging.
Walter Gropius, Totaltheater, 1927: axonometric view.

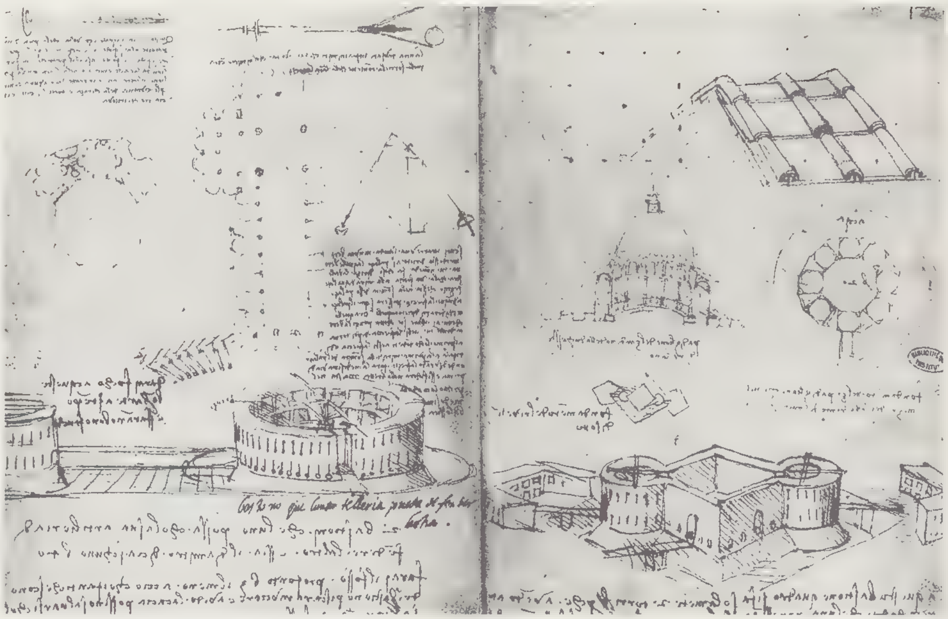


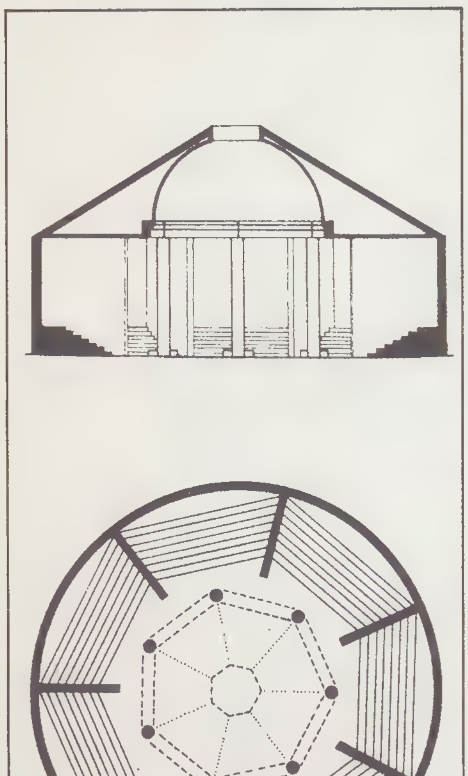


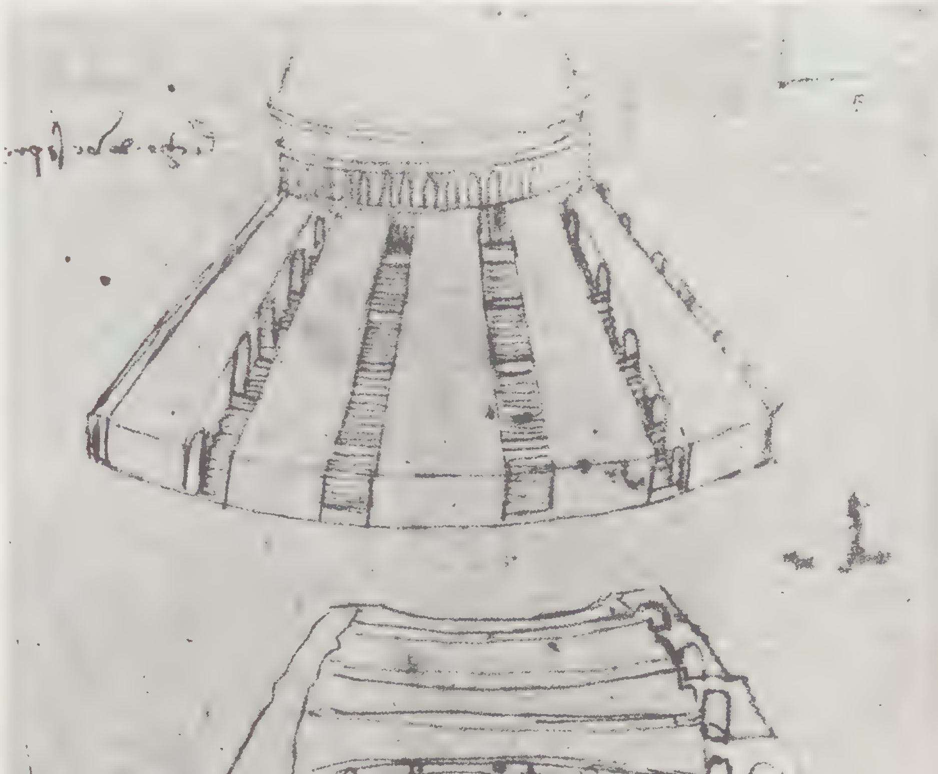
Cesare Cesariano, Theatre, 1521.
Gian Paolo Lomazzo, An idea for the painting temple, 1590: interpretation by G. Barbieri and C. De Munari.

Leonardo da Vinci, Marquee in the garden of the Milan Castle, 1490.
Leonardo da Vinci, Theatre for lecturing, 1490.
Sebastiano Serlio, Theatre from the Secondo libro di perspettiva, *1545: longitudinal section.*





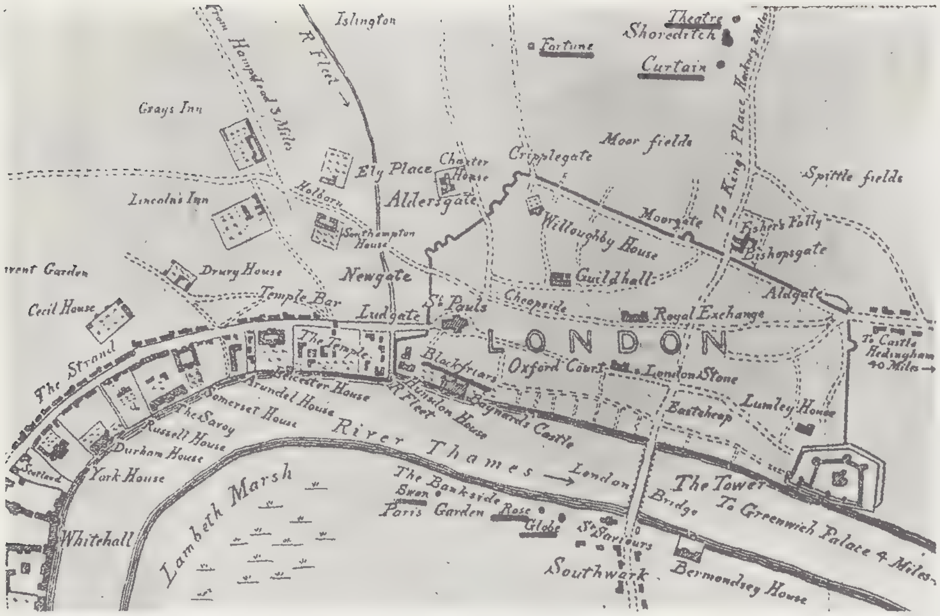


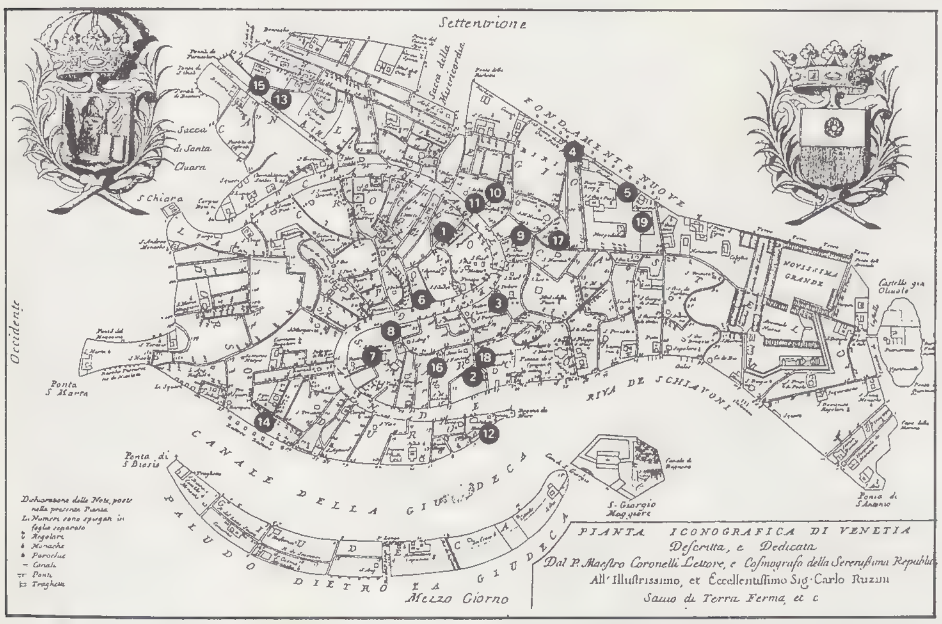


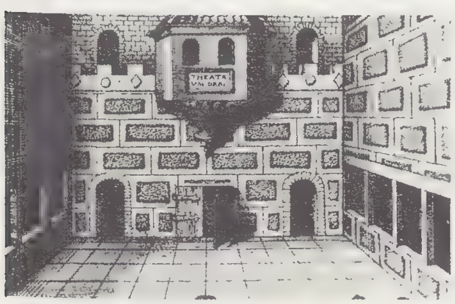


more yet, where many find the anticipation of modern town-planning, to me they seem to demonstrate once again the realism to which he forced himself, and that was brought about by close contact with the extraordinary fabric of the Milanese landscape. So much so, in fact, that even in front of the intent by the Moro (Ludovico il Moro) of opening a plaza in the centro-Italian style in front of the Castle, his plan sketch of the city remains unfinished right in this spot, as if to hinder the possibility of transplanting the canonical Renaissance model in a definitely peculiar reality and a culture, with such dense humors, whose complexity is so extensively interrelated and whose connections so ramified, like that of Milan.
But where could the authentic model for the Renaissance citadel be found? Roberto Longhi, who in 1919 stated that the architects of those days entrusted their architectural projects to painting, discovers it — "*Pienza non serve*" — in the paintings depicted on the tables of Baltimore, Berlin and Urbino, probably painted by the School of Piero[4]. These are views, arranged as landascapes of the end of the Fifteenth century, that more recent analyses declare as being scenographies where, together with numerous other clues, it may be shown, how the conception of the Renaissance plaza is the result of a frontal projection elaborated in obvious contradiction to the Medieval agglomerate. In other words, how the paratactical stratification of the Medieval landscape is itself the matrix of the rarefied rationality from which the Renaissance scenario detached itself out of perspective synthesis. Exactly like the dramaturgy of Humanism may be brought about also by antithesis, and may be regenerated by abstract fixation, form the sinews of a Medieval dramaturgy still errant in places appointed one at a time. Vitruvio's interpretation of the Greek and Roman theatre covers and inspires the theory of architecture that has applied to it for many centuries. Furthermore, there are no doubts that Renaissance architects topographically know the inwards of the Roman theatre. Yet, in Vitruvio's interpretations, re-written — but we may add, also drawn — in Volgare [T.N. — the first name of the Italian language] (the first of 1521 is by Cesare Cesariano, a Milanese pupil of Bramante, the second of 1536 is by Giovan Battista Caporali from Perugia, who repeats the terms step by step), there seems to persist a sort of uninculcable propension for philological transgression if compared to a type of hemicycle by now identified as canonical; a transgression that may be seen especially in the disparity, a true lack of proportion, between circular plan and development in height of the building that, figuratively, makes it similar to a cylindrical landmark, maybe a laic-popular symbol, in the city's panorama. And this deformation could testify a certain renitence to define in an institutional and feasible way (the number of people it may seat is limited) a profane, and therefore suspicious, activity of social life.
Only as a disgression, I would like to mention the "*Idea del Tempio della Pittura*" (The Idea of the Painting Temple) elaborated by Milanese Gian Paolo Lomazzo in 1950[5] who, in turn, applies the "*Idea del Theatro*" (The Idea of the Theater), that is the "theatre of memory" by Venetian Giulio Camillo Delminio, a text written in the first decades of the Sixteenth century and published posthumously in 1550, analysed in depth by Frances Yates in her essay *The art of Memory*, written in 1966[6]. So we are once more facing the pseudotheatre's articulateness, that is, that of a space organized on the protagonism of those who have access and directly participate, where the separation between the community of the actors and that of those who watch erased, creating, as I was saying, an *élite* of knowledge benefitting protagonists. The result, or better, the theatrical effect, is of the self-reflexive type, obtained through memory stimulated by categories that want to cut time and distance between different periods; to bring order among the facets of temporality within a synchronous cosm, where the possession oh history becomes the dominating factor over the known universe. And maybe even this precedent concurs to that recreation of the presumed aristotelic units of time, action and place, on which a new theatrical society is recreated according to a new conception.
Another precedent of great importance is that of the theatrical device described and illustrated in the *Second book* of the treaty by Sebastian Serlio composed in 1545. If compared to the rendering of the Roman theatre illustrated in the *Third book*, we note how the semicircular plan and the step-shaped section of the cavea are the wooden version of what in ancient times was done in stone, constructively reassembled by a sort of purely carpenter-made craftmanship. So that in the semicircular spectators main floor, contrasting with the rectangle of the stage, the essential polarity of the representation is reproduced.
This topological archetype of relationships internal to the Renaissance theatre, since finally freed of the shackles of past history and of the social inhibitions of the present, now

may completely dedicate itself to the pure dramatic event, to whose presence a stratified public, from the bottom up, from nobles to common people, is admitted.
Even though conceptually quite distant, without this experiment by Serlio, we would not have — I believe — that wonderful creation of the Olympic Theater that Palladio designs for Vicenza in 1580, as the conclusion of an eminent career as architect, but that he does not manage to complete (Vincenzo Scamozzi will do it for him, even if in this last phase the idea of Palladio will be partly transgressed). Palladio — the man through whom architecture seals in both dimension and dignity of monumental landscpae the expansion of Venice on the mainland, the man who urbanizes its countryside with typological devices of unequalled civilization — in this work that therefore has to be considered as his will, he tries an inverse operation as I have already had to defend—: that of inscribing and reproducing the terms of the city within a theatrical space made coherent.
It is also true that Palladio, thanks to the Venetian humanist Daniele Barbaro, the most rigorous interpreter of Vitruvio, benefitted from a deeper knowledge of antiquity, so as to better perceive the uniqueness of the theatrical space, but it is also true that he worked on such knowledge with resolute acuteness, starting from the canonical frontality between stage and facing steps. In fact, in the Olympic, which does not have — and maybe not by chance — an external architectural solution, the topological duality between the two Serlian plazas (that "of the stage" and that "of the theatre") is recomposed through a more organic relationship between the semicircular plan (elliptically forced) of the cavea crowned by a Corinthian columnade and the *frons-scenae* that ideally concludes the diorama in the manner of the classical theatre. The harmony of the proportions and the elementary purity of the various elements certainly play a significant part (beyond Scamozzi's over-excited perspective illusionism, the violent caesura between proscenium and cavea, the uncertainty on how to cover the theatre where a velarium as in ancient times would not have been a disruptive element). Also the fact that is was entrusted to him by the Academy of the Olympics, when he implies that joint élitarian status of the spectators worthy of a scientific theatre where the celebration of the affirmation of humanist dramaturgy is enacted, autonomously brought about regardless of the typological adversities that the theatrical space hat do bear.
So that in the incomplete creation of his theatre, Palladio seems to leave us the synthetic tract, conclusive for an ideal city, in the event that this was admissible in the career of an eminently building architect such as he was.
Taken, therefore, in Vicenza to the rank of ideal category, isolated — so to speak — in a neoplatonic sense, where a nearly secular experience in court stagings is usual practice and sublimated art, the Palladian type (or rather, archetype) is reproduced through the work of followers — Scamozzi, for example, in the Olympic of Sabbioneta (1588) and Giovan Battista Aleotti in the Farnese of Parma (1619) — "aristotelically" landing in the real city according to a finally corporeal appearance, ultimated both from the inside and the outside, and thereby giving life to that main stream which will ramify, in the centuriers to come, in the typology of modern theatre.
In *La Storia della letteratura inglese* (History of English Literature), published in 1946 by Mario Praz, learned anglicist and refined art connoisseur, a plan of the city of London is included[8] where the exact whereabouts of the more or less ten existing theatres are visible; these were theatres that operated for a population of approximately 250,000 inhabitants, between the end of the Sixteenth and the beginning of the Seventeenth century: the first are disseminated among the fields to the North and left of the Thames; the following ones to the South and right, and rather close to the river, where there also were two arenas, for bear and bull fights respectively. These arenas are to be considered as the genesis of that type of theatre. To such an extent, in fact, that the strongly realistic inspiration, nearly sensual and gory that pervades Elizabethan dramaturgy, could have found there its congenial origin, form which one of the most accomplished dramatic forms would be generated, perhaps the most accomplished after the Greek-classical one in the history of representational theatre: the tragedy by William Shakespeare. The fact that it was this typology, that is, that of the Elizabethan theatre, drawn from a space half-way between arena and tavern, to imply by its circularity a direct contact between public and actors, the permeability and the extension of the stage on two levels, contrarily to the main floor, and the fact that the spectators on the balconies often were distracted during certain monologues or that those in the main floor often interfered from the edge of the stage in certain particularly amusing or dramatic moments, may have contributed in inspiring, and perhaps even in guiding, the rhythm of







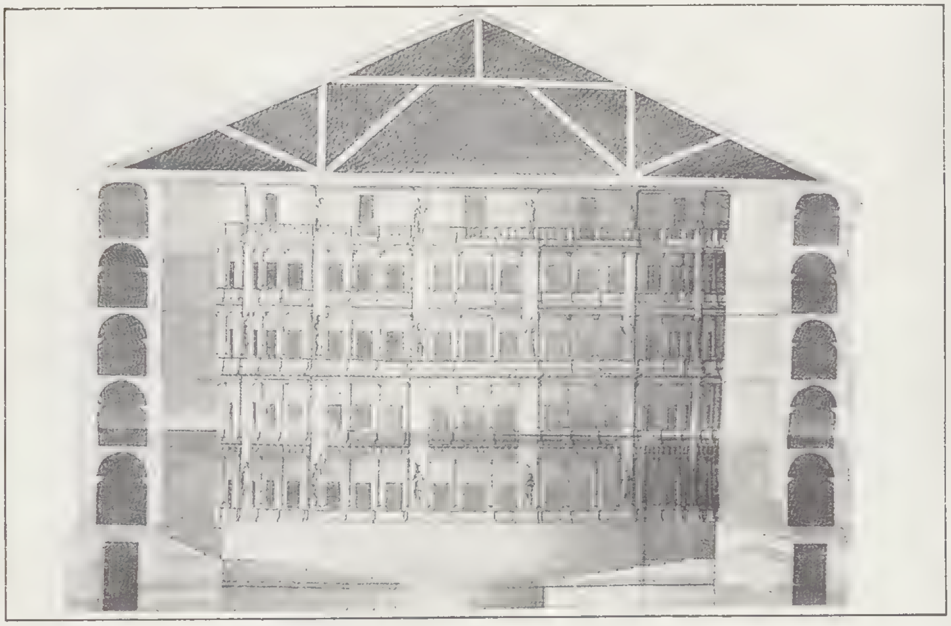


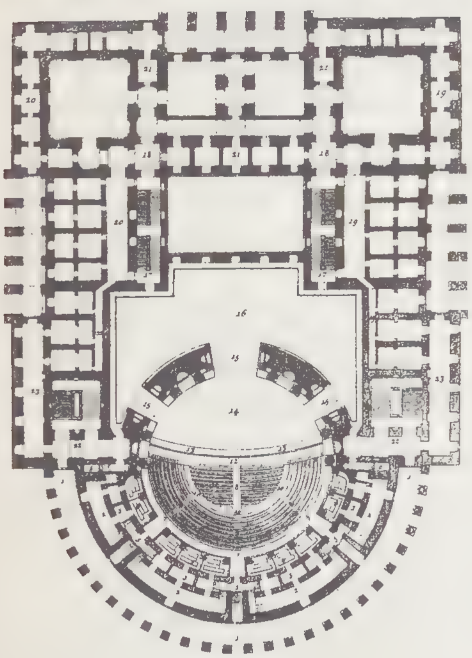
London plan higlighting the existing theatres in the XVII century.
Plan of Venice by Vincenzo Coronelli, 1697, showing the theatres existing in the XVII century: 1. Tron at S. Cassiano, 2. S. Moisè, 3. S. Luca, 4. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 5. Novissimo SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 6. S. Apollinare, 7. S. Samuele, 8. S. Angelo, 9. S. Giovanni Crisostomo, 10. SS. Apostoli in Calle de' Proverbi, 11. SS. Apostoli in Calle dell'Oca, 12. Saloni, 13. Cannareggio, 14. Zattere, 15. Altieri, 16. S Fantino, 17. S. Marina, 18. S. Moisé in Calle Lunga, 19. S Giustina, 20. Murano (not included in the plate).
Robert Fludd, Theatre of memory, 1617.
View of the Ambigu-Comique, 1769, and Gaîté theatres 1806, in Boulevard du Temple in Paris.

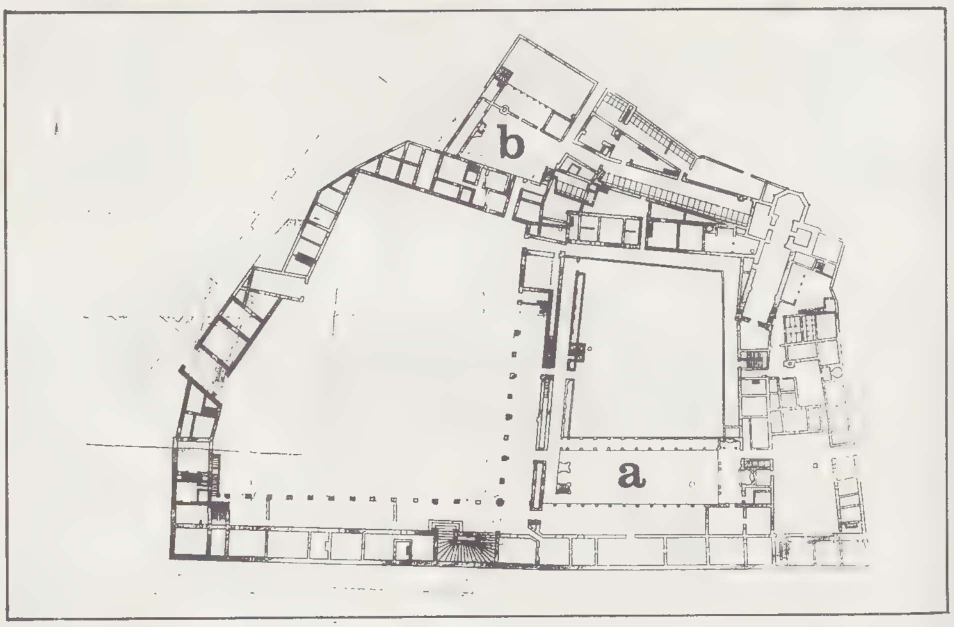
Alfonso Chenda, Teatro della Sala, Bologna, 1639.
Enea Arnaldi, project for a theatre, 1762: cross-section.
Vincenzo Ferrarese (and Francesco Milizia), Project for a theatre, 1773.

Tolomeo Rinaldi and Gianbattista Clerici, Salone Margherita, Milan 1598: plan: a) Salone Margherita, b) Teatrino della Commedia.

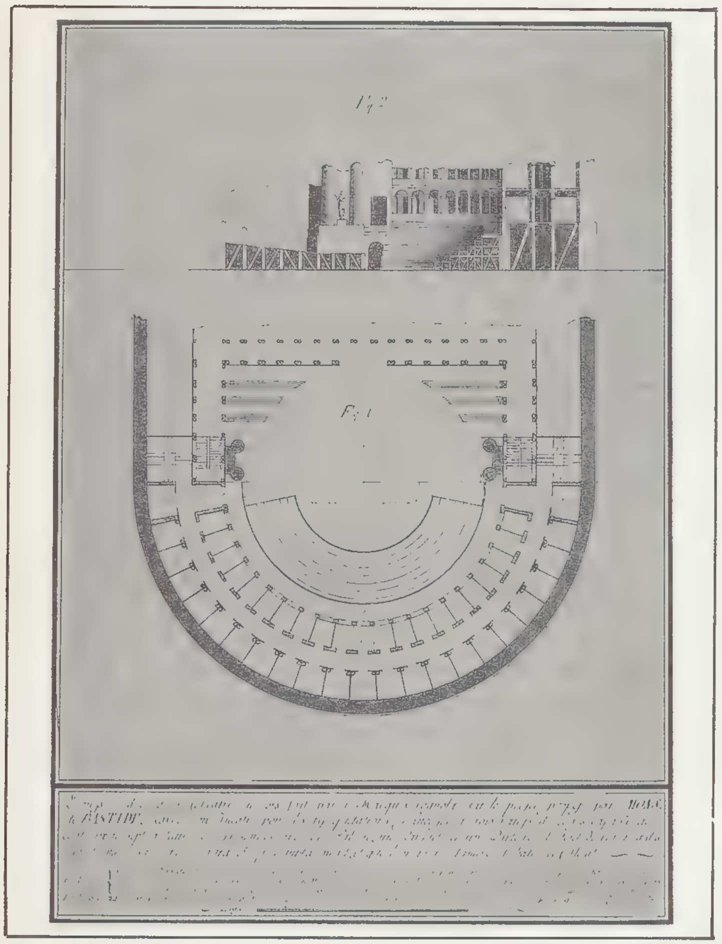








Shakespearian representations, until configuring them in their insurpassablè classicism, and making them one of the matrices of Theater as we know it.
It is common knowledge that the *Vitruvius Britannicus*, this is how Inigo Jones was called, between 1613 and 1614 visits all of Italy, mainly attracted by the fame and by the work of Palladio, where he meets with Vincenzo Scamozzi, the same man who, apart from having completed the Vicenza Olympic, was, in turn, the author of the Sabbioneta Olympic, entrusted to him by Vespasiano Gonzaga. It even seems that Vincenzo had given Inigo some autographic drawings by Palladio and by himself. This is an important circumstance, because it acts as a bridge between the classical Renaissance type and the Elizabethan one. In fact, even though Inigo Jones was defined as the "*implacable plagiarist*", and notwithstanding the fact that he exclusively dedicated himself to encomiastic court theatre, in his project recently attributed to Cockpit (also known as Phoenix) built in 1616 in Drury Lane, remains the unmistakenable "interclassicist" mould of the Elizabethan type: in the simplified domesticity of the architectural arrangement of the outside, and in the type of cottage-like roofing and in the arrangement of the scenic device, kept on two levels. And this is also true for the more exclusive and educated models imported from the Continent, as may be seen in Robert Fludd's *Theater of memory*, for the indications that he supplied for the reconstruction of the Globe[9], all the way to the new project for the reconstruction of the Drury Lane elaborated in 1674 by Sir Christopher Wren.
If London, during the Eighteenth century, with the same number of (more or less ten) theatres, doubles the number of inhabitants arriving to half a million, Venice, instead, for all the Seventeenth century has twenty theatres for a constant population of 150,000 inhabitants. If we consider, by underestimating, two hundred seats for every theatre, we have extraordinary number that for London vary from 125 to 250 inhabitants per every theatre seat, while in Venice they are only 37.
In the second half of the Eighteenth century, during the kingdom of King Louis XIV, all around France there were more or less one hundred travelling theatre companies, or *de campagne*, that had serious problem in reaching the capital (Paris), where there was a rigid regime of administrative and cultural centralization so that, as an alternative to the learned theatre of the Académie Royale de Musique, of the Comédie-Italienne and, above all, of the Comédie-Française, a popular form of theatre, known with the name of *foire* is located around fairs, and especially around those of Saint-Germain and Saint-Laurent, respectivley on the left and right banks of the Seine, where all traffic, including that from far away passed by. The first public theatre to adopt the curvilinear plan with three tiers of lodges is the one built by François d'Orbay in Rue des Fossée-Saint-Germain (today Rue de l'Ancienne-Comédie) for the Comédie-Française which was evicted from the Guérrégaud Theater (former Jeux de paume de la Bouteille). The *foraines* theatrical initiatives, directly born from the tricks and somersaults of the jugglers and gymnasts, that with time, however, ended by merging in the genre of the Opéra-Comique, will then estabilish itself in the Nort-Eastern area of Paris, where the Temple district will develop along the axis that from the countryside directly takes agricultural products to what Emile Zola will later define as the "*belly of Paris*". In fact, here the different *Halles* will estabilish themselves, next to warehouses, fairs and grain, fruit, vegetables and other types of markets. But this is also the area of popular theatres, and not by chance: because between fairs and initiative theatre there is a sort of dual-univocal — so to speak — relationship that must be considered as one of the most original and relevant components not only in the localization of the French theatre, but — as we have seen — more generally in the theatre of the city-emporium.
The cases of London, Paris, Naples, Venice, true metropoles of those days, are very important because their comparison is food for a contextual research on the *theatrical manifold*, that detracts from the pure evolutionary comparisons carried out entirely within the development of the type. In other words, it if is true that the first theatres built in an adequate independent building are promoted by the court's munificence, it is also true that their capillary diffusion in the cirty of the Seventeenth century is sponsored by interclass initiative and then by impresarios who will influence, with their ability to make ends meet, their future development and diffusion.
For example, regarding the internal arrangement of the hall with lodges, I think that the origin must be sought for in different and concomitant circumstances. In 1580 in Venice, there is an oval "stanzia" (room), property of Alvise Michiel with steps and boxes and in 1581, always according to Sansovino, the Teatro di Ca' Tron di San Cassian, which is round with steps and boxes, and the Gesuits protest



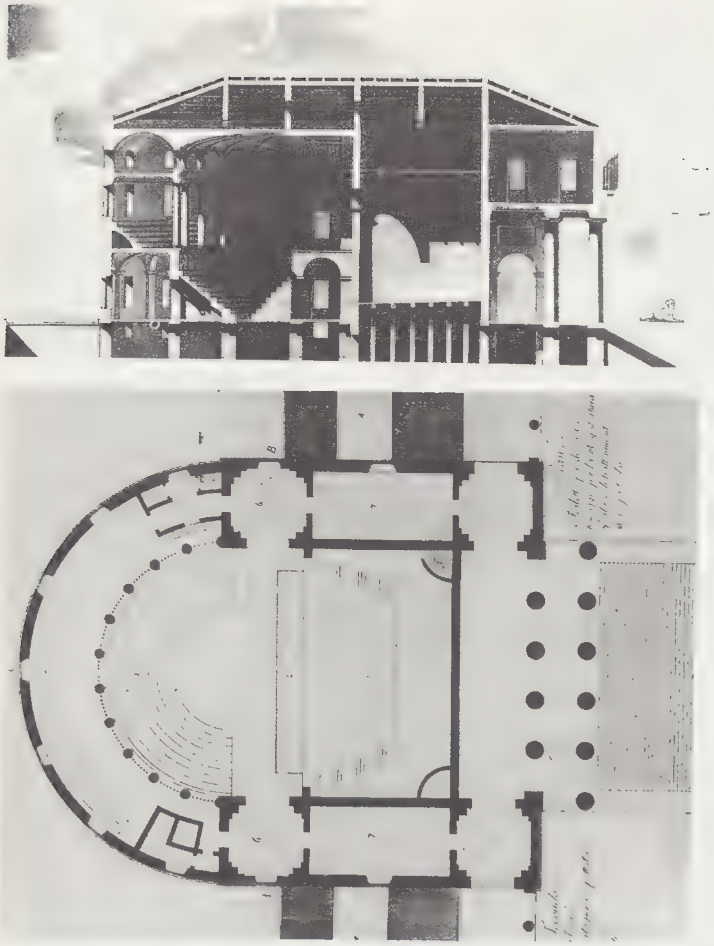
Luigi Cagnola, Idea for a theatre, 1786-87: longitudinal section and plan.

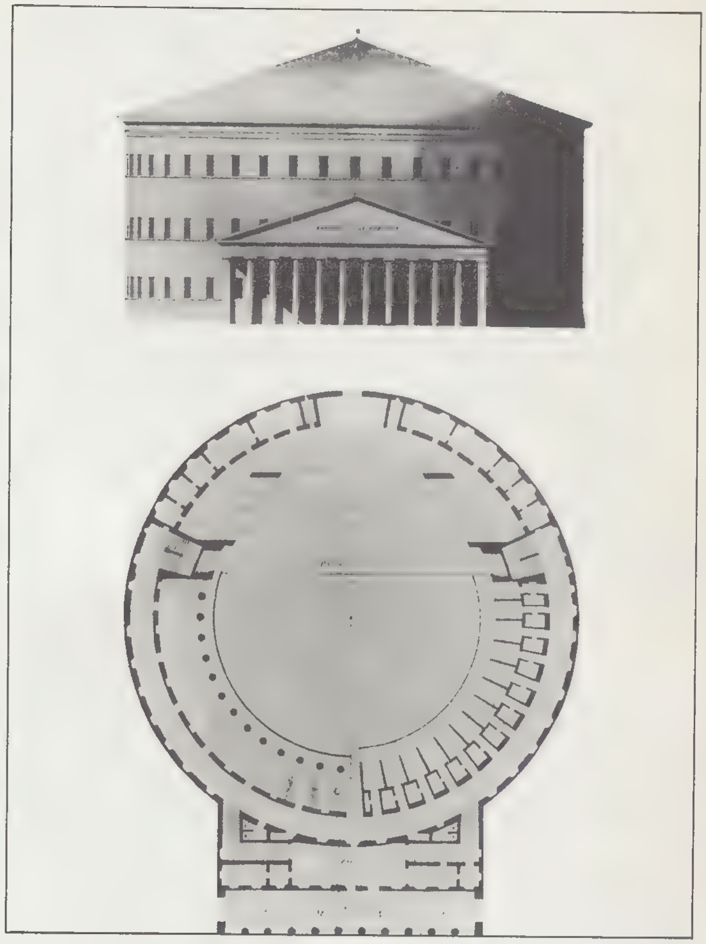
against what happens therein. In Venice, then, what could have happened is that they tried to reproduce within a hall the landscape created by the windows onlooking a "campanello" (small square). In Florence, in the Teatro della Dogana in Contrada di Baldracca, outfitted in 1576 in the back of the Eastern wing of the Uffizi, it is possible to privately look at representations from small rooms of small boxes hidden by grids. And, in the same way, it is possible that even the Milanese Salone Margherita, direct forerunner of La Scala, permanently established since 1598 in the courtyard of Palazzo Ducale, due to the fact that it used the Western wing with a portico on two levels, may somehow have suggested the optic and mundane opportunity of the internal arrangement in superimposed levels. Instead, the Bolognese arrangement in superimposed levels. Instead, the Bolognese arrangement with boxes, introduced in the Teatro della Sala, built by Alfonso Chenda in 1639, would directly derive from reasons of pure and optimal visibility, that is to be preferred to the "*perspective stage*" preferred by the quadraturist School and different from the "*pictorial stage*" preferred in Venice, Naples and Milan.

Another example may be that of different Italian centres which, from the Sixteenth century build a dramaturgy of their own based on the spoken dialect of the region. And not only will this then become a real language, as in the Venetian and Neapolitan cases, but also when it estabilishes itself on less articulate and refined levels, like in Piedmont and Lombardy (Milan, Bergamo). The strengthening of a realistic-popular vein will not by chance find its natural allocation in those places and buildings that are more susceptible to the physiological adaptations of the city. You can be seen in Paris, with the transformation of warehouses and deposits into theatrical spaces, with round, oval, elliptical or rectangular shapes with rounded ends, along the Boulevard and the Rue du Temple; similarly, one can demonstrate the same in some Italian cities of the South, as I have already noticed in the Apulian ones[10].

And from here onwards — also for the space I have left — it is worthwhile to sketch the events that concern the theatrical space along that parallel line of frontality that, with the Illuministic culture even before the French Revolution, contrasts with the institutional and mundane ritual of the civic theatre "all'Italiana" (Italian style) a new laic templarity, with equal intensity as an alternative to the religious one.

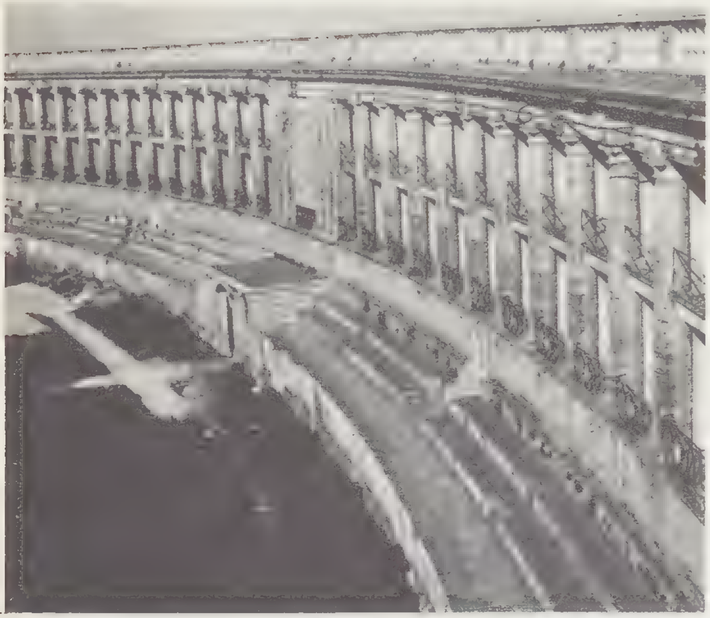
It is from France and Italy, where the theatrical typology





Giovanni Antonio Antolini, Theatre in the Project for Foro Bonaparte, Milan 1801: longitudinal section: plan.
Giuseppe Pistocchi, Project for a theatre, Milan (?) 1810: prospect, plan.

Ireneo Aleandri, Sphaeristerium, Macerata, 1820-29 (from a previous drawing by Salvatore Innocenti).



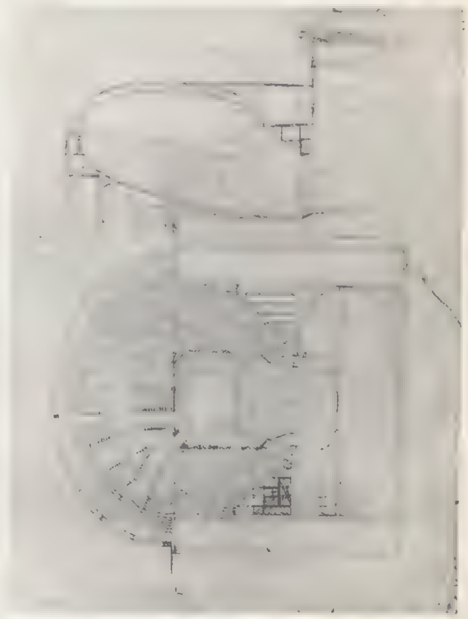


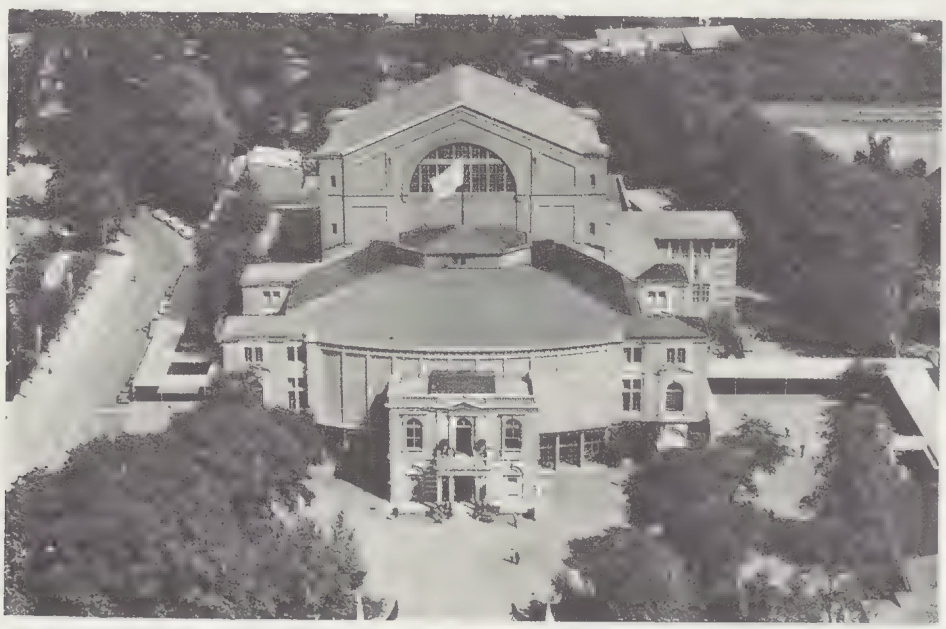
had attained the highest degree of institutionalization and formalization (the text by G.P.M. Dumont, *Parallèle de Plans des plus Belles Salles de Spectacle d'Italie e de France*, was published in Paris in 1764), that a radical revision of the buildings in relationship to the superior requirements of art sees its start. From Voltaire's criticism on the lack of functionality of Parisian theatres in 1748[11] to the moralist predjudice expressed by J.J. Rousseau in the *Lettre à M. d'Alembert sur le spectacles*, dated 1758[12], where he grasps the occasion for the possible creation of a theatre in Genève; from the naturalism postulated by Diderot in the *Paradoxe sur le comédien*, of 1773[13], and the *Essai sur l'architecture théâtrale... Avec un examen de principaux théâtres de l'Europe*, published by Pierre Patte in 1782[14], and that opens the way to the revolution of the typology in that French-German line that connected the Theater built by Ledoux in Besançon between 1775 and 1784, the 1781 project by Boullée for the Paris Opéra, the 1798 project by Friedrich Gilly for the Berlin Schauspielhaus in Gendarmenmarkt and the one carried out in his place by Karl Friedrich Schinkel between 1818 and 1821.
The revolution mainly consists in the restoration of the cavea and fixing it in the geometric figure of the semicircle, at the same time symbolic and divine, to which is entrusted the task of exorcising the disbelief for the Italian-Style hall is entrusted, re-creating a sort of union within the society of those frequenting it, both among the spectators, regardless of their social condition, and in the relationship between theatrical action and public, members with equal dignity and protagonists to all effects of the liturgy that is carried out therein.
That the link between this revolution with the ancient theatre should pass through Palladio's Olympic is proved, by explicit acknowledgement, in the *Idea di un Teatro, nelle principali sue parti simile a teatri antichi, all'uso moderno accomodato* (Idea of a theatre in its main parts similar ancient theatres, arranged for modern use) given to the press in Vicenza in 1762 by the Olympic Academist Enea Arnaldi, where the cavea with eleven steps is in the shape of a semicircle and surrounded by eight big radial pillars that contained in all their width (as a compromise for the requirements of those days) five tiers of tripartite boxes, with the final effect of an austerely drilled concave wall.
Therefore, even in Italy, the revision of the theatrical type is triggered by criticism that focused on the negligence of the functional requirements regarding artistical performance if

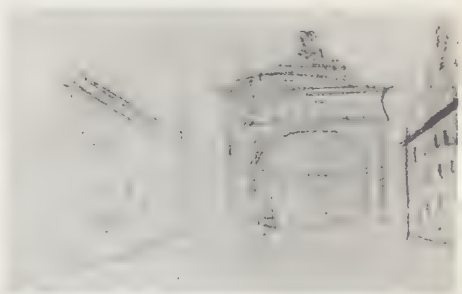
Giuseppe Galli-Bibiena, Märkgrafliches Openhaus, Bayreuth, 1748, drawing: Gustave Bauarnfeind.
Otto Brückwald, Bühnenfestspielhaus, Bayreuth, 1873-76.

Adolf Loos, Project for Theater für 4000 Besucher, *Vienna, 1896: drawings of the plan and section; sketches of the outside.*



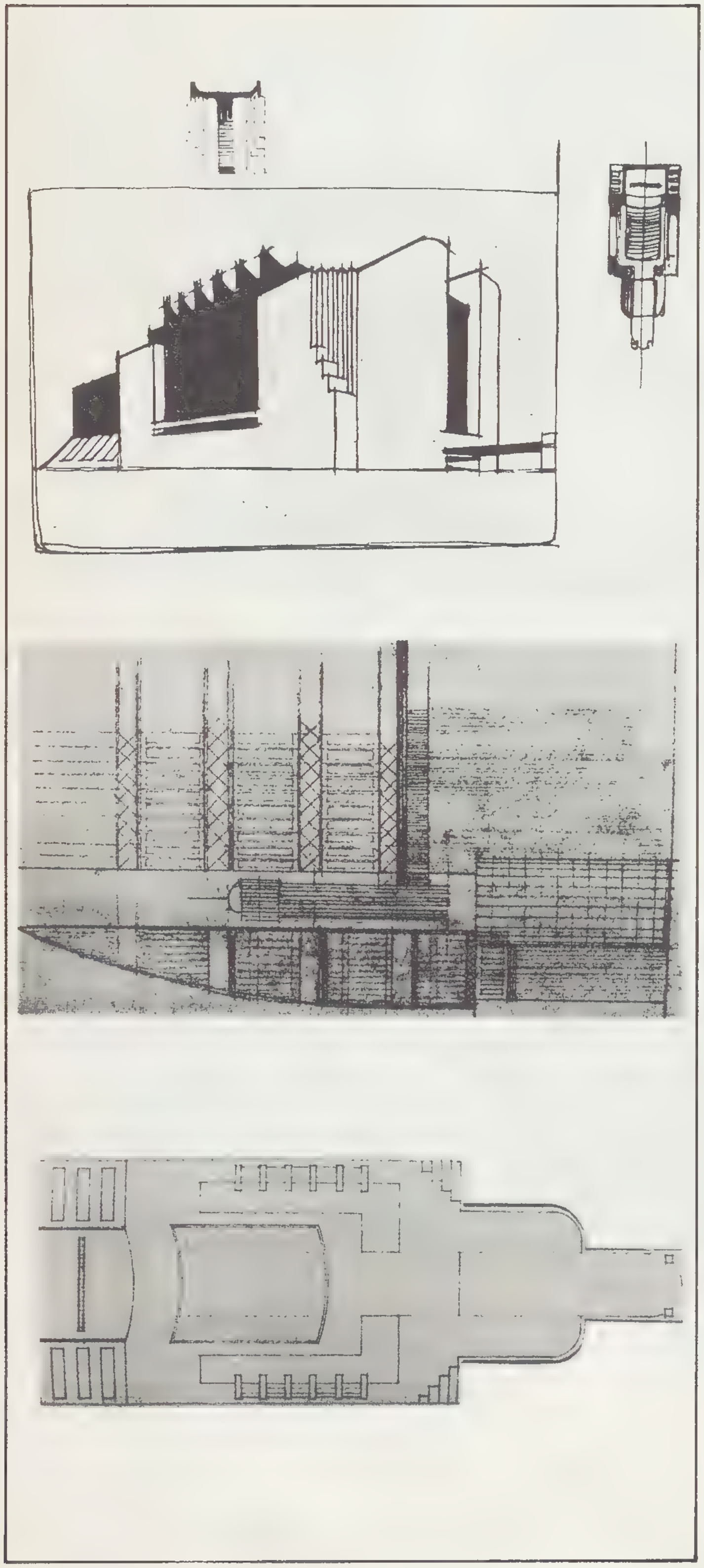








Antonio Sant'Elia, Project for a theatre, 1913: sketch of the outside, section and plan.



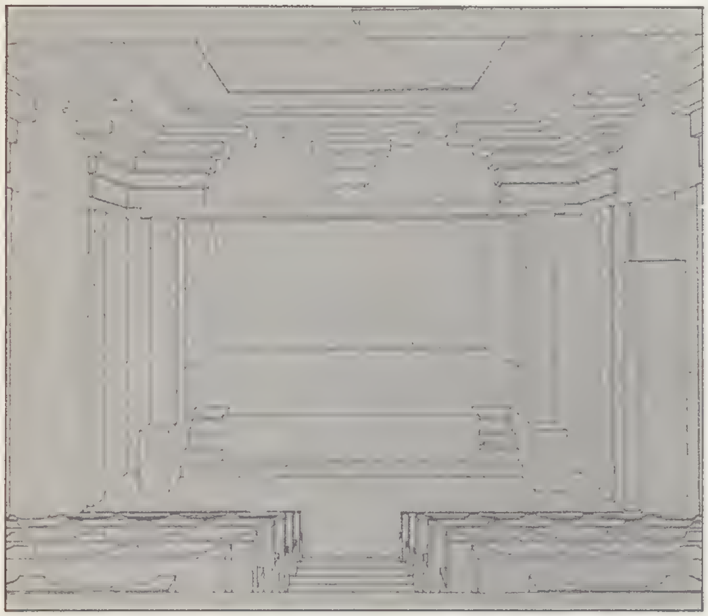
compared to the mundane ones. This is stigmatized in the *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* (Essay on the music opera), published in 1763 by the sensationalist Francesco Algarotti, friend of Voltaire, but especially in that *Del teatro* ([Essay] on the theatre), published in 1771 and reprinted in 1794 with the title *Trattato completo, formale e materiale del teatro* (Complete, formal and material treaty on the theatre), by the illuminist architecture scholar, Francesco Milizia, where in the distorsion of the semicircle of the old arrangement, in the cellular one of the hall with boxes, defined *a chaos of heads and half-torsoes*, in the precarity of wooden constructions, in the lack of an external significance and of a centrality in relationship to the city, he identifies the causes of optical, acoustical, gnosiological, architectural and urbanistical dispersion present in the Italian-style theatre.

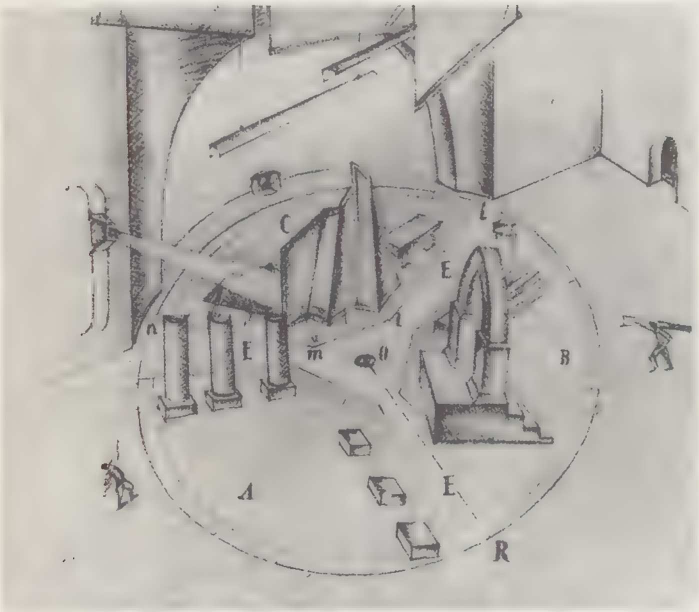
Along this road, from the theoretical point of view, we can gradually perceive the outline of the recanoniziation of the theatrical type. But it will be necessary to await the effects of the Napoleonic epic for the Italian theatrical space to be more ideologically involved in a series of alternative initiatives that, alas, remained unachieved like the rights of the masses. We are talking about the theatre eleborated in 1801 by Giovanni Antonio Antolini, that had to be included in his grandiose project for Milan's Foro Bonaparte, and of the theatre project by Giuseppe Pistocchi in 1810, this too probably meant for Milan.

In the second decade of the Nineteenth century, with the Restoration in France and Italy, the typological catharsis of the theatre that implies, by means of a radical renovation of society, a public capable of being initiated to a new civilized rituality, finds great difficulties in affirming itself, while it is instead welcomed by a certain ideology common in the capitals and bigger cities of the German States, especially those of Protestant religion. What had remained as nothing but an unattended appeal by the dramatic realism proposed by Lessing, when in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* of 1767-1769[15], quoting Shakespeare against Voltaire himself, he had turned to the intellectual and entrepreneurial bourgeoisies of the German States, now, in the inversion of his statement that "*in order to possess a national theatre you must be a Nation*", seems capable of being distorted in Wagner's mythological titanism, especially inasmuch as it seems to ambiguously saturate an expectation of Pangermanism.

We all know that the architect chosen by Richard Wagner in order to give an architectural shape to his conception of the theatre is Gottfried Semper who was, like him in exile because he was found on the Dresden barricades during the 1849 revolution. Semper, in fact, who had already applied himself to the study of the theatrical typology on the front, had already identified and rediscovered from antiquity, had found in the *Précis des Leçons d'Architecture*[16] held by Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand at the Parisian Ecole Polytecnique between 1802 and 1805, the canonization of that system combined between the hall's hemicycle, the stage's rectangle and the square bodies of the laterally located support rooms, a system that was also present in the Berliner Schauspielhaus by Schinkel. This may be seen in the first Hoftheater built by Semper in Dresden between 1838 and 1841, where, in greater detail, the hall is still shaped like a horse-shoe. It is also true that during his London exile in 1854 he designed a theatre in the manner of the Roman ones, to be included in Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, which at that point was moved from Hyde Park to Sydenham, but it is also true that only from his meeting with Wagner — in occasion of the two projects entrusted to him by Ludwig II of Bavaria between 1864 and 1866, and that were to be built in Munchen, respectively as a temporary wooden theatre within the Glaspalast (as in Sydenham) and as a monumental Festtheater to be built on the river Isar — that Wagner's Festspielhaus will take its final shape; only to be built later on by architect Otto Brückwald on the "sweet hill" of Bayreuth, begun in 1873 and inaugurated in the month of August 1876, in the presence of Wilhelm I, German Emperor and King of Prussia.
That these Semperian projects should always result so typologically well developed, right under the influence of Wagner's will, may be demonstrated by the gradual change identifiable in his successive solutions for the topic of the theatre between 1871 and 1879 — like those for the second Dresden Hoftheater and those for the Vienna Hofburgertheater —, in other words a change oriented towards the horse-shoe shaped hal with boxes, and may be demonstrated also by that regality that runs through the great European theatres after the competition of the Paris Opéra, won in 1861 by Charles Garnier, who wanted to sink the clear semicircular peristyle, through which the hall is marked on the outside, in the square framework of the theatre-institution.
I do not think this is the adequate place for minutely describing the Festspielhaus requirements, that Wagner himself lists in one of his writings in 1873[17]: the amphiteatre shape of the hall, without boxes, limited only by conditions of perfect and equal visibility and perspective (unlike the Greek theatre where the emerging stage gave rise to a semicircular cavea), the sinking of the orchestra in the "mystical abyss" in order to make it invisible, the Semperian artifice of the double proscenium achieved, by pushing the back-drop further back gives to the actors in the foreground an "*enlarged and larger than human*" dimension. On the outside, a pronaos that has to act as the "estrangement" vestibule for those who have to plunge into the show-rite.
It must be kept in mind that the city of Bayreuth at the Wagnerian theatre-temple, conceived so that it could irradiate at a distance, beyond the boundaries of time and space, the "work of art of the future", there previously existed the Markgrafliches Operahaus, built in 1748 by Giuseppe Galli Bibiena, contextually to the urban agglomerate in German rococo, a version of the Italian-style theatre, such as to supply a exemplary case in the focusing of the co-presence of the extremes of a typological duality. Anyway, the Wagnerian device, in its insturmental and totalizing tension, in the temporary finishing line of a minor but at this point nearly one hundred year old tradition, that had gained its ground in French-German culture; but it also is the breaking-point of a relationship of interdependence between theatrical place and city fabric, which is several centuries old, and beyond which only the avant-garde theatre of the first decades of this century will dare to trespass.
A little while ago I indicated as minor the typological tendency that opens the way to the purification of the theatrical hall and, simultaneously, of its extroversion in the city's landscape with the specific identity of a true laic temple. I have then indicated in the avant-garde the motion that, sometimes and somehow, inherits its characteristics. But it is only correct, at this point, to distinguish between avant-garde and avant-garde.
As the Austrian scholar Hans Sedlmayr states in his most famous essay *Verlust der Mitte* of 1948[18], during the Nineteenth century "*new dominant themes*" will come into the city's limelight, and will create havoc in the typological and figurative tradition of architecture. They are: the romantic "English-style" garden, the architectural figurative

Felice Casorati and Alberto Sartoris, Casa Gualino Theatre, Turin, 1925.
Antonio Valente, Revolving stage divided into three parts, 1928 (?). sketch.

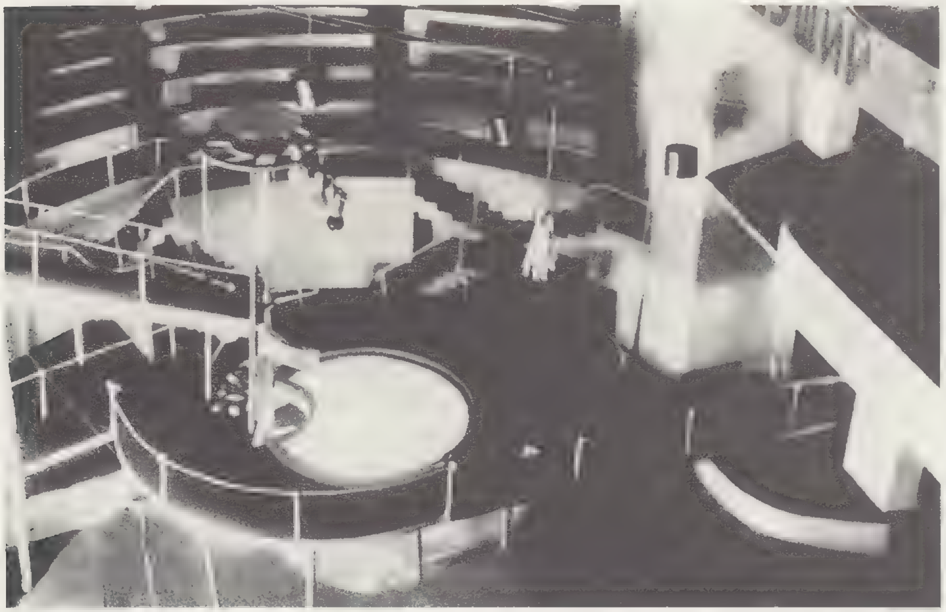


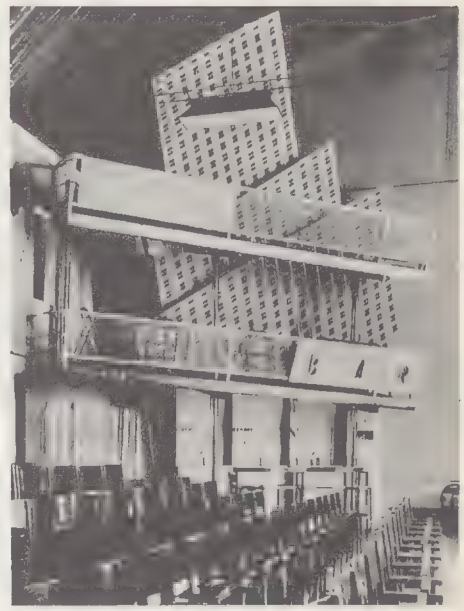


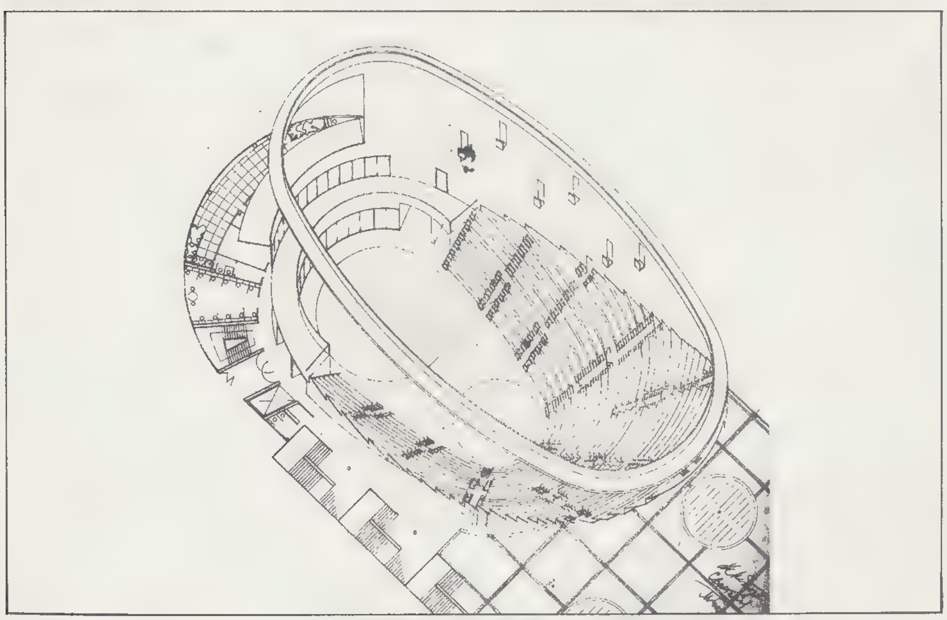
monument, the museum, the exhibition (hall) and the industrial plant. To all of these, the author adds the opera theatre as a new sort of Pantheon for all the arts, because of its articulation and the solidness that this type acquires in the diffusion of urban culture.
The influence between different categories (museum, exhibition hall, etc.) brings about a proliferation of composite subtypes that socially and functionally meet a new and larger demand. The theatre is no exception, articulated on the basis of the new requirements that new types of shows have, like lyrical, prose, mass chamber or experimental theatre, polyteama, cinema and so on. So much so, in fact, that the Italian-style theatre, demeaned because of its mundane availability, will undergo a sort of rehabilitations from being undifferentiated municipal container for the activities of social life (from the conference to the end-of-the-year party) it will gradually be reserved, especially in the larger cities, for music, therefore becoming the "Opera Theater".
From the topic of theatre architecture institutionally treated, modern projectuality inspired by a particular dramaturgical conception will remain on the borderline, since it is considered like a series of variants to a paradigm already stabilized in canonic types. Yet, in the first twenty five years of this century a series of projects and buildings by the "pioneers of the Modern Movement" (Van de Velde, Behrens, Poelzig, Perret) display the articulation of the theatre as the unrenounceable condition for the protection and promotion of the artistical sense in the masses.
However, a sketch by Alfred Loos in 1898 shows the idea for an Opera theatre, containing 4000 seats and thought for Vienna, where the ambivalence of the Loosian logic and irrationality is evident, when it places the architect in the condition of acting with an avant-garde attitude forcing, from the inside and hall the way to the paradox, the current ideology of bourgeois morals. The cavea is oversized, maybe because it had to keep in mind internal economics already necessary in those days in order to face the costs of grandiose stagings. It is evident that the round proscenium can revolve completely, so as to satisfy a quite complex scenic an technical apparatus. The idea is, somehow, of turnig requirements into characteristics, while giving form to lack of proportion,to disharmony, to the clash between the elliptically shaped hall, a "magically" Wagnerian — so to speak — system, that develops starting from the central circle, with the angular incumbent presence of the stage

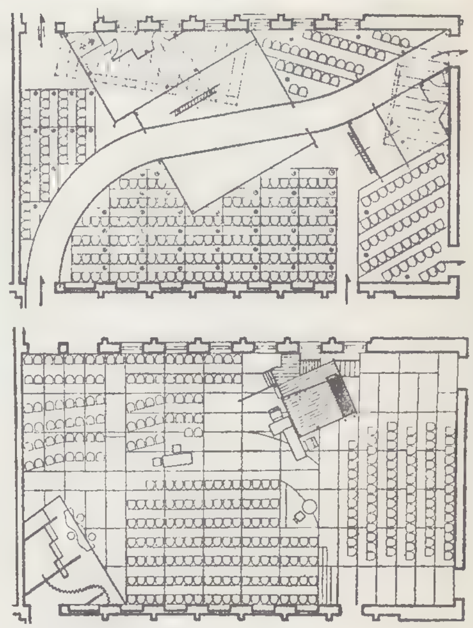
El Lisickij, Scenography for I want a baby, *1929: model.*
Michail Barchin and Sergej Vachtangov, Mejerchol'd Theatre, Moscow 1930-32: axonometry.
Antonin Artaud, draft of a theatre-hall, 1932.

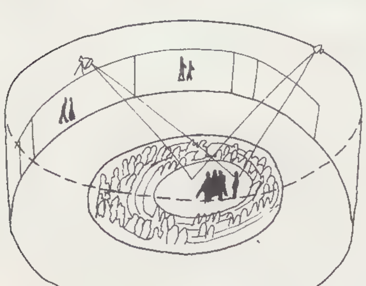
Szymon and Elena Syrkus, Simultaneous Theatre, Warsaw, 1927: inside and plans.



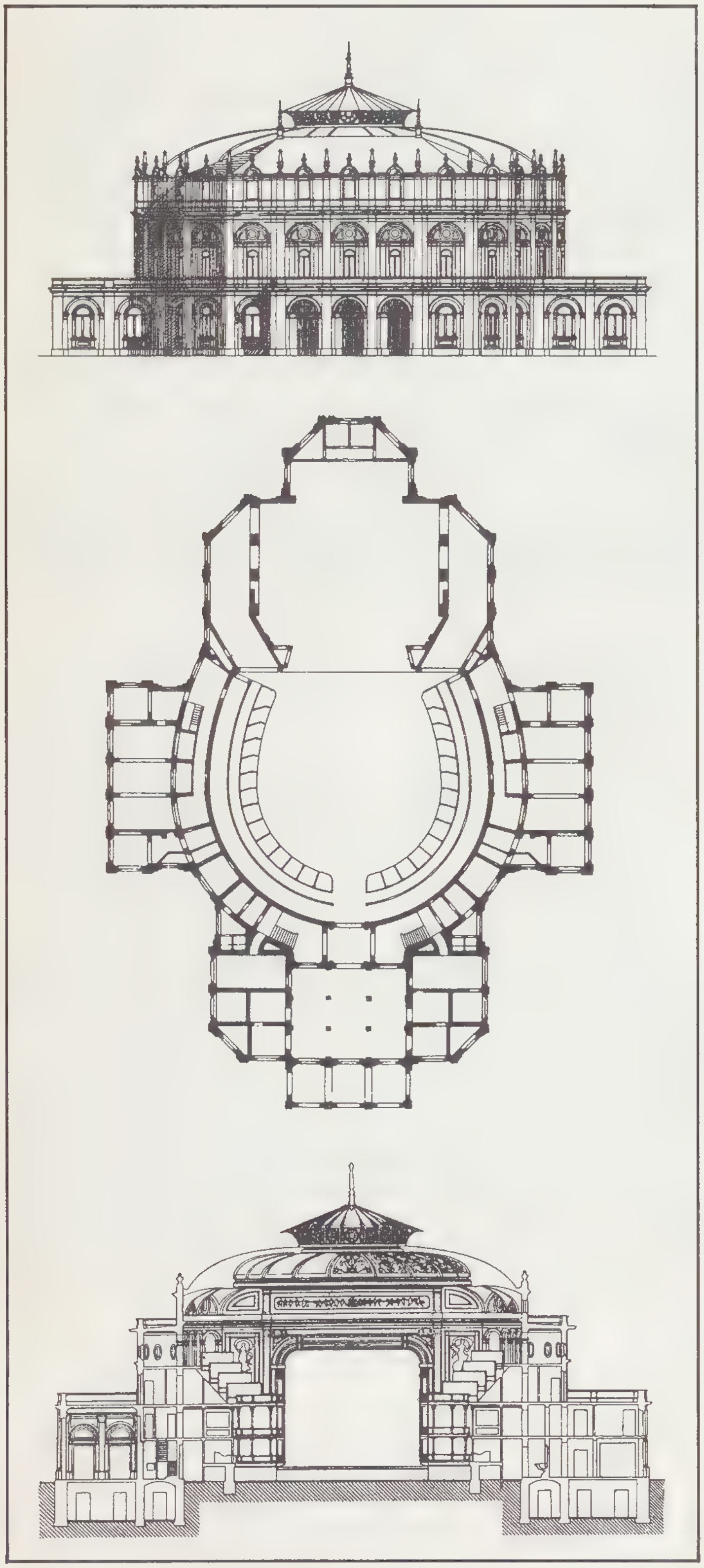




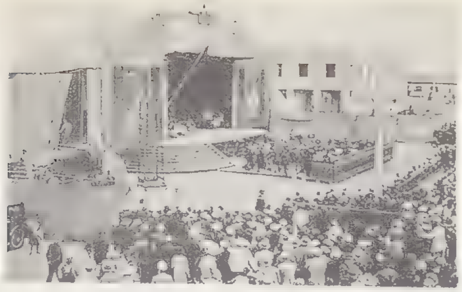




Giuseppe Pestagalli, Teatro Dal Verme, Milano, 1872: prospect, plan and cross section.
Mariano Fortuny and Bassi, travelling theatre "Carro di Tespi", Rome 1929.



tower, finished with great steps tapering towards the centre. This is an eminently poetic attempt, that recalls certain recent researches on the opera theatre and that Loos already seemed to collect an exalt in full responsability, as we may deduce from the available clues. This Sketch for a "Theater für 4000 Besucher" inaugurates that Loosian vein of research on the myth-poietic emblem extracted form tradition and enlarged to urban scale, culminating in the famous 1922 project presented at the competition for the headquarters of the *Chicago Tribune*.
The avant-garde, that for Loos means provocatory respect of tradition, for Antonio Sant'Elia means the anticipation of the landascape of the city of the future seen through perspective tears and fragments. Aside from the discrepancy between the external appearance, that would lean the masses, and that instead withers its capacity to a main floor seating 500, in this sketch — more than a project — of a theatre, dated 1913, the interpreter of Futuristic architecture does not discuss the conventional interiorness and the essence of the bourgeois theatre, accepting a certain topography given by tradition and, if this was the case, by scanning and roughening a figurative apparatus that recurred since the Viennese Secession.
If the above examples by Loos and Sant'Elia may be considered as the typological contamination between theatre and architectural monument, for the contamination between theatre and industrial plant, in Italy, we can look at the adaptation to "People's Theater" of an industrial shed of the mechanical industry Brown Boveri, promoted by the Milan's Humanitary Society and built in 1910 by Luigi and Cesare Mazzocchi. With the possibility of seating 2000 people, the hall and the exesting building inaugurate a symbolic relationship with the pride of the industrial city through the straightforward expression of brick and iron technology, that substituted marble decorations, gilded wood and red velvet. Expression that, freed by shady decorations, seems like the filtrate of that municipal Neoromanesque postulated for social and public welfare building by Camillo Boito in Italy, and by some pioneers of Modernism in other nations. The promotors of the Humanitarian Society, enterpreneurs and intellectuals, socialists, reformists and illuminated Freemasons, wanted to pedagogically educate an aristocracy of workmen not totally without a class conscience; but still jealous of their own manual skill with the People's Theater. On this topic, it is mandatory to refer to the fundamental text *Le théâtre du*

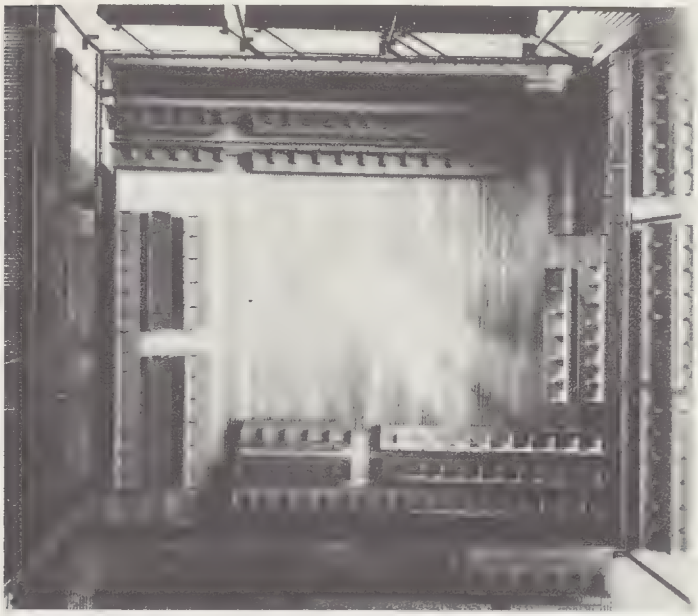


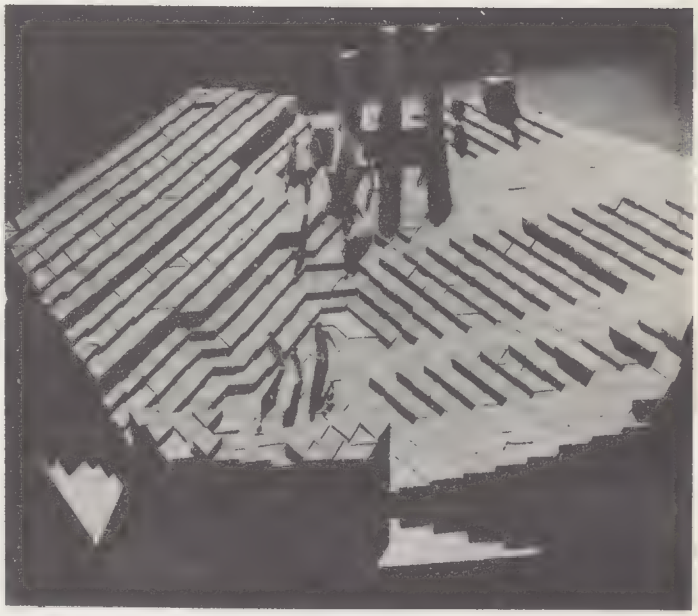
peuple[19], published in Paris in 1903, where Romain Rolland, among other things, declared himself in favour in favour of boxes, stating their convenience when a worker, after having left the plant should want to go to the People's Theater with his family, but is still dressed in his working clothes.
A small private theatre for one hundred friendly spectators is the one designed in 1925 by the painter Felice Casorati helped by the then young architect Alberto Sartoris for the Turin House of the financier Riccardo Gualino. Even if the figurative research is not always in tune with the dramaturgical repertoire that is acted therein, this remains an avant-garde theatre, since a certain archaic symbolism is evoked, in the way of open stages as designed by the Swiss scenographer Adolph Appia at the turn of the century, but also for what there concurs of Casorati's symbolism, successive to the Metaphysical period, that will then be regenerated throug the "I Sei Pittori di Torino" (The six Turin painters) that were his pupils and especially through Gigi Chessa, in the rationalist purism of the Milanese scenographies by Edoardo Persico. A type of theatre, then, that will not recall the one which is instead radically recalled in the case of the three part revolving stage with rolling levels coinceved in 1923 by Antonio Valente, with which new ways are experimented, in order to experiment and create the space for avant-garde repertoires with devices experimented at the same time by André Antoine in Paris and by Konstantin Stanislavkij in Moscow.
The project for famous Totaltheater, completed in 1927 by Walter Gropius for Erwin Piscator, phantasmagorical director of the "Political Theater" affiliated to the Berlin Socialdemocracy of the '20s, is the extreme and most coherent attempt where the *Sachlichkeit* culture pretends to correspond to the functions of modern society, reducing architecture to the pure essence of the mechanical device. In a space, geometrically limited by the diagram of optimal visibility and acoustics for 2000 spectators, a central revolving platform allows to organize the hall in its traditional way, with or without proscenium, or in the shape of an amphitheatre with central stage. A series of mechanisms (for manning the lights and sound, for the introduction of cinematographic screens at the edges of the hall, etc.) makes it possible to change the perceived relationship between action and public, even during the same representation. Piscator and Gropius, urged onwards by the new spectacularity introduced by the cinema and radio, want in this way to win the passiveness of the masses, involving them as protagonists in avant-garde theatre. But once endowed with total flexibility, only one possibility is forbidden to the "mise en scène": that of the desecration of the conventional theatrical space, that through the effects of the unexpected, plays a relevant role in the scenographic and technical inspiration of the director from Berlin.
Notwithstanding the fact that his dramaturgical conception is less spectacular than that of Piscator, more profound (because he is a pupil of the great Stanislavskij) and more original (with the invention of the biomechanic pantomime), the famous Russian director Vsevolod Mejerchol'd cannot be less than him in expecting an "ad hoc" theatre for Moscow (hasn't Strehler expected it too, here in Milan, and of the traditional type?). This is designed between 1930 and 1932 by architect Michail Barchin and scenographer Sergej Vachtangov, who gives up the depth of the traditional stage and instead projects the action as being carried out on two revolving and piston-sliding platforms. This project must be considered as the conclusion of that decade of experiments that had taken a strong foothold, with artistical and architectural constructivist stagings, on the stages after the October Revolution through a propagandist mandate of the avant-garde culture. You only need to think of those by Popova, Stepanova, Vesnin, El Lisickij, Rodcenko, prepared for authors like Majakovskij and Tret'jakov, and for directors like Mejerchol'd and Tairov. In 1929 the choreography by El Lisickij for the representation of Tret'jakov's comedy *I want a baby* foresees an helicoidal ramp, but it is forbidden by the censure due to its eugenical content. In the meantime, for three years, from 1930 to 1933, the concept of mass theatre for the different capitals of the Soviet republic solidifies, so that numerous competitions are indicated but that, because of the monumentality of the works, very rarely ended by being built.
Gropius' project for Piscator was therefore going to plan, with a virtually illimited supply of *performances*, the experimentalism that the progresses of scenography and technology disseminated everywhere with provocative or astonishing effects on a general public. Instead, the theatrical spaces more closely linked to avang-garde dramaturgy, following other paths, where closing in on themselves and acquiring smaller dimensions, in order to directly and physically act on the initiated spectator.
This is Szymon Syrcus' case, and of his wife Helen, famous

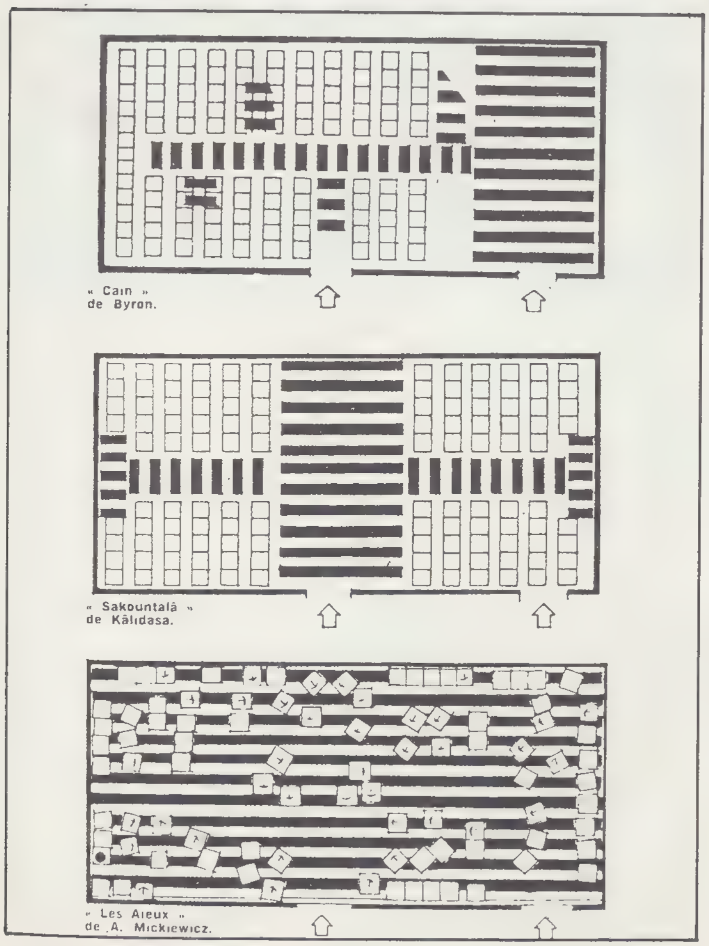
protagonists of the Polish avant-garde between the two World Wars (and of the plan for the reconstruction of Warsaw in this last post-war period), when in 1927 they designed a "Simultaneous Theater" that could be created in the cellar of a typical building in any central block in Warsaw. This environment is susceptible of any type of transformation, and simultaneous and criss-crossing actions may take place from different points, like in the places reserved for Sacred representation, by means of movable chairs and boards that could be moved around and used as stages. Thi scenic device will be used and re-elaborated more than once in the following decades in Poland and elsewhere.
Antonin Artaud, author in 1932 of the manifesto for the *Théâtre de la cruauté*[20], outlines in a sketch the diagram of his ideal hall arrangement, where the positions respectively taken up by spectators and actors are clearly visible: the former are placed along an intermediate ring, where they must forse themselves to endure the event, and the latter on the perimeter of an unadorned shed so that, apart from giving life to simultaneous actions, a scream from any point could be heard and amplified so as to reach the opposite end. In the centre: not the traditional stage, but a circle where the actors, if necessary, may gather and "re-unite".
In Italy, too, in the decade before and in the decade after the last war, the offence of the cinema is somehow contained by the theatre through the versatile form of the association cinema-theatre hall, with a large number of seats. It is also the fruit of the shrinking of orders, still superimposed in the amphiteatre shape in the glorious "Politeama" — for musical theatre and non, for circus, sport, cinema — in a great gallery overhanging the main floor and ramifying, as peripheral stronghold, in the expansion of the big cities and in the largest provincial towns. Usually, it takes the shape of a formal and decorative apparatus that form the modernism of the Wiener Sezession, through progressive declinations, will pass through the Déco and rationalist Nineteenth century until reaching the International Style of the Fifties. Yet, even in this hybrid and conventional style there are examples that have a certain fascination.
But in the Italy of the '30s, estranged from the avant-garde research, the innovation of this device is officially oriented towards the populism pursued by the Fascist regime through the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (National after working hours Opera): with the Itinerant Carro di Tespi (travelling theatre), where even futuristic scenographers test themselves, and with the open-air "Teatro di massa" (Mass theatre), like the one for 20,000 spectators created in the main courtyard of the Sforzesco Castle in Milan.
Taxed by the offensive that the theatre has to endure immediately after the war because of the movie industry, removed or reduced to burlesque shows in the because of the movie periphery of towns and modest halls as long as the conversion to cinema was not yet economical, the sites where the research for a true dramaturgical essence return to the size of the crypt or to that of "Chamber theatre".
An evident reference to the hall arrangement of Syrcus' "Simultaneous theatre" may be found in the one designed in 1959 by architect Jerzy Gurawski in Opole, Poland, for the "magic and sacrilegious theatre of Jerzy Grotowski. It consists the patterns given by a common rectangular room's transformability, obtained by the different distribution of a series of benches that may be used for a small public, but which may also be used for the creation of stages where the dramatic event will be acted out. The one by Grotowsky is a dramatic expression of intense gestual and corporeal spirituality, that has inspired similar experiences in the avant-garde that was born anew after the war: for example, that of the Living Theatre, similar not only from the dramaturgical point of view, but from that of ubiquity, for the renounciation to any type of scenographic and technical limitation.
Around 1960, the Ford Foundation announces a competition (by invitation) for a new conception of the theatrical type. Among the selected projects, there are no doubts that the most interesting one is that by architect Peter Blake and scenographer Davis Hays. It has the exact size of a New York City block, and therefore capable of substituting any one of the rotting Manhattan buildings. This is a building complex of reduced dimensions. On the first floor, the main hall with a double order of balconies, repeats the conception of a single room that may be adapted in different ways using movable chairs for 299 spectators, while on the ground level there is the box-office, in the basement there is the bar-restaurant and on the top level, there are the laboratories, the studio and the reharsal room.
At this point one asks himself along wich path did technology develop in the meantime, usually so incessant in influencing theatrical typology.
From the scenographic and technical point of view, this appears once again, even more stronger than usual, in the "Théâtre expérimental à transformations multiples",

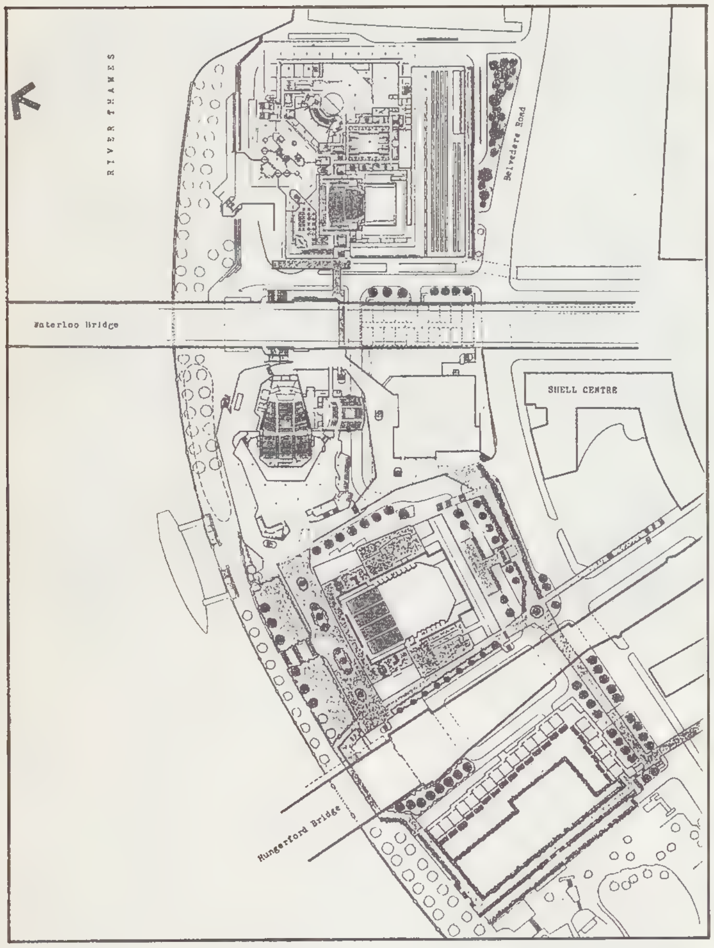
Peter Blake and Davis Hays, A flexible 299-seat open-stage theatre based on the dimensions of a New York City lot, 1961: model.
Jerzy Gurzazski, theatrical workshop "13 Rzedow" in Opole, 1959: plans of the dispositions of the hall.

Alain Bourbonnais, Théâtre expérimental à transformations multiples, *1963: model.*











Southbank area in London with Dennis Lasdun's National Theatre, 1967; Queen Elizabeth Hall and Purcell Room by Hubert Bennet; Robert Matthew's and Leslie Martin's Royal Festival Hall, 1951.
P. Belluschi and Catalano & Westermann; M. Abramovitz; Ph. Johnson; E. Saarinen; W:K: Harrison; Skidmore, Owings & Merril, Lincoln Center in New York, 1962-67: model.

developed in 1963 by the French architect Alain Bourbonnais, which consists in a hall and in a stage that may be re-shaped, time and time again, in dimensions and inter-relationships since thay are carved from a single plan area subdivided in equilateral triangles that work like vertically sliding winches. This peculiar device struck the imagination of many architects when, without quoting Bourbonnais' invention, they managed to upset the entire theatrical complex and to turn it into a continuously changing informal ensemble.

Meanwhile, from the town-planning point of view, technicism was consolidating in centralized polyvalent complexes like the Lincoln Center in New York and the South Bank in London, where, in front of great metropolitan areas, we have the concentration of those institutional *performances* (lyrical and ballet, prose and high level concerts) into *theatrical citadels* articulated in suitable buildings, and usually monopolistically supported by extraordinary fundings and by television production and distribution circuits and connected to a regime of maximum accessibility.

The advent of powerful mass media, like the cinema first and the television later, and the ensuing progressive reduction of theatres in the post-war city, has made many sociologists, critics and men of the theatre extremely pessimistic about the future of this trend which was considered as irreversible. However, also on this topic, I manged to be about a good soothsayer when, more or less twenty years ago, when I was busy — as I was saying — with the *theatrical system*[21], I risked saying that television would have soon generated a new need for the theatre, that is, the need for that lost and more direct relationship, both physical and ritual, between spectator and actor; and this, perhaps, to the detriment of the cinema. Therefore, since those days, while waiting for an auspicable return to the theatre, I belevied it very imprevident to convert theatre halls into cinemas exclusively ones (in fact, today, these are being converted into *supermarkets*). However, apart from a slow yet inevitable process of mass education, induced also as the spontaneous reaction to the artificiality and to the homologation brought about by mass media, the condition for this new return would have been that of seconding a parallel process that defended the few existing theatres: but also that of favouring the diffusion and the accessibility of the sites for initation to be started in those collective functions of the cities, where it was possible to integrate and enrich them with improper theatres or pseudotheatres.

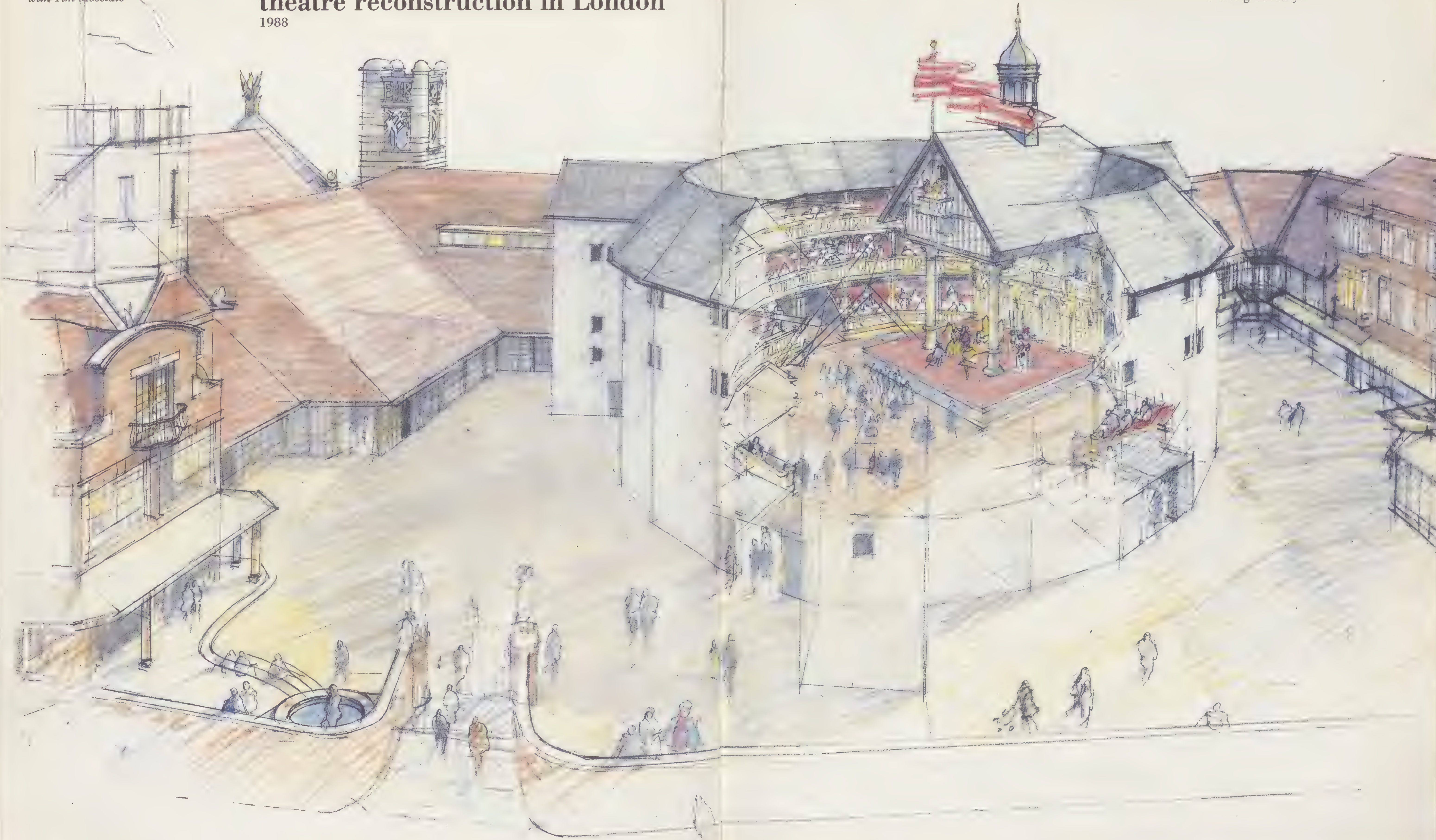
1) Cf. *Il sistema teatrale a Milano*, Bari 1966.
2) Cf. M. Yourcenar, *Mémories d'Hadrien*, Paris 1958.
3) Cf. F. Ruffini, *Teatri prima del teatro*, Roma 1983.
4) Cf. R. Longhi, *Recensione a F. Malaguzzi-Valeri. "L'Arte alla Corte di Ludovico il Moro, II, Bramante e Leonardo"*, 1916, now in *Scritti giovanili*, Vol.I, Florence 1961, pp. 291 and 297.
5) Cf. G.P. Lomazzo, *Idea del tempio della pittura*, Milan 1590, now in *Scritti sulle arti*, by R. P. Ciardi, Florence 1973.
6) Cf. F.A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, London 1966.
7) Cf. *Il sistema teatrale a Milano*, p.11.
8) M. Praz, *Storia della letteratura inglese*, Florence 1946, plate 12.
9) Cf. F.A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 317 fol.
10) Cf. *Note al sistema dei teatri nelle province di Bari e Foggia*, in AA.VV., *Strutture teatrali dell'800 in Puglia*, Assessorship for Culture of the Puglia Region, Bari 1987, pp. 41-54.
11) Voltaire, *Dissertation sur la tragédie ancienne et moderne*, 1784, mentioned in L. Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France*, Vol. III, Paris 1950, pp. 531-532.
12) Cf. J.-J. Rosseau, *Lettre à M. d'Alembert sur les spectacles*, 1758.
13) Cf. D. Diderot, *Paradoxe sur le comédien*, 1773, Paris 1830.
14) Cf. P. Patte, *Essai sur l'architecture théâtrale ou de l'Ordonnance la plus avantageuse à une Salle de spectacles, rélativement aux principes del l'Optique & de l'Acoustique. Avec un examen de principaux théatres de l'Europe*, Paris 1782.
15) Cf. G.E. Lassing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, 1767-69, Bremen.
16) Cf. J.-N.-L. Durand, *Précis de Lecons d'Architecture*, Paris 1817 and 1819.
17) Cf. R. Wagner, *Des Bühnenfestspielhaus zu Bayreuth*, 1873.
18) Cf. H. Sedlmayr, *Verlust der Mitte*, Salzburg 1948.
19) Cf. *Archittettura e teatro d'avanguardia*, in "Nuova Corrente", nr.39-40. December 1966, pp.355-367, and in *Il "Nuovo teatro" cerca la città*, in "Ulisse", nr.65, July 1969, pp.9-18.
20) *Théâtre de la cruaté*, 1932, in *Le Théâtre et son double*, Paris 1964.
21) Cf. *Il sistema teatrale a Milano*, p.12.

Theo Crosby and Jon Greenfield

with Tim Mosetale

The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's theatre reconstruction in London

1988



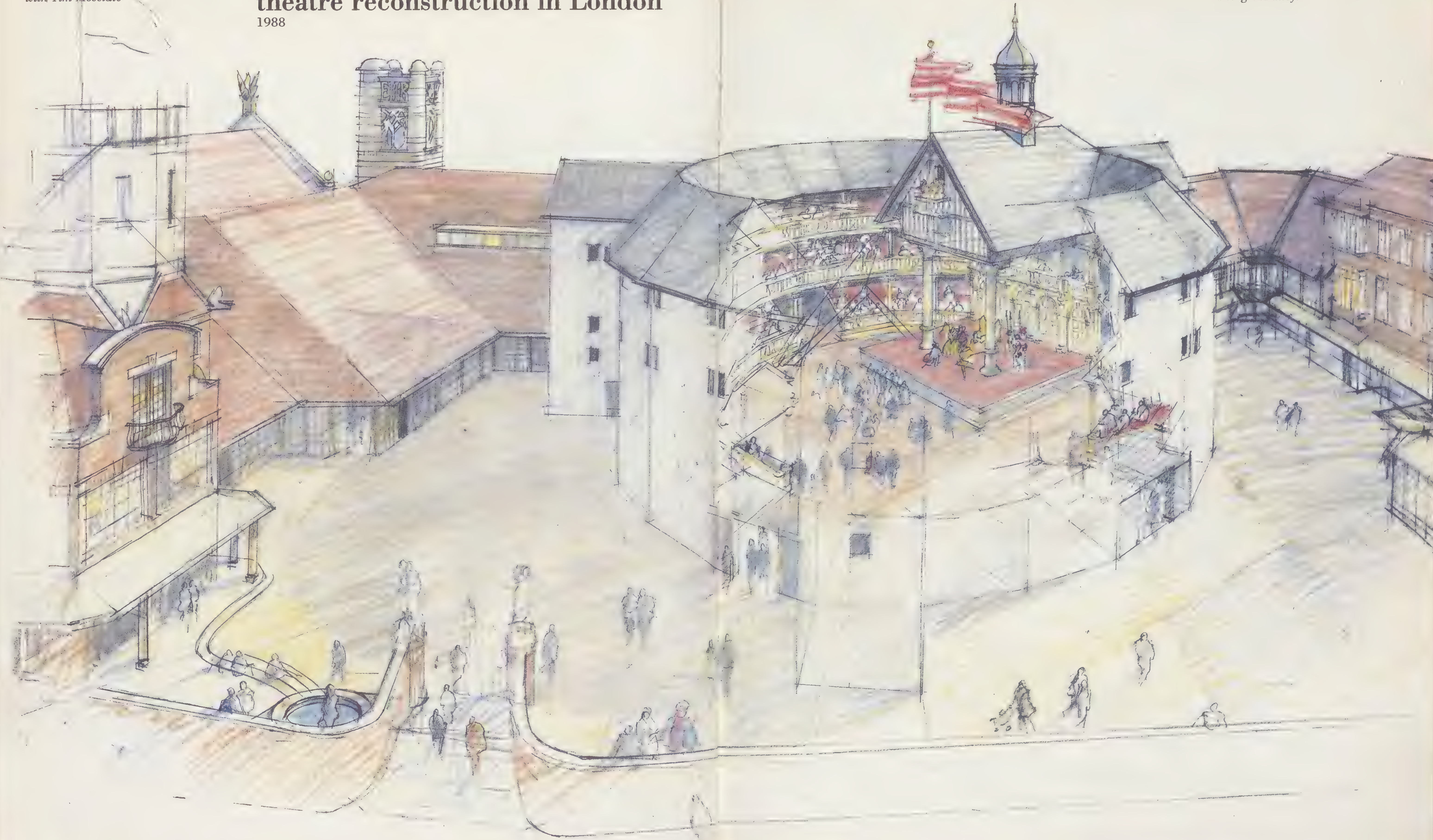
Perspective of the complex from the Thames.
Drawing D.Bailey.

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Urban Enterprises

Theo Crosby

The nature, form and experience of the city, is not only the architect's province, it is the joy and life of all us. We go, in vast and increasing numbers, to interesting places (and in the process destroy them) but we are also all much concerned with our own street, the neighbour's windows, the passing stranger and the occasional burglar. This concern makes us all experts on city life. We know what we like.

Planners on the other hand have learned a complex discipline, are the recipients of many theories and the complexities of attemping to order and quantify some as complex as a city makes them revolutionary, or resigned. The revolutionaries want to simplify, to order, to make statements. The resigned rather like the state of mild chaos, and know whatever they do will probably only make things worse.

The concern for city life and structure began during the war, as an innocent soldier wandering in blessed paradisal Italy, where urban life is natural and unaffected, where buildings are kind to people and form the outdoor theatre for commercial drama. Here one could see natural growth, the easy fitting together of structure from many periods, with a mutual respect, and also the communal buildings, churches, halls, civic structures, often wild, gestural, ornamental, offered to common man, to enhance his civility and increase his communal pride. These buildings, offered perhaps like the Medicis in expiation of the sin of usury, set the tone of a culture and time, draw one's heart and mind.

In the hopeful years of postwar England planning was popular, and we all worked on the new towns, and many another brave project with an innocent energy. At the same time we pursued theoretical studies, welcomed and tested the ideas of Gropius, Hilbersheimer and Le Corbusier, as well as continuing the home grown planning inheritance of Howard, Unwin and Geddes.

From these studies came the British contributions to the CIAM 10th congress in 1956, and ultimately the self destruction of that great engine of modernism. The suicide of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne removed the formal order and structure of the movement which soon drifted into statist authoritarianism, or into fragmented and powerless groups and individuals. The former launched the great modernist social and commercial programmes of the 60's; the latter took refuge in the universities where they still swim in ever decreasing circles.

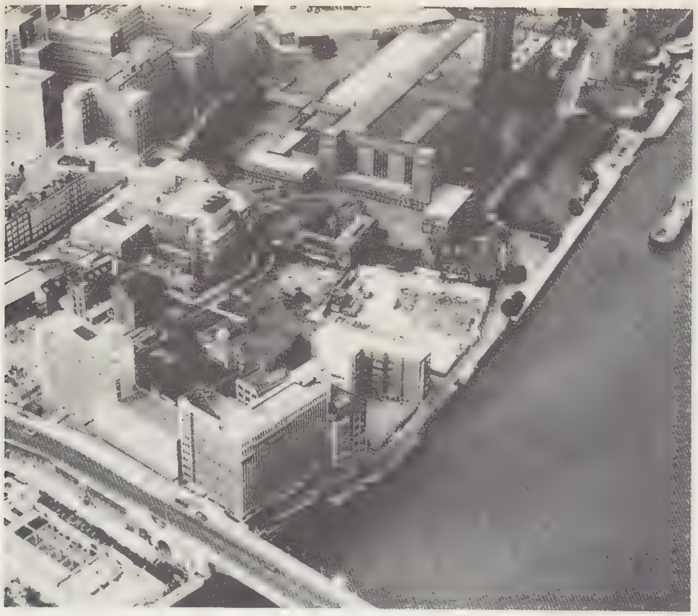
The first adjustment of the real world came with the publication of Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961. Mrs Jacobs looked at the new and drew the conclusions of social inadequacy and technical hubris that we still suffer twenty nine years later.

My own involvement as a journalist, and from 1961 as an architect in charge of the Euston Station project, produced the first of several books: *Architecture: City Sense*, 1965. I subsequently became, through Lord Kennet, a member of the Preservation Policy Group, which established basic conservation studies and some essential legislation. From this experience came *The Necessary Monument*.

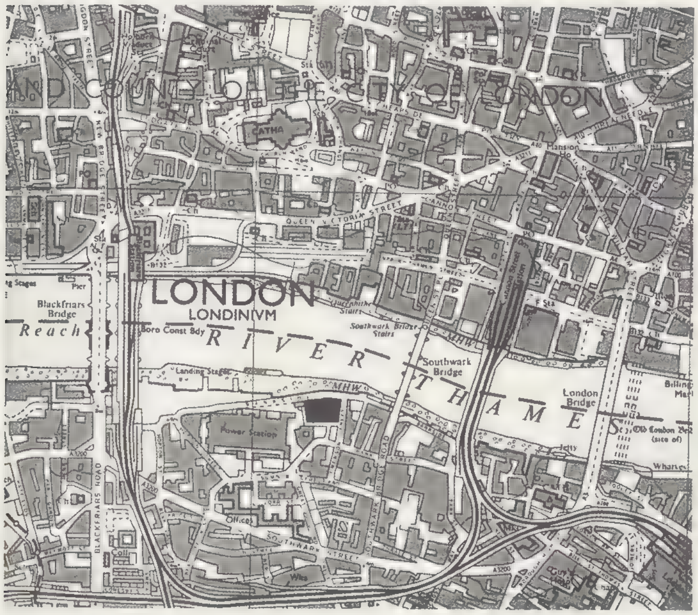
The Arts Council provided a platform for a major exhibition *How to Play the Environment Game*, 1973, and this was travelled around the country with a Penguin special as a catalogue. The effect of these and of course many other publications, has been to gradually change the climate in which architecture and planning is perceived.

We have built so much since 1945 that old buildings are now in the minority. What we have built is so bad, without order and quality, that the necessity to hang on to every scrap of the pre-modern world has became imperative. In fact the problem is now to colonize, to civilise the new world we find ourselves in.

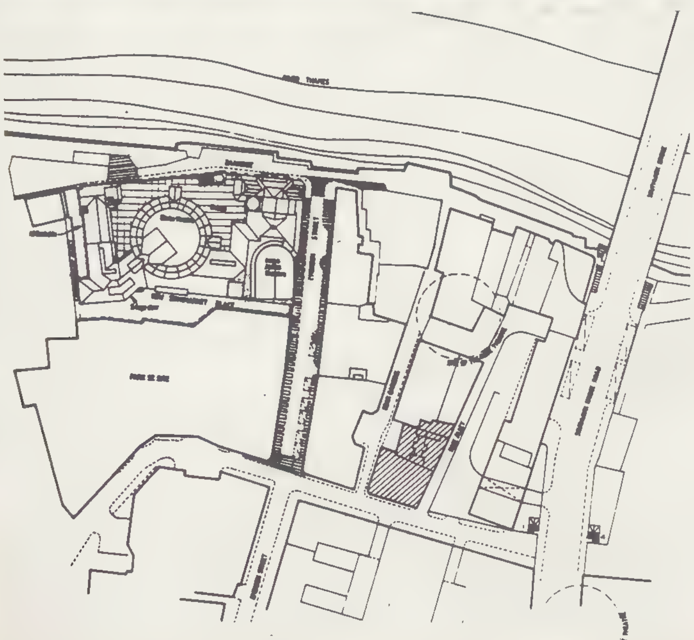
To be an architect in the late 20th century is to experience a moment rich in ambiguities. It is particulary acute to one nurtured in the rigours of modernism, with its puritanical









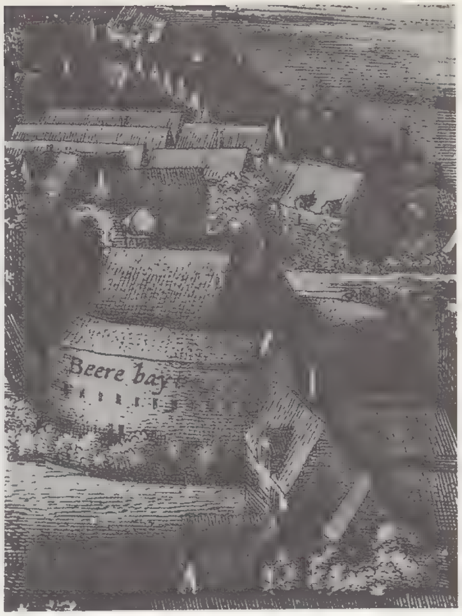


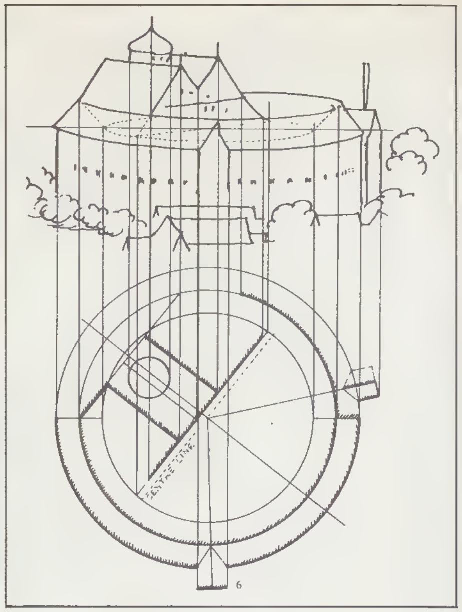
Views of the site of the Globe from the Thames towards Saint Paul's Cathedral beyond the river.
Location of the Globe on London's city plan.
General site plan with the location of the original Globe and Rose Theatre.

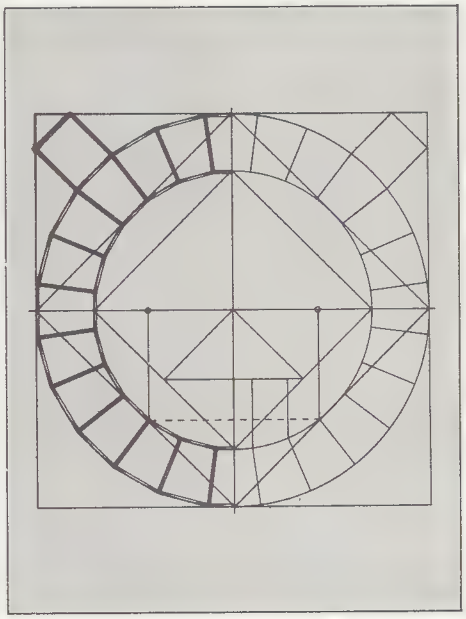
The Shakespeare Globe Trust plans to rebuild this theatre on the Bankside opposite St. Paul's. The Globe will be the focal point of a centre dedicated to leisure and to the performance of Shakespearian and contemporary theatrical works.

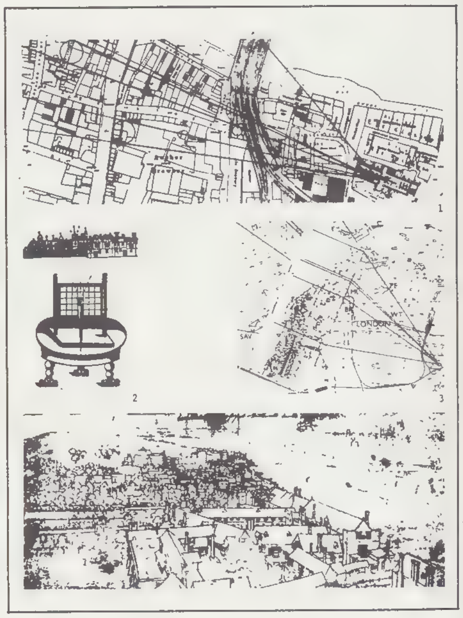
Perspective of the Globe (mistakenly called Beere bayting*) in a detail of the* Long View of London, *by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1647. C. Walter Hodges.*
Size and orientation of the Globe obtained from Hollar's drawing, in John Orrel, The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe, *1983, page 123.*
Geometrical construction ad quadratum *of the Globe plan.*
Collage including, above, the location of the Globe and Rose Theatres derived from Hollar's view; centre left, Perspective Glass, *instrument of the XVIIth century used for perspective drawing; centre right, perspective plan for checking the reference points of Hollar's drawing; below, Hollar's preparatory drawing of around 1620.*
Copy, dating back to about 1596, of Johannes de Witt's drawing representing the inside of the Swan Theatre.
Theo Crosby, sketch for the reconstruction of the Globe.

The first Globe Theatre was built in 1599 as an open-air theatre that could hold up to 3000 persons. It was the summer headquarters of the Burbage theatrical company, the King's Men. Shakespeare took part in it as an actor and wrote many of his most important plays for the Globe such as: Hamlet, Macbeth, King Lear, Othello.
John Orrel's historical research has supplied further indications. Hollar's long view of London has proved photographically precise. He used a perspective glass. From the study of this view Orrel concluded that the Globe's orientation was 48 degrees to the North-East, Mid-summer dawn.









imperatives, its unswerving traditions, its carefully manufactured history, its inevitability.

There was, however, even in the moment of modernism's triumph after the war, a stirring of doubts, of unease at such a simple and conclusive victory. The war released such a flood of energy, of good intentions suddenly made official, that even the carefully prepared ideologies of planning, social organisation and communal involvement were overwhelmed. The profession grew rapidly, all educated into the new ways of the *Bauhaus*, of basic design, of an architecture created from logic, standards, mass production.

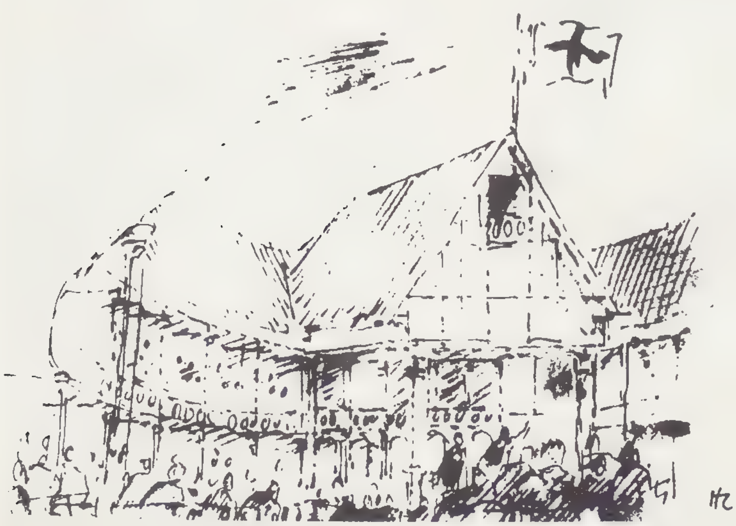
The ambivalences began in Italy, where modernism had been the accepted official style since the twenties, and where many masterpieces had been built. Already in 1940 Giò Ponti was writing about identity (that is, the expression of individual identity in mass produced building) and by 1948 Ernesto Rogers was building the Torre Velasca. It was the first post modern building, lifting a graceful historicism over the roofs of Milan, a gentle civilised, complementary building. It was something new and extraordinary but we *had eyes but did not see.*

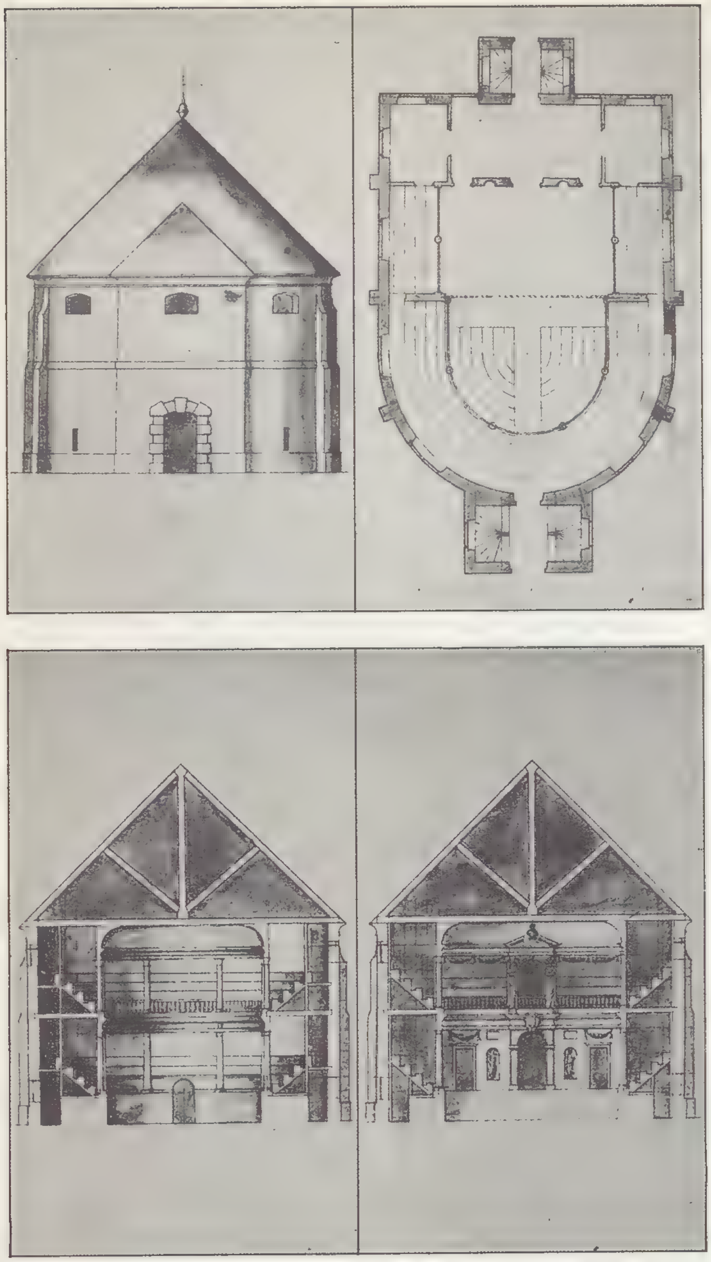
The rush to modernise, to fill cities with the demonstrably new, was reinforced by the new laws and regulations and by the bureaucracy that became the largest employer. In twenty years the Greater London Council had grown the largest architectural organisation on earth — 2000 architects each with an administrator in attendance. The impact of this machine on the environment was unbelievable; it affected great areas of southern England from Basingstoke to Peterborough.

The result is considered uniformly disastrous: the countryside spoiled, the old inner cities neglected, excellent environments destroyed or sterilized. Of course we are too polite to do much about it, but from the beginning of the 1960's the disenchantment with facile modernism began in earnest.

Where to go?







Inigo Jones, Prospect, plan and section of the Phoenix Theatre in Drury Lane, around 1616. Worcester College, Oxford.

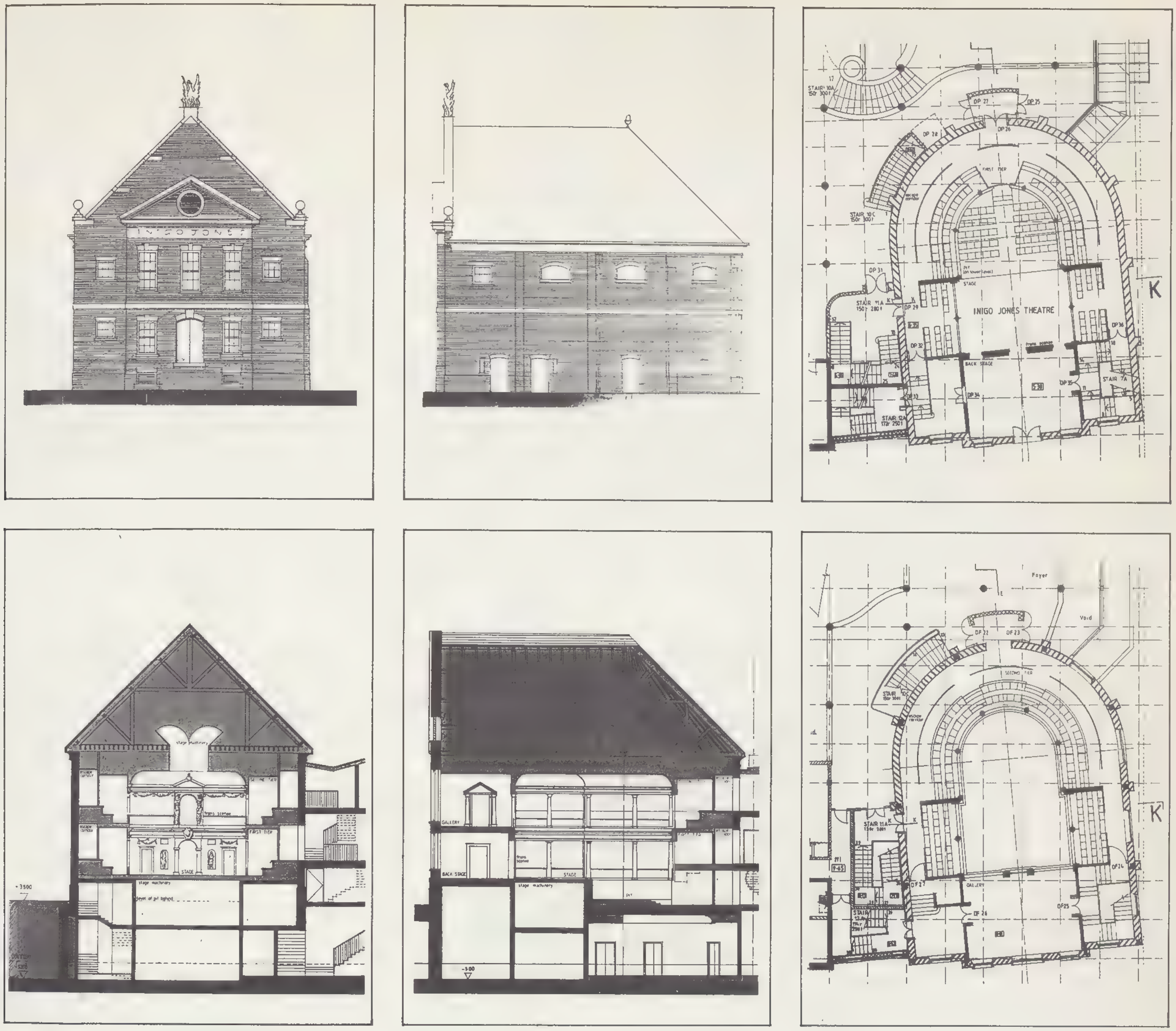
In the 1940's the key book was Rudolf Witkower's *Architectural Principles of the Age of Humanism*, 1949; it explained something of the how and the why of classical architecture and to modernists brought upon simple grids, it was a revelation. Classicism was complex, intricate, full of meanings and resonances that had been forgotten. Even one of the high priests of the modern movement, Sigfried Giedion moved away to publish his remarkable trilogy, *The Eternal Present*, 1962-64, researches in Egyptian and Roman building.

Yet the undermining of modernism came not only from the academics or practitioners. It came from the consumers, groups concerned to project their surroundings. Their objections were based on simple observation. The new buildings were uglier, cruder, and generally less efficient than the old. They put forward legislation to conserve the environment. The architectural profession responded with post modernism, contextualism, deconstruction. These exercises find a willing following among students and young architects denied a consistent leadership but they produce buildings equally alienating and unpopular. The engagement with the old buildings, juxtaposition, replacement, refurbishment, remains an area of deep ambivalence and intellectual insecurity. Yet it is also the richest problem.

It skirts the forbidden whirlpools of academism and the rocks of kitsch. Both these dirty words are being revalued — Beaux Arts drawings fetch over higher prices and popular art burgeons mightily outside architecture. Architecture has always flourished by looking at the past *and* present; out of the conjunction comes something new.

The project to rebuild Shakespeare's Globe project fits precisely into this area of rich ambiguity and resonance, and its twenty year old history faithfully reflects the pressures of the times. They have been stirring.

In 1967 Sam Wanamaker saw the ruined South bank and

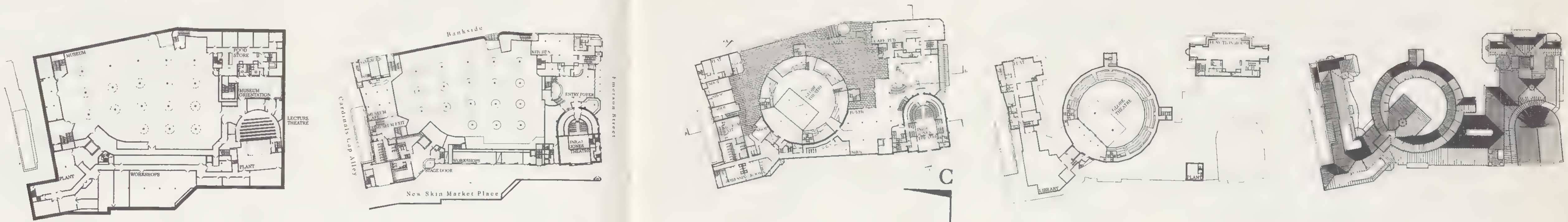


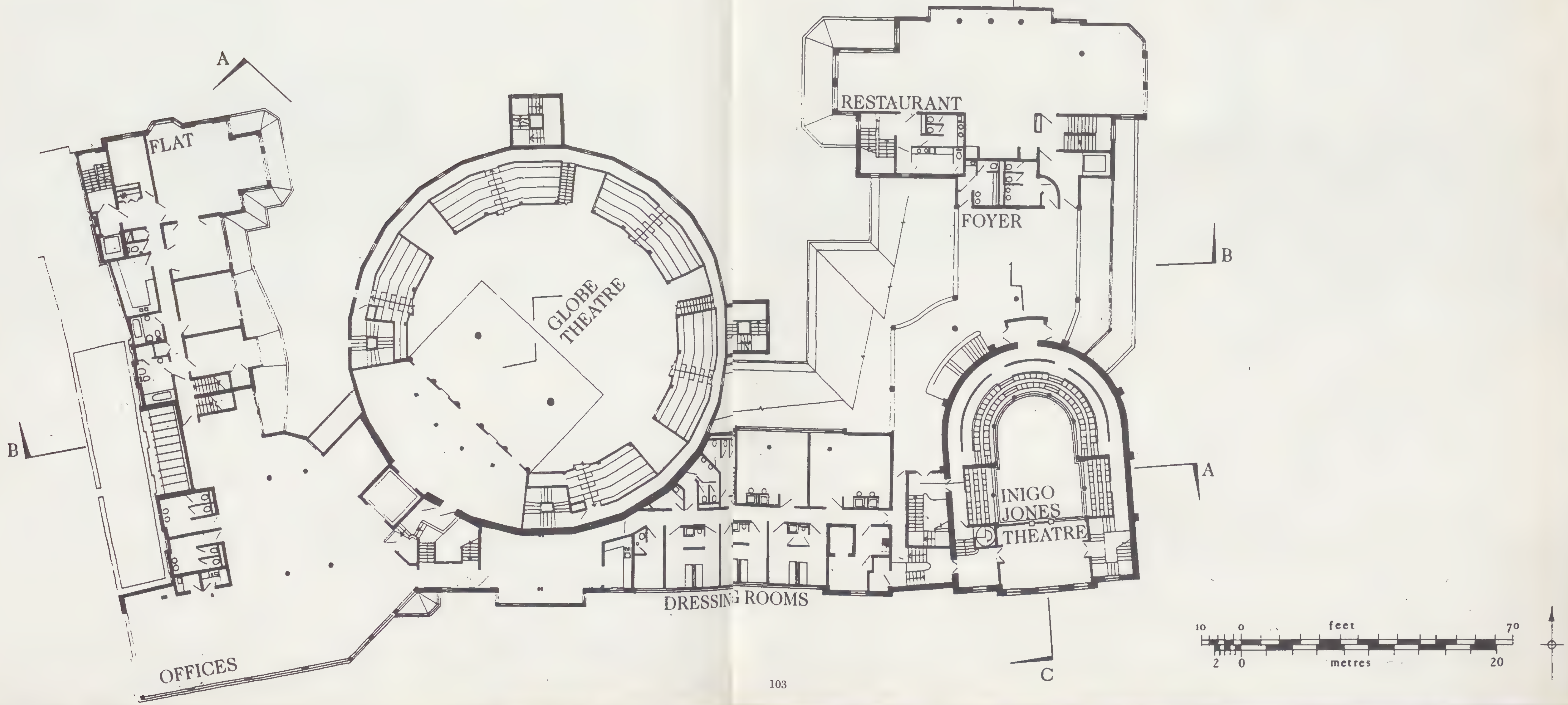
Theo Crosby, Prospects, sections and plans of the rebuilding.

The Inigo Jones Theatre is an auditorium that will offer the possibility of being used all the year round. It will be rebuilt according to the design discovered at the Oxford Worcester College and ascribed to Inigo Jones. They are supposed to be the drawings for the Phoenix Theatre in Drury Lane in London, that was built in 1616. In wintertime the King's Men moved from the Globe to the Blackfriars Theatre where they held their performances. Rebuilding and using the rebuilt Inigo Jones Theatre, the new Globe company will meet with the same difficulties and problems that Shakespeare and the actors of his company had to face in their times.

Theo Crosby, Complex of the Globe Theatre: plans of the basement, entrance level, plaza level, second floor, roofs, and of the first floor.

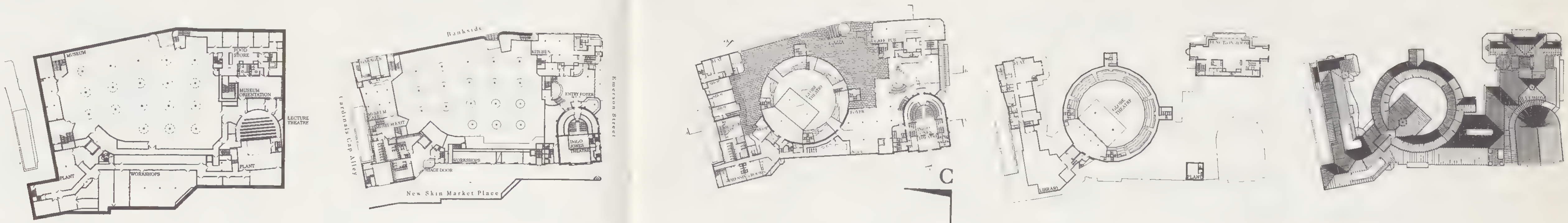
The complex will include: the Globe Theatre, *a partially open-air public theatre rebuilt for performing Shakespeare's works in their original environment; the Inigo Jones, a covered theatre rebuilt acording to the original project by the great architect, used for concerts, poetry readings, works of the XVIIth century, lectures and recitals;* the Shakespeare Globe Exhibition, *a travelling theatrical exhibition played by Shakespeare in the development of the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre;* the Globe Education Centre, *an international centre for the study and spread of Shakespeare's works; Audiovisual Files and a Library on the stagings of Shakespeare's works, a Large Plaza with shops, houses and restaurants.*

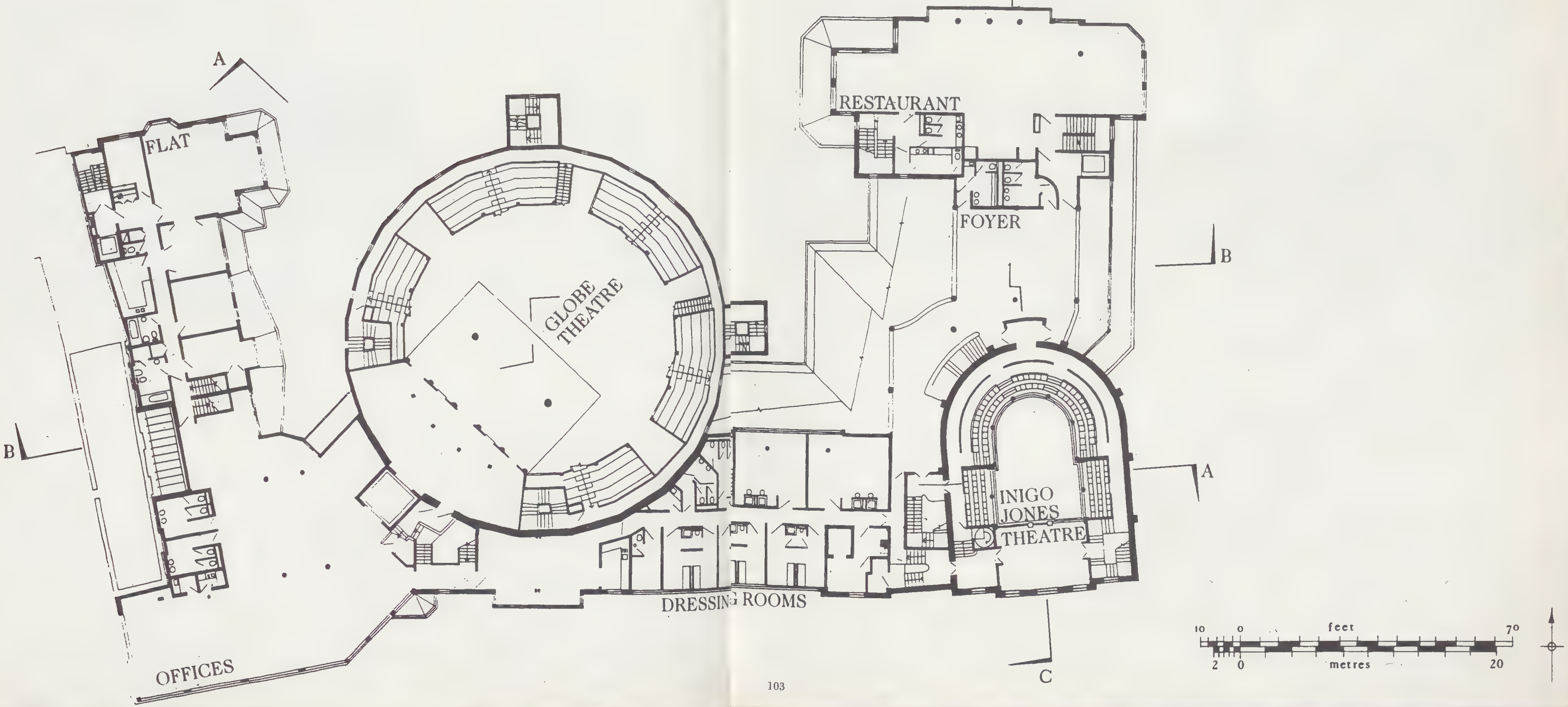




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went to look for the site of the Globe, which is in part under the old Courage Brewery headquarters, Albion Terrace, and Southwark Bridge Road. There was, and is, a bronze plaque, but nothing else to suggest that here once stood the greatest theatre in the world, and that the area had once been London's playground. He was determined to rebuild the theatre near the original site.

There were endless vicissitudes, and many failures, but some 21 years later work begins on the project.

At the beginning it was thought to honour the Bard with the best new theatre, but in the *interim* there has been built the Young Vic, the National Theatre, the Barbican; more than enough new theatres, and they have become notorious examples of theatrical luxury and caprice.

Sam Wanamaker turned to the scholars and it was agreed to build a reconstruction of the first Globe, which had seen the first performances of most Shakespeare plays, and which burned down in 1613. The problem was that there exists no very satisfactory data about this theatre, though a drawing by Hollar shows the second Globe "*erected on the same foundations*".

By the dint of much research, described in his book *The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe* by Professor John Orrell, we have arrived at an agreed design for the Globe. Such an agreement among scholars is a rare thing.

The problems are in the treatment of the related buildings. The Globe is a simple white plastered building, tiny by the standards of modern building, but it carries an astonishing authority in the collective memory of literate mankind. Everyone knows about it, carries a mental image of it.

To fulfill this dream, it has to be placed in an appropriate setting, to give it presence and scale. Its role in the city will be a magnet for visitors come to share in the charisma of Shakespeare, and hopefully to take away a memory, even some instruction. Certainly its major function will be a background for holiday photography.

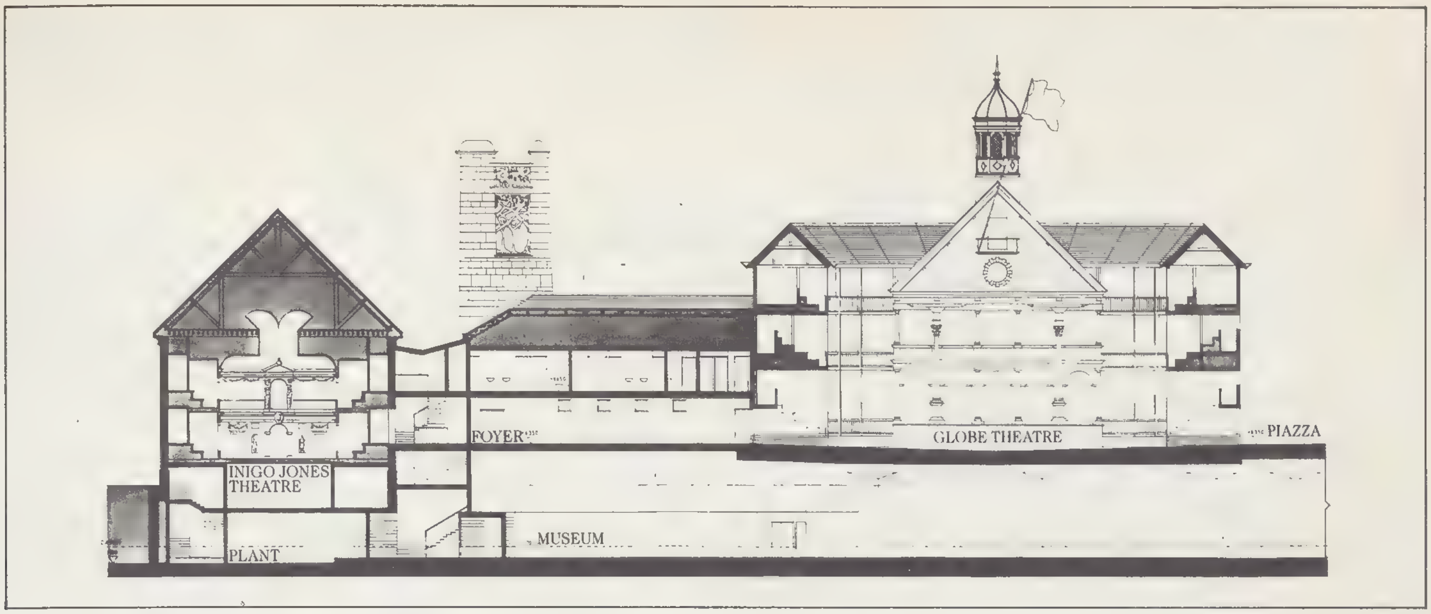
The buildings around are therefore doubly important: they have to sustain the illusion of the physical importance of the Globe, and provide a complex visual background to contrast its formal simplicity. At the same time, these buildings take up the scale and pattern of the existing area, or what remains of it. Alongside Bankside there used to be a terrace of three storey houses, replaced in part by larger 4-5 storey warehouses. The site was bombed in the war and subsequent clearances left only the double house belonging to Southwark cathedral, and the tiny *Wren* house adjoining the site. The latter is a medieval timber building, cased in the Regency period in a white painted plastered brick skin. The former is a very elegant dark red brick terrace, with white string course and trims.

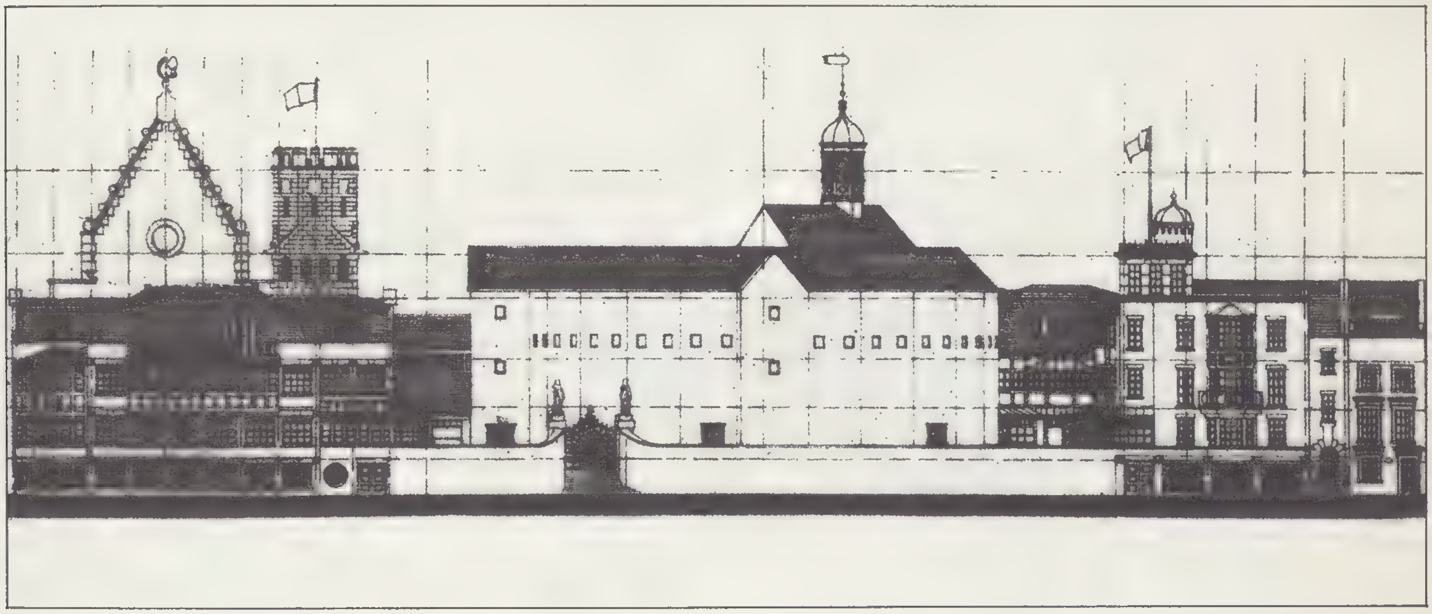
The other buildings nearby are largely post war, of much larger scale and of a grimly utilitarian nature. To the west is Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's Bankside power station, huge and overbearing, pre-empting a large riverside frontage. It is a good design but vastly overscaled in the London context. Listing has been refused and it will be demolished, hopefully to make way for a mixed commercial and housing development. The power station area represents the last important riverside opportunity in London.

The Globe's immediate surroundings attempt to respond to their parameters, to establish a small and complex scale for the area which will inevitably become largely pedestrian and concerned with entertainment.

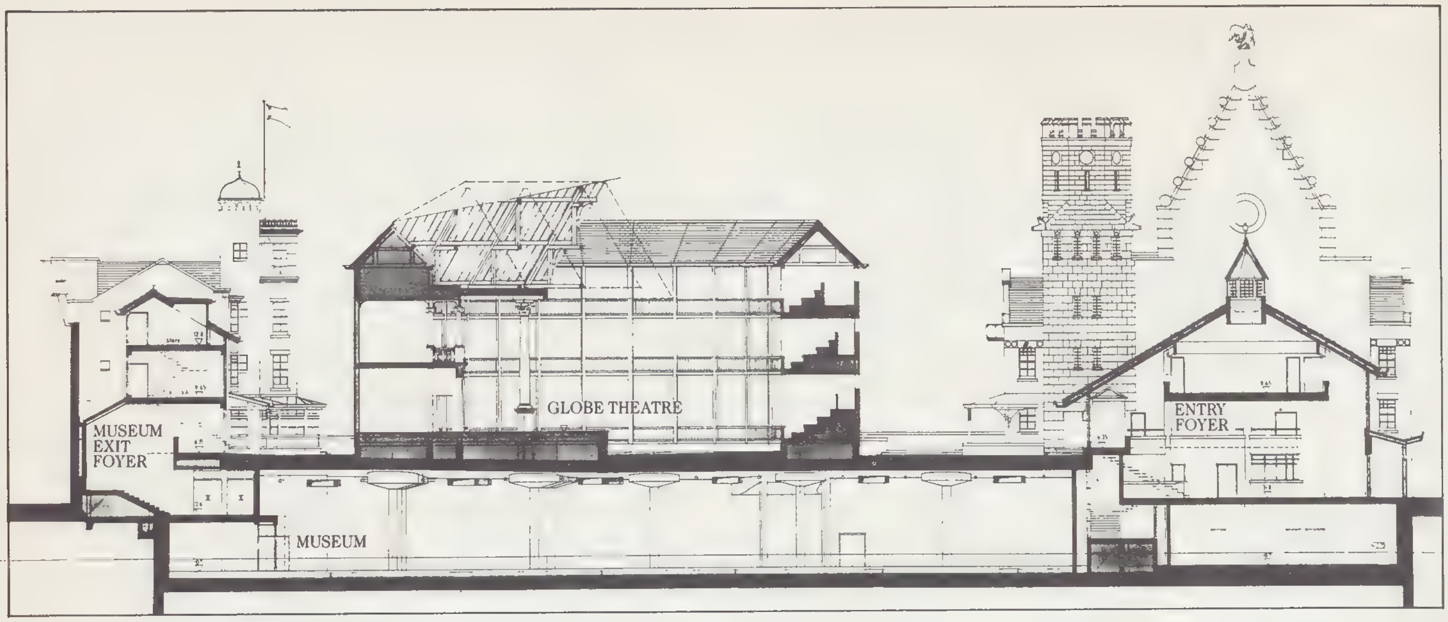
Thus the various elements are designed as separate buildings, each independent and with its own character. The housing block adjoining the Wren house has a tower, with flagstaff, to form and turn the terrace southwards to make a piazza for the Globe. The latter is raised two metres above Bankside, to raise the theatre above the river wall, and ensure its visibility from the north bank. The pub/restaurant building is divided into three elements: the public rooms, the service areas and a tower for access, flags and floodlighting.

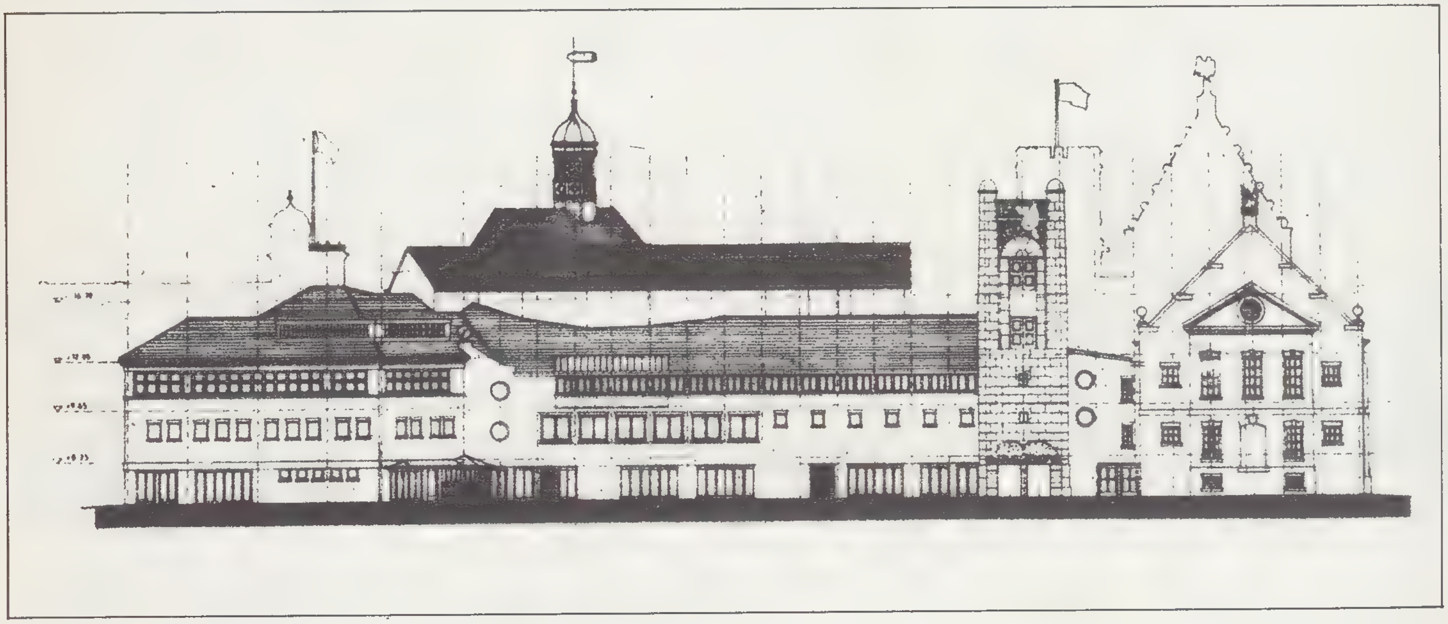
The main entrance to the complex, and particularly to the





Theo Crosby, the Globe Theatre Complex: A-A section, elevation from Bankside.





Theo Crosby, the Globe Theatre Complex: B-B section, elevation from Skin Market Place, C-C section, elevation from Emerson Street.

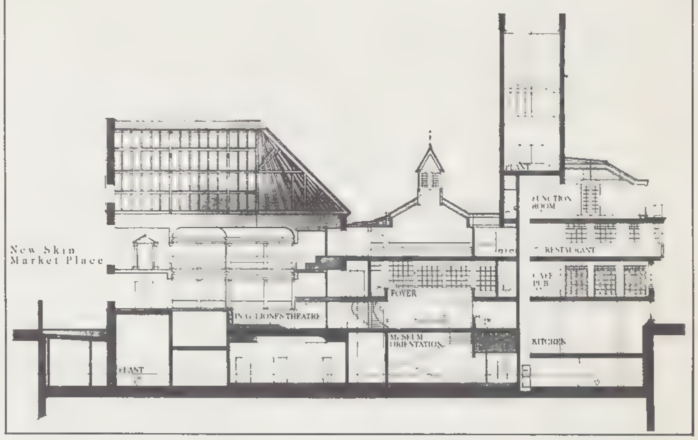
exhibition which takes up the whole site area of the basement is in Emerson Street. It is a 'modern' linkage, quiet and unemphatic between the more important buildings, the Inigo Jones theatre and the restaurant complex.

The boiler room/water tanks/cooking plant are contained in a tower which rises through this link building. It has its own character or story, an Arts and Crafts assymetry to contrast with Inigo Jones classicism. Each building, or fragment thus has its own voice, to avoid blurring the individuality of the theatres by aping their styles. The styles are therefore purposely disparate, and inevitably somewhat inaccurate and *ad hoc*. They attempt a dangerous game of contrast and unification, and avoid large, bold statements (or works of art) in favour of a small scale complexity of detail.

The interiors of the Globe, and the Inigo Jones theatres, will be elaborately marbled and painted, as they were intended to simulate the luxury of the ancients. Those of the foyers (the new buildings) will in contrast be restrained. The restaurant complex will however (if the gods are favourable) be as rich and complex as possible, a demonstration of modern crafts all set to work on the Shakespearian theme of "*Time: melancholy, unstable, transitory. All the world's a stage...*"

The initial works, a diaphragm wall down to the London clay to seal off the underground water flows, were completed in 1988. The foundation works will begin in 1989 and the concrete basement structure should be ready a year later. It is only then that the more complex buildings, and the exhibition fit-out can begin.

These buildings are, like the Globe, seen as hand made, or at least hand finished. They will contain a great number of small, touchable works of art and decoration, not necessarily very grand or precious, but hopefully engaging. To develop a new style was always the great hope and intention of the 19th century. In our time we have seen the beginning of such a new, universal architecture, and found





it inadequate. The inevitable response is towards an eclecticism within which something more complex and satisfying can be forged. Modernism has discovered too many interesting things for an innocent return to the past, and our training in the old skills has evaporated. We can only find a way by cautious experiment. The Globe project is an attempt at a popular architecture, with the admission that such a thing is very difficult to do.

The first element in the construction programme, the diaphragm wall, had just begun when the adjoining site was sold to the Midland Bank. It had been dedicated to housing by the local authority but they could no longer afford this option and were glad to have a company that promised jobs for the area. In the event the Bank will build a $20m^2$ cheque clearing factory that will brutalise its surroundings and dominate the Globe.

The response of the Trustees (International Globe Centre Trust) was to protest (and some modifications are proposed) and to think positively about a more convivial plan for the area. We have produced sketch proposals for a Financial Centre, linked to St Paul's steps by a handsome footbridge. They stake a claim for Fleet Line Station, and extend the cultural reach of the Globe with a new small Opera House and a home for the Cumin Museum and for Southwark's collection of antiquities. Here will be a hotel and conference facility on the riverside, with blocks of modest offices around the Opera Piazza, and housing on the Southern perimeter. The axis of St Paul's transept aligns with the exsisting Central Electricity Generating Board building and locates the opera house with precision.

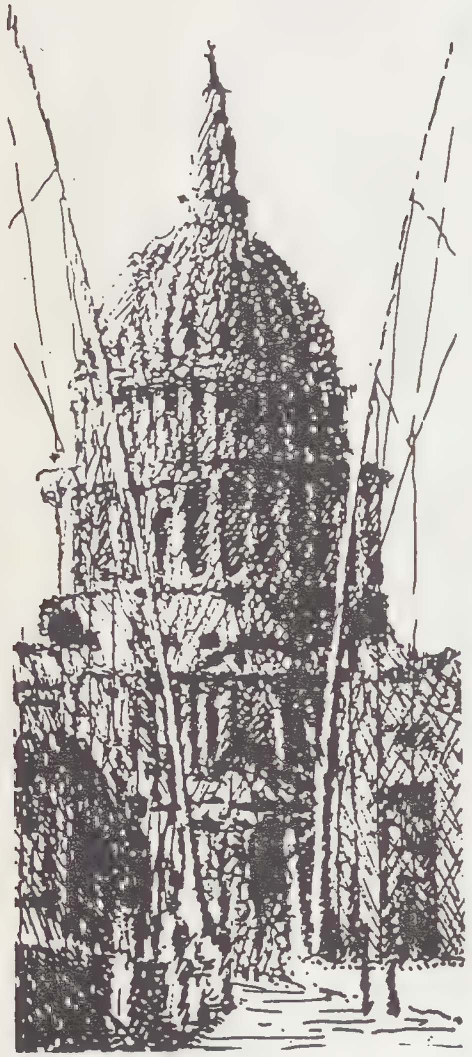
This modest project provides the basis for a civilised city growth, with a great variety of building types and uses, and the opportunity to involve many architects of individual talent. The bridge provides the essential City linkage, an extension of high city values and rentals to an area currently very much on the fringe.

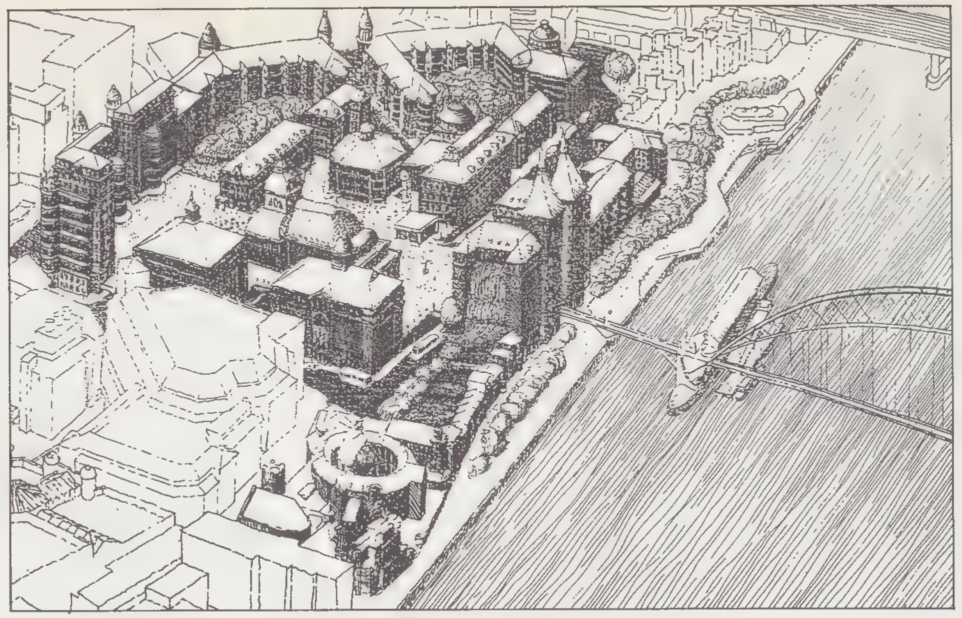
The future of Bankside Power Station is the key to the area; it will be one of the elements in the complex privatisation process. It is, however, the last central London riverside site and should be made a demostration of city building for the next century.

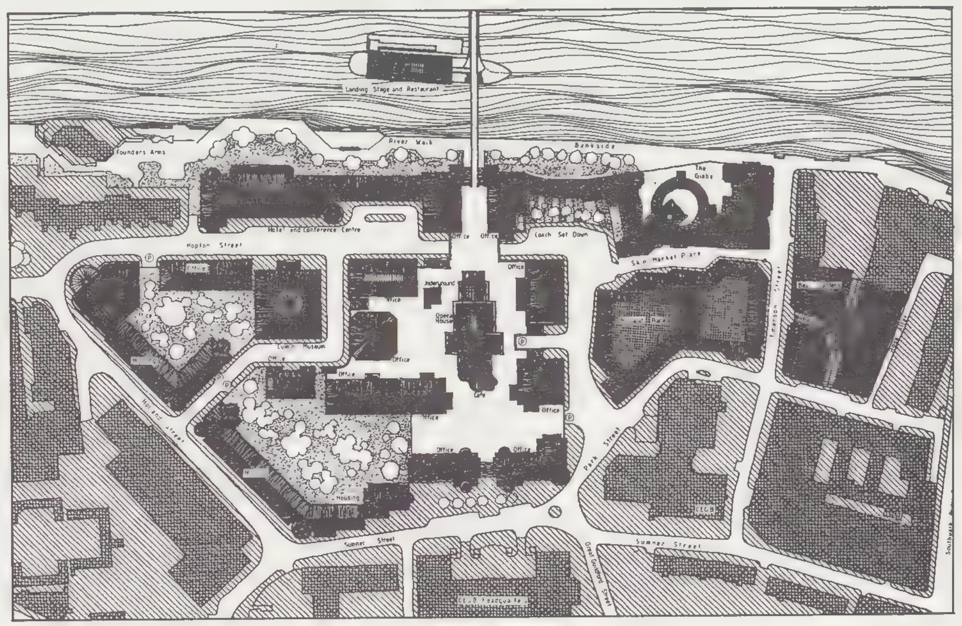


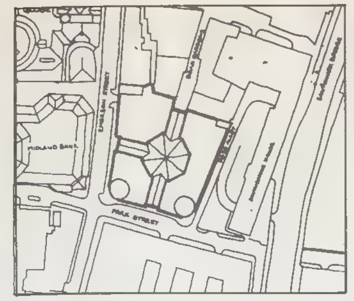


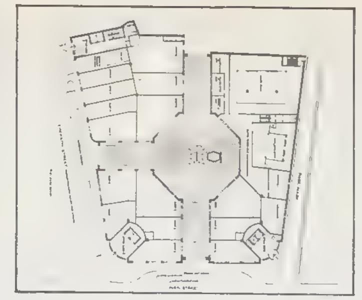
Theo Crosby, the Globe Theatre Complex: perspective views from Bankside and from the plaza around the Globe.
Drawings D.Bailey.



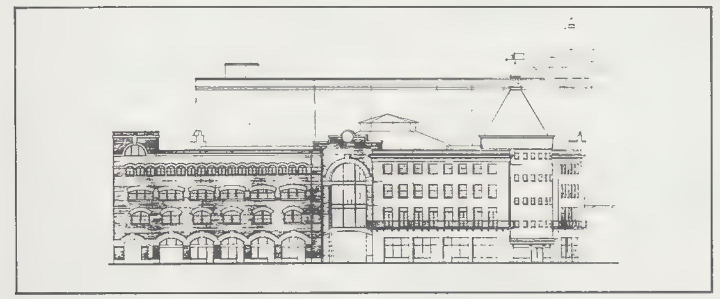






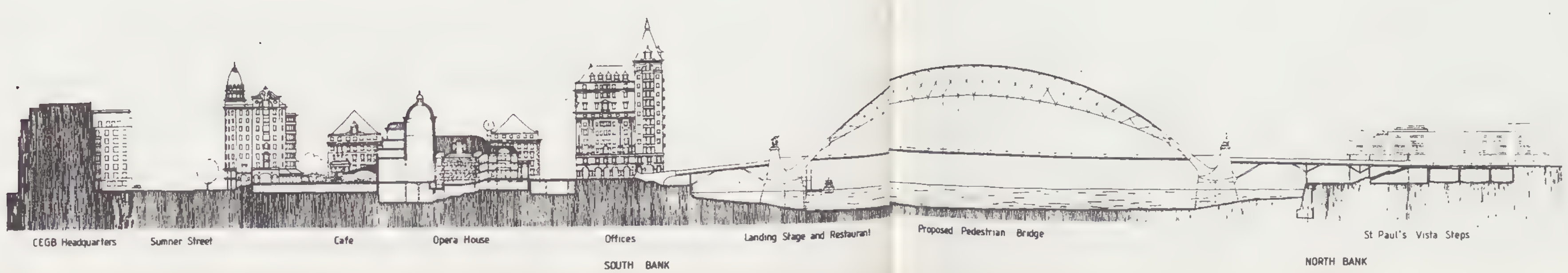


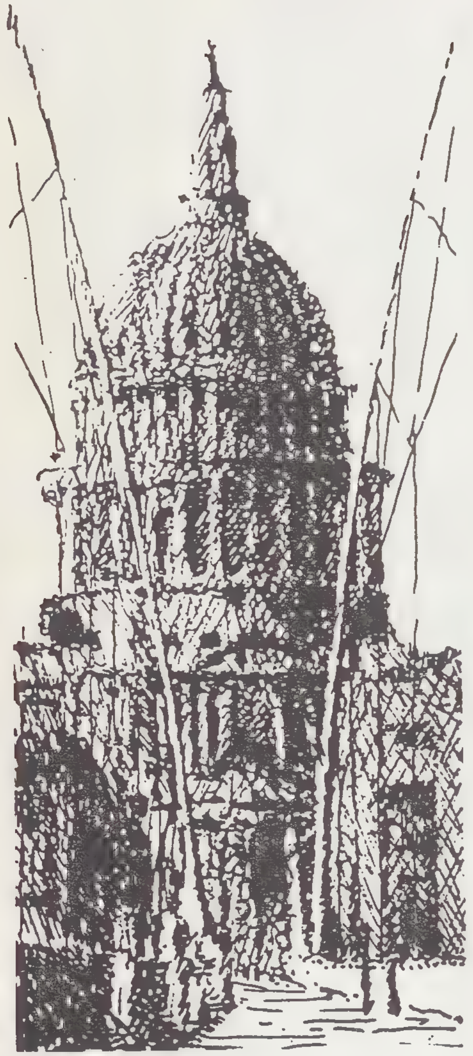


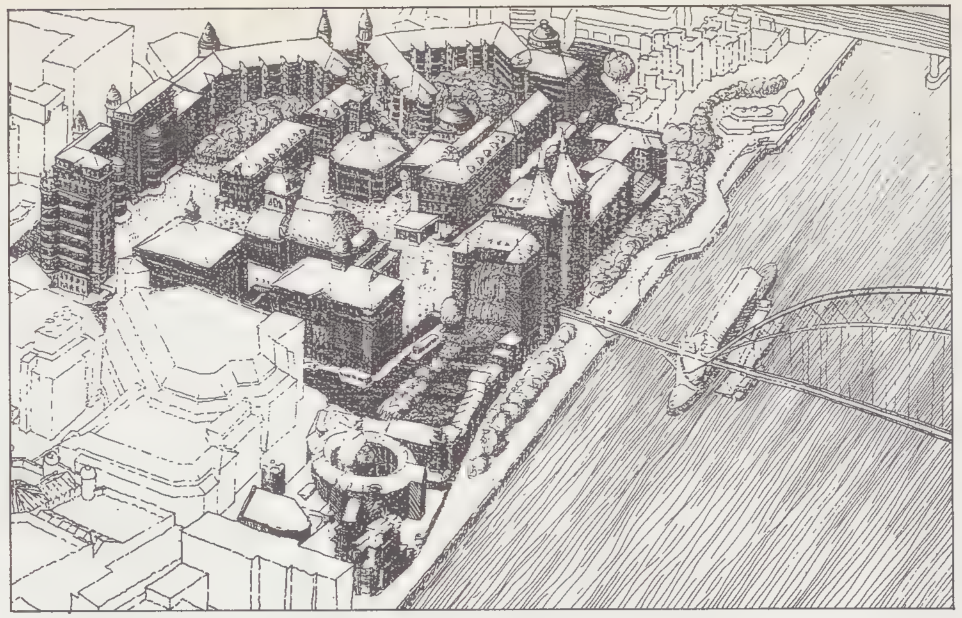


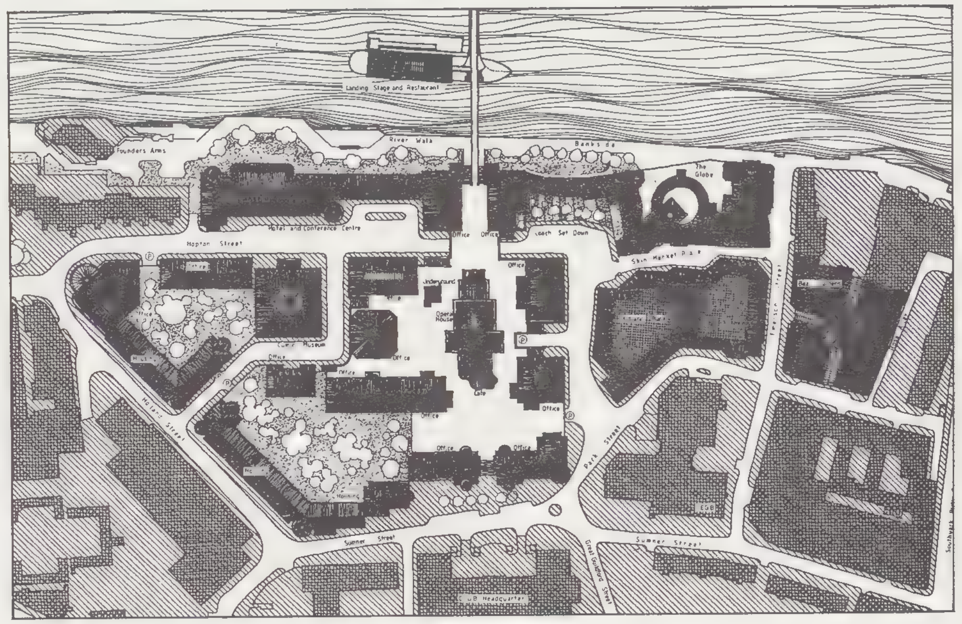


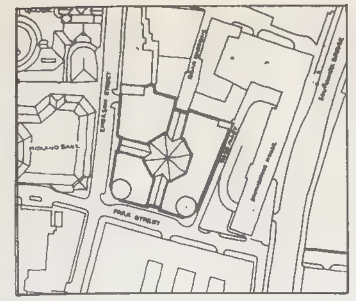
Theo Crosby, the Globe Theatre Complex: sketch with a view on St. Paul's Cathedral from the pedestrian bridge on the Thames; bird's eye perspective with the proposed extension on the area currently occupied by the power plant, and the new Opera house in the centre; general plan: at right, the Midland Bank complex and the Shakespeare Globe Trust main offices. Plans, elevations and sections of the building proposed as the house of the Shakespeare Globe Trust, including service activities for the Globe company and commercial functions. Longitudinal section of the proposed complex, from left to right the new Opera House, the pedestrian bridge and the northern back towards the Cathedral.

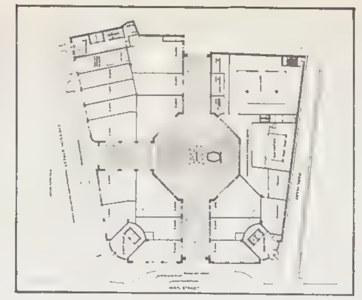






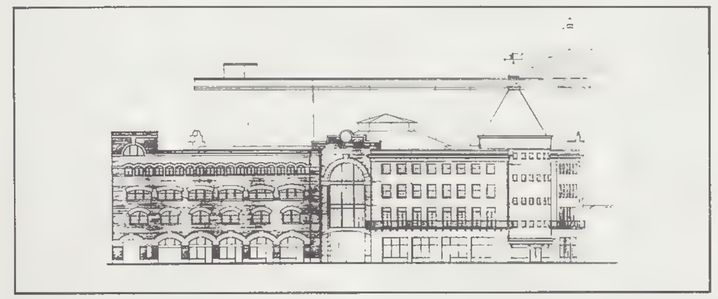




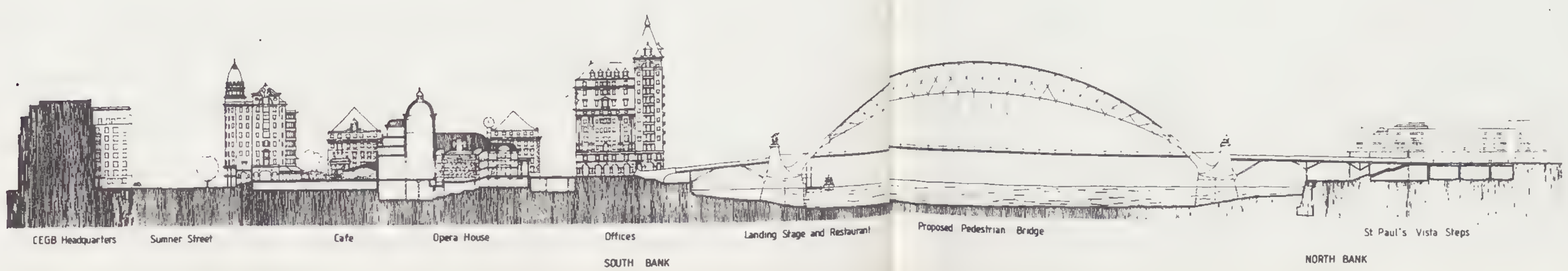


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Concert Hall of the School Folkwang at the Musikhochschule Ruhr in Essen

1988

Gottfried Böhm and Stefan Böhm

with Stefan Abelen, Monika Adolphi, Klaus Bökov, Georg Rattay



Study of the inside of the auditorium with the trompe-l'oeil *on the ceiling (never done) depicting a sky with clouds.*

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Concert Hall of the Folkwang School at the Musikhochschule Ruhr in Essen.
Gottfried Böhm and Stefan Böhm

Town-planning situation

The complex consists of a new building with an auditorium of about 460 seats for a musical-school, theater and ballet and a classroom for electronic music inside the existing building, restored and integrated to the project. The area of the new auditorium is defined by the existing building (once a fabric warehouse built at the end of the century), which follows the boundary wall of St. Ludgerus Abbey, incorporating it as part of its northern front. Nearby, to the south, another Nineteenth century building, once used as a dairy now contains a series of classrooms and the refectory. The new building is connected to the eastern wall of the old warehouse extending it along the same south-east axis and continuing it longitudinally. It is built on the already existing boundary wall included as an architectural element inside the auditorium.

The sloping ground rises from the Klemensborn Street (at a height of 60.6 m) to the meeting point of the new and the old building (65.5 m) and up to the eastern front of the entire structure (68.3 m). A new pitched roof, built on the former warehouse, modifies the original symmetry and forms, rhythmically, rising high and following the ground slope, abutting the roof of the new auditorium. From the auditorium roof line (which corresponds the mansard roof line of the abbey) other three roof planes slope down to the top point of the roof line of the old warehouse (also in line with the abbey's roof line)

General distribution

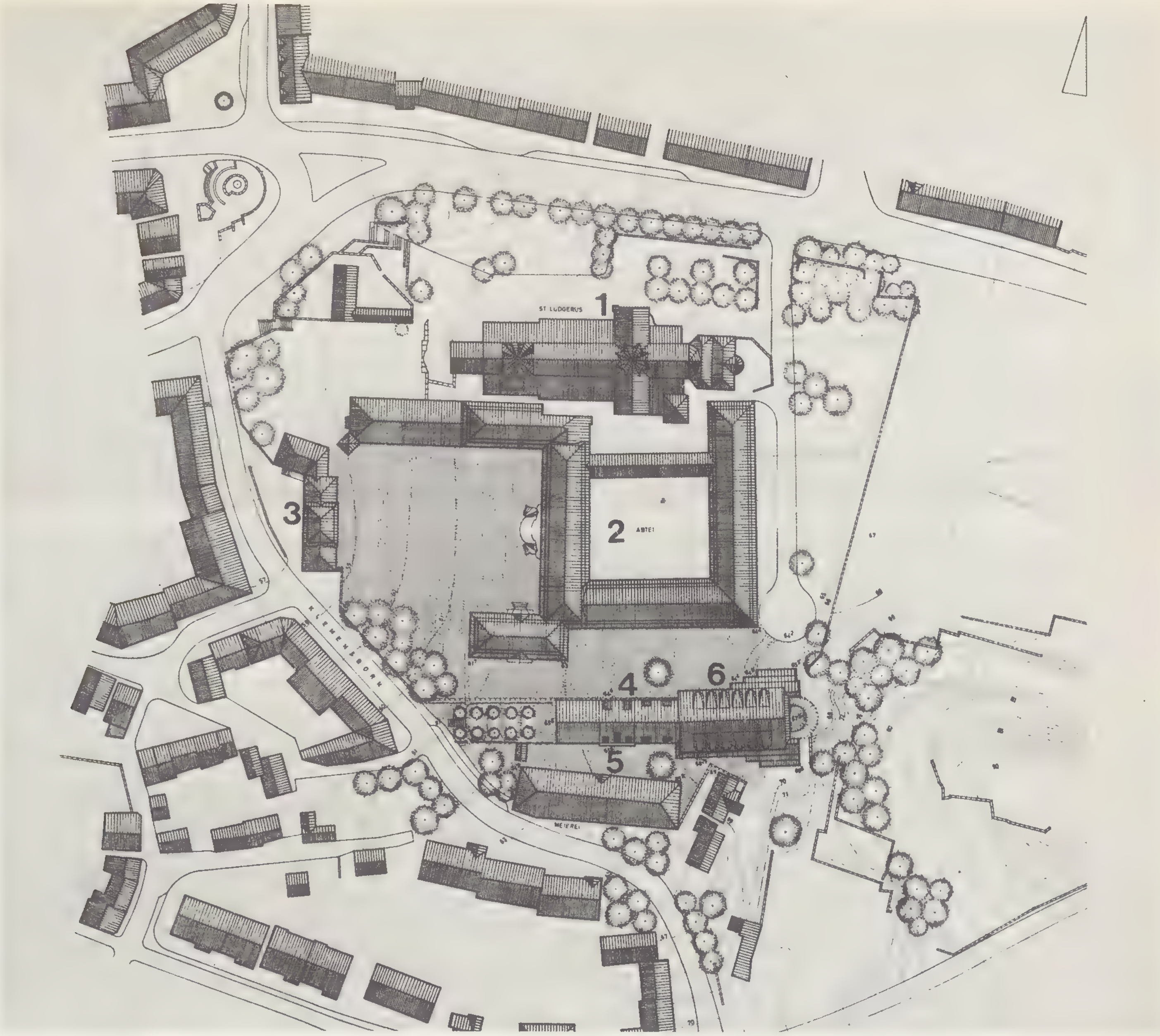
The old building includes the entrance hall on the ground floor and the foyer on the two levels with the main staircase on the ground floor and the first floor. The western part of the top floor is used as a recording room for chamber music (containing about 100 seats) making good use of the greater height obtained by the pitched roof. The staircase in front of the entrance provides access to the electronic music classroom on the second floor. It is used also by school attendants because of the connection between the music rooms in the abbey building and the classrooms and the refectory in the old dairy. The spectators attending public events enter in auditorium from Klemensborn Street or through the Cour d'Honneur of the abbey.

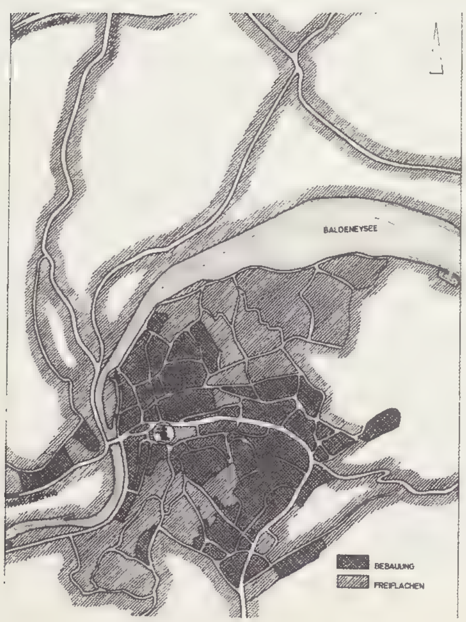
The old building was not altered with respect to shape, materials and construction techniques while installations and flooring were renewed. Interior and exterior wall surfaces, including windows and doors, were improved and restored. The same was done for the vaulted ceilings. The new mansard is finished in steel, the pediment facades in reinforced concrete. The covering and pediment surfaces are finished with shaped slates, in keeping with local tradition.

Also the new part of the auditorium is designed in masonry with pitched slate roofing, all roof planes are pitched at the same angle. The western facade and the external walls are clad with slate at the top part. The lower walls, the eastern facade and the adjoining volumes to the north and south are externally plastered and white-washed. Pillars are of visible red bricks and impregnated with protective paint.

Outer accesses

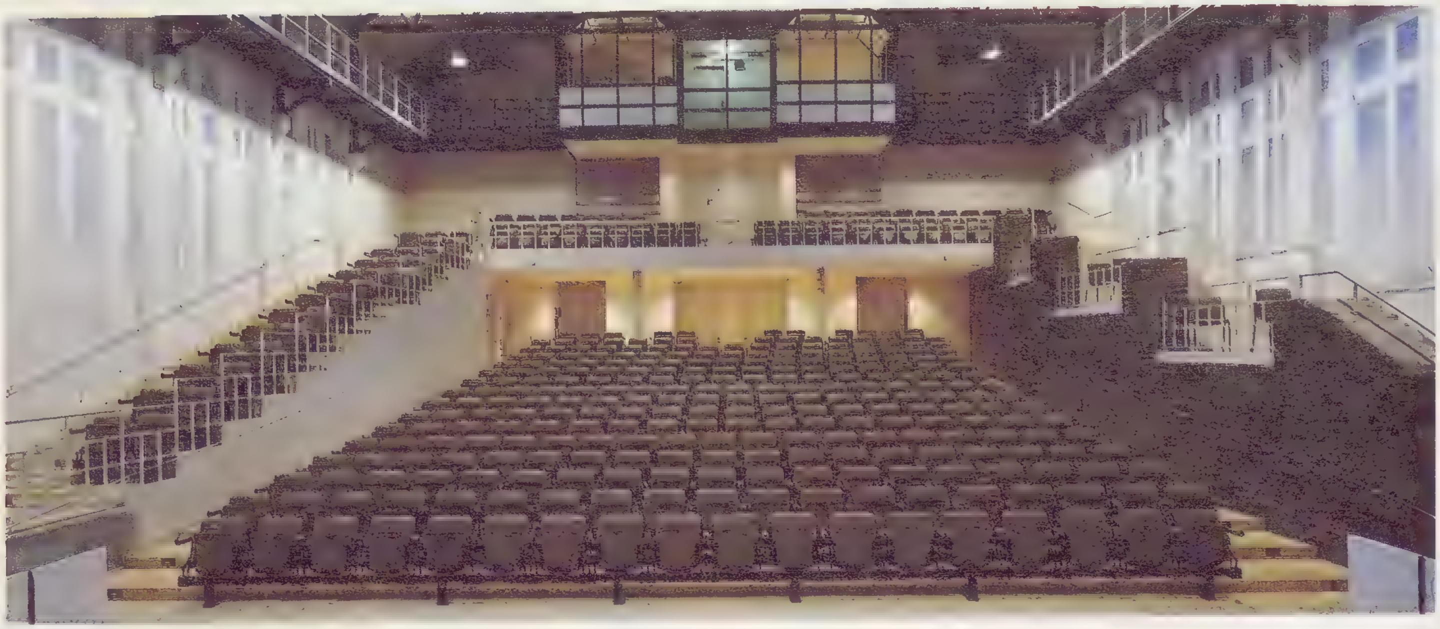
Outer accesses, especially the secondary one beneath the auditorium, are from the courtyard to the south-eastern corner of the abbey where a junction from the Brückstrasse ends. Here is also the firemen access, across the sqare between the southern wing of the abbey and the auditorium building. A further loading and unloading facility is at the back of the eastern front at stage level. The southern part of the auditorium and the area between the former warehouse and dairy is only for pedestrians.



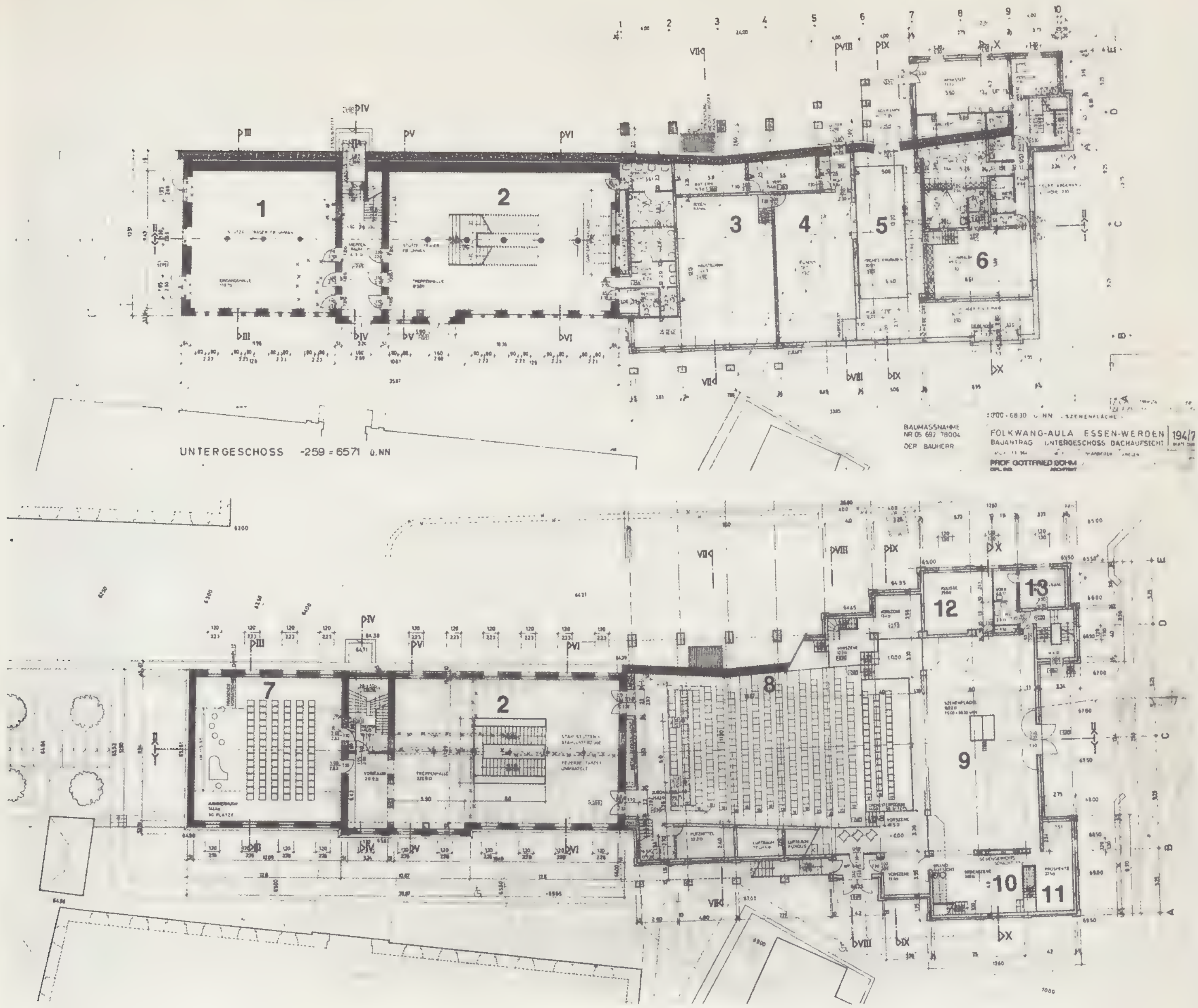


General site plan: 1) S. Ludgerus church, IX century; 2) baroque abbey of S. Ludgerus, turned into a prison in the past century. Since World War II it has been the home of the Folkwang School; 3) neoclassical portal of the ancient walls enclosing the abbey; 4) building in baroque style, dated 1897, used as a fabric warehouse, now an integral part of the new auditorium; 5) old dairy, now houses classrooms and school refectory.
Site plan of Essen-Werden on the Lake Baldeneysee with the location of the school complex.





View of the auditorium towards the stage with fixed back-drop decorated with a trompe-l'oeil.
Photo D. Leistner.
View of the auditorium towards the main floor of the auditorium: above, the light and sound direction booth and the lighting bridge.
Ground floor and first floor plans: 1) reception hall; 2) foyer on two levels; 3) technical spaces; 4) theater props; 5) orchestra pit; 6) instrument tuning; 7) rooms for chamber music; 8) auditorium; 9) stage; 10) lateral stage; 11) storage for back-drops; 12) storage for scenes; 13) dressing rooms.


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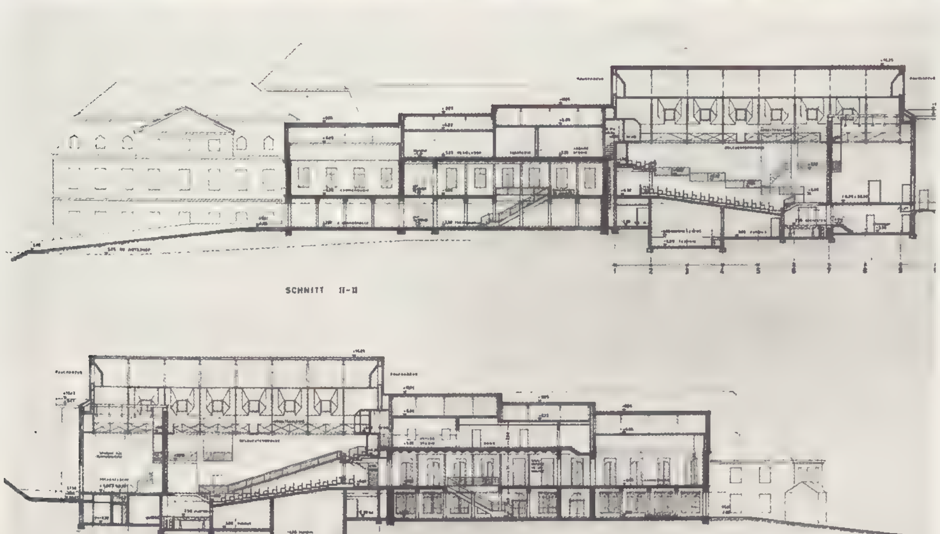
Internal circulation

In the internal distribution of the old building the circulation for the public from the outside interesects the circulation of regular school goers. The entrance hall and actual foyer are separated, by means of glass doors, from the backstair used as a connection to the former dairy, since these areas are not used simultaneously. The electronic music classroom on the second floor does not attact a numerous public and is therefore only served by the back staircase.
In the auditorium, an emergency exit is located at the lower level of the pit on the right side, to the south. On the same side there is another emergency staircase, used as an exit from the gallery and as a back entrance to the light bridges and to the light and sound rooms located between the two walls of the old and new buildings. This staircase is built against the exterior wall between the actual facade and a row of masonry pillars and is entirely glazed.

Auditorium

The hall is conceived like one continuous space having continuous internal ceiling section and profilo. It extends between the two east and west pediments and is 33 m long, 18 m large and 9 m high. The ceiling is 12 m high in its flat part, in the middle, while on the sides it slants downwards and encompasses two series of prism-shaped dormer window. The hall is conceived as a unit in its stucture, materials and colours. A *trompe-l'oeil* decoration with sky and clouds is featured on the ceiling and on the side walls a perspective partition with pillars and beams gives one the illusion it is supporting the iron structure of the roof.
The interior space is composed of the auditorium with rising tiers of seats and the podium for the orchestra, raised 80 cm, to be also used as a stage. In order to allow for the use of the auditorium both as a theater and concert-hall, the stage is defined by a portal of iron beams and pillars forming a proscenium, of variable aperture by means of side and ceiling wings. The opening on the side of the proscenium can be closed by curtains in fireproof fabric. The empty space above the light catwalks is free of impediments.
On the front part of the stage there is a proscenuim podium, that moves vertically and is as large as the proscenium. During theatrical performances it is adjusted to the auditorium level and allows the addition of extra seats while it can be lowered for musical performances, forming an orchestra pit. It can also be used as a hoist.
The stage technical equipment includes a system of catwalks around the walls at the proscenium height, connecting direction rooms to the stage box, a transversal light bridge by the hall and another one by the proscenium. The catwalks are connected to the two emergency stairs. The access to the catwalks is only for stage technicians. They may be reached through the open stairs located to the side at the right of the stage from where both the stage itself and warehouse technical spaces are accessible catwalks, proscenuim and the other steel structures of the ceiling represent an important and unique architectural element of the hall. The hall window, used for natural ventilation, are provided with an automatic opening and closing devise and allow for ventilation as a substitute for the air conditioning system when the auditorium is used as a studio. A steel grid will be placed between the upper part of the proscenuim and the back wall of the stage for the movements of the suspended wings and it will also support lights and microphones for recordings.
The gallery on the right (when looking at the stage) is closed by a plastered wall, therefore obtaining a storage room underneath. The gallery on the left side, instead, is located by the old rough sandstone abbey wall, restored and incorporated in the new building, left visible both externally and internally.
The buildings projecting to the south and north of the auditorium include, respectively, on one side the side stage spaces, semi-opened and connected to the collar-level warehouse and, on the other side auxiliary rooms: wing and





Inside view of the Northern wall of the auditorium, with the ancient boundary wall of the abbey, the trompe-l'oeil *decoration, the lighting bridge and the prism-shaped dormer windows.*
Photo D. Leistner.
Longitudinal sections.





Inside view of the ground floor of the foyer with the grand staircase and the windows of the South wall (the North wall is blind because it includes the ancient abbey boundary wall).
Inside view of the Chamber Music Hall on the first floor. The niches on the back wall, adjust acoustics with special curtains.
Photo D. Leistner.





properties storage room and dressing-room for the orchestra conductor on the stage floor: wardrobe, dressing-rooms, make-up rooms and facilities on the upper floor. The pitched step-like roofs of the projecting bodies are slate and have the same slope as the main roof.
The dressing-room for the orchestra conductor is also used as a wardrobe and as a first-aid room. Underneath the hall floor there are some secondary rooms: lavatories for the public (that can be reached from the stairs of the old building), equipment rooms and, finally, a warehouse for theatrical props. On the dock floor there is a room for stage technicians, a wardrobe, an instrument tuning room and a storage room for piano, podia and chairs.
All the dock rooms have an exit at ground level to the north.







Inside views of the ground and top floors of the foyer, where the restored old cast iron columns and the small vaulted ceiling are clearly shown. Photo D. Leistner.

View of the South facade of the auditorium, the external service and emergency stair.
Photo D. Leistner.

South elevation (with the new auditorium building, the old fabric warehouse and, in the background, the abbey) and the North elevation including the ancient boundary wall of the abbey in the facade and, in the background, the old dairy).

Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto

1988

Aldo Rossi and Morris Adjmi

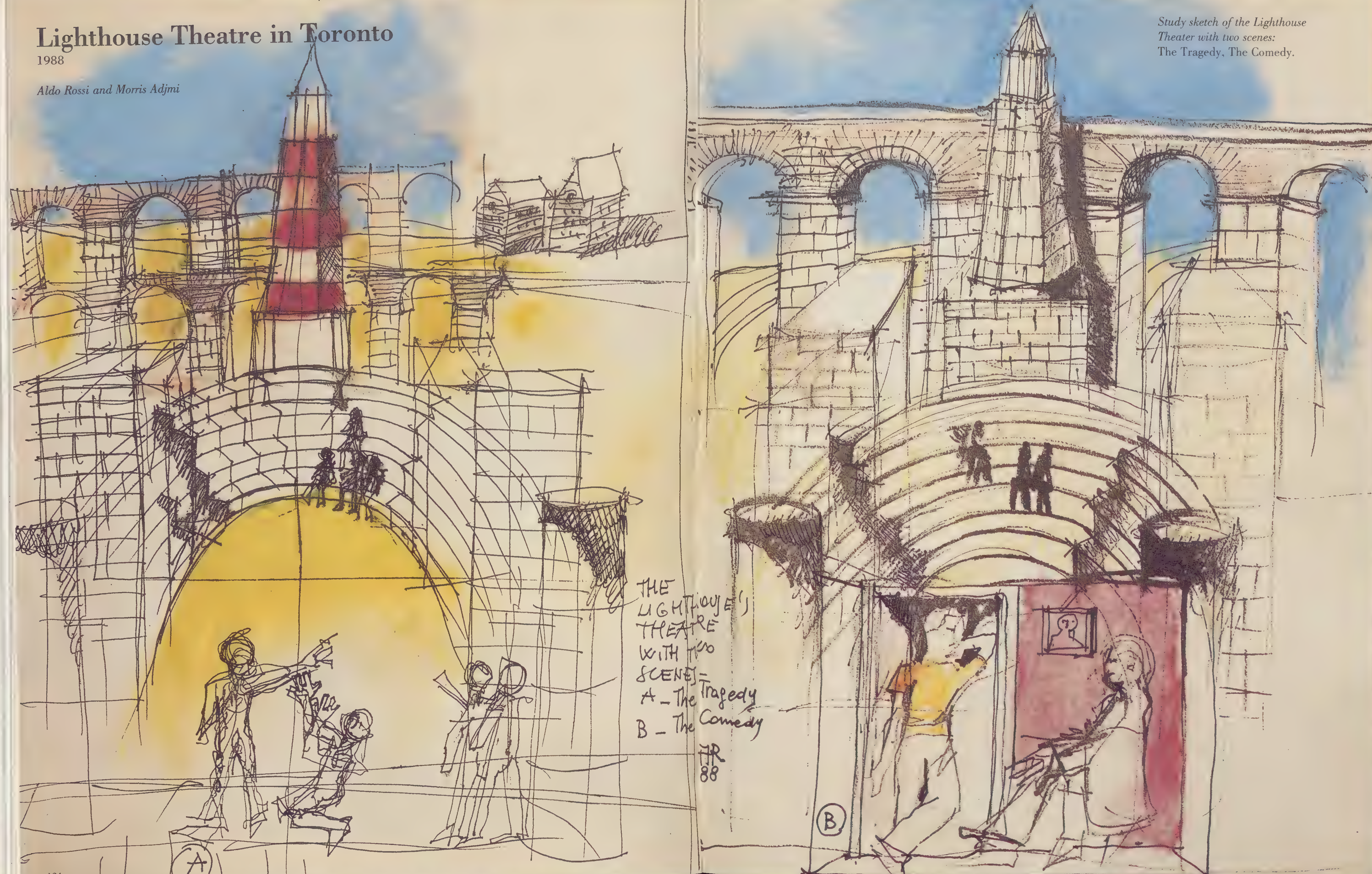




Study sketch of the Lighthouse Theater with two scenes:
The Tragedy, The Comedy.

Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto
1988

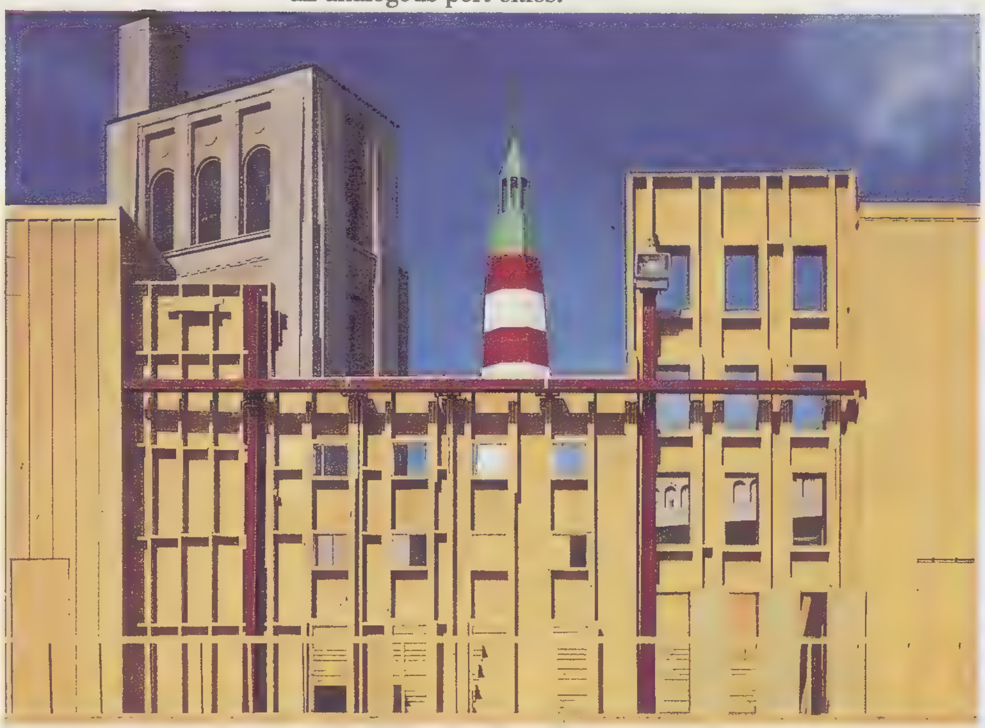
Aldo Rossi and Morris Adjmi



Study sketch of the Lighthouse Theater with two scenes:
The Tragedy, The Comedy.



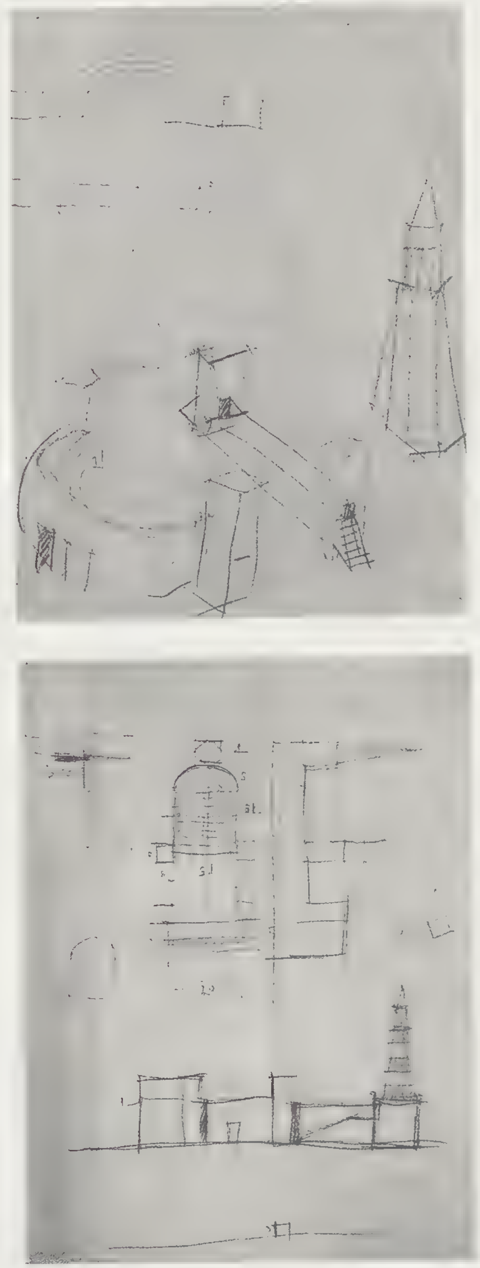
Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto
Aldo Rossi e Morris Adjmi
Our Amphitheatre, located near the RC Harris Water Filtration Plant on Lake Toronto, is a souvenir of the Roman Theatre which is a bridge between Greek and Modern Theatre. The three facades on the stage represent a variety of possible architectures and are flanked on each side by a naked tower. Facing the fixed stage is open seating and the Lighthouse Tower, which serves as a focal point and represents a call from land to the vast sea. Furthermore, the Lighthouse, as maritime symbol, links all analogous port cities.



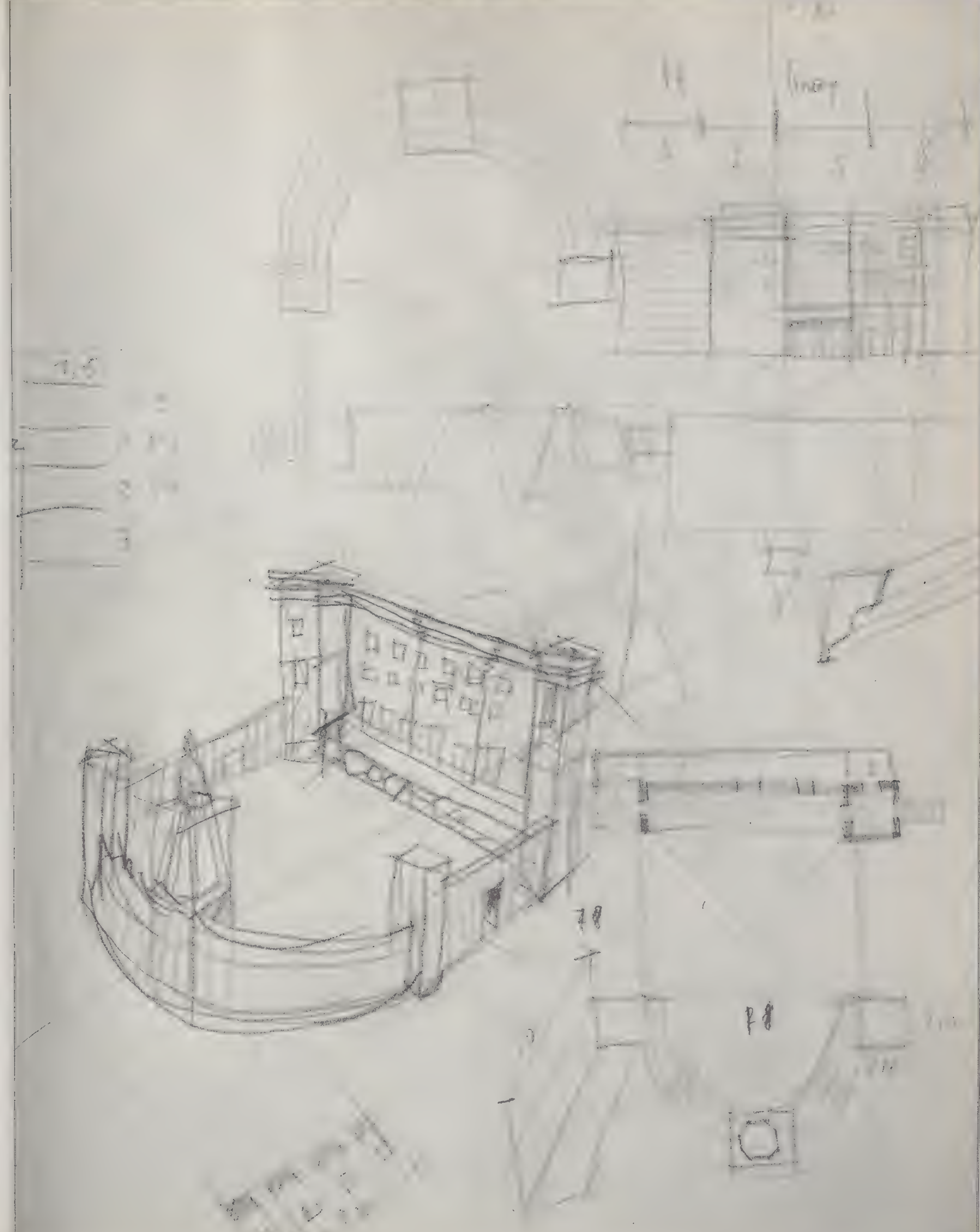
North-West view with Lake Toronto in the background and South view of the back of the stage wall.
Photo N. Matura.



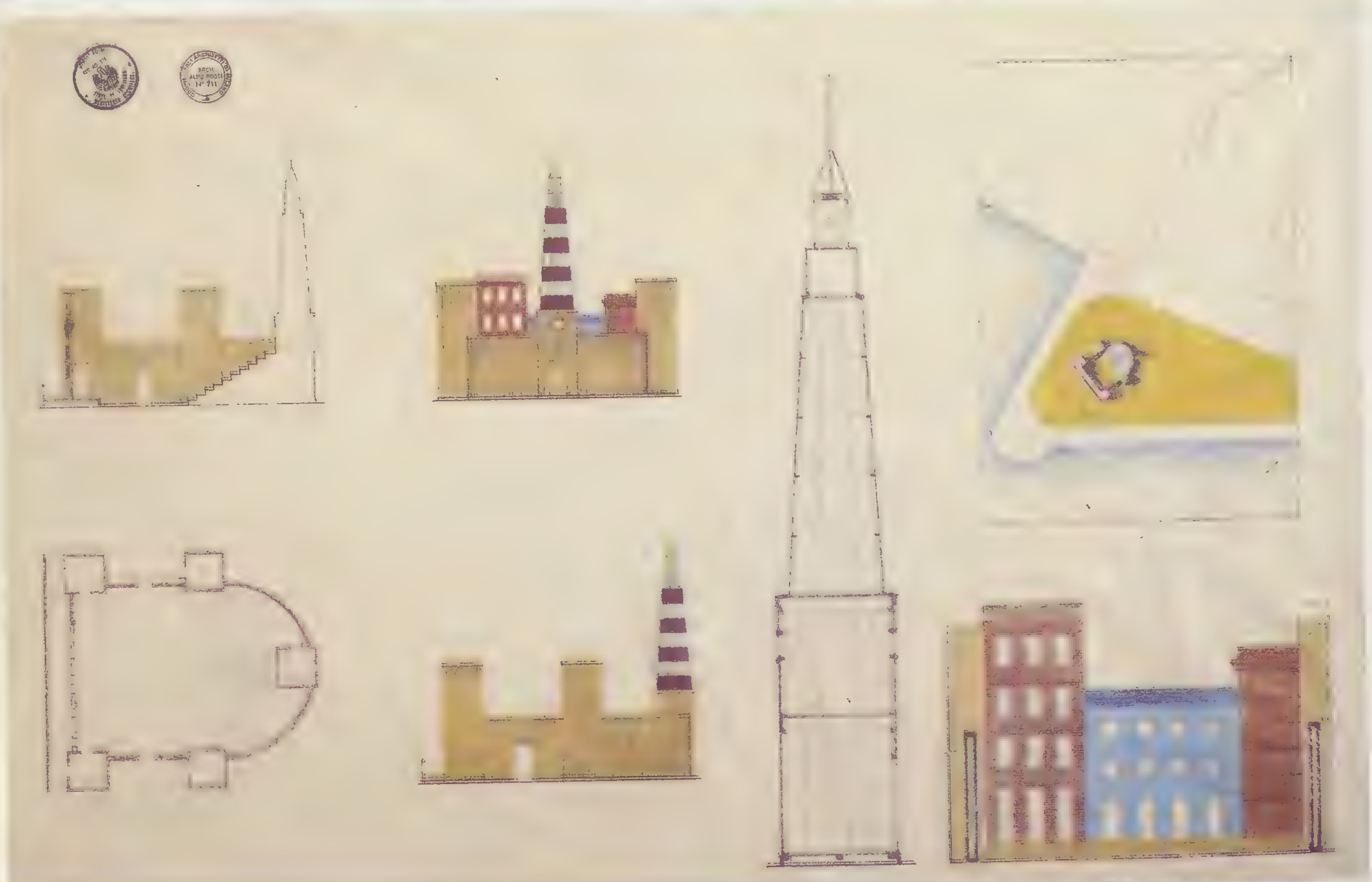




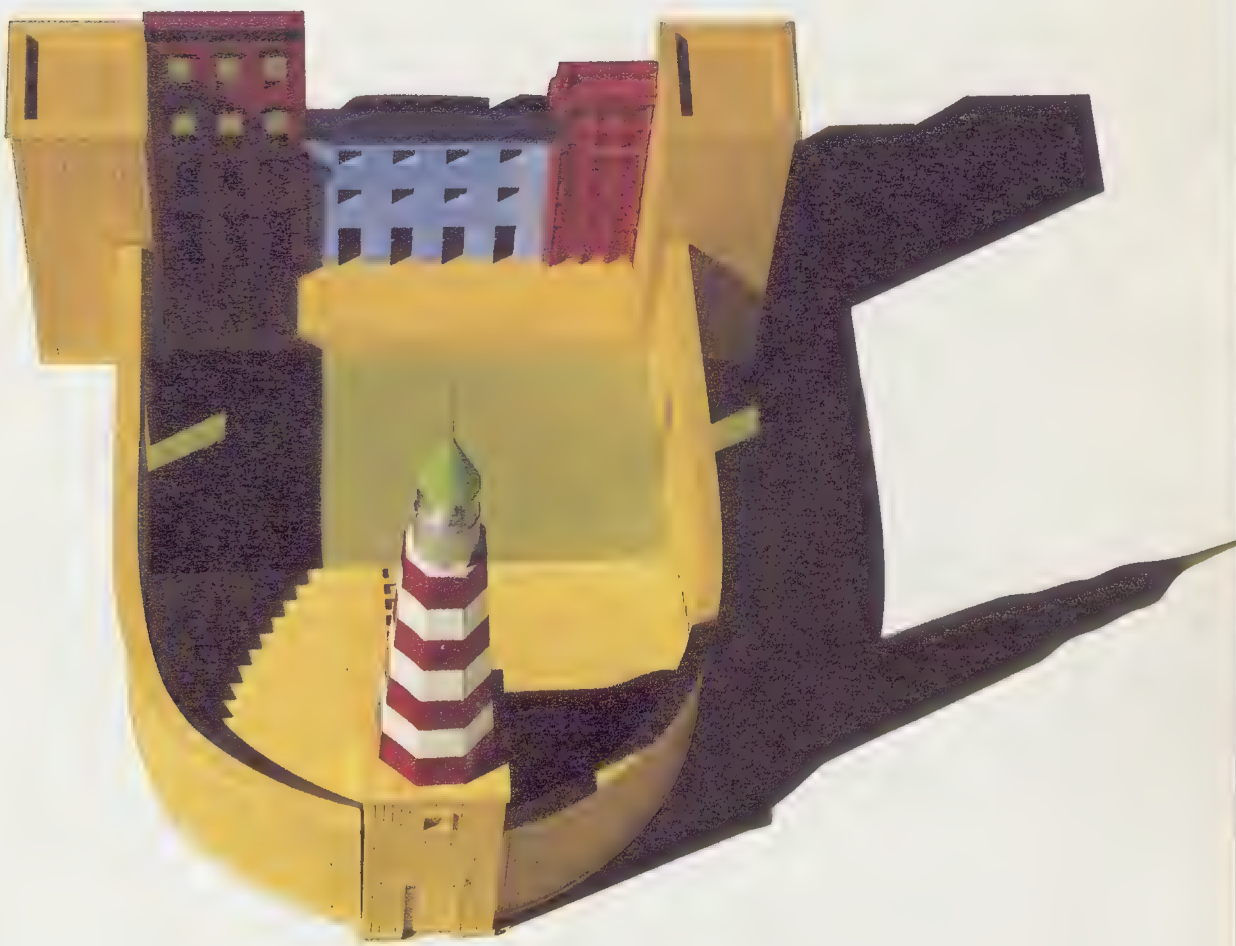
Study sketches.







Perspective of the Lighthouse Theater with stage wall details, on the left and on the right.
General project panel, site plan, plan, outside view, elevation of the fixed scene, cross section of the Lighthouse.
View of the model from above.
Photo N. Matura.

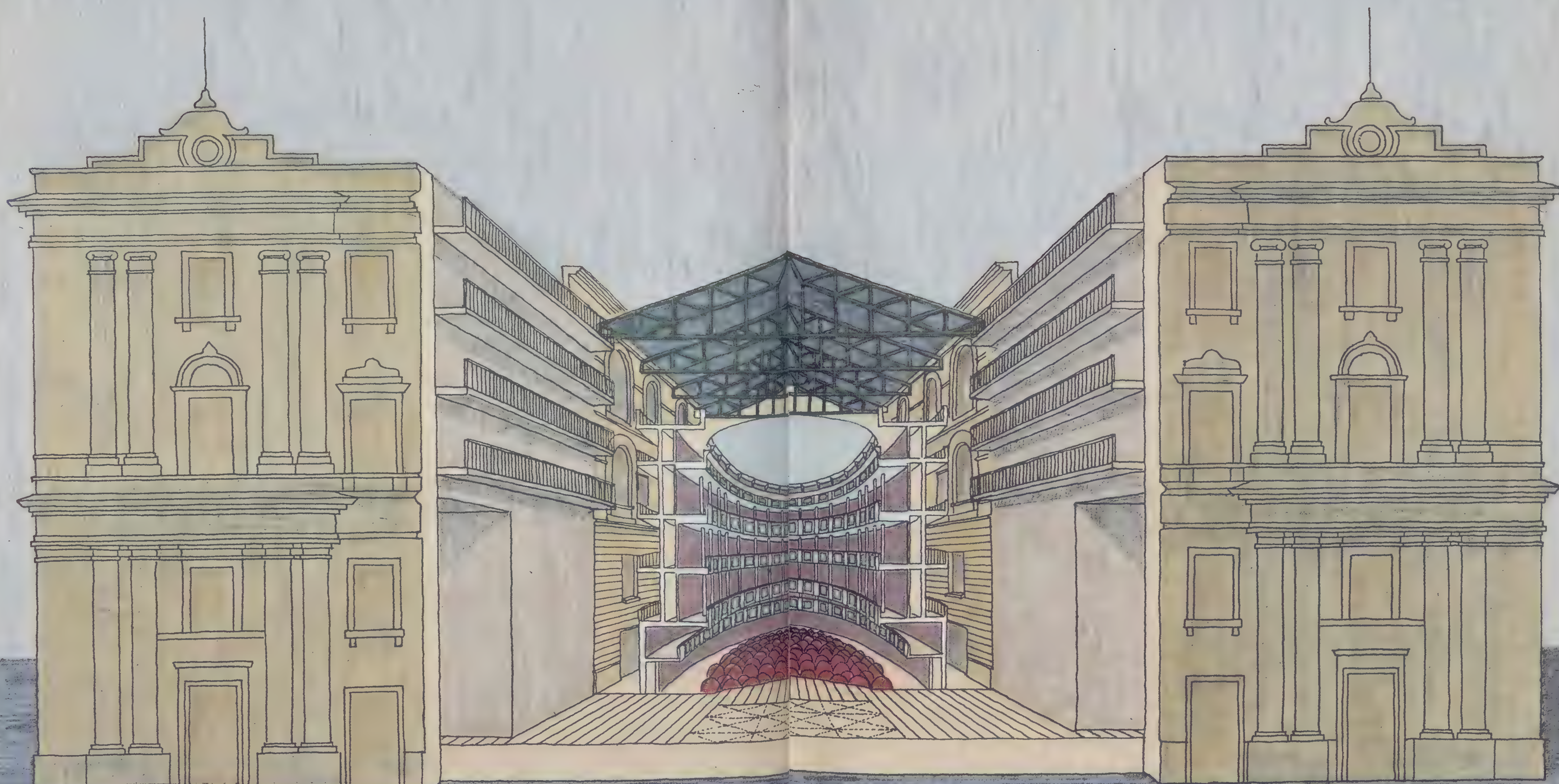


A "teatro di tradizione" for Taranto
1988

Guido Canella

with Innocent Okpanum
Structures: Fabrizio De Miranda. Equipment: Lorenzo Cassitto.
Acoustical consultant: Salvatore Martorana. Stage consultant: Luigi Ferrari

Sketch of the theatre section looking towards the hall.

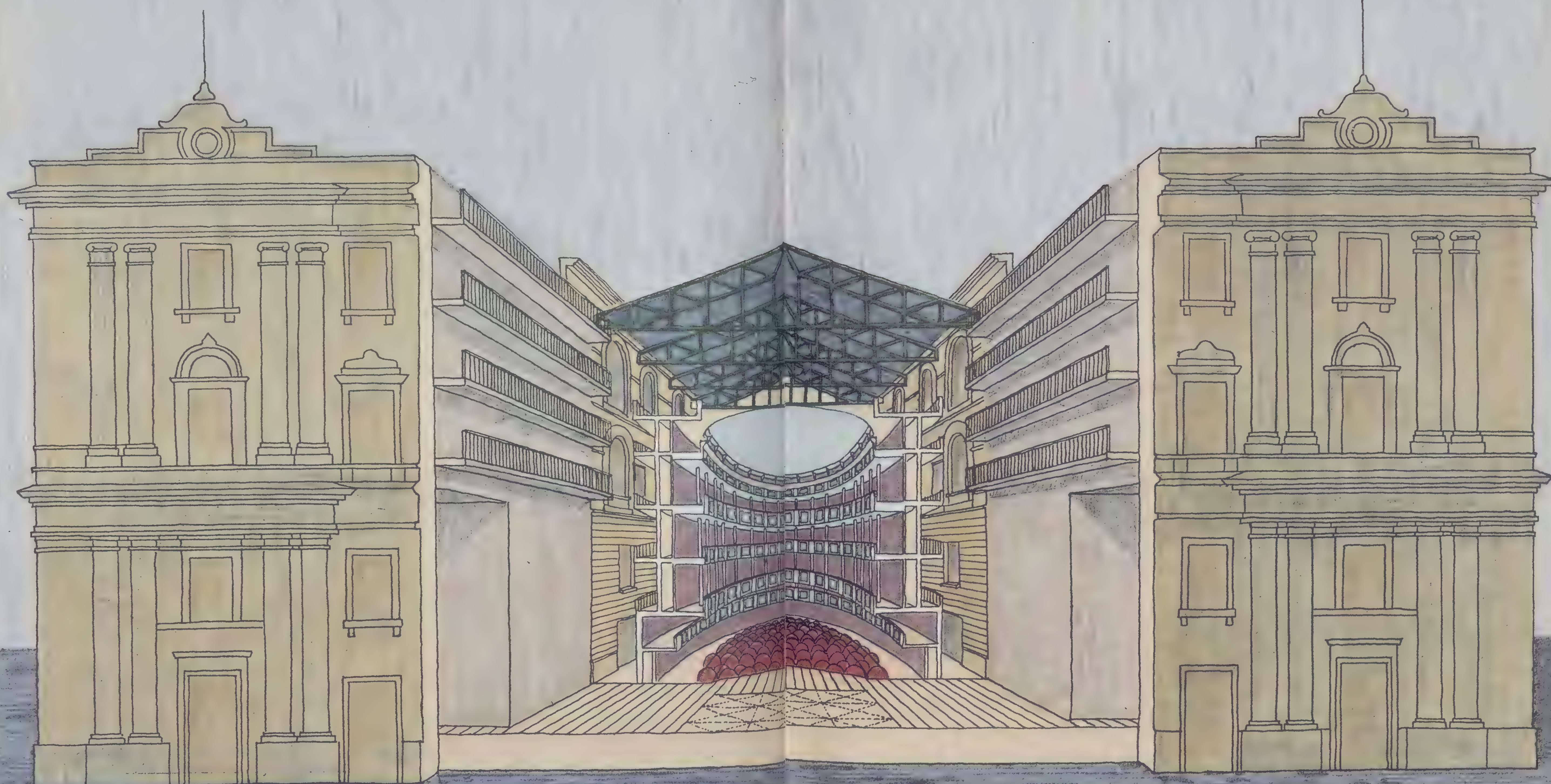


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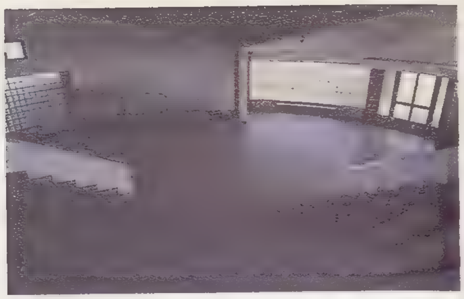
Sketch of the theatre section looking towards the hall.



A "teatro di tradizione" for Taranto
Guido Canella

In 1983, during an interview (*), among other things I stated the following:

"Unfortunately, until today, I was never able to build a theatre; I have only had the chance to draw some didactic prototypes and the project for a state competition. But in all the public buildings that I have designed until now, I have always ended up including a space capable of being used as a theatre. In town halls, schools, even in the kindergartens I have ideated, there has always been a place that recalled the theatre. Pnice, Aeropagus, Gymnasium, Theater, the articulate bases of ancient Athens, as place for assemblies, for the administration, for instruction, for rituals, in all these spaces there must co-exist, even if by overlapping, in a hall capable of seating at least 500 people. I was told: 'But during the assembly of the city council, there only are very few people!'. I agree, but it is important to use this occasion in order to offer incentives and manage budgets for the various activities of the community's life: City Council, Culture Hall, Auditorium, Theater, 'Aula Magna', and so on. This is the facility that public architectures must offer, both in open-air and covered spaces, for the diffusion and initiation to musical and theatrical culture. There must exist numerous places where the revelation of theatre's multiplicity may be seen, and we also need spaces where it may be possible to study, enact circulate music and theatre. Right next to halls, squares, courtyards, where maximum circularity is assured — as in Elizabethan society — I believe it is important to have stable and well-equipped environments where it is possible to arrange scnographies, to practice, exoperiment, either individually or in homogeneous groups. This is the interdependence that productively links true theatres to pseudotheatres'".



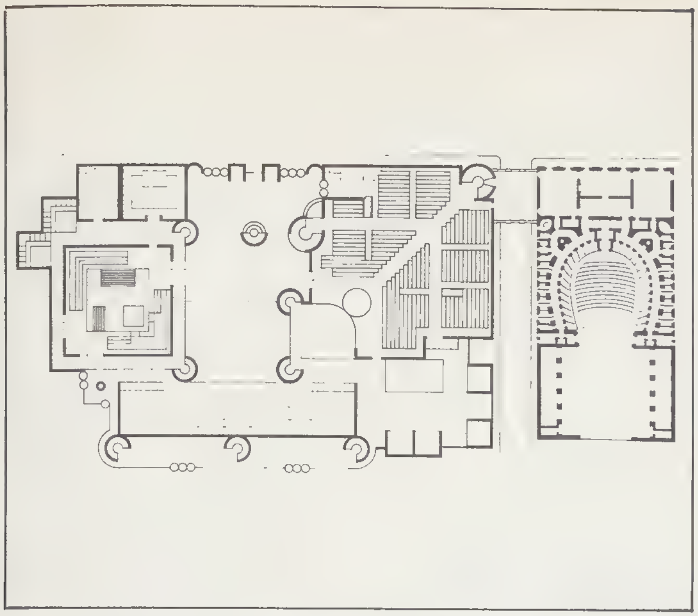


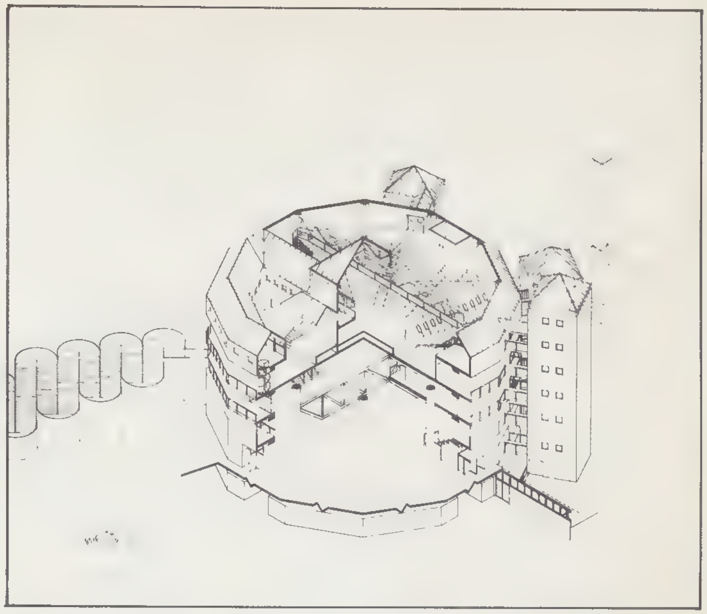


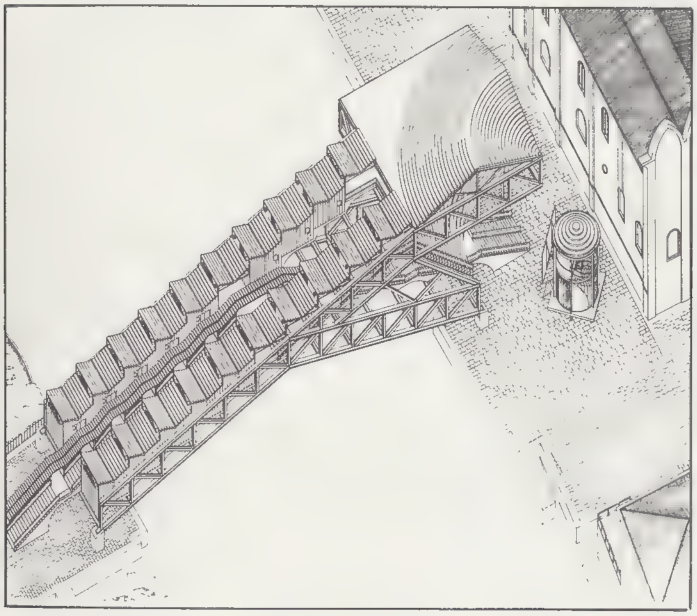


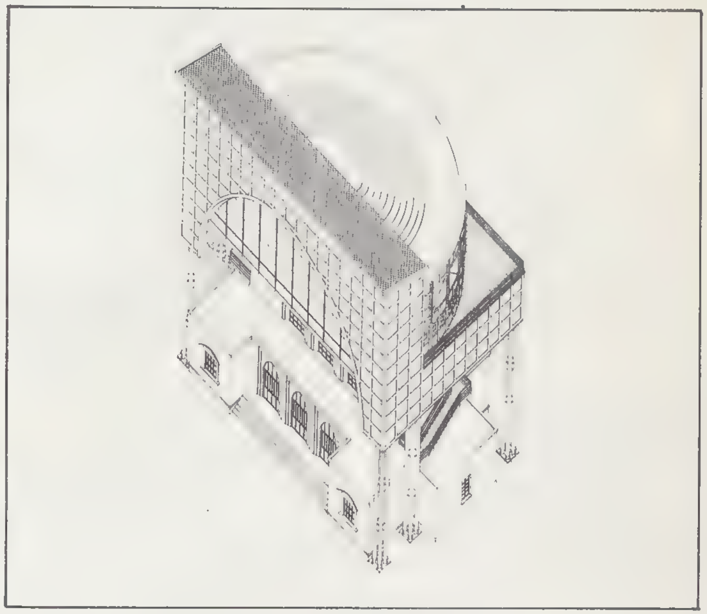
Nursery-school at Opera, Milan, 1972-75: inside view of the little theatre.
Primary school at Opera, Milan, 1974-76: inside view of the gymnasium with tiers of steps to the great theatre.
Secondary school at Cesano Boscone, Milan, 1975-82: inside view of the large auditorium.
Pioltello Town Hall, Milan, 1976: interior view of the council hall.

(*) *Teatro dell'architettura e architettura del teatro,* (Architecture's theatre and theatre architecture) interview by G. Morale, in "La Tribù", year III, No. 40, February 14, 1983, pp. 1 and 12.









Didactic prototype for the Milan theatrical system: New home of the subsidized Teatro Lirico *in Via Larga connected to the Opera theatre restored to its original structure as created by Piermarini, 1965-66: plan.*
Project for a service centre in Monte d'Ago 2 district at Passo di Varano, Ancona, 1984: isometric section showing the gymnasium, the auditorium and, at the top, the little open theatre.
Project for Ponte dell'Accademia with the painting theatre, Venice, 1985: isometric.

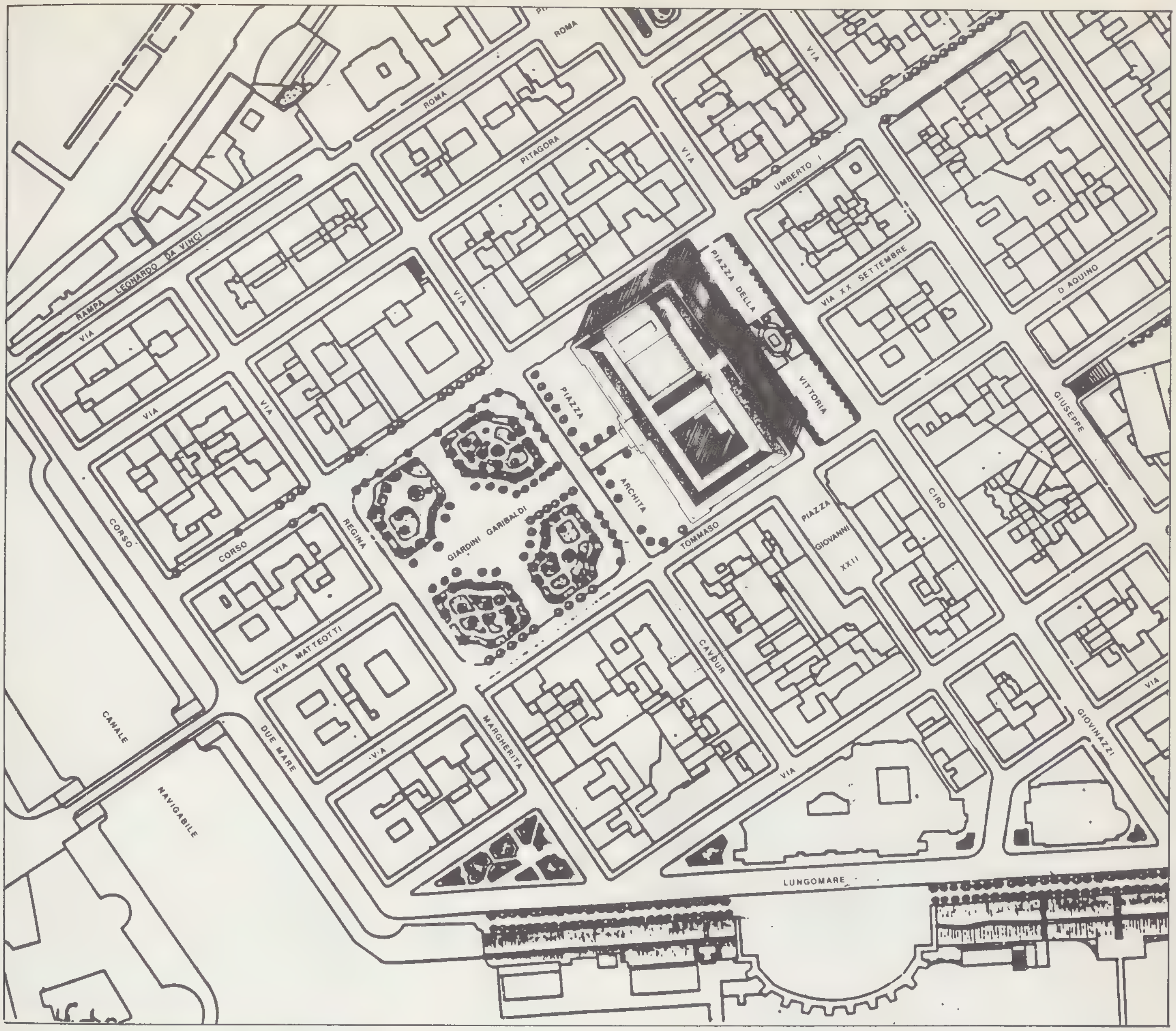
Project for the Museo-Vestibolo-Teatro of the "Forma urbis" above the former gymnasium ONB as proposed for the arrangement of Piazza della Repubblica in Aosta, 1989: axonometric view.

In October, 1984, on the occasion of the conference "*Per il teatro a Taranto*" (For Theater in Taranto) organized by the Taranto City Council, I was called upon, with others, to express an opinion on the typology and location of a new traditional theather (as typical Italian opera theater), the city had been in need of for several decades. Faced with what were at the time considered alternatives, i.e., recuperating and readapting a "teatro di tradizione" in an existing structure in the city's historical district or building a new, decentralized, polyvalent center, I tried to demonstrate that, rather than alternatives, these projects should be seen as integrative.
This opinion was the result of a long experience in studying the relation between cities and theater sites seen as a *system*, that is, connected by the type of interdependance necessary to create an authentic, multi-faceted theatrical life in an administrative and cultural community such as Taranto.
In 1987 the Council approved this choice, instituting the Taranto Repertory Theater, named after Giovanni Paisiello, as a *theatrical system* consisting of two functional poles, specific and differentiated but necessarily integrated and synergic I was requested to plan a new facility hat same year. In this system, the "pole of tradition" (consisting of an "Italian-style" hall and its relative annexes) would have the primary task of reactivating the memory of traditional theater's cultural, environmental and dramaturgical interlacement as it has come to us and interinfluenced by national and local society; while the "pole of innovation" (equipped with special spaces such as auditoriums, rehearsal rooms, halls, classrooms, workshops, etc.) would be given the task of interacting with other institutions, in first place that of education, so as to be active not only in providing training for, but also in producing, traditional forms of entertainment, and in giving a cultural orientation to those new forms of mass entertainment demanded by younger generations.

The polyvalent Center

Its design, still in the preliminary stage, is based on a combination of the diverse and integrated theatrical, musical and recreational activities that were already connected in Graeco-Roman times (as the archeological findings unearthed on the site, as well as its Vitruvian typology, have proven) and which in modern times are found, in part, in performing arts centers. In the first case, reference runs to building types such as the cavea, or horseshoes-shaped theater, the *odeo*, the *xysto*. In the second case, it runs to building complexes for opera, concerts, ballet and drama sponsored by municipalities or, on a smaller scale, by universities which share them with the surronding community.
From the viewpoints of accessibility and landscape, the area of the former Fiera del Mare, indicated by the Council, appears compatible with a blocked-sequence building complex which leaves the remaining area available for green spaces and for parking and temporary activities so that, once completed, an independent complex would stand out against the views from inland and from the sea, like that of the sacred precincts of the past.
On the other hand, a building complex of this type is well adapted to gradual, piecemeal construction through time, with priority criteria tied to finalized programs.
The entire complex of the polyvalent center is articulated in a central linear structure (destined for theatrical and musical experimentation, didactic and training activities) at whose extremities are located a covered auditorium and an open-air cavea for large-audience entertainment.
The central linear structure interprets (doubling it) the Vitruvian type of *xysto*, which consisted of a building enclosing a rectangular courtyard, from the longer sides of which opened into exhedrae used for kaching activities.
The two parts of the linear structure — one an open-air courtyard, the other a covered nave-like structure permetting gymnastics and recreational activities to be carried out in different climatic conditions — are



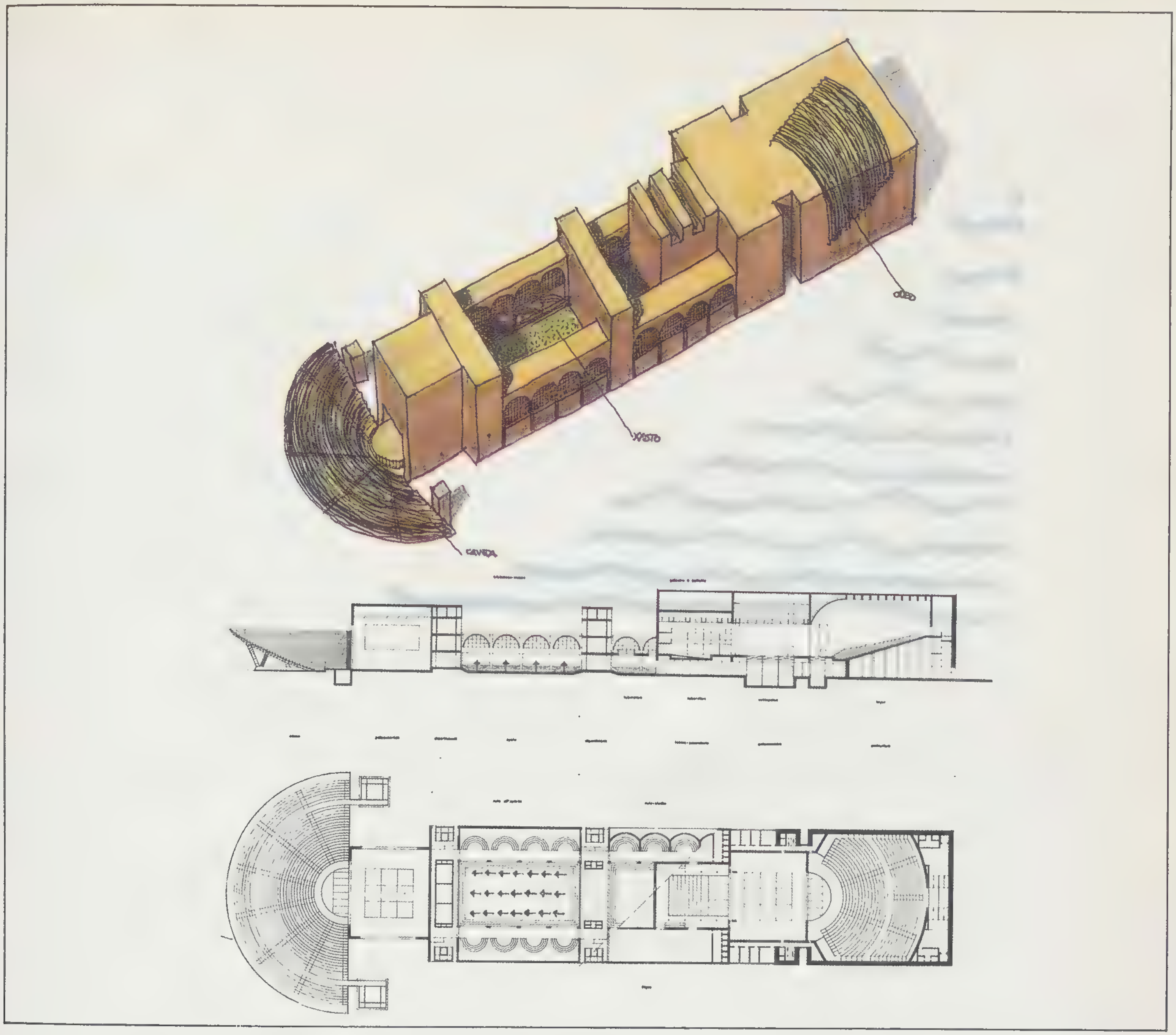




Site plan of the Taranto Permanent Theatre "Giovanni Paisiello": "teatro di tradizione" in the Palazzo degli Uffici al Borgo and polyvalent Centre on the grounds of the former Fiera del Mare.
Plan of the Palazzo degli Uffici with the Theatre in the Northern courtyard.
View of the main facade of the Palazzo degli Uffici as it is now.

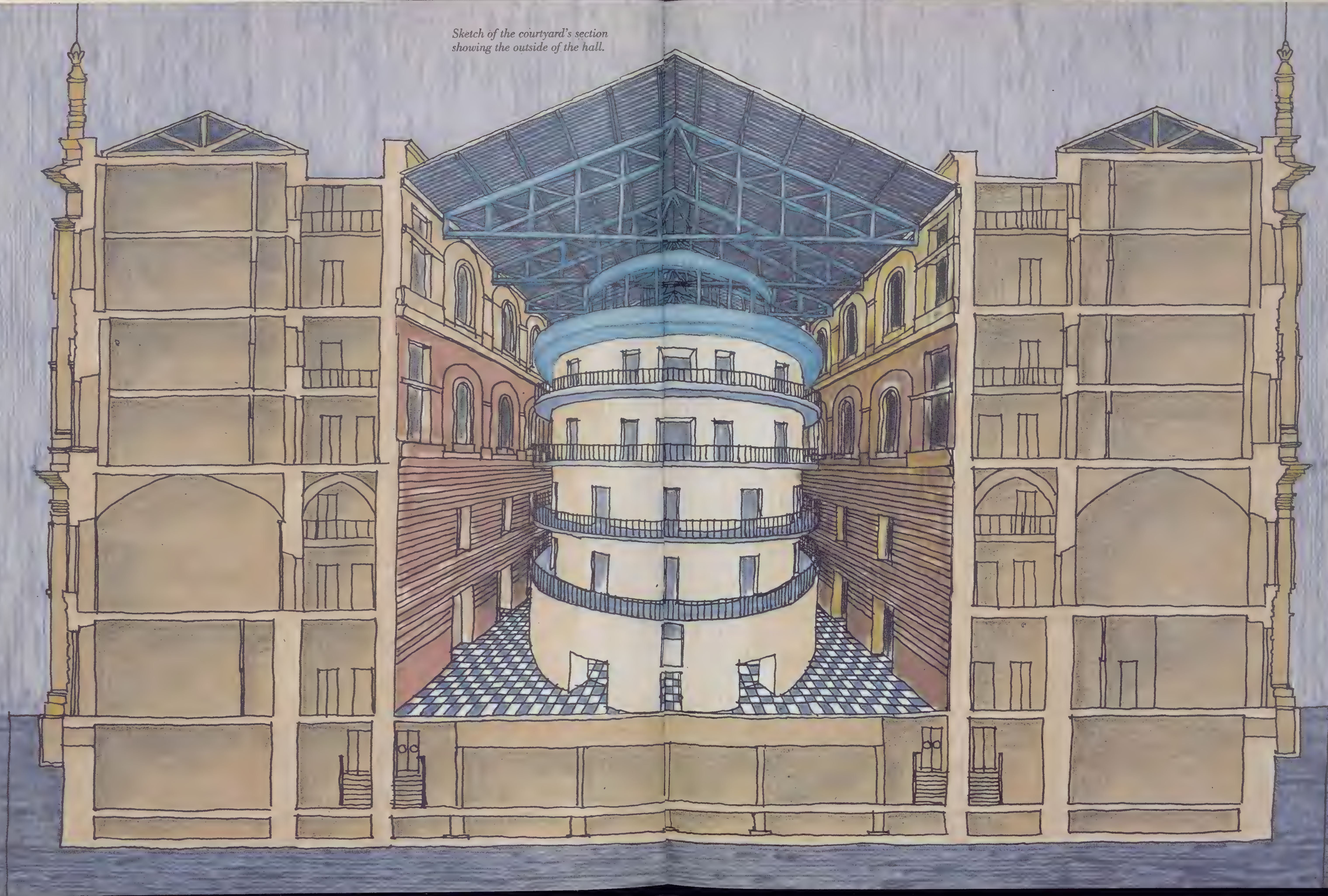
symmetrically placed with regard to a main transversal building for departmental classrooms.
The covered part has several floor: the ground floor, used as a stage-set workshop with annex spaces, facing the study rooms housed in soundproof and physically isolated exhedrae; the second level, to be used as a theater workshop, with a 400 seat hall; the upper level, for ballet rehearsal rooms and a gymnasium. The open-air court serves for gymnastics and recreational activities extending into the exhedrae of the open-air classrooms, above which is the library-museum.
At the far ends of the central linear structure, connected by bifrontal stages, are situated, respectively, the 1200 seat auditorium with an *odeo* installation, and the 3000 seat open-air cavea (shown indicatively in the mock-up as the metal-structured theater created in 1964 by architect Takis Ch. Zenetos for Mount Licabetto in Athens). Both of these interposed stages are the size of the 'teatro di tradizione' stage, so that sets and reheasals for it can be mounted and carried out here during its periods of activity.

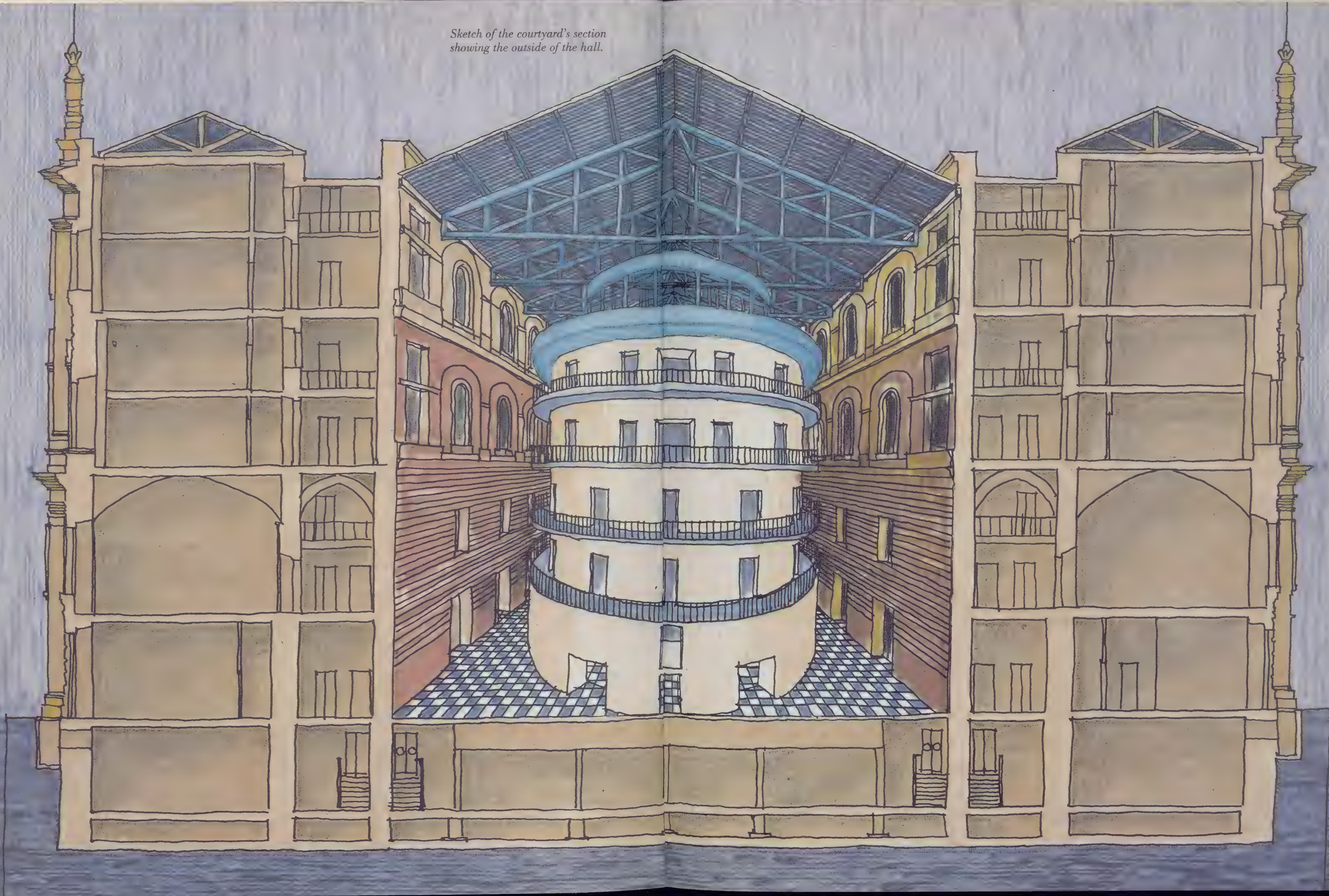
The "teatro di tradizione"
The Council's first choice went to the area comprising the Fusco cinema-theater, for which I presented a project in 1987, but it was subsequently decided to use the Palazzo degli Uffici.
Once the compatibility between the historical building and the prerequisites for the project had been ascertained, the choice seemed advantageous to everyone, above all because the investment needed for the new theater would make a definite contribution arresting the decay of the old building and would enhance its dominant presence in the historical district of the city through cultural activities congruent to its particular typological configuration (acquired after a series of readaptations following one another over a period of two centuries: orphanage, jail, hospice, barracks, courthouse, etc.) defined, with an inauguration in 1896, in the eclectic Neo-Renaissance aspect it has conserved until the present.
The insertion of a "teatro di tradizione" in the north court of the Palazzo degli Uffici (including the buildings facing Piazza Archita, Corso Umberto, Piazza della Vittoria and the internal transversal structure), has made possible of the Palazzo degli Uffici (including the buildings facing articulated distribution of the theater, with hall apparatus, stage equipment and installations that make it suitable for staging all forms of traditional entertainment (opera, concerts, ballet and occasionally even plays). The roof of the stage slopes towards the edge of the building, following a curve that goes from a height of 32.60 m. down to 26.49 m. The cornice of the existing building thus hides it from the view of the surrounding public spaces it overlooks, so that, both in plan and in elevation it appears to be entirely enclosed.
If one excludes the building radically restructured to house the stage and connected facilities (which, however, conserve the existing facade on the streat side), the project maintains the other buildings concerned as they were, with limited modifications and additions serving to house facilities for the public and for the performers, since the theater is detached from the existing building on three sides of the courtyard.
The tradition of theater buildings in Puglia shows the delay with which, in comparison to other geographical areas, including other parts of southern Italy, they were built: precisely this delay led to the survival of this type of building (essentially late Neo-classical) which, from the mid-Nineteenth century to the Twenties, underwent "contamination" in its adaption to various trends in use, management, taste, etc. In the project, I critically assumed this "contamination" criteria, reproposing the installation of an "Italian-style" theater with some of the additions and variations that had asserted themselves through the passage of time: the horseshoe-shaped hall with superimposed tiers of boxes and balconies, and devices employed to increase mingling, such as *foyers* and settings for gatherings, usable, if called for, for cultural and associative activities as well as for theatrical ones. I referred in particular to the Nineteenth



Scheme of the polyvalent Centre:
axonometric sketch, section and plan.

Sketch of the courtyard's section showing the outside of the hall.





Sketch of the courtyard's section showing the outside of the hall.

century type of municipal theater with the building-inscribed lay-out (in this case pre-existent) whose structures were destined for complementary facilities and, more generally, for the representational and associative life of the citizenry. The main break-down of the entire complex includes: the entrance gallery and lobby, the theater hall, the concert hall, the three foyers, the stage, the stage facilities, the administrative offices.

Entrance gallery and lobby

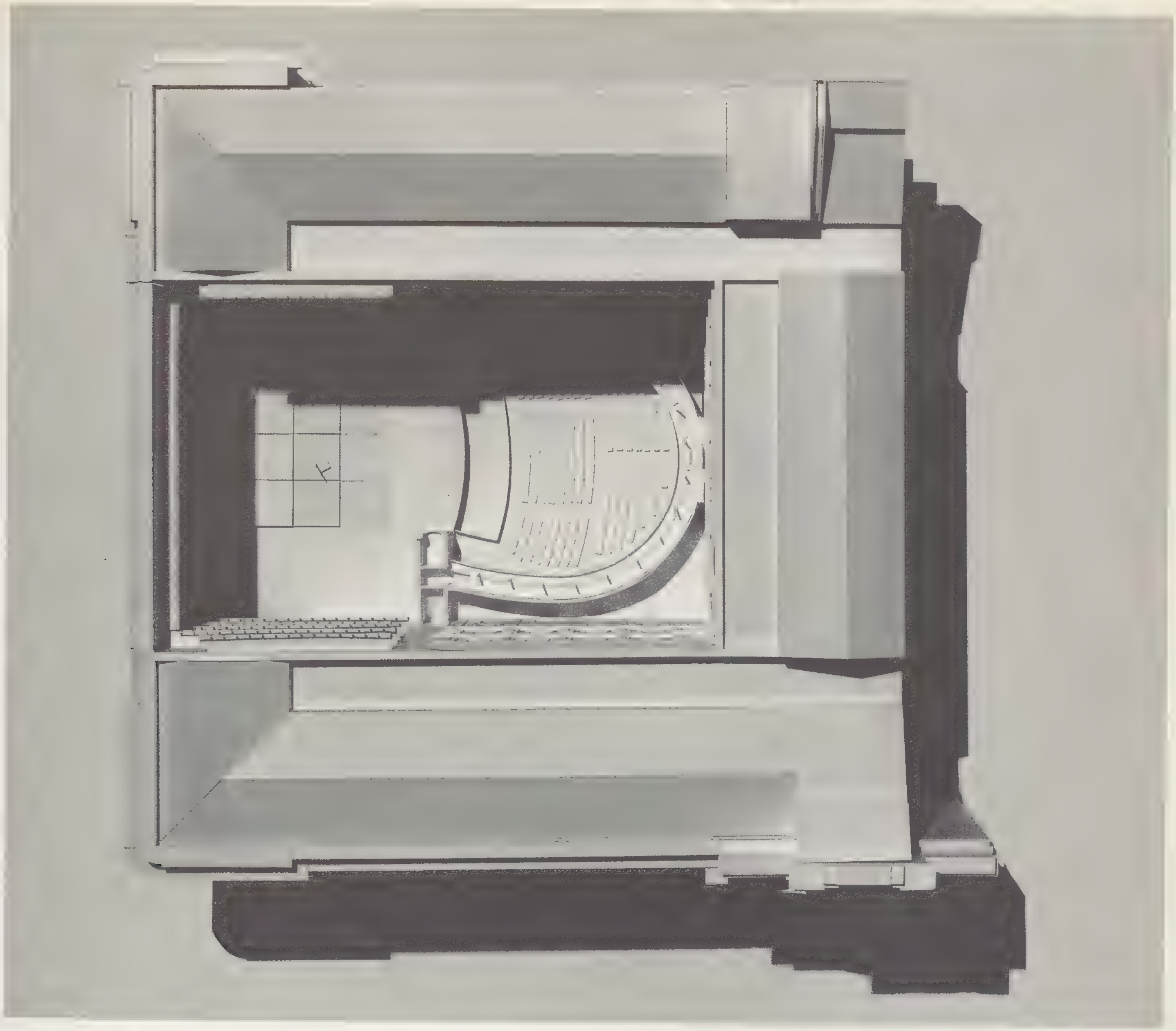
The existing great gallery which characterizes the Palazzo degli Uffici connects, by means of its transversal placement, two important city squares, and its ample size provides access to the theater's lobby through three large openings. Moreover, if the occasion calls for it, in addition to the ticket office it can house collateral events (temporary exhibitions, promotional activity) that are also introductive to the cultural activities that will be located in the still undesignated part of the Palazzo degli Uffici. From the lobby one enters the corridors leading to the theater; at the ends of the corridors are the stairs and elevators leading to the upper floors, as well as to the lavatory facilities. Below the women's gallery are the coat-check rooms for the stalls.

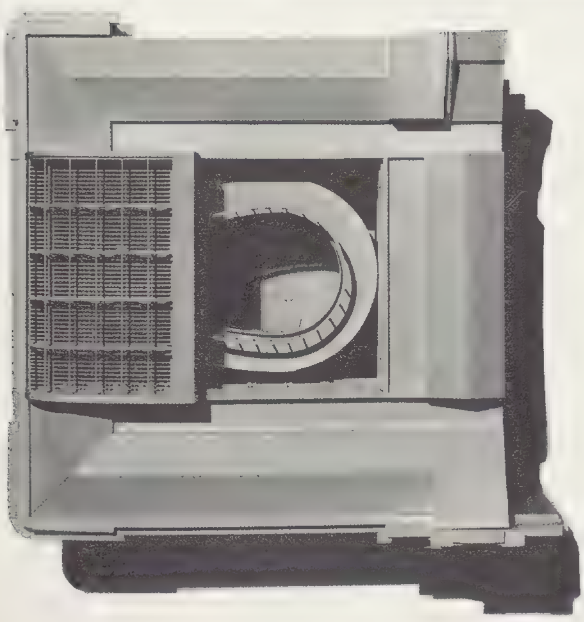
Theater hall

This is inscribed in the actual northern court and is spatially developed on a horseshoe layout, completely independent from the surrounding walls.
The spaces included by the hall and by the walls of the wholly-covered court are praticable, at ground level, for reaching the seats from the lobby; they are unecumbered for their entire height, so that from them one can discern the architectural fabric of the court's three internal walls and the external wall of the planned theater.
The main floor, which holds 436 seats on flooring with a 6% slope, is set up on a spatial steel framework formed by a lattice of girders on 5 x 5.50 m. grid, anchored to the foundation slab with metal connectors. Overlooking the floor are the women's gallery (68 seats), two tiers of boxes (88 seats each) and two tiers of galleries (98 seats each) (the upper gallery is included in the dome) plus the proscenium boxes (24 seats), for a total capacity of 900 spectators.
The two tiers of boxes and of galleries are suspended over the floor by means of a metal structural system composed of a series of tubular section tie rods (along the external perimeter). The two series of tie rods are horizontally joined by two perimeter girders and are vertically anchored to the hall's covering structure by a pair of concentric square section girders. The girders are attached to the roof structure, built of live steel Polonceau scheme, placed transversally to the hall and longitudinally joined by two "K" mesh girders. The top members of the trusses are connected by purlins and by longitudinal girders resting on the trusses' chords. Their main function is to anchor the suspension system of the convex mesh of the dome's framework.
The interior of the hall therefore looks horizonatally scanned by parapets of boxes and galleries decorated with a motif of recessed squares and, vertically, by tubularsectioned tie rods. Above the parapet of the highest gallery runs the overhanging cornice which supports the corbels of the arches traced on the dome's vault. The proscenium boxes are set between the two pairs of semicolumns which, together with the tympanum, frame the proscenium.

Concert hall

Situated in the internal transversal structure at 19.15 m. above street level is the former Courthouse, designated by the proyect for chamber-music recitals (for an audience of 156, covering an area of 275 sq. m. and with an 8.80 m. high ceilling). The concert hall faces the two existing galleries running above the side corridors. Its size, its representativeness, its horizontal connection with two rooms destined for use as bar and library (as well as its eventual connection with the underlying rooms) make it a particularly suitable setting for the cultural and social life of the city,





Top views of the model without the boxes, the stage tower (above) and without roof (at the bottom). Photo S. Topuntoli.

enlarged to include associations and clubs.

Foyer

The space to contain the audience during intermissions is articulated into several areas: two large sail-vaulted salons, placed symmetrically with regard to the theater hall and located at the 4.80 m. elevation in the two rectangular buildings of the Palazzo, reached through the large access corridor (also sail-vaulted); these are destined for use by the audience from the main floor, the women's gallery and the first tier of boxes. Another foyer is located at 11.80 m. above the access galllery and is reached through the corresponding access corridor; this is to be used by those seated in the second row of boxes and in the two tiers of galleries. The bar and the smoking lounge are located on this floor.
All three foyers use the space of the respective corridors facing them. They can also be used when the theater hall is closed, since they lead directly into the central lobby and are thus available for other occasions.

Stage

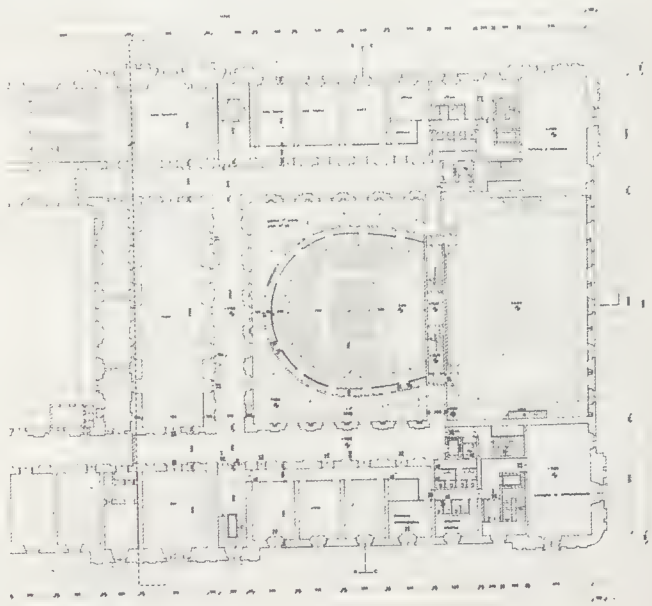
It is 18.00 m. deep and 28.90 m. wide, providing a usable area of 520 sq. m.; the proscenium is 13 m. wide and 12.50 m. high. Flanking the stage are two symmetrical rooms, of 120 sq. m. and having 7 m. ceilings.
The backstage area has no connection with the hall except through the proscenium, which is equipped with a suitable fireproof stage curtain. Its roofing consists of seven steel girders placed transversally to the stage, connected to the extrados by a purlin system and to the intrados (29.19 m. above the stage) by a metal-girder grilled. Towards the interior, the girders are supported by a boxlike bulkhead in the reinforced concrete which separates the backstage from the hall and contains the service stairs to the existing; towards the exterior, they are connected to the existing facade stiffened vertically by a reinforced concrete slab anchored to the inside of the wall and transversally by two of the five walkways connecting the two multilevel box-like structures in reinforced concrete which flank the stage.
The stage's sliding panels are moved by a mechanical pantograph system. The orchestra pit, also equipped with a hydraulic installation capable of raising it to stage level, has an area of approximately 100 sq. m.

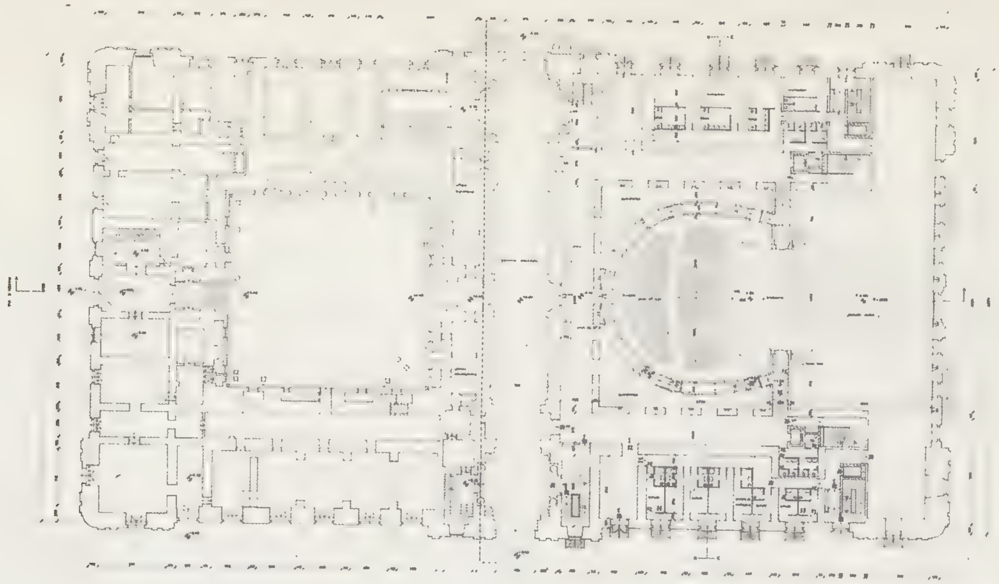
Stage facilities

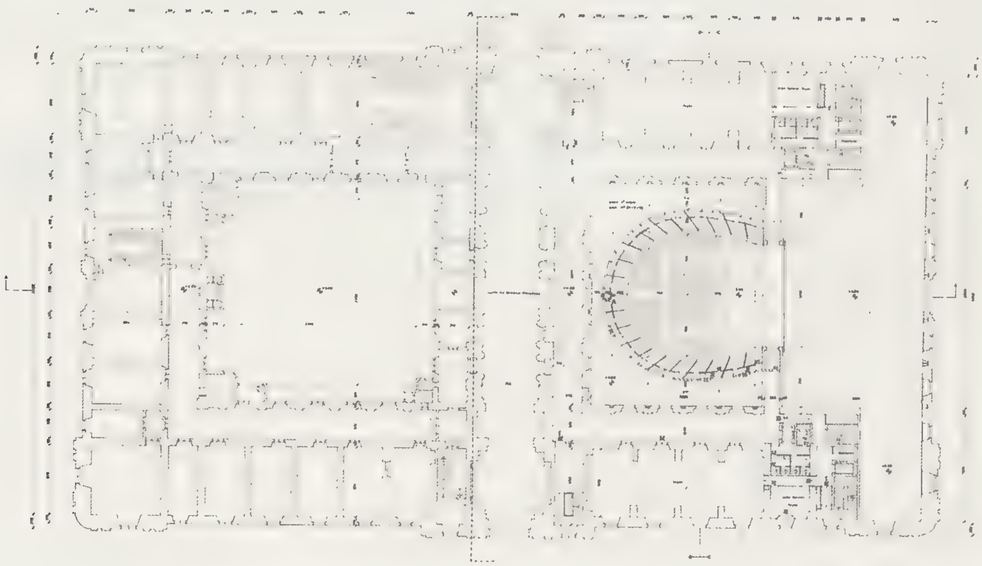
These are contained in the two parts of the building facing, respectively, Piazza Archita and Piazza Vittoria and covering a total area of 2700 sq. m. spread over four floors, two of which were created (at 15.47 m. and 22.82 m.) with intermediate flooring dividing the existent storeys.
At the far ends of the stage, off the service areas (and behind the groups of emergency stairs for the boxes and galleries, leading to Corso Umberto) are the stairway-elevator shafts reserved for employees. Above the proscenium, between 12.70 m. and 29.19 m. (gridiron levels) are two stairways for stage technicians.
The following stage facilities are located on various levels: at 3.00 m., the orchestra pit, lavatories, instrument room, two storage deposits; at 0.00 m., dressing-rooms for soloists and conductor, dressing-rooms for musicians (male and female), with lavatories; at 11.80, wardrobe and footwear rooms, with lavatories; at 15.47 m., communal dressing-rooms for second leads, for female dancers (or extras), for ushers, with lavatories; at 19.15 m., rehearsal rooms for chorus and corps de ballet, communal dressing-rooms for male dancers (or extras), for women of the chorus, dressing-rooms for collaborating directors, with lavatories; at 22.82, communal dressing-rooms for male chorus members, rehearsal rooms, with lavatories.

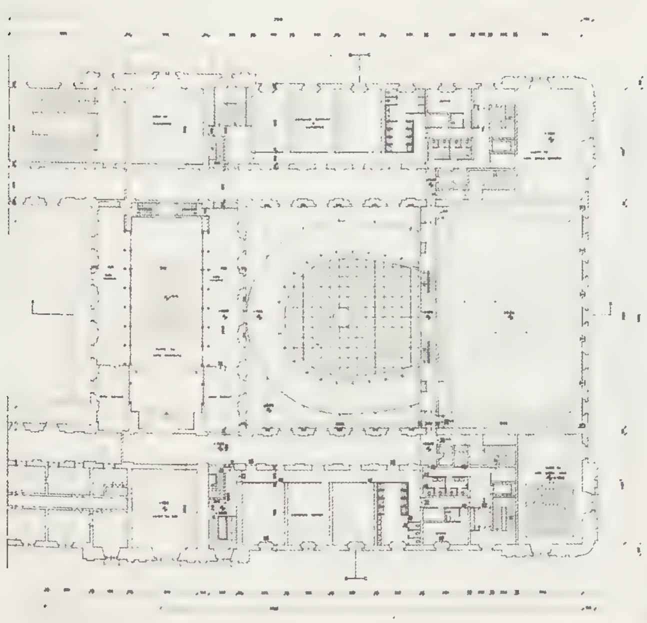
Administrative offices

These are located at 11.80 m. and are made of executive and other administrative offices, the board room, and rooms for technicians and firemen, with lavatories.

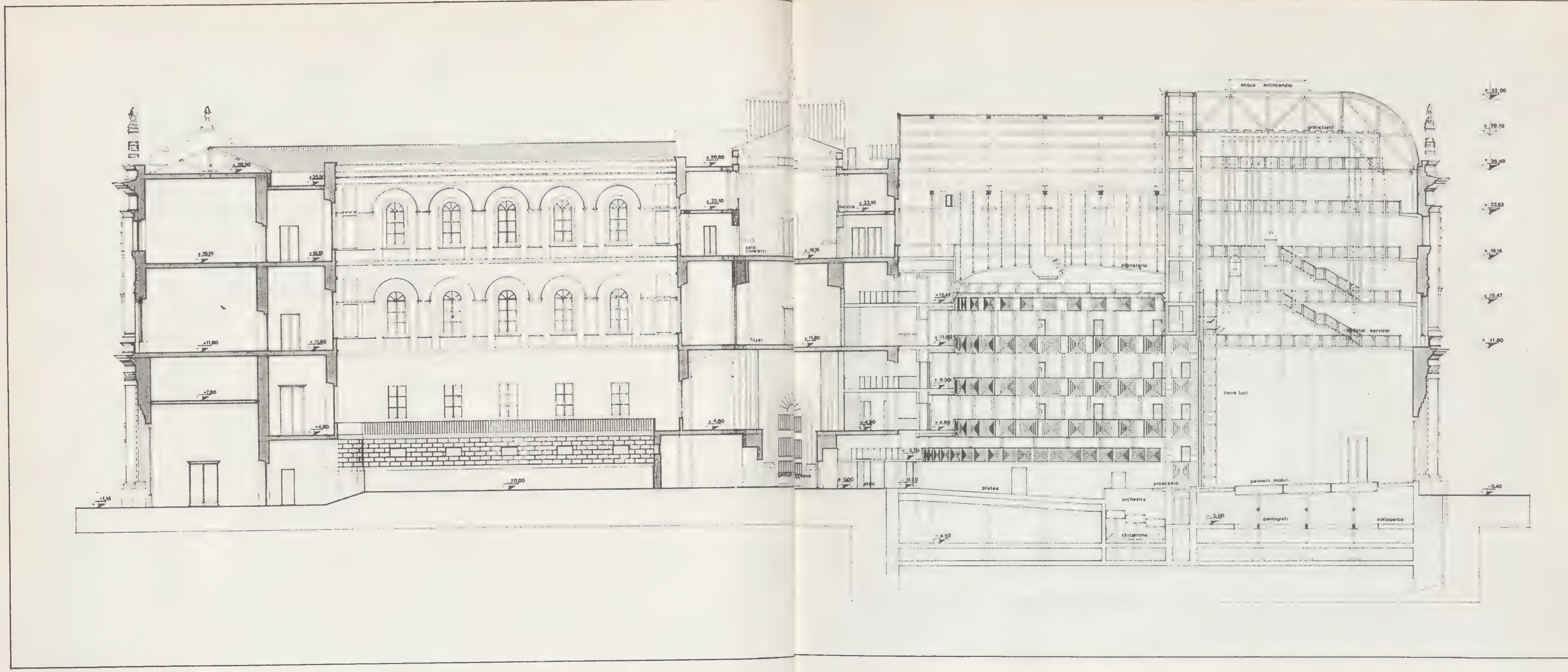




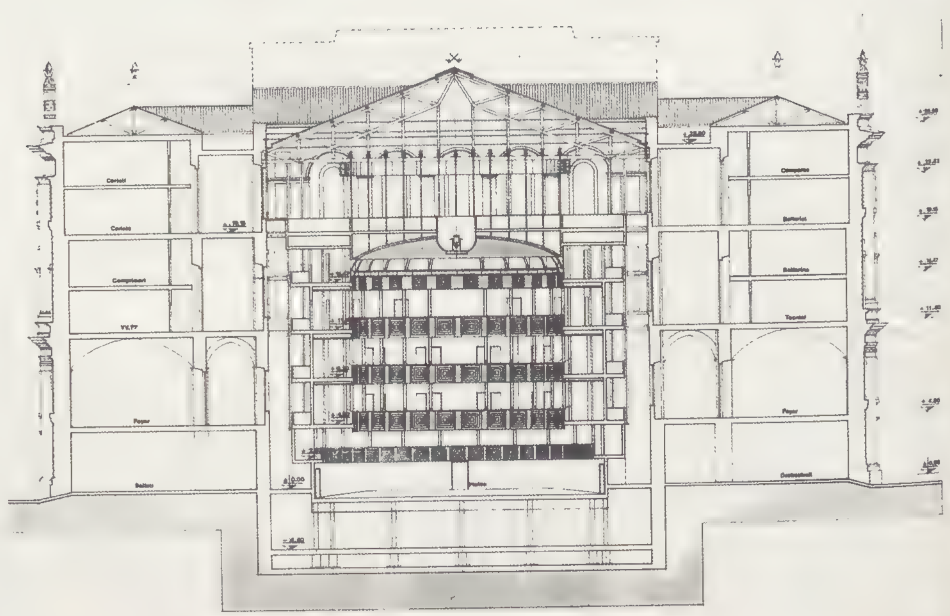


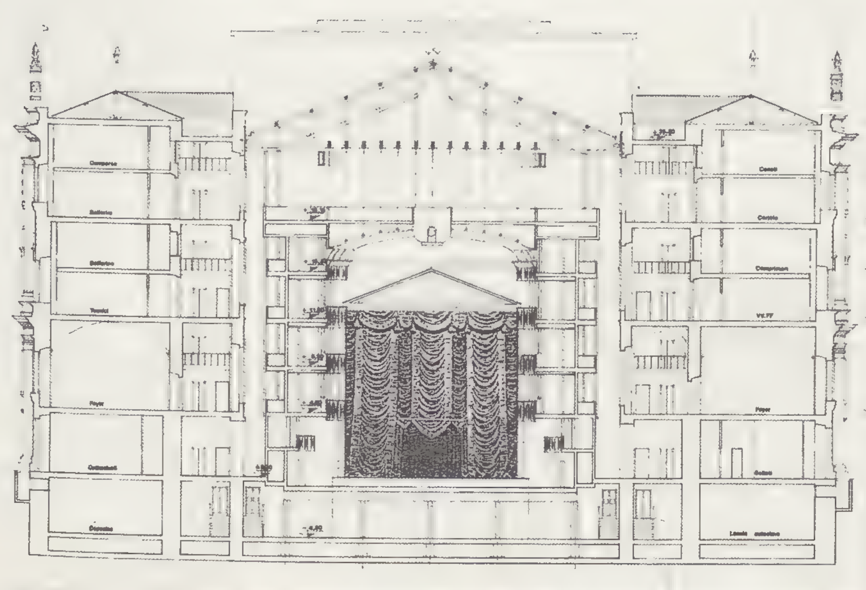


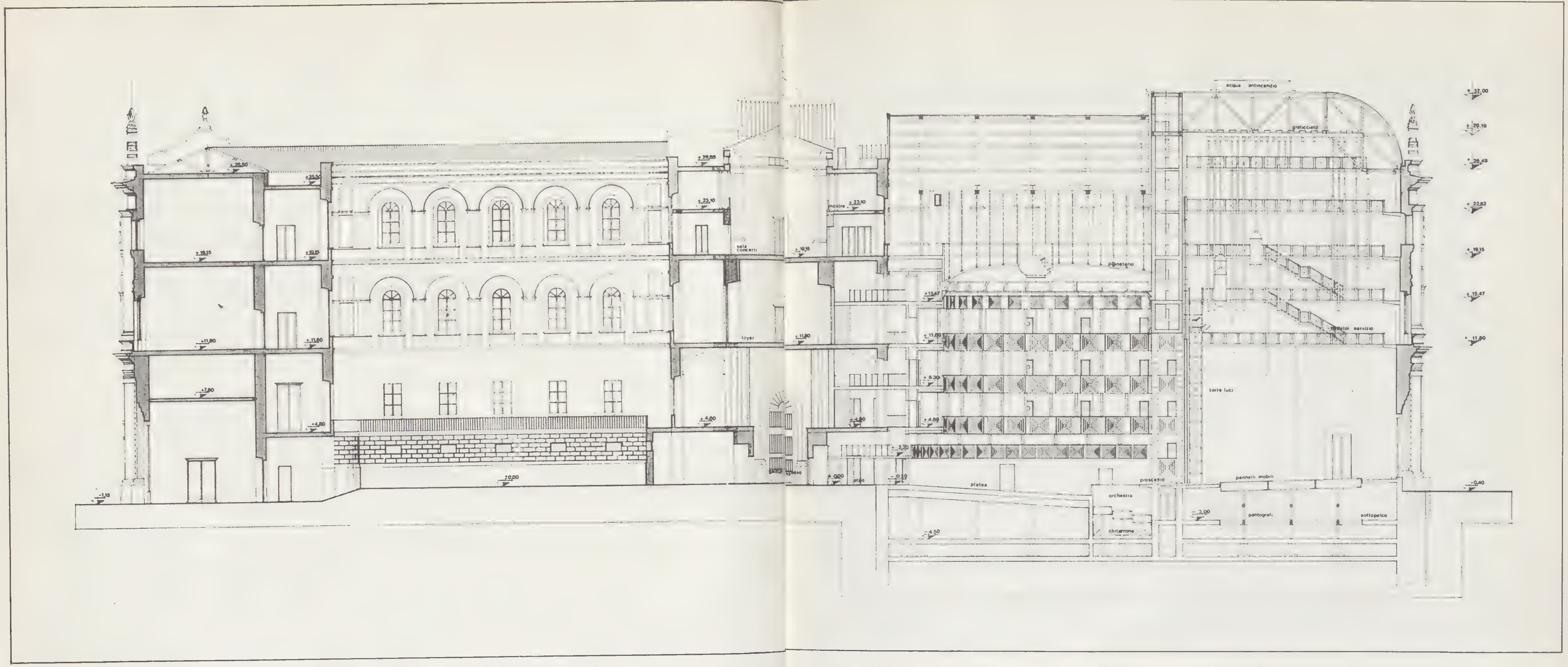
Plans of the stall level, the first tier of boxes, the first gallery (opposite page) and the concert-hall.



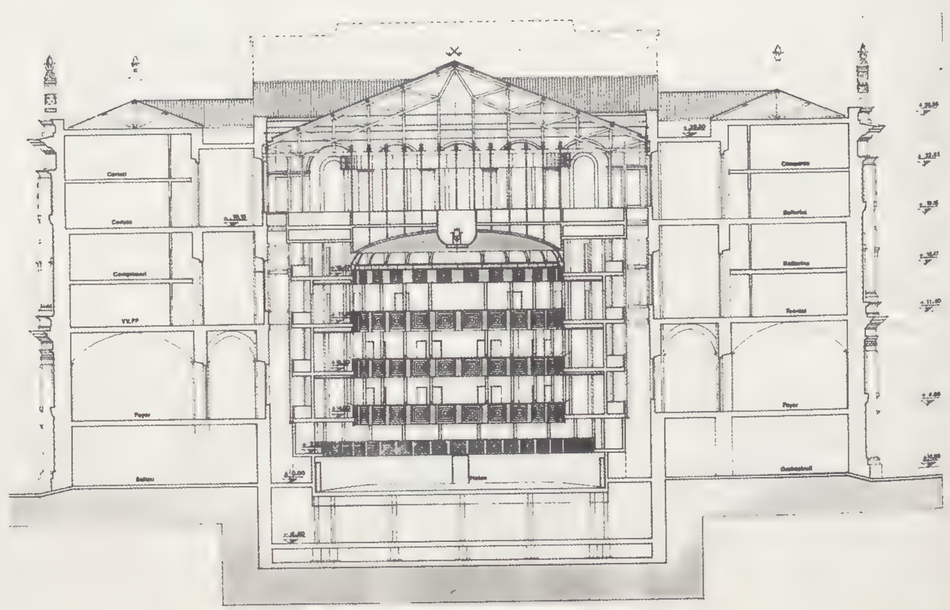
Longitudinal and cross sections, looking the hall and the stage.

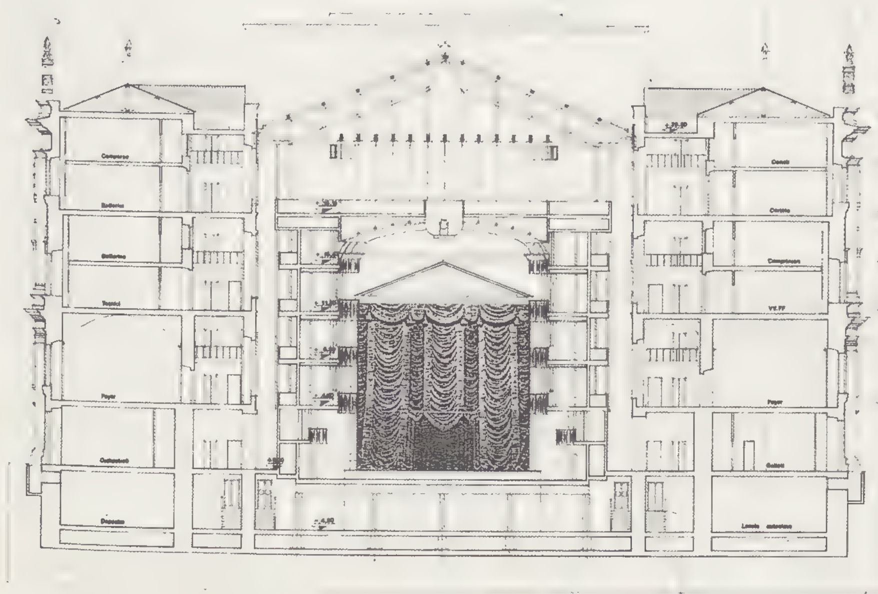


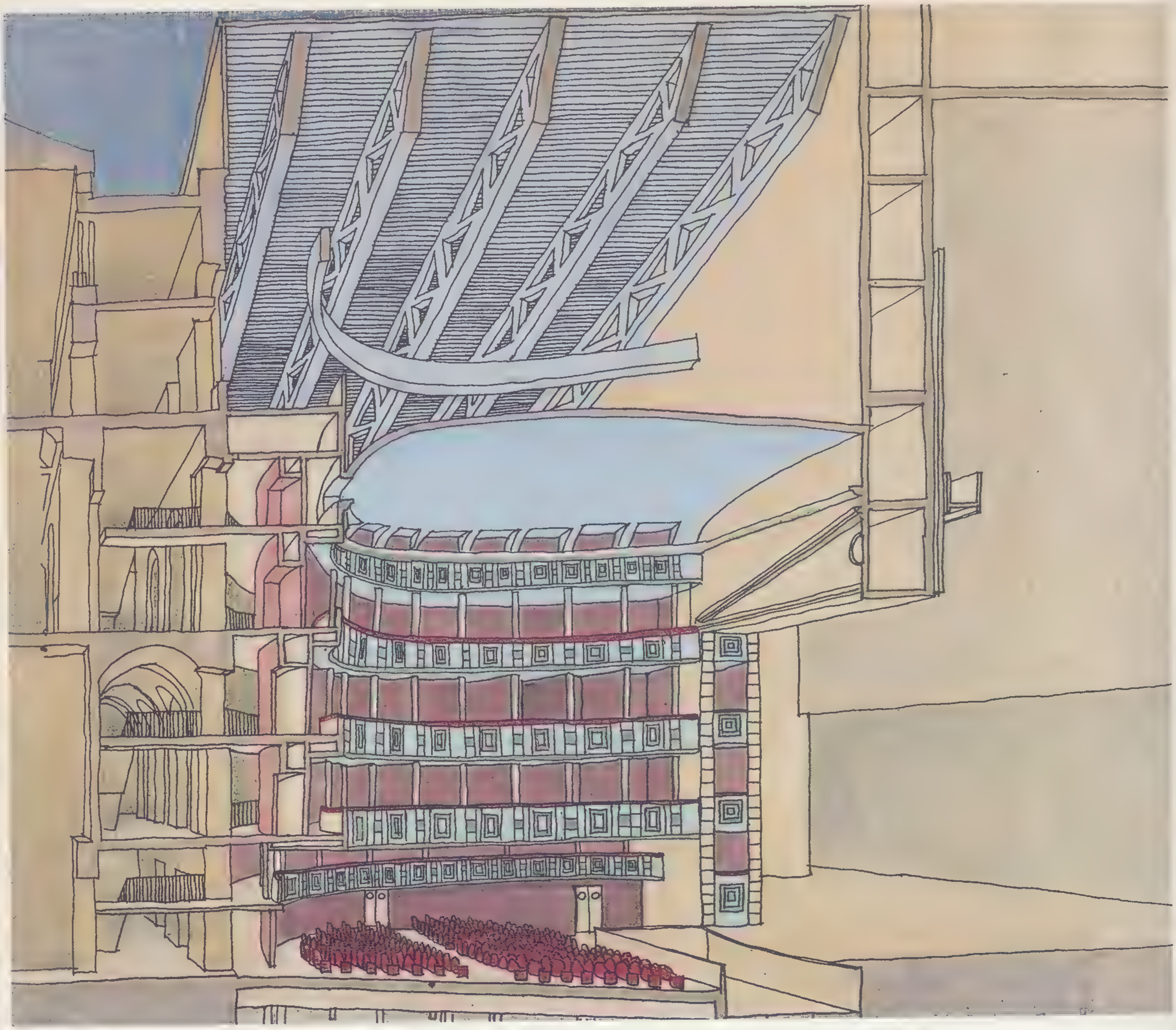


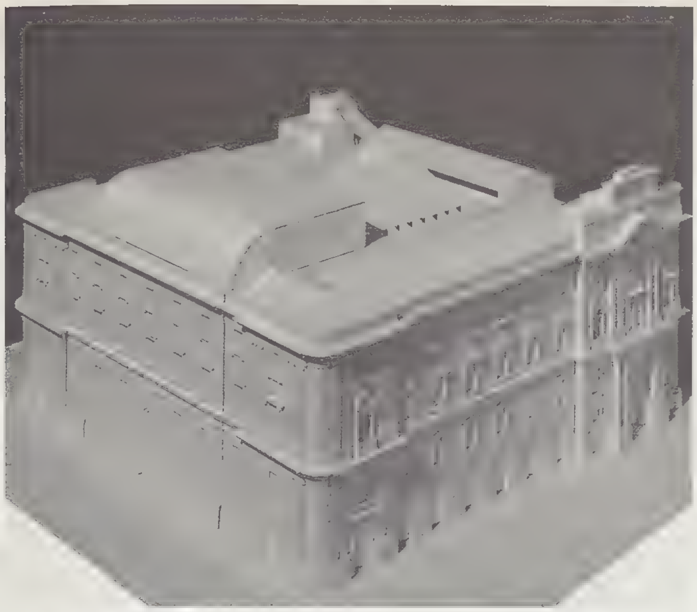


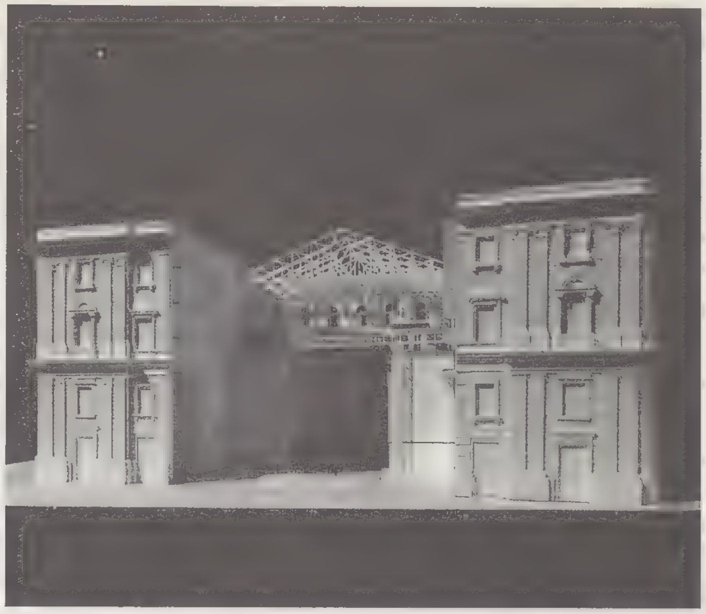
Longitudinal and cross sections, looking the hall and the stage.

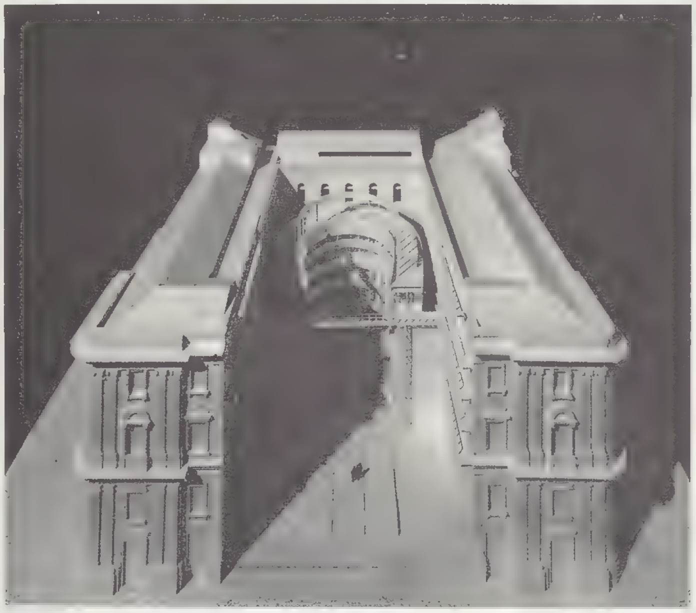


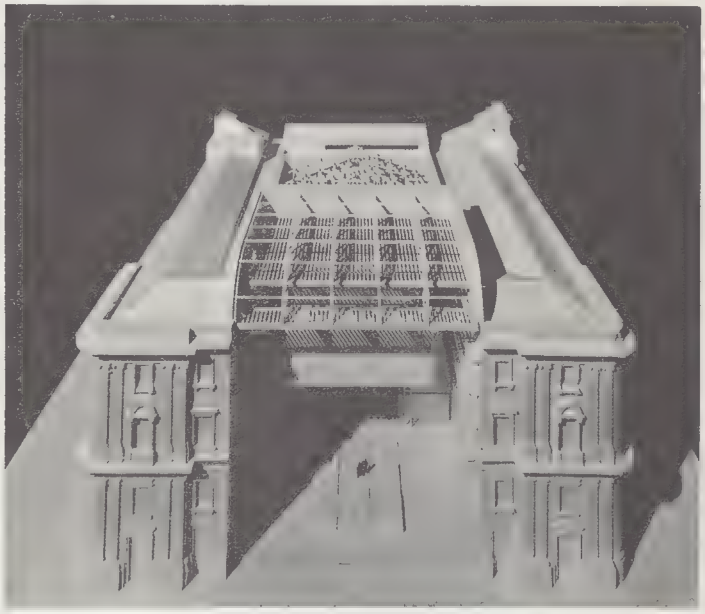




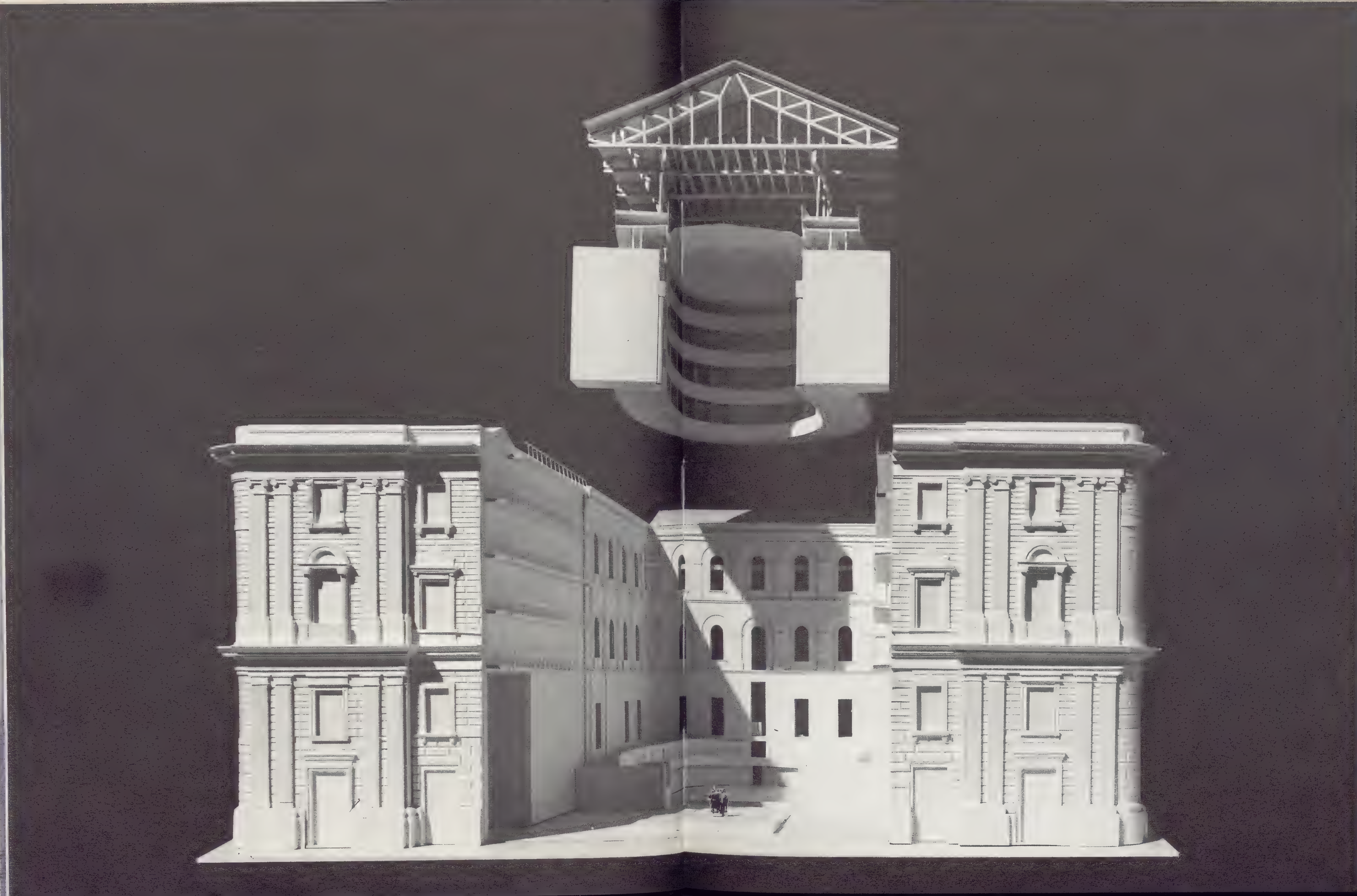


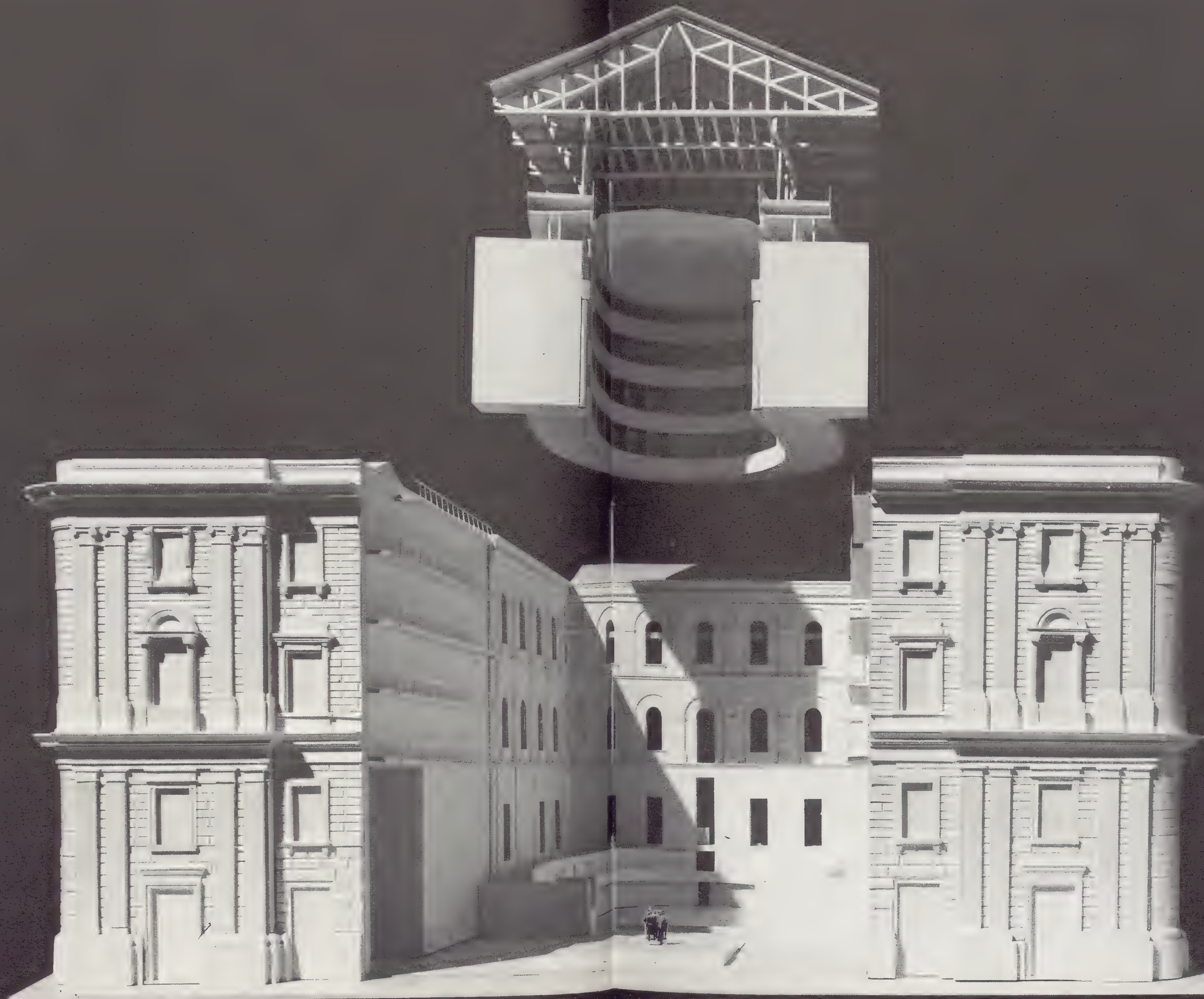






Sketch of the hall.
Views of the model with and without roof and stage tower.
Photo S. Topuntoli.
In following pages:
Exploded view of the model of the hall removed from the courtyard.
Photo S. Topuntoli.





The competition for the 'Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles. 1988



The competition for the 'Walt Disney' Concert Hall in Los Angeles. 1988




W2
Q
K
FREMONT

Böhm, Gehry, Hollein, and Stirling in Los Angeles
Carol McMichael Reese and Thomas Ford Reese

View of the model in central Los Angeles with the three open blocks (W2,Q,K) included in the competition project.

In the preceding pages:
Bird's eye view of the Bunker Hill area in central Los Angeles:
1) lot K, where the Disney Concert Hall will be built; 2) lot Q, intended for office buildings; 3) lot W2, intended for office buildings; 4) Music Center (Dorothy Chandler Pavilion);
5) Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) by Arata Isozaki.

On May 12, 1897, Lillian B. Disney and The Lillian B. Disney Foundation announced the gift of fifty million dollars to the Music Center of Los Angeles County for the purpose of building a concert hall to honor her late husband, Walt Disney. Mrs. Disney's outstanding gift to the people of Los Angeles — the largest single gift in the city's history — was admirably rewarded on November 11, 1988, by the entries to a limited architectural competition of Gottfried Böhm of Cologne, Frank Gehry of Los Angeles, Hans Hollein of Vienna, and James Stirling and Michael Wilford of London, the first four of whom are now Pritzker Prize recipients. Invitational architectural competitions are often invoked when a building project is of such artistic, social, and political importance that its commissioners are anxious to gather a broad range of ideas about its solution from practitioners whose work they admire. The competition process serves as an educational opportunity for patrons because, as judges, they must weigh the relative merits and drawbacks of each proposed scheme; the competition calls into play, as well as into question, their presuppositions, tastes, alignments, and aspirations. Since dialogue between patrons and architects is limited during a competition by its regulations, most significant communication must be suppressed until the submission of final designs. But the Disney Hall competition included a mid-term concept review (September 19-22, 1988), so the competitors and building committee members were allowed four-hour mediation sessions during which they could tune their instruments and test the political currents in anticipations of final strategies. In this crucial moment, the clients could see analogous partis developing among the participants as well as wildly divergent solutions, and the clients' learning process began. As they met with one architect after another to ask and answer questions, they not only voiced their prejudices, they also became third-party connections among the competitors, so that the architectural conversation was widened, even if in an indirect way.

On December 12, 1988, the Walt Disney Concert Hall Committee named Frank Gehry the winner, but their premiation of his design did not mean, of course, that the project's solution had been found. It meant that they agreed that Gehry best met the criteria of assessment, which were stated explicitly in the commission's regulations: (1) "ability to capture the spirit and intent of the Walt Disney Concert Hall," (2) "understanding and interpretation of the design program," (3) "understanding of the relationship of the Walt Disney Concert Hall to the Music Center," and (4) "understanding of the Walt Disney Concert Hall as a 'building block' of the city." And after the final judgement, the dialogue among various constituents and the winner about what definitive form the building should take began in earnest, but the echoes of the losers' voices remained in the commentary represented by their drawings and models. Any future thought about the Walt Disney Concert Hall will take into account their contributions.

Program
The Walt Disney Concert Hall is a complex project with many constituencies who expect it to fulfill their dreams, some of which may prove impossible. According to the commission's published project statement, the donor desired that the hall "be a building of architectural splendor, a beautiful and elegant building... [to] honor and reflect... the Walt Disney spirit of creativity, inspiration, and humanism." When Mrs. Disney and the recipients of her gift, the Music Center of Los Angeles County, determined that the new hall would be the permanent home of Los Angeles' world-renowned Philharmonic Orchestra (founded in 1919 but until now without a hall of its own), they asked that the building "provide the best acoustical environment in which to hear symphonic music... [and] become one of the world's greatest concert halls... [and] a vital addition to the tradition of excellence that has made the Music Center of Los Angeles County one of the major performing arts venues of the world." Finally, the County of Los Angeles, who owns the land on which the new hall will be built, as well as the adjacent cultural properties now managed by the Music Center Operating Company (including the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion, the Mark Taper Forum, and the Ahmanson Theater), requested that Disney Hall "be both a catalyst and anchor an to a quickly emerging urban core,... [an] urban link that will unite... the financial and civic centers, establishing a culturally integrated focus to Los Angeles." While Mrs. Disney and her representatives, the Music Center, the Philharmonic Orchestra, and Los Angeles County share common goals for Disney Hall, each constitutency has its own priorities. And the creation of the building is further complicated by the involvement of the city of Los Angeles, the Community Redevelopment Agency (a wealthy forty-year-old quasi-municipal agency funded by tax allocations), and various private developers who have their own ambitions for this critical project.

Care must be taken that Disney Hall does not become the proverbial broth spoiled by too many cooks, but the site on which it will rise is also characterized by conflicts of interest and image. The Music Center complex, which Disney Hall will extend to the south, lies on
Bunker Hill, a prominent hill in a strategic corner of downtown Los Angeles. Freeways that were built in the early 1950s on the west (the Harbor) and north (the Hollywood) of Bunker Hill, as well as the grid-linkages through downtown that they demanded, made a virtual island of this promontory. Already a degenerate area of late nineteenth-century Victorian houses and early twentieth-century commercial buildings, Bunker Hill died of strangulation in the mid 1950s. Los Angeles' twenty-acre civic mall climbed up to the peak of Bunker Hill on the east but had no real vigor of its own to breathe life back into the area. Planners and politicians agreed that it would be best to raze Bunker Hill's twenty-five square blocks and build anew, and the first joint private-public project to take shape there was the Music Center. Inspired by the vision of Philharmonic advocate Dorothy Buffum Chandler and built according to the designs of Los Angeles architect Welton Beckett, the arts complex took shape between 1964 and 1969 and grew to contain three performance spaces: the ellipsoidal Dorothy Chandler Pavilion (which the Philharmonic shares with the Los Angeles Music Center Opera), the cylindrical Mark Taper Forum, and the cubical Ahmanson Theater. According to statistics prepared in 1987, each of the Music Center's 5,756 seats is used 235 times yearly, an occupancy rate which is 23% ahead of that of Lincoln Center. Locally, the Music Center is credited not only with revitalizing Bunker Hill, but also with initiating the resurgence of the city's downtown, which some historians and critics have claimed (mistakenly) never existed.

The new Disney Hall returns the Music Center to center stage as a principal player in the drama of redeveloping urban Los Angeles. At its most basic level, the commission program specified that the competition participants should design a twenty-five hundred seat concert hall; a one-thousand seat chamber music hall; attendant public foyers, reception halls, bars, cafes, practice and storage rooms, and a gift shop; and a maximum of fifty-five thousand square feet of office space for the Philharmonic Orchestra, in particular, and the Music Center, in general. The commission's project statement makes clear that the competitor's solutions "should convey a unifying theme... [and] compliment the existing Music Center." But the challenge did not stop there. Two bulldozed, unreclaimed properties (which function as desolate parking lots) lie adjacent to the Disney Hall site to the east along First Street, while Los Angeles' newest downtown cultural facility — Arata Isozaki's Museum of Contemporary Art — peeks out from the receding slope of Bunker Hill one and one-half blocks to the south on Grand Avenue. Thus, in order to "strongly influence the quality of design and construction of adjacent projects... [and to] "create a major cultural corridor on Grand Avenue," the Walt Disney Concert Hall Committee charged the competitors with the design of a master plan that included all three of the county's First Street properties. The first — the Disney Hall site — lay west of Grand; the second lay east of Grand; and the third lay further east across Olive Street. The latter parcels were to be densely developed with high- and low-rise buildings, containing a maximum of almost two million four hundred thousand square feet of retail and office space.

Underscoring and, indeed, investing in their vision of the soon-to-be-enlarged Music Center as the culmination of the city's public space, the committee provided the participants with a 1:50 scale site model on which to insert their submission models and decreed that two of the eight required submission panels be devoted to overall site considerations. Obliged, then, to make large gestures which would transform a financially, politically, and culturally sensitive area of the city, Böhm, Gehry, Hollein, and Stirling were judged not only on their proposed Disney Halls but on their visions of an enhanced Bunker Hill. The four projects

represented clear alternatives in parti, contextual expression, and image, and a comparison serves as an introduction to the approaches taken by each architect and those favored by the clients.

Parti

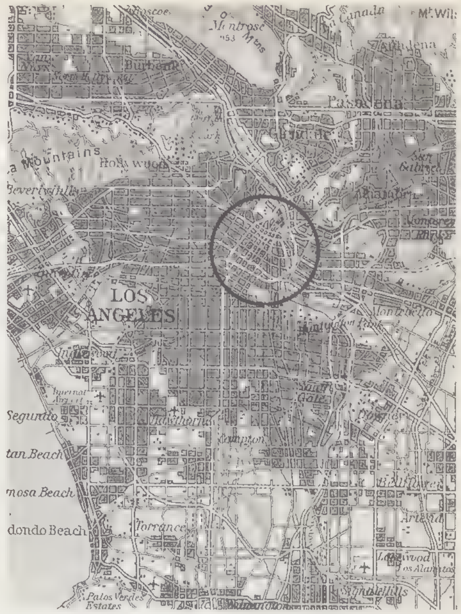
With respect to parti, the participants divided along ideological lines in their conception and treatment of the hall's foyers, and these ideological decisions were strategic factors in the competition. Hollein and Stirling created dramatic sculptural volumes to express the functional units of the program — Stirling with calm and balanced geometries and Hollein with a multiplicity of contrasted forms — in which the foyers were servant spaces. But they projected largely elite private realms for concertgoers. Böhm and Gehry, however, added a new element requested only indirectly by the program: a major enclosed volume of public space that not only provided access and amenities to concertgoers, but also invited all passersby to explore and discover this new public realm. Böhm created a populist public space that overwhelmed the image (and probably the budget) of the concert hall. But Gehry's brilliant double-functioning foyer, which found independent expression as one of three principal elements in his parti, achieved the perfect balance between its function as passage and place and its character, which was at once elegant and accessible to all.

Böhm's, Stirling's, and Gehry's compositions were highly unified. Böhm's was a gigantic singular form inspired by exposition pavilions overlain with tones of technological romanticism. Stirling's was a tripartite and hierarchical "classicizing" composition based on the elegant simplicity of contrasted geometric volumes. And Gehry's was a "baroque" and perhaps "Spanish" composition of church, atrium, and open-chapel, in which the concert and chamber halls serve as functionally expressive and legible sculptural anchors for the tentlike structure that creates the public sphere. Again, Hollein's entry stood apart, for he chose to express the complexity of the many programmatic parts, clustering the elements into a tensely massed assemblage, in which each practically bursts with its own dynamic energy and the saturated density of its material splendor.

Site

With respect to issues of contextualism, Böhm and Stirling locked their schemes onto new perpendicular axes through the tabula rasa of soon-to-be-commercially-developed Grand Avenue. Böhm gestured almost exclusively toward his own proposed composition for the commercial development of those sites, while Stirling played equally to the new axis and — through a U-shaped "villa" — to the highrise residential properties on the south.

Böhm and Stirling paid little attention within their designs to the Chandler Pavilion as a companion. Böhm projected a structure so different in its scale and form from every other in the urban landscape that there was little logic in asking



Location of the project area on the Los Angeles urban plan.

that it relate to anything not of his making. Stirling, on the other hand, acknowledged the Chandler Pavilion in two ways, albeit offhandedly. First, in his large cut-away model (1:16), he projected a strong image of three small, distinct, and beautifully distributed geometric masses on First Street that seem to defer to the larger and older partner. And second, he turned the periscopelike mass of the rooftop restaurant above the concert hall to acknowledge the important pedestrian traffic at the corner of Grand and First streets. The site model, elevations, and perspectives reveal, however, that Stirling intended a significant change of mood on the Disney Hall side of First Street. Illuminated kiosks — one a marquee over a gift shop and the other a bar at the upper terrace level — marked the corners of Grand and Hope streets and flanked a shed-roofed box office and cinema. Thus, the aloof and serene Chandler Pavilion actually would have faced a busy zone interpreted as a commercial "strip". Although both Böhm's and Stirling's works could live in some form of harmony within the surrounding landscape, neither really chose to speak to or reflect specific extant buildings.

Hollein and Gehry created much more complicated relational orders with what was around their Disney Halls, namely the Chandler Pavilion to the north and the Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) to the southeast. Both architects displaced the mass of the hall to the southeast corner of the site, where it was a transition to the highrises on the south. And they chose to make their primary connections to extant rather than imagined architectural and urban enviroments. They disposed the concert halls on a diagonal axis that began at MOCA (and addressed north-bound traffic on Grand Avenue), gestured through the concert hall and across the site to the northwest, and then turned dramatically to the north in a spine that linked the new halls to the Chandler Pavilion. They reduced the scale of the masses on First Street to create shapes or screens that would reflect the templelike mass of the Chandler Pavilion across the street. Gehry answered the programmatic plea for links to the Chandler *and* Grand with a pedestrian bridge at the *corner* of First and Grand streets, which led to a small glazed kiosk that contained the gift shop and both established the intersection and gestured once again to the Chandler Pavilion. Gehry further accomplished a connection between the Chandler and Disney halls on First Street by placing the Chamber Hall here; indeed, he was the only competitor to place the smaller hall on the northern edge of the site *between* the larger halls, where it joined the parade of Music Center auditoriums from the Ahmanson to the Disney. Both Gehry and Hollein allowed Hope Street to be the rear side of the site and to respond with bold masses to the speed of automobile. Hollein's western elevation took the dramatic form of a medieval city wall with pedestrian ramparts, while Gehry's simple horizontal platform with a raised garden to the north and an office block to the south preferred vegetation to buildings.

Image

The primary imagery was the most essential strategic component in the competition because it had to resonate for all constituencies. Fatal offenses to any group — including the accountants — had to be avoided at all costs. The idea would have to be greater than any of its parts. As the brief intoned: "The Walt Disney Concert Hall will be the last important public building to be designed and constructed in downtown Los Angeles within this century, influencing all other and contiguous projects in the area. The Walt Disney Concert Hall will become a cultural keystone..." What was the right image for Los Angeles? Each architect took a distinct path. Böhm chose the image of a festival pavillion; Stirling and Wilford, of a temple precinct; Hollein, of a miniature city; and Gehry, of a garden conservatory. Each was frought with implications that permeated the entire project.

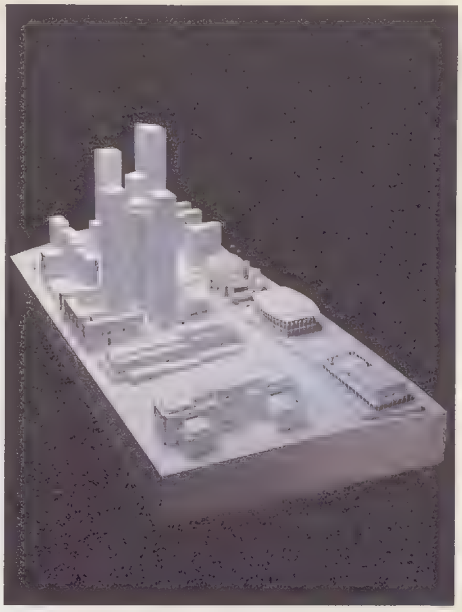
Böhm's design was at once the most conservative and the most radical solution — one that shared some resemblances with the romantic symbolic landmarks of Disney's popular theme parks, in which the Magic Castle or the Matterhorn serve as a vital unifying anchors to the realms of adventure, history, fantasy, and science fiction that cluster around them. Böhm's dominant imagery, however, was that of a gigantic festival pavilion erected in the cleared fields at the edge of downtown, which would embrace the urban populace and draw them to grand concerts. Filled to overflowing in Böhm's impressionistic sketches of its interior, the hall resembled nothing so much as nineteenth-century illustrations of Pacton's Crystal Palace during the popular Handel Festivals held there after 1854. The gigantic dome would have been splendidly different from everything around it — the ultimate observation platform, which offered an image that reconciled Los Angeles' romantic search for historical roots with its distinct fascination for futurist visions. It would have been a Crystal Palace and Eiffel Tower for Los Angeles — a monumental technological fantasm whose exposed structure and Piranesian stairs and bridges would have compelled exploration and pilgrimages to high vantage points.

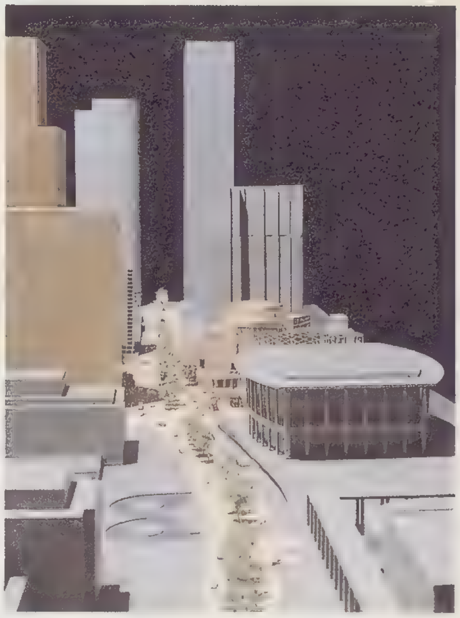
There were also risks in this image. Was it a pro-urban set piece or an anti-urban Wrightian retreat in the spirit of John Lautner's Chemosphere house? And what concrete associations might it evoke in America? Pleasure pavilions for escape and recreation, of course, but also more ubiquitous images of retail commerce (exchanges, market halls, and today the atrium-hotels of John Portman or the Piranesian spaces of too many American shopping malls). Böhm's own interpretation of the "cupola" in his competition narrative and drawings had spiritual and cosmic overtones; it was to become a "universe of music and creativity filled with life." Those same overtones were perhaps indexed in the graphic style of his presentation perspectives, which he rendered in the sketchy and luminous insubstantiality of charcoal. Nor did Böhm's models and hardline drawings make it easy to envision the

dome as built structure, especially in the light of discrepancies between his abstract method of presentation and the more precise forms and institutional materials that he has used in recent similar projects and that, in fact, he described for Disney Hall. But if the spiritual overtones and the sketchy presentation were strong elements of risk, so too was the decision — given the composition of the committee — to elevate the public domain to a dominance that dwarfed the music halls.

Stirling's and Wilford's image of the temple precinct was the most timeless and universal — a balanced spatial play of a singular templelike structure, disposed on an elevated platform with columnar screens that frame the spotlighted activities of concertgoers in the glass-enclosed foyers. Such an image has been frequently invoked in recent American designs for performing art centers like New York's Lincoln Center or Los Angeles' own Music Center. For Disney Hall, Stirling created a reposeful and exquisitely detailed composition of masterfully disposed geometric forms that were similar to those used in his parti for the Stuttgart Museum — cylinder, U-shaped element, and intermediary pavilions — itself derived from Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin. One imagines that Stirling's Disney Hall might have provoked the same criticism of scale and context that has surrounded the reception of many of his more "neoclassic" works executed after 1969, which explore paths suggested by the late monumental geometries of Kahn. The design demonstrated few concerns about the specific qualities that such a monument should have in the particular setting of Los Angeles, even though the program requested that attention be given to place. Stirling's entry, perhaps more than any other, gave the clients an unequivocal choice; they could select the architect on the basis of his style and intelligence, which was brilliantly concentrated in the concert hall, and overlook his relative unresponsiveness to the functional detail of the program. But he also offered a solution thay many have been interpreted as elite. To some, his splendid temple may have appeared as a backdrop for the exclusive rituals of the privileged classes.

Hollein's image was that of a miniature city, echoing qualities in Isozaki's nearby architectural bonsai for MOCA. But unlike the stillness of Isozaki's composition, Hollein's contrasted masses clustered on the block like a battery of artillery posed for a fireworks display. By contrast with Stirling's monumental and unified composition, Hollein multiplied the number and manipulated the scale of the parts to create a more seductive environment for pedestrians. The reduced scale and compressed massing of Hollein's entry had links — probably indirect — to the very best design practices of the creators of Disney World. Unlike the facades of Adventureland or Tomorrowland, however, Hollein's Disney Hall had to coexist with the reality around it. Its carefully scaled and exhuberantly massed volumes were freighted by the program's demands that it be both landmark and keystone for downtown Los Angeles.





Gottfried Böhm, view of the model on Hope Street.
Frank Gehry, view of the model.
Photo T. Bonner.

Hollein's was a learned composition filled with a myriad of symbolic and material references to Los Angeles' architecture of the 1930s and 1940s, which were accomplished with admirable subtlety on Grand Avenue and more grandiloquently on First and Hope streets. His overall exterior palette acknowledged Isozaki's MOCA in the choice of white marble, green quartzite, and red sandstone. But his color scheme and surface textures had metaphoric qualities as well: "part[ly] a Bronzino palette [with] some oriental splendor, some desert notion, but also reflections of Los Angeles under the sun." Metallic tones of polished brass, varnished bronze, gold leaf, and gilded aluminum were important accents, and "silvery hues appear[ed] at various instances [to] give depth to the surface." Indeed, the western elevations on Hope Street, emphasized aluminum and gilded surfaces to reflect the light of the setting sun. But these facades also continued the architectural conversation with MOCA, notably in the distribution of the red sandstone — crowned by a Rossiesque colonnade. The eastern elevations along Grand Avenue were dominated by cool greys, greens, and whites. The green hues revived the palette favored in many of the great 1930s Deco buildings in Los Angeles (the Eastern Columbia and Wiltern Theater). In a similar manner, at the corner of Grand and Second streets and along Hope Street, Hollein sandwiched cylinders between contrasting shapes in a compositional move that seems based on Los Angeles' streamlined commercial buildings of the 1930s and 1940s (the Owl Drug Company, May Company, and Academy Theater). And in his use of aluminum louver elements, he even embraced Neutra's late commercial vocabulary of the 1950s and 1960s (the Northwestern Mutual, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Los Angeles County Hall of Records). If the qualities of Los Angeles' Deco and Moderne commercial architecture had romantic attraction for the Viennese architect, they were perhaps too mundane and "too close to home" for those who judged the competition.

The miniaturization strategy, as well as the decision to make every facade speak in a different voice, ran the risk of making the building appear too polyphonic and hypersaturated. The result of such complexity in shape, scale, materials, textures, and imagery was to produce a wonderfully exotic island micro-city, but it was perhaps too self-possessed and overwhelming. Further, Hollein's entry may have faced an uphill battle with Los Angeles clients because of its crowding of the block. Jostling outward toward every edge of the site from the dynamic nucleus of the concert hall, Hollein's building taps the vigorous energy that is present in Los Angeles today. But an influx of capital and immigrants has brought crowding and crime that Los Angeles would rather do without. And Hollein's building might be seen as a fearful dream-state evocation of their most paranoid reactions to change. Its chic details and luxuriant surfaces are seductive but not soothing, especially in the face of frighteningly rapid change.

Gehry's concepts of the "garden conservatory" and "plaza" were brilliant and unique inversions: "In sympathy with the program, the vision blossomed into a garden oasis nestled among a forest of soaring new office and residential towers." With this swift conceptual move, he established the idea of a garden as a primary element. The foyer became a conservatory, and Grand Avenue was transformed into an arboretum: "At the very center of the Walt Disney Concert Hall composition is the Foyer structure... A great glass conservatory set among gardens of native California flora, this public space opens its great glass doors to receive the City beyond." What Gehry certainly understood, and the others perhaps did not, is the importance of the garden in Los Angeles, which gives topographical variety to the largely barren plains and hills. He thus incorporated elements that have enjoyed success in Los Angeles' residential districts and applied them to the commercial and public spheres. His foyer became the "living room for the city... [which] would provide views beyond to the plaza, the gardens, the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion, and the City beyond... With the addition of a beautiful Mortom Bay fig tree inside the Foyer, and flora seen beyond in the gardens, nature becomes the theme of this space". And other gardens enveloped Disney Hall: the Grand Reception Hall Garden to the west, the hidden Musicians' Garden to the southwest, and the Chamber Hall Garden to the north, all filled with coral and California pepper trees, birds-of-paradise, Matilija poppies, and bougainvilleas.

A companion article by Kurt Forster richly elaborates upon the imagery and significance of Gehry's Disney Hall design, so little needs to be said here, except to underscore the fact that Gehry's forms evoke multiple associations that range from mimetic images, to playscapes, to the industrial vernacular of Los Angeles. These qualities of Gehry's architecture were all orchestrated in his public conservatory where "a forest of great columms" spread their branches with the wonder and technological directness of Aalto's splendid roof braces at Säynätsalo. Gehry's design could coexist with the most noble of monuments or the most desolate parking lots. The two music halls and intermediate foyer held everything in balance. Wrapped in gardens and radiating its imagery across the plaza and streets in ever larger paved waves of French limestone, Gehry's was a composition that embraced many different idioms and allowed both familiar and exotic shapes and structures to live an invigorated existence.

The Concert Hall

A profound dilemma confronts any architect responding to a program brief that calls for a concert hall that must not only represent "universal principles expressed in fresh aesthetic language" but also be an "instrument of sound". There was an inherent paradox in the charge to design a "unique building... of great inspiration" and the stipulation that "the acoustical concept... will generate the parameters of the building configuration." What weight should be given to each demand? Two obvious strategies were possible in the

short timespan of the competition: (1) to focus primary attention on the large concert hall that formed the nucleus of the commission or (2) to concentrate on the more encompassing issues of parti, context, image, and functional requirements of the program, while allowing the concert hall to take a more generalized form. The second alternative was chancy, but it recognized that the real design of the hall would occur only after the competition, when the clients would appoint an acoustician to the design team. Stirling and Hollein appear not only to have chosen the first alternative but also have taken high risks in the architecture-versus-acoustics dilemma. They were willing to hazard the potentially conservative reactions of acousticians and musicians, who are dependent on experience and cautious about the predictive powers of acoustical "science." Böhm and Gehry took the second path.

Yet, no matter which of the two paths he took, each participant had to demonstrate to the clients and their acoustical consultant that his approach would be sympathetic to the concern that "there should not be a single bad seat in the hall." Halls with superb acoustics do exist, and four were named as exemplars in the program: three classic "shoeboxes" and the adventurous Berlin Philharmonie. But because the program also asked that "audience seating... be subdivided into separate groups of seats... to provide greater intimacy between the audience and the performers" and that "the entire audience feel united," it seemed to premiate the Philharmonie over the shoebox solution or suggest that the architects take their chances with jeopardous centralized planning. In regard to the design of the concert hall, then, the participants divided differently. Böhm and Stirling designed more centralized halls, while Gehry and Hollein turned to the configuration of the Philharmonie.

Böhm's concert hall was the least developed in the competition. Although it was the culminating element of his parti, he conceived it as a compositional and structural microcosm of his whole design, rather than as the generating nucleus. Thus, Böhm's hall can be understood only in terms of that whole. Like a hot-air balloon moored to guy wires and stakes, Böhm's dome rises above the four piers at its base and the six octagonal towers that surround it. The towers support a double-loaded ring corridor of offices, servant spaces, and roof gardens that encircle the dome in a horseshoe shape. This collar extends across Grand Street in two bridges at First and Second streets and, like a boomerang, thrusts the buoyant dome back toward Bunker Hill and the triad of Böhm's office towers on axis to the east. The dome's open, cagelike structure not only invited visitors to move along vertical, horizontal, and diagonal tracks created by rings, balconies, stair wells, ramps, elevator shafts, and escalators but also made their movements visible from within *and* without both during the day and at night. Böhm had launched the idea of the floating vertical "climable sculpture" with a glazed double skin in his unsuccessful competition project for the Museum of Modern Art in Hamburg, which he conceived as a turreted tower.

If the most immediate associations of Böhm's design are with festival pavilions, its "deep structure" seems linked to his lifelong fascination with devotional space. Indeed, the real parti — nowhere acknowledged in his narrative — is that of a late Twentieth-century pilgrimage church. His urban mall to the east forms the nave, his domed pavilion marks the crossing, and the Concert Hall (beneath the Grand Reception Hall) is the sanctuary; actually, it is like a medieval "double church" with a hall crypt for pre-concert events and an elevated chancel. This sanctuary is flanked by two transept chapels (the Chamber Hall and the Founders' Room) and served by a series of radiating chapels for "clergy" and "pilgrims" in the elevated ring structure. The drammatic renderings of the exterior reveal a form that clearly resembles structural diagrams of Renaissance or Baroque domes — like significant precursor by Brunelleschi and Michelangelo that are supported by pendentives and columns and have double shell structures, which visitors may explore. In a similar fashion, Böhm's sections suggest the interior effects of San Vitale in Ravenna, where the play of square and octagonal elements is mediated by semicircular apses through which space flows out from the center.

These are elements that recur in Böhm's plans for the Concert Hall, and they are drawn from a long line of ecclesiastical experiments by Böhm's father (Riehl, Cologne) and continued in his own work (Cochem-Sehl, Soest, Kalscheuren). As he noted, "What fascinated me was how richly one could articulate space with weblike constructions." The shared ground between Böhm's ecclesiastical and industrial imagery for Disney Hall lies in mid nineteenth-century neo-gothic structural rationalism and, more specifically, in Viollet-le-Duc's designs for concert halls and the Crystal Palace in London, where concerts attended by tens of thousands were held.

Böhm's concert hall duplicates at a smaller scale the structure of the cupola. He devised the hall as an elevated volume with a centralized plan, which is supported above the pre-concert amphitheater on four piers that penetrate the center of its elliptical section — a flying-saucer shape. The piers are joined by catwalks and, above them, by trusses that support two levels of reception halls, only one of which is indicated clearly in section. Like the piers at the crossing of a centralized church, the piers in the hall define a core, and they seem to support the tiers of seats, which are disposed in trapezoidal and triangular loggias that rise away from the core in what Böhm termed a "logarithmic spiral curve." He described the geometries of these loggias, which are generated by the need for acoustical reflection walls, as "flowerlike in form." The seating areas, however, occupy less than half the hall's total height, which is not calculated to meet acoustical requirements but is driven by Böhm's need to elevate balconies and reception spaces to fill his cupola.

Because Böhm made largely impressionistic perspectives of his concert hall and included discrepancies in the plans and sections, one looks to others of his design for more information. Unfortunately, they yield little more than his sketches of 1974 for the Bundestag Assembly Chamber in Bonn, in which he experimented with a centralized hall that is similar in section. His description of the materials and decorations of Disney Hall is also generalized but makes allusions to wood, ceramic tiles, and fresco wall paintings that would probably have generated an image more functional than luxurious. His other auditoriums (the Rathaus and Kulturzentrum at Bucholt and Bürgerhaus at Bergisch-Gladbach) often resemble multi-purpose halls like gymnasiums with exposed steel, ceramic tile, and other sturdy institutional materials. In design, materials, and ideological disposition, Hertman Hertzberger's Muziekzentrum in Vredenburg of 1977 might represent a contemporary analogue to Böhm's entry. Embedded in shops and restaurants at the core of a non-elitist entertainment center, Hertzberger's hall, with its exposed structural elements, had a democratic and populist flavor. Such was the alternative that Böhm suggested for the Disney Hall, but it failed to win acceptance.

Stirling also chose a centralized plan for his concert hall, to which he devoted singular attention in his competition entry, creating a hall generated by geometry, structural engineering, and acoustics. As we have noted, his parti created a strong hierarchy of functional elements. The cylindrical shape of the concert hall provided — as a Stuttgart and Monheim — a dramatic single image for the building. Subordinate to the concert hall were the U-shaped "domestic villa," which was packed with programmed functional spaces, and the smaller pavilions, such as the chamber hall and those on First Street. The hierarchy was reinforced by the choice of materials: the concert hall might, like Isozaki's MOCA Stirling and Wilford suggested, be executed in red sandstone with large areas of glass framed in bronze; in contrast, the "villa" and the First Street pavilions were to be beige- or ochre-colored stucco. From the street, the hall's glazed curtain wall gave views of concertgoers moving on the "flying" escalators that activated the foyer and on the columned ring balconies that circled the upper levels of the hall. But the real drama and dynamism of Stirling's structural ingenuity were perceived only from inside the foyer. Here the visitor gazed up at the suspended concert hall, which was hung like a sling or a cradle from three triangulated vertical circulation cores and which was fed by radial spokes from the peripheral reinforced concrete, duodecimal-shaped ring balconies that were also supported by the cores.

However, the space around the cradled hall — and whitin the cylinder — did not stand in isolation. The foyer flowed into the spaces between the cylinder and the villa (to the south), around the bars and lounges beneath the chamber hall (to the west), and among the three smallest pavilions (to the north). Stirling's placement of the pre-concert theater in the open residual space between the curved hall and the rectilinear villa and chamber hall was another masterful stroke of three-dimensional excitement. But the other in-between spaces remained merely zones of passage, rather than places where programmed activities could find special expression. In contrast to Hollein who — like Corbu at the Chandigarh Assembly before him — took advantage of every such space, Stirling seemed unsure of how much identity he could give them without disturbing the play of discrete shapes that was the basis of his formal composition. Providing a solution for the treatment of these residual areas clearly represented the contemporary classicist's dilemma: the difficulty of forging unities when most programs demand a multiplicity of parts as well as complexity in adjacencies. Stirling appeared not to have struggled enough with the practical problems of the program, notably with the quality, character, and functional nature of the spatial adjacencies required by the musicians. Their needs were too often relegated to the more standardized spaces in the villa. Stirling's concert hall, however, was the heroic product of brilliant invention and intense effort.

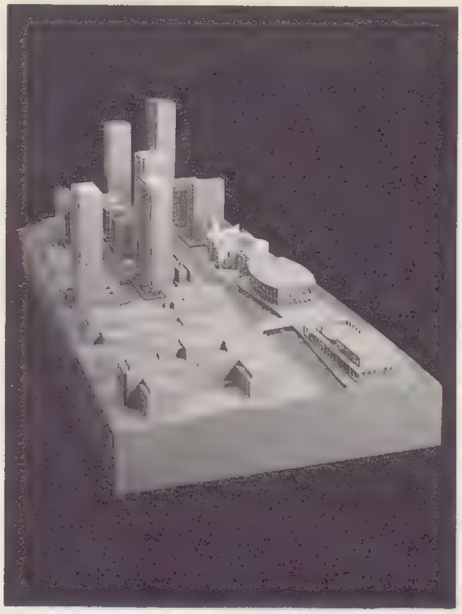
The "snowflake," as Stirling and Wilford referred to the concert hall's form, displayed acoustically-inspired concentric geometries. Its interior was radically different in effect from Böhm's amphitheater and had some resemblances to St. David's Hall in Cardiff (J. Seymour Harris Partnership). Although described as "intimate and restful," the interior gained real vigor from the plasticity of the balcony trays that took a variety of strong shapes (squares, trapezoids, parallelograms, bastionated polygons, and fans). These interlocked to compose what resembles a crystalline solid or a form viewed through a kaleidoscope. The tiers of seats alternated among perspectively recessive volumes — given shape by the geometries of their rear walls — and projecting masses, defined by the supporting walls beneath them. Only the upper tier of balconies had any overhang, but they slid gently forward in alternating bays and had curved undersides and thin lips to soften the transition to the ceiling. The in-out movements of these variously shaped and interlocking platforms evoked not only the functionally determined geometries of fortifications but also the strong and aberrantly wiful geometries of early Stirling, as at Leicester or the Cambridge History Faculty Building. Of course, the geometries would have been softened by their treatment in "high quality natural materials (timber, plaster, brass, plush etc.) [that] would provide warm tactile surfaces." The concert hall clearly represented Stirling's and Wilford's search for new possibilities within the formalist mode of recent years. It was a design that did not abandon Stirling's earlier work but returned to it for solutions that moved the work forward. The links between structure, geometry, and irregularly shaped interior volumes in the concert hall were crucial advances in the oeuvre of Stirling and Wilford. But the concert hall alone was unable to win them the competition. More than any other competitor, Gehry let the mass of his

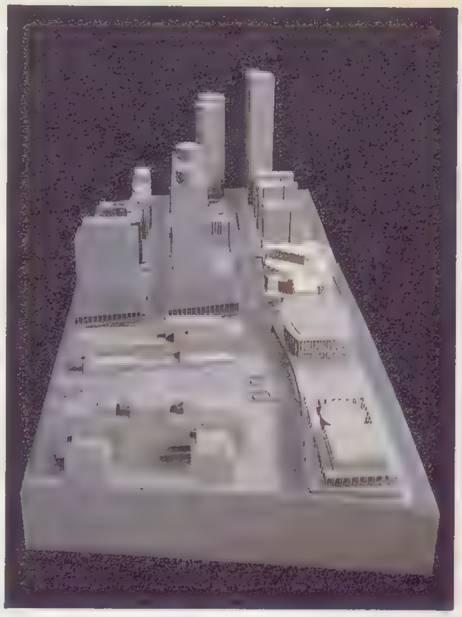
concert hall generate the whole composition and speak directly across the site to the Chandler Pavilion. The exterior shell encased a hall modeled after Hans Scharoun's Philharmonie — a successful shape for audience-orchestra interactions and one with proven acoustical properties. Gehry incorporated the expressionistic, aerodynamically engineered forms of Scharoun's work: "a bird of the imagination," Kurt Forster notes, "that has had its wings clipped." But Gehry's plan of the upper concourse shows how he let the wings stretch out again in full flight. Even more in Gehry's work than in Scharoun's, one feels the importance of an abstracted but still figural imagery: rays from above or other fish in profile, the latter reflected in the finlike seating sections that sweep from the stage toward the back, rather than toward the sides.

However, Gehry's design departed decisively from the Berlin Philhamornie in its massing, which was generated from reflections of the principal seating and performance areas. In two stepped and splayed masses at the base, which suggest the centrifugal broadcasting of the sounds from the stage, Gehry expressed the lateral offstage flow of musicians below and the lateral finlike trays of seating above. Atop these, Gehry placed another vectorial mass that reflected the two upper trays of seats, which clefted at the center to produce reflection walls and a service core. He crowned the whole with a small mass that revealed the musicians' platform and the seats in front of it. And from the foyer, the entire configuration suggested movement to the stage.

The character of Gehry's concert hall also departed significantly from Scharoun's in the nature of its materials and surfaces, which he described in terms of their splendor and softness. The exterior of the concert hall was to be "French limestone... sculpted with simple curved forms to express the sensuousity of the stone," and the interior would evoke "with the introduction of columns... a feeling of elegant classical European halls... Rich wood on the walls [would] catch the light... [and] tapestry-like fabrics might cover the seats in a floral pattern to suggest a metaphysical garden." Finally, "diffuser 'clouds' [would hang] above the orchestra as crystalline 'shell-like' forms creating a giant functional chandelier." The last details, of course, invoke comparison with the translucent, scaled surfaces of Gehry's fish sculptures. There is nothing ordinary in these decorative forms, and they softened and transformed the angular shapes and unrelieved surfaces of Scharoun's volumes. Gehry's concert hall interior was a warm and even glowing enclosure, which visually encouraged a profound exchange between musicians and audience.

As Forster notes, there is something aquatic about Gehry's interior. Yet it is also a primal and hermetic space. The sources were not made explicit, but there is something "Egyptian" in this sealed and rounded temple with its hypostyle hall, lotus columns, and mastaba. Viewed from above, the Egyptian qualities seem hauntingly embedded in the masses — like some highly abstracted image of





Hans Hollein, view of the model on Hope Street.
James Stirling and Michael Wilford, view of the model on Hope Street.

Tutankhamen, which both protects and unifies. Perhaps it was the sculptor in Gehry that led him to concentrate on the hall's imagery, exterior massing, and internal articulation, rather than on its acoustical shape. The sculptural elements of the columns, translucent ceiling, and floral imagery might survive all future changes in the hall's design and, therefore, are an important component in Gehry's competition strategy.

In his competition narrative, Hollein acknowledged that the concert hall was the generative force of his composition. He searched for a unique expression that would differentiate it from all others and "be a step into the twenty-first century." It was to be a "space suggesting the complex but fraternal relationship of people of all backgrounds coming together in the enjoyment of music... People will be able to both identify with the concert hall as a hall but also with the character of the particular space they are in... The general mood of the room, the atmosphere, is light, exuberant, joyful, with a touch of distinction and splendor." The Disney Hall competition commission gave Hollein the opportunity to return to cherished ideas about auditorium design, which he had begun to explore as early as 1963 in a theater for Washington University. And he made the quarter-century link between the two programs explicit by reproducing the earlier project in his competion narrative. It had been envisioned as a freestanding sculptural mass with projecting trapezoidal volumes that housed audience seating or, conversely, small stages. In plan, it derived from Alvar Aalto, but as a form in space it contained all the explosive power of a Franz Kline painting. For Disney Hall, Hollein tamed the sculptural qualities of the Washington University design with more restful and protective ovoid forms. Drawing on his earlier experiment, Hollein's concert hall was spatially and iconographically the most ambitious in the competition.

The design was irregular and asymmetrical on every axis. In plan, Hollein began with an elliptical stage area at the core and distributed a primary set of seats in concentric waves around it. The resulting configuration was that of a coliseum, in which fifty-four percent of the seats were within twelve meters of the stage. This Coliseum shape, however, existed only in plan because the tiers of seats followed different slopes within distinctly shaped sections, which were mediated by lateral reflection walls for acoustical considerations. It is in the distribution and iconography of the seating areas that the resourcefulness of Hollein's imagination is revealed with most forcefully. The premier section was a rectangular axial extension of the seats immediately in front of the stage. By means of plan overlays, Hollein based the stage-to-audience dimensions of this area on those of the Grosser Musikvereinssaal in Vienna, which the program heralded as an exemplar. In reality, however, Hollein's two rear banks of seats had an asymetrical, convergent relationship that owed more to Alvar Aalto's Opernhaus in Essen than to classical shoeboxes.

To either side of this "traditional" axis, Hollein grouped various sections of seats, each of which was given specific character through its shape, incline, and reflection walls. Toward Grand Avenue, he disposed a series of small, staggered, fan-shaped terraces, which provided the most intimate groupings in the hall. Toward Hope Street, he created a womblike elliptical hall that was based on the horseshoe configurations of baroque theaters. This theater-in-miniature was the most aristocratic section in decor, for it was crowned by a backlighted exedral "Oscar" gallery — a Los Angeles variation on the caryatids of the Goldener Saal in Vienna. It was also the most private area due to the closure provided by the wedge of an intervening reflection wall. Although many of the seats in this section faced the side of the stage, their exclusivity and aristocratic iconography might have made them unusually desiderable. Diagonally across the hall, Hollein developed a different iconography, that of a raised Greek amphitheater. Like the miniature baroque theater, it was crowned by a backlighted colonnade and had less-than-ideal seats that faced the side and rear of the orchestra. It was perhaps appropriate, then, that above and adjacent to this populist and democratic space Hollein placed a bust of Walt Disney, looking toward the remaining two, even less desirable, sections, which were disposed like simple bleachers. The dramatically massed volumes of the concert hall provided for the clear expression of its parts, but Hollein always allowed those parts to belong to the greater whole — just as he enabled the audience to move toward the stage from any seat. There is no doubt that, in the spirit of the Berlin Philharmonie, Hollein's concert hall achieved a bold new expression in design, but it perhaps terrified some members of the committee because of its acoustical "unknowns".

If the concert hall was the most arresting and powerful element in Hollein's design, it was not his only achievement. He took advantage of the richly varied shapes at different levels beneath the sections of seats to house special programmatic spaces (Founder's Room, Green Room, Music Director's Suite), which he brought together through interlocking, sinuous, attenuated S-scrolls that were similar to those he used at the Austrian Travel Agency at Opernringhoff (Vienna). Thus, he wrapped the hall with programmatic elememts to create exciting patterns of circulation and insulate the hall from ambient noise. The wrapping gave desirable exterior views to those who used the privileged programmatic spaces, but, of course, these rooms also buried the shape of the hall and did not allow its clear sculptural expression either internally or externally. If Hollein had strong ideas about the configuration of his hall, he was more tentative about "the relationships of the other parts of the building [which] are variable." In the competition drawings, he illustrated four variant partis (schemes B, C, F, and H), which he had presented at the mid-term competition review, as well as a new alternative study. Undoubtedly, his strategy was to show his flexibility, versatility, and willingness to work with the clients on the

most appropriate configuration, but perhaps the committee perceived Hollein as indecisive. On the other hand, Hollein might have felt that it was important to expose some of the ambiguities inherent in the program.
Interestingly, one of Hollein's partis was quite similar in plan to Gehry's winning entry; it had two diagonally disposed elementary forms, which were balanced across an enclosed garden. But it was this spare parti that Hollein abandoned most readily in favor of denser and more complex arrangements. Ironically, if the overall intricacy of Hollein's entry might have worried some, the parti also had plain elements that must have been troublesome to those who embraced complexity with greater ease. The axial spine that processionally linked the concert halls to the Chandler Pavilion contained large basical spaces, namely the Grand Reception Hall on the piano nobile and a low and uninspiring entry passage at ground level. There was, perhaps, too much of this preamble.
In conclusion, then, Hollein and Gehry followed opposite strategies. Gehry invested his energy in the larger issues that would engage everyone on the committee and let the controversial hall await the acousticians. Hollein, on the other hand, concentrated his efforts on a very daring and complicated hall but was vague about the final parti for the whole. Gehry's composition, and perhaps his strategy too, won him the competition. But in the end, who knows, perhaps he will have to begin anew at both ends of the spectrum.

The competition for the 'Walt Disney' Concert Hall in Los Angeles
1988

Gottfried Böhm

with Stefan Böhm, Markku Kari, Günther Kaesbach, Hubert Grothues, Federico Valda

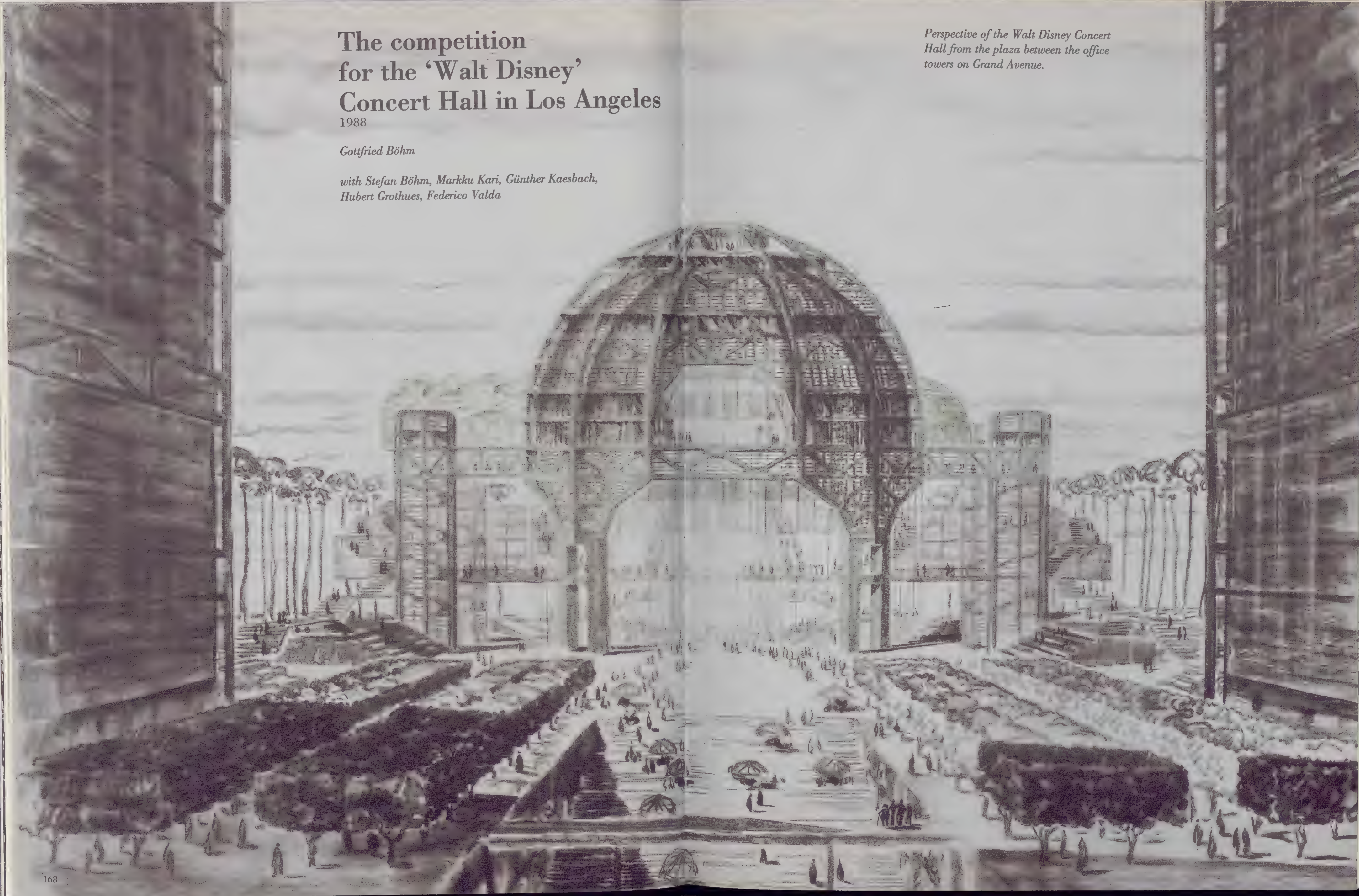


Perspective of the Walt Disney Concert Hall from the plaza between the office towers on Grand Avenue.

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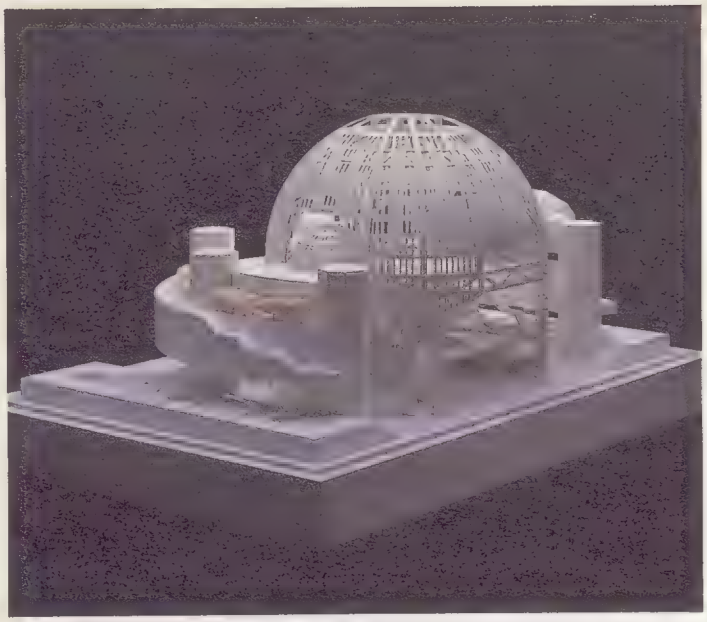
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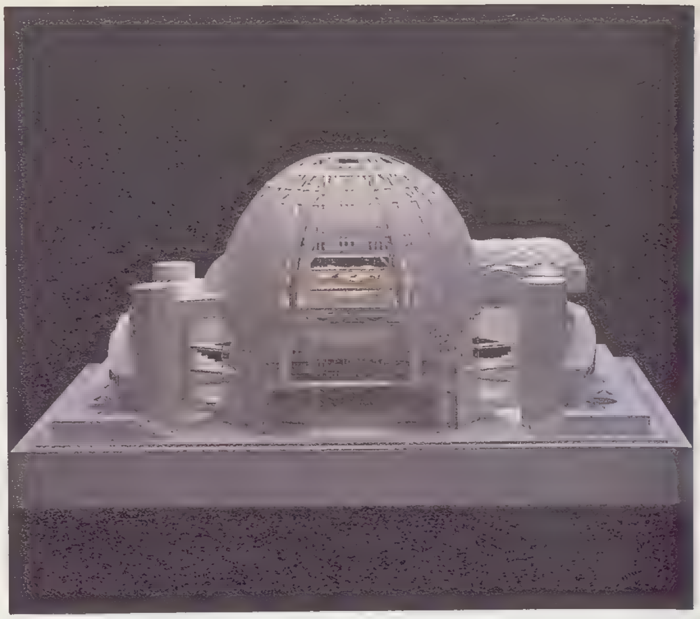
Project for the Walt Disney Concert Hall
Gottfried Böhm

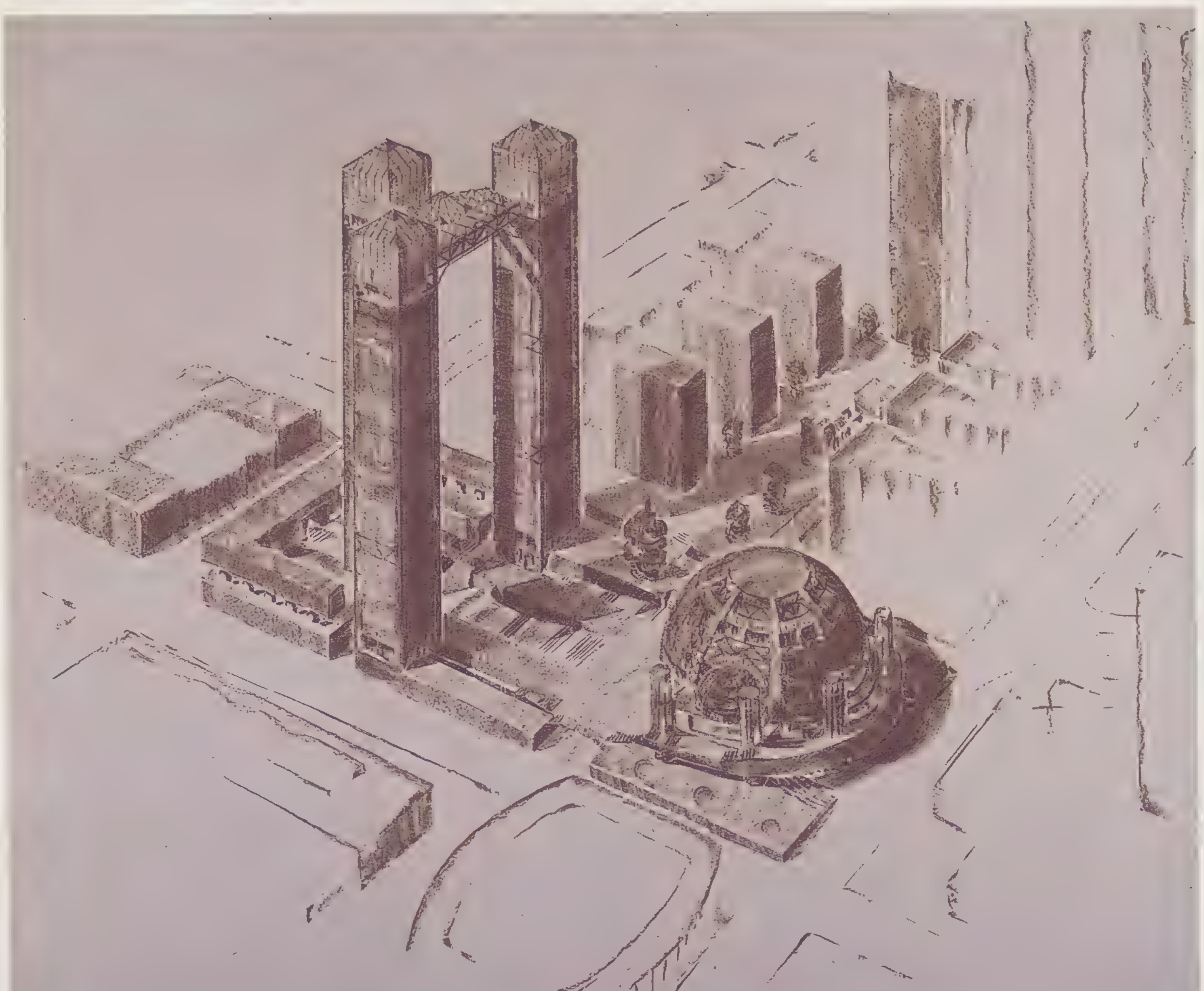
View of the model of the urban siting.

Urban context
It is extremely challenging and exciting to design a Music Hall for Los Angeles, a city rapidly developing into the most important financial center of the world, a city with hope and enormous potential, a concentration of energy, tireless effort and creativity, of diverse cultures and people coming together here from all over the world. We let this spirit shape our concept and weave together the diverse functions and specific needs of the Walt Disney Concert Hall and the urban situation in order to create a vital center for culture, a universe of music and creativity filled with life.
The Walt Disney Concert Hall complex, its architecture and form expressing unity and the extraordinary, is the culmination point of two urban plazas linking the cultural and the civic facilities with the financial and business districts of the city. The urban concept defines an area in the heart of the city attracting the human interaction and enhancing the cultural life.
A plaza, defined by the Walt Disney Concert Hall complex and the three office towers, gives the Walt Disney Concert Hall the prominence it deserves. Its dominance is enhanced by the new promenade and streets which follow the natural topography rising towards Grand Avenue and culminating in the Walt Disney Concert Hall. The promenade and streets, starting at the plaza level, cut themselves into its surface and cascade down to Hill Street creating smaller plazas at various levels as well as spaces for retail, offices and cultural facilities.
The three towers, seen from afar, constitute a dominant marker for the entire cultural complex on Bunker Hill. The various cultural activities on Bunker Hill are linked together by a pedestrian mall, the "Cultural Corridor" along Grand Avenue, created by locating the buildings of California Plaza Housing perpendicular to Olive Street. Together with the Goldrich and Kest Housing they define a continuous urban space connecting California Plaza, the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Walt Disney Concert Hall, the Music Center and the Civic Mall. The "Cultural Corridor" can contain several new cultural facilities. If desired, this concept would also allow more volume to be built at the California Plaza Housing Complex than projected and it would impact less the Angeles Plaza Housing.
The roof gardens on the ring structure constitute an extension of the public plazas and an attractive walk with sights around the Walt Disney Concert Hall. These terraces, also connected to the grand reception areas and set 80 feet above Grand Avenue, can be reached by gently rising stairs from the plazas and through the restaurant tower at the pivot of the "Cultural Corridor" and the promenade.
The main pedestrian and vehicular access to the Walt Disney Concert Hall is from Grand Avenue, the one way street around the cupola is used for drop off and to access the offices located at the entry level, the founders facilities







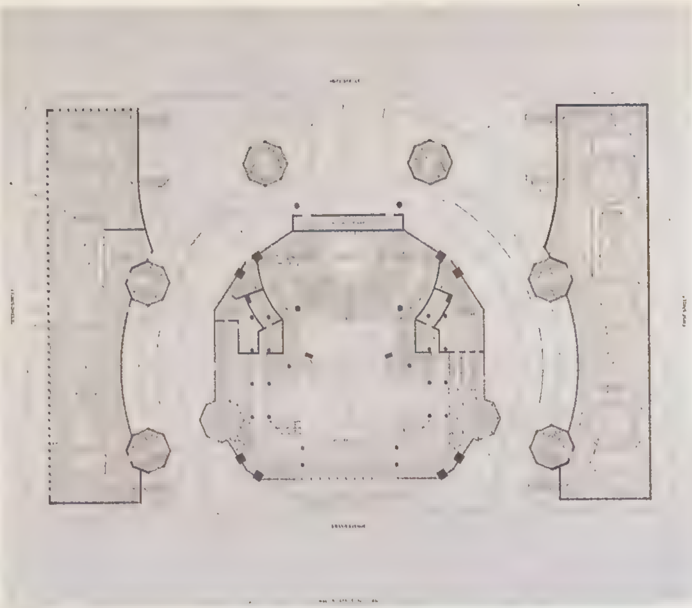

WALT DISNEY CONCERT HALL
PERSPECTIVE

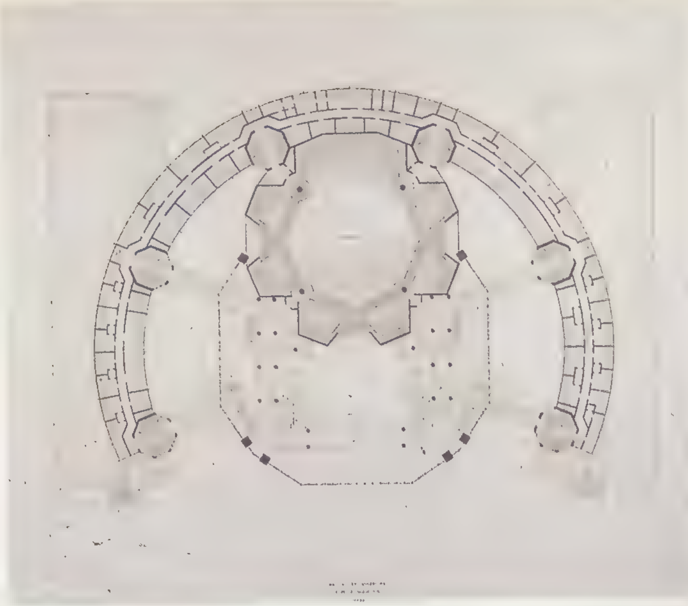
Views of the model.
Perspective of the complex with the Walt Disney Concert Hall, the office towers and the planned buildings for the modification of the block between Olive Street and Grand Avenue.
In the following pages:
Floor plans of the reception level, the Concert Hall, the foyer and the Chamber Music Hall.
Plans of the Concert Hall at stalls and galleries levels.
Concert Hall rendering.
Section of the Concert Hall.

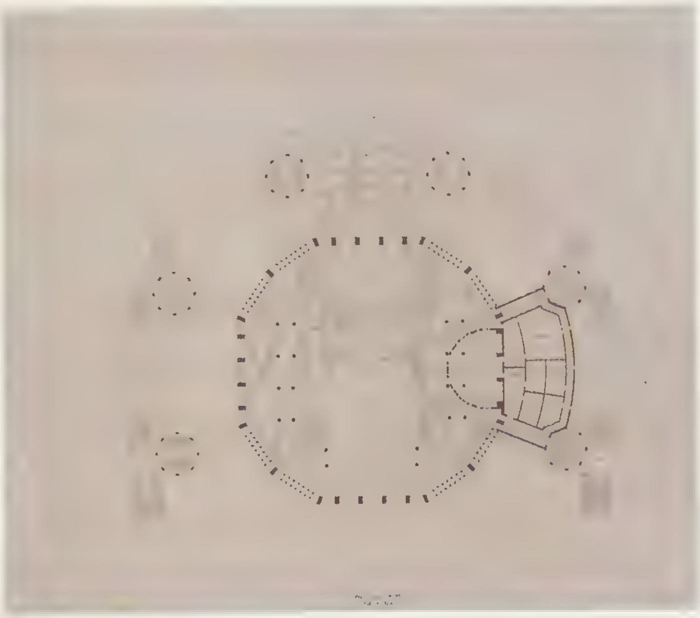
and the artists' entrance. The vehicular entrance and exit to the garages below can be taken from second street and/or from the extension of the lower Grand Avenue. A secondary entrance is proposed to be from the street around the cupola. The garages can be accessed by pedestrians via the stair towers around the cupola and directly from the new promenade. The access to the Walt Disney Concert Hall complex through the stair towers shall be controlled.
The loading dock is located at the southwest corner of lot K below the offices. It's entrance from 2nd Street as well as exit to Hope Street are at the same elevation as the loading area.

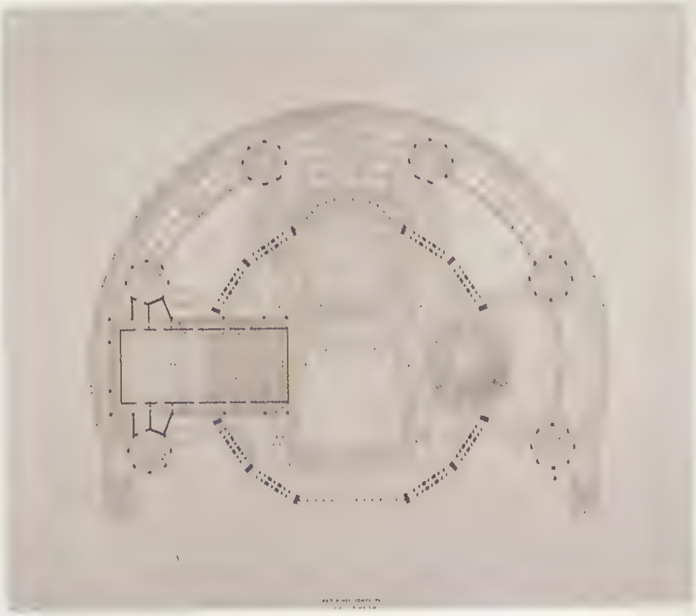
The Hall
The form of the hall has developed from joining together the auditoriums and the other functions in a large common hall which is like architectural music where each instrument has its own specific character. The various levels within the impressive hall offer exceptional and extraordinary possibilities for having a multitude of events, concerts and other cultural functions taking place in the major cultural center of the city, if not of the world.
The cupola, the envelope of the hall, consists of two shells articulated by structural ribs and glazed, open and opaque surfaces. At the exterior and between the shells there are balconies and stairs leading all the way to the top of the cupola. The strucuture is made of reinforced concrete. The main exterior materials are ceramic tile, glass block and glass.
The design of the auditoriums is derived from maximizing the acoustical potential of these spaces. The Concert Hall is designed as one space, flowerlike in form and richly articulated. The hall is subdivided into smaller areas for acoustical reasons as well as to enhance the intimacy of the seating arrangement. Frescoes and wall paintings will complete the composition of the space.
The Chamber Music Hall is a musical instrument, enclosed by a multi faceted closed shell furthering the acoustics by its many prismatic broken surfaces which give an impression of a valuable jewel.
The founders room shall radiate the nobility and subtlety inherent to its character. The grand reception on top of the Concert Hall, freely open under the cupola is the culmination of the foyer spaces. It has direct access to the roof gardens on the ring structure. Under the arched opening is an additional level above the reception which can also serve as a stage.
The ring structure contains the functional groups H and K as well as the main catering facilities near the reception area. The spaces for foyer services are located adjacent to the Concert Hall, the founders facilities and the Chamber Music Hall.

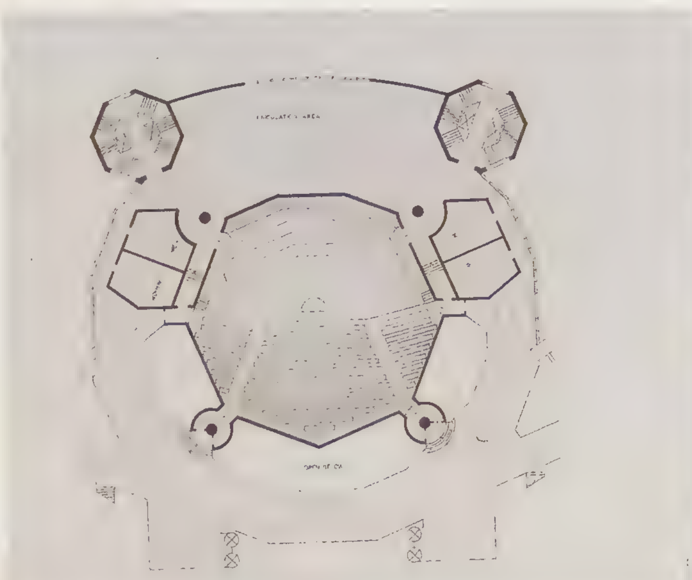
Circulation
The entrance hall, flanked by the two story volumes at each side containing the café/bar, the box offices and the gift

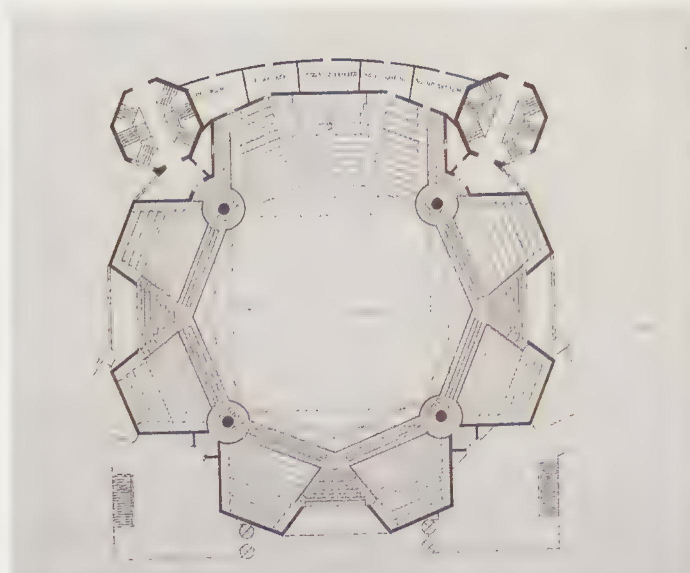


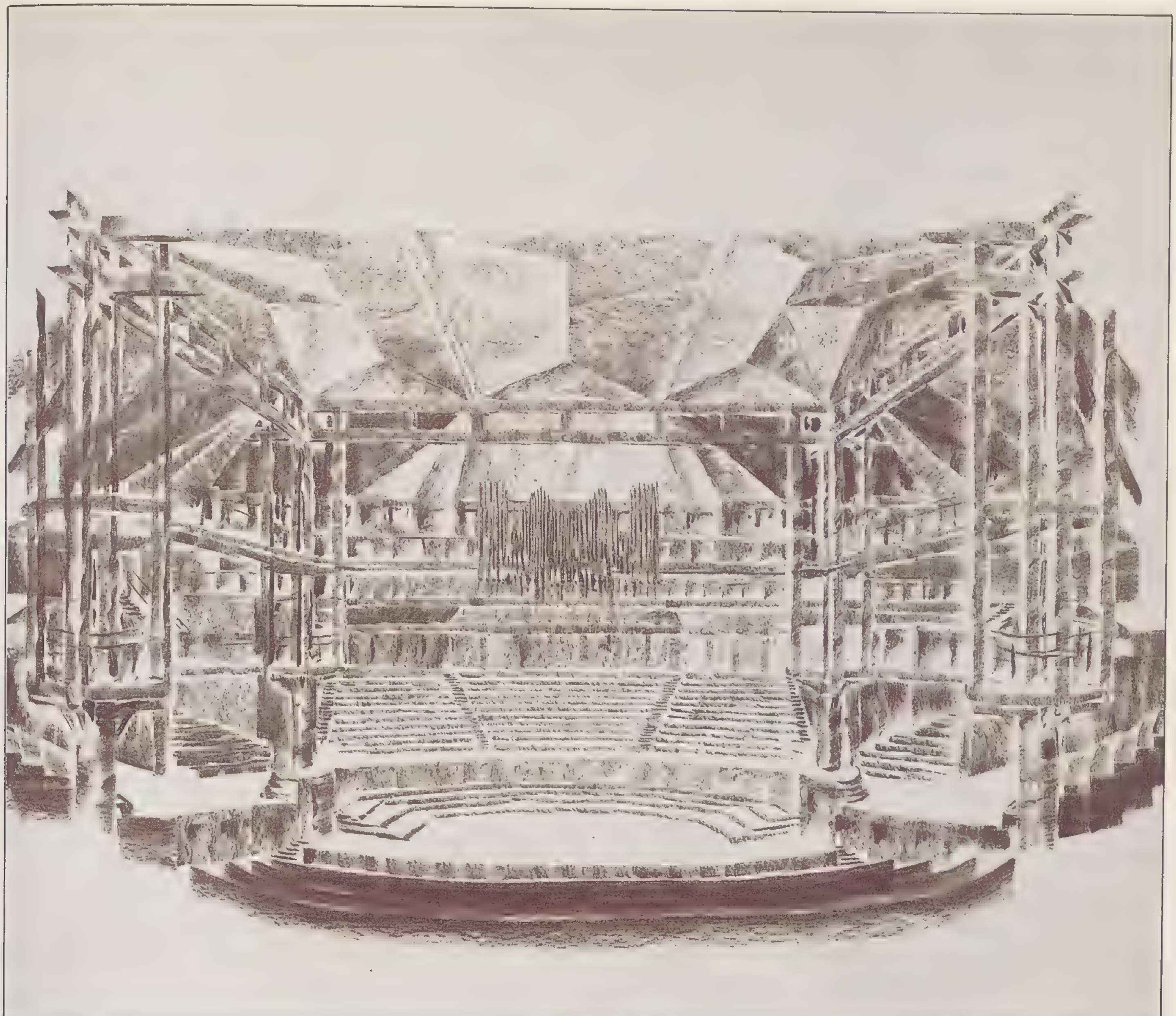


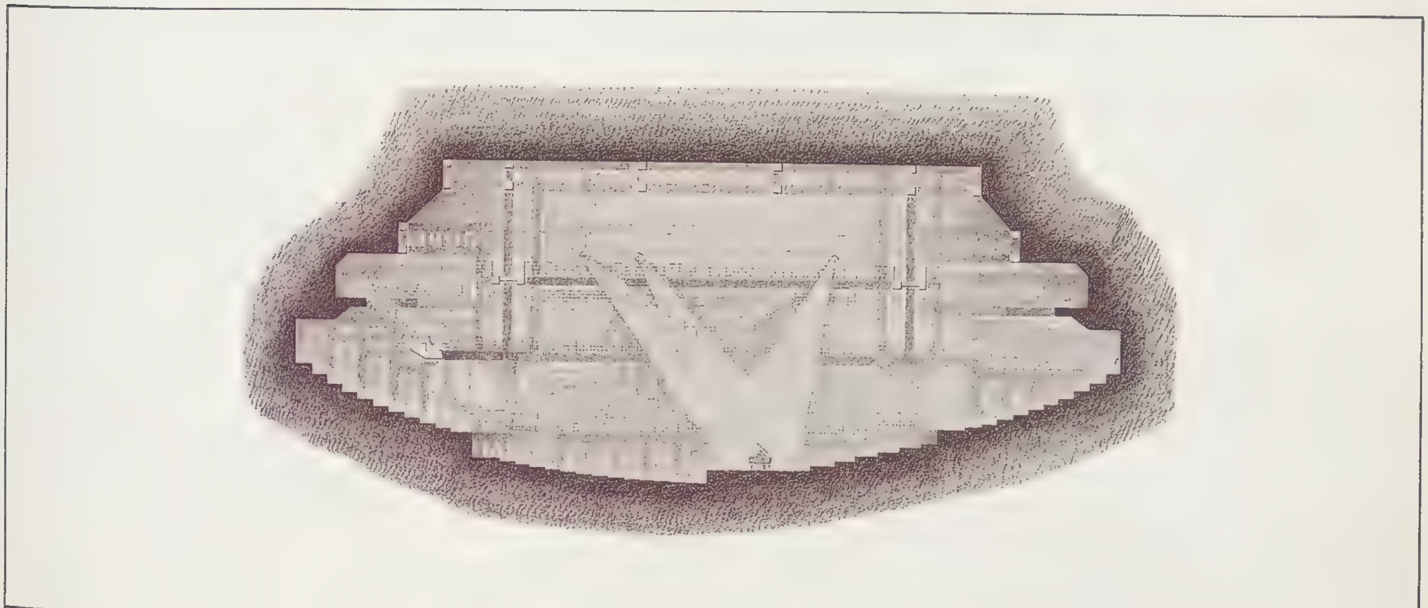





LEVEL 1 +26.66


LEVEL 3





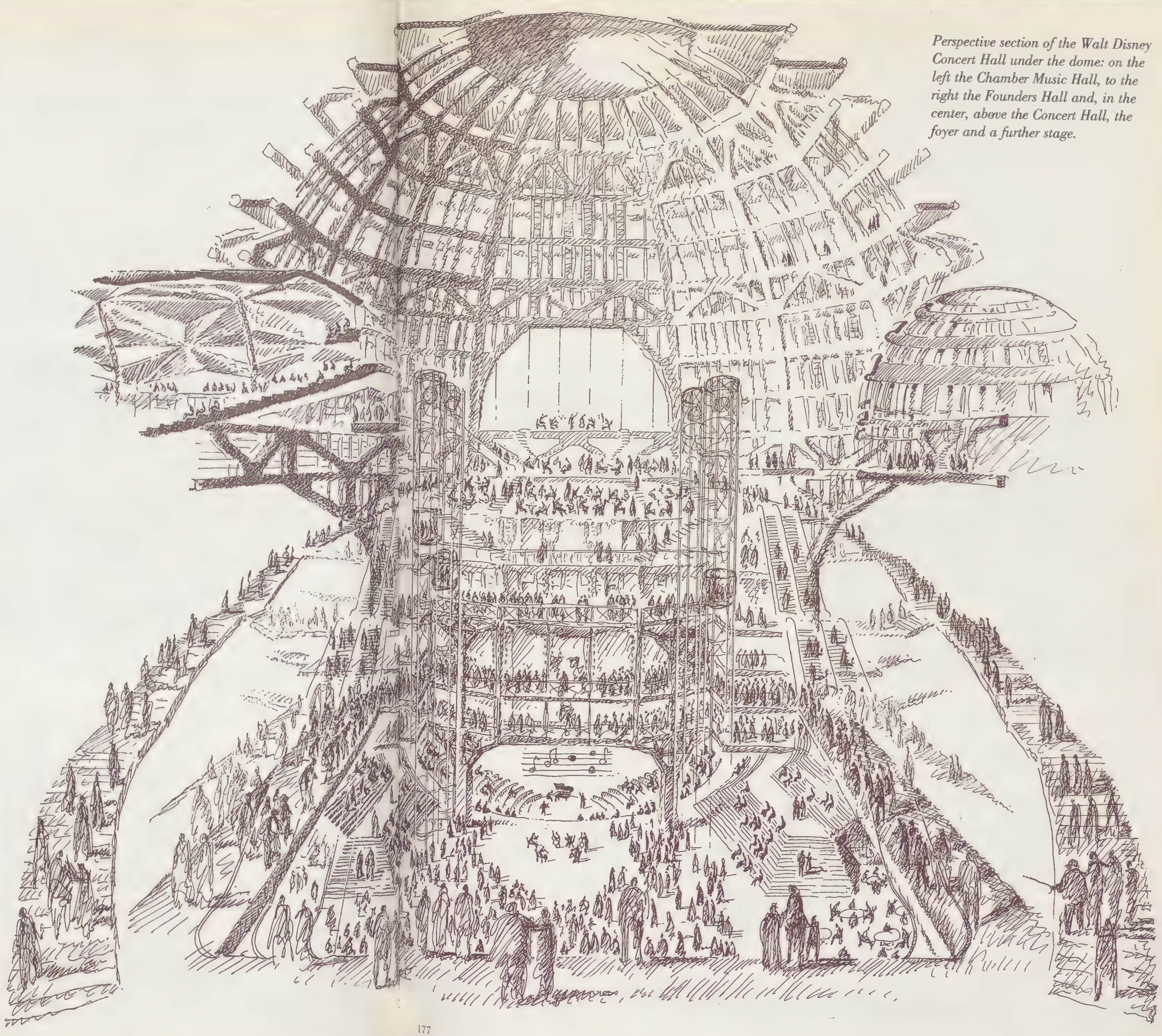
shop, widens into an amphitheater for the pre-concert events. The steps of the amphitheater combined with the monumental stair rise to the plaza level and from here the stair continues to the entry level of the Concert Hall 27 feet above Grand Avenue. The foyer at the second level of the Concert Hall extends from the hall to the front of the cupola, gently rising stairs along the perimeter of the cupola lead from here to the grand reception area on top of the Concert Hall. The founders' facilities are located at the same elevation as the grand reception. The Chamber Music Hall is located 13 feet higher and opposite to the founders facilities.
The escalators constitute the primary circulation system connecting all the main levels: entry, plaza, first and second levels of the Concert Hall, two levels of the reception area, the founders room and the Chamber Music Hall. Every floor in the complex can be reached by stairs and by glazed elevators.

Fire Safety

(...) An area corresponding to approximately 40% (or as required) of the area defined by the circumference of the cupola will be capable of opening in case of fire whereby the open cupola will become an "open court", i.e. smoke and heat will escape freely into open air. This can be achieved by providing enough glazed openings and/or operable panels in the skin of the cupola.
The cupola is surrounded by six egress towers also serving the ring structure. All levels of the foyer are connected to the stairs with open bridges. Both music halls as well as the founders facilities exit directly to two stair towers each. (...)

Acoustical Concept for the Concert Hall

1. Appropriate Reverberation Time: The net volume of the hall is approximately 888000 cu. ft. (24000 m^3) resulting in a volume of 355 cu. ft. (9.6 m^3) per person. According to an expert opinion the wooden floor and soft upholstered seating would provide a sufficient absorbtion due to the volume of the hall. Non-absorbing materials for walls and ceiling would therefore be beneficial for the room acoustics. Wood panelling would be incorporated conforming to the acoustical requirements.
2. Direct Sound: The central location of the orchestra in the auditorium is ideal for an even distribution of the direct sound, as well as to minimize the distance to the farthest seat which in the present concept measures 80 feet away from the stage. The rising floor conforms to a logarithmic spiral curve.
3. Reflected Sound: The seating is divided in several groups: main floor; six main loges, three balconies and bridges. In order to achieve strong early (lateral) reflections each of these groups is enclosed by walls sufficiently tall located to direct the sound evenly to all seats and/or the sound is reflected by the, in essence flat, horizontal ceiling. The balustrades of the bridges can be solid to increase the amount of reflective surfaces. If required, acoustical "sails"

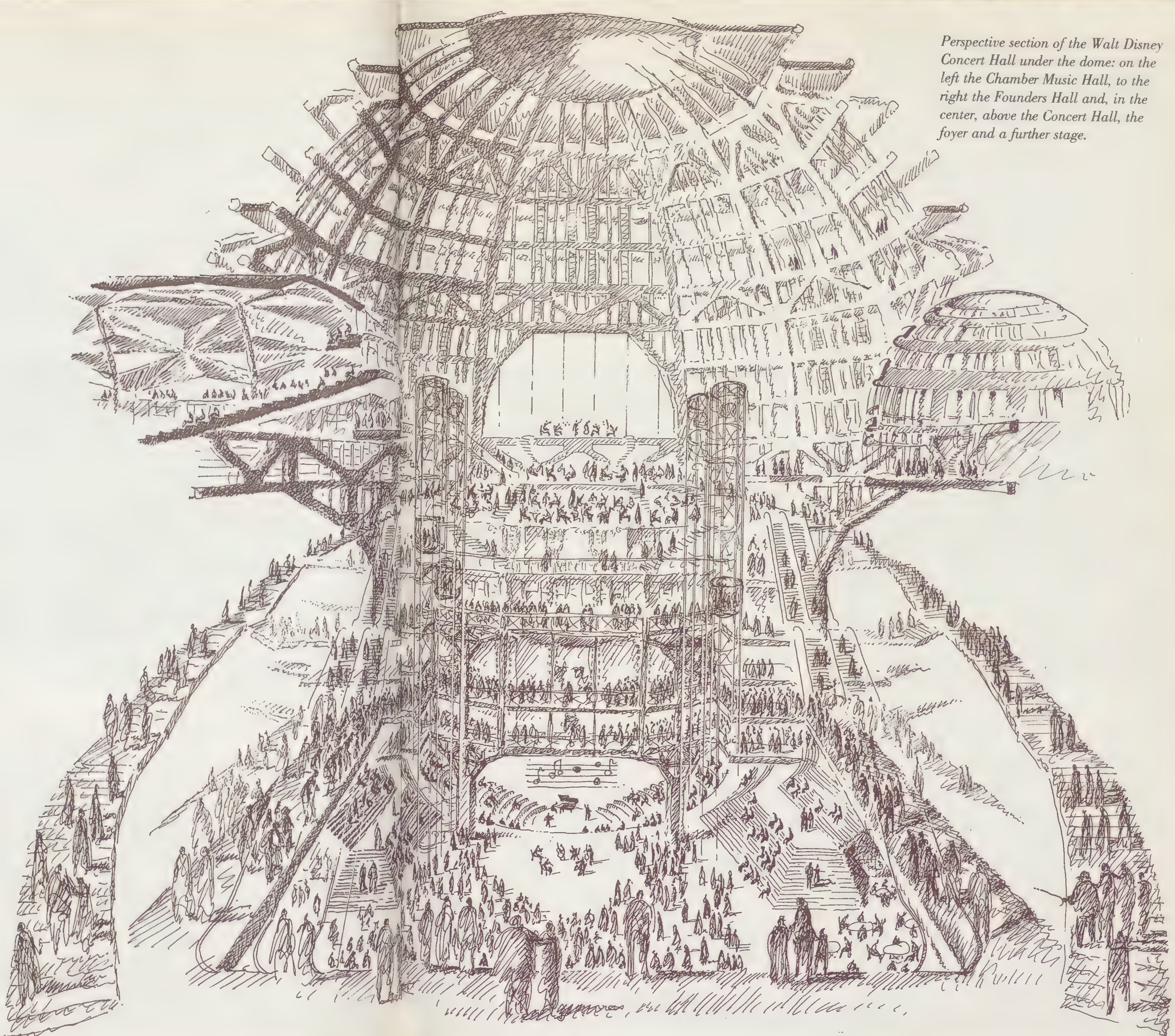


Perspective section of the Walt Disney Concert Hall under the dome: on the left the Chamber Music Hall, to the right the Founders Hall and, in the center, above the Concert Hall, the foyer and a further stage.

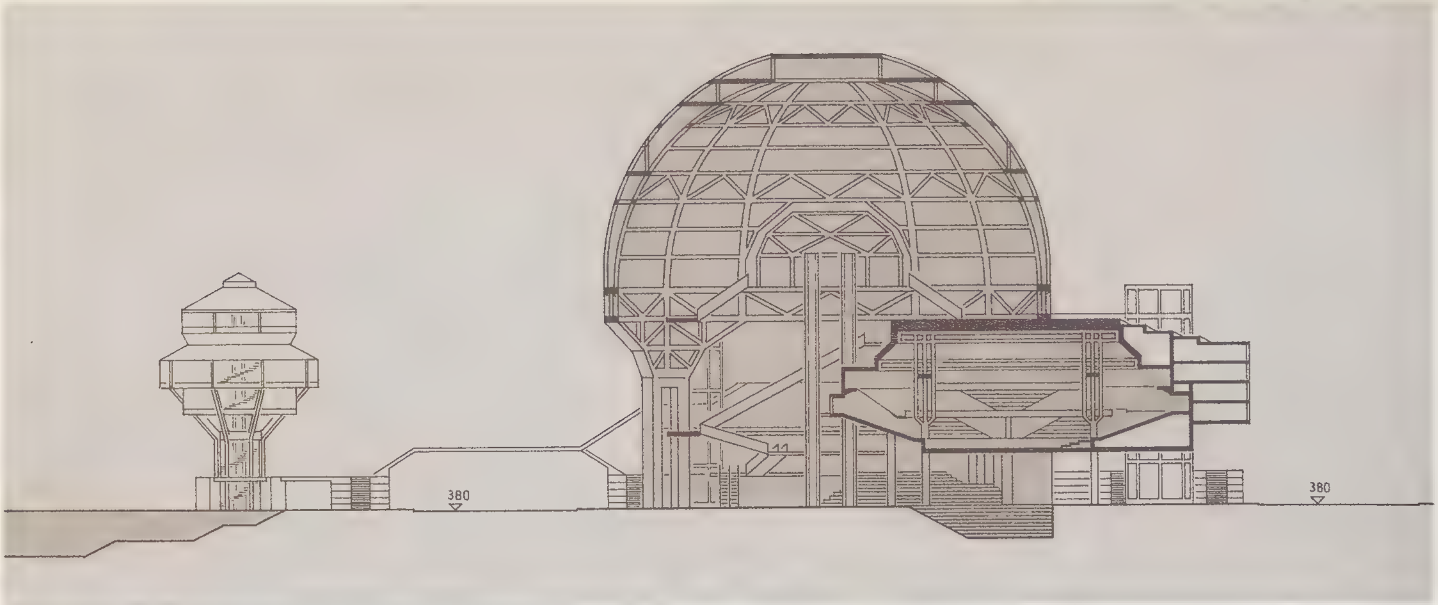
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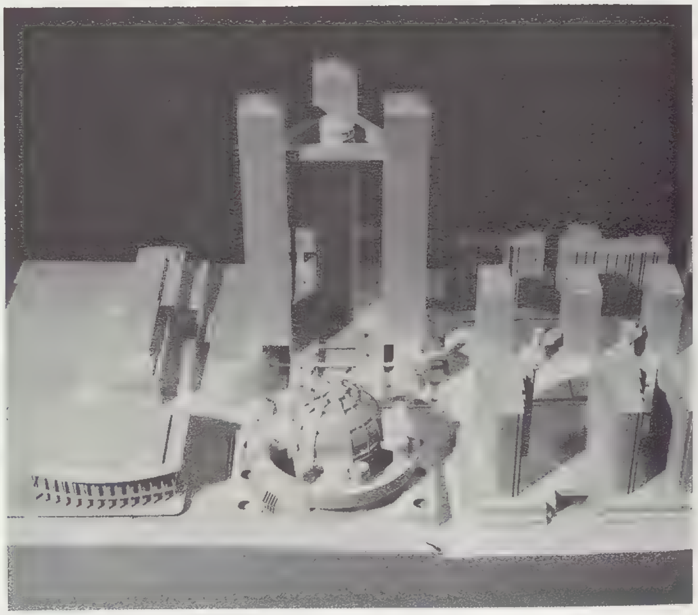
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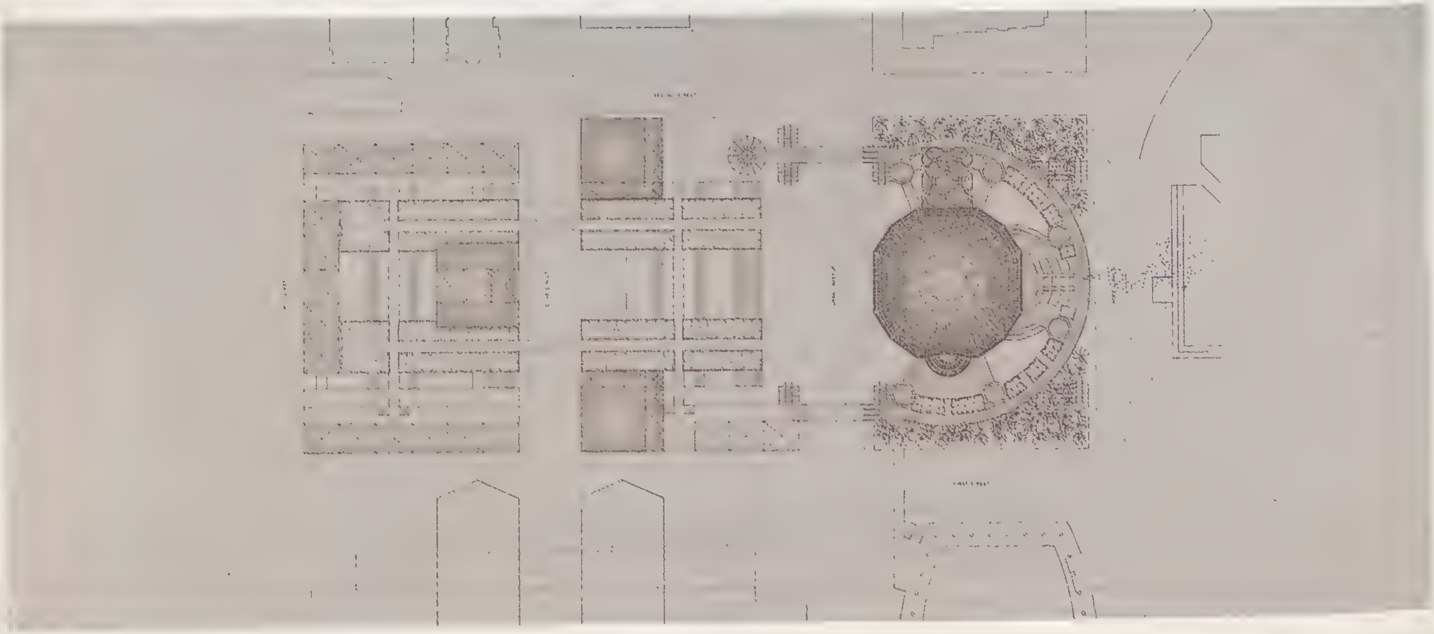


Perspective section of the Walt Disney Concert Hall under the dome: on the left the Chamber Music Hall, to the right the Founders Hall and, in the center, above the Concert Hall, the foyer and a further stage.


380
380







Longitudinal section of the Walt Disney Concert Hall.
Sketch of the perspective section.
General site plan.

can be hung over the orchestra to increase the audibility among the players.
4. Diffuse Sound: The bridges, exposed structural elements and, in general, the articulations of the interior surfaces is meant to provide for the diffusion especially important for the high frequencies.

Mechanical

All spaces, except for the cupola, will be climatized as required. The proposed mechanical system, a ring network, functions principally in the same manner as a pressurized water system. The air is processed and supplied only when needed. (...) The sun control devices will be installed in the space between the two shells of the cupola. Further, the heat generated by the sun in this space is utilized to produce the hot water used for kitchens, showers etc. in the building complex.

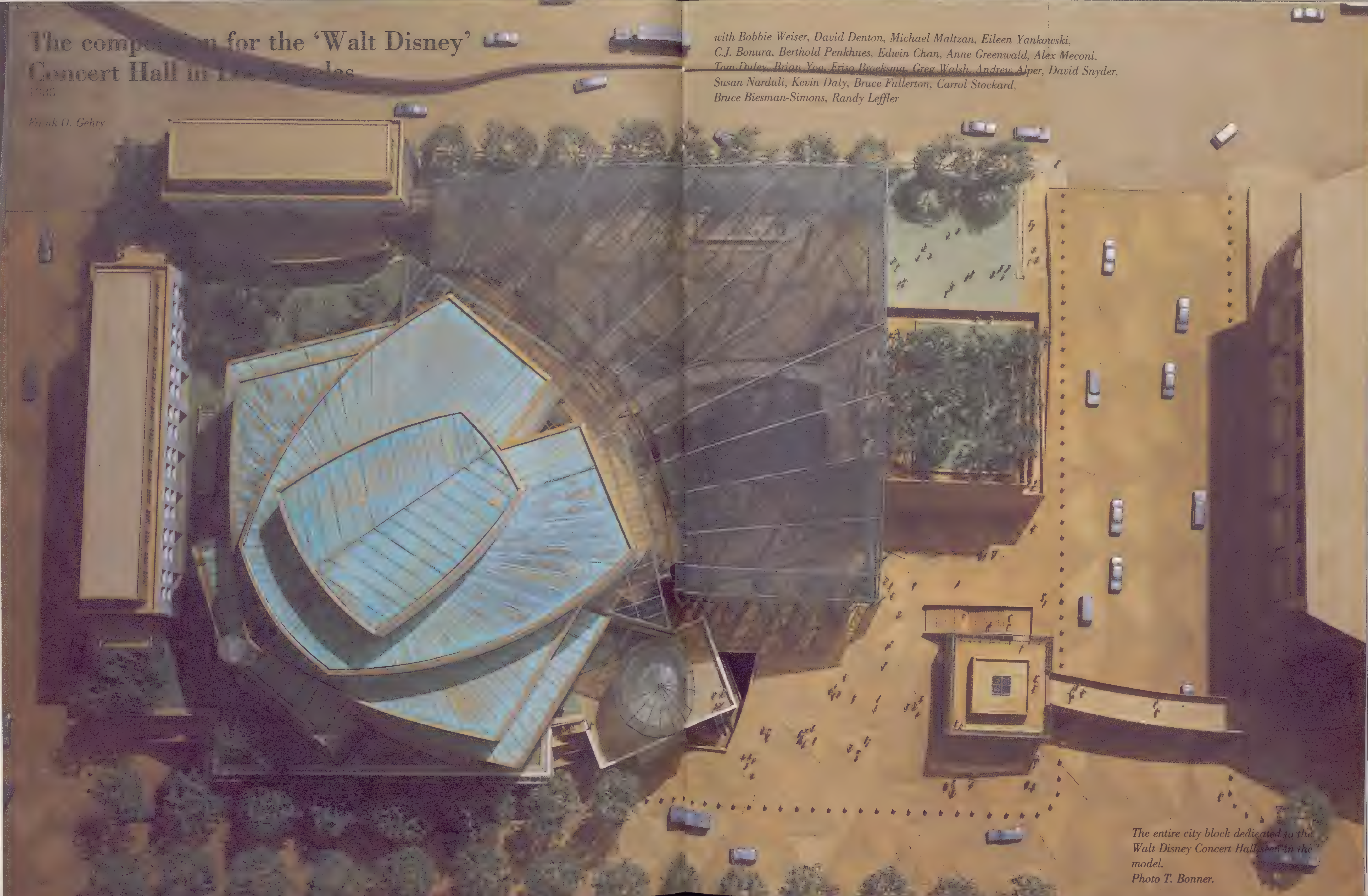
Structural

The loads from the two shells of the cupola are carried to the foundations through the four points of support. The open web girder at the bottom of the cupola centers the loads as well as carries them around the openings. The cupola, the various building components in it and the ring structure whith the stair towers are separate structural entities at which open web type supports are used to absorb the shear forces. The ring structure is supported only by the stair towers and/or by supports adjacent to the towers.

The competition for the 'Walt Disney' Concert Hall in Los Angeles
1988

Frank O. Gehry

with Bobbie Weiser, David Denton, Michael Maltzan, Eileen Yankowski, C.J. Bonura, Berthold Penkhues, Edwin Chan, Anne Greenwald, Alex Meconi, Tom Duley, Brian Yoo, Friso Broeksma, Greg Walsh, Andrew Alper, David Snyder, Susan Narduli, Kevin Daly, Bruce Fullerton, Carrol Stockard, Bruce Biesman-Simons, Randy Leffler



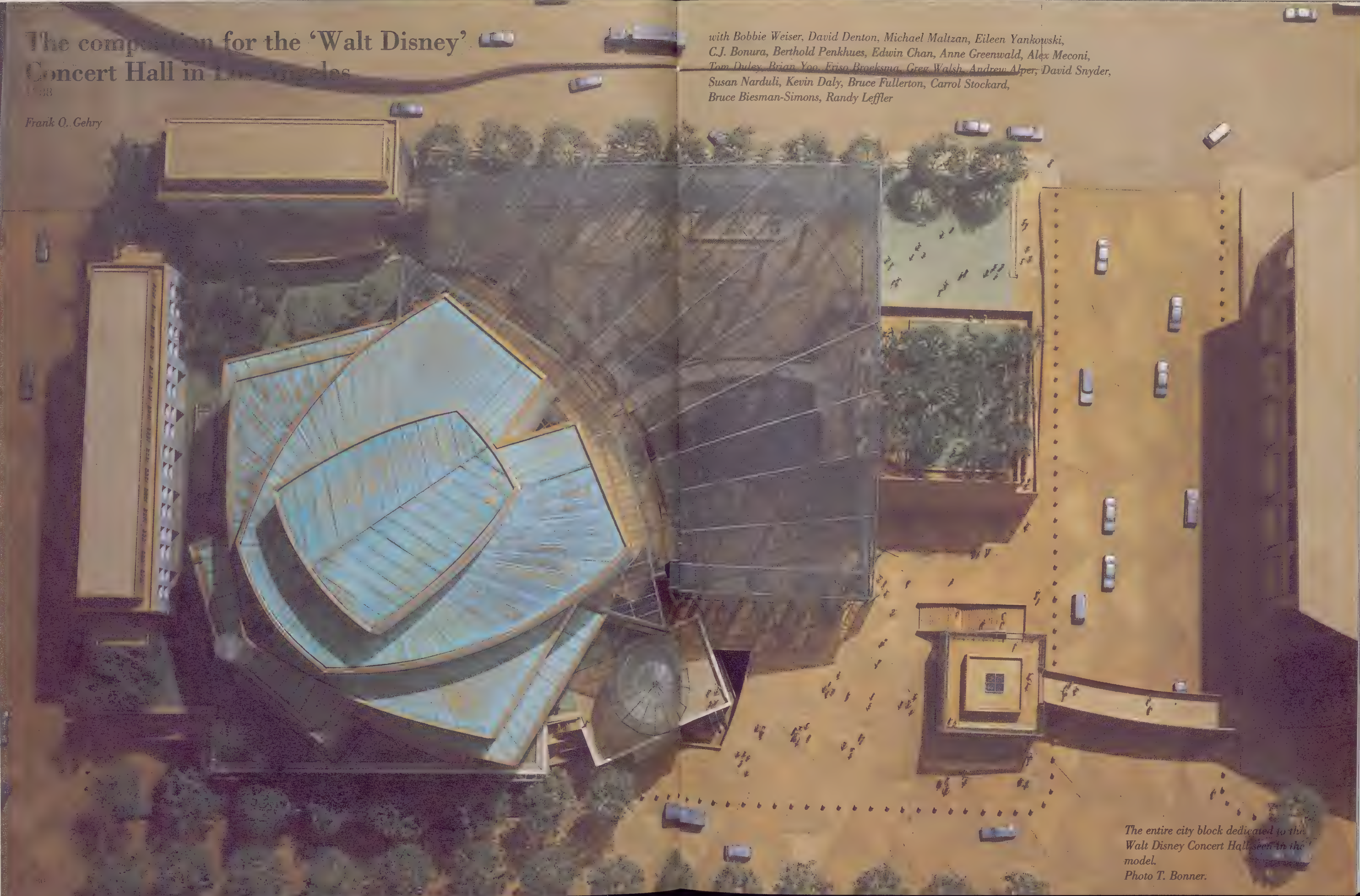
The entire city block dedicated to the Walt Disney Concert Hall seen in the model.
Photo T. Bonner.

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The entire city block dedicated to the Walt Disney Concert Hall seen in the model.
Photo T. Bonner.

The snake and the fish on the hill

Kurt W. Forster

As a metropolis Los Angeles remains mysterious. The image of the teeming, bustling city, the sleepless, noisy ambience of ever-expanding urban life has long ago congealed into a cliché. Los Angeles attracts clichés like the proverbial dog attracts fleas: it is an agglomeration of suburbs in search of a city; a smog-shrouded ghetto of immigrants; a city of drugs, guns and misery, or, from another coin of vantage, a hedonistic haven for the rich who suspend the difference between illusion and reality in the darkly tinted glass of their limousines. Los Angeles callously deflects these abusive clichés about its automobile dependency, its *nouveaux riches*, its nouvelle California cuisine, its Hollywood travesty and exoticism. The contradictions could not be more compelling; from the temporary presence of Brecht, Stravinsky, or Mann to the permanent residence of Cecil B. DeMille, Fred Astaire and Madonna, the city of Los Angeles possesses a sponge-like ability to absorb all and retain nothing. The sheer vastness of the metropolis, with its rapidly-evolving population composed of enormously diverse ethnic groups, makes it a prototypical city of the next century.

Within the extreme diversity of Los Angeles, cultural events, especially those of a distinctly European heritage, are automatically called into question both for their exclusivity and their claim to represent 'culture' as a whole. Traditional cultural institutions invariably require people to gather and experience themselves as 'audience' at the same time as they are enjoying a spectacle. The ceremonial qualities of such public events rarely fail to throw the social rapports among members of the audience into relief. Musical events, in particular, are always prone to becoming private parties. Hence the strenuous efforts to bring orchestras to the people, to introduce school children to music, and, sadly, the growing tendency to 'play it safe' by reducing concert programs to a relentless execution of the same old war-horses. *Where* cultural institutions should be located in a city like Los Angeles, and precisely *whose* culture they could represent are virtually unanswerable questions.

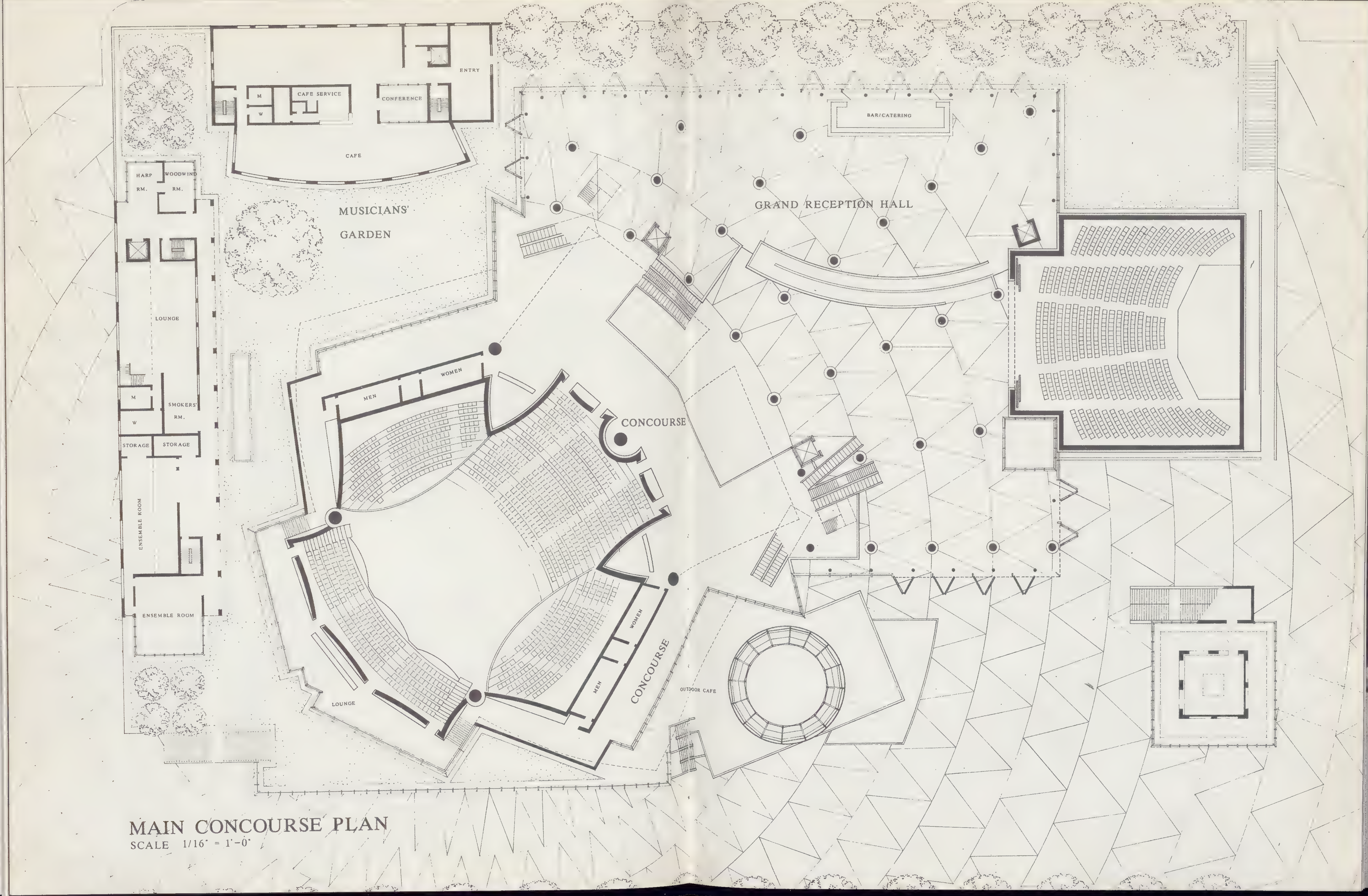
In its effort to create cultural institutions, Los Angeles is following a distinctly American urban strategy: just as the construction of New York's Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts followed massive slum clearance, so Los Angeles' "temples" of music, theater, and modern art have been situated in a section called Bunker Hill which rises steeply above the traditional checkerboard pattern of downtown streets. A few years ago, this hilltop was shaved clean of buildings by the powers of urban redevelopment, and only gradually is it being rebuilt as a highly artificial montage of office towers, hotels, and luxury condominiums. The existing Dorothy Chandler Pavilion (today serving as concert hall and opera house in one) and the Mark Taper Forum (theater) on the crown of the hill exemplify the ambition of the 1960s to create civic monuments and urban

First sketch of the Concert Hall plan (main theatre) with its five principal sections for the audience and a sixth segment behind the centrally placed orchestra.

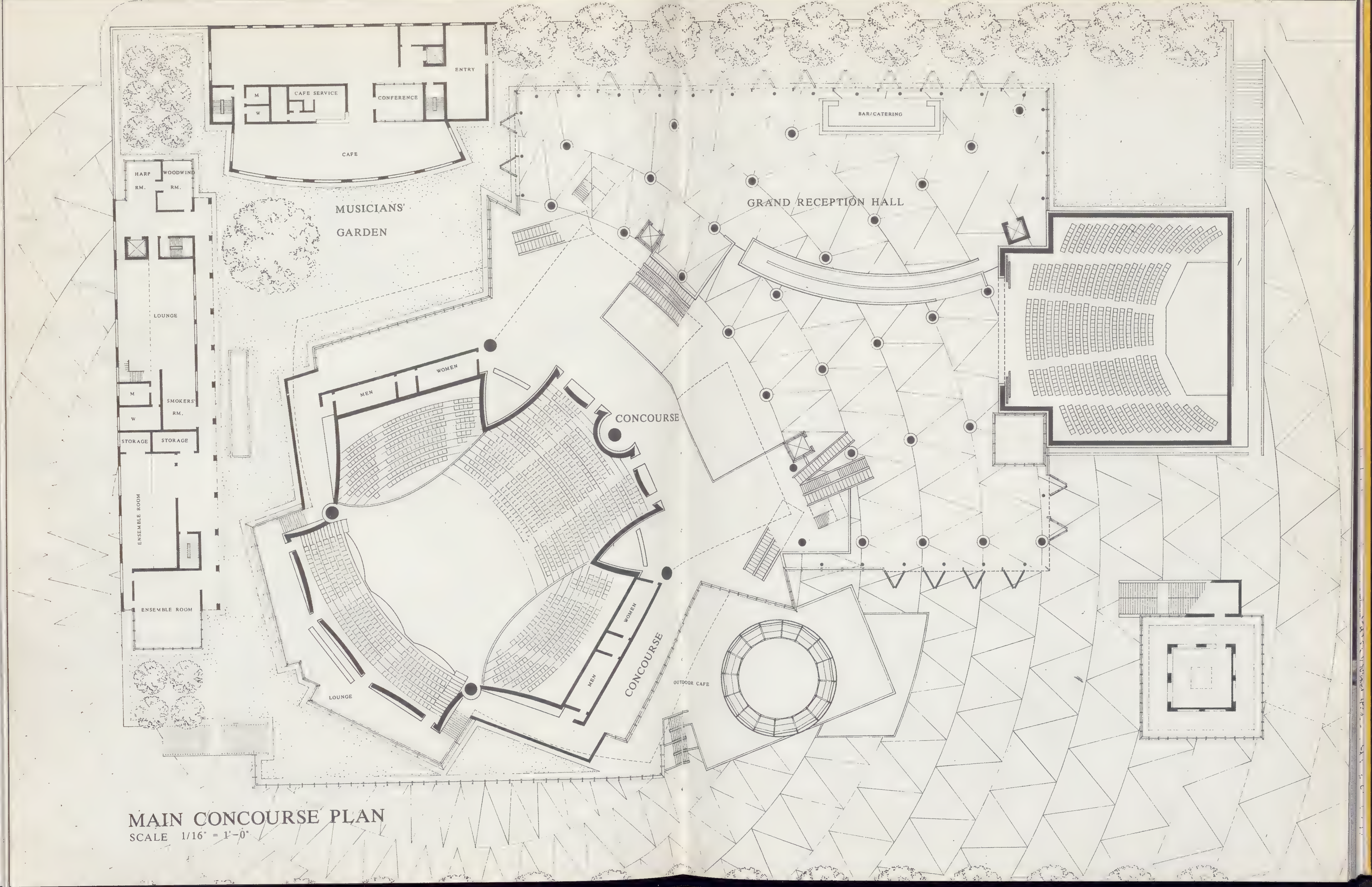
In following pages:

Plan of the entire city block dedicated to the Walt Disney Concert Hall: the main concert hall to the left, chamber music hall to the right, the glazed reception hall between them; administrative quarters and rehearsal spaces to the upper left, a café in the lower center and the symphony store in the lower right. The concentric pavement pattern emanates from the imaginary center of the main hall and extends across the streets to the adjacent blocks.





MAIN CONCOURSE PLAN
SCALE 1/16" = 1'-0"



MAIN CONCOURSE PLAN
SCALE 1/16" = 1'-0"

machines. Caught between monumentality and functionality, these civic complexes invariably reflect the dilemma of overscale design and the relatively mean-spirited control of crowds. Visitors arrive by car, drive into subterranean garages, and reach their seats by escalator and elevator, only to plunge from garish lobbies back into fume-filled garages after the applause dies down. If the Los Angeles Music Center appears today awkward and cloying, the latest arrival on Bunker Hill, the Museum of Contemporary Art by Arata Isozaky, possesses the presence of a mere still life, one composed of a few basic volumes lying meekly at the feet of surrounding skyscrapers, with its exhibition spaces sunk deep below street level.

The new concert hall project will be the final cultural insert into an area otherwise slated for maximum development of commercial and residential property. Now wishing to compete with its sister city San Francisco by forming its own opera company (and using the existing music pavilion to house it), Los Angeles requires a proper concert hall for its orchestra, an orchestra that has been under the baton of conductors like Mehta, Giulini, and now Previn and Rattle. As other musical institutions have long recognized, the distinctly different requirements of orchestral and chamber ensembles dictate the need for two halls of sharply varying size and acoustic properties. Berlin has its large and small Philharmonie, London's Southbank offers a variety of concert halls, and New York boasts an array of different venues. Moreover, American orchestras depend heavily upon private support and constant fund raising for which gift shops, cafés, pre-concert events and receptions demand their spaces in any music center. And because the aura surrounding symphony orchestras needs to prove itself less a halo of the élite than a pedagogical emanation of democracy, concert halls stand uncomfortably between cultural shrine and popular arena.

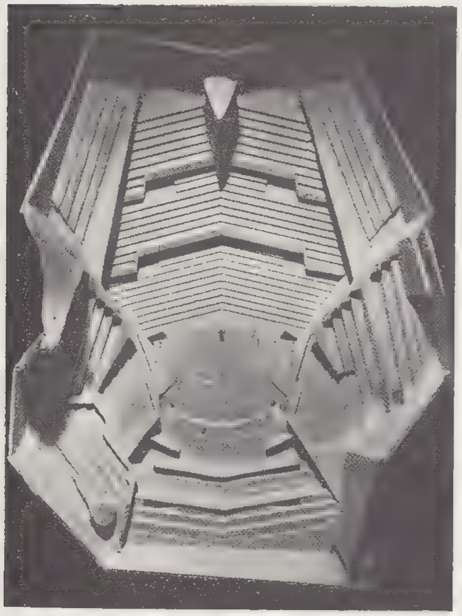
In December 1988 Frank Gehry won the comission for the new Walt Disney Concert Hall. The finalists in this international invitational competition — Böhm, Hollein, Stirling, and Gehry — were asked to consider complex programmatic requirements. Each of them responded by conceiving of the larger urban role of the entire complex in fundamentally different terms. With the exception of Gehry, they all monumentalized their projects, staking the effect on the volume and surfacing of their buildings, densely massing the city block and meeting the surroundings head-on. This approach led to narrow public perimeters and closely-shielded interiors, with little apparent connection between them. Gehry, for his part, chose uniquely divergent terms: above all, he extended the compass of the project to include the urban site in its wider ramifications, and, conversely, he resisted the tendency to compress all the requisite parts into a monument that would fall in line with the programmatic preference for cultural fora like Lincoln Center in New York, or the nearby Music Center in Los Angeles itself. Instead of reinforcing and exacerbating the rift between workaday cityscape and privileged precints

Walt Disney Concert Hall, model showing seating sections. Photo T. Bonner.



exclusively devoted to cultural purposes, Gehry proposes to modify the very terms or their relationship and create a site which, by means of its own architectural conditions, will act upon the antinomies inherent in the culture at large.
To be sure, Gehry's conceptual "enlargement" of the problem goes beyond mere attitude: its consequences are etched into every detail of the winning design. While the crown of Bunker Hill is already occupied by the present Music Center and Theater, as well as being bounded to the north by a public monument of sorts, the Department of Water and Power — light flooding the trays of its floorslabs by night and water gushing at its plinth — and to the south by the Hall of Justice and its jail, the surroundings now under construction threaten to crowd Disney Hall uncomfortably. The architect's *parti* is one of stretching and exaggerating the properties of the site; he advances the hall itself as far toward the main thoroughfare as possible and places a solid — yet modest — impost toward the existing Dorothy Chandler Pavilion.
Gehry's concept does more than make virtue of limitation. With its pyramidal shape and diagonal orientation, the concert hall boldly emplaces itself as a centering building from which all others spin off, including the vast, glass-enclosed reception hall and foyer whose curvature follows the diagonal slope of the site. The diagonal axis of symmetry cleaves the corner of the site facing downtown, and extends into the central row of columns across the reception hall while, internally, the dominant impression of the structure will be that of a theater in the round. Gehry's first rough sketch forcefully conveyed this idea while equally strongly suggesting Hans Scharoun's Philharmonie in Berlin as one of its principal models. Scharoun, in turn, had picked up the idea of a *Total-Theater* as Gropius conceived it in 1927-28, but had imposed the image of a huge tent on his hall's outward appearance. With his characteristically clunky realization of expressionist visions, Scharoun left in the Philharmonie a deeply conflicting legacy. The heavy-handed structure never allows the tent-like roof to soar, and the overwrought details are burdened with 1950s clichés. More than most other buildings by Scharoun, the Philharmonie is a bird of the imagination that has had its wings clipped, its feet tagged, and its neck collared like a carrier pidgeon. Gehry's plan, however indebted to Scharoun's, is at the same time free of its model, because while the hall's tiered mass does not suggest an impossible lightness, the spacious reception area succeeds in suggesting the airy, temporary quality of the big-top. It is precisely this contrast between the powerful masses of the two concert halls and the improvisational properties of the glazed foyer that allows Gehry to achieve a sense of weightlessness and openness which outdo the ambitions of Scharoun's building.
The visitor's passage from the street to the inside of the concert hall follows seemingly casual, almost meandering, paths. These artfully unceremonial ways take their direction from pavement patterns, reacting to the appearance, weight and placement of ancillary buildings, and finally lead through a forest of columns in the foyer toward the pure and hermetic interior of the concert hall. From a vaguely urban setting one gravitates toward an accomplished architectural space. A similar progression imparts scale and order to the different volumes Gehry brings into play on the site.
Familiar elements reappear, as in the spherical rooftops, tapering walls and ramps of the Aerospace Museum of 1982 in Los Angeles. The abiding opposition in Gehry's work between closed volumes and generously open spaces, so effectively — if minimally — articulated in the Cabrillo Marine Museum of 1979, informs the entire Disney project. It is here that Gehry brings the cultural issues of the project into the open, had in his designation of its various parts he reveals his larger vision for the future of Los Angeles. With the arrival of buildings whose specialized character and purpose create new urban conditions, the concert hall seeks to anchor an entire area of town, while resisting the reigning market mentality of commercial developers. Within this townscape the familiar assumptions do not hold: dividing lines shift, edifices mask or hold positions never associated with them, trees grow on rooftops, the public may invade the foyer, and a lack of windows does not mean blindness to the surroundings.
The whale of a glazed foyer arching diagonally across the site and hugging the curvature of the hill, suggests a gesture whose generosity toward the city is altogether out of proportion with the body making it, yet is fully-scaled to its audience. As a sort of "living room of the city", the very existence of this foyer will amplify the social role of music and challenge imaginative public use. The architect baits his patrons with opportunities rather than browbeating them with rhetoric. Genuinely rhetorical dimensions do have a place in the project, and they too contribute to its eminently public nature. I have mentioned the new centering role Disney Hall will play, but I must also underscore the particularized and composite character of its many parts: at first sight, a certain casualness may obscure the beautifully sculpted rapports that exist among the different buildings and only gradually surface to impress their significance on the visitor. Shaped as they are into diverse platforms, pavilions, ziggurats and spheres, the volumes and materials of this city block suggest nothing less than a miniature city themselves, and one that gives so liberally to the public and so imaginatively to its site that in hundreds of existing city blocks, only a few would possess such riches.
If one isolates the essential character of Gehry's project in terms that exceed familiar architectural considerations, I would suggest that it has to do with a sphere of the imagination which lends the traits of living things to man-made objects. This mimetic power of architecture slumbers inside the historic carcass of buildings and is awakened only rarely, and then by extraordinary or completely unremarkable edifices. As objects with a mimetic identy of their own, the component parts of Disney Hall conjure up poetic ideas Gehry brought casually into play with his *Folly*. In this work which he contributed to an

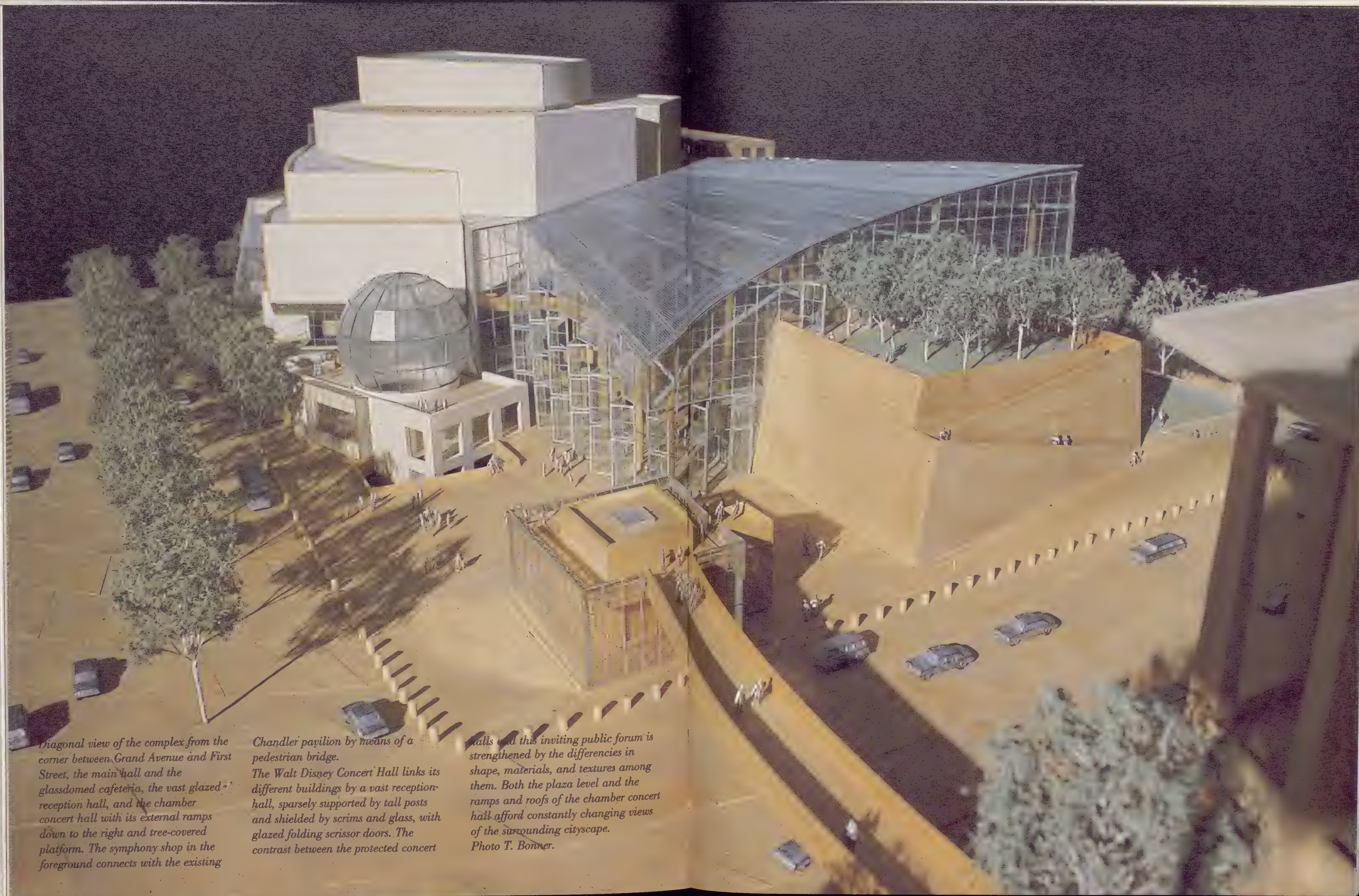




Hans Scharoun, early sketch for the Berlin Philharmonie, 1956.
Hans Scharoun, model of Berlin Philharmonie showing the internal distribution of seating sections.

exhibition at the Leo Castelli Gallery in 1983, Gehry simply placed a coiled red snake alongside a glass fish on a sandy, dune-like ground. The vaguely surrealist *cachet* of his composition does not necessarily point to the consequential aspect of Gehry's *Folly* — nor, incidentally, do his own "fish stories", repeated more for the amusement of their author than for the enlightenment of his delighted listeners, some of them relieved to learn that the business of architecture can be fun, Gehry himself absolved of hard explanations that would spoil it.

The stark simplicity of Gehry's *Folly* jolts one into recognized architecture's mimetic capacity. We observe how basic the contrast between snake and fish really is to Gehry's architectural thinking, but we must not fall into the ready trap of attributing symbolic meanings associated with these animals to the buildings. Rather we need to recognize that Gehry has already made the forms his own, and has transferred onto them poetic imaginings. The shape and material of the glass fish are far more revealing of the medium in which this creature lives — the fluid, unbounded reaches of water — than symbolic of the fish itself. While Gehry's fish is light, ductile, and often transparent, the snake is always tightly-coiled, a solid mass. "Wrapped up" and "spread out" might be expressions for describing their phenomenal presences, and for naming the fundamental character of different architectural spaces: the utter interiority of the concert hall is contrasted by the fluid sphere of the public foyer. On the harsh and barren ground of the city, the tightly wrapped concert hall exposes its baffling shape to a barely visible yet alluring fish trap. Gehry's juxtaposition of the hall's taut and the foyer's permeable skin produces one of those contrasts that engenders an imaginative experience from otherwise starkly external facts. He confronts us less with simple opposites — in a world where everything is reduced to binary alternatives — than with polar antinomies. From one pole, the other cannot be seen, yet, innumerable lines connect and separate them; but at any point along these connecting arcs, the poles exercise an orienting force. Such is the nature of the opposition between the piles of Gehry's two concert halls and the acquarium — like sphere between them. Their technical and material properties — selective permeability and gently sloping outlines versus complete internalization and the timeless darkness of a cavern — and their purposes and patterns of use evoke such contrasts as exist between the skylit dome of the Pantheon and its deep columnar porch and airy forecourt. Neither farfetched nor in the least historicizing, Gehry's imaginative plan releases history into our consciousness like dream work, a dream that transforms everything without destroying its origins. These polar opposites also give shape to powerful social contrasts: antithetical spheres of life and experience reveal themselves in the frivolous as well as the grand moment. In a word, Gehry's are not simplistic statements which flatten tension or impose a merely formal logic on the site; he is making sense of the inevitable contradictions within a



Diagonal view of the complex from the corner between Grand Avenue and First Street, the main hall and the glassdomed cafeteria, the vast glazed reception hall, and the chamber concert hall with its external ramps down to the right and tree-covered platform. The symphony shop in the foreground connects with the existing Chandler pavilion by means of a pedestrian bridge.
The Walt Disney Concert Hall links its different buildings by a vast reception hall, sparsely supported by tall posts and shielded by scrims and glass, with glazed folding scrissor doors. The contrast between the protected concert halls and this inviting public forum is strengthened by the differencies in shape, materials, and textures among them. Both the plaza level and the ramps and roofs of the chamber concert hall afford constantly changing views of the surrounding cityscape.
Photo T. Bonner.



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The Walt Disney Concert Hall links its different buildings by a vast reception hall, sparsely supported by tall posts and shielded by scrims and glass, with glazed folding scrissor doors. The contrast between the protected concert halls and this inviting public forum is strengthened by the differencies in shape, materials, and textures among them. Both the plaza level and the ramps and roofs of the chamber concert hall afford constantly changing views of the surrounding cityscape.
Photo T. Bonner.





Public assembly area in Gehry's Cabrillo Marine Museum in San Pedro, California (1979). Individual spaces for aquaria, laboratories, and offices are grouped around a reception and circulation area under a canopy of wire mesh which is held aloft by steel poles.
Gehry's California Aerospace Museum in Los Angeles (1982) is composed of distinct, volumetric units whose adjacencies and connections anticipate the similar juxtaposition of functionally differentiated parts in the Disney project.
Photo M. Moran.

townscape that has long ago lost the capacity to transcend commercial anarchy and bureaucratic regulation. Instead of a clear-cut separation between public areas and those of privileged access, he has chosen to conjugate anew their constantly varying rapports, to cast them in different tense, and to offer their concatenation as an architectural story. A wide fan of meanings flicks open at casual moments along the visitor's passage.

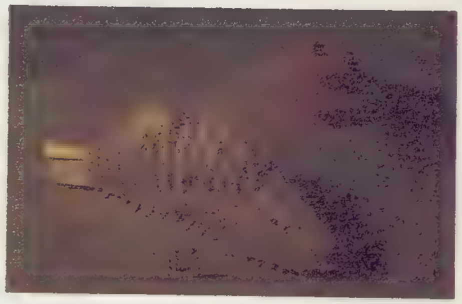
If one has come to take for granted only the categorical opposites of public and private, open or enclosed, transparent or opaque, one is in for dizzying surprises on the site of the new hall. Opportunities for *impromptu* gatherings, for unexpected visitas and hidden corners, beckon everywhere and will likely turn this block into a truly public domain, not least because its surroundings - and with them the city in its largest dimensions — will be reframed as a new urban prospect. From the tree-shaded platform atop the chamber music hall, one may encompass at once the deep, transparent foyer, the stepped pyramid of Disney Hall framed by commercial highrises beyond, and the public buildings and residential blocks within a single panoramic arc. Standing atop a box and looking, or advancing by footbridge, across a public space, one's position of a privileged surveyor of the city suggests an inside view of the outside. The cityscape would begin to assume traits of a complex picture, a picture yelding merely a view, while conversely endowing what is seen with rapports that are never fixed in the spontaneous experience of the town itself. Its character as a miniature city-within-the-city opens up and secretes the familiar traits of an urban topography as impoverished in its monuments as it is embarrassed by its miseries.

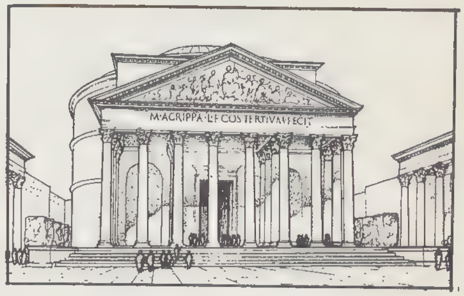
Perhaps the highest promise of Gehry's project springs from a consideration of all those matters the competition did *not* include, but which *he* chose to make a part of his concept for the concert hall. This may turn out to have been the sole advantage a local architect really has over his foreign competitors, although Gehry's reckoning with local conditions is of a kind radically different from the insider calculations favorite candidates tend to make. Gehry has lived and practiced in the margins of Los Angeles long enough to command at once an intimate knowledge of the place and a sufficiently critical attitude toward its cultures. No other project of his reflects these traits as fully as the winning entry in the Disney Hall competition. Gehry has played a high stakes gamble, inspired equally by an intense desire to win and a real fear of losing. Gehry gambled because he dared to enlarge the problems set forth by a difficult project, and he signalled thereby how much he could do for the city if it gave him the opportunity. While this gamble won him the project, it is now the city's turn to prove that its powers are up to the task.

The competition called for a sharply circumscribed insert into a desolate part of the city; what Gehry proposes amounts to nothing less than a reversal of that relationship. His project is so varied and suggestive in its parts and so

complex in its order that it manages to rehearse many episodes of urban life without breaking apart into the discontinuous patterns wich cause American cities to disintegrate as civic entities. Gehry has squarely taken on the problem of the city, rather than confining himself to a precious or otherwise culturally discrete ornament. His imaginative gift to the ailing center of Los Angeles proffers a host of desirable urban amenities and instances of sheer architectural inventiveness which go well beyond the immediate purposes of the commission.

At a time when the futility of cultural monuments and their collusion with speculative commercial development have come home to roost, the architect stands the test of all serious urban building; he is able to haft the tussle of contradictions implicit in his task and to respond with an inventiveness capable of altering at least the definition of the problems for which no one has yet found a solution. To the cultural diversity of Los Angeles he offers kaleidoscopic opportunities that could be seized as quickly for political rallies as for jazz concerts; the deadening segregation of urban life he opposes with a site plan that can accomodate virtually everything without resorting to the tiresome and self-defeating notion of a multi-purpose structure; and, above all, he sculpts a single city block in ways that endow it with a richness we have not encountered since Stirling's Museum in Stuttgart. Lastly, Gehry's project challenges the patrons of music and the powers of the city to take heed and to rise to what may well be one of the last occasions to give the lie to critics and detractors of Los Angeles.





Frank Gehry created this Garden Folly *in 1983 for an exhibition at the Leo Castelli Gallery in New York City. A coiled snake and a glass fish sit like two surreal objects on a sandy plane. The striking contrast generated between these two forms, in both material and symbolic terms, reoccurs in the encounter between the* ziggurat-*shaped concert hall and the whale of a* foyer.

Pantheon, *Rome, reconstruction drawing as seen from the peristyle. Without historicizing allusions, Gehry's Walt Disney Concert Hall evokes the archetypal contrast between cavern and peristyle, between skylit dome and wide-open porch.*



View to the west diagonally across the hall complex with the chamber hall to the left and administrative quarters to the extreme right. This view clearly reveals the diagonal slope of the site (to left and right) and the corresponding curvature of the glazed public hall. Photo T. Bonner.

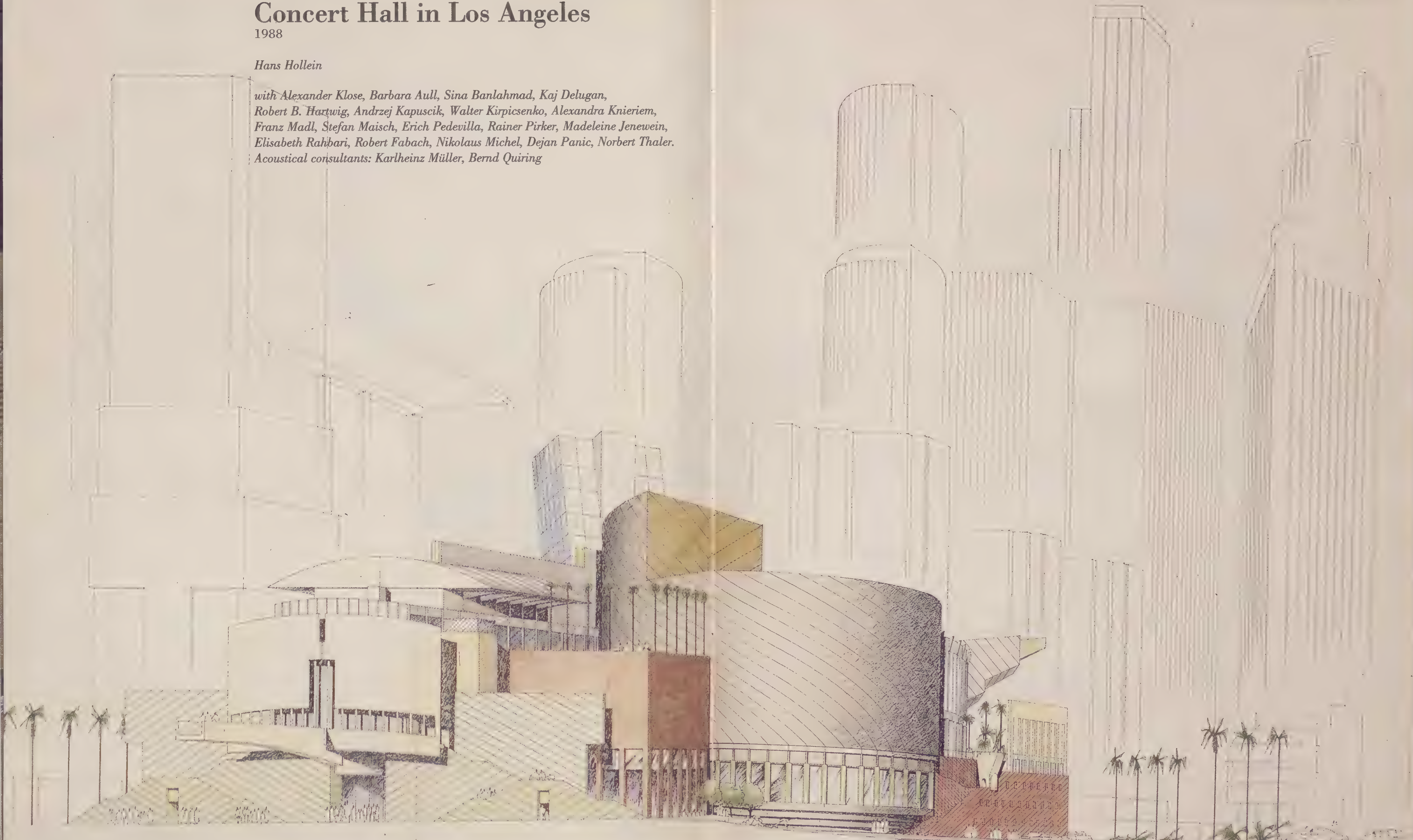


View to the west diagonally across the hall complex with the chamber hall to the left and administrative quarters to the extreme right. This view clearly reveals the diagonal slope of the site (to left and right) and the corresponding curvature of the glazed public hall. Photo T. Bonner.

The competition for the 'Walt Disney' Concert Hall in Los Angeles
1988

Hans Hollein

with Alexander Klose, Barbara Aull, Sina Banlahmad, Kaj Delugan, Robert B. Hartwig, Andrzej Kapuscik, Walter Kirpicsenko, Alexandra Knieriem, Franz Madl, Stefan Maisch, Erich Pedevilla, Rainer Pirker, Madeleine Jenewein, Elisabeth Rahbari, Robert Fabach, Nikolaus Michel, Dejan Panic, Norbert Thaler. Acoustical consultants: Karlheinz Müller, Bernd Quiring



Perspective from the corner between First Street and Hope Street.

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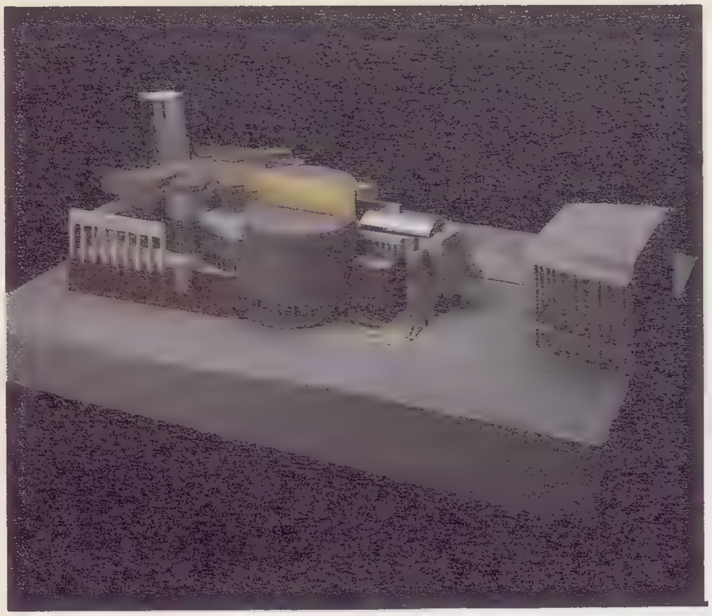
Perspective from the corner between First Street and Hope Street.

Project for the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles
Hans Hollein

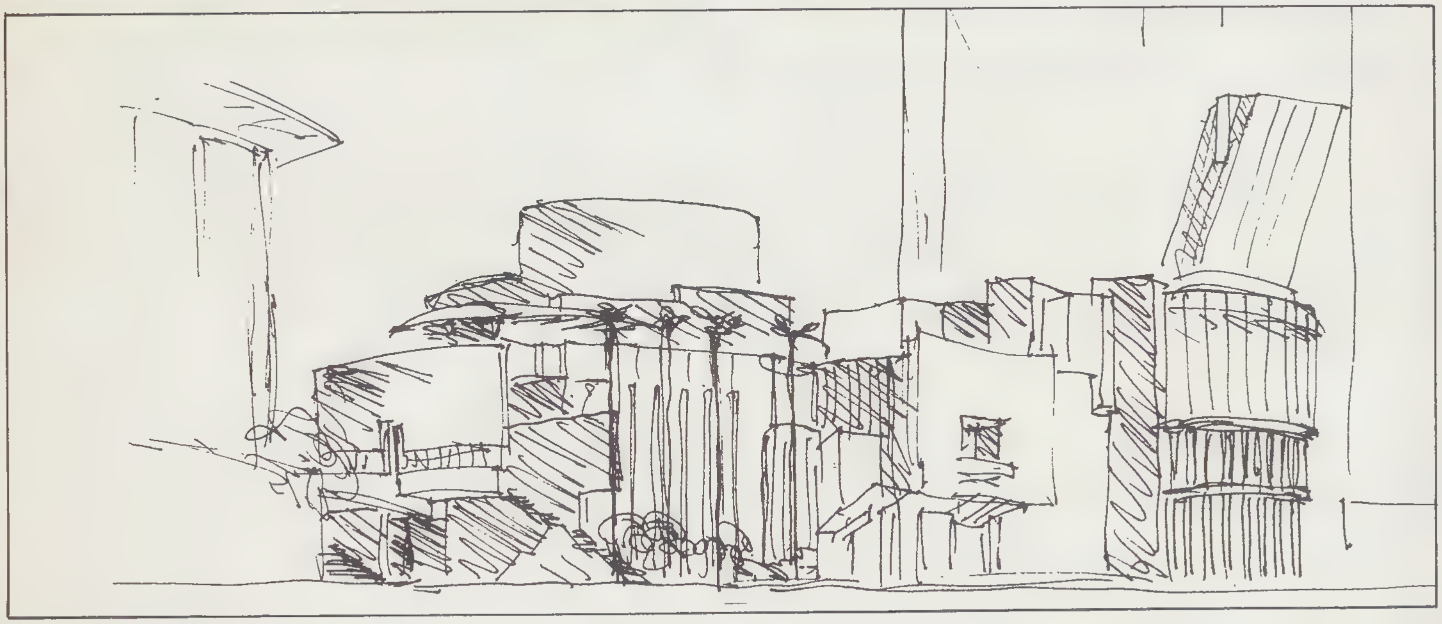
Views of the model of the urban siting.

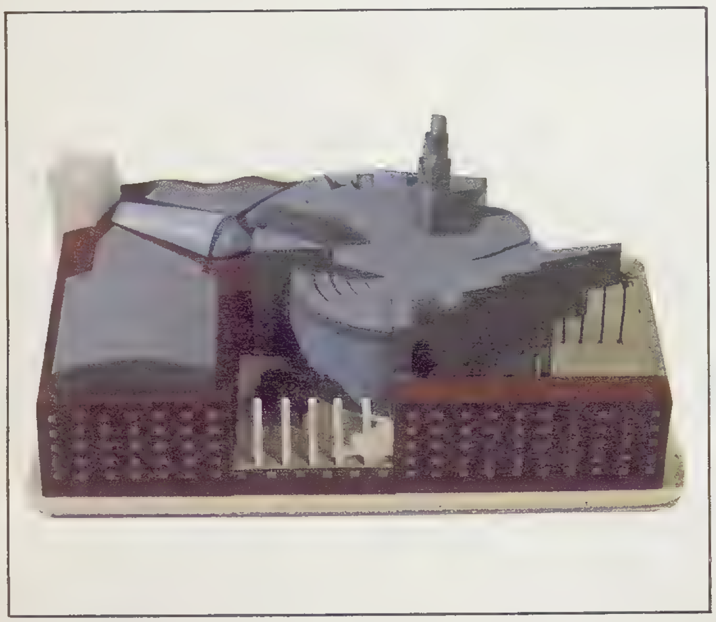
The design of the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles constitutes an outstanding challenge in my architectural career. I am very honored to have been chosen to be one of the four international architects finally being considered. While it is relatively easy for a client to anticipate the quality, the character and nature of the work of an architect of a certain qualification and attitude, it is hard to predict what kind of concert hall he would do. A concert hall is such unique a task, dependent not only on the architectural approach but as well determined by the necessities of the making of and listening to music. Because of this unique challenge and opportunity, I have given priority in my design submission to the concert hall proper and worked on it in great detail, not only from architectural but also acoustical aspects, to come up with an interior of both beauty and greatness of sound, a space which emanates, breathes music, a room where orchestra and audience enjoy together concerts of the highest calibre. This place, where people come together to enjoy superior artistic creativity in its widest sense, should provide an atmosphere and inspiration consistent with the spirit, and evoking the memory, of Walt Disney — not in a blatant way of a memorial but with subtle allusions and evocations.
The "*concept of the Concert Hall will generate the parameters of the building configuration*" the program states and rightly defines the central role of the auditorium as the departure point and source for the whole building.
I have therefore developed concept and design of the concert hall in detail and from there determined the other parts of the building which allow different approaches, depending what emphasis is given to the other aspects of the program. I have developed those approaches mainly around two lines, one of which is presented more extensive, the other one in a sketchy way (not at least as an outcome of the learning from the former), as a study, to demonstrate the relationship of the concert hall complex to the Music-Center on the one side and to the built and to be built environment around it on the other side.
You can either emphasize the presence of the Walt Disney Concert Hall in relation and competition to the buildings of enormous scale and height around it by an individual, solitary building of a contrasting configuration, in keeping with the attitude of Dorothy Chandler Pavilion (current Music Center) vis-a-vis and the skyscrapers around, or to integrate it with a more blocklike perimeter delineation with evolving places and spaces of both an interior and exterior character.
The relationships of the other parts of the building are variable, while the concert hall proper, the auditorium is the center and basically fixed.
For the concert hall proper, both from my encounter with the task, with the various representatives of the client, the statements of the program and my understanding of the

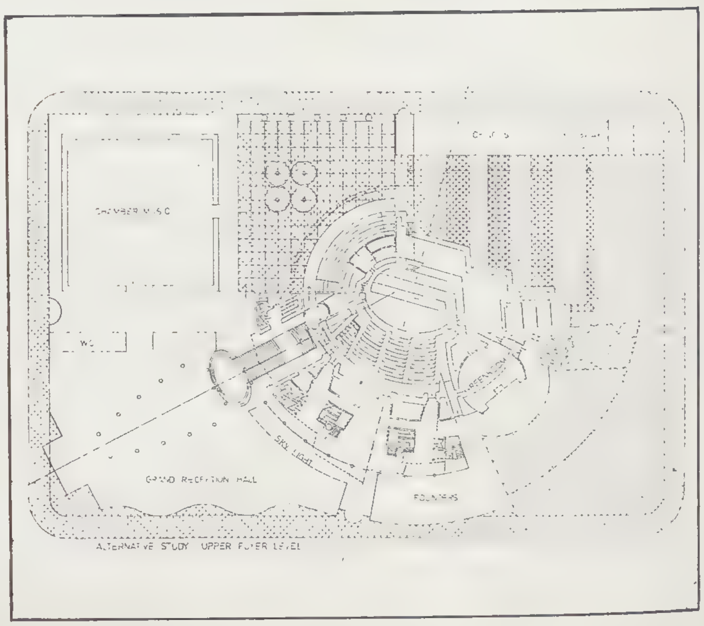











CHAMBER MUSIC
WC
SKY LIGHT
GRAND RECEPTION HALL
FOUNTAINS
ALTERNATIVE STUDY UPPER FOYER LEVEL

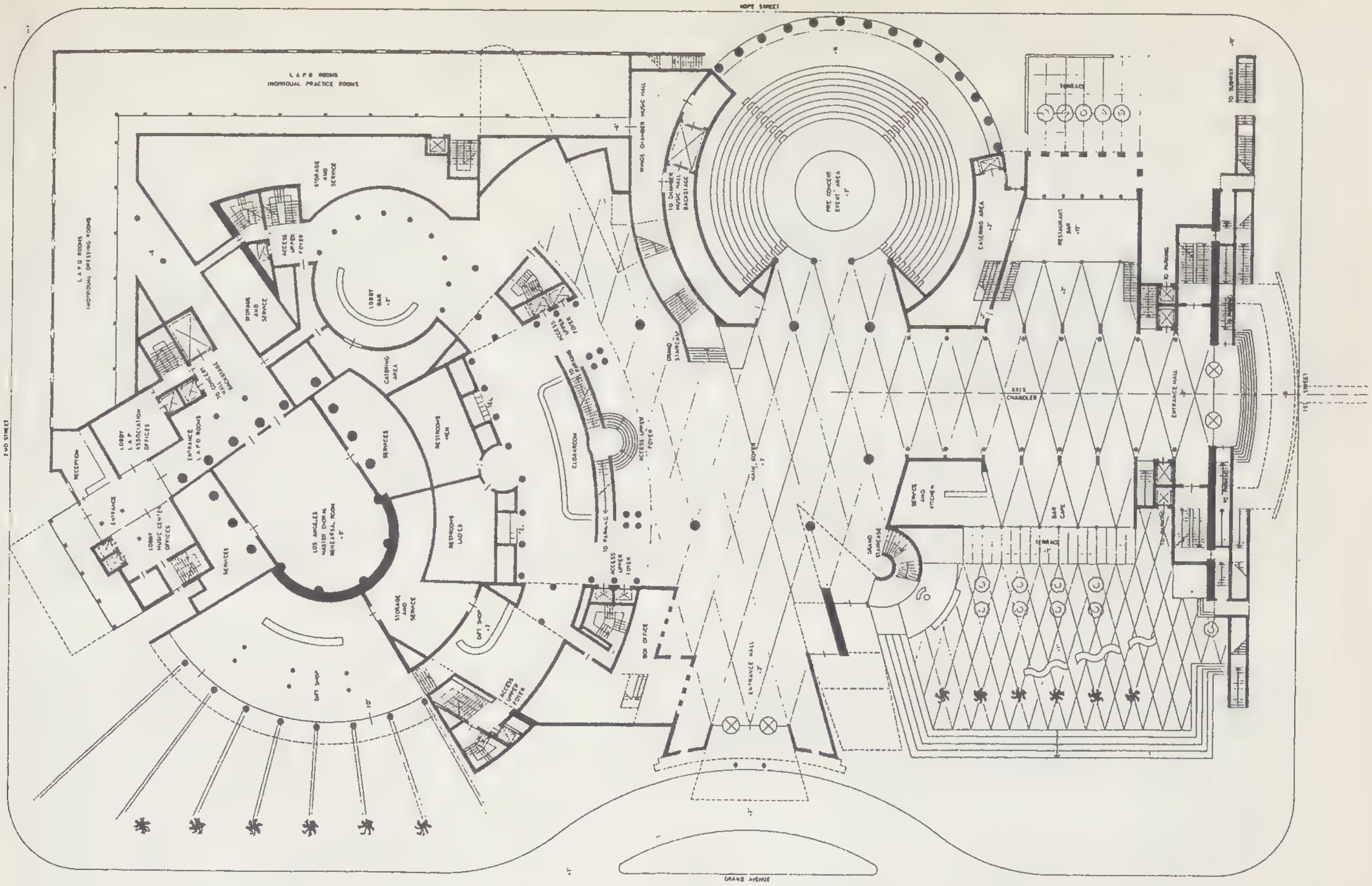
Views of the model.
Study sketches.
View of the model and plan of the alternative scheme.

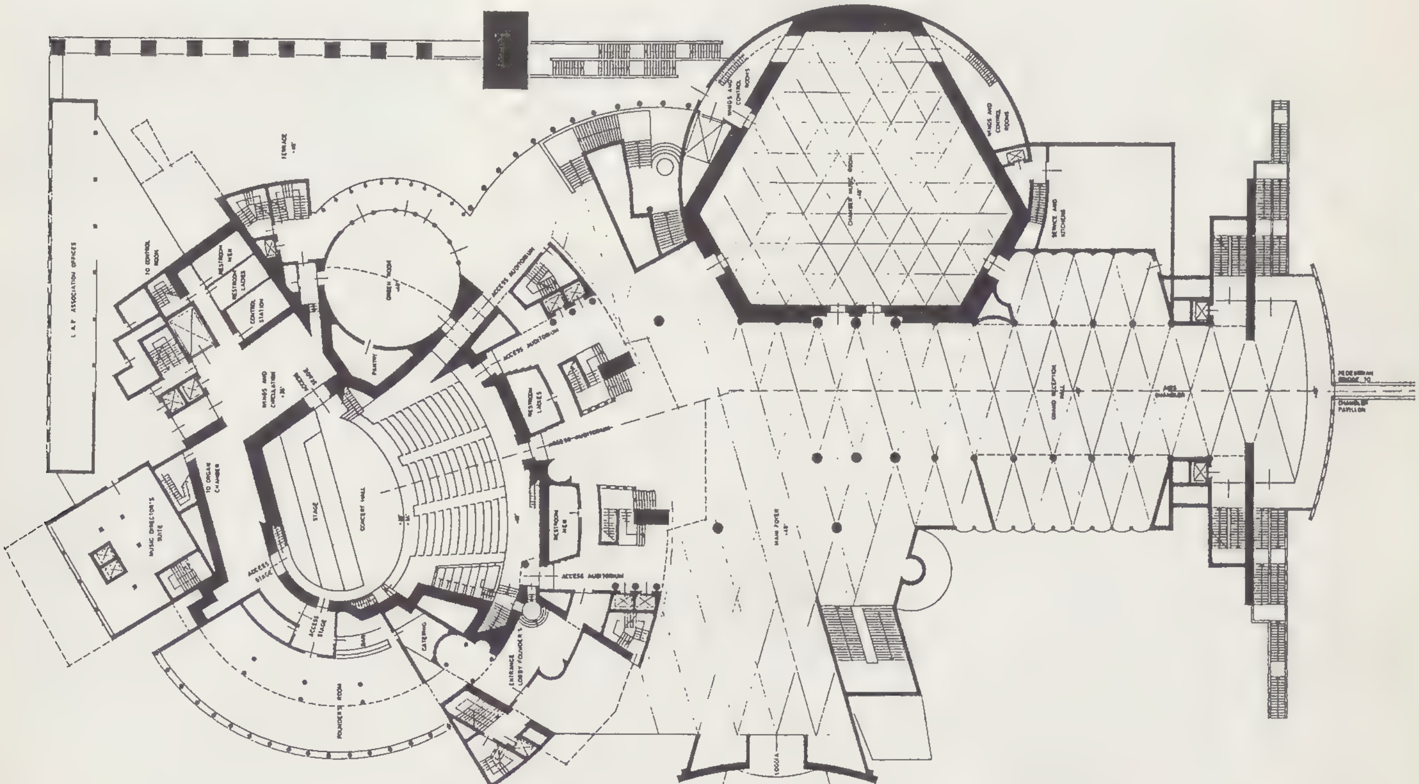
spirit of Los Angeles, I have decided not to do a room of a basic geometric configuration but a space suggesting the complex but fraternal relationship of people of all backgrounds coming together in the enjoyment of music. A big impressive space with an intimacy created by subdivisions into smaller areas of individual character. People will be able to both identify with the concert hall as a hall but also with the character of the particular space they are in.
I was taken by the insinuations and suggestions of the program as they are very much in keeping with the philosophy of a proposal for an auditorium I have made almost 25 years ago, and I saw myself confirmed in this way of thinking. Because acoustics are a dominant consideration, I have tried to develop an architectural and spatial approach which is in keeping and sympathy with the demands of acoustics and the configuration it suggests. I also found the concept of an audience-orchestra relationship, with music — and the orchestra — at its center, with its implication of community and togetherness highly intriguing, both as a reflection of todays concept of a free society and a different type of confrontation with music making. The borders between active and passive enjoyment of music are becoming less strict and severe. The auditorium should reflect the homogenous heterogenity of the complex sociological situation of today's Los Angeles.

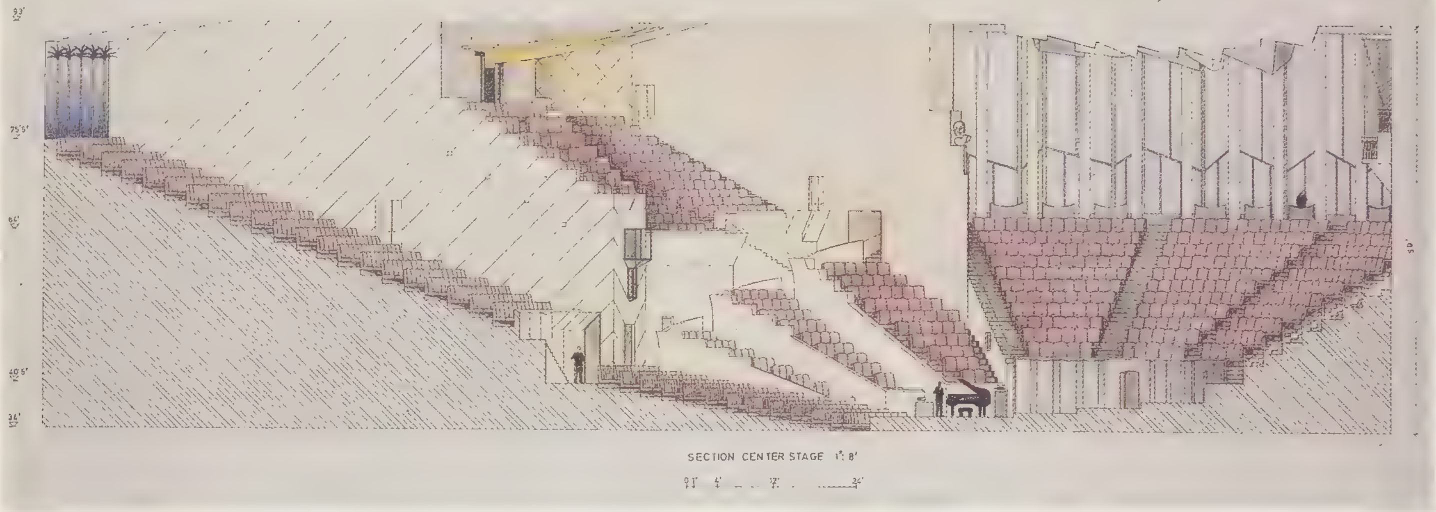
The Urban Situation
The site offers a unique opportunity to erect a cultural building as a focal point in downtown Los Angeles. Both from its position on top of the hill as well as its adjacency to Chandler Pavilion in continuation of the Music Center, it commands a superior position.
The new building complex has to have an individuality and character of its own but should also integrate itself into the pattern of the cultural buildings along Grand Avenue — the Music Center to the North and the Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) diagonally to the South.
The other surrounding buildings are of a rather different nature and scale. The Walt Disney Concert Hall Complex has to set itself off against those skyscrapers already existing or coming. It should be clearly read as a unique building, as a building of a different category, of different use and meaning. It should not hide that it is a public cultural building of the highest hierarchy. It should be symbolic of the aspirations of man, a document to the cultural endeavours of Los Angeles. As a building dedicated to one of the Arts it has to be a work of art itself. As is the case with music, it should reflect everyday human endeavours and great hours of one's life. It should be clearly identifyable, memorable, unmistakably the Los Angeles Walt Disney Concert Hall. This does not mean that it should be an inhuman monument. Rather a unique place reflecting a particular way of life, in a particular city.
As a Concert Hall, it should try to represent a vision of a society and their way of making and enjoying music in the

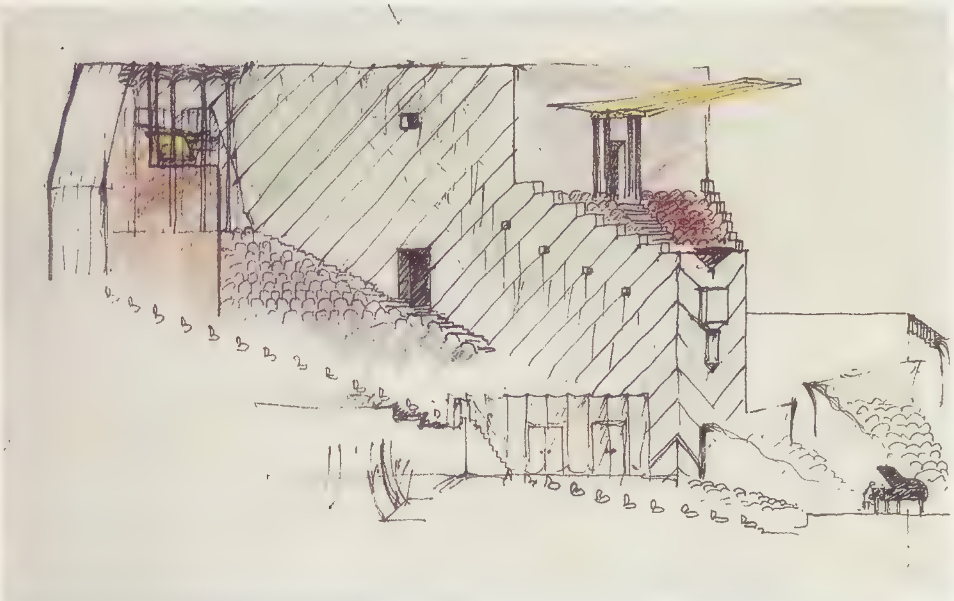
future. A concert building at the Esterhazy Court at Haydn's time had a different appearance than a concert hall for the enlightened bourgeoisie of the late Nineteenth Century for a larger audience. Still you could play in them the same music — and some new. In similar consequence the Los Angeles Concert Hall for the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra should be a step into the Twentyfirst century. Still playing Mozart, but also new music with different audiences.
However great the acoustics and the appearance of some of the famous Nineteen century concert halls are, the Los Angeles Hall should not be another version of them. The development of the site and the urbanistic concept is based on the above thoughts.
Lots Q and W2 are set aside for high-rise buildings. A pedestrian-shopping axis is suggested from Hill Street to Grand Avenue. Such connecting Grand Avenue (and the Metro Rail Civic Center Station) not only along First Street but also in the middle of Lot W2 and Q.
On lot Q along Grand Avenue there is arcaded shopping and little gardens and plazas are suggested near the corner of Grand Avenue-First Street.
The placing of the high-rise buildings should respect the prominence of lot K and this corner should be left open. Farther down west on First a row of high-rise buildings of rather similar volume and appearance is preferable to a succession of singular statements. The area for particular statements is along Grand Avenue. Here a skyscraper of a more specific appearance is suggested.
The development of lot K has been explored with a series of alternatives.
Accepting the Concert Hall as the generator of the building complex on this lot as well as the concept of a Concert Hall of a specific configuration rather than an easily integrable simple geometric figure two variations have emerged.
One — the more centered structure on axis with Chandler Pavilion and the Concert Hall proper at the 2nd Street part of the lot, the other the Concert Hall vis-a-vis Chandler Pavilion, surrounded by perimeter building suggesting a building-block and a succession of public open areas on different levels.
The alternative study shows a more block-oriented approach with the Hall in the center surrounded by the other functions. The entrance is diagonally at the corner of Grand Avenue and First Street, from a public plaza which gradually circles around the Concert Hall and rises, via landscaped steps to an upper plaza, a kind of "secret garden". This upper plaza can be both public and closed off for restricted use of concert goers. The step of the pre-concert amphitheater arrives at this upper level which is also the level of concert halls and the upper lobbies and reception hall. Lower and upper lobby are connected by a grand staircase acting as a distributing element. This solution has more intimacy and direct relation with outside areas. It makes less of a gesture towards the Hope Street, the entrance to the Music Center area of downtown. It is more modest but uses the same Concert Hall Auditorium

Ground floor and top floor plans of the Walt Disney Concert Hall.

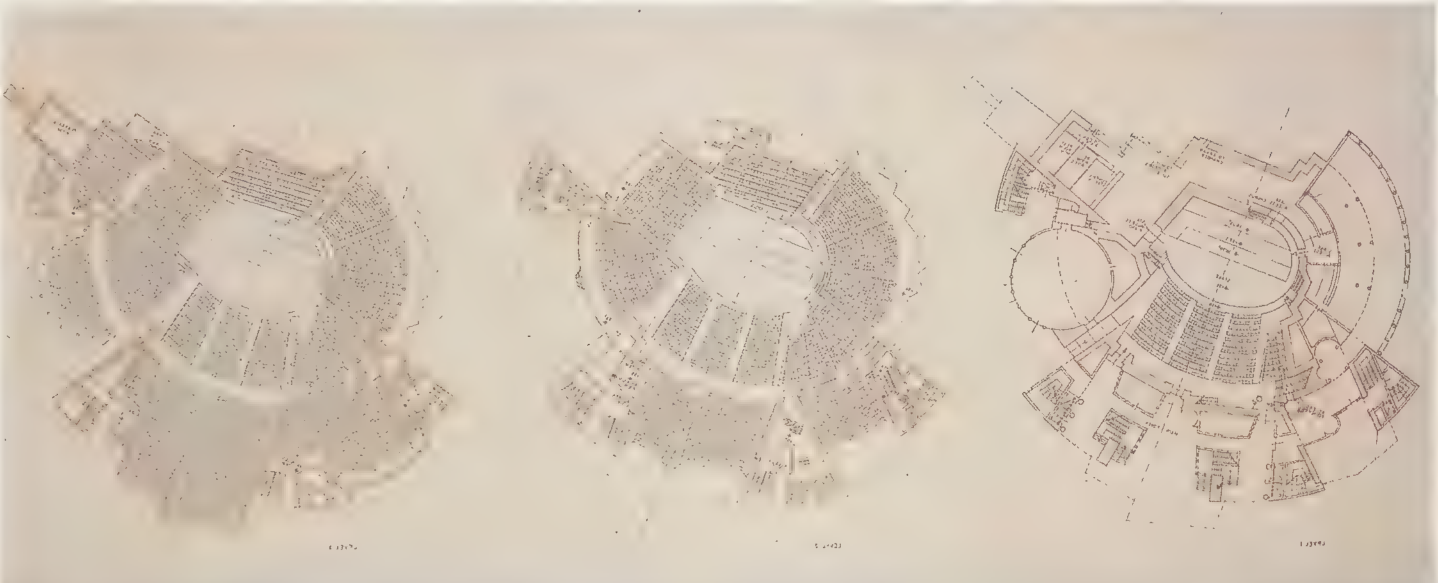





SECTION CENTER STAGE 1": 8'







Cross section of the Concert Hall.
Sketches of the inside of the Concert Hall.
Floor plans of the three levels of the Concert Hall.

which appears more prominently towards the outside, while the Chamber Music Hall (room for chamber music) is hidden. While the first priority is undisputed the Concert Hall, the weight of the other parts and functions of the building, their relation to each other and to each other and to private and public areas, as well as their prominence could be open for debate.

The Building

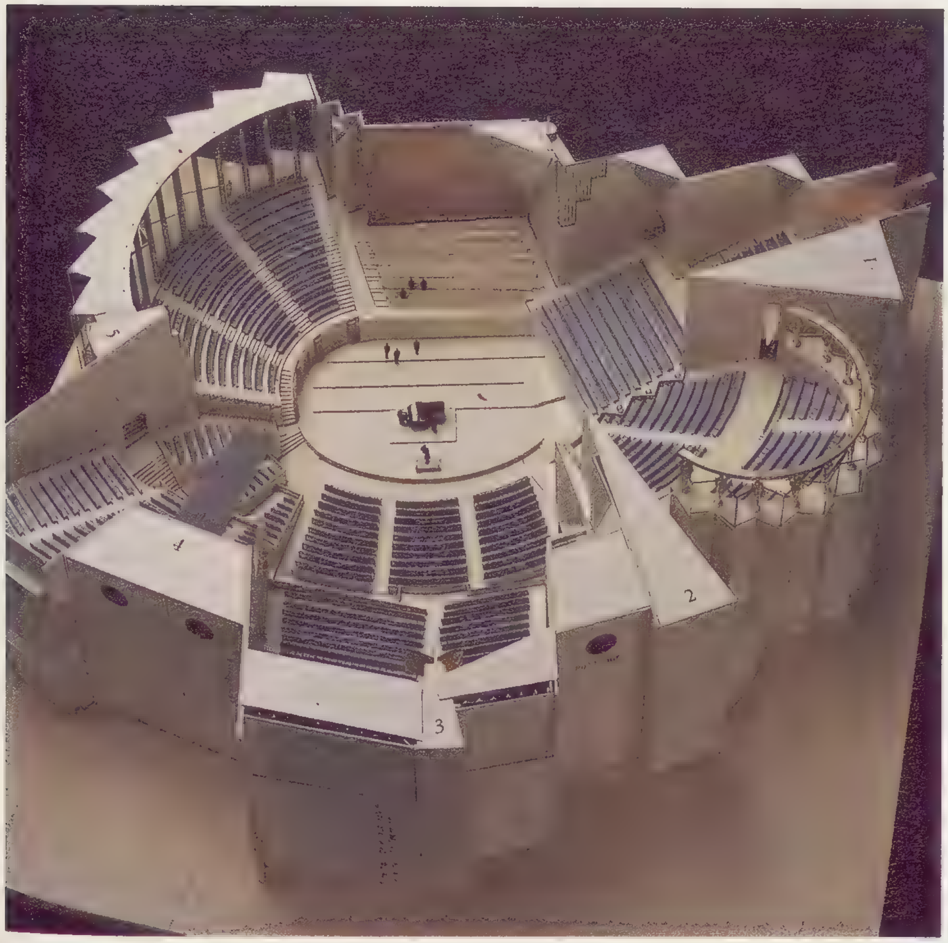
The shape of the Walt Disney Concert Hall building is constituted by mainly four elements. The Concert Hall proper, the Chamber Music Hall, the Reception Hall and foyer-spaces and the areas and volume of backstage activities and office functions.
Setting an alongated reception hall on axis with Chandler Hall (with a possible connection by a bridge to the balcony level of Chandler Pavilion) and placing the auditorium on the southern part of Lot K you arrive at a dialectic between the volumes of the two Concert Halls, as well as between the linear Reception Hall.
This dialectic generates the approach to the building volumes. Main entrance is on Grand Avenue, a secondary approach on First Street, connected outside by parklike plazas. The main service and garage entrance is at 2nd Street near the corner of Hope Street.
Arriving in the central part of the lobby you have a clear orientation and view of the ascending stairs and the pre-concert areas. Having reached the upper level of the foyers, the level of the grand reception area, the access to the entrances of the large Concert Hall and the Chamber Music Hall face you.
At this level you enter the main concourse of the Concert Hall, slightly above stage level. The level of the Chamber Music Hall is even with the lobby. This Hall, an uneven hexagon allows for a variety of audience-performance relationships. The Grand Reception Hall is a colonnaded space with side wings and upper balconies, lit from the side and upper clerestory windows.
Backstage functions, green room, Founders area are closely related to the auditorium.
The entrance to the offices and backstage areas is near the corner of Grand Avenue and 2nd Street.
The building has a varied roof-scape, a marked silhouette. The necessary elements for mechanical equipment, airconditioning, etc. are used for a preconceived sculptural statement in keeping with the language of the building.
The materials are stone, metal and glass; white marble, green quarzite, red sandstone (to continue an already set "indigenious" material at the Museum of Contemporary Art) and grey and green granite. Aluminium and gilded surfaces (facing West towards the setting for best reflection) are shiny, as are the surfaces of the office tower in structural glazing.

The Concert Hall

The act of making music shared by a sympathetic

community of music-lovers of all persuasions surrounding the orchestra — a space emanating and resonating sound — is the basic idea of the project. Acoustical demands for big concert halls as this one (2500 people) define certain conditions. A conventional rectangular auditorium for that number with 66 ft width and a maximum length of 110 ft would only be possible with a balcony. I thought the concept of rather being side by side than on top of each other more in keeping with the atmosphere and spirit to be evoked with such a hall. Furthermore, it was my intent to use an architectural language and vocabulary that corresponds to a geometry suggested by acoustics, such as an irregular spatial form and configuration (in plan as well as in section), walls, floors, ceilings of different sizes, angles and materials — a very sculptural treatment — but still to arrive at a strong, unified space, a visually exiting space.
This configuration allows for very close audience-orchestra relationships and for different preferences of the audience. Most seats are very near to the source of sound: 54% are within a 40' (12 m) distance from the stage, another 27% are within a 66' (20 m) radius. Those who wish in addition a good en-face view of the conductor, or the pianist, will prefer certain sections, while those whose preference is the conventional frontal relationship still have 2/3 of the seats in such an area.
The normally occupied part of the podium can be seen by every member of the public and good direct sound is provided. The stage platform is rather low to make possible a flat incline for the initial rows of seats in order to not disturb the development of sound through absorbing audiences. The slightly projecting stage allows for good positioning of the strings towards the conductor. The variability of the heights of the platforms is achieved by automated risers (and not hydraulic platforms which come from below). Access to the stage as well is accomplished not from below but sideways on orchestra level. There are two entrance possibilities.
The stage is surrounded by reflecting surfaces also for the musicians aural comfort.
The partitioning walls are determined by the required distance for lateral sound. The dividing "wedges" provide also for excellent access and exit-routes. These walls have manifaceted surfaces, at a variety of angles and protusions and recesses. (The treatment of the wall is only slightly indicated on the drawings and models.)
A series of "objects", sculptures and the like besides being there in their own right also help to serve acoustical purposes.
A spatial concept like this also allows for an abundance of extremely well placed TV-camera positions and control-rooms which furthermore can be easily integrated into the overall architectural treatment without being disturbing elements, not alien but in keeping with the general architectural character. This also holds true for the ceiling. After a number of experiments and consultations with the acousticians, a generally flat ceiling was chosen.
Two alternatives have been followed: One of a configuration of primary structures radially arranged from the central orchestra area into which smaller scale elements can be inserted after acoustical necessities.
The assumption for both ceiling types is that they can make do without suspended reflecting acoustical elements above the stage. However, if necessary they can be done in such a way that they are integrated into the architectonic appearance of the ceiling-area and do not act as alien elements. They could be adjustable in height.
The other alternative structures the ceiling with a continuous expanse of irregular elements of rather similar size (of about 8' extend) in a "cracked-ice" pattern — echoing in a way the music of Philip Glass — which can shift from a flat two-dimensional to a three-dimensional contour, such creating a "landscape of reflection" arranged to acoustical demands.
The basically flat ceiling is provided with a down-angle at the rear perimeter and possibly lowered elements above the orchestra area. The maximum ceiling height is 59'.
The volume of the hall is appr. 850.000 cubic-ft.
The materials are a.o.: for the wedge-shaped partitioning walls in one instance stone, otherwise stucco-lustro, stucco, again structured in different angles and configurations. Back walls along the first passageway are wood, walls behind seating areas are varied: wood, stucco, some metal covered and other gilded surfaces. Some of the rear walls are glazed in a saw-tooth arrangement to provide the experience of an outside view and daylight. An "aircushion" of several feet width is provided between inner and outer glazing. The experience of daylight and view of the outside seems particularly delightful in Los Angeles (Halls like the Musikverein in Vienna and the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam also have glazed windows which do not disturb the acoustical atmosphere). Seats are upholstered.
The general mood of the room, the atmoshpere, is light, exuberant, joyful with a touch of distinction and splendor. There is a variety within unity, areas are distinctly their own but at the same clearly part of the whole. A careful composition and not cacophony. There is a lot to experience as the eye wanders during concert or the public while entering and leaving. There are dramatic entrances possible, but also very modest ones. Approaching from the main-lobby (on level with the main entrances to the hall, slightly above stage level) — through a zone of transition — you are in another world when entering. The concert can start and musical experience begin.
You will find a number of allusions to the man in whose memory the hall will be erected. There is a Walt-Disney sculpture listening to the concert from a high pedestal, there is a Mickey-Mouse-bridge, there are areas for other memorabilia.
Should an Oscar-Ceremony take place in this hall, you will find caryatids (reminiscent of the Vienna-Musikverein) of this famous Los Angeles sculpture already there.
The colors are in keeping with the mood: subdued red,

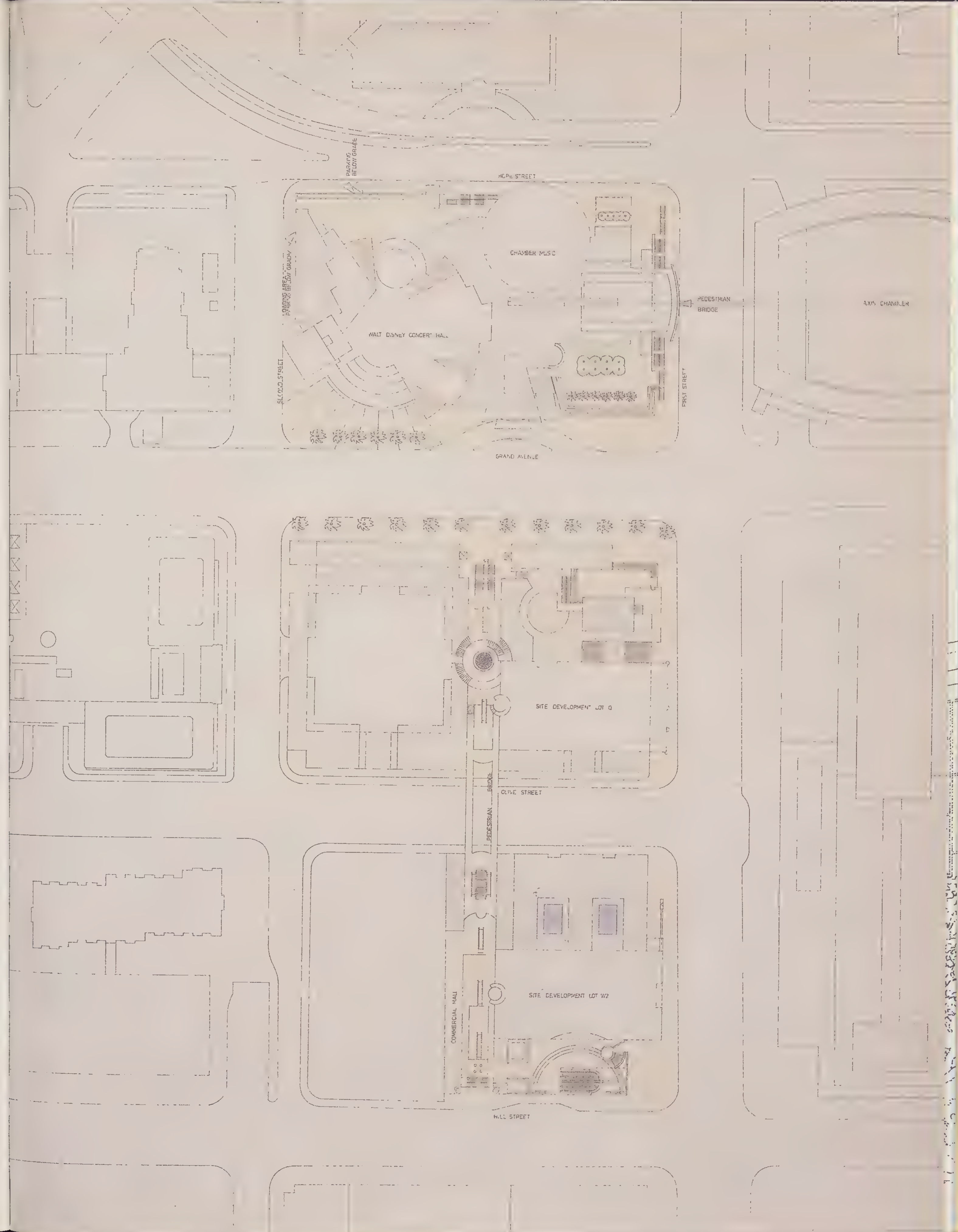




Views of the model showing the inside of the Concert Hall.

grey, light greens, some black and gold. Silvery hues appear at various instances and they give depth to the surfaces. (See color and material diagram and sample — partly a Bronzino-palette, some oriental splendor, some desert notion but also reflections of Los Angeles under the sun.)
Light is of prime importance.
Besides the already mentioned touches of daylight (during daytime events) light will emanate both from the ceiling and the wall. Splendid but not overpowering.
The center will get its due attention but the perimeters as well.
The presence of the room, the presence of the music and the presence of the audience should combined create the perfect space for enjoyment of one of the greatest arts.
Silence sets in and Beethoven's Ninth starts.

General plan of the complex.

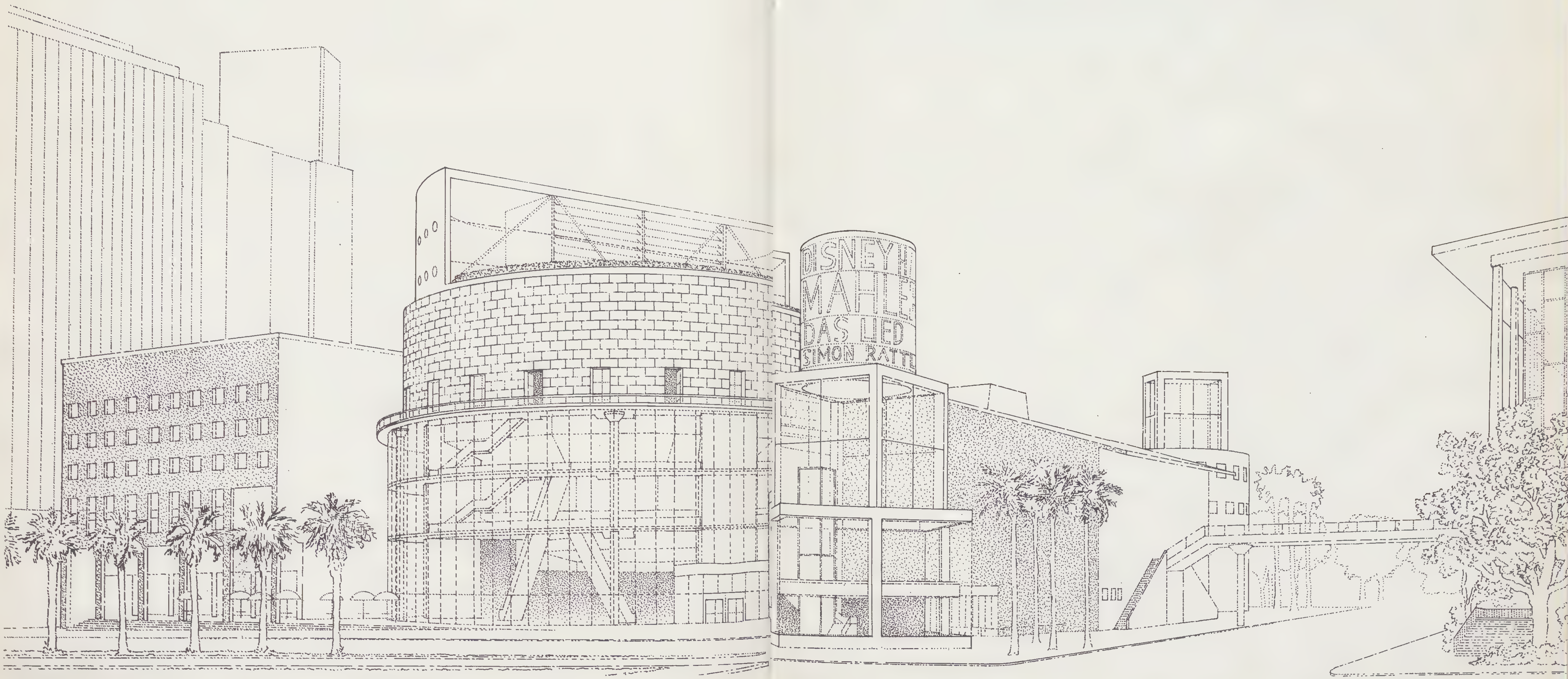

PARKING BELOW GRADE
HOPE STREET
CHAMBER MUSIC
PEDESTRIAN BRIDGE
AXIS CHANDLER
WALT DISNEY CONCERT HALL
GRAND AVENUE
SITE DEVELOPMENT LOT Q
OLIVE STREET
PEDESTRIAN BRIDGE
SITE DEVELOPMENT LOT W2
COMMERCIAL MALL
HILL STREET

The competition for the 'Walt Disney' Concert Hall in Los Angeles
1988

James Stirling and Michael Wilford

with Russell Bevington, David Turnbull, Luigi Ferrari, Christopher McCormack, Ellis O'Donnell, Toby Lewis, Michael McNamara, Philip Smithies, Martha Lagess, David Jennings, Charlie Hussey, Michael McCann.
Acoustical consultant: Arup Acoustics (Derek Sudgen).
Structures: Ove Arup & Partner (Robert Pugh)

Perspective from the corner between Grand Avenue and First Street.

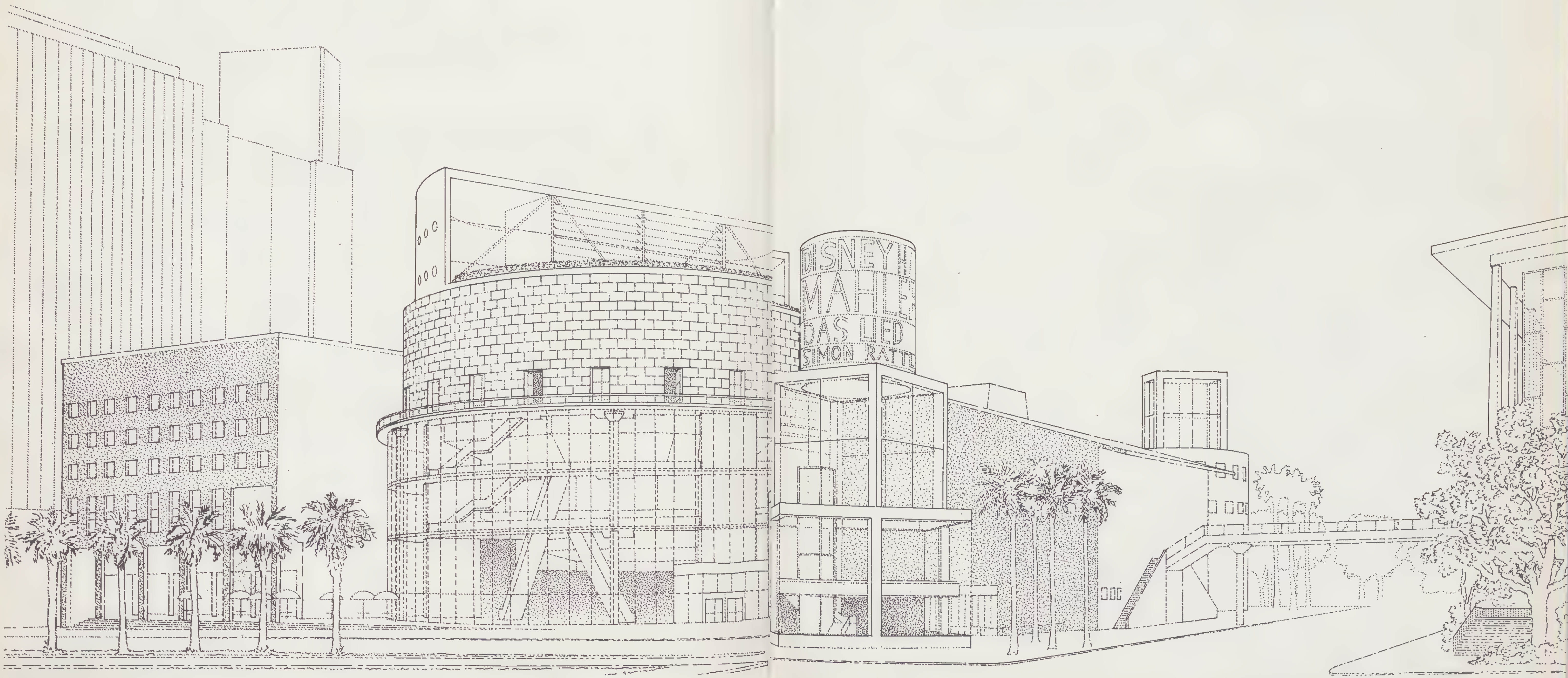


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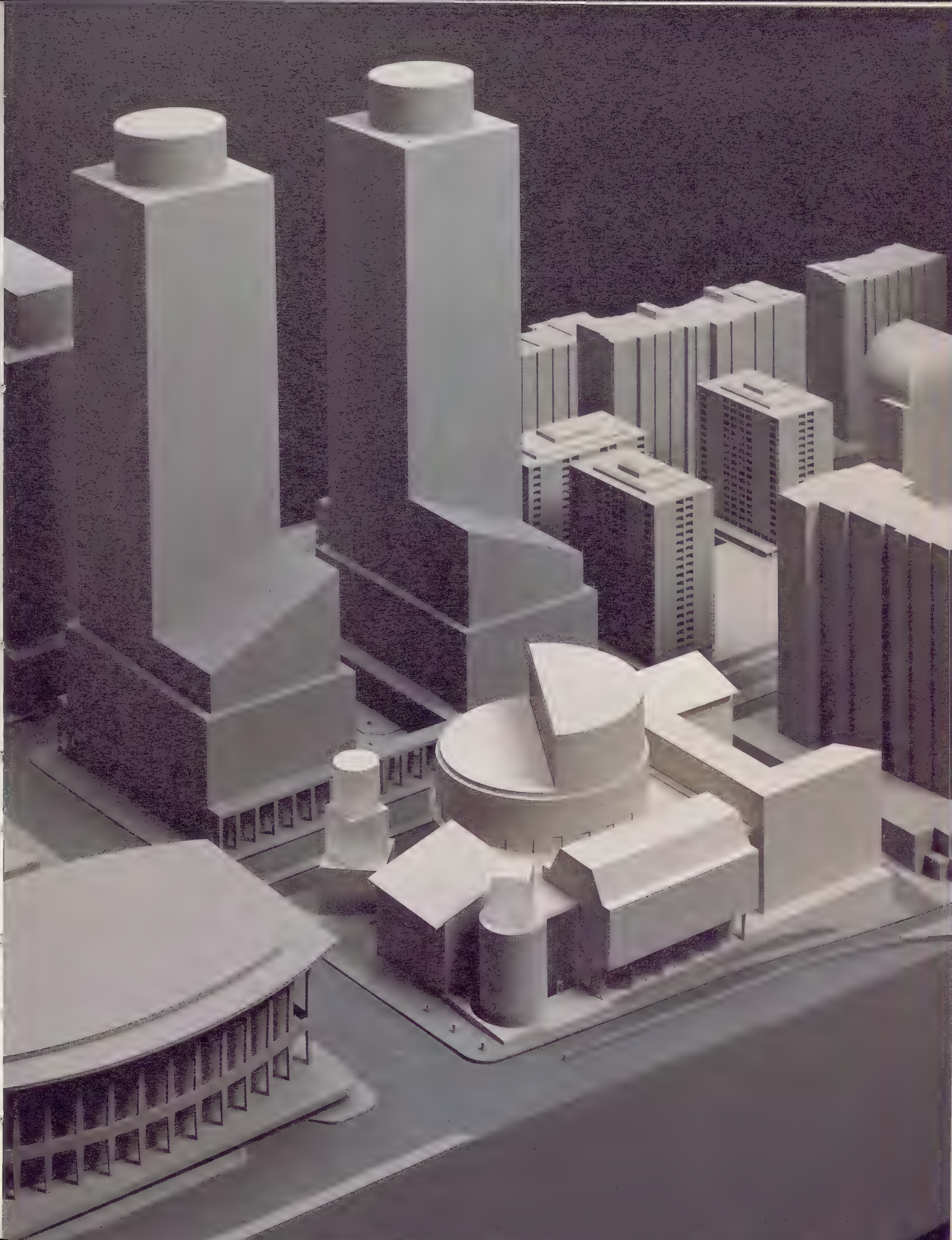


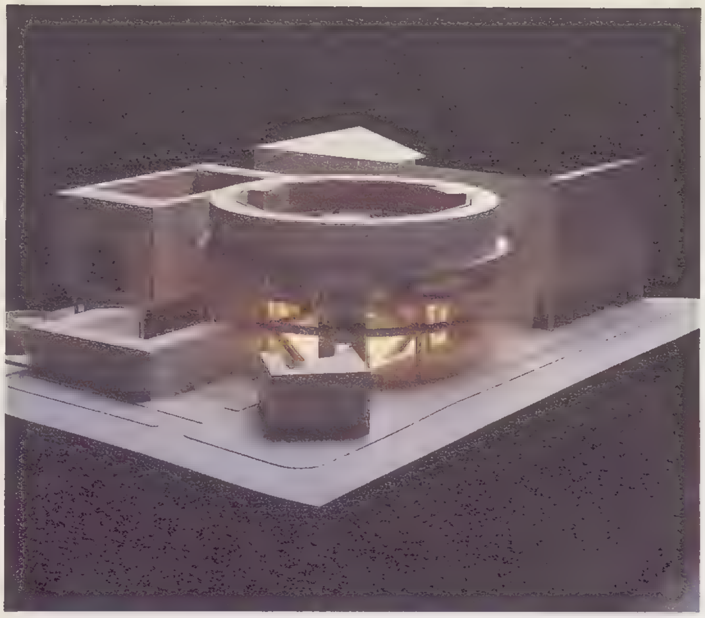
Project for the Walt Disney Concert Hall at Los Angeles
James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates

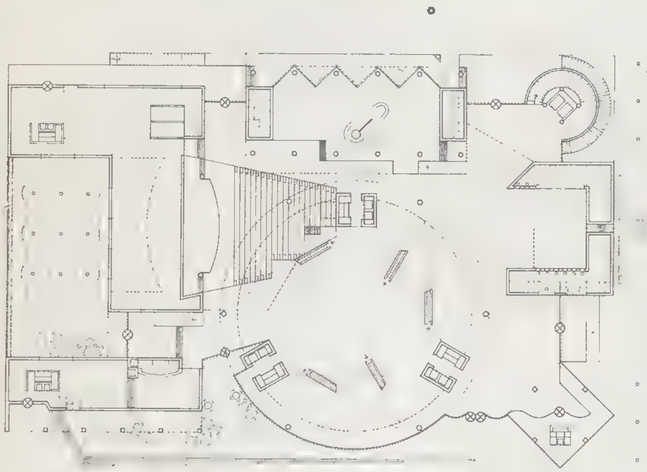
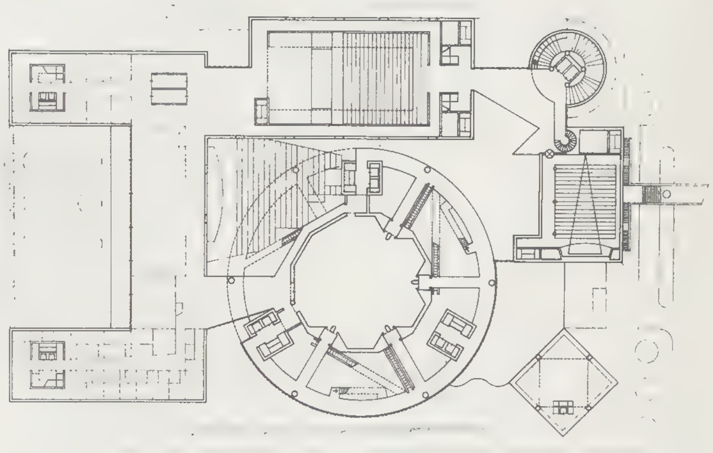
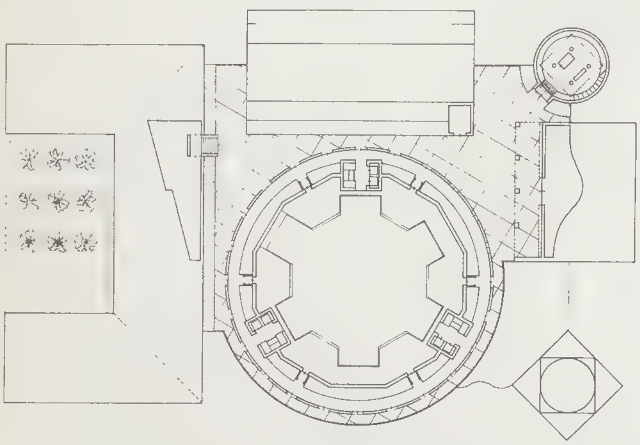
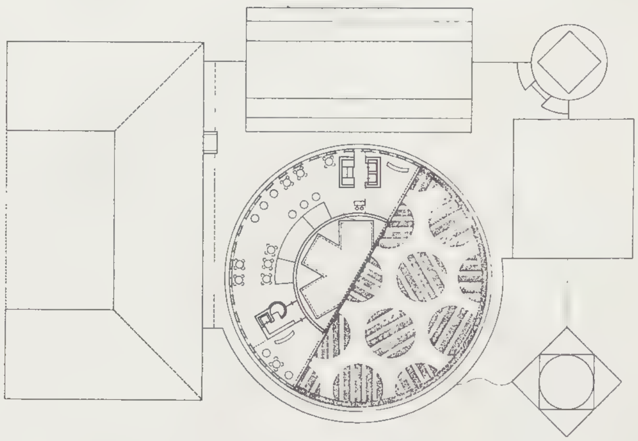
View of the model of the urban siting.

Image and Massing
With our project we hope to achieve a civic identity for the Walt Disney Concert Hall, related both to the tradition of monumental public buildings and to the populist aspect of today's places of culture and entertainment.
The Walt Disney Concert Hall should be a focal point in Los Angeles and a symbol of the importance of music in the cultural life of the City, with a phisical appearance appropriate to the performance of wonderful music by a world class orchestra. It should be a highly visible and accessible public place encouraging community involvement with the arts, a source of joy and inspiration to patrons and visitors of all ages. Its ambience and facilities should create a fine working home for the Los Angeles Philharmonic, inspiring the highest level of creativity.
The complex facilities of the Walt Disney Center occupy the whole of Lot K. Our design is an ensemble of architectural forms expressing the functional elements of the program. These are unified at ground level by a grand Concourse; a microcosm of the City. The disposition and design of program elements is informal and yet geometrically related to the north/south axis of the Music Center.
The circular and stepped Concert Hall is the centerpiece of the composition. Its diagonal orientation towards the corner of Grand Avenue and First Street reinforces Grand Avenue as the primary boulevard for the whole of the Music Center. The Concert Hall together with the Chamber Hall and the support facilities building, (the 'Villa') form a trio of primary elements. A smaller group of three pavilions containing the Gift Shop, Box Office/Cinema and Grand Stair/Club Lounge are arranged along First Street. These pavilions define the northern entrances to the building and are a visual foil to the large form of the Chandler building. A circular electronic billboard (perhaps rotating), above the Gift Shop would announce current events at the Disney Center. This would be computer controlled and thus information could be instantly varied. A garden enclosed on three sides by the Villa opens towards views of downtown and comprises the southern edge of the City block. The upper parts of the building semi-enclose a roof terrace with adjoining bars and lounges at the top balcony level of the Concert Hall. From this terrace there are views of Los Angeles and the Hollywood hills. The silhouette of the new building should establish a unique image for the Walt Disney Music Center through the evocative variety of forms and materials expressing the cultural diversity of Los Angeles.

Approach and Entry
The glazed Concourse is transparent, highly visible and accessible. It opens out towards the city, embracing the surrounding streets and inviting entry from all sides. Fascinating daytime and evening views into this Concourse should attract pedestrians from downtown and the Music





Views of the model. Plans of the ground floor (reception hall), second (auditorium), fourth (terrace roof) and last level (roof-garden and restaurant); on the left, the "Villa" containing dressing rooms, rehearsal spaces, rooms for personnel and offices; above the Chamber Music Hall; on the right the three minor pavilions on First Street.

Center to the entrances on Grand Avenue, First Street and Hope Street.
Automobile and taxi drop-off is provided along First Street; the garage entrance is on Second Street. Stairs and elevators from the lower foyers at each parking floor would convey visitors to ground level, outside but immediately adjoining the entrances to the building. The Musicians' entrance is on Grand Avenue near the Second Street intersection. This entrance could be orientated towards Second Street if more privacy was preferred. The Administration entrance is at a corresponding position on Hope Street. We include proposals for moving pavements in the sloping arcades along the First Street frontage of new buildings on Lots Q and W2 and these would convey visitors to the Music Center from the First/Hill Street Metro Station, somewhat reminiscent of the old Bunker Hill funiculars. Light Rail passengers could enter the Disney Center from the First/Hope Street or Second/Grand location, whichever is eventually chosen for the station.

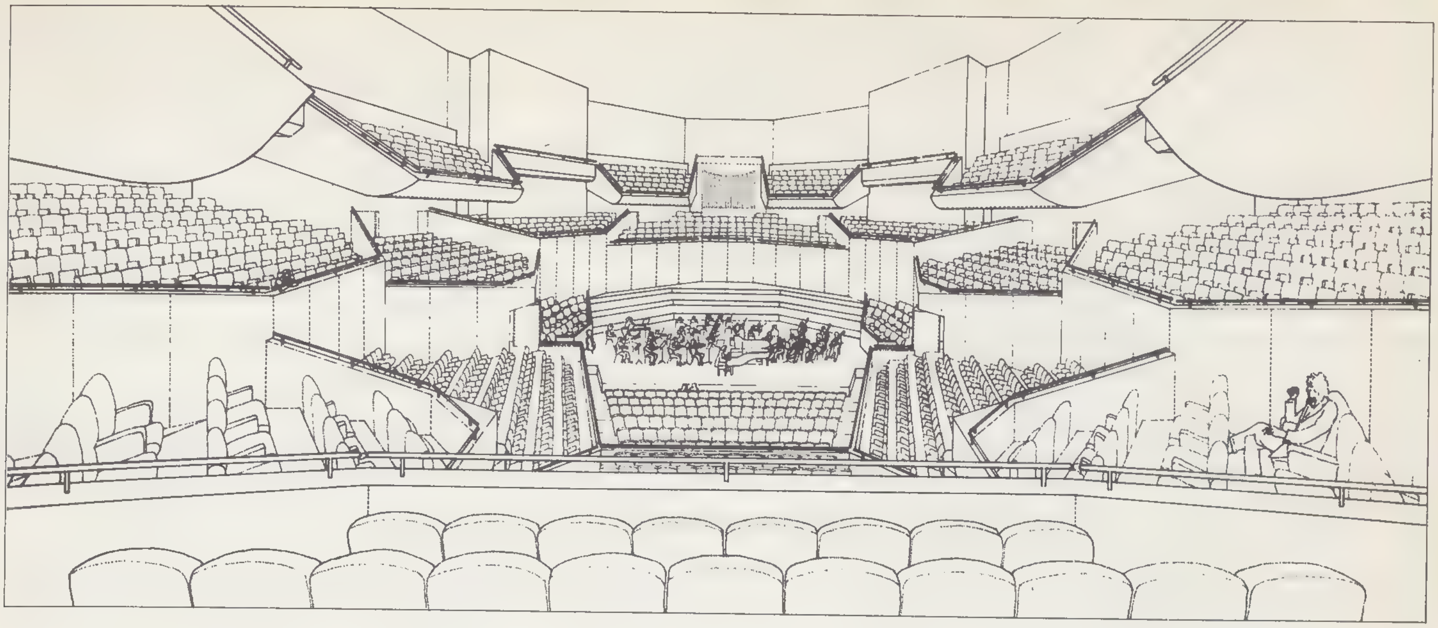
Concourse
The dynamic informality of the Concourse with its preperformance and intermission activities contrasts with the calm ambience of the Concert Hall and the Chamber Music Hall. The Concourse incorporates lobbies, entrance halls, galleries, meeting areas etc. This free-flowing space should encourage promenading. There are floor level changes to articulate various activities and to provide views and overlooks for people-watching. An illuminated floor beneath the crystalline soffit of the Concert Hall is flanked by the adjoining vertical circulation towers and defines the center. From here escalators and elevators rise to all levels of the Concert Hall.
During the day the Concourse would be flooded with natural light from all sides making it a spirited and friendly place to meet friends, purchase tickets and gifts, listen to recitals or lectures, see exhibitions and visit the garden . It would be a bustling center encouraging visitors to explore the world of music, as well as stimulating regular patrons and aficionados. It would also provide a spectacular venue for ceremonial occasions and fund raising events.
The Concourse is animated by flying escalators gliding the audience upwards to the ring galleries around the Concert Hall.
Dramatic lighting would contribute to the excitement and anticipation of patrons attending evening performances. In the evening the building would indeed be ablaze with light; a beacon or magic lantern.
Ticket windows for all facilities open on to a U-shaped area which also contains lavatories and cloakrooms. Bars and lounges overlook Hope Street and downtown through bay windows. Shallow stepped seating levels and a platform for pre-concert lectures, recitals and happenings are recessed in the Concourse floor to from an informal open 'theater'. The Grand Reception Hall, which is raised slightly above Concourse level, is a spacious double-height room with large

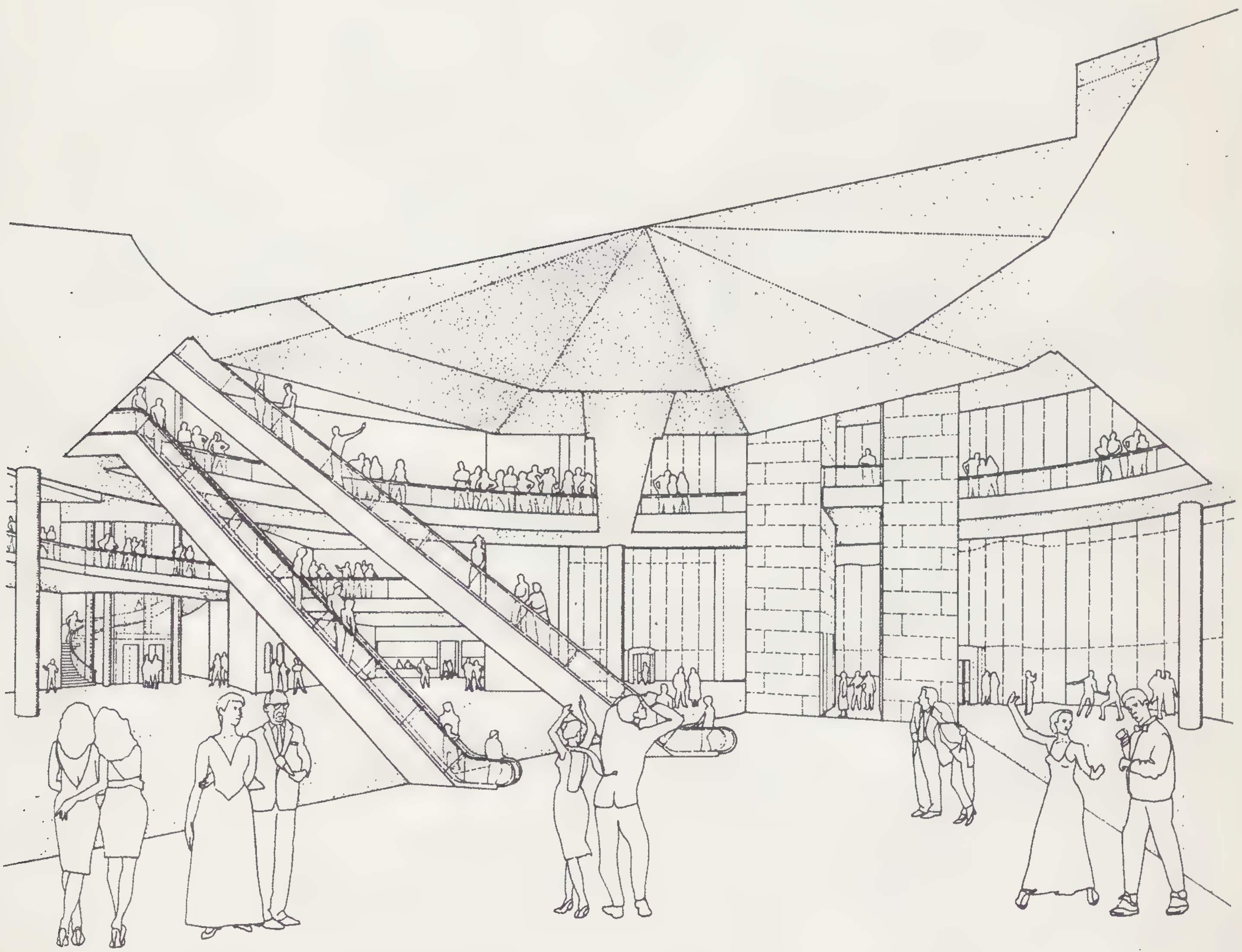
windows overlooking the garden. It could be part of the Concourse promenade or alternatively could be used in a more private manner related to the garden. Private functions could be accomodated on a mezzanine above, allowing separate and simultaneous usage. The whole Grand Reception Room and garden could be used for large private functions and exhibitions. The Founders' Suite is situated in the Villa at mezzanine level overlooking Grand Avenue. Connection to the Executive Boardroom could be across the Grand Reception mezzanine. The Cafe and Gift Shop are accessible both from the Concourse and from the Grand Avenue sidewalk. Cafe tables could spill on to the sidewalk terraces and into the Villa garden.
Public access to the Concourse could be allowed throughout the day by closing off vertical circulation to the Halls. Performance tickets could be checked either at the upper entrances to the Halls, or at the base of vertical circulation from the Concourse. Alternatively the street entrances to the building could be the security check to the interior, dependant upon the extent to which non ticket holders were allowed access.
The Concert Hall and Chamber Music Hall have separate vertical circulation to avoid congestion. Escalators, elevators and staircases would convey the audience quickly from Concourse to the upper ring galleries encircling the Concert Hall. This dramatic escalator ascent would provide spectacular overviews and heighten the visitor's expectation. The circular pavilion on the Hope/First Street corner encloses a grand staircase which spirals around two glass-enclosed elevators, providing a beautifully developed traditional approach to the Chamber Music Hall. Over the Concert Hall is a spectacular roof top restaurant with a garden and views across the Civic Center towards the mountains. This commercial facility has been added to the program and would enable patrons to enjoy pre or post-performance cocktails and/or dinner.

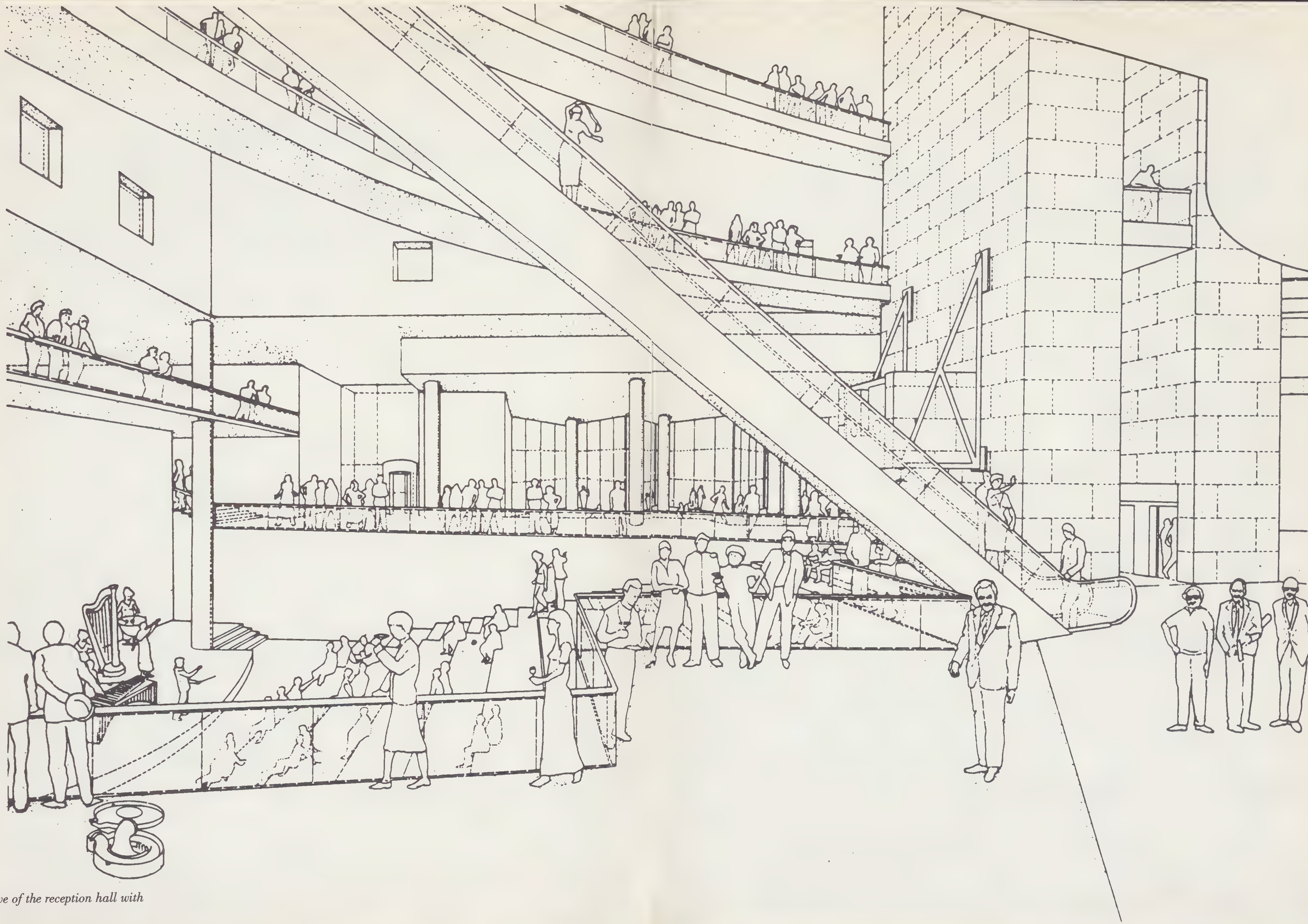
Concert Hall

The Concert Hall ('Snowflake') is designed as a series of tiered, interlocking seating balconies clustering three-dimensionally around the stage. This arrangement places the conductor and orchestra almost centrally in the room, uniting audience and orchestra and intensifying the emotional impact of a live performance. The balconies range in seating from 70 to 150 people on three levels. All 2470 seats would have complete views of the largest orchestra and there would be a wide choice of seating positions, allowing each member of the audience to have a different experience with every attendance. Seating platforms enable the stage size to be adjusted to accomodate orchestras ranging from 45 to 150 musicians thereby maintaining the intimacy of the audience/performer relationship. The organ is discreetly located behind the platform and does not compete with the orchestra as the focus of the Hall or divide the choir.
High quality natural materials (timber, fabric, plaster, brass,

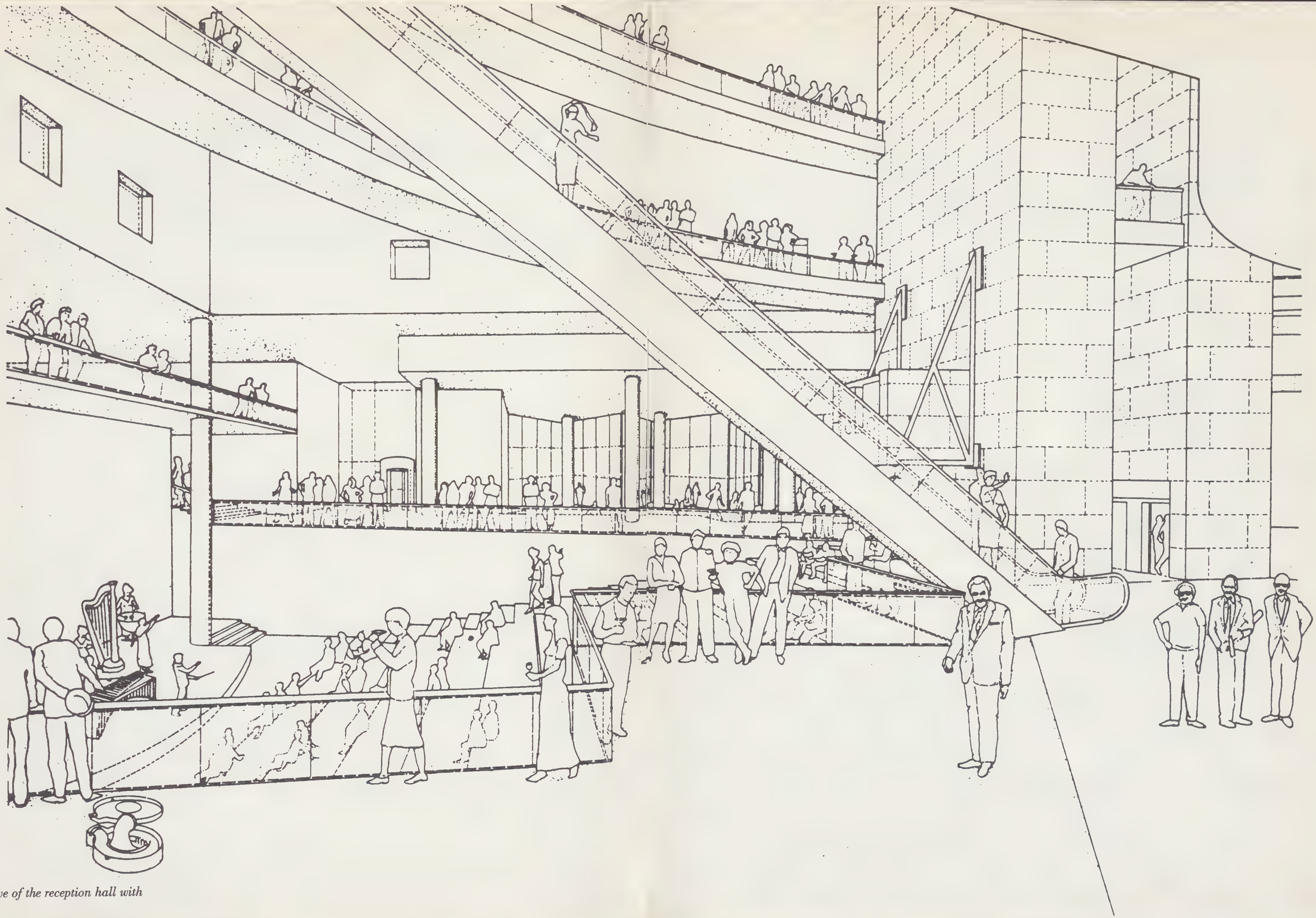
Perspectives of the Concert Hall and of the reception hall.



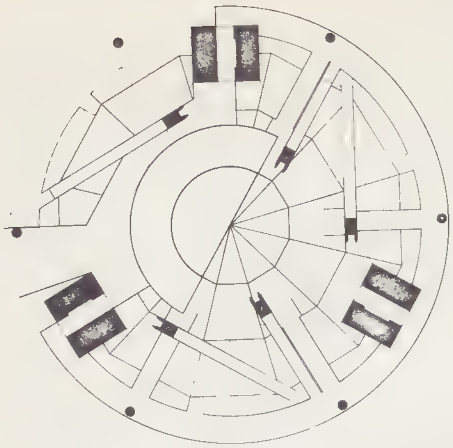


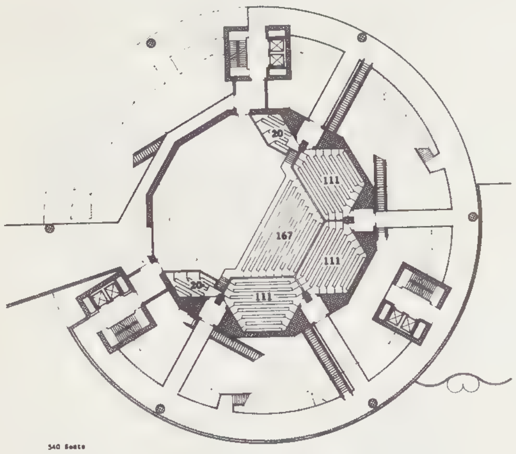


Perspective of the reception hall with tiers.

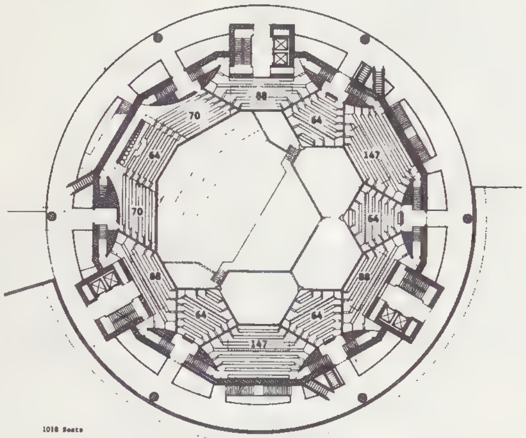


Perspective of the reception hall with tiers.

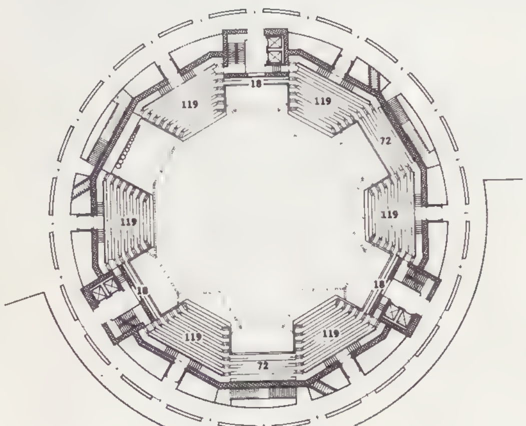




540 Seats



1018 Seats



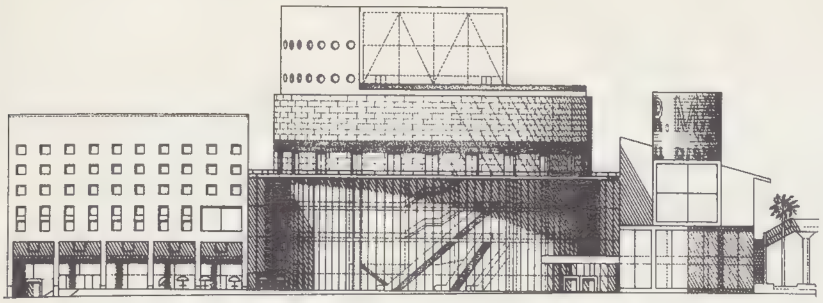
912 Seats

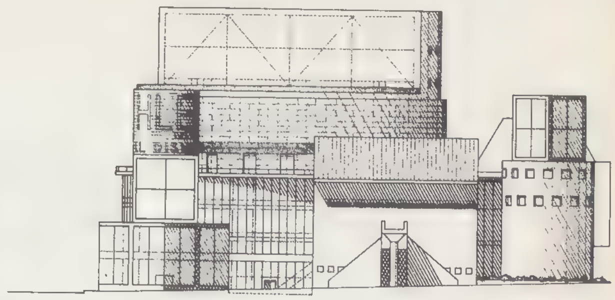
plush etc.) would provide warm tactile surfaces. The ceiling would be coffered to provide good sound diffusion and would have adjustable soffits. The introduction of diffused daylight through the ceiling over the platform could contribute to a unique appearance for matinee and early evening performances, and be a special characteristic of this Concert Hall.

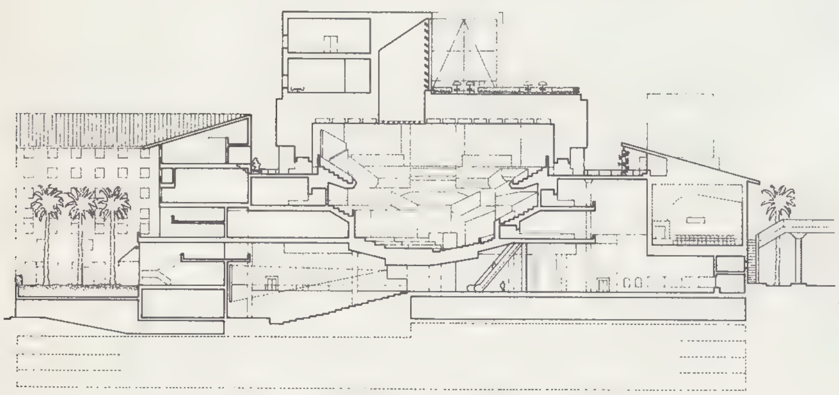
Chamber Music Hall
The traditional Chamber Music Hall ('Shoe-box') would have fine acoustics and an appropriately dignified environment for small ensembles, recitalists and soloists. It could have 800 seats on the main floor and 300 on a balcony around three sides of the room. A flexible floor allows variation in stage/audience relationships for chamber music, chamber opera, experimental music and dance. The Hall si flanked by a linear zone which functions as audience circulation or extended wing space on the main floor. It also functions as an access gallery at balcony level and technical ledge above. At the top of the circular pavilion containing the elevators and staircase there is a two level club/lounge which is also accessible from the roof terrace.

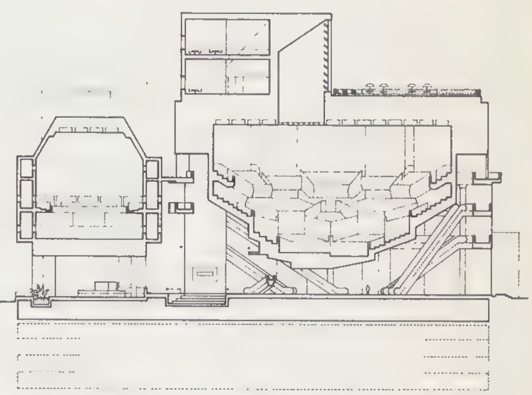
Cinema/Lecture Theater
A 450 seat cinema has been included as an addition to the building program for video/movie screenings or for public lectures. Using live closed-circuit relay it could also function as audience overspill for popular concerts.

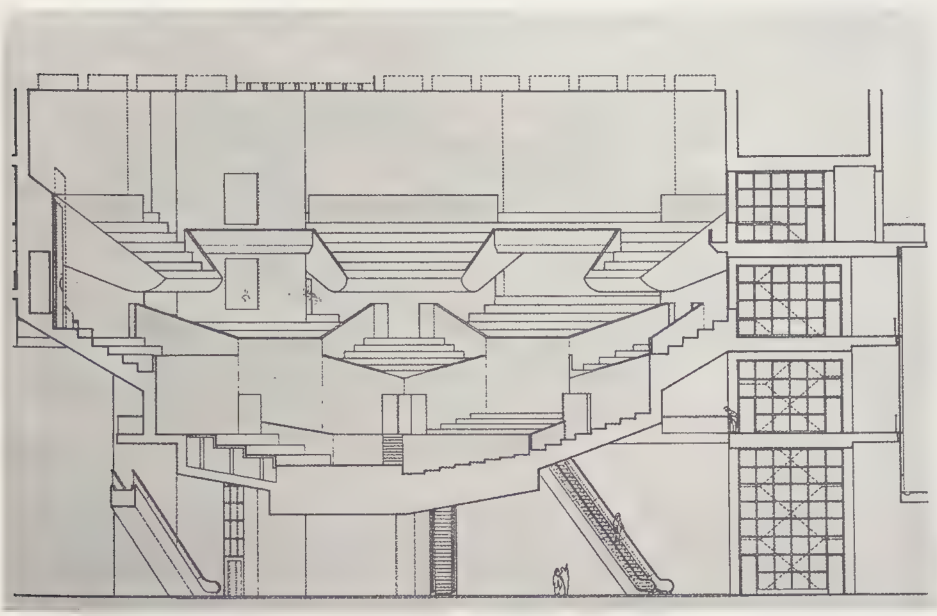
Community
In the Villa, elevators take musicians and singers from the Musicians' Entrance to the backstage, dressing rooms and rehearsal areas. Rooms and spaces are arranged to ensure a sense of community and an ambience in which the musicians are encouraged to achieve their full potential. All rooms would have natural light, operable windows and views into the garden, out to the City or over the Concourse roof terrace.
The Artists' Cafe adjoins backstage circulation at the center of the Villa. It has a balcony overlooking the garden where musicians and staff could relax after the concentration of rehearsal performance. The social area of the Orchestra Lounge is an extension of the Cafe, with a reading room and exercise area above. The Green Room is situated on the Concourse mezzanine below the Concert Hall.
The Music Director's suite is adjacent to the stage wing opposite the Music Library and overlooking Grand Avenue. Dressing rooms would be light, airy and confortable. Principals' dressing rooms are situated at stage level, adjacent to the Concert Hall and Chamber Music Hall, with musicians' dressing rooms on mezzanines above. Practice and Ensemble Rooms combine with the Master Choral Room to form a rehearsal floor in the Villa. The Choral Room has its own Concert Hall connection to enable the chorus to move directly to the auditorium from warm-up sessions.











Details of the reception hall plan below the Concert Hall, of the first, second and third levels of the Concert Hall. View from Grand Avenue and First Street.
Longitudinal section of the Concert Hall, on the left, the "Villa", and above, the restaurant and roof-garden, cross section of the Concert Hall and Chamber Music Hall and detail of the longitudinal section of the Concert Hall.

Elevators also take staff from the Hope Street entrance to the Orchestra and Music Center offices at the upper levels. These offices would be flexibly planned for common activities responding to changing needs. Accomodation for departments requiring a public interface are located at Concourse level adjacent to the entrance.

Servicing

On-site manoeuvring space is provided for two tractortrailers delivering instruments and props. Entrance and exit to Second Street is in a forward direction . A service dock and garbage collection area is also accommodated. Two freight elevators connect the unloading/handling area to the zone between the Concert Hall and Chamber Music Hall and to all other levels. Also from Second Street reversible parking ramps lead to the garage levels below.

Relationship with the Music Center

We support the proposal for new activities on the Music Center Plaza and the creation of a stronger pedestrian connection with Grand Avenue and the County Civic Mall. Straightening Grand Avenue between First and Temple Streets could provide a wide promenade adjacent to the Music Center, allowing outdoor cafes, restaurants and retail. These improvements, combined with landscaping on Grand Avenue, could provide a lively pedestrian link between the Music Center and the Walt Disney Concert Hall. Development of Lot Q could extend this link to the Museum of Contemporary Art and the future Dance Gallery. Grand Avenue should be the cultural focus of downtown Los Angeles. An optional pedestrian bridge for both staff and public is shown spanning First Street on the axis of the Music Center and connecting with the podium on the south side of the Chandler.

Development of Lots Q and W2

It is necessary to configure the large square footage of commercial development proposed in the Community Redevelopment Agency Draft Design Guidelines without overwhelming the Walt Disney Concert Hall and adjacent residential buildings. In the absence of discussions regarding possible density transfer and other measures which might lessen negative impact, we have diagrammatically shown office/retail space in twin towers with an adjacent low rise on Lot Q, with office/retail space in one tower and an adjacent low rise on Lot W2, complying with the net area set out in the program.

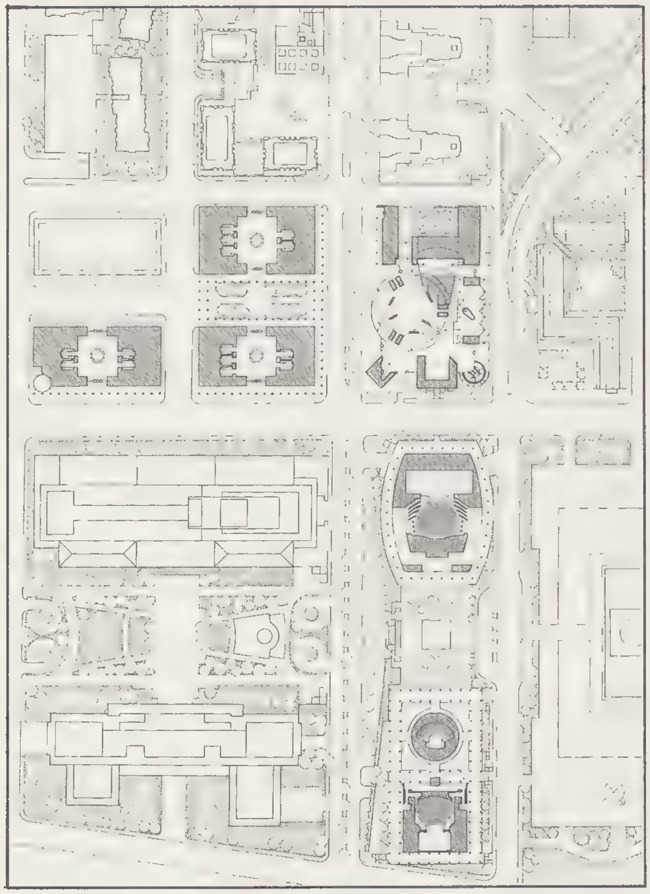
The twin set back towers on Grand Avenue rise from podia extending the full depth of the block and these match the height of the Villa of the Walt Disney Concert Hall. These podia continue the urban corridor of Grand Avenue to the Music Center. A colonnade containing bars, restaurants, music, book and art stores extends along the Grand Avenue frontage to encourage activity similar to that on Broadway at Lincoln Center in New York. The podia enclose landscaped plazas linking Grand Avenue and Olive Street. The air space between the towers allows views from the Walt Disney Concert Hall and sunlight to Lot W2. The First Street arcades would be lined with retail and cultural activities to support pedestrian character and enliven the Music Center approach from the Metro station.

Materials

External materials would be glass and stone, stone to be used particulary on the drum-like form of the Concert Hall. This stonework might be red sandstone similar to the Museum of Contemporary Art. Stone could also be applied to the faceted surfaces of the Concert Hall within the Concourse. Similarly, the Concourse floor, adjoining terraces, and podium walls could be of stone. The wall surface of the Villa and the First Street Pavilions could be of beige or ochre colored stucco. Metal-work for glazing and facias is envisioned as bronze.

Conclusion

The Walt Disney Concert Hall comprises a variety of volumes and spaces contrasting in character and mood. We hope our design demonstrates the architectural and environmental potential of combining a multiplicity of activities in an exciting and memorable Concert Center of international fame — a building which will enable musicians, staff and public to create and enjoy exceptional music in honor of the creativity and integrity of Walt Disney.



General site plan of the complex.

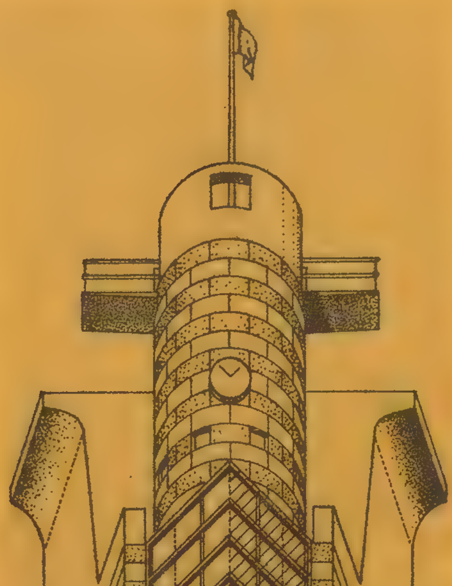
ISSN 0394-9249

What is one certain to find in a Milanese mansarda on the via Brera, in a château on the Loire, in an artist's boat-house in San Francisco, in an hotel particulier in the Marais, in a palazzo in Venice, in a townhouse in Chelsea, and in a New York loft?

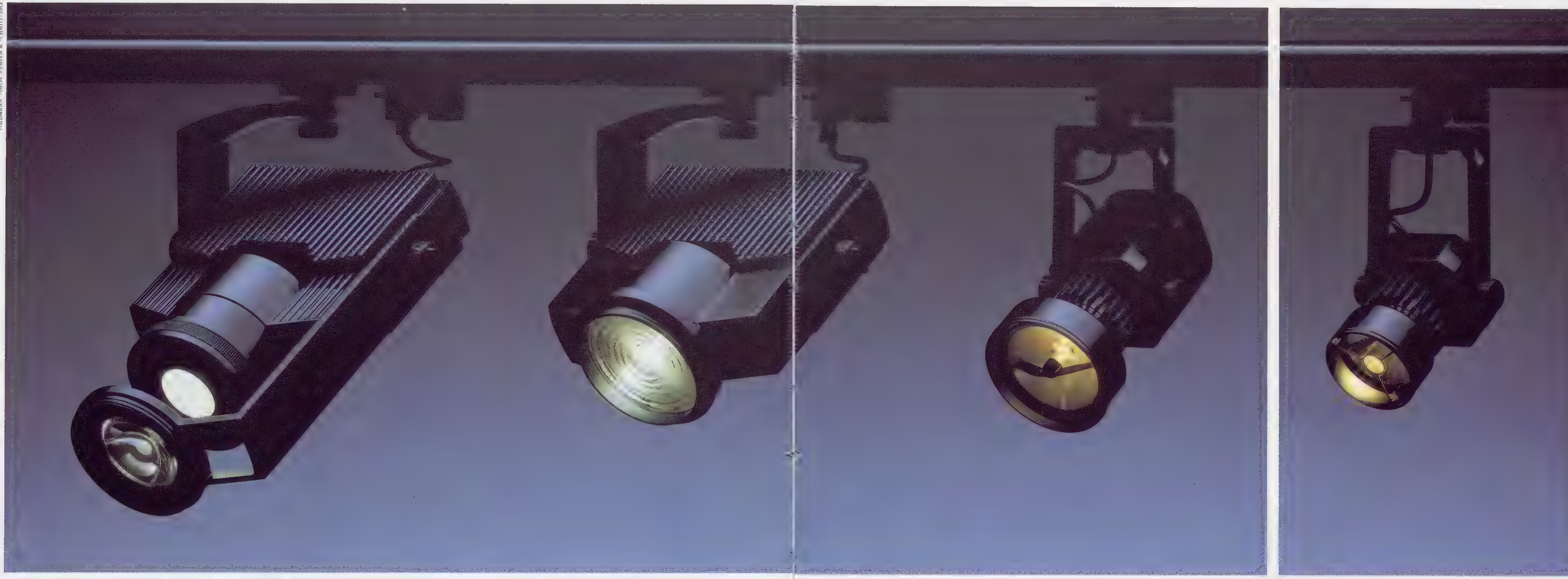
Furniture by

...of quality.

Zodiac 3



Heinemann Simon Rempen & Schmitz/SMS



Nuovi apparecchi per una nuova qualità della luce.

Dall'invenzione del binario elettrificato e dei faretti, circa venti anni fa, molte cose sono cambiate.

Soprattutto per quanto riguarda la realizzazione di apparecchi ad alta resa luminosa e basso consumo di energia.

Per un'applicazione intelligente di tali apparecchi il loro design deve rispondere a requisiti nuovi e differenti.

Noi della ERCO abbiamo collaborato con il famoso designer Mario Bellini per sviluppare insieme un nuovo programma d'illuminazione che risponda alle esigenze di queste nuove fonti luminose.

I due faretti a sinistra sono stati realizzati per utilizzare ottimamente le lampade a vapori di alogenuri e per controllare il flusso anche in maniera puntiforme secondo le regole dell'ottica.

Da tale constatazione possiamo concludere che siamo in grado di produrre apparecchi d'illuminazione di qualità superiore rispetto a quelli già esistenti.

Sono dunque stati sviluppati due proiettori il cui funzionamento è legato all'ottica delle lenti.

Il primo proiettore è munito di un sistema ottico estremamente sofisticato.

Il flusso luminoso viene distribuito sul piano dello schermo perforato tramite uno specchio concavo ed un sistema di condensatori ottici. Con un'altra lente l'immagine vicne proiettata attraverso il diaframma su una superficie in forma circolare nitidamente delineata. Si ottiene così un'illuminazione di oggetti e superfici perfettamente sagomati con un'angolazione tra 8° e 72°.

La precisa messa a fuoco della lente avviene per mezzo di una cremagliera. Il secondo proiettore è dotato di una lente Fresnel.

Attraverso i sistemi ottici i proiettori della nuova serie Eclipse permettono di creare soluzioni di luce drammatiche, un tempo relegate esclusivamente all'ambito teatrale.

L'altro sistema di proiettori è stato progettato tenendo conto della notevole quantità di lampade alogene recentemente sviluppate. Per i proiettori Eclipse sono disponibili le lampade da 50 a 100 Watt. Di solito per garantire diverse soluzioni d'illuminazione in un ambiente occorrono più apparecchi differenti.

Avremmo quindi dovuto costruire sette faretti diversi?

Risolvere il problema in questo modo sarebbe stato non solo poco economico, poco pratico e poco flessibile, ma anche poco ingegnoso. Insieme a Mario Bellini abbiamo trovato una soluzione geniale.

E' stato sviluppato un sistema che funziona secondo il principio degli obiettivi intercambiabili delle macchine fotografiche: un corpo base (con o senza trasformatore) e sette testate che, esattamente come gli obiettivi delle macchine fotografiche, sono collegate con un semplice attacco a baionetta.

Le testate possono essere sostituite ogniqualvolta si vogliano alterare le caratteristiche del flusso luminoso, la qualità della luce o la scenografia dell'illuminazione.

La flessibilità di lavoro offerta dal sistema di proiettori e faretti Eclipse non ha precedenti.

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ERCO

Hildmann Simon Rempen & Schmitz/SMS





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La flessibilità di lavoro offerta dal sistema di proiettori e faretti Eclipse non ha precedenti.

Nuova collezione «Paris»

E' all'uomo che ci rivolgiamo.

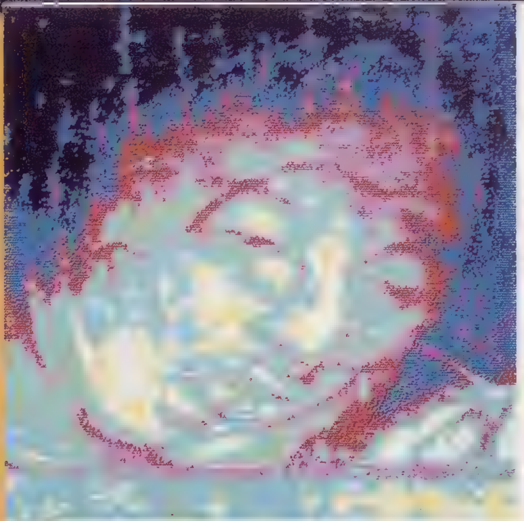
E' il nostro fulcro.
Consideriamo le sue dimensioni e progettiamo sedie e poltrone per ufficio, onde offrire benessere a milioni di uomini.
Determinanti sono, oltre ai criteri di sicurezza, la tecnologia avanzata e la conformazione ergonomica.
Sedus – tutto, nessun compromesso.

Benvenuti per una prova presso il nostro Show Room di Lurate Caccivio o presso il nostro concessionario di zona.



Sedus

Sedus Stoll S.r.l.
Via Giotto, 20/22
22075 Lurate Caccivio (CO)
Tel. 0 31/49.01.35
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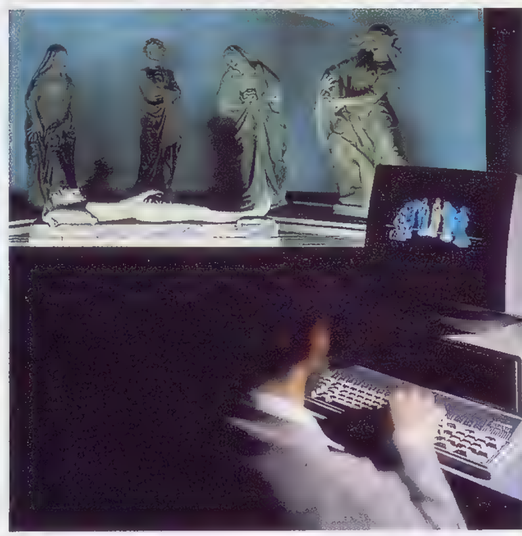








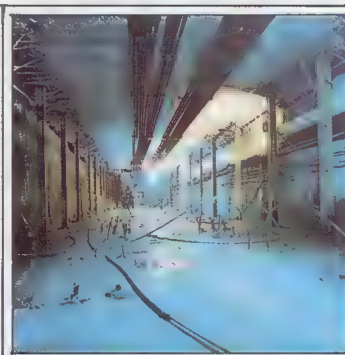




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esce due volte l'anno
in edizione italiana e edizione inglese
1° semestre 1990

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Sommario

Oltre la legittima conservazione
Guido Canella

Scontando che si trattasse di un punto di vista nostro particolare, nell'editoriale del primo numero auspicavamo per i fatti di architettura un ravvicinamento della storia alla critica. (Ma sarà mai possibile? o tale enunciato comporta una contraddizione in termini: una cosa è far storia, altra è esercitare la critica?). Lo auspicavamo constatando che il vuoto lasciato dalla critica autorevole e motivata viene fatalmente riempito dal gusto corrente, quello che spesso si atteggia a senso comune.
Può meravigliare allora che Carlo d'Inghilterra, con qualche sufficienza *en amateur* pur coltivando una sua personale ragione d'impegno, del resto consona alla tradizione e al rango, si faccia interprete di uno stato d'animo largamente diffuso tra i sudditi del Commonwealth[1]?
Che cosa intendere dunque per "gusto corrente"? Sarebbe da intendersi quell'insieme di valori che ogni epoca presume imprescindibili sulla spinta di suoi miti e pregiudizi ideologici.
Pensiamo al mito del classicismo, per esempio, affiorante in forme diverse nelle diverse epoche, o a quello delle rovine, o a quello della tradizione, o a quello della modernità. ("*Le cose moderne ci sono molto triste, il bello di Roma sono le cose disfacte*" scriveva Alberto degli Alberti a Giovanni de' Medici — ce lo ricorda Christof Thoenes —, circa tre secoli prima che lo teorizzasse John Ruskin).
È così che della tutela dell'ambiente ci interessa ora considerare quella proiezione — o, meglio, distorsione — che oltrepassando la legittima difesa si fa aggressione, settaria o fanatica, contro ogni specie di innovazione. Sempre e comunque considerandola come temerario attentato a un qualche delicato equilibrio. Di fatto e in special modo, quella aggressione va contro ogni progetto di architettura che pretenda di operarvi denotandosi (funzionalmente e figurativamente). Negando cioè di prodursi mimeticamente tra cosmesi dell'antico, sua parodia nel moderno e fantatecnica del nuovo.
Da quella che in un pur recente passato era apparsa come crescita del livello di coscienza civile contro il disordine dell'espansione edilizia nel paesaggio di un troppo prolungato dopoguerra (con la sua intollerabile carenza di abitazioni, servizi, infrastrutture, ecc.), ci troviamo oggi di fronte a uno scatenato atteggiamento di ripulsa per ogni progetto che, nel cuore urbano e nel suo immediato intorno, non risulti addomesticato (centro storico come recinto, entro il quale hôtels particuliers, alberghi, pensioni, sportelli bancari, empori e boutiques, verde ameno, arredo urbano, ampia facoltà di parcheggio, ecc.) o, all'orizzonte della periferia, non ne risarcisca lo squallore fin qui patito. Si esige qui, insomma, adeguamento al mito della metropoli mondiale, quale indotto dai *mass media* come ultimo immaginario collettivo (tecnocity, ecocity, shopping centres, disneyworld, cittadelle olimpiche, uno e tanti *beaubourg* sulle aree dismesse dall'industria, ecc.).
Certo non è da oggi che il progetto di architettura — non diversamente, del resto, da ogni operare razionale e artistico — deve progredire scontrandosi con il corrente conformismo. Ma proprio dalla situazione odierna emerge che non si tratta più soltanto di far questione di gusto — stante, tra l'altro, il particolare stato attuale di apatia critica —, quanto piuttosto della radicale messa in discussione della effettiva funzionalità del progetto di architettura. Ne consegue così interdizione all'operare per progetti di certo respiro nel paesaggio storico, quasi che una sorta di

do-it-yourself emanato da quella coscienza ecologistica ne possa rivendicare la manutenzione come sua prerogativa.
Ma di preoccupante c'è, soprattutto, che quell'atteggiamento per risultare — come risulta — maggioritario è da assumersi come integrato a quel perbenismo piccoloborghese del cui consenso non può fare a meno alcuna forma di potere.
Hans Magnus Enzensberger nel suo *capriccio sociologico* sulla piccola borghesia, del 1976, così ne dà conto:

"*(...) Anche l'influsso politico della piccola borghesia deve essere definito* ex negativo, *come una sorta di inespressa capacità di veto. Con ciò si spiega anche l'interesse della piccola borghesia verso gli aspetti formali della politica, verso tutte le procedure legalistiche, le prescrizioni, le norme e le forme di funzionamento. (...) La piccola borghesia detiene oggi, in tutte le società altamente industrializzate, l'egemonia culturale. È diventata la classe modello, la sola che produca in misura massiccia i modelli della vita quotidiana e che li renda obbligatori per tutti gli altri.*
È lei che fornisce le novità, stabilisce che cosa è bello e desiderabile, decide che cosa si deve pensare (i pensieri dominanti, infatti, non sono più quelli di chi comanda, bensì quelli della piccola borghesia). È lei che inventa ideologie, dottrine e tecnologie, decide che cosa 'va di moda' nel privato, è l'unica classe che produce arte e moda, filosofia ed architettura, critica e design. L'intera sfera dei consumi di massa è influenzata in maniera decisiva dalle idee della piccola borghesia. Articoli di marca e pubblicità sono proiezioni della sua coscienza. Nel consumo si ritrovano, in modo generalizzato, tutti gli aspetti del carattere piccolo borghese: dinamismo ed isolamento, progresso come fuga in avanti, formalismo ed innovazione continua, eccesso e bisogno di limiti precisi"[2].

La progressiva mummificazione del centro urbano significa così, per un verso, sottrarre alla sua essenza scambiatrice la facoltà di rigenerarsi nel presente, sottrarle quindi quella capacità di fisiologica trasformazione che ne convalida la storicità, la perpetuazione della *memoria collettiva* (come la definì Maurice Halbwachs, tra il 1939 e il 1945[3]): nel presupposto che, proprio nel farsi del presente, in ogni epoca diventi reperibile la forza capace di una certa, e non altra, vocazione proiettata dal passato. Mentre, per altro verso, il congelamento del centro urbano vi favorisce la graduale particolarizzazione, da intendere come estensione del campo di comportamento esclusivamente privato, così che il valore d'uso diretto si sostituisce ed espunge ogni valore rappresentativo, essendosi quest'ultimo nel frattempo trasposto altrove dall'architettura e dal paesaggio, ai mezzi di comunicazione di massa assai più moderni ed efficaci.
Tanto che oggi non servirebbe più adottare la retorica dell'oleografia per esorcizzare l'avanguardia, come già accadde fra le due guerre[4], poiché l'odierna retorica della tutela ambientale agisce come avversione verso tutto ciò che, nell'immagine di centro storico, pare metterne a rischio la patina. Si reclama così una percezione superficiale, stereotipa, inarticolata, quindi sostanzialmente a-storica, che preservi dall'impegno di dover approfondire, riconoscere, distinguere, confrontare. E tale retorica, quando riesce a rimuovere la causa effettiva principale dell'alterazione ambientale (l'uso indiscriminato dell'automobile privata e l'ipertrofia del

suo settore di produzione), denota autentica *falsa coscienza.*
Il sociologo Niklas Luhman nota però nel 1986:

"*La sorprendente comparsa di un nuovo tipo di coscienza ecologica ha lasciato poco tempo per riflessioni teoriche. Per il momento perciò si pensa al nuovo tema nell'ambito delle vecchie teorie. Se la società si mette in pericolo da sola con i propri effetti sull'ambiente, si dovrebbe lasciar fare; si dovrebbe trovare i colpevoli di ciò ed allontanarli, all'occorrenza combatterli e punirli. Il diritto morale di far ciò è dalla parte di chi si oppone all'autodistruzione della società. Improvvisamente una discussione teorica si trasforma in problematiche morali, ed il deficit di teorizzazione viene compensato dal fervore morale. L'intenzione di dimostrare buone intenzioni determina la formulazione del problema. Così si discute a casaccio su una nuova etica* ambientale, *senza analizzare le strutture del sistema a cui questo porta*"[5].

Seppure di portata più generale, tali considerazioni sembrano adattarsi al caso che trattiamo.
Il salto è qui dall'estetica all'etica: dal laico dibattere al fideistico fanatismo.
E non è forse vero che ad ispirare Carlo d'Inghilterra si trovano, sotto sotto, proprio certi architetti-illustratori che, impegnati nella rivalutazione della città *fin de siècle* (l'altro), teorizzano che "*nostalgia è rivoluzione*"? condannando così senza attenuanti l'intera cultura del Movimento Moderno.
Questo è l'aspetto che appare più distorcente ma anche assai significativo dacché — dopo le associazioni di cittadini sorte a difesa del paesaggio, dopo quelle degli abitanti delle zone e dei quartieri urbani, dopo le corporazioni di bottegai e albergatori, dopo le prese di posizione di politici, amministratori, cronisti — è addirittura un consistente aggregato di urbanisti e di architetti a mettere sotto accusa non la gestione immobiliare, non tanto le soluzioni imposteci ultimamente da certo tipo di disciplina urbanistica, quanto proprio la qualità e addirittura la morale di quegli urbanisti e architetti che osano cimentarsi con l'ambiente storico della città.
Nel corso della storia non mancarono dunque le reazioni anche violente dell'opinione pubblica al nuovo di cui si fa portatrice l'architettura. E, visti gli scempi commessi negli ultimi decenni dalla speculazione fondiaria ed edilizia (nonché dagli urbanisti e architetti che le si sono prestati), non può stupire che una certa reazione sia provocata spesso dal doveroso rispetto dei luoghi monumentali della città, quelli autenticamente densi di *memoria collettiva.*
Ma l'inquinamento di questa legittima precauzione, con lo scatenarsi di una "caccia alle streghe", scaturisce dal non voler ammettere che la compagine urbana costituisce comunque il risultato dello stratificarsi di lasciti che sono stati volta a volta "contemporanei" alle diverse loro epoche. E che, esclusi i nuclei intoccabili di essa, nella patina che sembra testimoniare con omogeneità "il felice paesaggio di allora", molto spesso coesistono pezzi edilizi assai diversi e scombinati a costituire quella che St. John Wilson definisce propriamente "*Torre di Babele, (...) insieme casuale di edifici in fila*".

Poiché il progetto di architettura ambisce di prodursi in un campo razionale e — perché no? — artistico, talora, quando sorretto da un'urbanistica autenticamente creativa, può essere proteso fino ad incidere sulla struttura della città. È mai possibile che esso debba indiscriminatamente ripiegare, in ossequio alla falsa dottrina della totalitaria intangibilità dei centri storici, al gusto corrente, al consenso e al dissenso interessati? o piuttosto non va scontato che quel progetto possa imbattersi in certa impopolarità e difficoltà di adattamento nella complessa varietà dei casi affrontati e, conseguentemente, in resistenze prima di accedere al riconoscimento collettivo, implicando ciò necessariamente, come per ogni altro sapere specifico, un costante apporto di nuovo pensiero cui conferire coerente espressione?

Oggi riconosciamo che nella Torre Velasca realizzata a Milano negli anni Cinquanta sia venuta a triangolarsi — non diversamente da quel che accadde con la Basilica di San Lorenzo, con il Duomo, con l'Ospedale Maggiore, con il complesso di Sant'Ambrogio, su su fino alla Torre cosiddetta "del Filarete" (ma reinventata dall'eclettico architetto Luca Beltrami agli inizi di questo secolo) — l'identità della città storica. Eppure al suo primo incombere nel panorama milanese venne accolta da un diffuso rigetto e dall'oltraggiosa ironia di certe cronache giornalistiche. Non solo, ma per numerosi critici italiani e stranieri essa assurse a simbolo della "*ritirata italiana dall'architettura moderna*"[6].
Il suo esito attuale — non certo facile e non certo frequente: emerso da una ammirevole coerenza tra attenzione al farsi storico di Milano e consapevolezza di poterlo modernamente avvalorare — deve essere ascritto, oltre che ovviamente al Gruppo BBPR, autore dell'opera, ai criteri di intervento postulati sul "*problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali*" che ne accompagnarono la progettazione e che qui di seguito pubblichiamo per ricordare la personalità di Ernesto Rogers, a ottanta anni dalla nascita e a venti dalla morte.

1) Cfr. THE PRINCE OF WALES, *A Vision of Britain. A personal view of architecture*, Londra 1989; trad. it. *Uno sguardo sulla Gran Bretagna. La mia concezione dell'architettura*, Milano 1989.
2) H.M.HENZENSBERGER, *Von der Unaufhaltsamkeit des Kleinbürgertums. Eine soziologische Grille*, in "Kursbuch", n. 45, settembre 1976; trad. it. *Dell'innarrestabilità della piccola borghesia. Un capriccio sociologico*, in *Sulla piccola borghesia*, Milano 1983, pp. 8-11.
3) Cfr. M. HALBWACHS, *La mémoire collective*, Parigi 1950; trad. it. *La memoria collettiva*, Milano 1987.
4) Cfr. G. PAGANO POGATSCHNIG, *Internazionale dei pompieri*, in "Costruzioni-Casabella", n. 147, marzo 1940, p. 2.
5) N. LUHMAN, *Ökologische Kommunikation*, Opladen 1986; trad. it. *Comunicazione ecologica*, Milano 1990, p. 64.
6) Cfr. R. BANHAM, *Neoliberty. The Italian Retreat from Modern Architecture*, in "The Architectural Review", n. 747, aprile 1959; trad. it. in *Uno studioso inglese giudica l'architettura italiana*, in "Comunità", n. 72, settembre 1959, pp. 64-68.

Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali*

Ernesto N. Rogers

Il titolo di questa relazione indica il vettore del mio intervento e l'ho scritto, senza alcun movente polemico, col proposito di indurre nel campo la necessaria componente dialettica da parte di chi, esercitando quotidianamente l'architettura, ha il compito di porre il problema *del come poter fare, piuttosto che quello del come non fare.*

Il giurista deve intendere che non è sufficiente porre degli argini negativi all'attività edilizia, la quale è — per se stessa — l'espressione di una inderogabile energia vitale; mentre l'architetto non può non sentire che la propria responsabilità verso le sue opere non si esaurisce nel buon disegno di esse, se questo disegno non contiene implicitamente anche le relazioni delle singole opere con le preesistenze ambientali nelle quali si dovranno inserire.

In altre parole: il limite del non fare, per non restare arbitrario, deve coincidere con il limite del fare e reciprocamente. Non è sufficiente che si esaminino le forme delle leggi per la tutela del paesaggio e dei monumenti, se quelle non muovono da chiari contenuti di carattere pragmatico che favoriscano il successo dell'azione fuori di ogni concezione astratta o speculativa e di postulazioni moralistiche altrettanto improduttive.

All'opposto, non è sufficiente alcun discorso che consideri il processo storico dell'urbanistica solo individuando le relazioni formali esistenti e senza avviarle a nuove relazioni, dovute al sorgere impellente di nuovi contenuti di carattere economico-sociale che implicano l'evoluzione delle forme.

Le brutture che, per iniziativa di enti privati e — dobbiamo sottolinearlo — di enti pubblici, vanno deturpando l'Italia, dimostrano l'inefficienza dell'attuale sistema legislativo, o, per lo meno, della sua applicazione.

Le leggi, i regolamenti e i vincoli d'ogni genere sono necessari — nessuno può metterlo in dubbio — epperò la loro efficacia è possibile solo se tendono a stabilire la continuità tra il passato ed il presente e cioè se favoriscono l'armonico inserimento delle opere nasciture con quelle esistenti.

La preservazione dell'esistente è ovviamente la prima condizione della continuità perché non è concepibile una realtà che non si ponga come fenomeno di sviluppo storico, e questo perde ogni significato se isola il passato dalla vita che nei suoi termini concreti, culturali ed economici, dà linfa all'insieme delle antiche strutture; senza di che appassirebbero.

Gli sventramenti e le demolizioni avventate sono fuor di discussione e, quando è possibile rigenerare le antiche strutture dall'interno, bisogna che ogni sforzo sia compiuto: sono d'accordo in linea teorica e credo di averlo dimostrato praticamente ogni volta che si è mostrata l'occasione. Ma oggi, di fronte alla demagogia di un pesudoumanitarismo che tutto distruggeva con la scusa dei risanamenti, sta per sorgere una nuova demagogia, non meno equivoca, che con lo sproloquio di articoli, incita all'inazione in nome di una bellezza cui non dà nessun contenuto, non solo affinché si perpetui ma neppure perché validamente si mantenga.

E se, talvolta, si castigano di santa ragione i veri colpevoli di vandalismo, si passa, poi, dalla parte del torto, confondendo in un unico giudizio banale, chi distrugge e chi crea. È legittima una doverosa discriminazione.

Di fronte a certe stonature (e, cioè, a opere brutte, non solo in se stesse, ma anche in rapporto con le circostanti) è facile, è ovvio dire che non avrebbero dovuto sorgere, ma, posto che costruire si deve, il problema è nelle due alternative: che cosa fare? in quale luogo? È difficile immaginare un

* Relazione tenuta al Comitato Nazionale di Studi dell'INU presieduto dal prof. G. Samonà, Roma, 23 marzo 1957.
Per concessione dell'editore da: Ernesto N. Rogers, *Esperienza dell'architettura*, Einaudi, Torino 1958, pp. 311-316.

chilometro quadrato della penisola dove non si abbia a interferire con una preesistenza naturale o artistica di un qualche valore.
Vi sono valori emergenti, facilmente classificabili e difendibili (come i monumenti veri e propri o certi panorami caratteristici), ma il vero problema è d'inserirsi negli ambienti connettivi fra dette emergenze. Possono essere i monti, le colline, il litorale, la brughiera poetica o l'edificato di un qualsiasi agglomerato urbano di qualsiasi epoca, l'ultima compresa, s'intende.
E allora? Invocare l'inventario degli ambienti da rispettare; chiedere che la tutela sia devoluta a questo o quell'organo pubblico, sono suggerimenti che, malgrado la loro apparenza concreta, restano nella generalizzazione ed eludono la presa di possesso del problema degli inserimenti, il quale non ammette soluzioni di continuità né spaziali né temporali ed è tanto denso di occasioni e tanto vario di casi da presentarsi praticamente come indefinibile aprioristicamente.
A parte che l'inventario delle emergenze — già per se stesso vastissimo — le priverebbe, isolandole, del necessario alone delle loro zone circostanti, si arriverebbe all'assurdo di ammettere delle zone sacre, dov'è d'obbligo la bellezza e delle zone profane dove si potrebbe agire in regime di tolleranza (le terribili periferie).
Se si ammette che l'attività edilizia dev'essere messa in moratoria dove la storia ha posto il suggello della bellezza, non vedo perché si dovrebbero trascurare gli ambienti naturali. Ma dov'è il limite?
L'unica garanzia che mi pare valida ed oggettiva è che si tuteli alla stessa stregua tutto il territorio nazionale e (a parte certi casi estremi della conservazione integrale) che ovunque si costruisca al massimo livello: con il massimo senso di responsabilità.
Per ristabilire l'unità della cultura bisogna che siano abolite le frontiere fra impossibili categorie di fenomeni, in effetto, concatenati (monumenti e ambienti storici e fra questi e gli ambienti naturali).
Però se s'invoca lo storicismo, per dar nuovo significato al passato, bisogna considerare storicisticamente anche il presente, nella sua complessità. E non v'è nessuna ragione fondatamente filosofica per dire il contrario e cioè, che è proprio in virtù della nuova coscienza storica, la quale appunto ci ha fatto meglio comprendere il passato, che si stabilisce una frattura tra esso e noi che lo storicizziamo.
Ma non basta nemmeno che ci si accontenti di stabilire una continuità storica concettuale per garantire, *illico et immediate*, la bontà effettiva degli inserimenti.
La realtà non sorge dalla sola condizione che la si enunci con un linguaggio critico più o meno appropriato: essa è il risultato di azioni concrete indefinibili a priori appunto perché assumono la loro concretezza quando si attuano; sicché il giudizio è possibile soltanto come constatazione a posteriori. Perciò bisogna portare l'esame dei fenomeni entro i limiti che realmente li definiscono.
Se insisto sul principio che l'inserimento nelle preesistenze ambientali può essere valutato soltanto "caso per caso" secondo una problematica aperta alle diverse evenienze, è perché sono convinto che è impossibile stabilire qualsivoglia casistica che fatalmente ridurrebbe le nostre operazioni entro la sfera di una astratta tipologia.
La formulazione di una dottrina sopra il principio del caso per caso non è per nulla agnostica ma anzi è l'unica garanzia di un giudizio costruttivo che

possa servire da correzione e da guida contro gli errori o le intemperanze dei singoli.
E non esclude neppure i piani ma anzi li favorisce nella misura in cui possono essere utilmente efficaci fuori da ogni formulazione generica.
Poiché i piani sono il preordinamento di un determinato spazio per un determinato tempo, bisogna stabilire una chiara metodologia per individuare il rapporto tra lo spazio e il tempo che essi determinano.
Credo che la questione essenziale è che la precisazione di un piano non interferisca nelle sue azioni spaziali al di là del tempo nel quale si può garantirne la responsabilità; il che pone un necessario rapporto di responsabilità tra l'autore del piano e l'esecutore. Vale a dire che la validità di un vincolo è nei limiti della sua attualità per rispetto all'eseguibilità del medesimo.
Non dovrebbe più succedere (come avvenne purtroppo per molti piani di ricostruzione o piani particolareggiati) che un piano disegnato in prima istanza con delle precisazioni tridimensionali — i famigerati cubetti — debba condizionare lo studio più approfondito di chi avrà il compito di realizzarlo. Perché è evidente che la determinazione nelle tre dimensioni o implica uno studio piantistico degli edifici e, allora, è bene che ne venga assunta la piena responsabilità o, almeno, la guida diretta da chi lo ha redatto, oppure è una imposizione gratuita che vincola uno studio più serio.
Tali concetti valgono, credo, per i piani di qualsiasi grado e misura senza di che sono tanto più arbitrari e dannosi quanto più illudono per l'apparente fondatezza dell'analisi.
A queste norme, per una progettazione effettivamente controllabile, consegue che la funzione degli organi preposti all'esame e alla tutela si svolga secondo un criterio parallelo e cioè che siano impersonati da individui capaci di riassumere nella propria coscienza i dati di una precisa conoscenza del problema. I piani particolari dovranno di necessità essere di pertinenza di giudici locali (probabilmente nell'ambito della Regione) e solo i piani generali dovrebbero venir giudicati dagli organi centrali.
La gradualità della definizione dei disegni nelle relazioni spazio-temporali cui ho accennato, implica la gradualità del giudizio e questo e quelli saranno tanto meno accomodanti e compromissori quanto più saranno flessibili all'interpretazione della realtà per il suo successivo attuarsi negli imprevedibili contenuti e nelle forme conseguenti.
Naturalmente, di fronte a tutti questi problemi che toccano il fondamento culturale e tecnico della nostra professione di architetti e di urbanisti sta la grave questione — di cui non si è trattato abbastanza — della proprietà privata dei terreni sui quali si avventa la cupidigia degli speculatori. E bisogna portare come fine delle nostre azioni la sostanziale revisione dell'istituto della proprietà stessa: dopo di che la difficoltà degli inserimenti resterà tuttavia grandissima perché coinvolge le molteplici questioni di carattere sociologico ed estetico nonché quelle economiche e finanziarie che debbono comporsi con la nostra capacità d'interpretazione individuale. Ma sarà rimossa l'insidia esterna che condiziona ogni nostro studio sia teorico che pratico.
Bisogna riconoscere intanto che i professionisti più qualificati, pur realizzando entro i limiti della situazione contingente, agiscono in contraddizione dialettica con le forze egocentriche e retrive e cercano di penetrare le esigenze più profonde della collettività.

Testimonianza concreta
Il valore intenzionale di quest'architettura è di riassumere culturalmente, e senza ricalcare il linguaggio di nessuno dei suoi edifici, l'atmosfera della città di Milano; l'ineffabile eppure percepibile caratteristica. Non è una torre gotica, non un'esercitazione da revival, *come qualcuno ha mostrato di credere. È il risultato di un metodo funzionale che determina la forma desumendola dalle determinanti dell'ambiente circostante e dalle ragioni distributive dell'organismo.*
L'espressione decorativa è realizzata come esaltazione diretta dei dati oggettivi, senza compiacimenti ornativi di carattere analogico.
Vuol essere — e spero che almeno in parte sia — la testimonianza di una vocazione: di un modo tecnologicamente corretto ed attuale del costruire; di un linguaggio attuale, inserito come immagine nella continuità della tradizione: cioè, interamente creato.
I limiti di validità urbanistica — lo sappiamo — sono condizionati dalla situazione contraddittoria della città.
La torre vuole essere parte attiva della realtà; né possiamo ritenere, pure lottando e rifiutando il compromesso, di prescindere dalle imperfezioni delle circostanze.

Gli architetti italiani, pur traverso molti errori, hanno fatto notevoli passi e credo siano proprio all'avanguardia nelle ricerche di una metodologia che, continuando le premesse del Movimento Moderno, affina il linguaggio espressivo dei complessi urbanistici per inserirsi, con sempre maggiore aderenza, nel costume e nelle tradizioni culturali del paese: per inserirsi, cioè, nelle preesistenze dell'ambiente fisico che le documentano.

Nota
Sull'argomento trattato, v'è calore di discussioni e le opinioni sono spesso discordi anche tra persone che lottano nel senso della difesa del patrimonio artistico e naturale.
Sono tanto più lieto di riportare un passo di Giuseppe Samonà che mi conforta nelle mie convinzioni perché imposta i problemi dell'urbanistica su un principio attivo con esemplare senso di responsabilità dei nostri compiti.
"*... alla formulazione di un piano per lineamenti schematici quantitativamente determinati con superficiali designazioni di volumi inseriti in una certa maglia topografica, si dovrebbe sostituire un'organica regolamentazione di carattere critico...*" (*Positivismo e storicismo nella cultura urbanistica di oggi*, "Casabella-Continuità", n. 200, febbraio 1954).
Poiché sono stato spesso frainteso su quello ch'io intenda per "metodo del caso per caso", ho aggiunto il capitolo seguente che ribadisce e, spero, chiarisce il principio che mi sta a cuore.
Solo ai limiti estremi reputo che il "caso per caso" possa significare "edificio per edificio"; più spesso il termine "caso" ha estensioni assai vaste (quartiere, città, ecc.) e si riferisce ai comprensori di tutela nella loro logica estensione. L'osservanza di quel metodo esige, *però*, che né i progettisti, né le Autorità debbano partire da generalizzazioni aprioristiche poiché ogni schematismo è astratto e rende impossibili le soluzioni valide per i singoli problemi, che sono da stabilirsi secondo un processo storico-pragmatico, sempre aperto.



BBPR, Torre Velasca a Milano, 1958: vista da sudest.

Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica*
Ernesto N. Rogers

Ritengo che alla base di questi nostri ragionamenti, rivolti alla qualificazione dell'ambiente di natura e di quello creato dall'uomo, debba esserci una coscienza culturale, come premessa di ogni intervento d'ordine tecnico e legislativo: le leggi sono mezzi per un fine e chiaro deve essere il contenuto di questo fine.
Il processo urbanistico non ha senso se non integra tutte le discipline di cui si compone, conducendole finalisticamente ad una sintesi.
Questa sintesi è essenzialmente d'ordine artistico e, benché molti elementi siano dei dati di fatto suscettibili di accurate analisi, è impossibile stabilire aprioristicamente dei limiti positivi o negativi alle azioni, sia per i valori spaziali che per i valori temporali della sintesi stessa.
E si badi che in nessun caso l'azione avrà senso concreto se non sarà completamente sviluppata nell'ambito sociale ed economico, e cioè nell'ambito della realtà storica.
È impossibile, ad esempio, dettare a priori delle soluzioni generali per i luoghi di natura, per il centro o per la periferia cittadina, considerati come categorie: se si trattasse del litorale, ciò che è valido a Genova non serve a Trieste o ad Ancona o a Napoli; se si trattasse dei centri storici, ognuno di essi (e spesso ogni parte di ciascuno) richiede una particolare interpretazione, desunta dal particolare fenomeno che rappresenta.
Il metodo del "caso per caso" (che ho avuto più volte occasione di sostenere e che è stato spesso erroneamente interpretato come un atteggiamento agnostico di fronte al problema di una necessaria pianificazione) significa respingere l'astratto ragionamento per categorie al fine di affrontare, invece, l'esame di ogni fenomeno, attraverso una pianificazione concreta, la quale risolva ogni situazione come caso definito da particolari condizioni.
Naturalmente la difficoltà sta nel definire il limite di ogni caso, ma il metodo è lo stesso dal generale al particolare ed esso vale dunque dai piani di vasta portata (nazionali, regionali ecc.) fino alle singole occasioni in scala più propriamente architettonica.
Voglio precisare che, secondo me, spetta proprio ai piani di definire la gradualità dei provvedimenti da applicarsi nei singoli casi e che, quindi, l'unica regola generale è la conclamata necessità dei piani regolatori e l'obbedienza che le singole operazioni debbono ai lineamenti precisati da questi. Infatti, sarebbe paradossale enunciare, per esempio, una regola generale che volesse stabilire dei rapporti fra i monumenti e loro zone di rispetto, vincolando entro un certo raggio lo *status quo*, oppure le altezze, i colori o addirittura i caratteri stilistici degli edifici preesistenti alle ricostruzioni parziali. Ciascuno di questi provvedimenti dovrà essere stabilito "caso per caso" nella stesura dei singoli piani; e una volta stabilito, deve essere strettamente osservato.
Nella pianificazione, conservare o costruire sono momenti di un medesimo atto di coscienza, perché l'uno e l'altro sono sottoposti ad un medesimo metodo: conservare non ha senso se non è inteso nel significato di attualizzazione del passato e costruire non ha senso se non è inteso come continuazione del processo storico: si tratta di chiarire in noi il senso della storia.
Conservare e costruire sono atti creativi e la scelta di una azione o dell'altra non può essere giudicata che in sede di pianificazione concreta, seguendo un vaglio severo per stabilire la scala dei valori.
Si deve correlare ogni problema della forma con i profondi dati del

* Intervento al VI Convegno Nazionale di Urbanistica in Lucca, 9-11 novembre 1957.
Per concessione dell'editore da: Ernesto N. Rogers, *Esperienza dell'architettura*, Einaudi, Torino 1958, pp. 317-320.

problema, se no si cade nel più vuoto formalismo. Un piano regolatore trae la sua ragione di essere da questa impellente necessità di armonizzare le singole azioni.
Nessuna azione è concepibile fuori di una pianificazione che ne stabilisca il significato nell'ordine dello spazio ed in quello del tempo, ma, affinché abbia una durata viva e non sia una imposizione del tutto esteriore, bisogna che ogni previsione di forma nello spazio sia suscettibile di perfezionarsi nel tempo.
Il potere di un urbanista non può andare oltre alla esatta cognizione che egli ha dei suoi atti: è ovvio che si debbono prevedere e imporre le linee direttrici di uno sviluppo spaziale, ma bisogna lasciare una sufficiente flessibilità per tutte quelle operazioni che verranno approfondite in tempi successivi (anche con l'ausilio di commissioni d'aggiornamento).
In ogni caso noi dobbiamo avere il coraggio di imprimere il segno della nostra epoca e tanto più saremo capaci di essere moderni, tanto meglio ci saremo collegati con la tradizione e le nostre opere si armonizzeranno con le preesistenze ambientali.
È evidente che modernità non si identifica sempre con ciò che è cronologicamente contemporaneo, ma solo con le azioni qualificate: proprio dal giudizio della qualità si può desumere un'opinione più generale sulla soluzione del problema in causa.
I molti errori di cui soffrono oggi le nostre città e gli ambienti di natura — e per i quali è ben giusto che si diventi sempre più severi come artisti e come critici — non sono dovuti tanto ad un'errata impostazione generica dei problemi astratti, quanto particolarmente all'interpretazione scorretta di ciascun caso: nessuna legge restrittiva che non sia alimentata da una forte coscienza del nostro compito di *dover fare*, potrà salvarci dalle presenti sciagure.
Fare non è un diritto degli artisti, è il loro dovere verso la società di cui fanno parte. Ognuno deve sapere che le sue azioni non possono essere isolate dall'attività corale e perciò un artista vero, non solo non ha paura dei limiti, ma può agire soltanto in colleganza con questi limiti.
Mi auguro che i giuristi sappiano collaborare con noi per stabilire i limiti attivi, dettando delle norme chiare; naturalmente debbono partire dal concetto che viene posto dai reali e imprescindibili termini del problema: *la legge non può definire le forme dell'arte.*
E tuttavia questa legge sia oculata affinché non consenta nessuna indulgenza per chi confonde la libertà con l'arbitrio; il rispetto della cultura con il feticismo; l'azione costruttiva con l'affarismo retrivo ed egoistico.
Quando — come auspichiamo energicamente — le leggi di tutela del 1939 e la legge urbanistica saranno unificate, per quanto riguarda l'ambiente, in un unico testo, possederemo anche lo strumento pratico per stabilire l'armonia (un'armonia dialettica) tra i piani di diversa scala: da quelli generali ai più particolari.
Ma sia chiaro fin d'ora che la verifica culturale di coloro che concorrono al processo urbanistico (gli architetti, i giuristi, gli amministratori ecc.) deve applicarsi sull'intero territorio nazionale, perché tutta l'Italia è un capolavoro e non vi può essere neppure un metro quadrato dove si operi con minore amore e scarso senso di responsabilità.



Cari amici,
per ricordare Ernesto Rogers, a ottant'anni dalla nascita e a venti dalla morte, vorremmo pubblicare sul numero 3 di "Zodiac" i suoi testi: Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali *e* Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica, *entrambi scritti per l'Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica nel 1957 e compresi in* Esperienza dell'architettura, *saggio edito da Einaudi nel 1958.*
Vi sarei grato di un vostro pronunciamento sulla attualità del significato in essi contenuto, così decisivo per la nostra e non solo nostra formazione.
Con amicizia,

Guido Canella

Milano, 24 dicembre 1989

Carlo Aymonino

Caro Guido,
ho riletto con commozione i due interventi di Ernesto Rogers per la passione e l'intelligenza con cui affrontò, allora, problemi che ci riguardano ancora oggi.

(Probabilmente la contemporanea esperienza di progettazione della Torre Velasca ha contribuito a definire l'ambito del contendere, chiarendolo nelle sue implicazioni teoriche e operative).

Non so far altro che elencarti alcune "considerazioni", naturalmente in relazione alle esperienze compiute in questi anni.

Ho detto <u>allora</u> (1957): dopo 33 anni — la vita di Cristo, quattro in meno di quella di Raffaello o di Van Gogh — il tema è identico, a meno di alcuni ottimismi sulla pianificazione, soprattutto sulla razionalità delle diverse scale in cui dovrebbe articolarsi.

Rogers entra subito nel merito: "chi, esercitando quotidianamente l'architettura, ha il compito di porre il <u>problema del come poter fare piuttosto che quello del come non fare</u>".

Ancora oggi siamo costretti a leggere, con tristezza, delle nostre intenzioni di "lasciare a ogni costo il segno" (è un peccato mortale? e perché?) di "indifferenza all'eredità storica",

1/.

fino alla barzelletta che "la parte più moderna della città contemporanea è il centro antico" (Benevolo, Cederna, ecc.).

Allora, Rogers, da intelligenza anche ebraica che era (con la capacità di "annusare" i possibili pogrom: per fortuna solo culturali), precisa: "sta per sorgere una nuova demagogia ... che, con lo sproloquio di articoli, incita all'inazione in nome di una bellezza cui non dà nessun contenuto, non solo affinché si perpetui, ma neppure perché validamente si mantenga" (Sembra la campagna di stampa a favore dell'incredibile piano per il centro storico di Palermo).

È quindi con soddisfazione che mi accorgo oggi, che ho un'età superiore alla vita di Ernesto, di aver praticato e, mi auguro, portato avanti anche i suoi insegnamenti.

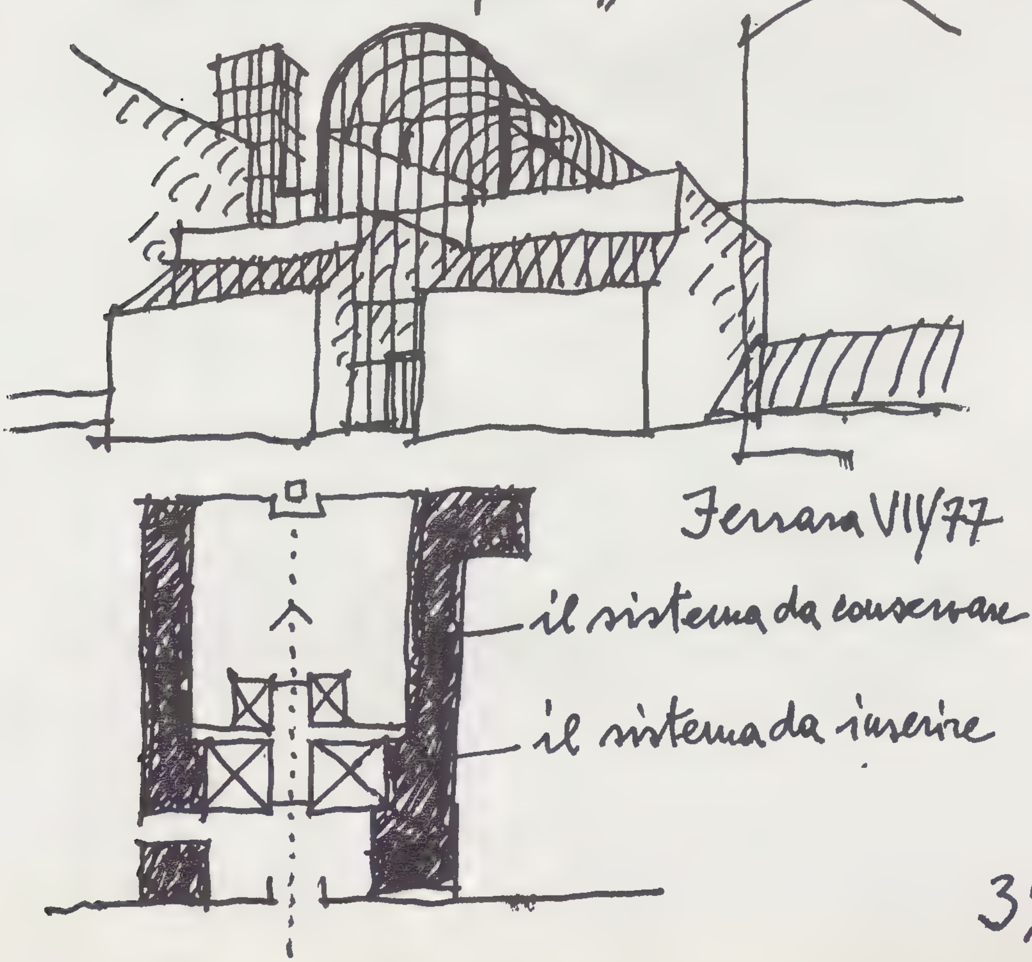
Due casi esemplificativi: il palazzo di Giustizia di Ferrara e l'Assessorato per gli interventi nel centro storico di Roma.

Nel primo, una "casa per esercizi spirituali dei Gesuiti" del XVII° secolo trasformata poi in caserma e infine in complesso scolastico massacrando l'impianto originario, ho realizzato quanto avevo tentato nel concorso per il Teatro Paganini a

2%

Parma (del 1954; l'area è ancora oggi irrisolta!): il nuovo intervento non ha valore in sé, come "segno", ma come occasione concreta per completare una parte della struttura urbana, utilizzando il nuovo per quelle destinazioni d'uso che non possono essere inserite nell'edificio storico (nel caso specifico le grandi aule delle udienze), recuperando questo nel suo aspetto originario mediante un restauro scientifico.

Un'operazione complessa, "un linguaggio attuale, inserito come immagine della continuità della tradizione: cioè interamente creato" dice Rogers. Operazione definita da Cervellati, sul Resto del Carlino, "Troppi delitti restano impuniti".



Concetti, o teorie, sviluppati in seguito nei quattro anni di Assessore al centro storico di Roma.

Non altro era il programma di "completamento" del centro storico, in particolare con la "progettazione dei 18 così detti "buchi", ossia delle aree rimaste incompiute architettonicamente per demolizioni o sventramenti interrotti, crolli, programmi lasciati a metà.

La posizione culturale era chiara: l'intervento con nuove architetture è l'unico strumento operativo che ho per risolvere un problema incompiuto quando manchino disegni, rilievi, documenti per una ricostruzione filologica; il tutto confortato da una "conoscenza materiale della struttura urbana.

La sola alternativa era quella da sempre indicata dal fronte "del non fare": una serie di giardinetti o aiuole in nome della mancanza di verde in centro storico, alternativa possibile quando i giardinieri prenderanno il potere ... e tutto sarà risolto!

(Fanno ridere le vesti stracciate, gli appelli, le dichiarazioni che allora, ma ancora oggi, "difesero un centro storico immaginato e mai conosciuto).

Credo che questa sia stata l'applicazione più coerente del caso per caso inteso come progetto che di volta in volta assuma, nella sua definizione formale, tutti gli elemen-

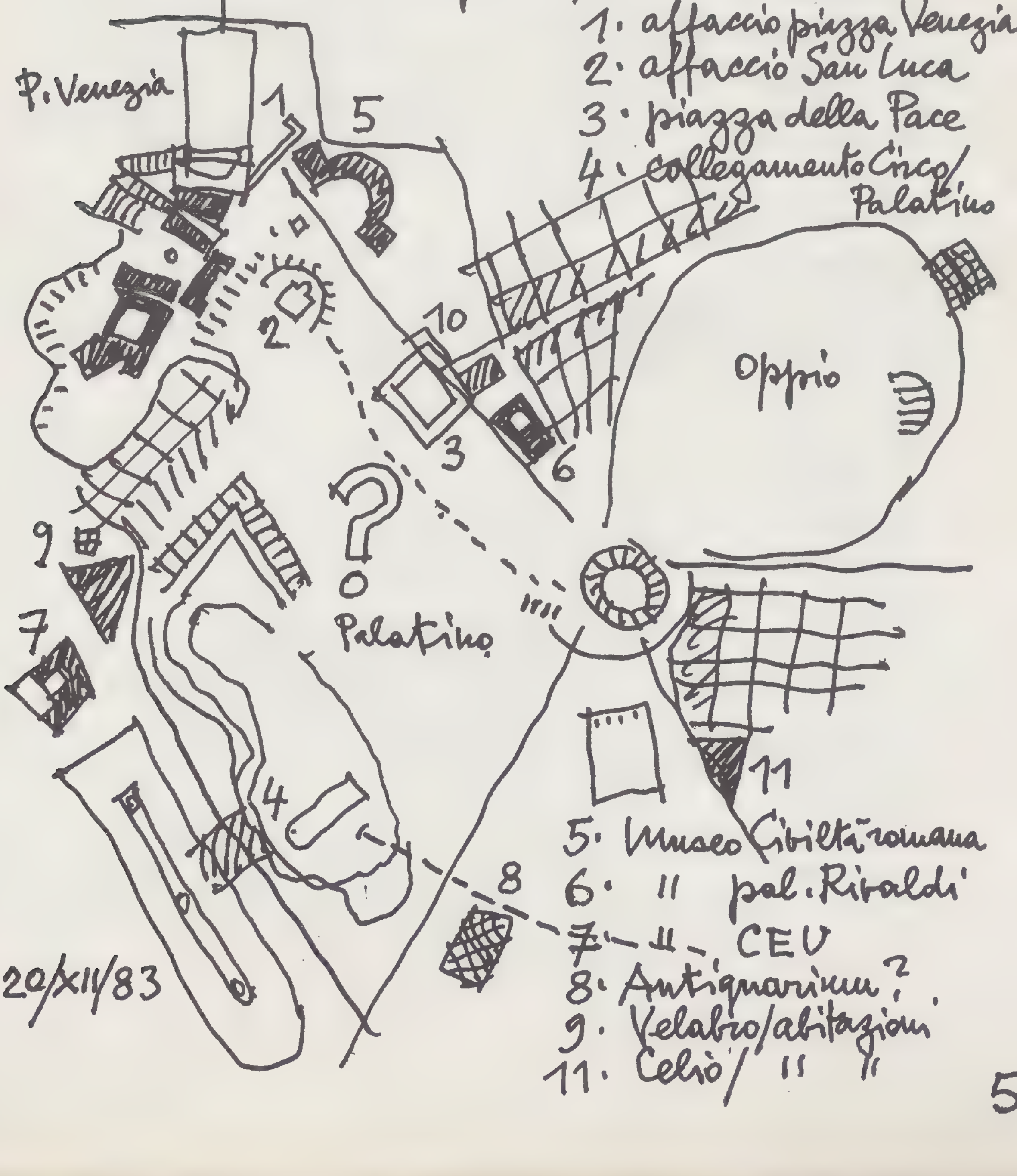
4/.

ti mi giuoco; come sempre per quei progetti che vogliano "rappresentare" la soluzione di un qualsivoglia problema urbano.

"Conservare e costruire sono atti creativi"; peccato che Ernesto Rogers sia morto così presto e nessuno l'abbia sostituito.

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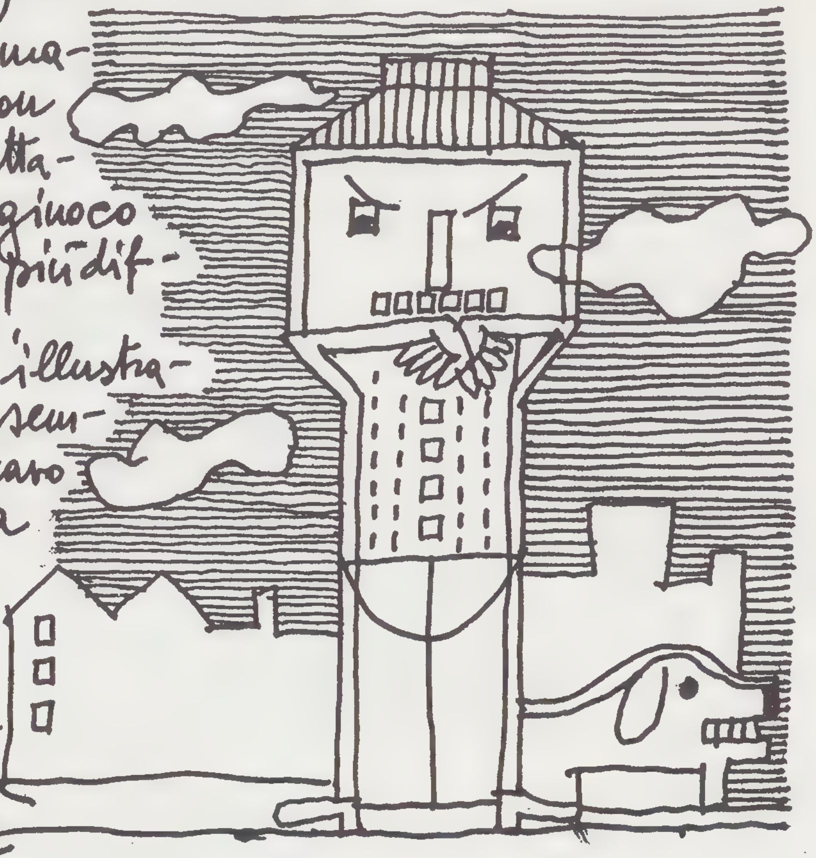
Fori imperiali/le aree di bordo



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P.S.

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C.A.

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C.A.

Ignazio Gardella

Milano 15-1-90

Caro Guido,
ti ringrazio di avermi inviato il libretto
"Esperienze dell'architettura" di Ernesto Rogers
che ho riletto con un po' di commozione –
È un testo anticipatore, ancora attualissimo
che con grande lucidità esamina i problemi
dell'architettura, dell'urbanistica e delle loro
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Ho avuto, come sai, con Ernesto un rapporto di
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umana ma anche, certamente, sul nostro comune
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Ernesto era un amico stimolante perché i giudizi
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Mi pare impossibile che siano già passati venti
anni dalla sua morte e penso, con rammarico,
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2

cultura e all'architettura italiana, anzitutto
e proprio per la sua intelligenza speculativa,
senza paraocchi, in questo periodo in cui
non esistono più dogmatiche certezze –
Ma Ernesto, nei suoi scritti e nelle sue opere,
è ancora vivo tra noi –
Nel ricordo della comune amicizia e stima per
Ernesto, che si riflette nella nostra amicizia,
ti abbraccio affettuosamente

Ignazio

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Ignazio

1

Caro Guido, tu aspetti da me una lettera su Ernesto,
su quello che ha fatto e insegnato o su quello che è –
ti scrivo, anche se mi pare difficile uscire dal genere en-
comiastico; in questo caso, però, si tratta di parlare
o di ridiscutere o di dire cose, idee, su temi precisi,
piuttosto che confondere biografie e autobiografie –

La torre Velasca è del 1958; l'anno precedente
E. Rogers aveva scritto "Il problema di costruire nelle
preesistenze ambientali" e "Verifica culturale del-
l'azione urbanistica" (il primo del marzo, il se-
condo saggio del novembre) –
Certamente l'occasione (non conosco l'origine del-
l'incarico del progetto della Velasca ai BBPR) ha
un ruolo importante; però solo in parte spiega il
"senso" dell'architettura della torre così dentro
Milano e così programmaticamente diversa rispetto
alle esperienze di architetture in altezza – O non
lo spiega proprio se non si lega ad esso il "manife-
sto" di Architettura e Urbanistica che sta nei due
saggi ricordati: –
Il "caso-per-caso" si esemplifica nella Velasca,
piuttosto che in altre architetture (la casa di Corso
Francia a Torino del 1959, per esempio) che pur
utilizzano stilemi formali quasi uguali, perchè
la torre con la sua architettura ambigua, polise-
mica, risponde al "caso" milanese in quanto
comprensibile solo dentro una teoria generale del-
l'architettura, anche se questa teoria E. Rogers l'ha
espressa in maniera non sistematica, fatta di saggi,
di note brevi, intrecciando architetture significative

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nel loro valore "teorico", appunto, con idee e progetti sulla pianificazione delle città e dei territori urbani e non urbani.
Ecco, allora, in questo quadro così ristretto e così schematico, sono i "debiti" verso E. Rogers che devo (che dovremmo) pagare: 1) l'aver mostrato (dimostrato) che nella Città Antica e nella Città Storica si può (e si deve) costruire ove esista un valore (ed una potenza) critico così affondato nella storia di una città da risultare emblematico della città storica, della città stessa, proprio attraverso la modernità dei mezzi linguistici (e questo per me è vero anche se E. Rogers ha contraddetto questo "principio"), piuttosto che affine o addirittura mimetico di architetture ufficiali della storia della città o di modello, attribuendo ad esso il significato di SUMMA o di valore medio delle architetture della città; 2) l'aver riunito insieme (in una logica lecorbuseriana, certo, ma al di là di essa) le azioni pianificatorie nella città e quelle architettoniche mostrando, anche qui, il rapporto di mutua necessità tra loro, tra città e architettura.

Il "caso-per-caso" si spiega, ha senso, dentro un piano; il "caso-per-caso" è l'invenzione di una architettura dentro un repertorio in espansione di architetture e la sapienza, la giustezza, della sua collocazione in un universo in larghissima parte già dato, epperò continuamente mutevole.
(I problemi delle città di oggi non sono proponibili né risolvibili per "via-di-catasti", come se il problema fosse solo di definizione giuridica, di proprietà del suolo di uso di essa proprietà, dopo essere

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stato per anni quello di disponibilità totale e pubblica del suolo, mentre il problema sostanziale, oggi come sempre, è quello di figura e di figure dell'architettura nella città e della città) -
L'essere entrati abbastanza recentemente nelle zone bianche o grigie dei Piani Regolatori delle nostre città (che nei piani non solo sono di colore bianco o grigio, ma appartengono proprio al dominio della afasia, del "hic sunt leones") ha significato battere contro prima, e superare poi, quel limite che era stato artatamente o surrettiziamente costruito tra il Regno dell'Urbanistica e quello dell'Architettura -
Solo che molti (quasi tutti) hanno ritenuto che Architettura e Urbanistica fossero sinonimie e che "unità di Architettura e Urbanistica" significasse che agire sulla città urbanisticamente (fare un piano urbanistico) fosse intervenire "architettonicamente" su tutta la città, dando ad ogni parte di essa la identica quantità e tipo di "ordini", ingrigendo (questa volta sì) tutta la città - Di fatto senza capire la sostanza necessaria dell'analisi della città, dell'analisi critica di tutti i suoi elementi costitutivi -
Perché non ricordiamo quello straordinario disegno di Le Corbusier costruito da un immaginario punto di vista dal quale si vede tutta Marsiglia, dall'area dell'Unité al fondo del boulevard Michelet, verso il Vieux Port, fino a perdersi nel fondale di Fos?
O perché non ricordare quell'altra straordinaria immagine costruita a due bande sovrapposte, dove in alto si leggono i profili del Camposanto, della Cattedrale e

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del Battistero e dell Torre di Pisa e, sotto, si staglia la figura del Palazzo dei Soviet a Mosca?

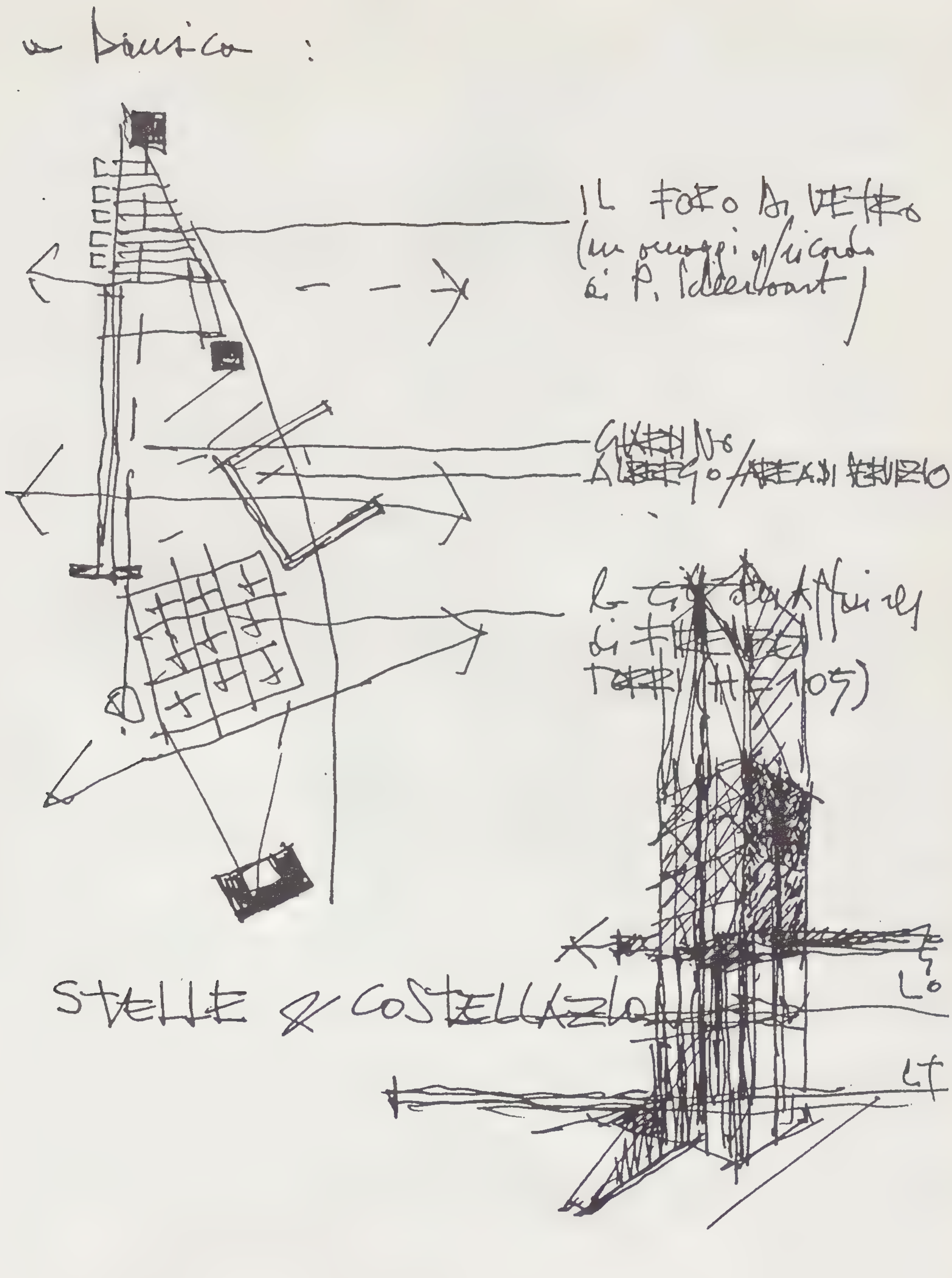
L'architettura è fatta di luoghi; ad essi dà nome e storia, si situa nella città, la descrive "caso-per-caso" – È questa, io credo, la lezione di E. Rogers: indicarci che si può estrarre figure dalle macchie sul muro, mostrarle, dar loro senso, comporle con altre figure – leonardescamente –
Del resto, il guardare la città (le città) con occhi "catastali", necessariamente omologanti, annullanti le differenze, le specificità o molteplicità o caratteri, etc. tutto ciò non può sostituire il piano, il significato progettuale del piano –
"... nella pianificazione, conservare o costruire sono momenti di un medesimo atto di coscienza, perché l'uno e l'altro sono sottoposti ad un medesimo metodo: conservare non ha senso se non è inteso nel significato di attualizzazione del passato e costruire non ha senso se non è inteso come continuazione del processo storico: si tratta di chiarire in noi il senso della storia – Conservare e costruire sono atti creativi e la scelta di una azione o dell'altra non può essere giudicata che in sede di pianificazione concreta, seguendo un vaglio severo per stabilire la scala dei valori –"
La "scala dei valori" appunto, che è proprio dell'architetto che è salito lungo la scala dell'urbanistica analogamente al "pensar-filosofico" di Wittgenstein –
E ancora: "... nessuna azione è concepibile fuori di una pianificazione che ne stabilisca il significato nell'ordine dello spazio ed in quello del tempo" –
Le citazioni sono quelle che tu mi proponevi come oggetto e tema di questa nostra conversazione episto

lore, tratte dalla Relazione di Ernesto fatta al Congresso INU di Lucca del novembre 1957 – E per me stanno fisse, ferme, proprio rispetto ai problemi del nostro presente –
Forse non è più tempo di rivolgerci ai giuristi, ai sociologi, ai tecnici di settori in una dimensione multidisciplinare che garantisca la giustezza realistica per intervenire nella città, sulla città ancora definite nelle canoniche partizioni, di origine geografica in centro, periferie, territorio esterno, in quanto l'oggetto stesso (la città) si è andato modificando: è difficile stabilire (e forse non ha un senso profondo, necessario), definire la cosa "città", in quanto la metamorfosi o la perdita di morfosi impedisce di convenire sopra un significato operativo, utile –
Voglio dire che le dimensioni del teatro urbano si sono estese, come si sono moltiplicati i generi di spettacolo e di conseguenza la necessità di un "PIANO" è più urgente oggi, un piano a scale differenziate, che utilizzi linguaggi molteplici, costruito per prospettive a più punti di stazione (una nuova giornata di Ulisse), dentro le quali si fondano, diventino "veri" i linguaggi, le situazioni, i pensieri, gli atti, il tempo –

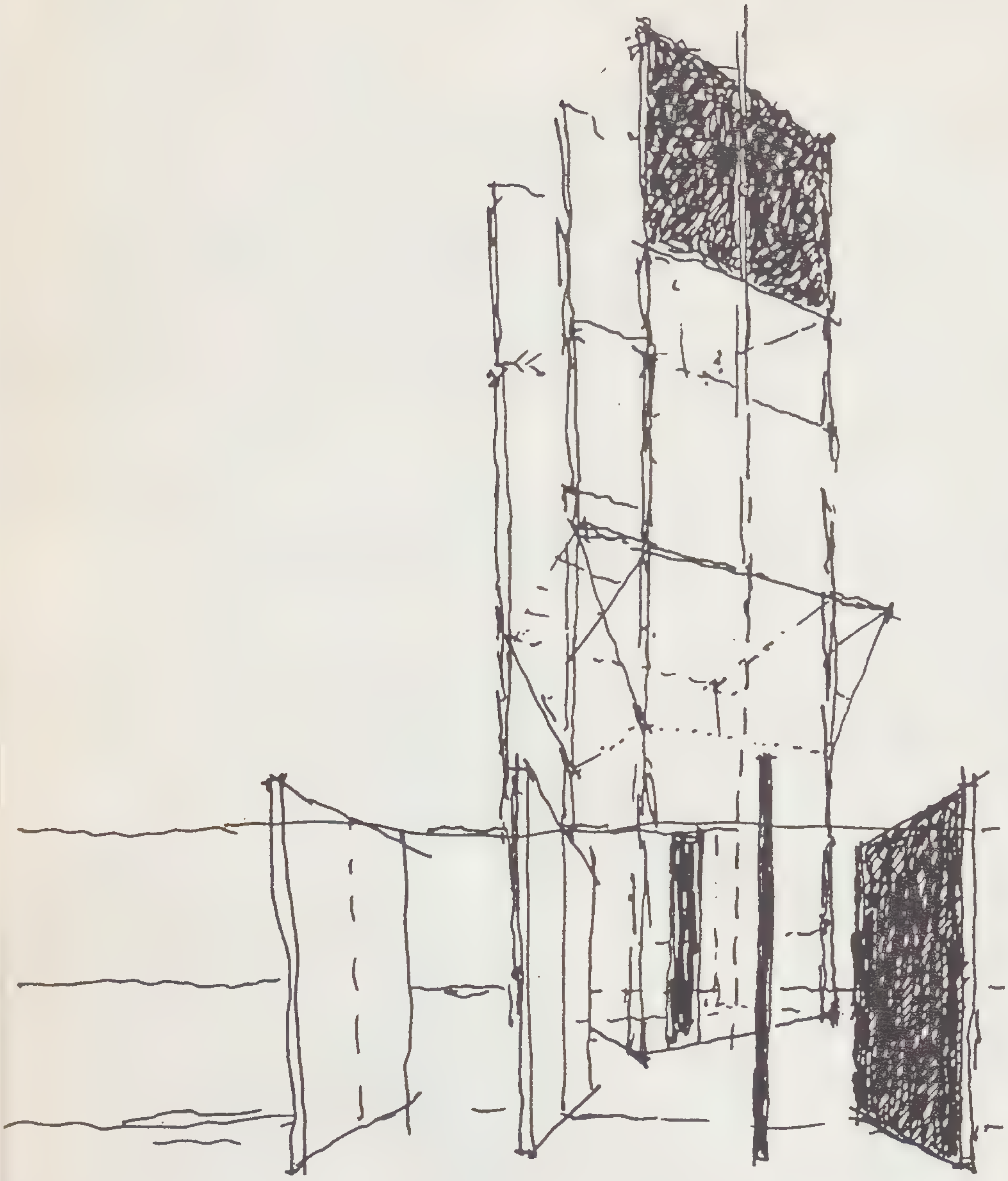
Caro Guido mi rendo conto che ho scritto quasi un programma di lavoro – Ma è proprio questo che mi piacerebbe che facessimo –
Un abbraccio.

Gino

Udine, 6 febbraio 1990


IL FORO DI VETRO

Caro Guido, tu aspetti da me, e da noi, una lettera.
È difficile uscire dal genere encomiastico; in questo caso, però, si tratta di parlare o di richiamare o dire cose su temi precisi, piuttosto che confondere biografie ed autobiografie.
La Torre Velasca è del 1958; l'anno precedente Ernesto Rogers aveva scritto Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali e Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica *(il primo del marzo, il secondo saggio del novembre).*
Certamente l'occasione (non conosco l'origine dell'incarico del progetto della Velasca dei BBPR) ha un ruolo importante; però solo in parte spiega il "senso" dell'architettura della torre, così programmaticamente diversa rispetto alle esperienze di architetture in altezza, o non lo spiega proprio se non si lega ad essa il "manifesto" di Architettura e Urbanistica che sta nei due saggi ricordati.
Il "caso per caso" *si esemplifica nella Velasca, piuttosto che in altri edifici (la casa di Corso Francia a Torino nel 1959, per esempio) che pur utilizzano stilemi formali quasi uguali, perché la torre con la sua architettura ambigua, polisemica, risponde al "caso" milanese in quanto comprensibile solo dentro una teoria generale dell'architettura, anche se questa teoria Ernesto Rogers l'ha espressa in maniera non sistematica, fatta di saggi, di note brevi, intrecciando architetture significative nel loro valore "teorico", appunto, con idee e progetti sulla pianificazione delle città e dei territori urbani e non urbani.*
Due, allora, in questo quadro così ristretto e così schematico, sono i "debiti" verso Ernesto Rogers che devo (che dovremmo) pagare: 1) l'aver mostrato (dimostrato) che nella Città Antica e nella Città Storica si può (e si deve) costruire ove esista un valore (ed una potenza) critico così affondato nella storia di una città da risultare emblematico della città stessa, proprio attraverso la modernità dei mezzi linguistici, piuttosto che affine o addirittura mimetico di architetture della città stessa o di modello (attribuendo ad esso il significato di



studio di torre per l'ISOLA DEI GRANAI a Danzica

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"Summa" delle architetture della città); 2) l'aver riunito insieme (in una logica lecorbuseriana certo, ma al di là di essa) le azioni pianificatorie nella città e quelle architettoniche mostrando, anche qui, il rapporto di mutua necessità tra loro, tra città e architettura.
Il "caso per caso" *si spiega, ha senso, dentro un piano; il* "caso per caso" *è l'invenzione di una architettura dentro un repertorio in espansione di architetture e la sapienza, la giustezza, della sua collocazione in un universo in larghissima parte già dato epperò continuamente mutevole.*
(I problemi delle città di oggi non sono risolvibili per "via-di-catasti", come se il problema fosse solo di definizione giuridica, di proprietà del suolo o di uso di essa; il problema sostanziale è di figura e di figure dell'architettura).
L'essere entrati abbastanza recentemente nelle zone bianche o grigie dei Piani Regolatori delle nostre città (chè nei Piani erano non solo di colore bianco o grigio ma appartenevano proprio al regno della afasia, del "hic sunt leones") ha significato battere contro prima, e superare poi, quel limite che era stato artatamente o surrettiziamente costruito tra il Regno dell'Urbanistica e quello dell'Architettura.
Solo che molti (quasi tutti) hanno ritenuto che Architettura e Urbanistica fossero sinonimie e che unità di Architettura e Urbanistica significasse che agire sulla città urbanisticamente (fare un piano urbanistico) fosse intervenire "architettonicamente" su tutta la città, dando ad ogni parte di essa la identica quantità e tipo di "ordini" ingrigendo (questa volta sì) tutta la città. Di fatto senza capire la sostanza necessaria dell'analisi della città, dell'analisi critica di tutti i suoi elementi costruttivi. Perché non ricordiamo quello straordinario disegno di Le Corbusier costruito da un immaginario punto di vista dal quale si vede tutta Marsiglia dall'area dell'Unitè al fondo di boulevard Michelet, verso il Vieux-Port, fino a perdersi nel fondale di Fos? O perché non ricordare quell'altra straordinaria immagine costruita a due bande sovrapposte dove in alto si leggono i profili del Camposanto, della Cattedrale e del Battistero e della Torre di Pisa e, sotto, si staglia la figura del Palazzo dei Soviet a Mosca?
L'architettura è fatta di luoghi; l'architettura dà nome e sostanza ai luoghi, si situa nelle città, ce la fa vedere e conoscere: il "caso-per-caso" *è questa lezione, questo estrarre le figure dalle macchie sul muro e mostrarle, dar loro senso, comporle con altre figure.*
Il resto, il guardare le città con occhi "catastali" necessariamente omologanti, annullanti le differenze, le specificità o molteplicità o caratteri ecc., non può sostituire il piano. "...Nella pianificazione, conservare o costruire sono momenti di un medesimo atto di coscienza, perché l'uno e l'altro sono sottoposti ad un medesimo metodo: conservare non ha senso se non è inteso nel significato di attualizzazione del passato e costruire non ha senso se non è inteso come continuazione del processo storico: si tratta di chiarire in noi il senso della storia. Conservare e costruire sono atti creativi e la scelta di una azione o dell'altra non può essere giudicata che in sede di pianificazione concreta, seguendo un vaglio severo per stabilire la scala dei valori".
La "scala dei valori" *appunto, che è propria dell'architetto che è salito sull'urbanistica, parafrasando Wittgenstein, buttando poi via la scala.*
E ancora: "...nessuna azione è concepibile fuori di una pianificazione che ne stabilisca il significato nell'ordine dello spazio ed in quello del tempo".
Le citazioni che ho tratto dalla Relazione per il Convegno di Lucca del novembre 1957 sono ancora ferme.
Forse non è più tempo, come Ernesto Rogers proponeva in questo ed in altri scritti, di rivolgerci ai giuristi, ai sociologi, ai tecnici di settore in una dimensione multidisciplinare che garantisca la giustezza realistica per intervenire nella città ancorata alle canoniche distinzioni, di origine geografica, in centro, periferia, territorio esterno in quanto l'oggetto stesso si è andato modificando: è difficile stabilire, definire la cosa "città" in quanto la metamorfosi o la perdita di morfosi impedisce di convenire un significato operativo, utile.
Voglio dire che le dimensioni del teatro urbano si sono estese, come si sono moltiplicati i generi di spettacolo e di conseguenza la necessità di un "PIANO" è più urgente oggi, un piano a scale differenziate, che utilizzi linguaggi molteplici, costruiti per prospettive a più punti di stazione, una sorta di nuovo Ulisses dentro il quale si fondono e diventano "veri" i linguaggi, le situazioni, i pensieri, gli atti, il tempo.

Gianugo

Aldo Rossi

Caro Guido, ti ringrazio per avermi invitato a scrivere un ricordo o testimonianza su Ernesto N. Rogers e soprattutto mi ricordi che sono passati venti anni dalla sua morte —

In venti anni si costruiscono e si vivono ma anche si dimenticano molte cose; e spesso si dimenticano i morti o si assumono solo in una sfera pubblica e civile come se per una delicata trascuratezza ne dimenticassimo la sfera umana e personale — o volessimo dimenticare noi stessi —

Ed è difficile parlare di un amico e di un maestro nell'arco di questo tempo lungo e corto, tanto è difficile parlare del rapporto umano, privato come con un morto quanto con un vivo; tanto è difficile la fede e l'eloquenza civile, senza voler ridurre tutto in aneddotica e retorica.

Quindi Guido, ti ringrazio ancora per questa tua volontà civile della testimonianza / identificando la tua passione per una documentazione filologica con la più labile testimonianza di chi ha vissuto altre stagioni, labile soprattutto perché

perché non sappiamo quale parte abbia svolto il Testimone nella commedia
Potrei annotare alcune cose che so di Lui
o che forse esistevano tra me e lui e fra lo giornalismo/

- come proprio lui che amava tanto l'architettura coltivasse discepoli disattenti ad ella come io sono stato e sono.
- come essendo al di sopra dei nostri contemporanei (mi riferisco al "professionista milanese" come Gadda si riferisce al "nostro Politecnico" nostro di noi milanesi) egli volesse entrare a far parte di questo "nostro Politecnico" che era forse la cosa peggiore che gli poteva capitare.
Forse solo spiegato dalla sua passione civile che lo poneva sempre in prima linea nei dibattiti più difficili perché egli — e questa non è una nobile testimonianza — amava solo la la verità e la libertà —
E questo è testimoniato da tutta la sua vita.

La sua libertà e tolleranza lo portò a comporre gente diversa ed egli era come il grande regista di una commedia composita — gli attori si dispersero

poi negli spettacoli più diversi, ma forse non ritornarono mai quell'unione felice a cui erano costretti - come di un amore coatto -

Caro Guido, anche tu dirigi una bella rivista così mi sembra dai primi numeri e conosci meglio di me i problemi del lavoro di gruppo e così valuterai meglio questa qualità di Ernesto - Io, proprio dal mio individualismo e circondato da altri aspetti interessi trovo la sua e un poco anche nostra rivista, la vecchia gloriosa Casabella Continuità come la vera scuola che egli ha potuto svolgere, molto più importante, ufficiale internazionale dell'ambrosiano nostro Politecnico -

Ernesto N Rogers è stato per me molto importante come ho detto maestro e amico / Carissimo da molti anni vivo in una vecchia casa milanese in una strada che domina la Torre Velasca -

Dalla mia camera, che è qualcosa come un'altana, appare sul piccolo terrazzo come un'astronave, con le sue luci accese nelle poche notti serene

milanesi vedendo un paesaggio che va dalla luce del Duomo alle sue precise finestre.

Mi regolo sulla sua sagoma per conoscere l'altezza e la densità della nebbia milanese prima di uscire o anche solo di usare la luce. A volte ella sta sopra la nebbia e ne appare il profilo. Ella da una particolare / queste alla mia camera per la sua bellezza e per la sua forza / come essere protetti da una fortezza oltre la quale stanno luoghi e gente. Le città sono uno strano nesso di ricordi e novità.

A volte scatto qualche polaroid di queste inquadrature che da anni non è cambiata.

Tutto questo è cronaca ma questo paesaggio urbano che ci circonda è così denso di storia civile e personale che è difficile da distinguere.

Certo la città e noi stessi siamo geografia o storia; dipende se siamo descritti o se ci vediamo nel passato.

Come vedo, ti mostra di averti ricordato che sono passati venti anni dalla morte del nostro maestro Ernesto N. Rogers e ci avevi dato l'occasione di ricordarlo.

Con amicizia. Aldo

Milano 8 febbraio 1992





Caro Guido,
ti ringrazio per avermi invitato a scrivere un ricordo o testimonianza su Ernesto N. Rogers e soprattutto mi ricordi che sono passati venti anni dalla Sua morte.
In venti anni si costruiscono e si vivono, ma anche si dimenticano molte cose; e spesso si dimenticano i morti o si assumono solo in una sfera pubblica e civile come se per una delicata trascuratezza ne dimenticassimo la sfera umana e personale.
Ed è difficile parlare di un amico e di un maestro nell'arco di questo tempo, lungo e corto; tanto è difficile parlare del rapporto umano, privato come con un morto quanto con un vivo; tanto è difficile la lode e l'eloquenza civile, senza voler tutto ridurre in aneddotica e retorica.
Quindi, Guido, ti ringrazio ancora per questa tua volontà civile della testimonianza: identificando la tua passione per la documentazione filologica con la più labile testimonianza di chi ha vissuto altre stagioni, labile soprattutto perché non sappiamo quale parte abbia vissuto il testimone nella commedia. Potrei annotare alcune cose che so di Lui o che forse esistevano solo tra me e lui ed io generalizzo:
— come proprio Lui che amava tanto l'architettura coltivasse discepoli disattenti ad essa come io sono stato e sono;
— come, essendo al di sopra dei suoi contemporanei (mi riferisco al "professionista milanese" come Gadda si riferisce al "noster Politecnico", nostro di noi milanesi) egli volesse entrare a far parte di questo "nostro Politecnico" che era forse la cosa peggiore che gli poteva capitare.
Forse solo spiegato dalla sua ragione e passione civile che lo poneva sempre in prima linea nei dibattiti più difficili perché egli, e questa non è una labile testimonianza, amava solo la verità e la libertà. E questo è testimoniato da tutta la sua vita.
La sua libertà e tolleranza lo portò a comporre gente diversa ed egli era come il grande regista di una commedia composita. Gli attori si dispersero poi negli spettacoli più diversi, ma forse non ritrovarono mai quell'unione felice a cui erano costretti, come di un'amore coatto.
Caro Guido, anche tu dirigi una bella rivista così mi sembra dai primi numeri, e conosci meglio di me i problemi del lavoro di gruppo, e così valuterai meglio questa qualità di Ernesto. Io, proprio dal mio individualismo e circondato da altri astratti interessi, trovo la sua e un poco anche nostra rivista, la vecchia gloriosa "Casabella Continuità" come la vera scuola che egli ha potuto svolgere, molto più importante, ufficiale, internazionale dell'ambrosiano nostro Politecnico.
Ernesto N. Rogers è stato per me molto importante, come ho detto maestro e amico; e per caso, ormai da molti anni vivo in una vecchia casa milanese in una strada dominata dalla Torre Velasca.
Dalla mia camera, che è qualcosa come un attico, appare sul piccolo terrazzo come un'astronave, con le sue luci accese nelle poche notti serene milanesi, chiudendo un paesaggio che va dalla luce del Duomo alle sue piccole finestre.
Mi regolo sulla sua sagoma per conoscere l'altezza e la densità della nebbia milanese prima di viaggiare o anche solo di uscire di casa. A volte essa sta sopra la nebbia e ne appare il profilo. Essa dà una particolare quiete alla mia camera, per la sua bellezza e per la sua forza: come essere protetti da una fortezza oltre la quale stanno luoghi e gente. Le città sono uno strano nesso di ricordi e di novità.
A volte scatto qualche polaroid di questa inquadratura, che da anni non è cambiata.
Tutto questo è cronaca ma questo paesaggio urbano che ci circonda è così denso di storia civile e personale che è difficile da districare. Certo la città e noi stessi siamo allo stesso tempo geografia o storia; dipende se siamo descritti o se ci vediamo nel passato.
Caro Guido, ti ringrazio di avermi ricordato che sono passati venti anni dalla morte del nostro maestro Ernesto Rogers e di avermi dato l'occasione, in qualche modo, di ricordarlo.
Con amicizia,

Aldo

Renzo Zorzi

Di questi scritti di Ernesto Rogers, che mi sembrano da sottoscrivere in toto *e che, a più di trent'anni di distanza, continuano ad essere attuali per la finezza e la pertinenza delle considerazioni, vorrei mettere in evidenza soprattutto un punto, che è poi il punto centrale: il suo richiamo, che potrebbe parere provocatorio ed è invece profondamente meditato, al criterio del "caso per caso", di un caso per caso vero, dimensionato sull'individualità delle singole situazioni nelle decisioni di pianificazione urbanistica e negli interventi di architettura contemporanea in ambienti preesistenti e artisticamente rilevanti.*

Vi sono nella storia della civiltà epoche prevalentemente creative ed altre prevalentemente classificatorie: il Settecento, per esempio, appartiene certamente a queste ultime. Ma anche ad esse, e questo mi sembra anche il caso del Ventesimo secolo, un qualche grado di duttilità e di creatività è indispensabile, altrimenti quella "science générale de l'ordre" *che Foucault attribuiva all'Illuminismo, diventa l'ottusità della pura applicazione accademica, o peggio, la mania ordinatrice dei molti Bouvard e Pecuchet costantemente all'opera.*

Senza qualche scarto e ricomposizione di contesto non si dà genialità, non si creano nuove opere, se non capolavori almeno in qualche modo eccezionali, si interrompe mutilandola la storia. In una condizione naturale di successivi accumuli formali e adattamenti storici, un intero periodo rischia, o può rischiare di trascorrere nell'anonimia, viene "saltato", quando addirittura non è ridotto allo scandalo di presenze magari dentro le regole grammaticali ma distruttrici di ogni qualità ambientale.

Rari o molto rari sono del resto i casi di ambienti urbani che richiedono solo conservazione, come un'opera d'arte portata a compimento e non più modificabile.

Malauguratamente entrambi i criteri, caso per caso o regole generalizzanti, richiedono interpretazione e applicazione da parte di burocrazie amministrative spesso assai poco consapevoli e con la minore attitudine all'analisi di qualità, e sottostando a giudizi di merito formulati in sedi per nulla adatte ad esprimerli. Il problema è tanto più grave dove, come in Italia, da una parte si può dire che ogni centro abitato è un centro storico in qualche modo significante ed ogni paesaggio una costruzione umana rielaborata nei secoli, da affrontarsi quindi con un grado di delicatezza, di scrupolo e di intelligenza comunque assai rari, dall'altra che i poteri decisori sono nella tradizione di una società politica che intende vigilare ed operare direttamente e su tutto, anche su ciò per cui non ha strumenti, in primo luogo intellettuali, che ne guidino gli interventi.

E qui sta il problema che in questi scritti Rogers, con la consueta semplicità, acutezza e rigore di distinzione, fin dalla metà degli anni Cinquanta, prima cioè degli inizi del cosiddetto "miracolo economico" che tanti sconvolgimenti ha provocato, già chiaramente vedeva, indicando i pericoli a cui avrebbe portato una legislazione eccessivamente rigida e un livello di sensibilità che, oggi lo possiamo constatare postfactum, *hanno generalmente sia impedito la presenza di una architettura creativa propria del Ventesimo secolo dentro il cuore del contesto urbano, arrestandone quindi lo sviluppo e cristallizzandolo in una storia artificialmente interrotta, sia non salvaguardato la fisionomia autentica e la conservazione, i cui criteri di attuazione vengono per legge affidati ad organi di tutela che interpretano il "caso per caso", che richiederebbe, proprio in quanto tale, la maggiore capacità di giudizio e di tensione qualitativa, secondo predisposizioni, idiosincrasie o pregiudizi spesso del tutto personali, su cui si vorrebbe stendere un velo pietoso, se le conseguenze di tali decisioni non fossero davanti a tutti e non parlassero da sole.*

Renzo Zorzi

San Pietro come rovina
Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck*

Christof Thoenes

Nell'occuparsi della costruzione del nuovo San Pietro si finisce prima o poi col provare un senso di gratitudine per l'artista di cui vediamo qui l'autoritratto (fig. 1): senza Maerten van Heemskerck, senza le sue vedute e quelle della sua cerchia non sarebbe stato possibile scrivere la storia dell'edificio nel Cinquecento. Ciò non vale, o vale in minor misura, per altre iniziative edilizie di quel tempo: solo per San Pietro disponiamo — caso unico, a parte alcuni famosi monumenti dell'antichità — di una serie di vedute unitaria e almeno in certa misura organicamente disposta. Si potrebbe vedere in essa un "omaggio a Bramante", il riscopritore della buona architettura, le cui principali opere romane erano state già accolte da Serlio e dai suoi predecessori nel novero degli *exempla* classici. Ma il paradigma del nuovo stile, il tempietto di San Pietro in Montorio, continuamente studiato e rappresentato dagli architetti, non venne preso in considerazione da Heemskerck; e basta osservare in che modo egli immaginò la Basilica Vaticana ultimata (fig. 2) per comprendere che il suo interesse non era propriamente rivolto all'architettura moderna, ma piuttosto all'edificio nel suo stato attuale, nel contesto di un paesaggio urbano visto essenzialmente — lo dimostra lo sfondo dell'autoritratto — come un paesaggio di rovine. Nelle descrizioni di Roma era questo un luogo comune, un *topos* in cui l'ammirazione si associava alla critica. "*Le cose moderne ci sono molto triste*", scriveva da Roma Alberto degli Alberti a Giovanni de' Medici, "*il bello di Roma sono le cose disfacte*"; e veramente sotto questo riguardo nessuna capitale poteva starle a pari. Ciò avveniva quasi un secolo prima del soggiorno romano di Heemskerck; ma ancora oggi vi sono molte parti del territorio urbano in cui si ha la stessa sensazione.

Naturalmente nel secolo intercorso la fisionomia della città era cambiata. Già nel noto dipinto di Mantova, derivante da un prototipo della fine del Quattrocento, Roma non appare soltanto come una città di rovine: spiccano in essa soprattutto gli edifici innalzati nei decenni precedenti, e ben presto, durante i pontificati di Giulio II e di Leone X, a quegli edifici se ne sarebbero aggiunti altri ancora più grandiosi. Nello stesso tempo nasceva però un nuovo modo di vedere i ruderi: non più come semplici oggetti di studio per architetti e topografi, ma anche come elementi dell'immagine urbana e della vita cittadina. Dobbiamo a Raffaello una delle prime e più profonde parafrasi pittoriche di questo tema (fig. 3): profonda nel senso che il contesto iconografico dell'affresco *Leone Magno ferma Attila*, di cui ci interessa qui la prospettiva sullo sfondo, include nel riferimento alla minaccia

*) Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

1. Maerten van Heemskerck, Autoritratto, 1553. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.



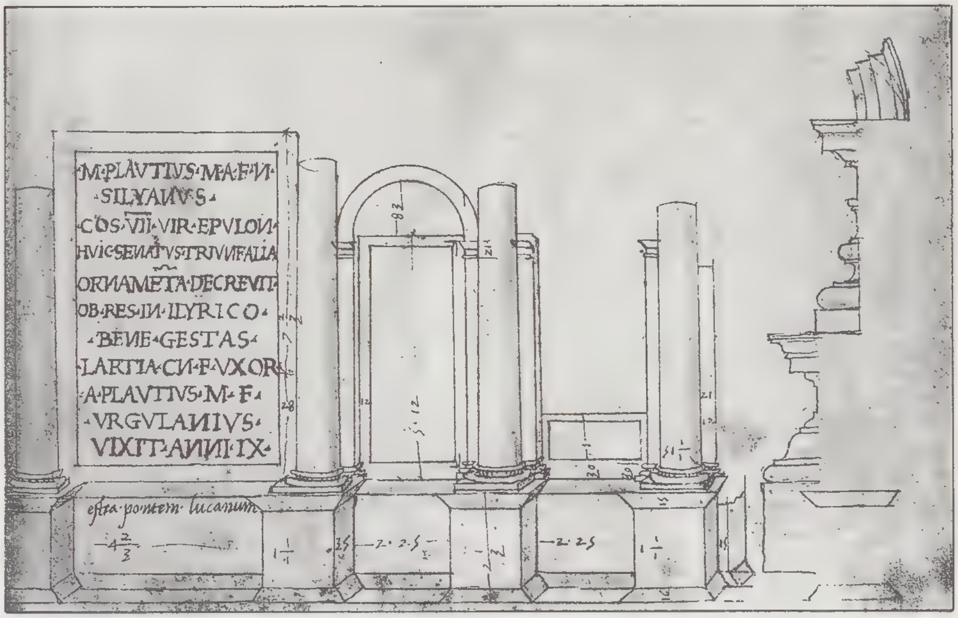
2. Maerten van Heemskerck, Paesaggio con il buon Samaritano, 1530 c. (particolare). Haarlem, Franz-Hals-Museum.
3. Raffaello, Leone Magno ferma Attila, 1514 (particolare). Palazzo Vaticano, Stanza di Eliodoro.

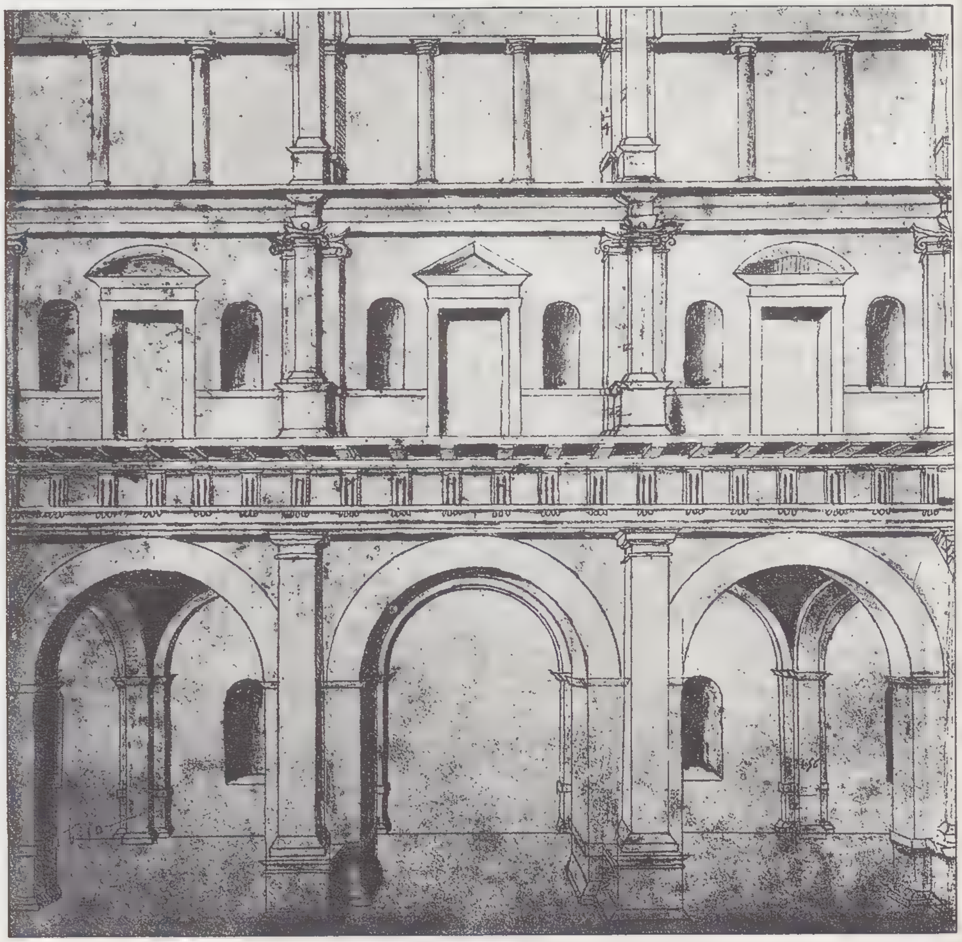




d'incendio, di saccheggio e di distruzione che incombe sulla città una riflessione sulle origini storiche delle rovine. E forse non è un caso che proprio Raffaello abbia inserito nei suoi progetti urbanistici di Roma i ruderi di un antico monumento sepolcrale presso Piazza del Popolo.
Ma a questo punto l'immagine della città cominciò a essere caratterizzata, oltre che dalle rovine antiche, anche dalle "rovine nuove", cioè da edifici moderni non condotti a termine. Tutte le grandi fabbriche intraprese negli ultimi anni di pontificato di Giulio II — da San Pietro e dal Palazzo Vaticano al Palazzo dei Tribunali, a San Biagio alla Pagnotta, ai Santi Celso e Giuliano, ecc. — erano ancora incompiute alla morte del papa; alcune di esse lo rimasero per sempre, e lo stesso avvenne in seguito per altri edifici, come Villa Madama. Non si tratta di esempi isolati: si potrebbe dimostrare (anche se non è il caso di farlo qui) che nell'edilizia romana dell'età moderna l'idea di frammento, di "torso", assume un ruolo assai rilevante. In generale ciò si spiega col rapido succedersi dei pontefici e col conseguente continuo rovesciamento delle situazioni di potere politico ed economico, in un clima di esasperate ambizioni da parte degli architetti e dei committenti, che gareggiano in monumentalità fra loro e con le rovine antiche. Le dimensioni colossali di queste ultime sono sentite come uno stimolo e un obbligo morale, così che il loro stato frammentario — l' "*ipsa ruina*" di Serlio — porta a ritenere che in architettura, almeno agli occhi dei posteri, l'aver voluto grandi cose conti più dell'averle completate. La disparità fra le intenzioni e le possibilità concrete diviene uno dei caratteri del Rinascimento romano: dappertutto riprese esecutive, interruzioni, spigoli dentellati testimoniano la grandiosità e il fallimento delle ambizioni edilizie. Gli edifici incompiuti, superati da nuovi progetti, sopravvivono alla loro epoca, come le quattro campate della Loggia di Pio II, che fin nel Seicento fiancheggeranno l'ingresso di San Pietro; una struttura compiuta come il Nicchione del Belvedere sembra essere il rudere di un edificio ancora più gigantesco; costruzioni abbandonate o semidistrutte vengono viste come rovine e incorporate anche nel nome (vedi il caso del "Ponte Rotto") nell'immagine urbana. Anche certi motivi ornamentali, come il bugnato rustico o il frontone spezzato, fanno espresso riferimento all' "effetto rovina"; e perfino i difetti tecnici, dovuti per lo più all'eccessiva rapidità d'esecuzione, rientrano in questo quadro, nel senso che i prototipi del nuovo stile presentano un'evidente tendenza — notata già dagli stessi contemporanei — a deteriorarsi da sé, quasi che fossero impazienti di raggiungere la condizione delle rovine classiche. James Ackerman ha raccolto le testimonianze della cattiva reputazione che Bramante ebbe come costruttore: per quanto riguarda in particolare la sua attività in San Pietro, avremo presto occasione di tornare a occuparcene.
Ciò che accomuna le antiche rovine alle nuove è l'emergere della dimensione temporale nell'architettura. Questo vale non soltanto per il noto motivo della decadenza e della transitorietà (che diventa davvero attuale solo dopo l'esperienza catastrofica del Sacco di Roma), ma anche per il modo di crescere degli edifici: nelle vedute delle fabbriche incompiute o in rovina costruzione e distruzione appaiono come fasi di un unico processo. Ad esempio, per il disegnatore del Codice Coner non vi è essenzialmente alcuna differenza tra la raffigurazione di un nuovo edificio in costruzione e il rilievo di un rudere (figg. 4, 5). Le fabbriche in rovina, specialmente quelle a pianta circolare, potevano essere viste direttamente in sezione, e ciò favoriva lo sviluppo di metodi analitici di rappresentazione grafica. In questa sede non è possibile approfondire l'argomento: mi limiterò a citare un altro disegno (fig. 6), riguardante l'incompiuta chiesa bramantesca dei Santi Celso e Giuliano: la cappella d'angolo, già ultimata, appare qui trasformata in una specie di rovina artificiale, così da poter essere vista in sezione.
Non fa quindi meraviglia che anche i vedutisti e i pittori di storie non abbiano fatto una distinzione netta tra le rovine antiche e quelle moderne. Ad esempio, in due incisioni di Philipp Galle tratte da Heemskerck (figg. 7, 8) l'adorazione dei pastori e quella dei Magi sono ambientate rispettivamente tra rovine non meglio identificate e alla base della scala a chiocciola costruita da Bramante presso il Belvedere. Naturalmente in entrambi i casi si son volute rappresentare rovine di edifici antichi, anche se per il loro carattere queste architetture somigliano di più a rovine "moderne" (si confrontino fra loro le figg. 9 e 10); era comunque il motivo di fondo, quello della distruzione, delle "*cose disfacte*", a colpire i visitatori nordici, anche perché di esso evidentemente andavano in cerca.
Veniamo ora a considerare San Pietro, ossia l'edificio che più di ogni altra nuova fabbrica cittadina era strettamente e variamente connesso col mondo dei ruderi romani. Non mi soffermerò sulla questione, ampiamente dibattuta, delle accuse al Bramante "ruinante" che avrebbe, più che edificato il nuovo San Pietro, distrutto l'antica basilica, fin allora tutt'altro che in rovina. Vorrei solo osservare che non si

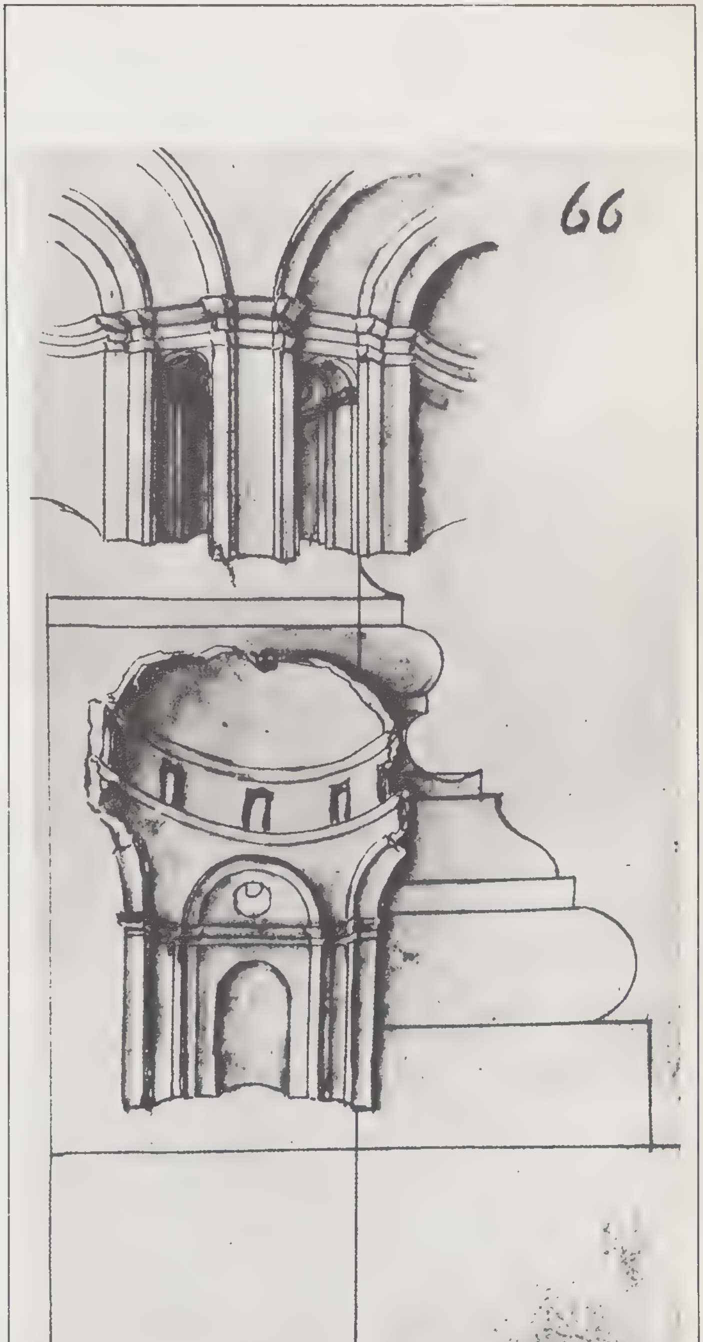
4. Bernardo della Volpaia, Mausoleo dei Plautii presso Ponte Lucano, 1515 c. Londra, Soane Museum, Codice Coner, f. 45v.
5. Bernardo della Volpaia, Cortile del Belvedere, 1515 c. Londra, Soane Museum, Codice Coner, f. 41v.
6. Domenico da Varignana, Santi Celso e Giuliano, 1518-20 c. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Codice Mellon, f. 57r.





trattò di un intervento di demolizione isolato, ma di un processo che interessò tutta la successiva storia dell'edificio. Esso infatti non fu costruito secondo una semplice progressione lineare, da ovest verso est, ma in modo tale che alcune parti della fabbrica primitiva rimasero inglobate nella nuova, come se fossero incarnate in essa. Talvolta questi inserti erano lasciati in abbandono, altre volte erano conservati con cura, come l'antica abside e un tratto dell'adiacente parete del transetto: alcune strutture dell'antico corpo longitudinale erano ancora in piedi quando Maderno cominciò a erigere la sua facciata. In qualche periodo vi fu uno scambio di ruoli fra le parti primitive e le nuove: era la parte superstite dell'antica basilica, separata dopo il 1538 dal cantiere mediante il "muro divisorio" di Sangallo, a ospitare le funzioni religiose, mentre i piloni e le arcate della crociera bramantesca s'innalzavano verso il cielo, non ancora conclusi dalla cupola. Per gli architetti che lavoravano alla fabbrica la disordinata commistione di strutture antiche e nuove, delineatasi già nei disegni di progetto e divenuta poi realtà, deve aver rappresentato un ostacolo e al tempo stesso una fonte d'ispirazione formale: trova così la spiegazione più convincente l'associazione, più volte tentata fin dal tempo di Bramante, di grandi piloni con paraste addossate e di colonnati architravati simili a quelli del primitivo corpo longitudinale (fig. 25). Le stesse colonne, nella misura in cui si erano salvate dall'iniziale "furia" bramantesca, furono raccolte, misurate, inventariate e almeno in parte riutilizzate come materiale di spoglio nel nuovo edificio. In tal modo demolizione e costruzione s'integrarono in un processo unico, in una specie di continua metamorfosi che proseguì, anche dopo il vero e proprio compimento della fabbrica, fin nel Settecento, quando l'ultimo avanzo del complesso primitivo, il mausoleo tardoantico di Santa Maria della Febbre, fu sostituito dalla nuova sacrestia.

Ma l'idea di rovina è spesso presente anche nella storia edilizia del nuovo San Pietro, in cui si ebbero demolizioni parziali di strutture già ultimate, da quella della "tribuna" meridionale (l'emiciclo cominciato da Raffaello e da Sangallo) a quella del campanile berniniano al tempo di Urbano VIII. Il più spettacolare di questi interventi fu forse l'abbattimento, durante il pontificato di Sisto V, del coro di Bramante completato sotto Leone X: la concomitanza di questi lavori di demolizione e di quelli di costruzione del braccio occidentale secondo il progetto di Michelangelo creò gravi complicazioni tecniche, superate, ci dicono le fonti, con



"*molta spesa e gran fatica*". È poco noto che l'abbattimento del coro bramantesco riguardò in pratica una struttura già degradata: le murature erano infatti lesionate, e Grimaldi descrive la paurosa crepa che si apriva nella conchiglia del catino absidale. Come vedremo meglio in seguito, lesioni analoghe e ancor più pericolose si erano già formate nei piloni e nelle arcate della crociera; ma anche nelle parti rimaste indenni il coro di Bramante deve aver avuto una certa apparenza di rovina, non solo per le sue nude murature di mattoni, contrastanti coi rivestimenti di travertino messi in opera da Michelangelo, ma soprattutto per le grandi finestre rimaste vuote, attraverso le quali era visibile l'interno dell'edificio (fig. 12). Queste cavernosità caratterizzeranno anche l'esterno michelangiolesco: come ora sappiamo, le sue membrature profondamente scavate avrebbero dovuto essere coronate da un attico non rivestito, nel quale la nuda massa muraria sarebbe venuta alla luce, con un effetto non dissimile da quello di una rovina. Anche quest'attico è bucato da profonde aperture; la nota veduta di Hubert Robert (fig. 11) esprime con grande efficacia il carattere un po' inquietante dell'insieme, nel confronto con la superstite rotonda antica.
Quelle che ho finora esposto sono interpretazioni: ma vi fu nella storia della nuova fabbrica un momento in cui essa fu realmente una rovina, e questo fu il momento di Heemskerck. Già nel 1527, cinque anni prima che egli arrivasse a Roma, era cessata nel cantiere vaticano ogni attività, ed era ormai convinzione comune che tale cessazione fosse definitiva. Le murature rimaste incompiute erano state in parte coperte da tetti provvisori, che presto andarono in rovina, e dappertutto crebbe una vegetazione spontanea: in un certo senso sembravano confermate le nere previsioni fatte fin da principio dagli scettici. "*Apparve smisurato il concetto di Bramante*", scrisse in seguito Vasari, ripercorrendo gli inizi dell'opera; i primi dubbi sulla possibilità di condurla a termine erano stati peraltro espressi già al tempo di Leone X. Nel suo *Terzo libro* Serlio aveva presentato il progetto bramantesco per la cupola come un' "*invenzione bella et ornata*", ma non eseguibile: chiunque poteva infatti vedere che i piloni e le arcate di Bramante non riuscivano neppure a sostenere il proprio peso. Serlio si richiamava qui alle già ricordate lesioni, che in effetti resero poi necessari importanti lavori di consolidamento: secondo la testimonianza di Grimaldi, al tempo di Sisto V l'arcata meridionale della crociera era addirittura crollata e dovette essere ricostruita. "*Prima si sarebbe potuto sperare di veder l'ultimo giorno del mondo, che San Pietro finito*" ricordava Ascanio Condivi.
La serie delle vedute di San Pietro ha inizio solo in questo momento, dopo il Sacco di Roma (e certamente vi sono parecchie ragioni che giustificano questo fatto); fa eccezione solo un disegno anonimo, particolarmente bello e interessante, già appartenente alla collezione Ashby e oggi conservato nella Biblioteca Vaticana (fig. 12). Questo disegno, che già per motivi stilistici è chiaramente anteriore a quelli di Heemskerck, è databile in base alla storia edilizia della basilica al 1524-25; lascerei aperta la questione se il suo autore possa identificarsi, come di recente è stato proposto, con Jan van Scorel. In ogni caso si tratta di un artista della generazione precedente, che deve aver conosciuto Roma in tempi un po' meno bui di quelli in cui la videro Heemskerck e i suoi contemporanei. Ciò appare chiaro dal fatto che il complesso petriano è rappresentato qui come un cantiere in funzione: a destra di una grande ruota di argano (una delle "ruote" per cui nel 1524 risultano eseguiti pagamenti) è visibile una centinatura a sostegno di una volta a botte. Si tratta dunque di un edificio in costruzione, e il punto di vista da sud-ovest è stato scelto in modo da comunicare quest'impressione (a quel tempo una veduta da nord non avrebbe prodotto lo stesso effetto); nel leggere il disegno da sinistra verso destra si ha il senso di un processo che ha avuto inizio con l'imponente struttura già ultimata in primo piano e che proseguirà fino a investire gli avanzi dell'antica basilica visibili sullo sfondo.
Potrebbe esser un fatto casuale — non vorrei vedere in questi fogli più di ciò che realmente essi contengono — che Heemskerck, nel riprodurre tra il 1532 e il 1536 un'analoga veduta (fig. 13), abbia scelto un punto di vista situato oltre 200 metri più a est. Ad ogni modo, rispetto al precedente disegno egli ha ottenuto l'effetto opposto: si abbraccia ora con lo sguardo l'intero complesso nelle sue parti antiche e nuove, dal coro di Bramante fino alla fronte dell'atrio sulla piazza, e ci si rende conto di quanto ancora resti da fare. La struttura avviata si erge grandiosa, simile a un'architettura termale, ma come questa appare lontana nel tempo: non c'è nulla che faccia pensare a un proseguimento, e tanto meno a un'ultimazione dei lavori. Quest'impressione è confermata da alcune vedute ravvicinate: le esaminerò qui in una sequenza che fornisce — come probabilmente intendeva fare lo stesso Heemskerck — un quadro quasi completo delle antiche e delle nuove fabbriche.
Cominciamo con le vedute dell'esterno. Nella fig. 14

7. Philipp Galle (da Heemskerck), Adorazione dei pastori, 1569.
8. Philipp Galle (da Heemskerck), Adorazione dei Magi, 1569.





9. *Dirk Volckertsz. Coornhert (da Heemskerck), Il profeta Balaam e l'asina, 1554.*
10. *Bramante (?), Ninfeo, Genazzano, 1508-11.*





abbiamo un'altra vista da sud, che presenta a sinistra il coro di Bramante e in primo piano la "tribuna" di Raffaello e di Sangallo, nello stato a cui era giunta nel 1527. Chi non conosca la storia dell'edificio potrebbe pensare che la parte alta della tribuna sia crollata e abbia messo in mostra l'interno, dove appare un rudere (stavolta autentico) formato dai resti del muro di testata dell'antico transetto. Ma anche gli elementi decorativi (capitelli, trabeazioni) installati all'interno del nuovo edificio sembrano piuttosto avanzi di un passato splendore, e altri elementi che si direbbero precipitati dall'alto appaiono nei cumuli di macerie in primo piano. Sulla destra si scorgono una parte dell'antico corpo longitudinale, la rotonda di Santa Maria della Febbre, al di sopra di essa la cuspide del campanile e infine, all'estremità della veduta, l'obelisco. Anche qui il punto di vista è stato scelto in modo da inquadrare l'edificio in tutta la sua complessità e nei vari stadi d'incompletezza e di transitorietà; ma stavolta l'immagine è il più possibile addensata. Ciò è ottenuto mediante una visione molto ravvicinata, che produce una specie di prospettiva grandangolare, con un angolo visuale ampliato dai consueti 60 gradi a circa 90, e che accentua anche l'effetto della vista dal basso. La compattezza dell'immagine non è dovuta all'impossibilità materiale di arretrare il punto di vista, ma è un mezzo stilistico che Heemskerck adopera anche in altri disegni (fig. 15) per raffigurare con maggior intensità il mondo delle rovine, per coinvolgere personalmente in esso il riguardante e consentirgli una visione panoramica.

Nella veduta da nord riprodotta nella fig. 16 il punto di vista è diametralmente opposto a quello del disegno precedente, essendo l'asse visuale inclinato dello stesso angolo rispetto all'asse del transetto. Anche qui la posizione del disegnatore è molto ravvicinata, così che egli ha dovuto volgere in giro lo sguardo per cogliere l'intero complesso. Perciò i due nicchioni di 40 palmi di diametro situati in basso al centro e all'estrema destra sono visti sotto angoli diversi, mentre in realtà stanno sullo stesso piano; sulla destra il coro di Bramante si riduce a un semplice profilo, ma rientra ancora nell'inquadratura, contenente gli stessi oggetti della veduta precedente (l'obelisco che prima chiudeva il disegno a destra si trova ora all'estrema sinistra). Si tratta senza dubbio del foglio più vigorosamente espressivo di tutta la serie, e al tempo stesso di quello in cui viene più efficacemente in risalto il *pathos* delle rovine. Il gigantesco edificio appare qui vetusto e cadente, in desolante abbandono e un po' sinistro; le murature sono in parte rivestite e in parte spoglie, disseminate di fori per le impalcature, rose dalle intemperie e segnate da solchi e crepe. I grandi piloni s'interrompono bruscamente; all'interno spicca contro il cielo il profilo frastagliato di uno dei pennacchi della cupola, rimasto incompiuto. Nel vano dell'arco che si apre entro il muro a sinistra due minuscole figure sembrano oppresse dalla montagna di mattoni che le sovrasta.

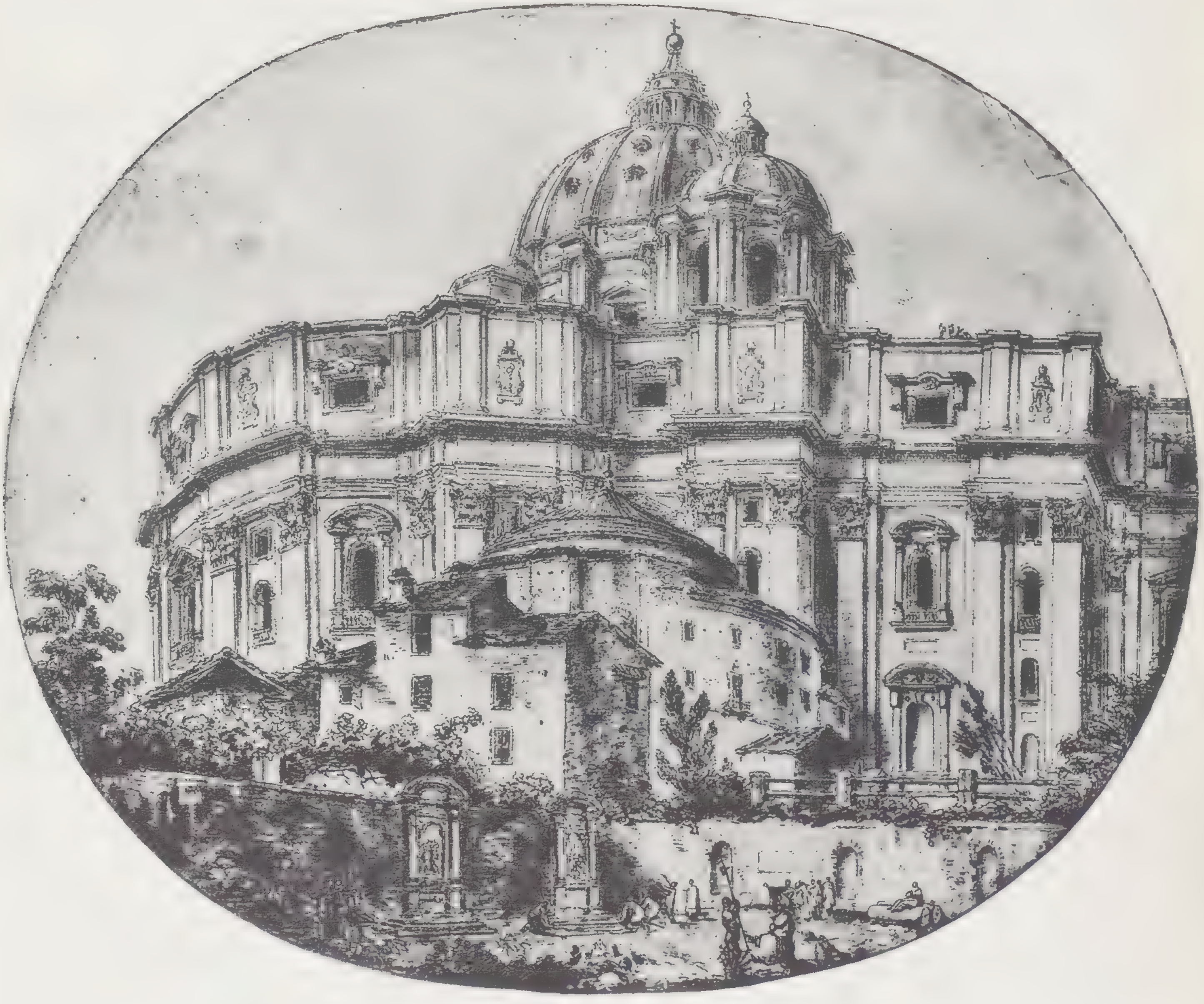
Naturalmente si è tentati di mettere in relazione questa veduta con i giudizi negativi su Roma espressi in quegli anni specialmente dai visitatori d'Oltralpe. Lutero e altri avevano paragonato Roma a Babilonia, e l'associazione della fabbrica di San Pietro alla costruzione della grande torre e al suo fallimento dev'essersi imposta come esempio proverbiale di orgogliosa rivolta contro la divinità. Tuttavia non sono riuscito finora a trovare manifestazioni esplicite di questi sentimenti da parte di Heemskerck, a prescindere dal fatto che il problema della sua posizione confessionale non sembra aver ricevuto finora una chiara risposta. A Roma egli disegna ciò che vede senza lasciarsene sedurre, con sicuro realismo e talvolta con spirito caustico; si astiene dalle critiche, ma è difficile non intravedere un intento satirico nelle sue rappresentazioni delle antichità di Roma (figg. 17-20), dal Torso del Belvedere alle statue capitoline o ad altre adunanze di divinità pagane. In ogni caso si ha l'impressione che non sia venuta meno in quest'olandese — al di là dei suoi interessi umanistici e antiquari, e a differenza che nei suoi successivi commentatori — la sensibilità per il lato comico, e talvolta anche ridicolo, delle situazioni. I disegni di architetture sono meno adatti a esprimere riserve mentali del genere; tuttavia dalla grande veduta di Heemskerck possiamo farci, più che da ogni altra fonte, un'idea dell'assurdità che agli occhi dei contemporanei dev'essere stata associata alla fabbrica del nuovo San Pietro. Una conferma di ciò è offerta da un'incisione di Hieronymus Cock, tratta forse da un originale di Heemskerck (fig. 21): in essa viene dato il massimo risalto alla condizione di degrado dell'edificio, sottolineata dall'iscrizione "*aedis divi petri romanae deformatio*" apposta sul margine superiore del foglio.

Diamo ora un rapido sguardo agli altri fogli. La veduta da est, che avrebbe dovuto comprendere l'atrio, non appare tra i disegni di Heemskerck, forse perché riguardava un ambiente architettonico relativamente unitario e ancora intatto. Al suo posto abbiamo due immagini della piazza: la nota veduta panoramica dell'Albertina e una veduta da ovest, alla quale finora si è prestata scarsa attenzione, tracciata con mano assai rapida nel quaderno di schizzi di Berlino (fig. 22). In

questo foglio Heemskerck ha introdotto un riferimento al mondo delle rovine aggiungendo in primissimo piano due enormi frammenti, un capitello e una testa leonina, in netto contrasto col panorama in lontananza: procedimento, questo, che ritroviamo in altri suoi disegni.
Lo stesso modo di operare si nota in una delle vedute dell'interno (fig. 23), in cui la zona iniziata della "tribuna" meridionale è ripresa da nord (ossia dalla parte opposta rispetto alla veduta della fig. 14): la resa spaziale appare qui piuttosto problematica, perché la tecnica grandangolare a cui ancora una volta Heemskerck fa ricorso porta a notevoli distorsioni. Tralasciando di ricostruire la situazione topografica, mi limiterò a presentare un altro esempio di questo genere di visione, offerto da un veduta del Colosseo dall'interno dell'Arco di Costantino (fig. 24): anche in essa vi è la stessa sorprendente giustapposizione di primo piano e di sfondo, che sottolinea in modo quasi iconoclastico l'aspetto di degrado e di frammentarietà dei monumenti rappresentati.
Nella fig. 23 lo stato delle murature è caratterizzato mediante un tratteggio libero ma preciso, che riproduce i cassettoni in stucco della volta, la superficie non ancora rivestita del pilone, la decorazione di una parte della grande nicchia; a destra di questa si scorge l'inizio della "nicchia di fra Giocondo", un nucleo murario non rivestito su cui già hanno messo radici le erbacce, come sul moncone di pilastro del deambulatorio visibile a sinistra.
La veduta più importante dell'interno è quella della navata centrale da est (fig. 25). Anche qui l'inquadratura è scelta in modo da mostrare le antiche e le nuove strutture nelle loro varie parti e nelle diverse condizioni; i loro contorni, leggermente ondulati e sfrangiati, trapassano quasi insensibilmente l'uno nell'altro; tanto più impressionante è la vista, attraverso la crociera ancora scoperta, del "tegurio" e del nudo muro frontale del coro di Bramante. In questo caso l'angolo visivo è quello normale; il punto da cui essa è stata ripresa può essere identificato e risulta essere non lontano dall'antico ingresso alla navata centrale, pressapoco all'altezza della seconda colonna. Questa posizione non sarà più utilizzabile dopo che Sangallo avrà eretto nella navata il suo muro divisorio (il che avverrà nel 1538, poco dopo la partenza da Roma di Heemskerck): la nota veduta della Kunsthalle di Amburgo è ripresa appunto, come spiega l'iscrizione appostavi dal disegnatore, dalla porta che si apriva in questo muro.
Abbiamo infine una veduta del transetto da nord, ossia ad angolo retto con la precedente (fig. 26): si tratta del disegno scoperto a Stoccolma da Richard Krautheimer, che va certamente incluso nel nostro ciclo, forse come *pendant* della grande veduta dell'esterno da nord. Se in quest'ultima sono soprattutto la mole dell'edificio e il suo abbandono a suscitare l'associazione con Babilonia, qui prevale il motivo della confusione: i resti dell'antica fabbrica e le parti incompiute della nuova sono connessi tra loro in modo quasi inestricabile, e il suolo è coperto di macerie e detriti, di elementi architettonici e di vegetazione selvaggia. In quest'ambiente vediamo vagare, come smarriti, alcuni minuscoli personaggi: vien fatto di pensare ai racconti dei contemporanei in cui il papa e i suoi chierici affrontano le intemperie per recarsi a celebrare la messa sulla tomba dell'apostolo, protetta dal "tegurio". In questo stato si trovava l'edificio quando Heemskerck lasciò Roma, senza dubbio pensando che fosse una condizione destinata a durare: la nuova fabbrica, iniziata appena una generazione prima, sembrava appartenere già al passato, al mondo dei ruderi romani.
Oggi sappiamo che le cose andarono diversamente, e che se Heemskerck fosse rimasto ancora alcuni anni a Roma avrebbe potuto vedere ciò che Vasari raffigurò a fresco nel Palazzo della Cancelleria (fig. 27): dalle rovine fiorisce una nuova vita, e sul sito della fabbrica incompiuta e in abbandono riprende l'attività. Le dimensioni del cantiere appaiono ridotte, soprattutto rispetto alle grandi figure in primo piano, e ciò conferisce alla scena un senso di tranquillità e di ottimismo; il punto di vista è situato in alto e il complesso può essere ora abbracciato per intero dallo sguardo, se non altro da quello del pittore. A quel tempo Vasari non poteva sapere ciò che in seguito egli stesso avrebbe formulato così bene: che cioè solo nella nuova visione d'insieme di Michelangelo la fabbrica sarebbe stata riportata a dimensioni realizzabili, "*a minor forma, ma sì bene a maggior grandezza*". Proprio le parti che qui appaiono in costruzione sarebbero state più tardi demolite: la storia di San Pietro come rovina non si era ancora conclusa.

Nota bibliografica
Il testo tedesco originario, letto al simposio *Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet* organizzato nel 1986 dalla Bibliotheca Hertziana di Roma, è apparso a stampa, accompagnato da esaurienti note, in "Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte", 49 (1986), pp. 481-501. In questa sede mi limiterò a indicare la bibliografia più importante sui vari punti esaminati.
Sulle vedute di Heemskerck in generale cfr.: CH. HÜLSEN e H. EGGER, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im kgl. Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, voll. 2, Berlin 1913 (ristampa, Soest 1975); I. VELDMAN, *Notes occasioned by the publication of the facsimile edition of Hülsen-Egger...*, in "Simiolus", 9 (1977), pp. 106-13 (esprimo qui un vivo ringraziamento alla signora Veldman, con

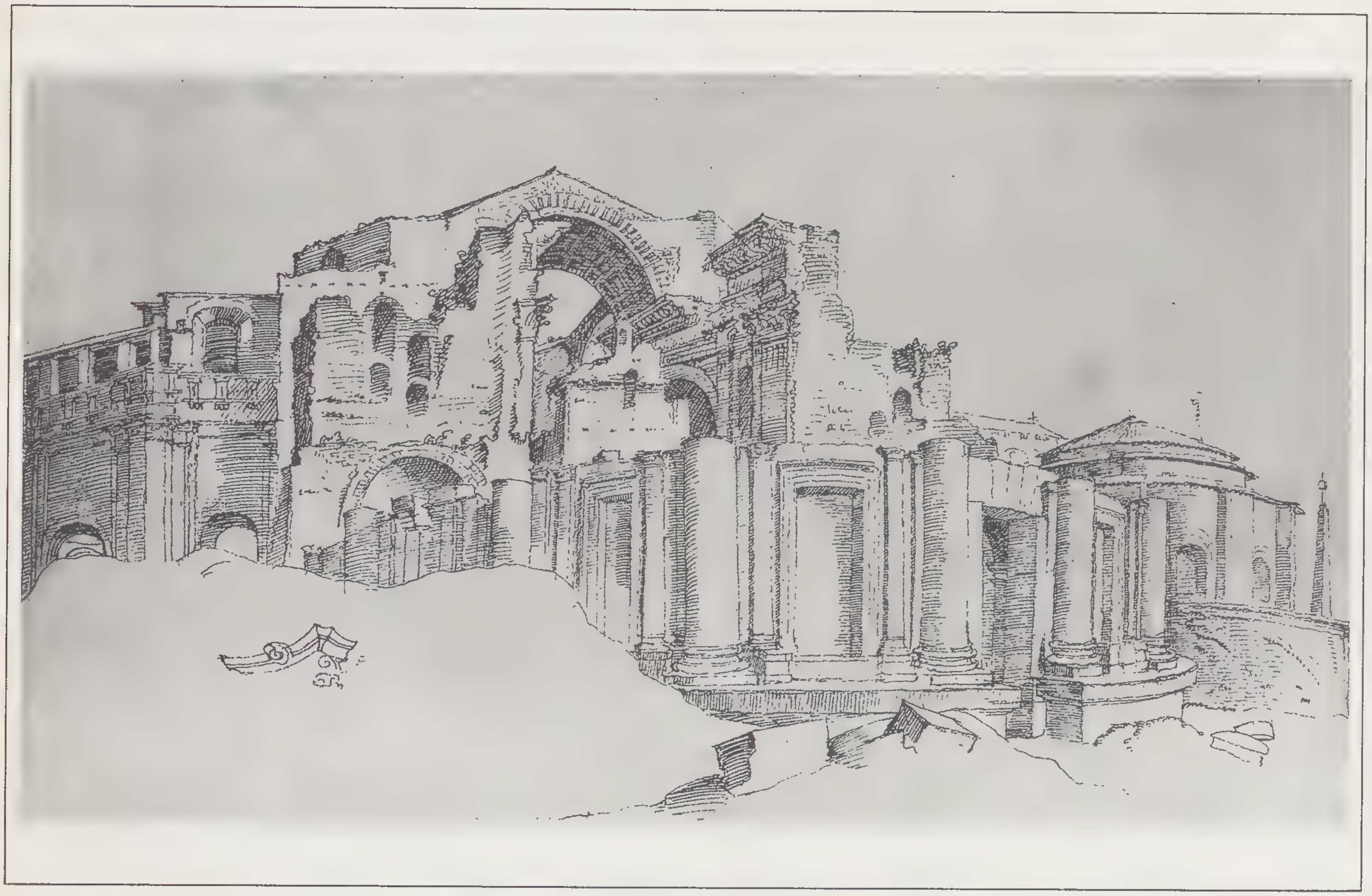
11. Hubert Robert, San Pietro e Santa Maria della Febbre, 1765 c. Vienna, Albertina.

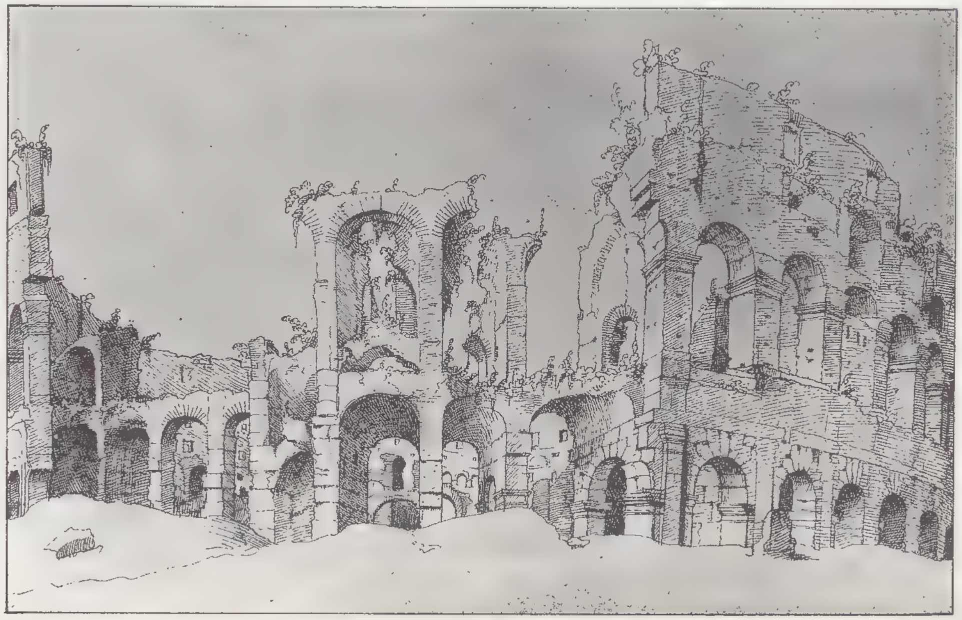


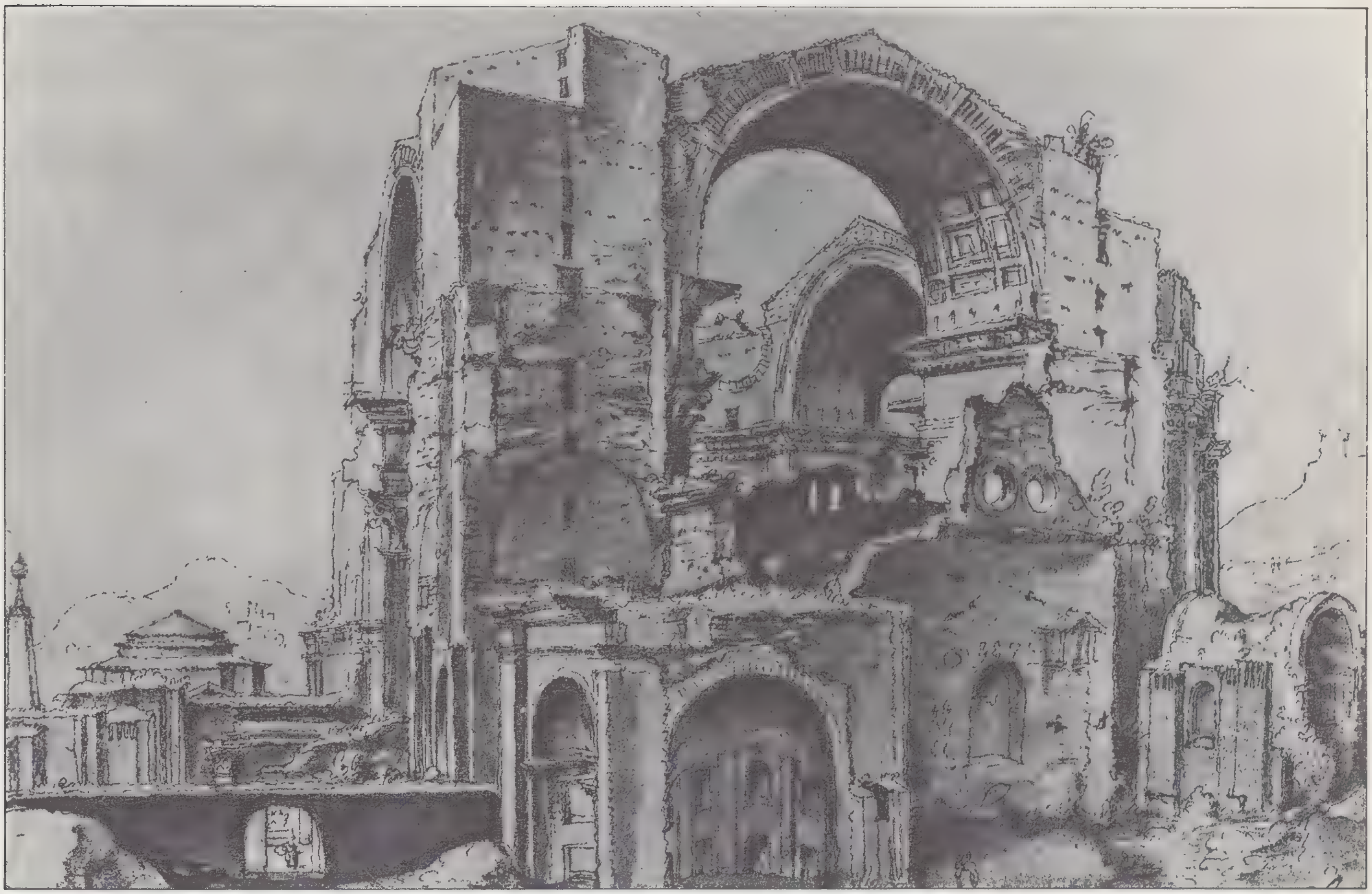




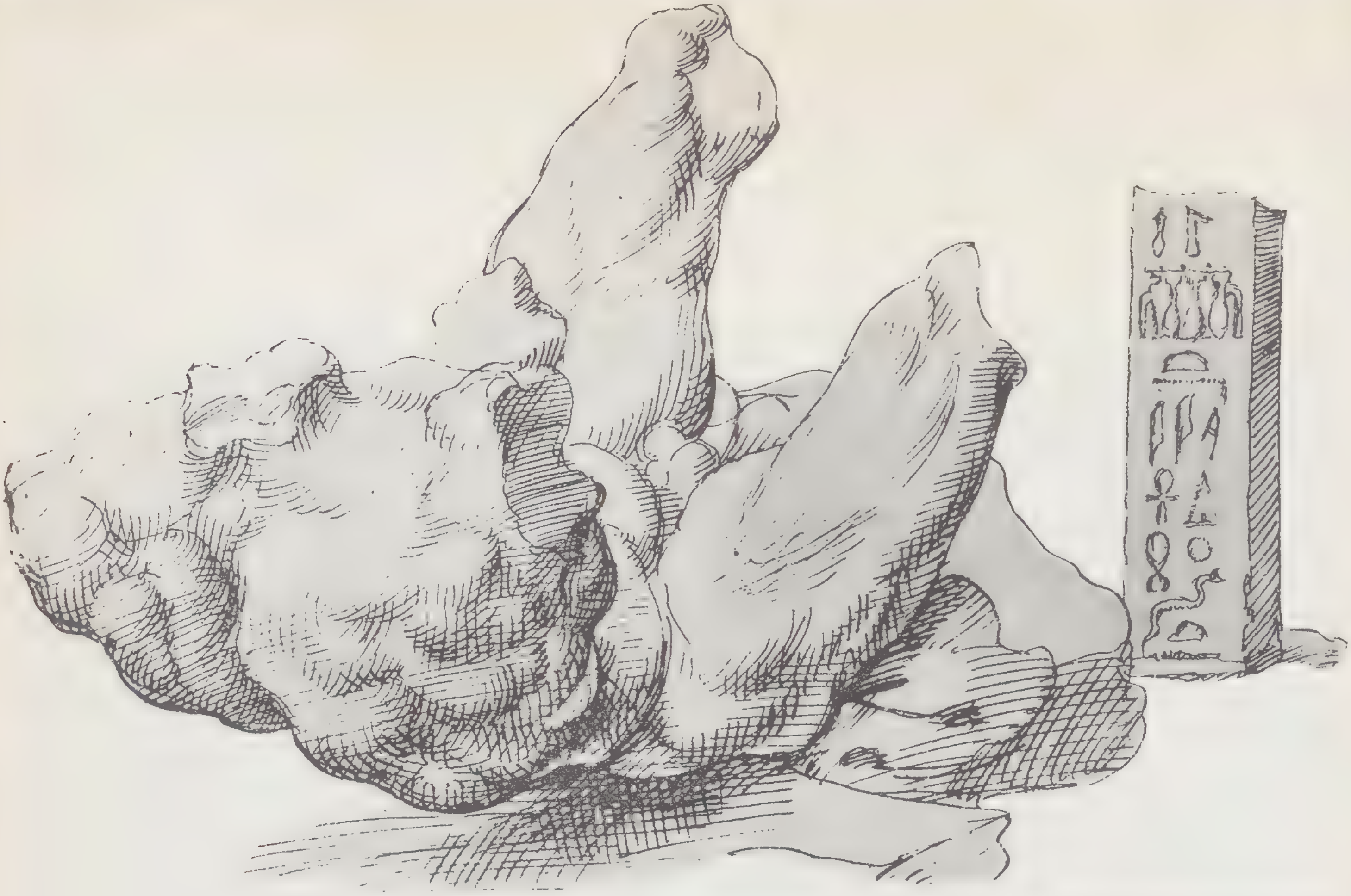
12. Anonimo, San Pietro da sudovest, 1524-25. Biblioteca Vaticana, Collezione Ashby.
13. Maerten van Heemskerck, San Pietro da sudest, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, II, f. 51r.







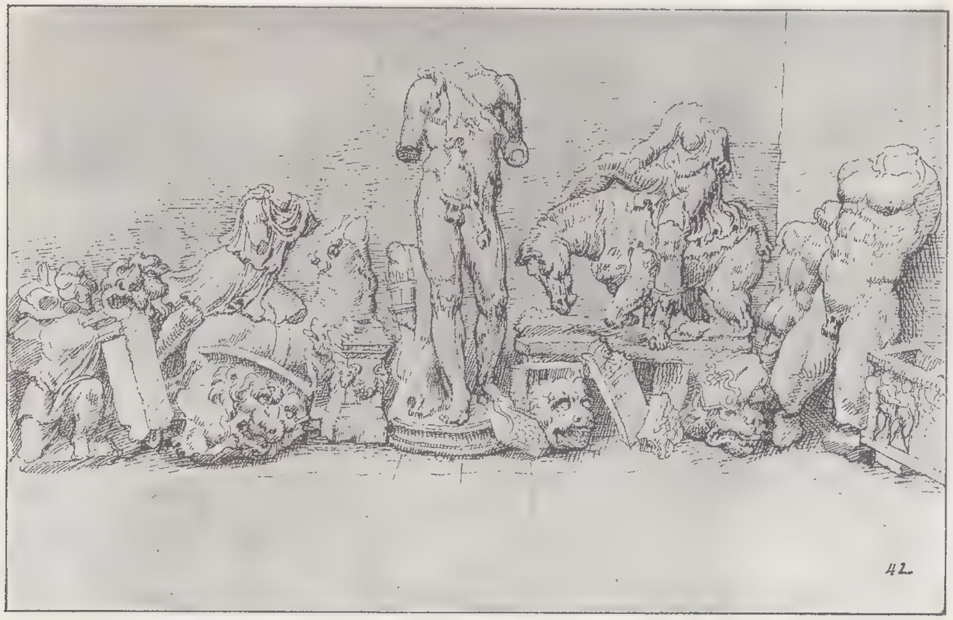
14. Maerten van Heemskerck, San Pietro da sud, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, II, f. 54r.
15. Maerten van Heemskerck, Colosseo, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, II, f. 47r.
16. Maerten van Heemskerck, San Pietro da nord, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, I, f. 13r.



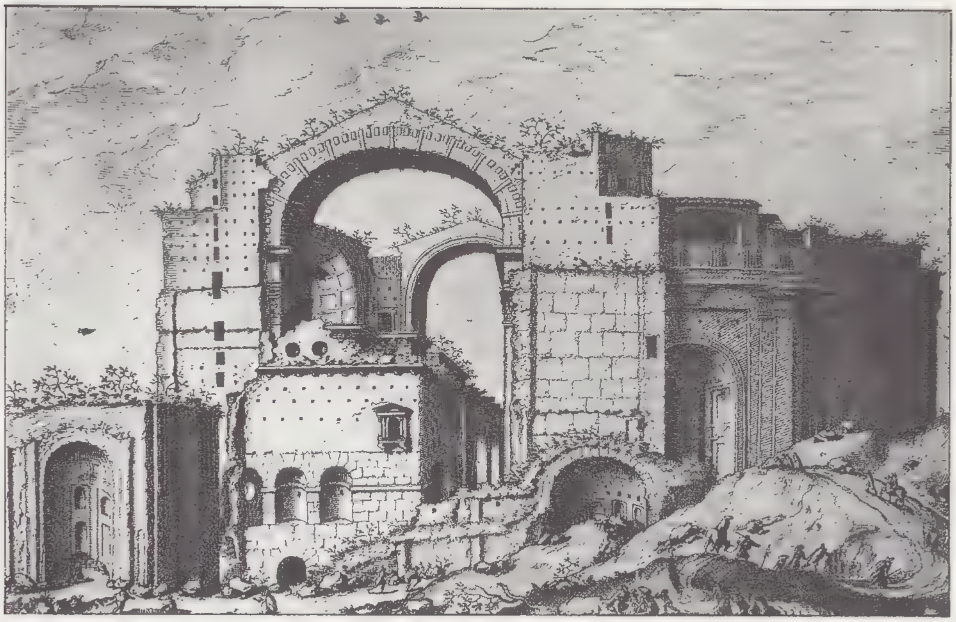


17. Maerten van Heemskerck, Torso del Belvedere, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, I, f. 63r.
18. Maerten van Heemskerck, Antichità dinanzi al Palazzo dei Conservatori, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, I, f. 45r.

19. Maerten van Heemskerck, Antichità della Collezione Santacroce, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, I, f. 29v.
20. Maerten van Heemskerck, Antichità a Villa Madama, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, I, f. 46r.



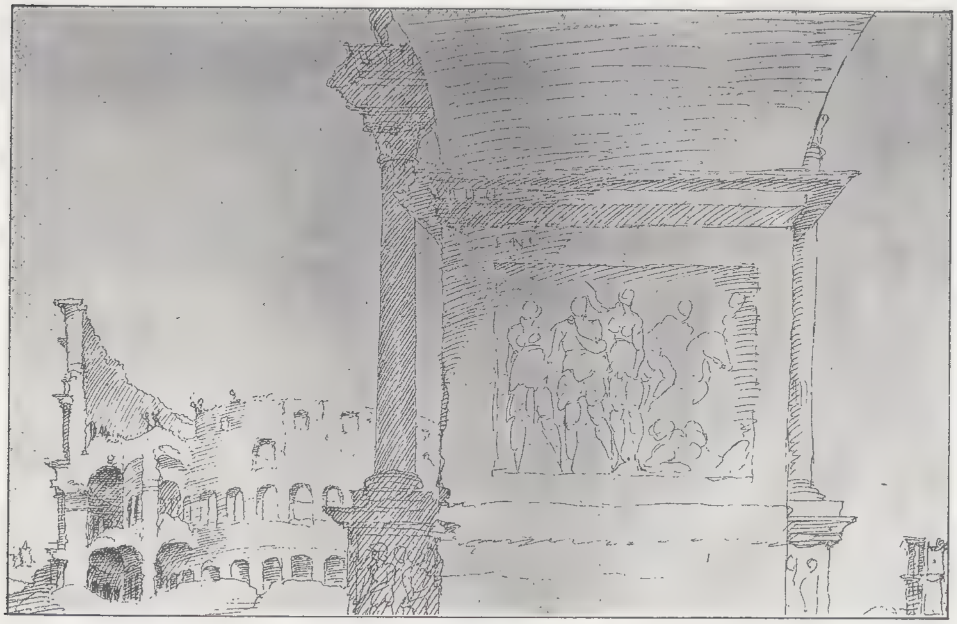




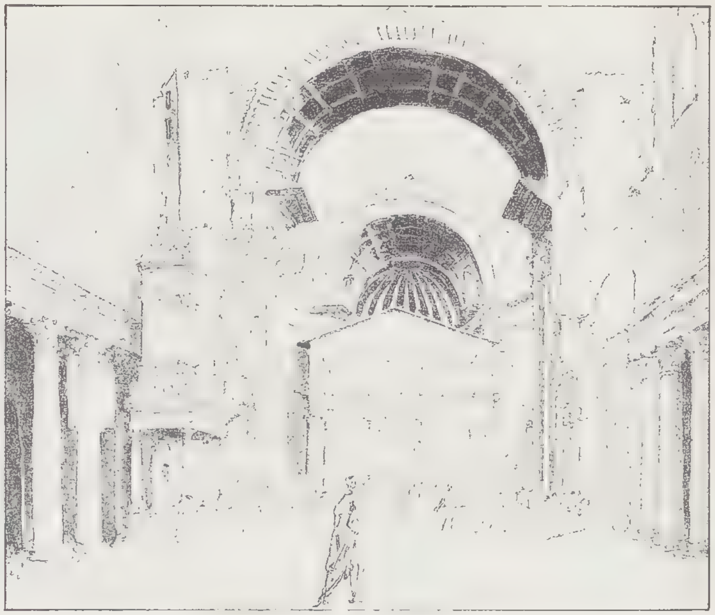


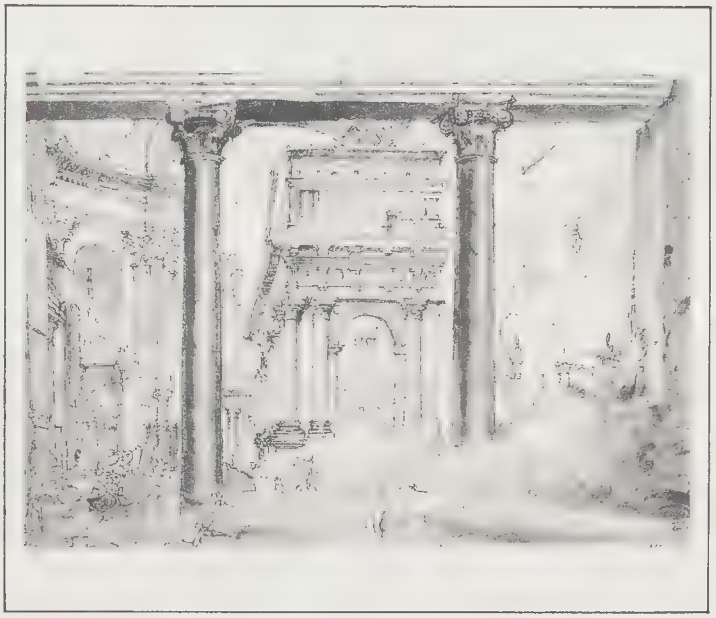
21. Hieronymus Cock, San Pietro da nord, 1561 c.
22. Maerten van Heemskerck, Piazza San Pietro da ovest, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, I, f. 58v.
23. Maerten van Heemskerck, Veduta della "tribuna" meridionale di San Pietro, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, I, f. 8r.
24. Maerten van Heemskerck, Arco di Costantino e Colosseo, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, II, f. 56v.





cui intrattengo da anni un attivo scambio di opinioni). Si vedano anche:
I. VELDMAN, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the 16th Century*, Maarssen 1977; E.A. SAUNDERS, *A commentary on iconoclasm in several print series by Maarten van Heemskerck*, in "Simiolus" 10 (1978-79), pp. 59-83; R. GROSSHANS, *Maarten van Heemskerck, Die Gemälde*, Berlin 1980, specialmente p. 39 (le rovine nell'opera di Heemskerck).
Sulle vedute di San Pietro cfr.: F. GRAF WOLFF METTERNICH e C. THOENES, *Die Frühen St.-Peter-Entwürfe 1505-1514*, Tübingen 1987, specialmente pp. 193 sgg.; A. BRUSCHI, *Problemi del San Pietro bramantesco*, in "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'architettura", n.s., 1-10 (1983-87), pp. 273-92; A.C. CARPICECI, *La Basilica Vaticana vista da Martin van Heemskerck*, in "Bollettino d'arte", 44-45 (1987), pp. 67-128.
Sulle rovine di Roma nel medioevo e nel Rinascimento cfr. i passi relativi di F. GREGOROVIUS, *Storia della città di Roma nel Medioevo*, Città di Castello 1938-42, e di R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Roma. Profilo di una città, 312-1308*, Roma 1981; cfr. anche*Poesia e poetica delle rovine di Roma. Momenti e problemi*, a cura di V. De Caprio, Roma 1987. Sulla nuova visione delle rovine da parte degli umanisti si veda inoltre A. ESCH, *Mauern bei Mantegna*, in "Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte", 47 (1984), specialmente pp. 310 sgg.
Sul motto serliano "*Roma quanta fuit...*" cfr. C. THOENES, *Serlio e la trattatistica*, in *Sebastiano Serlio. VI Seminario internazionale di storia dell'architettura*, a cura di C. Thoenes, Milano 1989, pp. 9-18 e specialmente p. 14. Sul senso del tempo negli architetti rinascimentali cfr. C. THOENES, *Bramante e la "bella maniera degli antichi"*, in *Studi bramanteschi. Atti del Congresso internazionale 1970*, Roma 1974, pp. 391-96 (mi riprometto di trattare l'argomento in un contesto più ampio).
Lo stato frammentario di tante opere architettoniche del tempo sembra connesso con la nuova impostazione stilistica, che partiva dalla "totalità organica" dell'edificio e rendeva quindi più difficili che in passato le modifiche in corso d'opera. L'edificio doveva apparire, come scrive Vasari a proposito della Farnesina, "*non murato ma veramente nato*". Quest'apparenza "istantanea" caratterizza anche una grande impresa edilizia come San Pietro, la cui storia, protrattasi per varie generazioni, non è leggibile nell'opera compiuta perché i successivi progetti non si riallacciano ai precedenti, come in un complesso medievale, ma si sovrappongono ad essi, soffocandoli o addirittura annullandoli (si pensi alla demolizione della "tribuna" meridionale di Sangallo da parte di Michelangelo).
Sui difetti tecnici della fabbrica causati dall'eccessiva "furia" bramantesca cfr. J. ACKERMAN, *Notes on Bramante's bad reputation*, in *Studi bramanteschi*, cit., pp. 339-44, e METTERNICH e THOENES, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 sg., 127 e *passim*.
L'edificio in costruzione visto come "rovina", con i suoi nuclei murari non ancora protetti da pareti esterne e da coperture, deve aver colpito i visitatori nordici di Roma, non diversamente da come avviene oggi con gli scheletri di cemento armato disseminati nel paesaggio italiano. Sulle critiche rivolte a Roma specialmente dai viaggiatori protestanti del Cinquecento e sul paragone con Babilonia si vedano: A. CHASTEL, *Il sacco di Roma*, Torino 1983; G. SCAVIZZI, *Arte e architettura sacra. Cronache e documenti sulla controversia fra riformati e cattolici, 1500-1550*, Reggio Calabria 1981; P. BREZZI, *Tra condanne ed esaltazioni. I giudizi sulla città e l'idea di Roma nel Quattrocento e nel Cinquecento*, in *Roma e l'antico*, a cura di M. Fagiolo, Roma 1985, pp. 11-22. Sull'atteggiamento di Heemskerck in questo conflitto cfr., oltre al già citato saggio di Saunders, J. S. BANGS, *Maerten van Heemskerck's 'Bel and the Dragon' and iconoclasm*, in "Renaissance Quarterly", 30 (1977), pp. 8-10; su Hieronymus Cock, cfr. T.A. RIGGS, *Hieronymus Cock (1510–1570), Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds*, tesi di dottorato 1971, Ann Arbor (Mich.) 1972.





25. Copia da Maerten van Heemskerck, Veduta dell'interno di San Pietro da est, 1532-36. Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett, Quaderni di schizzi di Heemskerck, II, f. 52r.

26. Maerten van Heemskerck, Veduta del transetto di San Pietro da nord, 1532-36. Stoccolma, Nationalmuseum.

27. Giorgio Vasari, Paolo III come committente della Basilica Vaticana, 1546. Roma, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Sala dei Cento Giorni.



Poultry n. 1 a Londra
1986-88

James Stirling, Michael Wilford e Associati

Collaboratori: Laurence Bain, Andrew Birds, Felim Dunne, Michele Floyd, Toby Lewis, Alan Mee, Richard Portchmouth, Peter Ray, Michael Russum, Manuel Schupp
Strutture: Ove Arup and Partners, Jaros Baum & Bolles
Paesaggio: Arabella Lennox-Boyd
Direzione lavori: Monk Dunstone Associates



Veduta del modello da sud da Queen Victoria Street.

Poultry n. 1 a Londra
1986-88



James Stirling, Michael Wilford e Associati

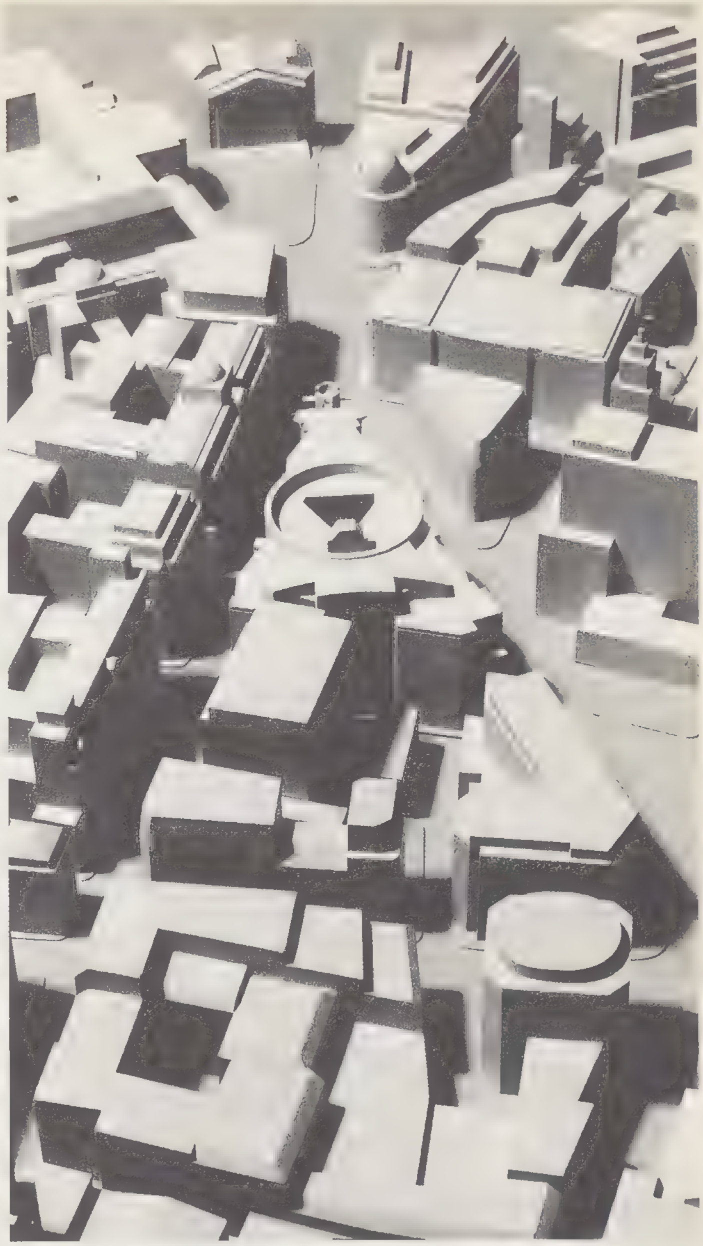
Collaboratori: Laurence Bain, Andrew Birds, Felim Dunne, Michele Floyd, Toby Lewis, Alan Mee, Richard Portchmouth, Peter Ray, Michael Russum, Manuel Schupp
Strutture: Ove Arup and Partners, Jaros Baum & Bolles
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Direzione lavori: Monk Dunstone Associates

Veduta del modello da sud da Queen Victoria Street.



Vedute del modello generale da est (con la Cattedrale di St. Paul sul fondo) e da ovest e planimetria.
Foto J. Donat.

Progetto per Poultry n. 1 a Londra
James Stirling, Michael Wilford e associati



Il sito
L'area triangolare di progetto è delimitata a nord da Poultry e a sudest da Queen Victoria Street, mentre il margine occidentale è definito da Sise Lane e dall'ex sagrato di St. Benet Sherehog. La superficie è di circa mq 3115. Nell'area affacciano otto prospetti di edifici che risalgono alla seconda metà del Diciannovesimo secolo: tutti versano in cattive condizioni, sostenuti da puntelli e impalcature. La stretta via di Bucklersbury attraversa l'area diagonalmente da nordovest a sudest.

Criteri di progetto
L'impostazione progettuale dell'intervento a Poultry n. 1 è stata stabilita in accordo con il committente, il Signor Peter Palumbo. Tale impostazione si fonda sull'eccezionale valore dell'area e sul suo particolare significato per chi vive e lavora nella City di Londra. Secondo il Signor Palumbo si devono rispettare principalmente quattro punti: 1) il nuovo edificio deve rappresentare un'opera di architettura di elevata qualità, sia in senso moderno che monumentale, e perciò deve stabilire rapporti equilibrati con i palazzi storici della City, particolarmente con quelli attorno alla Bank Intersection. L'edificio deve essere in armonia con l'ambiente circostante e consolidare il carattere del luogo; 2) il nuovo edificio deve ospitare varie attrattive per il pubblico: negozi, aree coperte, zone pedonali, collegamenti con la metropolitana, luoghi d'incontro, ecc.; 3) esso deve migliorare ed adeguare le dotazioni degli uffici della City alle esigenze del cosiddetto "big bang" e ottenere un'altezza da piano a piano di m 4.50 circa per tutte le aree ad uffici; i piani destinati a uffici devono essere il più possibile liberi da pilastri e avere una superficie minima di circa mq 930 per piano, secondo le caratteristiche che sono state definite in collaborazione con Ove Arup & Partners come necessarie per



un moderno edificio commerciale per uffici; 4) la capacità edificatoria consentita sul lotto deve essere interamente realizzata.

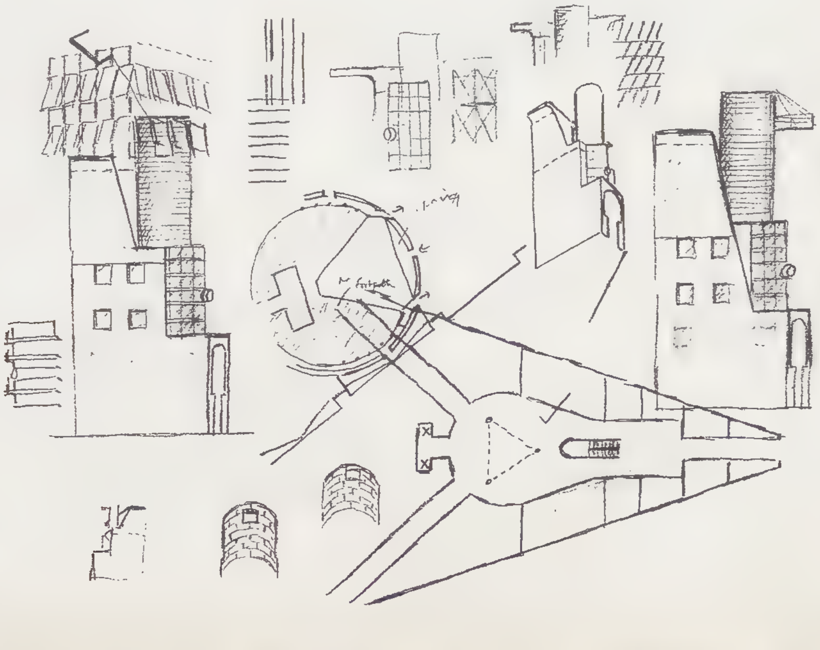
Conservazione

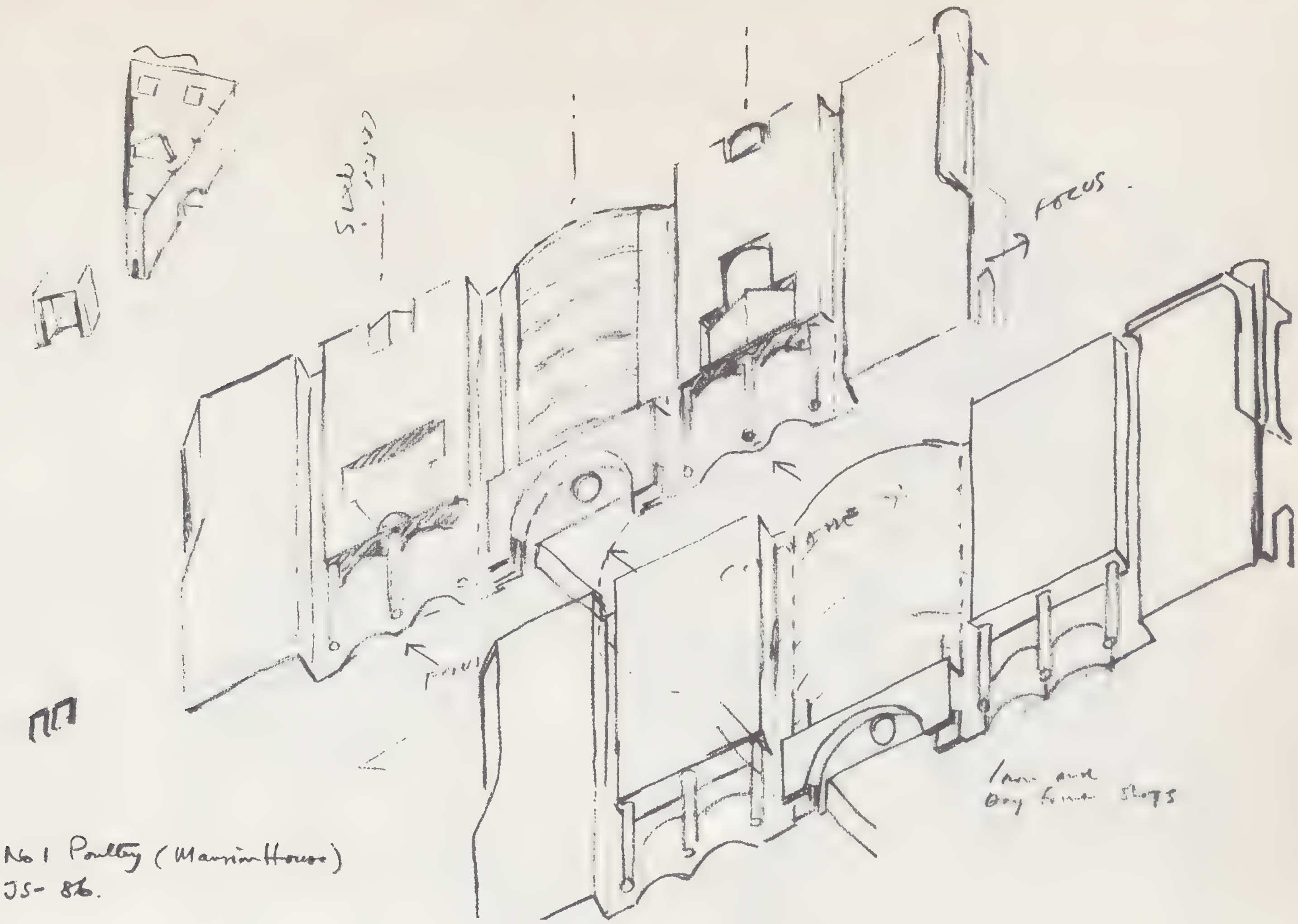
Gli edifici esistenti, i loro fronti e la forma della strada all'interno dell'area (divisa in due da Bucklersbury) non offrono condizioni adeguate alla qualità richiesta da uffici moderni, particolarmente in relazione ai criteri sopra indicati. I piani disposti a quote differenziate, le altezze interne inadeguate degli edifici esistenti e le piccole dimensioni delle superfici dei singoli piani, dotati inoltre di solai che non sono in grado di reggere il necessario carico statico o non sono conformi alle norme di sicurezza antincendio di un moderno palazzo per uffici, tutti questi problemi, insieme alle insormontabili difficoltà di costruire un edificio nuovo sostenendo contemporaneamante facciate pericolanti, rendono impraticabile uno schema di intervento basato sul restauro. L'idea di preservare o ricostruire le facciate esistenti raccordandole a un edificio più grande, è ritenuta dai progettisti una combinazione infelice, irrispettosa del vecchio e inadatta al nuovo.
Sulla base di queste riflessioni, committente e progettisti sono arrivati alla convinzione dell'opportunità di riprogettare l'isolato, in tutto o in parte. Un importante aspetto dell'area però, la sua atmosfera unica — il viavai affrettato della gente, lo shopping, il mangiare e bere, l'attraversamento continuo e il precipitarsi a e dalla Bank Station — tutto questo sarà conservato e intensificato.

Le proposte

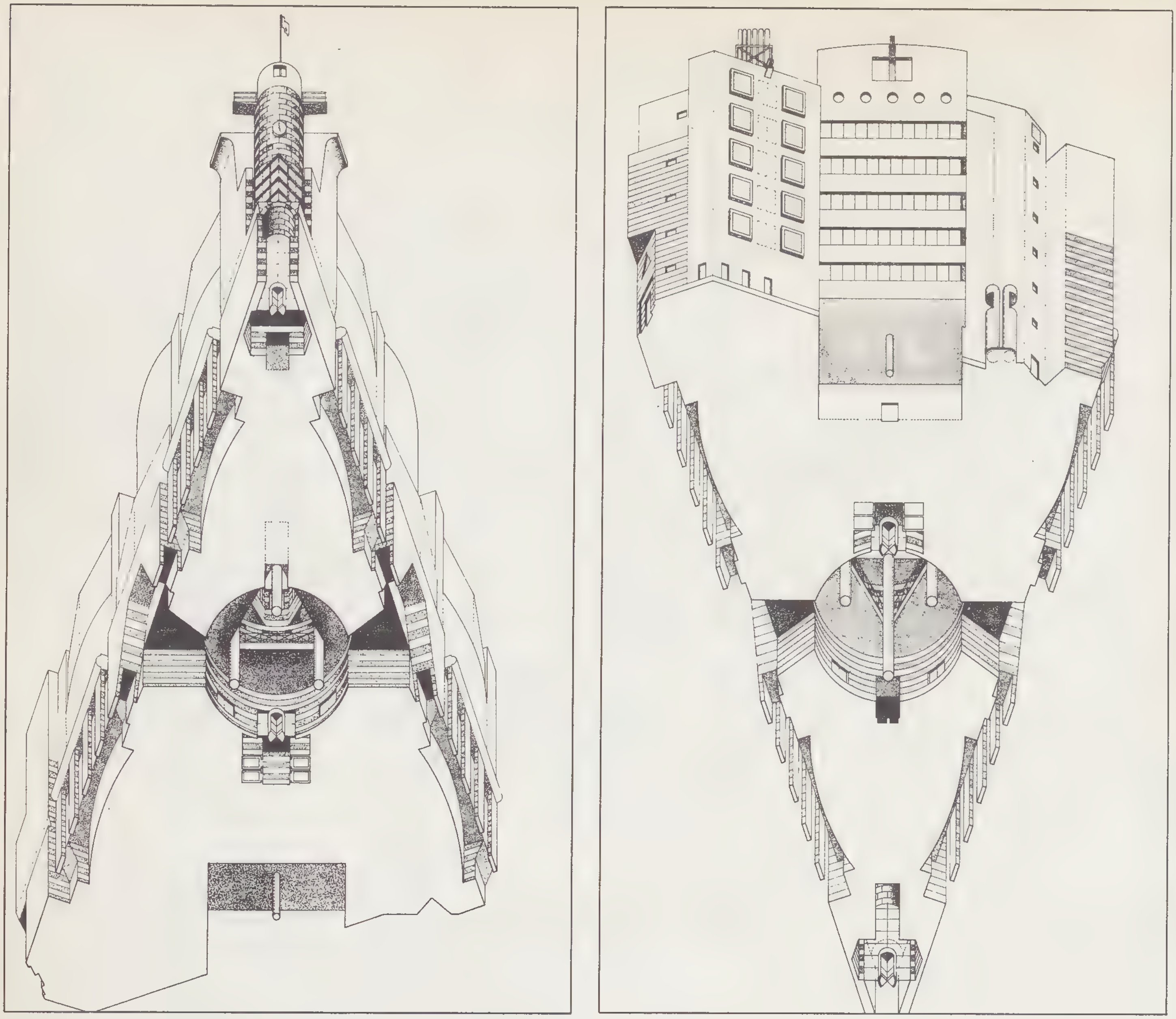
Nel 1986 sono stati proposti due schemi, che ipotizzano funzioni pubbliche e dotazioni analoghe per quantità e qualità. Essi possono essere considerati come schemi alternativi, che si differenziano l'uno dall'altro per la scelta di conservare o di demolire l'edificio ottocentesco posto sul lotto ad angolo acuto del sito.

Lo schema A conserva l'edificio Mappin&Webb, che noi ed altri consideriamo essere il migliore dell'area: esso costituisce un importante punto di riferimento urbano, architettonicamente interessante. La sua torre d'angolo rappresenta una figura familiare di riconoscimento e un punto di incontro. La scomparsa di questo edificio potrebbe dar luogo a un particolare rimpianto. Lo schema A è quindi una composizione simmetrica di volumi crescenti in altezza, che include e conferma l'edificio Mappin&Webb nella parte anteriore, come facciata di una soluzione urbana triangolare (sull'incrocio delle otto strade che confluiscono davanti a Poultry n. 1 si affacciano numerosi edifici triangolari che sorgono su lotti simili). Tuttavia, il gioco di volumi crescenti in altezza, che assegna all'edificio Mappin&Webb un ruolo primario nell'insieme compositivo, culmina necessariamente in un elemento più alto (circa m 46) che in un'area di conservazione come questa potrebbe costituire un problema, benché il nuovo edificio sia comunque più basso dell'adiacente Bucklersbury House (la Royal Fine Arts Commission in quest'area ha consigliato di non superare un'altezza di m 61).
Lo schema B è concepito in modo da prevedere la minore altezza possibile sull'area. In sostituzione di Mappin&Webb, all'apice dell'edificio triangolare è previsto un ingresso trattato come elemento verticale, un'alternativa alla torre esistente.
Come i vicini National Westminster Bank, Mansion House e Royal Exchange, in entrambi gli schemi il nuovo edificio presenterà un fronte simmetrico rispetto alle strade convergenti nella Bank Intersection. Nonostante i due progetti utilizzino un linguaggio fatto di elementi architettonici simili, pensiamo che certi caratteri non siano intercambiabili: per esempio mantenere Mappin&Webb nello schema B senza la composizione volumetrica di supporto dello schema A, sortirebbe un risultato infelice, una testa troppo grande e vecchia su un corpo nuovo.
La scelta dell'uno o dell'altro schema è in rapporto al valore

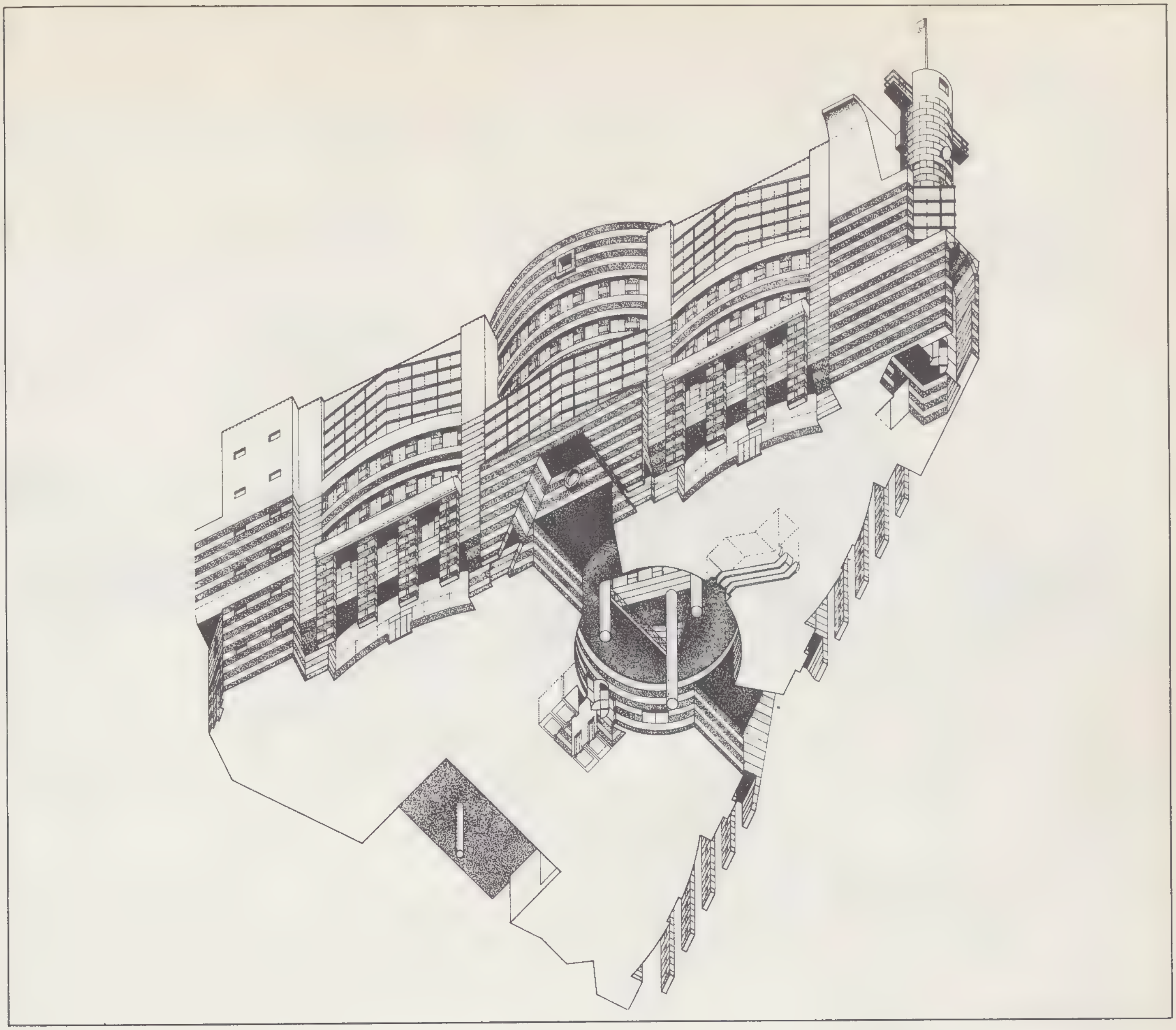


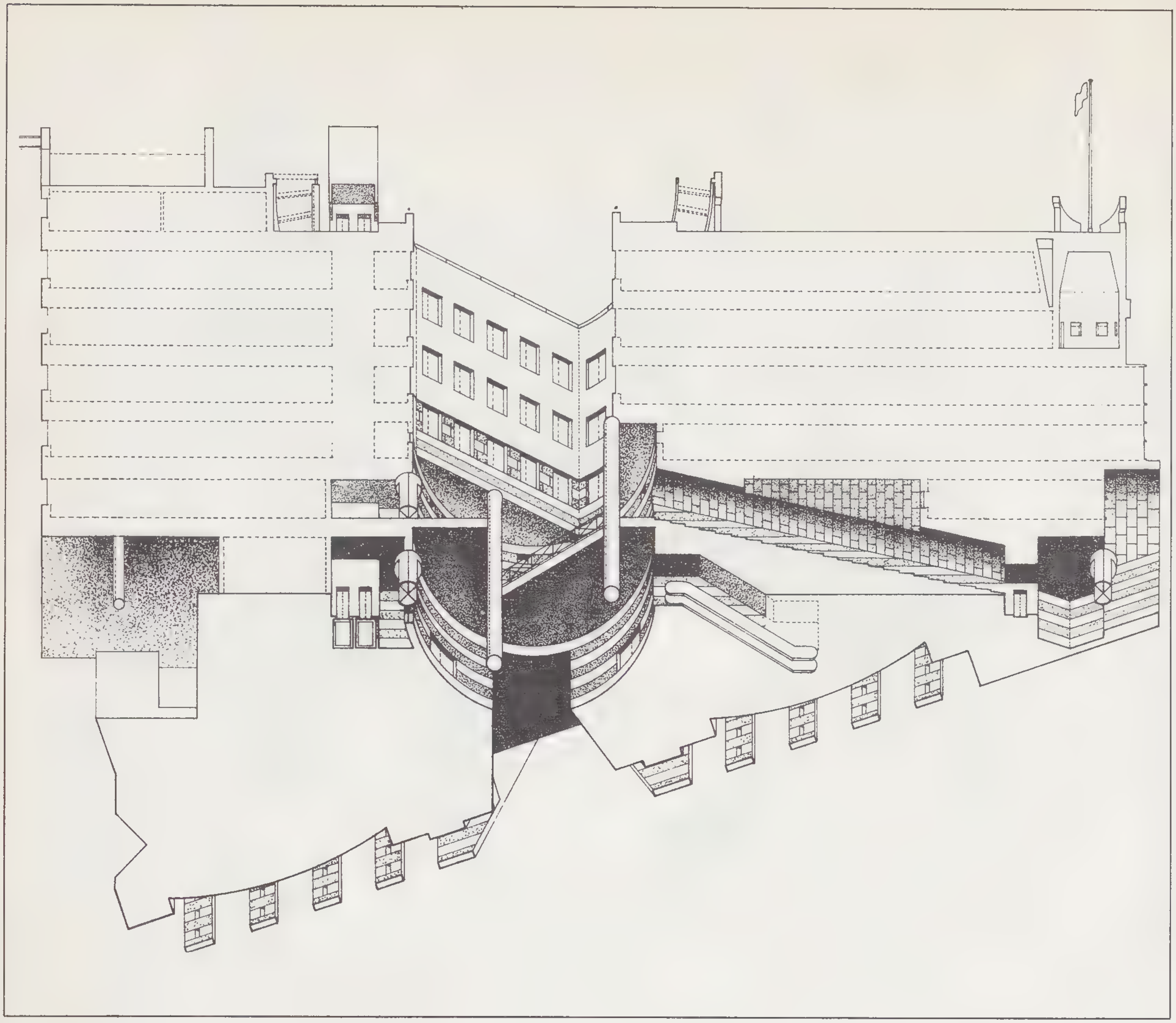


Schizzi di studio.

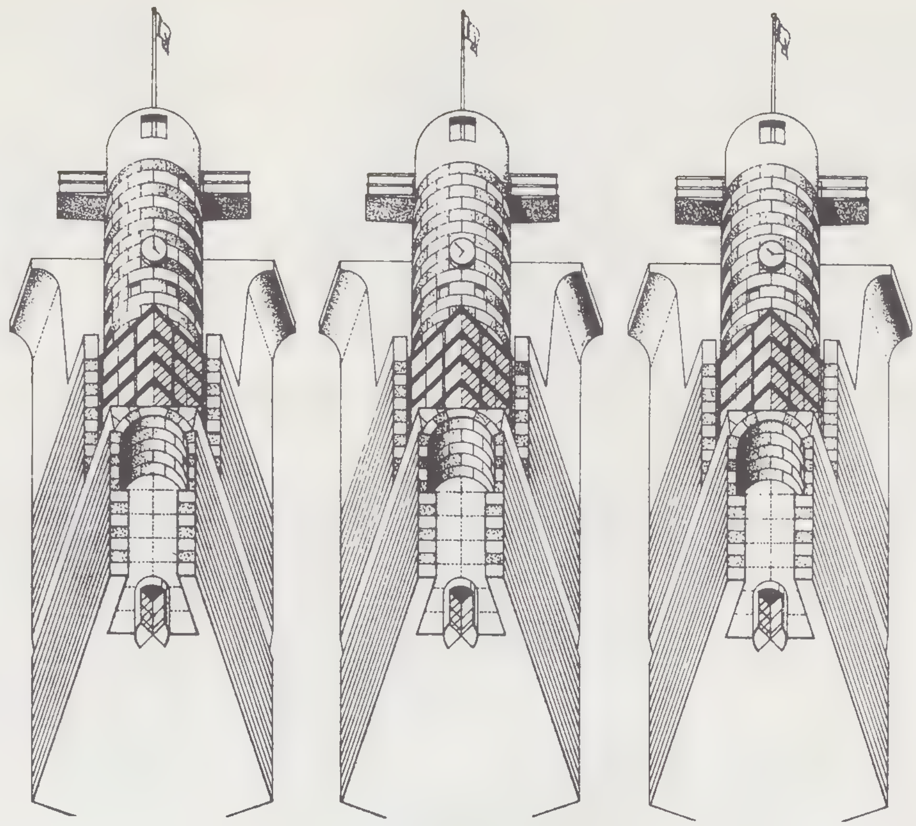


Assonometrie da sotto in su da est, da ovest e da Queen Victoria Street.



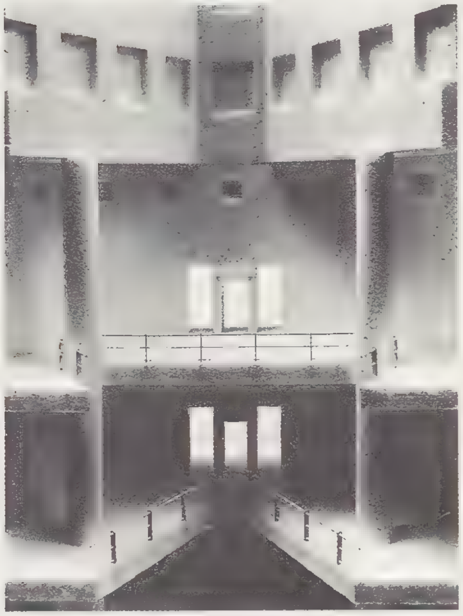


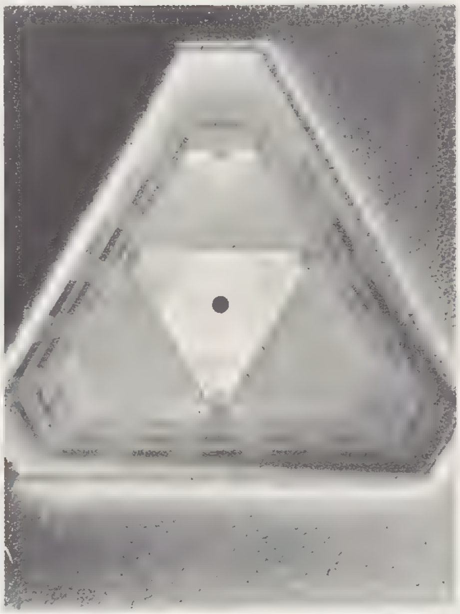
Assonometrie da sotto in su della sezione longitudinale e del corpo di ingresso verso Mansion House a est.



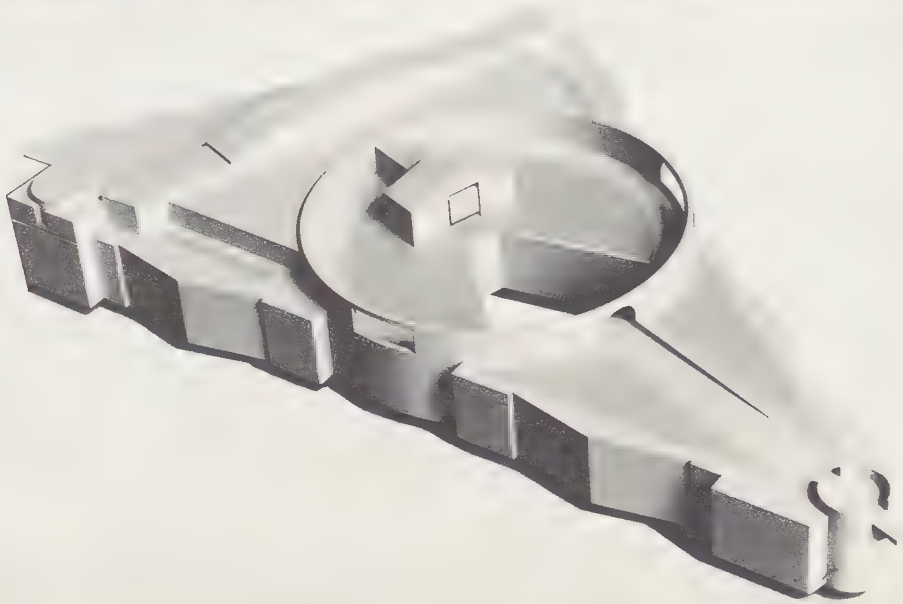








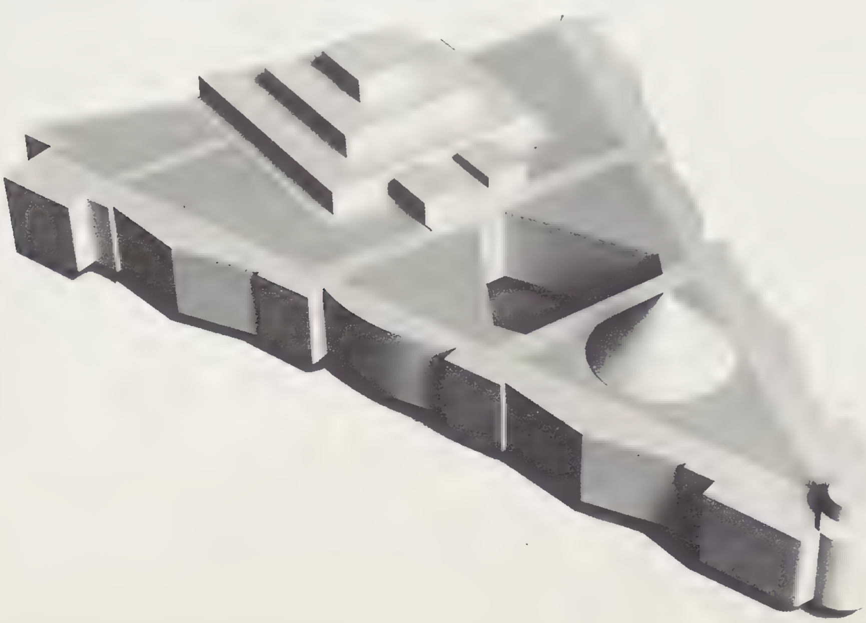
Vedute del modello da est dal basso e dall'alto.
Vedute dei modelli di dettaglio del cortile interno e delle varianti del terrazzo giardino.
Foto J. Donat.

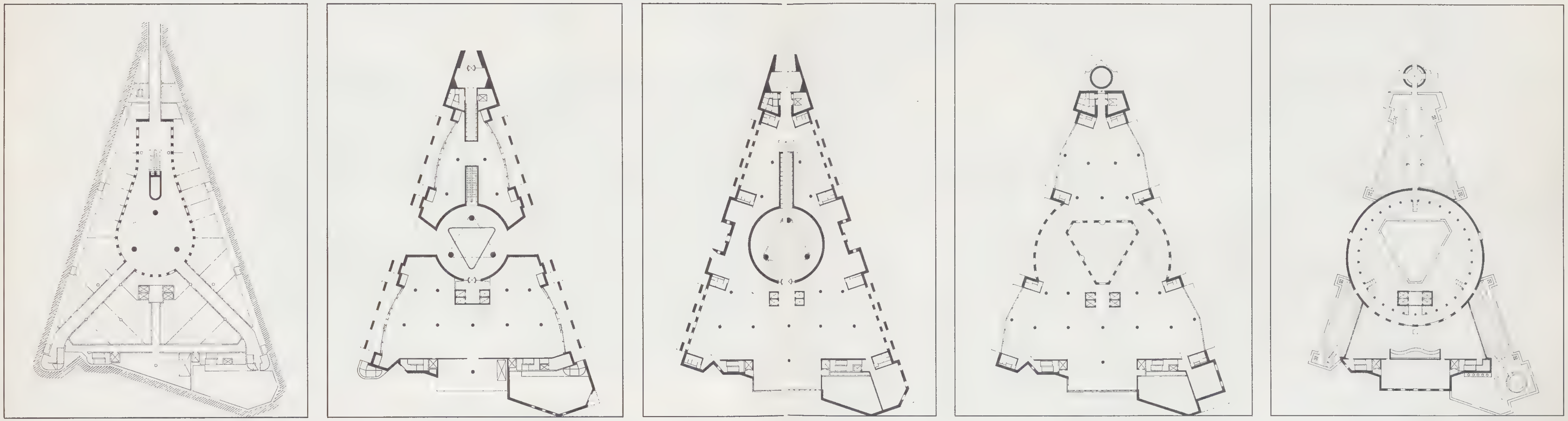


attribuito alla conservazione di Mappin&Webb, accettando allo stesso tempo la necessità di un elemento più alto nella composizione architettonica.
Per evitare la anonima ripetitività e la scala abnorme di molti edifici contemporanei per uffici, in entrambi gli schemi abbiamo spezzato il lungo sviluppo orizzontale su Queen Victoria Street e su Poultry attraverso una suddivisione in segmenti verticali della facciata. L'intero edificio apparirà così una sequenza di figure contigue piuttosto che una singola entità.
Entrambi gli schemi presentano negozi e portici lungo Poultry e Queen Victoria Street e le parti architettonicamente più intense, nella composizione dei volumi e dei prospetti, si trovano a piano terra, quello che ospita i movimenti del pubblico attraverso e intorno al nuovo edificio.
Il disegno delle finestre si basa su un modulo ideale di m 3.05: tuttavia le finestre variano in misura e tipo, a volte lasciando delle aperture nei muri, a volte assumendo forma di *curtain wall*.
Come per gli edifici adiacenti, il nuovo edificio sarà rivestito con materiali tradizionali: pietra di Portland, granito o ardesia, e stucco. Sono anche previste delle parti in *curtain wall* che alleggeriscono e ripartiscono il prospetto.

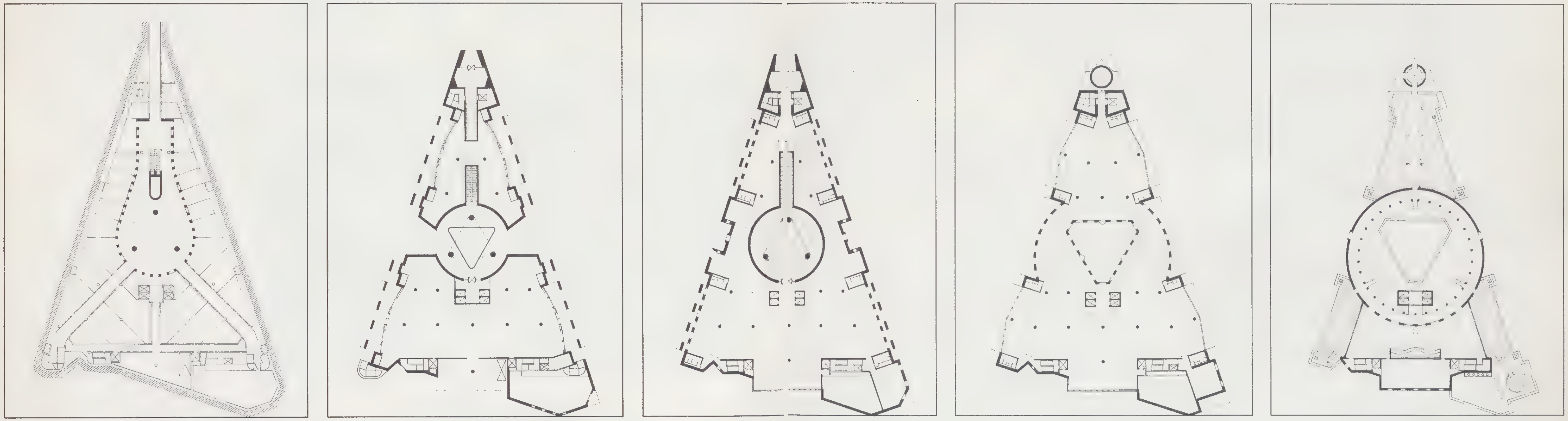
Riqualificazione commerciale e dotazioni di pubblica utilità

L'uscita attuale dalla Bank Underground Station e dalla linea Waterloo City sbarca sulla strada all'apice di Mappin&Webb, ma è una scalinata troppo stretta e troppo bassa rispetto al movimento di persone nelle ore di punta. In entrambi gli schemi A e B il percorso che sale dalla metropolitana risulterà enormemente migliorato e la nuova area commerciale sotto il livello stradale sarà direttamente collegata da scale mobili ai portici del nuovo edificio. I marciapiedi a livello stradale, più ampi di quelli attuali, saranno contornati da negozi che, insieme a quelli sottostanti, sostituiranno le aree commerciali esistenti. Le nuove unità commerciali saranno efficientemente servite da un montacarichi posto in Sise Lane. Dove sarebbe inopportuno prevedere vetrine di negozi, per esempio vicino alle uscite della metropolitana nello schema A, i muri stuccati dietro le colonne potrebbero essere ravvivati da frammenti archeologici (addirittura intere parti delle facciate demolite).
La stretta strada di Bucklersbury, che taglia diagonalmente l'area, è molto usata dai pedoni in movimento tra Cannon Street e la City. Tuttavia, essendo frequentemente bloccata da veicoli di servizio, è poco appetita dal punto di vista commerciale. Nello schema A un passaggio pedonale o una galleria commerciale la sostituisce come attraversamento rapido dell'area. Al limite sud di questo passaggio porticato si potrebbe creare un nuovo Green Man Pub. Nello schema B è previsto un passaggio pubblico contornato da negozi che congiunge Poultry a Queen Victoria Street, dove fuoriescono le scale mobili che salgono dalla metropolitana e dove si apre un'entrata secondaria al nuovo edificio. In certa misura, questo passaggio coperto sarà illuminato dall'alto attraverso un soffitto di vetro che forma parte del pavimento dell'area degli uffici soprastanti.
Entrambi gli schemi prevedono per ogni piano di uffici un locale di impianti tecnici per soddisfare le crescenti esigenze energetiche di moderni edifici commerciali o per uffici.
Ampie intercapedini di pavimento e un numero minimo di pilastri ospitano cavi e condotti, come si richiede in uffici tecnologicamente avanzati.
Lo schema A realizza circa 12.550 metri quadrati netti di superficie ad uffici — inclusa la superficie per impianti tecnici ad ogni piano —; lo schema B circa 12.500 metri quadrati netti, sempre al lordo della superficie per impianti tecnici ad ogni piano.





Piante alle quote del piano interrato, del piano terra, del primo piano, del quarto piano e del terrazzo giardino.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Prospettiva con la cupola della Cattedrale di St. Paul sul fondo e veduta del modello da est.
Veduta del modello da est e prospettiva dell'ingresso.
Prospettiva su Poultry e veduta del modello da ovest.
Foto J. Donat.

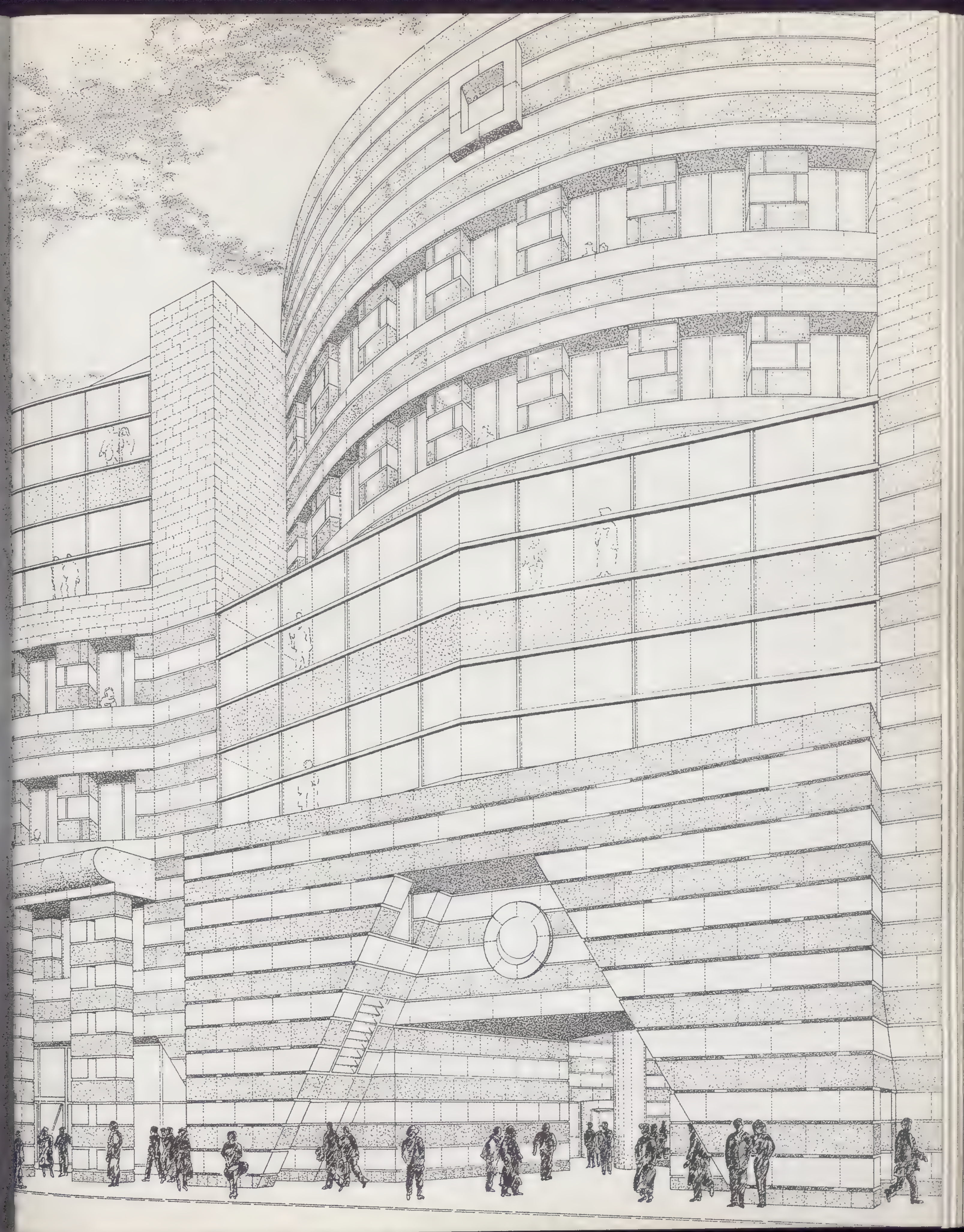


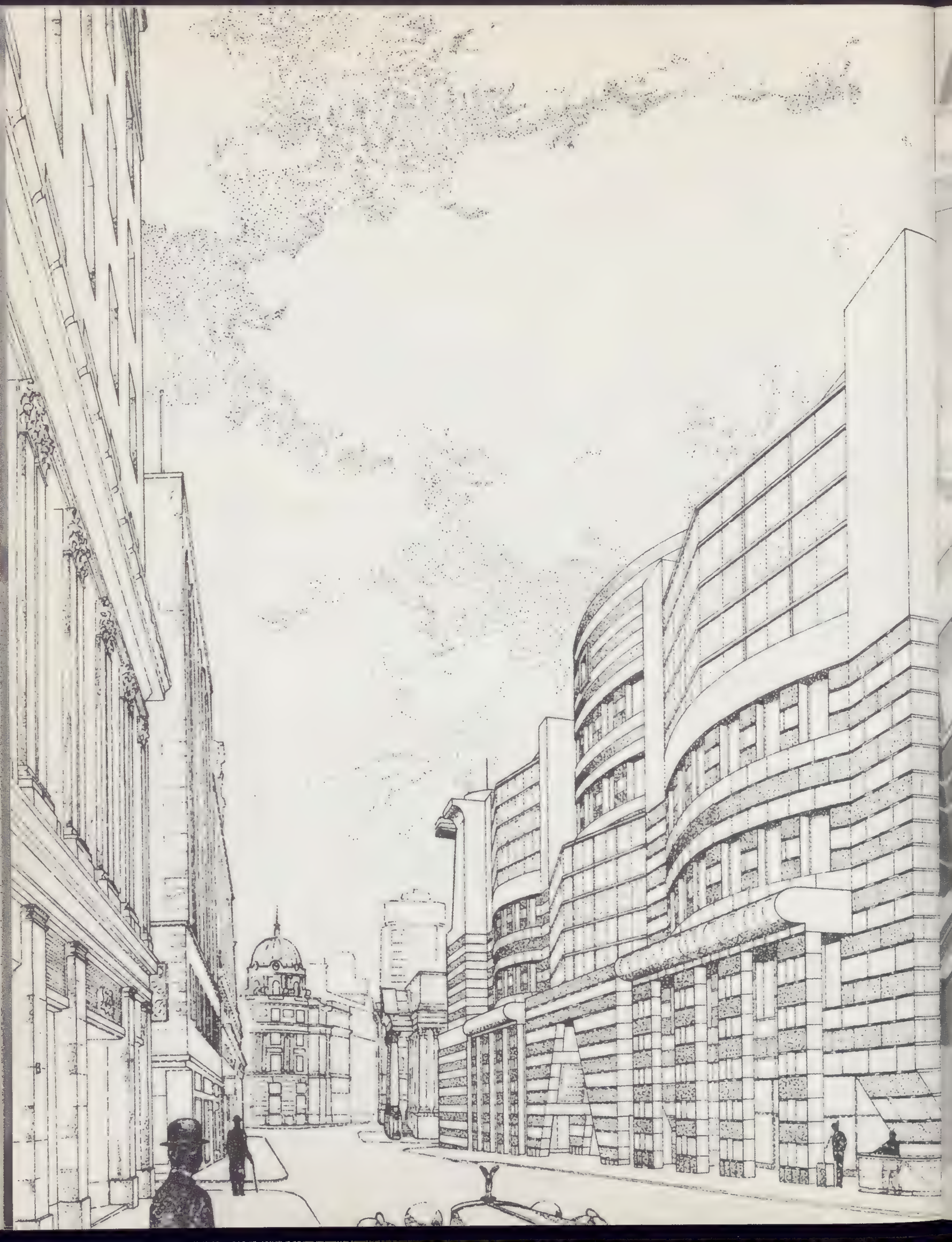
Piante alle quote del piano interrato, del piano terra, del primo piano, del quarto piano e del terrazzo giardino.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Prospettiva con la cupola della Cattedrale di St. Paul sul fondo e veduta del modello da est.
Veduta del modello da est e prospettiva dell'ingresso.
Prospettiva su Poultry e veduta del modello da ovest.
Foto J. Donat.



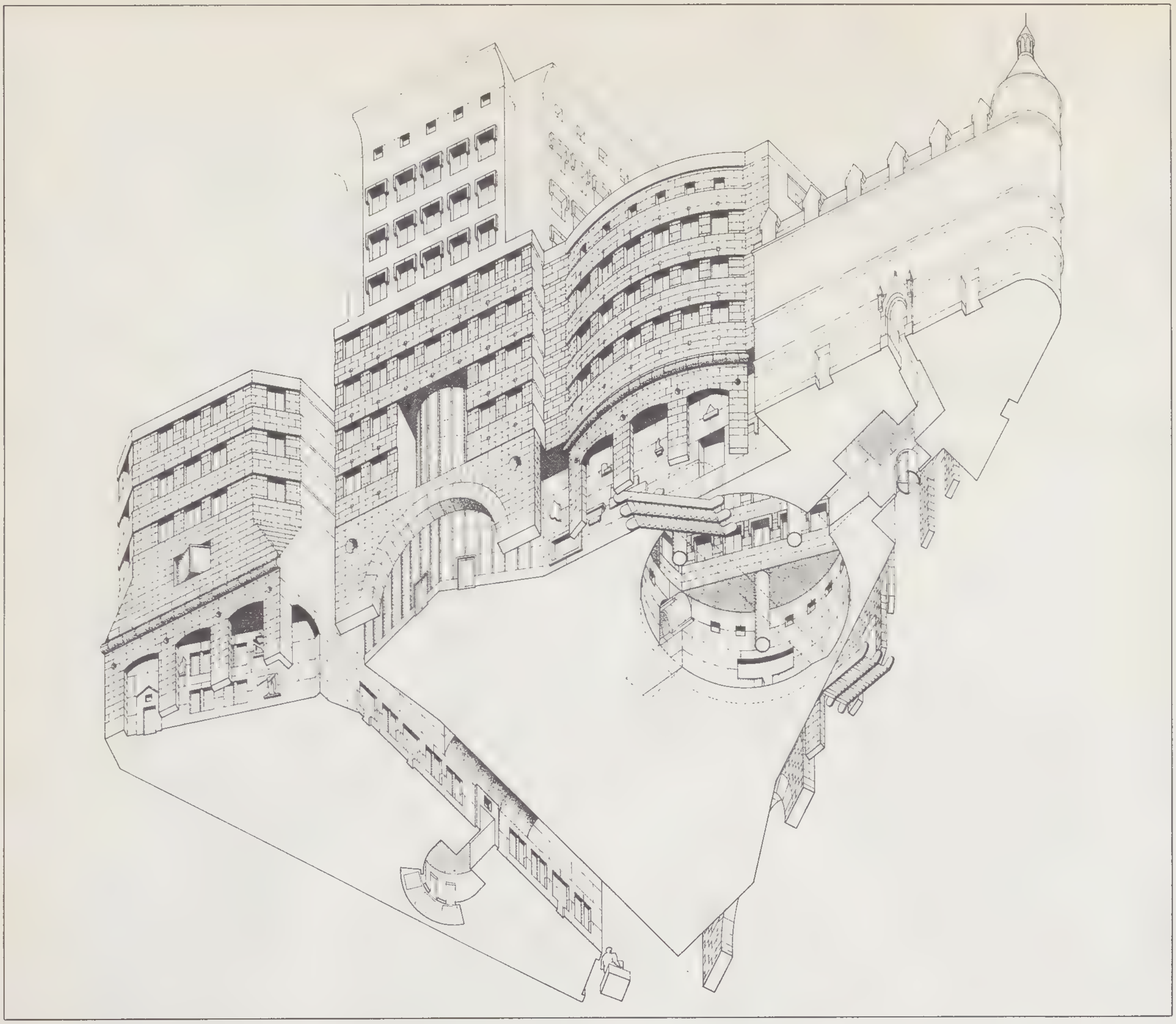


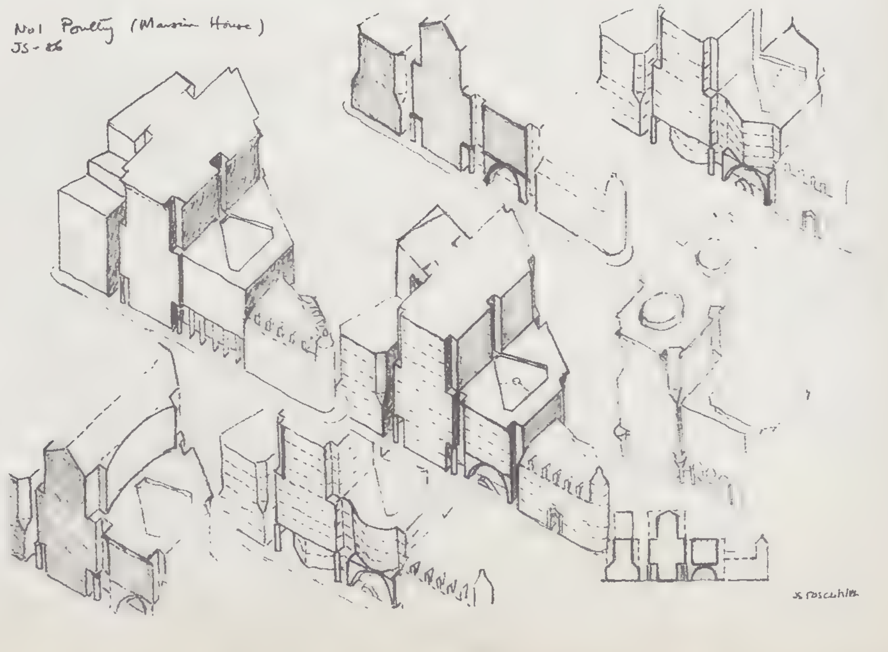




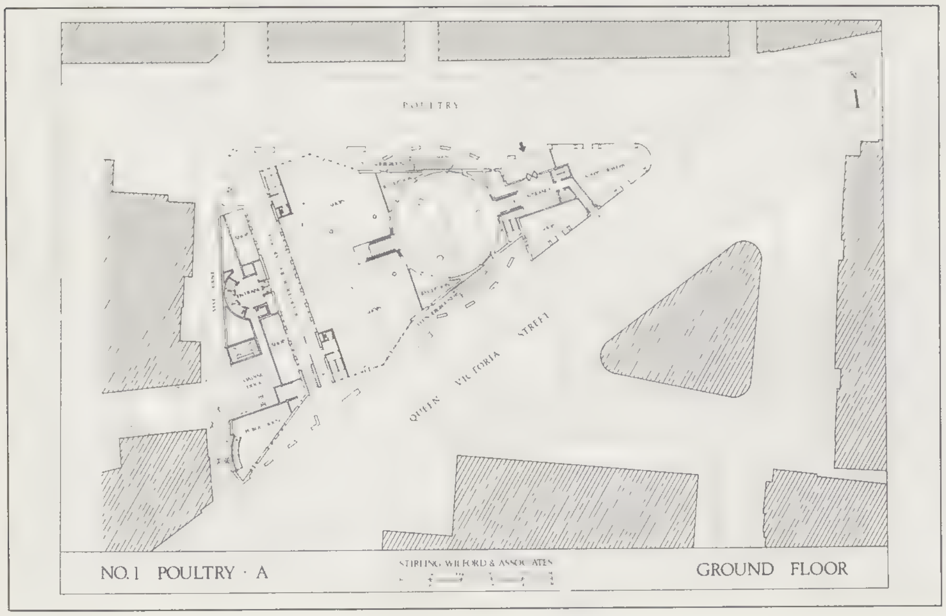







No1 Poultry (Mansion House)
JS-86





Assonometria da sotto in su, schizzi di studio, modello e pianta del piano terra della prima ipotesi progettuale (Schema A).
Foto J. Donat.

Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford, Londra, 24 maggio 1988*
Colin St. John Wilson

Introduzione

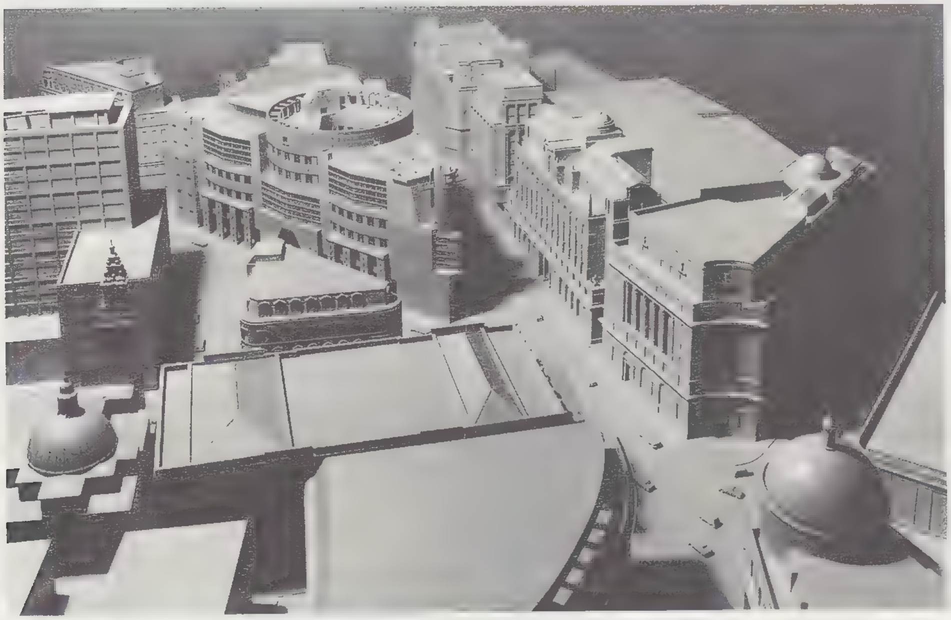
Nel 1969, all'epoca in cui Peter Palumbo[1] aveva espresso la speranza (con il totale appoggio, voglio aggiungere, dei padri delle City) di creare una piazza aperta verso la parte occidentale della Mansion House (1739-52) di George Dance il vecchio, sono stato vivamente a favore sia della piazza che del progetto di Mies van der Rohe[2], la cui severa interpretazione dell'architettura classica avrebbe fatto da stupendo contrasto alla babele di linguaggi degli edifici circostanti. A dispetto della grande quantità di precedenti famosi in cui si è fatto ricorso a questo principio del "contrasto" (precedenti sui quali in Italia si è basata per generazioni l'industria del turismo), a Palumbo è stata negata l'opportunità di servirsene per questo luogo, e di questo rifiuto mi rammarico tuttora. Pur esistendo una precedente autorizzazione, i termini di riferimento per il riammodernamento del sito sono stati fondamentalmente modificati; è stata notevolmente ridotta l'area di intervento ed ha subito una radicale trasformazione il rapporto tra nuova costruzione e ambiente preesistente, dato che ora il programma di intervento riguardava solo un singolo edificio e non più uno spazio aperto e un edificio: conseguentemente ha dovuto modificarsi anche l'ispirazione artistica, che è stata chiamata a confrontarsi con questi cambiamenti.
Quello che ora veniva richiesto non era tanto un intervento di contrasto, quanto piuttosto un'adeguata interpretazione ed estensione della scala compositiva prevalente, con un "in più" di differenziazione nel linguaggio architettonico. Sono convinto che nello scegliere James Stirling e Michael Wilford per realizzare questo progetto, Palumbo ancora una volta abbia dato prova di grande intuizione e discernimento. Al di là di quella che può essere l'importanza di Stirling a livello internazionale, penso che sia la persona più adatta a sostituire l'edificio Mappin & Webb di John Belcher[3] e ad affiancare architetti che rispondono al nome di Sir Edwin Lutyens[4] e Sir Christopher Wren[5]: ed è questa l'essenza del compito architettonico che ci sta ora di fronte.

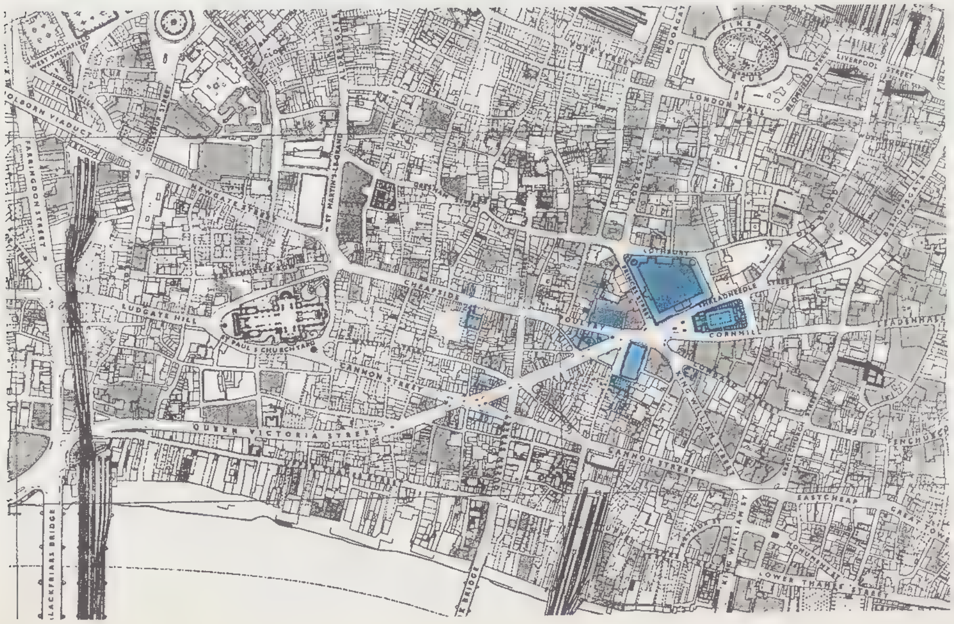
La natura del sito

Anzitutto il gruppo di edifici esistenti. Ciò che in primo luogo risalta osservando questa collazione di edifici è la loro casualità: infatti essi sono assolutamente privi di un comune denominatore, ad eccezione del fatto di trovarsi allineati in un medesimo contesto edificato e di risalire all'incirca alla stessa epoca. In altre parole non stiamo parlando di un'opera d'arte nel senso classico del termine, quando cioè si dà un ordine complessivo all'interno del quale le relazioni (di forma, proporzioni e materiali) tra le singole parti fanno sì che ognuna si integri con il tutto in modo da costituire un'entità completa, a cui nulla può essere aggiunto o tolto senza rovinare la composizione. Ci si potrebbe esprimere, per fare un esempio, in questi termini parlando della Midland Bank di Lutyens: ma sarebbe assolutamente impossibile usare questo linguaggio per il gruppo attuale di edifici.
E non ci troviamo neppure davanti a una composizione più organica, appartenente a quel genere che ha reso famosi i veri maestri di questo periodo — George Edmund Street (1824-1881), William Burgess (1827-1881), Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), Alfred Waterhouse (1830-1905)[6] —, a quel linguaggio cioè che viene ora definito dagli studiosi di architettura come "The English Free Style" (lo stile libero inglese). Uno stile dove elementi più grandi e elementi più piccoli disposti liberamente si fondono per dar vita a un unico complesso con un equilibrio che va al di là dell'asimmetria attraverso un intreccio di motivi e ritmi comuni. Questo si potrebbe dire perfettamente, ad esempio, delle Law Courts di George Edmund Street. Ma è evidente una volta di più che il gruppo attuale di edifici non rappresenta un esempio neppure di questo stile "organico".

* Una Istruttoria pubblica è indetta dal Segretario di Stato (il Ministro del Governo in carica) responsabile dell'Ambiente, per quanto riguarda alcuni progetti (edifici, strade, centrali energetiche, ecc.). Nel caso di Poultry n. 1, il signor Peter Palumbo chiese al Segretario di Stato di "convocare in aula" il progetto dopo che esso aveva rischiato di non ottenere il permesso di costruzione dal City of London Planning Committee. Il Segretario di Stato nominò quindi il signor Brian Bagot suo Ispettore e indisse l'Istruttoria nel maggio 1988. All'Istruttoria testimoniarono tutte le persone o i gruppi coinvolti o interessati al progetto; tutto ciò richiese quattro settimane di tempo. Il 12 ottobre 1988 il progetto venne approvato dall'Ispettore con una relazione di 153 pagine, e il Segretario di Stato si schierò con il suo Ispettore nella lettera che ne accompagnava la relazione.
La prima Istruttoria pubblica fu indetta per il progetto di Mies van der Rohe, che fu rifiutato sia dall'Ispettore che dal Segretario di Stato nel maggio 1985.

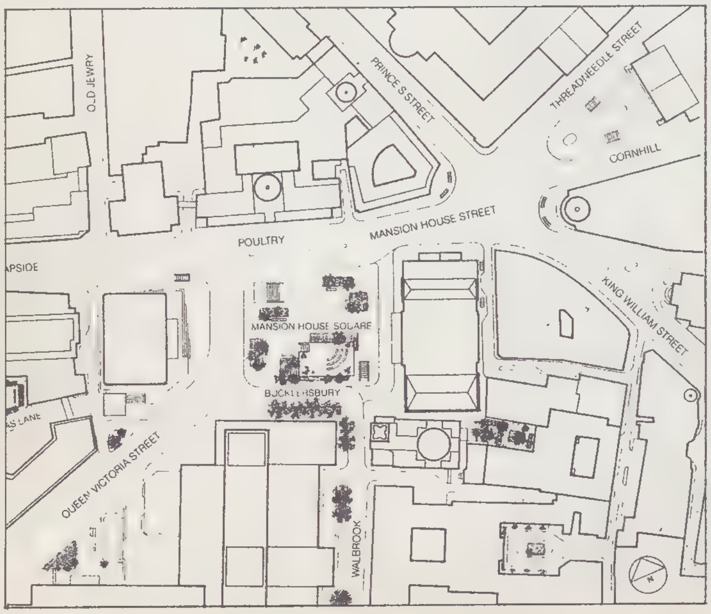






Niels Möller Lund, The Heart of the Empire, *1904.*
Foto Guildhall Art Gallery, Londra.
Veduta da est del modello del progetto di Stirling e Wilford.
Foto J. Donat.
Localizzazione sulla planimetria urbana di Londra di: 1) progetto di Stirling e Wilford; 2) Midland Bank di Edwin Lutyens; 3) Bank of England di John Soane; 4) Royal Exchange di William Tite; 5) Mansion House di George Dance il vecchio; 6) Chiesa di St. Stephen Walbrook di Christopher Wren; 7) Chiesa di St. Mary Woolnoth di Nicholas Hawksmoor; 8) Chiesa di St. Mary Aldermary di Christopher Wren; 9) Chiesa di St. Mary-le-Bow di Christopher Wren.

Ciò che troviamo alla base della composizione di questi edifici è un *allineamento*. Ma anche in questo caso non si tratta di una successione di elementi simili tra loro, né di una sequenza in cui le differenze tra elementi di diversa scala hanno un significato rispetto a una gerarchia di importanza funzionale o a un equilibrio nella composizione formale: abbiamo semplicemente un insieme puramente casuale di edifici messi in fila.
La seconda cosa che osserviamo è l'assenza di elementi stilistici comuni: una vera e propria Torre di Babele per quanto riguarda altezze, livello dei piani, materiali, qualità delle finiture. Non è neppure un insieme raro (sia pure casuale) di capolavori: non vi compare nessuno dei nomi che ho più sopra menzionato. C'è un debuttante, John Belcher, ma nessuno di quegli architetti, che ricorrono nell'elenco degli autori o nelle critiche a favore di questi edifici (F.C. Chancellor, R.H. Moore, F.J. Ward e Edmund Woodthorpe), compare nel *Dictionary of Architects* allegato in appendice a un libro sull'architettura vittoriana pubblicato nel 1978 (*Victorian Architecture* di Roger Dixon e Stefan Muthesius, Ed. Thames & Hudson). Siamo passati in serie C: il nostro debuttante, potremmo dire, è circondato da falliti. Mi sorprende che Robert Thorne[7] parli di loro come di un gruppo di persone specializzate nella progettazione di edifici per uffici, dal momento che la sua testimonianza non ha mai riguardato *l'interno* di questi edifici e che la competenza di questi architetti non sembra particolarmente convincente per ciò che attiene l'altezza dei piani o altri criteri funzionali. A questo proposito viene in mente un interessante confronto con la Chicago di quel medesimo periodo, dove ogni isolato della City poteva esibire con orgoglio edifici analoghi, cioè edifici per uffici ed edifici commerciali, che erano veri e propri capolavori, realizzati da architetti quali Henry Sullivan, Daniel Burnham, John Wellborn Root, Dankmar Adler ... e il debuttante in questo caso era Frank Lloyd Wright. La casualità veniva qui doppiamente compensata dall'assoluta bellezza dei singoli pezzi. Se esiste qualche





dubbio, suggerisco di guardare il catalogo della mostra *Great Goths* tenutasi recentemente alla Lingard Gallery. È appunto perché vi compaiono uomini come Burgess, Street, Waterhouse, Sedding e Shaw — uomini di livello superiore, che esprimono la vera perfezione — che risalta immediatamente lo squallore dell'accozzaglia di edifici del Poultry. Il metro della qualità e del valore, illustrato in questo caso con molta chiarezza, rappresenta per me la linea di demarcazione sulla quale si basa qualsiasi discussione relativa a questo luogo, che non sia arbitraria o semplicemente bizzarra.

Nel nostro caso non ci troviamo certamente di fronte a nessun tipo di eccezionale qualità. Allora che cosa abbiamo? Quando poco fa ho parlato di un "*insieme casuale di edifici in fila*", quello che mi è subito venuto in mente, come prima immagine, è stata una fila di libri di seconda mano e malridotti in un negozio di cianfrusaglie. È per questo motivo che non ho mai capito il clamore nato intorno a questo gruppo di edifici. Anche il palazzo Mappin & Webb, che esprime una certa qual coerenza architettonica, mi ha sempre colpito come qualcosa di anomalo nel contesto di edifici che lo circondano, dai quali tutti emana un certo formalismo classico del tutto coerente alla loro natura e identità. Al suo confronto in questo gruppo di edifici c'è una tal confusione, una tale esiguità di scala, un tale ricorso fine a se stesso a singoli dettagli decorativi, che sembra di trovarsi di fronte a un incalzare balbettante di tipi piuttosto ridondanti capitati in una compagnia alquanto mediocre. C'è stato un periodo in cui tutti questi pezzi tardo-vittoriani venivano indiscriminatamente ricoperti di ridicolo, talvolta anche in modo poco fondato. Nel nostro caso però è difficile non rendere giustizia a tale condanna. Da quando, per esempio, si assume l'architettura vittoriana come metro di sensibilità nei materiali e nei dettagli? Nel suo recente catalogo della mostra sui disegni delle cattedrali inglesi — che ha ottenuto molto consenso — Dennis Creffield, parlando del rifacimento della cattedrale di Chester da parte di Scott, afferma: "*è stato il più grave atto di vandalismo che mai sia stato sponsorizzato nei confronti di una cattedrale del nostro paese. Scott è riuscito a far apparire una genuina cattedrale medievale come un acquedotto municipale (...). Ho avuto un tal sollievo quando ho scoperto che le ridicole torrette a forma di bidone della spazzatura sulla torre erano una sua brillante idea. Per un attimo avevo pensato a un insuccesso dell'arte medievale (...)*". Commenti di questo tipo sono rari ai giorni nostri, dato che tutto ciò che è vittoriano è intriso di sentimentalismo alla moda. C'è invece in questi commenti una franchezza confortante e un richiamo a giorni di maggior discernimento, quando i dettagli decorativi di natura vegetale dell'architettura tardo-vittoriana, fatti esclusivamente a macchina, erano considerati assolutamente repellenti. E quanto alla considerazione che questo tipo di dettaglio richiama Venezia e Bisanzio, non si sa se ridere o piangere. Come reagirebbe Ruskin, che ha più volte deplorato il fatto che si sia abusato della sua difesa del vero "veneziano", se fosse qui con noi......

D'altro canto quelli che sembrano apprezzare questo gruppo di edifici, danno l'impressione di essere profondamente divisi sulle motivazioni che li portano a questo atteggiamento. Per Ashely Barker[8] il fascino di alcuni edifici deriva dal fatto che sono caratteristici di "*epoche particolari in cui le grandi città della storia hanno toccato un apice di potere*" e concorda con la definizione di "*grande effetto*" espressa da Robert Thorne, anche se la discussione è sempre soltanto a livello epidermico, e non va mai oltre la facciata e la sua "battaglia degli stili". Per Roy Worskett[9] invece il pregio di questi edifici sta nella loro modestia, nell'ossequio quasi servile davanti ai monumenti che li circondano.

Non sono tormentato da questo genere di contraddizioni. Nella mia mente è abbastanza chiaro il concetto che non ci troviamo di fronte a un'opera architettonica né "classica" né "organica", e che neppure si tratta di un insieme di singoli capolavori né, infine, di un gruppo di edifici che complessivamente si armonizzano in modo convincente.



Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Progetto per Poultry n. 1, 1969: planimetria e veduta del modello originale. Veduta del modello della situazione urbana con il progetto di Mies van der Rohe. Foto J. Donat.

Dobbiamo perciò cercare al di fuori dei valori strettamente architettonici, se vogliamo afferrare ciò che si nasconde dietro la pretesa che questo gruppo di edifici abbia una importanza particolare. Ancora una volta non è semplice rispondere. Non siamo invitati, ad esempio, a rispettare un gruppo di edifici la cui importanza dipenda non tanto dall'aspetto difficilmente classificabile, quanto piuttosto dal fatto che si trovino in un luogo un tempo sede di una fondazione religiosa o teatro di un avvenimento storico oppure di una scoperta scientifica. Ancora, nel nostro caso, non si possono accampare ragioni di questo tipo. Potrebbe essere allora l'età di questo gruppo di edifici a ispirare il nostro rispetto, una certa qual antichità da venerare? (la parola "medievale" è saltata fuori di tanto in tanto per affermare l'importanza del tracciato della strada). Anche qui dobbiamo dire che non c'è niente di speciale. Victoria Street è nata soltanto cento anni fa circa e ad eccezione di un frammento, del resto indistinguibile, di una facciata georgiana, nessun palazzo risale a un'epoca precedente. E quanto alla pretesa che Bucklersbury ricalchi un tratto di strada "medievale", si può affermare soltanto che, alla luce di tutto quello che è accaduto da allora (compreso il suo accorciamento quando è diventata Queen Victoria Street nel 1870), un frammento così piccolo ha perso da lungo tempo la sua capacità di dar vita a quell'atmosfera che è ancora possibile sentire quando strade di tal genere formano un intero complesso (come ad esempio nel quartiere medievale di Barcellona).

L'unico valore dell'attuale gruppo di edifici che risalta con evidenza è la vivacità delle facciate dovuta alle varie difformità di cui abbiamo parlato: altezze dei piani, dimensioni degli edifici, materiali, tipi di finestre e di motivi decorativi. Anche se, da un punto di vista architettonico, manca un elemento vitale — quello cioè della *composizione*, che avrebbe potuto armonizzare tanti elementi disparati in modo che potessero acquistare reciprocamente forza —, queste diversità rappresentano un elemento positivo, creando una serie di variazioni rispetto alla regolarità, nello stesso modo in cui in musica un cambiamento di chiave o una dissonanza sono importanti appunto perché interrompono un ordine prevalente, rispetto al quale questo cambiamento viene registrato. Se non ci fosse un ordine nella composizione probabilmente queste differenze diventerebbero una stonatura o risulterebbero in competizione o quanto meno sminuite reciprocamente, e irriterebbero la nostra attenzione in un modo indisciplinato.

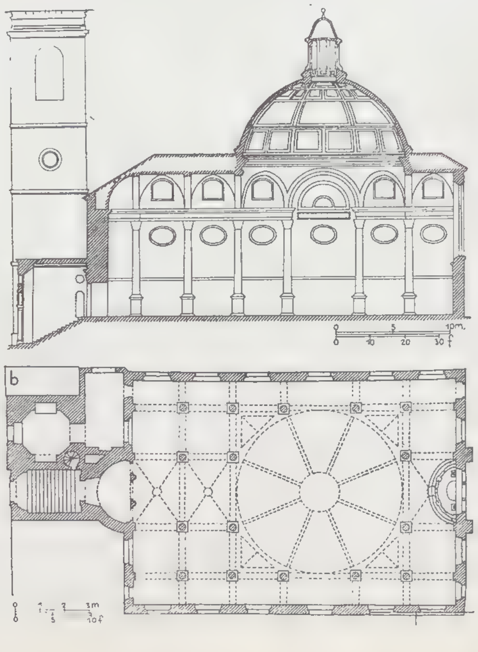
Non è privo di significato osservare che Lutyens non teneva in grande considerazione l'attuale gruppo di edifici. Si è infatti dimostrato felice all'idea di dover demolire un considerevole numero di palazzi del Poultry; e in secondo luogo, come è stato dimostrato nell'ultima Istruttoria, secondo la sua prospettiva d'artista si poteva arrivare a demolirne una buona metà. (Non c'è dubbio, ad esempio, che il modo in cui ha sistemato la fila di finestre del quarto piano della sua Midland Bank si potrebbe apprezzare solo attraverso una percezione frontale).

Per finire, è determinante capire che l'unico merito che questi edifici possiedono sta nelle loro facciate. E per me è veramente degna di nota la considerazione che i sostenitori di questi edifici sembrano non aver mai oltrepassato una porta, non parlano mai di esperienza spaziale, di ordine strutturale, di circolazione, di volumi, in altre parole di *architettura* in modo completo, limitandosi ad elencare i dettagli decorativi di un allestimento scenico.

Per riassumere quanto finora detto, si può arrivare a una sola conclusione. Il fascino del gruppo attuale di edifici non si basa su nessuno dei parametri architettonici correntemente riconosciuti. Deriva semplicemente dalla nostalgia per un passato relativamente recente. Che questa nostalgia sia di natura equivoca e legata alla moda è un'accusa che analizzerò in una parte sucessiva di questa testimonianza.

La natura del progetto proposto

Eccomi dunque al progetto di Stirling. Quello che abbiamo è



Christopher Wren, Chiesa di St. Stephen Walbrook, 1672-87: pianta e sezione.
Christopher Wren, Chiesa di St. Mary-le-Bow, 1670-80: vista.
Foto Brithish Tourist Authority.
Nicholas Hawksmoor, Chiesa di St. Mary Woolnoth, 1716-27: assonometria.

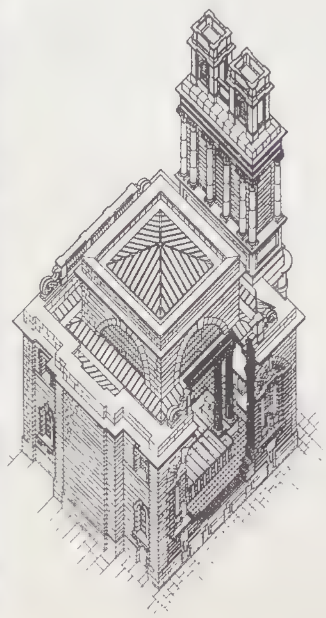


un complesso di elementi vigorosamente contrastanti quanto a forma, materiali, dimensione. Vale la pena di sottolineare questo punto per due motivi. In primo luogo, si tratta di un linguaggio notevolmente *diverso* da quello di Mies van der Rohe, dove l'enfasi si esprime soprattutto in raffinate condensazioni e variazioni di proporzioni dentro un insieme formale costante. In secondo luogo, si tratta di un intervento notevolmente *simile* al gruppo attuale di edifici, che vengono però sostanzialmente modificati. Il progetto differisce infatti dalla situazione esistente perché tende a *comporre* gli elementi contrastanti in un insieme coerente piuttosto che in una *casuale giustapposizione di unità disparate in competizione reciproca.*

Permettetemi di illustrare questo punto. Le regole di base della composizione di Stirling sono le seguenti: i fronti verso Poultry e Queen Victoria Street sono formati da tre campate principali, simmetriche rispetto al centro del blocco, con due campate "anomale" alle opposte estremità, asimmetriche dal momento che a ciascuna estremità dell'edificio esistono condizioni grandemente diverse, sia interne che esterne. Le stesse campate principali, poi, sono composte di una grande quantità di elementi di prospetto fortemente contrastanti.

Un paio di piani è completamente risolto con fasce orrizzontali vetrate, e il profilo in pianta di questo elemento sporge con un andamento ad angolo ottuso; l'altra coppia di piani viene spezzata verticalmente con un'alternanza di parti in muratura e di finestre verticali, e il profilo in pianta di questo elemento sporge a forma di segmento leggermente circolare; a piano terra si trova un gruppo di pilastri che formano un portico protettivo rispetto alle facciate dei negozi dislocati da una parte e dell'altra di una grande apertura nel punto mediano dell'edificio.

Ma questo non è tutto: in primo luogo l'ordine di sovrapposizione dei piani sfaccettati ad angolo ottuso e di quelli a scansione verticale e a sagoma circolare non è costante, essendo la composizione delle campate laterali invertita nella campata centrale. In secondo luogo nella



campata centrale la forma a finestre verticali dei due piani superiori delimita il tamburo di un cortile interno circolare, il cuore pubblico dell'edificio che si apre esattamente al livello della maggior affluenza commerciale di pubblico. Questa sequenza verticale di forme che caratterizza le campate centrali su Poultry e Queen Vittoria Street, si ripete nella "prua" dell'edificio che si affaccia verso Mansion House, dove si sovrappongono un elemento a tamburo, uno a spigolo a vetrate orizzontali e un arco in muratura.
È esattamente questo "rimeggiare" di forme, questa "unità nella varietà" che dà significato agli elementi contrastanti di cui si compone l'edificio, che acquistano forza reciprocamente piuttosto che produrre un effetto stridente di casualità come nella situazione attuale. (Per fare un esempio: la differenza attuale tra i livelli dei piani lungo il fronte su Victoria Street è esattamente una semplilce differenza nei livelli dei piani, come se a causa di un terremoto l'estremità occidentale si fosse abbassata sprofondando di alcuni centimetri. L'idea non sembra pensata, e non è stata neppure valorizzata con un altro motivo analogo nel disegno dei fronti: sembra che sia stata realizzata in questo modo per puro caso...).
Sulla "prua" dell'edificio l'elemento cilindrico assume la forma di una "colonna rostrata", che per i Romani era il simbolo di una vittoria (il nome deriva dai *rostra*, o prue, delle navi catturate). Questo motivo esprime un contenuto ironico che avrebbe affascinato sia il maturo Belcher che Lutyens: in particolare esso dialoga con il campanile di St. Stephens in Walbrook di Wren e con la parte sud e la cupola della Midland Bank di Lutyens in modo più eloquente di quanto non faccia attualmente la torre dell'edificio Mappin & Webb, e questo maggior vigore è dovuto ai rostri sporgenti, ognuno dei quali si rivolge ai "vicini" con uno stile molto diretto.
Vi chiedo inoltre di osservare il modo in cui il volume dell'edifcio viene scomposto in episodi verticali (scanditi dai "contrafforti"), che richiamano la scala delle facciate attuali, ma che vengono però ricondotti a unità per mezzo di una simmetria speculare rispetto al centro che unifica l'intero edificio. I due grandi archi triangolari al centro delle facciate principali, sui lati nord e sud, non solo rappresentano forme straordinarie (probabilmente ispirate da studi visti sugli album di schizzi di Karl F. Schinkel), ma sono in perfetta armonia con i vuoti di forma triangolare del cortile interno della rotonda. In effetti questo gioco di cerchi e triangoli impronta tutta la composizione e costituisce la componente più importante di quella disciplina classica che ispira l'intero progetto.
In breve, ci viene offerto qualcosa di veramente raro per questi tempi, un gioco di forme fresco e inventivo ma allo stesso tempo, appena sotto la superficie, assai colto per i riferimenti a precedenti classici.
Tutto questo richiama una famosa frase circa "*il gioco elevato dell'architettura,*" il cui autore è Edwin Lutyens.
A questo punto le argomentazioni a favore del progetto di Stirling si integrano ancora di più con il contesto del luogo. Perché questo progetto non solo possiede una ricchezza di variazioni che supera sul loro stesso terreno gli edifici che è destinato a sostituire, ma si propone anche come una presenza realmente conforme alle preesistenze edificate, in particolare alla Midland Bank di Lutyens. Sia Lutyens che Stirling fanno parte della tradizione britannica di architetti "ironici", e in questo caso assommano manierismo a manierismo in modo affascinante. Entrambi gli edifici hanno in comune un elemento di arguzia, di abilità, di "gioco elevato", come se questo atteggiamento si fosse tramandato da una generazione all'altra nella realizzazione di questa grande quantità di edifici monumentali di enorme importanza che si trovano nel cuore della City, da Wren, Hawksmoor e Dance a Soane e quindi a Lutyens e da lui a Stirling. E questo è veramente un modo propositivo di interpretare il compito di preservare ed *estendere* la natura storica del luogo.
Quanto ad essere uno spazio urbano di pubblica utilità, il progetto proposto offre una serie di vantaggi rispetto allo stato



presente. Al posto delle attuali facciate che si aprono su una strada relativamente modesta e di un affollato punto di discesa alla metropolitana, c'è ora una corte centrale-rotonda che porta mediante scale mobili a un sottostante gruppo di negozi, con collegamenti con la Bank Station della metropolitana; questa corte può inoltre essere utilizzata come comodo collegamento diretto tra Poultry e Queen Victoria Street. C'è inoltre un accesso diretto agli uffici del primo piano, grazie a una scala che dall'entrata della "prua" sale alla galleria aperta che corre attorno alla corte della rotonda centrale. E per finire c'è un magnifico giardino di forma circolare (*hortus inclusus*) ricavato sulla copertura, da cui si accede a un ristorante aperto al pubblico e a una *promenade*, che attraverso un *parterre* disegnato conduce alla piattaforma panoramica della colonna rostrata. A supporto di queste numerose e varie dotazioni di pubblica utilità, c'è un'area di servizio protetta, ben dislocata ed efficiente, lungo la facciata occidentale, da cui si accede al parcheggio e al *pub* che si trova sull'angolo di Queen Victoria Street.
Riassumerò ora le ragioni per cui questo progetto può pretendere di diventare sia un'auspicabile sostituzione della struttura esistente, sia una nuova presenza capace di valorizzare quest'area: a) esso contiene elementi di forte variazione e contrasto, assai più dell'attuale gruppo di edifici; e in questo senso si adatta ottimamente alla loro scala e alla loro tessitura; b) ma laddove nello stato attuale questi contrasti sono casuali, nel progetto di riammodernamento vengono organizzati in modo da dare alla composizione l'aspetto di un complesso unitario; c) in rapporto agli edifici che lo circondano esso ha la qualità di introdurre in modo sommesso l'elemento di monumentalità esibito dagli altri, e in modo tutto suo garantisce il perpetuarsi di un carattere che pervade il luogo nello spazio e nel tempo, laddove il testimone passa da Wren a Hawksmoor, da Dance a Soane a Lutyens a Stirling, che chiude il cerchio guardando alla Chiesa di St. Stephen in Walbrook; d) il suo confrontarsi diretto e immediato con la Midland Bank di Lutyens è particolarmente felice, dato che entrambi gli edifici, oltre al senso di una forte presenza, hanno la rara e colta qualità dell'arguzia.

Paralisi o evoluzione: lo scopo della conservazione

Nella seconda parte di questa testimonianza abbiamo mostrato come l'attuale gruppo di edifici non esprime qualità architettoniche significative, ma semplicemente nostalgia per la conservazione di un *tranche de vie*.
Ma allora si tratta di *reale* conservazione o diventa semplicemente una scenografia dei "tempi passati"? Se pensiamo a un loro utilizzo attuale come uffici (la loro ragione d'essere) questi edifici appaiono superati: livelli discontinui dei piani, notevoli altezze interne senza possibilità di introdurre aggiornati sistemi di controlli computerizzati o adeguate condizioni ambientali, mancanze strutturali, predisposizione agli incendi, uscite inadeguate...; la lista delle carenze che li rendono inadatti a soddisfare le esigenze della vita di *oggi* è davvero lunga. Essi possono costituire unicamente una scenografia un po' *kitsch* da "Ye Olde England": ma a che scopo?
Viene in mente il famoso precedente dei "Villaggi Potemkin". Il Generale Potemkin, un autorevole ministro dell'Imperatrice Caterina II di Russia, aveva fatto costruire degli scenari di strade di villaggi lungo il percorso seguito dall'Imperatrice durante il suo viaggio in Crimea in modo da darle l'impressione che fosse in corso un grande programma di costruzioni per il popolo. Siamo veramente scesi al livello di voler realizzare (o conservare dal passato) un "Villaggio Potemkin" a beneficio di qualche turista o Principe di passaggio?
Alcune persone hanno espresso la preoccupazione che il progetto proposto non infranga lo spirito delle recenti direttive sulla conservazione delle aree di importanza architettonica o storica. A questo proposito specifico mi tornano in mente le esaurienti considerazioni svolte su questo tema da Roy Worskett.



John Soane, Bank of England, 1788-1833: vista esterna e prospettiva della Lothbury Court.

Le prescrizioni fissate nella *Circolare D.O.E. 8/87*[10] mettono al riparo da ogni possibile motivo di ansietà riguardante il criterio di conformità, non dichiarando indispensabile la conformità totale rispetto a uno specifico sito urbano. Non si è mai pensato, infatti, che queste direttive dovessero essere applicate *in toto*, cioè l'applicazione opprimente di una lunga sequela di norme specifiche. Si arriverebbe in tal caso alla paralisi totale e non è difficile dimostrare la risibile povertà intellettuale che starebbe dietro a una tale richiesta: poiché nel nome della conservazione "*della natura storica di città e paesi*" (obiettivo interamente da condividere) verrebbero rinnegati i reali processi della storia stessa. Che altro è la storia se non il rinnovarsi del vecchio con il dischiudersi del nuovo? Perfino Cesare, arcitiranno della legge, alla fine ha ammesso che "*ogni cosa cambia*". La circolare 8/87 ha senso se considerata come un elenco di controllo di parametri che dovranno sempre essere *interpretati* per una corretta applicazione ai singoli casi.

Worskett usa invece di questi regolamenti in modo paralizzante, quasi fossero lacci emostatici applicati a ogni arto in modo tale da bloccare la linfa vitale una volta per tutte. Possiamo forse illustrare questo punto con un esempio concreto: il mondo di Worskett non avrebbe permesso che la Midland Bank di Lutyens fosse costruita, un edificio che per usare le parole del biografo di Lutyens, Christopher Hussey, "*è senza dubbio la sua opera più* colta. *Non si esagera dicendo che essa sviluppa e raffina i principi dello stile classico fino a un punto raramente raggiunto in precedenza.*" (*The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, Scribner's, New York 1950, 1990, p. 470). Anche questo edificio sostituiva una fila di comuni strutture vittoriane pseudo-veneziane che, vale la pena notarlo, avevano a loro volta sostituito una chiesa ricostruita da Wren dopo il Grande Incendio (St. Mildred).

Ora esso è parte vitale del contesto, nel quale dovrà inserirsi il progetto di Stirling, e io ho già espresso precedentemente in questa mia relazione la fiducia sull'appropriatezza di questa risposta. Se uno vuole essere coerente fino in fondo nel seguire quella che io chiamerei l'"interpretazione paralitica della storia", deve avere il coraggio di affermare che non solo la Midland Bank, ma neppure St. Paul stessa avrebbe dovuto essere costruita, se l'idea era quella di conservare ogni rovina, originale o alterata, dell'epoca medievale.

A sostegno della mia interpretazione rispetto alle intenzioni che stanno alla base della circolare 8/87, c'è il fatto che il Segretario di Stato nel definire i termini di riferimento per questa Istruttoria ha affermato che, in questo caso specifico, non vuole associarsi all'"interpretazione paralitica" della conservazione "storica"; in effetti se fosse stato questo il suo obiettivo, non c'erano motivi per un'Istruttoria pubblica.

Perciò il punto in questione è in quale misura il progetto proposto offre una soluzione che, nel modernizzare strutture commerciali, terziarie e spazi pubblici, sia rispettosa del particolare carattere architettonico e storico della zona.

Probabilmente chi in epoca attuale si è espresso con maggior chiarezza sulla natura di una tradizione viva, di un rapporto creativo tra antico e nuovo, tra novità e ciò che l'ha preceduta, è stato T.S. Eliot nel suo saggio *Tradizione e talento individuale* del 1919 (in T.S. Eliot, *Opere*, Bompiani, Milano 1986, pp. 720-721). Egli parla di quel "*senso storico* [che implica] *di essere consapevole non solo che il passato è passato, ma che è anche presente*" e prosegue affermando che "*i monumenti esistenti compongono un ordine ideale che si modifica quando vi sia introdotta una nuova (veramente nuova) opera d'arte*". Si arriva allora a una forma di reciprocità tra vecchio e nuovo, laddove l'uno dà forza all'altro, fino al punto in cui il vecchio viene modificato (rivalutato) dal nuovo quanto il nuovo viene influenzato dal passato. (Ad esempio, quello che Eliot deve a Dante è ovvio: Dante però a sua volta, e questa è la cosa più interessante, è stato ingrandito e considerato in una nuova luce grazie a Eliot). Questa è la vera dinamica della tradizione storica che si contrappone a una sciocca imitazione di forme morte.

Worskett ha dimostrato come la legge sulla conservazione, se





George Dance il vecchio, Mansion House, 1738-52: veduta.
Edwin Lutyens, Midland Bank, 1924-39: vista frontale.
Foto J. Donat.

presa alla lettera, può uccidere, mentre Stirling con il suo progetto ci fa vedere che lo spirito di questa stessa legge può portare nuova vita.
Vorrei ora occuparmi di quelle obiezioni che si esprimono come critica specifica al progetto proposto. Si tratta soprattutto della posizione di Ashley Barker.
Non posso accettare il presupposto secondo cui l'unico criterio di giudizio estetico nel campo dell'architettura è quello che si rifà ai canoni classici. Io ho dovuto compiere uno sforzo notevole per adottare sistemi di valutazione differenziati, ma egualmente validi a giudicare l'attuale gruppo di edifici. Viceversa, secondo i criteri esclusivi di Barker, le tradizioni gotica, bizantina, pittoresca, English Free School, organica perderebbero di importanza, e ciò sarebbe veramente sciocco. Sarebbero poi esclusi, ad esempio, stili che hanno svolto un ruolo di modelli, come il gotico-veneziano, che sono stati imitati proprio in quegli edifici di cui egli auspica la conservazione.
Inoltre trovo molto singolare quella tendenza culturale che riduce il canone classico alle norme di Vitruvio, un "ultimo arrivato" e un po' rozzo, noto per la sua incapacità e limitatezza nella comprensione del linguaggio classico dell'architettura. Secondo i suoi paramentri molte opere d'arte greche ne sarebbero escluse (se provate a applicare i suoi canoni all'Acropoli di Atene, vi troverete in difficoltà), così come molte opere romane (ad esempio, la Villa di Adriano). Per ritornare al nostro caso mi sembra di ricordare che Goodhart-Rendel[11] (sicuramente un eroe di Barker) si era compiaciuto che in St. Mary Woolnoth Hawksmoor[12] avesse trasgredito i canoni "neo-vitruviani". In effetti sono stati il deplorevole Lord Burlington e i suoi accoliti vitruviani a sostenere virtualmente questa critica nei confronti di Hawksmoor e Wren, liquidandoli con disonore alla fine della loro carriera. Barker sarebbe stato felice se essi avessero continuato su questa strada giungendo a demolire St. Mary Woolnoth? Se lui e Worskett avessero avuto un ruolo in quell'epoca, ora non ci sarebbero né la Midland Bank di







John Belcher, Edificio Mappin & Webb: viste su Queen Victoria Street e su Poultry. Foto J. Donat.

Lutyens né la chiesa di Hawksmoor. Di questo passo che cosa ci sarebbe stato tramandato da conservare? Occorre perciò guardarsi dal tentativo di Barker di fissare criteri universali e indiscutibili con i quali giudicare il progetto che abbiamo davanti. "*Un piccolo sapere limitato è cosa pericolosa.*"
Per finire voglio parlare di ciò che sta alla base di questo tipo di critica. È una condizione mentale — si potrebbe dire perfino patologica — in base alla quale uno si sente al sicuro solo con le cose morte e ha paura di quelle vive. C'è una poesia di W.B.Yeats che parla di questa condizione con molta precisione.

> Gli eruditi (The Scholars)
> *Teste calve, obliose dei loro peccati,*
> *Vecchie, dotte, venerande teste calve,*
> *Dànno alle stampe e annotano i versi*
> *Che giovani, nei loro letti insonni,*
> *Rimarono in angoscia d'amore*
> *Per blandire l'orecchio della bellezza.*
>
> *Fino al giorno del giudizio tossiranno nell'inchiostro,*
> *Il tappeto con le scarpe limeranno,*
> *Venerati; non avranno amici strani;*
> *Se mai fecero peccato non si sa:*
> *Signore Iddio, che cosa mai direbbero*
> *Il giorno che il loro Catullo passasse di là!*

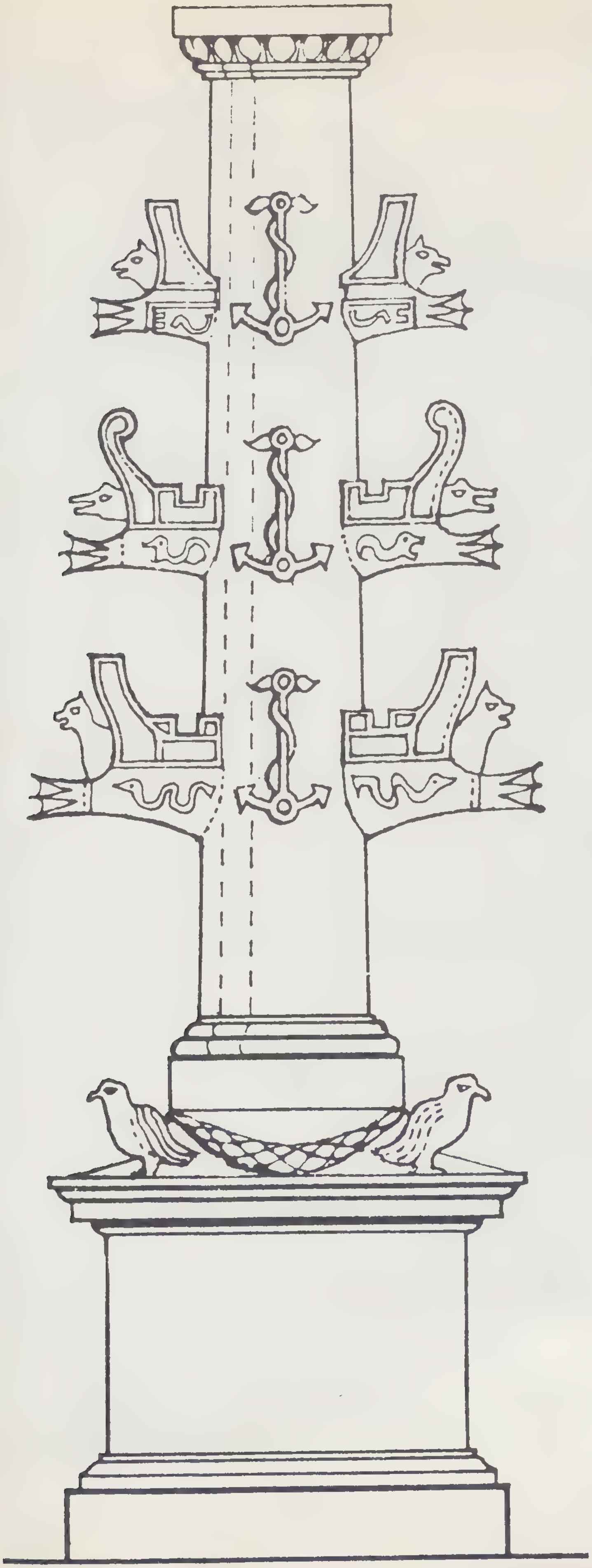
C'è una gran quantità di strascicamenti e di colpi di tosse nella relazione di Barker, questo è certo. Ma allo stesso tempo credo che il suo Catullo se ne stia andando per la sua strada. Dovrebbe essergli grato!
Per entrare nel merito della circolare 8/87 e della politica di conservazione del City Council, vorrei richiamare i seguenti punti positivi del progetto proposto.
In primo luogo, esso ci offre un nuovo edificio di grande valore architettonico, che nel contempo quanto meno si propone come una testimonianza dei contributi straordinari precedentemente benedetti dai Padri della City.
In secondo luogo si tratta di un edificio che con la sua ricca variazione di forme sostituisce pienamente quell'elemento di varietà presente attualmente.
In terzo luogo, nel sostituire l'attuale miscuglio di strutture in verità molto casuale e anomalo, introdurrà un edificio che, per il suo carattere serio e monumentale, si accorderà in modo molto più appropriato alla preesistenza di monumenti quali St. Stephen di Wren, St. Mary di Hawksmoor, la Mansion House di Dance, la Bank of England di Soane e la Midland Bank di Lutyens. L'unica perdita di qualche rilievo è il breve tratto di Bucklersbury, a proposito del quale, però, è stato osservato che gli interventi di vialibilità che si sono succeduti nel tempo hanno reso questo tratto di strada assolutamente inadatto.
In quarto luogo, il nuovo edificio esalterà le caratteristiche positive dell'intorno edificato, rendendone più forte la presenza architettonica senza per questo modificare la scala complessiva del sito.
In quinto luogo, con la disposizione di negozi, scale mobili, passeggiate coperte, parcheggio, ristorante, *pub*, *roof-garden*, il nuovo progetto migliorerà l'uso pubblico generale della zona in modo assai conveniente.

Conclusione
Ricordo che durante l'ultima Istruttoria Worskett aveva sostenuto che la questione non riguardava in realtà i pregi del gruppo di edifici che stava cercando di conservare, ma qualcosa di natura molto più generale. Sono perfettamente d'accordo con lui. Ho sempre avuto la sensazione che il gruppo attuale di edifici non meritava quel tipo di clamore che si stava verificando rispetto ad altri quartieri. Ma laddove per Worskett la questione centrale sembra essere la conservazione di qualcosa che viene definito tuttavia di modesta entità, per me la vera questione fondamentale è un'altra: ha a che fare con la perdita di forza dovuta all'evidente fallimento di gran parte dell'edilizia postbellica,

che, come risultato, ha portato all'impossibilità di perseguire ciò che precedentemente ho descritto come la vigorosa interpretazione, storicamente corretta, della tradizione. La diretta conseguenza è stata la condanna indiscriminata di qualcosa chiamato "Architettura Moderna", condanna che non è stata assolutamente in grado di discernere tra il fatto reale e il suo travisamento.
Per quanto riguarda la posizione di Stirling rispetto a questo fenomeno, ricordo che fin dai primissimi tempi delle nostre discussioni di architettura, circa quarant'anni fa, egli parlava con grande disappunto delle grossolane limitazioni legate alla formula "*International Style*". Abbiamo ritenuto allora, come oggi, che lo spirito vitale del Moderno possedesse una ricchezza senza precedenti, che non si fosse mai vincolato alla rigidità di regole immodificabili, che non avesse mai rifiutato un dialogo dialettico con il passato, e che neppure avesse escluso alcun elemento del periodo decorativo: basti ricordare l'opera di Frank Lloyd Wright, di Asplund, di Aalto, di Chareau, di Scharoun e di Mendelsohn per scoprire un intero settore che non è mai stato toccato dall'abuso di una critica genericamente riversata su questa entità indistinta che è l'"Architettura Moderna".
Già allora era manifesto un nuovo fenomeno che si propone come panacea rispetto a questa perdita di forza espressiva. Si tratta di una speciale forma di surrogato della architettura autentica, facilmente identificabile essendo un istantaneo rimasticamento stilistico, le cui forme sciatte e la cui retorica fasulla hanno provocato in primo luogo un moto di ribellione; ci riferiamo alla versione commerciale americana dell'Ecole de Beaux-Arts che è fiorita prodigiosamente in questo volgere del secolo. Le sue caratteristiche si sono ormai delineate con chiarezza grazie a numerosi progetti di grande scala visibili pubblicamente e, trattandosi di uno stile che mira esattamente a quel tipo di compromesso a cui punta ogni genere di commissione, Londra è sul punto di esserne sommersa.
Ci si trova dunque di fronte a una perdita di forza espressiva, rispetto alla quale si aprono due sole strategie possibili: o fermare l'orologio una volta per tutte (al 1875, ad esempio, come viene proposto in questo caso), oppure rimettere indietro l'orologio al tempo dell'imitazione monumentalistica tipica di fine secolo.
Esiste tuttavia un'alternativa, che si trova all'interno di quella che io chiamo la vera e vitale tradizione moderna. In questi ultimi trent'anni James Stirling è stato in prima linea nel seguire questa creatività nella tradizione, che egli ha alimentato in modo significativo attraverso la sua opera; e io sono dell'idea che la sua proposta per il sito urbano di Mansion House rappresenti un ulteriore esempio proprio di questo prolungamento vitale della tradizione. È una reinterpretazione originale delle forme classiche piuttosto che una parodia dei *clichè* romanico o veneziano, e in quanto tale esprime un'effervescenza e un gioco contrastante di forme, dove ogni piccolo pezzo è altrettanto "interessante" del frammento che è destinato a sostituire. Possiede inoltre un elemento specifico di arguzia con cui dialoga alla pari e in modo vitale con la Midland Bank di Lutyens. E questo in modo realmente rispettoso dell'autenticità storica, riuscendo ad estendere al presente la continuità di un dialogo che in questo sito risale da Lutyens a Soane a Dance fino a Hawksmoor e a Wren. E, non ultimo, offre numerosi spazi di pubblica utilità, un insieme di negozi e un accesso facile e coperto alla metropolitana, e sulla copertura uno splendido *roof-garden* e un ristorante aperto al pubblico.
Per tutta questa serie di motivi raccomando il progetto proposto che considero il contributo più brillante all'architettura della City degli ultimi cinquant'anni e che rappresenta allo stesso tempo, per usare le parole di William Waldegrave, Ministro dell'Edilizia e della Pianificazione, "*un grande edificio per gli anni Novanta*".

Colonna rostrata: le colonne rostrate venivano erette con una certa frequenza durante l'epoca imperiale per celebrare vittorie navali. Il loro nome deriva dai rostri o prue delle navi catturate, con cui venivano ornate. C'era poi un'iscrizione per ricordare le azioni per le quali erano state erette.

1) Peter Palumbo, *developer* dei progetti per Poultry n. 1 di Mies van der Rohe e di Stirling e Wilford.
2) Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969), progettò le prime proposte per il sito della Mansion House nel 1967.



3) John Belcher (1841-1913), architetto dell'edificio Mappin & Webb.
4) Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944), architetto della Midland Bank, 1924.
5) Sir Christopher Wren (1623-1723), architetto delle chiese St. Mary le Bow, St. Stephen Walbrook e St. Mary Aldermary.
6) George Edmund Street (1824-81), architetto delle Lawcourts a Londra, 1887-88; William Burgess (1827-81); Norman Shaw (1831-1912), architetto di New Scotland Yard a Londra, 1887-88; Alfred Waterhouse (1830-1905), architetto del Natural History Museum a Londra, 1879-80.
7) Robert Thorne, storico, ha dato testimonianza contro il progetto proposto.
8) Ashley Barker, architetto e storico, ha dato testimonianza per l'English Heritage contro il progetto proposto.
9) Roy Worskett, architetto, ha dato testimonianza per la City of London contro il progetto proposto.
10) Circolare D.O.E. (Department of the Environment): circolare del Dipartimento dell'Ambiente. Si tratta di *memoranda* inviati dal D.O.E. alle autorità locali su questioni interpretative, e non costituiscono norme di legge, ma indicano una direzione da seguire.
11) Goodhart-Rendel, architetto e critico a cavallo del secolo.
12) Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736), architetto della chiesa St. Mary Woolnoth, 1716-1726.

Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese
1985-90

Roberto Gabetti e Aimaro Isola

con Guido Drocco

Coordinamento generale: Snam Costruzioni Immobiliari
Supervisione lavori: Snam Progetti SpA



Veduta del modello in bronzo con le realizzazioni precedenti dell'Immobiliare Metanopoli.

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Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese

Roberto Gabetti e Aimaro Isola

Premessa

Per il volume che Giorgio Ciucci ha recentemente pubblicato presso Laterza abbiamo scritto questo brano che ci pare utile porre qui a titolo di "premessa"[1]:

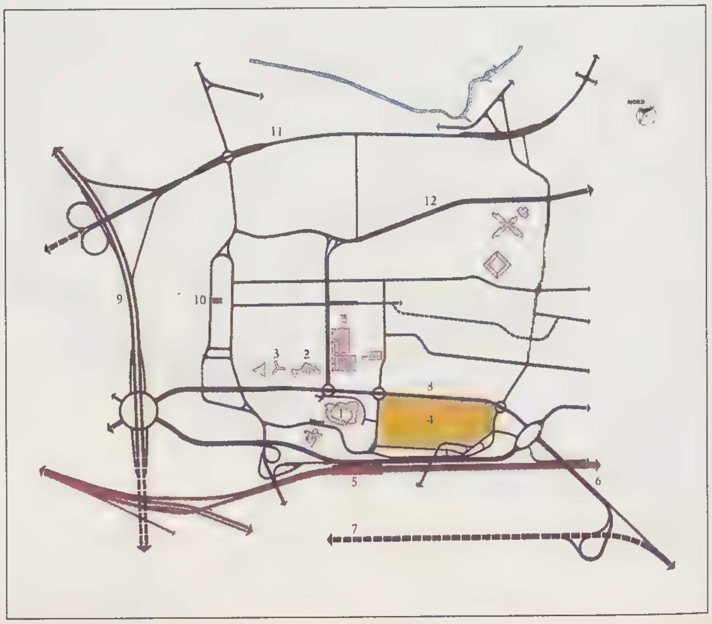
"Nel nostro atelier, *come a scuola, discutiamo a lungo sul come si possa si possa affrontare un tema; e come, superata qualche difficoltà, si possa delinearlo. Creata una comune convinzione, quasi un'esperienza provvisoria, tentiamo subito di fondare assieme ad altri un lavoro, che risulta pieno di alti e bassi, di vicoli ciechi con frettolosi ritorni, di recuperi con immediate aperture. Così, riprovando, ci pare di procedere con maggiore competenza, senza frettolose scelte, evitando decisioni non sedimentate, non confrontate ad altre.*
Queste cose noi le diciamo, le ripetiamo, per spiegare a noi stessi e agli altri la strana diversità fra un'opera e un'altra, in sequenza di tempo: con ritorni patenti, quasi riprese a distanza, di soluzioni che parevano a noi e agli altri remote. Certo, lavorando molto sul progetto, due linee si intersecano: una programmatica, tracciata dalla memoria, dalla ragione, dalla volontà, e una decisamente empirica, affidata al tentativo, all'azzardo, all'approfondimento. Ci pare così di seguire una traccia chiara, anche quando l'abbiamo confusa con osservazioni divaganti: o, all'opposto, ci pare di aver divagato, mentre abbiamo seguito un percorso interamente coerente, strutturalmente lineare".

"I giardini di...". Progetto di concorso, 15 ottobre 1985

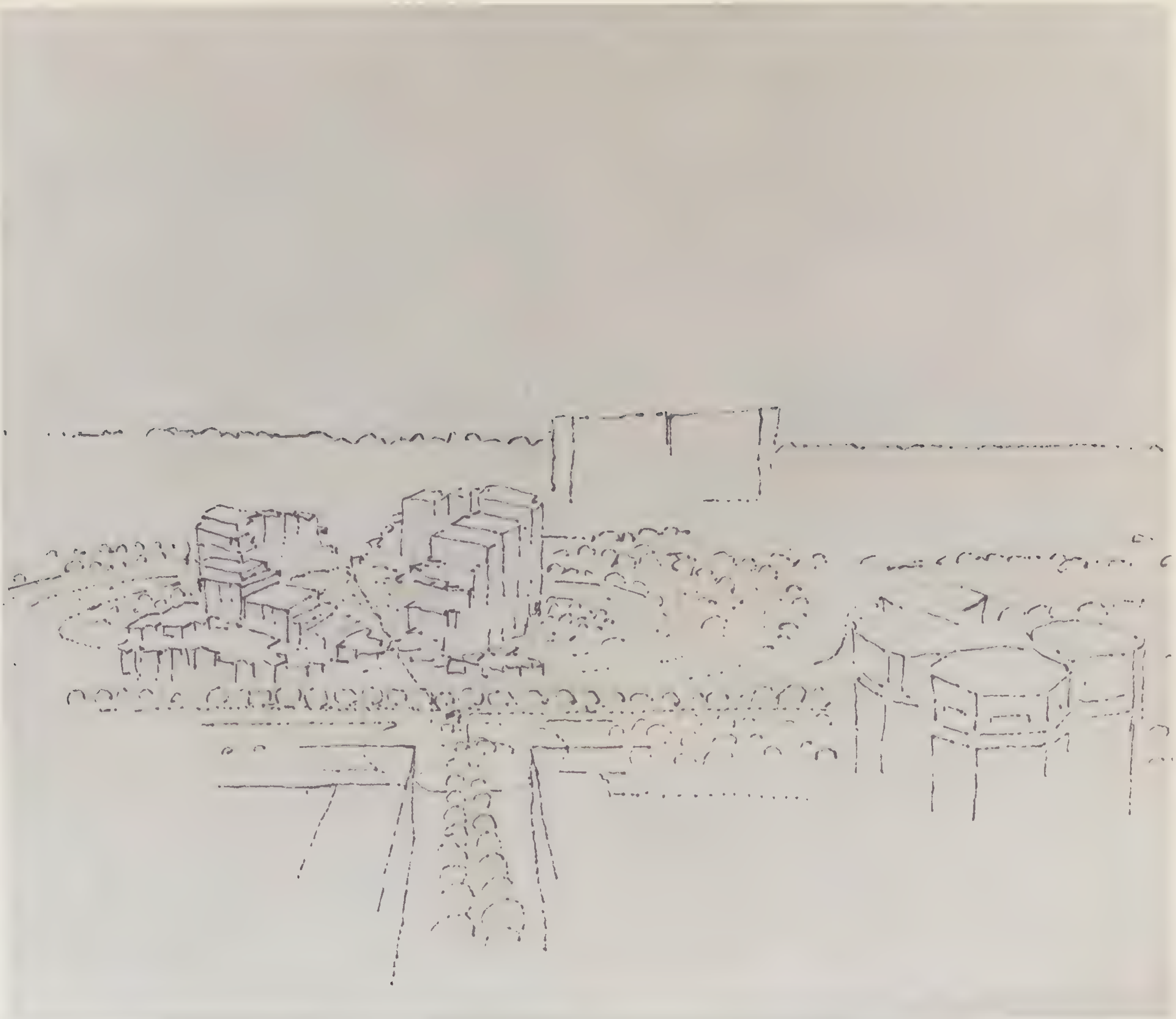
"I giardini di..." rappresentano soprattutto un'intenzione: quella di far vivere meglio gli addetti, in un ambiente organizzato e non distruttivo. Questa intenzione si raccorda con quella di non ingombrare il paesaggio con cubature edilizie che esprimano soprattutto finalità funzionali, di commentare invece l'ambiente con notazioni che lo







Vista dell'area da sudovest prima dell'intervento.
Vista da nordovest con il cantiere dell'edificio in costruzione.
Foto S. Topuntoli.
Planimetria schematica: 1) Quinto Palazzo Uffici; 2) M. Nizzoli e M. Oliveri, Primo Palazzo Uffici (1958); 3) M. Bacigalupo e U. Ratti, Secondo Palazzo Uffici (1962); 4) aree edificabili; 5) nuova stazione delle Ferrovie dello Stato; 6) Autostrada del Sole; 7) nuovo tracciato dell'Autostrada del Sole; 8) Via Emilia; 9) Tangenziale est; 10) futuro capolinea della linea 3 della Metropolitana Milanese; 11) Via Paullese; 12) Viale De Gasperi.





Schizzo prospettico e schizzo planimetrico del progetto per la concessione edilizia.

arricchiscano quantitativamente e qualitativamente. Così le finalità e i programmi della Committenza non dovrebbero connotarsi con una diminuzione di quei fondamentali caratteri di accoglienza, di *comfort*, di piacevolezza, che troppo spesso mancano nelle ore di lavoro per ciascuno, e non dovrebbero denotarsi alla collettività metropolitana con iniziative distruttive di spazi liberi, di *landscape* periferico. È certo: il valore dell'architettura e quindi di un edificio come quello in progetto, può dirsi soddisfatto quando di questo mestiere d'arte si possa cogliere un frutto d'eccellenza: ma il tema qui non è il "Partenone": e non è nenache il "Palazzo" del potere economico pubblico e privato; il tema è quello semplicemente definito dai contenuti espressi dalla Snam nella sua lettera di invito, tema interpretabile come "*palazzo per uffici in una fase tecnologica d'avanguardia*".
"*I giardini di...*" dedica, a tutti ed a ciascuno, quelle attenzioni, che partono dalle possibilità fornite dalle nuove tecnologie: rimane quindi fedele alla definizione di unità di lavoro standard, in tutto corrispondenti a quelle dettate dalla lettera d'invito, mentre la varietà è data dai connettivi interni (corridoi, atrii, spazi con finestre e con chiostrine) e dai connettivi esterni (percorsi visuali, percorsi pedonali estesi ad un variegatissimo parco).
Ecco, del parco classico e romantico, del parco antico e nuovo, il progetto mantiene la memoria per ricavare una dedica: dedica a chi?
"*I giardini di...*" vogliono fornire soluzioni alle possibilità reali e latenti delle nuove tecnologie, partendo da analisi condotte sulle loro concrete applicazioni: quindi se per esempio si dice "*i pilastri previsti sono in tubi di acciaio riempiti da getti di c.a.*", si potrebbe parimenti dire "*i pilastri sono in cls. gettato in casseri d'acciaio prefabbricati cilindrici o altrimenti foggiati, così da formare un reticolo esterno di facciata continuo sui due assi ortogonali*".
Basterebbe allora non più pensare ai disegni presentati in questo *dossier*, come a documenti prescrittivi: i segni grafici dovendo essere intesi come indicativi di soluzioni puntuali, aperti anche a soluzioni alternative: gli stessi colori possono essere ancora intesi come significativi in rapporto a modi di impiego dei materiali, modi anche diversi, ma coerenti (ad esempio, per le forme geometriche, il reticolo a nodi geometricamente raccordati con innesti stereometrici semplici potrebbe anche essere risolto con modellazioni spaziali più complesse; e così ancora, per i colori, il verde e il grigio potrebbero essere risolti in toni di bianco contrastanti vivaci colori per i serramenti; ecc.).
"*I giardini di...*" è soprattutto occasione fornita al Committente per intervenire nell'opera che vuole intraprendere con pertinenti apporti tecnologici progettuali, ciò anche in termini di costo. Se il Committente avesse agito in modo autonomo, avrebbe potuto benissimo farsi il suo palazzo per uffici senza disturbare nessuno: ma avendo deciso per un concorso, non è con questo che debba in tutto affidarsi ad altri. Se il Committente si è rivolto ad altri, è segno che ha rilevato nei luoghi di lavoro ricorrenti carenze e nelle nuove costruzioni di periferia oggetti ingombranti e deludenti. Ai passati segni dei tempi si possono invece aggiungere segni presenti e attivi: è questa la finalità del progetto qui allegato; la dedica esplicita ai programmatori ed agli utenti. (...)
Il progetto segue puntualmente i "criteri" e i dati per la progettazione definiti dalla Snam, incaricata dalla proprietà — l'Immobiliare Metanopoli — di realizzare il palazzo.
Cornici di spazi a verde, circostanti e interne alle maniche del Palazzo, assicurano situazioni ambientali privilegiate per tutti i volumi di nuova costruzione.
Caratteristiche formali peculiari al progetto tendono a definire una collocazione, non solo geometrica, ma culturale dei nuovi volumi nell'ambiente lombardo milanese, nel micro ambiente locale.
L'organizzazione funzionale proposta, retta da semplici leggi combinatorie, comporta soluzioni planimetriche semplici, facilmente intuibili dalla lettura dei disegni e facilmente variabili, in dipendenza di ulteriori specificazioni e

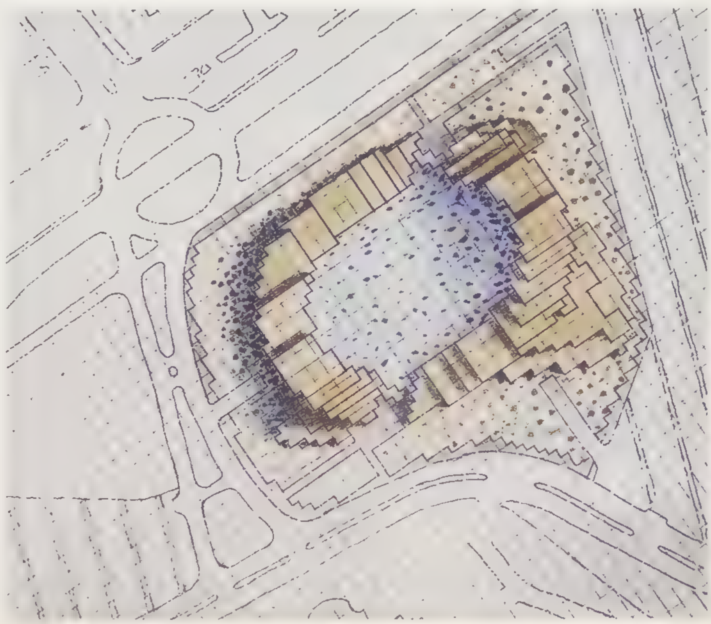
approfondimenti. In particolare le maniche di fabbrica con la loro disposizione, con la loro esposizione al sole, godono del paesaggio preesistente e ne costruiscono in parte un altro, del tutto nuovo, a partire dal nucleo interno: dove il lago si presenta quale superficie piana, leggermente incassata rispetto al terreno circostante, dalla quale emergono i terrazzi con i giardini disposti a livelli crescenti.
Le varie attività fanno capo a corpi di fabbrica adiacenti fra loro, intesi come unità autonome collegabili alla base e poi ancora ai vari livelli.
L'assetto degli uffici prevede una disposizione planimetrica a schiera, chiusa ad anello, frazionabile in due maggiori unità o al massimo in sei minori unità. Per rispettare la soglia indicata dalla Committenza in mq 15.000 per piano, occorre naturalmente limitare il frazionamento dell'anello ai quattro corpi principali (facilmente individuabili dai patii illuminati dall'alto).
Sono obbedite tutte le caratteristiche dimensionali specificate dalla Committenza: in particolare lo schema planimetrico si sviluppa su un reticolo di m 3.60, con relativi multipli e sottomultipli, l'altezza massima prevista per gli edifici è di m 45 esclusi i volumi tecnici, il numero massimo dei piani fuori terra è di tredici oltre al volume tecnico; la distanza tra pavimento e pavimento (tenuto conto degli spazi tecnici sopra pavimento e sotto soffitto) è di m 3.60. Il piano di spiccato, a livello del lago, è posto a m 1.50 rispetto al terreno circostante.
Il tema degli ingressi e delle distribuzioni dei piani interrati e terreno, particolarmente complesso e certamente interrelato con caratteri ancora da determinare, è stato oggetto di una semplificazione proposta a titolo di esempio (l'impostazione planimetrica anulare risulta compatibile anche con schemi di flusso stellare su vari livelli, qui però non illustrati).
Le facciate saranno di tipo *curtain-wall*, con "serra" perimetrale, costituita da un serramento verso l'esterno e da un serramento verso i vani ufficio. Il serramento verso l'esterno sarà in alluminio preverniciato, con vetrocamera riflettente, e sarà apribile a bilico orizzontale, mentre il serramento verso il vano ufficio apparterrà al regime degli arredi.
Nella "serra" sono inseribili piante.
I serramenti della "serra" verso l'esterno saranno inseriti nel traliccio portante di facciata (inteso come traliccio continuo formato da pilastri e travi). I tralicci di facciata partiranno direttamente dagli specifici piani di spiccato e saranno conclusi alla sommità con cassoni, intesi come contenitori di vegetali (dai rampicanti, alle piante di medio fusto). Tali contenitori saranno rivestiti in pietra a spacco.

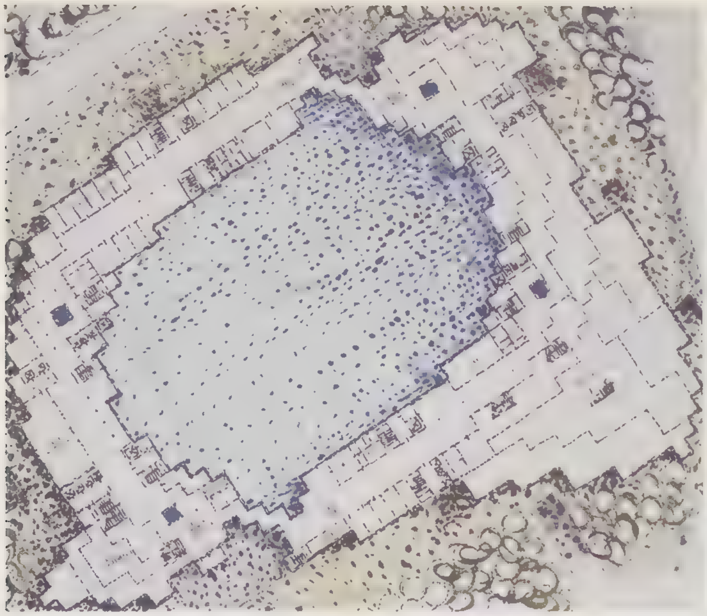
Il progetto per la concessione edilizia, 20 gennaio 1988
L'edificio per uffici è costituito da un corpo di fabbrica disposto ad anfiteatro, attorno ad uno spazio centrale: l'andamento crescente e decrescente del corpo di fabbrica, fa sì che la forma ad anfiteatro possa anche essere letta come giustapposizione di due corpi di fabbrica, di altezza leggermente diversa, specularmente contrapposti fra loro, rispetto ad un asse diagonale (asse ideale che congiunge il rondò su corso Alcide De Gasperi con la futura stazione ferroviaria).
La sezione, in alzato come anche in pianta, di ogni corpo di fabbrica, è variabile: il reticolo di base è costituito da una griglia a lati quadrati di m 3.60 x 3.60. Sui quadrati modulari di base, si appoggia una terza dimensione in altezza, pressapoco uguale, così da formare cubetti accostati fra loro, aggregati secondo varie combinazioni: così che il volume complessivo può essere letto come un insieme cristallografico a geometria cubica, posto attorno alla cavità centrale del lago, e circondato da un prato verde alberato.
Una galleria a due livelli collega i due corpi di fabbrica al pianterreno e al primo piano, e costituisce, lungo l'asse diagonale sopra citato, la massima riduzione in alzato e in pianta dei due corpi di fabbrica contrapposti: a partire da questi punti di ingombro planimetrico ed altimetrico minimo, i due corpi di fabbrica contrapposti si estendono

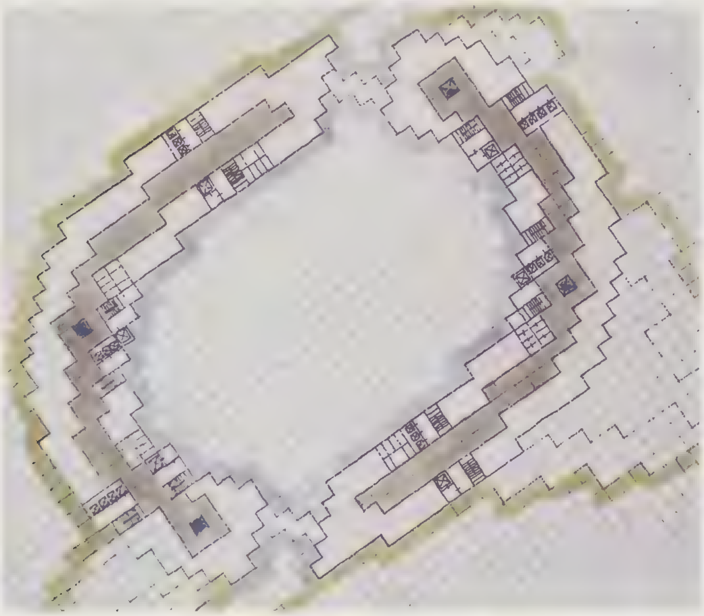
gradualmente, con andamenti lineari di m 3.60 x 3.60, secondo contorni pressapoco circoscritti al tracciato dell'anfiteatro, che ne costituisce quasi la generatrice interna. Lo schema funzionale di tutti i piani fuori terra, esclusi il primo piano ed il piano terreno, è quello caratteristico di un corpo di fabbrica a manica tripla, con uffici e relativi corridoi sui due lati opposti (e cioè verso il cortile e verso l'esterno), e una spina centrale (con scale di sicurezza, servizi igienici e spogliatoi, locali vari per archivi, ecc., canalizzazioni per gli impianti, ecc.). Si tratta di uno schema già sperimentato dalla Snam, ritenuto preferibile ad altri per la maggiore compattezza dei corpi di fabbrica e per il conseguente minore sviluppo dei percorsi orizzontali.
La presenza di due corridoi fra loro giustapposti, consente anche la individuazione di unità funzionali minori, con alto grado di indipendenza rispetto al complesso generale: del resto in uno schema funzionale basato su uffici personali e su uffici collettivi, la presenza di un corridoio esterno, che isoli il disturbo dato da passaggio di persone e che consenta l'accesso alle singole unità separate, è parsa indispensabile. Conseguente con tale previsione è la predisposizione di una serie di pareti armadiate, poste a delimitazione dei corridoi rispetto agli uffici, pareti entro le quali si aprono le porte vetrate di accesso alle singole unità operative. Su tale schema modulare, verranno inserite, a edificio ultimato, insieme agli arredi, costituendo esse stesse un arredo, le pareti mobili perpendicolari alla facciata, per la divisione fra un ufficio e l'altro: la predisposizione delle armadiate modulari lungo il corridoio, la presenza di una parete vetrata verso l'esterno (priva di qualsiasi elemento mobile), consente la massima flessibilità in pianta nel dimensionamento dei signoli uffici.
I corridoi posti all'interno e all'esterno della spina centrale rigida sopra citata, sono continui ad anello, lungo tutto lo sviluppo dei due corpi di fabbrica, i quali sono uniti fra loro solo al primo piano ed al pianterreno, là dove si uniscono fra loro i due anelli distributivi, facenti parte di uno e dell'altro dei due corpi di fabbrica a "C".

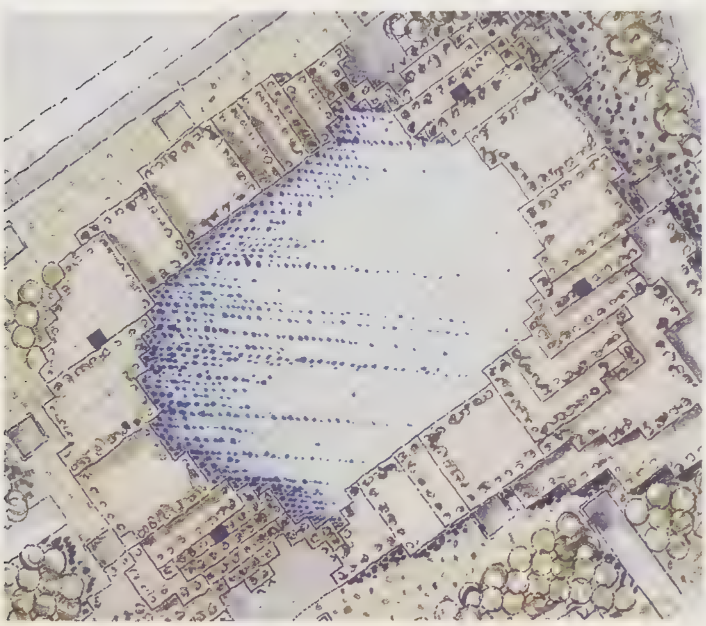
Planimetria e piante del piano terra, del piano tipo e delle coperture del progetto di concorso.

Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici può essere sezionato con un piano verticale che lo divida secondo due unità, costituite appunto dai due corpi di fabbrica a "C" fra loro specularmente contrapposti: uno di minore capienza, il più basso (detto corpo di fabbrica minore); uno di maggiore capienza, il più alto (detto corpo di fabbrica maggiore). In effetti la consistenza in pianta dei piani tipo dei due corpi a "C" contrapposti, è pressocheé identica, diversa è solo l'altezza. In ogni corpo di fabbrica è ubicato un gruppo di ascensori (in numero di sei nel corpo minore, di otto nel corpo maggiore). Sono inoltre previsti due montacarichi, uno per ogni corpo, per usi vari e due altri montacarichi nella zona mensa per collegare le cucine con i banchi di distribuzione dei cibi.
Il piano terreno ha un piano pavimentato posto pressapoco alla quota del piano stradale esterno; il piano superiore e quelli successivi sono disposti uno sull'altro ad interpiani costanti. Il coronamento superiore del corpo di fabbrica più alto è posto ad una quota prudenzialmente inferiore, rispetto a quella prescritta dal vincolo aeronautico (aeroporto di Linate). Il piano sottostante il piano terreno (destinato ad autorimesse e servizi tecnici), è posto ad un livello prudenzialmente superiore rispetto al livello massimo storico raggiunto dalla falda freatica.
Dall'anello stradale esterno sono previsti, ad una estremità del corpo di fabbrica maggiore, un accesso pedonale agli uffici sia per visitatori sia per impiegati e un accesso pedonale alla sala conferenze; attraverso un filtro aerato, la zona visitatori (atrio con salottini) comunica con la zona delle conferenze. Un altro accesso pedonale è previsto per i soli impiegati, sull'estremità del corpo di fabbrica minore posto in adiacenza all'innesto della rampa di discesa all'autorimessa. Un accesso sussidiario è previsto per gli impiegati, in un punto diametralmente opposto a quello principale. Un altro ingresso pedonale a livello 0.00, è previsto per la zona cucine. Dalla quota zero sono previsti accessi veicolari: uno a livello del pianterreno, per l'accesso (dal lato opposto agli ingressi principali) di automezzi









destinati alla manutenzione interna del lago e delle facciate interne, accesso collegato ad un anello (pavimentato di blocchetti di cemento con inserite zeppe erbose) posto a perimetro del lago; un altro accesso veicolare è previsto per il carico di rifiuti e lo scarico di derrate da e per le cucine (protetto da porticato). Un altro accesso è destinato alla discesa verso le autorimesse del piano interrato, a servizio degli impiegati (accesso già sopra ricordato, controllato da una guardiola vetrata posta all'esterno dell'edificio); un altro accesso ancora, per la discesa di merci al livello del piano interrato, è posto in adiacenza all'ingresso carrabile delle cucine. Altre uscite pedonali e veicolari a piano 0.00, sono previste per motivi di sicurezza. Il piano interrato è disimpegnato da due percorsi ad anello: uno circoscritto, destinato alla circolazione dei veicoli nell'autorimessa interrata, uno inscritto, destinato alla circolazione degli addetti agli impianti ed ai servizi dell'edificio. Ognuno di questi due anelli è dotato di uscite di sicurezza, alle quali si accede mediante appositi filtri aerati.

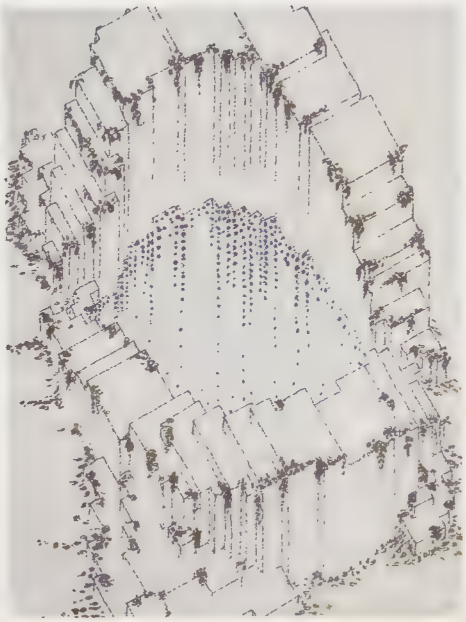
Al piano terreno, sotto il corpo di fabbrica minore, sono previsti: l'atrio degli impiegati (con negozi), le cucine (con dispensa e servizi del personale). Al lato opposto, sotto il corpo di fabbrica maggiore, è prevista la sala delle conferenze (con relativo atrio), nonché salottini, ecc., per i visitatori. Al primo piano, nel corpo minore, sono previste le mense (con bar e locali di servizio), nonché uffici; nel corpo maggiore, sono previsti, in adiacenza alla sala conferenze, locali per la traduzione simultanea e servizi.

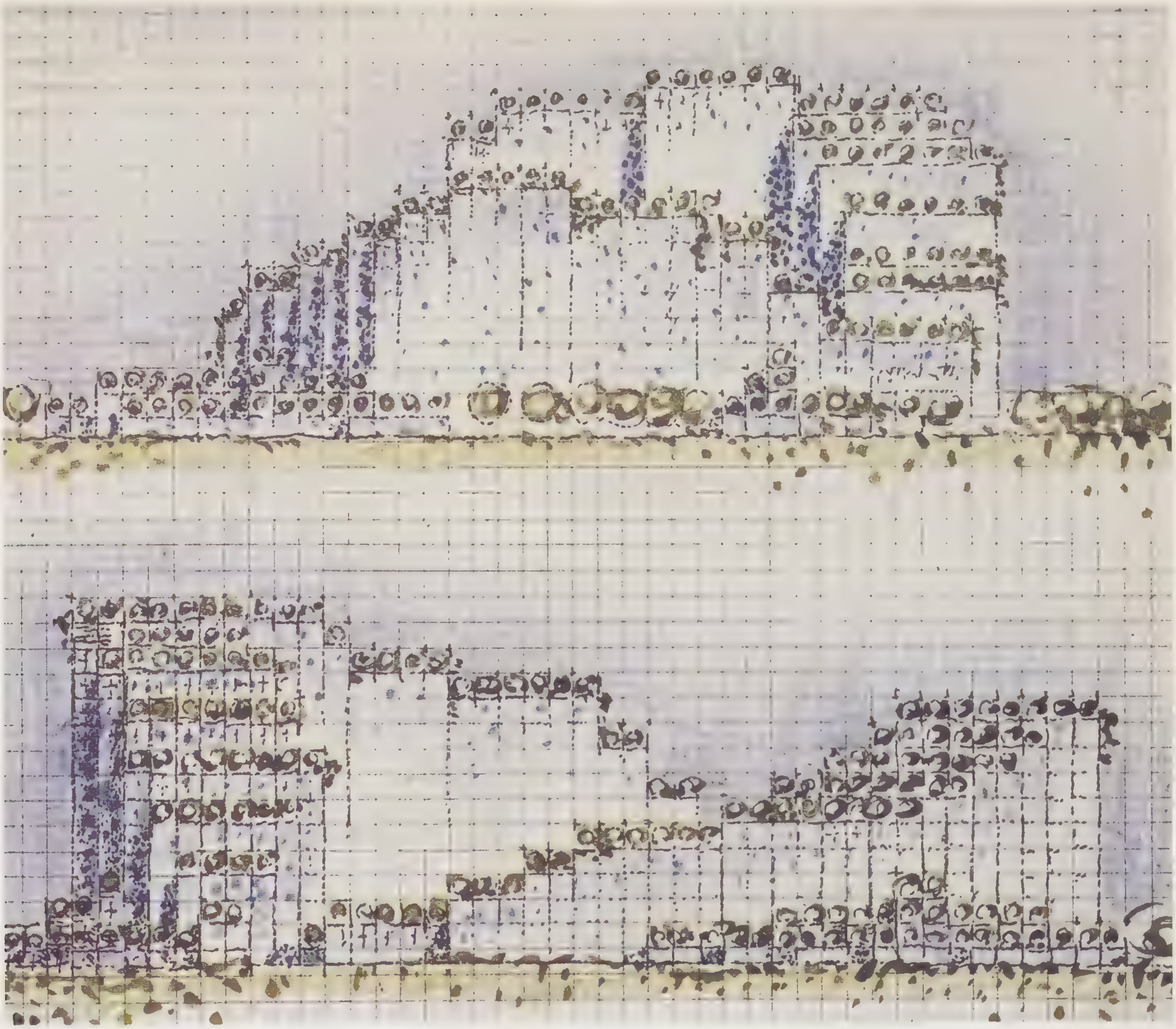
Mano a mano che si cresce nei piani superiori, le piante dei due corpi di fabbrica si riducono, diventando tipiche e fra loro simili; unica variazione in una e nell'altra, è rappresentata dal graduale accorciamento delle ali estreme di ciascuna "C".

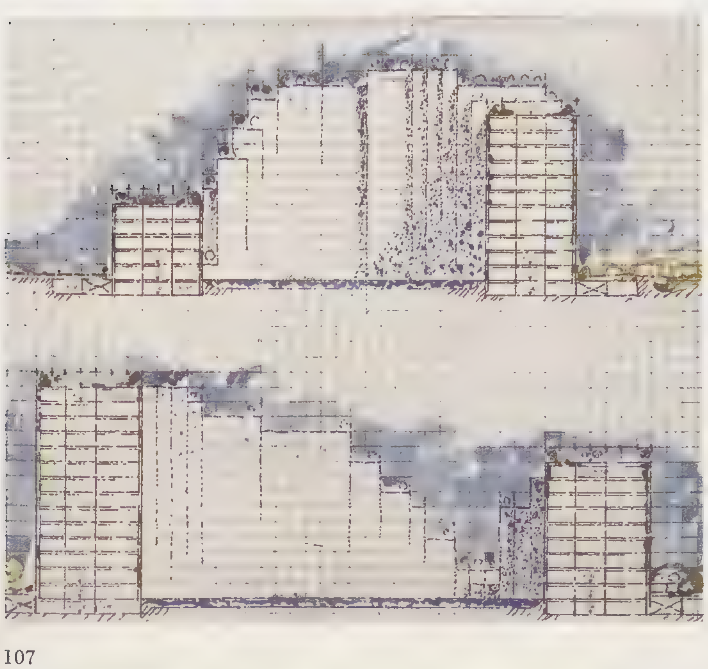
Lo schema strutturale è costituito da fondazioni su palificato, poste al piano interrato, e da strutture fuori terra costituite da un nocciolo di pareti piene di c.a., fra loro collegate a diedri interconnessi, nocciolo che corre in modo pressoché

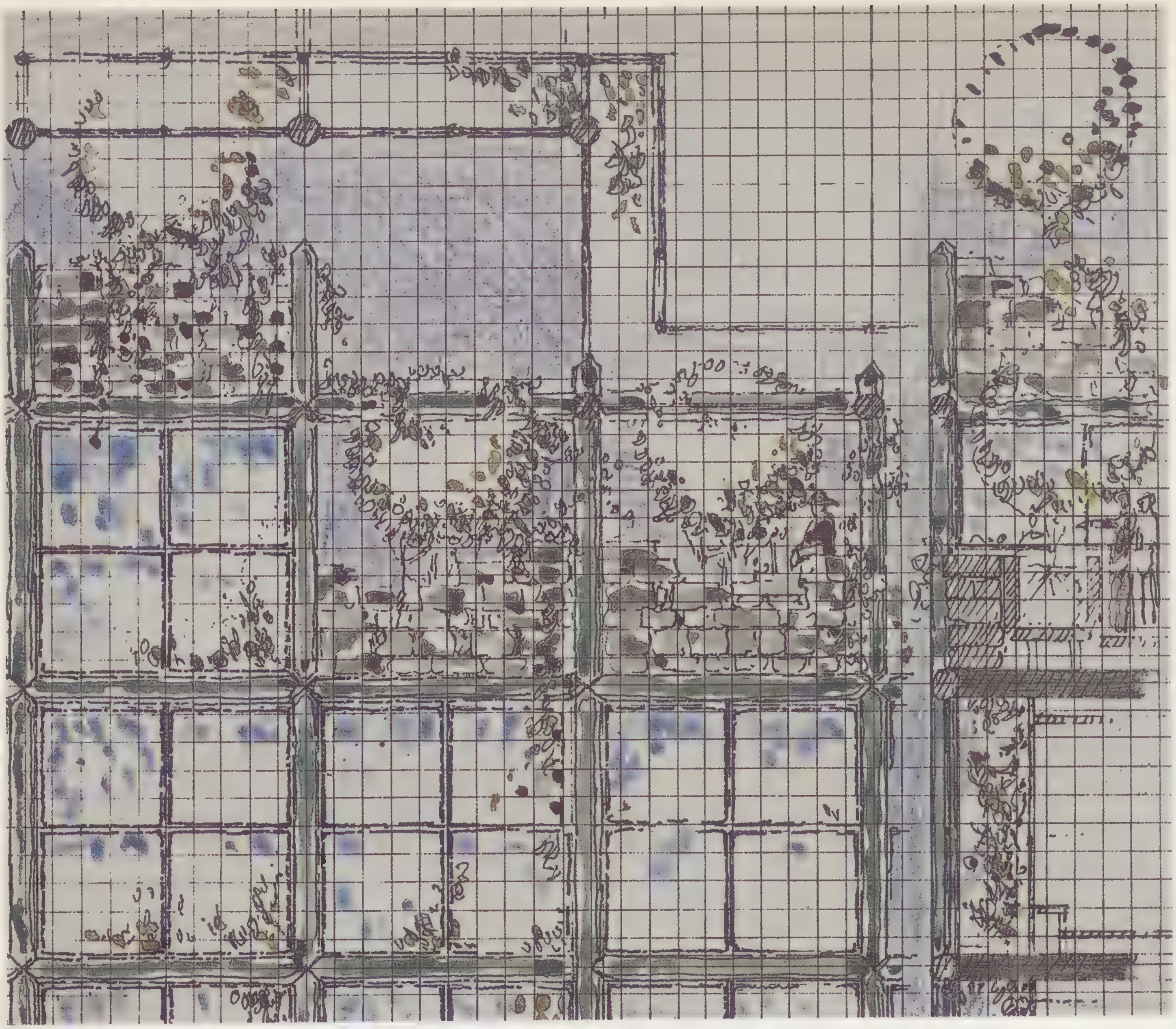


Modello in perspex, assonometria, prospetti e sezioni del progetto di concorso.









Particolare del prospetto con la "serra" e i terrazzi-giardino del progetto di concorso.

continuo lungo l'asse interno dell'anfiteatro (destinato a contenere, come si è detto, scale di sicurezza, servizi igienici, canalizzazioni verticali, ecc.), nonché da una serie di pilastri in ferro e c.a., della sezione circolare di m 0.42 di diametro, posti ad interassi di m 3.60 x 3.60 lungo i due perimetri esterni (e cioè verso il lago posto all'interno dell'anfiteatro o verso il paesaggio esterno). Tali sostegni verticali reggono travi e solai in c.a. ad elementi prefabbricati.
Le facciate esterne sono costituite da due pareti-cortina in alluminio completamente vetrate: queste formano, lungo lo sviluppo perimetrale dell'edificio, una intercapedine continua della larghezza di circa m 0.90, che permette un risparmio energetico e consente di migliorare il benessere ambientale rendendo termicamente neutra tutta la zona uffici. A differenza di quanto indicato nel progetto di concorso gli uffici e gli altri locali funzionali non godono di nessun accesso alle serre se non per ispezioni tecniche, essendo la vetrata perimetrale interna completamente chiusa.
Davanti alle pareti-cortina esterne corrono montanti metallici (anche a sostegno di rampicanti): terrazzi completamente ricoperti da verde (con superfici a prato, cespugli, piante) coronano tutto l'edificio, ai vari livelli di altezza.
I pavimenti dell'edificio saranno di tipo flottante, a quadrotti ricoperti di moquette, sotto ai quali correranno i cavi degli impianti elettrici e telefonici. Tutti gli ambienti avranno una controsoffittatura che accoglierà i corpi illuminanti e sopra la quale correranno i condotti dell'impianto di condizionamento dell'aria, le cui centrali di trattamento saranno poste al piano interrato.

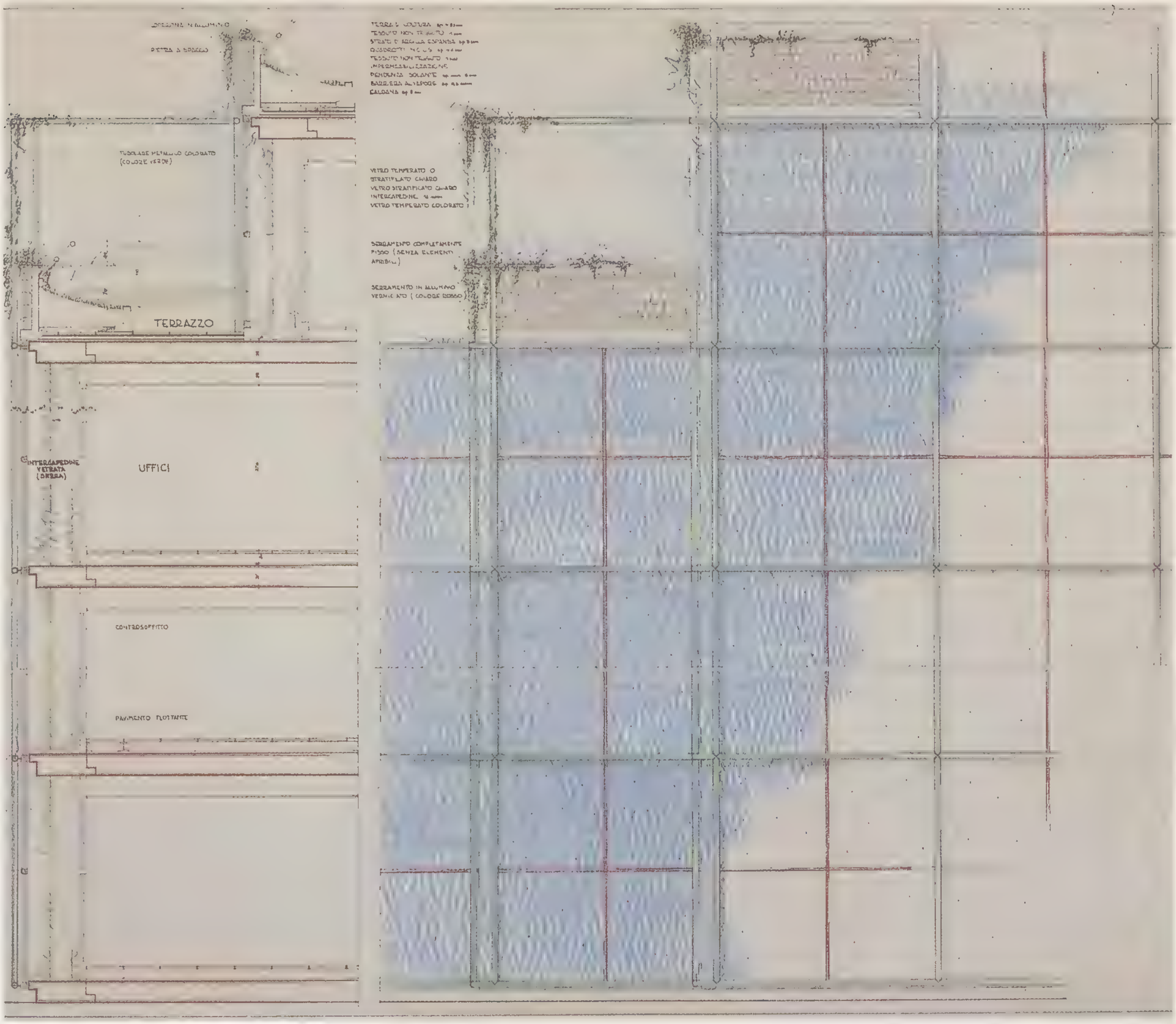
Il progetto esecutivo e il cantiere, 10 ottobre 1988

Il progetto ha qualcosa di personale e qualcosa di collettivo· è frutto di un mestiere che può essere conosciuto solo nel suo attuarsi. Dietro il cartello di cantiere ci sono fatti, cose, rapporti, che devono essere descritti se si vuole conoscere l'opera.
Dicevamo qui, in premessa, autocitandoci:

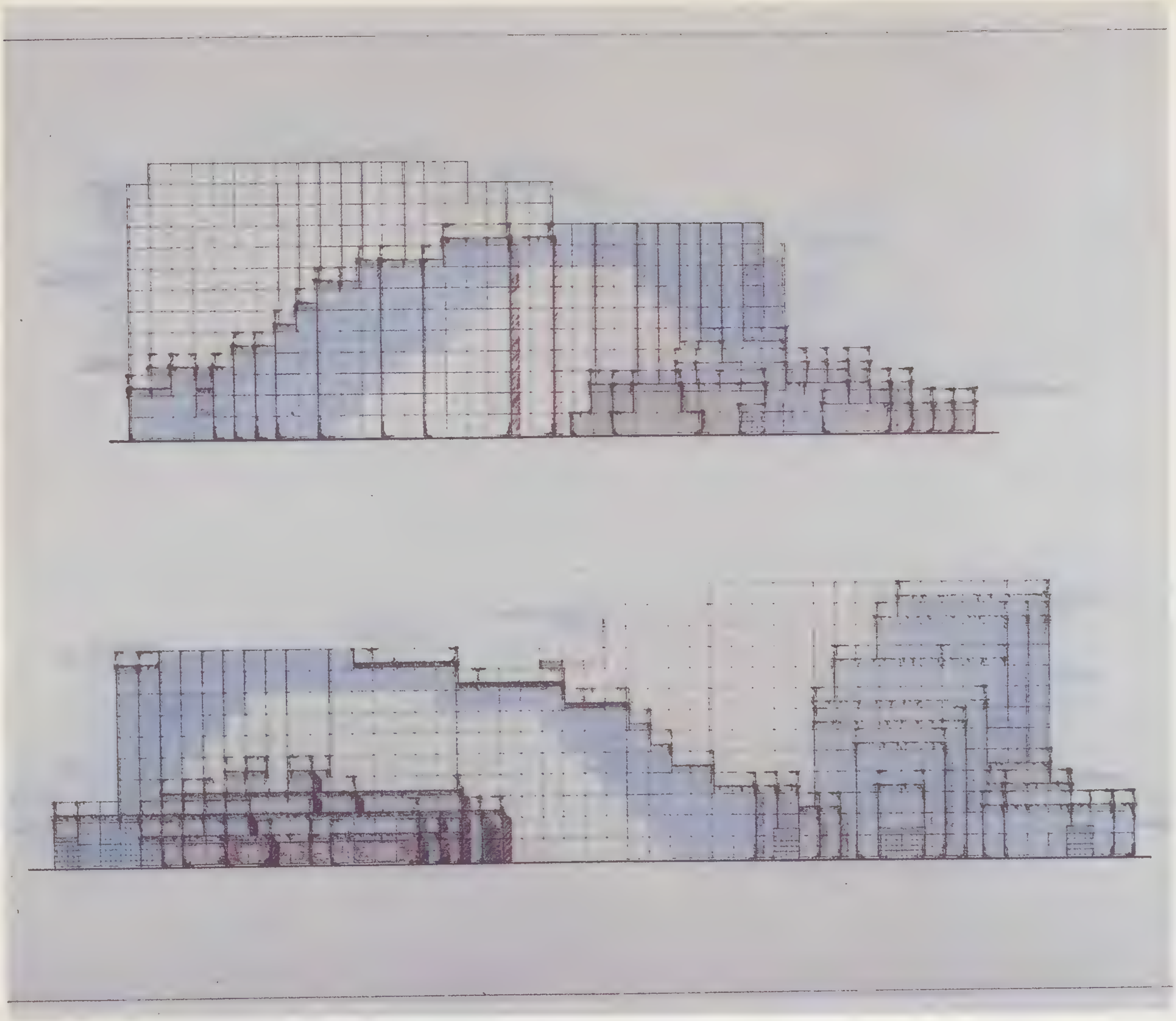
"*Certo, lavorando molto sul progetto, due linee si intersecano: una programmatica, tracciata dalla memoria, dalla ragione, dalla volontà e una decisamente empirica, affidata al tentativo, all'azzardo, all'approfondimento* (...).

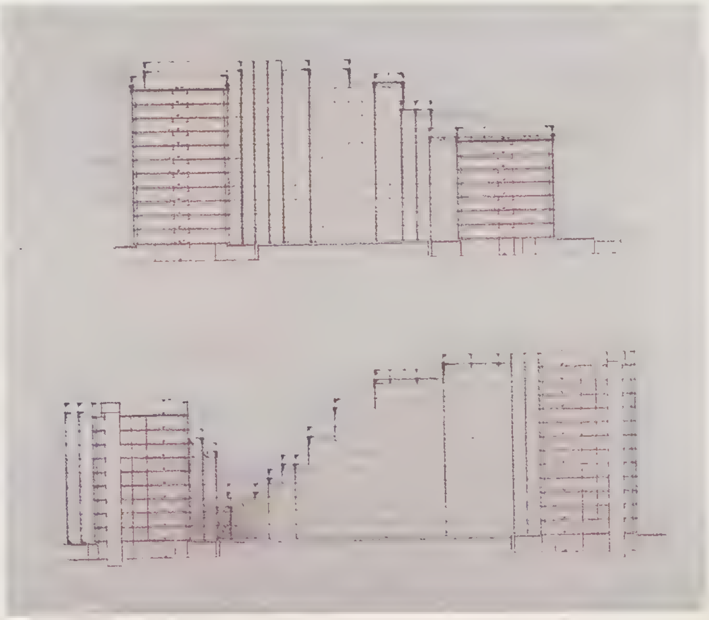
Così ci siamo ritrovati al lavoro, non solo nel nostro studio, ma a San Donato Milanese, nell'intento di preludere al lancio del grande cantiere: già conoscevamo l'ingegnere Paolo Birindelli, perché ci aveva illustrato il tema del concorso a inviti; poi, dopo che la scelta era caduta sul nostro progetto, avevamo ripreso con lui ogni discorso che potesse riguardare il nostro inserimento nell'iniziativa, ed avevamo intessuto scambi fitti e producenti anche con l'ingegnere Gian Franco Scurati, che aveva dimostrato vivace interesse alle nostre prime proposte esecutive.
Il giorno 18 marzo 1987 il Presidente dell'ENI, professore Franco Reviglio, nel Salone del Palazzo Uno dava notizia alle autorità e alla stampa dell'avvio del progetto per il Quinto Palazzo Uffici.
Veniva costituita dalla Snam — su incarico della proprietà Immobiliare Metanopoli — una rete di consulenti, gradualmente innestati nel processo progettuale.
Fra le prime persone che abbiamo incontrato, ricordiamo l'ingegnere Aldo Spirito, che non conoscevamo prima e di cui subito abbiamo ammirato il grande impegno posto nell'affrontare il sistema statico delle costruzioni in progetto: con grande apertura, con geniale interpretazione, ha affrontato con noi tutti i termini del problema, in lunghi, intensi colloqui: lui volto a capire e noi attenti a illustrargli moventi generali, aspetti particolari. Presiedeva quegli incontri l'ingegnere Birindelli, che la Snam aveva frattanto preposto alla direzione del progetto: convinto assertore di una fedeltà intrinseca al nostro progetto iniziale, si impegnava in ogni occasione a fare sì che fosse condotto avanti con assoluta coerenza, sia funzionale, sia tecnologica e impiantistica. I colloqui erano spesso agitati, per l'intreccio delle esigenze, per la molteplicità delle variabili: il *brain*

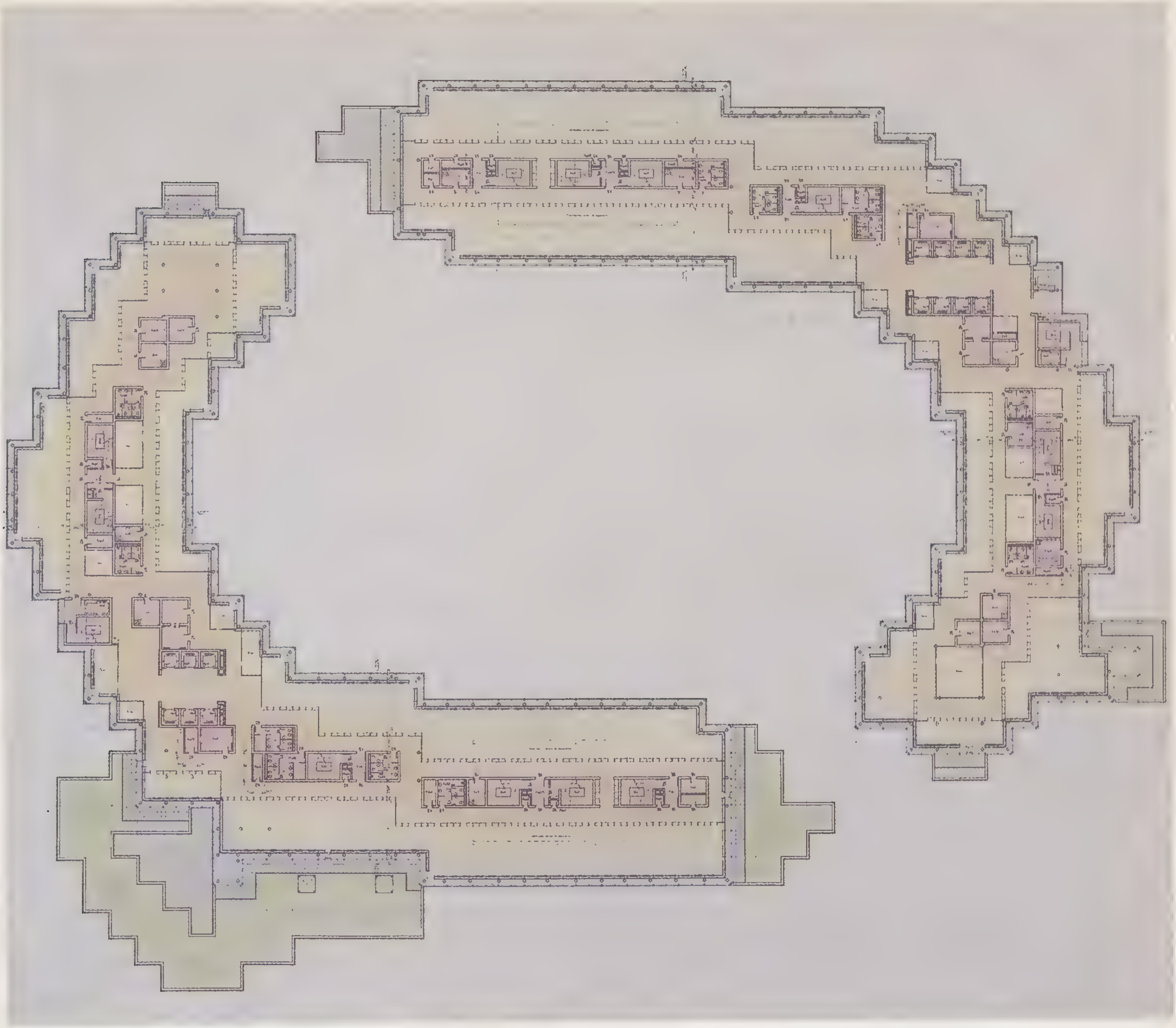
storming delle possibili soluzioni poste sul tappeto si infittiva talora fino a parere inestricabile; e allora lui, con un secco gesto delle braccia, con un metallico suono della voce, imponeva il silenzio, e reimpostava il problema dall'inizio, percorrendone minutamente l'itinerario con sintesi grafiche e verbali. A fianco dell'ingegner Birindelli lavorava, già in quelle prime fasi, con l'appoggio di una lunga esperienza progettuale, con l'apporto di una concretezza significativa, l'architetto Giuseppe Fabroni, e il giovane architetto Felice Pellegatta.
Così, a ritmo veloce, si affacciavano tutti i nodi di un progetto esecutivo estremamente complesso. L'incarico veniva affidato alla Snam Progetti — società di *engineering* del gruppo ENI —: il geometra Gilberto Ferrari e l'architetto Pietro Martini portarono così fin dal principio la concretezza che è essenza di ogni progetto architettonico, una concretezza arricchita da mille esperienze, aperta a nuove sperimentazioni.
Una notevole svolta, nella distribuzione generale dei flussi all'interno dell'edificio, veniva frattanto a prendere corpo, attraverso la consulenza del dottor Discacciati della CRD S.r.l., che per i problemi della prevenzione incendi ha sottoposto i nostri primi schemi a verifiche attente, importanti per gli stessi caratteri distributivi dell'intiero palazzo. Seguiva la consulenza dell'architetto Ornati di Milano, per la verifica delle barriere architettoniche.
Intanto il nostro progetto, già in più fasi illustrato e discusso con l'Amministrazione comunale e con l'Ufficio tecnico di S. Donato Milanese, era pronto, ancora prima che fosse approvato nelle varie sedi competenti il Piano di lottizzazione redatto dagli architetti Bacigalupo, Ratti, Alberti e Matti, che avevano trasferito a livello urbanistico i contenuti della nostra proposta progettuale. E passammo così alla fase esecutiva.
Però, con l'estate-autunno del 1988, alcune cose andavano cambiando: nel mese di agosto era venuto improvvisamente a mancare l'ingegnere Spirito, lasciando tutti noi addetti al progetto del Quinto costernati e addolorati. Dopo qualche tempo gli succedeva lo studio M.P.S. di Milano, per la progettazione delle strutture in c.a.
La progettazione degli impianti elettrici è stata affidata alla Snam Progetti, sotto il coordinamento del perito industriale Armando Zuccoli.
Il tema delle facciate a serra, già ampiamente discusso con la committenza e con gli uffici comunali, riprendeva attualità: si trattava da parte nostra di una indicazione verso il *comfort* dell'ambiente abitato, chiuso da vetrate esterne non fredde, protette appunto dalla serra, e verso l'amenità del luogo di lavoro, affacciato all'esterno con il tramite di alberelli, di rampicanti. Il tema impiantistico assumeva quindi rilievo, dapprima attraverso rapporti con la Ebner Italia S.r.l., incaricata della progettazione degli impianti idrico-sanitari e di condizionamento, e con la consulenza sul risparmio energetico e sul controllo ambientale, affidata all'ingegnere Marco Filippi: il tema degli impianti termici e di condizionamento rimane tuttora punto fondamentale dell'intero progetto; con Filippi, resta in mani scientificamente, tecnologicamente sicure.
Molta curiosità, molto interesse, hanno suscitato in noi alcune consulenze altamente specializzate: come quella dell'Aquater S.p.a. di Pesaro per le indagini geognostiche, e dell'Università di Pavia per le prove di carico sui pilastri cilindrici prefabbricati; e ancora quella della CSTB sulla dinamica del vento all'esterno del guscio costruito e all'interno del cortile-lago, e quella della DEGW diretta da Luigi Mangano sull'organizzazione degli spazi interni, attraverso indagini analitiche estremamente duttili, volte a registrare ricorrenze e discontinuità tipologiche, a valutare temi inerenti i luoghi del lavoro secondo quantificazioni però attente ai fenomeni qualitativi — dell'ambiente di lavoro — non solo dal punto di vista del *comfort* ambientale, ma più generalmente della qualità della vita; e infine, per il settore delle mense-cucina e servizi annessi, della Conal S.r.l. di Milano.
Il problema dei giardini è stato assunto dalla Snam al proprio

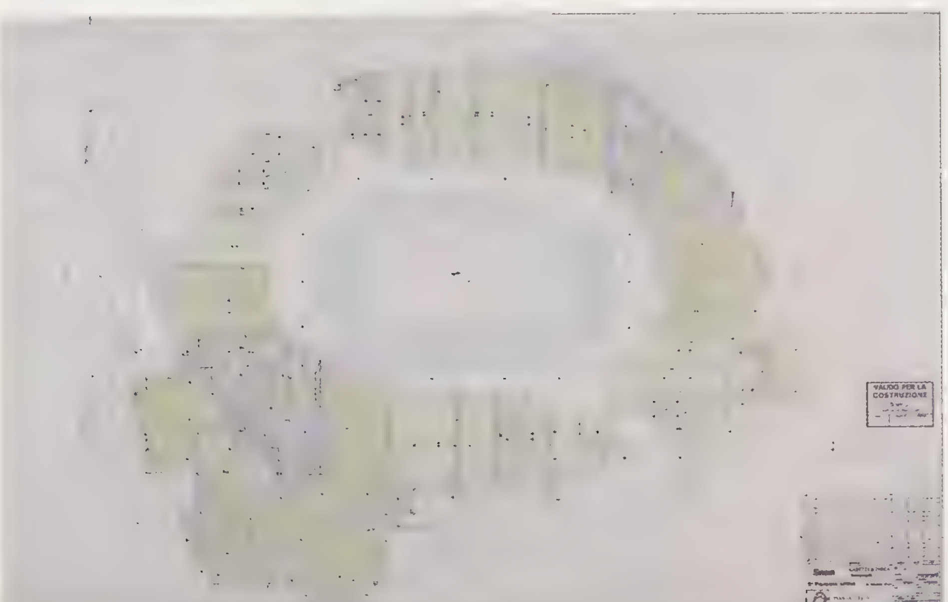


Particolare del prospetto con la "serra" e i terrazzi-giardino del progetto esecutivo.







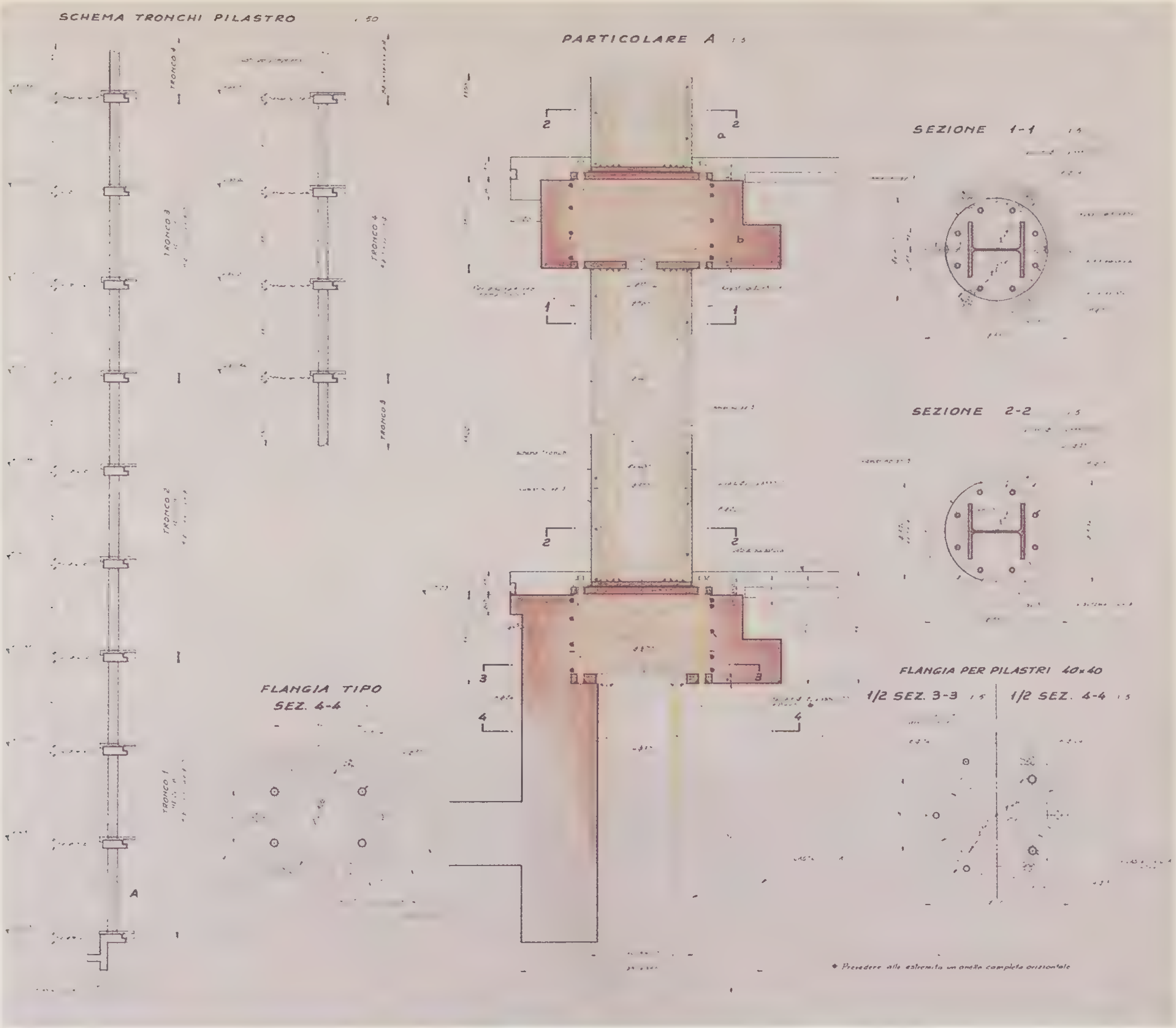


Prospetti sud e ovest e sezioni trasversale e longitudinale del progetto per la concessione edilizia.
Piante del terzo piano e delle coperture del progetto esecutivo.

interno: i primi colloqui per l'impostazione del tema sono stati tenuti con il perito agrario Marco Raja.
Ma in autunno, quando si era oramai avviati all'apertura del cantiere — con l'inserimento costante, in ogni fase di raccordo con il progetto, dell'ingegnere Luca Terzaghi, che già aveva lavorato a fianco dell'architetto Felice Pellegatta —, la Snam decideva una serie di avvicendamenti importanti: l'ingegnere Vito Michele Jacovone veniva chiamato ad assumere l'incarico che era stato fino allora dell'ingegnere Birindelli, chiamato a sua volta ad altre responsabilità: e con lui lasciava il campo del nostro progetto l'architetto Giambattista Frigoli, sostituito poi dall'ingegnere Marco Airaghi. Le consegne, avvenute attraverso graduati passaggi di informazioni e di ruoli, avvennero senza traumi: ne va il merito, oltre che all'ingegnere Jacovone, anche a tutti quei tecnici che in vari ruoli erano già presenti nello *staff* che aveva lavorato al progetto con l'ingegnere Birindelli, e ancora alla chiarezza con cui questi aveva condotto fino ad allora il progetto, rendendo sintetica ogni informazione inerente.
Lo *staff* originario veniva anzi allargato gradualmente per le ulteriori competenze di volta in volta emergenti, in quanto necessarie: ora era l'ingegnere Jacovone a dirigerlo e ad attuarlo — con puntuali domande, con specifiche osservazioni —, e ancora a dargli contributi progettuali concreti, radicati da una lunga esperienza nella conduzione di grandi edifici per uffici, come quelli che la Snam aveva costruito nell'area di Metanopoli. L'ingegnere Scurati, che aveva visto germogliare il nostro progetto e che aveva secondato la nascita delle prime foglie/fogli del progetto, divenuto Presidente dell'Immobiliare Metanopoli, seguiva l'elevarsi a diverse quote di altezza di quella selva — di pilastri — che prometteva di contenere i 63.000 metri quadri utili promessi. L'ingegnere Goffredo Giuliani, Direttore generale delle attività immobiliari Snam, assicurava, con la sua autorevolezza, che ogni nostro incastro di apporti tecnici specialistici fosse coerente con le previsioni: così che il Presidente Snam, ingegnere Pio Pigorini, sapesse che *tout va très bien* in generale, e che le difficoltà erano superate con le convergenti volontà delle competenze, delle forze applicate.
Il nostro studio — da quella prima lettera di invito al concorso, datata 18 luglio 1985, fino ad oggi — manteneva la sua organizzazione e consistenza: noi due, Gabetti e Isola, come capo-fila, e al nostro fianco, come da decenni, Guido Drocco; e poi Sebastiano Battiato, che per il progetto del Quinto costituiva un riferimento continuativo, anche rispetto ai suoi colleghi di studio Armando Baietto e Giuseppe Bianco — cui si aggiungevano talora altri collaboratori.
Oggi ci ritroviamo ancora, ma a scandenze meno fitte, attorno al tavolo rotondo di quel salotto del Quarto Palazzo Uffici, che ci aveva raccolto tante volte in ordinate, animate sedute; l'ingegnere Jacovone ci interroga, su argomenti più sottili: non si tratta ormai più di strutture, ma di opere di finitura, di decorazione, non solo degli uffici, atrii, mense, sala conferenze, ma speriamo ancor sempre di quanto altro renda completo questo nostro amatissimo Quinto.
Oggi ci ritroviamo ancora in cantiere, tutti in fila, con l'elmetto in testa; ci fa da guida l'ingegnere Terzaghi, affiancato dai geometri Malinverno della Snam e Guffanti della Snam Progetti; e l'architetto Pellegatta fa notare le congruenze fra progetto ed esecuzione, e chiede ulteriori specificazioni, spesso ormai date lì, di fronte a chi le esegue, con parole, con gesti: i disegni seguiranno a ruota.
Ogni volta, tornando a casa la sera, da San Donato Milanese a Torino, nella nebbia della pianura, ci sentiamo "stanchi ma felici": come si diceva in casa, nel vecchio Piemonte, per prendere un po' in giro chi aveva lavorato sul serio.

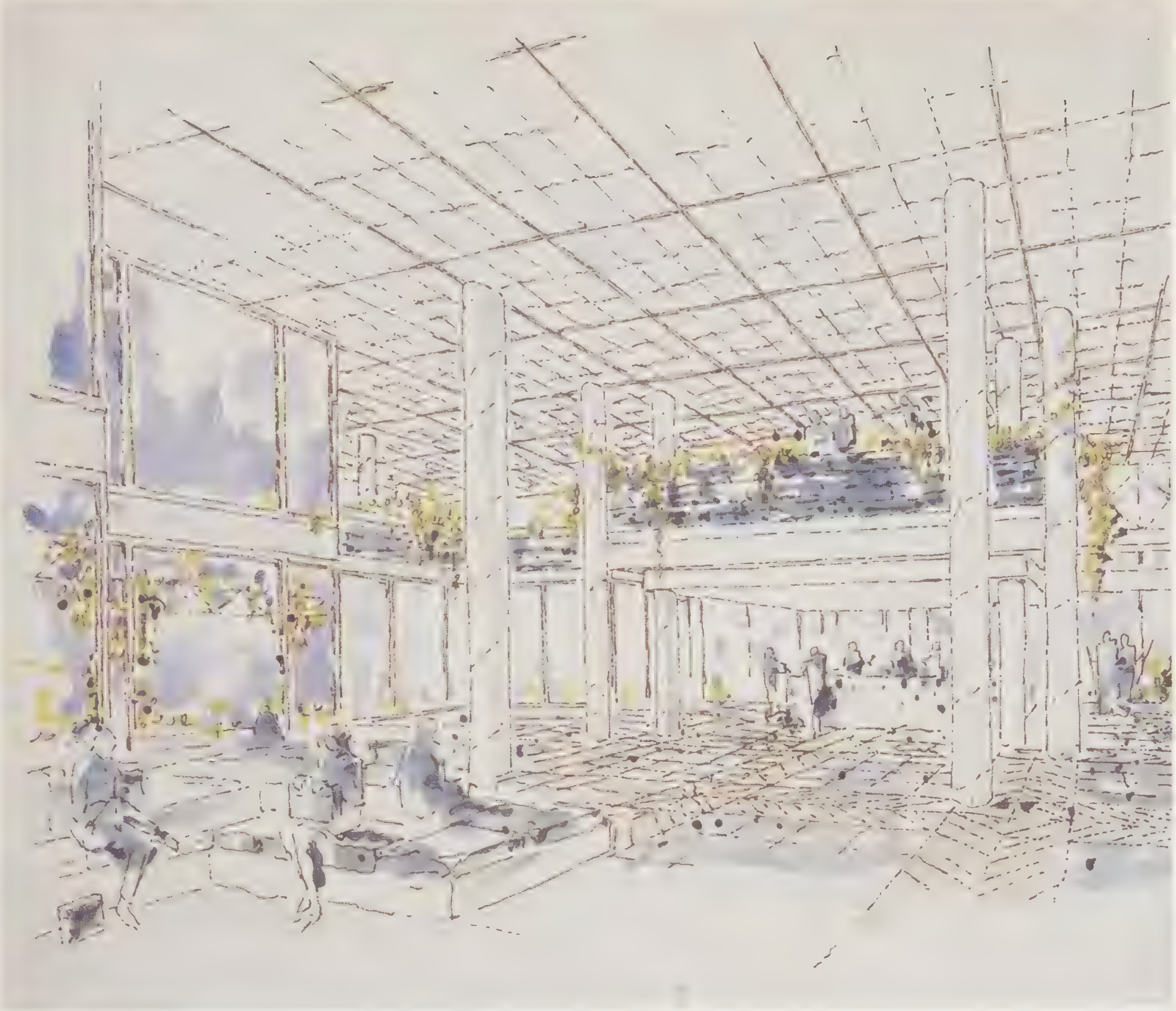
1) *Nessun tema è così difficile da non poter essere risolto*, in *L'architettura italiana oggi. Racconto di una generazione*, a cura di Giorgio Ciucci, Laterza, Bari 1989, p. 108.







Particolare della pianta del secondo piano del progetto esecutivo (zona mensa) e dettagli costruttivi della colonna prefabbricata di facciata. Vista di una colonna di facciata in costruzione.
Foto S. Topuntoli.

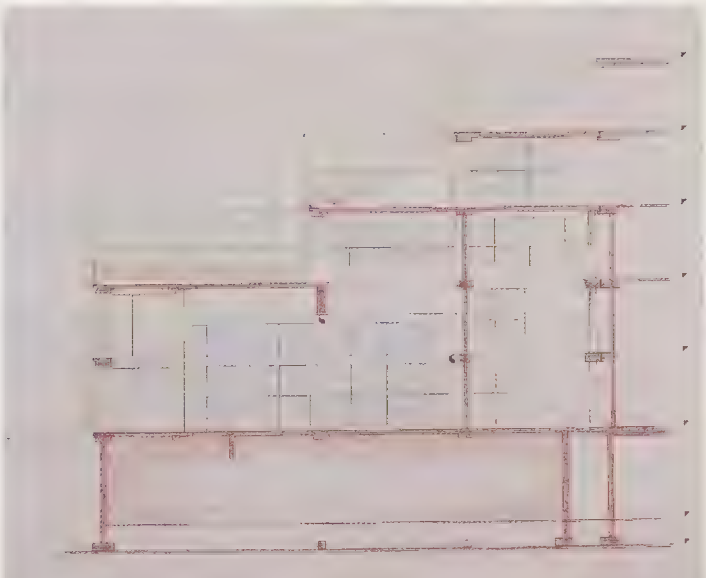


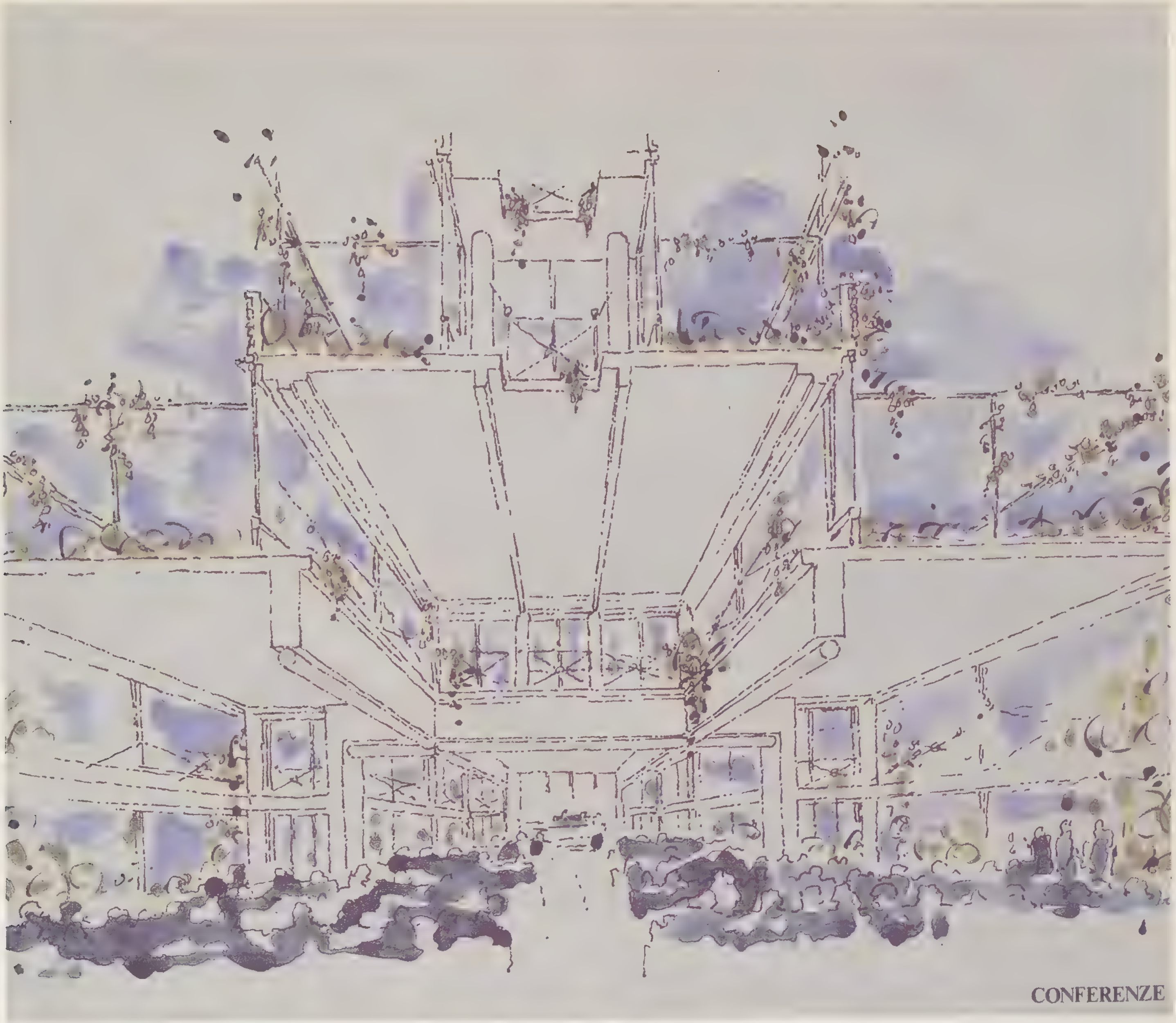
Prospettiva e vista di cantiere dell'atrio di ingresso.
Foto S. Topuntoli.
Particolare della pianta del piano terra del progetto esecutivo (zona atrio e sala conferenze).









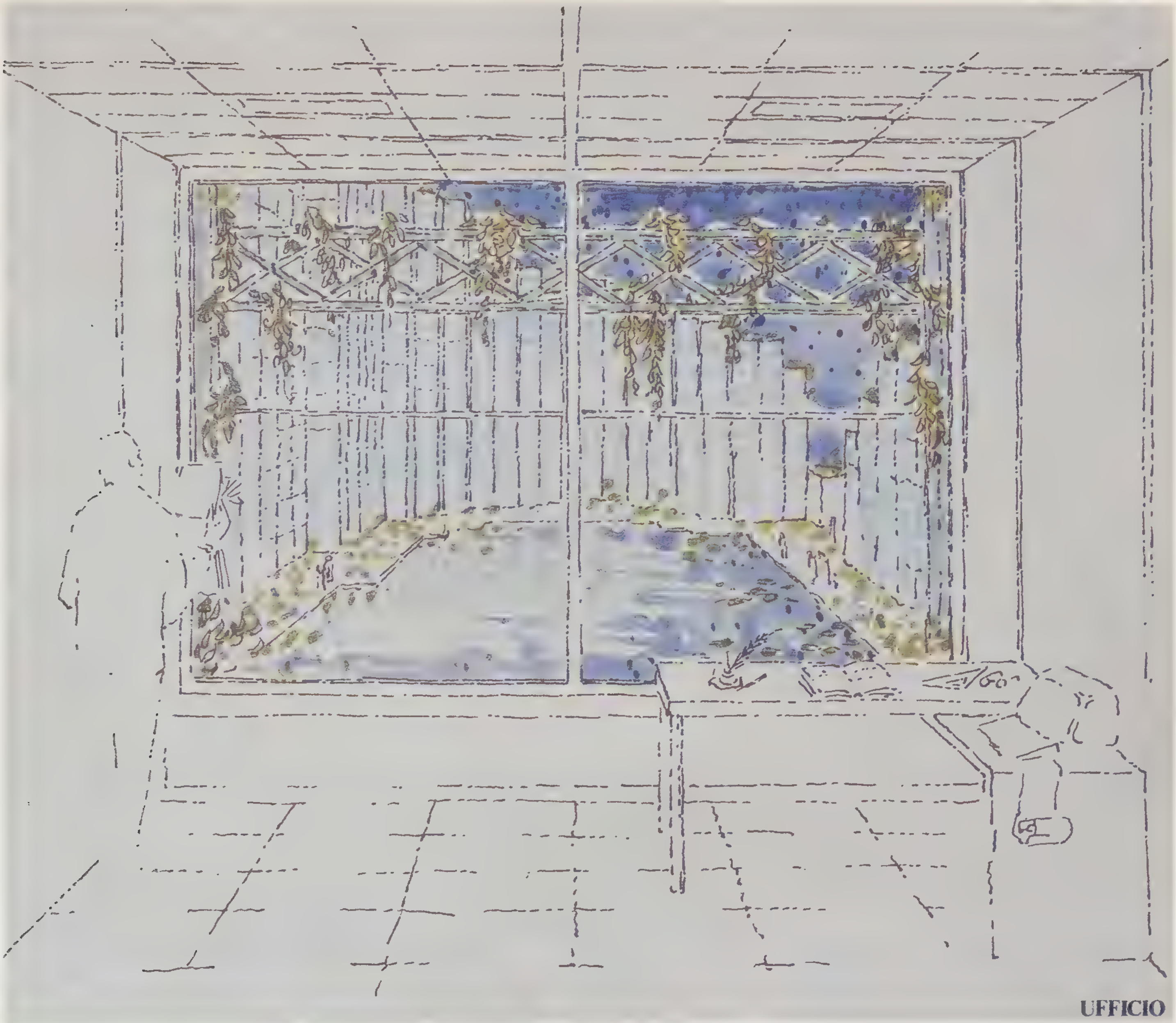


Vista di cantiere, prospettiva e sezione della sala conferenze. Foto S. Topuntoli.





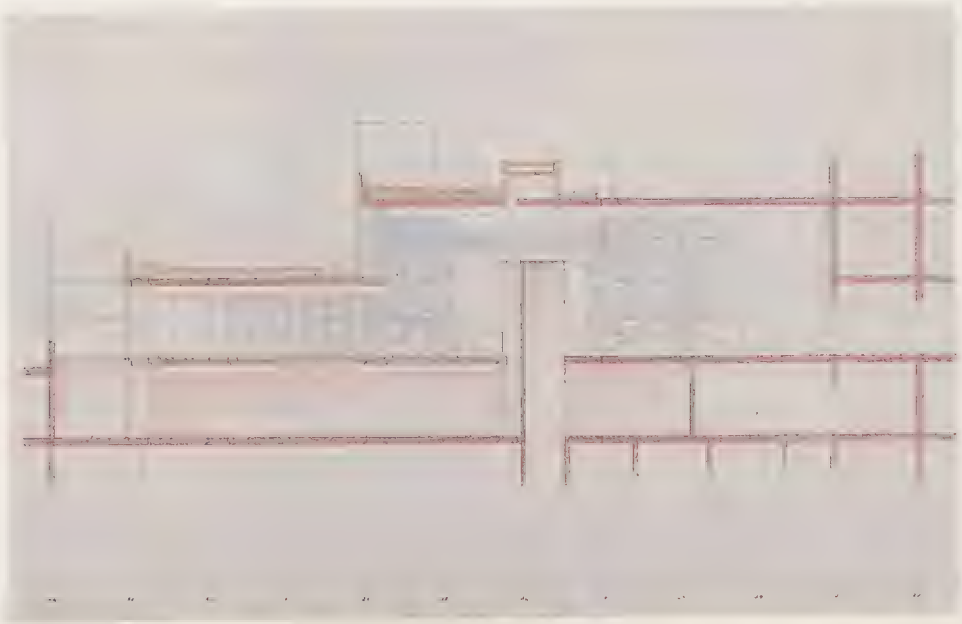






Viste esterna e interna del prototipo di cantiere della facciata a "serra". Sezione e prospettiva interna di un ufficio e vista di cantiere di un piano tipo. Foto S. Topuntoli.


MENSA







Prospettiva e sezione della mensa. Viste da sud e da sudest del cantiere dell'edificio in costruzione. Foto S. Topuntoli.

Facoltà di architettura a Genova

1979-89

Ignazio Gardella

Collaborazione al progetto esecutivo: Mario Valle Engineering SpA
Assistente alla direzione architettonica: Angela Malaponti (MVE)
Rappresentazione grafica: Giampiero Peia
Direzione lavori: Piero Guerrini
Impresa concessionaria per la costruzione: SCI Spa, Genova



Vista da nordest, dalla torre scenica del Teatro Carlo Felice.
Foto S. Topuntoli.

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Foto S. Topuntoli.

Ignazio Gardella e Silvano Larini, Piano Particolareggiato della zona di San Donato e San Silvestro nel centro storico di Genova, 1972, con J. Gardella, G. Nardi, D. Vitale. In questa pagina: veduta del modello e planivolumetria generale: 1) nuovo edificio della Facoltà di architettura; 2) Convento delle Monache di Pisa; 3) Chiesa di Santa Maria in Passione; 4) Piazza Sarzano; 5) Chiesa di San Salvatore; 6) Piazza Sant'Agostino; 7) Chiesa di Sant'Agostino; 8) Chiesa di San Donato; 9) Porta Soprana; 10) Parco delle mura. Nella pagina a fronte: foto aerea zenitale con l'area del Piano Particolareggiato; veduta del modello; vista dell'area col nuovo edificio della Facoltà di architettura. Foto S. Topuntoli.



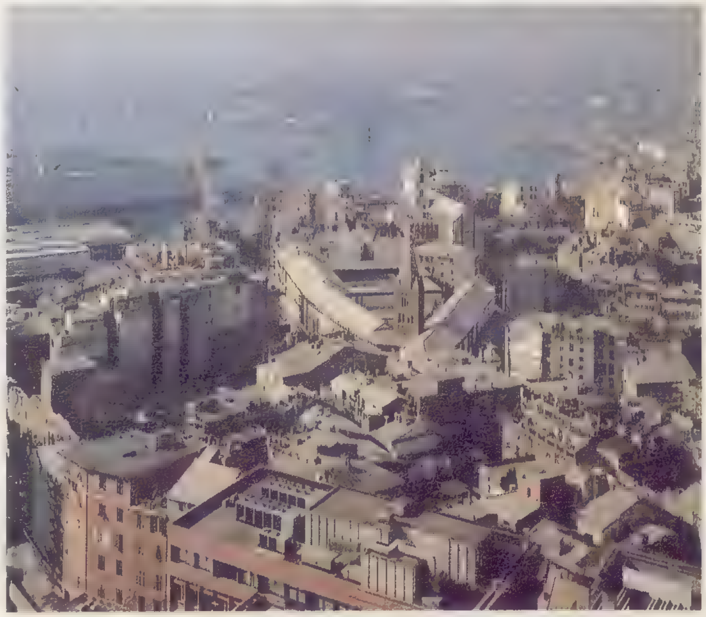


Il nuovo edificio della Facoltà di architettura a Genova
Dialogo tra Ignazio Gardella e Daniele Vitale

D.V. La nuova sede della Facoltà di architettura di Genova sorge nel centro storico, sulla collina detta di Sarzano o di San Silvestro, in una posizione dominante la città. È costituita da pochi volumi netti, sovrapposti al versante e alla cima del rilievo. Ma quel rilievo è anche un luogo di insediamento antichissimo: è probabilmente il nucleo originario della città, ricco di tracce romane e preromane, diventato nel Seicento una zona appartata di conventi e sconvolto dai bombardamenti dell'ultima guerra. Coincide oggi con una zona di rovine, con uno dei grandi vuoti rimasti nel cuore del centro storico. Qual è il rapporto del progetto con il luogo e con gli edifici superstiti?
I.G. Le scelte del progetto derivano da quelle del Piano particolareggiato per le zone di San Silvestro e San Donato che l'Amministrazione comunale mi aveva affidato e al quale avevamo lavorato insieme all'inizio degli anni Settanta[1]. Le devastazioni portate dalla guerra e dalle demolizioni successive erano radicali. Non avrebbe avuto alcun senso, ma neppure alcuna possibilità, una ricostruzione "dov'era com'era". Così la scelta del Piano è stata di ricostruire tenendo conto della struttura topografica e di certi caratteri d'assieme della zona. Essi venivano ripresi e reinterpretati sul piano del progetto. Veniva in particolare ripreso il movimento "ascensionale" dell'architettura verso la cima del colle, che ha sempre costituito uno degli aspetti più marcati e più carichi di suggestione di questa parte di città. Preesistenze non erano solo i muri o i corpi di fabbrica superstiti, ma anche le direzioni e le giaciture, i sedimi degli edifici distrutti, i condomini ricostruiti. Preesistenza era il bombardamento stesso, e non necessariamente preesistenza negativa, in quanto, al di là del disastro, esso configurava un'occasione.
D.V. La struttura topografica della collina era costituita da un percorso più o meno ellittico, che correva lungo la base del rilievo, e da una "croce" di percorsi tracciati nel suo interno[2]. Ma ad essa si è sovrapposto con il tempo un sistema stratificato di interventi che ha modificato il rapporto tra gli edifici e le pendenze del terreno. Questo rapporto a Genova, e qui in particolare, non è mai naturalistico o di "integrazione", ma costruttivo e basato su una forte volontà di figurazione: un insieme di terrapieni, di percorsi incisi, di edifici incombenti, che diventano l'immagine del luogo come luogo arroccato e silenzioso. Sia nel vecchio Piano che nell'edificio appena terminato, le nuove immagini si sono costruite esplicitamente a partire da quelle antiche. Il tuo edificio è formato da un corpo minore di pianta trapezia, sulla cui copertura se ne impianta un altro parallelepipedo che scavalca la strada e la collina. Questi volumi sono prepotenti, massicci, hanno grande forza d'urto e ridisegnano il colle. Mi sembra questo il pregio principale del progetto. Ma quanto la forza del gesto ha sostituito un'articolazione di spazi e una stratificazione di cose che era un tempo enormemente più complessa? Quanto era inevitabile questa semplificazione?







I.G. Non si può dimenticare che l'edificio costruito era parte di un Piano più vasto che non ha trovato attuazione. Se si fossero realizzati gli altri edifici, e con essi gli spazi pubblici, i giardini, le piazze incise, e se si fossero contemporaneamente restaurati gli isolati antichi e i monumenti, l'articolazione del luogo sarebbe stata molto più grande e ricca. Il mio edificio è come un pezzo isolato, isolato in mezzo alle rovine e al degrado del centro storico. Ma al di là di queste considerazioni, è anche vero che un nuovo progetto non può riprodurre la complessità di stratificazioni e di rapporti che si è sedimentata in tanti secoli. La complessità è andata perduta, ma questo è anche il risultato delle ferite del bombardamento, che non potranno mai essere interamente rimarginate; possono diventare solo lo spunto per creare una situazione diversa.

D.V. Sia il Piano che il progetto si basavano su un disegno insediativo rispetto al centro storico, cioè sull'idea di trasferirvi una parte importante dell'Università. Quanto ha influito questo disegno sulle scelte concrete? Quanto ha pesato l'occasione funzionale e quanto il progetto è nato invece da una considerazione più generale e autonoma della città? D'altronde il Piano si è realizzato in modo limitato rispetto alle intenzioni originarie. Come giudichi questa vicenda?

I.G. Ancor oggi, a distanza di tanti anni, considero la scelta di insediare alcune facoltà universitarie nel centro storico come una scelta del tutto felice: un progetto di grande scala, uno dei pochi proposti in Italia, in grado di promuovere il riscatto e la trasformazione della città antica, senza per questo contraddire la sua vocazione residenziale. Di qui l'impostazione del Piano, che recuperava interi palazzi ed isolati e costituiva nelle zone distrutte un insieme integrato di spazi pubblici e di edifici, di piazze e di terrazzamenti, legando l'adattamento o la trasformazione del vecchio alla costruzione del nuovo.

Ma come spesso accade, il progetto si è perduto nei meandri della burocrazia e nelle indecisioni della politica; una parte importante del Piano particolareggiato è decaduta, lasciando spazio all'affacciarsi di proposte di parte privata e di carattere speculativo.

Il solo comparto che si è realizzato coincide con il mio edificio, mentre a un comparto adiacente, prevalentemente di restauro, sta lavorando l'ingegner Luciano Grossi Bianchi. Sulle altre aree del colle di San Silvestro il Piano è vigente, ma non mi sembra vi sia l'intenzione di portarlo avanti. Le sistemazioni realizzate accanto all'edificio sono provvisorie e tali rischiano di rimanere, mentre non si parla di costruire la piazza ribassata, incisa nel terreno, che era prevista verso nord e che a me pare coerente con quanto si è fatto sinora. Personalmente non potrei che confermare le scelte del Piano, anche perché esso aveva una sua capacità di adattamento e prevedeva dei margini di elasticità nelle quote e negli allineamenti.

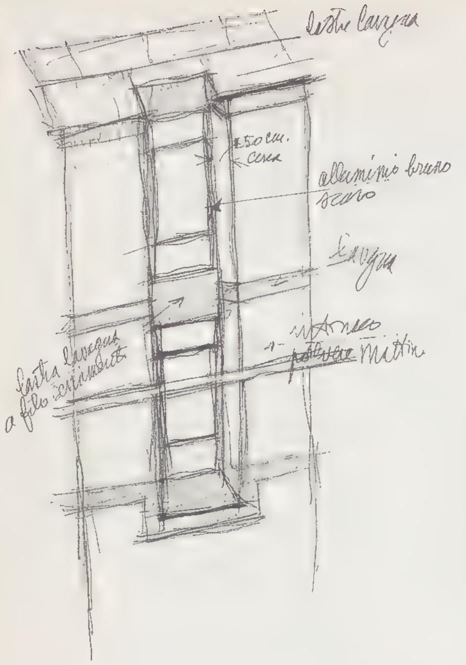
Ma per quanto esso dovesse regolare l'insediamento dell'Università, i suoi criteri di scelta erano essenzialmente urbani: era compatibile con le esigenze delle facoltà, ma non derivava da esse sul piano formale.

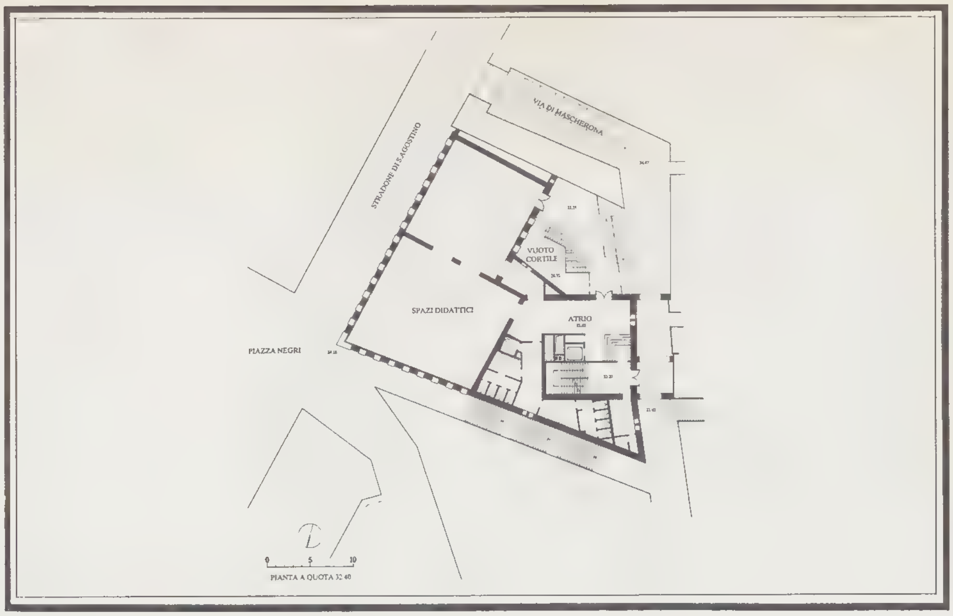


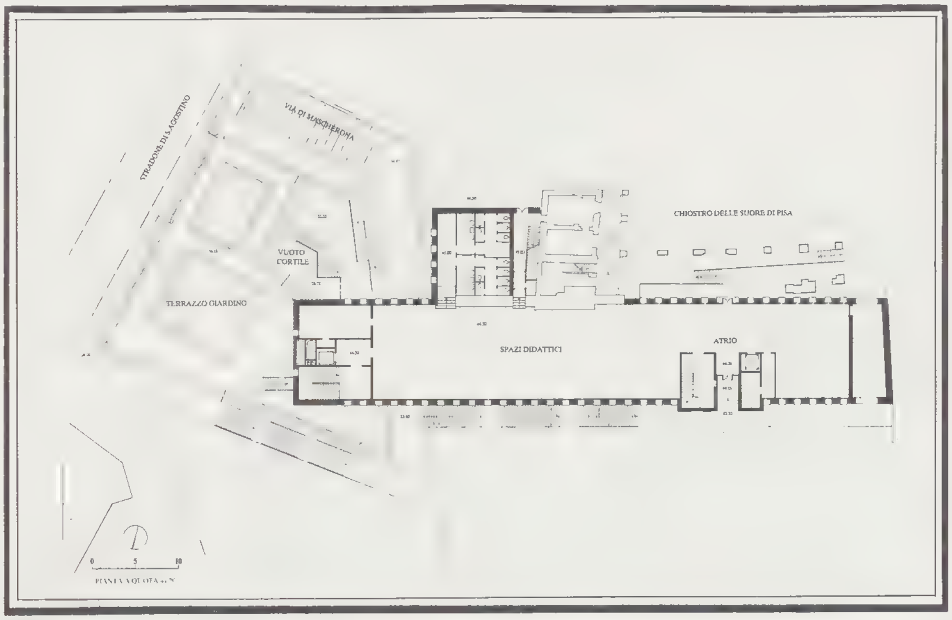


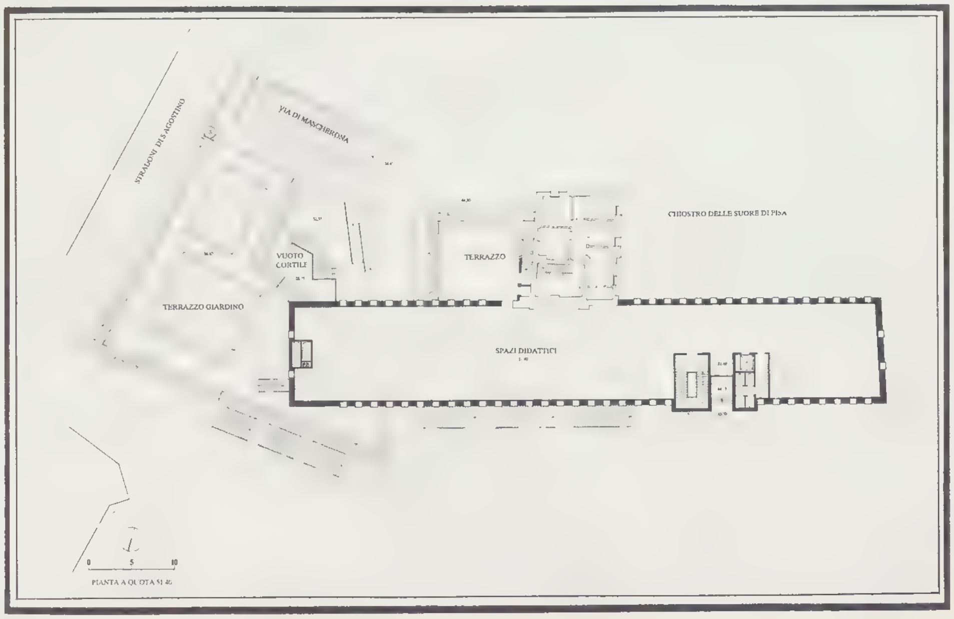


D.V. È vero che la realizzazione è limitata, ma data la situazione, si può già considerare una conquista che si sia costruito un solo grande edificio. Anche perché l'edificio, malgrado le circostanze, "regge" da solo ed è diventato un riferimento urbano, elemento di una triangolazione di vasta scala tra luoghi e monumenti della città. Ha istituito un rapporto preciso con Santa Maria di Carignano e col Carlo Felice, con San Lorenzo e con certi palazzi e certe chiese.
I.G. Però se il Piano fosse stato realizzato sarebbe stato diverso, e questa parte di Genova avrebbe assunto grande valore, svolgendo un ruolo di riqualificazione di tutta la città: il colle di San Silvestro sarebbe diventato quasi una nuova "cittadella", ed anche il "dialogo a distanza" tra i maggiori edifici urbani sarebbe stato più ricco e più complesso.
D.V. Come vedi il tuo edificio rispetto a quello progettato subito dopo la guerra per il colle di Sarzano da Luigi Carlo Daneri? Ti propongo questo confronto perché so che anche tu hai sempre apprezzato l'architettura di Daneri e perché mi sembra interessante ragionare sul senso delle differenze e delle somiglianze. Daneri costruiva la sede di una scuola, e lo faceva proponendo un volume netto e forte. In comune col tuo progetto v'è forse la forza del gesto, la precisione della scelta. Ma il suo rapporto con il luogo era diverso, meno letterale e meno vincolato alla conformazione topografica ed edilizia della zona. D'altronde Daneri ha sempre avuto, anche in altri progetti, un rapporto con il problema delle pendenze e del rilievo molto più immaginato ed inventato, molto più slegato dalla tradizione di quello che hai avuto tu. Penso anche alla sua opera più famosa e popolare, il quartiere del Forte di Quezzi, con la soluzione dei corpi lunghi che seguono le curve di livello, così forte sul piano dell'immagine, ma anche così inedita rispetto alla storia di Genova. Anche a Sarzano il suo atteggiamento è simile: come se l'immagine e l'ordine della nuova architettura si imponessero con maggiore libertà e maggiore autonomia, potendo prescindere da certi dati che tu hai considerato come vincoli[3].
I.G. Daneri era un architetto molto bravo, forse il migliore a Genova tra quelli della nostra generazione, e ha fatto alcuni edifici molto belli, come quelli nella zona della Foce. Ma a San Silvestro penso che la mia scelta sia stata più giusta. Credo che sia stato giusto costruire il nuovo edificio sul sedime di quello più antico, non per qualche malintesa nostalgia, o per una forma di rispetto pedissequa e alla fine stupida se la si misura con la devastazione della zona; ma perché sulla collina persisteva una serie di rapporti tra gli edifici, le vedute, le giaciture, che non si poteva totalmente contraddire. C'è una situazione che non può essere semplicisticamente cancellata, ma che va raccolta e reinterpretata, facendola diventare la base e lo spunto del progetto. La situazione non è quella di 2000 anni fa, come pretenderebbe qualche archeologo o qualche storico, ma quella che abbiamo trovato facendo il Piano, con le sue rovine e le sue cattive ricostruzioni. D'altronde, anche il modo dell'architettura genovese di legarsi al monte e alle inclinazioni del suolo, è così ricco di soluzioni e così pieno di fascino, che non si può che partire da lì, e farne il punto di partenza di una nuova architettura.
D.V. L'edificio è costituito da volumi compatti, ma è anche "vibrante" nelle sue superfici. I fianchi sono definiti da una serie di piloni verticali alternati a dei tagli finestrati profondi e stretti. Questi tagli coincidono con zone d'ombra e creano un ritmo molto fitto. Che significato ha questa scelta compositiva?
I.G. La struttura è costituita da un telaio in cemento armato con pilastri, travi e solai realizzati in opera. I pilastri sono stati disposti lungo il perimetro esterno, così da lasciare completamente libero lo spazio interno ai diversi piani. Le finestrature sono state disposte lungo il filo interno dei pilastri, creando delle fasce verticali e una alternanza modulare che si ripetono uguali su tutti i fronti, come se si trattasse di un *curtain-wall*; ma diversamente che in un *curtain-wall*, la parete conserva consistenza materica e si basa su un gioco di luci ed ombre.
Le finestrature verticali non interrompono la continuità, ma conferiscono alla parete una forte vibrazione luminosa. D'altronde questa vibrazione deve trovare dei punti di sosta, delle zone "piene" che la interrompano e che restituiscano al volume la sua solidità, e ciò avviene in corrispondenza delle testate e di alcuni nodi della distribuzione interna: così due "torri" poste sul fianco settentrionale contengono la scala e l'ascensore, ma inquadrano anche l'ingresso principale da Piazza San Silvestro. Gli angoli tra i fianchi e le testate sono pieni. Anche il campanile di San Silvestro con il corpo annesso restaurato, diventano dei punti di interruzione del ritmo delle facciate. In questo trattamento plastico dei muri, che li riduce a sistema di aggetti e di rientranze, di luci e d'ombre, c'è un riferimento diretto all'architettura genovese, che è sempre stata architettura di volumi, lontana dal pittoricismo di città come Venezia.
In realtà, penso ai pilastri come a contrafforti e al mio edificio quasi come a un edificio "gotico". Il carattere gotico sta nella verticalità, nella speronatura potente che percorre i fianchi. Ma sta anche nel contorno del tetto, che non termina con una linea orizzontale continua, ma con una linea spezzata che segue i volumi sottostanti. Una chiusura verticale ferma, realizzata attraverso la cornice, è tipica ad esempio del Cinquecento genovese; una costruzione sfrangiata o "dentellata" della linea di gronda o "linea di cielo", è tipica dell'architettura gotica. Anche la chiesa di San Silvestro aveva origini gotiche, pur essendo stata trasformata in edificio "barocco". Ovviamente, il termine "gotico" va inteso qui in modo tutt'altro che letterale, in senso allusivo. Il mio edificio è gotico nel momento in cui vuol essere a pieno titolo un edificio del nostro tempo.
D.V. Questa lettura di Genova come "città gotica", o nella quale il gotico costituisce un aspetto decisivo, ha precedenti illustri. Non penso genericamente alla cultura eclettica e alla sua reinvenzione della città, ma in particolare ad Alfredo D'Andrade e ai suoi restauri a Santo Stefano, a Porta Soprana, a Palazzo San Giorgio, agli edifici su cui è intervenuto nella regione, come Sant'Andrea di Levanto o San Paragorio di Noli.

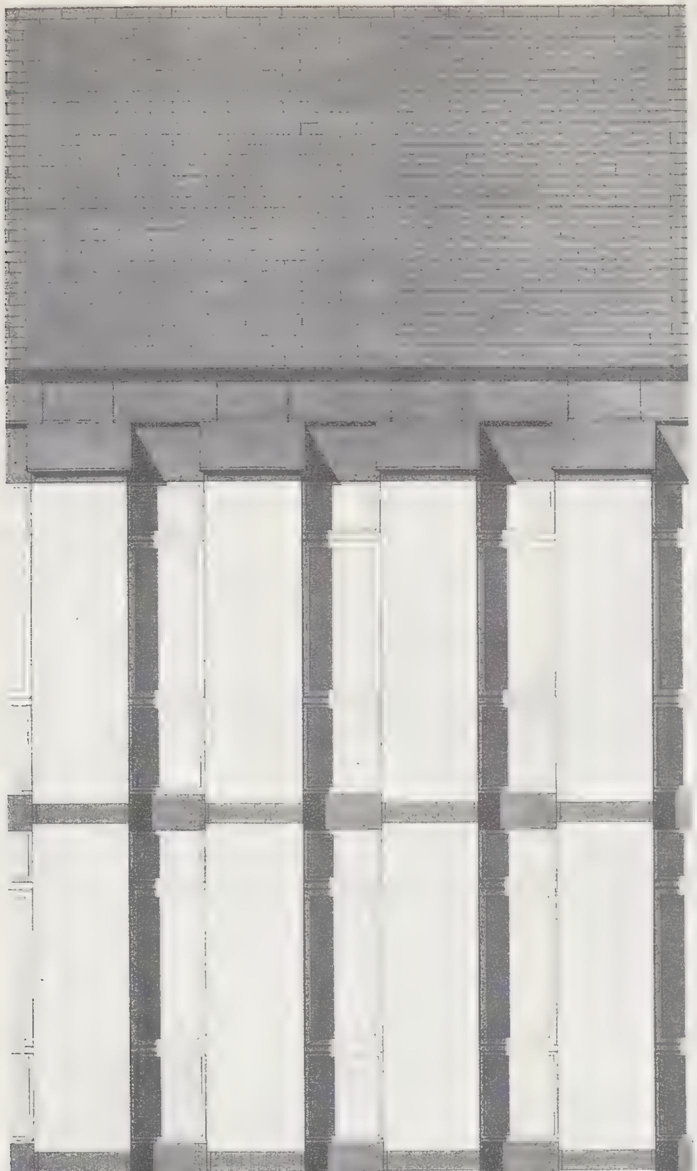


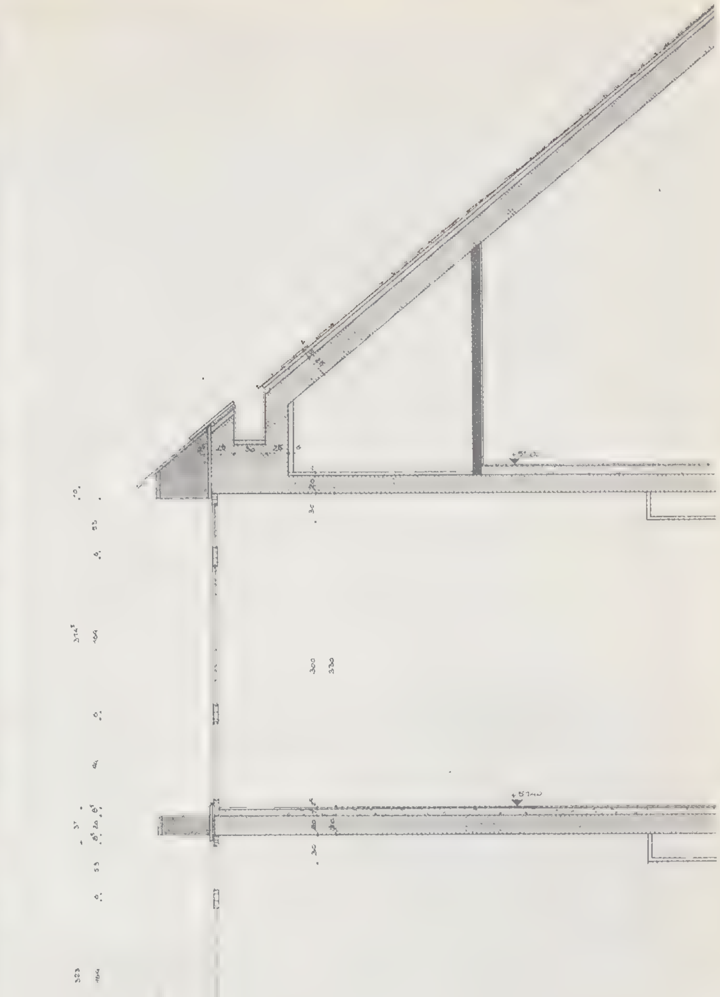




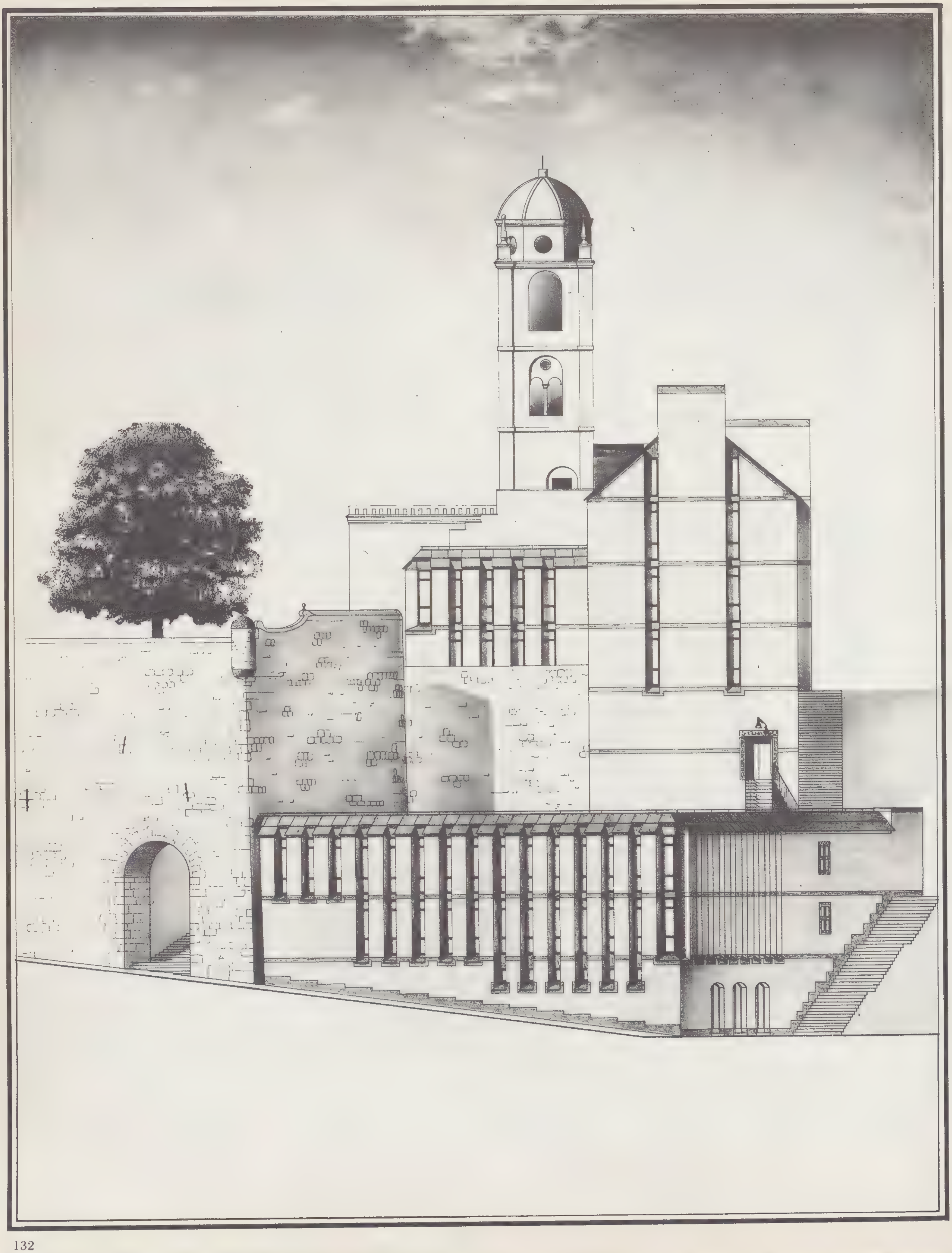


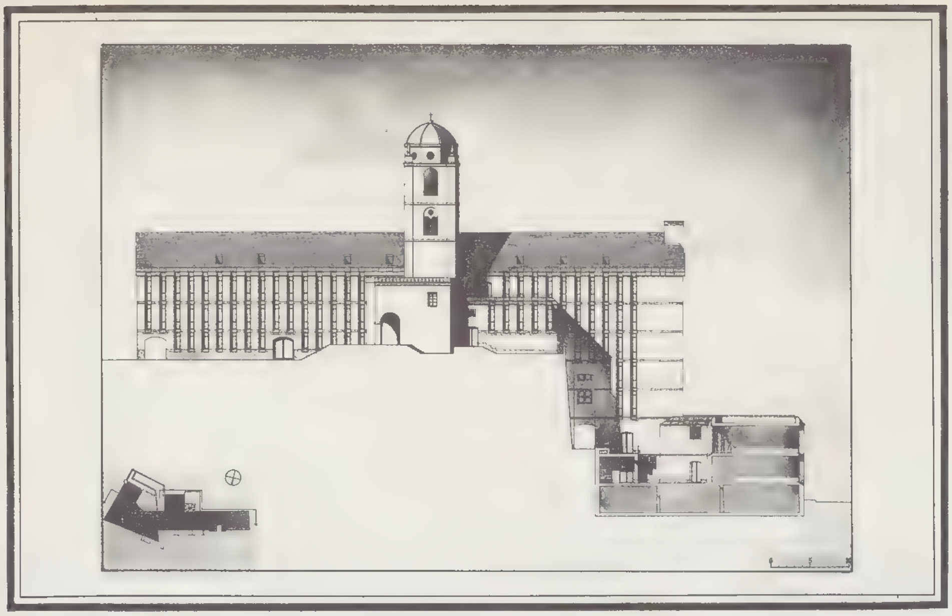
Schizzo di studio.
Piante del terzo livello del corpo basso e del primo e del terzo livello del corpo principale.
Dettagli costruttivi della facciata.
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Vista da nordest dell'area prima dell'intervento; vista da ovest della Chiesa di Sant'Agostino; vista da ovest dell'area prima dell'intervento.

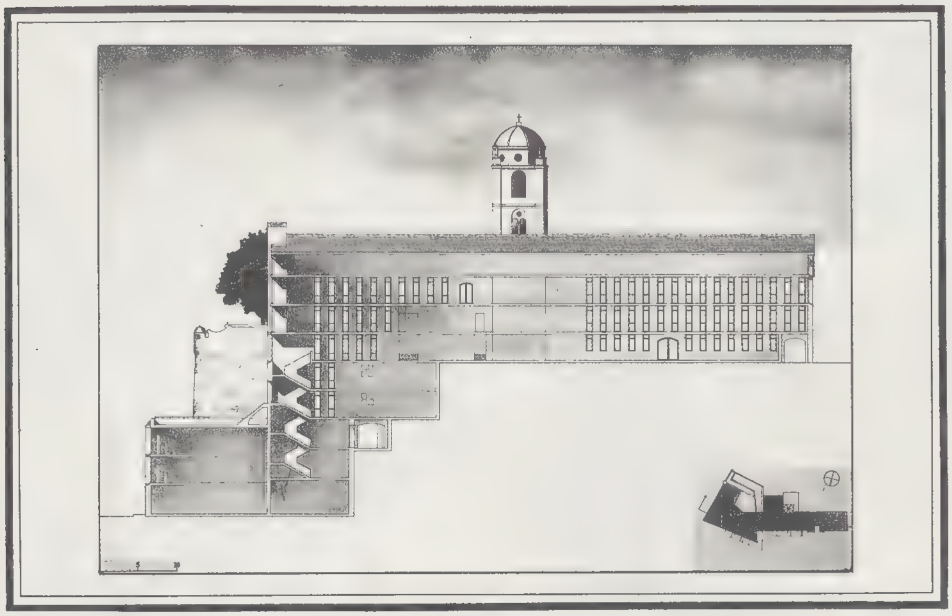


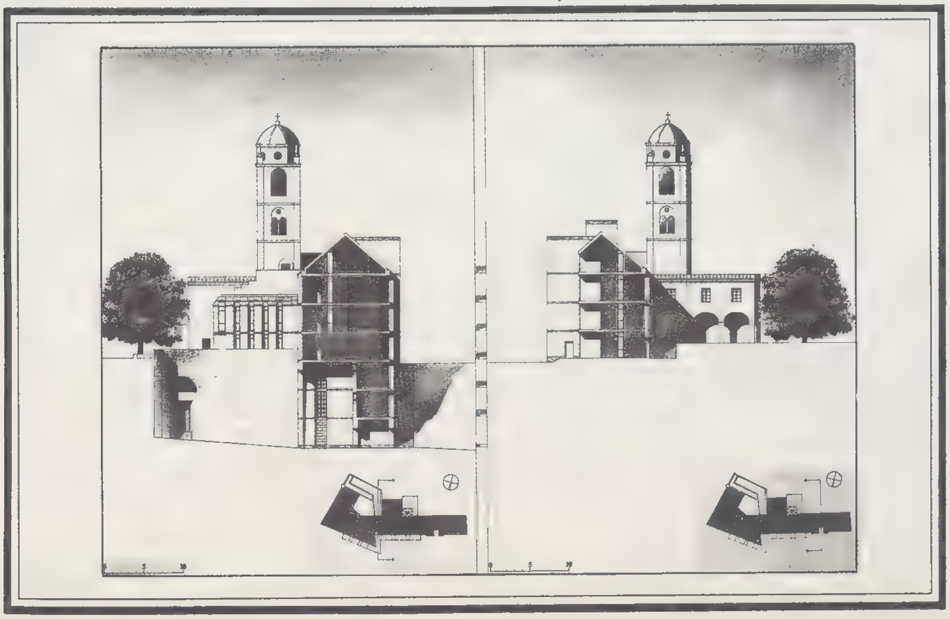


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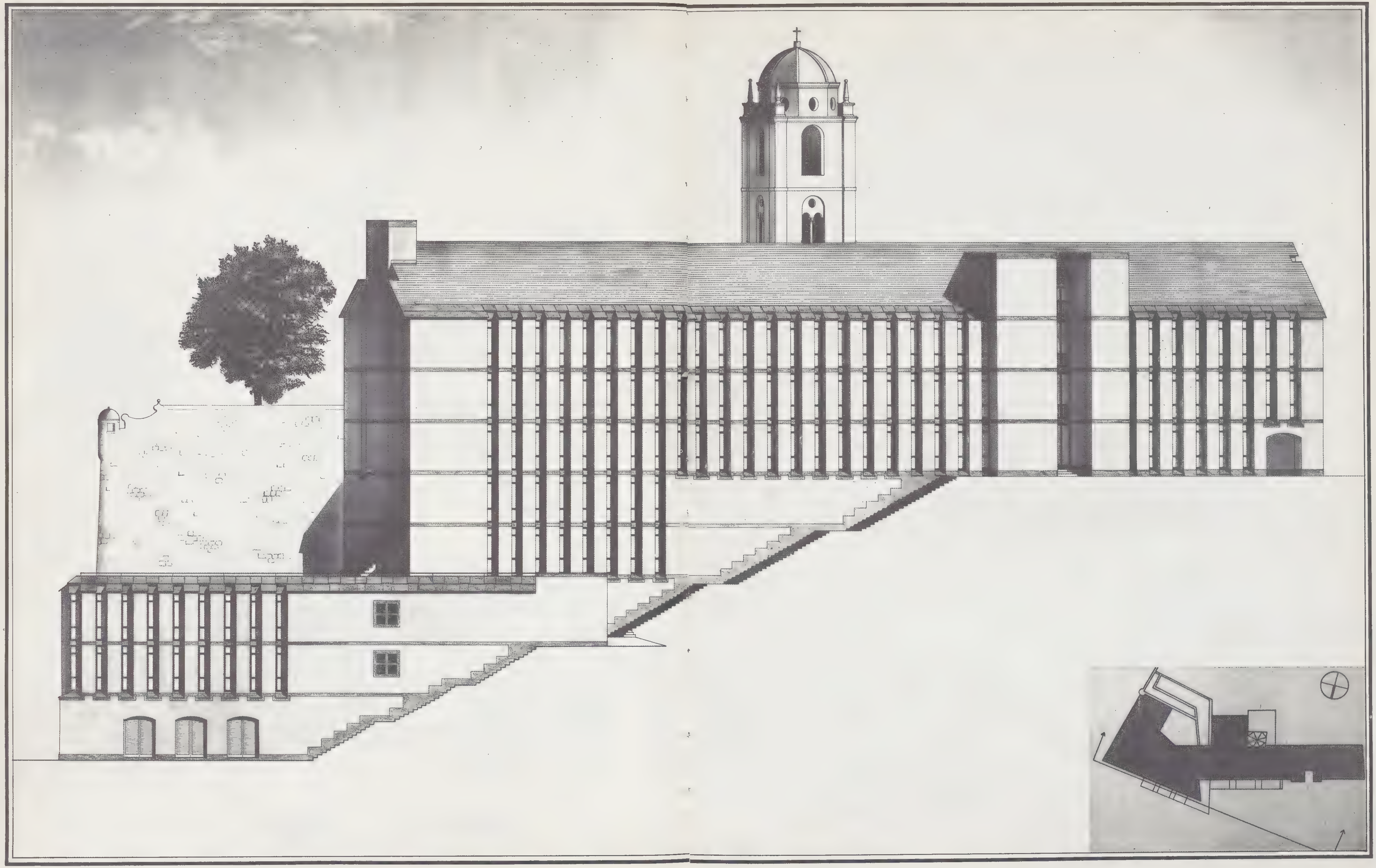


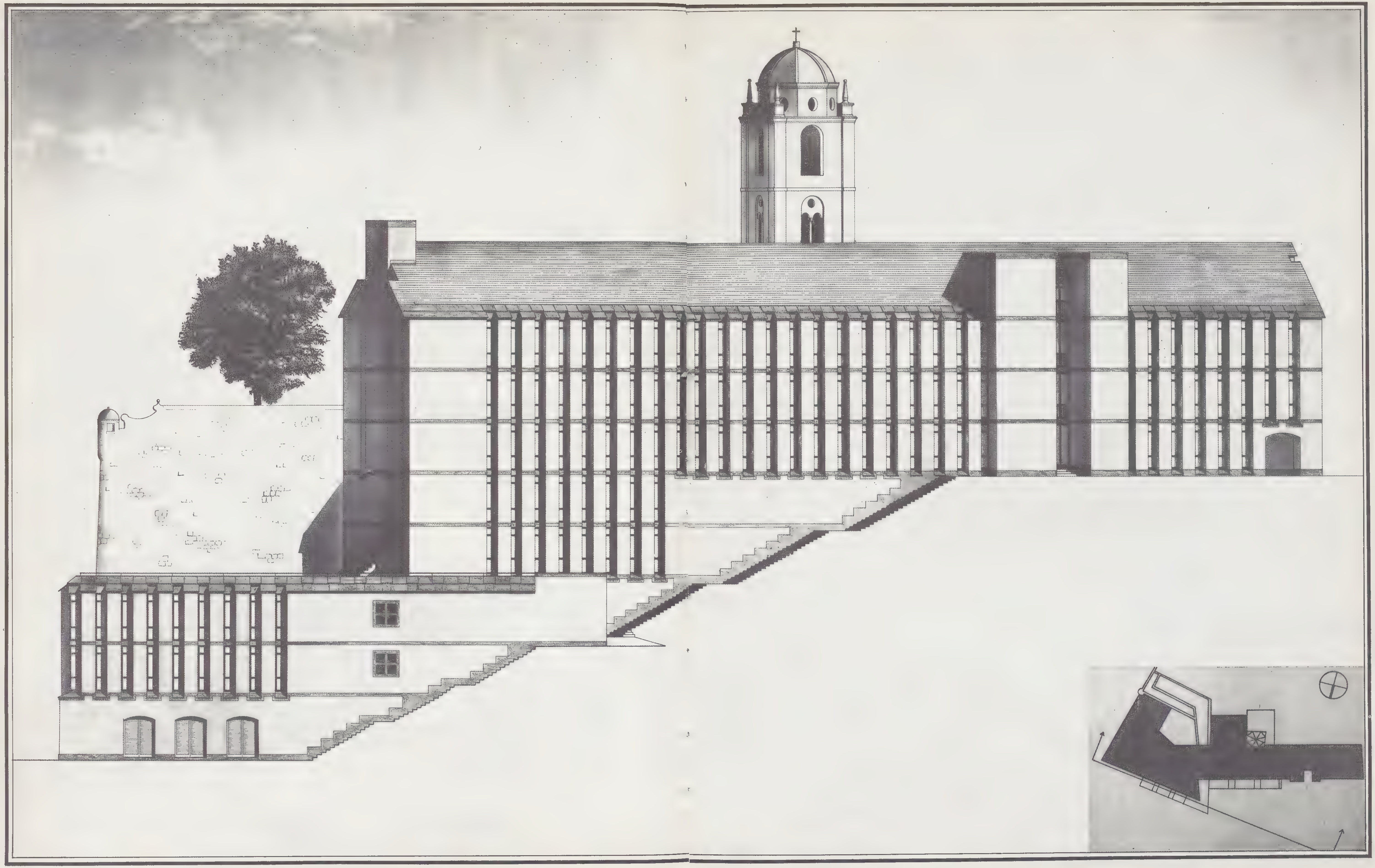






Prospetto est dallo Stradone di Sant'Agostino, prospetto sud dal Convento delle Monache di Pisa e sezioni longitudinale e trasversali.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Prospetto nord da Piazza Negri e Piazza San Silvestro.
Vista da sud.
Foto S. Topuntoli.





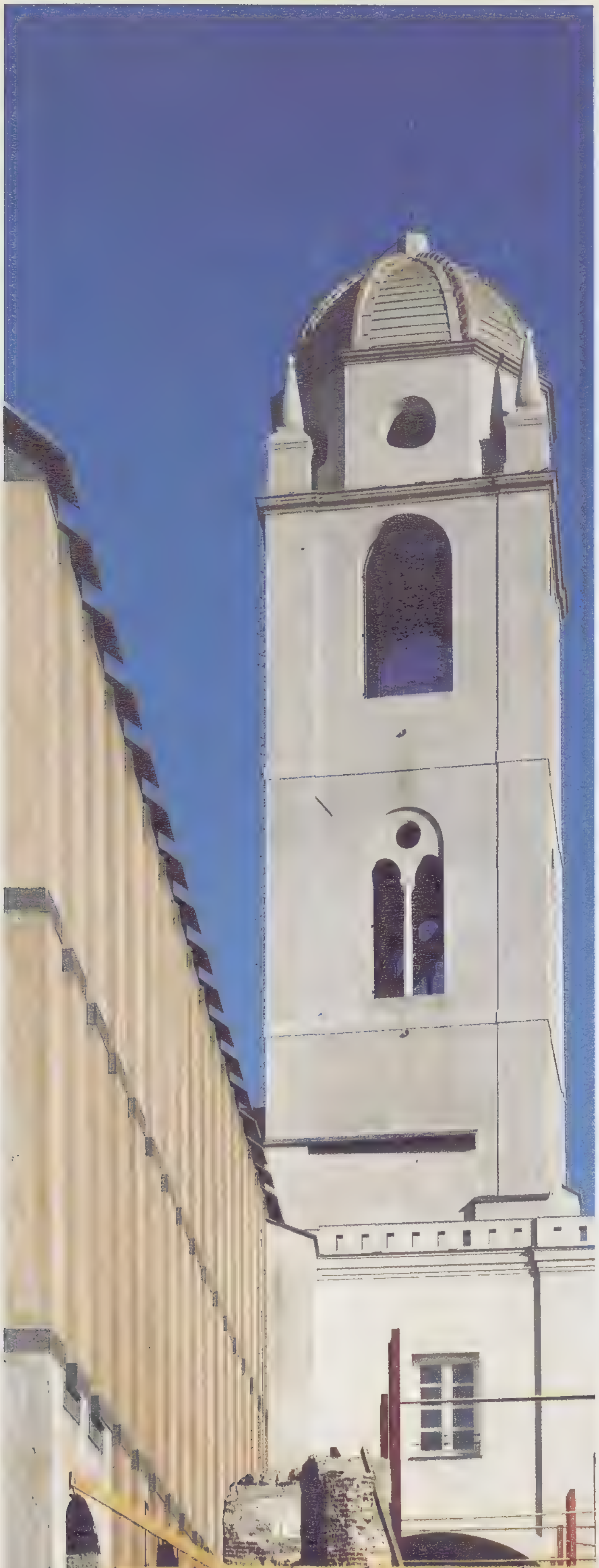




Viste da nordovest e da sudovest.
Foto S. Topuntoli.



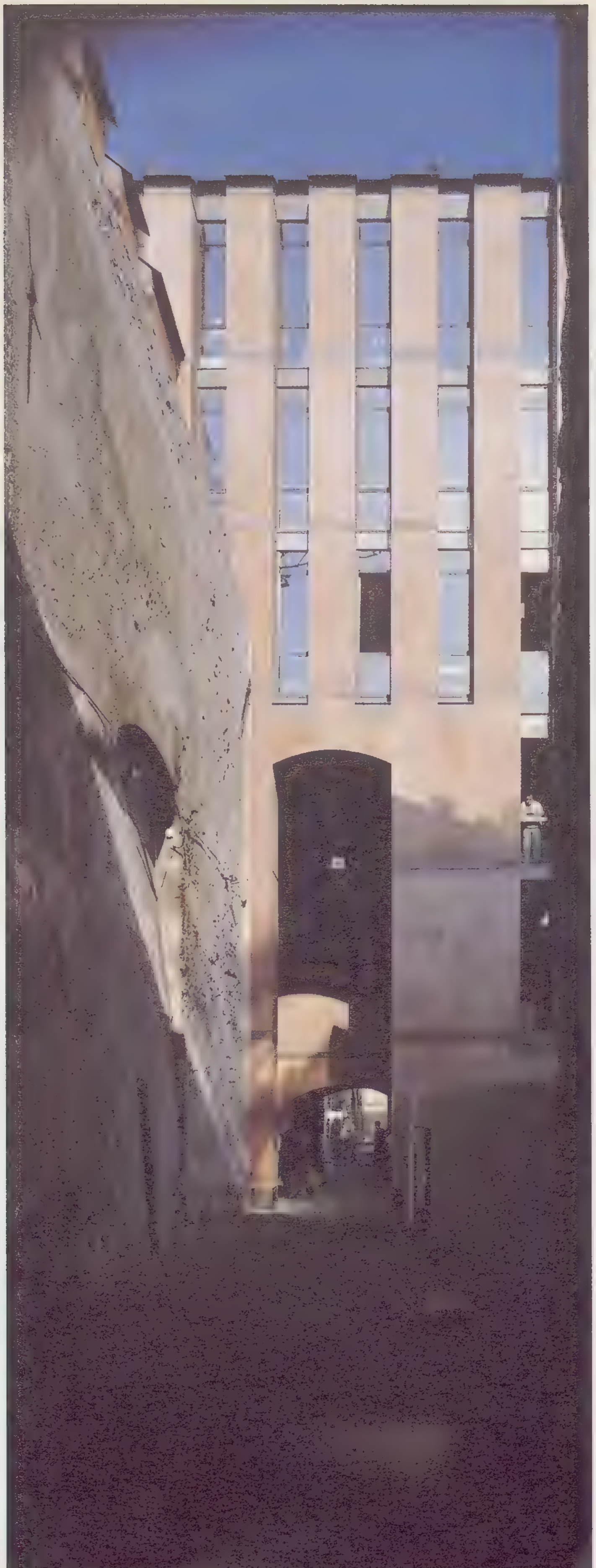




Vista da sudovest (in fondo il Teatro Carlo Felice).
Vista da nordest da Piazza Sant'Agostino.
Vista da sud dall'androne su Via di Mascherona.
Foto S. Topuntoli.







Ma uno dei più interessanti e insieme dei più radicali dei suoi progetti gotici è proprio quello per Sant'Agostino, di fronte al tuo edificio: D'Andrade lo ricostituisce nell'impianto duecentesco addirittura eliminando le cappelle, e non a caso pensa di collocarvi emblematicamente il museo dell'architettura ligure, dando testimonianza dei tanti edifici medievali distrutti e di un certo carattere della città. Non importa tanto che il progetto di D'Andrade non si realizzi, o che si realizzi in modo contraddittorio e parziale dopo molto tempo attraverso il discepolo Orlando Grosso[4]. Importa la continuità di una tradizione all'interno della città.
Pensi che anche il tuo edificio appartenga a questa tradizione? Pensi che esso si leghi ad altri edifici, non solo nel senso della triangolazione urbana, ma anche sul piano del significato e di una certa idea di Genova? Ma quanto è possibile pensare a un'idea univoca di Genova, come forse D'Andrade ancora faceva? Mi viene in mente ad esempio l'altro tuo progetto genovese recente, quello per il teatro Carlo Felice[5]: forse che esso non si rifà ad una eredità tutta differente?

I.G. E infatti non esiste una sola tradizione, ma tante e diverse. Una città possiede sempre molte anime basate su qualche carattere comune. Un carattere comune è quello della plasticità dell'architettura, il suo articolarsi chiaro per volumi. È così forte e così costitutivo di Genova che ritorna al di là delle differenze. Il Carlo Felice allude a una Genova diversa, quella delle grandi costruzioni civili, dei palazzi, del mondo classico. Il parallelepipedo del palcoscenico richiama il volume puro dei palazzi del Rinascimento. Classica, anche se di una classicità citata e cambiata di senso, è la cornice che disegna il profilo nel paesaggio. Si è detto che la torre fosse troppo alta e troppo grossa: a me non sembra affatto ingombrante, ma giusta nelle sue proporzioni.

D.V. Qual è stato il rapporto con i ruderi e con gli edifici superstiti? Mi piacerebbe che tu affrontassi questo aspetto in modo generale: i ruderi sono certo stati usati nel tuo progetto in senso "compositivo", come elementi di un quadro. Ma poteva qui l'archeologia assumere un senso più generale, diventando la matrice o la guida del progetto? Poteva, come altre volte è accaduto nella storia, proporsi come strumento generale di ricostruzione e d'invenzione? O questa possibilità è estranea a una città come Genova, che si è sempre ricostruita assimilando i propri elementi più antichi dentro nuovi impianti e nuove forme, sino a non renderli più riconoscibili?

I.G. Certo l'ordine antico del colle è stato, ma solo in senso generale, un vincolo e insieme un riferimento per il progetto. Ma i ruderi non potevano diventare elementi "generatori" della soluzione: essi hanno grande peso dal punto di vista storico e archeologico, ma sono irrilevanti dal punto di vista della consistenza fisica e della rilevanza visuale. Dunque potevano rimanere solo come frammenti, e come tali sono stati trattati: li si è lasciati in vista, conservando la loro natura di ruderi. Solo in parte sono stati ricomposti, come per il corpo sottostante il campanile, o come avverrà per il chiostro delle Monache di Pisa. Li si è usati in senso compositivo,

come elementi che formano la "trama" degli spazi all'intorno e come elementi di arricchimento e di contrasto rispetto al nuovo edificio: formano, in certo senso, un disegno "di primo piano" dietro il quale sta la fermezza del nuovo volume.
D.V. In realtà questa tecnica "frammentaria" l'hai usata in qualche caso anche nell'edificio: penso al bel portale antico che hai inserito nella testata verso Sant'Agostino e a come lo hai applicato scomponendolo per parti, in modo quasi astratto. Qui hai fatto ricorso alla tradizione antichissima dei frammenti incastonati e riappaesati sulla nudità dei muri: non hai potuto o non hai voluto ricorrervi in modo più ampio? E in che modo lo si sarebbe potuto fare? Noto ad esempio che hai usato gli elementi del portale in senso proprio, cioè per fare *un altro* portale.
I.G. Come nelle basiliche "frammentarie" cristiane, costruite riciclando elementi e materiali ed adattando colonne antiche: in quelle costruzioni non importava se le colonne erano diverse tra loro, perché la disomogeneità diventava un carattere dell'edificio. Anche il portale che ho usato io era di recupero, è stato fornito dalla Soprintendenza sottraendolo ai suoi magazzini. È un elemento che mi è apparso molto genovese e molto appropriato, non solo perché di lavagna, ma anche per il bel disegno della cornice lavorata: quella cornice che delinea con una sagoma netta e scura il vano delle porte. È rimasto un elemento isolato, più che per scelta, perché non disponevamo di altri pezzi analoghi o perché non erano idonei all'uso che avremmo voluto farne.
D.V. È vero che il tuo progetto ha una grande evidenza di volumi, e che questo è anche un carattere della città. Ma nei palazzi genovesi esisteva una corrispondenza forte tra la purezza dei volumi e un impianto fortemente strutturato, logico, ordinato geometricamente. Invece nel tuo edificio la pianta è quasi indifferente, resa "libera" per potersi adattare a sistemazioni diverse. Per continuare il paragone, potremmo dire che questo carattere corrisponde all'evoluzione del palazzo allorché diviene casa d'affitto: conserva la chiarezza della forma esterna, ma l'interno perde il proprio ordinamento logico, perché si divide fittamente e segue le esigenze particolari. Perché hai voluto compiere questa scelta della "pianta libera"?
I.G. Soprattutto per ragioni di carattere pratico e per ottenere la massima flessibilità. Non solo gli ordinamenti universitari, ma anche i metodi didattici cambiano col tempo, ponendo esigenze di spazi differenti. Un progetto che precostituisca in modo vincolativo le forme e le dimensioni degli ambienti, rischia di invecchiare con rapidità. Per questo ho pensato che le pilastrature dovessero essere portate lungo il perimetro dell'edificio e che gli spazi interni dovessero essere liberi da strutture portanti intermedie. Le suddivisioni sono realizzate con pareti fisse o mobili appoggiate su un pavimento continuo di marmo bianco e sono regolate da un reticolo modulare coincidente con quello che ordina le aperture nelle fronti. All'inizio avevo pensato a tramezzature leggere, facilmente spostabili, ma poi le si è realizzate con pannelli di cartongesso. Non mi pare negativo che i tavolati siano







Vista dello scalone d'ingresso su Via di Mascherona.
Vista del corpo principale dal terrazzo giardino del corpo basso.
Vista del cortile di ingresso al corpo basso su Via di Mascherona.
Foto S. Topuntoli.







Viste interne delle aule e vista della scala di accesso dal terrazzo giardino del corpo basso al corpo principale. Foto S. Topuntoli.

diventati fissi, perché i cambiamenti all'interno dell'università non hanno cicli di un mese o di un anno, ma di lungo periodo, e il fatto che debbano essere realizzati attraverso "piccole opere" non costituisce una difficoltà. Così nel progetto iniziale le piante sono state definite posizionando solo i blocchi scala, gli ascensori, i servizi igienici e pochi altri locali rinchiusi da murature: poi le abbiamo precisate seguendo le indicazioni della facoltà, ma cercando anche di convincere le autorità responsabili a realizzare ambienti grandi e flessibili piuttosto che piccoli e specializzati.

D.V. Questo aderire in modo diretto alle esigenze o ai programmi particolari, non ha portato ad una certa confusione delle divisioni interne? Notavo ad esempio che il corridoio si sposta spesso da un lato all'altro e che non è così chiaro il suo rapporto con le scale. Per chi non conosce l'edificio, c'è una certa difficoltà ad orientarsi.

I.G. Può essere vero, almeno nel corpo alto, anche se ci sono sempre grandi ambienti che organizzano lo spazio; nel corpo basso, le aule poste sull'angolo diventano una presenza importante e che "si sente". Anche gli ingressi e le scale sono elementi di organizzazione. L'ingresso destinato alla massa degli studenti è posto sotto l'archivolto di Salita Mascherona, e nel progetto iniziale gli corrispondevano due scale e due ascensori che insistevano sulla zona in cui il corpo alto si sovrappone a quello basso, mettendo in comunicazione tutti i livelli dell'edificio. Un secondo ingresso, che ha anche funzioni d'onore, è posto sul fianco settentrionale che dà su Piazza San Silvestro e ad esso corrisponde un terzo blocco scale. Ma i pompieri hanno obiettato che la distanza tra le scale era eccessiva e si è dovuto ricollocarle. Nella testata del corpo alto ne è rimasta una sola che collega il primo piano del corpo alto col corpo basso. Una seconda scala è stata posta nel corpo che si appoggia al fronte meridionale; la terza è rimasta verso Piazza San Silvestro.

Ma al di là dello schema distributivo, ciò che mi sembra contare è la soluzione strutturale e il modo in cui essa si traduce nell'immagine sia all'esterno che all'interno. Come i pilastri portati sul perimetro diventano il motivo fondamentale delle facciate, così le travature che attraversano il corpo di fabbrica maggiore diventano il motivo fondamentale dell'interno. Poiché devono superare una luce notevole, di circa m 12.00, e poiché superano l'altezza della soletta, sporgono verso il basso e sono lasciate in vista...

D.V. Come avviene anche nel Palazzo dell'Arte di Muzio a Milano[6].

I.G. Come nel Palazzo di Muzio. Ma a Genova le travi, che in origine dovevano essere una ogni pilastro, si sono poi per economia diradate a una ogni due pilastri. Ciononostante, il ritmo rimane abbastanza fitto da scandire lo spazio degli ambienti, e la soluzione è più convincente di quella a soffitto piano. Nel corpo inferiore, dove le luci erano ancora maggiori, le travi sono state incrociate, dando luogo a un soffitto cassettonato che segue la forma delle aule o delle sale.

Anche nell'edificio per uffici dell'Alfa Romeo ad Arese[7] c'erano grandi superfici libere di piano e la struttura assumeva un ruolo architettonicamente importante; ma era meno forte il rapporto tra pilastri e travi, meno diretta la loro concatenazione.

D.V. Dunque l'edificio si basa su uno stesso motivo, quello della pilastratura, ripetuto uguale sui fronti principali. Non è pensato a partire dalle facciate, ma come volume unitario, e questa ripetizione diventa la sua forza. Eppure i fronti risentono della diversità degli affacci e assumono valore diverso. In particolare, qual è la differenza tra le due testate del corpo alto? Infatti non sono uguali tra loro: quella verso Sant'Agostino, più alta, sembra assumere maggior valore urbano.

I.G. Nell'idea dell'edificio non vi sono a priori facciate principali e facciate secondarie; tuttavia la diversità delle situazioni e l'organizzazione degli interni e degli ingressi finisce per conferire loro valori differenti. Ciò vale anche per le testate, anche se si basano su uno stesso schema compositivo. Entrambe hanno una parte inferiore priva di aperture; entrambe sono segnate da due tagli finestrati verticali, che individuano una fascia centrale di muratura piena. Ma nella testata verso est e verso Sant'Agostino la fascia centrale prosegue oltre gli spioventi del tetto, formando una torre nella quale trovano alloggiamento le canne fumarie. La torre rafforza lo slancio e lo schema simmetrico. La testata verso ovest e verso il mare ha invece un'altezza più modesta: i tagli verticali proseguono verso l'alto sino ad interrompere la continuità degli spioventi del tetto. Sono soluzioni simili, ma anche differenti. Queste differenze conferiscono all'edificio un "orientamento" anche se esso è lavorato su tutti i lati in uno stesso modo, definendo una testata anteriore ed una posteriore.

D.V. Nelle *Meraviglie d'Italia* Gadda parla delle vecchie case genovesi e del loro tetto d'ardesia "*a falde chiare, che costituisce sopra al dado una piramide esatta, ma finita e intera nella sua povertà*", e dice che "*c'è in esse una idea attuata*"[8]. Il tuo tetto ha lo stesso rigore geometrico e la stessa precisione ideale, ma insieme si adatta all'andamento delle murature perimetrali, con la falda che avanza per coprire i pilastri sporgenti e arretra in corrispondenza dei tagli delle finestre. Mi pare anche che il tetto abbia due colorazioni diverse.

I.G. La copertura è realizzata con due solette inclinate sotto le quali è ricavato un piano sottotetto e ricoperte interamente in lastre d'ardesia. Al di là del canale di gronda, le lastre si estendono a coprire i pilastri, dando luogo a quella terminazione "dentellata" che costituisce il profilo dell'edificio contro il cielo. Ma le lastre usate sui pilastri hanno maggiore spessore e ciò porta ad una variazione nei grigi della pietra. Inoltre anche le falde del tetto mutano leggermente d'inclinazione, variando l'incidenza della luce e dunque il colore. Il tetto è un volume, ma è anche costituito da un materiale e dai suoi toni. Da sotto determina la sagoma dell'edificio verso l'alto e rimane una forma intuita. Ma da lontano acquista tutta la sua importanza e il suo peso.

D.V. Il tuo edificio è molto semplice e sobrio: i materiali che hai usato sono pochi e di tipo povero. Penso che su questo

abbiano pesato ragioni d'ordine economico e l'obbligo di contenere i costi, ma anche che si tratti di una scelta d'architettura: hai costruito un edificio austero ricorrendo solo a tecniche durature. Come potresti descrivere l'uso dei materiali? Qual è il rapporto tra i materiali e l'idea dell'edificio?

I.G. I materiali cui ho fatto ricorso in facciata in fondo sono soltanto tre. Il primo è la lavagna, che è tipicamente genovese ed è usata nel tetto, nel coronamento di gronda, nelle fasce marcapiano e nello zoccolo. Il secondo è l'intonaco impastato con polvere di mattone, che ricopre le superfici murarie. Il terzo è l'alluminio di tipo Akadal in colore canna di fucile, usato nei serramenti. Questo colore accentua lo stacco delle finestre dal rosso delle murature. La scelta di lavorare con pochi materiali serve a dare forza ed unità all'edificio e concorre a costruirne l'immagine. Sono contento di quest'opera anche perché mi sembra del tutto priva di compiacimenti formali.

D.V. So che per l'intonaco si sono fatte moltissime prove e che queste prove le hai avviate quando la costruzione era ancora all'inizio, sino a che non hai trovato i mattoni, la macinazione e l'impasto che ti soddisfacevano. Mi colpisce questo accanimento su quello che in genere si ritiene un particolare di finitura, e che tu hai considerato determinante per l'idea dell'edificio. L'intonaco è molto bello e ricco di vibrazioni nella luce.

I.G. È vero, abbiamo fatto moltissime prove. Bisognava trovare l'impasto e la tonalità giusti e non era facile. In realtà mi sono basato sulle osservazioni e sulle annotazioni di mio bisnonno architetto[9], che teneva un "diario" o "libro-mastro" pieno di notizie tecniche. In esso aveva segnato la composizione di diversi intonaci e in particolare di due che io ho riutilizzato. Il primo è quello impastato con polvere di mattone, il secondo con la caliggine dei camini ed ha color grigio-topo. Mattone e caliggine conferiscono una grana materica particolare, togliendo all'intonaco la sua opacità e il suo carattere di "tinta sovrapposta" e rendendolo vibrante. Ovviamente, l'intonaco con caliggine è difficile da realizzare, visto che sono per gran parte scomparsi i camini; io l'ho usato una sola volta a Venezia nelle colonne di un bar sulla spiaggia del Lido[10].

L'intonaco con polvere di mattone l'ho invece usato diverse volte, ad esempio ad Arenzano in alcune ville. Richiede più magistero e migliori operai, perché bisogna macinare i mattoni, trovare l'impasto giusto e poi mantenerlo; dunque è più faticoso da realizzare e più costoso, ma anche più resistente e duraturo. Si possono ottenere effetti diversi sia secondo il tipo di legante (calce, cemento, cemento bianco) che secondo il tipo di mattone; si possono ad esempio avere dei bellissimi rosso-viola.

Del risultato ottenuto nella Facoltà di architettura sono contento e mi sembra migliore che negli altri miei edifici. È comunque un intonaco che appartiene alla storia della città, anche se più spesso si ricorreva al cosiddetto "rosa genovese", ottenuto con la tinteggiatura e dunque più povero e più smunto; in "rosa" è ad esempio l'intonaco usato da Albini e Helg nel Museo di Sant'Agostino[11]. Per la sua resistenza e le sue qualità, è stato forse usato di più a Venezia, dov'è chiamato "pastellone".

D.V. Agli angoli dei corpi di fabbrica non hai dato sempre la stessa definizione; nel corpo alto li hai risolti con fasce piene; nei due corpi bassi, quello che affaccia su Stradone Sant'Agostino e quello compreso tra Salita Mascherona e il campanile, li hai definiti con una finestratura verticale compresa tra contrafforti e con pianta ad "L", come se l'angolo si "svuotasse". Quando sono entrato nelle aule che danno verso lo Stradone, ho notato questo "spacco luminoso" all'incontro tra le due pareti e mi è sembrato molto bello. Quanto questa scelta è legata agli spazi interni e quanto appartiene all'economia delle facciate?

I.G. Sono stato a lungo incerto su come fare gli angoli dei corpi minori: non sapevo se fosse migliore la soluzione "piena" o quella "svuotata". In generale io non sono favorevole agli angoli di vetro e non li ho quasi mai introdotti nelle mie opere. Ma qui era diverso. Qui lo spazio interno era libero e unitario, ritmato dalle aperture; le finestre d'angolo servivano a caratterizzarlo sottolineando la forma dell'ambiente. Questa scelta però mi convinceva anche dall'esterno: mi sembrava che lo "svuotamento" creasse maggiore continuità tra i fronti, legandoli tra loro. Li legava e insieme rompeva la ripetitività dei contrafforti e del loro ritmo sempre uguale.
Paradossalmente, la funzione compositiva dell'angolo svuotato non è diversa da quella delle fasce piene del corpo superiore: in entrambi i casi ho voluto creare una sosta, come in una sinfonia che accosta ai temi le loro variazioni.

1) Piano particolareggiato per le zone di San Donato e San Silvestro nel centro storico di Genova, di Ignazio Gardella e Silvano Larini con Jacopo Gardella, Gilberto Nardi e Daniele Vitale, adottato nel 1972 e approvato nel 1974. Il Piano è stato in particolare pubblicato in "Controspazio", a. VI, n. 2, ottobre 1974, pp. 4-31.
2) Per la storia della zona, cfr.: L. GROSSI BIANCHI, E. POLEGGI, *La collina di Castello nella vicenda urbana di Genova*, in "Controspazio", cit., pp. 33-47; L. GROSSI BIANCHI, E. POLEGGI, *Una città portuale nel medioevo, Genova nei secoli X-XVI*, Sagep editrice, Genova 1980.
3) Luigi Carlo Daneri (Borgofornari di Ronco Scrivia, 1900 - Genova, 1972), architetto e ingegnere. Sull'opera cfr. P.D. PATRONE, *Daneri*, con introd. di Enrico D. Bona, Sagep editrice, Genova 1982. Le "case alla Foce" del Lido di Albaro sono del 1934-40. Il quartiere al Forte di Quezzi è del 1958-61. Il progetto citato per il colle di San Silvestro, iniziato nel 1948 e abbandonato dopo molte varianti nel 1954, prevedeva un grande complesso scolastico e non venne mai approvato.
4) Per le opere di D'Andrade in Liguria, cfr. AA.VV., *Alfredo D'Andrade. Tutela e restauro*, a cura di Maria Grazia Cerri, Daniele Biancolini Fea, Liliana Pittarello, Vallecchi, Firenze 1981, pp. 403-477. Per il progetto di D'Andrade per Sant'Agostino, cfr. G. ROSSINI, *Chiesa di Sant'Agostino in Genova*, ibidem, pp. 437-446; per la realizzazione con modifiche da parte di Orlando Grosso, a partire dal 1926, cfr. O. GROSSO, *Il restauro della chiesa di Sant'Agostino*, in "Genova. Rivista municipale", a. 12, n. 4, aprile 1932; n. 9, settembre 1932; n. 10, ottobre 1932.
5) Teatro Carlo Felice di Genova, di Ignazio Gardella, Aldo Rossi, Fabio Reinhart, Angelo Sibilla; il concorso-appalto è stato svolto in due fasi, nel 1981 e nel 1983, e la costruzione è stata terminata nel 1990.
6) Giovanni Muzio, Palazzo dell'Arte nel Parco Sempione a Milano, 1932-33.
7) Ignazio Gardella, Uffici tecnici dell'Alfa Romeo ad Arese (Milano), 1969-72.
8) C.E. GADDA, *Le meraviglie d'Italia. Gli anni*, Einaudi, Torino 1964, p 129.
9) Ignazio Gardella appartiene ad una famiglia di architetti ed ingegneri liguri; il padre Arnaldo era ingegnere, il nonno architetto. Il bisnonno Ignazio Gardella, omonimo al quale qui si allude, era stato uno dei più originali allievi di Carlo Barabino e uno dei migliori architetti neoclassici della città.
10) Ignazio Gardella e Roberto Menghi, Hall, bar e sistemazione della spiaggia dell'Hotel Excelsior al Lido di Venezia, 1965-1968.
11) Il Museo di Sant'Agostino, collocato nello storico convento, è opera di Franco Albini, Marco Albini, Franca Helg e Antonio Piva, 1977-1986.

Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven
1982-89

Gottfried Böhm

con Georg Felix Adolphi, Günter Kaesbach, Bernd Hellriegel, Hermann Neuerburg (per la prima fase) e con Günter Kaesbach (per la seconda fase)

Strutture: Büro Stoewahse, Büro KSF Bremerhaven
Direzione lavori: Hochbauamt Bremen, G. Wittpenn



Vista da sud lungo Karlsburg.
Foto D. Leistner.

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Il concorso per l'ampliamento dell'Università di Bremerhaven, 1979-80: antefatti e conseguenze

Bremerhaven, città portuale del *land* Brema, si è formata originariamente con grande omogeneità, a scala minuta, con edifici di tre e quattro piani sulla penisola circoscritta dai fiumi Geeste e Weser. Il tracciato storico, del 1823 ad opera dell'architetto municipale van Rozelen, aveva definito una griglia di strade ad angolo retto con tipologia a isolati. Negli anni Sessanta e Settanta il centro storico è stato spezzato in due parti dalla costruzione di edifici di grande altezza e fuori scala, situati nella zona occidentale.

Questa difficile situazione urbanistica è sembrata risolvibile solo a condizione di trovare un nuovo rapporto tra gli edifici del dopoguerra e la parte antica della città. Il progetto per l'ampliamento dell'Università di Bremerhaven — la Carlsburg Hochschule — va considerato nel contesto di questo problema urbanistico, in quanto offre l'occasione per nuove connessioni sia attraverso i volumi architettonici che attraverso gli spazi urbani, le strade e le piazze.

Nel novembre 1979 la libera città anseatica di Brema indisse un concorso a inviti per la nuova sede della Scuola di specializzazione fondata nel 1975. Essa era alloggiata in due edifici e la nuova costruzione, senza sostituire i due edifici esistenti, doveva fornire ulteriori spazi per il Corso di chimica, per i laboratori e per le strutture centrali. Furono invitati a partecipare gli architetti Gottfried Böhm, von Gerkan-Marg e associati, Peter P. Schweger e associati, Oswald M. Ungers, il gruppo Schröck-Rosengart-Busse e il gruppo Sturmheit-Franzius-Grützner. Il concorso si chiuse nel maggio del 1980: Böhm si aggiudicò il primo posto, Ungers il secondo, von Gerkan-Marg e associati il terzo, e il gruppo Schröck-Rosengart-Busse il quarto.

Il lotto previsto per il progetto era situato all'entrata del centro storico, lungo il prolungamento della strada principale della città, la Bürgermeister-Smidt-Strasse. Nelle vicinanze si trovano edifici di rilevante importanza culturale, storica ed architettonica: la confinante Kunsthalle, un edificio sobrio, dall'aria tipicamente tedesco-settentrionale; a nord una serie di case di abitazione vincolate come patrimonio storico; a sud lo Stadttheater di Oskar Kaufmann; nella zona del vecchio porto il Museo Navale tedesco di Hans Scharoun; lungo la Columbusstrasse, con i grattacieli del Columbus-Center, l'Istituto tedesco di ricerche polari di Oswald M. Ungers, sorto in seguito al medesimo concorso per la Carlsburg Hochschule del 1979-80; inoltre sul lotto oggetto di concorso Ernst May aveva progettato nel 1962 un municipio e un centro amministrativo, che non furono mai realizzati.

Sul lotto esistevano i resti di un vecchio edificio, una ex fabbrica di birra, che secondo il bando di concorso avrebbero dovuto essere "*demoliti al più tardi entro l'inizio dei lavori*". Si trattava in parte di un centro per emigranti, costruito alla metà del secolo scorso e rimasto in funzione solamente una decina d'anni (successivamente l'emigrazione per l'America si imbarcò direttamente da Brema), poi acquistato da una fabbrica di birra. Viceversa nel progetto di Böhm, riconoscendone l'interesse architettonico e storico, si è deciso di integrare queste parti nel nuovo complesso universitario, insieme alla struttura a telaio in cemento armato ancora visibile nella fabbrica di birra degli anni Venti.





Vista della città con l'Istituto tedesco di ricerche polari di O.M. Ungers in primo piano e il complesso universitario sulla destra.
Foto D. Leistner.
Planimetria generale.



Vista aerea della città circoscritta dai fiumi Weser e Geeste prima dei nuovi interventi: a tratteggio l'area destinata al complesso universitario con gli edifici dell'ex centro-emigranti e, verso il fondo, lo Stadttheater di O. Kaufmann e il Museo Navale tedesco di H. Scharoun. Particolare dell'edificio dell'ex centro-emigranti prima dell'intervento.

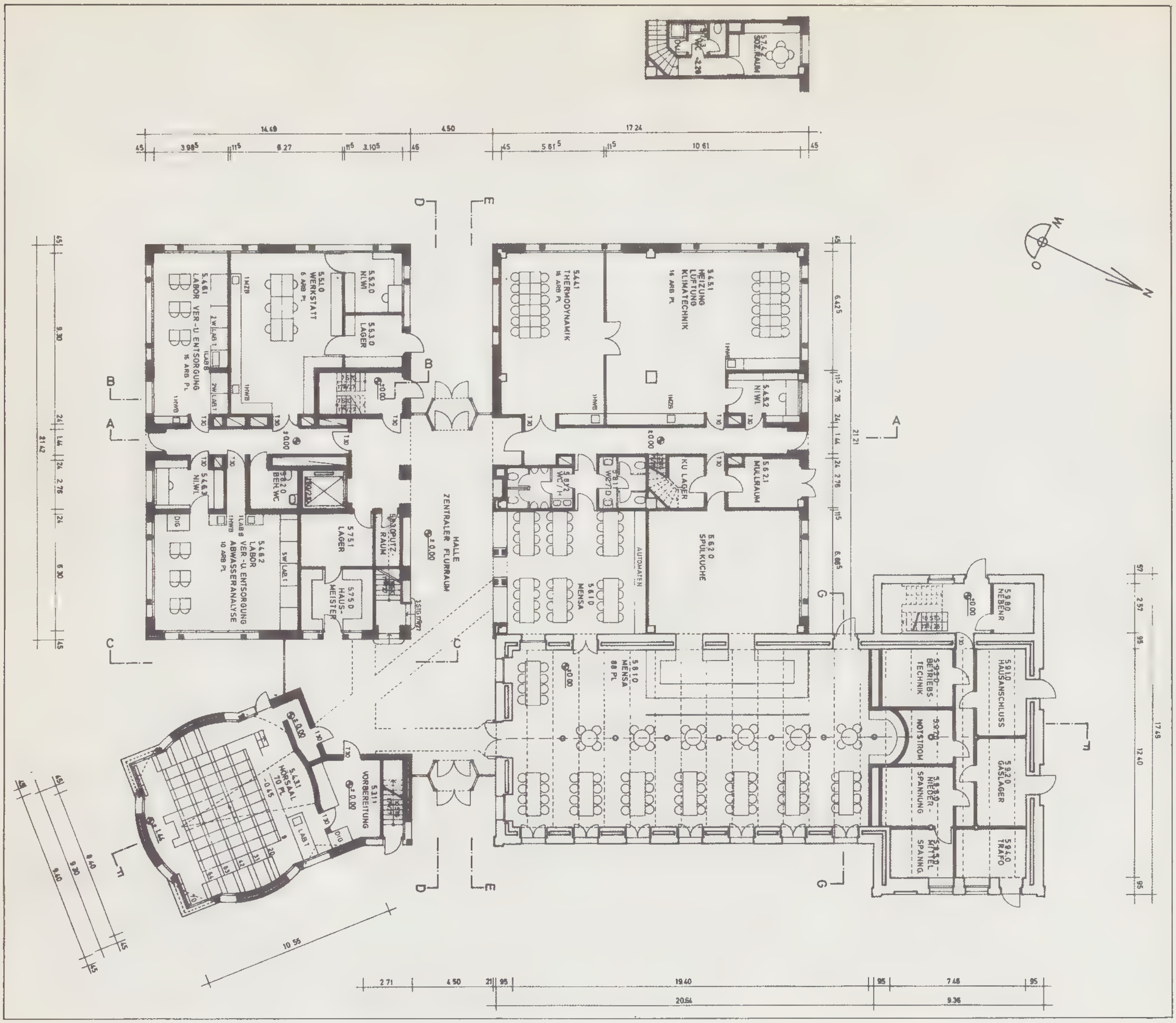


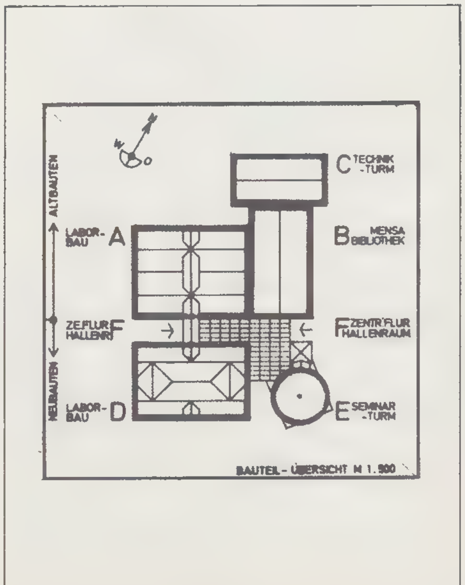
I nuovi edifici della Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven

Gottfried Böhm

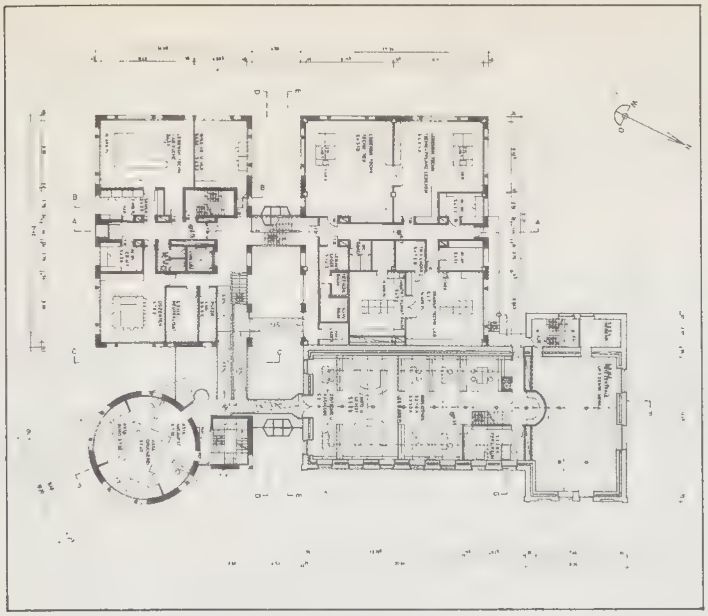
La prima fase dell'intervento, 1982-85

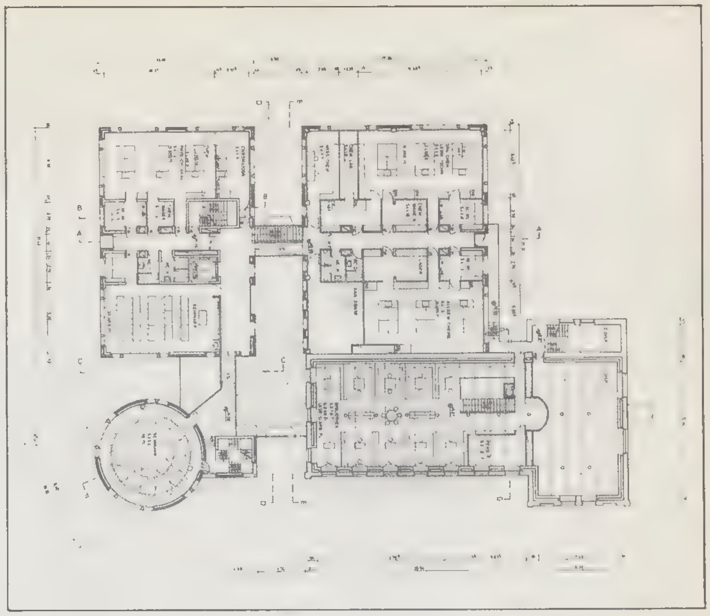
Il programma di costruzione del bando di concorso prevedeva, oltre ad aree destinate a laboratori e a seminari, una mensa, una biblioteca e locali per uffici e per il comitato studentesco.
Dell'originario edificio a "U" della Carlsburg Hochschule, con la corte aperta verso la strada, fino al momento del concorso si erano conservati solamente l'atrio a tre piani con torre centrale e una delle ali laterali, mentre la seconda ala era stata sostituita dopo il 1960 da una costruzione a telaio in cemento armato; successivamente l'edificio originario ha subito ulteriori aggiunte e modifiche.
Dato che gran parte delle strutture del vecchio edificio si sono dimostrate riutilizzabili, e data la ristrettezza dei finanziamenti disponibili, è risultato ovvio recuperarlo e integrarlo nel nuovo progetto. In tal modo, inoltre, si sarebbero preservate aree disponibili per eventuali futuri ampliamenti.
Dopo le prime analisi siamo giunti alla conclusione che la costruzione a telaio in cemento armato fosse particolarmente indicata come sede dei laboratori, e il vecchio atrio come mensa e biblioteca. Per creare spazi liberi razionali e ottenere una buona illuminazione si è reso invece necessario demolire i corpi adiacenti, alloggiando le residue richieste del bando in edifici nuovi previsti davanti a quelli vecchi, realizzando così un complesso spazialmente e funzionalmente integrato.
Gli edifici vecchi e quelli nuovi sono collegati mediante un alto atrio vetrato con ingressi su tre lati, scale e ascensore, e con ponti e rampe che collegano l'uno con l'altro i vari livelli. In questo atrio è ospitata una parte della mensa, e il piano terreno può essere utilizzato per riunioni e manifestazioni di vario tipo. L'atrio è come uno spazio esterno chiuso e coperto, una zona-cuscinetto climatica.
Nella vicina costruzione a telaio in cemento armato a tre piani, i laboratori sono distribuiti da un corridoio centrale. Tale edificio preesistente dei laboratori è fronteggiato da un nuovo corpo di laboratori simile ma non uguale, di quattro piani. I due corpi si integrano vicendevolmente per forma e contenuto, e costituiscono un'unità funzionale collegata al di sopra dell'atrio.
Nell'atrio dell'adiacente ex centro-emigranti sono situate al piano terreno la mensa e nei due piani superiori la biblioteca. Si potrebbe dire che la "testa" poggia sulla "pancia". Poiché il lato corto di questi ambienti confina con l'atrio vetrato e questo a sua volta si apre verso sud, dalla biblioteca la vista si spingerà fino alla riva del fiume Geeste e oltre. La sequenza dei montanti in ghisa e la struttura dei solai, tipicamente ottocenteschi, devono assolutamente essere conservati. Così, ripristinando anche le finestre secondo il vecchio ordine, in questa parte dell'edificio si viene a creare un'atmosfera molto speciale e accogliente, favorevole alla concentrazione e alla tranquillità. Il primo piano ha grande altezza interna, che consente di costruire lungo le pareti della biblioteca un ballatoio intermedio per i libri. Il carattere "vecchio" dello spazio e il nuovo uso qui si integrano in maniera particolarmente felice.
Dietro il corpo allungato della mensa e della biblioteca si trova la torre centrale dell'ex centro-emigranti, che è stata parzialmente destinata ad ospitare gli impianti tecnici ed è accessibile agli studenti, diventando così un possibile luogo didattico di osservazione diretta (dietro tale torre — che ne segnerà così l'accesso — nella seconda fase di realizzazione sono previsti altri edifici universitari.)
Dal punto di vista architettonico, la conclusione dell'atrio centrale e dell'intero complesso edilizio è costituito dalla nuova torre cilindrica dei seminari e del comitato studentesco. Essa fa da contrappunto alla torre preesistente ed è ruotata in modo tale da stabilire una relazione con il bacino di carenaggio, e allo stesso tempo si trova lungo l'asse visivo della strada An der Karlstadt e la conclude.

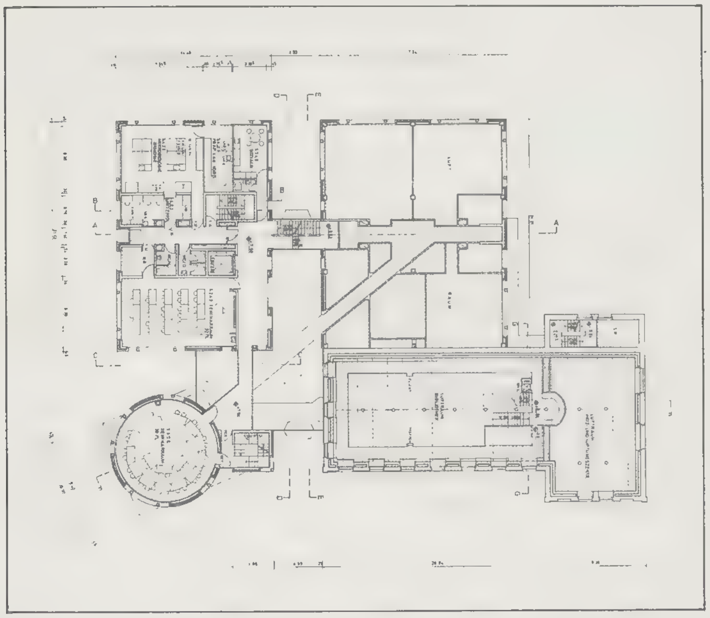


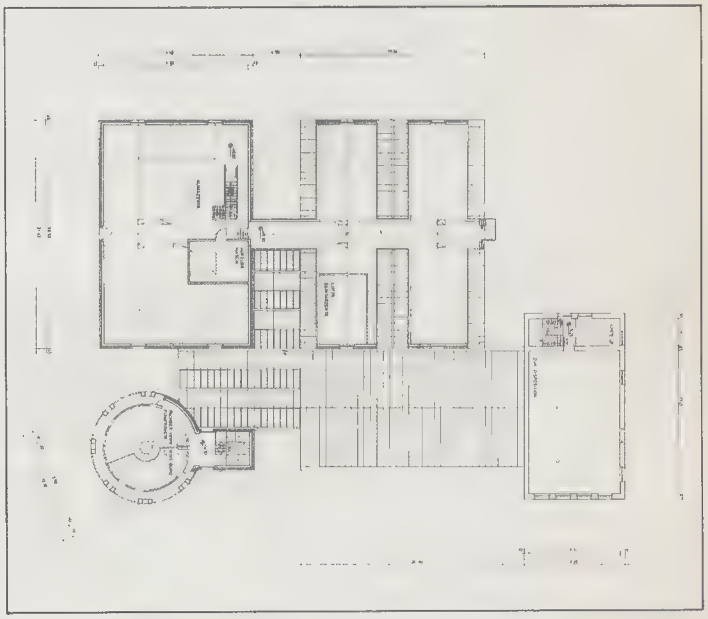


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ALTBAUTEN
LABOR-BAU A
B MENSA BIBLIOTHEK
ZE.FLUR HALLENR. F
F ZENTR.FLUR HALLENRAUM
NEUBAUTEN
LABOR-BAU D
E SEMINAR-TURM
BAUTEIL-ÜBERSICHT M 1:500









Piante dei piani terra, primo, secondo, terzo e quarto della prima fase dell'intervento.
Schema planimetrico funzionale con l'individuazione delle nuove costruzioni (neubauten) *e delle parti restaurate* (altbauten) *della prima fase dell'intervento.*



Vista da sudest prima della costruzione dell'edificio dell'amministrazione nella seconda fase dell'intervento. Foto D. Leistner.



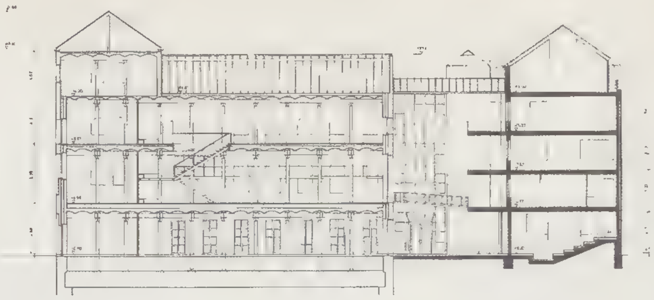
Vista da sudest prima della costruzione dell'edificio dell'amministrazione nella seconda fase dell'intervento. Foto D. Leistner.

Costruzione e materiali

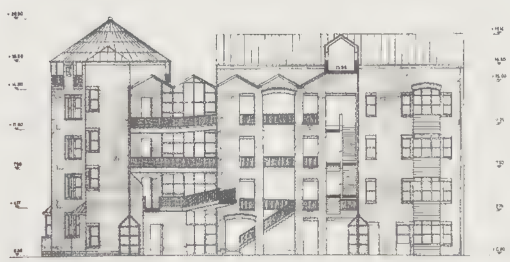
Per quanto riguarda il corpo dei laboratori, il sistema a telai di cemento armato della vecchia costruzione è stato ripreso e applicato, reinterpretandolo, ai nuovi edifici. La torre dei seminari e del comitato studentesco presenta alla base quattro sporgenze angolari di mattoni. Di mattoni è pure il corpo dei laboratori, sui cui fronti si aprono finestre con fasce marcapiano in lamiera profilata, materiale utilizzato anche per i rivestimenti di copertura. Nei corpi preesistenti, essendo necessario rimuovere l'intonaco, si è deciso di restaurare e lasciare a vista la sottostante muratura di mattoni, ottenendo così un carattere omogeneo e unitario con gli edifici di nuova costruzione.

La seconda fase dell'intervento, 1987-89

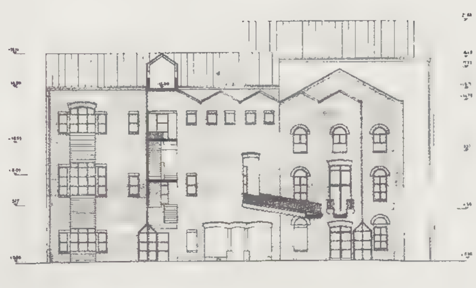
La decisione, assunta inizialmente soprattutto per ragioni economiche, di incorporare nel nuovo edificio dell'Università di Bremerhaven parti del centro-emigranti costruito nel 1849 ha influenzato in modo decisivo la progettazione della prima parte del complesso. I vecchi corpi di fabbrica, liberati dai loro anonimi rivestimenti, hanno determinato con le loro proporzioni e con l'articolazione delle loro facciate l'impostazione compositiva e la ricchezza di dettagli dei nuovi edifici. L'idea del complesso universitario come di un'architettura articolata in singoli elementi trova nei due corpi del centro-emigranti, perpendicolari l'uno rispetto all'altro, il proprio punto di partenza.
Già poco tempo dopo l'ultimazione della prima parte del complesso nel 1985, l'Università dovette essere ampliata per alloggiare il nuovo corso di Tecnologia dei Procedimenti Industriali e gli uffici amministrativi.
L'impostazione del tema definita all'inizio — cioè la progettazione di un complesso articolato in più corpi di fabbrica ma percepibile in modo omogeneo e unitario — trova conferma anche dopo il completamento della seconda parte, che di nuovo destina ad ogni singola attività uno specifico corpo edilizio.



SCHNITT F F



SCHNITT D D

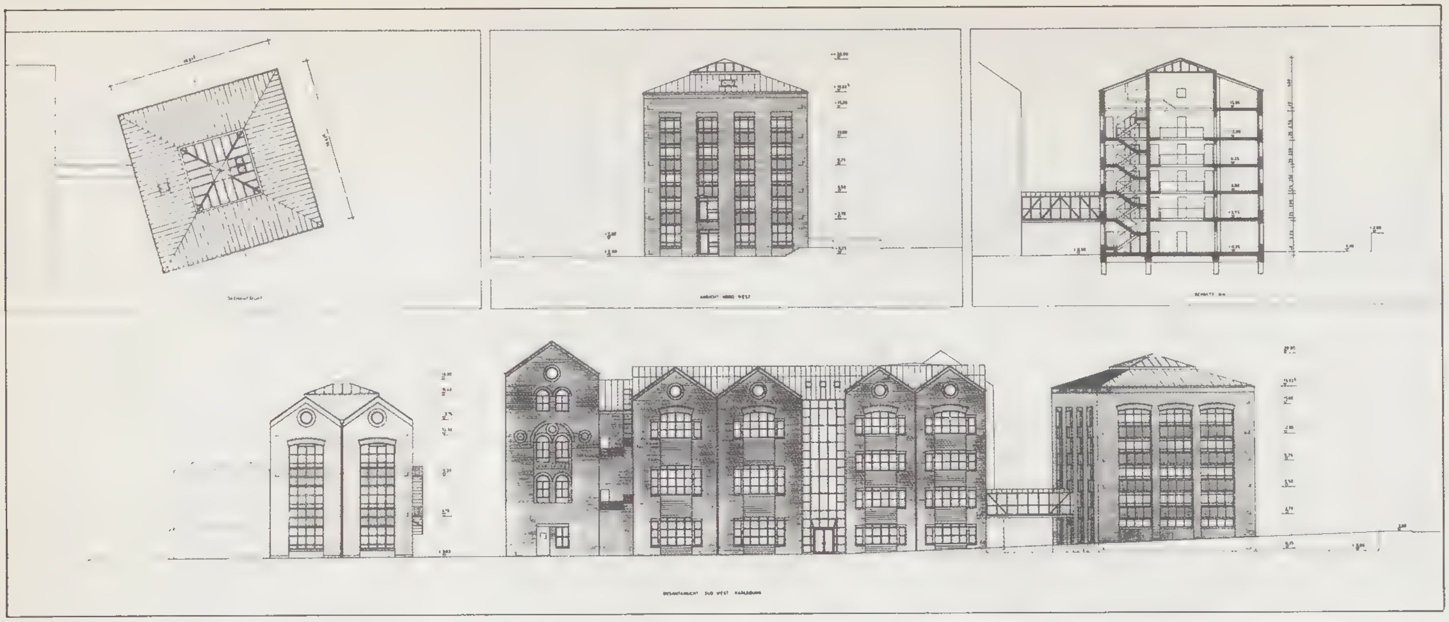


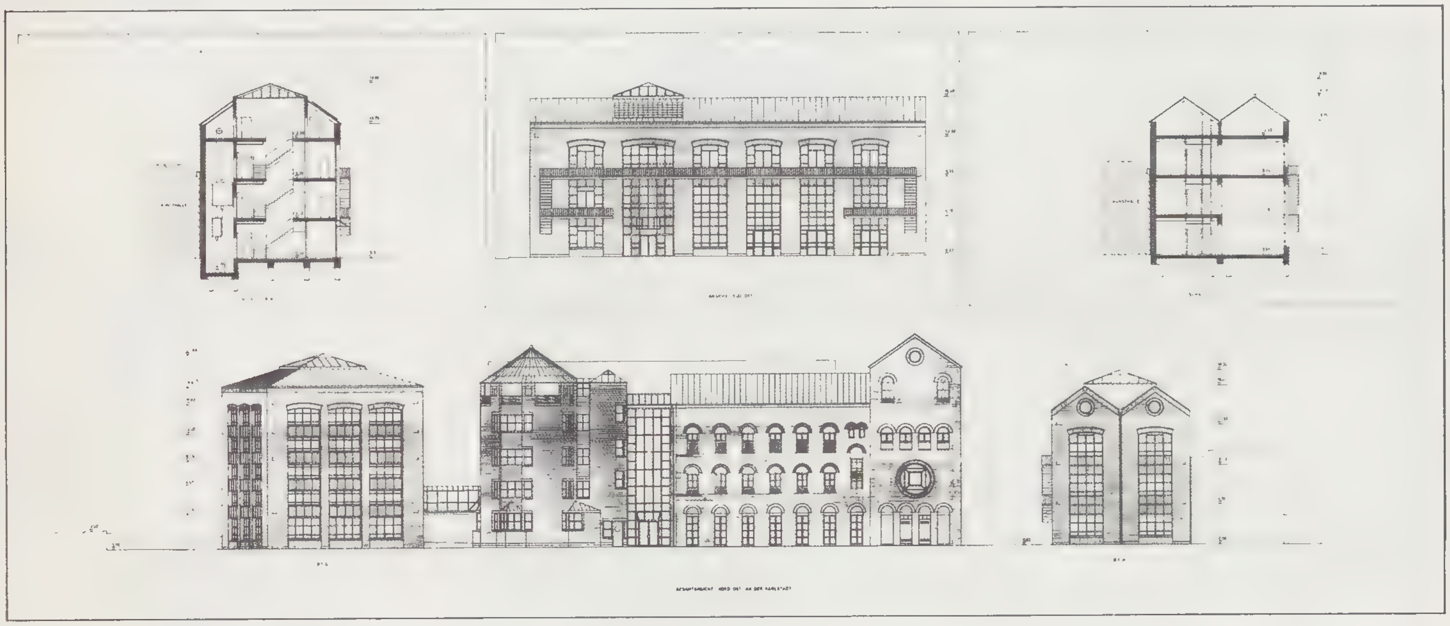
SCHNITT E E



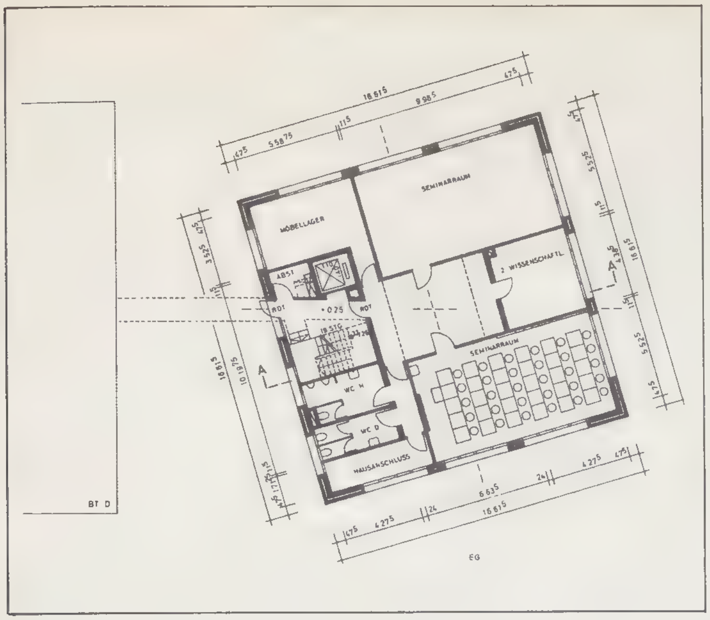


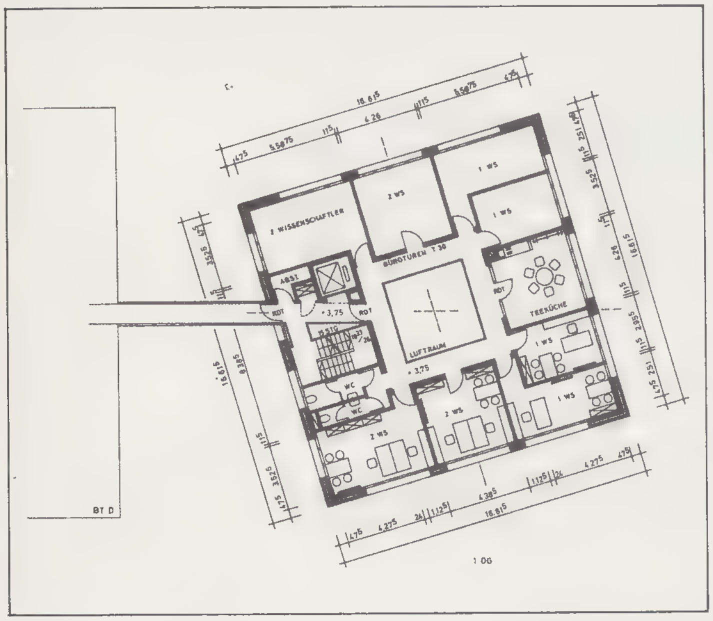
Sezioni longitudinali sulla biblioteca e sull'atrio centrale.
Viste da sud e da sudest con in primo piano la torre cilindrica delle aule seminariali e l'edificio quadrato dell'amministrazione.
Foto D. Leistner.

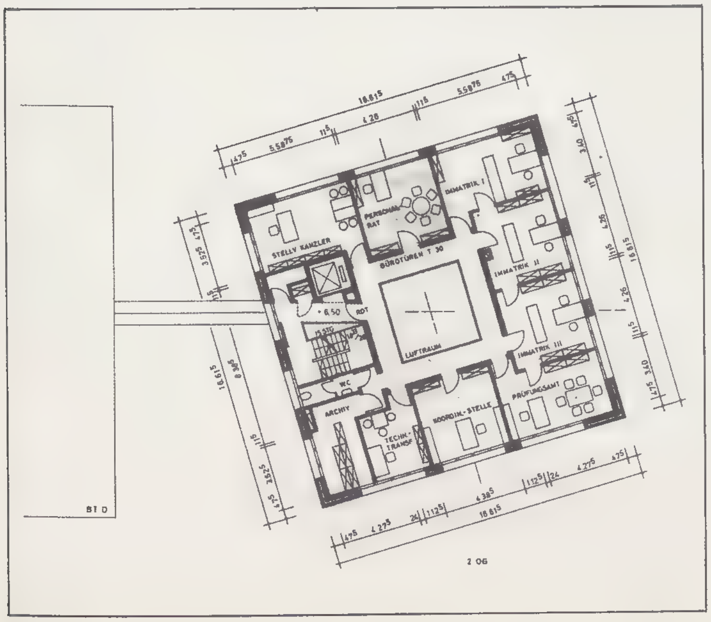




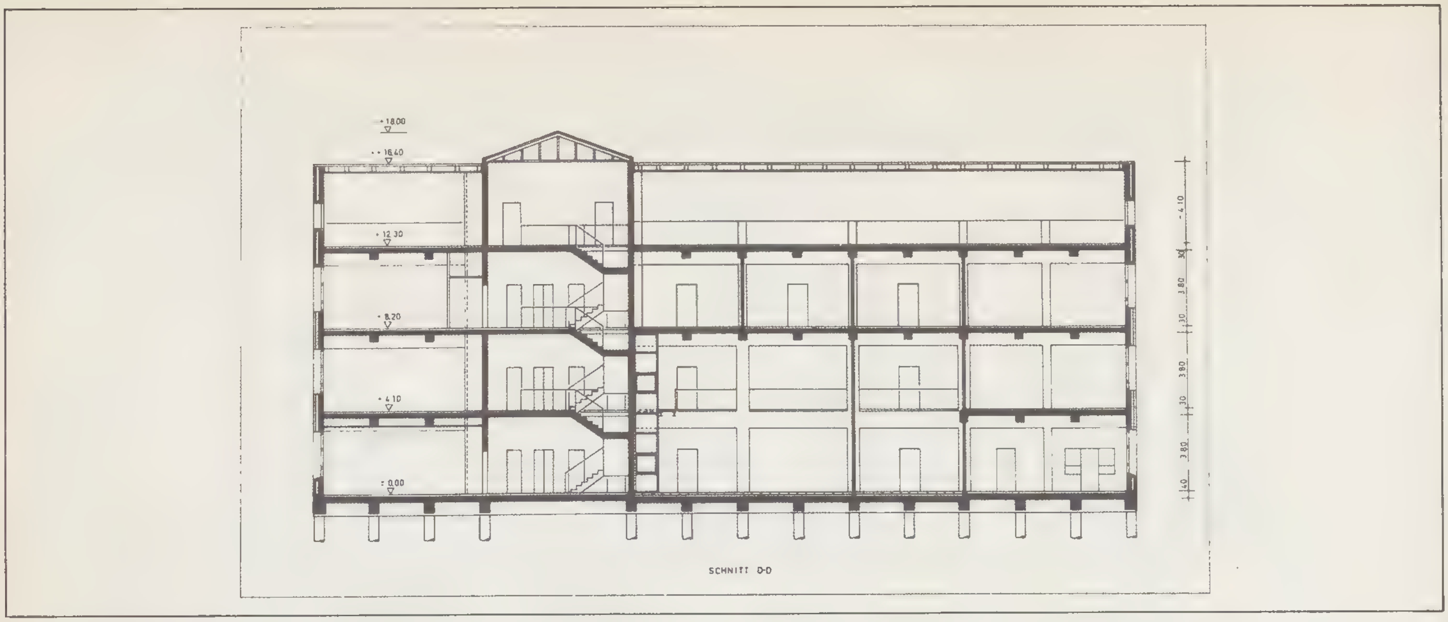
Prospetti e sezioni dei corpi della seconda fase dell'intervento (edifici dell'amministrazione e dei laboratori). Piante dei piani terra, primo e secondo dell'edificio dell'amministrazione.

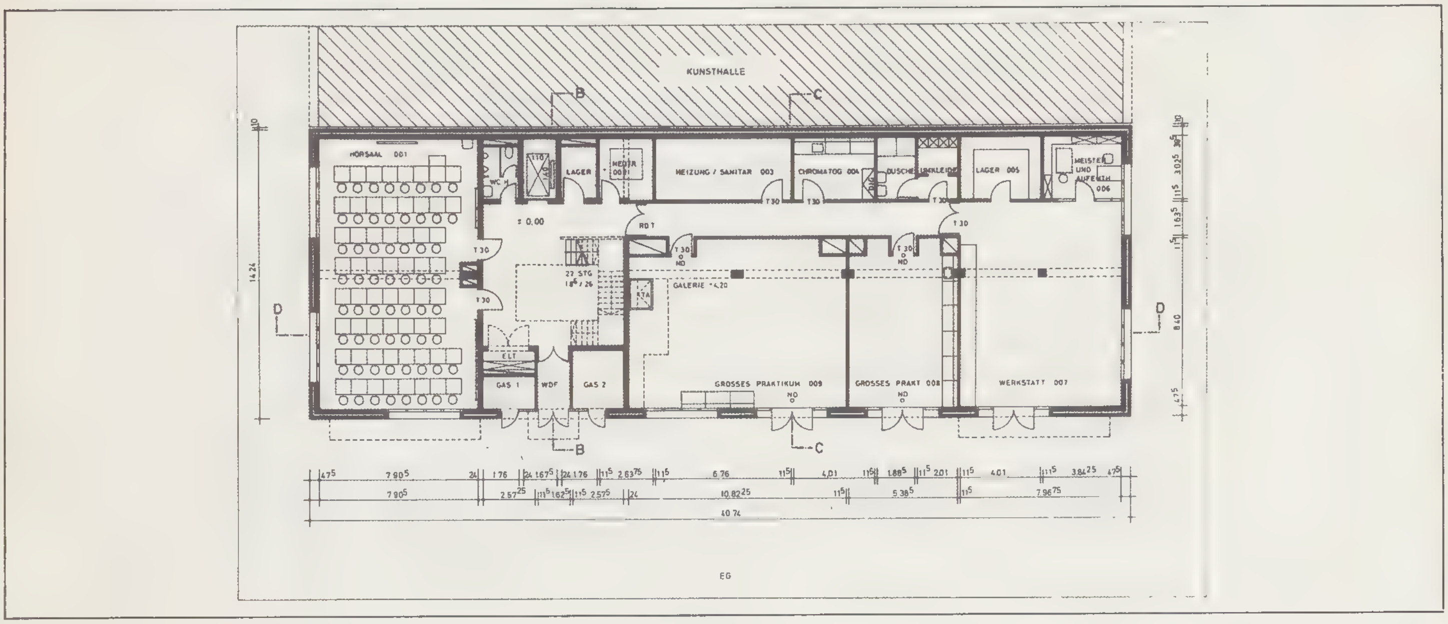




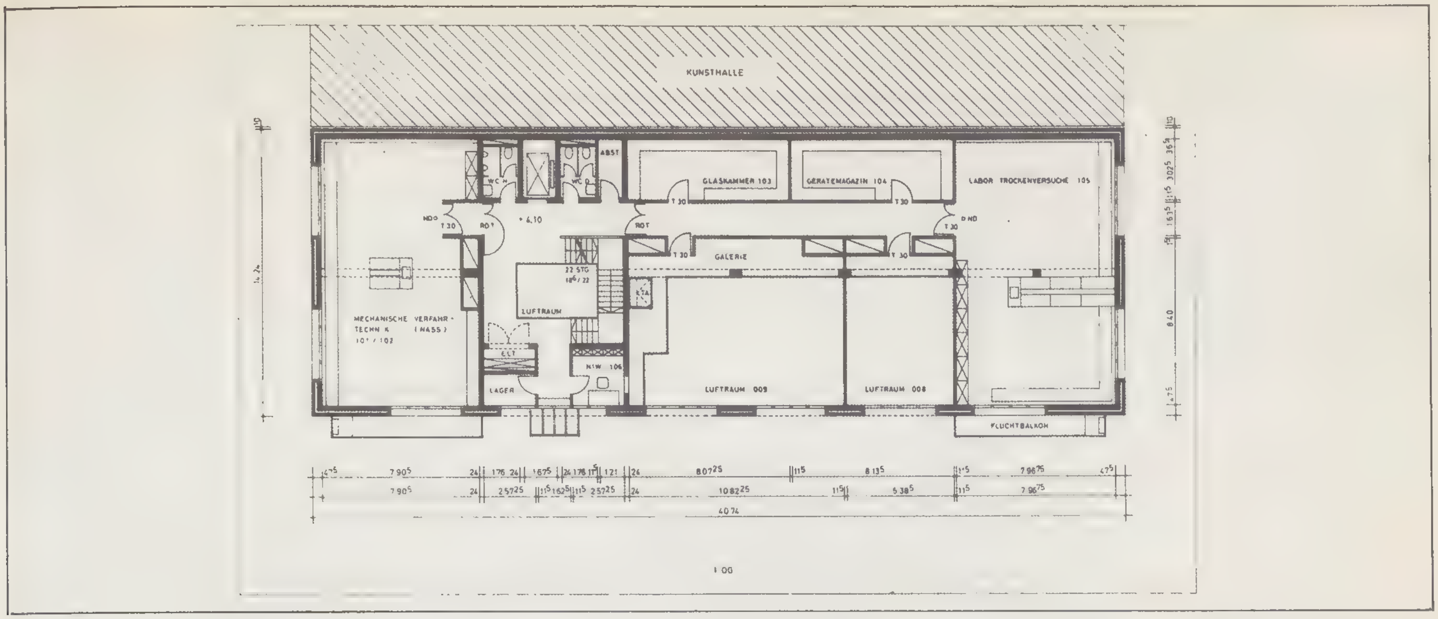


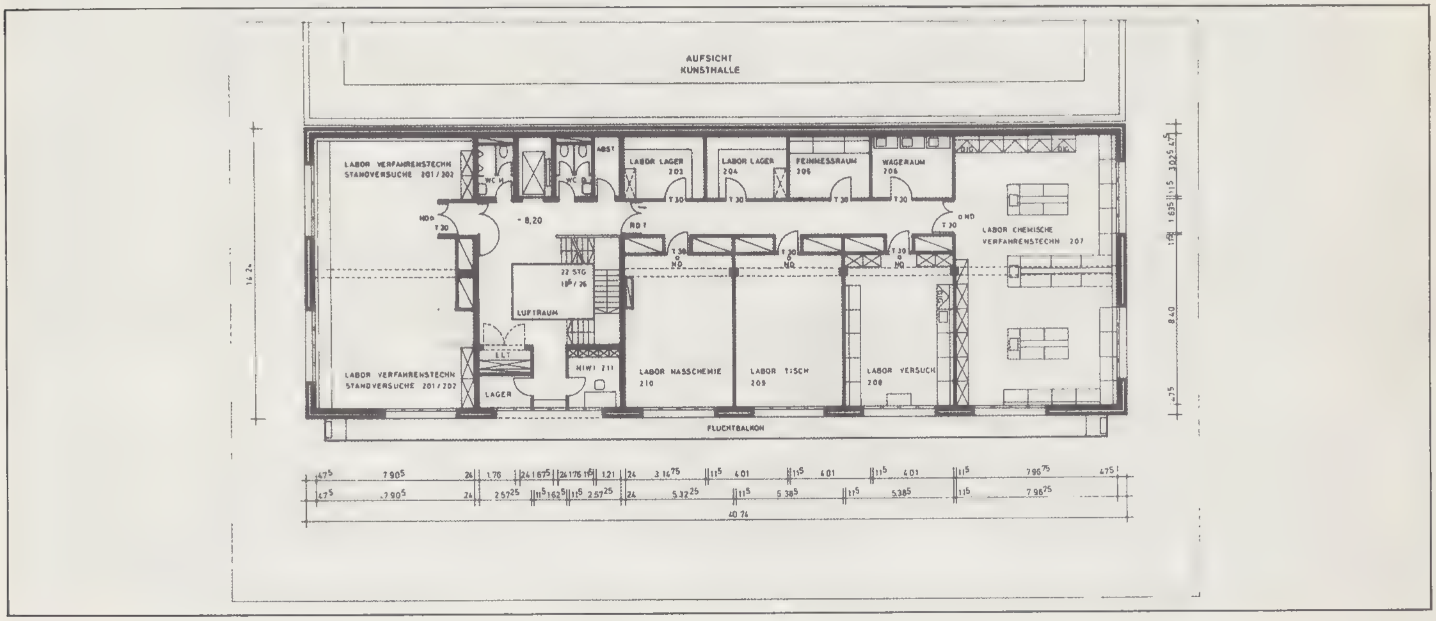
Come collegamento con la prima parte, che ora viene a trovarsi al centro del complesso, si era inizialmente pensato a due ponti. Essi avrebbero dovuto prolungare anche architettonicamente l'asse di distribuzione interna (già realizzato) verso i nuovi edifici, ma per ragioni economiche nel corso della progettazione è stato eliminato uno dei ponti, cosicché oggi solo l'edificio dell'amministrazione è collegato a livello del primo piano con la prima parte del complesso.
I due nuovi edifici, funzionalmente differenti, si presentano molto diversi anche all'esterno: l'edificio dell'amministrazione, allineato parallelamente alla Deichstrasse, ha l'aspetto severo di un cubo; l'edificio dei laboratori, accostato alla Kunsthalle, si allunga in profondità sul lotto di terreno.
In tal modo si è trovata una soluzione al problema urbanistico posto dalla vicinanza della Kunsthalle. Con l'edificio dell'amministrazione si è data alla Università una "testata" che, grazie alla sua ubicazione avanzata, prossima allo sbocco della Geeste, e grazie alla sua capacità di essere percepita come elemento emergente anche dalla riva opposta, assume nell'ambito dell'intero complesso un significato particolare.
Per quanto riguarda l'interno, ad entrambi gli edifici si accede attraverso due atri di grandezza quasi uguale e di dimensioni percettivamente vaste, illuminati entrambi dall'alto da una copertura vetrata. Da questi spazi, che collegano i vari piani, si può accedere direttamente sia agli uffici dell'amministrazione che ai corridoi che portano ai laboratori. Le aule per gli studenti in entrambi gli edifici si trovano al piano terreno, mentre il corpo dei laboratori è caratterizzato da un grande locale a doppia altezza, che consente la costruzione di grandi prototipi sperimentali e che spicca anche esternamente in facciata.
I fronti, pur semplificati e più rigorosi rispetto alla prima parte, nel loro insieme arricchiscono la composizione complessiva.





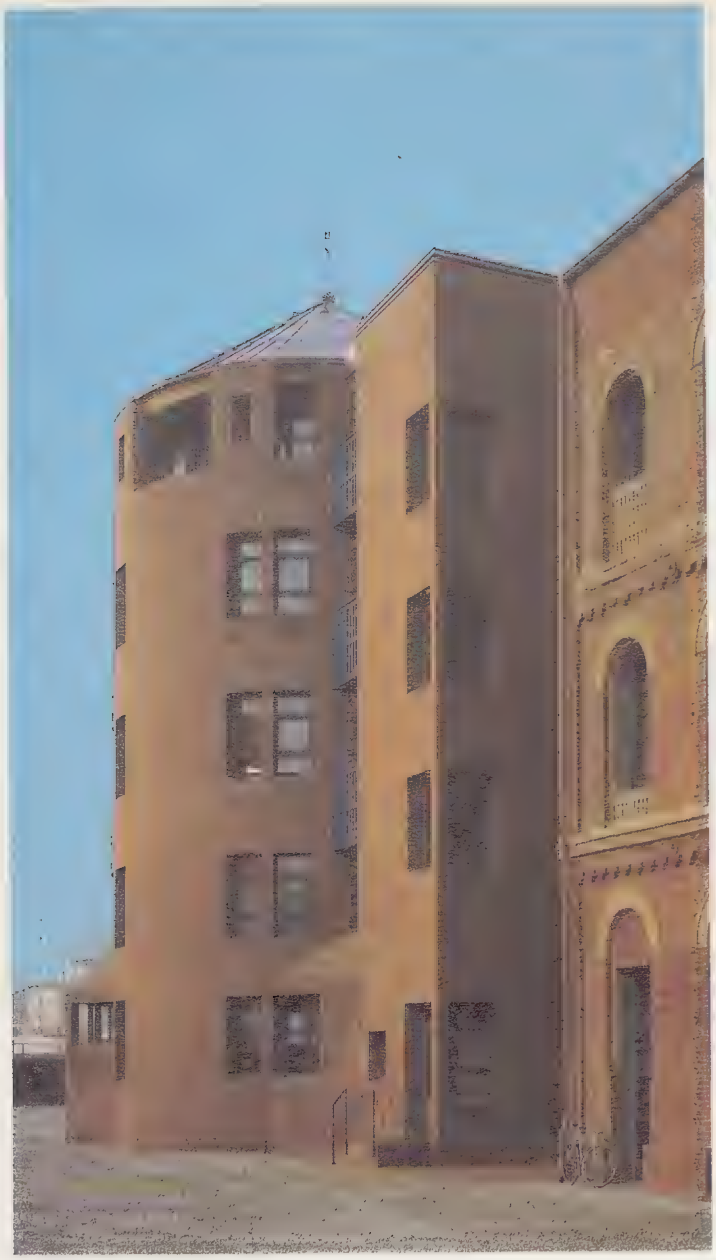
Sezione longitudinale e piante dei piani terra, primo e secondo dell'edificio dei laboratori della seconda fase dell'intervento.


KUNSTHALLE
GLASKAMMER 103
GERATEMAGAZIN 104
LABOR TROCKENVERSUCHE 105
GALERIE
LUFTRAUM
MECHANISCHE VERFAHR-TECHNIK (NASS)
LAGER
LUFTRAUM 009
LUFTRAUM 008
FLUCHTBALKON


AUFSICHT
KUNSTHALLE
LABOR VERFAHRENSTECHN STANDVERSUCHE 201/202
LABOR LAGER 203
LABOR LAGER 204
FEINMESSRAUM 205
WAGERAUM 206
LABOR CHEMISCHE VERFAHRENSTECHN 207
LUFTRAUM
LAGER
LABOR NASSCHEMIE 210
LABOR TISCH 209
LABOR VERSUCH 208
FLUCHTBALKON



Viste da nord con l'edificio dei laboratori, l'ex centro-emigranti restaurato e la torre cilindrica delle aule seminariali.
Foto D. Leistner.



Costruzione e materiali

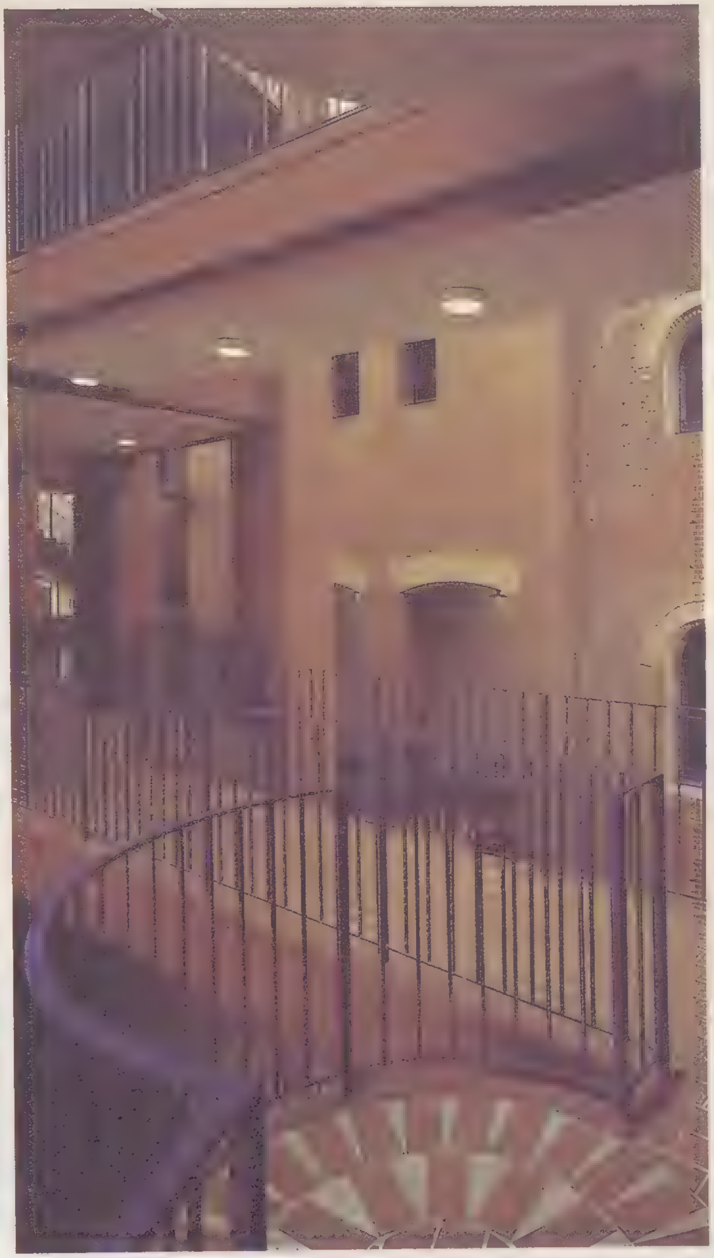
La struttura portante è in telai di cemento armato, mentre i muri esterni, autoportanti e con intercapedine a camera d'aria, sono di mattoni; i parapetti in corrispondenza delle finestre di legno, di colore blu e nero, sono in pannelli di truciolato di legno legato con cemento.
Complessivamente, per sottolineare l'omogeneità e l'unità dell'intero intervento, sono state adottate per quanto possibile le medesime articolazioni di facciata e le medesime scelte cromatiche e di materiali decise per la prima parte.





Vista dell'atrio centrale da nordovest e viste interne.
Foto D. Leistner.







Vista da sudovest.
Foto D. Leistner.



Vista da sudovest.
Foto D. Leistner.

Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami

1986-89

Aldo Rossi e Morris Adjmi



Disegno di studio.

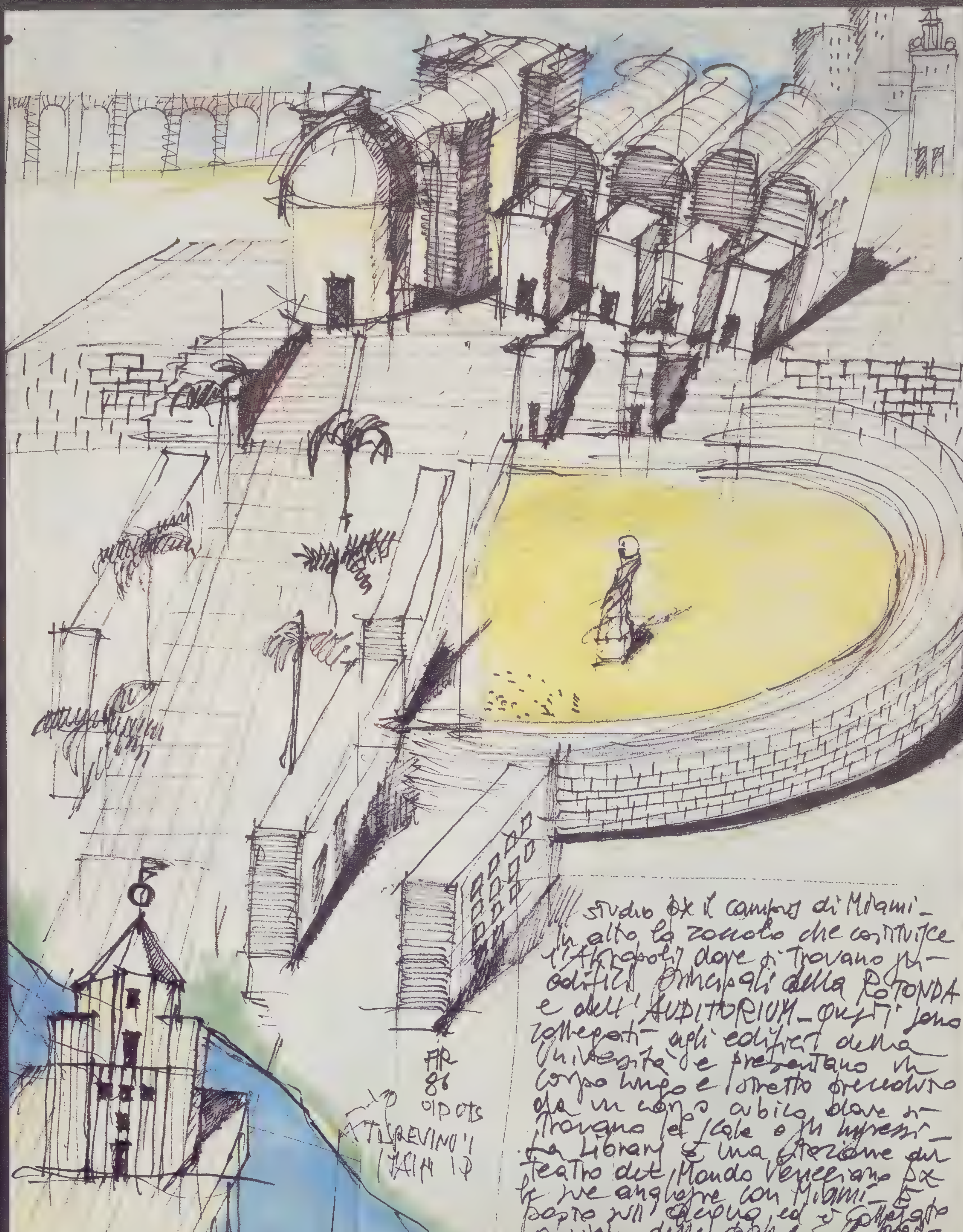
Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami

1986-89

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Disegno di studio.

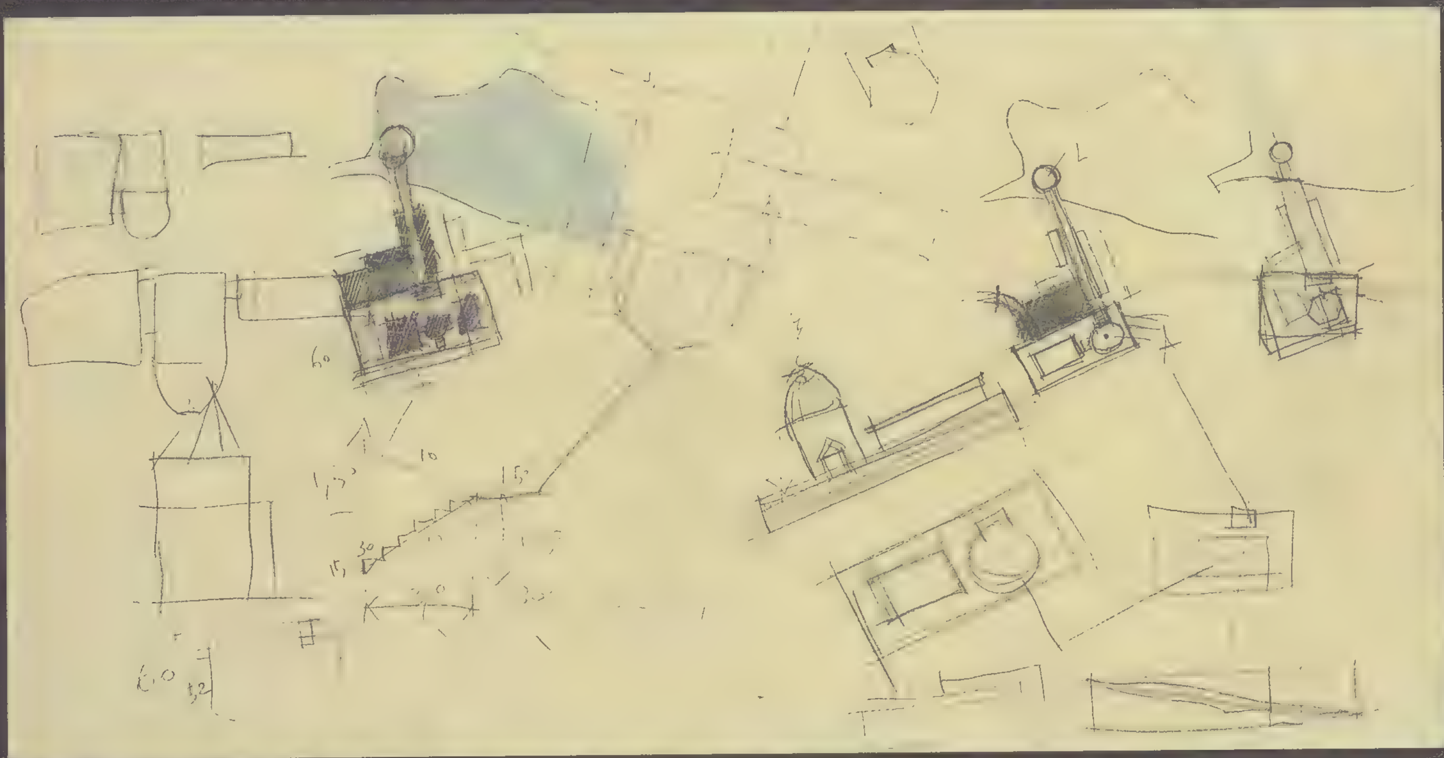


il campus di Miami
della ROTONDA
e dell'AUDITORIUM
teatro del Mondo Veneziano
AR
86

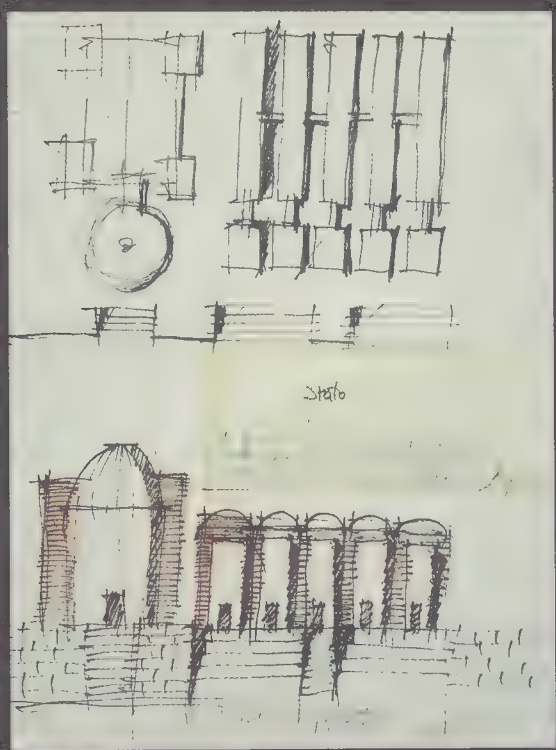
Progetto per la Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami
Aldo Rossi e Morris Adjmi

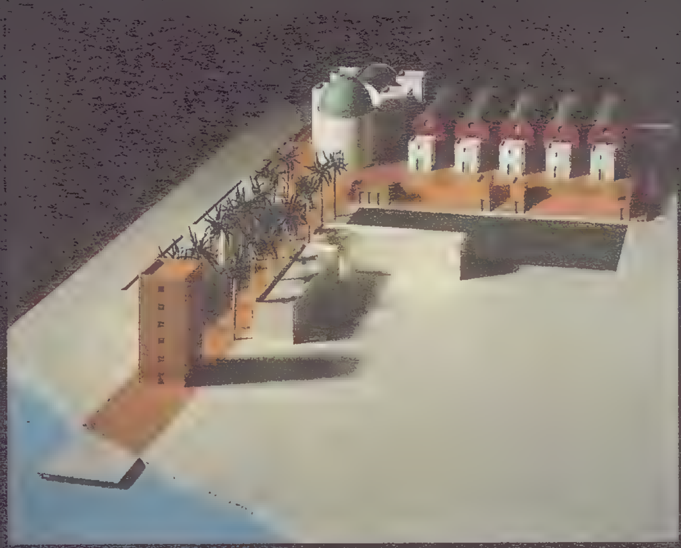
Il problema principale del *campus* dell'Università di Miami, da un punto di vista urbano e architettonico, sta nella sua mancanza di un centro: non esiste un luogo centrale che possa fungere da punto di riferimento. La realizzazione che proponiamo per la Scuola di architettura affronta questo problema, e potrebbe rappresentare l'inizio di una più complessa trasformazione dell'intero *campus*. Per questo motivo il progetto mette in connessione il lago (l'elemento più forte e suggestivo del *campus*) con i nuovi edifici.
Questi sono soprelevati su un basamento, un argine che rompe l'orizzontalità dell'area: un'acropoli, un santuario, il centro della comunità; e sono posti sull'Acropoli l'uno accanto all'altro in modo da creare un "effetto urbano", prodotto dal volume dell'Auditorium di fianco agli altri edifici amministrativi e di servizio.
Il Viale delle Palme congiunge l'Acropoli al lago: per questa ragione esso deve possedere la stessa intensità delle nuove architetture progettate. La palma, straordinario simbolo delle differenti culture e religioni che si sono sviluppate intorno al Mare Mediterraneo, è una pianta diffusissima a Miami. Si potrebbe dire che in Florida l'America abbia imparato a conciliare le immagini, la gente e le civiltà del nord e del sud: la cultura anglosassone e la cultura latina. Lungo il Viale delle Palme gli edifici preesistenti della Scuola di architettura sono connessi da nuove torri-scala e da ballatoi esterni che facilitano la circolazione pedonale.
Il Viale delle Palme è concluso da una Torre, che crea una piazza e una porta di accesso alla Scuola. Al suo interno si trovano tre spazi per seminari e commissioni, rispettivamente a forma di cubo, di sfera e di cono.
Il ricorso a queste forme primarie costituisce un riferimento a Boullée. In realtà, nella storia dell'architettura della città, l'imitazione e la riproduzione di un edificio o di un monumento rappresentano un problema più complesso. A partire dalla Villa di Adriano e da altre costruzioni di epoca romana, proseguendo con esempi quali la Cappella Palatina fatta costruire da Carlo Magno nella Cattedrale di Aquisgrana (simile a San Vitale a Ravenna), fino ad arrivare a Palladio e all'architettura romantica di Schinkel, la citazione ha assunto un preciso significato culturale e ideologico. In America, uno degli esempi migliori di citazione si trova nell'architettura di Jefferson, in particolare nella University of Virginia. È significativo che questo esempio sia una delle prime università americane, e che essa, secondo la concezione di Jefferson, dovesse rappresentare un ponte ideale tra il vecchio e il nuovo mondo.
Lungo il Viale delle Palme — un riferimento a Siviglia — abbiamo conservato gli edifici esistenti, apportando le lievi modifiche sopra illustrate.
Per quanto riguarda i materiali, l'Acropoli e la Torre, forme forti, sono realizzate in cemento o in blocchi di muratura, con rivestimento di pietra corallina locale. La pavimentazione dell'Acropoli e del Viale delle Palme sarà realizzata con la medesima pietra, in modo da unificare l'intero progetto. Come nel caso del basamento, le forme degli altri edifici sono più forti dei materiali usati per la loro costruzione. Comunque, ogni edificio possiede un suo specifico carattere, e deve quindi essere realizzato con materiali diversi. L'Auditorium e la Rotonda saranno di stucco, bianco e brillante. I volumi cubici delle scale che servono i cinque edifici amministrativi e di servizio saranno di uno stucco diverso da quello dell'Auditorium e della Rotonda. Gli edifici amministrativi e di servizio avranno muri di mattoni sui lati corti e rivestimento di stucco sui lati lunghi. Le coperture dell'intero complesso saranno di rame o di lamiera verniciata.
L'Acropoli-basamento ospiterà strutture della Scuola di architettura e dell'Università di Miami (servizi, depositi, aule). Verso nord un grande spazio verde è destinato a riunioni pubbliche, di fronte al quale si trovano le scale che portano in cima all'Acropoli. La Rotonda, come si conviene alla sua tipologia centrica, funge da atrio dell'Auditorium e può essere usata anche autonomamente per esposizioni, feste e cerimonie ufficiali. L'Auditorium può accogliere circa quattrocento persone a piano terra e cento sulla balconata. I cinque edifici amministrativi e di servizio soddisfano tutte le altre funzioni, comprese alcune aule e una biblioteca. La biblioteca, secondo la tradizione di Boullée e Asplund, contiene un grande spazio centrale di lettura, circondato da pareti di libri su tre livelli. La maggior parte delle aule sarà situata negli edifici preesistenti lungo il Viale delle Palme. Le nuove torri dei corpi scala forniranno spazi coperti per incontri informali degli studenti e della facoltà.
La realizzazione del progetto avverrà in due fasi. La prima fase prevede la costruzione della Torre, del Viale delle Palme, e il rinnovamento degli edifici esistenti. La seconda fase consiste nella costruzione dell'Acropoli e degli edifici soprastanti.

Disegno di studio.



Schizzi di studio dell'impianto planimetrico generale e dell'Acropoli con la Rotonda, l'Auditorium e gli edifici di servizio.



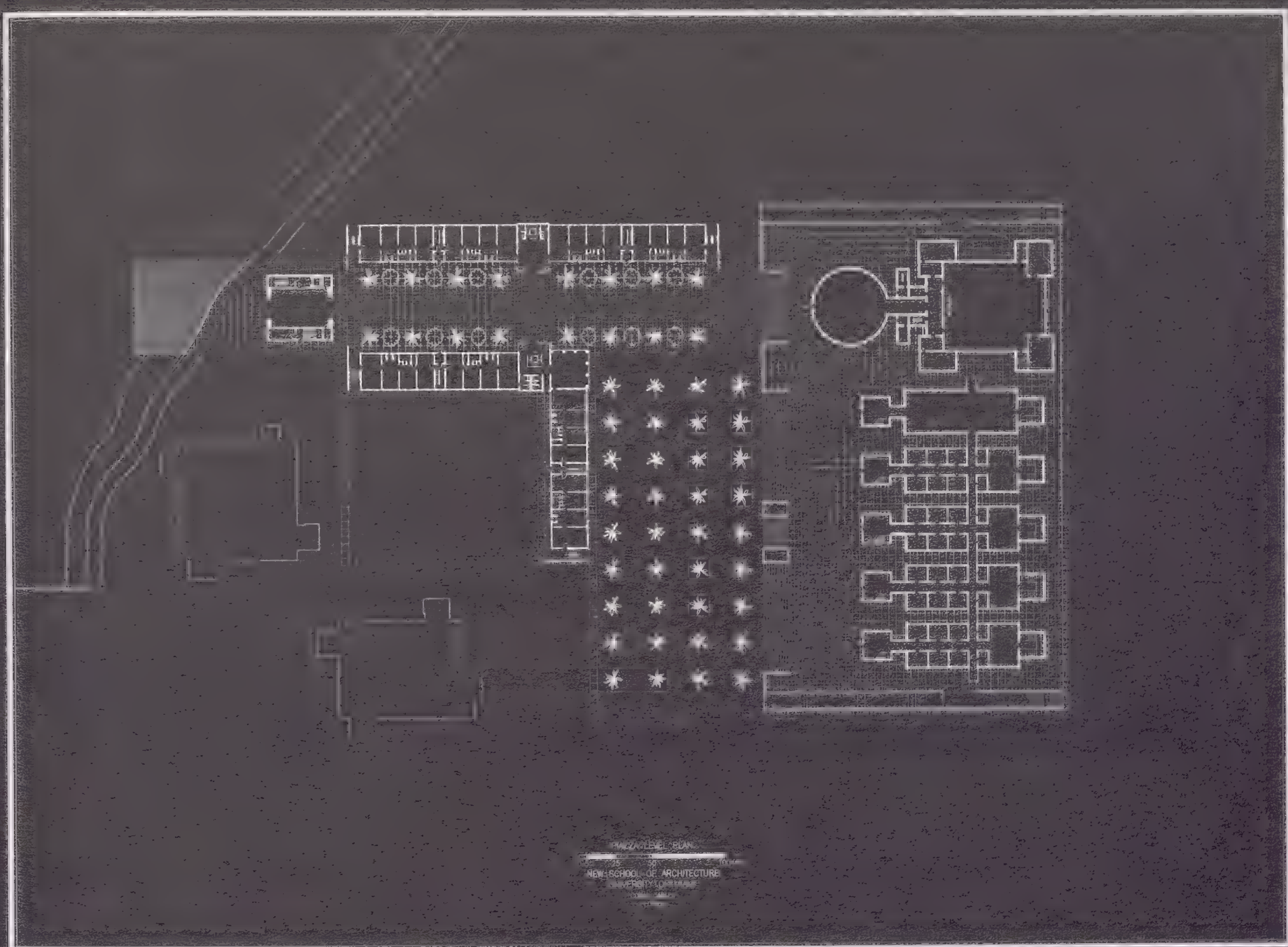


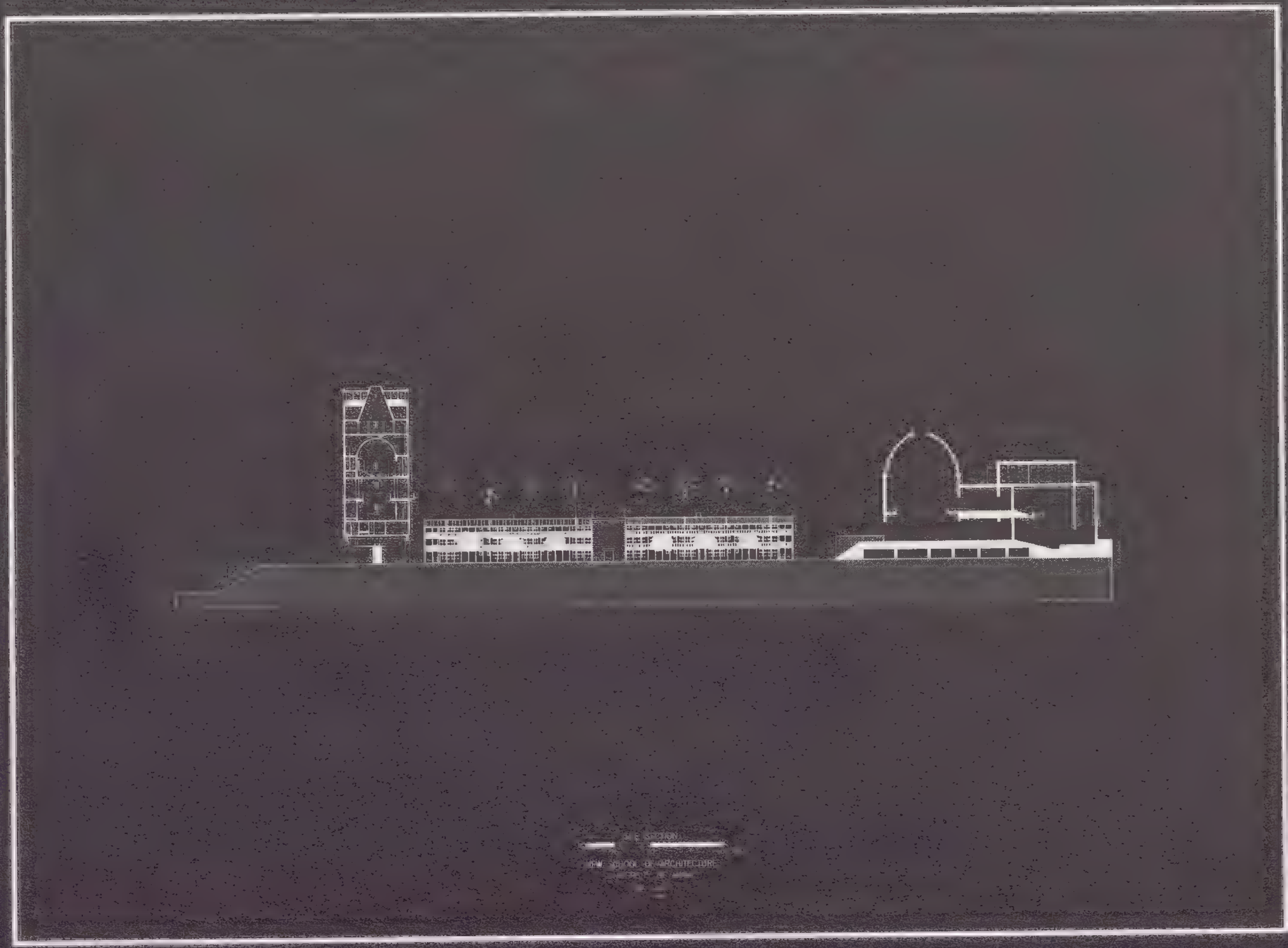


Veduta del modello e schizzi di studio dell'Acropoli.
Foto N. Matura.

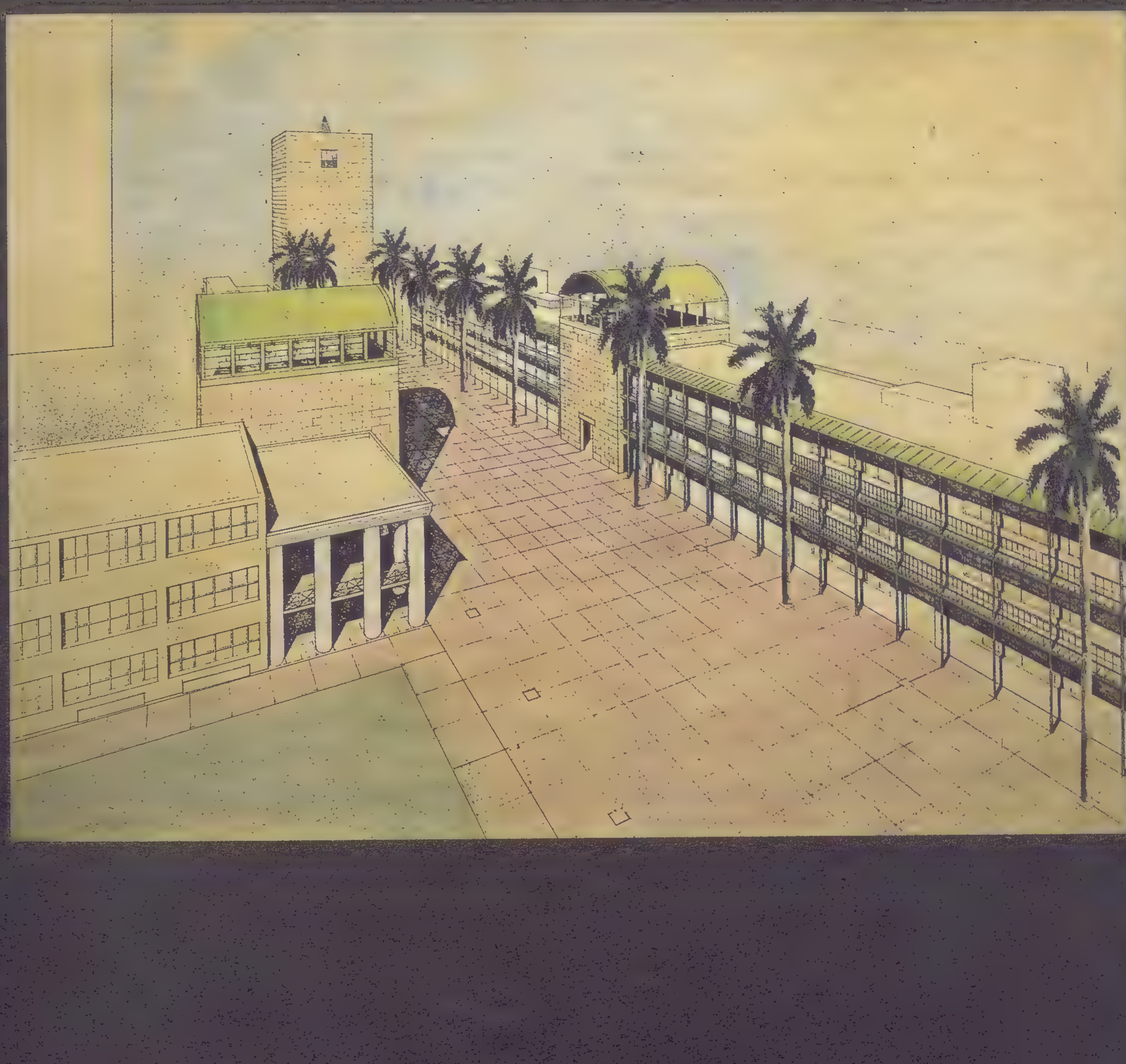


Planivolumetria generale e pianta del campus.


PIAZZA LEVEL PLAN
NEW SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE

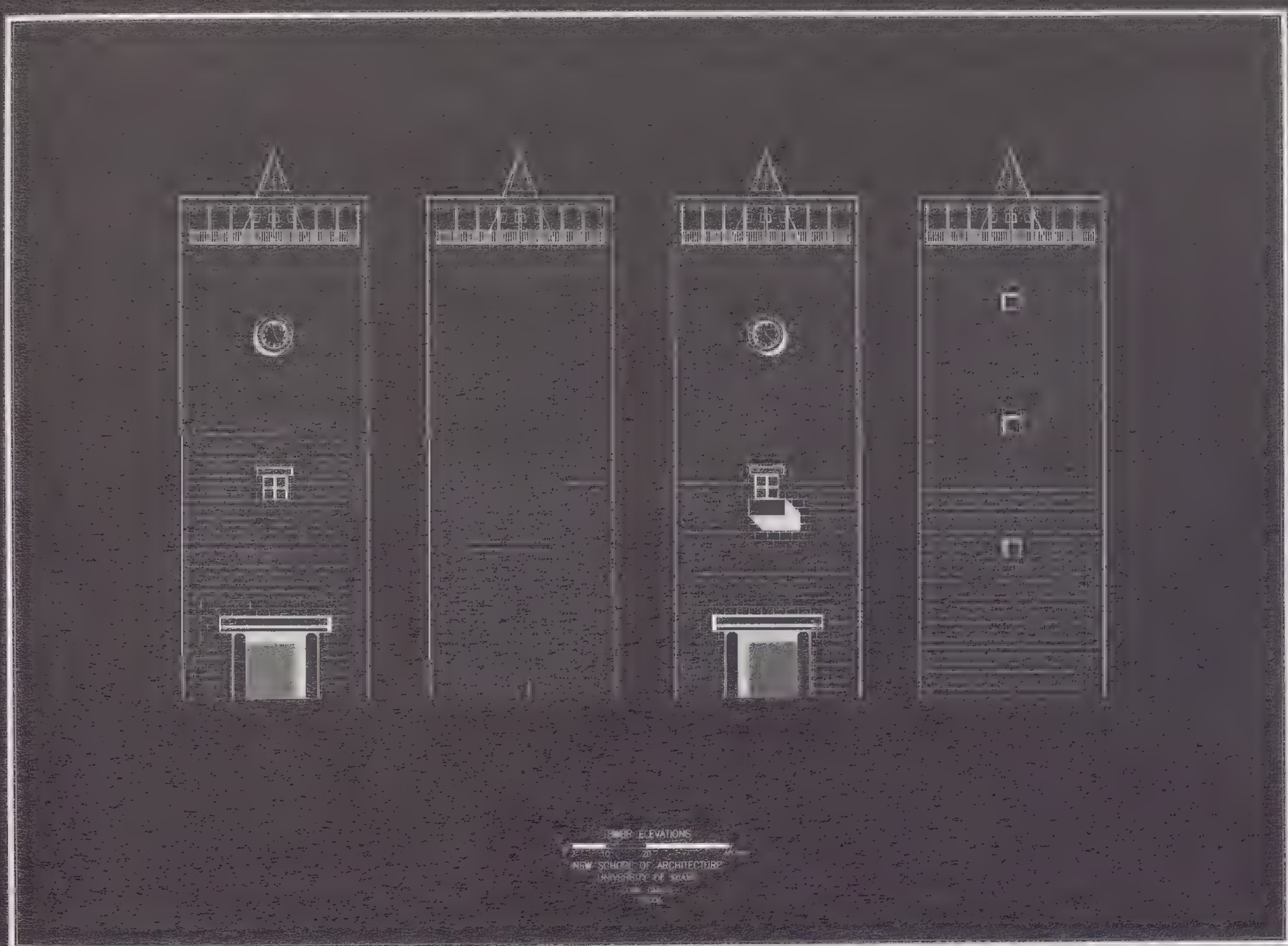


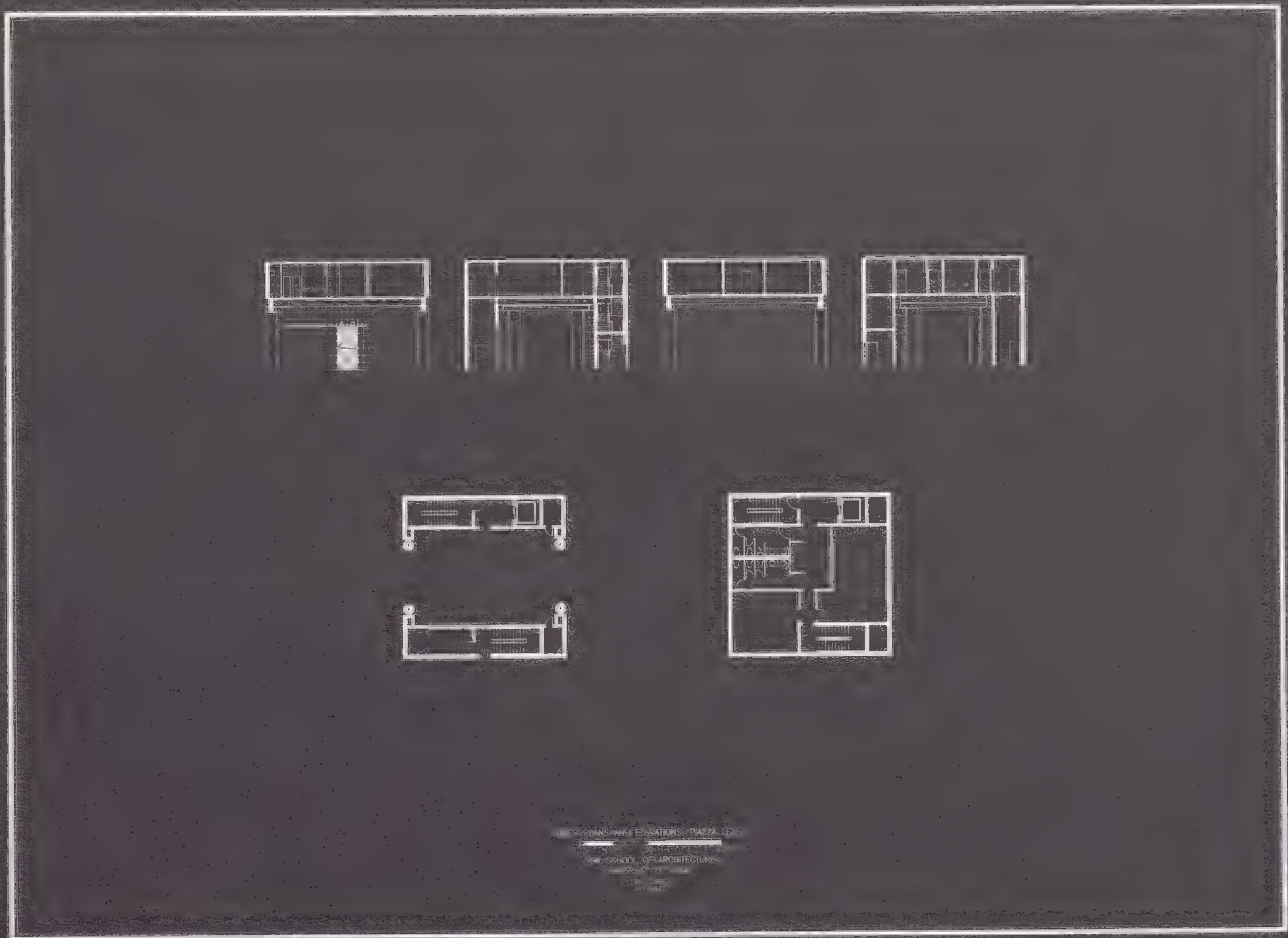
Sezione longitudinale e prospettiva lungo il Viale delle Palme.

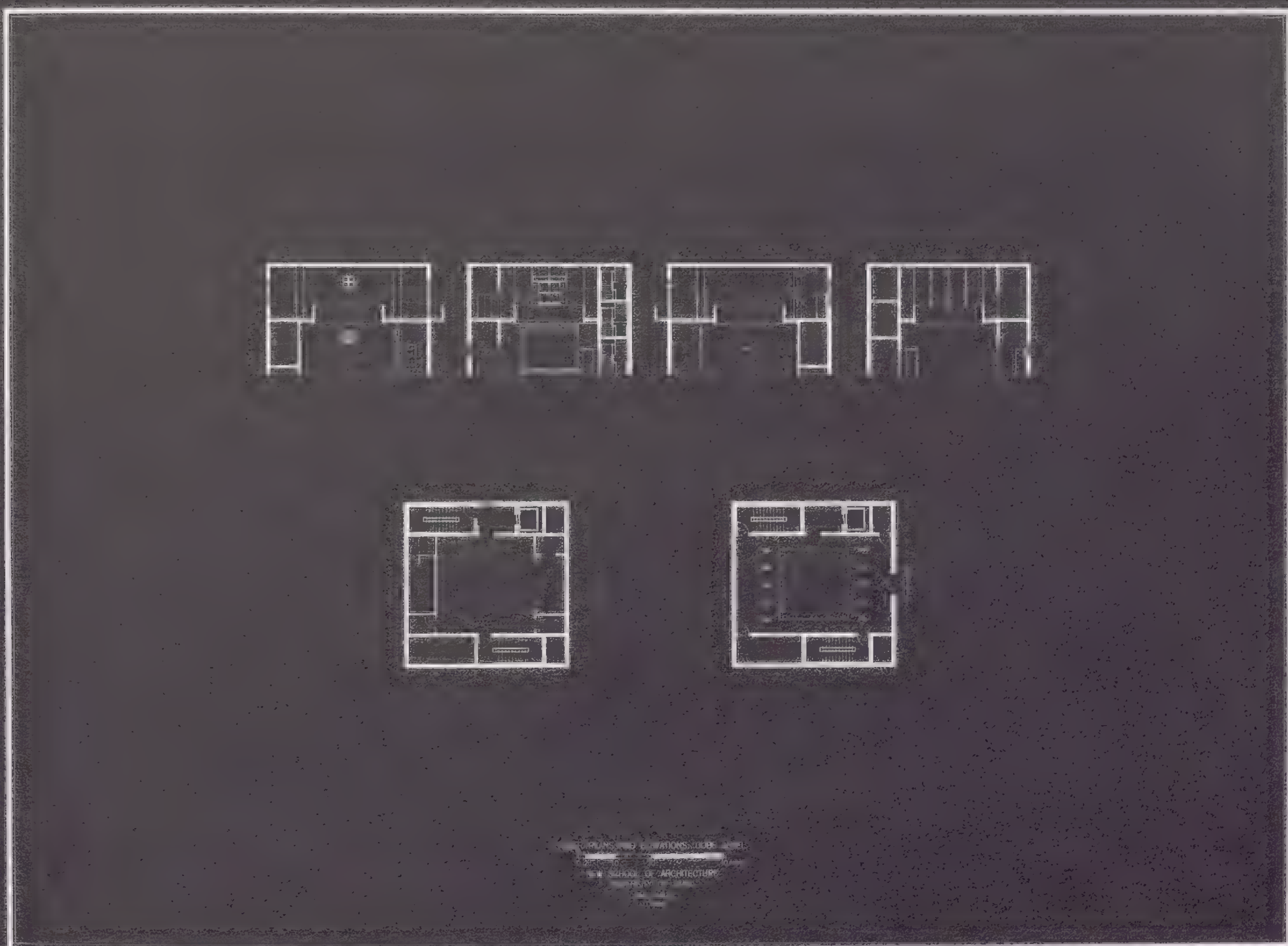




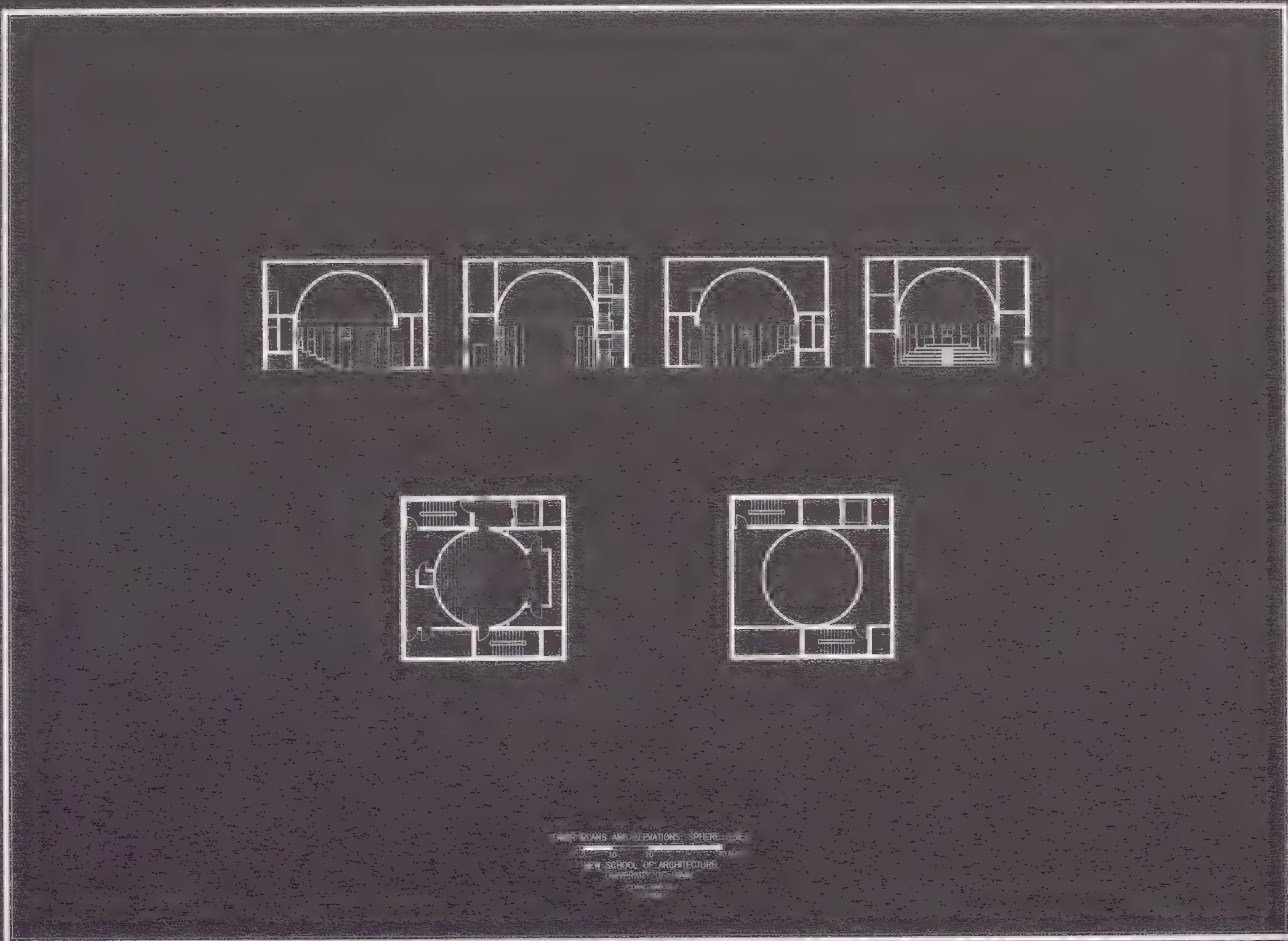
Modello e prospetti della Torre per aule seminariali.
Foto N. Matura.


ELEVATIONS
ARCHITECTURE

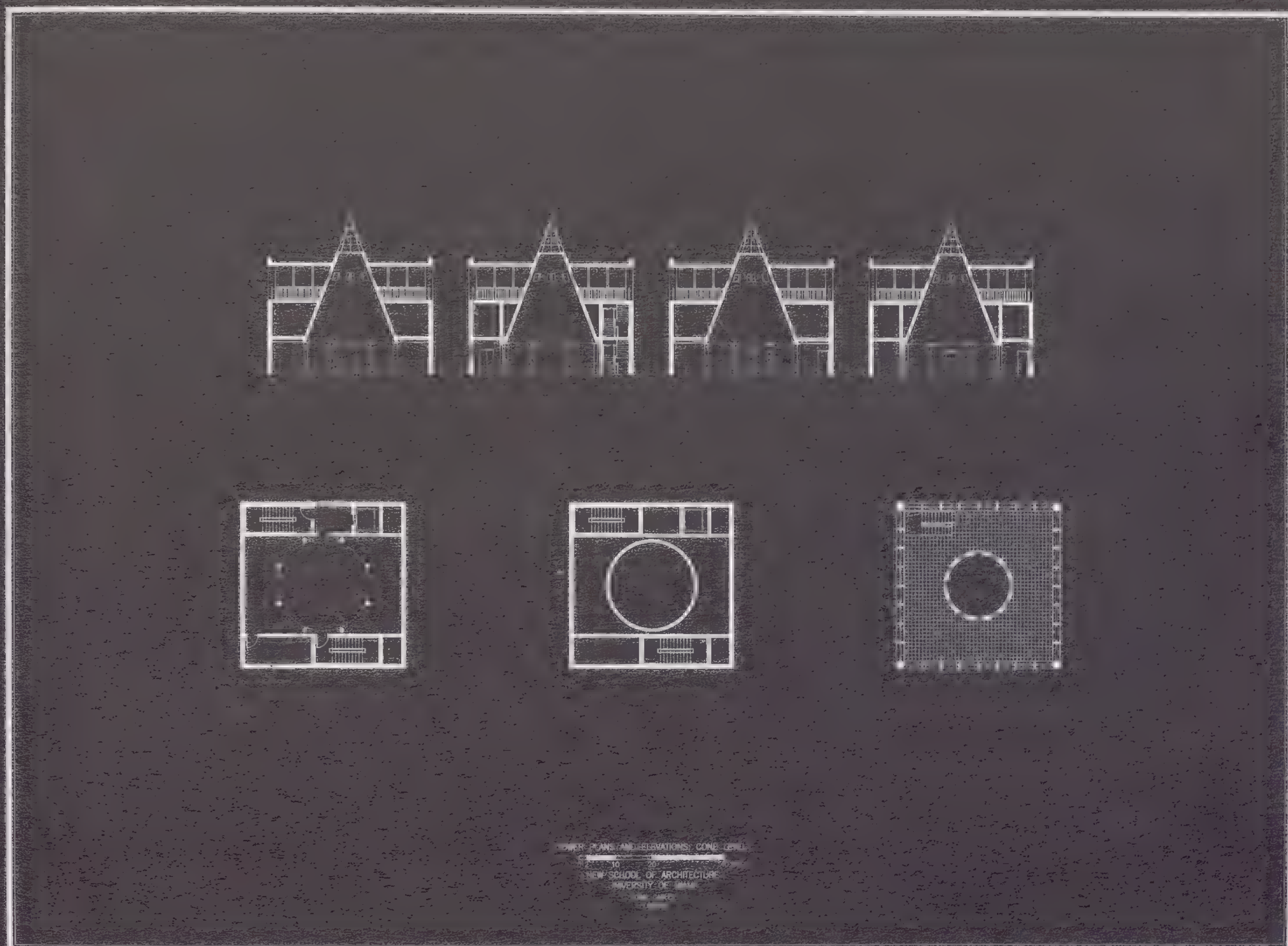

ELEVATIONS PIAZZA
SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE



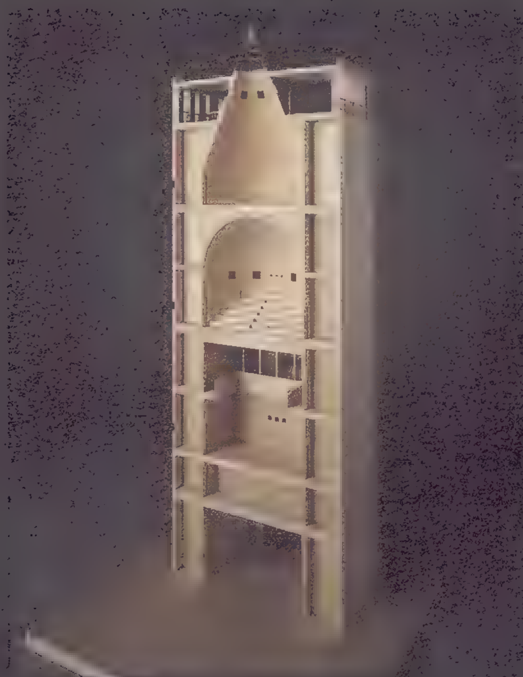
Piante e sezioni della Torre per aule seminariali ai livelli della piazza e dell'aula cubica.



Piante e sezioni della Torre per aule seminariali ai livelli dell'aula sferica e dell'aula conica.


NEW SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE



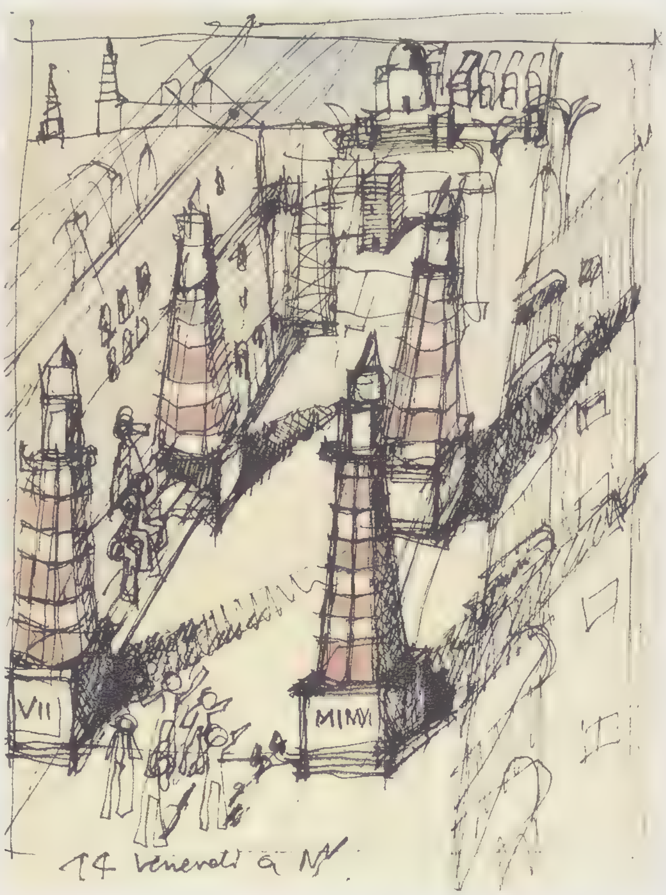


Sezioni e spaccato del modello della Torre per aule seminariali. Foto N. Maturo.

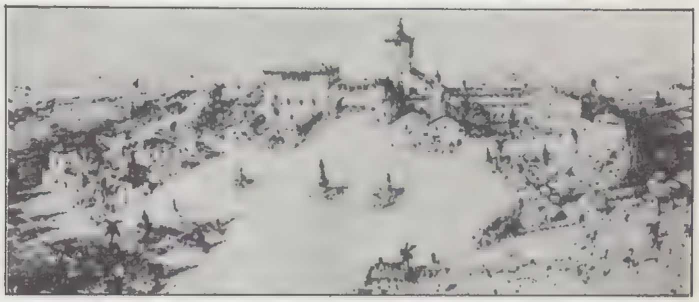
Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica
Drexel Turner

Spesso, quando gli architetti europei sono venuti in America a costruire, lo hanno fatto su invito di istituti di ricerca o universitari: Mies van der Rohe allo IIT, Aalto al MIT, Le Corbusier a Harvard, Stirling e Wilford a Rice, Harvard, Cornell, e ora alla UC Irvine. Simili proposte accademiche generalmente avvengono quando la reputazione dell'architetto chiamato ha già avuto modo di affermarsi solidamente altrove. Così è avvenuto con il primo incarico americano di Aldo Rossi, un gruppo di piccoli edifici che ospiteranno la School of Architecture dell'Università di Miami. Con la sua piccola "acropoli", la torre sulle rive del lago e la trasformazione della strada con gli studi, questo piccolo frammento di città è stato seguito da progetti per strutture civiche temporanee destinate ai *waterfront* di Galveston e Toronto[1]. Ispirandosi a queste realizzazioni, Rossi ha prodotto una serie di disegni di composizioni immaginarie che, nonostante la semplicità degli elementi, rivelano una sensibilità altamente pittorica, quasi teatrale, combinando l'immaginario marittimo mediterraneo con quello di questa sponda dell'Atlantico.
Vincent Scully ha osservato che Rossi è intrinsecamente pittore-architetto, quanto lo fu Le Corbusier[2]. Ma, per Rossi, gli *objets à réaction poétique* sono pezzi della città stessa, ritratti con uno stile che ricorda i paesaggi urbani, malinconici e geometrici, di Sironi e De Chirico. Nella reiterazione dei suoi *capricci* il sogno di un architetto è riportato a una dimensione d'uso quotidiano: una parata di icone personali o prese a prestito, disposte in composizioni talvolta ingenue, aprospettiche, che sembrano cadere su se stesse; visitazioni affascinanti e impossibili, con l'eccezione dello stupefacente viaggio del *Teatro del Mondo* nelle acque di Venezia e lungo la costa adriatica. Questa piccola torre montata su una chiatta rappresenta una delle invenzioni più affascinanti nate dalla fantasia di Rossi. Realizzata come *folie* galleggiante per la Biennale del 1980, risultava curiosamente "al posto giusto" ovunque la si collocasse; assumeva così una sua logica, per quanto bizzarra, la proposta di utilizzarla oltreoceano come biblioteca per la Scuola di architettura di Miami.
Nell'opera di Rossi la realtà analogica dei sogni è un nodo centrale, che ben si accorda con la tendenza subliminale dei *campus* americani (e di molte altre imprese architettoniche del Nuovo Mondo) a dare corpo al lamento del viaggiatore di Emerson "*ovunque ma non qui*"[3]. Dallo stile coloniale del College of William and Mary "alla maniera" di Wren[4] fino al consolidarsi, alla metà del nostro secolo, di un modernismo burocratico come linguaggio preferito per i *campus*, l'auspicato sviluppo dei *campus* americani si è svolto in termini quasi naturali. Esempi degni di nota di questa tendenza sono la "cittadella accademica" romanizzata di Jefferson per la University of Virginia, che Rossi ammira[5], e la "Scuola di Atene" (non realizzata) di Jackson Davis per la New York University (1831) — un tempio dorico articolato in più ambienti e coronato da una "torre dei venti", al quale si preferì la sua proposta alternativa in uno stile da lui stesso definito "*Collegiate Gothics*"[6].
Giungendo in America — e in modo particolare in Florida, paradiso della speculazione edilizia —, imbevuto di aspettative sullo splendore ispano-veneziano — dagli alberghi Ponce de Leon e Alcazar a St. Augustine (Carrère e Hastings, 1887-89) alla villa Vizcaya sulla Biscayne Bay a Miami (F. Burrall Hoffman Jr. con P. Chalfin e D. Suarez, 1914-17) —, Rossi potrebbe contribuire a disperdere quell'apatia che ha afflitto buona parte dell'edilizia in Florida fin dal crollo premonitore del mercato immobiliare del 1926. L'Università di Miami fu concepita come un complemento ornamentale del nuovo, ricco sobborgo di Coral Gables che, nato nel 1921 per iniziativa dell'imprenditore George Merrick su un'area di 1600 acri, ben presto si caratterizzò per la sua architettura pomposa, "iperpittoresca": un sistema di canali con tanto di gondole, una piscina "veneziana" con sorgente ricavata da una cava di ghiaia, porte di ingresso alla città, e l'avvio di un'intera cerchia di mura[7]. Merrick donò 160 acri per la costruzione di un *campus* poco prima di perdere il

Aldo Rossi, Disegno con l'Arco marittimo di Galveston, Texas, e la Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida, 1987.
Alexander Jackson Davis, Progetto per la New York University, 1831: prospetto. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Walter de Garmo, Phineas Paist, Denman Fink, Douglas Entrance Street (La Puerta del Sol) a Coral Gables, Florida, 1926. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.
Foto W. Fishbaugh.
Schultze e Weaver, Biltmore Hotel a Coral Gables, Florida, 1925-26.
Foto W. Fishbaugh.



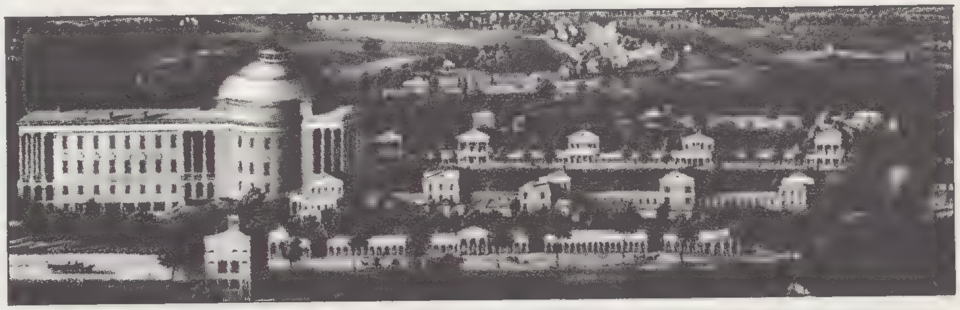


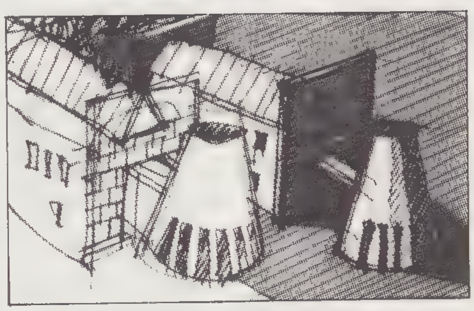


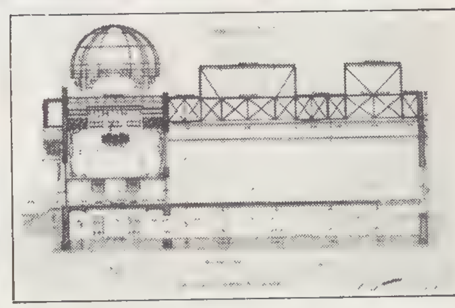


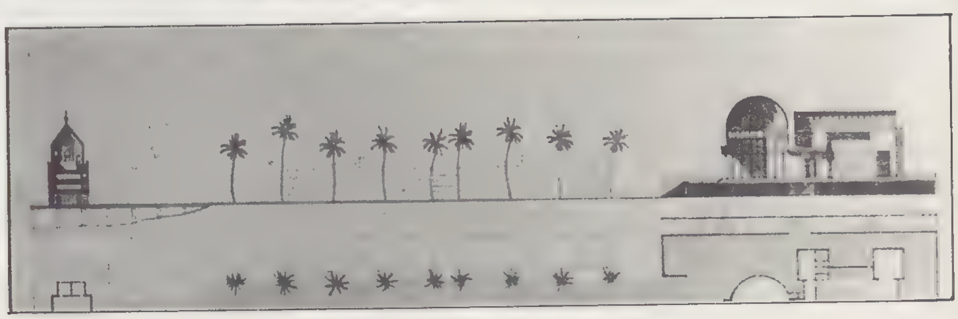
Thomas Jefferson, Rotonda e padiglioni della University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1817-26. Incisione da un disegno di W. Goodacre, 1831.
University of Virginia, Charlottesville: Thomas Jefferson, Rotonda e padiglioni, 1817-26; Robert Mills, Corpo aggiunto sul retro della rotonda, 1851-53. Litografia da un disegno di C. Bohn, 1856.
Aldo Rossi, Disegno col teatro del Centro Direzionale di Perugia, 1982.
Joseph Maria Olbrich, Padiglione della Secessione a Vienna, 1897-98: sezione longitudinale.
Aldo Rossi e Morris Adjmi, Progetto della Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, 1986: pianta e sezione longitudinale dal Teatro del Mondo alla Rotonda nella prima proposta.











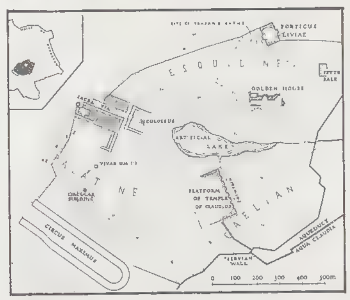
controllo di Coral Gables.
La costruzione del *campus*, che Merrick aveva proposto di finanziare parzialmente, fu differita per mancanza di *sponsor*. La nuova università trovò posto nel vicino Biltmore Hotel (Schultze e Weaver, 1926), la cui torre, simile alla Giralda a Siviglia, rappresentava una variante verticale di quello stile neoispanico pittoresco che Merrick aveva sognato per il *campus*. Poco dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, il *campus* cominciò a prendere forma, in una sorta di distillazione igienista dell'itinerario di Gropius dal progetto per il Black Mountain College a Lake Eden, North Caroline, allo Harvard Graduate Center: un *patchwork* di strutture lunghe e sottili simili a baracche, disposte per lo più ad angolo retto su 250 acri di terreno (Robert Law Weed con Marion L. Manley, 1945-49). Il risultato fu encomiato da "The architectural Forum" come "*l'unico insediamento per l'istruzione completamente nuovo, completamente contemporaneo del paese*", il cui impianto progettuale riusciva "*ad esorcizzare i fantasmi dei Grandi di Spagna che dovevano avere rappresentato una parte tanto importante del modello originario*"[8]. Oggi il tratto più distintivo del *campus* è considerato essere il lago artificiale con il nome indiano di *Osceola*, creato nella fase iniziale della costruzione postbellica su un'ansa del canale che divide il *campus* in due metà, una accademica e didattica e una residenziale. Accanto a questo lago Rossi doveva riconfigurare la Scuola di architettura, conservando parecchi edifici che originariamente avevano ospitato le residenze degli studenti prima di essere convertiti ad uso scolastico.
Il progetto di Rossi, così come si è sviluppato a partire dal 1986, è insolito per una scuola di architettura, in quanto non consiste di un singolo edificio, bensì di un insieme di piccoli edifici, pezzi di una frammentaria città pedagogica[9] — impianto che era stato prefigurato nella ricerca sugli "*academical villages*" che egli aveva proposto agli studenti della Cooper Union nel 1978[10] —. L'elemento centrale dello schema di Rossi, elaborato con l'assistenza di Morris Adjmi, è una rotonda senza portico che conclude il corridoio, o meglio il piccolo viale delimitato dagli ex alloggi studenteschi. Molti dei disegni di Rossi del 1977 contengono un simile elemento, compreso il progetto di concorso per il Centro Direzionale di Firenze e la ricostruzione delle Terme di Caracalla per la mostra *Roma Interrotta*. Ma nel contesto di Miami la rotonda sembra una citazione di quella di Jefferson alla University of Virginia (1817-26), sebbene negli schizzi a mano libera di Rossi le proporzioni della rotonda di Miami appaiano un poco esagerate, alla maniera della Chiesa dei Santi Simeone e Giuda di Giovanni Scalfarotto a Venezia (1718-38), di certe incisioni non troppo fedeli del monumento di Jefferson, o anche dello schizzo fatto dallo stesso Rossi nel 1980 per una caffettiera, descritto come una "*architettura fantastica in miniatura*"[11].
Nel suo esito finale, la rotonda di Miami sembra più tozza e meno autonoma che non negli schizzi originali, più simile a un vestibolo inteso come il corto silo a cupola che dà accesso al Museo Marittimo di Ragnar Ostberg a Stoccolma (1939). Il bordo superiore è forato da una sequenza di finestre poste come i pannelli vuoti che abbozzavano un fregio nella rotonda di Latrobe della Center Square Pump House a Filadelfia (1799-1801). Il vestibolo, che funge anche da galleria, prelude alla sezione centrale di un auditorium-basilica di 500 posti, impostato su quattro grandi pilastri angolari e con la volta a botte, che presenta affinità sia con Ledoux sia con Adolf Loos. L'improbabile fusione di rotonda e auditorium ricorda la combinazione della replica jeffersoniana del Pantheon in scala dimezzata (contenente una biblioteca e sale per conferenze, e che avrebbe dovuto ospitare il primo planetario d'America, da collocare secondo le istruzioni di Jefferson sulla volta interna della cupola) con l'ampliamento sul retro operato da Robert Mill nel 1851-53 (contenente laboratori, aule, un museo e un auditorium con 1200 posti, e decorato con una copia della "Scuola di Atene" di Raffaello appesa dietro la piattaforma dell'oratore). La sua sezione ibrida, inoltre, richiama il

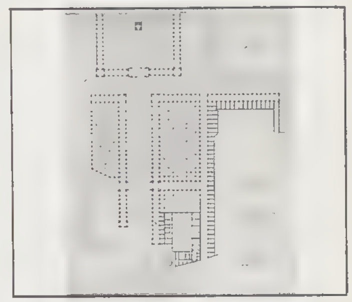
Friedrich Weinbrenner, Progetto per la Köningstrasse a Karlsruhe, 1808.
Ricostruzione del parco della Domus Aurea a Roma, 64-68: pianta. Da J.B. Ward-Perkins.
Ricostruzione della Via Sacra nel parco della Domus Aurea, 16-68: pianta. Da E. Van Deman e A. Clay, Memoirs of

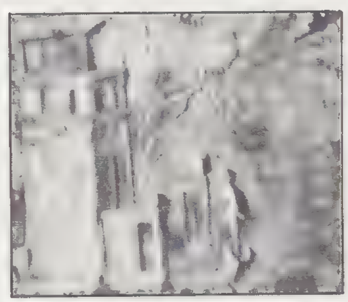
progetto di Olbrich per il Padiglione della Secessione a Vienna (1897-98). Il composito edificio di Rossi (schematicamente simile al suo progetto per un teatro a Perugia, 1982), posto sulla cerniera di un complesso di edifici a "L", a un'estremità piuttosto che al centro di un basamento-acropoli, suggerisce una "*strad*ificazione" del sito — un'urbanistica basata sulla strada, piuttosto che il foro agreste costituito dal grande prato di Jefferson a Charlottesville —.



Il basamento, che regge la rotonda-auditorium e i cinque corpi lineari voltati a botte di Rossi, corrisponde al basamento "implicito" delle lunghe, sottili ali a criptoportico di Jefferson che fiancheggiano a terrazza la scalinata della rotonda di Charlottesville. La collocazione dell'acropoli di Rossi all'interno del *campus* è analoga a quella del basamento del Tempio di Claudio che sovrasta il lago artificiale della Domus Aurea di Nerone[12]. Essa dovrebbe creare una topografia straordinaria in un *campus* dove non esiste alcuna visibile variazione altimetrica e i cui punti di riferimento architettonici si trovano esternamente ad esso, nella torre del Biltmore Hotel e nel tratto soprelevato della U.S. Highway 1, entrambi presenti ai margini di molti disegni di Rossi. Il progetto prevede un parcheggio per 250 automobili sotto il basamento, che è equidistante dal lago e dal tratto della U.S. 1 che delimita il *campus* a sud. I cinque corpi in linea con volta a botte richiamano i magazzini dei moli dell'antichità romana, ma anche le abitazioni precoloniali degli indiani sulla costa atlantica. Essi ospiteranno gli uffici amministrativi, servizi vari e, più vicino all'auditorium, una piccola biblioteca di consultazione concepita come una replica in miniatura della visionaria riproposizione di Boullée della "Scuola di Atene" in un progetto per la Bibliothèque Nationale[13].













I quattro blocchi degli ex appartamenti studenteschi alloggeranno studi e aule e saranno disposti lungo una strada colonnata, un elemento dell'urbanistica romana che spesso portava a complessi civici e a santuari (compreso il parco

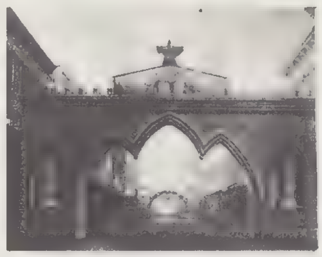
the American Academy in Rome, *V, 1925.*
Padiglione da giardino in un rilievo del I sec. a.C. o d.C. nella villa La Farnesina a Roma.
Villaggio indiano di Pomeiooc, Virginia, 1585 c. Da Th. Harriot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia.
Ricostruzione dei magazzini del Portico Emilio a Roma, 193 a.C.: dettaglio del modello del fronte sul fiume Tevere. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Roma.
Thomas Jefferson, "A Tower of Four Cubes", progetto per un osservatorio astronomico a Monticello, Virginia, 1776-78 c.: pianta e prospetto. Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

della Domus Aurea), ma che da allora è divenuto raro nelle città. Essa riprende, inoltre, la solennità ieratica di Rue des Colonnes a Parigi di Legrand e Molinos (1784) e il progetto di Friedrich Weinbrenner per la Köningstrasse a Karlsruhe (1808), cui Rossi si era già ispirato per un piccolissimo progetto residenziale a Pegognaga (1979). A Miami, Rossi antepone ai blocchi di appartamenti preesistenti un semplice porticato con due ordini di ballatoi sovrapposti, così come Weinbrenner aveva proposto di apporre un grande colonnato di legno per trasformare con mezzi volutamente economici gli insignificanti lineamenti del viale di un arciduca[14]. I blocchi, oltre ad essere porticati, sono connessi tra loro da torri-scala con loggia sulla copertura, del tipo "a giardino" ritratto negli stucchi della villa La Farnesina a Roma. La strada colonnata è fiancheggiata da palme, come un'estensione della Sevillana preannunciata in lontananza dalla torre del Biltmore.
L'idea di porre il *Teatro del Mondo* su un pontile al termine della strada colonnata, presente nel primo abbozzo progettuale di Rossi, è risultata inattuabile in quanto il regolamento edilizio di Coral Gables non permetteva costruzioni con rivestimento esterno di legno e anche perché l'Università esitava ad occupare una parte della piccola superficie del lago. Il programma richiedeva specificamente tre aule per le revisioni e gli esami degli studenti, che Rossi ha deciso di collocare l'una sopra l'altra come tre corpi cubici a formare una torre sull'approdo (che non era utilizzato). Inizialmente la torre consisteva di un cubo che reggeva una sfera sormontata da un cono con l'apice vetrato, il tutto rinchiuso in un fusto con pochissime aperture. La sequenza platonica rispecchiava quella della torre per il complesso espositivo e congressuale progettato per Milano nel 1982. Nella versione finale la torre presenta alla base un secondo cubo, con un'apertura che permette il passaggio diretto della strada all'approdo e al molo sulla riva del lago. Sui fronti nord e sud della torre-porta sono previsti degli orologi, mentre l'apice a lanterna del cono spunterà come un faro sopra il parapetto che corre lungo la copertura di una piattaforma porticata di osservazione. La sequenza interna di quattro volumi di forma cubica tiene conto al meglio dell'asserzione dell'Alberti secondo la quale le torri "*che si vogliono molto solide dovrebbero essere alte, se quadrate, non più di quattro volte la loro larghezza*"[15]. In ogni caso, la necessità pratica di circoscrivere i quattro volumi con un involucro per i percorsi perimetrali e le scale fa sì che la forma esterna torni a consistere di tre cubi sovrapposti l'uno all'altro dalla base all'apice della lanterna.
Anche il piano edilizio di Jefferson per la University of Virginia comprendeva una torre che avrebbe dovuto essere usata come osservatorio astronomico (progetto del 1825), forse la prima struttura di questo genere proposta per un *campus* americano. Con i suoi quattro padiglioni-pilastri ottagonali, essa seguiva uno schema precedentemente elaborato per un osservatorio vicino a Monticello, che per il suo carattere visionario è affine alla torre di Rossi ed ha persino la medesima altezza, circa 36 metri[16]. A differenza della torre di Jefferson, quella di Rossi sarà il primo elemento del progetto ad essere costruito.
Gli elementi formali del complesso di Rossi per Miami rispecchiano il rifiuto di Loos "*ad ammettere che una immaginazione coercitiva ci debba portare ad alterare forme provate e sperimentate a noi familiari da secoli*"[17]. Le forme in se stesse sono robuste e consapevolmente monumentali, ma i materiali previsti per i rivestimenti sono generalmente leggeri, quasi "domestici" — un procedimento adottato anche da Jefferson nella sua rotonda di imponente serenità, e in quella specie di granaio ingentilito che è la Sever Hall di Richardson (1878-80) a Harvard —. La rotonda e l'auditorium saranno rivestiti a stucco, mentre nelle cinque "capanne" (i corpi in linea) si alterneranno mattoni e stucco. Solo la torre, l'acropoli e la strada porticata saranno rivestite in pietra corallina locale, originaria della Florida. Le coperture saranno in lamiera di metallo; anche Jefferson aveva ricoperto la sua rotonda, considerevolmente più grande, in lamiera di stagno.

Prima di ricevere l'incarico di Miami, Rossi aveva fatto parte della giuria di un concorso per la riprogettazione dell'intero *campus*, che gli era sembrato mancare, con l'eccezione del lago, di tratti memorabili o notevoli[18]. Rossi considera apertamente il progetto per la Scuola di architettura come il punto di partenza per una più generale trasformazione del *campus* — una struttura protesa e prolungabile emergente dal lago, proprio come il progetto "broadacre" di Frank Lloyd Wright per il Florida Southern College (Lakeland, 1938) procede dal molo (con annessa una chiatta fissa) alla cappella lungo un'ombreggiata *promenade*[19] —. Nel perseguire questo intento, anche i primi disegni di Rossi per la progettazione della Scuola si spingono oltre, includendo altre suggestioni nello spirito del *capriccio* palladiano del Canaletto a Venezia o del montaggio, operato dallo stesso Rossi, della Biennale con un rustico ponte "accademico" e con la sua torre civica per Pesaro (1979), inseriti tra altri elementi.
Nel caso di Miami, tra le citazioni marginali presenti nei disegni di Rossi, si trova l'anfiteatro del suo progetto per Mantova (1982) con al centro la statua di Virgilio e collocato nel prato tra l'acropoli e la spiaggia, virtualmente nella stessa posizione dell'anfiteatro di Wright sul bordo del lago al Florida Southern College. In un altro disegno, l'arco di Galveston compare di fronte alla torre e all'acropoli, mentre nell'angolo superiore sinistro è ormeggiata una versione galleggiante dell'anfiteatro di Toronto. In un altro schizzo il monumento di Rossi ai partigiani della seconda guerra mondiale a Segrate è collocato sul prato di fronte all'acropoli, sebbene né la fontana né la statua di Virgilio siano in consonanza con l'intento platonico dell'acropoli di Miami tanto quanto i solidi geometrici di Giovanni Sacchi nella mostra allestita da Rossi per la Triennale di Milano del 1981.
Il progetto conclusivo comprende un boschetto di palme spaziate con cartesiana regolarità ai piedi dell'acropoli. Ma l'arco e l'anfiteatro, nonostante il carattere di strutture paradidattiche che essi assumono a Miami, sono stati entrambi realizzati con l'aiuto di Adjmi come installazioni temporanee nelle città per le quali essi erano stati commissionati.
Galveston, situata su un'isola cinquanta miglia a sudest di Houston, rappresenta per il Texas un'anomalia vagamente esotica, una lontana parente della New Orleans postbellica adagiata nel golfo tra palme e oleandri[20]. Essa è stata la città più importante del Texas fino alla fine del Diciannovesimo secolo, e ha conservato una parte considerevole del suo patrimonio architettonico storico (ora rivalutato e restaurato). L'arco marittimo rientra nell'ambito di un recente tentativo di farvi rivivere il festival del Martedì grasso. Nel 1881, al culmine dell'ascesa commerciale della città, quattro archi cerimoniali erano stati eretti a contrassegnare il percorso di accesso a un padiglione sulla spiaggia, in onore di un congresso nazionale di associazioni corali tedesche, il *Sängerfest*, tenutosi a Galveston. In occasione del Martedì grasso del 1986, che coincideva con l'anniversario del Texas, la città decise la costruzione di sette simili archi cerimoniali, dei quali ne rimangono due. Il primo, di Boone Powell, ha la sagoma della facciata a doppia arcata di un monumento costruito dall'architetto più rappresentativo di Galveston del Diciannovesimo secolo, Nicholas Clayton (il Galveston News Building, 1883-84). Di notte esso si trasforma in una festa di luci non dissimile dalle luminarie tradizionalmente impiegate nelle feste di strada italiane. Il secondo, di Michael Graves, è un "castello" dall'audace frontone con travatura e controventatura a vista.
Il progetto fu commissionato a Rossi nel 1987, ma non fu realizzato che per l'occorrenza del Martedì grasso del 1990[21]. Rossi aveva visitato Galveston più di dieci anni prima, in occasione di una conferenza al College of Architecture della University of Houston. Il fascino dei suoi edifici "portuali" e vernacolari aveva fatto colpo nella prefazione all'edizione americana del suo *L'architettura della città* e nella *Scientific Autobiography*[22]. Il suo progetto per Galveston prende le mosse da un portale proposto per un frangiflutti a Mantova (1984), e segue quella stessa antica

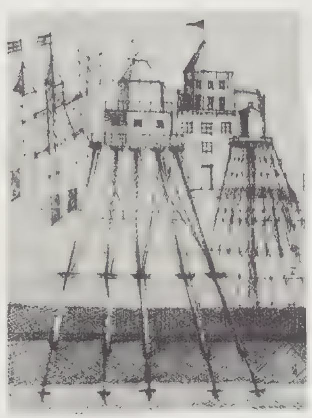
Obelischi a Castelfranco Veneto, XVII sec.
Foto: F. Bernardi.
Archi per la Sängerfest *a Galveston, Texas, 1881. Rosenberg Library, Galveston.*
Foto P.H. Rose.
Scena portuale in un dipinto del 62-79 d.C. a Stabia, Napoli. Museo Nazionale, Napoli.
Aldo Rossi, Disegno con la Torre della Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida, 1987.
Aldo Rossi, Disegno, 1980.
Aldo Rossi, Disegno, 1987.











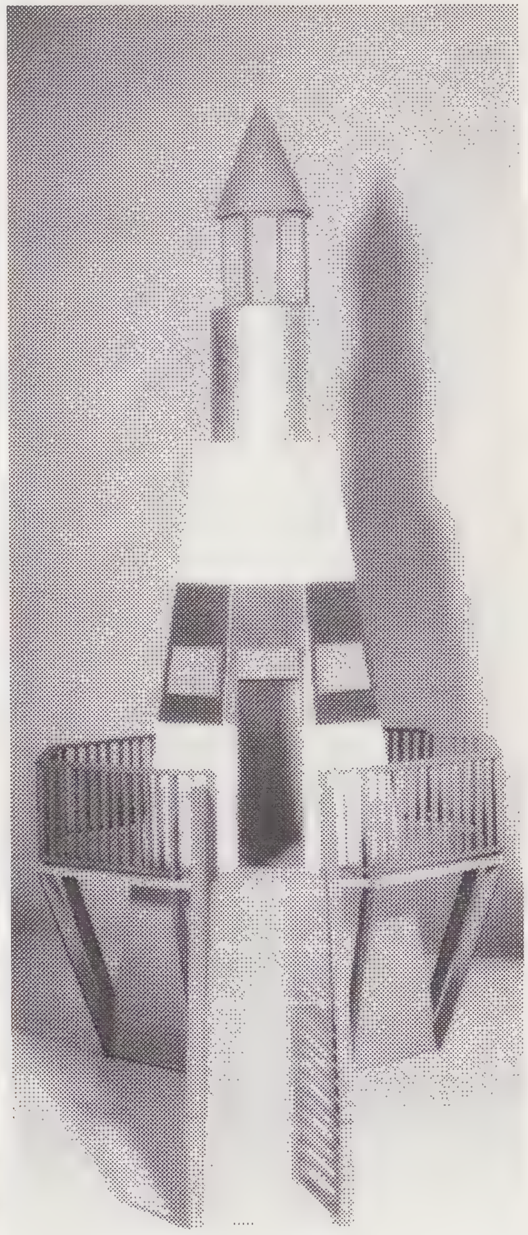


Aldo Rossi, Disegno di studio per l'Arco marittimo a Galveston, Texas, 1987.
Aldo Rossi e Morris Adjmi, Arco marittimo a Galveston, Texas, 1987-90: vista sullo Strand.
Foto: N. Matura.
Aldo Rossi e Morris Adjmi, Lighthouse theater a Toronto, 1988.
Foto: N. Matura.
Aldo Rossi, Torre di guardia sulla spiaggia, 1988: veduta del modello.









formula di un arco con un corridoio colonnato adottata da McKim, Mead e White per l'ingresso al Prospect Park, Brooklyn (1888-89). La prima idea di Rossi per quanto riguarda l'arco — concepito come un'architrave con due montanti dentati — era una trave reticolare piana, serrata a *sandwuich* su entrambi i lati da due montanti di legno piatti e spaziati esattamente quanto bastava a contenere la trave. Questa soluzione, una variazione dell'arco primitivo così come ipotizzato da Ferdinand Noack, secondo quanto riferisce Sigfried Giedion ("*due montanti con una trave orizzontale: una sorta di giogo sotto il quale passavano l'esercito e il generale*"[23]), fu poi sostituita da un portale a reticolo spaziale, più solido e meno esposto al rischio degli uragani. In entrambi i casi, l'arco era accompagnato da quattro "fari" isolati, che avrebbero dovuto essere connessi tra loro ad ogni estremità dell'arco cermimoniale da gradonate per assistere alle parate. Collocato a un capo della strada principale del porto vecchio e della zona commerciale di Galveston (lo Strand), il portale, simile all'impalcatura di un ponteggio, avrebbe potuto tranquillamente provenire da una delle gru a ponte delle banchine vicine. In un contesto diverso, i "fari" corrispondono agli obelischi abbinati che segnano gli ingressi nelle città venete[24], e, più alla lontana, all'allestimento con colonne celebrative di un porto romano. L'anfiteatro di Toronto è stato eretto nel giugno 1988 sul terreno di un acquedotto adiacente il Lago Ontario, come parte di un'esposizione organizzata da Visual Arts Ontario che comprendeva anche altri diciotto progetti di architetti e artisti. La collocazione esatta del teatro di Rossi fu cambiata a sua insaputa in seguito alle proteste degli abitanti di un quartiere vicino, ed esso fu sistemato incongruamente vicino a un massiccio impianto di filtraggio del periodo della Depressione. Tuttavia, il suo impatto risultò eccezionale, "*come il set di un film improvvisamente trasportato nel mondo reale*", per citare il complimento inconsapevole di un giornalista canadese[25]. Il teatro e il resto del progetto furono smantellati nell'ottobre 1988.

La pianta dell'anfiteatro, uno spazio scenico quadrato più un'abside per i posti a sedere con un piccolo pilone quadrato al suo apogeo, assomiglia a un progetto di Inigo Jones per un piccolo teatro per Fleet Street a Londra[26] (c. 1638). Un faro a strisce bianche e rosse, simile a un unicorno, emerge dal pilone all'apice dell'abside. Esso guarda oltre (e attraverso) il fondale tramite le finestre aperte di una *scenae frons*[27] alla Hopper, con cornicioni ad altezze diverse, posta tra due alti piloni quadrati, fino al lago e alla St. Lawrence Seaway. Questa variazione dei teatri dell'antica Roma e del Rinascimento, arricchita del gusto acquisito da Rossi per quanto è americano (ripetutamente presente negli schizzi, come le anonime facciate ottocentesche di New York e i fari al largo delle coste del Massachusetts, del Maine, della Florida)[28], si basa, come i progetti per il porto di Galveston e per il lago Osceola a Miami, su una considerazione di "*locus*, monumento e tipo"[29], che rimane aperta a varie interpretazioni.
Tacito scrisse che lo splendido parco con il lago artificiale che circondava la Domus Aurea superava tutto quello che vi era costruito all'interno[30], opinione estremizzata da Adolf Loos quando affermava che "*qualsiasi architetto, buono o cattivo, profana il lago*"[31]. Così, il tatto e la semplicità degli interventi *waterfront* di Rossi in Nordamerica riescono a insinuarci un frammento di dubbio.

1) I progetti nordamericani sono presentati con note esplicative di ROSSI e ADJMI in *Recent Works of Aldo Rossi*, in "Architecture and Urbanism", n. 213, giugno 1988.
2) V. SCULLY, *The End of the Century Finds a Poet*, in P. Arnell e T. Bickford (a cura di), *Aldo Rossi: Buildings and Projects*, Rizzoli, New York 1985, p. 12.
3) "*Ci sono tre desideri che non potranno mai essere esauditi: quello del ricco che vuole di più, quello del malato che desidera qualcosa di diverso e quello del viaggiatore che dice: ovunque ma non qui*" in R.W. EMERSON, *Considerations by the Way*, da *The Conduct of Life*, raccolto nel volume *Emerson: Essays and Lectures*, Library of America/Viking, New York 1983, p. 1090.
4) Cfr.: W.H. PIERSON JR., *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles*, Doubleday, Garden City 1970, pp. 69-73; P. TURNER, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, MIT, Cambridge 1984, pp. 31-37.
5) Cfr.: PIERSON, *American Buildings*, cit., pp. 316-334; TURNER, *Campus*, cit., pp. 76-87. La prima conoscenza di Rossi con il *Campus* di Jefferson è descritta nell'introduzione all'edizione americana di A. ROSSI, *The Architecture of the City*,

1966, MIT, Cambridge 1978, p. 15; un riferimento ulteriore si trova in A. ROSSI, *A Scientific Autobiography*, MIT, Cambridge 1981, p. 76.
6) TURNER, *Campus*, cit., pp. 122-124.
7) Cfr.: R.A.M. STERN e J.M. MASSENGALE, *The Anglo-american Suburb, Architectural Design Profile*, Academy Editions, London 1981, pp. 73-74, 96; V. ROBIE, *A Spanish City in Florida*, in "International Studio", n. 81, maggio 1925, pp. 107-112; W.W. WILKINS, *Coral Gables: 1920s New Town*, in "Historic Preservation", n. 30, gennaio-marzo 1978, pp. 6-9; H. HATTON, *Tropical Splendor: An Architectural History of Florida*, Knopf, New York 1987, pp. 53, 60-63.
8) *University of Miami Moves Back to Boom-bought Campus and into First Unit of All-modern Educational Plant*, in "The Architectural Forum", vol. 89, n. 1, luglio 1948, pp. 75-82; cfr. anche: *Miami University Adds Two More Building Groups to its Brand-new and Growing Campus*, in "The Architectural Forum", vol. 90, n. 6, giugno 1949, pp. 69-75. Entrambi gli articoli furono "strillati" in copertina e illustrati con foto di Ezra Stoller; il primo articolo includeva uno schizzo della prima proposta per gli uffici amministrativi in stile missione-spagnola.
9) Cfr.: K. STEIN, *Aldo Rossi Makes His American Debut*, in "Architectural Record", vol. 175, n. 6, maggio 1987, p. 67; D. BOLES, *Rossi's First U.S. Design*, in "Progressive Architecture", vol. 68, n. 6, giugno 1987, pp. 25, 30; V. MAYS, *In Progress: Aldo Rossi*, in "Progressive Architecture", vol. 65, n. 5, maggio 1988, p. 34.
10) ROSSI, *Scientific Autobriography*, cit., p. 76.
11) ROSSI, *Buildings and Projects*, cit., p. 249.
12) Cfr.: A. BOETHIUS, *The Golden House of Nero*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1960, pp. 94-128; J.B. WARD-PERKINS, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1970, seconda edizione 1981, pp. 52-61; P.G., WARDEN, *The Domus Aurea Reconsidered*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", vol. 40, n. 4, dicembre 1981, pp. 271-278.
13) ROSSI, *Scientific Autobiography*, cit., p. 47.
14) Cfr. B. BERGDOLL, *Friedrich Weinbrenner and Neoclassical Karlsruhe: A Vision Tempered by Reality*, in *Friedrich Weinbrenner, 1766-1826*, Architectural Association, London 1982, pp. 23-24.
15) LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI, *The Ten Books of Architecture*, traduz. di Edward Owen, Leoni Edition, London 1755, libro 8, p. 5.
16) Cfr.: B. PICKENS, *The Monticello Obeservatory: A Tower of Four Cubes, ca. 1776-78*, in *Mr. Jefferson as Revolutionary Architect*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", vol. 34, n. 4, dicembre 1975, pp. 268-271; M.C. DONNELLY, *Jefferson's Observatory Design*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", vol. 36, n. 1, marzo 1977, pp. 33-35. Per il progetto dell'Osservatorio della University of Virginia di Jefferson, cfr.: W.B. O'NEAL, *Pictorial History of the University of Virginia*, Virginia, Charlottesville 1968, seconda edizione 1976, p. 36; F. DOVETON NICHOLS, *Thomas Jefferson's Architectural Drawings*, Virginia, Charlottesville 1961, quarta edizione 1978, numeri di catalogo 380, 381.
17) A. LOOS, *Regarding Economy*, 1924, in Max Risselada (a cura di), *Raumplan versus Plan Libre*, Rizzoli, New York 1987, p. 138.
18) Cfr.: L. BIEMILLER, *Should We Move Lake Osceola?*, in "Chronicle of Higher Education", ottobre 1986, pp. 32-36; R. WARBURTON, *The Design Competition Strategy at the University of Miami*, in "Planning for Higher Education", vol. 17, n. 1, 1988-89, pp. 1-72.
19) A. DREXEL, *The Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Horizon Press, New York 1962, tavola 150; cfr. anche: J. COOLIDGE, *American Architecture: The Search for Tradition - Florida Southern College*, in *American Architecture: Innovation and Tradition*, Rizzoli, New York 1986, pp. 178-182.
20) Cfr. H. BARNSTONE, *The Galveston That Was*, con fotografie di Henri Cartier-Bresson e Ezra Stoller, MacMillan, New York 1966.
21) Cfr.: R. SCHNEIDER, *Archi a Galveston, Texas*, in "Domus", n. 693, aprile 1988, p. 16; M. KIMMELMAN, *Arches for Galveston at the Cooper-Hewitt*, in "New York Times", 29 Novembre 1987, pp. 1-84.
22) ROSSI: *Architecture of the City*, cit., p. 15; *Scientific Autobiography*, cit., pp. 16, 25.
23) Cfr. F. BERNARDI, *Architettura Minima e Veneto: Obelischi, Porte, Capitelli, Colombare, Fontane*, in "Domus", n. 694, maggio 1988, itinerario n. 35.
24) S. GIEDION, *Architecture and the Phenomena of Transition*, Harvard, Cambridge 1971, p. 126, citazione di Ferdinand Noack, *Triumph und Triumphbogen*, in "Vortäge der Bibliotek Warburg 1925-26", Berlino 1928, p. 168.
25) B. LEDGER, *'Art'*, in "Canadian Architect", vol. 33, n. 9, settembre 1988, p. 6; cfr. anche: *Lighthouse Theater in Toronto*, in "Zodiac", n. 2, n.s., 1989, pp. 124-133. Un faro risulta anche nel più piccolo progetto di Rossi per il Nordamerica, disegno di una torre segnaletica per una mostra alla galleria Kirstin Kiser (oggi Donna Grossman), Los Angeles, 1988.
26) Cfr. J. HARRIS e G. HIGGOT, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, The Drawing Center, New York 1989, pp. 266-269.
27) ROSSI, *Scientific Autobiography*, cit., p. 58.
28) ROSSI, *Scientific Autobiography*, cit., p. 52; cfr. anche G. CELANT, *Talking Architecture: Aldo Rossi's Fragments*, in "Artforum", n. 25, maggio 1987, pp. 102-106.
29) ROSSI, *Architecture of the City*, cit., p. 13.
30) TACITO, *Annales*, XV, p. 42.
31) *Allora mi chiedo perché tutti gli architetti, siano essi buoni o cattivi, profanano il lago ?*, in A. LOOS, *Architecture*, 1910, in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, Arts Council of Great Britain, London 1983, seconda edizione 1987, p. 104.

Aldo Rossi e Morris Adjmi, Arco marittimo a Galveston, Texas, 1987-90: veduta del modello. Foto: N. Matura.



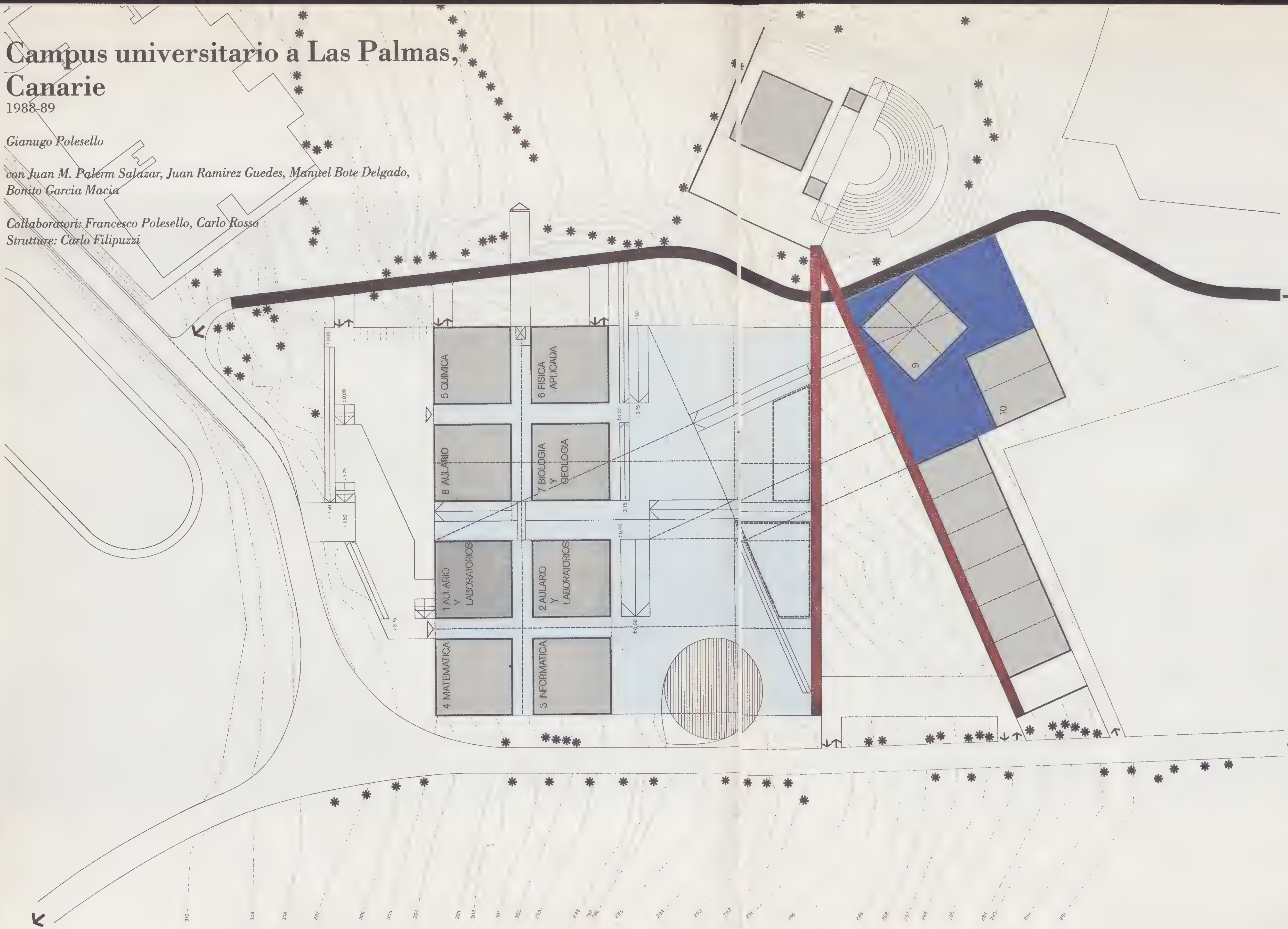
Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie

1988-89

Gianugo Polesello

con Juan M. Palerm Salazar, Juan Ramirez Guedes, Manuel Bote Delgado, Bonito Garcia Macia

Collaboratori: Francesco Polesello, Carlo Rosso
Strutture: Carlo Filipuzzi



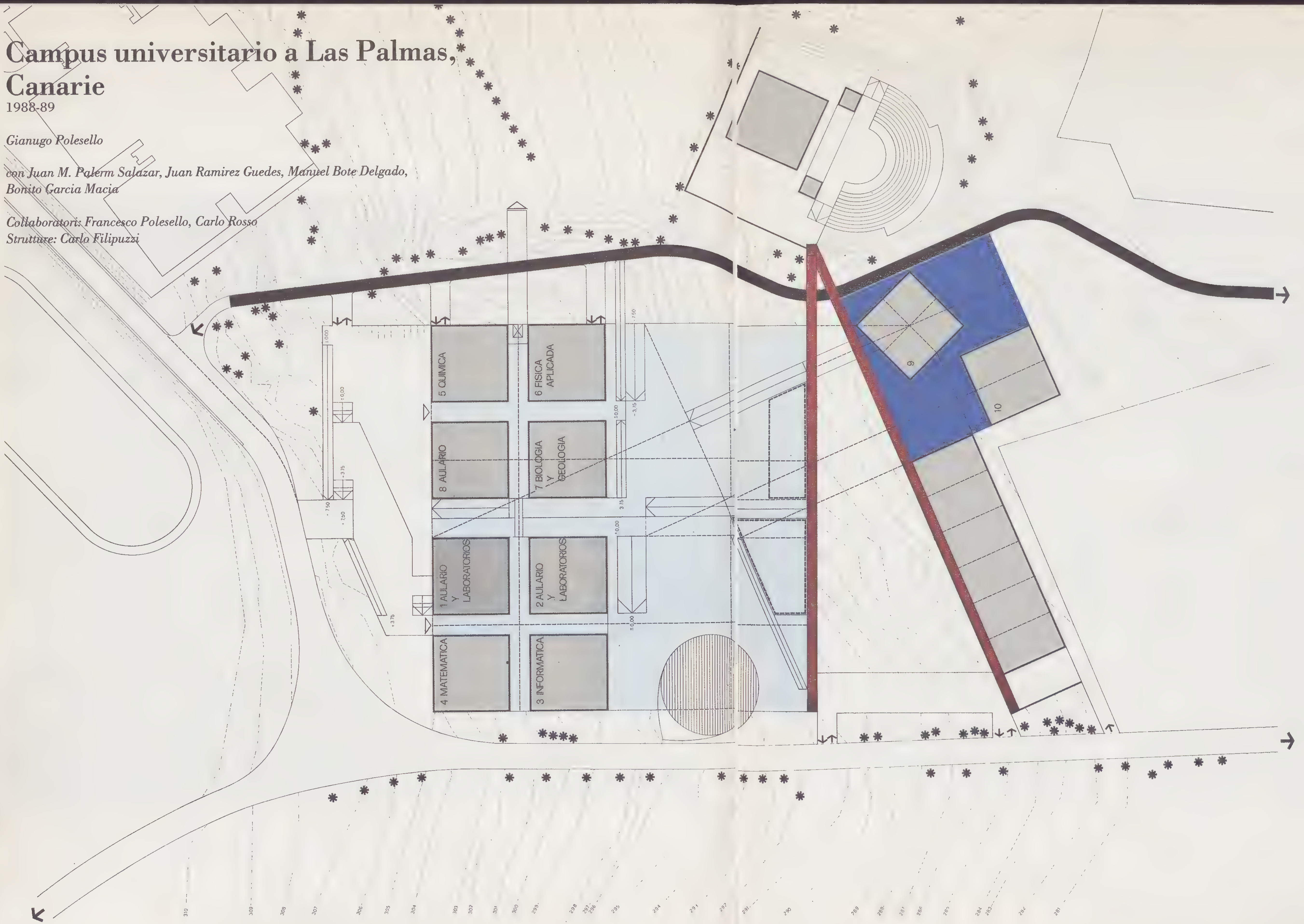
Schema planimetrico generale.

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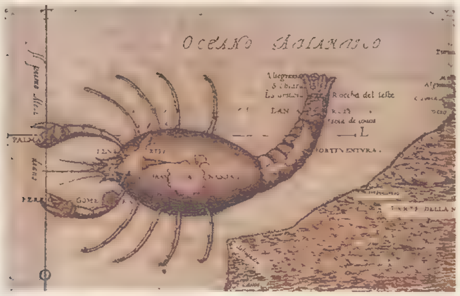


Schema planimetrico generale.

L'architettura e le architetture del Campus universitario di Tafira, Canarie
Gianugo Polesello

1. Tafira sta in alto, lungo la strada che porta da Las Palmas verso l'interno dell'isola.
Il *campus* ha origine con l'acquisizione del Seminario vescovile progettato e costruito da Secondino Zuazo nel 1940. L'architettura progettata da Zuazo risponde ad una poetica, ad un modello compositivo che del suolo assume i caratteri geografici di grande scala: il disporsi frontale degli edifici a destra ed a sinistra della chiesa che è il centro di una simmetria speculare lineare, in alto sulla collina, orizzontale, di fronte al mare ed alla città di Las Palmas, piuttosto che l'indugiare sulle minute acclività della topografia. Il progetto di Zuazo, in un certo senso, prescinde dal luogo o, piuttosto, rende idoneo il luogo alla costruzione, all'architettura, attraverso una operazione di movimento di terra e di modellazione secondo le tecniche dell'architettura militare.
Il terreno viene "attrezzato", reso piano e costruito come una piattaforma sulla quale collocare e comporre gli edifici-architetture, i portici, i giardini, seguendo una procedura che aveva già sperimentato (per esempio nei progetti per i Ministeri o nello stesso Piano di Madrid), volta alla costruzione di parti finite della città. Nel caso di Tafira la città è dentro un orizzonte visivo nel quale anche la dimensione fisica è importante.
La costruzione del Seminario occupa una fronte di 160 metri che diventa un riferimento necessario, un caposaldo, per ogni futura modificazione architettonica generale del luogo.
Questi due aspetti del progetto (il trattamento del terreno e la dimensione frontale dell'architettura) costituiscono, insieme con gli altri più generali (la scala geografica, l'unità dell'architettura), il riferimento preciso nel progetto che ho fatto, non come addizione al progetto Zuazo ma come nuova parte finita accanto ad esso.

2. Le tappe nella costruzione del *campus* hanno oggi un referente nel Piano Particolareggiato che è stato predisposto abbastanza recentemente (1983).
Rispetto alla preesistenza costituita dall'intervento di Zuazo e da un sistema elementare di infrastrutture, il Piano ha avuto il merito di proporre un addensamento costruttivo lungo una fascia di terreno degradante che, partendo dal caposaldo superiore (il Seminario), scendeva sviluppandosi linearmente in una sequenza di edifici a blocco di m 30 x 30, con un'altezza massima di m 15, per i Dipartimenti, i servizi generali, le residenze universitarie e le attrezzature didattiche. L'alta densità proposta garantiva la massima salvaguardia possibile della vegetazione esistente (palmeti), da integrare con nuovi impianti per formare un grande parco.
Le vicende amministrative hanno in parte modificato questo disegno generale (che aveva la figura di un reticolo ippodameo o di una quadricola di fondazione), proponendone di fatto la disgiunzione individuando "elementi finiti" che non corrispondessero solo a "fasi di attuazione" come unità funzionali ma realizzassero il Piano come schema generale dell'assetto localizzativo delle distinte quantità architettoniche messe in funzione.
La parte centrale di questo schema è il tema di progetto che mi è stato affidato con la collaborazione di quattro architetti spagnoli: Juan M. Palerm Salazar, Juan Ramirez Guedes, Manuel Bote Delgado, Benito Garcia Macia, docenti nella Escuela Tecnica Superior (E.T.S.) Arquitectura. Più in dettaglio, il tema comprendeva il ridisegno di questa parte centrale con il solo vincolo del rispetto delle dimensioni e della localizzazione di quattro moduli del reticolo disegnato dal Piano Particolareggiato in quanto oggetto di intervento edificatorio immediato e, quindi, da approvarsi sulla base del Piano vigente. Di questo Piano dovevano, in più, essere rispettate le norme di attuazione, non solo per i vincoli funzionali relativi all'edilizia universitaria ed agli *standard*, ma anche per la parte edilizia fisica che prescriveva altezze, fili fissi, ecc., determinando, in qualche modo, l'assetto volumetrico oltreché planimetrico e la tipologia distributiva (che faceva riferimento alle soluzioni a patio centrale ed a un corpo di fabbrica di m 10 di spessore disposto ad anello intorno ad un vuoto quadrato con lato di m 10, ma che non





Carte storiche delle isole Canarie e di Las Palmas tratte da Leonardo Torriani, Descrittione et historia del Regno de l'Isole Canarie, *1593.*

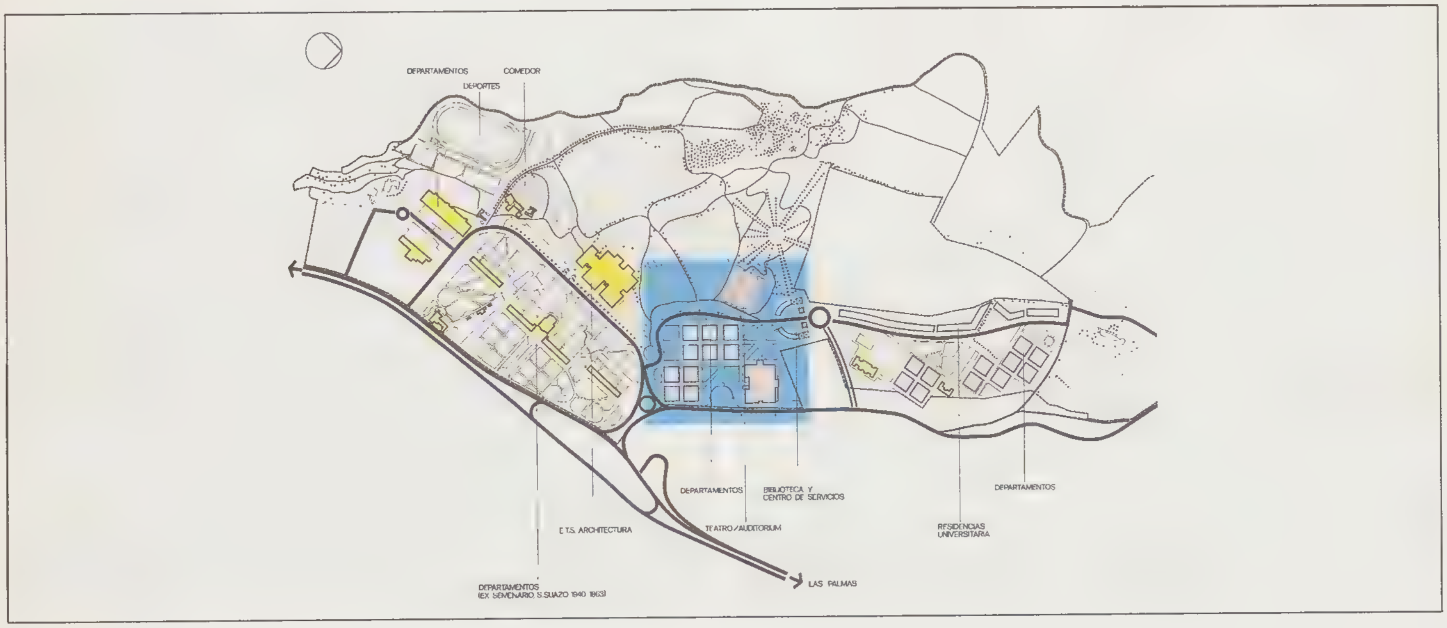


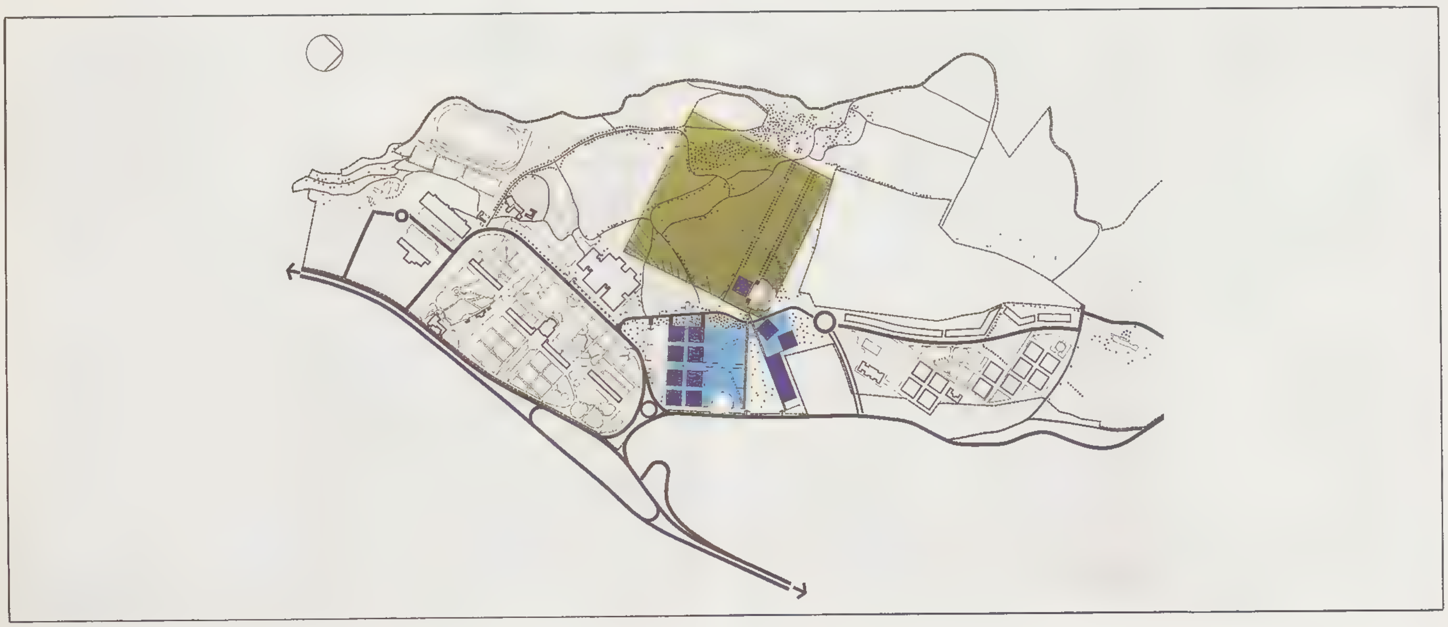






Secondino Zuazo, ex Seminario vescovile ora sede dell'Università, Tafira, 1940: viste.
Foto aerea zenitale dell'area del campus.
Architettura storica a Las Palmas: Vegueta.





Piano Particolareggiato del campus *di J. Alvares Garcia e A. Bescos Olaizola, 1983, e nuovo schema di Gianugo Polesello e collaboratori, 1988. Secondino Zuazo, Piano Regolatore di Las Palmas, 1940.*

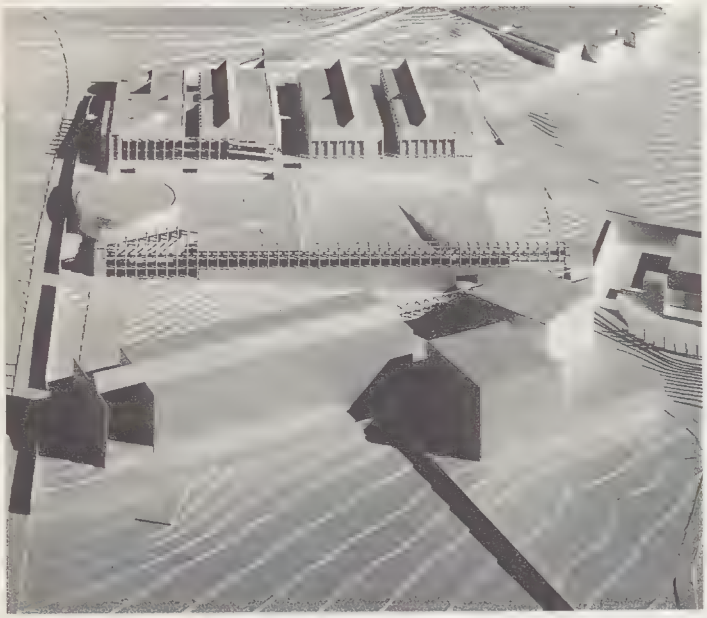


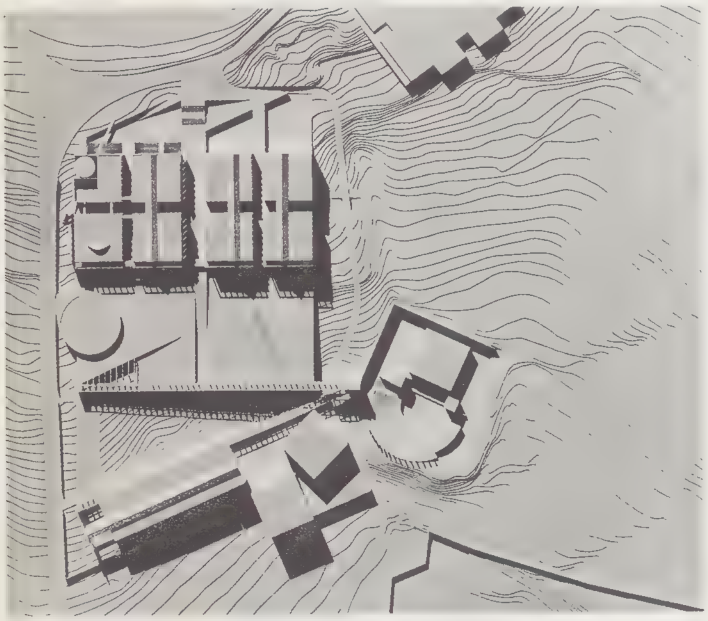
risultò condizionante in quanto non avente valore prescrittivo).

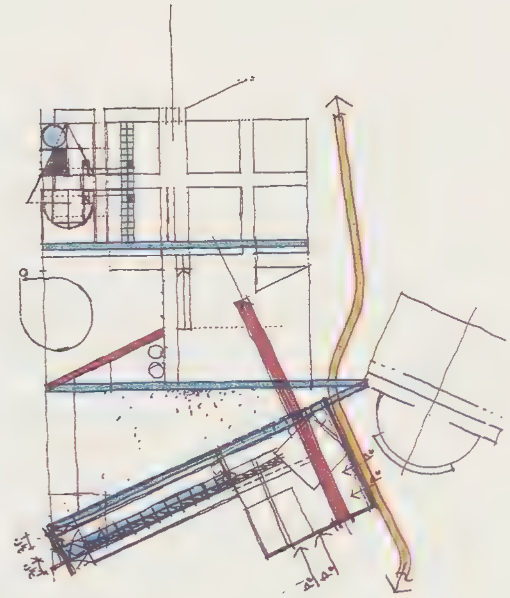
3. L'architettura della città (quella storica di matrice spagnola è legata al doppio agire su di essa dalle Colonie Americane e dalla Penisola) si concentra a Vegueta e a Triana, le due città-borgo riunite nel nome di Las Palmas. Soprattutto Vegueta conserva intatti straordinari valori architettonici che determinano precisi rapporti tra superfici parietali (facciate) e figure delle strade e delle piazze (la Plaza de S.ta Ana, davanti alla Cattedrale, soprattutto, con la lunga facciata del Palazzo vescovile).
La razionalità di questi spazi e la sequenza ordinata degli interventi — che, a partire da Vegueta verso Triana, si sono spinti, nella successione dei Piani regolatori fino all'ultima chiara proposta di Zuazo, verso la Ciudad Jardin ed il Porto (Puerto La Luz) e la Isleta ed hanno riunito addizioni e parti nuove, autonome anche nello "stile" — non poteva essere solo un orizzonte di riferimento, un "sentire" ed apprezzare un "gusto" architettonico, ma mi pareva dover essere assunta nella misura e nelle figure attraverso le quali si realizzava in quanto architettura. Razionalità che ricompariva nei documenti iconografici, rilievi o progetti di fortificazione che fossero, di Leonardo Torriani o nelle realizzazioni di Miguel Martin o di Secondino Zuazo e ricompariva anche, più direttamente, nel disegno delle opere portuali moderne, nella forza dimensionale che esse possiedono, capace di riordinare la città lineare da Vegueta alla Isleta.
Oggi questa città è ordinata secondo fasce parallele al mare, misurata nella sua estensione lineare dalla autostrada marittima e dalle grandi dighe che segnano i progressivi ampliamenti del porto. Il *campus* di Tafira è legato alla città da una seconda autostrada che, sovrapposta al torrente che separa Vegueta da Triana, si inoltra salendo verso l'interno dell'isola.
La dimensione visiva, dall'alto del *campus*, è importante per riproporre nuove unità architettoniche, oltre quella proposta da Zuazo con il progetto del Seminario.

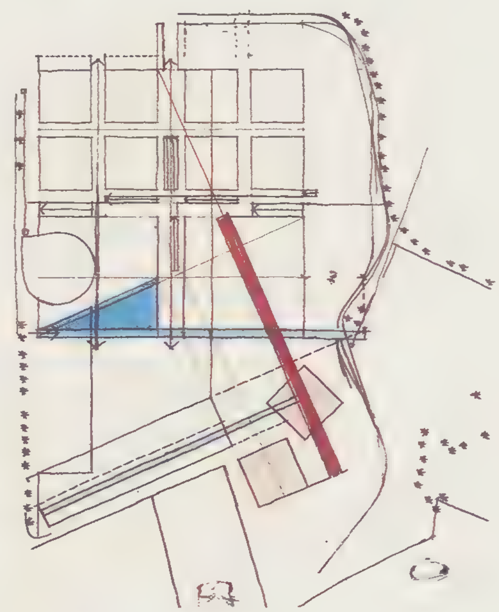
Di qui la prima idea, la prima certezza: costruire otto "moduli" di m 30 di lato che assumessero un piano orizzontale "fuori-tutto" (la prospettiva del Plan Voisin!) e fossero impostati su quattro piattaforme di quota variabile, dentro un quadrato generale di m 150 di lato. La croce (le due mediane) proponeva uno schema organizzativo semplice: metà del quadrato occupata da due blocchi di quattro elementi ("moduli") ciascuno e la seconda metà occupata da due piazze-giardino.
È la croce, allora, che propone l'unità dell'impianto complessivo e definisce la connessione tra questa unità e l'intorno artificiale e naturale: il braccio principale è quello nord-sud che separa i due blocchi e riunisce le piazze-piattaforme a nord con gli ingressi da sud.
Esiste, in ogni modo, una seconda motivazione che "spieghi" l'architettura generale, l'impianto architettonico del progetto: la acclività dell'area consente dimensioni limitate di superfici orizzontali (piattaforme) e contraddice, teoricamente, unità architettoniche di grandi estese visive.
Le quattro piattaforme stanno a quote diverse, misurabili ai bordi (nord e sud) lungo le pareti (il colonato a sud, il pergolato a nord) che sono costruite a partire dal piano superiore e differenziando i due distinti piani di appoggio a terra.
Oltre le piattaforme contenute nel quadrato di m 150 di lato, l'impianto geometrico ruota e dà luogo ad altre composizioni: un giardino triangolare definito da due gallerie-pergolato che "puntano" verso il teatro all'aperto e verso il parco, un edificio lineare, una seconda, minore, piattaforma quadrata, sostegno di altri due moduli per i servizi didattici dell'intero complesso.
Tutta l'operazione progettuale è stata, così, rivolta allo studio ed alla definizione di un *piano* generale e di *architetture* interne al primo.

4. Il progetto architettonico riguarda (con tempi di esecuzione differenziati) otto moduli che sono parte della

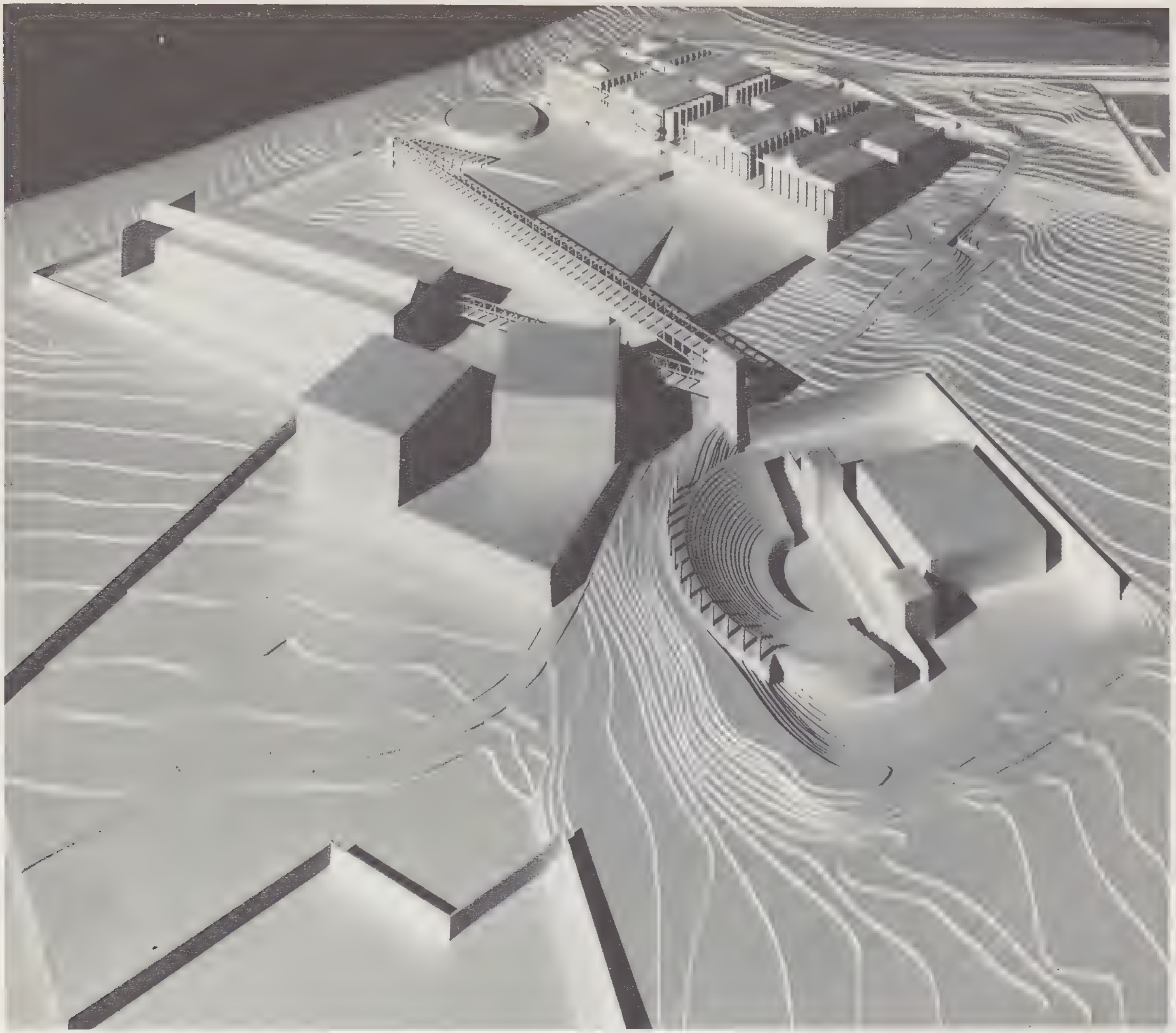


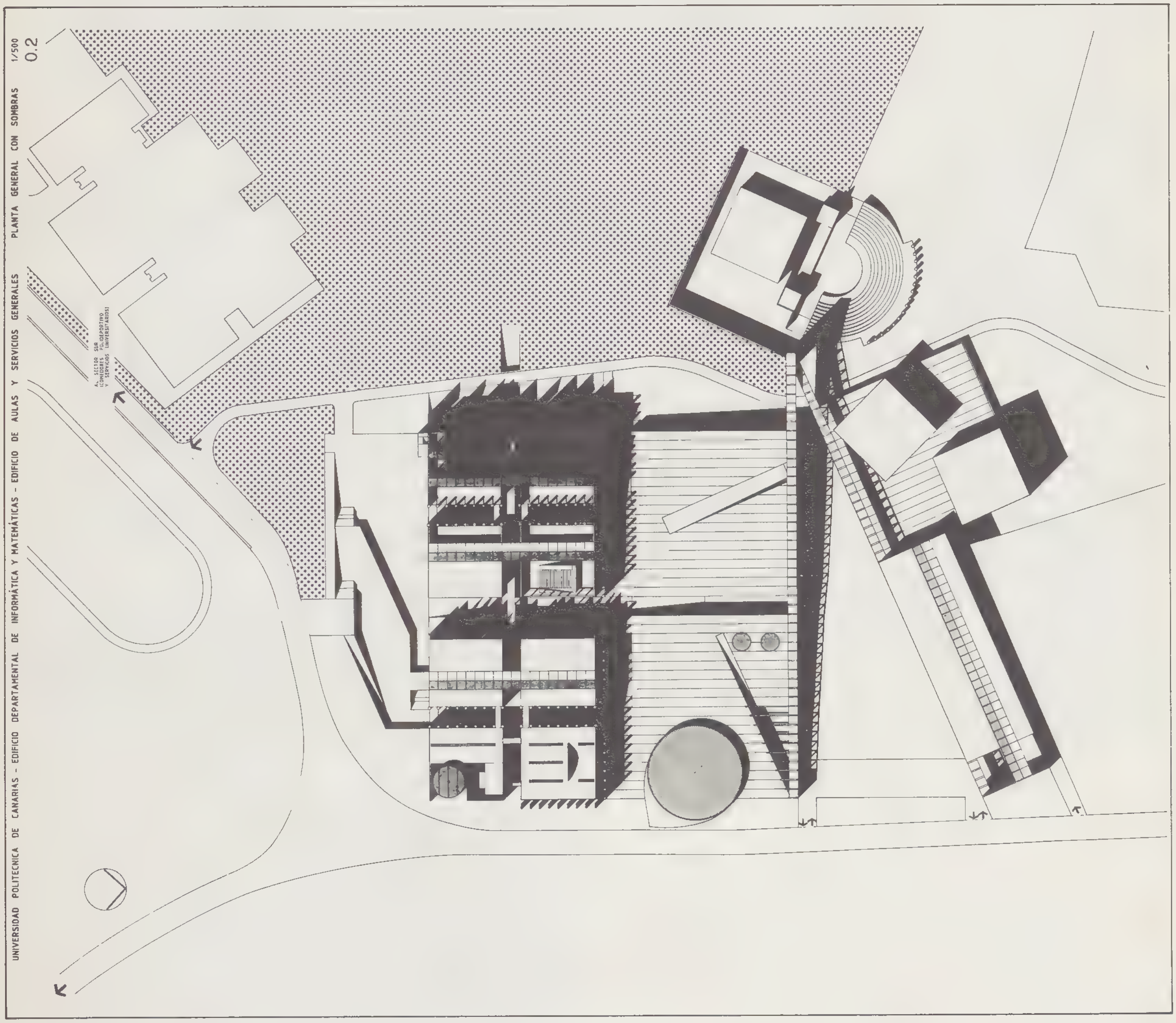




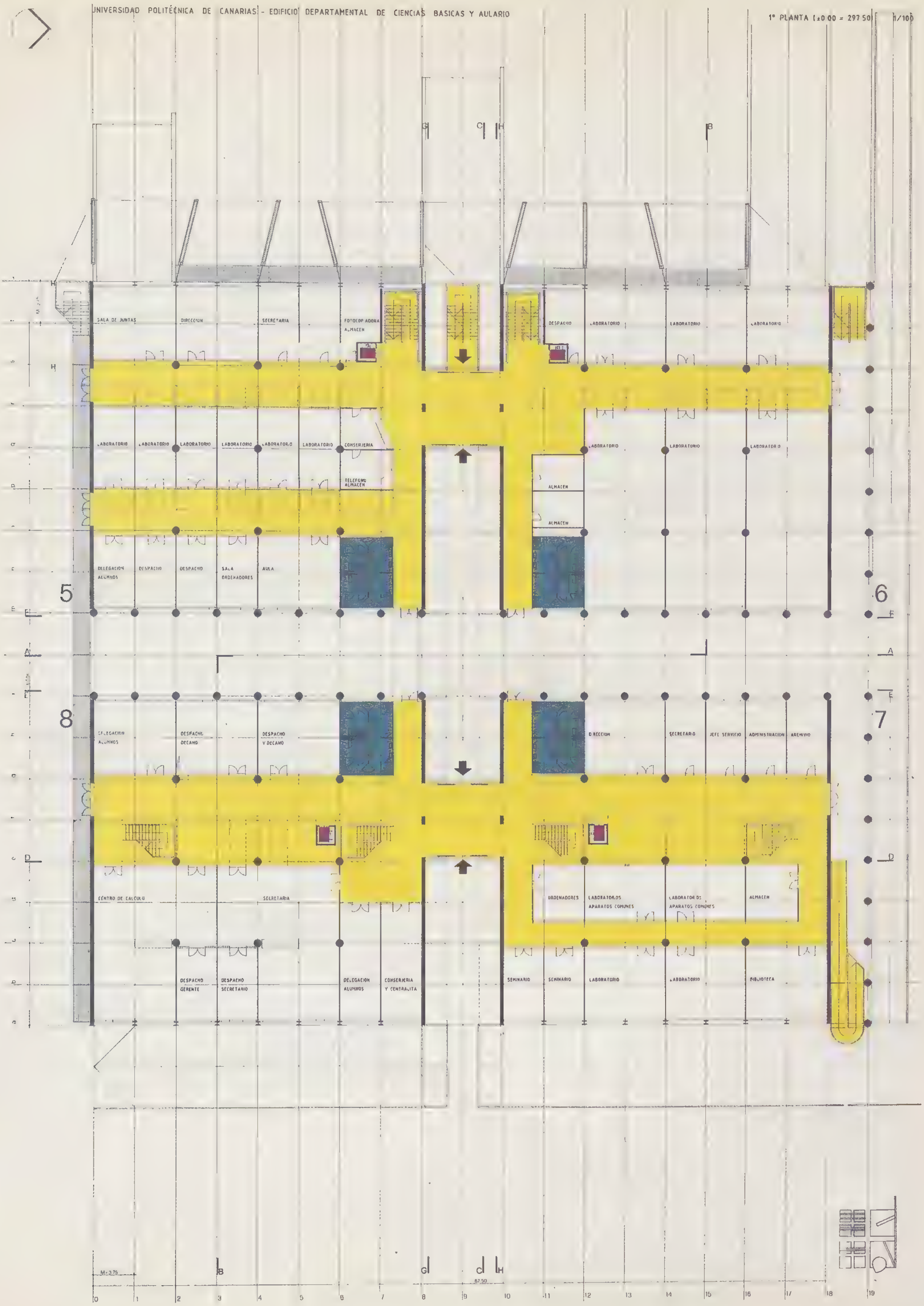


Vedute dei modelli e schizzi di studio dell'impianto planimetrico. Foto S. Topuntoli.

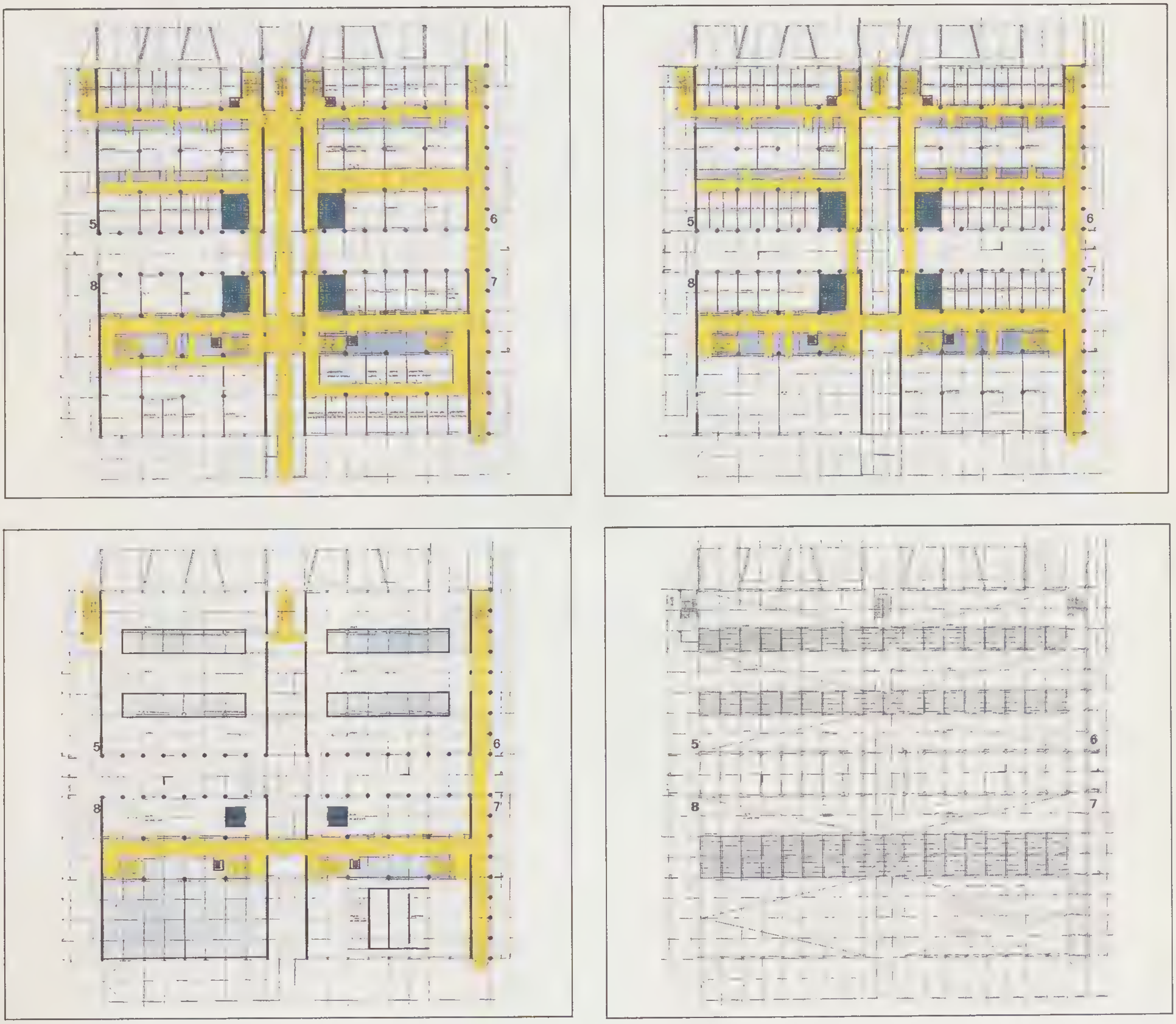




Planivolumetria e pianta al livello del piano terra (quota 0.00) dell'edificio del Dipartimento di Scienze.

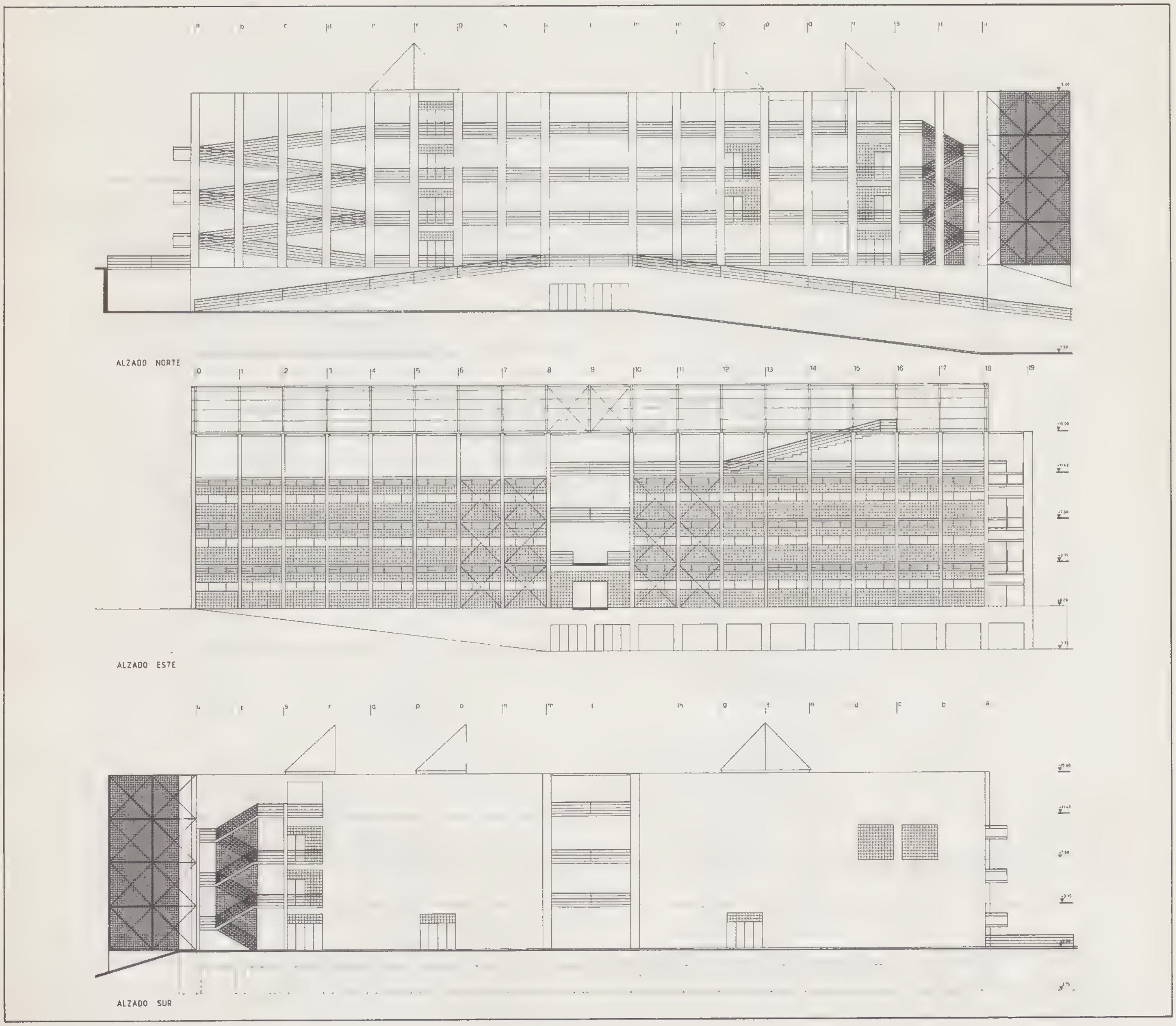


UNIVERSIDAD POLITÉCNICA DE CANARIAS - EDIFICIO DEPARTAMENTAL DE CIENCIAS BASICAS Y AULARIO
1° PLANTA (±0.00 = 297.50) 1/100
SALA DE JUNTAS
DIRECCION
SECRETARIA
FOTOCOPIADORA ALMACEN
DESPACHO
LABORATORIO
CONSERJERIA
TELEFONO ALMACEN
ALMACEN
DELEGACION ALUMNOS
DESPACHO
SALA ORDENADORES
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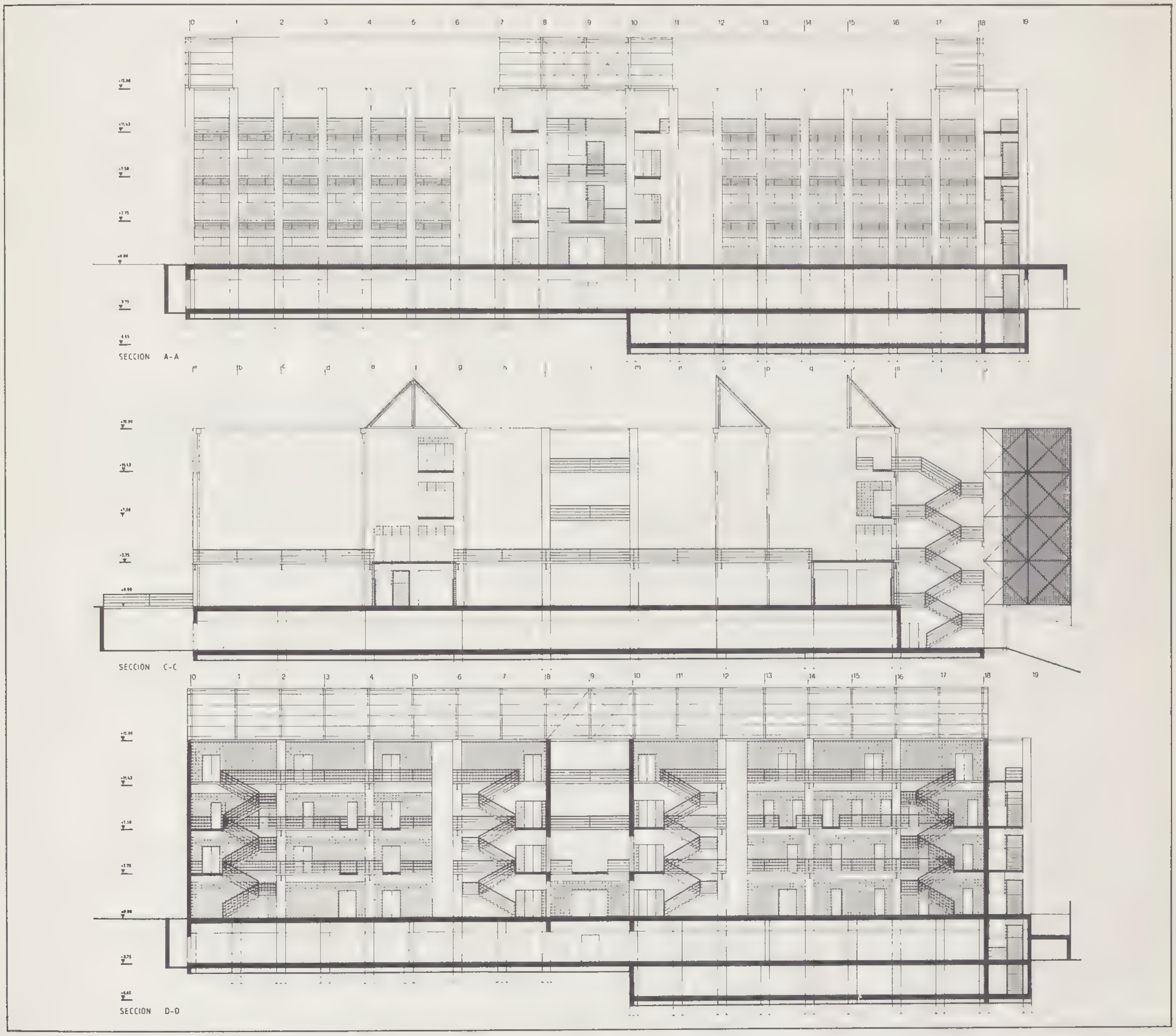


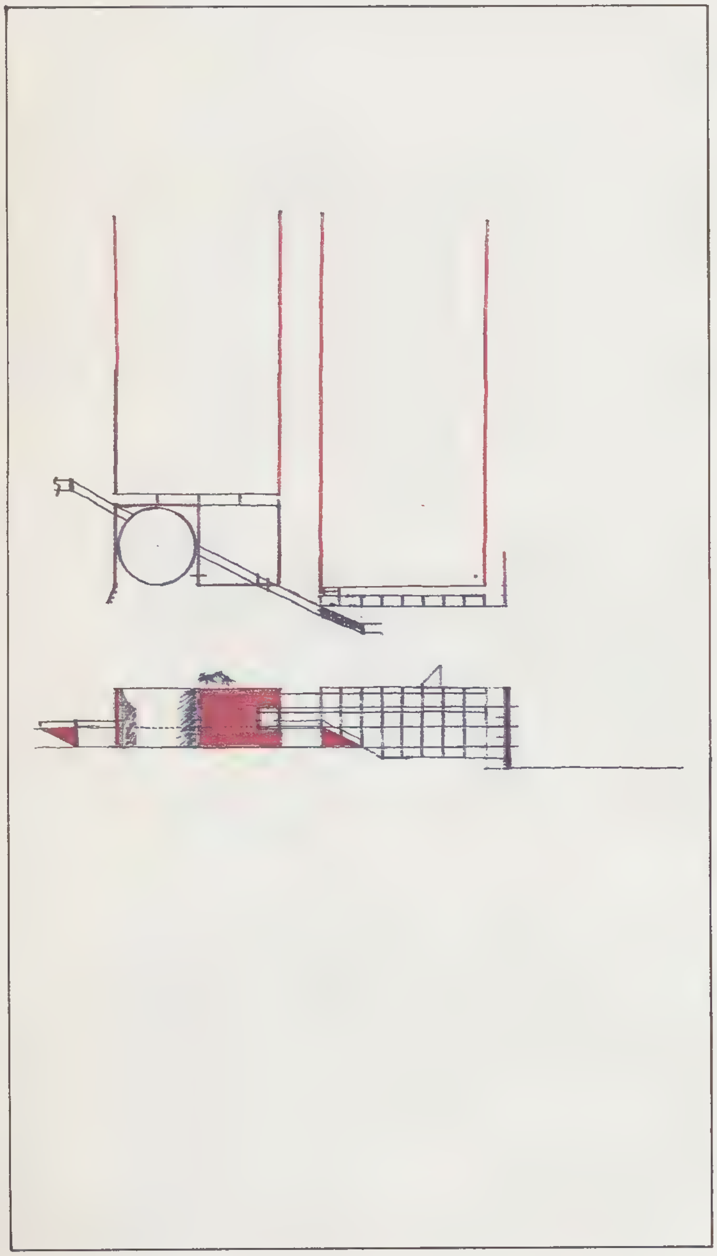
Piante ai livelli dei piani primo, secondo, terzo e delle coperture dell'edificio del Dipartimento di Scienze.

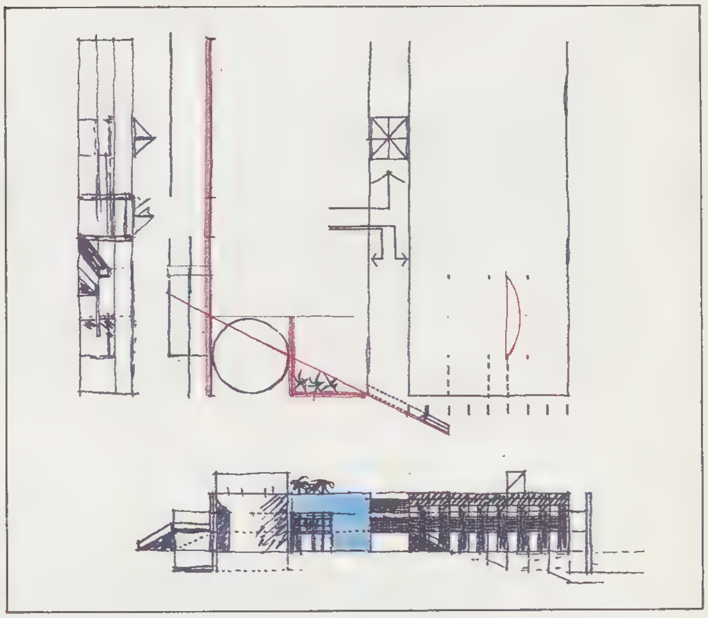
prima unità generale (il complesso di moduli e piazze).
Mi è parso, quindi, di dover distinguere dentro l'unità generale (il quadrato di m 150 di lato ed il piano orizzontale "fuori-tutto") quegli elementi architettonici che ne garantissero una conoscenza, un apprendimento per via estetica, cogliendo o fissando dentro di essa altre, seconde, parziali unità (proprio secondo Quatremère de Quincy e contro Viollet-le-Duc): a) il colonnato frontale distinto in due tratte simmetriche, b) a loro volta distinte in due "L" simmetriche rispetto agli assi delle due "vie colonnate".
I filari di colonne entrano tra gli otto moduli, misurando visivamente le diverse unità architettoniche; "mettono ordine" e consentono una multiformità (anche variabile) funzionale all'intero complesso. Una sorta di "via principale e vie secondarie", traslata dalla tela al suolo. Le colonne si ripetono anche all'interno, acquistano altri significati e assumono altri ruoli, ecc., e sono di fatto i misuratori di altre successive unità.
La procedura è di tipo combinatorio, certo; ma è decisamente orientata a mantenere gli elementi primi della combinazione (le colonne) nella loro figura ambigua, tale da provocare o da mostrare la coesistenza di colonne, cilindri, camini, tubi, ecc., nella stessa figura.
La stessa ambiguità riguarda i *brise-soleil* che sono pannelli di rete metallica, supporti per rampicanti colorati, quinte di verde verso il giardino o verso la strada interna.
I disegni, certamente, non mostrano visivamente questo futuro rapporto tra luogo naturale e architettura: essi hanno la forma del disegno di ingegneria e riducono l'architettura dell'*artifàct* a descrizione geometrica ed il luogo a rilievo topografico.
L'architettura del giardino, l'architettura di vetro, l'architettura delle navi sono i temi che successivamente entrano nel progetto compositivo, ripetendo e montando insieme frasi già note, provate in esperimenti precedenti.
Nel progetto generale l'interno e l'esterno dell'architettura sono caratterizzati principalmente dal vetro (vetrocemento nel caso) e dalla totale assenza di "finestre", sostituite da varchi attraverso i quali passano i corridoi-ponti che collegano i quattro moduli nei diversi piani.
Il complesso si presenta (così è infatti) nella forma di una macchina, dove i distinti pezzi assumono la figura di sculture astratte, di elementi geometrici elementari.
L'uso del vetrocemento è strumentale a questa "tesi" (l'architettura di vetro) vista dall'esterno; epperò lo è anche rispetto all'interno, alla sequenza di schermi vetrati paralleli alle fronti esterne vetrate.
Le gallerie dentro le quali corrono i corridoi-ponti di distribuzione sono quindi funzionali alla volontà di riprodurre all'interno condizioni proprie dell'esterno, non limitabili alla luminosità; esse salgono fino alla copertura e sono strade colonnate interne (le colonne all'interno hanno interasse di m 7.50, doppio rispetto a quello delle strade colonnate esterne) e riunificano le reali dimensioni dell'edificio in senso longitudinale, ossia sono riferite alla somma delle misure di edifici-modulo e della strada interna (m 30 + 7.50 + 30).

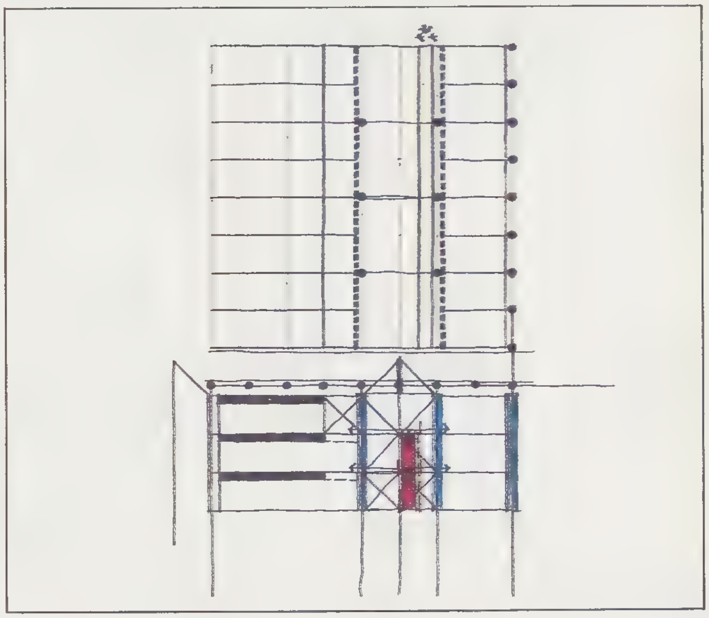


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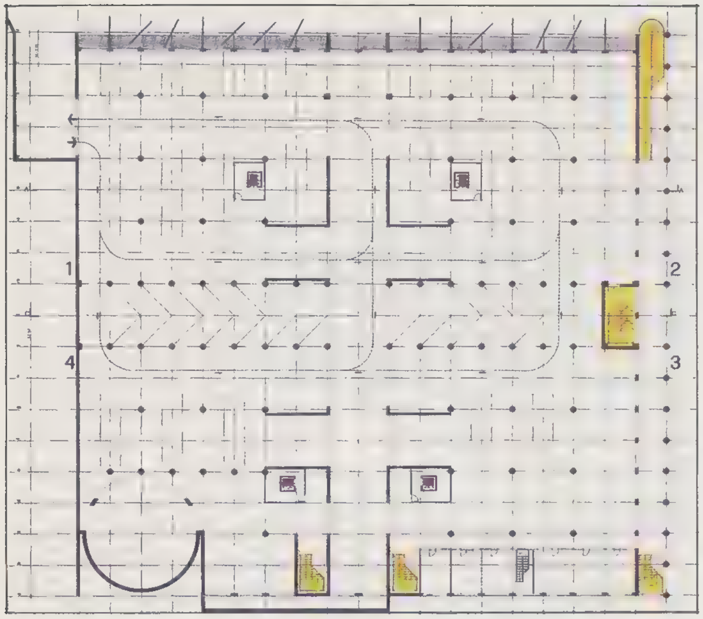
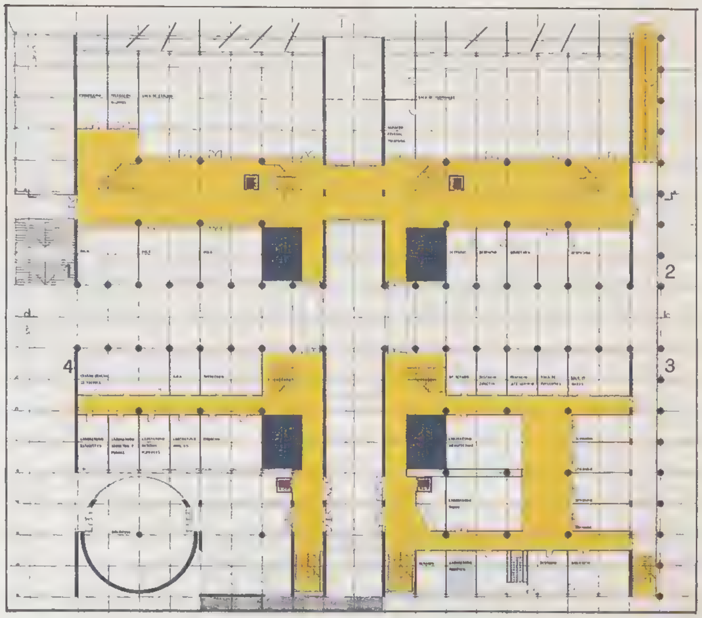
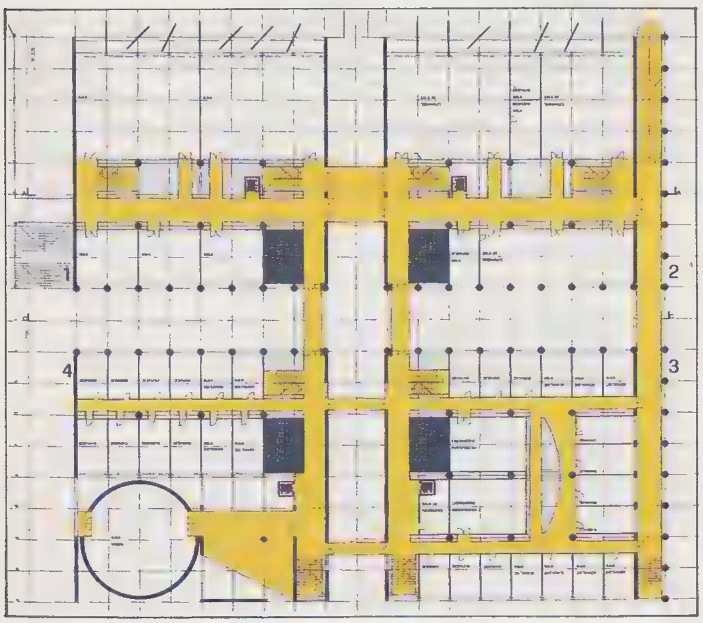
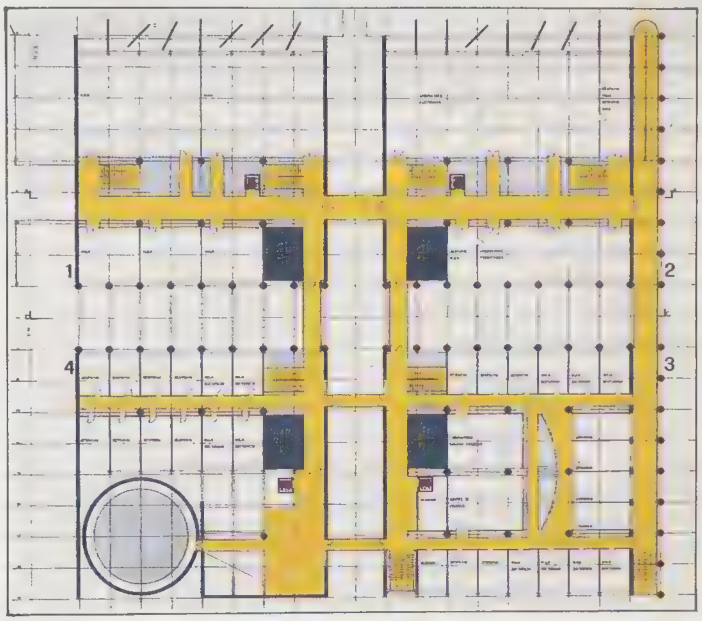

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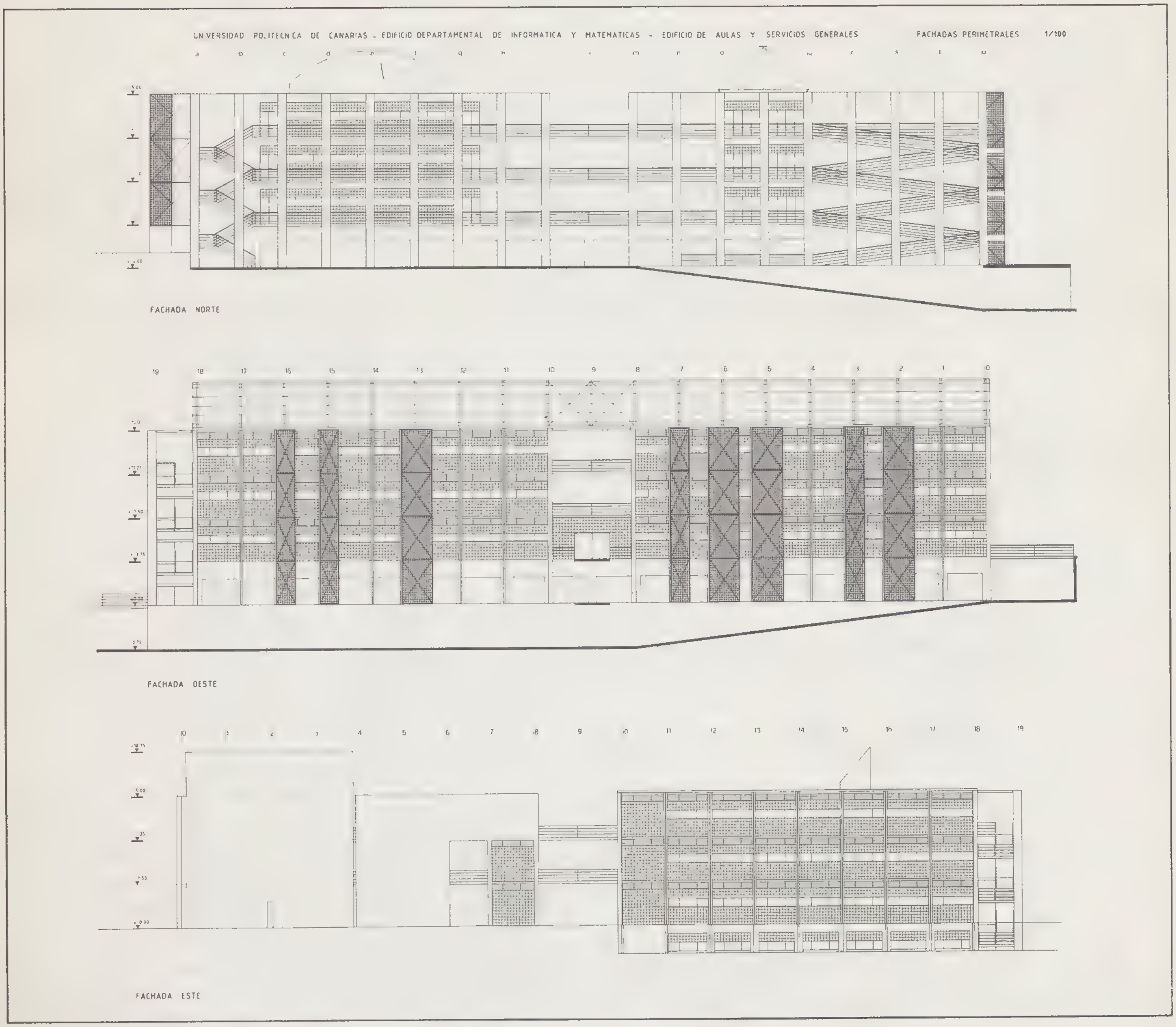




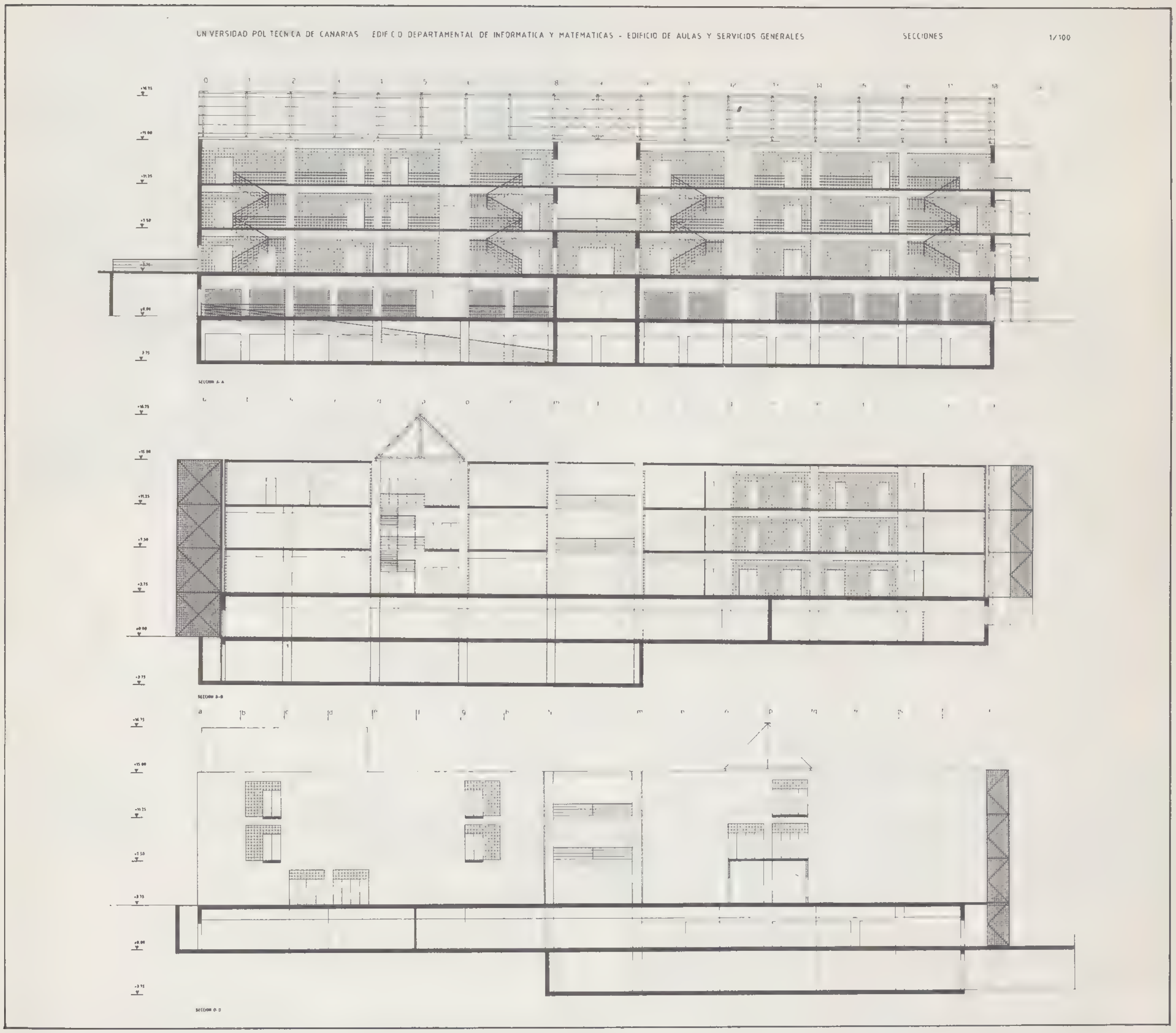


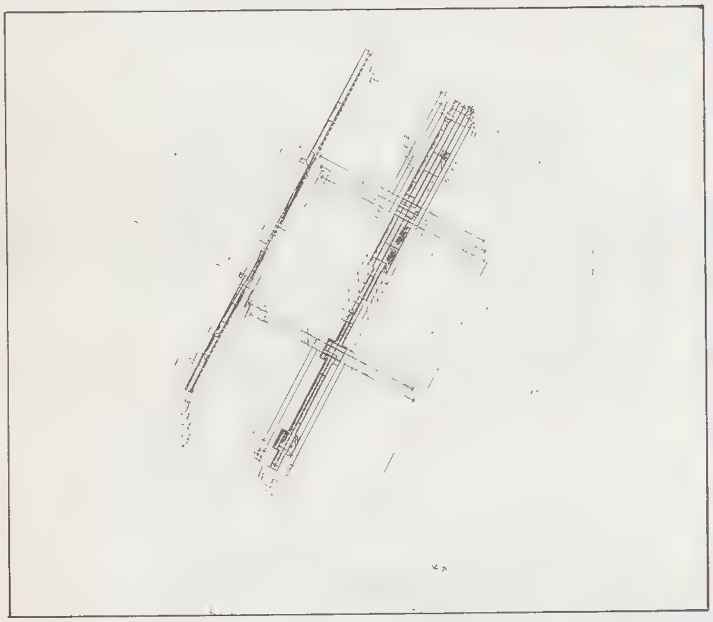
Schizzi di studio e piante ai livelli dei piani primo interrato (quota 0.00), terra, primo e secondo dell'edificio del Dipartimento di Informatica e Matematica.


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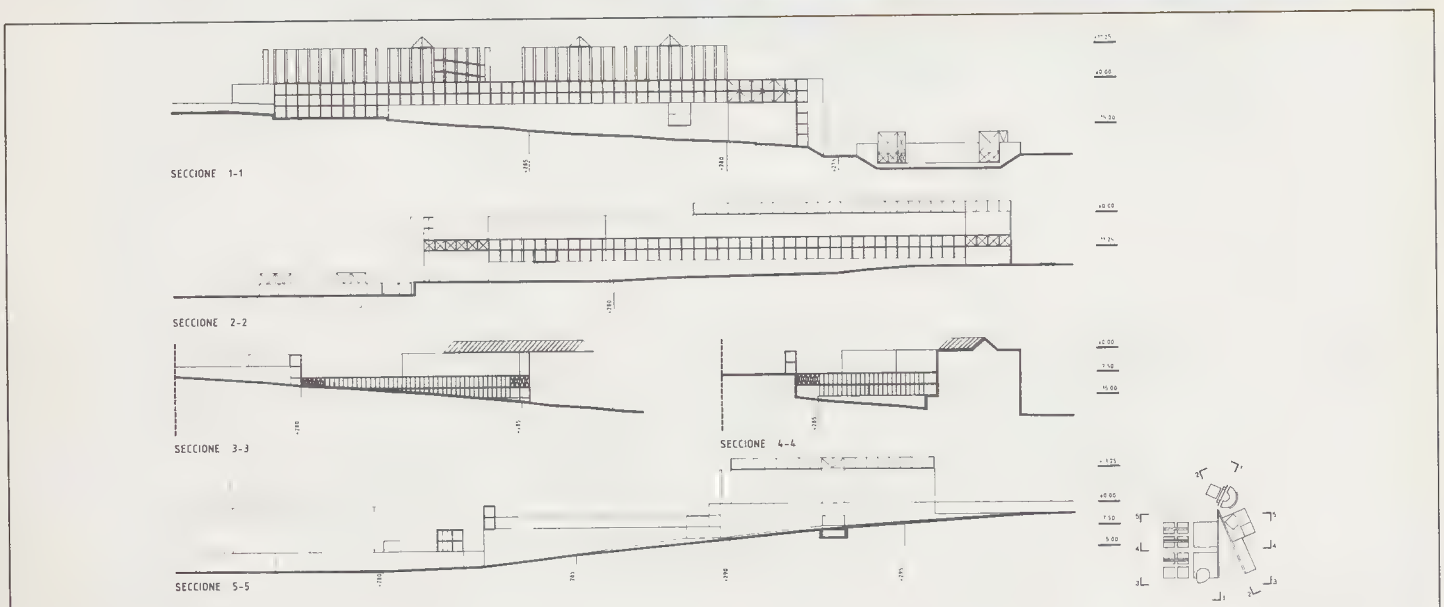


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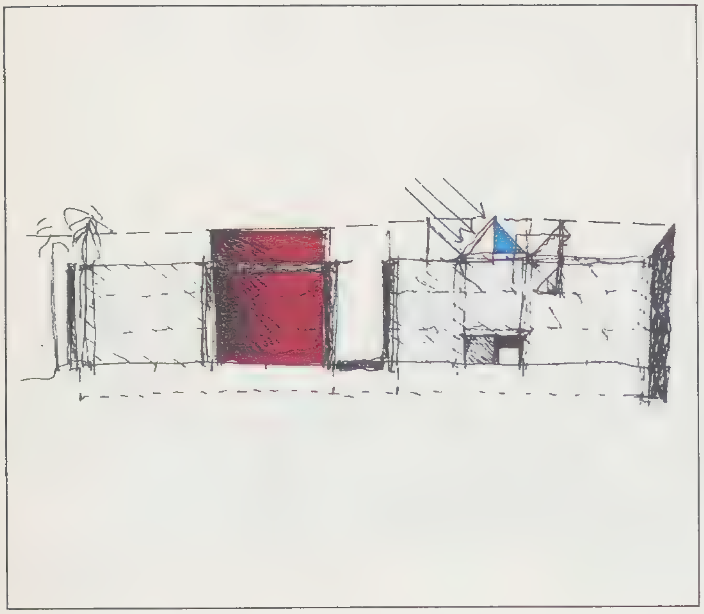

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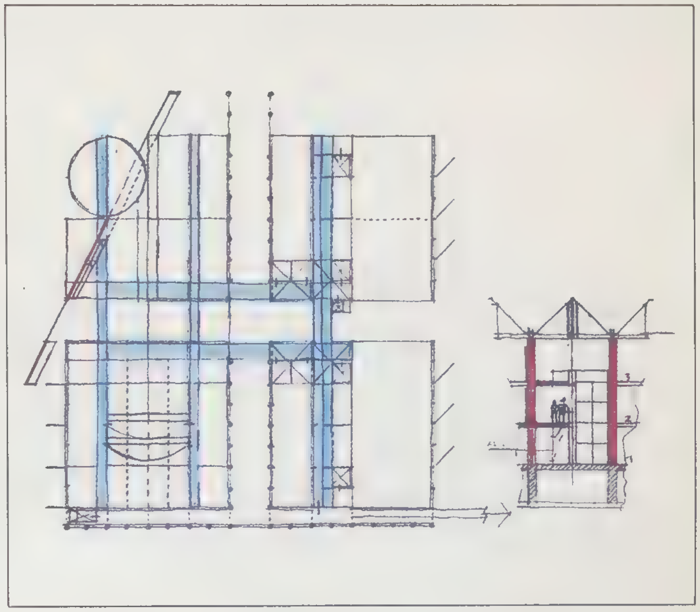


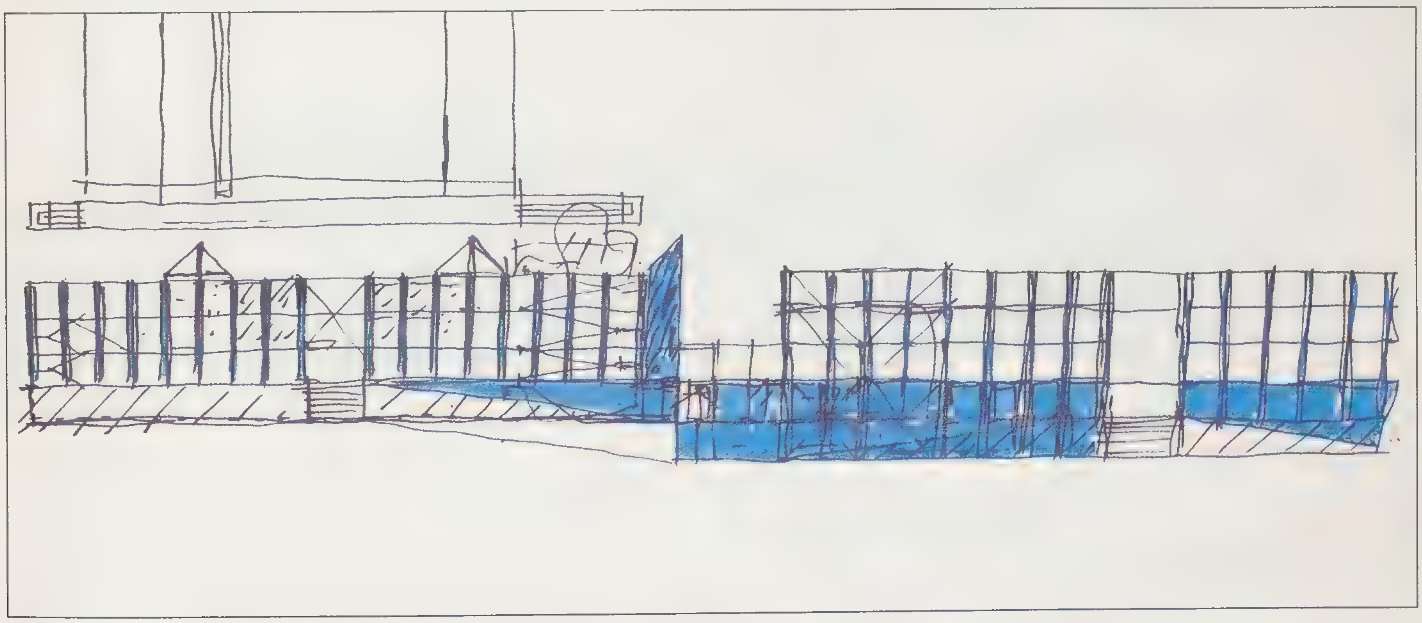


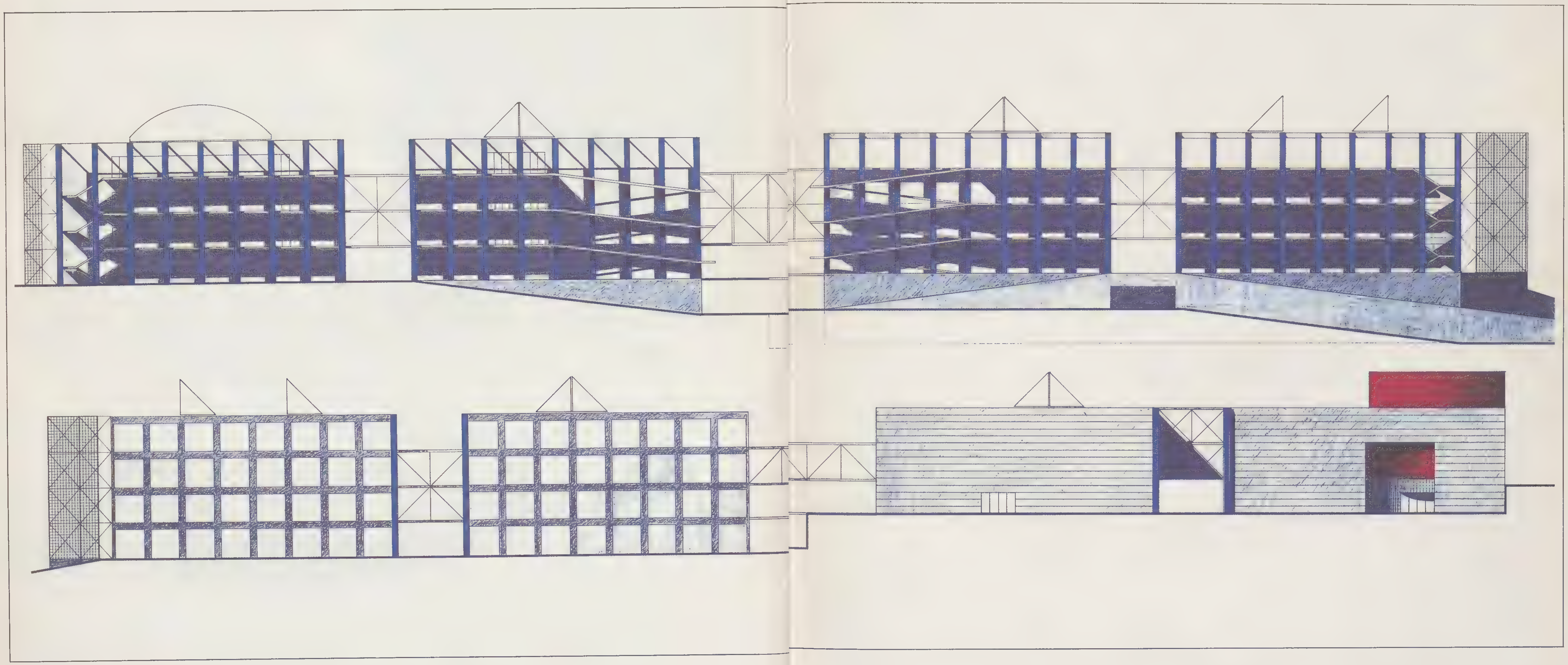


Vista del Palazzo di Cnosso a Creta, XVI sec. a.C.
Assonometria schematica delle circolazioni interne agli edifici, sezioni del complesso del campus *e schizzi di studio.*

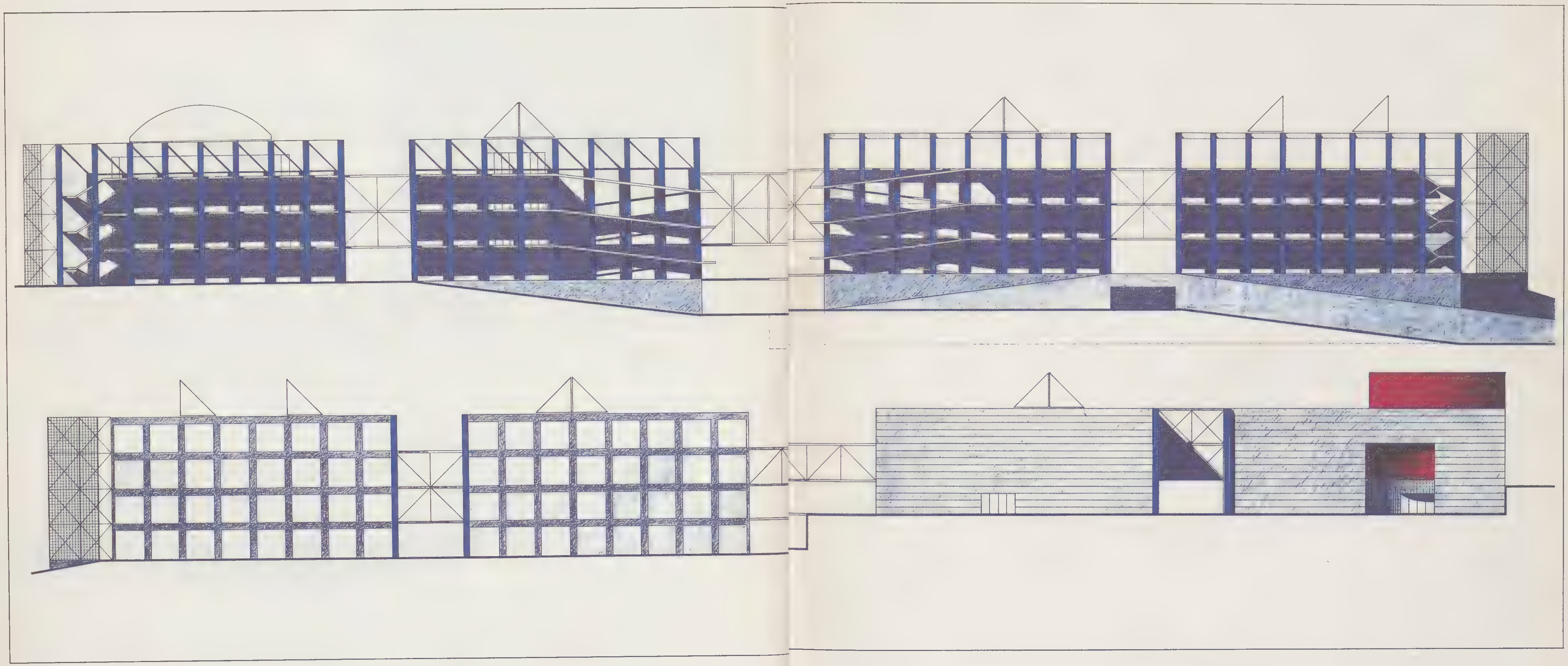








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Nuove strutture alla luce.

Più si riflette sull'impiego della luce nell'architettura più ci si rende conto che esiste ancora un ampio spazio per innovazioni di forma e d'uso in questo settore.

Ci siamo impegnati a perfezionare i sistemi composti di binari elettrificati e faretti.

Binari elettrificati ad ampie campate senza dispositivi di sostegno inevitabilmente subiscono spostamenti laterali o si flettono sotto il carico dei faretti.

Le possibilità costruttive risultavano fino ad oggi limitate laddove si trattava di creare sottostrutture con ampie campate, ad esempio intervenendo in gallerie d'arte, musei, centri commerciali, piccoli teatri, palestre o foyer di aereoporti ed alberghi.

Perciò, in collaborazione con il designer ed architetto Roy Fleetwood (statica: Ove Arup & Partners), abbiamo creato un sistema portante a tralicci con binari elettrificati che unisce la statica e la conduttura della corrente per la luce.

Con questo sistema chiamato Gantry possono essere formate strutture luminose a campate fino a 9,50 m senza dispositivi di sostegno.

L'elemento principale del traficcio sistema è un traliccio dal quale si possono sospendere in qualsiasi punto dei faretti. Il traliccio si distingue per la sua capacità portante, il suo basso peso proprio ed il ridottissimo consumo di materiale.

Il carico ammesso a massima campata è di 18 kg/m, arrivando fino a 100 kg/m lineare, a seconda della lunghezza e della configurazione del sistema.

Le molteplici possibilità d'impiego di questa struttura dimostrano che si tratta di una realizzazione attentamente studiata e ponderata.

Col Gantry si possono creare svariati spazi luminosi, porre particolari accenti, suddividere locali in zone a luminosità differenziata e creare incisivi passaggi luminosi.

Montato fra due pareti, sospeso dal soffitto, o in versione a piantana, il Gantry lascia ampio spazio alla fantasia.

Se sono state le necessità tecniche a determinare la creazione del Gantry, il suo design è l'espressione della migliore tecnologia.

Il design si è ispirato a costruzioni dell'800 come il Palazzo di Cristallo in Inghilterra o la Torre Eiffel, nonché ad opere di architettura moderne come la Hongkong and Shanghai Bank o l'ufficio vendite della Renault a Swindon (Inghilterra).

Questa architettura non nasconde o riveste di accessori alla moda le caratteristiche della costruzione; la funzionalità strutturale contiene invece una sua propria estetica.

Così il nostro nuovo sistema Gantry non ha soltanto portato a numerose nuove possibilità di impiegare la luce direzionata, ma rappresenta uno strumento integrato nell'architettura.

Uno strumento però che dà sempre nuovi suggerimenti per l'impiego della luce nell'architettura.

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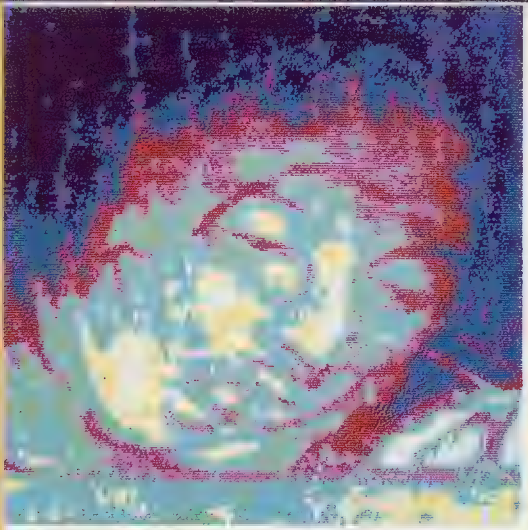
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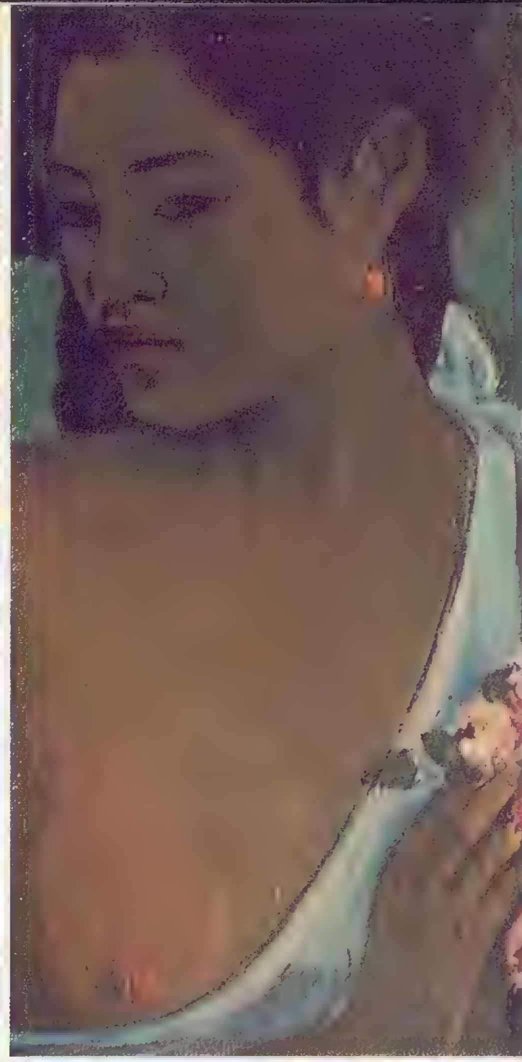
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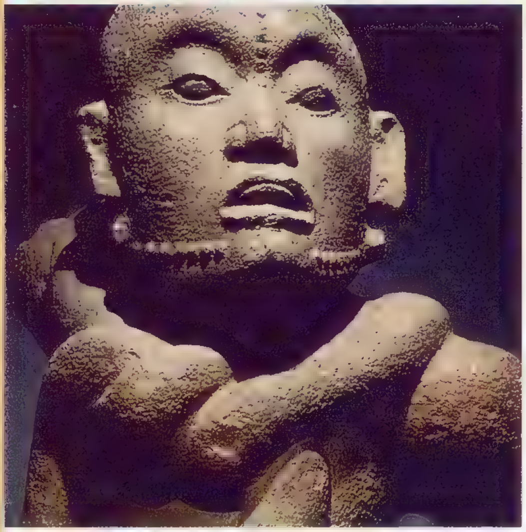
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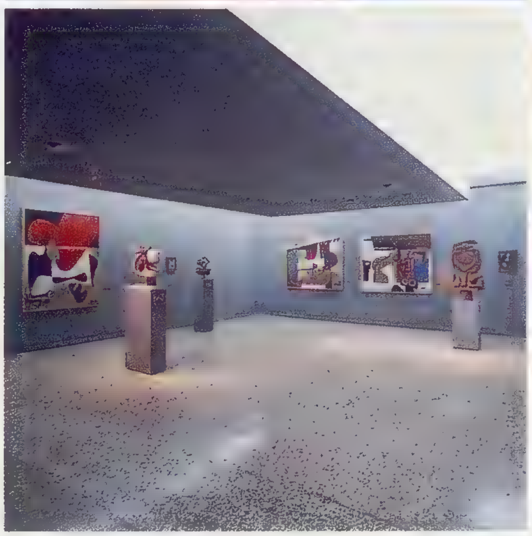

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Contents

Front cover: Carlo Aymonino, the Theatre of Avellino, 1987-89: detail of the perspective from the side of the entrance on Piazza Castello.



Authenticity and Falsification, Today
Guido Canella

Philosophical, sociological and literary criticism has defined the postmodern condition as that interval of time which must necessarily elapse following the discovery that the essence and style of the Modern movement have lost all credibility and have failed to live up to their prophecies.
When applied to architecture, the same term is subject to a quite trivial generic and at times quite distasteful use since the term lacking any strict theoretical foundation providing form of reassurance, nostalgia, exoticism, eccentricity, disguise or suchlike, has ended up being used to describe a type of faith (in which there is no shortage of believers) which lands itself to communication through the mass media.
And yet even philosophical, sociological and literary criticism has frequently cited the example of architecture — as often in condemnation as in praise. This is possibly because architecture, by its very essence and to the particular mentality of those who work in it, seems to have a greater telepathic relationship with time and space than most other disciplines. Or perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that architecture cannot fail to have an immediate and quite obvious effect, in terms of perception, on behaviour.
By isolation a sense of detachment or the value of the fragment can be perceived from a piece of writing (which does not necessarily have to be read), a piece of music (we may decide not to listen to) or a picture (we can choose not to look at); but not from a piece of architecture which *has to* be lived in and *must be* understood entirely in its historical context. And in all its references to architecture, that criticism seems to favour the more popular, sensational works rather than those works with layers of meaning that reveal the complexities of the context requiring specific knowledge and skills, where function (which can affect the development of a city) and representation (which, as in all other texts, is expressed symbolically, allegorically or otherwise) are inextricably bound to one another. Such works would thus need to be dealt with in depth and would inevitably have to be introduced to the public through a critical analysis which differs from that most commonly used in literature, sociology or philosophy.
It follows that if the postmodern condition is an interval of time which must necessarily elapse — rather like the way Hans Sedlmayr sees the modern condition as being marked by an irreversible *loss of centre* — in the case of architectural criticism this would mean updating a criterion of polysemous authenticity in order to evaluate and diagnose existing contextual complications, which result in architecture, from certain features of institutional organizations.
These are functional features in the elementary morphological sense with respect to tectonics and spatial articulation. They are also functional features in the syntactical correlative and descriptive sense when seen as part of the surrounding landscape or the construction of an interior landscape. These features are bound to cause environmental changes in any event.
It goes without saying that the criterion of authenticity necessarily means the escartainment of the degree of falsification in various possible directions.
This also applies to representative certainty, where there is no difference

"*[The] building at 53rd and Third will have enormous skyline identity because of its shape and the striking contrast... an oval building in a square environment*".
Philip Johnson, quoted in "New York Magazine", March 11, 1985.

John Burgee Architects with Philip Johnson, 53rd At Third ("Lipstick" Building), New York, New York, 1983-85.
Photo S. Maffioletti.

between a reassuring *revival* and technological display.
It also applies to today's dominant ideology whereby general, indiscriminate conservation, environmentalism and regionalism bring about the domestic and consumption oriented transformation of the historical city and at the same time entrust all future ambitions and transformations to the tower like skyline that will rise up over the ruins of the industrial era.
It also applies, to the same extent, to the typological essence (which appeals to unshakable rationalist tradition through a geometrically reminiscent virtue of that epic) when it postulates figuratively modest, simple and flexible organisms that are sufficiently able to absorb, without effort, the variables of post-industrial enterprise, now crying out for indetermination and acceptance as much as for profit. Such is the case for example, in the so-called "empty spaces" left behind by industry where a concentrated network of unnated activities (heralded as "innovative") and the establishment of green areas over a part of the surface are supposed to make up for the box-like arrangement of highdensity areas moved to the outskirts of the city.
In introducing a criterion of authenticity the idea here is not to lapse into a *pre-or-post* conceptual moralism, but rather to get to those special positive and negative values which are still the basis of the making of architecture today.
If asked what its own duties are, any self-aware architecture would reply that along with that of civil functionality (as distinct from particularist functionalism), the task of knowledge persists.
A duty towards knowledge, moreover, is something we can expect from any poetic examination, and with the passage of time is one which tends to prevail over the primary duty through symbolism, allegory and so forth.
More than thirty years later, facing the decay, of the International Style, this awareness is upholding the necessity to call into question, and if necessary to re-evaluate-the culture of the Modern Movement outside the ideological hagiography of the spirit of the age, of functionalist modernism and of technological orthodoxy, and set it not only in relation to the traditional values of the locus but also in relation to the poetic alternatives which have emerged from the country's Schools of Architecture, which, had been a part of or had been through the internationalist experience.
But philosophical, sociological and literary criticism which adheres more closely to the postmodern phase appears suspicious and sceptical of the reliability of knowledge which, it was previously thought, could be transmitted through text.
Hermeneutic, deconstructivist interpretation, the reduction of the work to mere writing and so on (attributing a complementary, decisive role to fruition) increasingly limit its scope to the realm of *significants*, considering the interpretation of *meanings* as totally arbitrary and falsifying.
Recently, and with varying degrees of awareness, critics of architecture and town-planning seem in one sense to be taking an increasing interest in the relationship between initiative and approval and in another to be more and more resistant to becoming involved in typological and figurative meanings.

* * *

Some schematic considerations can be made on Dieter Leistner's suggestive sequence of photographs on the public baths which flourished in Wilhelmian Germany at the turn of the century — in most cases the work of the cities' departments of public works.
From that critical point of view, any comparison of the different degrees of stylization in the Vienna Secession and in the Jugendstil-Deutscher Werkbund-Moderne Bauformen movements that aims to single out two different cultural attitudes deriving from different social conditions and different susceptibilities to artisan or industrial production would be futile. It would be similarly over-ambitious to want to interpret this sequence as a delirious, indifferent state of equilibrium on its way towards a catastrophic rupture, after which it would retract or writhe in catharsis, both politically and figuratively with the mass display of nationalist classicism or, inversely, with the radical and elitist *mise en scène* of the avant-garde.
Mnemonic associations with the photographic sequence of the bathtubs lead to the mistake of crossing what should now be considered two distinct timescales according to two symmetrical yet opposing peraphreses.
The first, which can be linked to the troubles of the Modern as seen through postmodern eyes, could be found in the film *The Swimmer*, made in 1968 by Frank Perry in the Actors' Studio style. The hero (played by Burt Lancaster) is an attractive, successful middle-aged man who, after a mid-life crisis, wants to sort his life out. He decides to swim across his neighbours' pools in an attempt to rekindle old friendships, convinced that after this gesture he will come home to a new-found harmony with his family. All he finds, however, is embarrassment, insults, hostility and hard truths. At twilight, fighting a rusty door which, refuses to open he falls prey to an icy sense of desolation and hopelessness. The second paraphrase, which can be linked to the postmodern period seen through eyes that are still modern, could be found in the 1983 film *Nostalghia*, which marked a moment of torment in Andrej Tarkovskij's work. The hero is a Russian poet who travels to Italy on the trail of a fellow countryman, an eighteenth-century musician. During his stay he is overwhelmed by memories, bewildered by the fleetingness of everything around him, by uncomfortable sensations and by gnawing obsessions which haunt him and build up to a crescendo of doubt and indecision. He eventually falls prey to the ravings of a madman and copies his senseless ritual of wading through the sixteenth-century aquatic square at Bagno Vignoni, holding a lighted candle which must not go out. Immediately after this he dies, convinced of having made come true his dream of fusing past and present into one single phenomenon and one sensation, of having restored harmony between the individual, society and nature, of having destroyed all boundaries and of having reconciled the hitherto disregarded potentialities of different nationalities, traditions and cultures.
Back to the photographic sequence of Wilhelmian public baths, the question arises of what, today, is the right way to approach it. Considering that these interiors lend themselves to direct interpretation as postmodern interiors, might we come to the conclusion that once the Modern style's foolish aspirations of transformation have been given up

and the illusion that history has some significance has been thrown out (and paradoxically by virtue of this very disorientation) we are now going through a period of new-found equilibrium between design supply and demand, in which architecture and cityscape are converted into purely reassuring habitability that is to be consumed only here and now?
Or, because we are aware of this troubled harmony, is it worth accentuating the total state of uncertainty and precariousness it produces, reducing a self-reflecting minimalism to the value of the decorative art of the goldsmith thus becoming more authentic and responsible)?
Or, alternatively, should we throw it into disarray to highlight the spirit of the age with increasingly ebullient technological information?
Or, concealing the weakness of lost structural consistency behind an apperent continuity, are we to go on pretending it is still alive and let every large-scale post-industrial operation no criterion of authenticity holds away, the captious or conformist interpretation which repeatedly resorts to implications of ambiguity thrives, thus becoming valid in all its uses and meanings. As a result the vacuum left by critical reticence is filled by the assumption of democratic but incompetent common sense which misunderstands the terms efficiency and waste, subverts the values of use and exchange and so tends to attribute a provocatory, exhibitionist and even totalitarian intention to the kind of architecture which, through a typological and figurative feature, establishes a new subjective, responsible point of view and calls into play the very institutional value of the theme and its role of transformation and significance in the context of the city.

* * *

Unlike the previous approaches to reconstruction (Chessa, Scarpa), the quality of the new Carlo Felice Theatre lies primarily in the recognition of its neo-classical origin and the role the architecture of that period played in restoring a sense of identity to the city. And it may have been upon these very aspects that the designers reconciled their respective inclinations at the design stage (Gardella's being conditioned by his family background and Rossi's by his own volition). As the project developed, however, functional requirements (concerning layout, stage design and so on) seem to have exerted a greater influence on that overblown mutilated expressionism of classical syntagma (base, shaft, crown) and triumphed in an epic compromise from which the flow of modernity is released with a sense of critical awareness.
The Carlo Felice stage tower looms over Genoa just as the Velasca Tower rises up high over Milan and Philip Johnson and John Burgee's "Lipstick" Building dominates the Manhattan skyline. But not all towers loom over their respective cities. The skyscrapers of Milan's Business District do not loom over the city, let alone those designed and built in Genoa; and hardly any of New York's most recent skyscrapers can be said to dominate the skyline. In order to loom over a city a tower has to be contextualized and find its unequivocal, legitimate place, like a mother figure in relation to her offspring or forebears.
In fitting into this context of protectiveness these towers have moved away from their own archetypes and taken on, in physiological terms, an allegorical deformation, which, in breaking away from the generatrix lines, is different each time: deflecting the pillars to support the overhanging top

cube in the case of the Velasca Tower, tilting the central vertical axis in the case of the Lipstick Building and accentuating the redefinition of the entablature in the case of the Carlo Felice.
This is critical rationality, then, initially proclaimed as alienation from the modern stereotype in a historical comparison and then transmitted in the revival of details with references that also take the form of graces, dissonance, and sometimes even caricatures, without destroying the architectural integrity.
The Velasca Tower, the Lipstick Building and the Carlo Felice Theatre were of course commissioned by important clients and it may be that the results only partly lived up to the expectations. But it comes as no surprise that when they appeared, because of that Faustian excess they all have in common, they inevitably fell out of the graces of the vast majority of critics and conventional opinion.
Much to the delight of the "conservationists", sho believe that they conserve by precluding any new contribution to the historical setting, these towers, looming over against the city skyline, subsume and safeguard traditional iconography a hundred times more than any restriction, pseudo-scientific renovation or pseudo-ancient paint job.

Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918

Dieter Leistner, photographer

The theme and sequence of these images, interiors of public baths in the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm — decors which were, for the most part, products of the city departments of public works — were selected by Dieter Leistner, who lives and works in Mainz. His portfolio also includes photographs of works by contemporary architects.
In these photos, Leistner steers clear of the rigid documentary realism which has dominated post-WW II German photography, evoking something of the original *pathos* inherent in these locales. By doing so, he is able to unite the entire sequence of images.
Leistner, a student of the Folkwang Schule in Essen, seems to have embraced the ideas explained by Karl Ernst Osthaus in his 1920 presentation of Bruno Taut's design for the school, then located in Hagen: "*a school of harmony, of the strengthening of all powers, soul-searching (...). Teaching mustn't be aimed only at the education of learned scholars and competent professionals, but must also awaken creative forces. (...) A modern need to seek unity and collaboration between all the arts, meeting in a single, indivisible creative action.*" (Karl Ernst Osthaus, *Die Folkwangschule, ein Entwurf von Bruno Taut*, in "Genius", II, 2, 1920, pp. 199-205).

Note

Historical data regarding individual public baths was furnished by courtesy of architect Michael Krieger and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für das Badewesen in Essen.

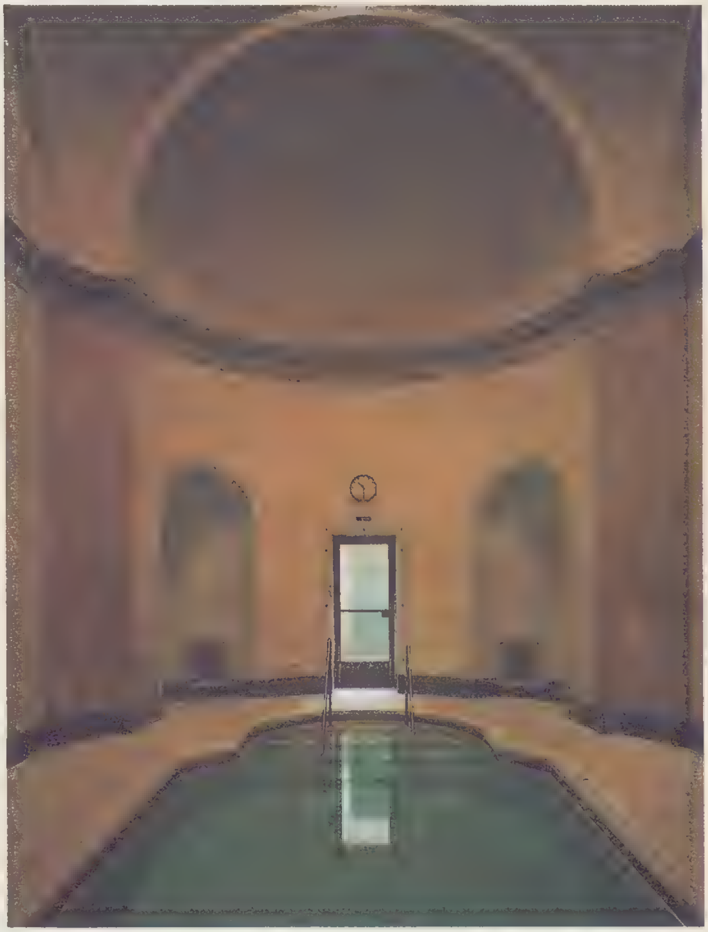
Städtisches Volksbad, Heidenhein, 1904. Public bath with indoor pool and individual tubs. Constuction was begun in 1903, and the inauguration took place on October 15, 1904. At the end of the 1980s it was decided to transform the facility into a professional school.





Friedrichsbad, Baden-Baden, 1877. Hot springs bath for men. Built between 1869 and 1877, in a time of rapid development of the city, due to an increase in interest by tourism for the hot springs. In 1891-92, the Augustabad for women was built, next to the Friedrichsbad.











Hallenbad Kleine Flurstrasse, Wuppertal-Barmen, 1882. Public bath with indoor pool and individual tubs, also used for medical treatments. Inaugurated July 19, 1882.

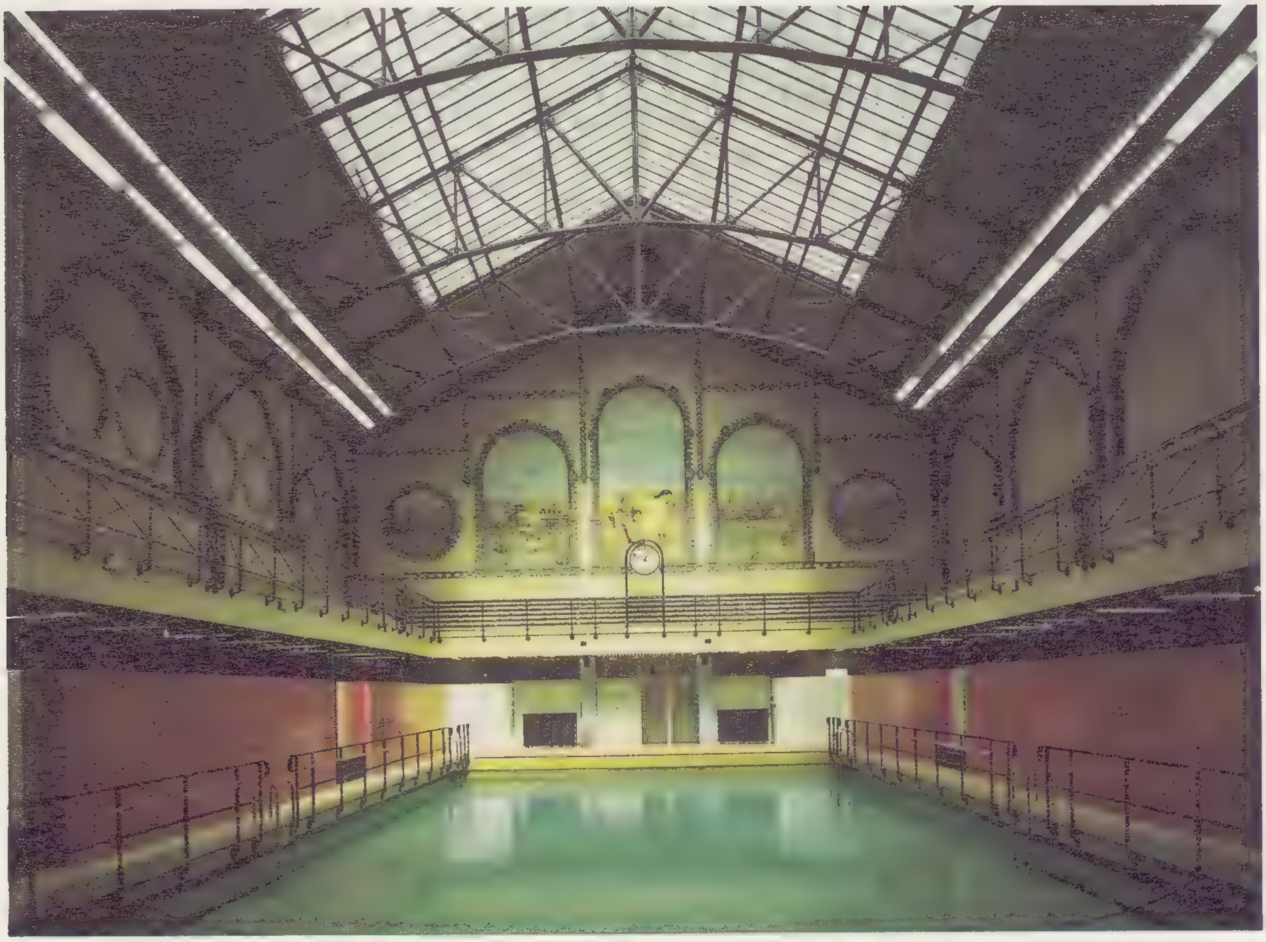




Städtisches Vierordtbad, Karlsruhe, 1873. Public bath with indoor pool and individual tubs. Designed by Durm and built between 1871 and 1873 with public funds and a private donation from Heinrich Vierordt. Initially there were only the individual tubs, steam baths and hot air baths. The indoor pool was built in 1898-1900.



Stadtbad Charlottenburg, Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1899. Public bath with indoor pool, individual tubs and tubs for medical treatment (mud baths). Built between 1896 and 1899, inaugurated July 1, 1899, the facility was renovated twice, in1924-26, and in 1935-36 when the pool was enlarged.



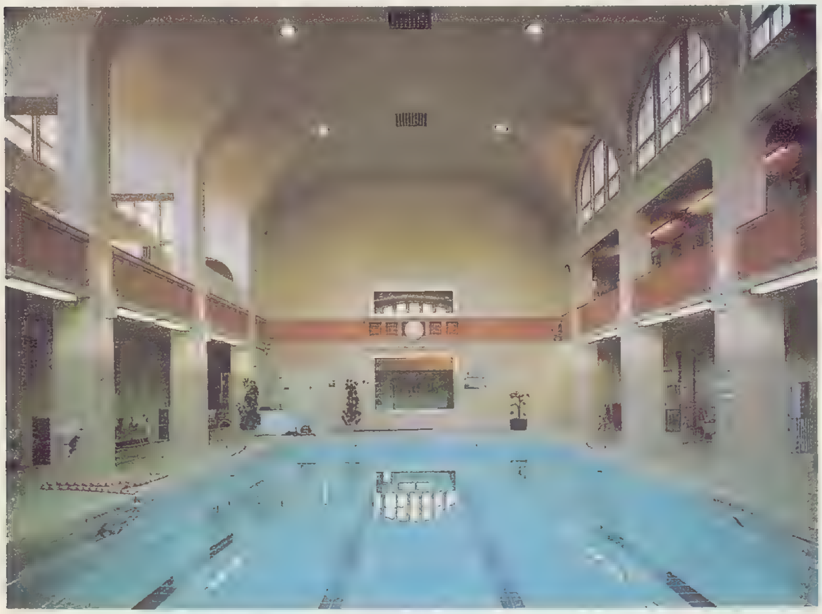
Stadtbad am Ebertplatz, Oberhausen, 1885. Public bath with indoor pools, one of which has recently been converted into a theatre.



Städtische Badeanstalt, Thedestrasse, Hamburg-Altona, 1881. Public bath with indoor pool and individual tubs. The facility still exists, but is no longer in use.

Städtische Badeanstalt, Ludwigsburg, 1908. Public bath with indoor pool and individual tubs. Built in 1907-08 and inaugurated on October 9, 1908, the facility was renovated in 1949-50, after partial damages during the war.





Kurbad Wuppertal, Wuppertal, 1902.
Public bath with two indoor pools
(for men and women).



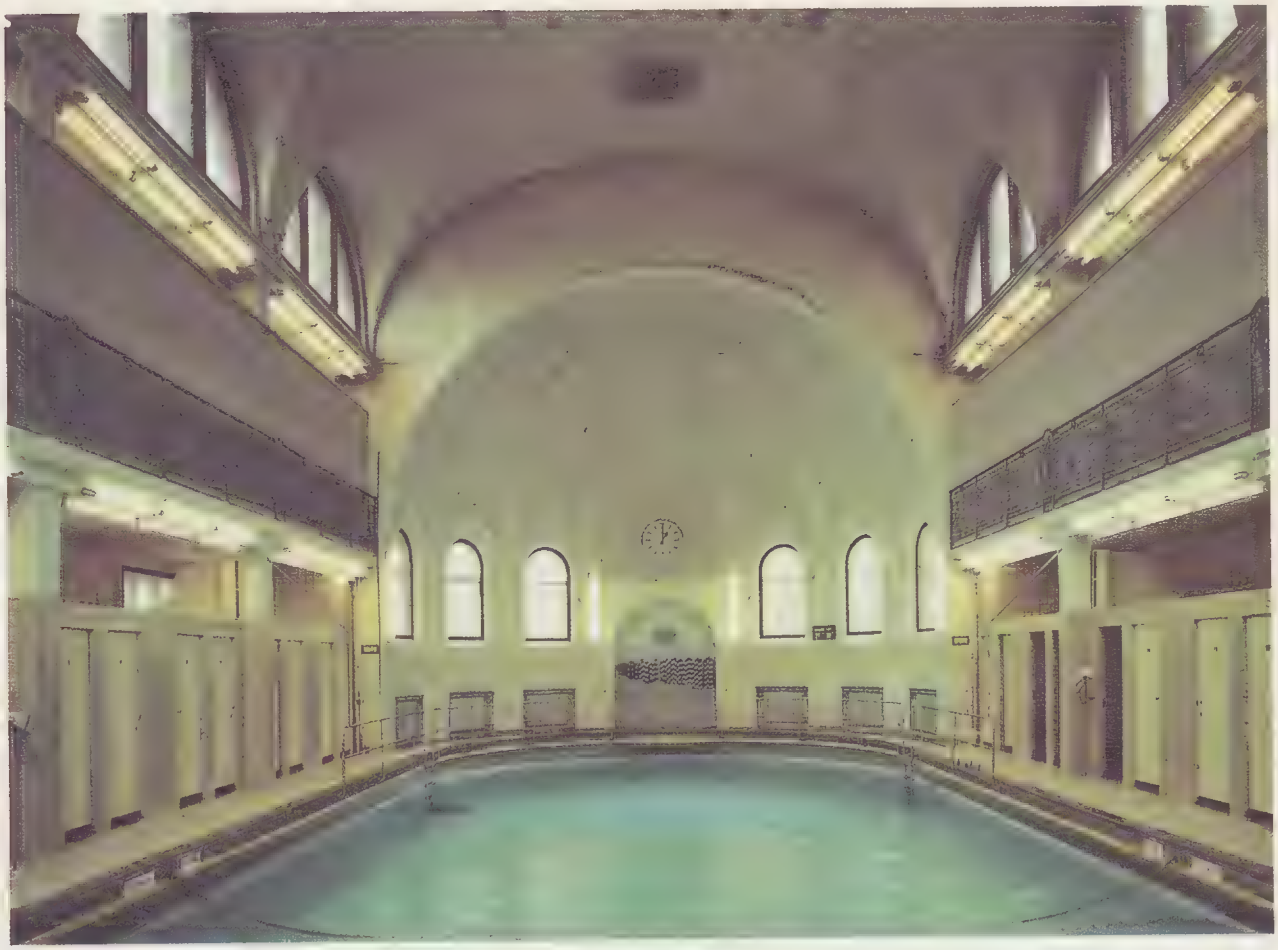
Stadtbad am Leonardsberg, Augusta, 1903. Public bath with two indoor pools (for men and women) and individual tubs. Built between 1901 and 1903, the facility was inaugurated on March 1, 1903 and renovated during the 1920s. Closed to the public since 1981, it underwent further renovation began in 1986.

Stadtbad am Rathaus, Ulm, 1918. Public bath with indoor pool.





Städtische Badeanstalt Steglitz, Berlin-Steglitz, 1908. Public bath with indoor pool, steam and hot air baths, individual tubs, tubs for medical treatments, and a public library. Built between 1906 and 1908, designed by Blunck and Münzenberger, the facility was inaugurated on July 8, 1908.





Goseriebad, Hannover, 1905. Public bath with three indoor pools (one for women, two for men) and individual tubs. Built in 1902-1905, the facility was inaugurated on September 24, 1905 and renovated in 1947-48, when the second men's pool was added.



Kellinghusenbad, Hamburg, 1904. Public bath with two indoor pools (for men and women). The facility has been renovated once.



Neptunbad, Cologne, 1912. Public bath with indoor pool and individual tubs. Designed by Kleefisch, it was built between 1910 and 1912, and inaugurated on April 1, 1912. The facility was renovated in 1953, and today has been officially declared a national monument.







Stadbad Elisabethstrasse, Aachen, 1911. Public bath with two indoor pools (for men and women) and individual tubs. Construction began in 1908, and the facility was inaugurated on July 15, 1911. Renovation began in 1975, and the baths opened again to the public on June 24, 1976.







Deutz-Kalker Bad, Cologne, 1913. Public bath with indoor pool, sauna and individual tubs. The facility has been declared a national monument, and is used today as a pool fed by the waters from the hot springs in the Rheinpark.





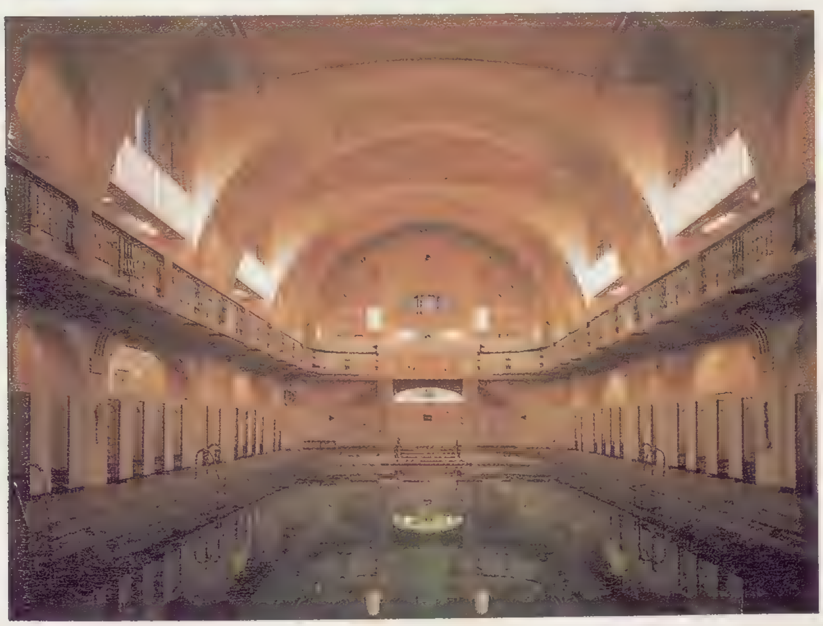




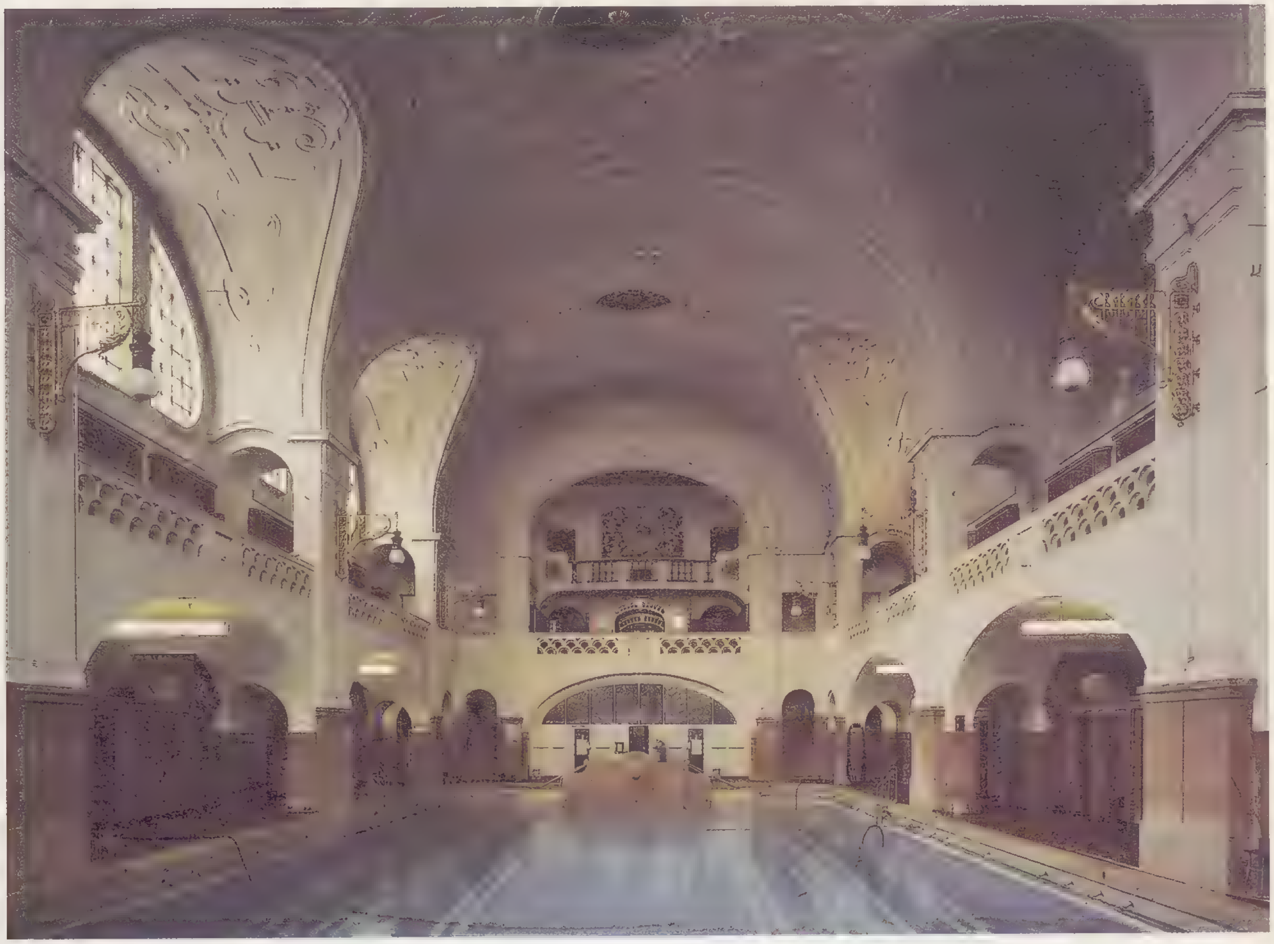
Städtisches Volksbad "Am Plärrer", Nuremburg, 1914. Public bath with three indoor pools (one for women, two for men) and individual tubs. Built between 1911 and 1913, the facility was inaugurated on January 2, 1914.







Müllersches Volksbad, Munich, 1901. Public bath with two indoor pools (for men and women), individual tubs, steam baths and hot air baths. Designed by municipal architect Hocheder and constructed from 1897 to 1901, founded by a private donation from the engineer Karl Müller. The interior decor is by J. Flossman, J. Rauch, E. Pfeiffer, H. Hahn, G. Bersch and L. Gamp. This was the first large public bath of its kind in Munich. It inaugurated on May 9, 1901, it was renovated in 1984-85.







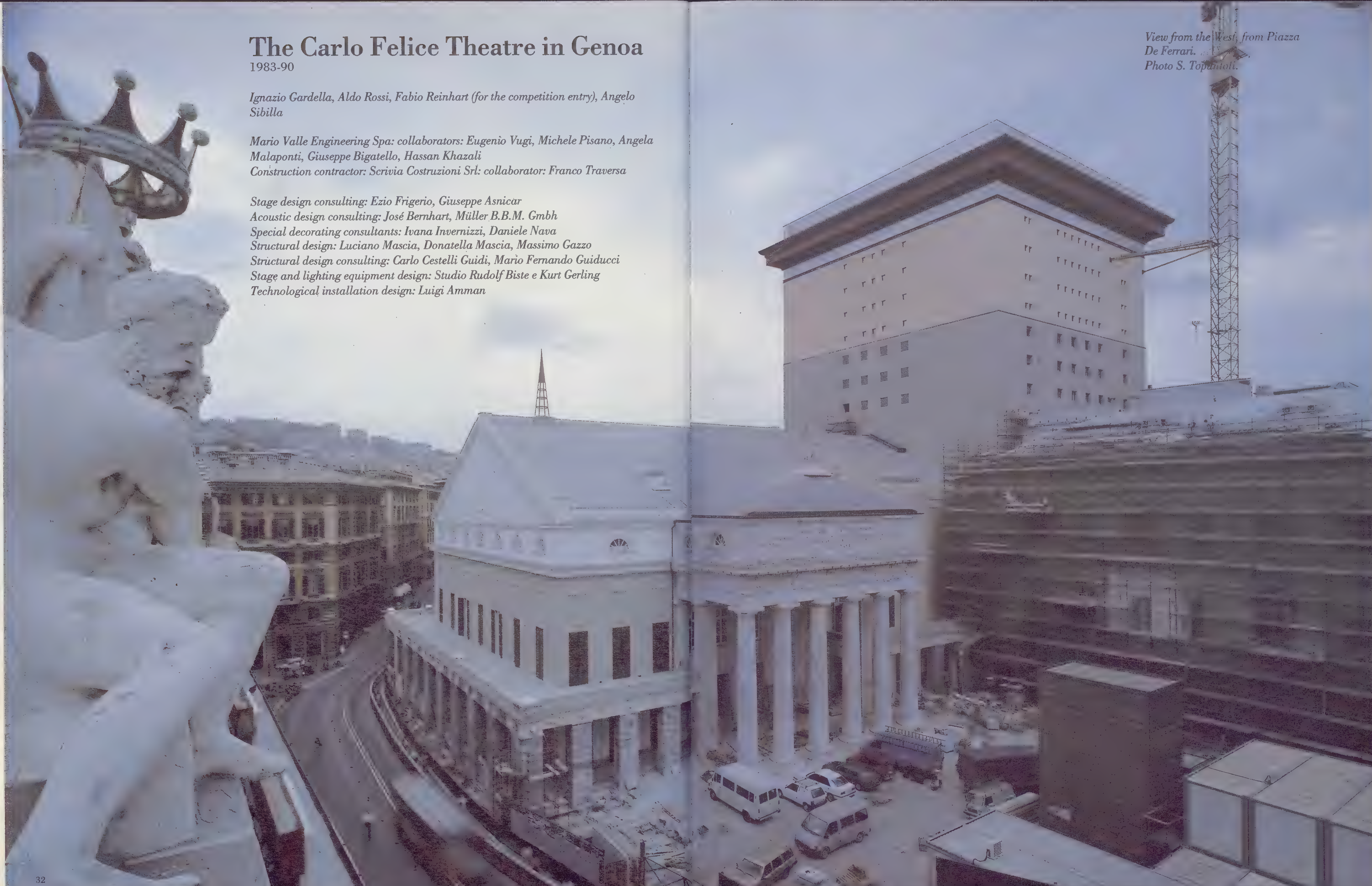
The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa

1983-90

Ignazio Gardella, Aldo Rossi, Fabio Reinhart (for the competition entry), Angelo Sibilla

Mario Valle Engineering Spa: collaborators: Eugenio Vugi, Michele Pisano, Angela Malaponti, Giuseppe Bigatello, Hassan Khazali
Construction contractor: Scrivia Costruzioni Srl: collaborator: Franco Traversa

Stage design consulting: Ezio Frigerio, Giuseppe Asnicar
Acoustic design consulting: José Bernhart, Müller B.B.M. Gmbh
Special decorating consultants: Ivana Invernizzi, Daniele Nava
Structural design: Luciano Mascia, Donatella Mascia, Massimo Gazzo
Structural design consulting: Carlo Cestelli Guidi, Mario Fernando Guiducci
Stage and lighting equipment design: Studio Rudolf Biste e Kurt Gerling
Technological installation design: Luigi Amman



View from the West, from Piazza De Ferrari.
Photo S. Topuntoli.

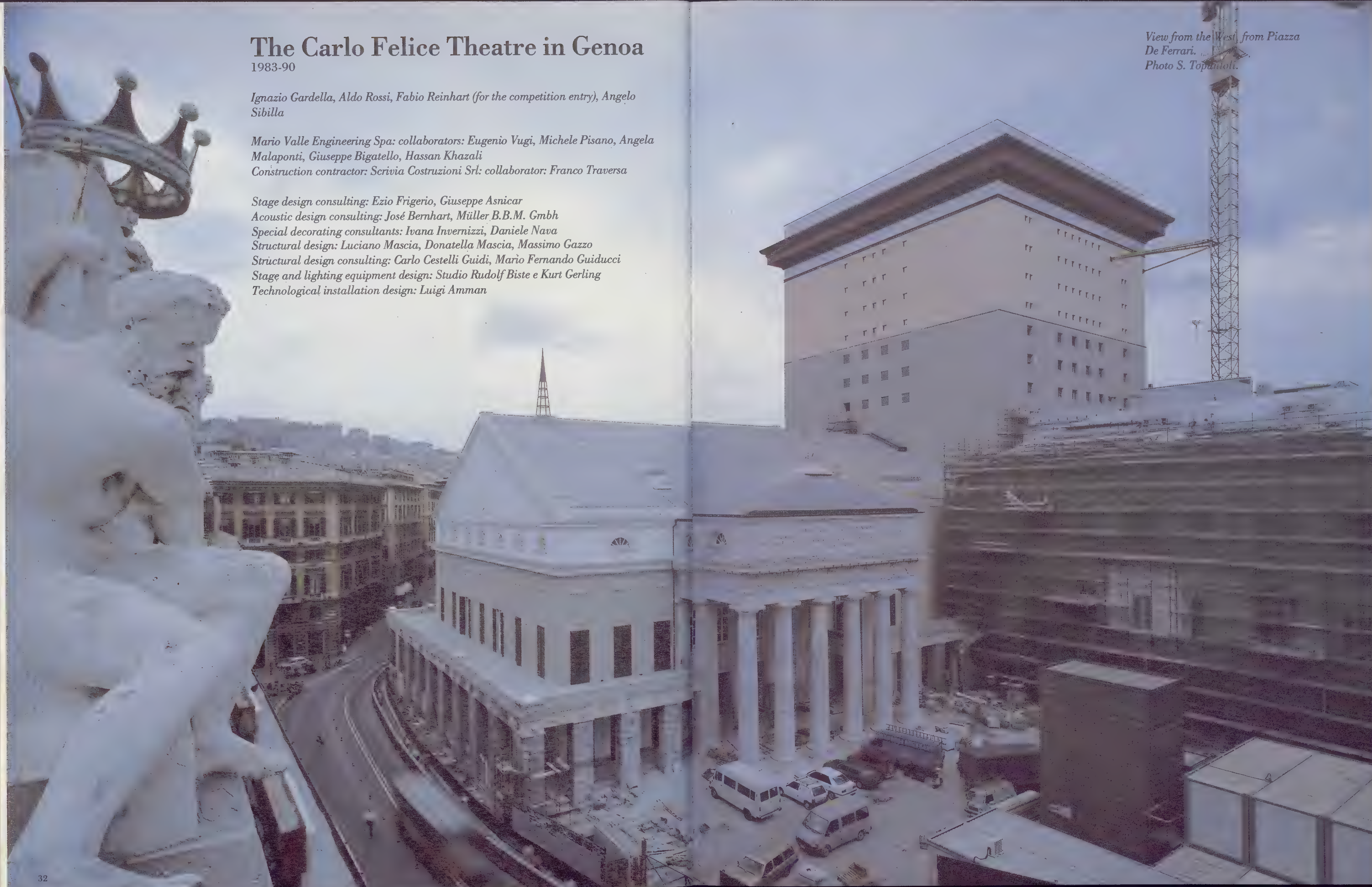
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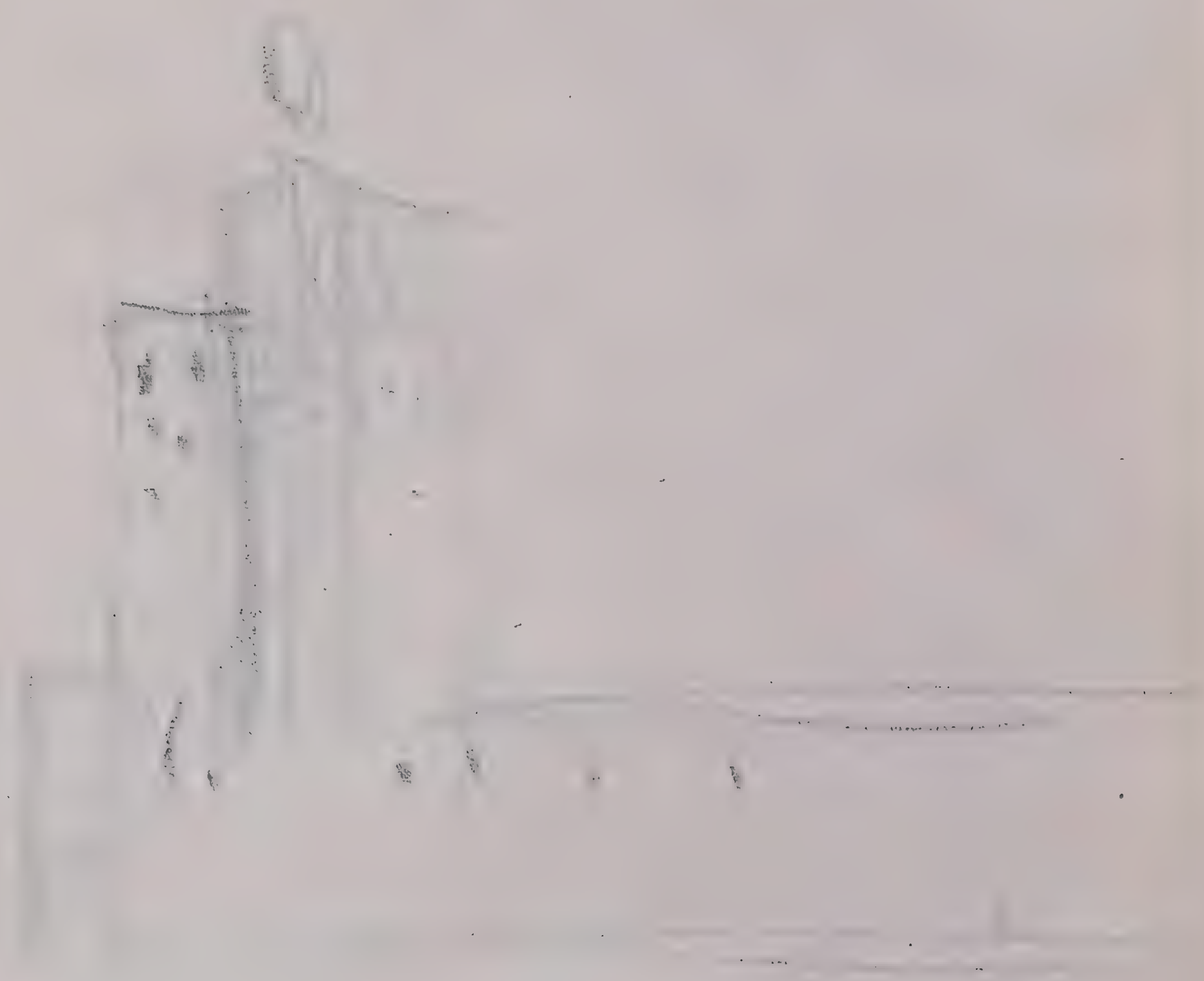
Ignazio Gardella

Il "Carlo Felice" nella mia vita

(1)

Con il "Carlo Felice" ho un antico rapporto: il mio omonimo bisnonno, architetto genovese operante nella prima metà dell'ottocento, lavorava nello studio di Carlo Barabino mentre si progettava e si costruiva, in tempo breve, il Teatro.
Ho fatto anche parte della Commissione giudicatrice del concorso per la ricostruzione del teatro, bandito dal Comune di Genova (sindaco Adamoli) nel primo dopoguerra – e vinto da Chessa.
Nel progetto Chessa era già previsto il collegamento attraverso il teatro tra la Galleria Mazzini e la piazza De Ferrari, collegamento mantenuto nel successivo progetto di Carlo Scarpa che prevedeva inoltre di ricostruire, così com'era, nella parte distrutta dai bombardamenti, il corpo del Teatro che chiude un lato di piazza De Ferrari.
Queste due scelte, che condividevamo,

Ignazio Gardella, design sketch.



sono state riprese nel nostro progetto, dove il collegamento è risolto con una piazza coperta sulla quale si aprono gli ingressi al Teatro.
La progettazione ha richiesto un forte impegno, oltre che per l'importanza dell'opera e del luogo in cui sorge, anche per le particolari esigenze strutturali e distributive e per la complessità degli impianti, che sono oggi necessari per un teatro d'opera.
Molto stimolante è stata, per me, la collaborazione con Aldo Rossi, un autentico architetto che stimo fin da quando non era così internazionalmente conosciuto e celebrato come è oggi.
Il progetto del concorso-appalto ha suscitato molte polemiche anche volgari soprattutto per la "torre scenica" che contiene l'ampio vuoto del palcoscenico e tutti gli spazi necessari ad un buon funzionamento del Teatro. Ma ora che è costruita, riscuote in generale consenso e mi pare che nelle sue proporzioni e nel valore plastico del suo volume accentuato ~~[illegible]~~ dal

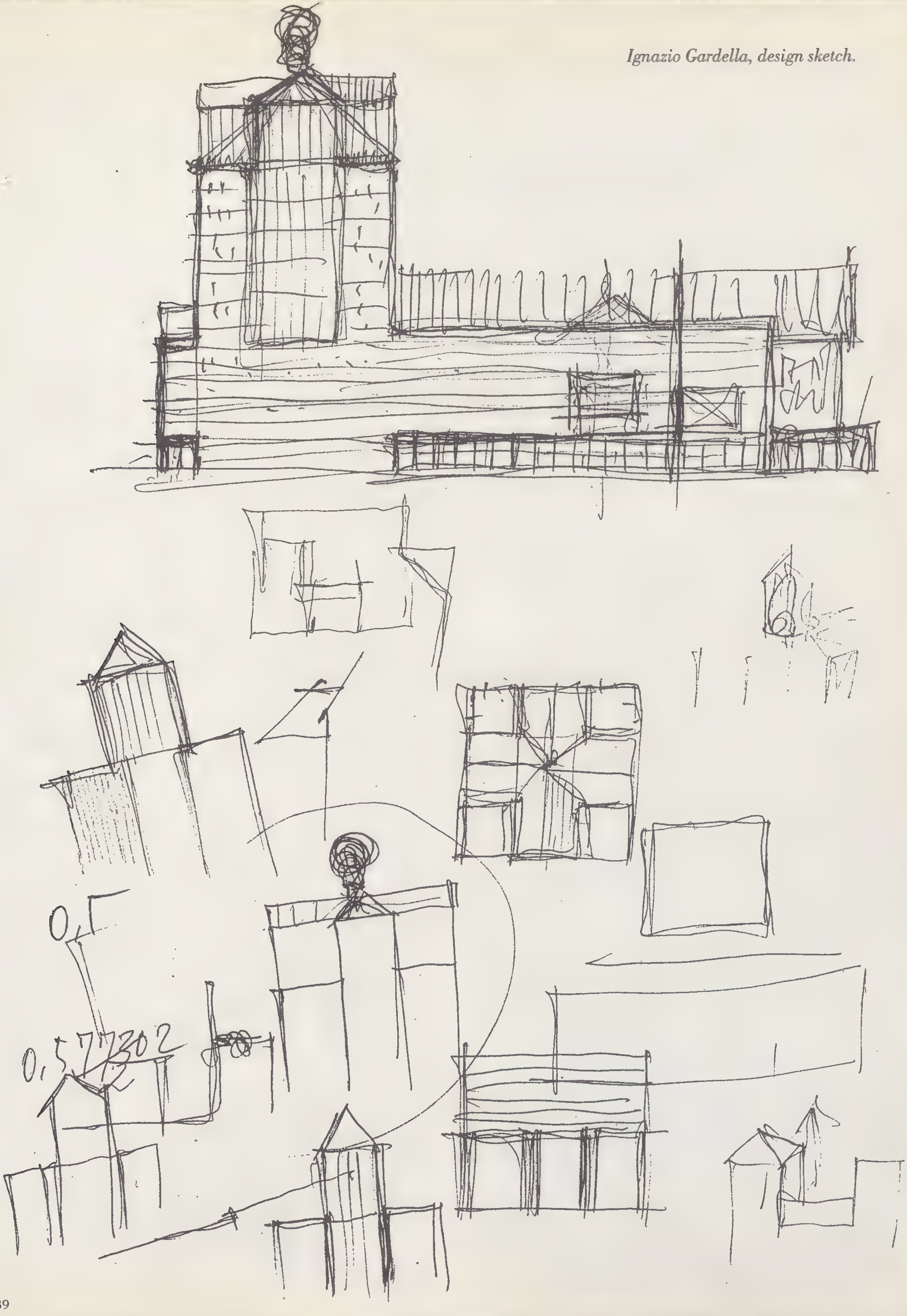
③

robusto cornicione in rame, essa si inserisca bene ~~in~~ nel contesto urbano riprendendo quella forza plastica che è tipica di molta architettura genovese.
La sala è allusivamente pensata come una piazza. Anche nel mio progetto per il teatro di Vicenza (poi non costruito) l'interno era pensato, ma solo spazialmente, come una piazza che conglobava sala e foyer. Qui l'allusione alla piazza è limitata alla sala ma più architettonicamente accentuata. Le pareti della sala con finestre e balconi che ricordano i palazzi genovesi rientrano in quel misterioso rapporto tra realtà e finzione che è l'essenza della rappresentazione teatrale ed evitano il senso di squallore che spesso hanno le sale a cavea dove manca la vivacità architettonica dei palchi.
Voglio sottolineare, chiudendo queste brevi note, che il teatro è stato costruito rispettando tempi e costi contrattuali (il che non è molto frequente in Italia).

Ne va da merito alla "Mario Valle impresa", che in consorzio con altre imprese ha condotto i lavori di costruzione, alla "M.V.E" che ha coordinato la progettazione, all'impegno dei numerosi collaboratori, consulenti e specialisti, ma anche alle tempestive decisioni dei progettisti per le scelte fatte nel corso dei lavori -
Si può ora augurare che il Teatro, ormai ultimato possa iniziare a vivere, senza perdersi nelle paludi burocratiche, riportando a Genova una così importante attività culturale -

Ignazio Gardella

Milano - 23/7/90



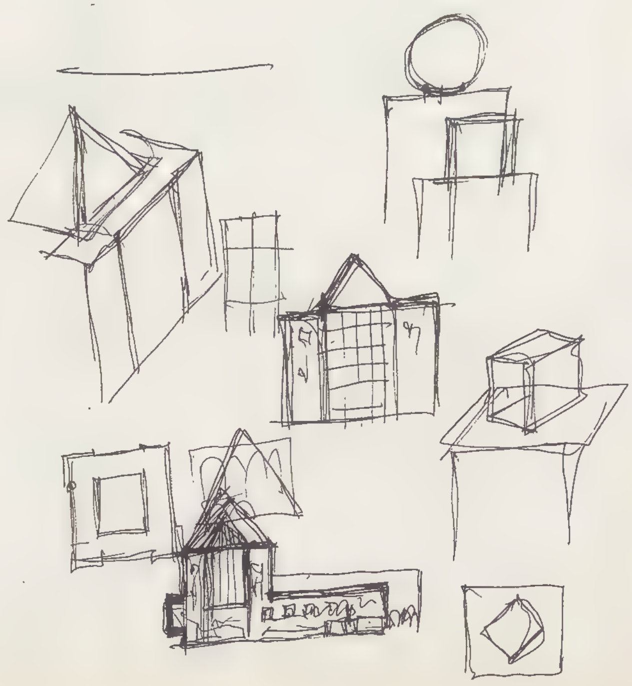
Ignazio Gardella, design sketch.

The Carlo Felice Theatre in my Life
Ignazio Gardella

My connections with the Carlo Felice go back a long way. My grandfather (we share the same name) was a Genovese architect of the first half of the nineteenth century and worked in Carlo Barabino's studio during the rapid design and construction of the theatre.
I was also on the jury of the competition for the reconstruction of the theatre spearheaded by the Municipality of Genoa during Adamoli's mayorship in the early post-war years and which was won by Chessa. In Chessa's design Galleria Mazzini was already connected to Piazza De Ferrari through the theatre, a feature retained by Carlo Scarpa in his subsequent design, which also included — in the section destroyed by war bombings — the faithful reconstruction of the design of the theatre as it closes and shapes one side of Piazza De Ferrari. We thought well of these two solutions and included them in our own design, where a covered square onto which the theatre doors open is the point of connection.
The design required considerable commitment not only because of the importance of the work and its site, but also because of the specific structural and layout requirements and the complexity of a modern opera theatre's installations. Working together with Aldo Rossi was, for me, a very stimulating experience. He is a true architect and I have always held him in great esteem even before he was the internationally acclaimed architect he is today. The competition design stirred up a good deal of controversy, some of which was quite trivial, especially regarding the stage tower which contains the vast stage itself and all the areas needed for a theatre to function properly. But now that it has been built it has met with a general approval and I think that because of its proportions and the plasticity of its volume, accentuated by the sturdy copper, cornice, it fits very well into the context of the city, recalling that plastic forcefulness so typical of much of Genoa's architecture.
There is something of the city square in the design of the auditorium. In my design for the theatre of Vicenza (which was never built) the interior was also designed like a square — in a spatial sense — embracing the auditorium and the *foyer*. Here the square is suggested only in the auditorium and is architecturally stronger. The walls, windows and balconies are reminiscent of buildings in Genoa and are part of that mysterious relationship between reality and make-believe which is the very essence of a theatrical performance. They avoid the sense of squalor many horseshoe-shaped auditoriums have, where the boxes lack architectural life.
As a final note I would like to add that the remodaling of the theatre was within contract time and costs (something of a rarity in Italy). Credit for this is due to Mario Valle Impresa, which along with other firms were responsable for the work, to M.V.E. (the design coordinators), to the hard work of all of those involved including specialists and consultants and also to the designers themselves and their rapid decision-making while work was in progress.
Now that the theatre is complete we can only hope that it will start to live again, without getting tangled in administrative red tape, and restore to Genoa one of her most important cultural activities.

Milan, July 1990

Ignazio Gardella, design sketch.



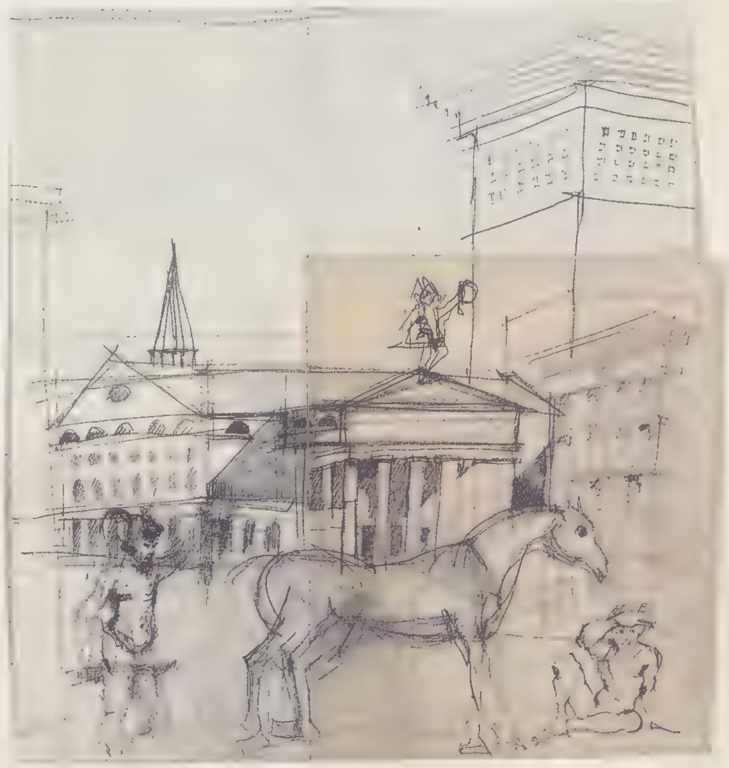
The Felice Theatre

Aldo Rossi

Whenever I would pass through Genoa I'd see the Pronaos of the Carlo Felice rising up above the ruins. I don't mean the ruins of the theatre itself but the general state of ruin of the city and its architecture.
The Pronaos carried the angel (perhaps Bunuel's angel of death), still beautiful in its mutilated state. Perhaps no theatre has ever had, nor has, such an entrance, one that is quite rightly called the Prince's entrance, not because it was to be used by a prince but because of the way it contrasted with the layout of the theatre, facing the city and standing high over those narrow streets which wind down towards the sea — an Acropolis in white and grey stone.
Let us leave the comparison with the Scala, the Regio and all other Italian Opera Houses to the philologists: there must be a link between them, but it is not one I can see.
Genoa has a graceless beauty and this theatre too was lacking in grace. But it was difficult to sew back together the pieces as if it were some surgical operation that had little to do with the process of restoration, because once the individual pieces were restored they had to be put together to form a new whole. They were not fragments but large chipped, damaged pieces. Architectural wounds are as fascinating as human wounds: they are inwardness and outwardness at the same time, they are life mingling with death, we are sorry to close them up leaving scars behind.
This was how I saw the wounded body of Genoa's theatre and this was perhaps the emotion that carried me through the work. Others may speak of events that marked the theatre project; I can only speak of my good fortune in having had the opportunity to work with Ignazio Gardella and other excellent architects.
Still, I was not asked to pay tribute or reminisce but to talk about this theatre and about this project. Designs grow out of a nucleus as it gradually takes shape, as the Pronaos and the stage tower did even though they seemed incompatible because of their irreconciliable differences. But slowly they were shaping the city, the first like a new square opening onto the Galleria Mazzini (beautiful and sadly Genoese) while the tower took over the squalid, post-war skyline.
It was as if the tower-lightouse provided the necessary synthesis between the growth of the interior and the exterior of the building, penetrating the floors of the *foyer* to bring light from the sky inside the theatre and carry the interior lighting and the intimacy of the theatre out into the Genoese night. A lot of hard work went into the construction of the theatre. A theatre, more than any other building, offers its architect a strange peace of mind; the interior of a theatre separates reality from fantasy.
The interior of our theatre really did become the place where the real world and the world of make-believe intertwine, which is what theatre is all about.
In the first drawings the auditorium reproduced one side of a Genoese or Pisan square, creating an exterior elevation in an interior space. This is still apparent even though the further design work on the auditorium has made it more subtle.
In this sketch interior and exterior come face to face or are arranged on the same plane as if architecture was not a matter of volume but a succession of elements, a catalogue of known and unknown forms.
In other drawings the blue tower emerged with a bright eye in place of the clock.
Countless elements make up the theatre of Genoa and in their heterogeneity I would say they have been reassembled in a way that offers even more new dimensions and upsets the established order of things. It is as if architectural order simply meant repetition and not research into what we can see, taking the same dimension as our starting point.
So in spite of everything I like to call the Carlo Felice the *theatrum felix*, even if every theatre, being a place of liberation, is a *theatrum felix.*

New York, July 1990

Aldo Rossi, design sketch.



Aldo Rossi

Il Teatro Felice.

Quando passavo per Genova vedevo il Pronao del Carlo Felice emergere sopra le rovine / ma non mi riferisco alle rovine stesse del teatro quanto a una rovina più generale delle città e dell'architettura.

Questo Pronao portava l'angelo (forse lo stesso angelo sterminatore di Buñuel) bello nella sua stessa mutilazione.

Forse nessun teatro ~~italiano~~ aveva e ha questo ingresso giustamente chiamato l'ingresso del Principe. E non perché destinato a un principe ma per questo suo porsi in conflitto con le piante del teatro per rivolgersi alla città e per stare come a picco sopra i vicoli che scendono al mare, contorti e oggi perduti, e stare come un'acropoli di bianca e pigra pietra.

Lasciamo ai filologi le differenze con La Scala, con il Regio con tutti i teatri d'opera italiana: esisterà un filo che li lega ma che io non vedo.

Genova è di una bellezza sgraziata e anche sgraziato era questo teatro / ed era difficile trattarlo come operazione chirurgica che non riguardava il restauro perché restaurati i singoli pezzi questi si dovevano ricomporre in un corpo nuovo.

E non erano frammenti, ma pezzi

pezzi schiappati e feriti.
Le ferite dell'architettura sono affascinanti come quelle degli uomini / per quel loro essere esterno e interno e anche vita e morte, con il dispiacere di chiuderle e i segni del ricongiungimento.

Così vediamo questo corpo ferito del teatro genovese ma è forse l'emozione che è poi rimasta in tutto lo svolgimento dell'opera

Altri parleranno delle vicende del teatro ed io potrei parlare della fortuna di avere lavorato con Ignazio Gardella e con altri bravi architetti.
Ma non mi è stato chiesto uno scritto di omaggio o di ricordi, ma di parlare di questo teatro, o di questo progetto.

E i progetti nascono da questo nucleo che via via si conforma / come si conformavano il pronao e la torre scenica come se fossero inconciliabili nella loro superba autonomia.
Ma lentamente formavano la città / il primo una nuova piazza aperta sulla galleria Mazzini (bellissima e tristemente genovese) mentre la torre formava uno skyline

di triste ricostruzione.
Così si formavano interno ed esterno e
sembrava come una sintesi necessaria
la torre faro che attraversando i
piani dei foyer portava la luce del
cielo all'interno del teatro e la luce
interna, l'intimità del teatro, nella notte
genovese –

Abbiamo lavorato molto di questo teatro
fino all'arredamento e alla costruzione
della sala – Tra tutte le costruzioni il teatro
offre all'architetto una strana serenità,
e infine l'interno separa e allontana
della realtà da quella della illusione

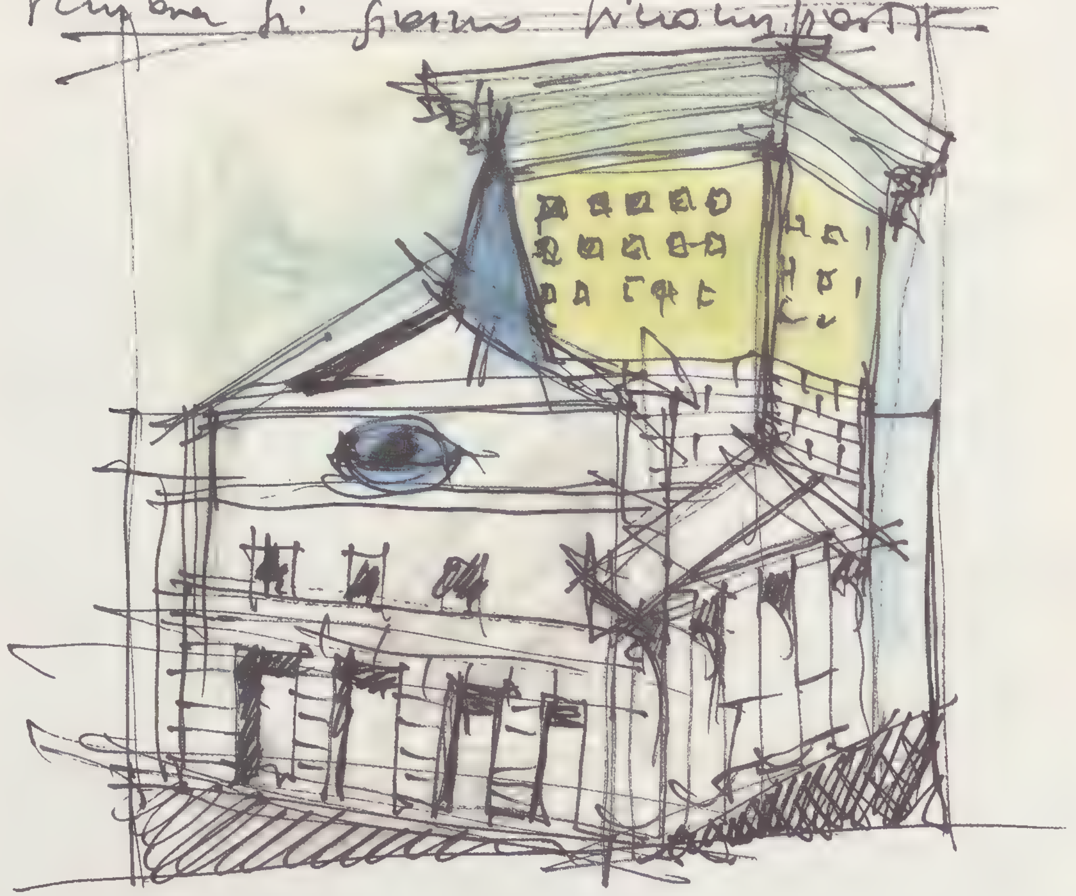


Allora l'interno si confermava proprio come il luogo della realtà e della finzione e dei loro reciproci scambi / che è poi il teatro. Nei primi disegni la sala riproduceva una facciata o piazza genovese o proprio creando un'esterno interno / ~~e questo è rimasto~~ anche se la sala si è alleggerita



come più deserta. Come in questo schizzo dove interno ed esterno si affrontano o dispongono sullo stesso piano come se l'architettura invece che comporsi in volume fosse una successione di elementi, un catalogo

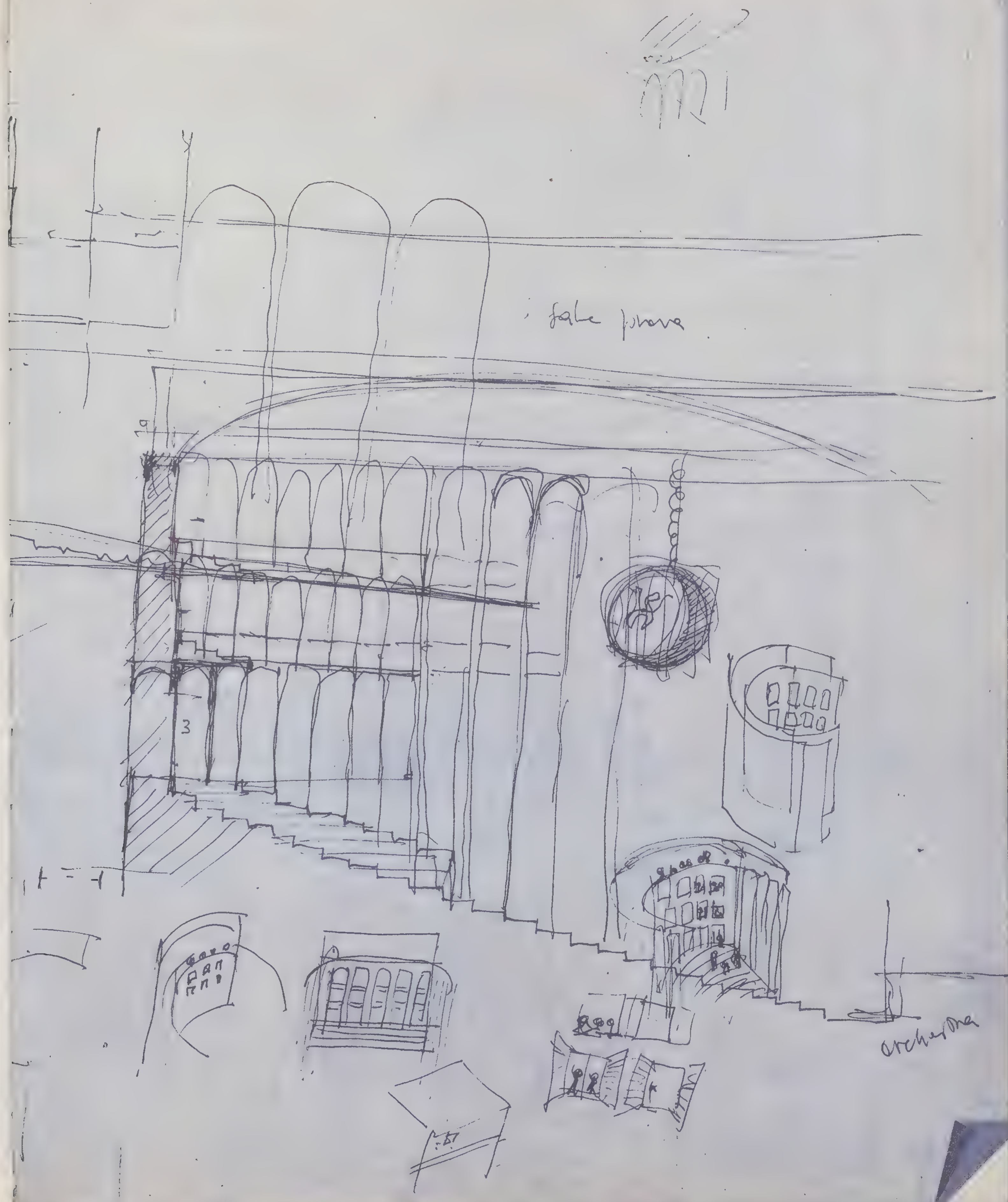
di forme note o ignote
In altri disegni emergono la torre arcana e
e l'occhio luminoso al posto dell'orologio.
Infiniti sono gli elementi del teatro di
Genova e nella loro eterogeneità mi
sembra di fissarne [illegible]



per proporre ancora nuove dimensioni e
sconcertare l'ordine come se l'ordine in
architettura fosse solo la ripetizione e
non la ricerca di ciò che intravediamo a
partire dalla stessa dimensione.
Così, a dispetto di altre storie, mi piace
chiamare il Carlo Felice, il Teatro felice
anche se per ogni teatro come augurando
[illegible] di un Teatro felice.

Aldo Rossi, NY luglio '90

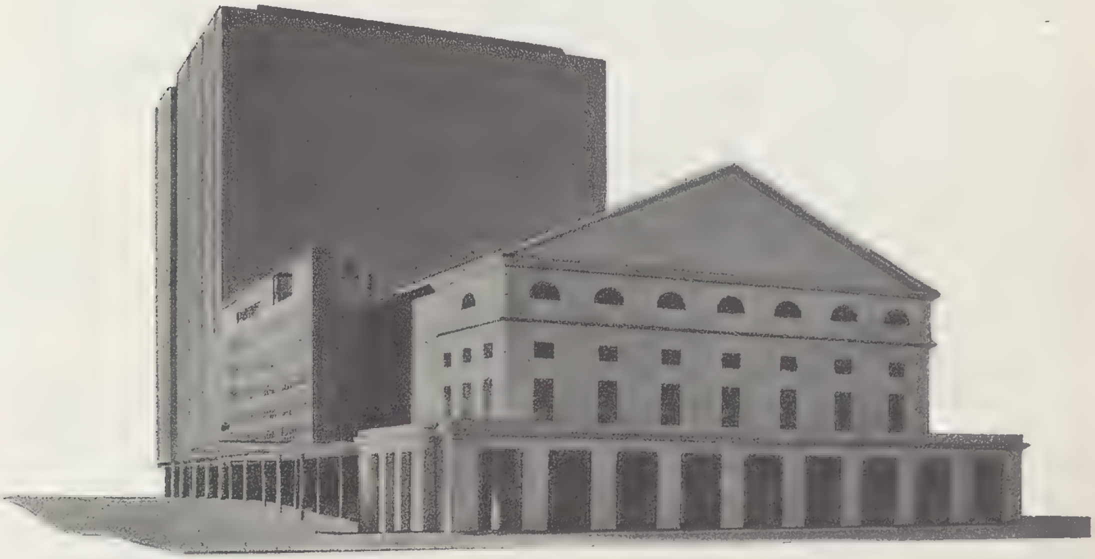
Aldo Rossi, design sketch.





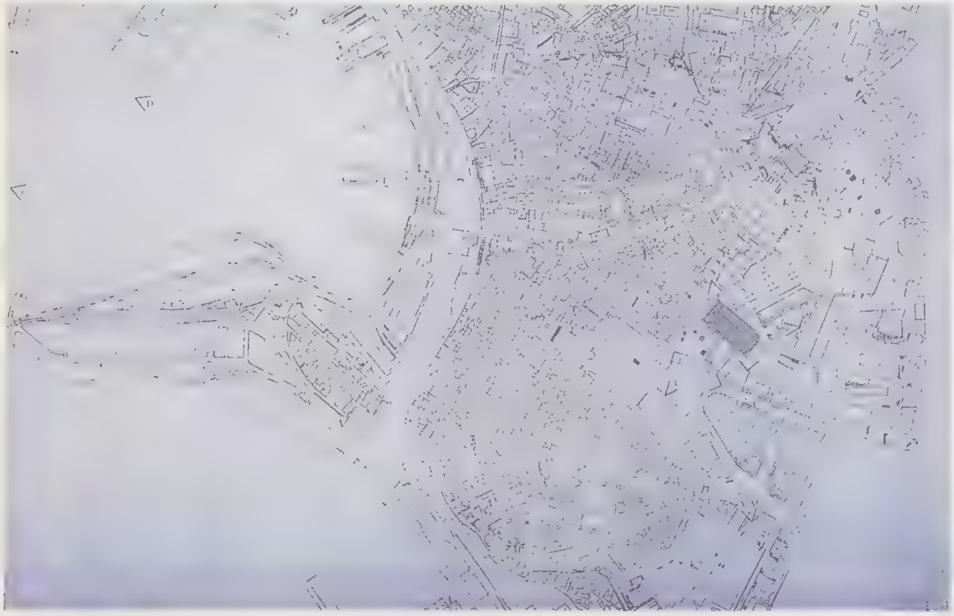
Northwest view: note the entrance to Galleria Mazzini on the left. Photo S. Topuntoli.
View of the theatre built by Carlo Barabino in 1828, before it was destroyed in the war. View of the model of the reconstruction project by Paolo Chessa, 1949, and perspective of the reconstruction project by Carlo Scarpa, 1963.

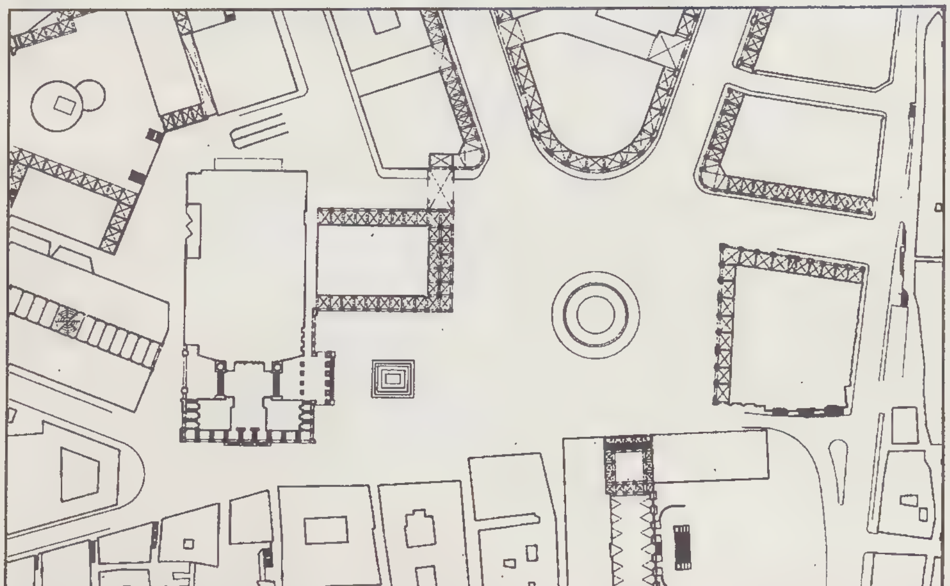






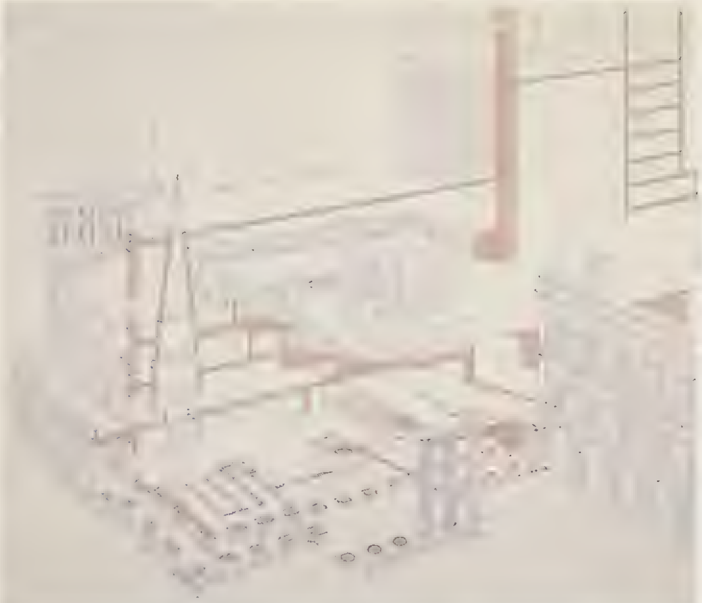






Southeast views from Piazza De Ferrari.
North view.
Photos S. Topuntoli.
The theatre in the urban plan of Genoa, and its location in Piazza De Ferrari.
On the following pages:
Longitudinal and transverse axonometric sections, sketches of the moveable stage sets and view of the model (G. Sacchi) of the competition's project.
Photos L. Ghirri.
Transverse section of the hall, and longitudinal section of the executive project.

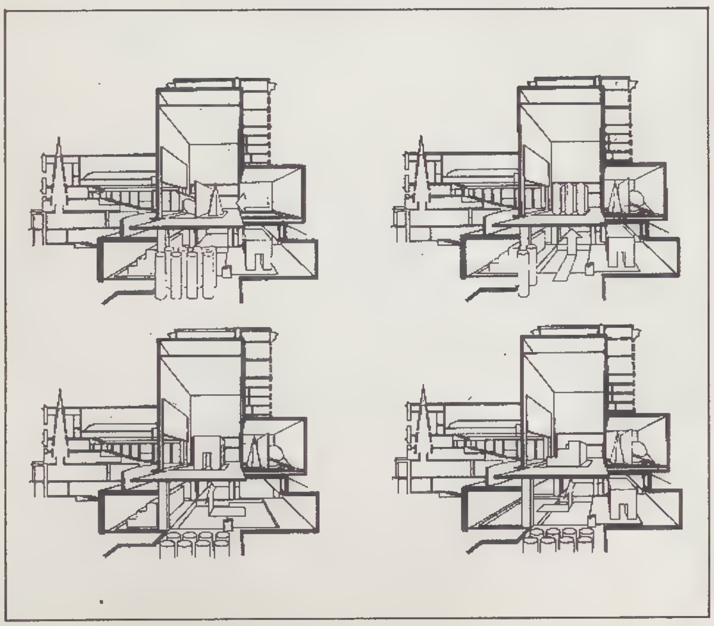

STOP



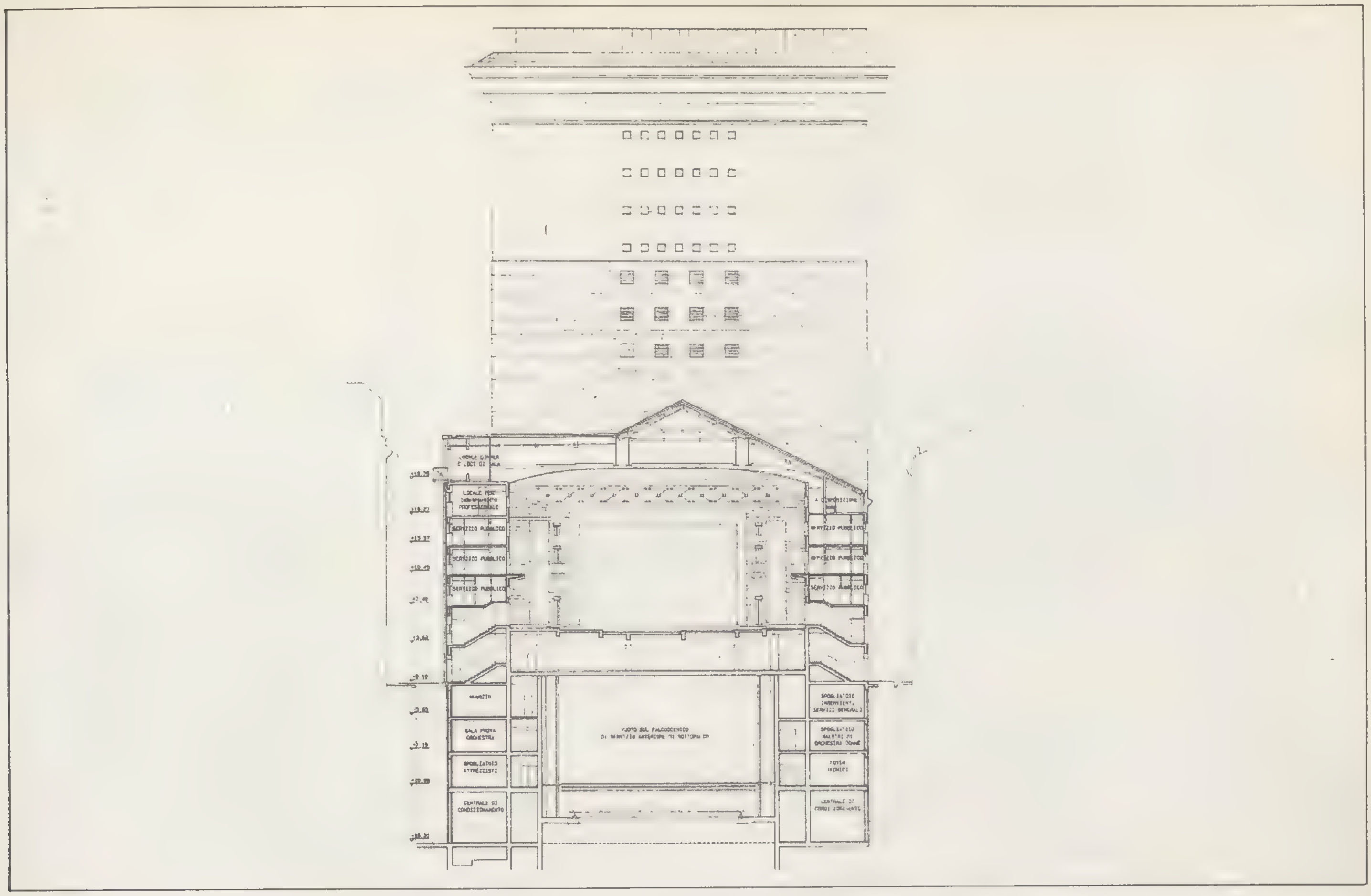


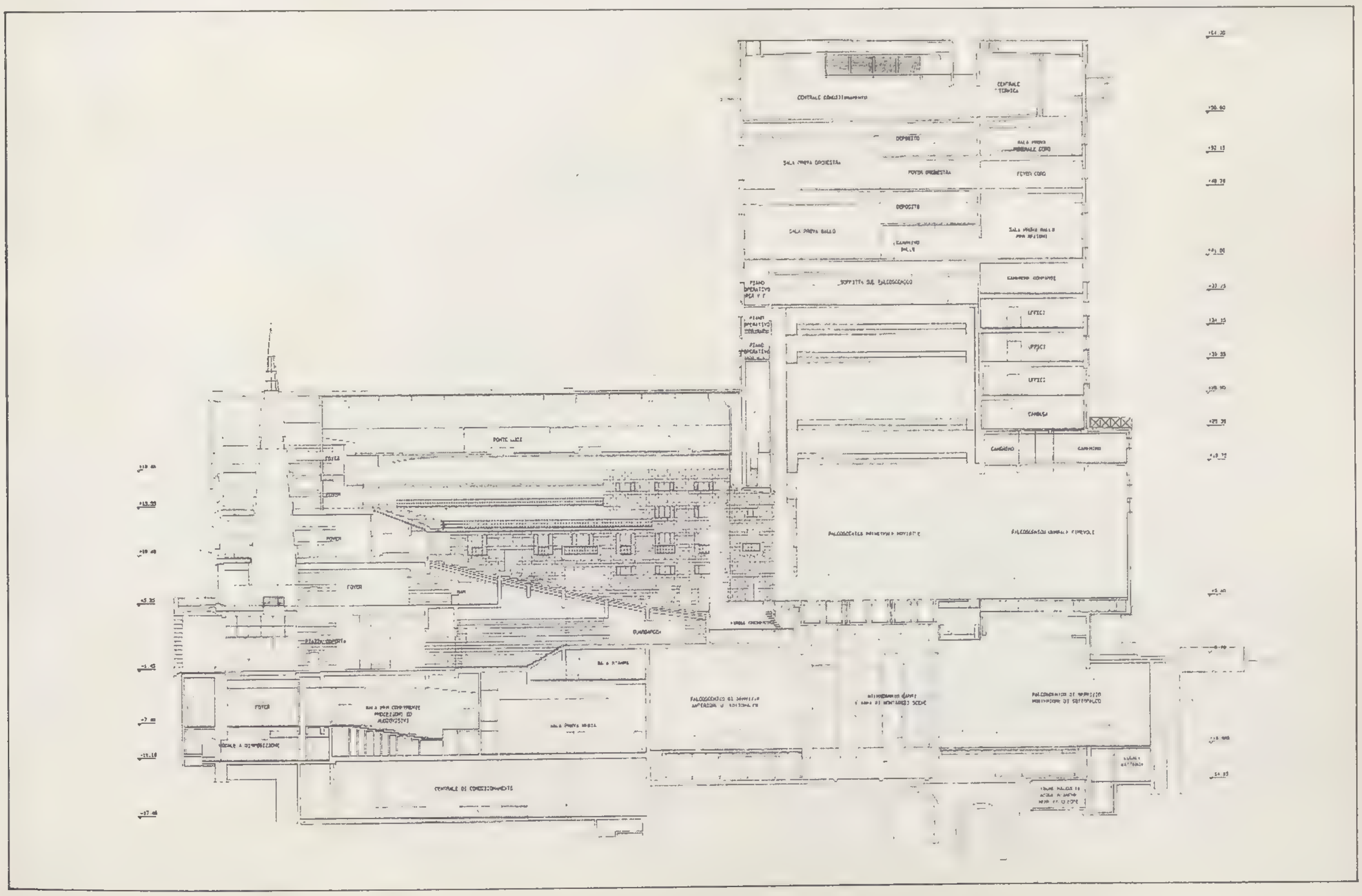


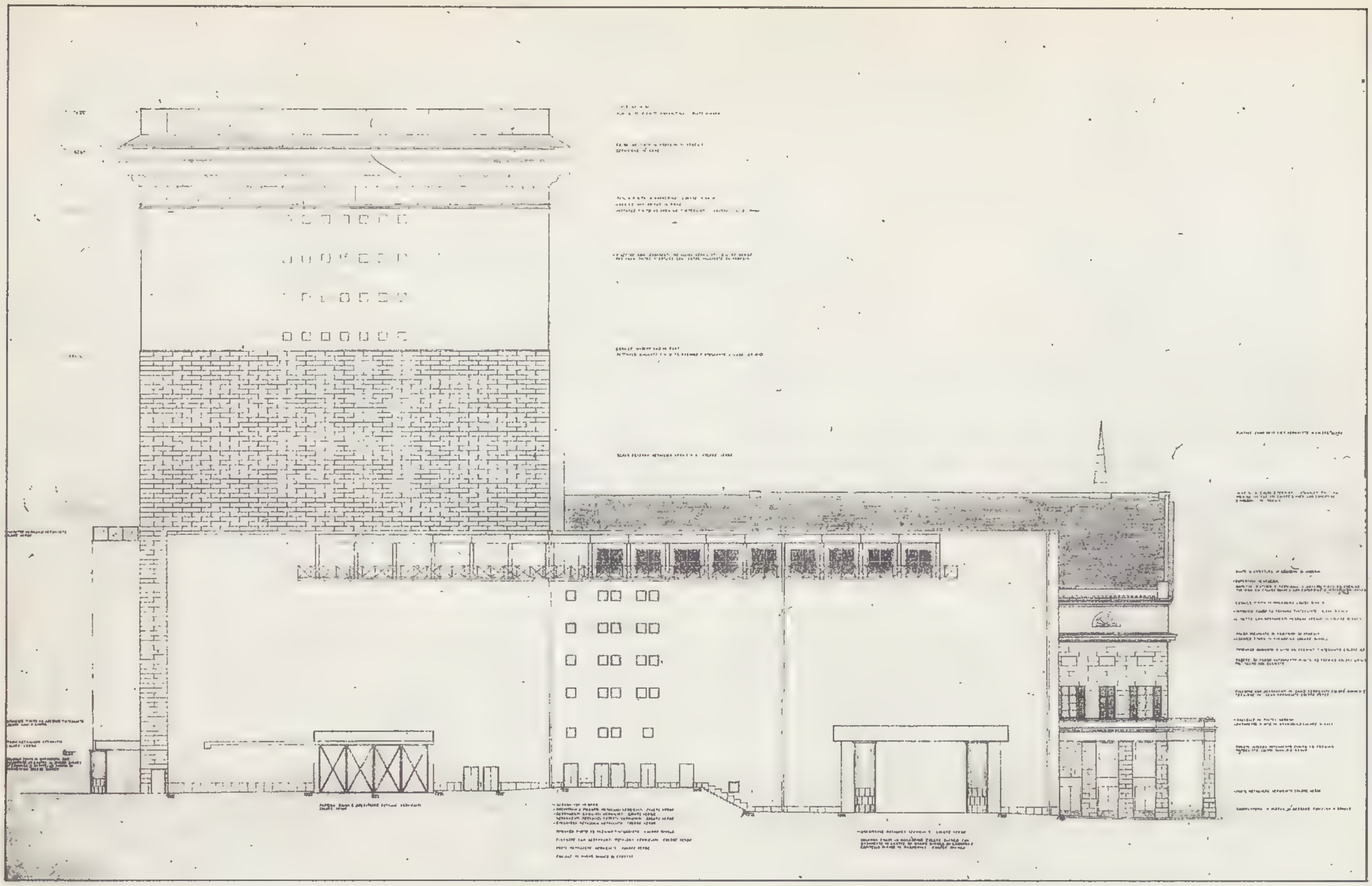


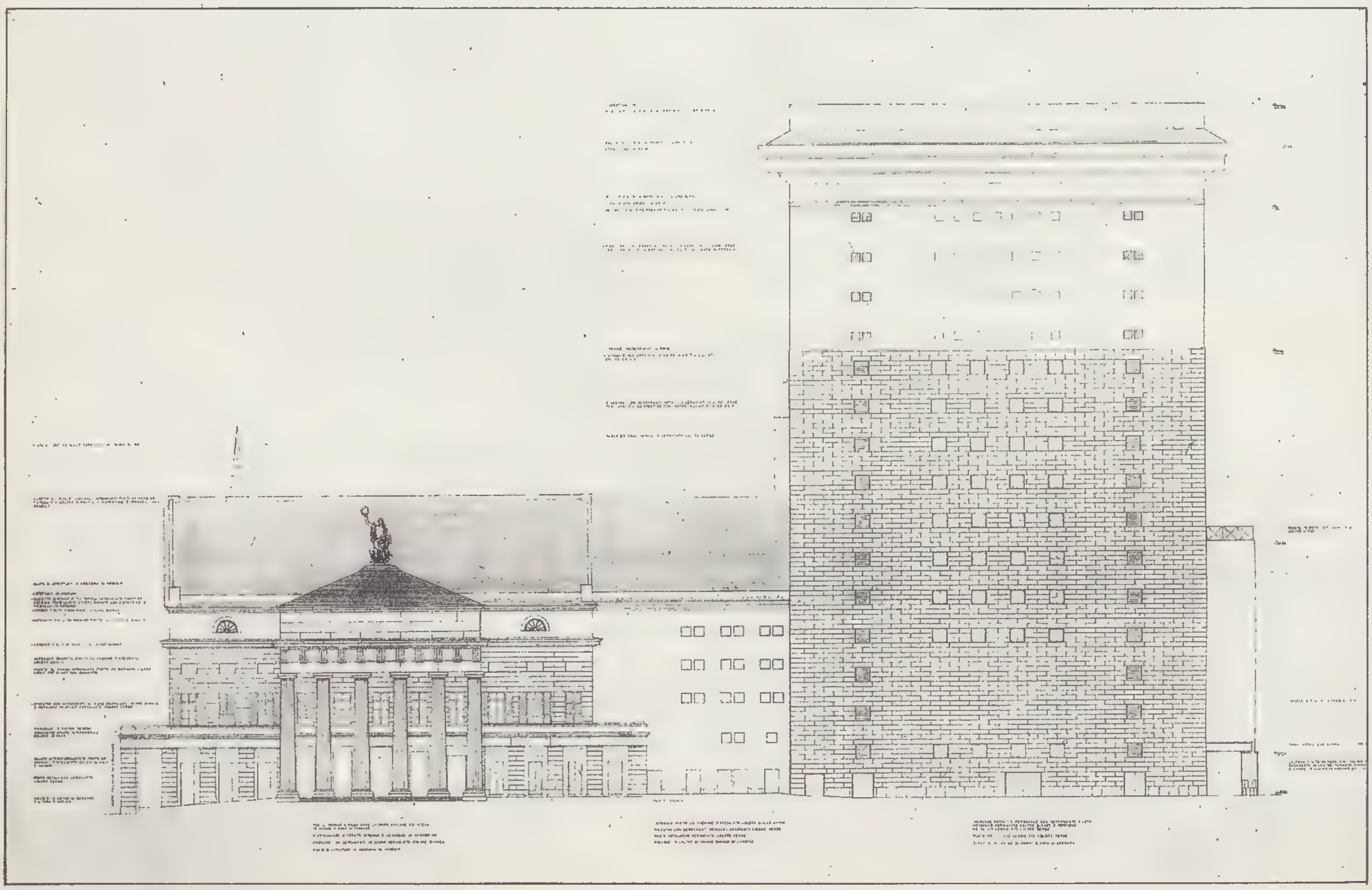


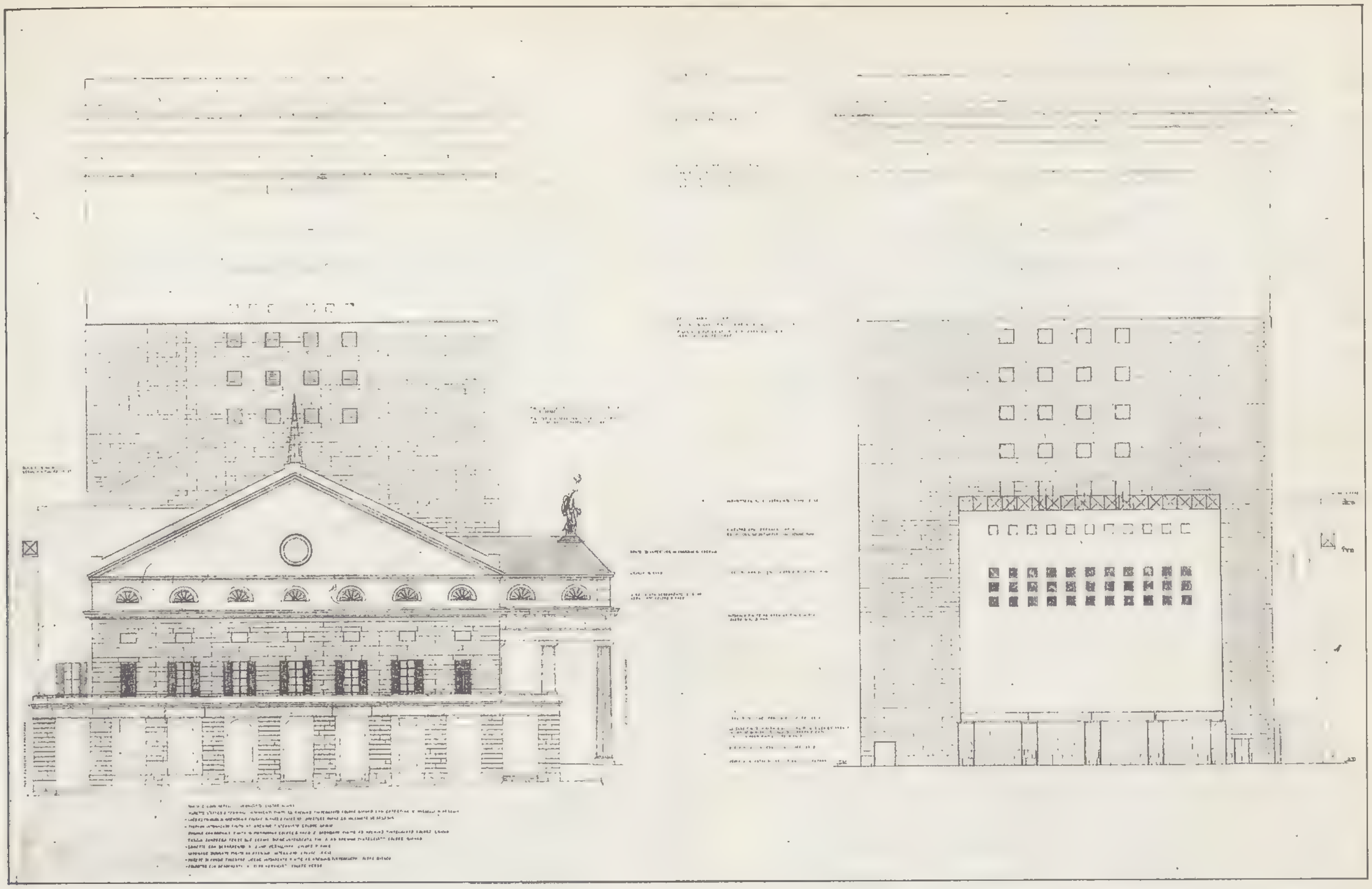


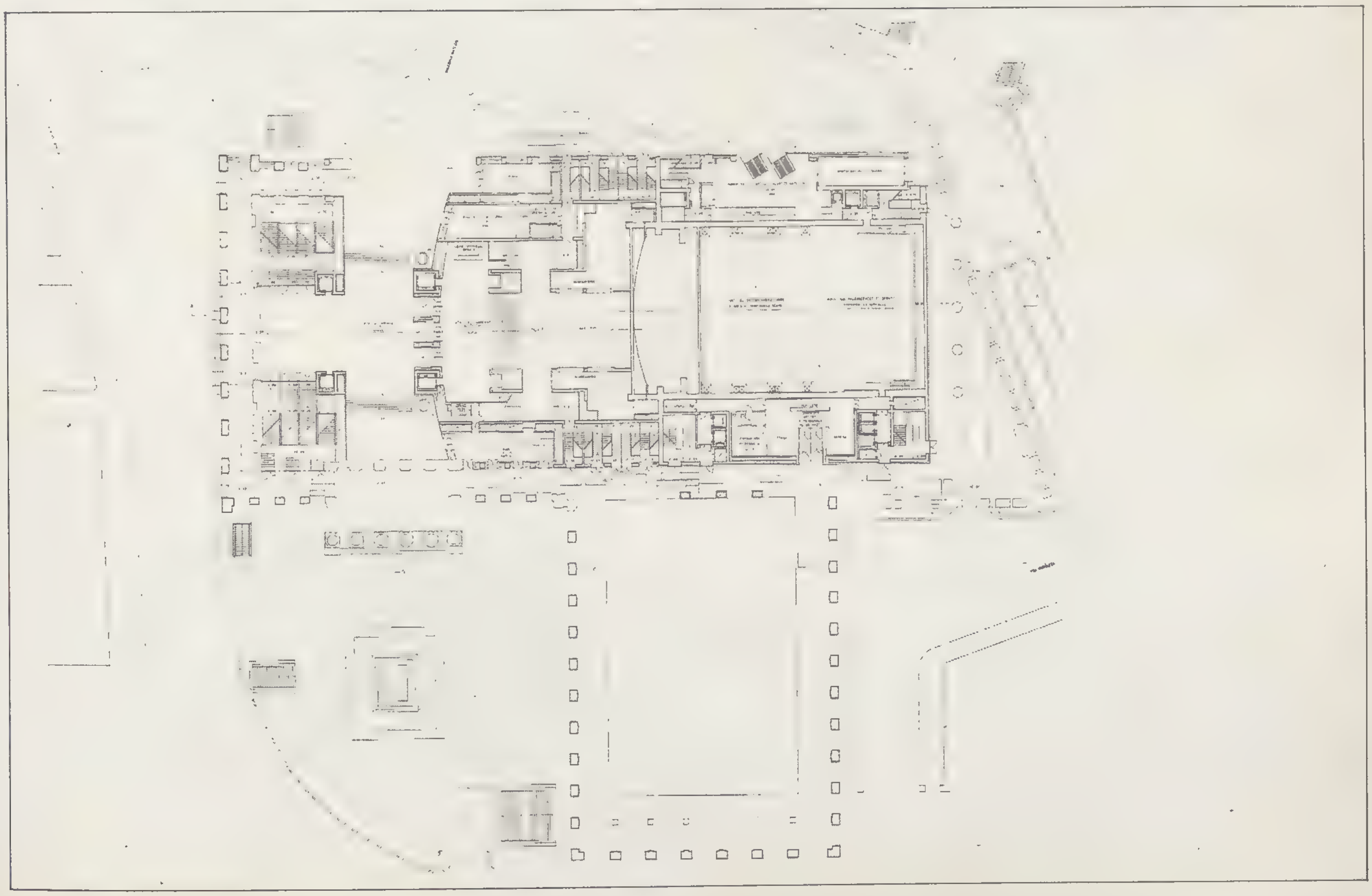




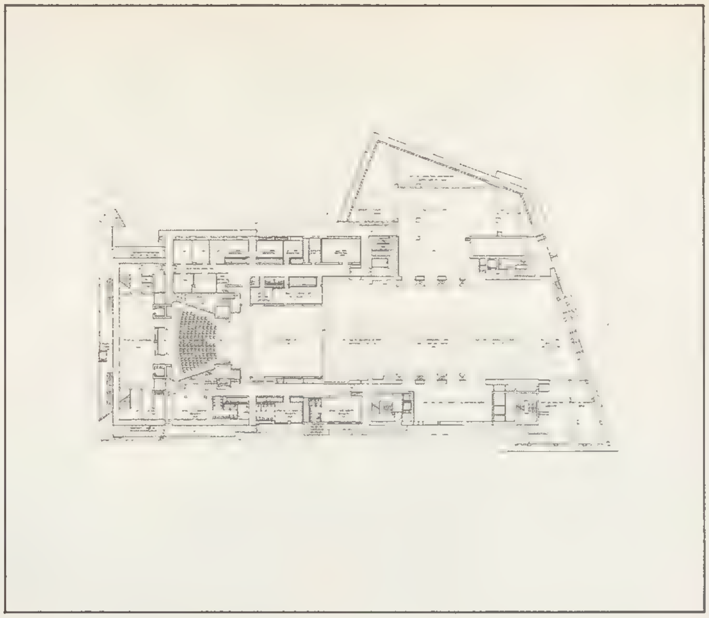


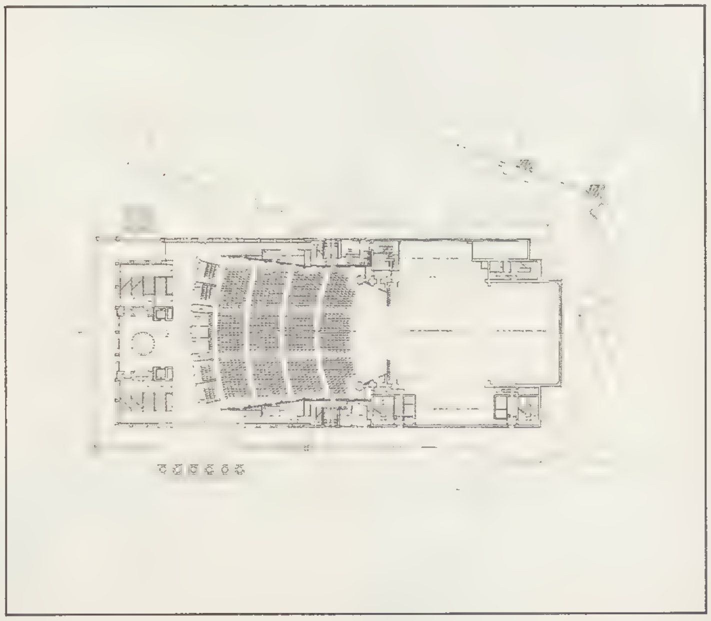


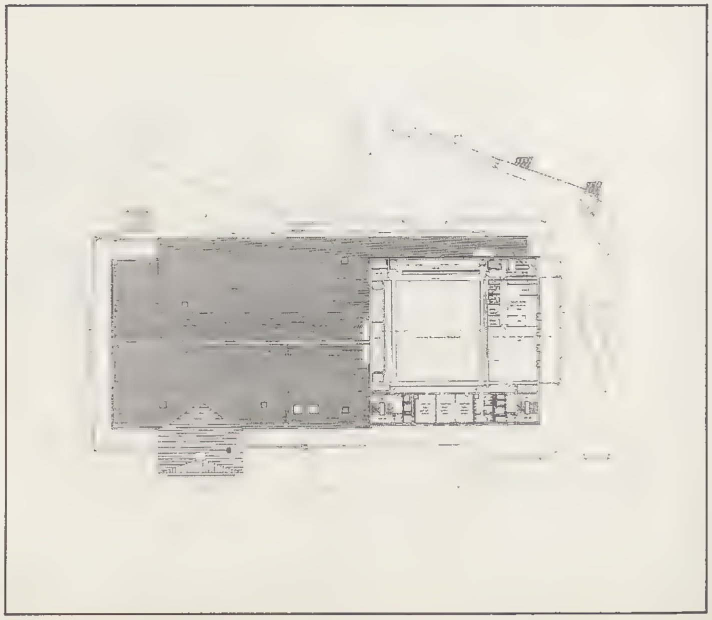


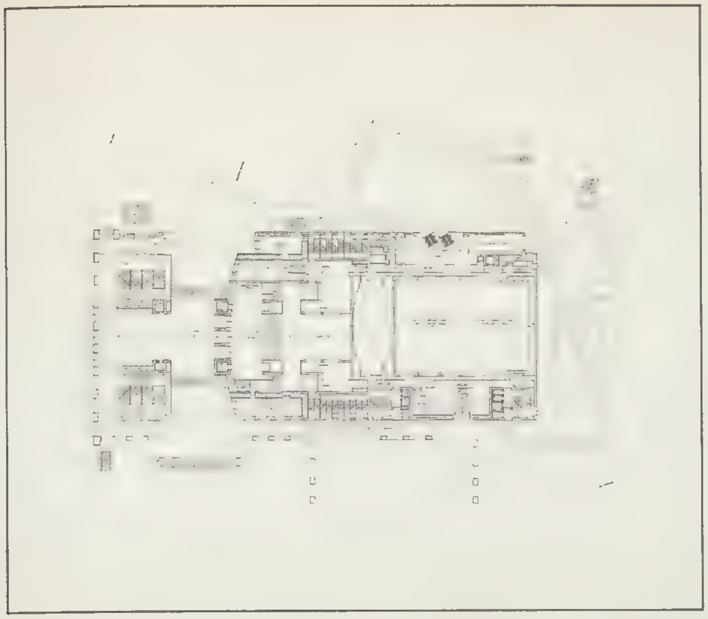


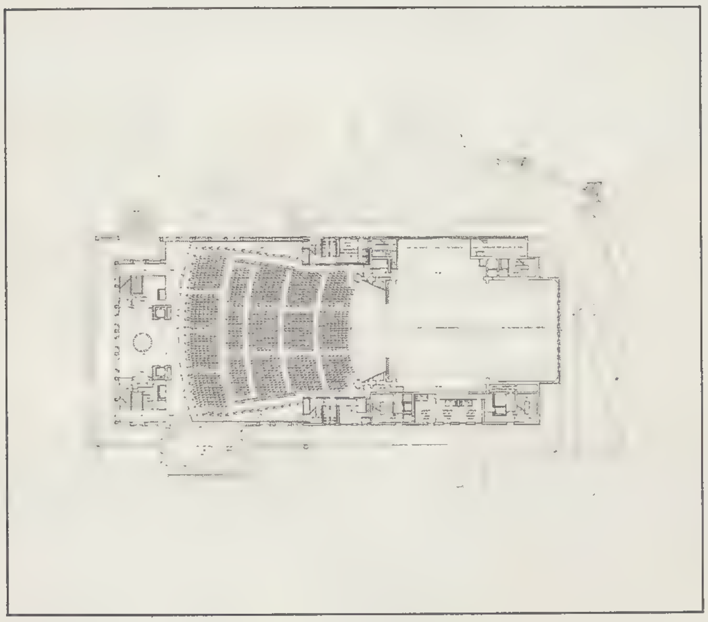
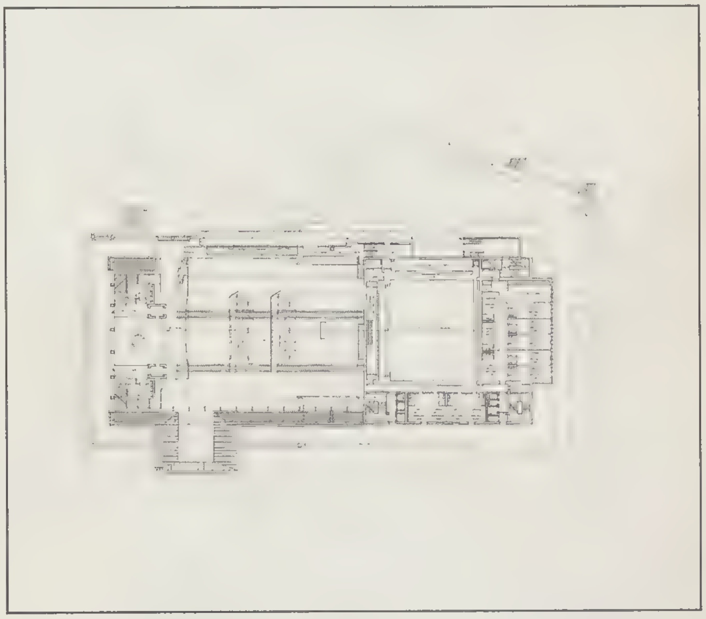
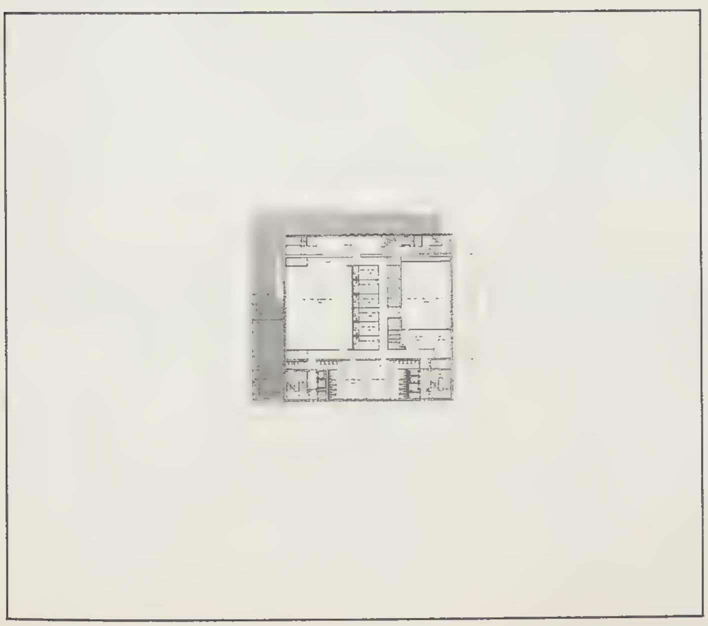
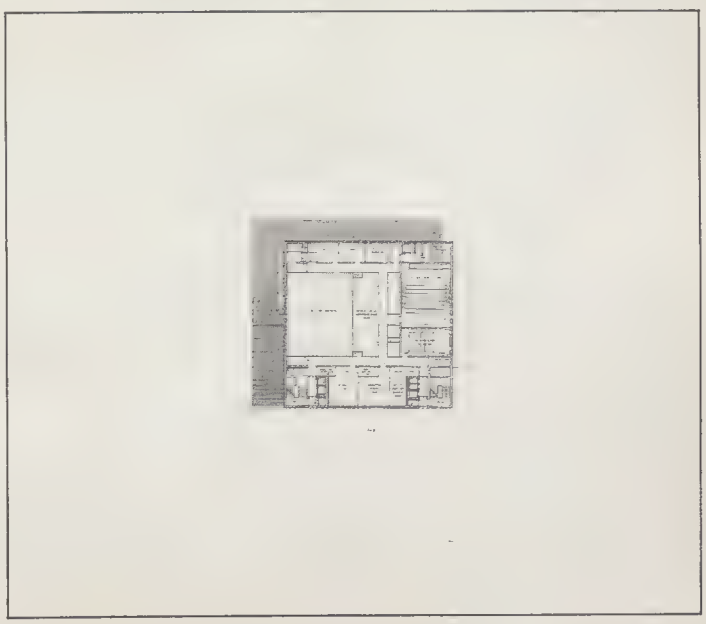
Floor plans: conference rooms; entrances; main foyer and stage; hall and secondary foyer; gallery; lighting catwalk; upper level of stage house; dance rehearsal room; orchestra rehearsal room.
On the preceding pages: Northeast, Southwest, Northwest and Southeast views and the ground floor plan.







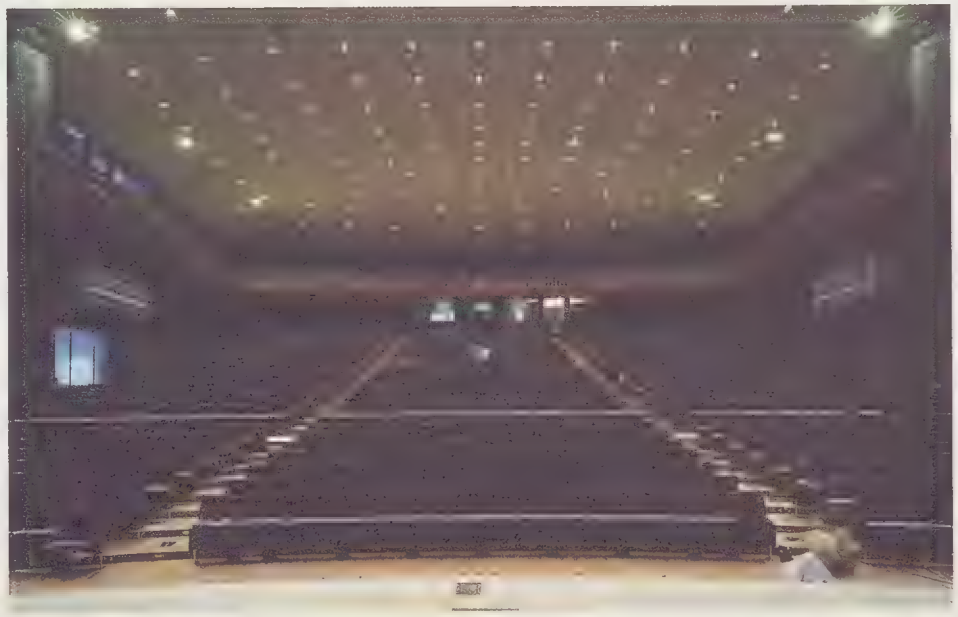


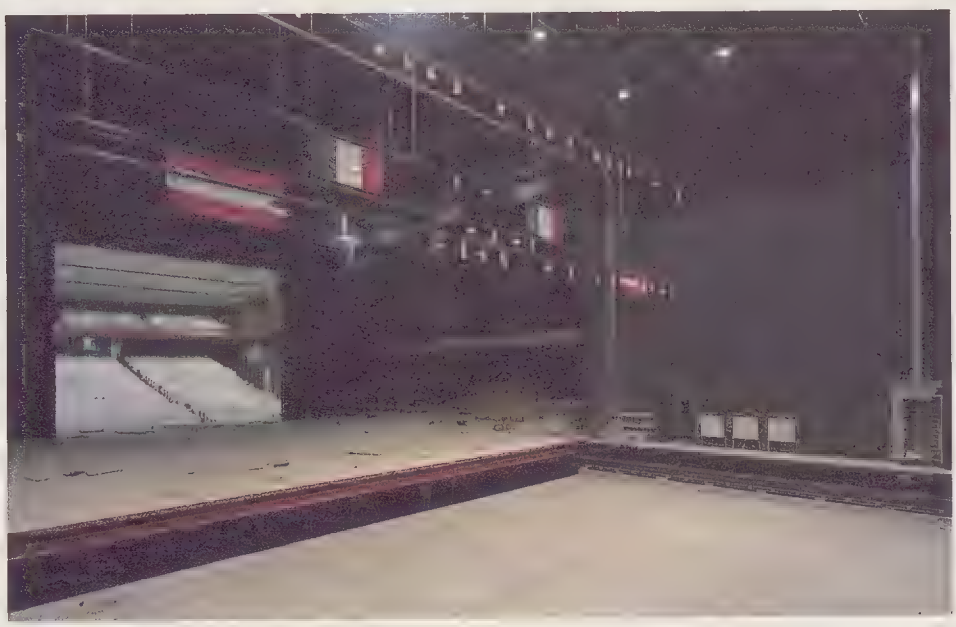









Interior views of the hall and the stage.
On the preceding pages:
Interior view of the hall from the gallery.
On the following pages:
Interior view of the hall.
Photos S. Topuntoli.















Interior views of the foyer, the gallery and the beacon tower at the level of the main foyer.
Photos S. Topuntoli.



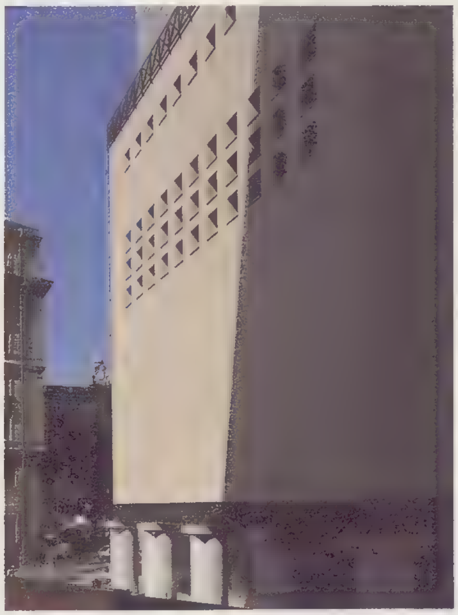
Interior views of the main foyer and the beacon tower. Photos S. Topuntoli.




REGE · CARLO · FELICE · DVCE · NOSTRO
ORDO · GENVENSIS · SATAGENTE · HECTORE · IENNEO · REGIO · GVBERNATORE · CONSVLVIT
NE · VRBI · TOT · INSIGNIBVS · MONVMENTIS · INSTRVCTAE · THEATRVM · SPECTABILIVS · DEESSET
MDCCCXXVII







Details.
Photos S. Topuntoli.

Views of the stage tower.
On the following pages:
South view.
Photos S. Topuntoli.











Philadelphia Orchestra Hall

1989-96

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates



Elevation from Broad Street

Philadelphia Orchestra Hall

1989-96

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates



Elevation from Broad Street

for Zodiac: re POH 1.

I think it is important to
say why this building is
not deconstructed but rather
is referential, contextual & mannerist.

First, it is analogously
related to its context, not
because that is always
the right thing to do -- it
isn't as we indicated by
learning from "chaotic" Las Vegas
and loving San Marco in
its square & the Biblio-
teca across from the Doge's
Palace. It is simply rather that
this part of old Philadelphia
perceptual needs shoring up rather
than tearing down -- it
needs perceptual reinforcement
-- there is enough
deconstruction there as it
is with open parking
lots on one hand and
the lovely diminutive-scaled
Greek Revival Bldg by
Haviland on Broad Street on the other hand.
& We did not make the bldg.

2.

old fashioned to fit some
perception of our clients --
& it is not old fashioned
if you take the time to
look at the drawings
carefully: we are not used
to looking at details &
small-scale ornament.
But to return to the question
of context, to make this
bldg. decon. would ~~make~~ be ~~it~~
~~it~~ like painting a bldg.
white in a shabby neighborhood.

Next, it is not deconstructed
because it would be irrespon-
sible in relation to the
nice but not extravagant
budget: we can't afford all
that flashing! But also
a bldg. is [illegible] naturally a
shelter, not a tumble of separate
sculptural objects left out in the
rain. We get our tension
& drama through combining
scales, little details &
big monumentality & also

3.

playing up the difference
between the outside needs &
those of the inside: you don't
have to articulate all the different spaces inside
on the outside to be interesting.

¶ Decon. works well for
cities, it is natural to
cities where you don't
have to keep the rain out
or the warmth in (or out)
& which are not built
all at once, now that
we no longer have tsars
or princes but individualist
as builders. Bldgs. are not cities, cities
are cities. In my youth
the megastructure architects
wanted to make cities like
bldgs, now some architects
want to make the bldgs like
cities. For us, here, it
is too easy to derive tension
& drama & dissonance from
articulating all the spaces out
& putting them together
~~(sort of)~~ at picturesque
angles. We get our tension
through the valid contradiction
& ambiguity of our crazy
& complex programs. And

4.

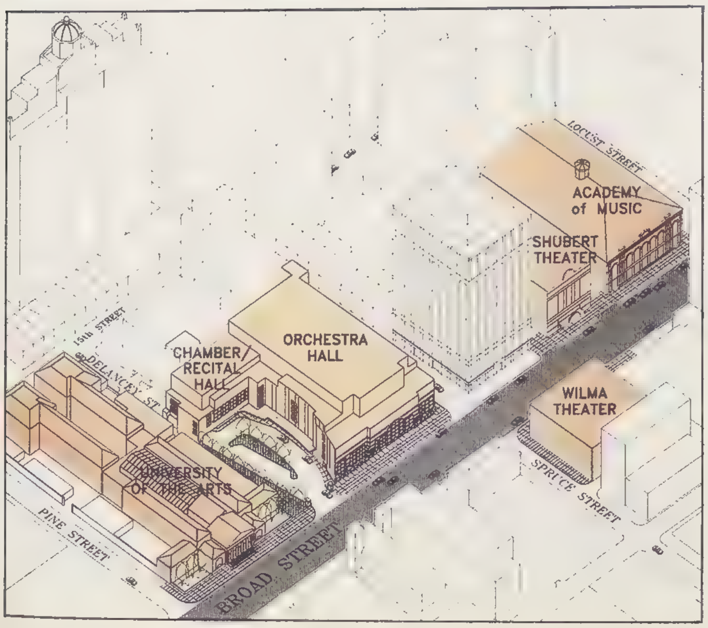
we acknowledge God (or the
devil) in the details ~~and~~ of the element

Don't forget distortion
reference is ok; it is
inevitable after you're
3 years old

I'm sorry to be negative
only, here, & defensive; to
see our positive argument
read my 1st essay on the
Orchestra Hall.

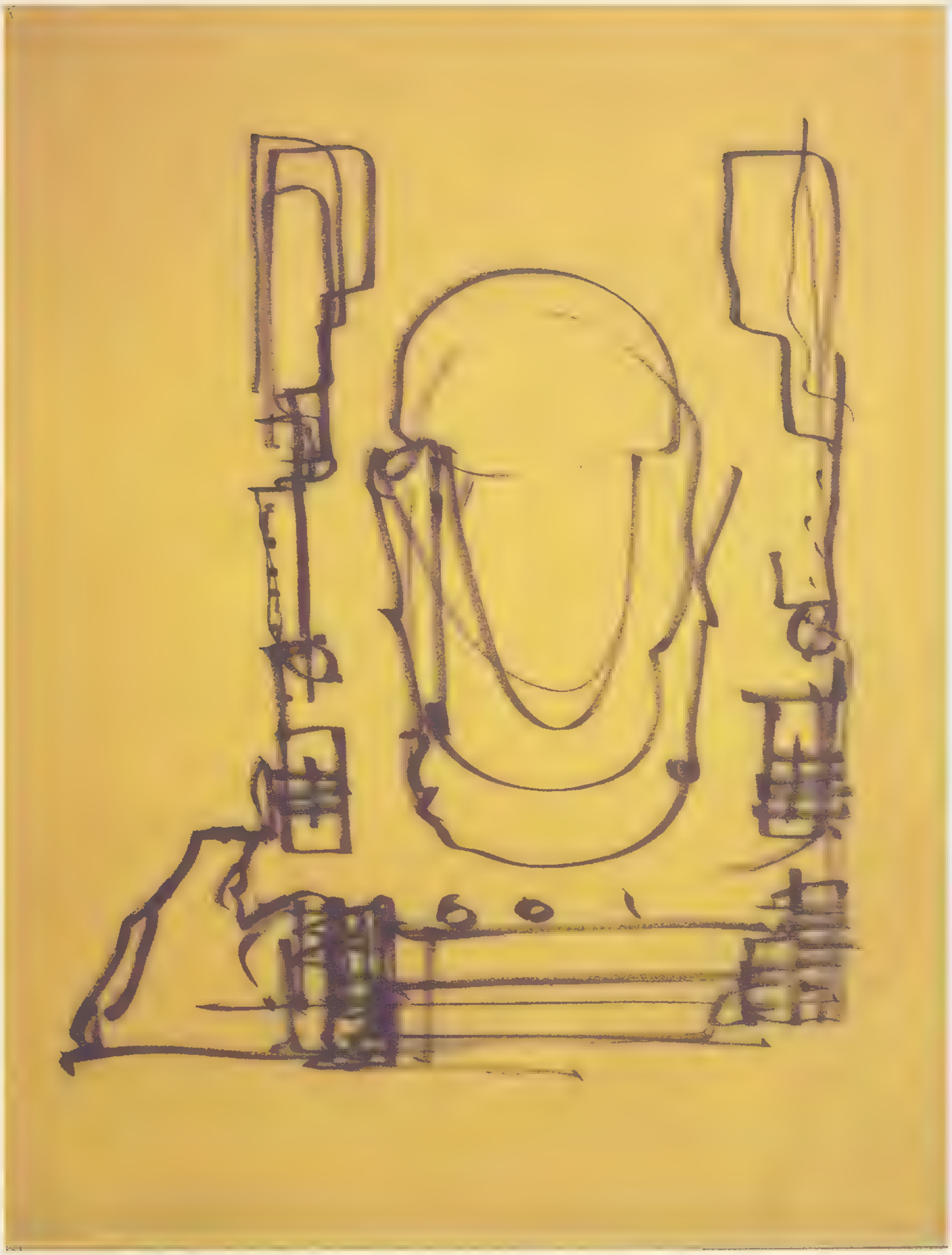
Oh, and also we love
Los Angeles & Las Vegas &
Tokyo; they're cities not
bldgs. but

Also, I hope you don't hold
it against me as being
simple-minded, if you
understand what I'm
writing here. Theory should
not itself become art.



Axonometric including the existing cultural facilities on Broad Street.

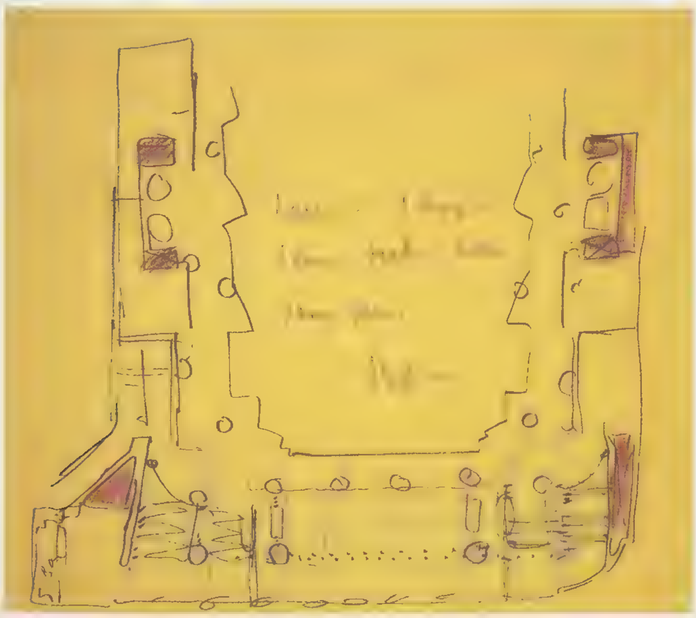
Design sketches of the floorplan.



For "Zodiac": The Philadelphia Orchestra Hall
Robert Venturi

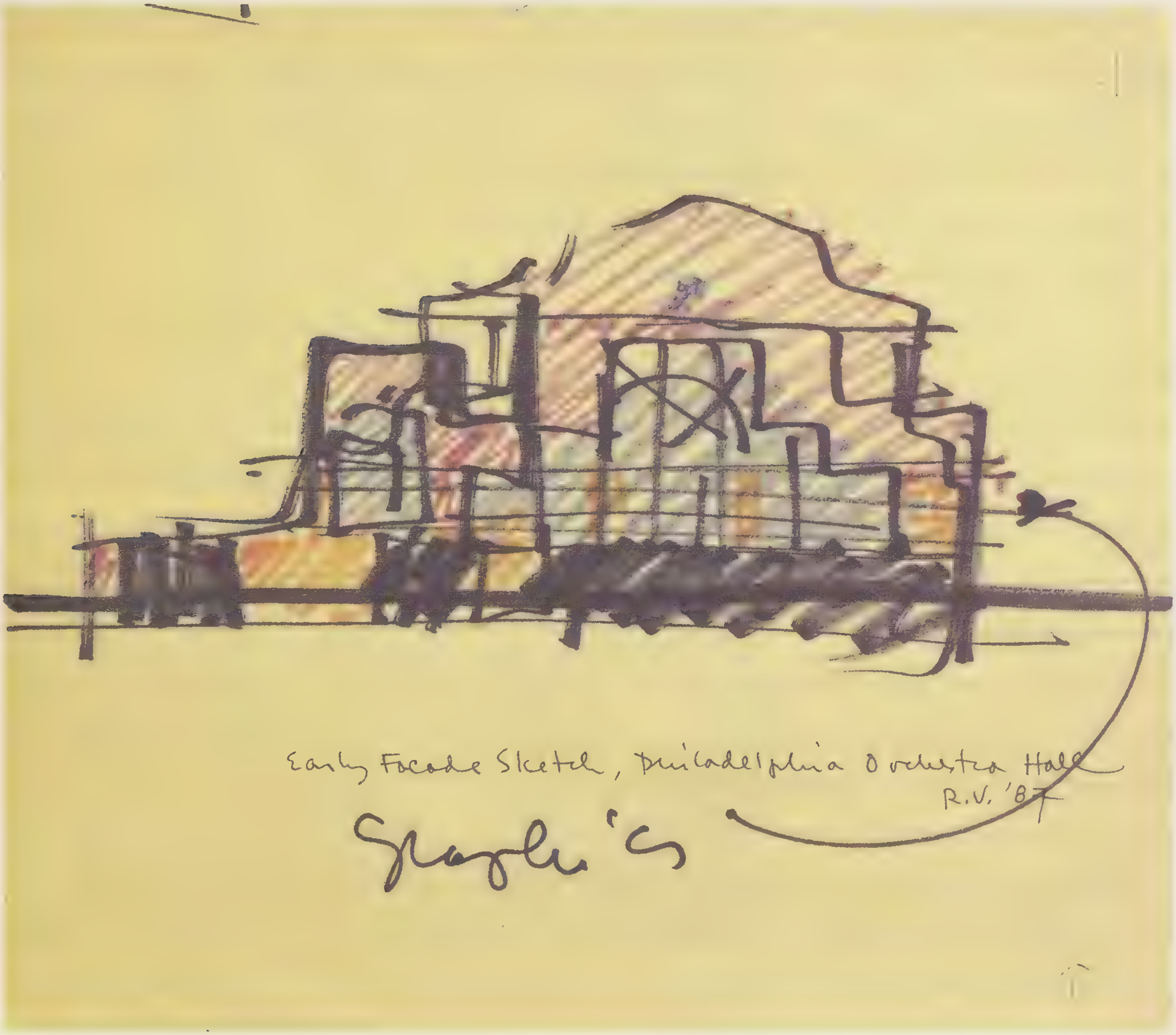
I think it is important to say why our Philadelphia Orchestra Hall is not "deconstructed" but rather is contextual, mannerist and referential.
First, it is analogously related to its context, not because that is always the right thing to do; it isn't — "chaotic" Las Vegas, San Marco in its square, or the Biblioteca across from the Doge's Palace demonstrate that it isn't — but the part of old Philadelphia this building is in needs perceptual shoring up rather than thearing down — needs reinforcement — there is enough deconstruction there as it is, with a high-rise office building on the one side, Haviland's diminutive Neo-Classical building on the other and the neighborhood seamed with brash, open parking lots. To make this building Decon would be like painting a building white in a shabby neighborhood.
Next, it is not deconstructed because that would be irresponsible in relation to our appropriate but not extravagant budget: we can't afford all that flashing! But also I feel a bulding should be a shelter, not a tumble of separate sculptural objects left out in the rain. For us, tension and drama come from combining scales — small details and big monumentality — and from playing up the differences between outside and inside needs; you don't have to articulate all the inside spaces on the outside to be interesting.
Decon works well for urban design. In cities, you don't have to keep the rain or cold out and now that we no longer have czars but individualists who build, cities are not built all at once. We love Los Angeles and Las Vegas and Tokyo; but they're cities and we don't try to make our buildings look like them. Buildings are not cities, cities are not buildings. In my youth the megastructure architects wanted to make cities like buildings, now architects want to make buildings like cities. To us, it seems too easy to derive drama from articulating spaces and juxtaposing them at picturesque angles. We prefer to get our tension through the real contradictions and ambiguities of our complex, and sometimes crazy, programs — not to mention those of the bureaucractic processes.
For us, reference is ok and is inevitable, whether you like it or not after babyhood; but we did not make the new building old fashioned to fit some perception of our clients, and it is not old fashioned if you take the time to look at the detail drawings carefully. Although we, as Modern architects, are not skilled in detailing and not accustomed to working on small-scale ornament, we acknowledge God is in the details and the devil in the distortions.
I'm sorry to write in negative terms, and to seem defensive; to hear our positive argument please read my first essay on the Orchestra Hall, written last year.
Also, I hope you don't hold it against me that you can actually understand what I'm writing; it doesn't mean I'm simple-minded; theory should not itself become art.

Philadelphia, June 25, 1990.



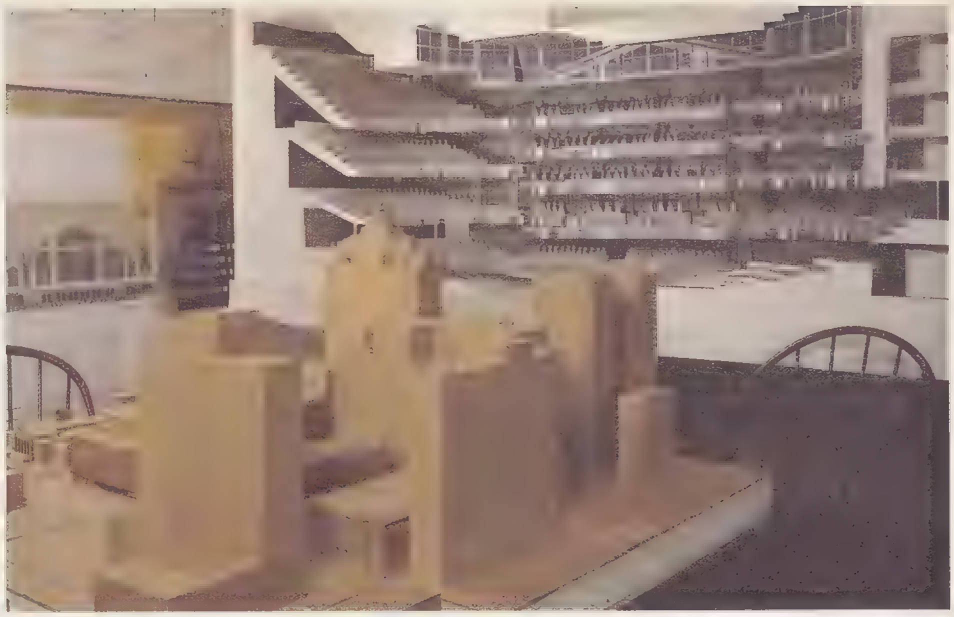


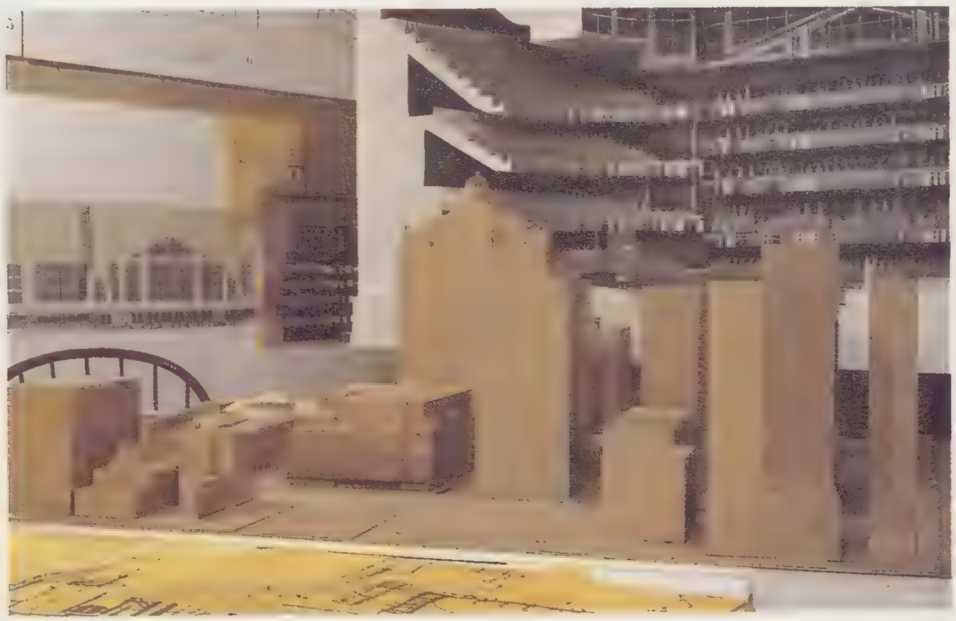




Working sketches of the Broad Street facade.

Views of the urban scale model, and its location on the Philadelphia urban plan.
Photos M. Wargo.





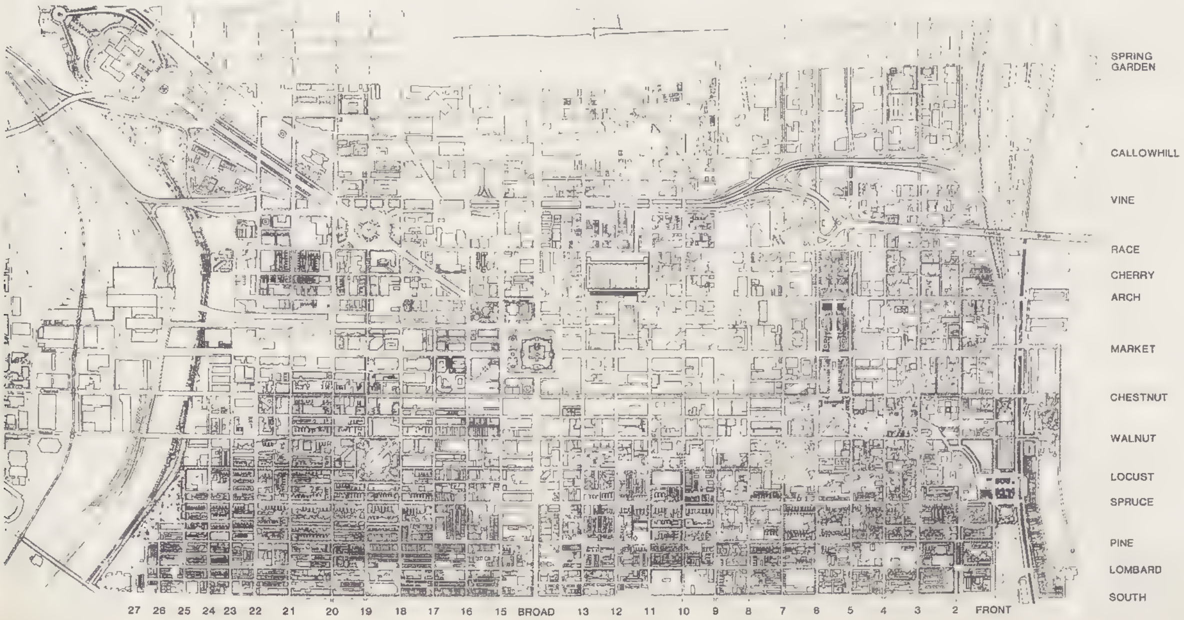
Some Interim Notes on the Philadelphia Orchestra Hall Design - November 17, 1989

Robert Venturi

The challenge of this architectural project derives from the complexity of this kind of building that is to house and symbolize the Philadelphia Orchestra.
It is important to acknowledge the complexity of a orchestra hall, a building type with crucial demands for all of the following at once: acoustical excellence, sound isolation, complex spatial and structural geometries that accommodate sight lines, interior circulation that works effectively and graciously for accommodating crowds within short periods of time, sophisticated mechanical systems, stringent requirements for fire safety mandated by modern governmental codes, and for the variety of programmatic needs beyond those of the orchestra chamber itself — not to mention budget constraints. And of course a hall for this orchestra must work as a gala setting for the performances of a great orchestra and a civic monument.
The process of designing such a building is complex as well; its great number of specialist consultants must work as a team, each promoting perfection for his or her area of concern but each at the same time accommodating to the whole. This process in its complexity must in the end acknowledge particular contradictions within the whole. Important among the collaborators working within this process are the users of the building — the musical director, the musicians, and the administration of the Orchestra Association.
Also I should explain where we are at this point in the design process. The conventional method for the development of the design of this kind of building includes: a preliminary Programming Phase where functional needs and spatial relationships are analyzed in collaboration with the users of the building; the Schematic Design Phase where the essential design direction is established in collaboration with users and consultants; the Design Development Phase where the Schematic Design is developed in terms of detailing; the Construction Document Phase, which includes written Specifications where the legal documents are produced from which contractors bid and construct the building; and the final Construction Administration Phase where the architects, engineers, and consultants review construction to ensure its conformance with the documented design. In the early stages of this process the construction manager works with the architects, engineers, and owners to monitor the projected costs so the building will remain within the budget.
We are now at the end of the Schematic Phase. The material we present explains the main elements of the design by means of plans, sections, elevations inside and out, and working models. Besides this material there is a back-up of more technical drawings covered with notes and an Outline Specification which also inform the construction manager in his important job of estimating costs.

The Site

The Board of the Philadelphia Orchestra's decision to locate the new Orchestra Hall in downtown Philadelphia presents an enormous advantage to the city; this location will work to enliven South Broad Street at night, contribute amenity to the neighborhood, and stimulate other activities that will enhance the vitality and economy of center city as a whole. It is important to note that our orchestra hall is not located at the edge of the downtown on a spacious plaza convenient for parking where most such halls have been located in the last decades.
But this location in the urban thick of things presents challenges for the designers too. The new building must conform to the rectangular gridiron plan characteristic of Philadelphia. This kind of plan is a particularly American phenomenon and William Penn's plan was one of the first of its kind. Such a plan diminishes architectural and civic



hierarchy within the city; all the buildings become essentially equal partners within an overall pattern that contains little differentiation in terms of location among the streets. Buildings along these streets do not derive relative importance from their location — for instance the Orchestra Hall will not dominate the end of an axis as does the Paris Opera at the end of a grand boulevard. There is a particular challenge in the democratic configuration of the grid where everybody is equal; our Hall, a relatively small building, risks being dwarfed by relatively large but less important buildings, yet it cannot attain a presence by means of its location. Many of its neighbors are tens of stories high, but as a civic building associated with a world-renowned institution it is more important than these surrounding buildings and must find a means, while surrounded by towers, to assert its importance ina dignified and civic way.

Because of its downtown location on valuable land, this building fills its site — extending to its property lines and conforming to the rectangular geometry of the grid street system of its neighborhood. It does not sit in an open space — as in a plaza at the edge of town — but right on the street. For this reason the irregular and dramatic form of the interior orchestra chamber itself is not reflected on the exterior — except as it protrudes above and beyond the surrounding forms of the building. In this way we are not conforming in the design of this hall to recent manner in concert halls where the interior spatial complexity is reflected and expressed on the outside. We are returning to the tradition of older halls and opera houses like that of La Scala in Milan and the Academy of Music itself whose exterior forms are essentially rectangular.

For this reason the interior residual spaces that sit between the exterior othogonal order of the perimeter of the building and the interior irregular form reflecting the Hall at the core of the building create the lobbies which become dynamic spaces and promote tension and interest within the composition as a whole.

But this building form does not conform to the property line toward the south. Here we have the opportunity to reopen Delancey Street, modify its routing, and use its extended curb for automobile drop-offs. Many of the users of this hall will arrive by car, and it is important to exploit this opportunity for car and bus drop-offs — farther along Delancey for the entrance to the parking garage and the service entrance to the Hall. At the same time this area to the south becomes a tree-lined court which should contribute variety and amenity to the plan of the neighborhood as a whole.

An exception to the rectangular configuration of the building on the outside is the slight curve affecting the south facade as it approaches Broad Street — this to reflect specific determinants of the plan inside and to acknowledge the routing of the vehicular circulation in the space along Delancey Street.

The Exterior

The challenge here is to achieve a presence that is appropriate for this civic building despite its relatively small size. This we have done through the quality of scale — by making the elements that compose its exterior generous in size. For example, the windows of Orchestra Hall are big especially in relation to the windows of neighboring high rise buildings; these big scale elements contribute monumentality to the facade and make it impressive in the context of South Broad Street. At the same time these large elements are combined with small elements which individuals who perceive them can identify with; in this way the building look friendly as well as imposing.

The design of the exterior is determined by another aspect of its context: we are next door to an important Greek Revival work by John Haviland, the Main Building of the University of the Arts. This relatively small building reflects the scale of Philadelphia of the first half of the 19th century. We have worked to relate our larger building to the smaller





Views of the model at a city scale. Photos M. Wargo.

one by the inclusion of small scale elements on our facade, by employing materials that are analogous in hue and value to those of Haviland's building, and by using a motif — a triangular pediment-shaped window at the center of the composition of our front facade — that alludes to the traditional masonry pediment on the Haviland facade.

The great windows on the main facade work also to promote friendliness and openness, to make the new building inviting to the public, and to convey a feeling of activity, especially at night when you see through the windows and become aware of the crowds within.

Brightly lit windows facing Broad Street will enhance the gala aura of the Avenue of the Arts.

The particular configurations of these windows on the front facade promote another architectural element which is compositional — that of rhythm. This rhythm — albeit uneven and complex in its form to reflect complexities within the building that modify the essential symmetry of the design as a whole — promotes a richness of effect and a kind of continuity along the Street. The "pediment" window in the center also contributes an element of hierarchy within the rhythm toward the center and enhances the monumentality of the front.

The continuous frieze at the lower part of the facade, which is sometimes disengaged, is essentially ornamental. Appropriately lit at night, it will contribute to the differentiation of scale, provide interest for pedestrians and drivers along Broad Street, and promote a gala and ornamental quality to the facade.

The Interior Public Spaces

The orchestra chamber is raised to the second level to permit an easy and ample flow of circulation at the street entrances and in backstage and service areas at the rear. Elevating the main level in this way allows for a traditional progression up to the hall via a wide staircase that enhances the amenity of arrival and contributes to the gala experience of attending a concert. At the top of the staircase on the main toward the front of the building, an appropriately ornamented lobby space of monumental height serves as a place to gather at intermission. Here grand windows look onto the activity of the Avenue of the Arts.

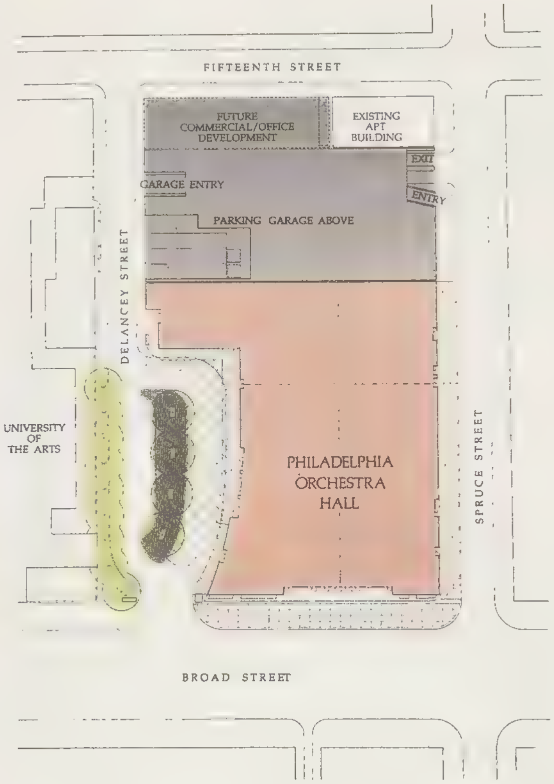
The question of ornament in these spaces is important. What is shown in our current renderings — in the form of painted patterns on plaster walls — is suggestive; this important dimension of the design it to be studied further in the next stage of design development.

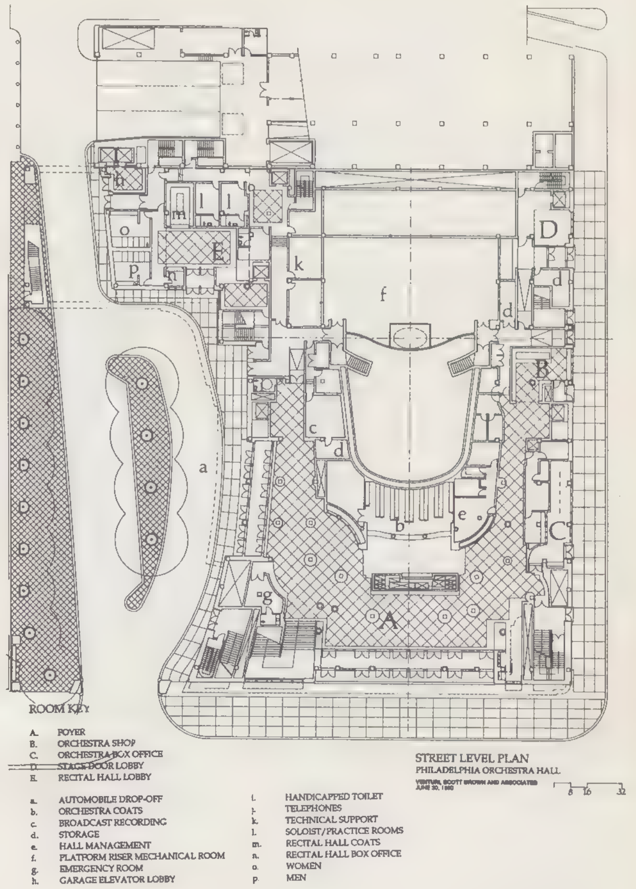
The Concert Hall

This is of course the essential part of the building, the *raison d'être* of the whole. Its design results primarily from the requirements of acoustics as determined by the acoustical consultant. The geometry of the room along with its moveable parts that adjust acoustical quality — these based on complex acoustical principles — are best explained by the acousticians themselves. Sight lines, too, determine the geometrical configurations in this great space, so that everyone in the hall can have a good view of the orchestra.

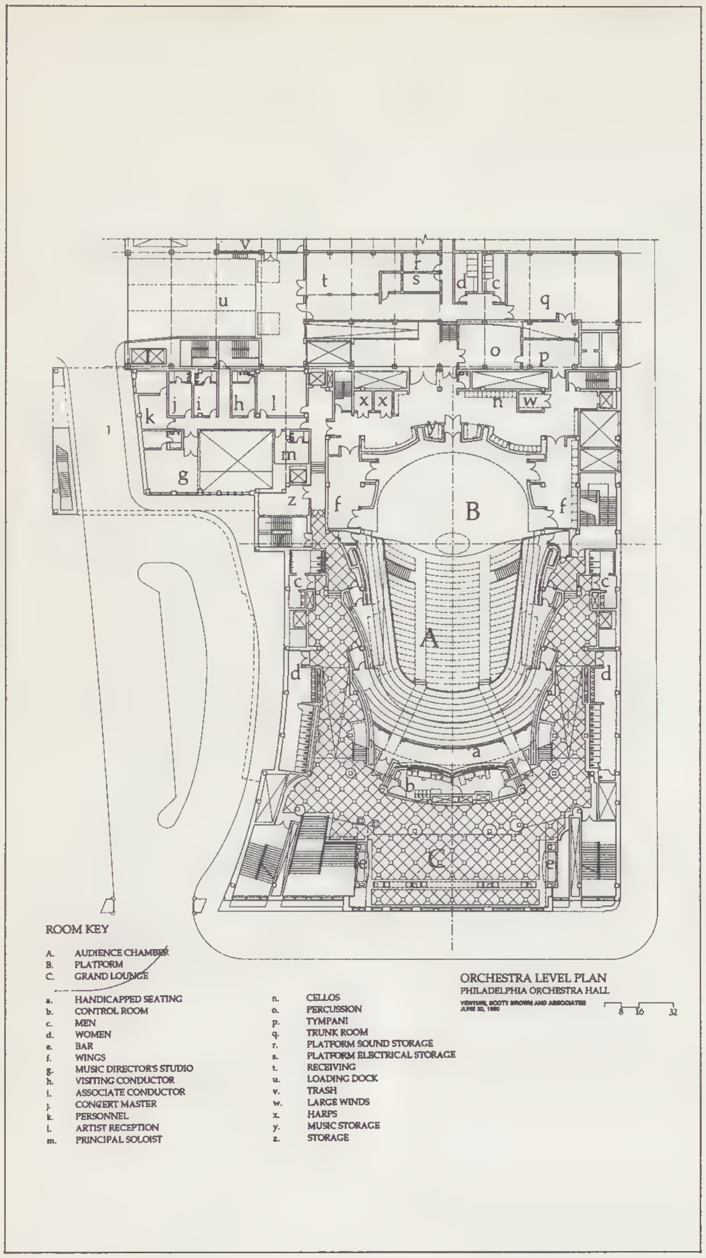
The architect's essential contributions are to be found in the ornamentation and lighting of the hall.

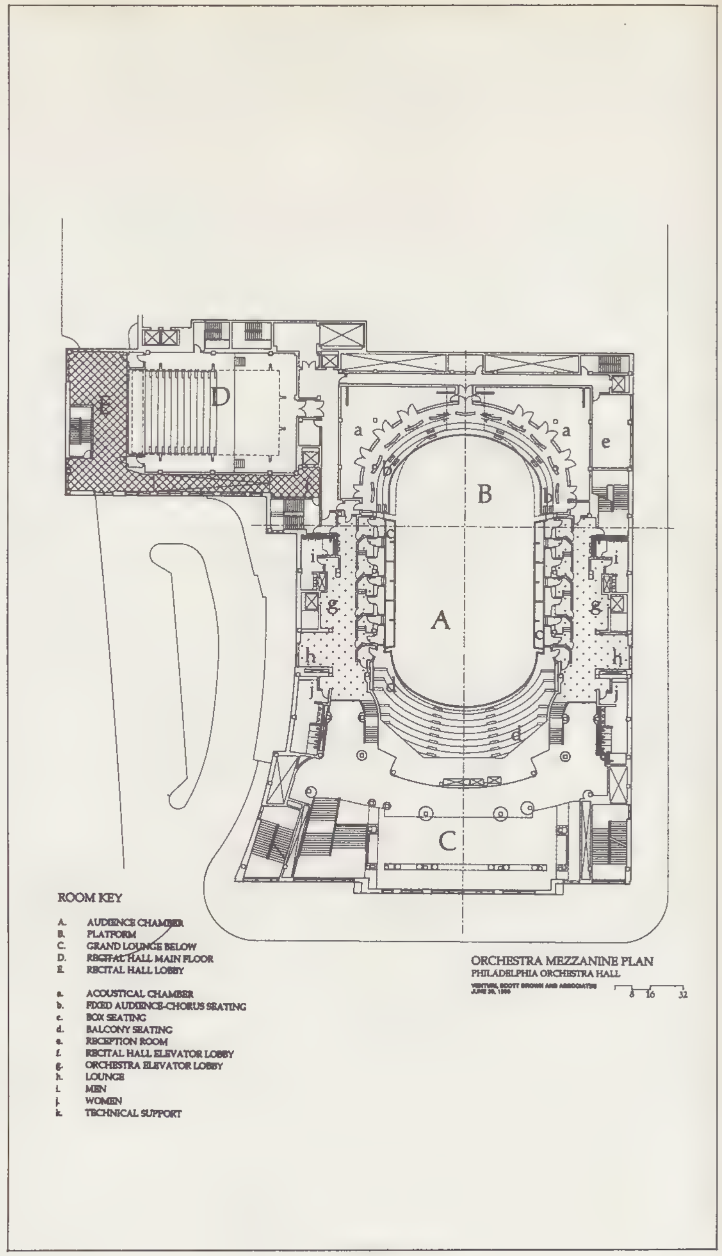
It is important that in most respects this Orchestra Hall *is* a hall, a chamber or a room rather than a theater or an opera house. It promotes thereby the tradition of the orchestra hall originally deriving from the great hall in the nobleman's palace where chamber music and then symphonic music evolved. This means that the orchestra is not on a stage separated from the audience, but is in the same room as the audience. This is different from the opera house where the orchestra, separated by a proscenium arch, is on a stage that is designed, as in the Academy of Music, to accommodate illusionistic effects required of theatrical performances. Balconies that surround the audience and then continue behind the orchestra reinforce the idea of the room as a whole. A clerestory of window-like elements





Site plan and floorplan at the entrance level.





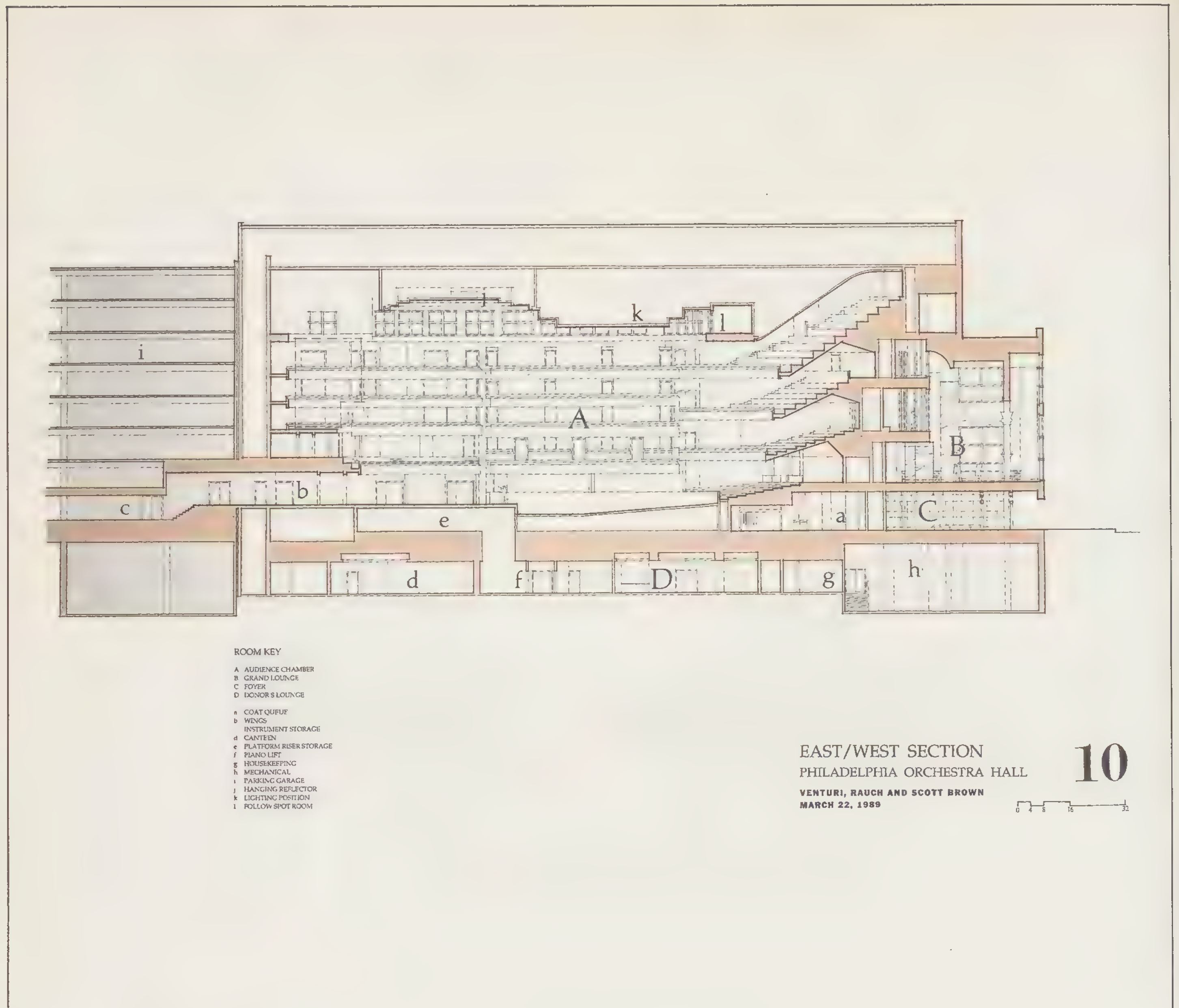
Floorplans at the orchestra and the orchestra mezzanine level.

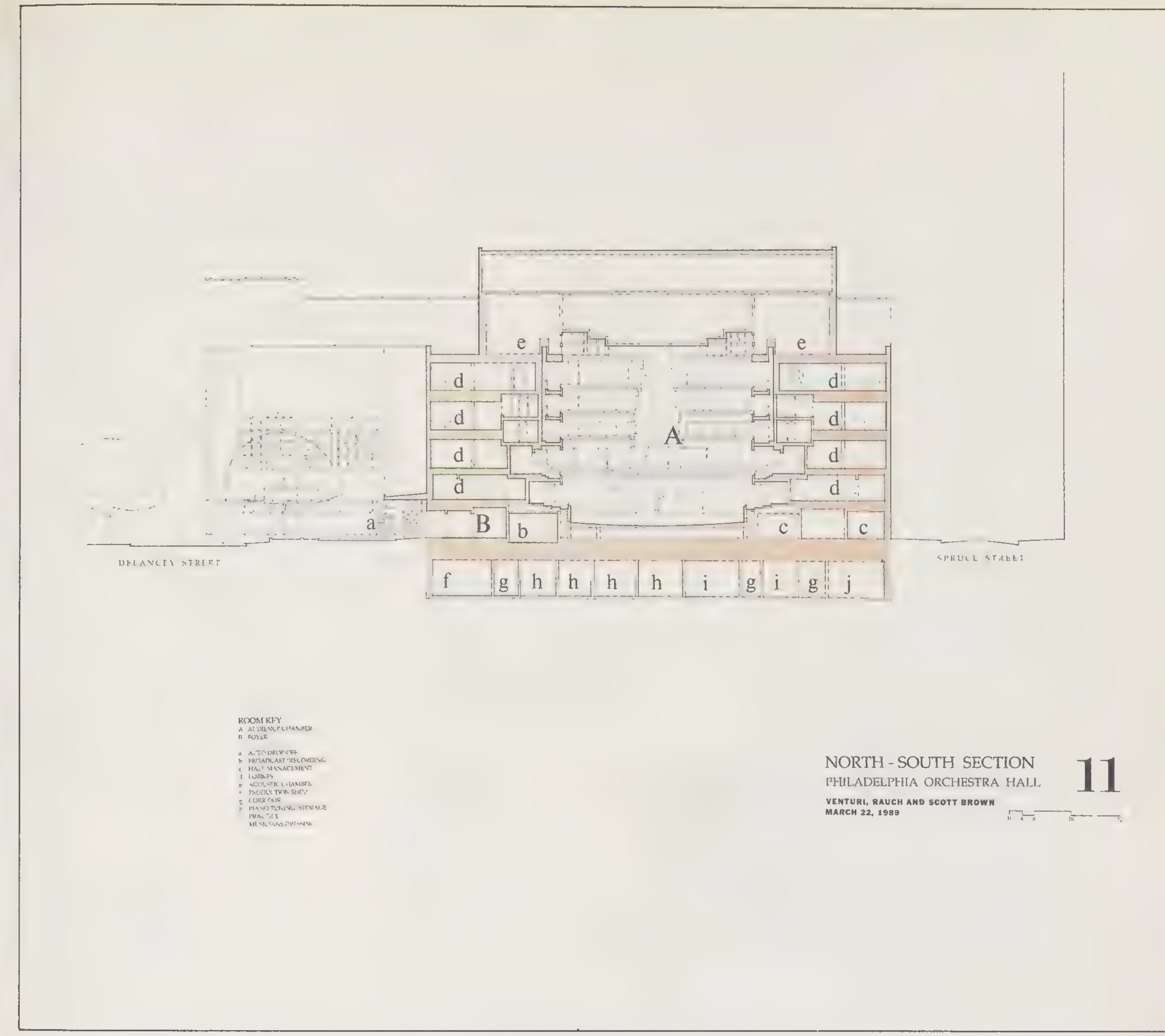
surrounding the hall at the top accommodates acoustical flexibility and works further to symbolize this space as a room rather than a theater.

Yet the architectural spatial effect of the wall which derives essentially from the balcony faces rather than from the back walls of the room falls within the tradition of the opera house as exemplified by the Academy of Music. This emphasis on the balcony fronts as the essential design element of the room provides two advantages: first, the edges of the hall appear nearer and the hall therefore seems smaller; this is because the room itself is defined by the balcony faces up front, not by the walls in back. This in turn promotes a feeling of intimacy within the chamber despite the large seating capacity mandated by the program. Secondly, the ornamental balconies allow for the back walls to be visually insignificant — they are very much in shadow— and free therefore to be modified for acoustical purposes by means of moveable curtains and banners without detriment to the appearance of the overall room.

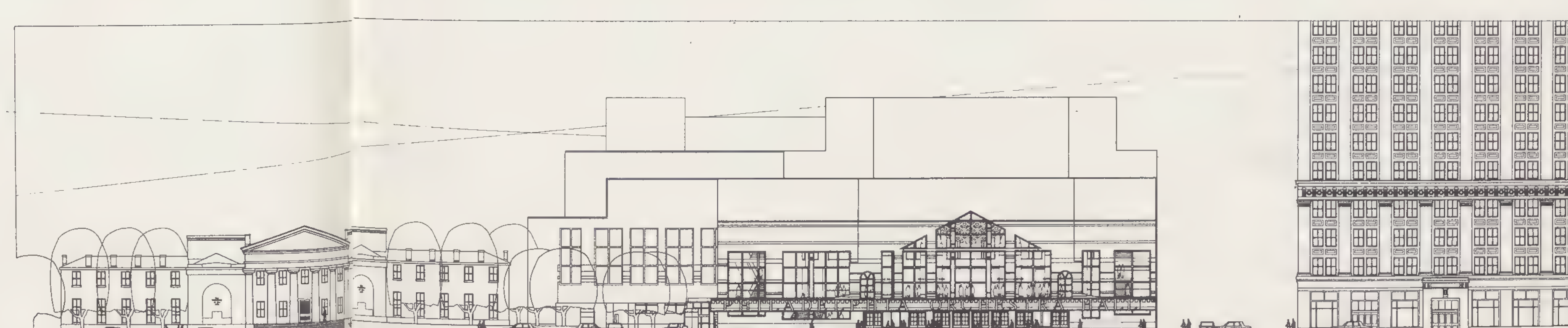
Because the balcony faces are the main vehicle for promoting architectural character, the details of their ornament and lighting will become an important consideration in the upcoming Design Development Phase.

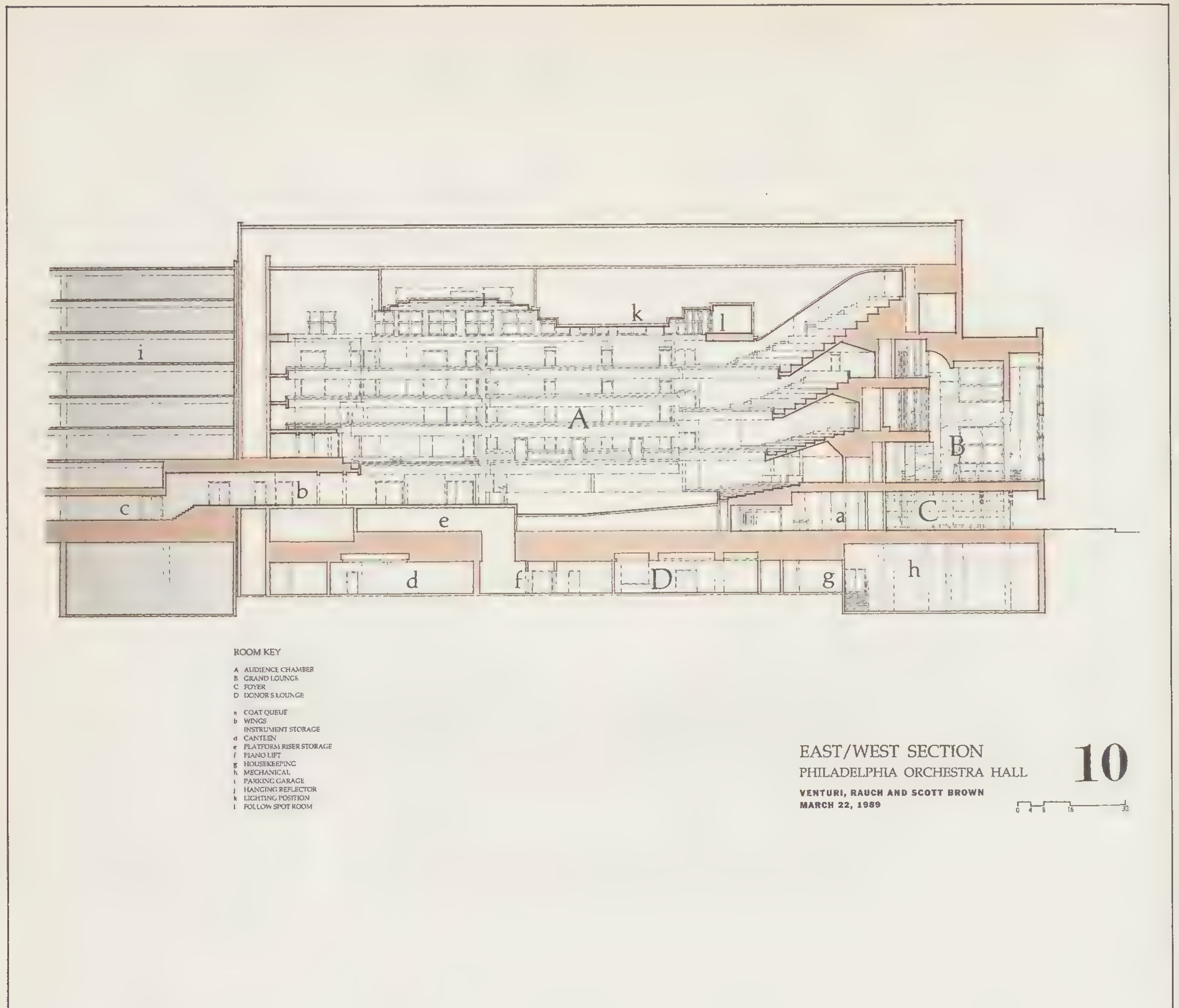
Unlike the traditional hall, the ceiling in this space cannot contain decorative murals or chandeliers owing to the need for complex and flexible modern lighting systems. For this reason teh ceiling will be relatively dark, paralleling perhaps the effect of a night sky. The dark recessive ceiling reinforces the importance of the balcony faces as the essential vehicle of the architecture of the Hall— and this leads to lighting, which is perhaps the most important element in the interior design. The lighting in this space will be of two kinds: ambient light, which creates a surface glow from the reflection of hidden sources of light, and the play of glitter, where the light source is visible and creates perceptual excitement and promotes a gala atmosphere; this last element might be the equivalent of the crystal chandeliers of yore. The reflected ambient light on the mauve-grey faces of balconies matched against a point play of glitter and sparkle on these surfaces will create the essential visual effect of this important room.

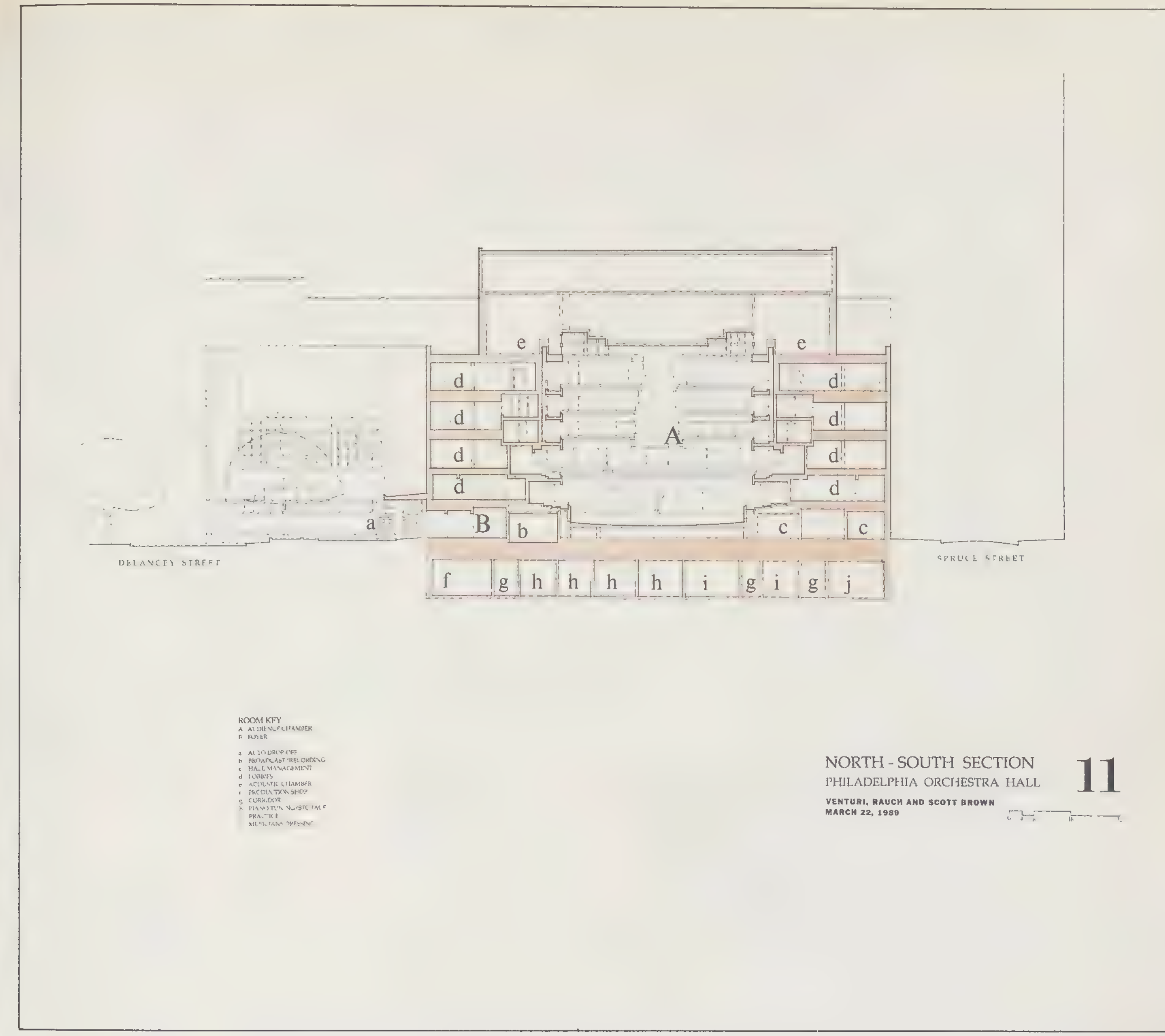




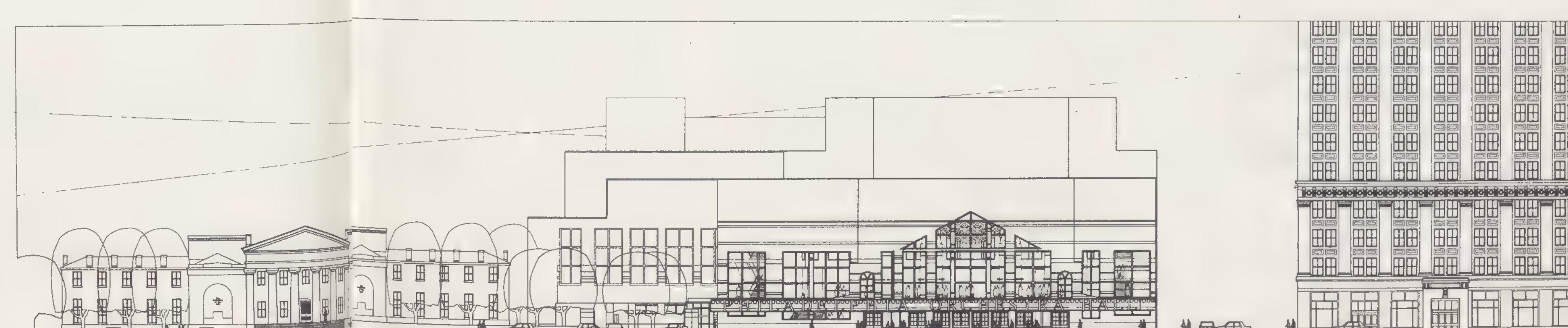
Longitudinal and transverse sections, and view of Broad Street.

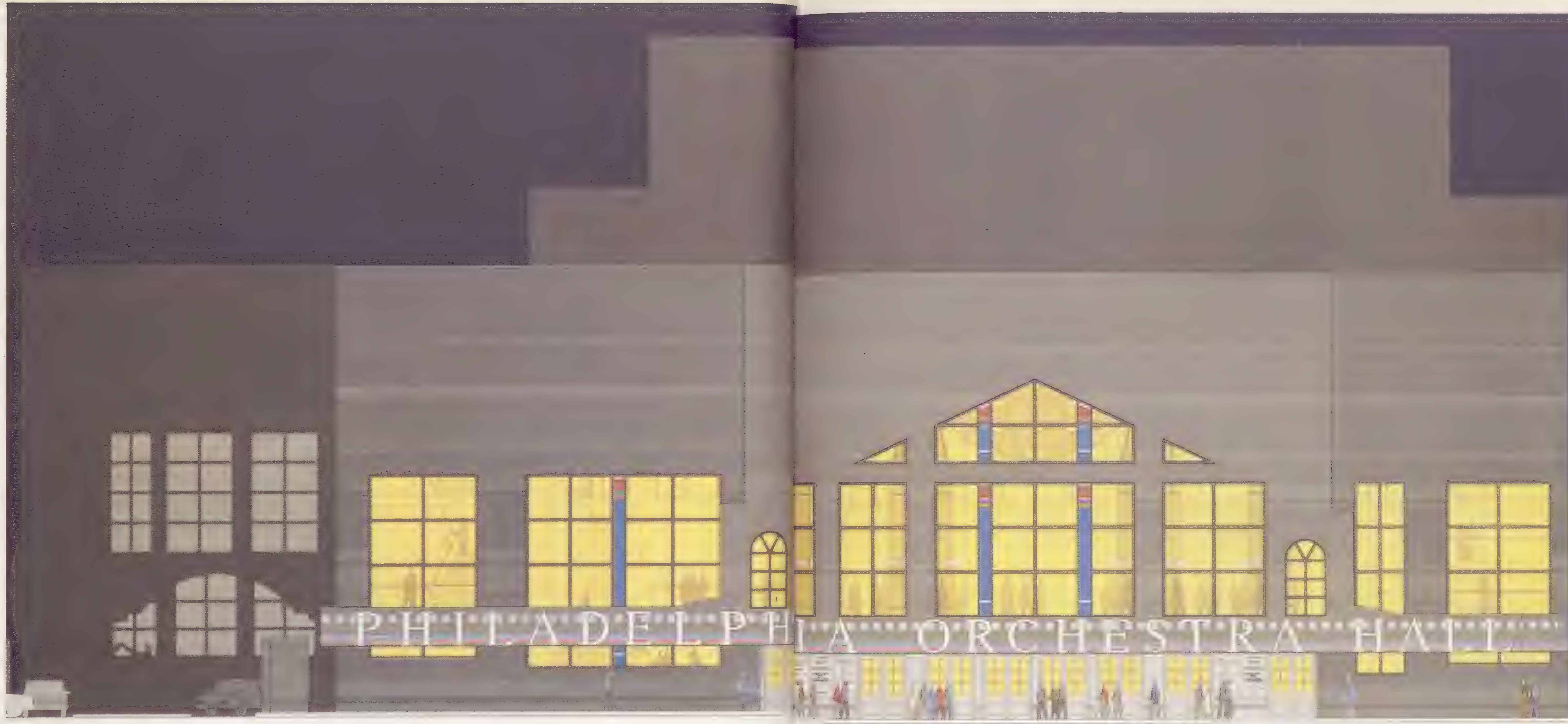




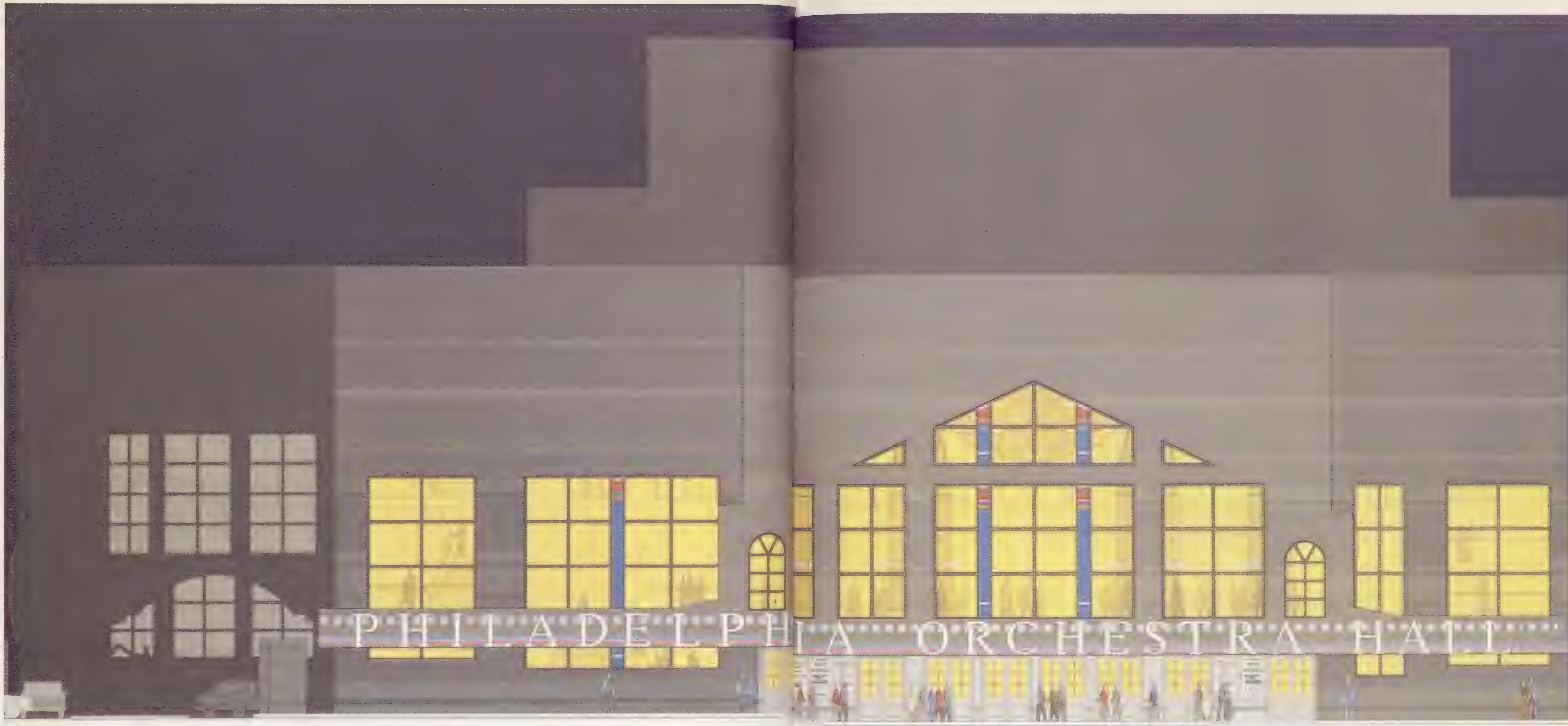


Longitudinal and transverse sections, and view of Broad Street.

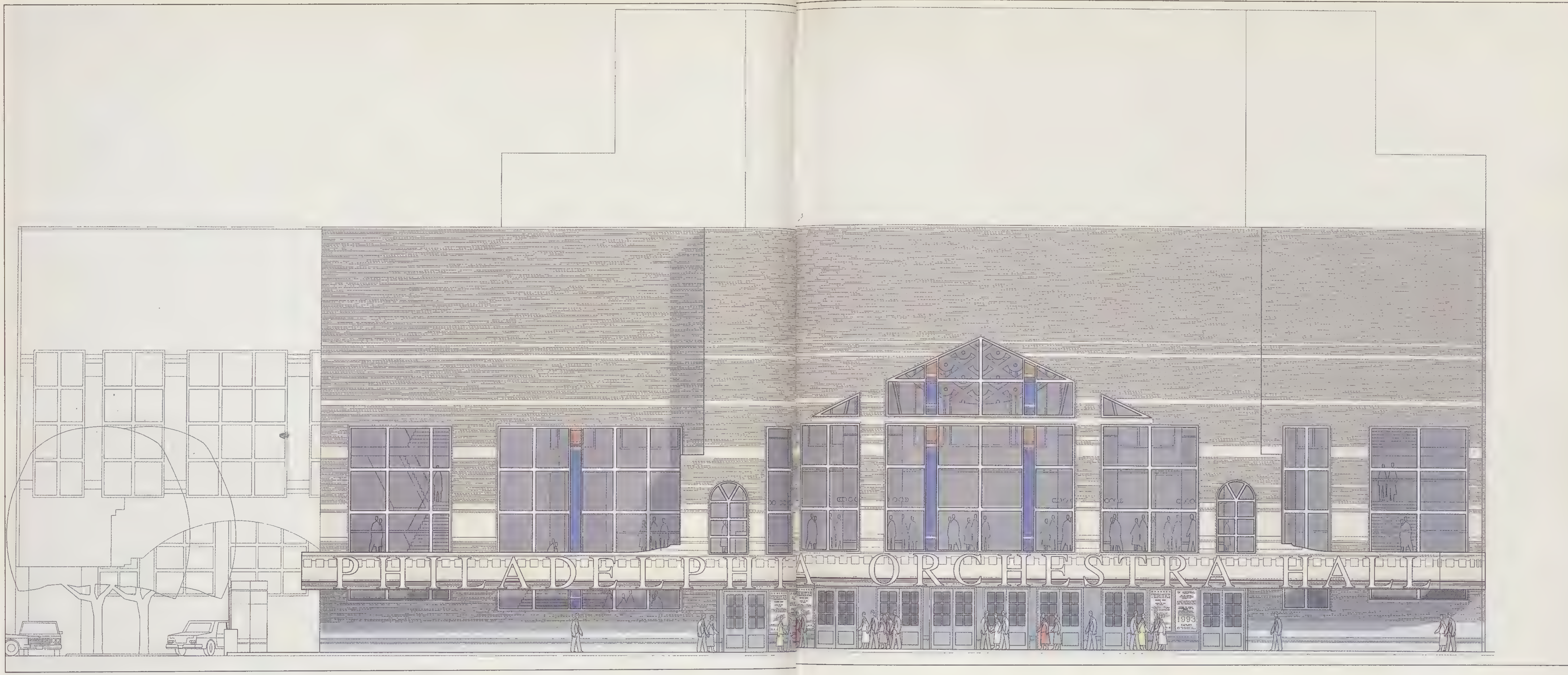




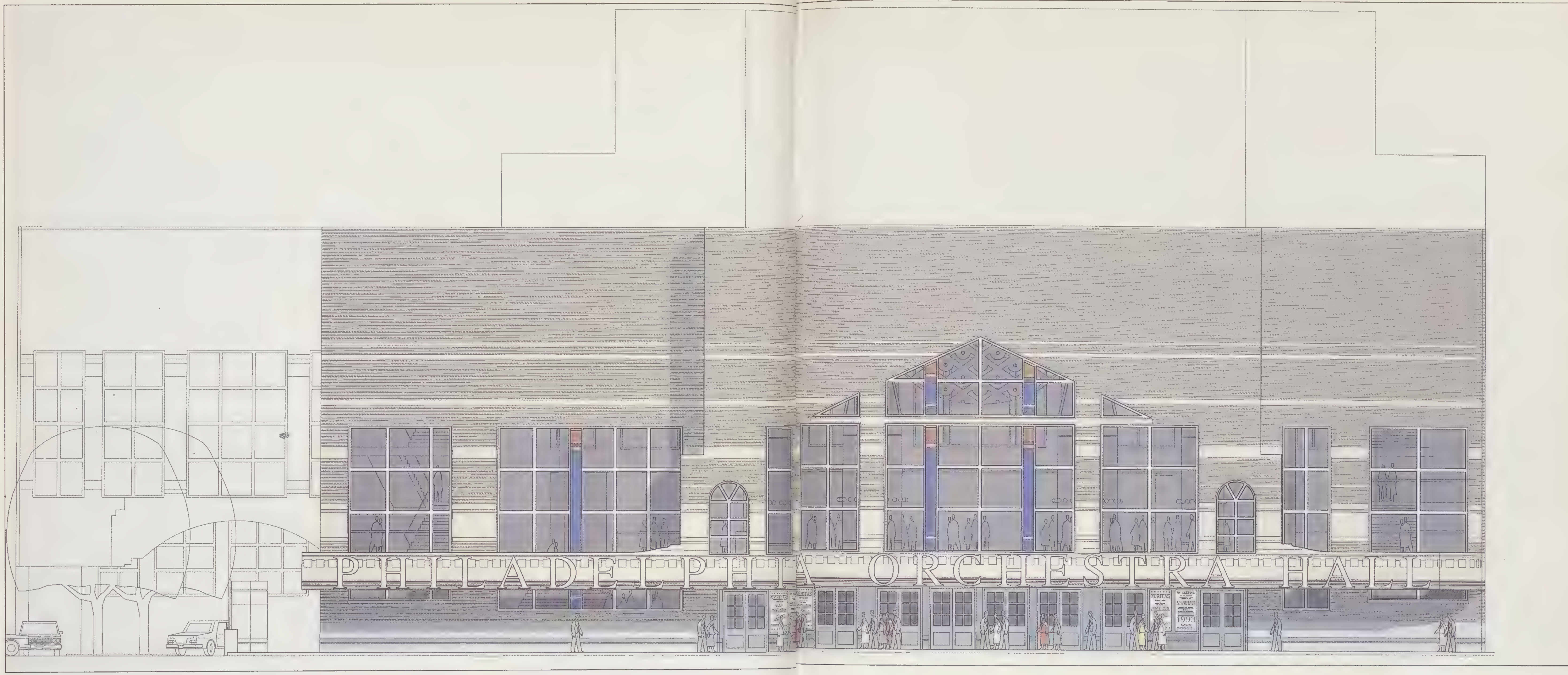
View of Broad Street (at night).



View of Broad Street (at night).



View of Broad Street (daytime).



View of Broad Street (daytime).



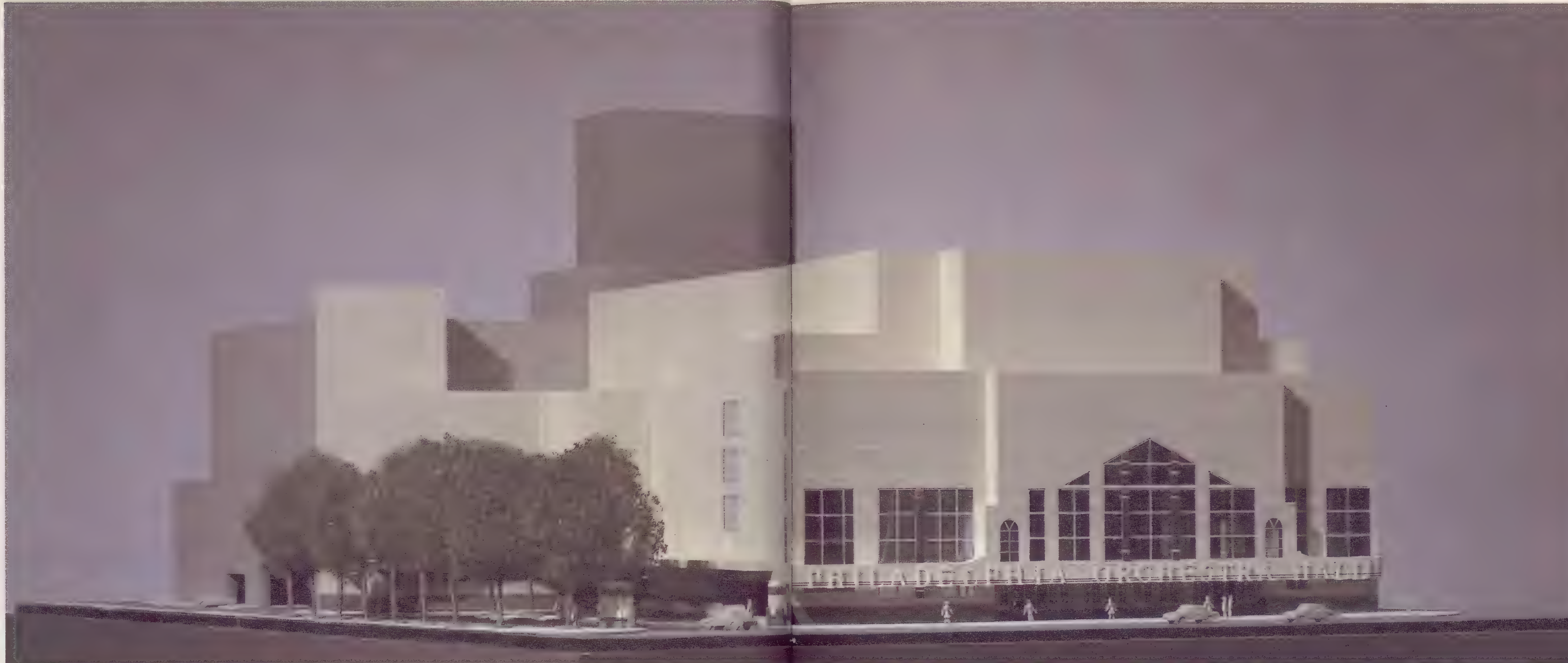


Views of the design model, from Broad Street.
Photos M. Wargo.



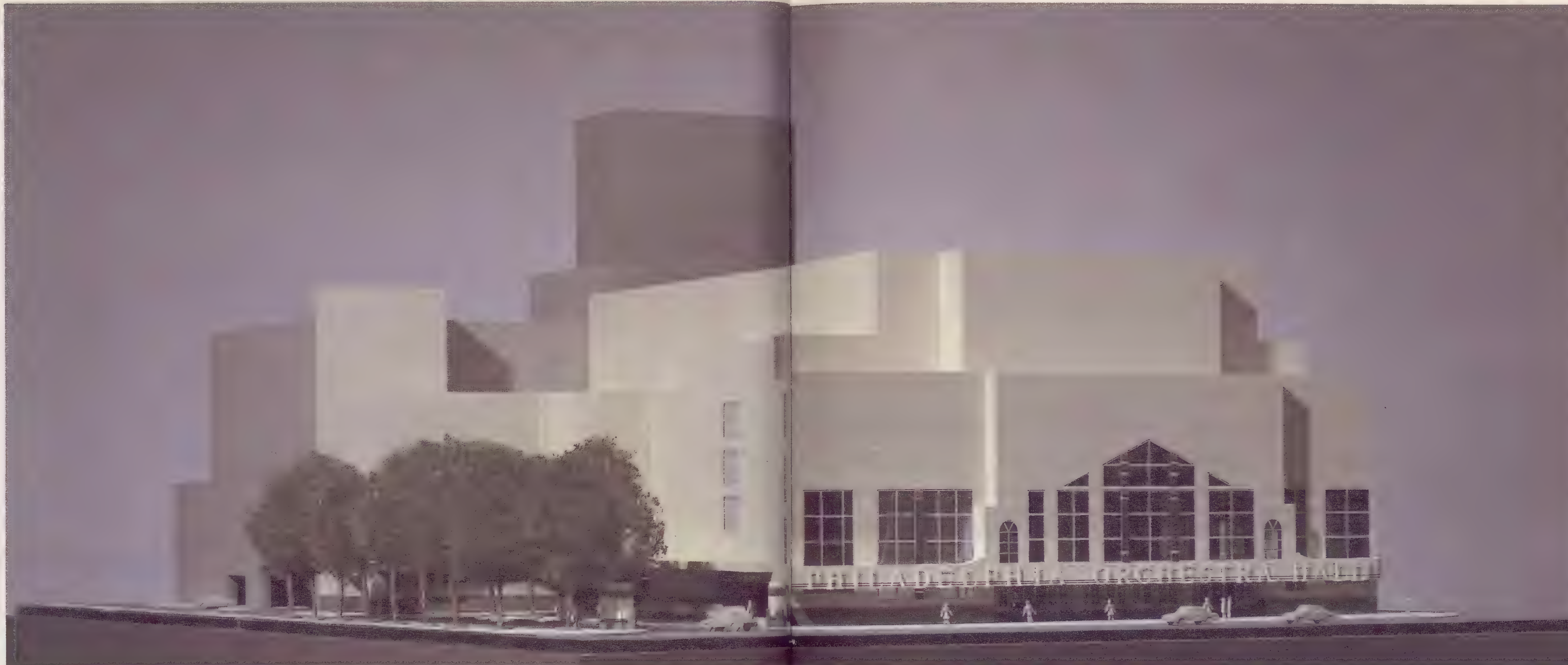


Views of the design model, from Broad Street.
Photos M. Wargo.



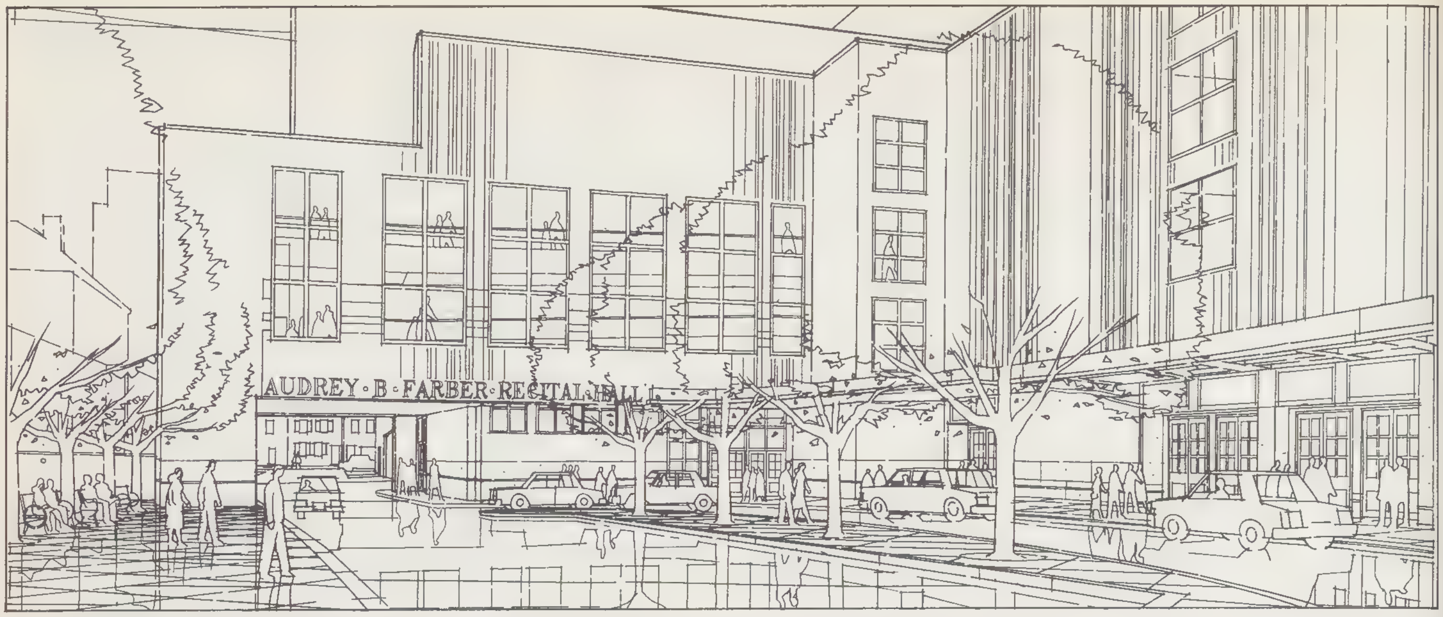
Views of the final model from the Southeast and Northeast. Photos M. Wargo.





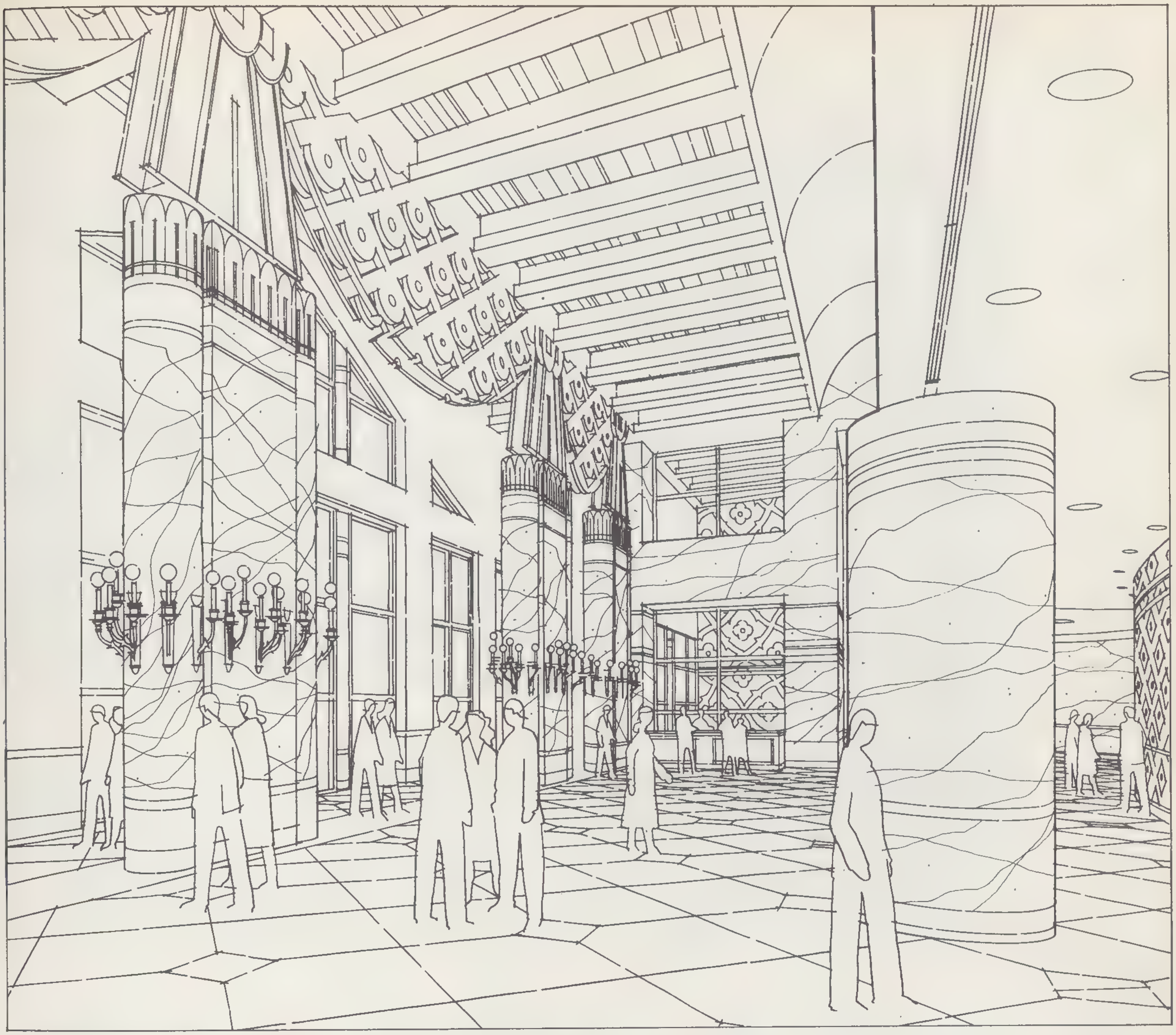
Views of the final model from the Southeast and Northeast. Photos M. Wargo.

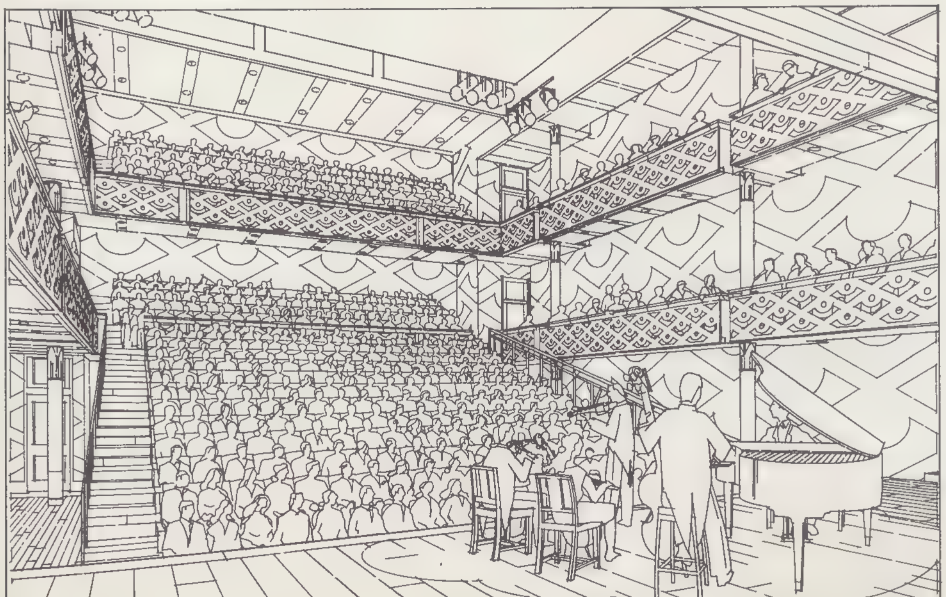


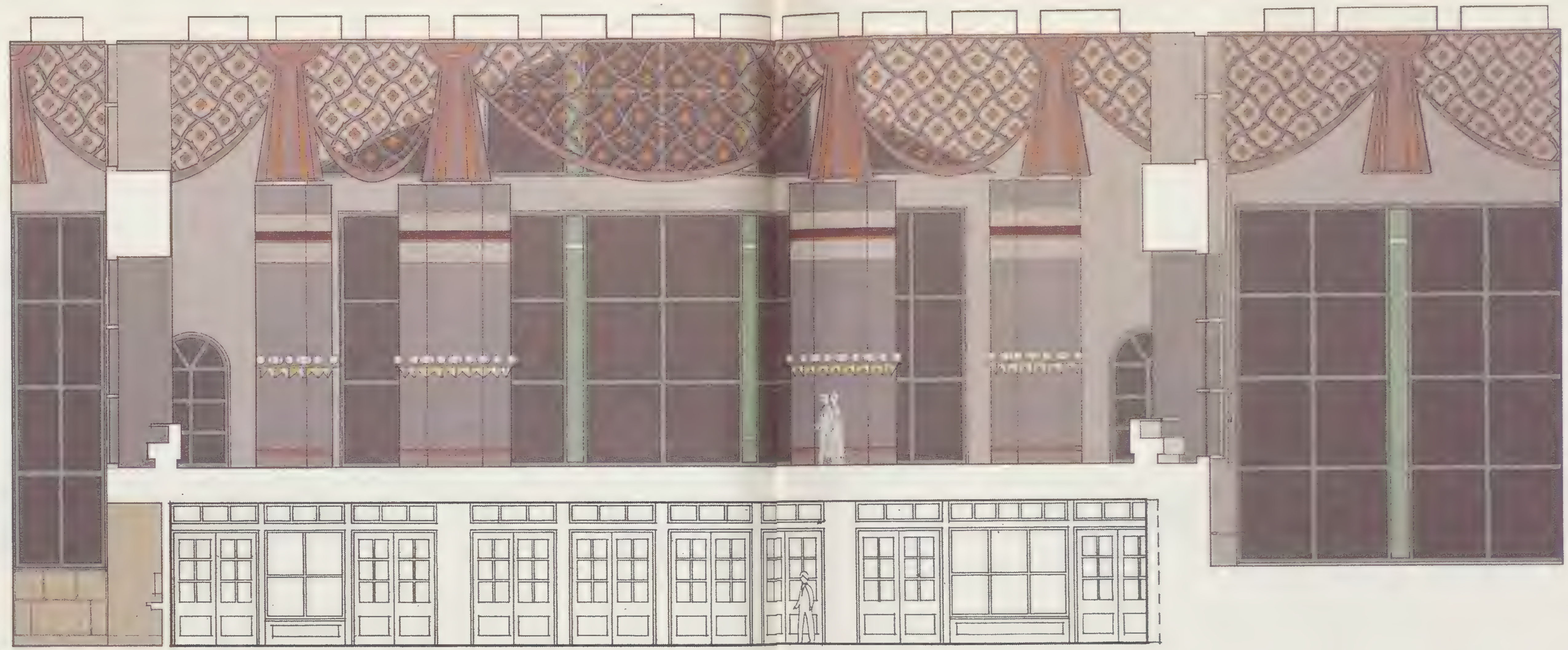




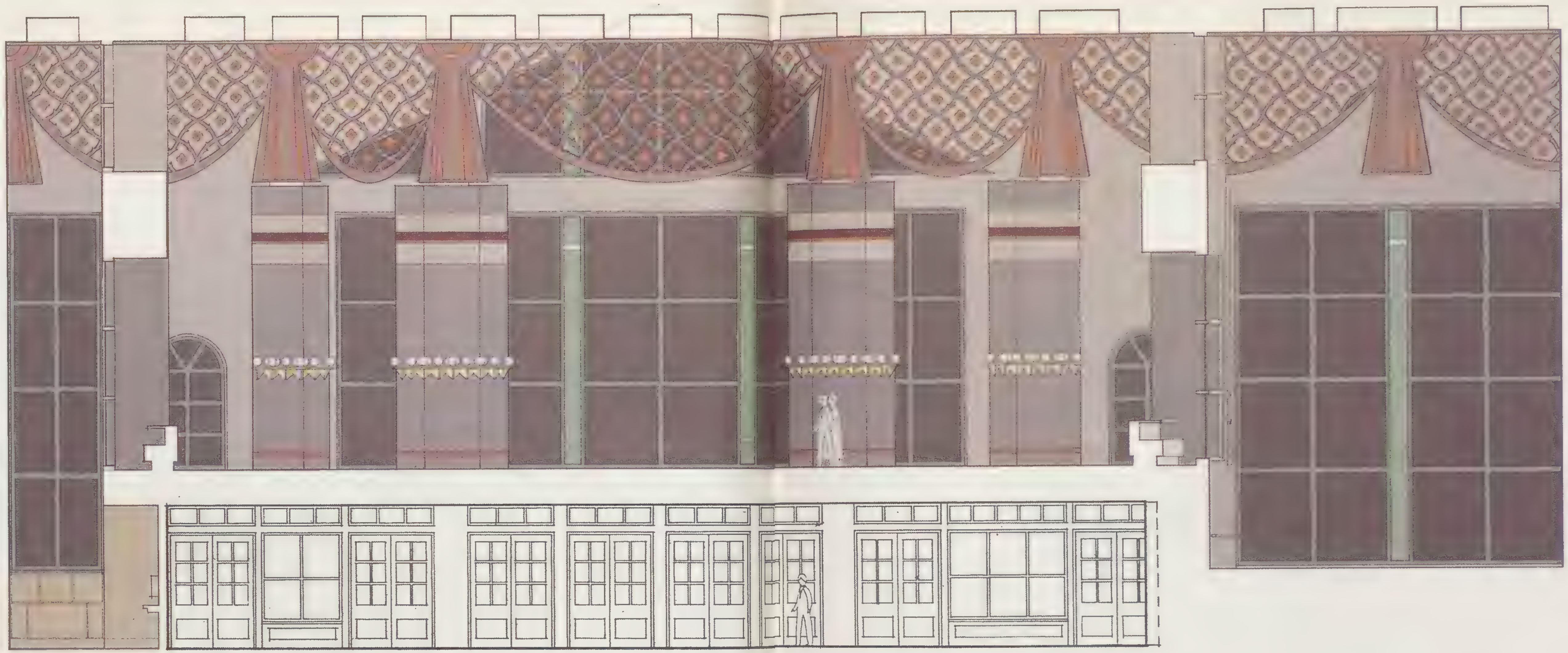
Perspective view of the courtyard including the vehicle accessways and the entrance to the Recital Hall. Interior view of the entrance foyer, the main foyer and the Recital Hall.



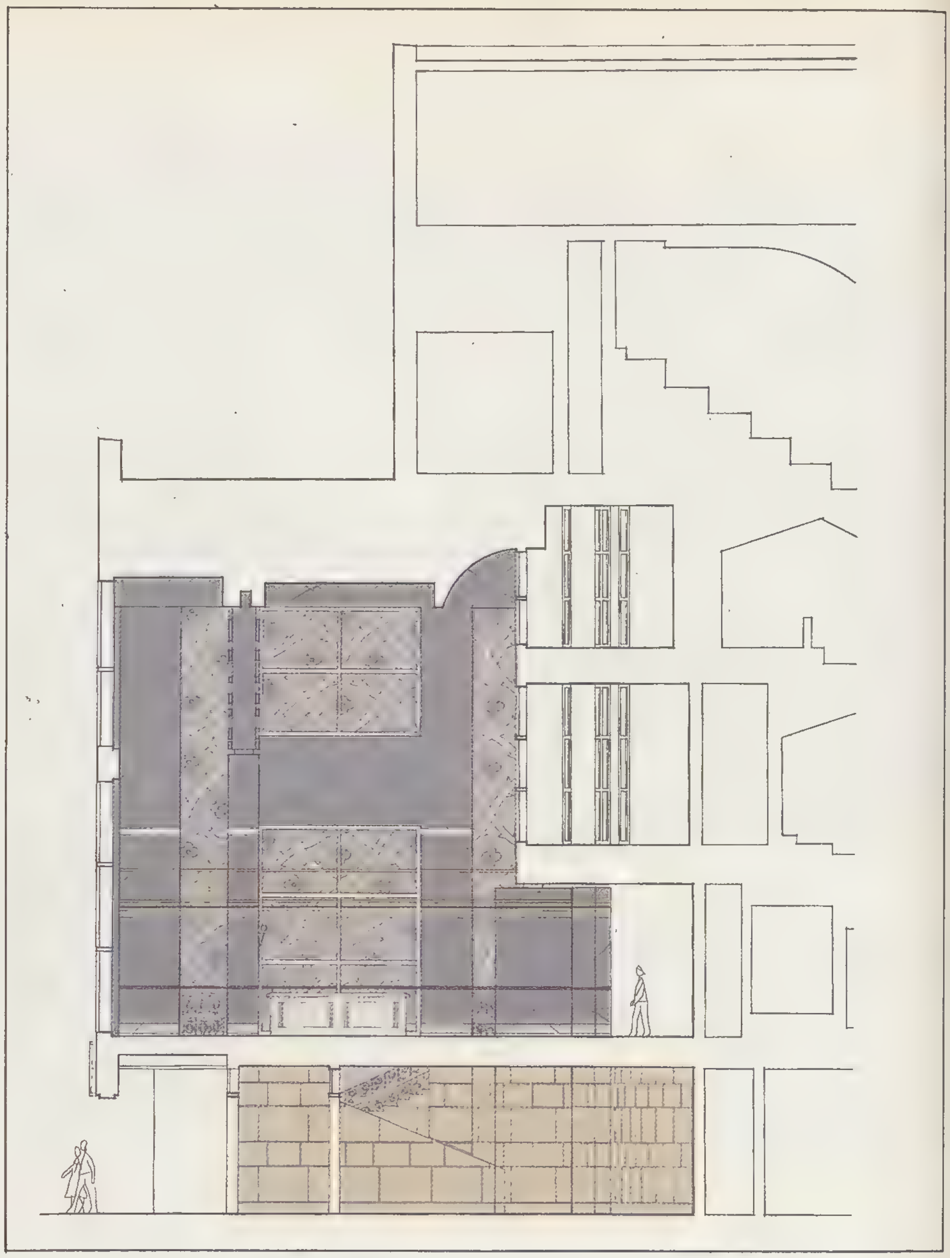




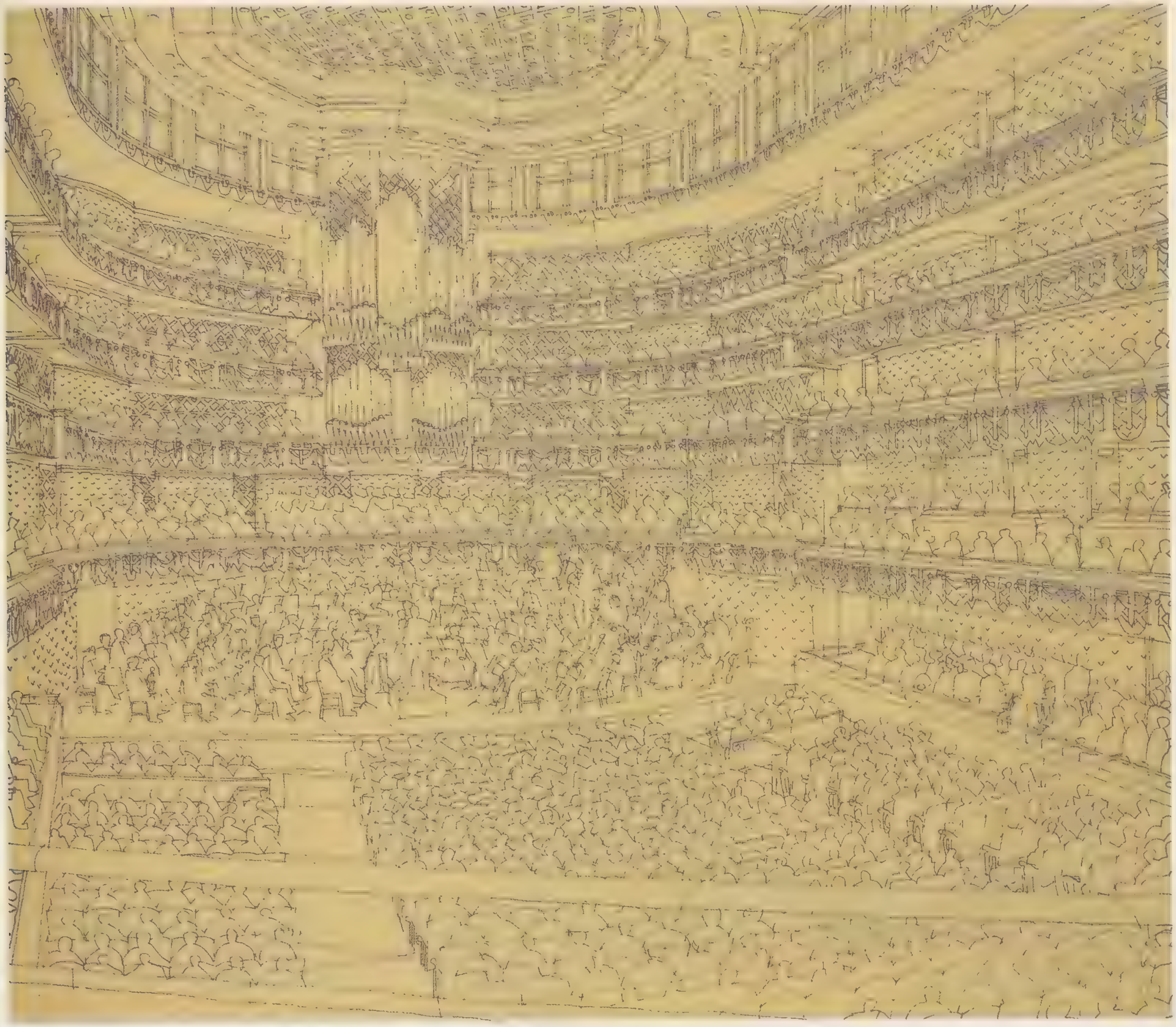
Section of the main foyer on Broad Street.

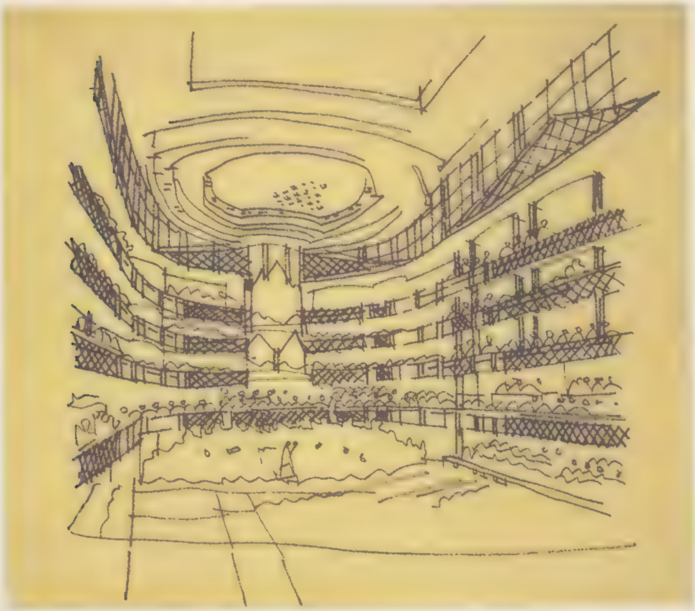


Section of the main foyer on Broad Street.



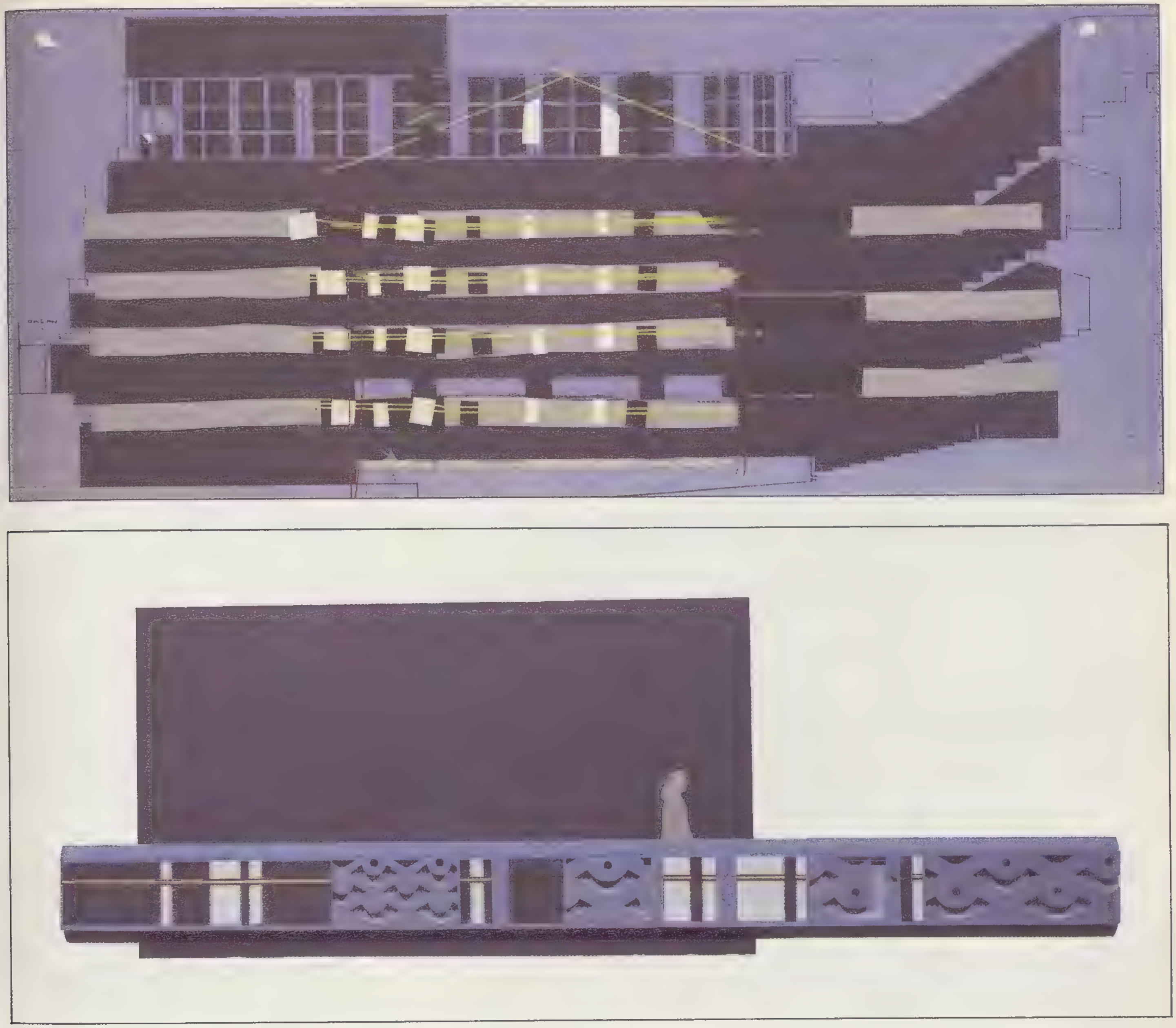
Transverse section of the main foyer.
Perspective and design sketch
of the Concert Hall.



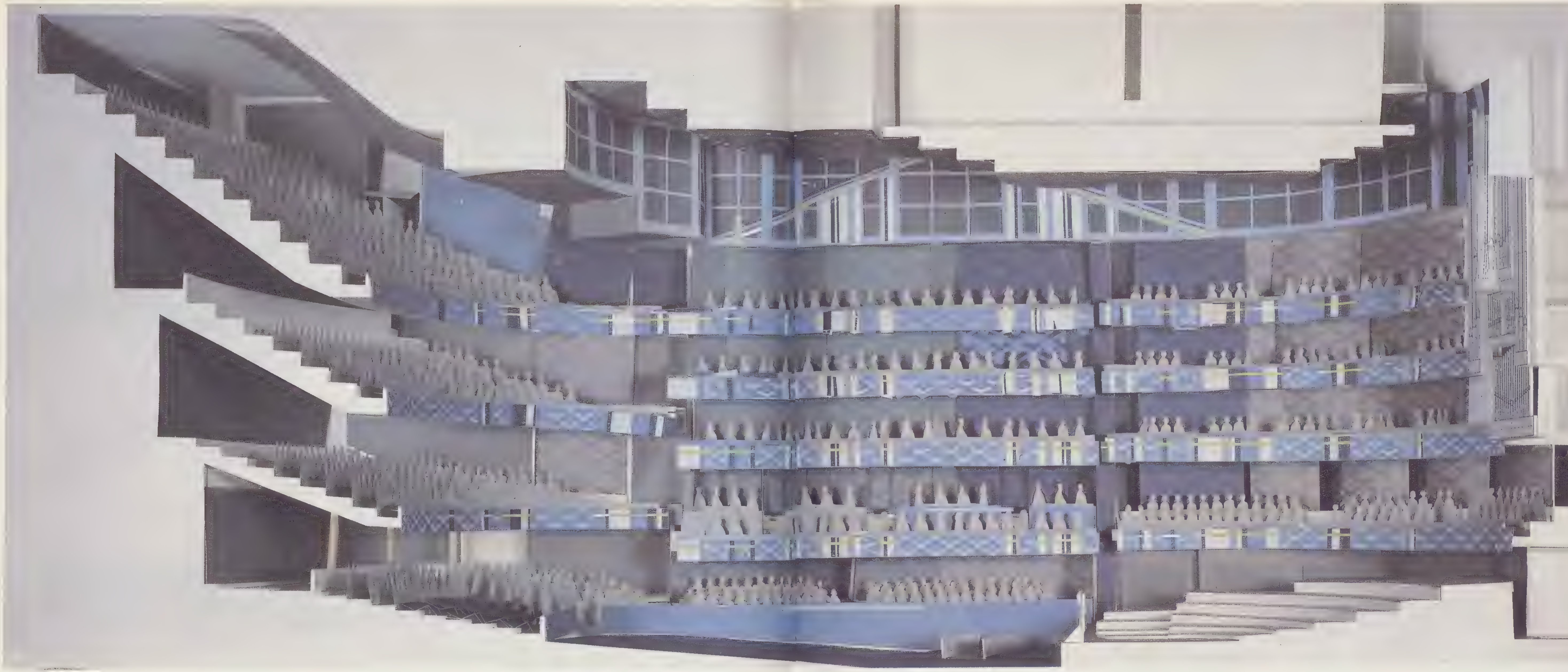




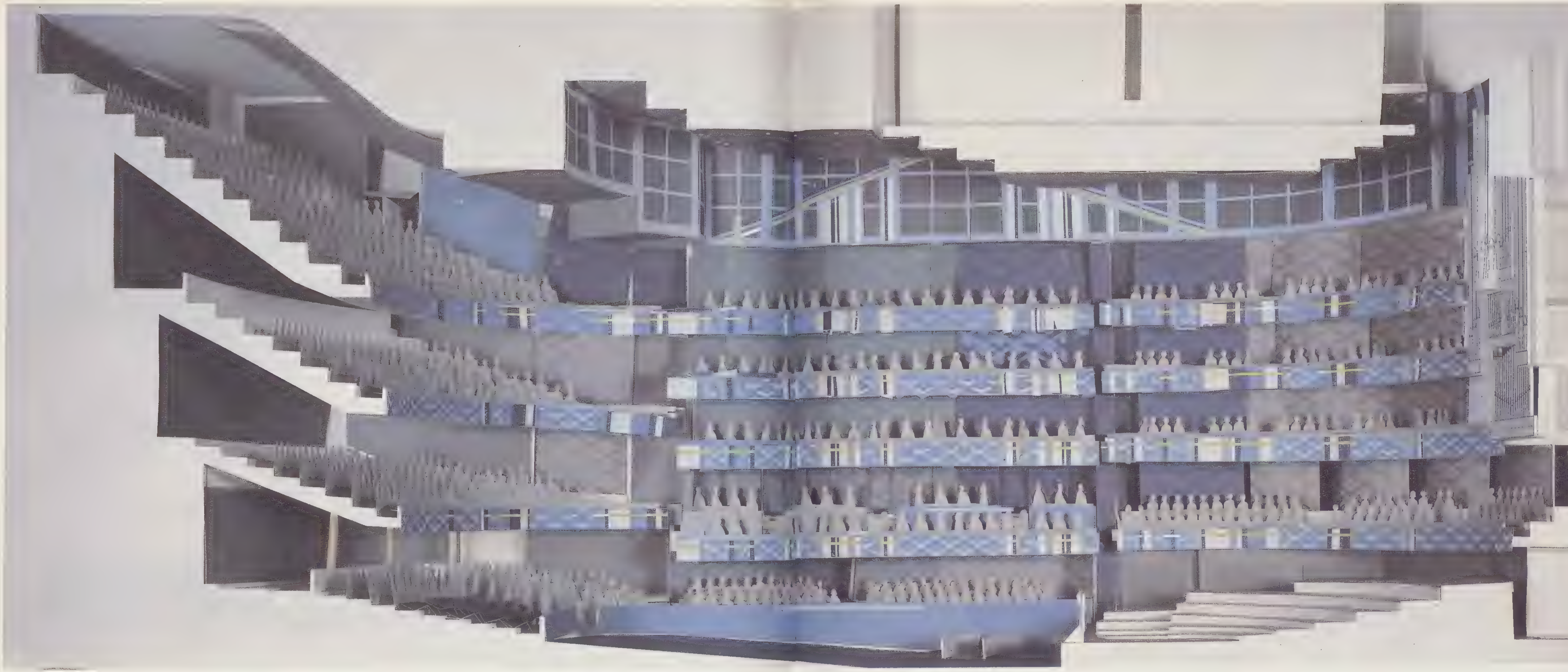




Section and detail of the Concert Hall.

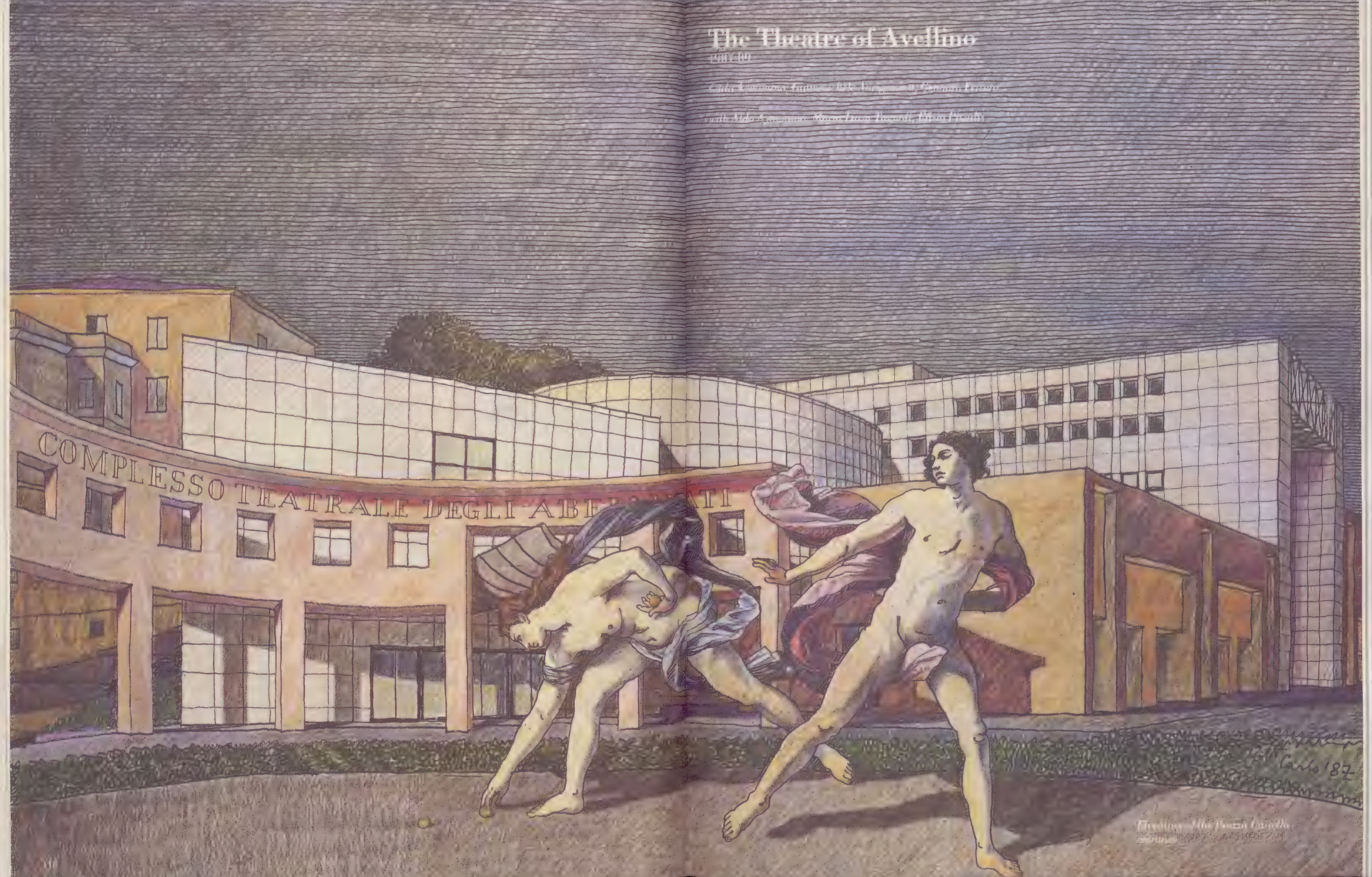


View of the interior model of the Concert Hall.
Photo M. Wargo.

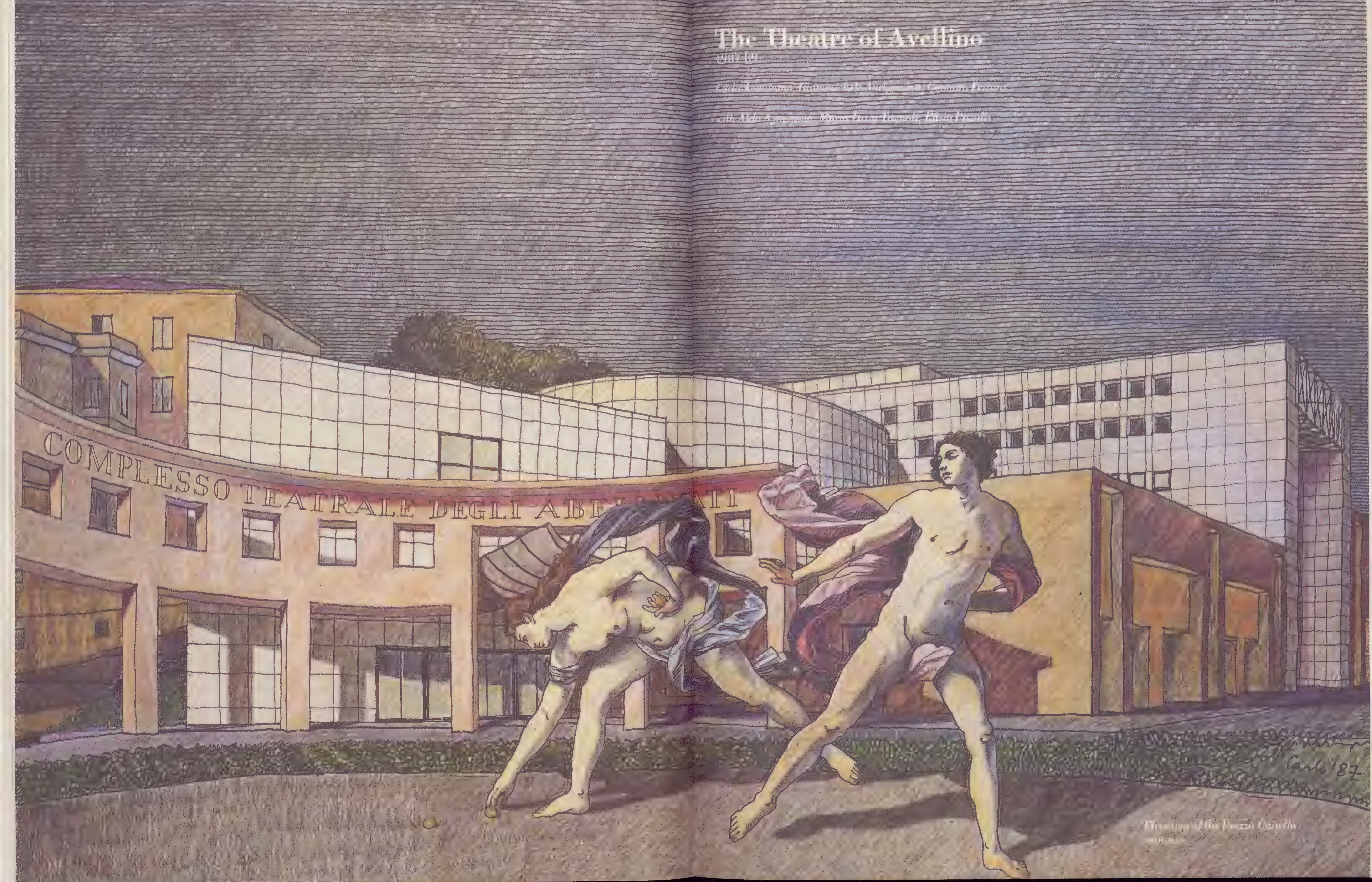


View of the interior model of the Concert Hall.
Photo M. Wargo.

The Theatre of Avellino

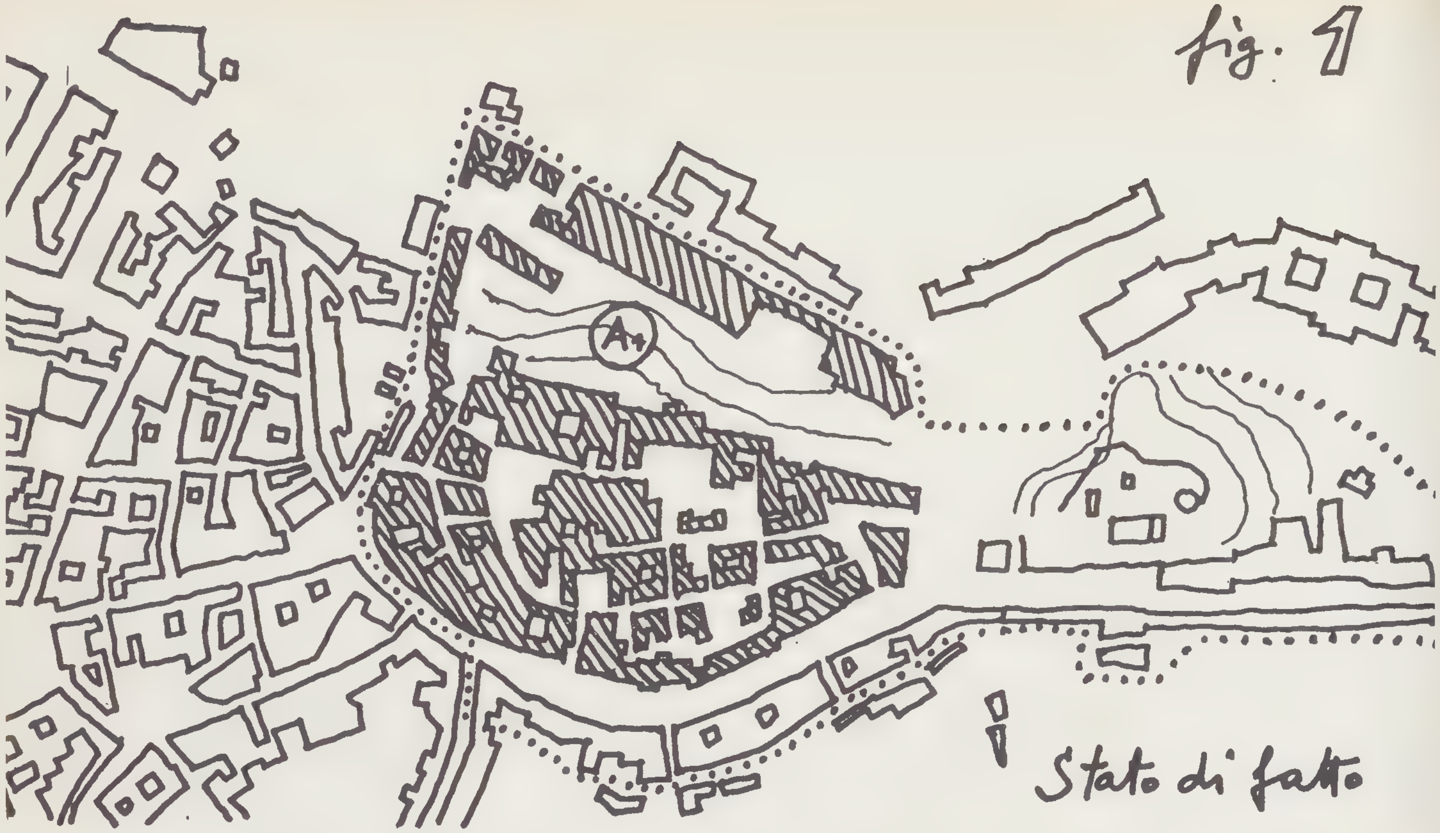


The Theatre of Avellino



Elevation of the Piazza Castello

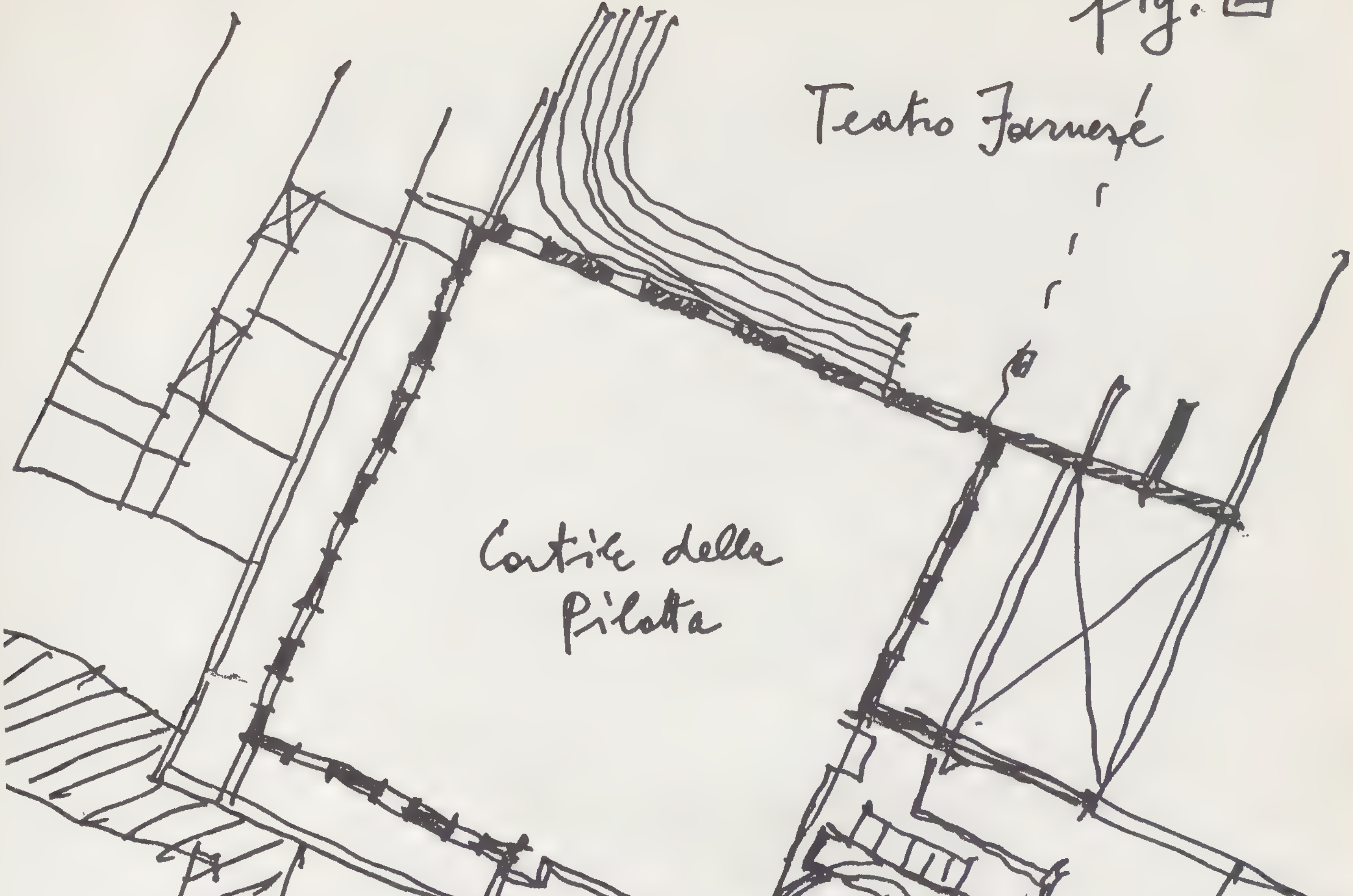
fig: 1



La trasformazione e valorizzazione dell'Acropoli: una parte di città formalmente compiuta.



fig. 2



Il Teatro Paganini come "completamento" della Pilotta e delle 3 Piazze in Parma.

fig. 3



la casa della cultura



L'intervento architettonico del Teatro "completa" il tessuto urbano



Il Conservatorio

The Design for the City's Historic Centre
(Cultural and representational functions of the new theatre facility)

"*The main objective of the design for the state City's Historic Centre is not only to restore the area to its original but transform its even before the earthquake (...)
The original nucleus (A,) is seen as an integral part of the area that includes Corso Umberto, the Castle and the surrounding area along the highway by-pass because even in this phase it is important to envision a usage plan for the area in which greater emphasis is placed on the cultural aspect and representative role of the entire facility, aside from its residential character. The central area of the hill (fig. 1) is dominated by the presence of the Cathedral (..). This area, bordered by Via del Seminario on the lower edge, is almost entirely devoted to religious and cultural activities; it is a civic Acropolis and precisely for this reason it has been linked to the area of the Castle to broaden the range of typologies present in the overall context, given the presence of the new Music Conservatory on an adjacent site (...). The northern group of buildings was designed with a very broad typology in mind, in order to encompass a great variety of cultural activities and a small residential area (...). It's expansions will be towards the north and will include an indoor theatre and a mixed-use facility*".

This was the outline of the first phase of the project for a General Regulatory Plan in Avellino (1984).
It should be noted that the theatre did not have the decisive role, as far as size and usage, that was intended for it until the formulation of the competition guidelines.

What is the Theatre Today
(An attempt to define multiple use facility)

"*(...) Francastel makes the pointed comment that in the history of the theatre the building itself has developed with significant delays with respect to the emergence of new forms of dramaturgical thought, the establishment of new relations between the audience and the stage, etc. A case in point would be the famous 'Ludic enclosure', heralded by Renaissance theatre, which was not to become a physical reality as a well thought-out spatial/environmental solution until about 1830, with the advent of gas lighting in theatres, which made it possible to create a lean line of demarcation, separating the stage from the public (until then, the lights had remained lit during the entire course of the performance). Whereas today even outdoor performances generally held at night make use of flooodlights and spotlights on stage, while leaving the audience area dimly lit to create the required 'luminous enclosure' (...).
So, from an historical point of view, the invention of a new type of theatre space reflects the completion of a process of understanding, the cultural institutionalizing of a specific combination and array of functions. Rather than promoting*

a new approach, it denotes the fact that this process has been completely absorbed, to the point of saturation, and, if anything, marks the beginning of a crisis. The architect is not called upon to re-invent the theatre, but to construct a theatrical room: his task is not to predict, but to configure.

"Somewhat less formally speaking, perhaps we can say that the task of the theatre architect is that of designing and establishing, based on socio-historical conditions which have been previously defined and acknowledged, a performance and meeting place protected from the noise and perils of the traffic, accessible, practical, reasonably confortable, with suitably good acoustic and visual characteristics. The architect must give a stage (that is, invent a buildable solution) to such a complex node of the social life of a city by creating a district, a centre, a theatre space; I must be a structure open to the world of the living 'hic et nunc', rather than a scenographic framework for hypothetical stagings, for dramaturgies, audiences, theatres of an unpostulatable tomorrow (hypothesized only by the voracious and reductivist fantasies of directors) (fig. 2).

"If theatre today has a particular character — and here is the definition we had decided to avoid attempting — it is precisely that of not having any. Its vitality, where no clue can be found in its confused dramaturgical trends or in the unfortunate propensities of the audience, seems to be tied to its capacity to welcome and mix the most divergent forms of performance and the most heteroclite and extravagant forms of assembly and interaction.

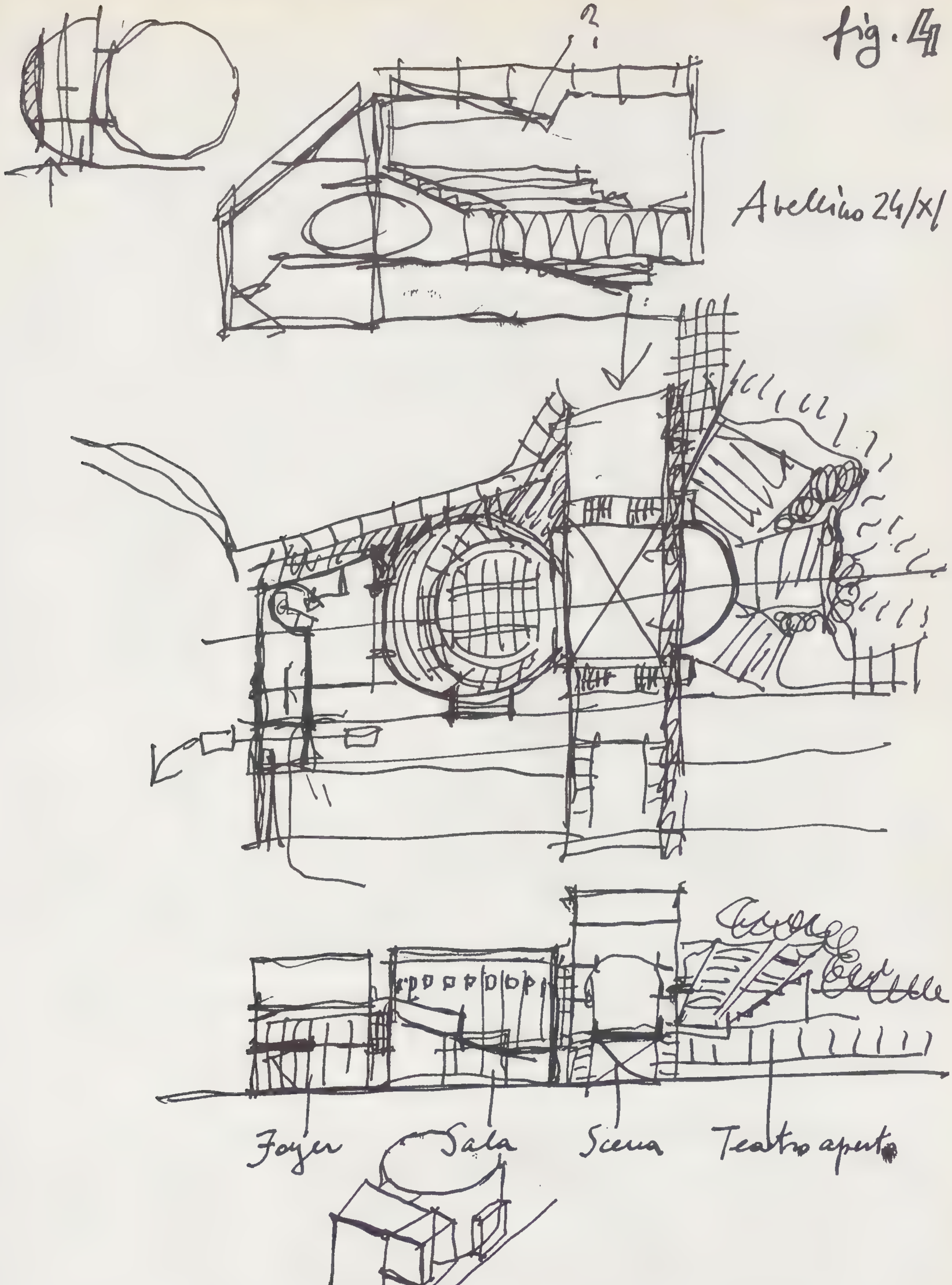
"Why should an architect reject, on principle, any type of functional contamination of a theatrical space, when theatre today seems to be ready, in its need for new oxygen, to inhale even the most blatant contaminants? In other words, if theatre today wants (fig. 3) *to claim to be theatre on the basis of how successful it is in its attempt to assimilate all that is other-than theatre, why must an architect limit himself, in designing a theatre, to the creation of a structure which can never be anything except a theatre? For no good reason at all, it would seem".*

Vittorio Sermonti, in his presentation of Paganini/Aymonino theatre in Parma, 1964.

The Site

(The new theatre facility as the completion of the City's Historic Center; maximum ease of pedestrian and vehicular access)

The choice of the area for the competition responds well to the guidelines established by the General Regulatory Plan, in its post-earthquake version, re-establishing the importance of the city centre (reconstruction of the buildings along Corso Umberto; renovation and use of the Cathedral, creation of a cultural centre in the Victor Hugo house) enlivening it with a structure such as the multi-functional indoor and outdoor theatre which the city previously lacked, and which reinforces, along with the Conservatory (already


fig. 4
Avellino 24/XI
Foyer
Sala
Scena
Teatro aperto

10/XI/86

fig. 5

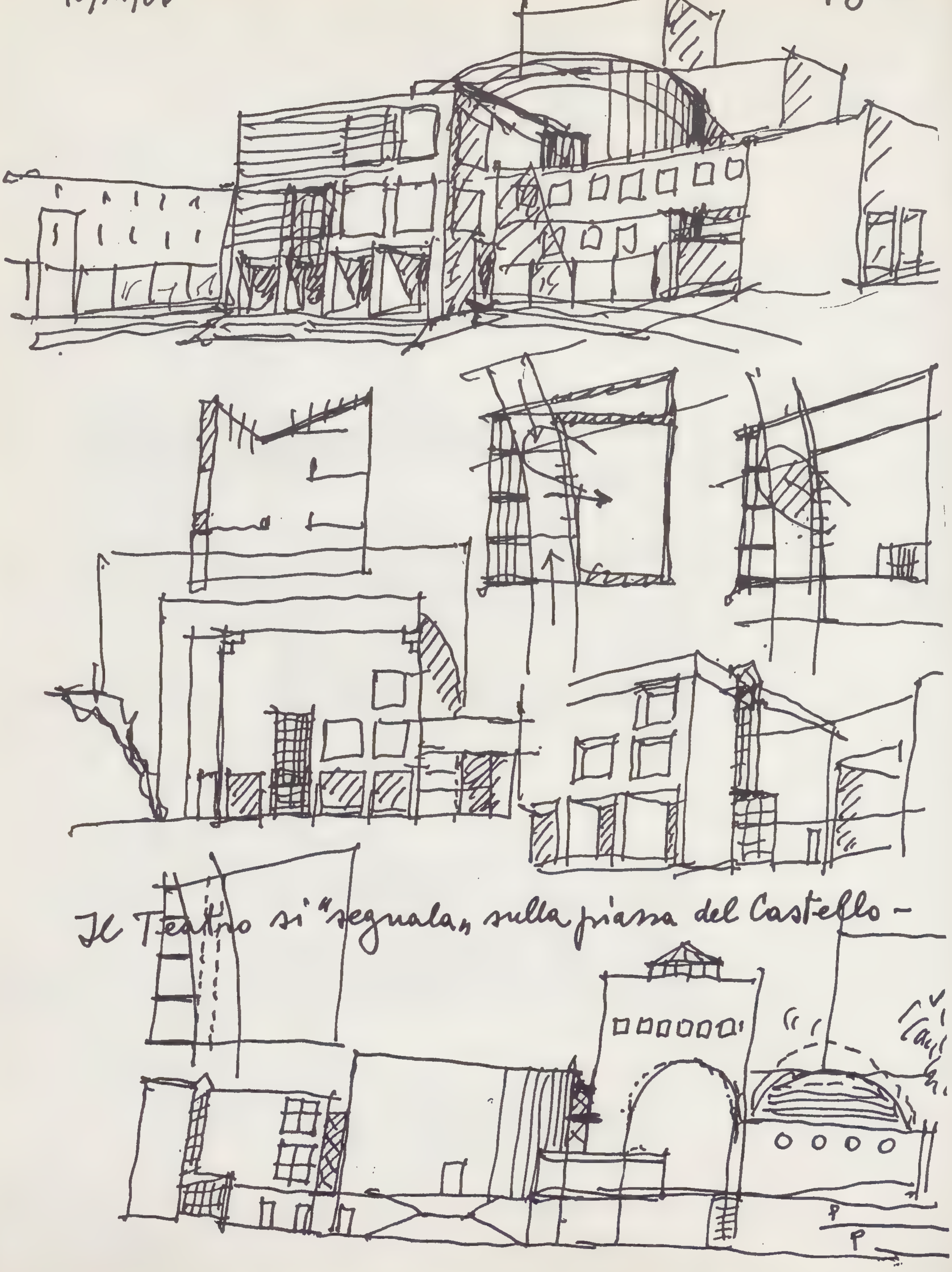
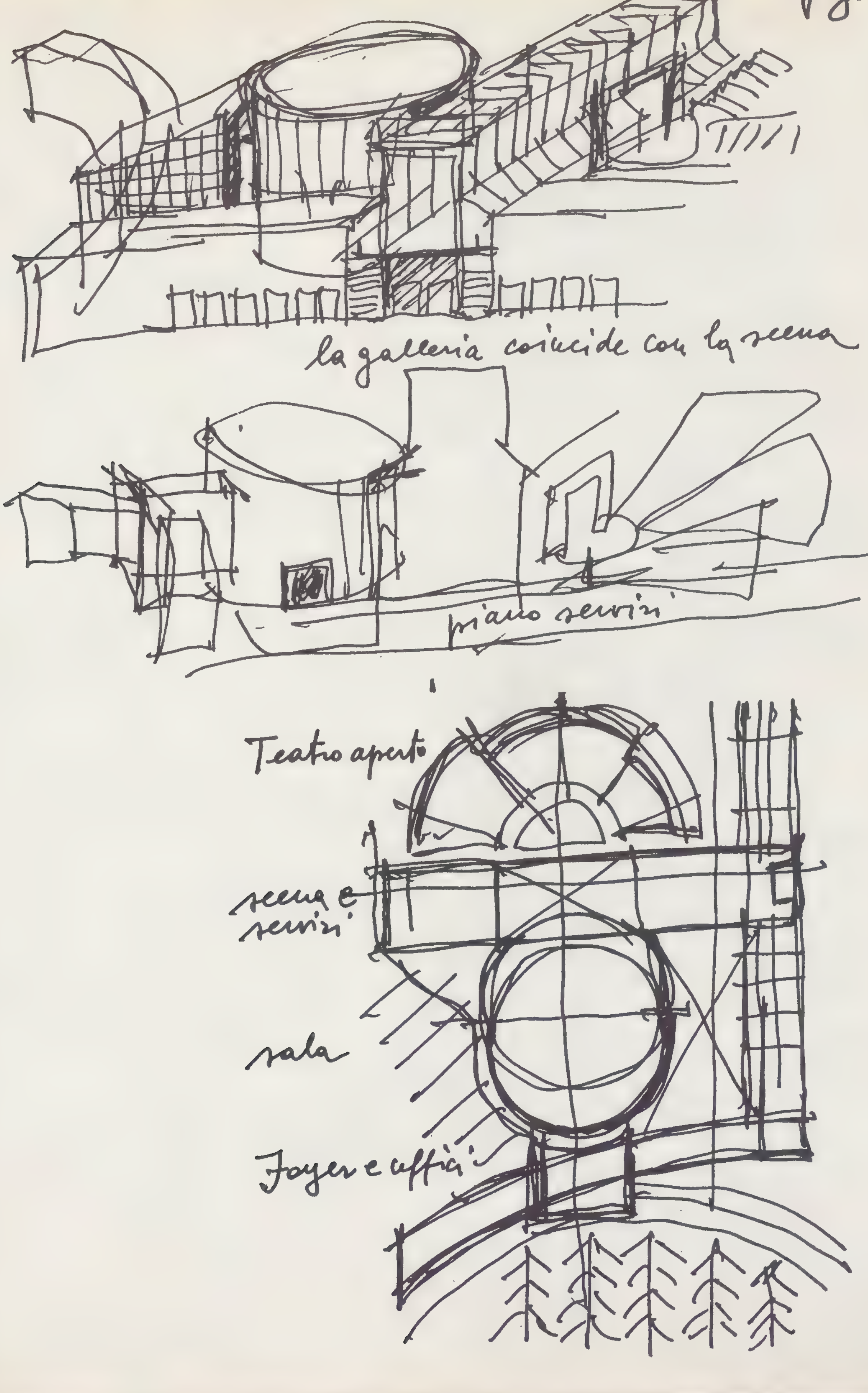
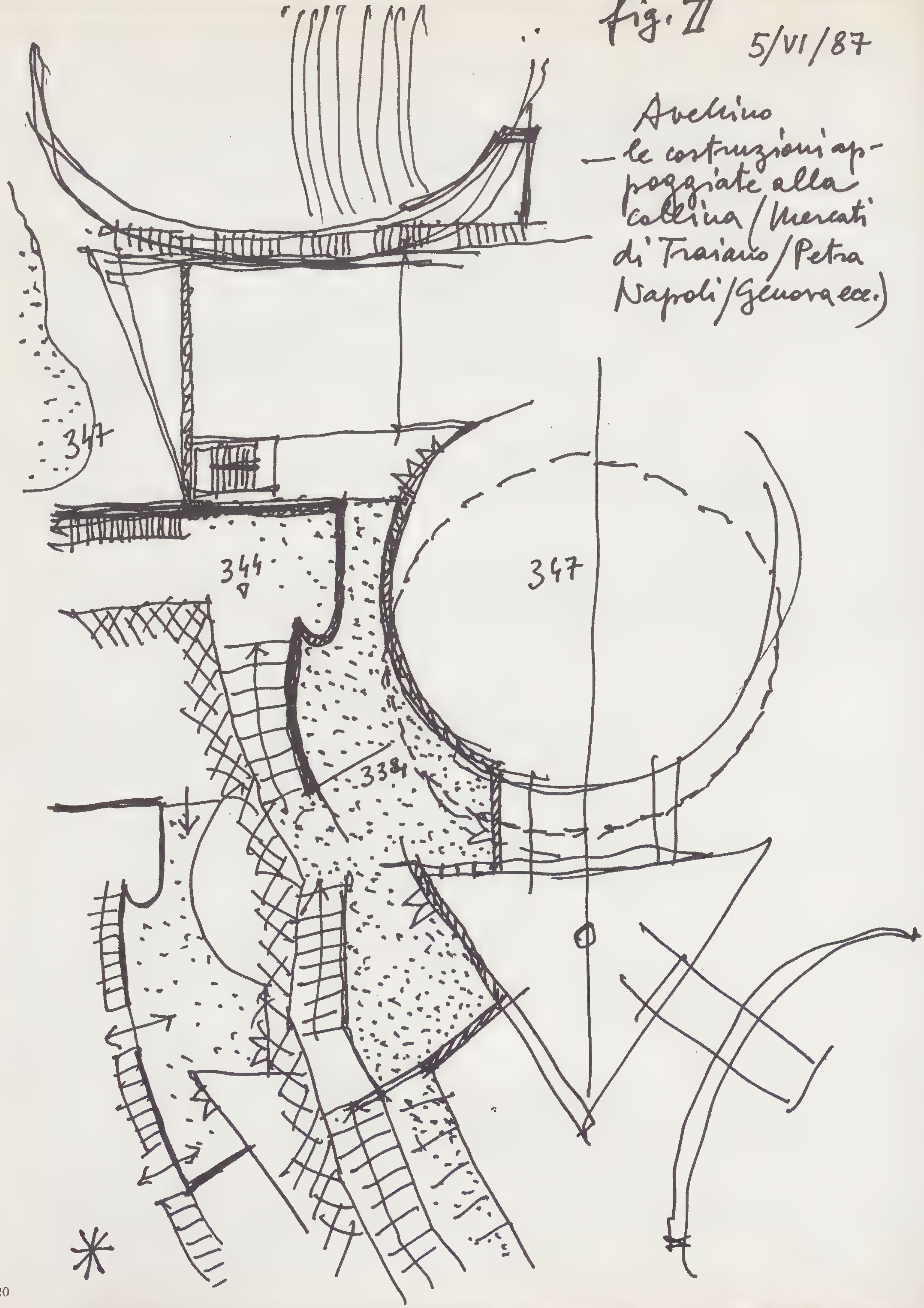


fig. 6


la galleria coincide con la scena
piano servizi
Teatro aperto
scena e servizi
sala
Foyer e uffici


fig. VII
5/VI/87
Avellino
— le costruzioni appoggiate alla collina (Mercati di Traiano / Petra
Napoli / Genova ecc.)
347
344
347
338

built) and the renovation of the Castle, the area's desire to become a focal point for cultural and recreational activities. The entire theatrical facility is treated, right from the first studies, an element of transition as between the pedestrian zone of the hill and the highway by-pass near the Acropolis (figs. 4, 5).
It is precisely this choice of siting, including dramatic differences in elevations which guarantees that the new structures will enjoy maximum use, both as a performance space and as a conference centre and dance school. For this reason there are numerous means of access: on foot from the hill and the park as well as from the walkways of the new retail/residential building, also a part of the Detailed Regulatory Plan; access by car is through a visitors and a service entrance each of which have been provided with a parking area. Vehicular access is from the valley and does not have to cross the traffic of the highway by-pass.
The large pedestrian walkway at elevation 384.40 (+19.80) provides an entrance to the Piazza Belvedere above the hall, connected to the public services area for conferences (bar and restaurant) establishes the necessary link between the two systems, which in the future will perhaps be further reinforced by the construction of a footbridge over the highway by-pass increasing the number of access points.
Thus a choice between pedestrian or vehicular traffic, such as that proposed by many City Historic Centres, was avoided, in favour of an architectural solution which takes both into account.

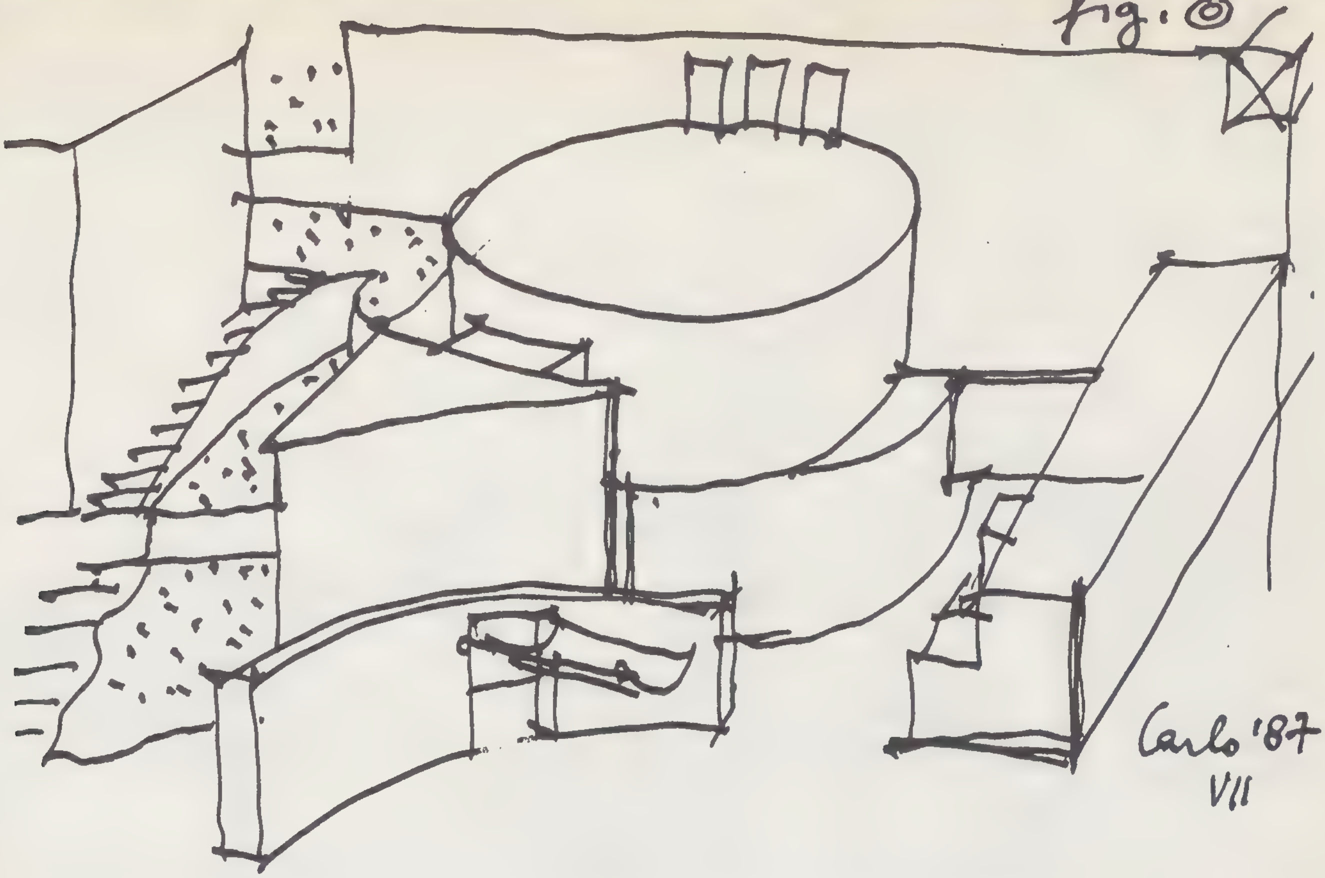
Elements of the Detailed Regulatory Plan
(Discrepancies with respect to competition guidelines. The new theatre facility as a link between the Acropolis and the valley; making better use of Piazza Castello)

A significant difficulty — in terms of dimensions, boundry and the relationships between the components — was brought about by certain discrepancies, regarding both quantity and quality, in the guidelines of the competition (art. 3: 1000-1200 seats for the indoor theatre and 1500-2000 for the outdoor stage) with respect to the specifications of the most recent version of the Renewal Plan (illustration 5: 800 seats indoors, and about the same number outdoors).
This meant an extensive revision of ideas for the siting of the buildings, their size and shape, while certain other elements remained the same, such as the access from the ex-Piazza Maggiore, the fact that some of the new buildings along the highway by-pass would be intended for public uses and, above all, the architectural and functional impact of the new facility in Piazza Castello (fig. 6).
It is precisely this new element that will give the piazza a decisive role in the historical urban structure, once it is "completed". By facing onto the piazza the three cultural buildings, differentiated one from another but also acting as parts of a whole (the Conservatory, the Castle and the Theatre), will turn the square into a public space "*par*

excellance", superceeding its role as a street connection between Corso Umberto and the highway by-pass.
Finally the relationship between the Acropolis and the new Piazza Castello will be further emphasized architecturally by the new facility while keeping intact the pedestrian ramps considered as indispensable access routes by the Regolatory Plan. This will add new itineraries and functions to this area of the city, a key part of the entire renewal project.
The main axis of the building (including the *foyer*, hall, indoor and outdoor performance spaces) — has thus been rotated ninety degrees, so that the new theatre faces directly onto Piazza Castello, where the performance area will be noticeable by its semi-circular volume. There will be both pedestrian and vehicle entrances to the *foyer*.
The limited area available has also made it necessary to use the retaining walls of the various levels, so that about 40% of the perimeter walls of the building "lean" against them (fig. 7). The necessary emergency exits were provided to comply with fire regulations. The open-air theatre is built in such a way as to accentuate the natural slope of the hill, which can also be noticed in the terraces and paths of the adjacent park. Thus the building becomes an artificial link which emphasizes and establishes a relationship between the Acropolis and the valley.

The Architectural Solution
(A facility and detailed solution given the relation with the natural site and the existing buildings)

The theatre has not been conceived as either a backdrop for the piazza or an isolated volume as it funds its place in the urban context. It is rather a facility, detailed structure determined by its functions and by traffic patterns, a true architectonical solution for that specific part of the city; something which, generally, has always been true of buildings which make proper use of significant natural differences in elevations (figs. 8, 9).
(Consider the splendid solution of the Traiano markets or that of the Campidoglio and the Forum in Rome, which include streets, stairs and public walkways within the architecture) (figs. 10, 11, 12).
Thus the theatre appears to the viewer according to the different natural or artificial conditions along its perimeter. Each of its parts is seen in context, and expresses its function (Gilly).
The hemicyclical "stage" which faces onto Piazza Castello and the large portals on the highway by-pass are some of the theatre's most visible elements and could be used as displays for advertising or programs of events.
From the ex-Piazza Maggiore, on the other hand, one can get a glimpse of the opening of the outdoor theatre and its stage. The stage walls separate it, acoustically as well as visually, from the buildings behind it, but do not close off the view. The stage; service areas and offices blend into the context of existing buildings (the apse of the Cathedral and the ex-Victor Hugo house) in terms of dimensions and


fig. 8
Carlo '87
VII

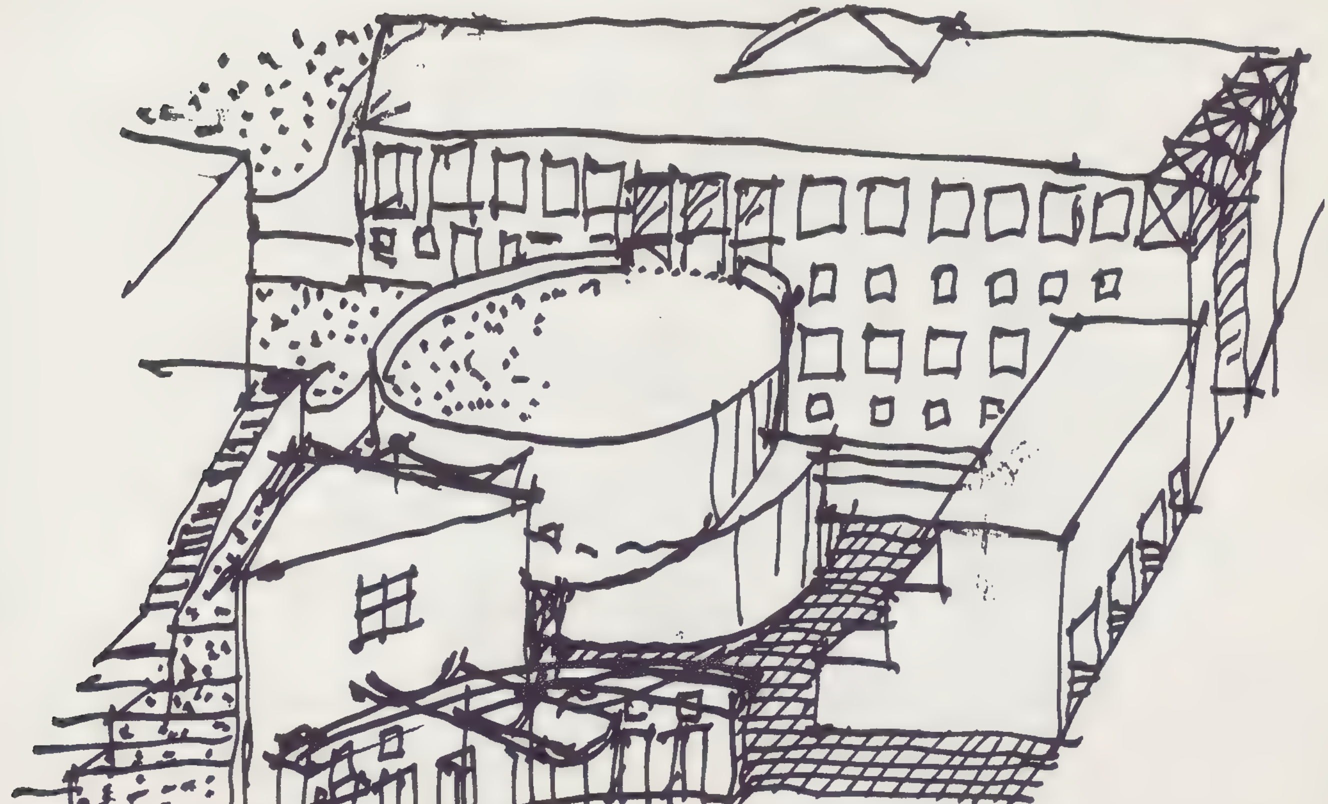
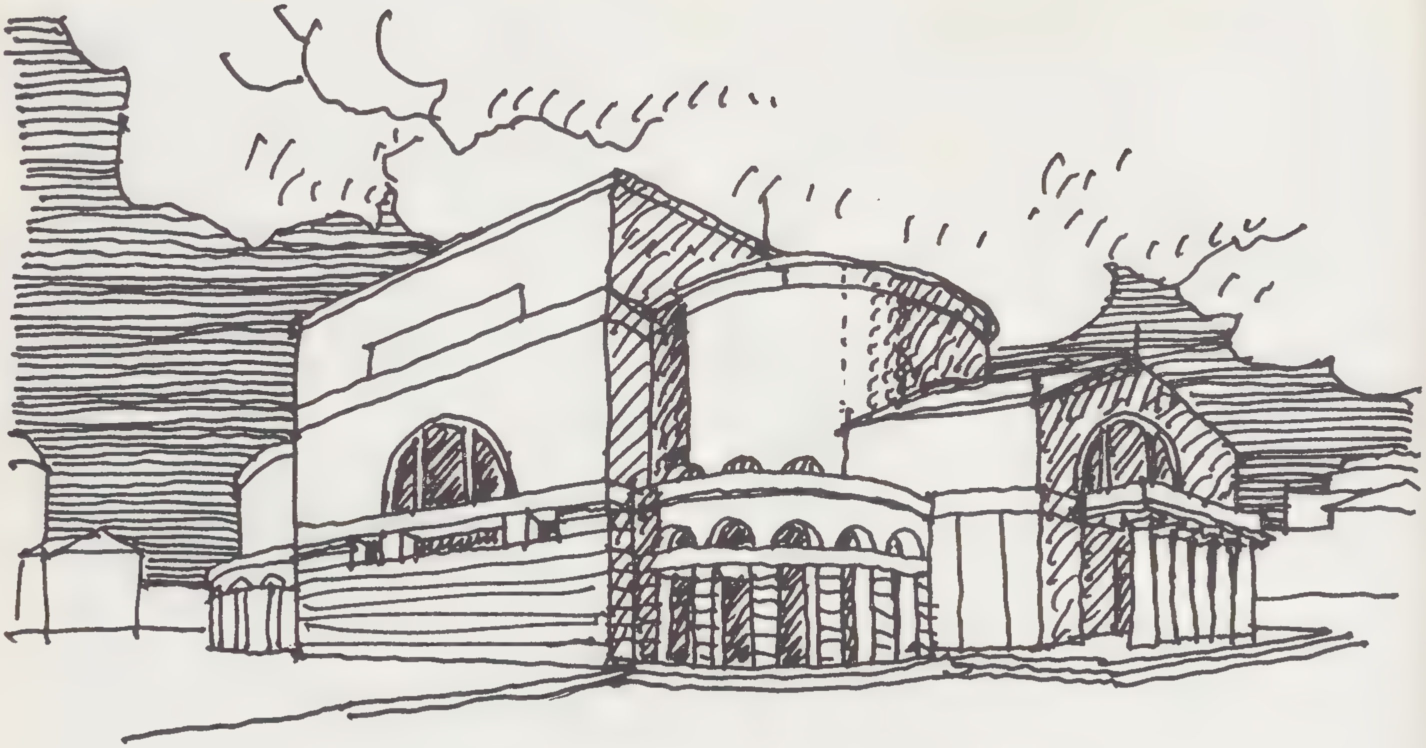

Carlo '87
VII

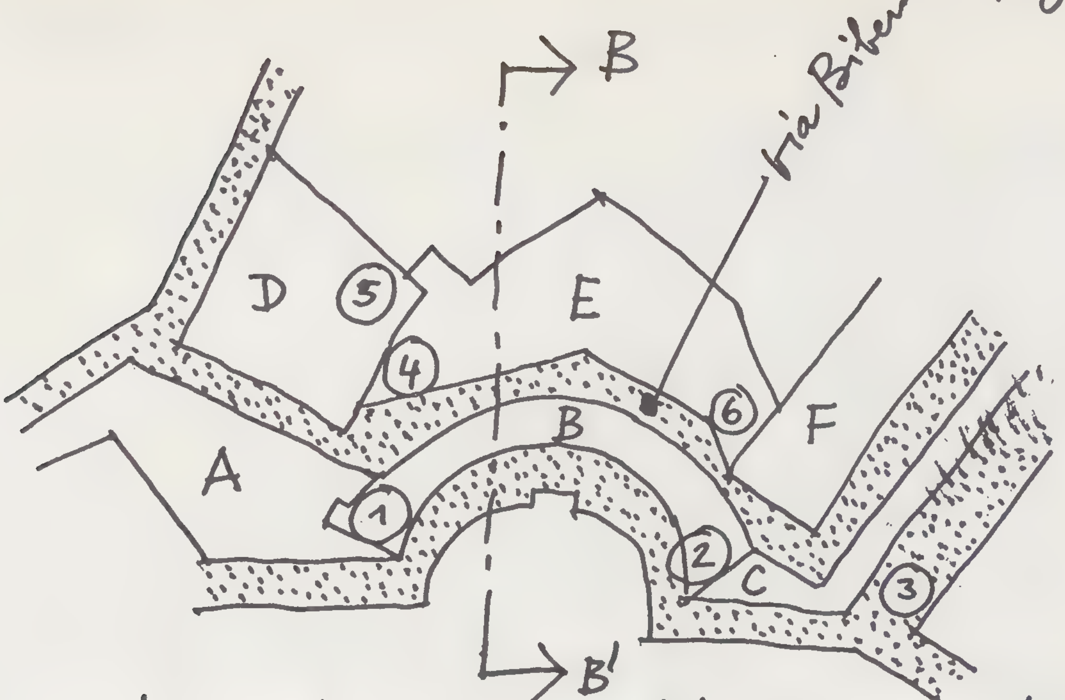
fig. 9



"Al suo ritorno a Berlino nel 1798 Friedrich Gilly lavorò intensamente al progetto per un Teatro Nazionale, che però non è stato costruito; sarebbe stato, nel nuovo genere, il più grandioso di tutti i teatri.
All' esterno dovevano rileggersi le diverse parti, esprimenti ognuna la propria funzione e le decorazioni dovevano essere molto moderate".

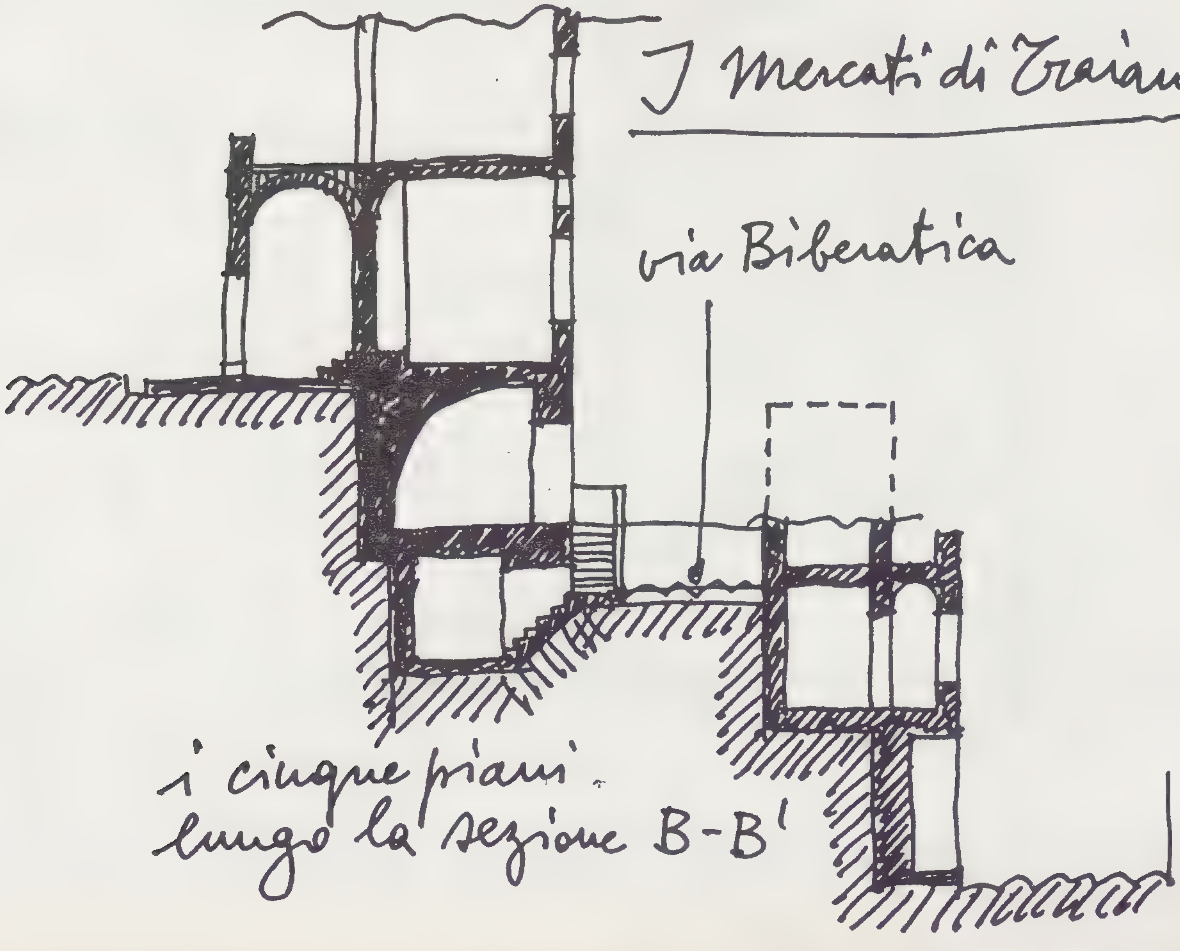
(da Nikolaus Pevsner, Storia e caratteri degli edifici, Palombi editori, p. 104)

fig. 10



Le parti dei Mercati secondo il Mac Donald (puntinate le strade, numerate le scale)

I Mercati di Traiano



i cinque piani lungo la sezione B-B'

fig. 11

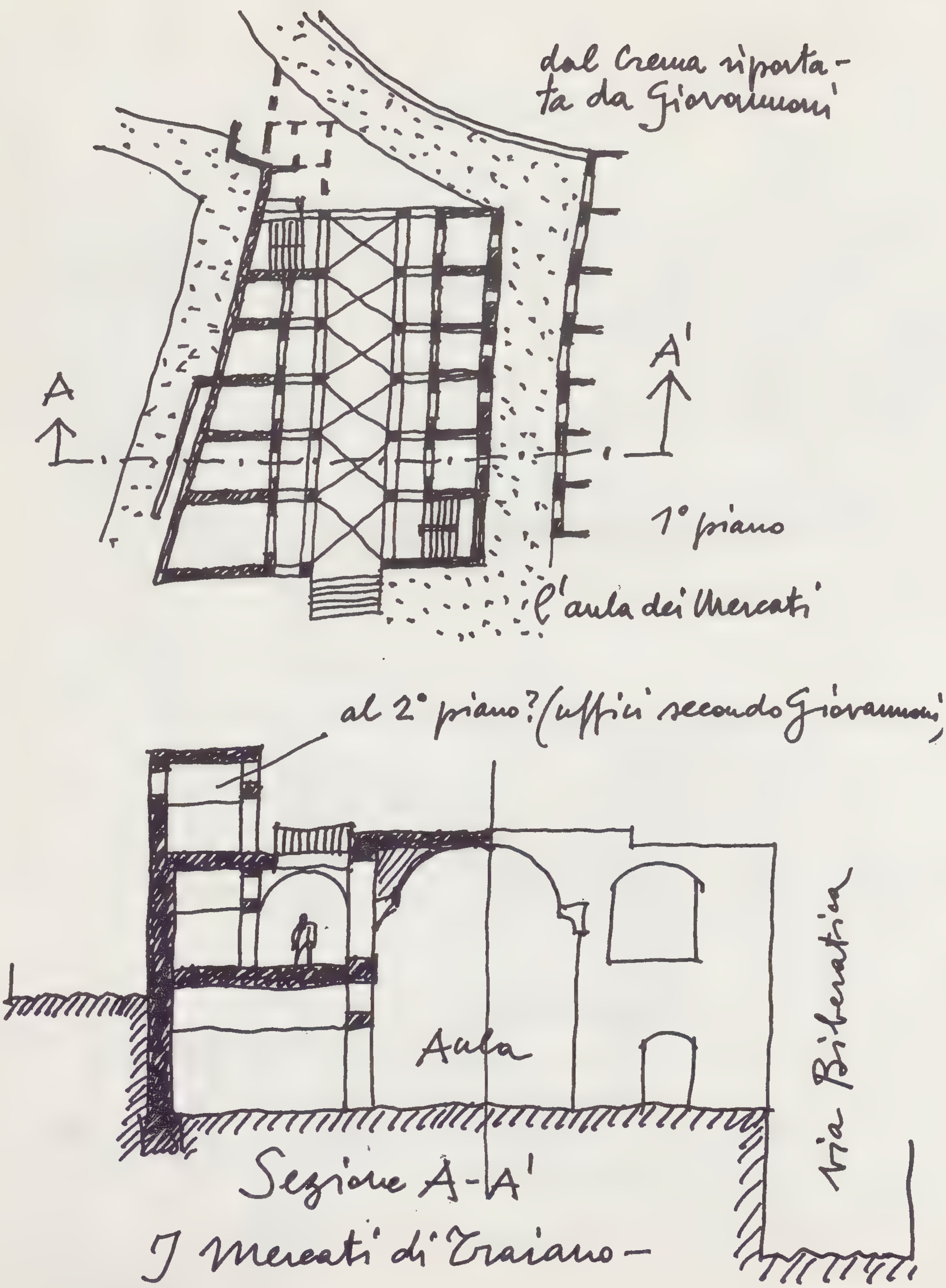

dal Crema riportata da Giovannoni
A
A'
1° piano
l'aula dei Mercati
al 2° piano? (uffici secondo Giovannoni)
Aula
via Biberatica
Sezione A-A'
I Mercati di Traiano -

fig. 12

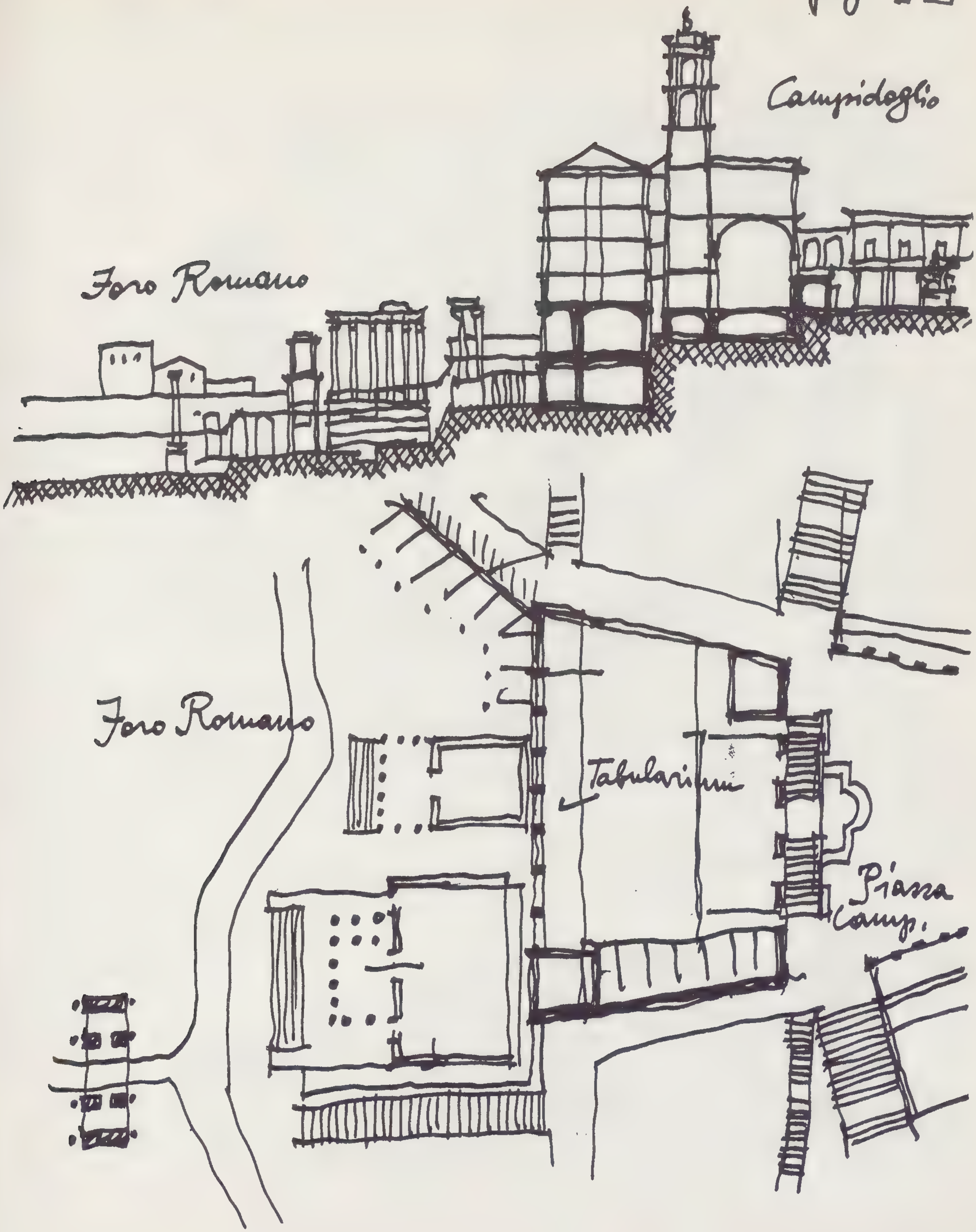
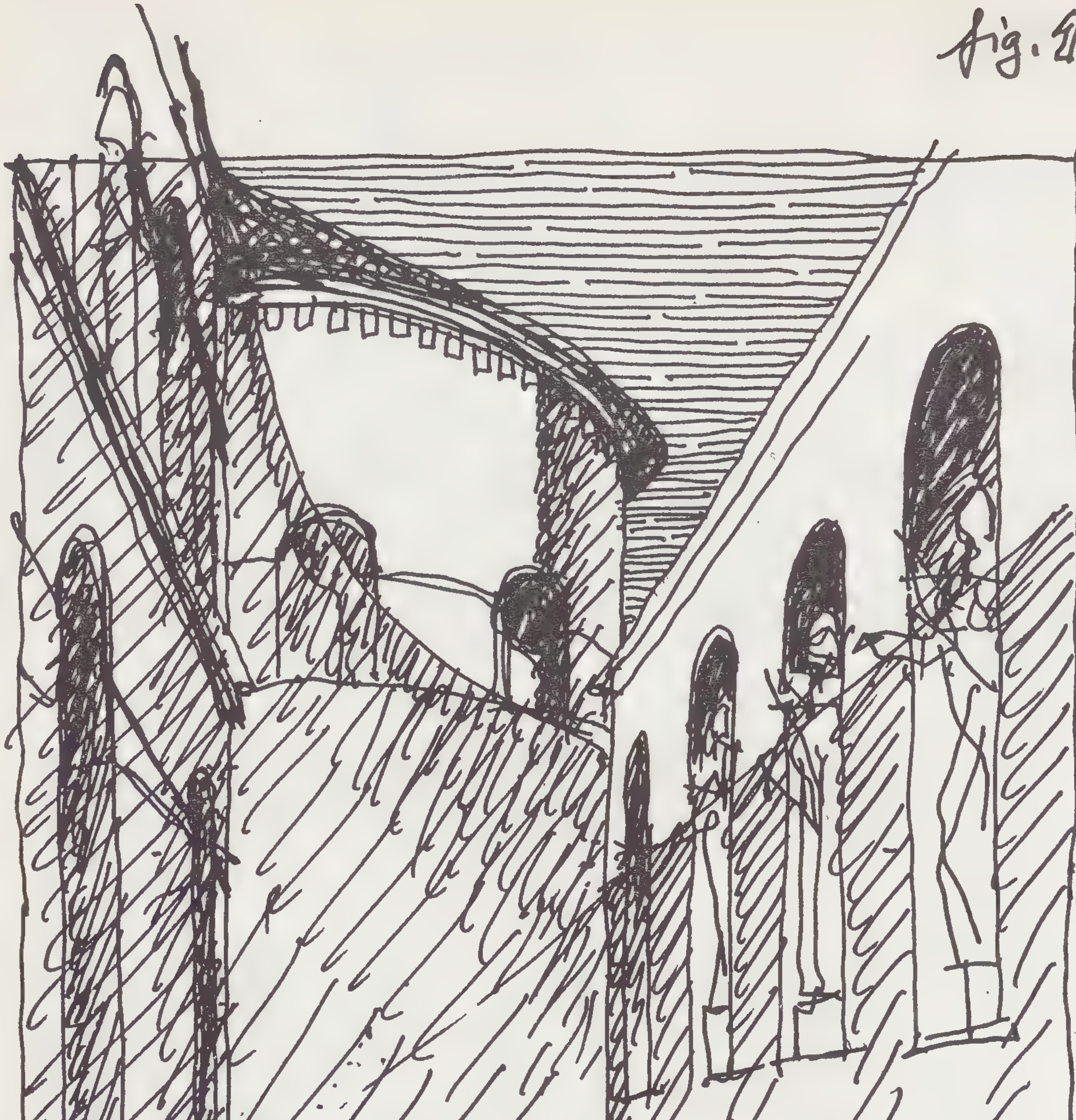

Campidoglio
Foro Romano
Foro Romano
Tabularium
Piazza
Camp.

fig. 13



La strada che fiancheggia l'abside della Basilica di Massenzio —

functionally by including commercial activities into the structure. In the small square at elevation +343.10, contiguous with the ex-Piazza Maggiore, there is a separate entrance for artists and for the dance school, and one can see the upper part of the hall and the *foyer*, and their emergency exits which open to the connecting ramp between the small square and Piazza Castello.
Climbing up to the facility, from below the level of the service road and the pedestrian mall between the theatre and the porticos of the buildings yet to be built and paved, one can see the varied volumes of the facility unfold.
As is often the case in older cities, whether they are of Roman or medieval origin, a fragmentary perception of the exterior hints at the importance and unity of the interior spaces.

The Indoor Theatre

(A single space which can be transformed for different situations, and a stage equipped to handle all the various functions required)

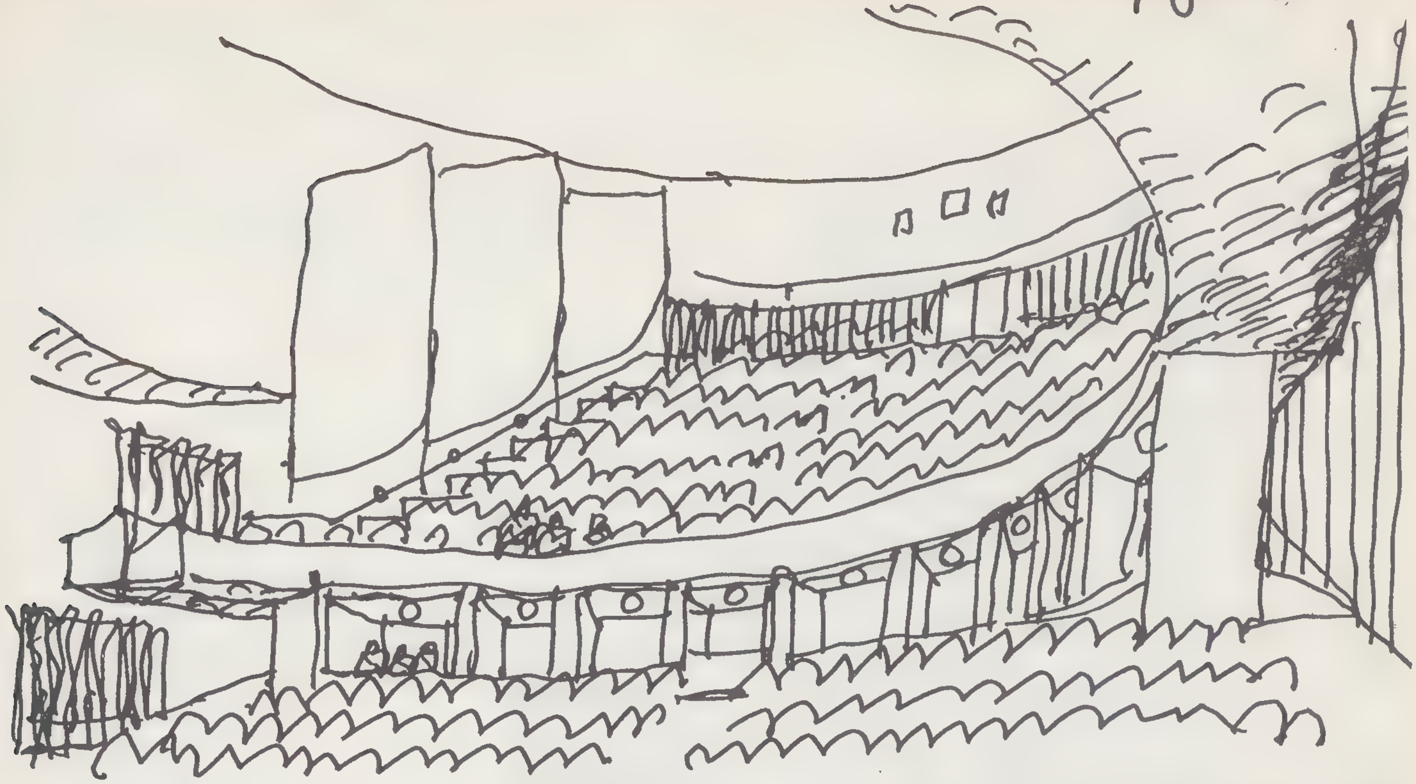
The theatre is at elevation +5.00 above ground level, because of soil characteristics and building distribution. The existence of a covered canal and water seepage eliminated the use of basements for services and equipment. Moreover, these services (equipment, storage, understage areas) must be easily accessible, and are thus best located at the level of the service road.
Of all the parts of the facility, only the hall has been left at elevation 0.00 (+327.50 above sea level) in order to guarantee pedestrian (from the parking area) and vehicular access.
Given the importance of the theatre's location in the city, and the many different uses which will be made of its facilities — since it is not the theatre of a resident company — and keeping in mind the request for 1200 seats, the idea of a single seating area, or orchestra, such as that of the Wagnerian operatic theatre (Bayreuth) was discarded, as was that of the orchestra and balcony arrangement found in many cinemas.
Instead, a circular arrangement was chosen as the best solution (figs. 14, 15) reminiscent of the traditional Italian theatre (which today would be unacceptable in its entirety) with a single row of boxes, which guarantees spatial continuity between the orchestra and the gallery, and the possibility to reduce the size of the room to 720 seats with a moveable wall above the row of boxes in case of events where fewer spectators are to attend. This arrangement guarantees the proper functioning of the facility visually, acoustically and in terms of seating for all types of uses: from opera to concerts, drama to variety, conventions to cultural conferences and political assemblies; for the latter type of event, access to related areas (meeting rooms, office areas, press room, bar, etc.) is provided through the emergency exits to the Northeast, which lead to the building above the covered piazza.

The stage is equipped with all of the equipment needed for performances of grand opera or for television, and is directly connected to the stage of the open-air theatre, which leads to significant economies. This arrangement enables the indoor stage to be used as a side stage for outdoor performances. Both stages can be easily reached by heavy vehicles, for the loading and unloading of sets and equipment.

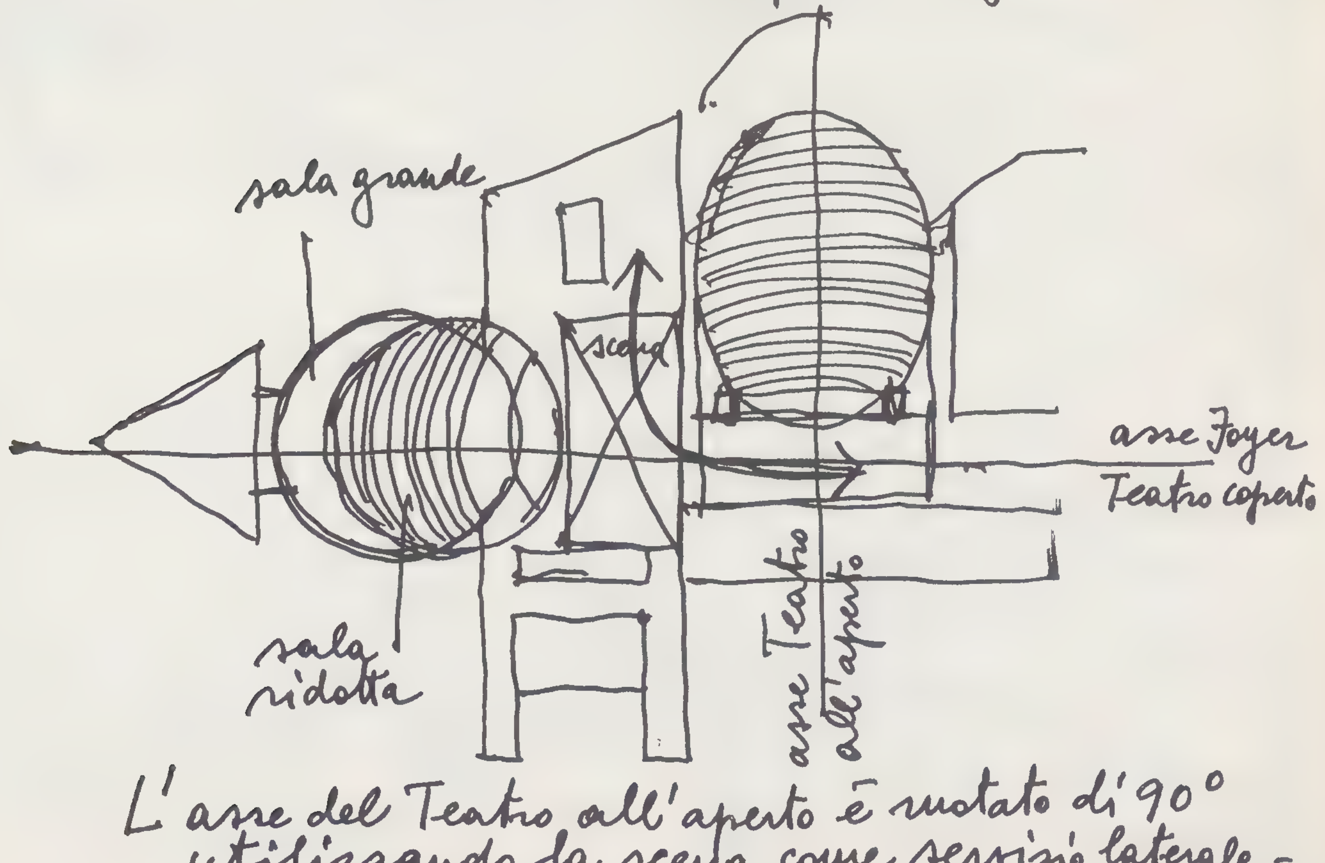
The Outdoor Theatre
(Relating to the natural site and adapting to specific performances. Stages apparatus with equipment incorporated for both theatres)

The first solution attempted placed the open-air theatre along the axis formed by the indoor theatre and the hall, along the lines of ancient theatres.
Upon closer examination this solution did not use the natural difference in elevations which exists on the site. This would have increased the size of the building, reduced the number of seats and taken over much of the area of the public park.
Moreover, experience in the field of theatrical production shows that indoor and outdoor performances should not share the same stage, because of differences in production mechanics, acoustic and safety reasons; the proscenium would also be small and out of scale with respect to the size of the outdoor auditorium, leading to difficulties in the management of the spaces.
Another element to keep in mind is the fact that the type of performance to be held outdoors, in terms of staging, lights, and theatrical content, is usually very different from that of indoor performances (figs. 16, 17, 18).
In any case, an optional shell has been supplied, in order to create the proper acoustics for outdoor concerts of classical music.
The axis of the outdoor theatre was rotated ninety degrees, to provide access from the ex-Piazza Maggiore and from the parking areas.
Finally, the stage is, for the most part, "structured" (if only in depth and height) to shield itself from the buildings behind the theatre and avoid possible sources of disturbance and to create the possibility of specialized stagings and sets which make use of much of the permanent structure, like summer performances in classical theatres unlike the Arena in Verona or the Caracalla Springs in Rome).

fig. 14

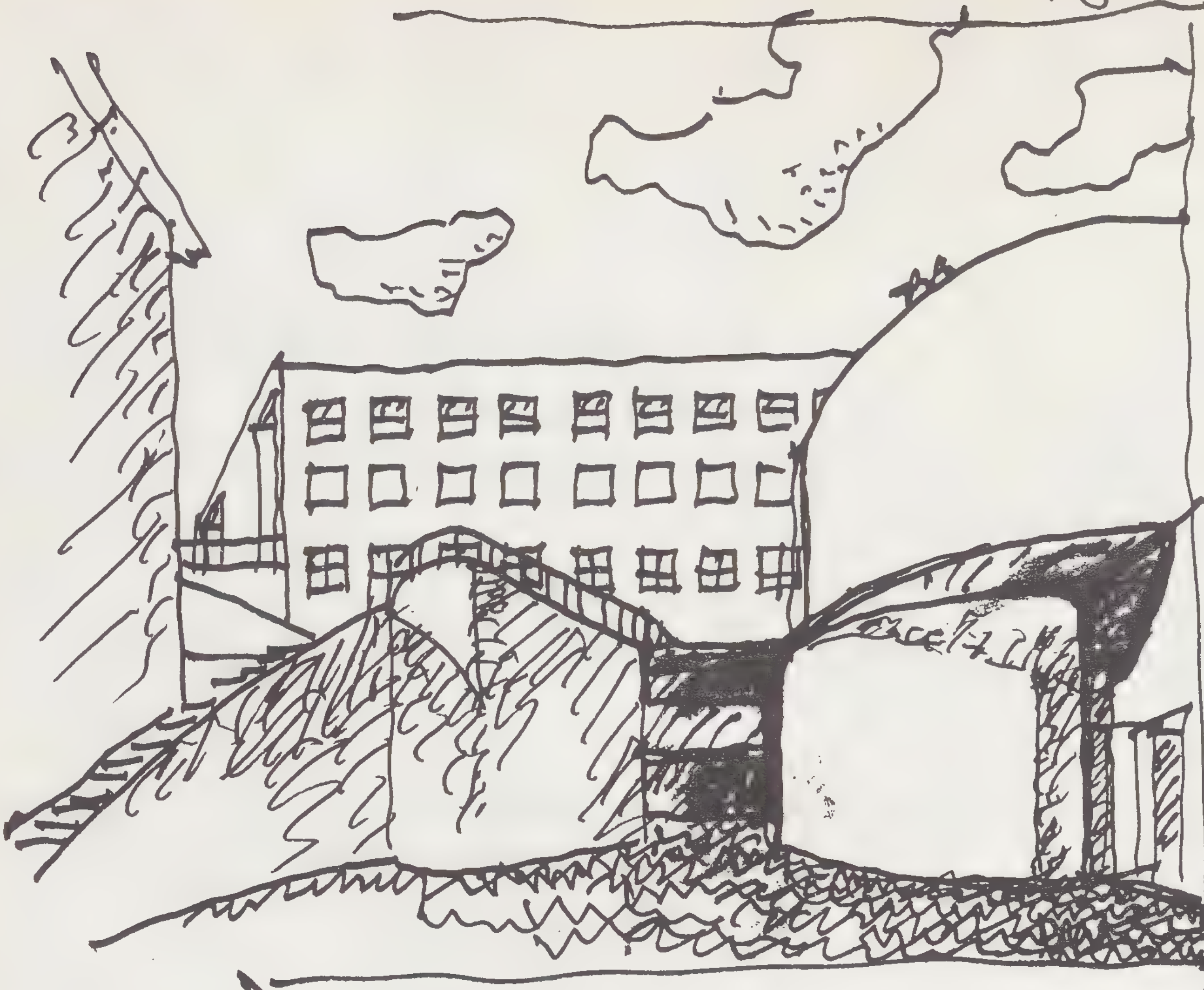


L'unica fila di palchi a garantire la continuità spaziale tra platea e galleria -



L'asse del Teatro all'aperto è ruotato di 90° utilizzando la scena come servizio laterale -

fig. 45



Lo slittamento dei due cilindri della sala si legge anche all'esterno

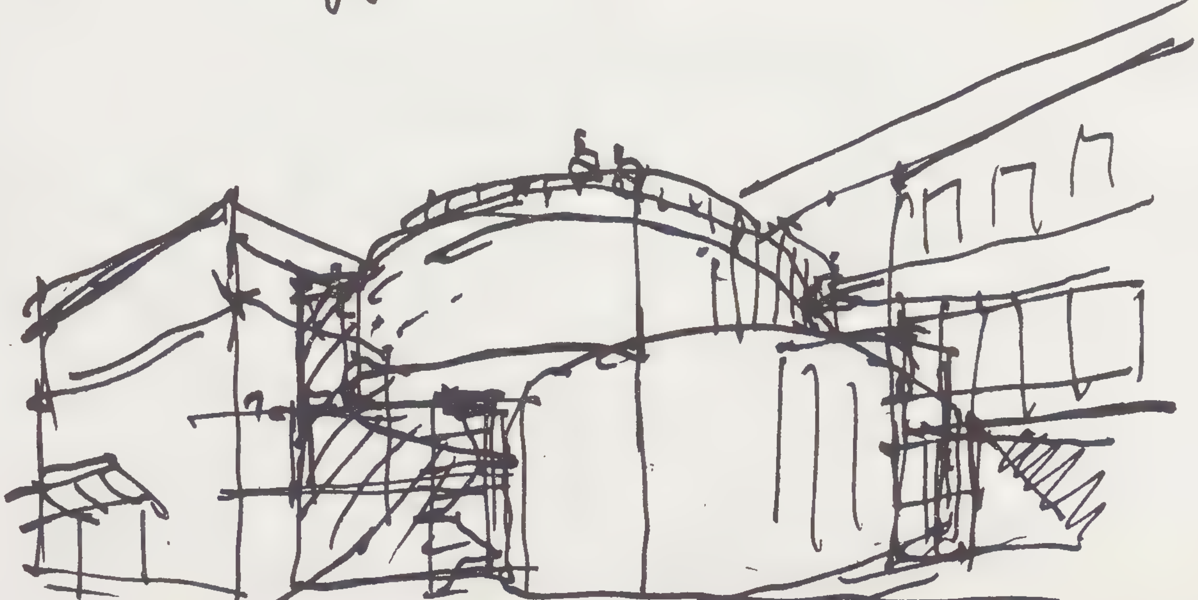
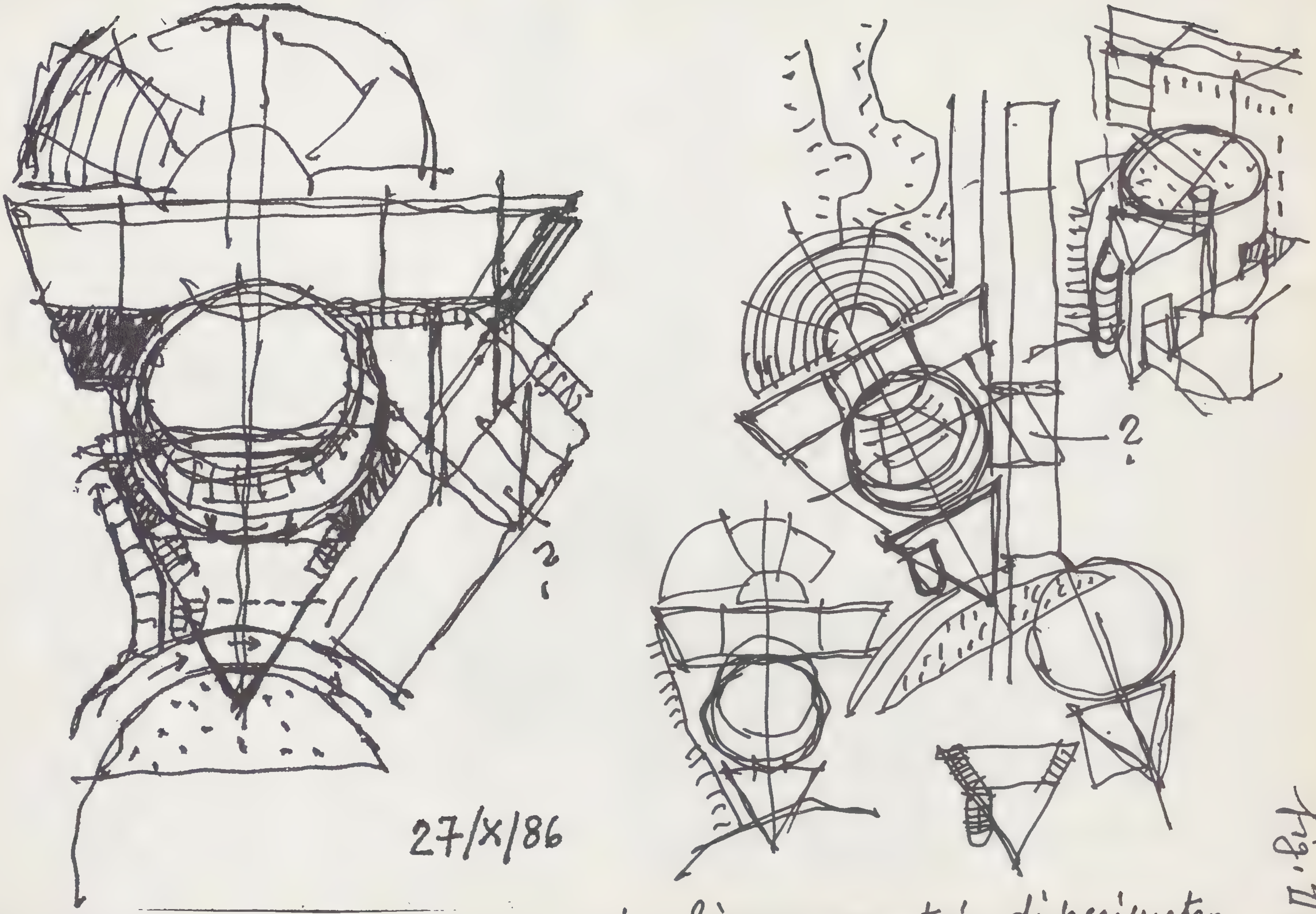


fig. 16



Un unico asse ordinatore e un' unica figura geometrica di perimetro

fig. 17

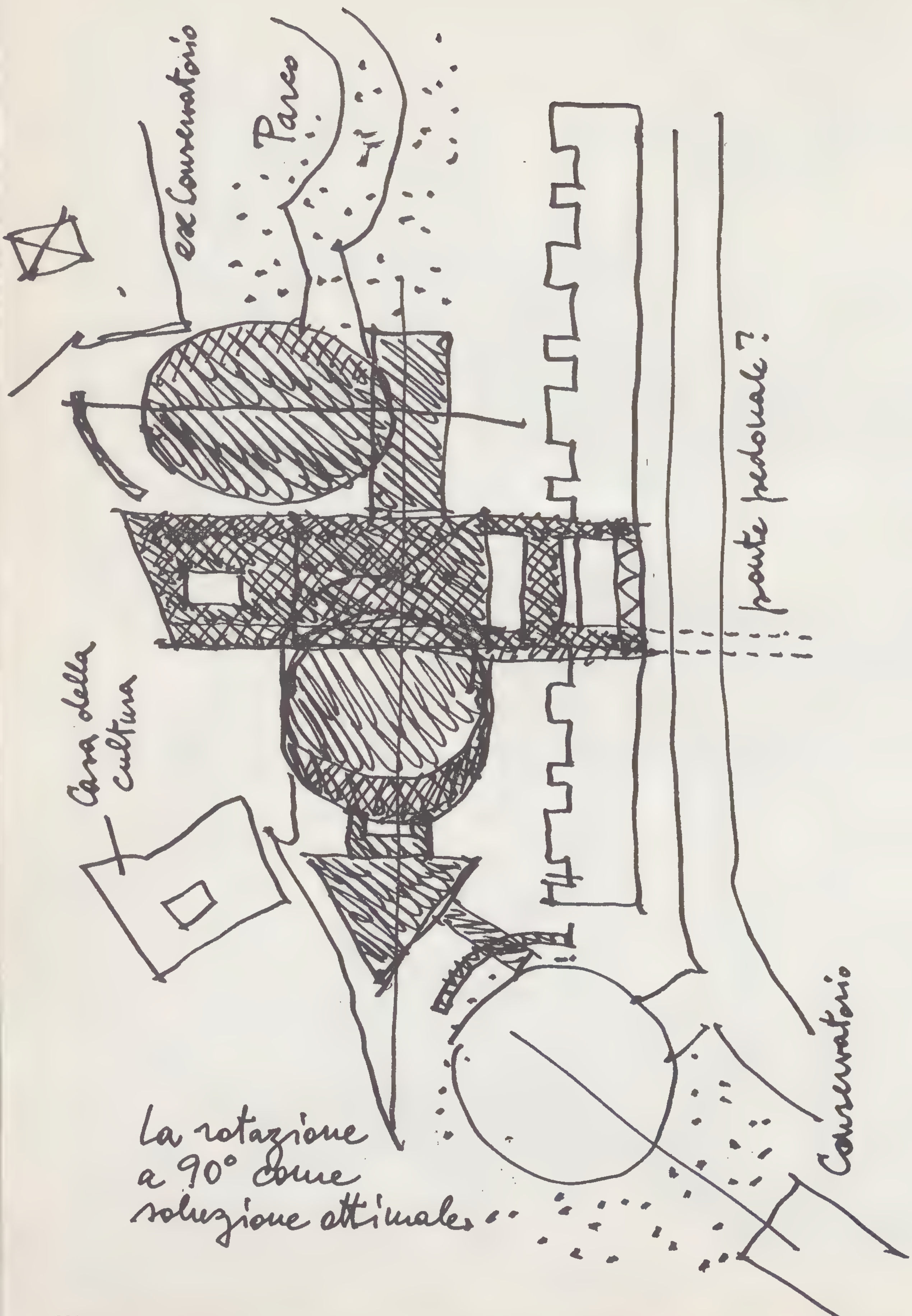
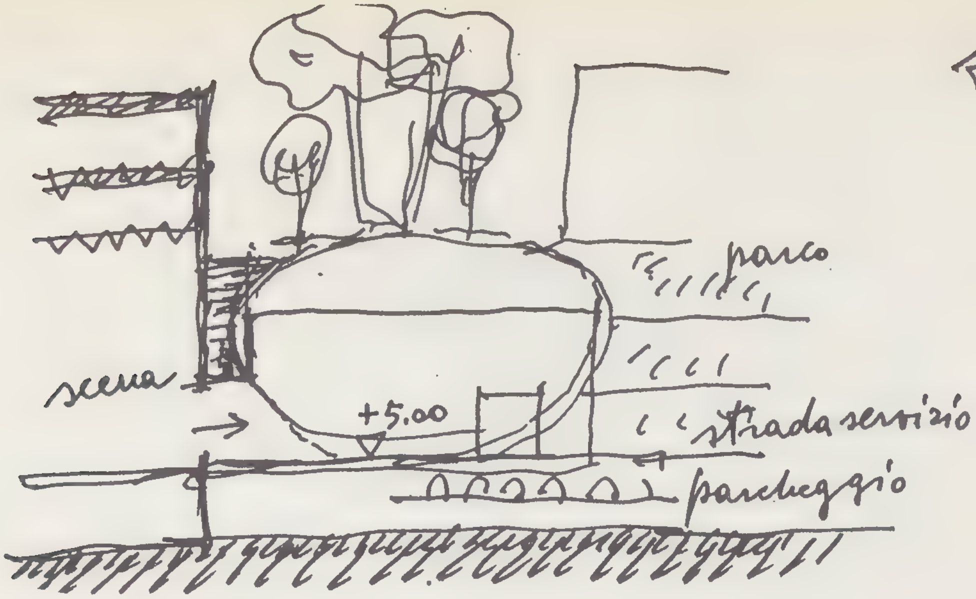
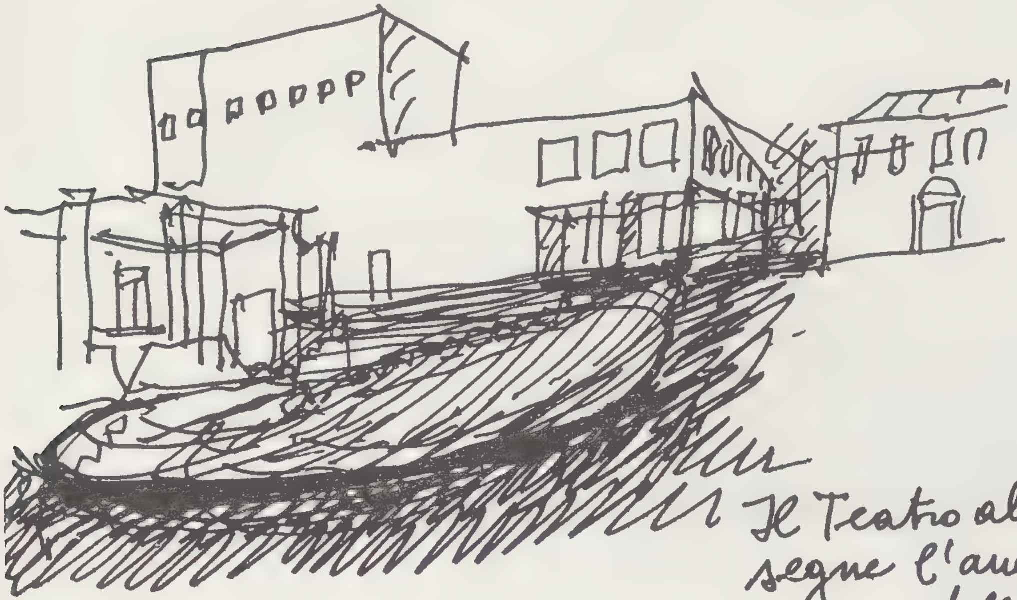
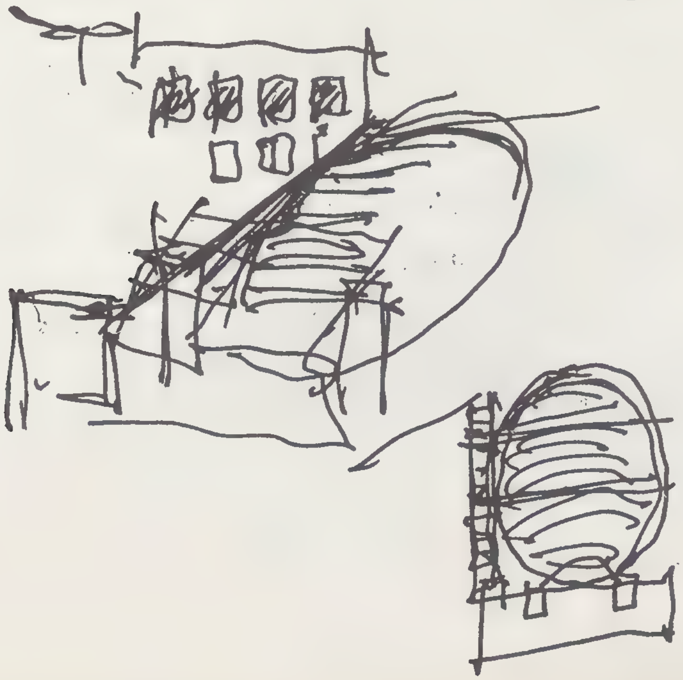

ex Conservatorio
Parco
ponte pedonale?
Casa della cultura
Conservatorio
La rotazione
a 90° come
soluzione ottimale.

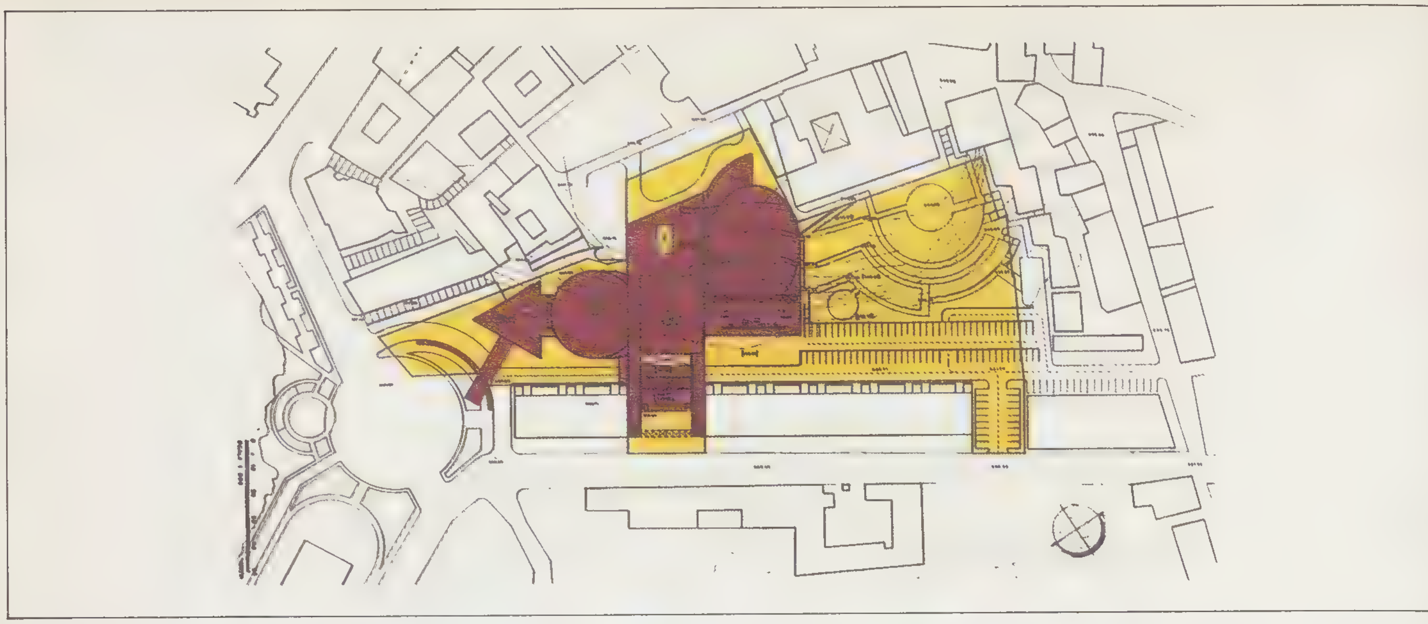
fig. 18

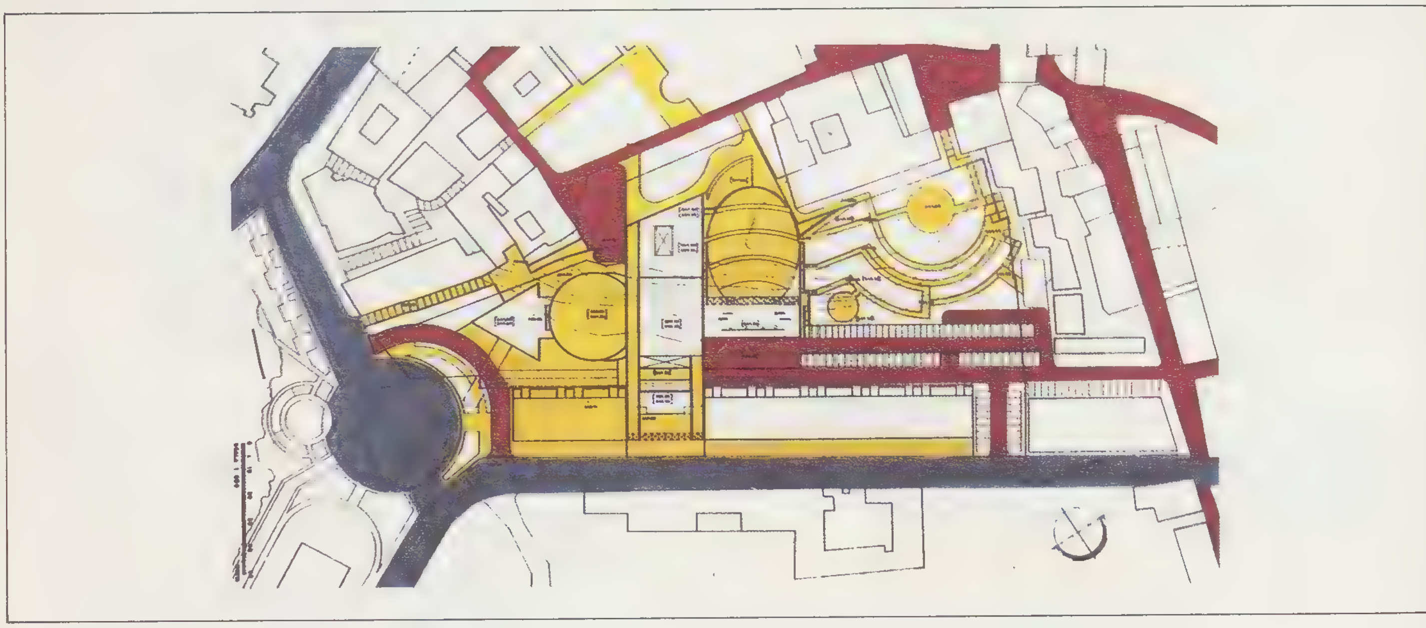


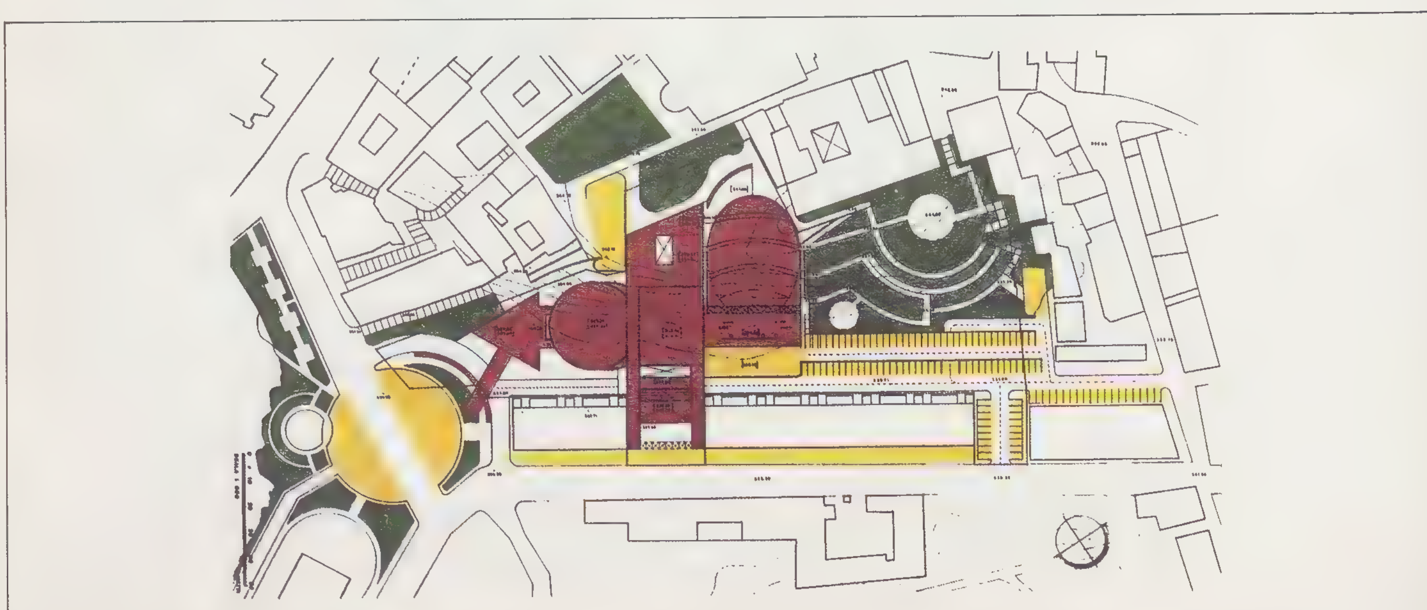


Il Teatro all'aperto segue l'andamento della collina —





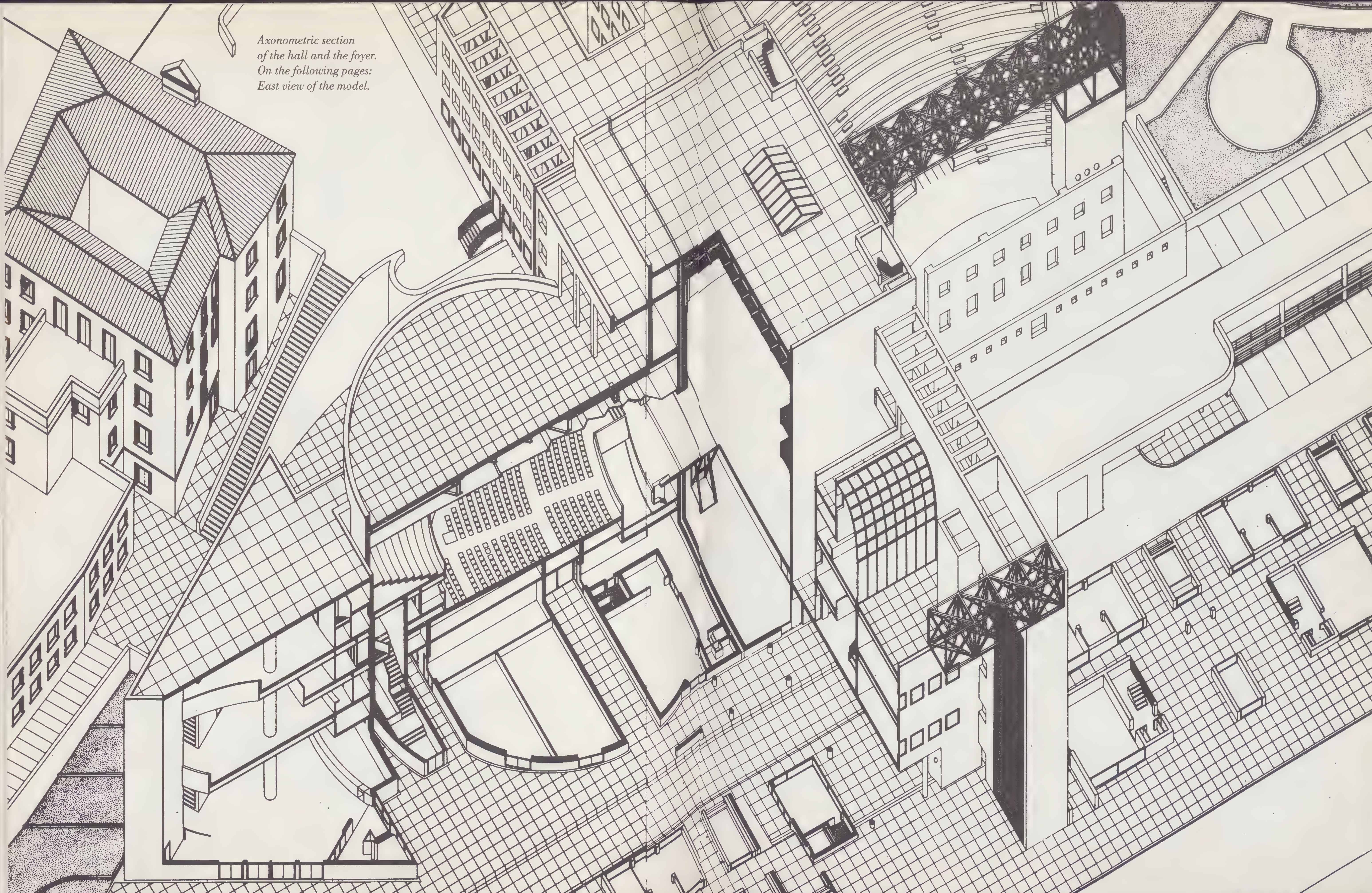


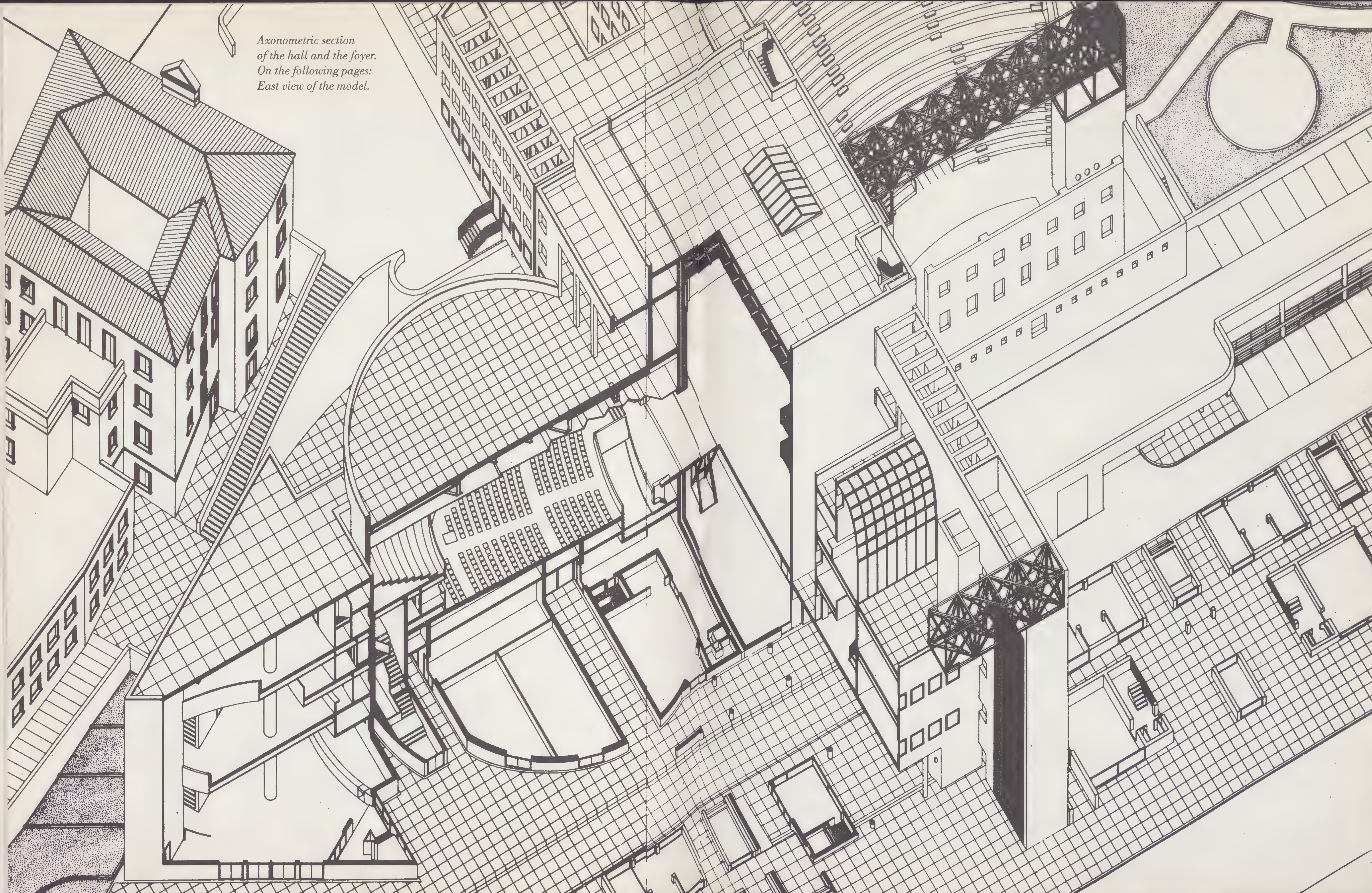


Perimeter of area; the building footprints are hown in red.
The illustration shows the characteristics of the new structures, respecting the existing buildings in the ex-Piazza Maggiore and integrating with the new buildings along the highway by-pass per the latest version of plans for the renewal of the area of the City's Historic Centre. The irregularities and variations in the depth of the plot are typical of infill areas within a historic centre. Significant differences of elevations have been used as much as possible in order to create a complete, detailed architectural solution which does not destroy the continuity of the whole area. The new architecture relates to existing structures, enhancing them in a "system" of spaces, itineraries and plans for different uses.

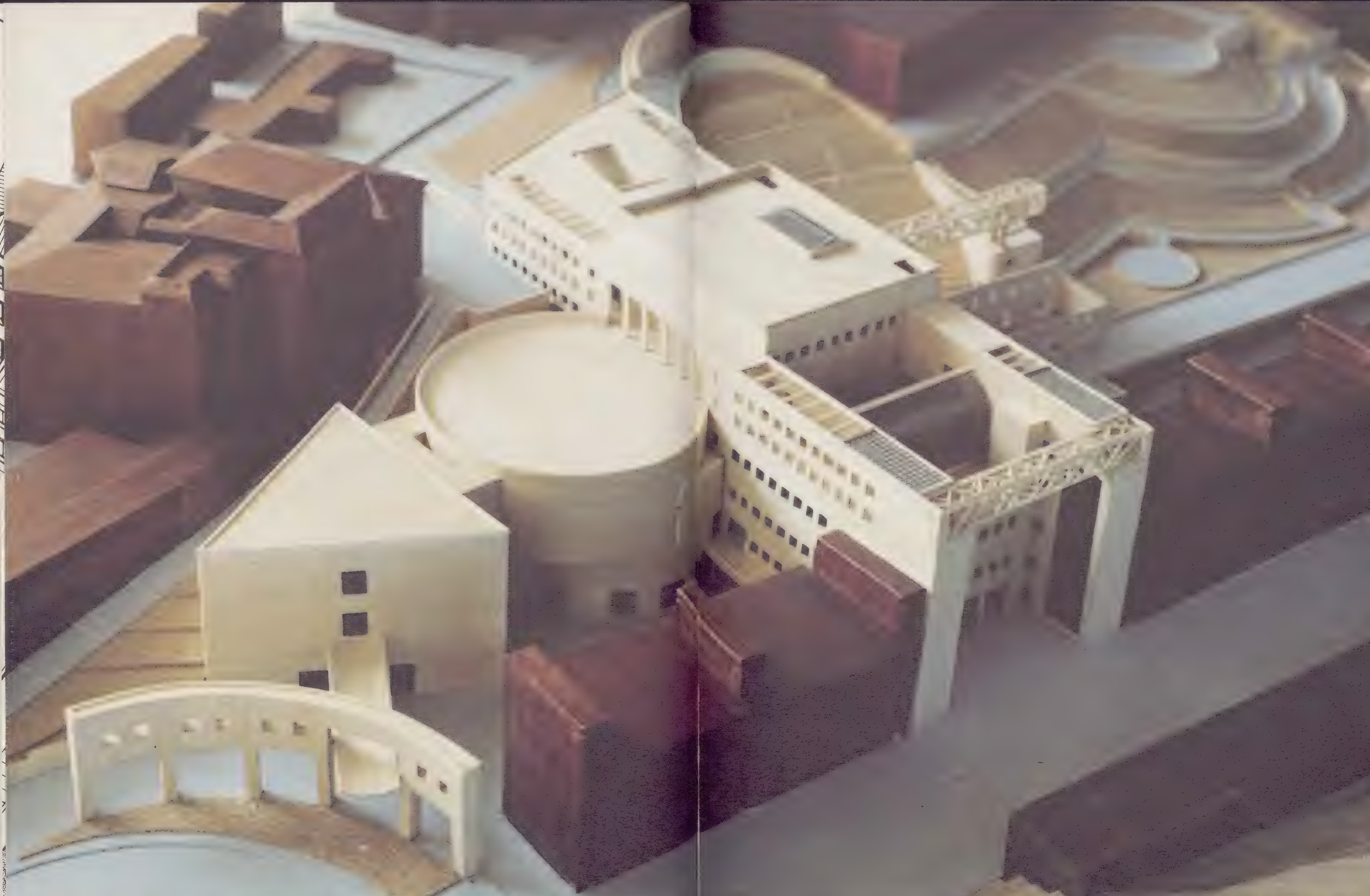
Primary and secondary vehicular access: walkways and pedestrian areas
In keeping with the nature of the architectural solution, the entire system of pedestrian and vehicular traffic has been reorganized, based on the uses for which the area is intended. The primary vehicular traffic patterns (in blue) are all at a short distance from the new facility (the highway by-pass Piazza Castello, Corso Umberto), in order to minimize excessive background noise, and to avoid traffic problems generated by the new facility.
Secondary vehicular traffic patterns, at a lower level (in red), meet the highway by-pass in two points only, one for access to the parking areas and for service vehicles transporting materials or equipment for the stages technical areas and the outdoor theatre, the other for access to the theatre itself arriving at the main hall entrance, covered by a long canopy (and eventually a taxi stand), leading to the access road for the outdoor theatre, the offices, stores and dance school. The pedestrian walkways are spread throughout the facility, beginning at the large intersection at the ex-Piazza Maggiore and the highway by-pass confining to the Belvedere. The public park and the outdoor theatre connect further downhill with the small piazza of the theatre, the ground level paths between the shopping area, the stores on the ground floor of the new buildings, and the Hall; one of the emergency exits, and the entrances for equipment and technical staff, are located along these paths.
Parking areas are in yellow; Public gardens, and the new structures are in red.
The new facility cannot be entirely appreciated without considering its relationship with the adjacent green areas.
Much effort went into finding the best solution for the connection of the facility to the park, by terracing the land and with paths from the park to the outdoor theatre (which represents a possible space for recreational activities even when it is not being used for a performance); and to link the front of the theatre, facing onto Piazza Castello, to the rest of the facility, keeping in mind that it is there that one finds the paths which lead to the Conservatory and the Castle. The ex-Piazza Maggiore, finally, completes the system as a tree-lined garden area, further integrating the environment of the park with that of the facility.
The parking areas total 320 parking spaces. These are adequate for the new residential/commercial buildings, and (in the evening and on weekends serve the theatrical facility, either for performances or for conferences. Additional parking for such occasions will be along the highway by-pass in the two semicircular areas of Piazza Castello and in the small square above the cultural centre.

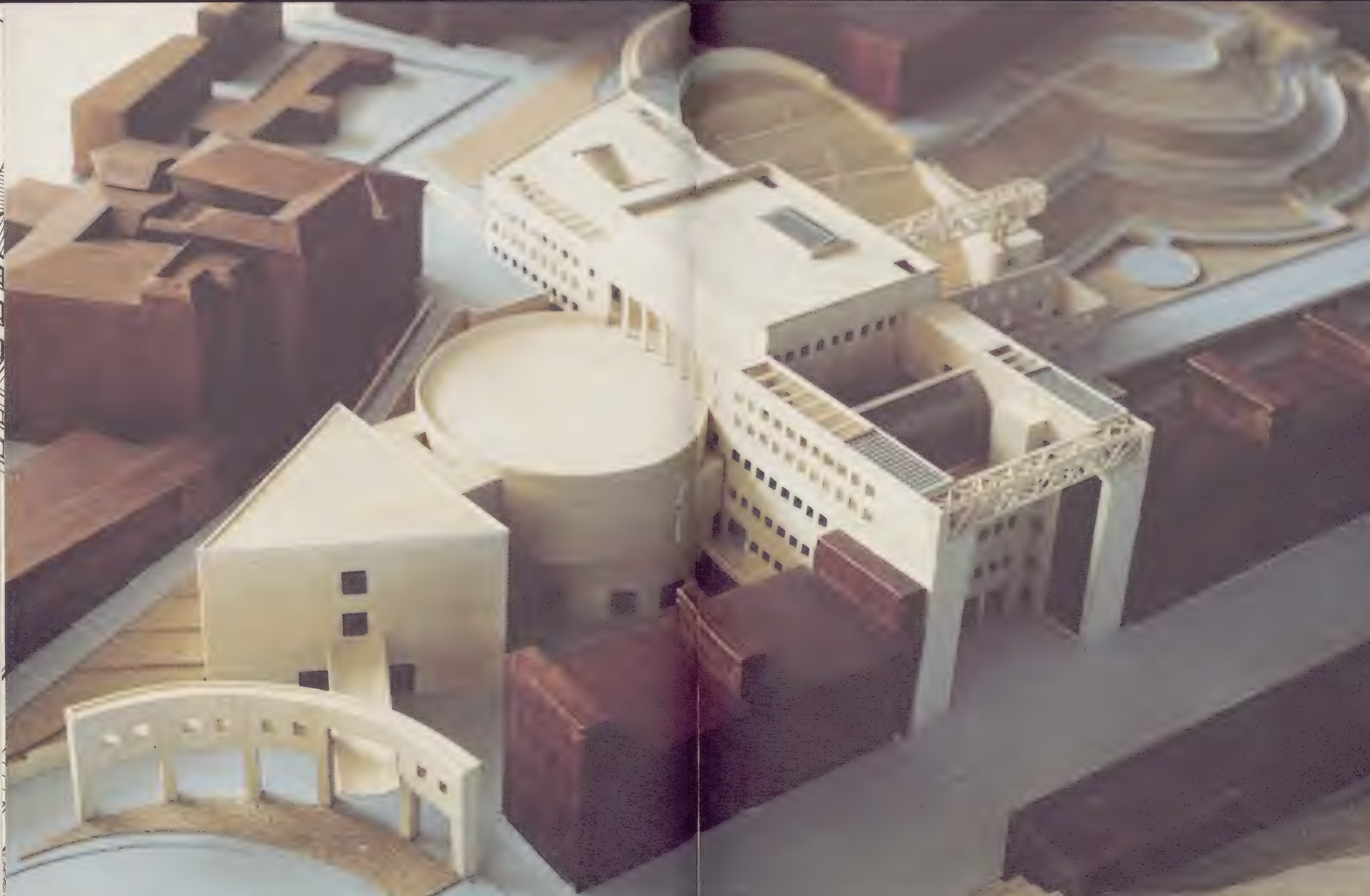
Axonometric section of the hall and the foyer.
On the following pages: East view of the model.

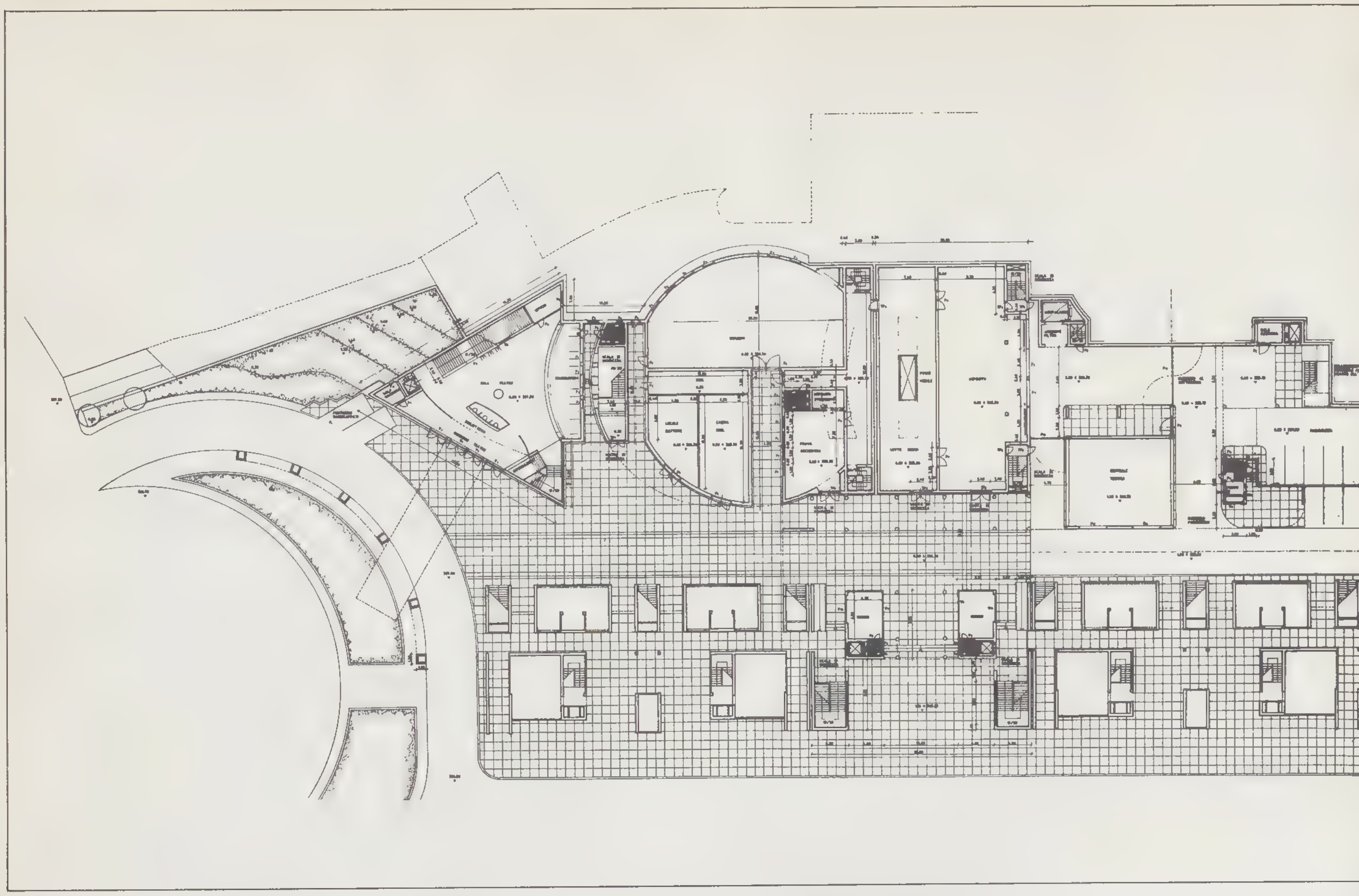


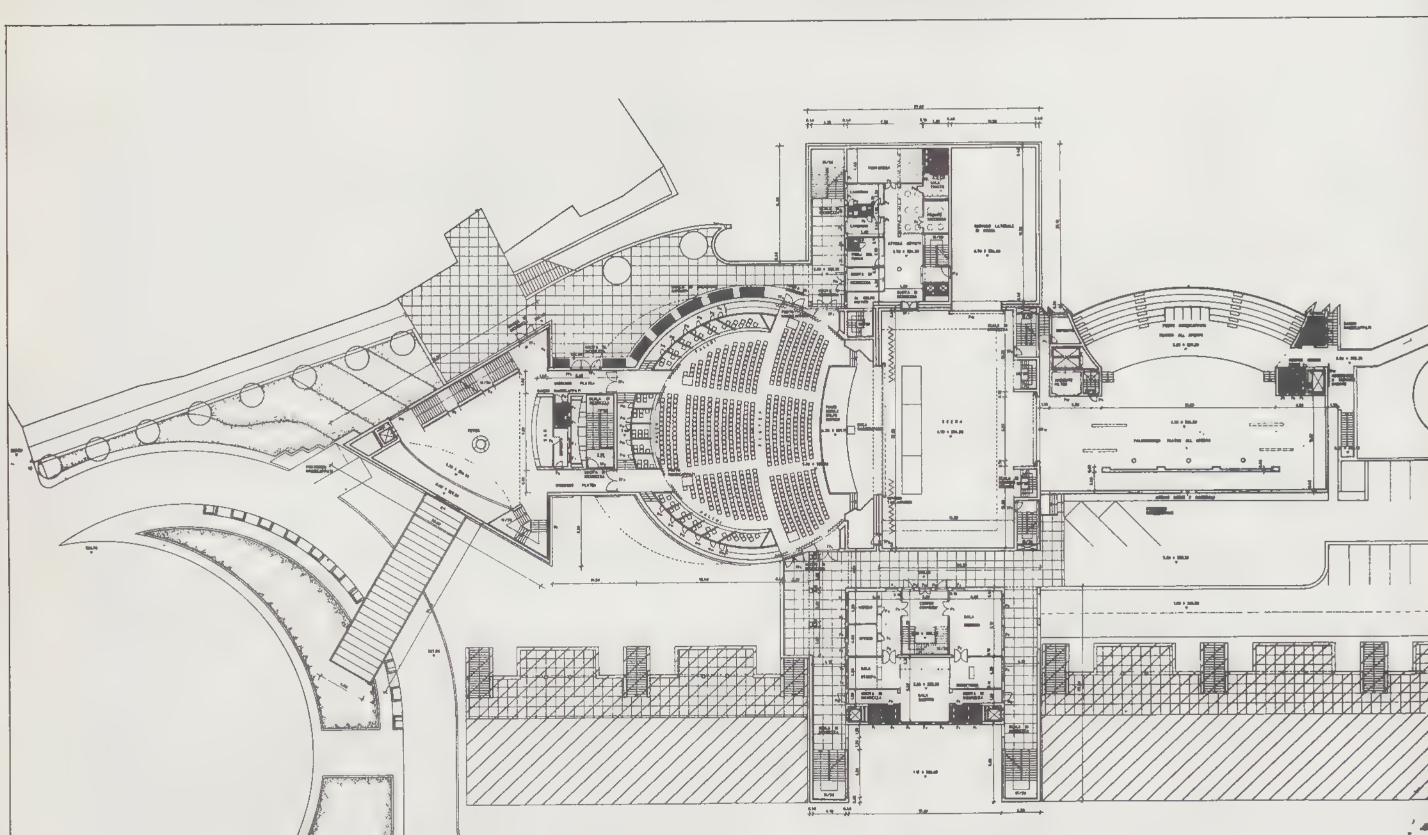


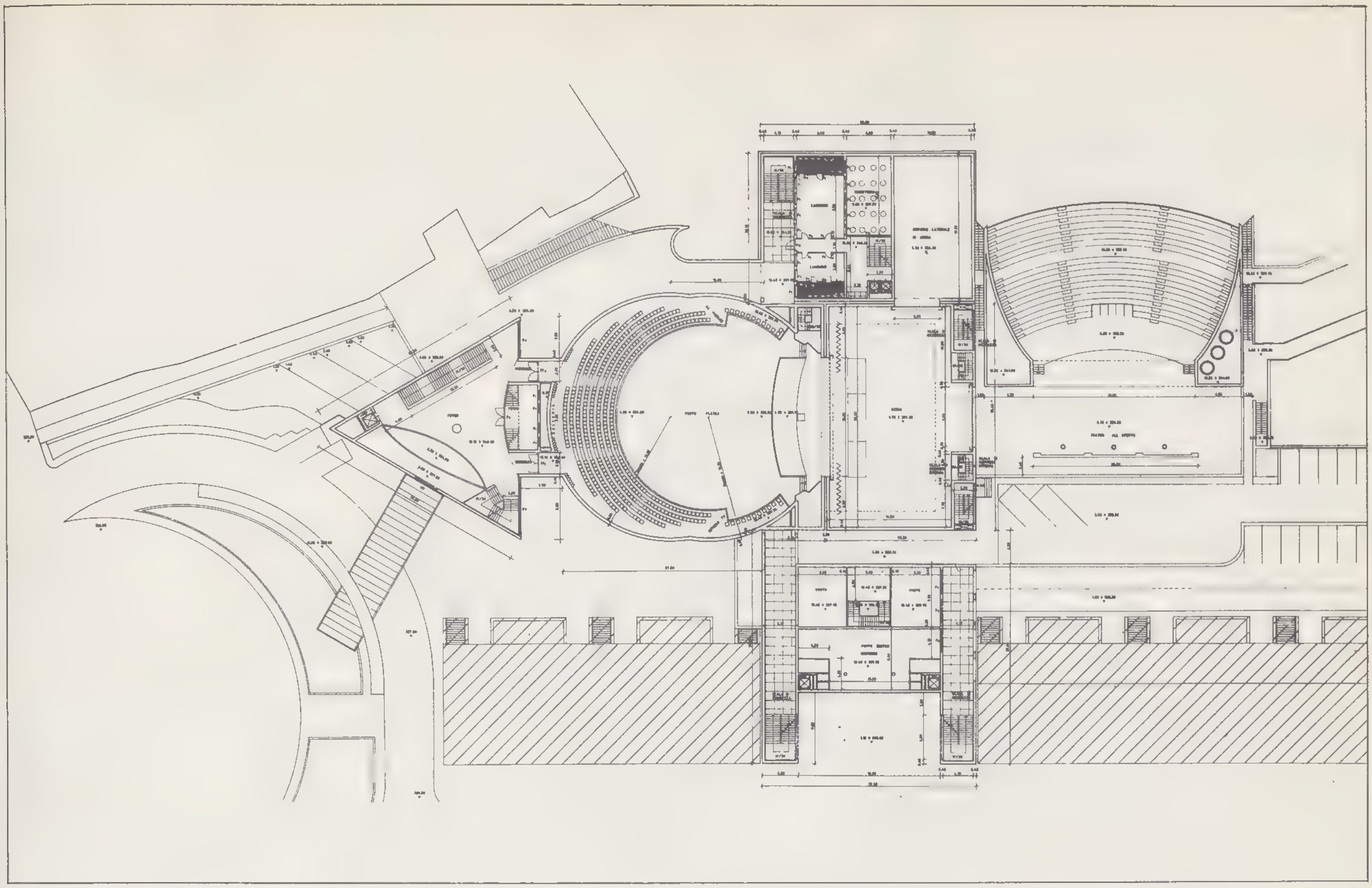
Axonometric section of the hall and the foyer. On the following pages: East view of the model.

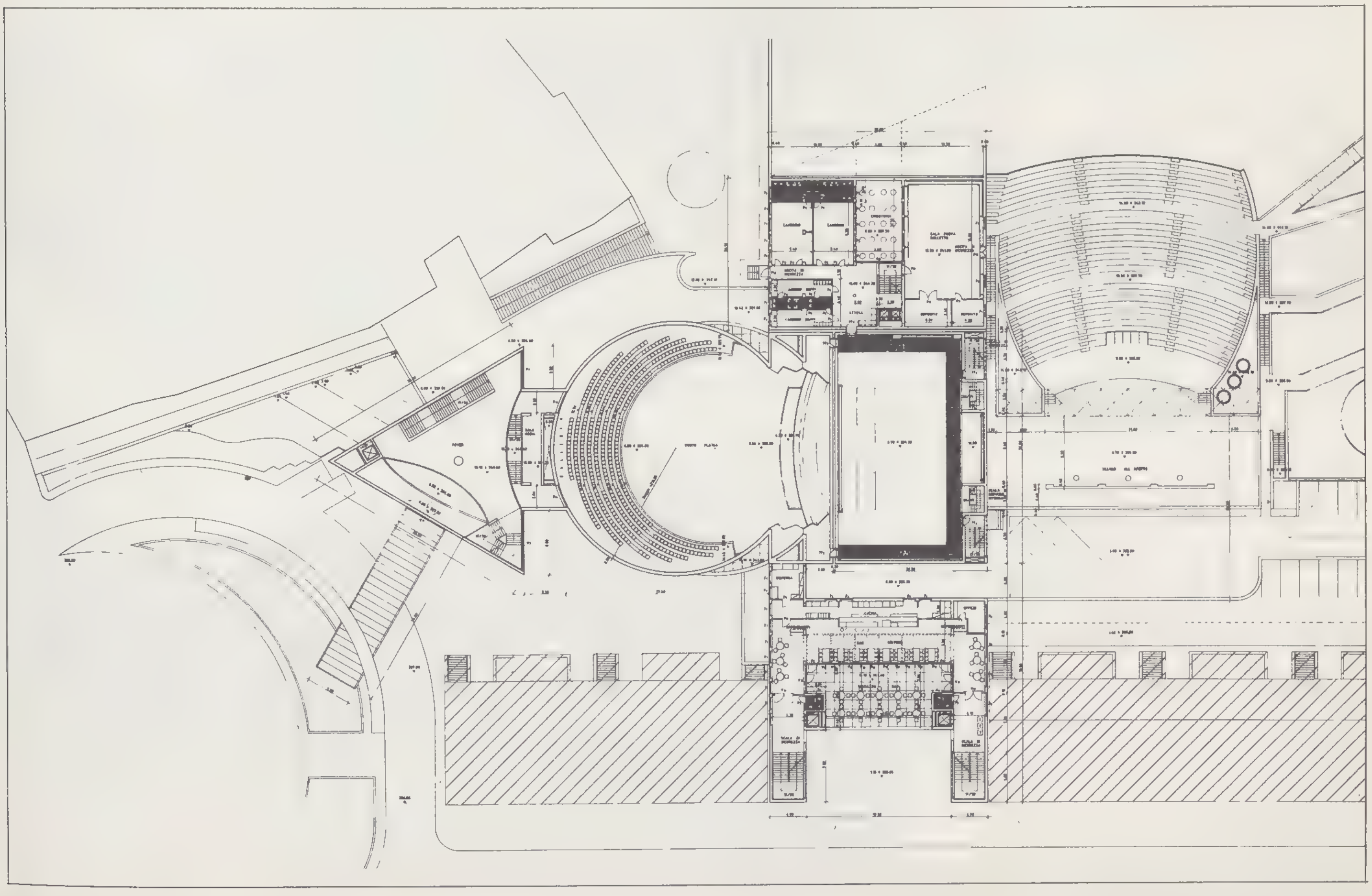


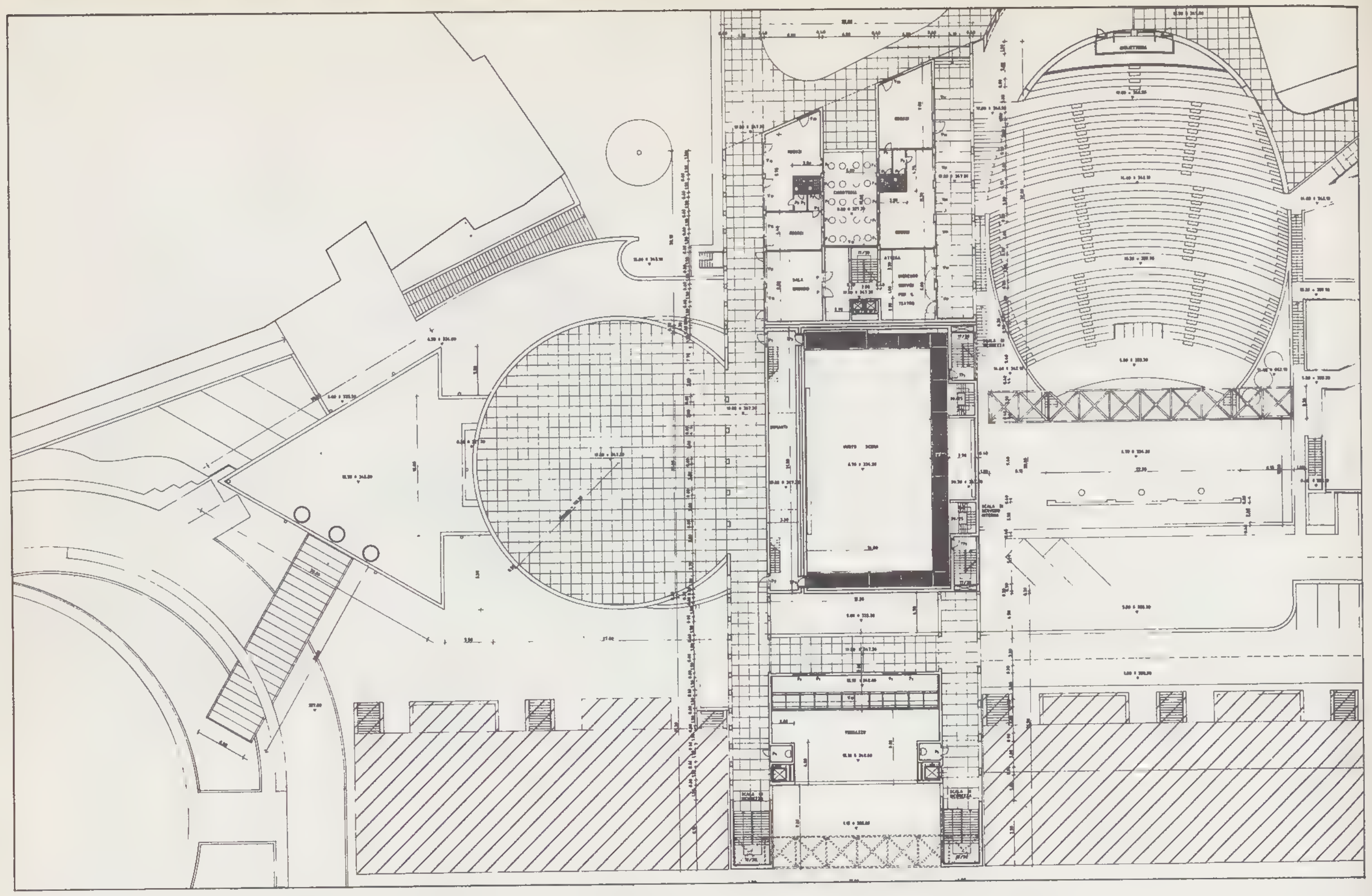


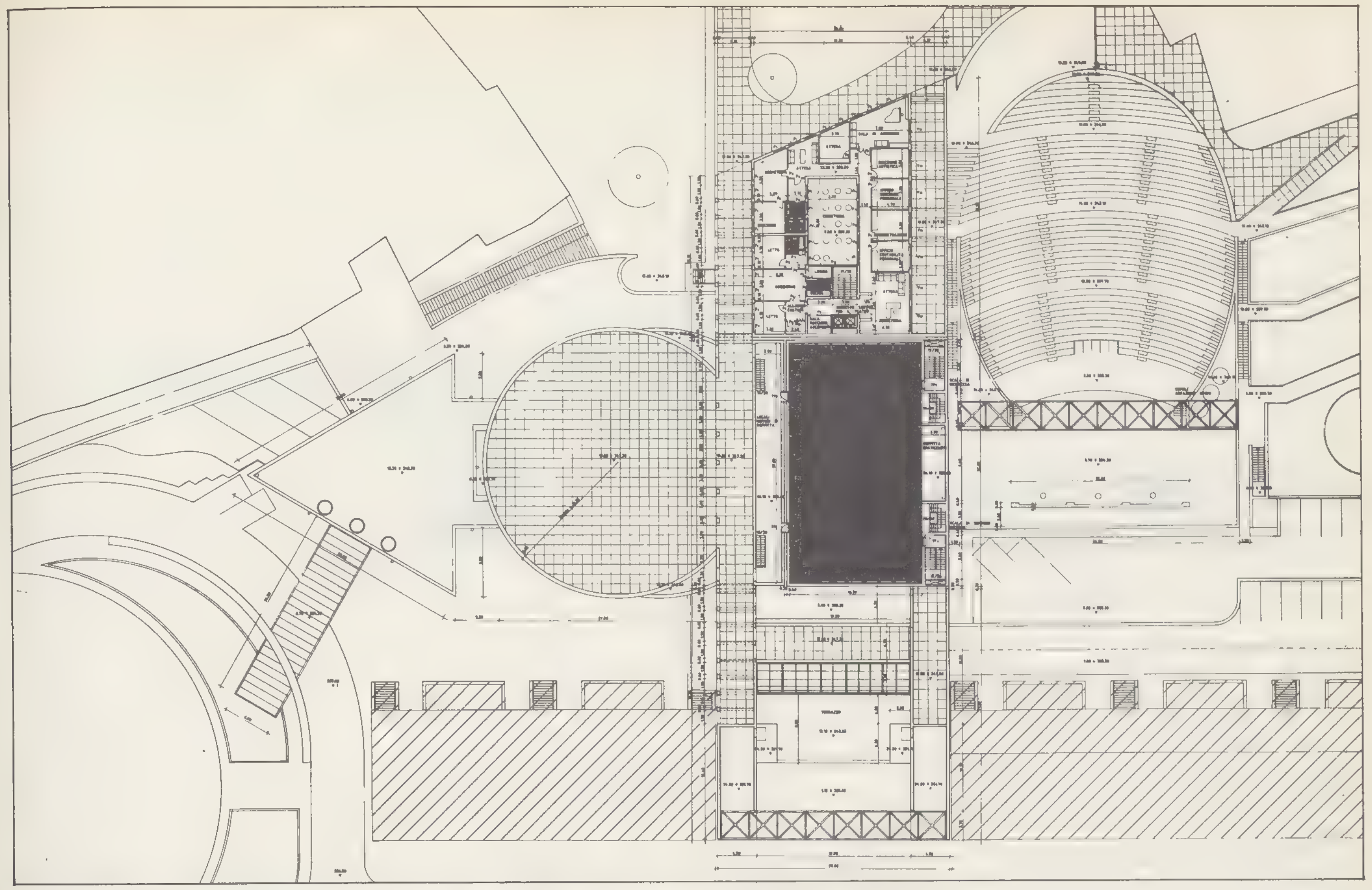




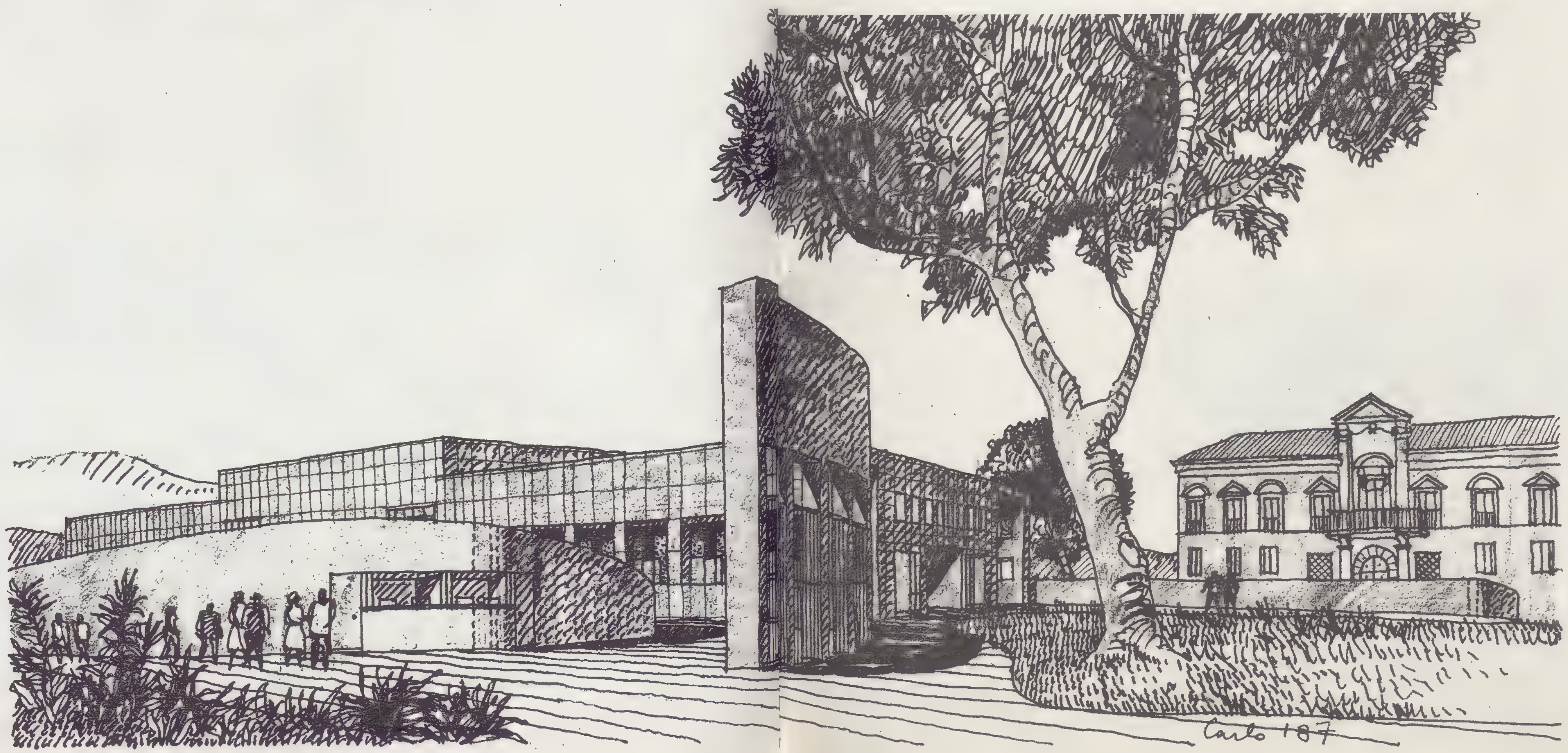


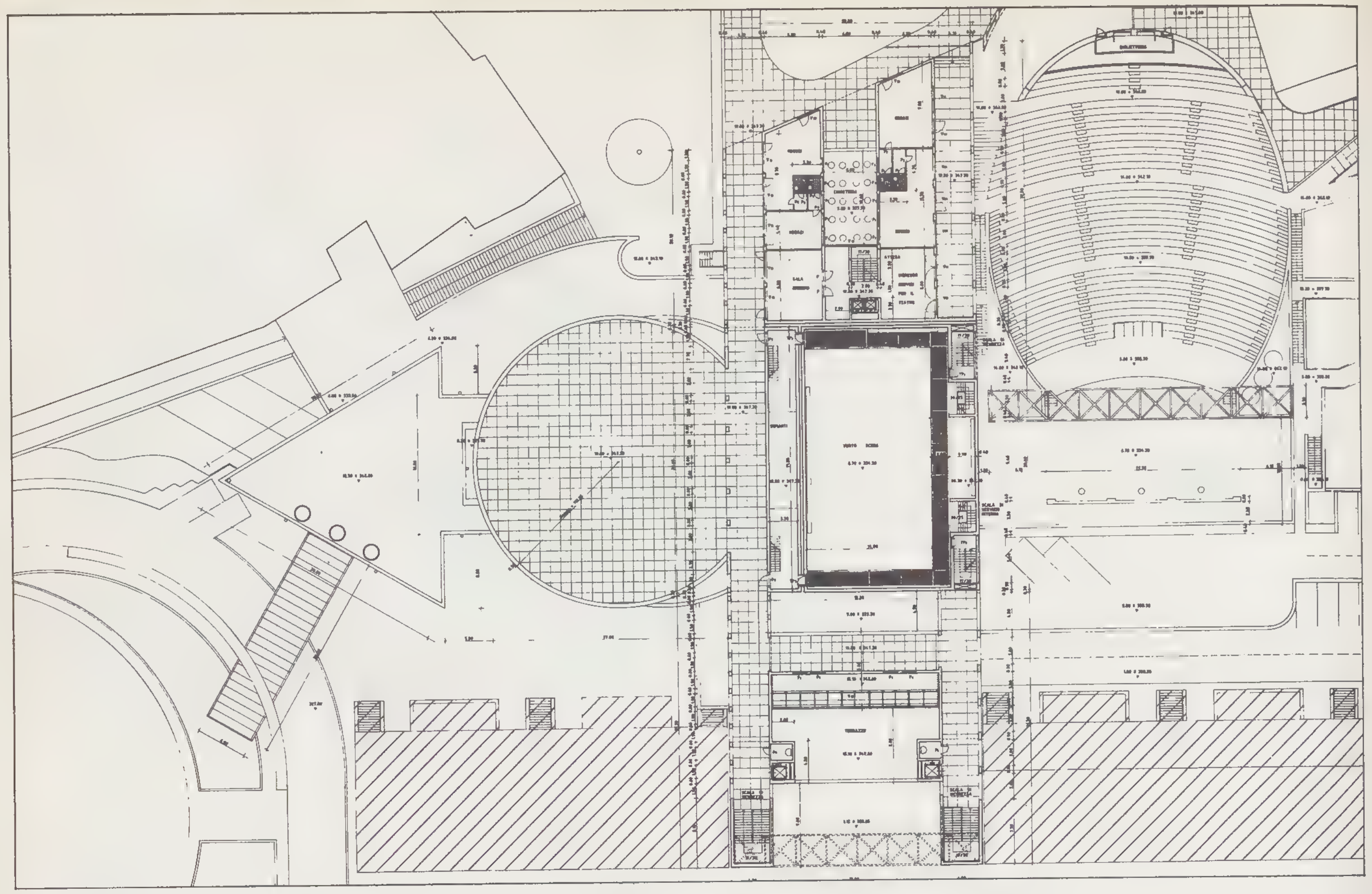


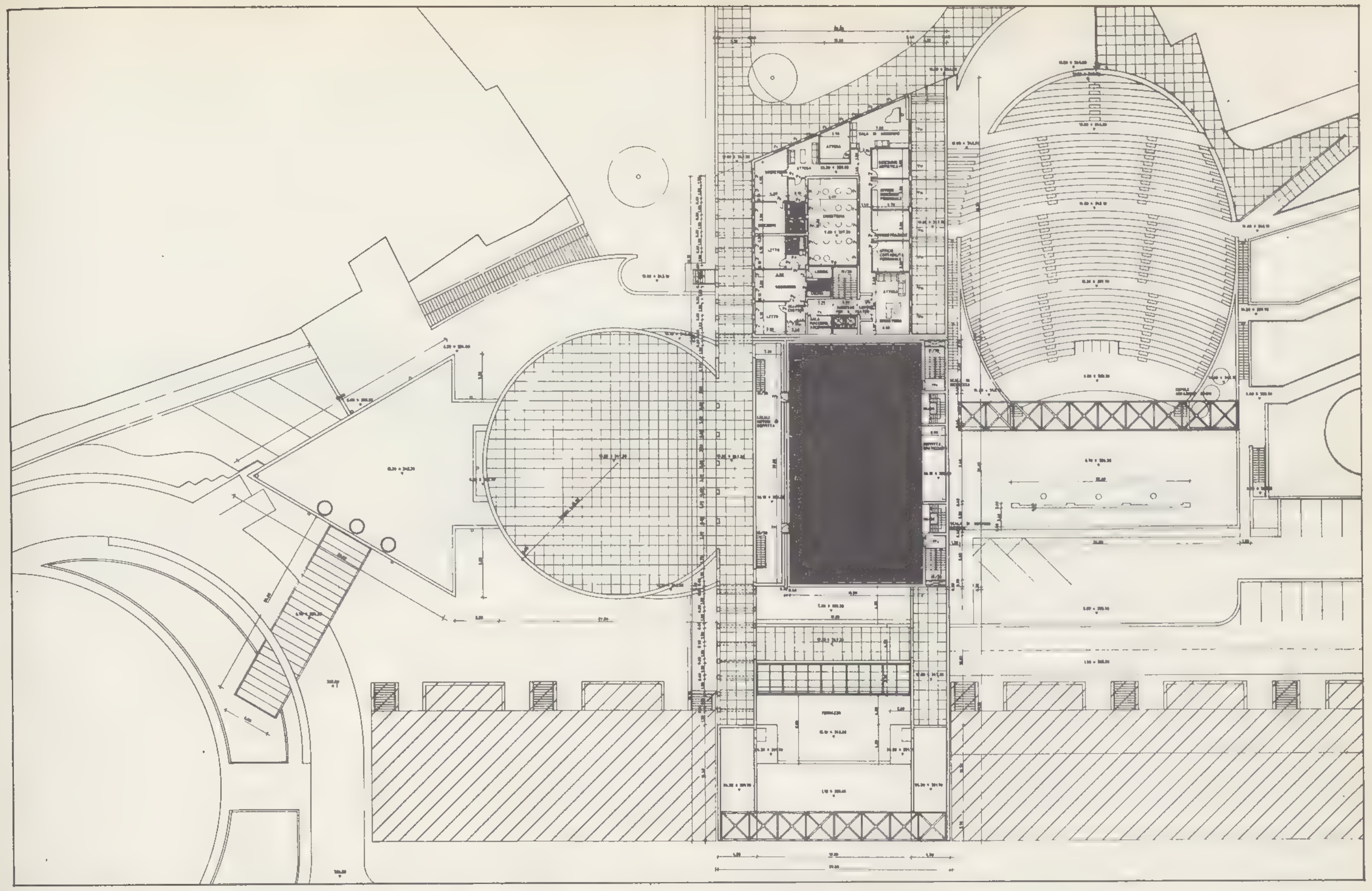




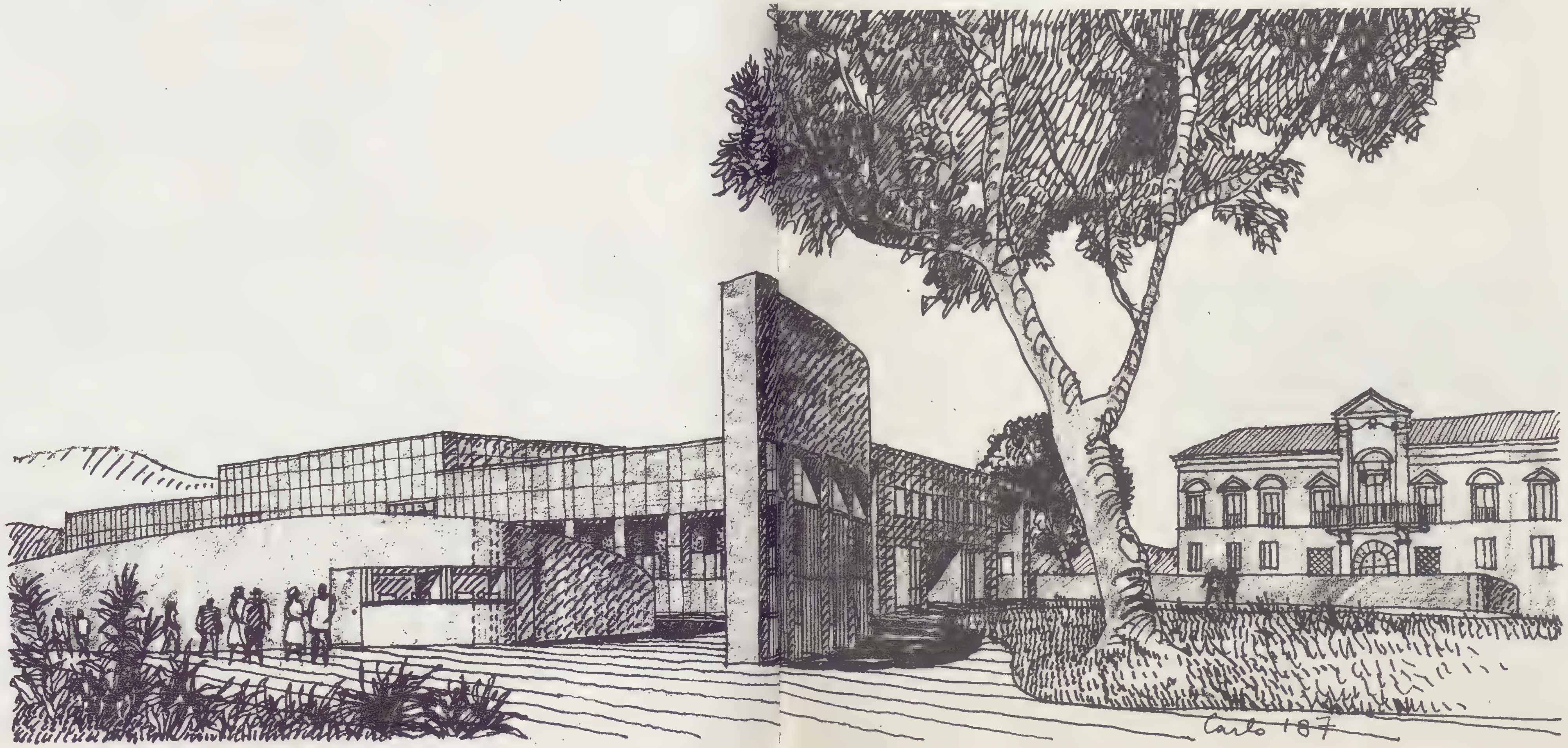
On the preceding pages:
Floor plans: entrance; hall and stage; gallery; lighting catwalk.
On these pages:
Floor plans: vertical space in the stage house; gridiron above the stage.
Elevation of what was Piazza Maggiore, including the new theatre and the cultural centre.



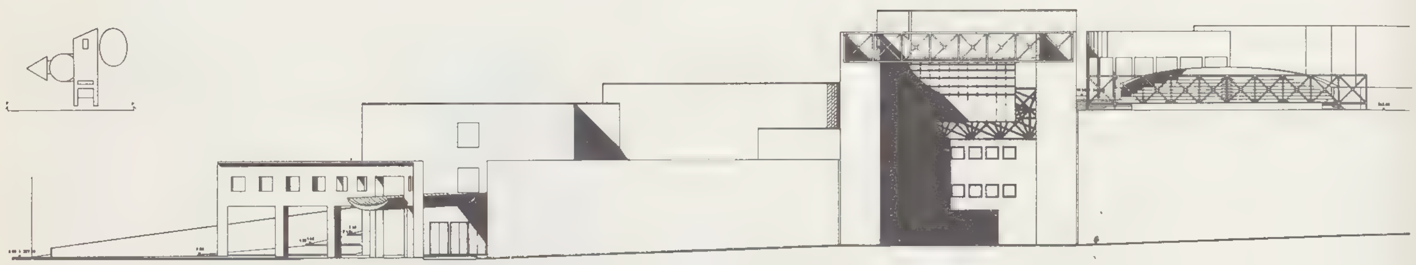




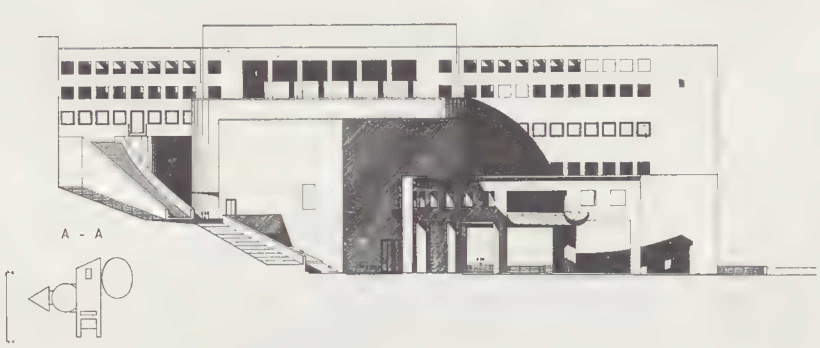
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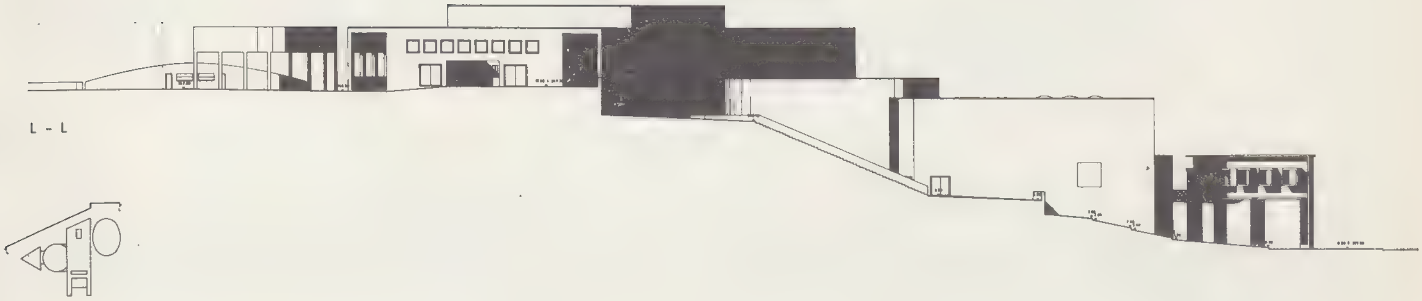
North, East, South and West elevation.



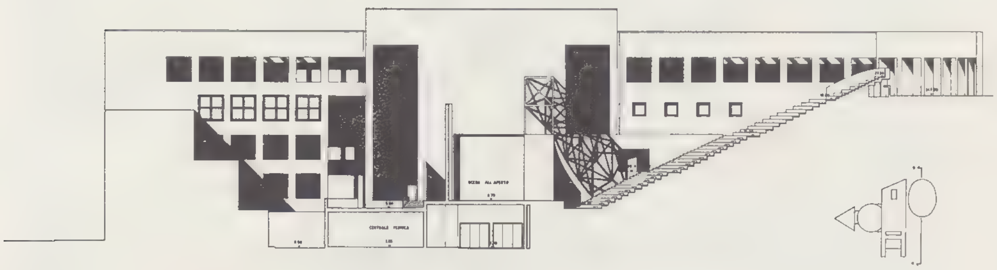
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A - A

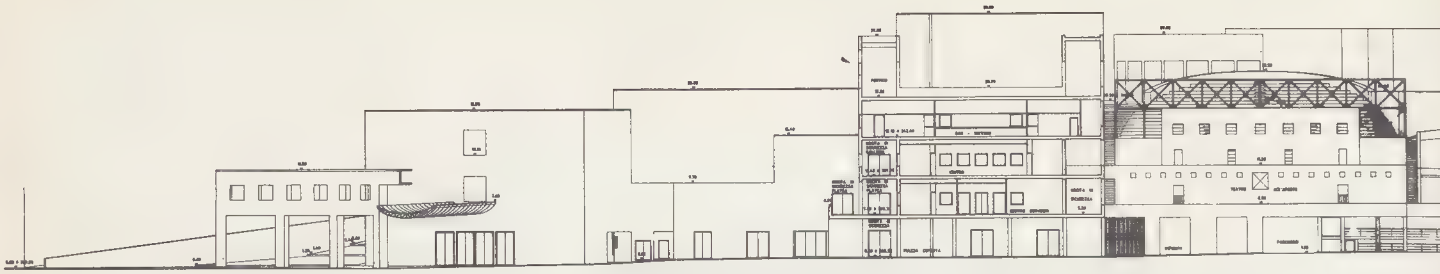


L - L

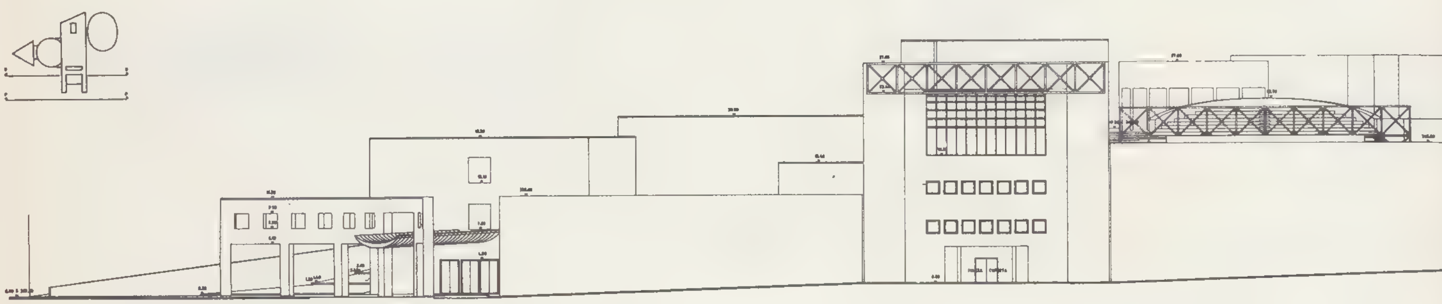


H - H

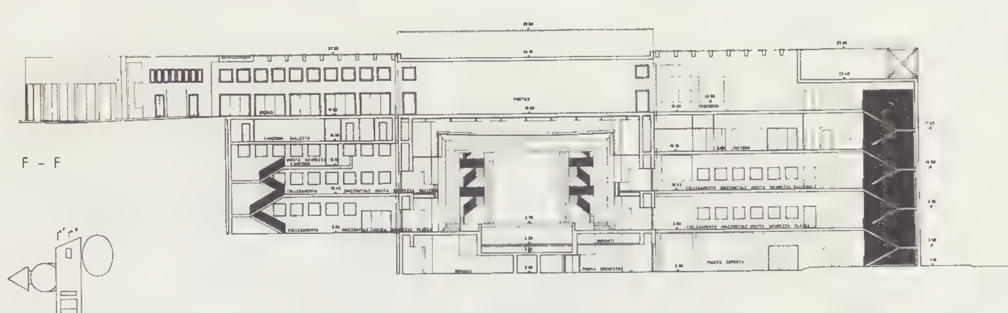
Sections.



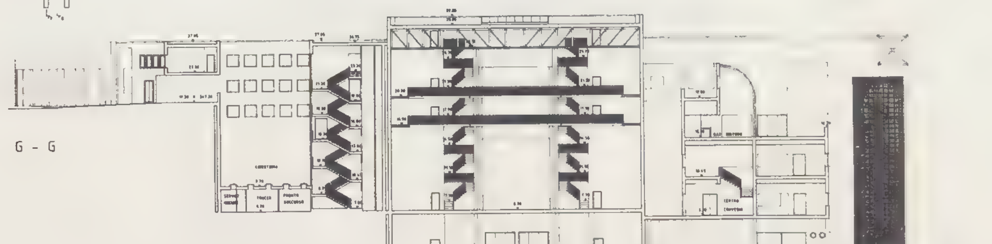
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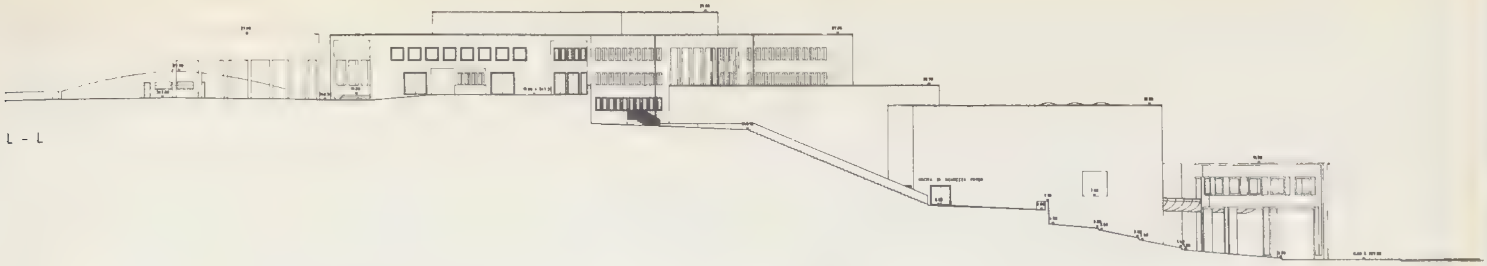
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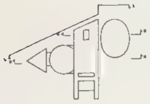
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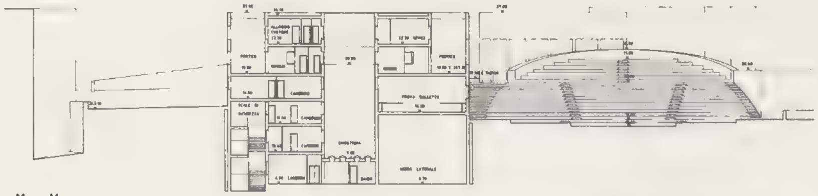


G - G

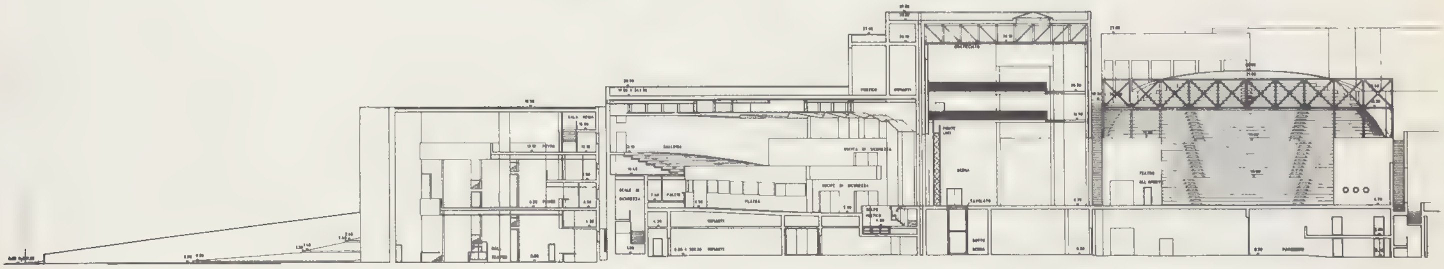


L - L

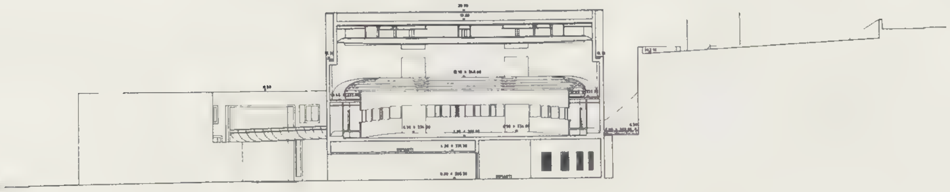




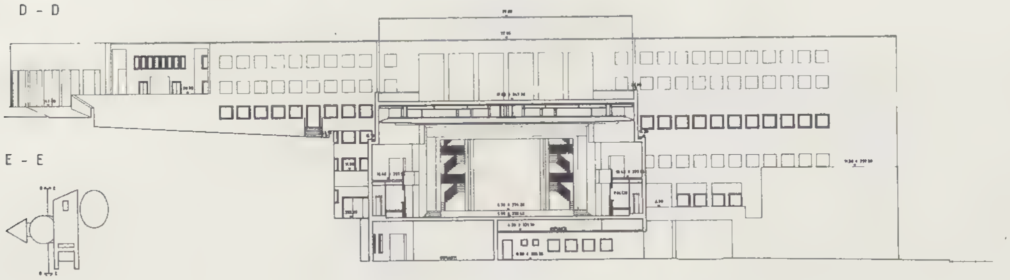
M - M



N - N

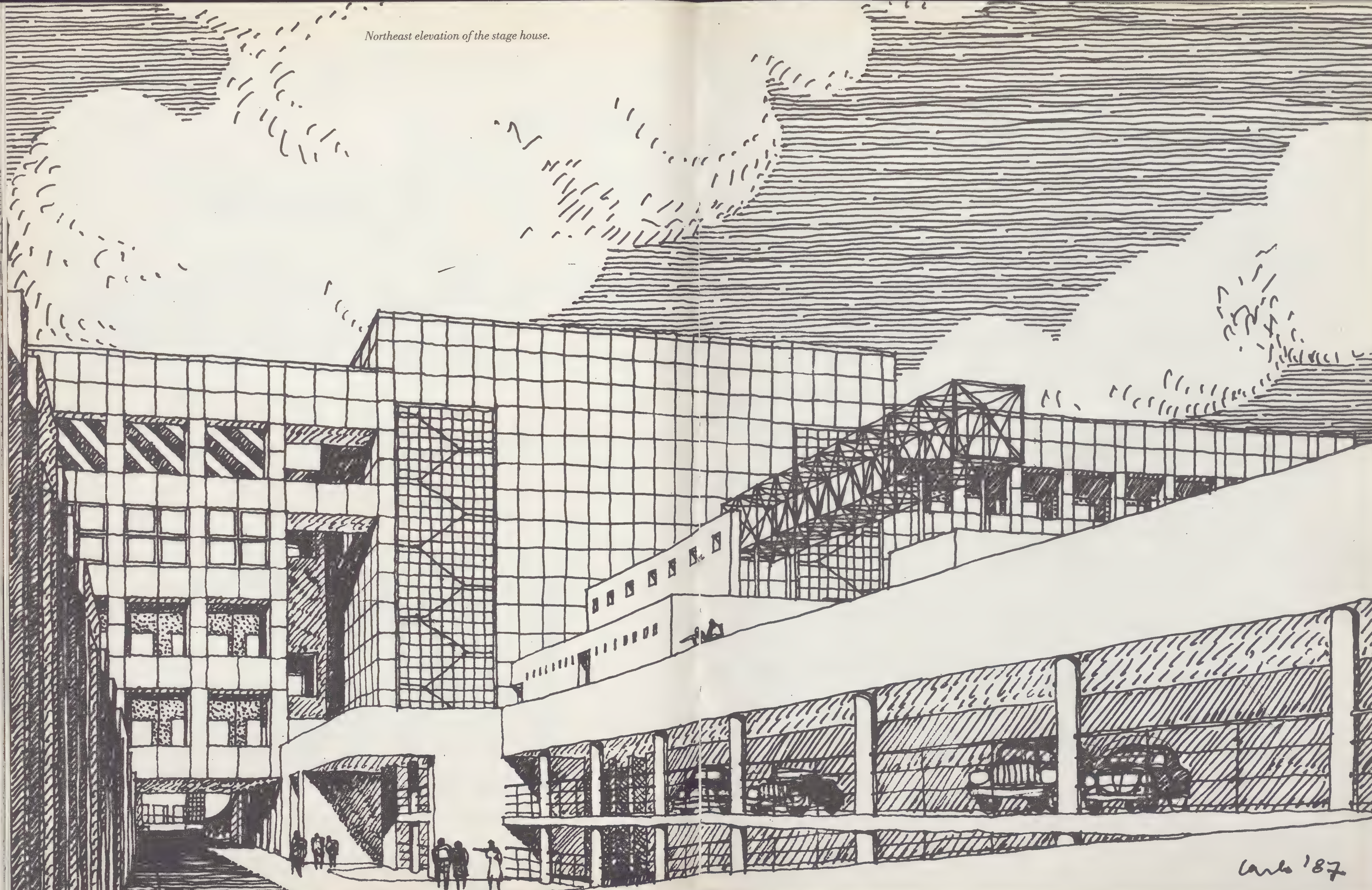


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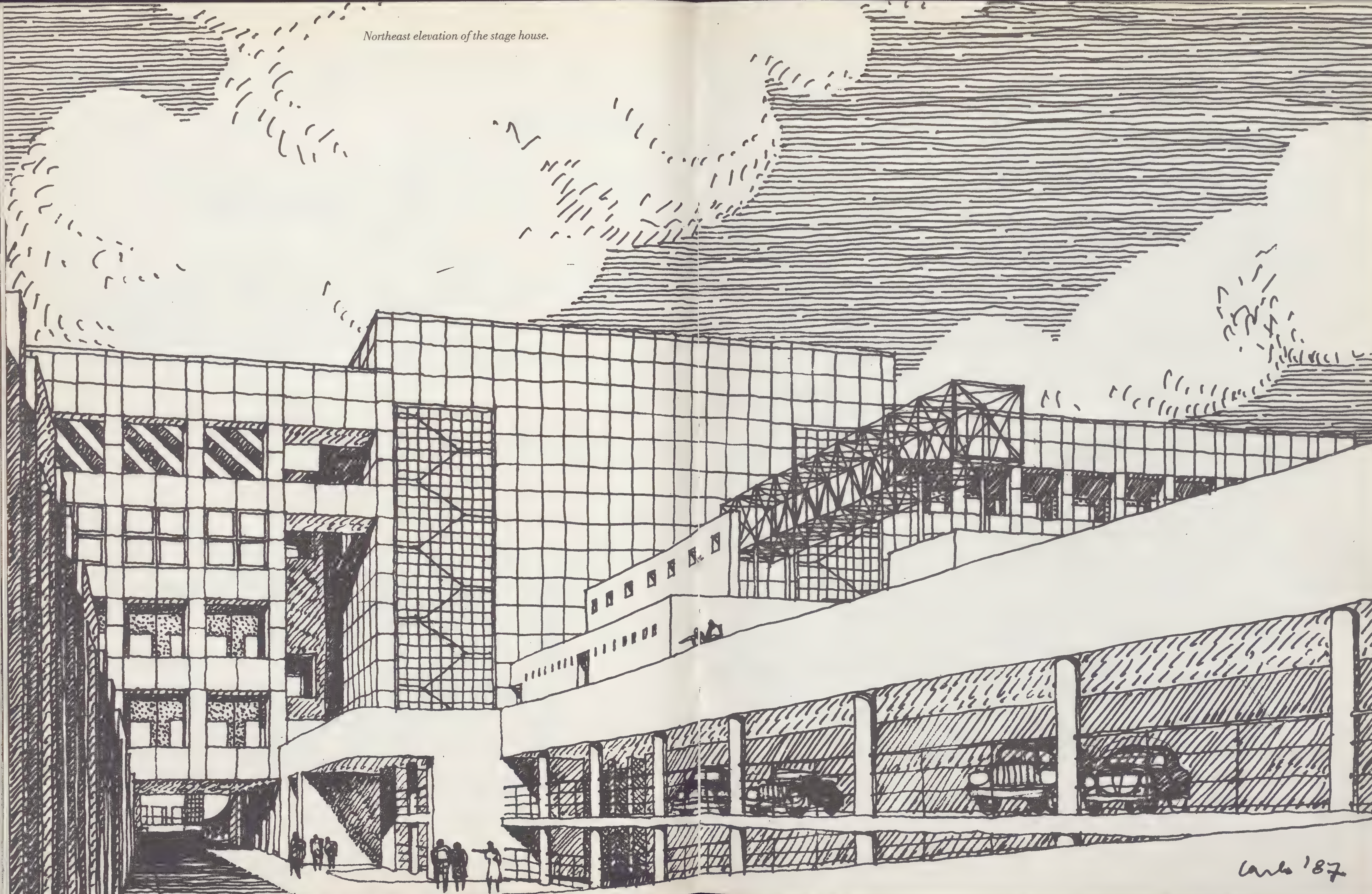


E - E

Northeast elevation of the stage house.



Northeast elevation of the stage house.



The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House, 1988-89



West view of the estate at Compton Verney.

The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House, 1988-89



West view of the estate at Compton Verney.

Compton Verney Opera House: the Context of the Design and Competition Guidelines

The Context of the Design

The most attractive aspect of Compton Verney is its superb position on the shores of a large lake, spanned by a Georgian three-arch bridge, probably designed by Robert Adam. The entire arrangement of the estate is the work of Lancelot "Capability" Brown, a renovation commissioned between 1768 and 1774, during which Brown also built and designed the chapel. From architectural point of view, the most interesting of the elements is the Mansion House, and particularly the West Range, the original part of the mansion, built in 1714 by order of George Verney, 12th Lord Willoughby de Broke and Dean of Windsor. The name of its architect is unknown, but it is generally attributed to John Vanbrugh. In 1760 Robert Adam was called upon by John Peyto, 14th Lord Willoughby de Broke, to work at Compton Verney. He restored several interiors, added two wings to the main part of the house, and inserted a Corinthian portico between them. His objective was to respect the stylistic values of the mansion, and he wrote that he wished the new parts "*to blend in as closely as possible with the original parts of the building*". After 1855 John Gibson made several alterations, both interior and exterior, to the Mansion House.

Compton Verney benefits greatly from its splendid natural setting. The approach from Kineton, with its long stretch of road bordered by lawns and trees, suggests a grandiose driveway. To the right, a great expanse of water can be seen through the foliage until, at the point where the main road crosses a bridge, a fine clearing affords a noble view of the great stone mansion. The natural elevation of the site, and the beautiful trees in the park — gigantic cedars of Lebanon and huge elms — are extraordinary, and convey the impression of a heritage of many centuries.

The Competition Guidelines

In the preparatory phase of the competition, the first plan was to locate the Opera House in the woods directly across the lake from the Mansion House, known as the Icehouse Coppice. This splendid solution had to be discarded, in order to avoid damaging the surrounding oaks and cedars.

A possible alternative was to site the Opera House in the open field which lies three hundred yards to the northeast of Icehouse Coppice, adjoining the upper part of the lake. From this position the view is exactly the same as that of the historical engraving of the Mansion House at Compton Verney.

The advantage of this location was that no trees needed to be felled to accomodate the new Opera House facility. The proposed new Opera House could be so landscaped as to reflect "Capability" Brown's original intentions for a broader landscaping of the park.

Once the site had been chosen, the competition guidelines included the following contextual elements:

1. A defined site in an Elysian Grade I landscape, linked by a vista of water and bridges to a group of buildings designed by four of England's most notable 18th century architects: Vanbrugh, Adam, Gibbs (to whom is the stables' building attributed) and Brown.
2. A location by the Roman Fosse Way, southeast of Shakespeare's Stratford and north of the University of Oxford. The location is prestigious and historic only four miles from the new M40 roadway linking the industrial Midlands and London. It has been estimated that half of England's population will be within 90 minutes' drive.
3. A detailed program summarizing the multi-functional requirements of a facility to be used for opera and ballet, performance, conferences and seminars, concerts dining which would provide a tranquil environment for strolls in the surrounding gardens

View from Adam Bridge.
The location of Compton Verney on the map of Great Britain.

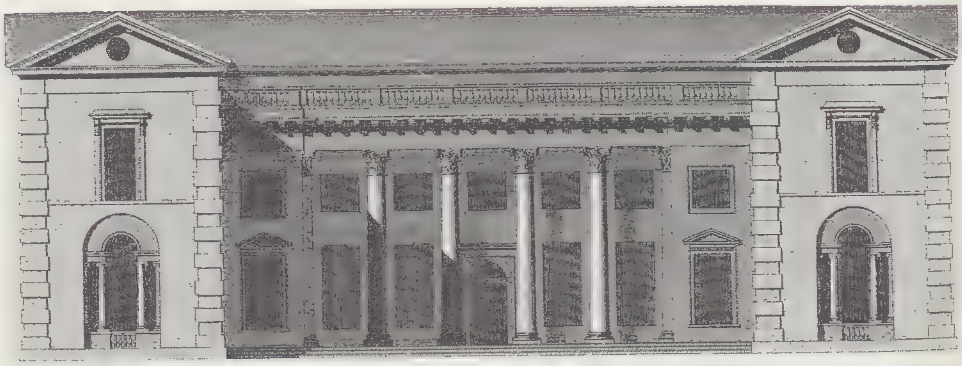


at all times of the day.
Competition planning expected that the ultimate building facility would emerge from a creative response to the functional requirements of the program, in terms of the use of materials, the arrangement of spaces, and a response to the landscape setting. A building to be a work of art in itself, and which would be recognized as such on an international level, for centuries to come.
The guidelines suggested, but did not insist, that the new design solution be based on the rhythms and proportions of traditional architecture while at the same time proposing a humane architectural and sculptural architecture for the 21st century, a building easily understood and appreciated in the landscape, a coherent response to its function; a place of visual pleasure and satisfaction in which to work or visit.
The guidelines also emphasized the fact that this was not to be a metropolitan Opera House, concentrated on a narrow site and entered from a busy street. Rather, they suggested a "building in the landscape", requiring what they call a "processional approach".
"*The opera or ballet experience will begin upon entering the estate, and intensify on the drive through 'Capability' Brown's landscape, with intermittent views of the lake and the historic buildings, until the moment when the Opera House comes into view and can be admired in its own right. (...) Before the music begins, or between the acts, the visitor will be able to dine in the various dining rooms or picnic among the trees overlooking the lakes (...) This is the vision which we ask the chosen Architects to have in mind as they develop their concepts. The creative opportunity at Compton Verney is rare but not unique. Throughout history mankind has commisioned great buildings on significant sites for noble purposes*".
In the final phase of the competition, after successive screenings, the following six groups of designers remained: Ahrends, Burton and Koralek, in collaboration with Frei Otto; Eldred Evans and David Shalev; Hans Hollein; Henning Larsen; John Outram Associates; James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates. The jury selected the design by Henning Larsen as the winning project.

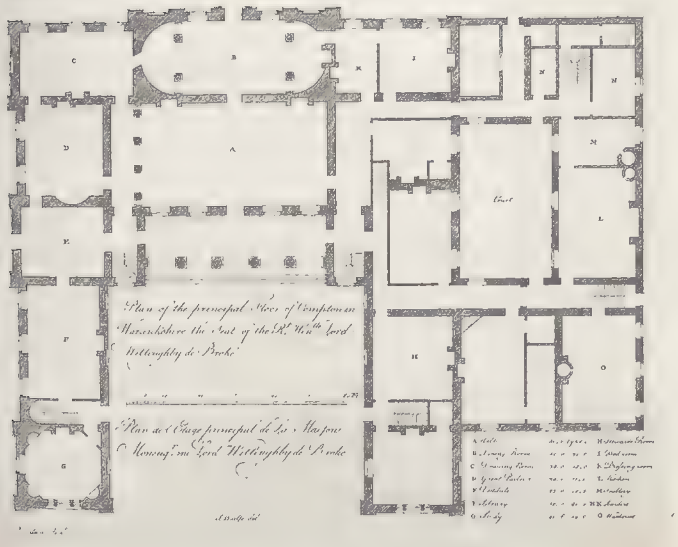




Historic engraving and Northeast view of the Mansion House.
Robert Adam, Front elevation and floor plan of Mansion House, 1761 ca-1767, published in 1771 in volume V of "Vitruvius Britannicus".







Court
Plan of the principal Floor of Compton in
Plan de l'Etage principal de la Maison

The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House
1988-89

Hans Hollein

with Alexander Klose, Karl Klaus Matauschek, Barbara Aull, Sina Baniahmad, Elmar Jabornig, Walter Kirpicsenko, Bernd Kretz, Stefan Maisch, Rainer Pirker, Madeleine Jenewein, Elisabeth Rahbari



Northwest elevation of the facility.

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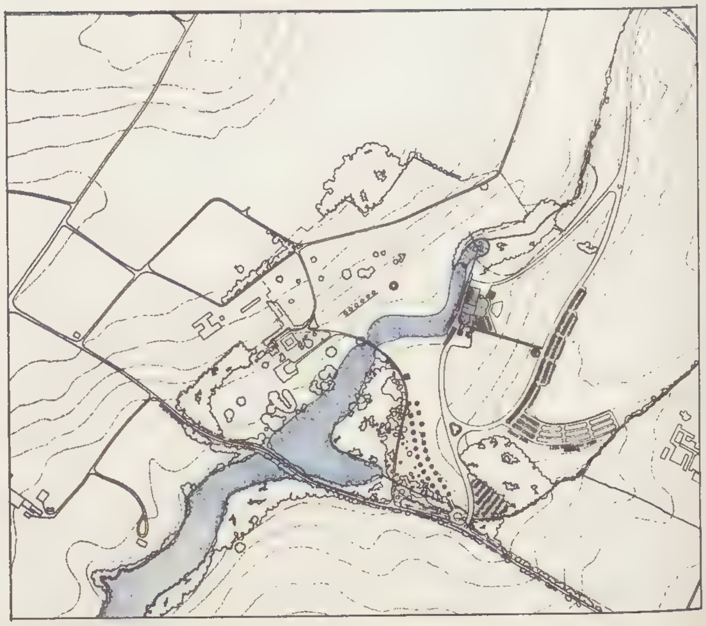
Northwest elevation of the facility.

Project for the Compton Verney Opera House
Hans Hollein

This project of an Opera House on the Compton Verney Estate is based on the consideration of the specific conditions and the potential of the site in a dialectic relation to the implications of the program. The program calls for a fully-fledged Opera House for approximately 1200 people. This implies single enormous volumes of given minimal shape and size, volumes of quite a different scale as the one already established by the present historical buildings. There, on the site, is an array of structures in a complex relationship to each other, structures which on the one hand form specific ensembles (as the Vanbrugh-Adam-Gibbs-buildings) but also stand out as singular individual features — most prominently the bridge. Also the landscaping has its distinctive features: the large expanse of the lake — establishing a clear level of reference, the groups of trees — especially the beautiful row of Wellingtonias and in contrast the gentle sloping of the undulating hills. There are some remnants of previous grand, baroque, axial arrangements and, unfortunately, recent developments which are not in keeping with the spirit of the place.
The spirit of the place is the predominant determinator of all future development and the *raison-d'être* for placing a cultural compound in this area. The general mood is romantic, picturesque, scenic, with a touch of grandeur and monumentality. The task is the shaping of a cultural precinct which incorporates the features of landscape, topography and historic architecture in a dialogue with the new buildings. Therefore the *siting* of the new structure is the predominant issue, siting not only from an organisational viewpoint but first and above all considered as an act of integration into the situation, discovering the inherent potential of the features, in order to make together a complex arrangement and ensemble for culture and leisure.

A World with a View
There a various to be considered. The view from the existing old buildings — across the bridge — towards the new site. The reverse — possible — view from the new site towards the historic situation — especially the "picture-book" view with the bridge (and the boat) in the foreground and the Mansion House in the back. The various views desired on approach. A careful analysis of those vistas — very often only possible in a limited range because of obliterating trees or structures — has been one of the generators of the design.

The Building Masses and the Siting
Three main areas have been considered and investigated (both by drawings and models): a) the new building(s) hidden from the view of the Mansion House and related to the Sequoia Avenue; b) old and new buildings with partial sight relationship and a placing in the middle area of the site at disposal; c) a location at the bend of the lake, affording a generous view of the historic setting and consequently, vice-versa, the opera in view from the Mansion House.
The placing of the masses of the new buildings, especially the bulk of the fly-tower in relation to the site and coppices with their areas of large or tall trees has been investigated in similar fashion: a) in relation to Sequoia Avenue; b) freestanding in the fields; c) in relation to Boathouse Coppice and the tableau of the lake.
Also studied were the alternatives of a broken-up, spread-out, scattered-around arrangement of the new buildings, then a more dense agglomeration with its advantages of closely connecting depending areas, and the concept of a singular, symmetrical block. (This last alternative was ruled out at a rather early stage).
It was furthermore considered desireable to have approaches of similar qualities from either side to the site and the precinct, giving a composite overview of the area.





Overall site plans and plan details of the estate including the new facility: 1) Sequoia Avenue; 2) Icehouse Coppice; 3) Kennels Coppice; 4) Boathouse Coppice; 5) Adam Bridge; 6) Mansion House.

The Concept of Handling and Relating. The Proposed Scheme

As a large, singular block was ruled out early, arrangements of a more or less loose place building or of more compact relationships were explored.

The siting of the proposed scheme follows the bend of the lake, with full view of the historic scenery. The Opera is at a far point from the Estate proper and relates directly to the treecovered area of Boathouse Coppice and the level of the lake.

On approach from either side one can clearly discern the complex arrangement and its relationship to the development of the site, once appearing more frontally on entrance-foyer level, once giving an overview sight of the total site. Therefore, the approaching road from the North is placed rather high.

The bulk of the masses is broken up, however, still providing a rather compact scheme which allows for direct close connections of parts which should functionally and operationally be together, providing short distances and a matrix of routes for more complex interdependencies.

The volumes of the building components have staggered dimensions. To reduce an undesireable scale-relationship of mandatory very large and rather small masses, an intermediary scale has been introduced — mainly in the structures for the *foyers*, the administration and the bridge. These intermediary elements also relate strongly to specific features of the site. There the edge of the building — the *foyers* — links immediately with the expanse of the water, thus incorporating a given large-scale element into the general composition and in such a way give relativity to the overall size of the fly-tower. In a similar way the horizontal dimension of the approach-bridge establishes another element of scale which ties unobtrusively with the slope.

Along the lake, the broken line of the building line follows — and echoes — the shoreline. Towards the slope, the structures are differentiated, revealing use and program through their shape and size, providing transitional elements which tie with the inclined ground.

Some — important — additional elements, such as the pyramid, are arranged on the overall-area of the Compton Verney Estate. They continue the idea of relationship of determing features and provide scale. They are parts of a general composition, which incorporates old and new, nature and buildings in complex dialogue aimed at achieving beauty.

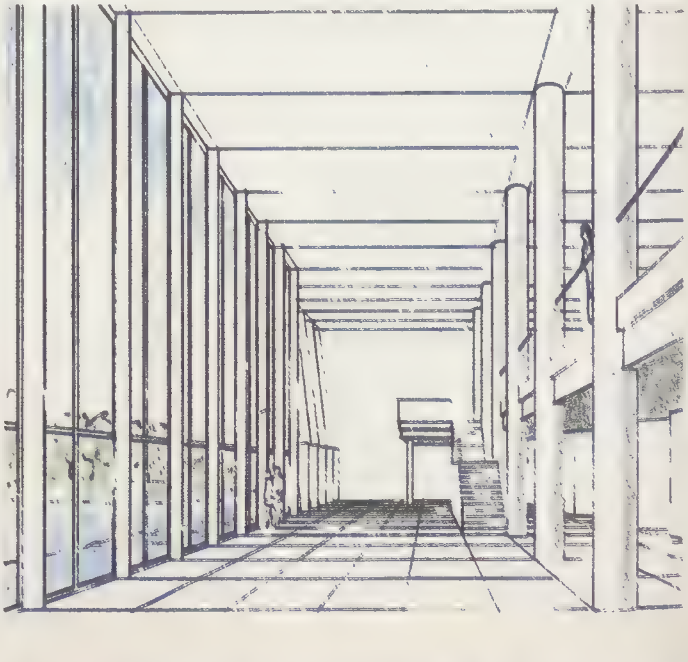
The Approaches and Distribution

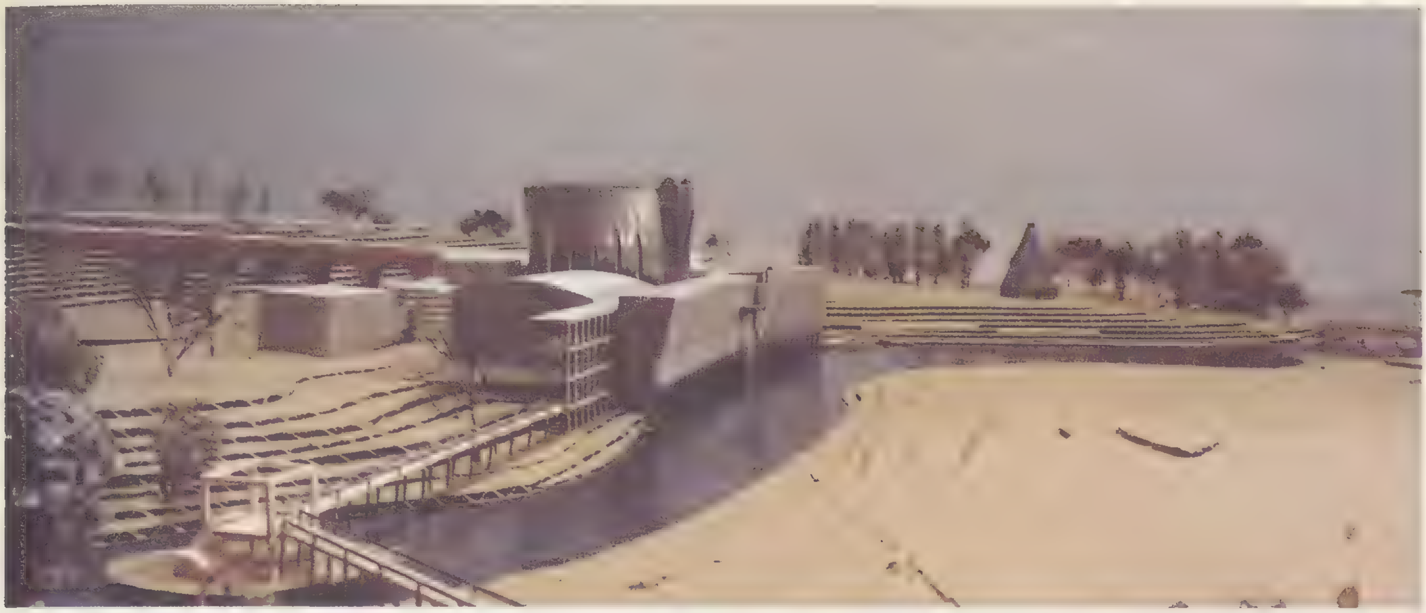
The main entrance to the area is from the main road at the point out of the South Kennels Coppice. Here is a first drop-off point for passengers of busses and private cars and, across the creek South of Kennels Coppice, a first parking area. Visitors who wish to approach from here by foot can walk through Sequoia Avenue. The old access road of Compton Verney slightly to the East has been kept and internally connected on the Southern border with the new access road, which leads through the territory in a roughly South-North direction.

The second main approach is from the North. An entrance situation is there created at the point of a group of trees (which already appears in the old map of the 18th century) at the border of the property. Along the westside of the new access road car parking is arranged in a linear fashion with a connecting covered walk way.

Bus parking and additional parking is arranged, hidden from the main site, North-East of Kennels Coppice.

Two alternative approaches to the entrance of the opera house have been developed, one which allows a view of the main entrance while approaching the building, the other one along the access pedestrian bridge, which keeps the whole area between Ice-House Coppice and the opera free of traffic. The covered pedestrian bridge connects the new access road with the opera compound. There again is a drop-off point (with a pavilion for shelter) which also







Interior view of the main foyer, and North and Northwest views of the model.

Views of the model from the West (including the Mansion House in the foreground) from the East, and interior view of the VIP lounge.





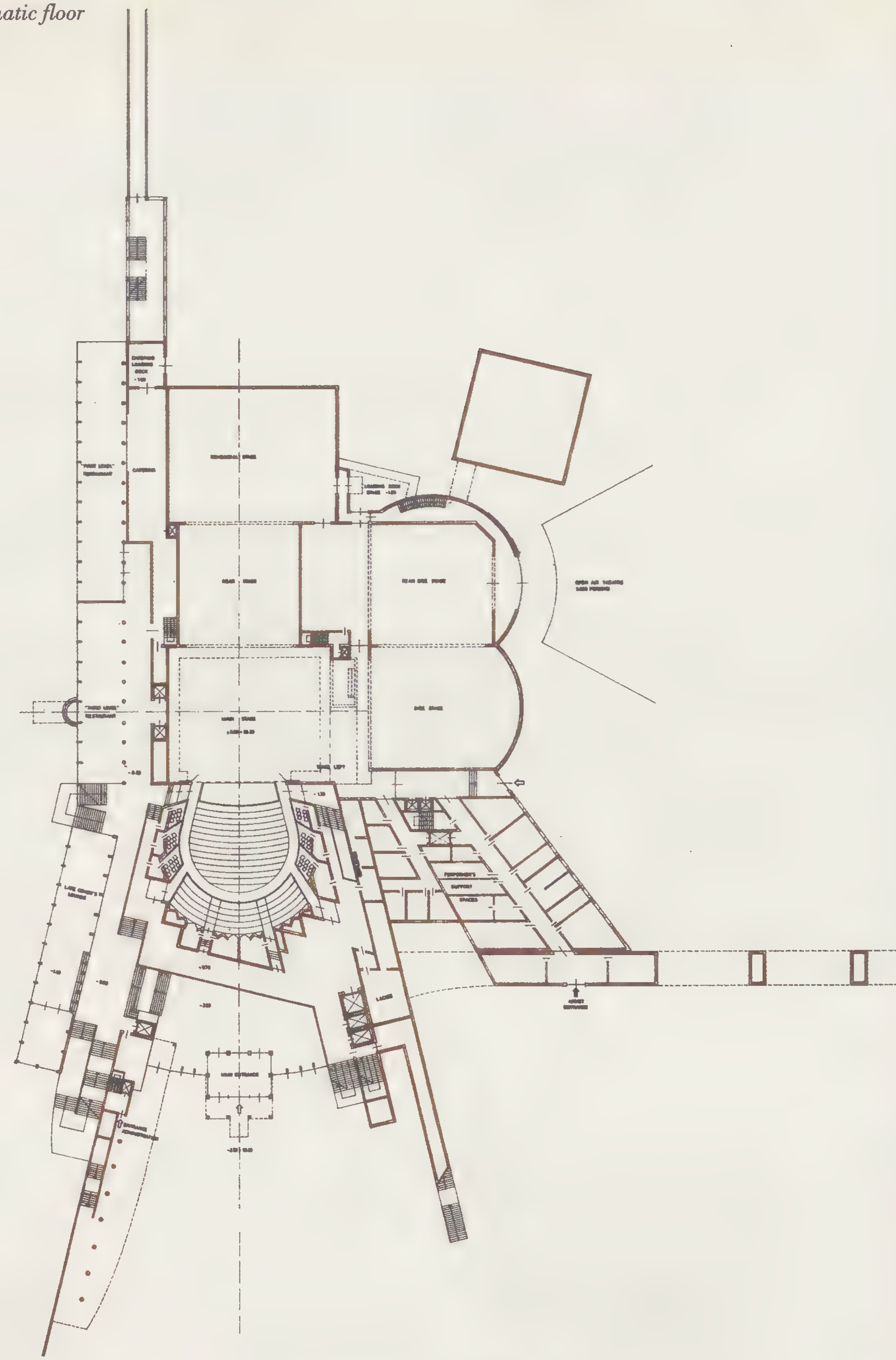
doubles as a vantage point from which you have a view of the whole area.
Vehicles driving up in front of the main entrance are divided into two groups. Private cars come along up at the canopy of the main entrance, while busses can unload under a covered area underneath the administration block.
At the entrance level you have a draught lobby with access to cloakrooms and elevators.
A flight of stairs (the beginning of the grand staircase) leads you to the main level from where you have a grand view over the lake and towards the Mansion House. From this main level you have access to the waiting lobby, to the lobby for the late-comers, the restaurants ("level one" and "two") arranged along the shore-line with again another splendid view and, of course, the main level of the auditorium.
As has been agreed upon the scheme proposed by the client for the Opera auditorium has been adapted, both in basic shape and its levels. (Slight variations of this scheme will allow somewhat more economic arrangement of *foyer* levels and heights).
Via the glazed grand staircase, again affording an overall view of the area and the historic (structures at the position, where they are visible between the trees) and via other staircases or elevators, you reach the *foyer* level. On this level there is the Royal box and the Royal lounge and the VIP lounge (with the requested view) and access to the administration and the grand *foyer* gallery. Bars and niches line this gallery. In front of the boxes you have slightly elevated individual dining areas. Most of them with a view through the glazed front of the lobby.
One flight above on the next *foyer* level is also the "level three" restaurant. On top of the building you arrive via the covered bridge bringing you down through elevators and stairs to the desired *foyer* level. From the main gallery via a bridge you can walk to the open air and via a bridge to the other side of the lake.

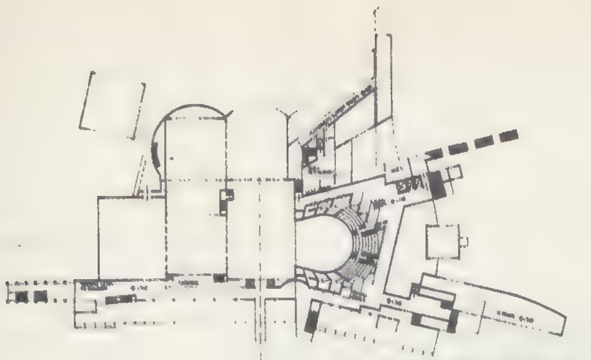


From all *foyer* levels you can reach open air and via an arrangement of bridges to the other side of the lake. There is also an access by boat directly from the lake at the lowest point of the grand staircase, as well as a walk way continuing the shore line.
Rear stage areas and supporting spaces have been arranged according to the desired diagrams and sizes.
The loading area is accessible by a separate side road branching off from the North part of the access road.

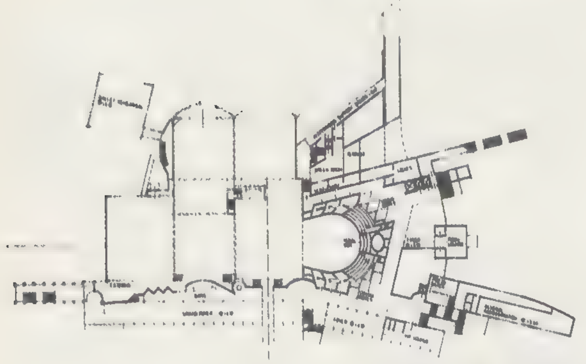
Materials
The main outside materials are stone for the lower parts of the *foyer* and the restaurant blocks, the office block and the Royal lounge. The front towards the lake and the entrance area is glazed. The bridge is faced in brick. The main projecting element of the fly-tower is clad in lead as are some of the roofs. Side stage and rehearsal areas are partly faced in stone, partly clad in colour-coated metal. The façaded of the performers support spaces are in stucco.
The skeleton structures for the small bridges are in steel.
The construction of the protected picnic areas are in steel with canvas awnings and infra-red heated. (A system already realized by the author at the Olympic Village in Munich).
The pyramid is a steel-structure combined with wood and clad in lead. This pyramid has an importance as an additional scale element being in the axis of the Sequoia Avenue and the bridge. It connects the existing spatial features with the new opera building.

Floor plans of the main level and the first balcony level; schematic floor plans of various levels.

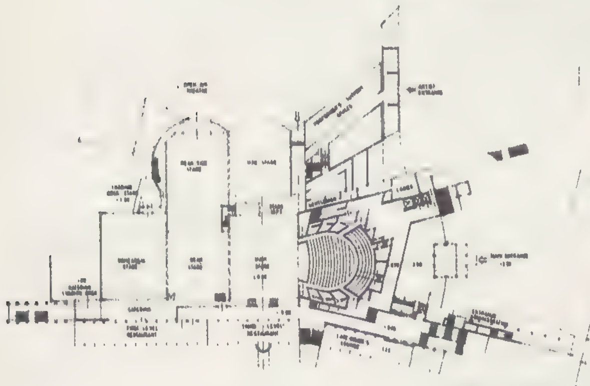




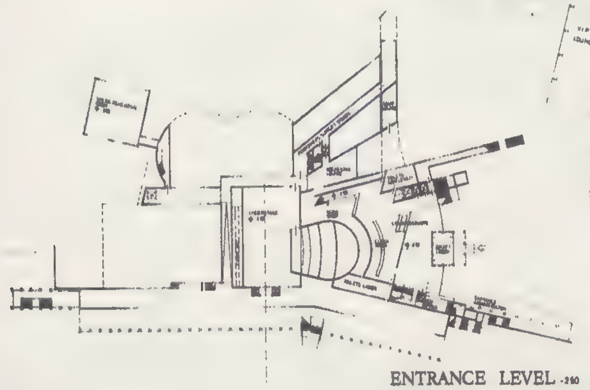
SECOND TIER LEVEL +7.40



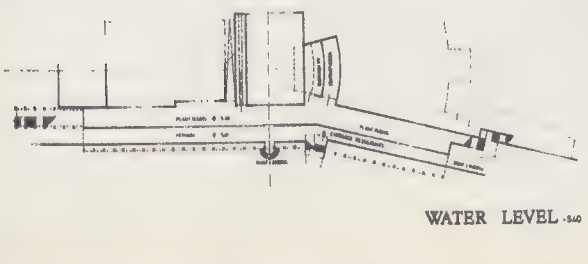
FIRST TIER LEVEL +4.10



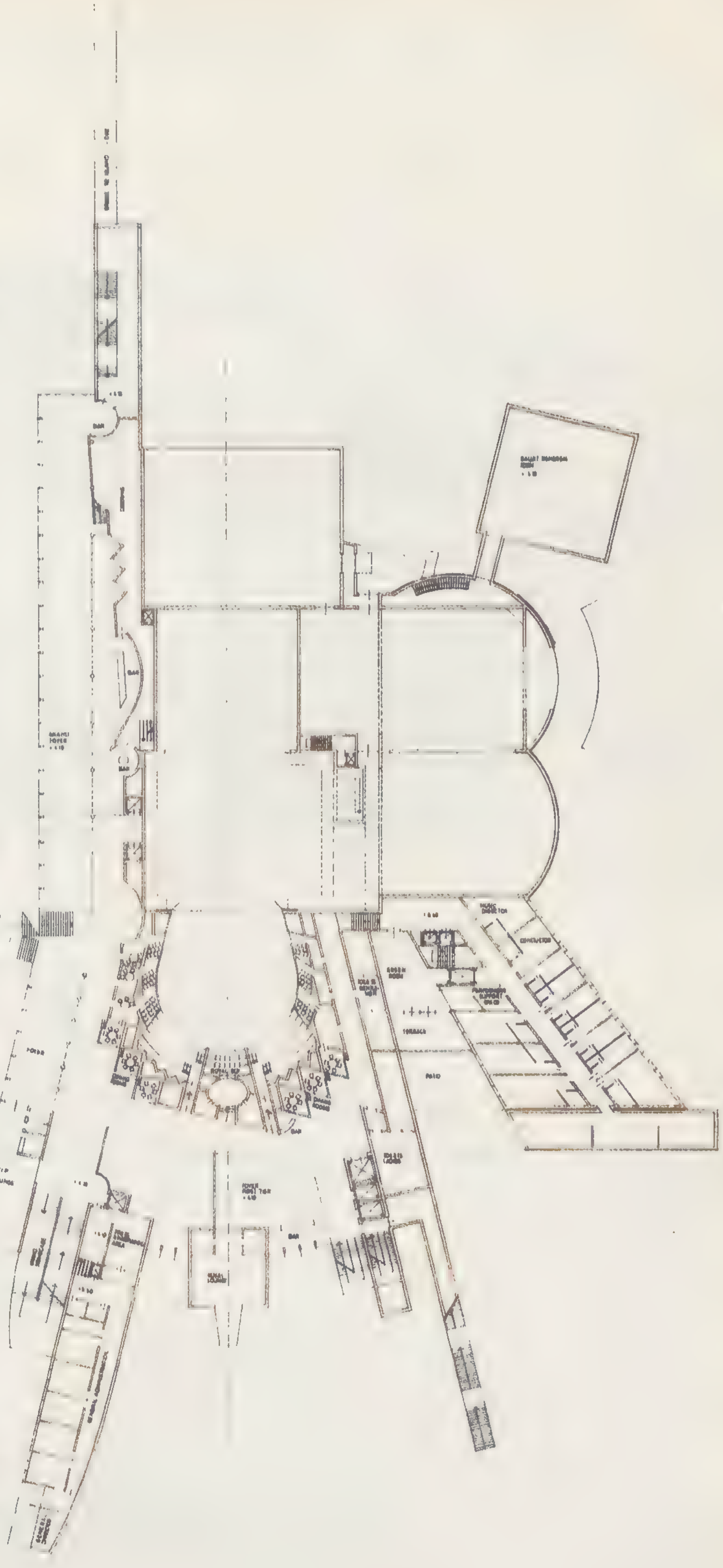
MAIN LEVEL -0.80

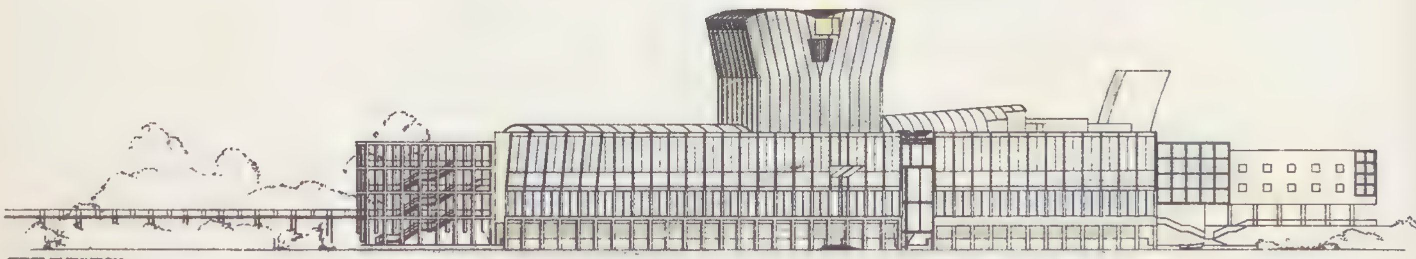


ENTRANCE LEVEL -2.50



WATER LEVEL -3.40

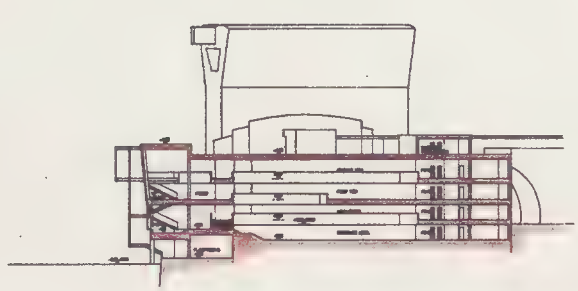


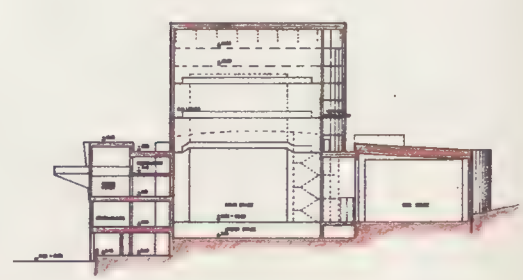


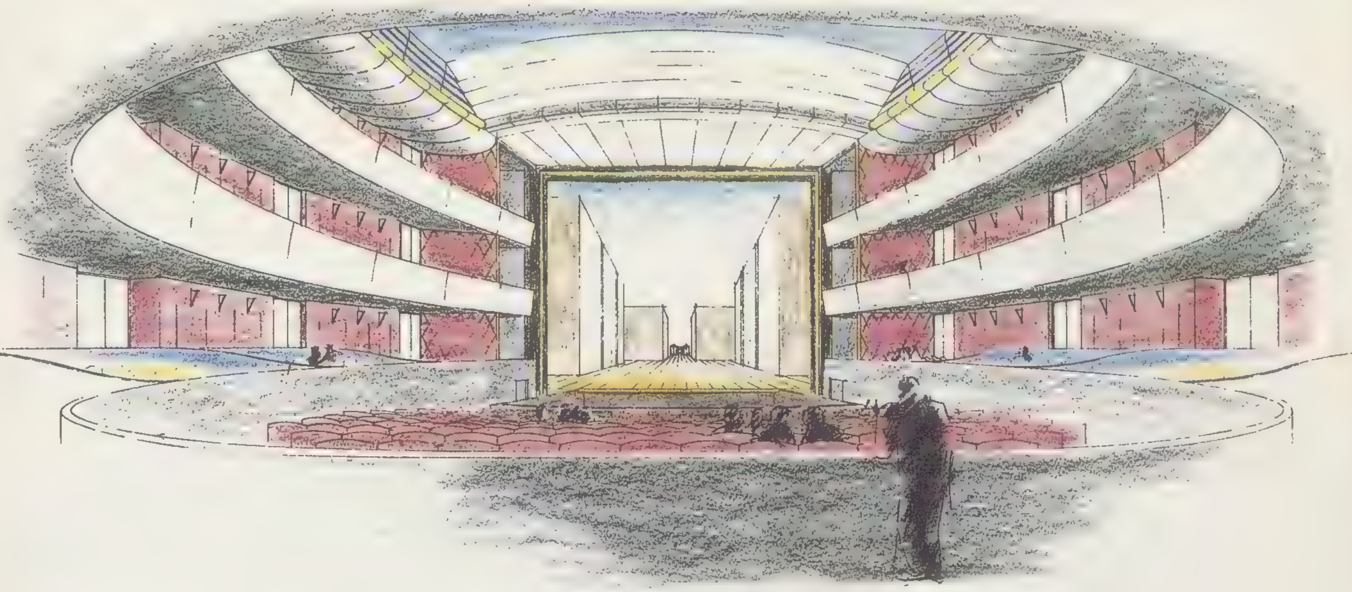
WEST ELEVATION



SOUTH ELEVATION







West and South views, section and interior perspective of the hall.

The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House
1988-89

James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates

with Laurence Bain, Andrew Pryke, Charlie Sutherland

Elevation facility including the Loggia in the foreground.



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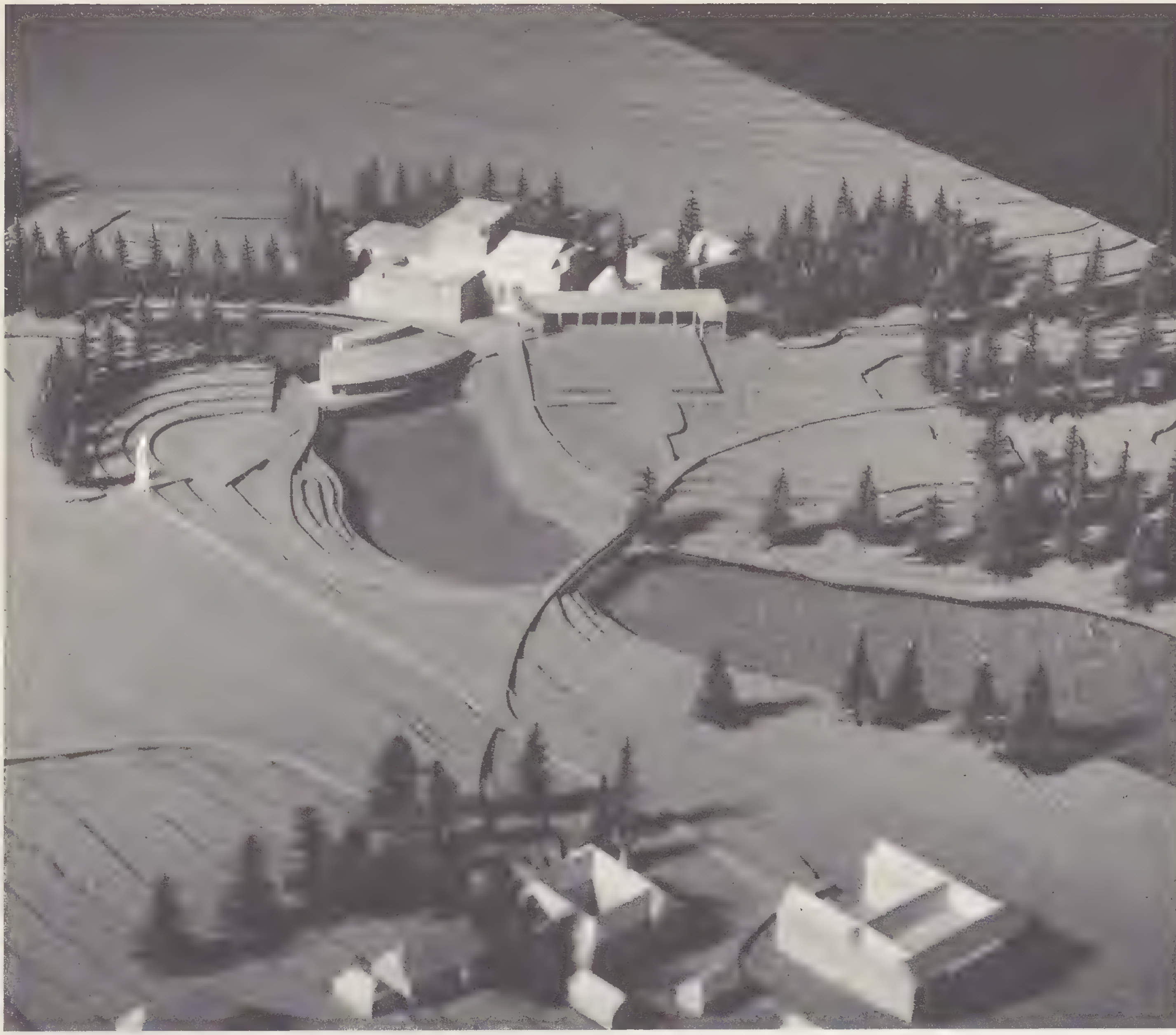
Introduction
This report summarises our ideas for the Compton Verney Opera House. The drawings and study model are intended to illustrate a solution to the competition brief and convey the arcadian atmosphere and experience that a visitor to the Opera and Ballet at Compton Verney would enjoy.
This description traces the processional route visitors will follow from their arrival at the Compton Verney Estate to their seats in the Auditorium and highlights some of the possibilities offered along the way. Functional activities associated with the Opera House, its servicing and materials are then summarised.

Arrival
The Opera House can be approached via public roads from the north and south and a new drive through the estate links both entrances. A circus and Gatehouse at each entrance allows ample room for vehicles to set down visitors before entering the parking terraces.
The Gatehouses (traditional on English country estates) signpost the entrances and set the scene for a fine approach to the Opera House. Tickets could be checked and directions given. To provide twenty-four hour control the Gate Houses could accomodate (at 1st floor) the residential staff required in the brief.
In fine weather, car and bus passengers would be encouraged to disembark at the Gatehouses and walk into the grounds, to enable them to appreciate the beauty and majesty of the landscape. There are alternative experiences when approaching the Opera House either from the north or south. The fine Sequoia Avenue forms a natural approach from the south drawing visitors towards the lawn and entrance Loggia along which, dramatic views of the Adam Bridge, the lake and Mansion House gradually come into view. The route from the north is across rolling open landscape with attractive long distance views of the Opera House and to the Bridge and House beyond.
In inclement weather (or if visitors are handicapped) vehicles will be directed from the Gatehouse directly to the drop-off point at the southern end of the Loggia, adjacent to the Opera House. This drop-off is large enough for ten cars and several coaches to set down passengers simultaneously. Its offset location avoids involvement with traffic circulating to the parking terraces.
The two parking areas are accessed from the drive. To the south, a soft parking area accommodates 500 cars on gently terraced slopes following the natural contours of the hill side. New planting north-east of the Sequoia Avenue will screen parked cars from the Opera House and the Avenue. Hard parking for 250 cars and 32 coaches is positioned north of the Opera House. The adjacent Boathouse Coppice will be reinforced with additional trees to conceal vehicles from view on the northern approach.
The three drop-off points and two car parks will ensure even distribution of traffic through the estate and encourage visitors to explore the landscape and enjoy the arcadian setting. At this stage we have incorporated the existing proposals for the Mansion House and Stable Block together with their access roads.

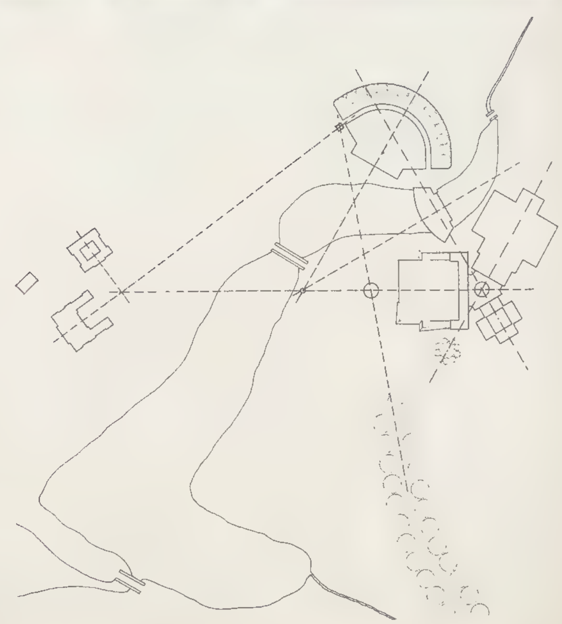
Landscape and Setting
Visitors will be encouraged to arrive throughout the day and enjoy the fine landscape prior to Opera and Ballet performances.
The new building is sited to enhance the existing landscape without impinging upon the traditional views of the Mansion House and Stable Block. Historic plans for Comtpon Verney show that, over the ages, the garden designs have been influenced by the formal Baroque and the informal English Picturesque. As viewed today the latter seems to have triumphed with only vestiges of the Baroque remaining. Our



Overall site plan of the estate, including the new facility: 1) Sequoia Avenue; 2) Icehouse Coppice; 3) Kennels Wood; 4) Boathouse Coppice; 5) Adam Bridge; 6) Mansion House.



View of the model, and schematic plans: sight lines; driveways and parking; pedestrian walkways.



strategy has been to recognise the primary characteristics of the garden and gently reinforce them — to bring the Mansion House, the Adam Bridge, the Opera House and the Garden Arena into a harmonious relationship (both formal and informal) and encourage a "dialogue" between past and present across the lake.

The Opera House site is at a bend in the lake, between Boathouse and Icehouse Coppices on the eastern edge of the estate. When viewed from the house the present open field does little to define the valley. The siting and form of our Opera House, together with new landscaping, will better define this edge and provide interesting new views from the Mansion House. The new buildings are designed as a group of pavilions and landscape elements disposed around the northern end of the lake in the English picturesque manner (e.g. Stourhead). This articulated arrangement helps to reduce the mass and scale of the Opera House and provides an open rural experience particular to Compton Verney (in contrast to the more compact form of the urban Opera House). Such an arrangement also allows separate use of individual facilities during the "closed" season without opening and staffing the whole complex.

A fountain (seat) mid-way between the Sequoia Avenue and the Adam Bridge marks one of the axes of the composition. Three elements can be viewed from this position — the Loggia, the Restaurant Bridge ('a Tea House') and the Garden Arena. Together they link the wooded areas of Icehouse and Boathouse Coppices with the axis of the House. Perhaps the more inquisitive visitor will discover a formal (geometric), relationship between these buildings. However as one would expect in a composed English landscape, it is the picturesque quality of the composition that is of primary importance.

The Loggia faces onto the square lawn which can be used for picnics and garden parties in fine weather. The restaurant looks out across the lake to the Adam bridge and Mansion House beyond. (A similar view to the picture postcard on the cover of the competition brief). The Garden Arena faces the lake and across to the fountain and Sequoia Avenue. A sequence of building and landscape views criss-cross the lake, towards the Mansion House and to the new buildings — a dialogue between old and new.

As visitors stroll on paths around the lake, different and intriguing relationships between buildings and landscape will constantly evolve.

The Opera House

Soil investigations show a limestone layer just below the surface which renders proposals to depress the building deeply into the ground difficult and expensive. Therefore, we have situated the stage at ground level and reduced the apparent height of the flytower by carefully positioning the Loggia, the Restaurant Bridge and Administration Pavilion in the foreground. Viewed from the Mansion House across the lake, the Auditorium and Stage House progressively recede behind the Loggia. Though each building has its own form and identity, they are linked by the entrance *foyer*. Perhaps only in the *foyer* itself does the geometric formal relationship between the new buildings become apparent.

The Loggia forms a backdrop to the square lawn and is reminiscent of the entrance to the Mansion House. It is of similar scale, the columns are the same hight and entrance to both buildings is axial. The new Loggia however is wider and open to the landscape allowing visitors to approach from all directions and stroll out into the gardens. The ends of the Loggia are the receiving porticos for visitors arriving by car from the south and for visitors walking in from the car park to the north. In inclement weather the Loggia could provide shelter for picnickers — still allowing enjoyment of the landscape.

The axes of the Loggia, the Auditorium, and the Administration Pavilion, converge at the centre of the spacious triangular *foyer*. The *foyer* is a grand room with fine





views and large enough to accommodate exhibitions and informal performances (which could be overlooked by the Auditorium entrance gallery). It is of a scale which will encourage a sense of anticipation and excitement in the audience prior to the performance. From each corner large windows have extensive views of the landscape. A central column supports an umbrella rooflight lighting the room and refreshment bar below.

Alternatively, refreshment bars could be separately located in the corners of the *foyer* and continuous seating provided around the central column.

On entering the *foyer*, cloakrooms and bookshop are to the right and the Box Office and Auditorium are to the left. Approach and entry to the Auditorium is clear and direct, allowing the audience to enter and leave without congestion. The stalls are entered directly from *foyer* level. Two grand staircases lead to the 1st and 2nd tiers above, with views from the gallery to the *foyer* below. Two lifts serve all levels. Tickets could be checked either at the foot of the stairs or at each entrance to the Auditorium. The *foyer* can be open to the public at all times to buy tickets, visit exhibitions and browse the bookshop.

Temporary and quickly assembled awnings at the car drop-off entrance and between the Loggia and Restaurant Bridge will ensure bad weather protection between all parts of the Opera House facility.

The Auditorium

As agreed at the Question and Answer session we have, at this conceptual stage, incorporated into the drawings the "horseshoe" Auditorium included in the competition brief. However this is by no means considered a definitive design and we look forward to exploring alternatives with the Council of the Compton Verney Opera Project and their advisors. The articulated disposition of building volumes comprising the new Opera House allows for variation in form and size of the Auditorium and adjoining spaces, without compromising the layout, if this proves necessary to accommodate the increased number of seats suggested in the brief and ensure optimum acoustics. To illustrate this point we have included in the appendix, an alternative set of plans, a section and a perspective illustrating a "court" Auditorium which might be considered appropriate in a rural setting. Both types could form the basis of discussion to mutually establish the most appropriate Auditorium for the Compton Verney Opera House.

Private dining rooms together with press and latecomers rooms are easily accessed from the two flanks of the Auditorium at every level. On the upper tiers, bars and toilets are centrally located. Balconies overlook the *foyer* at first floor and have views out across the restaurant and lake at second floor.

The Administration Pavilion encloses a garden court. Public facilities including the bookshop, cloakroom and toilets are situated at ground level. Private offices are at first floor above.

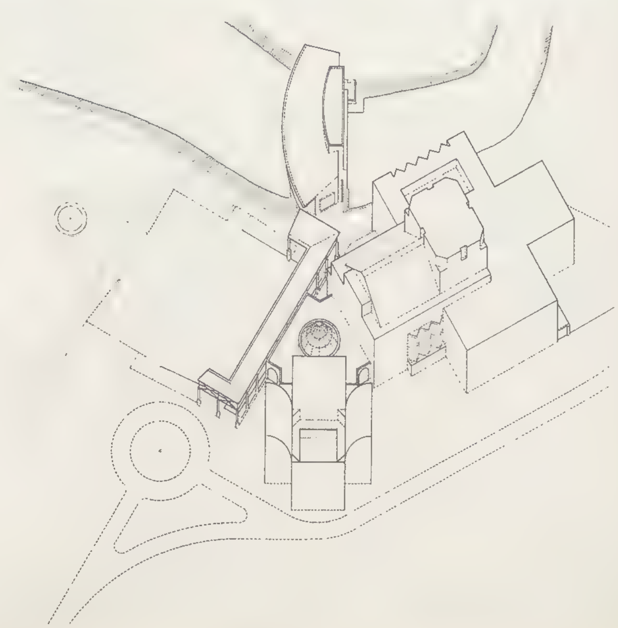
The restaurant pavilion bridges the lake and connects the entrance Loggia to the Garden Arena, producing a variety of walks around the lake. The fan-shaped building has a panorama of views to the west over land and water. The interior can be flexibly sub-divided into three separate rooms to suit demand and the kitchen is centrally located for ease of service.

Garden Arena

This open air Auditorium is set into the hillside on the western bank of the lake. The outer edge of the Auditorium is enclosed by a line of new trees. The centre tier at ground level relates to the axis of the House along a new path (as suggested in the plans of 1736 and 1818).

Backstage

The configuration of stage and backstage areas accords with the layout given in the competition brief. Stage support,



Southeast and Southwest axonometries.

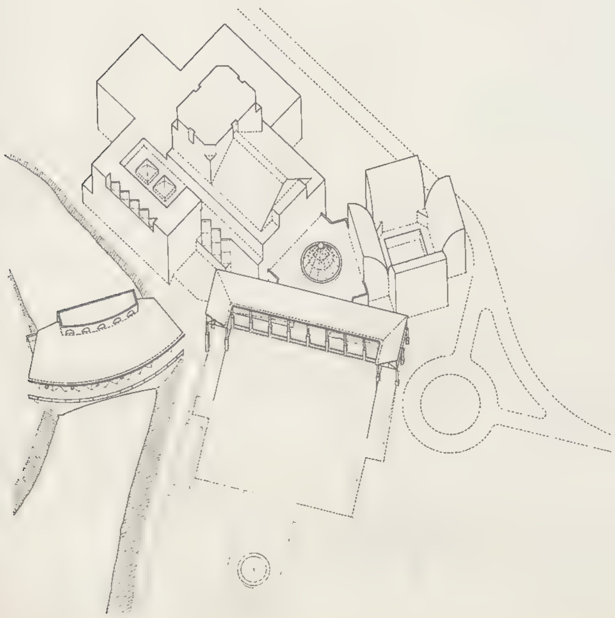
dressing rooms and rehearsal rooms are grouped together on stage right, overlooking the lake.
Plans indicating the disposition of the spaces scheduled in the brief are included in the appendix. This layout is not definitive and would require detailed discussions with the Council of the Compton Verney Opera Project to achieve a preferred arrangement.
A third floor staff restaurant overlooks both the lake and a private open-air court above the rehearsal rooms. The court provides a private outdoor community space for performers and staff.

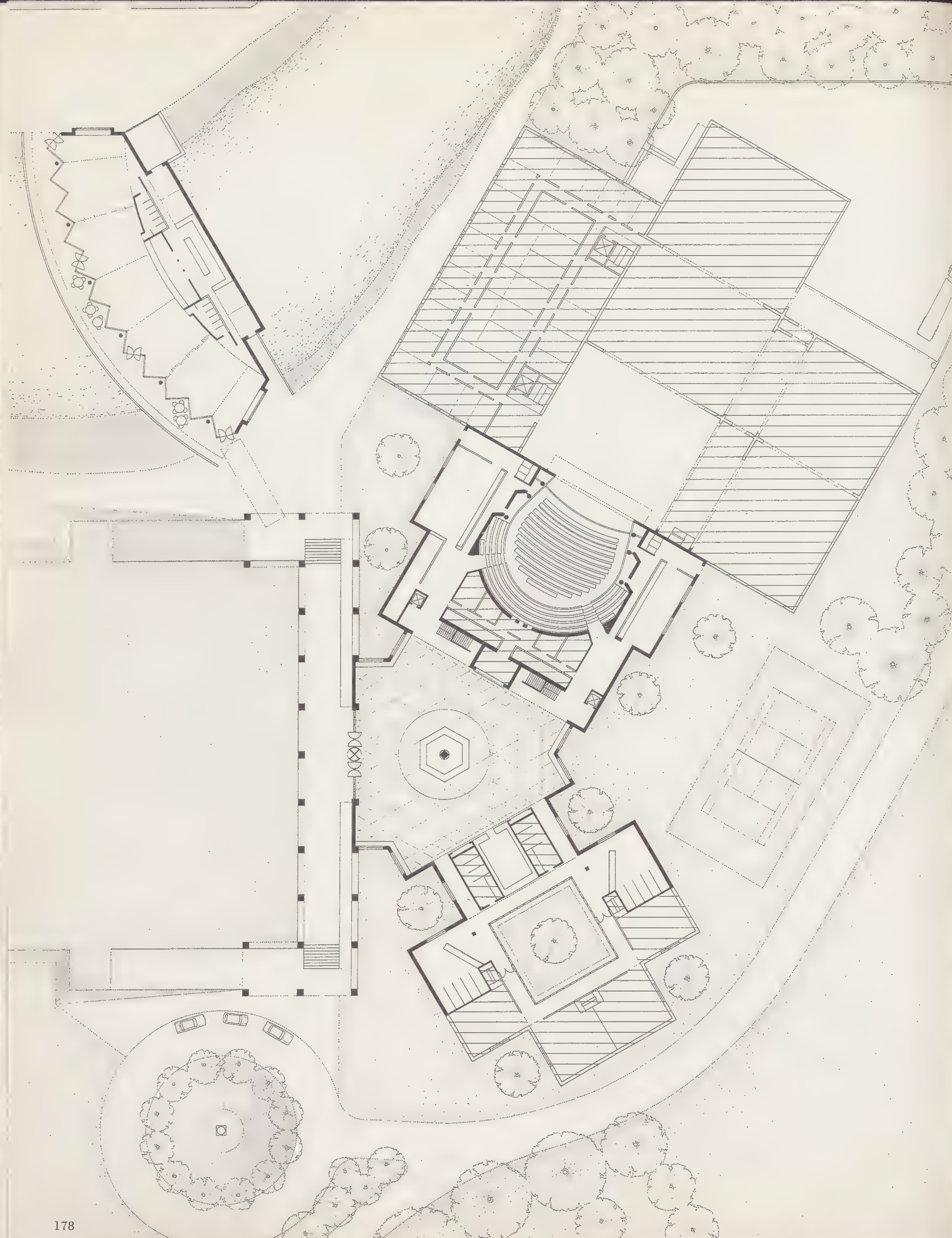
Service and Delivery

Service vehicles should approach from the north entrance to the estate. A tree enclosed service yard to the north of the Opera House allows deliveries to the backstage areas and the stage door. A slip road to the west of the lake leads to the Garden Arena and provides service access to the kitchen of the Restaurant Bridge and the Garden Arena.

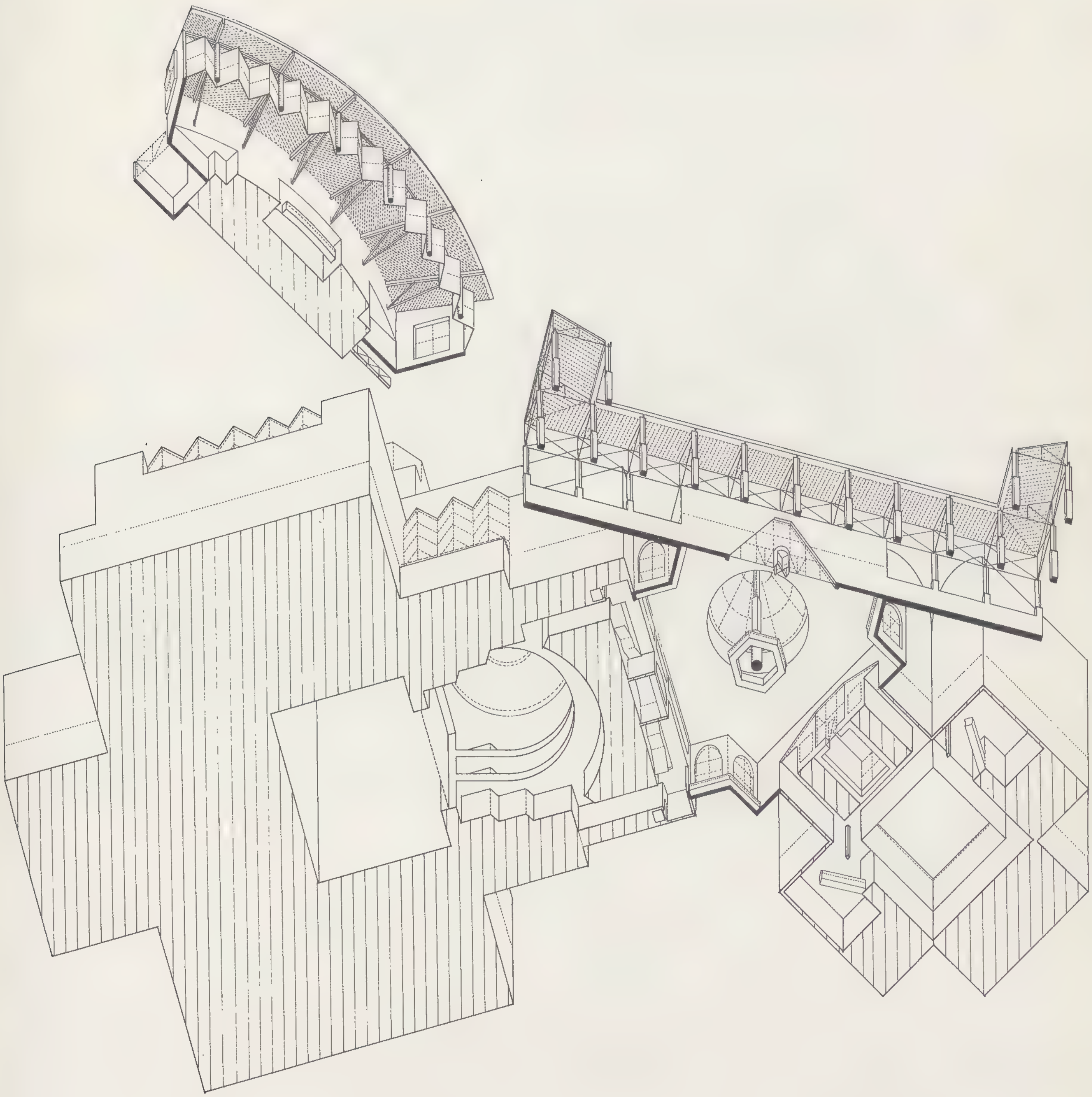
Materials

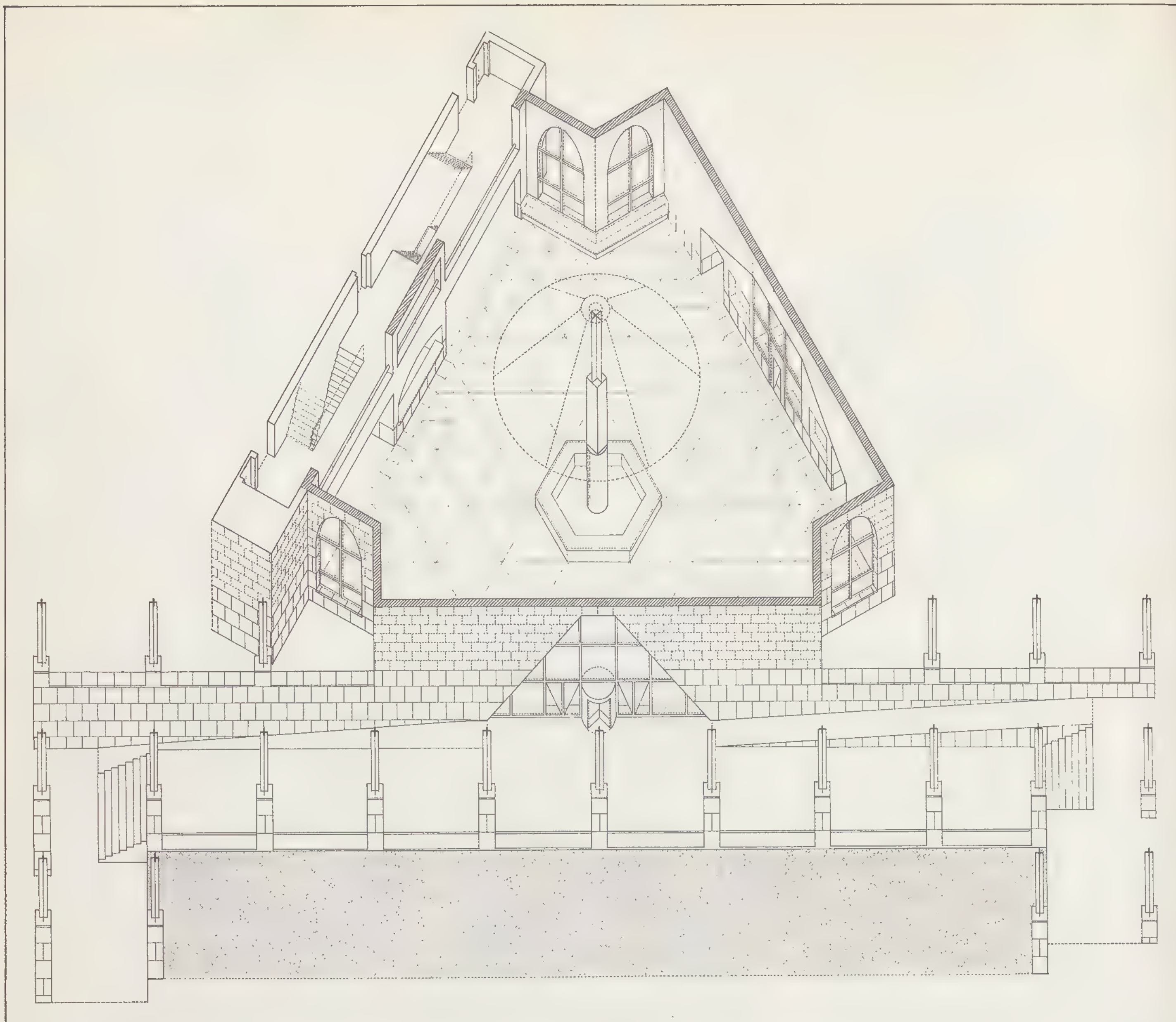
It is our intention to use materials for the new buildings which are in sympathy with the rural setting and the existing external surfaces of the Mansion House and Adam Bridge. The Loggia walls and columns are faced in sandstone and metal trusses support a slate covered roof. The Auditorium and the Administration building have a sandstone base with stucco surfaces above. The upper surfaces of the Stage House, the Auditorium roof and the curved Administration roofs are also covered in slate.
Internally high quality materials (plaster, hardwoods, fabrics, brass, plush etc.) will be used to provide warm tactile surfaces.





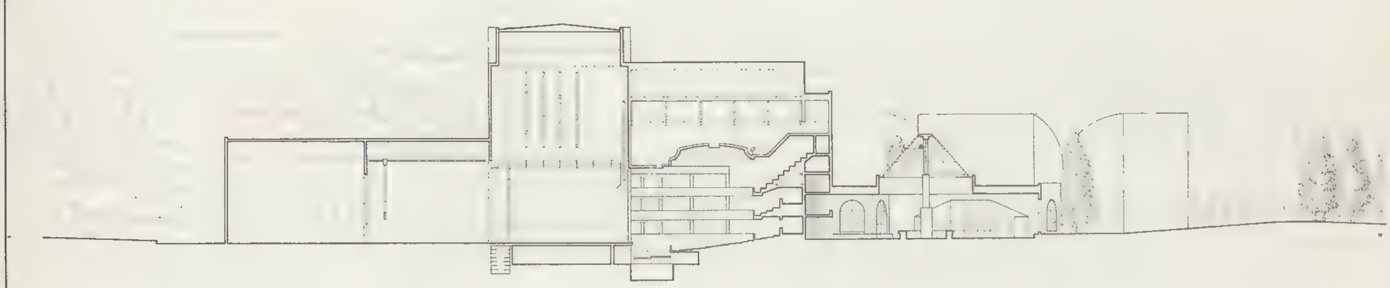
Ground floor plan and axonometric from below.

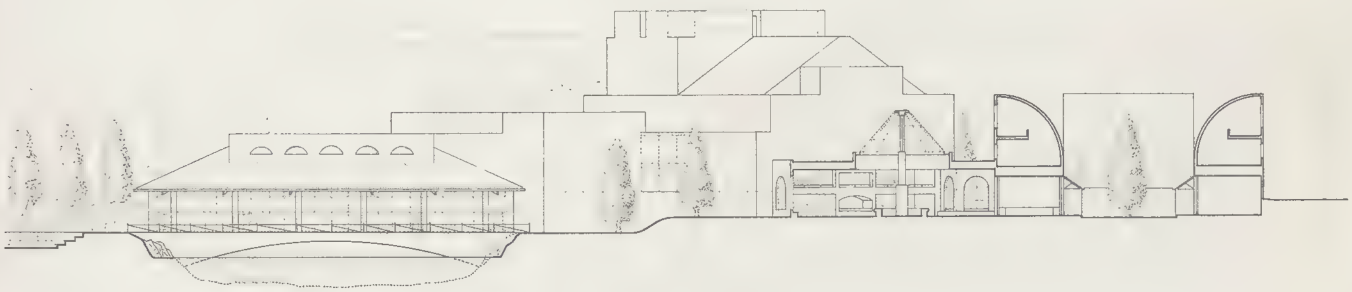


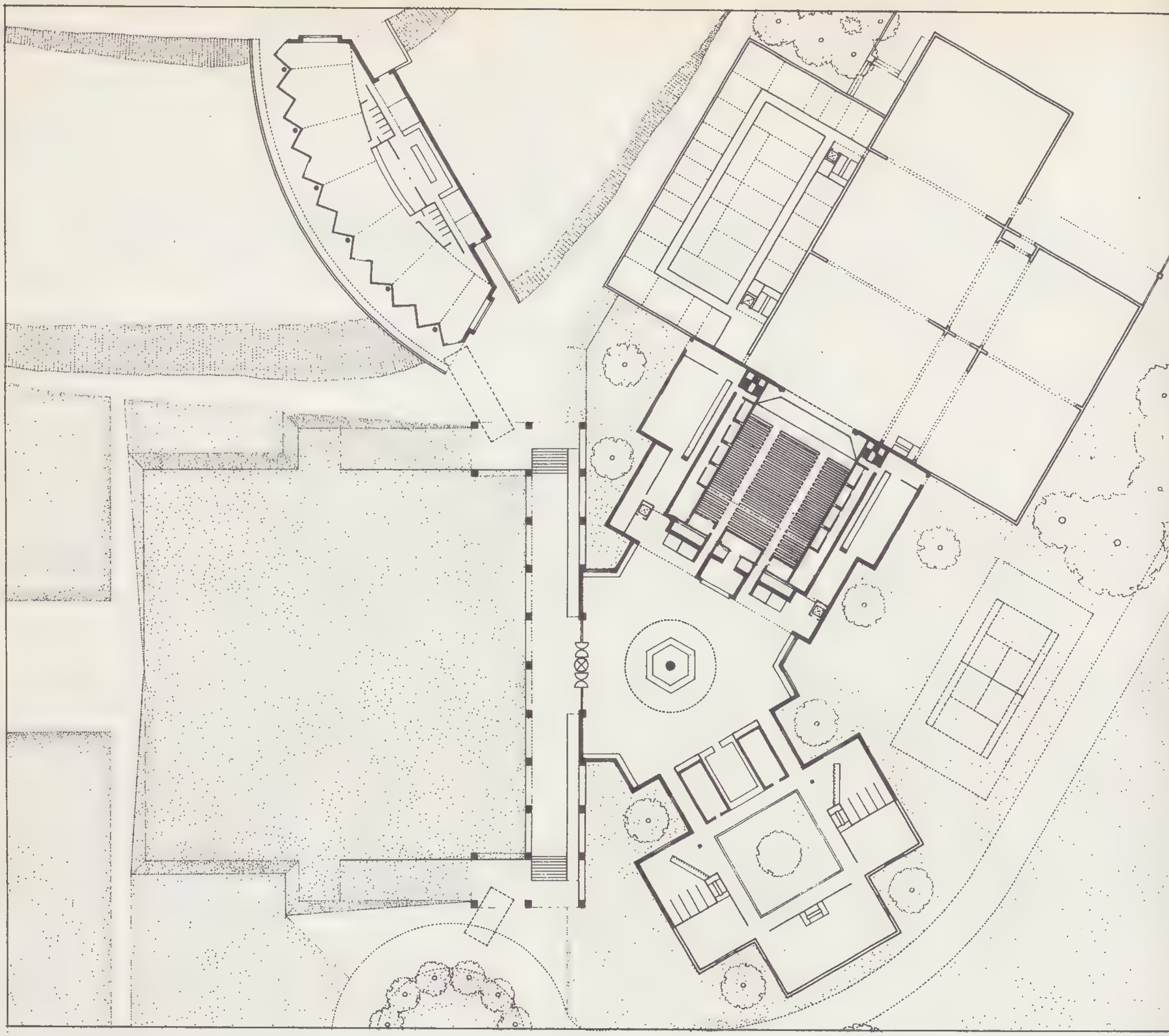


Axonometric section of the Loggia and foyer, West elevation and longitudinal sections of the theatre and the administration building.

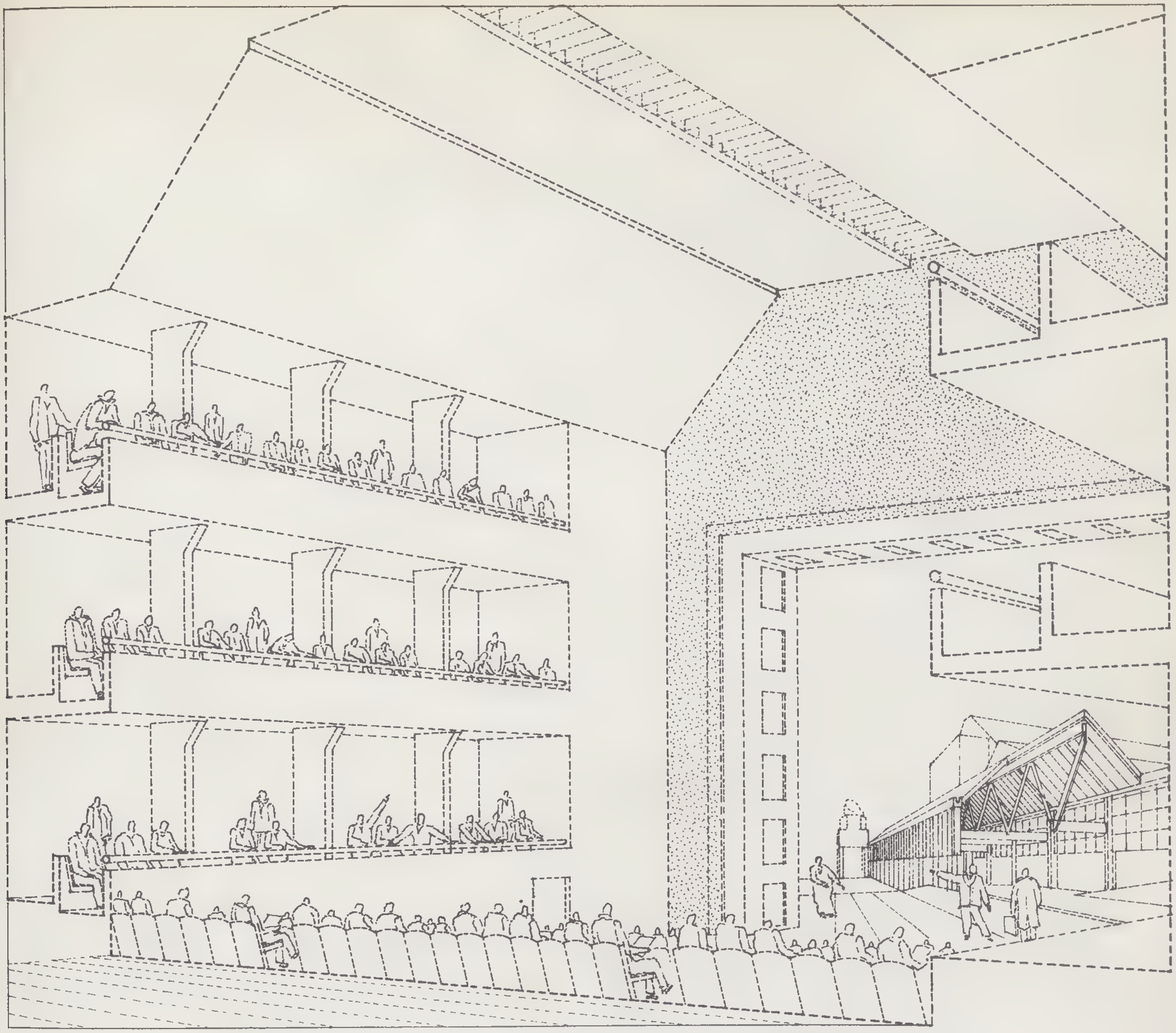








Ground floor plan and interior view of the alternative version of the theatre hall as a rectangular "courtyard".





Cooper Union Student Housing in New York, New York

1990

Eisenman Architects e Thomas Leeser

Peter Eisenman (Partner in Charge), George Kewin (Associate Partner-in-Charge), Thomas Leeser, Nuno Mateus (Project Designers)

Project Team: John Durschinger, Yuhang Kong, Ed Mitchell, Tom Popoff, Wieland Vajen, Joe Walter
Project Assistants: Andreas Blanco, Laurence Blough, Begona Fernandez-Shaw, Reid Freeman, Kelly Hopkin, Jake Malis, Mun Marsett, Tony Pergola, Astrid Perlbinder, Anne Peters, Inigo Rodriguez-San Pedro, Leslie Smith, Madison Spencer, Ilkka Tarkkanen, Mark Womble, Jim Wilson

West view of the model.
Photo D. Frank.



Cooper Union Student Housing in New York, New York

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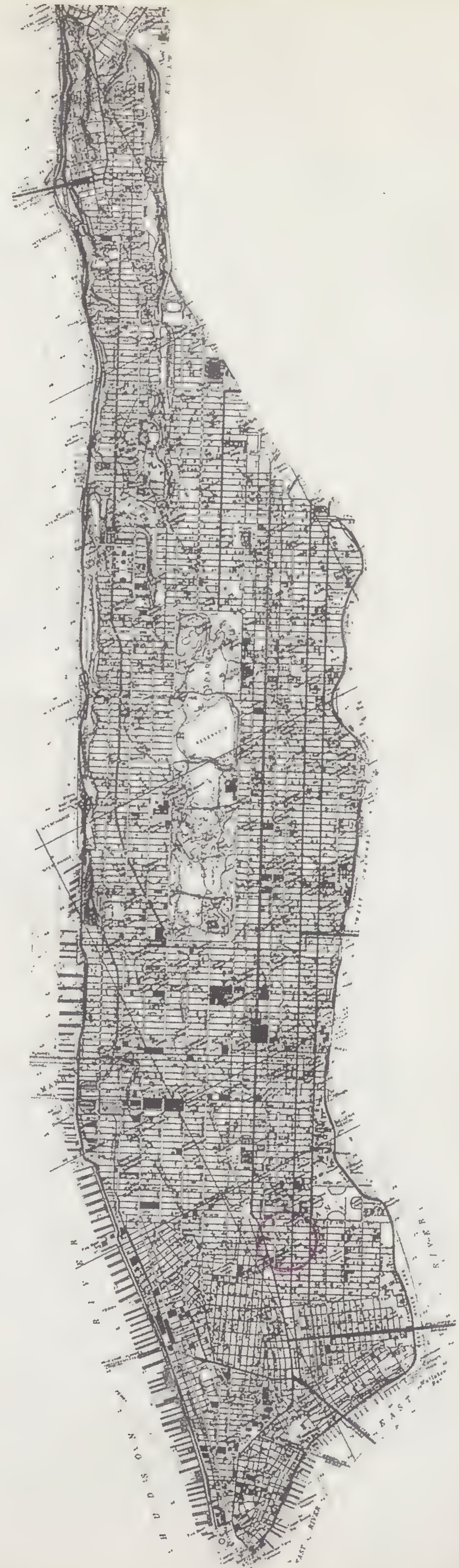
West view of the model.
Photo D. Frank.

Project for the Cooper Union Student Housing, New York

Peter Eisenman

As part of a limited invited competition, we were asked to design a residential building for the Cooper Union, one of the world's preeminent colleges of architecture. The challenge of designing a building for a high-profile school with a reputation for its forward vision led us to question the nature of a symbolic building today, one which is neither a monument nor a classical *pastiche*. In the past, a classical monument was hierarchical, axial, closed and contained. Our project breaks down those traditional aspects of classical monumentality — the symmetries, the singular axes, the regular stacked forms of monumental composition — and replaces them with a freer, richer, more playful massing which has no defined frame, no single axis, and no conformity of material to shape or form to function. Rather, our project proposes a symbolic vision of its own time and place: complex, multivalent, tactile.

As an urban institution, The Cooper Union has a role between an academic "home" and a portal through which students venture into the life of the city. Thus, the second aspect which our project addresses is both symbolic and functional. It concerns both a house and a "home" for its students. It begins with private units for two people, then facilites for four to six people, and then loft-style duplex living areas for from 16 to 32 students. The organization provides for both community and privacy, flexibility and order. In so doing, our project aspires to banish the anonymity that repetitive units usually produce by deploying a series of variously reticulated masses, breaking down the scale of a large building into recognizable human units.

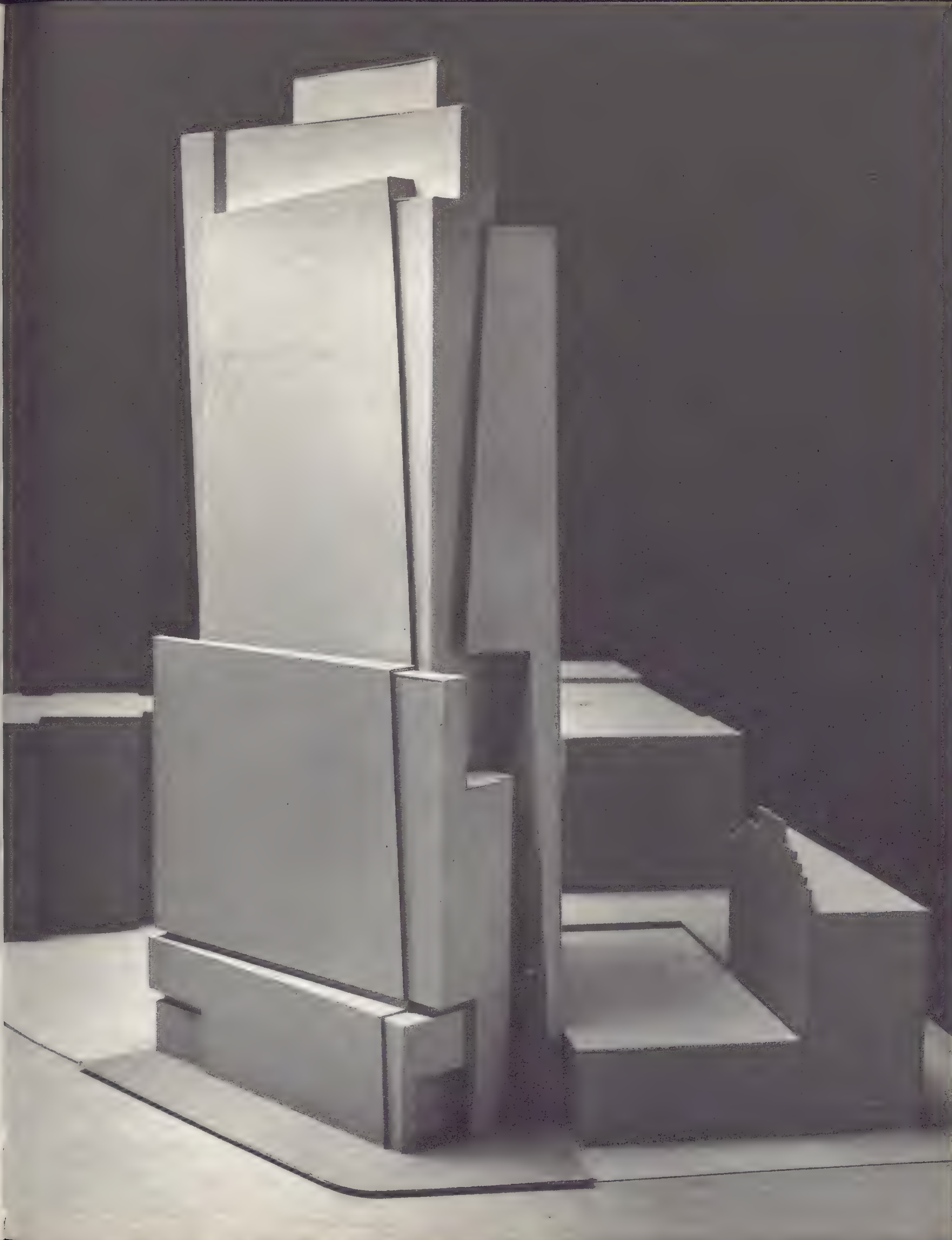


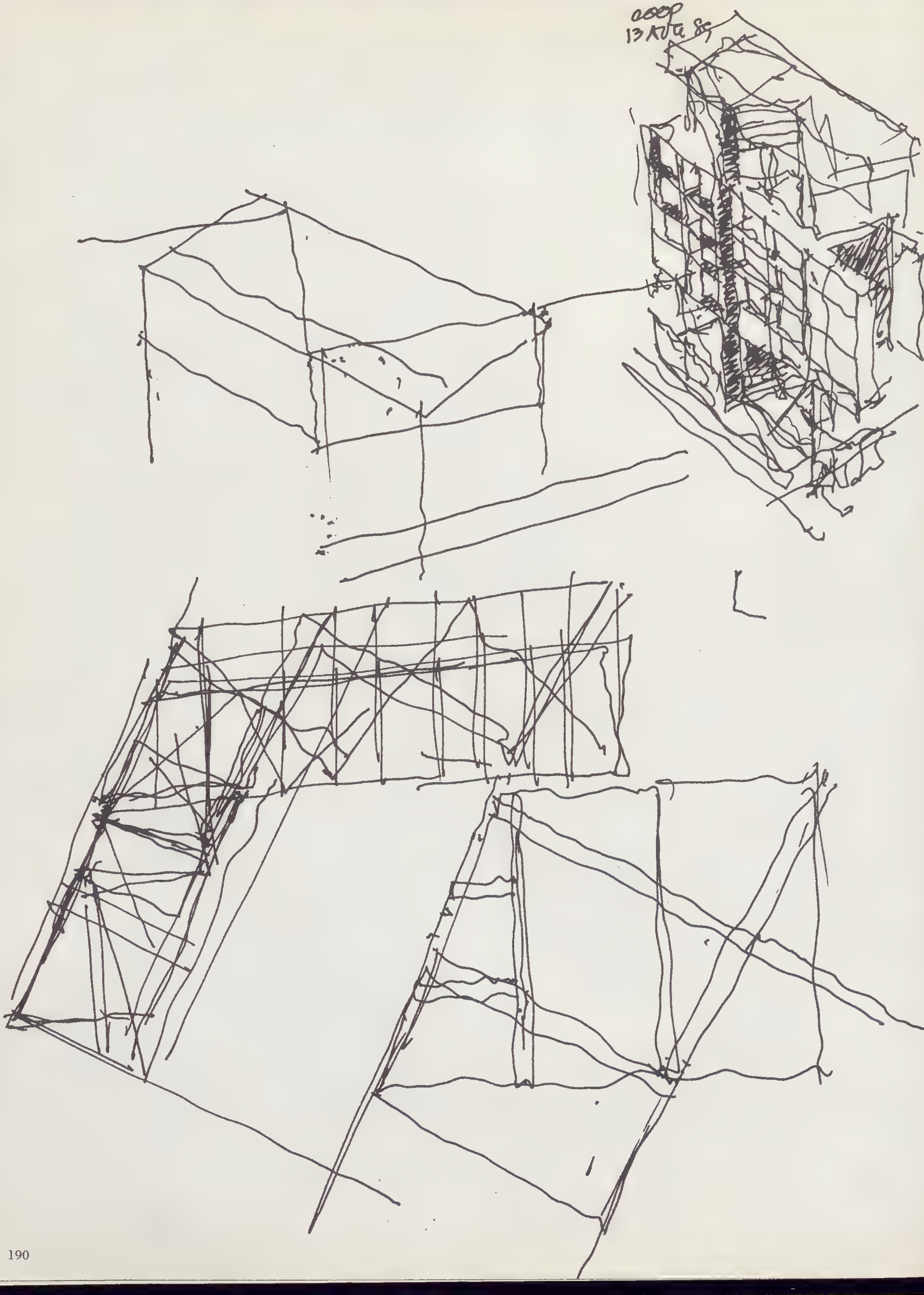


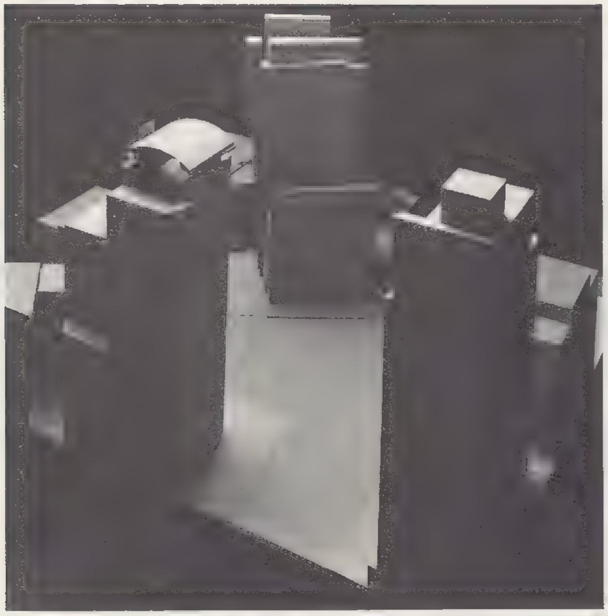
Siting in the Manhattan urban content and volumetric study.



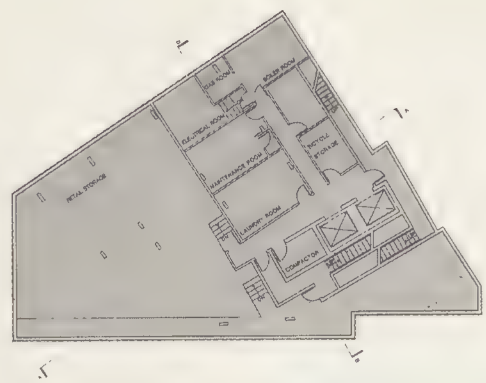
East and West views of the study model. Photos D. Frank.



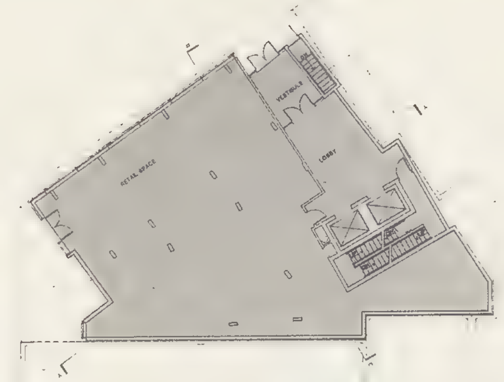




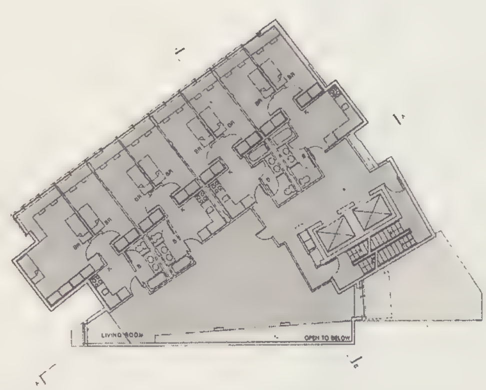
Study sketches and North view of the study model. Photo D. Frank.



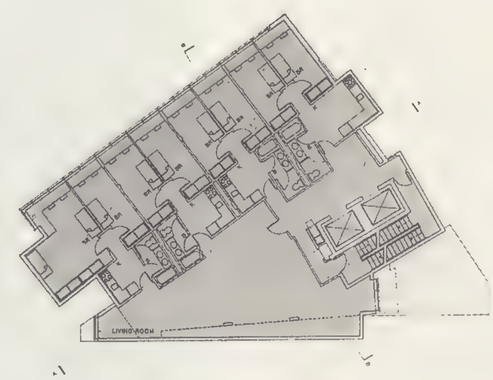
CELLAR LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



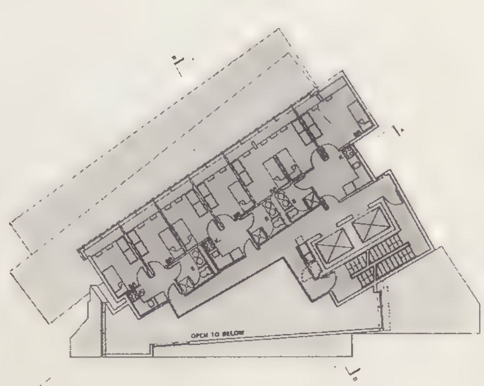
GROUND LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



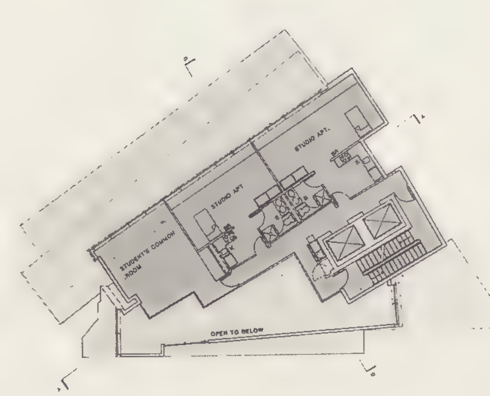
FOURTH LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



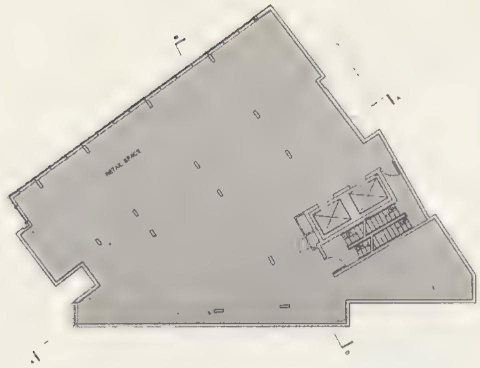
FIFTH LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



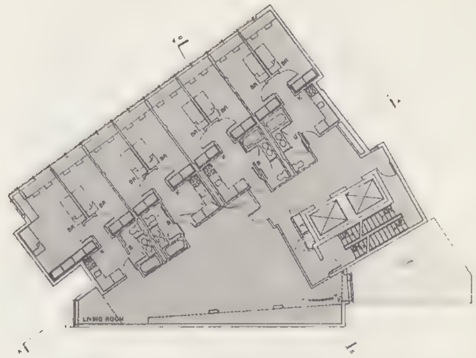
EIGHTH & TENTH LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



PENTHOUSE LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



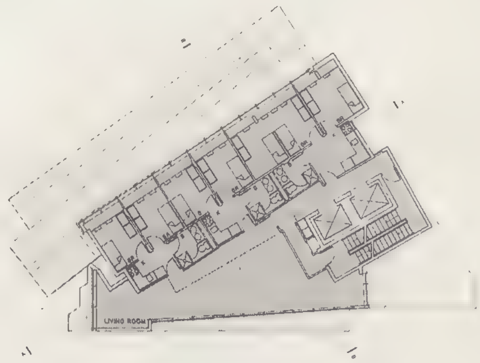
SECOND LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



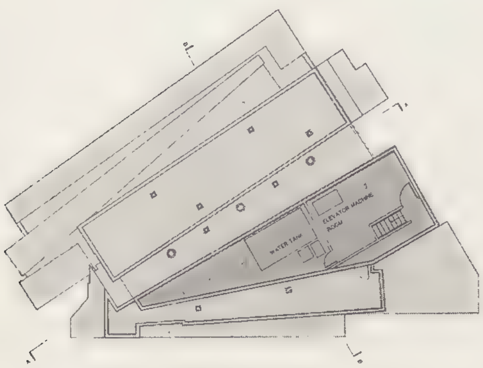
THIRD LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



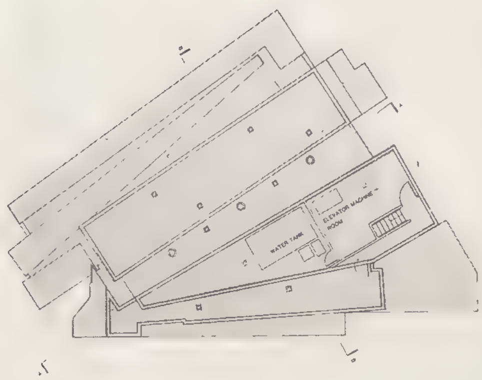
SIXTH LEVEL FLOOR PLAN



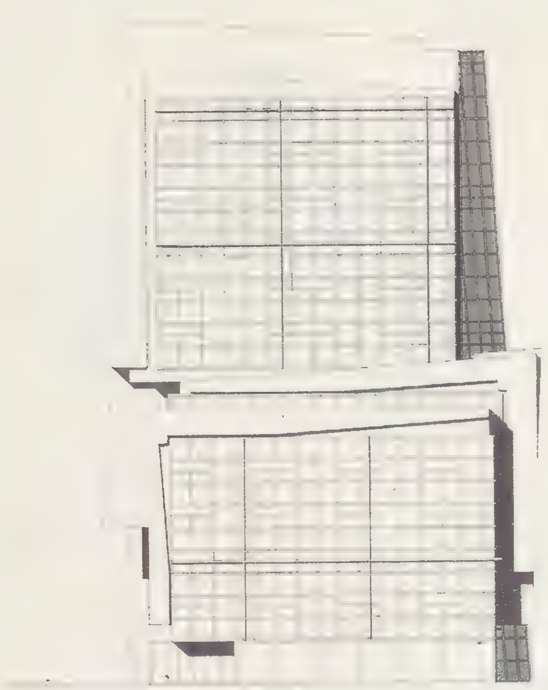
SEVENTH, NINTH & ELEVENTH LEVEL FLOOR PLAN

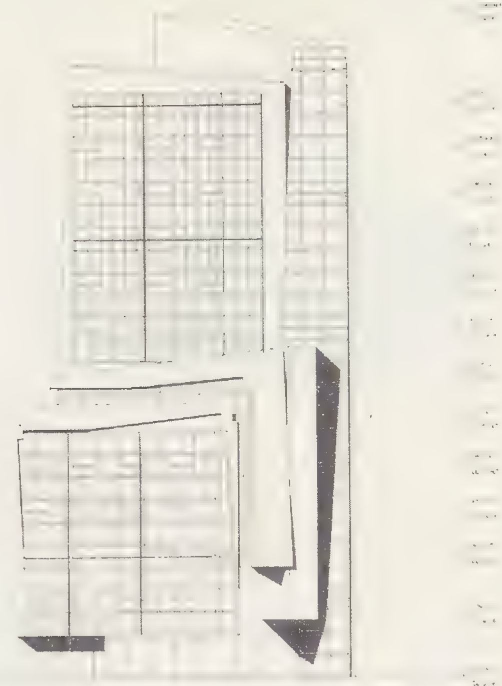


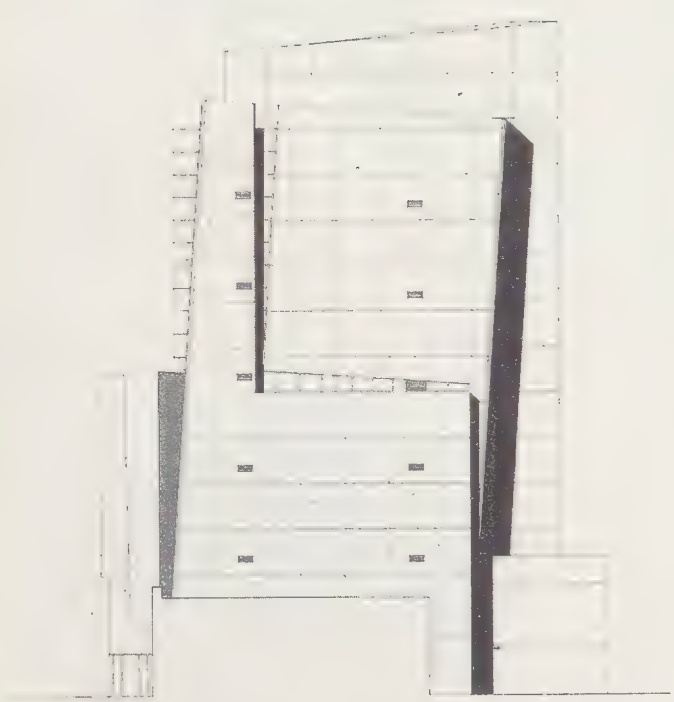
ROOF LEVEL PLAN

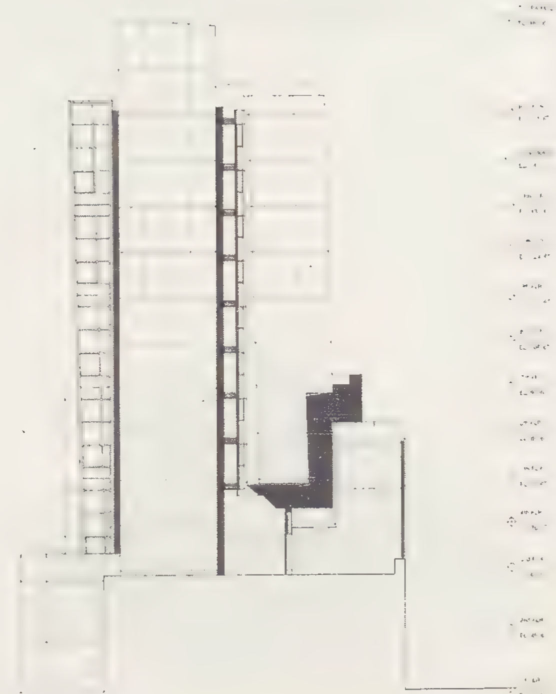


MECHANICAL PENTHOUSE LEVEL FLOOR PLAN

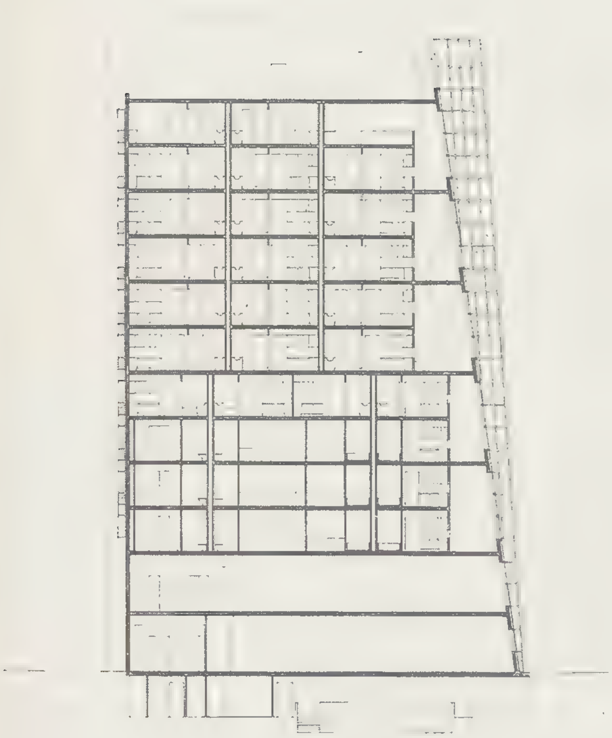


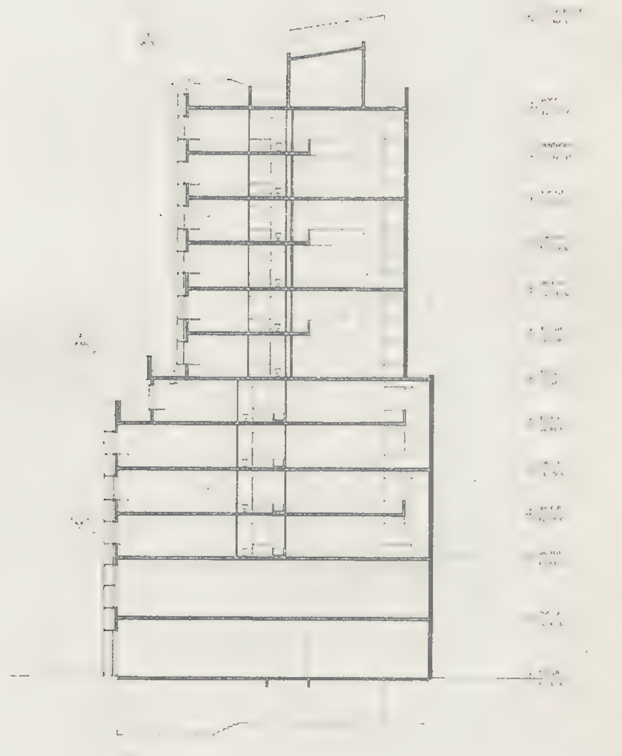






Elevations and sections.







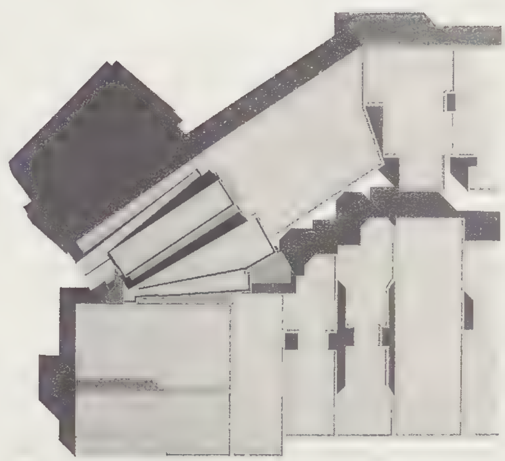
Perspective from the Northwest;
North view of the model.
Photo D. Frank.







West view of the model; perspective from the Northeast. Photo D. Frank.



Southwest view of the model; building volume on the city block. Photo D. Frank.







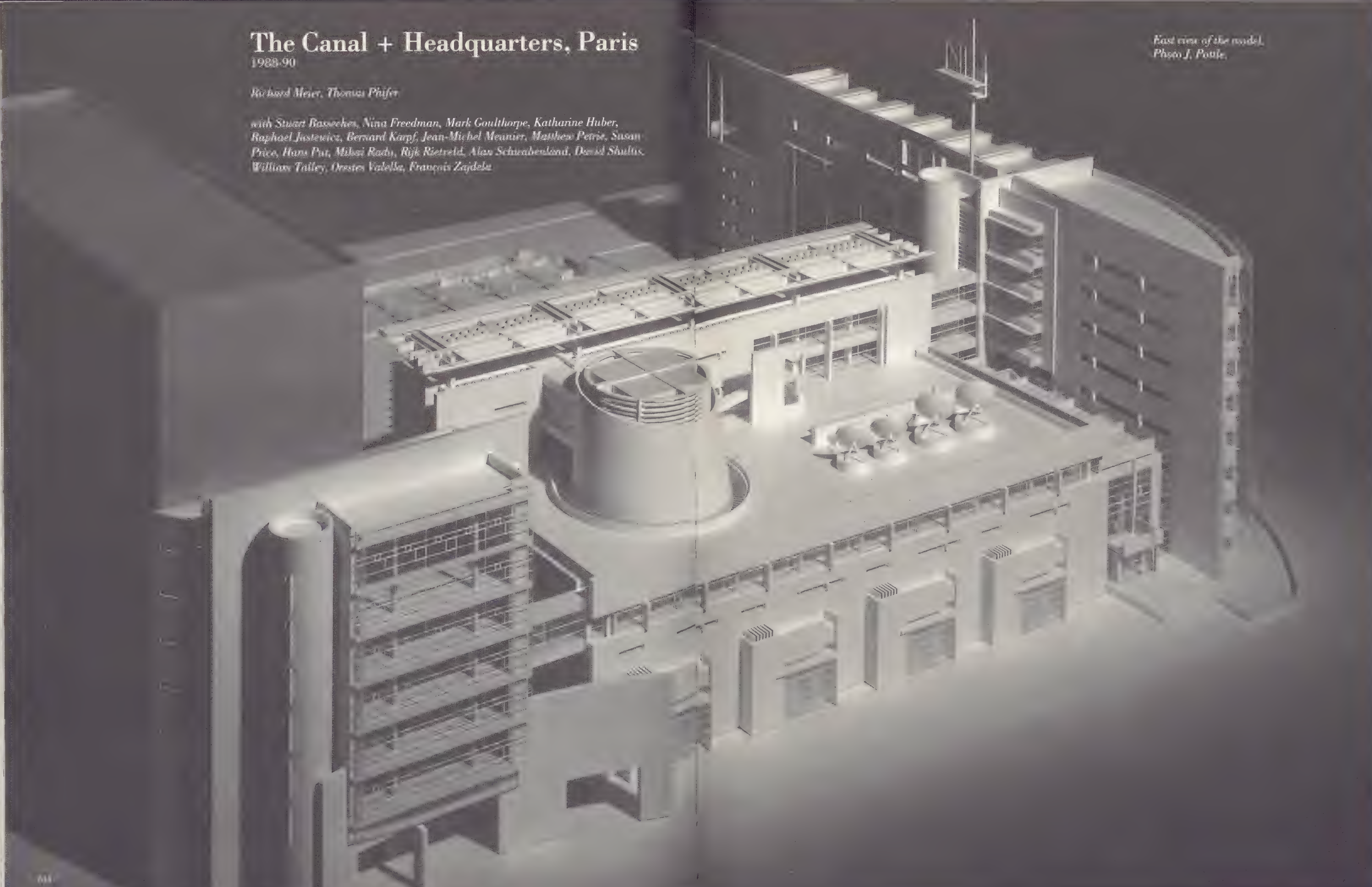
East views of the model.
Photo D. Frank.

The Canal + Headquarters, Paris

1988-90

Richard Meier, Thomas Phifer

with Stuart Basseches, Nina Freedman, Mark Goulthorpe, Katharine Huber, Raphael Justewicz, Bernard Karpf, Jean-Michel Meunier, Matthew Petrie, Susan Price, Hans Put, Mihai Radu, Rijk Rietveld, Alex Schwabenland, David Shultis, William Talley, Orestes Valella, François Zajdela



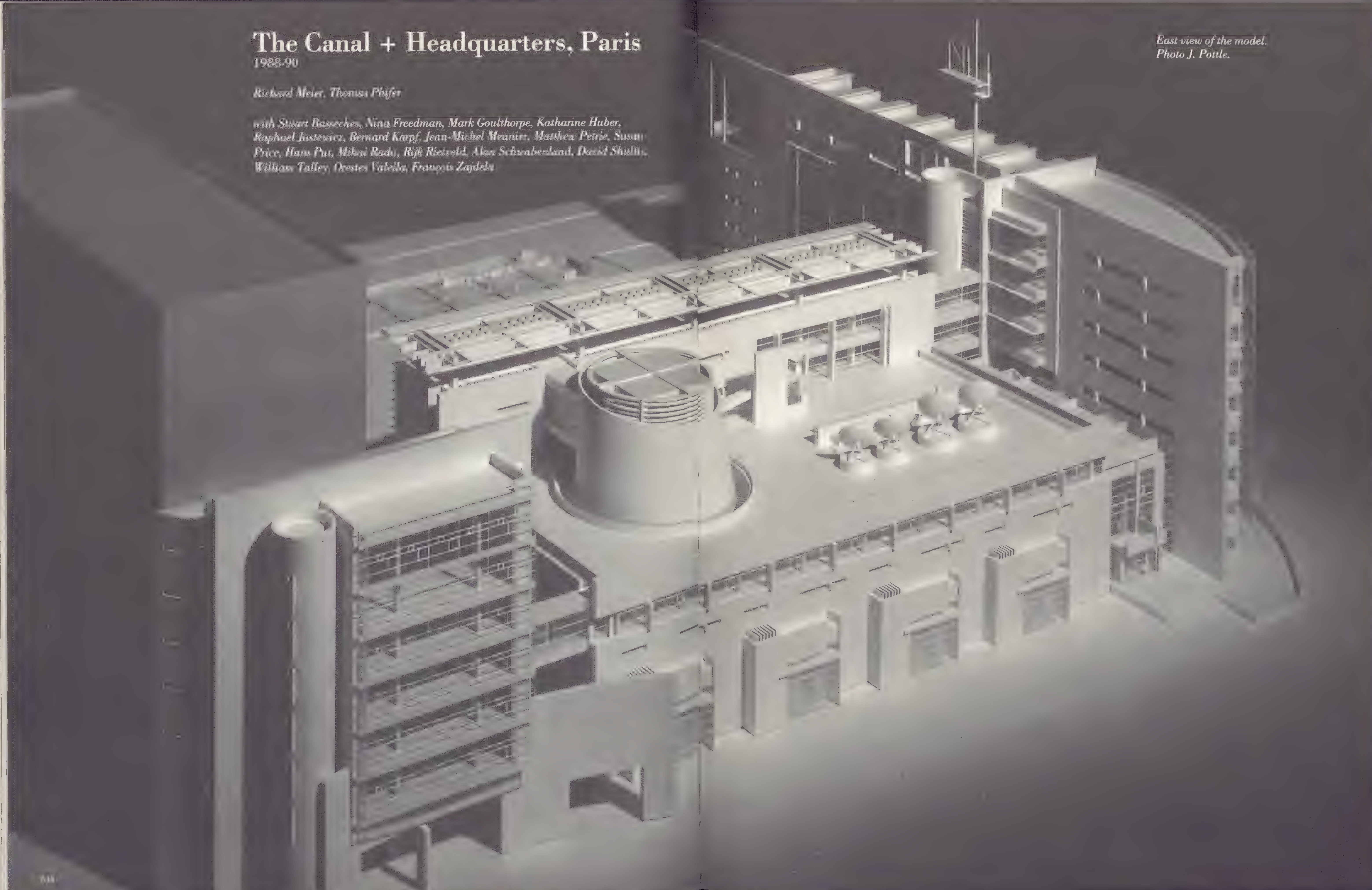
East view of the model. Photo J. Pottle.

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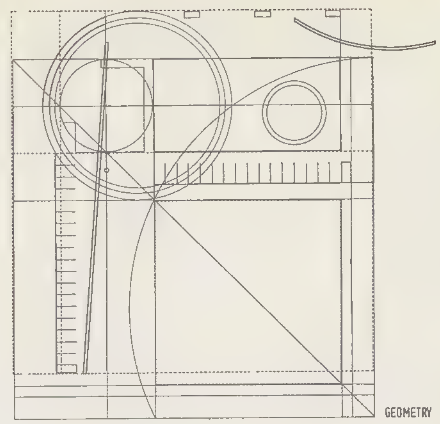
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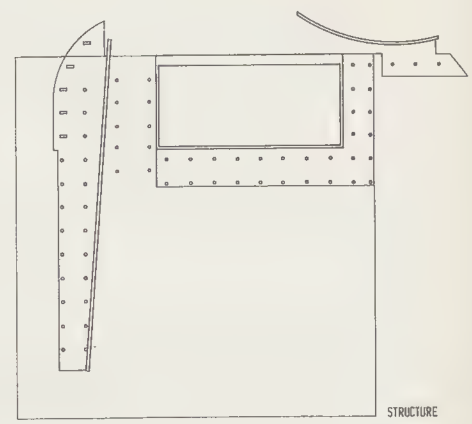


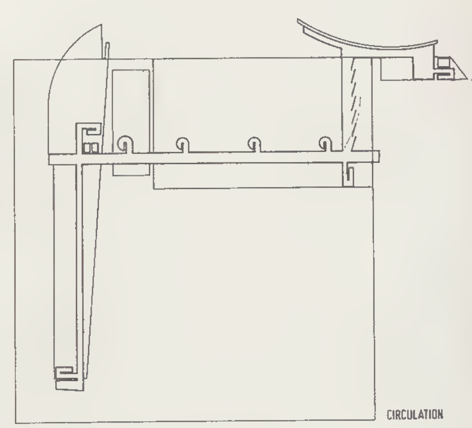
East view of the model. Photo J. Pottle.

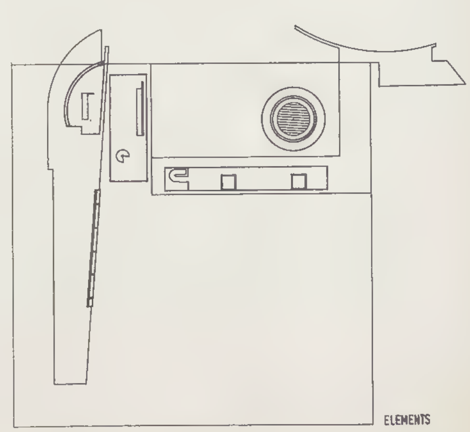
Project for the New Canal + Headquarters, Paris

Richard Meier, Thomas Phifer


GEOMETRY

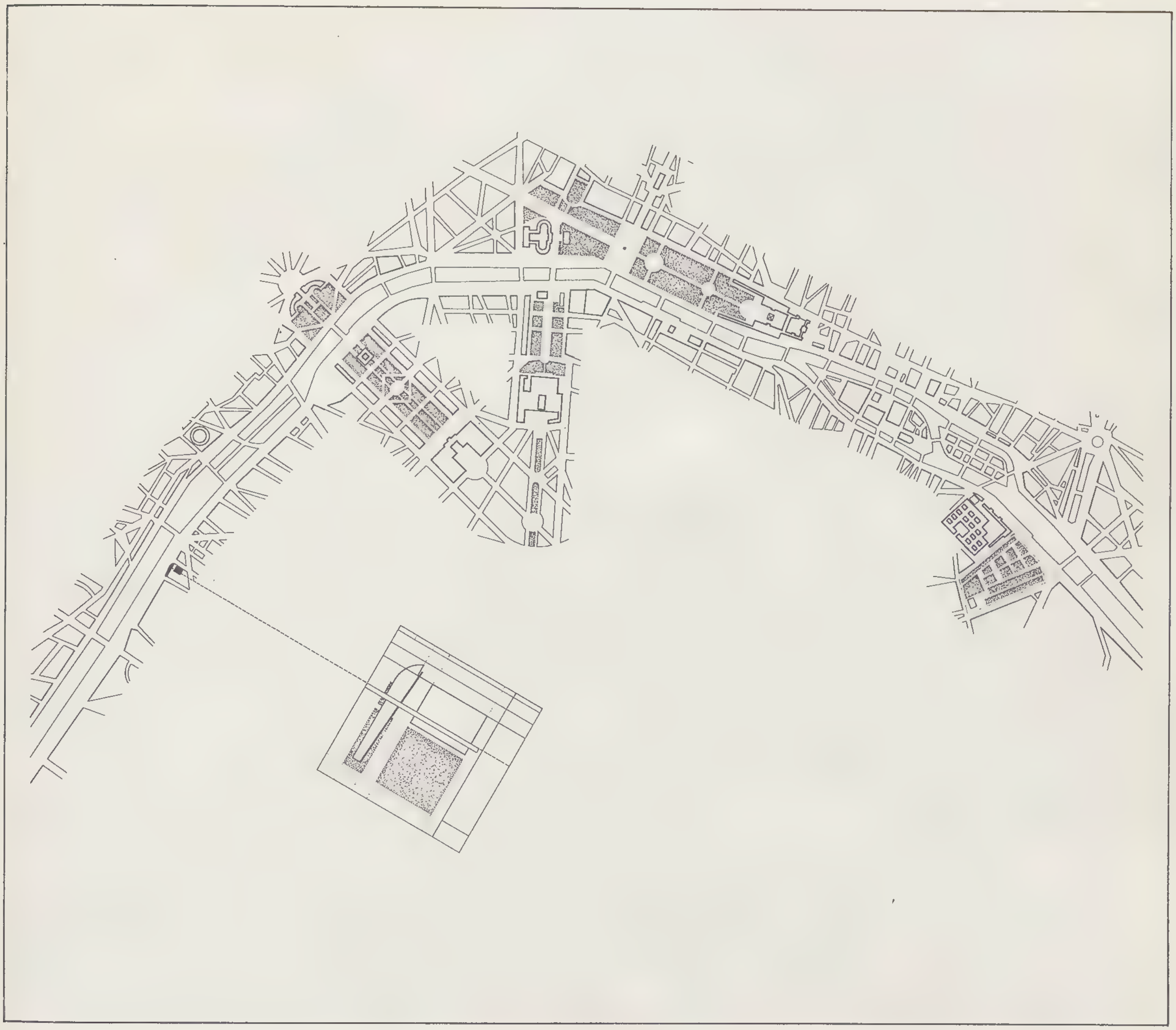

STRUCTURE


CIRCULATION

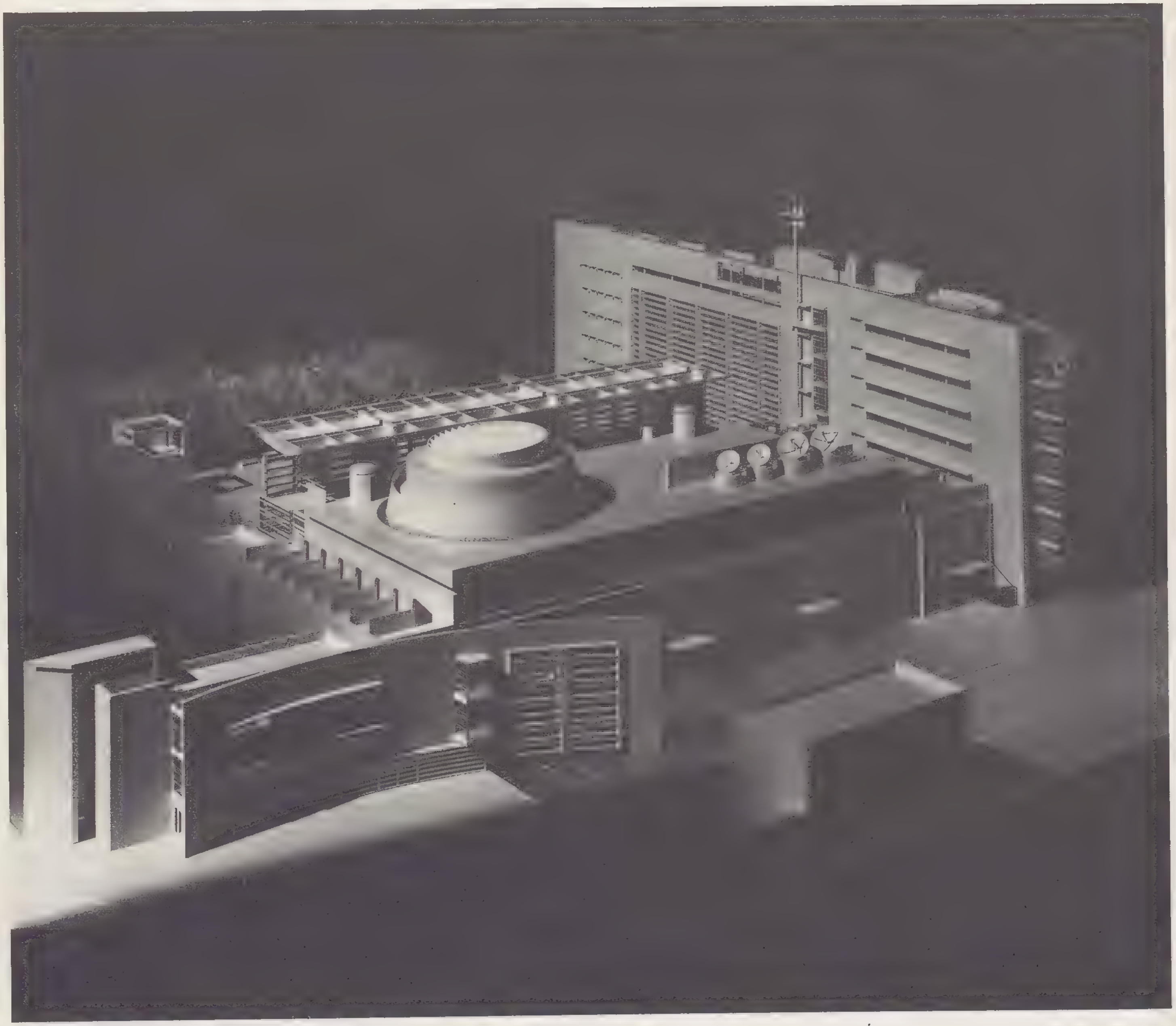

ELEMENTS

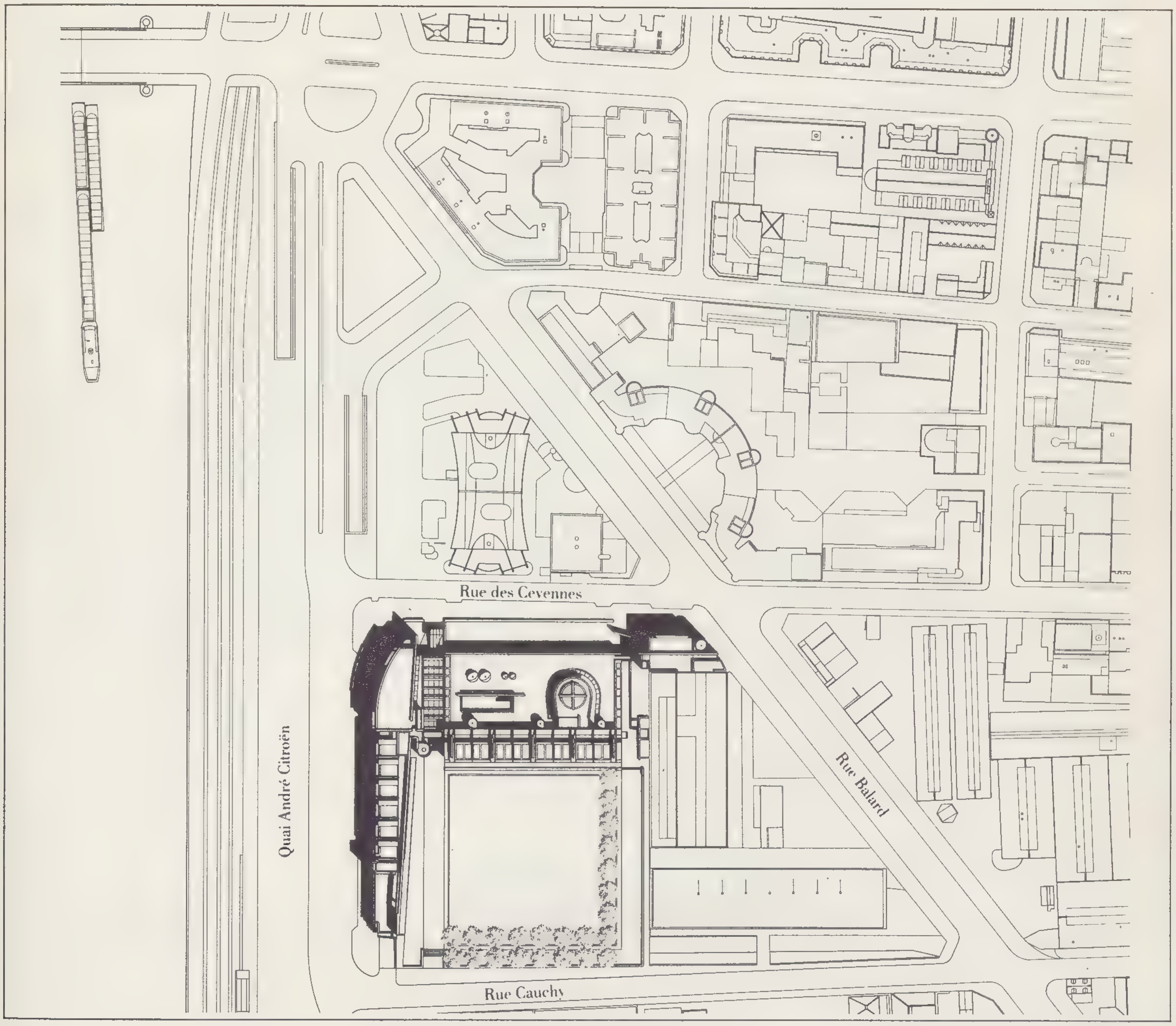
This design for new administrative headquarters and production facilities was selected by Canal + following an international competition in which they were seeking a scheme that would symbolize the bold and innovative attitudes which have made this young company such a success.
Located on the left bank of the Seine just west of the Pont Mirabeau the design divides the building into two principal masses, a western wing facing onto the Seine one devoted to administration and wide eastern wing largely allocated to audio-visual production.
The general organization is a product of the overall context and a number of fairly severe site restrictions. Thus the plan form of the thin tapering of story administration wing facing the river is a direct result of the boundaries situated to north east and the north west of the L-shaped site. These boundaries detrimit two adjacent sides of a roughly square park that already occupies the best part of the available block.
These are not the only contextual "*hazards*" that this delicate composition has had to respond to. Others were provided by the adjacent rather non-descript high rise apartment tower that flank the site to the north west and south west and diagonal inflection imposed upon the entire area by the trajectory of the rue Balard running northwards from the bridge head of the Pont Mirabeau.
Conceptually Canal + depends upon a series of delicately tessellated membranes. In the first place on the clear, translucent and opaque white spandrel glass that makes-up the straight curtain wall on the western river facade in conjunction with the overiding, light-weight aluminum *brise soleil* that continues along its entire length. A similar louvered tessellation appears on the southern facade of the audio-visual wing facing out over the park, with a comparable mixture of clear, translucent and opaque glass.
In the second place, all this vertical layering is complemented by a series of horizontal light filter, first

Compositional sketches for the building, and its siting in urban Paris.



East view of the model of the competition entry and general site plan of the final project. Photo E. Stoller.





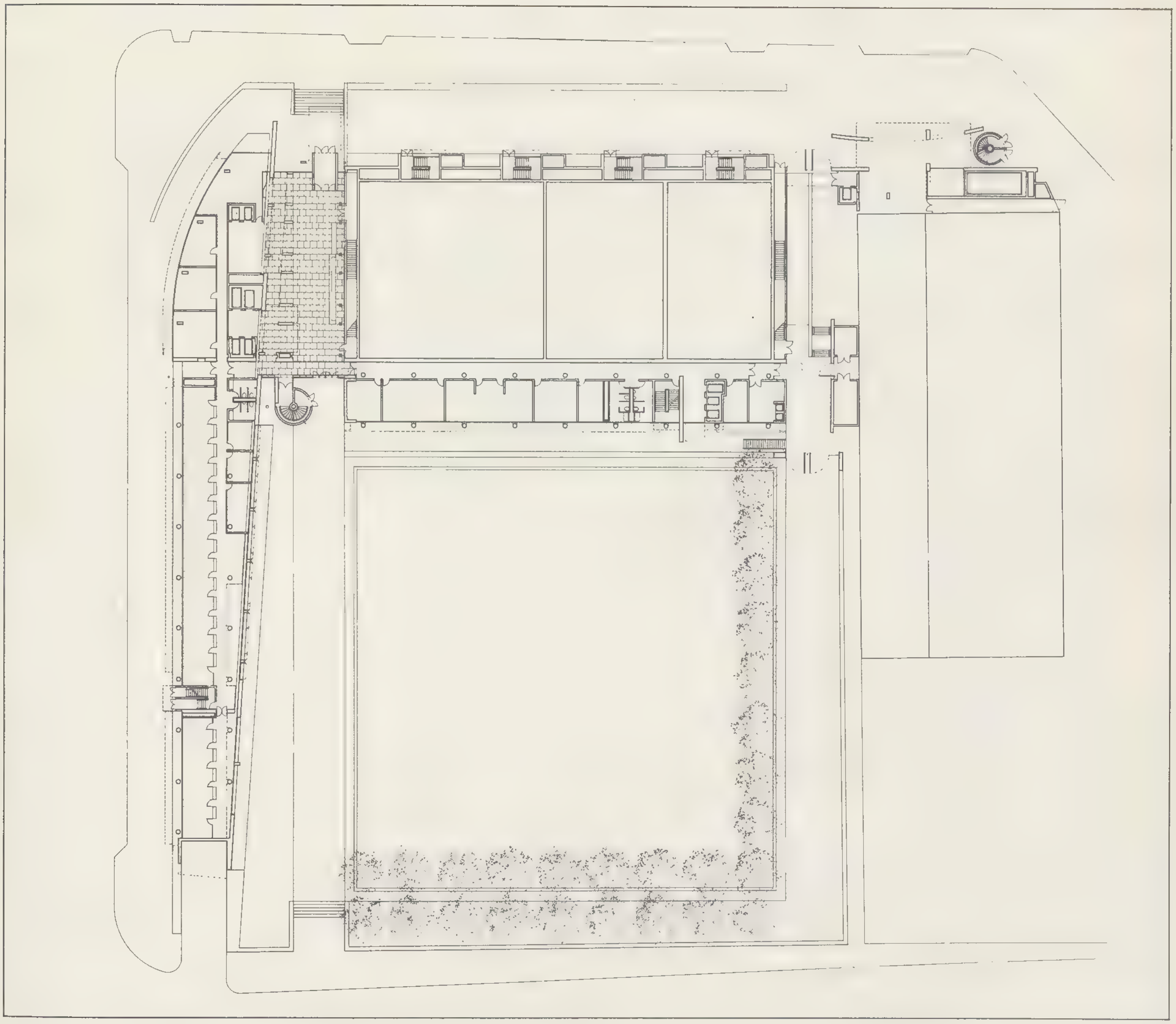
Rue des Cevennes
Quai André Citroën
Rue Balard
Rue Cauchy

in the perforated light aluminum canopy, that crowns the audio-visual block and then in the gridded, top-lit monitor slots that enclose the audio-visual block individually on the entry galleria and then on the narrow escape slot, separating the main studio block from the dimunitive social service/health building situated at eastern extremity of the site.

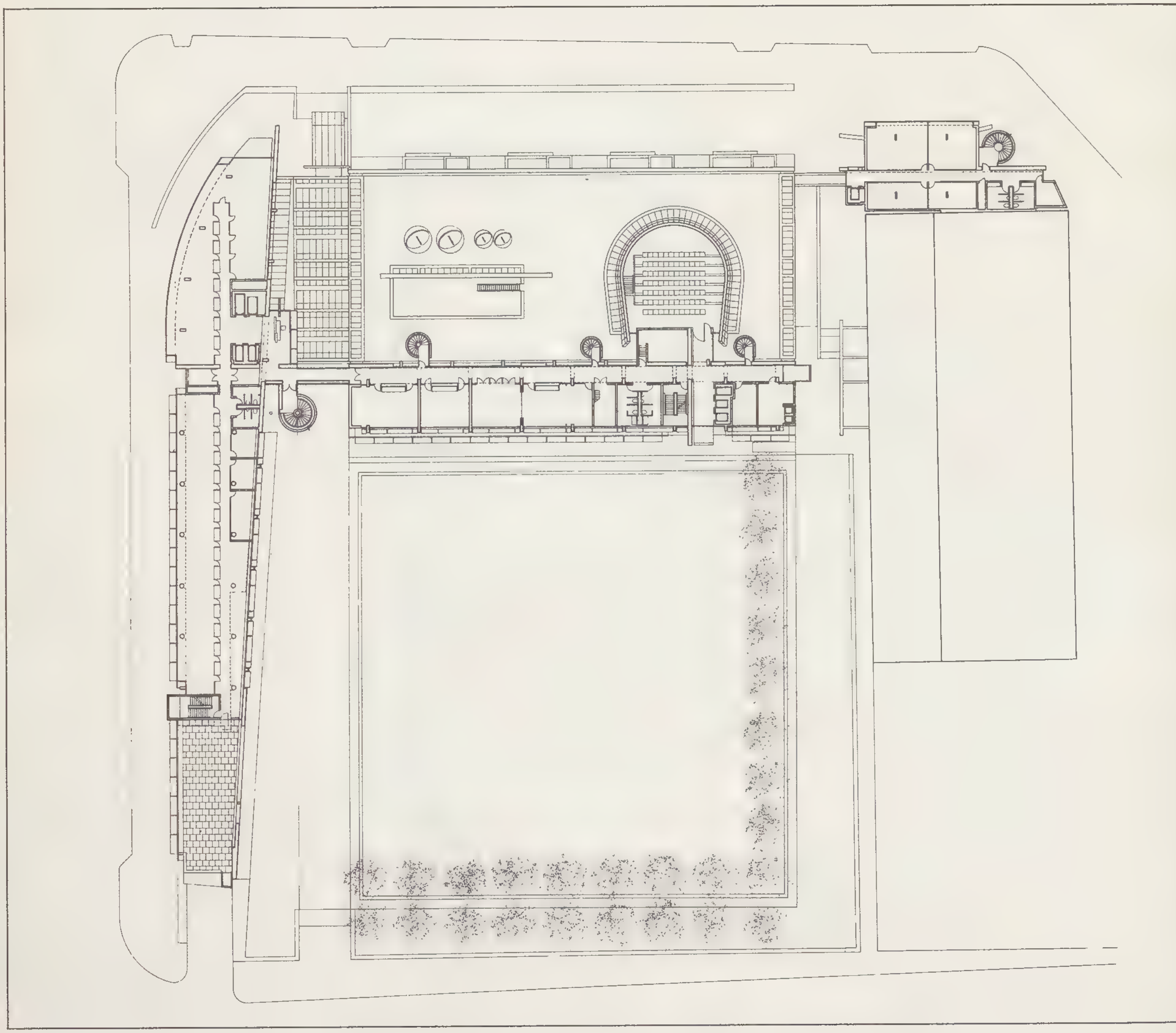
All offices in the western wing face the river and the building is backed by a metal paneled spine, facing the park behind. This last which is pierced by a sun-shading grille that admits light to open space rising through the entire height of the wing.

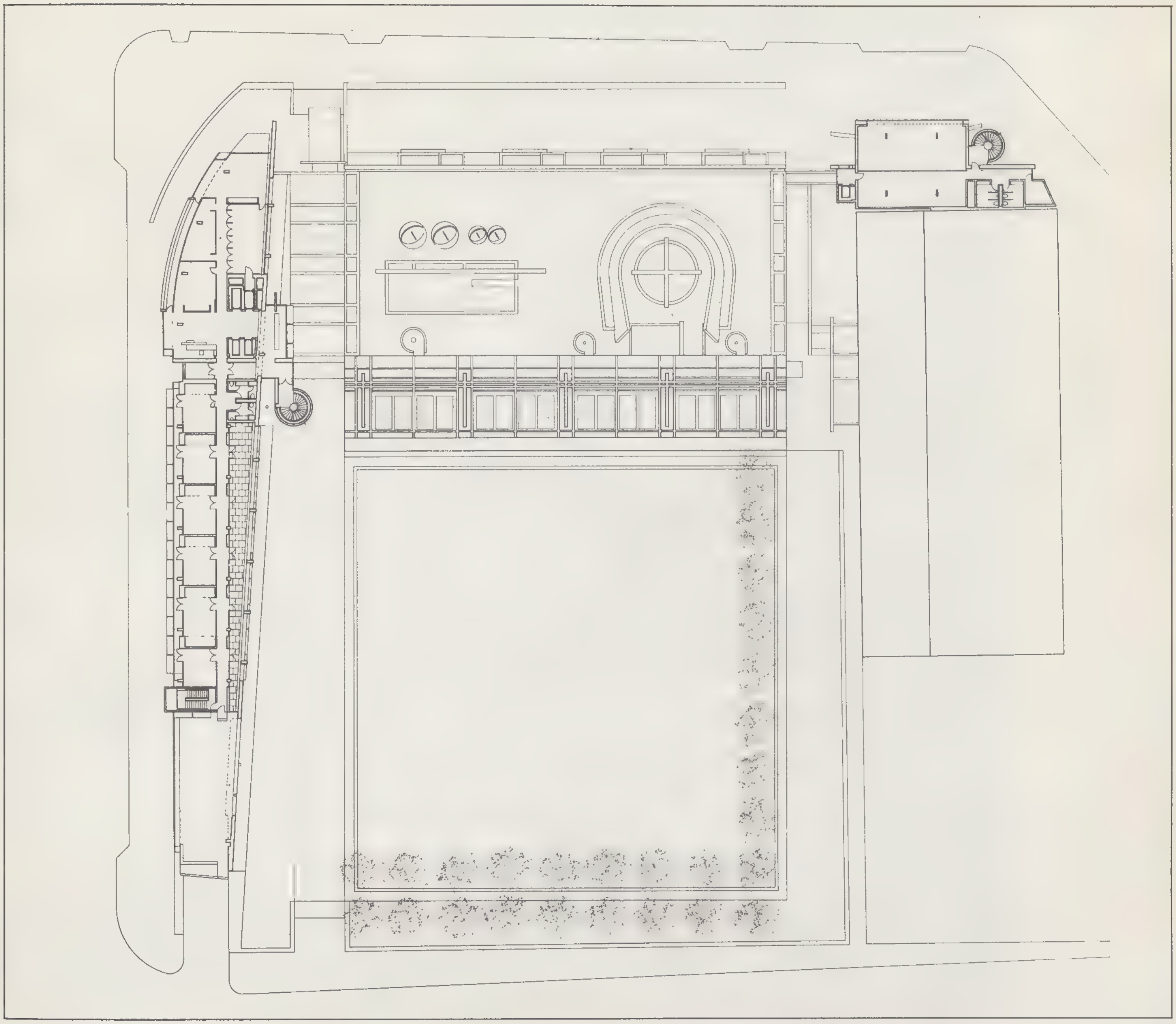
Three large four storey television studios determine the basic shape and mass of the eastern wing which has been partially lowered into the site where it can be surrounded by below grade support spaces which would otherwise intrude on the zoning evenlope. Between the two wings is a three-storey, sky-lit glass entry hall which houses the main reception area. This hall provides the main access to the studio floors that are situated two standard floors below the grade level. Other support office space is accomodated in the southern public-relations wing facing over the park and in a two story "sandwich" of open-planned offices above the studio space.

Ground floor plan.

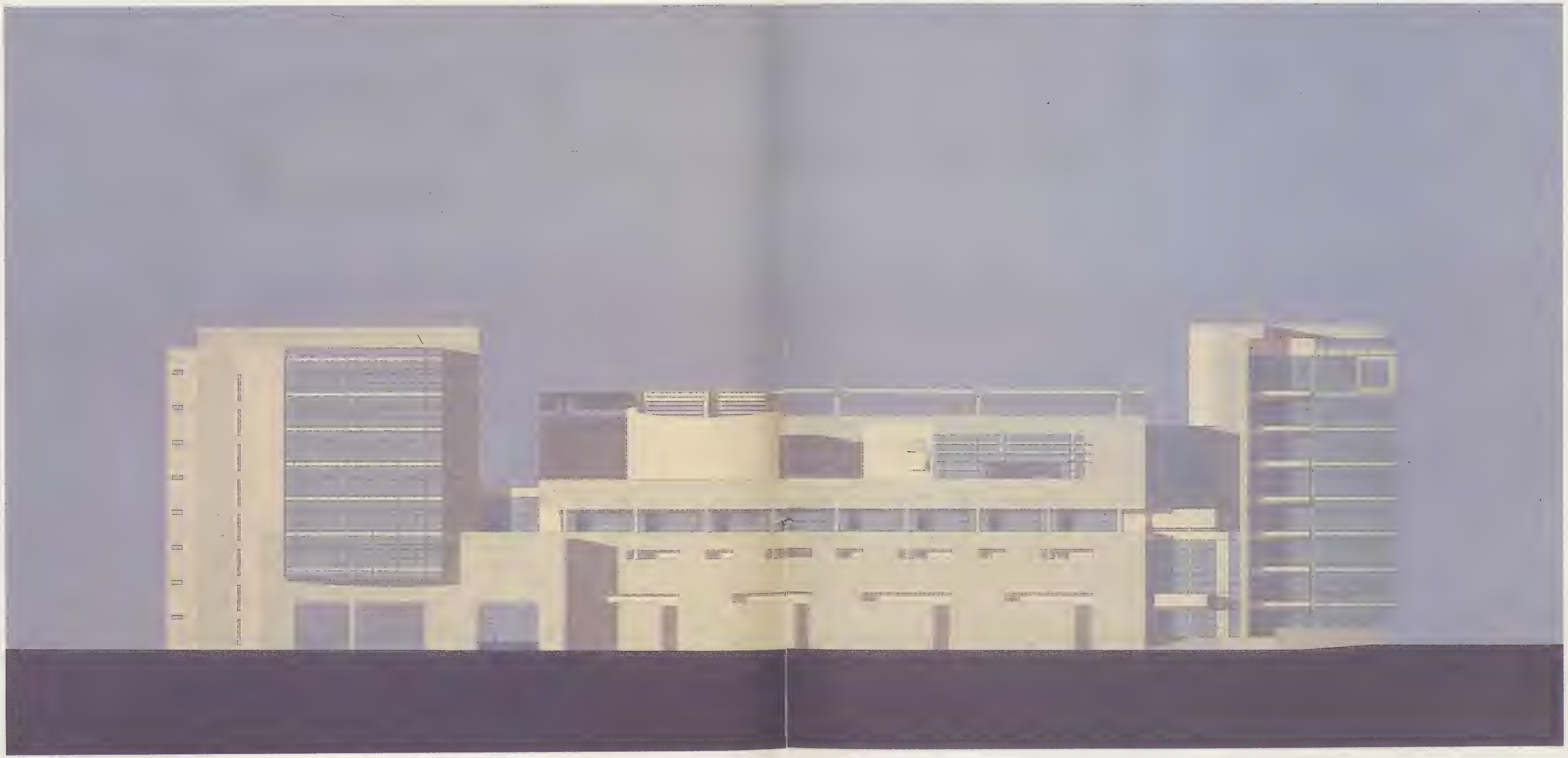


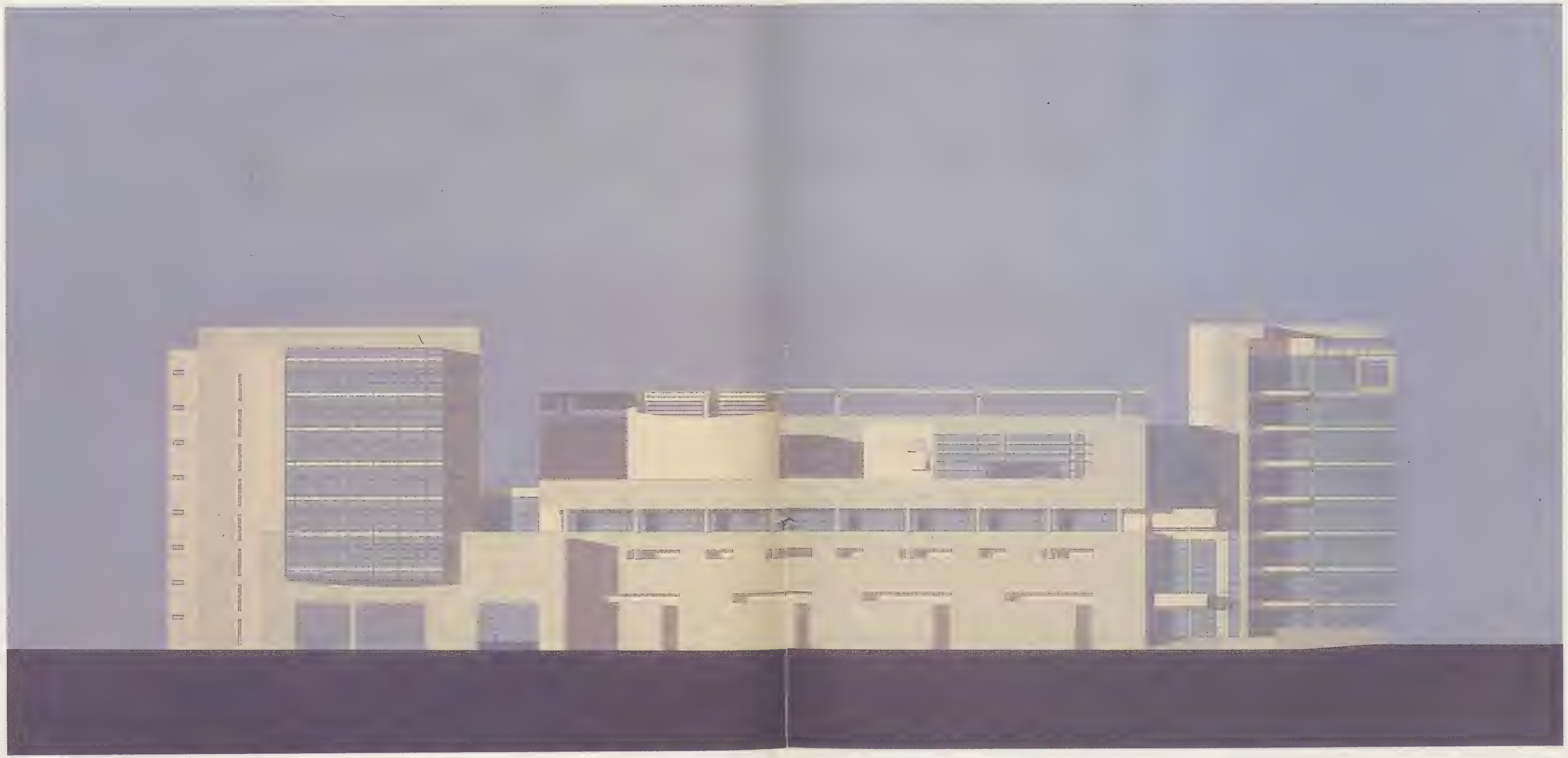
Fifth and seventh floor plan.





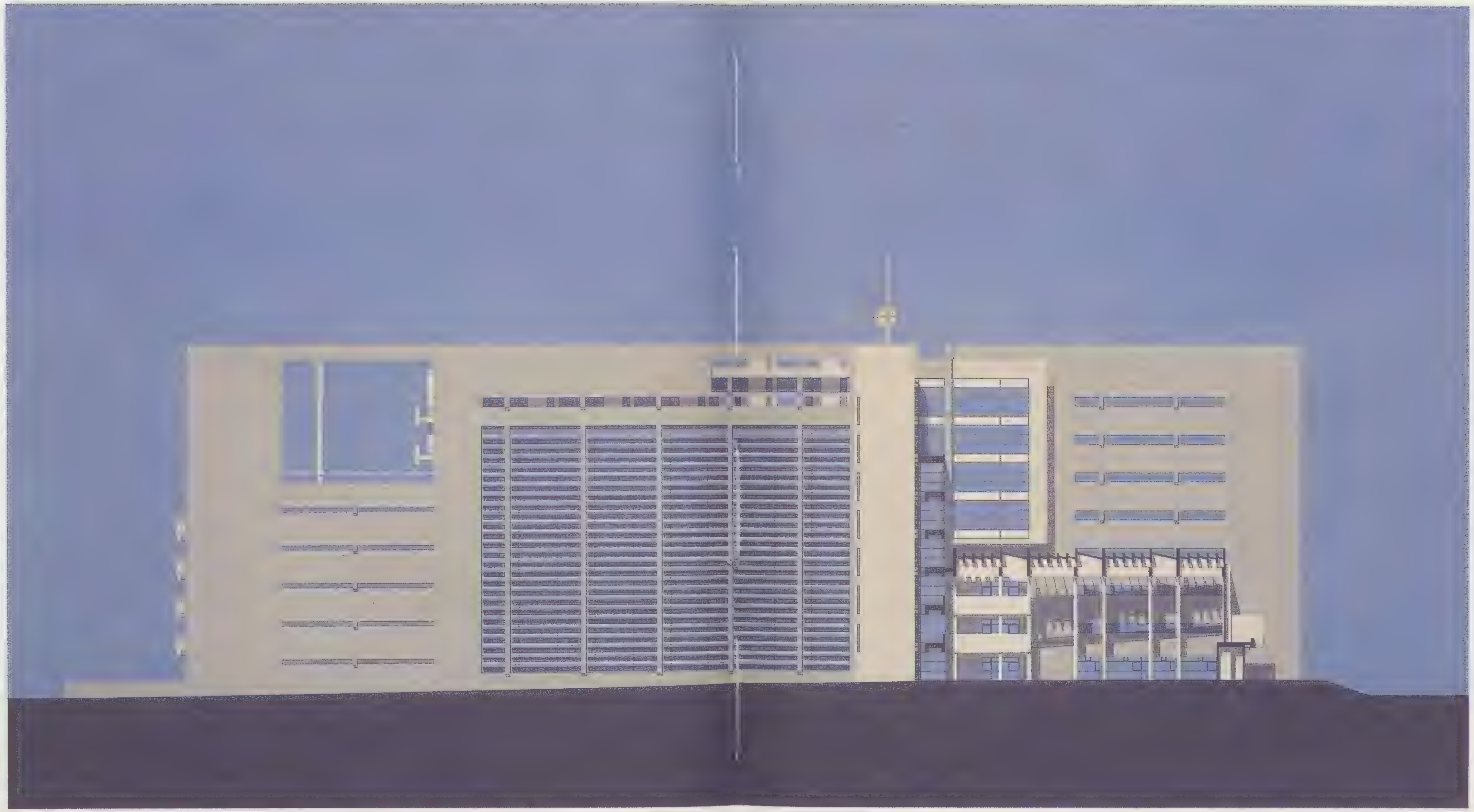
Northeast elevation on Rue des Cevennes (morning).



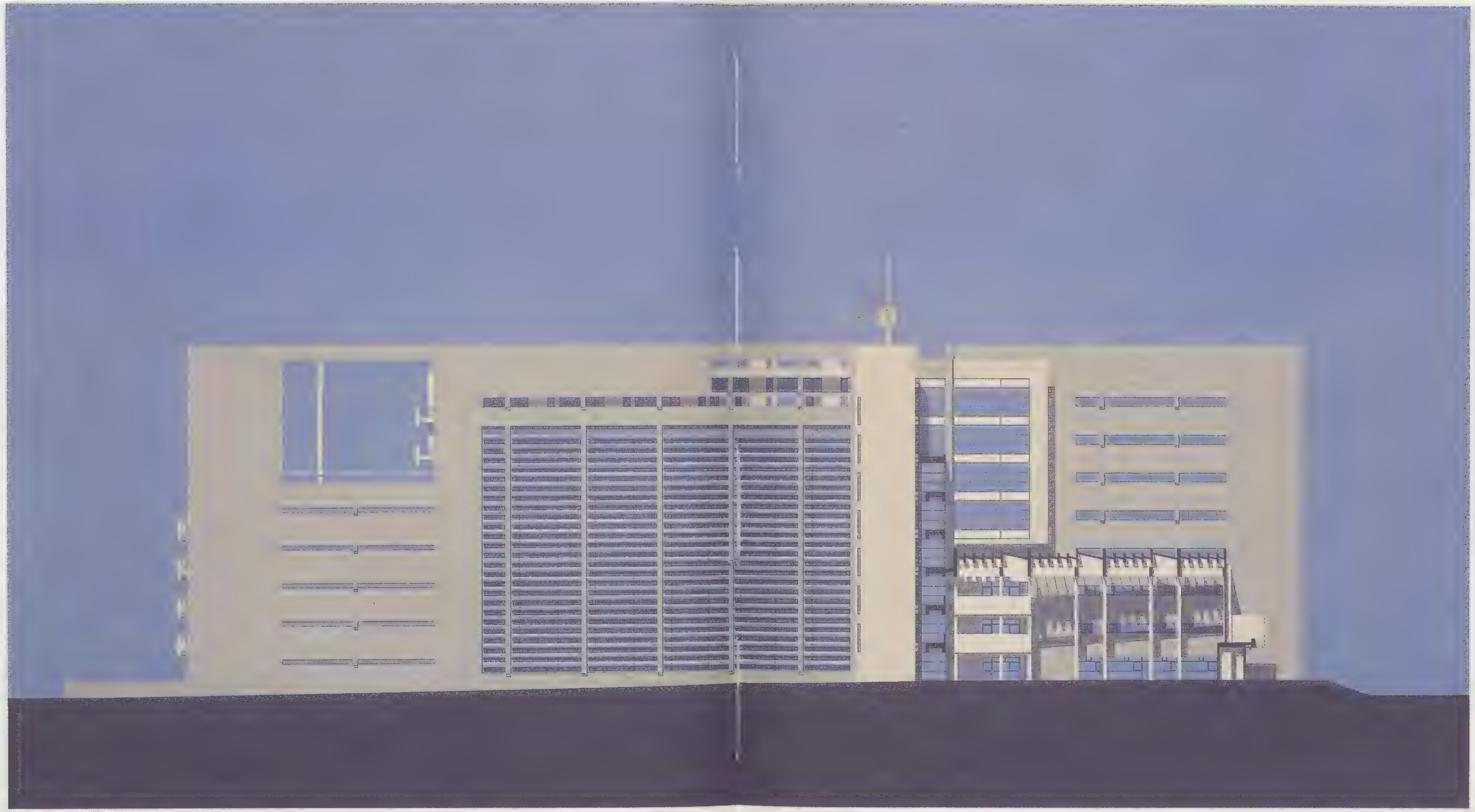


Northeast elevation on Rue des Cevennes (morning).

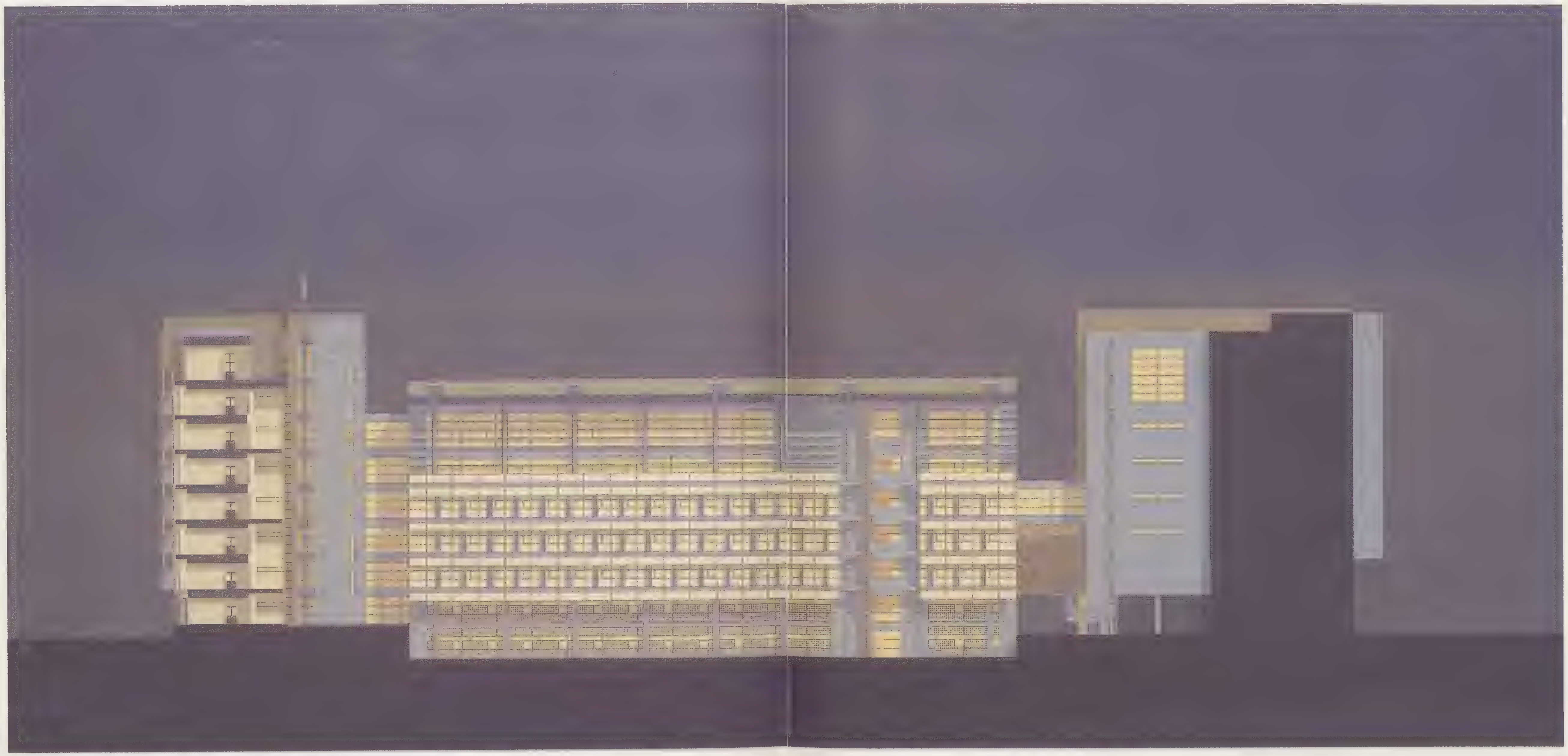
Southeast elevation on Rue Balard (at noon).



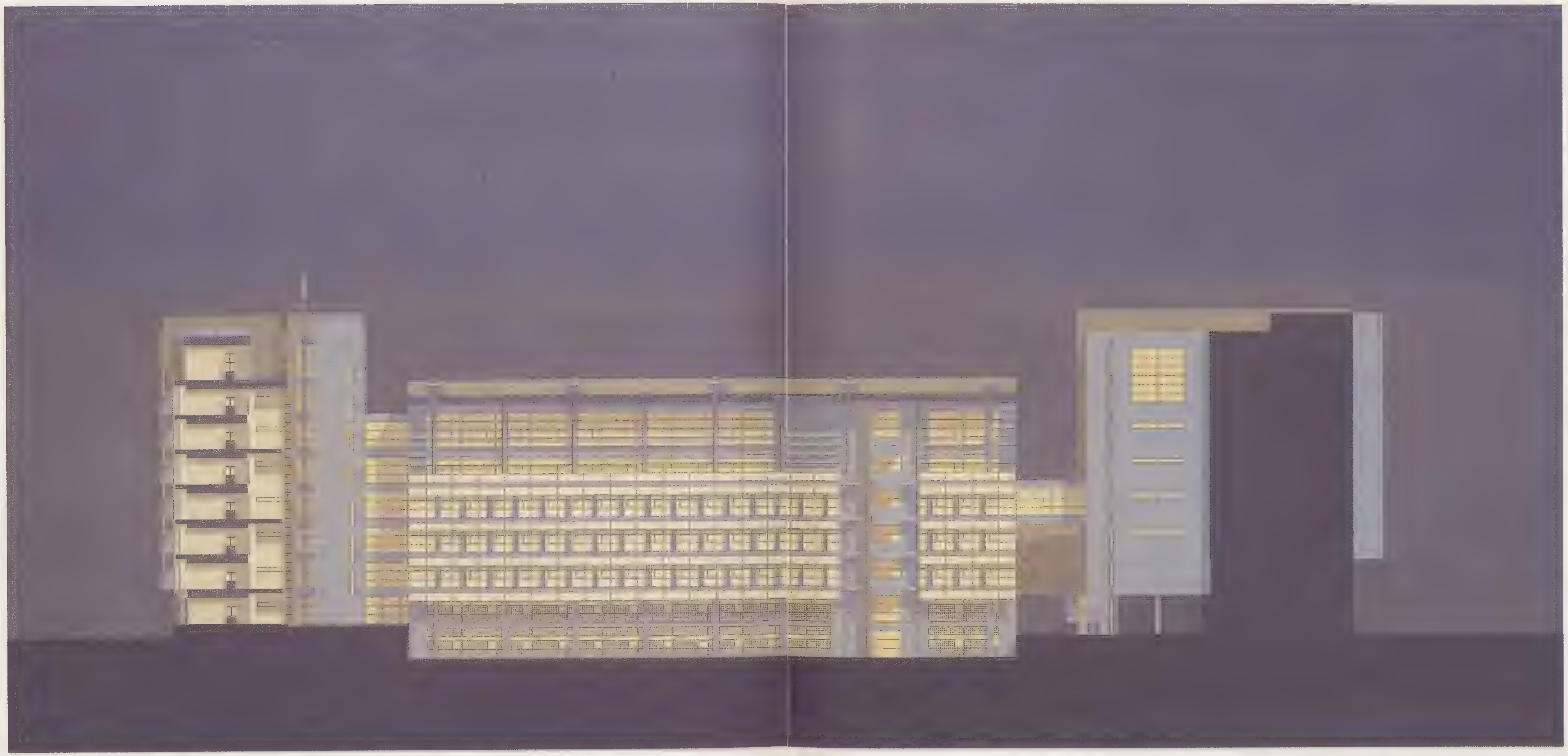
Southeast elevation on Rue Balard (at noon).



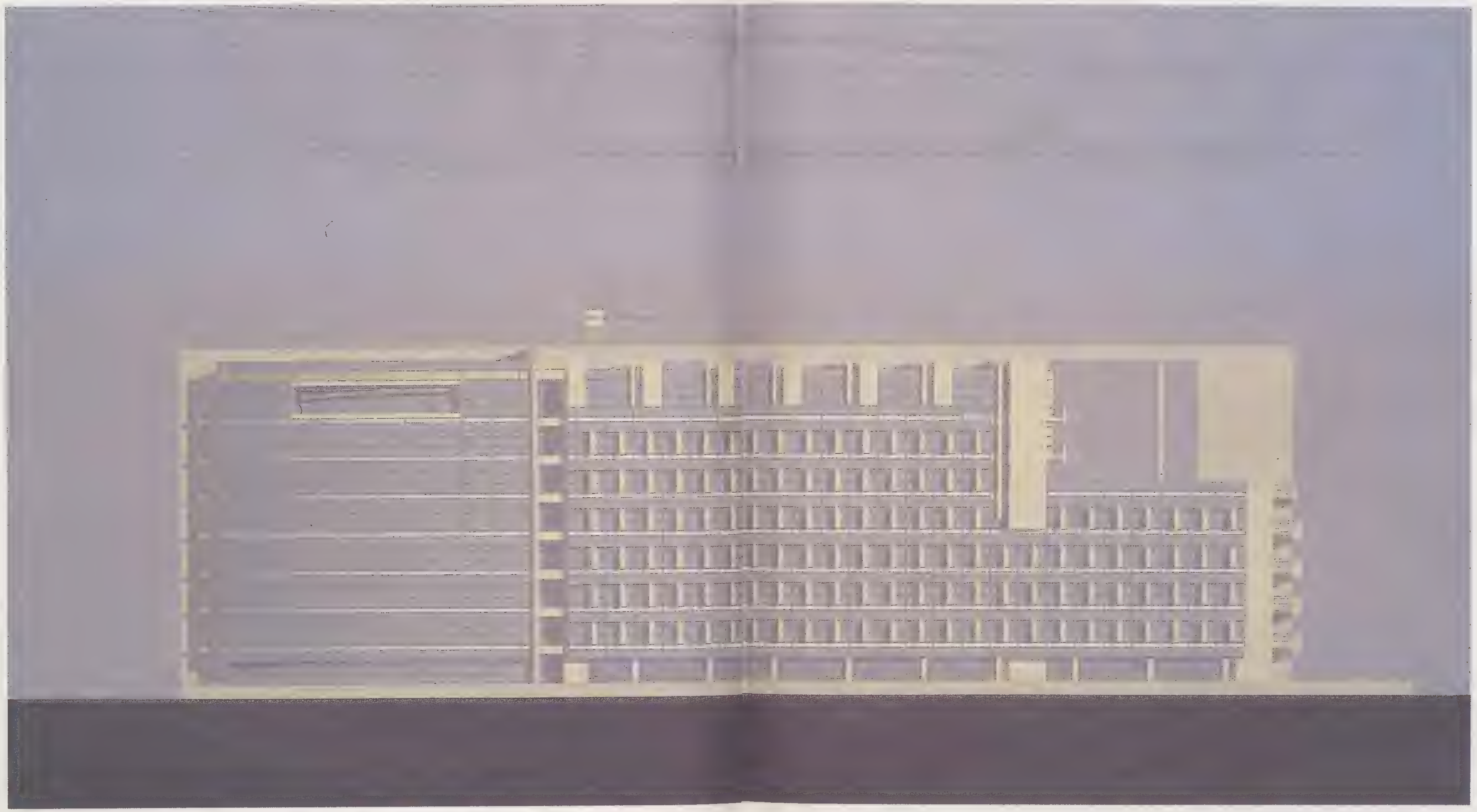
Southwest elevation on Rue Cauchy (evening).



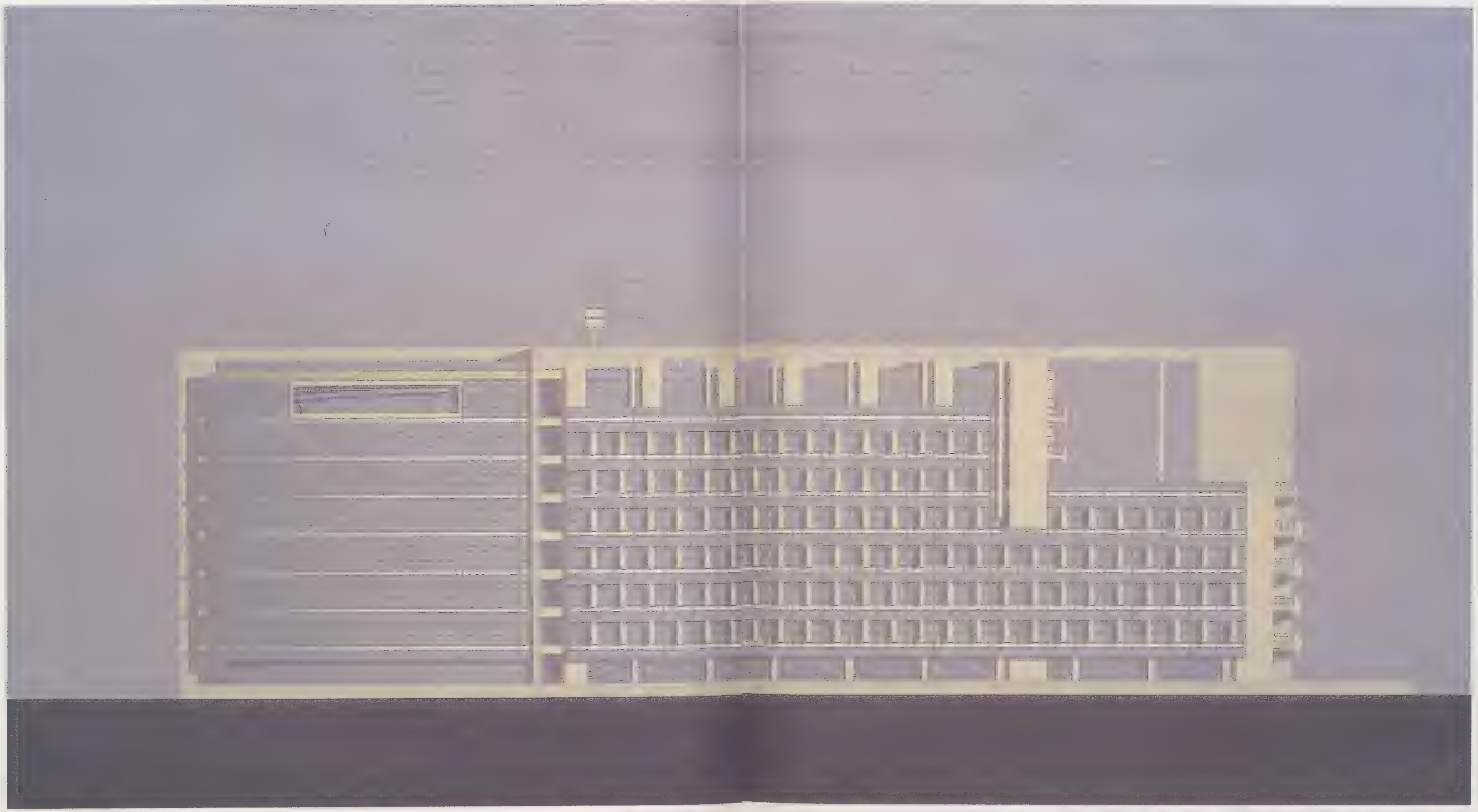
Southwest elevation on Rue Cauchy (evening).

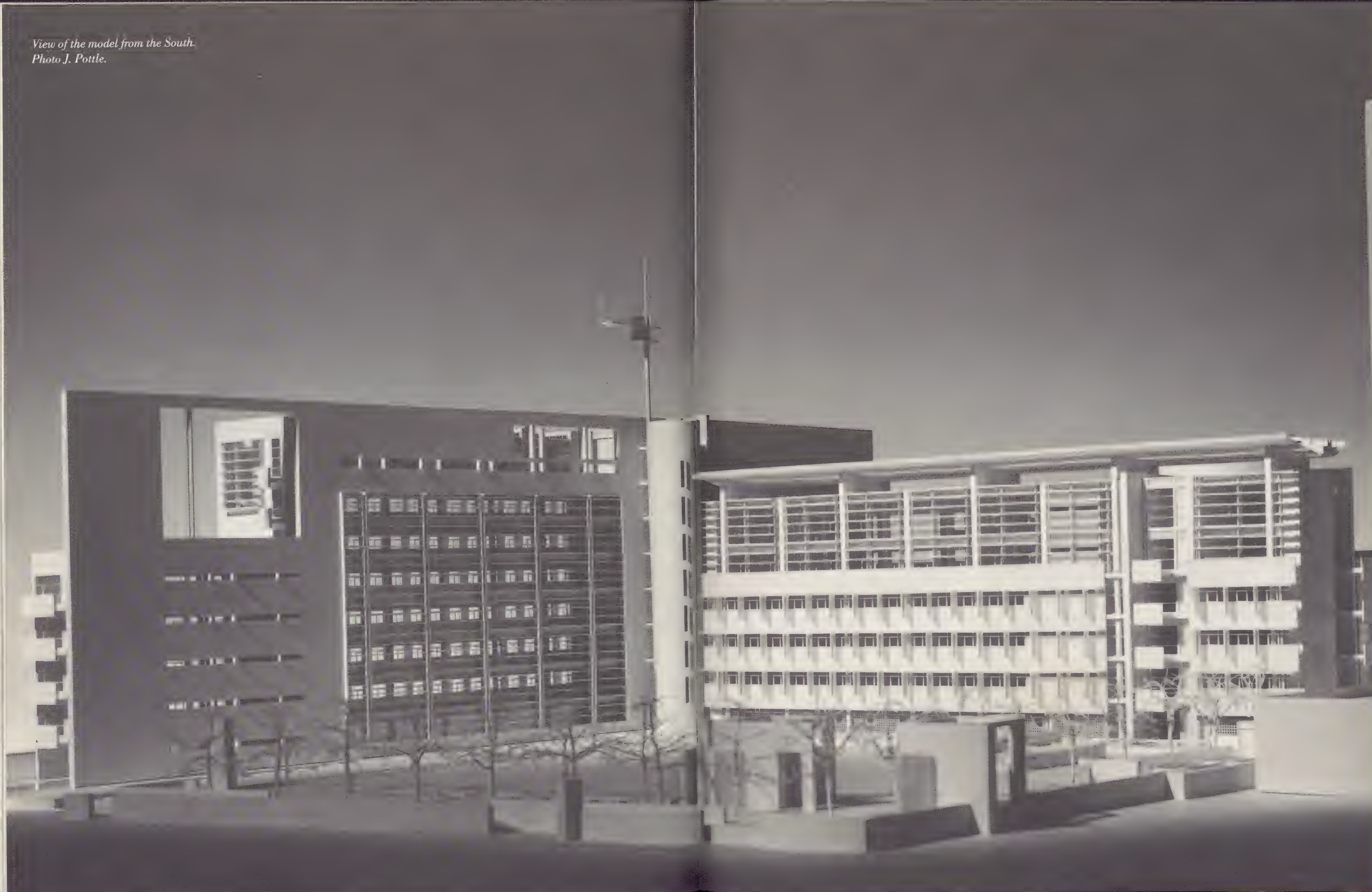


Northwest elevation on Quai André Citroën (afternoon).

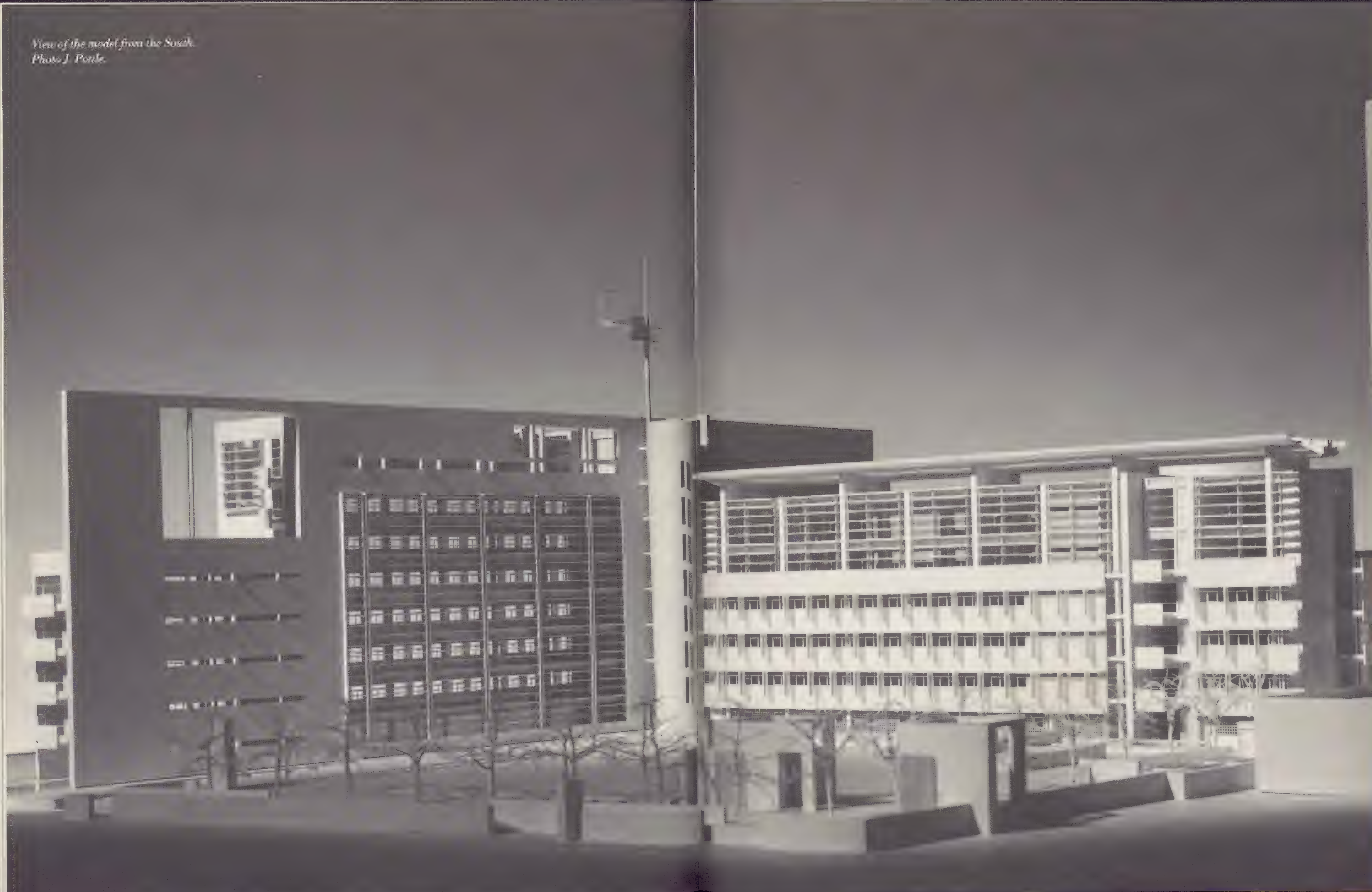


Northwest elevation on Quai André Citroën (afternoon).





View of the model from the South.
Photo J. Pottle.

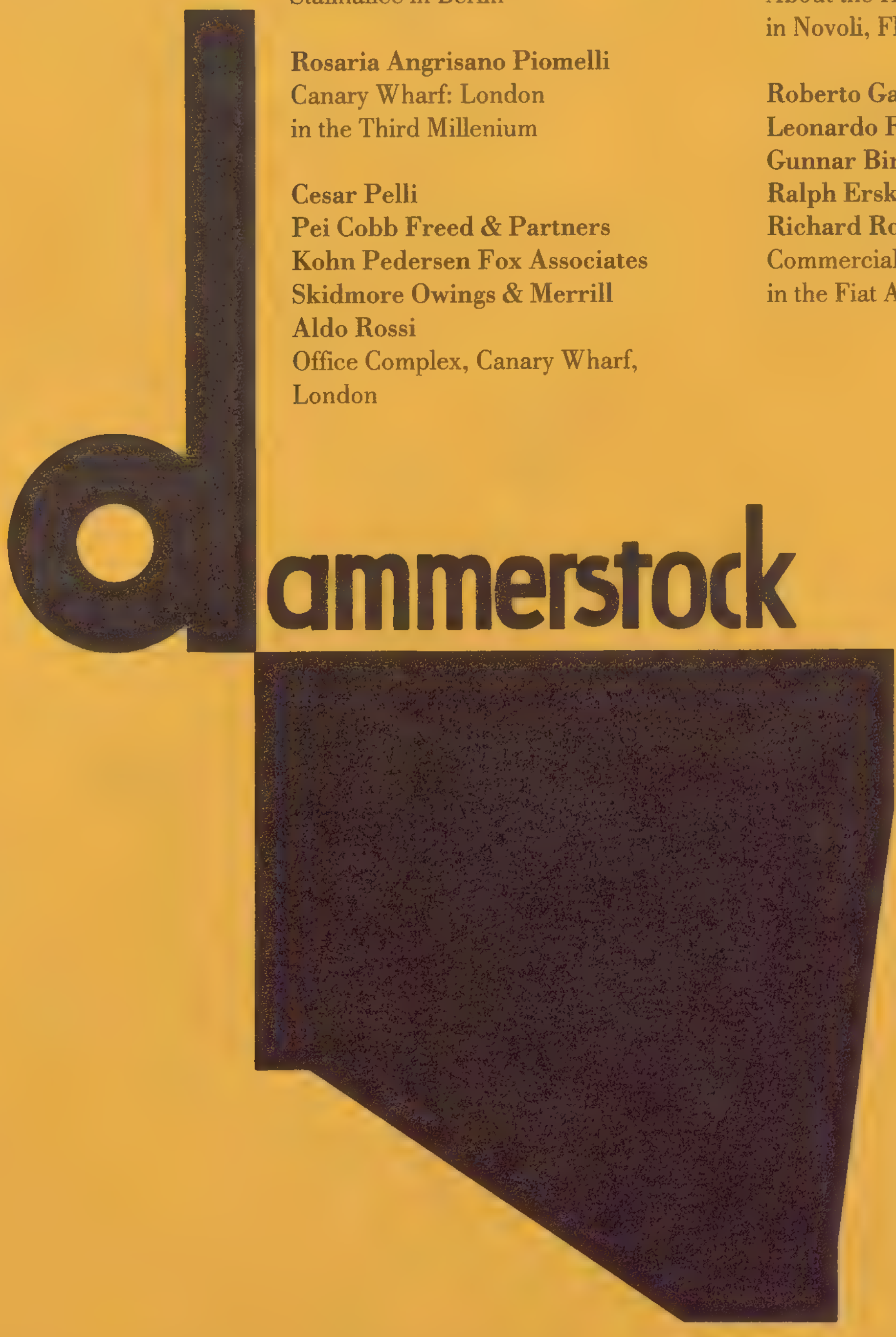


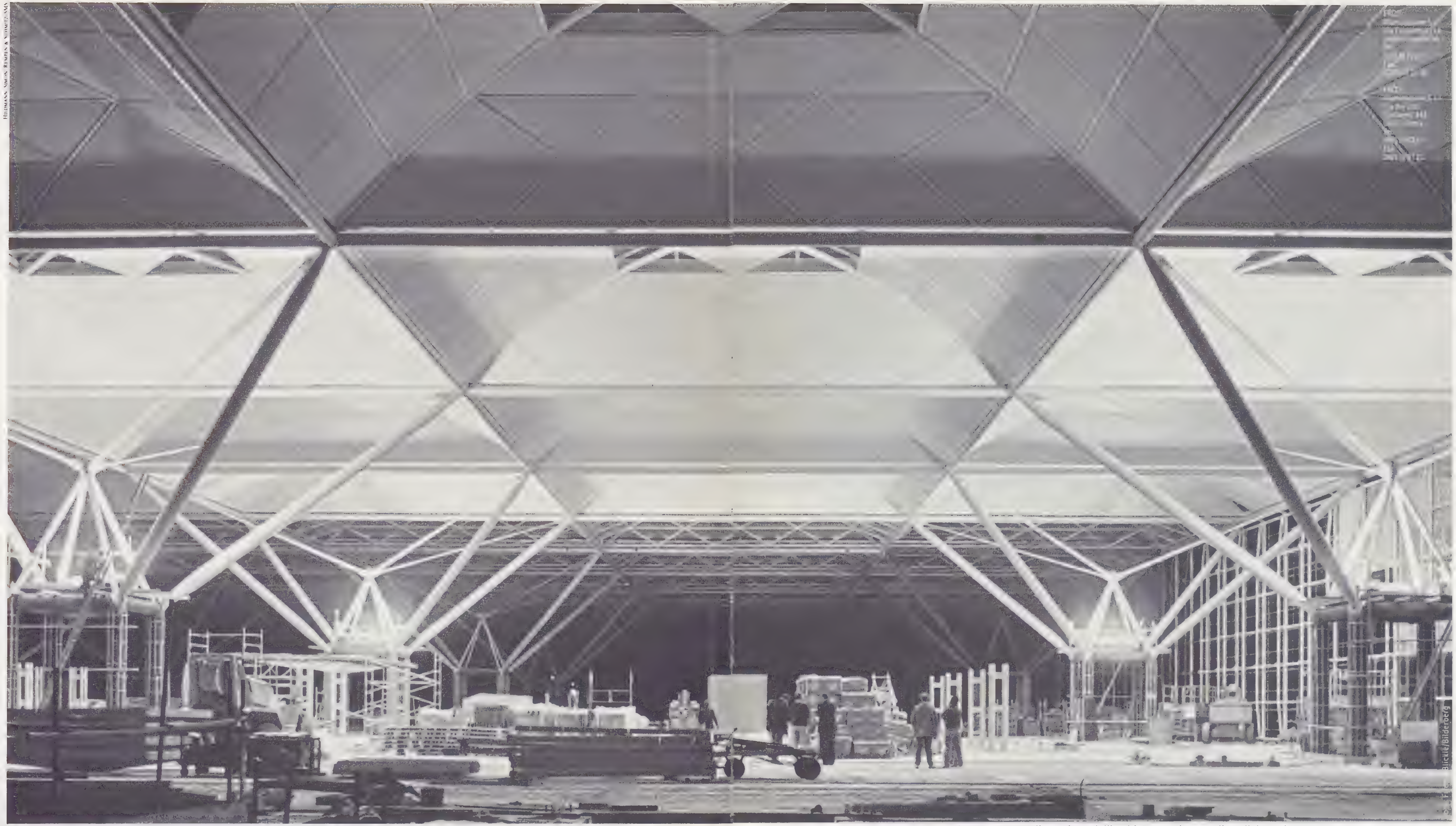
View of the model from the South.
Photo J. Pottle.

ISSN 0394-9249



Zodiac 5





19 luglio 1989: La luce decolla a Stansted Airport.

Che aspetto avrà questo magnifico concetto architettonico – il soffitto luminoso?

Progettazione e calcoli di questo prestigioso progetto sono stati eseguiti perfettamente?

Adempieranno alle esigenze questi particolari apparecchi di illuminazione sviluppati appositamente?

Questa è l'immagine del momento più atteso dall'architetto Norman Foster, dal progettista d'illuminazione Claude Engle e da noi: la prova d'illuminazione nella costruzione non ancora ultimata del nuovo aeroporto di Stansted.

Premendo un pulsante si azionano 144 washers da soffitto, dotati di 4–6 lampade ad alogenuri metallici da 400 W che illuminano l'intera hall del terminal.

Gli apparecchi, nascosti nei pilastri, illuminano i 1300 mq e la copertura diventa così un enorme riflettore. L'illuminazione è uniforme, senza forti contrasti e senza ombre, nonostante la presenza delle volte.

Visto da lontano e di notte, il terminal, completamente vetrato, sembra un luminoso piano sospeso.

Così Stansted Airport è l'esempio più recente per il nostro lavoro nella Lichtfabrik, la fabbrica della luce. Gli apparecchi ERCO si trovano ovunque la luce viene intesa come quarta dimensione dell'architettura. Nella piramide del Louvre. Nella Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. In musei ed alberghi. In uffici e fiere. In tutto il mondo.

Molte delle idee per nuovi e migliori prodotti sono dovute alla collaborazione con eccellenti architetti e progettisti.

ERCO
Die Lichtfabrik.





L'impegno dell'AgipPetroli raggiunge ogni angolo del Paese: è quello di una società leader nel sistema petrolifero nazionale, in continua evoluzione in tutti i settori di intervento, nella ricerca scientifica e tecnologica, nella raffinazione, nella distribuzione. La conservazione ed il risparmio dell'energia trovano oggi nell'AgipServizi l'organizzazione più qualificata e importante. Attraverso di essa l'AgipPetroli dispone di modernissime tecnologie informative e telematiche per programmare e gestire gli usi finali dell'energia, che ne razionalizzano ulteriormente l'offerta commerciale al settore civile ed alla piccola e media industria.
E' un impegno importante. Ed è la nostra realtà.

AgipPetroli

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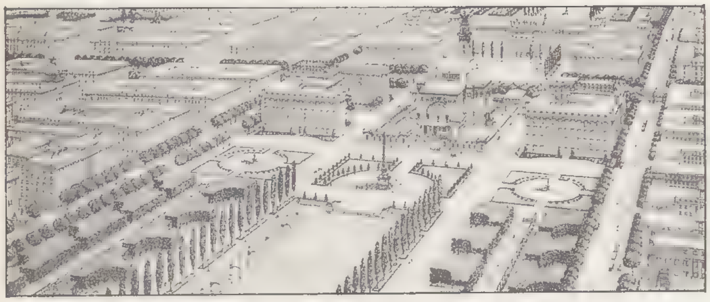
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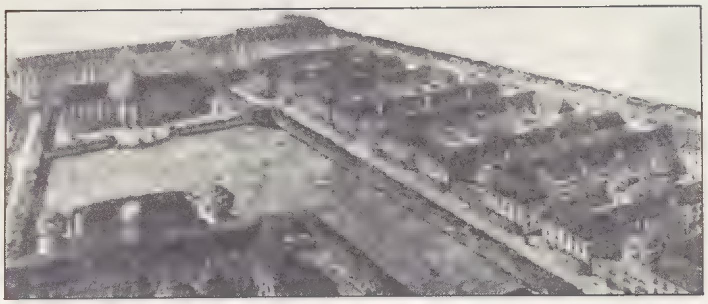
Front cover: Kurt Schwitters, Logotype of the Siedlung *Dammerstock and of the Building Exposition, Karlsurhe.*

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Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella
Milan, December 19, 1990









G.C. In the previous issues of Zodiac, we chose to discuss projects and personalities which, in the context of single architectural works, are notable in our opinion, for their depth and their pursuit of quality. However our opinion was naturally based on subjective concepts and poetics. In this issue, we have decided to deal with some of the more controversial aspects of architecture. Certainly there are many positive factors in these projects but the overall impression, perhaps not determined so much by the works themselves as by some kind of general, established conditions which, today, make the designing of the city an oppressive affair, it is within today's scenario that uncertainty and confusion in the assignment of roles and responsabilities, wind up having a decisive effect on the work itself.
The purpose of this debate could thus be contained in the following question: *Who designs the city*? The participants are Carlo Aymonino, designer of the project for San Lorenzo a Greve, together with Franco Camarlinghi, the alderman in charge of town planning in The Council Board of Florence in the early '80s and the man behind the completed design for Fondiaria, on the area of the Castello plane, in Florence; for the third Florence project, the Fiat area, we included an article by Giovanni Klaus Koenig, wishing also to honour him in the light of his recent death. Unfortunately the architect Vinay Kapoor cannot be here with us. He has been the coordinator, for Olympia & York, of the Canary Wharf renewal project in London, and Gino Valle, who is working on that project, had assured us that he would have been here with us today.
This issue also includes a review of two historical cases, both of which were very controversial at the time they were built: the Dammerstock *Siedlung* in Karlsruhe, and the Stalinallee in East Berlin. These are examples of how difficult it can be to coordinate innovation on an urban scale with the approval of public opinion.
C.A. We might begin by discussing the differences between design on the scale of the building, and on an urban scale. This change of scale substantially alters the problems faced; nevertheless, today, many architects deal with the two situations as if they were similar.
F.C. Another point to discuss is that of institutional procedures, which have begun to seriously interfere with the work of the designer, especially in Italy. In other countries they have also produced contradictory effects, however the need to build, to produce, ultimately prevails, although the

Otto Wagner, XXII district in Vienna, drawing for Die Großstadt, *1911.*
Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Expansion plan for South Amsterdam, 1916.
Fritz Schumacher, Plan for the Dulsberg quarter in Hamburg-Barmbeck, 1919.
Tony Garnier, Plan for an industrial and residential quarter in Lyon between the Guillotiére and Vénissieux, 1920.

From Les Grands Travaux de la Ville de Lyons, *table 41.*

results are not by any means always positive.
C.A. This is also because today the number and level of different types of assurances required continue to grow so that before any decision is reached many years may pass as has happened, and continues to happen, in the case of Florence. Not to mention the SDO (Eastern Directional System) of Rome, which is still an open issue, although its area has been reduced, since it was oversized even within the original guidelines of the optimistic programme of 1964. In the past thirty years were thought to be the life expectancy of a plan. If the provisions of the plan had still not been implemented after this time, a new plan was thought to be needed.
F.C. The situation in Florence becomes significant, in light of these observations, because of the expectations for expansion into the plains of Sesto Fiorentino, an idea which was proposed back in 1962 by Edoardo Detti in his regulatory plan. Perhaps during the years to follow the contents of this proposal have changed, but the same basic idea has persisted. So we have to ask ourselves if the notion of a final objective, to be used for a general and complete expansion of the city is still viable. I'm not sure that the planning instrument to be used for this objective should still be referred to as "regulatory plan". I say this because Marcello Vittorini, the latest consultant for city planning in Florence, is retracing the same old path today: coming up with intermediate solutions for the most urgent problems, letting the years go by without meeting the challenge of producing, or implementing a decisive solution for the most pressing issues. The result of such actions is that years go by and situations only tend to deteriorate.
G.C. We ought to mention that, compared to Italy, countries with a more solid political-administrative tradition can count on greater faith, and support, from their citizens, a factor which helps decision-makers to act. Perhaps, in the past, there was greater trust in Italy — the system worked better, not only because of greater political solidarity between the city, — their constituency and advisors, but also because there was a widespread social conscience, which demanded that the greater part of the population be guaranteed a place to live and a job. At a certain point the same controversy among the labor unions with respect to the right to employment led to a different set of concerns; weight was given to the protection of the rights and priviledges the people had previously obtained. In Italy, these rights and priviledges are to the advantage of the citizens who are already established, who defend their status on a local level, expanding the concept of residence which thus becomes an extension of the dwelling that includes a portion of the city which can still be exploited with individualist logic, dominated by private means of transportation. Today all of this is thought of as good common sense, and special interests feed on public opinion and sentiments which are manipulated by the media, often at the bidding of interested parties, without any genuine concern for the overall problems of the city.
This means that powerful resistance to the implementation of planning projects are not only created by bureaucratic inertia, but also by the situations of tension which spring up around any initiative. Ideas for improvement are subjected to judgement by external, unqualified persons, who nevertheless have to be listened to by the government, the parties, the administrations, the managers, etc., because these are worried about their credibility as representatives, or about being re-elected, more than about the well-being of the city as a whole. All too often the people in charge find themselves having to make decisions in areas they know little or nothing about, and thus fall back on trends and models held universally valid at all times and places.
C.A. I would say that in other countries the problems of the cities don't become as extreme as they do in Italy where they become exaggeratedly ideological, in part because of the press.
F.C. But we mustn't forget that the press is merely a reflection of the cultural phenomena which prevail today: a specific ecologist doctrine, the Greens, etc. In order to compare the state of affairs in Italy with that of other countries, I believe it is necessary to focus on a specific point, namely the social and economic issue. Italy, for several decades, has been dominated by a power structure, politically and economically, which has been for the most part in the hands of the Christian Democrats, and has perhaps dealt with real needs in distorted, but concrete, ways. The hegemony of this party has been opposed, for a lengthy period, by the Left wing, which for the most part sought to impose limits on its powers. The interference of the Left on the individual's initiative became so efficient that it wound up creating a mindset of complete detachment from larger problems which might have been resolved by public intervention; the result of this was a narrow vision focused upon looking after one's own private interests. Any possible constructive initiatives were blocked by ideological

stalemates, expansion became impossible, "zero growth" the order of the day, along with the ideology of recycling, of restoration, opposed to that of development. Thus in urban planning, and in other sectors as well, a certain type of political minimalism has gotten the upper hand, creating the most arbitrary sort of situations.
In Florence, for example, the arrival in the area of large business interests (Fiat, Fondiaria, etc.), and proposals featuring the big names in architecture (which could only be positive in such a provincial milieu), were stopped by the hue and cry raised by three ecologists and one journalist from "*La Repubblica*".
Similar considerations apply to the question of competence, the separation of operative and decision-making prerogatives. Even in Florence, we have gotten to the point where the entire issue is reduced to a political one, to be resolved only on the basis of possible political gains, leaving true urban planning strategies completely out of the picture.
G.C. At this point in the discussion, the next step would be to come to an understanding of how we can orient our activities according to certain discriminating factors: in our case they may well be those which concern the specific nature of the European city and, more specifically, the Italian city, with its specific structural characteristics, its dimensions, its distribution, its monumental qualities, its urban decay, in other words, all of its history, past and present. It is true and legitimate, that the Italian city's cultural and morphological density rejects extraneous, transplanted models. There is little doubt that the prevailing urban model is still the anachronistic idea of decentralization and functionalistic zoning. This concept has obviously been reinterpreted and distorted, but the basic idea is still to freeze the activity of the historical centre, making it into a kind of museum-shopping centre, while abandoned industrial areas are divided into separate zones: in terms of infrastructures: administrative, technological, commercial, an area for conventions and trade fairs, another for sports and recreation, etc.
In my opinion this is the most worrysome aspect of the present situation. The debate in progress on urban planning is not moving toward a refinement which would make it possible to find the limits of tolerance, filtering the development models which are being used in developed nations, predicting the inevitable conditioning influence on these models, of the individual tradition of the city and the life which can be lived there.

C.A. I don't want to appear too eager to be a materialist at all costs, but we have to admit that for certain development functions and models, in London, Frankfurt or La Defense in Paris, there has been interest on behalf of financing institutions, commissions, professionals, architects and even users at an international level — Japanese, Korean, American — while in Italy these economic interests are inexistent. These are precisely the interests which can provide the real stimuli for transformation, concentration, modification of uses, of places, of properties, of management.
G.C. Are you saying that, in Italy, we are lacking the "raw materials" to overcome certain types of inertia?
C.A. We lack the means to make a leap in terms of scale, which then, in turn, could mean progress in terms of the quality of architectural design. In Italy, for the moment, all of the largest initiatives are domestic in nature: Pirelli-Bicocca in Milan, Montedison-Montecity, Falck-Ecocity in Sesto San Giovanni, the SDO in Rome, the Fondiaria and Fiat projects in Florence, the administrative centre in Naples. Perhaps this is also the reason behind the fragile nature of these development models, which derive from the weakness of the entrepreneurial structure. In fact, what we are seeing is a revolving door in the Italian construction sector, — something like what happens in the commercial sector. This means that programmes and interests are more precarious than in other countries. This is the case, for example, of the Fiat-Pirelli-Benetton group, created for the Venice Expo, with all kinds of studies, analyses, meetings, but then forced into a rapid retreat by the usual prejudices, even before they were able to develop a proposal with specific objectives and results.
F.C. When the demand for housing was urgent, proposals and initiatives met with a certain type of general consensus. Whereas today, Fondiaria has come out of an entire decade of preliminary requests for the Castello zone, and it has all been for nought. The press has reported that recently the firm has turned to the municipal government in the following terms: "As it seems that the general expansion plan has entered into a stage of 'whatever will be, will be', in the meantime we are going to reopen dealings regarding our properties within the city itself". In this way, in order not to remain inactive, with their hands tied for an indefinite period of time, they (and us with them) are back once again to the same old renovation and conversion logic, case by case, without any overall planning.

G.C. Nevertheless it may also be true that, from a functional point of view the concentration of service industry activities is not a necessity as urgent and unavoidable as the concentration of residential and industrial structures was in the cities of the recent past. It must also be added that, at least in Italy, this type of building has become more of an image factor, a status symbol of the post-modern era. Whereas the scenarios of London (more than those of Frankfurt or Paris, precisely because these are tried and true marketplaces perfected by real estate developers, and guarantee a profit margin) suggest and communicate a better image. We must recognize that Italian cities offer, and will be able to offer, much less of this ostentatious type of image. In saying this I mean that you go to Venice to find the past, rather than out of curiosity for some kind of futuristic Expo. Paradoxically, even the kind of tourist who is interested in modern architecture goes to Milan to see the Velasca tower, the Pirelli skyscraper, and then goes out into the suburbs to look at the Gallarate zone, or to Pieve Emanuele, but certainly not for the purpose of viewing the Administrative Centre, even though it was one of the first to be built in Italy. Therefore, we might also consider the fact that in the context of the intense ongoing debate among administrators, environmentalists, urban planners and architects, if we exclude the preventive veto or the phoney-historical gambit, there isn't the least regard for a research into a type of planning which, rejecting conventional and anachronistic models, produces innovative solutions coherent with the specific context of the Italian city.

C.A. We should also consider the fact that in Italy, there is such structural weakness in any plan that it will acquire momentum only thru the intervention of public institutions. At Canary Wharf, I don't think there are any buildings for public institutions, because the time-tested criteria are still at work there: the public element furnishes the primary infrastructures to create initiatives for private enterprise. Whereas in Italy, (aside from the "Italia '90" operation, linked to the world championship of soccer) Fiat makes its move after the erection of the courthouse in Florence; in Milan, Bicocca's Tecnocity begins with the guarantee that the data processing department of the Lombardy Region will be located there, along with certain university facilities. In the SDO there are no requests for space from Japanese, Korean or North American firms who want to set up a Rome headquarters, — so the ministries end up being moved to

Marcello Piacentini and the architectural office of the agency, Plan for E42 (today EUR), Rome 1938. Giovanni Guerrini, Ernesto La Padula, Mario Romano, Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana in EUR, Rome, 1937-39.





the centre of the city, with the euphemistic justification that they will be instrumental in blocking the transformation of the historical urban fabric into a service-industry mall, even though this transformation has already taken over an area much larger than that of the historical centre.

F.C. In fact, service industry activities can be easily dispersed thru modern technology (fax, computers etc.) but only up to a certain point, because there is also a need for direct relations, for the grouping of functions and services, for mobility. These needs call for savings in terms of time and money which, in turn, call for concentration. Because of these factors, in Florence, apart from certain specific real estate interests, the most important thing will not be the protection of the historical centre by expelling all service industry activity, a justification with ulterior motives. With due consideration and after having taken a look at an entire series of urban projects effected abroad, we must ask ourselves the following question: does the need for directed urban development actually exist? This is the knot we must untie, avoiding demagogies of pros and cons: is there a real economic need to build a new part of the city, for new activities and new housing? If we cannot respond to this question, we risk continuing to produce initiatives, by the good or bad, which will always be random, and subservient to the interests of particular sectors of society.

It seems to me that all of the considerations which we have made so far lead us to the conclusion that, in truth and in action it is necessary to always have a precise objective in mind for the development of the city, and that this development cannot be driven by a single-function incentive. By the same token, the Fondiaria project in Florence, at the beginning, easily went beyond the sketchy functionalist guidelines of the Detti plan of 1962, where the prevalent idea was that of the decentralization of the activities of the historical centre (the law courts, the regional government offices, etc.), proposing, on the other hand, a complex expansion of the city, which didn't simply call for decongesting the centre, but for the creation of an organic capacity for development, to relieve and reorganize the most seriously decayed parts of the city.

G.C. It is true that every city has its own physiology which can be developed, and can be gradually recorded only when certain strategic decisions, sympathetic to the city itself have been made, forestalling the speculative interest of any particular group.

In this sense, an alternative to the polarization of the service

industries, the indiscriminate elimination of public services from the historical centre and the exploitation of abandoned industrial areas (such as in the area around Milan), might be the multi-centre development model in which a series of sub-municipalities, with both public and private facilities, would be created throughout the surrounding areas, which would breath some fresh air into residential areas built after the war. Beginning with these decentralized nuclei, some of the traditional features of the historic centre can be renovated connecting them with new and existing green areas, by means of an efficient public transport system.
E.B. In fact, whereas the Canary Wharf area in London is strictly for service industries, all of the projects for Florence (Fondiaria, Fiat, San Lorenzo a Greve) call for mixed-use, including residential buildings. As far as a certain type of phased planning is concerned, this must be based on demand, because no one is ready to invest in buildings which are destined to remain empty. Even in London suspending investment because of the Persian Gulf crisis. Because of this we cannot yet be certain that Canary Wharf will be successful as a bridgehead to decongest the City. Getting back to the case of Florence, it seems to me that three proposals, in terms of typology and overall design, are quite distinct one from the other. The Fondiaria project, designed by Di Pietro, explicitly refers to certain urban models of the 1800s, based on compactness and the layout of the relationships between the blocks, their facades, the street, the squares, etc. On the other hand, the Fiat project for Novoli appears to be the result of the sum of a number of single designs, without any easily recognizable connection in terms of urban planning. The project for San Lorenzo a Greve can be understood by turning to the concepts of the Venetian school, of the "city of formally complete parts", in which each portion of the city is defined as an architecture to be designed as a whole, with strong and expressive character, capable of expressing, synthetically, the modern landscape, beyond any theoretical urban planning scheme. Yet another case is that of Canary Wharf, in London, where it might be worth investigating if project's merits, or, above all, its weaknesses, actually depend upon a predetermined environment which makes it impossible for buildings which have been individually designed to stand out.
C.A. I would like to point out, with an example, the state of affairs today as far as design on an urban scale is concerned. I was called upon to serve on the jury for a competition sponsored by the Roman Building Contractors Association which, for promotional and cultural reasons was aimed at creating a sort of urban border for the northern area of the city, where one of the main national expressways meets the ring road. As many as fifty-two teams of architects entered the competition. But among all these proposals there was really very little difference: they all tended to revert to two or three well-known urban planning solutions. It seems to me that this example responds, in a way, to the question posed by Bordogna, namely: is it possible to architecturally design an entire part of the city? Is this an appropriate scale? In my experience, I've found that this dimension is not without definition. In this sense, I think that the Fondiaria plan for Florence offers a significant example of what can be done, since this is the largest project of its type ever proposed in Italy, if my memory serves me well, and Di Pietro has used, as you correctly pointed out, tried and true tools of the urban planning tradition, using the relationships between streets, spaces, two centres, in which the overall layout is determined by the layout of the city blocks, all of which corresponds to the concepts used in building the cities of the 1800s. After the first world war, the same archetype inspired the reconstruction plan for Le Havre by Auguste Perret, as well as the better part of the expansion projects in communist countries. The sole exception could possibly be Stalinallee which, not by chance, remains an isolated case, because it was intended as a module for centripetal development in the reconstruction of East Berlin. So while the proven systems of the 1800s could virtually be indefinitely extended — think of the Paris of Hausmann, or of the unlimited grid Manhattan in the early 1800s, or the *Wien ohne Grenze* of Otto Wagner, etc. — when we find ourselves confronted with space limitations, when we are dealing with a "formally defined section of the city", we must start thinking and theorizing about a unified project, like my attempt in San Lorenzo a Greve. You may ask: where do we draw the line between these various scales? It seemed to me that San Lorenzo, precisely due to its scale, had to be looked at as an urban problem, while at the same time viewed as an architectural one. This aspect brings us back to one of the topics we have already discussed: the image. Another example: in our competition entry for the Bicocca Technocity, we dealt with the question of architecture inserted into the composite city, and little by little we discovered that the most important criteria was that of the image, like the skyline, as in the case of large buildings or

pure emblems, like Philip Johnson's AT&T tower in Manhattan. In the case of the latter, you know what it looks like because you have seen it published everywhere, when you are standing beneath it you know that it has that top with the hole, but you can never actually see it. This demonstrates that today the image projected by the media is more important than the image which one perceives on site. This brings us back, as a sustaining argument and as a contradiction, to the question we asked at the beginning: in what measure is it possible to design in the composite city? Isn't it obvious that it is possible to design certain points, certain embryonic nodes, leaving the rest up to chance? Isn't this exactly the intent behind the Fiat project in Florence?

We also spoke of functions, of the bent towards service industry of most of these projects. Once again, these examples are relevant, because this tendency increases fragmentation, and this type of expansion becomes a major element, a non-architectural character, a negative characteristic, which in the end dominates the landscape. Today, on a metropolitan scale, the service industry phenomenon produces the same kind of fragmentation which eclecticism introduced in residential areas, not only in Las Vegas, but in Viareggio, all across Europe and the world: private houses, each slightly different from the next, resulting in a Tuscany rustic next to an English Tudor. Even the examples illustrated in this issue of "Zodiac" don't offer a particularly different alternative. The need to deal with this type of limitations must be part of the designer's job. Therefore I would say that the three questions — scale, image and function — should lead us to the conclusion that the contemporary city, as discussed theoretically and to a certain extent experimented by the Modernist movement — represented by Dammerstock in this issue of Zodiac — has not come true. If someone asked me to show him not a city, but even a part of a city created by the modern movement, I wouldn't know what to say: perhaps Brasilia, or maybe Chandigarh, which I've never been able to visit, but which have been created under completely different conditions.

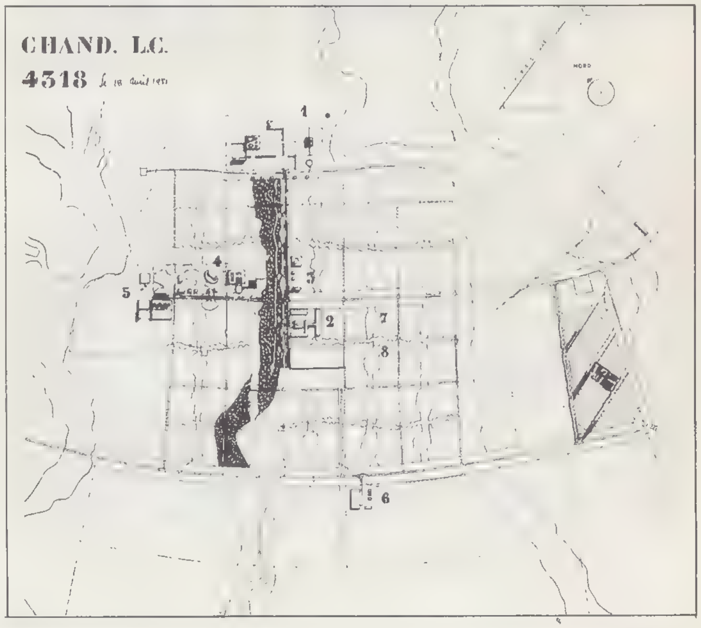
I believe that we would be justified in saying that the city embodies the cultural and operational sector in which the ideology of the Modernist movement has proven to be a virtual failure, and that on top of this failure, in part due to the reasons we have already discussed — productive, institutional, cultural factors — and due to the very urban planning instruments and forms of management which have created the situation — another reason has been added, which is still being discussed today. So much so that a case such as that of Stalinallee, which grew out of the post-war ruins, seems very significant, because it is as if the ruins which surrounded it are an analogy for the modern city: something tall, something short, pieces here and there, in other words a disorganized, unregulated mess such as that which we can see in Scandicci today (the area where my project is supposed to be built). But in East Berlin someone was capable of creating order, by using a sort of central backbone, because this was an organized, publicly sponsored project, an "authoritarian" project which "had" to be completed. Whereas today it seems that such a result is unthinkable, and in fact the Canary Wharf project looks like the exact opposite, even though the plan, with the "circus", the central axis, the sequence of widening spaces which end in the square with the skyscraper by Cesar Pelli, is quite similar to a traditional urban scheme. The architectural result of this assembly of single buildings is precisely that of the composite city.

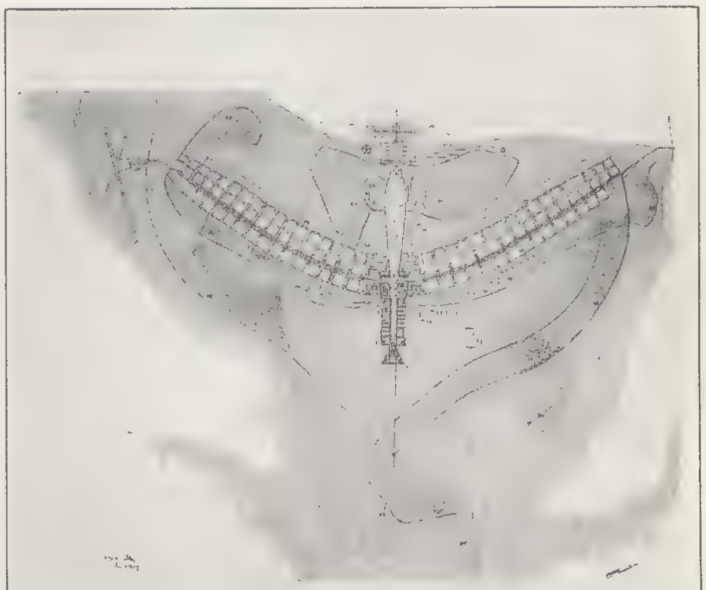
G.C. All of this brings us back to the question of the primary material, the parti. Fragmentation has come about, above all, after the end of the emphasis on housing in urban planning. From the point of view of consistency, in the past it was the house, the community, the neighborhood that counted. The fact that the residence was the first typology to represent the structural fabric of the modern city made it possible to design the city in terms of units, even to the point of becoming a *monotonous variable*, which in the end is what 1800s modernism and this century's rationalism have to offer (also because the few examples that have been built are widely dispersed, and called for a radical view of the city which, even today — as the essay by Uhlig and Peterek would seem to indicate — has become a part of the German cityscape, and is even a sort of ideal as far as the comfort of the inhabitants is concerned).

Instead, if we want to find a behavioural archetype for service industry activities, rather than looking at the city we should look to the *fairground*, the *exhibition*, where each element is designed to interfere or even cancel out the others. More than anything else, I think this is the process which breaks the unit up into fragments. The service industry model has taken over the development of our cities from the residential model, creating greater expectations for employment, efficiency and the image of the city. The real estate market itself tends today to encourage non-dwelling

Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, Obus plan for Algiers, Project A, 1930.
Le Corbusier, Plan for Chandigarh, 1951.
Lucio Costa, Award-winning project in the competition for a pilot plan for Brasilia, 1956.

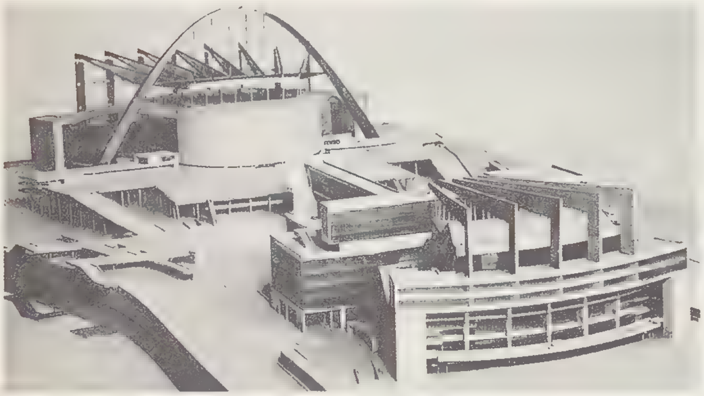






alternatives within the compact fabric of our large cities, an imitation of an Anglo-Saxon or Northern European prototype, certainly not a Mediterranean or Italian one, decentralizing and camouflaging and thus exorcizing the now degraded high-density residential structures in the outskirts of the city. For example, in Milan, entrepreneurial initiatives by Bonomi, Berlusconi, Ligresti and the like offer a certain type of middle-class clientele a new lifestyle in enclosed, protected areas, reminiscent of the garden-city, cut out from the heart of green fields, with amenities such as tennis, swimming pool, club-house, supermarket. All this within a short distance of a centre of service-industry activity. It's like a modern parish, social centre, with bocce-ball courts, stores. These are also reflections of the type of contradictions which today percolate thru our society. These become the market indicators of high levels of taste that have to be held in consideration by the designers of the city. The abandoning of decayed residential areas of the city, which become a sort of "noman's-land", results in an exaggerated concentration, a crowded skyline, as in the case of Canary Wharf, rather creating a polarizing effect, as in the case of the Fondiaria and Fiat projects in Florence. This crowding is, behind an apparent analogy, a contradiction of the modernist idea of the city — Wagner in Vienna, Berlage in Amsterdam, Tony Garnier in Lyons, Schumacher in Hamburg, etc. — conceived as an intermediate development bridging the centre and the outskirts, similar to the 1800s modernism that you mentioned earlier in that the basic structure of the plan would be strong enough to limit abuse, but flexible enough to permit a variety of typological and architectural solutions. It fills me with great sorrow to see the fate of Stalinallee. Certainly important from a typological and figurative point of view, it was also decisive as a residential space within the historical structure of Berlin. Today it still is a radical alternative to the more recent IBA, which would have liked, in some measure, to evoke Stalinallee but which is actually a contradiction of those premises. The absence of a strong siting plan and its concessions to all kind of facade-architecture have turned it into an architectural fairground, destroying the unified character of the area. It was this unified character, which I said had been pushed to the point of becoming a *variable of monotony*, which still managed to express the pride of a social state, shared by the community. By contrast, just think of South Amsterdam, laid out by Berlage, where, the overall mastery and

Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, Competition entry for the Palace of the Soviets, Moscow, 1931.
L. Hugh Wilson, Geoffrey Copcutt, Dudley Leaker, City centre in Cumbernauld, Scotland, 1957.





inventive quality of the plan based on a Beaux Arts background remains, notwithstanding the talented works of all the architects of the Amsterdam School. Berlage was able to maintain, in proportions, choice of materials and choice of typological-figurative variables, an exemplary continuity and organic quality.
C.A. I agree.
G.C. Therefore I believe that the most important problem to be addressed in design, at the scale of the city, remains that of a primary material — a parti — which has to acquire its own consistency and ability to articulate with the existing context, the residential fabric, even if this is divided between historical nucleus, industrial areas and the countryside, surrounded by service industry, which continues to further permeate the fabric of the city, without being in any way quantifiable or definable in terms of typological conformity. For example, the buildings used for this type of business cannot be discussed in terms of characteristics such as type of structure length or width of the construction, distribution or rhythm of certain elements of the elevations, such as vertical circulation, windows or setbacks in the facade etc; these are all elements which must be part of the syntax of the urban lexicon, repetitive elements in the sequence of perceptions of the city. From this point of view, the Fiat experiment in Florence is intelligent, because it points out just how this invasion of service industries destroys the unity of the whole, negating the particular *genius loci*, by attempting to combine buildings with widely differing functions, as well as various degrees of architectural quality.
F.C. We have to recognize that, in this sense, Aymonino's project for San Lorenzo a Greve is much more uniform, perhaps because it was easier to accomplish this in a smaller space. Perhaps, over time, other minor modifications could be made around it, either as new construction or as restoration work. It seems to me that in either case the project would continue having the strength to hold its own.
G.C. Which is not the case for the Fiat and Fondiaria projects, which imply in a combined development logic rather regulated (either by a timely group design, or a more detailed plan). In the case of the San Lorenzo project, we are again in the scale of the large complex, monumental, even dominant for the area, but that does not impose substantial structural modifications, as in the area of the Gallaratese quarter designed by Aymonino in Milan, or the

Corviale quarter by Mario Fiorentino in Rome or Forte Quezzi in Genoa by Luigi Carlo Daneri. In other words, we are still below that quantitative threshold of strategic content, in which a single project can affect an entire city, as in the case of the City-centre in Cumbernauld.
C.A. I would agree that the concept and design procedure of the San Lorenzo project could not be transferred to the Fondiaria situation, although I am still unable to answer the question I raised earlier: how do we decide where to draw the line regarding the effects on a city-wide scale? How much influence does the architect have on an urban expansion, how much control can he actually exercise over its final form?
E.B. Looking at the Fondiaria project, to me it appears to be the preparation of an addition to the city, a sort of Murat-style hamlet, or Maria Theresa burg, filtered through the Florentine tradition. As such the single architectural designs will be less important than the general design of the complex. Instead, when I look at the whole San Lorenzo a Greve project, I recall certain complexes designed by Le Corbusier on an urban scale, from the Obus plan for Algiers to his later variation on the theme for Rio de Janeiro, in which the architecture is a fragment of the city, where the parti interprets, synthetically or freely, the contents and the siting of the buildings in the landscape, where the layout coincides with the architectural expression. I recall that extraordinary design for the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow, for which Le Corbusier — often mentioned by Aymonino, as by Canella — followed the words of Abbot Laugier, "*de l'unité dans le détail (unité à échelle humaine); du tumulte dans l'ensemble*". So I ask myself if this is only a question of scale, or if it isn't more a question of a will to give a shape, any shape, to an idea of the modern city.
G.C.: In my opinion it's not only a matter of scale, but also of function. In the sense that for the high-rises in his project Aymonino perhaps still hasn't precisely defined where the offices will go, where there will be stores, etc., but he has had to operate within well-defined functional parameters, although the idea of scale is approximate. Whereas in the case of a complex development on an urban scale, all kinds of adjustments and considerations regarding the distribution of spaces for functions must be considered before the actual construction takes place.
Perhaps in the case of a city one must deal with issues of function and quantity (especially in reference to service activities and business) in a more approximative and flexible way than in the design of an individual building.
Let's take as an example the E42 plan in Rome, which later became the EUR district. The original layout was inspired by criteria aimed at monumentality, with symmetrical axes, pre-determined relationships between green areas, water and the volume of construction, the height and widths of central and lateral spaces; after all, this was for a world's fair. Objectives of the original design went thru an unpredictable layout and especially in terms of functional divisions from the planning stage to the actual buildings. In the case of Canary Wharf, we are looking at yet another type of phenomenon, which, given the size and importance of the development, shouldn't shock us in the least: for the spacial modelling of the entire complex, one or more architects are put to work; later, the technical staff of Olympia & York reworks their plan, specifying heights, lengths and width of each of the single buildings; then each of the buildings is designed by a well-known architect, who designs the exterior and locates fixed vertical elements (stairs, elevators, services, etc.); the architectural office then produces the floorplans of the buildings. This is probably why the whole project gives us the impression of a random collection of items washed up on the shores of the Atlantic, stratified over time, in which individual designs end up becoming part of an organic whole.
C.A. This is the opposite of what happened with Rue de Rivoli in Paris. The architects of the individual buildings were told what type of columns, the height and depth of the porticoes and the mansards; but then, inside, they were left free to do as they pleased, depending on how much was to be invested, the needs of the market, etc. Thus there was a system of rules in which the facade was seen as an essential part of the street, with a pre-established series of streetfront ideas. This also occurred in the development of the "crescents" in England. But in the case of Canary Wharf, this sort of procedure was rejected, or, better, it was taken only half-way, a sort of hybrid in which the preconceived notion of the whole is precisely that of a composite of architecture which makes it very difficult to develop any type of characteristic elements.
G.C. In fact I fear that, in this type of project, even when all of the participants have been very carefully selected — in the projects we have considered there are many fine architects — the overall effect of the result will not be improved, because the dominating connective tissue of these projects is the destructured nature of modern business itself

which, apart from any precise typological order or tradition of the place, creates an advertisement-caricature of efficiency. Whereas the examples from the Modernist period which we have mentioned made it possible to produce an array of configurations within a fundamentally homogeneous layout. But in those cases the architects came from the same schools, with a master (Wagner of Berlage, for example) who was also the author of the plan.

C.A. At this point I would like to ask Camarlinghi a question: when you developed the Fondiaria plan, did you imagine, that it would have turned out as it did?

F.C. When thoughts about the Fondiaria project developed, ideas were based on a hypothesis of possible growth for parts of the city, to create a new development which would be characterized, right from the start, by a true and efficient integration of different functions. The image that comes to mind is as if there were some sort of Medici-style prince who wanted to make a part of the city his legacy, as it has occurred in the past, both in Florence and in other parts of Europe. From that point on the design of the layout, of the floor to area ratios, the plan, the mixture of uses would be entrusted to experts in each particular area.

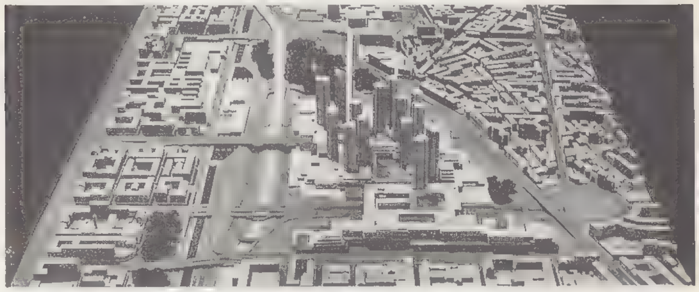
This concept was relatively different from the original idea by Detti, because his idea was to have an administrative centre on the Sesto axis, in line with a rather conventional concept from the 1950s and '60s. The idea was quite different from the functional mixture of services, administration, institutions, and housing, social facilites, etc., which were the basis of our concept which we considered as an urban "pole" rather than as a specific functional zone. I recall that in 1981 I wrote a report to the Florence city council, in which I stated that the concept of an administrative centre was unworkable, especially in light of the fact that no one was willing to pay for it. A competition had been held during the 1960s on the same theme, but the results were far from convincing. So it was necessary to change direction, to find private joint-financing for the project, which would also include public initiatives. At this point Fondiaria stepped in. The political elements in this alliance were to safeguard the cultural, social and economic objectives of the operation, while respecting the work of the designers. Tomàs Maldonado, who was to be the coordinator, and guarantor in the design phase on an urban scale, thought it best not to interfere on the scale of the design of individual buildings. This was the initial concept although in the end nothing went as planned, and the entire initiative has been paralyzed since then.

C.A. You said that you spoke before the city council in 1981, but the entire project dragged on until 1989, ending up as another unbuilt dream. As I see it, having served as the alderman in charge of the historical centre of Rome for four years, the part I find difficult to undertand is this: the passing of time doesn't help resolve problems. For example, in the case of Rome, thirty years have gone by with the SDO, laden with political controversies and battles, but nothing has changed, the ideas are still the same, we could still go back to Mussolini's dream of moving Rome to the seaside (something which perhaps wasn't such a bad idea after all) but no, after thirty years, the problems remain exactly the same, only they've gotten worse. Venice is another example, where the master plan dates back to 1962, and the questions remain the same: the Arsenal, the completion of the Giudecca, the Stucky mill, the relation of the city to the lagoon, the concept for a subway system. By the same token people in Florence have been talking for ages about the Sesto plain to be used as the site of a university or an administration centre, or the Fondiaria complex: one can propose different functional mixes, but the zone has remained the same for thirty years; Marcello Vittorini, who has been commissioned to develop a new master plan for Florence, will change things, he'll cut and paste and rewrite and come up with new directives, but in the end he'll be right back where everyone started — in the Sesto plain area.

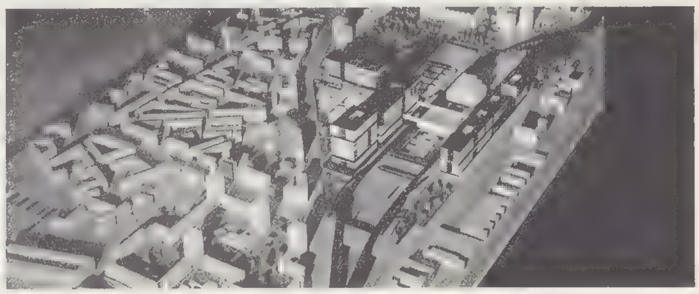
F.C. Nevertheless, from my point of view — and by now I am a totally external observer — the motives behind these situations are above all ideological, and so I ask myself: what can the result of these new directions be? And, because of the fact that, under a certain size threshold the idea of an organic urban expansion is no longer workable, I ask: how productive can it possibly be to reject, a priori any project on an urban scale? Perhaps it would be better to do absolutely nothing, rather than to reduce the project to a horrible showroom complex with two suburban streets lined with tract houses, where no one would ever wish to be deported. This brings us back once again to the shameless political and administrative tactics of hiding behind reductivity leaving everything up to speculators and real-estate interests.

E.B. I would like to ask Aymonino and Canella a question: if you found yourselves with the task of designing the Fondiaria project, would you have done so by turning to the

Competition for the Administrative Centre in Turin, 1962:
Project by M. Bianco, G. Esposito, R. Maestro, S. Nicola, L. Quaroni, A. Quistelli, N. Renacco, A. Rizzotti, A. Romano (first prize).
Project by G. Samonà, C. Dardi, E. Mattioni, V. Pastor, A. Samonà, L. Semerani, G. Tamaro, A. Vianello



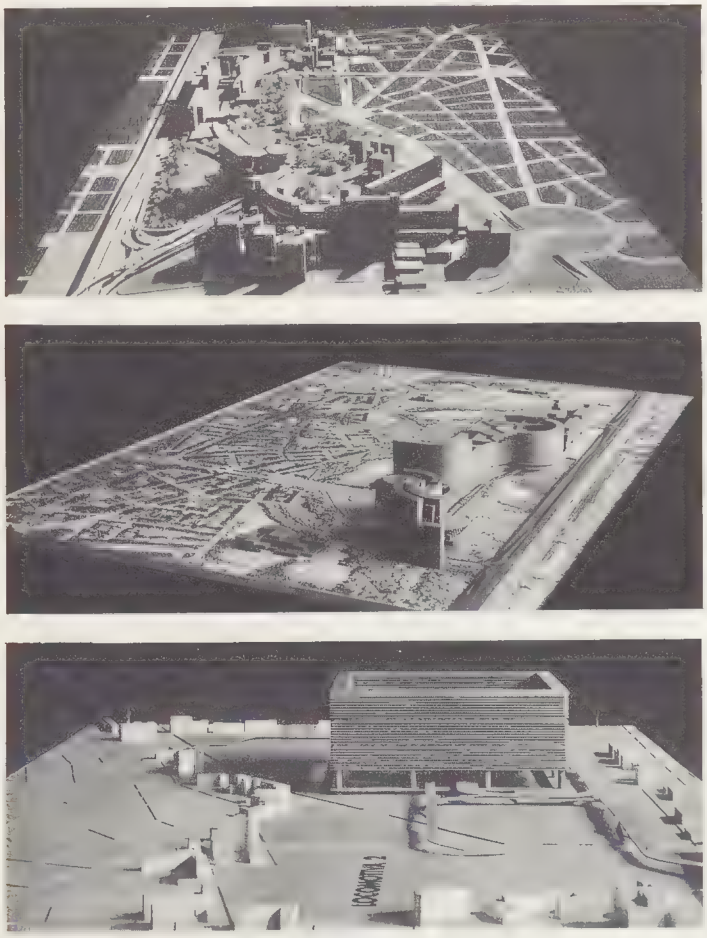




Vos (second prize).
Project by G. Astengo, G. Fasana, G. Abbate (third prize).

above praised models of the 1800s, or would you have attempted to find a system which is more in keeping with the principles of creative freedom of the modernist movement, as one can assume from the San Lorenzo a Greve project? I ask this because, in Di Pietro's project, there is a certain vein of nostalgia, and it is important to try to understand if, beyond a certain size threshold, we are exempted from asking for more precise rules, for zoning and building codes which would send us right back to the proven models of the 1800s. Or perhaps it is possible to turn to the projects of Le Corbusier, and the modern movement, as a point of reference for projects on an urban scale, even though the ideas of Le Corbusier were for cities in third-world countries, and were never built.
C.A. That's a good point — it's no coincidence that he was never able to build them. More than actual projects, they were manifestos.
G.C. Yes, it is true that in a certain phase of the Modernist movement problems are dealt with by using the dying gasps of the ideology of mechanization applied even to urban social life. The logic of rationalization which leads the design of buildings was extended to the urban scale. It is also true that the sense of realism which we feel around us today, has ended up doing justice to that approach, and to all the other design utopias. Finally, it is true — as we seem to have agreed — that up to a certain threshold the typological logic of the building prevails, because it can develop along design lines which are true and dependable, while beyond that threshold the logic of site design takes over. Thus there are not just two alternatives but many independent variables of procedure and quality. Nevertheless, I cannot hide a certain perplexity about accepting the idea that this division can be advantageous, on the one hand, for architecture, and, on the other, for the city. I'd like to recall another example. Thirty years ago, both Aymonino and I participated in a competition for an administrative centre in Turin where, if I'm not mistaken, there were also the teams of Polesello and Rossi, not to mention those headed by Quaroni, Samonà and Astango, who were the three winners. Perhaps this was the most significant and last occasion where the division between two generations became apparent. The architects from the younger generation reproposed the concepts of Le Corbusier for urban scale architecture, which the old masters had stonewalled or abandoned. I'm talking about those criteria which, apart from the size factor, still seem to

Competition for the Administrative Centre in Turin, 1962: Project by C. Aymonino, M. Aymonino, B. De' Rossi, F. Berlanda, F. Battimelli (fourth prize). Project by M. Achilli, G. Canella, L. Stellario D'Angiolini, V. Vercelloni. Project by G. Polesello, A. Rossi, L. Meda.



be present in the project for San Lorenzo a Greve. At the time, our group used the opportunity to come up with a plan for the restructuring of the entire transportation network of the Turin metropolitan area and, at the same time, come to an understanding of the idea of establishing a direction of development, along with the proper infrastructure. This was understood as an arena in which managements and labor unions would meet in the light of what we felt was an unavoidable need for conversion and diversification from the monoculture of the automobile which dominated the Piedmont regions economy.

This proposal on a regional scale, did not win us any kudos, and our friend Paolo Ceccarelli didn't leave us out of his across-the-board condemnation of the entries as expressions of "*affluent urban planning*" (in fact, the first recession after the boom of the 1950s had yet to come). Now, because we must consider Ceccarelli an urban planner "by vocation" (and not one of those who do it because they hate architecture, once they have found that their own inspirations are not particularly gratifying), I would like to know what he would say, today, about Canary Wharf in London, the administrative centre in Naples, and the various "technocities" which are springing up in abandoned industrial areas.

This doesn't mean that I am not still relatively certain that a large complex of buildings, of uniform architectural quality which corresponds to a typological foundation, cannot have a strategic wide ranging and long-term effect upon a city. Isn't this the case for the Ca' Granda in Milan, for example, located within the perimeter walls of the city, planned and constructed during the course of four centuries, 300,000 cubic metres on about 3 hectares, while the city's population increased from 100,000 to 150,000? Isn't the fact that this area has recently become a university but another proof of its validity? In the same manner, the Hospital of Venice by Le Corbusier, unfortunately never built, could also have been such a strategically useful project.

F.C. It might be useful to mention that the Fiat project, in Novoli, called for a development on, I believe, 32 hectares, accounting for 1 million cubic metres, while the Fondiaria project was developed on 188 hectares, accounting for about 3 million cubic metres; so they are comparable. The San Lorenzo project, on the other hand, encompasses only about 300,000 cubic metres of building space, on an overall area of 154 hectares.

Canary Wharf spreads over something like 28.5 hectares, with floor area which has not been determined, but is surely much greater than that of the Fondiaria project.
C.A. If we are capable of stepping back from the image and the meanings of single buildings, we notice that the tools at our disposal for design in relation to the urban layout and the quantity of building are nearly always the same, even in the cases of Dammerstock and Stalinallee. In these terms, your reference to EUR is interesting. Much of its closed plan is reflected in the Fondiaria design, although actually Tomàs Maldonado began, not by coincidence, by following a different procedure, by calling a meeting — without the pretext of a workshop, like those of Bruno Zevi in the Fiat project — at which the project was to be discussed as a group, bringing up issues regarding the quality of the site, the major existing characteristics to be dealt with, the general layout, and the solutions to be employed for the individual buildings. In the case of EUR, as we may see in the publications which have been issued for its 50th anniversary, the individual buildings had to conform to a rigid layout, although nearly all of them were the winning designs from a variety of competitions.
It happens nearly everywhere that one proceeds by creating a plan, in which the main elements are determined: a main axis, where the centre should be, where the lake, where the Adalberto Libera arch (never built, because it was to be the symbol of the world's fair of 1942, which was cancelled because of the war), where to put the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana which, once built, became a decisive element both for the district and for the entire city. If the competition had been won by some other architects rather than by the Guerrini-La Padula-Romano group, or if Libera hadn't won the competition for the Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e dei Congressi, but rather Fariello-Muratori-Quaroni, or Lingeri-Terragni-Cattaneo had won, perhaps the difference in the overall landscape wouldn't have been all that great. The point is that the plan has great importance, which in the end means that the designs of the individual buildings are complementary to the plan if the plan is well-made. It would be interesting to simulate a reconstruction of EUR, substituting the projects which didn't win, to see if there would be a difference in quality because today the overall design looks quite coherent to us.
G.C. But that is also because, in the meantime, the whole area has taken on that patina which only time can bestow, which makes everything homogeneous and persuasive.
Unfortunately it is just that patina, which has become an excuse for all sorts of banal conservationist manias, in which everything from the past is seen as "of human dimensions", and everything that is new is said not to be. This is not only part of today's taste trends, but it also manages to influence the decisions of those in charge — another disadvantage of living in a distorted democracy.
F.C. Of course this is, to some extent, the fate of all of today's disciplines, misunderstood by good common sense, distrusted, obstructed, so that the older the creative work is the more valuable it is seen. It happens in the field of music — everyone says that contemporary music is impossible to listen to, but no one has ever tried; and this is not different from what happens with architecture; all of the cities of the past are said to be beautiful, while, if one knows how to observe, one notices that in historical centres there are beautiful things and ugly things, like anywhere else.

Christof Thoenes

"*The entrance into this city the way we came is, I am apt to believe, the noblest thing of this kind in the world*". This was how in 1760 an English traveller described his impressions on entering Piazza del Popolo (fig. 1). A French contemporary acknowledged that "*le coup-d'oeil qu'elle présente (...) force les François eux-mêmes à rendre hommage au goût Romain pour les machines & les grandes décorations*".

Until 1867, when Termini railway station was opened, travellers entering Rome from the north formed their first important impressions of the Eternal City in Piazza del Popolo. All three streets leading from here to the heart of the city displayed one architectural gem after another; the array of monumental squares was indeed so great that it was easy to overlook the fact that the one feature common to all Italian cities north of Rome was missing here: Rome had no "central square" or "forum", to act as the focal point of civic life and be the city's gathering place. This will be the subject of this convention (*).

Without delving any further into the reasons why Rome lacked a central square, it is worth underlining that the concept of the "square" in Rome must necessarily be dealt with in the plural and that it is impossible, or at any rate unproductive, to single out any one square from the great number that exist and refer to it as the archetypal Roman piazza. No systems, typologies or theories can be applied to squares in Rome as they can to those found in the French architectural tradition from the eighteenth century onwards. Nor is there any example in Rome of a large, systematically designed square in the centre of the city like Place Royale and Place Vendôme in Paris or Héré's great squares in Nancy, a city whose architectural charm lies in its squares. Rome was not celebrated for the architecture of its squares until the end of the eighteenth century. What counted until then were the works of architecture or sculpture they contained. The square as such was already there and if any planning was necessary it was a question of making alterations to something which already existed.

One might be tempted to speak of "spontaneous squares" if this were not a contradiction in terms, as a square does not appear spontaneously in a built area (if anything it is swallowed up) but has to be deliberately cleared or kept clear, something which requires a city-planning authority, whatever its legitimacy and its limits may be.

This contradiction — or rather this interaction between planning and circumstances, the intentional and the

1. J. Blaeu, Perspective of Piazza del Popolo, with the two churches, Santa Maria dei Miracoli and Santa Maria del Montesanto, 1704. From: J. Blaeu, Nouveau Thèatre d'Italie, *IV, 1704, tab. 60.*



Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning

Christof Thoenes

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2. G.B. Nolli, New topography of Rome, 1748 (by asterisk, the named squares).

accidental, design and pre-existence — is the subject of this essay which will be divided into two parts.
First of all we shall take a brief look at the general and quite special circumstances which conditioned city-planning in modern Rome and especially that of its squares. This will be followed by an examination of a number of the city's squares, chosen more or less at random but excluding the most important and architecturally most significant Roman squares, to which the above comments do not apply, namely Piazza del Campidoglio on the Capitoline Hill and St. Peter's Square, the thematics of which are so complex and the level of abstraction so high that it would be impossible to deal with them in sufficient depth in the space available here.
I like to divide the basic factors which accounted for the creation of Rome's squares into three categories: 1) topographical factors, that is to say the geomorphology of the city's territory; 2) history, i.e. the fact that two great city systems — one ancient and one modern — lie superimposed one upon the other; and 3) the social frame of reference, or the authorities who carried out (or attempted to carry out) the planning within the existing social environment.
A few words about the first of the three factors just mentioned. In plan terms Italian cities are usually divided in two types: firstly those located in a plain, where the streets are generally organized on a grid (either square as in the case of Florence, or radial as in the case of Milan and Bologna) and hill towns and cities, whose street networks are determined by the profile of the land (Siena and Perugia for example). All other considerations follow from this dichotomy. Rome does not fit into either group (fig. 2): true, there are seven hills, but the center of post-ancient Rome settlement was located on the flat, low-lying land contained within the wide sweeping bend of the Tiber. Here the prevalently mediaeval streets twist and turn irregularly, whereas the districts on the hills built in modern times are characterized mainly by straight roads which intersect at different angles. This paradoxical state of affairs, due to historical events, contrasts with the natural features of the area and makes an already highly confusing territorial configuration even more difficult to understand. There is nothing remarkable about Rome's position as far as landscape is concerned. The mountains are some distance away and in the plain the course of the Tiber is too uncertain to influence the development of the city to any great extent. The hills hardly rise any higher than the main buildings, in fact one would hardly realize they were there at all if architecture had not highlighted their shapes with flights of steps, terraces and retaining walls. Yet they are steep enough to cause traffic problems (a subject we shall be returning to later). At any rate the natural masses are counterbalanced by such architectural volumes as St. Peter's, Castel Sant'Angelo or the Colosseum, which is precisely what gives them their *pathos*.
Secondly there is the historical aspect: the growth of the city or, to be more precise, its gradual transformation from ancient times to the present day. Rather than expanding in a series of concentric rings around an ancient, densely built-up centre containing the "main square", Rome developed in a more dynamic way: Imperial Rome extended as far as the Aurelian walls; in mediaeval times it shrank back into the abitato contained within the bend in the Tiber, spreading over the hills in the sixteenth century; only in 1870 did it begin to extend beyond the city walls. More importantly, the city centre was mobile. Ancient Rome was not as it were "typically Roman", organized around the intersection of two street axes. Instead it grew out of the amalgamation of several different, once isolated, nuclei on the various hills. Later, the city was also a place of tension between centres of different kinds and of varying importance, and never had a single centre of gravity.
It is not possible to look into this in any more depth here, so I shall simply highlight some of the points that are relevant to our analysis. The first concerns the availability of land. Land prices were lower than in the more traditional cities which grew around one single nucleus. As a result there was a certain generosity and nonchalance in the way space was used. Secondly the spaces in question were not empty spaces at all: builders had to consider and deal with ruins, substructures and foundations of one kind or another. Rome also contained monuments which modern eyes considered as relics and historical points of reference. Such monuments could be transferred to a square, or a square could be created around them of a suitable size and shape to do justice to the ancient specimen in question. Then there were infrastructures which might or might not be incorporated: walls, gateways, bridges over the Tiber, aqueducts and various major streets or fragments of the ancient street network.
I have left streets until last, although nowadays they would always be the starting-point of any urban planning project. Such an approach does not work in Rome. The oldest maps

3. View of Piazza Navona looking toward Palazzo Pamphili and the church of Sant'Agnese.
4. View of Piazza Navona, looking toward San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.
5. G.B. Nolli, New topography of Rome, 1748: detail of the area of Piazza Navona.







of the city do not indicate streets but only buildings and monuments, masses dotted around the urban space which define it as such. Traffic has to somehow find its way through. This is not the place to examine how Rome's street network developed from the Middle Ages to the present day, splendidly illustrated in G.B. Nolli's plan of 1748, a complex interweaving of subsystems which would take much time and patience to unravel. Where sections of rectilinear roads are recognizable they do not radiate from the centre outwards, as is usually the case, but run from particular peripheral points (city gateways, say, or bridgeheads) towards the centre, where they disappear in among the chaos of historical buildings.

All roads lead to Rome, as the saying goes, but none actually go through it. There are no road links between Via Flaminia and the Appian Way, Via Aurelia (the Great Coast Road in antiquity) and Via Tiburtina, all of which inevitably end up against a hill, a slope or a ruin. There are no nodes points that connect to form a network, and this state of affairs has not improved to any great extent in modern times. Surprisingly enough, it was even repeated in the new outlying districts which grew after the war. This may have had disastrous results for Rome's motorists but it is, and I think has always been, a blessing in disguise for the city's squares considering that a process of monumental "incrustation" has been under way for centuries, which not even the traffic of today's metropolis has managed to erode. We shall see some examples of this later on.

One further question here is how many of Rome's squares can actually be traced back to ancient times. As I see it, the answer has to be none of them, as ancient cities did not have "squares" as we know them, that is to say public places surrounded by facades. As we said before, ancient cities consisted of built areas with spaces in between (peristyles, colonnades, arenas and the like). The same goes for the forum and the agora, which were basically interior spaces delineated by walls or colonnades. Something similar still exists in Islamic cities, where the "square" is the atrium to Friday's Mosque, accessed by the narrow streets of the suk. Situations of this kind have occasionally survived in the form of free areas corresponding to an arcaded space (Piazza della Rotonda, in front of the Pantheon) or a stadium (Piazza Navona). But there have never been any attempts to reconstruct the ancient superstructures and only once was it decided to recreate something similar, *ex novo*: the colonnade built by Bernini and Alexander VII in front of St. Peter's which, both as a square and as an architectural structure, is completely divorced from the styles of its day. With respect to the third basic aspect, social circumstances, the political framework in which Roman history took place in the Middle Ages and the modern era seems at first glance to resemble that of other European capitals, characterized by the contrast between the city's bourgeoisie (the commune) and the reigning sovereign. In Rome, however, the latter position was held by the Papacy, which won back its supremacy soon after returning from exile in Avignon and doggedly went about transforming the city into a modern capital. The plan was formulated with surprising far-sightedness by Nicholas V as early as the fifteenth century. The legal basis for the expropriation procedures was laid down by Sixtus IV and later by Gregory XIII. The city authorities (the "maestri di strada") involved fell increasingly under the influence of the papacy and eventually became its executive arm. It is important to understand that there were two guidelines established from the outset; they can be summarized in two key concepts that recur in all the statements made at the time: "*utility*" and "*ornamentation*".The objective was to modernize the city from a functional point of view by building roads, supplying water and so on and at the same time to embellish it in order to draw the attention of contemporaries and posterity to its works.

There can be no doubt as to the function the square took in all this: spaces originally put to civic use became places for the public display of the sovereign's power, which in Rome is synonymous with the triumph of the church and religion. Squares thus became the setting for "celebrations of the faith" as papal creations were aptly termed in the baroque period. But they also served the ambitions of the great families which detained the power of the state. These families incessantly proclaimed and acquired wealth and prestige with their inscriptions, armorial bearings, buildings and sculptures. The papacy was not a hereditary monarchy and the pontifical system was not that of an absolutist state, neither in the handling of power nor in the concentration and availability of financial resources. Instead, the concept of elections created a kind of permanent competition, in which all those involved could become allies or enemies. All patiently and tenaciously sought to extend their possessions and gain control of rows of buildings or of entire city districts. Pressure was everywhere, there were intrigues, and property changed hands with such frequency that it

became almost impossible to establish where public interests ended and private interests began. But as the great powers acquired space at the expense of the lesser, the community also enjoyed some benefits. Even a building as pompous as Palazzo Farnese has a stone bench running along the facade towards the square: a connection, albeit *pro forma*, to the population.

The overall scenario was thus dominated by antagonism, and city-planning found itself up against not only natural and historical limitations but also economic and social ones: rights of ownership, personal rivalries and conflicting papal and private interests. These also involved the religious orders, which in turn could be connected, through their protector cardinals, to the strategies of the great families. Quite often the Pope was both head of the church and of his own lineage. The death of a pope was an unpredictable, periodically recurring, social catastrophe which was a devastating blow to all efforts towards continuity.

This explains that peculiar mixture of family pride and arrivisme, of adventure and faith in one's personal vocation which inspired the great patrons of the arts. It is a court society with a character all of its own, largely feudal but with an upper middle class component which descended from Florentine culture (even the cardinal's residence, in all its splendour, was essentially a city building). The only difference was that investments were not made in trade but in pursuit of political and ecclesiastical careers. It was a world in which one had to make a name for oneself, be introduced at the right time and place and demonstrate a willingness to play the game. To do this one would build, preferably onto a square, where one could be seen. This of course implied a certain expertise and an understanding of the level of ambition expected in Rome; anyone whose buildings were either gross or paltry, overblown or antiquated would be ridiculed to the point of exclusion. This delicate power game went on for centuries and is possibly the key to the happy aesthetic results achieved in so many of Rome's unplanned squares.

Piazza Navona

Our journey begins at Piazza Navona, well known to all visitors to Rome and a favourite meeting-place since the beginning of time. It can be identified in the most ancient maps of the city, particularly because its characteristic shape makes it one of the first things the eye picks out (fig. 5). From the fifteenth century onwards it was used as a market place and, being narrow and oblong, can be included with the other "market streets" that developed especially in cities north of the Alps. One look at the network of streets around Piazza Navona, though, is an indication that the square is out of place. It occupies the site of the ancient stadium of Domitian, which was destroyed and replaced by houses. Despite the intense building activity that occurred on the site of the stadium, the area of the arena itself remained (or was kept) clear and towards the end of the Middle Ages became the main square of the abitato. As we can see Piazza Navona started out not as a square but as a building, or rather the space inside it, and this explains the sense of surprise or happiness one feels when entering it.

The form came first and this gave rise to the function. But there was more to it than this. After the main city market was moved from the Capitoline Hill to Piazza Navona, at the time of Pope Sixtus IV, facades were erected and the site acquired its own architectural character. The process can be followed in the history of the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. In the Middle Ages its apse faced Piazza Navona. The orientation was later reversed and a facade built onto the square (fig. 4). At the same time the square was growing in social status and Piazza Navona became a "fashionable address", attracting such influential people as Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who moved there even if only as a tenant. But, as with other Roman squares, this was only the first move in an enormous power game. Great families subsequently bought up the adjacent land, building their own residences on it with the objective of taking control over the large open area in front of their palaces: the square. The shape of the stadium was an important element to be considered in any design and made the piazza particularly appealing. It was a well-known fact that the south side of Palazzo dei Cesari, built on the slopes of the Palatine Hill, was designed to face one of the long sides of the Circus Maximus, in the same way as the Imperial Palace of Constantinople was later to face onto the Hippodrome. Giuliano da Sangallo may well have based his plans for an unbuilt Medici palace on the east side of Piazza Navona on these examples.

A hundred years later a second attempt to take over Piazza Navona was more successful. This time it was on the west side, where the Pamphilj family had owned land since 1470, systematically extending their domain since then. Now, in 1644 the time was right. Giambattista Pamphilj

6. G.P. Pannini, Perspective of Piazza Navona with "The Lake", XVIII century, Landesgalerie Hannover.
7. F. Nicoletti, View of Piazza Navona with decorative displays, 1729.





8. I. Silvestre, Perspective of Piazza Navona with Palazzo Orsini and the Torre del Monte, XVIII century.



became Pope Innocent X. He immediately decided to build a family residence on Piazza Navona and even planned to transfer the papal residence and a part of the Curia here. This decision contributed much to establishing the present-day appearance of the square (fig. 3), with Palazzo Pamphilj, the church of Sant'Agnese, Bernini's Fountain of the Rivers and the smaller fountains at the two ends of the square. The pleasant sensation of freedom and variety the view creates is explained in part by the death of Pope Innocent since it put an end to the plans laboriously prepared during his reign and in part to the clash of artistic personalities as different in temperament as Rainaldi, Bernini and Borromini. At any rate there is no trace of an attempt at any axial organization or at unity of style. It was simply a matter of lining up a sequence of objects very different in style and quality, the purpose of which was to decorate the square and represent the consolidation of the family, political and religious aspirations so characteristic of the popes of that time.
Only later did architects with a sense of ephemeral pomp and circumstance give Piazza Navona its baroque quality, none of which ever outdid Bernini's fountain centrepiece (fig. 7). In fact the fixed elements were, and still are, enough to guarantee the square's function as a place for festive celebrations. The most spectacular of these was the "lago" (fig. 6). The southern side of the square was flooded by plugging the drains of the fountains and carriages would be drawn through the water. More often than not, it seems, this turned out to be a rather muddy affair, and in the nineteenth century the practice was prohibited for reasons of hygiene. In addition to Pannini's well-known painting we have a seventeenth century engraving by Israel Silvestre (fig. 8) showing something Piazza Navona had in common with other squares in Rome: the chaos and disorder which reigned there. Roman squares were never empty (although engravers of vistas usually tended to depict them as if they were), something was always out of place, things were left lying around or some building was being built or restored. For this reason it is unhistorical of today's tourists to expect that squares — or any part of the city for that matter — be neat and tidy, ready to be enjoyed under picture-perfect blue skies.

Campo dei Fiori, Piazza Farnese

Piazza Navona has an isolated position in the historical centre's network of streets, yet anyone walking round this part of the city will also perceive it in relation to other squares, in other words will treat it as part of a system (fig. 10). The centre is basically a series of variously-sized open spaces relatively close together and in some cases merging one into the other. These spaces ensure that the slow-moving traffic which so often chokes the narrow streets of the area does not come to a complete standstill. We know little about the origins of these open spaces. Possible, though, we should think not so much in terms of spontaneous growth as of conflicts which were resolved, using force or otherwise, by the authorities or by some financially powerful entrepreneur, who organized things to suit his purpose. This process may in the course of time have meant the loss of part of the ancient fabric of the city, but it has allowed the system as a whole to retain its vitality. The smallest of these squares, which are really little more than slarghi — wider sections of street — usually occur at intersections or where streets fork. In the latter case they are triangular or trapezoid, a shape peculiar to Rome, and become monumental as in the case of Piazza del Campidoglio and in the quadrangle in front of Piazza San Pietro (although this was really created by street intersections). We shall come across this type of square again in Piazza del Popolo and in the double trapezoid shape of Piazza di Spagna. The larger open spaces are usually rectangular, like Piazza Navona, Piazza della Cancelleria, Campo dei Fiori or Piazza Farnese. They serve many different purposes, which need to be examined one by one. They do have one thing in common, though, which visitors from the north experience as something picturesque and theatrical, whereas for Romans it is born out of necessity: the piazza is a place to be lived in on sultry August nights, when houses are still too warm but outdoors the air has become cooler.
Each square nevertheless has its own character and history. Piazza della Cancelleria may have grown out of the slargo in front of the original Basilica of San Lorenzo in Damasco and can therefore be dated back to ancient times. Campo dei Fiori (fig. 9) on the other hand belongs to a completely different street layout, which perhaps dates back to the Middle Ages, although it is difficult to say exactly when it took on its current shape. It is a large, regular and well-proportioned square and, unlike others in Rome, does not create an impression of monumentality, thus never having inspired vista painters and engravers. None of the big families ever built here and while Palazzo della

9. *View of Campo dei Fiori, with Palazzo Pio in the background. Photo Anderson.*
10. *G.B. Nolli, New topography of Rome, 1748: detail of the area of Piazza della Cancelleria, Campo dei Fiori, Piazza Farnese.*





Cancelleria at least has one corner decorated with armorial bearings facing onto Campo dei Fiori, Palazzo Orsini-Pio on the shorter east side seems to turn its back on the piazza altogether, saving its facade for a quite insignificant neighbouring square. Campo dei Fiori is "snubbed", so to speak, and the explanation of this curious phenomenon could lie in the fact that Campo dei Fiori was traditionally (and still is) a market square as well as the site where executions were carried out in the sixteenth century, hence a place to be avoided. It was not until the late nineteenth century, after the papacy lost its temporal power, that the square put its past behind it and a monument was built in its centre, a feature common enough in Northern Europe's squares but which in the centre of Rome was something of an exception. Built in 1887, it is dedicated to Giordano Bruno, who was burnt at the stake here in 1600.
Just a short walk to the south lies another rectangular square, Piazza Farnese (fig. 11), the prototype of the noble square and as such is the exact antithesis of Campo dei Fiori. It extends in front of Palazzo Farnese (fig. 12), the palace it was designed and organized to serve. Documents enable us to reconstruct how the man who commissioned it, Alessandro Farnese, gained control of the necessary land, displaying considerable far-sightedness. The objective here was to create a sense of respect. The viewer is kept at a distance; access is orderly and controllable. The shape of the square is simple, like that of the palace, and therein lies the grandeur — and a touch of arrogance — of the whole. The effect would perhaps be less oppressive if the palace were on the south side of the square and its facade were not in the shade most of the day. Little attention seems to have been paid to the other sides of the square, which in any case are dwarfed by Sangallo's huge cube and thus become insignificant. Two monumental fountains run symmetrically along the smooth axis of the square. These are topped by enormous Farnese Lilies and have granite fountain basins brought from the Baths of Caracalla, another family property. The main axis has been left clear for a new, wider and straighter street leading directly to the gateway of the palace. The idea was to be able to develop the centre of Rome the way a sovereign would, using his territory as he pleases. There were even plans to construct a bridge over the Tiber leading to the back of the palace and thus connecting it to the Farnese property on the other side of the river. But the obsession with axiality, so eagerly used in Northern Europe, met with fierce resistance in Rome and was never successfully applied. The most common system continued to be the "ensemble-square", in which rival patrons jostled for position.

Piazza Colonna, Piazza di Trevi

Let us take only a brief look at Piazza Colonna (fig. 14). Romans who often pass through this square today seldom stop to look around themselves. One might think that the presence of such an impressive ancient monument, after which the square was named, and the square's position right in the heart of the city centre on the main road through the new sixteenth century district would have been enough to ensure it a glorious history. But over the centuries, all that was done was to clear a roughly square area around the column and surround it with fairly conventional buildings (fig. 12). The square had (or might have had) its moment of glory halfway through the seventeenth century, when it aroused the interest of Pope Alexander VII (Chigi), whose family lived here. It is not quite clear who first had the brilliant idea to solve two of central Rome's problems simultaneously by building here rather than in Piazza di Trevi the ornamental fountain fed by the waters of the Aqua Virgo, plans for which had been under way for a long time since Nicholas V had reactivated the ancient aqueduct. Pietro da Cortona wanted to incorporate the fountain into the facade of a new Palazzo Chigi. The fertile imagination of Bernini gave shape to a fountain in the form of a ship with the Column of Marcus Aurelius as its main mast; he even toyed with the idea of transferring the Trajan Column to nearby Piazza Montecitorio and unite the two areas into a large open space dominated by the two columns.
This was certainly a utopistic idea, but it was conceived by someone who was an expert on Roman squares. Bernini had recognized the aesthetic problem: here was an ancient monument which, because of its sheer size and location could not be integrated into the urban fabric, at least not in those particular circumstances. A square piazza around the column, without a specific orientation of its own would only be an appendix to Via del Corso, which ran alongside it and determined the scale of the surrounding buildings. So it was only logical that in 1870, when Piazza Colonna became the hub of city life in the new capital, plans resurfaced to extend the square along its minor axis, this time eastwards on the the other side of the Corso. In 1889 Palazzo Piombino (fig. 13), once located there, was demolished, but exactly what layout to choose for the square was the subject

of endless controversy until 1914, when the "Galleria" was built; the square returned to its former shape and the square's disharmony was immortalized by turn-of-the-centuryt taste for monumentality.
After this case of bad planning, an example of successful non-planning: Piazza di Trevi. Located just a short walk from Piazza Colonna (fig. 14) it is difficult to find, firstly because it is so small (much smaller than one would expect) and secondly because it is off the beaten track. Usually one simply happens to come upon it when exploring the area. It did not even start out as a piazza, but as one of those anonymous slarghi we spoke of earlier. The fact that the Aqua Virgo aqueduct ended here and distribution of the water began here was originally of purely functional significance to the neighbourhood and would not have led to the creation of a square if the plans for Piazza Colonna discussed above had been built. Another eighty years were to pass before Nicola Salvi's plans came to be and the world-famous fountain was built, in a space far too small to accommodate it. To a certain extent it produced the opposite effect to that created in Piazza Colonna: architecture without a square as opposed to a square without architecture; yet it is this very sense of constriction which gives the site its irresistible charm.
The fountain (fig. 18) forms the facade of the palace on the north side of the square, but protrudes on a skew, like a mask, from the base of the building. The basin and the surrounding steps take up nearly all the available space. A narrow passageway is all that is left between the fountain and the houses across from it, and only in the south-east corner does this widen to form a space in which the perennial hordes of tourists can gather before marching off to the buses parked elsewhere.
But even this minimal square is twice its original size. To understand how it grew we need to go back to the first half of the seventeenth century, when the first plans for an ornamental fountain on this site were drawn up under Pope Urban VIII (Barberini). Two decisions, which clearly show the influence of Bernini, helped shape the development of the square (fig. 16). The first was the decision to move the planned fountain from the east to the north side of the piazza, where there was more space for a facade. This would make the fountain visible from the Pope's summer residence on the Quirinal Hill — a brilliant idea, typical of Bernini. The other innovation may seem hard to believe: the church of Santi Vincenzo ed Anastasio, which faces onto the square in an odd, and skewed way, was originally located further back and stood parallel to the streets in the area. Bernini decided to move it, or at least recommended that it should be moved, similar to the inversion of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Piazza Navona, but for even more radical and unscrupulous reasons. Bernini evidently wished to counterbalance the monumentality of the fountain and, despite the limited space, create a true square. The facade of the church, the most significant result of this period of city-planning, was not, however, built until the following papacy of Innocent X and then not by Bernini but by Martino Longhi the Younger. It was commissioned by Cardinal Mazzarino, who seized this opportunity to make his mark in a Roman square. Bernini had already begun to build a fountain, as can be seen on the left in the foreground of Falda's engraving (fig. 16). The fabbrica was left unfinished for a century or so, until Salvi's grandiose project was accepted.
Piazza di Trevi has all the tell-tale signs that its design was dictated by necessity, and this is how it has always been considered. It could be argued that the tight space between the fountain and the surrounding houses heightens the effect of Salvi's masterpiece, bringing out in a most sophisticated way its theme of the abundance of water. But contemporary engravers let their imaginations get the best of them and invented a new perspective for their views (fig. 17). Later, Valadier's design to clear the square was almost implemented through a demolition (fig. 15) order passed by Napoleon, who was obviously unaware of the slowness with which all building work took place in Rome.

Piazza Sant'Ignazio

After a piazza dominated by water, we move on to one without any fountains at all — something of a rarity in Rome. Piazza Sant'Ignazio was commissioned by the Jesuits. Plans drawn at the time show the site after the building of the church of Sant'Ignazio. The facade of this imposing building had been squeezed in amidst a group of houses which the Jesuit fathers began to buy up in the early eighteenth century in order to create a square in front of the church that would satisfy their ambitions. The work was to be carried out by the architect Filippo Raguzzini, who in 1724 had moved from Benevento to Rome in the retinue of Pope Benedict XIII (Orsini-Gravina). This then is a square built in complete conformity with an overall project, an

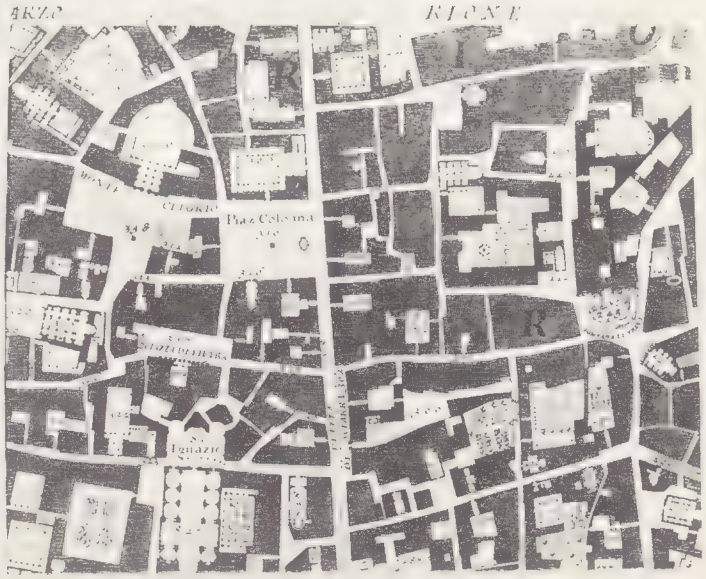
11. G. Vasi, Perspective of Palazzo Farnese, 1754. From: G. Vasi, Delle Magnificenze..., *Book IV, 1754, tab. 73.*



12. View of Piazza Colonna.
Photo Vasari.
13. View of Piazza Colonna before 1914, with Palazzo Chigi and Via del Corso.
Photo Alinari.
14. G.B. Nolli, New topography of Rome, 1748: detail of the area of Piazza Montecitorio, Piazza Colonna, Piazza di Trevi and Piazza Sant'Ignazio.



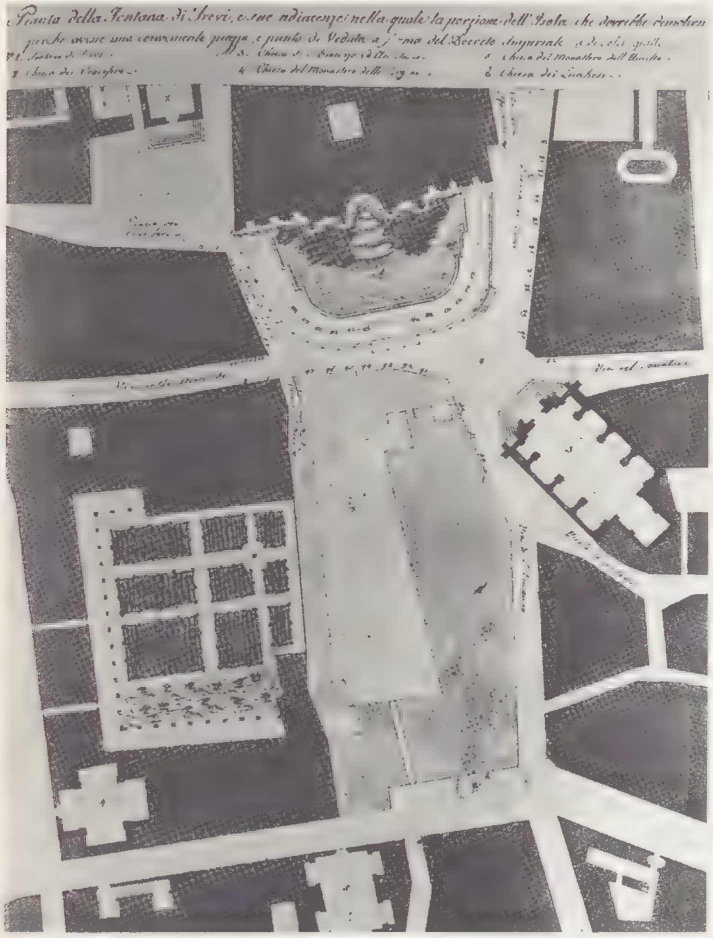




exception for Rome and therefore one which cannot be left out of our collection.
The result was not the simply rectangular square Vasi's engraving suggests, maybe intentionally (fig. 19). Rather it is a highly original composition of circular and oval spaces (fig. 14). Much serious research has been done to understand its geometry, but J. Connors has demonstrated that here too the layout derives from a pre-existing, unplanned street network. The result is indeed brilliant, although it does not mix particularly well with the rather austere facade of the Jesuit Church, an opinion shared by critics of the day. The central building opposite the church, built in three sections, curves into the square, concealing the access to the two small side streets. The two buildings at the side are set back slightly but they also — because of the geometry of the small oval spaces — overlook the square, peeping out from behind the buildings in front (fig. 20). The explaination for such a complicated arrangement may be found in the fact that the square was designed for residential purposes and the amount of the rent increased with the frontage on the square. Apart from the church there is nothing of interest and the viewer must turn his back on Sant'Ignazio in order to look at the square. There is a certain bourgeois intimacy together with an air of modernness, without the deep historical quality that pervades other squares in the city. In the eighteenth century Rome was overtaken by public servants, the curia had become bureaucratic, and homes for notaries, lawyers and the like were in great demand. Homes with elegant exteriors and a certain amount of comfort were needed. This is why it is so odd that Piazza Sant'Ignazio should not have a fountain. It is hard to say whether this was because of the difficulty to bring water here, or because a higher degree of comfort had already been reached and each house had its own private water supply.

Piazza del Popolo

We now move out of the mediaeval quarters to take a look at three peripheral squares at the foot of or on top of one of the surrounding hills. Our study of Rome's squares began in Piazza del Popolo (fig. 1) and it does indeed represent the "point of entry" style of square, one that existed in Mediterranean countries from ancient times and is still occasionally found in eastern countries. It served as the place in which trading caravans could camp once they had reached the city and obtained permission to enter. Piazza del Popolo was clearly not used in this way and yet it did have a certain openness roughness and was a piece of countryside intra *muros*, which only very slowly acquired a more urban quality. In the Middle Ages it was not even a square as such but at best a *campus*, a neglected area between the dilapidated city walls and the ruins of a sepulchral monument, said to have been the burial place of Nero, once located at the beginning of the Corso. Piazza del Popolo retained this character until the seventeenth century and attracted a great many painters, especially from northern Europe (fig. 21).
When the rebuilding of the Campus Martius started after 1500, the square became something of a traffic intersection, by finding itself at the junction of the famous "trident" formed by Via del Corso, Via della Ripetta (opened, or straightened, by Leo X) and Via del Babuino (refurbished by Paul III). This was a true piece of city-planning and it comes as no surprise that the two city-planner popes who created it were followed by Sixtus V, who from 1585 onwards introduced a general traffic control scheme and devised a network of roads running in straight lines over the hills and valleys (fig. 22). He basically ignored the existence of the hills, including the Pincio. There was even a plan for Via Sistina to become the fourth (or fifth) prong of the trident, radiating out from Piazza del Popolo and extending in a straight line past Trinità dei Monti and Santa Maria Maggiore as far as Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. It was a dynamic principle, which went beyond individual squares and even denying them as such. The objective was to open up the space visually: the streets themselves provide for visual perspectives; their intersections are marked by obelisks which, like beacons, serve as pointers guiding the eye into the distance.
These obelisks, along with some of the fountains, were Sixtus V's real contribution to the monumental scenery of Piazza del Popolo and other squares. Had he survived longer, he would have no doubt succeeded in turning Rome into a second Paris, or rather a forerunner of the French capital. But, as so often happened in Rome, his successors had other ideas; nor can we necessarily blame them for what they did. At any rate, nothing much changed in Piazza del Popolo for most of the seventeenth century, until the triple perspective of the streets entering the city was enhanced by Rainaldi's two domed churches. The effect is not last of all due to the breadth of the foreground (over 170 metres separate the gateway and the beginning of the



15. G. Valadier, Design for the expansion of Piazza di Trevi. Biblioteca dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Lanciani collection.

Corso): the luxury of having a sweeping open space within the city walls creates a highly ceremonious effect. The square retained its slightly asymmetrical trapezoid shape with an unfinished surface and was surrounded by buildings of scant importance, the one exception being Santa Maria del Popolo, up against the city walls and thus does not really interact with the square. To the left was a boundary wall above which the greenery of the Pincio was noticeable (fig. 23). Not a villa or park, it should be noted, but — *rus in urbe* — the orchards and vineyards of the Augustinians of Santa Maria del Popolo.

It was once again the French in the Napoleonic period who felt the need to reorganize things — this time their plans were built. I shall give just one example of the many designs by Valadier and his rivals which gave Piazza del Popolo the appearance it has today (fig. 24). The most important innovation lay in the opening of the minor axis and incorporation of the Pincio. The boundary wall disappeared, trees were planted on the slopes and a public park created with ramps, steps and terraces to grant access to pedestrians and carriages: this was an early attempt (never really continued) to plan and landscape the city in accord with the democratic-bourgeois mentality. However this first step in the form it had taken in Piazza del Popolo, after 1870 became an inspiration for the planned urbanization of huge areas outside the walls: north along the ancient Via Flaminia, west to the river and, beyond Ponte Margherita, along Via Cola di Rienzo to the Vatican Walls. This is one of the few parts of Rome which managed to expand organically without damaging any of the city's monumental heritage. Even the walls, including the narrow gateway of Porta del Popolo are unchanged and no one has ever seriously considered pulling them down. In the end traffic has simply had to adapt to the existing situation, a compromise which requires much more patience on the part of all those concerned than the citizens of most other European cities would be prepared to tolerate.

Piazza del Quirinale

From a square built at the foot of a hill to one built on the edge of a hill: Piazza del Quirinale (fig. 27). It too marked a point of entry to the city, or at least could have become one. The north-west axis it is located upon is the continuation of Via Nomentana; it enters the city on a straight line which would continue all the way to Piazza Venezia if it did not come to a stop on the side of Quirinal Hill above the

16. G.B. Falda, Perspective of Piazza di Trevi, with the church of St. Vincenzo and Anastasio, 1667-69.
17. J. Barbault, Perspective of Piazza di Trevi with the fountain, XVIII century.
18. View of the Fountain of Trevi. Photo Anderson.

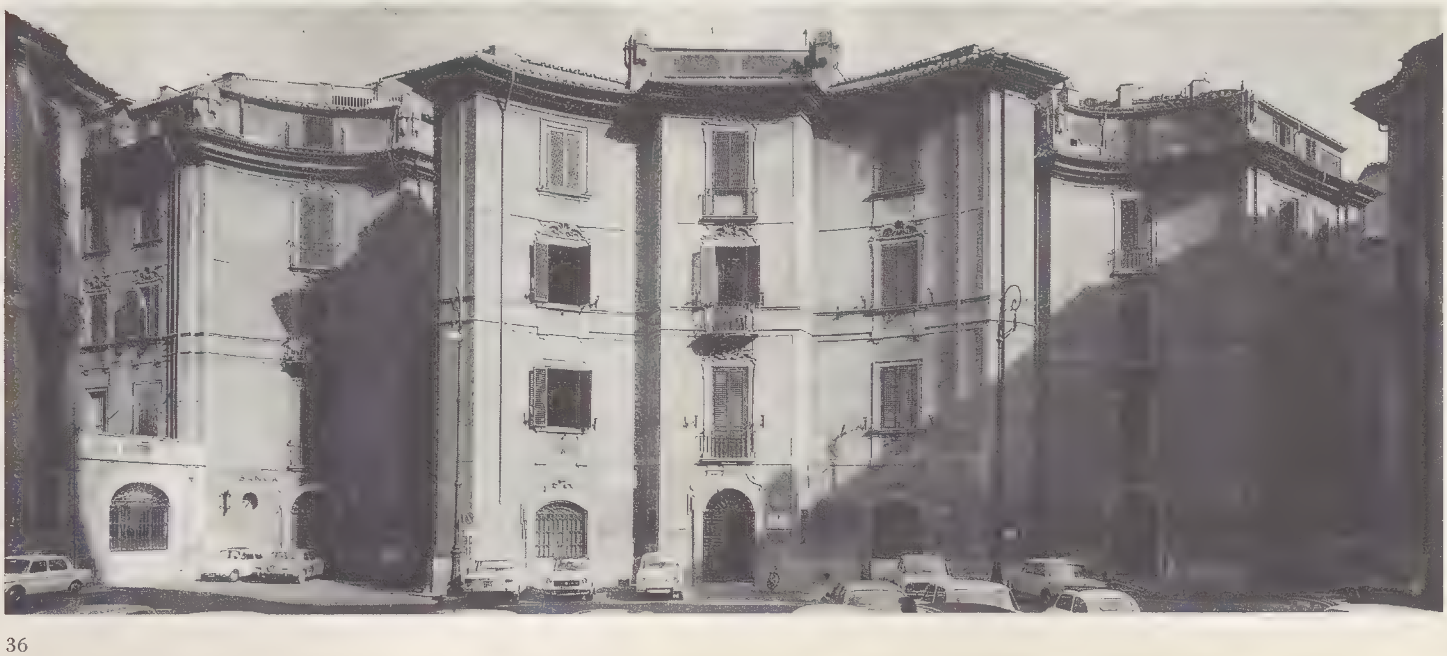






19. G. Vasi, Perspective of Piazza Sant'Ignazio, 1759. From: G. Vasi, Delle Magnificenze..., *Book IX, 1759, tab. 163.*
20. View of Piazza Sant'Ignazio.



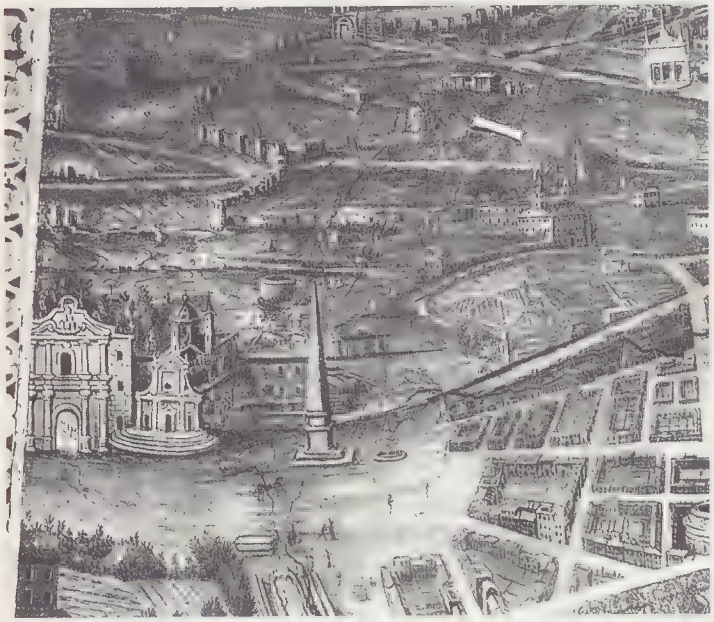


rooftops of the low-lying part of the city. The technical difficulties to overcome the steep slope were too complicated; instead, the traffic curves off to the side and reaches the lower part of the city through a series of side roads. The square is basically a panoramic terrace, but it was some time before it was seen as such. At first all interest was centred around the antiques in the area, especially the Dioscuri sculpture group, from which this site derives its original name, Monte Cavallo, (fig. 26). The statues were moved to different locations on various occasions from the sixteenth century onwards and combined first with the obelisk of the Mausoleum of Augustus and later with a fountain basin from the Forum. The sculpture group was the visual focal point of the long avenue at the opposite end of which Michelangelo's Porta Pia is just visible in the distance. The preference, at that time, was to concentrate on individual objects, even if they were so grandiose as to render any architectural planning of the setting superfluous. This square was indeed a ceremonial square from the end of the sixteenth century because of the papal palace which faces onto it (fig. 25), but this was a summer residence located in a district of villas characterized by unsophisticated entrance gates and high garden walls. Even the pontifical palace, with its asymmetrical entrance and one wing of the palace protruding obliquely, had an informal feeling to it. Moreover, Pope Paul V (Borghese), who was so influential in the design of the square, showed what little attention he paid to axiality and space in other works he commissioned, such as the "cembalo" (the famous family palace in Campus Martius and the square in front of it) or in the villa on the Pincio with its irregular street network. The approach could be explained as a reaction against the rigorous city-planning of the previous age. There was a similarly relaxed attitude to the residence of the pope's nephew (later taken over by the Rospigliosi-Pallavicini), and its casino (with Guido Reni's famous fresco *Aurora*) which appears to be located as if by accident at the southernmost extremity of the square.
There was no shortage of suggestions as to how the square should be organized, but none of them were ever implemented. In the eighteenth century the piazza was accepted as it was and a few isolated, widely-spaced buildings were added, explicit confirmation of the open nature of the square. The west side of Piazza del Quirinale was left completely open and so the panorama of Rome, and more importantly the view of the dome of Saint Peter's, provide a very fitting backdrop for a papal palace. In Gaspare Vanvitelli's vista paintings the panorama is not beyond the balustrade that now encircles the square but beyond an unkept lot that slopped away from the square (fig. 28). Not until the nineteenth century, under Pius X, were the terraces and retaining wall built, nor the ramp which now winds down to Via della Dataria, a simple structure of stone and travertine — somewhat dull but very Roman and quite appropriate here. In this later phase of its history then, it could be said that fortune had once again smiled on the square.

Piazza di Spagna

Our journey ends at Piazza di Spagna, halfway between the Quirinal Hill and Piazza del Popolo and, like the latter, sited at the foot of the Pincio hill (fig. 30). It is not located in a district of villas but is nevertheless outside the old abitato, in an area that was not built on until the sixteenth century. This is apparent from the rectilinearity of the street network, although even this grid system was established upon a very complex base. Two main streets — axes — cross at a sharp angle (Via del Corso and Via del Babuino-Via Due Macelli), while transverse streets run at right angles to one axis or the other or are oriented at different angles all together. One street however, runs parallel to the Corso: Via di Propaganda Fide, which runs from Sant'Andrea delle Fratte under the Pincio. This last street forms a sharp angle with Via Due Macelli and Piazza di Spagna opens up at the intersection. The square is thus surrounded by traffic and is also unusually shaped, narrowing down from both ends to little more than street width at the centre. The real centre of the square, though, is slightly further north at the end of Via Condotti, the last section of an ancient street which once ran from Tor di Nona on the banks of the Tiber, crossed the Corso and came to an end opposite the Pincio, forming the small axis of our square. High on the hill further along this axis is the church of Trinità dei Monti, the abbey of the kings of France. It is sited independently of the street network facing the Vatican Basilica, which can be seen in the distance from here.
None of this layout was planned: Piazza di Spagna is more the result of a fortunate circumstance than the result of good design. The origin of the square lies in the fact that the two triangular areas at the intersection between the street were too pointed to be built on successfully. Originally there was no need for an open space here and even later the





non-central location of the square meant that it was little used; attempts to start a market here failed. And yet the square as it stood did have a sort of charm and buildings of various kinds eventually began to be built around it. Attention was at first focused around the smaller, southern portion of the square. Palazzo di Propaganda Fide was built on the shortest side and Palazzo di Spagna, residence of the Spanish ambassador to the Vatican, at right angles to it. Architecturally, these were two very unassuming buildings which framed the square without dominating it. Another adjoining space, Piazza Mignanelli (fig. 29), opens up opposite the Embassy. This was originally a garden in front of the palace of the same name and it retained its character of a private space, even after becoming an actual square, did not served to create a sense of respect but to give the residents of the palace the necessary space in which to park and manoeuvre their carriages as the building did not have its own courtyard. We have not yet had an opportunity to discuss this particular purpose of Rome's squares, but it did become quite an important consideration as the traffic of coaches carriages grew heavier. As early as in the seventeenth century, as Richard Krautheimer points out, traffic and parking were objects of great concern for Rome's city planners. For this reason the cars parked today in the squares of the city centre are historically more justified than terracotta planters.
Other more monumental development work followed, much in the same way as the centre of a chessboard is gradually filled with pieces. Let us take a look at some of the most important events: in 1627 Bernini erected his Barcaccia fountain (fig. 32) at the intersection between the longitudinal axis defined by Via del Babuino-Via due Macelli and the transverse axis defined by Via Condotti-Trinità dei Monti. The shape of the basin makes the angle between the two axes unnoticeable: what holds the eye's attention is the effect of the water, which seems to spring forth from the bottom of the square, thus highlighting the low level of the square in relation to the hill above. In 1723 the so-called "Spanish Steps" were built (fig. 31) along the continuation of the transverse axis of the square. Work started surprisingly late, considering that the need to connect both points had existed here since the Middle Ages and had become even more urgent after the opening of Via Sistina, which ends in front of Trinità dei Monti. But here too the problem was more of aesthetics and monumentality rather than city-planning and it took time to come to a decision,

21. J. Ligelbach, Piazza del Popolo, scene of everyday life, XVII century. Detail.
22. Piazza del Popolo with the project for its renovation by the papacy of Sixtus V. Detail of a fresco in the Sistine hall of the Vatican Library.
23. G. Vasi, Perspective of Piazza del Popolo, 1752. From: G. Vasi, Delle Magnificenze..., *Book II, 1752, tab. 21.*
24. G. Valadier, Piazza del Popolo; design for the Pincio hill. Roma, Biblioteca dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Lanciani collection.





25. J. Blaeu, Perspective of Piazza del Quirinale with the Palazzo del Quirinale, 1704. From: J: Blaeu, Nouveau Thèatre d'Italie, *IV, 1704, tab. 64.*
26. Anonymous, View of Piazza del Quirinale, 1603.
27. G.B. Nolli, New topography of Roma, 1748: detail of the area of Piazza del Quirinale.





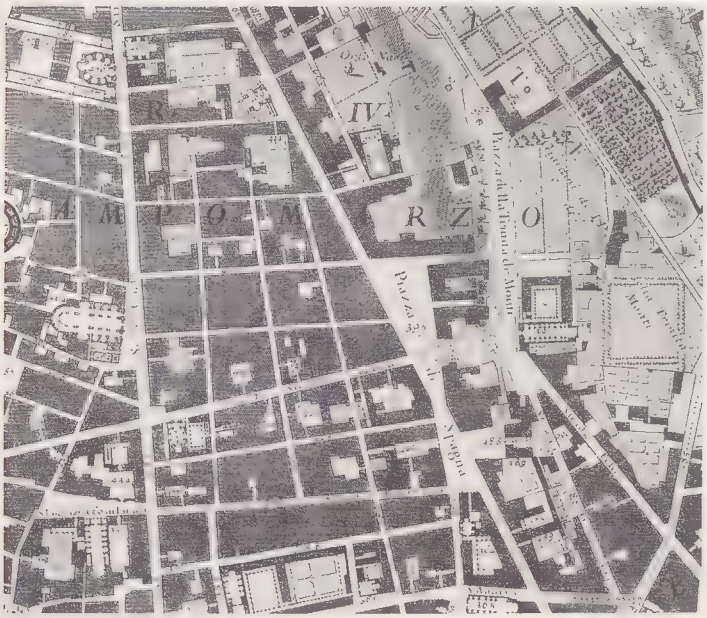


28. G. Vanvitelli, Piazza del Quirinale, XVIII cent. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, Rome. Photo Anderson.



29. View of Piazza di Spagna with the Immacolata column and Piazza Mignanelli.
Foto Hutzel.
30. G.B. Nolli, New topography of Rome, 1748: detail of the area of Piazza di Spagna.





because the objective was to create a focal point at the end of the longest and most important streets of the new district. When the steps were eventually built the square underwent two profound changes. Firstly the slope of the hill diasppeared underneath the enormous swathe of travertine (exceptional even for Rome), taking with it the open, rustic appearance of the square. All that survives of this today is the great ancient cypress tree, towering above all else in the garden of Trinità dei Monti. It is surely no coincidence that this provides the background to Via della Croce and guides the eye towards the Pincio while walking along this street, tangent to the northern extremity of the square. Secondly the church was "drawn", so to speak, into the square and it became the focal point of the square (or at least of its central portion). The difference in level covered by the steps corresponds to the height of the houses built on the lower part, suggesting a vertically structured design; the 132 steps seem to form a gigantic plinth for the facade above.
I shall not dwell on the history of Francesco de Sanctis' masterpiece: the steps themselves (fig. 34) are sufficient proof of the difficulties the architect encountered. The deviations from the main axis of this masterpiece are not just baroque arrogance but the result of previous planning or adapting to circumstances. De Sanctis conceived a symmetrical stair and tried to conceal any deviations from symmetry as much as possible. He was extremely successful. From Via Condotti the deviations from the axis are balanced out and the central axis is optically stable. This is not a work of city-planning but of architecture, over which much time and care was spent. There is little in the way of decorative detail, and Juvara (who also took part in the 1717 competition for the steps) would have gone for something much more magnificent. De Sanctis concentrated his efforts on "*comodità*", that is to say on creating smooth flights of steps converging on spacious, restful landings. He could not have come up with anything more ingenious, imaginative and elegant; all those who use the steps today are very grateful to him.
The next move on the chessboard was perhaps the most difficult. In 1787 Pope Pius VI had the Sallustian Obelisk erected on the square at the top of the steps. Its position may at first seem rather odd: it is not in line with the church or the steps, as might have been expected, but at the cross point of the sightlines of Via Sistina and Via Condotti. At the time of Sixtus V, long sightlines were important. The main view is from Via Condotti, from where the front of the

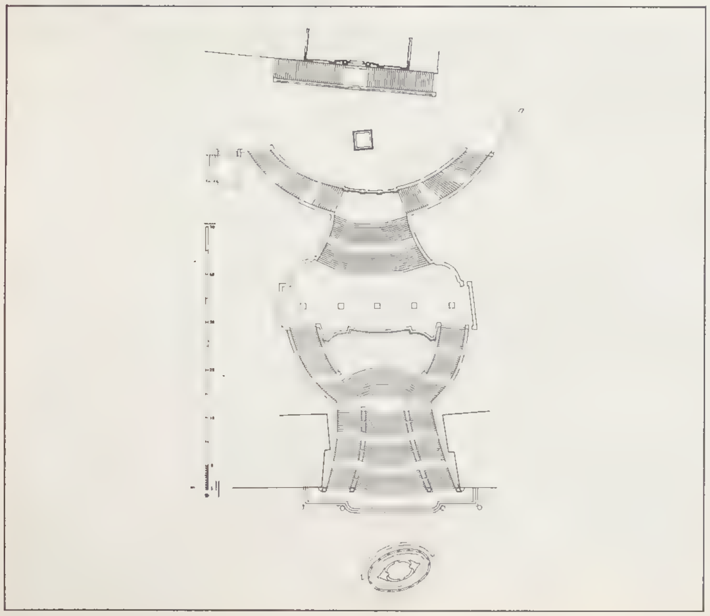
31. View of the steps in Piazza di Spagna, and of the SS. Trinità dei Monti church on the Pincio hill. Photo Alinari.
32. G.B. Falda, View of Piazza di Spagna, 1691. From G.B. Falda, Le fontane di Roma, *Book I.*





33. J.A.D. Ingres, Design of the obelisk of the Trinità dei Monti church. Mountauban, Musée Ingres.
34. Plan of the Spanish Steps in Piazza di Spagna, drawing by G. Kaster.





obelisk can be seen and from where the monument seems to stand in the centre of both the facade of the church and of the steps (chance played its part here). The obelisk itself is rather small and would hardly be visible at all if it had not been placed on an extremely high pedestal (fig. 33). The lack of proportion between the two parts of the monument made for much controversy, some of which was piced up in Goethe's 1788 description of the carnival of Rome.
In 1856 the south side of the square took on a religious aspect. A column surmounted by a statue of the Virgin Mary was raised in front of Palazzo di Propaganda Fide (fig. 29) to celebrate the proclamation by Pius IX of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Five lofty palm trees (only four have survived) must have been planted at roughly the same time, to counterbalance the north side of the square, which is mostly given to the world of high society and tourism. At some point a flower market was set up at the bottom of the steps. Its location is quite accidental and arbitrary and it is an obstacle to pedestrian traffic, but no one would wish it to be moved, even by so much as a yard. Piazza di Spagna is a very colourful ensemble. Life there has always been very varied: a mixture of the provincial and the metropolitan, of Romans and non-Romans, of haute couture and jeans, of the bel mondo and of the lower middle-classes in their dilapidated old houses. What the square has never managed to do is actually function as a square. It could be accused of facelessness, of being little more than a pretty setting for whatever may be happening in it. Until the Seventies it was open to vehicular traffic; now it is one of the city's few pedestrian areas and, like all the rest, not taken very seriously. The fact that it does not work very well as such could be due to the scant importance given to pedestrians in Rome, but it is also because of the fact that the city's main streets converge or cross here, creating a sense of speed that does anything but foster the right kind of environment for aimless strolling. So people just stop to take snapshots or hurry out of the subway and over to one of the streets on the opposite side. No bars or cafes invite the visitor to stop in the square. Life on the steps, meanwhile, is more relaxed (and probably always has been). In the nineteenth century painters would choose their models here and still today there are annual art exhibitions, fashion parades and an annual azalia show.
More recently students have held regular sit-ins here, which only stop when the first autumn showers turn the steps into a trickling cascade of water.

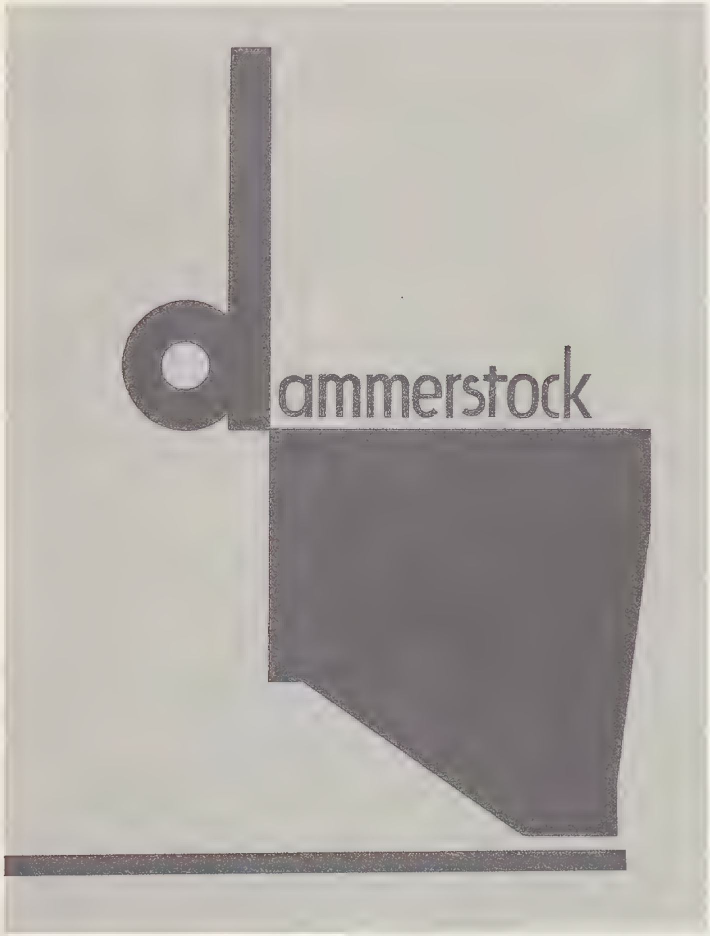
I would like to end my analysis on this note. Drawing conclusions is difficult and possibly inappropriate, but I think we can focus on two salient points about papal Rome. The first point is that interest in individual objects was greater than that in overall planning. Secondly — and this was something that eighteenth century travellers were already aware of — in cases of conflict, "ornamentation" generally triumphed over "utility". In other words an aesthetic objective, be it for reasons of ideology or propaganda, was given preference over social objectives (functionality, organization and economic efficiency). I do not believe that these criteria still apply today or that the results they would bring if applied would be desirable. It is for this very reason that present-day planners could usefully take note of these two approaches: knowledge of the past can help us avoid repeating its mistakes.

Bibliographic note

(*) This essay was originally read in German at the convention "*La piazza*" — *Offentlicher Raum: Geschichte, Realitäten, Visionen*, held in Stuttgart in May 1988. The convention dealt with the city-planning problems of Stuttgart's historical centre, badly damaged in the last war and whose traffic systems were radically reorganized as a result (Stuttgart is famous as the capital of the German automobile industry). But once all the traffic lights were operational and the traffic began to flow through the city, the feeling arose that "something" was missing. The objective of the convention was to identify just what that "something" was.
This essay is pertinent despite its historical approach. The antithesis between traffic planning and the aesthetics of Rome's squares is experienced by Romans daily, be they pedestrians or motorists. I have long been convinced that these are two sides of the same coin and that the architectural beauty which is peculiar to the Eternal City is closely linked to a certain lack of orderliness, a characteristic that dates back to ancient times. This theory was already formulated experimentally in a study on the history of St. Peter's Square published in "Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte", 26 (1963), p. 97 and *passim*. This convention gave me the opportunity to test its validity in as varied a selection of examples as possible. I was well aware of the gross generalizations I was bound to make by including so many monuments in this essay. Many of the subjects touched upon very briefly in the text were illustrated with slides, of which only a part are reproduced here. Other illustrative material is contained in the literature below.
Fundamental to the study of city-planning of Rome from antiquity to the early Renaissance is the book by R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312-1308*, Princeton, 1980. On the Renaissance cf.: M. TAFURI, *Roma instaurata. Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo Cinquecento*, in C.L. Frommel, S. Ray, M. Tafuri, *Raffaello architetto*, Milan, 1984, pp. 59-106; ID., *Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, in "Zodiac" 1 (1989), pp. 12-43; H. Günther, *Das Trivium von Ponte S. Angelo*, in Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 21 (1984), pp. 165-251; ID., Die Strassenplanung unter den Medici-Papsten in Rom, in "Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts fürKunstgeschichte", 1 (1985), pp. 237-293; ID., *La nascita di Roma moderna*, in *D'une ville à l'autre: structures matérielles et organisation de l'espace dans les villes européennes (XIIIe — XVIe siècle)*, by J.-C. Maire Vigueur, Rome, 1989, pp. 381-404. On the Baroque cf.: R. KRAUTHEIMER, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655-1667*, Princeton 1985 and J. CONNORS, *Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 25 (1989), pp. 209-294. I owe much to the work of Connors, for individual pieces of information and for help with the approach to problems and methodology. On individual squares see the following essays: A. RAVAGLIOLI, *Piazza Navona, centro di Roma*, Rome, 1973; R. PREIMESBERGER, *Pontifex Romanus per Aeneam praesignatus*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 16 (1976), pp. 221-287; L. SPEZZAFERRO, R. TUTTLE, *Place Farnèse*, in *Le Palais Farnèse*, Rome, 1981, I pp. 85-123; on Piazza Colonna cf. R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Alexander VII*, cit.; J. PINTO, *The Trevi Fountain*, New Haven, 1986 (on the same subject cf. also CONNORS, *op. cit.*); D.T. METZGER, *Piazza S. Ignazio in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Diss. Ann Arbor (Mich.), 1977 (on the same subject cf. also CONNORS, *op. cit.*); G. CIUCCI, *La Piazza del Popolo, Storia, architettura, urbanistica*, Rome, 1974; V. DE FEO, *La Piazza del Quirinale. Storia, architettura, urbanistica*, Rome, 1973; L. SALERNO, *Piazza di Spagna*, Cava dei Tirreni, 1967. The quotations which open this essay are taken from the anonymous work *Tour through Several Parts of Europe...*, London, 1760, II, pp. 32 and from P.J. GROSLEY, *Nouveaux mémoires ou observations sur l'Italie...*, London, 1764, II, p. 219. Even more than from specialized literature I derived benefit from in situ conferences and from debates held in 1986 during a study course organized by the Biblioteca Hertziana, directed by C.L. Frommel.

60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism

Günther Uhlig, Michael Peterek



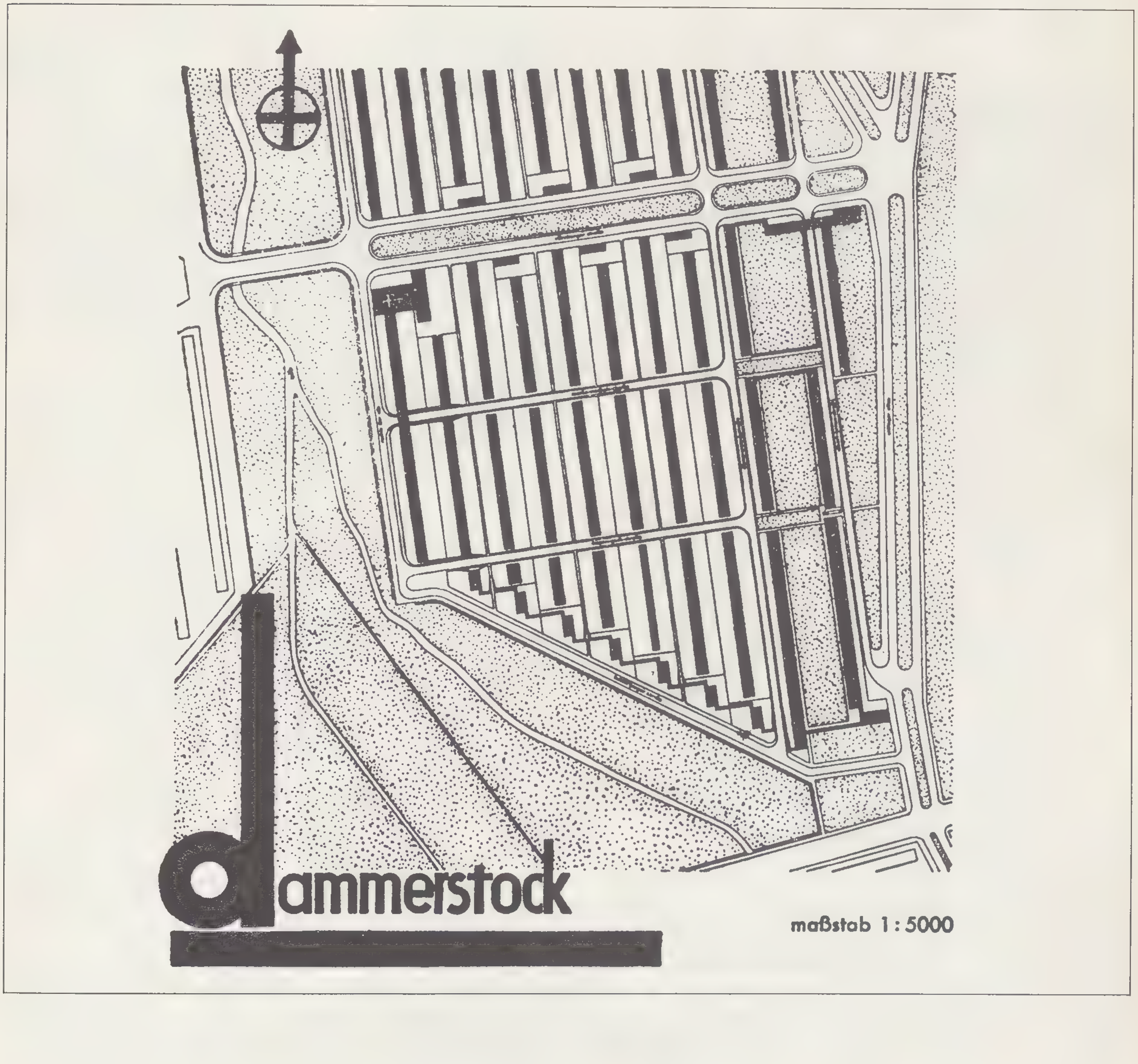
The Dammerstock *Siedlung* in Karlsruhe celebrated its birthday September, 29th 1989. Developed under the design co-ordination of Walter Gropius, this model neighbourhood of the Modern Movement (*Neues Bauen*) had opened its gates to the public as a Building Exhibition precisely 60 years ago. The city of Karlsruhe and the Deutsche Werkbund used this occurrence as the occasion for an International Symposium on the Urbanism of the Modern Movement, seen in retrospect and also for what it may hold for us in the future.

Dammerstock- a name that became the symbol of Modernist Rationalism; a name that evokes associations of uncompromising, rigorous grid layouts of functional, minimalist and standardised floor plans, the aesthetics of the machine and the dissolution of the urban space. Much of that is accurate and yet, though many extreme aesthetic formulas have been set aside long ago, it is still necessary to clear up certain misunderstandings beginning with those within the modernist camp itself. Such misunderstandings have stressed the contrasts, created obstacles to the understanding and clouded any view of the real Dammerstock *Siedlung* to this day.

Dammerstock- the name also recalls the split within the housing reform movement. Dammerstock was the step beyond which both the conservative modernists and the traditionalists no longer wanted to go. The growing struggle was made public, circulating in countless magazine articles. Dammerstock and its designers found themselves reviled from the Right and deserted by the Left. Unyielding to its ideas, the avant-garde began to cut itself off from any real social experience and stubbornly strove towards yet purer principles at the time of ensueing wordwide economic crisis. The work of both Gropius and Haesler after Dammerstock are evidence of this.

This project is often presented only from a standpoint of purist simplification and polarisation, being labelled by the harmony-dependent critique of Post-Modernism as a negative example of technocratic town destruction, a simple paradigm of "featureless planning". In most instances, this view plainly does not run deep enough and sees no more than some basic principles. The reality of the project is however much more complex. The apparent dogmatism is broken by the many contradictions, articulations and interrelations, superimposition and oppositions, producing variety rather than the uniformity which first meets the eye. A broader, more comprehensive look at the *Siedlung*

Kurt Schwitters, Logotype of the Dammerstock Siedlung *and the Exposition.*
Walter Gropius, Otto Haesler, Original site plan of the Dammerstock Siedlung, *1929.*



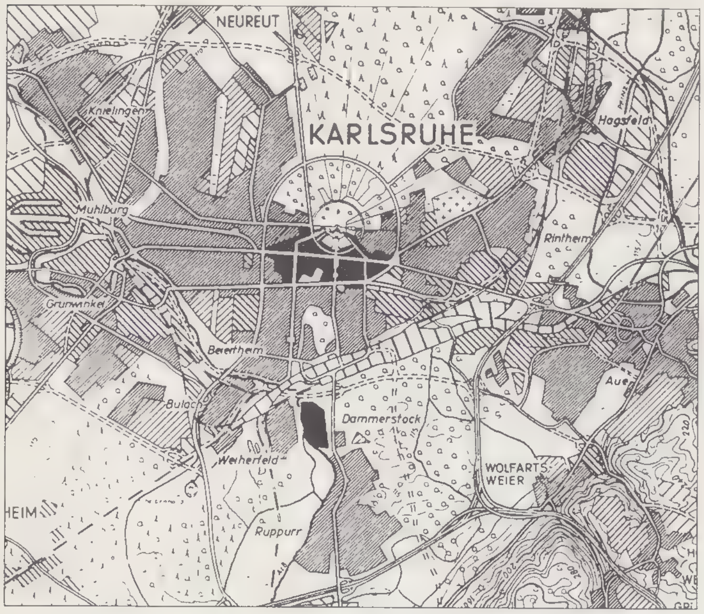
Color coded plan of the city of Karlsruhe: in black, the historical centre and the Dammerstock Siedlung *"Karlsruhe Garden City", the first cooperative garden city in Germany, 1911-15 and 1919-29.*
Color coded site plan of the Dammerstock Siedlung *in 1959: in black, the first phase of construction, undertaken for the inauguration of the Exhibition in October, 1929; in white, the color coded residential expansion after 1948.*
Site plan of the Dammerstock Siedlung*: in black, the buildings constructed for the Exhibition of 1929: 1) O. Haesler, central heating plant and laundry; 2) O. Haesler, restaurant and*

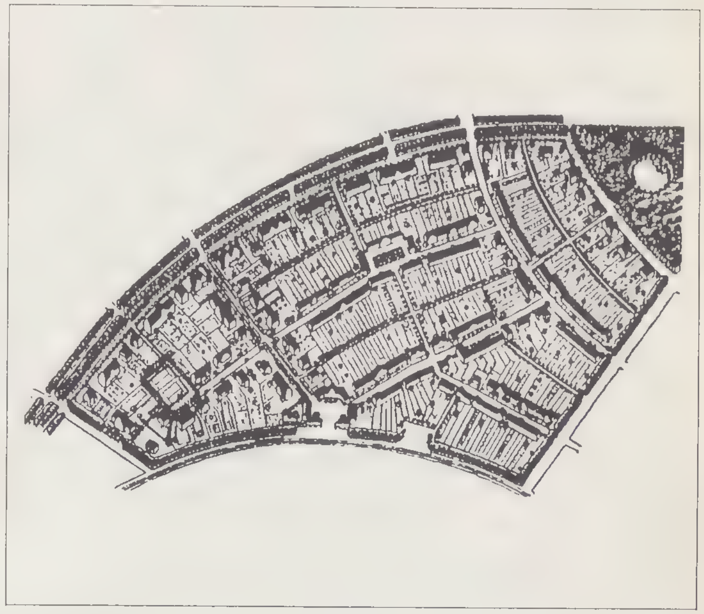
Dammerstock will be taken in this essay. With the benefit of hindsight, necessary for the understanding of the character of the project, it will be possible to examine what significance it may still retain for us today.
Following an introduction to the origins of this project in the context of the programme of social reform in housing during the Twenties, Dammerstock will be analysed and discussed on three levels; the overall town and the relationship between the *Siedlung* and the city, the project's layout — its spaces and joining, comparing avant-garde and traditional models — finally, the housing types, their underlying standards, and the variations obtained at Dammerstock will be examinated.

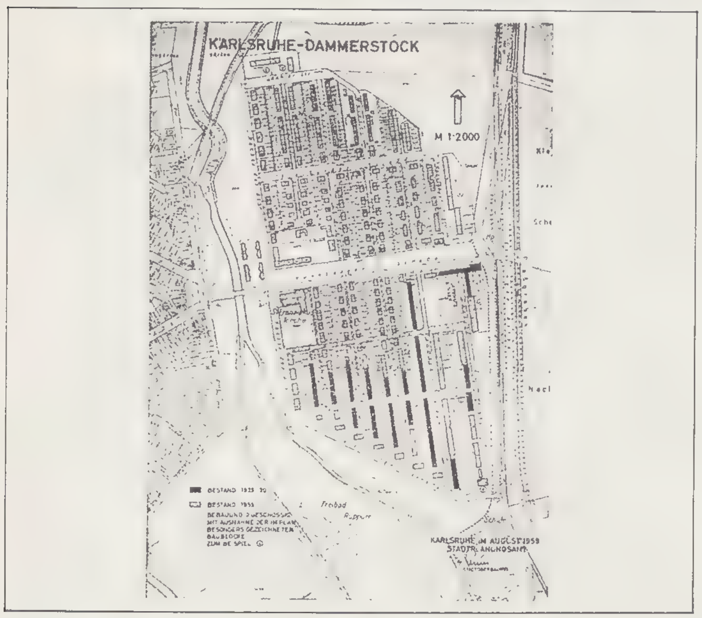
The Origins of Siedlung

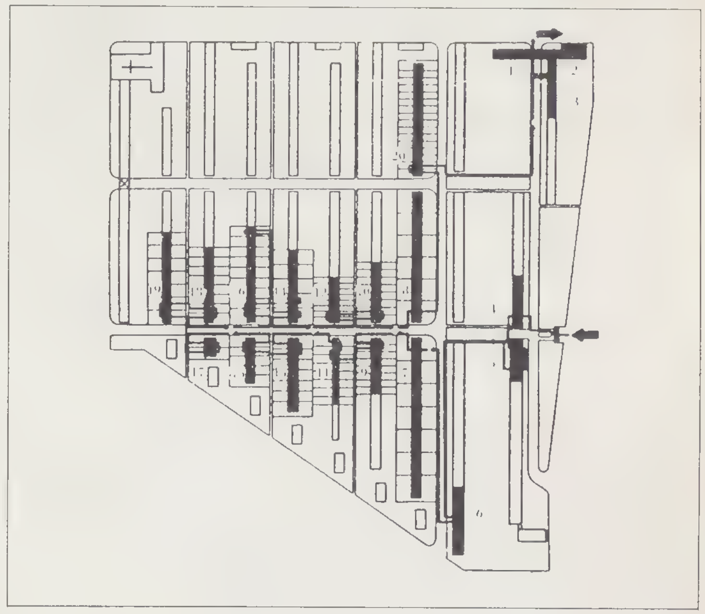
The Dammerstock *Siedlung*, its original core at least, was born as a Building Exhibition achieved with the help of a vast propaganda campaign — a particularly fortunate event given the rather conservative bent of the State of Baden. On the other hand, building exhibitions had always been a proven method of stimulating a local building authority with the outside help of the avant-garde: a method used to overcome local conservatism. The same may be said for the succession of great building exhibitions at the end of the Twenties: Stuttgart 1927, Breslau 1929, Zürich 1931, Berlin 1931, Vienna 1932. The emphasis and theme of each were different: the Stuttgart Weissenhof Siedlung (1927) enabled modern architecture to break through in South — Western Germany, while Dammerstock went one step further. It was not to be the stage for ambitious, individualist architecture of modernism but rather the opportunity to seek for supporters for the construction of the *Großsiedlung*.
An architectural competition was announced in 1928 as the start for this Building Exhibition. Eligibility was extended above and beyond regional architects to include a nationwide list by invitation. The names of those invited and also the members of the Jury made an unequivocal desire for modern, functional architecture quite clear determined from the outset the final outcome from the beginning. Among them were Walter Gropius, for years the Director of the Bauhaus first at Weimar and then at Dessau, Otto Haesler, who had just built the Georgsgarten *Siedlung* in Celle, Wilhelm Riphahn and Caspar Maria Grod from Cologne, together with Jury members Ernst May, the initiator and executor of the already renowned *Siedlungen* at Frankfurt, Mies van der Rohe, co-ordinator of the Stuttgart Weissanhof *Siedlung* and Bruno Taut (GEHAG-*Siedlung* in Berlin).
The program and objective of the competition — encompassing an area of 14 hectares at the periphery of Karlsruhe, at that time the capital of Baden with about 140,000 inhabitants — was (as the exhibition catalogue would later say) to tackle the "*great task of the age*", namely to design utilitarian housing which "*offers the finest in contemporary construction technology*"[1]: functionally optimised, efficient and economic, having low urbanization costs and suited for rational production. The detailed implications of this will be discussed in the following paragraphs.
The first prize went to Walter Gropius and the 2nd prize to Otto Haesler even though the second prize actually displayed the most appropriate and the most radical solution: a three dimensioned grid covering the whole area, in which rows of buildings were sited in a North-South direction (except at the perimeter of the lots), representing a total dissolution of traditional urban space in favour of sheer, unending repetition with housing "on a string" and the aesthetic simulation of mechanised production methods in town planning. Gropius is far more subtle and indeed tied to a traditional pattern: a central square, pedestrian street and areas dividing the space, differentiated buildings and open spaces. Both solutions were based on a layout rectilinear as indeed were those of all the other prize winners.
Gropius was entrusted with the master planning and aesthetic co-ordination. The final development plan was draughted in collaboration with Haesler: the abstract rigidity from the Haesler scheme was superimposed onto the paired parallel rows of the first prize submission. Within this framework, a total of ten architects were commissioned to design the housing for an individual sector of the *Siedlung*: Riphahn, Grod, Roeckle, Lochstampfer, Rössler, Rösiger, Merz and Fischer joined Gropius and Haesler. In the record time of nine months, from January to September of 1929, 228 units of 23 different types in multi-storey apartment buildings and row houses were built. The Building Exhibition was opened on September 29th, 1929. However, everything came to a halt after this. The completion of the *Siedlung* as envisioned by its designers would never be accomplished. Dammerstock was expanded in the Fifties but, while the clear street layout was

delicatessen; 3) O. Haesler, two four-storey residential buildings; 4) W. Riphan and C.M. Grod, two four-storey residential buildings; 5) W. Gropius, two four-storey residential buildings; 6) W. Gropius, two four-storey residential buildings with galleries; 7) F. Roeckle, seven three-storey residential buildings; 8) F. Roeckle, six three-storey residential buildings; 9) W. Gropius, eight two-storey single-family houses; 10) W. Lochstampfer, eight two-storey single-family houses; 11) F. Röaler eight two-storey single-family houses; 12) H.D. Rösinger, eight two-storey single-family houses; 13) W. Merz and A. Fischer, seven two-storey single-family houses;









14) W. Riphahn and C.M. Grod, five two-storey two-family houses; 15) W. Merz and A. Ficher, five two-storey single-family houses; 16) O. Haesler, nine two-storey single-family houses; 17) A. Fischer, two two-storey single-family houses; 18) W. Merz and F. Roater eight two-storey single-family houses; 19) O. Haeseler, eight two-storey single-family houses; 20) F. Roeckle, sixteen three-storey single-family houses.

maintained, most of the housing typologies regressed back to the traditional, rather bourgeois model of free-standing semi-detached houses, which only outwardly portray an apparent freedom and individuality (in contrast with the collective aesthetic of the Twenties). The interior floorplan of these newer houses is far more rigid, offering significantly less flexibility in use compared to the much more complex interiors of the typologies used 25 years previously.
In the Sixties, Dammerstock gained a Historic Landmark status. Today it is quite a popular area and has become an inner city residential area in Karlsruhe because of the rapid urban expansion of the city.

Residential Neighbourhoods in the City Outskirts: Autonomy and Dependency

Town planning in the Germany of the Modern Movement meant above all else town expansion, housing development and construction-town planning by residential development. Frankfurt, Berlin and a number of other cities provide enough examples of this. The social dilemma and the acute housing shortage allowed the theoretical question of the overall structure of the city, still intensely debated in the early Twenties, mainly with the objective to break the traditional mold of the metropolis without, however, offering any feasible alternatives (consider, for example Bruno Taut's plea for an "Auflosung der Städte" [*Dissolution of the Cities*]). As time went by the social concern and lack of housing took a back seat during the Twenties in favour of a pragmatic approach to housing, which was adopted on a grand scale for municipal purposes from 1925.
Consequently, the social democratic reform movement found itself connected with the cultural politics of the architectural avant-garde. Over the next years, the *Siedlung*, as a spatial and organisational entity, became the most important planning tool of the Weimar Republic.
From this point of view, the *Siedlung* is characterised by an inherent paradox: it breaks with the city — as it has historically been conceived — but at the same time it is in the city that its roots can be found.
On the one hand, it is town-destructive because, being a self-contained sector of the city, it fundamentally questions the model of continous urban development, of a built continuum which increases by growth rings. The *Siedlung* creates a fragment of independent logic, which, spatially at least, is detached from the traditional urban structure. As one can see from plans of Karlsruhe that show the evolution of the city, Dammerstock lays clearly outside what was then a developed area, beyond the city boundary formed, to the South of the city, by the railway tracks and train station built in 1913. Granted that there were already plans for expansion in the way of extensive development of the city (the so-called "Mayor Schneider Plan" of 1926) striving for continuity across and beyond this barrier, yet the new *Siedlung* only respected these plans to a very limited extent. In the final analysis it is today still largely an autonomous area within the city, in its physical structure at least, despite being surrounded by urban sprawl.
On the other hand, the *Siedlung* format remains undeniably town-related even in its negation of the City. Unable to believe any longer in the illusions of socialist reform, as the designers of Satellite Towns and Garden Cities did, the avant-garde of the mid-Twenties proclaimed the large *Siedlung*, the *Großsiedlung*, to be a true organisational unit. (Martin Wagner, for example, spoke of the "*moral and economic bankruptcy of the satellite town*" in a treatise in the journal "Soziale Bauwirtschaft" [Social Construction Economy]).
For those urban planners the realistic organizational unit was the Great *Siedlung* (*Großsiedlung*) which included all the necessary capitalist manufacturing and market structures. It was intended to work within the zoning of the city providing separate areas for housing, manufacturing, commerce, parks etc. Ideas such as the zoning of industry in the immediate vicinity of housing were rejected. The *Großsiedlung* as a simple residential suburb no longer refers to the idealistic claims of the Garden City movement — "this is how it should be done". The utopia of the *Siedlung* as a unit capable of generating community life is lost in the rationality of an urban planning predicated on the division of labor. Some see in this an heroic ascetism and a courageous acceptance of the social alienation of man from the means of production. Others see only a hopeless, dry utopianism that spells out precisely those conditions, which the reformers themselves warn against: a one-sided, sterile word with neat division of functions as in modern production methods.

The Spatial Structure of the Siedlung: The Avant-garde and the Traditional Model

As early as 1930, Adolf Behne formulated what has become the most well known criticism of the Dammerstock *Siedlung*. He accused this "*most consistent example of*

parallel row settlement today" of rigid dogmatism, ungiving principles and aut-aut dictatorship: town planning reduced to an abstract principle, inadequate organisation of spaces, non-existent sense of place and endless repetitiveness. "*The whole complex seems to sit on tracks: it could circumnavigate the entire earth on its own meridian... Any development without ties is out of order... It stands for packaging people on a conveyor belt, not town planning*"[2].

These arguments are certainly justified and many of them indeed were intentional on behalf of the designers. One has only to think of the famous Dammerstock Development Plan prepared by Gropius and Haesler, its abstract presentation technique, little more than symbols without any tangible or conceptual qualities of expression, the totally standardised distance between the parallel rows, whose sheer endlessness is cut short only by the arbitrary edge of the draughting paper. It is, at least conceptually, the expression of an entirely new attitude, a fresh appreciation of development and spatial structures, no longer objective, complete or place-forming but rather more abstract repetitious and place-dissolving.

That, however, is only one side of the matter. A closer analysis of the built environment as well as the effects of adaptation and use of this *Siedlung* over a 60 year period reveal that it is far less abstract and dogmatic, less clear-cut than one might at first suppose. The whole rationalist principle is frequently, if subtly, interrupted; there are even qualities of layering, spatial relationships and the shaping of a sense of place. Let us pause, even if briefly, upon these two aspects of the Dammerstock *Siedlung*: its place-dissolving character on the one hand and its place-forming character on the other.

To understand and appreciate the debate about the political effects of architecture and art, one must compare within the two urbanistic models the two lines of thought that existed at that time: avant-garde modernism and traditional conservatism.

The avant-garde development model, for example, is most clearly understood by comparing it with the Garden Suburb situated near Dammerstock at Karlsruhe-Rüppurr, the first Garden City Association in Germany, planned by Kohler, Ostendorf and Laeuger between 1911 and 1915 and again from 1919 to 1929.

The Garden City still used the vocabulary of the old, traditional city: hierarchical plots that determine the architecture, prescribing a conventional facade at the front and a private one to the back. It included streets, paths and squares as the spatial characteristics of a proto-urban lifestyle.

The opposite happens in the *Siedlung* parallel rows; the use of rows appears to be set by the rational of production. Consistent eave heights, identical rows, additive planning: dissolution and universality. The antiquated, closed system of hierarchical structures is overturned. This spatial dissolution implies a social dissolution also. The *Siedlung*, an abstract assembly of additive elements and multiple rows, the product of housing logistics in a welfare state, represents the ultimate eradication of place-related social organisation and patterns of communication that still flourished in the Garden City. Whatever social changes have happened in the past years have been brought together and have left their mark upon the layout of the spaces and the architecture.

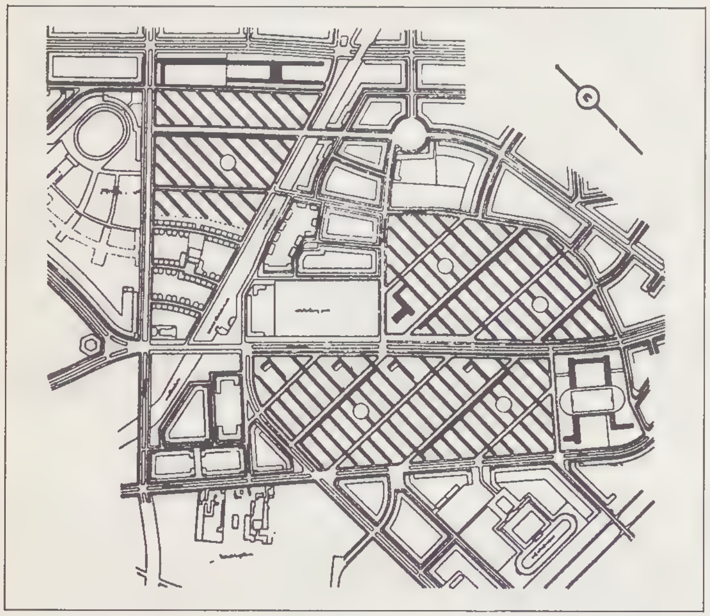
The transition from traditional housings to those of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* can be seen as a transition from one model format to another, from one root symbolism to another. We can call these the organic and avant-garde models[3]. The organic model utilises so-called anthropomorphic design processes, extrapolating from the human body to a language of form involving symmetry: upper and lower, right to left. The rhythm of the machine and in serial production.

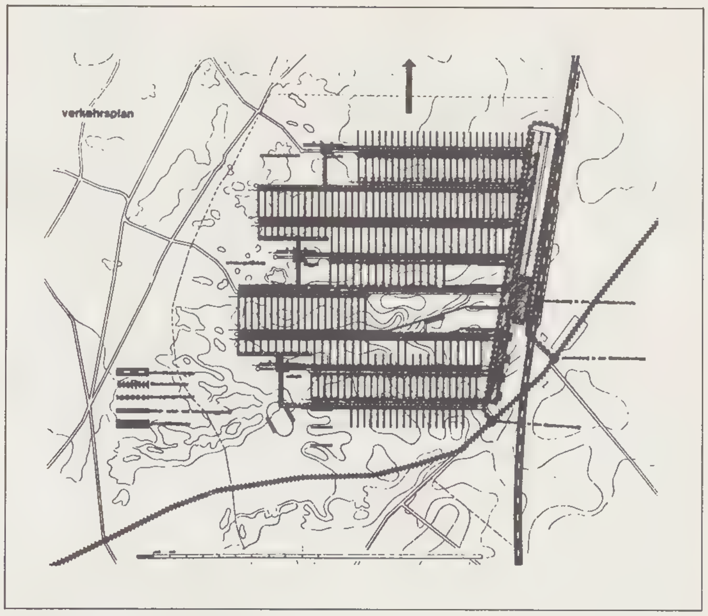
The organic interpretation in a historical discussion of reform appears wherever an image of reconciliation is sought; the reconciliation of man with nature, for example, or of the individual with the community. The avant-garde position of Neue Sachlichkeit is completely different. Notwithstanding differences in style it shuns even the appearance of reconciliation and insists on the principle of "estrangement" by using the technique of rational repetition breaking time-established patterns of perception, particularly in conjunction with the deep-rooted symbolism of the "house", the foremost targets of the avant-garde. The shock factor was deliberate: where possible, the denial of any form of sensuality was meant to exceed the pitilessness of a cold world which, through a form of double negation, would once again become habitable.

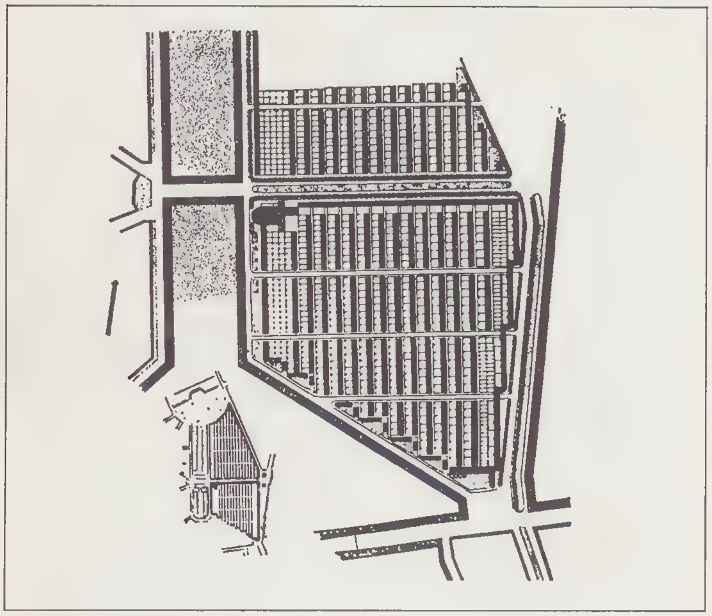
In this context, Dammerstock is nothing more than a transitional occurrence, simply indicative of the future world delineated by the rationalization of society. The extent to which this was conceived on a grand scale is clear, for example, from Haesler's 1930 project for 4,300 apartments in Berlin-Neukölln or from Gropius's plan in the same year

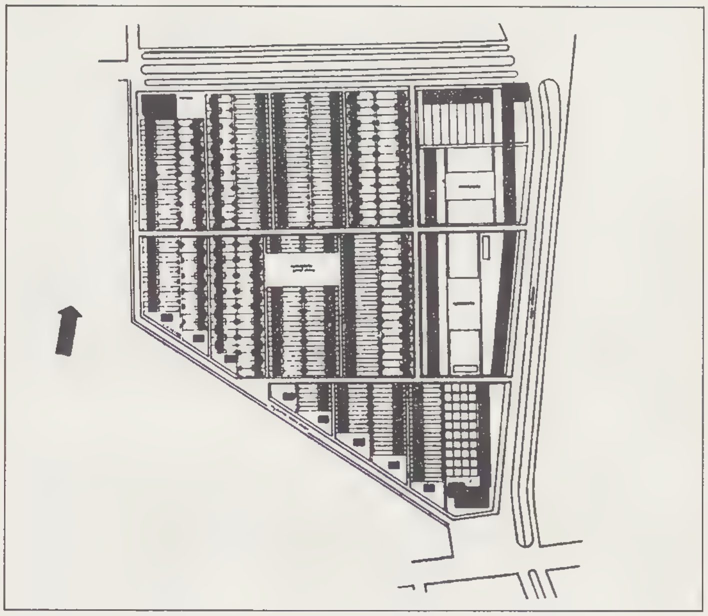
Otto Haesler, Project for a siedlung *of row-houses with 4300 units, in Berlin-Neukölln, 1930.*
Walter Gropius, Project for a Grosssiedlung *of 20, 000 inhabitants, 1930: site plan with traffic patterns.*
Otto Haesler, Competition entry for the Dammerstock Siedlung, *1928: second prize.*

Walter Gropius, Competition entry for the Dammerstock Siedlung, *1928: first prize.*









for a *Großsiedlung* with 20.000 inhabitants: endless uniformity of standard elements, rational universality, complete disregards for the existing topography, because of the adjacent urban structures, what appeared to be a featureless planning.
Wherever this rational, avant-garde model was built, it was mostly not as strictly defined as the interpretations always claimed nor even as the model itself intended — at least not at Dammerstock. It is marked more by contradictions, superimpositions and obvious incongruities, which perhaps now account for its quality and attractiveness.
An interweaving of both models is apparent even in the development plan. The detachment of the buildings from the street (the majority of these are sided by only two East-West streets at the head of each block) and the absolutely even spacing between the rows (equalising and dissolving the overall urban fabric), find a counterpoint in the mirrored layout of rows of buildings along the North-South pedestrian walkways. In this way, the stereotyped, neutralising effect of serial additivity is partly broken. The complex enjoys a differentiation and rhythm in its external spaces and the buildings have a legible front and back, a public and private side, which determines the interior arrangement of the floor plan. The same is true of the four-storey buildings in the eastern sector of the *Siedlung*. Here also, there is a conscious enclosure around a continuous inner area, in this case a common garden. An open space to all neighbouring occupants, and thereby an unequivocal differentiation between inner and outer social spaces, similar to traditional and well recognizable space articulations. Thus one sees that the plan of the complex is not only determined by conveyor belt and sun-angle procedures, as it first seems and as originally criticised by Adolf Behne. Intentional use of composition techniques using superimposition and contrast, also play a part here as noted be the buildings which terminate the northern and southern ends of the rows — albeit never built according to the original design.
This mixture of serial and universal abstractness with true individuality of avanguard housing model with the well — known connection of place and environment — structure and event, as Colin Rowe might have said, becomes even clearer once one moves from the plan of the complex to the architecture. Twenty-three housing types (which we shall look at more closely) and ten different architects: a variety of elements that is held together by consistent guideliness for their assembly as a complex; guideliness which offer unity yet allow freedom. Here, for example, lies one of the greatest differences with respect to the famous Stuttgart Weissenhof *Siedlung* built two years earlier and mentioned above which remains a collection of admittedly excellent but individual houses by great architects to whom however, these common guideliness and the uniformity of context was unavailable.
The social usefulness of the Dammerstock *Siedlung* is perhaps best appreciated by looking at the architecture and urban spaces as they are original today and by considering the alterations to the concept as it was first built. The architecture bears the signs of the interaction between the occupants and the original intent. An architecture that excites, that challenges, is more humane than one that leads to apathy as we know from Boudon's analysis of Pessac. The site plan provides a stabilising element at Dammerstock. The clarity of the siting, enabling the user to orient himself without difficulty within the theoretically limitless rows of buildings (in contrast to the surrounding urban chaos) has become the element capable of defining a common ground, a common denominator, a *Heimat*, rather than an element of rupture as it was considered.
The exterior spaces between the rows, which in 1930 Adolf Behne claimed were lacking flowers and trees, bushes, meadows, air, sun, clouds, birds and butterflies and many other things that cannot be expressed in figures and diagrams[4], are long since gone. The greenery today almost dominates the *Siedlung* more than the predominantly low-rise architecture. Front gardens, approach areas, hedges and fences, individual extensions to buildings and back houses all testify to the varied adaptation of the architecture to its users. The dissonance has mellowed and has become attractively domestic in a new canvass of crisp geometry and amorphous shrubbery.

The Demand for the Gebrauchoeschung (Utilitarian Apartment)

"*The* Siedlung's *ultimate goal is to create healthy and practical utilitarian apartments matching the social standards of an average family today and, while being of sound technical construction and comfortable design, are affordable for an average income. This goal can only be achieved by rationalisation in a comprehensive sense. The idea of rationalisation today, working from the economic realities facing people, has become a great intellectual*

movement in the civilised world. It has led to a modified attitude to life capable of releasing new creative forces"[5]. This quote from Walter Gropius's essay about Dammerstock in the exhibition catalogue highlights much the political housing policies behind this *Siedlung* as much as it underlines the aspirations of housing reformers themselves in the Nineteentwenties: the search for an adequately useable, hygienically healthy and financially affordable apartment for everyone, the so-called "Standard Apartment" (described as 'utilitarian' in Dammerstock).
At the heart of the debate stands the term "Standard", a term which not only applies to the housing programme but equally encompasses all other parts of production: the standard product becomes the paradigm of a functional production process by which, as it was claimed, industrial manufacturing methods, egalitarian customs (those which equalised class differences) and artistic values should combine into one).
It is certainly interesting to take a brief look at this term born in the late Twenties since it indeed influenced the successive social welfare housing programme: originally conceived as a thoroughly progressive idea it gradually became an intrinsic impediment to today's low income housing policy.
Often, by specifying "standard" materials and finishes an association with what has already become aptly caricatured as "*state-administered consumerism*" (Klaus Novy) comes to mind, not particularly suitable for different individualised and enhanced solutions. The concept of a "standard" must be formulated in other ways today, or rather, what was intended then must now be achieved through other strategies. The same problem still presents itself today: the integration on as high a level as possible of differing lifestyles using resources that are still scarce.
At that time "white socialization", a uniformity of consumer products, was thought of as the solution to this problem. Social differences would be wiped out once the same (i.e. standard) product was to be made available to everyone (whether a car, toothbrush or a home). Since the attributes of a class society would no longer be inscribed in the standard product and the symbols of dominance would become undiscernible, a levelling effect would arise.
Standard means an aesthetic value that remains constant independently of quantity and quality: it is timeless, divorced from private ownership. Although it was an artistic expression by nature, the Standard was very well suited, at a social level, to the proposition of a better life, to the utopian hope of equal living conditions for all.
The issue of standardisation in the context of the Twenties was thus directly associated to another issue: rationalisation. The self-apparent possibilities of new mechanised industrial production led to an almost euphoric movement toward rationalisation, encompassing all aspects of economic and social life from 1924 to 1929 during the period of stabilisation in the Weimar Republic. Normalised, typified and optimised not only became the catchphrases for the serialised production of mass housing. The planning and construction of the Dammerstock *Siedlung* in just nine months is proof of a successful drive in this direction (even if mechanisation in housing construction often involved little more than sheer "aesthetic" simulation).
However, the search for a standardised floor plan and a standardised apartment meant a lot more than purely a more rational method of production. An aspiration to standardise and rationalise life entirely can be found in the consistent re-organisation of the dwelling unit itself. Working as precisely as possible and even being punctiliously "scientific", the consideration of any number of aspects of life and domestic requirements of the "average person" was followed by the reduction of these to some ostensibly objective, measurable quantities intended to establish the optimal arrangement, size and specification of dwelling for the "standard family". (Sometimes, however, this scientific approach was nothing more than a smoke screen for achieving an artistic objective.)
Among other assumptions that were basic to such an intentional reduction of "dwelling" are the reduction of the large family to what was described as the "standard family" and the exclusion of certain functions from the context of "dwelling" as Walter Gropius display boards at the 1931 Berlin Exhibition made clear. Such functions were once part of the domestic or neighbourhood domain but now were to be taken over by the community and the state, in the form of specialist amenities and institutions: eg. nursing and geriatric care, education and training, domestic crafts and many more. In return for the minimal individual dwelling spaces, Dammerstock offered communal facilities such as laundry, centralised heating systems, shops and bars etc. in the north-eastern corner block of the estate.
Otto Haesler's multi-storey apartment buildings and even his row houses at Dammerstock are among the most coherent solutions ever planned and built under the banner

Otto Haesler, Residential building (group 3) and, in the background, the passage under the laundry building (group 1), 1929.
Entrance to the Architecture Exposition in Autumn, 1929 with, in the background, the four-storey houses by W. Riphahn and C.M. Grod (group 4). Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. 8/PBS O XIV e/No. 471.
Franz Roeckle, Standardized additions of four-family houses (groups 7 and 8), 1929. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. 8/PBS O XIV e/No. 473.
Walter Gropius, House with gallery (group 6), 1929. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. 8/PBS O XIV e/No. 473.









View looking toward the interior of the Siedlung. *In the foreground note the houses by Franz Roeckle (group 8), 1929. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. 8/PBS O XIV e/No. 421.*
Walter Gropius, single-family houses (group 9), 1929. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. 8/PBS O XIV e/No. 415.
Coordinated housing constructed after 1948 as an expansion of the Dammerstock Siedlung.
Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. 8/PBS O XIV e/No 517.
Bird's-eye view of the Dammerstock Siedlung *during the construction in 1929. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. 8/PBS O XIV e/No. 59.*









of functionalism (along with the famous "Frankfurt Kitchen", intended to case the burden on the housewife in Ernst May's *Siedlung* buildings):
"*The best use of sunlight, daylight and ventilation of the spaces takes priority in the interest of improved health levels; 'No room without sunlight' is not enough.*
This must be much more precisely defined: morning sunlight in the bedrooms, sunlight at least during the afternoon for living rooms (...)"[6] wrote Haesler in his explanation. Haesler considers the principle of parallel row layout infallible, carrying it right through the floor plans: the bedrooms face East, the dayrooms West, no exceptions. This obduracy of principle, understandable in light of the attempt to provide egalitarian housing and optimised living conditions in terms of function and hygiene, is commonly associated with Dammerstock (though usually, as we shall see, this quite simply ignores the variety of floor plans in the complex).
Adolf Behne also said in his critique of 1930: "*The parallel row layout attempts to free and to heal everything possible with the dwelling, undoubtedly out of an earnest care for people.*
But, in reality, people are nothing more than a phrase here, a figure of speech. Man must 'dwell' and become healthy through that dwelling and the exact habitation diet is prescribed for him in every detail. According to the rigorous architects, he must go East to bed and West to eat or to answer his mother's letter, and the dwelling is so organised that in practice he cannot do otherwise... Here in Dammerstock, man becomes an abstract lifeform"[7].
This sort of uniform "habitation diet", translated physically into a stack of pre-programmed, identical living spaces, obviously finds its appropriate expression and its architectural ideal in the form of an additive, parallel row layout: Walter Gropius's gallery corridor type housing is symptomatic of this at Dammerstock — an expandable building of 32 small mass produced apartments on four storeys; identical cells that in theory can be added on to the existing building at will similar to Haesler's plans as mentioned earlier, whose linear extendibility of the living and the sleeping quarters is a conceptual component of the Standard.
Hower, it would be unjust to the Dammerstock *Siedlung* if one were to consider it only from the aspect of the unification, restriction and dogmatic infallibility of abstract principles. On the contrary, it also demonstrates that even the imposition of binding standards still does not automatically lead to identical, uniform products (nor to identical use patterns) and that unity and variety are not mutually exclusive but are dialectically related. (This aspect becomes more significant today in the face of the potential of new technology and computerised production methods: large, uniform production runs are no longer necessary: individual requirements and specifications within pre-defined limits are now possible without additional effort or expense.)
The exterior homogeneous and typecast aesthetic — "*equally sized window elements, flat roof, identical parapet design, white stucco with a grey base, common gardens and plain doors in metal frames*" according to Gropius in his master plan[8] — disappears into a multitude of different internal spatial arrangements at Dammerstock: the division into fundamental typologies for two-to four-storey apartment buildings on one hand (apartments ranging from 49 to 82 square metres for 2 to 5 rooms) and the differentiated width and depth of the two-storey single family housing on the other (57 to 110 square metres for 3 to 6 rooms). Within these two building types there are twenty-three architectural solutions and different typologies. For example in the multi-storey apartments buildings there are six different arrangements for two apartment off of each stair, a floor plan for an apartment off a gallery type corridor and a solution for separate ground floor entrances to two apartments above each other.
Aside from the aesthetic and the strict building codes established for the entire *Siedlung*, the common denominator and affinity of these housing types lie in their basic quest to achieve a rationalised standard of dwelling, in technical, economic, artistic and utilitarian terms, expressed in the functional criteria used to optimise the size and relationship of rooms (minimal sleeping areas and corridors with built-in furniture, small working kitchen, larger living rooms), in the provision of a second living room (eg. a study) for families or apartments over a certain size and in the consistent use of an annexed open space for each unit (a patio at ground level, a balcony, loggia or roof terrace).
A few typical examples may help describe the internal variety. Walter Gropius's gallery corridor (single-loeded corridor open to an atrium space) housing and Otto Haesler's rigorous East-West orientation of the plans have already been described. Yet Gropius' row houses are based on a completely different conception of space: pedestrian

approach from the West, living room and garden to the East (!) — in strict functional terms an impossibility. This is counterbalanced by generous sightlines and room arrangements which — contrary to a strict separation of East and West facades, of "*this side and that side*" as Adolf Behne has called it[9] — derived from the flow of the spaces at each floor. At the ground floor, for example, this flow is continuous thru the dwelling from the front entrance to the garden.
The long row of housing by Franz Röckle is yet another type an alternate to the apartment buildings and the row houses. Measuring 400 meters in length it is the first of these building types constructed and also the longest.
Inside the building the stairways lead to two separate apartments each on the second and third floors; communal laundry, cycle store and storage rooms with individual covered terraces and garden area for each family are all located at the first floor.
The smallest row house type (58 square metres) is the three-room housing by Rössler. "*The clear definition of spaces according to their use all the way down to the installation of wall cabinets*"[10] compensated for the minimum floor area. This is where the greatest obstacle of the Dammerstock *Siedlung* becomes apparent: in the end, the majority of the dwellings were still too expensive for those for whom they had actually been built. Almost inevitably, the question was raised of making a further reduction in living area, towards the "*Existenzminimum*" dwelling which became the theme of the future CIAM Congresses in Frankfurt (1929) and in Brussels (1930).

Summary

Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism: we have tried to explore the many sided aspects of this *Siedlung*: on one hand the clarity of its rational principles, certainly not arbitrary but coherent with the moral and cultural context of the times, and on the other hand the diversity of multifarious minor contradictions and inconsistencies which actually make the dogma bearable and inhabitable again in terms of everyday life. The layout of the neighbourhood displays the principles by which it was built: abstract repetitive and multiplicative egalitarian not hierarchically conceived as a universal place in response to an individual and specific site. However, individuality, objectivity, space formation and adaptation, or at least fragments of these, can all be experienced in the elemental parts: in the housing groups, in the common green areas between the multi-level buildings, in private gardens and courtyards and in the variety of the plans and the internal distribution of spaces. In no way does the *Siedlung* lead to apathy. On the contrary, in the interplay of harmony and dissonance in the rigorous standardization and at the same time the denial of it, *Siedlung* is a refreshing contrast in light of the faceless development and housing sprawl that, since then has spread across our towns and suburbs. The housing projects of early modernism continue to provide clearly recognisable and enlivening places in the urban context of today.

1) H. SCHNEIDER, *Das politische Ziel der Dammerstock-Siedlung*, in: *Ausstellung Dammerstock-Siedlung. Die Gebrauchswohnung*, cat. Karlsruhe 1926, p. 7.
2) A. BEHNE, *Dammerstock*, in: Die Form, No. 6/1930, pp. 163-166. F. SCHWARZ, F. Gloor, *Dir Form-Stimme des Deutschen Werkbundes* 1925-1934, Gütersloh 1969, p. 172.
3) Phraseology is taken here from Peter Bürger in: P. BÜRGER *Theorie der Avantgarde*, Frankfurt a.M. 1974. HI, *Das avantgardistische Kunstwerk: Zur Problematik der Werkkategorie*, pp. 76-80.
4) A. BEHNE, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
5) W. GROPIUS, *Bebauungsplan und Wohnformen in der Dammerstock-Siedlung*, in: *Ausstellung Karlsruhe Dammerstock-Siedlung*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
6) O. HAESLER, *Grundsätzliches zum Wohnungsproblem*, in: *Ausstellung Karlsruhe Dammerstock-Siedlung*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
7) A. BEHNE, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
8) W. GROPIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
9) A. BEHNE, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
10) F. RÖSSLER, *Acht zweigeschossige Einfamilienhäuser*, in: *Ausstellung Karlsruhe Dammerstock-Siedlung*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Alfred Fischer, Two linked single-family houses with hanging garden (group 17), 1929. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. 8/PBS O XIV e/No. 434.

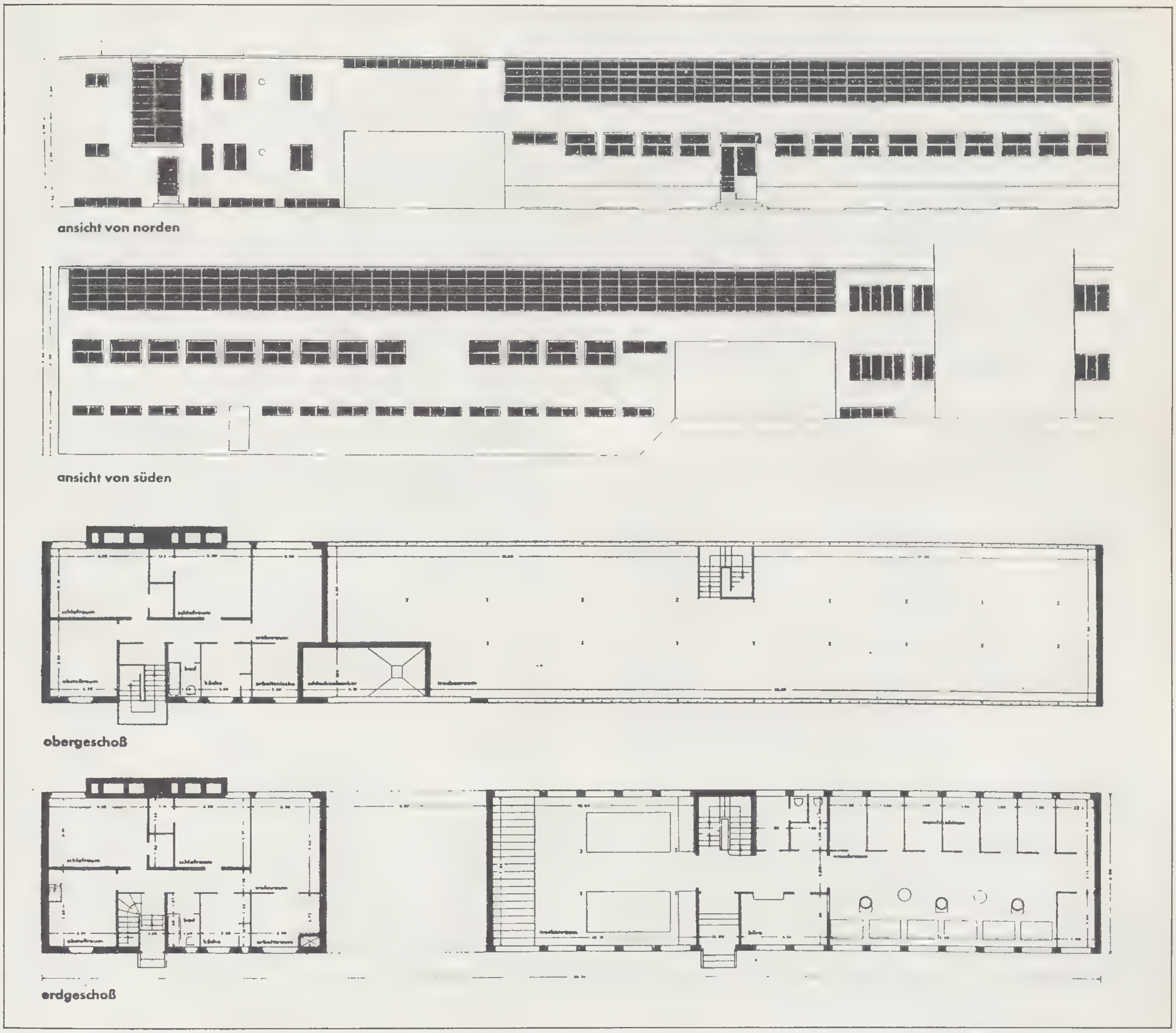




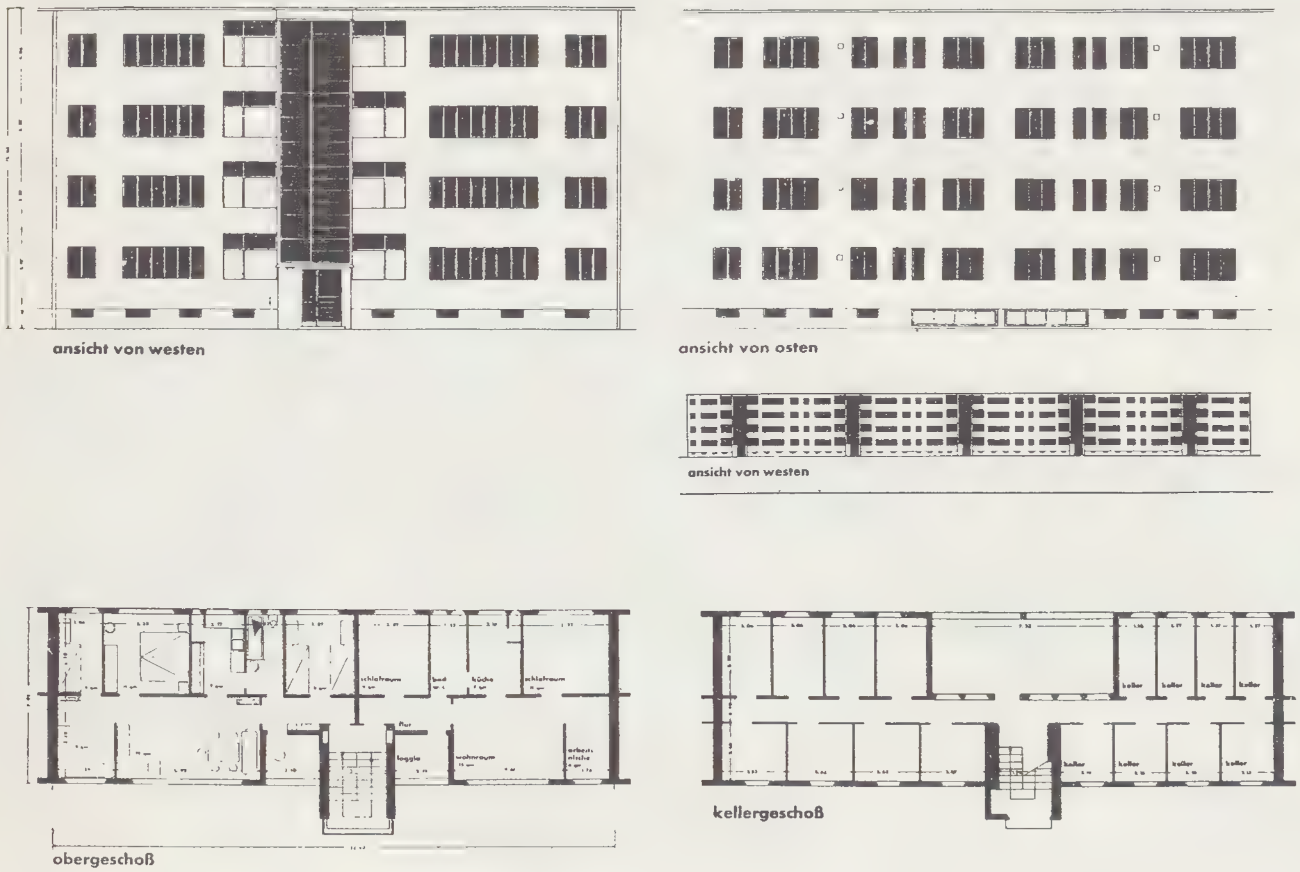


Otto Haesler, groups 1 and 2: View from the northeast. In the foreground note the building with restaurant and delicatessen; in the background, the central heating plant and laundry, today an architectural studio, and view from the northwest. Photos B. Burg.

North and south elevations, and plans of the first floor and the ground floor.



Otto Haesler, group 3:
West and east elevations; overall development of the west elevation as originally conceived; plans of the first floor and the basement.
View from the southeast. In the backgroud note the passage under the laudry building.
Photos B. Burg.





Walter Gropius, group 5 (to the left) and Wilhelm Riphahn and Caspar Maria Grod, group 4 (right): View from the east. Photos B. Burg.

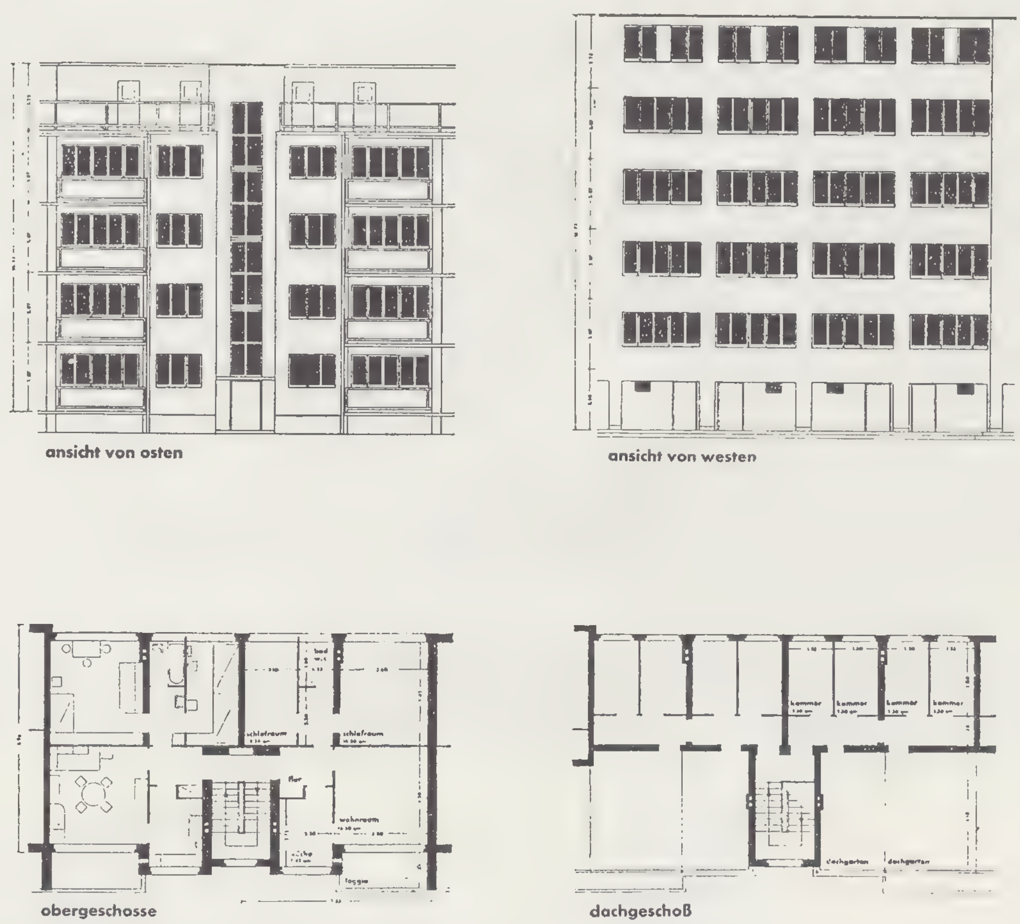


Walter Gropius, group 5 (to the left) and Wilhelm Riphahn and Caspar Maria Grod, group 4 (right): View from the east. Photos B. Burg.

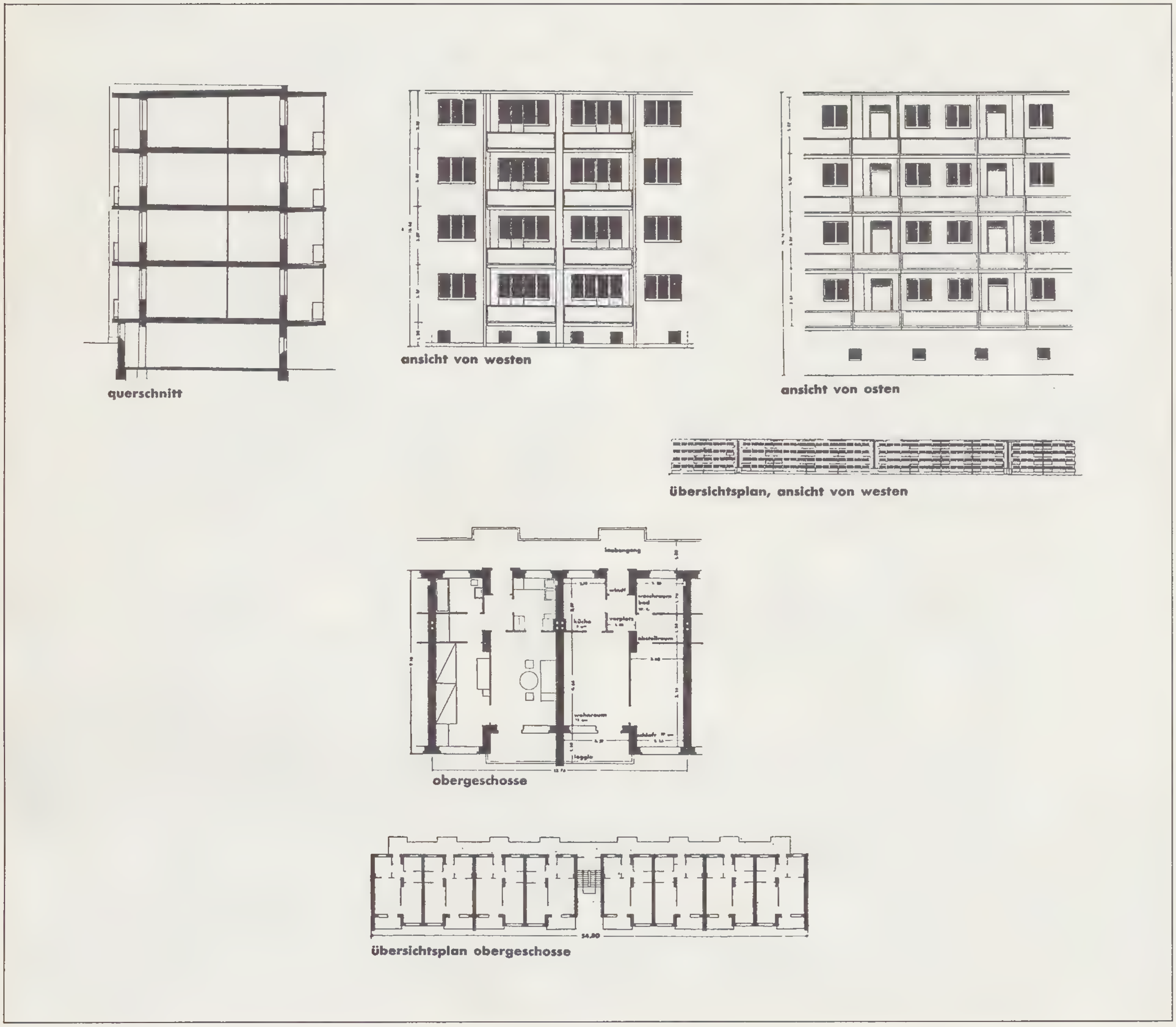


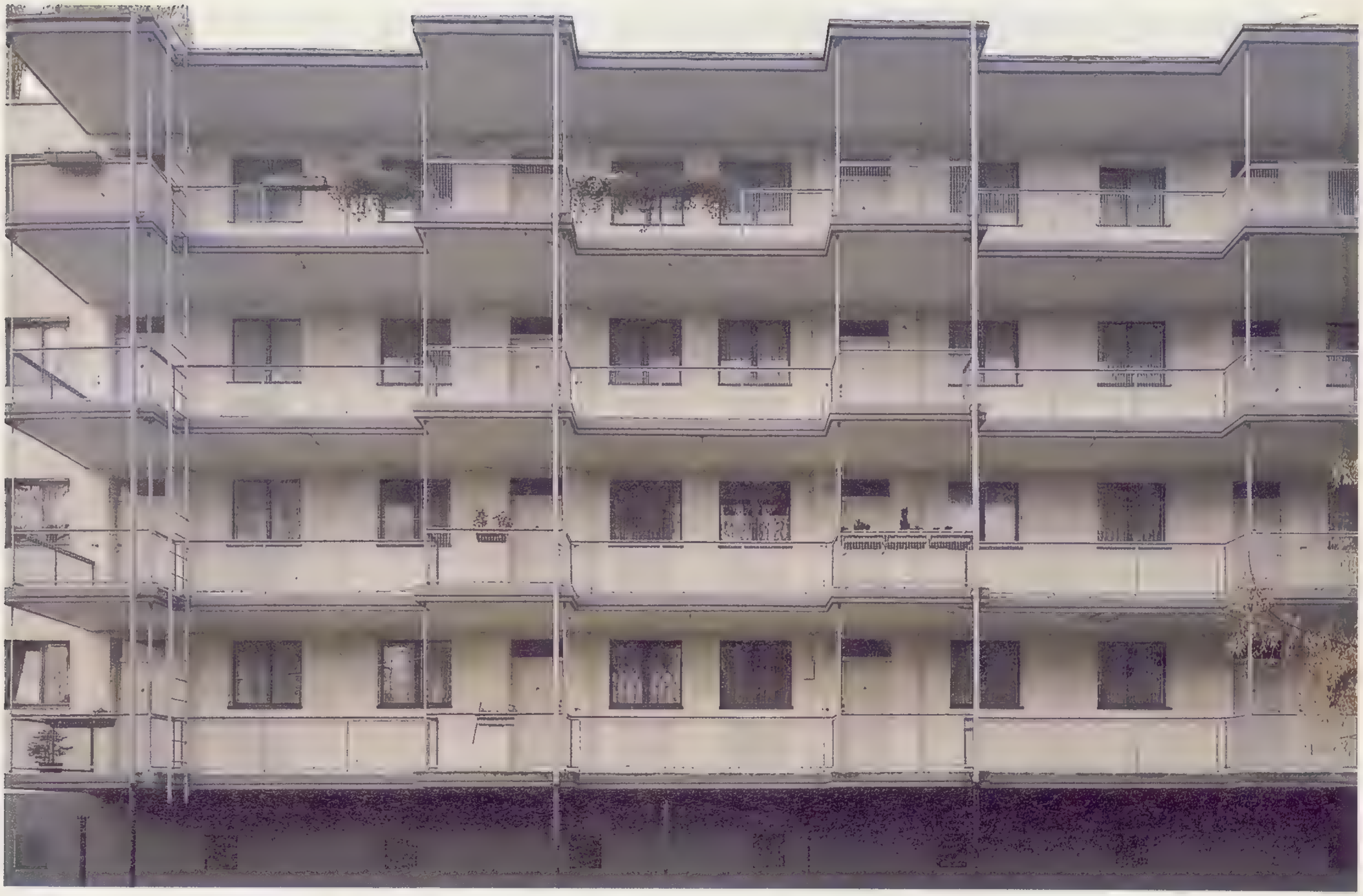


Walter Gropius, group 5:
View from the east.
Photo B. Burg.
East and west elevations, and plans
of a typical floor and top floor.



Walter Gropius, group 6:
Section; east and west elevations complete west elevation; plan of a typical module and of the entire complex.
View from the east of the gallery facade, and detail.
Photos B. Burg.





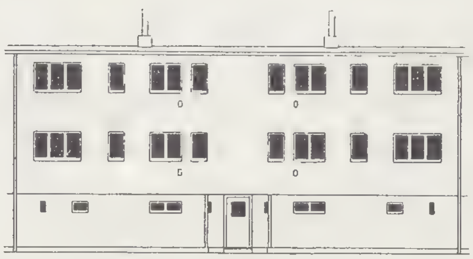


Walter Gropius, group 6:
View from the southeast.
Photo B. Burg.

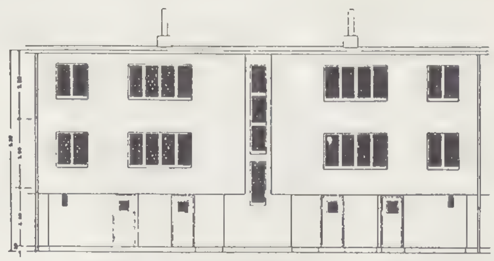




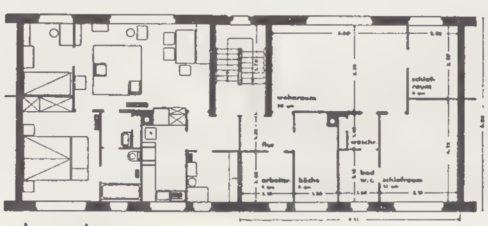
Franz Roeckle, group 7:
View from the east.
Photo B. Burg.
West and east elevations;
plan of a typical floor and basement.



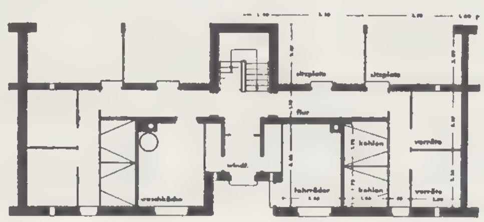
ansicht von osten



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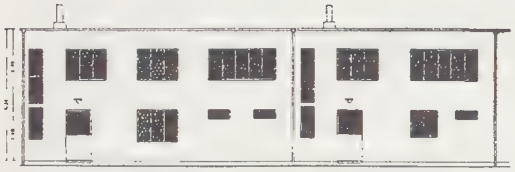
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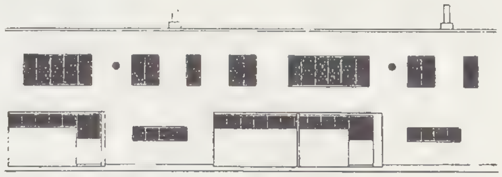
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Otto Haesler, group 16:
View from the east.
Photo B. Burg.
West and east elevations; plan
of a typical floor and basement.

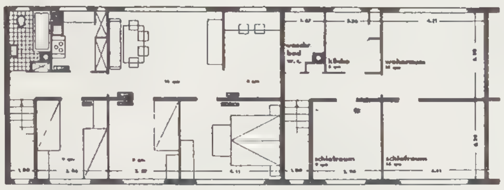




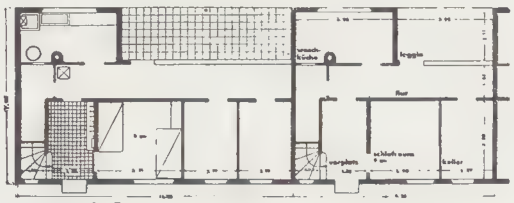
ansicht von osten



ansicht von westen



obergeschoß



untergeschoß

Franz Roeckle, group 8:
View from the northeast.
Photo B. Burg.

Wilhelm Riphahn, group 14:
View from the west.
Photo B. Burg.





Bird's-eye view, from the east, of the Dammerstock Siedlung. *The church, and the houses with traditional roofs were built after 1948.*
Photo B. Burg.



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Photo B. Burg.



Stalinallee in Berlin
Bruno Flierl

"Berlin - more beautiful than ever", *a poster for the Weberwiese project, an invitation to participate in the* "National programme for the reconstruction of the German capital".
Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.

Stalinallee, which today is part of the itinerary from Karl-Marx-Allee to Frankfurter Allee in East Berlin, is one of the most well-known examples of city planning in East Germany: it was born with the nation and now, after forty-one years of existence, it has survived the state: it is an architectural monument and testimonial to East Germany. This article will be divided in three parts: description, development and critical evaluation.

1. Description

For twelve years, beginning in 1949, Stalinallee has been the name of one of the great historical radial roads of the city: from Grosse Frankfurter Strasse to Frankfurter Allee. In city-planning or architectural terms, however, the name Stalinallee commonly referred only to the section between Strausberger Platz and Proskauer Strasse, 2300 metres long, constructed *ex novo* in 1952-58. This stretch included about 5000 apartments in the residential buildings which line the street, seven to nine storeys in height, and the mid-rise buildings, eleven storeys high, which stand in the two squares, the Strausberger Platz and the Frankfurter Tor; there were also a great number of stores, restaurants, cafés and department stores (including the Kinderkaufhaus, for toys and children's clothing), as well as other services useful for everyday life. Of the two movie theatres planned in front of the two existing courtyard tenement buildings, only one was ever built, and as late as 1961-62: the "Kosmos" cinema. A 4000 seat sports complex, built in 1951 for the "Third International Games for Youth and Students", had to be demolished in 1972 because it was no longer safe, having been built with materials salvaged after wartime damages.

For many years a monument to Stalin, of no particular expression, stood facing the sports complex. An office building for the German Sports League was to have been built behind it. In its place, and in the space created by the demolition of the sports complex, during the 1970s two 11-storey residential buildings were constructed, with the standardized methods which had, by that time, become common: residential units from the ground floor up, laking therefore any public services. Two other buildings, which were designed to be built at the intersection of Stalinallee and the Fruchstrasse (today Karl-Marx-Allee and Strasse der Pariser Commune), were never built, namely a cultural centre and an administration building for the Friedrichshain district, the section of the city through which Stalinallee


Berlin - schöner denn je!
Hilf mit am Nationalen Aufbauprogramm der Hauptstadt Deutschlands

Site plan of greater Berlin before the war, showing the main traffic routes. From the east, the city is entered by the road from Frankfurt on the Oder, enters the city from the east and terminates in the centre of the city. The Stalinallee complex was built during the 1950s along this route (from Alexanderplatz to the railroad ring).

From: Deutscher Städtebau nach 1945, *edited by E. Wedepohl for the Deutsche Akademie für Städtebau und Landesplanung, Essen, 1961, pp. 43-44.*



On the following pages:
Perspective of Stalinallee between Frankfurter Tor and Strausberger Platz extending over 1,8 km, ca. 1952:
A) Cinema Kosmos; B) buildings not constructed; C) gallery-style residential buildings; D) building not constructed, on the site where the monument to Stalin was later erected.

Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.

passes. Thus Stalinallee became a large metropolitan residential street in which commercial structures, restaurants and cafés, were more numerous than cultural facilities.

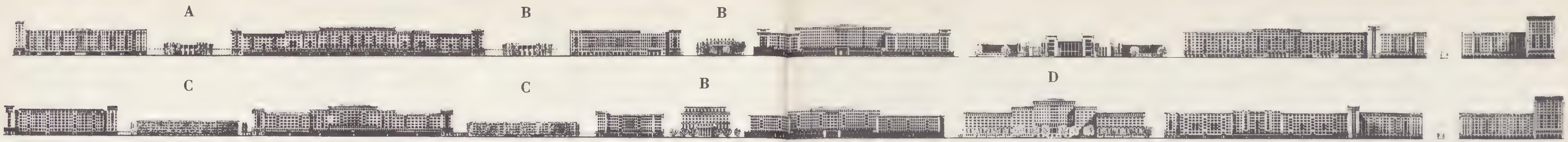
At the time — a few years after the war — the apartments were relatively spacious, and equipped with conveniences, such as central heating, hot water and garbage disposals. All in all they provided a higher quality of life than that of the industrialized mass residential projects of the following decades. Because of state subsidies for rents — which continued to exist in this country until 1990 — the cost of such an apartment was held at pre-war levels: one mark per square metre. This was part of East Germany's socialist policy.

Stalinallee was a true programme. As the "first socialist street" of Berlin, the capital of East Germany, the street had, first of all, to provide lodging for those who had built it — the workers — and at the same time be a symbol of peaceful reconstruction, and of the promise of a socialist future for all of Germany. It was to be an example of how the working class — which had achieved political power, and was also the commissioning entity for this project — could plan and construct a city in its own interest, different from the cities which had been built in the past by the class of private owners, who had naturally acted in their own interest. The legislative foundation of this concept was the *Building law*[1] of 1950, which regulated questions related to land ownership according to the interests of the society, and which today has been abolished along with the demise of the East German republic. Instead of sections of the city crowded with large tenement buildings with rental units housing a thousand inhabitants per hectare (quite common before the war in the areas around Grosse Frankfurter Strasse) a residential street was envisioned which would display all that socialism represented: housing units with light and air, the feeling of a large city, but with half the population density of the old methods, "*functional and beautiful*", according to the bywords of the day[2]. This all happened, but — and we'll discuss this further on — in a strangely contradictory way: on the one hand, this was a model of progressive socialism, with an inspired ideal for living, but on the other hand, the overall design was in line with traditional models of the representation of power with architectural and urban-planning techniques.

The long blocks, averaging about two hundred metres (the shortest is one hundred metres and the longest 280), from 75 to 100 metres apart, for a total length of 2300 metres, define the architectural complex called Stalinallee as a linear street space. Organized around one single idea, it reads as a whole from the inside, while toward the external world the complex appears as an architectural urban project about 200 metres wide which (in spite of the lower buildings added later on both sides, more or less visible) still conserves a highly plastic character. The image of this architectural complex toward the middle of the 1950s remains unforgettable. It rose as a sculpture, isolated in the midst of a cityscape which had just barely been cleared of the wreckage from the war. In spite of later building on both sides, this isolation of Stalinallee with respect to the surrounding neighborhoods has never been overcome. Stalinallee has remained, as an urban space, exactly what it was at the beginning: a route, a clean slice through the tormented fabric of the city. The street has always functioned first of all as a means of reaching the city centre, and secondarily as the centre of the Friedrichshain district. This main urban function of Stalinallee, as a large traffic artery to and from the centre, happened for a very good reason six lanes for automobiles, sidewalks and bicycle lanes, and underneath all of this a subway, built before the war. The areas for deliveries for the stores and parking for the residents are behind the residential buildings, and have restricted access.

Right from the start, Stalinallee was designed to be "*the most important parade route in the eastern part of the city, for parades, marches and other events*"[3]. The street has, it is true, seen many parades, especially during the last years of the republic, when the main stand for the Mayday parade and other military parades was no longer erected in Marx-Engels Platz, but rather at the end of today's Karl-Marx-Allee where it meets the Alexanderplatz. One ironic note: the first march which took place along Stalinallee, when the area was still being constructed, was of striking construction workers on strikes at a critical moment for the economy and political situation in East Germany; they had taken to the streets on June 13, 1953 protesting against the increasingly difficult working conditions imposed by the government, touching off a popular revolt.

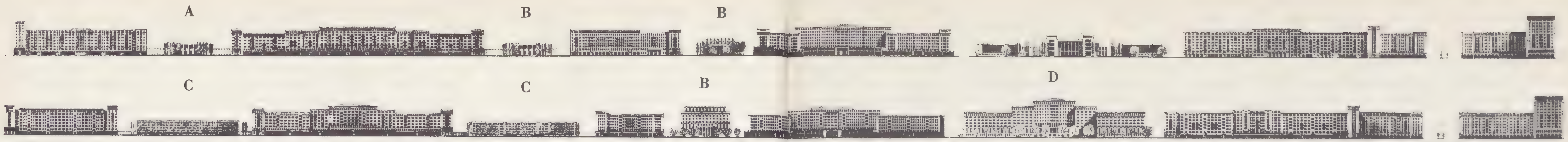
Originally, Stalinallee was to have been continued, in the spirit of the planning of the 1950s, both in an easterly direction, as far as the ring road of the elevated rail system (the S-Bahn-Ring), and to the west as far as Alexanderplatz. This never happened because, in the meantime, the real



estate situation changed, as did city planning and architectural notions. Thus, in 1958-59, the stretch of Stalinallee between Strausberger Platz and Alexanderplatz was designed to become not a "socialist street", but rather, in keeping with modern urban planning and architectural theories, and with new industrial building techniques, a "socialist residential complex". Work on the project dragged on until 1965. The result was a large housing project, a metropolitan *Grossiedlung* without the quality of the metropolis: 11-storey residential buildings, without any sort of convincing shape. Each residential building 200 meters from the next, all packed with apartments from the ground floor up. Facing them are buildings for stores, cafés and restaurants which, in spite of the intentions of the planners, were only partly built. A movie theatre — the "International" cinema-theatre — and a hotel about halfway along the street, mark the intersection with a transverse axis with structures for services and shopping for the inhabitants. Even as work was beginning, this new part of Stalinallee lost its name. Kruschev's criticism of Stalin in 1956 had finally made its way to East Germany: at the end of 1961, Stalinallee was rechristened Karl-Marx-Allee from Alexanderplatz to Frankfurter Tor, and from there in to the east, Frankfurter Allee. One night, the monument to Stalin disappeared.
The eastern part of the monumental Stalinallee complex — since 1961 known as Frankfurter Allee — or the stretch to the east of Proskauer Strasse, was renovated during the 1980s, maintaining the original width of the road, and erecting prefabricated residential buildings in keeping with the traditional architectural style of Berlin's *Mietshaus* (rental houses) from the turn of the century. Thus the Stalinallee complex which was built in the 1950s has become unique — and the apex — in the history of this great radial road of Berlin, unfinished but complete in itself: an example of urban renewal in the early phase of "socialist realism" in East Germany. The central function of this street, oriented toward the centre of the city, has been further emphasized by the vertical constructions completed in the centre during the 1960s: the television tower stands as a landmark precisely in line with the axis of Stalinallee, up to Strausberger Platz. At that point the axis bends slightly towards the hotel in Alexanderplatz, while the television tower, looming over the roofs of the city, marks another bend, at Alexanderplatz, only this time a bit sharper. The positioning of these two dominant vertical structures was not left to chance, but was designed to have precisely this effect.

2. Development

Work for the construction of Stalinallee began on December 21, 1949[4]. On that day, the cornerstone was laid for the "Friedrichshain residential cell", an area for 5000 inhabitants to be built on Frankfurter Allee between Konigsberger Strasse and Warschauer Strasse. That same day, Frankfurter Allee and Grosse Frankfurter Strasse, which ended at that point, and extended toward the city centre, took on the name Stalinallee, in honour of Stalin's 70th birthday. On that same day, Walter Ulbricht, the country's political leader, was in Moscow for the birthday celebration, and met with leading architects to discuss city planning and architectural problems involved in the reconstruction of the cities in East Germany which had been destroyed during the war, and Berlin in particular. The combination of all these events was to bring about a contradiction which shortly after became public.
The "Friedrichshain residential cell" was an idea which was intended, for the first time, to function as a model, to put into practice the concept of the residential cell as a "neighborhood unit" and, at the same time, as a fundamental structural element of the city. This was the result of the effort of the "design collective" directed by Hans Scharoun, who in 1946 had begun work on a design for a new, open structure for Berlin, in line with his idea of the "city-landscape" ("*Stadtlandschaft*"). The concept of the "residential cell" continued in vigour, in East Berlin, even after the division of the city in 1948. It was used in the summer of 1949 in the "General reconstruction programme" approved by the municipal director of building Heinrich Starck, before the foundation of the East German republic in October of that same year. Starck, who was vice-mayor of the Friedrichshain district after the war and had already, in 1946, considered transforming Frankfurter Allee into a "representative street", was responsible for the initiative to build the first "residential cell" (an urban typology which until then had only been studied in theoretical terms). The urban planning project was directed by Hans Scharoun. Starck, however, was also the first to oppose Scharoun's idea of a "nested", open structure, urging a more orderly arrangement, in keeping with the most recent developments in Soviet urban planning brought back from Moscow by Walter Ulbricht after his trip for the celebration of Stalin's birthday. In January, 1950, the "Helmstatte Berlin" was entrusted with the construction of the "Stalinallee residential city", as the "Friedrichshain residential cell" was then defined. Work began on Easter in 1950. Two five-storey courtyard-style buildings were erected and, on a diagonal behind these houses, six four-storey apartment buildings. The design for the courtyard buildings came from a group of architects headed by Ludmilla Herzenstein, who had been a member of Scharoun's design collective in 1946. The inauguration of the two buildings took place in July, 1950, at the same time as the third congress of the "German Socialist Unity Party" (SED), the leading party in the country. However there was more criticism than praise for the project.
In the meantime, the new social commissioning agent for East Germany — the state and the party which controlled the state, the SED — had come up with a basic programme for the reconstruction of East German cities and, specifically, for the transformation of Berlin into the capital city for the new Eastern-block country. For the development of this programme, a delegation directed by Lothar Bolz, the Minister of Reconstruction, was sent, on the urging of Walter Ulbricht, in the Soviet Union, from April 14 to May 27, 1950. Members of the delegation included Kurt Liebknecht, who was later to become president of the Bauakademie (the academy of architecture), and Edmund Collein, the future vice-president of the academy and director of urban planning for the city of Berlin. The most important results of this voyage were the "*Sixteen principles of city planning*"[5], approved on July 27, 1950 by the East German government. This sort of counter-manifesto to the famous Athens Charter clearly acknowledged the existing city and the function of the urban centre as a decisive nucleus of the city (principle 6); it also expressed a hope for the development of the city "*respecting the existing historic urban structure, eliminating its weak points*" (principle 5). The principles represented a clear rejection of any form of dissolution of the city. The objective of urban planning was seen as "*the harmonious satisfaction of the rights of man in the workplace, the home, culture and recreation*" (principle 2). Traffic would have to serve the city and its inhabitants (principle 8); and, indirectly, a position was taken against the social and spatial separation of functions proposed by the Athens Charter. The most decisive part of this affair was the fact that these city planning principles were to become state policy: they formed the programme foundation for the "reconstruction law"[6] which was enacted on September 6, 1950, and of the "Principles for the re-designing of Berlin"[7] which were approved on August 23, 1950. Anticipating these legislative and programmatic documents, Walter Ulbricht, at the third SED congress, July 22-25, 1950, presented some fundamental arguments regarding the reconstruction of Berlin. He attacked all those architects who wanted to transform the centre of Berlin in a model of "suburban housing" as had occurred in the Weimar Republic, where the idea was to somehow "lighten" the capital of Germany by building many, low buildings. "*The fundamental error of these architects is that they do not make any connection or reference to the organization or architecture of Berlin itself, but prefer to believe in their own metropolitan fantasies, claiming that houses able to insert themselves in any landscape, even that of South Africa should be built in Berlin*"[8] With this salvo he was referring, first of all, to the courtyard housing built on Stalinallee, which had been inaugurated that very day.
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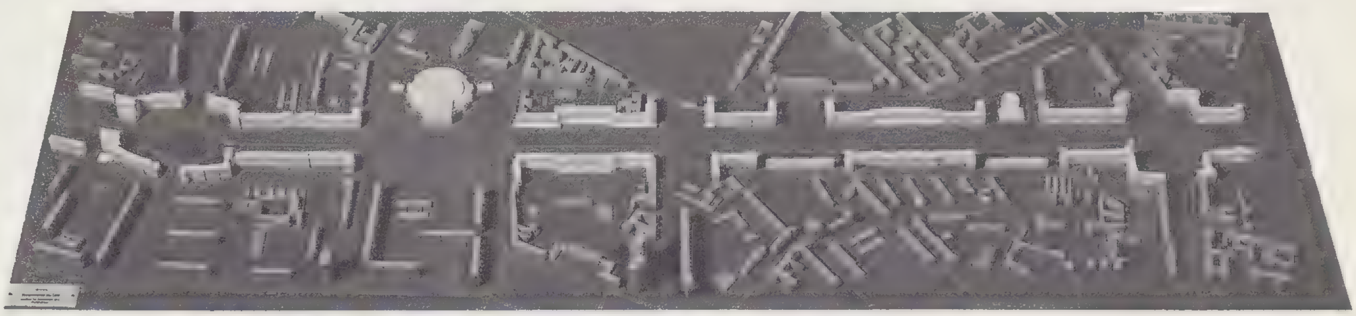
View of the monument to Jossif Wissarionowitsch Stalin (1879-1953), erected on Stalinallee in the early 1950s, and demolished in 1961, when the name of the street was change to Karl Marx Allee.
Bruno Flierl Archive, Berlin.
View of the buildings in Strausberger Platz, and of the first section of



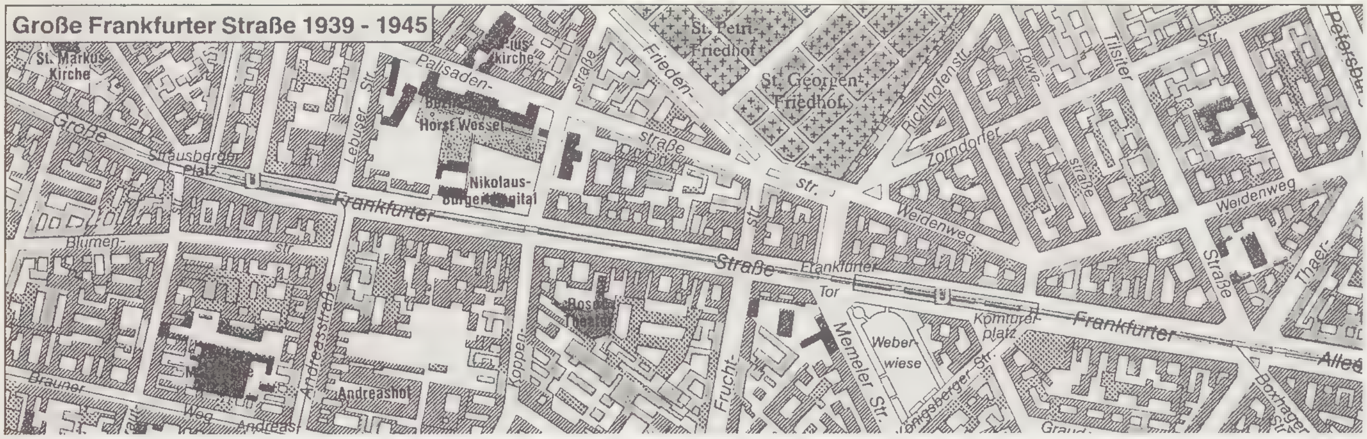
be expressed"[10] But only one month later, more information was made public regarding Ulbricht's programme: the "*central point*" of the section of road from Stalinallee to Brandenburger Tor, the press reported, was to become a large, new square, in the space created by the demolition of the ruins of the castle, linked to the Lustgarten[11]. On the eastern side of the Lustgarten, beyond the Spree, a skyscraper was to be built for government offices. This was the new concept of the essential elements of the new civic and social centre for Berlin: *a central square, a central building and a central axis*, from Stalinallee to Brandenburger Tor".
The central square became the primary element in this system of urban centrality. The demolition of the ruins of the castle began on September 17, 1950, and was finished on March 31, 1951. On May 1, 1951, one million people paraded across the new square, which had been christened Marx-Engels Platz. The central building, or the government office tower, was never built, in spite of lengthy studies for the design. The need for a dominating vertical structure was satisfied in 1969 by the television tower: the idea for its construction as a symbol of the city had already been developed by Hermann Henselmann in 1959. The central axis from Stalinallee to Brandenburger Tor — or the example created as a "socialist" variant on Berlin's east-west axis for which developement attempts had been made ever since the competition for the Grosse-Berlin in 1910 — was finally completed in the mid-1970s. The first section was the "Stalinallee" complex, built in 1952-58: if we do not take into consideration the fact that this complex was to function as part of the central axis, and thus as a element of the new concept of the "socialist" centre of Berlin, the creation and the significance of Stalinallee as a monumental urban work cannot be fully understood. The virtual cornerstone for Stalinallee was actually laid by Walter Ulbricht at the third SED congress. After that it was all a question of repartée. The first to speak were the interpreters. The director of "Heimstatte Berlin", Karl Brockschmidt, once again sharply criticized the "Kollectivplan" programme created in 1946 by Scharoun and his colleagues. Instead of this programme of "*the breaking down of a great urban infrastructure into a so-called city-landscape (Stadtlandschaft)*", he proposed the theme of "*the character of the large city (Grossstadt)*" for the re-building of Berlin. He declared, and I quote: "*Stalinallee, as a street which is politically very important*

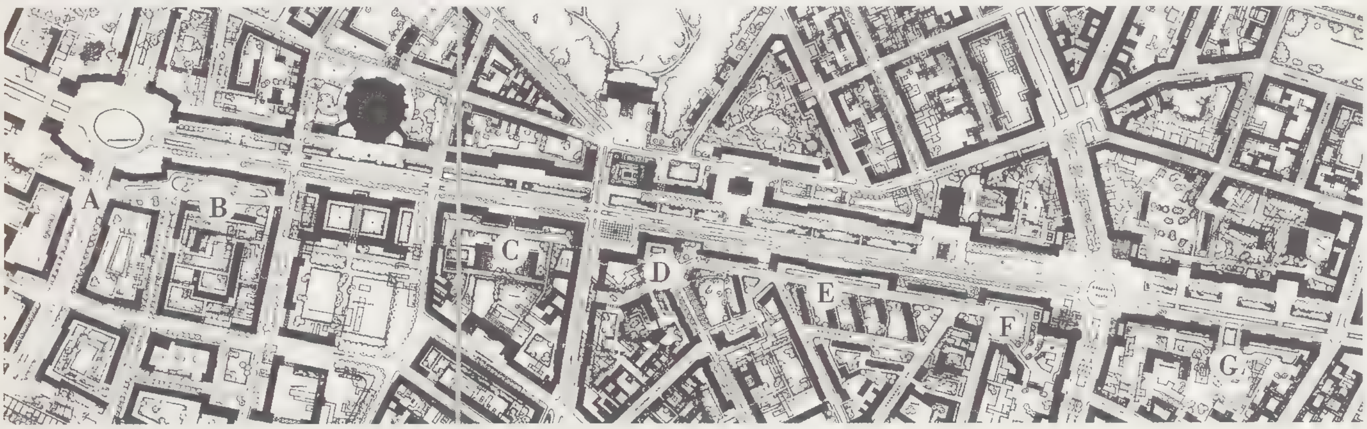
Stalinallee in 1954, an seen in the midst of the war ruins of Berlin. Wolfgang Schäche Archive, Berlin. Cf. Berlin und seine Bauten, *Part. 2,* Rechtsgrundlagen und Stadtentwicklung, *Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn, Berlin/Münich, 1964, p. 75.*
View of the rough urban planning model for Stalinallee, between Strasberger Platz and Frankfurter Tor. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.





Site plan of Frankfurter Allee and Grosse Frankfurter Strasse showing Strausberger Platz and Frankfurter Tor, before they were destroyed during the war. From: Atlas Berlin, *edited by the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Westermann Schulbuchverlag, Braunschweig, 1987, p. 15.*
Detailed plan for Stalinallee. The letters A to G indicate the different development sections. The design of each was assigned to various design collectives. Compared to the site plan from before the war, Frankfurter Tor has been moved to the east.
Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.
View of the detailed urban planning







model for the section of Stalinallee between Strausberger Platz and Frankfurter Tor, as displayed to the public at an exhibition at the Sports Palace in Stalinallee. Photo from 1954. Bildarchiv Landesbildstelle Berlin: Not. 31241.

for Berlin, should no longer be thought of as a heavy traffic thoroughfare without buildings, but rather as a main street recognized for its residential buildings and developed all along its lenght"[12]. Kurt Liebknecht even saw Stalinallee and its development as a main street all the way to Brandenburger Tor, "*the artistic urban axis of the central city*"[13].

But what should be the appearance of these buildings? What type of architecture would correspond to these proclaimed needs of the city? By this time, whatever it turned out to be, one thing was certain: it would not be of the type involved in the design of the two courtyard residential buildings on Stalinallee, which, at the beginning of 1951, were beginning to be lived in. Precisely because this was clear, the party "organized", through its central organ "Neues Deutschland" ("ND") a so-called debate on architecture. This debate was opened by Kurt Liebknecht (who in the meantime had become president of the Bauakademie, re-founded on January 25, 1951) with an article published on February 13, 1951 in "ND", entitled *The battle for a new German architecture.* In this article, the programme for the future was already sketched in its essential features: against the "formalism" and "cosmopolitan-ism" of modern architecture, the new programme championed a sort of architectural "realism", which meant steering toward social realities and development, to create an incarnation of the ideas of social progress, in the language of the nation's tradition. Kurt Liebknecht wrote: "*Functionalism, constructivism, the 'Neue Sachlichkeit', also called the Bauhaus style (...) have nothing to do with true art. For the most part, the results of this type of architecture have been beautiful products, highly technical, but no more so than an automobile or a modern airplane. (...) The last period of German architecture in which the works contained both a strong artistic concept and, at the same time, were highly functional, was the classical period. Here, and in all the nations of Europe a high artistic level was attained during that period*".[14] To return to such levels on a national scale, it was deemed necessary to draw inspiration from the classical period, while at the same time following the example of recent trends in the Soviet Union. Liebknecht's article was accompanied by illustrations. The comment regarding one of the courtyard apartment houses on Stalinallee was as follows: "*(...) a typical example of that 'modular, boxy style' (Baukostestil) which today is unacceptable for our workers*"[15] The end of the debate in "Neues Deutschland" (in which only two other critics participated, one in favour and one against the Bauhaus[16]), was declared in March, 1951, by Hans Lauter, the SED cultural secretary, with these words: "*The most important characteristic of formalism can be found in the fact that, with the pretext of developing something which is 'absolutely new', this style makes a clean break with our classical heritage. This brings about an uprooting of our national culture, and the destruction of national consciousness, favouring cosmopolitan-ism and therefore, in the final analysis, the policy of war of American imperialism*"[17]. The path to be taken by the "new German architecture" seemed to be clear.

First, a "*Competition for the architectural and urban design of Stalinallee*" was announced, for the section of the street between Strausberger Platz and the Frankfurter Tor (Brersarinstrasse) was announced on April 24, 1951. The text includes the following statement: "*In the architecture of residential buildings, designs must profit from the best examples of the Berlin tradition. The new residential buildings on Stalinallee do not respond to the needs specified. Their unquestioned adherence to a particular habitational typology leaves them void of any form of city planning composition or architectural expression. Thus, in the designs, specific attention must be payed to the arrangement of volumes, the development of architectural details (balconies, loggias, bow-windows, cornices, entrances, windows, etc.)*"[18]. Only about half of the participants in the competition followed these guidelines, while the others lost any chance of passing the jury's first screening. But before reaching this point there was another architectural debate in "Neues Deutschland", this time (partly in order to encourage the participants in the Stalinallee competition) illustrated with examples of projects, presented as a "didactic moment". Exactly what was the message?

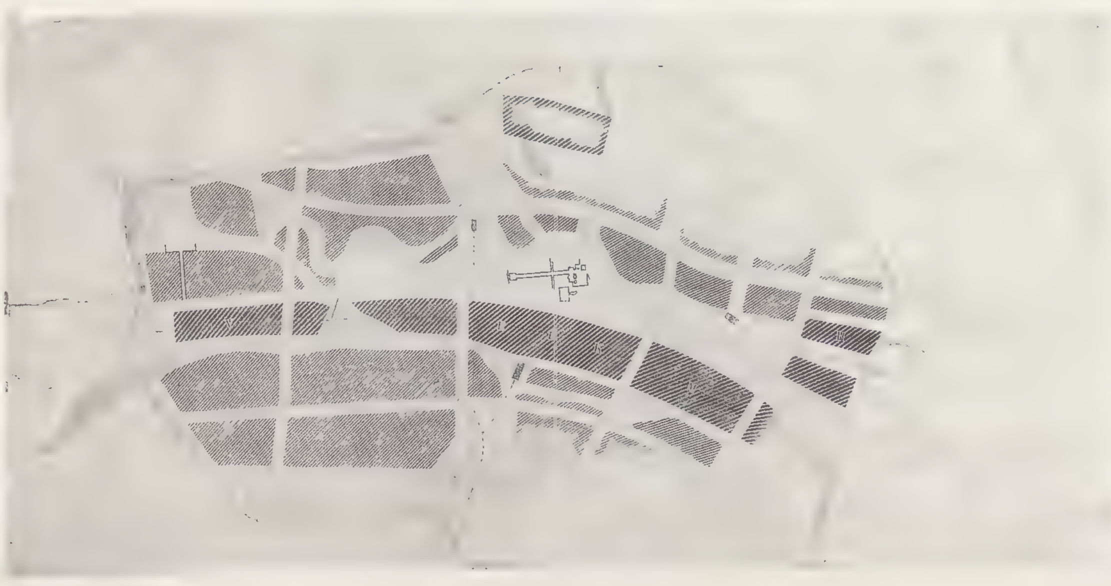
Two Berlin architects, Hermann Henselmann and Richard Paulick, had been bitterly criticized during a conference organized by the Berlin SED administration: in their projects for residential buildings in the "Weberwiese" (an area to the south of Stalinallee, just behind the courtyard buildings, towards the city), it was said that they had kept to the "Bauhaus style". "*We've done with functionalism*", announced Rudolf Herrnstadt, the chief editor of "Neues Deutschland", in which the episode was narrated in accusational tones[19]. The architects in question were given eight days to come up with new projects. In just 24 hours

Design site plan for the centre of Berlin: between Alexanderplatz and the railroad ring is Stalinallee: 1) Marx-Engels-Platz; 2) Unter den Linden; 3) Pariser Platz and Brandenburger Tor; 4) Friedrichstrasse; 5) Leipziger Platz; 6) Rathausplatz, on the site of the ancient castle; 7) Alexanderplatz; 8) Strausberger Platz; 9) Frankfurter Tor, moved to the intersection of Stalinallee and Bersarinstrasse; 10) the Ring road around the centre; 11) Platz der Republik with the envisioned central rail station; 12) Ostbahnhof (East Station). From: "Deutsche Architektur", 1-1952, p. 15.

Peter Friedrich, Structural plan for the reconstruction of Berlin, known as the "Kollektivplan", designed by Hans Scharoun with the Planungskollectiv, 1945-46 (in red, Unter der Linden). From: J.F. Geist, K. Kürvers, Das Berliner Mietshaus 1945-1989, *Munich, 1989, inside cover.*

Hans Scharoun and the Gestaltung section of the Construction Institute, site plan of the reconstruction project for the



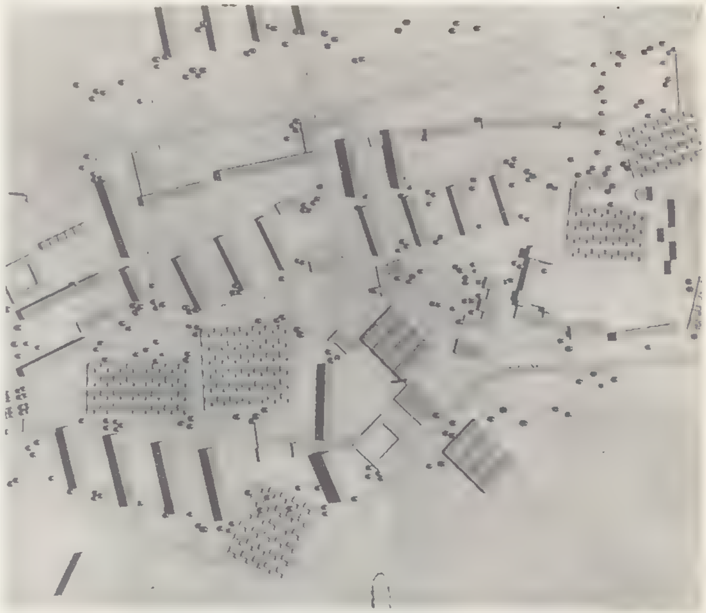


"first housing nucleus" in the Friedrichshain quarter, south of Frankfurter Allee, December, 1949. From: J.F. Geist, K. Kürvers, cit., p. 302. View of a residential building with walkways built in 1949-50 (in the foreground, a building from the Stalinallee project). Bruno Flierl Archive, Berlin.

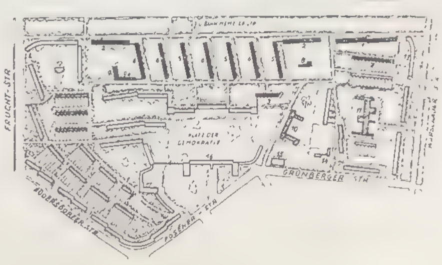
Site plan of the "Friedrichshain living cell" with 576 dwellings, published in the daily "Berliner Zeitung" on Jan. 8, 1950. From: J.F. Geist, K. Kürvers, cit., p. 304.

Paulick was ready with new sketches "*completely in line with the new, healthy trend*[20]. Henselmann arrived after six days with a new design for a "*skyscraper in the Weberwiese, nine storeys, in keeping with the spirit of a new German architecture*": a project which borrowed forms from the classicist designs of Friedrich Schinkel, but without being an imitation or an attempt at a literal response to that model. The design was rather an autonomous, creative elaboration of the traditions which preceded the Modern movement, conceived during a time which had already lived through the Modernist experience[21]. This architecture, by no means eclectic, partly historical, partly modern, met with an extraordinary consensus not only on behalf of the commissioning agencies, but also by the public opinion during those years. This success calmed and encouraged the architect, who had reached the point of despair. The municipal authorities of East Berlin approved the project on August 3, 1951, and on September 2 the cornerstone had already been placed. The first tenants moved in on May 1, 1952. The Weberwiese skyscraper represented, for a certain period, the symbol of the new type of building in Berlin, particularly in terms of regulations and projects in the immediate surroundings of Stalinallee. It was also, at the same time, a symbol of a move toward an architecture which rejected the *Neue Sachlichkeit* of the 1920s, in the direction of an "architecture of national traditions". But Henselmann's skyscraper remained an isolated case: none of the architects of the Stalinallee, including Henselmann himself, were able to create such an "objective" and "traditional" building, simple and cheerful at the same time. Their efforts were hampered by the expectations of the commissioning agencies for an architectural representation of authority.

Precisely during the days in which the new project for the skyscraper in the Weberwiese was taking shape, the competition for Stalinallee was brought to an end on July 31, 1951. On August 29, the jury selected five teams of architects as the winners: those headed by Egon Hartmann, Richard Paulick, Hanns Hopp, Karl Souradny and Kurt Leucht. As Edmund Collein, one of the jurors, explained to the public, these projects had "*demonstrated that through good urban planning arrangements, a measured variety of heights of buildings and an architecture which is no longer dominated by the single typology of the habitational cell, but based on a broader view of the entire building, it is possible to construct for this street a solution which gives voice to the*



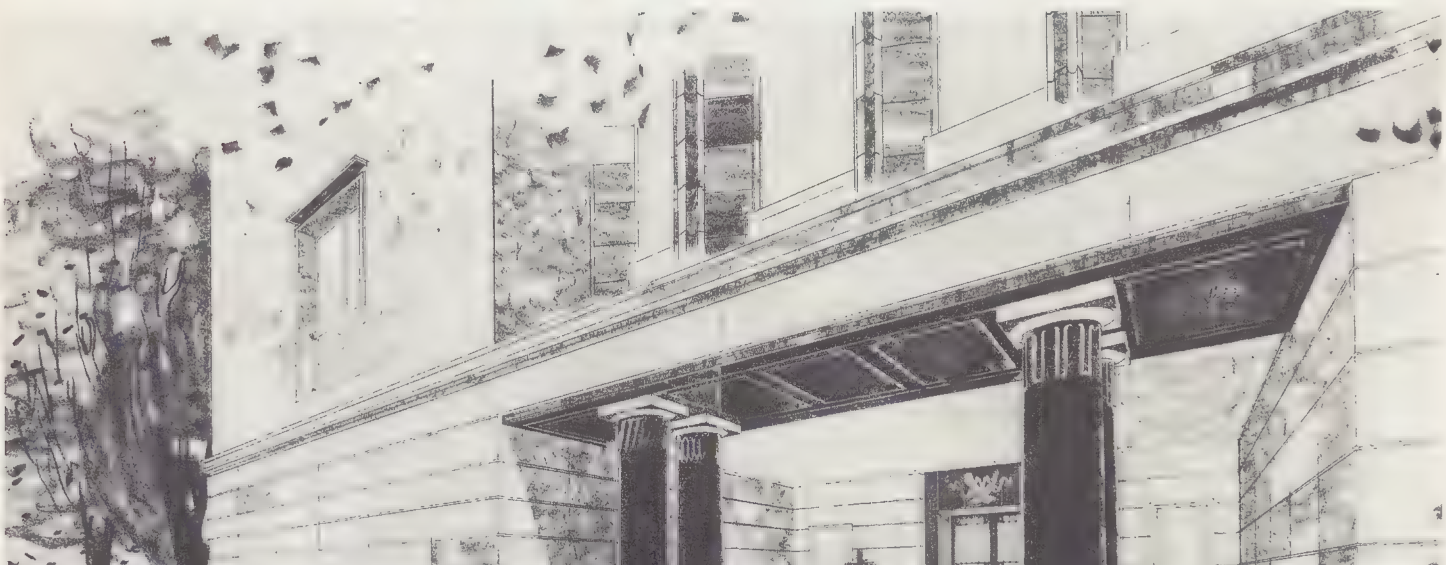




Hermann Henselmann, Perspective of the Weberweise. In the centre, the high-rise and a perspective view of the entrance, 1947-50. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin. Hermann Henselmann, View of the high-rise on Weberweise, shortly after its construction.

Hermann Henselmann, Side elevation of the high-rise on Weberweise, 1947-50. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin. View of the Weberweise high-rise during construction, 1952, with a photo of Stalin on the scaffolding. Bildarchiv Landesbildstelle Berlin. Site plan of the Weberweise area



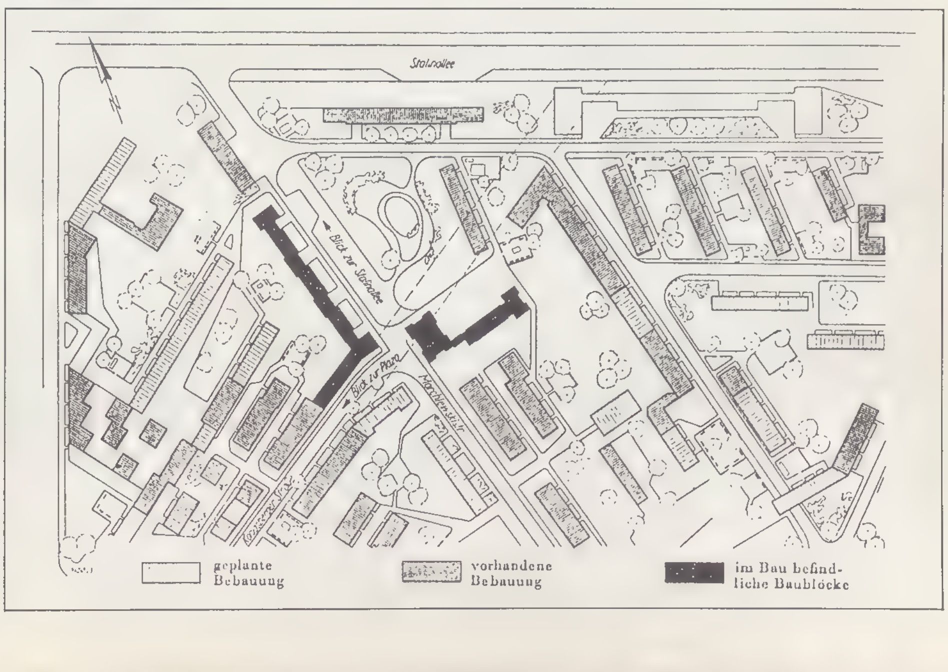


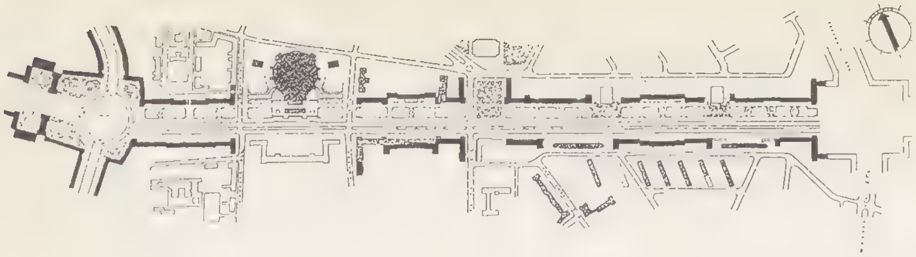
including the project built in 1952: color coded in white are the building designed; in grey the existing buildings; in black, the buildings under construction, designed by Hermann Henselmann.
"Planen und Bauen" 21/1951, p. 336. From: J. F. Geist, K. Kürvers, cit., p. 336.









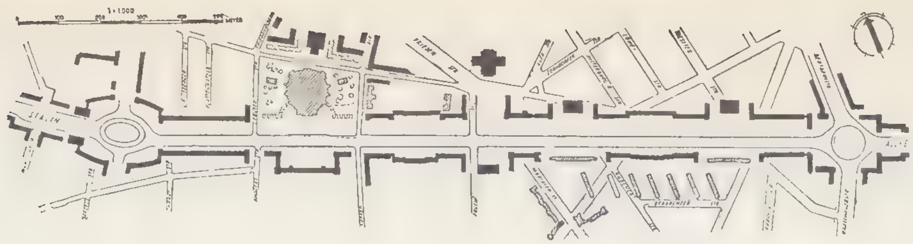


Site plan of Stalinallee including the first design by Hermann Henselmann for the Strasberger Platz. "Neues Deutschland", Dec. 23, 1951. From: J.F. Geist, K. Kürvers, cit., p. 342.

optimism of our new social order"[22]. Hermann Henselmann was not one of the winners: he was excluded because his project had been viewed as "formalistic". Nevertheless, the jury concluded that none of the projects were good enough to actually be built. Therefore all five of the winners were grouped in a team, with the assignment to develop an optimal overall plan. This brought about the formation of the so-called "Keinbaum-Plan", derived from the name of a town near Berlin where the architects gathered to work[23]. The product of their collaboration was a general plan for the urban complex of Stalinallee, which was approved by the commissioning agencies as far as its fundamental indications were concerned. But the proposal for the Strausberger Platz was not approved, as it was considered too dominant, because Stalinallee was to be lengthened, in a second phase, as far as the Alexanderplatz, and thus the dominant buildings were to be placed in a more central location. Only later, when Hermann Henselmann (back in the good *graces* of the authorities after the success of his Weberwiese skyscraper)[24] was called, in October, 1951, to join the team, and to work on the project for Strausberger Platz, was an overall solution approved. This called for each of the architects' teams (which in the meantime had become six) to be responsible for one part of the street; the Henselmann team would take part A (Strausberger Platz), and the team of Hartmann, Paulick, Leucht, Hopp and Souradny would deal with parts B-F. This proposal was made public at the beginning of December, 1951, on the opening of the Bauakademie on December 8, and that of the first German Conference on Architecture, December 9-11 1951[25]. The indications of some of the most important Soviet architects had a great influence on the Stalinallee project. The chief architect of Moscow, A.W. Wlassow, and the vice-president of the Academy of Architecture, S.J. Tschernischew (who was also the secretary of the Federation of Soviet Architects), were guests of the First Conference on Architecture, and were happy to oblige when asked their opinion[26]. In line with their ideas, Hermann Henselmann modified his original project for Strausberger Platz: from a trapezoidal square with two skyscrapers placed orthogonally on the street, proposed in December, 1951, he developed, in his proposal of January 1952, an oval square closed off by two skyscrapers parallel to the street, accentuating the directional axis of Stalinallee toward Alexanderplatz, and giving up, at the same time, any monumental pretensions for the square itself, with a group of sculptures and two obelisks[27]. The final project for Stalinallee was finished in April, 1952, and work began immediately[28].

But before these final events, as a kind of guarantee for the city planning and architectural character of Stalinallee, and in preparation for the Conference on Architecture, yet another ideological "*battage*" was organized. In the course of a cultural conference at the beginning of November, Kurt Liebknecht once again attacked functionalism — discredited as "formalism" — and to the question "*Classicism or Bauhaus?*" he clearly responded in favour of the former[29]. Hermann Henselmann did the rest: in an article published in "Neues Deutschland" on December 4, 1951, entitled *The Reactionary Character of Constructivism*, he condemned the positions of the extreme left as formulated by Hannes Meyer. In denying the declarations of Meyer, according to whom "*all the things of this world are the products of the formula: function for economy*" and "*architecture as an emotional activity of the artist has no reason to exist*, he declared: "*Our workers, who are building a new world atop the ruins of the past, have a right to beauty. But our workers also have the right to recognize themselves, and their country (Heimat), in the new architecture*"[30]. This was his way of justifying, for himself and for others, a defense of architecture as art, although it was interpreted by many — both friends and enemies — as a capitulation to the official conception of architecture. Thus, finally, taking its cue from the directives of the third SED congress of July, 1950, the "*battle for a new German architecture*"[31] proclaimed by Kurt Liebknecht had, in the course of the year 1951, a happy ideological end: first regarding secondary questions such as the "Friedrichshain habitational cells" and the Weberwiese, then on the main battlefield of Stalinallee. This constitued a process of overcoming the city planning and architectural concepts of the "*Neues Bauen*" and of functionalism, of the buildings of the "*Siedlungen*" and the design notion of the "*Stadtlandschaft*" (city-landscape), while at the same time confirming the city planning-architectural concepts tied to the *Sixteen principles of urban planning* and to an "architecture of national traditions" — and thus under the guidance of the party, led by Walter Ulbricht.

At this point, between the end of 1951 and the beginning of 1952, the construction of the great Stalinallee complex could begin. The designs were still being completed when the preliminary work began. For the reconstruction of



Site plan of Stalinallee. Modifications introduced after discussions with Soviet architects and the second project by Hermann Henselmann for Strasberger Platz.
"Berliner Zeitung", Jan. 20, 1952.
From: J.F. Geist, K. Kürvers, cit., p. 343.

Berlin, and particularly of Stalinallee, the central committee of the SED had already proposed, on November 25, 1951, a "*National programme for the reconstruction of Berlin*", which went into effect at the beginning of 1952[32]. The idea was to involve, in the reconstruction of Stalinallee, not only the professionals of the building trade, but also the population itself: from a practical point of view, (organizing brigades of volunteers for the clearing of rubble) and from a psychological one (mobilizing interests and proposals of the citizenry) while from an economic point of view there was the possibility of participating in a "reconstruction lottery". During this first year, the reconstruction programme produced an effect which was never again seen so pronouncedly in East Germany: there was enthusiasm, hope, and willingness on the part of the people to take part, collectively, in the affairs of the city and the life of the city. On January 2, 1952, 45,000 volunteers responded to an appeal and began to remove the rubble to make room for the new buildings. On Febrary 13, 1952, in commemoration of the worst bombing of which Berlin had been victim, seven years earlier, the first stone was laid for the building of the new Stalinallee. More than 1000 apartments were ready by the end of 1952, and the structures for another 1000 had been finished. At the start of 1953, work began on the second section of Stalinallee, between Bersarinstrasse and Proskauer Strasse. Hermann Henselmann, winner of an internal competition for the intersection of Stalinallee and Bersarinstrasse, now known as Frankfurter Tor, was entrusted with the task of designing this area (it should be remembered that the historical Frankfurter Tor, a portal originally situated at the point of passage between Grosse Frankfurter Strasse and Frankfurter Allee, had been destroyed when the first section of Stalinallee was built). Hanns Hopp took on the job of designing the residential blocks for section G, to the east of Frankfurter Tor. The tower buildings by Henselmann for Frankfurter Tor were completed in 1956.
It was only when work had been finished on this last section of Stalinallee, 50 metres in length, that the architectural complex could be seen in its entirety, with a defined beginning and end. Only then could the entire complex be experienced and evaluated. The configuration of this long, wide street had, first of all, to respond to two needs: the rhythmic division of the buildings along the sides of the street, and the accentuation of the squares. The rhythmic arrangement of the buildings along the sides of the street, between one square and another, was based on a system of transverse axes of the existing street plan (some of which was preserved), the pattern of the buildings from part B to part F, (inserted into the plan according to a scheme of symmetrical axes) and by the existing squares.
In this way four transverse primary and three secondary transverse axes are noticeable between the squares, the former defined by special consideration and the later by architecture. Section G was arranged in an analogous manner. Along the entire Stalinallee the most effective points — also as transverse axes — are naturally the squares with their main cross-streets, the Strausberger Platz and Frankfurter Tor, which are also both visible from far away, due to their dominant vertical architectural lines. The urban planning module used corresponds to the distances between these transverse axes, and has an average size of 225 metres, twice the width of the street.
The composition and arrangement of the buildings within the planned urban fabric achieved the objective of creating a new, grand architectural artifact; this objective was also part of the design of the individual buildings. Not only did the entire complex need to have and transmit meaning in architectural terms, but so did each single building. The issue was then dealt with as a question of "artistic image", in keeping with a notion of "the science of art". If the "entire" construction of the city was the "image" of the collective whole of its citizens, then it became necessary to rehabilitate the "architectural image" as a bearer of meaning and, in the context of an architecture of national traditions, to specify which memories and meanings of past architecture would be embodied. It is in this spirit (and in order to adjust to the Soviet models of architecture of the time) that Richard Paulick and Hanns Hopp designed the buildings of sections C and E in the guise of residential "palaces". Hopp wrote: "*For the first time in the history of German architecture, we architects are faced with the task of creating, for the working masses, housing which is also a representative part of a monumental urban complex*"[33]. Since there was no longer any private property to be developed along the sides of the street, the only coherent solution was a linear building, extending from street to street "*as a single composition*", as Hopp put it[34]. The political-ideological thesis ran as follows: "*Residential palaces with socialism instead of the barracks of capitalism*"[35]. A formula which was very similar to the Soviet use of the term "palace", a word which indicated all that was created in the field of



monumental buildings by the Soviet state for the joy of the people: the palace of the worker, the palace of the Soviet, the palace of culture, the residential palace, the sports palace, the palace of the subway system. The term palace was nothing if not a value judgement, the symbol of a "richer" way of life. In effect, in the residential buildings of Stalinallee, conceived according to the criteria of monumentality, the tenants — the workers of the new society — lived in a sort of "luxury" which, after the suffering of the war and the post-war period, they had never before experienced. Naturally, however, the buildings' resemblance to palaces was only skin deep: this was an architecture of the facade. They were really "rental fortresses" (*Mietburgen*): neither palaces in the sense of castles for royalty, nor Fourier-style phalansteries. The palace actually existed only as an "image". This was certainly not the new type of house for a new type of community announced by Lothar Kuhne for the theoretical prospects of communism[36]. Both the palace and the community were illusions. Therefore, right from the start, the rhetoric of the architecture of the buildings on Stalinallee remained meaningless, but nevertheless, very influential in an early phase.
As compared to the architectural "image" of the residential palace, the "images" with which Hermann Henselmann had given architectural form to the squares on Stalinallee were of quite another quality. First in Strausberger Platz, and then Frankfurter Tor, he began with the idea of fully respecting the Berlin tradition of the square as a portal to the city (which, in effect, had been its origin), reinforcing this concept with towers. He was interested, as he himself put it, in "*expressing, with architectural images which are familiar symbols of life for our people, the ideas of socialism while at the same time reflecting the unified overall city planning and artistic concept of which Stalinallee is a part*"[37]. What Henselmann sought was the "fusion" of the images of the portal and the tower in one single architectural image. With his towers in Frankfurter Tor, which, much more than those of Strausberger Platz, are conceived as true towers and not skyscrapers, he wanted to evoke the famous tower buildings of the Gendarmenmarkt, built by Carl von Gontard in 1786 at the request of King Frederick II of Prussia. Given the use of this type of imagery, Henselmann didn't need to turn to the idea of the "palace" for his Stalinallee buildings. Even in their details, his "towers" are quite different from the "palaces" of the other architects. While the others decorated their works with classicist pomp and solemnity (heavy cornices, balconies and columns), he was able to make historical citations with grace, cheerfulness and a certain irony, as he had already done in his Weberwiese skyscraper.
In Germany and abroad, many believe that Hermann Henselmann was the architect of Stalinallee[38]. Certainly the wealth of significance of his buildings has made him the most famous of the architects who participated on the project. But he was only one of a group of six. His name is so closely identified with the development of Stalinallee and thus criticized as much as praised — also due to the fact that he was perhaps the most eloquent in his writings on subject among all the participants. He was the best interpreter of the spirit of Stalinallee, not the chief architect. In short, Hermann Henselmann became as famous as he did for his work on Stalinallee because he continuously raised political and ideological "*querelles*", and was thus often the centre of attention for the media. In doing so, he helped to promote the image of the street itself as much as his own.
Stalinallee remains unique in the history of urban planning. Once completed, no other comparable work was undertaken. Only during the first years of its existence did the street, as the "first socialist street in Berlin", serve its function as a model for the design and construction of Stalinstadt (rechristened Eisenhuttenstadt at the start of the 1960s), the "first socialist city in East Germany", and for the streets and squares of importance in Dresden, Leipzig, Magdeburg and Rostock; these were considered "cities to be reconstructed", and as such were of particular importance for the central planning offices, which played a major role, with investment and guidelines, in their development, and in their urban configuration in the spirit of a "new German architecture". Then, suddenly, the tendencies behind all of these works came to an abrupt end. The "new German architecture" disappeared by an act of law, just as it had appeared. In terms of traditional building values, it had already demonstrated that it was not efficient enough, in spite of the partial rationalization and mechanization of building techniques, and in spite of heavy use of industrial pre-fabricated building elements. But, above all, it had revealed itself as inadequate, in perspective, to furnish with the needed speed all of the housing and workplace units which were still needed if, as was predicted, the overall rhythm of national growth was to

Northern elevation of the Kienbaum plan for Stalinallee, western part, Sept. 15, 1951.



accelerate. The formula which had been valid until the 1950s of building in a "*beautiful and rational*"[39] way was no longer sufficient. Changes in the building sector, at first, therefore necessarily had to coincide with changes in building techniques. This process began with the First Congress of the Construction Trade of East Germany, which took place on April 3-6, 1955, with the motto "*To build better, more rapidly, more economically*", and during the course of which the important decision was reached to proceed along the path of further building industrialization [40]. In this manner, building in East Germany began to conform to the industrial trends which were taking place in the Soviet Union, introduced by the initiatives of Kruschev, at the Congress of the Soviet Union in 1954. Nevertheless, whereas in the Soviet Union this transformation was prompted by severe criticism of the costly "wedding cake" style of the Stalinist skyscrapers of Moscow, during the Construction Trade congress in East Germany Walter Ulbricht defended the "new German architecture", which he had promoted, with these words: "*The criticisms which, for example, have been expressed at the Moscow Construction Congress, referring to skyscrapers, cannot be schematically applied to our situation, because in our country, in that sense, there are no skyscrapers*"[41]. But he couldn't help but openly criticize the "tower" additions — drum and cupola — which were without a doubt too expensive, on the tower residences of Frankfurter Tor[42].
Shortly after this technical turn-around, ideological changes followed suit. Already, at the Architectural Congress of 1955, grave criticism were expressed (by Hermann Henselmann) of the "*overestimating of the ideal aspect of our architecture at the expense of technical, constructive and economic factors. This tendency, in many cases, has brought about a mere architecture of the facade and, because of sloppy workmanship, buildings of poor quality*"[43]. At the end of that same year, the president of the Bauakademie, Kurt Liebknecht, also admitted to have paid too much attention to the artistic aspects of architecture, while other aspects suffered[44]. With these pronouncements, the official viewpoint was ready to sacrifice the illusion which, in 1952, when work began on Stalinallee, Edmund Collein had summed up as follows: "*The surpassing of the capitalist city is more clearly revealed in the artistic configuration of buildings*"[45]. But it was only after Kruschev's radical attack against the policies and systems of Stalin, at the 20th Congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union, that the model of the architectural representation of authority embodied by Stalinallee was actually rejected in ideological terms. But this did not lead to evolution in architecture and urban planning in the socialist countries. Even after this congress, no true renewal or socialist emancipation of the society, or of its architecture, took place, either in East Germany or in the other Eastern block nations. Adjustments were made to policy, but the matrix remained the same. With the development of industrial building techniques, and the economic problems of these nations, artistic concerns in architecture were replaced by technical and economic considerations. The ideological exaltation of the Stalinallee period was replaced by a devaluation of ideology. This process is all too evident in the construction which took place from that point forth.

3. Judgements

The verdict regarding Stalinallee has changed more than once during the course of the last few decades, both among the experts and the laymen, among the inhabitants of the city and visitors, both German and foreign. Assent and rejection have been expressed by different critics during the same period, and by single critics at different times. The fundamental question has always been the role and the historical evaluation of Stalinallee with respect to the development of urban planning and architecture in the twentieth century.
The first question we must ask ourselves, in this context, is: why a "traditional" and not a "modern" architecture? This question can only be answered by taking the historical-social context of the early 1950s into account. In simpler terms: Stalinallee is a product of the cold war which erupted between two opposing social systems, in a confrontation between two factions of the anti-Hitler coalition in divided post-war Germany. Thus the Germans were forced to choose, and to make decisions according to their situation and social beliefs. The West Germans leaned, above all, toward the American model, while the East Germans oriented their thinking around the political, economic and cultural model of the Soviet Union[46]. For the new social forces of East Germany, both the central authorities and the architects (after lengthy hesitation) could not conceive of a nation reconstructed, after the war, according to the same concepts utilized in the reconstruction of West Germany, namely the *International Style*, which had spread across the entire capitalist world. They decided instead to face the



North elevation of the Kienbaum plan for Stalinallee, eastern part, Sept. 15, 1951.

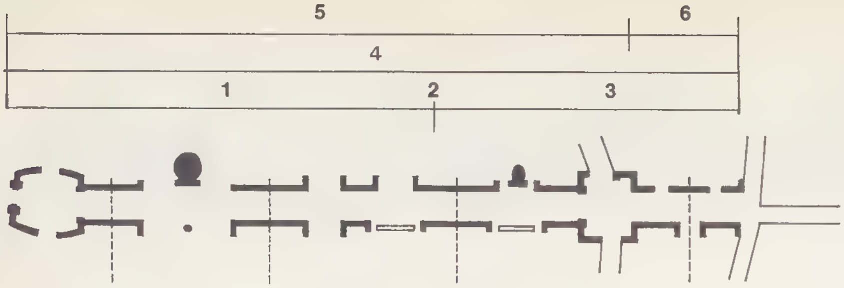
challenge of a historical task — fully in line with the Soviet artistic tenets of *Socialist Realism* — from the point of view of content with a socialist *renewal*, and from the point of view of form with a *continuation* of the national tradition. Behind this choice was the conscious and deliberate desire to differentiate themselves from capitalist Germany, and to establish a separate identity. In short, this was an expression of the feisty confidence of "little" East Germany with respect to "big" West Germany. In hindsight, such an attitude might seem merely obtuse: but it is only in this context that we can understand why, in that period, Stalinallee was shaped and celebrated in East Germany as the "*first socialist street in Berlin*", as the "*symbol for building in the capital of Germany*" and as "*a work of peace*". This is also the only way for us to understand why the design and construction of the Hansaviertel in West Berlin was conceived right from the start (in 1953) in opposition to Stalinallee, not only as a demonstration of the value of modern architecture as opposed to the traditional, but also symbolically "*a clear adherence to the principles of architecture of the Western world (...) in contrast with the false ostentatious grandeur of Stalinallee*"[47].
Concluding: in the 1950s, in Berlin, there was not only a face-off between two "enemy images" in urban planning and architecture, but also, in terms of urban and architectural representation, between two enemy societies. Stalinallee and Hansaviertel have long since lost this function of opposing "enemy images" expressed in architecture. Scholars of the East and West are now able to study them dispassionately, as historical documents: that's how history works.
A second question which continues to be asked again and again, and which is closely linked to the first one, is related to the socio-cultural value and the political-ideological function of the traditionalist architecture of Stalinallee. As Christian Borngraber has demonstrated, along with negative evaluations which are especially common in the academic and professional world of the West, ("a *gigantic rabbit warren*", "*a monument to pomp*", etc.)[48], some completely different judgements may be found among other experts, not necessarily from East Germany. Thus, for example, in 1955 Hans Schmidt (Basel) defined Stalinallee as "*a decisive step toward a new Berlin*". It was, he said, "*the ordering element in the eastern part of the city, until now neglected*" and demonstrated that western urban planning theorists were wrong when they insisted that "*the street as an architectural element, as it has been known in the past*"[49] was no longer valid. In this period, other words of agreement and praise were expressed by such western architects as Bruno Paul, Oscar Niemeyer and Philip Johnson[50]. It is well-known that in 1966, in his book "The architecture of the city", Aldo Rossi defined Stalinallee as the "last great street in Europe"[51]. Many years later, when the post-modernist architects became interested in traditional forms of the city as elements to be used in contemporary architecture, Rob Krier astonished the world by expressing his preference for streets with relatively closed spaces, such as Stalinallee.
This type of interest in Stalinallee is all too understandable, if we take into account the general failure of urban planning and architecture to create urban spaces in many European countries. In fact, this street — even though the value of its social functions and architectural quality is still subject to debate — is definitely a metropolitan street of the twentieth century. To disqualify it in its entirety by calling it "*architecture of the most shameless, Stalinist variety*" (as Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm has described it recently), basing the judgement on current concepts, and on the failure of socialism to create a separate Germany, is certainly not a demonstration of an understanding of history.
Hoffmann-Axthelm is undoubtedly correct when, exasperated, he refers to certain characters and conditions of the design and configuration of the Stalinallee complex "*Stalinist*". For example: "*dominion of the apparatus over design subjectivity*", "*subjection of the spoiled subjectivity of the middle class to the will of the working class, bringing the small aesthetic thoughts of the individual up to the level of a great collective mission*", etc.[52]. But this is not the way to understand or judge Stalinallee, either from a social or an aesthetic point of view! Naturally there did exist a collectivism guided by the authorities, but there were also the warning signs of a new type of collectivity, in the labour and works of the architects. Subjectivity was not very pronounced, but, after all, there wasn't even any more private property: this was to have been the beginning of a new form of society. This was not only Stalinism, it was also the destiny of the socialist utopia. Only if we look at it in this light can we understand that the Stalinallee complex was, and remains, a monument of East Germany, a national experiment which cannot, certainly, be brushed off as belonging to the sole category of "Stalinism". To understand and evaluate Stalinallee, therefore, is more difficult than the formulation of a simple rejection of a situation based on the benefit of hindsight because initially, and for a certain period of time, only good things were said, and then, for an even longer period, nothing at all has been said about the project itself. The real task at hand is to shed some dialectical light on the contradictions which lurk inside the question.
A comparison between Nazism and Stalinism in architecture is also difficult. In this context it should be remembered that Stalinallee, as it was constructed, was compared to the North-South Berlin axis, designed by Albert Speer for Adolf Hitler in 1938-41. It is placed on the same plane, of totalitarian architecture because of its analogous architectural-urban planning forms and analogous function of representation of political power, according to a conception which sees Nazism and Stalinism as nothing more than two sides of the same totalitarian coin[53]. In fact, these two great streets are both variations on the "*via triumphalis*". It remains to be seen who has triumphed over whom. The central, representative part of the North-South Axis, five kilometres in length, the "Great Street" (Große Straße) of the envisioned world capital of Germany. For German Fascism, this would have been the symbol of the rise of their nation, and their power in the world. The architectural apex of this "*via triumphalis*" was to consist of two gigantic edifices in a symmetrical formation: a triumphal arch, called the "Great Arch", and a hall for gatherings called the "Great Hall". On both sides of the street monumental buildings were planned for the offices of the party and state apparati, for the armed forces, the economy, and even for culture. This was "*architecture as a decoration for violence*"[54]. On the other hand Stalinallee functions as a residential street for the working population, without any political or social institutions to be emphasized by architecture or city structure. Even if such buildings were constructed, such as the administrative offices of a quarter, or those of the sporting authorities of East Germany, which had initially been part of the plan, they would not have significantly altered the functional character of the street.
Nevertheless, it is also true that Stalinallee is a street which, in its structure and its urban planning-architectural form, corresponds to traditional models of representation, and was intended to express the political power of the working population of East Germany. But because this power of the people, and the oft-cited "dictatorship of the proletariat" remained a myth, in the end the street was experienced as nothing more than a representation of the order established by the apparatus of the party and state for the life of the citizens. Not an architecture as "*a decoration for violence*", but as a "*decoration for an ordered collectivity*". Thus not equal, but merely similar in its gestures and language.
All of this leads to the conclusion that: Stalinallee is a lasting, historical work, inasmuch as it was built during the period of Socialist Realism in East Germany; the North-South Axis of the world capital of "Germania" is, although never built, also a lasting historical work, a project of the capitalism of Germany during the Fascist period. We cannot speak of equivalence, but we can notice similarities; especially because, as it is well-known, in these two different social systems not only there were often the same original traditions, but these traditional forms were often used in opposing ways, and for very different objectives. Often, in history, we find examples of ideas or forms which go beyond the limits of space and time, and belong to different, or even contradictory, social systems. In fact, the architects of Stalinallee, and the commissioning agencies, knew about axes, symmetries, circular and rectangular squares — with or without fountains and sculpture — from having studied the Fascist projects for the "Große Straße" or for Charlottenburg-North in Berlin, or from other German cities, especially the regional capitals[55]. Although rejected as models, these projects nevertheless existed: as anti-models, as material. It is possible that some of the old comrades of the central SED committee viewed the construction of Stalinallee as a kind of moral victory, however late, over German Fascism and the North-South Axis.
Finally there is a third question, related to the value of Stalinallee as a monument. The response to this question is decisive for the way in which, now and in the future, we will look at this architectural complex.
Problems stemming from the conservative design approach to Stalinallee have already emerged in the past, and other more serious ones are likely. Deterioration of the buildings, especially visible in crumbling facades, have been common for some years. Adequate investments could salvage the situation, but of course this would mean higher rents. It will be more difficult to correct the effects of later construction, born of the obtuse ideology of prefabricated building, erected between the original sections B and C. Newer buildings in Frankfurter Tor have also undermined the integrity of the original composition.
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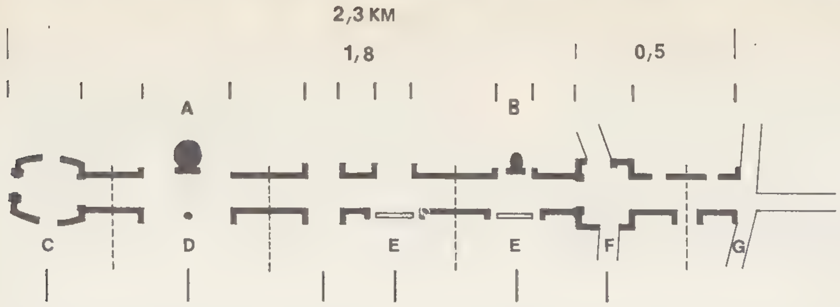


Site plan for Stalinallee, with the names used until 1949: 1) Grosse Frankfurter Strasse; 2) Frankfurter Tor; 3) Frankfurter Allee. After 1949; 4) Stalinallee; 5) Karl Marx Allee; 6) Frankfurter Allee.

the conversion to a freemarket economy, the dangers are even greater. Rumour has it that, with the construction of a number of skyscrapers in the open spaces between the original blocks, there are plans to "better utilize" Stalinallee. If this also means a sort of rewriting of history, superimposing signs of the "new" times over those of the "old", this will mean the end of Stalinallee as a historical document, complete unto itself. The only way to stop such an operation would be to declare the entire area an historical monument to be preserved under law, as has already occurred for the Weberwiese skyscraper. In the fall of 1989, the East German authorities had already attempted to enforce such a provision, before the political upheaval; but without success, above all because they lacked the resources, the know-how and the time for conservation and restoration, in a country hard-pressed to continue building. Will interest be reawakened today in Stalinallee as a monument to the East German experiment and the history of its architecture? Perhaps the new city of Berlin, the new capital of a new Germany, conscious of its historical contradictions and of the need to acknowledge and confront them, will decide to preserve the architectural monuments of its past. In the name of the future. It indeed seems that there are strong possibilities that this may happen.

Notes

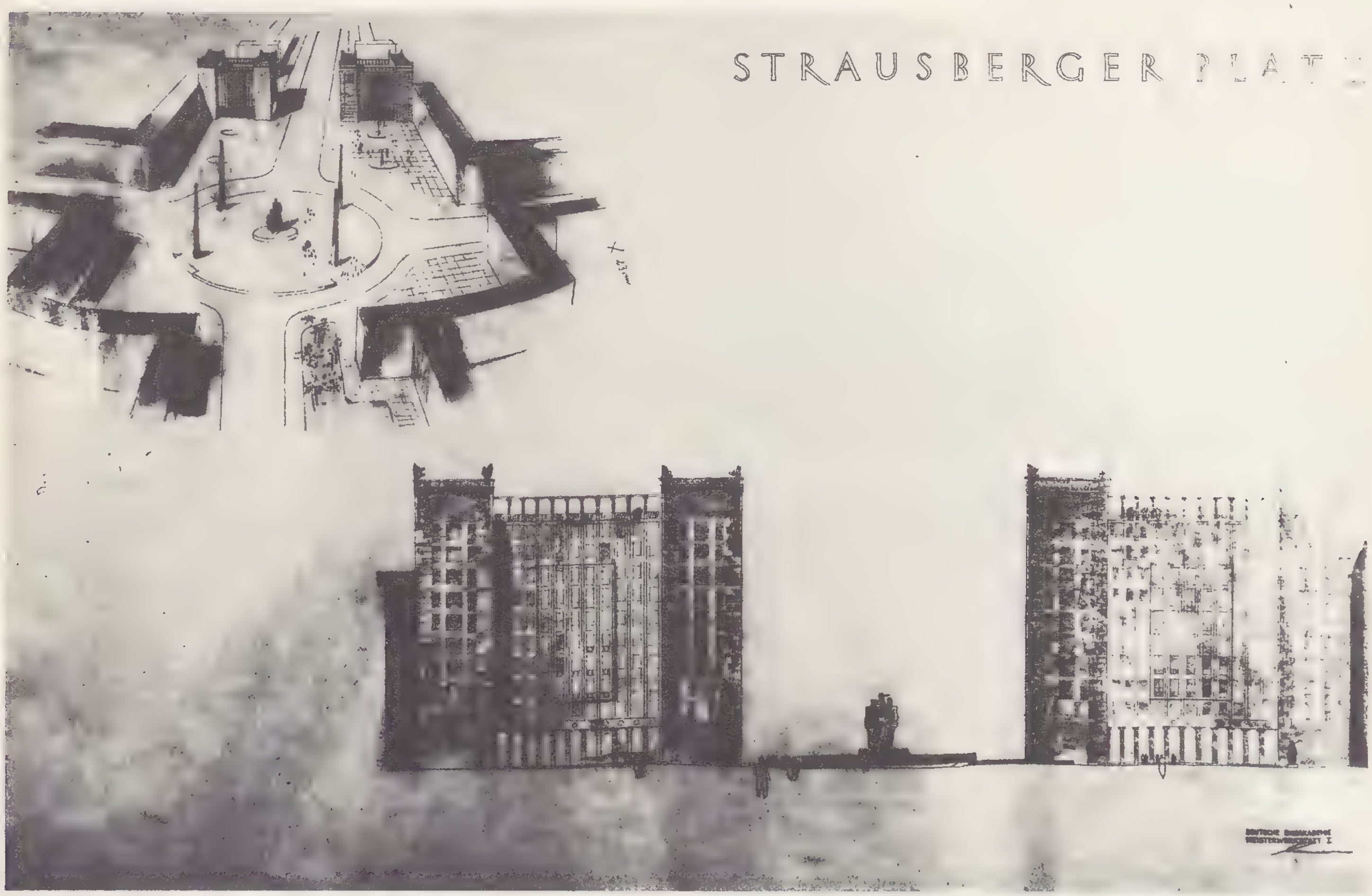
1) *Law for the reconstruction of the cities of the German Democratic Republic and Berlin, the capital of Germany (Aufbaugesetz)*, in "GBL", 1950, p. 965.
2) The theme of the 1st Congress on Building in Lipsia, March 8, 1950, in L. BOLZ, *Von deutschem Bauen. Reden und Aufsätze*, Berlin (DDR) 1951, p. 15-27.
3) *Das neue Gesicht der Stalinallee*, edited by Amt für Information des Magistrates von Groß-Berlin, Berlin (DDR) 1951, from p. 2 on, cited in T. TOPFSTEDT, *Grundlinien der Entwicklung von Stadtebau und Architektur in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1949 bis 1955* (doctoral thesis), Leipzig 1980, p. 57.
4) The following explanation of the design and construction of Stalinallee is, for the most part, based upon facts and data from: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, *Das Berliner Mietshaus 1945-1989*, Münich, 1989.
5) *Principles of urban planning*, approved by the government of East Germany July 27, 1953, in "Ministerialblat", 1950, p. 153-154. Cf. also: *Handbuch für Architekten*, Berlin 1954, p. 101-102, L. BOLZ, cit. note 2, from p. 32, and J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, from p. 312.
6) Cf. *Aufbaugesetz*, cit. note 1.
7) Cf. J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 309 and p. 320.
8) W. ULBRICHT, *Die Großbauten im Fünfjahrplan*, speech at the Third SED Congress, in "Neues Deutschland", 7-23-50. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 308-309.
9) Ibid.
10) Ibid.
11) In "Berliner Zeitung", 8-27-50. Cited in J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 320.
12) K. BROCKSCHMIDT, *Der Aufbauplan für die deutsche Hauptstadt*, in "Demokratischer Aufbau", 10-1950, p. 263-264. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 309.
13) K. LIEBKNECHT, *Die Neuplanung Berlins*, in "Planen und Bauen", 12-1950, p. 381. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 319.
14) K. LIEBKNECHT, *Im Kampf um eine neue deutsche Architektur*, in "Neues Deutschland", 2-13-1951. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 329.
15) Ibid.
16) Cf. *Im Kampf um eine neue deutsche Architektur. Ludwig Renn antwortet Dr. Kurt Liebknecht and Stellungnahme des Neuen Deutschland*, in "Neues Deutschland", 3-14-1951.
17) H. LAUTER, *Der Kampf gegen den Formalismus in Kunst und Literatur für eine fortschrittliche deutsche Kunst*, in "Neues Deutschland", 3-13-1951. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 332.
18) H. LAUTER, *Das neue Gesicht der Stalinallee*, cit. note 3. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 332.
19) R. HERRNSTADT, *Über den Baustil, den politischen Stil und den Genossen Henselmann*, in "Neues Deutschland", 7-29-51. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 333-334.
20) Ibid.
21) Cf. B. FLIERL, *Hermann Henselmann, Architekt und Architektur in der DDR, in Hermann Henselmann, Gedanken Ideen, Bauten und Projekte*, Berlin (DDR) 1978, p. 30-31, and C. BORNGRÄBER, *Die sozialistische Metropole in Die Metropole, Industrikultur in Berlin im 20. Jahrundert*, Berlin (BRD) 1984, p. 334.
22) E. COLLEIN, *Who stehen wir in unserer Architekturdiskussion?*, in "Neues Deutschland", 12-4-51. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 337.
23) Cf. T. TOPFSTEDT, cit. note 3, p. 57.
24) Cf. J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 338.
25) Cf. *Architektonische Entwürfe zum Neuaufbau Berlins*, in "Neues Deutschland", 12-9-51. Cited in: T. TOPFSTEDT, cit. note 3, p. 58.
26) Cf. *Stellungnahme sowjetischer Architekten zu den Entwürfen für die Stalinallee* in "Neues Deutschland", 12-28-51. Cf. also *Hermann Henselmann, Schöpferische Gespräche mit sowjetischen Architekten*, in "Neues Deutschland", 12-23-51. Cited in: T. TOPFSTEDT, cit. note 3, p. 59.
27) Cf. H. HENSELMANN, *Aus der Werkstatt des Architeckten*, in "Deutsche Architektur", 4-1952, p. 156.
28) Cf. E. COLLEIN, *Die Architekten haben aus der Kritik gelernt*, in "Neues Deutschland", 4-8-52. Cited in: T. TOPFSTEDT, cit. note 3, p. 59.
29) Cf. K. LIEBKNECHT, Speech at a conference at the House of Culture of the Soviet Union on the theme: *The great model and socialist realism in architecture and painting*. Cited in: C. BORNGRÄBER, *Das nationale Aufbauprogramm der DDR*, in "Arch+", N. 56, 1981, p. 28.
30) H. HENSELMANN, *Der reaktionäre Charakter des Konstruktivismus*, in "Neues Deutschland", 12-4-51. Cf. also Hermann Henselmann, cit. note 21, p. 79-80. Cited by: H. MEYER, in "bauhaus", 2-1928, N. 4.
31) Cf. above: K. LIEBKNECHT, cit. note 14.
32) Cf. "Neues Deutschland", 11-25-51. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 345.
33) H. HOPP, *Werkstattbericht Projekt Stalinallee*, in "Deutsche Architektur", 2-1952, p. 66. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 338.
34) Ibid.
35) Title of a conference held on January 15, 1954 by H. RIECKE, published in 1954. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 344.
36) Cf. L. KÜHNE, *Haus und Landschaft. Zu einem Umriß der kommunistischen Kultur des gesellschaftlichen Raumes*, in "Haus und Landschaft", collection of essays, Fundus-Bücher 97/98, Dresden, 1985, from p. 9.
37) Cf. H. HENSELMANN, *Aus der Werkstatt des Architeckten*, in "Deutsche Architektur", 4-1952, p. 156. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 341.
38) The most recent declaration of this type is found in: D. MEYHÖFER, *Die ungeliebte Allee*, in "Zeitmagazin", 16-1990, from p. 6.
39) Cf. *above*, note 2.

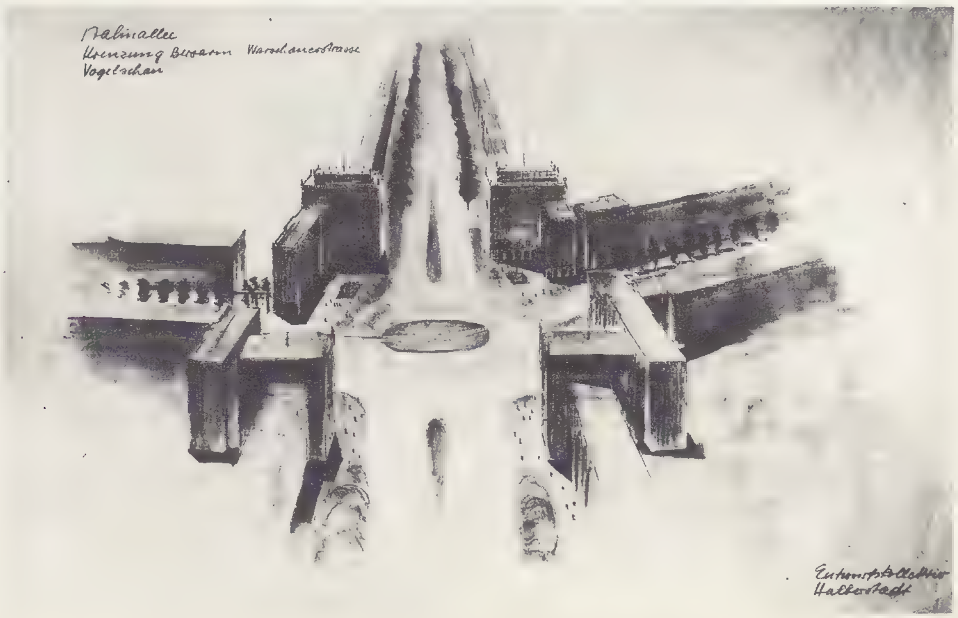


Site plan for Stalinallee noting squares and monuments: A) Sports Palace; B) Cinema; C) Strusberger Platz; D) Stalin Monument; E) Courtyard residences; F) Frankfurter Tor; G) Proskauer Strasse. Drawings Bruno Flierl.

40) Cf. W. ULBRICHT, *Die neuen Aufgaben im nationalen Aufbau*, speech at the DDR Building Conference of April 3, 1955, in "Neues Deutschland", 4-6-55. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 387-388.
41) Ibid.
42) Ibid. Cf. also: C. BORNGRÄBER, cit. note 29, p. 31, and cit. note 21, p. 338.
43) *Die Architekturdiskussion kommt in Fluß. Architektenkongreß kritisiert Fassadenarchitektur*, in "Berliner Zeitung", 6-12-55. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 388.
44) Cf. K. LIEBKNECHT, in "Neues Deutschland", 12-18-55. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 388.
45) E. COLLEIN, *Das nationale Aufbauprogramm - Sache aller Deutschen*, in "Deutsche Architecktur", 1-1952, p. 18. Cited in: J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 343.
46) Cf. P. BENDER, *Deutsche Parallelen. Anmerkungen zu einer gemeinsamen Geschichte zweir getrennter Staaten*, Berlin (BRD), 1989.
47) K. MAHLER, *Internationale Bauausstellung 1956. Wiederaufbau eines inneren Stadtviertels*, in "Bauwelt", N. 35, 1953, from p. 681. Cited in J.F. GEIST, K. KÜRVERS, cit. note 4, p. 366.
48) Cf. C. BORNGRÄBER, cit. note 29, p. 31.
49) H. SCHMIDT, *Architektonische Eindrücke einer Reise in die DDR*, in "Deutsche Architektur", 8-1955, p. 362. Cited by C. BORNGRÄBER, cit. note 29, p. 31.
50) C. BORNGRÄBER, *Hermann Henselmann, in Baumeister, Architekten und Stadtplaner. Biographien zur baulichen Entwicklung Berlins*, edited by W. RIBBE, W. SCHÄCHE, Berlin (BDR), 1987, p. 567.
51) Cf. A. ROSSI, *Aspetti della tipologia residenziale a Berlino*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n. 288, June 1964, p. 14-20.
52) D. HOFFMAN-AXTHELM, *Rückblick auf die DDR*, in "Arch+", N. 103, 1990, from p. 66.
53) Cf. H. SPIEKER, *Totalitäre Architektur*, Stuttgardt, 1981.
54) Cf. W. SCHÄCHE, *1933-1945. Bauen im Nationalsozialismus: Dekoration der Gewalt, in 750 Jahre Architektur und Stadtebau in Berlin. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987 im Kontext der Baugeschichte Berlins*, Berlin (BRD), 1987, from p. 183.
55) Cf. H. STEPHAN, *Die Baukunst im Dritten Reich. Insbesondere die Umgestaltung der Reichshaupstadt. Series of publications of the Hochschule für Politik I, 43, Berlin 1939. Cf. also: R. WOLTERS, Neue Deutsche Baukunst*, Berlin 1940; R. WOLTERS, Albert Speer, Oldenburg, 1943; "Kunst im Dritten Reich" (after 1939: "Kunst im Deutschen Reich"), Munich 1937-1944.

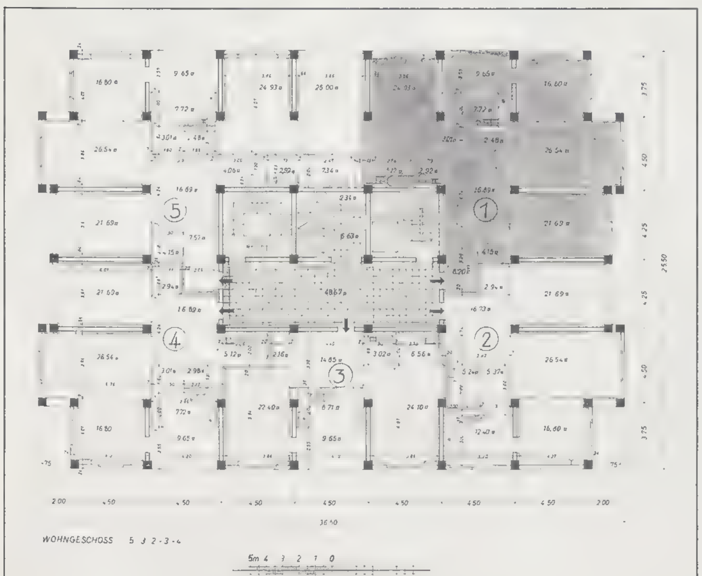
Hermann Henselmann and the Deutsche Bauakademie, Meisterwerkstatt I, Drawings of Strausberger Platz according to the first design, 1951. From: J.F. Geist, K. Kürvers, cit. Entwurfsatelier Halberstadt, Design for Frankfurter Tor. Hermann Henselmann, Perspective of Strausberger Platz according to the first design, 1951. "Demokratischer Aufbau", 1952, p. 7. From: J.F. Geist, K. Kürvers, cit., p. 341. Hermann Henselmann, High-rise building south of Strausberger Platz: plan of a typical floor. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and

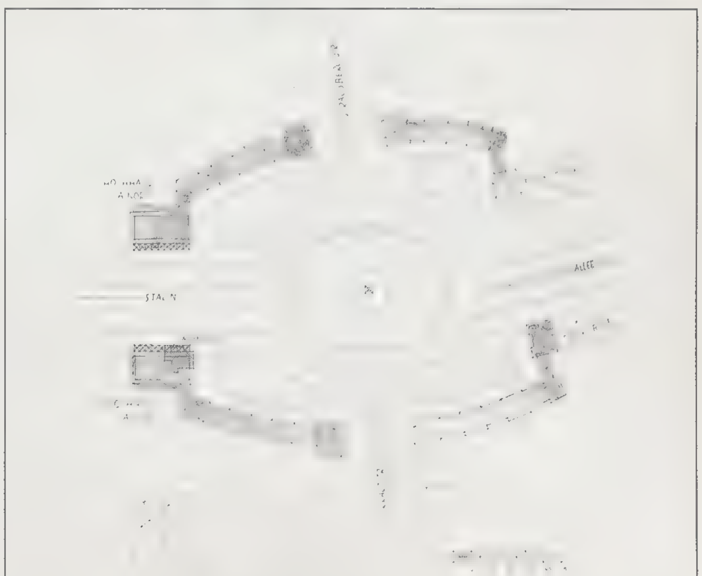




the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin. Site plan of Strausberger Platz, as it was built according to the second design by Henselmann, including the high-rises buildings. A-north and A-south. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.

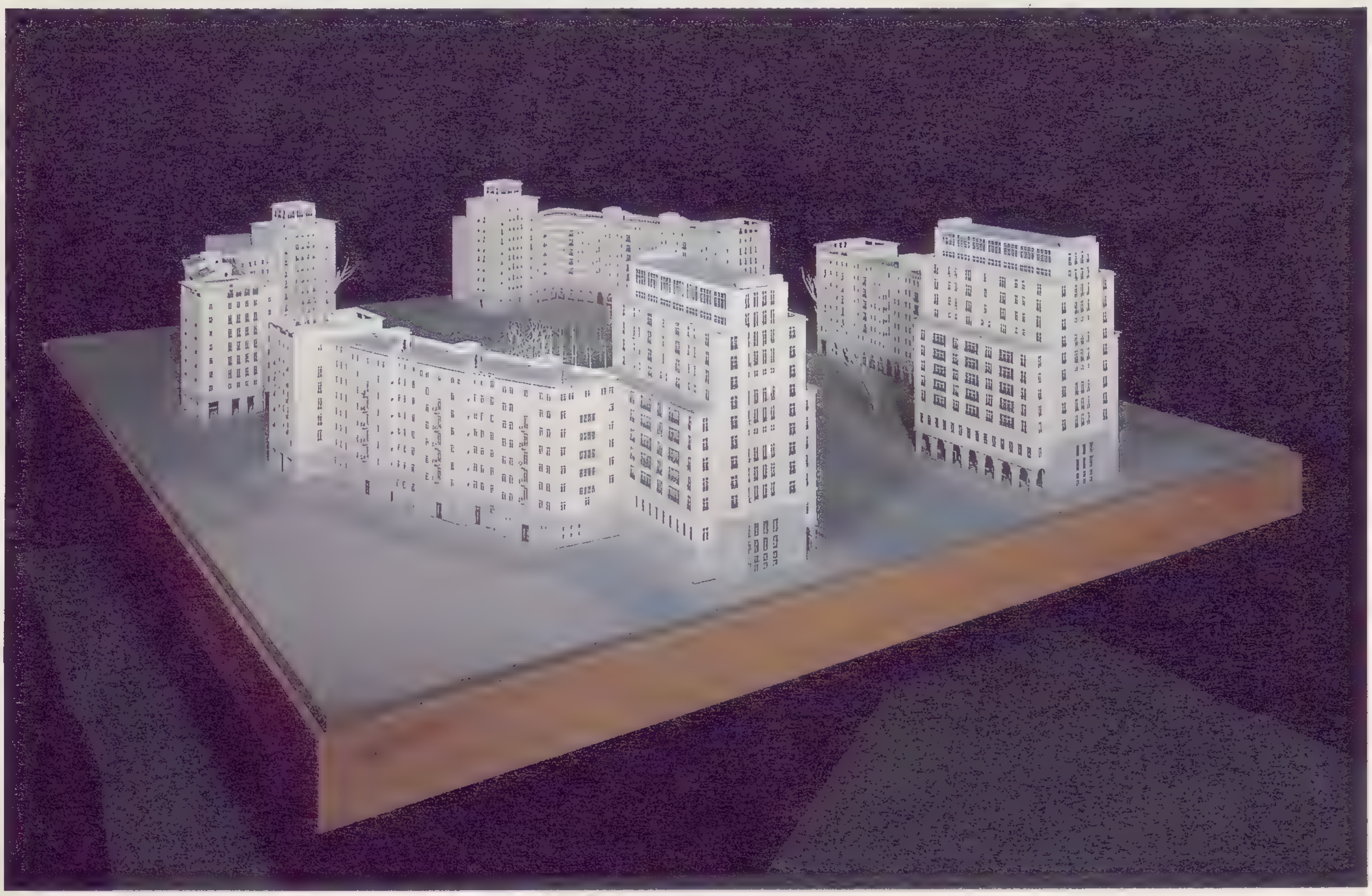






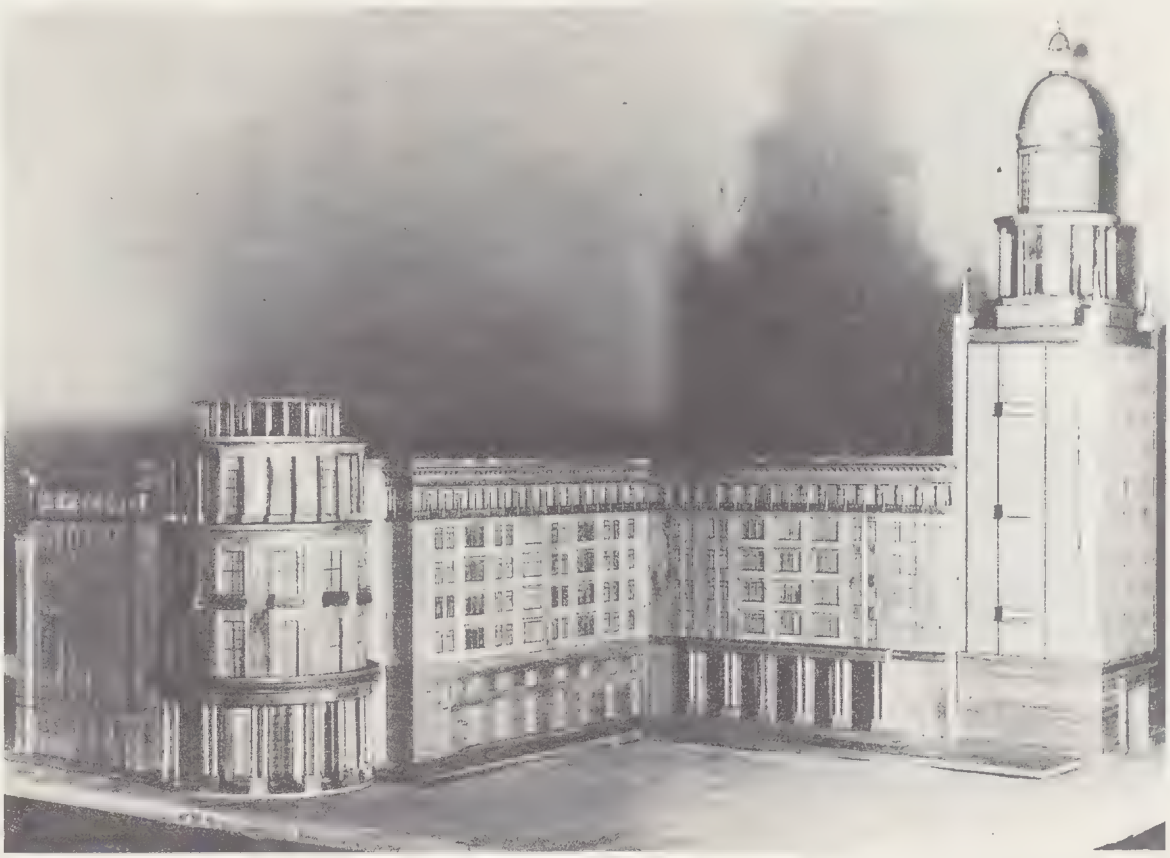
View to the east of Strausberger Platz, and its link to Stalinallee.
Photo 1954.
Bildarchiv Landesbildstelle Berlin, Not. 24 FRI/30815.
View of the Frankfurter Tor seen from the east entrance to Stalinallee, marked by the two high-rises.



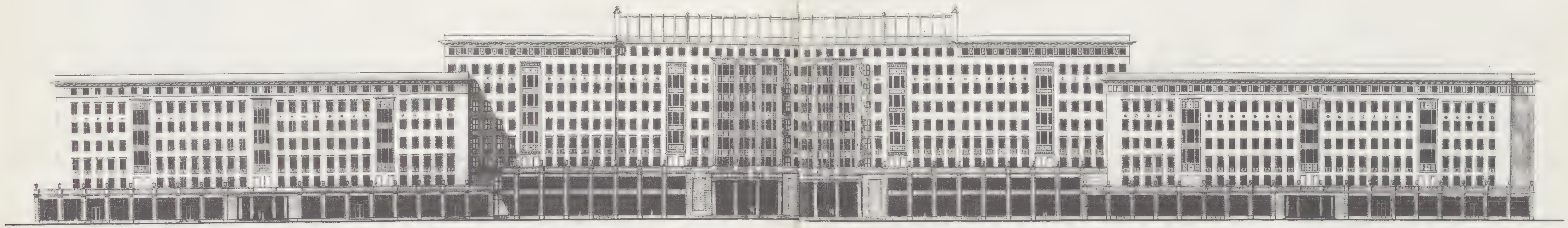


Partial model of the Frankfurter Tor including one of the high-rises and, to the left, the unbuilt cilindrical building for the dance hall, designed by Henselmann.
Model of the Strausberger Platz. Note the high-rises buildings A-north and A-south in the foregound as they are seen when travelling from the centre.
Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.

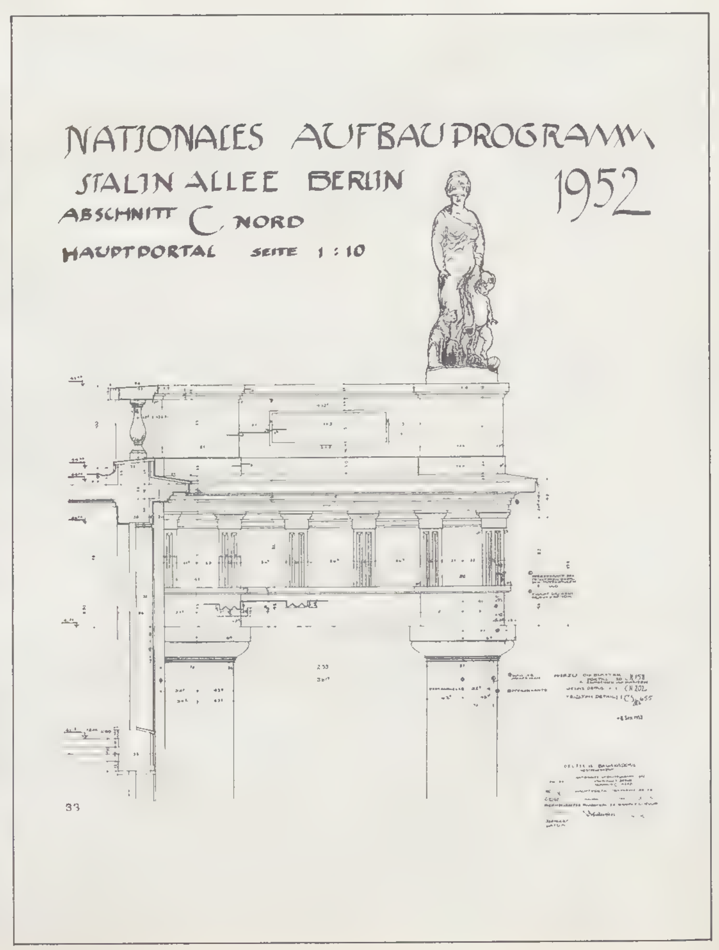


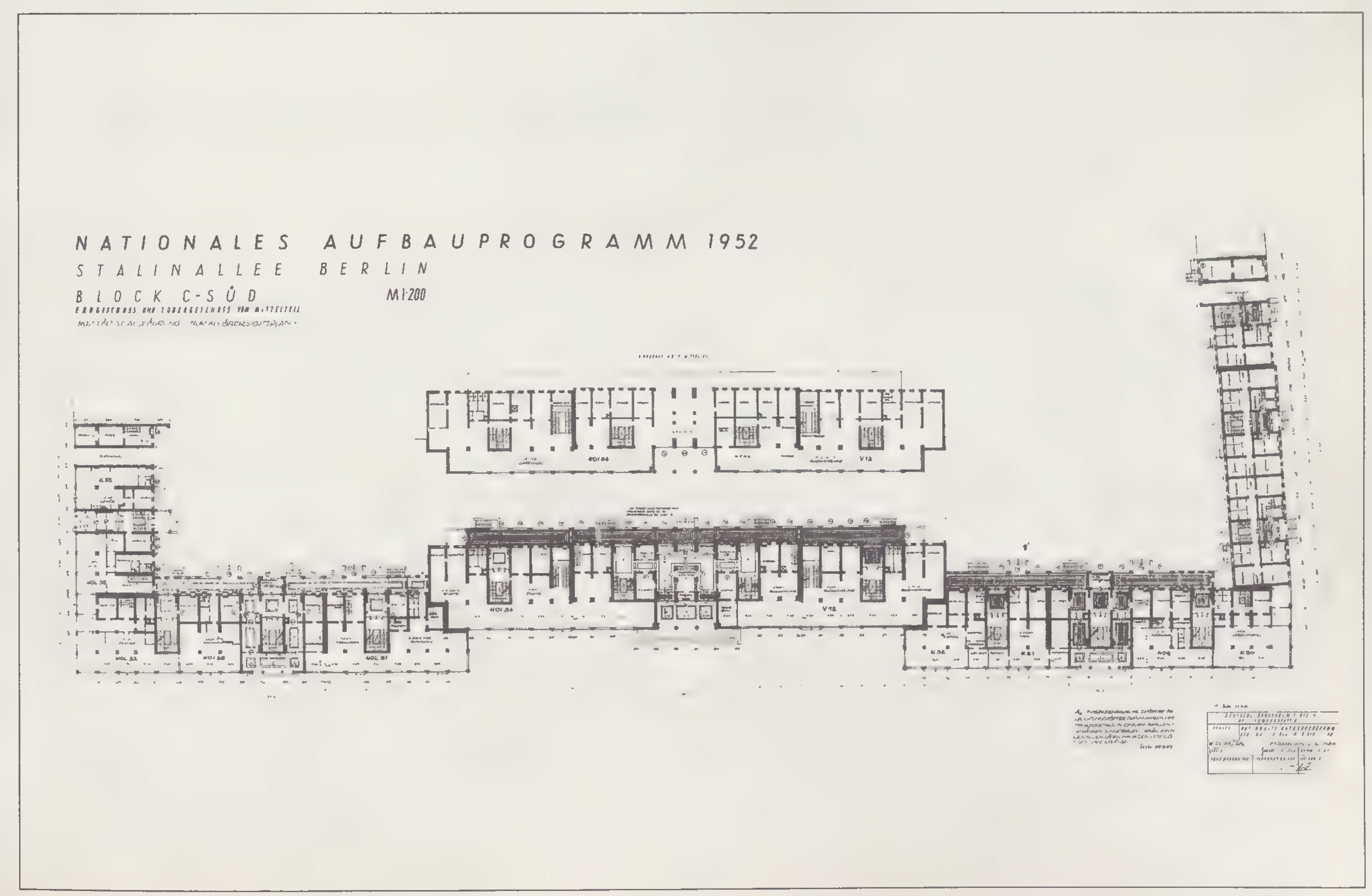


Richard Paulich and the Deutsche Bauakademie-Meisterwerkstatt III, Elevation of the C-south building. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin. Detail of the entrance hall C-south building, 1952. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin. Deutsche Bauakademie - Meisterwekstatt III, Detail of the entrance portico in travertine stone of the C-north building. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin. Plan of the groud floor and mezzanines of the C-south building, to be used for retail space. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.

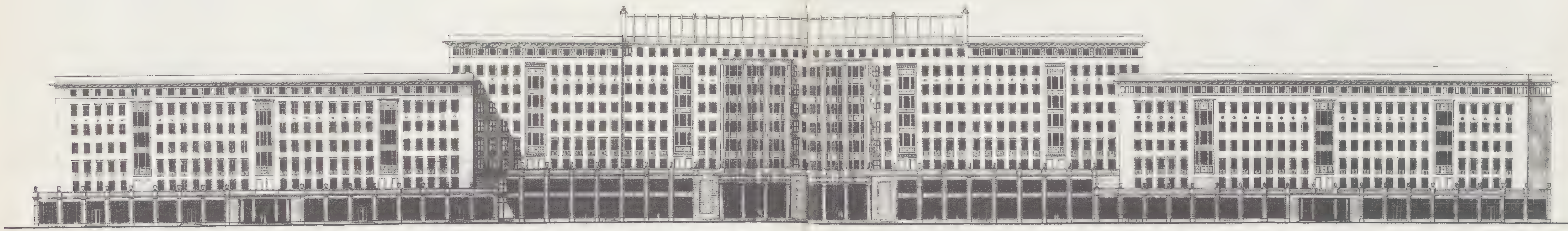




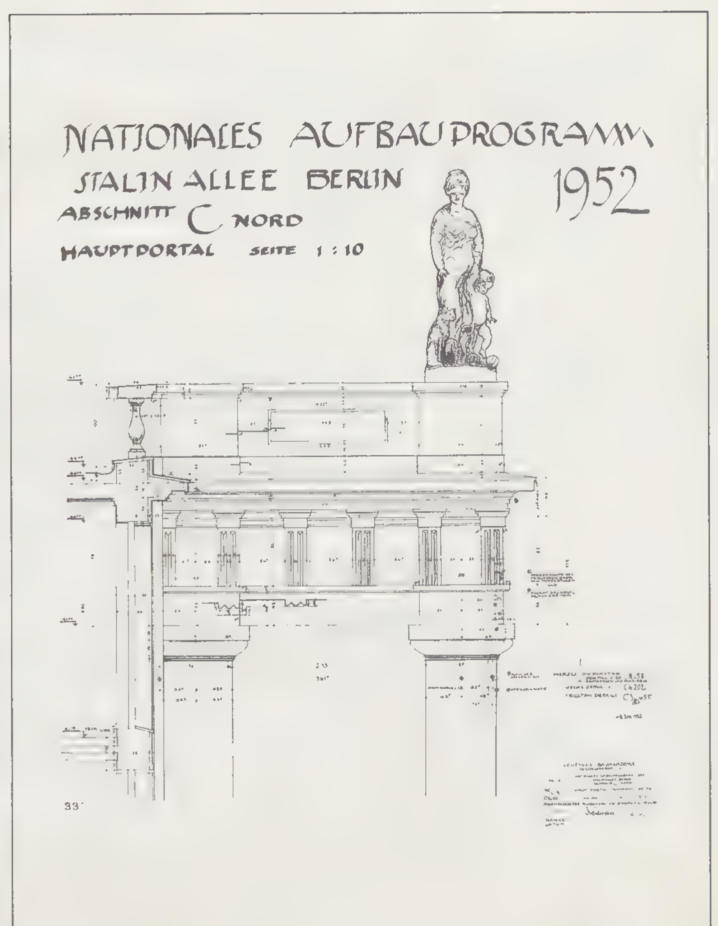


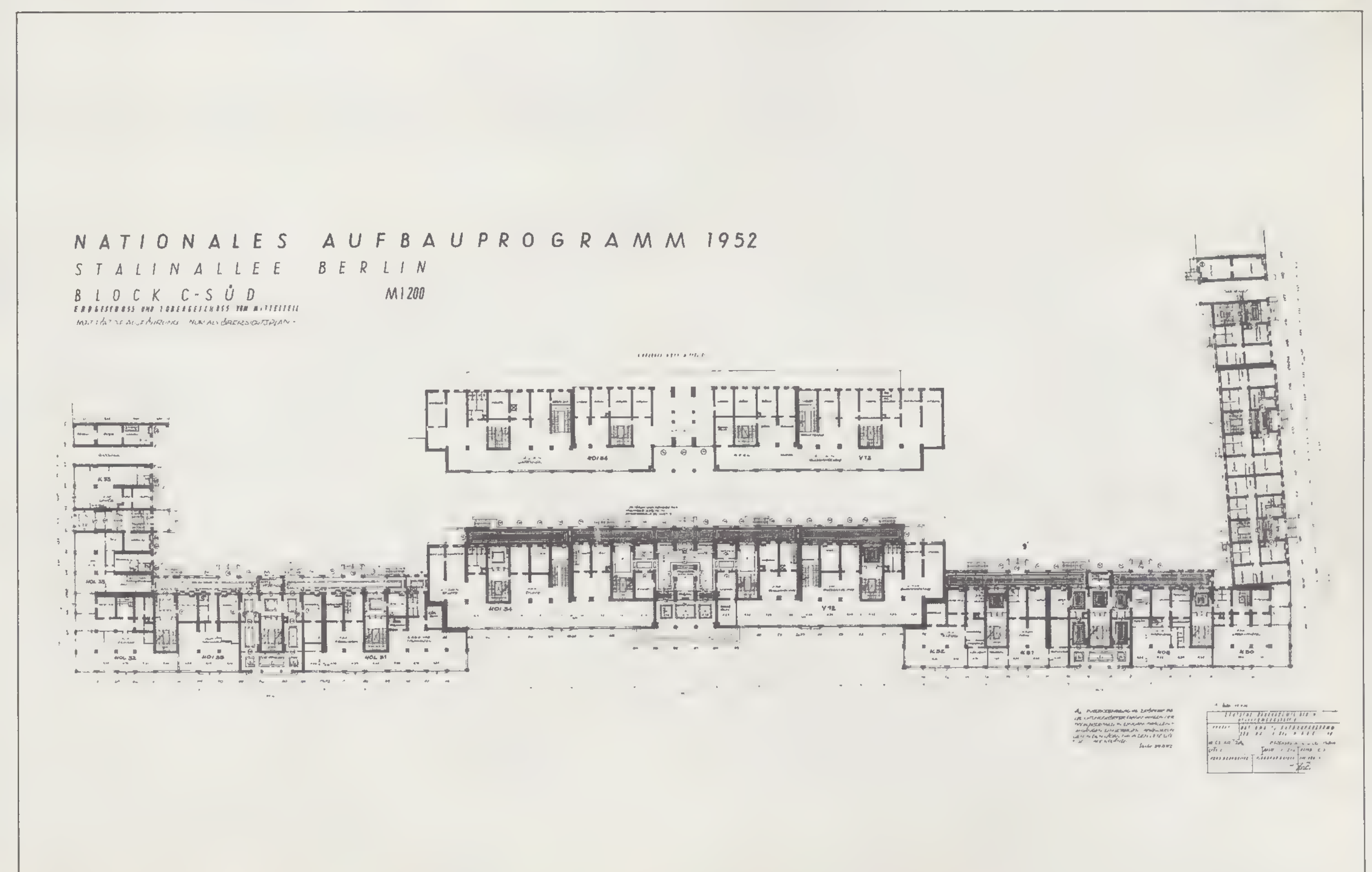


Richard Paulich and the Deutsche Bauakademie-Meisterwerkstatt III, Elevation of the C-south building. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.
Detail of the entrance hall C-south building, 1952. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.
Deutsche Bauakademie - Meisterwekstatt III, Detail of the entrance portico in travertine stone of the C-north building. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.
Plan of the groud floor and mezzanines of the C-south building, to be used for retail space. Angelo Masieri Foundation, Venice, and the Deutsche Bauakademie of Berlin.











View toward the east of Strausberger Platz and Stalinallee, from the television tower. Photos B. Burg and O. Schuh.



View toward the east of Strausberger Platz and Stalinallee, from the television tower. Photos B. Burg and O. Schuh.

View toward the west of the Frankfurter Tor. Note the television tower, in the background, built on a design by Hermann Henselmann in 1969.
View of Frankfurter Tor, looking toward the southwest.
View to the northwest of one the high-rise buildings at the intersection





of Frankfurter Tor and Stalinallee.
View of Stalinallee from the television tower, toward the east: at the bend in the street, Strausberger Platz; in the first section, open buildings with prefabricated panels, from the late 1950s; in the foreground, the cupola building, the high-rise to the left and the Haus des Lehrers (Teachers' building) by Hermann Henselmann, 1961-64.
Photos B. Burg and O. Schuh.











Detail of one of the high-rises in Frankfurter Tor.
High-rise from the 1700s by Carl von Gontard, part of the French cathedral on the Gendarmenmarkt, used as a model by Henselmann for his towers in Frankfurter Tor.
Detail of the department store on the south side of Frankfurter Tor.

View toward the east of the high-rises which signal the entrance to Strausberger Platz, and the monumental part of Stalinallee when travelling from the centre.
View toward the west of Strausberger Platz and the high-rise buildings.
Photos B. Burg and O. Schuh.









Details of the facades of the buildings on Strausberger Platz.
Photos B. Burg and O. Schuh.













View of the high-rise on Weberweise at the end of Königsberger Strasse, and details of the entrance, its decorative columns, and ceramic, facing manufactured by hand in Meissen, a centre known for its valuable porcelain artifacts.
Photos B. Bourg and O. Schuh.



View from the north of the high-rise and of a residential complex along Weberweise.
Photo B. Burg and O. Schuh.



View from the north of the high-rise and of a residential complex along Weberweise.
Photo B. Burg and O. Schuh.

Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London

1984-90

Pei Cobb Freed & Partners; Owings & Merrill;
Troughton McAslan; Adamson Associates;
Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates; EPR Partnership; Allies Morrison;
Cesar Pelli & Associates; Federick Gibberd Coombes & Partners;
Aldo Rossi; Perkins & Will; Koetter Kim & Associates

Landscape Architect: Hanna Olin

Developer: Olympia & York Canary Wharf Limited



Perspective of the complex seen from the west.

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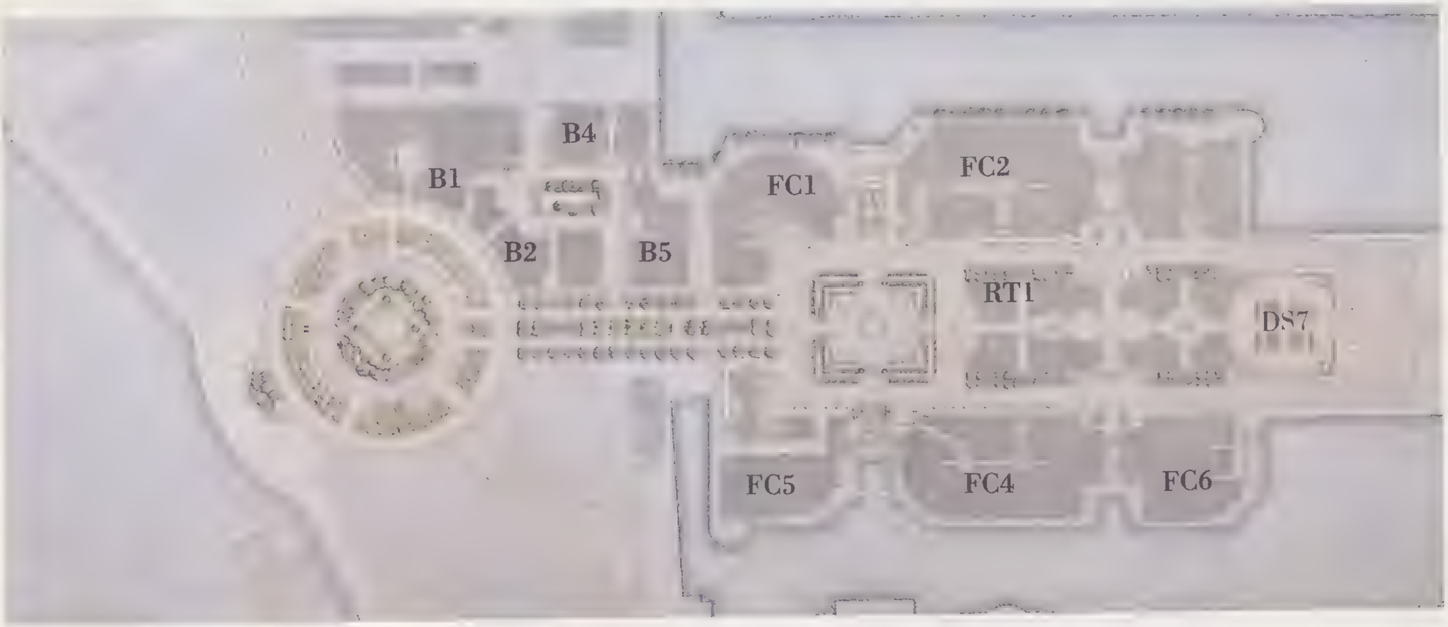
Landscape Architect: Hanna Olin

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Perspective of the complex seen from the west.





Aerial view of London: 1) Westminster; 2) Bank; 3) Limehouse; 4) Canary Wharf; 5) Blackwall Tunnel; 6) London City Airport.
Site plan of the first construction phase: building B1 and B2 by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill; buildings B4 and B5 by Aldo Rossi; building FC1 by Pei, Cobb, Freed & Partners; building FC2 by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill; building RT1, the light railway station, by Cesar Pelli; office tower DS7 by Cesar Pelli; buildings FC4 and FC6 by Kohn, Pedersen Fox Associated; building FC5 by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill.

Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millennium

*Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli**

To present Canary Wharf at this time, when the Master Plan was published a few years ago, and the final product is almost completed in its first phase, but not yet in operation, would seem to be the wrong time to write about this project: a bit late for the design phase, and a bit early for a comprehensive evaluation of the outcome of this huge project, the most important in Europe at this time.
I believe, instead, that this article is timely now, because this is a very critical moment in the physical and economic development of Europe, where Canary Wharf is not only a project in itself but also a signal, a demonstration if you will, of how design and construction will evolve in the near future. It is therefore important to understand and to confront ourselves with the complexity and the scale of the new developments.
One of the aspects to consider is the presence of the American offices in Europe, what Cesar Pelli calls "*the internationalization of the architects*".
Their presence, even if very apparent in Canary Wharf, is much more epidemic, if we can judge from the fee income of the American offices abroad, which went from 17 to 60 million dollars for the year 1989, an inerement of 250% (statistics published "Architecture", Oct. 1990, the magazine of the American Institute of Architects), in the appendix of this article there will be information about these American interventions in Europe.
Immediately after WWll, many Europeans came to America to build and to formulate new ideas for the Architectural Schools in the USA like Harvard or the Illinois Institute of Technology, people like Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, Marcel Breuer, Erich Mendelsohn, and others. Many, at that time, asked themselves why these European doctrinaire would take charge in developing this young Nation with a total transplant of European ideas and experiences. Weren't here people like Frank Lloyd Wright, Charles Eames, Louis Skidmore, Nathaniel Owings, John Merrill, Gordon Bunshaft, Bruce Goff, the "locals" in other words, who would have been more than competent to advance the American development? History confirms that these formidable minds, these personages of great importance never had the "input" they may have had (and maybe should have had) because to them were preferred those who had an "*aura* of knowledge" and the know-how.
Is it possible that this myth is re-occuring today, in the reverse, half a century later? Ten years ago only a few American offices worked in Europe and Japan, but just in the last year the American architectural offices reported an extraordinary increase in the billing abroad (from 17 to 60 million dollars in 1988-89), while the American economy enters a period of recession, the Americans are discovering the prosperous markets across the Ocean[1].
Another aspect to consider is the reality of the market place to permit the necessary business expansion of the European Economic Community, and to afford the space necessary to host those foreign corporations that will want to be represented in Europe.
This expansion may no longer take place in small scale buildings. It will not be sufficient to limit volume and density, like Leon Krier and Prince Charles advocate; there would not be enough space to accomodate the reality of the numbers of people and cars and to make reasonable infrastructures. The entire world is in expansion and in ten years the world population will double. The answer to these problems cannot be limited to the rehabilitation of the fabric of the European cities and the problem cannot be ignored by architects, even if at this moment we do not have satisfactory answers.
Another aspect to consider is the organization and the discipline necessary, both in the design and in the administration of a project to be able to guarantee, no matter what goes wrong, the completion within limits of time and pre-established budget. This is a responsibility that an American office can take, as they have demonstrated through the years.
Meeting deadlines and budget limitations have been demanded by private investors, much more so than among public institutions. In the case of Canary Wharf the total private investment will be around 8 billion dollars.
Yet another aspect, maybe at a sub-conscious level, can be illustrated by the following episode told to me by Ted Musho, an associate partner at Pei Cobb Freed Architects, who had collaborated with Henry Cobb as Consultant Architects to the studio of S.O.M., specifically with Bruce Graham in Chicago, on the first version of the Master Plan for the American developer Ware Travelstead. This group went to London to present to their British colleagues their strategy for the project. After the presentation of the Master Plan, the atmosphere in the room was not exactly friendly. Courtenay Blackmore, at the time head of the commission for the development of Lloyd's of London, underscored the ability of the American group to deliver the work, and the comment: "*we are more jealous of your commission then critical of your omissions*" finally cleared the air, and it was then possible to concentrate and talk about the merits of the Plan.
Before speaking of the two versions of the Master Plans for Canary Wharf, the first proposed by S.O.M. with the consultancy of Pei Cobb Freed, the second a modified version built by Olympia &York, when they acquired the project from the Travelstead Group, it would be better to describe the site and the program for this impressive work which remained unchanged.
Canary Wharf is a part of the Isle of Dogs, surrounded by the Thames, 4 km. East of the City of London, only recently abandoned because the port moved eastward to Tillbury.
This zone was declared an *Enterprise Zone* by Margaret Thatcher, and dedicated to the expansion of the new financial center of London.
The infrastructure built by London Docklands Development

Bruce Graham (SOM), Intermediate Master Plan, 1988: west view of the model with the towers arranged around the central square, and parking at the level of the wharf.





Plan of the five construction phases. Color coding: in yellow, phase I; in violet, phase II; in green, phase III; in pink, phase IV; in orange, phase V (total area: about 28,5 ha).

Corporation, representing the government, included the light rail, the subway extension, a ferry that connects this area with London, and a new airport, which connects London to the capital cities in Europe.
Private enterprise contributed the internal streets and 26 sites, this private investment being tenfold larger than the governmental investment. The tax advantages, established by the *Enterprise Zone*, allow for zero taxes until April 1992, a deduction of 100% of the capital invested and establish parameters to assure a cohesive architectural expression, and quality standards that will permit a simplified approval process.
The project in its totality will include 10,000,000 sq.ft. of office space, 500,000 sq.ft. of commercial space (stores, restaurants and recreation space), a 400 room hotel with banquet and convention facilities, and a garage for 6,500 cars.
The project is very complex, and the difference between the two Master Plans, the original and the one later built by Olympia &York, is mainly a conceptual difference in the use of the central space: the first version left the wharf completely public, with the buildings flanking the open space. This was done for two reasons: to terminate the axis that starts from the cupola of St. Paul's in London with a diversified public space, and to avoid dividing the central space into an eastern and western portion, because in England there are specific connotations and different attitudes toward those cardinal points.
The revised version, as built, takes some key elements like the tower and the shopping ring with the light rail, designed by Cesar Pelli, and relocates them in the central space.
The fact that the axis from St. Paul's cupola originally terminated in a public space rather then in an office building underlined a more democratic approach that stressed the importance of a collective space, rather than a corporate symbol.
However the presence of the tower can also be taken as a symbol of our collective presence in this era, a symbol of the institutional developments of the 21st century. This is exactly how Cesar Pelli sees it.
The other major difference between the two master plans was the location of the parking. In the first version parking was located on the wharf, raising the pedestrian level a few floors; in the built version the parking is underground, built in phases and the pedestrian level is at the level of the wharf itself. The project has been funded and built by Olympia &York, a developer noted for the large scale complex built in Canada (First Canadian Place, 5 million square feet completed in Toronto in 1975), and in major cities of North America (World Financial Center in New York City, 7.5 million square feet completed in 7 years in 1985), to name a few.
This company is already advertising the space for rent at Canary Wharf, offering as incentives free relocation and decoration of the space to the client's specifications.
The project is said to be 50% rented already with an

Perspective of the complex from the east.



Perspective of the Founders' Court, from the east.



opening anticipated for the beginning of 1991 at completion of phase I. Phase II, already underway, includes the participation of the architectural studio of Pei, Cobb, Freed Architects, KPF, SOM, Pelli, Foster and Gino Valle. Notwithstanding the intrinsic difficulties in the participation of many different design offices, each with its own point of view and different priorities, these difficulties have been overcome by this group by working with commitment and collaboration for the realization not only of the individual parts but also of the project in its totality.
The vitality of this construction site is only comparable to what, in my mind, would have been the reconstruction of London after the Great Fire of 1666.
The fundamental questions, with regard to this project, are about its mega-scale: with floor areas from 40,000 to 60,000 square feet each (about the total floor area of an average city building), and floor to floor heights of 16 to 18' (to accommodate the latest electronic equipment for trading floors), are the buildings, built on speculation really going to be rented? Were the developers really able to foretell the needs? Will this development devitalize the city of London and reduce it to an historic curiosity? Comprehending this new scale is a leap in credibility, where the architectural language becomes a very secondary issue.

* Delia Sala collaborated at the text.

1) It may be interesting to examine the reasons that contributed to this metamorphosis. Many European nations desire to build large scale mixed-use projects, like the American architects have been doing for decades, and have therefore become "experts". To demonstrate the variety of the "invasion" of the American architectural offices in Europe (as seen in "Architecture", October '90) we give a few examples.
Richard Meier & Partners designs in Antwerp. Belgium a mixed-use complex of offices, hotel, shops and restaurants, on the waterfront. Within the master plan area of 1.200.000, Meier is designing a 16 story tower for a major shipping corporation. The tower, circular in plan will be clad in glass and white metal panels. Construction will begin early 1991.
Murphy/Jahn Architects designs in Frankfurt. Germany, the expansion of the city's existing exhibition complex. The addition consists of an office tower with a 750,000 sq.ft exhibition pavilion. Designed to resemble a campanile, the tower, which is 825-foot-high, will be the tallest building in Europe at its completion by the end of this year.
Kohn Pedersen Fox in Frankfurt is completing a complex consisting of an office tower, a low-rise office building, a below grade parking for 600 cars, and 14 apartments around a "winter garden".
John Hejduk is designing in Groninghen, Holland, a residential clock-tower. The 16 story tower measures 30×40 feet, and has one loft/style apartment per floor. A duplex studio with skylights will crown the tower, while a small free-standing residence will stand close by.
Lawrence Halprin, in Florence, Italy, led a workshop to develop a master plan for the 70-acre site of a former FIAT manufacturing plant. There will be a park surrounded by mixed-use facilities designed by 13 different architects.
Ben Thompson and Associates, in Dublin, Ireland won an international competition for a waterfront mixed-use complex. It comprises: offices, shops, housing, a 6,000-seat arena and 300,000 sq.ft. of office space.
In Lisbon, Portugal, the Colombo will be the largest mixed-use development when completed in 1993. Designed by RTKL Associates this project includes a shopping center offices, and an hotel of 2-million sq.ft. The two office towers of 17 story each (with spectacular view of the historic center) will be connected by a rotunda and arcades which will house shops, movie theaters, restaurants, health club, amusement arena etc. In the additional 2-million sq.ft. there will be space for 6,000 cars on three levels of below grade parking.
Moore, Ruble, Yudell Architects design in Malmö, Sweden. 500 residential unit government subsidized housing project. The "villa" groups of 8 residence form semicircular green zones. It is expected to be completed by 1993.
Barcelona, Spain Vila Olimpica, has been planned by Martorell, Bohgas & Mackay while SOM has developed the public spaces for the regatta and sailing event of the 1992 summer games. Bruce Graham, of the same office, designed a tower/hotel of 45 stories with 600 rooms and 33 luxury apartaments, which will have a strong physical impact on the city. A large variety of maritime elements including a Frank Gehry's famous fish will decorate and fill the public space.
What has made this vast American participation possible in Europe?
Today's communications have been greatly simplified by the use of fax machines and computers among professionals which makes it possible to work anywhere, exchanging information via fax or computer disks. In a day's travel one can be anywhere in the world, so that what we are experiencing is a shrinking of the globe. It is in fact the experience, the know-how and the new technology that the American architectural office have to offer, together with their style which is internationally known as "American", and that so many seems to want.
"American" continues to posses a certain mystique in most parts of the globe.



Office Tower, Docklands Light Railway Station, Canary Wharf, London

Design: Cesar Pelli

Design Team Leaders: Robert Taylor, Robert Bostwick, Lisa Winkelmann, Larry Ng

Senior Designers: David Chen, Mark Shoemaker

View of the model of the office high-rise, from northwest. Photo D. Chen.

Interview with Cesar Pelli
by Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli
New Haven, Connecticut, November 2, 1990

R.A.P. The first question concerns your studio. Do you have a consistent approach to architecture that may be considered typical for the work of your office?
C.P. Yes, we do, but not in a predictable manner. In Architecture we have come to expect that a studio produces work with a highly defined set of forms, a very tightly controlled esthetical system that distinguishes the work of that individual or group. This is sometimes referred to as the signature of the architect.
We don't quite do that. I believe that our attitude is a carry over from other visual arts such as painting or sculpture were the artist exercises control only over the form that the work of art takes, thus a collection of paintings can be seen as a continuum of a private intellectual and artistic quest. Architecture is a more complex and public art where the decision of what kind of building to build and where to build it is normally made above and beyond the architect's sphere. The art of architecture, the art of the architect is to creatively respond to specific circumstances. The consistency of my studio lies in taking this response to heart and taking the basic responsibilities of the architect as the central core of our artistic production. As you see I say creative production, when responsiveness is used only as a business tool that is not architecture.
Responsiveness should be seen as a germ from which architecture will grow. I like to say that the art of architecture is more like the art of gardening than that of painting, in that the gardener cannot plant any plant in any place. The gardener has to know what plants to plant and where. There are some plants that will grow in the sun and some that will grow in the shade and it takes a lot of work before you can get any to bloom. You need to till the earth, water it, fertilize it, prune the plant, give it shape, and if you are very good the plant will cover itself with blossoms and like any gardener knows, you don't expect to get the same type of flower from any plant you grow. If you work with a rose bush it will give you roses, a peach tree will give you peach blossoms, and an oak will give you no blooms at all, but it will give you something else.
Architecture is very much like that: each problem has its own potential, its own qualities, and the art of architecture, to me, comes in that complex mixture of responding to external possibilities and also contributing your own creative innovations, and both are necessary.
I talked about responsiveness, but one cannot only just respond, like some very extreme contextualist may ask, because then the work is born dead. There has to be an act of creation, an act of innovation otherwise it is not art. If we build our cities without art in them, our cities will quickly become boring, inhumane places. The work of architecture is given life by this tension between internal vision and

external response, and depending where one builds one may have more of one than the other. In the Carnegie Hall Tower, an addition/expansion to Carnegie Hall in New York, the need to respond to that building was dominant; when I did a building in Los Angeles, the Pacific Design Center, the contextual reference to the tacky buildings that covered the area like a blanket was not something that could inform a project this large, so that the tilt was extreme in the other direction. What was required there was an act of invention that added a focus where one was needed, that created a place where there was none.

Other projects fall somewhere between those two. In the World Financial Center in Battery Park in New York City, the primary concern was making a building that would relate correctly to what was there. I can put this in another way: I believe that when one builds in an urban context one is not just building a building but, more importantly, one is designing a piece of a city. I also believe that the greatest work of art that a culture can produce is a great city.

When you think of some of the great cities of the world like Venice or Paris, it is clear that the totality of the city is vastly more important than any single work of architecture: Paris is more important than Notre Dame, and all of Paris is more important than the Mona Lisa at the Louvre.

If you consider that what you are building is a piece of a city then the judgment should be: what has this piece done to the total, has it made it better or worse? And as any artist knows, when you are working on a piece of a larger work sometimes you need more background and sometimes you need an exclamation because that is what the whole requires. The important thing is the contributions that the work of architecture makes to this work of art. The issue is very complex and difficult and an architect (as a responsible agent) has to make the call: some may believe that the occasion calls for blending with the background, some may believe that the very same occasion calls for an expansive gesture. The Guggenheim Museum was a very controversial project when proposed, a great exclamation point on 5th Avenue across from Central Park, but what an appropriate and wonderful exclamation point! Today everybody would consider it a great loss if that building were to be destroyed, say, in a fire. It was not a contextual response, but it was a very important and a very appropriate civic response, in the sense that it makes Fifth Avenue, and New York, better; but if you had an exclamation point in each one of those blocks on 5th Avenue it would be a disaster.

I happen to believe that the Lloyds of London is quite wonderful but in my mind, Richard Rogers has made it impossible for any other architect to design another building within a ten blocks radius that is at all expansive. He has used up all the possibilities of contrast for that area. Beautifully done, but that is as much as you can do, that is an exceptional building not a "traditional" building I am very interested in "traditional" buildings but occasionally, very occasionally one can, or perhaps must, do an exceptional building.

R.A.P. When you have so many architects working together on a project, who is going to decide which one of them has the exclamation point? It appears to me that you get them all the time! Even in the project of Canary Wharf.

C.P. The Canary Wharf project, that was a very special circumstance. I was called in after not only the master plan but also the three dimensional urban design form had been decided upon. Let me give you a short history, as I know it. There was an original scheme which was done by a previous owner/developer, Ware Travelstead, designers S.O.M. and I.M. Pei. That scheme had various levels of parking and created an artificial ground floor several levels up above the parking. When Olympia &York bought the project the first thing they did was to change the basic assumption and decided to build on the ground, with parking below grade, in an incremental manner. They retained SOM working with Olympia &York's own planning group. They reviewed the master plan, the general layout is similar to the original one, but changed the location of some key elements in the project, and put the buildings on the ground. The plan is a very elongated piece of ground, Canary Wharf, between two bodies of water, consists of a long narrow belt of medium height buildings of 14 stories or so and in the center of this belt there is also an elongated block with a light rail station, a shopping complex, and one very tall office tower.

I was asked by Olympia &York to design that central isle including the tower. When we were engaged the floor plate and the height of the tower had already been determined. The floor plate and the bulk were the result of agreements with the Docklands Commission and the requirements of the market as interpreted by Olympia &York. The height of the tower was the maximum height allowed by a new airport that was being built in the Docklands; London Airport just east of our project.

The building envelopes were givens of the master plan. We were engaged to give some form, termination and cladding: one of the most limited commissions I have had. The reason why I thought it was a good commission (and I still do, I have never changed my mind on that) is because Canary Wharf is a very worthwhile project: London is expected to become the financial capital of Europe, one of three major financial capitals in the world, together with New York and Tokyo. And so where should this expansion be developed? If it continued to happen in the old city, London, as we know it, would be quickly destroyed. To me the only good solution was a major financial center just outside of London. This was not a novel response, the French did it in "La Defense" that made it possible not to allow large buildings within the confine of old Paris.

So this was a worthwhile project, and I was happy to be part of it. Also I believe that it is important for architects to learn to play within the limits of guidelines that are set up for the benefit of the whole, and it is not for each architect to start altering those guidelines. When that has happened, in my experience, you end up with a hodgepodge. It is important to remember that the role of the architect varies from

circumstance to circumstance and that when one is chosen to build a piece of a project one has to try very hard to make that piece support the intention of the original design. Also, remember that we had other elements to design there, such as the light rail station where we were given great latitude and support.

R.A.P. London is not New York. Canary Wharf assumes a configuration of an urban entity complete in itself and with a very striking identity: how did the designers approach the uniqueness of this project?
How did the designers confront the uniqueness of this European city?

C.P. In terms of the character of the buildings, by the time we were engaged, SOM, Pei, and KPF had been working for some time and they had agreed to be sympathetic, not imitating but sympathetic to the architecture of Victorian and Edwardian London. This was to be achieved by choosing stone of related color to Portland and York stone, using a composition strategy of windows, single windows organized vertically rather than glass walls or ribbon windows, having columns at the base giving a strong pedestrian feeling to the place, and landscaping (done by Laurie Olin) sympathetic to the tradition of London's squares.
Now this is O.K. for the low buildings, but I would see no sense in an Edwardian skyscraper. It would be a contradiction in terms: there are no Edwardian or Victorian skyscrapers. The skyscraper is a form of modern life, only possible with advanced technology, so I thought that the skyscraper has to reflect our times. The central tower, being the one element that is not part of the tight-knit belt of buildings, should be the exception. That is why I thought that it should be appropriate to clad the tower in stainless steel. More than that, there was the question: "If one is going to design a skyscraper for Europe, what form should that skyscraper take?" my conclusion was that it would be inappropriate to design an elaborate skyscraper because the elaborations have developed in United States through many successive generations of skyscrapers buildings, so that by now, we are several generations from the earliest skyscraper and the elaborations are, even if I believe them to be universal, they are really American. I concluded that given the size of the building I should design a skyscraper that was as basic as possible, not elaborated, but an iconic paradigmatic form, and to me the simplest, purest skyscraper is a square prism ending with a pyramidal top, the traditional form of the obelisk, which is the most archetypal way of creating a vertical architectural sign. If the prism does not terminate with a form having a physical or implicit point, it does not have a center to connect it to the center of the universe. It is important for a tall structure to have a mythical content for it to be a trascendental form, and not remain simply a utilitarian object with no valid role in the skyline.
I was searching for the essence of the skyscraper. I am referring to the archetypal form and not to the historic





Views of the model of the light railway station from west and southeast. Photos D. Chen.

development of the skyscraper, which in its origins would have been a building of 10 to 14 stories with a heavy cornice like Louis Sullivan may have done, which was not a skyscraper in todays term, because even the meaning of the word has changed radically.

Cladding the tower in stainless steel appealed to me for three reasons, and all of them combined made it irresistible: first of all because I thought that stainless steel will look beautiful in the London light, which is not an easy light for tall buildings. I thought that the gleam of the stainless steel would make it beautiful, it would make this heavy building soft and gentle against a light gray sky.

The other appeal is because stainless steel is a material that we associate with our advanced modern technology, and this is a building that looks to the future. All of Canary Wharf is an extraordinary demonstration of faith in the future of London. The Reichman family and bankers and investors have committed billions of dollars in the continued vitality of London. This faith in the future has to be acknowledged: also we have to acknowledge that this structure will be in its youth when the third millennium starts. This is a building for the 21st century.

The third reason for me to use stainless steel was to tip my hat to my British colleagues Rogers and Foster, who have made so much of the use of stainless steel. I do not use this material as they do, this is not trying to be a hight-tech building, it is still a Cesar Pelli building, a building that responds to available technology and to its functional and economic considerations. I wanted to separate this building from United States skyscraper, and never in America has a skyscraper been built in stainless steel. Tall buildings yes, but never a skyscraper and it is befitting that the first skyscraper ever built in stainless steel is in London.

R.A.P. Thank you, Cesar. This is a very illuminating answer, it makes me part of your thinking process. This brings me to another question: I would be interested to hear about the approval process.

C.P. Our work was approved by Olympia &York, which means Paul Reichman. We have been working with them since 1980, when we were invited to participate in the competition of the World Financial Center in New York. I have great respect for him and for his mind, and the key approvals were his, backed by his team. The Governmental approvals were handled partly by my team and partly by the Olympia &York team. Now this is an Enterprise Zone created by Margaret Thatcher to simplify approval processes. If we worked within the guidelines which had already been agreed upon by the Docklands Development Corporation, then the approval process was practically automatic. Coordination with other architects was in the hands of Olympia &York design team.

R.A.P You never had all the architects involved in the project in one room?

C.P. Oh yes, when we first started, as soon as we were hired we had a long and productive session with a large scale model and with all the other architects we discussed planning issues, architectural strategies, down to materials and colors, and we decided on a number of guiding elements like heights of water lines, change of colors and setbacks. We discussed if we should have arcades on the perimeter buildings or in the central buildings, and the choices of stones and colors. We could not all choose the same stone because if we all chose the same material there would not be a large enough quarry to supply us in time.

R.A.P. My other question is about the architectural language: traditional versus modernist.

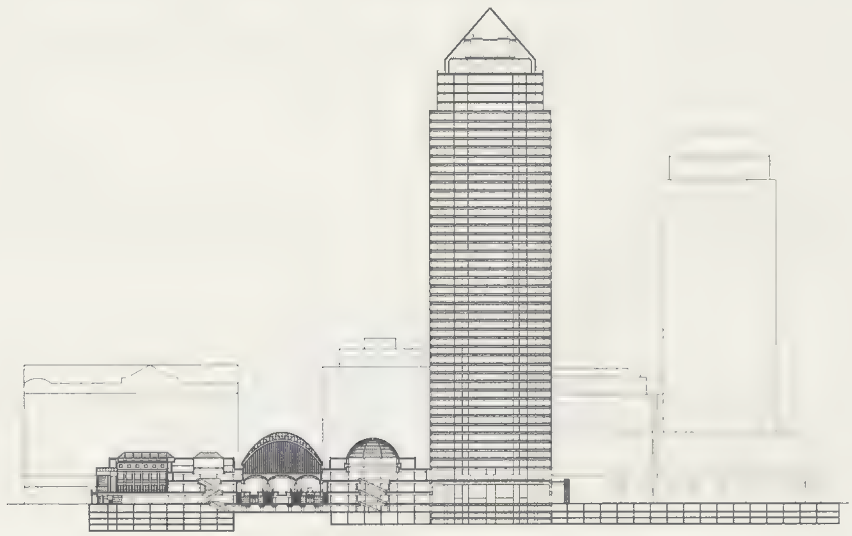
C.P. This is an interesting question, an issue that interests me and affects all of my work, but, as you may have already guessed from my earlier answers, I believe that to be a red herring because there is no way that you can say buildings should be only modernistic, meaning with *International Style* forms, or that they have to be traditionalist meaning in the classical style. There are occasions where even a very traditional building (that I cannot do, and have to pass to another architect), is appropriate and there are occasions where only a crisp modern building will do the job. What is important to notice is that we architects seem to think in terms of schools or tendencies and that each building has to fit in those categories. This is not right. We have recognized that buildings have to fit in the physical context of other existing buildings and in the history, traditions, lore, and culture of each place. If you accept that the controlling context is the specific one of time and place, then the context of a school, or of my own projects in an other place in the world, is a very secondary one.

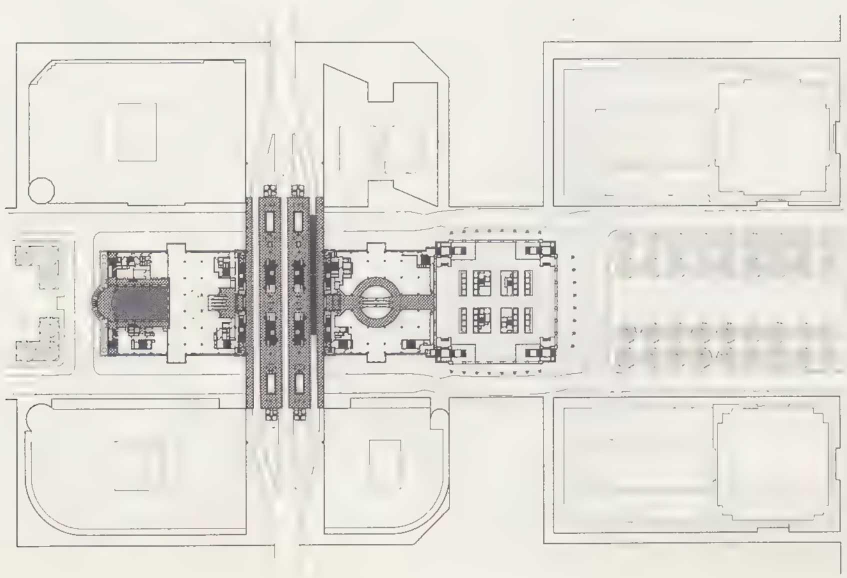
R.A.P. As you said before with the example of the gardener you believe that one has to choose from a vast vocabulary and take what is appropriate.

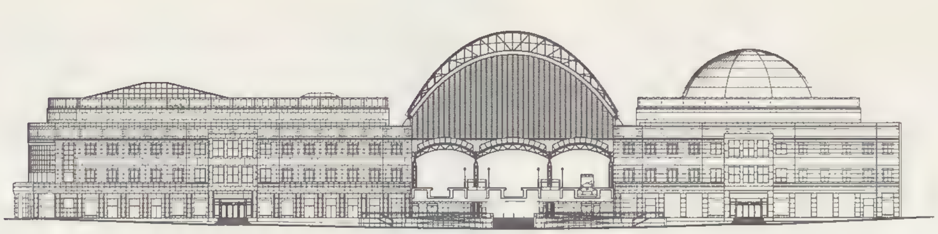
C.P. I would rephrase it saying that one must develop a large vocabulary to be able to have appropriate responses. To expand that: I am a modern architect and without ceasing to be one, I can use traditional attitudes. There are a few differences here; however, I cannot use key-stones or the classical orders because those are charged symbols that belong to a language that is dead, and to a technology that no longer exists. I believe it is essential that the forms and the aesthetical system that we use be in line with the technology that is available, but it is possible to use different technologies, different aesthetical systems and still be sympathetic to neighboring traditional buildings. You can see this in every city in Europe, you see buildings that belong to different historic periods but that are very sympathetic to each other. Sometimes this argument has been used by some modern architects who think that every form can go next to any other form and this doesn't work. Certain forms and materials do not go with certain other forms and materials. If I am building at Yale, it does not mean that I have to build in a collegiate Gothic style, but it does mean that I have to respect parameters of scale, color and proportions that the other buildings have established, so that the whole remains harmonious, unless I was given a commission where I could create the great exception.

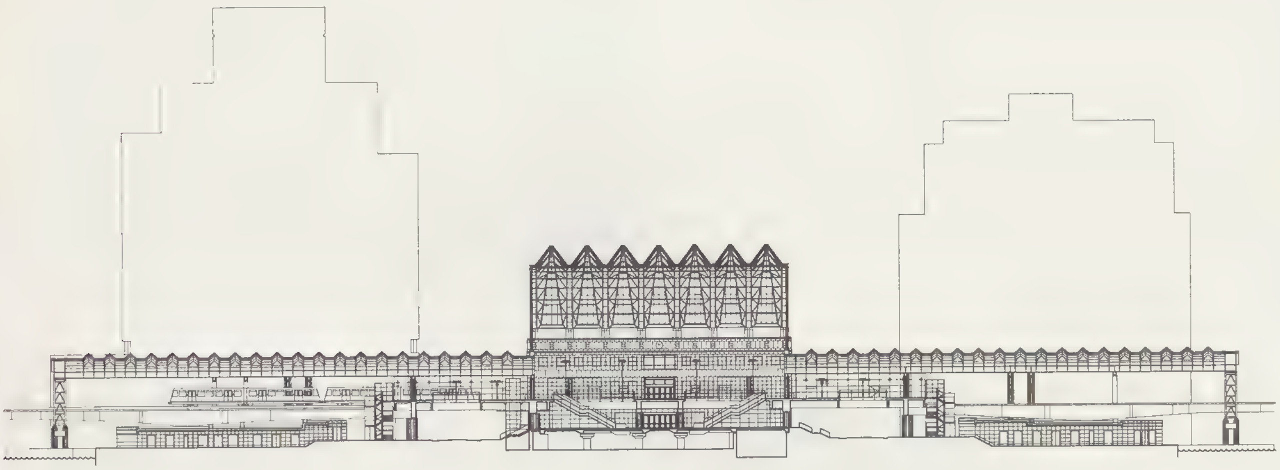
Elevation from south, transverse section and first floor plan of the office tower and the light railway station.

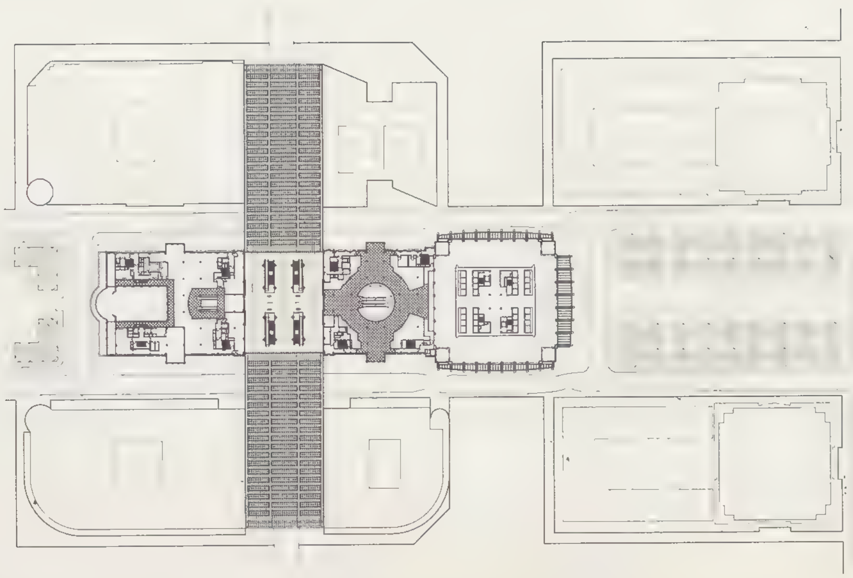












R.A.P. I understand completely what you are saying. Is there anything else that you want to add?
C.P. Yes, when we were talking earlier you asked me to comment on the video tape of Prince Charles. There was a little piece with me. I don't pretend to have been misquoted; however, there was half an hour of conversation that was then condensed in a couple of minutes, and also he did something quite "un-princely" in my mind. I had gone to England for the unveiling of the project, and then we were asked if we could have a private presentation for Prince Charles. So Mr. Paul Reichman and myself went there one evening and the Prince showed up with his entourage and a television crew. I asked what this T.V. crew was about and I was told that the video was for the Prince's private archives. No one ever said it was intended for public broadcasting. I probably would have done nothing different but it would have been nice to know.
At one point the Prince asked: "should the building be so big?" I looked to Paul Reichman, because the size of the tower had been pre-established by Olympia &York, but he did not answer, so I felt I should, and that was a great mistake because Prince Charles took it as an architectural decision. During the conversation it came out that he is very concerned about the height of buildings, he seems to believe that all tall buildings are wrong. He said that "*I would go mad if I had to work in a place like that*" meaning a building which he had to go to work in an elevator everyday. It is amusing because you will notice that in his book and through the video he talks about the fact that architects do not give people what they want. What is interesting is that when a tall building is leased people strongly prefer the top floors and they are willing to pay more for the higher floors. This is true everywhere: in New York, Tokyo or Singapore. It is a basic and profound human aspiration. Perhaps we are trying to reconquer heights past, since the fall of man. This desire to be up, the sense of pride to build something very high, reflects increadibly deep human emotions. I would have liked for the tower to be taller and the floors smaller; I like my towers tall and slender. But the floor needs to be large enough because of the number of employees the modern financial institutions need. I remember that American Express could have been in a much smaller building, for executives only, in Manhattan and they could have put the other employees in a cheaper structure in New Jersey, but they wanted a sense of community, for all to be together in the same building.
R.A.P. What do you think of the idea of limiting the height of the new construction, say to the height of St. Paul's dome in London?
C.P. Yes, I support that. I think that would be correct for a certain radius around St. Paul's (I do not know how big a radius, half a mile?) although in today's democracy to respect the height of such a church is something that one should at least question.
This great Anglican church is also a symbol of royal power, and I can see why the Prince may have trouble thinking that an employee, a common secretary will be able to look down on this building. After all England is still a monarchy. If I forget what St. Paul's means and I look at it as one good piece of architecture then I do agree it is correct that it should be the tallest point in its context.
R.A.P. My last question is about the invasion of the American firms in Europe. What do you think about that?
C.P. There are many European and Japanese architects working in United States: Mario Botta, Fumihico Maki, Arata Isozaki, James Stirling, Renzo Piano, Aldo Rossi are all designing or have designed important buildings here. Architects have always done work any place within a day's travel, and today you can reach the world in a day's travel. The reason why there are so many American architects working in Europe now is because there are suddenly many larger scale projects with strong economic determinants. I know it is difficult to find good architects in Europe who are ready to work with tight constraints of time and budgets and give assurances that they will meet schedules and budgets in an expectable manner. There is a great deal of experience in America about doing this and it is this expertise that developers and clients are taking advantage of. It is not the design skill alone: there are many excellent European architects, but the invasion has been by architects like SOM and KPF who are ready to set up new offices with high administrative skills and who can deliver; deliver, is the key. We are not within this group; we can deliver but the only office I have is this one, and we may do a project in Europe but it would be designed here by me and with great care. The know-how is in America right now but this will be learned. The invasion, I think, will be short lived but the internationalization will remain.

Elevation from south, longitudinal section of the light railway station, second floor station plan and office high-rise plan.

Building FC1
Canary Wharf, London

Pei Cobb Freed & Partners
Partner in charge: Henry Cobb

Associate partner: Theodore J. Musho



CSFB
GLENSTREET CORPORATION N.V.

Interview with Henry Cobb
of Pei Cobb Freed & Partners
Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli
New York, November 10, 1990

R.A.P. What I would like to concentrate on in this interview, since you were one of the participants from the very beginning, is: how is Canary Wharf a British project?
H.C. We were hired by the Travelstead/First Boston Group as Consultant Architects to the office of S.O.M. where Bruce Graham had been working for some time on the Master Plan of Canary Wharf. We were asked to provide another voice, our opinion. The executive role was in the beginning and remained always in the hands of S.O.M. who made all the drawings and provided all the documentation for the Master Plan. At the time when Olympia &York purchased the project from the Travelstead Group our role as consultants ceased, and we were hired to design an office building for the Travelstead/First Boston Group, as you know. This clarification does not imply a judgment on my part with regard to the Master Plans, I will not be judgmental of the project as a totality, but only make observations on the opportunity this job offered.
The docks development in the 1800's was a project just as impressive as Canary Wharf may be today.
Major docks and warehouses were built on the Isle of Dogs to expand British trade and to accomplish this a superb work of engineering was done, involving excavations of artificial basins and locks, to allow ships to load and unload unaffected by the tides of the Thames.
The buildings built were tough, strong, and utilitarian, the largest and the longest in the world; I may be slightly inaccurate but I believe that they were 3,000 feet long. The scale was enormous, no one had experienced such scale before, but British trade required a new scale of development and British responsiveness to commerce provided for it in a position convenient to London, but removed, since the scale of the enterprise did not fit into the city.
British growth is very different from the growth of other European cities where the expansions may have been promoted by a Pope or a Monarch for many reasons, other than commerce. Rosaria, you will see that this growth is driven by commerce, and not by autocratic decisions. Do you know that the monarch needs permission to enter the city of London?
It is very interesting to understand why Christopher Wren's proposal of a radial city stemming from St. Paul's, a grand plan like so many other cities in Europe, was not executed. The sense of ownership was so strong, on the part of each individual owner, that they would not give up the land even if the buildings on it were burned down. The entrepreneurial force is stronger than any other external force in London.
R.A.P. I am beginning to understand why it is so important, in your mind, that I learn the history, because it repeats itself, doesn't it?
H.C. Not exactly: it is important because of the direct analogy between the extraordinary size of the original docks, and the extraordinary size of the new needs which must be close to, but outside of the central city.
The timing of this new need, to develop London as a financial center, is very interesting, one can think of the Isle of Dogs as a site which has been used over the centuries, fulfilling the need of London's expansion, from the 1800's when the docklands were developed to propel England as the center of maritime trade, and not abandoned until very recently, when the port moved eastward to Tillbury close to the Thames estuary, and the docklands fell into disuse. This area was heavily bombed in WWII and a terrible blight was left in its wake.
I see the development of Canary Wharf enmeshed in history, impossible to be taken away from its context and its past. The exciting thing is the notion that a large scale development, reinterpreted in the late 20th century, as it had been in the beginning of the 19th century, gives us the same questions and opportunities: London had a desire to assert itself as the center of world trading by ship then, and it has a desire to enter the European theater as a center of finance today, becoming together with New York and Tokyo one of the three financial capitals of the world.
The question then is, in what way and how successful has this development been?
How have the opportunities been exploited? The scale of this project is incredible, how do you approach criticism of a 70 acres project with 10,000,000 square feet? it is unthinkable.
In a project like this you cannot just evaluate the architecture.
R.A.P. Harry would you please say something about the building that you are building there?
H.C. I will say very little, I'd rather not talk about the building now. The opinion that I hold most strongly is that the assessment of this project has to come after the buildings are in operation. What I will say is that the buildings of the 19th century were tough, utilitarian, handsome with an absence of superfluity, so I believe that the proper architectural response is a building that responds to the need in a plain speaking way.
My approach was appropriate to Canary Wharf and it is plain talk, one of the most simple buildings there.

Elevation from south.



Buildings FC4 and FC6, Canary Wharf, London

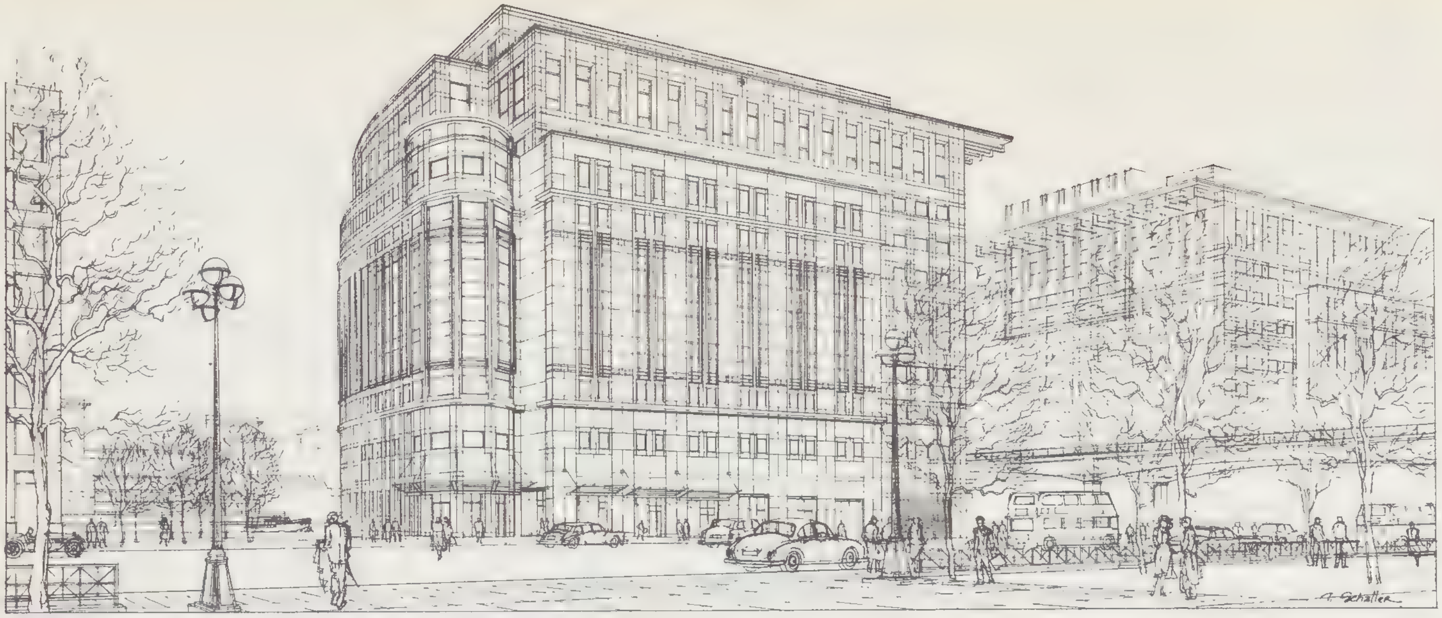
Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates
David Leventhal

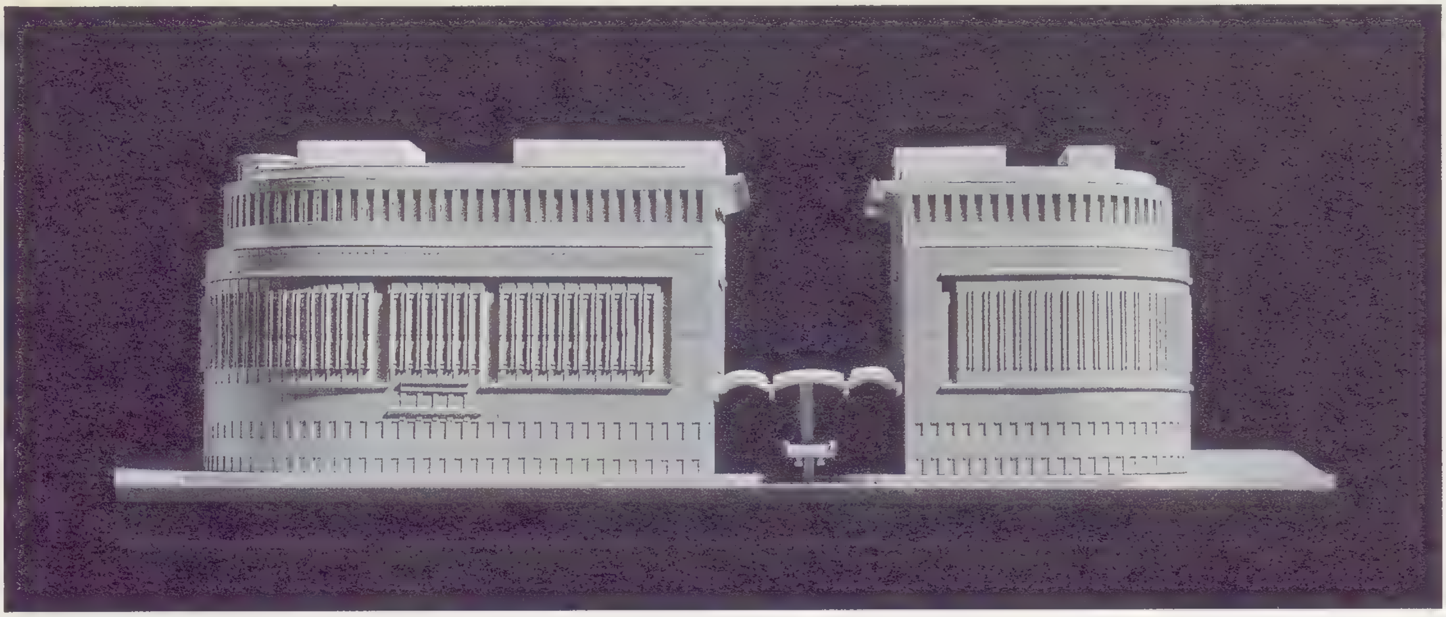
William Schweber (FC4), Michael Green (FC6)

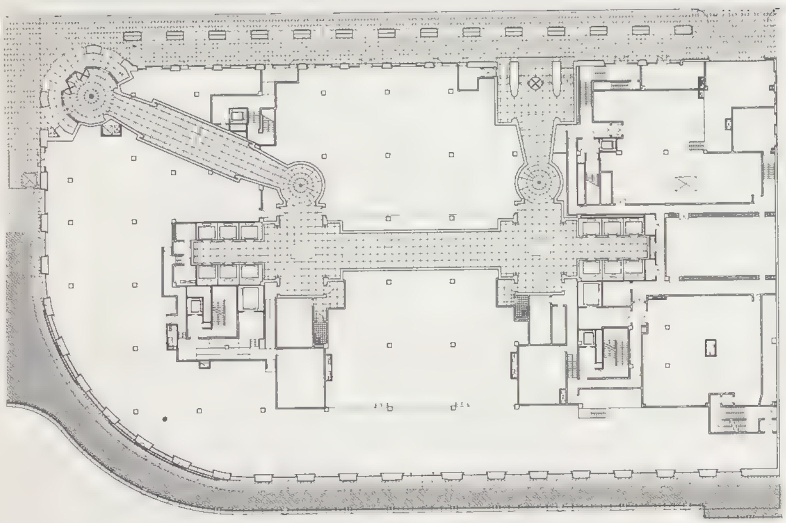
View of the model of building FC4, from northwest.
Photo J. Pottle.

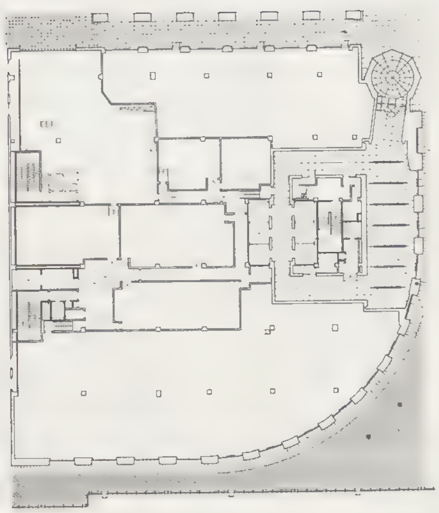
Interview with William Schweber and Michael Green, of Kohn, Pedersen, Fox Associates*
by Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli
New York, November 16, 1990

R.A.P. What is most impressive about Canary Wharf?
KPF (W.S.) The site was extensively destroyed by bombardments during WWII and that destruction, along with a change in the shipping industry, is what created the empty site there. Canary Wharf (and other dockings areas) was left derelict for many years, so it was available, and together with the fact that it was in economic dire straights and it was in proximity of London it attracted the attention of the planners in the 70's. The site itself is one of the most impressive things at Canary Wharf.
R.A.P. Do you think this to be an American project? If not, why there are so many American architects involved?
KPF (W.S.) I think that we should call this a North-American project because the owner is Canadian and Olympia &York is Canadian money and I believe that the reasons for the American architects is that this is Olympia &York's first project in London, and given the many variables of working in a new place they probably kept the constants they could: namely the American consultants with whom they had worked before. As they have more experience with the local professionals they have started to commission more of them.
KPF (M.G.) The site was there and available to all, so an interesting question may be why the opportunity was not taken by a British developer?
R.A.P. Did the buildings change very much since you started the project? They look rather classic and historicist to me in the built version.
KPF (W.S.) I was not present at the very beginning, but I believe the buildings have evolved along the same lines, the roofs have changed somewhat, they have been simplified. The buildings had to follow certain guidelines imposed on the project by the Docklands Corporation: given volumes, height and floor size, certain setbacks, and certain bandings at given heights to tie the buildings together.
KPF (M.G.) In fact the idea of Olympia &York was to allow each architect the freedom within the guidelines, so as not to produce uniformity and not have it all seem to be done by one person.
KPF (W.S.) We were given the opportunity to go in any direction we felt was appropriate: in fact the selection of the marble color changed drastically, it went to a very cool light gray marble and it had been a warm sand color.
KPF (M.G.) What Bill Pedersen said, at a press release presentation with Adrian Smith of SOM, where each talked about his approach, Bill talked about his esthetic, in terms of the scale, relating it to the needs of modern investment banking technology. This is only possible when building anew in this bigger scale, accepting the facts that the floor to floor heights are so much greater than what we are used to see in classical architecture.





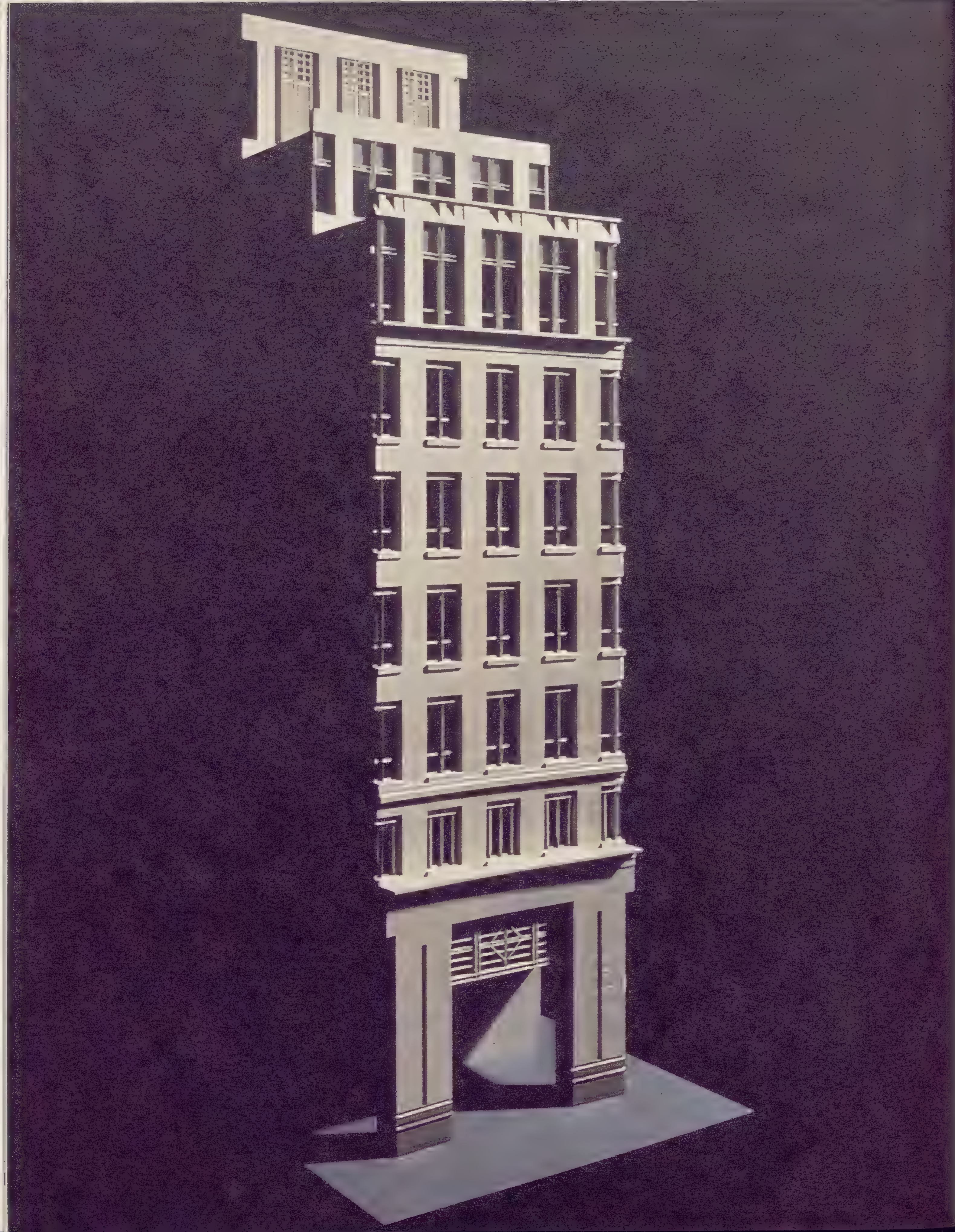




KPF (W.S.) We made a very strong distinction between the two facades of our buildings: the one on the inside much flatter than the one on the water side.
R.A.P. If you did not have very many limitations except floor size, (your building is about 60,000 sq.ft.) and height, how did you motivate your choice of language?
KPF (W.S.) At the time that this project came along there was an awakening of interest in the language of "modernism", as opposed to some of the projects that had been done here just before this one, a conscious attempt to use a language less dependent on classical references and devices and start looking again at forms and design ideas that were more 20th century. This streamlining, sweeping effect was something new that we were introducing.
KPF (M.G.) These buildings are quite different from the other projects that we have in the office in that these are much more horizontal. One of the design determinants here is that the light rail line passes between them, and we had the opportunity to build on both sides of the tracks to suggest a gateway, matching the materials and basic shapes of the two parts and create a continuity, reinforced with overhanging trellesis at the top of the building, which covers the rail.
KPF (W.S.) Some of the on-going concerns of the office which are still present here have to do with the tripart division into a base, a middle, and a top, which is very characteristic of much of our work, and also the interval between walls that are very solid with small punched opening and large expanses of glass and metal.
R.A.P. How would you define then your concerns for architectural language? Do you think that the expression of these buildings responds more to London or to a constant of your office?
KPF (W.S.) I don't think there is anything here particularly American or English or of any specific country. I think the *International Style*, which is something that we have been looking at more and more at this time in the office, is a style that is appropriate in any 20th century democracy. I don't think that this project would be inappropriate in United States, given the same context, or that it would be inappropriate in some other parts of Europe. I don't think that the intent was to be specifically English: I don't know what that means, if it means anything at this point. It has to respond primarily to its use as an office building for a large scale financial institution, and to provide as amenable an environment as it can; given the enormous size 160'×300' (what you don't see is an atrium inside, we will give you the slide.) We are responsible for the building lobby, the elevators and the mechanical systems on each floor and the enclosure, of course. The interior space awaits the tenants to be finished.
R.A.P. Is there something that I did not ask you about this project that you think that our European colleagues should know?
KPF (W.S.) The environment around the project will be reminiscent of the squares of London, in terms of material for paving, red asphalt like in front of Westminster, street lights and benches, derived much more litterally from the waterfront *promenade*: with shops, retail activities and entertainment, the place will stay lively even after working hours.
R.A.P. Does it worry you that Canary Wharf may drain London's resources and leave it with many empty office buildings?
KPF (W.S.) The nature of the office space of Canary Wharf is very different than what exists in the City; I believe that there is a vast difference among different tenants' needs. The buildings here will attract institutions that need huge, uninterrupted floor space. However this development permits London to compete with other cities in Europe, like Paris or Frankfurt, for the supremacy in the financial market. If London did not have this development to offer the financial center of Europre, maybe, would not be here.

* W.S., Project manager of FC4
M.G., Project manager of FC6

Northwest prospective of building FC6, view of the model from the south and the ground floor plans of building FC4 to the left and FC6 to the right. Photo J. Pottle.



Buildings B1, B2, FC2 and Morgan Stanley European Headquarters (FC5), Canary Wharf, London

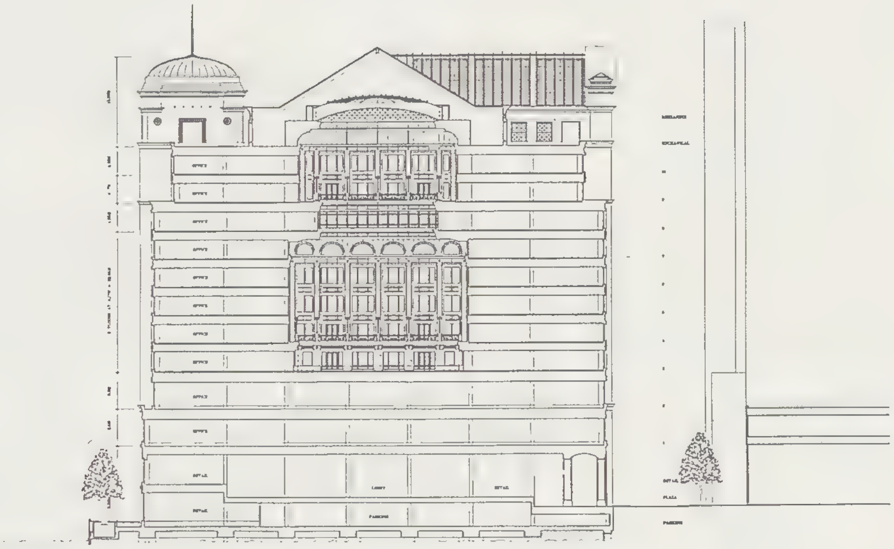
Skidmore Owings & Merrill
Design partners: Robert Turner (B1 and infrastructures); David Childs (B2); Adrian Smith (FC2); Bruce Graham (FC5)

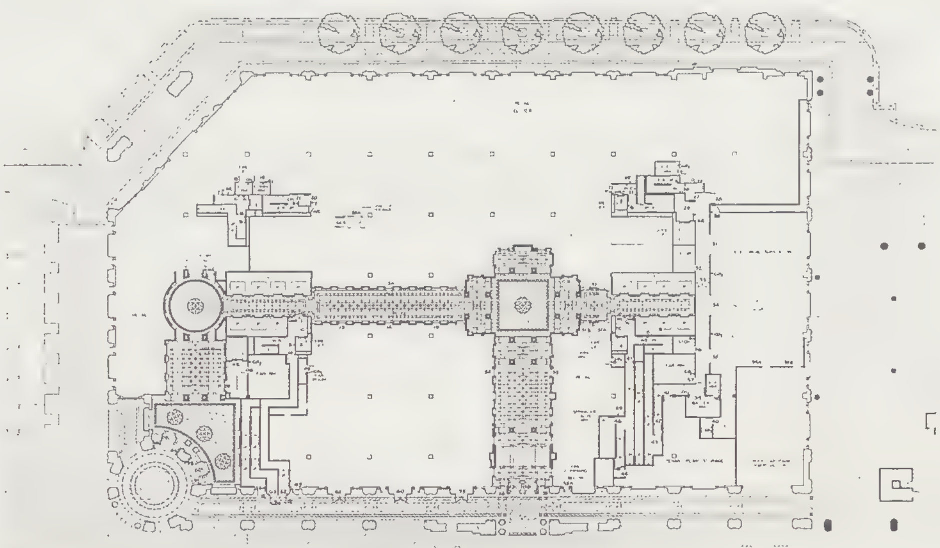
Detailed model of the façade of building B2.

Buildings B1, B2, FC2 and FC5
Skidmore, Owings & Merrill

The B1 and B2 buildings occupy a strategic site on the north-eastern edge of Westferry Circus, the tree-lined circular open space that celebrates the arrival to Canary Wharf from the west. The site is bounded to the north by Cannon Street, with its historic workshop building, and to the east by Columbus Courtyard and its distinctive buildings forming a sequence of public spaces leading to the waterfront and Cabot Square. In terms of massing, use of materials and architectural treatment the design of B1 and B2 responds to this significant urban location by reinforcing the continuity of the circus edge with a gently curved facade that embraces the open space and form a strong visual axis towards the Thames. The design is broadly classical in composition with its expression of base, middle and crown but its use of materials and articulation is contemporary in its varied response to the surrounding context. Importantly, the two separate buildings, with their own entrances off Westferry Circus, have been treated as a single formal entity along the southern facade. The continuity on the Circus is expressed by the use of a uniform material and massing along the entire frontage and the creation of a double-height arcade that follows the alignment of the building edge establishing a pedestrian route along the Circus leading to the eastern edge of Westferry Road. The buildings establish a series of horizontal datum lines along the southern frontage to emphasize the linearity of the design: a cornice line above the arcade with smaller windows at second floor levels, and a series of set-backs at sixth floor level, seventh floor level and at roof level. The vertical emphasis of the windows, with their metal mullions, decorative head-pieces and projecting sills, recalls the proportion of Georgian buildings and establishes a dialogue with the horizontality of the facade. On the northern facade, the different volumes are expressed more freely, with a large glazed facade marking the upper levels of the top-lit entrance atrium to Building I, and a chequer-board granite and stone facade for the rear elevation of Building II forging an architectural relatioship to its neighbours to the east. The architectural character of the FC-2 office building is, in part, determined by the development guidelines set forth in the master plan for Canary Wharf. In addition, FC-2 derives its image through an interpretive process of the concept of collective memory, recalling the spirit, human scale and texture of the traditional buildings of London. FC-2 does not literally refer to any particular building, architect, style or historical period. It attempts to capture a regional essence without being exactly like any particular part. It proposes to reintroduce the human scale and detail which has been lost in many new developments of today. FC-2 is a technologically innovative office building serving up-to-date needs without sacrificing the unique character of London. The memory of London arcades, for example, is present in the ground-floor loggia.







The wood-framed storefronts which incorporate projecting bay windows with rounded corners, are surmounted by decorative railings. The scale of the two-story loggia is mediated by a secondary "ceiling" of custom lamps suspended from vaulted soffits which recall the intimate human scale as well as the imagery of the arcades. Here, however, the arcade becomes an open loggia, lined with shops and entryways on only one side. The materials used on the building, in a like manner, evoke the memory of the scale and texture of London architecture. The precast concrete matching the Portland limestone base and buff-coloured brick recalls the stone facades of public edifices and the London common brick of traditional structures. The precast concrete window frames match the base and allude to the carved stone architraves of traditional facades. However, in an effort to reduce the overall scale of the building, the windows extend to two stories. The precast ornamental spandrel panels echo traditional Celtic motifs originally carved from stone. The overall scale and texture of FC-2 embodies the memory of the facades of London but is creative and innovative in its interpretation. Large floor plates, from 62,000 to 70,000 square feet, necessitate the twin-core configuration which allows the scale of the building to be broken down further using vertical elements with individual identities to mark points of entry. This has the additional advantage of providing separate entrances for two major tenants. The corner entrance rises in a turret, marking the corner of Founders' Court.

Morgan Stanley European Headquarters (FC5)
The Morgan Stanley European Headquarters is located along Heron Quay, at the entry to Founder's Court, one of a sequence of linked landscaped open spaces which add to the urban character of Canary Wharf, it is conveniently located near the new Dockland Light Railway station at the heart of the development, which provides rail connections to both the City and Greenwich. Additional access is provided by new roadways as well as ferry service upon the River Thames. The architectural character of the Headquarters derives its image from the designer's collective memory, recalling the spirit of traditional building in London. The overall feeling of the new building is consistent with the tradition of the industrial buildings that once occupied the site. It forthrightly expresses its structural frame, with large infill panels of glass, much like traditional wharf buildings. But Morgan Stanley does not literally refer to any particular building, style, or historical period. It proposes, instead, to reintroduce the craftsmanship, detail, and human scale that has been lost in many of the modern office buildings in London. Thus, the frame of the building is clad with rich materials. Portland Stone is used at the base to recall the overall texture of historic London commercial and civic buildings. An articulated granite cladding is used for the upper portion of the building, recalling the rich red brick of Georgian London. Marble lobbies with bronze accents carry the richness of the exterior materials inside the building.



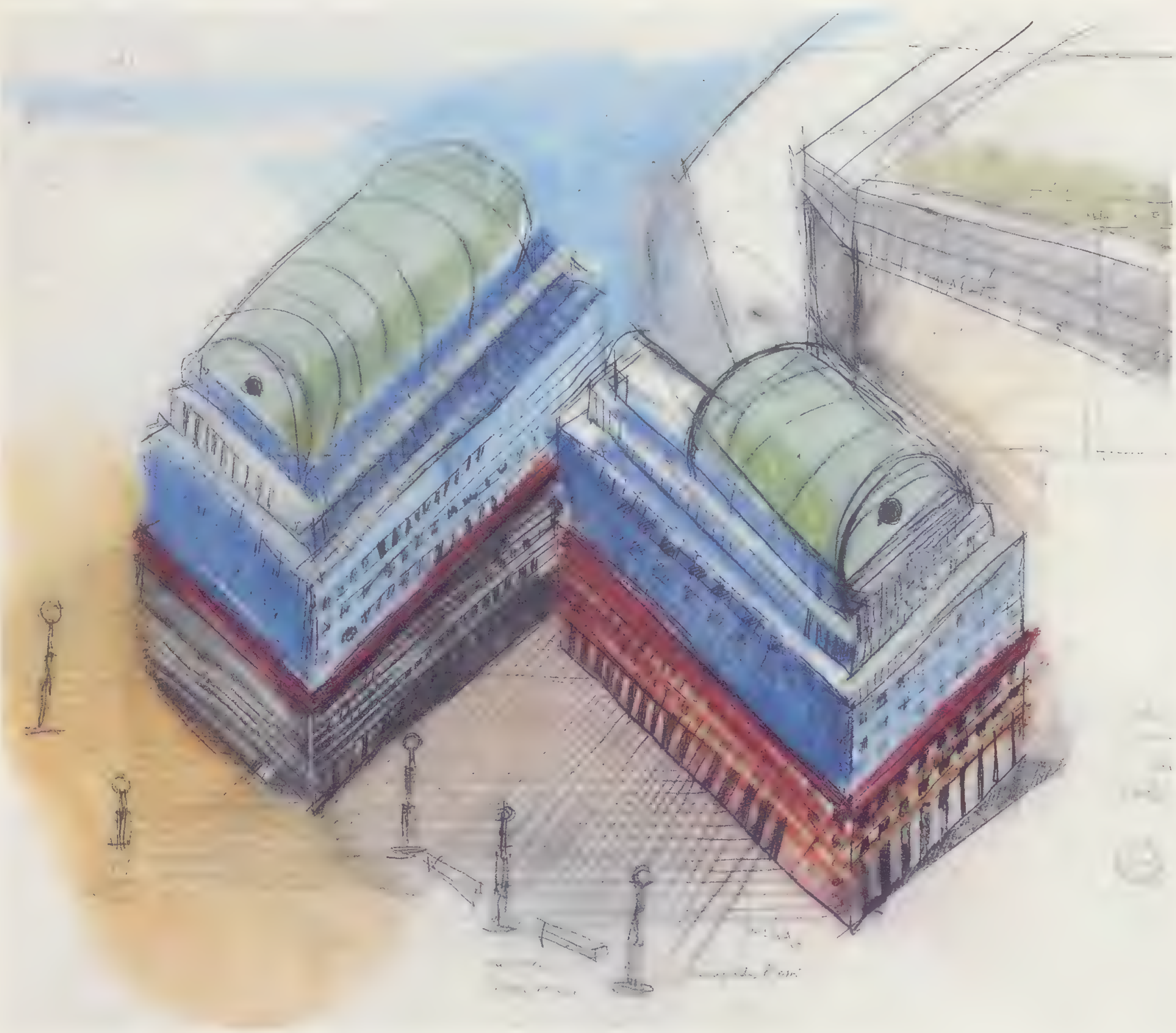


South elevation, transverse sections and ground floor plan of building FC2. Views of the models of building FC2 from southeast, and of the international headquarters of Morgan Stanley (FC5) from southeast.

Buildings B4 and B5
Canary Wharf, London

Aldo Rossi

Collaborators: Stefano Fera, Ivana Invernizzi, Sofia Meda



Sketch of the two buildings.
On the following pages:
Southern, western and eastern elevations and transverse section of building B4.
Southern and western elevations of B5 building.

The Stones of London

Aldo Rossi
Milan, January 7, 1991

Canary Wharf, the large basin on the Thames, is becoming famous, and I can leave it to others to narrate its story. For me, the greatest experience has been that of working on a completely new part of the city, which is being built to find a new way to utilize the London Docklands. I don't really care about the correctness of the overall project, and at this point I'm not even all that interested in whether the architecture involved is good or bad: there are some fine works, and some that are less so — the same could be said of my works, and the same type of judgement could also apply to different styles or intentions. What interests me here is the fact that I am witness to what seems to me to be the most advanced experiment yet for the creation of "the city".

In fact, in this context, one's initial design immediately loses something of its academic quality when faced with the volumes (previously planned) that surround it, and with the emotional content of the different types of architecture which are taking form in the area.

My approach to all of this has been a complex one, as I designed two buildings. The main building, which faces onto the river, was like a *basilica* with its red and pink stone and streamlined roof in oxidized green copper. This building forms the backdrop for the other, with a long colonnade, in grey and white stone. But the connecting point of the two buildings with their facade of iron squares, facing the water, and the walkway with cast iron columns have in some way deformed or disturbed the particular classical nature of the design, creating a stronger link to the water, to the canal, to the memory of the port.

In my work here I have been struck by the richness of stone, and my use of Indian red sandstone (like that which I employed in Tochi and Gifu, in Japan) has become a kind of badge. Other exotic red stones have impressed me with their nearly austere look when seen against the sky, in the mists of London. I thought my British friends were joking when they said that all stones should be seen in this "climate" of theirs. (But then the whole relationship between this exotic material from the colonies, and the local climate and brickwork is precisely what makes the architecture of London so fascinating). I might add that I have never found Carrara white marble so fascinating as it is here, and the digressions of Adams on the classical order, in particular the Ionic, cannot be understood without having in mind the delicate, almost anemic, veining of white Carrara marble.

Personally, I have been even more enchanted of late by Portland white, a yellowish white sandstone which is just a bit lighter in colour than a French chateau. The white cliffs of Dover, the cathedrals, palaces surrounded by humid green lawns, the vaporous quality of a watercolour. This stone has become very important in today's buildings, and it always makes me think of its yellowish colour blending with the grey English sky.

So far I've discussed stones, but I love stone and, in any case, cities and stones are intimately connected.

Cities: every time I return to Canary Wharf I do not see a zone, or a quarter, but rather an entire city coming to life. Just as, on the other bank of the river, the whiteness of Greenwich is itself another city.

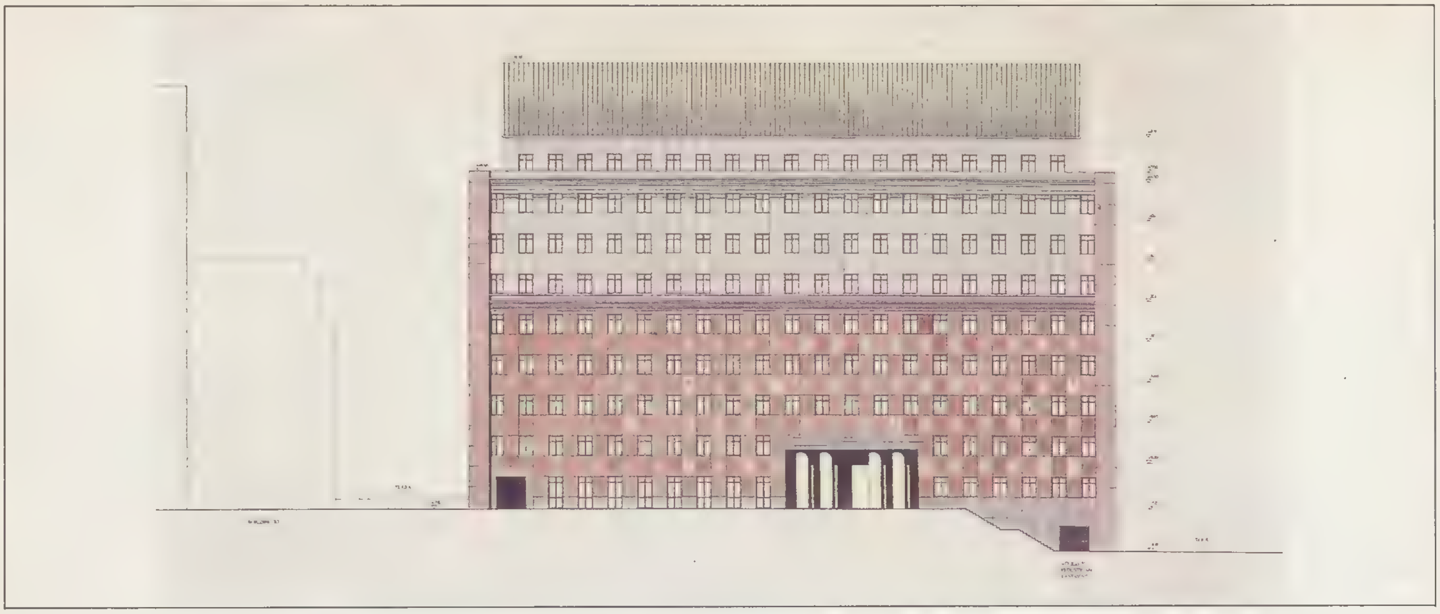
The development at Canary Wharf has to take the presence of the river into greater account, with its canals and its wide banks. Some of the buildings will almost have to rise up out of the water, and once again there will be large and small wharves for docking boats or taking walks, as in Venice, on the "Riva degli Schiavoni". These walkways might be lengthened to include parks and gardens.

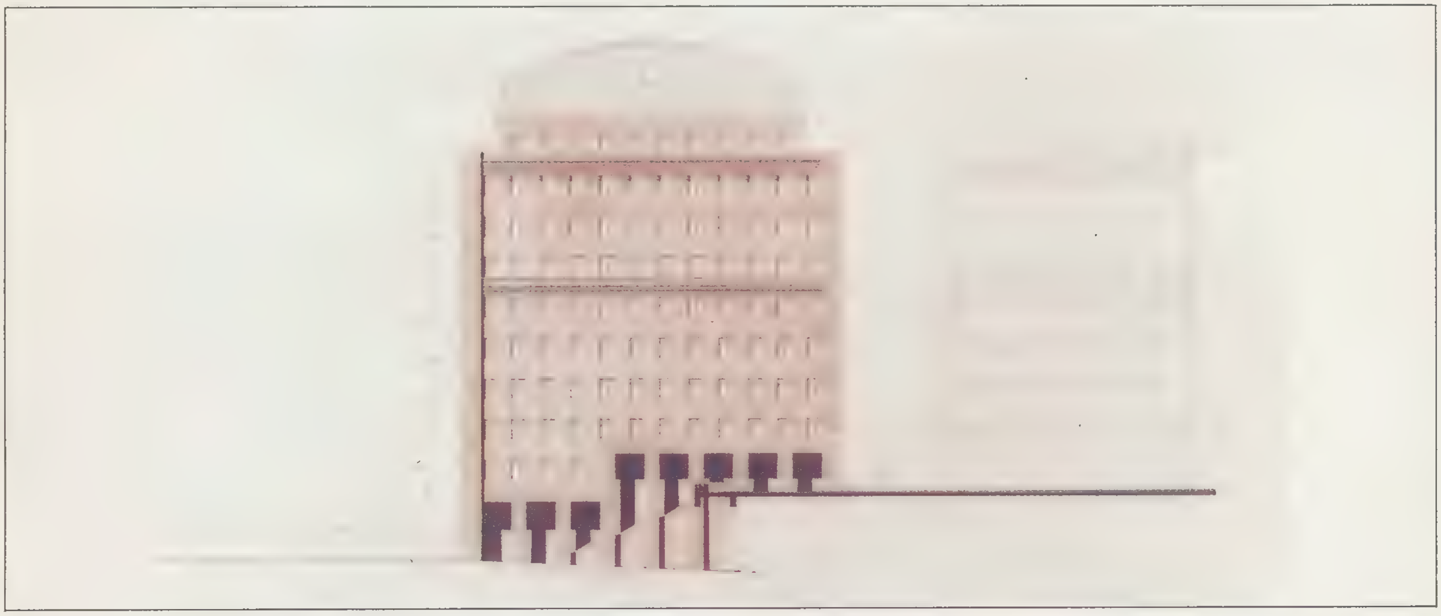
These are not just abstractions: I am certain that the reality, the essence of a city can produce the kind of beauty which is unique to urban situations, and is always unpredictable. The idea of planting monuments on the hill in Edinburgh might have sounded like an abstraction: but, in the end, that hill is one of the most beautiful parts of a city to be found anywhere in the world.

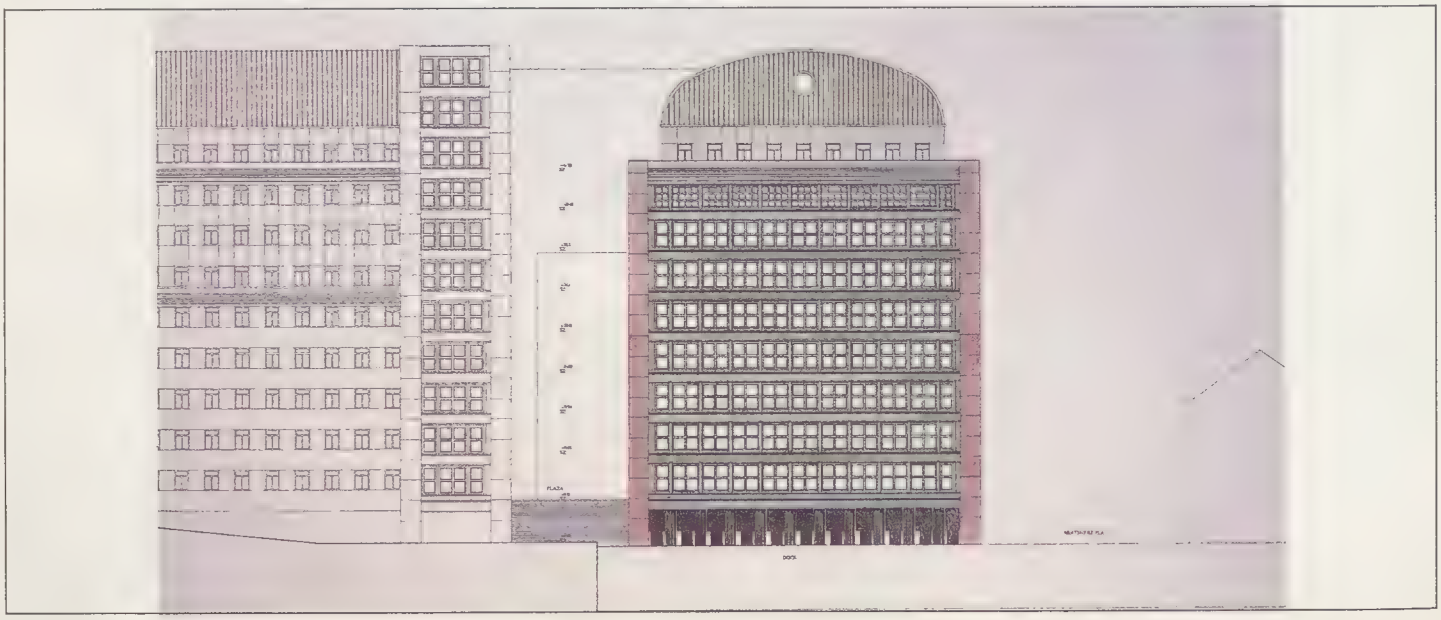
Today Canary Wharf is a reality, and it will become more of a city onto itself if it is capable of gathering and absorbing the impulses of its architects, just as it absorbs and embodies the history and nature of the surrounding cityscape.

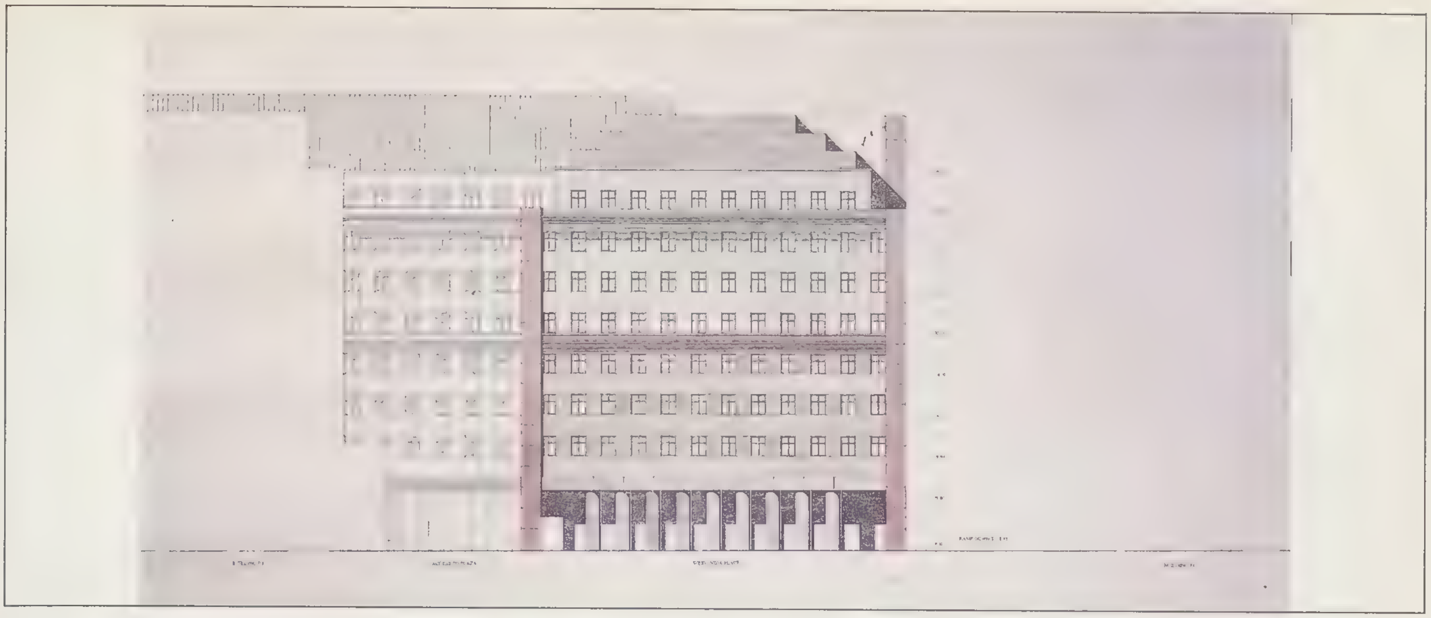
This emphasis on nature, in the widest sense of the word (water, green areas, port, atmosphere and a slightly bizarre use of the elements) is typical in Great Britain, and will not fail to make itself felt in this city/project.

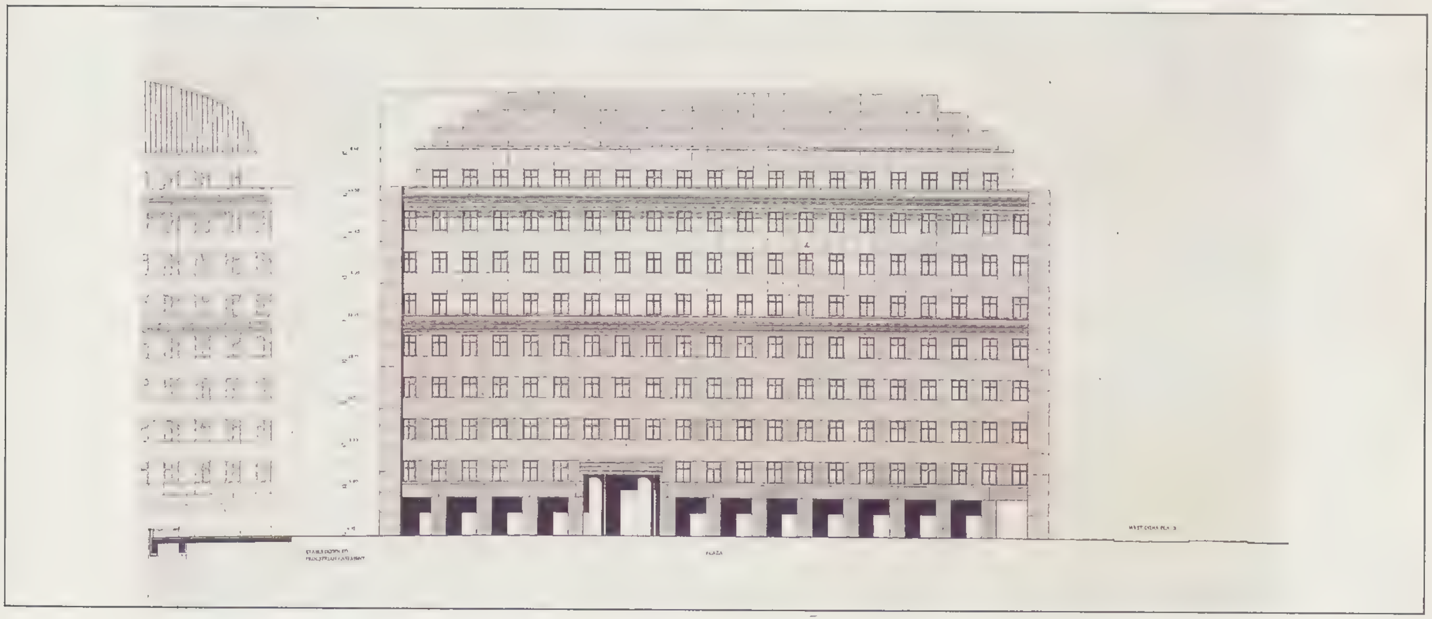
This emphasis has also been the guiding light of my design.

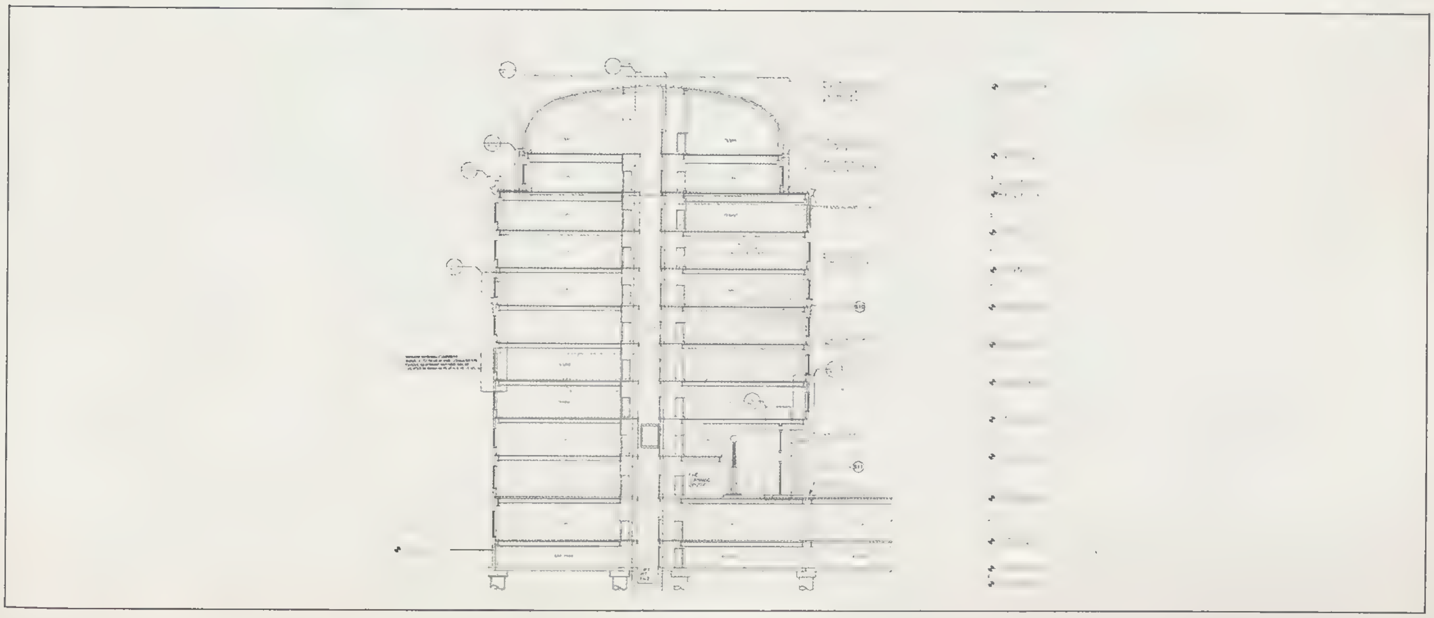


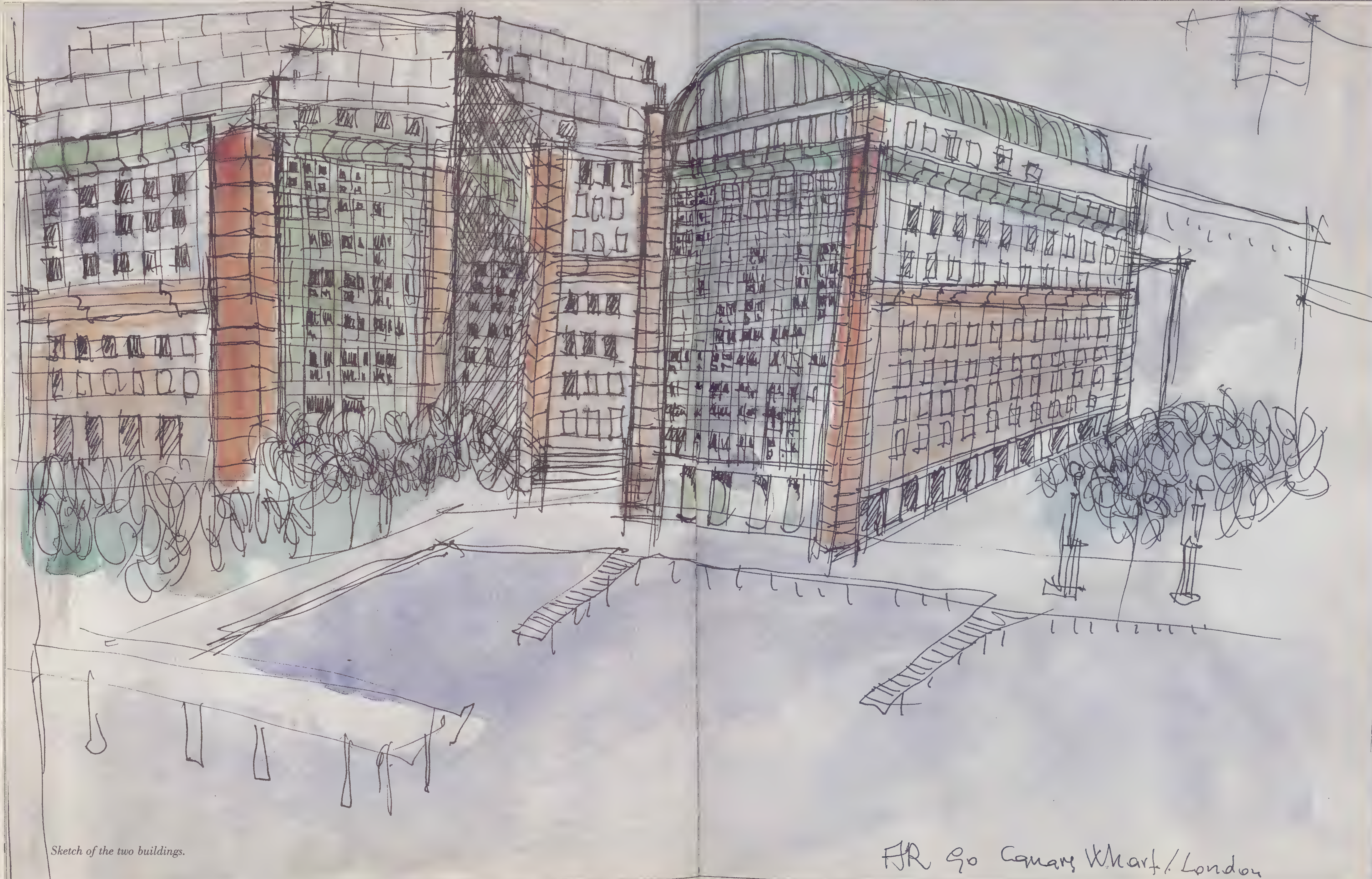




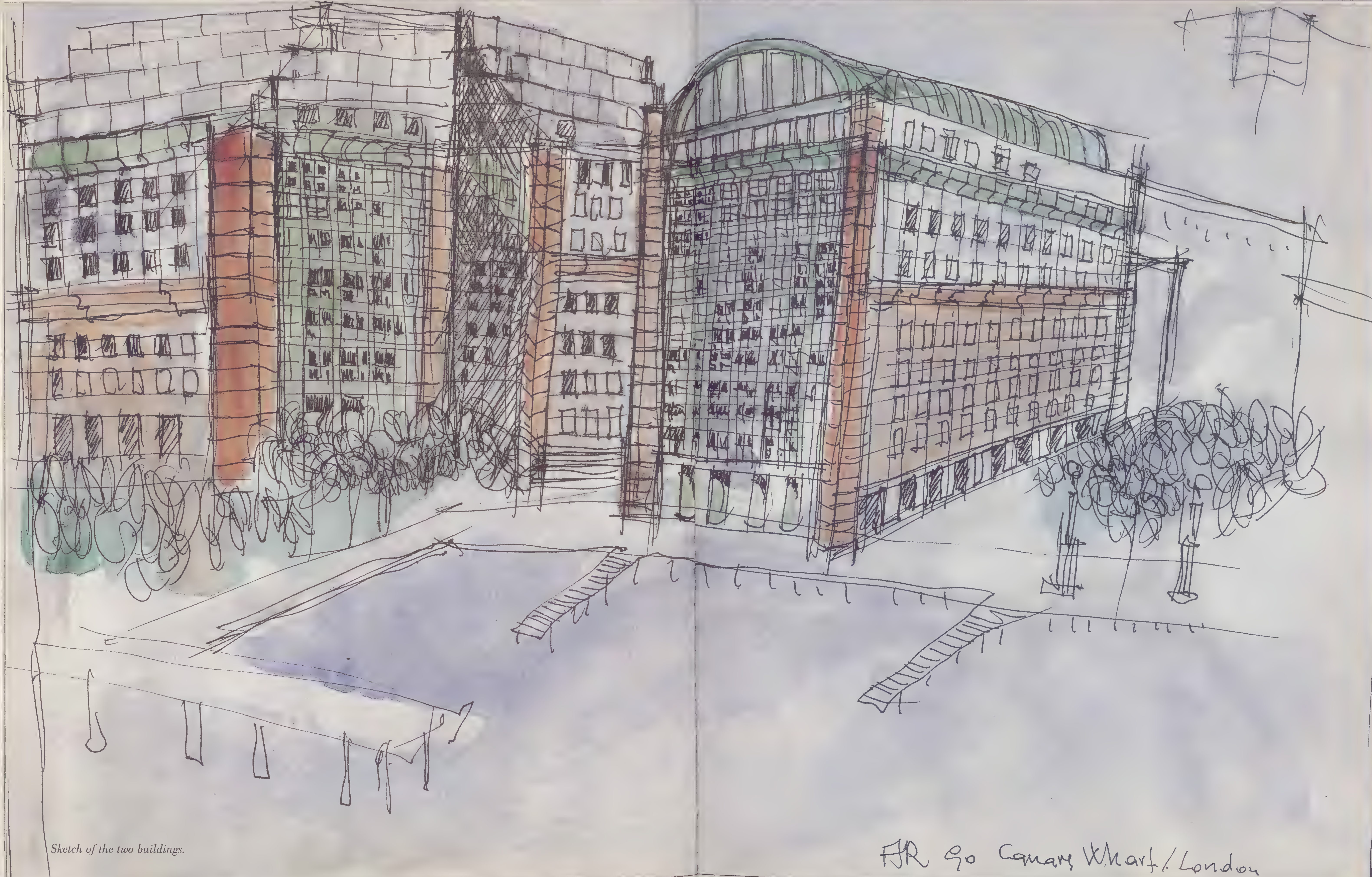








Sketch of the two buildings.



Sketch of the two buildings.

Aerial view of the complex from the east.
Photo Olympia & York.



Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate

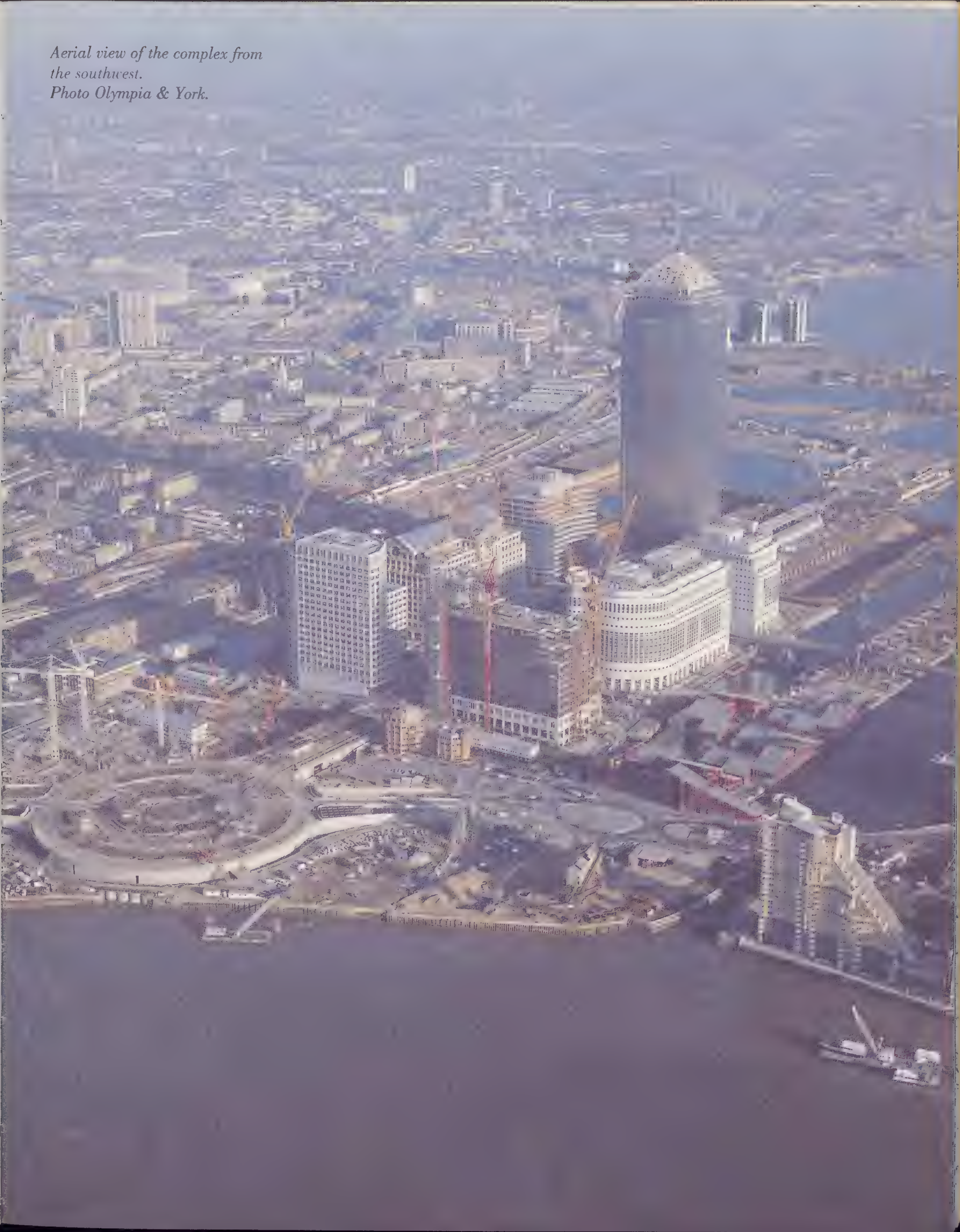
Micha Bandini

The traditional image of London is that of a series of "villages" connected by multi-coloured strings of underground lines. None of these urban conglomerates emerge stronger than any other, nor do their intersections result in a point of symbolic intensity in the urban tissue.
It is not unusual for a Londoner living north of the river to seldom cross the Thames for social or work reasons, largely because the various parts of London maintain, with their identity, their circle of activity, as they have their discreet but un-mistakable character.
What attracts certain people to certain areas is class more than income, tradition more than social mobility. Access to a particular restaurant, pub, school or shop could be more important for one's own way of living than access to one's own work place. In one of the worlds great metropolises, where a large part of the building fabric is no higher than four storeys and where hardly distinguishable classical features, held together by innumerable layers of glossy paint, constitute the iconography of the city, to choose where to live or work becomes a matter of subtle discernment, even in these times when the estate agent's dictum of "location, location, location" acquires the status of an indisputable law.
London, as the motor of the Empire, has been an international centre far longer than some of the other world metropolises, and as such it has developed an understated way of representing its own importance. Nothing particularly ostentatious can be found in Whitehall (once the heart of all directives), nothing in the morphology of the city's parts which could give away their status in the way in which one can recognise a hierarchy in, say, Tokyo, Rio or Paris. The character of London is itself inherent in this apparent homogeneity, in this capacity of one urban part to melt into another by maintaining the same relationship amongst its formal components (height, greenness, detailing, proportions, skyline) while establishing a subtly different identity.
And, of London, is also the capacity to surprise with the unexpected and most often the eccentric. Hawskmoor's church steeples, Sir John Soane's house, the new Lloyd's headquarter, the colours of the Clore gallery, the Thames barrier's silver sails and the columns of its new pumping station are parts of a culture in which pin stripes suits travel together in the underground with punks' attires or casual shabbiness. London, as part of the British way of life, is indifferent to its appearance to the point of seediness. The attitude of keeping up one's own image, so fundamental to the lifestyles of provincial towns, to American multinational corporate images and to the Mediterranean concept of "*bella figura*", belongs neither to the London's establishment nor to its buildings. Much in the same way as Rome which, having seen everything, from emperors to popes to astronauts, cares for nothing, London *is*.
It does not have to try hard to be.
But it is hard to conceive, within this logic, of a new urban expansion especially if the laws of the game change, if the mentalities to direct it are alien to the hidden rules of the land and if the public they choose to appease are not trained by the unwritten laws learned during "compulsory games ethic".
What to do if suddenly London becomes one of the three financial world centres, if international capital decides it is profitable to invest in real estate as a form of commodity and if its army of operators require private and corporate accommodation? Where to expand, in which "village" and with what logic?
What laws of planning, urban design and architecture to follow in a culture which has shunned all laws in the matter, priding itself on its lack of theory, on its aggregative and casual formal logic, on its empirical experimentation?
How to co-ordinate the requirements of a professional ambience which is fighting the American practice of building management, for not being conducive to the integrity of architecture, with the needs of a well designed and constructed project?
Recent confusion in matters of styles and allegiances to style have only added ambiguity to a market and a culture which had no recent background in "grand projects". London is neither Paris, where architecture as part of culture belongs to that public arena where votes are decided and presidents are made, nor New York, where a bankrupted city corporation sells air-rights to private developers so as to buy back those essential civic spaces and services it can provide no longer. Thus London lacks both the commitment and the flair which has allowed Paris to become again and again the cultural capital of Europe but it also lacks the shrewdness and social mobility of New York which allows its wealthy and committed citizens to take over where the states has left off.
Until the Conservative government's dismantling, London had a metropolitan organization (the GLC) which looked after all regulative aspects. Now it has free enterprise, an absence of coherency and a series of unconnected grand projects conceived during a short economic boom to boost the monetary catchment of the city, which all hope will somehow survive the present severe economic recession.
Most of these projects are financed and/or designed through the contribution of non British expertise. North Americans are strongly represented because, prepared by the attitude of their society and profession to see architectural design also as a financial proposition, they already offer a competitive edge to the opportunities promoted by the present Government. The purely market-driven necessity of designing in order that a facade can be provided for an interior space to be decided by future tenants, with the project to be conceived mainly as an experiment in revenue return, and thus designed to be built to a strict economic specification has, largely unnoticed, sadly taken over the

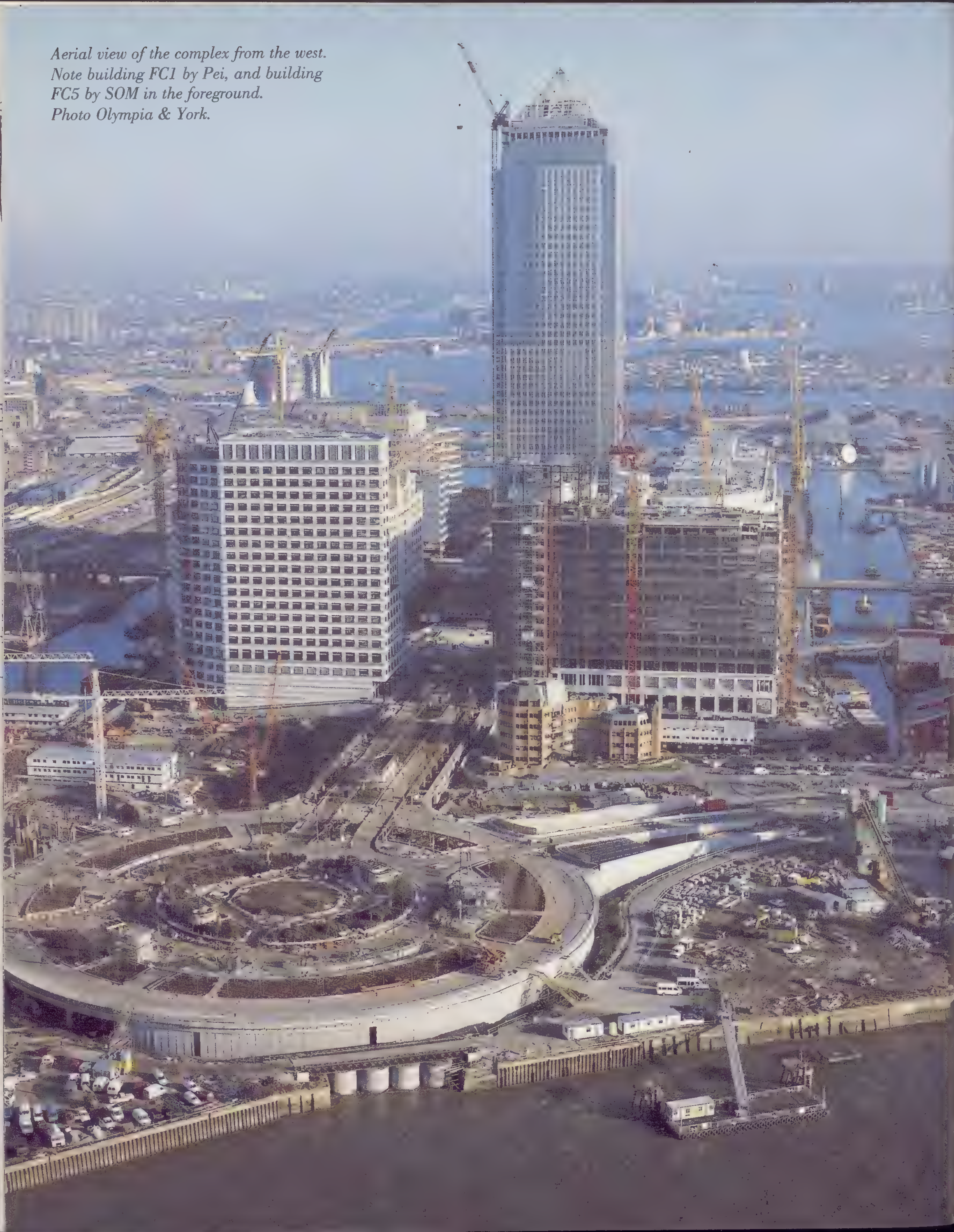
belief that good building practice and integrity of design go hand in hand. The economic life of an office building being around 25 years, architects are more and more required to provide a dignified facade, which would neither upset the Royal Fine Arts Commission nor Prince Charles's advisers, to hide an undistinguished series of floors which will later be organised by space planners and interior decorators.
Elevations and interiors possess their separate logics, the elevators shaft being the only conceptual link in a design logic which has abandoned the use of section as the main spacial generator. As in Lloyd's, where the interiors strikingly contrast with the conspicuously high-tech exterior image, most major headquarters will be found to have their mahogany and brass directors' meeting rooms, their executive lavatories and private dining suites, all modelled on the image their clients have of an exclusive 19th century London club, many miles away from the reality of the rest of the building, in which hundreds of networked personal computers glare under low ceiling, neon lit, open floors. Whithin this logic architects are seldom asked to create better working environments. The examples of Hertzberger Centraal Beheer, of Nials Porp's SAS headquarters or of the Steel Case Corporate Development Center in Grand Rapid Michigan, have little following amongst the international capital community which is infiltrating the city. Architects are asked instead to provide a dignified and aseptic image for that part of the world economy for which a headquarter has first and foremost to project the image of a solid and respectable, thus not too "modern", financial organization.
Mrs. Thatcher has departed but the large projects her style of management encouraged are yet to be completed. The largest and the frailest of them all is Dockland. So we might ask what is Dockland, and with it Canary Wharf, but the celebration of a view which subordinated the public to the private, which abdicated public control in favour of private enterprise, which believed that only by encouraging profit could any urban initiative be furthered and maintained? And if Dockland, as an idea and as the architectural realization of an idea, is going to be usefully discussed it must be within the international framework of a political policy which not only pursued monetarism as its economic strategy but also brought planning and architecture out of the social realm and into the economic one[1].

The first step in this direction was instituted in 1981 by the Thatcher's government's setting up of the Urban Development Corporations which had as their brief the regeneration of inner cities and as their aim convergence of interests between business and property developers. Established systems of planning controls were greatly simplified in order to facilitate this process which was further enticed by a financial package which included freedom from rates for six years and the offsetting of building costs against building tax by 100 percent for projects under construction by April 1992. The prime targets of these "enterprise zones" were those large parcels of land which 20th century modernization of 19th century industries had abandoned all over Britain, and had became under-used and often polluted no-man-lands, often left-overs of what had been the centres of communications of the British empire.
London Dockland, a vast unused parcel of land interspersed by huge basins of water, sporadic and neglected public housing linked to the ever so close city by a very bad system of public transport, was a prime target since the containerization of cargoes and the mechanization of the docks' workers jobs removed all docking activities to the purpose built container port of Tilbury at the mouth of the estuary of the Thames. The London Dockland Development Corporation (LDDC), a purpose created organization for the management of this particular enterprise zone, directly under the Secretary of State, became the agent of its regeneration and set itself cut from the onset to facilitate those settlers who could afford to help the regeneration.
It is important to note that for the first time since WW2 British planning had shifted substantially from its traditional emphasis on the creation of places accessible to all and managed within the democratic process laid out by planning procedures, to an explicit resolution towards marketing techniques, to the targeting of the type of people and activities it wanted to attract, and to the belief in an international rather than a national audience.
This was the time when London was experiencing the arrival of the deregulation of financial trading in the stock market, afterwards described as the "Big Bang", when there was widespread belief that the traditional trading floors would be unable to cope with the demands of twenty four hour a day trading, that the city Square Mile had nowhere to expand, that business floor rents would soar, that there was a lack of suitable accommodation for the upwardly mobile, internationally stressed executives used to high personal comfort, that Dockland thus presented, through its parcels of land just close to the city, a reasonable proposition for developers if one could forget it was on the "wrong side of town" and if one could manage to solve, with the aids of transport links, the problem of a new image.
Notwithstanding the undeniable size of the problem posed by the development of London's Docklands it is interesting to register that the first framework of urban design put forward by the corporation virtually denied any necessity for any system of control, in the (perhaps Texan-mutated) belief that only by doing so one could attract investment[2]. The proposed plan for the Isle of Dogs resorted instead to a tired formula of "townscape" design giving, through Gordon Cullen's masterly renderings of leaves, views and water, which by carefully avoiding any precise indication of mass, size, boundaries or materials would give the impression that a British picturesque image could be retained within which low rise "architectures" would harmoniously occur.
It is within this framework then that the first financial consortium for the development of Canary Wharf was

*Aerial view of the complex from the southwest.
Photo Olympia & York.*



Aerial view of the complex from the west. Note building FC1 by Pei, and building FC5 by SOM in the foreground. Photo Olympia & York.



formed and having purchased the land at a fraction of the (then) market value the American developer G. Ware Travelstead (backed by Credit Suisse and Morgan and Stanley Banks) was to make a proposal for three skyscrapers over 800 feet high, and was to run into strong opposition from both local residents and from the Royal Fine Arts Commission[3].

Canary Wharf was to become the most visible symbol of a battle for democratic control over development procedures while a more and more entrenched LDDC was to fight a vocal but doomed war throughout the media. Ironic billboards from locally engaged artists contrasted the equally big and colourful gigantic posters put forward by the corporation, but while the former depicted the forms of the skyscrapers as made by piles of coins situated on land ready to be grabbed by avuncular hands, the Corporation presented a picture of a clean environment where water sports occured under the skyline of St. Paul and Tower Bridge[4].

This marked difference in perspective is perhaps the most noticeable feature of Canary Wharf. The reality which for some is so promising for others is quite menacing. Can architecture in itself bridge that gap? Could the forms, and the economic vision which justifies them, carry a message that can ultimately convince not only its immediate occupants but also the town which it is to complement?

But even if we accept the logic which requires this configuration in that place at that time, and if historically we remember that the situation is very similar to ones which have in the past created important parts of great cities, we must still acknowledge that many different projects could have fitted the brief.

The present Canary Wharf is far better than the one originally proposed. Another developer, Olympia and York (O&Y), took over on the 17th of July 1987 with a much broader and more ambitious attitude: that of creating an alternative to the City itself so opening the door to quality development in the East End of London. There, where local and international developers had hesitated, O&Y decided to lead.

One can only admire the initiative and the commitment. The bridge head which O&Y were to create (in time and in budget) would show how to operate building management at a scale not seen before in the British Isle. Moreover it would be provided, not in a business park nor in a purpose built single skyscraper but within a total environment in which it would be created that quality of urban space and accommodation often demanded but not easily found by international companies when searching for European headquarters.

Olympia and York (O&Y), the Canadian developer company, headed by Paul Reichmann, had not only completed two successful similar projects at First Canadian Place in Toronto (still one of the most prestigious business addresses in town) and Battery Park in New York but also had a record for thoroughness in managing the newly created environments which in itself is to be applauded. And it is very clear that by the scale of the resources deployed by O&Y, by the effort to convince not only locationally conservative businessmen that moving to Canary Wharf could be the best move their company would ever make but also local residents, the press and the public that O&Y was totally committed to making Canary Wharf a success. So it is not only profit at stake here but also a certain vision of the city, of development, of responsibility towards society as well as to their own business associates. Where there was derelict land, there are now buildings, fountains, shopping malls and thirty years old trees, where there was no transport there are now several ways of going through and beyond, where there was just an attitude about building so to quickly sell and get out, there is now a landlord which has built and is staying so that streets remain safe and clean, brass polished, services working. Few developers conceive business at this scale, few care as much. All of this is important and yet it is just words in a world where Canary Wharf is instead by now a reality and as such it raises questions which the attitude which has built it does not fully explain.

So why is there an axial plan culminating in a skyscraper? Why does the footprint of the building constitute its final image? Why is it that the most important urban control devices chosen were the cornice (at the "piano nobile" level), the stepped-back-ziggurat-like top profile and the porches? Why, of the many multifarious images offered by SOM since the departure of Bruce Graham, did O&Y choose a revivalist appearance for Canary Wharf? Why should Canary Wharf look like some blocks from Chicago just dropped into the East End of London? What is it that makes it all so alien despite the claims made by the developers' brochures that it absorbs and furthers the pattern of London's Regency squares?

And finally, why an urban design, subtly reminiscent of that classical Beaux Arts pastiche which from the thirties onwards was to manifest itself in Eastern Europe and in the U.S.A. for all cities development which aspired to "dignity" and "representability", is used to create a new metropolitan image for London? And especially for a London which is composed of discrete "villages" with a penchant for the idiosyncratic and the eccentric?

The most astonishing part of this is that notwithstanding the fact that the image presented in the publicity brochures and that which is actually being built do not wholly match, the overall impression one gains from the larish drawings (including American cars) is the same one retains when on site.

Could the impression of "alieness" be mitigated if, besides only the central spine of buildings and few side buildings' foundations, now hurriedly poured so to beat the tax-man deadline of April 1992, there could be more of what the aerial perspective promises? It would perhaps lessen the fear that what is there now will be all that we will ever see until the world economy recovers and reinvests, although

this will not change the essence of Canary Wharf. Such an image was determined by deciding to place Pelli's skyscraper on the intersection between the axis coming from the water and the transport axis coming from the city and by making the Pelli building into a simple elongated pencil-like parallelepiped. Having arrived at that decision, using a design logic which might be influenced more by memories of L'Enfant drawings for Washington than by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter urban collages, it would follow thus that a series of urban pauses (the green squares and the shopping mall) flanked by intermediate spaces (the porches) opening up to a third level of private corporate identity (the marbled atriums where each company can write its name on the walls) would resolve but also enhance the concept.
So the question of the quality of the single buildings becomes now here fundamental in assessing the validity of the operations as a whole. This means deciding which designers can fulfil these new needs and the names of the architects selected come to be either U.S.A. based, or architects familiar with North American building practice (as Troughton McAslan are, the only British practice), but also those like Aldo Rossi who have been legitimised by that professional world through being a recipient of the Pritzker prize (and significantly being referred as such in O&Y press releases). In an exercise reminescent of that offered by Durand to his students, where given a fixed plan configuration elevations are rendered in different styles, the architect thus comes to be required to primarily provide a facade within the established economic and design guidelines.
So the variations of the basic office type building provide an interesting case study for the possible permutations within a grid using slightly changing proportions and materials (note Rossi) but within it, subtle variations can be identified and emphasised, e.g. the gold leaf detailing in the Edwardian revival blind atrium of SOM, or the small squarish windows set over oversized columns in Aldo Rossi's building, or the three-partite motive of the curved facade of Kohn Petersen Fox. These become the features which start to matter when little is known of the future tenants and when the interior has to be ready for every possible user.
These buildings, which have been scaled down from earlier proposals through economic or other considerations, engage with a philosophy which tries to replicate a logic of the last century in which the canons of the classical conventions somehow protect the morphology of the civic realm from the disorder of the private speculators.
Very much in the same way in which Berlin's IBA was conceived and realised, Canary Wharf followed the logic of the 19th century urban block and of its revival in contemporary urban theory. But unlike Berlin, which followed European proportions and a scale which was familiar to the memory of the traditional city, Canary Wharf's relationships between masses and voids come to be very different from those of the City of London to which it wants to relate, but however, very similar to those found on the other side of the Atlantic.
Within such a logic perhaps no facade should conform, but none either should deviate too conspicuously from the general rules. Thus, none can excel and thus contribute to the peculiar character of London or to the exciting vision of what might become the metropolis of the future.
But such a metropolis must be expected to implement all useful technologies, it should improve already existing models for creating a dynamic three-dimensional urban environment, it should establish a more ecologically aware relationship between what is man-made and what is natural, and if this is done then journeys could be a satisfying experience and corporate headquarters could provide quality office space for their employees creating an ambience which could be enhanced by art and by activities.
While American quality development, as in the Rockfeller Center, in its way and in its time, pointed a way forward, its modul should now be questioned, especially when operating in a different cultural and historical context. Thus the vision Canary Wharf pursues ought to push the frontiers of what is possible today and indicate a way forward for tomorrow rather than relying on what was right in the 30's in the USA or in Berlin in the 70's.

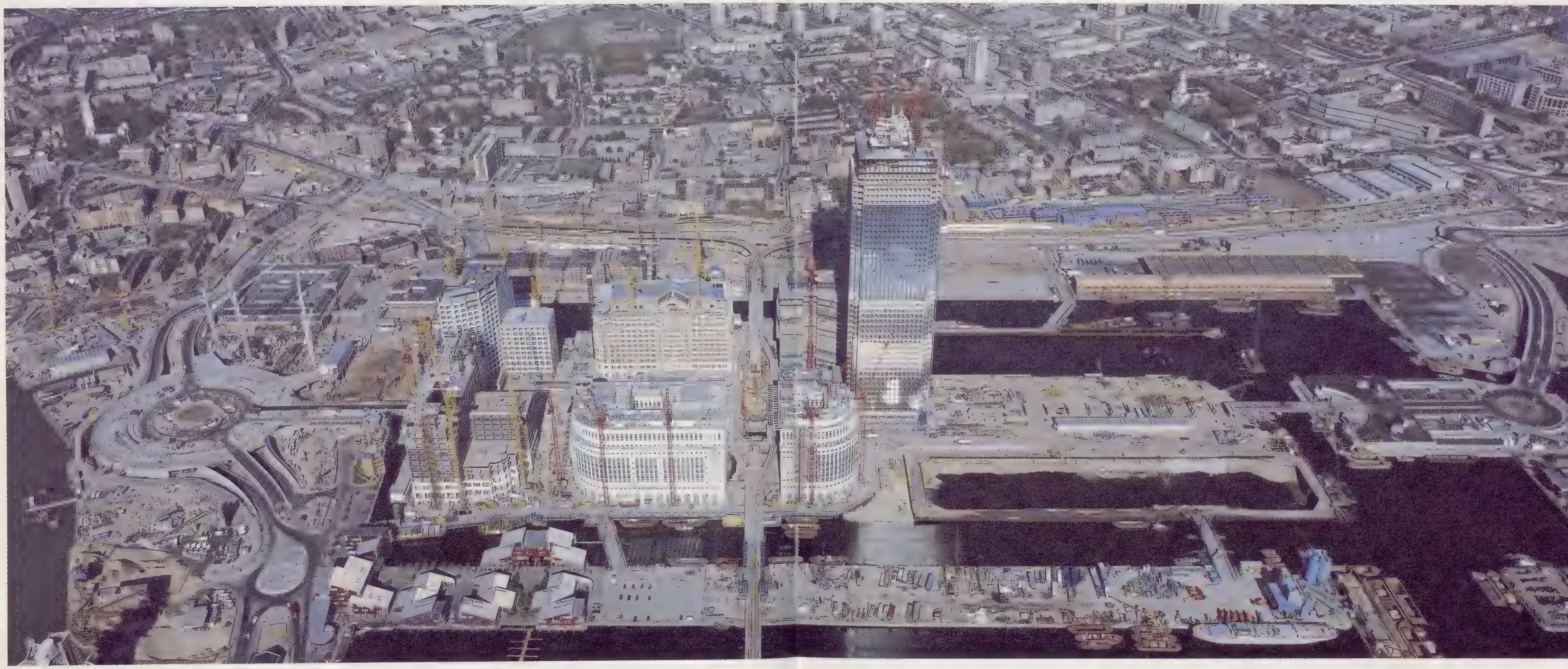
Sadly the audacity of the financial vision is hardly matched by its formal representation. In a world rich with invention and poor in resources, where gaps between the "haves" and the "haves-not" grow bigger and not smaller, Canary Wharf has chosen the safe way, which is to be what everybody expects a commercial/financial center to be and to look "international" in the same way that Hilton's hotels rooms do in whatever city they are located. Unfortunately the single building programme within a grid does little to challenge the flatness of the overall image and the question remains if such an image was accomplishable either by default or purposefully, for it is clear that the Canary Wharf designers have failed to capture the spirit of London or to prefigure the metropolis of the 21st century. But it must be asked if it is so because of their cultural limits, or were these architects briefed to play it safely so as not to challange the expectations of corporate clients already pushed by the unfamiliar location?
In the first instance it would just be unfortunate for the world of architecture but in the second it would show a flaw in the vision of O&Y, which, in an international comunity so lacking in enlightened and committed patronage, we can hardly afford.

1) This is the tone of a recent article by James Buchan which analyses the developmental strategy of Paul Reichmann. See J. BUCHAN "*A high-risk business*", "*The Indipendent on Sunday*", 16 December 1990.
2) Much criticism has been raised in the profession by the attitudes of the LDDC. For a discussion of urban design guidelines, as now understood by the British profession, and for an appreciation of a generalised opinion see F. TIBBALD "*Public v. Private Realm*", "*Architectural Journal*", 7 November 1990, pp. 59-66, where he writes: "*If you want to see what, left to its own devises, the private sector produces, one need to look no further than the Isle of Dogs in London's*

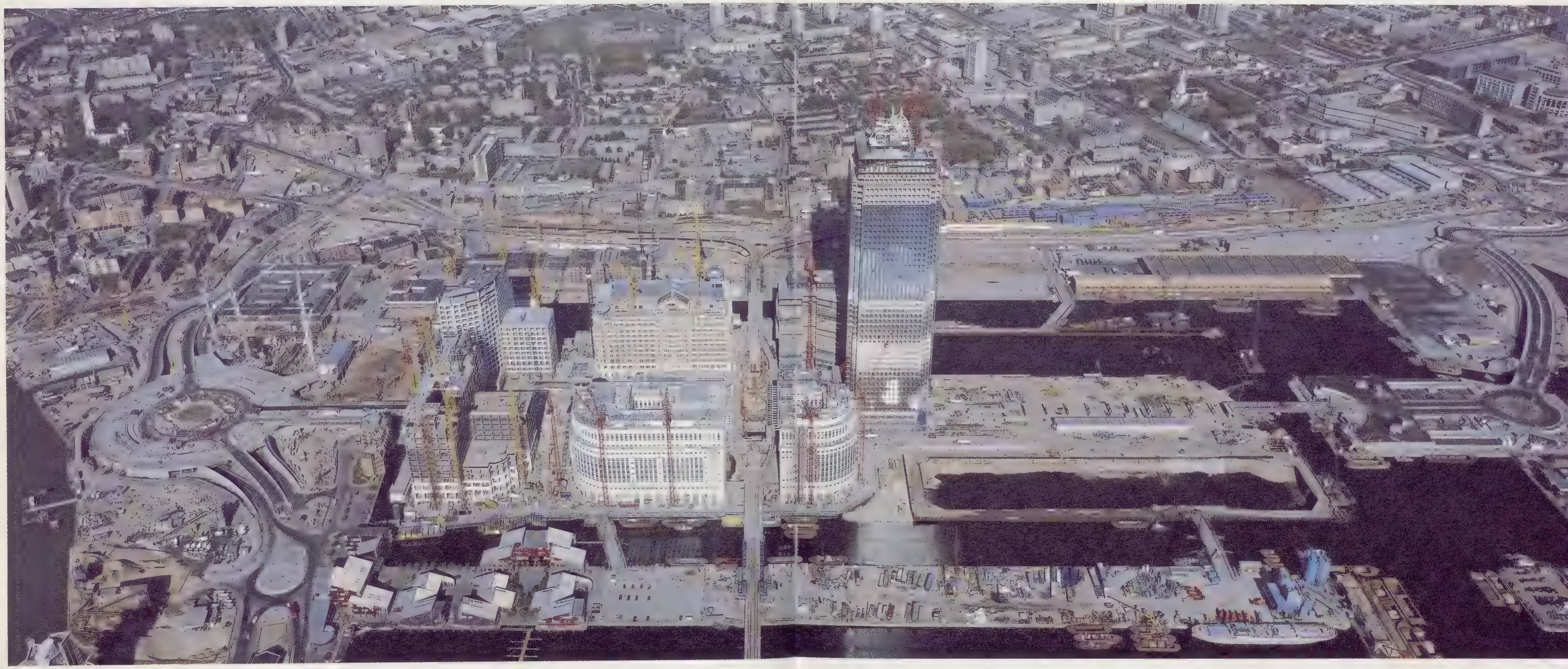


Aerial view of the complex from southwest. Note buildings FC4 and FC6 by Kohn, Pedersen, Fox Associates. Photo Olympia & York.

South view.
Photo Olympia & York.

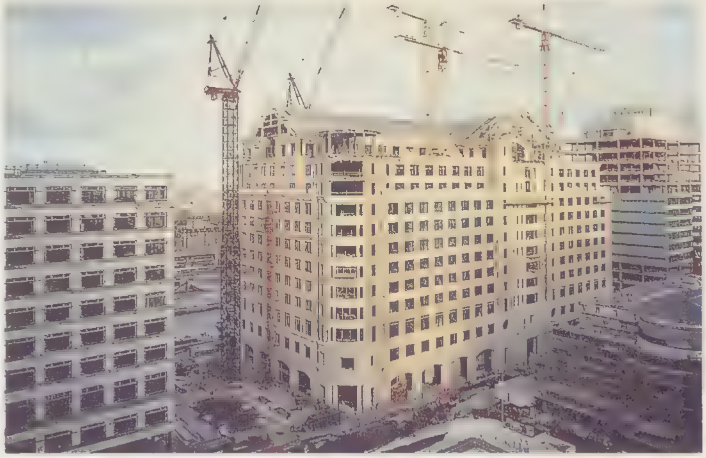


South view.
Photo Olympia & York.





Docklands. The British government's flagship of "enterprise culture development", and the urban design challenge of the century adds up to little more than marked led, opportunistic chaos — an architectural circus — with a sprinkling of Post Modern gimmicks, frenzied construction of the ghastly megalumps of Canary Wharf and a fairground train to get you there. It is a disappointment to those who live and work there. Sadly, there was a necessary intermediate step between balance sheet and building that got missed in the rush. It is called urban design".
3) One of the first contributions to discuss Canary Wharf was in a radio programme (R4). The text was printed. See D. WHEELER "*Canary Wharf: a gold-mine or a white elephant?*" "*The Listener*", 13 March 1986, pp. 10-12.
4) A very good analysis of the socio-cultural implications of the LDDC operation, and especially of the importance of the billboards as a document of cultural resistance, is found in J. BIRD "Report from London. Dystopia on the Thames" "*Art in America*" June/July 1990.





Northwest view of building FC2 by SOM.
Southwest view of building FC2 by SOM, and northwest view of the building by Kohn, Pedersen Fox Associates.
Photo Olympia & York.

Multi-Functional Zone in Castello, Florence

1989

Gian Franco Di Pietro

Collaboration: Teresa Gobbò
Traffic Design Consultants: Sigfrido Pascucci, Francesco Re
Consultant for Legal Affairs: Alberto Predieri



Multi-Functional Zone in Castello, Florence

1989

Gian Franco Di Pietro

Collaboration: Teresa Gobbo
Traffic Design Consultants: Sigfrido Pascucci, Francesco R
Consultant for Legal Affairs: Alberto Predieri



General site plan of the multi-functional zone: color coded in brown are the residential areas; in red, services and business; in yellow, services; in violet, hotels; in blue, public facilities; in azure, public administration; in light blue, exhibition spaces; in lilac, the shopping centre.
1) the Castello railroad station; 2) convention centre; 3) exhibition spaces; 15) civic centre; 17) raised pedestrian walkway; 19) shopping centre.

On the preceding pages:
Paolo Donati and Luiz F. Pereira N. Franco (Studio Illibill), Manlio Summer (Tuscany Regional Adm), Master Plan for the Florentine area metropolitan park (first phase), 1990.
In the photo-collage: 1) Castello multi-functional zone (project); 2) Perentola airport (present-state); 3) new university zone (under construction); 4) motorway authority building (project); 5) youth hostel; 6) nature reserve; 7) sports facilities.



Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence

Gian Franco Di Pietro

Premise

The fact that the detailed plan for the Castello area — like that for the Fiat-Novoli district — has never been formally presented to the public in the city or outside the city limits, either before or after the various reports that have filtered into the news, is not without significance[1].

The unwillingness to disclose the contents to the citizens and to concerned groups (such as architecture scholars and professionals, administrators, technicians, urban planners, patrons of the arts) of a document which is, for better or worse, relevant inasmuch as it is the result of a concern for the city, on a political, entrepreneurial and disciplinary level, is a good indication of two things: on the one hand how little consideration is given to architecture in today general vision of ideas concerning the city; on the other, the fact that the debate has polarized and concentrates completely on the technical aspects of the project: cubic metres of construction speculation and productivity, and dilemmas such as the need for expansion-or-transformation, green areas versus built areas, etc.

This is not said to support the autonomy of the urban planning project with respect to the structural elements of the fabric of the city, which must always be considered, or with respect to the more general and fundamental choice of *urban model* to be pursued orienting investment and policy. It is obvious that the planning project must be *based* on all of these things, and perhaps when it comes to specifics, as some have said, urban planning has not paid enough attention to these matters. The project is not an interchangeable, ornamental item to be included after all else has been decided; design has to be part of the planning process, an active and decisive element and the parti estalished by the designer, translating and interpreting the quality and quantity of a design; must become a means however partial, of evaluating the success of the planning process, of the most general morphological relations with the city, not merely in terms of land occupation but also, and above all, of the relation of the project to the entire urban context.

The idea is to establish — by making the project public through debates and discussions on as wide a scale as possible — in what measure a particular *addition*, related to the urban space, can be *accepted* by the city creating a dialogue or conflicting with the image the city has of itself. This image, or the way in which Florentines perceive Florence and, more generally, others perceive the city, is contradictory and far from clear, especially in the ongoing debate of the last five years; it has been further filtered and conditioned by general political-cultural options rather than focussed by a real desire to comprehend a unique urban situation.

While it is true that an anlysis of structural elements and the resulting programmes create the conditions upon which choices are based regarding the *urban model* and form the basis, in part, for a project which is not just an illusion, conversely no form of territorial-economic analysis, no matter how radical or refined, can establish *the right quantities in the right places*.

In the definition of these elements too many other factors come into play, not to mention the necessary phases to implementing the plan and the cast of characters involved. Among these factors, I believe, we must include design.

The documents which have been made public are those which, with the exception of some very technical ones, were presented to the city administration of Florence on June 26, 1989. They read like a *finished product*, although are temporary in nature. They communicate an idea of the city; they contribute, in a limited way, to the development of an urban planning design for the *northwest area*. They are documents, and represent an objective fact. But behind them are also subjective motives which need to be explained; they are the reasons that justify a model of the city maintaining based on a concept of *discontinuity*; reasons which may be the result of a distorted perception of Florence, if you will, but not arbitrary. They are a vision of the city which is perhaps more that of a citizen who lives and works in the city, rather than that of the urban planner who bases his decisions on data and analysis. In the following paragraphs these reasons will be explained.

The Conflict between the Existing City and a New Model of the City

There is little doubt, as many have noticed and some have clearly declared recently, that the raging debate which has taken place in Florence about the project for the northwestern area has been a "*symptom and metaphor of a concrete and fierce battle between powerful interests (renewal vs. profit) and also between parties with honest disagreements in terms of their vision (innovation vs. nostalgia) of the future of Florence*"[2]. A project for the city of Florence, involving a redesign and reform of the urban structure, must begin by recognizing the "dual" nature of the city (Florence as a city of art, culture and science, and Florence as the capital of a complex economic region, a link to a network system of small business some of which, particularly the area near Florence, involved in high technology). The risks created both by the prevailing process of the commercializing of history and by the serious lack of services to businesses (the "advanced services" sector represents only one fifth of Florentine enterprise, as opposed to 50% for Bologna) must also be taken into account. Thus the project, which considers a different socio-cultural model for the city, and which would use the northwestern zone for its organization, would attempt to unite Florence, the city of art and culture with the other Florence, capital of an economic region. All this would be tied in with the surrounding industrial hinterlands, the home of technological research facilities, applied research for the design and fashion industries,

promotion for regional products, professional and managerial training. Such a strong link would create an environment for interaction between the two Florences, establishing meaningful supply-demand relationships: artistic tradition/design research, cultural facilities/training, scientific resources/technological research.
Even among those who are opposed to the northwestern zone as a place with an important role in the cultural life of the city, the most thoughtful among them have acknowledged that there can be no cultural monopoly. The following quote from Eugenio Garin, is an example: "*I like to imagine that at least two points have been made clear regarding Florence as a city of art: 1) that it is not a warehouse, but a laboratory, not only a museum or an archive but also a school, not only a place of preservation, but also of production of culture; 2) that there is a constant converging, at least in the history of the city, of literature, science, the arts, technology (...). Obviously I am speaking of Florence as a city of culture, or a laboratory or a great cultural institute, where culture is created, not sold off or destroyed. A city like Florence, in the centre of Tuscany, is not only a city of culture (author's emphasis). But it is clear that in order to exercise its cultural role in the world the erection (in terms of construction) of a city of culture will be part of its destiny. Not to do so would only be a form of suicide*".
Nevertheless, although it is certainly true that a renewal programme for Florence must undergo a process of definition and approval of a new model for the city around which policy and investment will be oriented, I firmly believe it is also true, that an urban reform project must be amply motivated by considerations of the *present* state of affairs, not just of the *future*. Examples of this can be seen in the fact that the quality of life in today's city is no longer acceptable, a result of historic structural conditions (the mono-centric nature of the city, the dominant role of profit) and by the lack of adaptation to the realities of a modern, service-oriented economy.
These conditions can be traced back to certain episodes that shaped the city into what it is today: the role of administrative and financial capital, the extraordinary concentration (in the 1200s two thirds of Tuscany was already owned by the Florentines) and continuity of the landed gentry and its role in real estate, the political conservativism of the 1800s which brought about the closing of the city to industry and in relation to the surrounding territory, and finally the absence, until after the second world war, of middle-class entrepreneurs (just think of the role played by foreign capital, Swiss and Belgian, in the early stages of industrialization and the creation of urban services).
This historical economic and cultural structure, which survives today, is part and parcel of the mono-centric structure of the city, the continuation of increasingly consolidated patterns of ownership, and a concentration of "central functions". The last real urban reform — the Poggi plan — reinforced all this with the creation of circulation routes in concentric circles in the city, rather than attempting to open the city toward its peripheral areas which, until the second world war, had been almost entirely left to their own devices, surviving on share-cropping. This centralized urban structure is also essential to the logic of profit from tourism, by keeping shopping, restaurants, hotels and sightseeing all concentrated in one place, creating a sort of sieged city dominated, for the most part, by the interests of the tourism-merchandising-real state industries.
But there is also another form of sieging which has upset, in my opinion, the great Florentine urban tradition, the way of life and culture of the city, the profound sense of a city to be lived in and enjoyed; particularly during the last 10-15 years: the proliferation of *service-oriented businesses*.
A few statistics are enough to get an idea of the scope of this phenomenon: seventy percent of the employment in Florence is in the service sector; the historic centre of the city, which numbered 70,000 residents in 1971, ten years later had only 58,000 inhabitants; the service sector occupies, in the historic city (the historic centre plus the neighborhoods built in the 1800s outside the ring roads) fifty percent of all usable space reducing housing by half); the cost of residential spaces, when and if they can be found, is the same as that of offices, and rentals have soared to a rate ten times higher than the legal, rent-controlled prices. The average rental of living space, even for university students, is around 500.000 lire per room, per month. The use of space no longer follows the hierarchy of the historic city, the "centre", via Cavour, the outer boulevards, etc. It only applies for certain professions, such as the legal profession: of the 1200 law offices in Florence, ninety percent are in the historic centre, seventy in via Cavour alone, according to a recent study by Manlio Marchetta[3]. There is instead a single use of spaces, taking over the center, without any differentiations, street after street or even worse, occupying single buildings in their totality.
This process has caused a political impact which is intolerable: one third of the society, namely the poorer third, including the young couples — the biological heirs to the city — (if we agree with the tenet of the society in which "two-thirds live well and the others suffer"[4]), is completely excluded from living in Florence. These people are forced to choose between the squalid peripheral areas, or nearby towns and small cities. This has brought about an apparent drop in the population of the city, which is really only the result of a move, into what we might call the "greater metropolitan Florence" (Sesto Fiorentino, Scandicci, Campi Bisenzio, Calenzano, Bagno a Ripoli and Le Signe), which by now must be considered the *true Florence*, in every way, even in terms of territory. This drop in population served as an argument, and a grotesque one, in my opinion, for opponents of the northwest area development ("*we don't need it, the population is not expanding, but shrinking*"),

mystifying a phenomenon which is already well-understood, and which has affected all large cities with concentrated service-oriented industries (Paris, already in the 1930s, was loosing its population to the *banlieu*).
The second consequence of this process has been constant traffic problems in the course of the entire day (not just at "rush hours" as it happens in industrial cities), all over the city, due to the distribution of businesses — an infinity of small offices and points of dispatch/delivery spread across the city have created traffic and parking problems which will be very difficult to resolve by public surface transportation or a subway system.
But there is also a third consequence of this process, of a cultural, anthropological nature, which is perhaps even more intolerable: the *loss of the historic city's sense of being a place to live*, due to the confusion and mixture, within buildings, of residential units and offices.
Aside from the historic centre and the high quality, wealth and detailed organization of its residential fabric, Florence also had a period of enlightened residential development during the final decades of the 1800s and the first of the 1900s in which, beyond the circle of the boulevards, a residential system of great dignity was organized, an example of true *domestic architecture*. The system included "*villini*", small single-family houses with two or three windows and a central terrace, and a dual system of private outdoor spaces (a garden in front to meet the outside world, and a courtyard-vegetable garden to the rear for domestic life); three-storey buildings, with three windows, in the Neo-Renaissance version or the Neo-Medieval version ("palagetti terratetto"); and rental units in three to four-storey buildings, with five or seven windows. This building system was very well thought out (in terms of the size of the living spaces, the positioning of the entrances and the stairs, privacy with respect to the street, etc.), with an architectural style which could be defined as middle-class, or mini-classical academic, definitely, non pretentious and built, unequivocally, for residential use.
The irony of the situation is that it is precisely in these areas, more than in the historic centre of the city, the process is spreading and destroying the feeling of a residential zone, erasing the anthropological coordinates of those socio-spatial microcosms known as neighborhoods, streets, buildings: the rhythms and pauses of everyday life, the social order which exists between neighbors or the tenants of the same building, a sense of duration or of collective time, the vital interweaving of the public with the private.
This colonization by the service industry creates another form of interaction. On the same floor of a building, an encounter between the public and the private, an encounter between the softened gaze of the inhabitant who has thrown off his public, defensive mask in his home, and the eyes of the power-hungry businessman who is busy doing battle in his sector of choice. The smells of frying onions are mixed with those of copying machines; the secretary covered with





Paolo Sica, Castello project, third phase, 1987, view of the model.
View of the project area from southwest.



The metropolitan area of Florence: in the centre, the project for a multi-functional area in Castello (186 ha, about 3.000,000 mc), and a university area in Sesto Fiorentino; in green, the riverside parks and the park in the Castello plain; in pink the areas for service industries planned for the municipalities of Florence, Sesto, Campi Bisenzio, Signa and Scandicci.



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make-up, in heels, meets the grandfather in his slippers who has gone downstairs to collect his mail. These relations relegate the inhabitant to the role of *residual guest*, a kind of anachronism, either because of old age or because financial inability to keep up with the times, and thus an automatic candidate for an eventual move or disappearance. *To give the city back to its inhabitants* was, therefore, and still is, one of the most important objectives of the project for the northwestern area establishing appropriate spaces for today's workplace, completely lacking in Florence. Thus the Castello plan was not conceived only for the purpose of absorbing the 25,000 new service employees who would be needed between today and the year 2000 and to close the gap between Florence and Bologna-Milan, guaranteeing a future for the city. The idea was also to take some of the pressure off of the historic centre, easing congestion and helping to create a *livable environment for today*.

This decentralization was thought to be possible because of expected changes in urban policy (such as the new regional legislation on zoning which would have made it possible to block the proliferation of service-industry locations). It was believed that natural market laws would govern. A supply of space preferable to that of the crowded centre would become available along with a more central location being more appealing than the inner city. Easy access and parking, density and proximity of central functions, "prestige" brought about by carefully coordinated urban planning, including extra services, green areas and high quality architecture would add to the appeal.

Until June, 1989, I though of the Castello project in terms of a sort of safety valve, a means to siphon off the pressures which are destroying the centre of the city. This type of approach had already been used in Florence, in an academic context. Since the architecture department of the university was suddenly overflowing with 10,000 hopeful students, the Dean and the faculty requested funding and assistance to deal with the abnormal influx of students. The facilities of the architecture department were totally inadequate. But the governing body of the university denied these requests: from their point of view, the architecture department functioned as a safety valve, taking care of a large quantity of students who would have otherwise crowded the other departments. The architecture trend was seen as a saving grace for other faculties.

So the Castello project could be seen as a safety valve, or a containment wall, to the northwest of the city, in the context of migration within the metropolitan area; the lesser evil, or a necessary one for the survival of the city, a goal which could justify the sacrifice of nearly one hundred hectares of plains.

One year later, my perception of the Castello project has changed. During the last year, I have served on the Regional Technical Administrative Board (a commission which examines regulatory plans and their variants for the cities and towns of Tuscany), and I have noted a disturbing trend toward a reversal, with respect to the outlook of four or five years ago, of urban planning views on behalf of the local governments, followed by a change in investment strategies. The move has been toward oversized industrial areas, tourist facilities (ports, docks, camping, tourist villages), and the "recovery" of territory: golf courses (one for every town), agricultural areas converted to more or less luxurious condominium developments, or convention centres; waterfront parks or recreational facilities, etc. In the framework of this certainly not unpleasant outlook, in which the colour green seems to dominate and in which Tuscany becomes a sort of playground for Europe where peasant farmers become waiters, servants, gardeners etc. — almost like Hitler's delirious mad concept of Italy as the "garden of Europe" — the idea of the Castello project seems even more original and interesting. It seems to speak of a capital city which is willing to assume the responsibility for its destiny, through renewal and hard work (and once again we find the conflict between renewal and profit, this time in terms of land). The battle to be fought here is a political one, against the *double profits* by speculators during the last thirty years in Florence obtained by building 28 million cubic metres of residential units (to which we should add over 15 million cubic metres built during the same period in the suburbs of Bagno a Ripoli, Calenzano, Campi Bisenzio, Fiesole, Impruneta, Scandicci, Sesto Fiorentino and Le Signe)[5], without streets, social facilities or adequate services, while at the same time exploiting the scarcity of space in the historic centre, which continues to be the only "central place" in the entire extended urban system.

Florence and Design Culture

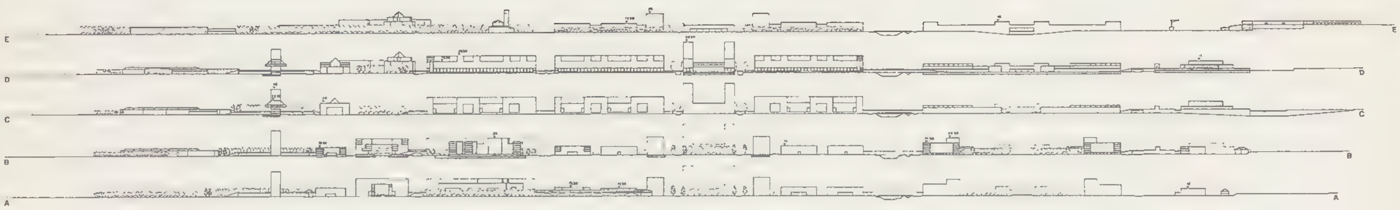
There was another reason behind my support of the Castello project, apart from the considerations mentioned above: the fact that the city government seemed finally to agree to undertake a programme of urban renewal within the context of a master design; something which would seem to be an obvious choice, but which takes on the characteristics of a new, innovative and daring choice in Florence where development has always been (at least in this century) a haphazard, individual affair, where *urban planning and design* were viewed, if not with distrust, with negligence in the process of modifying urban realities.

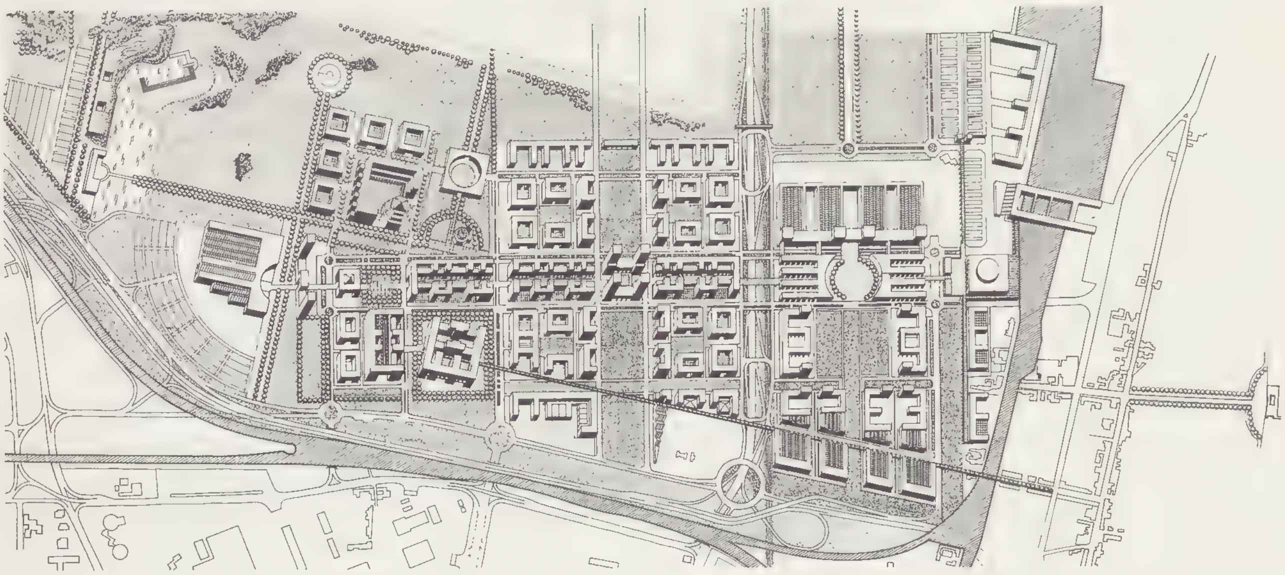
Of course this might seem like a personal gripe, the pet peeve of an architect, but it has to do with the entire approach to culture which reigns in this city; where the possibility of obtaining and using procedures which are suited to the complex problems of the modern city, and are also capable of dealing with its traditions, has always been held at bay. This is a city whose last urban planning project was the Poggi plan, enacted over one hundred years ago. The Detti Plan of 1962 is an exception to the rule, a sort of "road accident" created by the meeting of the Enlightment culture of "Justice and Liberty" with the populist sentiments of La Pira and his followers rather than being a project which was discussed and agreed upon.

As Paolo Baldeschi has recently written[6] in Florence we are

witnesses, from the Renaissance to the present, to a clash between two cultures: the city's original culture, mercantile, individualist, bloody and vibrant which looks for immediate gains and quick profits, oblivious to the needs of the city as a whole; and the culture of Humanism, based on a Renaissance matrix, which aims at an overall order, an organization of space in rational terms, in harmony.
The latter, at least during the post-war period, has had the worst of it in Florence; to deal with the city as a whole has been only a matter of theory, for the Stoics, a personal matter which never aimed at producing real effects: the life and work of Edoardo Detti, a prophet disarmed in his homeland, are a meaningful example of this cultural situation.
I don't want this judgement to seem too hasty or reckless, so some references are necessary, a quick look at specific situations of the recent history of the city — not a reconstruction, but a subjective glance at the facts regarding Florence and the destiny of the discipline of urban planning.
First, even if in a schematic fashion, we might consider the so-called "Florentine school". Since the 1950s the Florentine university architecture department has been influenced, for better or worse, by the teachings of Giovanni Michelucci, Leonardo Ricci and Leonardo Savioli, benefitting little from the presence, which could have become decisive, between 1950 and 1960, of Adalberto Libera and Ludovico Quaroni. The teachings fled from the very idea of urban planning; the regulatory plan was described as a bureaucratic marasse, useful only for clipping the wings of individual creativity and initiative, held to be the most important of all values. Individual inspiration was taught to be the highest of goals, and architecture, the architectural object was considered the only endeavor to possess a complete meaning and a full vocabulary. These are teachings in which the concepts of *urban design and the geography of the city* are alien notions, accepted only as foreign conditions.
A case in point of this attitude of detachment regarding the geography of the city is the Sorgane quarter, the "school's" most important work, apart from the high level of some of the designs of Ricci and Savioli. Located east of the city, on the agricultural planes of Bagno a Ripoli, Sorgane is a world apart from the city; its morphology, derived from the ideology of abstractionism of the 1950s, refuses any connections with the fabric of the territory, and presents itself, architecturally, as an intentionally *autonomous artifact*. This characteristic of autonomy with respect to the context is also typical of the urban planning projects of this school, such as Ricci's didactic research on "town design" or Michelucci's project for Piazza Santa Croce at the end of the 1960s: these are not urban planning projects which are linked to a context whose unique and unrepeatable qualities are recognized. Rather, they are utopian, or "atopian" meanderings, we might say with a certain dose of semantic distortion; images of dreams of possible cities, indifferent to the place itself, out of time and out of space, far from the real and distinctive character of the city. Just as the idea of "community" or "sociality" involved, and desired, was merely a historical milestone.
But the extraordinary part of all this, because it seems like a paradox, is the fact that this indifference to the geography of the city, to the complexity of Florence as a physical artifact, corresponds, in the "Florentine school", to the city's *cult of the individual*, mentioned above. This method of approaching the city and working within it creating "architectural fragments", even high-quality ones often inevitably "wrong" from an urban planning point of view, like the "new" Post Office in Florence by Michelucci, ends up helping preserve the existing city enhancing its value when it is compared to these fragments.
In light of these considerations, we can understand the exceptional "worldly" success of Michelucci — awards, celebrations, keys to various cities, etc. — which of course would not have been possible had it not been for his extraordinary talent; and, on the other hand, the isolation and ostracism faced by Detti, *advocate of urban reform*, and thus an alien with respect to the culture of the city.
A second consideration regards the long tradition of Florence as a city of futile and useless design competitions and plans. While architectural competitions which reveal themselves to be useless for the coherent rehabilitation of city areas abound in Italy, Florence has raised this type of futility to the level of an art form. Peremptory and extraneous to the cultural conditions of the city, the designs which result — even though the can and will always be modified in the building phase — clash with the culture of continuous postponements, the slow, sticky bureaucracy imposed by political, real estate and professional interests.
In post-war Florence, not even one of the important competitions on an urban scale has ever come to fruitions: the project for the reconstruction of Via Por Santa Maria failed, defeated by the invincible forces of the registered property network. So did the project for the Campo di Marte area, in the early 1960s when Poggi's field was still an extraordinary, immense open space in which children flew kites, near the magical ring (stadium) designed by Nervi, firmly set in the ground and opening out toward the sky like a flower in bloom. This open space has been transformed, today, into an amorphous mass of buildings and sports facilities, in which it is impossible to get an idea of the original character of the place, or to perceive any kind of intelligible design; and all of this is due to a total lack of zoning regulations. Another failure was that of the competition for the renewal of the Fortezza da Basso, announced in 1967 by the city's Exhibition Office, rather than by the city government; the project was obstructed, in two phases, by the Ministry of Public Works, and the results were partial at best, far from the original intentions, or from any overall idea of renewal or a role for the complex in the life of the city because the commission was first assigned to Italstat-Ipi System and later, while still in the design phase,

General axonometric of the multi-functional zone, longitudinal and transverse sections.







to Paolo Portoghesi. The competition for a renewal project for the University of Florence, in 1971, witnessed the failure of Detti's idea, which dated back to his zoning plan, integrating university services and administrative functions within a complex and dense urban system; the partial implementation of this project, resolving one single functional problem only, was possible, given the apathy which reigns in Florence, because of the determination of the University administration, which moved the complex to Sesto Fiorentino. The list goes on with the competition for an administrative centre in the Castello area, announced by the left-wing city government in 1976 and based on a limited version of an idea from the Detti plan, limiting the scope of the project to the construction of "public service" buildings (regional government offices and a courthouse). Finally we include in the list of failures the competition for the renovation of the outdated (and no longer used) Murate prison, in spite of the fact that the city government still declares that it intends to go through with the project.
The most serious aspect about these urban dramas is not so much the long list of unkept promises — which would concern only the professionals involved, had all work been blocked while waiting to come up with a better solution upon which all could agree — but rather the fact that many of these programmes have resulted in partial, haphazard implementations, without any coordination or overall idea, where it would often seem that the laws of "political parcelling" are the lesser evil as compared to those of "spatial parcelling", were it not for the fact that they are a condition and cause of the latter.
To speak of the regulatory plans of the post-war period would be a complicated and futile exercise, expecially because of the fact that this history is common knowledge and even notorious. The list includes the plan of 1951, which remained a "scheme", to that of 1958, never approved by the Ministry, and the Detti plan of 1962, which never truly implemented any of the planned structures (the administrative centre, the east-west axis, the renewal plan for the historic centre in organic compartments, major systems of services and green areas) except for stepping in for the timely protection of the city's surrounding hills (zoning bans can be effective!): finally there is the last plan, which is still being "worked on" since 1973, and is still not ready.
The Bellincioni plan of 1913, which outlined a sprawling mosaic of construction, has been the only successful plan of the century; in Detti's words: "*This plan (which, apart from an industrial zone in Novoli, is composed of an undifferentiated network of streets which double the size of the city, spreading out across the flat part of the valley) remained in effect until 1958, that is for 43 years, spanning two world wars, twenty years of Fascism and the period after the Liberation*"[7].
Two attempts at intercity planning were also failures: that of 1965 and that of 1973. It was not even possible to simply discuss them, because of the riotous controversy provoked by the kind of fiery animosities which can only be found in Tuscany. The cities of Florence and Prato have always been like *two bickering old maids*, as Arbasino remarked[8].
This destiny, which apparently cannot be altered, in which every proposal of any nature is bound to fail is, as we have said, rooted in the city's culture of individualism. I also believe it to be found in a tradition, particularly among the left and the Italian Communists, of *underestimating* the possibilities of urban planning. From the skepticism in the early 1960s, regarding the Detti plan, seen as an "Enlightenment" — style operation, ignoring the masses and their problems and conflicts to the so-called Movements following 1968 which interpreted urban planning as a social shock-absorber designed to relieve the pressures created by a dissatisfied population or reduced urban planning philosophy to a critique of capitalism. All of this ended up favouring programmes which merely maintained the statu quo. Even the latest left-wing city administration, during the second half of the 1970s, was still afflicted by this lack of understanding of the objectives of urban planning. Their attitude was displayed by the handling of a series of projects regarding important urban themes (the Le Piagge quarter, the restructuring of the Officine Galileo, work on the riverfront area Lungarno Aldo Moro), all of which were kept separate, with no coordination whatsoever.
The paradox in this Florentine situation lies in the fact that the absence of *design culture* as a normal practice, also damages the few who actually manage to build one of their designs. This is so rare and exceptional that they end up overdoing it, and the architectural result becomes "excessive", in spite of their talents.
The fact of the matter is that instead of attempting to find a solution for a concrete problem, which has its own nature and technical-functional limits, one ends up *commemorating architecture*, as a practice absent in the every day activities of the city.
The response to this type of criticism is that "after all, at least Florence has been able to preserve its historic centre". What is not taken into account, beyond the deep changes regarding the functional connotations of the centre which have made all the functions of every day life seem like alien rites ("a place of merchandising and the merchandising of a place", as H. Lefebvre defined it[9]), a process which is difficult to sustain and impossible to love except in the most contorted of ways, is the total squalor of the periphery — one of the worst of all large Italian cities — which *affects the centre*, reverberating, altering its meaning, impoverishing its message, tainting all that is there which is not purely visual, destroying the implicit meaning of its extraordinary architectural and urban traits.
Thus the Castello project would have served as an *urban planning indemnity*, above and beyond political considerations: a *coherent urban addition*, studied, or at least attempting to offer a decent level of quality of life and thus capable of *re-establishing* a relationship between the inner city and its surroundings, between the quality of

tradition and the potential quality of the contemporary.

The Conflict between the Northwest Area Project and the Regulatory Master Plan

During the last two or three months before the burial of the Castello project, a slogan began to circulate in Florence, even among those who were not openly hostile to the project, which seemed to be very persuasive and reasonable — "make the northwest variant compatible with the master plan" — but this was actually quite contradictory, given the nature of the new master plan which Giuseppe Campos Venuti had been developing; a slogan used by the author of the plan himself who proposed a reduction of the size of the Castello project (from 3,000,000 to 1,100,000 cubic metres), chopping off two thirds of its *urban planning weight*.

I believe that this was a strategic smokescreen, consciously used by some knowing that it was contradictory, because it promoted *two mutually exclusive ideas of the city*. The first idea, developed in the master plan, was based on the *continuity of the existing city* accepting its mono-centric structure, the multiple positioning schemes of "building approval applications" (meaning real estate interests), the seemingly biological nature of multi-directional growth which would perpetuate the existing hierarchical situation. The second idea implicit in the Northwest Variant as a central and decisive planning factor, was based on the idea of *discontinuity* with respect to the existing city. It intended to move the centre of gravity of those activities which are strangling the historical centre, and was thus an idea of *reform and addition to the city*, as a form of growth strongly influenced by planning, as opposed to the so-called "organic" development of the city.

It is something of a paradox that in this entire story we find an implicit battle between two very different ideas of "urban reform"; in fact, Campos Venuti explicitly refers to *urban planning for reform*, as one of the political horizons of his plan. The first, that of the Northwest Variant, aims at reforming the overall functioning of the city and, in order to accomplish this ("urban planning comes first") he has no reservations in dealing with politically connected entities such as Fiat or Fondiara; especially because the results, in terms of "real estate relations", are quite satisfactory (over 70% of the area for the "public" in the Castello project, within a programme created by the city government); the second takes into consideration in the master plan all of the various forms of "real estate needs" and construction applications and portrays itself as innovative and "reform-oriented" by stipulating updated regulations in the area of urbanization (the use of the surface area and the allocation of areas for public use).

In the first case there is a desire to reform the *city specifically*, its form and its functioning; the second idea conveys the desire to change the quantitative rules which govern real estate development, within a frame of reference and a cultural outlook which is that of "land reform" to be

View of the model from the south, with the shopping centre in the foreground.
View of the model from the west, looking toward the city.





achieved within the context of the existing city. This is a division which has produced a kind of face-off between the "architect-urban planners", if we can so define them, who pay attention to the specific conditions of the city, and the "urban planner-urban planners" who are more oriented toward policy and political considerations, and the results of this division have been no less than disastrous: it is no coincidence that most of the urban planning experts who supported the Eastern Administrative System in Rome are also the most tenacious opponents of the Florentine Northwest Variant, even though the goals of both projects are the same (decentralization/rehabilitation of the historic centre); but the "real estate" frame of reference was different (appropriation of lands which were then allocated to private companies, in the first case; agreements with the private owners of the lands, in the second, characterized by critics as "shameless gerrymandering").

Two conceptions of the city-continuity vs. discontinuity both legitimate along general lines or in an abstract comparison of models; two ideas with profoundly different effects if brought to the level of *the specific case of Florence*, with all of the problems which have been accumulated there during the last forty years; problems and urban realities for which, in my opinion, the master plan of Campos Venuti is unconvincing and inadequate. The reasons for this opinion could be summed up in the following points: *The sizing of the plan*: the plan provides for a grouping of the "building approval requests" for projects of all different types in place of a classical and of course problematical analysis of the needs of the city, from the recycling of abandoned industrial zones to private or cooperative initiatives in the area of residential construction — which have been building up over the years on the desks of the aldermen in charge of city planning and zoning for whom autonomous plans for the recovery of scarred urban tissue — or redesign are scarce. Seventy microprojects (from two to ten hectares), aside from the Fiat project (700,000 cubic metres) and that of Fondiaria (1,100,000 cubic metres), most of which are exceptional in character, spread out in all directions, characterized by their intentional rendemnes and by their location or as in the "Housing Plan" (76 hectares), part and parcel of the master plan, merely recording private initiatives without any coordination, distinct and separate from any set of goals for a complete, contextual design.

The criteria used for dimensioning, in the absence of any definition of specific needs of the city, were tied to a comparison — which I deem inappropriate — with the recent plans for Bologna and Milan, without considering, as far as the service sector is concerned, all that has happened during the last 20-30 years in Florence, and the backlog of buildings needed.

The growth model: this is the most surprising aspect of the theoretical posture of the master plan, inasmuch as the notion of a development trend which might be traditional but is undoubtedly necessary especially for Florence is replaced by the idea of "equilibrium between the parts" of the city, which would mean an equal distribution of development, ignoring morphologies, history and the objectives of urban reform. These quantitative criteria are distributed in an arbitrary way across the map of the city, which is divided into "quadrants", the Northeast, the Southeast, the Northwest, the Southwest, with the objective of undermining the initiative for the northwestern area, returning to the old, single-centre concept. While Detti's idea of a bipolarity between the eastern and western areas is accepted, a new and worrisome dichotomy is introduced between the north and the south. All of this prompts us to imagine — not out of malice, but putting ourselves in the shoes of those who worked on this master plan — that the "theory of equilibrium" may have been prompted less by some need for innovation within urban planning culture than by a need to dignify the choice of "building permit applications" as the sole parameter, however randomly distributed, for the plan's outlines. This may have been prompted by the political needs beyond the considerations of pure urban planning, to acknowledge all requests hiding behind "reform-oriented" rules.

The service sector problem: in my opinion, the authors of the plan have seriously underestimated this problem, as they propose decentralizing only the "largest flux" services (the telephone company, the courthouse) without taking into account the problem created by private service businesses in the historic centre. The proposal to reserve quotas, large or small, for the service sector in micro-projects within the plan is completely inadequate, since access problems and concentration will not attract large numbers of clients to those services. They will thus be used only by "neighborhood" residents, without having any impact on the city centre. The invasion of the historic centre by service industry businesses continues to grow unchecked, just as in the "Preliminary Plan" which allowed businesses to buy or rent spaces anywhere in the city as long as the rooms had ceilings at least three metres heigh. Another confirmation of the fact that this problem has been underestimated is the plan's silence as far as the historic centre is concerned, devoid of provisions regarding functions or character of permissible buildings or renovations; it would seem obvious that this sort of definition would be the starting point for any basis for functional redistribution.

The east-west crossing of the city: one of the crucial problems for the functioning of the city and the development of Florentine urban culture is left unresolved by the Campos plan.

The basic diagramatic model of the city can be understood as a large "H" formed by the two expressways to the east and the west, connected by a cross-bar through the centre of the city. However this is a model which cannot function, because the solution makes use of the existing roads around Mugnone, between the Cure and the Fortezza da Basso and between the Fortezza and Novoli. There's no disguising the difficulty of this problem or the dramatic losses, in terms of environmental quality, which any new solution would

impose, but this is not a solution, and will only be temporary. The problem is an essential one for the life of the city, as Detti declared in 1978: "*The so-called commercial axis should not be considered a simple infrastructure, but rather* a cornerstone of a new order *which will involve the entire process of finding a new urban equilibrium, for the city and the historic centre as well*"[10]. This new equilibrium would have had the Castello area as its fulcrum, "*the only resource available for the decentralization of the city and for the creation of services in the interest of the entire territory*", quoting Detti[11]. Leonardo Benevolo, in 1967, had already pointed out the problems created by Florence's excessive emphasis on its centre: "*a service-equipped axis could be a suitable method of breaking up the city's present thin, mono-centric structure, which has grown out of a disproportionate development based on the model of the ancient fortified city (...) because today's Florence still gravitates, with absurd persistence, around its historical centre, and the model established in the days of the Orders of Justice still rules over the modern city, from six to ten times larger than it was if we take into consideration the breadth of the greater metropolitan area (...). The result of this situation is not turned to the advantage of the historical city, but is highly damaging, slower but more efficient than any flood could have been*"[12].
The expansion/transformation dilemma: like any set of alternatives taken as a group, this dilemma, broadly speaking, runs the risk of destroying the specific nature of the city and resolving mechanically, without a case-by-case critical interpretation, the problem of redesigning the city and restoring functional character to abandoned areas or interstitial spaces as sites slated for renovation. Such a point of view can mean losing sight, within the existing city, of the vital relationships between built and empty spaces, the pauses and sections of buildings. As far as abandoned industrial spaces are concerned, one might lose sight of possible alternative uses or, especially in the case of Florence, ways to adapt such spaces for new industrial uses in order to increase the functional capacity of the inner city, and help to prevent or alleviate the growing congestion of all of the residual suburban spaces. This dilemma has confused many urban planners, some of whom were even prompted to pronounce superficial opinions about the Northwest Variant — the Fiat operation was said to be acceptable because it was a transformation, while the Fondiaria project was abhorred as an expansion — ignoring an entire series of other considerations such as, for example, the extraordinary density and congestion which is already present in the Fiat-Novoli district. The risk involved in opting for "transformation" is that of *closing off* the city, making it into a kind of monolith, suffocating within its walls.
The ideology of the Italian service sector: there is no doubt about the fact that the proposals of the Campos Venuti plan are coherent when viewed in relation too growth model of micro-projects and participants who are part of the Florentine scene: small and medium-sized construction companies and real estate developers. On the other hand, the plan holds big business capital hostage, such as that of Fiat or Fondiaria. It is debatable whether or not this is the right choice for Florence, in terms of the *returns the city will gain* from the seventy micro-projects: green areas, services, public spaces, improved traffic flow, facilities. It seems reasonable to doubt that the returns from these projects could in any way measure up to the offerings of the two major industries. What is not debatable in the least, because it is completely erroneous, is the totally ideological claim by the plan that the service sector, comprised of small and medium Florentine construction-real estate development businesses, might function as their counterparts in the central-northeastern parts of the nation. There is no comparison between the vitality, the innovation, the level of technological expertise and the entrepreneurial courage of the small firms in these regions with those in the real estate sector, especially in Florence, where opportunism reigns over and above the idea of profits from production, where conniving and political connections are the rule in the parcelling out of land and contracts. In all of this there is nothing of the heralded post-industrial revolution and the "Italian miracle".
But this is all in keeping with the overwhelming hegemony of the forces in favour of continuity.

The Project Itself

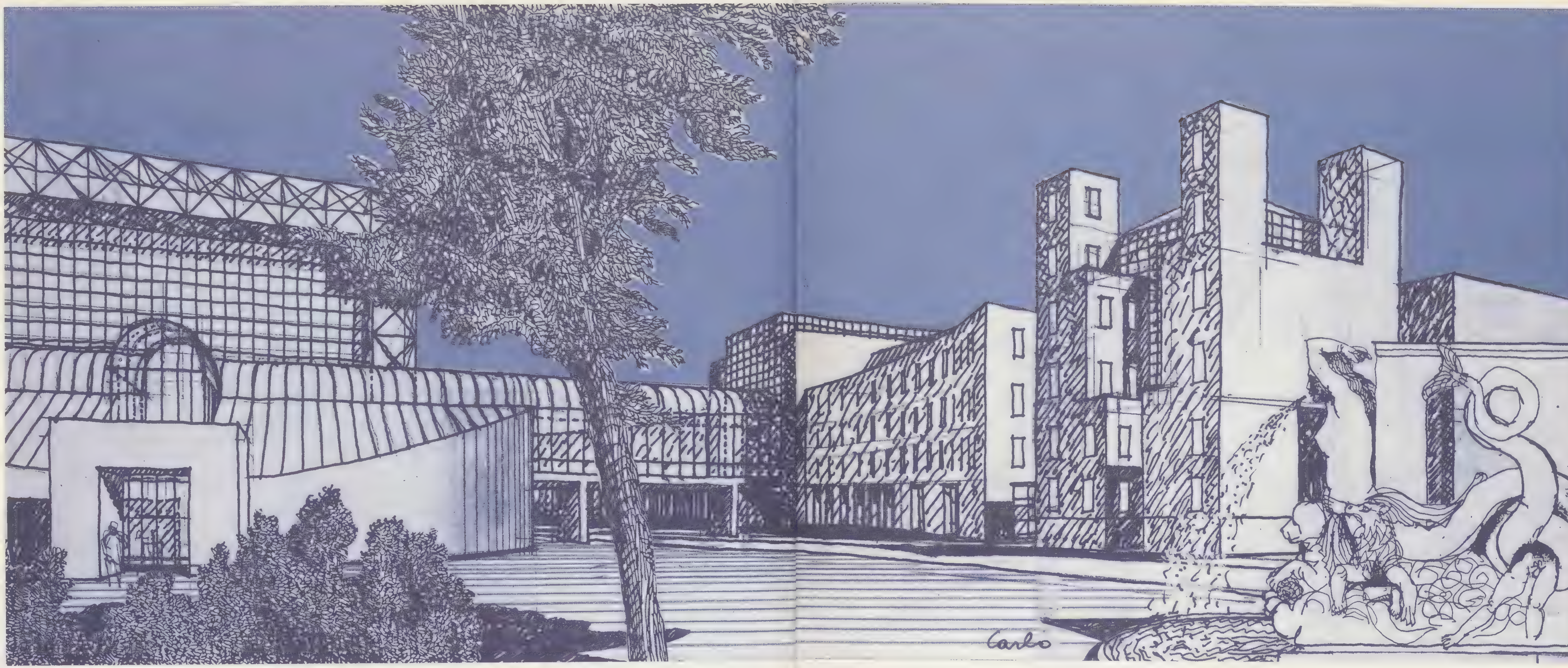
The frame of reference and cultural options of the project can be summed up in the idea and practice of the *urban planning projects* as they have developed over the course of the last 10-15 years in European cities, as a response to the *urban decay*, generated by simplifications of urban planning ideology, derived from "functional" architecture (the functional specialization of zones, circulation infrastructure hypertrophy, hygienist opening of closed spaces, a denial of the values of the historic city which was to be reformed according to contemporary values).
Urban design begins by examining the *geography of a given city*, its needs and the *suggestions* it offers, by using architecture *to give form to the site*; this type of design is the offspring of complexity and superimposition. It seeks to repair the gap between the theory of the architecture of buildings and that of urban planning, to fill it by using *the intermediate-scale design*: the attention of the designer is turned to the form of the city, examined in appropriate design dimensions; and the goal of this activity, besides the creation of buildings, is that of the *architectural organization of the city (spaces, fabric, squares)*.
The main themes and ingredients of the urban planning project are as follows: the definition of streets and roadways to define spaces, the interdependence on streets and buildings, the development of new building patterns, the reinterpretation of urban spaces. The characteristics of the project could be summed up as follows: it will have an impact on the surrounding territory, beyond the area of the project itself; it will create a situation of complexity and

Birds-eye view of the model.



interdependence of functions, beyond mono-functional visions and single ingredients (*the* park, *the* street, *the* type of building, etc.) toward a vision of a mixture of uses and of users, of temporal rhythms and visual orientations; intermediate-scale projects to be completed within a specific time-frame, not the vague, indeterminate type of planning found in the Florence master plan; a willingness to undertake the design of the city itself, not just of its individual buildings; a recognition of the importance of public spaces and collective needs.
Thus the objective of the project was, due to the *specific dimensions* involved, to define an entire *part of the city*, or an *addition*, as we said above; and this could not be accomplished by using only the methods of architectural design or landmarks, nor by creating the kind of emblematic monument to the age of the service sector such as Stirling's beautiful design for the Castello area competition of 1976.
A part of the city which, because of its particularly isolated position, blocked off on three sides (by highways and railroad tracks) with respect to the city, couldn't help being, in spite of the search for connections — sight lines, orientations, physical links — a strongly *autonomous configuration*.
Thus the notion, already present in the design of the nearby Science satellite of the University, of the *founding city* consistent, in its formal autonomy, with the model of urban growth based on *discontinuity*.
The morphological reference points are to be found not so much in the additions of the 1800s which were usually characterized by a strong emphasis on the fabric, the network of blocks, theorically limitless, as in the highly hierarchical settlements such as the founding cities.
Among these, the *closest* examples, for historical and territorial reasons, and also used as case studies, were the cities of the so-called "Terre murate" (walled lands), such as San Giovanni Valdarno, Terranova, Scarperia, etc., founded in the 1300s by the Florentine Republic with the objective of constructing a territorial network of dependencies and relations: *the true historical periphery of Florence*, as Antonio Acuto, a Lombard who knows something about the Tuscan region, has remarked.
Of all these models yielded up an overall hierarchical structure was chosen, based on a cross, with a main-axis, the axis of activity, the architectural representation of the social fabric, of traffic patterns defining its dimensions, crossed by large public squares, full of monuments, representing the identity of the community.
These are also the main themes of the Castello project although enriched, on the north-south axis, by a more articulated sequence of cruxes; by the fraying, southwards, of the thick urban fabric opening itself to the territory park and by the spacing role of the "urban green", absent in the "Terre Murate".

1) Reference is to a telephone call made on 26th June 1989 by Achille Occhetto, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), to the Florence PCI leaders, and to the following redlight given to the approval *iter* of the Detailed Planning Project, scheduled for discussion by the Town Council two days later, i.e. on 28th June.
Along with the design promoted by the Florentine Public Administration published here, the design by Paolo Sica with A. Olivetti and G. Faieta (commissioned by La Fondiaria in 1986-88) was never presented to the city. The design was only displayed as part of the work of Paolo Sica in October of 1989.
La Fondiaria had also requested Tomàs Maldonado, in 1984, to coordinate the architectural design and the team of internationally reknown designers for the first phase of the project. Among those designers were Marco Zanuso, designer for the La Fondiaria offices, Gino Valle for the mixed-use commercial center, Norman Foster for the reception center; Atelier 5, Henri Ciriani, Italo Gamberini, Franca Helg and Pier Luigi Spadolini for the residential buildings; Adolfo Natalini and O. Mathias Ungers for the administration buildings: Carlo Aymonino, Vittorio Gregotti and Paolo Sica for the mixed use residential and administration buildings.
2) G. BIANCHI, *La contemporaneità di Firenze nella vita economica e politica della Toscana*, paper read at the Symposium *Firenze, città d'arte e città contemporanea*, held in Florence on 26th and 27th January 1990.
3) v. AA.VV., *La trasformazione urbanistica nel Centro Storico di Firenze: la distribuzione delle funzioni e la struttura della proprietà*, a study by M. MARCHETTA, printed in *Firenze: conoscere il centro storico*, book No. 1, by Manlio Marchetta, Comune di Firenze/Istituto di Ricerca Territoriale e Urbana, Florence 1990.
4) To this analysis referred for instance Asor Rosa on several occasions.
5) v. AA.VV., *Processo di urbanizzazione nell'area Firenze-Prato-Pistoia. Documentazione e atti della prima fase della conferenza per il coordinamento degli interventi di pianificazione territoriale dell'area*, Florence 1984.
6) v. P. BALDESCHI, *La pianificazione comunale e intercomunale fiorentina*, in AA.VV., *Il disegno della città. L'urbanistica a Firenze nell'Ottocento e nel Novecento*, Florence 1986.
7) E. DETTI, *Firenze: una storia di piani*, in "Casabella" No. 434, March 1978, pages 10-12.
8) Arbasino's definition is mentioned by G. BIANCHI in *La contemporaneità...*, ibid.
9) v. H. LEFEBVRE, *Le droit à la ville*, Édition Anthropos, Paris 1968. Italian translation *Il diritto alla città*, Padua 1970.
10) E. DETTI, *Firenze...*, ibid.
11) E. DETTI, *Gli effetti della centralità dell'area ed alcuni fondamentali problemi di struttura da decidere con priorità*, in AA.VV., *Processo di urbanizzazione nell'area Firenze-Prato-Pistoia...*, ibid.
12) L. BENEVOLO, *Firenze 1/2*, article in *Il Ponte* No. 12, December 1967, reviewing AA.VV., *Firenze 1/2, Progetto Sperimentale per l'asse attrezzato di scorrimento*, Florence 1967.
13) The idea of a "park for the plains" was born out of the "Amalasunta" design, winner in 1971 of the international competition for the refurbishing of the University of Florence. Considered in the various studies for the Inter-municipal plan and by the PR6 of Sesto Fiorentino and Campi Bisanzio in the '80s it is today a central part of the plan for metropolitan Florence. In the design by the Tuscan Region, the geometry of the roman land division is the base upon which the landscape of the Park and the edges of each municipality were defined (Firenze, Sesto F., and Campi). The Park areas are laid out as follows, from east to west: archery, swimming, sports arena, nature preserve, golf course and horseback riding area; south of these are the youth hostel and campgrunds. Also included in the master plan are transportation limes (existing and future), a multi-use center at Castello (further east, the new university campus (currently being built) the new (currently being debated) hightway administration center and the Peretola airport as it exists today.

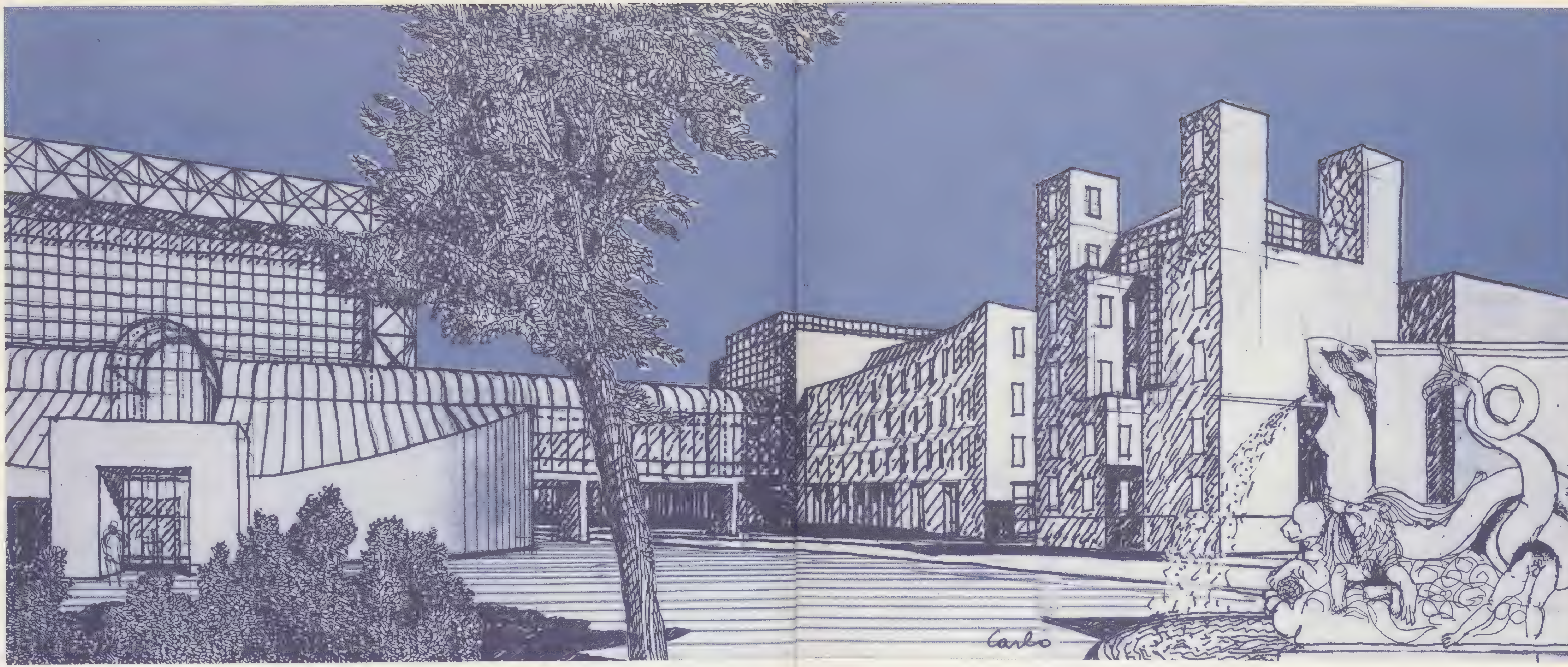


Residential and Commercial Complex, San Lorenzo a Greve, Florence

1987-89

Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini

Perspective from southeast.

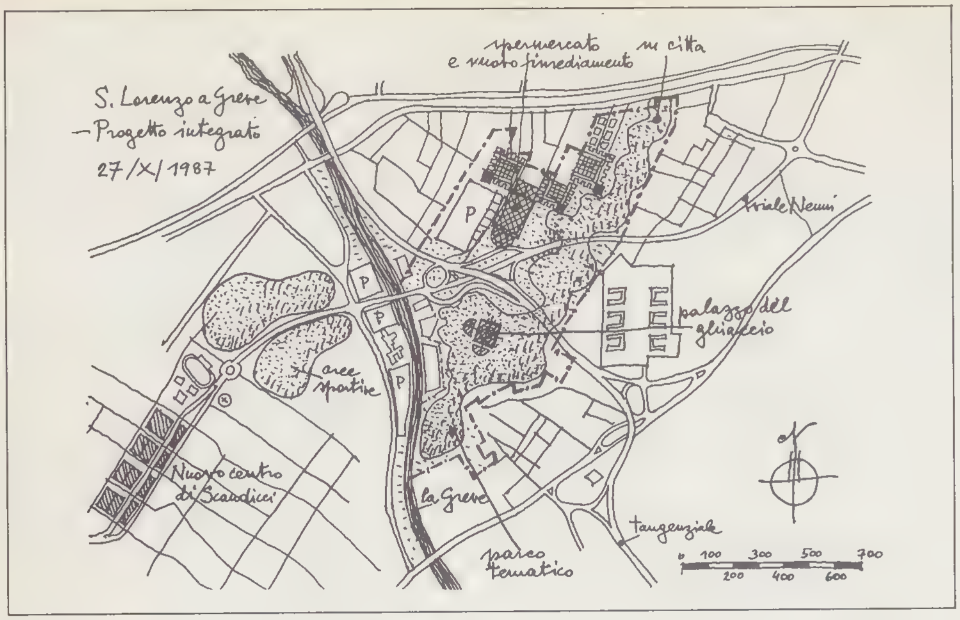


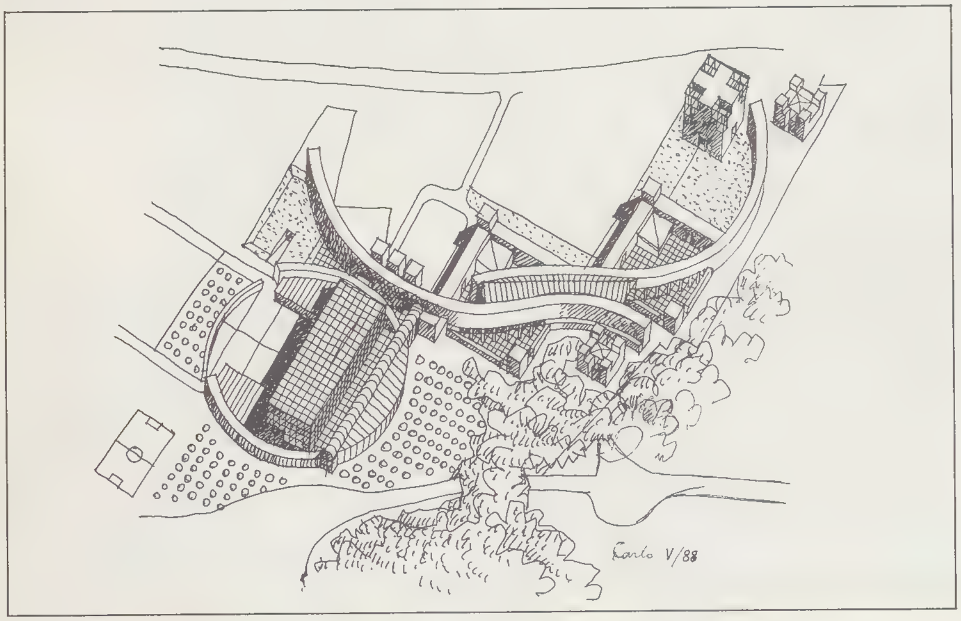
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Perspective from southeast.







Sketches for early solutions.
Site plan of the metropolitan area of Florence: 1) Multi-use Castello area (186 ha, about 3.000.000 mc); 2) San Lorenzo a Greve residential and commercial complex (154 ha, about 390.000 mc); 3) Residential and commercial complex on Fiat property at Novoli (32 ha, about 1.000.000 mc).

A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence

Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini

Introduction

Three basic phenomena can be identified in Italian cities today: 1) Zero population growth did not reflect in a similar decrease in existing or new needs and services; to the contrary, there has been an increasing request for "smart" services, sophisticated scientific research, cultural events and the need to revitalize historic buildings and structures. As this process develops, it will also influence the standards of living, emphasizing the importance of all the "services for the individual cell"; 2) In contrast with the 70's, the present availability of public funds and private investments, which amount to hundreds of millions of dollars, require that central and local governments be able to plan, decide and direct the quantity and the quality of funds allocated; 3) The great works undertaken in recent years and still ongoing brought about a new way of looking at a city as a whole, no longer through the eyes of grid layouts of City Master Plans, but from the point of view of complex architectural projects, *true components of the city* to be integrated into the existing urban structure and capable of modifying it.

These three intertwining phenomena are changing the development process of cities, focusing on specific "components" of the urban structure. The first "component" is a recovery and preservation of the historic centre *in its totality*, insuring its use for public and social activities such as cultural events, turism and leisure. This would include the recycling of central areas eligible for renovation such as unused or abandoned industrial facilities which have outlived their intended use and which could be zoned otherwise. The second "component" is the reorganization and rehabilitation of obsolete manufacturing facilities and State proprieties, such as prisons, barracks, etc., in the surrounding areas of the historic centre, changing their use to adapt them to existing needs. Thirdly, the addition of new structures (urban and architectural) mased not on a generic zoning principle, but specifically conceived for a complex urban structure according to architectural projects of a broad scope which would foster the redevelopment of the surrounding areas and of the master plan, particularly with respect to circulation and accessibility. Although the results are still few and far between, the growth of interest, studies, analyses, funds and developments directed towards the rehabilitation of historic centres will cause a similar process to be applied to the suburbs.

The intense use of the historic centres by local residents and non-resident users has created the need to develop and transform the suburbs, integrating them as "components" of the city and incorporating them into the urban structure. Sometimes this process is a true redevelopment of the morphological plan of an area and of the building types; sometimes it is accomplished by the erection of new facilities in the city and its outlying area; sometimes it is a new development, coordinated and consistently planned, having as high a density and quality as the most well-established areas of the city.

The "South-West" variant for San Lorenzo a Greve has two main reasons of interest: first of all the area is located between the suburbs of two different cities (Florence and Scandicci) and, secondly, it is a private development with several use patterns, agreed upon and directed by the local public administration; it is not strictly a "residential district", but integrated in the city's fabric and able to consolidate and transform its surroundings. It is therefore a complex architectural project, to be developed as a unit.

The Project Site

The project site is in the shape of a "triangle" surrounded by Via Pisana, the Greve river and Via di Scandicci. The land is owned in part by the city of Florence and the city of Scandicci, being that Via del Roncolino represents the border between the two municipalities.

The area is crossed, at mid-section, from East to West, by the new Viale Nenni by-pass not yet in operation. Located to the south of Viale Nenni, almost tangent to it and reaching Via di Scandicci are the army barracks of the "Lupi di Toscana" corps. Viale Nenni and the Lupi di Toscana barracks surround three empty lots within the area. Such areas are still used to date for agricultural activities (mostly vegetable gardens for home use or street market sales) and warehousing of building materials, gas cylinders, etc.

The site is crossed by a perpendicular road grid (in a North-East/South-West and North-West/South-East direction) overlayed on what once were side-roads and country-roads. This grid determined the orientation of the most recent, local housing and urban developments.

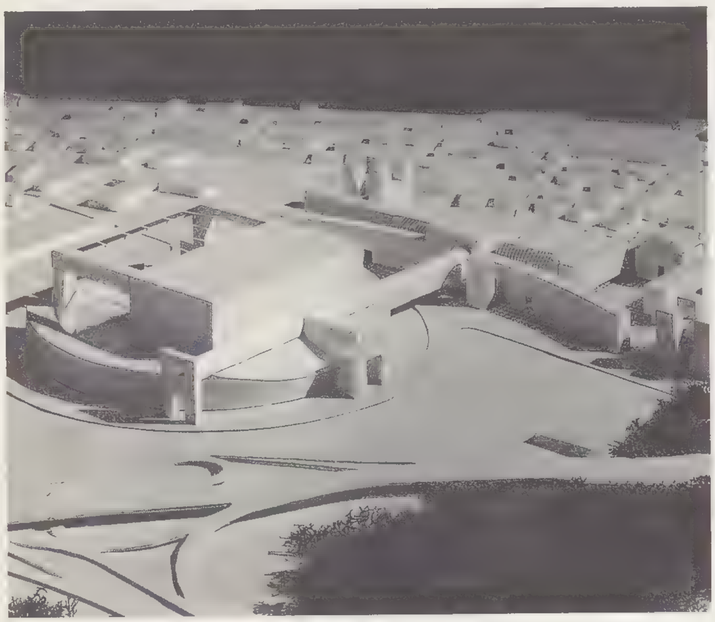
Vegetation is sparse: spontaneous growth and bushes along the old farm-roads and side-roads, sprinkled by a few isolated trees here and there. On the whole, the existing trees do not give a specific character to the area.

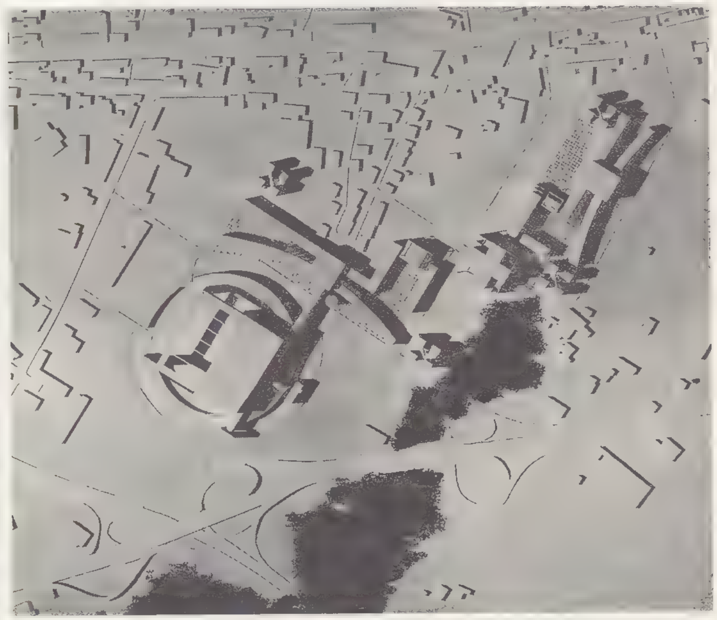
The site, once used for vegetable gardens and small scale agricultural use in the outskirts of town, representing a transition between the town itself and the rural life of the hills, has completely lost its original characteristics. The growing suburbs of Florence and Scandicci (along Via Pisana, Via di Scandicci, most of the Greve river's right bank and at the vertices of the triangular-shaped site) have eroded and so severely changed the original environment, that it is no longer discernible neither within the boundaries of the site nor in the surrounding areas.

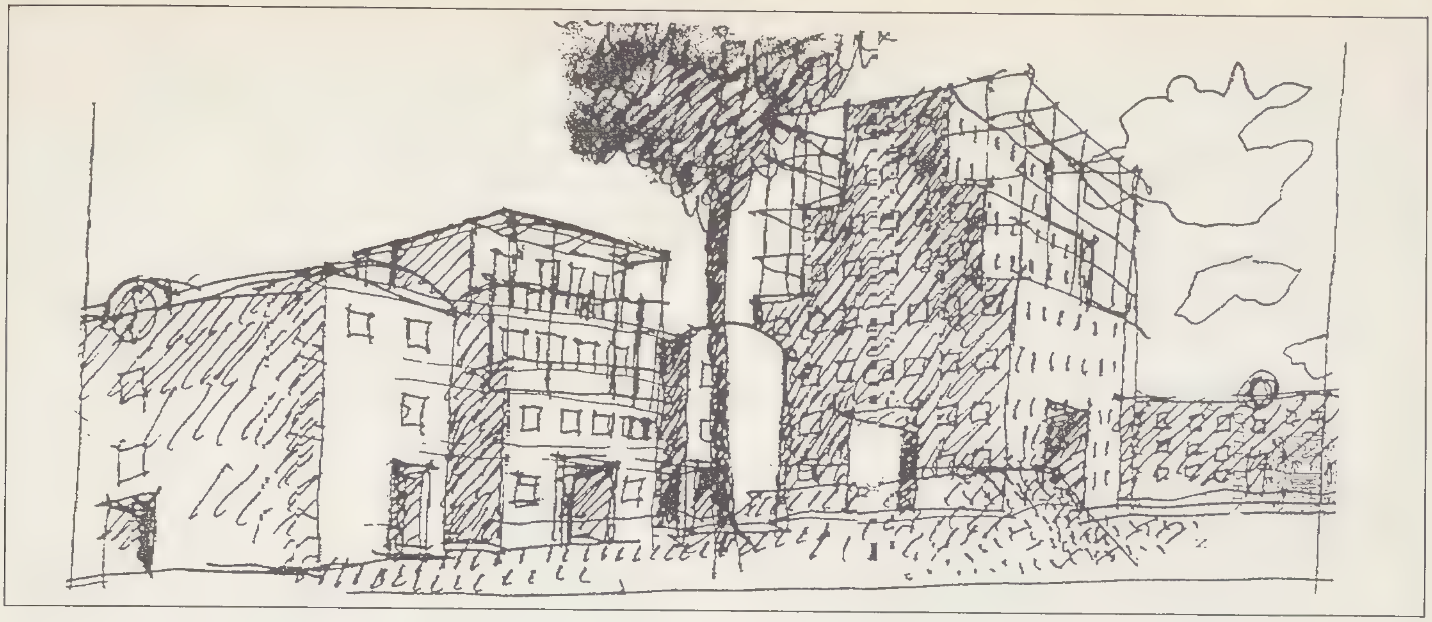
At present the vacant section of the site displays the characteristics of leftover areas limited and enclosed by two suburban systems.

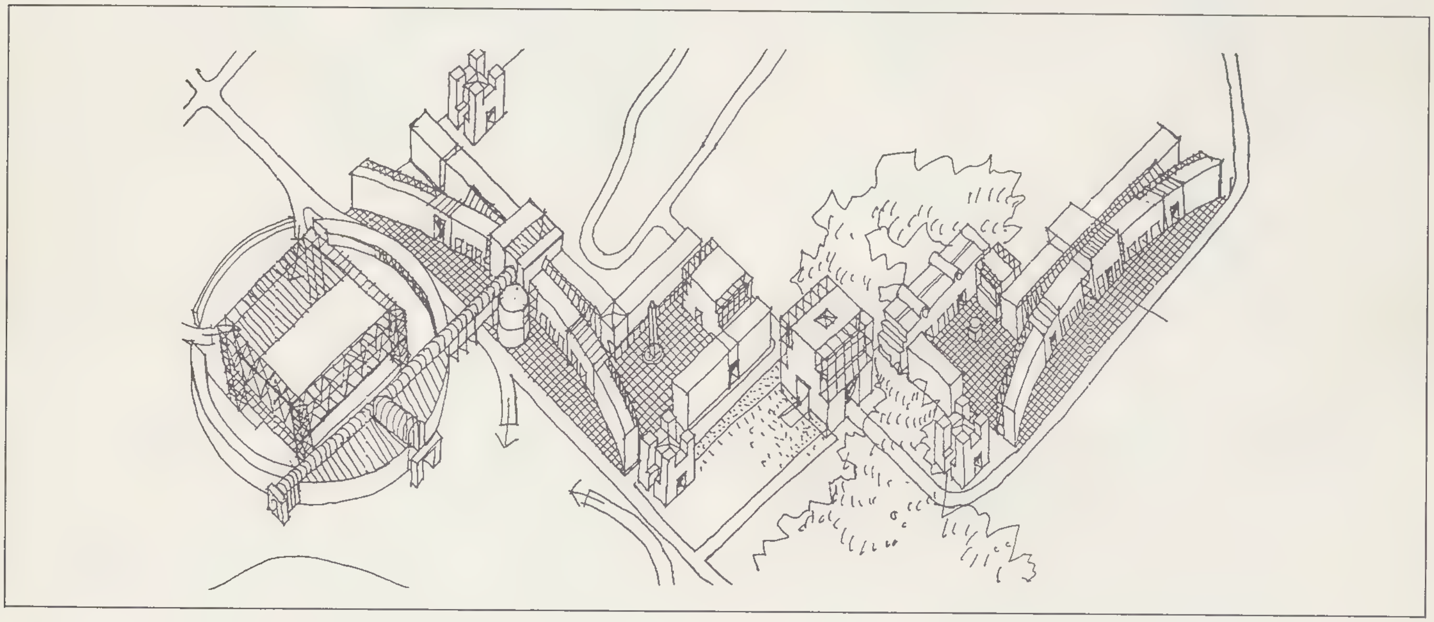
From the hydrogeological point of view the area is free of pending rainwater (the drainage of the existing agricultural areas is efficient) and is not susceptible to flooding by the Greve river (the Greve has reliable embankments along the site, well maintained and able to contain seasonal flooding











Southeast, south, and top view of the model.
Sketches of the final solution.

even when at extraordinary levels. During the 1966 flooding, this district was not flooded at all and it is not even listed among the areas at risk in the official hydrogeological map prepared by the Tuscan Regional Board).
Building types in the area can be divided according to the following types and site criteria:
In the central portion of the area there are architecturally insignificant, poorly refurbished and isolated farmhouses, some heterogeneous building groups of two or three-storey residential buildings, developed from former agricultural settlements, and the Lupi di Toscana military barracks, two or three storeys high, covering an area of about 10 hectares; along the perimeter of the area, there is an almost uninterrupted cluster of dated buildings, two and three-storey high — some of which have been refurbished and expanded in recent years — and a score of recently built four or five-storey buildings; at the corners of the area there are clusters of recently built residential buildings in line, with single or double vertical circulations, three to six storyes high; public services, primary and secondary schools, etc. are included within these developments.

Current Urban Predictions

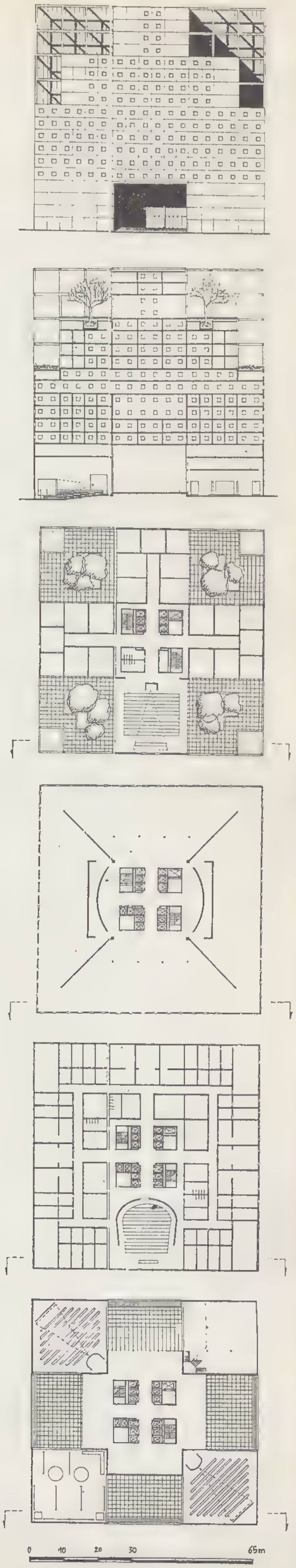
The existing zoning for the land use in the municipalities of Florence and Scandicci cannot be used any longer as a valid reference to outline a scheduled use of the area's resources. It is therefore much more realistic to refer to the "Progetto Preliminare di Piano" (Preliminary Plan Study) of Florence and to the town planning predictions resulting from the studies focused on the revision of the General Town Plan of Scandicci.
The Preliminary Plan Study of Florence classifies San Lorenzo a Greve as an "*interstitial site, an unbuilt area, a buffer zone between the massive residential extensions of Florence and Scandicci*". Among the unbuilt areas on the plain, the San Lorenzo a Greve area is not subject to "*severe restrictions*". Furthermore it has been partially zoned for service structures, new private and/or government funded low-cost public housing and a street system, including a ring road connection between Careggi and Scandicci, merging at Viale Nenni. This street system would include large areas along the roads, for services such as parks and car parking; on the other hand this very system would make the areas easily accessible and suitable for public services to be used by the city itself and by the outlying area.

The Project

The main items of this proposal can be summarized as follows: to establish and size an "urban pole" able to create a new character — in terms of morphology and function — for the two suburban areas of Florence and Scandicci within the redevelopment plan of the South-West district of Florence; the definition of "specialized" functions of the new urban pole by the construction of leisure structures ("theme park", media library, fun-fair), a full-service shopping centre, special residential housing for the underpriviledged segment of the population and business and service structures presently absent in the area; definition of the main elements of the project, both environmentally and functionally; the redevelopment of the street system — with particular emphasis on the connection between Viale Nenni and the Tangenziale Ovest; the re-establishment of the river eco-system (Greve-Arno rivers) and the construction of residential housing within the limits of the overall housing requirements established by the city.
Since the project concerns the outskirts both of Florence and Scandicci, it becomes a sensitive link between the two urban systems because of the concentration of public services and facilities. Suburbs tend to join at random as the backs of the houses advancing from opposite sites fill all gaps in between, exhausting the available space, but without truly becoming a city.
This is an attempt to outline an organizational pattern, characterized by service and housing axes intended to blend with the existing, randomly spread out buildings, and foster their rehabilitation.
Clearly the present mixed usage of the land along with the existing and the planned street system represent a series of restrictions conditioning the plan of the project, complicating its design. However, such restrictions bestow the fascination and the limits of reality upon the design itself.
The urban plan is therefore determined by the relations between its different natural or artificial components; the building types themselves are the result of their usage, both in case of a single use — the ice skating rink or the shopping centre — or mixed-use such as housing, commercial and services. The theme park enclosed within the city park can, in itself, become an integrating factor for all these components.
The shopping centre can however integrate its "single function" by means of a pedestrian arcade, refreshment facilities, and possibly some offices. The same concept can be applied to the ice skating rink and the discoteque, the refreshment-room and the athletic facilities.
Housing design should also allow for the greatest amount of variety: the major part should face the park, although the housing should have a definite urban character. The service facilities could be concentrated in the high-rises or at the first floors of the residential buildings.
The project is based on the complexity of the functional integrations and the possibility of recognizing the different components of the urban pattern thru their form. It is based on a strict separation between vehicular circulation, parking areas, and pedestrian circulation which tie together the whole complex. Accepting the formal and functional solution of the shopping centre as valid, the rest of the project has revolved around few building type elements, which can be repeated and combined, forming open spaces, passage ways and squares, with particular emphasis on the possible and desirable *variations* of the different building types within the overall concept of the project. The volumes of the massing

plan should therefore be considered more as "organizational envelopes" of what can be built, rather than unit volumes of housing quota. The exception is the office tower, the real organizational fulcrum of the two residential "parts", both because of its height (10 to 12 storeys compared to the 3 to 4 storeys of the houses) and its central location in the road system. Three "cubic" building types located where the complex begins, become urban "signs" heralding the new project. Social service facilities (residences for senior citizens, kindergarten, first aid station, social centre, etc.) could be planned at this location.
As in the first solution, we consider of the utmost importance the continuity of the circulation between the mall area of the shopping centre and the pedestrian walkway network of the complex. Our hope is that it can be completed with the theme park and the sporting fields of Scandicci.
The architecture featuring the "connection point" between Florence and Scandicci should avoid the sameness of government housing as well as the inconsistency and eclectic aspect of private housing solutions; this will be achieved by the consistency and difference of the volumes, by the variety of the urban spaces and by the quality of materials and shapes.

Plans, elevations and sections of the office building.



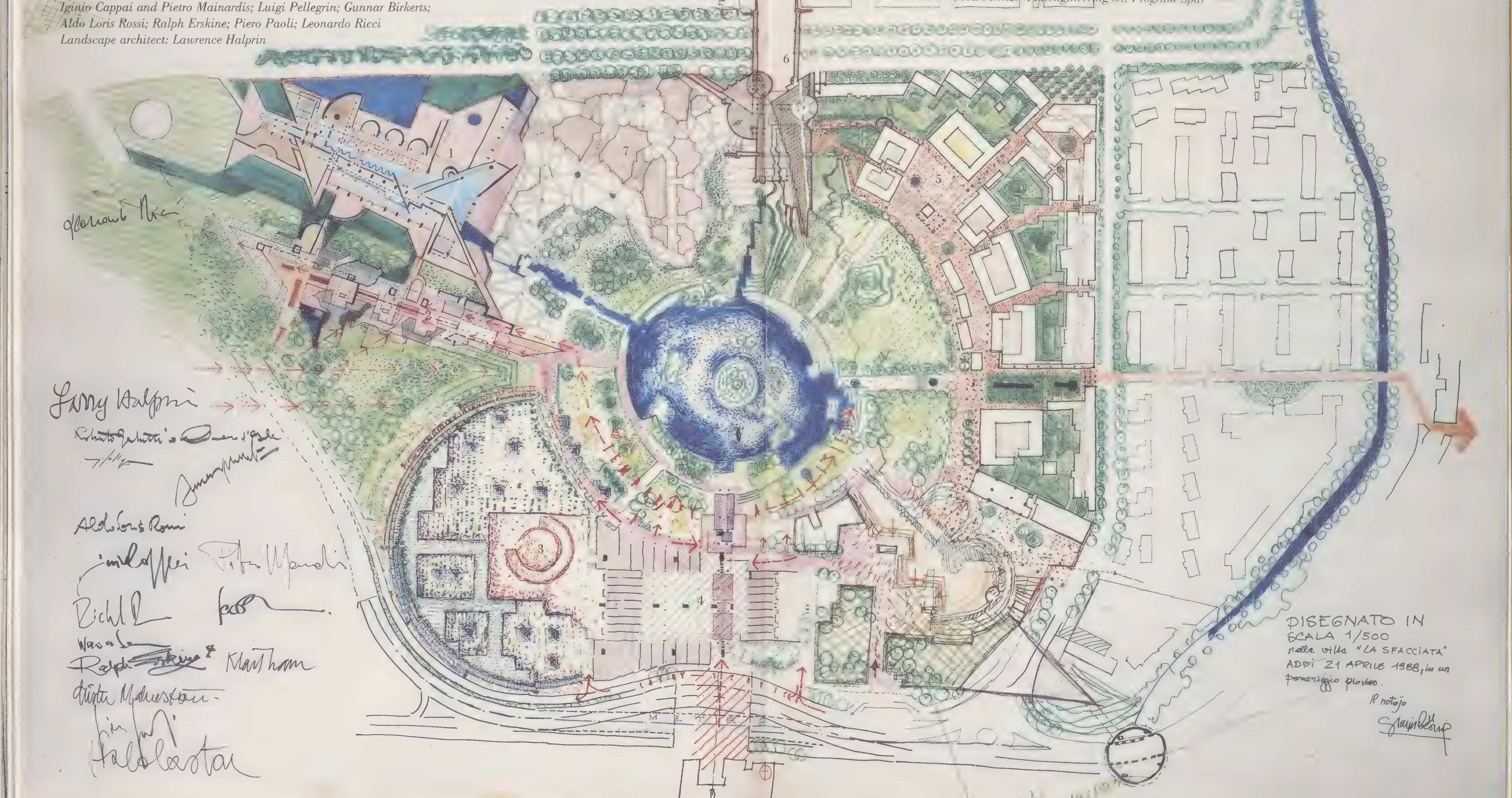
Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence

1987-88

Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola; Richard Rogers; Walter Di Salvo; Iginio Cappai and Pietro Mainardis; Luigi Pellegrin; Gunnar Birkerts; Aldo Loris Rossi; Ralph Erskine; Piero Paoli; Leonardo Ricci
Landscape architect: Lawrence Halprin

Coordinations: Lawrence Halprin; Italo Castore
Detailed Plan: Bruno Zevi, Luca Zevi, Sara Rossi, Leonardo Ricci (Municipal detailed plan)

Owner: FIAT AUTO Spa
Estate Enterprise: FIVI Spa - Fiat Iniziative di Valorizzazione Immobiliare
Technical Body: Consorzio Nuova Firenze (Fiatengineering srl, Program Spa)



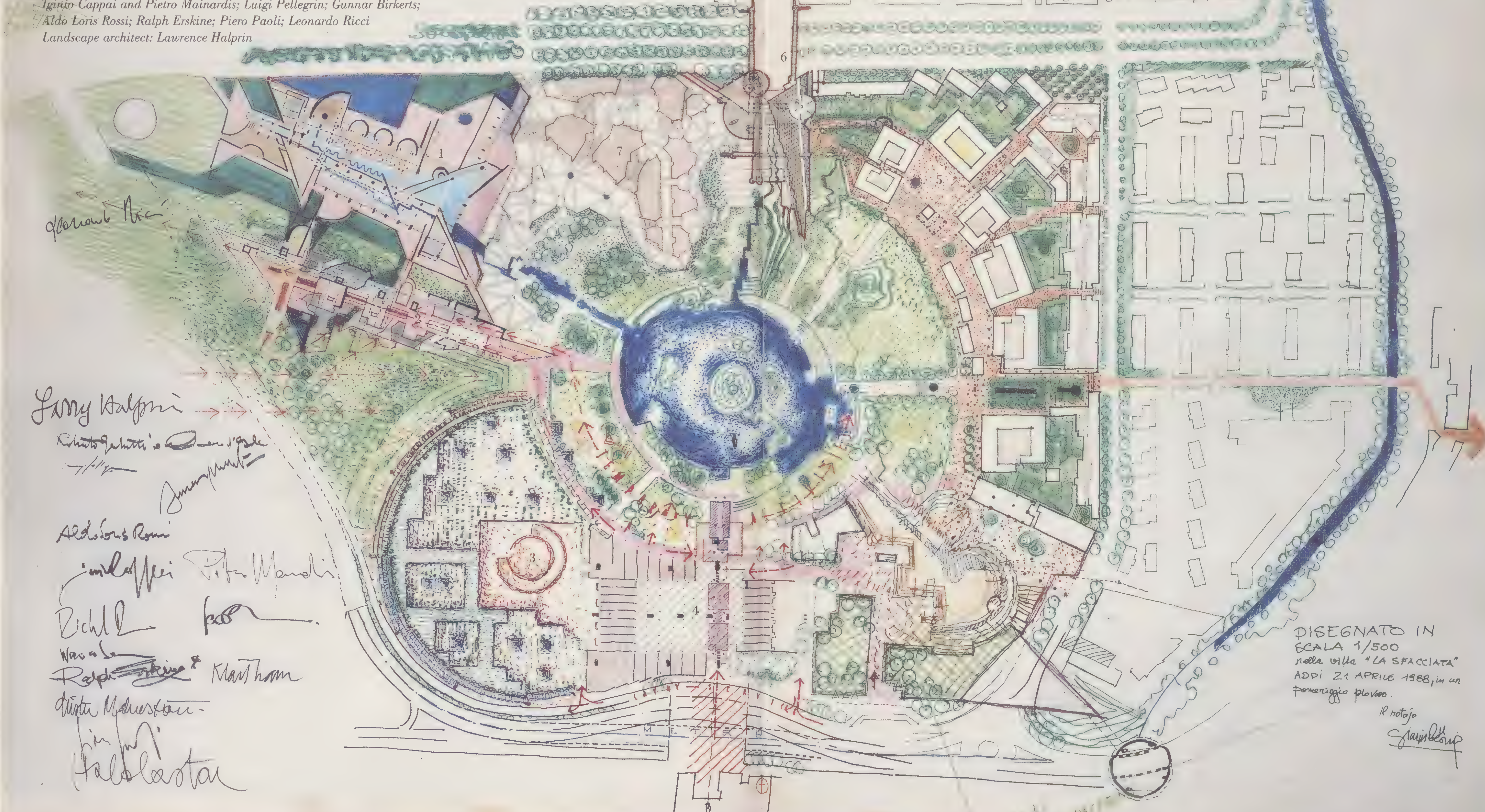
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About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence
Giovanni Klaus Koenig
Florence, October 1989



Sketches for early solutions.
Site plan of the metropolitan area of Florence: 1) Multi-use Castello area (186 ha, about 3.000.000 mc); 2) San Lorenzo a Greve residential and commercial complex (154 ha, about 390.000 mc); 3) Residential and commercial complex on Fiat property at Novoli (32 ha, about 1.000.000 mc).
On the proceding pages:
View of the model from the south.
General site plan at the conclusion of the third workshop: in the centre, the park by Lawrence Halprin; 1) Leonardo Ricci; 2) Igino Cappai and Pietro Mainardis; 3) Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola; 4) Richard Rogers; 5) Ralph Erskine; 6) Aldo Loris Rossi; 7) Gunnar Birkerts.

To study the birth of a work of art, starting with what has been called "*its moment of dawning*" (Brandi), has always fascinated critics who have sought to penetrate the mysterious realms of creativity, to paraphrase T.A. Edison, who was referring to the world of inventions; but the process remains the same: at least ten per cent *inspiration* (or intuition, according to Croce) and ninety per cent *perspiration* (labour and sweat).
In the specific case of architecture, the mechanisms which lead to its creation are so long and complex that they make this type of critical recognition very difficult. It is enought to think of the "tragedy of the burial", as Michelangelo himself defined the situation of his unbuilt memorial for Julius II, of which only two parts, *Moses* and *The Prisons*, survive.
In any case, the fact remains that one of the greatest satisfactions of the architectural historian lies in communicating the sudden emotion which one feels when convinced to have finally come in touch with that "transcendental scheme" (as Kant defined it) which lies between image and concept, in which the secret of artistic creation is hidden.
According to my mentor Ragghianti the history of architecture, especially when directed to future architects (meaning to say: the history of architecture which should be taught in schools of architecture) should be, as Zevi called it, "operative criticism", and should reveal above all the creative processes. Everything else is just talk, or pleonastic description, given the fact that nothing can replace, in the "*semantic criticism*" of architecture, the direct experience of architectural space, for an understanding of what Focillon called "*the life of forms*".
By the same token, descriptive articles in architecture magazines are useful because they provoke a desire in the reader to experience the spaces described, much as a Baedeker suggests the best spatial itineraries, given the fact that an orderly interpretation is necessary for the understanding of an architectural organism, which must be "read" like a book, not like a painting, which is viewed from one single point of view. But what about the unfortunate case of a design which has never been built? How should it be discussed? If we cannot discover a way to usefully describe such projects, we might as well relegate them to the status of outcasts. Heaven forbid! Manfredo Tafuri has gone so far as to sustain that the history of unbuilt architectural design is more interesting than that of built works. Because the unbuilt project goes down in history in the form of *pure culture*, it sometimes has great influence on later works. To overlook this part of the history of architecture means to neglect an important link in the historical chain. There are also many designs which have only been built in part, and which cannot be understood without examining their original intentions, which for various reasons were not completed.
Tafuri has proven his point in his detailed studies on Renaissance architecture in Venice, and if he has not dealt

with contemporary architecture, except in a marginal way, it is because it wasn't necessary. It is enough to consider the enormous influence of Le Corbusier on European and South American architecture in the 1930s and '40s, a period in which he actually built very little, but published widely his "interrupted" works, from his competition entry for the League of Nations building in Geneva, to his urban planning project for Algeri. Two complete generations of architects learned more from his designs and the concepts they expressed than from the small number of projects he actually built.
So unbuilt designs, beginning with Michelangelo's facade for the church of San Lorenzo by Brunelleschi, in Florence, play an important role in the history of architecture, as a vast field for investigation. But we must admit that it is much more difficult to take the second step described by Ragghianti: to reach back to the origins of the creative process.
This difficulty also exists when looking at contemporary architecture, even for those who archive, since it is not common practice to keep all the working sketches of a design. Due to space problems, in most professional studios only working drawings and perspectives created specifically for clients are kept — the ninety per cent of labour mentioned at the beginning of this essay.
This is also because out of one hundred sketches, only one or two are good, and the others are discarded: but the architect, during the creative process, is still not sure of its outcome. Once the idea has taken form, all of the preceding ideas are forgotten, even by the designer himself.
Naturally, apart from certain exceptions such as Wright, Aalto and Scarpa, those careful to keep all types of "clues", today many young architects, aware of their talents, like Natalini and Toraldo, don't drew sketches on sheets of paper, but on medium-size notebooks (filling up at least one such notebook per month), which are then carefully kept in order to form an accurate and chronological record of their creative development.
Those who are not adept to such practices make a virtue of necessity: when pressed by critics, when their projects reach the publication stage, the most nonchalant architects — and there are many — re-draw from memory their working sketches, with results which are naturally slicker than the originals.
Therefore it is not enough to recognize the hand of the artist in order to ascertain the authenticity of a sketch — it is also necessary to know the date of the work, in order to distinguish the numerous "self-counterfeits" from the real drawings. One can never be certain that the date is correct: this kind of "*ideological forgery*", as it would be called in jurisprudence, is the easiest of all to perpetrate.
And then there are also the errors: as in the Electa catalogue for the exhibition, in Turin, of the work of Carlo Mollino (1989) in which the critic, having noticed the number 1929 beside on of Mollino's designs for a radio, took it to be a date — the year of the Great Crash — turning back the clock by twenty years (and thus rewriting the history of design, like those who insist that the FIAT *Nuova 500* by Giacosa came before the *Balilla* by Fessia). The number 1929 was a model number, like Pier Luigi Spadolini's Model 2001 from the 1950s, before any *Space Odyssey* had come along...
The ideal conditions for the writing of the history of an architectural design would be those in which the critic lives inside the architect's workshop (at his own expense?), looking over the designer's shoulder whenever he puts pencil to paper: but besides being impossible, this procedure would also probably be useless.
I myself once accompanied Alvar Aalto, during an inspiring sunset on a spring day in the 1950s, on a visit to San Gimignano; I watched as he pulled out his sketchbook and rapidly drew the towers which stand around the main piazza. I noticed that his sketching, as he got to his third version, became less and less faithful to the setting: in the end there was only one tower, squatter, and the church had disappeared completely.
I was perplexed by the Finn's lack of realism, and ended up thinking that his love for Italian vintages had made him somewhat less lucid by the late afternoon. Three years later, when I saw the first photos of the city hall in Säynätsalo, I understood that Aalto had progressed, that day, from sketching to the embryo of a design. The one time in my life in which I had actually been present during the miraculous moment of creation, at the birth of a masterpiece, I hadn't even noticed it. Neither had Alvar Aalto made mention of the fact at the time, perhaps because even he was unaware of what had occurred, exactly.
No one can predict when a solution will come forth: perhaps at three in the morning, plagued by insomnia and the undefinable discomfort which afflicts the artist during the "throes" of creation. Or perhaps it will come during a boring conference, sketched on a pack of cigarettes, maybe even while the architect has locked himself up in a hotel restroom.
An extreme case was that of Hans Scharoun, who remained hidden in a basement in the centre of Berlin, waiting for the end of the war and of the persecution of the Jews.
His first drawing of the building which was to be, nearly twenty years later, the Berlin Philharmonic Hall, bears on the back of the sheet the inscription "*Battle of Stalingrad*" (in other words: 1943). Scharoun placed notations on his drawings of buildings "*for the democratic Germany of the future*" indicating the names of battles as the war progressed: his most joyful and expressive drawing corresponds with the first serious defeat of Nazi forces. Near the beginning of the end, with the foresight of a great prophet, he already knew what the outcome of the war was to be, and was thinking about the reconstruction of Berlin. If I hadn't dug through the dusty remains of the attic in Scharoun's house, guided by the woman who had helped him and who later became his wife, his drawings never would have come to light, given the fact that Scharoun





himself had forgotten their existence. In the large Expressionist exhibition in Florence (Palazzo Strozzi, 1964) these works were shown for the first time, and they were the high point of the section on architecture, of which I was the curator.
Another previously unpublished drawing, luckily discovered by Oswald Mathias Ungers, which depicts a never to be built "Church on the Avus highway", by Max Taut, astonished and frightened Giovanni Michelucci due to its extraordinary similarity to his church near Florence on the "*Autostrada del Sole*"; but the date of the drawing, incredible but true, of 1923, cancels any suspicion of plagiarism.

The workshops organized by Fiat in Florence for the new Novoli complex were, for many reasons, a unique occasion. First of all, the organization of the event is worthy of mention. A stimulating environment was prepared in the rolling hills to the south of Florence, in the rooms and gardens of the "La Sfacciata" villa, rented for the occasion. Those who believe that artistic creativity may be stimulated by an exceptionally beautiful natural environment are probably right. In fact, the nearby gnarled olive tree beneath which D.H. Lawrence wrote "*Lady Chatterley's Lover*", or the arboured terrace where Tchaikowsky composed his Fourth Symphony, are but two of the hundreds of occasions which can be remembered to testify to the stimulating powers of the hills around Florence.
More than a team of architects, this was actually a troupe, with all kinds of technical assistance, interpreters, photographers and video operators. The half-hour periods of rest in which the participants lay back in green fields, in the shade of century-old trees, siestas on the sofas of private living rooms, contributed significantly toward creating a sense of tolerance where disagreements were concerned, making subsequent discussions more pleasant and less heated than usual.
This alternation of spatial compression — twenty faces around a table — and decompression, swimming in the pool or relaxing outdoors, served as a sort of mental sauna, and is to be recommended as a method for anyone who is planning a session of group therapy or brainstorming.
This sort of *group retreat* had another advantage: all the designs which were created — and there were hundreds — were kept and catalogued, without having to extricate them from the clutches of the studios of the architects. I took part in this event as a reporter, or, as Roberto Gabetti defined it, as the "notary" of the operation, certifying the complete authenticity (date and hour) of the drawings. In other words, this was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for a critic such as myself.
Another circumstance which makes this project special is the fact that it is the work of fourteen architects, working as a group. Such a courageous experiment has never been seen in any of the arts. We are even surprised by simple duos: the Grimm brothers, Fruttero and Lucentini, the Castiglioni brothers, Gabetti and Isola. But only the fertile imagination of Bruno Zevi could have envisioned a fourteen-faceted collaboration, like the fourteen-part score by Rossini in his "*Viaggio a Reims*".
It is no simple matter to report not only on the results — the "musical score" which was produced — but also on the creative process, no matter how schematically or synthetically, given the fact that this process was more intricate and complex than usual.
This is why I am convinced that it is worthwhile to narrate the creation of the Fiat project for Novoli and its original methodology. Although the project has been temporarily stopped, I am still convinced that it can demonstrate a new way of dealing with the problems of large designs which lie somewhere between urban planning and architecture, such as designs for administrative centres.

The Background
The project for the transferral of Fiat Aviazione (1935) — Fiat Aviation — to Florence crash-landed in 1939: Florence was not to become "the city of Italian aviation", fortunately for the city itself, but in the meantime Fiat had purchased a large area of land in Novoli, and had begun building. In 1947-48, Fiat purchased the entire remaining area, with the approval of Mayor La Pira, and built a plant for the manufacture of precision components, employing over 1000 people. Nevertheless the land was still under-utilized.
At the end of the 1970s, the city of Florence approached Fiat with discussions leading to the opening of the "northwest passage", a key part of the Master Plan formulated by Detti in 1962.
This urban transformation could only have been done with the aid of private capital, with the objective of improving the squalid area which had grown up around the walls of the Fiat complex during the 1950s and '60s. The Detti plan called for the creation of an "equipped axis" which would cross the land owned by Fiat, still unbuilt, and in exchange would make commercial development of the area possible, without touching the plant itself.
At the beginning of the 1980s, this idea was revived, in tandem with the FONDIARIA operation, which concerned itself with an area five times as large. Rather than a simple renewal plan, this time a more radical type of operation was proposed to Fiat. In exchange for releasing the land needed by the city for the construction of a new courthouse, Fiat would have free reign in deciding how the remaining land and structures would be used, after having found a new location for the existing plant in order to guarantee the continued employment of the workers.
By giving up the simplified procedures of the renewal plan which specified the firm's right to an equal amount of building volume in favour of a detailed plan which would become a variance within the overall Master Plan, Fiat exposed itself to all of the risks involved in such a complex procedure. But the company felt that there were two factors in its favour: the first consisted of the bargaining power

gained by offering the land for the courthouse, and the second was their certainty that development would take place along the lines of the Detti plan, the so-called "northwest passage", truly a key element for the planned development of the city of Florence. This idea seemed to have become gospel, and had been backed by every municipal administration since 1962, whether politically from the left, center-left or the Christian Democrats. No one could claim with impunity (as had Cederna) that the Novoli variant was in conflict with the Master Plan, since it had become an essential element of it: none of this could have been foreseen in 1962, when Fiat would not have agreed to move the plant.
So all of the conditions were finally in place for the undertaking of a project for the complete rebuilding of the Fiat complex in Novoli.

The Roles of Bruno Zevi and Lawrence Halprin
Bruno Zevi is hired in the role of consultant to the urban planning office of the city of Florence for the creation of a Master Plan variance for the Novoli area.
The key conditions are defined: in exchange for the land for the courthouse (the area which can be utilized immediately, before the relocation of the plant, is in the upper left hand corner of the property, pinpointing the site) and to guarantee a generous public green area, the city of Florence gives its permission for a better utilization of the existing area than that permitted under original plan.
With respect to the usage of this area the city government has no preconceived notions, and presents no requirements (such as the allowance or inclusion of schools or other public buildings) except for the crossing of the area by a light urban surface transit system (not yet studied or defined at the time, and today, eight years later, still at the same point of non-development...). Zevi points out that this is the best situation one could possibly hope for — there's no point in waiting for the city government to organize its ideas. Just look at the example of the competition for the area where the Murate prison once stood: two years after the first phase, the city government has still not begun the second, in which a specific and detailed programme were to have been developed.
Consequently Zevi suggests that Fiat create its own project/design team (as Maldonado was doing, at the same time, for Fondiaria) capable of presenting specific proposals developed with the technical staff of the municipal administration, and its consulting group: then the variance to the Master Plan would be defined.
At Zevi's suggestion, Fiat calls upon the American landscape architect Lawrence Halprin to coordinate the Novoli project, and a presentation is put together at a press conference in the Fencing Room at the Fortezza da Basso. Halprin surprises everyone by displaying his first drawings for Novoli: a central, romantic-style park with a stream that descends from the upper corner — where it has been decided that the courthouse will stand — and many small lakes and green areas, all as "natural" as possible.
The initial reaction of the Florentines is negative. They had envisioned something very different, a large garden modelled after Boboli. Halprin's rebuttal is that Boboli was the garden of a prince, not of the population. To follow such a scheme would be an error: the maintenance of such a park would cost as much as that of Boboli, and its use would have to be limited to restricted hours.
As examples, Halprin shows some of his urban parks in America, which have become famous for their functional features, and he reacts vigorously to those who believe him to be a crude American. He is actually a refined Jewish intellectual, like Woody Allen, knowledgeable of Italian and French gardens and parks like the back of his hand. Imitating their forms in an attempt to adapt them to present-day needs is the error of many of the Post-modernist architects.
It is clear that Zevi intends to back him up, sword in hand. But Zevi, who already has the workshop mechanism in mind, needs someone who will direct the design process, giving free rein to the creativity of the group, and not a "*prima donna*" always in the spotlight. This is why Halprin seems like the perfect choice, in sharp contrast to normal practice, in which the landscape architect is called in only after the site plan is finished.
After Halprin, Fiat has to select the designers. But first of all they must get some idea of where to put the pieces on the chessboard, because in the meantime certain areas have been defined, and agreed-upon with the municipal administration. Halprin develops a preliminary design in which pure, undefined volumes are arranged around the courthouse: to the left, counterclock, a block of public offices, the Fiat branch office — which is expected to be moved from Viale Belfiore — and hotel and shopping complex. To the right of the courthouse, clockwise, a block of offices to be sold to private businesses and the last part to be built, in place of the present plant, a residential complex. This design is left in the hands of Fiat, and is used to make cost estimates and calculate total construction volume, subdividing the one million cubic metres to be re-utilized in the most appropriate way, above all (and this is a point which interests both the city government and Fondiaria) without building excess residential units.
Halprin's drawing is not shown to the designers since urban planning schemes can all too easily dictate form (as in the case of the administrative centre in Naples). Nevertheless, it contains the "guidelines", which in the end will be challenged — as we will see — by Zevi himself: building around the large lot, a sort of citadel with few openings to the outside world, turning all its activities and livelihood in towards the park in the centre, becoming a Halprin-style mini-Central Park (and not all that "mini": about 15 hectares) in which no traffic other than pedestrian is allowed.
This will later be called the original sin of the Fiat project. But at the time, no one — including Zevi — had any

objections to this scheme, in part because Halprin seemed open to other solutions and adjustments.

The Choice of the Designers

The next step was the selection of the designers, to be made by Fiat top management based on the advice of various experts, the first of whom was Zevi.
We should mention that in the meantime Fondiaria had made public the list of architects chosen for its team, under the coaching of Tomàs Maldonado. Stars of the offense team included Foster, from London, Ungers from Germany and the Japanese Isozaki, for whom exhibitions were set up in Florence: Foster at Palazzo Vecchio, and the other two in Piazza SS. Annunziata, in a special pavilion built for the occasion.
On the Fondiaria team, the mid-field players were some of the biggest names in Italian architecture, with Milan as the cultural centre of gravity: Gregotti, Spadolini, Valle, Aymonino and others. Playing on defense were the Florentines: Gamberini, Natalini and others among the fashionable Post-modernists.
Fiat needed and wished to create a different identity for its programme and set out to choose its group of architects. Fiat turned to Leonardo Ricci, chosen by the Florence city government as the designer of the new courthouse. Ricci chose: Gabetti and Isola for the new Fiat branch offices, Cappai and Mainardis for the public office block, Gunnar Birkerts, a Latvian-American, for the block of private offices (the least known name, in Italy, among the choices), Pellegrin was a backup (that is, without a precise assignment), Aldo Rossi for another government office building, Richard Rogers and Di Salvo for the hotel and shopping centre, and Ralph Erskine as design coordinator for the residential zone.
Fiat endorsed the idea that in order to create a "*city effect*" in the residential area of Novoli, it would be necessary to entrust the design of the buildings to a number of different architects (at least ten, which was the same number of blocks to be built). Erskine would supervise the overall scheme. Moreover, this operation would be a way to get the Florentine architects involved, especially the professors at the university, giving them a chance to design buildings of normal dimensions. This position was also prompted by a desire to respond to accusations, not entirely unfounded, of xenomania, and to heal parochial divisions between architects of different philosophies.
It was decided to call upon architect Piero Paoli, a student of Libera, a professor of Architectural Composition in Florence, to serve as an intermediary between Erskine and the young designers who would be chosen at a later date (as the residential area was to be the last to be built).

The First and Second Workshops

We have already discussed the importance of the selection of the site. It is essential to illustrate this point with many photographs. The opening day of the workshops was attended by Romiti, by Mayor Bogiankino, Alderman Bassi, the consultant Zevi and his assistants, the staff at city hall, and the selected architects.
Halprin presented some fundamental principals — ten, or fourteen, I can't recall exactly how many — for discussion, which he illustrated with schematic drawings he had developed with the help of the others, especially Ricci: these defined the points upon which the group would work.
In the course of the discussion (three days long) certain questions immediately arise. The park ought not to be merely "a result", as Halprin seems to suggest, perhaps out of modesty, but should rather be a strong, precise statement which would determine the orientation of the surrounding buildings. Gabetti and Isola, more than the others, insist upon a certain classical quality of the ensemble, which could come from the choice of an oval form for the park, without, as they ironically noted, imitating the gardens of Boboli. Before developing their own design all of the architects tend to side with Halprin, perhaps seeking a common formal parti. Halprin is happy to let them carry on, declaring himself open to all proposals.
Toward the end of the final day, decisions are made regarding the second workshop, after all of the participants have clearly understood their tasks: the specific functional needs which they will be asked to shape into architectural spaces. In this ring of buildings — a true "*Ring*", but not Nibelungenesque — each of the designers already knows who his "neighbors" will be, with whom he will have to dialogue. Each of the architects will, at home, think over the possibilities for his part of the project, and return with a proposal on a single sheet of paper: thus an urban project designed by fourteen individuals is to come to life (something, obviously, which has never occurred in the history of contemporary architecture).
In response to a question by Romiti: in the world of architecture today, this seems to me to be like playing cards with the devil. In my opinion, the probability that something good will come of the process is about 50%. I have based this estimate on my knowledge of the architects chosen by Fiat. Certainly too much rope shouldn't be given to prima donnas. Doing things the way they have always been done (Kenzo Tange's projects for Naples and Bologna, in Italy) has produced disappointing results at best. When one type of therapy doesn't work, it's time to try another. In principle, there is no guarantee that this new recipe will work, but it is worth trying.
The first reactions which appear in the Italian dailies about the workshops are skeptical. They note that an orchestra conductor must always follow a score, while with this system one hopes — as in the Commedia dell'Arte — that the actors will manage to create entertainment with a precise logical sequence, out of improvisation. Is this asking too much?
Yes, it is asking for too much. The only hope to get out of this situation is probably fervent prayer and lots of bottles of whiskey for the next workshop, given the results of the first.

The big day finally arrives: the second workshop is held at the facilities on Viale Belfiore. Some of the architects (Pellegrin, Loris Rossi, Di Salvo) showed up with rolls of drawings and scale models, while others (such as Rogers) had only made a couple of sketches on a notepad.
The orchestra had trouble tuning up (and there were a number of false starts). The entire first day was spent jockeying for position and getting organized.
The second day witnessed the magical moment of a design by the group of fourteen, documented by the photographs taken from above the table by Valinotto. This was a moment of great enthusiasm.
The "drawing/declaration of intent" is reworked, with defined building volumes and sections sketched around the site plan. The idea of a winding "parkway" is defined; Pellegrin changes his original design to create a more harmonious relationship with the other ideas. Halprin, in the centre, traces an empty circle, which seems like a forfeit, by is really just a timely wait-and-see attitude, letting the chips fall as they may.
I feel as if I am seeing the birth of a masterpiece of designwork.
This second design deserves to be described in detail. I have already done so in "Ottagono", so the information is available. Zevi scolded me about it: "*I was there too-you forgot about me*". He was right! There were fourteen hands at work, but fifteen minds.
We should not overlook, and not just for the record, the digressions and the dead — end solutions which were pitilessly — scratched during the second workshop. Other ideas went full circle. For example, Di Salvo had built a model of his circular shaped hotel which reflected the shape of the park in the centre; these two intersecting circles later appeared in a design by Ricci and Loris Rossi combining the courthouse piazza with the park as two intersected circles.
Di Salvo, not yet convinced by the idea of the central park, had also come up with an alternative design for the grouping, in which he outlined both a mechanical transportation scheme and positioning of the buildings, diagonally. The "*a priori*" discarding of this idea turned out to be an error, as in the end it was just what Zevi was looking for.
Then a difficulty arises: Paoli is not collaborating with Erskine, becaue the latter favours a distributed housing scheme which reflects the character of medieval Florence — narrow streets with curves and interruptions — while Paoli is in favour of an organized macro-structure. Their proposals cannot be subdivided nor reconciled, but Paoli finally gives in to Erskine.
Rogers also seems ready to bully Di Salvo, but Di Salvo gives in quickly and amiably, believing that there will still be time to play his cards (this is a characteristic of the more intelligent architects, including Cappai and Mainardis, who modified their designs more than once).
The architects adjourn with their respective *homework assignments*, to be completed before the third workshop.
The shapes of siting and the individual the designs seem to have been settled, without need for further discussion.
Perhaps this was an error: after having won a battle, it is not time to continue to advance, but rather to consolidate and bring up the rear — an error of the sort made by Rommel, who was a fine tactician but a poor strategist. But it is also true that at the end of the second workshop the feeling was one of such euphoria (Ricci was crying, Zevi was moved) that anyone who ventured to advise "*Adelante, Pedro, cum juicio*" would have been viewed as an unwelcome prophet of doom.
Before the third workshop, the city hall staff was supposed to fill in the details of the surrounding structures (streets, walkways, surface transport, sewers, parking): this was their *homework assignment*. But here the plan goes awry: the newspapers publish reports of strange schemes, with a rigid traffic pattern directly crossing the area, dividing the central park into two. Everyone wants to know the meaning of this seeming contradiction of the spirit of the conclusions reached during the second workshop. At Fiat they are alarmed, and Rogers and Erskine are called back to Florence. Halprin, in the meantime, has made a drawing of a beautiful and intelligent spiral park, whose strong form is softened by the organic nature of the whole design.
Pellegrin is also collaborating, using his fertile designer's imagination to come up with many alternative solutions, in an attempt to adapt to indications which are coming to him from all sides.
It might well have been more prudent to postpone the third workshop, but the tendency to strike while the iron is hot prevails, while none imagine as yet that there might be a plot afoot against the project, or that the agreements reached might not be respected. Ninety Florentine intellectuals issue a manifesto against the Fiat/Fondiaria variance: but the determination of Alderman Bassi and the Florence administration go ahead with the project, and pursue their urban planning policy goals.
The organizers of the workshops try to move to the offense, encouraged by some of the architects, who are eager to show their designs, and are already dreaming of seeing them built. But Zevi is against holding the workshop too soon: with the instincts of the politician he has become, he has noticed a new attitude emerging in the city government, no longer united in support of the project.
The day before the third workshop, Zevi makes a very critical report to Fiat. The bone of contention is as follows: Zevi writes that "*a development of this type runs the risk of living on the merits of its own autonomous qualities, tending to become introverted, rather than functioning as a gathering point for the forces of improvement in an urban area in need of renewal*". I am not in agreement with Zevi when he identifies the centripetal form (with the central park) as an "*insula felix*" which will no longer serve as a point of "coagulation". The error here is in believing that "*integration*" necessarily requires a sort of physical

embrace between architecture and its surroundings, through a centrifugal form.
As we mentioned above, an alternate had already been proposed by Di Salvo at the start of the second workshop: a diagonal axis, which divided the public green area into two triangles, one to the northeast, the other to the southwest. Di Salvo's idea had been discarded because it contradicted Halprin's hypothesis; and, above all, to divide 15 hectares of park into two pieces doesn't make sense: in this case the whole is definitely worth more than the sum
of its parts, especially because a central traffic route would have made it impossible to appreciate the two parts as a whole.
It is true that the wide streets surrounding the Fiat-Novoli site are an obstacle for those who might wish to visit the park as envisioned by Halprin, but the same would be true of the two triangular parks. Even if they did open out toward the surrounding community, they would still be bordered by the same streets.
Of course pedestrian bridges could be built to solve the problem of access: but Fiat certainly cannot design and build them on land which is not its property. This would be up to the city of Florence, which nevertheless could request funding for their construction from Fiat.
Once resolved the access problem, the fact remains that the central park, with its facilities, and the surrounding buildings (all defined during the second workshop), are a unified, well-balanced assembly of inseparably related parts from the three triangular forms — the courthouse, the Chamber of Commerce and the multi-function building by Rogers — to all of the others, converging toward the centre. If we take a good look at the sections, as drawn by the architects, it is easy to see the perfect equilibrium between the large central space and the buildings surrounding it along with their respective typological and compositional variety.
The drawings and the model speak for themselves.
We might even forget that we are in the middle of the squalid Novoli district, but what's wrong with that? It would have been foolish to imagine that it could be possible to adapt to a context which everyone, including Erskine, had rejected, knowing that this part of the city is in no way related to the true urban character of Florence. In any case, the new Florence of the year 2000 will have to be a *strong* urban form, capable of having an appeal by the quality of its architecture, which will become *quality of life* when the conditions are the right ones.
Improvement of the surrounding urban decay may come from within the area itself, in time. To try to design this process is presumptuous on behalf of urban planners, who often mistake design from reality. Renewal processes may take place the surrounding area, but only after the Novoli settlement has come to life, *not at the same time*. It is also possible that the Fiat project will have no effect whatsoever. As in any organ transplant, there is the possibility of rejection — action must be taken in well-planned phases.

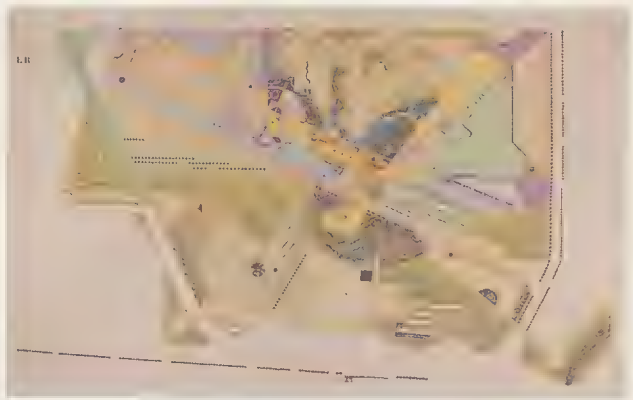
The Third Workshop

Back to the "La Sfacciata villa".
Everything seems to be going smoothly, because the pieces of the puzzle prepared in the architects' studios fit well together, and where this is not so, in the case Cappai and Mainardis, the skill of the architects comes to the rescue making quick modifications: Ricci is very pleased, as he sees all this work coming together around his courthouse. An overall model is built, and so the site plan of the project ca be said to be defined. Rogers has made great progress, creating a hight-tech building (what else?) which is highly effective.
Zevi shows up for the last day of the workshop, when nearly all of the work has been done, and expresses his doubts as he has reported to Fiat, which was news to the participants. It was too late to start all over again, and by now all of the architects had become attached to their creations. Zevi's request, that the park be expanded toward the outside area, toward the Carapelli area and that of the regional government, could be achieved perhaps, with adjustments that do not significantly alter the character of the overall design. But the idea of a diagonal transport route is considered quite impossible, especially because no one really understands the need for it (a savings of 30 seconds, by car or light surface rail, from one end of the development to the other, seems insignificant when compared to the damage to the landscape such a proposal would create).
The party at the end of the workshop seems to crown the operation as having been a success.

For the occasion, I provided what I hoped would be comic relief, but I'm not sure how many of those present understood what I was trying to say: that's why I would like to take this opportunity to explain what I said.
I imagined a scenario in the year 2012 (when Tafuri, the dean of architectural historians, will be going into retirement, while the rest of us will all be dead). Since there will be nothing new to show to the tourists who come to Florence in droves, tours of Novoli will become fashionable. And the Japanese tourist armed with his video camera will see the following: Halprin's park has become, in the summer, a refuge for campers with tents and sleeping bags, headed by Russian youths, finally free to travel, overruning the continent. They all seem to like the park very much, as its central location in the area gives them a feeling of security, and the light surface rail system takes them into the centre of Florence in a mere four minutes.
The only problem with this idyllic situation is that no one had anticipated the need for bathing and toilet facilities: but this problem has been resolved by using ten ex-post offices of Italstat, prefabricated beauties which thus finally find a function for which they are suited.
At the centre of the park, in Halprin's temple, a monument has been built of Andreotti, after a lengthy controversy as to whether to put him on horseback; but the surrounding lake

has already dried up, in 1995, and has become a flea-market.
The Fiat centre, and the branch office, have become the trendiest modern art gallery in Florence, now that the trend of collecting antique cars (originals or copies) has driven all of the fine arts out of the market. The Japanese bid billions for a Balilla and Christie's has opened an office in Novoli for the auctions.
At the courthouse they are still hearing the Nicolazzi case. All hope of ever finishing a trial has been lost. Erskine's area functions strangely, because it is always taken over by film makers shooting movies set in the middle ages, transforming it into a sort of Cinecittà. I went on in the same vein, with more equally extravagant examples.
Essentially, what I was trying to say was this: "Watch out, architects!".
We draw on pieces of paper, we make models, we carefully weigh different ideas and plans: but only the life that springs up in Novoli will give life to our forms. It is useless to make prophecies or fight about it: like Pygmalion, the architect molds his creation, *but the destiny of the creation is beyond his control.* The important thing is to create the conditions for development, and in this project for Novoli I envision its potential.





View of the project area from the south.
Leonardo Ricci and Maria Grazia Dallerba Ricci, Detailed plan as developed after the third workshop.

Fiat Office in Novoli, Florence

Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola

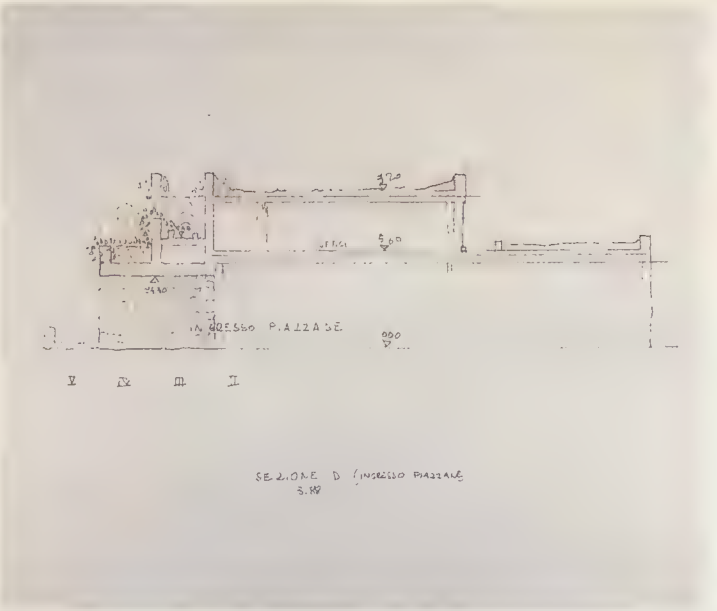


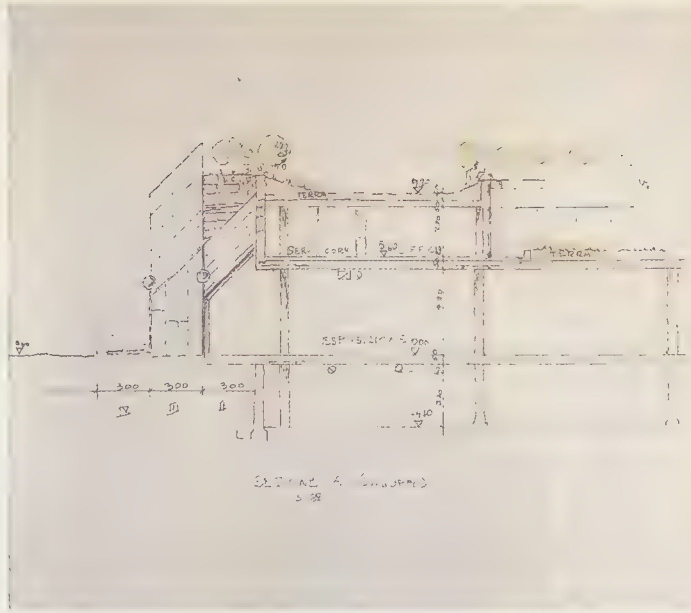
Design sketch.
On the following pages:
Sections.
West and south elevations of Via Novoli.
Roofs, first floor and ground floor plans.
View of the model from the north.

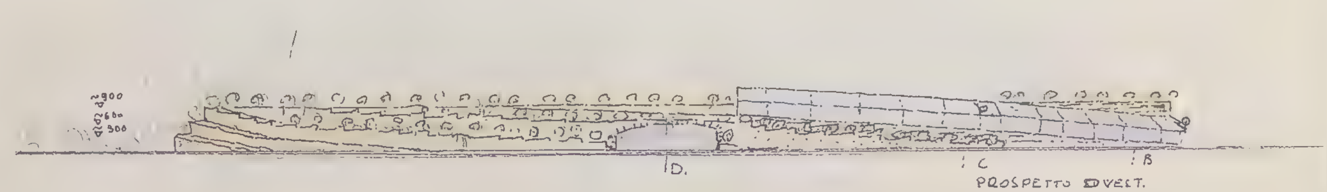
The New Fiat Branch Building at Florence, Novoli

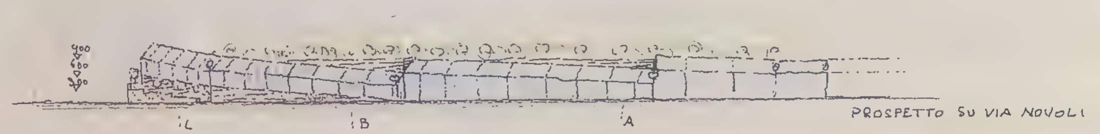
Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola

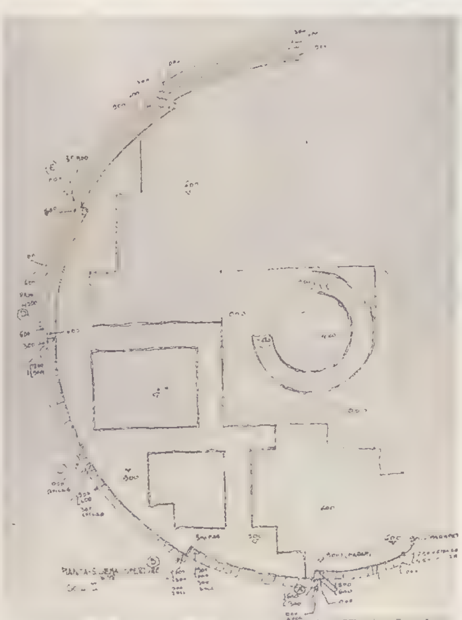
We were hired to design the new Fiat-Auto branch building in Florence in Fiat's Via Novoli area. This project, unlike others, was quite specific. With the exception of the Court of Justice Building (commissioned by the Municipality of Florence, to the architect Leonardo Ricci) all the other work — involving a variety of buildings, each assigned to a different architect — had a much less clear-cut program. This applied both to the area concerned and to the precise definition of the final use, and hence exactly who the client was. So from the very outset we were worked on an area which could change form slightly but had a fixed surface area.
Our site was at the end of Via Novoli, at the point where the new street changes direction, curving up towards the areas to the north of the city, leaving behind the area occupied by Fiat to the right and eventually connecting with Viale Toscana and Viale Guidoni.
Our building was therefore going to be on the eastern edge of the large inner park Halprin had designed at the intersection between Via Novoli and Viale Forlanini to the south, and the Court of Justice Building formed the backdrop on the northern side. An extensive office centre (designed by architects Cappai and Mainardis and Pellegrin) was planned between our site and that of the Court of Justice, while a commercial centre (by architects Rogers and Di Salvo) was to be built at the opposite end on the north-eastern side. The interaction with our two neighbours around the site started taking a definite shape. The inner area, facing onto the park, was to be an expanse of greenery, a continuation of the features of the park into our own site. The intent of this was to give the building the character of a structured garden. As the project developed, the large circular arc marking the boundary of the park began to affect our site and took away a whole circular area of it. This emphasized the closeness even in formal terms, between the park and the Fiat branch, creating a mired straight and enrue-lined perimeter to the branch site.
When the work was originally commissioned, our client supplied us with two lists and a draft outline along with some data relating to the functional aspects of the complex. As a result we planned an entrance hall on the ground floor at right angles to Via Novoli. The hall followed the boundary with the Rogers site, penetrated the building on an transverse axis and met the vertical axis which led to the offices on the upper floor. A spacious double height glazed atrium, surrounded by spiral ramps opened the building to the outside. The ramps wrapped around the entire façade: their first section reached the upper floor from outside and the second led to the upper floor through the showroom itself, whose sloping floor could be used to exhibit new models.
The building followed the spiral movement of the ramps northwards, terminating in a blind wall of dark solid stone. The resulting visual effect was a series of terracing floors which, like the thread of a screw, coiled in concentric spirals. The branch offices's technical division was also to be on the ground floor, on the side opposite Via Novoli; two groups of offices, lit by patios, were located on the first floor. The large basement garage could also be used by the car haulers and could also be used as the car storage area: an open spiral ramp located along the axis of the site connected the inner courtyard to the basement.
The project was governed by a very powerful geometry, marked by vehicle and pedestrian ramps located at the centre of the site and repeated spiral-shaped connections of the building mass on different levels along the south-east and south-west perimeter. Thick dark yellow stone was chosen as the material. For the handrails of the ramps, the façades of the exterior cylinders and the terrace handrails, as well as for the floor of the terrace and the ramp paving. Plants, vines and shrubbery were added wherever possible on the terrace. Along the outer roads twin rows of trees marked the boundary of a wide curving service road, suitable as a guarded parking space for vehicles and as the driveway to the branch office. This outer road spiral, mainly intended for cars, was located at a slightly higher level than the main street. Heavy goods vehicles (car-haulers, trucks etc.) entered the branch through a road parallel to Via Novoli. We opened this road along the north-east boundary, between the branch offices and the service buildings; ending in the inner courtyard of the Fiat branch.

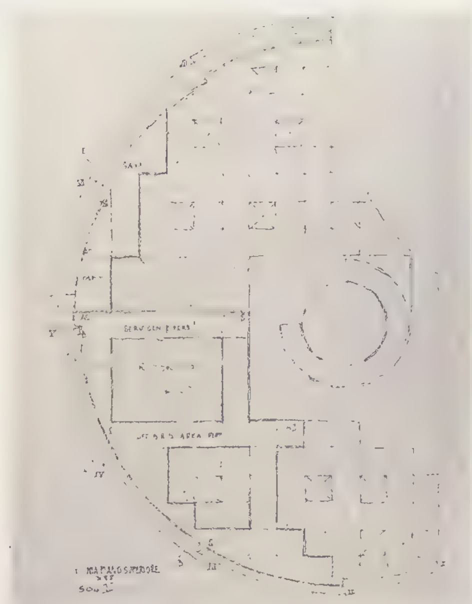

INGRESSO PIAZZALE

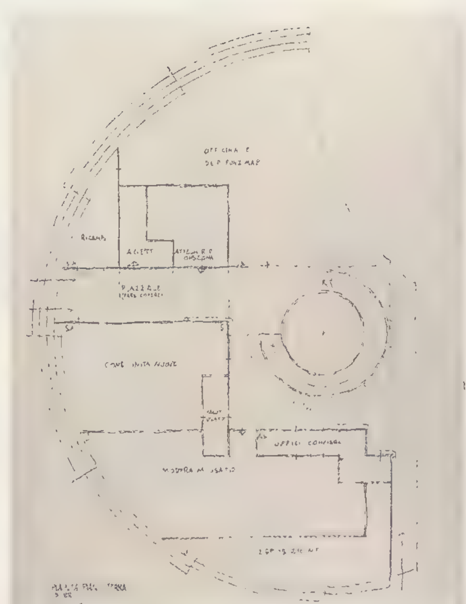



PROSPETTO OVEST.

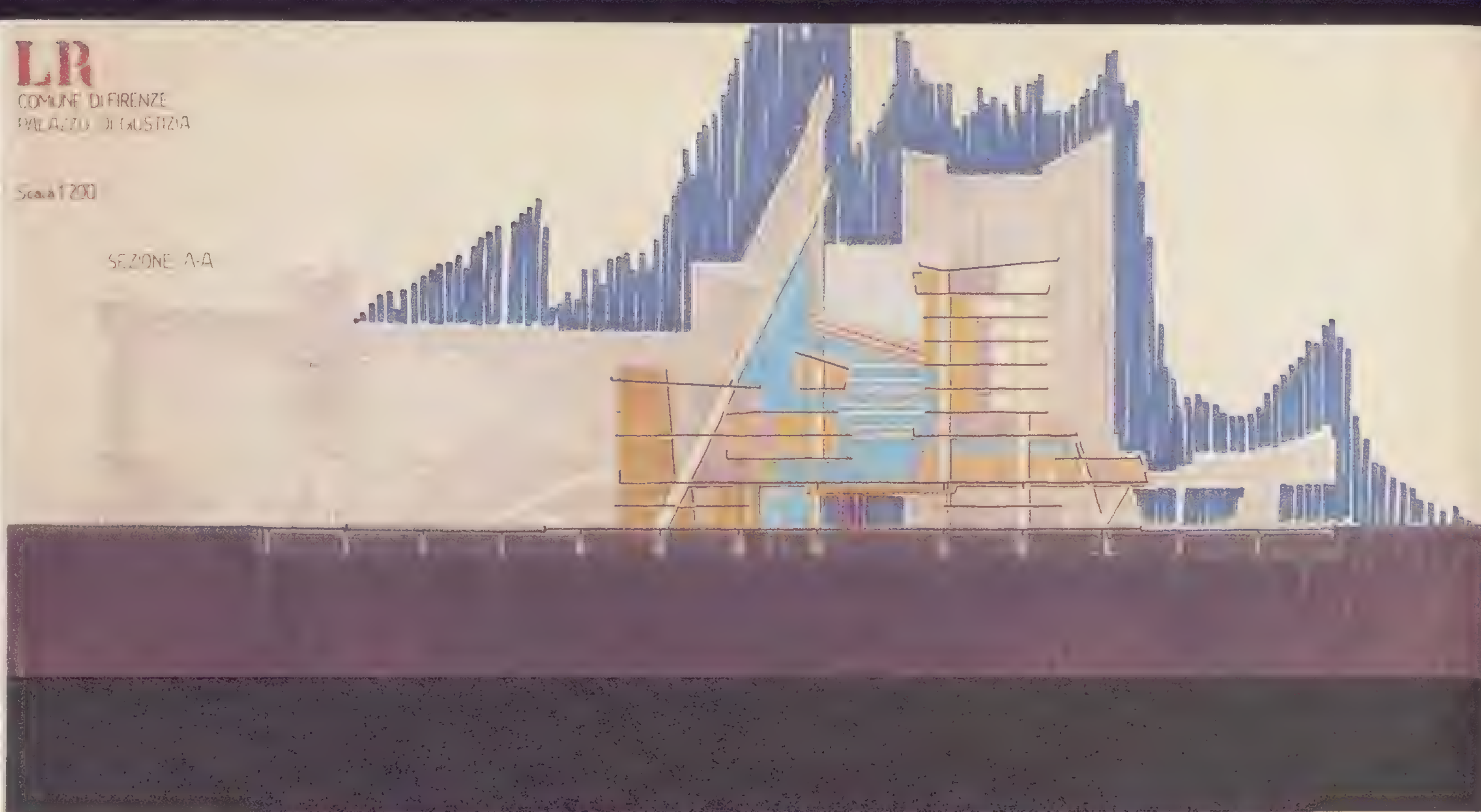

PROSPETTO SU VIA NOVOLI

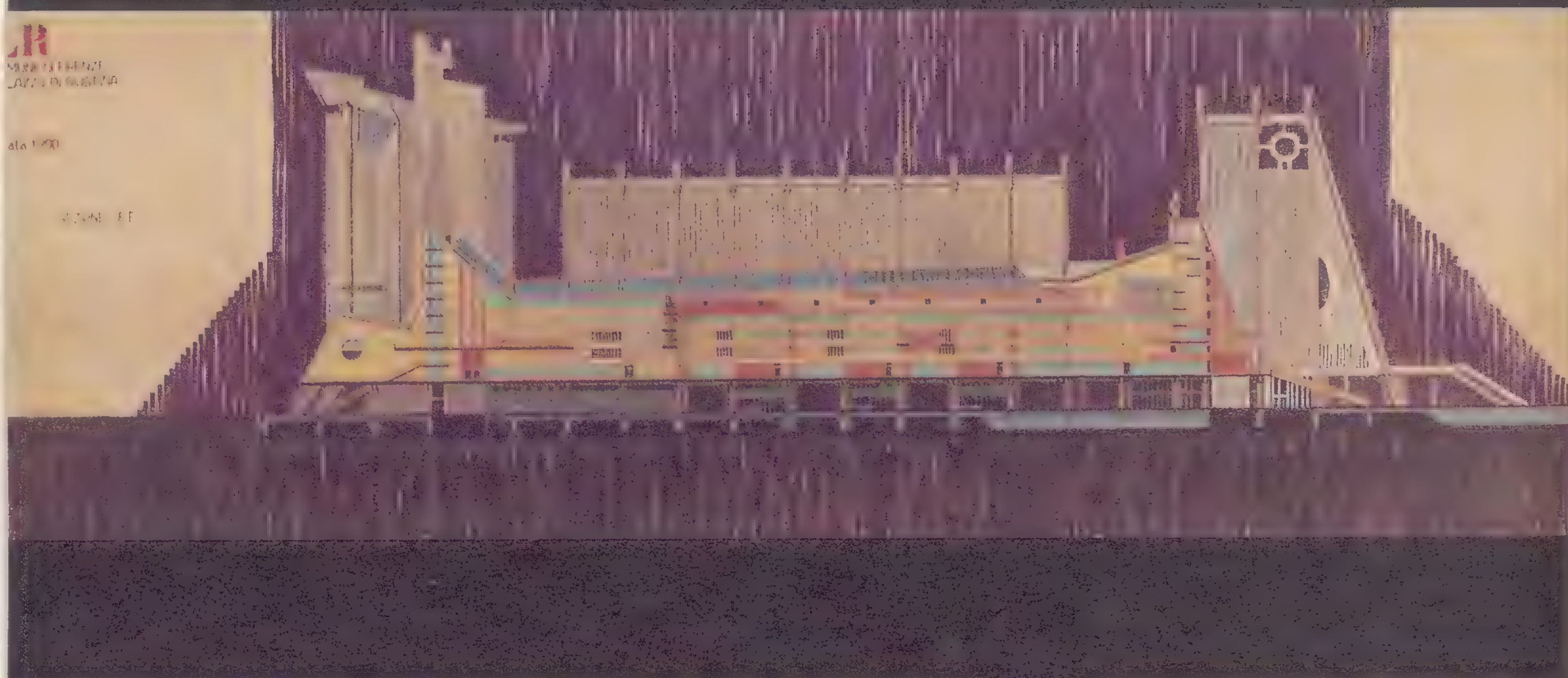


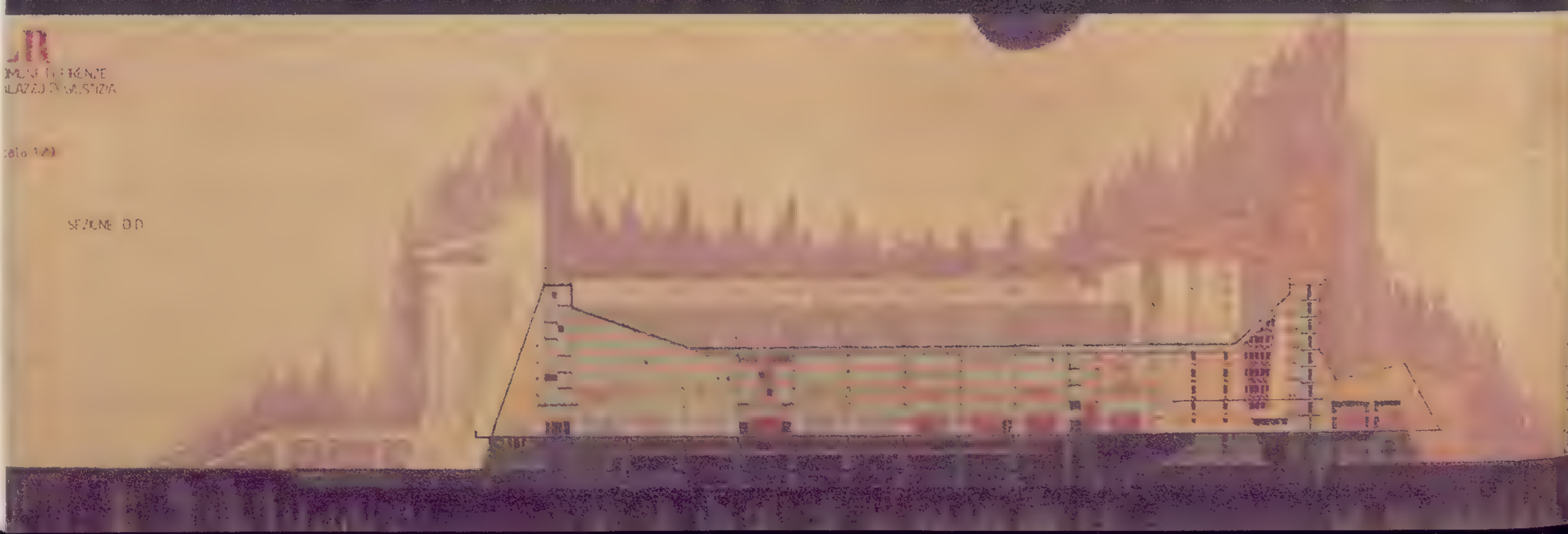







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COMUNE DI FIRENZE
PALAZZO DI GIUSTIZIA
Scala 1:200
SEZIONE A-A

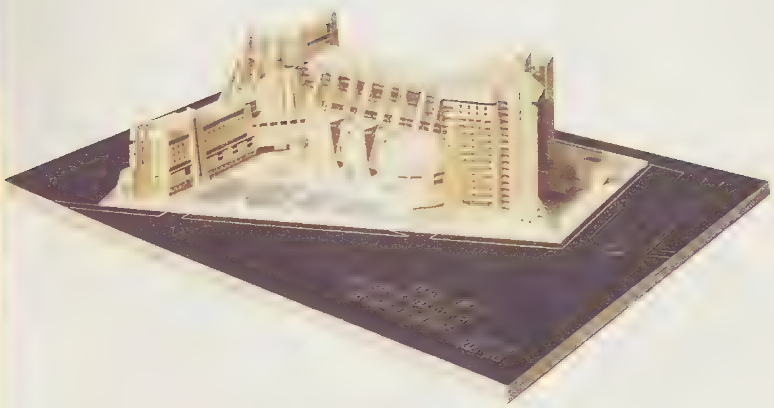

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SEZIONE D-D

Courthouse in Novoli, Florence

Leonardo Ricci

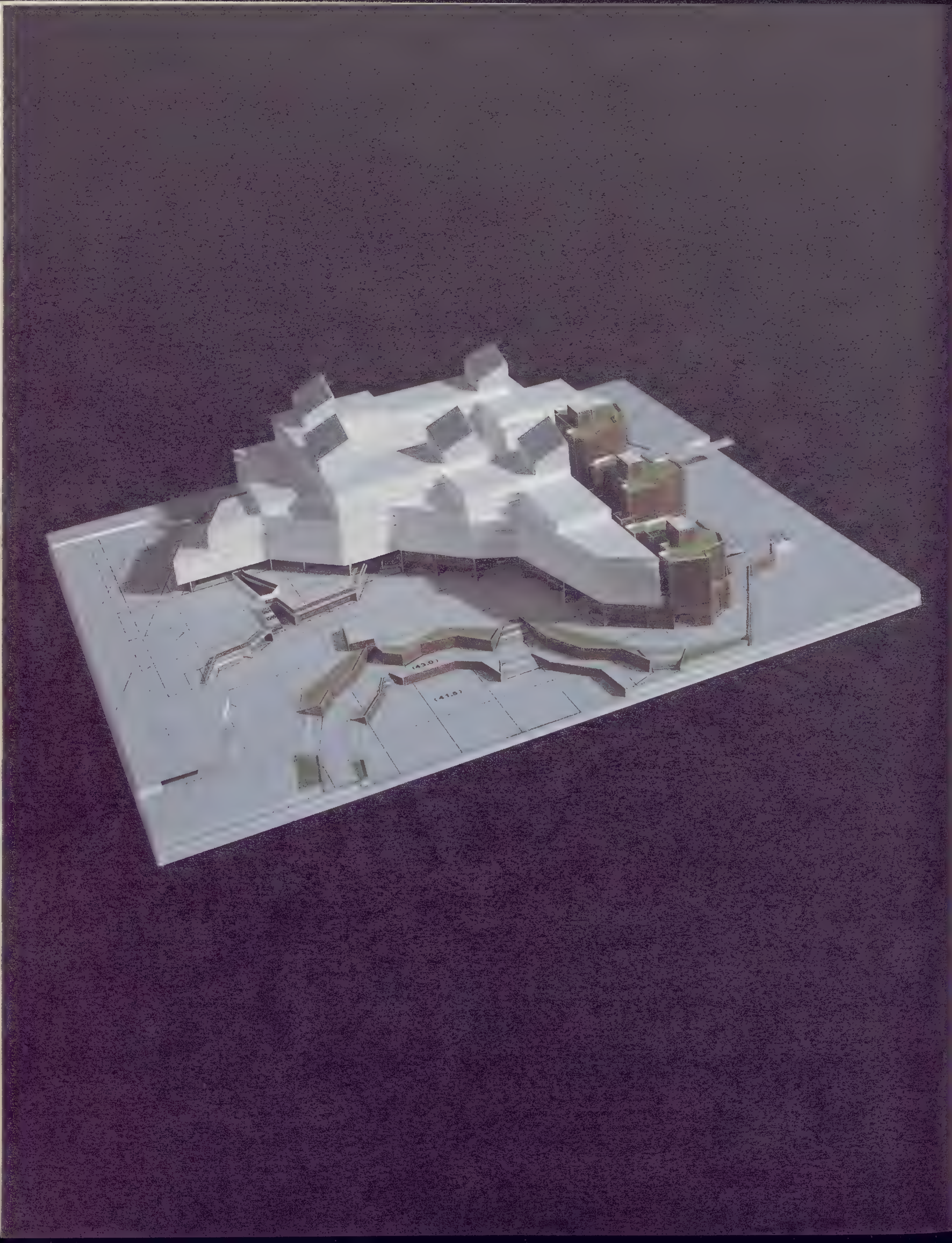
Associate: Maria Grazia Dallerba Ricci
Collaboration: Andrea Ricci



Longitudinal and transverse sections.
View of the model from the north.

The Courthouse Design in the Fiat Area at Novoli, Florence
Leonardo Ricci

The final Development Plan for the Fiat area should be complete as soon as the basic elements for the Florence Zoning Plan, developed by Marcello Vittorini, are defined; its approval, however will be independent and prior to that of the Zoning Plan.
It will also be the result of the synthesis of architectural ideas developed during the three workshops as suggested by Bruno Zevi and all the members of the group in order to avoid creating a dividing line between those who develop the plan and the freedom of expression of the architects in charge of designing individual buildings. In my opinion the results of this experiment are excellent (...).
During the design of the Courthouse I asked myself what was the meaning of justice, what was its space, its vernacular.
I thought of the roman basilicas, so sacred that the cristians reused them changing only their use from non-religious to religious. I believe that instead of thinking in terms of typologies one must always think in alternative and new ways. The Savona Courthouse project was to me an experience in which the development of a new model derived from the two existing models of justice that we have inherited today.
The result was different from the monumental, rethoric and often fascist latin model where the four components of human tragedy found in justice — the guilty (the accused), the prosecutor (the law), the defendant and the public — do not constitute a unit since only justice (the judge) is the center of everything.
The result was also different from the Anglosaxon model where often a Courthouse is nothing more than an office building void of any specific image and identity.
Three years after the completion of the Savona Courthouse I had the opportunity to review this new model. Conventions and concerts are held in its interior spaces. In the piazza in front of the building, baby carriages parade by day and lovers meet at night. The Firenze Courthouse will be a further development of this models.
Sited in the middle of eighteen hectars of park land, linked to newly designed buildings by renown architects, it will be part of a greater plan, the lanmark for the revilization of a badly deteriorated suburban area of Firenze. It will be the new heart of the neighborhood and all of those around it.


(43.0)
(41.5)

Multi-Functional Building in Novoli, Florence

Gunnar Birkerts

Assistant: Makito Mori



View of the model from the west.
Axonometric cutaway.

Multi-Use Fiat Center at Novoli, Florence
Gunnar Birkerts and Associates

The scar left by the removal of an industrial sector in the city of Florence will receive a careful grafting of urban development. The urban fabric surrounding all sides of the site will reach into the development leaving the center without construction and devoted to a public park. The development is devoted to mixed uses consisting of commercial, residential and office areas supported by necessary parking. The concept proposes a layered development of parking below a platform of commercial space with office and residential uses above. The residential component is oriented toward the central park.

The proposal is an integrated, mixed-use concept. Parking occupies the full extent of the site, on three levels. The main level is at grade and approached directly from the street. Two additional levels are underground. Spacial connection to the commercial level is through light courts which are provided with the escalators and stairs. These courts bring daylight and outside awareness into the parking levels and also improve the sense of security.

The commercial level is located on a platform above the street level parking and also above the mean elevation of the park. It is, however, connected to the surrounding community and to the public park by cascading stairs and landscaped terraces. The scale and urban texture of historical Florence is captured in the configuration of the commercial spaces and interconnecting pedestrian streets. All the deliveries to the building are from the parking level below. There is no traffic whatsoever at the commercial level. The main parking level facing the park is lined with commercial space devoted to service and recreational merchandise. The commercial zone, by virtue of a mezzanine, can extend vertically and, in combination with the parking level commercial space, forms a three level concept.

Access to the office space is provided directly from the parking level, as well as from the commercial level through main lobbies. The office complex ranges from three to six floors and can be divided either vertically or horizontally depending on the tenant. Office space is serviced by the utility towers, stairs and elevators at necessary intervals. This arrangement allows for occupancy by large, as well as small tenants. There are further opportunities available to provide tenant identity within the vernacular, if necessary.

The residential complex is composed of three six story houses. There are only three apartments per floor which allows for generous daylight and views from every room. Each house has its own roof garden with a swimming pool and its own vertical circulation system.

Residential Complex in Novoli, Florence

Ralph Erskine

Collaboration: Klas Tham and Christer Malmström



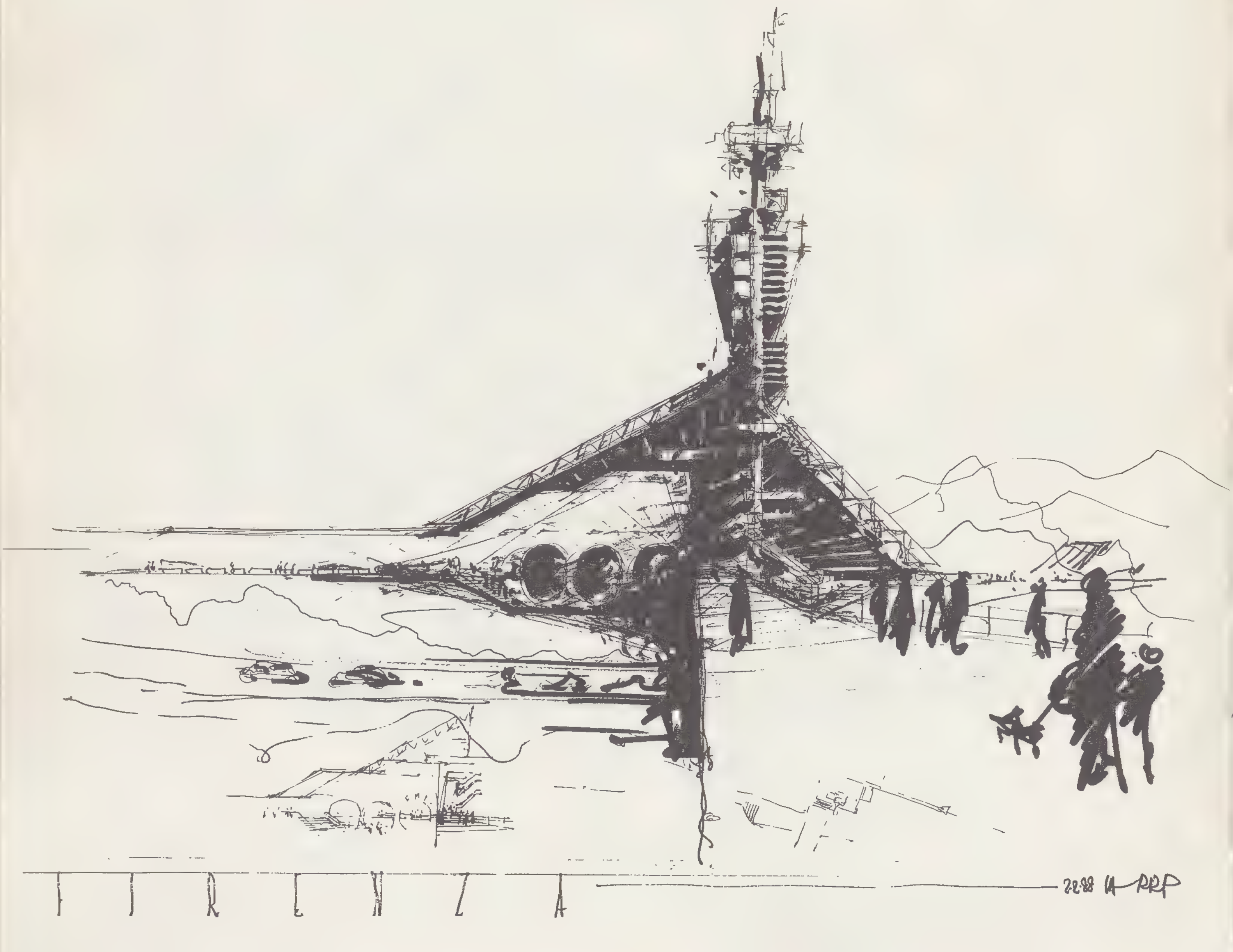
Axonometric.

Residential Building for the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence
Ralph Erskine

My Strategy
To achieve the objective of off-loading the commercial and other pressures which threaten the quality of the historic centre of Florence, an objective which I judge correct, in Novoli alone would lead to a largely mono-functional commercial-office-administrative centre. This would be in contrast with the respect — wiothout either nostalgia or aggressive modernistics — of that specific "spirit of Florence" expressed in the programme.
Therefore there must be a general strategy for the whole of Florence, which would help off-loading Novoli as well and permit a free development of the human and stimulating characteristics of the city. So it happens in old communities produced by complex cultures with multi-functional, multi-interest centres able to stimulate and enhance the exchange of varied experiences and ideas. This would permit the creation in Novoli of a local centre providing the surrounding inhabitants of this somewhat "working class area" with experiences of far greater interest for them than a park, however beautiful, which is surrounded by a few luxury dwellings, by law courts, offices, car showrooms and workshops. The major introverted "shopping centre" is also undoubtedly "indigenous" to the American culture and totally alien to any "spirit" of the streets and squares of Florence, Italy, or any part of central or southern Europe. The decision to build such an area in Novoli makes, in my opinion, a mockery of talk about the "special character" of the city. The choice can certainly be made but should in that case be made honestly under the banner of "Transforming Florence into an international city" in structure and culture, albeit with some residue Italian flavour and a historical "museum — city" at the centre.
Far more housing should alternatively be introduced into Novoli. The proposed large low social-intensity functions such as car showrooms and workshops, should move to socially uninteresting sites. Commerce and small scale industry should mainly not be in enclosed environment but take place on the streets and squares in the Florentine manner. Interesting and important needs such as ballgames, play places, park-theatres, exhibitions, special health and other small scale services etc. etc. move into the park. With increased housing "social" as well as luxury, — the need for day centres for old and young schools etc. arises.
All the above when linked to a most necessary reduction of the conflict of character, aggressive individuality and terrifying and costly monumentality of the proposed buildings can transform a "world expo" type project into a desireable and lovable part of Florence, which could in a most modern way partake in and contribute to the development of the harmonious relations of old Florence, characterised as it is, by multitude of unpretentiously delightful buildings with a suitable relationship to a few special buildings for the most powerful functions of the age.
The only building in Novoli to have the potential for monumentality would be law-courts, but in this modern culture of ours my hope would be for a modestly beautiful building to inspire faith in a very different justice than those awe-full institutions of power which so correctly found expression in the monumental law-courts of earlier ages.
Novoli, in my view, should in no way be an autonomous or independent area but as far as possible an integrated part of the surrounding areas.
The introduction of functions of commun interest such as mentioned above is the most important action to take.
The potential isolation created by the surrounding traffic apparatus must be reduced by the careful consideration of all possible lines of communication to the surrounding areas, both physical and visual. Here of course symbolic lines are of far less importance than direct contact and routes to desired objectives, — routes which are as far as possible lined with shops, bars, and other pleasures, and are well considered scale, character, colour and materials.
Ponte Vecchio is a naturally subject for consideration.
Good communications to the city centre, the rest of Florence and to the countryside are, of course, important.
Can the above be a reality in Novoli?
The above aims could only be achieved by clients and architects who have great faith in them. It is abundantly clear to me after the workshops that whilst many collegues and others in Italy as well as abroad would subscribe to such aims that with the exception of my Scandinavian collegues this was not the case in the Novoli project.
It therefore seemed probable that either the other collegues or I had to retire from the project, and in that case it was undeniable simpler that I bowed out.

Commercial and Office Building in Novoli, Florence

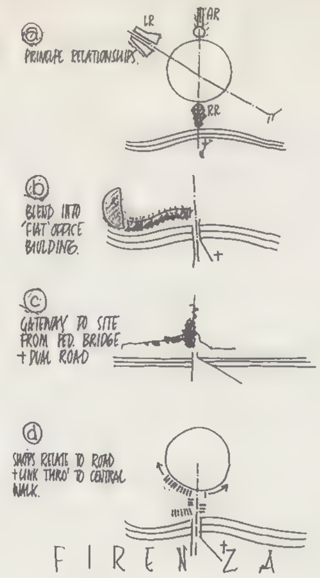
Richard Rogers

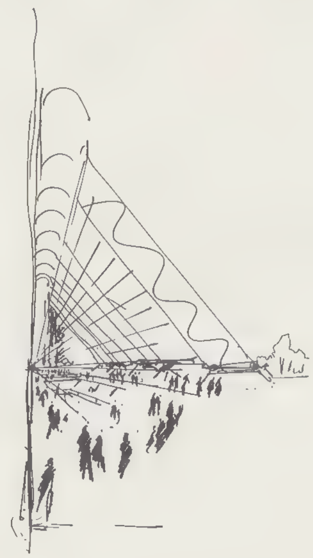


Design sketches.

Commercial and Office Building in the Fiat Area at Novoli, Florence
Richard Rogers

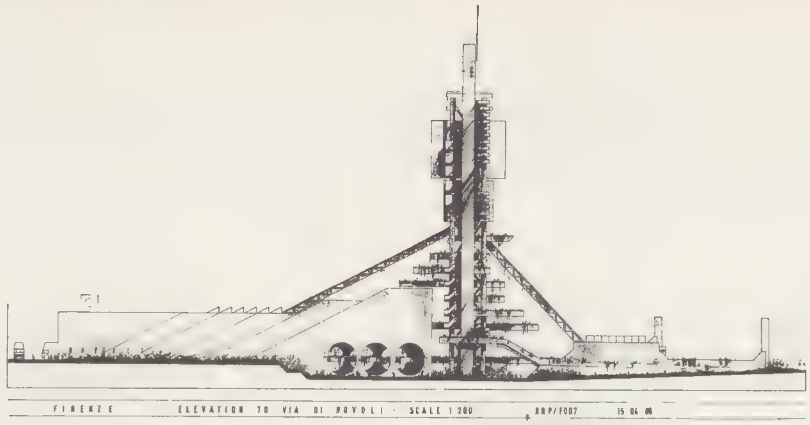
To create a new neighbourhood sited in a large park on the outskirts of Florence, to inject life into a relatively run-down district and provide much needed modern buildings in the Florence area, including Law Courts, offices, a bank, hotel, housing and shopping as well as more temporary structures for a variety of cultural/leisure activities which will evolve as the needs become defined.
A 32 hectare flat site, about 20-minute walk to the west of the centre of Florence, bounded on all sides by a busy highway with a canal to the North connecting to the Arno which is approximately 1 kilometre from the site.
The City Administration dictated the site density and usage, designating 18 hectares as a public park. The master plan strategy was then developed in three day workshops over six months; each architect then going on to develop his own scheme.
The buildings define the public spaces. To do this they are linked together to create a wall around the park, protecting the area from noise and creating a central green oasis. Bridges, gateways and paths link the site with the neighbourhood. Diagonal links, cross axis and circular footpaths generate movement throught the park.
Harmony and coherence are achieved by the park, the spaces between the buildings and the architectural quality of the strongly contrasting schemes.
45,500 sq. m. divided between the bank, offices, shopping and hotel, as well as 26,000 sq. m. of car parking and plant.
The building forms a gateway into the site. The spine building — the Bank — supports two diagonal lightweight roofs forming a tent over the piazza and shopping areas.
A low office building defines the edge of the site and closes off the covered piazza from the busy Via di Novoli. Opposite the gateway, across the road, there is a 16th-century church standing on a new piazza. This creates the major southern link to the neighbourhood.
Servicing access is from the two sides, east and west, with car parking and plant over the two basement levels.
To allow for phased construction, the hotel is detached from the main building and overlooks the parkland in three directions.
A lightweight glazed steel structure with sun shading covers the shopping area, creating an expansive public area for food courts and exhibitions and forms an atrium space for the lower levels of the bank.
The structural grid of 9×6 m. allows for flexibility in planning either open plan areas or individual units for both the office and shopping functions.

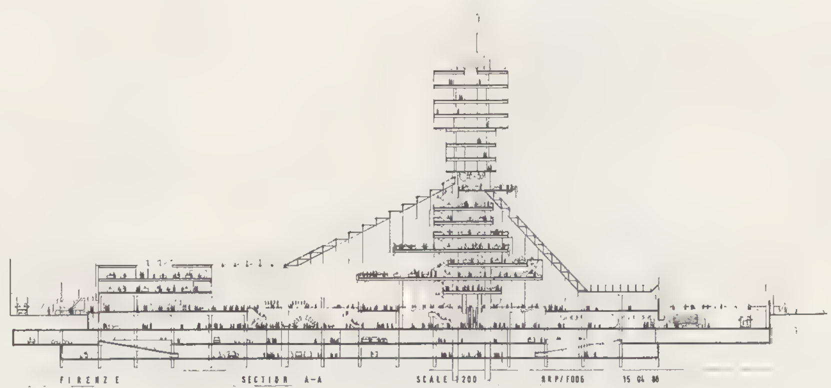


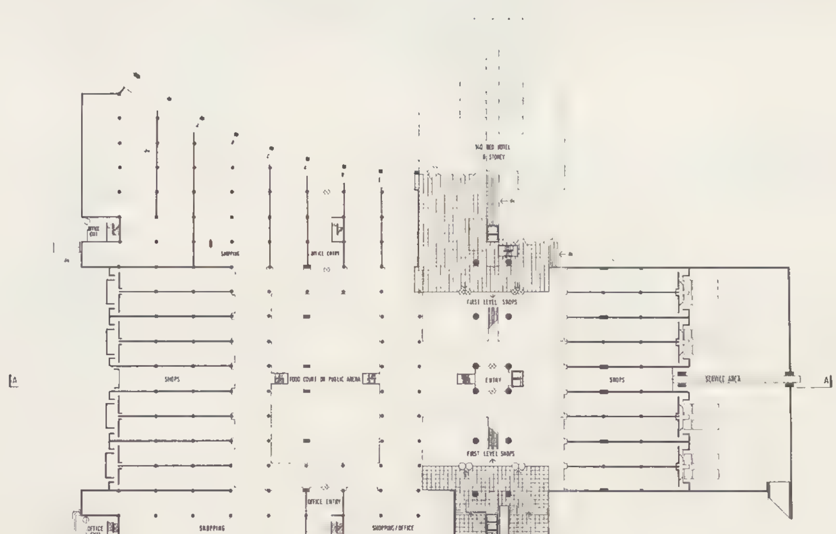


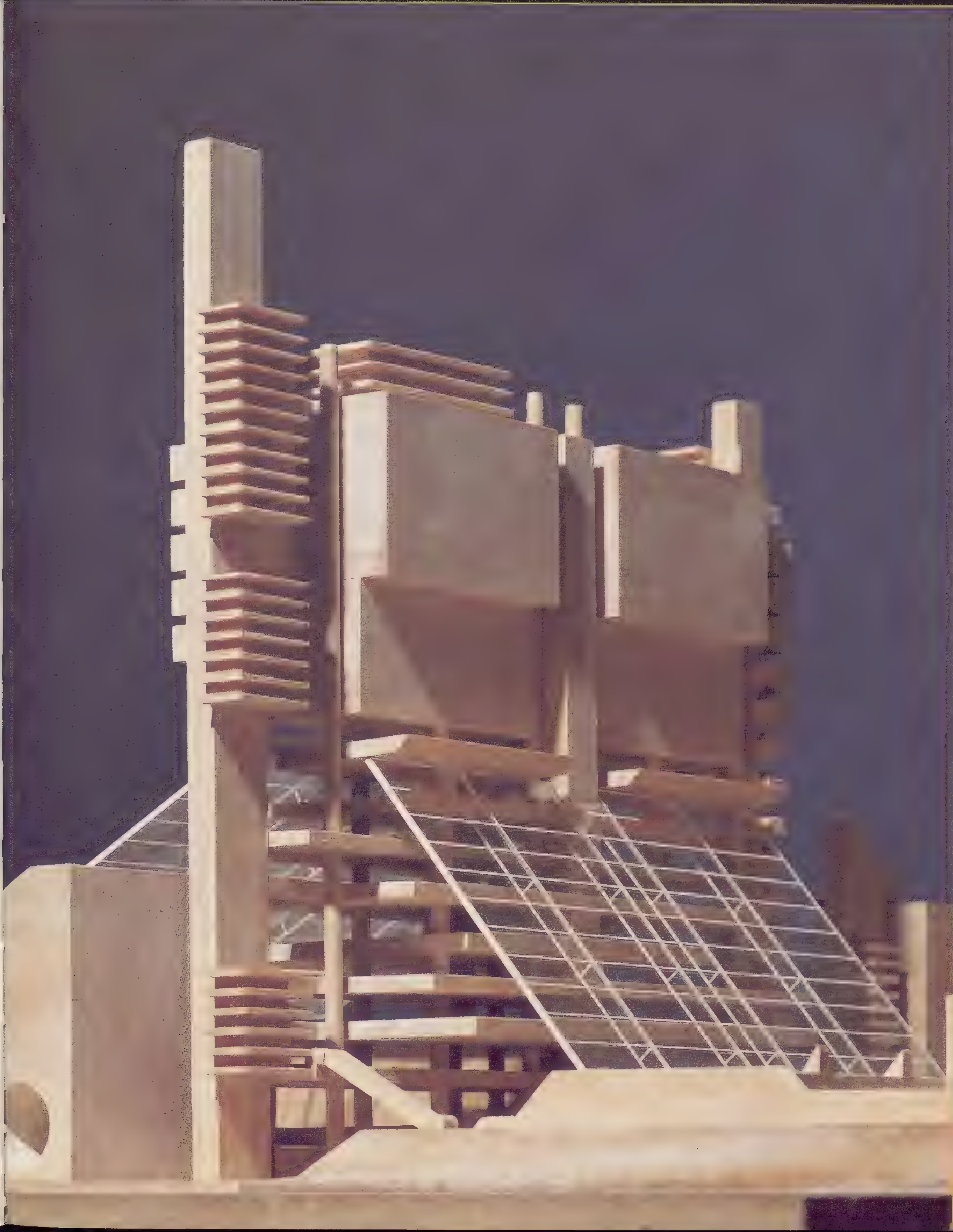


Elevation of Via Novoli, trasverse section
and ground floor plan.
View of the model from the southeast.









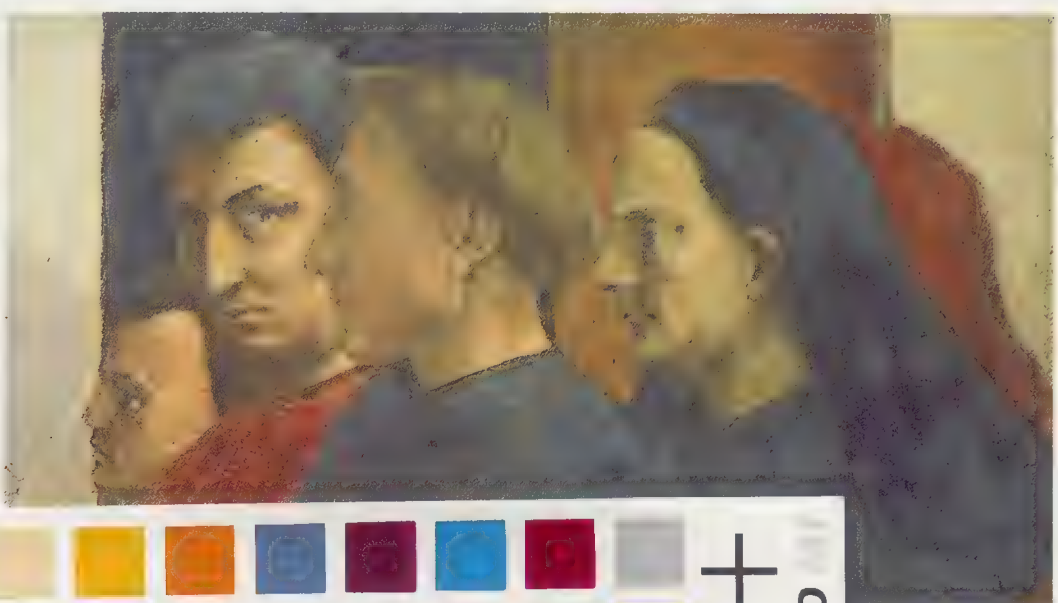
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Olivetti: total quality

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Olivetti: total quality, a civil commitment, of which the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine in Florence, now admirably restored to the world, is both a symbol and a concrete expression.

Brancacci Chapel. Masaccio, St. Peter Enthroned, detail.
Restoration under the technical coordination of Olivetti.



Zodiac 6



Periodico culturale semestrale
dell'Editrice Abitare Segesta s.p.a.
Marzo/Agosto 1991.
Spedizione in abbonamento postale gruppo IV



Hildmann, Simon, Rempen & Schmitz/SMS



Immagini di una scienza.

Con la luce si possono creare effetti magici, far risaltare oggetti o creare ombre, modificare completamente la scenografia di ambienti.

Ma per fare ciò abbiamo bisogno di strumenti adatti.

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Siamo noi della ERCO che realizziamo questi apparecchi.

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Viene così verificata l'esattezza del progetto e dimostrata la capacità scenografica ed illuminotecnica degli apparecchi moderni.

Come sopra.

ERCO
Die Lichtfabrik.



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Fotos: Alexander Ring

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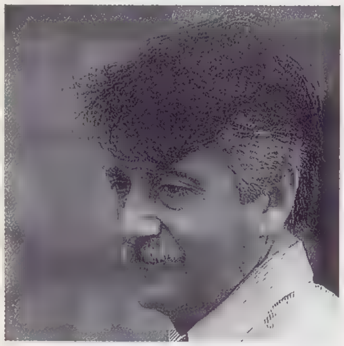
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Con il programma *Le Arti Industriali*, B&B Italia ha voluto promuovere un incontro concreto tra cultura architettonica e mondo della produzione industriale, per finalizzarlo alla realizzazione di oggetti contemporanei di arredo. Nell'ipotesi che permangano vaste e inesplorate potenzialità ideative tra i principali protagonisti delle attuali vicende architettoniche, per la maggior parte di fatto estranei al mondo della produzione industriale degli oggetti di arredo ma non perciò disinteressati a simili temi progettuali, si è sperimentato un primo confronto tra una rosa rappresentativa di architetti italiani e l'industria, tramite incarichi di progettazione di specifici oggetti d'arredo, frutto di personale invenzione. Questa ipotesi è stata confermata dalla convinzione dei consulenti coinvolti da B&B Italia per la gestione scientifico-culturale dell'operazione *Le Arti Industriali*; il pool, guidato da Francesco Dal Co e formato da Paolo Piva, Sergio Polano e Michela Scibilia, ha provveduto ad indirizzare gli architetti coinvolti nel progetto. La rosa degli undici architetti italiani de *Le Arti Industriali* rappresenta infatti una selezione ecumenica di progettisti, sia per diversità di scuole e di tendenze, sia per distribuzione di età e di aree geo-culturali di attività, in grado di restituire per punti polari il composito spettro della cultura architettonica italiana contemporanea: Carlo Aymonino, Roma; Guido Canella, Milano; Arduino Cantàfora, Milano; Francesco Cellini, Roma; Vittorio De Feo, Roma; Alberto Ferlenga, Milano; Roberto Gabetti e Aimaro Isola, Torino; Vittorio Gregotti, Milano; Adolfo Natalini, Firenze; Paolo Portoghesi, Roma; Franco Purini, Roma.







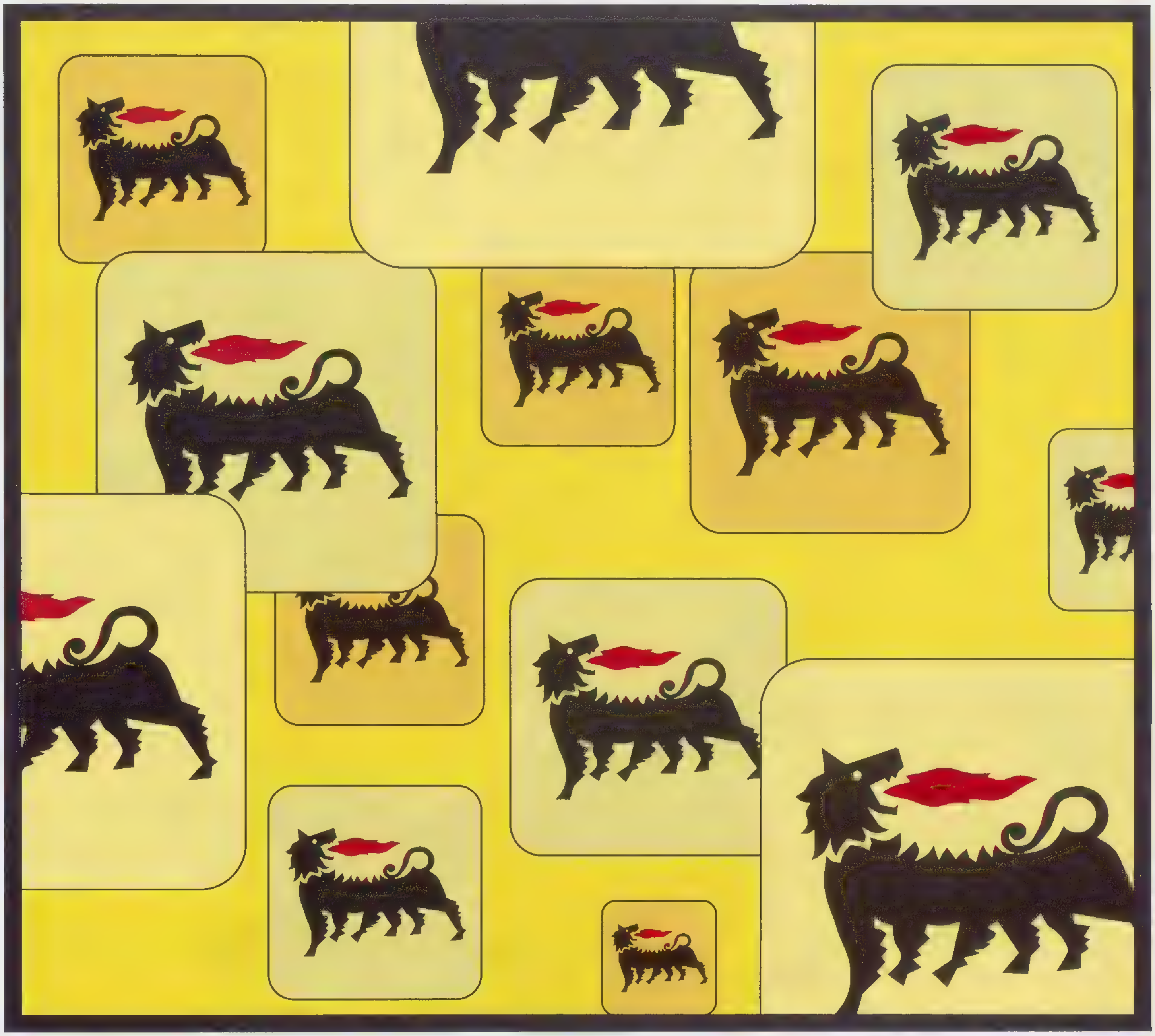








C'è sempre un po' di Eni intorno a noi.



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Guido Canella, direttore responsabile /*Editor*
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In copertina: Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, Sainsbury Wing della National Gallery, Londra: Schizzo di studio.

Front cover: Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London: Study's sketch.

Zodiac 6

Sommario/*Contents*

Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale

Guido Canella

Non sono pochi i museologi e gli architetti delle generazioni in attività che hanno avuto occasione di cimentarsi teoricamente e progettualmente (e spesso nel duplice impegno) sul tema del museo d'arte, tanto che il *nuovo museo*, assunto nell'odierno presupposto di ambigua conservazione (per il contenuto, ma anche per il contenente), potrebbe costituire l'estremo opposto al *nuovo teatro* al quale, nella presentazione del n. 2 di "Zodiac", si attribuiva la capacità di "*misurare sul paesaggio un'aspettativa di rinnovamento*".

Infatti fra le diverse tipologie, quella del museo d'arte, nonostante la difformità con la quale si produce oggi nelle diverse circostanze di luogo e di specialità, almeno teoricamente per quanto riguarda essenza e congegno, risulterebbe la più canonizzata.

E ciò soprattutto ad opera di studiosi e critici quando, pur non negando all'architetto il diritto alla libertà creativa, preventivamente (valutando le intenzioni di progetto) e consuntivamente (di fronte all'edificio realizzato), muovono le rispettive raccomandazioni evocando il modello dell'Altes Museum schinkeliano: scalinata esterna, portico, ampio vestibolo di accesso e di immedesimazione, sequenza di stanze di dimensione appropriata, illuminazione naturale laterale o, se a un solo piano, spiovente dall'alto, disposizione neutra delle opere in esposizione.

Ciò è riscontrabile in una lunga disamina analitica compresa tra il capitolo dedicato ai musei da Heinrich Wagner nell'*Handbuch der Architektur*[1] fino ai saggi di Helmut Seling e Nikolaus Pevsner apparsi su "The Architectural Review" negli anni Sessanta, inseriti poi nell'affascinante *A History of Building Types*[2]. E dire che in questi studi fondamentali l'analisi si spinge ben addietro nel tempo, con la citazione del mitico *Museion* di Alessandria che, trovandosi abbinato alla grande Biblioteca in quel centro dell'Ellenismo a disposizione di tutti gli studiosi, è da supporre funzionasse per quei tempi (IV-III secolo a.C.) come istituzione pubblica e operativa.

E, anche se non vi si fa cenno alla Villa che l'imperatore Adriano si costruí presso Tivoli nel II secolo, come museo autocontemplativo di pura memoria, in entrambi quegli studi si richiama però un'opera che — secondo James S. Ackerman[3] — ad essa direttamente si ispira: il Cortile del Belvedere in Vaticano, ideato da Giulio II e da Bramante all'inizio del Cinquecento, non solo come *antiquario* e vero e proprio apparato da collezione, ma anche come culto dell'evocazione che traspira da tutto il complesso monumentale.

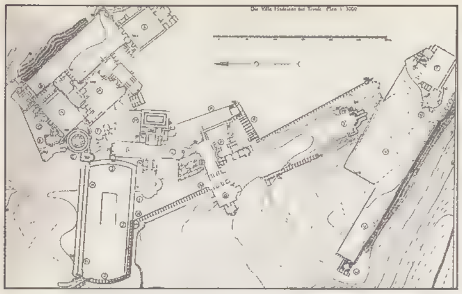
Ma tutto questo, e ciò che seguì fino al grandioso progetto di Boullée del 1783, per studiosi e critici sarebbe da relegare nella preistoria dei musei, suscettibile di interesse archeologico ma non di riproposizione, dacché l'archetipo realizzato del museo d'arte moderno, pubblicamente praticabile e funzionale, si troverebbe soltanto all'affermarsi della cultura borghese, appunto nell'Altes Museum di Schinkel.

Nelle lezioni introduttive a un corso sulla progettazione del museo tenute al Politecnico di Milano nel 1977-1978[4], io stesso ho provato a percorrerne la successione tipologica, ricavandone però considerazioni e pervenendo a conclusioni che contraddicevano l'immancabilità lineare e univoca del modello, così che mi sono orientato verso un discontinuo ricorso di casi differenziati spesso ripresi, non di rado compresenti e interdipendenti per particolari circostanze di tempo e di luogo.

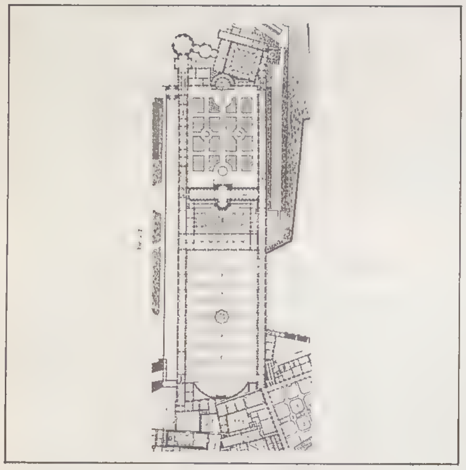
Di questi e di altri miei interventi in argomento non è certo il caso di dar

On Certain Deviations from the Museum Archetype
Guido Canella

Quite a few members of the current generation of museologists and architects have had the opportunity to put their theoretical and/or design skills to test in art museums. As a result today's new museum, *the preservation of which has come under discussion (because of its contents but also because of the "container" itself), could be seen as the absolute opposite of the* new theatre, *to which the presentation in no. 2 of Zodiac attributed the capacity of* "giving the landscape any hopes of renewal".
Indeed of all the various typologies, the art museum is - in theory at least - the one most subject to specific rules, despite the dissimilarities in today's designs given the variety of locations and special uses.
This is largely because scholars and critics, without denying the architect's right to creative freedom, put forth their concerns both before the museum has been built (assessing the intentions of the design) and afterwards (face to face with the finished building) basing themselves on the model of Schinkel's Altes Museum: exterior stairs, portico, spacious hall providing access and a sense of identification, sequences of appropriately-sized rooms, daylight coming in from the sides or above as in the case of one-floor museums, and the neutral arrangement of the works on display.
This is evident in the long analytical examination which started in the chapter on museums in Heinrich Wagner's Handbuch der Architektur[1] *and continued through the essays by Helmut Seling and Nikolaus Pevsner in "The Architectural Review" in the Sixties, which later appeared in the fascinating* A History of Building Types[2]. *To think that the analysis in these fundamental studies goes far back in time, including references to the legendary* Museion *of Alexandria which was connected to the great Library in that urban centre of Hellenism to which all scholars had access and presumably served in those times (4th to 3rd centuries B.C.) as a public, operational institution.*
Even though there is no mention of the Villa which Emperor Hadrian had built at Tivoli in the 2nd century, as a self-contemplative memorial museum, both the above mentioned studies refer to a work which - according to James S. Ackerman[3] - takes its inspiration directly from it, namely the Cortile del Belvedere in the Vatican, designed by Julius II and Bramante at the beginning of the sixteenth century not only as an antiquario *and true collection apparatus, but also as a cult of the evocation transpiring from the whole monumental complex.*
In the views of the scholars and critics all this and everything that followed (up to Boullée's grandiose project in 1783), should be considered museum prehistory because, interesting as it may be from an archaeological point of view, it no longer works as a model, since the archetype of the truly public and functional modern art museum came about only with the establishment of bourgeois culture, in Schinkel's Altes Museum.
In the introductory lessons to a course on museum design at Milan Polytechnic in the 1977-1978 academic year[4], I myself attempted to trace the typological sequence, but in so doing came to certain conclusions which contradicted the linear and univocal inescapability of the model. As a result I turned my attention towards different cases which were often repeated and often found side by side and dependent on each other due to particular circumstances of time and place.
This is not the place to give an account of these or other contributions of mine on the subject, so I shall limit myself to quoting the conclusion of the





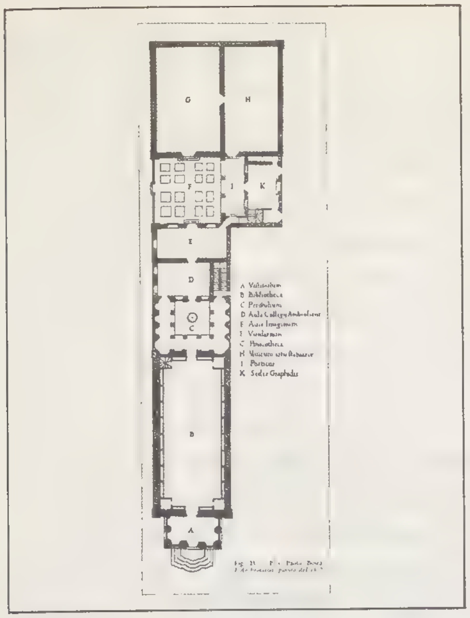


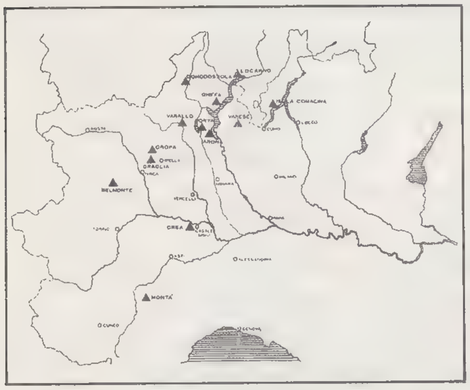
Villa Adriana presso Tivoli, 120 d.C.: planimetria generale e vista del Teatro Marittimo.
Donato Bramante, Complesso del Belvedere, oggi Museo Vaticano, Roma, 1503-1512: pianta.

Villa Adriana at Tivoli, 120 A.C.: site plan and view of the Marittimo Theatre.
Donato Bramante, Belvedere Complex, known today as the Vatican Museum, Rome, 1503-1512: plan.

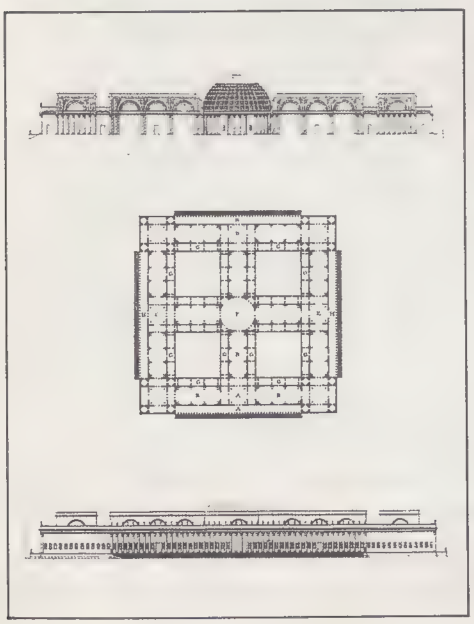
conto, limitandomi a riportare qui la conclusione della relazione a un simposio del 1989 sul tema *Il museo del futuro*[5].

"(...) Qualche tempo fa m'è capitato di leggere con interesse gli atti di un simposio promosso nel dicembre 1986 dalla Architectural League di New York sul tema Building the New Museum[6]. *Nella relazione di apertura, intitolata* The Development of a Museum Typology, *Helen Searing ha il pregio di dichiarare fin dall'inizio il proprio punto di vista in argomento: contrario alle soluzioni universali applicabili astrattamente in quanto basate sulla tecnologia avanzata e, invece, favorevole al tipo di museo affermatosi ormai come tradizionale tra la fine del Diciottesimo e l'inizio del Diciannovesimo secolo e inaugurato dal progetto di Durand con rotonda dislocata al centro di una crociera a quattro corti, così da consentire una sequenza articolata in gallerie con lucernario filtrante la luce naturale.*
Ora, al di lá della felice e provata congenialità di questo museo-istituzione al tessuto storico di una città — meglio: di una capitale — di illustre civiltà, rimarcata dall'autrice con una serie di acute considerazioni, l'obiezione per me sostanziale al suo presupposto riguardava il dubbio che sopravvivenza, riaffermazione e diffusione di quel tipo architettonico, e più in generale della musealità così intesa, potessero prescindere da particolari circostanze contestuali. Quasi che quell'archetipo (durandiano o schinkeliano) non si fosse costituito, e poi nel tempo diffuso e di necessità contaminato, in presenza di determinate congiunture sociali e istanze ideologiche e che la progettazione dell'architettura, nell'odierno regime della città mondiale, potesse ormai prescindere dall'intorno reale, affrontando il compito tipologico dall'interno del congegno, come derivata lineare di una serie di operazioni rigorose e necessariamente conseguenti.
Infatti, proprio perché si può sostenere — come personalmente sostengo — che quello dell'architettura non può che essere il compito svolto da sempre, è pur vero che ogni categoria funzionalmente formalizzata lasciataci in eredità dalla tradizione, anche dietro marginali modificazioni figurative, subisce sostanziali trasformazioni d'uso che la progettazione non è soltanto chiamata ad affrontare all'interno dell'edificio, quanto ad assumere fino a prevenire all'esterno, sulla scacchiera dove sono in gioco il paesaggio e l'assetto stesso della città.
Nel dibattito che si sviluppò in quello stesso simposio dell'Architectural League, Philip Johnson esordiva sostenendo, all'incirca, che progettare l'interno di un museo è più semplice di quanto si possa supporre, trattandosi sostanzialmente di organizzare ambienti dove collocare al meglio le opere d'arte, così da farle apprezzare a chi le guarda e di individuare poi appropriate sequenze dislocate secondo un essenziale e chiaro orientamento; mentre a renderne più difficile il progetto è, semmai, la circostanza per cui i musei sono anche monumenti pubblici, dacché hanno preso il posto di chiese e palazzi, tanto che ad essi converrebbe quella che un tempo — con termine ormai fuori corso — veniva chiamata la monumentalità.
Il dibattito, cui partecipavano, oltre alla Searing e a Johnson, i critici Colin Amery e Robert Hughes e moderato da Suzanne Stephens, si sviluppava poi oltre che con un unanime riconoscimento ai musei di Schinkel e di Louis Kahn, con giudizi di merito — perloppiù condivisibili — sui musei realizzati negli ultimi anni, soffermandosi sugli errori commessi da ordinatori e architetti. Per esempio: quando non distinguono tra diversi periodi dell'arte



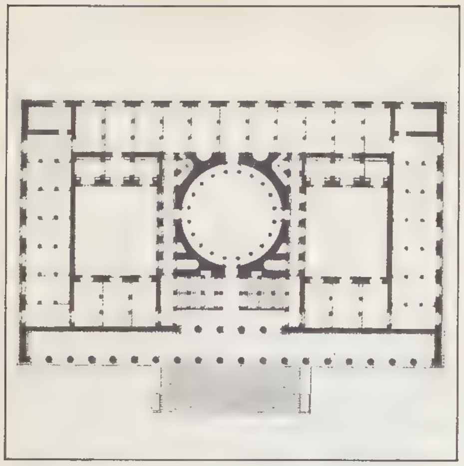


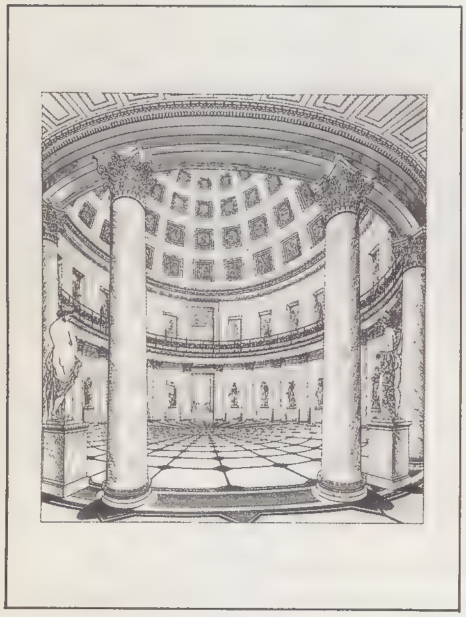




paper I read at a 1989 symposium entitled The Museum of the Future[5].

"(...) Some time ago I was interested to read the proceedings of a symposium held in December 1986 by the Architectural League of New York entitled *Building the New Museum*[6]. In the opening paper, entitled *The Development of a Museum Typology*, Helen Searing takes the commendable step of declaring her own views on the subject from the outset: she is against universal solutions applied abstractly only because they are based on advanced technology but is in favour of the type of museum that established itself as the traditional model between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, which started from Durand's design with a rotunda with four courtyards arranged in the shape of a cross around it offering a varied sequence of galleries, topped by a skylight to let in natural light.
However appropriate this museum-institution may prove to be to the historic fabric of a city - or rather of a capital - renowned for its civilization, as the speaker points out with a series of pointed considerations, the biggest objection to her assumptions as I see it is my suspicion that this architectural type and (generally speaking) museum design per se might survive, reassert itself and become widespread without taking certain contextual circumstances into account. It is almost as if that Durand- or Schinkel-inspired archetype had not established itself and had not over the years become more widespread and out of necessity modified, in the presence of certain social situations and ideologies and as if architectural design in the world's cities today could ignore the actual surroundings, tackling the typological question from inside the building approaching the solution as if it were a linear derivative of a series of rigorous operations necessarily following one another.
Indeed for the very reason that it is possible to maintain - as I myself maintain - that architecture's role can only be the one it has always carried out, it is also true that each architectural category handed down to us by tradition undergoes, behind marginal figurative modifications, substantial and radical transformations of use. Design is called upon not only to address these issues from inside the building but also on the outside, becoming a piece in a game of chess in which the landscape and the very appearance of the city are at stake.
In the debate that developed during that same symposium of the Architectural League, Philip Johnson began by more or less supporting the view that designing the interior of a museum is easier than is commonly felt, and basically involves in the first istance the organization of rooms in which works of art can be displayed to their best advantage and appreciated by those who come to view them, and secondly the identification of appropriate sequences set out clearly and logically. What makes the design difficult is, if anything, the fact that museums are also public monuments, having taken over this role from churches and palaces, and as such are better suited to what used to be called *monumentality* - a term no longer in favour.
As well as Searing and Johnson, the critics Colin Amery and Robert Hughes also took part in the debate, which was chaired by Suzanne Stephens. It went on to unanimously acknowledge the museums of Schinkel and Louis Kahn, with words of praise — words shared by all — for the









che richiedono particolari requisiti nell'esposizione delle opere; quando sottovalutano la delicata combinazione tra luce naturale e luce artificiale; condannando infine la tendenza ad ampliare indefinitamente i musei centrali e auspicando invece la diffusione di piccoli musei.
Ritengo, tuttavia, che il punto sostanziale del dibattito — non a caso sollevato dal grande patriarca dell'architettura moderna —, proprio perché più problematico, resti la questione della valenza monumentale del museo. Concetto che — a mio arbitrio — intenderei come quella certa qualità differenziale capace di far fronte in modo autentico e perentorio non solo figurativamente *al paesaggio circostante, ma soprattutto* tipologicamente *all'insieme del contesto culturale.*
Dacché oggi esistono mezzi di riproduzione e di comunicazione in grado di provvedere con mirata e graduata capillarità all'acculturazione di massa visiva o affabulativa, un tempo esclusivamente trasmissibile con il concorso dell'architettura nelle chiese e nei musei, è indubbio che nella società attuale il ruolo svolto dal museo centrale e tradizionale, non diversamente da altri luoghi istituzionali, non adempie più a tutti quegli effetti che produceva nella società tra fine Settecento e inizio Ottocento e neppure a quelli che produceva un secolo dopo, prima dell'avvento di quella che Walter Benjamin nel 1936 definiva l'epoca della riproducibilità tecnica.
Significa, pertanto, che ci troviamo di fronte alla morte o all'imbalsamazione del museo tradizionale e che altri più attuali mezzi e assetti funzionali l'hanno ormai inesorabilmente soppiantato?
No di certo, poiché il museo-istituzione continuerà a svolgere un'insostituibile funzione, oltre che tradizionale: nell'articolare le sedi centrali con organiche collezioni da dislocare nei tessuti storici per rivitalizzare antichi palazzi e conventi; nell'insediarsi nelle città nel frattempo ingrandite che esigono un museo istituzionale; nelle regioni in via di sviluppo che legittimamente pretendono di valorizzare una cultura autoctona.
Non per questo la ricerca tipologica può considerarsi esaurita. Tutt'altro, poiché proprio nella struttura disfatta della cosiddetta metropoli "postindustriale" si ripresenta il compito di individuare e approfondire la congruenza di ogni tipo non secondo una categorizzazione astratta, ma caso per caso, superando anche contrapposizioni convenzionali tra centro storico, dove si pretende di operare per assoluta conservazione o per prudenti restauri, e restante territorio, dove si ritiene di dover innovare soltanto per recinti destinati a condensare tutto l'immaginario di nuove e futuribili funzioni e dove, quanto alla musealità, una volta decadute le gloriose esposizioni, tendono a proliferare parchi della scienza come disneyland *della cultura.*
Infatti ritengo che una ritrovata organicità della struttura urbana passi anche attraverso scelte strategiche e contestuali, volta a volta di concentrazione e diffusione, accentramento e polarizzazione, continuità e discontinuità delle funzioni, capaci di ridurre le classiche contraddizioni tra città e campagna, tra centro e periferia, tra antico e nuovo, tra efficienza e degrado. Pertanto il museo, come del resto altre istituzioni, verrebbe a integrarsi di fatto a un complessivo sistema museale polarizzandosi e articolandosi all'intersezione con diversi sistemi funzionali (mobilità, cultura in generale, istruzione ai vari livelli, tempo libero, eccetera) e differenziandosi tipologicamente anche per compiti e gradi di produttività, ospitalità, frequentazione, diretta operatività, che ormai tendono sempre più

Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Altes Museum, Berlino, 1823-1830: pianta del piano rialzato e veduta interna della Rotonda.
Planimetria del Parco di Klein-Glienicke, Berlino, con architetture di Karl Friedrich Schinkel e Ludwig Persius, 1862.
Ludwig Persius, Cascina nel Parco di Klein-Glienicke, Berlino, 1843-44: vista dello stato attuale.

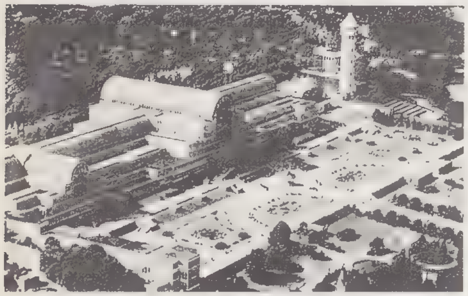
Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Altes Museum, Berlin, 1823-1830: second floor plan and inferior view of the Rotonda.
Plan of the Klein-Glienicke Park, Berlin, including the works of Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Ludwig Persius, 1862.
Ludwig Persius, Farmstead of Klein-Glienicke Park, Berlin, 1843-44: view.

Nelle pagine precedenti:
Lelio Buzzi, Ambrosiana, Milano, 1603-09, nella pianta del 1672 di Pier Paolo Bosca, terzo prefetto dell'Ambrosiana.
Localizzazione dei sacri monti piemontesi e lombardi, da S. Langé.
Etienne-Louis Boullèe, Progetto per un grande museo, 1783: sezione.
Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, Museo, 1817.

On the preceding pages:
Lelio Buzzi, Ambrosiana complex, Milan, 1603-09, in the plan of 1672 by Pier Paolo Bosca, third Ambrosiana prefect.
Location of the sacred mountains of Piedmont and Lombardy, from S. Langé.
Etienne-Louis Boullèe, Design for a grand museum, 1783: section.
Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, Museum, 1817.

museums built in recent years, and comments on the mistakes made by planners and architects, for example when they fail to distinguish between different periods of art, or when certain works require particular displays; when work are overwhelmed with arbitrary display interpretations; or when the delicate combination of natural and artificial light is underestimated. Finally the tendency to expand central museums was condemned and hope expressed that small museums will become more widespread.
I think, though, that the most important point of the debate - and it was no coincidence that this point was raised by the great patriarch of modern architecture - remains the monumental aspect of museums. I would define this concept as that particular differential quality which is capable of addressing the surroundings not only *figuratively* but in an authentic and strong manner, but above all capable of confronting the cultural context. Because of today's means of reproduction and communication, visual arts or representational culture, (which could formerly only be shown within the confines of church and museum architecture), can now be spread to the masses. There is no doubt that the central, traditional museum, like other institutional places, no longer has to serve all the purposes it served in late eighteenth — and early nineteenth — century society, nor indeed those it served a century later before the advent of what Walter Benjamin described in 1936 as *the era of technical reproducibility.*
Does this mean then that we are faced with the death or the mummification of the traditional museum and that other more up-to-date methods and functional approaches have now inexorably superseded it?
Indeed not, because the museum-institution will continue to carry out an irreplaceable function over and above the traditional one: supplementing the central museums with collections displayed in historical buildings, revitalized ancient palaces and convents. The need for an institutional museum to establish itself in the cities which have grown will still be felt and similarly, in the developing regions, people will expect that their local culture be valued and preserved.
This does not imply that typological research has outlived its usefulness. On the contrary, it is the very breakdown of the structure of the so-called "post-industrial" metropolis which gives rise once again to the identification and examination of the validity of every type, not according to an abstract categorization, but case by case, also overcoming conventional comparisons and contrasts between historic centre, where total preservation and cautious restoration are expected, and the remaining territory, where innovation is considered necessary only in enclosed areas which contain what is considered to be all the new and future functions and where (now that the great exhibitions are a thing of the past) museum design tends to mean science parks that are like cultural *Disneylands.*
In fact I believe that the new-found organic unity of the urban structure also requires strategic and contextual choices, involving concentration or diffusion, centralization and polarization, continuity and discontinuity of functions, and the ability to reduce the traditional distinctions between city and countryside, between city centre and suburbs, between ancient and modern, between efficiency and decay. In this way the museum, like all other institutions, would be integrated into a comprehensive museum system, interacting with other functional systems (transport, culture in general, various levels of education, leisure etc.) and would be











a stravolgere il tipo del museo-istituzione.
Nella relazione di apertura a quel simposio Helen Searing collocava in una ben stigmatizzata tradizione di caricatura tecnologica, tra gli altri, anche il Palazzo di Cristallo realizzato da Joseph Paxton per l'Esposizione Mondiale di Londra del 1851, il progetto del 1930 di Howe e Lescaze per il Museum of Modern Art di New York, in genere i musei di Mies van der Rohe. Mentre nella mia disamina di allora, tra altri, avevo indicato proprio questi casi non come archetipi alternativi, ma come tipi virtualmente suscettibili di riproposizione (anche per il correlativo valore monumentale), soprattutto se prospettati nei circuiti della complessa e ramificata discontinuità di un sistema museale.
E, soprattutto, avevo portato ad esempio l'Ambrosiana di Milano (ricordata, ma solo come biblioteca, soltanto da Pevsner e Seling tra gli studiosi che ho fin qui citati), fondata in epoca manierista, con biblioteca e museo, da Federico Borromeo come centro di promozione culturale nella Controriforma, così da incoraggiare e indirizzare le arti. Basti ricordare l'influenza che essa esercitò sul realismo del cosiddetto Seicento lombardo e nella sublime creatività religioso-popolare diffusa per tutta la Diocesi milanese, fino alla costruzione dei famosi Sacri Monti nelle valli di confine. E poi le ville e i casini ispirati da Schinkel e concepiti insieme ai suoi allievi nel parco-museo di Glienicke come sintesi mnemonico-interpretativa di un soggiorno mediterraneo. E, ancora, la Künstlerkolonie fondata da Ernst Ludwig a Darmstadt e inaugurata con l'esposizione del 1901.
*Allora, forzando i confini dell'ideologia e del gusto correnti, in una scala graduata tra autenticità e contraffazione delle figure emanate dai tipi architettonici, dovremmo forse ritenere di diversa ammissibilità la caratura evocativa e monumentale (*absit inuria verbo*) presente nelle due opere di Schinkel? E, magari, tra la loro e quella del Danteum, che nel 1938 (XVI dell'era fascista) i giovani architetti Terragni e Lingeri dedicavano a Roma, sulla Via dell'Impero, come allegoria di un allegorico poema nazionale?"*

* * *

Ma, forzando ulteriormente i confini dell'ideologia e del gusto correnti, mi preme qui di seguito richiamare il memoriale dedicato ai caduti realizzato a Bagdad nei primi anni Ottanta da Marcello D'Olivo, scomparso il 24 agosto di quest'anno: una delle personalità più originali (e forse per questo trascurata) dell'architettura italiana dell'ultimo dopoguerra.

Note
1) Cfr. H. WAGNER, *Museen*, in AA.VV., *Handbuch der Architektur*, 4. Theil, 6. Halbband, 4. Heft, 3. Kapitel, Bergsträsser, Darmstad 1893.
2) Cfr. N. PEVSNER (con H. Seling), *Museums*, in *A History of Building Types*, Thames and Hudson, London 1976, traduz. italiana *Storia e Caratteri degli edifici*, Palombi, Roma 1986.
3) Cfr. J.S. ACKERMAN, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, in AA.VV., *Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, vol. III, Roma 1954.
4) Cfr. *Per un museo metropolitano*, numero monografico di "Hinterland", n. 4, luglio-agosto 1978, e Atti del convegno *Milano e i suoi musei*, Circolo della Stampa, Milano, 17 marzo 1979, in *La diffusione museale*, numero monografico di "Hinterland", n. 21-22, marzo-giugno 1982.
5) In *Architettura: Come saranno i musei di domani?*, relazione al simposio *El museu del futur*, Museu de la Ciència, Barcelona, 16-17 maggio 1989.
6) Cfr. AA.VV., *Building the New Museum*, Atti del simposio promosso da The Architectural League of New York, 5, 10 e 12 dicembre 1985, Princeton Architectural Press, New Haven 1986.

Joseph Maria Olbrich, Colonia degli Artisti sulla Mathildenhöhe, Darmstadt, 1901: vista a volo d'uccello (con edifici di Behrens, Benois, Habich, Hoetger, Müller, Olbrich).
John Paxton, Ricostruzione del Crystal Palace a Sydenham, 1854.
Le Corbusier, Padiglione de L'Esprit Nouveau all'Esposizione internazionale di Parigi del 1925, ricostruzione, Bologna, 1977.
Luwig Mies van der Rohe, Padiglione Barcelona all'esposizione internazionale di Barcellona del 1928, ricostruzione, Barcellona, 1986.
George Howe e William Lescaze, Progetto per il Museum of Modern Art a New York, quinta versione, 1930: prospettiva.

Joseph Maria Olbrich, Artists'School on the Mathildenhöhe, Darmstadt, 1901: birds-eye views (buildings by Behrens, Benois, Habich, Hoetger, Müller, Olbrich).
John Paxton, Reconstruction of the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, 1854.
Le Corbusier, L'Esprit Nouveau pavilion at the Paris International Exhibition in 1925, reconstruction, Bologna, 1977.
Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Barcelona Pavilion at the International Exhibition in 1928, reconstruction, Barcelona, 1986.
George Howe and William Lescaze, Design for the Museum of Modern Art, New York, the fifth proposal, 1930: perspective.

differentiated in the typological sense in terms of its tasks and degree of productivity, hospitality, attendance, and direct operativeness, factors which these days tend to cause the museum-institution as a type to degenerate more and more. In her opening paper at that symposium Helen Searing also saw Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, built for the 1851 World Exhibition in London, Howe and Lescaze's 1930 design for New York's Museum of Modern Art and Mies van der Rohe's museums in general as belonging to a well-stigmatized tradition of technological caricature. In my examination at the time, meanwhile, I cited precisely these cases not as alternative archetypes, but as types which it would almost be possible to use again (one reason being their correlative monumental value), especially if considered in the context of the complex and ramified discontinuity of a museum system. And above all, I took as an example the Ambrosiana of Milan (only Pevsner and Seling, of all the scholars I have mentioned so far, refer to it and even then only as a library). A combination of library and museum, it was founded by Federico Borromeo in the Mannerist period as a centre for promotion of culture during the Counter-Reform, to further promote the arts. It will suffice to recall the influence it had on the realism of the so-called Seicento Lombardo and the sublime religious and popular creativity throughout the Diocesi of Milan, up to the construction of the famous Sacri Monti in the border valleys, and the villas and country houses inspired by Schinkel and conceived together with his pupils in the museum-park of Glienicke as the mnemonic and interpretive synthesis of a stay in the Mediterranean. And the Künstlerkonie founded by Ernst Ludvig at Darmstadt and opened during the 1901 exhibition. So, if we stretch the limits between current ideology and taste into a graded scale of authenticity and falsification of the forms arising out of architectural types, should we perhaps consider the share of monumentality in Schinkel's two works to be acceptable in a different way (*absit inuria verbo*)? And possibly even distinguish between their acceptability and that of the Danteum, which the architects Terragni and Lingeri dedicated to Rome in 1938 (year XVI of the Fascist era) on the Via dell'Impero, as an allegory of an allegorical national poem?"

* * *

However, in extending the limits of ideological boundaries and current trends, it seems necessary to remember the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier in Baghdad, designed in the early Eighties by Marcello D'Olivo who passed away August 24, 1991. D'Olivo will remain as one of the most original (and least understood) personalities of Italian architecture of the post-war era.

Notes

1) *Cf. H.WAGNER,* Museen, *in AA.VV.,* Handbuch der Architektur, *4. Theil, 6. Halbband, 4. Heft, 3. Kapitel, Bergstrasser, Darmstadt 1893.*
2) *Cf. N. PEVSNER (with H. Seling),* Museums, *in* a History of Building Types, *Thames and Hudson, London 1976.*
3) *Cf. J.S.ACKERMAN,* The Cortile del Belvedere, *in AA.VV.,* Studies and Documents for the History of the Apostolic Vatican Palace, *vol. III, Rome 1954.*
4) *Cf.* For a metropolitan museum, *special issue of "Hinterland", no. 4, July-August 1978, and Proceedings of the symposium* Milano e i suoi musei, *Circolo della Stampa, Milan, March 17, 1979, in* La Diffusione museale, *special issue of "Hinterland", no. 21-22, March-June 1982.*
5) *In* Architecture: What will tomorrow's museums be like?, *paper presented at the symposium* El museu del futur, *Museu de la Ciència, Barcelona, May 16-17, 1989.*
6) *Cf. AA.VV.* Building the New Museum, *proceedings of the symposium sponsored by The Architectural League of New York, December 5, 10 and 12, 1985, Princeton Architectural Press, New Haven 1986.*

Antonio Pizzocaro. Intinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII

Lionello Puppi

Antonio Pizzocaro (o Pisocolo, giusta l'espressione dei primi documenti che lo coinvolgono: e lui stesso l'avrà voluta, italianizzandola, nobilitare) fu battezzato il 30 settembre 1605 a Montecchio Maggiore, dov'era, dunque, venuto al mondo qualche giorno innanzi. Era figlio di un Battista, che esercitava a livelli modesti il mestiere di "murero" anche operando in Vicenza (nel 1612 lo sorprendiamo consigliere di quella corporazione professionale): la *città*, che maggiori e migliori occasioni d'attività poteva offrirgli di quante non gliene consentisse il borgo natío dove poi continuerà a risiedere, e vi investirà, con ostinazione parsimoniosa, in piccoli acquisti immobiliari, i proventi del proprio lavoro. Era giunto, Battista, a Montecchio da "*Lonà, territorio di Bressa*", non sappiamo quando; certo, comunque, prima del 1595, allorchè si univa in matrimonio con una "*Leonora figlia del quondam Zambattista delli Corti da Montecchio Maggiore*", che gli darà, tra 1597 e 1605, ben sei figli (Camillo, Eugenia, Bartolomeo, Franceschina, Isabella, e, ultimogenito, il nostro Antonio). E a Camillo (che s'ascrive alla fraglia vicentina dei "mureri" e dei lapicidi l'8 novembre 1614), come al nostro Antonio, insegnerà il proprio mestiere. Battista "Pisocolo" non dovette aver vita lunga poiché, tra il 1617 e 1618, passava all'altro mondo; sorte che era già toccata o stava per toccare a quattro dei figli: sul finir del 1625 gli sopravvivevano solo Isabella, monaca nel Convento della Misericordia a Vicenza, e Antonio il quale, attinta la maggiorennità, il 7 dicembre di quell'anno, seguendo l'esempio del padre e del fratello, entrava in corporazione (quale "murero", si badi; non scalpellino) e il giorno appresso, davanti al notaio Scalchin, s'affrancava dalla tutela di certo Giovan Maria Sartori, esecutore testamentario di Battista, assumendo la proprietà integrale e di pieno diritto dell'eredità famigliare. Non un gran patrimonio, di sicuro.

Il giovane è attivo, smanioso di fare. Ravvisa subito l'opportunità e il vantaggio di una residenza stabile a Vicenza, pur restando Montecchio il luogo privilegiato dei suoi momenti — che non escludevano qualche servizio alla comunità — e dei suoi interessi pratici: tutto quanto, infatti, o quasi tutto, nel corso degli anni, verrà guadagnando (e non sarà poco) tradurrà in acquisti di campi e di immobili nel paese natale, dove, nel 1643, prenderà a livello una casa in contrà della Rovere, che definitivamente acquisterà nel 1663, dotandola frattanto di pertinenze agricole che, col tempo, diverranno vieppiù consistenti. A Vicenza, verso il 1631, prende moglie: una Eugenia (o Virginia), figlia di

Antonio Pizzocaro. Itineraries of a Seventeenth-Century Architect-Engineer from Vicenza

Lionello Puppi

Antonio Pizzocaro (the earliest documents spelled his name Pisocolo and he probably Italianized it to give it more of a noble tone) was christened on September 30, 1605 in Montecchio Maggiore, several days after his birth. His father was a certain Battista, who worked as a stonemason of modest standing in Vicenza and elsewhere (in 1612 he appears as a councillor for the Vicenza professional guild). The city offered him more and better work opportunities than did his native town, where he nevertheless continued to live. It was in the city that he painstakingly invested his earnings, in small pieces of property. We do not know when Battista came to Montecchio from "Lonà, in the territory of Brescia", *but it cannot have been any later than 1595, when he was joined in holy matrimony to* "Leonora, daughter of the late Zambattista delli Corti da Montecchio Maggiore", *who was to bear him no fewer than six children between 1597 and 1605 (Camillo, Eugenia, Bartolomeo, Franceschina, Isabella and Antonio, the last-born). He taught his first and last sons his trade (Camillo enrolled in the Vicenza stonemason's and stone-cutters' guild on November 8, 1614). But Battista "Pisocolo" 's life was not a long one and in 1617 or 1618 he went the way of all flesh. Four of his offspring also died young and at the end of 1625 the only two survivors were Isabella, by then a nun at the Misericordia convent in Vicenza, and Antonio himself, who had come of age. On December 7 of that year he followed the example of his father and his brother and joined the guild (as a stonemason, not a stone-cutter) and the following day, in the presence of the notary Scalchin, came out from the guardianship of a certain Giovan Maria Sartori, the executor of Battista's will, to take full and rightful ownership of the family inheritance - which was undoubtedly no fortune.*

The young Antonio was dynamic and ready to go. He recognized at once the expediency and the advantages of taking up permanent residence in Vicenza, although he favoured Montecchio in his more practical moments: he could for instance occasionally be found involved in community service. Everything, or nearly everything he earned over the years (quite a considerable amount) went into buying land and buildings in his native town, where, in 1643 he leased a house in the Rovere "contra", and eventually bought it in 1663, having added on to it agricultural holdings, which grew larger as time went by. Around 1631, in Vicenza, he married a certain Eugenia (or Virginia), daughter of Ludovico Mirandola, who brought a fairly sizeable dowry and bore him six children: Eleonora, who did not live long



Antonio Pizzocaro e Girolamo Albanese, Chiesetta della Villa Almerico Capra, ora Valmarana, detta "La Rotonda", Vicenza, 1645-1663: vista interna e vista esterna (le statue del frontone furono terminate dopo il 1663). Foto Cinecolorfoto e foto Vajenti.

Antonio Pizzocaro and Girolamo Albanese, Chiesetta della Villa Almerico Capra, now Valmarana, known as "La Rotonda", Vicenza 1645-1663: interior and exterior view (the statues on the façade were completed after 1663). Cinecolorfoto and Vajenti Photos.



Antonio Pizzocaro (attr.), Oratorio delle Zitelle, Vicenza, 1647 c.
Foto Fototecnica.
Antonio Pizzocaro (attr.), Oratorio delle Zitelle, Vicenza, 1647 c.: affreschi del soffitto, XVII sec. L'assunta, al centro, è attribuita a G. Carpioni.
Foto Tapparo e Trentin.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Palazzo Giustiniani Baggio, Vicenza, 1656: facciata e particolare del cortile.
Foto Fototecnica.









Antonio Pizzocaro (attr.), Oratorio delle Zitelle, Vicenza, ca. 1647. Photo Fototecnica.
Antonio Pizzocaro (attr.), Oratorio delle Zitelle, Vicenza, ca. 1647: ceiling frescoes, 17th century. The Lady of the Assumption, in the centre, is attributed to G. Carpioni. Photo Tapparo e Trentin.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Palazzo Giustiniani Baggio, Vicenza, 1656: façade and detail of courtyard. Photo Fototecnica.

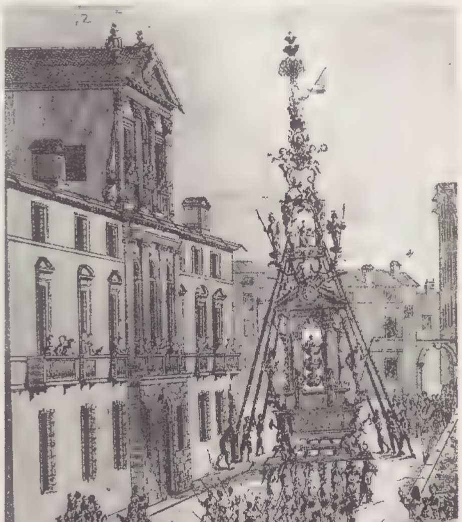
Ludovico Mirandola, che gli dovette portare una discreta dote e che gli genererà sei figli. Eleonora, morta poco dopo il battesimo ricevuto il 17 agosto 1532; un'altra Eleonora, la sola che gli sopravviverà (ne riparleremo), condotta al fonte della cattedrale berica il 14 agosto 1635; e, via via, Ludovico (25 ottobre 1637), Girolama Santa (4 agosto 1639), Camillo (19 maggio 1641), un'altra Girolama (12 agosto 1642). Nel quinquennio che tragitta dall'approdo in Vicenza al matrimonio, Antonio di strada ne aveva fatta parecchia: proprio, nel 1631, lo incontriamo consigliere della fraglia, alla cui attività partecipa assiduamente, così da venirne eletto gastaldo nel 1635 ed essere confermato nella carica l'anno dopo, allorchè, a prova della stima acquisita, il Comune lo assume al proprio servizio in qualità di "*perito*": che noi potremmo definire, oggi, ingegnere municipale. Svolgerà con scrupolo ed impegno le proprie mansioni nel corso, si può dire, dell'intera sua vita: e son compiti spesso, accanto alla *routine* (stime e perticazioni di terreni; cura del suolo pubblico; arbitrati; ecc.), di grande responsabilità: sistemazioni logistiche delle guarnigioni militari (dal 1636 al 1651); l'erezione in piazza della colonna del Redentore (tra 1640 e 1642: e sarà autorizzato ad imprimervi la propria "firma"); la costruzione e il successivo ripristino del "*novo ponte*" a Lisiera (tra 1644 e 1651) — s'applicherà in seguito anche ai ponti di Torri di Quartesolo (tra 1647 e 1669), di Sant Egidio sul Guà a Montebello (1667), di Santa Croce e Nuovo a Vicenza (in data imprecisata: ma se ne conservano i disegni nel Museo di Palazzo Chiericati) —; un progetto di restauro per il soffitto di Santa Maria Nuova a Vicenza (1647) e altro per la copertura del Teatro Olimpico (1637); pareri e schizzi per la sistemazione delle prigioni nella Torre del Tormento che, di fatto, realizzerà su un progetto preparato — e si consideri se è poco — da Baldassar Longhena, includente la chiesetta (1651 e sin oltre il 1666). Sarebbe ozioso, e noioso, continuare l'elencazione di simili interventi: e fermiamoci, pertanto, qui. Interessava, di fatto, documentare la figura di un *tecnico*, di larga e dispiegata esperienza, dell'ingegneria civile: delegato ad affrontare e a risolvere questioni di funzionalità edilizia e urbana. Si tratta, in effetti, di un aspetto della personalità del Pizzocaro che sarebbe scorretto, anzi errato, sottovalutare, nel momento stesso in cui ci resta assai difficile ipotizzare dove e presso chi Antonio abbia messo insieme il bagaglio di nozioni che, tanto sollecitamente, gli consentirono d'affermarsi con problemi costruttivi (ma diremmo, financo, di *scienza*

beyond her christening on August 17, 1632; another Eleonora, the only child who outlived him (we shall return to her later) and who was christened in Vicenza Cathedral on August 14, 1635; followed by Ludovico (October 25, 1637), Girolama Santa (August 4, 1639), Camillo (May 19, 1641), and another Girolama (August 12, 1642). Antonio had come a long way in the five years between his arrival in Vicenza and his marriage: in 1631 he was a councillor of the guild, and took such an active part in its business that he was elected chamberlain in 1635 and re-elected the following year, when, as proof of the high esteem in which he was held, the City Council hired him as an "official appraiser", *roughly the equivalent of today's* municipal surveyor.
He carried out his duties scrupulously and with total commitment, during his whole life. He was not only assigned such routine tasks as drawing up estimates, surveying land, protecting public land and settling disputes but also ones carrying much more responsibility: organizing lodgings for military garrisons, (from 1636 to 1651); erecting the column to the Redeemer (between 1640 and 1642 - he was even authorized to put his name to it); and building and subsequently restoring the "new bridge" *at Lisiera (between 1644 and 1651). He later worked on other bridges, such as the one at Torri di Quartesolo (between 1647 and 1669), S. Egidio sul Guà at Montebello (1667), and the bridge of S. Croce e Nuovo at Vicenza (the date of which is uncertain although the plans are kept in the museum of Palazzo Chiericati). He was also commissioned for a restoration project for the ceiling of S. Maria Nuova in Vicenza (1647) and another for the roof of the Teatro Olimpico (1637). Further works included a renovation proposal for the prison complex in the Torre del Tormento, which he actually built from a design by none other than Baldassar Longhena (and what an achievement this was), including the prison chapel (1651 to beyond 1666). Many more projects could be added to such an impressive list of accomplishments. It is of great interest to note what a* technical expert *and how extremely skilled in civil engineering Antonio Pizzocaro was, and why he was thus given the tast of solving functional problems of buildings and city-planning. It would indeed be wrong to underestimate this side of Pizzocaro's personality, as it is very difficult to guess where and from whom he drew together the wealth of experience which so quickly enabled him to come to grips with building problems (if not arduous, complex building science). Perhaps it was from his father and brother Camillo and thus from the handicraft tradition of a family*

Antonio Pizzocaro, Palazzo Piovini, Vicenza, 1658: facciata principale. I portoni centinati che si aprono nel piano terra possono ascriversi a manomissioni forse del primo Ottocento. Foto Cinecolorfoto.
Antonio Pizzocaro, Palazzo Piovini, Vicenza, 1658: particolare della facciata principale. Foto R. Cevese.
Cristoforo Dell'Acqua, Stampa raffigurante Palazzo Piovini a Vicenza, pubblicata con ogni probabilità nel settimo decennio del XVIII sec. Foto Vajenti.







Antonio Pizzocaro, Palazzo Piovini, Vicenza, 1658: main façade. The arched ground-floor doors are possibly early 19th century interferences. Photo Cinecolorfoto.
Antonio Pizzocaro, Palazzo Piovini, Vicenza, 1658: detail of the main façade. Photo R. Cevese.

Cristoforo Dell'Acqua, Print of Palazzo Piovini in Vicenza, published in all probability in the 7th decade of the XVIII century. Photo Vajenti.

costruttiva) talora ardui e complessi. Sarà stato, forse, presso il padre e dal fratello Camillo e, quindi, da una tradizione "artigianale" famigliare, di "mureri" appunto, custode, com'era consuetudine, dei "segreti" dell'edificare nel senso, appunto, più squisitamente materiale e pratico? È possibile.
Ma ben altre aspirazioni il giovane "maistro", pur senza porle in alternativa con l'esercizio di "perito" da cui — come s'è constatato — non abdicherè mai, doveva coltivare: confrontarsi con l'impegno progettuale creativo; essere, oltre che ingegnere, architetto. E lo sarà davvero: glielo riconosceranno, additandolo come protagonista nel contemporaneo mondo della cultura architettonica a Vicenza, già intorno alla metà del Seicento, "testimoni" dell'avvertenza e dello stampo di Girolamo Gualdo e di padre Francesco Barabarano. Avevano fondati motivi, come vedremo subito; ma, intanto, dobbiamo prendere atto che, al di là della morte, il nome di Pizzocaro — e dico, proprio, dell'*architetto*: chè, dell'*ingegnere*, si potrebbe anche capire — non entra nella storia dell'arte, per la quale si dissolve o s'eclissa; lo ritroveremo, sepolto e marginale, negli incartamenti di qualchè ostinato e pedante erudito ottocentesco; lo vedremo emergere per un attimo dalle pagine di qualche *descrizione* di Vicenza, sempre e ancora tra lo scorso secolo e gli inizi del nostro. Suppergiù all'inizio degli anni Trenta, quando appaiono i volumi con i nomi d'iniziale P, nel maggior repertorio storico artistico ancor oggi fondamentale, e tanto minuzioso nelle sue registrazioni — il *Künstler Lexikon* dei Thieme Becker —, la *voce* "*Pizzocaro*" non appare. Spetta a Renato Cevese, in preparazione della *guida* della città berica, che pubblicherà con il compianto Licisco Magagnato e con Franco Barbieri, nel 1953, il gran merito d'aver portato attenzione alla figura del maestro di Montecchio, e d'aver tentato di restituire i lineamenti della sua attività d'architetto in una serie di articoli apparsi sul "Giornale di Vicenza" nel corso del 1951. Tuttavia, l'encomiabile e decisivo impegno dello studioso restava limitato, per un verso dall'uso esclusivo di informazione attinte a quei sommersi o extravaganti — e scarsi — materiali raccolti nell'Ottocento e, per l'altro, dall'esercizio di un arrischiato e rischioso metodo imperterritamente attribuzionistico. Per giunta, l'interpretazione errata dell'iscrizione segnata a margine di un'insidiosa stampa rappresentante l'eremo di Rua, lo portava, non solo ad inflazionare di numeri incongrui il catalogo delle opere del Pizzocaro, ma ad accreditare al

of stonemasons who, as was common in those days, closely guarded the secrets of building in a most material and practical sense.
But the young "master-mason" was to nurture quite different aspirations, without ever seeing them as an alternative to his activities as "official appraiser" (which he never gave up). He aspired to becoming a creative designer, to being an architect as well as an engineer. He achieved his objective so that keen observers such as Girolamo Gualdo and Father Francesco Barbarano recognized him as a leading personality in contemporary Vicenza architecture as early as the mid-seventeenth century - with good reason, as we shall shortly see. However we must take note of the fact that after his death the name of the architect *(had he been a mere* engineer *this would have been more understandable) did not go down in art history, and his name all but disappeared. His name turns up hidden among the footnotes of the papers of some pedantic nineteenth-century literate, and fleetingly in the pages of* a guide *to Vicenza, again around the end of the last century and the beginning of this. In the early thirties, when the Thieme Becker* Kunstler Lexikon *(which still ranks as one of the most well respected reference works on art history) reached the letter P, there was no entry* "Pizzocaro", *despite the reputation for thoroughness the Lexikon had. It was because of Renato Cevese, who in 1953 published his guide to Vicenza with the late Licisco Magagnato and Franco Barbieri, that attention was drawn to the Maestro of Montecchio. His efforts were directed towards reconstructing an outline of Pizzocaro's activity as an architect in a series of articles in the "Giornale di Vicenza" in 1951. The scholar's commendable and decisive commitment only went so far, however, since he only used what little information he had managed to gather from meagre nineteenth-century sources, and because of the risky and unscrupulous method he adopted of attributing works to artists. In addition, the incorrect interpretation of the inscription in the margin of a deceptive print depicting the hermitage of Rua led him not only to increase the list of Pizzocaro's works out of all proportion, but also to attribute to the man the good fortune of a life spanning far more than a hundred years; on top of that the older he got, the more prolific he became. Be that as it may, Cevese did arouse interest in the man, and we must be grateful and give him credit for this, all the more so because, in presenting a dossier he had discovered of Folladore's extraordinary plans for Villa Ghellini at Villaverla at the 18th international art history congress*

Antonio Pizzocaro, Ospizio dei Proti, Vicenza, 1658: atrio e particolari del cortile interno prima del restauro. Foto Fototecnica.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Ospizio dei Proti, Vicenza, 1658: atrium and details of the inner courtyard before restoration. Photo Fototecnica.



personaggio la ventura di una vita i cui confini avrebbero di parecchio travalicato i cent'anni d'età: e quanto più avanzata, tanto più attiva e feconda sarebbe divenuta. Le acque, tuttavia — come si suol dire —, erano state mosse: ed al Cevese, il primato d'averlo fatto, dev'essere, *apertis verbis* e con gratitudine, riconosciuto: e ancor più giustamente perché, presentando un *dossier* di straordinari disegni del Folladore per villa Ghellini a Villaverla da lui rinvenuti, al XVIII Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte, 1955, apriva e rivelava agli esponenti più qualificati e autorevoli del mondo degli studi storico artistici l'esistenza e il ruolo non insignificante di un maestro sin là tutt'affatto ignorato. Non poteva che derivarne lo stimolo ad intensificare le ricerche spostandole entro gli archivi; a mettere a fuoco nitido un catalogo fondato delle opere; ad aggiustare un giudizio critico serio. Non staremo, qui, a ripercorrere le tappe di un siffatto intinerario tracciato, con particolare e felice accanimento, dalla mia brava scolara F. Bressan, da Remo Schiavo, da Giovanni Mantese; anche, se posso farmene vanto, da chi scrive.
Andiamo, piuttosto e finalmente, alle cose.
Sappiamo, adesso, che sin dal 1632, il Pizzocaro era stato coinvolto in una rilevante impresa di responsabilità progettuale — e si tratta dell'Oratorio della Concezione presso la chiesa di San Lorenzo (purtroppo demolito nel 1909) —, ma dobbiamo attendere il 1646 per ritrovarlo impegnato, e sarà accanto a Girolamo Albanese, sul terreno dell'architettura con la chiesetta della Rotonda: sebbene, in precedenza, avesse eretto a Casale, per i Surian Bragadin, "fabriche" della cui portata, per adesso, nulla s'è accertato. Nello stesso anno, comincia a lavorare alla costruzione dell'oratorio delle Zitelle: mentre di due lustri appresso son le commissioni prestigiose per i palazzi del marchese Raffaele Giustinian in contrà San Marco e dei Piovini in piazza Castello, nonchè per l'Ospizio dei Proti, destinato a restare il suo indiscusso e indiscutibile capolavoro (e v'apporrà orgogliosamente la propria segnatura nella lapide murata sul prospetto principale: "*Antonius Pizzocarus architectus*"). Nel 1661, vien invitato a suggellare con proprie clausole spaziali il lungo cantiere (era stato inaugurato sin dal 1592 su disegni dello Scamozzi) di palazzo Trissino Baston sul Corso, mentre, nel 1664, avvia, con l'erezione della fronte verso la strada, la residenza in Villaverla — altro capolavoro che sconvolge constatare votato alla rovina — dei Ghellini, pei quali, in città, e contemporaneamente, alza un palazzo urbano in

(1955), he revealed to the world's highest authorities on art history the existence and the far from insignificant role of a master hitherto completely ignored. This could only encourage him to delve deeper into the archives, draw up a clear, well-founded catalogue of his works and form a serious, and well founded opinion. We shall not retrace all the steps so painstakingly mapped out by fellow-scholar F. Bressan, by Remo Schiavo, by Giovanni Mantese, and by myself, but instead let us look at his actual works.
We now know that from 1632, Pizzocaro was commissioned for a building project and had a considerable amount of responsibility for the design. The work in question was the oratory for the church of San Lorenzo (demolished, unfortunately, in 1909). But it was not until 1646 that he was involved in architecture itself along with Girolamo Albanese, working on the church of the Rotonda, (although he had previously built "factories" in Casale for the Surian Bragadin family, the importance of which is still not clear. In the same year he began to work on the oratory of the Zitelle. The prestigious commissions for the palaces of marquess Raffaele Giustinian in contrà S. Marco e dei Piovini in piazza Castello came a decade later, as did the Proti hospice, which subsequently became his unquestioned and unquestionable masterpiece (he proudly inscribed his name in the stone embedded in the front of the building: "Antonius Pizzocarus architectus"*). In 1661 he was invited to leave his own mark on the lengthy construction site (which had been opened back in 1592 on a design by Scamozzi) of Palazzo Trissino Baston on the Corso. In 1664, with the erection of the front façade, he began the construction of the Ghellini family's Villaverla residence — another masterpiece, now in a lamentable state of dilapidation — and simultaneously worked on a building in the Carpagnon district for the same family. In 1666 he began work on the cloisters of the convent of S. Giuliano (now the Istituto Salvi) for the friars minor of S. Francesco di Paola; in 1671 he restored the Oratory of S. Nicola at Ponte San Michele, shortly before which he must have had a hand in the Villa da Schio, later Piovene, at Castelgomberto. Other work we know of include his contribution to the convent of S. Giacomo, which now houses the Bertoliana Library. Such a lengthy list of references duly documented and proven by clear, undisputable evidence, has made it possible to attribute a number of works reasonably accurately, and at last put some order to the body of major works of seventeenth century architecture in Vicenza, high-lighting a remarkable and profoundly influential*

Antonio Pizzocaro, Ospizio dei Proti, Vicenza, 1658: facciata dell'oratorio. Foto Fototecnica.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Ospizio dei Proti, Vicenza, 1658: façade of the Oratorio. Photo Fototecnica.

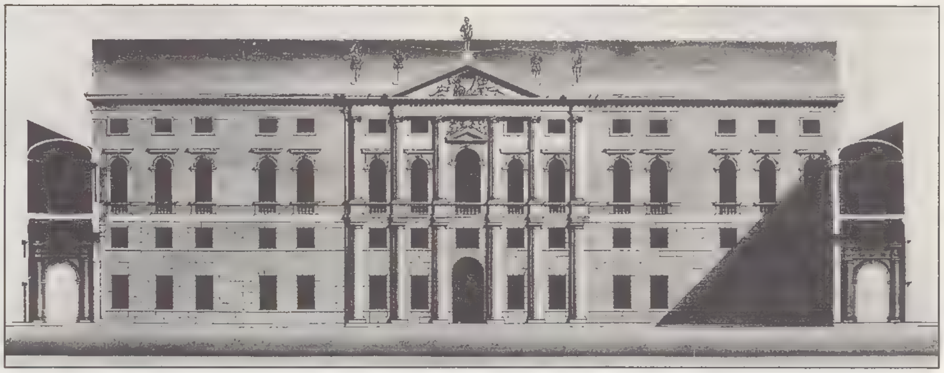


Carpagnon. Dal 1666, s'affatica, per i frati minori di San Francesco di Paola, alla costruzione della chiesa e del chiostro del convento di San Giuliano (ora Istituto Salvi) sulla via di Padova; nel 1671, assesta l'Oratorio di San Nicola presso ponte San Michele ma, poco prima, doveva aver posto mano alla villa da Schio, poi Piovene, in Castelgomberto. D'altro sappiamo: l'intervento pel convento di San Giacomo, ora ospitante la Biblioteca Bertoliana, ad esempio. D'altronde, un simile campo di referenze, puntualmente documentate o autorizzate da trasparenti e plausibili indizi, ha permesso di formulare alcune regionevoli attribuzioni: che assestano, finalmente, un *corpus* d'opere *centrali* della cultura architettonica vicentina del Seicento, sbalzando una personalità d'architetto singolare e capace d'incidere profondamente, con una propria sicura e originale impronta, sulla stessa immagine urbana di Vicenza. E attraverso l'organizzazione — anche ciò va sottolineato — di una ben articolata ed efficiente bottega, capace di reclutare ed educare "mano d'opera" efficiente e di funzionare nei modi di un'"impresa" moderna; e tale, inoltre, da costituire polo d'attrazione, e di dialogo, con i maggiori *ateliers* locali di pittori, scultori, stuccatori. Ma quando, e da chi, Antonio avrà imparato a fare l'architetto? Io credo all'indomani del suo approdo berico: e da quel Giambattista Albanese che, vedi caso, appare nelle vesti di gastaldo della fraglia dei "mureri" e lapicidi allorchè, nel 1625, il nostro vi si affilia; e che sappiamo ora, assai bene, esser stato, oltre che scultore di gran vaglia, architetto di singolari capacità. E s'avverta come, molto spesso, le carte d'archivio colgano in stretta associazione il Pizzocaro e il figlio di Giambattista, Girolamo Albanese, alla sua volta scultore e architetto. Dovevano, anzi, i due, essere amici fraterni visto che, il secondo, appare al fonte battesimale, addì 25 ottobre 1637, del terzogenito del primo, in qualità di padrino; e che Antonio darà il nome di Girolama ad una figlia replicandolo, morta quella in tenera età, all'ultima nata. Ma riferir l'educazione del Pizzocaro al *milieux* degli Albanese spiega, oltre che il tragitto stilistico del maestro, molte altre cose; ed esclude (a sostentar i toni dell'eloquenza del linguaggio impalcato dal nostro nelle sue opere) ogni riferimento a Palladio, rimandando semmai agli orizzonti dell'universo formale di Vincenzo Scamozzi.
I segni d'orgoglioso classicismo marcati da Andrea su Vicenza (in verità, per lo più, spesso incompiuti e frammentari), all'indomani già della morte del maestro sommo, non hanno riflesso; non son avvertiti quale poetica

architect, who left his self-assured and original mark on the very urban fabric of Vicenza.
It should also be noted that this was also due to the organization of a highly versatile and efficient workshop, which successfully recruited and trained personnel to work in ways not unlike those of a modern "firm". Such was its importance that it became a focal point for the studios of the major painters, sculptors and stucco decorators in the area. But when and from whom did Antonio learn his profession of architect? I think he began to learn as soon as he set foot in Vicenza, from Giambattista Albanese who, by chance was chamberlain of the stonemasons' guild when Pizzocaro joined its ranks in 1625, and who, as we well know, was not only a sculptor of considerable merit but also a remarkably capable architect. Many bibliographical references so often reveal close associations between Pizzocaro and the son of Giambattista, Girolamo Albanese, also a sculptor and architect. There must have been a bond of brotherly friendship between the two: the latter was the godfather at the christening on October 25, 1637 of the third born of the former, and Antonio gave the name Girolama to one of his daughters and again to his last-born daughter after the premature death of the first. But the link between Pizzocaro's education and the milieu of the Albanese family explains not only the stylistic development of the master but also many other things. It also excludes (and this is justified by the eloquent, flowery language he used in his work) any link with Palladio. He was if anything closer to the formal style of Vincenzo Scamozzi.
The signs of classicistic pride Andrea Palladio left on Vicenza (so often incomplete and fragmentary) were not so strongly felt at the time of the great architect's death. They are not seen as a poetic stimulus and as the ideal approach to architecture to adopt and continue, the pathway into the future. Misunderstood as the testimonials of excessive classicist grandiosity, their greatness remained unseen and unnoticed. The minds of the aristocracy, (and those of the commissioning agents) had changed and successive generations of Palladio supporters began to see his work as a costly and incongruous representation of a yearning for glorification by urbane gentry, from which they felt far removed and to which they were indifferent. Above all the context had changed. With his customary acumen, Franco Barbieri pointed out that the beginning of the seventeenth century brought with it a depressing and damaging crisis in Vicenza's more productive and profitable economic industries

B. Folladore, Disegni di Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, di A. Pizzocaro (1664-79), 1844: prospetti verso il cortile, verso il giardino, delle logge terrene, della galleria di destra. Foto Vajenti.

B. Folladore, Drawings of Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, by A. Pizzocaro (1664-79), 1844: views of courtyard, of the garden, of the loggias at ground-level, of the right-hand arcade. Photo Vajenti.









stimolante e lezione di una via all'architettura da intraprendere e proseguire; traiettorie d'avvenire. Fraintesi come testimonianze di un trionfalismo classicistico eccessivo, resta, la loro grandezza, muta; inerte. L'attitudine mentale, per giunta, dell'aristocrazia (e, più alla larga, dell'universo *tout court* della committenza) era venuta cambiando: i figli e i nipoti dei promotori di Palladio vedono nel suo fare la rappresentazione dispendiosa e incongrua di un modo di glorificazione di identità gentilizia ed urbana dal quale si sentono lontani, cui sono indifferenti. Era, insieme — ed anzi: prima di tutto —, cambiato il *contesto*. Ha avvertito, con l'acume consueto, Franco Barbieri come lo schiudersi del Seicento avesse arrecato a Vicenza il danno deprimente della crisi delle sue strutture economiche più produttive e generose di profitto, dall'agricoltura alle manifatture della lana e della seta; come l'indipendenza e la miseria di folle sempre più numerose imperversassero, sollecitando alla promozione di istituzioni di carità e a riscattare la disperazione nell'esercizio della pietà, anche grazie alla cura pastorale, finalmente costituita in presenza concreta e attenta all'adempimento delle disposizioni conciliari tridentine, dei vescovi, già lontani e preoccupati solo di riscuotere le prebende. Si formano confraternite; sorgono oratori. E, nell'ordine della continutà artistica, della promozione edilizia e architettonica — ciò che c'interessa — si apre, se posso esprimermi così, un vuoto: colmato ben tosto dall'intervenire, d'altra e adeguata vocazione, dello Scamozzi appunto. La sua disponibilità eclettica, il suo intellettualismo volto a definire schemi da combinare in vista di esiti di armonica ma contenuta e austera eleganza, trovano consenso; diventano, essi sì, lezione ascoltata ed accolta perchè rispondente, appunto, al "contesto". Ne scaturisce quella che Fausto Franco ha, con felice formulazione, definito "*scuola scamozziana di stile severo*". Giambattista Albanese ne è tra i primi adepti: ne trasmetterà l'insegnamento al figlio e, come credo, al Pizzocaro, che ne diverrà l'interprete più rigoroso, opponendone, per giunta, e con intransigenza, i valori alle tentazioni d'esuberanza barocca, quando (in ispecie i Borella) cominceranno a serpeggiare, nel momento stesso in cui il suo sguardo resta cieco (non ostile ma, proprio, cieco) a Palladio.
M'è spesso accaduto di riflettere sul quadrone con la *Gloria di Girolamo Priuli*, podestà veneziano tra i Berici, dipinta dal pennello allucinato di Francesco Maffei; e sempre mi attraeva, in quel sontuoso trionfo cromatico, lo

such as agriculture and the manufacture of wool or silk. He also noted that poverty and wretchedness were rife among the ever-growing multitudes, prompting the promotion of charitable organizations, which compensated for despair by practising compassion. One way of doing this was through pastoral care, now firmly established (always mindful of the conciliar provisions of the Council of Trent) in the presence of the bishops, who were formerly at a much greater distance and concerned only with the collection of prebends. Brotherhoods were formed and oratories built. As for artistic continuity, and the promotion of building work and architecture, which is what interests us here, there was a vacuum, so to speak, which was soon filled by the work of Scamozzi, who was of a different but appropriate calling. His eclectic openness, his intellectuality devoted to defining combinations of schemes to create results of harmonious but measured and austere elegance found acceptance: his lessons were heard and taken up because they responded to the "context". This originated what Fausto Franco neatly summed up as the "Scamozzian School of Severe Style". *Giambattista Albanese is one of its first followers. He passed the teachings on to his son and, I believe, to Pizzocaro, who became its greatest adept even to the point of relentlessly defending its values against the temptations of baroque exuberance that were beginnning to spread (with the Borellas for example). At the same time he was blind (not hostile but actually blind) to Palladio.*
I have often pondered over the painting of the Gloria di Girolamo Priuli, *the Venetian podestà and one of the Berici, painted by the crazed brush of Francesco Maffei.*
I am always attracted by a detail in the bottom right-hand corner of this sumptuous celebration of colour, which shows a view of Vicenza lit up by flashes of light against a stormy, leaden evening sky. The Torre di Piazza and the Torre del Tormento stand out sharply, and are next to each other because something is missing: the Basilica has been removed, wiped out. It simply does not exist. Maffei, as we well know, had a very close bond of friendship with Pizzocaro: and the representation of those two towers, which Antonio had worked on, could be interpreted as a tribute to his friend as well as an ironic expression of indifference to Palladio, if not an act of downright defiance. All this despite the fact that Pizzocaro had worked on the Basilica albeit with a certain irony, using the grandiose, not Palladian, interior space to stage (in his commissioned role of "eminent, patriotic architect"*) a dazzling, if brief spectacle of a* "foot tournament between

Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: facciata verso il cortile, dalla galleria di destra. Foto Fototecnica.
Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: facciata verso il cortile. Foto Tapparo e Trentin.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: portale nella galleria di destra. Foto Fototecnica.

scorcio, a destra in basso, di una veduta di Vicenza, evocata dai lampi di un tramonto livido e tempestoso. E un'assenza mi colpiva: vi si sbalzano nette, sino a campeggiare, l'una accanto all'altra, le torri di piazza e del tormento, affiancate grazie ad una deliberata soppressione. La Basilica, infatti, è tolta di mezzo, cancellata. Non esiste. Il Maffei fu legato al Pizzocaro — lo sappiamo bene — da vincoli di affettuosa cordialità: e la rappresentazione di quelle due torri, cui Antonio aveva lavorato, potrebbe leggersi come tributo d'omaggio all'amico, nel momento stesso in cui sottende una ironica indifferenza a Palladio: se non financo un atto polemico di ricusazione. E sì che al nostro — né alcuno mai ci ha fatto caso — era capitato d'intervenir sulla Basilica: ma, in qualche guisa, pur sempre "ironicamente", utilizzandone il grandioso, e non palladiano, spazio interno per assumere l'"*incombenza*", quale "*architetto eccellente della patria*", dell'allestimento d'un mirabolante spettacolo effimero di un "*torneo a piedi fatto da' cavalieri vicentini*", addì 6 marzo 1642, in onore del veneto podestà Giovanni Cavalli.
Lo stile di Antonio Pizzocaro è asciutto, da parer povero; l'uso degli ordini e dei partiti decorativi, misurato e controllato sino a risolversi in esiti di sobrietà spoglia, nuda sarei per asserire, come in palazzo Giustinian, o a placarsi nella stupefacente, purissima stereometria delle cadenze porticate della Corte dei Proti. Il retaggio scamozziano risulta assunto, e mediato e filtrato, dalla mentalità dell'ingegnere che, dunque, con l'architetto convive armonicamente — meglio: si integra — senza conflitti e contrapposizioni, invitando all'essenziale. In codesta attitudine risiede la grande originalità, la peculiarità autentica del maestro precisamente in quanto architetto.
Nei *Libri dei battesimi, dei matrimoni, e delle morti* della Cattedrale di Vicenza, alla data 13 agosto 1680, leggiamo che "*Antonio Pizocharo [...] è passato da questa a miglior vita, essendo in casa di sua figlia maritata in Bataglin*". Eleonora: che aveva davvero maritato un Giordano Battaglin, efficiente imprenditore il quale, talora, fornirà "cotta" a imprese edilizie dirette dal suocero; e che al padre, in vita e in morte, restò silenziosamente e dolcemente devota. Se Antonio, e ciò sorprende, nel 1669, aveva deciso di predisporsi la sepoltura nel duomo vicentino (forse, in risposta alle avvisaglie di una spiacevole diatriba che lo coinvolgerà nel 1671 con i massari della confraternita della Beata Vergine della Concezione a Montecchio su un'accusa di appropriazioni indebite), nel

the knights of Vicenza" *on March 6, 1642, in honour of the Venetian podestà Giovanni Cavalli.*
Antonio Pizzocaro's style is dry almost to the point of poverty. He uses decorative sequences and arrangements which are so measured and controlled that the results have a bare, or indeed naked, sobriety to them. This is the case with Palazzo Giustinian, or the restrained, astonishingly pure stereometry of the rhythmic arcades of Corte dei Proti. The Scamozzian heritage is taken up and filtered through the mind of an engineer who lives in harmony, or rather integrates, with the architect without conflict or contrast, inviting essentiality. Herein lies his great originality, the authentic distinctiveness of the maestro as an architect.
We read under August 13, 1680 in the Vicenza Cathedral Register of births, marriages and deaths that "Antonio Pizzocaro (...) passed on to a better life in the home of his daughter, Mrs Battaglin". *This was Eleonora, now the wife of a certain Giordano Battaglin, an efficient businessman who occasionally supplied terracotta to building firms run by his father-in-law. She remained quietly and sweetly devoted to her father throughout his life and after his death. If in 1669 Antonio, surprisingly enough, had arranged to be buried in Vicenza Cathedral (perhaps in reply to an unpleasant difference of opinions that involved him in 1671 with the local officials of the Blessed Virgin of the Conception at Montecchio who accused him of embezzlement), Eleonora wished to honour his memory in her father's native town with a chapel built in 1717 from plans his father must have entrusted to her. This then is his last, and posthumous work. In seventeenth-century architectural history, in Vicenza and the Veneto region but also elsewhere, Antonio Pizzocaro is an unmistakable, outstanding presence who cannot be overlooked, as a scholar of the standing of Rudolf Wittkower confirms in his masterly and fundamental* "Art and architecture in Italy; 1600 to 1750".

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Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: courtyard façade from the right-hand arcade.
Photo Fototecnica.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: courtyard façade.
Photo Tapparo e Trentin.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: portal in the right-hand arcade.
Photo Fototecnica.







Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: galleria di sinistra, incompiuta. È visibile il campaniletto della Cappella, purtroppo crollata.
Foto Tapparo e Trentin.
Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-1679: fronte verso il cortile delle logge terrene.
Foto Tapparo e Trentin.
Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-1679: scorcio delle logge terrene.
Foto Fototecnica.
Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-1679: scalone, incompiuto.
Foto Ferrini.
Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: fronte su strada, con il campanile e il tabernacolo all'estremità sinistra.
Foto R. Cevese.
Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini a Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: particolare dell'ala destra della facciata verso il cortile. Foto R. Cevese.





Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: left-hand arcade, unfinished. The small belltower of the Chapel, which has since collapsed, is visible.
Photo Tapparo e Trentin.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: courtyard façade with the ground-level loggias.
Photo Tapparo e Trentin.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: view of the ground-level loggias.
Photo Fototecnica.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: unfinished staircase.
Photo Ferrini.

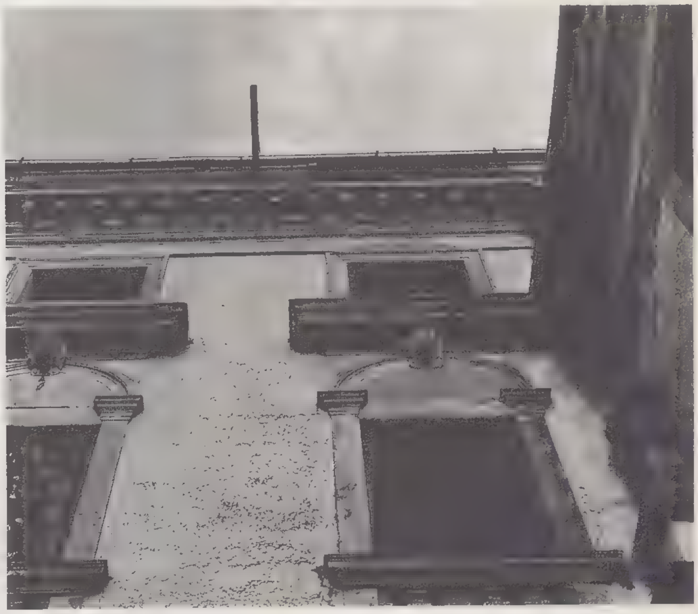
Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: street elevation, bell-tower and the tabernacle at far left.
Photo R. Cevese.

Antonio Pizzocaro, Villa Ghellini at Villaverla, Vicenza, 1664-79: detail of the right wing of the courtyard façade.
Photo R. Cevese.









paese dove il genitore aveva aperto gli occhi alla luce, Eleonora, con la cappelletta eretta nel 1717, vorrà onorarne la memoria: utilizzerà, mandandolo ad esecuzione, un disegno che il padre doveva averle affidato, e siamo così all'ultima sua opera postuma.

Nella vicenda storica dell'architettura del Seicento, non solo nel Vicentino e nel Veneto, Antonio Pizzocaro si sbalza ormai come figura imprescindibile, e con una sua fisionomia inconfondibile.

Lo ha definitivamente sanzionato uno studioso dell'autorità di Rudolf Wittkower nel suo magistrale, e fondamentale, *Arte ed architettura in Italia dal 1600 al 1750.*

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Francesco Maffei, Gloria di Girolamo Priuli, *1649: particolare. Vicenza, Museo Civico.*
Antonio Pizzocaro, Chiesa di San Giuliano, Vicenza, 1666.
Foto Fototecnica.

Francesco Maffei, Gloria di Girolamo Priuli, *1649: detail. Vicenza, Museo Civico.*
Antonio Pizzocaro, Church of S. Giuliano, Vicenza, 1666.
Photo Fototecnica.

Tempio? Emporio? Teatro?
Riflessioni su due decenni di museografia americana[1]
Kurt W. Forster

Fra le principali categorie di edifici, i musei sono tra gli ultimi arrivati, essendo poco più antichi delle stazioni ferroviarie, ma molto più recenti di monasteri e palazzi[2]. Benché la loro storia possa essere considerata come l'evoluzione di un genere architettonico, soltanto un attento esame degli scopi culturali del museo può mettere in luce alcune delle motivazioni che hanno contribuito al loro strabiliante successo presso il pubblico. Com'è possibile che un'istituzione apparentemente arcana, che si è evoluta partendo da origini aristocratiche e tradizioni elitarie, abbia raggiunto l'apice della popolarità proprio nelle società massificate delle democrazie occidentali? Per quanto tali consensi siano considerevoli e si concretizzino in memorabili e chilometriche code di visitatori che ingombrano i marciapiedi accalcandosi alle loro porte, altrettanto clamore hanno sollevato le recenti controversie sorte da progetti per l'ampliamento di musei urbani o dall'esposizione di opere presumibilmente indecenti o politicamente opinabili. Il progetto lungamente rinviato di Michael Graves per la nuova ala del Whitney Museum e l'integrazione di Charles Gwathmey al Guggenheim Museum di New York sono soltanto due dei casi più dibattuti[3]. Le polemiche pubbliche, che inizialmente avevano preso spunto da questioni di carattere architettonico e d'immagine per la posterità, hanno anche riaperto il dibattito sulla funzione e sulla missione culturale del museo. La pubblicazione di progetti architettonici di nuovi musei o per l'ampliamento di musei già esistenti ha ulteriormente infiammato gli animi di coloro che vedono nei mecenati – che si prefiggono obiettivi simultanei e contraddittori, quali ampliamenti e profitti – una minaccia al ruolo del museo come custode e produttore di cultura, per gettarlo in uno stato di crisi[4]. Oltre al problema di inglobare nuovi sviluppi artistici fra i beni di musei come il Guggenheim anche a costo di vendere, anzi di "togliere accesso" ad opere di valore delle collezioni permanenti, incombe la ben più grave minaccia dell'ampliamento inteso come

Shrine? Emporium? Theater?
Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building[1]
Kurt W. Forster

Among basic building types, museums are newcomers, only a little older than railroad stations, but much younger than monasteries and palaces.[2] While their story can be told as the evolution of a building type, only a hard look at the cultural purposes of museums will bring to light some of the motivations that have sustained their startling public success. How is it possible that a supposedly arcane institution — one that has evolved out of aristocratic origins and elitist traditions — should experience its greatest flowering in the mass society of western democracies? As remarkable as these successes are, and as public and memorable as they have been made by record-breaking queues of visitors lining the sidewalks to their doors, so clamorous are some of the recent controversies arising from projects to expand urban museums, or exhibit allegedly indecent or politically objectionable art. Michael Graves's long-delayed project for the Whitney Museum's new wing, or Charles Gwathmey's addition to the Guggenheim Museum in New York are only two of the more controversial instances.[3] While public debate initially turned on the matter of architectural character and legacy, it also rekindled discussion of the museum's public function and cultural mission. The publication of architectural projects for new museums or for additions to existing ones only ignited the explosive policies of patrons who envisage simultaneous but contradictory expansion and economy and thereby threaten to throw the museum's role as custodian and producer of culture into a state of crisis.[4] Beyond the problem of incorporating new artistic developments into the permanent holdings of a museum like the Guggenheim, even at the expense of selling — pardon, 'deaccessioning' — major works from its permanent collection, lurks the larger issue of the museum's speculative expansion according to the methods developed for multinational companies. The grand schemes of the Guggenheim, based on a network of domestic and foreign 'branch' museums created by complicated juggling of

Fotogramma dal film Batman, *regia di Tim Burton, con Jack Nicholson, 1989.*



Still from Batman, *directed by Tim Burton, with Jack Nicholson, 1989.*

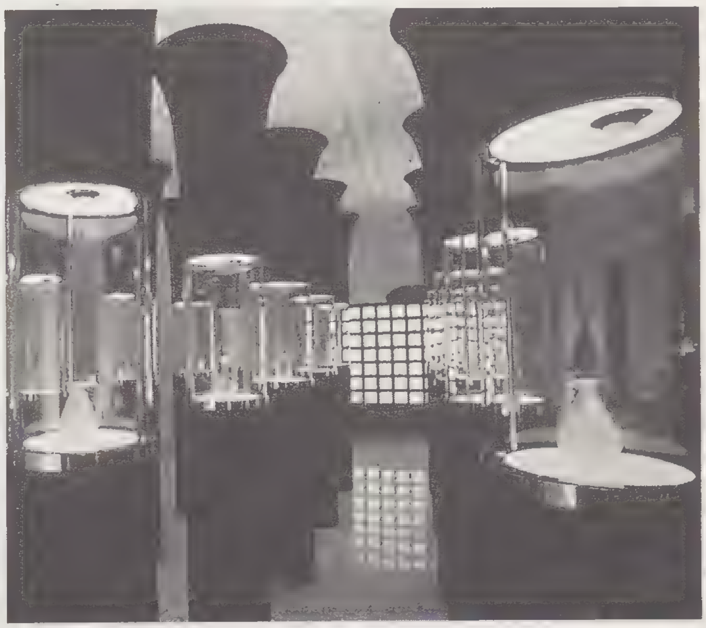
Titian Ramsay Peale, The Long Room of the Peale Museum, *1822.*
The Detroit Insitute of Arts. Founders Society Purchase, Director's Discretionary Fund.
Keramiksaal nel Königlich-Württembergisches-Landesgewerbemuseum, Stoccarda, 1896.

Da: Das K. Württembergische-Landes-Gewerbemuseum in Stuttgart. Festschrift zur Einweihung des neuen Museumsgebäudes, *Stuttgart, 1896.*
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Hans Hollein, Allestimento del Museo del Vetro e delle Ceramiche, Teheran, 1977-78.









Titian Ramsay Peale, The Long Room of the Peale Museum, *1822.*
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Keramiksaal in the Königlich-Württembergisches-Landesgewerbemuseum, Stuttgart, 1896.

From: Das K. Württembergische-Landes-Gewerbemuseum in Stuttgart. Festshrift zur Einweihung des neven Museumsgebäudes, *Stuttgart, 1896.*
Design for the exhibition The Age of Spirituality, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977.*
Credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Hans Hollein, Design for the Museum of Glass and Ceramics, Teheran, 1977-78.

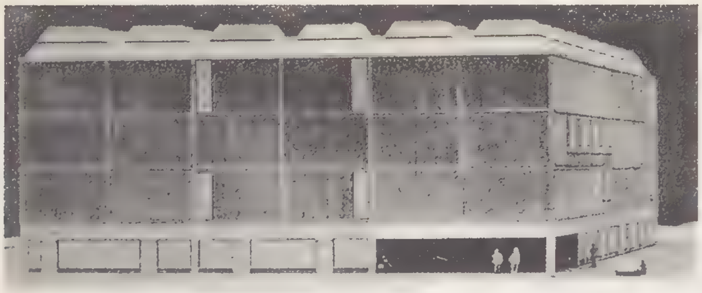
speculazione secondo i metodi classici delle società multinazionali. I grandiosi progetti per il Guggenheim basati su una rete di musei "affiliati" nazionali ed esteri, creata mediante intricati equilibrismi fra alleanze politiche e finanziarie, sembrerebbero un'affrettata imitazione dei trionfi, ormai in rapido declino, di Donald Trump, se non fosse per il fatto che tali tendenze stanno prendendo saldamente piede altrove, lasciando presagire un'insidioso stravolgimento del ruolo del museo, facendone uno strumento ad uso e consumo di consorzi e cartelli promozionali.

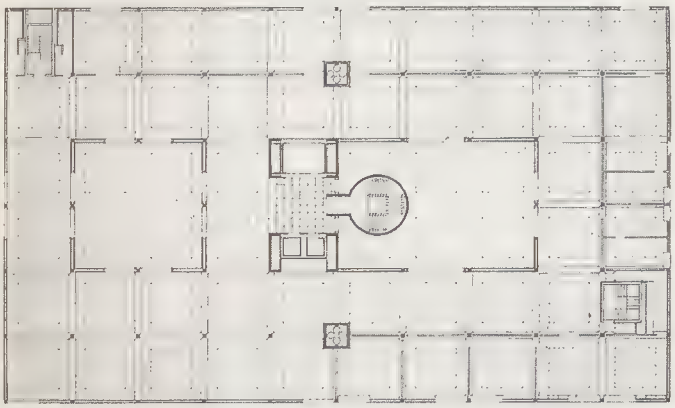
Questi sono soltanto gli attuali sintomi della trasformazione in atto nel museo quale istituzione pubblica e didattica: ma per individuarne alcune delle cause, occorre compiere una rapida carrellata sulla sua evoluzione storica come istituzione culturale dagli scopi complessi e dalla particolare origine architettonica. Il mecenatismo museale ha creato un'autentica arena internazionale le cui consistenti aspettative e il cui prestigio sono in grado di galvanizzare le ambizioni e la competitività degli architetti[5]. I risultati spesso spettacolari da essi ottenuti hanno, d'altro canto, conferito a numerosi musei esistenti un aspetto non soltanto datato ma anche irrimediabilmente sguaiato, benché il mutare delle mode, che per alcuni edifici può avere effetti brutali, per altri si limiti ad attribuire una patina d'antico. A titolo d'esempio, vorrei proporre una rapida scorsa alle opere di Louis I. Kahn, considerato da molti il maggior ideatore americano di musei dell'era postbellica[6], e poi di esaminare un'altra mezza dozzina di edifici recenti particolarmente significativi. In mezzo a tutti questi musei, che sono stati progettati, ristrutturati o costruiti negli anni Ottanta e che rappresentano istituzioni completamente diverse fra loro dislocate in svariate zone degli Stati Uniti, ne troviamo tre che sono opera di architetti stranieri, cioè Stirling, Isozaki e Piano, e due che sono stati progettati da architetti americani, e cioè Meier e Libeskind, per città tedesche. Non bisogna poi dimenticare che molti musei

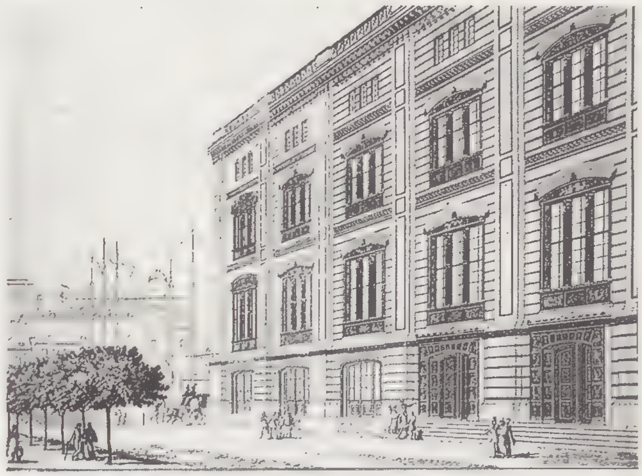
political and financial alliances, would sound like a hasty imitation of Donald Trump's now rapidly fading triumphs, were it not for the fact that these tendencies are taking firm hold elsewhere and thus herald an insidious refashioning of the museum's role as an instrument of consortia and promotional cartels. These are only the current symptoms of the museum's transformation as an educational and public establishment. To identify some of the causes, we must first engage in a brief tour d'horizon *of the museum's historic evolution as a cultural institution of complex purposes and peculiar architectural pedigree. The patronage of museums has created a genuinely international arena for architects, one with high expectations and a certain cachet, capable of galvanizing their competitive ambitions.[5] The often spectacular results, on the other hand, leave numerous existing museums looking not only dated but viutually mistaken. However, changes of fashion that may be brutal for some building merely deepen the patina of other. I propose to cast a glance back to the work of Luis I. Kahn, considered by many to be the preeminent American museum architect of the postwar era[6], before examining half a dozen other recent buildings of conspicuous character. All of these museums were planned, renovated, or built during the 1980s.*

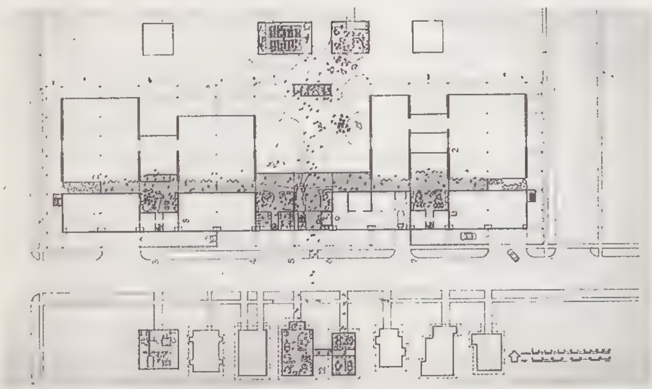
They represent highly diverse institutions located in different parts of the United States, three the work of foreign architects (Stirling, Isozaki, Piano), and two designed by American architects (Meier, Libeskind) for German cities. It is also worth reminding ourselves that many American museums have retained close ties with art schools since their foundation, and that numerous museums exist on college and university campuses. Three of the buildings chosen for discussion fall into this category.

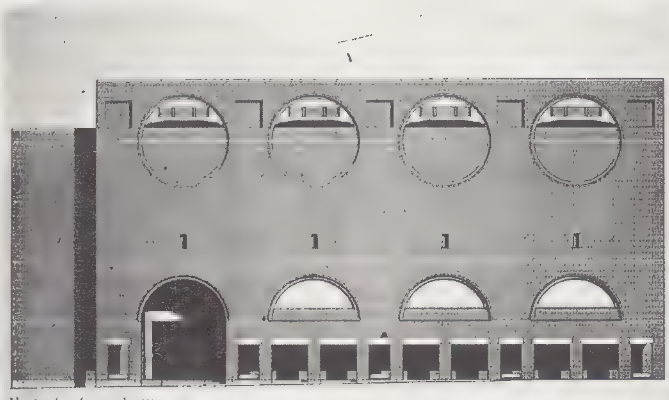
Such an overview attempts to reveal how museums are changing their institutional behavior within the culture at large. Some of these changes are the result of the museum's steadily expanding range of activities — in education, entertainment, self-promotion, and public life — while other











Elevation from Congress Square

Louis I.Kahn, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University, 1969-77: modello della terza versione del progetto, 1971. Collezione Louis I.Kahn, University of Pennsylvania e Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.
Louis I. Kahn, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University, 1969-77: pianta del quarto piano.
Archivio Louis I.Kahn.
Renzo Piano, De Menil Museum, Houston, Texas, 1981-86: pianta piano terra.
Archivio Piano & Fitzgerald Architects.
Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bauakademie, Berlino, 1835.
Da: Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe.
Henry Cobb, Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine, 1978-83: prospetto dalla Congress Square.
Archivio I.M.Pei & Partners.

americani hanno intrattenuto stretti legami con le scuole d'arte fin dalla loro fondazione e che se ne contano parecchi all'interno di *college* e università, come ben tre degli edifici su cui verterà la nostra indagine.
Tale panoramica si prefigge di mettere in luce il mutare del ruolo istituzionale del museo all'interno della cultura in senso lato. Alcuni di questi mutamenti sono da attribuire all'incessante articolarsi del suo raggio di attività che abbraccia la didattica, lo spettacolo, l'autopromozione, il coinvolgimento del pubblico, mentre altri rispecchiano la particolare ideologia culturale a cui l'istituzione appartiene. Le troppe conflittuali tendenze che intralciano i meccanismi della programmazione dei musei recenti non consentono di compiere facili generalizzazioni, tuttavia restano pochi dubbi sulla strada da essi imboccata. I musei si sono trasformati evolvendosi dall'immagine ottocentesca di scrigni di tesori a fini divulgativi e nazionalistici per assumere il nuovo ruolo di *bazar* urbani di cultura, avvezzi a tutte le regole della domanda e dell'offerta. Nel recente colossal *Batman* del 1989, il Joker (buffone) ravviva un po' le nottate di Gotham City lanciando un atto di sfida al museo, seppur risparmiando un unico dipinto che di per sé rappresenta una dissacrazione dell'arte, un ritratto, cioè, di Francis Bacon; mentre i magnati delle obbligazioni spazzatura di un altro film americano intitolato *Wall Street* del 1987 si affrettano a convertire i loro appartamenti ed uffici in gallerie private. Questi esempi sono chiaramente tratti dall'industria del divertimento proprio perché mettono in ridicolo il serio ruolo assunto dal museo odierno nel promuovere il concetto della divulgazione delle ambizioni sociali e della violenza culturale.
I primi musei europei, istituiti durante il terzo e il quarto decennio del secolo scorso, attingevano profusamente all'architettura classica, così come contribuivano a preservare, con le loro collezioni di calchi e di originali, l'arte classica come pietra di paragone di tutta la produzione artistica[7]. Eppure i musei della fase successiva, sorti dopo la

mirror the particular ideology of culture vested in the institution itself. Too many conflicting tendencies are meshed in the mechanisms that determine the programs of recent museums to allow facile generalization, but little doubt remains about their general direction: Museums have transformed themselves, evolving from their nineteenth-century indentity as treasure troves for educational and nationalist purposes to assume a new role as urban bazaars of culture, well-tuned to all the rituals of salesmanship. In the recent 'megamovie' Batman *(1989), the Joker injects some excitement into a night on the town of Gotham by pulling an art-defiling prank at the museum — sparing only a painting that itself undertakes the desecration of art, a portrait by Francis Bacon! — while the junk bond moguls in another American film called* Wall Street *(1987) hasten to convert their apartments and offices into private museums. These instances are, admittedly, culled from industrialized entertainment, and precisely in that respect they also mirror in a ludicrous vein the serious roles played today by museums in generating images of release, be it the release of social ambition or cultural violence.*
The early European museums, established during the third and fourth decades of the last century, drew heavily on classical architecture, just as they helped enshrine, in their collections of casts and originals, classic art as the measure of all artistic production.[7] Yet the subsequent wave of museum buildings that emerged after the middle of the century, both in Europe[8] and in the United States, was dominated by less hallowed categories of institutions and objects, many among them dedicated to the arts et métier, *natural history, ethnographic documents, or industrial products. The sheer volume of materials amassed for the grand encyclopedic museums of colonial powers was such as to require warehouse-like capacity and highly organized scholarly and administrative expertise. Only the creation of 'modern' collections in the decade before and after the First*

Louis I. Kahn, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University, 1969-77: model for the third version, 1971.
Louis I. Kahn Collection, University of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.
Louis I. Kahn, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University, 1969-77: plan of the fourth floor.
Credit: Louis I. Kahn.
Renzo Piano, De Menil Museum, Houston, Hexas, 1981-86: ground-floor plan.
Credit: Piano & Fitzgerald Architects.
Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Bauakademie, Berlin, 1835.
From: Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe.
Henry Cobb, Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine, 1978-83: Congress square elevation.
Credit: I.M.Pei & Partners.

James Stirling, Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1979-85: rampa di scala principale.
Foto W.Fujii.
James Stirling, Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1979-85.
Foto C.H.Tashima.
Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg, Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery, *1843. Attuale collocazione sconosciuta.*

metà del secolo sia in Europa[8] che negli Stati Uniti, appartenevano a categorie meno venerate di istituzioni ed oggetti, essendo stati in gran parte dedicati alle arti e mestieri, alla storia naturale, alla documentazione etnografica o alla produzione industriale. L'enorme massa di materiali accumulati per i grandi musei enciclopedici delle potenze coloniali era tale da richiedere dimensioni da deposito e cognizioni accademiche e organizzative non trascurabili. Soltanto la creazione di raccolte "moderne" nel decennio precedente e successivo alla Prima guerra mondiale ha segnato una reale riforma degli schemi espositivi dei musei.
Il successivo e distinguibile sviluppo è quello del cosiddetto *centro commerciale della cultura*, in quanto, organizzativamente, vengono messe in risalto non tanto la quantità e la varietà delle raccolte, quanto la loro disposizione studiata per il consumo visivo. Molti musei tradizionali si sono impegnati in campagne di ristrutturazione o di ricostruzione durante il ventennio dal Sessanta all'Ottanta nel tentativo di sgravarsi dall'immagine vagamente memore di stantii spacci di scatolame, per evocare l'idea di centri commerciali gradevolmente variati che sfoggiano ampi viali, *boutique* esclusive, caffè e altri luoghi di ameno svago. In realtà, questa mia trattazione dell'evoluzione storica del museo americano, oltre che concisa può apparire anche superficiale, ma sono convinto che essa possegga un'ulteriore capacità esplicativa soprattutto se si riflette sulle categorie edilizie e si rammenta la particolare influenza che ciascuna di tali fasi principali ha avuto sulla percezione pubblica dell'opera d'arte.
I presupposti culturali che regolano la creazione dei *templi delle muse*, basati come sono sulla rigorosa selezione di opere canoniche esposte per i loro poteri di nobilitazione e di istruzione, poggiano su una moralistica devozione per l'arte, di fronte a cui i fruitori manifestano apprezzamento ottenendone, come ricompensa prestabilita, arricchimento culturale. Nei depositi di manufatti, l'era colonialista aveva

World War marked a real reform in museum exhibition practice.
The next phase of museum development with an identity of its own could be called the cultural shopping mall, *where the programmatic emphasis shifts from the mass and variety of its holdings to their calculated display for visual consumption. Many traditional museums engaged in major renovation or rebuilding campaigns during the 1960s and 1970s in an effort to shed an appearance faintly reminiscent of dowdy dry goods stores and graduate to one evocative of attractively varied shopping malls that sport ample promenades, snazzy boutiques, cafés, and places of incidental entertainment. To be sure, my thumbnail sketch of the American museum's historical evolution is of a rather crude order, but I believe it possesses some additional explanatory power, especially when we refine its static categories and recall the particular conditioning each of these major phases imposes on the public's perception of artifacts.*
The cultural assumptions governing the creation of the shrine of the muses, *predicated as they are on the rigorous selection of canonic artifacts displayed for their ennobling educational powers, rest on a moralizing devotion to art. Appreciation characterizes the public's attitude, and cultural enrichment is their intended reward. In the warehouse of artifacts, the age of colonialism created its* emporia *of culture and dignified sheer hoarding by sponsoring systematic study and encyclopedic inventories, grooming in the process an entire profession of museum curators and specialists. The enshrining of auratic masterworks ceded pride of place to the practice of amassing objects of almost every kind, which in turn required the invention of classificatory systems of assembly and display. As a systematic, institutional activity, collecting developed beyond mere accumulation of objects that would occasionally find their way from the far corners of the world into museums.*
In the last century of colonialist rule — from the time the Elgin marbles arrived in London (1818) to the installation of the

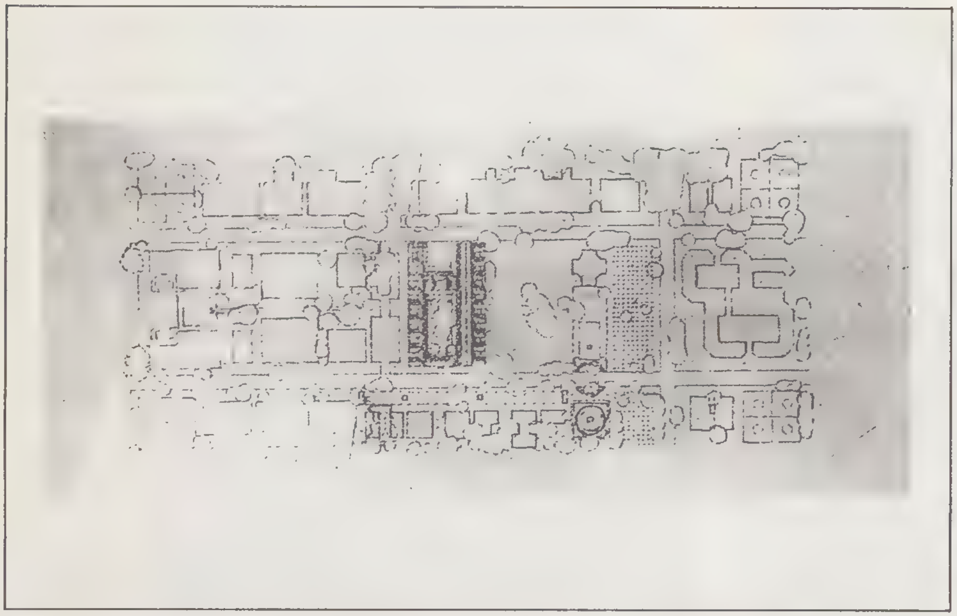
James Stirling, Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1979-85: main stairway.
Photo W. Fujii.
James Stirling, Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1979-85.
Photo C.H. Tashima.
Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg, Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery, *1843. Present location unknown.*







Louis I.Kahn, De Menil Museum, Houston, Texas, 1973 c.: planimetria schematica.
Collezione Louis I.Kahn, University of Pennsylvania e Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.
Renzo Piano, De Menil Museum, Houston, Texas, 1981-86: facciata est, vista a volo d'uccello e vista interna.
Foto P.Hester.







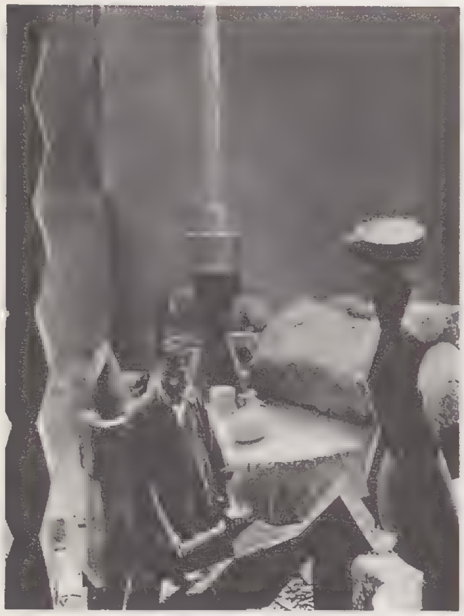


Louis I. Kahn, De Menil Museum, Houston, Texas, ca. 1973: schematic site plan.
Credit: Louis I. Kahn, University of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.
Renzo Piano, De Menil Museum, Houston, Texas, 1981-86: east elevation, bird's-eye view and interior view.
Photo P. Hester.

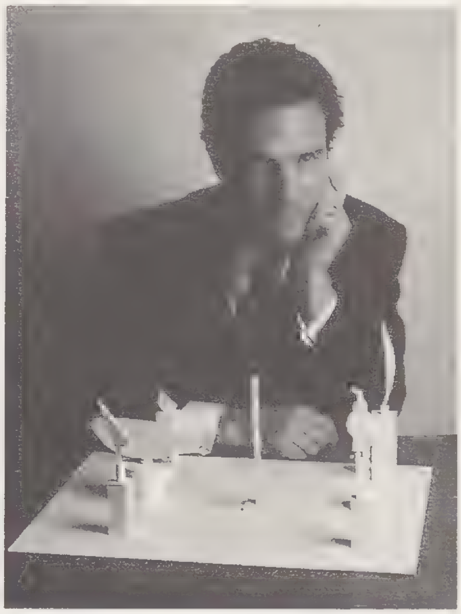
creato i propri *empori* culturali, nobilitando i massicci accaparramenti compiuti mediante il finanziamento di campagne sistematiche di studio e di inventari enciclopedici, con i quali è stata svezzata un'intera generazione di curatori di musei e di esperti. La gelosa tutela di capolavori inestimabili aveva ceduto il passo all'abitudine ad accumulare oggetti pressoché di ogni genere, rendendo necessaria, a sua volta, l'elaborazione di metodi di classificazione per raggrupparli ed esporli. Come attività sistematica e istituzionale, il collezionismo travalicava così la semplice accumulazione di oggetti provenienti dai quattro punti cardinali che avrebbero saltuariamente trovato posto nei musei.
Durante l'ultimo secolo dell'era colonialista – a partire dall'arrivo dei marmi di Elgin a Londra nel 1818 fino alla collocazione dell'altare di Pergamo a Berlino nel 1902 – scavi e spedizioni sistematici, spesso compiuti sotto l'egida di musei nazionali, fruttarono nuovi e copiosi ritrovamenti. Convalidati da studi storici, tali risultati diedero luogo a un continuo ramificarsi di specializzazioni, generando settori e ambiti di collezionismo completamente nuovi e persino musei indipendenti dedicati a categorie di manufatti rigorosamente delimitate. Guardando le fotografie ottocentesche di vaste sale espositive scandite da interminabili file di vetrine allineate e ingombre di centinaia e centinaia di oggetti, bisogna ammettere che l'apprezzamento non era evidentemente basato, come oggi lo è per noi, su sofisticate strategie espositive, né, come si direbbe nel tipico gergo edificante da museo, su un'ambiente "che contribuisce al godimento delle opere"[9]. Ciò che Tiffany e Cartier hanno fatto per commercializzare prestigiosamente una ristrettissima ed esosa serie di oggetti di lusso, mostre come quella tenutasi al Metropolitan nel 1977 intitolata *L'epoca della spiritualità* si propongono di fare in modo analogo per un pubblico influenzato dal medesimo gusto per l'ermetico dominio del manufatto. Tali mostre hanno raggiunto invariabilmente il loro apice con

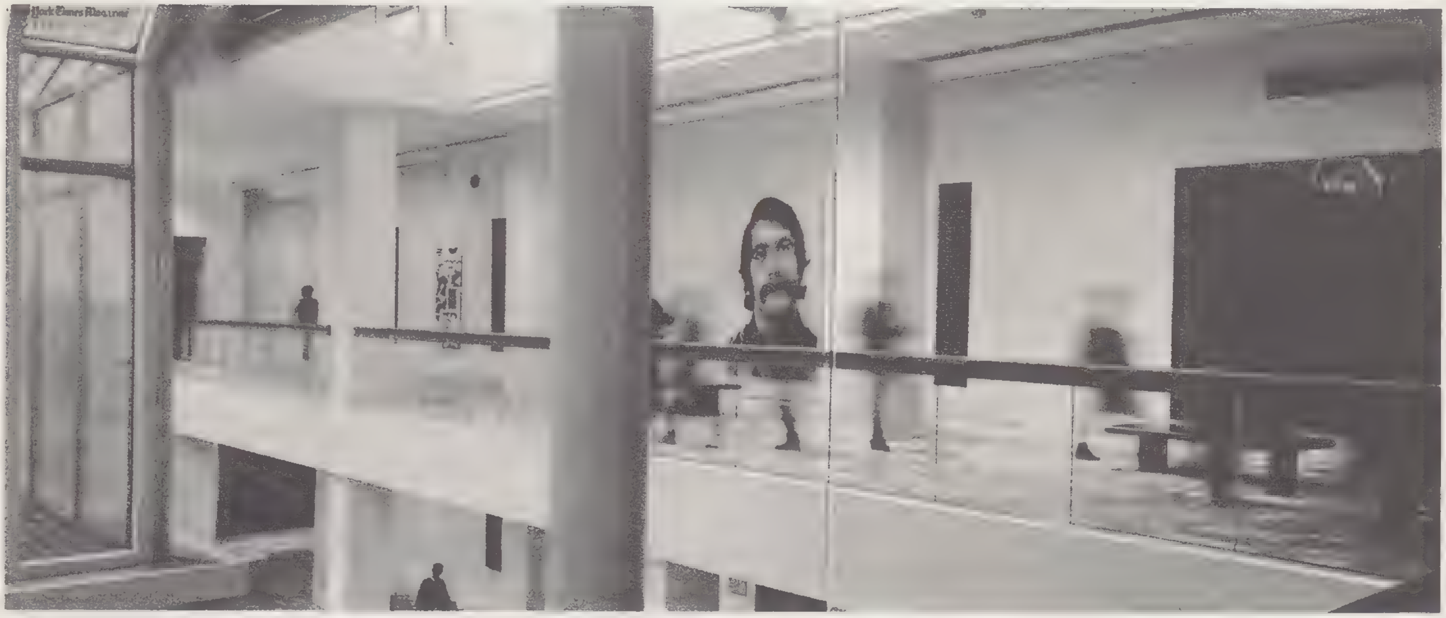
Pergamon Altar in Berlin (1902) — systematic excavations and expeditions, often under the aegis of national museums, yielded new finds in great quantity. Historic study sustained these efforts and directed them into ever-increasing specialization, spawning entirely new departments and spheres of collecting, and even independent museums dedicated to narrowly specialized categories of artifacts.
When we look at nineteenth-century photographs of vast exhibition halls, lined and divided by endless rows of vitrines holding hundreds upon hundreds of objects, we have to admit that their appreciation was obviously not predicated, as it certainly is for us today, on refined strategies of display, nor, as typical museum education parlance would have it, on an ambience "conducive to the enjoyment of the artifacts".[9]
What Tiffany & Co. and Cartier had done for the stylish merchandizing of a very few select and exceedingly expensive luxury objects, exhibitions like the Metropolitan Museum's The Age of Spirituality *(1977) proposed to do for a public with a comparable taste in the hermetic realm of artifacts.* These *exhibitions reached their apogee invariably in* cimelia *whose dazzling materials — gold, silver, precious stones, ivory —, workmanship, and provenance constitute the authenticating 'currency' of value itself. No wonder then that Hans Hollein's installation for the Museum at Teheran (1980) should altogether defy one's ability to distinguish between luxury merchandizing and museum displays.*[10] *These exhibitions effect an ideological foreshortening in the visitor's experience: they suggest a mirage of ownership by means of a sort of cultural window-shopping.*
Priceless documents of civilization gleam in the calculated light of pricey trade as the very conditions of such displays collapse an object's separate trajectories as cultural trophy and valuable commodity toward a logical vanishing point where they coincide and identify the value of a possession with the worth of its owner.
Such new display strategies created the opportunities to break up the vast emporium-like character of collections in favor of

Edward Steichen, Constantin Brancusi in his Studio, *1927.*
Foto per gentile concessione di Joanna T.Steichen.
Alfred H.Barr nella Brancusi Gallery del Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1961 c.
Foto M.Vacarro.
Kirk Varnedoe con alcuni modelli di sculture di Brancusi, 1990.
Foto F.R.Conrad, "New York Times Magazine".
Cesar Pelli, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1977-83: viste interne del secondo piano della Garden Hall e dell'atrio.
Foto F.R.Conrad, "New York Times Magazine".





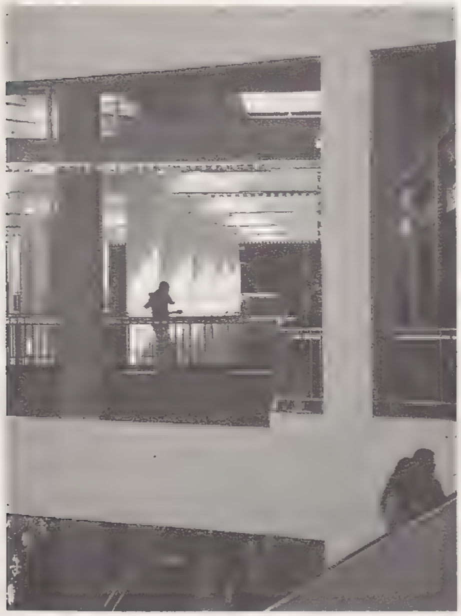




Edward Steichen, Constantin Brancusi in his Studio, *1927.*
Photo reprinted with the kind permission of Joanna T. Steichen.
Alfred H. Barr in the Brancusi Gallery of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, ca. 1961.
Photo M. Vacarro.
Kirk Varnedoe with models of Brancusi sculptures, 1990.
Photo F.R. Conrad, "New York Times Magazine".
Cesar Pelli, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1977-83: interior views of the second floor of the Garden Hall and lobby.
Photo F.R. Conrad, "New York Times Magazine".

Frank O.Gehry, Centro commerciale Santa Monica Place, Santa Monica, California, 1973-80.
Archivio Frank O.Gehry Architects, per gentile concessione.
I.M.Pei, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, 1977-81: galleria dell'ampliamento dell'ala ovest.
Archivio I.M.Pei & Partners.







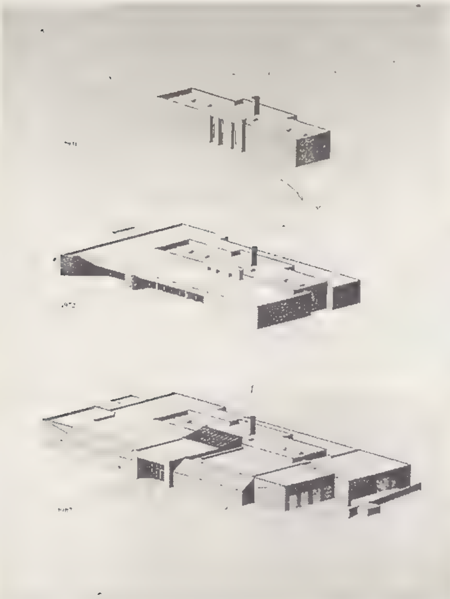
Frank O.Gehry, Santa Monica Place shopping mall, Santa Monica, California, 1973-80.
Photo courtesy of Frank O.Gehry Associates.
I.M.Pei, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, 1977-81: gallery of the west wing addition.
Credit: I.M.Pei & Partners.

cimeli i cui sfolgoranti materiali – oro, argento, pietre preziose, avorio – e la cui fattura e provenienza erano gli elementi costitutivi del loro valore intrinseco. Non stupisce che l'allestimento del Museo di Teheran ideato nel 1980 da Hans Hollein sfidi la capacità di chiunque di distinguere fra una reclamizzazione di generi di lusso e un'esposizione museale[10], sfociando in una distorsione di tipo ideologico della percezione del visitatore, che ne trae un'illusione di possesso culturale a cui si può accedere comprando con gli occhi. Inestimabili testimonianze di civiltà riflettono le luci sapienti di esosi commerci, poiché le condizioni stesse di tali esposizioni unificano le identità parallele di un oggetto come trofeo culturale e come costosa merce di scambio, facendole combaciare in un ideale punto di fuga dove l'importanza del possesso coincide con il prestigio del proprietario.
È altresì vero che le innovazioni nelle strategie espositive hanno consentito di superare il concetto classico di raccolta come innumerevole serie di oggetti a favore del pezzo unico, il capolavoro che vale quanto migliaia di altri e ne prende il posto appositamente incastonato, alloggiato, illuminato e contrassegnato per consentirne la miglior fruizione possibile. Tale radicale trasformazione ha alterato per sempre l'atmosfera dei musei, in una maniera che non si potrebbe spiegare con parole più spontanee di quelle che pare abbia pronunciato la Regina Maria quando visitò un'ala rimodernata del Victoria and Albert Museum: "*Meraviglioso, incantevole*" riferiscono le cronache, "*ma non è un peccato che ogni cosa sembri messa in vendita?*"[11].
Se la differenza fra i concetti di museo come *tempio* e come *deposito* dipende sia dal genere di raccolta che dalla tipologia edilizia, le filosofie più recenti, in particolare quella del *centro commerciale della cultura*, sono il risultato dei tentativi di assimilare ed elaborare le ultimissime tecniche espositive. Sono infatti, le caratteristiche e la disposizione delle raccolte permanenti di un museo, piuttosto che il suo guscio architettonico, a determinare la qualità della fruizione. Con l'avvento del *centro commerciale*

prominently displayed key pieces — the prize piece worth a thousand others and taking their place — when these items were specially mounted, housed, lit, and labeled for viewing. This critical transformation permanently altered the ambience of museums in a manner that would be hard to characterize more spontaneously than Queen Mary is said to have done when she visited a modernized installation at the Victoria and Albert Museum. "Wonderful, charming," *she is reported to have said, adding,* "such a pity, don't you think , that everything looks as though it's for sale?"[11]
If the difference between the museum as shrine *and* warehouse *is as much a matter of collection type as of building typology, the more recent manifestations, especially those of the* cultural shopping mall, *are the result of efforts to assimilate and elaborate the newest methods of display. It is the character and display of a museum's permanent holdings, rather than its architectural shell, that determine the qualities of the visitor's experience. With the advent of the* cultural shopping mall, *a new exhibition strategy provides both cause and justification for many aspects of its architecture: large traveling shows, not to mention the 'blockbuster exhibitions', offer constant blood transfusions, which museums of such massive frame require in order to stay alive in their communities. We must remember that these gargantuan shows originated in the era of universal expositions at a time of politically motivated propaganda, and that they continue to rahash notions of cultural superiority of one kind of art over another, just as they reinforce the familiar mystifications of artistic genius — hence their preponderantly monographic character — and* genius loci, *with pendant notions of the 'golden age' of this or that culture, and the 'treasures' of one country or another. In a word, the transformations we are witnessing have to do with the 'marketing' of the goods rather than with the wares themselves. Its methods are borrowed from modern merchandizing, which has found novel advertising and display techniques indispensable to success. Yet, the shopping*

Mark Mack, Boise Art Museum, Idaho: assonometrie dei progetti degli anni 1936, 1972 e 1987.
Archivio Mack.
Boise Art Museum, Idaho: facciata WPA (Federal Work Projects Administration), 1936.
Foto Boise Art Museum.

Bradford Paine Shaw, Boise Art Museum, Idaho: ristrutturazione del 1972: vista da Capitol Street.
Archivio Mack.
Mark Mack, Boise Art Museum, Idaho: ristrutturazione del 1987: sala di ingresso, che ingloba il portale WPA del 1936, e vista della facciata.
Foto K.W.Forster e archivio Mack.











Mark Mack, Boise Art Museum, Idaho: axonometric plans of 1936, 1972 and 1987 designs.
Credit: Mack.
Boise Art Museum, Idaho: WPA front view (Federal Work Projects Administration), 1936.
Photo Boise Art Museum.

Bradford Paine Shaw, Boise Art Museum, Idaho: view from Capitol Street of the 1972 renovation.
Credit: Mack.
Mark Mack, Boise Art Museum, Idaho: 1987 renovation: entrance hall including 1936 WPA portal and view of façade.
Photo K.W.Forster and Mack.

della cultura, la nuova strategia espositiva fornisce sia la causa che la giustificazione di molti aspetti architettonici; le grandi mostre itineranti, per non nominare quelle "colossal", rappresentano continue trasfusioni di sangue indispensabili ai musei di un certo livello per continuare ad essere punti di riferimento per la cittadinanza. Occorre ricordare che tali mostre pantagrueliche nacquero nell'era delle Esposizioni universali, un'epoca di propaganda politicamente motivata, e persistono nel riproporre la nozione della superiorità culturale di un genere artistico su altri, così come nel ribadire la consueta idealizzazione del genio artistico, da cui il loro carattere prevalentemente monografico, e del *genius loci*, da cui derivano le intramontabili nozioni di "età dell'oro" di questa o quella cultura o di "tesori" di un paese o di un altro. In pratica, le trasformazioni a cui stiamo assistendo riguardano più la reclamizzazione dei beni che non le merci in sé: ma pur avendone preso in prestito i metodi dalle moderne tecniche di vendita le cui trovate pubblicitarie ed espositive sono indispensabili al successo, anche il centro commerciale ha le sue pecche. Le accresciute aspettative del pubblico restano ancora più dolorosamente deluse quando si scopre che negozi e *boutique* tendono ad essere uniformati da un centro all'altro, che i pochi e atrofizzati espedienti urbanistici impiegati sono anche i più triti e che quando si è all'interno di un centro commerciale ci si può benissimo dimenticare in che parte del mondo ci si trova. I negozi in *franchising*, in cui ci si imbatte ad ogni passo, hanno suggerito a Thomas Gaehtgens l'equivalente culturale di "museo in *franchising*"[12], in quanto non solo è diventato obbligatorio per ogni museo che si rispetti avere i propri Pollock, Rothko, Stella, Lichtenstein, Warhol o Kiefer, ma ormai, con l'avvento delle mostre itineranti, le opere, come i treni persi alla stazione, si possono vedere alla fermata successiva.

Le parole di Philip de Montebello, direttore del Metropolitan di New York e patito delle mostre come specchi per le allodole, assumono, in tal senso, un peso particolare: "*I direttori dei musei, almeno in America, sono diventati impresari*", ha confessato, "*sui quali i consigli d'amministrazione esercitano pressioni enormi perché organizzino mostre sempre più popolari per pareggiare i bilanci...*". Le mostre, soprattutto quelle a pagamento, sono come rappresentazioni fisse che, avendo sempre più spesso cominciato a diventare teatrali, hanno modificato, assieme al museo, anche la psicologia del visitatore. Che cosa c'è di più assurdo per il direttore del Metropolitan che sentirsi chiedere, come spesso accade: "*Che cosa c'è in programma al Met?*". Ovviamente, a me verrebbe spontaneo rispondere: "*Il flauto magico*"[13]. Eppure, l'assurdità della domanda è solo apparente perché la più recente incarnazione della cultura museale ha effettivamente assunto guisa di spettacolo il cui successo, proprio per le sue caratteristiche estetiche, non dipende dai pregi individuali dei suoi ingredienti, né dalle concomitanti virtù della scena, ma soltanto dalla qualità dell'esecuzione. Di conseguenza, questo nuovissimo concetto di arte, incerta del proprio valore e "fuori concorso" con l'ambiente, fornisce il materiale ideale per i grandi spettacoli.

Le tabelle illustrative hanno senz'altro i loro limiti, ma aiutano a comprendere con un colpo d'occhio relazioni complesse. Passando dai musei con cui avevamo familiarità a quelli della nuova generazione, dalla staticità del tempio al divenire effimero del palcoscenico, troviamo anche nell'atteggiamento del visitatore una corrispondente evoluzione dalla devota soggezione per poche opere canoniche all'anelante attesa di un evento autocoinvolgente, in cui tutti i sensi sono impegnati dai simultanei e sapientemente orchestrati effetti della nostra cultura delle comunicazioni. *Tempio*, *deposito*, *centro commerciale* e *palcoscenico* definiscono immediatamente le fasi storiche del museo "ideale", con le sue mutevoli caratteristiche che tendono a integrarsi fra loro – in proporzioni costantemente

mall has its fallacies too: one's heightened expectations are all the more sorely disappointed when one discovers that stores and boutiques tend to be standard from mall to mall, that the few atrophied urban devices in their layout are of the most hackneyed kind, and that one is most likely to forget where in the world one actually is inside a shopping mall. The franchise stores we encounter in every mall suggested to Thomas Gaehtgens their cultural equivalent, the "franchise museum".[12] Not only has it become de rigeur for every self-respecting museum to have its obligatory Pollock, Rothko, Stella, Lichtenstein, Warhol, or Kiefer, but with the 'traveling' concept, shows, like trains missed at the station, can be caught at the next whistle-stop.

Words from a devotee of the blockbuster exhibition carry special weight in this regard: It was Philippe de Montebello, director of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, who confessed that "art museum directors, at least in America, have become impresarios," on whom "boards of trustees exert enormous pressure for more and more popular shows to balance the budget..." Exhibitions, especially those with tickets, are like fixed performances and we are too often beginning to resemble the performing arts and visitor psychology has changed along with the museum. What is more absurd than for the director of the Metropolitan Museum to be asked as he so often is: "What's next at the Met?" Well, of course my immediate reaction is to say: 'The Magic Flute".[13] Yet, the absurdity of the question is only one of appearance, for the latest incarnation of museum culture has indeed assumed the guise of the spectacle.

According to its aesthetic character, the spectacle is neither dependent on the individual worth of its ingredients, nor on the associative qualities of its venue, but on its performance alone. Hence, art of the newest kind — uncertain in its values and hors concour with the context — provides the ideal material for grand shows.

Neat graphic tables have their limitations, to be sure, but they do help us visualize complex relationships at a glance. As we move from museums of long-familiar type to new ones, from the permanence of the temple to the ephemerality of the stage, we find a corresponding shift in the visitor's disposition from devoted attention focused on a few canonic works to the heightened anticipation of a self-reflexive event in which all senses are engaged by the simultaneous, highly-engineered effects of our media culture. Shrine, Warehouse, Shopping Mall, and Stage identify at once the historical phases in the changing character of the 'ideal' museum, and integrate themselves in constantly varying degrees into the hyper-museum that is taking shape today:

The four basic museum types I have suggested, while they do constitute a historic sequence, also represent to a degree simultaneous options for today's architects: at the very least they are considered such by the designers of the examples that will follow. The strain that results from tackling so archaic a type as the shrine is palpable in Stirling's Sackler Museum at Harvard University. By contrast, the architects and clients who dared to return to the warehouse type did so, in the main, because of the particular nature of the museum's collection and purpose. It is certainly no accident that the Yale Center for British Art (1969-1977) by Louis Kahn and the De Menil Museum (1981-1986) in Houston by Renzo Piano house major collections of a highly specialized kind: Yale received a bequest of the largest collection of English painting outside of the British Isles, whereas the De Menil collection must be counted among collections that are themselves true artifacts, embracing and juxtaposing objects whose variety and meaning reflect an interpretative order rather than any fixed set of historic categories. For both, study remains the single most important purpose in response to the large number and problematic nature of assembled works of art; in both cases, the patron's unwavering insistence upon the purposes and demands of research — including provisions for libraries, study rooms for seminars, ample but fully accessible storage gave the emporium typology a new lease on life and obtained the purposeful flexibility of the

TYPE	PURPOSE	VISITOR'S DISPOSITION	RECENT EXAMPLES
I. SHRINE	veneration	reverence & appreciation	Sackler Museum, Harvard University (1979-1985), J. Stirling.
II. WAREHOUSE			
A) Emporium	study	connoisseurship vicarious ownership	Yale Center for British Art, Yale University (1969-1977), L. Kahn.
			Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine (1978-1983), H. Cobb.
B) Artist's Loft	study	vicarious production	De Menil Museum, Houston (1981-1985), R. Piano.
			Temporary Contemporary, Los Angeles (1983), F.O. Gehry.
III. SHOPPING MALL	merchandising	cultural consumption	Renovation of the Museum of Modern Art, New York (1977-1984), C. Pelli.
			New Wing of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1977-1981), I.M. Pei.
IV. STAGE	performance	aesthetic experience	Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt/Main (1979-1985), R. Meier.
			Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles (1981-1984), A. Isozaki.
			Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University (1983-1989), P. Eisenman.
			Berlin Museum expansion, Berlin (1989-), D. Libeskind.

variabili – nell'iper-museo che attualmente sta prendendo forma.
Le quattro tipologie museali che ho illustrato, pur costituendo una sequenza storica, rappresentano, in una certa misura, anche le possibilità concomitanti che si offrono agli architetti contemporanei o perlomeno sono state considerate tali dagli autori degli esempi che illustrerò tra poco. Lo sforzo insito nell'affrontare una tipologia così arcaica come quella del *tempio* è palpabile nel Sackler Museum dell'Università di Harvard di Stirling. Per contro, gli architetti e i committenti che hanno osato rifarsi all'*emporio* l'hanno fatto principalmente a causa della particolare natura della raccolta e della destinazione del museo stesso. Non è certo un caso che lo Yale Center for British Art a Yale (1969-1977) di Louis Kahn e il De Menil Museum (1981-1986) di Renzo Piano ospitino importanti raccolte di un genere molto ben definito: Yale ha ereditato un lascito della più vasta collezione di dipinti inglesi esistente al di fuori delle Isole Britanniche, mentre la raccolta De Menil deve essere annoverata tra le collezioni che sono di per sé autentiche opere d'arte, in quanto comprendono e contrappongono oggetti la cui varietà e il cui significato riflettono un ordine interpretativo piuttosto che una qualsiasi serie di categorie storiche prestabilite. Per entrambi i musei lo studio costituisce l'obiettivo prioritario, determinato dalla natura e dalla vastità delle opere radunate, e in entrambi i casi l'irremovibile insistenza dei committenti su tale finalità e sull'esigenza di attrezzarli con biblioteche di ricerca, di dotarli di ampi spazi per i seminari e di depositi vasti ma perfettamente accessibili, ha dato alla tipologia dell'emporio nuove prospettive di vita e agli spazi espositivi l'auspicata flessibilità. Anche Henry Cobb ha voluto evocare quasi alla lettera l'idea dell'emporio per la facciata di un museo costruito fra il 1978 e il 1983 nella un tempo brulicante città portuale di Portland nel Maine, combinando, dietro gli enormi muri di mattoni, i volumi

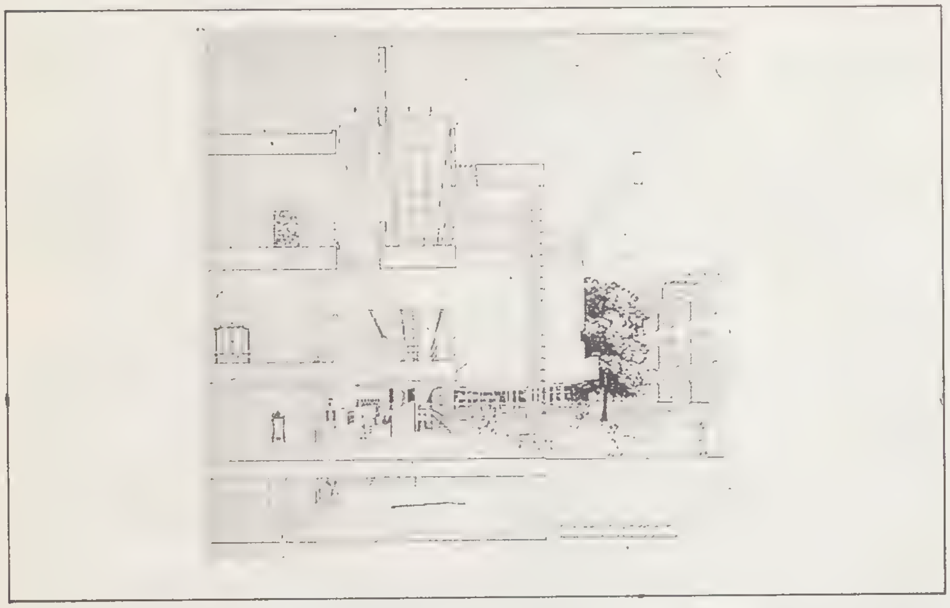
TIPO	FINE	DISPOSIZIONE DEL VISITATORE	ESEMPI RECENTI
I. SANTUARIO	venerazione	riverenza e apprezzamento	Sackler Museum, Harvard University (1979-1985), J. Stirling.
II. DEPOSITO			
A) Emporio	studio	approfondimento conoscitivo e senso di possessione	Yale Center for British Art, Yale University (1969-1977), L. Kahn.
			Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine (1978-1983), H. Cobb.
B) Studio d'artista	studio	senso di produzione	De Menil Museum, Houston (1981-1985), R. Piano.
			Temporary Contemporary, Los Angeles (1983), F.O. Gehry.
III. LUOGO DI VENDITA	acquisto	appropriazione culturale	Renovation of the Museum of Modern Art, New York (1977-1984), C. Pelli.
			New Wing of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1977-1981), I.M. Pei.
IV. PALCOSCENICO	spettacolo	esperienza estetica	Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt/Main (1979-1985), R. Meier.
			Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles (1981-1984), A. Isozaki.
			Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University (1983-1989), P. Eisenman.
			Berlin Museum expansion, Berlin (1989-), D. Libeskind.

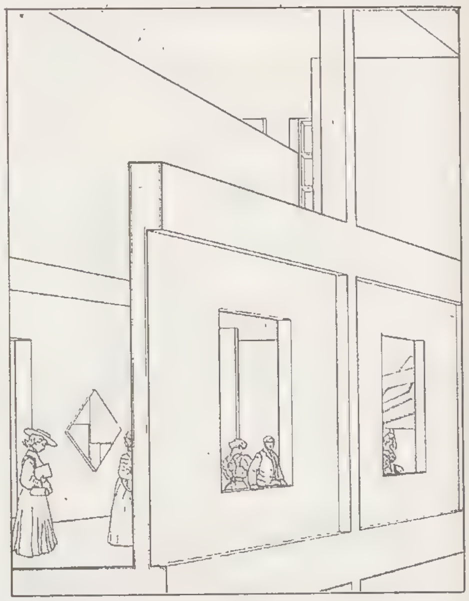
exhibition spaces. Henry Cobb, too, was almost literal in his evocation of a warehouse for the facade of a museum (1978-1983) in the formerly bustling port city of Portland, Maine, combining behind its huge brick façade the modular volumes of the horrea *with the legacy of John Soane's lanterns for the Dulwich Gallery.*

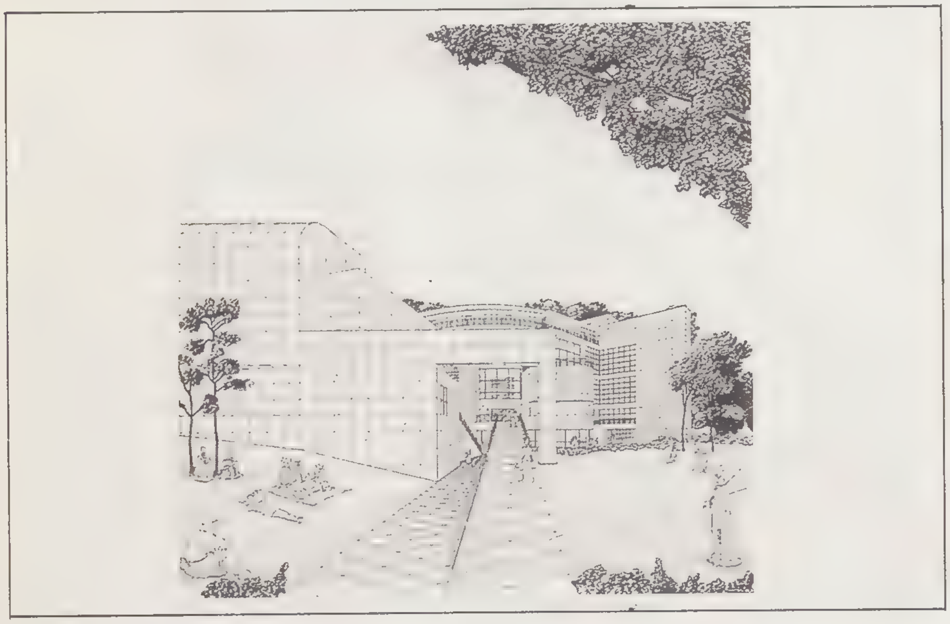
The warehouse transformed into loft *space as the prototypical site of artistic production offered itself up as a ready context for the exhibition of new art, and when the planners of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles needed temporary exhibition quarters, they commissioned Frank Gehry to adapt a former car repair depot for the purpose. The Temporary Contemporary (1981-1984), as it is affectionately known, possesses a unique* désinvolture, *yet such unobtrusive practicality that it has remained indispensable long after the completion of Arata Isozaki's permanent Museum of Contemporary Art.*

Kahn's Yale Center[14] and Piano's De Menil Museum command virtually unique standing among buildings of their respective generations. Reduced to an armature whose modular openings are filled — inside and out — with panels of metal, glass, or wood, and blocked into its urban lot like typical New England commercial buildings, the Yale Center even accommodates commercial shopfronts along the Chapel Street façade, as Schinkel's Bauakademie building did in Berlin. It further shares with its Berlin counterpart the even number of bays on its elevations. What its façades of six and ten bays help avoid is any hint of grand symmetry, stressing instead the additive order of a building whose function might be mistaken for a purely utilitarian one were it not for the extreme refinements that are elaborated in precisely the most industrial materials. One enters the building at a corner, informally, under an almost oppressively low but wide span, only to have the interior space suddenly soar up to the skylit roof three full stories above. And this takes us only into the forecourt: the large atrium of the museum is dominated by a massive cylindrical stairwell whose mute volume of sheer

Richard Meier, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Francoforte sul Meno, 1979-85: prospettiva delle gallerie. Archivio Richard Meier & Partners. Richard Meier, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, 1980-83: prospettiva dell'entrata principale e particolare delle sale interne. Archivio Richard Meier & Partners. Georg Segal, Sidney Janis with Mondrian's 1933 Composition, *1976. Archivio Museum of Modern Art, New York / Sidney & Harriet Janis Collection.*









Richard Meier, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1979-85: perspective of the galleries, Credit: Richard Meier & Partners. Richard Meier, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, 1980-83: perspective of the main entrance and interior galleries. Credit: Richard Meier & Partners. Georg Segal, Sidney Janis with Mondrian's 1933 Composition, *1976. Credit: Museum of Modern Art, New York/Sidney & Harriet Janis Collection.*

modulari dell'*horrea* con le vestigia dei lucernari di John Soane per la Dulwich Gallery.
Il deposito trasformato in *loft*, tradizionale laboratorio della produzione artistica, costituisce di per sé il contesto ideale per l'esposizione di nuove opere, idea che è stata sfruttata da Frank Gehry trasformando una vecchia officina di auto usate in sede espositiva temporanea su incarico dei progettisti del Museum of Contemporary Art di Los Angeles (MOCA). La "Contemporanea Temporanea" (1981-1984), come è stata affettuosamente battezzata, possiede una disinvoltura unica e una praticità così discreta che ha continuato ad essere indispensabile anche molto tempo dopo il completamento della sede permanente del Museum of Contemporary Art da parte di Arata Isozaki.
Lo Yale Center di Kahn[14] e il De Menil Museum di Piano godono di una reputazione praticamente ineguagliata fra gli edifici delle rispettive generazioni. Ridotto ad un'armatura le cui aperture modulari sono rivestite, dentro e fuori, con pannelli di metallo, di vetro o di legno, e inserito nel tessuto urbano come un tipico complesso commerciale del New England, lo Yale Center alloggia persino negozi e vetrine lungo il fronte che dà su Chapel Street ad imitazione della Bauakademie di Schinkel a Berlino, con la quale condivide anche il numero pari – sei e dieci – di rientranze sulle campate al fine di evitare qualsiasi accenno alla simmetria, per sottolineare invece il carattere agglomerativo di un edificio che potrebbe erroneamente essere considerato puramente utilitario se non fosse per l'estrema ricercatezza espressa proprio con i materiali industriali più tipici.
L'ingresso, volutamente informale, è posto su un angolo la cui ampia travata, ribassata al punto da risultare quasi opprimente, introduce in uno spazio che si innalza vertiginosamente di ben tre piani fino al soffitto da cui proviene la luce. Questo è soltanto il cortile coperto che precede il vasto atrio del museo dominato dalla mole cilindrica dello scalone la cui massa anonima in cemento liscio sorge direttamente dall'impiantito ligneo. Il visitatore

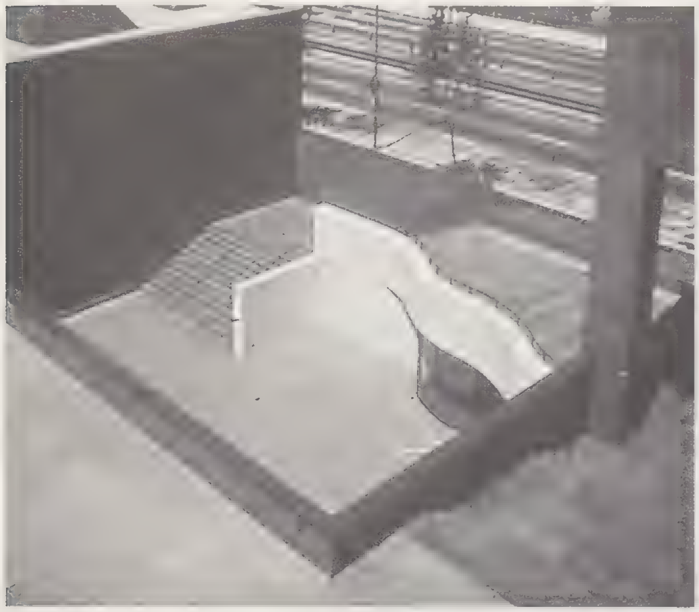
smooth concrete rises right through the hardwood floor. Visitors wend their way through the galleries, always aware that they move in steady spatial intervals between external façades and internal elevations. Whatever varies, like the windows on the façades or the openings of interior galleries, does so strictly within the intervallic constants of the building's ever-present structural frame. It may come as a surprise that a museum as devoid of clichéd intimacy as it is free of mortgaged grandeur could create so unmatched an impression of calm and solemnity. Kahn recognized the dignifying qualities that reside in the shrine and internalized them in his building as purely spatial ones: he cleared atria within a utilitarian structural framework, and lined them with panels of elegantly restrained finish. Despite the aesthetic limits of the collection and its highly conventional hang, the Yale Center remains unsurpassed as a place of quiet study; as a matter of fact, it is also a singular spatial oasis in an otherwise depressing town. The Center's location on university grounds and amidst local business establishments allows it to dispense altogether with the café and giftshop clutter that continues to invade other museums, reserving by contrast its street frontage for commercial use and assuming a truly modest stance in relation to its surroundings.
The Yale Center must be ranked among those rarest of buildings in which two typological traditions intersect and qualify one another without producing a clash or confusion of purpose. Kahn kept it free of pretense to a foregone cultural importance; he threaded into its severe simplicity refinements that, while only the avid may recognize them, everyone can experience; and, he refastened the grander elements — halls, stairs, and light — to the structure itself. He thus overcame the reservations that many hold against the modern museum without having to engage in historicist charades and without dissimulating the realities of location and educational purpose. He also expounds the rationale of the building through the building itself, making it fit the site without

si fa strada attraverso le gallerie, sempre consapevole di trovarsi in uno spazio scandito da intervalli regolari fra le facciate esterne e gli alzati interni le cui variazioni, come le finestre o i varchi delle gallerie interne, rispettano rigorosamente il ritmo costante dell'onnipresente trama strutturale dell'edificio. Può addirittura stupire il fatto che un museo dove il familiare senso di intimità non è nemmeno sottinteso e che nulla concede al grandioso, possa creare un'impressione impareggiabile di calma e di solennità. Riconoscendo l'intrinseco spirito nobilitante del tempio, Kahn lo ha inglobato nel suo edificio in senso puramente spaziale, liberando degli atri all'interno di un'ossatura funzionale per rivestirli con pannelli di raffinata ma sobria eleganza. Tutto ciò fa sì che, nonostante il limiti estetici della raccolta e la disposizione piuttosto convenzionale delle opere, lo Yale Center resti insuperato come sereno luogo di studio, costituendo addirittura una singolare oasi spaziale nel degrado della città. L'ubicazione del centro all'interno del complesso dell'Università, circondato da esercizi commerciali locali, ha dispensato dalla creazione di rumorose caffetterie e punti vendita interni, riservando, per contro, il fronte su strada ai negozi e assumendo un aspetto autenticamente dimesso e consono al contesto circostante. Lo Yale Center dev'essere collocato fra quei rarissimi edifici dove due diverse tradizioni tipologiche si intersecano e si valorizzano a vicenda senza, per altro, creare conflitti o confusione sulle intenzioni. Kahn l'ha spogliato di ogni richiamo alla sua scontata importanza culturale, ha pervaso la sua severa semplicità di sottigliezze che forse solo gli intenditori possono individuare, ma che tutti possono intuire, e ha ricollegato gli elementi di maggior spicco – sale, scaloni e luce – alla struttura stessa. Il tal modo, ha superato le diffidenze che molti nutrono ancora per il museo moderno pur senza doversi cimentare in sceneggiate storicistiche e senza dissimulare né la realtà dell'ubicazione, né gli obiettivi didattici. Egli, inoltre, giustifica la sua scelta architettonica tramite l'edificio stesso, adattandolo al sito

condescension and couching its unique status and purpose in the terms of its physical and ideological settings.

It would be difficult to find a museum more contrary to the Yale Center for British Art than James Stirling's Sackler Museum of Art at Harvard. At first, its borderline location between town and gown, its mixed use as a place of study and teaching as well as for the exhibition and storage of works of art, and, finally, the circumstances of its patronage would suggest very close parallels between the two institutions. No doubt the ambition to add an architectural crown jewel to the university campus further tightens the comparison, but where Kahn was able to bring a lifetime of architectural thinking to his task, Stirling crammed the disjecta membra *of his earlier work into a rather crude montage whose contradictions are at best ironic, at worst cynical: If Kahn knew only too well that a replay of the museum as temple or warehouse of objects would be meaningless without their mediation within each other and through the urban conditions of the site, Stirling pulled out all stops and almost literally threw everything he had at the visitor, remaindering the typological leftovers of temple, treasury, memorial, lofty hall, and pyramidal ascent. At least four distinct ways of conveying a sense of entry into a sanctified precinct and a number of attendant themes of passage have been conflated in one building: the twin Solomonic columns possess only the faintest justification as airshafts and supports for a footbridge (never to be built), whereas the corbeled, quasi-Minoan treasury entrance leads the visitor through a vestibule of exaggerated height and on to a narrow and steep ascent toward an unknown ceremonial destination. Clearly, there is a scenographer at work, distrustful of both the validity and effect of any single one of his hallowed forms, but dizzying, even frenetic, in his deployment of the available strategies of persuasion. A hollow laugh echoes from the ghost-train of history that carries the visitor through thousands of years in a breathlessly*

Arata Isozaki, Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 1981-84: vista d'insieme e dettaglio del cortile ipogeo di ingresso alle sale espositive.
Foto T.Street-Porter.
Arata Isozaki, Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 1981-84: vista delle coperture.
Foto W.Nettles.







Arata Isozaki,Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 1981-84: general view and sunken courtyard at the entrance to the galleries.
Photo credit: T. Street-Porter.
Arata Isozaki,Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 1981-84: rooftop view.
Photo: W. Nettles.

senza condiscendenze e lasciando trasparire il suo statuto preciso e i suoi scopi tramite la sua collocazione fisica e ideologica.

Sarebbe arduo trovare un museo più agli antipodi dello Yale Center for British Art del Sackler Museum of Art di James Stirling a Harvard. D'acchito, la sua posizione a cavallo fra vita urbana e mondo accademico, l'utilizzo misto sia come luogo di studio e di insegnamento sia per l'esposizione e la custodia di opere d'arte, e infine il tipo di mecenatismo suggerirebbero profonde similitudini fra le due istituzioni. Senza dubbio, l'ambizione di incastonare un gioiello architettonico nella già prestigiosa università conferma questa impressione, ma mentre Kahn era riuscito a concretizzare nella sua opera la filosofia architettonica di tutta una vita, Stirling ha ammassato gli scarti dei suoi lavori precedenti in un montaggio decisamente grossolano le cui contraddizioni sono, a dir poco, ironiche, se non addirittura ciniche. Mentre Kahn sapeva fin troppo bene che una riedizione del museo come tempio o come deposito di oggetti sarebbe stata priva di significato senza una mediazione fra i due aspetti e un'assimilazione nel tessuto urbano, Stirling ha dato fondo alle sue risorse aggredendo quasi letteralmente il visitatore con tutte le armi a sua disposizione, sbattendogli in faccia i rimasugli tipologici del tempio, del tesoro, del sacrario, del nobile salone in un crescendo vorticoso. In un unico edificio si è fatto ricorso ad almeno quattro espedienti distinti per evocare l'idea di ingresso in un sacro recinto con tutta una serie di simboli di passaggio a fare da contorno. Le salomoniche colonne gemelle trovano scarsa giustificazione nell'utilizzo come pozzi d'aerazione e come sostegni del mai costruito ponte pedonale, mentre l'ingresso a mensoloni di memoria quasi minoica conduce il visitatore, attraverso un vestibolo di altezza vertiginosa, ad una stretta e ripida ascesa verso un'ignota destinazione rituale. Chiaramente palpabile è l'intervento di uno scenografo che non si fida né della

transcendent passage to... Where? To mean little offices where the faculty roost and mete out their scholastic verdicts on those who shall die and those who shall live. Without being facetious, it is difficult to find merit in the scramble of motifs and slapdash design of the Sackler Museum, even more difficult to recognize in it the handywork of the same architect who created the stunning Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (1977-1984).

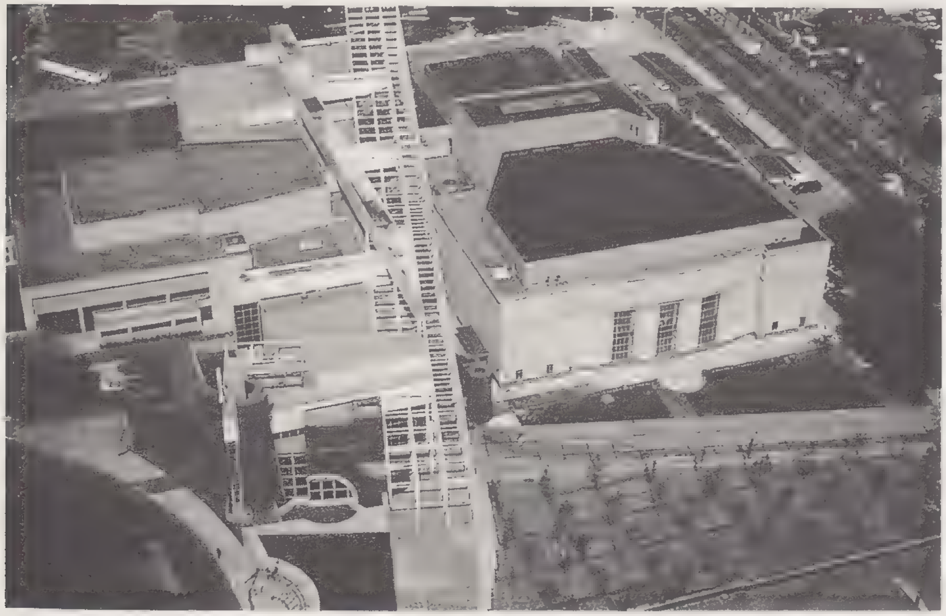
In the last year of his life, Louis Kahn began studies for the De Menil Museum[15] *in Houston, which, after an interval of several years, was projected and built by Renzo Piano during the early 1980s. As the critic Richard Ingersoll characterized the building, it is indeed* "pianissimo,"[16] *that is to say, intensely in the architect's manner, yet very sensitively so. The De Menil building compares favorably with Kahn's Yale Center, not only in purpose and contextual restraint, but also in the power of its typological condensation. Except for the flourish of those extremely elaborate ceiling flaps, which strike a somewhat excessive note on the exterior, the building is almost totally self-effacing in its materials and elementary forms. In a classic reversal of the familiar, the main exhibition spaces occupy the ground floor, the smaller study rooms, which house the permanent collection in thematic order, the upstairs. Throughout, simplicity prevails to demystify both building and purpose. Where the Yale Center sounds a more ponderous tone over an organ point of severity, the De Menil projects a radiant serenity and clarity - even if it lacks, perhaps, a darker shade. Its unabashed shed shape and its boardwalks speak with a slight twang, but its light-bathed interiors with dark floors and bright walls distill our century's legacy of modernity.*

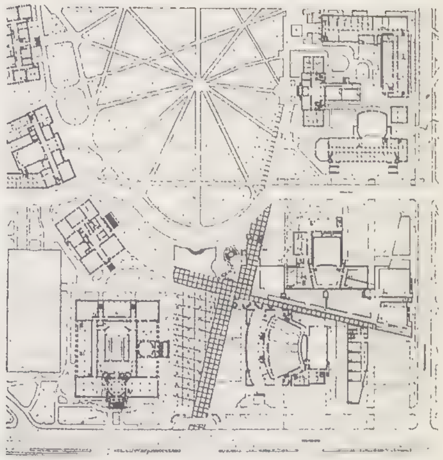
Three instances of museum renovation convey how relatively modest changes may effect a fundamental transformation, even a shift from one type of museum building to another. Cesar Pelli's renovation of the Museum of Modern Art (1977-1984) in New York city has come in for its share of mostly deserved criticism. That the museum realized major

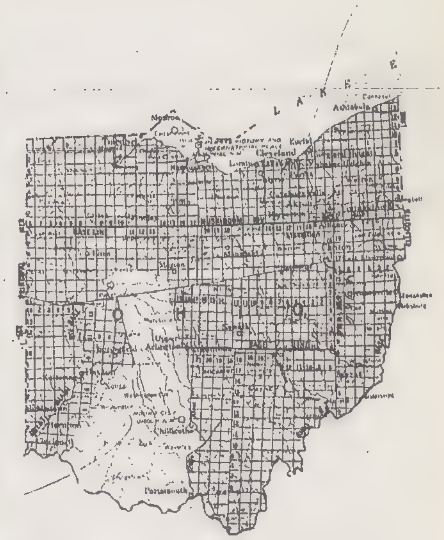
Peter Eisenman, Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1983-89: ingresso ovest alla Weigel Hall, vista aerea e planimetria dei piani terra.
Foto Esto / J.Goldberg; foto ARTOG / D.G.Olshavsky; archivio Eisenman Architects.

Mappa dello Stato dell'Ohio, dell'United States Geological Survey, 1968.
Archivio Eisenman Architects.









Peter Eisenman, Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1983-89: west entrance to Weigel Hall, aerial view and ground-floors plan.
Credits: Esto/J.Goldberg; ARTOG/D.G.Olshavsky; Eisenman Architects.

United States Geological Survey Map of Ohio, 1968.
Credit: Eisenman Architects.

validità né dell'effetto di nessuna delle sue riverite forme, ma che è sconcertante e addirittura frenetico nello spiegamento di tutti gli strumenti di persuasione disponibili. Una cupa risata echeggia dalla galleria degli orrori della storia che conduce il visitatore attraverso migliaia di anni in un affettuoso passaggio trasversale verso... dove? Verso angusti uffici dove i togati spadroneggiano ed emettono i loro verdetti scolastici su coloro che vivranno e coloro che moriranno. Senza scivolare nel ridicolo, è difficile trovare dei meriti nell'accozzaglia di motivi e nel frettoloso progetto del Sackler Museum, ma è ancora più arduo individuarvi la mano dello stesso architetto che aveva ideato la sbalorditiva Staatsgalerie di Stoccarda (1977-1984).
Verso la fine della sua vita, Louis Kahn aveva preparato alcuni studi per il De Menil Museum di Houston[15], che, dopo un intervallo di parecchi anni, è stato progettato e costruito da Renzo Piano nel corso dei primi anni Ottanta. Per dirla con le parole del critico Richard Ingersoll, l'edificio si può definire "*pianissimo*"[16], cioè intensamente e nello stesso tempo discretamente impregnato dello stile dell'architetto. Il confronto con lo Yale Center di Kahn è favorevole, non solo per il ritegno del contesto e dei fini, ma anche per la capacità di condensazione tipologica. Se si escludono gli svolazzi di quelle falde esageratamente arzigogolate dei soffitti che conferiscono un che di eccessivo all'esterno, l'edificio è quasi autobliterante per i suoi materiali e per le sue forme elementari. Con un classico rovesciamento del consueto, i principali spazi espositivi occupano il piano terra, mentre le sale più piccole che ospitano la collezione permanente in ordine tematico sono al piano superiore, il tutto pervaso da una semplicità che attenua sia l'edificio che la sua destinazione. Se lo Yale Center per la sua austerità si può paragonare al suono grave dell'organo, il De Menil emette una nota di squillante serenità e una radiosa chiarezza pur essendo carente di qualche ombra. La sua imperturbabile struttura a capannone e le sue passerelle stridono lievemente, ma i luminosi interni con i pavimenti scuri e le pareti chiare sono l'essenza dello spirito di modernità del nostro secolo.
Questi tre esempi di ristrutturazioni di musei illustrano il fatto che modifiche relativamente modeste possono dar luogo a trasformazioni radicali e persino a slittamenti da una tipologia museale ad un'altra, ed è proprio per questo motivo che la sistemazione di Cesar Pelli del Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) di New York (1977-1984) merita indubbiamente una buona dose di critiche. Il fatto che il museo avesse realizzato considerevoli profitti vendendo il proprio spazio aereo deve aver collocato, ad opinione dell'architetto, l'intero progetto in una prospettiva di assimilazione piuttosto che di distinzione delle sue componenti. I primi abbozzi delle facciate tradiscono il tentativo di inglobare il museo nella cosiddetta "Museum Tower" rimodellandone le facciate, il che ha reso, nella realizzazione concreta, l'atrio del grattacielo residenziale lievemente più accogliente e sicuramente più ricco di decorazioni dell'austero ingresso da azienda del museo, le cui biglietterie assomigliano a saracinesche di negozi. Nel retro dell'edificio originale che si affaccia su uno spazioso giardino, le scale mobili trasportano silenziosamente i visitatori da un piano all'altro sotto la luminosa vetrata di un secondo atrio, offrendo indimenticabili panoramiche e conducendo ai corridoi che, attraversando tutto l'edificio, ne percorrono tutta la serie delle collezioni. Tecnologia e atmosfera sono in perfetto accordo: la disposizione delle opere come se fossero in vetrina obbedisce alle stesse strategie e raggiunge gli stessi effetti perfezionati da un'intera generazione di ideatori di centri commerciali il cui unico inconveniente risiede nella quasi controproducente uniformità. Nello stesso tempo, portando a termine la sua missione precedente finalizzata ad un unico scopo, il Museum of Modern Art si ripropone come centro commerciale della cultura su vasta scala, distribuendo dispense sull'evoluzione artistica del Ventesimo secolo in una sequenza sapientemente intervallata e felicemente

financial gain from the sale of air rights must have cast the entire project in the architect's mind into a perspective that assimilated rather than distinguished its component parts. Early façade studies betray an effort to integrate the museum and what is called the 'Museum Tower' by means of façade patterning, and, in actual execution, the lobby of the residential tower is slightly more welcoming and certainly more studded with art than is the Museum's stark, corporate lobby in which tiket booths have been styled as boutique barricades. In the back of the original building, facing a spacious garden, escalators quietly convey the visitors from floor to floor under the clear glass of a new lobby, opening striking vistas and corridor-like passages that run the length of the building and the gamut of its collections. Technology and atmosphere are in perfect accord: The mall-like merchandizing of art obeys the same strategies and obtains the same effects that an entire generation of shopping mall developers have engineered to a perfection whose only drawback lies in its nearly self-defeating sameness.

Simultaneously with bringing to a close its formerly unique mission, the Museum of Modern Art recast itself as a cultural shopping mall *on a grand scale, dispensing textbook versions of the evolution of twentieth-century art in painlessly distanced and unproblematically arranged sequence. Carefully avoiding jarring confrontations among the works in its collection, the museum follows the boutique approach to the letter by casting its Cézannes, Matisses, or Brancusis like so many designer lines, each in its separate alcove. Just how fundamental this approach has become to the entire constitution of The Museum of Modern Art and how completely it controls all aspects of display emerges perhaps most clearly from a simple comparison of three photographs. Each of them arrests a moment in the fate of Brancusi's sculptures, beginning with their emergence from the sculptor's studio and ending with their current display in the museum. If there were any doubts about the power of museums over works of art, these still shots from the afterlife of artifacts should dispell them forever. In the sculptor's studio — where Brancusi himself also took amazing photographs that countermanded so much early critical reaction to his work — the statues dwarf their maker, less perhaps by a mere difference in size than by one of stature. Already in Alfred Barr's time, however, the museum's custodian had grown to be their equal, at least in bodily presence. That their current warden would have himself portrayed with foam-core models of the museum's Brancusis displayed before him like chess pieces on a board only seals their fate in the hands of cultural impresarios.*

When Pelli began to turn to the project of expanding the Museum of Modern Art in New York, I.M. Pei undertook the addition of a new wing to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts' rather heavy-handed Beaux-Arts design (begun in 1906). A clear-cut example of a museum's delayed entrance into a phase of development I have compared to the shopping mall, following on a long spell of somnolant traditionalism, Pei's design amounts to a sudden, even brutal change in the institution's historic character through the literal adding-on of a department store to the west side of the building. With its public facilities, auditorium, spacious gift and bookstore, subdued restaurant, and cafeteria lined up along an internal skylit gallery that is studded with the obligatory trees and steeped in sidewalk-café ambience, the simulation of the mall is so perfect as to make one oblivious to the presence of a museum lurking nearby. If the windowless bulk of the new wing looms into the view of approaching cars, the gallery inside offers a token impression of Pei's grand marriage of international airport aesthetics and cultural pretense, which he consummated in the new East Building (1978) of the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., not to mention its recent ratification as French grandeur *at the Louvre.*

The third example of a renovation is perhaps more instructive than remarkable, but the Boise Museum of Art in Idaho offers a virtual anatomy lesson in the subsequent phases of museum evolution: Its simple sandstone core, built in 1937

ordinata. Evitando attentamente qualsiasi imbarazzante contrasto fra le opere della sua collezione, il museo applica alla lettera la filosofia della *boutique* relegando i Cezanne, i Matisse o i Brancusi, come altrettanti capi firmati, ciascuno nella sua alcova separata. Per farsi un'idea più chiara su come questo atteggiamento sia diventato il fondamento unico che detta legge su tutti gli aspetti dell'allestimento del Museum of Modern Art basta fare un semplice raffronto fra le fotografie, ciascuna delle quali fissa un momento del destino delle sculture di Brancusi a cominciare dal loro emergere dall'*atelier* dello scultore fino alla loro attuale sistemazione nel museo. Se ci fossero ancora dubbi sull'influenza del museo sulle opere d'arte, queste testimonianze della loro esistenza postuma dovrebbero fugarli per sempre. Nello studio dello scultore – dove Brancusi stesso scattò fotografie straordinarie come replica alle innumerevoli critiche inizialmente mosse alle sue opere – le statue appiattiscono il loro creatore, più che per una semplice disparità di dimensioni, per una questione di imponenza. Tuttavia, già dai tempi di Alfred Barr, i curatori del museo avevano imparato a mettersi sul loro stesso piano almeno quanto a presenza fisica e il fatto che quello attualmente in carica sia stato ritratto con dei modellini in gommapiuma dei Brancusi disposti dinanzi a sé come i pezzi di una scacchiera, non fa che dimostrare che il loro destino è affidato alle mani di impresari culturali.

Mentre Pelli si dedicava al progetto di ampliamento del Museum of Modern Art di New York, I. M. Pei intraprendeva l'addizione di una nuova ala del Boston Museum of Fine Arts, iniziato nel 1906 in uno stile "Beaux-Arts" piuttosto pesante. Esempio incontestabile di ingresso posticipato di un museo in quella fase di sviluppo che ho paragonato al centro commerciale, conseguente a un lungo e sonnolento periodo di tradizionalismo, il progetto di Pei consiste in un'improvvisa se non brutale trasformazione del carattere storico dell'istituzione tramite la letterale addizione di un grande magazzino sul lato occidentale dell'edificio. Dotata di servizi pubblici, di un auditorium, di ampi punti vendita di libri e articoli da regalo, di un sobrio ristorante e di una caffetteria allineati lungo la galleria interna – che essendo illuminata naturalmente dall'alto e scandita da irrinunciabili alberi risulta immersa in un'atmosfera da caffè all'aperto –, la simulazione del centro commerciale è talmente perfetta da far dimenticare la presenza di un museo appostato nei pressi. Mentre la massa priva di finestre della nuova ala si profila incombente alla vista degli automobilisti di passaggio, la galleria interna offre un simbolico esempio del grandioso connubio ideato da Pei fra l'estetica dell'aeroporto internazionale e le aspirazioni culturali, connubio già consumatosi nel nuovo East Building della National Gallery di Washington D.C. (1978), per non citare la piramide del Louvre con cui l'architetto ha celebrato i fasti della *grandeur* francese.

Il terzo esempio di ristrutturazione è forse più istruttivo che degno di nota, ma il Boise Museum of Art nell'Idaho offre in pratica una lezione d'anatomia sulle fasi successive dell'evoluzione del museo. L'originario nucleo in arenaria, sorto nel 1937 con i finanziamenti sia della città di Boise che della Federal Work Projects Administration (Commissione federale per la progettazione di opere) e contraddistinto soltanto da un portale inequivocabilmente "moderno", era stato riattato nel 1972 in quel dilagante stile anni Sessanta che poteva conformarsi altrettanto bene sia ad una concessionaria della Mercedes-Benz che ad un ufficio dell'anagrafe. Nel 1988, l'architetto Mark Mack ha riaperto l'ingresso principale – pur inserendolo in un atrio a lucernario, a testimonianza della storia stessa del museo – e ha racchiuso l'edificio con un muro perimetrale di tracciato parzialmente nuovo, di un aspetto talmente anonimo da evocare immediatamente l'idea dell'emporio. La lezione insita in questo esempio scaturisce dalla decisione di Mack di riconsegnare l'edificio alla comunità cittadina rifacendosi alla tradizione tipologica museale. Rovesciando la maldestra opera di riqualificazione compiuta nei primi anni Settanta

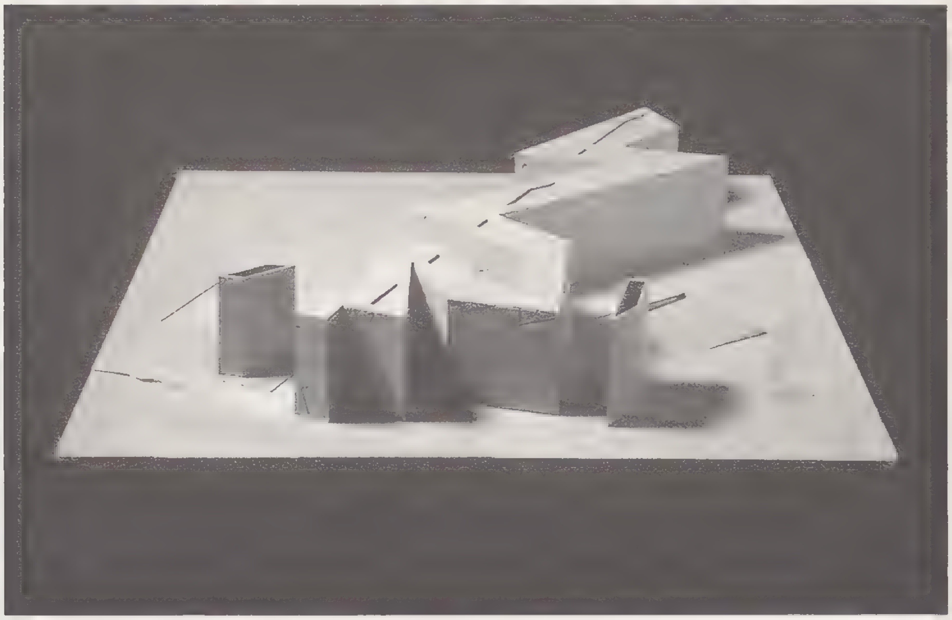
as a joint effort of the City of Boise and the Federal Work Projects Administration, and distinguished only by a crisply moderne *portal, was, in 1972, enveloped in that ubiquitous 1960s fashion serving equally well a Mercedes-Benz dealership and a small government administration building. In 1988, architect Mark Mack re-opened the former grand entrance - albeit in a skylit atrium and therefore as an 'object' of the museum's own history - and enclosed the building within a partly new perimeter wall of such anonymous character as to signal immediately the category of emporium. What is so instructive about this example springs from the nature of Mack's decision to recontextualize the building both within its community and within the typological traditions of museum buildings. By reversing the misguided renovation effort of the early 1970s, when the museum assumed the guise of an expensive giftshop, Mack returned the building to its status as an appropriately modest little storehouse while exposing its own short but varied life as an institution within.*

My last category of museums includes some of the most interesting and architecturally innovative examples of recent date. These buildings evolved out of a different understanding of art and its social role in urban culture. The measure of their success lies in the architect's ability to invent a stage *for a new perceptual negotiation of art. I stress the term 'invention', for most of our examples are located where neither the historical conditions nor existing collections alone would have prompted such solutions. This category of museum complexes was ushered in almost simultaneously by two projects of astonishing freshness: James Stirling's Staatsgalerie Stuttgart and Richard Meier's Museum für Kunsthandwert (1979-1985) in Frankfurt.*[17]

They mark high points in the German museum-building boom of the 1980s — which also includes Hans Hollein's Städtisches Museum (1972-1982) in Mönchengladbach[18] *— and they share significant qualities with their American counterparts, the High Museum (1980-1983) in Atlanta, also by Richard Meier, and Arata Isozaki's Museum of Contemporary Art (1981-1984) in Los Angeles. These conspicuously new qualities make it possible for the museum to play an important role in the city and to assume wider functions in contemporary culture.*

Characteristically, these new museums do not want to appear to consist of a single, isolated building, even where de facto *this may be the case. Stirling's museum in Stuttgart opens itself up to visitors as would, perhaps, the historic district of an imaginary town, terraced along a hillside, criss-crossed by ramps and passageways, and composed of a diverse range of building types. By comparison, Hollein complemented the urban stance of the Städtisches Museum at Mönchengladbach with an ornately bucolic southern flank, where the composite volumes yield to the curving terraces of the Abteiberg park. In his Museum für Kunsthandwerk at Frankfurt, Meier worked in much less an historicizing manner than did Stirling, but with no less attention to the dual contexts of history and city. A patrician residence on the site, the Villa Metzler, set the scale and volumetric measure: Meier matched it with three analogous building blocks, forming a four-square plan bisected by two open axes that extend deep into surrounding gardens on the ground-floor level. A slight rotation of the grid interacts with highly differentiated volumes to induce subtle complexities within the site and to produce an eminently urban character for the entire project. At the High Museum in Atlanta, Meier had similar aims but stayed much closer to the American tradition of the 'museum in the park'. The interior spaces evoke an urbanity that is dramatized by a deliberate pattern of circulation and that gives rise to ever-changing vistas. In his first presentation drawings for the High Museum, Meier playfully peopled the lawn in front of the museum with strollers from Seurat's* La grande jatte *and* Une baignade à Asnières, *suggesting perhaps a correspondence between nineteenth-century Sunday outings and today's recreational museum-going. The ironies deepen when we move on to his studies for the modern*

Daniel Libeskind, Ampliamento del Berlin Museum, iniziato nel 1989: vedute del modello di studio. Archivio Daniel Libeskind. El Lissitsky, Allestimento della sezione russa alla Internationale Werkbundausstellung Film & Foto, Stoccarda, 1928. Peter Eisenman, Ingresso del Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1983-89. Foto K.W.Forster. L'ultima mostra futurista 0.10, Petrogrado, 1915-16. Friedrich Kiesler, Allestimento della Galleria Surrealista alla mostra Art of this Century, 1942. Archivio Kiesler / Lillian Kiesler.





Daniel Libeskind, Model for the expansion of the Berlin Museum, begun 1989: views of the study's model. Credit: Daniel Libeskind. El Lissitzky, Design for the Russian section of the Internationale Werkbundausstellung Film & Foto, Stuttgart, 1928. Peter Eisenman, Entrance to the Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1983-89. Photo K.W.Forster. Last Futurist Exhibition 0.10, Petrograd, 1915-1916. Friedrich Kiesler, Design for the Surrealist Gallery for the exhibition Art of this Century, *1942. Credit: Kiesler Archive/Lillian Kiesler.*









che aveva attribuito al museo la foggia di un lussuoso negozio di articoli da regalo, Mack ha riportato l'edificio ad uno stato che si addice al modesto deposito quale è, riservandosi di illustrarne all'interno la breve ma travagliata esistenza.

L'ultima categoria di musei comprende alcuni esempi di recente costruzione, fra i più interessanti e innovativi dal punto di vista architettonico. Trattandosi di edifici nati da una diversa concezione dell'arte e del suo ruolo sociale nella cultura urbana, il loro successo dipende dalla capacità dell'architetto di inventare un palcoscenico per una rinnovata fruizione sensoriale dell'arte. Sottolineo "inventare" perché tali esempi sono per lo più situati dove né le condizioni storiche, né le collocazioni preesistenti avrebbero da soli potuto suggerire tali soluzioni. Questa categoria di complessi museali è stata inaugurata da due progetti quasi contemporanei dotati di una strabiliante vivacità: la Staatsgalerie di James Stirling a Stoccarda (1977-1984) e il Museum für Kunsthandwerk (Museo di arti e mestieri) di Richard Meier a Francoforte (1979-1985)[17], due pietre miliari della corsa ai musei avvenuta in Germania negli anni Ottanta, che comprende anche lo Städtisches Museum di Hans Hollein a Mönchengladbach (1972-1982)[18] e che induce a significativi raffronti con le loro controparti americane quali il High Museum di Atlanta, anch'esso opera di Richard Meier (1980-1983), e il Museum of Contemporary Art di Arata Isozaki a Los Angeles (1981-1984). Queste lampanti novità consentono al museo di giocare un ruolo più attivo all'interno della città e di svolgere funzioni più ampie nell'ambito della cultura contemporanea.

Caratteristico di tali nuovi musei è il non volersi porre come singoli edifici isolati, anche se in alcuni casi lo sono come, ad esempio, il museo di Stirling di Stoccarda che si offre al visitatore quasi fosse il centro storico di un'immaginario borgo, con le sue terrazze aggrappate alla collina, con l'intersecarsi di rampe e passaggi e con l'articolarsi dei diversi elementi che lo compongono. A sua volta Hollein ha sottolineato l'integrazione nel tessuto urbano dello Städtisches Museum di Mönchengladbach ornandone bucolicamente il lato meridionale, dove i corpi che lo costituiscono si allungano verso le terrazze ricurve del parco Abteiberg. Pur operando in maniera meno filologica di Stirling, Meier non ha avuto minor riguardo per il duplice contesto, storico e urbano, in cui avrebbe inserito il suo Museum für Kunsthandwerk a Francoforte. Una residenza patrizia già in sito, Villa Metzler, ha stabilito l'ordine di grandezza e la volumetria a cui si è rifatto l'architetto, creando tre blocchi analoghi che formano una pianta a quattro quadrati tagliata dall'incrocio degli assi principali che si allungano in profondità nei giardini circostanti a livello del piano terra. Una lieve rotazione dello schema differenzia decisamente la disposizione volumetrica creando un'ingegnosa complessità all'interno del sito e attribuendo a tutto il progetto un carattere prevalentemente urbano.

Pur avendo obiettivi simili per il suo High Museum di Atlanta, Meier si è attenuto più rigorosamente alla tradizione americana del "museo nel parco", evocando negli spazi interni un'urbanità sottolineata da percorsi prefissati che danno adito a viste sempre diverse. Nei disegni preparatori del museo Meier aveva festosamente popolato il prato antistante l'edificio con i gitanti di *La grande jatte* e di *Une Baignade à Asnières* di Seurat, suggerendo forse una corrispondenza fra la passeggiata domenicale ottocentesca e l'odierno museo ricreativo. L'ironia si accentua quando si passa agli studi per il moderno interno, dove i visitatori del Diciannovesimo secolo vestiti a festa non mostrano alcun segno di perplessità o di irritazione davanti a un dipinto di Mondrian. Questo particolare aspetto dell'impostazione culturale dei musei contemporanei suggerisce un'ulteriore divergenza fra la Staatsgalerie di Stirling a Stoccarda e gli edifici di Meier a Francoforte e ad Atlanta. Mentre Stirling si è rifatto ampiamente al metodo storicistico conferendo diversa età

interior, where characters in their nineteenth-century Sunday best show no sign of puzzlement or irritation when they pass a painting by Mondrian. This peculiar aspect of the cultural setting created by contemporary museums suggests a further distinction between Stirling's Staatsgalerie Stuttgart and Meier's buildings at Frankfurt and Atlanta: Whereas Stirling returned to the historicist strategy on a grand scale, attributing a different relative age and diverse typological allusions to each one of the various buildings or building parts that compose his Stuttgart complex, Meier 'modernized' even the old villa Metzler, and in Atlanta, 'historicized' the visitors instead of the building. History and taste can play amusing tricks: the Museum of Modern Art in New York City is the right place for George Segal's ghostly portrait sculpture of Sidney Janis, whose arm rests proudly on a real painting by Mondrian, while the High Museum makes the perfect setting for a cast of characters from Gone with the Wind *paying a visit to the late twentieth century. To 'pay a visit to a special place and time', a site just sufficiently removed from the ordinary yet not altogether unfamiliar, may be precisely what the museum-going public expects to — and perhaps does — experience today.*

Arata Isozaki worked out a strategy for the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles that would make the most of a nearly impossible situation where a major developer had agreed to construct the building. Despite a crowded location — soon MOCA will look like a playpen of culture nestled at the feet of towering financial and commercial giants — that is complicated by severe height restrictions and harsh roadside conditions, Isozaki managed to impart to MOCA the feel of a miniature city composed of discreet and varied components, its plaza spreading into a formal garden and extending down into courtyard and exhibition galleries. MOCA must be counted among the rare instances in which both the imaginary and the pragmatic retained an equal hold on the project: Ticket booth, giftshop, and fountains dominate the street-level plaza, while an unexpected stairwell leads to a sunken forecourt and an inviting promenade through exhibition galleries whose presence is signaled by translucent pyramids.

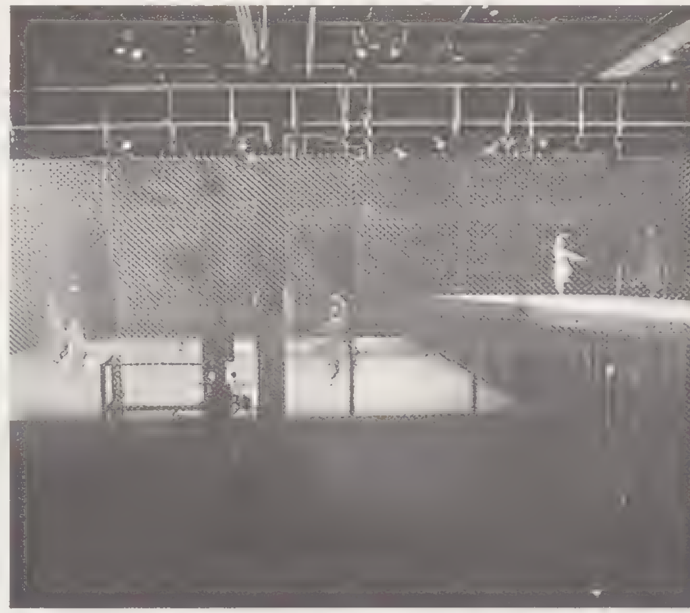
Peter Eisenman's Wexner Center for the Visual Arts (1983-1989) at Ohio State University in Columbus[19] was built to accommodate more than conventional museum purposes, but its combination of educational and public functions is becoming increasingly representative of American museums. Museum calendars are typically thick with public lectures, adult education programs, temporary exhibitions, video and performance works, library hours for visitors, and concerts, not to mention dizzying rounds of openings, receptions, and directors' brunches. The museum as theatre calls for a different stage, *and Eisenman's Wexner Center offers one of its possible architectural incarnations. As a multifarious cultural complex, the Visual Arts Center relies at once on a larger context and on a narrower compass: its field of reference coincides literally and figuratively with the natural topography and history of the territory of Ohio, with the gradual and fragmentary surveys of its vast parcels of land and the resulting patchwork of federal survey grids; its actual site can only be described as a composite of interstices among abutting buildings and surrounding roads. The mosaic of programmatic demands placed upon it would not support an unequivocal building, nor would its site among neighboring edifices afford the space for an imposing presence.*

These circumstances had prompted competing architects either to usurp sites unfit for the building or to lose anchor on the campus Oval, one of the few places on stet university grounds with a distinct history of its own, although it lost its landmark Armory thirty years ago and at the same time its role as a gateway to the heart of the campus. Eisenman's decision to resurrect parts of the Armory offered the volumes and shapes capable of restoring the idea of the campus gateway and the adoption of three-dimensional grids —

Frank O.Gehry, Allestimento della mostra The Russian Avant-Garde, *Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980.*
Foto T.Street-Porter.
Frank O.Gehry, Allestimento per La Strada Novissima, *Biennale di Venezia, 1980.*
Archivio Frank O.Gehry Architects.

Frank O.Gehry, Scenografia per Available Light, *al "Temporary Contemporary", Los Angeles, 1983.*
Foto T.Vinetz.
Fotogramma dal film 2001: A Space Odyssey, *regia di Stanley Kubrick, 1968.*









Frank O.Gehry, Design for The Russian Avant-Garde, *Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980.*
Photo T. Street-Porter.
Frank O.Gehry, Design for La Strada Novissima, *Venice Biennale, 1980.*
Credit: courtesy of Frank O.Gehry Architects.

Frank O.Gehry, Stage set for Available Light *at "Temporary Contemporary", Los Angeles, 1983.*
Photo T. Vinetz.
Still from "2001: A Space Odyssey", *directed by Stanley Kubrick, 1968.*

relativa e differente allusione tipologica a ciascuno degli edifici e dei corpi che compongono il complesso di Stoccarda, Meier ha "modernizzato" persino l'antica Villa Metzler e ad Atlanta ha "retrodatato" i visitatori invece dell'edificio. Ma poiché la storia e il gusto possono giocare spassosi scherzi, il Museum of Modern Art di New York è il posto ideale per lo spettrale ritratto scultoreo di Sidney Janis di George Segal, le cui braccia poggiano orgogliosamente su un autentico Mondrian, mentre il High Museum sarebbe lo sfondo adatto dove un gruppo di personaggi di *Via col vento* potrebbe rendere omaggio al tardo Ventesimo secolo. "Recarsi in un luogo e in un tempo particolari", in un'ambiente abbastanza fuori dal normale senza essere eccessivamente estraneo, è proprio quanto si aspettano i frequentatori dei musei — ed è forse ciò che oggi sperimentano —.
Per il Museum of Contemporary Art di Los Angeles, la cui realizzazione era stata affidata a un noto costruttore, Arata Isozaki ha escogitato una strategia che avrebbe tratto il massimo da una situazione pressoché senza via d'uscita. Nonostante la congestione del sito, i rigorosi limiti d'altezza e le difficili condizioni stradali, presto il MOCA si porrà come una culla di cultura annidata ai piedi di giganteschi e opprimenti complessi commerciali e finanziari. Con la piazzetta che si allarga in un lembo di verde e che si estende nel cortile e nelle gallerie espositive, Isozaki è riuscito a rendere l'idea di una città in miniatura caratterizzata da componenti discrete e variate, e ad annoverare il MOCA fra i rari esempi di edifici in cui l'immaginario e il pragmatico hanno avuto egual peso sul progetto. La biglietteria, la *boutique* e le fontane dominano la piazzetta a livello stradale, mentre un inaspettato scalone conduce al cortile anteriore ribassato e ad un'invitante passeggiata attraverso le gallerie la cui presenza è segnalata da piramidi semitrasparenti.

Il Wexner Center for the Visual Arts di Peter Eisenman

springing, as it were, from the soil into space — staked out what there was of a real site for the Wexner Center. The main internal gallery, running the length of the building between the external corridor to one side and the expanding volumes of exhibition spaces on the other, recalls in its architectural function such recent emphasis on problems of circulation as Richard Meier demonstrated in his Frankfurt Museum für Kunsthandwerk. To adopt the complete anonymity that Eisenman's scaffoldings represent in turn is to solidify every volume and evacuate every space, analogous in its conceptual role to the idea of 'installation' as it began to take shape during the 1920s in such examples as El Lissitzky's International Exhibition Film and Photography *of 1929 in Stuttgart.*
Eisenman's architecture proves itself capable of sustaining the contradictions between its extensive and its penetrating qualities, at once removing and suspending itself from the site and thereby prompting in the visitor an oscillating response that negotiates both distance and nearness. This it accomplishes by means of a multiple system of referents, both physically within view from one or another of its prospects, and subliminally perceptible on virtually every surface of the structure. Two intersecting passageways frame the visitor's approach like trellises, and, even while one remains 'outside', cast their perspectives across the site. Large volumes rise from the surrounding ground, suggesting a relationship between their half-submerged shapes and the adjacent buildings whose external walls are revetted with precisely the same materials. Extrusions of canted volumes recall the land and its shifting grids while the intersecting scaffoldings inside the Wexner Center set the cadences and create the concordances of a breathtaking spatial order.
I would suggest one other project whose construction has been assured, but whose final plans have yet to leave the drawing board: Daniel Libeskind's expansion of the Berlin Museum (1989-).[20] *Only two among the surviving buildings give the site a definite historic character: the former — and now*

all'Università statale dell'Ohio a Columbus (1983-1989)[19] è stato realizzato per ospitare eventi museali decisamente non convenzionali, sperimentali, eppure la sua combinazione fra funzioni pubbliche e obiettivi didattici sta diventando sempre più l'ideale americano di museo. Con i loro programmi che, per definizione, sono fitti di conferenze, corsi per adulti, mostre temporanee, proiezioni audiovisive, rappresentazioni, biblioteche per il pubblico, concerti, per non parlare del frenetico avvicendarsi di inaugurazioni, ricevimenti e pranzi dei consigli d'amministrazione, i *musei-teatri* richiedono un "palcoscenico" diverso, di cui il Wexner Center di Eisenman propone una delle possibili incarnazioni architettoniche. Come multiforme complesso culturale, esso si è cimentato con un contesto di riferimento più ampio dell'ambito territoriale diretto. I suoi riferimenti vanno ricercati letteralmente e figurativamente nella storia e nella topografia naturale dell'Ohio, con le sue centuriazioni parziali e frammentarie su vasti parti di territorio e il reticolo catastale risultante, mentre il sito concreto può essere descritto soltanto come un mosaico di interstizi fra edifici confinanti e le strade che li circondano. Le esigenze pratiche, in effetti, e i limiti di spazio determinati dagli edifici preesistenti non avrebbero mai potuto generare un complesso inequivocabilmente e solennemente grandioso. Tali circostanze avevano indotto gli architetti in concorso o ad usurpare lotti inadatti all'edificio o a tagliare gli ormeggi con l'arena, uno dei pochi angoli dell'università che abbia una sua storia precisa, pur avendo perso trent'anni fa la sua caratteristica armeria che fungeva anche da cerniera con il cuore dell'università. La decisione di Eisenman di ricostruire parte dell'armeria ha fornito volumi e forme in grado di ripristinare l'idea di ingresso all'università, e l'adozione di tralicci metallici tridimensionali — che sembrano scaturire direttamente dal suolo — ha delimitato quello che era lo spazio effettivamente disponibile per il Wexner Center. La principale galleria interna che percorre l'edificio in lunghezza tra il corridoio esterno da un lato e i volumi espansi degli spazi espositivi dall'altro, richiama, per le sue funzioni architettoniche, la recente attenzione ai problemi di circolazione che Richard Meier ha dimostrato nel suo Museum für Kunsthandwerk di Francoforte.
Adottare la totale anonimità rappresentata dalle impalcature di Eisenman significa solidificare ogni volume e svuotare ogni spazio, idea concettualmente analoga a quella di "allestimento" che aveva cominciato a prendere forma negli anni Venti ad esempio nella mostra internazionale *Cinema e Fotografia* di El Lissitzky allestita nel 1929 a Stoccarda.
L'architettura di Eisenman si dimostra capace di reggere alle contraddizioni esistenti fra estensione e profondità, estraniandosi dal sito e contemporaneamente aggirandolo, per indurre nel visitatore una reazione altalenante fra vicinanza e distanza, provocata da una molteplice serie di riferimenti fisicamente visibili da qualsiasi fronte e intuibili inconsciamente su ogni superficie della struttura. Due passerelle intersecantesi a mo' di pergolati inquadrano la prospettiva del visitatore dando un'impronta a tutto il sito già a partire dall'esterno. Dal terreno circostante sorgono ampie masse che creano un collegamento tra le loro forme semisommerse e gli edifici limitrofi, i cui muri sono rivestiti con gli stessi materiali. La sporgenza di volumi inclinati richiama il territorio e i suoi compositi reticoli, mentre le impalcature che si incrociano all'interno del Wexner Center imprimono cadenze e creano concordanze di un ordine spaziale che lascia esterefatti.
Vorrei illustrare un ultimo progetto la cui realizzazione è sicura, ma i cui elaborati finali devono ancora lasciare il tavolo da disegno: si tratta dell'ampliamento del Berlin Museum da parte di Daniel Libeskind (1989)[20]. Soltanto due fra gli edifici sopravvissuti conferiscono al sito un'impronta storica: la preesistente, ora ricostruita, Kollegienhaus dell'Alta Corte prussiana, della fine del Diciottesimo-inizio del Diciannovesimo secolo, che oggi è sede del Berlin Museum, e un edificio nei pressi opera di Erich Mendelsohn. Il compito di Libeskind comprende la

rebuilt — Kollegienhaus of the Prussian high court of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, which today serves as seat of the Berlin Museum, and a nearby building by Erich Mendelsohn. Libeskind's task includes the creation of a museum section devoted to the history of the Jews in Berlin, a history that cannot be falsely 'reintegrated' into a story of the city from which it has been so totally erased. The new museum takes up the motif of Libeskind's Line of Fire (1987), extending it into a zig-zagging wing that runs alongside the present museum and its gardens. A straight passageway, open at ground level and repeated in the upper floors, cuts across the entire building. The volumes of space that this passage opens up inside the building will appear in full size and shape as solids — like huge pieces of sculpture on the outside, removed to the southern perimeter of the site where their presence manifests in silence the loss of the culture that once loomed so large in the city, and whose humble historic remains the visitor will see inside. Libeskind's museum project — on which I have the honor of collaborating as a consultant — concludes the brief evolution of my fourth category of museums, but, by dint of its power to suspend all readymade distinctions, it also transcends it. In this capacity, the new Berlin Museum promises to realize what many museum buildings have only professed to accomplish: the invention of a meaningful site, not merely the construction of a serviceable container.

The recent changes I have tried to describe have moved American museums further and further away from static repositories and have transformed them instead into theaters of cultural transaction. Clearly, one leaves the domain of architecture in the narrow sense and enters into the realm of museum space. The mutable space of the museum serves as an index of much broader transformations in contemporary life, and it also assumes the qualities of a product of those transformations. The intended ambience of a museum and the qualities of its space as a stage for works of art do not depend on the building alone: new installation concepts contribute equally to its realization. During the 1980s, Frank Gehry designed a number of exhibitions for the Los Angeles County Museum of Art whose inventive and improvisational qualities have not received adequate attention. Gehry conjured equally successful settings for an exhibition of Russian Constructivism and for one of German Expressionist Sculpture with his disarming directness and tongue-in-cheek theatricality. From the montage he created at the Venice Biennale in 1980, to the mounting and lighting of sculpture in stage-like boxes that possess the same power of perceptual dislocation as do Laurie Anderson's superimposed images in her performance cycle entitled United States, Gehry has pushed his ideas about the museum as stage further than most other architects, although he has yet to design a major art museum.

Though a distinction between the museum's interiors as defined by the architect's plans and the particular state and timbre they assume as a result of exhibition installations is difficult to pin down, it is no less necessary to make. Installations amount to the creation of attuned settings within which artifacts can inflect their environment. Central to these possibilities is the concept of installation, a concept that originated in the artist's studio and still partakes of the creative process. Installation presents its objects in an arranged — that is to say, an alterable — state that is often no more than a passing phase in the artist's elaboration of an idea. For this reason alone they belong to the domain of the artist rather than that of the architect or the curator, and it is undoubtedly the presentation of 'environments' that has conditioned our receptivity to such museum installations.

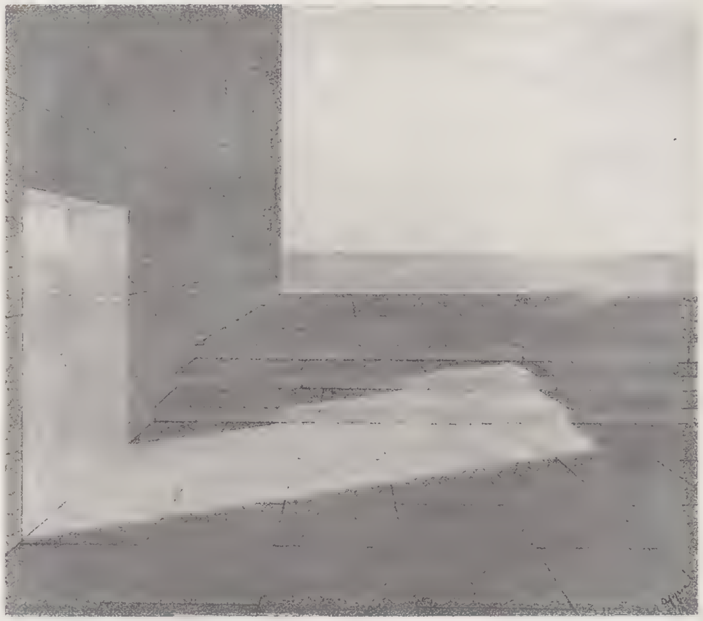
By contrast to the asceptic, dehistoricized setting of a Museum of Modern Art [21], whose model ascends to the neutralized laboratory of the Bauhaus, the environments created for the exhibition of art during and after the Second World War — from Frederick Kiesler's installation at Peggy Guggenheim's Art of this Century gallery in New York (1942)[22] to the interiors of Josef Beuys at Documenta 1968, the Venice

Frank O.Gehry, Allestimento della mostra German Expressionist Sculpture, *Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1983.*
Foto T.Street-Porter.
Laurie Anderson, United States, *1983.*
Foto M.Resnick.
Carlo Scarpa, Allestimento della



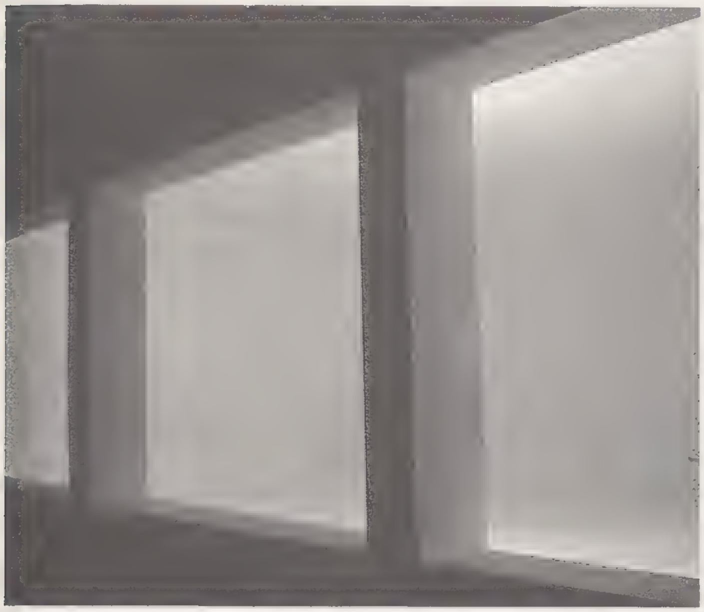






Frank O.Gehry, Design for the German Expressionist Sculpture, *Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1983.*
Photo T. Street-Porter.
Laurie Anderson, United States, *1983.*
Photo M. Resnick.
Carlo Scarpa, Design for the Gipsoteca Canoviana at Possagno, 1956.

Gipsoteca Canoviana a Possagno, 1956. Foto G. Weiss.
Adolphe Appia, Porte à gauche. Espaces rythmiques, *1909. Cabinet des dessins, Museé d'art et d'histoire, Ginevra.*
James Turrel, Allestimento per Amba, *1982, con luce fluorescente e ultravioletta, Libby Building, a cura del Center of Contemporary Art, Seattle, Washington. Foto M.Sullo.*
Adolphe Appia, Les trois piliers. Espaces rythmiques, *1909. Schweizerische Theatersammlung, Berna.*
Richard Meier, Rampa interna del Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Francoforte sul Meno, 1979-85.
Peter Eisenman, Sala interna del Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1983-89. Foto ARTOG / D.G.Olshavsky.





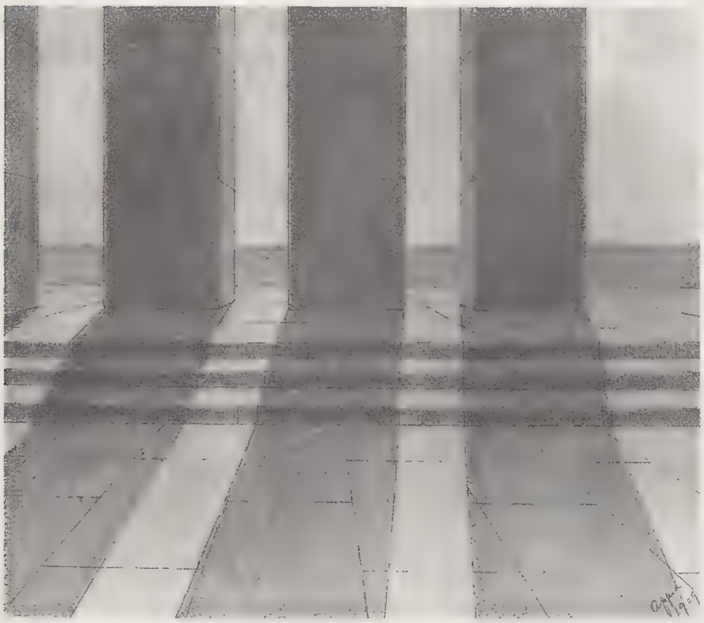




Photo G. Weiss.
Adolphe Appia, Porte à Gauche, Espaces Rythmiques, *1909. Credit: Cabinet des dessins, Museé d'art et d'histoire, Geneva.*
James Turrel, Design for Amba, *1982, fluorescent and ultraviolet light, Libby Building, by the Center of Contemporary Art, Seattle, Washington. Photo M. Sullo.*
Adolphe Appia, Les trois piliers. Espaces Rythmiques, *1909. Credit: Schweizerische Theatersammlung, Bern.*
Richard Meier, Interior ramp for the Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1979-85.
Peter Eisenman, Interior gallery of the Wexner Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1983-89. Photo credit: ARTOG/D.G.Olshavsky.

creazione di una sezione dedicata alla storia degli ebrei di Berlino, storia che non può essere ipocritamente "reintegrata" nell'esistenza di una città che l'ha completamente cancellata. Il nuovo museo riprende il motivo della *Line of Fire* di Libeskind stesso del 1987, che si allunga zigzagando in un'ala a ridosso dell'attuale museo dei giardini. Un passaggio in linea retta a livello del suolo e ripreso nei piani superiori taglia tutto l'edificio creando all'interno volumi che, per la loro forma e possanza, appariranno solidi dall'esterno, quasi fossero sculture colossali, e che, relegati come saranno al confine meridionale del sito, testimonieranno con la loro presenza la perdita di una cultura che un tempo incideva profondamente nella vita della città e i cui umili resti storici potranno essere visti nel museo. Il progetto museale di Libeskind, al quale io ho l'onore di collaborare come consulente, conclude la breve evoluzione della quarta categoria di musei che ho considerato in questo scritto, ma allo stesso tempo la trascende grazie al suo potere di svincolarsi da qualsiasi distinzione preconcetta. Sotto questo aspetto, il nuovo Berlin Museum si prefigura come la realizzazione di un obiettivo che molti edifici museali avevano soltanto sfiorato, e cioè l'ideazione di un luogo denso di significato piuttosto che di un semplice e funzionale contenitore.

I recenti cambiamenti che ho tentato di descrivere hanno allontanato sempre più il museo americano dalla funzione di ricettacolo statico per trasformarlo in un'arena di eventi culturali, abbandonando chiaramente il dominio dell'architettura in senso stretto per fare ingresso in quello dello *spazio museale*, i cui mutamenti costituiscono un sintomo delle ben più ampie trasformazioni della vita contemporanea e ne rappresentano il prodotto. L'atmosfera che si crea in un museo e la qualità dello spazio inteso come palcoscenico per le opere d'arte non dipendono soltanto dall'edificio, in quanto i nuovi concetti di allestimento contribuiscono in egual misura alla sua realizzazione. Nel corso degli anni Ottanta Frank Gehry ha progettato una serie di mostre per il Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA), i cui meriti, quanto a inventiva e "improvvisazione", non hanno ricevuto le attenzioni di cui erano degni. Gehry ha evocato, con pari successo, grazie alla sua disarmante immediatezza e alla sua ironica teatralità, ambienti consoni sia alla mostra sul Costruttivismo russo che a quella sull'Espressionismo tedesco. Dal montaggio creato alla Biennale di Venezia del 1980 alla collocazione e illuminazione di sculture in spazi scenici che disorientano visivamente tanto quanto le immagini sovraimpresse nel ciclo di rappresentazioni di Laurie Anderson intitolato *Stati Uniti*, Gehry ha sfruttato l'idea del museo come *palcoscenico* più di ogni altro architetto, sebbene debba ancora progettarne uno di primaria importanza.

Individuare le sottili differenze fra l'interno del museo, così come era stato definito nel progetto architettonico, e il tono e l'ambiente particolari che derivano dall'allestimento espositivo, è un'impresa ardua ma non per questo meno necessaria. L'allestimento, concetto centrale che nasce nello studio dell'artista e che è il fulcro del processo creativo, è l'ideazione di scenari in sintonia con le opere e con le atmosfere che esse determinano. Collocando gli oggetti secondo uno schema studiato e quindi variabile, l'allestimento è spesso frutto di una fase momentanea dell'elaborazione di un'idea nella mente dell'artista, motivo per cui è di dominio di quest'ultimo e non dell'architetto o del curatore, pur essendo inevitabile che la nostra percezione di tali allestimenti sia condizionata dalla strutturazione degli ambienti. In contrasto con l'asettica e astorica sistemazione di un qualsiasi "Museo d'Arte Moderna"[21] la cui neutralità è presa a modello dal laboratorio del Bauhaus, gli ambienti creati per l'esposizione di opere d'arte durante e dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale, dalla sistemazione ideata da Frederick Kiesler per la galleria *Arte di questo secolo* voluta nel 1942

Biennale of 1976, and elsewhere — propelled the idea of attuned environments headlong into museum practice. That these and many other installation experiments — like the exhibits of minimalist art throughout the 1970s — overstep the boundaries of museum architecture, causes only an apparent confusion, for the interiors and their potentialities at the Wexner Center or the Berlin Museum derive directly from these experiments. It may be ironic that avant-garde artists whose polemic battle cries usually included the call to "Burn the museums!" *have bequeathed to their former apparent enemies the single most central concept for the* staging *of works of art. It is difficult indeed to imagine the current shifts in museum architecture and display without the early experiments of Schwitters, Malevich, and Lissitzky, just as it is clearly impossible to experience the museum as a* spectacle *without the imagination of the architects whose works provide the stimulus for these reflections.*

Attuned interiors are made to perform, *and sometimes even totally alter themselves with the installation of works by Richard Serra,*[23] *James Turrell,*[24] *or Sol Lewitt. The transformative capacity of certain works effects an altered state in the very space they occupy, converting it into one only* they *can make. The more obvious techniques of such installations recall their theatrical origins in the experiments of Adolphe Appia*[25] *at Hellerau before the First World War, and in the highly sophisticated use of lighting as the principal means of spatial modulation, leading us to the point where lighting alone may be employed to give timbre and presence to spatial states whose evanescence in no way diminishes but rather induces the most vivid experiential qualities. His studies of 1909, entitled* Espaces rhythmiques, *already extracted from the dialectics of volume, surface, and color the limits of abstraction when Appia summarized his reflections in response to the question* "what will remain of painting?" "Probably, color... Color is however so closely tied to light that they can scarcely be separated; and, just as light is mutable in the highest degree, so will be color. How far we have come from painting!".[26] *Appia's rythmic spaces are pure environments whose tonality and timbre suspend the quantitative dimensions of volume and the identity of surface and color in a* new quality of space *that has, in Appia's words,* "no other pupose than to be a point of departure." *But for us, today, Appia's example from the early years of the century acts only as that single window pane of a house in the distance that momentarily reflects the sunlight as a blinding ray in the eye of the observer. Artist's installations of recent years, such as Robert Irwin's*[27] *or James Turrell's, establish a similar dominion over the supposedly objective properties of space and plunge the subjectivity of the observer into a kind of groundless condition, as if a sudden change in the environment forced the retuning of the very apparatus of perception.*[28] *Implied as this subjective transformation is, it has to be per-formed within a calculated aesthetic setting. In the broadest sense, the very process of performance ascends to a significance greater than its cause or result; this may be true as much of collective interaction as of artistic production. Even in regions of the culture industry like pop music, music video, and cinema, the ascendency of performance processes over any identifiable content has begun to suspend the traditional categories of cultural production and, correspondingly, to question the construction of the viewer's identity without them. In cinema, tightly structured narrative loosens its discipline in favor of the sheer display of movement, movement simply running its course, taking its time, and thereby taking leave of the verbal pace and sequence of narration as well as much of its systematic coherence. Similarly, the itineraries of museum displays make use of varieties of passage, in which the new architecture typically abounds, and permit ambulation without tight constraints. As a result, the visitor's itinerary regains a capacity for self-display and discovery — at the very least, a sense of wavering and reorientation —, a quality of indecision that encourages lingering or pacing, but not plodding. These transformations, rooted as they are in vast*

da Peggy Guggenheim a New York[22], fino agli interni di Josef Beuys per *Documenta 1968* alla Biennale di Venezia del 1976 e ad altri esempi, hanno consacrato l'idea di ambiente in sintonia con l'opera come irrinunciabile nella creazione di un museo. Il fatto che questi e molti altri allestimenti sperimentali, come quelli per le mostre dei minimalisti durante tutto l'arco degli anni Settanta, travalichino i confini dell'architettura museale, è causa di una confusione solo apparente, in quanto gli interni e le loro potenzialità, che siano del Wexner Center o del Berlin Museum, sono il risultato diretto di tali esperimenti. Ne deriva che può risuonare ironico il polemico grido di battaglia "*Bruciate i musei!*" degli artisti d'avanguardia, visto che costoro hanno lasciato in eredità ai loro antichi nemici apparenti il concetto che è diventato il perno su cui si regge la *rappresentazione* delle opere d'arte. È in effetti difficile immaginare le attuali tendenze nell'architettura e negli allestimenti dei musei senza i primi esperimenti di Schwitters, Malevich e Lissitzky, così come sarebbe chiaramente impossibile vivere il museo come *teatro* se non fosse per la fantasia di architetti le cui fatiche sono lo spunto di tali riflessioni.
Gli interni "in sintonia" sono fatti per *rappresentare* e a volte addirittura per modificarsi totalmente con la sistemazione di opere come quelle di Richard Serra[23], James Turrel[24] o Sol Lewitt. Certe opere, infatti, per il loro potere di trasformazione, alterano lo spazio che occupano convertendolo in un ambiente che solo esse possono determinare. Le tecniche d'allestimento più scontate tradiscono le loro origini teatrali negli esperimenti di un Adolphe Appia[25] eseguiti a Hellerau prima della Grande guerra, e nel sofisticatissimo uso dell'illuminazione come mezzo di modulazione spaziale, al punto che la luce da sola può essere impiegata per determinare il tono e delimitare la presenza di volumi spaziali la cui evanescenza non viene affatto sminuita ma, anzi, arricchita di più vivide qualità empiriche. Gli studi di Appia del 1909, intitolati *Espaces rhytmiques*, definivano già, con la dialettica fra volume, superficie e colore, i confini dell'astrazione, quando egli riepilogava le proprie riflessioni in risposta alla domanda: "*Che cosa resterà della pittura?*" affermando: "*Probabilmente il colore, ma il colore è talmente vincolato alla luce che si può difficilmente separare da essa e così, come la luce è mutevole al massimo, anche il colore lo sarà. Ne abbiamo fatta di strada dalla pittura!*"[26]. Gli spazi ritmici di Appia sono pure atmosfere, le cui tonalità e timbro trascendono le dimensioni quantitative del volume e l'identità di superficie e colore in una nuova qualità dello spazio il cui fine, secondo le parole di Appia, "*non è altro che quello di essere un punto di partenza.*" Tuttavia, l'esempio di Appia dei primi anni del secolo è per noi, oggi, come il vetro della finestra di una casa in lontananza che per un attimo riflette la luce del sole abbagliando l'osservatore. Gli allestimenti di anni più recenti, come quelli di Robert Irwin[27] o di James Turrell, si impongono in maniera analoga sulle presunte proprietà oggettive dello spazio e tolgono all'osservatore ogni pretesa di soggettività come se un improvviso mutamento dell'ambiente causasse il riassestamento degli organi stessi della percezione[28]. Per quanto tale trasformazione soggettiva sia implicita, essa dev'essere realizzata all'interno di un preciso ambito estetico e, in senso lato, il processo stesso della realizzazione si rifà ad un significato più ampio della sua causa o effetto, il che può essere vero sia per quanto riguarda le dinamiche collettive che la produzione artistica. Persino negli ambiti della cultura di massa, come la musica pop, i video-clip, il cinema, la supremazia del processo rappresentativo su un contenuto individuabile ha cominciato a sgretolare le categorie tradizionali della produzione culturale e, nel contempo, a mettere in dubbio le capacità interpretative dello spettatore in loro assenza. Nel cinema, le rigorose strutture narrative si allentano a favore della pura raffigurazione del movimento che, con i suoi ritmi e i suoi tempi, prende congedo dall'andatura verbale e dalla

cultural changes, spring into sudden focus and manifest their powers in the new museum's multiple intersecting patterns of ambulation, in conjunction with the plurality of visual and spatial correlations among its displays.
If it is at all possible to reduce such highly distinctive museum buildings as those by Meier, Isozaki, Eisenman, and Libeskind to a single common denominator, then it may be the recognition that they all cease to be conceived as typological figments. These architects have shifted their conceptual ground from the idea of art as treasure and trophy to one concerned with its social negotiation. During the last years of our century, the museum - no longer merely a repository of fixed values - emerges as a place of a certain architectural complexity, as a stage for richly diverse urban experience. It is indeed appropriate that museums should increasingly acquire qualities that are lacking in virtually every other type of contemporary building. The criticism frequently leveled against them - namely, that they are buildings of interest in and of themselves rather than the humble repositories of art - suggests the critical point, even if in inverse terms: As 'poetic machines', a Museum for Arts and Crafts, a Wexner Center, or a Berlin Museum may indeed be self-justifying; but as museums confronting traditional expectations, they afford opportunities that lead one to expect directors and curators to rise to the challenge of staging art within the ramified settings suggested by their architectural framework.

Notes

1) I presented partial versions of this paper to the World Federation of Friends of Museums at their Cordoba meeting in April 1990, and to the Society of Architectural Historians, Southeastern Chapter meeting in Atlanta Georgia, in October 1990. It needs to be stated at once that my account of recent American museum building is highly partial and admittedly partisan. Not only are the examples clamoring for inclusion far too numerous: they are also too diverse to fall in line with the broad strokes with which I have drawn my picture. As a matter of fact, entire firms, c.g. Edward
L. Barnes, Hardy/Holzman/Pfeiffer, Charles Moore, or Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, have been left out of consideration altogether. With regard to Venturi, see e.g. S. VON MOOS "Body Language and Artifice", in a+u, *237, 1990, 6, pp. 121-130. Instead of comprehensive coverage and impartial views, I attempt to give an analytical assessment of only those projects and interventions that have brought new ideas to bear on the course of the museum's transformation in recent years.*

2) For a general discussion of building types and the typology of post-renaissance museums in general, see: N. PEVSNER, A History of Building Types, *Bollingen, series XXXV, 19, Princeton, 1976, pp. 111-138. The histories of individual museums and of the evolution of museums in particular countries have been the subjects of numerous studies and books, such as V. PLAGEMANN,* Das deutsche Kunstmuseum 1790-1870, *Munich, 1967; or H. KLOTZ/W. KRASE,* Neue Museumsbauten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, *Stuttgart, 1985, 1988. A useful, if highly selective bibliography covering the controversies surrounding American museums of the last half century or so is included in H. SEARING,* New American Art Museums, *Whitney Museum of American Art, New York and Berkeley, 1982. I shall refer to them and others below.*

3) See Building the New Museum, *ed. by S. STEPHENS, Princeton, 1986, pp. 70-79.*

4) As I ready this article for press, R. KRAUSS's article on "The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum" in October, *54, 1990, pp. 3-17, reaches my desk. It strikes me as a remarkable coincidence — as an index of the force with which the phenomena under discussion impress themselves on our minds — that Krauss should have connected the latest institutional developments at the Guggenheim Museum with a discussion of the phenomenal transformations in postmodern subjectivity that, according to her, have manifested themselves in minimalist art. While I find myself in agreement with Krauss's diagnosis of the new phenomena, I am unconvinced by their elucidation along ideological lines laid down by Ernest Mandel and Frederic Jameson.*

5) Cf. e.g. the special issue of Arquitectura y Vivienda, *18, 1989, on* Museos Estelares.

6) See esp. P. CUMMINGS LOUD, The Art Museums of Louis I. Kahn, *Durham and London, 1989.*

7) J. M. CROOK, The British Museum, *London and New York, 1972.*

8) See B. MUNDT, Die deutschen Kunstgewerbemuseen im 19. Jahrhundert, *Munich, 1974.*

9) Recent efforts to develop a philosophic basis for museum education practices have only deepened their inherent contradictions. The bind arises from two conflicting claims: one proposing that aesthetic experience is universal, definable as such across historical or geographical bounds, and the other appointing the museum as the

sequenza della narrazione così come dalla sua coerenza organica. Analogamente, gli itinerari delle esposizioni museali utilizzano svariati passaggi, dove abbondano, per definizione, le nuove architetture e che permettono la circolazione senza troppe costrizioni. La visita che ne risulta riconquista un senso di scoperta e di autodeterminazione, o perlomeno acquista un senso di esitazione e di disorientamento, un'indecisione che incoraggia a soffermarsi e a passeggiare, ma mai ad arrancare. Tali trasformazioni, radicate come sono in ben più vasti mutamenti culturali, balzano immediatamente all'occhio e si manifestano nei nuovi percorsi che si moltiplicano e si intrecciano nei musei in concomitanza con la pluralità delle correlazioni visive e spaziali delle loro esposizioni.
Se fosse possibile ridurre ad un unico denominatore comune edifici museali così singolari come quelli di Meier, Isozaki, Eisenman e Libeskind, esso sarebbe la consapevolezza che tutti questi musei hanno cessato di essere raffigurazioni tipologiche, in quanto i loro architetti hanno trasferito il proprio bagaglio concettuale dall'idea di arte come tesoro e trofeo a quello della sua fruizione sociale. In quest'ultimo scorcio di secolo, il museo — non più semplice ricettacolo di valori fissi — si delinea come un luogo architettonicamente intricato, come un palcoscenico di esperienze urbane copiosamente variate, ed è perciò giusto che il museo acquisisca in continuazione aspetti che sono praticamente assenti in qualsiasi altro tipo di edificio contemporaneo. La critica che viene spesso rivolta contro di essi, e cioè che si tratta di costruzioni che sono interessanti in sé e di per sé piuttosto che umili guardiani di opere d'arte, suggerisce il punto cruciale, anche se ne rovescia i termini: come "macchine poetiche", il Museum für Kunsthandwerk di Francoforte, il Wexner Center o il Berlin Museum trovano in se stessi una giustificazione, ma in qualità di musei alle prese con le consuete aspettative, essi offrono possibilità che lasciano sperare che i loro direttori e curatori siano all'altezza del compito di mettere in scena l'arte all'interno degli ambiti ramificati proposti dalle strutture architettoniche.

Note

1) Ho presentato versioni parziali di questa relazione al congresso della World Federation of Friends of Museums tenutosi a Cordoba nell'aprile del 1990 e all'assemblea della Sezione sudorientale della Society of Architectural Historians tenutasi ad Atlanta nell'ottobre del 1990. Premetto che la mia carrellata sui recenti esempi di edifici museali americani è sicuramente incompleta e dichiaratamente di parte, in quanto gli esempi che meriterebbero di essere inclusi sono non soltanto troppo numerosi ma anche troppo disparati per poter rientrare nelle categorie da me delineate. Di conseguenza, interi studi professionali, come quelli di Edward L. Barnes, Hardy/Holzman/Pfeiffer, Charles Moore, o Venturi/Scott/Brown & Associates sono stati volutamente ignorati. Quanto a Venturi, si faccia riferimento a S. VON MOOS, *Body Language and Artifice*, in "a + u", n. 237, 6-1990, pp. 121-130. Invece di una trattazione globale e di opinioni imparziali, ho preferito fornire una lettura in chiave analitica dei soli progetti ed interventi che hanno impresso una svolta al processo di trasformazione dei musei in anni recenti.
2) Per una trattazione generale dei tipi edilizi e della tipologia museale post-rinascimentale cfr. N. PEVSNER, *A History of Building Types*, Bollingen, serie XXXV, n. 19, Princeton 1976, pp. 111-138, trad. it. *Storia e caratteri degli edifici*, Palombi, Roma 1986, pp. 137-167. La storia dei singoli musei e della loro evoluzione in determinati paesi è stata oggetto di numerosi studi e pubblicazioni, tra i quali V. PLAGEMANN, *Das Deutsche Kunstmuseum 1790-1870*, München 1967, e H. KLOTZ, W. KRASE, *Neue Museumsbauten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Stuttgart 1985, 1988. Un'utile, benché molto selettiva, bibliografia che illustra le controversie sorte attorno ai musei americani dell'ultimo cinquantennio è acclusa a H. SEARING, *New American Art Museums*, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York - Berkeley 1982; ad esso farò riferimento, assieme ad altri volumi, successivamente.
3) Cfr. *Building the New Museum*, a cura di S. Stephens, Architectural League of New York, Princeton 1986, pp. 70-79.
4) Preparando questo pezzo per la stampa, mi sono ritrovato sulla scrivania l'articolo di R. KRAUSS, *The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum*, in "October", n. 54, 1990, pp. 3-17. Mi è sembrata una coincidenza degna di nota, un sintomo della forza con cui gli eventi in questione hanno colpito le nostre menti, il fatto che la Krauss abbia collegato gli ultimi sviluppi istituzionali del Guggenheim Museum alla discussione sulle fenomenali trasformazioni della soggettività postmoderna che, secondo lei, si sono manifestate nell'arte minimalista. Pur concordando sulla diagnosi di tali alterazioni effettuata dalla Krauss, non sono convinto dalla spiegazione in chiave ideologica fornita da Ernest Mandel e Fredric Jameson.
5) Si prenda come esempio l'edizione speciale *Museos Estelares* di "Arquitectura y Vivienda", n. 18, 1989.
6) Cfr. soprattutto P. CUMMINGS LOUD, *The Art Museum of Louis I. Kahn*, Durham - London 1989.
7) J.M. CROOK, *The British Museum*, London - New York 1972.

purveyor and preordained agent of that experience. With this argument museums appoint themselves as both custodians of artifacts and sacerdotes of an educational ideology. The American chapelle of populist aestheticians is developing its own manuals, based on pure 1960s ideology and guru parlance, such as M. CSIKSZENTMIHALYI's and R. E. ROBINSON's, The Art of Seeing; An Interpretation of the Aesthetic Encounter, a joint publication of the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Center for Education in the Arts, Malibu, 1990.

10) The precarious nature of Hollein's balancing act has been recognized by M. F. GASKIE, "Western Artifice Celebrates Eastern Art" 5, in Architectural Record, 1981, 5, pp. 88-95.

11) Quoted after E. MAI, Expositionen. Geschichte und Kritik des Ausstellungswesens, Munich and Berlin, 1986. Mai has assembled a provocative documentation and bibliography for a critical analysis of museum exhibition policy and practice.

12) Personal communication, 1989.

13) See E. MAI, op. cit., p. 78.

14) For the history of its commission and execution, cf. J. D. PROWN, The Architecture of the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven and London, 1982; and P. CUMMINGS LOUD, The Art Museums of Louis I. Kahn, Durham and London, 1989, pp. 173-243.

15) See P. CUMMINGS LOUD, op. cit., pp. 245 ff.

16) R. INGERSOLL, "Pianissimo, the Very Quiet Menil Collection", in Texas Architect, May, 1987, pp. 40-47.

17) For this and other museum buildings by Richard Meier, see the recent volume ed. by Werner Blaser, Richard Meier, Building for Art Bauen für die Kunst, Basel, Boston, Berlin, 1990.

18) Cf. W. PEHNT, Hans Hollein; Museum in Mönchengladbach, Frankfurt/M., 1986.

19) Cf. my essays "Traces and Treason of a Tradition", in A Center for the Visual Arts. The Ohio State University Competition, ed. by Peter Arnell and Ted Bickford, New York, 1984, pp. 135-139; and "A Framework for the Future", in a+u, 232, 1990, 1, pp. 112-117.

20) Realisierungswettbewerb: Erweiterung Berlin Museum mit Abteilung Jüdisches Museum, Senatsverwaltung für Bau-und Wohnungswesen, Berlin, 1990.

21) Cf. B. O'DOHERTY's reflections of 1976, republished as Inside the White Cube: the Ideology of the Gallery Space, Santa Monica and San Francisco, 1986, esp. p. 79f: "The spotless gallery wall specialized nature, is impure. It subsumes commerce and esthetics, artist and audience, ethics and expediency. It is in the image of the society that supports it, so it is a perfect surface off which to bounce our paranoias".

22) Cf. C. GOODMAN, "The Art of Revolutionary Display Techniques", in Frederick Kiesler, ed. by Lisa Phillips, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York and London, 1989, pp. 57-83.

23) See Richard Serra, ed. by Ernst-Gerhard Güse, New York, 1988.

24) See Occluded Front, James Turrell, ed. by Julia Brown, Los Angeles, 1985; and C. ADCOCK, J. TURRELL, The Art of Light and Space, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1990.

25) Cf. W. R. VOLBACH, Adolphe Appia; Prophet of the Modern Theatre: A Profile, Middletown, Connecticut, 1968.

26) A. APPIA, L'œuvre d'art vivant, Geneva and Paris, 1921, p. 21.

27) L. WESCHLER, Seeing is Forgetting the Name of the Thing One Sees; A Life of Contemporary Artist Robert Irwin, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1982. A 1980 project of Irwin's in Venice, entitled "One Wall Removed," is particularly pertinent; see R. IRWIN, Being and Circumstance; Notes Towards a Conditional Art, The Pace Gallery and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1985, pp. 87-91.

28) Cf. R. KRAUSS, "The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum", cit.

8) Cfr. B. MUNDT, *Die deutschen Kunstgewerbemuseen im 19. Jahrhundert*, München 1974.
9) Gli sforzi recenti per elaborare la giustificazione filosofica delle prassi didattiche dei musei ne hanno semplicemente approfondito le contraddizioni intrinseche. Il conflitto è creato da due tesi opposte: la prima afferma che l'esperienza estetica è universale ed è definibile come tale entro limiti storici e geografici, mentre la seconda designa il museo come luogo e agente preposti alla alimentazione di tale esperienza, come custode delle opere e nello stesso tempo sacerdote dell'ideologia della divulgazione. Il circolo americano degli esteti populisti sta elaborando un proprio manuale basato sulla pura ideologia e sul gergo da guru degli anni Sessanta, quale, per esempio, M. CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, R.E. ROBINSON, *The Art of Seeing, An Interpretation of the Aesthetic Encounter*, J. Paul Getty Museum e Getty Center for Education in the Arts, Malibu 1990.
10) La precarietà degli equilibrismi di Hollein è stata riconosciuta da Margaret F. Gaskie. Cfr. M.F. GASKIE, *Western Artifice Celebrates Eastern Art*, in "Architectural Record", n. 5-1981, pp. 88-95.
11) Citato da E. MAI, *Expositionen. Geschichte und Kritik des Ausstellungswesens*, München - Berlin 1986. Mai ha radunato una documentazione e una bibliografia provocatorie per un'analisi critica della politica e delle prassi espositive dei musei.
12) Comunicazione personale, 1989.
13) Cfr. E. MAI, cit., p. 78.
14) Per la storia della sua committenza ed esecuzione, cfr. J.D. PROWN, *The Architecture of the Yale Center for British Art*, New Haven - London 1982, e P. CUMMINGS LOUD, *The Art Museum of Louis I. Kahn*, Durham - London 1989, pp. 173-243.
15) Cfr. P. CUMMINGS LOUD, cit., pp. 245ss.
16) R. INGERSOLL, *Pianissimo, the Very Quiet Menil Collection*, in "Texas Architect", maggio 1987, pp. 40-47.
17) Per questo ed altri edifici museali di Richard Meier si faccia riferimento al recente volume *Richard Meier. Building for Art. Bauen für die Kunst*, a cura di W. BALSER, Basel - Boston - Berlin 1990.
18) Cfr. W. PEHNT, *Hans Hollein. Museum in Mönchengladbach*, Frankfurt a.M. 1986.
19) Cfr. K. FORSTER, *Traces and Treason of a Tradition*, in *A Center for the Visual Arts. The Ohio State University Competition*, a cura di P. Arnell e T. Bickford, New York, 1984, pp. 135-139 e *A Framework for the Future*, in "a + u", n. 232, 1-1990, pp. 112-117.
20) *Realisierungswettbewerb: Erweiterung Berlin Museum mit Abteilung Jüdisches Museum*, Senatsverwaltung für Bau- und Wohnungswesen, Berlin 1990.
21) Cfr. le riflessioni del 1976 di Brian O'Doherty ristampate come B. O'DOHERTY, *Inside the White Cube. The Ideology of the Gallery Space*, Santa Monica - San Francisco 1986, soprattutto pp. 79 ss.: "*L'immacolata parete della galleria, pur essendo il fragile risultato di un'evoluzione molto particolare, è impura poiché mescola commercio ed estetica, artista e pubblico, etica e interesse ed essendo l'immagine della società di cui è il frutto, offre la superficie ideale su cui sfogare le nostre paranoie.*"
22) Cfr. C. GOODMAN, *The Art of Revolutionary Display Techniques*, in *Friedrich Kiesler*, a cura di L. Phillips, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York - London 1989, pp. 57-83.
23) Cfr. *Richard Serra*, a cura di E.G. Güse, New York 1988.
24) Cfr. *Occluded Front. James Turrell*, a cura di J. Brown, Los Angeles 1985, e C. ADCOCK, J. TURRELL, *The Art of Light and Space*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford 1990.
25) Cfr. W.R. VOLBACH, *Adolphe Appia. Prophet of the Modern Theatre. A Profile*, Middletown, CT, 1968.
26) A. APPIA, *L'oeuvre d'art vivant*, Genève - Paris, 1921, p. 21.
27) L. WESCHLER, *Seeing is Forgetting the Name of the Things One Sees. A Life of Contemporary Artist Robert Irwin*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1982. Un progetto del 1980 di Irwin per Venezia intitolato *One Wall Removed* è particolarmente pertinente; Cfr. R. IRWIN, *Being and Circumstance. Notes Towards a Conditional Art*, Pace Gallery e San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1985, pp. 87-91.
28) Cfr. R. KRAUSS, *The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum*, cit.

Frank O.Gehry, Rampa interna del "Temporary Contemporary", Los Angeles, 1983.
Archivio Frank O.Gehry Architects.



Frank O.Gehry, Interior ramp of "Temporary Contemporary", Los Angeles, 1983.
Credit: courtesy of Frank O.Gehry Architects.

Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni
Elisabetta Terragni

La recente costituzione a Como della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni e tutte le speranze e le aspettative in essa custodite per il futuro offrono lo spunto per alcune considerazioni: credere e lavorare oggi per un'iniziativa come questa, significa certamente voler promuovere ricerche e studi per la divulgazione dell'opera di Terragni, ma significa soprattutto voler approfondire un'esperienza, quella razionalista, che alcuni vorrebbero collocare nel compiuto, nell'esaustivo, fissandola una volta per tutte nel parco dell'archeologia critica.
Lungo questa linea interpretativa uno degli aspetti dell'istituita Fondazione riguarderà l'attuazione di un laboratorio operativo che, oltre alla conclusione e sistematizzazione del lavoro di archivio, tenderà attraverso contributi diversi a promuovere la ricerca, la discussione, il confronto, ad approfondire il significato contemporaneo e permanente dell'opera, a dimostrare infine la vitalità e l'attualità di questa grande lezione di architettura.
Ma occorre anche costruire una ricerca critica, scientifica, che non sia intralciata da facili ideologismi né da enstusiasmi romantici, riportando la questione alla sua giusta dimensione storica ed ampliandone i confini, uscendo sia dall'ambito italiano, sia da quello strettamente architettonico.
Proiettare dunque il tema in un panorama necessariamente più ampio, in stretta relazione con gli avvenimenti artistici, letterari e politici, che attraverso il fondamentale contributo di architetti, storici, storici dell'arte si avvalga di nuove prospettive critiche.
In tal senso la Fondazione si propone come obiettivo primario la realizzazione, nel 1993 in occasione del cinquantesimo anniversario della scomparsa, di una mostra critica sull'opera, il pensiero, la produzione artistica di Terragni e la pubblicazione di "Quaderni della Fondazione" come momento di verifica e documentazione dell'attività svolta.
La progressiva catalogazione e sistemazione dei materiali, non solo grafici ma anche documentari, apre infatti la strada a studi più approfonditi, per una valutazione che si articola fra progetti e vicende ad essi fatalmente contemporanee, dove diviene fondamentale lo scambio proficuo con altre istituzioni e archivi interessati a confrontare e integrare le documentazioni, individuando un percorso spesso discontinuo e frammentario, ma non per questo privo di coerenza, che va ad esempio dai segni leggerissimi e potentissimi di grandi idee irrealizzate (è il caso di tutti gli

The Unknown Danteum: the Emerging Activity of the Giuseppe Terragni Foundation
Elisabetta Terragni

The recent creation in the city of Como of the "Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni", with all of the hopes and expectations it embodies for the future, gives us food for thought. To believe in and work on an initiative of this kind today means, of course, a desire to promote programmes and research aimed at making Terragni's work well known; but above all it also represents a desire to delve deeper into the rationalist experience, which some would relegate to the realm of all that is complete, exhausted and exiled once and for all to the sphere of critical archaeology.
In keeping with this wider interpretation of the foundation's role, one aspect of the Foundation will be directed towards the creation of an operational workshop, which, above and beyond the work of completing and providing a physical setting for the archives, will promote research, discussion and comparison; to examine in greater depth the contemporary and permanent significance of these works, pointing out the vitality and continuing relevance of this great lesson in architecture.
But it is also important to establish a system of critical, scientific research which is not influenced by simplistic ideologies or romantic enthusiasms, bringing the issue into the correct historical dimension and widening its borders beyond both the Italian reality and those of strictly architectural issues.
The theme must therefore be launched into a wider context, well in touch with artistic, literary and political developments, and, through the fundamental contributions of architects, historians and art historians, should make use of new critical perspectives.
To do this, the Foundation has set as its main objective the preparation of an exhibition in 1993, the fiftieth anniversary of Terragni's death, displaying his works, his thoughts and his artistic output, together with the publication of "Quaderni della Fondazione" as a reflection on and documentation of his activities.
The gradual cataloguing and organization of not only graphic but also documentary material opens the way to deeper research. A more detailed evaluation of projects and the circumstances inevitably associated with them (extensive comparative studies with other institutions and archives interested in comparing and supplementing their documentation is of utmost importance here), is necessary in order to explore a career that is often discontinuous and fragmentary but nevertheless remains consistent ranging, for example, from the study of very subtle yet powerful signs of

Giuseppe Terragni, Pietro Lingeri, Progetto per il Danteum, Roma, 1938.

Giuseppe Terragni, Schizzo prospettico dei Fori Imperiali con il Monumento a Vittorio Emanuele e il tracciato di Via dell'Impero, oggi Via dei Fori Imperiali. Archivio Fondazione Terragni.

Giuseppe Terragni, Pietro Lingeri, Design for the Danteum, Rome, 1938.

Giuseppe Terragni, Perspective sketch of the Fori Imperiali with the monument to Victor Emanuel and the design for Via dell'Impero, now Via dei Fori Imperiali. Archivio Fondazione Terragni.



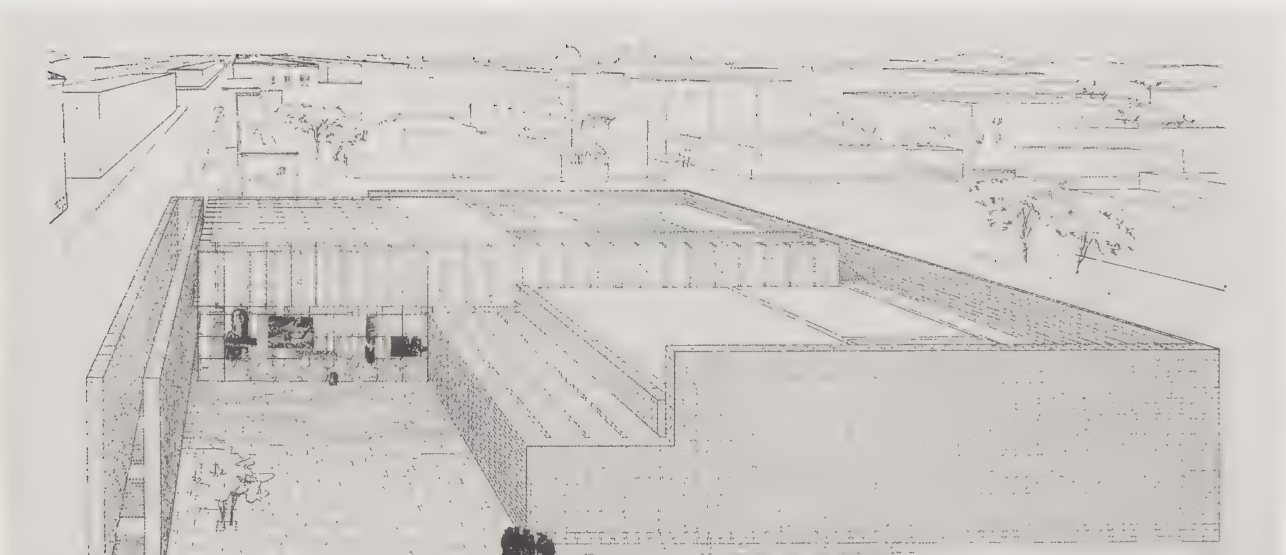
Giuseppe Terragni, Disegni di studio della facciata sudovest su Via dei Fori Imperiali con abbozzo dei rilievi scultorei.
Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Planimetria dei Fori Imperiali con il Danteum e riferimenti (il complesso templare di Karnak in Egitto; il Palazzo di Re Sargon in Persia; foto aeree della zona).
Archivio Lingeri.
Prospettiva dell'ingresso su Via dell'Impero.
Archivio Lingeri.





Giuseppe Terragni, Study sketches for the south-west elevation facing Via dei Fori Imperiali. Note the outline of sculptured reliefs.
Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Plan of the Fori Imperiali with the Danteum and references (the temple complex at Karnak in Egypt; the Palace of King Sargon in Persia; aerial photo of the area).
Perspective view of the entrance on Via dell'Impero.
Archivio Lingeri.





Giuseppe Terragni, Studio della pianta con la corte di ingresso a quota 0.00, la "selva delle 100 colonne" a quota 0.40, la sala dell'Inferno a quota 2.30/2.70, la sala del Purgatorio a quota 5.40.
Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Giuseppe Terragni, Studio della pianta con la corte di ingresso, la "selva delle 100 colonne", la sala dell'Inferno e la biblioteca sottostante la sala del Purgatorio.
Archivio Fondazione Terragni.



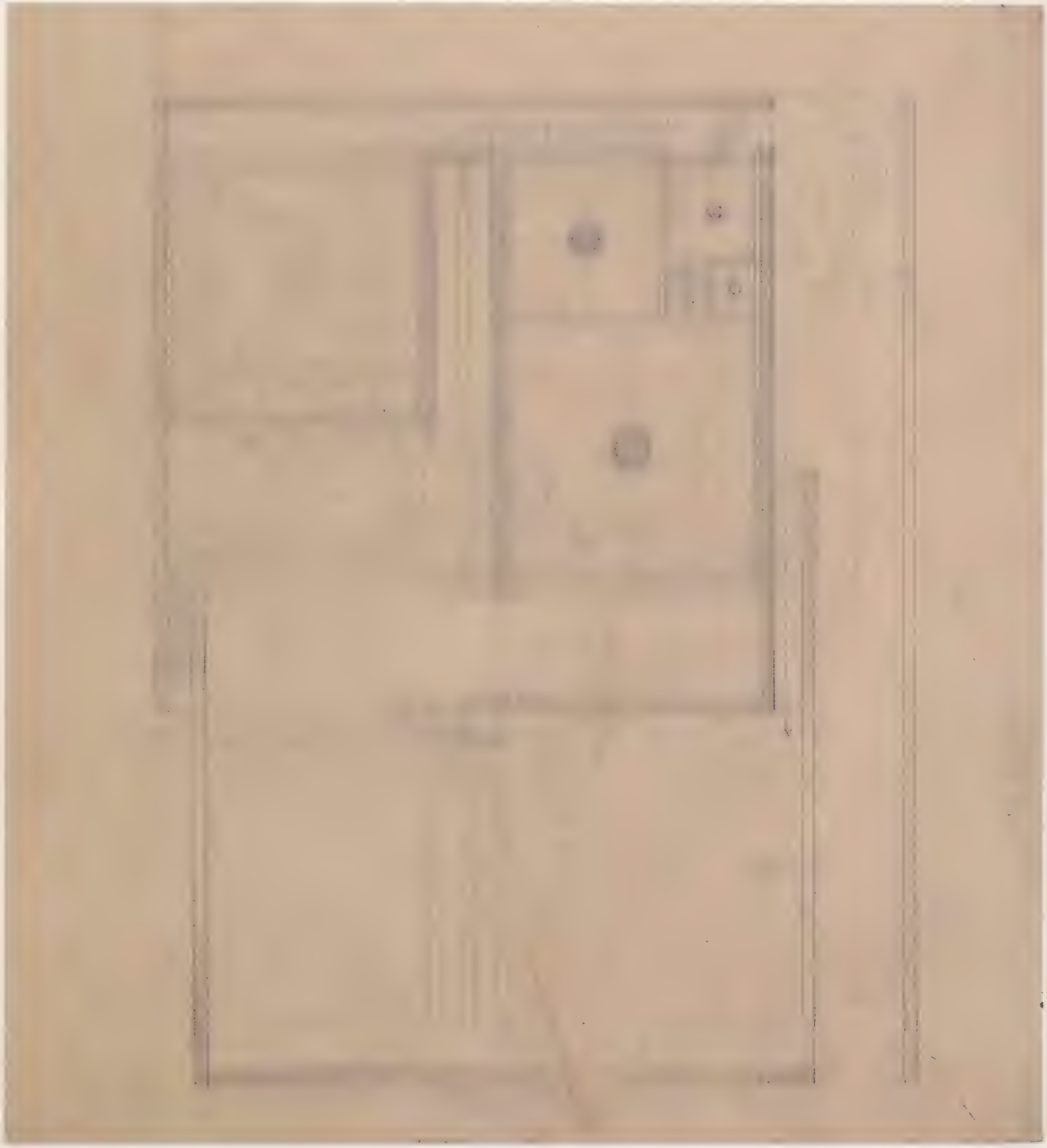
Giuseppe Terragni, Study of the plan with entrance courtyard at elevation 0.00 metres, the "forest of the 100 columns" at 0.40 metres, the Sala dell'Inferno at 2.30/2.70 metres and the Sala del Purgatorio at 5.40 metres. Archivio Fondazione Terragni.

Giuseppe Terragni, Study of the plan with the entrance courtyard, the "forest of the 100 columns", the Sala dell'Inferno and the library under the Sala del Purgatorio. Archivio Fondazione Terragni.



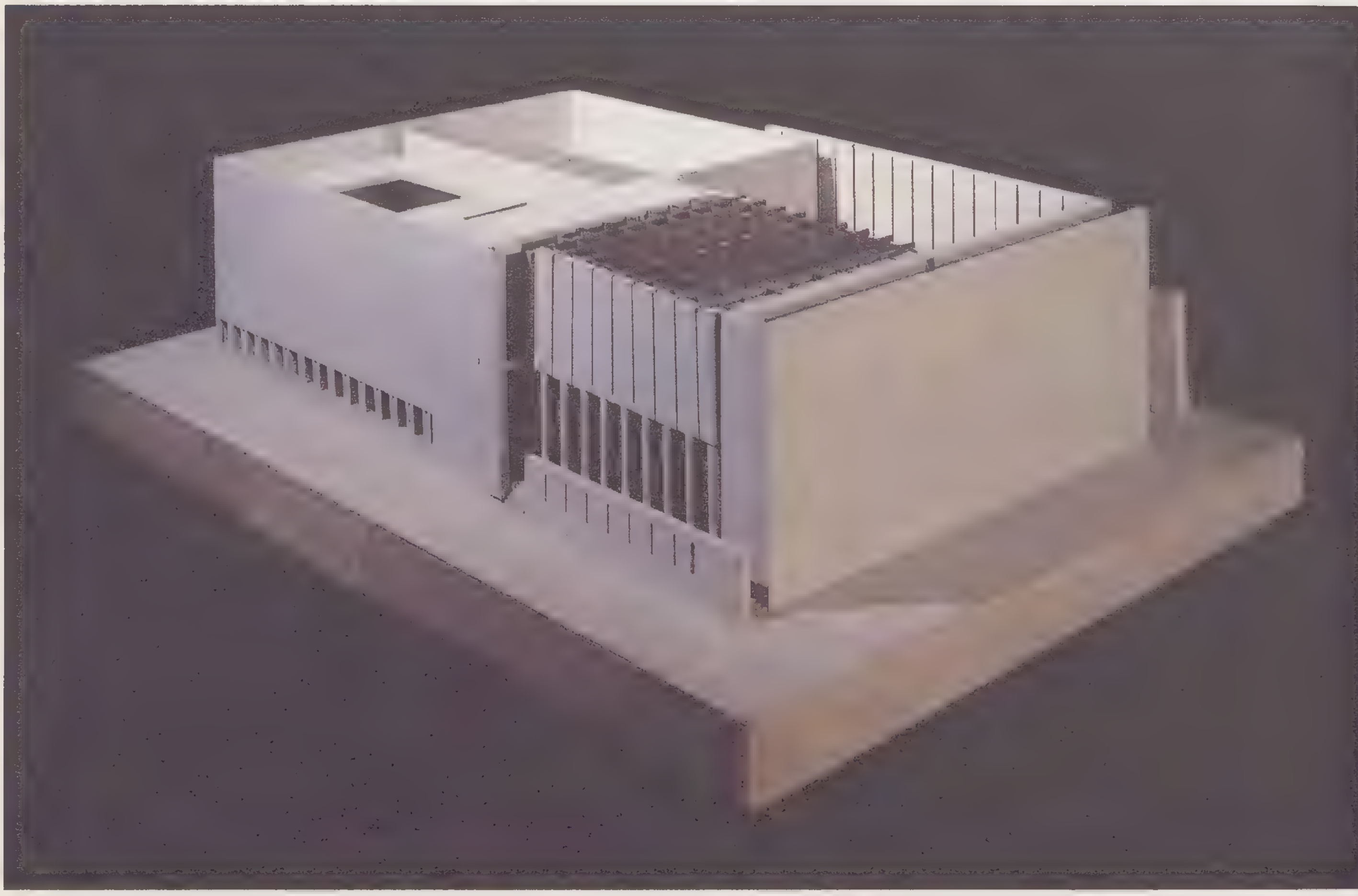
Giuseppe Terragni, Studio della pianta con, a mano libera, i primi abbozzi della "selva delle 100 colonne" e della sala del Purgatorio.
Archivio Fondazione Terragni.

Giuseppe Terragni, Study of the plan with early freehand sketches of the "forest of the 100 columns" and the Sala del Purgatorio.
Archivio Fondazione Terragni.



schizzi dei progetti tra il 1939 e il 1943) alle tavole così caparbiamente precise dei dettagli esecutivi.
Una ricchezza e varietà straordinaria di materiali (disegni, schizzi, ma anche appunti, lettere, osservazioni, correzioni), molti dei quali in questo primo parziale ordinamento hanno trovato la loro giusta collocazione critica nell'evoluzione del progetto, risultando frammenti insostituibili per la ricostruzione del processo creativo. E, se è vero che la comprensione di molti progetti è affidata alla sottile e difficile ricostruzione del legame tra carteggio e vibranti schizzi, molto spesso alcune opere, ad esempio quelle della stagione mitica dei concorsi e delle collaborazioni, svelano, già nei primi frammentari studi, gli elementi fondativi del progetto.
È il caso appunto di questi schizzi iniziali per il progetto del Danteum a Roma del 1938, che pur riferendosi ad un edificio molto conosciuto, permettono, nella loro immediata essenzialità rispetto al lirismo delle tavole definitive, di cogliere la matrice prima, la sua definizione tipologica di grande recinto, che è l'invenzione di questo straordinario edificio civile per una nuova classicità.
Così come era stato per il Concorso per il Palazzo del Littorio, anche per il Danteum, nella coincidenza del luogo, vengono per così dire "chiamati" — più che testimoni, attori — i monumenti preesistenti, non per stabilire un rapporto ossequiante rispetto alle figure del mondo classico ma per instaurare con loro un rapporto di conformità tra passato e presente. Ed è sorprendente l'analogia con i tracciati murari degli edifici dei Fori Imperiali, tanto che è quasi difficile discernere tra antiche e moderne fondamenta.
Vi è coscienza della dimensione classica nella perimetrazione degli spazi attraverso il grande recinto e nella sua maestosità, coerente con le presenze monumentali, dove i fregi di Sironi, dialogando con la gravità dell'impianto murario, rafforzano questo rapporto e appaiono i depositari silenziosi ed attenti del contenuto civile e celebrativo dell'edificio, figure ancora più emblematiche che non l'allegorica trilogia dantesca.
Il percorso ascensionale, attraverso la triplice successione degli spazi, svela, imprevedibile dall'esterno, una progressiva dissoluzione del diaframma murario, una sorta di sospensione tesa a creare un "interno" come autonoma creazione, per giungere infine all'astrazione assoluta della sala del Paradiso.

great designs which were never build (this is the case for all the design sketches between 1939 and 1943) to final working drawings, so rigorously precise in their representation of construction details.
An extraordinary wealth and variety of materials (drawings, sketches, notes, letters, observations, corrections) has been gathered. Much of the material in this first organizational effort has found its true place in the evolution of the project, becoming irreplaceable fragments for the reconstruction of the creative process. While the comprehension of many projects depends upon the subtle and difficult reconstruction of the relationships between correspondence and vibrant sketches, some works (such as those of the legendary period of competition entries and professional associations) very often reveal the basic elements of the project, even in the earliest fragmentary studies.
This is precisely the case with the preliminary sketches for the design of the Danteum in Rome in 1938. Compared with the lyrical quality of the final drawings, the sketches (even though they refer to a very well-know building) reveal the basic origin the typological definition of the great enclosure, which is the invention of this extraordinary civic edifice for a new classicism, through their natural immediacy and essentiality.
As in the case of the competition for the Palazzo del Littorio, the existing monuments which surround the site of the Danteum relate to the new building. Rather than establishing an obsequious relation with these buildings of the classical world, the objective is to create a tie between the past and the present. The striking similarity with the walls of the Fori Imperiali makes it quite difficult to distinguish between the old foundations and the newer ones.
There is great care for the classical dimension in the spaces within the large enclosure, in its stateliness, in perfect accord with the surrounding monuments. The friezes by Sironi, in harmony with the weight of the walls, strengthen this relation and become the silent and attentive keepers of the civic and celebratory contents of the building, even more emblematic than those of Dante's allegorical trilogy.
The ascending route through the three successive spaces reveals a progressive dissolution of the walls, a sort of suspension aimed at creating an interior as an autonomous design, leading eventually to the absolute abstraction of the rooms devoted to the Paradiso.





Viste del modello da nord, da ovest e da sudovest con i rilievi scultorei su disegno di Mario Sironi.
Archivio Lingeri.
Foto Studio Nodo.

North, west and south-west views of the model with the sculptured reliefs by Mario Sironi.
Archivio Lingeri.
Photo Studio Nodo.



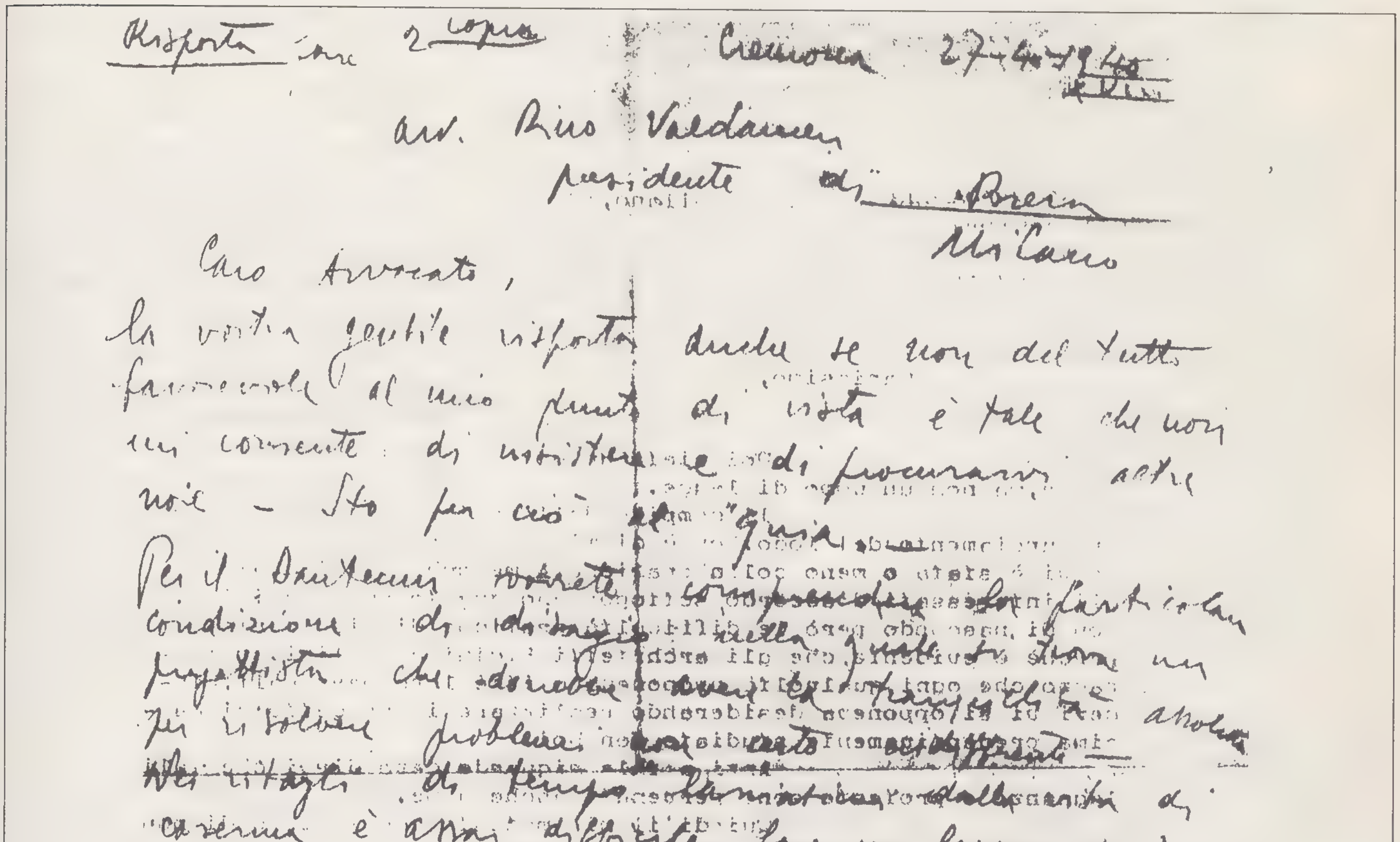
Particolare del modello visto da ovest, con la corte di ingresso, la "selva delle cento colonne", la soprastante sala del Paradiso e la scala di discesa finale. Archivio Lingeri. Foto Studio Nodo.

Detail of the model from the west, with the entrance courtyard, the "forest of the 100 columns", the Sala del Paradiso and the end stairway leading down to the main floor. Archivio Lingeri. Photo Studio Nodo.



Minuta manoscritta della lettera di Giuseppe Terragni all'Avvocato Rino Valdameri del 19.4.1940. Archivio Fondazione Terragni.

Handwritten draft of letter from Giuseppe Terragni to lawyer Rino Valdameri, dated 19.4.1940. Archivio Fondazione Terragni.



Risposta in 2 copia — Cremona 27-4-1940

avv. Rino Valdameri
presidente di Brera
Milano

Caro Avvocato,
la vostra gentile risposta anche se non del tutto favorevole al mio punto di vista è tale che non mi consente di insistere e di procurarvi altre noie — Sto per ciò [illegible]
Per il Danteum [illegible] condizione di [illegible] progettista che [illegible] per risolvere problemi [illegible] nei ritagli di tempo [illegible] di caserma è assai difficile fare un lavoro serio e proficuo —
Vengo a conoscenza dal Comando del Deposito del 3° Regg. Art. che voi avete chiesto per me una breve licenza — Purtroppo il comando di qui ha trasmesso per competenza tale vostra richiesta al Comando d'Artiglieria del Corpo Armato autotrasportabile dal quale direttamente dipendo — Oggi ne chiederò notizie e speriamo bene! —
Vi ringrazio e vi saluto cordialmente
vostro
Terragni

Milano 14 marzo 1940-XVIII

Caro Terragni
(...) Ho ricevuto l'ordine dal Sen. Poss e avv.to Valdameri di fare eseguire il Bozzetto del Danteum. Cosa che ho già disposto, ma come noi pensavamo nascono infinite difficoltà specialmente per la sala del Paradiso e per la disposizione delle parti scultoree sulle fronti ho studiato qualche cosa e vorrei mostrartele.
Oggi stesso per incarico di Valdameri scrivo a Martini. Alla terna dei nomi proposti dietro tuo consiglio per il momento preferisce Martini perché è più sicuro dato il suo prestigio presso il Ministro.
Scrivimi, con vero affetto credimi tanto

Piero Lingeri

Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Lettera manoscritta a penna su carta intestata di Pietro Lingeri a Giuseppe Terragni, appartenente al serrato carteggio sulle vicende del progetto per l'Accademia di Brera. Al Danteum è dedicata la parte conclusiva attraverso le personalità chiave del Senatore Poss, promotore e principale finanziatore dell'opera, e dell'Avvocato Valdameri, Presidente dell'Accademia di Brera e come tale committente anche di questo progetto.
In questo periodo Terragni non si trovava a Como, essendo stato chiamato nuovamente al servizio militare attivo dal settembre 1939, prima a Verona e successivamente a Schio, Cremona e Lonigo, fino a quando, nel luglio 1941, partirà per il fronte russo.

Milano, 19 aprile 1940-XVIII

Carissimo,
(...) Per quanto riguarda il Danteum, mi illudevo che aveste già risolto la modifica desiderata dal Duce e che avremmo già dovuto sottoporGli. Quindi Vi prego interessarVi con Lingeri seriamente e rapidamente a questo lavoro.
E se occorre che io chieda una Vostra licenza scrivetemi subito che lo farò.
Coi più affettuosi saluti

Rino Valdameri

Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Lettera dattiloscritta su carta intestata dell'Avvocato Rino Valdameri a Giuseppe Terragni, riguardante le vicende del progetto per l'Accademia di Brera e il progetto per il Danteum, al quale è dedicata la parte conclusiva.

Cremona, 27.4.1940-XVIII

Caro Avvocato,
(...) Per il Danteum vorrete comprendere la particolare condizione di disagio nella quale si trova un progettista che dovrebbe avere la tranquillità assoluta di risolvere problemi non certo indifferenti. Nei ritagli di tempo lasciatimi dalla vita di caserma è assai difficile fare un lavoro serio e proficuo.
Vengo a conoscenza dal Comando del Reparto del 3° Regg. Art. che voi avete chiesto per me una breve licenza. Purtroppo il comando di qui ha trasmesso per competenza tale vostra richiesta al Comando d'Artiglieria del Corpo Armata autotrasportabile dal quale direttamente dipendo. Oggi ne chiederò notizie e speriamo bene!
Vi ringrazio e vi saluto cordialmente

vostro Terragni

Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Minuta manoscritta a matita della risposta di Giuseppe Terragni alla lettera dell'Avvocato Rino Valdameri del 19.4.1940. La minuta è scritta direttamente sul retro della lettera di Valdameri, e oltre al progetto del Danteum riguarda brevemente anche il progetto per l'Accademia di Brera.

Tremezzo, 14 luglio 1940-XVIII

Caro Peppino,
(...) Il Senatore Poss e Valdameri sollecitano la presentazione del Danteum. Ho deciso di portare la modifica al Modello dato che ho potuto constatare che sul modello si rendono maggiormente edotti, in settimana credo sarà ultimato e spero riesca di loro gradimento. Alla recente visita al modello hanno sollevato parecchie obbiezioni, ma purtroppo non possiamo seguirli nei loro desideri perché contrastano coi principi da noi adottati.
Ad ogni modo dopo la visita del Senatore ti informerò delle sue impressioni. (...)
Con grande affetto credimi proprio tuo affezionatissimo amico

Pietro Lingeri

Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Lettera manoscritta a penna su carta intestata di Pietro Lingeri a Giuseppe Terragni.

Milan, March 14, 1940-XVIII

Dear Terragni,
(...) I have received the order from Senator Poss and the attorney Valdameri to proceed with plans for the Danteum and have already arranged for these to be drawn up. As we imagined, however, countless difficulties have arisen, especially with respect to the Sala del Paradiso. In reference to the arrangement of the sculptures on the façades, I have prepared some designs which I would like to show you.
At Valdameri's request I am writing to Martini today. For now I prefer Martini out of all those on your recommended short-list; he is a safer bet given his prestige with the Minister.
Hoping to hear you soon, I remain yours truly

Piero Lingeri

Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Handwritten letter in ink on Pietro Lingeri's letter-head to Giuseppe Terragni, from the active orrespondence regarding the plans for the Brera Academy. The final part is devoted to the Danteum, through the key figures of Senator Poss, promoter and main financer of the work and attorney Valdameri, Chairman of the Brera Academy and commissioning agent for this project.
In this period Terragni was not in Como, having been enlisted for active military service as of September 1939, first in Verona and later in Schio, Cremona and Lonigo, before leaving for the Russian front in July 1941.

Milan, April 19, 1940-XVIII

My dear friend,
(...) As for the Danteum, I had hoped you would have already made the changes the Duce wished for and which we were supposed to submit to him. I therefore beg you to take up the matter with Lingeri seriously and urgently.
If I am to request that you be granted leave, let me know immediately and I will do so.
My very best wishes

Rino Valdameri

Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Typewritten letter on attorney Rino Valdameri's letter-head to Giuseppe Terragni, concerning issues relating to the design of the Brera Academy and the Danteum project, to which the final part is devoted.

Cremona, 27.4.1940-XVIII

Dear Sir,
(...) With regard to the Danteum I would ask you to understand the awkward position of a designer who needs absolute peace of mind to resolve what are, in the final analysis, quite appreciable problems. In what little time I have left after my time spent in the barracks it is very difficult to do any serious and useful work.
I learn from the Command of the 3rd Reg. Art. Division that you have requested that I be granted a short period of leave. Unfortunately the Command here has passed on your request to the Artillery Command of the Armed Forces to which it is directly responsible. Today I shall be asking for news, so let's hope for the best!
I send thanks and my very best regards.

Yours, Terragni

Archivio Fondazione Terragni.
Giuseppe Terragni's handwritten draft in pencil for the reply to attorney Rino Valdameri's letter of 19.4.1940. The draft was written straight onto the back of Valdameri's letter, and in addition to the Danteum project, also refers briefly to the Brera Academy project.

Tremezzo, July 14, 1940-XVIII

Dear Peppino,
(...) Senator Poss and Valdameri are urging that the Danteum project be presented. I have decided to make the change to the scale model, having seen that they take more notice of the model than anything else. I should be finished before the week is out so let's hope it is to their liking. They raised a lot of objections when they saw the model recently, but I am afraid we cannot satisfy all their wishes as they clash with the principles we have adopted. Anyway, I shall let you know what the Senator thinks when he has seen it. (...)
Your very dear friend,

Pietro Lingeri

Archivio Fondazione Terragni
Handwritten letter in ink on Pietro Lingeri's letter-head to Giuseppe Terragni.

The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London

1986-1991

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Robert Venturi (principal-in-charge)

Gruppo di progettazione/project team: David Vaughan (project director), John Chase, John Hunter (project architects), Denise Scott Brown, John Rauch, Steven Izenour, William Algie, Ed Barnhart, Britt Brewer, Andrew Erstad, Steve Glascock, James Kolker, Jeff Krieger, Perry Kulper, Bien LaBau, Robert Marker, Richard Mohler, Tom Purdy, Nancy Rogo Trainer, George Ross, Mark Schlenker, Garreth Schuh, David Singer, Richard Stokes, Maurice Weintraub, Mark Wieand

Architetti associati/associated U.K. architects: Sheppard Robson Architects
Struttura/structural engeneers: Ove Arup and Partners
Impianti/services engeneers: Ove Arup and Partners, Jaros Baum and Bolles
Quantity surveyors: Gardiner and Theobald; Mott, Green and Wall
Illuminazione/lighting: Jules Fisher and Marantz Inc.
Acustica/acoustics: Arup Acoustics
Construction manager: Sir Robert McAlpine Construction Management Ltd.



Vista da Trafalgar Square
Foto P. Starling/National Gallery.

View of Trafalgar Square
Photo P. Starling/National Gallery.

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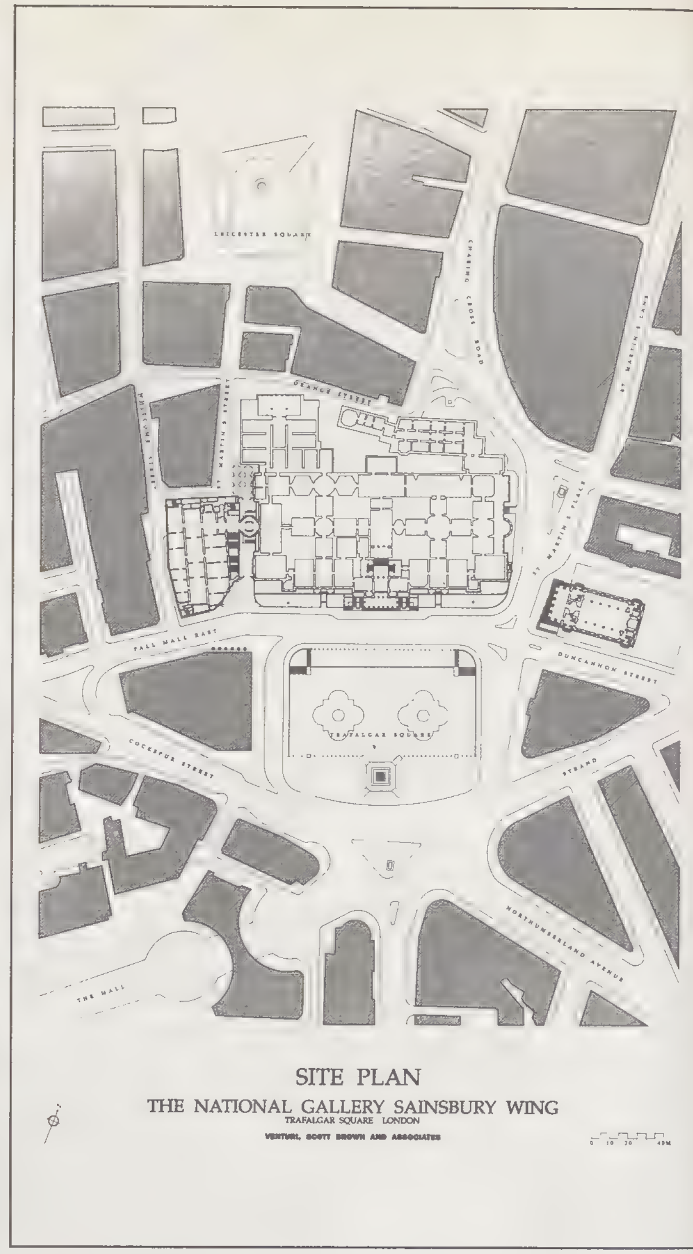
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Vista da Trafalgar Square.
Foto P. Starling/National Gallery.

View of Trafalgar Square.
Photo P. Starling/National Gallery.





Localizzazione dell'intervento sulla planimetria urbana di Londra.
Planimetria generale della National Gallery e della Sainsbury Wing.
Vista aerea di Trafalgar Square.
Foto P. Starling/National Gallery.

Location of the changes made to London urban's design. Site plan of the National Gallery and the Sainsbury Wing.
Aerial view of Trafalgar Square.
Photo P. Starling/National Gallery.

La Sainsbury Wing della National Gallery a Londra
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Il progetto su Trafalgar Square

A differenza di buona parte delle piazze londinesi, Trafalgar Square non è caratterizzata principalmente dalle facciate degli edifici che la delimitano, bensì dal movimento che la anima, dalla gente, i piccioni, il sole, la pioggia, gli autobus, gli alberi, le fontane, le pozzanghere, i gradini, i basamenti, le balaustre e soprattutto la colonna di Nelson.
In tale contesto, i discreti e grigi edifici a portici e pilastri che la circondano su tre lati sono consoni all'aspetto di uno spazio dove tutte le istituzioni esprimono la propria individualità, contribuendo ad imprimere un senso di dignità civica grazie al loro marmoreo classicismo e al ritmo delle loro facciate. Analogamente, il nuovo ampliamento si adegua al contesto e al tono degli edifici limitrofi senza peraltro rinunciare alla sua diversità.
L'edificio originale della National Gallery, progettato da William Wilkins verso la metà degli anni Trenta del secolo scorso, pur occupando quasi per intero uno dei lati maggiori della piazza, reca, grazie alla sua scala e alle proporzioni modeste, un senso di benevola monumentalità, congeniale più a Londra che non a Parigi, a Roma, o a Berlino, che viene ripresa nel nuovo ampliamento.
Una delle più piacevoli visioni neoclassiche di Londra è lo scorcio sui pilastri e le colonne della National Gallery che si coglie provenendo da St. Martin-in-the-Fields. L'andatura ritmica di questi elementi architettonici è ripresa nella facciata della nuova ala al fine di non interrompere la continuità fra l'antico e il moderno.

Il contesto del nuovo ampliamento

Poiché si propone come un riflesso e un'estensione del tessuto urbano, il nuovo edificio presenta un fronte diverso su ciascuno dei lati.
Trafalgar Square. L'ampliamento chiude il lato nord-

The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Design on Trafalgar Square

Trafalgar Square, unlike most London squares, is not defined primarily by the façades of buildings around it. The life on it defines it: people, pigeons, sunshine, rain, buses, trees, fountains, pools, steps, podia, parapets and, above it all, Nelson's column.
In this context, the soft, grey, pillared and porticoed buildings on the square's three sides are a suitable edge. Each institution expresses its own identity yet, together, they convey a joint civic dignity through their stone Classicism and the rhythm of their façades. The new extension, in like manner, identifies with its neighbors and context, yet asserts its own individuality.
The existing National Gallery building was designed by William Wilkins in the mid-1830s. Although it stretches almost the complete length of the square, its scale and proportions are modest; they project a friendly monumentality suitable to London, rather than Paris, Rome or Berlin. This quality is retained in the new extension.
One of London's great Neo-Classical images is the oblique view of pilasters and columns, seen when approaching the Gallery from St. Martin-in-the-Fields. This rhythmic play of columns and pilasters is repeated on the entrance façade of the new building, to promote continuity with the old.

The New Extension in its Context

The new building is designed to be a reflection of and an extension to its context; therefore it presents a different face at each of its edges.
Trafalgar Square. *The extension closes the northwest corner of the square. Its large entrance openings identify with the grand space and the monumental column. The play of pilasters at the eastern end of the façade establishes a formal link between the National Gallery and Canada House.*



occidentale della piazza, ricollegandosi, con i suoi ampi portali, ai grandiosi spazi e alle monumentali colonne dell'edificio originale, mentre il susseguirsi dei pilastri all'estremità orientale della facciata stabilisce un vincolo formale tra la National Gallery e la Canada House.
Pall Mall, lato est. L'estremità occidentale del fronte principale riprende e conclude l'elegante susseguirsi di palazzi di Pall Mall.
Whitcomb Street. La facciata occidentale del nuovo edificio si rifa alle caratteristiche di questa via tranquilla mediante la combinazione fra mattoni, pietra e ferro, con la scala dei diversi elementi, la qualità dei dettagli e la particolarità delle sue vetrine.
Jubilee Walk. Una parete trasparente, in assoluto contrasto con la facciata principale del nuovo edificio e il lato occidentale dell'esistente galleria, si affaccia su Jubilee Walk dando adito ad interessanti panoramiche sull'interno del museo, mentre il sovrappasso sopra Jubilee Walk fa da cerniera fra Trafalgar Square e Leicester Square.
St. Martin Street. Il retro della nuova ala è un fronte lineare in pietra e mattoni che ai passanti diretti a Trafalgar Square provenienti da Leicester Square apparirà come una parete sobria seppur massiccia fiancheggiata da alberi.
La National Gallery. La Galleria originale costituisce la ragion d'essere della nuova ala, che pertanto è stata progettata come un frammento della prima al fine di garantire la continuità tra i due corpi. Di conseguenza l'ampliamento riprende elementi significativi dell'originale a cui si rifa quanto a forma, proporzioni e ritmo. In tal senso, se non ci fosse l'esistente Galleria, il nuovo edificio risulterebbe incompleto. Tuttavia, l'ampliamento, pur appartenendo all'edificio esistente, dev'essere considerato a sé stante, il che spiega come mai elementi in contrasto con il progetto di Wilkins, ad esempio le ampie e squadrate aperture e le colonnine metalliche, siano stati combinati con elementi che invece sono analoghi creando un'inedita armonia.

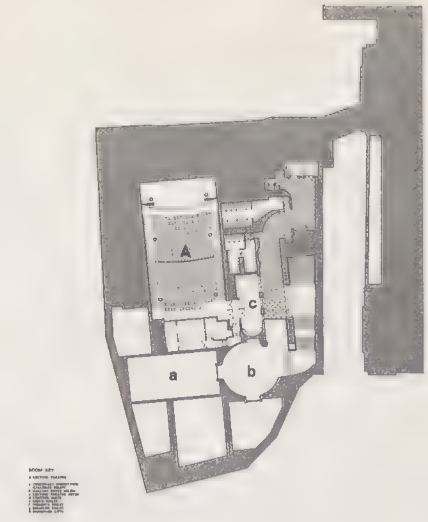
Pall Mall, East. *The western end of the front façade maintains and terminates the elegant street wall of Pall Mall.*
Whitcomb Street. *The west façade of the new building matches the character of this quiet street, through its combination of brick, stone and iron, the scale of its articulations, the quality of its details, and the interest of its shop windows.*
Jubilee Walk. *The glass wall that faces Jubilee Walk reveals interesting view of the museum interior to pedestrians. This wall is in contrast with the front façade of the new building and the west wall of the existing gallery. The bridge connection over Jubilee Walk suggests a gateway between Trafalgar and Leicester Square.*
St. Martin's Street. *The rear of the new extension is straightforwardly designed in stone and brick. To pedestrians approaching Trafalgar Square from Leicester Square, this façade will read as a strong but reticent wall flanked by trees.*
The National Gallery. *The existing Gallery is the immediate context of the new Gallery. To ensure continuity between them, the new building is designed as a fragment of the old: it employs important elements of the old and inflects toward the old in its shape, proportions and rhythms. If the existing gallery were not there, the new building would look incomplete.*
Yet the new wing, although belonging to the existing building, must be seen as distinct from it. Therefore, elements that are in contrast with the Wilkins Building — for example, the large, square-cut openings and the small, metal columns — have been combined with those that are analogous. The combination creates a new harmony.

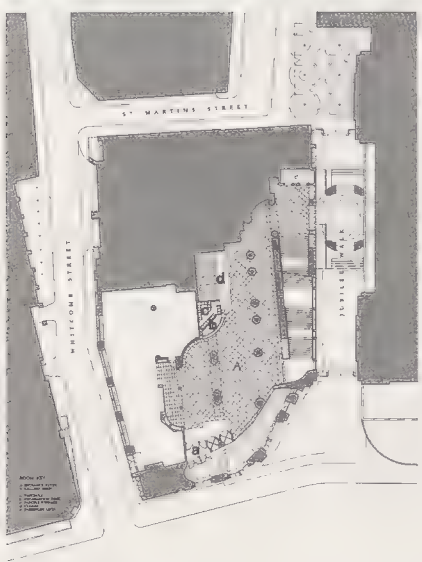
The Front Façade
The main façade of the new extension is essentially two façades: one facing Trafalgar Square and the other Pall Mall East.

Pianta secondo piano interrato: A) esposizioni temporanee; B) teatro per conferenze; a) foyer*; b) cinema; c) vendita cataloghi.*
Pianta primo piano interrato: A) teatro per conferenze; a) esposizioni temporanee; b,c) foyer.
Pianta piano terra: A) foyer *di ingresso; B)* gallery shop*; a) vestibolo; b) informazioni; c) deposito borse; d) guardaroba.*
Pianta piano primo: A) ristorante; a) bar; b) sale per conferenze; c) informazioni su computer.
Pianta piano secondo: A) gallerie del Primo Rinascimento e del Nordeuropa; B) sovrappasso di collegamento alla National Gallery.

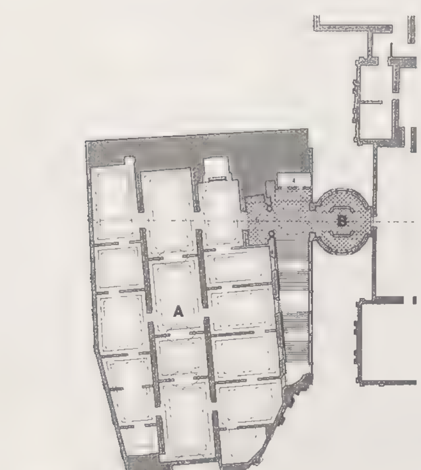
Plan of the first basement floor: A) temporary exhibitions; B) lecture hall; a) foyer*; b) cinema; c) sale of catalogues.*
Plan of the second basement floor: A) lecture hall; a) temporary exhibitions; b,c) foyer.
Plan of ground floor: A) entrance foyer*; B) gallery shop; a) hall; b) informations; c) bag storage; d) cloakroom.*
Plan of the first floor: A) restaurant; a) bar; b) lecture hall; c) computerized information.
Plan of the second floor: A) exhibition rooms of the early Renaissance and North European collections; B) overhead corridor connecting to the National Gallery.

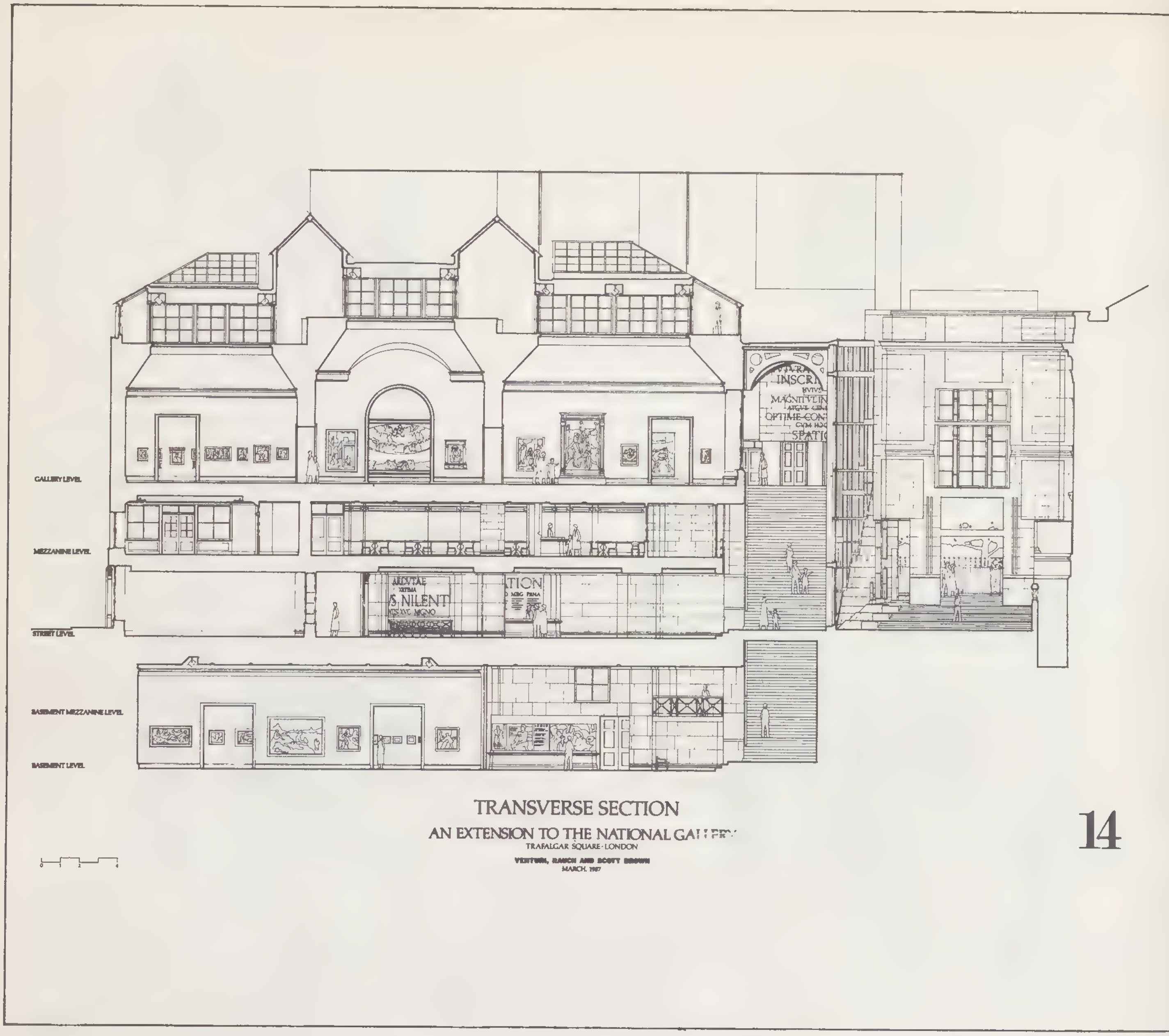

B
b
c
a
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ST MARTINS STREET
WHITCOMB STREET
JUBILEE WALK
d
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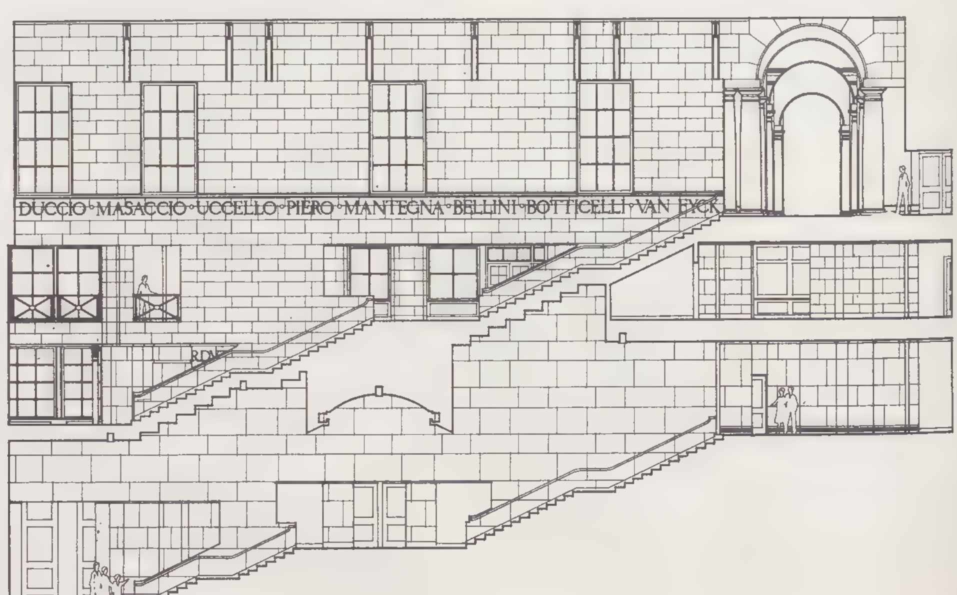

c
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Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale sullo scalone principale.
Schizzo di studio della facciata.

Tranverse and longitudinal sections of the main stairway.
Study sketch of the front.



Il fronte principale

Il fronte principale dell'ala nuova è in pratica composto da due facciate, una che dà su Trafalgar Square e l'altra sul lato est di Pall Mall.

L'estremità orientale della facciata è piegata verso la piazza come per accogliere i visitatori nella galleria, mentre la continuità attraverso Jubilee Walk è sottolineata mediante la replica di alcuni elementi della facciata di Wilkins. Anche qui i pilastri vengono impiegati per creare un ritmo, seppur sincopato, e per rendere più squillante, sia nella cadenza che nel finale, la composizione della facciata esistente.

L'ampio ingresso, dimensionato per un grande afflusso di pubblico, completa, grazie alle sue dimensioni e alle ombre che crea all'interno, il portico centrale dell'edificio originario.

Procedendo verso ovest lungo la facciata, gli elementi classici vengono gradualmente semplificati ed è stata introdotta un'ampia finestra in stile Regency per richiamare il carattere e la scala di Pall Mall.

Il fronte d'accesso è stratificato: dietro la facciata in pietra c'è un rivestimento interno in vetro, mentre esteriormente il gioco dei pilastri, delle modanature e dei parapetti riprende, in scala ridotta, la stratificazione della facciata di Wilkins. Questo espediente contribuisce a risolvere le molteplici esigenze del guscio dell'edificio, civiche e rappresentative all'esterno ed espositive all'interno, rispettando nello stesso tempo sia i compiti funzionali che quelli simbolici. A volte tali esigenze sono conflittuali, per esempio laddove le alte e squadrate aperture dell'ingresso interrompono la composizione classica della facciata, ma bisogna riconoscere che contraddizioni simili si riscontrano anche nell'edificio di Wilkins, dove i piani interni non corrispondono all'altezza dei davanzali delle finestre. Nel secolo scorso tali discordanze venivano mascherate, mentre oggi si tende a sottolinearle per arricchire la creazione architettonica.

The east end of the façade is angled toward the square to welcome visitors to the Gallery. Here a replication of elements of Wilkins' façade promotes continuity across Jubilee Walk. As in the Wilkins building, pilasters are used to create rhythm, although the new rhythm is a syncopated one, to add a flourish — both a cadenza *and* coda *— to the composition of the existing façade.*

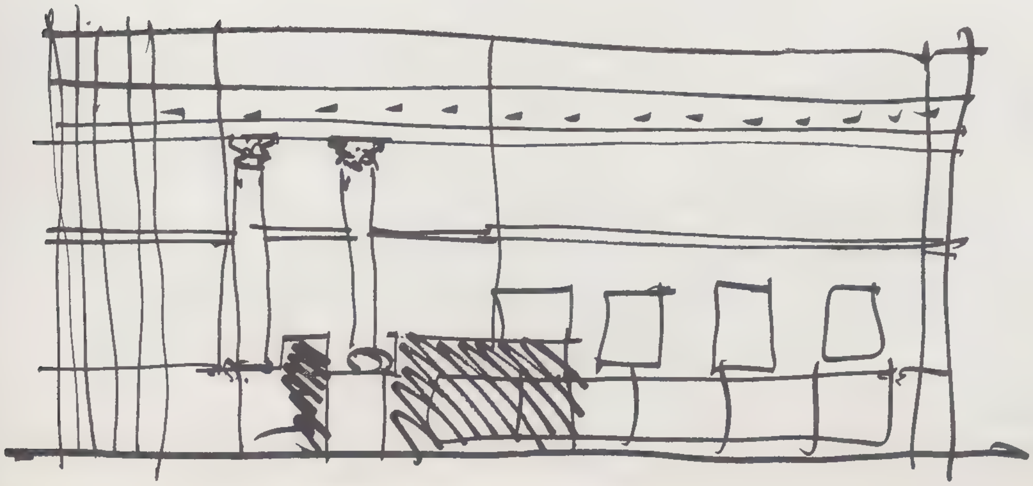
The big entrance welcomes big crowds. Through its size and the shadowed interior it creates, it complements the central portico *of the main building.*

Moving west along the façade, the Classical elements are gradually simplified and a large Regency window is introduced, to maintain identity with the scale and character of Pall Mall.

The front façade is layered. Behind the stone façade is an inner lining of glass. On the outer façade, the play of pilasters, moldings, and parapets resembles, within restricted dimensions, the layering of Wilkins' façade. Layering helps accommodate the multiple demands placed on the building skin: by outer, city needs and by inner gallery needs, or by the mandates of function and those of symbol. Sometimes the demands are in conflict; for example, the tall, cut-out openings of the entrance break into the façade's Classical composition. There are similar contradictions in the Wilkins building, where floor levels don't agree with window sill heights. In the 19th century such discords were disguised, in the 20th they may be expressed to enrich the architecture.

Precedents for Classicism in a New Key

The aim for the front façade is to balance the orthodox and the innovative, to create an extension of the National Gallery that is of our time and that is a vital and artistic whole. If the main façade of the new Gallery is an inflected fragment of the old, then elements of the façade are fragments of Wilkins' Classical composition. But they are used in a way that Wilkins did not intend, to meet problems he did not face. The free Classicism of this façade has



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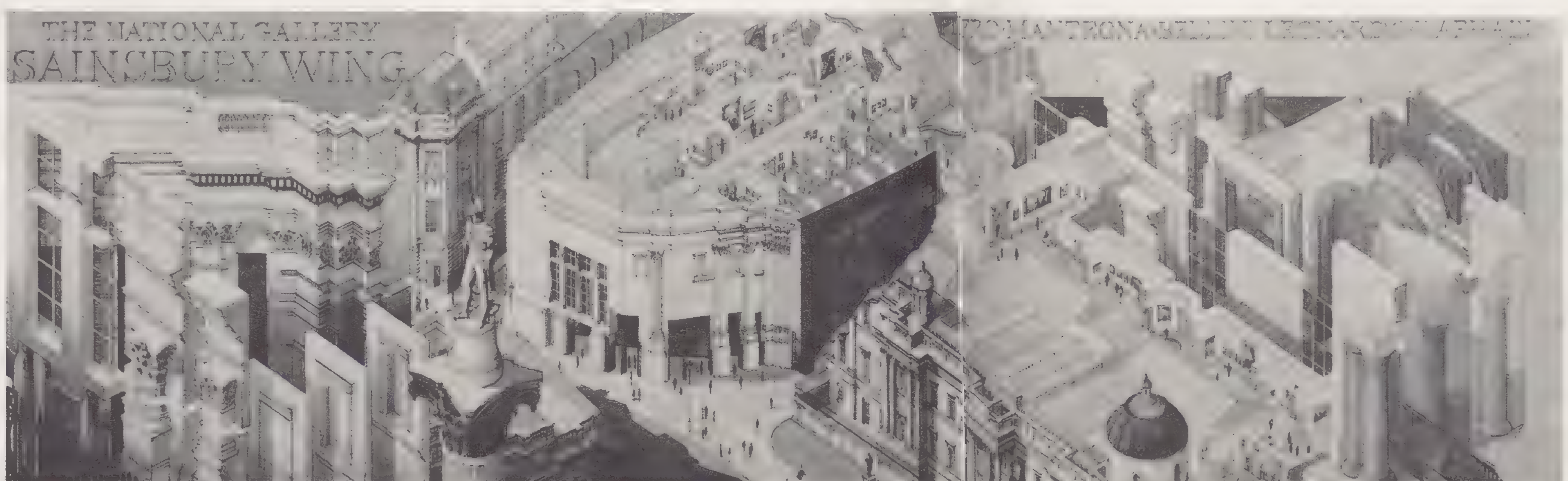
Il progetto di ampliamento
Internamente, l'edificio deve ospitare, in una cornice appropriata, dipinti di grande pregio, guidando il visitatore attraverso le varie sale in maniera chiara, precisa e gradevole.
Le gallerie occupano l'ultimo piano sia per sfruttare il collegamento diretto con le esposizioni dell'edificio esistente, sia per usufruire al massimo della luce naturale. A piano terra il pubblico accede ad un vasto atrio — da cui si dipartono i percorsi — dotato di servizio informazioni, *gallery shop* e guardaroba; il seminterrato e il relativo mezzanino ospitano le esposizioni temporanee e l'auditorium; nel mezzanino superiore trovano posto un ristorante, un servizio di informazioni pubbliche e una serie di sale di conversazione.
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Questo percorso, pensato come un passaggio civico, si riflette sulla sistemazione interna di tutto l'edificio. Lo scalone principale, che dall'ingresso porta sia alle gallerie che al seminterrato, occupa tutto il lato orientale dell'ampliamento in uno spazio verticale a tutta altezza che non ha quasi soluzione di continuità. Parallelamente a questo spazio, ai piani sottostanti le gallerie, corre un secondo e ampio passaggio pubblico che si apre o si affaccia sulla scalinata e da cui si accede alle sale visitabili. La parte orientale dell'edificio risulta, così, un punto di riferimento, di orientamento e d'accesso a tutti gli spazi previsti dal progetto.
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The Plan of the New Extension
The building interior must accommodate great paintings in an appropriate setting. The plan must lead the pubblic to the galleries in a straightforward, clear and agreeable way.
The galleries occupy the top floor, to benefit from both the direct connection to the main galleries of the existing building and the availability of top light. The ground floor contains a large public entrance with associated circulation, information, shop, and cloak room facilities. The basement and basement mezzanine house temporary exhibition galleries and a lecture theatre; on the upper mezzanine are the restaurant, a public information facility, and a suite of meeting rooms.
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This route, which is designed to have a civic and processional quality, affects the internal organization of the whole building. The main stair, from the entry up to the gallery and down to the basement, occupies the entire eastern edge of the building in an almost continuous vertical space. Parallel to this space, on levels below the gallery floor, runs a second broad layer of public circulation space, open to or overlooking the stairway. From this second zone, public rooms are entered. The layered eastern edge of the building provides reference, location, and entry for all spaces in the plan.
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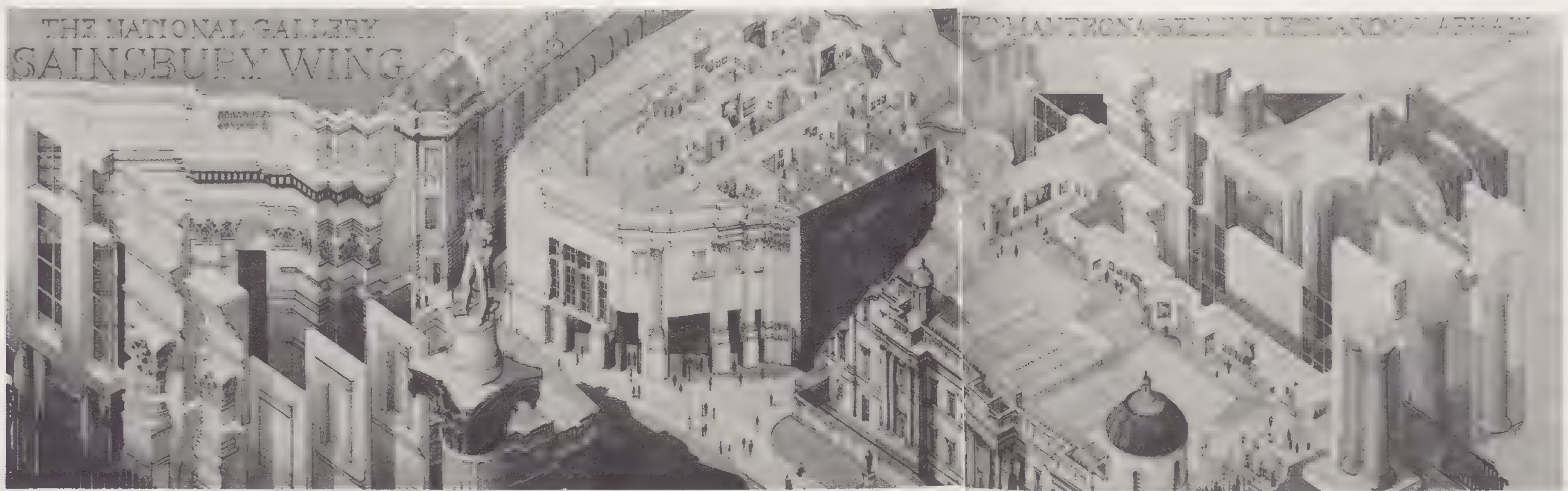
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all'entrata principale in asse con Trafalgar Square.

Le gallerie

Per creare un'atmosfera congeniale alla raccolta di opere del Primo Rinascimento, si è ritenuto opportuno rifarsi alla tradizione rinascimentale esponendo le opere in sale che prendono luce da finestre. Un altro riferimento è stata la Art Gallery di Dulwich, opera di Sir John Soane, dove le nude pareti si contrappongono agli intricati soffitti e la luce naturale proviene dall'alto attraverso lucernari verticali.

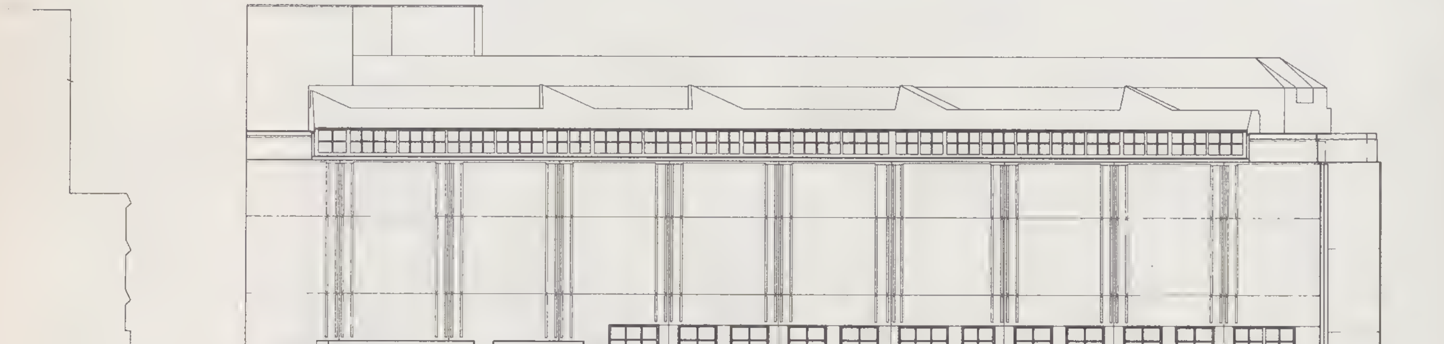
La sequenza delle sale espositive

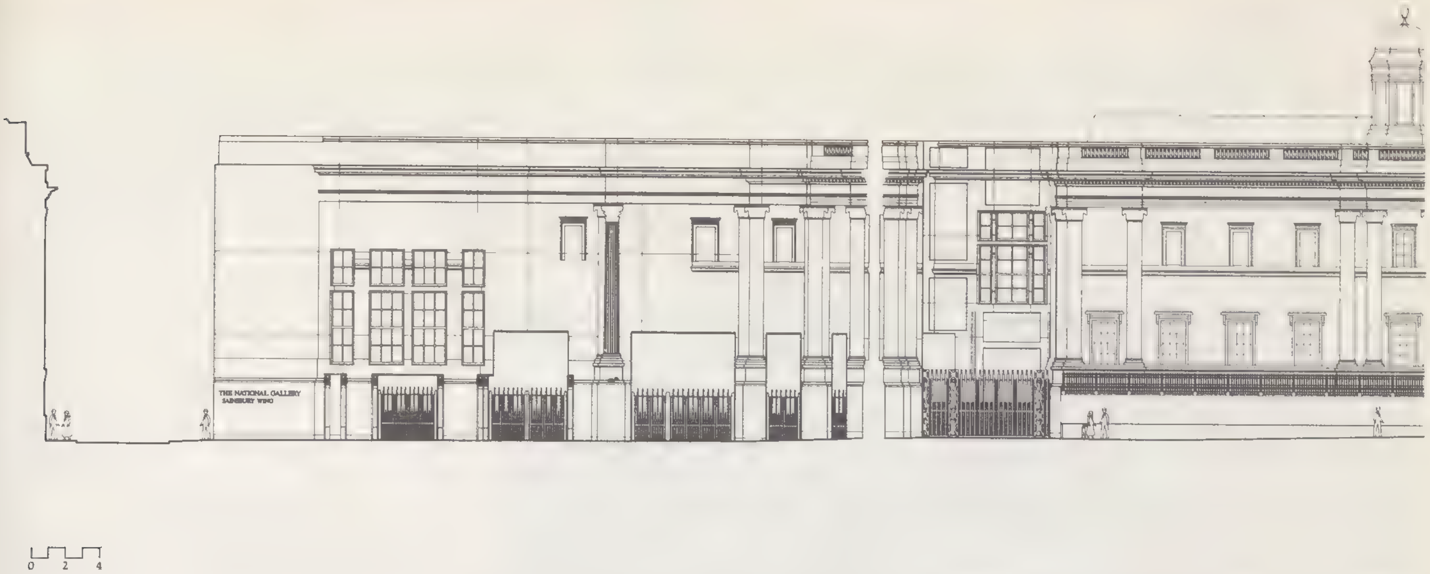
Il piano delle gallerie è formato da una gerarchia appena accennata di sale di diverse dimensioni disposte secondo una semplice configurazione che prevede la collocazione delle sale più lunghe e più alte al centro dell'ala nuova sull'asse nord-sud, affiancate da sale minori sia a est che ad ovest. Percorrendo le gallerie da nord a sud si procede secondo una sequenza grosso modo cronologica dei dipinti, mentre se si avanza da est a ovest si può operare un confronto fra le varie scuole pittoriche.
L'arcata che conduce alle nuove gallerie è di proporzioni tipiche del primo Rinascimento, mentre il principale asse est-ovest, che dall'edificio esistente sovrappassa Jubilee Walk per immettersi in questo punto nell'ala nuova, è formato da una fuga di porte ad archi che vanno via via riducendosi per simulare una falsa prospettiva rinascimentale. Come a Dulwich, fin dall'ingresso si possono scorgere anche le sale più distanti mentre la riduzione degli archi, accentuata dall'illusione prospettica, consente di vedere con un unico colpo d'occhio dipinti collocati in sale diverse, conferendo alla raccolta una dimensione unitaria.
Lungo l'asse nord-sud, altri archi, privi di falsa prospettiva, attirano i visitatori nelle sale principali mentre i passaggi da ambo i lati lasciano intravedere i dipinti di altre gallerie. In quelle orientali e occidentali, ad esempio, le porte sono collocate in modo tale da invogliare agli spostamenti in

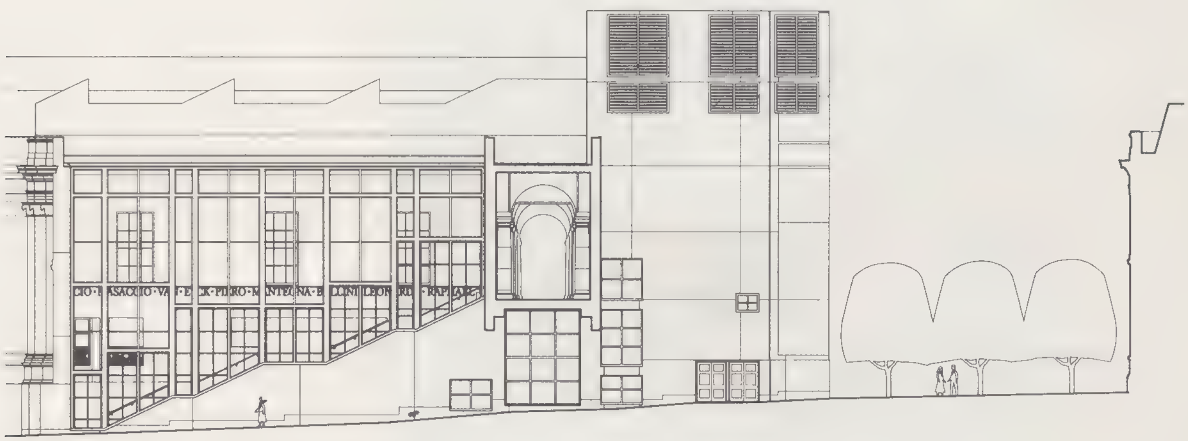
of an early Renaissance opening. The main east-west axis from the existing building passes through the link over Jubilee Walk and enters the new extension here, through a series of receding arches that suggest a Renaissance false perspective. As at Dulwich, glimpses of distant galleries are apparent at the entrance, and the diminution of arches, exaggerated by the false perspective, allows paintings in different galleries to be seen together.
This gives a sense of the collection as a whole.
On the north-south axis, large arches, without false perspective, draw visitors through the main rooms, while doorways on either side give glimpses of paintings in other galleries. In the west and east galleries, doors are placed to induce diagonal movement across rooms and to give views of painting opposite door openings.
Owing to the irregular site, not all galleries are rectangular. This traditional form of urban accommodation enlivens the interior and creates an interesting balance between consistency and variety.

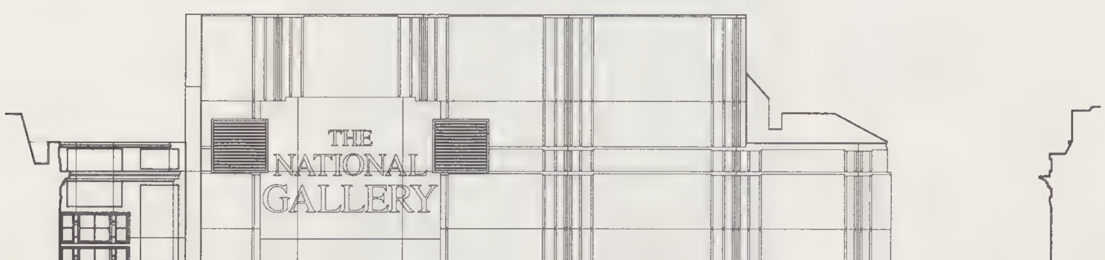
Gallery Lighting

The galleries must admit light in ways that are comfortable to the viewer and protective of the art.
Gallery illumination depends on both daylight and electricity. Daylight is admitted through skylights, which then transmit light through bands of clerestory windows at the upper perimeters of galleries. Prismatic glass in the clerestories tailors the light distribution to the wall surfaces below.
The amount of daylight that enters will be measured and controlled at the outer plane of the skylights. Although no direct sun rays will penetrate, the skylights' orientation and slope ensure that visitors will benefit from an interesting and lively manifestation of daylight, the procession of sun and clouds across the sky.
Supplemental electric lighting takes two forms. Concealed light sources in the skylights will be regulated to compensate




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diagonale attraverso le sale e da rivelare i dipinti posti di fronte alle aperture.
A causa della forma irregolare del sito, non tutte le gallerie sono rettangolari, tuttavia la forma tradizionale di inserimento urbano arricchisce l'interno e crea un interessante equilibrio fra uniformità e varietà.

L'illuminazione

La luce che filtra all'interno delle sale è calibrata non solo sulle esigenze del visitatore ma tenendo anche conto della salvaguardia delle opere.
All'interno delle gallerie la luce è in parte artificiale e in parte naturale; quest'ultima proviene da lucernari che la trasmettono attraverso vetrate verticali poste sul perimetro superiore delle sale, i cui vetri prismatici la dirigono e la distribuiscono sulle pareti sottostanti.
La quantità di luce verrà determinata e controllata dalla superficie esterna dei lucernari che, pur non facendo penetrare direttamente i raggi solari, consentiranno, grazie al loro orientamento e alla loro inclinazione, di godere pienamente della luce naturale e delle sue variazioni, così come del succedersi di sole e nubi attraverso il cielo.
L'illuminazione elettrica supplementare consisterà in fonti di luce celate nei lucernari e regolate in modo tale da sopperire, anche se con effetti diversi, alla scarsità di luce naturale. Inoltre, i faretti collocati sui soffitti delle sale, al di sopra delle vetrate verticali, integreranno discretamente l'illuminazione naturale.
Tutti i dpinti sono illuminati dall'alto con angolazioni calcolate, ma in alcune sale la luce penetra da finestre che danno su altri ambienti interni. Queste aree intermedie proteggeranno le sale dalla luce solare diretta e ridurranno il riverbero, permettendo, nel contempo, di scorgere in lontananza il mondo esterno.

for, although not replicate, failing daylight. Spotlights in gallery ceilings, above the clerestories, will subtly reinforce the natural lighting system.
All picture lighting comes from overhead at appropriate angles, but some galleries admit light through windows that overlook other interior spaces. These intermediate spaces shield the galleries from direct sunlight and reduce glare; through them can be glimpsed distant views of the outside.





Viste da St. Martin Street e lungo Whitcomb Street.
Foto M. Wargo.

Views from St. Martin Street and along Whitcomb Street.
Photo M. Wargo.



Vista da Pall Mall East.
Foto P. Starling/National Gallery.
Dettaglio delle modanature verso
l'angolo della National Gallery.
Foto M. Wargo.

View from Pall Mall East.
Photo P. Starling/National Gallery.
Detail of the mouldings facing
the corner of the National Gallery.
Photo M. Wargo.





Vista da Trafalgar Square.
Foto M. Wargo.

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Vista su Jubilee Walk e viste interne dello scalone principale. Foto M. Wargo.

View onto Jubilee Walk and interior views of the main stairway. Photo M. Wargo.



Vista interna delle gallerie espositive dal sovrappasso di collegamento alla National Gallery e dettaglio di un portale in pietra serena.
Foto M. Wargo.

Interior view of the exhibition rooms from the overhead walkway connecting to the National Gallery and detail of a portal in Serena stone.
Photo M. Wargo.





Viste interne delle gallerie espositive.
Foto M. Wargo.

Interior views of the exhibition rooms.
Photo M. Wargo.







Vista interna del sovrappasso di collegamento verso la National Gallery. Foto P. Starling/National Gallery.

Interior view of the overhead walkway connecting to the National Gallery. Photo P. Starling/National Gallery.



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Interior view of the overhead walkway connecting to the National Gallery. Photo P. Starling/National Gallery.

Dall'invenzione alla convenzione in architettura*
Robert Venturi

Ringrazio sir John Sainsbury per le sue generose parole. Insieme a lui e ai suoi fratelli Timothy e Simon, ai responsabili e al personale della National Gallery e agli studi Sheppard Robson e Ove Arup & Partners, nostri associati in questo lavoro, abbiamo studiato intensamente il progetto di ampliamento della National Gallery: un lavoro inevitabilmente difficile e irregolare, trattandosi di affrontare con realismo un arduo compito. Bismark disse una volta che le leggi sono come le salsicce: è meglio non trovarsi coinvolti nella loro confezione. Lo stesso potrebbe dirsi dell'architettura: ma i nostri clienti hanno avuto il coraggio di affrontarne le tensioni e di accettarne la complessità.
Desidero innanzi tutto ringraziare il Comitato direttivo del Thomas Cubitt Trust per avermi invitato qui, anche se vorrei mettere in guardia i presenti dagli architetti che fanno discorsi. Forse il Comitato si aspettava che parlassi non da architetto, ma da teorico. Io però *sono* un architetto: *ero* un teorico da giovane, quando avevo poco lavoro. A quel tempo dovevo parlare e scrivere per sentirmi occupato, senza peraltro sentirmi a mio agio: scrivere sulla complessità, la contraddizione, l'ambiguità, la decorazione, il simbolismo, il Manierismo, Las Vegas e perfino — negli ultimi tempi del Modernismo puro — su Lutyens mi riusciva tutt'altro che agevole.
Un architetto ormai anziano e pieno di impegni non teorizza, e probabilmente è bene che sia così (si corre sempre il rischio di scivolare nell'ideologia); tutt'al più teorizza con riferimento al proprio lavoro. Il Comitato però mi ha chiesto esplicitamente di fare delle considerazioni teoriche, e non di presentare semplicemente la nostra opera; d'altra parte i responsabili della National Gallery si sono riservati di esporre il progetto solo fra una settimana; e io ho promesso — com'era giusto — alla R.I.B.A. di dedicare ai suoi membri la mia prima conferenza illustrativa sull'argomento. Tuttavia, perché questo mio discorso sia valido dovrò parlare di ciò che mi preme in questo momento, ossia del nostro lavoro attuale e in particolare della National Gallery.
Per sfuggire al dilemma potrei continuare a disquisire astutamente sul tema dell'architetto che parla in contrapposizione all'architetto che presenta una sua opera, fino a concludere col solito: "*Qualcuno ha domande da fare?*". Cercherò invece di essere più concreto trattando il tema che attualmente impegna su un piano generale me e i miei soci, e che corrisponde in particolare ai progetti che sono sui nostri tavoli da disegno: il tema del museo d'arte destinato al grande pubblico e situato nel centro della città.
Il fenomeno è ben noto: che il museo d'arte sia il tipo edilizio caratteristico del nostro tempo, come in passato la cattedrale, è quasi un luogo comune. Nel numero di "Interiors" del novembre 1986 Sylvia Lavin ha riassunto così l'essenza della questione:

"In ogni epoca c'è un tipo edilizio che sta al vertice della gerarchia architettonica e che esprime nel modo più compiuto le aspirazioni e le angosce dei contemporanei. Come nel

* Questo articolo è il testo della decima Thomas Cubitt Lecture tenuta da Robert Venturi presso la Royal Society of Arts di Londra il giorno 8 aprile 1987, e pubblicata in "RSA Journal", gennaio 1988, pp. 89-103.
Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

Rinascimento i valori culturali s'incarnavano nell'architettura sacra, così i rivolgimenti sociali della prima metà del Novecento si riflettono nelle ricerche di Le Corbusier sulle varie forme di abitazione. Con la crescente complessità della civiltà occidentale è diventato sempre più difficile precisare in che cosa consistano i suoi valori: ma forse il tipo edilizio in cui meglio si manifesta il nostro programma culturale è il museo. Senza dubbio la battaglia tra moderno e postmoderno si svolge in gran parte su questo terreno. Soprattutto, in quest'epoca di diffuso benessere se non di opulenza, in cui spesso le ingiustizie sociali si esprimono nei termini raffinati e complicati propri del mondo dell'arte, il museo ha assunto un ruolo di grande attualità: non solo il suo carattere odierno è in intima relazione con i recenti mutamenti nella teoria e nell'ideologia dell'architettura, ma il modo stesso di concepire il museo come istituzione porta ad affrontare un'ampia gamma di fenomeni sociali e politici.

Cercherò ora di definire, con qualche riferimento ai quattro progetti di musei che attualmente stiamo elaborando, alcune implicazioni architettoniche di questo specifico tipo di museo, situato nel centro cittadino e aperto al grande pubblico: implicazioni che danno origine a scelte sempre difficili e talvolta cruciali. Concluderò con un'interpretazione della facciata come manifestazione del contesto urbano e come esempio di classicismo in evoluzione, intendendo con ciò giustificare un aspetto della soluzione da noi adottata per la National Gallery; in fondo, una simile apologia del proprio lavoro non dovrebbe apparire fuori luogo nel discorso di un architetto.

Il museo in questione non è un semplice contenitore per custodire ed esporre opere d'arte, ma è un'istituzione culturale con una precisa funzione didattica, dotata di ambienti per informare mediante conferenze, proiezioni, televisione, *computer* e libri; comprende talvolta uno studio per artisti; ospita un personale numeroso (a quello tradizionale si aggiungono gli addetti ai nuovi programmi); ha un negozio e un ristorante con cucina; e spesso fa parte, specialmente in America, di uno spazio ricreativo, di un ambiente gradevole e monumentale adatto per inaugurazioni e altre cerimonie. Nei musei ottocenteschi il rapporto tra area espositiva e area destinata alle attività ausiliarie era di circa 9 a 1; oggi il rapporto tende a essere di 1 a 2, il che significa dedicare alle opere d'arte solo un terzo dell'area complessiva.

Il museo d'arte non è più un luogo riservato a una minoranza colta: mentre verso la metà dell'Ottocento la National Gallery aveva poco più di mezzo milione di visitatori l'anno, ora ve ne sono — grazie anche a un'intensa attività di promozione — più di tre milioni, con una grande varietà di gusti, culture e nazionalità.

Negli Stati Uniti molti musei si stanno trasferendo verso le zone centrali delle città. Nel centro di Austin (Texas) stiamo progettando la nuova sede del Laguna Gloria Art Museum, già situato in un idilliaco ma remoto suburbio; il nuovo Art Museum di Seattle, anch'esso in progettazione nei nostri studi, sorgerà, anziché in un parco elitario ai margini dell'abitato, in una zona densamente edificata del quartiere degli affari, in modo da attirare un pubblico più variato, accrescere il numero dei visitatori ed esercitare un maggior influsso sulla città. Questa collocazione potrà anche favorire un rapporto più diretto fra le arti e la vita quotidiana, rapporto che si è andato perdendo nell'esperienza moderna. Dare forma e identità a un edificio museale in un ambiente urbano addensato pone naturalmente notevoli problemi architettonici, derivanti in parte dalla necessità di riesaminare il carattere assunto dall'esposizione di opere d'arte. Mentre in passato le raccolte erano relativamente stabili, oggi tendono a essere mutevoli, per l'ampliamento dei programmi di acquisti, per la sempre maggiore disponibilità di nuove opere per i musei interessati all'arte attuale e per il diffondersi delle mostre temporanee, talvolta itineranti, in cui si presentano opere nuove o si radunano intorno a un tema specifico opere già note. Ciò richiede una maggiore o minore flessibilità nella configurazione spaziale e nelle modalità di illuminazione, e favorisce una pluralità di soluzioni architettoniche che possono valersi di spazi simbolicamente neutri, "storici" o modernamente tecnicistici, di spazi bloccati oppure fluidi.

Nell'esposizione delle opere d'arte l'illuminazione ha avuto sempre, ovviamente, la massima importanza. Nella maggior parte dei musei la luce naturale, con la sua qualità cromatica e dinamica, è associata a quella artificiale, che può essere regolata e variata con dispositivi più o meno elaborati; occorre oggi attenersi a norme di tutela rigorose, controllando i livelli d'illuminazione e riducendo al minimo l'esposizione ai raggi ultravioletti, dannosi per i pigmenti.

Vorrei indicare ora alcune delle soluzioni da noi date, in quanto architetti, ai problemi sopra elencati, derivanti dall'attuale ruolo del museo d'arte come istituzione didattica aperta al grande pubblico, situata nel centro urbano e rispondente a criteri espositivi complessi. Alcuni di tali problemi possono sembrare facili da definire e da trattare, ma va osservato che essi si combinano tra loro in modi spesso complicati e talvolta contraddittori.

Il prevalere dei fattori didattici nei programmi di un moderno museo d'arte implica necessariamente un'elevata complessità spaziale. Mentre l'edificio originario della National Gallery innalzato da Wilkins consta essenzialmente di una successione di sale più o meno della stessa grandezza, col piano superiore in corrispondenza spaziale e strutturale con quello inferiore, il nostro museo è una combinazione di ambienti di dimensioni diverse, aperti e chiusi, tra cui intercorrono relazioni quanto mai varie e complesse. Tale complessità è accresciuta dalla configurazione in verticale richiesta dall'elevata densità edilizia del sito. Ad esempio, la zona di carico dei grossi veicoli di servizio si trova al disopra della sala per le conferenze, è adiacente da un lato al negozio e dall'altro agli uffici degli addetti alla sicurezza, ed è situato al disotto della biblioteca dei *computer*, che a sua volta è sottostante alla sala di Masaccio; e in tutti questi ambienti si sono

dovuti rispettare i vincoli imposti dalle esigenze tecnico-strutturali di Ove Arup e dalle norme di sicurezza governativa.
Quest'aspetto della progettazione, noto nel nostro studio col nome di "rompicapo cinese", non rappresenta però la difficoltà maggiore: un buon orologiaio svizzero saprebbe venirne fuori. Più importante dal punto di vista architettonico è il pericolo che si crei una sensazione di lontananza dalle opere d'arte. Entrando in un museo può venir fatto di chiedersi se non si è capitati in un aeroporto; e nel momento in cui si arriva di fronte alle opere si rischia di essere già tediati dalla banalità del percorso labirintico compiuto, o spossati dalla teatralità delle fantasie spaziali, simboliche o cromatiche in mezzo a cui l'architetto ci ha costretti a passare. Una volta raggiunte, le opere appaiono in un certo senso deludenti: in effetti, vengono percepite come smorte e opache da chi si trova disorientato, con le pupille contratte e la sensibilità indebolita.
Oltre alla complessità spaziale e al senso di lontananza delle opere d'arte, è probabile che entrando nell'edificio si avverta una carenza di identità istituzionale. Vi si incontrano subito il banco delle informazioni, un gran numero di scritte e di indicazioni, il negozio, il guardaroba, i dispositivi di sicurezza: tutte cose utili e rassicuranti per il visitatore, ma che possono contribuire a creare un'atmosfera prosaica.
Il metodo con cui usiamo affrontare i tre problemi suddetti consiste nel gerarchizzare il sistema spaziale, così che sia facile percepirlo su grande scala anche se è complicato in piccolo; nel rendere diretto, semplice e visivamente efficace il lungo percorso verso le opere d'arte, spesso realizzato con un grande scalone a una sola rampa; e nel progettare l'atrio d'ingresso in modo che il visitatore percepisca subito forme architettoniche sobrie e grandiose, indicative di un'istituzione. Ad esse farà seguito il complesso rassicurante degli elementi funzionali e informativi, che in questo più ampio contesto appariranno opportuni ed efficaci.
Tutto si riduce, in fondo, a questioni di chiarezza e di scala: di chiarezza nello scandire il percorso che conduce alle opere, di scala nell'associare elementi grandi e piccoli nella complessa disposizione dell'odierno museo d'arte. Abbiamo cercato di non creare un labirinto di elementi a scala intermedia, privo di quell'ordine gerarchico che crea la chiarezza e la tensione proprie della buona architettura e che rende l'edificio adeguato alle sue funzioni, istituzionali all'interno e civiche all'esterno.
Consideriamo dapprima le zone espositive in quanto ambienti destinati ad accogliere le opere d'arte. Non dovrà trattarsi di strani contenitori, ma di spazi concepiti per la visione delle opere; la presenza dell'architettura non dovrà sopraffare quella dell'arte. L'esposizione dei dipinti nei musei ha seguito due tradizioni diverse. Nella prima i quadri sono inseriti in un contesto architettonico ben definito, che in genere è stilisticamente intonato ad essi; così avviene per esempio a Palazzo Pitti, dov'è possibile trovare nella stessa sala una volta affrescata da Pietro da Cortona e un suo quadro. Nell'altra tradizione, il caso estremo è costituito dalla versione originaria del Museum of Modern Art di New York, in cui spazi neutri e flessibili favorivano la rotazione delle opere esposte e creavano un ambiente estraneo al linguaggio figurativo dei dipinti. Nei musei di questo tipo viene per lo più eliminata la luce naturale e le pareti, di solito bianche, formano uno scenario che può essere modificato anche di frequente.
La nostra impostazione segue una via di mezzo. Consente una certa flessibilità, ma suggerisce anche, in modo semplificato e ideale, l'ambiente per cui gli artisti sapevano di dover dipingere i loro quadri. Ci sembra che in un contesto ben caratterizzato ed evocativo i visitatori possano avere un'esperienza viva e memorabile delle opere d'arte, mentre in un contesto "anonimo" come quello del primo Museum of Modern Art i quadri tendono a somigliare alle riproduzioni che si vedono nei libri. D'altra parte, crediamo che l'ambiente espositivo non debba cercare di riprodurre le cappelle o le sale dei palazzi in cui i dipinti antichi si trovavano in origine, ma debba piuttosto richiamare il carattere architettonico essenziale e l'atmosfera di "permanenza" di quegli interni.
Consideriamo ora le zone espositive in quanto spazi architettonici. Nei palazzi i quadri erano disposti in sale rettangolari illuminate da finestre; i musei ottocenteschi erano ugualmente formati da una serie di sale, ma l'illuminazione avveniva attraverso lucernari; nel nostro secolo si tende a progettare le zone espositive come spazi fluidi o definibili temporaneamente, e a tradurre in elementi architettonici in vista le esigenze tecniche d'illuminazione. Nell'ampliamento della National Gallery, in armonia col carattere rinascimentale delle opere, siamo tornati alla tradizione; e lo stesso stiamo facendo negli altri progetti di musei. Ci sembra che le sale di esposizione definite nel modo consueto da pareti, pavimenti, soffitti, porte e finestre siano più adatte alla presentazione dei dipinti che non gli spazi espositivi caratterizzati da forme e simbologie originali, moderne e tecnicistiche.
Un altro problema di scala architettonica riguarda la progettazione delle zone espositive in relazione alle dimensioni dei dipinti, alla scala delle raffigurazioni che vi compaiono e al numero di persone che li osservano. Per esempio, i quadri del Primo Rinascimento della National Gallery sono piuttosto piccoli e contengono raffigurazioni complesse: in origine erano destinati ad ambienti di modeste dimensioni — cappelle o sale di palazzi e di case borghesi del Quattrocento — e presumibilmente erano visti da qualche decina di persone al giorno. Oggi gli stessi quadri, divenuti oggetto di devozione estetica, sono guardati quotidianamente da migliaia di persone: i tre milioni e più di visitatori ospitati ogni anno dalla National Gallery corrispondono a circa un terzo dell'intera popolazione italiana nel Quindicesimo secolo. Le zone espositive devono quindi accogliere opere piccole e grandi folle: occorrono sale abbastanza ampie per contenere queste ultime, ma relativamente piccole per non soffocare i dipinti. Le porte tra le sale dovranno essere piuttosto larghe, ma le vedute

assiali attraverso i loro vani non dovranno essere troppo lunghe o baroccamente grandiose, per rispettare la scala propria delle opere del primo Rinascimento. Credo che la soluzione del problema dipenda fra l'altro dai particolari architettonici (quei particolari in cui, secondo Mies van der Rohe, "*è presente Dio*"): nelle zone espositive essi dovranno essere relativamente piccoli e molto raffinati, per adeguarsi alle dimensioni e all'intimità di molti dei quadri esposti. Nell'illuminazione delle sale bisognerà soddisfare contemporaneamente altre esigenze contrastanti, conciliando questa volta l'architettura con la tecnica: ogni sala, pur essendo un elemento spaziale autonomo, dovrà essere illuminata in modo che non siano danneggiati i dipinti. Nel nostro lavoro abbiamo seguito questi criteri:
— illuminare con luce naturale le zone espositive, evitando però che i dipinti siano colpiti direttamente dai raggi solari o da radiazioni ultraviolette;
— illuminare con una miscela di luce naturale e artificiale la parte inferiore delle pareti, dove sono collocati i dipinti, evitando la formazione di zone di luce intensa sulla parte alta delle pareti;
— rinunziare a mettere in evidenza i dispositivi tecnici per l'illuminazione naturale e artificiale e per la sua regolazione;
— rendere riconoscibile come tale la luce del giorno, evitando l'uso di lucernari orizzontali e disponendo invece sulla parte alta delle pareti verticali normali finestre, provviste naturalmente di un'opportuna regolazione dell'intensità luminosa; rinunziare a imitare la luce naturale nell'illuminazione notturna o nei tardi pomeriggi invernali;
— far uso di finestre simboliche interne. Un museo d'arte non può avere molte finestre, sia per non ridurre la superficie parietale interna destinata ai quadri, sia per proteggere questi da un'eccessiva illuminazione naturale, sia infine per motivi di sicurezza. È opportuno però che il visitatore possa gettare occasionalmente uno sguardo all'esterno, e questo per due ragioni. La presenza di finestre fa del museo una casa, anziché una tomba dell'arte; e dà al museo l'aspetto di un luogo inserito nella realtà, rendendolo familiare ai visitatori e offrendo loro la possibilità di ricordare ogni tanto dove si trovano, di guardare al mondo reale e identificarsi con esso stando immersi nel mondo magico dell'arte, che dal confronto risulterà ancora più magico. In alcune sale abbiamo soddisfatto quest'esigenza facendo corrispondere alle finestre "vere" aprentisi nel muro esterno finestre simboliche interne su una parete arretrata, che risulta così protetta dall'irraggiamento solare diretto.

Consideriamo a questo punto l'esterno del nostro museo. Visto da fuori, un edificio senza finestre ha inevitabilmente un aspetto spoglio e ostile, che ricorda una fortezza o un carcere; un museo destinato al grande pubblico deve invece apparire aperto e invitante. Per questo sono importanti il carattere dell'ingresso e la decorazione delle pareti esterne: nella sua National Gallery Wilkins trovò soluzioni felici nel portico centrale, aperto e invitante, e nelle pareti ornate da paraste, da cornici e da nicchie interpretabili come una forma simbolica di finestre.

Vi è poi il problema della "presenza" dell'edificio, della sua rappresentatività come sede di un'istituzione. Un museo d'arte nel centro della città ha una rilevanza civica, ma ha dimensioni minori degli edifici circostanti: ciò accade specialmente negli Stati Uniti, dove un edificio museale basso è spesso attorniato da grattacieli per uffici. Anche la collocazione urbanistica può non essere preminente. Ad esempio, è raro che un museo costituisca un punto focale all'estremità di un grande asse viario: essendo inserito in un tessuto urbano addensato, spesso è disposto lungo una strada, come il Whitney, il Guggenheim o il Museum of Modern Art di New York, o come il museo che stiamo progettando per Seattle.

Perché queste sedi di importanti istituzioni, circondate da edifici privati di minor prestigio ma più grandi, possano attingere una loro "presenza" occorre, ancora una volta, che abbiano una duplice scala architettonica, che siano edifici piccoli di grande scala. E anche qui la grandiosità necessaria alla "presenza" dev'essere associata alla cordialità della scala umana, necessaria per far sentire a proprio agio l'individuo in un contesto monumentale. È questa una felicità tutta italiana; ma anche qui, in Trafalgar Square, vi è il suggestivo accostamento della gigantesca colonna corinzia di Nelson con le colonne, anch'esse corinzie ma molto più piccole, del portico della National Gallery, che richiamano quasi, per le loro proporzioni, l'architettura delle ville.

Queste osservazioni sulla qualità urbana e sulla scala architettonica possono sembrare ovvie, ma riflettono un'impostazione che è in antitesi con quella di alcuni recenti progetti di musei situati in centri urbani. A Stoccarda, a Mönchengladbach e a Los Angeles sono state adottate combinazioni di elementi a scala intermedia, in un gioco di padiglioni e di spazi aperti disposti in sequenza, come a Villa Adriana o in un paese medievale. In questi musei la scala architettonica non viene ampliata mediante l'accostamento del grande e del piccolo entro i limiti dell'isolato urbano, bensì (come accadeva nell'architettura moderna) infrangendo questi limiti, ad esempio con corpi di fabbrica che scavalcano strade o con percorsi pubblici all'aperto che intersecano l'edificio.

Accanto ai problemi finora esaminati — l'edificio museale avente una sua "presenza" architettonica nonostante le modeste dimensioni, invitante anche se privo di finestre, e ben inserito nel normale sistema spaziale della città — c'è il problema del contesto urbano. Un edificio cittadino va progettato non solo dall'interno verso l'esterno, ma anche viceversa, secondo una tradizione che è stata interrotta nel periodo "antiurbano" dell'architettura moderna. Nella progettazione di edifici dentro la città l'attenzione per il contesto favorisce l'armonia e il senso dell'insieme.
L'armonia può essere ottenuta mediante il contrasto o mediante l'accordo (abito grigio con cravatta grigia, abito grigio con cravatta rossa), oppure con entrambi (abito grigio con cravatta grigia a pallini rossi). In una composizione

rispettosa del contesto c'è anche un certo margine per la disarmonia: si riconosce così la validità delle discordanze e delle discontinuità e si rende più attraente l'armonia complessiva.
Molti progetti odierni riguardano l'ampliamento di musei preesistenti. In questi casi è particolarmente importante rispettare l'insieme e concepire il nuovo edificio come frammento, come parte di un tutto, come un' "inflessione". L'ampliamento della National Gallery da noi progettato, benché separato dall'edificio originario di Wilkins, "s'inflette" verso di esso: è una specie di frammento che non potrebbe stare da solo e che perderebbe significato senza il corpo di fabbrica principale. Al tempo stesso confidiamo che il nuovo edificio non sia sottomesso servilmente al vecchio: pur facendo parte di un complesso più ampio, ha anche una sua individualità e modernità, è legato all'edificio preesistente da un'affinità, ma anche da un teso contrasto.
C'è infine il problema della simbologia e delle indicazioni grafiche. Per il frequente mutamento delle opere esposte l'odierno museo d'arte somiglia a un teatro e ha bisogno, sia all'esterno che all'interno, di indicazioni grafiche che hanno talvolta la stessa funzione di quelle su una pensilina. Non le vorrei esplicitamente didascaliche, come nella facciata della Biblioteca Sainte Geneviève a Parigi, che sembra un tabellone per affissioni, costellata com'è dai nomi di centinaia di autori celebri; mi piace piuttosto la vecchia facciata principale della Neue Pinakothek di Monaco (ora distrutta), col suo grande mosaico riproducente un quadro. Ma non c'è da preoccuparsi: non abbiamo sperimentato la validità di queste idee sulla National Gallery, e Trafalgar Square non diventerà un'altra Leicester Square.
Il mio discorso è stato pieno di "ma" e di "tuttavia": ciò peraltro è naturale in ogni analisi di un edificio come il museo moderno, destinato al grande pubblico ma per sua natura esoterico, chiuso e tuttavia aperto, monumentale ma invitante, fatto per accogliere opere d'arte ma opera d'arte esso stesso.
Questa avrebbe potuto essere la mia prima conferenza senza proiezioni; per finire vorrei però mostrarvi una serie di diapositive, allo scopo di illustrare brevemente un'idea sull'architettura che è bene tener presente e che, come ho già detto, potrà servire a giustificare in anticipo alcuni aspetti del nostro progetto.
L'idea è questa: ciò che oggi è visto come deviazione, sarà accettato domani come convenzione. Nell'accennare ad alcuni mutamenti evolutivi che mi sembra di scorgere nella storia dell'architettura "classica" vorrei mettere in risalto, più che la permanenza degli elementi classici o la rigidità delle regole secondo cui vengono associati, la loro intrinseca flessibilità e le loro potenzialità ai fini della creazione di un'arte viva.
Ecco alcune immagini "classiche" a noi familiari più o meno dotate di implicazioni simboliche e formali.

Fig. 1. La parasta. Come si sarà espresso il critico che la vide per primo? Un piedritto applicato a un muro, un elemento strutturale usato come decorazione: che specie di ossimoro, di contraddizione è questa? O è uno scherzo? (Forse gli artisti non sono mai così seri come quando sono accusati di scherzare).
Fig. 2. L'ordine gigante. Accostare paraste differenti per dimensioni e per ordine: che confusione di forme e di scala! (Ma con questa scandalosa trovata Michelangelo inaugurò la tradizione monumentale in cui le gerarchie di scala sono usate per esprimere valori estetici e comunitari in architettura).
Fig. 3. St. Martin-in-the-Fields a Londra. Una guglia medievale su un tempio romano? Che cosa sgradevole! (Eppure è questo l'archetipo delle chiese erette negli Stati Uniti nel Settecento e nel primo Ottocento).
Fig. 4. Una chiesa simile a un'antica basilica? Come può un tribunale romano diventare un santuario cristiano?
Fig. 5. Due fronti di tempio sovrapposte, corrispondenti alla chiesa basilicale retrostante? Un modo di cavarsela all'italiana!
Fig. 7. La Malcontenta: una villa con una facciata di tempio! (che però è stata presa a modello di tante dimore signorili e di tante case padronali nelle piantagioni del Sud).
Fig. 8. A proposito di San Pietro in Vaticano, Frank Lloyd Wright disse che Michelangelo costruì un tempio, vi issò sopra il Pantheon e la fece finita così (in realtà, il primo a far questo fu Brunelleschi). (So benissimo che questo non è San Pietro).
Fig. 9. Figure sdraiate su frontoni? Speriamo che non si addormentino, potrebbero cadere.
Fig. 10. Un frontone spezzato? È un peccato che sia rimasto a metà...
Fig. 11. Cornici classiche destinate a proteggere dalla pioggia e a modulare le ombre generate dalla luce solare... in un interno? Una delle solite trovate degli architetti...
Fig. 12. Stucchi raffinati come negli antichi interni romani... all'esterno? Quanti fronzoli, Mr. Adam!
Fig. 13. E infine (se mi è lecito considerare Mies van der Rohe uno spirito classico): un vocabolario vernacolo industriale fuori moda in un edificio civico moderno?
Oggi noi apprezziamo questi che consideriamo archetipi, mentre ai loro tempi furono deviazioni dalla norma; va però ricordato che talvolta in architettura è più difficile accettare una variante evolutiva che non un'invenzione rivoluzionaria.
Come avrete notato, non ho incluso tra i miei esempi le deviazioni del Manierismo, che non sono diventate archetipi. L'architettura manierista era infatti stravagante al suo tempo e tale è rimasta, perché ad essa è connaturata la devianza: una devianza che di solito non è strumentale ma sistematica, che fa parte di tutta una mentalità compositiva dedita al culto dell'insolito e dell'ambiguo.
Infine, avrete osservato che molti esempi riguardano l'Inghilterra. La genialità del classicismo architettonico inglese deriva in gran parte dalle sue deviazioni dalla norma: in alcune di esse ci si limita ad accogliere elementi occasionali, ma in altre si riflettono fatti evolutivi che

modificano la norma. Ogni architettura classica è fondata sull'equilibrio tra particolare e generale, tra individuale e universale: in Inghilterra quest'equilibrio è spesso complicato e instabile, e l'irruzione negli schemi elementari e astratti di ciò che rappresenta l'eccezione, o addirittura la stravaganza, dà origine a soluzioni parziali e precarie. Ne risultano una tensione e una ricchezza compositive che ravvivano il vocabolario classico di base e rendono il classicismo inglese straordinariamente intenso e stimolante. In questo contesto, il purismo di Lord Burlington e della sua cerchia costituisce un'eccezione; la tradizione è meglio rappresentata dalle tendenze "manieristiche" (non manieriste in senso storico) di Wren, Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh, Archer, Soane, Thomson "il greco", e del Lutyens del "high game".

Dibattito

Colin Amery, critico di architettura del "Financial Times". M'interessa il suo riferimento ai caratteri evocativi dell'architettura: l'argomento riguarda noi tutti, dato il declino di quel Movimento Moderno che a quanto pare era carente in proposito. Quali sono, a suo giudizio, le qualità evocative in un museo moderno?

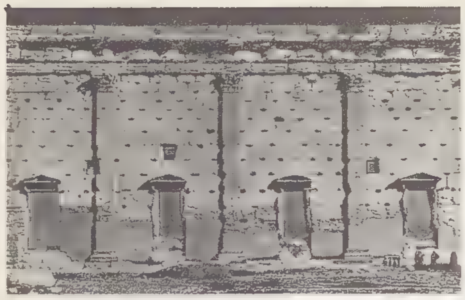
Venturi. Certamente gli architetti moderni del periodo eroico disconobbero il simbolismo e gli elementi evocativi: per loro l'architettura derivava dalle esigenze funzionali e strutturali, e ciò li portava verso un'estetica che rifuggiva da ogni associazione storica. La loro architettura non aveva uno stile, non dava origine a un vocabolario, ma piuttosto le forme si sviluppavano automaticamente, ripeto, dai dati funzionali e strutturali. Gli architetti moderni privilegiavano l'espressione rispetto al significato; e si direbbe che al trinomio vitruviano *firmitas, utilitas, venustas* sostituissero l'equazione "*firmitas* più *utilitas* uguale a *venustas*". Ma noi tutti sappiamo che essi non mettevano in pratica i loro precetti: certamente non lo facevano gli aderenti al filone principale del movimento del Bauhaus quando si servivano di un preesistente vocabolario vernacolo industriale, di un'estetica della macchina — non meno identificabile dell'adattamento rinascimentale degli ordini classici — in cui trovavano espressione le loro tendenze verso il progressismo tecnico e l'utopia sociale e i loro intenti antistorici.

Ora che siamo in grado di accogliere la dimensione evocativa nelle nostre opere, come elemento indispensabile per renderle più ricche, a che cosa ci si dovrà richiamare, specialmente nei musei? Credo che si debba rispondere: "*A varie cose, secondo le circostanze*". All'esterno il contenuto evocativo o simbolico delle facciate potrà derivare dallo specifico contesto urbano, per evoluzione e/o per contrasto, oppure dalla tradizione regionale. All'interno, l'ambiente che ricorda le opere potrà richiamare quello per cui l'artista le eseguì, o contrastare con esso. Nel primo caso, non dovrebbe trattarsi di una ricostruzione storica letterale, ma di un'allusione simbolica. Ad esempio, una zona espositiva per la pittura contemporanea potrà far pensare ai grandi sottotetti newyorkesi di Soho in cui gli artisti dipingevano con la luce artificiale alle tre del mattino; e le sale da noi progettate per la collezione dei Primo Rinascimento nella National Gallery evocheranno al tempo stesso il Quattrocento e i sottotetti. Ma anche il criterio opposto può dare buoni risultati, come nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra, dove la grande architettura museale ha spesso ambientato opere moderne in sale simili a quelle dei palazzi antichi e opere antiche in interni astratti o industriali. Mi sembra dunque che in questo campo non possa esservi un'unica posizione ideologica e che non vi sia più posto per specifiche preferenze, come nei movimenti di Oxford e di Cambridge del secolo scorso: c'è piuttosto il riconoscimento che la dimensione evocativa è indispensabile nella percezione della forma e nella sua creazione. Godiamocela dunque tranquillamente.

George West, architetto. Che ne pensa della difficoltà di percepire architettonicamente Trafalgar Square? Quando si trova nella piazza, quali le sembrano la sua forma architettonica e i suoi caratteri dominanti, che impressione le fa, e come vede l'ampliamento che sporge lateralmente ad essa? Quali difficoltà incontra effettivamente nel percepire la piazza?

Venturi. Non è facile amare Trafalgar Square, né identificarla, come una semplice entità spaziale chiusa: non assomiglia a quelle piazze georgiane, ad esempio Bedford Square, per cui Londra è famosa. Ma non dobbiamo lasciarci influenzare negativamente da ciò. L'effetto di Trafalgar Square, il senso di "luogo" che essa dà, deriva in gran parte dal predominio dell'elemento plastico centrale, la colonna di Nelson. Più che una piazza chiusa, è uno spazio che accoglie il grande fusto verticale e da esso trae la propria identità: non diversamente dalle insegne verticali nelle strade commerciali americane, che favoriscono l'identità lungo quelle configurazioni direzionali.

Grazie alla colonna, gli edifici che circondano Trafalgar Square possono essere meno unitari e avere, come elementi architettonici, un minor effetto di recinzione di quanto ci si potrebbe aspettare in una piazza tipica. Vi sono poi le sottili modulazioni altimetriche del pavimento: mi riferisco ad esempio al muro di sostegno sul lato settentrionale, che crea un senso di delimitazione (evidentemente in origine c'era qui una scarpata). La Canada House e la South Africa House, più che contribuire con la loro disposizione a recingere la piazza, appaiono come edifici indipendenti; ma sono simili tra loro per stile, materiali, scala e altezza. Denise Scott Brown ha fatto notare che l'intenso afflusso di pedoni e di veicoli contribuisce, insieme con la caratteristica presenza di numerosi piccioni, a dare unità e identità alla piazza. Un'altra cosa che mi piace di Trafalgar Square è, come ho detto, l'accostamento tra l'enorme colonna corinzia con la statua di Nelson e le colonne corinzie, di dimensioni normali, del portico della National Gallery: questo divario di scala conferisce tensione e vitalità a questa composizione urbana, e ricostituisce un equilibrio tra la colonna "troppo grande" e la scala "troppo piccola" dell'edificio, che ha









dimensioni quasi domestiche, del tutto appropriate a una Galleria nazionale inglese. Nel nostro progetto di ampliamento abbiamo cercato di favorire la delimitazione spaziale di quest'angolo della piazza, mediante la forma planimetrica del nuovo edificio, e la continuità con la facciata originaria di Wilkins: continuità ottenuta con un'inflessione della nuova facciata e con la disposizione ritmica delle sue paraste. Esse sono identiche a quelle di Wilkins e il loro ritmo riprende quello delle paraste e delle colonne della facciata preesistente, che ne rappresentano il motivo principale e il maggior pregio, specialmente nella veduta obliqua. Il nostro edificio non vuol essere un complemento di St. Martin-in-the-Fields, ma un ampliamento della National Gallery.
Florian Beigel, architetto. Lei ha fatto riferimento alla Nationalgalerie di Mies van der Rohe a Berlino, mostrandocene un particolare nella serie di diapositive a sostegno della sua tesi sull'architettura classica. A mio parere il classicismo di Mies è fondato in gran parte sul suo interesse per la struttura e per la tecnica costruttiva. In che modo questa impostazione ha influito sul vostro progetto?
Venturi. Mies van der Rohe ha associato splendidamente spazi fluidi e spazi bloccati, vetro e struttura d'acciaio, valendosi del simbolismo industriale dei profilati metallici normalizzati. Noi abbiamo deciso fin dall'inizio di progettare l'ampliamento in analogia anziché in contrasto col vecchio edificio neoclassico, anche se la nostra interpretazione, come ho detto nella conferenza, non è stata letterale. Tuttavia nel lato meridionale del nuovo corpo abbiamo usato un vocabolario simile a quello di Mies, non senza riferimenti a Brunel e a Paxton; o almeno abbiamo tenuto presente quest'analogia nella progettazione. Il contrasto tra la fronte d'ingresso e il fianco del nostro edificio riflette la preoccupazione di adattarlo ai differenti contesti urbani esistenti sui due lati. Aggiungerò che Mies mi piace soprattutto quando afferma che "*Dio è nei particolari*" : non pensa che avrebbe scritto con la maiuscola anche il secondo termine?
Brent Richards, architetto. Nel progettare l'ampliamento di un grande edificio situato in una piazza importante, come in questo caso, il problema cruciale consiste nel decidere quali nuovi rapporti verranno a crearsi: il nuovo edificio potrà rappresentare una reazione positiva sia all'edificio preesistente, sia al più ampio contesto urbano?
Venturi. Ogni scelta ha i suoi rischi. Come ho detto, abbiamo deciso fin dall'inizio di dare all'ampliamento una forma architettonica simile a quella dell'edificio originario, e quindi non concepita come contrappunto a St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Questa chiesa rimane, grazie alla sua guglia, l'unico elemento focale verticale e, per la sua somiglianza con un tempio classico, l'unica composizione vigorosa e integra ai margini della piazza. Il nostro edificio, complementare alla chiesa per la sua posizione ma non per la sua forma, diviene davvero un ampliamento della National Gallery e ne costituisce, ci auguriamo, la continuazione e al tempo stesso, per la sua configurazione

ritmica, la conclusione: in termini musicali, una specie di "coda" e insieme di "diminuendo".
Brent Richards. Ritiene dunque che in un contesto urbano il rapporto più vitale consiste nel proporsi come un buon vicino?
Venturi. Ritengo che in una città ognuno dovrebbe cercare sempre di essere un buon vicino, anche se non è detto che per essere tale sia indispensabile somigliare a chi ci sta accanto: talvolta si sente il bisogno di essere diversi da lui, pur mantenendo con lui un buon rapporto. Ciò può avvenire per rendere più stimolante la vicinanza, o perché le esigenze interne di un nuovo edificio portano a progettare un esterno molto diverso da quello degli edifici adiacenti. Le città sono in continua evoluzione, e vi sono momenti in cui è giusto che vi sia un confronto sgradevole, espressione delle intrinseche contraddizioni che nascono in ogni situazione evolutiva e dinamica. La discordanza efficace è un antico e fondamentale fenomeno artistico. Che dire di piazza San Marco, dove una cattedrale bizantina è audacemente accostata a un palazzo gotico dall'impronta "ruskiniana" e fronteggiata da una biblioteca rinascimentale dal forte rilievo?
Questo genere di vicinanza architettonica qualificata è una delle ragioni per cui Londra è diversa da Parigi, dove l'uniformità letterale è la norma. A mio parere le sorprese e gli accostamenti talvolta violenti fanno oggi di Londra — accanto a Los Angeles — una delle città più affascinanti dal punto di vista architettonico.
È rischioso preoccuparsi troppo dell'estetica nella composizione urbana, senza riconoscere le inevitabili contraddizioni insite nei fenomeni evolutivi delle città: negli Stati Uniti sta proliferando una regolamentazione della progettazione urbana piena di ingenue buone intenzioni, che insieme con l'attività delle commissioni per l'approvazione dei progetti porta a ridurre al minimo gli errori, ma al tempo stesso a far trionfare la mediocrità. Louis Kahn ha detto una volta che la città ha bisogno di spazi "brutti" non meno che di spazi "belli"; e avrebbe potuto aggiungere che mettersi al sicuro da qualsiasi edificio brutto significa anche escludere ogni edificio veramente bello. Grazie a Dio, nell'Italia dei secoli passati la progettazione urbana non era una disciplina universitaria e non era sostenuta da codificazioni burocratiche.
Sherban Cantacuzino, segretario della Royal Fine Art Commission. All'inizio del suo discorso lei ha ricordato che il Thomas Cubitt Trust le aveva chiesto di fare delle considerazioni teoriche e non di parlare del vostro lavoro. Mi è sembrato notevole che tra le diapositive mostrateci non ve ne fosse nessuna riguardante le vostre opere; vorrei tuttavia fare una domanda sul linguaggio architettonico. Circa due anni fa abbiamo ascoltato in questa sede una conferenza sull'uso attuale del linguaggio classico in architettura: qual è il suo atteggiamento sull'uso degli ordini oggi?
Venturi. Il nostro tempo somiglia al gran secolo dell'architettura inglese, l'Ottocento, che fu un'epoca di







1. Tempio di Bel, Palmira, 32 d.C.
Foto Y. Butler.
2. Michelangelo Buonarroti, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Piazza del Campidoglio, Roma, 1564-68.
Foto L. von Matt, Buochs.
3. James Gibbs, Chiesa di St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Londra, 1722-26.
Foto A.F. Kersting.
4. Filippo Brunelleschi, Chiesa di Santo Spirito, Firenze, 1444-87.
Foto Anderson.
5. Andrea Palladio, Chiesa di San Giorgio Maggiore, Venezia, 1566-80.
6. Inigo Jones, Chiesa di St. Paul a Covent Garden, Londra, 1631-33.
Foto C. Westwood.
7. Andrea Palladio, Villa Foscari "La Malcontenta", presso Mira, Venezia, 1560.







eclettismo. Non abbiamo un solo stile, un solo vocabolario; nella nostra estetica non c'è posto per l'universalità e l'unità; la nostra impostazione non può essere ideologica. Perciò ritengo datata e inadeguata l'architettura moderna ortodossa, fondata su un sistema universale e sull'armoniosa unità delle parti. Oggi apprezziamo la ricchezza e l'ambiguità più dell'unità e della chiarezza, puntiamo sull'eterogeneità anziché sull'omogeneità. Il nostro classicismo può essere quindi interpretato, se è il caso, in senso stretto, ma io credo che la sua manifestazione più importante consista in ciò che è stato chiamato "classicismo libero": esso implica gli sviluppi devianti di cui ho parlato, che nei secoli passati hanno dato al classicismo ricchezza, tensione e capacità evolutiva. Ma il nostro tempo non può limitarsi al classicismo, neppure nello stesso edificio! Talvolta la facciata Queen Anne e il retro Mary Anne possono andare benissimo d'accordo.

Peter J. Wylde. Mi ha interessato la parte iniziale della sua conferenza, in cui ha detto che oggi il museo è il tipo edilizio dotato della maggior carica di simbolismo. Mi è parso di capire che in realtà un museo non è in grado di sostenere certe recenti superfetazioni architettoniche di tipo simbolico o addirittura pirotecnico.

Venturi. Penso che in un museo d'arte l'architetto abbia un compito estremamente difficile: deve creare un ambiente intimo e discreto per le opere esposte e al tempo stesso deve creare un'opera d'arte ben caratterizzata, capace di affermarsi come monumento civico importante. Ma non credo che ciò sia impossibile.

Michael Wigginton, architetto. Vorrei chiederle anzitutto se pensa che la nuova sede dei Lloyds sia abbastanza "complessa e contraddittoria". A proposito di ciò che Colin Amery ha detto poco fa sul declino del Movimento Moderno, fino a che punto lei crede che questo evidente declino dipenda da ciò che l'architettura "moderna" evocava, e non piuttosto dalla sua incapacità di evocare qualsiasi cosa?

Venturi. Penso che nel suo pieno fulgore il Movimento Moderno avesse un contenuto evocativo valido: puntare sugli elementi tecnici e industriali del costruire era adatto al momento, anche se forse già allora corrispondeva a un'impostazione troppo angusta e condizionata ideologicamente. Ma nella nostra epoca dobbiamo far posto alla diversità ed essere tolleranti e comprensivi nei nostri rapporti con la realtà. Se il vocabolario moderno viene recepito come uno dei vocabolari adatti al nostro tempo, lo ritengo utilizzabile.

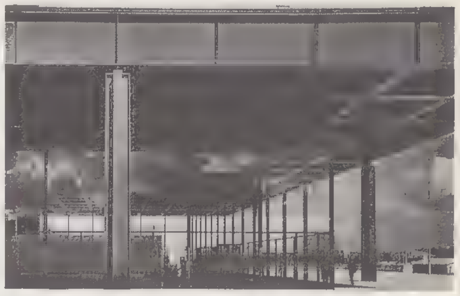
La nuova sede dei Lloyds è artisticamente ammirevole ed è realizzata con straordinaria abilità ed efficacia. Mi sembra però un po' paradossale nella sua simbolica glorificazione di quella rivoluzione industriale che ebbe inizio due secoli fa in questo paese e che oggi è esaurita.

Terence Bendixson. Vorrei richiamare la sua attenzione sui sobborghi. Lei ha detto che negli Stati Uniti i musei d'arte si stanno spostando verso il centro cittadino: può dirci qualcosa su ciò che accade nei sobborghi americani? Sono

ancora aggregati di edifici sparsi, collegati o separati tra loro da alberature, o sta nascendo in quei sobborghi, oltre a singoli edifici, qualcosa di architettonicamente interessante?
Venturi. È un tema assai vasto, su cui non ho avuto modo di soffermarmi di recente; ma una quindicina di anni fa Denise Scott Brown e io abbiamo condotto a Yale una ricerca dal titolo *Learning from Levittown*, che non è stata mai pubblicata. Il nostro lavoro fu considerato non meno indecente dell'altro da noi pubblicato su Las Vegas. Si badi che non abbiamo studiato le forme originarie e idealizzate di suburbio aventi le loro origini ideali nell'Inghilterra dell'Ottocento e del primo Novecento, bensì quelle più tarde, nate in America dal fenomeno dei grandi lottizzatori e destinate ad accogliere le masse rese indipendenti dall'automobile. Il nostro modo di accostarci al tema era positivo e non intendeva esprimere giudizi estetici. Oggi, com'è noto, il moderno suburbio americano è disdegnato come un esempio di proliferazione edilizia priva di validità architettonica; ma nel nostro studio, osservando questi aggregati senza atteggiamenti di sufficienza e accettando la relatività delle differenti culture estetiche, arrivammo alla conclusione che in fondo essi erano tenuti insieme dalla loro dimensione simbolica e dall'amenità dell'ambiente naturale, e che nel complesso davano agli abitanti un senso di sicurezza e di identità.
Presidente. Per concludere, mi è gradito proporre un plauso a Robert Venturi per aver illustrato così efficacemente il suo pensiero in relazione all'opera che presto potremo vedere coi nostri occhi; spero che questa conferenza abbia ulteriormente stimolato il vostro desiderio di conoscere i modelli e i disegni che saranno esposti la prossima settimana presso la National Gallery.







8. Christopher Wren, Cattedrale di St. Paul, Londra, 1675-1708. Foto Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
9. Michelangelo Buonarroti, Monumento a Giuliano de' Medici nella Sagrestia Nuova della Chiesa di San Lorenzo, Firenze, 1520-38. Foto Alinari.
10. Portale, Castleward House, Contea di Down, Irlanda del nord. Foto D. Guiness e W. Ryan.
11. Michelangelo Buonarroti, Sagrestia Nuova di San Lorenzo, Firenze, 1520-38.
12. Robert e John Adam, The Adelphi: facciata della Royal Society of Arts, Londra, 1768-72. Incisione del 1775.
13. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlino, 1963-68.

*From Invention to Convention in Architecture**

Robert Venturi

My thanks to Sir John for his generous words. We have been working hard on the design of the National Gallery extension — Sir John and his brothers Timothy and Simon Sainsbury, along with representative trustees and staff of the Gallery, and with the offices of our esteemed associates on this project, the firms of Sheppard Robson and Ove Arup & Partners — working hard within a process that is inevitably difficult and uneven when your approach is realistic and your goals are high. Bismarck said of the law, it is like sausage — better not to be in on the making of it. The same might go for architecture. But our clients have had the stomach, while in on the making of it, to withstand tensions and digest complexity.

I want to start by thanking the Board of the Thomas Cubitt Trust for inviting me here, but I should warn them, and you the audience too, to beware of architects making speeches. On the other hand, perhaps the Board was expecting me to speak not as an architect, but as a theoretician. But I am *an architect. I* was *a theoretician — when I was young — and had little work. I had to talk and write then to keep busy, although not to keep out of trouble; writing about complexity, contradiction, ambiguity, decoration, symbolism, Mannerism, Las Vegas, and even, in the late hours of pure Modernism, writing about Lutyens got me into trouble.*

But busy old architects do not theorize and probably should not — there is always the danger of lapsing into ideology — or they should theorize only as an accompaniment to their work. Yet I was explicitly requested by the Board of the Cubitt Trust to philosophize, not just to show our current work, and the Trustees of the National Gallery will not allow me to show the design of the Gallery until next week, and also I appropriately promised the RIBA that my first lecture-presentation of that project would be before that body — and yet for this to be a good talk I must deal with what is on my mind now, which is our current work, especially the National Gallery.

A way out of this dilemma is to continue speculating archly on this subject of architects' talking versus architects' showing, until it is time to conclude with 'Any questions?'*. But I shall try to instil some substance here by discussing what is currently on my mind, and the minds of my associates, in a general way — admitting that this will correspond to what is on the drawing boards in our office in a particular way — and this is the phenomenon of the popular art museum in the centre of town. It is a phenomenon widely acknowledged today; the Art Museum as the archetypal building type of our time, as the cathedral of today, is almost a cliché. But Sylvia Lavin in the November 1986 issue of* Interiors *has described the phenomenon profoundly and succinctly. She writes:*

"For every age there is a building type that sits on the apex of an architectural hierarchy and most completely expresses the aspirations and desperations of its time. In the Renaissance, cultural values were embodied in sacred architecture, while Le Corbusier's explorations of various

** This text is the article of the tenth Thomas Cubitt Lecture by Robert Venturi at the Royal Society of Art, London, January 1988, pp. 89-103. Translation by Giuseppe Scattone.*

forms of housing reveal the social upheavals of the early twentieth century. As western civilization has become increasingly complex it has become more difficult to pinpoint where our values lie, yet the museum is perhaps the building type that best reveals our cultural agenda. Certainly the war between the Modernists and the Post-Modernists is, in significant part, being fought on the battleground of museums. More important, in this age of general comfort, if not affluence, where social inequities are often expressed in sophisticated and subtle terms that are at home in the world of art, the museum has taken on a highly charged significance. Not only does the character of the contemporary museum come close to the core of recent shifts in architectural theory and ideology, but defining it as an institution now involves confronting a wide range of social and political phenomena".

I shall categorize, as I see them, some architectural implications of our archetypal museum — of the popular art museum in the centre of town — which involve sometimes dilemmas, always challenges — with some reference to the four museum projects in our office that are in the design stage now. I shall end with an approach to the façade as a manifestation of urban context and as an example of evolving Classicism. This latter will be explicitly a justification of an aspect of our National Gallery design, an apologia for our work, which is what you might expect from any talking architect, in the end.

The popular art museum in the centre of town is not only a repository for the conservation and display of works of art, it is an explicitly didactic institution, involving educational components — places for instruction via lectures, cinema, television, computers, as well as books. It includes perhaps an artist's studio. It accommodates a big staff beyond that of the traditional curators and conservators to administer the traditional curators and conservators to administer the new programmes. It has a shop and a restaurant with kitchen.

It is often a place for entertainment (especially in America) — a presumably beautiful and monumental environment for openings and other ceremonies. The ratio of space for art versus support space in the nineteenth-century museum was something like 9 to 1; today it is more like 1 to 2 — that is, only one-third of the total space might be for displaying art.

The art museum today has expanded its market — it is no longer a place for a cultural élite; where attendance at the National Gallery was a little over half a million visitors per year in the mid-nineteenth century, its attendance is now over 3,000,000 per year — spanning a wide range of taste, cultures and nationalities — accommodated of course by active educational programmes.

Many art museums in the United States are moving downtown. The site for the new building we are designing for the Laguna Gloria Art Museum is in the centre of town: it is moving from and idyllic but remote suburb of Austin, Texas. Our Seattle Art Museum is moving from a kind of élitist park at the edge of town to a dense urban site in the central business district, essentially to attract a wider range of people, to increase the museum's attendance and enhance its influence. By this juxtaposition of art and commerce it will perhaps also promote an immediacy between fine art and everyday life which has been lost in the modern experience. The creation of the image of the museum building in a dense urban setting is, of course, a significant architectural challenge.

Part of the challenge lies in the need to reassess the nature of art exhibition today. Whereas in the past collections were relatively static, today they are relatively changeable, owing to increased purchasing programmes, the ever-increasing supply of new work available to museums that exhibit contemporary art, and the advent of the temporary and travelling exhibition where new art is displayed or old art is combined in new ways according to a theme. This requires various degress of flexibility in spatial configuration and lighting and promotes various approaches to the architectural setting for art, including spaces that are symbolically neutral or historical or modern-mechanistic, that are contained or flowing in character.

Lighting has always been of the greatest significance in the display of art, of course. Most museums combine daylight, with its chromatic and dynamic quality, and artificial light, with its more or less sophisticated opportunities for control and variation. And there is the important consideration today of conforming to strict conservation standards for controlling light levels and minimizing exposure to ultraviolet rays harmful to pigments.

I should like to list some of our responses as architects to the issues I have enumerated — issues deriving from the current role of the art museum as a didactic, popular, urban institution, requiring complex approaches to display. Some of these issues may seem easy to define and simple to handle, but you will note they occur in combination with each other and, when combined, they become sometimes contradictory and often complex.

The enormous didactic ingredient in the art museum programme makes for inevitable spatial complexity. Whereas the original Wilkins fabric of the National Gallery is essentially a series of rooms en suite, *more or less of the same size, with the first floor corresponding spatially and structurally to the ground floor, our art museum is a combination of various-sized spaces, open and closed, with extremely complex and varied relationships with each other. This complexity is compounded by the vertical configuration of spaces required on a dense urban site. The loading bay for the huge service vehicles, for instance, might sit above the lecture theatre, be adjacent to the museum shop on one side and the security offices on the other, be below the computer library, which is in turn below the gallery containing the Masaccios; and all of this must fit in with Ove Arup's very significant structural and mechanical requirements and accommodate to necessary governmental codes for safety. In our office we call this aspect of design the Chinese puzzle. Now the Chinese puzzle, although it must be solved, is not*

the greatest challenge. An ingenious Swiss watchmaker could solve it. More significant architecturally is the resultant remoteness of the art. When you enter the museum you might wonder, are you in a museum or an airport? And by the time you reach the art, you are either worn down by the banality of the maze you have traversed, or jaded by the drama of the spatial, symbolic, or chromatic fantasies the architect has ejaculated you through. The art, when you reach it, has become a kind of anticlimax — in fact, dull as you perceive it with your, by then, constricted pupils, jaded sensibilities, and loss of orientation.

But besides the spatial complexity and remoteness of the art is the probable lack of institutional identity as you enter the building, where you are immediately confronted by an information desk, a maze of graphic communication, a commercial shop, cloak room counters, and security arrangements. All of this can be convenient and reassuring for the visitor, but can make for an effect that is mean.

Our architectural approach to these three problems of spatial complexity, remoteness of the art, and loss of institutional identity is to make the spatial system hierarchical — perceptually simple in its major order if actually intricate in its minor order; to make the long progression up to or over to the art direct, simple, and imageful — often with a very big, single-run stair, and to design the entrance lobby so that visitors at first perceive simple architectural forms with generous scale that bespeak an institution; and then soon after, they can be reassured by the clutter of specific functional and communicative elements which will then look good and work well in their larger context.

All of this comes down, in the end, to questions of clarity and scale — of clarity in the sequential and progressional experience of reaching the art, of scale in the crucial combination of big and little elements in the complex arrangements of today's art museum. We have tried to avoid creating a maze of medium-scale elements without that hierarchical order which creates the clarity and tension of good architecture and makes the building appropriately institutional inside and civic outside.

Concerning the galleries themselves as a setting for art: The galleries should be rooms for looking at paintings in, not contraptions for containing them. The architecture should not overshadow the art.

Art museums have followed two distinct traditions in the display of paintings: one where paintings are set in an explicit architectural context generally analogous stylistically with the period of the painting; for example, the rooms of the Pitti Palace, where Pietro da Cortona's mural on the ceiling and his easel painting on the wall are found in the same gallery. The other extreme is the early Museum of Modern Art, where neutral and flexible spaces encourage changing exhibits and provide a background that is not analogous with the historical imagery of the painting. Here, natural light is usually eliminated and the background is designed as a stage set to be manipulated by the curator and changed at frequent intervals. The walls are usually white.

Our approach lies between these two extremes. It allows some flexibility and yet suggests an abstraction, and elemental expression, of the setting that the artists anticipated when painting the pictures. A positive, associative context, we think, renders the paintings real and memorable for viewers, whereas an 'anonymous', early-MoMA context tends to make the art resemble reproductions in a book. However, we feel the gallery setting should not replicate the chapels or palace rooms in which historical paintings were originally hung but should recall instead the substantial architectural character and the air of permanence of these spaces.

Concerning the galleries as rooms:

In palaces, paintings were displayed in rectangular rooms and lit by windows. Nineteenth-century galleries were based on these palace rooms but windows were replaced by roof monitors. In the twentieth century, galleries tend to be designed as flowing space or space that can be temporarily defined, and the technical requirements of lighting are expressed as positive architectural elements.

In the National Gallery, to suit the character of its Renaissance collection, but also in our other art museum designs, we have returned to the earlier tradition. Galleries that are rooms defined by familiar, traditional walls, floors, ceilings, doors, and windows are more appropriate, we feel, for exhibiting paintings than are galleries where the forms and symbols are original, mechanistic, and modern.

A further question of architectural scale lies in the design of gallery spaces in relation to the size fo the paintings, the scale of their images, and the number of people looking at them. In the Early Renaissance collection of the National Gallery, for instance, we have relatively small paintings with intricate images. They were created for small chapels or the relatively small rooms of Quattrocento palaces and burghers' houses, and were seen originally by perhaps several dozen people a day. These paintings, as artistic icons, are now seen by thousands of people per day — the over-three million visitors a year to the National Gallery correspond to about one-third of the whole population of the Italian peninsula in the fifteenth century. The galleries themselves must accommodate, then, small objects and large crowds. The rooms must be large enough to take the crowds but small enough not to overwhelm the paintings. Doors between galleries must be relatively wide but the axial vistas, seen through room openings, must not be too long or Baroquely grand, to respect the scale of the early Renaissance paintings. I think part of the secret here is (like God *for Mies van der Rohe) in the details. Architectural detail in the galleries must be small in scale and highly refined to relate to the scale and intimacy of many of the paintings.*

In lighting the galleries we must accommodate other sets of contradictory requirements, this time of architecture and science: each gallery space should be an elemental room, yet, at the same time, it must admit light in a way that does not harm the paintings.

In our current work we have tried for:

— Natural daylight in the galleries but no direct sunlight or

ultraviolet rays on the paintings.
— Illumination (a mixture of natural and artificial light) at the lower wall surface where the paintings hang, but no halo of bright light at the top of the wall.
— No overt, mechanical expression of the means of admitting and controlling natural or artificial light.
— Daylight that is recognizable as daylight — and therefore no horizontal daylight systems of skylights, but rather clerestories with recognizable windows in them, and, of course, appropriately protected to control the amount of daylight. Also night or late winter afternoon lighting that does not try to replicate natural light.
— An image of window as symbol. An art museum can have few windows — this is because of the need for wall space inside to hang the paintings and for protection against excessive daylight to conserve the paintings. Security is also an issue. But an occasional opportunity to look out while in galleries is desirable for two reasons: a window in this context is what makes a gallery a room, a room for art rather than a tomb for art; it makes of the gallery a true place — by making the gallery familiar and by giving the viewers the chance occasionally to be reminded of where they are, to see the real world and identify with it while within the magical world of art; this makes the magic more magic through the comparison. This we have accomplished through spatial layering, where the window is in an inner wall set back from the exterior wall which has its own window: so you see the inner symbolic window juxtaposed on an outer 'true' window, and thus the inner window of the gallery is shielded from direct rays of the sun.
Now for the exterior of the popular art museum in the centre of town.
Seen from outside, a building without windows almost inevitably looks stark and hostile — associated with forts or jails; yet a popular museum must look open and inviting. Thus the quality of the entrance is important and the ornamentation of the exterior walls significant. Wilkins did well in the National Gallery with his central open portico, which is inviting, and his walls decorated with pilasters, mouldings, and those niches which are a symbolic form of window.
Then there is the question of presence. The art museum in the centre of town is a building of high civic importance, but it is smaller than the buildings around it. This is especially true in the United States, where the low museum is often framed by high-rise office buildings. Also the location of the art museum may not be special in the hierarchical plan of the city — it many not, for instance, be a focus at the end of an axial boulevard. As an institution in the thick of things, it is along a street. This is the case with the Whitney and Guggenheim museums and the Museum of Modern Art in New York City and with our museum in Seattle.
How do these important institutional buildings surrounded by less important but bigger private buildings achieve presence? Again, through architectural scale — by being small buildings with big scale. But again, the big scale must be juxtaposed with little scale — the big scale for presence, the little scale for friendliness — to make you comfortable as an individual in a monumental context: this is a truly Italian delight. But it is also English: in Trafalgar Square there is the poignant juxtaposition of Nelson's huge Corinthian column with the much smaller Corinthian columns of the portico of the National Gallery; these are almost country-house-domestic in their size and scale.
What I say here about urbanity and scale may seem obvious, but it implies an opposite approach to that of some recently designed galleries. The designs of urban museums in Stuttgart, Mönchengladbach and Los Angeles employ combinations of medium-scale elements in a spatial play of pavilions and plazas to be experienced sequentially, as in a medieval village or a Hadrian's Villa.
In these museums scale is extended, not through the juxtaposition of big and small within the confines of the urban block, but, as it was in Modern architecture, through a breaking of the limits of the urban block — skyways span streets, outdoor public routes bisect the building.
Besides these questions of the small building with architectural presence, the inviting building with windowless walls, and the urban building conforming to the ordinary spatial system of the city, there is the question of context. An urban building should be designed from the outside in as well as from the inside out — a tradition that was temporarily forgotten in the anti-urban days of Modern architecture. Attention to context in the design of urban architecture promotes harmony and a sense of the whole. Harmony can be achieved through contrast or analogy — that is, the grey suit with the grey necktie or the grey suit with the red necktie — or through both — the grey suit with the grey necktie with red polka dots. Then also there is room for disharmony in artistic, contextual composition — this to acknowledge valid contradictions and discontinuities within the whole and to make the overall harmony more sweet.
Many museum projects today are extensions of older museums. Respect for the whole in these cases is especially significant, and here the idea of the building as fragment, the building that inflects, is important. You will see that the National Gallery extension as we have designed it, although separate from the original Wilkins fabric, inflects toward the main building. It is a kind of fragment; it could not stand alone, or make sense if the old building were somehow to disappear. At the same time we hope the new building is not subservient in its acknowledgement of the old building. It forms part of a greater whole, but it is also a building on its own and of its own time, contrasting tensely with, and being analogous to, the original building.
Lastly, symbolism and graphics. Today's art museum with its changing shows is like a theatre and needs graphics, outside and in, that are sometimes the equivalent of a marquee — or should the graphics outside be explicitly instructive like the billboard façade of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève engraved with the names of hundreds of scholars? I also like the old, now destroyed, Neue Pinakothek in Munich with its

great mosaic depiction of a picture on its front façade. But don't worry, we've not tried these graphic ideas out on the National Gallery; Trafalgar Square is not to become Leicester Square.

This paper has been full of conjunctive yets and buts — but that's natural in any analysis of a current urban art museum which is popular yet *esoteric, closed* but *open, monumental* yet *inviting, an accommodating setting for the art* but *a work of art itself, and so on, and so on.*

This could have been my first lecture without slides — but I shall wake you up with a coda of slides — a short description of an architectural idea that is good to remind ourselves of — and which, as I have said, might be taken as an anticipatory apologia for aspects of our National Gallery design.

The idea is that today's deviation is tomorrow's convention. I shall refer to a few evolutionary changes as I see them within the history of Classical architecture. The emphasis will be less on any consistency of the elements of Classicism or rigidity of their rules of combination, and more on their inherent flexibility and their potential for achieving lively art.

Here are some now familiar Classical conformations involving more or less symbolism and form:

Fig. 1. The pilaster: What did the first critic who saw one of these say? What! A column stuck on a wall — a structural element as a decoration — what kind of oxymoron is this — or is it a joke? (Perhaps artists are never so serious as when they are accused of joking.)

Fig. 2. The giant order: Juxtaposed pilasters of different sizes and orders! How confusing the forms and scale! (But this Michelangelo outrage initiated the *monumental tradition for promoting hierarchies of scale for aesthetic and community expression in architecture.)*

Fig. 3. And then there is St Martin-in-the-Fi—elds — a medieval spire on a Roman temple? How uncomfortable! (But didn't it become the *archetypal church of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the United States?)*

Fig. 4. A church as a basilica? How can a Roman law court correspond to a Christian sanctuary?

Fig. 5. Superimposed temples reflecting the basilica inside? Muddling through, Italian-style!

Fig. 6. An archaic temple as a Christian Church? Good gods!

Fig. 7. Malcontenta — a country house with a templefront! — which became a prototype for stately houses and Southern plantations.

Fig. 8. Frank Lloyd Wright said of St Peter's: Michelangelo built a temple, slung the Pantheon on top and called it a day. (Actually Brunelleschi did it first.) (I know this is not St Peter's.)

Fig. 9. Reclining figures on a pediment? I hope they don't doze off and fall down.

Fig. 10. A broken pediment? 'Tis a pity she's a half.

Fig. 11. Classical cornices designed to control dripping rain and modulate shadows in the sun — inside? Another one of those architect's tricks.

Fig. 12. Delicate interior Roman plaster work — on the outside? How fussy, Mr Adam.

Fig. 13. And lastly, if I may consider Mies van der Rohe a Classical architect in spirit: and old-fashioned industrial vernacular vocabulary for a modern civic building?

We now love these examples of what were once deviations but are now archetypes; but let us remember that evolutionary variation is sometimes harder to accept than revolutionary invention in architecture.

You will note I have not included Mannerist deviations that did not become archetypes. Mannerist architecture is architecture that was strange then and is now. This is because in Mannerist architecture deviation is intrinisic; deviations in Mannerist buildings are usually systemwide rather than expedient; they form part of a whole approach to composition which embraces the strange or ambiguous.

You will note lastly that many of the examples illustrated above are English. The genius of English Classicism in architecture derives largely from its deviations from the norm. Some of the deviations accommodate the intrusion of circumstance, while others represent evolutions that shift the norm. All Classical architecture balances the particular and the individual against the general and the universal. In England, the balance is often subtle and oscillating; the incursion of the exceptional, even the idiosyncratic, on the elemental and abstract its barely resolved, and equilibrium is precariously maintained. As a result, a tension and richness of composition are achieved that enliven the basic Classical vocabulary and make English Classicism supremely vivid and poignant.

In this context, the essential purism of Lord Burlington and his circle is and exception within a tradition that is more accurately represented by the mannerist (not Mannerist) tendencies of Wren, Hawksmoor. Vanbrugh, Archer, Soane, 'Greek' Thomson, and the Lutyens of 'the high game'.

Discussion

***Mr. Colin Amery** (Architecture critic,* Financial Times*). I am interested in your mentioning the associational qualities of architecture, something we are all concerned about as the modern movement moves away, because that movement seemed to lack associative qualities. What do you see as the associative qualities in a modern museum?*

***Mr. Venturi.** The Modernists of the heroic period did, of course, disown, symbolism or associational elements in architecture. Their architecture implied that it derived from the requirements of function and structure. This kind of resultant aesthetic certainly eschewed any historical associative content. Their architecture was not a style; it did not admit to vocabulary as such, but*

rather forms evolved automatically from functional and structural requirements, as I have said. They did not promote meaning in the work but rather expression. It is as if Modernist architects took the Vitruvian description of architecture — 'commodity, firmness and delight' — *and revised it to read* 'commodity and firmness equal delight'. *But we all know that Modern architects didn't practise what they preached. Certainly those in the mainstream of the movement represented by the Bauhaus didn't, for instance, when they adapted an existing industrial vernacular vocabulary, a machine aesthetic, as identifiable as the Renaissance adaption of the Roman orders, which proclaimired their progressive-technical and social-utopian biases and their anti-historical intent.*

Now that we can admit to an inevitable associational element in our art as an important dimension for enriching it, what should association refer to — especially in museums? The answer is, "I think, many things — and that depends". *On the outside, the associational or symbolic content of the façades might derive from the particular urban context — evolving from it and/or contrasting with it or from regional tradition. On the inside, the immediate setting for the art might evoke the ambience the artist anticipated for his art or it might contrast with it. The analogous setting should probably not be historically literal, but symbolically allusive. Thus the gallery for contemporary painting might suggest the large loft space, New York SoHo style, where that artist painted under artificial light at 3 a.m. Our galleries for the Early Renaissance collection in the National Gallery will be associationally both loft-like and Quattrocento. But the opposite approach can work beautifully, as in post-war Italy where great museum architecture often involved the juxtapositions of Modern art in historical palatial rooms or historical art in abstract or industrial-like Modern interiors. So the answer is, I think, there is no one ideological stance — there is no place today for specific ideological symbolic promotions, like those of the Oxford and Cambridge movements in the last century — in the use of association, but there is on the other hand a recognition that association is inevitable in the perception of form, and in the creation of it, so relax and enjoy it.*

Mr.George West *(Architect). What do you think of the architectural subtlery or otherwise of Trafalgar Square? Could you give us some idea, when you stand in the square, of what you see as its architectural form and its dominant features, what you feel about the square and how you see the extension which runs out of the square? Would you like to tell us the subtleties which you actually see in the square?*

Mr. Venturi. *Well, Trafalgar Square is not easy to like, or identify, as a simple enclosed spatial entity; it is not like one of the Georgian squares London is famous for, like Bedford Square, for instance, but we should not hold that against it. Trafalgar Square derives its effect, its sense of place, largely from the dominance of the central sculptural form, that of the column. It is less an enclosed square than a space that accommodates to and is identified by the great vertical shaft — not unlike the high-reader signs of the American commercial strip that promote identity along those directional configurations. The buildings around Trafalgar Square can therefore be much less unified, less enclosing as architectural elements than we would expect in the typical square, because of that column. There are also the sensitive modulations of the floor of the Square — I refer to the retaining wall at the northern end which does create a sense of enclosure there — evidently the original fields sloped up at this point. And while Canada House and South Africa House are more free-standing than enclosing in their make-up, they are analogous to each other in style, material, scale and height. Denise Scott Brown has pointed out that the very focused activity of the Square, pedestrian and vehicular, contributes to its sense of identity and unity — and the consistent pattern of pigeons also helps. Another thing I like about Trafalgar Square is the juxtaposition of the super-sized Corinthian column cum Nelson and the normal-sized Corinthian columns of the portico of the National Gallery: this discord in scale contributes tension and vitality to this urban composition, and restores a balance between the 'too big' column and the 'too small' scale of the central building which is almost domestic, and that in turn is poignantly right for and English National Gallery. In our design for the extension, you will see we have tried to promote spatial enclosure for this corner of the Square via the shape of the plan, and a continuity with the original Wilkins façade through an inflection of the plan of the front and the rhythmic configuration of our pilasters on the façade. The pilasters are identical to Wilkins', and their rhythm takes after that of Wilkins' pilasters and columns which is the essential ingredient of his façade, and its glory — especially as seen obliquely. Our building, as you will see, does not attempt to complement St Martin-in-the-Fields but to extend the National Gallery.*

Mr. Florian Beigel *(Architect). You made reference to Mies van der Rohe's National Gallery in Berlin, showing us a photo of it in a series of slides which supported your argument about Classical architecture. In my view Mies's classicism is largely based on his concern for structure and construction. How does his approach inform your design?*

Mr. Venturi. *Mies van der Rohe combined flowing space and enclosed space, and the steel frame and glass, and the industrial symbolism of standard steel frame sections in glorious ways. We decided early on to make the new extension analogous to, rather than contrasting*









*with, the old Masonry Neo-Classical building, although we have not been literal in our Classical interpretations, as I said in the apologia in my lecture. But the south side of our extension, as you will see, does employ a Miesian vocabulary with also Brunel-Paxton overtones — or at least we made that analogy as we designed it. The resultant contrasting façades, front and side, reflect the contextual approach of our building accommodating different urban contexts on each side of our complex urban site. And I love Mies most when he says '*God is in the details'*. Do you think he would have capitalized Details too?*

Mr. Brent Richards *(Architect). In making an extension to an existing major building in an important square such as this, the key issue must be to decide what the new relationship is — can it successfully be both a response to the existing building and to the wider urban context?*

Mr. Venturi. *There is danger in any path you take. We decided early on, as I have said, to make the extension architecturally analogous to the original building and therefore also not contrapuntal to St Martin-in-the-Fields. St. Martin-in-the-Fields, through its spire, remains the unique vertical focus and, as a kind of Classical temple,* the *forcefully complete composition at the edge of the Square. Our extension, complementary in position but not in form with the church, becomes truly an extension of the National Gallery, at once a continuation of it and, in its rhythmic configuration, an ending to it, at once a kind of coda and a diminuendo, we hope.*

Mr. Richards. *Do you think, therefore, that becoming a good neighbour, in an urban context, is the more vital relationship?*

Mr. Venturi. *I think you should always try to be a good neighbour in a city or a town, although sometimes being a good neighbour is not necessarily being analogous to your neighbour. Sometimes you really need to be different, if still a good, neighbour. This might be because the neighbourhood needs spicing up, or because the interior needs of your buildings demand an exterior that is very different from its neighbours. Cities are constantly evolving, and there are moments when there should be an uncomfortable confrontation expressing some inherent contradicitions that come up in any evolving and dynamic situation. Valid discord is an old and basic phenomenon in art. How about the Piazza San Marco, where a strident Byzantine cathedral confronts a patterned 'Ruskinian' Gothic palace across from a highly reliefed Renaissance library?*

This kind of qualified architectural neighbourliness is one of the things that makes London different from Paris, where literal neighbourly unity is the norm. London's surprises and sometimes violent juxtapositions make it for today one of the most exciting cities in the world architecturally in my opinion — along whith Los

Angeles. There is a danger in being too concerned with aesthetic urban composition, and not acknowledging inevitable contradictory evolutionary phenomena in cities: the naïvely 'do-gooder' urban design codes proliferating in the United States, along with design review boards, are going to minimize mistakes but maximize mediocrity in our cities. Louis Kahn once said a city needs bad spaces as well as good spaces; he might have hadded that if you insure against all bad building you will also preclude really good building.

Thank God historical Italy did not practise urban design as an academic discipline or promote it through bureaucratic codification.

Mr. Sherban Cantacuzino *(Secretary, Royal Fine Art Commission). You mentioned at the beginning of your talk that you were requested by the Thomas Cubitt Trust to philosophize and not to talk about your own work.*

May I say how remarkable it was to me that you showed a number of slides without showing a single one of your own work?

May I nevertheless ask you a question about architectural language? We had a Cubitt Lecture about two years ago on the subject of the use of the classical language in architecture today.

What is your attitude to the use of the Orders today?

Venturi. *We are in a time similar to the great age of English architecture, the nineteenth century, which was an age of eclecticism.*

There is no one way, no one vocabulary. Our aesthetic emphasis cannot include universality and unity. Our approach cannot be ideological.

That is why I think classic Modern architecture, orthodox Modern architecture, is dated and inappropriate now, because of its basis as a universal system, with a harmonious unity of parts.

We value now richness and ambiguity over unity and clarity; we glory in hetereogeneity over homogeneity.

Our Classicism therefore can admit strict interpretation when appropriate but its major manifestation, I think, will be what has been called Free Classicism, involving what I have just called the deviant development that has made Classicism evolutionary and rich and tense in the past.

But this isn't the time for only Classicism — even in the same building! The Queen Anne front and the Mary Anne behind is sometimes OK.

Mr. Peter J. Wylde. *I was interested in the early part of your lecture, when you seemed to say that we have elevated the museum to the building type which now seems to carry the greatest load of symbolism.*

I wonder if I detected an indication that within a museum there is not really quite the content to support the architectural pyrotechnics and symbolism which have often been added in recent years?

Mr. Venturi. *I think the architecture of an art museum has to do the almost impossible: be an appropriately recessive setting for the art inside and an appropriately positive piece*







1. Temple of Bel, Palmira, 32 A.D. Photo Y. Butler.
2. Michelangelo Buonarroti, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Piazza del Campidoglio, Rome, 1564-68. Photo L. von Matt, Buochs.
3. James Gibbs, Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, 1722-26. Photo A.F. Kersting.
4. Filippo Brunelleschi, Church of Santo Spirito, Florence, 1444-87. Photo Anderson.
5. Andrea Palladio, Church of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, 1566-80.
6. Inigo Jones, Church of St. Paul at Covent Garden, London, 1631-33. Photo C. Westwood.
7. Andrea Palladio, Villa Foscari "La Malcontenta", near Mira, Venezia, 1560.







of art itself as an important civic monument. I think this can work.

Mr. Michael Wigginton *(Architect). I would like to ask first whether you think the Lloyds Building is 'complex and contradictory' enough? Relating that to what Colin Amery said earlier about the Modern movement fading away, to what extent do you think the apparent fading of the Modern movement is to do with what 'modern' architecture, the Modern movement, associated with, rather than its failure to associate with anything?*

Mr. Venturi. *I think the associative content of the Modern movement in its heyday was appropriate — that glorying in technical and industrial elements of construction was timely, but perhaps it was a too narrow path, too ideologically focused even for then.*

But we are in a time that must accommodate diversity and we need to be tolerant and inclusive in how we connect with things. If the Modern vocabulary is accepted as one *of the appropriate vocabularies for now, then I think it is appropriate.*

The Lloyds Building I admire in its art. I think it is exceedingly skilful and effective. But I do see some irony in its symbolic glorification of the industrial revolution which began in this country two hundred years ago and is over now.

Mr. Terence Bendixson. *Could I ask you to switch your attention to the suburbs? You spoke of art galleries in the United States moving downtown from the suburbs. Could you say a little bit about what you see happening in American suburbs; are they still scatterings of buildings held together or held apart by trees, or is there something of architectural interest other than isolated buildings taking place in the suburban expanse of American cities?*

Mr. Venturi. *It is a huge subject which I have not thought about much recently, but Denise Scott Brown and I did a study at Yale called* Learning from Levittown *about fifteen years ago. It was not published. What we did was considered almost as nasty and vulgar as our study of Las Vegas which was published. You notice we did not study the original idealized versions of the suburb with their ideal origins in England in the nineteeth and early twentieth century, but the later versions of the American developers' phenomenon that accommodated the masses by then freed by their automobiles. We approached our subject positively and non-judgementally in terms of taste.*

Now, as we all know, the contemporary American suburb is despised as a phenomenon of spatial sprawl and for its vulgar architectural styles, but what we found then was that these configurations, looked at without condescension, acknowledging the relativity of diverse taste cultures, were held together in the end by their symbolic dimension, and the amenity of natural landscape; a sense of a 'man's castle' was on the whole sustained.

The Chairman. *My final and pleasant duty is to propose a vote of thanks to Bob Venturi for a lecture which has given us a great insight into his thinking and concern with the work which we are going to see unveiled next week.*

I hope it has whetted your appetite to see the models and drawings at the National Gallery next week.







8. Christopher Wren, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1675-1708. Photo Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
9. Michelangelo Buonarroti, Monument at Giuliano de' Medici in the Sagrestia Nuova in the Church of San Lorenzo, Florence, 1520-38. Photo Alinari.
10. Portal, Castleward House, County Down, Northern Ireland. Photo D. Guiness and W. Ryan.
11. Michelangelo Buonarroti, Sagrestia Nuova of San Lorenzo, Florence, 1520-38.
12. Robert and John Adam, The Adelphi: façade of the Royal Society of Arts, London, 1768-72. Engraving of 1775.
13. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1963-68.

Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona

1987-1992

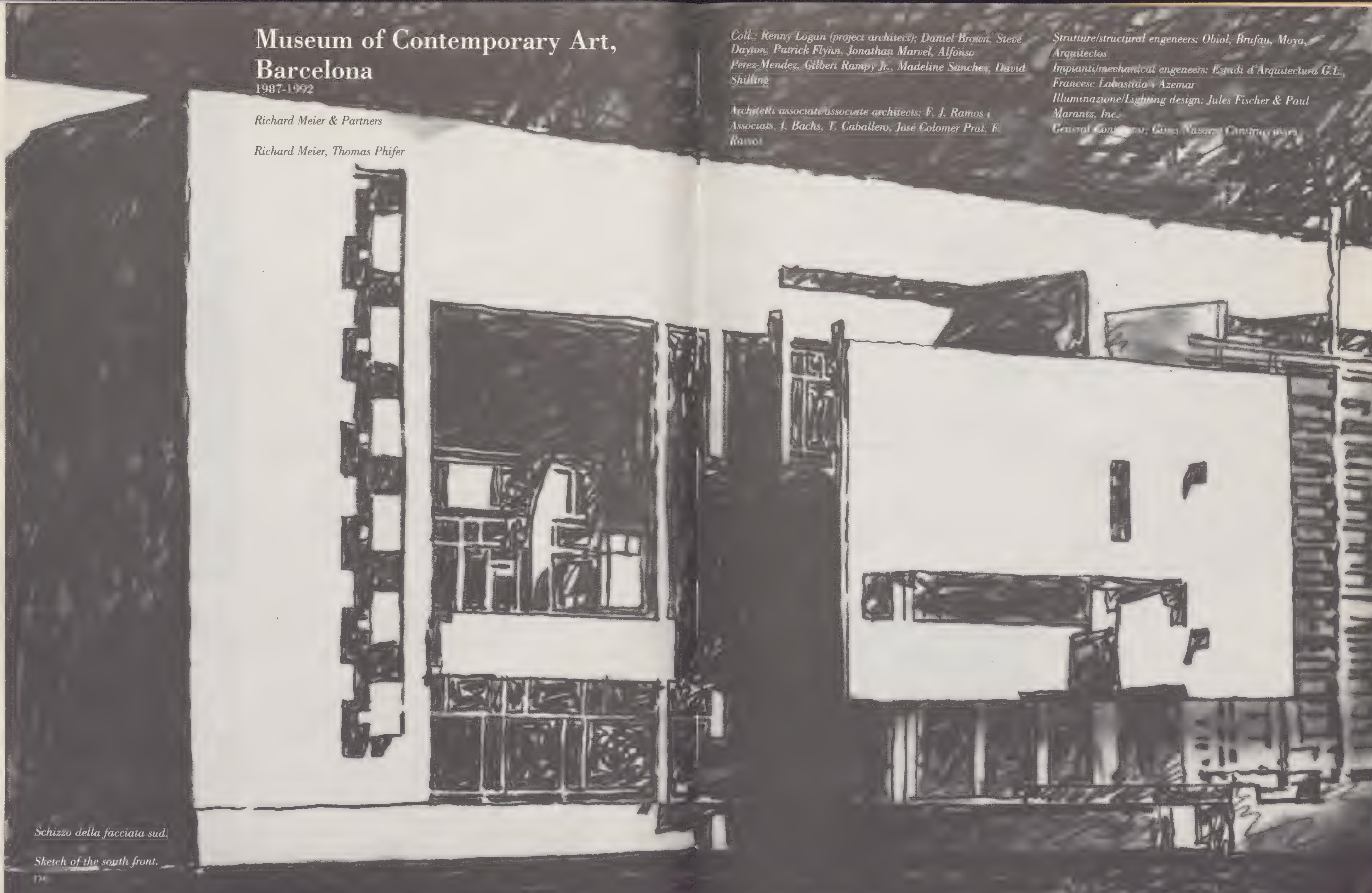
Richard Meier & Partners

Richard Meier, Thomas Phifer

Coll.: Renny Logan (project architect); Daniel Brown, Steve Dayton, Patrick Flynn, Jonathan Marvel, Alfonso Perez-Mendez, Gilbert Rampy Jr., Madeline Sanchez, David Shilling

Architetti associati/associate architects: F. J. Ramos i Associats, I. Bachs, T. Caballero, José Colomer Prat, F. Ramos

Strutture/structural engeneers: Obiol, Brufau, Moya, Arquitectos
Impianti/mechanical engeneers: Estudi d'Arquitectura G.L., Francesc Labastida i Azemar
Illuminazione/Lighting design: Jules Fischer & Paul Marantz, Inc.
General Con[illegible]



Schizzo della facciata sud.

Sketch of the south front.

Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona

1987-1992

Richard Meier & Partners

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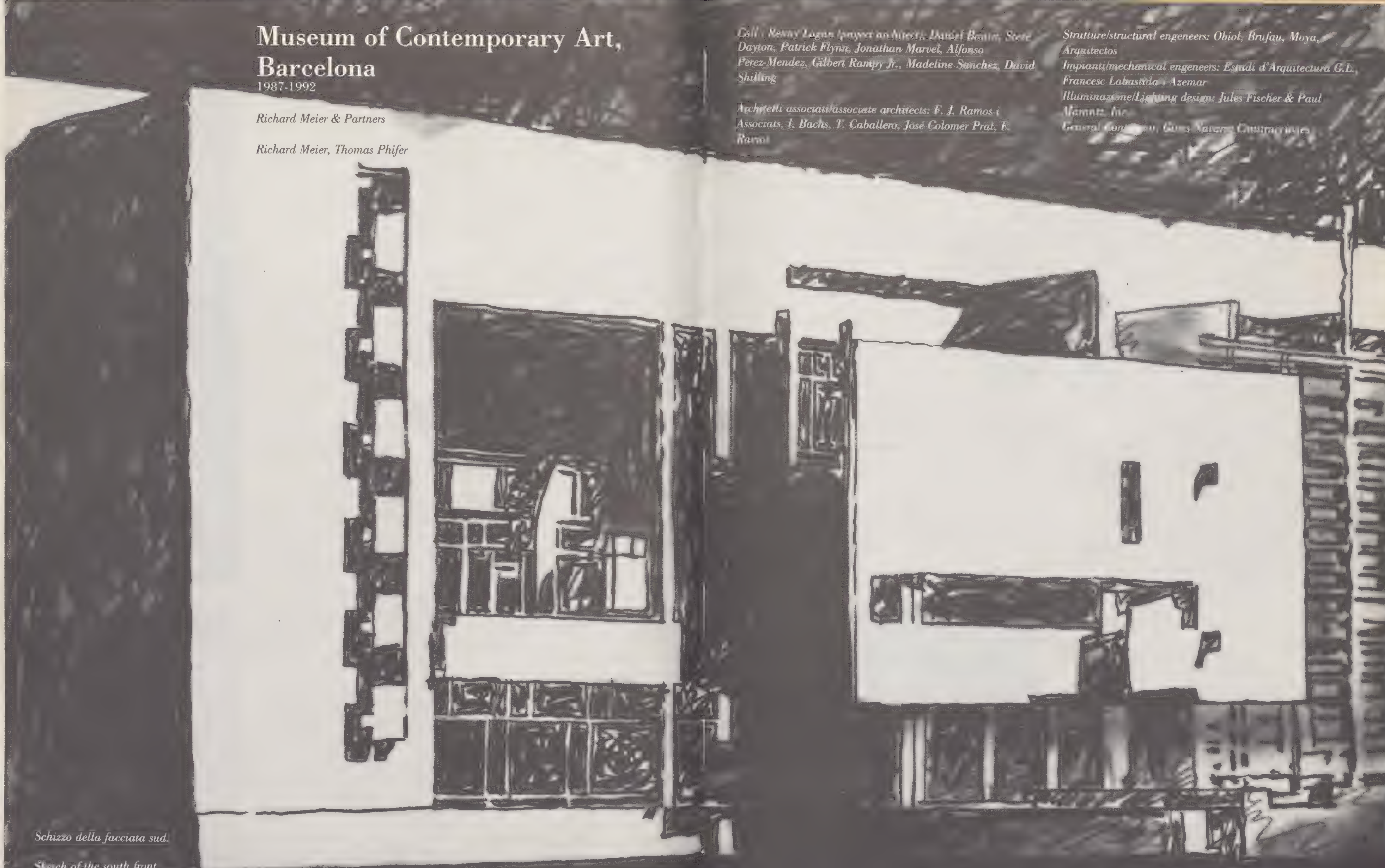
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Schizzo della facciata sud.

Sketch of the south front.

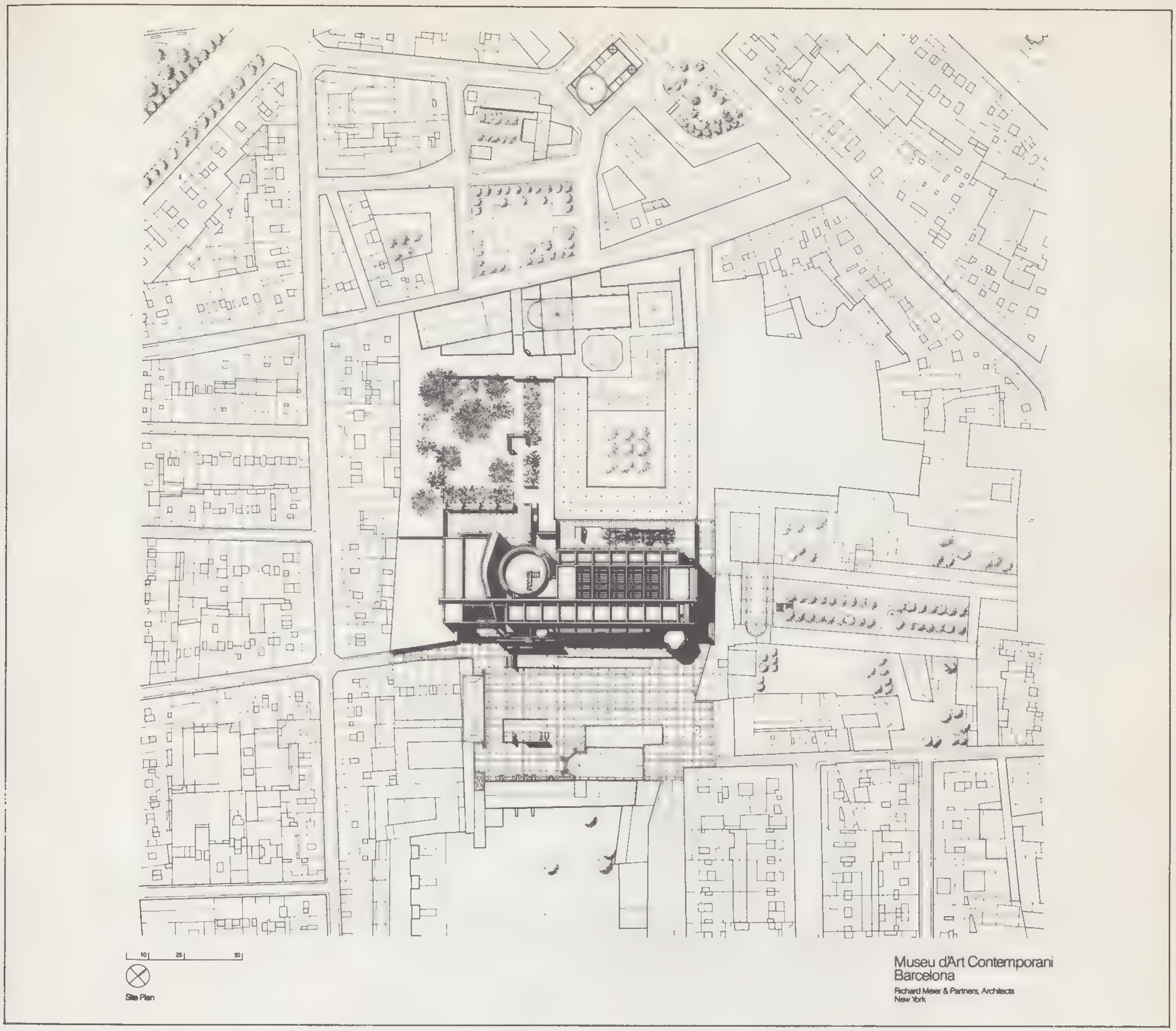
Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Barcellona
Richard Meier

Situato nel quartiere della Casa de la Caritat, un'ex *enclave* monastica, il Museo d'Arte Contemporanea di Barcellona si pone in rapporto dialettico con l'impronta storica del contesto e le opere contemporanee che racchiude, rispecchiando, per così dire, con la propria impostazione generale, il tortuoso e intricato tessuto urbano che lo circonda. Già dall'ingresso principale questo rapporto è reso inequivocabilmente manifesto mediante un percorso parallelo che consente libera circolazione tra i giardini del museo posti sul retro dell'isolato e la piazza pedonale e il nucleo urbano creati *ex novo*, che prenderanno il nome di Plaça dels Angels. Tale *paseo* si inserirà nell'esistente percorso pedonale che, come una sorta di passeggiata culturale, attraversa già tutta la città vecchia raccordando fra loro varie istituzioni civiche. L'entrata di accesso al piano terreno, essendo rialzata di un metro rispetto al livello generale della piazza, è preceduta da una rampa di generose dimensioni.
Una volta oltrepassato il portico principale, il visitatore si ritrova in un vestibolo cilindrico che permette un'ampia vista sul *paseo* che attraversa l'edificio. Da questo spazio di ingresso la circolazione prosegue con una rampa interna a sviluppo longitudinale lungo il fronte, contenuta in un atrio a tripla altezza e affacciata sia sulle gallerie espositive che sulla piazza. Oltre a costituire un punto di orientamento, questo atrio, schermato con una griglia frangisole, contribuisce a filtrare all'interno del museo la luce naturale proveniente da sud.
Le gallerie espositive principali, situate accanto al corpo cilindrico d'ingresso, riprendono, per dimensioni e dislocazione, i volumi della Casa de la Caritat che sorge sul retro del museo, e sono costituite da vasti spazi aperti, tipo *loft*, che possono ospitare agevolmente opere contemporanee di dimensioni notevoli.

Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona
Richard Meier

Located in the area of the Casa de la Caritat, previously a monastic enclave, the Museum of Contemporary Art in Barcelona creates a dialogue between the historic forms of its context and the contemporary art within. The labyrinthic nature of the surrounding urban fabric thus finds a certain reflection in the fundamental organization of the building. This is perhaps never more evident than in the main entry which is paralleled by a passage that permits free pedestrian movement between the museum garden to the rear of the block and a newly created pedestrian plaza and urban core to be know as the Plaça dels Angels. This paseo *will form part of an existing pedestrian network running throughout the old city like a cultural promenade, connecting various civic institutions. Access to the ground floor entry, raised one meter above the general level of the plaza, is afforded by a generously dimensioned ramp.*
Once past the principal portico, visitors enter into a cylindrical reception area that affords a clear view over the interpenetrating paseo. *From this initial reception space the circulation continues along an interior ramp, located within a triple height ramp hall giving views onto the galleries as well as onto the plaza. In addition to serving as an orientation device, this louvered hall helps to filter natural light entering the museum from the south.*
The principal gallery spaces situated close to the entry drum parallel, in their bulk and placement, the general mass of the Casa de la Caritat located behind the museum. These exhibition volumes comprise large, open, loft-like spaces that can easily sizable contemporary works.
Possibly the most striking feature of this exhibition sequence is the layering of space from the louvered ramp hall, on the plaza through to the double-height gallery running the full length of the northeastern façade. Visitors must cross over full-height light "slots", complete with glass-lensed floors, in



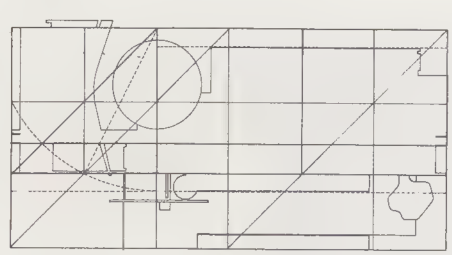


Planimetria generale del museo inserito nell'isolato dell'ex convento della Casa de la Caritat.
Localizzazione dell'intervento sulla foto aerea zenitale di Barcellona.

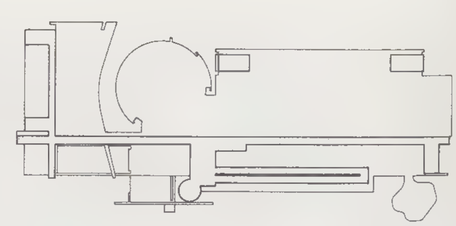
Site plan of the museum in the city block of the former convent of the Casa de la Caritat.
Siting of the new building in an aerial photo of Barcelona.

Di tale sequenza espositiva, forse la caratteristica più notevole è la compenetrazione spaziale dall'atrio schermato contenente la rampa e affacciato sulla piazza fino alla sala a doppia altezza che corre lungo tutto il fronte nordest. Il visitatore deve passare sopra "fessure" luminose a tutta altezza, realizzate con pavimenti trasparenti in vetrocemento, per poter accedere alle gallerie principali o per poter da queste raggiungere le terrazze panoramiche che dominano dall'alto lo spazio a doppia altezza rivolto a nordest.
Questo primo e principale percorso espositivo è completato da una serie di gallerie di forma irregolare concentrate nell'ala sudoccidentale dietro l'attraversamento del *paseo* e destinate ad ospitare opere di dimensioni ridotte quali stampe, fotografie e disegni. Al di là di queste sale secondarie troviamo, all'estremità sudovest dell'edificio, l'ala amministrativa e dei servizi che comprende una biblioteca specializzata, un centro didattico, un punto di vendita del museo e un piccolo caffè.
Per concludere si può affermare che, pur conservando un aspetto dimesso ma consono al tessuto urbano che lo circonda, il museo, con i suoi giochi di luce, conferirà indubbiamente al nucleo medievale un ritmo, un dinamismo e un'energia del tutto inediti.

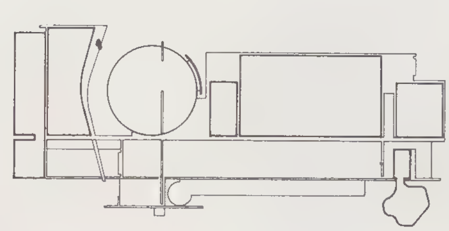
order to enter the main galleries or to pass from these to the viewing balconies overlooking the double-height space to the northeast.
This overall exhibition sequence is complemented by a series of irregularly shaped galleries, stacked in the southwestern wing behind the paseo *wall. These are intended for the exhibition of small-scale works such as prints, photographs and drawings. Beyond these galleries, to the extreme southwest of the block, lies the administrative wing comprising a research library, an education center, a museum shop, and a small café.*
While keeping a low profile and harmonizing with the context the light-patterns of this museum will patently bestow upon a medieval core a totally new rhythm of movement and energy.



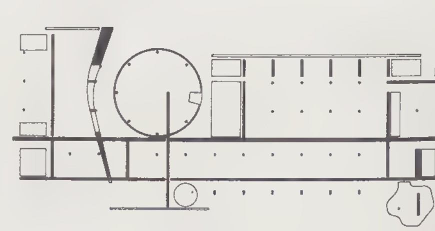
GEOMETRY



CIRCULATION



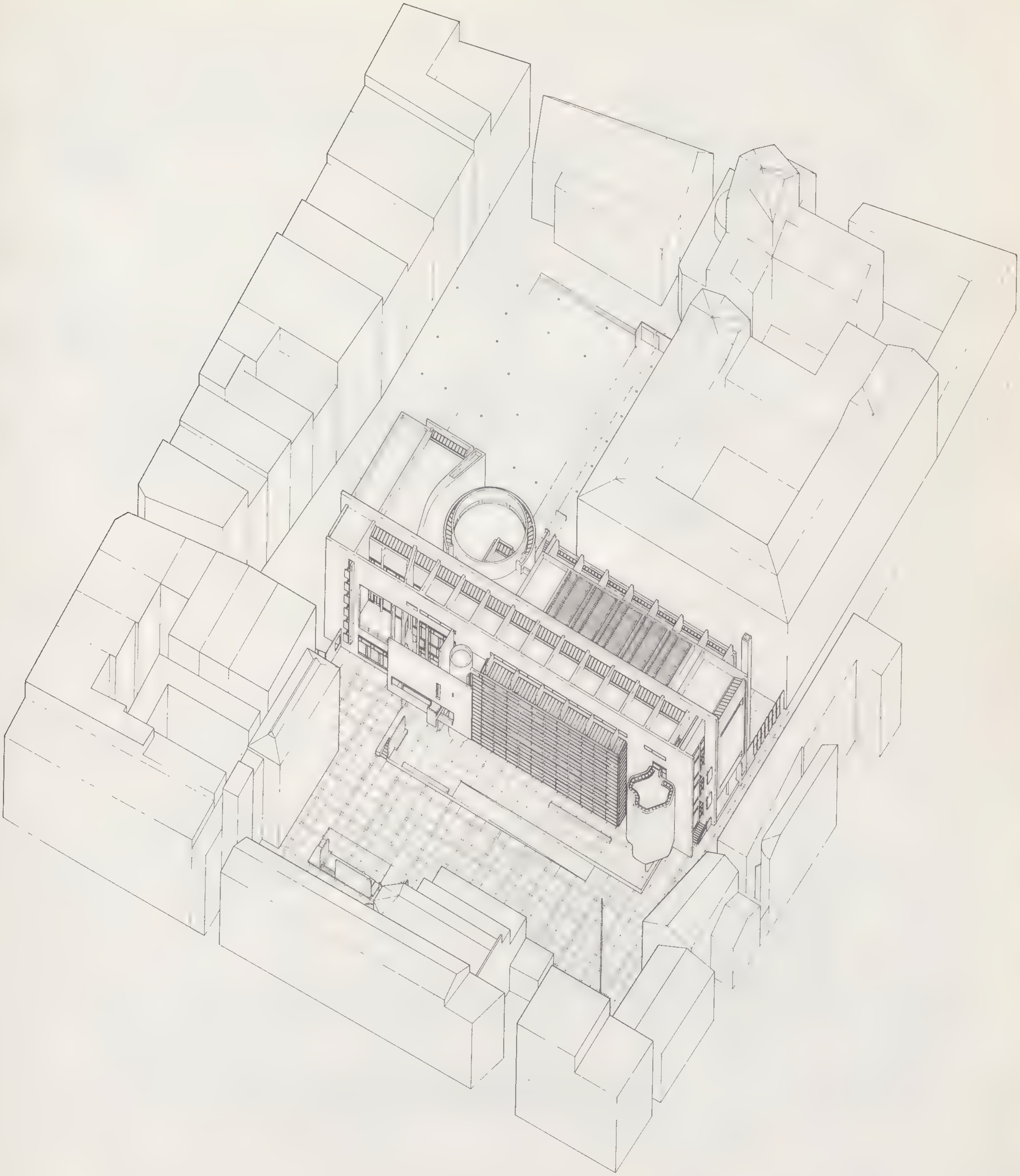
PROGRAM



STRUCTURE

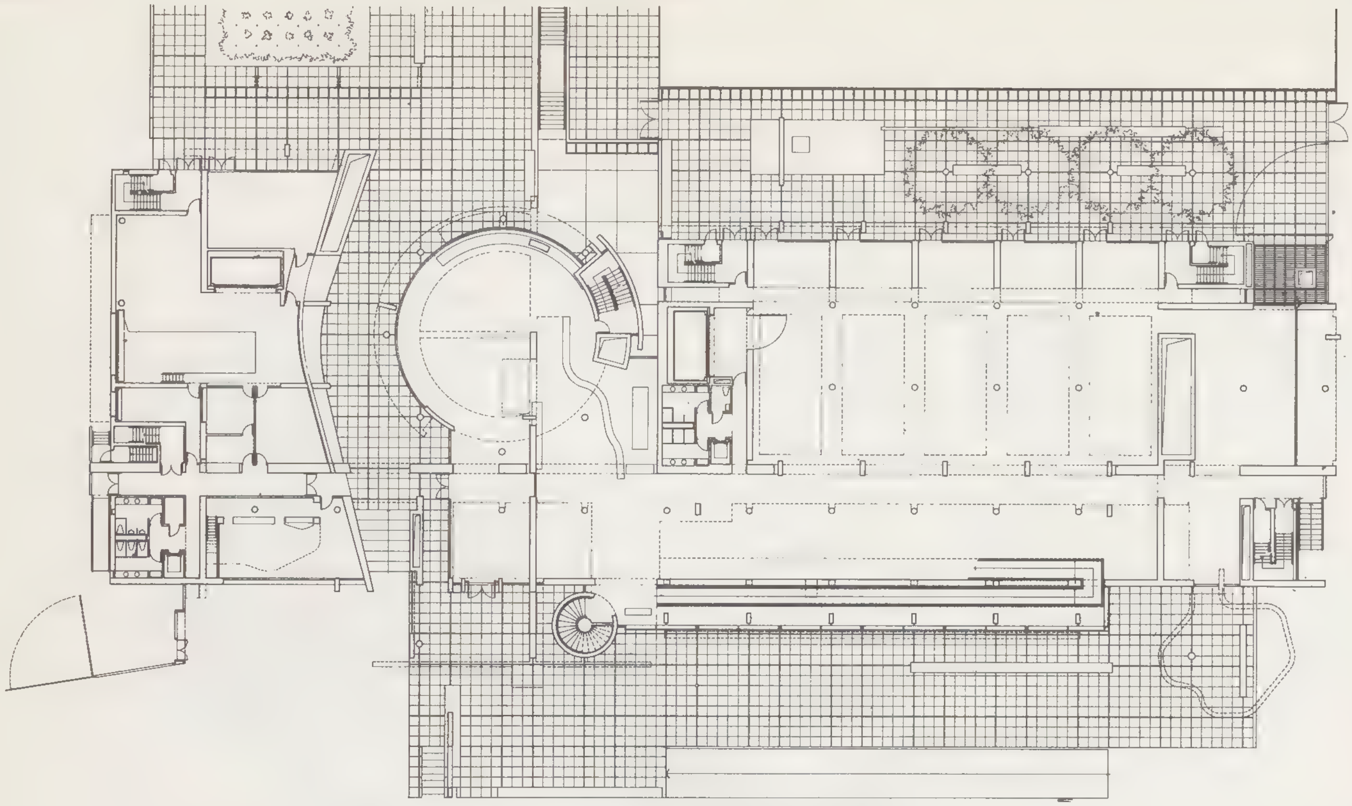
Schemi diagrammatici.
Assonometria generale inserita nel contesto urbano.

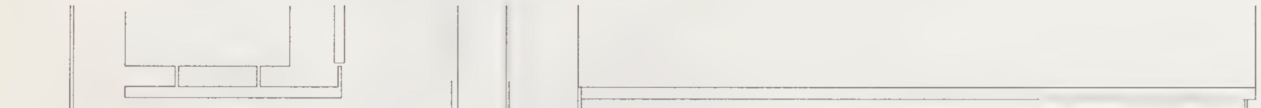
Diagrams.
General axonometric in the urban fabric.

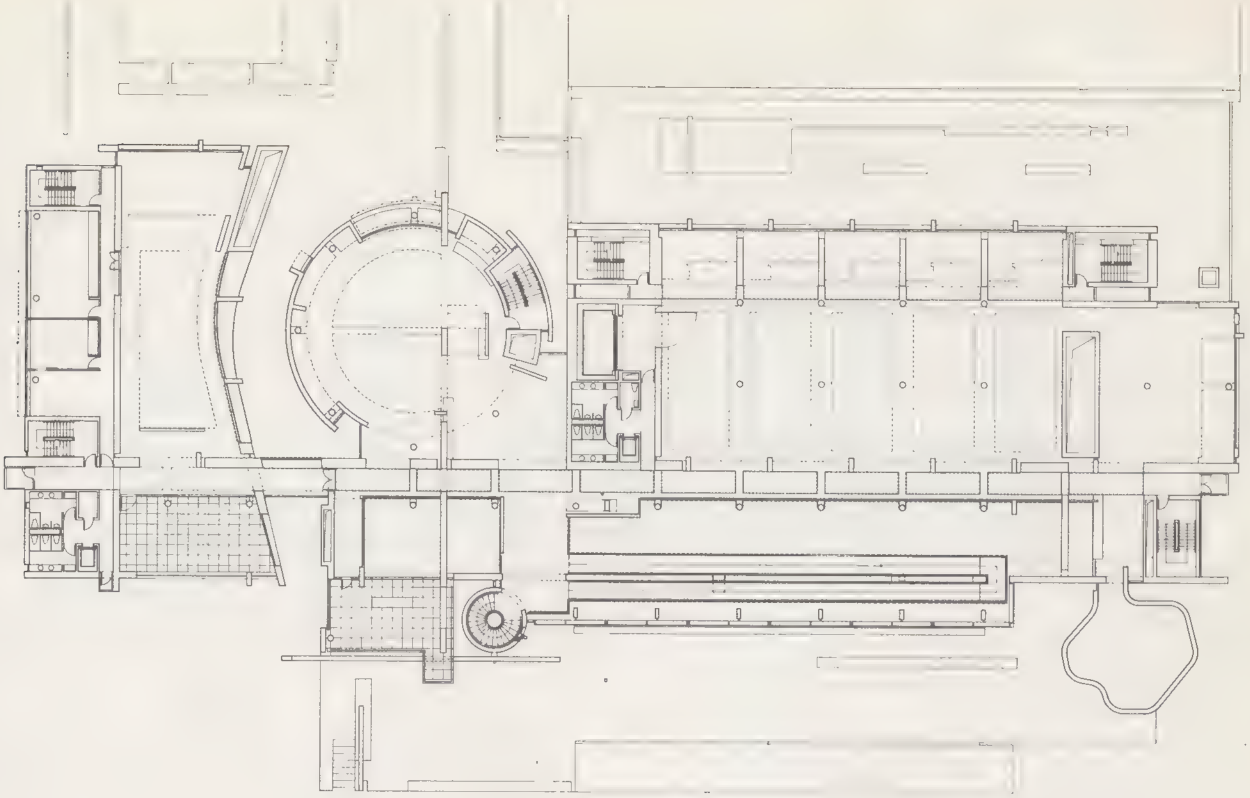


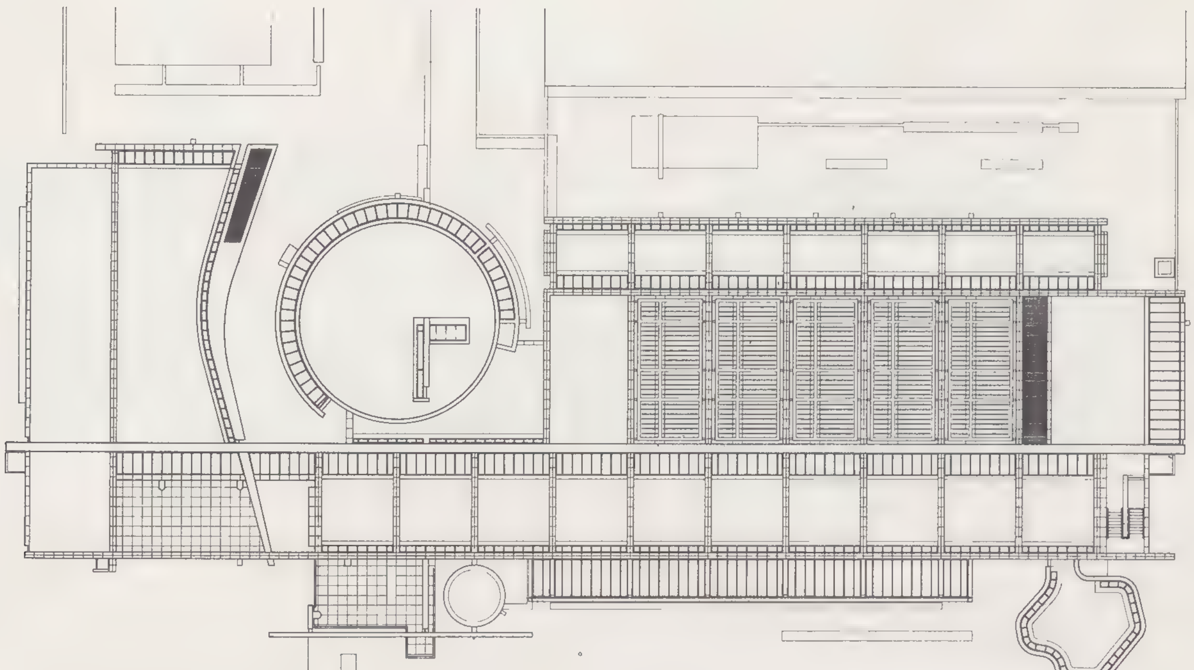
Piante dei piani terra, primo, secondo e coperture.

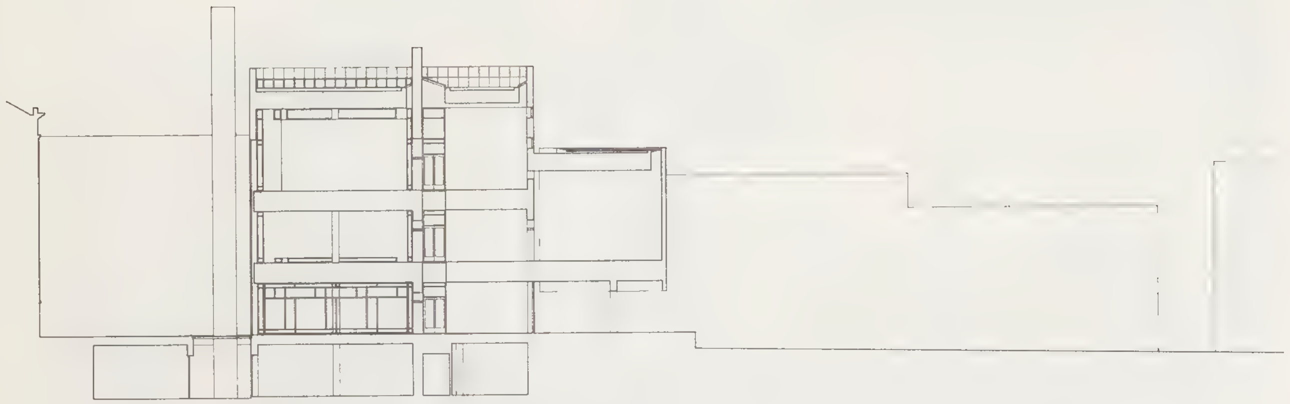
Plans of the ground, first and second floors, and of the roofs.



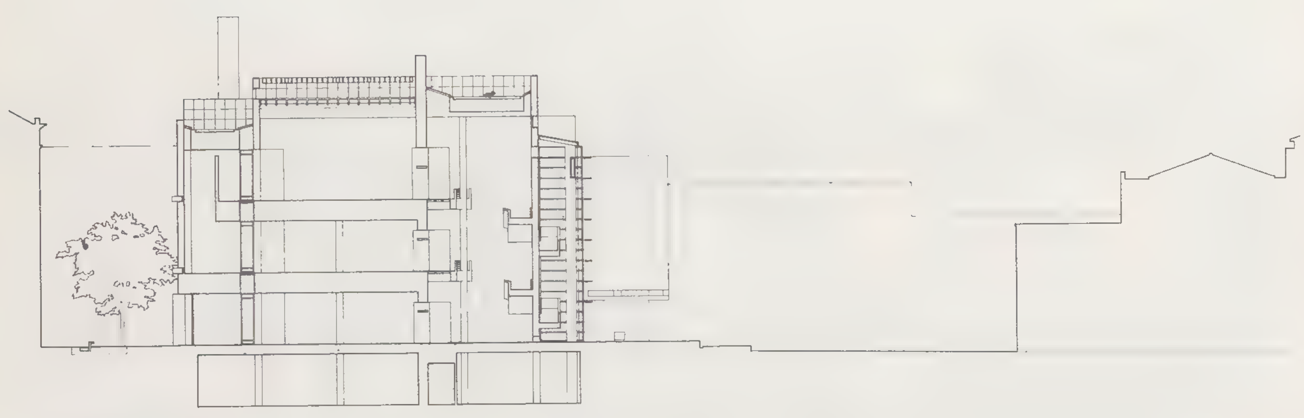




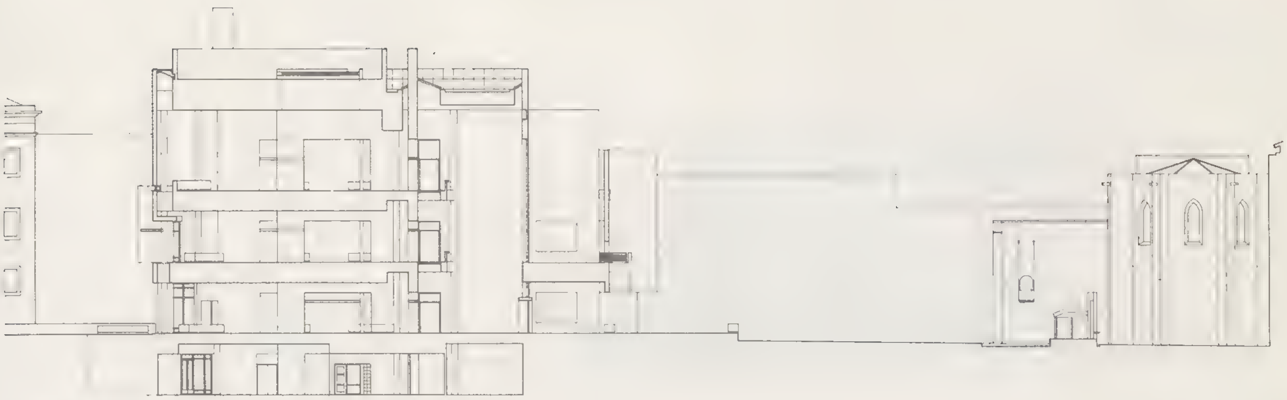




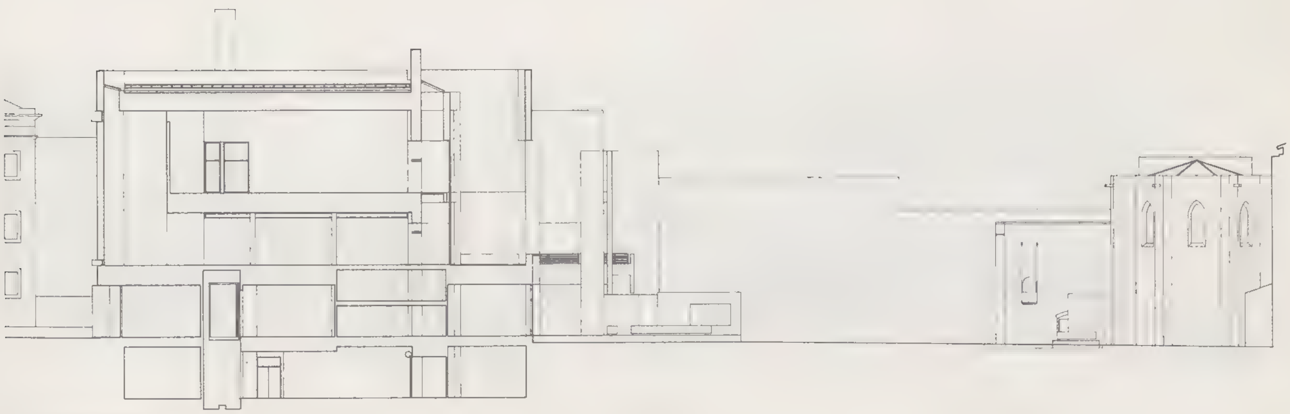
SECTION THROUGH EAST GALLERY



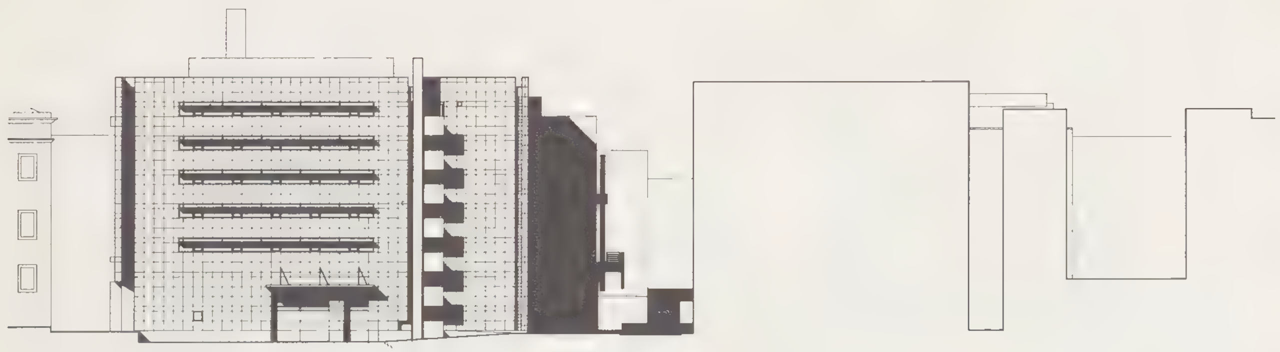
SECTION THROUGH MAIN GALLERY



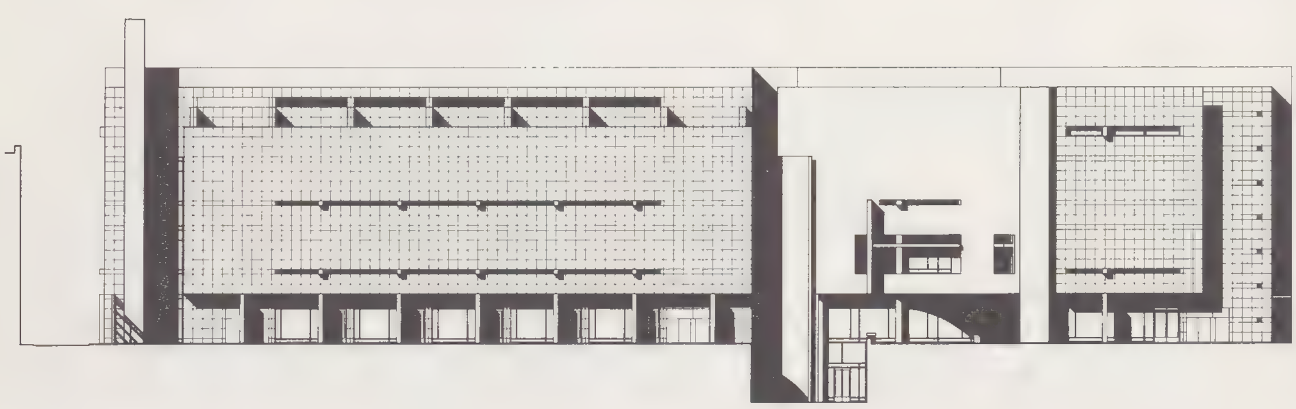
SECTION THROUGH LOBBY / SPECIAL EXHIBITION



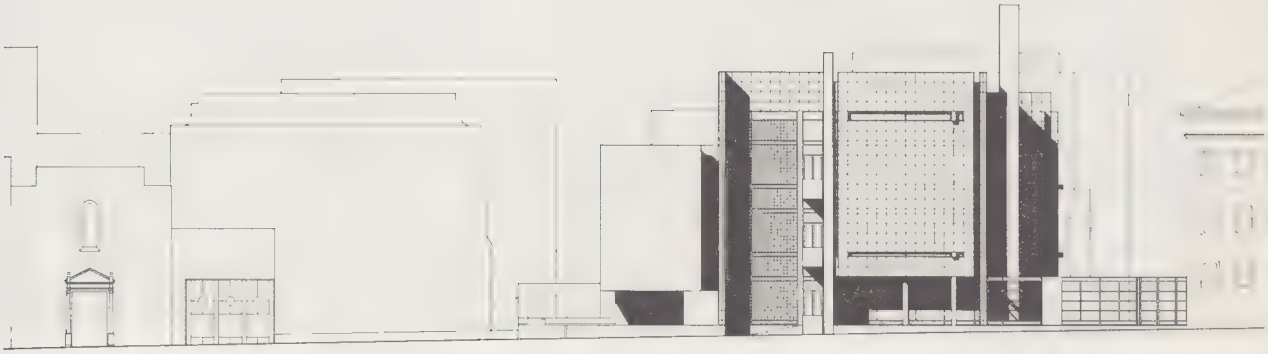
SECTION THROUGH WEST GALLERY



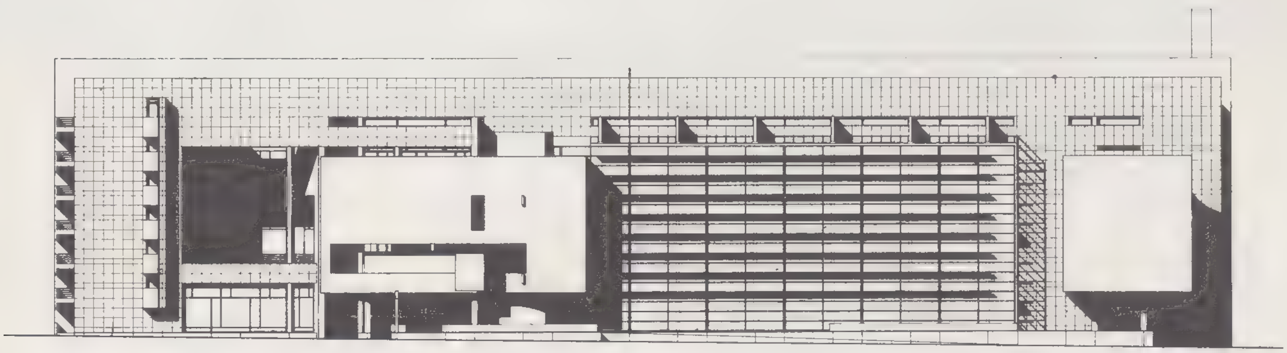
WEST ELEVATION



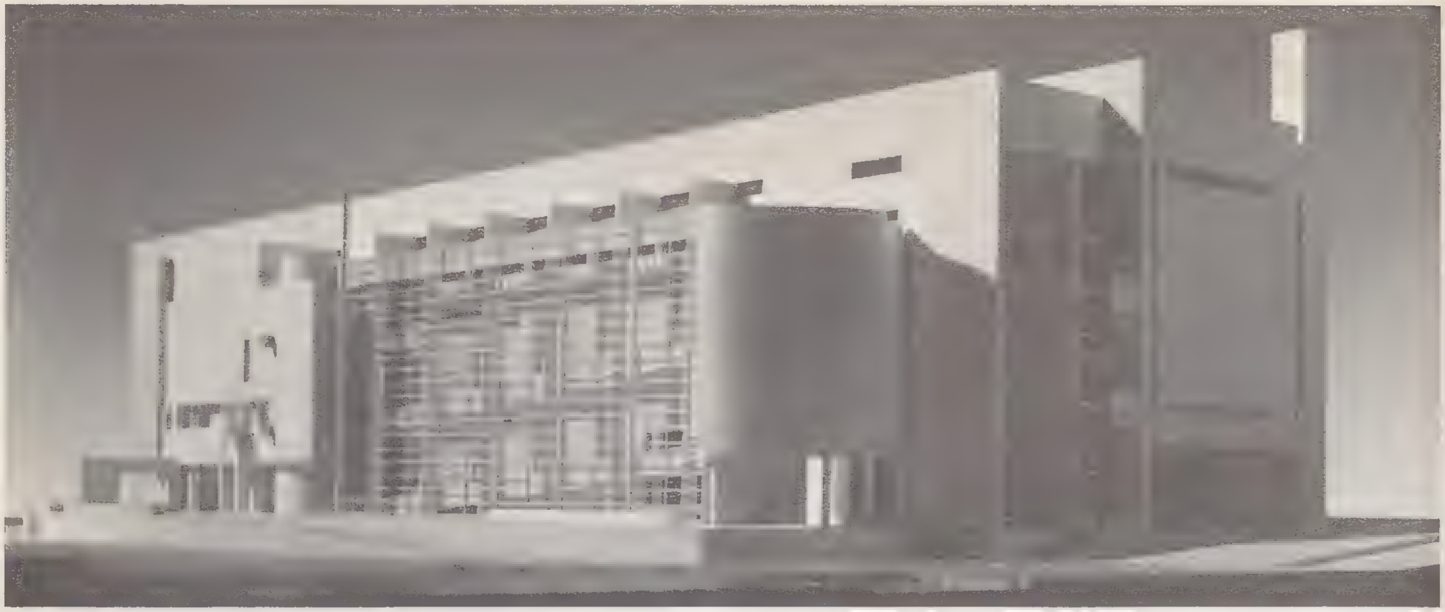
NORTH ELEVATION



EAST ELEVATION



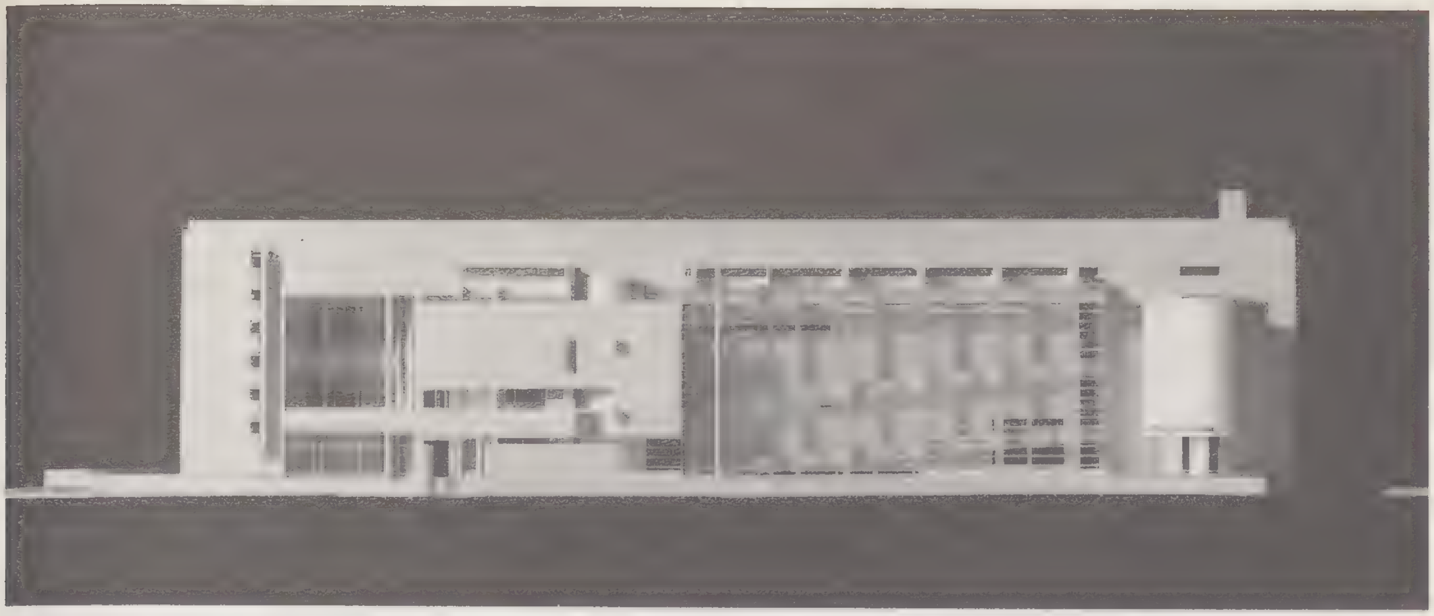
SOUTH ELEVATION

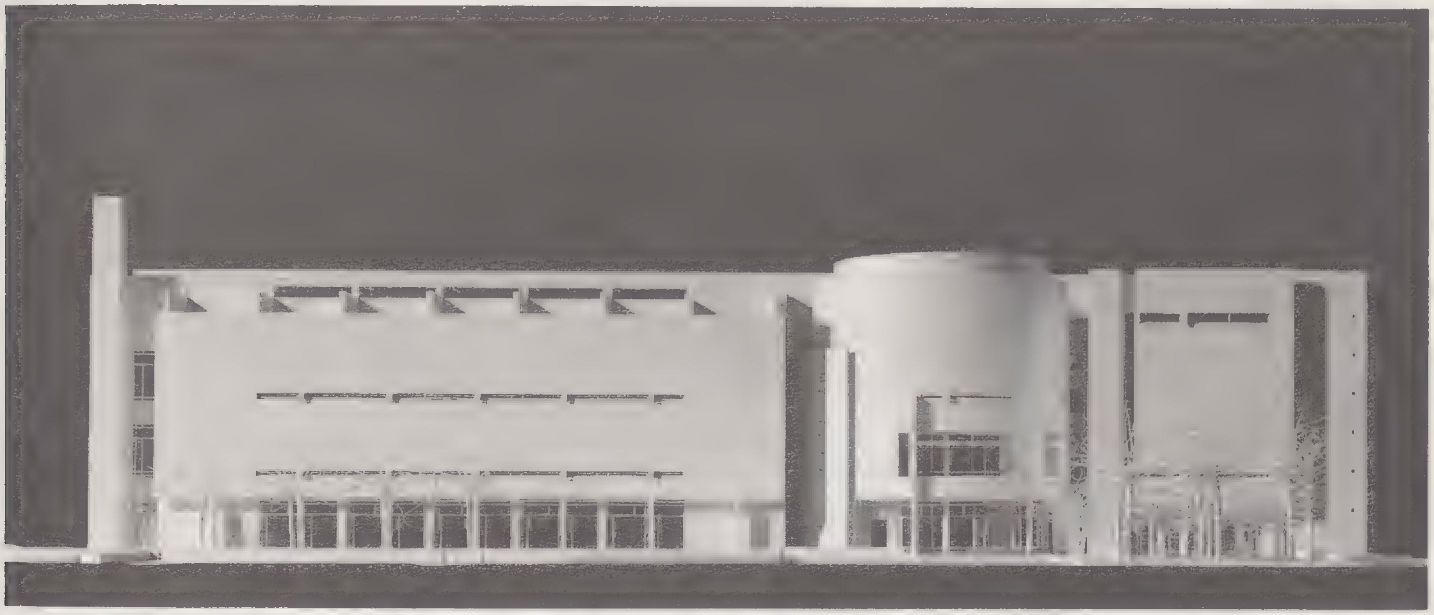


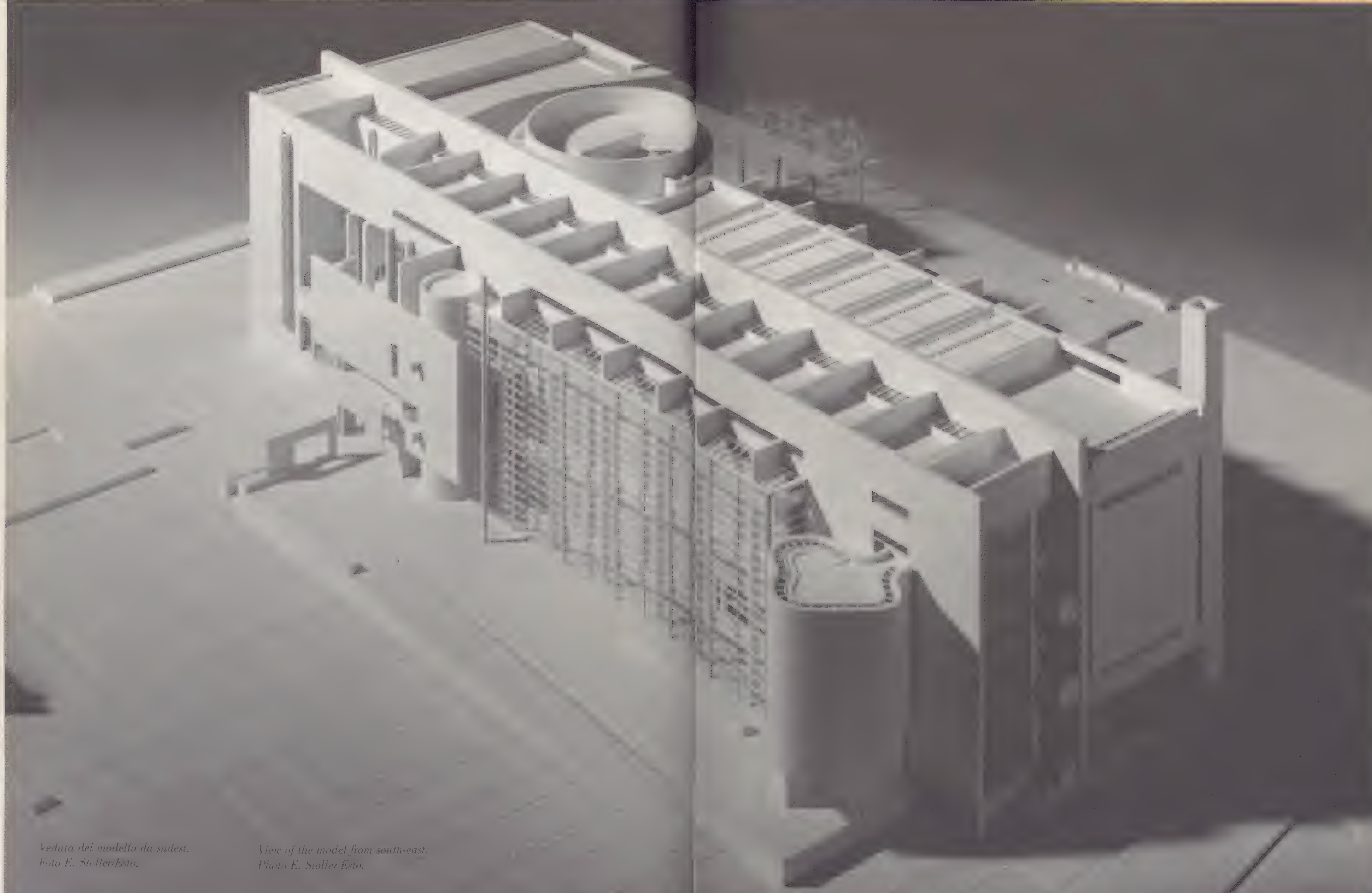


Vedute del modello da sudest, da sudovest, da sud e da nord.
Foto E. Stoller/Esto.

Views of the model from south-east, south-west, south and north.
Photo E. Stoller/Esto.

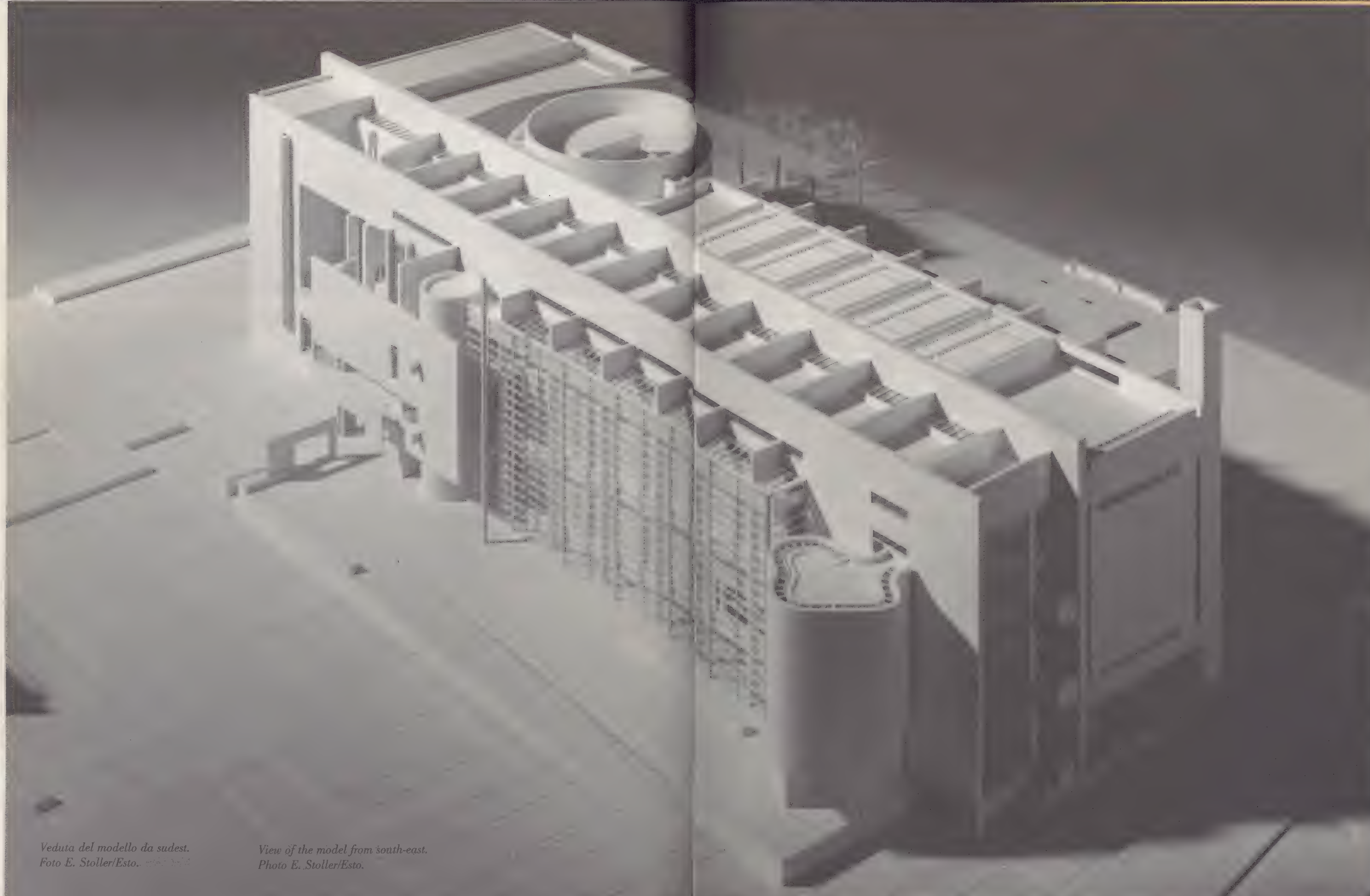






Veduta del modello da sudest.
Foto E. Stoller/Esto.

View of the model from south-east.
Photo E. Stoller/Esto.



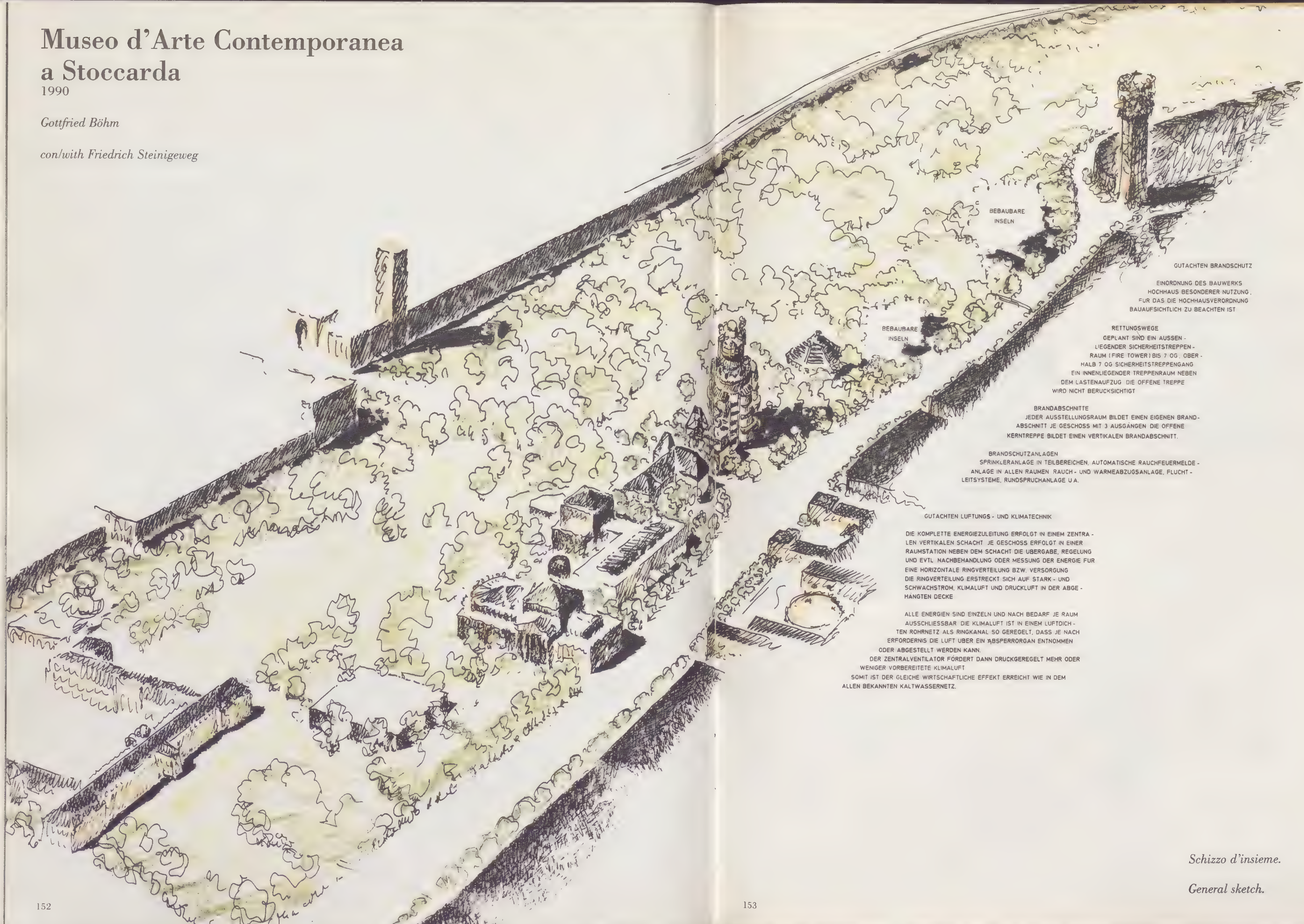
Veduta del modello da sudest.
Foto E. Stoller/Esto.

View of the model from south-east.
Photo E. Stoller/Esto.

Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda
1990

Gottfried Böhm

con/with Friedrich Steinigeweg



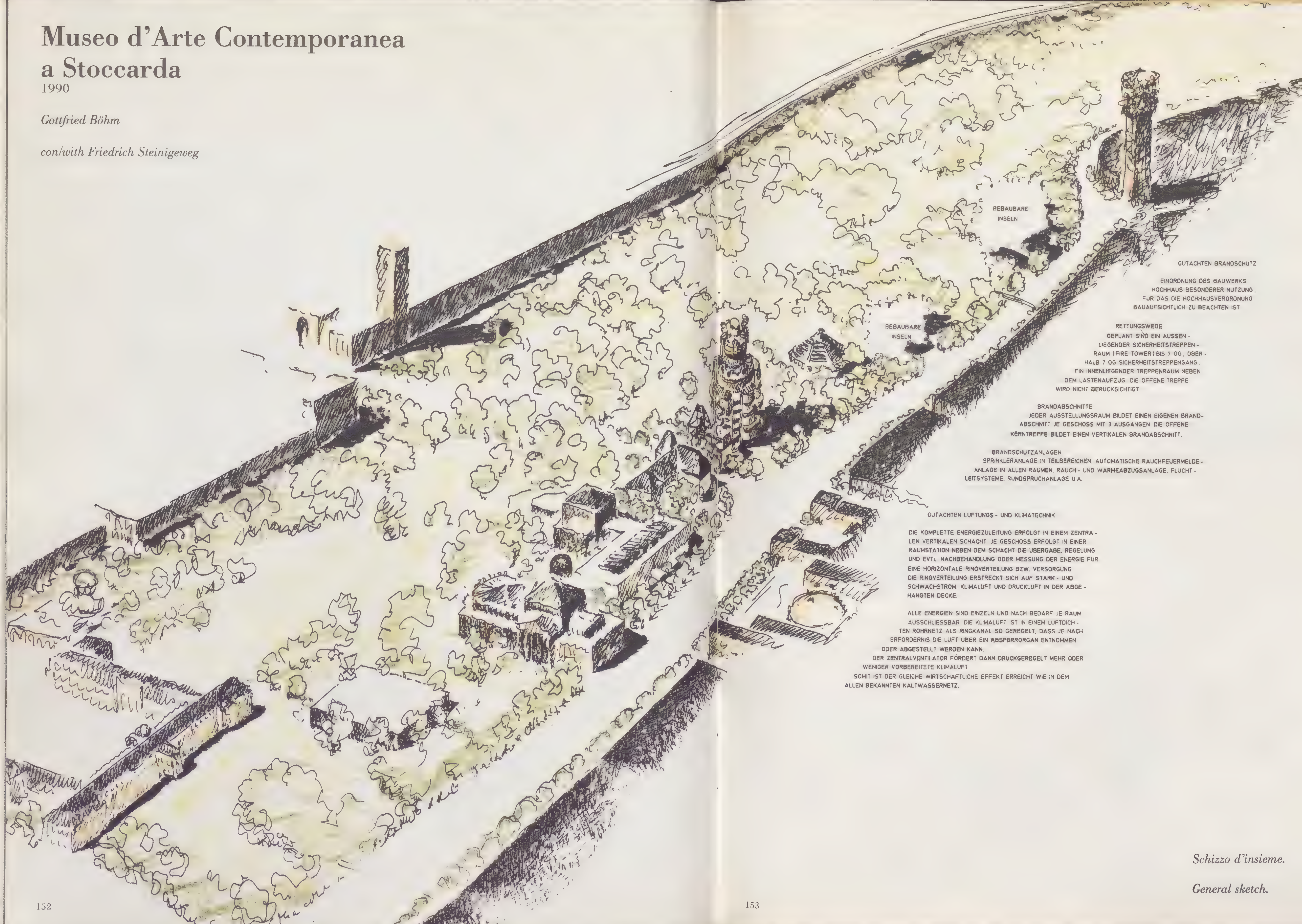
Schizzo d'insieme.

General sketch.

Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda
1990

Gottfried Böhm

con/with Friedrich Steinigeweg



Schizzo d'insieme.

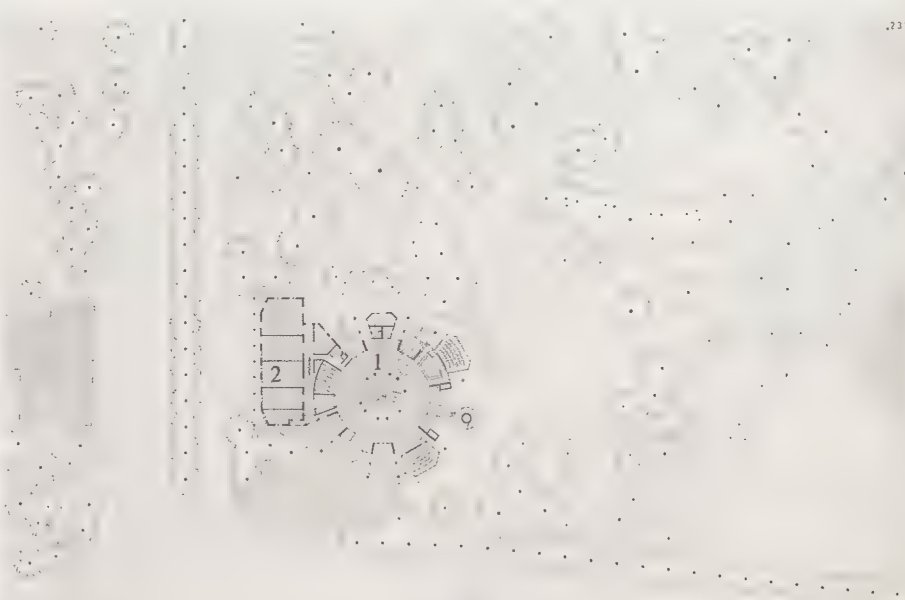
General sketch.

Progetto di concorso per il Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda
Gottfried Böhm

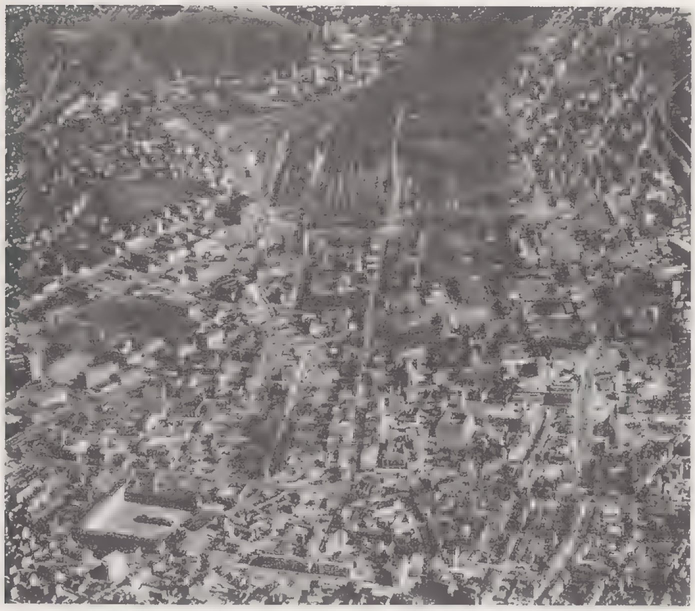
Il giardino del Castello, che si estende come un ampio fiume dal Castello fino alla Neckar, imprime un accento particolare a questa parte di Stoccarda, delimitata a sudest dal pendio edificato con la Neckarstraße antistante. Ai margini, come isole o oggetti, si trovano diversi edifici pubblici, il Landtag (Parlamento regionale), il Teatro, la Scuola, il Planetario. All'interno di questo sistema rientrano pure il nuovo Museo d'Arte Contemporanea e gli altri edifici che devono essere ancora progettati per questa zona.
Per dare piena espressione a tale condizione "insulare" il corpo edilizio del Museo è stato definito in maniera particolarmente concentrata. La costruzione a torre così ottenuta serve inoltre a definire l'incrocio tra il collegamento ortogonale della Schillerstraße e l'impianto del parco, che, grazie anche alla torre della stazione di Paul Bonatz posta sull'altro lato, acquista un carattere particolare. Il baricentro culturale sul lato orientale della Neckarstraße viene quindi accentuato dalla presenza dei Musei, del Teatro comunale, del Planetario, ecc. Ciascuno di questi costituisce una singola unità, conclusa in se stessa, senza creare un edificazione continua dell'isolato. È invece soprattutto il verde a insinuarsi tra i singoli complessi, fino alla strada.
La libera disposizione degli "oggetti" architettonici accentua il carattere di questo "spazio verde" all'interno del tessuto urbano. Essi non porgono un retro né verso la Neckarstraße né verso il parco. Persino il complesso teatrale, particolarmente improntato a un carattere insulare e orientato verso il parco con gli ingressi principali, potrebbe in futuro essere modificato in modo da non presentare più un fronte posteriore verso la Neckarstraße, secondo la stessa concezione originaria di Max Littmann.
Tale principio appare così importante, proprio per il singolare e inconfondibile carattere che acquistano in tal

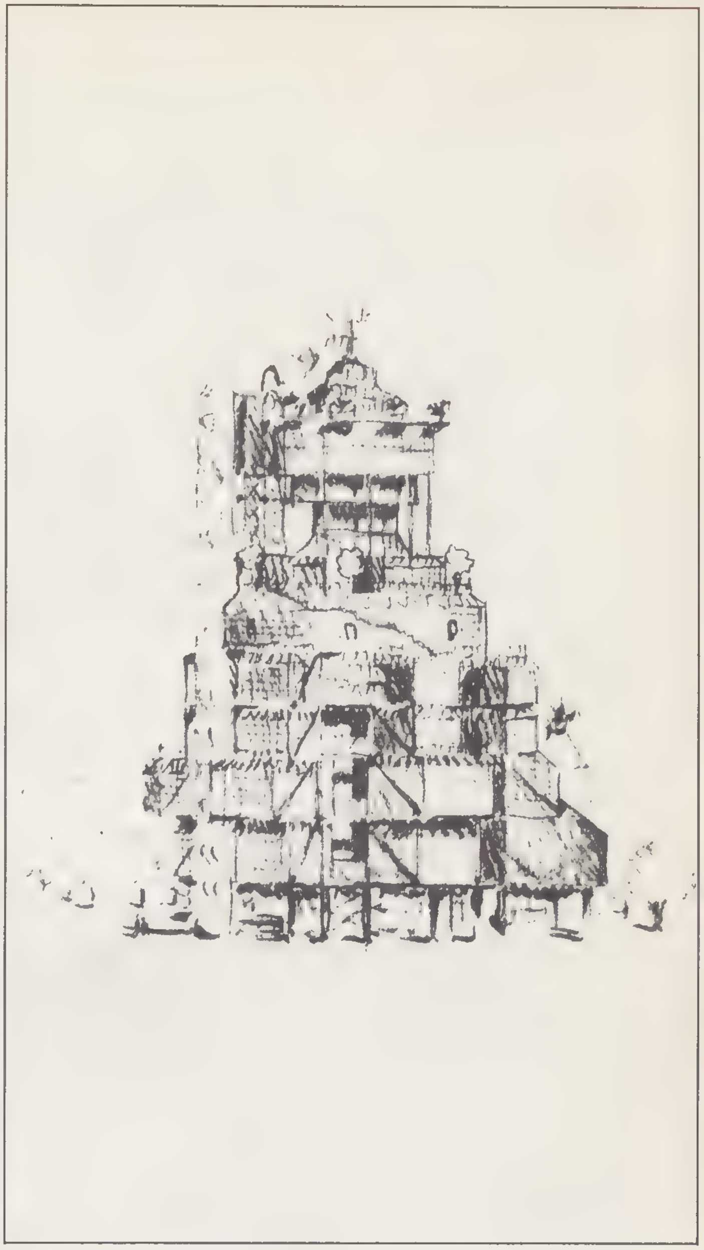
Competition Entry for the Museum of Contemporary Art, Stuttgart
Gottfried Böhm

The park of the castle, which extends like a wide river as far as the Neckar, lends a special character to this part of Stuttgart, bordered to the southeast by the district of Neckarstrasse. The edges of the park are home to a variety of public buildings, including the Landtag *(or Regional Parliament), the theatre, a school and the planetarium. The Museum of Contemporary Art, and other buildings yet to be designed, will also be part of this group of structures, sited as if islands within the green surrounding.*
In order to fully express this "insular" aspect, the massing of the museum was studied carefully. The resulting tower structure also highlights the intersection between the orthogonal connection of the Schillerstrasse and the park, which is also characterized, at this point, by the tower of the Paul Bonatz station on the other side. The cultural centre of gravity on the east side of the Neckarstrasse is thus accentuated by museums, the civic theatre, the planetarium etc. Each of these buildings is a single, separate structure, avoiding the creation of a continuous streetfront for this block. Green areas will be a strong element between the buildings extending right up to the street.
The free arrangement of these architectural "objects" emphasises the character of this "green zone" within the urban fabric. Their back elevations are neither oriented toward the Neckarstrasse nor toward the park. Even the main entrances of the theatre complex, which is particularly insular in character, face the park; these can however be reversed in order to avoid having the back of the building facing the Neckarstrasse, according to the original concept of Max Littman.
This principle seems to be particularly important precisely because of the singular, unmistakable character it provides for the park and the Neckarstrasse within the context of the







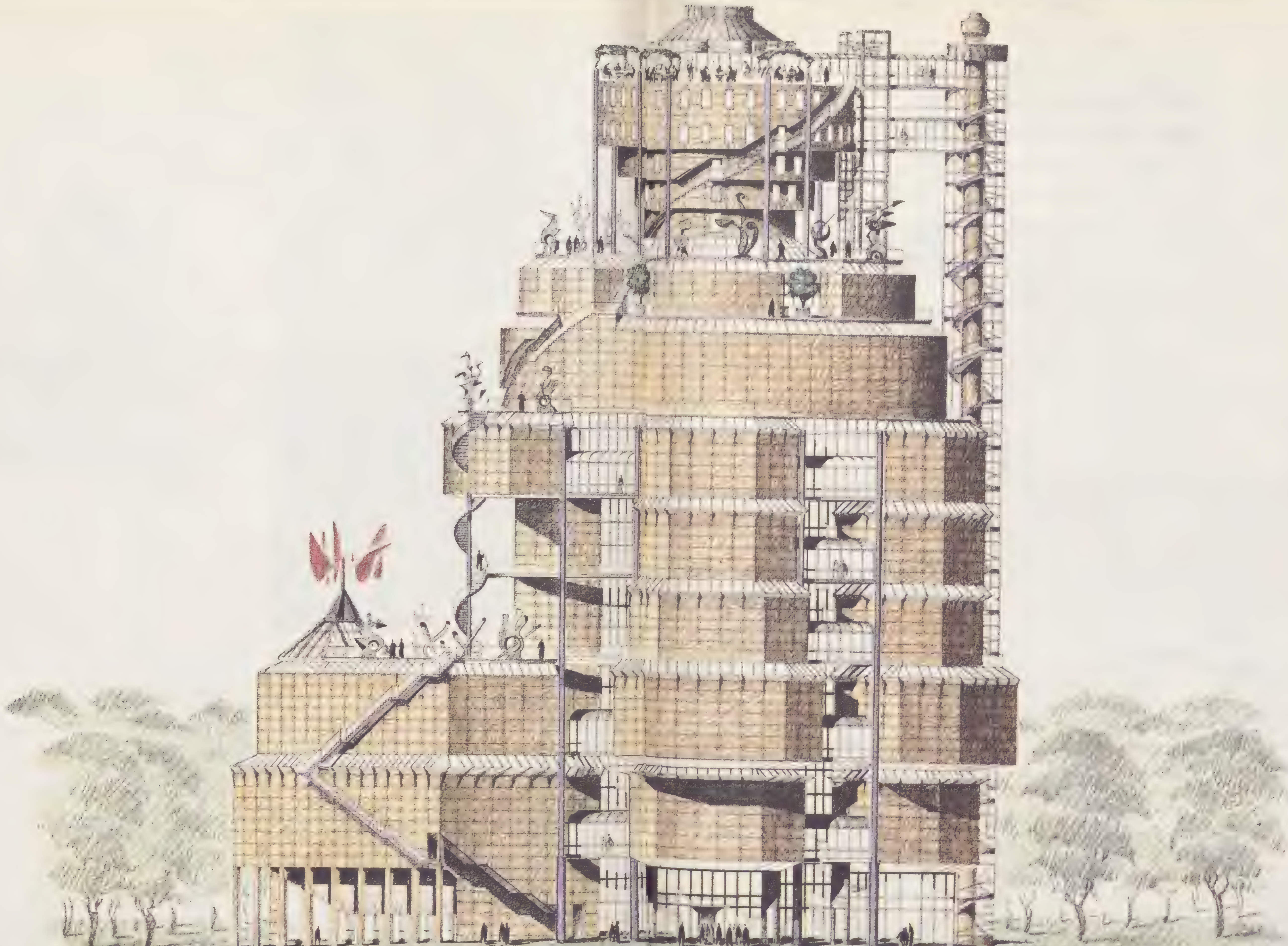


Planimetria del piano terra: 1) foyer*;*
2)laboratori.
Localizzazione dell'area di intervento sulla planimetria urbana di Stoccarda.
Foto aerea di Stoccarda. Si individuano nelle vicinanze dell'area di intervento l'edificio della stazione ferroviaria di Paul Bonatz e lo Staatstheater di Max Littmann. Posteriore alla data della fotografia è invece la realizzazione della Staatsgalerie di James Stirling.
Schizzo di studio del prospetto.

Ground-floor plan: 1) foyer*;*
2) workshops.
Area of the site on the city plan of Stuttgart.
Aerial photo of Stuttgart.
Notice the railway station building by Paul Bonatz and Max Littmann's Staatstheater near the area of the site.
James Stirling's Staatsgalerie was built at a later date.
Study sketch of the elevation.

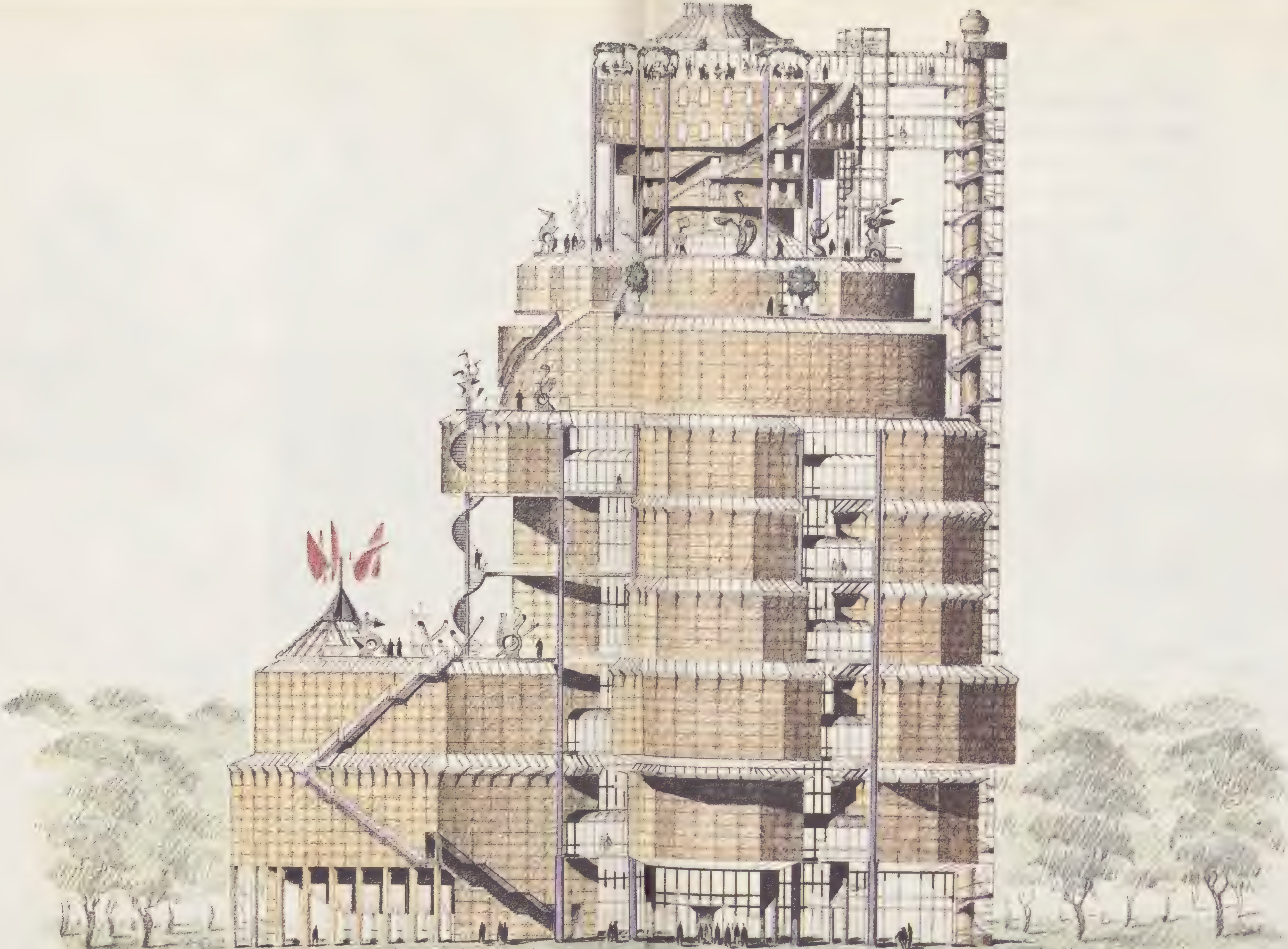
Prospetto.

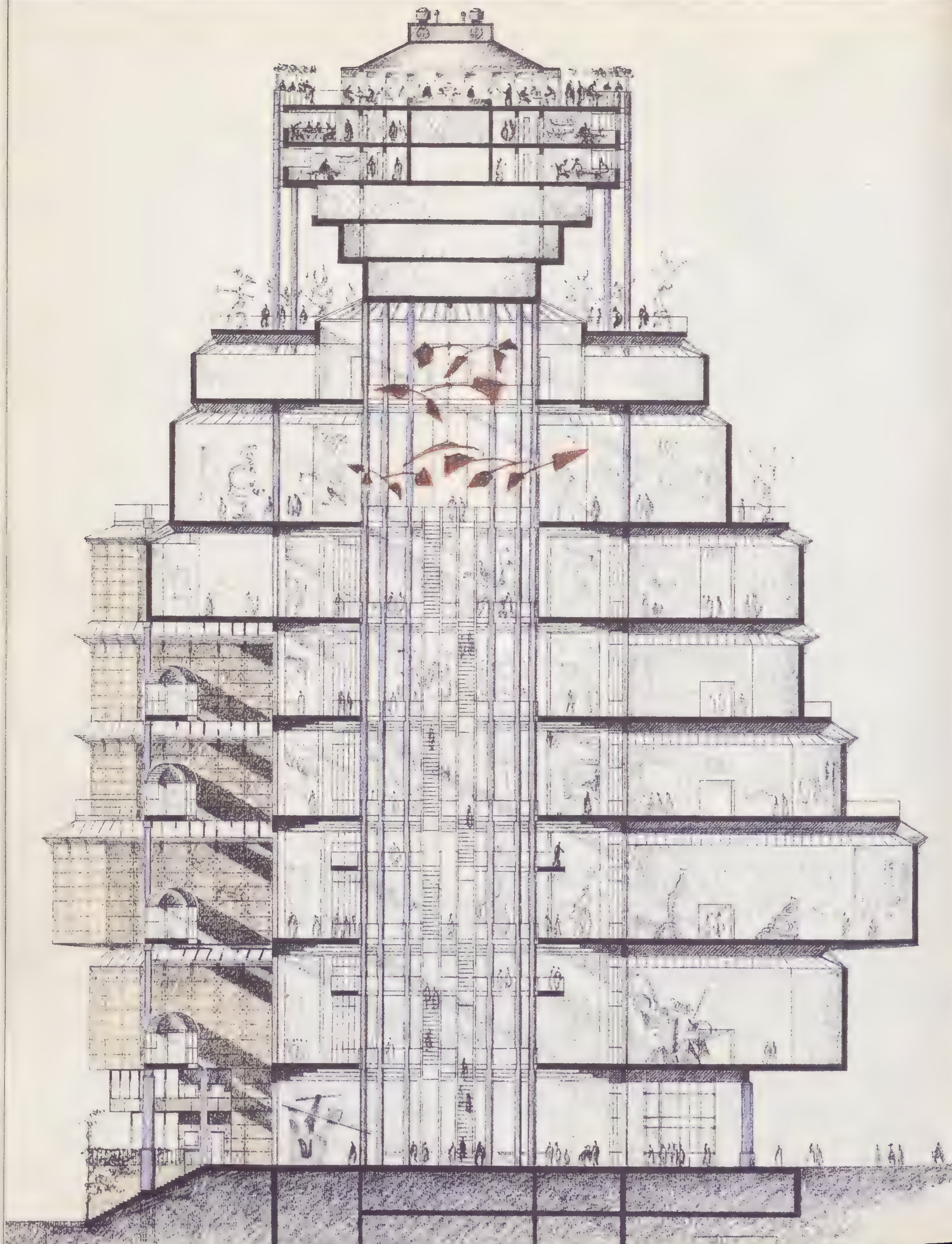
Elevation.



Prospetto.

Elevation.





modo il parco e la Neckarstraße per l'intera città, all'interno dei quali il sistema dei percorsi pedonali e ciclabili viene completato e connesso alla zona del Museo.
Gli atrii centrali delle scale permettono l'accesso separato ai diversi ambienti del Museo, che i visitatori possono inoltre raggiungere anche seguendo un percorso continuo, attraverso ponti e rampe vetrati, da cui si aprono visuali sull'intorno. Le relazioni funzionali e la configurazione degli spazi offrono possibilità di trasformazione in funzione di diversificate esigenze espositive, senza che tuttavia venga compromessa la concezione di fondo dell'edificio. La spazio centrale della scala è così ampio da potere già da solo contenere esposizioni, rendendo possibile pensare a una riduzione della superficie degli altri spazi espositivi.
Le sale del Museo sono dotate di ampie porte scorrevoli che si aprono sul *foyer* delle scale e, al disopra della pareti espositive, di lucernari.
In considerazione della vista singolare che si può godere, si è pensato di disporre il caffè al piano più alto (in ogni caso, se richiesto, questo potrebbe essere posto anche al piano terreno). Scendendo dal livello del piano superiore del caffè fino a piano terra il visitatore potrà attraversare, su tetti e terrazze, l'esposizione delle sculture, che sono visibili anche dal *foyer* e dai ponti e dalle rampe della scala.
La superficie esterna della facciata è pensata in pietra chiara, in riferimento alla vecchia e alla nuova Staatsgalerie.

Costruzione

L'edificio è in cemento armato per tutti gli elementi orizzontali e verticali. Controventatura e deviazione dell'azione esterna del vento sono ottenute attraverso i setti e le cornici murarie disposte in senso radiale, oltre che attraverso i nuclei delle scale e degli impianti. I solai sono in lastre di cemento armato con travi di sostegno. Pilastri e pareti portanti sono disposti radialmente e in modo continuo dal basso in alto. I piani dell'amministrazione sono a pianta circolare, sostenuti da una corona centrale di pilastri. La

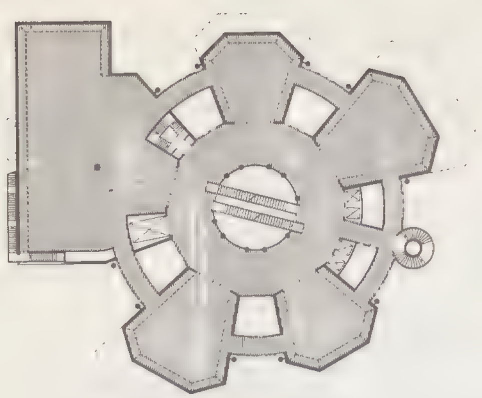
entire city; pedestrian walkways and bicycling paths complete the relationship, and connect the museum area to its surroundings.
The central atria of the stairs allow separate access to the various spaces of the museum, which can also be visited following a continuous route, with ramps and glass enclosed bridges, with views over the surrounding areas. The functional relations and configuration of the spaces offer flexibility for a variety of exhibition needs, without compromising the basic concept of the building. The central space of the stairs is large enough to house exhibitions, thus reducing the size of the other exhibition spaces.
The galleries have large sliding doors, which open onto the foyer *of the stairs, and there are skylights above the exhibition space walls.*
Because of the beautiful view, the café area has been located on the top floor (if need be, it can also be relocated to the ground floor). Descending from the upper café level to the ground floor, the visitor will be able to cross a sculpture exhibition area extending across roofs and terraces which can also be seen from the foyer *and from the bridges and ramps of the stairs.*
The exterior façade will be a light coloured stone, in keeping with the old and new Staatsgalerie.

Construction

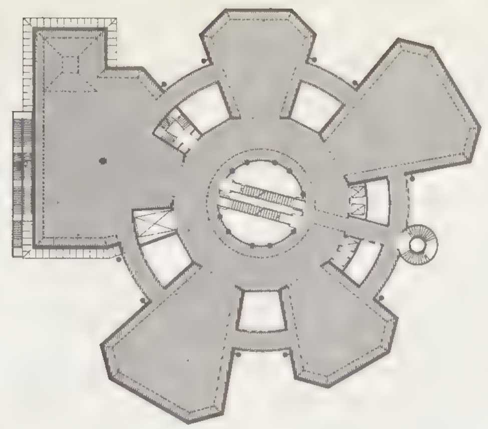
The building material for all of the horizontal and vertical elements is reinforced concrete. Boffles and radial wall panels, the stairwells and the basic plan work together as wind-bracing elements. The floors are thin slabs of reinforced concrete supported on concrete beams. Pillars and bearing walls are laid out in a radial pattern and are continuous top to bottom. The administrative office floors have a circular plan, supported by a central group of pillars.
At the underground level the building has ist own set of rails to allow for leading and unleading freight cars on its own premises.

Sezione.

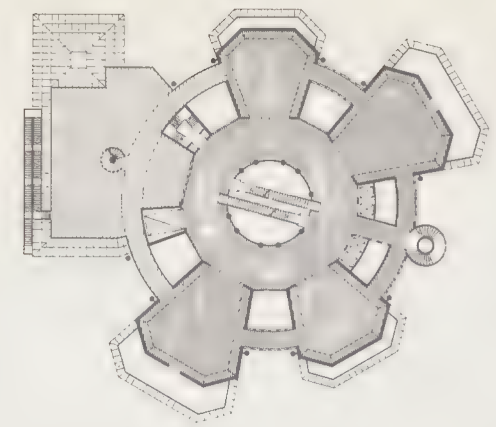
Section.



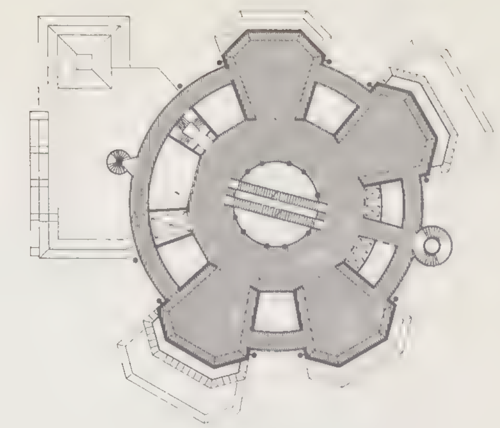
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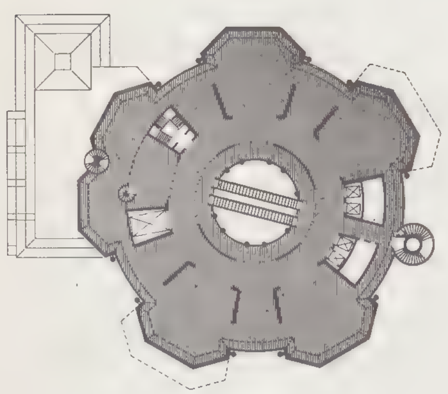
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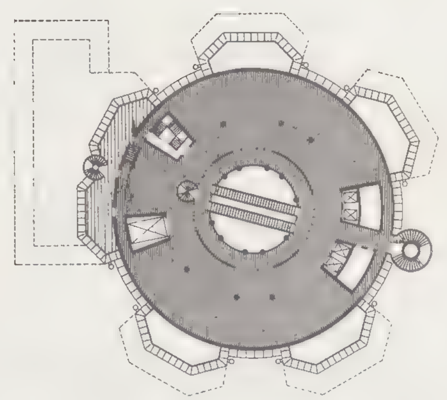
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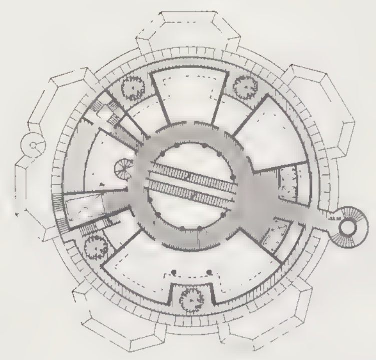
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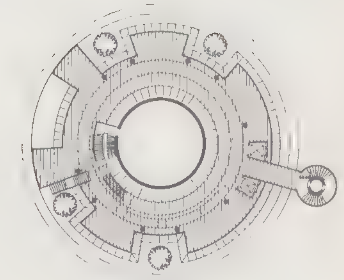
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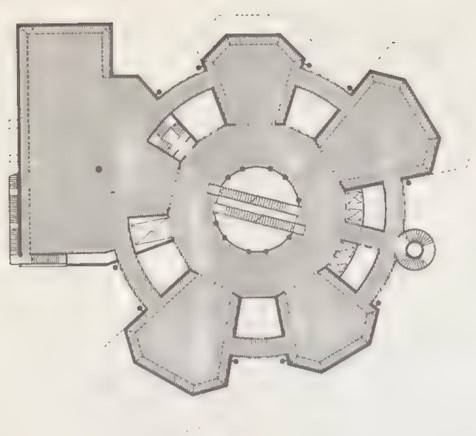
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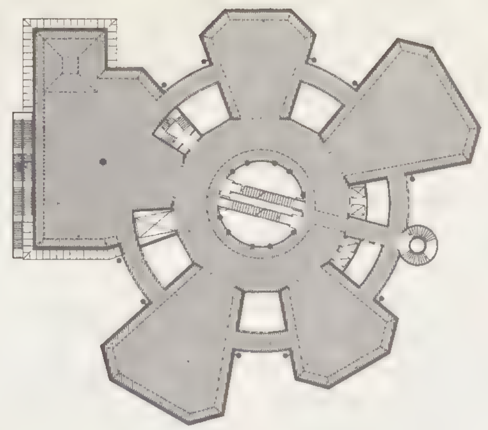
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Piante dei piani dal primo all'ottavo, con esposizione permanente dal primo al quarto piano, esposizioni temporanee al quinto e sesto piano, collezione Sohm e archivi al settimo piano, giardini pensili per sculture e spazi tecnici all'ottavo piano.

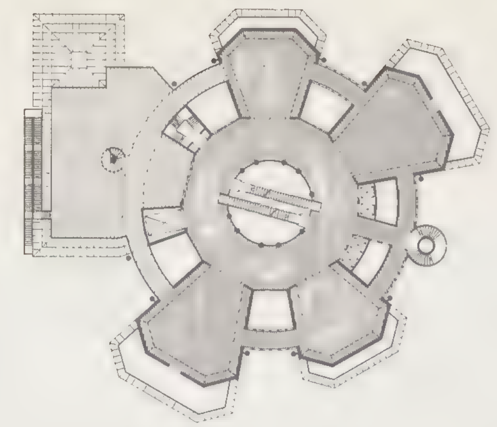
Plans of the first floor through the eight. Permanent exhibitions are located on the first to the fourth floors and temporary exhibitions on the fifth and sixth floor. Sohm collection and archives are located on the seventh floor roof gardens for sculptures and mechanical rooms are on the eighth floor.



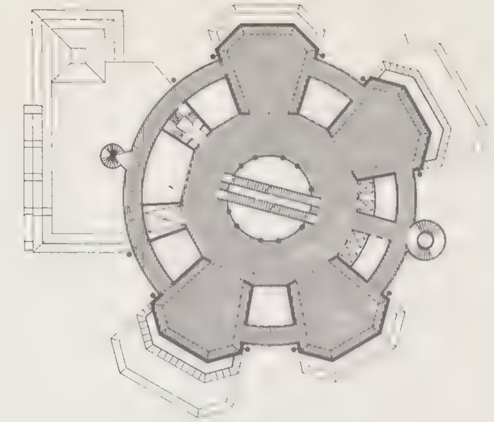
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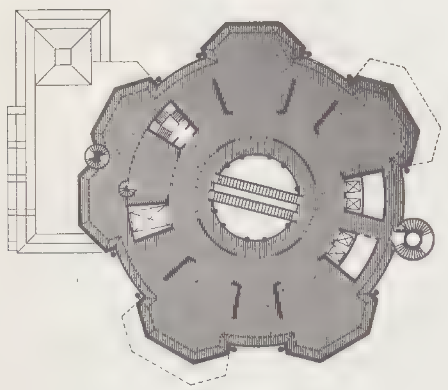
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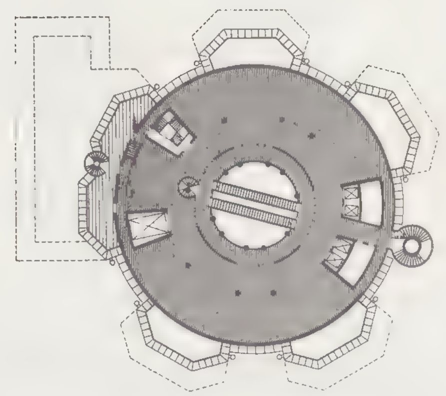
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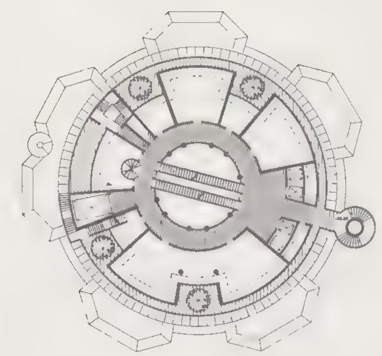
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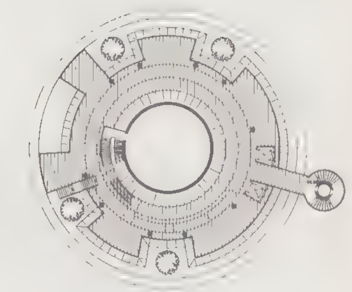
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Piante dei piani dal primo all'ottavo, con esposizione permanente dal primo al quarto piano, esposizioni temporanee al quinto e sesto piano, collezione Sohm e archivi al settimo piano, giardini pensili per sculture e spazi tecnici all'ottavo piano.

Plans of the first floor through the eight. Permanent exhibitions are located on the first to the fourth floors and temporary exhibitions on the fifth and sixth floor. Sohm collection and archives are located on the seventh floor roof gardens for sculptures and mechanical rooms are on the eighth floor.

parte dell'edificio in corrispondenza della metropolitana è dotata nel sotteraneo di un sistema di trasferimento dei carichi ai lati del tracciato dei binari.

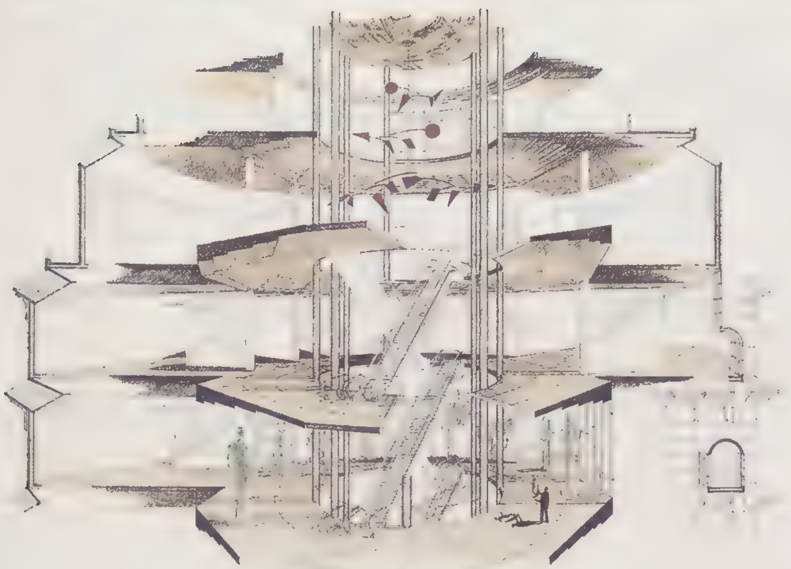
Illuminazione

L'illuminazione degli spazi profondi deriva da un sistema di lucernari all'altezza del soffitto. In particolare la luce naturale zenitale viene trasmessa dal "becco" luminoso dei lucernari in profondità, grazie a un sistema di due specchi contrapposti. Tramite tale sistema di deviazione si consegue l'intensificazione dell'illuminazione diurna degli spazi espositivi, offrendo una buona soluzione nel caso da 5000 a 10.000 Lux (cielo leggermente coperto). Le sale arretrate del primo piano mantengono questi valori grazie a una luce riflessa ottenuta tramite una vasca d'acqua e la scelta di un rivestimento dei pavimenti di colore chiaro.
La luce naturale viene così irradiata dall'alto sulle pareti espositive: all'osservatore apparirà il lucernario più scuro e la parete espositiva più chiara, in modo da concentrare l'intensità luminosa complessiva sull'oggetto esposto, garantendo in questo modo una presentazione ottimale.

Lighting

Lighting for the lower spaces is obtained from a system of ceiling-level skylights. When the sun is high, a two mirror system reflects the light down to the lowest floors of the building. This light-reflecting system provides intense lighting for the exhibition spaces during the daytime, a good solution for a 5000 to 10,000 Lux need (the equivalent light intensity of slight cloud cover). The galleries toward the rear of the first floor maintain these lighting values using the light reflected by a pool of water and the light coloured stones of the floor covering. Natural light is radiated from above onto the walls of the galleries: to the eye of the observer, the skylight will appear to be darker than the walls of the exhibition spaces, in order to concentrate light intensity on the objects on display, thus assuring optimal viewing of the exhibits.





Veduta del modello.
Sezione prospettica del foyer.

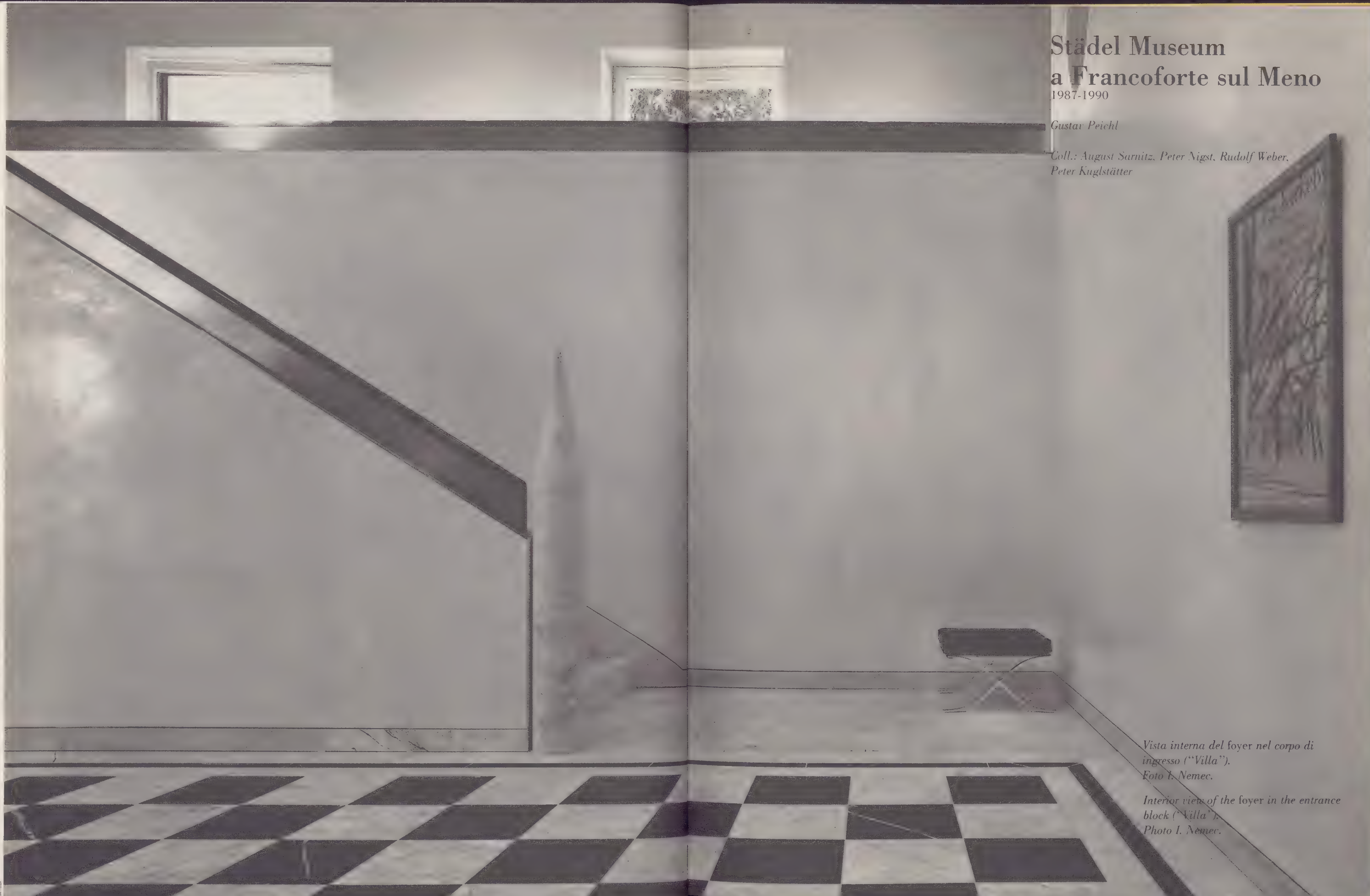
View of the model.
Perspective of the foyer.

Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno

1987-1990

Gustav Peichl

Coll.: August Sarnitz, Peter Nigst, Rudolf Weber, Peter Kuglstätter



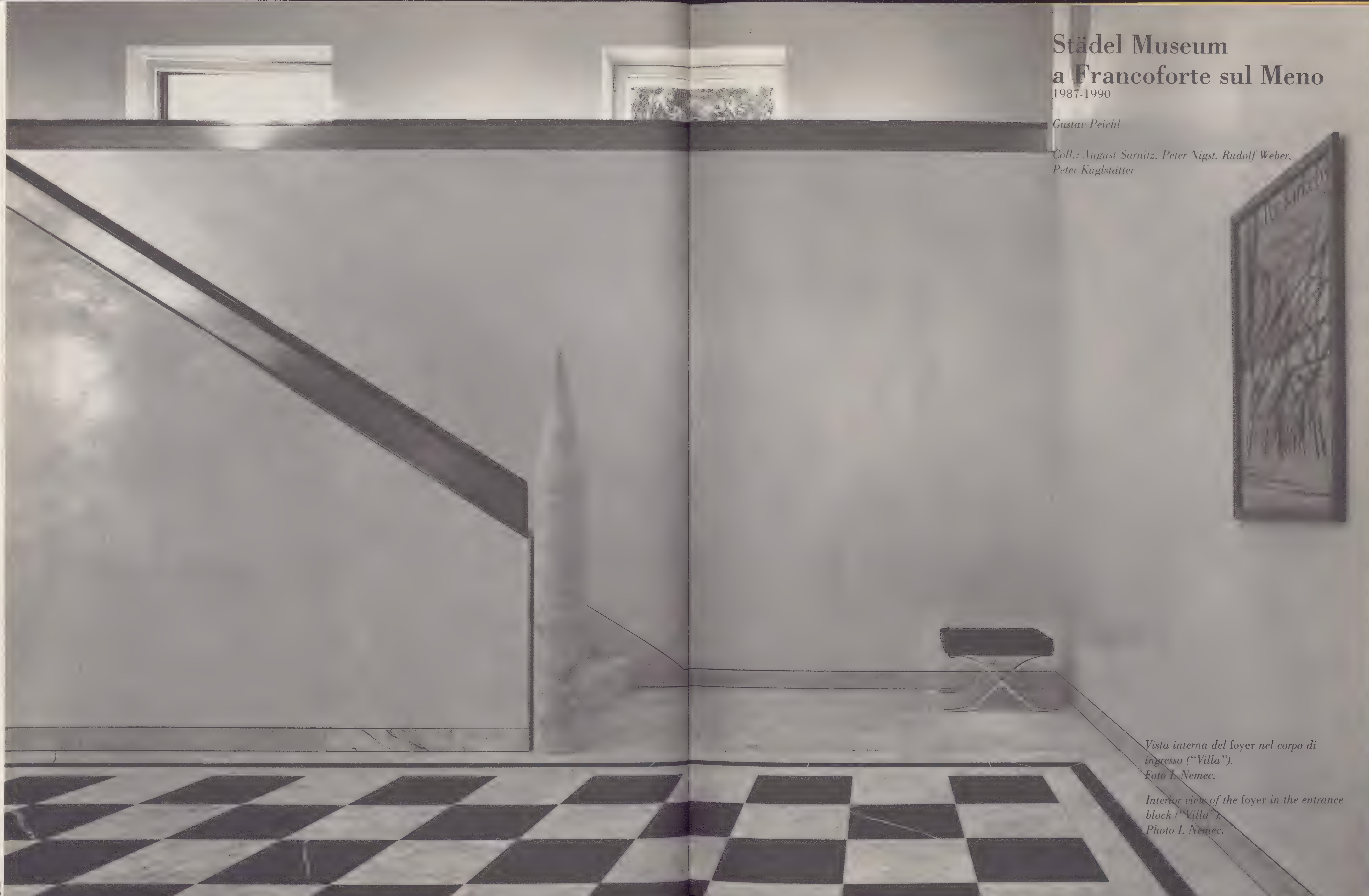
Vista interna del foyer *nel corpo di ingresso ("Villa").*
Foto I. Nemec.

Interior view of the foyer *in the entrance block ("Villa").*
Photo I. Nemec.

Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno
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Vista interna del foyer *nel corpo di ingresso ("Villa").*
Foto I. Nemec.

Interior view of the foyer *in the entrance block ("Villa").*
Photo I. Nemec.

Ampliamento dello Städel Museum a Francoforte

Gustav Peichl

Antecedenti

L'Istituto d'arte Städel è stato fondato insieme all'omonima Scuola, oggi Accademia Statale di Belle Arti, nel 1816. A tutt'oggi è rimasto una fondazione di diritto privato che ospita una galleria di importanza mondiale. Unita nel 1906 alla Galleria Civica, la collezione comprende opere che vanno dal Quattordicesimo secolo ai giorni nostri, ed è considerata esemplare.

Lo Städel Museum è stato costruito nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento in stile neoclassico dall'architetto Oskar Sommer e aperto nel novembre del 1878. Questa parte viene definita l' "edificio vecchio", al quale si è aggiunto, sul versante meridionale verso il giardino, un primo ampliamento, definito l' "edificio nuovo". Dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale lo Städel Museum è stato ricostruito dall'architetto Krahn. Nel 1987 è stato indetto un concorso per un progetto di ulteriore ampliamento, ormai non più procrastinabile, in modo da poter ospitare la collezione del Ventesimo secolo e le nuove sale per le esposizioni temporanee. Sulla base del progetto premiato si è passati alla fase esecutiva e alla realizzazione.

Impostazione progettuale

L'edificio di ampliamento, di tre piani, si trova sul lato occidentale del lotto, prospiciente la Holbeinstraße, ed è collegato da un ponte al primo piano dell'edificio vecchio. Le proporzioni e le altezze dell'edificio esistente sono state rispettate e riprese nella costruzione nuova.

Con una disposizione funzionale delle sale per le esposizioni temporanee e permanenti, il progetto si basa sull'idea di un atrio centrale con funzioni di baricentro distributivo. Il nuovo edificio si caratterizza per l'uso di materiali moderni e resistenti, impiegati con finezza plastico-architettonica, e vuole esprimere la funzione culturale dell'edificio e l'importanza dell'Accademia Belle Arti Städel.

Distribuzione

A piano terra è previsto uno spazio ampiamente flessibile e divisibile di mq. 600, per le esposizioni temporanee. Al piano interrato si trovano il guardaroba e il *foyer* della sala proiezioni e conferenze, che ha una capienza di 99 posti a sedere. Sempre al piano interrato sono collocati i magazzini e i depositi, i laboratori e gli impianti tecnici, con accesso indipendente dalle entrate principali del Museo, attraverso una scala di servizio. Al primo piano vi è uno spazio di mq. 720 destinato a esposizioni permanenti, mentre al secondo piano, su una superficie di mq. 112 vi sono gli uffici amministrativi.

Illuminazione e impianti

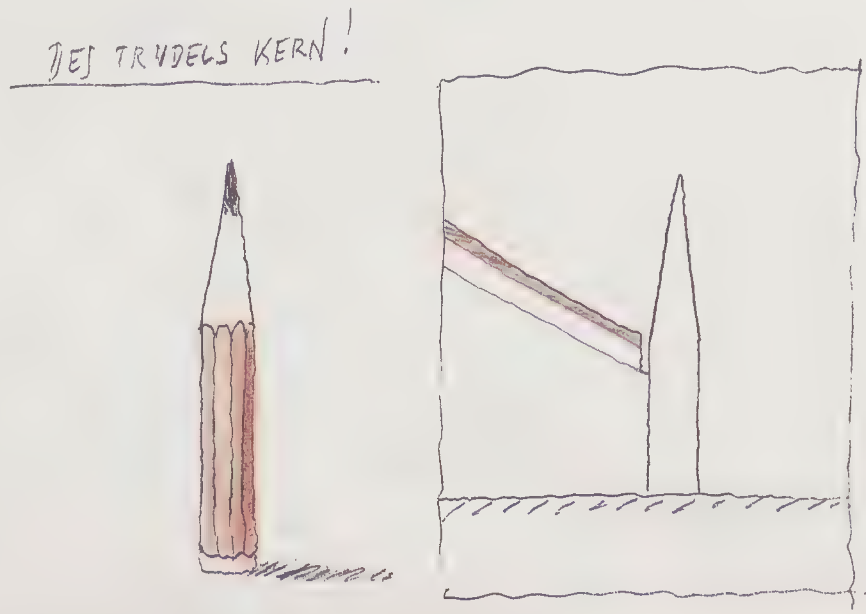
Le sale per le esposizioni temporanee sono illuminate artificialmente, mentre le sale per le esposizioni permanenti al primo piano dispongono di illuminazione naturale; un'eccezione è rappresentata dai piccoli gabinetti che al primo piano ospitano le opere di formato minore, dove l'illuminazione è sia naturale laterale che artificiale.

Tutte le sale espositive sono interamente climatizzate, così come *foyer*, sala di proiezioni e conferenze e uffici amministrativi, sebbene solo parzialmente.

Facciate e materiali

Le facciate dell'edificio nuovo tengono conto delle altezze e delle proporzioni dell'edificio esistente, e sono segnate dalle fughe orizzontali del rivestimento in pietra. L'ingresso principale è marcato da un vano a doppia altezza, arretrato in nicchia di circa cm. 60 ad accentuarne la presenza.

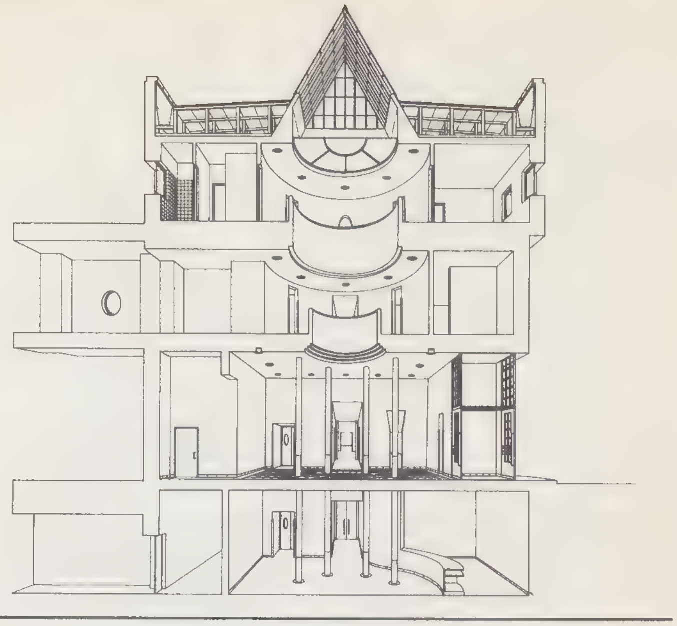
Tutto l'edificio nuovo è rivestito in pietra bianca e le coperture sono in rame.

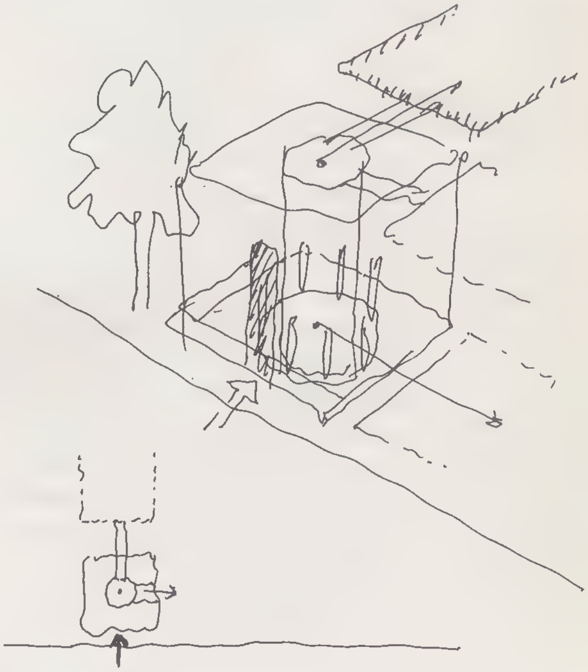


Riflessioni sul progetto

Gustav Peichl

Le mie prime riflessioni durante il lavoro per il progetto di concorso si sono sviluppate in maniera bizzarra e con difficoltà, essendo la ristretta area di intervento già determinata sia per quanto riguarda l'allineamento su strada sia per l'altezza della linea di gronda. Il compito inoltre era fissato da un preciso programma funzionale e distributivo, che lasciava scarsi margini di libertà. Ciò che restava all'architetto era l'assemblaggio dei diversi spazi funzionali del museo e l'espressione dell'immagine esterna.
Stimolato da questi presupposti e dai chiarimenti e dalle indicazioni della committenza, ho optato per una struttura funzionale, semplice e ordinata, con un corpo di testa funzionante da ingresso e da punto di smistamento. A questo corpo, formalmente staccato dal restante edificio, ho dato il nome di "Villa" per sottolinearne la minutezza di scala e l'autonomia.
Ho cercato di ottenere una modesta ma autonoma configurazione, senza aggiunte di carattere estemporaneo o decorativo. Volevo un edificio che si ponesse al di là di ogni tendenza. Così il progetto per l'ampliamento dello Städel Museum non deriva i suoi connotati da un ambizioso *design* ma, di fatto, da una attenta riflessione sulle funzioni, da un contenuto qualitativo caratterizzato da una coerente traduzione dei compiti.
Bellezza e forma sono funzioni psicologiche, che attraverso una sorta di "cultura ottica" dovrebbero contribuire a sottolineare l'importanza di un esigente edificio culturale. Questa ambizione deve essere realizzata con un'accurata scelta dei materiali e con un'ornamentazione decisa ma priva di eccessi. La continua disputa degli architetti su fine e bellezza, estetica e funzione, forma e utilità, crea ogni volta un conflitto che influisce sul progetto.
Il rapporto con l'edificio esistente e la libertà di configurazione consentita dai presupposti funzionali, hanno





Schizzo di studio della scala del foyer.
Sezione prospettica di studio e schizzo del corpo di ingresso.

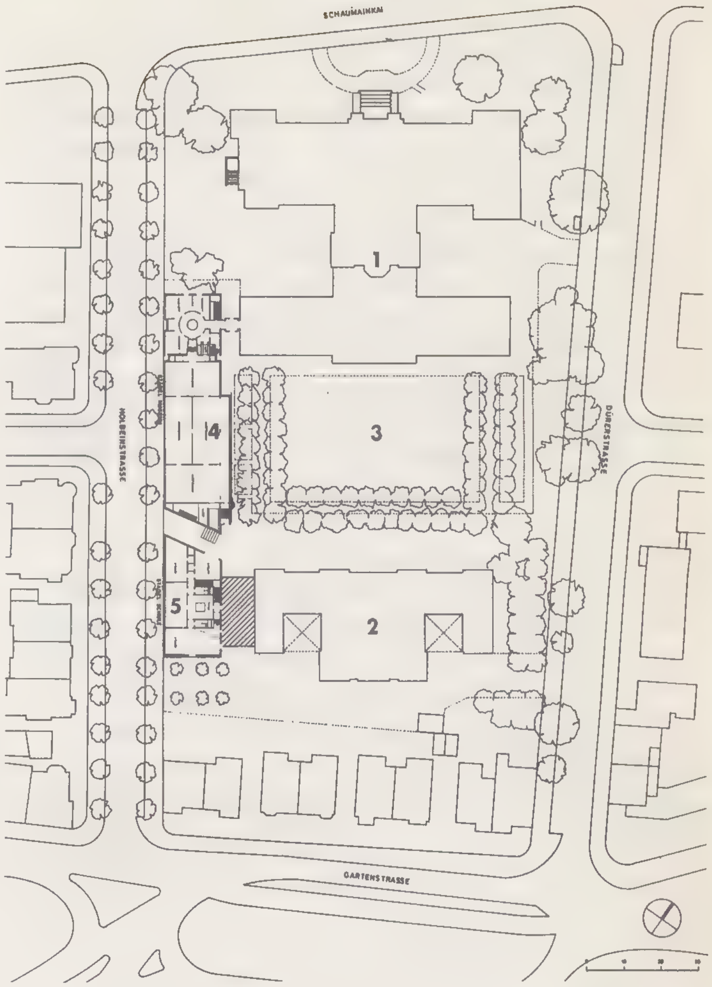
Study sketch of the foyer *stairway.*
Study perspective and sketch of the entrance block.

creato un interscambio dal quale è scaturito il progetto di ampliamento dello Städel Museum. La traduzione dei compiti distributivi e costruttivi in elementi formali ha cercato di essere in armonia con la tradizione, senza escludere nel contempo elementi innovativi legati alla contemporaneità. Volevo evitare un adattamento esplicito all'edificio esistente, rispettando però proporzioni e materiali, per ottenere così uno scambio dialettico tra fabbrica vecchia e costruzione nuova, dato da pochi ma incisivi elementi capaci di imprimersi nella memoria. Le ordinate planimetrie e le strutture interne del nuovo edificio dovevano facilitare l'orientamento e la visione d'insieme. Nella definizione esterna ho voluto evitare ogni sorta di imitazione, di sovrimpressione o di precarietà, e soprattutto di *bonmots*. Ho reputato importante dare un senso di durevolezza e di semplicità, attraverso un approccio assolutamente discreto, ma nel contempo affermare la consapevolezza del valore culturale dell'edificio.
Anche la configurazione interna si ordina secondo i compiti e i fini del museo. Lo spazio centrale della "Villa" è caratterizzato da una rampa di scale che porta al primo piano con una balaustra, da una finestra ovale e da una nicchia con sedute che consente una vista sulla sala e le esposizioni temporanee. Questa distribuzione molto semplice, l'utilizzo di alcuni materiali dominanti, come il pavimento in pietra a scacchi e lo "stucco antico" alle pareti, danno allo spazio, caratterizzato da bianche colonne circolari, un aspetto invitante e allegro; la disposizione delle diverse forme e il contrasto dei materiali (pietra viva, metallo, legno di quercia) ne sono gli elementi determinanti. Materiali lisci, splendenti, di facile manutenzione soddisfano l'occhio e corrispondono alla necessaria praticità d'uso.
Il vuoto circolare a tutta altezza porta la luce naturale dell'alto al *foyer* quadrato del piano terra. La combinazione delle forme quadrata e circolare, un sistema formale e una tipologia planimetrica derivate dall'architettura classica, conferisce alla sala centrale di smistamento un'atmosfera di benevola accoglienza e di curiosità. Forma, proporzioni e simmetria servono alla funzione della "casa" e facilitano l'orientamento, aspetto fondamentale in un museo.
La progettazione delle sale espositive al primo piano e delle sale per le mostre temporanee al pianoterra si è fondata sul presupposto che le pareti, la luce e lo spazio sono le componenti fondamentali nella struttura di un museo e sono pertanto da interpretare senza alcun pregiudizio. La possibilità di uscire dalle sale per le esposizioni temporanee al piano terra nel "giardino delle sculture" è essenziale alla concezione di questa architettura espositiva. Sia i piccoli gabinetti posti nella "Villa" per quadri e sculture di modeste dimensioni, che le ampie sale espositive sono stati pensati con la maggior superficie espositiva possibile. Assi visivi e ampie superfici di parete interrotte da alte ed esili aperture di passaggio da una stanza all'altra creano un atmosfera tranquilla e accogliente. Nel mio lavoro ho cercato di evitare tutti qui tentativi di "dare forma", che ritengo in realtà piuttosto superficiali e che possono distogliere l'attenzione dalle opere esposte. Queste, a mio avviso, devono esprimersi soltanto attraverso se stesse.
Indipendentemente da tutte le considerazioni, spero comunque che la mia architettura sia comprensibile, riconoscibile e funzionale, senza richiedere ulteriori spiegazioni.



Expansion of the Städel Museum, Frankfurt
Gustav Peichl

Background
The Städel Art Institute was founded in 1816 along with the school of the same name, known today as the State Fine Arts Academy. It has always been and still is a private foundation, housing a world-reknown gallery of world importance. The collection, which was merged with the Civic Gallery in 1906, includes works ranging from the 14th century to the present day and is considered outstanding. The Städel Museum was built in the second half of the nineteenth century in neo-classical style by architect Oskar Sommer and opened in November 1978. This part was called the "old building"; a subsequent expansion was built on the south side facing the garden and became known as the "new building". After the second world war the Städel Museum was rebuilt by architect Krahn. A competition was held in 1987 for the badly-needed expansion to house the twentieth century collection and new rooms for temporary exhibitions. The winning design was subsequently built.



Design
The three-floor expansion is on the western side of the site, overlooking Holbeinstrasse and is linked to the first floor of the old building by a bridge. The proportions and height of the existing building were respected in the new construction. The design, which provides a functional layout for the temporary and permanent exhibition rooms, is based on the idea of a central hall acting as an orientation point. The new building is built with contemporary, hard-wearing materials, with fine architectural details. It is meant out to express the cultural purpose of the building and the importance of the Städel Fine Arts Academy.

Layout
The highly flexible and divisable 600-square-metre space on

Schizzo di studio del corpo di ingresso. Planimetria generale dello Städel Museum: 1) vecchio Städel Museum; 2) vecchia Scuola Städel; 3)cortile-giardino per sculture; 4)ampliamento dello Städel Museum (pianta piano primo); 5) ampliamento della Scuola Städel (pianta piano primo).

Study sketch of the entrance block. Site plan of the Städel Museum: 1) old Städel Museum; 2) old Städel School; 3) garden-courtyard for sculptures; 4) extension of the Städel Museum (first-floor plan); 5) extension of the Städel School (first-floor plan).

the ground floor is intended for temporary exhibitions. The cloakroom and foyer *for the projections and lectures room, which can seat an audience for 99, are located in the basement. Storage rooms, laboratories and mechanical rooms are also located in the basement, and are connected to the main museum entrances by a dedicated set of stairs. The 720-square-metre space on the first floor is set up for permanent exhibitions and the administrative offices occupy an area of 112 square metres on the second floor.*

Lighting and installations

The rooms for the temporary exhibitions are artificially lit while the permanent exhibitions on the first floor make use of daylight, with the exception of the smaller first-floor rooms housing works of small size, where both daylight and artificial lighting are used. All the exhibition rooms are fully air conditioned and the foyer, *the projection and lecture rooms and the administrative offices are partially air conditioned.*

Elevations and materials used

The elevations of the new building relate to the height and proportions of the existing building and are characterized by the horizontal scoring of the stone facing. The main entrance is set within a double height space, recessed about 60 centimetres from the rest of the façade to emphasize its location.
The new building is completely clad in white stone and the roof is copper.

Design Considerations

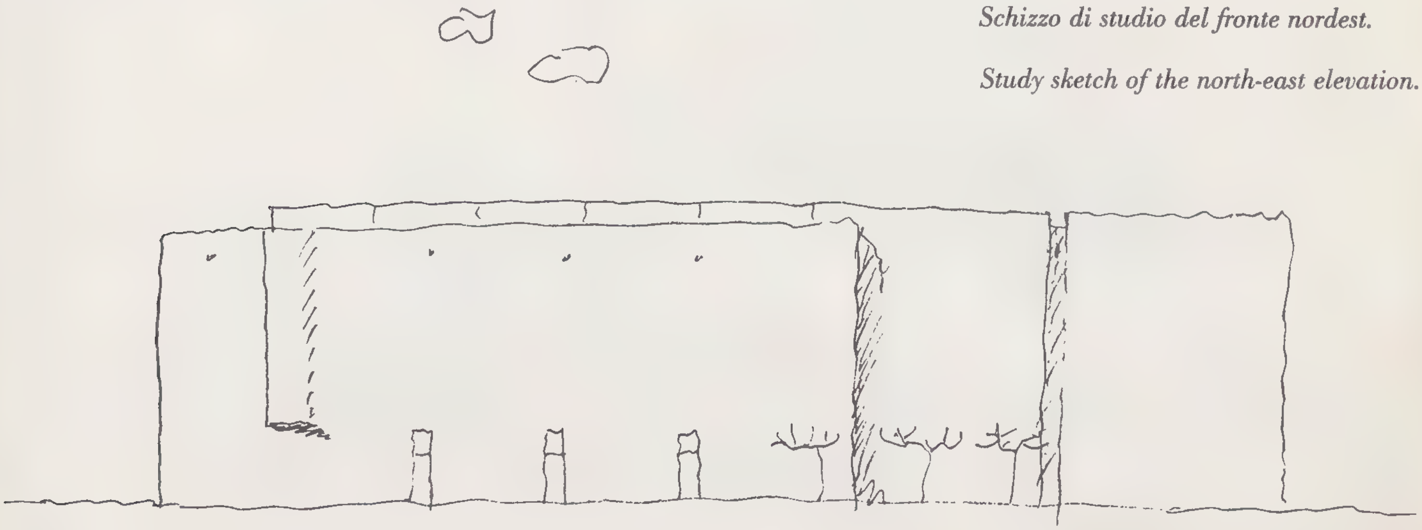
Gustav Peichl

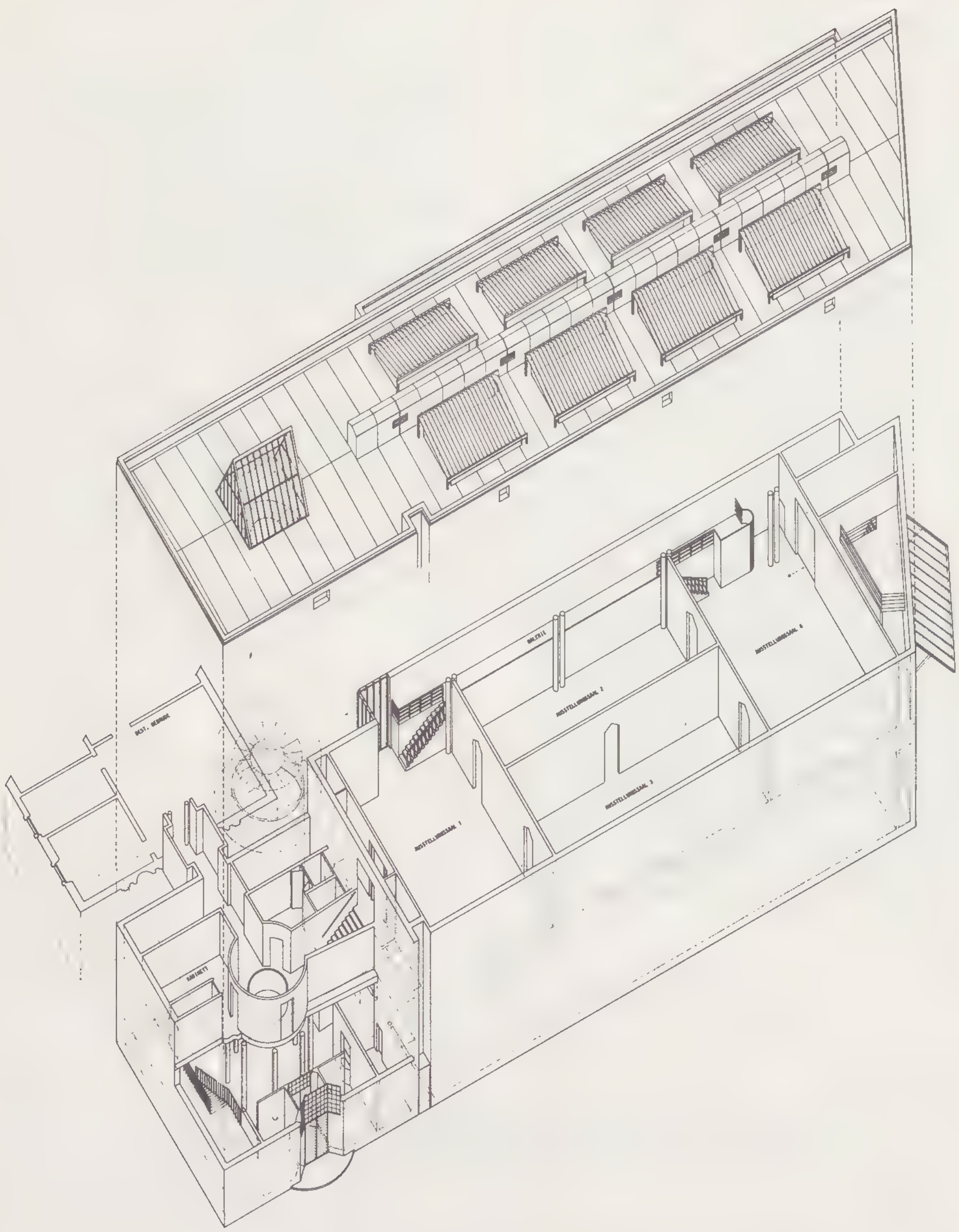
My earliest considerations during work on the design competition did not come easily and the way they developed was quite bizarre and difficult since the street frontage and height of roof line had already been defined. A precise programme had also been draughted leaving little freedom of movement. All that was left to the architect was to assemble the museum's various functional spaces and develop its exterior image.
Stimulated by this situation and by the clarifications and indications of the commissioning entity, I opted for a simple, orderly functional structure with a main block which would function as an entrance and orientation area. I gave this block, which was formally separate from the rest of the building, the name "Villa" to emphasize its small scale and its autonomy.
I tried to achieve a modest, yet autonomous layout, without adding impromptu or decorative elements; the building was intended to be beyond all trends. Hence the features of the Städel Museum were not derived from ambitious design aspirations but out of careful consideration of the functions, quality considerations and close adherence to the requirements of the programme.
Beauty and form are psychological functions which, within a "visual culture" should help to emphasize the importance of an outstanding cultural building. The achievement of this ambition demands careful choice of materials and an ornamentation that is forceful without being excessive. The on-going dispute among architects about purpose and beauty, aesthetics and function, form and utility, invariably leads to conflicts which influence the project.
The relationship with the existing building and the freedom in the layout allowed by the initial functional programme created an interchange which led to the creation of the Städel Museum extension project. The translation of

distribution and construction requirements into formal elements was an attempt to harmonize with tradition without excluding innovative elements of a contemporary nature. I wished to avoid conforming explicitly to the existing building while respecting its proportions and materials in order to obrain a dialectical exchange between the texture of the old building and new construction elements that were limited in number but would nonetheless be remembered. The orderly plans and the interior structure of the new building were conceived to simplify orientation and the overall appearance. As for the exterior, I wished to avoid all imitation, superimposition or precariousness and all bons mots.
I deemed it important to give a sense of durability and simplicity through discreetness, but also to portray the cultural value of the building.
The interior is also organized with the purpose and the end use of the museum in mind. The central area of the "Villa" features a staircase leading to a first floor balustrade, an oval window and an alcove with chairs which view the rooms and the temporary exhibitions. This very simple layout, the use of a number of dominant materials such as the chequered stone floor and the "antique stuccowork" wall finish make the space, with its white circular columns, welcoming and lively; the arrangement of the various forms and the contrast of materials (unfinished stone, metal and oak) are the decisive elements. Smooth, shiny, easy-to-maintain materials are attractive to the eye and satisfy practical requirements of use. The high circular empty space of the foyer brings natural light from above down to the square-shaped ground-floor. The combination of square and circular forms, the hierarchy of shapes and the layout based on classical architecture gives the central orientation hall a welcoming atmosphere and entices curiosity. Form, proportions and symmetry serve the function of the "house" and simplify orientation, which is of fundamental importance to any museum. The design of the exhibition rooms on the first floor and the temporary exhibition rooms on the ground floor was based on the assumption that walls, light and space are fundamental components in the structure of a museum and should therefore be used without any kind of prejudice. The opportunity to move from the temporary exhibition rooms on the ground floor to the "sculpture garden" is essential to this concept of display architecture. Both the small rooms in the "Villa" for small-scale paintings and sculptures and the more spacious exhibition rooms were designed to have the largest amount of display space possible. Visual axes and ample wall surfaces interrupted by high, slender passageways from one room to another create a pleasant, friendly atmosphere. I have tried in my work to avoid any attempt to "give form", which is in my view superficial and can distract attention from the works on display. The works should, I feel, express themselves on their own.
These reflections aside, I hope that my architecture is comprehensible, recognizable and functional, and in need of no further explanation.

Schizzo di studio del fronte nordest.

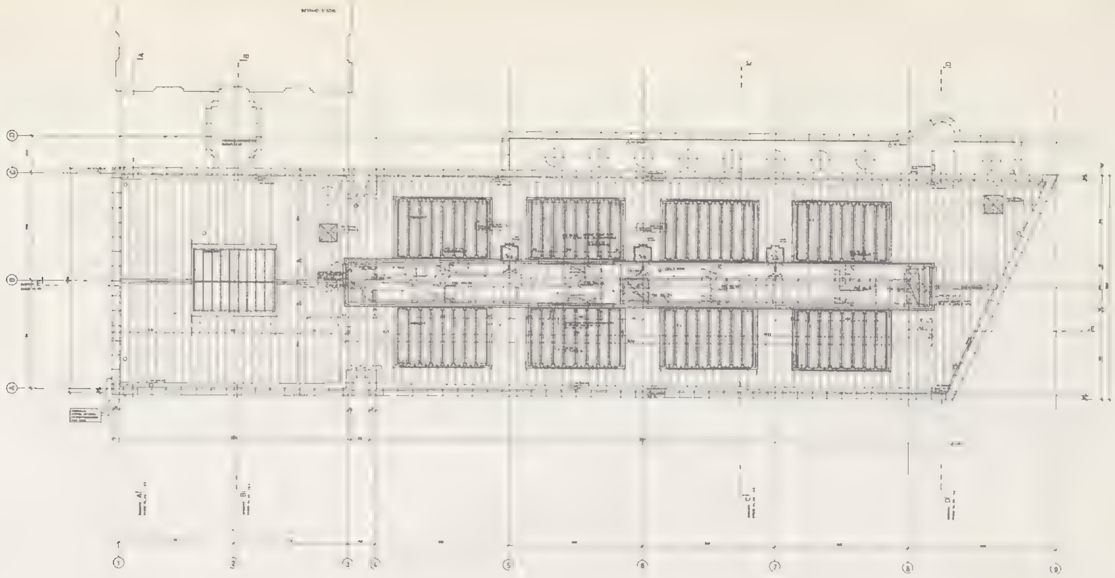
Study sketch of the north-east elevation.

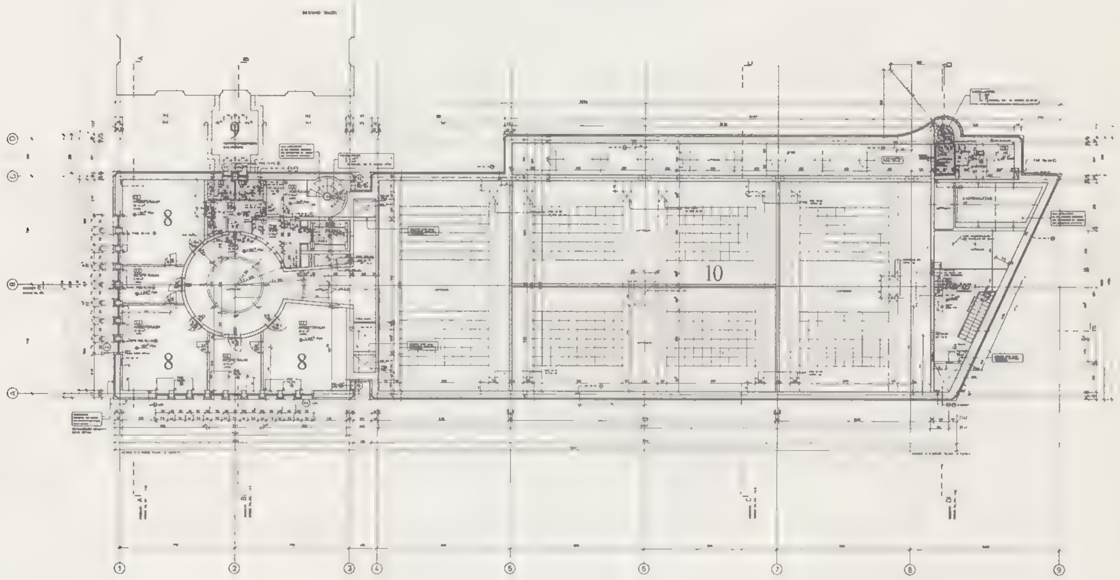


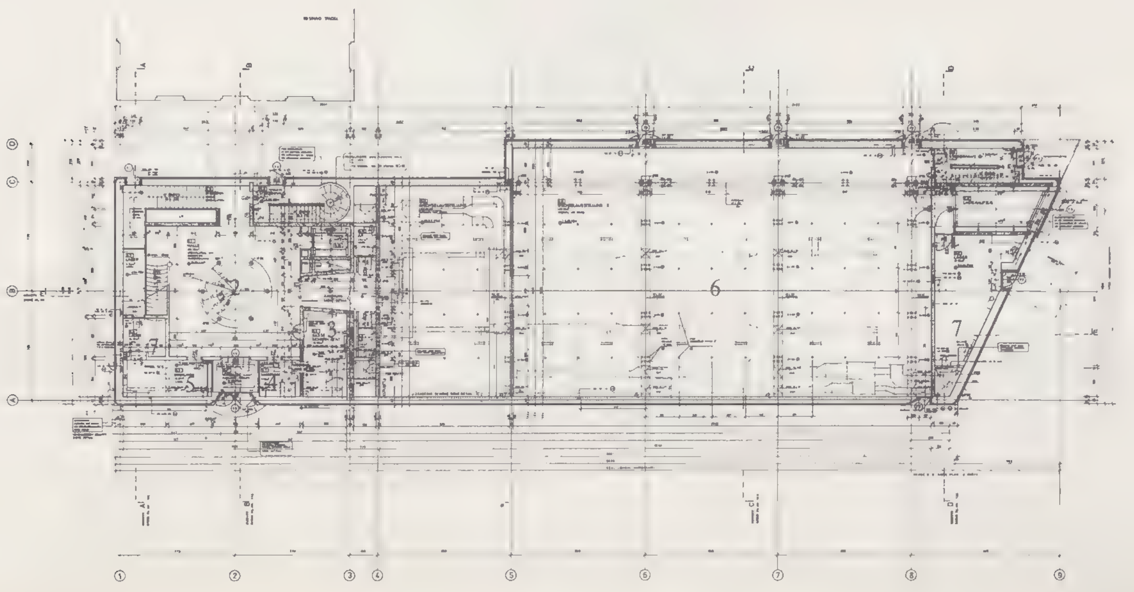


Spaccato assonometrico di studio.
Piante dei piani terra, primo e copertura: 1) ingresso; 2) foyer; *3) biglietteria; 4) punto di vendita; 5) guardaroba; 6) esposizioni temporanee; 7) deposito; 8) gabinetti per opere di piccole dimensioni; 9) corridoio di collegamento al vecchio museo; 10) esposizione permanente.*

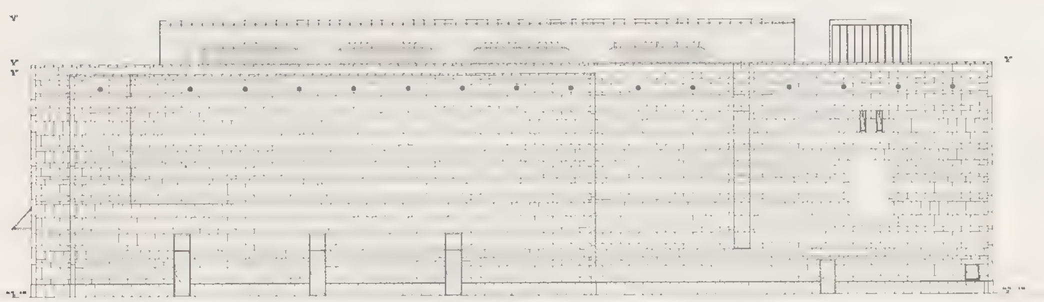
Study cutaway axonometric.
Plans of ground floor, first floor and roof: 1) entrance; 2) foyer; *3) tickets; 4) sales area; 5) cloakroom; 6) temporary exhibitions; 7) storage; 8) rooms for small-scale works; 9) corridor connecting to old museum; 10) permanent exhibition.*

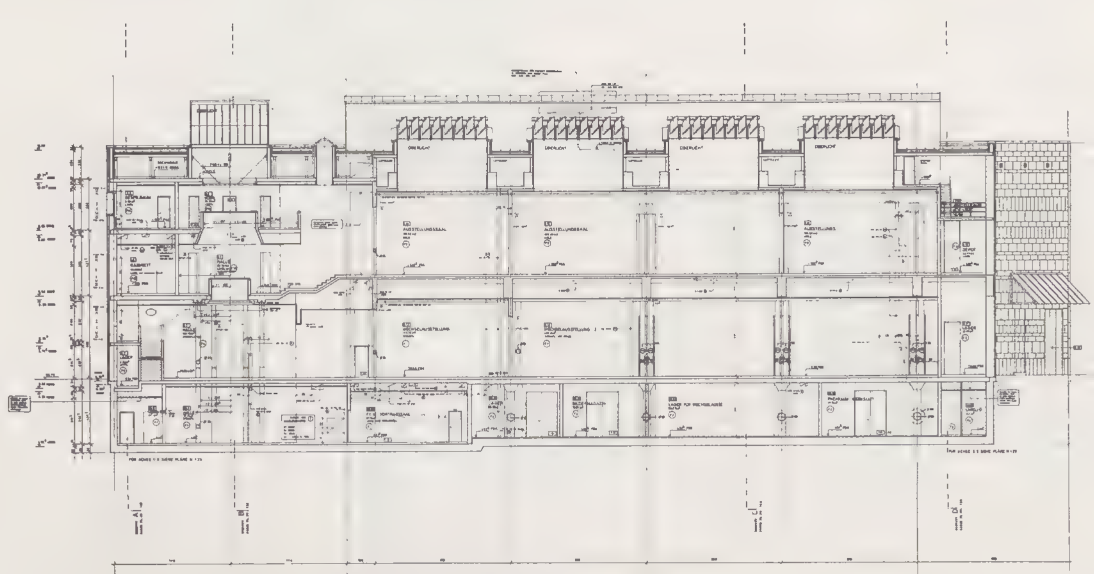


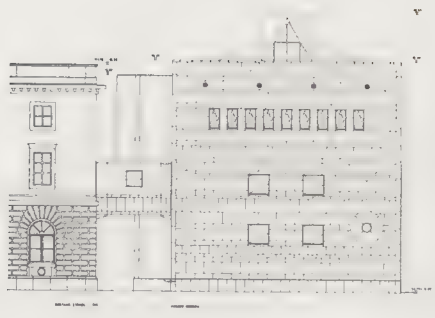

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STADEL



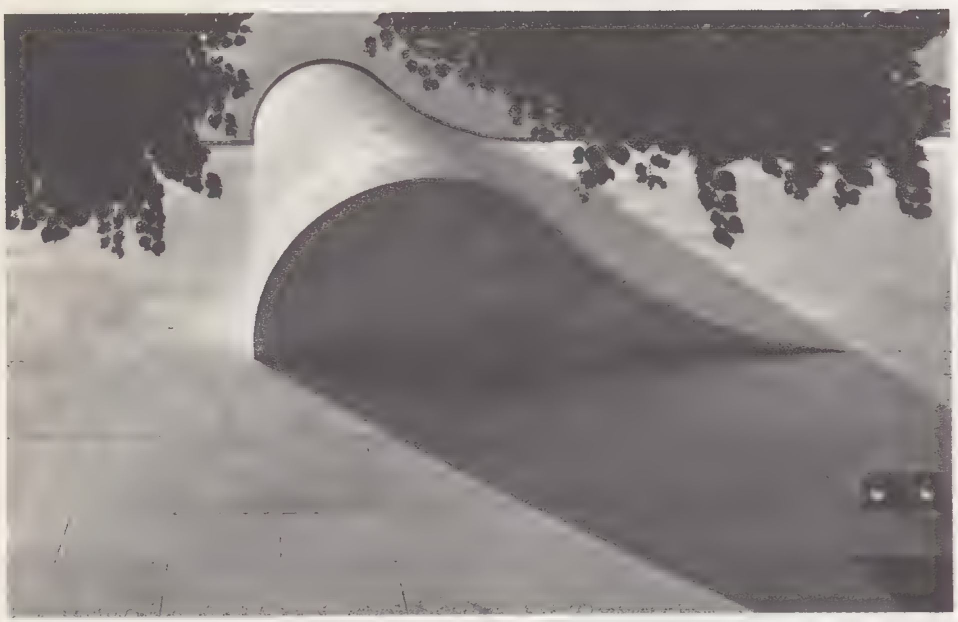






Prospetto ovest su Holbeinstraße.
Prospetto est verso il giardino.
Sezione longitudinale.
Prospetto nord con il corridoio di collegamento al vecchio museo.
Prospetto sud.

West elevation onto Holbeinstrasse.
East elevation facing the garden.
Longitudinal section.
North elevation including the corridor connecting to the old museum.
South elevation.



Particolare della facciata est corrispondente alla scala a chiocciola interna tra esposizione permanente e galleria soprastante.
Vista da sudest sugli ingressi di servizio.
Foto I. Nemec.

Detail of east elevation at the interior spiral staircase between permanent exhibition and gallery above.
Photo I. Nemec.
View of the service entrances from south-east.
Photo I. Nemec.







Viste da nordovest e da ovest, su Holbeinstraße, del corpo di ingresso. Foto I. Nemec.

Views from north-west and west, onto Holbeinstrasse, of the entrance block. Photo I. Nemec.



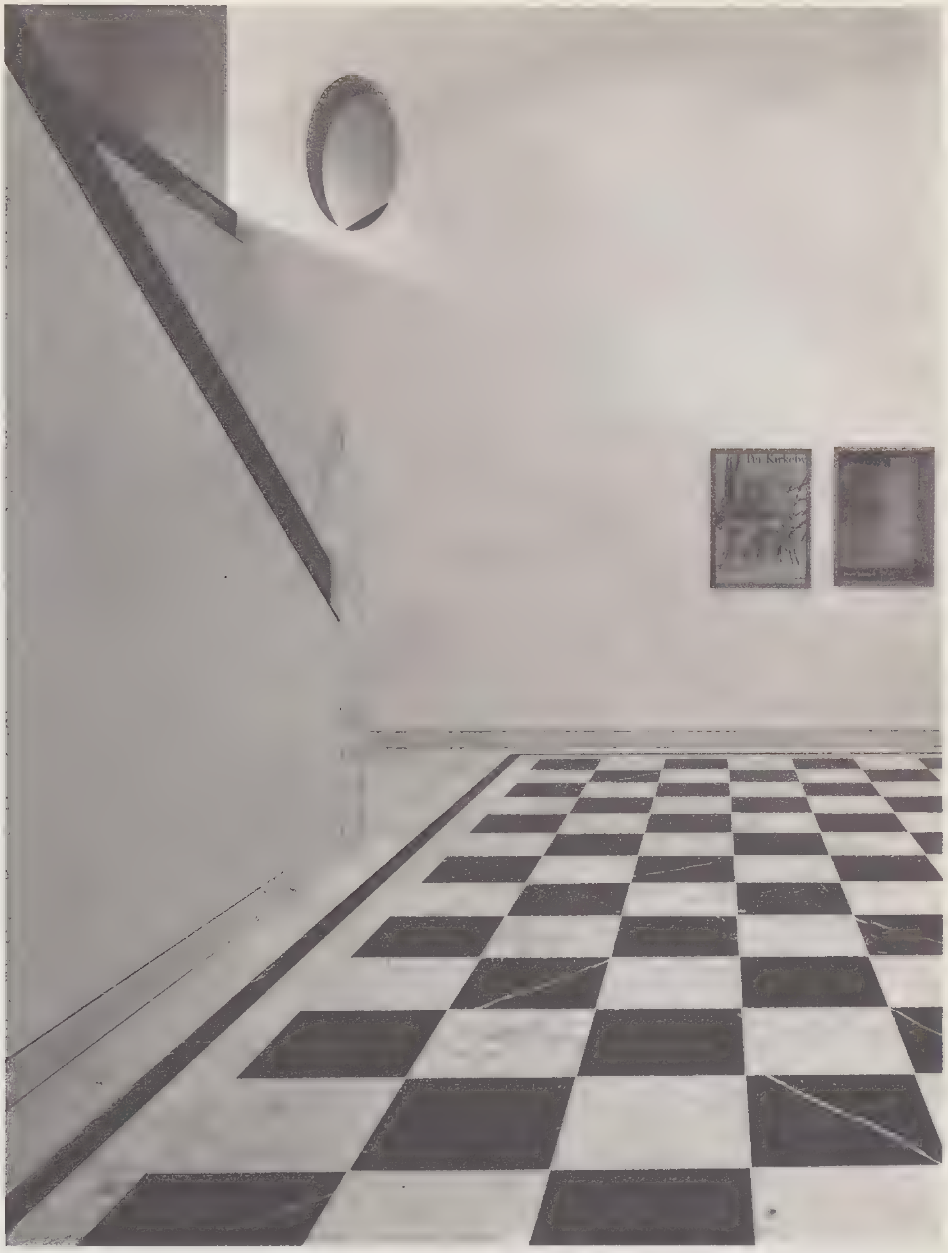


Viste con il vecchio museo e particolare della facciata nord.
Foto I. Nemec.

Views including the old museum and detail of the north façade front.
Photo I. Nemec.







Vista interna del foyer *e dettaglio della scala che dal* foyer *porta alle sale dell'esposizione permanente al primo piano.*
Foto I. Nemec.

Interior view of the foyer *and detail of the stairway leading from the* foyer *to the permanent exhibition rooms on the first floor.*
Photo I. Nemec.



Viste interne delle sale dell'esposizione permanente e del foyer *al primo piano con i gabinetti espositivi.*
Foto I. Nemec.

Interior views of the permanent exhibition rooms on the first floor with exhibition rooms.
Photo I. Nemec.



Vista da est della facciata sul giardino.
Foto I. Nemec.

East view of the façade facing the garden.
Photo I. Nemec.



Vista da est della facciata sul giardino.
Foto I. Nemec.

East view of the façade facing the garden.
Photo I. Nemec.



Il concorso per il Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia, 1988



Vista aerea zenitale dei Giardini della Biennale, in alto l'attuale Padiglione Italia.

Aerial view of the Biennale gardens: the present Padiglione Italia is at the top.

Il concorso per il Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia, 1988



Vista aerea zenitale dei Giardini della Biennale, in alto l'attuale Padiglione Italia.

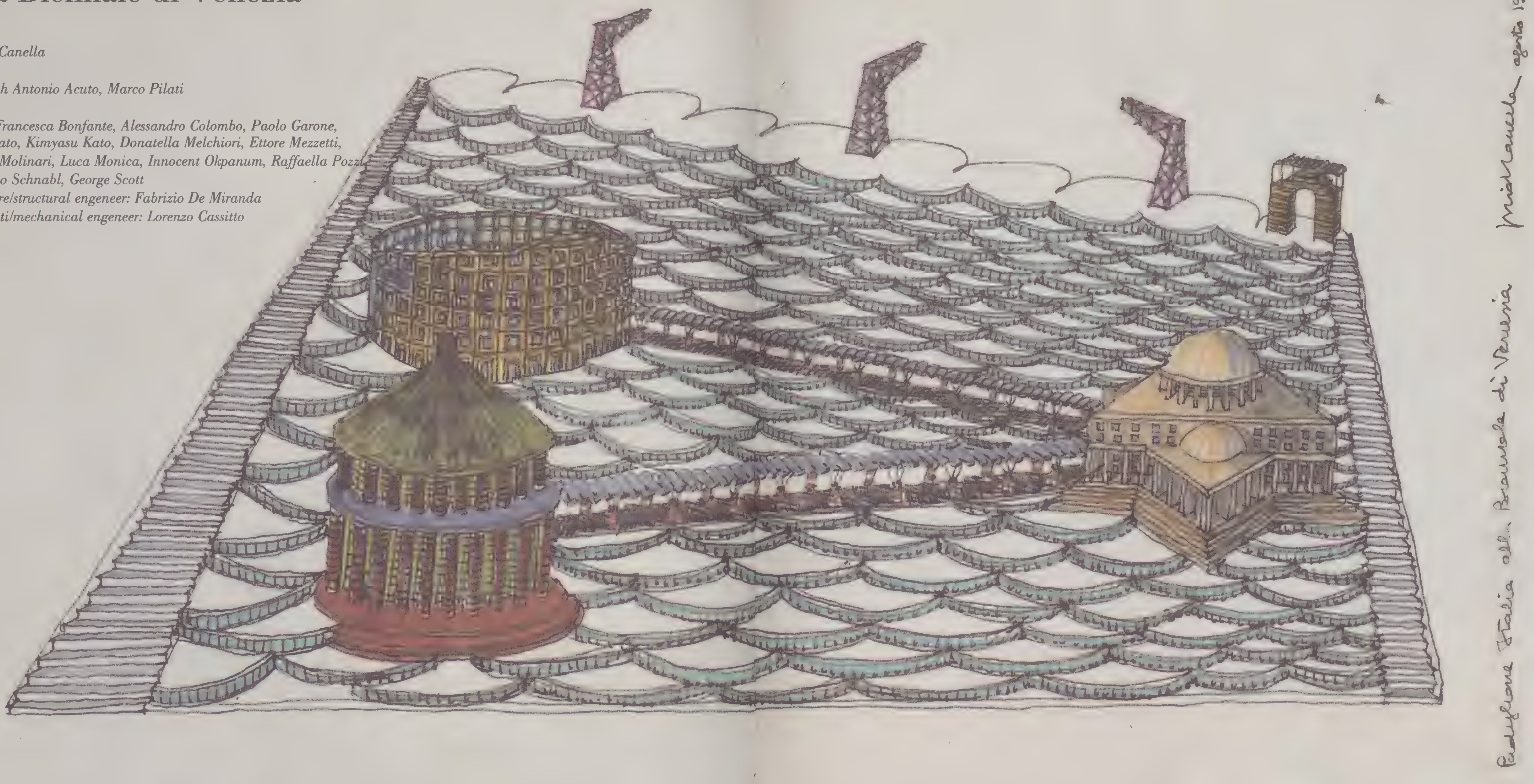
Aerial view of the Biennale gardens: the present Padiglione Italia is at the top.

Il concorso per il Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia
1988

Guido Canella

con/with Antonio Acuto, Marco Pilati

Coll.: Francesca Bonfante, Alessandro Colombo, Paolo Garone, Chie Kato, Kimyasu Kato, Donatella Melchiori, Ettore Mezzetti, Marco Molinari, Luca Monica, Innocent Okpanum, Raffaella Pozzi, Romano Schnabl, George Scott
Strutture/structural engeneer: Fabrizio De Miranda
Impianti/mechanical engeneer: Lorenzo Cassitto



Disegno di studio.

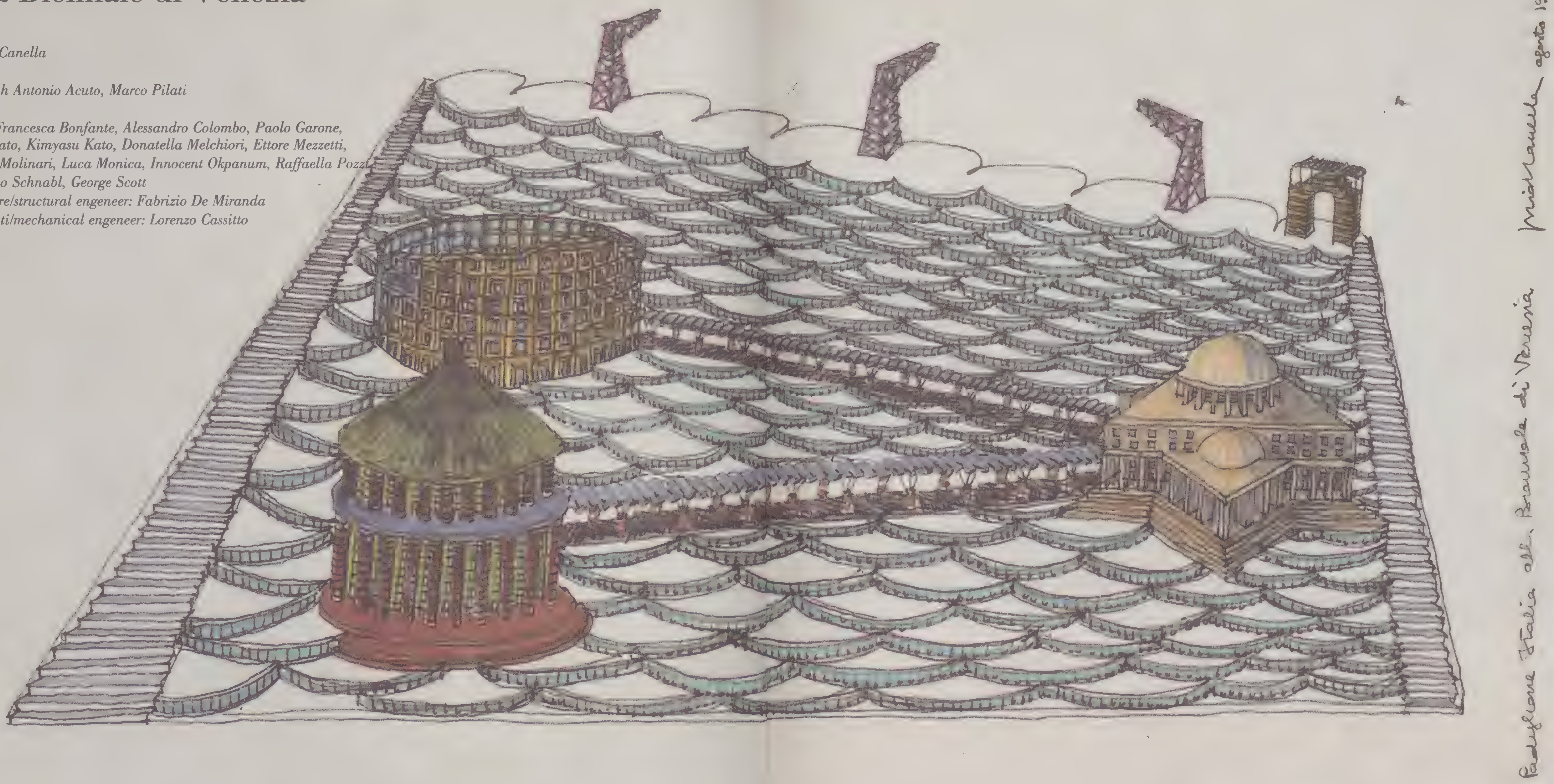
Study sketch.

Il concorso per il Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia
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Disegno di studio.

Study sketch.

Progetto per il Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia
Guido Canella

Scelte di progetto
1. Rimasta coerente e costretta nella sua autenticità di metropoli scambiatrice a lunga distanza entro il perimetro rinascimentale — quello rilevato e circoscritto da Saverio Muratori nei suoi *Studi per una operante storia urbana* — Venezia nel Diciottesimo e Diciannovesimo secolo è ormai "moderna", cioè non più articolata per moduli insediativi organicamente insulari, ma già soggetta ad adeguarsi a modelli tipologici esogeni di crescita insediativa, che pure la città si ingegna — non di rado riuscendoci — a filtrare sulla sua essenza particolare, riproducendosi così per una sorta di allegoria di sé. È questo il caso in età napoleonica dei Giardini di Giannantonio Selva e poi dell'esposizione d'arte a padiglioni che vi venne localizzata in età postunitaria. Né si può negare che questo risvolto festoso, mondano, insomma soprastrutturale ("*A Venezia, i Giardini bisogna vederli quando la Biennale è chiusa*", prescriveva Alberto Savinio), sia venuto a far parte della sua retorica e del suo fascino, cioè della odierna "venezianità" internazionale. Infatti, pur trovandosi spesso accomunati per ciò che pretende un'ottimale percezione visiva, museo ed esposizione d'arte fondano due categorie tipologiche, talvolta complementari ma essenzialmente distinte, per quanto riguarda l'ordinamento e il rapporto con la città. Almeno tendenzialmente, il museo viene ordinato diacronicamente per saggi che connettendosi restituiscano un panorama storico predisposto alla frequentazione permanente, mentre l'esposizione viene ordinata sincronicamente per saggi che connettendosi instaurino un confronto, tra personalità, tendenze, periodi, proposto alla frequentazione occasionale.
Date le opportunità che Venezia può offrire ai musei e a certe eventuali diramazioni espositive direttamente dalla sua storica compagine edilizia (si pensi, per esempio,

Competition Entry for the Italian Pavilion at the Biennale di Venezia
Guido Canella

Project's Choices
1. After having remained coherent and maintained its character as a city for commercial exchanges between faraway places within the area encompassed by the Renaissance (area defined by Saverio Muratori in his work Studi per una operante storia urbana*), Venice in the 18th and 19th centuries was almost "modern". This is to say that Venice was no longer articulated according to organically insular models of urban expansion but was adapting to typological models (exogenous to its normal pattern of urban growth) which the city strove, successfully, to filter through its own character and essence thus reproducing itself through allegories of itself.*
This was the case with Giannantonio Salva's Giardini in Napoleonic times and again with the various pavilions of the art exhibition, established in the giardini after the unification of Italy. These festive, socialite, in other words superstructural facets ("In Venice the Giardini should be seen when the Biennale is shut"*, says Alberto Savinio) undeniably had come to be a part of the city's new language and its fascination, that is, of the current international "Venetian-ness".*
However, although they often find themselves brought together with respect to an optimal perceptive vision, museum and art exhibition constitute two typological categories which are sometimes complementary but essentially distinct with respect to their relationship with the city. The museum tends to be organized diachronically, according to exhibits which, linked together recreate a historical panorama adressed to a sense of permanence. The exhibition, on the other hand is organized synchronically according to exhibits which, when linked together, bring about a contrast between personalities, trends and times and carries with it a sense of temporariness.



Vista assonometrica da sud.

Axonometric view from the south.



Prospetto sud e sezione verso nord.

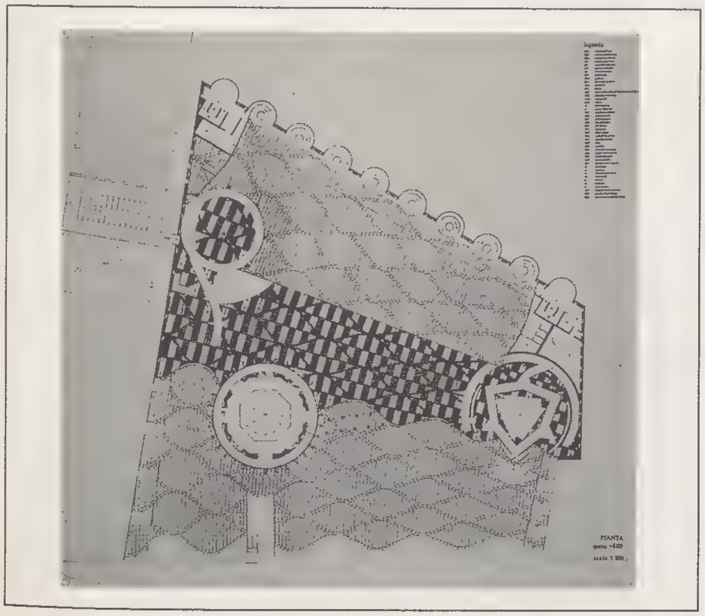
South elevation and north section.

all'Arsenale), appare coerente che la Biennale d'arte rimarchi e incrementi la propria essenza occasionale nella polarità e nell'appadiglionamento.
Pertanto, assunte in carico le quantità prescritte in bando, di ciò si è voluto tener conto nell'impostare il progetto sul versante del giardino selviano, dove si conferma l'originale diradamento naturalista in modo da non ostruire con un ingombro estraneo e scatolare la fluidità dell'impianto "a città-giardino" e da non incombere sul rapporto proporzionale tra i padiglioni — condizione questa necessaria a riscattarne la varia qualità architettonica —, per esaltare quel diradamento fino a disperderlo su confini indefiniti o naturali. Per esempio: un'apertura d'orizzonte verso il cielo e la laguna o il costruito predisposto ad essere — come è già — colto in dissolvenza tra l'alberatura improntata all'ormai pittoresco di quello che fu il "giardino all'italiana".
Estratto dunque il criterio ambientale dal *genius loci* — verrebbe da dire —, ad occidente esso è venuto a combinarsi alla richiesta di conservare *pro-memoria* l'ottagono costruito dall'ingegner Trevisanato nel 1894 e affrescato in cupola da Galileo Chini nel 1909. Così che sull'area oggetto di concorso l'impostazione di progetto ha designato quella "scena prospettica" che vuole riconfermare e valorizzare in convergenza la frammentaria, multiforme, dispersa coesistenza — prerogativa stessa dell'esposizione a padiglioni senza un centro — facendovi affiorare dagli ondulati gradoni di copertura alcuni caposaldi di traguardo.
L'impianto figurativo del progetto è venuto poi a precisarsi ad occidente parafrasando, quasi naturalmente, la triade di tavole cosiddette di Urbino, di Baltimora e di Berlino attribuite alla Scuola di Piero, dove per mimesi, nella stessa luminosità adriatica, il lastricato si fa laguna, così che quella coesione di "piazzetta all'italiana" qui si allenta adagiando sulle onde eventi architettonici isolati emergenti dal profondo, a diverse quote dalla copertura inclinata, dando

Given the opportunities that Venice is able to offer museums and certain occasional exhibitional ramifications stemming directly from the interconnectedness of its historical buildings (the Arsenale being a case in point), it would seem coherent for the Biennale to underline and increase its sense of temporariness by its polarizing character and its division into pavilions.
Therefore, having accepted what was set in the guidelines for this competition, in our proposed design we wished to respect Selva's gardens, where the original naturalistic spacing is maintained by not obstructing the fluidity of a "garden city" plan with extraneous cluttering or boxes. The design wished not to alter the proportional relationship between the pavilions, so as not to change the architectural qualities of these and to emphasize the spacing to the point of losing the limits of the space in undefined or natural surroundings. An example of this can be an open view towards the sky and the laguna or the glimpse of a building between the trees pictoresquely planted in what has come to be known as the "Italian Garden" style.
Once the environmental criteria had been determined from the genius loci *it was combined with the request to conserve the octagon to the west, built by the engineer Trevisanato in 1894, and the cupola of which was frescoed by Chini in 1909. In this way, the design has provided for that "perspective scene" that reconfirms and values the fragmentary, multiform, dispersed coexistence (prerogative of an exhibition which is organized in pavilions that have no central focus) of the area by including the silhouette of existing landmarks within the view of the stepped roof of the Pavilion.*
The final design of the west elevation became a natural paraphrase of the triad of the so-called Urbino, Baltimora and Berlin panels (attributed to the Scuola di Piero) where in the Adriatic luminosity the paving becomes the lagoon. The cohesion of the "Italian Piazzetta" opens itself to isolated architectural objects which emerge from the depths and rise

luogo ai tre padiglioni che sul Padiglione italiano sembrano riproporre l'artificio metaforico del "teatro nel teatro".
A combinare qui il "gran teatro lagunare" — omologo di quelli "montani" assestati nei Sacri Monti lombardi e piemontesi —, oltre l'eventuale statuaria in esposizione, concorrono due percorsi rampanti coperti a tegoloni, di connessione tra i tre padiglioni, e due scalee laterali, rastremate oltre l'effetto prospettico, che guadagnano la terrazza di colmo, da cui è possibile cogliere nei diversi paesaggi le diverse anime della Venezia costruita.
Colmo sul quale incombe una serie di paranchi, dal basso appuntata sull'orizzonte, anche per disincanto quando preannuncia l'anima e la figura della Venezia industriale, vera e propria controfaccia evocata a oriente, verso canale, anche attraverso quella che appare come una batteria di sili vetrati a sezione semicircolare rastremata verso la fondamenta: quasi un'intromissione sironiana, invocata per quel paesaggio che tra laguna e terraferma dovette attrezzarsi industrialmente per sopravvivere, eppure tanto restio a comparire nell'iconografia novecentesca di chi lo ritrasse, da Tosi a Semeghini, dal Boccioni divisionista a Carrà, da Guidi a De Pisis, a Birolli e tanti altri.
2. La concezione funzionale, per introdurre sequenze variabili di sale — a loro volta componibili modularmente e in dimensioni adattabili —, disloca tre vestiboli di estraneazione (si pensi a quello dello schinkeliano Altes Museum di Berlino) all'interno del corpo di fabbrica, assimilati così da risultare posti a cerniera dei percorsi per scandirli con pause opportune. Essi contengono le rampe che mettono in comunicazione i diversi livelli e dalle quali si può dominare in crescendo l'articolazione dell'intero padiglione.
Questo dispositivo panottico è fondamentale per l'orientamento del visitatore che, nell'organizzare il proprio intinerario, deve poter dosare interessi e concentrazione. Ad orientare contribuiscono, inoltre, il sistema strutturato a raggera che sostiene la gradonata di copertura e le tarsie marmoree dei pavimenti che ne restituiscono la proiezione in piano. Infatti l'arabesco spaziale sul soffitto e quelli superficiali sugli impiantiti stanno a legittimare la linearità e il nitore costanti delle pareti d'esposizione.
Dei vestiboli, quello esistente a base ottagonale contiene un cono, quello a sezione variabile una piramide a base triangolare, destinati a particolari *performance*, a proiezioni o direttamente all'esposizione di manufatti e sculture, da disporsi su mensole o in apposite nicchie ricavate, apprezzabili sia da chi percorra le rampe sia da chi sosti sui sedili disposti ai pianerottoli: mentre al centro del vestibolo a impianto circolare si trova un perno rotante telescopicamente riducibile entro il pavimento del livello più basso, utilizzabile per sospensioni a giostra tipo *mobile*. Alla base di quest'ultimo è ricavata una gradonata circolare per 380 posti a sedere. (D'ora in poi i vestiboli saranno denominati del Cono, della Piramide, della Giostra).
La luce naturale, filtrata dai gradoni di copertura mediante feritoie traslucide di vetrocemento verso est, sud, ovest, perviene soffusa sull'intradosso della copertura, in modo da descrivere il complessivo disegno dello spazio interno attraverso la struttura; mentre con maggiore intensità la luce naturale fluisce dai pozzi corrispondenti ai tre vestiboli.
In generale, essa si diffonde attraverso diaframmi dove progressivamente, da sud a nord, si intensificano i componenti in vetrocemento, dando luogo a una tessitura variata, come si può apprezzare soprattutto sul fronte verso canale nella batteria di rilievi semicilindrici che, ospitando alcuni disimpegni verticali, rendono pressoché trasparente la parete di fondo ai due livelli fuoriterra.
La copertura inclinata risulta costruita a gradoni rivestiti in porfido con andamento sinusoidale di lunghezza d'onda costante e flessi di periodicità variabile, in modo da iscriversi nell'area assegnata di forma trapezoidale. Essa è sostenuta da un sistema in acciaio di travi primarie, curvilinee concentriche e radiali, e da terzere, rettilinee e disposte a intervalli costanti, che si incastrano nelle

to different heights from the sloped roof, seeming to repropose the metaphorical artifice of "the theatre within the theatre" on the Padiglione Italia.
Beyond the sculptures on exhibit the connection of the "great laguna theatre" — homologous to the "mountain" theatres of the Sacred Mountains of Lombardy and Piedmont — is achieved by two tile-covered ramps which connect the three pavilions and two lateral staircases which reach the top terrace from which it is possible to view the different spirits of Venetian construction within the varied landscapes. From the terrace a series of hoists (masts) pointing towards the horizon are harbingers, to the disenchantment of the viewers, of the view onto industrial Venice. The east elevation, towards the canal, echoes this other side of the city by a series of glass enclosed silos tapered towards the base, semicircular in section. This is almost a Sironian interjection for that landscape which, caught between the lagoon and the mainland had to convert itself to industrial in order to survive but never did appear in the 18th century portraits by Tosi or Semeghini, Boccioni the divisionist or Carrà, Guidi or DePisis, Birolli or others.
2. In order to allow for variable room sizes of modular dimensions the concept behind the plan layout included three circulation lobbies (as in Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin) aligned along a visitor's main travel axis of the building, intended also to be rest areas or architectural pauses between different sections of the building. At each lobby there are ramps that connect the different levels from which one can see the building develop into other spaces.
This openness is important for the viewer to be able to organize his travel thru the building and at the same time carefully blend his interests and concentrate on what surrounds him or her. The radial pattern of the structure that holds the stepped roof and the scoring of the marble floors are also directional in their patterns.
The octagonal base vestibule contains a cone while the vestibule with a variable cross-section contains a triangular-base pyramid. These lobbies are intended for special performances, audio-visual shows or as exhibit space for objects and sculptures displayed along the walls or in niches that can be seen either from the ramps or from the seats on the landings.
In the middle of the circular base lobby there is a rotating rod which can be telescoped down flush with the lowest level floor. This is to be used as a free-standing support for mobiles and other works that need to be supported in the same manner; a large circular stepped seating radiates from the base of the rod, capable of seating 380 spectators. The three lobbies have come to be known as the Cone, the Pyramid and the Carousel.
Natural light from the east, south and west penetrates thru the concrete-framed glass block slots in the stepped roof structure and reflects against the vertical portion of the roof diffusing through the building, highlighting its geometry. Each lobby is also topped with a skylight which sheds greater amounts of light into the building. The amount of glass block thru which the light penetrates the building increases from south to north creating a varied pattern of light. This is most noticeable along the building elevation facing the canal at the glass block cylinders that enclose the stairs, as the light diffused within the building renders the interior wall at the two levels above grade almost transparent.
The sloped roof is a step-like structure covered with porphyry supported by a steel beam frame and joists spanning from the exterior walls to the rounded beams that connect the columns that define the space of the lobbies in the pavilion. The hangers for the moveable walls are connected to the beams and joists, which makes it simple to change the dimension of rooms or their location.
As well as refurbishing the garden geometries designed by Selva, the reorganization of the entrance boulevard includes the design of a sloping path which allows visitors to view the portion of garden between the Riva dei Partigiani and the Rio dei Giardini, within the perimeter of the Biennale. The



Pianta a quota 6.00.

Plan at elevation 6.00 metres.

murature perimetrali e nelle travi toriche di collegamento dei pilastri che virtualmente conformano i vestiboli all'interno del padiglione. Alle terzere e alle travi rettilinee di sostegno dei livelli intermedi sono appesi i pendini del congegno di scorrimento su rotaia delle pareti mobili che, volta a volta, definisce dimensione e forma voluta delle sale e dei percorsi.
Oltre al ripristino delle geometrie arboree progettate dal Selva, la sistemazione del viale di accesso consiste sostanzialmente nell'introduzione di un percorso pensile che, sollevandosi in quota, consente di dominare quella porzione di giardino, compresa tra la riva dei Partigiani e il rio dei Giardini, riservata alla Biennale; consente, inoltre, di usufruire di un percorso d'accesso a livello terreno coperto e pavimentato in porfido; e, conseguentemente, di sdoppiare gli ingressi al padiglione alle quote 0.00 e 3.00 .

Caratteristiche del funzionamento
1. La ristrutturazione del Padiglione Italia, proprio nella confermata ubicazione, comporta che vengano ridefiniti i bordi dell'area riservata alla Biennale, con il conseguente riordino del regime di accessibilità.
Infatti, l'affaccio sul rio dei Giardini con dignità di fronte aggiunge una facoltà di approdo orientale opposto a quello occidentale su riva dei Partigiani servito dal trasporto pubblico. Tale affaccio comporta anche il rimodellamento della fondamenta sollevata a quota 0.65 e connessa direttamente ai due ponti esistenti.
Sì è poi valorizzata, prolungandola, la calle dentro i Giardini, parallela al paludo di Sant'Antonio, come tracciato di confine morfologico tra il connettivo del sestiere e il giardino selviano; tracciato che, pur mantenendoli connessi, interrompe necessariamente la continuità tra il nuovo Padiglione e le preesistenze del giardino scarpiano e l'auditorio in via di sistemazione secondo il progetto di Valeriano Pastor. In tal modo viene a saldarsi un circuito tutto aderente ai confini nord e est della Biennale che collega l'imbarcadero dei Giardini a quello di Sant'Elena.
2. L'edificio in progetto occupa il sedime dell'attuale Padiglione Italia, a meno: di un arretramento di m. 3.00 rispetto all'attuale perimetro lungo il lato nord, che consente di prolungare la calle dentro i Giardini; di una riconfigurazione secondo una spezzata "a baionetta" del lato sud che permette, attraverso opportune compensazioni, di ricalibrare la distanza dal Padiglione ungherese; di un avanzamento di m. 1.50 lungo tutto il lato est per organizzare il fronte sulla nuova fondamenta del rio dei Giardini profonda m. 4.00.
3. Il volume dell'edificio è definito: a partire dal lato occidentale del perimetro, dalla copertura inclinata che direttamente dal piano di campagna (quota 0.00) cresce a gradoni (20 con alzata di m. 0.75) fino a raggiungere la terrazza di colmo, incombente sul lato est, a quota 15.50; dal fronte orientale rettangolare, dal quale una batteria di dieci elementi (a sezione semicircolare e rastremata verso il basso) aggetta sulla fondamenta di m. 4.00 nel raggio maggiormente esposto; dai fronti est e ovest, triangolari risegati lungo le ipotenuse.
Emergono poi dal piano inclinato di copertura i volumi dei corpi destinati a vestibolo rispettivamente alti: m. 22.00 al colmo della loro lanterna quelli cilindrici e m. 19.00 al colmo della cupola quello poligonale. Pertanto l'altezza massima di m. 15.00, indicata dal bando come regolatrice della crescita di un intero edificio, è superata di poco soltanto in corrispondenza della terrazza di colmo e del belvedere posto in copertura del corpo cilindrico a nordest.
4. I tre corpi con ruolo di vestibolo si fondano a livello ipogeo in modo da predisporne il coinvolgimento nel programma espositivo; raccordano attivamente gli smistamenti tra i diversi livelli; stabiliscono la triangolazione determinante negli allineamenti dei campi di copertura.
Il Vestibolo del Cono è quello attraverso il quale avviene l'ingresso principale del pubblico a due quote diverse: a 0.00 direttamente dal giardino, a 3.00 dal percorso pensile.

new design will include an access at ground level, covered and paved in porphyry. This will double the number of visitors at two levels of the Pavilion (elevation 0.00 m and 3.00 m).

Functional features

1. The renovation of the Padiglione Italia, in its present location, requires that the boundaries of the area allocated to the Biennale and the subsequent rearrangement of the access routes be redesigned. Upgrading the side facing the Rio dei Giardini would indeed provide an embellishment of the eastern approach, enhancing the side facing west overlooking the Riva dei Partigiani, served by public transportation. Work on the eastern side would also involve lifting the foundation to elevation 0.65 m and connecting it to the two existing bridges.

The "calle" (narrow alley) inside the gardens gained importance after it was extended along the Paludo di Sant'Antonio, and become a boundary between the district itself and Selva garden. As well as providing a link between the two elements, this boundary also forms a break in continuity between the new pavilion, the existing Scarpa garden and the auditorium, which is being renovated by Valeriano Pastor. In this way a continuous link along the northern and eastern boundaries of the Biennale is formed, connecting the entrance of the Giardini with that of Sant'Elena.

2. The planned building occupies the site of the present Padiglione Italia, with the following exceptions which are worth noting: the north edge of the site is set back 3.00 m with respect to its present location to allow for the extension of the "calle" inside the gardens: a redesign of the south section will reestablish a correct distance (or separation) between the building itself and the Hungarian Pavilion. The eastern side is brought forward 1.50 m to rework the elevation overlooking the new four-metre-deep foundation of the Rio dei Giardini.

3. The building can be described as follows: on the western side a sloping roof rises from elevation 0.00 in steps (20 steps total with a reserve of 0.75 m each), the top terrace at elevation 15.50 overlooking the eastern side. On the west elevation a series of 10 columns (semi-circular in section and tapering towards the base) rest on a foundation 4.00 m above ground at its highest point. The east and west sides are triangles with a jagged hypotenuse.

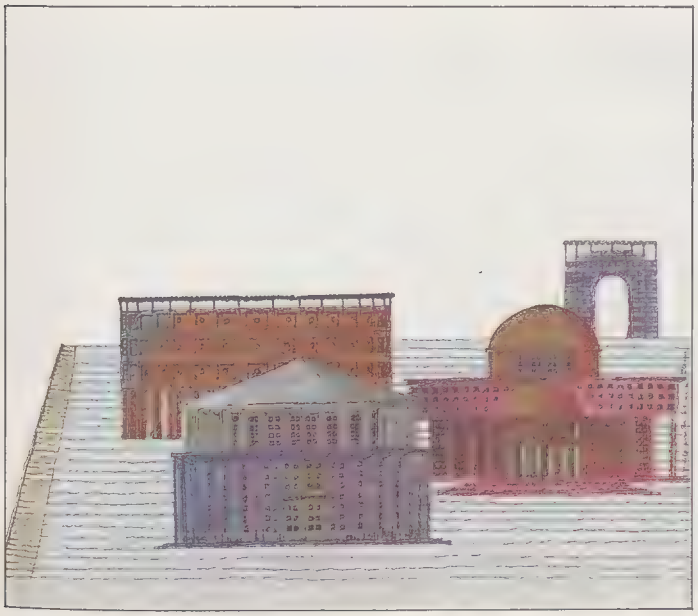
The volumes of the foyers *rise from the sloping roof. The cylindrical elements are 22.00 m high to the skylight and the remaining element is 19.00 m high to the top of its dome. The maximum height of 15.00 m, established in the competition as the highest elevation of the overall building, is therefore exceeded only by the rooftop terrace and the belvedere on the roof of the cylindrical block to the north-east.*

4. The three foyers *are built at basement level which enables them to be part of the exhibition spaces; they phisically link the different levels and establish the connection and the alignment of the roofs by their height.*

The Cone Foyer *is the main entrance for the public at two different levels: at elevation 0.00 m, directly from the garden and at elevation 3.00 m, from the sloping path. At these levels there are two galleries around the octagonal space while outside this area, but still within the cylindriacal shell, is the system of ramps which connects two exhibition levels (at elevation -3.50 m and 0.75 m) and leads into the sloping roof path at elevation 5.25 m.*

In the Pyramid Foyer *the ramp leading up from below, beginning in a circular fashion and then continuing in a star-shape, connects the three exhibition levels (at elevation -3.50 m, 0.75 m and 6.00 m), while at elevation 5.00 and 8.00 m it leads to the flight of steps on the south side and to the connecting point of the sloping paths.*

In the Carousel Foyer *the circular ramp starting at elevation 0.75 m spirals up to reach the highest exhibition level at elevation 6.00 m, the landing to the outside walkway at*



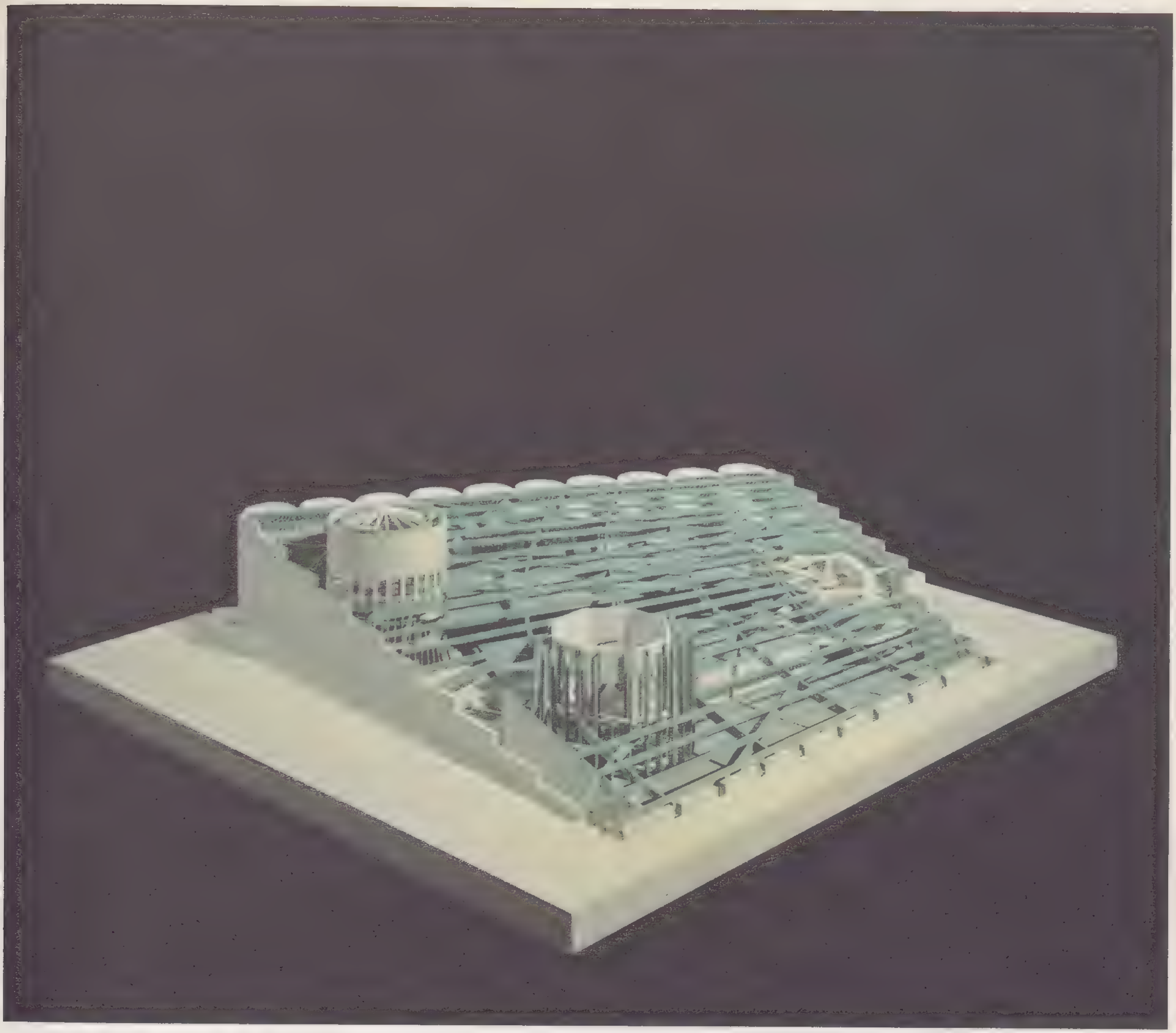
Schizzo di studio dei padiglioni emergenti sulla copertura.

Study sketch of the pavilions leading out onto the roof.

A queste quote si trovano due ballatoi interni al corpo ottagonale, mentre all'esterno di questo, ma all'interno dell'involucro cilindrico che lo contiene, corre il sistema delle rampe che disimpegna (a -3.50 e 0.75) due livelli di esposizione e immette (a 5.25) sul percorso rampante di copertura.
Nel Vestibolo della Piramide la rampa con andamento dal basso, prima circolare e poi secondo una spezzata a stella, connette i tre livelli espositivi (a -3.50, 0.75, 6.00), mentre a livello 5.00 e 8.00 immette sulla scalea meridionale e nella confluenza dei percorsi rampanti di copertura.
Nel Vestibolo della Giostra la rampa che muove da quota 0.75 assume andamento circolare a 3.00 e attraverso successive volute conquista a 6.00 il livello espositivo più elevato, a 12.50 lo sbarco del percorso rampante esterno, a 18.40 l'uscita sul belvedere di copertura.
5. Il sistema delle pareti divisorie che definiscono gli spazi e le sale di esposizione è costituito elementarmente da pannelli modulari di altezza m. 3.50, spessore cm. 6, larghezza variabile secondo moduli da m. 0.50 a m. 2.00. L'armatura di alluminio, garantendone la leggerezza, consente su entrambe le facce un reticolo di forature a scomparsa per l'aggancio delle opere in esposizione.
I pannelli vengono agganciati e possono scorrere su una rete a maglia triangolare di rotaie impostate a m. 4.00 di altezza da ognuno dei tre impiantiti (quota -3.50, 0.75, 6.00). A sua volta la rete rimane agganciata alle terzere della copertura e alle travi che sostengono le solette intermedie (quota 0.75 e 6.00) e risulta completata dal circuito di diffusione dell'energia elettrica sul quale possono essere attivate le sorgenti luminose speciali fino a tre diverse accensioni in ogni segmento di rotaia.
Il sistema delle pareti divisorie può dunque essere montato e smontato con estrema facilità e può subire in ogni momento qualsiasi variazione a piacere, in quanto la successione dei pannelli, e quindi delle pareti, irradiandosi virtualmente in ogni direzione (con l'aggiunta di aste

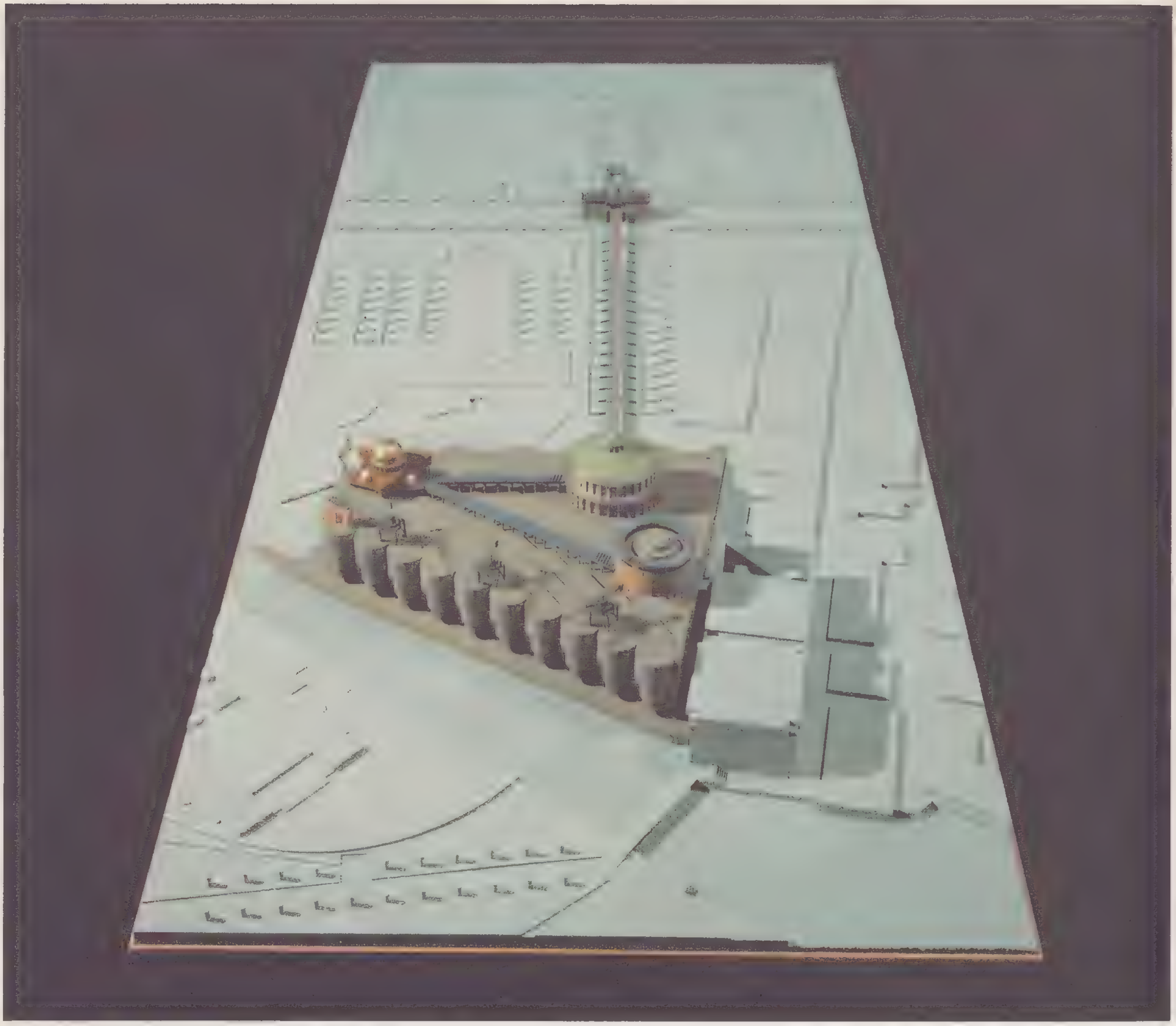
elevation 12.50 m and the exit to the roof belvedere at elevation 18.40 m.
5. The partition wall system used to divide the space and the exhibition halls consists of basic modular panels which are 3.50 m high and 6 cm thick. The width of the modules varies from 0.50 m to 2.00 m. An aluminium frame ensures their lightness and a series of pre-drilled, concealed, perforations distributed on the surface of these modules enables displays to be hung. The panels are hooked together and can travel along a triangular network of tracks 4.00 m above finished floor on each of the three floors (elevation -3.50 m, 0.75 m, 6.00 m). This track system hangs from the roof joists and from the beams and joists supporting the floor slabs (elevation 0.75 m and 6.00 m). The electrical system is designed to accomodate up to three separate switching patterns for special lighting requirements on each individual segment of track. The partition wall system is therefore extremely easy to assemble and disassemble and can be modified at any moment as required. The series of panels (or walls) radiate in virtually any direction by adding connector bars to modify the triangular support framework to create any kind of space and room layout. The directional pattern of the marble floor and the steel beams coloured in various shades of grey run underneath and above the vertical surfaces where the works are displayed.
6. Auxiliary services to the exhibition areas are located on different levels along a strip of space between the straight edge of the north side of the Pavilion and a glazed curtain-wall with transparent and traslucent glass panels. This curtain-wall its curved in a classic Aalto fashion and mirrors the shapes of the ramp which, from the main access at elevation 0.00 m, leads up to elevation 3.00 where the Carousel Foyer *is located.*
The management offices are located on as many as 5 different levels, connected by internal stairs and a dedicated set of elevators and stairs.
A hanging passageway at elevation 3.75 m, connects the





Prospettiva interna.
Vista da ovest del modello strutturale.
Foto Biennale di Venezia.

Interior perspective.
West view of the structural model.
Photo Biennale di Venezia.

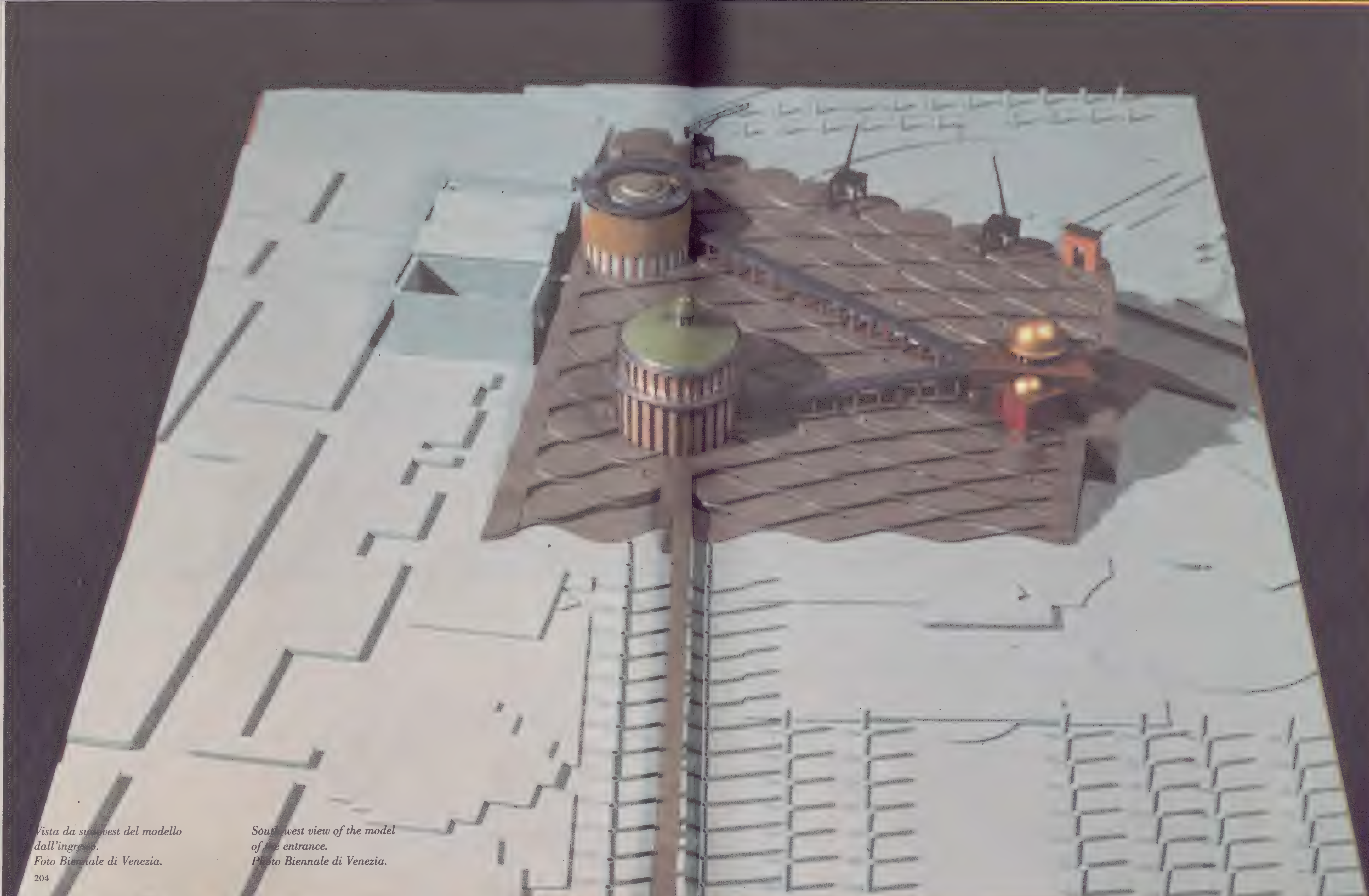


Vista da nordest del modello dal canale di Sant'Elena.
Foto Biennale di Venezia.

North-east view of the model of the Sant'Elena canal.
Photo Biennale di Venezia.

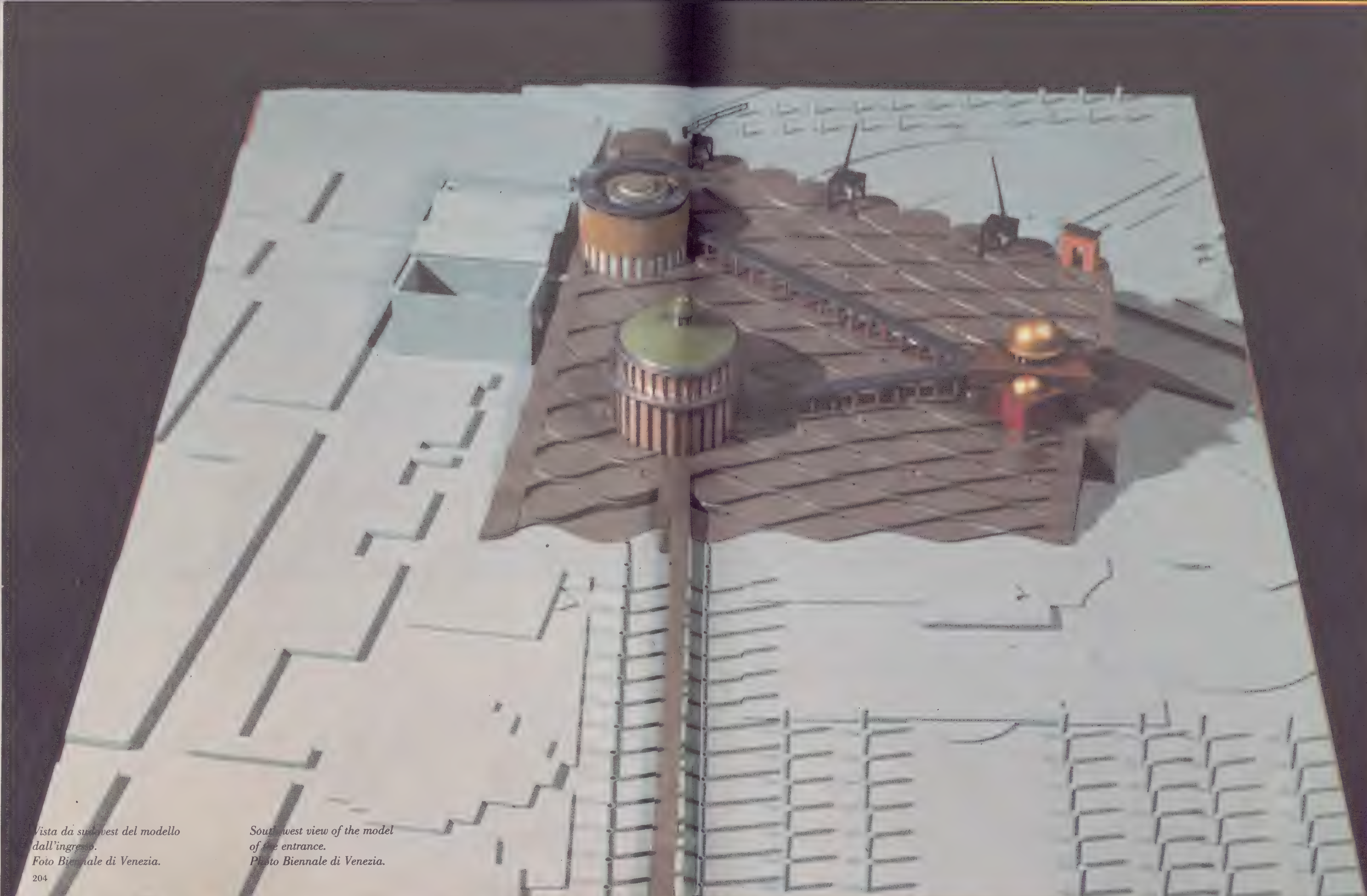
disposte a bilancino che correggono la maglia triangolare della rete di sostegno), riesce a realizzare qualsivoglia tipo di spazio e di sale. Al di sopra e al di sotto dei piani verticali, dove sono messe a fuoco le opere in esposizione, scorrono le tessiture orientate dei pavimenti di marmo e delle travi in acciaio colorato in diverse sfumature di grigio.
6. I previsti servizi collaterali all'esposizione sono organizzati entro una fascia di profondità variabile, alle diverse quote, compresa tra il fronte nord del Padiglione e un diaframma vetrato, volta a volta trasparente o traslucido, curvilineo, generato dalla geometria della rampa che, dalla quota 0.00 di uno degli accessi principali, guadagna la quota 3.00 per immettersi nel Vestibolo della Giostra. Gli uffici che provvedono ai diversi compiti di gestione si estendono su un numero di livelli crescente fino a cinque, disimpegnati da scale interne e da un gruppo completo di risalite pedonali e meccanizzate.
Su questo stesso lato a quota 3.75 è predisposto un passaggio pensile che connette il padiglione all'auditorio in corso di sistemazione; mentre alla quota di campagna per il giardino di Carlo Scarpa è previsto un nuovo cancello che, ruotando di 90 gradi in sinergia con altro cancello, all'occorrenza chiuda un tratto della piccola calle riservandolo di pertinenza esclusiva alla Biennale.
7. I materiali prevalenti sono: il porfido di rivestimento dei muri perimetrali e delle coperture gradonate, nonché delle pavimentazioni esterne; il marmo delle pavimentazioni interne; l'acciaio delle strutture portanti esterne ed interne delle balaustre, delle porte e dei paranchi; il vetrocemento di alcuni tamponamenti esterni e in particolare di quelli curvilinei; il rame delle coperture dei vestiboli del Cono e della Piramide; i prefabbricati in graniglia di cemento e vetro di tamponamento del Vestibolo della Giostra; il PVC dei copponi della gronda circolare e di copertura dei percorsi rampanti esterni; il laterizio delle colonnine che ne sostengono la struttura e dell'arco che contiene i camini.

pavilion with the auditorium currently undergoing renovation. A new gate is planned for the Carlo Scarpa garden at the lower level. This will operate oncurrently with a second gate, to close off a section of the small calle, for the exclusive use of the Biennale. The mechanical rooms are located on the south side. A wall connects them to the Pyramid Foyer.
7. The main materials used in the project are: porphyry cladding for the perimeter walls, the stepped roofs and for the exterior paving; marble for the interior floors; steel for the exterior and interior load-bearing structures of the balustrade, the doors and the hoists; glass block for many exterior wall openings, especially the curved ones; copper for the roof of the Cone and Pyramid Foyers*; prefabricated crushed cement panels and glass for the Carousel* Foyer*; PVC for the gutters and for the roof of the exterior ramps; brick for the columns supporting the structure and for the arch containing the flues.*



Vista da sud-ovest del modello dall'ingresso.
Foto Biennale di Venezia.

South-west view of the model of the entrance.
Photo Biennale di Venezia.



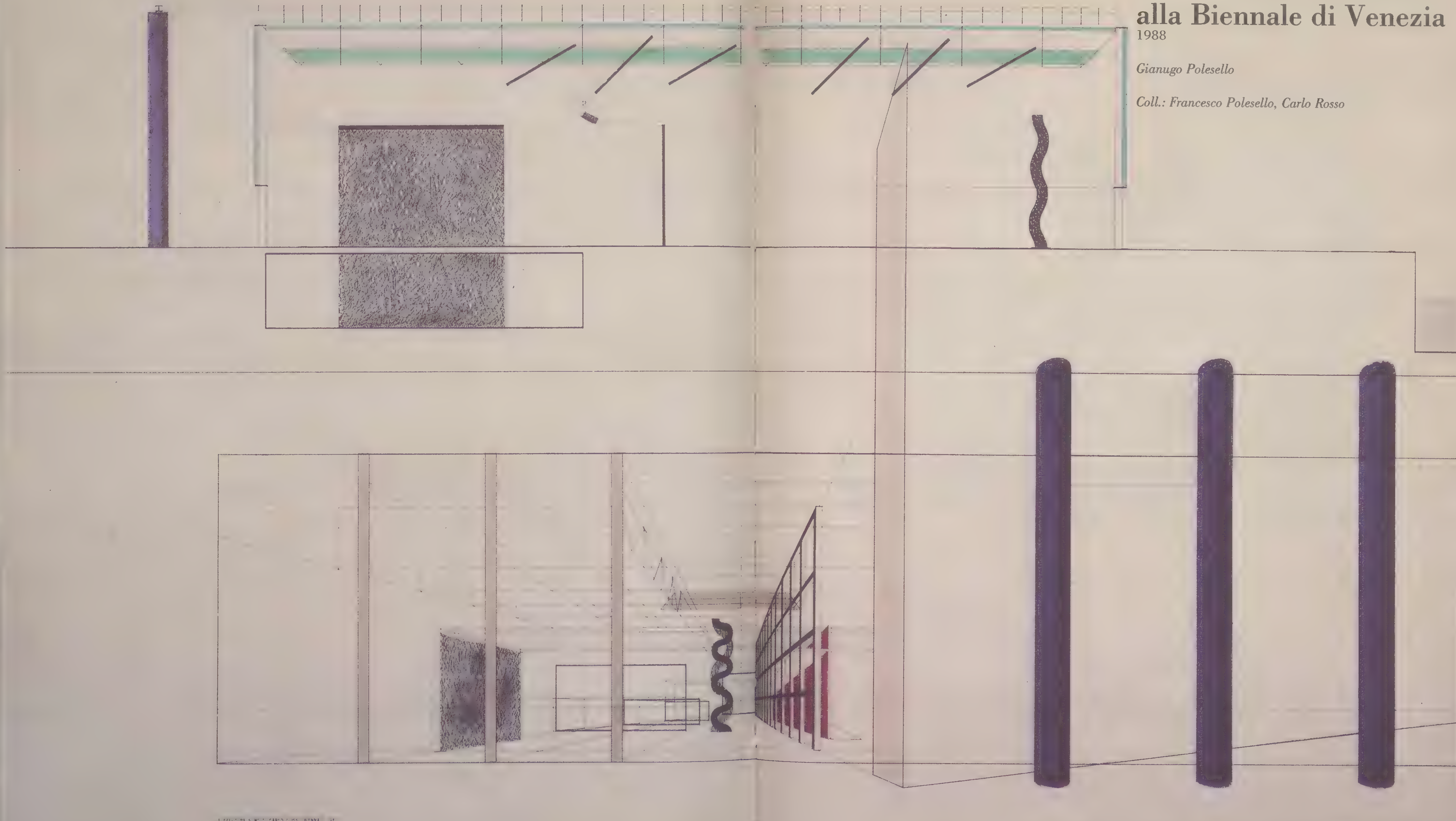
Vista da sudovest del modello dall'ingresso.
Foto Biennale di Venezia.

Southwest view of the model of the entrance.
Photo Biennale di Venezia.

Il Concorso per il Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia
1988

Gianugo Polesello

Coll.: Francesco Polesello, Carlo Rosso



Sezione e prospettiva delle sale espositive con sculture di Carlo Ciussi.

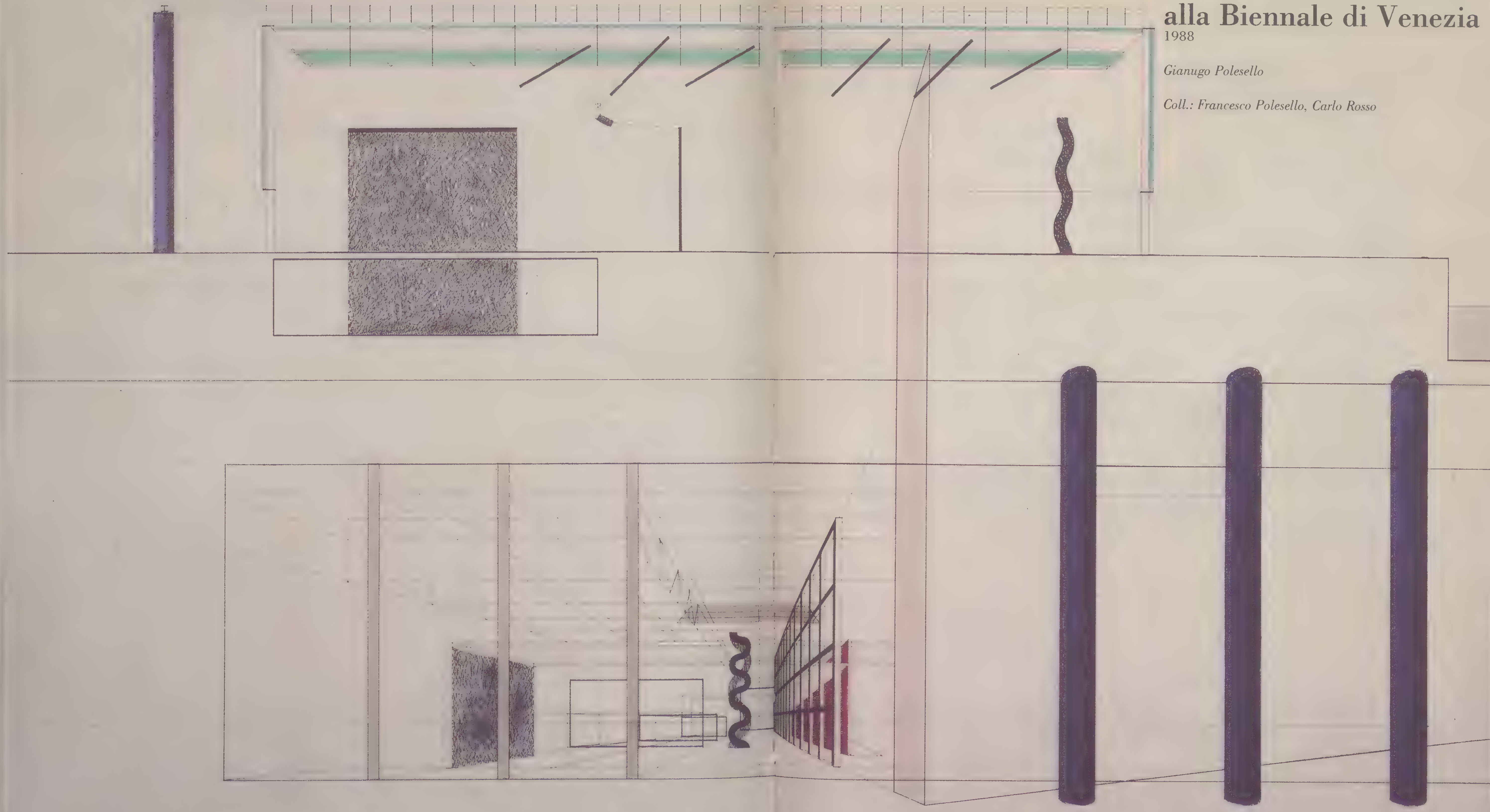
Section and perspective of the exhibition rooms with sculptures by Carlo Ciussi.

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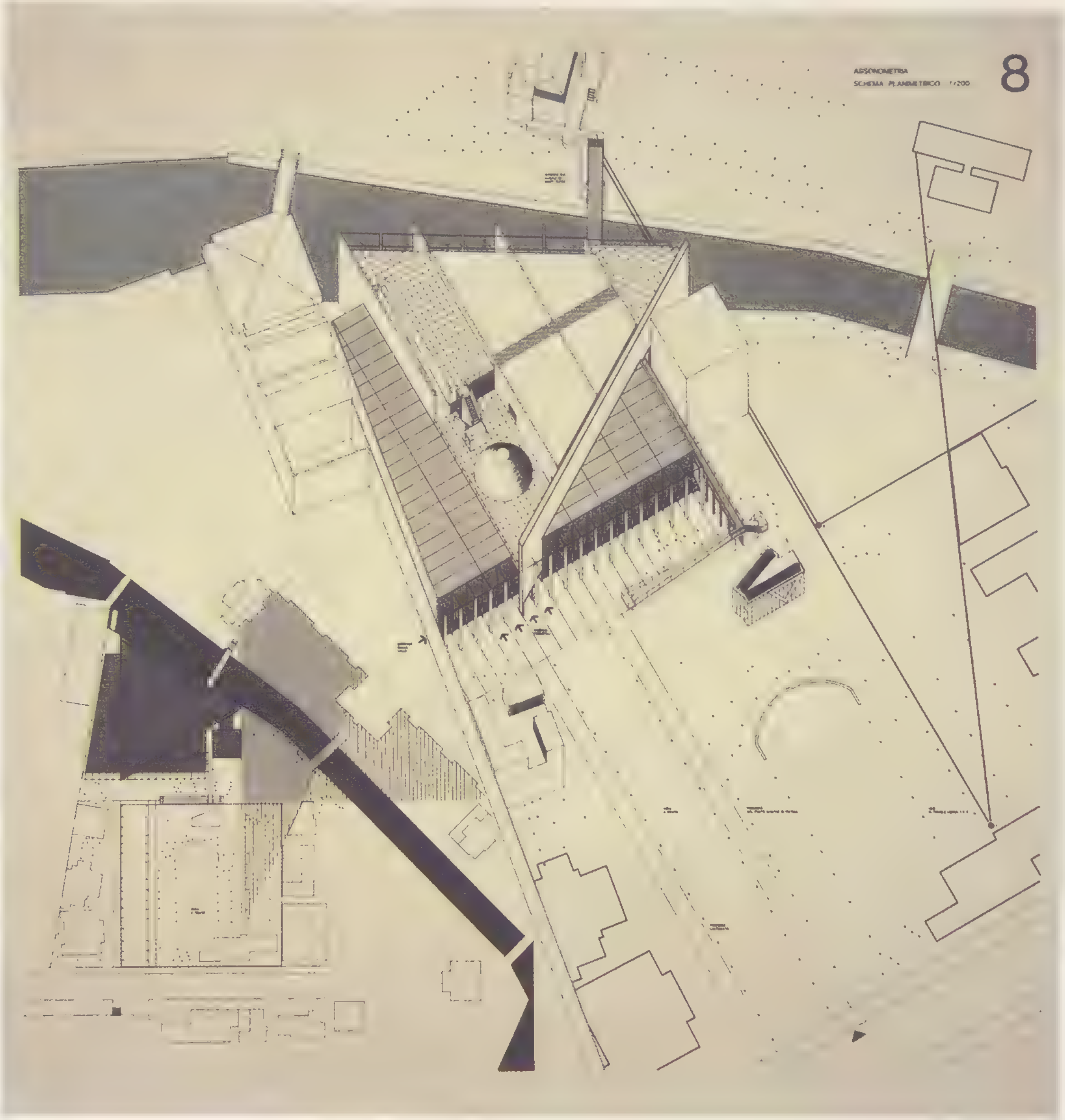
Section and perspective of the exhibition rooms with sculptures by Carlo Ciussi.

Progetto per il Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia
Gianugo Polesello

Un padiglione, un giardino
Il progetto di "ristrutturazione" del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale dei Giardini di Castello può costituire l'occasione per una migliore organizzazione dell'intera area della Biennale, sia nel senso della formazione di un sistema più compiuto di relazioni tra le due parti dell'area, separate dal canale di Sant'Elena, sia nel senso della riconfigurazione di quella parte di giardino che costituisce il contesto nel quale il nuovo padiglione è inserito.
Per quanto attiene al primo punto — la formazione di un migliore sistema di relazioni — il progetto propone la costituzione in "unità" del giardino della Biennale e quindi la migliore articolazione delle relazioni tra i corpi espositivi. L'obbiettivo è perseguito attraverso la creazione di un nuovo percorso di connessione del complesso di padiglioni ad ovest del canale di Sant'Elena con quello ad est. Il percorso supera il canale con un nuovo ponte a due livelli, dopo aver attraversato il Padiglione Italia.
Il nuovo percorso farà dunque assumere al padiglione il ruolo di "cerniera" tra le due parti del giardino divise dal canale; infatti il ponte è in certo senso la parte integrante del padiglione al quale si attacca come prosecuzione del percorso che lo attraversa.
Questa soluzione risponde anche alla domanda di creare un nuovo ingresso al padiglione più vicino all'imbarcadero di Sant'Elena. Per quanto riguarda il secondo punto (la riconfigurazione della parte di giardino in cui è collocato il padiglione) si propone la massima salvaguardia delle alberature esistenti e dell'impostazione planimetrica del Selva.
L'ipotesi comprende:
1. La costruzione di un percorso rettilineo lastricato tra le biglietterie e il Padiglione Italia, che serve anche gli edifici situati in questa fascia di giardino. Il percorso corre

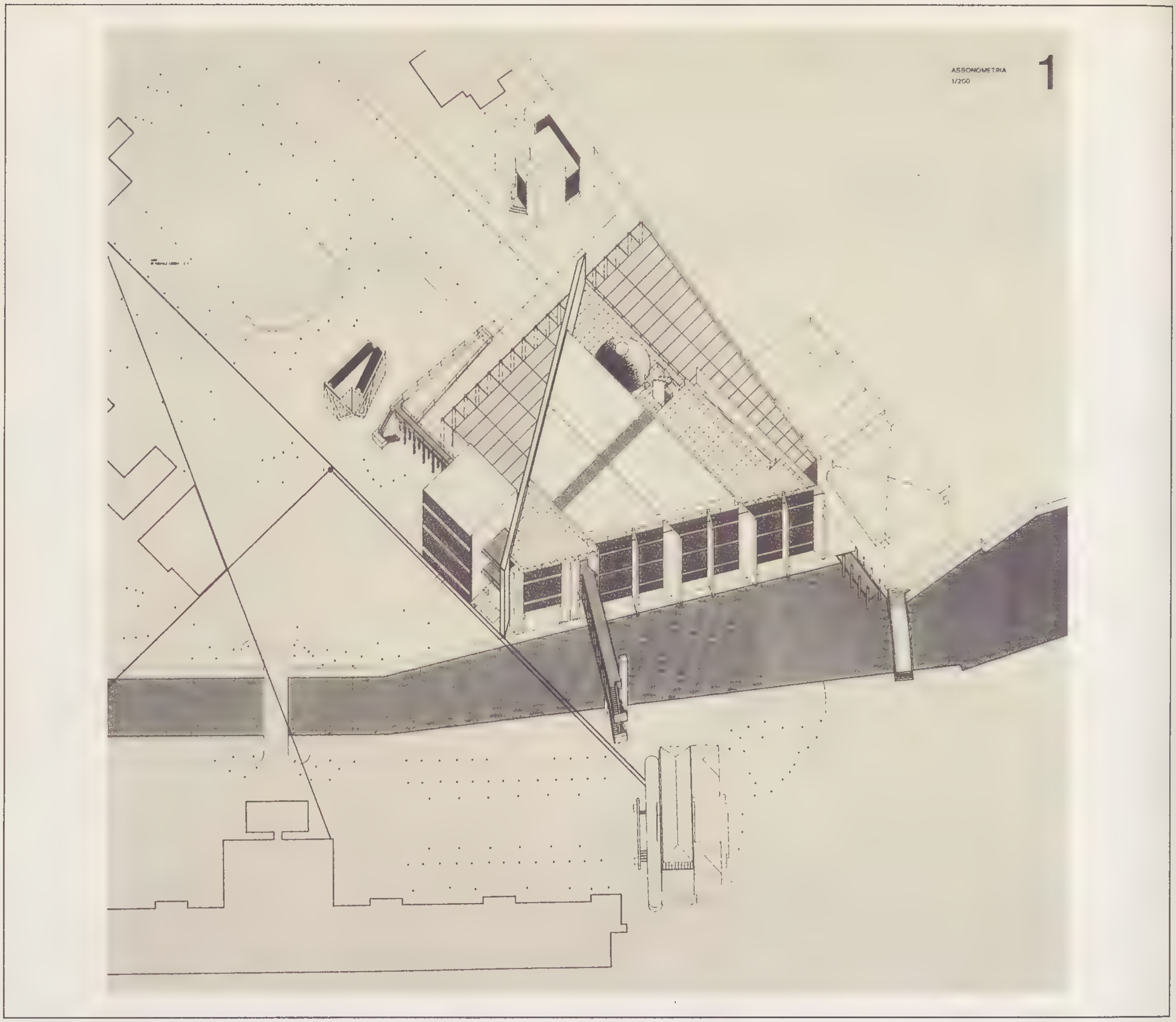
Competition Entry for the Italian Pavilion at the Biennale di Venezia
Gianugo Polesello

A Pavilion, a Garden
The "remodeling" project of the Padiglione Italia for the Biennale in the Giardini di Castello may be the opportunity to better organize the whole Biennale area, connecting the two sides of the grounds, separated by the canale di Sant'Elena and re-shaping the portion of the garden where the new pavilion is located.
Considering the first point — connecting the two sides of the grounds — the proposed design suggests tying together the Biennale garden and connecting the exhibition areas by doing so.
The objective is achieved by establishing a new path between the group of pavilions on the west side of the canale di Sant'Elena and those on the east side.
The path crosses the canal via a new two-level bridge after leading through the Padiglione Italia.
The pavilion becomes a "connection" between the two sides of the garden separated by the canale; in fact the bridge is in some way an integral part of the pavilion to which it is linked as a continuation of the path leading through it.
This solution also responds to the need for a new entrance to the pavilion closer to the Sant'Elena docking area.
With respect to the second point — reshaping the portion of the garden where the pavilion is located — the project proposes to preserve the greatest amount of the existing gardens and Selva's design as possible.
The proposal includes the following:
1. The construction of a paved path between the ticket offices and the Padiglione Italia. This path would serve other buildings along this strip of garden on the left of the large central axis which will lead from the main grounds entrance to the canale di Sant'Elena.
2. The design of a continuous strip of lawn along the entire



Vista assonometrica da ovest e planimetria generale con le superfici lastricate e a prato.

Axonometric view from the west and site plan with paved and lawns surfaces.

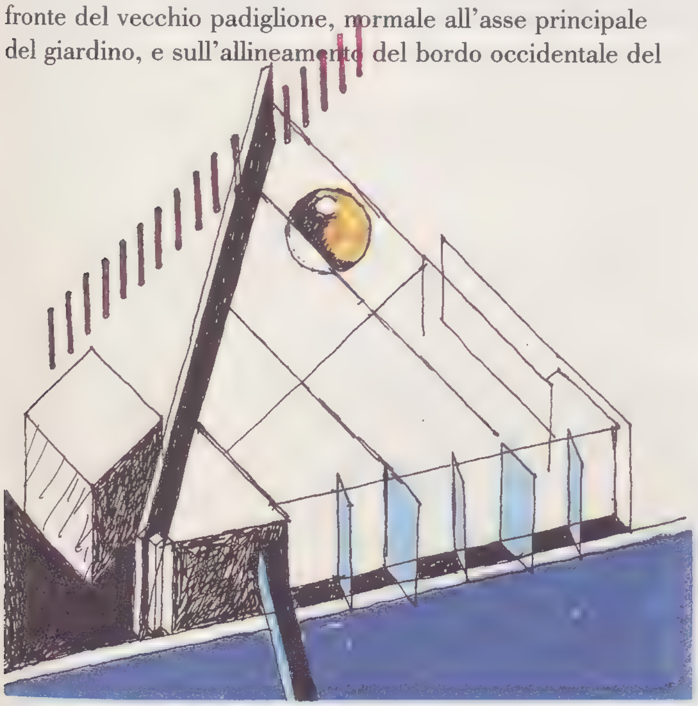


Vista assonometrica da est e schizzo di studio.

Axonometric view from the east and study sketch.

all'interno della doppia fila di alberi a sinistra del grande asse centrale e conduce all'ingresso principale del padiglione, fino al canale di Sant'Elena.
2. La formazione di una striscia continua di prato che investe l'intero asse centrale tra le due file doppie di alberi.
3. La formazione di un secondo percorso lastricato che corre parallelo al precedente, tra le due file opposte di alberi a destra del prato asse centrale. Il percorso è lo stesso cui si fa riferimento nel primo punto e si collega, come relazione anche di servizio, con il nuovo ponte sul canale di Sant'Elena attraverso il passaggio interno al padiglione italiano (quota 4.50, 9.00).
4. La formazione di un prato continuo tra i padiglioni, a destra del percorso. Il prato assumerà una dimensione significativa, una sorta di Piazza dei Miracoli, con l'abbattimento del padiglione ungherese (per il quale si propone lo spostamento nella parte a est del canale di Sant'Elena) e l'eliminazione dell'attuale improprio disegno delle aiuole.
5. La creazione di un piazzale lastricato lungo l'interno fronte del nuovo padiglione italiano nella figura di un campo.
La creazione di superfici verdi continue, l'apertura del grande prato verso il canale di Sant'Elena (mediante l'eliminazione del padiglione ungherese), la costruzione del nuovo ponte a due livelli, contribuiscono a recuperare l'unità spaziale del doppio complesso del giardino e a restituire il ruolo figurativo (e funzionale) al rio di Sant'Elena all'interno di questa unità spaziale/funzionale.

Il progetto architettonico
Il progetto è formato dalla composizione/incastro di solidi di diversa natura e significato (geometrico e configurativo) sia dal punto di vista morfologico che funzionale.
La geometria dell'impianto è impostata sull'allineamento del fronte del vecchio padiglione, normale all'asse principale del giardino, e sull'allineamento del bordo occidentale del



central axis between the double row of trees.
3. The design of a second paved path parallel to the first, between the opposite double row of trees on the right side of the lawn in the central axis.
The route of this path would be the same as the path outlined in point 1. and it would connect with the new bridge over the canale di Sant'Elena traversing the Italian pavilion at elevations 4.50 m and 9.00 m.
4. The design of a continuous lawn between the pavilions on the right side of the path. The lawn will be sizeable; it will be a Piazza dei Miracoli once the Hungarian pavilion is relocated to the east side of the canale di Sant'Elena and the existing flowerbeds are removed.
5. The design of a paved piazza along the entire front of the new Padiglione Italia.
The continuous green surfaces, the wide lawn opening out towards the canale di Sant'Elena (achieved by the relocation of the Hungarian pavilion) and the construction of a new multi-level bridge are all part of the regeneration of the spatial unity of the garden's double function and an effort to return a figurative and functional role to the canale di Sant'Elena within this resulting spatial unity.

The Architectural Design
The design is a result of a composition/connection of solids of different nature and significance both from a morphological and functional point of view.
The geometry of the layout is based on the alignment of the old pavilion's front elevation, perpendicular to the main axis of the garden and in line with the western side of the canale di Sant'Elena.
The front elevation of the pavilion, a continuous colonnade which extends the Torres pronaos and part of the garden's architecture runs perpendicular to the main axis of the garden. Behind the colonnade, two glass-structured prisms represent the ideal continuation of the garden by recalling a greenhouse.

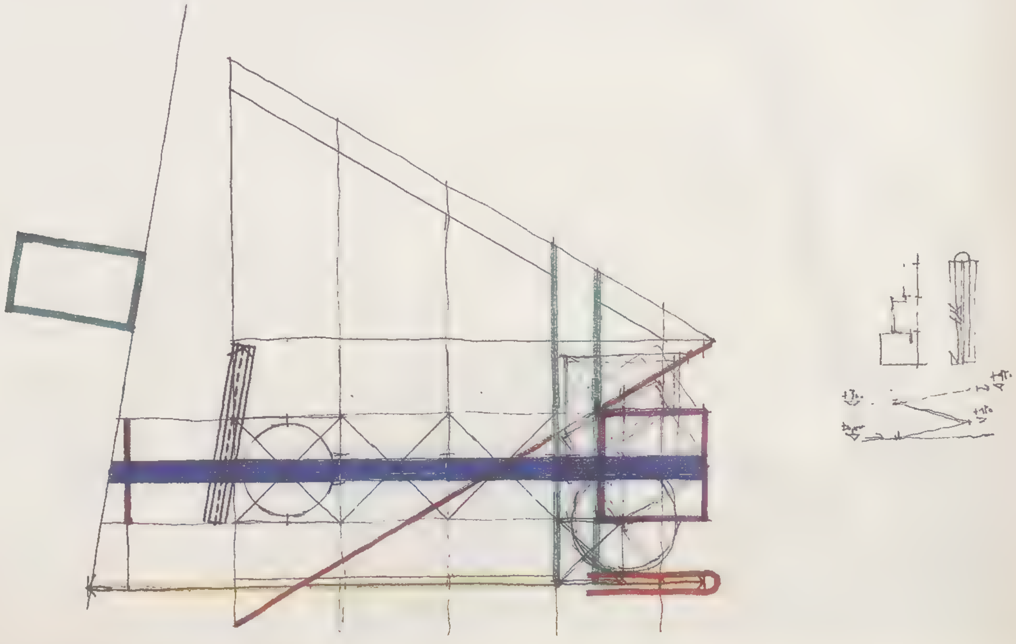
rio di Sant'Elena.
Sul primo allineamento è situato il fronte principale del padiglione davanti al quale corre un colonnato continuo che è prolungamento del pronao Torres e parte dell'architettura del giardino. Dietro il colonnato due prismi che sono una continuazione ideale del giardino, architetture di vetro che ricordano le serre.

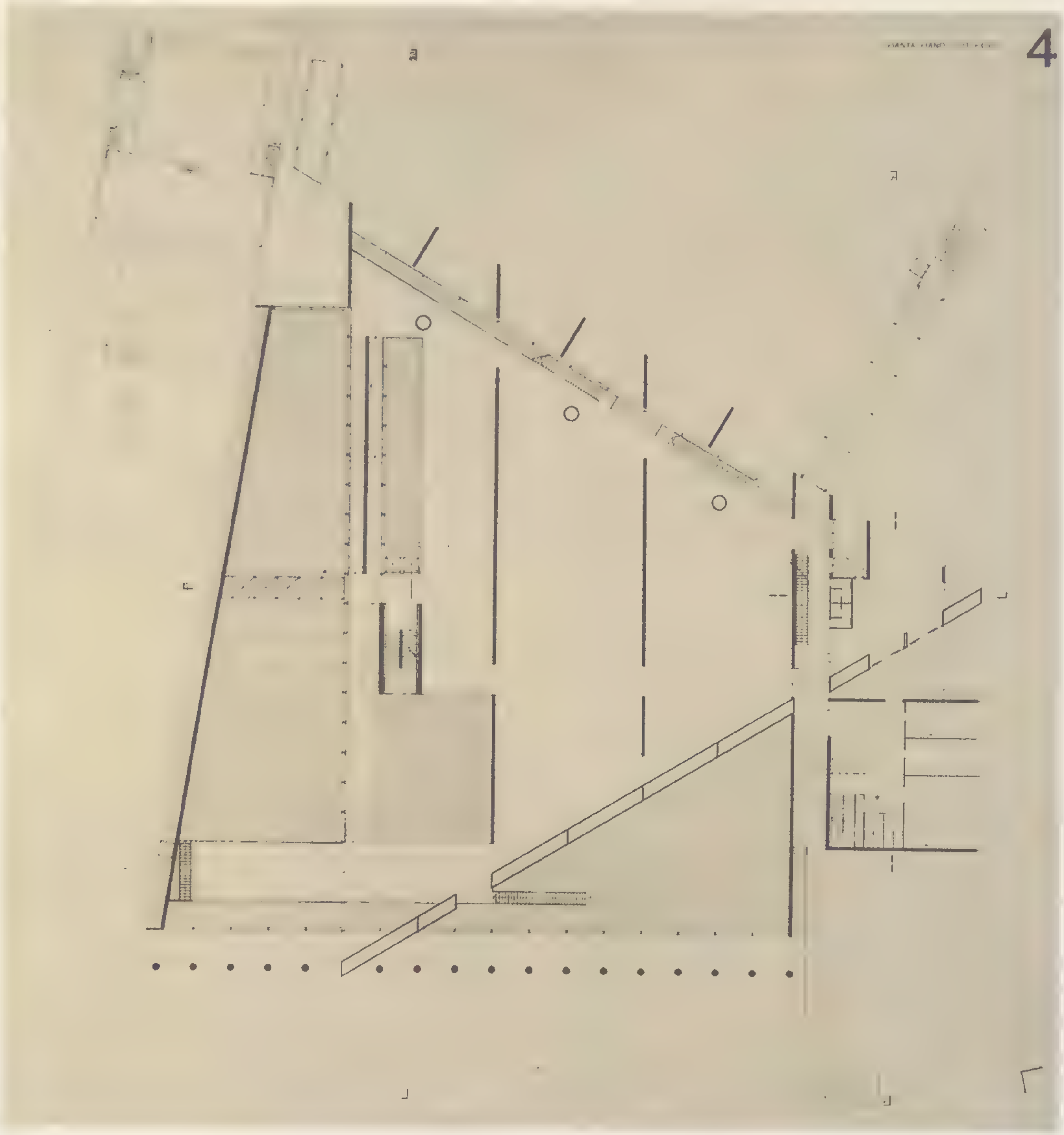
Le "serre"
A ovest la "serra" è un prisma a base trapezia — addossato al complesso Scarpa-Pastor — situato al termine del percorso principale di accesso, che costituisce ingresso principale al padiglione e sala di esposizione. Esso forma un cannocchiale prospettico dal giardino fino al canale di Sant'Elena.
A est la "serra" è un prisma a base triangolare rettangola che è un grande spazio espositivo. Entrambi i prismi sono alti m. 7.50.
La struttura portante è in profilati di acciaio. Una doppia parete di vetro elimina l'"effetto serra", mentre vele di tela modulano l'illuminazione naturale. Sopra la copertura alettoni metallici, comandati elettricamente, svolgono analoghe funzioni di riparo dalla luce e dal calore.

Il prisma triangolare
Tra le due serre è incastrato l'elemento dominante della composizione, costituito da un prisma a base triangolare isoscele dell'altezza di m. 15.00. Si tratta di un prisma geometrico "astratto", nel senso che ogni faccia di esso si comporta come piano morfologicamente "funzionale" al luogo/spazio in cui è situato ed è quindi diverso e "autonomo" dagli altri due. E tuttavia l'unità intrinseca del prisma si ricostituisce rispetto alla delimitazione dello spazio interno orizzontale, alla composizione della pianta.
La differenziazione dei tre fronti è formale ma anche funzionale, assumendo ognuno di essi una coerenza "interna" che costringe inevitabilmente alla diversità.

The "Greenhouse"
The west side of the "greenhouse" is a trapezoidal based prism located up close to the Scarpa-Pastor complex at the end of the main path where the main entrance to the pavilion and an exhibition hall are located.
This forms a shotgun perspective from the garden to the canale di Sant'Elena.
The east side of the "greenhouse" is a prism with a right triangle shaped base and is used as a large exhibition space.
Both prisms are 7.50 m high.
The structure is a steel frame.
A double glazed windowwall forms a barrier against the "greenhouse effect" while canvass panels diffuse the light.
Electronically controlled metal panels at the roof protect the building from the light and the heat.

The Triangular Prism
Between the two greenhouses lies the dominant element of the composition: a prism with an isosceles triangled base, 15.00 m high.
This is an abstract geometric prism since each of its faces is like a morphologically "functional" plane in the "site/space" it is located and is thus different and "autonomous" from the remaining faces. The intrinsic unity of the prism reemerges however in the delimitation of the interior space, in the plan.
The differentiation of the three faces is formal but has a functional reason and each of these faces takes on an interior coherence which inevitably makes them different.
The face towards the garden is a vertical concrete chase for all the utilities run.
The structure of the wall is inspired to naval construction both in the structural aspects of its construction as in its cladding.
The face closest to the eastern portion of the trapezoidal greenhouse, connected to the large atrium, is open to a height of 7.50 m.
The passage between the two prisms includes, within the





Schizzo di studio della pianta e pianta primo piano.

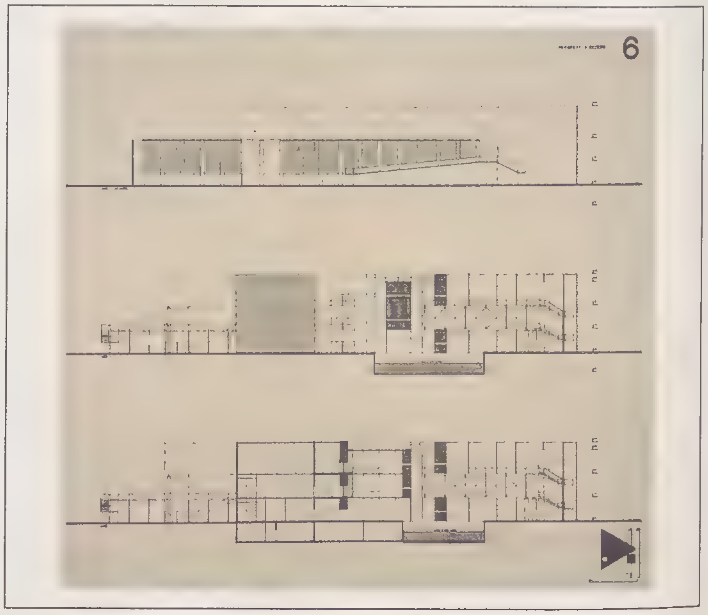
Study sketch plan and first-floor plan.

Il fronte verso il giardino è formato da una lastra cieca, cava verticalmente a formare una intercapedine nella quale corrono tutti gli impianti.
La struttura di questa parete è analoga a una struttura navale, metallica sia nella parte portante che nel rivestimento, opportunamente coibentata.
Il fronte accostato al lato orientale della serra trapezia, cioè unito con il grande atrio, è aperto fino all'altezza di m. 7.50 verso di esso. Il varco tra i due prismi comprende, all'interno dell'inviluppo del prisma triangolare, le rampe di salita fino alla quota 13.50 e la balconata che, a quota 4.50, guarda verso l'atrio.
Il fronte sul filo del canale di Sant'Elena è formato da una vetrata interna all'inviluppo del triangolo, davanti alla quale sono situate quinte formate da lastre in c.a. alte m. 15.00. Le quinte hanno la mezzeria corrispondente all'inviluppo del triangolo e orientamento normale al fronte o in prosecuzione delle pareti portanti interne. Dietro la parete vetrata, verso le sale di esposizione, in un vano aperto di m. 1.50 corre la scala che collega i diversi livelli, da quota 0.00 a 4.50 a 9.00.
Gli affreschi della cupola del Chini, distaccati dalla struttura originale sono risituati in una cupola metallica uguale per dimensione e localizzazione planimetrica all'originale, ma appesa con l'imposta a quota 6.75 di altezza su un vano quadrato vuoto, accanto alla prima rampa di salita alle sale superiori.
La struttura verticale del prisma triangolare è costituita da pareti-setto in c.a. con interasse di m. 15.00.
Le stesse pareti costituiscono la suddivisione primaria dei campi espositivi ai diversi piani. Le strutture orizzontali sono travi metalliche reticolari, con interasse di m. 3.00 e altezza di cm. 75 con solaio in lamiera grecata e soletta collaborante in c.a. Dentro le travi correranno tutti gli impianti tecnici.
La copertura luminosa è in alluminio coibentato e forato da dischi trasparenti di cm. 30 di diametro.

Il cubo
Accanto allo spigolo orientale del triangolo, verso il grande prato, è collocato un cubo di m. 15.00 di lato. La connessione tra i due prismi è costituita dal nuovo percorso-ponte, a quota 0.00, 4.50 e 9.00.
Il cubo è una sorta di "cervello operativo" della Biennale in quanto contiene tutti gli uffici e i servizi richiesti dal bando. La struttura del cubo è in cemento armato. Tre pareti esterne (nord, sud, ovest) sono cieche; su un vano aperto, nel quale corrono scale e ascensore, si affaccia la galleria vetrata che distribuisce gli uffici. La parete est è completamente vetrata.

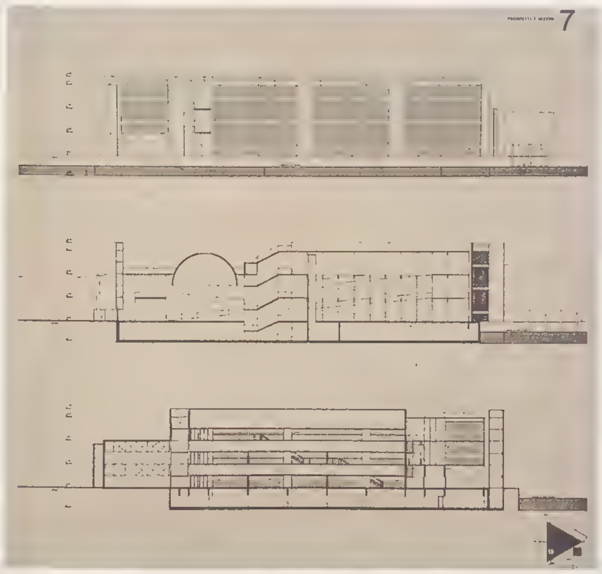
L'impianto distributivo
L'impianto distributivo rispetta la peculiarità della composizione del manufatto costituita dalla aggregazione di solidi geometrici diversi e relativamente autonomi.
Una prima grande zonizzazione nasce dalla precisa separazione tra zone destinate all'esposizione, e quindi al pubblico, e zone destinate alle attività organizzative e di servizio, gli uffici della Biennale. Le prime investono i due prismi-"serra" e il prisma a base triangolare, le seconde investono il cubo di m. 15.00 di lato.

Gli ingressi
L'ingresso principale è situato alla fine del percorso che collega la biglietteria con il padiglione.
Dietro il grande colonnato si aprono le porte che immettono nella "serra" trapezoidale. In prosecuzione con gli ingressi è situata una zona destinata ai servizi di accoglienza (informazioni, punto vendita cataloghi, vendita opere).
Nella corrispondente zona a quota –3.75 sono situati i servizi igienici, il guardaroba, il posto telefonico pubblico e il deposito cataloghi.
Il secondo ingresso è situato in corrispondenza dell'arrivo del ponte di collegamento con la parte orientale dei giardini e quindi vicino all'imbarcadero di Sant'Elena. Esso è



envelope of the triangular prism, circulation ramps up to elevation 13.50 m and a balcony at elevation 4.50 m overlooking the atrium.
The face towards the side of the canale di Sant'Elena is a windowwall inset within the envelope of the triangular prism; set perpendicularly in front of the windowwall there is a row of vertical monolythic concrete fins 15.00 m high. The centerline of these fins is in line with the envelope of the triangle.
Behind the glass wall, towards the exhibition hall, in a 1.50 m opening are the stairs that lead to the different levels from elevation 0.00 m to 4.50 m.
The frescoes of the dome by Chini were removed from the original structure and relocated in a metallic dome of equal size and in the same location and set at 6.75 m above an empty square room next to the first ramp leading upstairs.
The vertical structure of the triangular prism is defined by reinforced concrete chased-walls 15.00 m on center.
The same walls subdivide the exhibition halls on the various levels. The horizontal structural elements are metal trusses 3.00 m on center, 0.75 m high. The floor is a corrugated metal deck with concrete topping. The mechanical ducts run inside the trusses. The roof material is aluminum, insulated and studded with 0.30 m round trasparent holes.

The Cube
A 15.00 m cube by the eastern corner of the triangle, close to the large lawn, is connected with a 3-level bridge (at ground level, at elevation 4.50 m and 9.00 m) to the triangle.
The cube is a "working center" of the Biennale since it contains all the offices and the services required by the program.
The structure of the cube is reinforced concrete.
Three blind exterior walls (north, south, and west) contain an atrium space where the stairs and elevators are located. A glass-enclosed gallery faces the interior of the building and leads to the offices. The east side wall is all glass enclosed.



The Distribution System
The distribution system maintains the unique character of the buildings' layouts and the sum of different and relatively autonomous geometric solids.
A distinct zoning of activities is created by the clear separation between exhibition areas dedicated to the public and a second area dedicated to the organizational and service activities and the offices of the Biennale. The former is centered around the two prism "greenhouses" and the prism with a triangular base; the latter is located by the 15.00 m cube.

The Entrances
The main entrance is located at the end of the path which connects the ticket office with the pavilion.
Behind the large colonnade wide doors open into the trapezoidal "greenhouse".
Upon entering there is a reception area which includes an information kiosk, and a bookstore along with a display of catalogues. The restroom, the coat-room, public telephones and the catalogue storage are directly above this area at elevation -3.75 m.
The second entrance is at the bridge connection with the eastern side of the gardens, near the Sant'Elena docking area. That entrance is located on the east corner of the triangular prism at elevation 4.50 m and includes an information kiosk and restrooms. By the entrance there is a refreshment area which includes an open terrace overlooking the gardens and the canal.
A water-level entrance is located at the east corner of the triangle and includes all services and facilities for the public.

Elevators and Stairs
The elevators and stairs for the public are located in the exhibition area inside the prism with the triangular base. A shallow ramp (8% slope) runs along the wall between the trapezoidal building and the triangle, by the main entrance

Prospetto sudovest sugli ingressi, prospetto sudest, sezione verso nordovest, prospetto est lungo il canale di Sant'Elena, sezione verso nordovest sulla cupola con gli affreschi di Galileo Chini, sezione verso nordest.

South-west elevation of the entrances, south-east elevation, north-west section, east elevation along the Sant'Elena canal, north-west section of the dome with Galileo Chini's frescoes, north-east section.

localizzato nella cuspide est del prisma triangolare a quota 4.50. Comprende informazioni e servizi igienici. In corrispondenza con l'ingresso è situato un bar con terrazza che si apre sul giardino e il canale.
Un ingresso dall'acqua è collocato a quota 0.00 sempre nella cuspide est del triangolo e ha funzioni di servizio e di rappresentanza.

Le comunicazioni verticali
Le comunicazioni verticali relative al pubblico sono situate nella parte espositiva all'interno del prisma a base triangolare.
Una rampa (8% di pendenza), situata lungo il lato comune tra trapezio e triangolo, accanto all'ingresso principale, conduce alle sale espositive da quota 0.00 a 4.50 a 9.00 e al terrazzo a quota 13.50.
Un gruppo scala/ascensore, sempre per le aree espositive, è situato lungo l'asse est-ovest del triangolo, dietro la rampa e vicino all'ingresso.
Una scala con rampe a cascata è situata lungo il lato del triangolo a filo col canale di Sant'Elena e collega le sale espositive.
Una scala e un ascensore collegano la zona di ingresso nella "serra" con i servizi per il pubblico a quota –3.75.
Nella cuspide orientale del triangolo è situato un gruppo scala/ascensore per il pubblico (da quota 0.00 a 4.50, 9.00, 13.50). Un grande montacarichi (da quota –3.75 a 0.00, 4.50, 9.00) e un gruppo scala/ascensori di servizio (da quota 0.00 a 4.50, 9.00, 13.50).
Un gruppo scala/ascensore serve i piani dell'edificio per le attività amministrative e di gestione.

Le attività espositive
Le sale di esposizione occupano le due "serre" e i tre piani fuori terra del prisma triangolare. Si tratta di spazi tra loro differenziati in considerazione delle possibili diverse esigenze espositive.
Le due "serre" sono due grandi sale a quota 0.00 dell'altezza di m. 7.50, divisibili eventualmente con elementi mobili, a seconda delle esigenze di allestimento.
All'interno del prisma triangolare sono contenuti tre piani espositivi. A quota 0.00 e 4.50 l'altezza degli interpiani è di m. 4.50; a quota 9.00 l'interpiano è di m. 6.00 (essendo la quota di copertura a 15.00).
Lo spazio interno è suddiviso dalle pareti portanti in c.a. in campi di m. 15.00 di interasse, a loro volta articolabili in spazi minori secondo le esigenze di allestimento.

Magazzini e servizi complementari
Sotto il prisma triangolare è situato un caveau a quota –3.75 che ne occupa l'intera area ed è destinato a magazzini. Una parte di essi sarà con chiusura di sicurezza.
Nella cuspide est del prisma triangolare sono situati alcuni servizi interni all'esposizione nonché servizi particolari per il pubblico.
A quota 0.00 l'ingresso dall'acqua sia per il carico e discarico delle opere, in diretta comunicazione con magazzini e piani espositivi a mezzo del montacarichi, sia con gli eventuali visitatori ufficiali che giungano dal canale.
A quota 4.50 (prima quota del ponte) è situato il secondo ingresso coi relativi servizi e un bar.
A quota 9.00 è situato un ristorante che può espandersi al *roof-garden* a 13.50 .

Attività amministrative e di gestione
Le attività amministrative e di gestione sono collocate nel prisma cubico. Esso comprende quattro piani, due dell'altezza di m. 4.50 (a quota 0.00 e 4.50) e due dell'altezza di m.3.00 (a quota 9.00 e 12.00).
Al primo piano (quota 0.00) sono contenuti tutti i servizi relativi al personale di guardiania (spogliatoi, servizi igienici, mensa, ecc.), l'ufficio per il posto di polizia e la sezione uffici doganali (in diretta comunicazione con l'entrata d'acqua nella cuspide del triangolo).

and leads up to the exhibition areas at elevation 4.50 m and 9.00 m.
A stairway and elevator which serve the exhibition areas are located along the east-west axis of the triangle, behind the ramp and close to the entrance.
Another stairway is located along the canale di Sant'Elena side of the triangle and connects the exhibition halls.
A stairway and elevator group connects the entrance area in the "greenhouse" to the public service areas at elevation -3.75 m.
At the eastern corner of the triangle there is a stairway and a public elevator which serve elevations 0.00 m, +4.50 m, 9.00 m and 13.50 m; a large freight elevator in the same area serves elevations -3.75 m, 0.00 m, 4.50 m and 9.00 m.
A service stairway and elevator serve elevations 0.00 m, +4.50 m, 9.00 m and 13.50 m.
A stairway and elevator group serving all floors is reserved for administrative and managerial activities.

Exhibition Areas

The exhibition halls occupy the two "greenhouses" and the three floors above ground of the triangular prism. Each one contains different spaces that can be modified for various different exhibition requirements.
The two "greenhouses" are large halls located at elevation 0.00 m and 7.50 m.
These spaces may be subdivided by using moveable dividers according to the particular requirements of a specific exhibit.
There are three exhibition floors inside the triangular prism. At elevation 0.00 m and +4.50 m the floor to ceiling height at the botton of the trusses is 4.50 m; at elevation 9.00 m the floor to ceiling height at the botton of the trusses is 6.00 m.
The interior space is subdivided by the structural reinforced concrete walls into areas that are 15 m wide, centerline to centerline. These rooms can also be subdivided into secondary spaces according to the requirements of the exhibits.

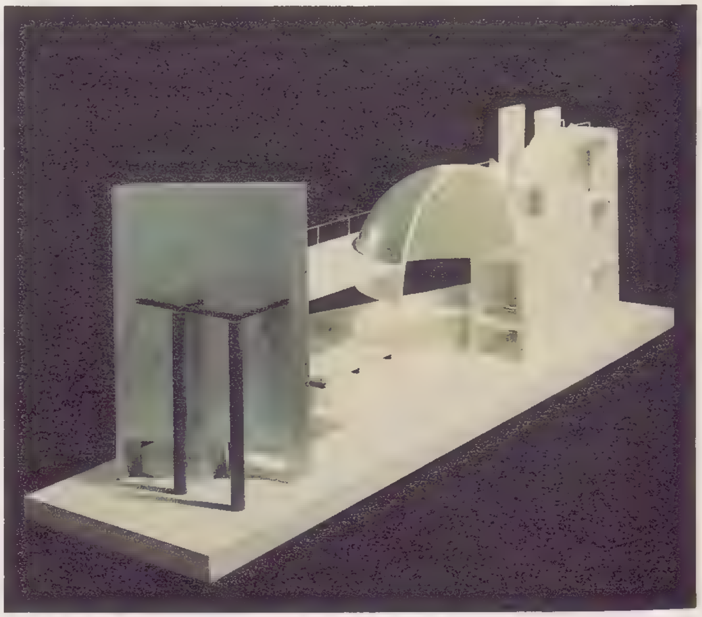
Storage

Under the triangular prism, at elevation -3.75 m there is a basement that covers the entire footprint of the building and is designed to be used as a lockable warehouse.
Some exhibition and public services are also located in the east corner of the triangular prism.
The water level entrance is intended to be used as a loading dock and is connected to the warehouses and the exhibition areas by means of the freight elevator; it can also be used by any official visitor arriving from the canals.
At elevation 4.50 m (the first level of the bridge) there is a second entrance; at elevation 9.00 m there is a restaurant and the roof garden is at elevation 13.50 m.

Administrative and Managerial Activities

The administrative and managerial activities are located in the cube. The cube is four floors high, two of which are 4.50 m from slab to slab (elevation 0.00 m and 4.50 m) while the remaining two are 3.00 m slab to slab (at elevation 9.00 m and 12.00 m).
Security staff facilities (looker rooms, restrooms, lunch room etc.) and the police office and customs offices (directly connected to the water-level entrance) are all located on the first floor.
All other offices required by the program are on the third and fourth floors.
A groundskeeper's residence was not included within the complex, which is primarily for public use.

Al secondo piano (quota 4.50) sono situate tutte le attività legate ai media (ossia per riprese televisive, sala regia, sala per conferenze, ecc.).
Al terzo e quarto piano sono situati tutti gli altri uffici richiesti dal bando.
Non si è ritenuto di collocare nel complesso la residenza del custode in quanto estranea all'unità di esso, unità certo polifunzionale ma di uso assolutamente pubblico.





Spaccato del modello sezionato sulla cupola.
Vista zenitale del modello.
Foto Biennale di Venezia.

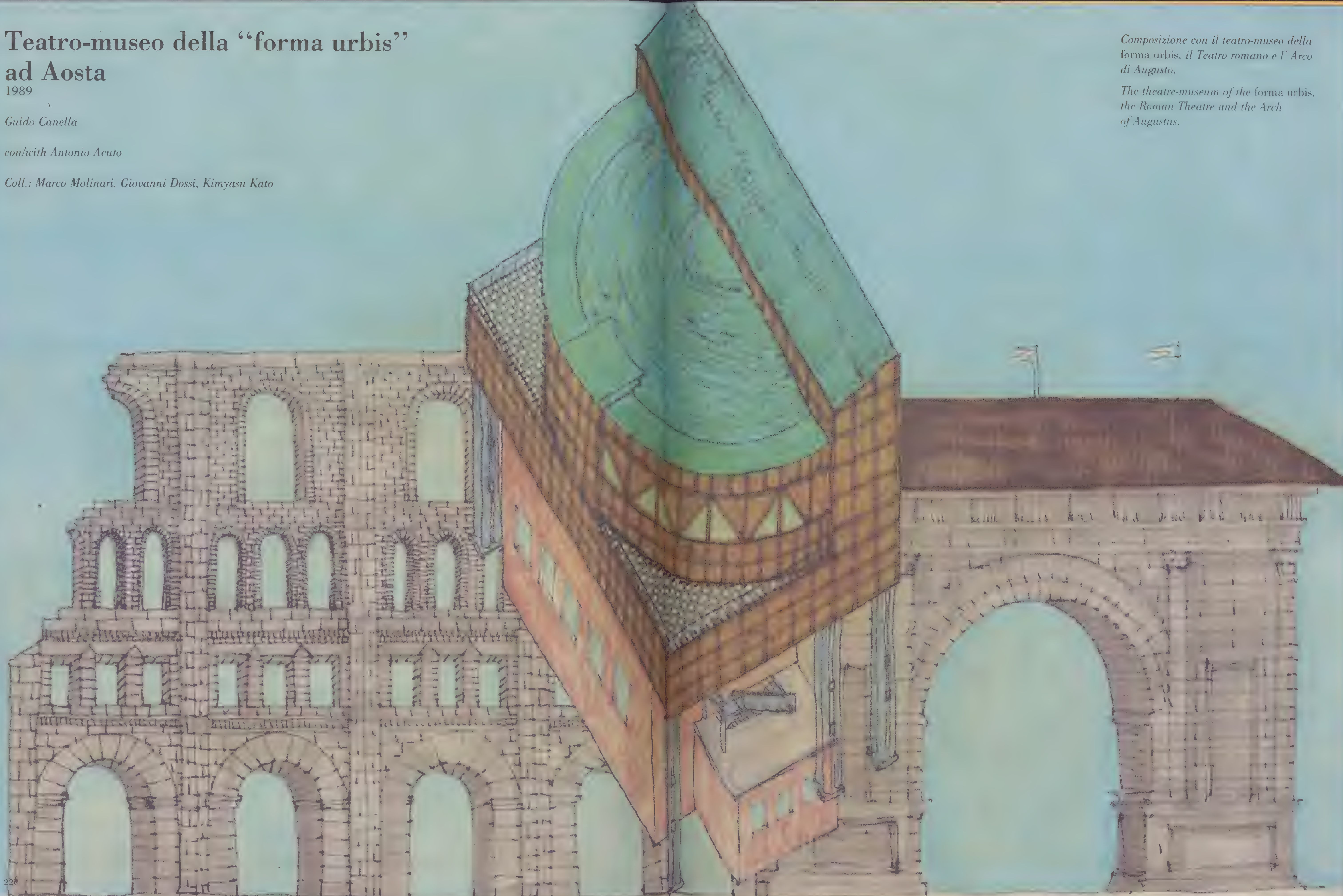
Cutaway of the model of the dome.
Aerial view of the model.
Photo Biennale di Venezia.

Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta
1989

Guido Canella

con/with Antonio Acuto

Coll.: Marco Molinari, Giovanni Dossi, Kimyasu Kato



Composizione con il teatro-museo della forma urbis, *il Teatro romano e l' Arco di Augusto.*

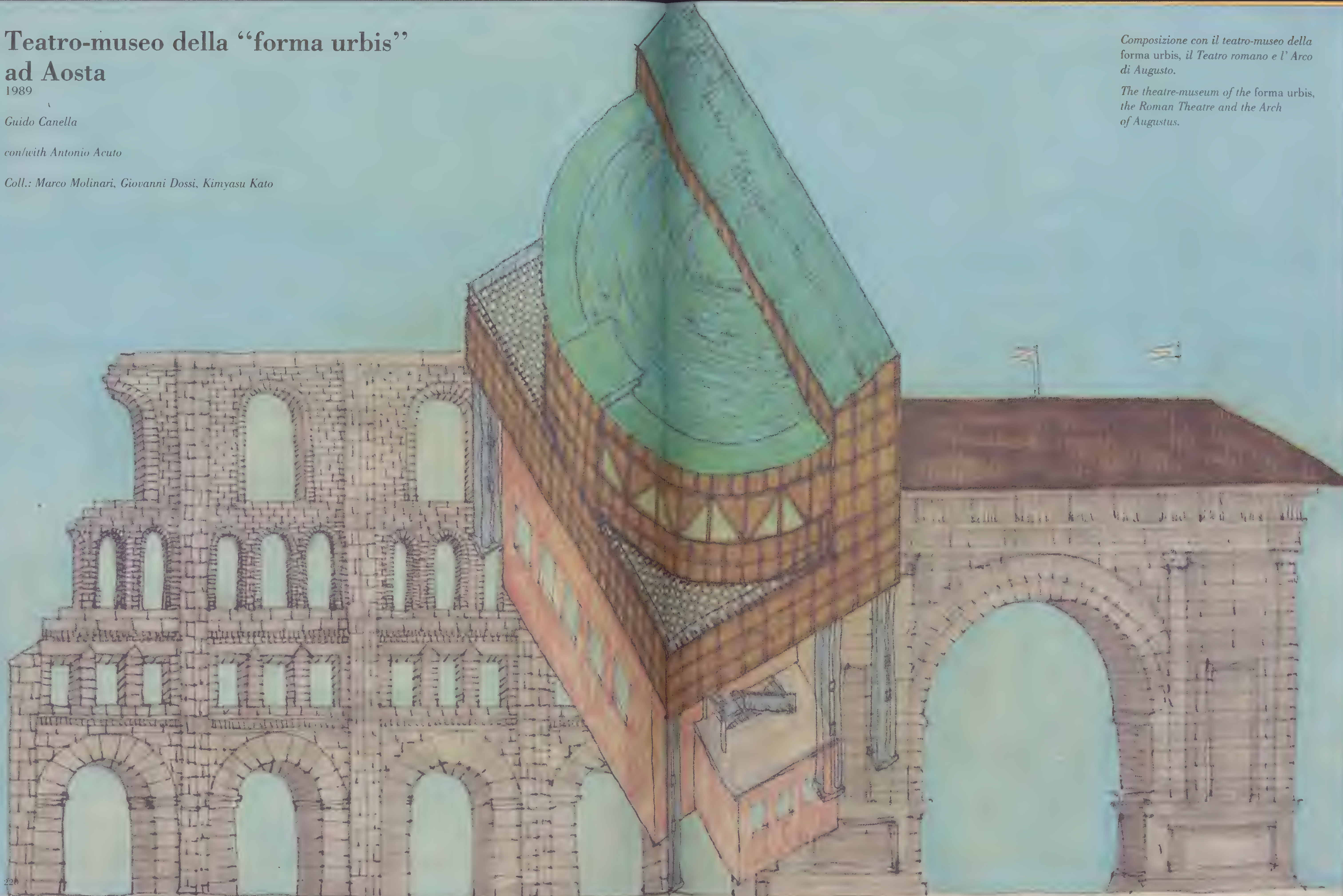
The theatre-museum of the forma urbis, *the Roman Theatre and the Arch of Augustus.*

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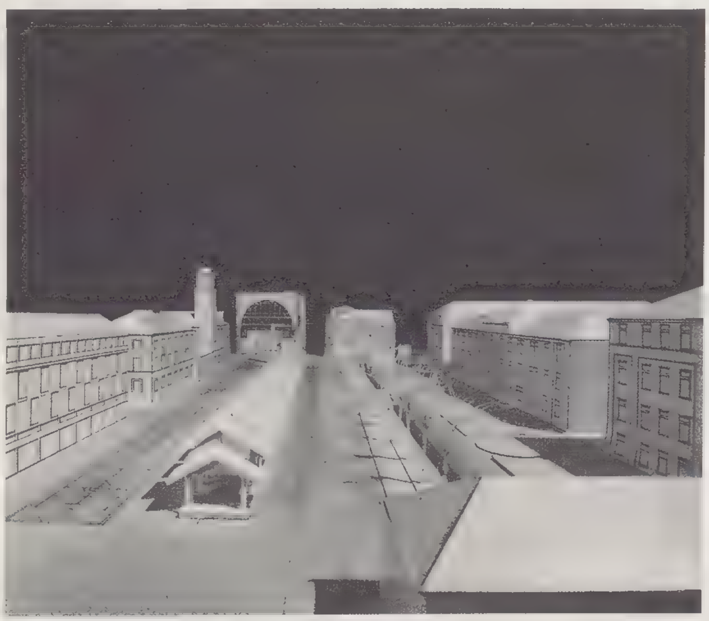


Composizione con il teatro-museo della forma urbis, *il Teatro romano e l' Arco di Augusto.*

The theatre-museum of the forma urbis, *the Roman Theatre and the Arch of Augustus.*

Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta
Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto

Il progetto rifiuta di accogliere pregiudizialmente l'idea convenzionale di piazza pedonalizzata, dalla quale dovrebbe conseguire preminente la necessità dell'arredo, adatto a promuoverne una praticabilità puramente contemplativa o consumistica, comunque improduttiva.
Il progetto invece ricerca ragioni e criteri d'intervento a partire dai caratteri della città.
1. Tali caratteri, come si sa, non rivelano soltanto l'attuale ruolo di capoluogo regionale (con reddito pro-capite più alto in Italia, secondo logica statistica), ma soprattutto quello storico di città europea, attiva a coordinare correnti diverse e a organizzare servizi per traffici convergenti da direttrici continentali. Ruolo questo condizionato da un quadro di relazioni estremamente variabile nel lungo periodo per il prevalere, di volta in volta, della collocazione "di frontiera' tra area padana e transalpina o della collocazione "centrale" rispetto al sistema dei bacini vallivi dislocati sui diversi versanti alpini; ruolo condizionato anche dalla specialissima *natura agri*: poiché se Aosta è "*urbs (...) magnis et altissimis montibus circumsepta, sed in grata et irigua edificata planicie. Campis namque et pratis silvisque necnon et vineis egregia (...)*" (come, tra Decimo e Undicesimo secolo, si dice nella seconda redazione della *Vita Beati Ursi*), le mutazioni climatiche nel lungo periodo agiscono tanto sull'estensione delle superfici coltivate che sull'ampiezza delle congiunture favorevoli ai transiti alpini, così da incidere simultaneamente tanto sull'economia rurale che su quella di scambio, la cui sinergia struttura il contesto.
È questa sinergia, tra diverse economie, sottoposta ad elevatissime escursioni di regime, che produce tanto cospicue sedimentazioni (infrastrutturali, monumentali), ma che impone anche straordinarie trasformazioni al sistema insediativo urbano (basti pensare alla persistenza del piano

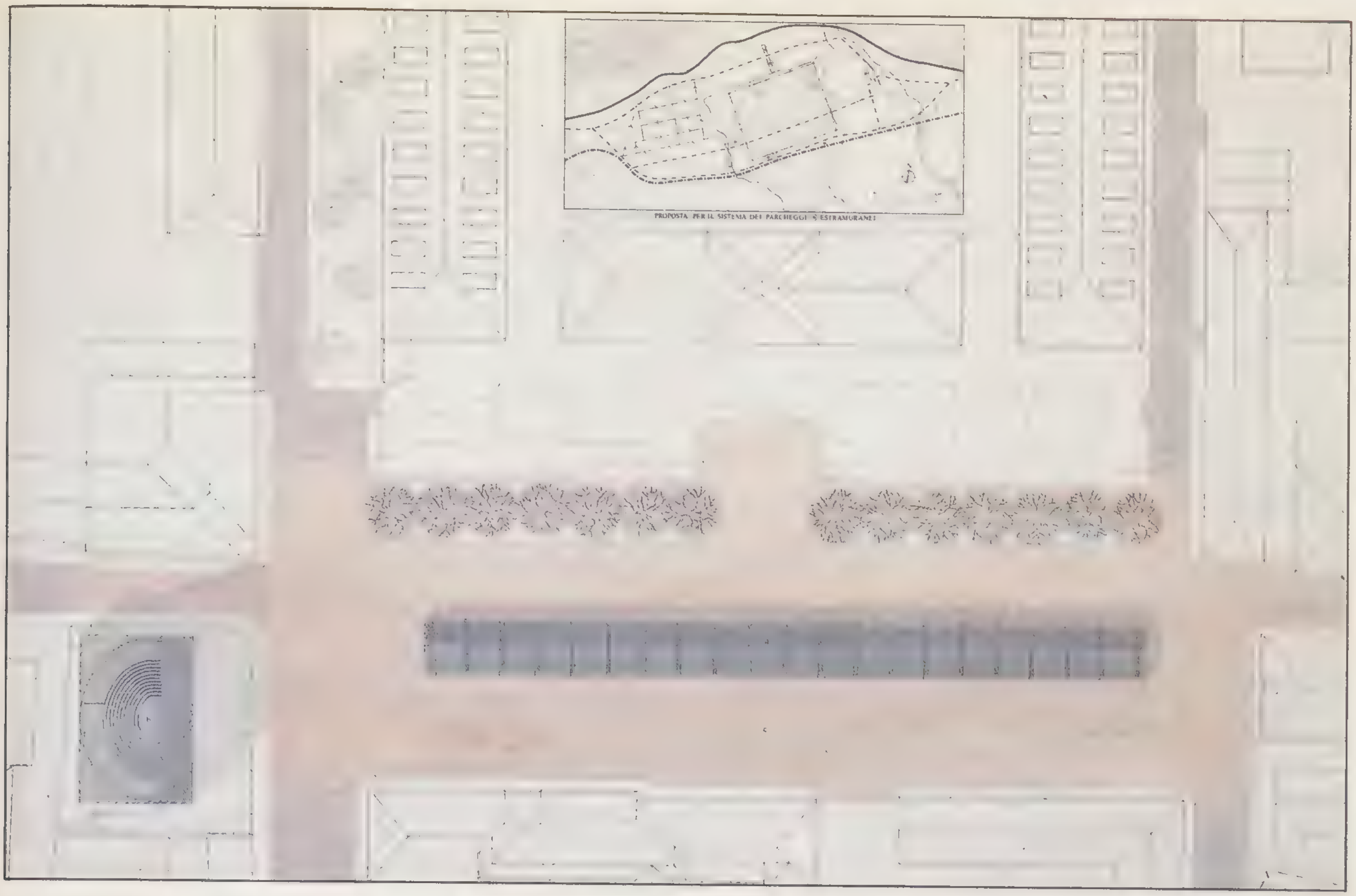


Theatre-Museum of the "Forma Urbis", Aosta
Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto

The design avoids any conventional idea of the pedestrian zone, which would include urban furnishings, to promote a purely contemplative or consumeristic atmosphere, neither of which are particularly productive.
In this project we have sought to establish criteria for a design based on the character (or characters) of the city itself.
1. These characters portray the present role of this city (which has the highest per capita income in Italy) as the regional capital and also the city's historical role, as a crossroads for various currents within the European context and organizing the flow of traffic from many different parts of the continent. The city created this role over the centuries by finding itself either on the border between the Po Valley and the Trans-Alpine regions, or in the centre of a system of valley basins in the Alps. This role was also influenced by the city's particular natura agri*: because Aosta is* "urbs (...) magnis et altissimis montibus circumsepta, sed in grata et iriqua edificata planicie. Campis namque et pratis silvisque necnon et vineis egregia (...)" *(as it was described in the second edition of the* Vita Beata Ursi, *10-11th century), changes in climate over the years affected both the area of cultivation and the size of the passes crossing the Alps, impacting the rural economy and trade. Such dynamics have directed the growth of the city.*
This synergy between different economies, which has survived extremes of the political sprectrum, has also produced a strong foundation of infrastructures and monuments and has also brought about extraordinary transformations in the urban design (it is enough to consider the longevity of the street plan, of the city walls, of the Roman strongholds, and of the medieval polarity between Ville *and* Bourg*). This is the reason for the particular configuration of the urban landscape, not just of the historical city, but also of more recent developments, which is not compact, and has no*

Modello di studio della piazza con il "coperto" e, in fondo, il teatro-museo sopra la Palestra comunale.
Foto S. Topuntoli.
Planimetria generale e assonometria.

Study model of the square with the "covered area" and the theatre-museum above the municipal Gymnasium in the background.
Photo S. Topuntoli.
Site plan and axometric.


PROPOSTA PER IL SISTEMA DEI PARCHEGGI ESTRAMURANEI



stradale, del recinto murario e dei caposaldi romani e alla medievale polarizzazione dualistica tra *Ville* e *Bourg*). Da qui la particolare conformazione del paesaggio urbano, non solo storico, ma anche recente, che non si presenta compatto, né marcato da regolarità omogenee. Alterna invece addensamenti edilizi, diversamente configurati e comunque consistenti, a rarefazioni dovute di volta in volta all'insinuarsi della campagna o all'estendersi della aree monumentali. Presenta anche vere e proprie discontinuità, come quella che interessa l'ambito immediatamente esterno alle mura occidentali: le caserme, la piazza della Repubblica, le aree ancora in larga misura inedificate a sud di essa dividono nettamente la città antica e murata dalla recente espansione.

Qui il progetto applica un primo criterio, di *connessione*, secondo il quale, proprio per confermare la discontinuità morfologica necessaria alla messa in valore delle mura occidentali (che verrebbero definitivamente compromesse se procedesse la saturazione per isolati, quale quella avviata con la costruzione del nuovo ospizio), si affida al rafforzamento del decumano massimo — ottenuto affiancandogli, in corrispondenza della lunghezza della piazza della Repubblica, un tratto di *strada porticata* o *coperto*, leggermente elevato sopra il piano attuale — il compito di identificare e facilitare il passaggio diretto e protetto tra Porta Decumana e imbocco del corso Battaglione Aosta.

Del resto, proprio ad Aosta nel Quindicesimo secolo, per mettere in continuità due parti di città, quella della Cattedrale e del Vescovado ai margini di Maloconsilio e quella dell'Ospedale di Naubisson e del Convento di St. Benin nel mezzo di Bicaria, se ne istaurò la diretta connessione attraverso un pontile ligneo, vera e propria strada elevata sopra il tessuto delle strade, degli edifici, degli orti: il "passetto" di Oger Moriset.

2. Aosta, città mercantile di transito, ha sviluppato in doppio modo la tipologia della strada maestra, che qui



homogeneous regularity. The city is composed of scattered but densely occupied areas interrupted by the surrounding countryside which flow thru the city, or monumental structures which flow thru the countryside. Real discontinuities are evident as in the case of the area immediately outside the western wall: military and police barracks, Piazza della Repubblica, and the largely undeveloped areas to the south clearly separate the historical wall-enclosed city from areas of recent expansion.

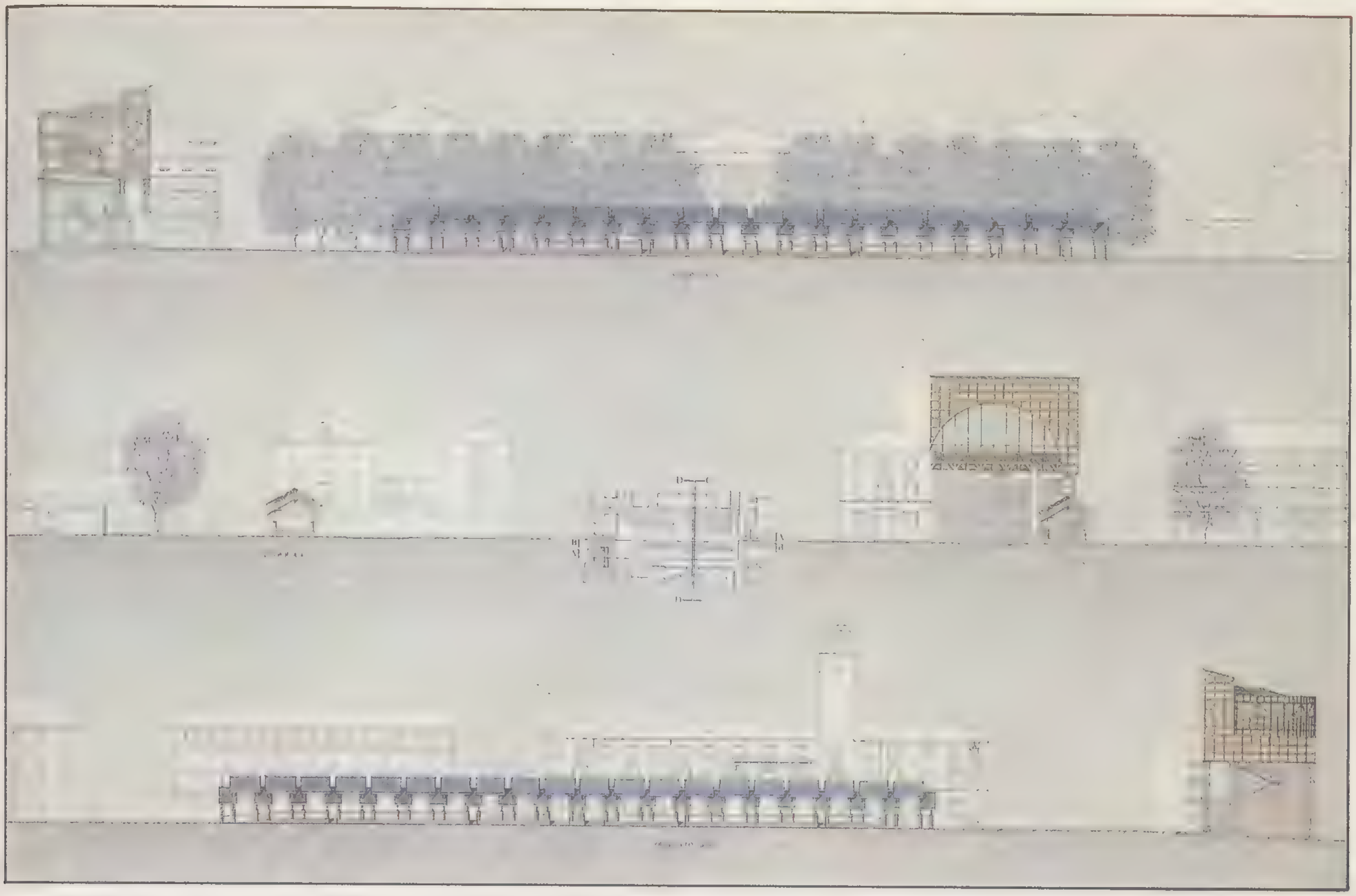
The first criterion for the project is that of connection, *used to reconfirm the morphological discontinuity necessary to make proper use of the western walls (which would otherwise be hampered by a block by block development such as the one begun with the construction of the new hospice). The design reinforces the main decuman, flanking it, for the length of the Piazza della Repubblica, with a length of* porticoed *or* covered street, *at a slightly higher level than the present one. This will identify and facilitate the direct, covered passage between Porta Decumana and the beginning of Corso Battaglione Aosta.*

After all it was here in Aosta, during the fifteenth century, that in order to link two parts of the city — namely the cathedral and the bishopric at the edge of Maloconsilio and the city section of the Naubisson hospital and the Convent of St. Benin in the middle of Bicaria — a wooden bridge was built; this was a true elevated street above the other existing streets, buildings and gardens and came to be known as the "passetto" of Oger Moriset.

2. Aosta, a city of commerce and a place of transit, developed a dual typology for its "main streets", combining the role of a connection of far away places with its urban role. Different functions were arranged in a linear fashion along the same axis, as in the case of the main decuman, where the fair of Sant'Orso took place each year between Porta Pretoria and the Arch of Augustus, while at the opposite end of the street, between Porta Decumana and Croix de Ville there was a grain market. The street was widened and became more

Modello di dettaglio del "coperto".
Foto S. Topuntoli.
Prospetti e sezioni dell'intervento nel contesto della piazza.
Dettagli del "coperto".

Detailed model of the "covered area".
Photo S. Topuntoli.
Elevations and sections of the new construction within the context of the square.
Details of the "covered area".





assomma ruoli connessi alle relazioni di lunga distanza con quelli urbani. Mettendo in sequenza sullo stesso asse tratte con diversa funzionalità, come nel caso del decumano massimo, dove tra Porta Pretoria e l'Arco di Augusto si allineava annualmente l'insediamento della fiera di Sant'Orso, mentre nel terminale opposto, tra Porta Decumana e Croix de Ville aveva sede il mercato delle granaglie. Incrementando e articolando la complessità della sezione stradale, dove "*la parte centrale, conformata come un piccolo canale, è colma d'acqua che scorre tranquillamente. Di tratto in tratto un minuscolo ponte di pietra consente ai bambini e alle persone di gran mole e a quelle timorose di passare sull'altra riva. Per contenere tutto ciò, corsi d'acqua, rive, ponti, queste strade non sono affatto larghe*", come annotava Henry Bordeaux all'inizio del secolo. Ed era questo il caso della rue Marchè-Vaudan, proprio quel tratto del decumano massimo compreso tra Porta Decumana e Croix de Ville — l'attuale via Edouard Aubert —, la quale risultava anche coperta per tutta la sua larghezza da grandi tettoie sporgenti dagli edifici, tanto da farne una vera e propria *halle* per il mercato delle granaglie, di cui si è detto. Il progetto assume la complessità tipologica dello spazio pubblico di transito e la ripropone secondo un criterio di *riproporzionamento e riarticolazione* volto a conferire nuova e più estesa praticabilità a piazza della Repubblica interamente ripavimentata con lastre di porfido rosso del Trentino e ripartita planimetricamente da binderi in granito di Luserna.

La dislocazione del coperto sul bordo meridionale del decumano massimo e la conferma del filare di alberi antistante la Caserma degli Alpini ripartiscono la piazza secondo quattro fasce parallele: l'area compresa tra la recinzione della Caserma e gli alberi conserva il ruolo attuale, sia funzionale che ambientale; il prolungamento vero e proprio del decumano è compreso tra l'alberata e il coperto; quest'ultimo edificio, costante in larghezza (m. 6.00), alterna campate maggiori a campate minori, alle quali

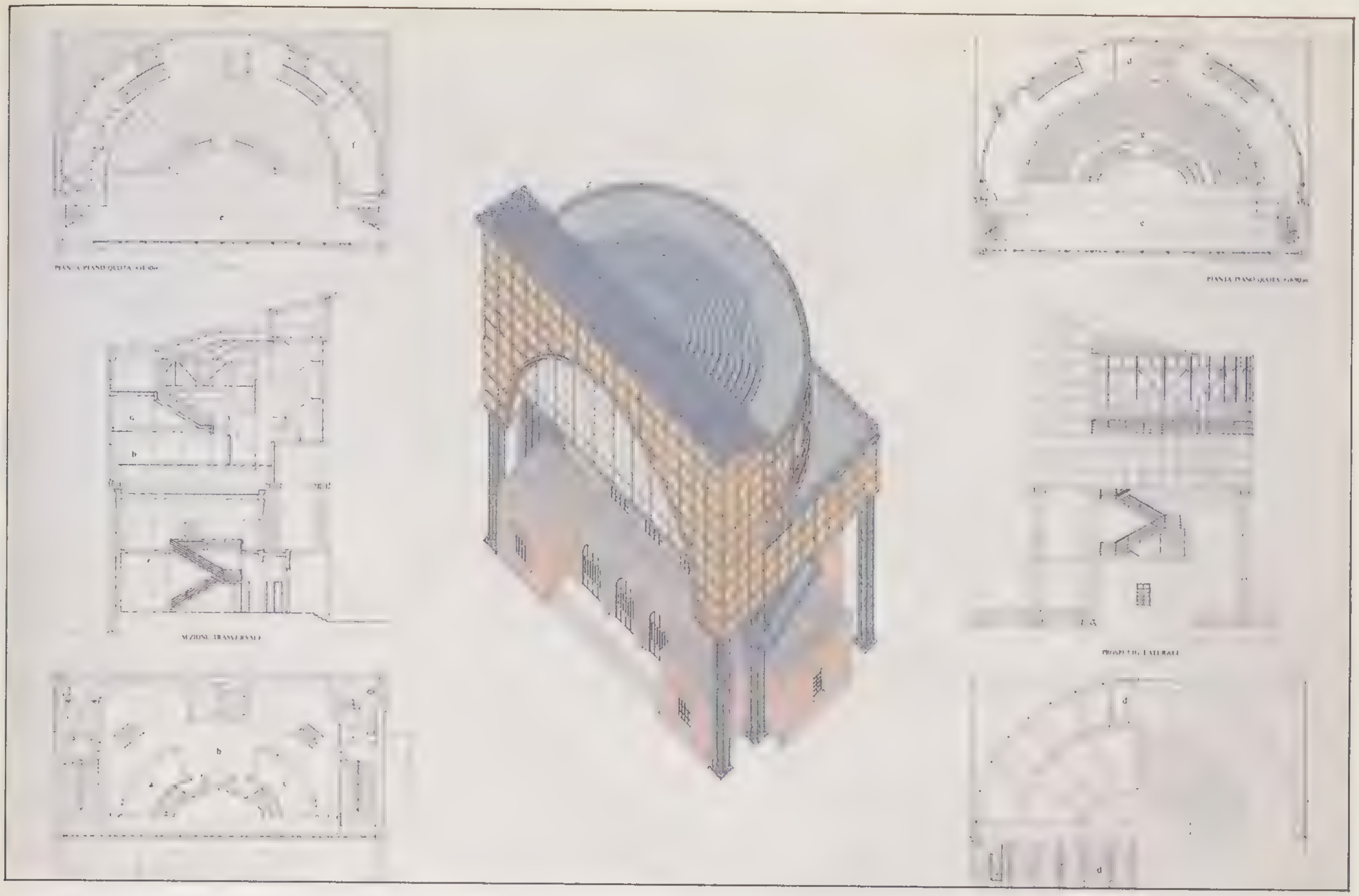
complex. "The central part, a narrow canal, is full of quietly flowing water. At intervals, there are tiny bridges which permit children, and heavy or timid adults, to cross to the other side. These streets are not really very wide, if we consider that they contain waterways, banks, bridges etc". *as Henry Bordeaux noted at the turn of the century. This was the case of the Rue Marché-Vaudan, in that stretch of the main decuman between Porta Decumana and Croix de Ville — today called Via Edouard Aubert — covered by the large overhanging roofs of the buildings, to form a true* halle *for the grain market mentioned above. The project takes into account the typological complexity of this place of public transit, reworking it according to criteria of* reproportioning and rearticulation, *aimed at creating a new, greater viability for Piazza della Repubblica, which will be entirely repaved with porphyry slates of the Trentino, divided by strips of Lucerne granite.*

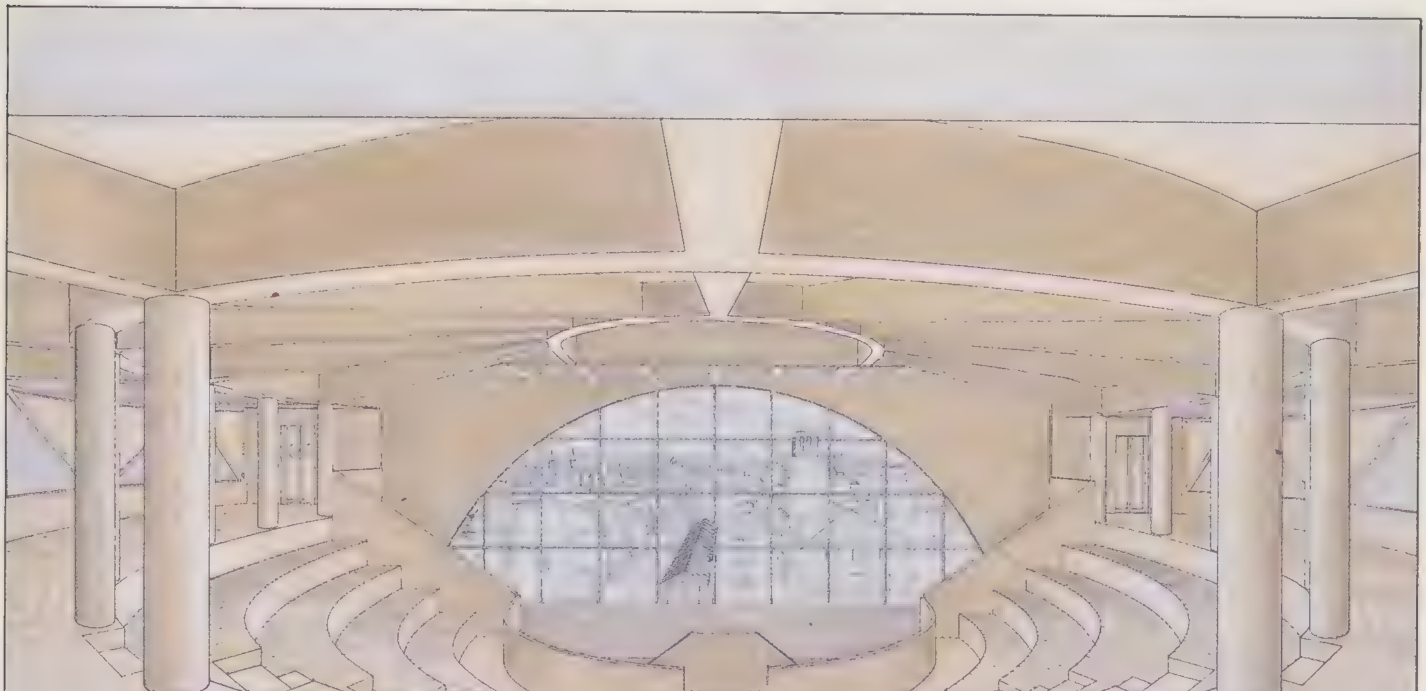
The location of the covered area on the southern edge of the main decuman, and the row of trees in front of the barracks of the Alpine corps, divide the piazza into four parallel strips: the area between the barracks wall and the row of trees will continue having the same function; the extension of the decuman will be between the trees and the portico. This latter structure, 6.00 metres wide, was built on spans of different sizes which correspond to the variable height of the structure; light shines in from above, through circular glass blocks.

The wooden trusses under the slate-covered roof are supported by piers inside circular rick-clad pillars resting on a base which is also entirely clad by brick, laid flat, in parallel rows set in concentric squares, rotated 45 degrees. The walkway is at 0.70 metres above the street, to provide an unobstructed view of the surroundings, over the parked vehicles. The area between the porticoes and the buildings to the south will be lowered by - 0.09 metres with respect to present street level and will be used as loading zones, but is also design to be flooded to form an ice rink suitable for curling. Spectators will be able to observe the games from the porticoes above.

Piante, prospetto, sezione e assonometria del teatro-museo sopra la Palestra comunale.
Vista prospettica dall'interno del teatro-museo verso la città.

Plans, elevation, section and axonometric of the theatre-museum above the municipal Gymnasium.
Perspective view from the interior of the theatre-museum facing the city.



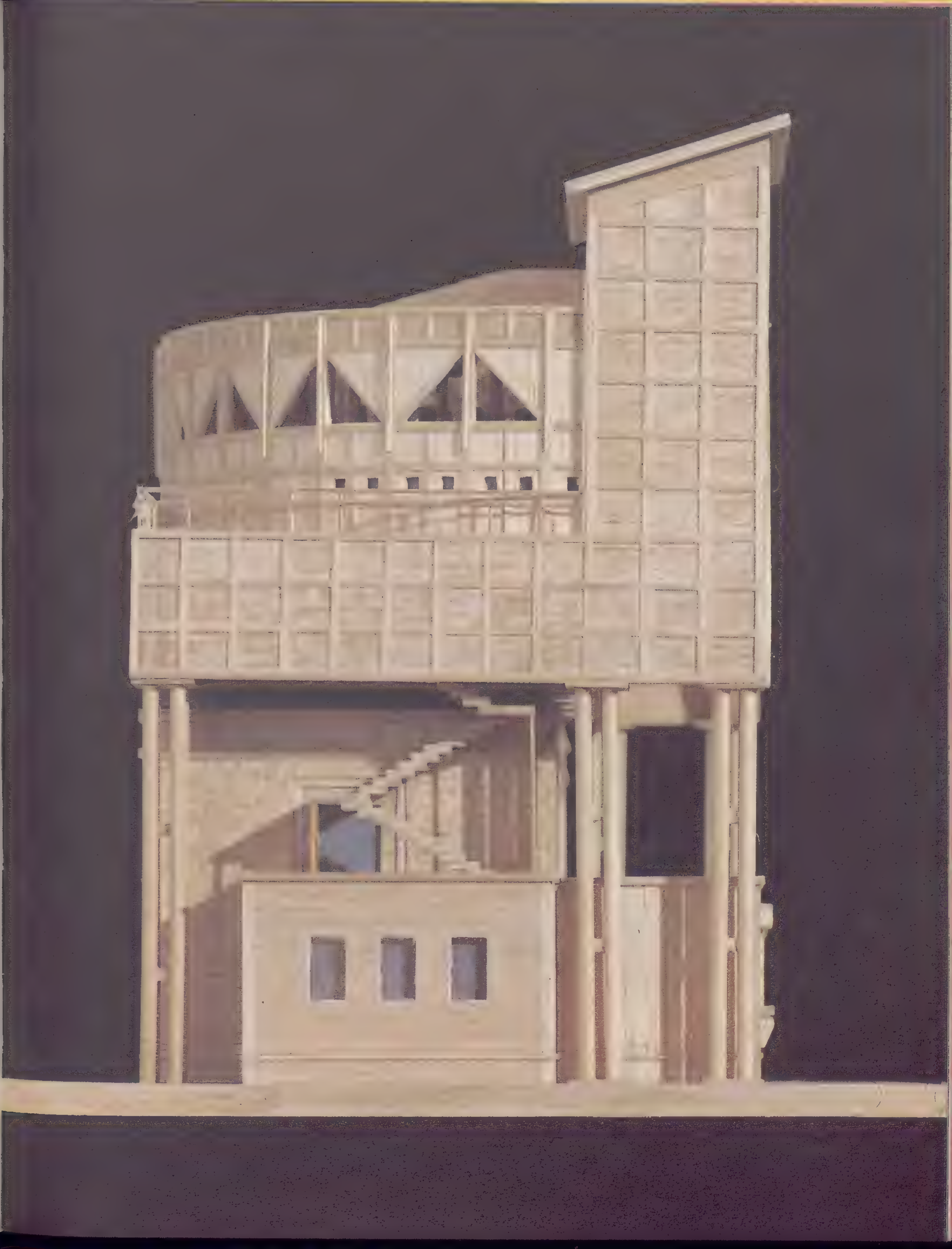


corrispondono rispettivamente altezze maggiori e minori, in modo che risulti assicurata, mediante formelle circolari di vetrocemento, l'illuminazione dall'alto.
La teoria di capriate lignee sorreggenti le falde di copertura rivestite in lastre di ardesia insiste, mediante ritti innestati su pilastri circolari in mattoni faccia a vista, su di un basamento anch'esso interamente rivestito in mattoni posati di costa a fasce parallele secondo quadrati concentrici ruotati di 45 gradi. Il piano di calpestio a quota 0.70. consente il dominio percettivo degli spazi circostanti senza interferenze degli eventuali autoveicoli in sosta; l'area compresa tra il coperto e gli edifici meridionali, ribassata a -0.09 rispetto al piano stradale attuale, è destinata alla sosta operativa, ma è anche predisposta per essere allargata onde ottenere una superficie ghiacciata adatta al gioco del *curling*, al quale si potrà assistere da posizione elevata e riparata stando sotto il coperto.
Inoltre la dislocazione del portico consente, come s'è visto, di non escludere indiscriminatamente la sosta e anche un certo transito autoveicolare dalla piazza, ma di riformarne nel tempo i regimi e l'accessibilità in coerenza con le condizioni al contorno per come potrebbero mutare. In particolare, la gravitazione sulla piazza di nuove funzioni richiederà una più allargata e diversificata offerta per la sosta. (Converrà che una porzione della piazza venga riservata alla sosta operativa e per l'imbarco e lo sbarco dei torpedoni turistici, mentre un nuovo parcheggio ottenibile nel perimetro dell'isolato a sud della piazza della Repubblica farà parte di un sistema di soste immediatamente extramurane. Queste potrebbero essere individuate, per esempio: a nord, lungo il viale della Pace, con ruolo di servizio alle grandi funzioni — ospedale, municipio —; a sud, nell'intorno della stazione, simmetricamente ad essa in corrispondenza delle antiche torri meridionali, con analogo ruolo riferito al Palazzo della Regione, ecc., ma soprattutto d'interscambio con la ferrovia e le linee automobilistiche interurbane; ad est,

This location of the porticoes also means that it is not necessary to exclude traffic, and parking, from the piazza, providing flexibility to adapt to changing conditions. An example of this can be seen in the expected increase of new functions around the piazza, which will require an expansion and diversification of the available parking facilities. With this in mind, part of the square should be reserved for loading zones and tour busses, while a new parking area could be created at the perimeter of the area to the south of Piazza della Repubblica as part of a system of parking areas immediately outside the walls. Other areas could be located north, along Viale della Pace, attending to the parking needs at the hospital and municipal buildings and south, by the station, near the ancient towers, attending the regional administration building and, most importantly, creating a connection point between the expressway and the railroad. To the east, a reconfiguration of the present parking area at the Arch of Augustus, would attend to the need of tourist traffic. Moreover, the creation of a pedestrian area immediately adjacent to the outer part of the walls to the west will require alternative traffic solutions which can be achieved by completing the unfinished links within the clear orthogonal grid of the streets to the west. For example, a direct north-south connection can be established by prolonging Via Giorgio Elten to the north, to meet Corso St. Martin de Corleans. This, in conjunction with the east-west Via Monte Vodige, could make it possible to close Via Monte Solarolo to vehicle traffic, etc...
3. On the dies natalis *of Aosta, which falls around the summer solstice, it is said that the first of the sun's rays touches, simultaneously, the Arch of Augustus and Porta Pretoria. shining straight down the main decuman. The street itself is at a twenty degree angle with respect to the equinoxial east, which works well with the slope of the terrain and the drainage of rain water.*
Beginning with the line of the main decuman, the secret of the architecture of the city is disclosed to the viewer; at this

Vista del modello del teatro-museo da sudest.
Foto S. Topuntoli.

South-east view of the model of the theatre-museum.
Photo S. Topuntoli.

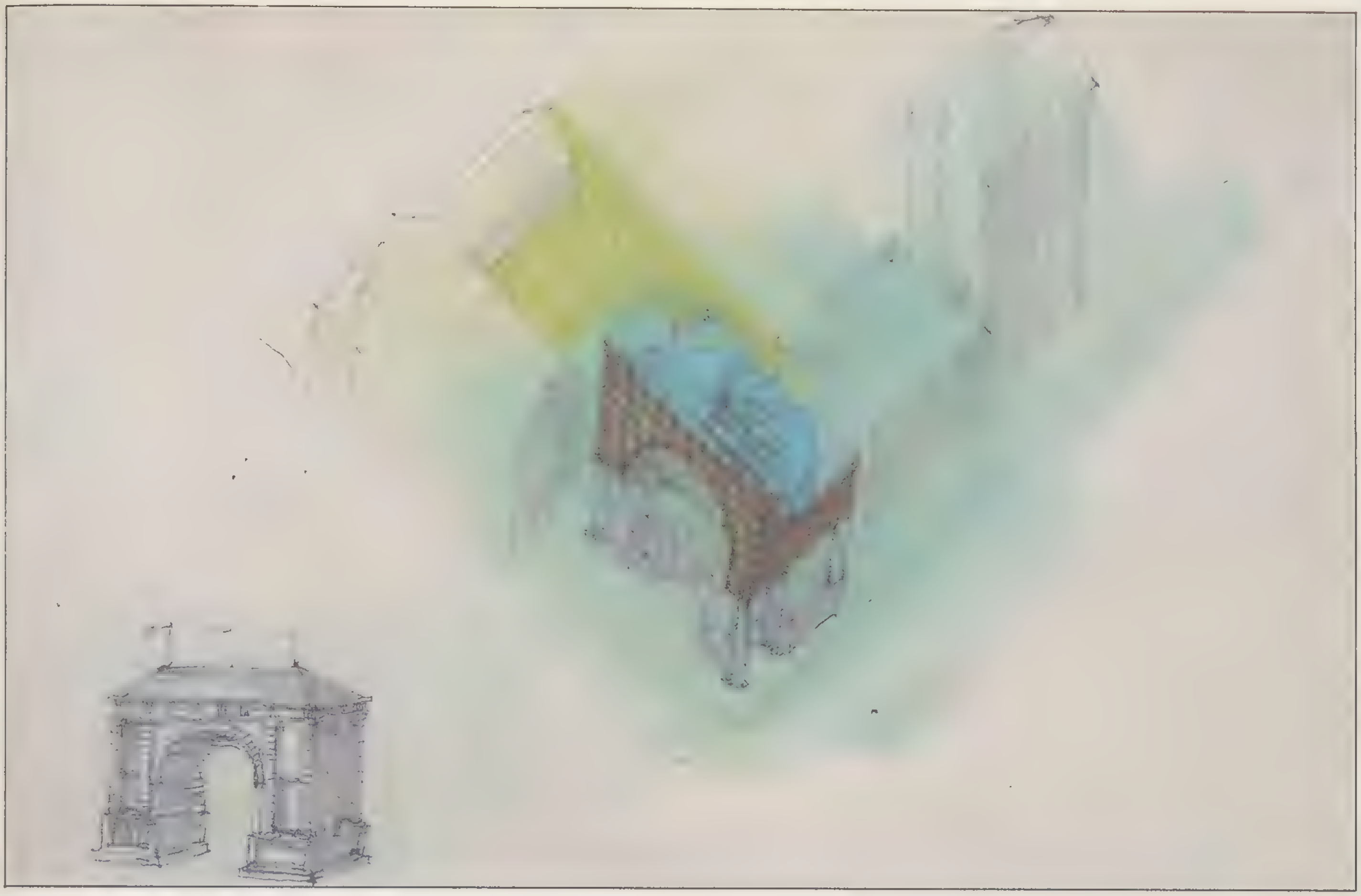


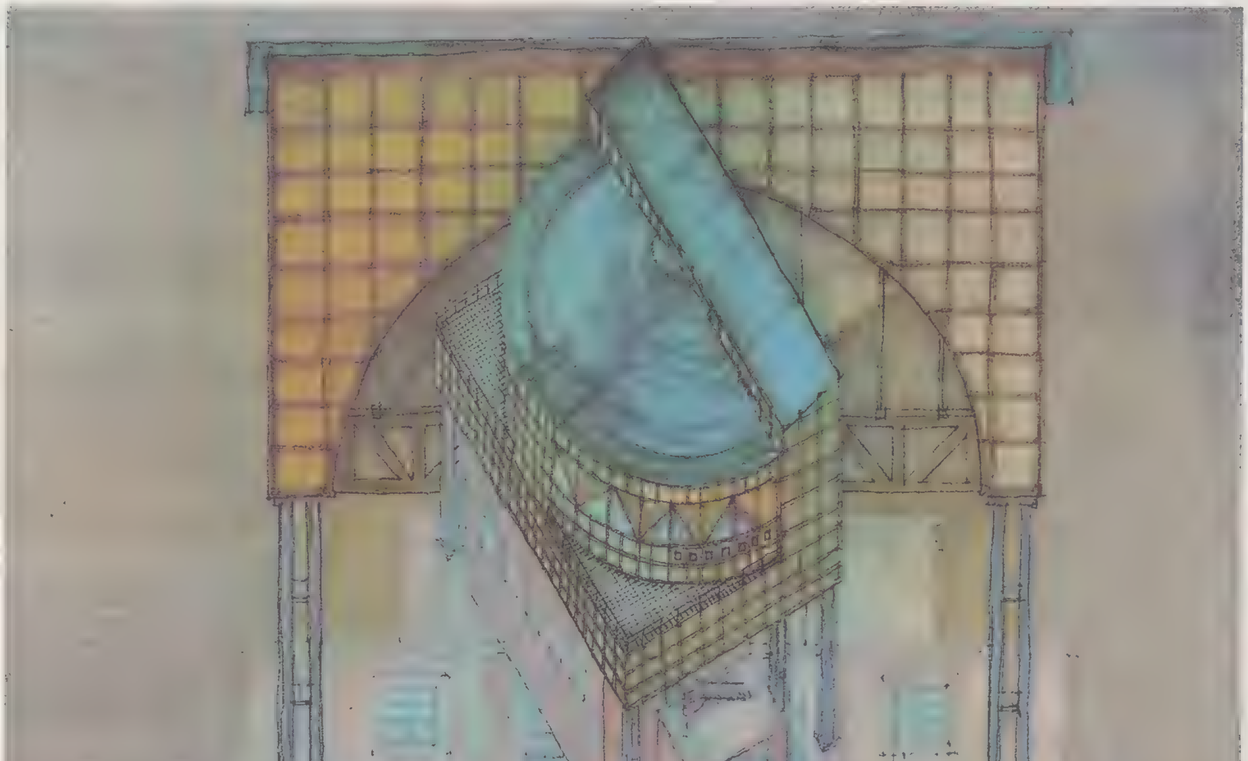
riconfigurando quello nella piazza dell'Arco di Augusto in relazione soprattutto ai flussi turistici).
Inoltre la pedonalizzazione delle fasce esterne immediatamente adiacenti alle mura occidentali richiederà alternative di circolazione autoveicolare (converrà identificarli nella maglia ortogonale dell'espansione occidentale, la quale presenta chiarezza d'impianto, ma risulta incompiuta nei tracciati; per esempio, il prolungamento della via Giorgio Elten verso nord a raggiungere corso St. Martin de Corleans consentirebbe un senso di marcia nord-sud, che combinato al senso opposto di via Monte Vodige consentirebbe di pedonalizzare la via Monte Solarolo, ecc.).
3. Nel *dies natalis* di Aosta, che cade intorno al solstizio d'estate, si vuole che il primo raggio di sole colpisca simultaneamente l'Arco di Augusto e la Porta Pretoria, dunque dritto lungo il decumano massimo. Quest'ultimo è inclinato di una ventina di gradi rispetto all'oriente equinoziale e questa disposizione asseconda anche l'andamento del terreno in modo da risultare perfettamente funzionale allo scorrimento delle acque canalizzate secondo la sua stessa direzione o perpendicolarmente ad essa, cioè nel senso dei cardi...
Proprio perché, partendo dalla linea del decumano massimo è possibile svelare a poco a poco il segreto della architettura della città, il progetto prevede che sopra l'attuale Palestra Comunale, posta sul lato occidentale della piazza, si elevi un edificio dove è alloggiato un piccolo teatro d'impianto palladiano, nel quale la scena è la città stessa. Il teatro, che può ospitare circa 200 spettatori, è strutturato interamente in legno lamellare, rivestito esternamente da listoni lignei che ripartiscono con motivo a quadrati le diverse fronti, mentre il tamburo che racchiude la cavea ha copertura a *tholos* rivestita con lastre di ardesia. L'intera fabbrica risulta sospesa su sei pilastri costituiti da tubolari calastrellati d'acciaio, allineati alle fronti della palestra sottostante. Da questo punto di vista sovrastante la generatrice

priviledged site, over the present municipal gymnasium, there will be a small theatre with a Palladium type plan where the stage will be the city itself. The theatre will host about 200 spectators and will be completely built of lamellar wood, panelled in wooden staves which divide the façades into square motifs, while the rounded volume of the auditorium will have a slate covered tholos *roof. The entire building will be supported by six cross-braced tabular steel pillars, in line with the elevation of the gymnasium below. From this viewpoint, spectators will be able to see the city of Aosta, the ancient and the new city limits, the sequence of types of urban fabric, the monumental city strongholds, and the connections with the* plaine *and the* montagne.
The theatre and the vestibule, located in the building which is today the municipal gymnasium, will introduce groups of tourists, students, researchers and technical professionals to the city utilising intineraries which integrate a direct viewing of sites and monuments with diachronic comparisons of meaningful historical events from the Roman forma urbis *to the* functional city *of the 1930s. The introductions to the city will not forget the work done at home and in other cities by the illustrious and cherished representatives of the culture of Aosta, from Carlo Promis to Alfredo d'Andrade, to Adriano Olivetti which for more than a century have made Aosta and its valley a favoured laboratory for analytical and applied experimental research in architecture and town planning.*

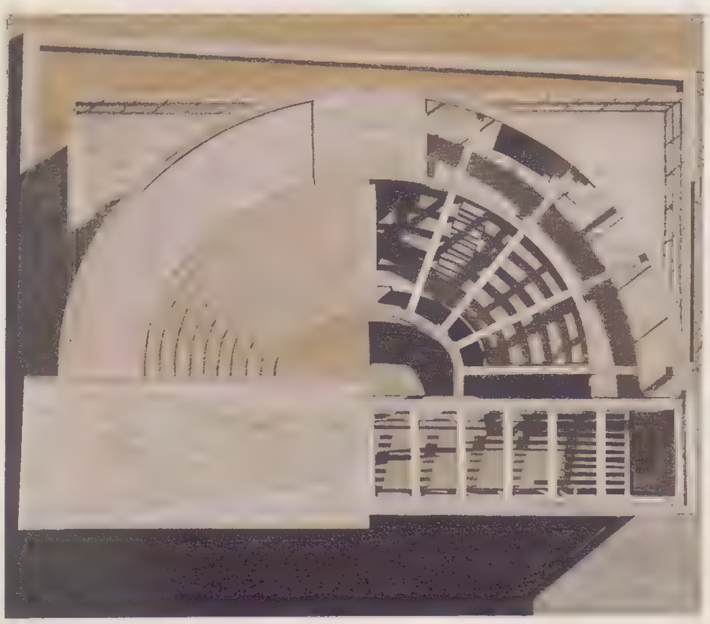
Schizzo di studio del teatro-museo con l'Arco di Augusto.
Composizione con il teatro-museo e la Palestra comunale preesistente.

Study sketch with the theatre-museum.
The theatre-museum and the existing municipal Gymnasium.




CC BELVEDERE DELLA FORMA URBIS AOSTA aprile 1983

fondamentale, Aosta rivela il suo impianto, gli antichi e nuovi confini, le sequenze dei tessuti, i caposaldi monumentali, ma anche le connessioni con la *plaine* e la *montagne*.
Il teatro e il vestibolo, collocato nell'edificio attualmente occupato dalla Palestra Comunale, introducono alla conoscenza della città gruppi di turisti, scolaresche, studiosi, tecnici, secondo itinerari capaci di integrare l'esperienza diretta dei luoghi e dei monumenti con confronti diacronici per sezioni storiche significative dalla *forma urbis* romana alla *città funzionale* degli anni Trenta, ma anche con riferimento ai riporti operati su altri contesti (si tratta a volte di parti anche consistenti di grandi città) da parte di quella cultura (da Carlo Promis, ad Alfredo d'Andrade, ad Adriano Olivetti), che da oltre un secolo ha fatto di Aosta e della sua Valle un laboratorio privilegiato di ricerche analitiche e sperimentali applicate all'architettura e alla città.



Vista zenitale del modello del teatro-museo parzialmente scoperto e vista da nord.
Foto S. Topuntoli.

Aerial and north view of the partially uncovered model of the theatre-museum.
Photo S. Topuntoli.



Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand
1988-1991

Aldo Rossi

con/with Stefano Fera, Xavier Fabre



Vista generale.
Foto B. Burg e O. Schuh.

Overall view.
Photo B. Burg and O. Schuh.

Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand
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Vista generale.
Foto B. Burg e O. Schuh.

Overall view.
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Vassivière
Aldo Rossi

Il museo di Vassivière. Questo edificio si trova in una posizione geografica di straordinaria bellezza: niente può esprimerne il carattere come la definizione di "il Canada francese". Infatti questa zona, posta al centro del Limousin, regione per altro triste ed impervia, è caratterizzata e trasformata da un enorme lago artificiale forse tra i più grandi d'Europa. Il clima del lago ha favorito una ricca vegetazione costituita quasi esclusivamente da pini o abeti. Questo verde collinoso che circonda il lago non solo crea quel parallelo col paesaggio canadese di cui abbiamo parlato, ma soprattutto costruisce un'atmosfera quasi rarefatta e di abbandono. Al centro del lago, o in un ansa di questo, è rimasta una piccola isola con un modesto *château* di campagna e una piccola fattoria. L'isola è collegata alla terra ferma mediante un lungo e stretto ponte che sembra appartenere ad una immaginaria architettura surrealista.
Mi sembra evidente che nessun luogo tranne questo poteva essere scelto da Dominique Marchès per creare il museo del granito e della scultura. Il granito è forse la ricchezza principale di questa terra e possiede un colore bruno-grigiastro che lo lega alla terra e al lago.
Quando, con Dominique Marchès e Xavier Fabre abbiamo iniziato questo progetto siamo partiti da questi elementi che hanno rapidamente costruito nella nostra immaginazione un edificio legato alle megalitiche costruzioni in pietra quanto al mondo del mare, dei grandi laghi, dell'acqua.
È difficile definire la tipologia di questo museo, in quanto esso rappresenta un luogo di studio ed un luogo di osservazione. Stando nel piccolo *château* dell'isola con Dominique e Xavier pensavamo ad un grande faro che facesse dell'isola il centro del lago.
Questo faro, che è sempre stato una mia ossessione psicologica ed architettonica (visitavo da sempre i fari del Portogallo, della Bretagna, del New England), poteva infine essere realizzato. Naturalmente avrebbe dovuto sorgere nel granito locale ma trovammo una soluzione che abbinava pietra e cemento, mattoni e granito. Dalla grande torre parte il corpo del museo che scende fino al lago. Esso è costituito da piccoli spazi di studio, di riposo, di esposizione. Ma infine il grande museo delle statue si trova all'interno dell'enorme spazio conico la cui atmosfera esalta la costruzione lapidea come quella in ferro. Queste sono le caratteristiche principali di un edificio che presto si identificherà con la natura circostante realizzando quello che forse è l'obbiettivo più alto dell'architettura: ritornare essa stessa natura.

Milano, 31 luglio 1991

Vassivière
Aldo Rossi

The Vassivière museum. This building stands in an extraordinarily beautiful location: nothing describes its character better than the definition "French Canada". Indeed this area, which is in the centre of the Limousin, a melancholic and inaccessible region, has been marked and transformed by perhaps one of Europe's largest artificial lakes. The climate of the lake has fostered the growth of a rich vegetation of pine and fir trees and the green hills surrounding the lake not only create a parallel with Canadian landscape, but more significantly form a rarefied atmosphere of nostalgic abandon. A small island with a modest country château *and small farm stands in the centre of the lake; the island is connected to the mainland by a long, narrow bridge, which seems to have grown out of some imaginary surrealist architecture. Dominique Marchès could clearly not have chosen any other place to create a museum of granite and sculpture. Granite is perhaps one of the main riches of this land and has a brownish-grey colour that connects it to the land and to the lake.*
When Dominique Marchès, Xavier Fabre and I began this project we took these elements as our starting point, and these soon suggested a building linked both to the megalithic stone constructions and to the world of the sea, the great lakes and the water. It is not easy to define the typology of this museum, as it represents a place of study and observation. When we were in the small island château, *Dominique, Xavier and I thought of a large lighthouse which would make the island the focal point of the lake.*
At last it was going to be possible to construct this lighthouse, which has always been a psychological and architectural obsession of mine (I always used to go and see the lighthouses of Portugal, Brittany and New England). Of course it would have to be built in local granite, but we found a solution that combined stone, concrete, brick and granite. The main block of the museum, which develops down to the lake, starts at the large tower. It is composed of small study, rest and exhibition spaces, while the large statue museum is located in the enormous conical space, the atmosphere of which enhances the stone and the iron construction. These are the main features of a building which will soon identify with the natural environment surrounding it, creating what is perhaps architecture's highest goal: to return to nature.

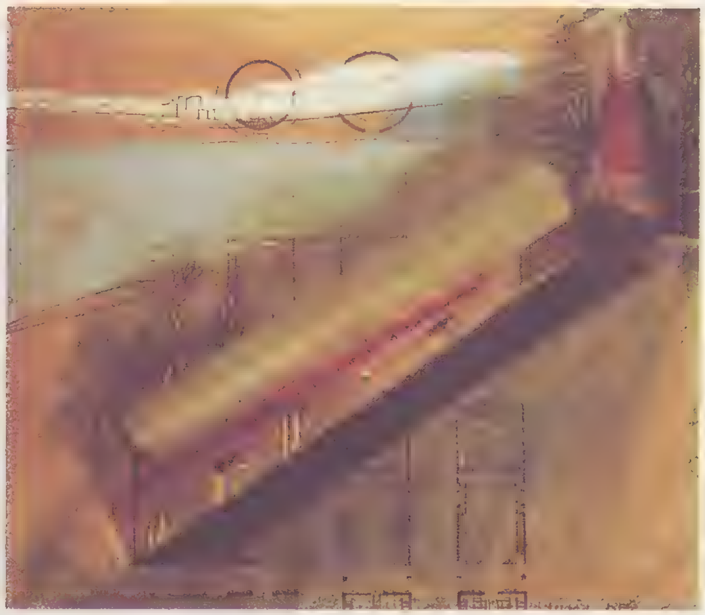
Milan, July 31, 1991

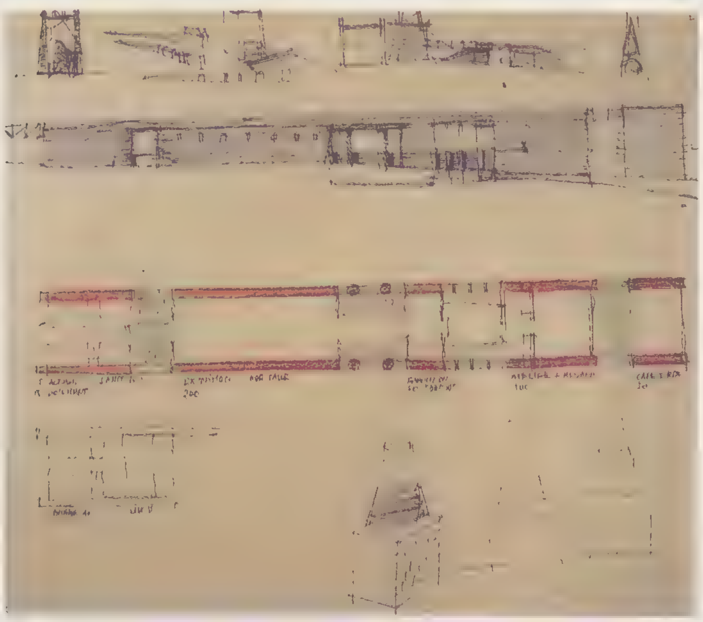




Viste con il lago di Vassivière sul fondo. Foto B. Burg e O. Schuh.

Views with the Vassivière lake in the background. Photo B. Burg and O. Schuh.

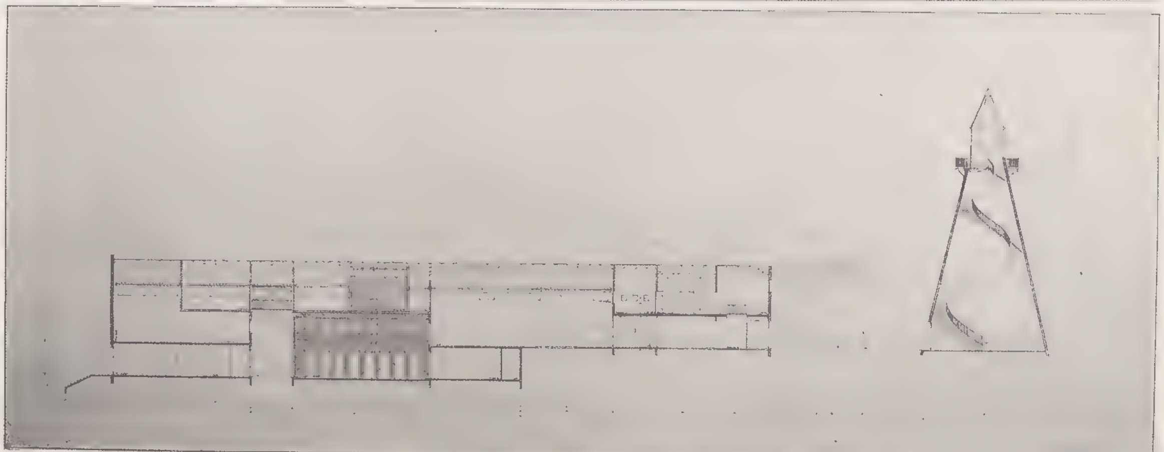


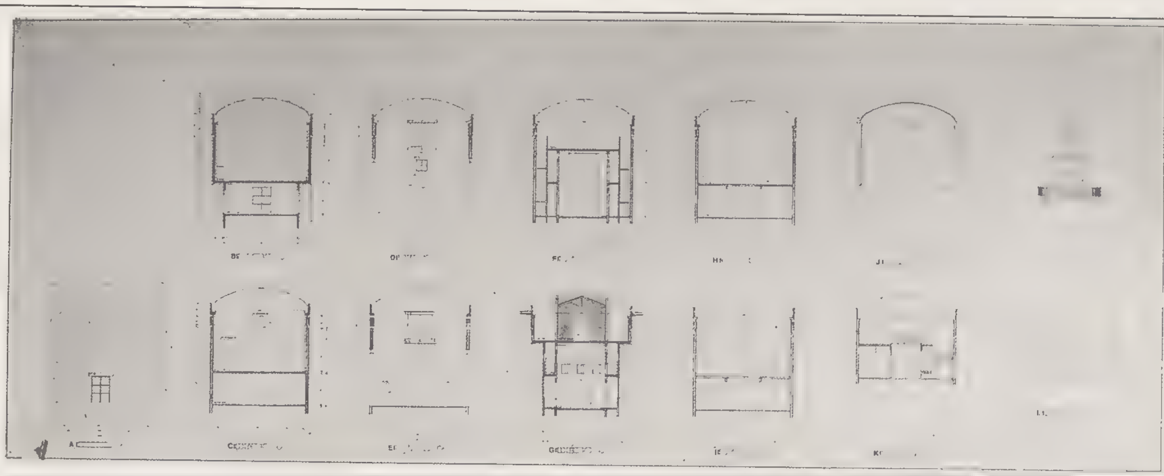


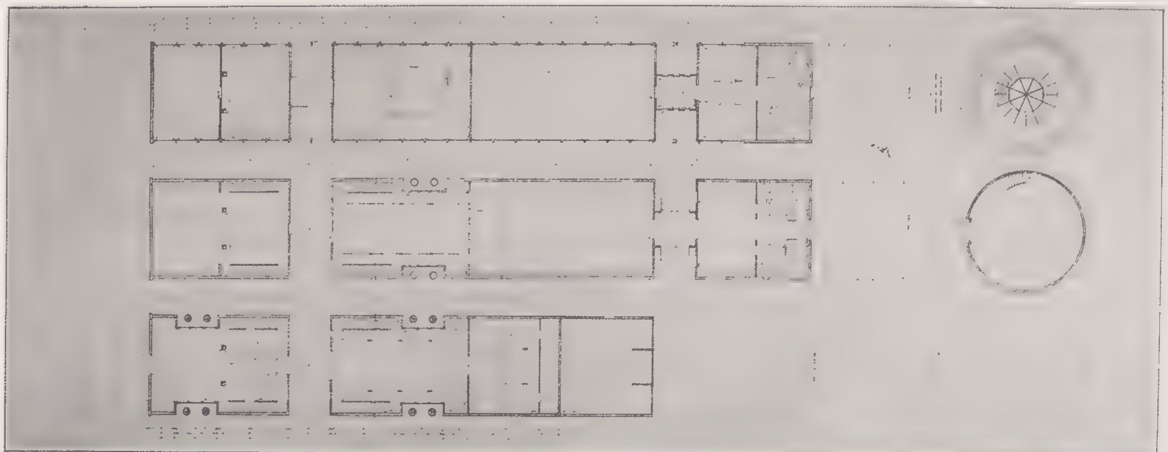
Disegno d'insieme, con assonometria e piante, e schizzi di studio.
Prospetto e sezione longitudinale.
Sezioni trasversali del corpo longitudinale e prospetto della facciata verso il lago.
Piante alle quote del giardino (con ingresso verso il lago), della strada (con ingresso verso il faro) e del piano superiore.

General drawing, with axonometric and plans, and study sketches.
Elevation and longitudinal section.
Transverse sections of the longitudinal block and elevation of the front facing the lake.
Plans at garden level (entrance facing the lake), street level (entrance facing the lighthouse) and upper floor level.





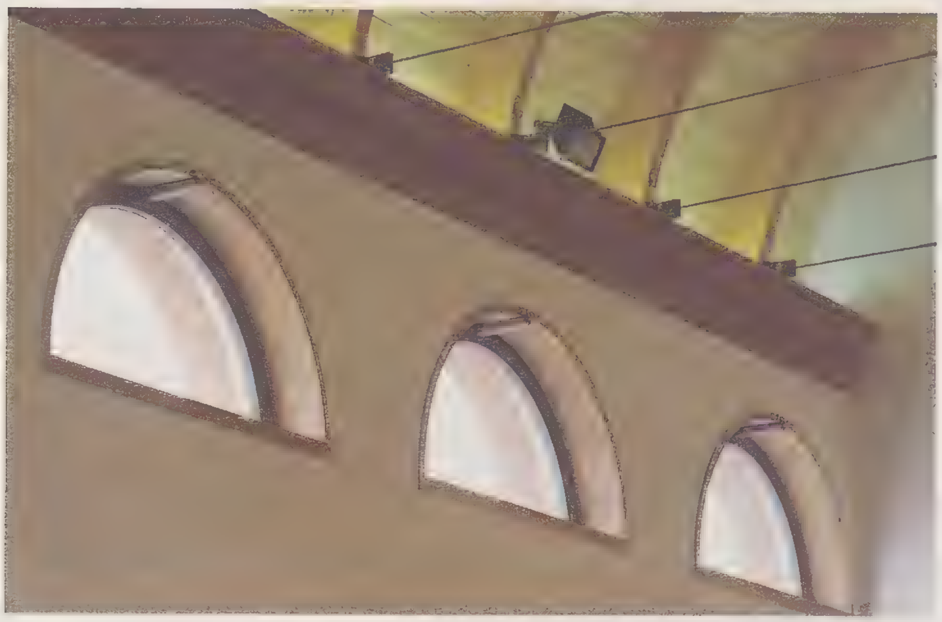












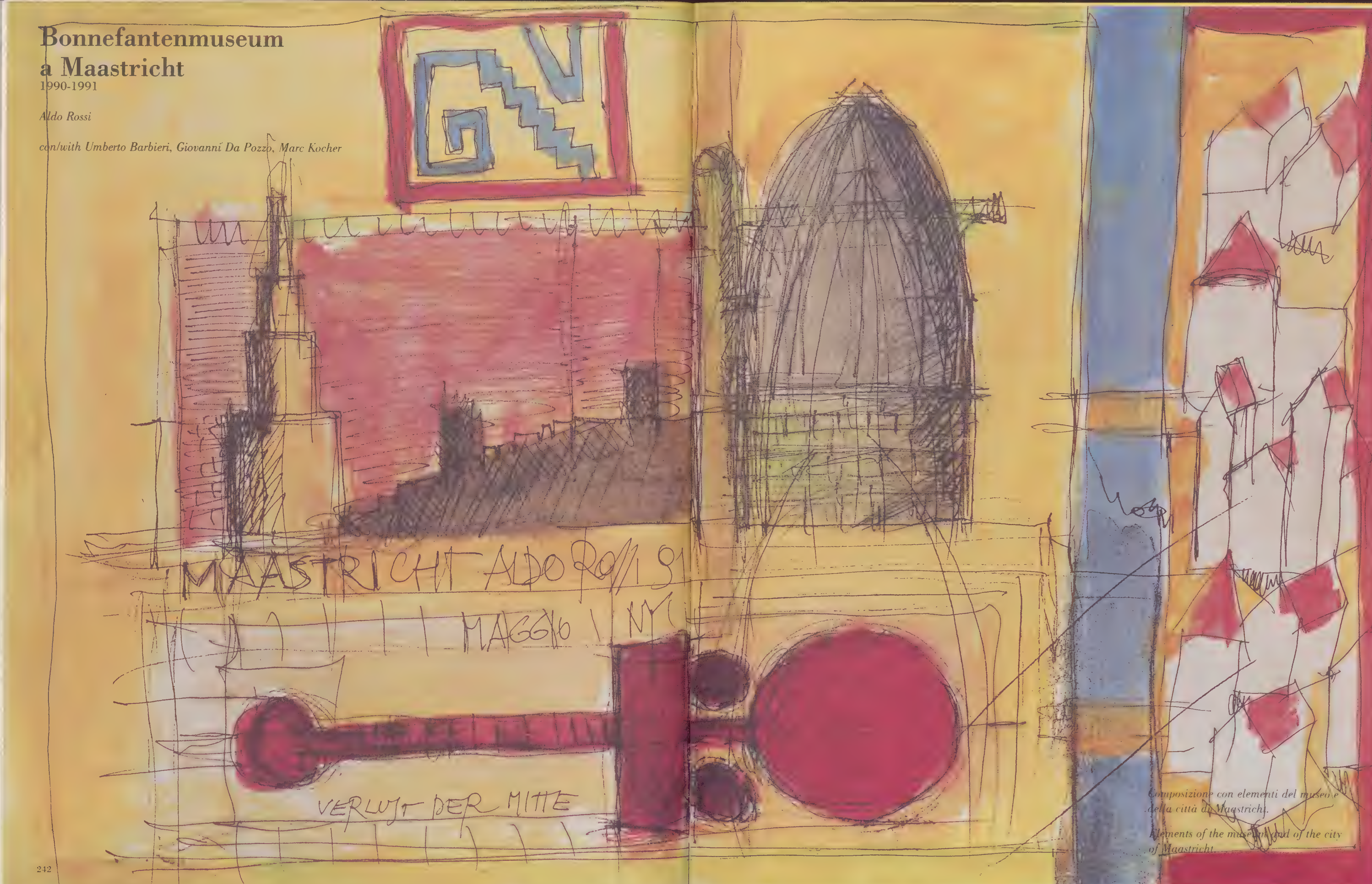
Vista di un ingresso sulla facciata laterale.
Vista interna della sala espositiva.
Dettagli del portico di fronte al faro e della sala espositiva.
Foto B. Burg e O. Schuh.

View of a side entrance.
Interior of the exhibition room.
Details of the portico opposite the lighthouse and exhibition room.
Photo B. Burg and O. Schuh.

Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht
1990-1991

Aldo Rossi

con/with Umberto Barbieri, Giovanni Da Pozzo, Marc Kocher



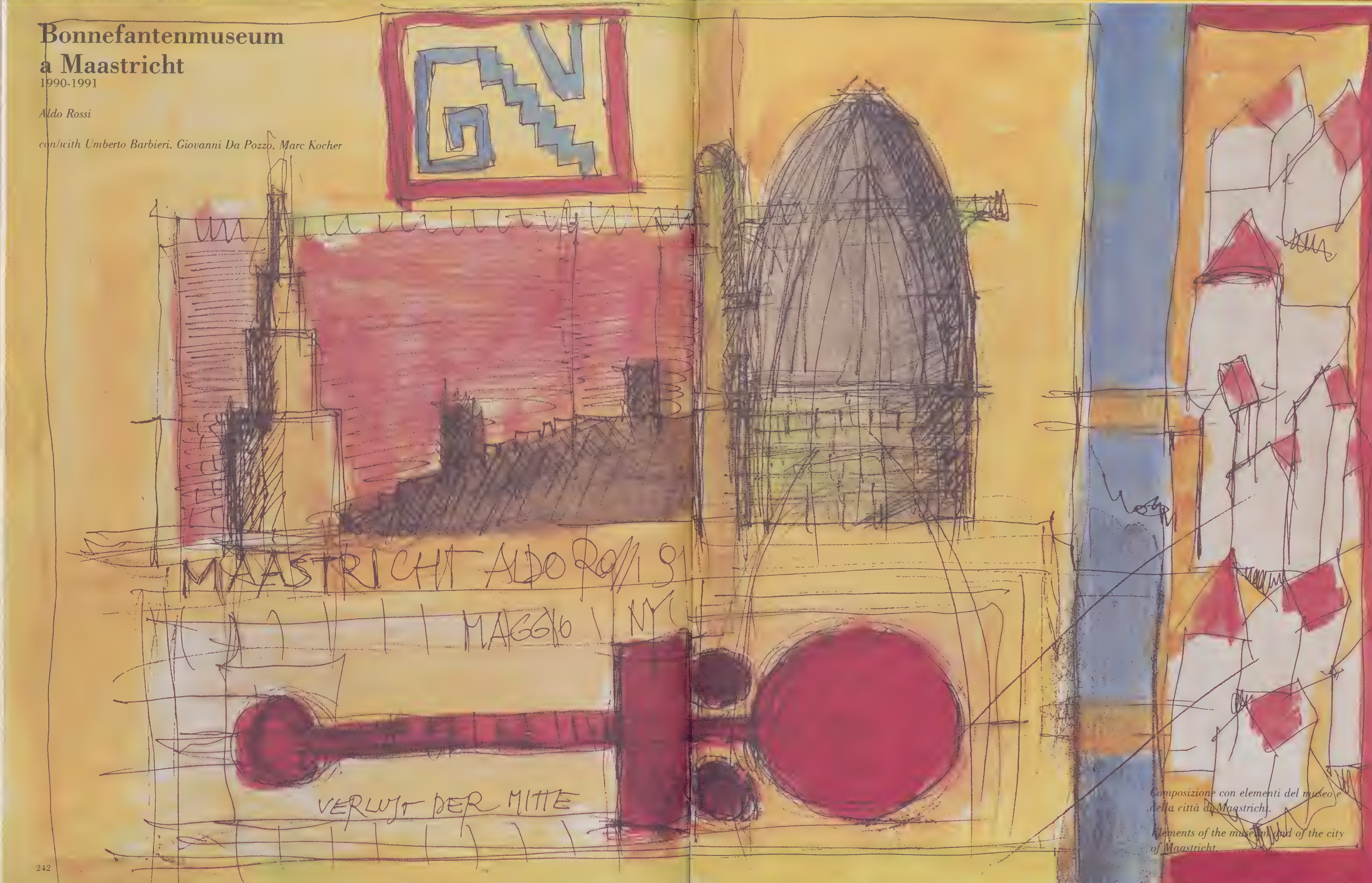
Composizione con elementi del museo e della città di Maastricht.

Elements of the museum and of the city of Maastricht.

Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht
1990-1991

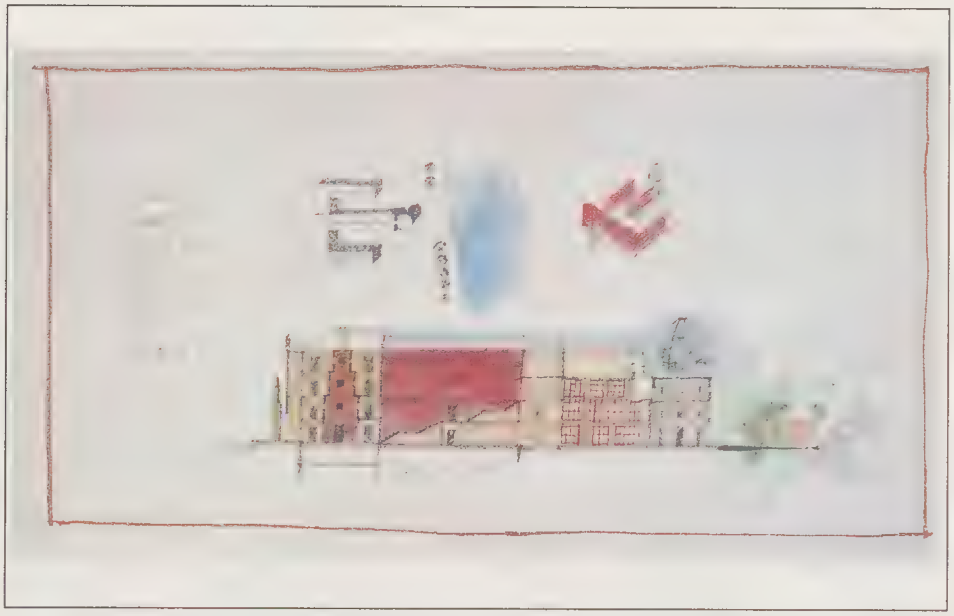
Aldo Rossi

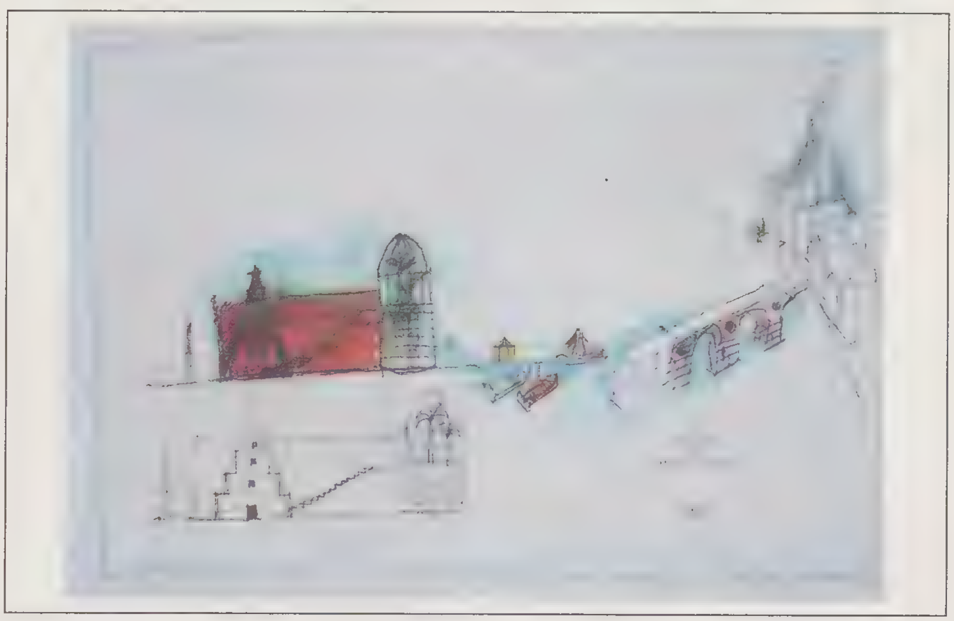
con/with Umberto Barbieri, Giovanni Da Pozzo, Marc Kocher



Composizione con elementi del museo e della città di Maastricht.

Elements of the museum and of the city of Maastricht.





Schizzi iniziali di studio.

Early study sketches.

Maastricht
Aldo Rossi

Difficile, indescrivibile è l'architettura, e il ricordo. Per questo tentiamo una personale e di necessità frammentaria descrizione di questo nostro tentativo di vivere il museo sfuggendo ai problemi che la parola stessa coinvolge in una casistica forse più patologica che progressista. Forse finiremo per dimostrare che il museo, come ogni storia personale, come ogni vizio e virtù e come tutto ciò che è umano, è ristretto e costretto nelle anguste misure di una lapide marmorea che solo la stoltezza dell'illuminismo ha voluto misurare in metri e centimetri.
Questo museo è il rifiuto di questa stoltezza.
Il *foyer* è il primo spazio che si incontra: caratteristico nella sua forma a canocchiale. Il canocchiale è un tipico esempio di "lichtraum" il cui precedente si può trovare nella "Lichthof" dell'Università di Zurigo; d'altra parte questa soluzione non è tipicamente nordica, ma è il maggior punto di contatto tra la grande architettura castigliana e il mondo delle colonie.
Per questo, un filo sottile unisce il mondo fiammingo alla Spagna, Vermeer a Zurbaràn. La luce delle case dei conventi fissa nel monumento l'effimero della vita quotidiana e della vita religiosa. Questo spazio a tutta altezza è colorato con una materia celeste acqua-marina dove la luce e il colore distruggono la stessa materialità che le ha costruite.
Dal *foyer* si entra direttamente nella parte viva e vivente dell'edificio: a questa vita si accede con timore e tremore, all'essenza del museo. Difficile, quasi impossibile, è definire quale sia questa essenza; è il museo una raccolta di ricordi della vita o è esso stesso parte della nostra vita? La nostra stessa architettura sospende e rimanda ad un giudizio più generale questa domanda. Tuttavia l'essenza del museo resta principio e fine della nostra decadenza culturale.
Ora saliamo la scala.
È inutile ricordare quanto questa scala, ripida e poco agevole, di antica tradizione olandese, sia legata al mondo gotico delle taverne shakespeariane come ai traballanti personaggi di Conrad e di tutti i nordici naufragati nei mari del sud.
Di questo mondo abbiamo cercato di rappresentare l'essenza geometrica, sapendo che oltre alla geometria vi è solo il naufragio. E paragonando i due più grandi paesi marinari ripeteremo i versi del grande poeta portoghese: "*Il Portogallo è quel paese dove finisce la terra e inizia il mare*". E non confondiamo noi forse le costruzioni di Macao, di Singapore, del nord del Giappone con questi Paesi così europei e così esotici?
Terminata la scala, tra i giovani baldanzosi e i vecchi affranti, ammiriamo la sapienza distributiva del direttore. Non si tratta di un direttore "celeste", ma di un vero ordinatore capace di conoscere i differenti livelli dell'emozione della luce e della bellezza. E mai nella storia dell'architettura si videro opere più grandi che non

Maastricht
Aldo Rossi

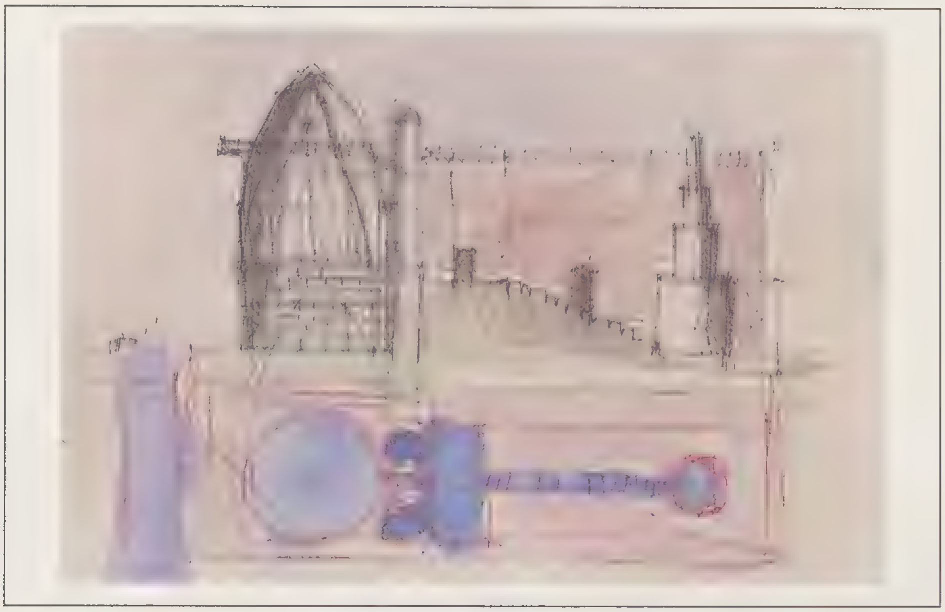
Architecture and memory are difficult, beyond description. For this reason we try to give a personal and necessarily fragmented account of our attempt to experience the museum, attempting to avoid the problems which very use of words creates, turning progressive experiences into pathological ones. Perhaps we will end up showing that the museum, like every personal history, every vice and virtue, everything human, is restricted and constricted within the narrow bounds of a marble slate which only the foolishness of the enlightenment wished to measure in metres and centimetres.
This museum is a refusal of that foolisheness.
The foyer, *with its characteristic telescope shape, is the first space the visitor encounters. The telescope is a typical example of a "Lichtraum", found in the "Lichthof" of Zurich University; on the other hand this idea is not typically Nordic but is the major point of contact between grand Castile architecture and the colonial world.*
For this reason there is a subtle link between the Flemish world and Spain, between Vermeer and Zurbaràn. The light of the convent houses marks the ephemeral quality of daily life and religious life in the monument. This tall space is coloured with a light-blue aquamarine material where the light and the colour destroy the very materiality that built them.
The foyer *leads directly to the live and vital part of the building: the visitor enters the very essence of the museum in trepidation and fear. It is difficult, if not impossible, to define just what the essence of this space is; is the museum a collection of reminders of life or is it a very part of our life? Our architecture leaves this question open, but the essence of the museum remains the beginning and end of our cultural decadence.*
Climbing the stairs.
This old traditional Dutch staircase, narrow and difficult to climb, is, needless to say, tied to the Gothic world of Shakespeare's taverns, Conrad's tottering characters and all the Nordics shipwrecked in the southern seas.
We have tried to represent the geometric essence of this world, well aware that beyond geometry there is nothing but the shipwreck, the symbol of failure. As we compare the two greatest seafaring countries of all, we recall the verses of the great Portuguese poet: "Portugal is the country where land ends and the sea begins". *Do we perhaps not confuse the constructions of Macao, of Singapore and of northern Japan with these countries that are so European and so exotic? At the top of the stairs, jostling among energetic youths and ancient nooks we admire the clever layout - there was no "celestial" master behind it all but a true organizer, capable of understanding the different levels of emotion of light and beauty. Never in the history of architecture have greater works been seen to correspond to such a union between the master and the artist, the bureaucrat and the engineer: nowhere else more than in the sublime work of Vauban and the king of*

corrispondessero ad una sorta di *unicum* tra il signore e l'artista, il burocrate e l'ingegnere: massime nell'opera sublime del Vauban e del re di Francia (il quale, a differenza di ogni altro, non solo cambiò l'architettura, ma modificò la topografia).
Non continueremo la descrizione, anche se principio della letteratura latina, come in Virgilio, era piuttosto la descrizione che l'invenzione. Ma non possiamo soffermarci sui dolori di Didone anche troppo descritti dal grande Racine.
Vediamo quindi alcuni aspetti che colpiscono il visitatore, anche affrettato, nella globalità del museo. Anche se interrogate la persona più semplice del nostro continente avrete una sola risposta: La cupola.
La cupola trova la sua grandiosità in due motivi principali: il primo nel suo legame con la più pura tradizione architettonica dal mondo classico fino al torinese Alessandro Antonelli, il secondo che essa è principio e fine dell'Olanda, tra il fiume e il mare un segno altissimo della condizione della topografia olandese.
Purtroppo il tempo avaro non ci permette di penetrare gli aspetti progressivi, divertenti e austeri di questo progetto che vuole ripercorrere il mondo di un paese, il mondo dell'architettura.
Ma ora, come se percorressimo il belvedere, vediamo il museo nella sua unità, forse un'unità perduta che riconosciamo solamente per quei frammenti della nostra vita che sono anche i frammenti dell'arte e della vecchia Europa.
Forse ricordiamo che tra i corpi principali del museo si trova il "lapidarium romano". Bene, sappiamo come solo una lapide, frammento tangibile, sia preziosa testimonianza di qualsiasi passato.

Milano, 30 luglio 1991

France (who, unlike all others, not only changed the architecture but modified the topography).
We shall not pursue this description any further, even if description, rather than invention, was the principle of Latin literature, as can it be seen in Virgil. But we cannot indulge in the sorrows of Dido, which Racine has already described in far too much detail.
Let us instead find out what strikes even the most hurried visitor in the Museum as a whole. Whoever you ask, the answer will invariably be the dome.
There are two main motives behind the grandiosity of the dome: the first is its link with the purest architectural tradition from the classical world to Turin's Alessandro Antonelli; the second is that it is the beginning and the end of Holland, a reminder of Dutch topography, with its sea and its rivers.
Time, alas, is too short to allow us to delve into the progressive, amusing and austere aspects of this project, which sets out to trace the world within a country, the world of architecture.
But now, as if we were crossing the belvedere, let us look at the museum in its unity, a lost unity perhaps which we recognize only through those fragments of our life, which are fragments of art and of old Europe.
Perhaps we will remember that the "lapidarium romano" lies between the main blocks of the museum, a reminder of how a simple stone slate, a tan gible fragment, is a valuable testimony of any past.

Milan, July 30, 1991





Schizzi di studio.

Study sketches.

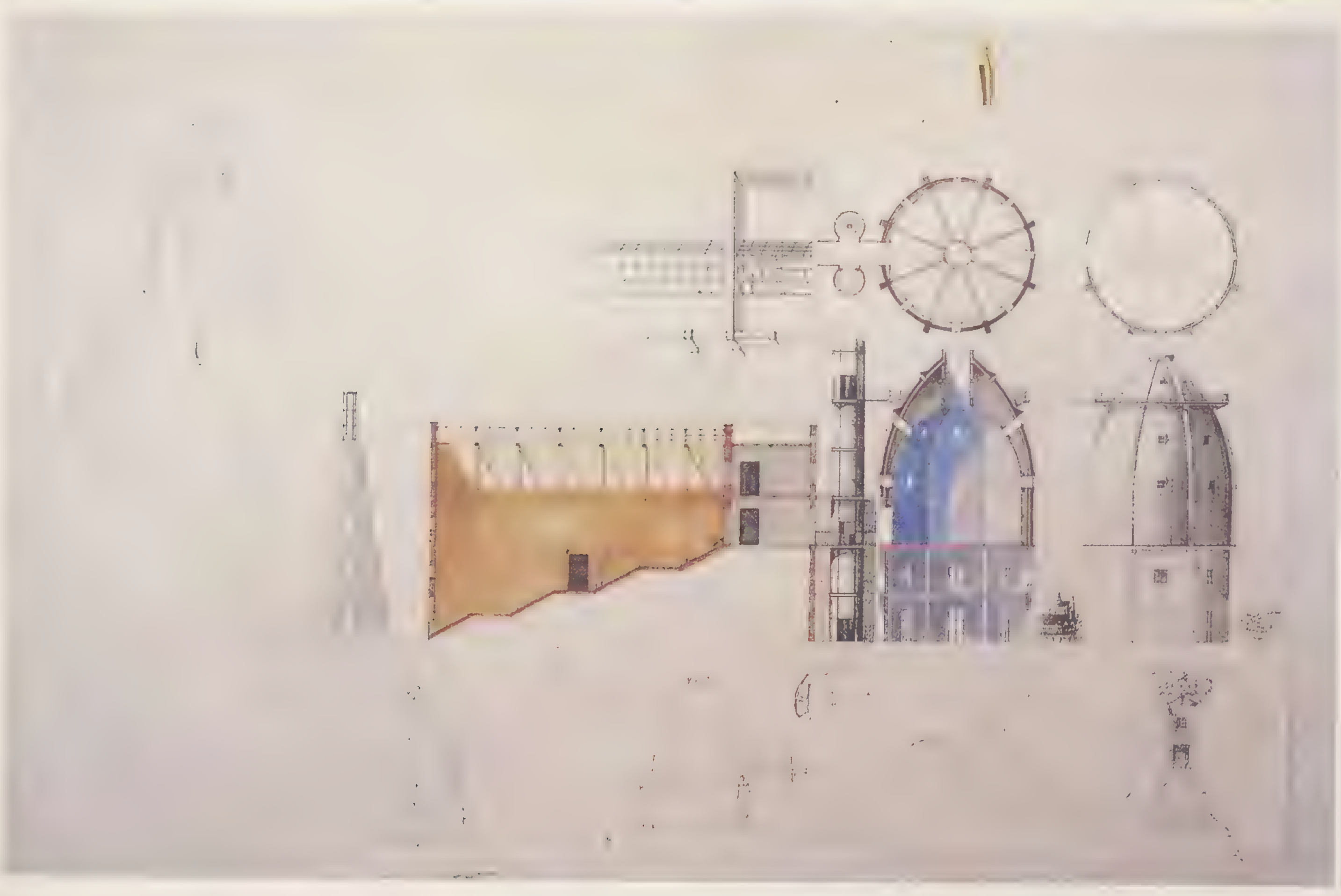


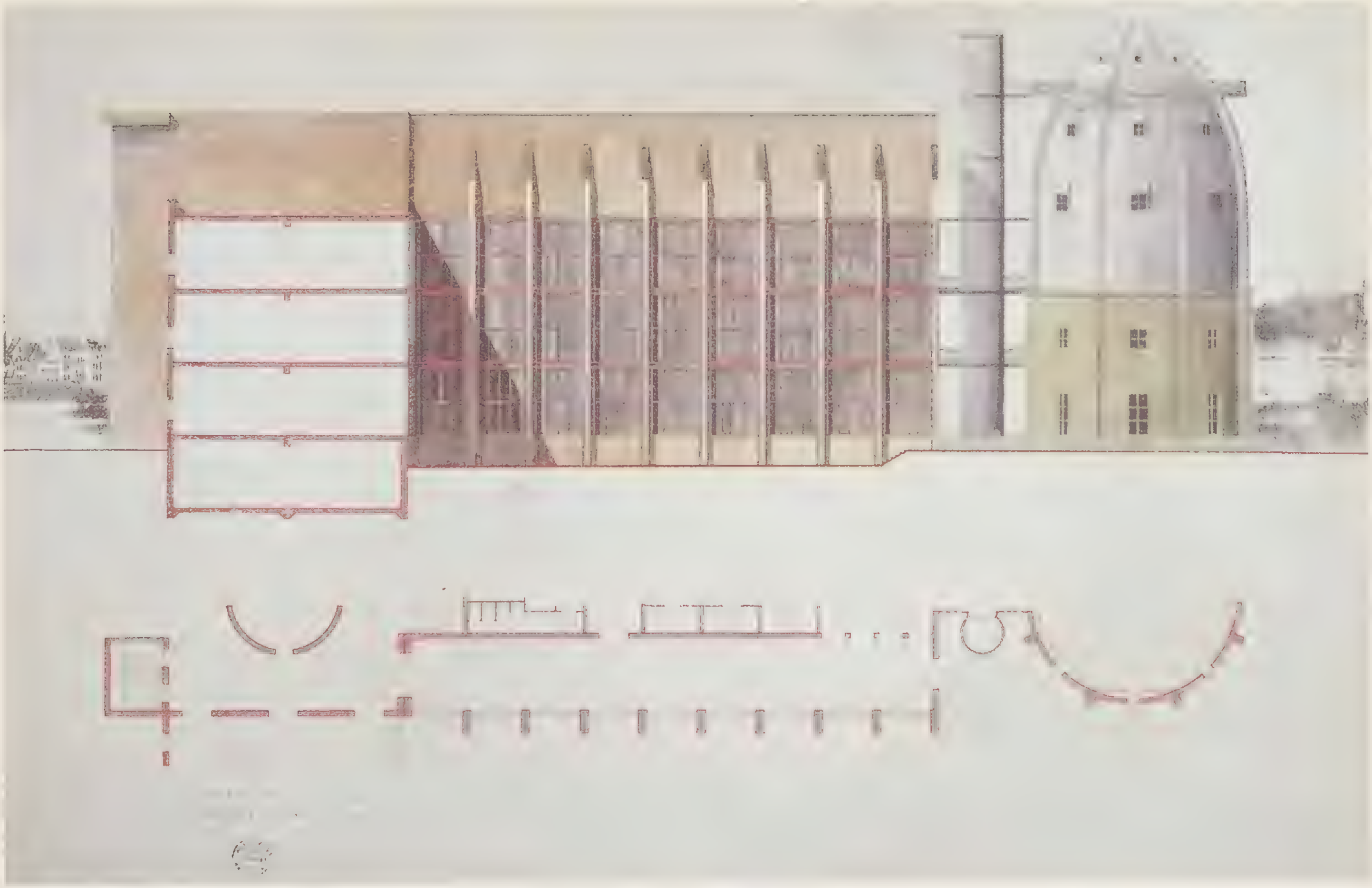


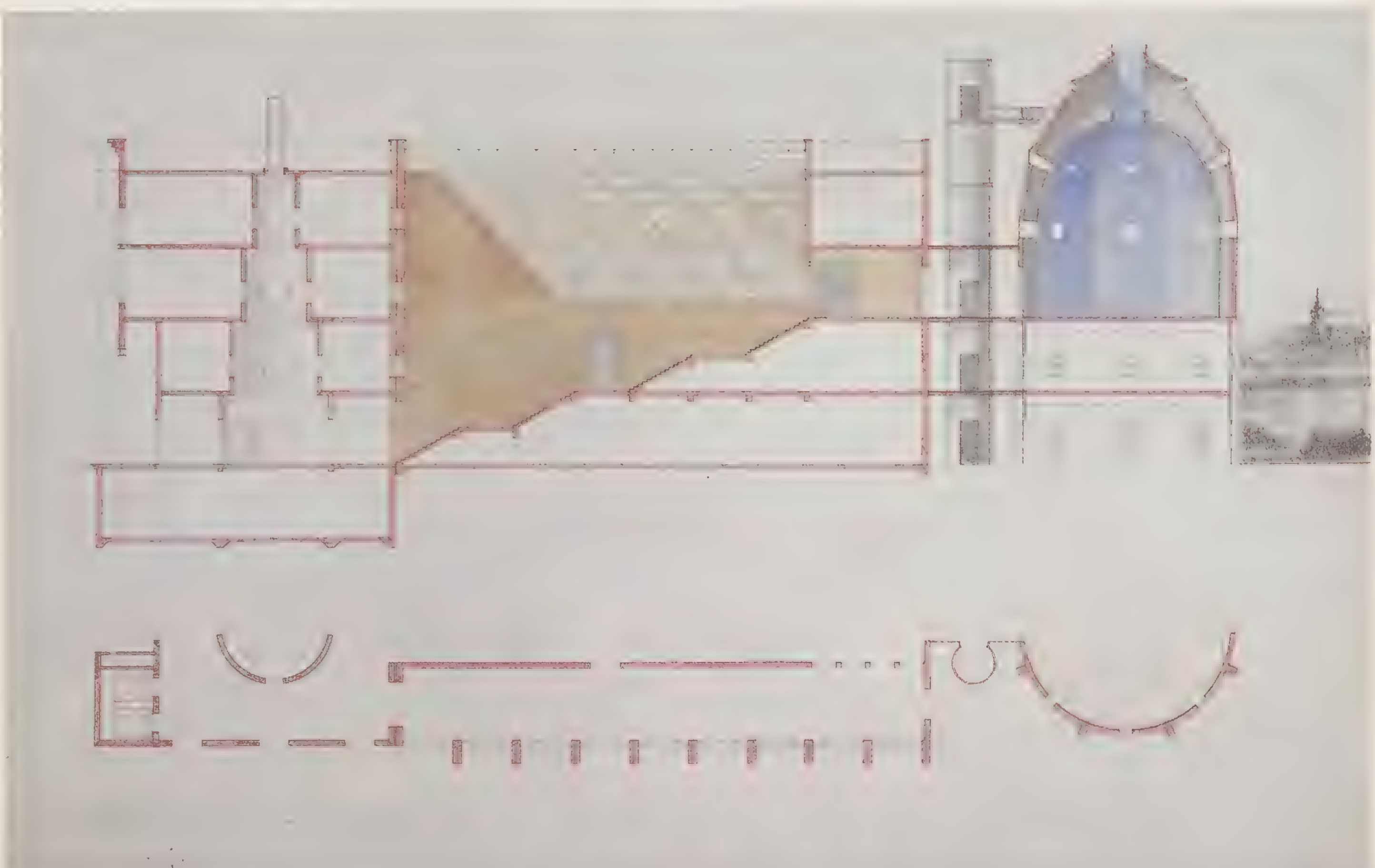
Modello della città di Maastricht e localizzazione dell'intervento sulla foto aerea zenitale della città.
Disegni di studio della cupola.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Disegni di studio: prospetto interno; sezione longitudinale; prospetto ovest verso il fiume; prospetto est.

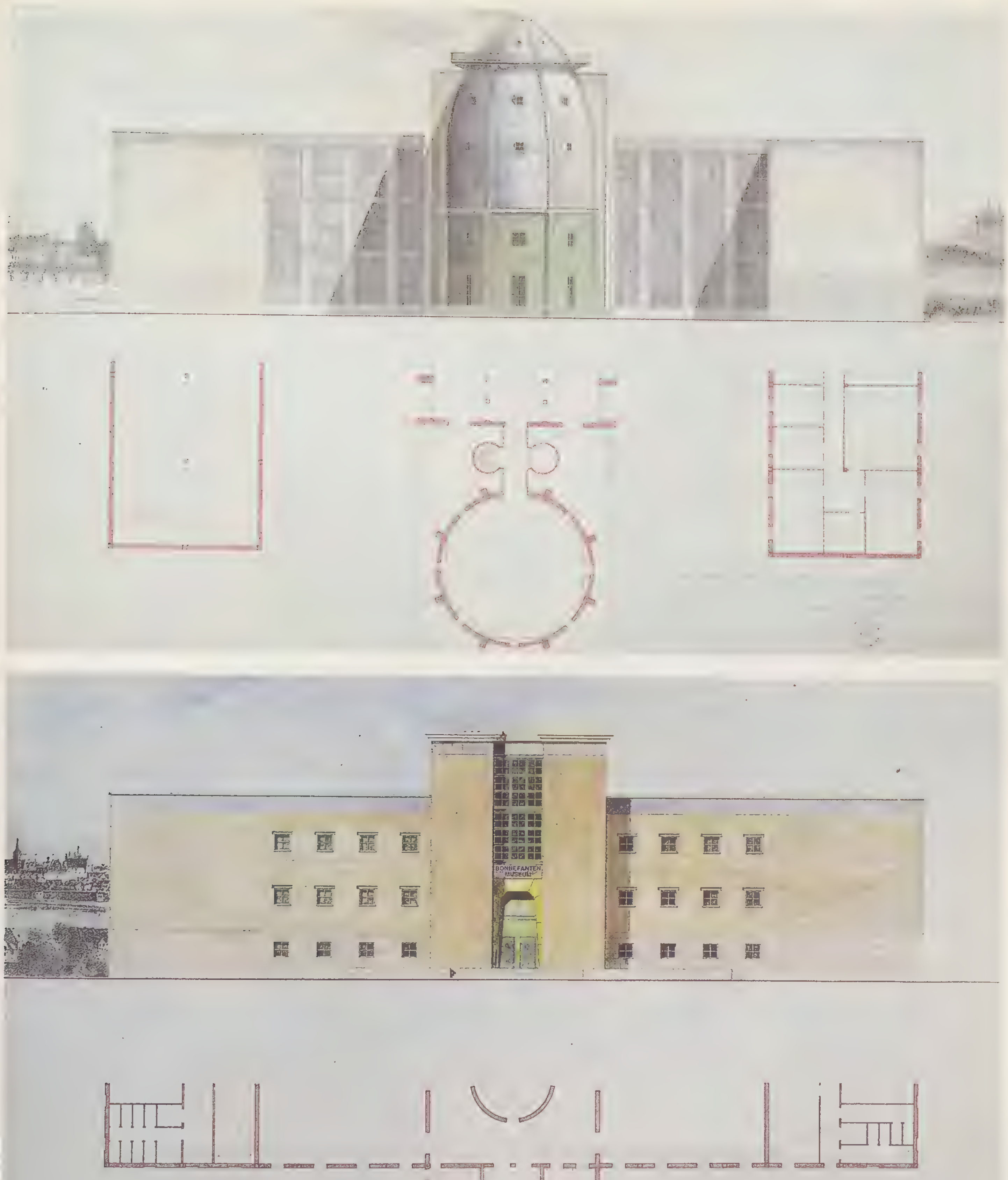
Model of the city of Maastricht and location of the new construction on the aerial photo of the city.
Study drawings of the dome.
On the following pages:
Study sketches: interior elevation; longitudinal section; west elevation facing the river; east elevation.

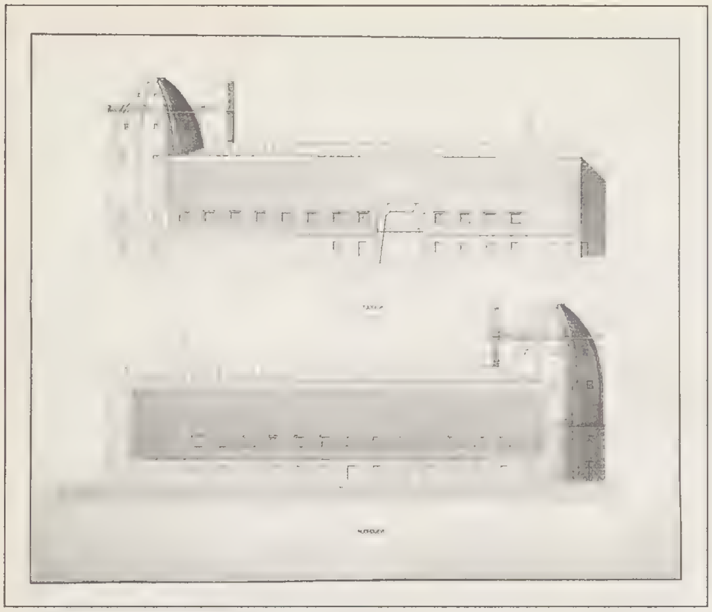


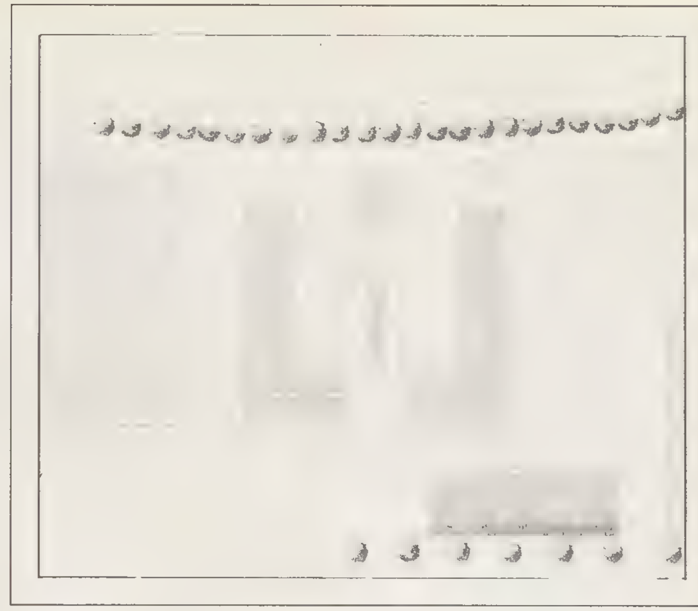


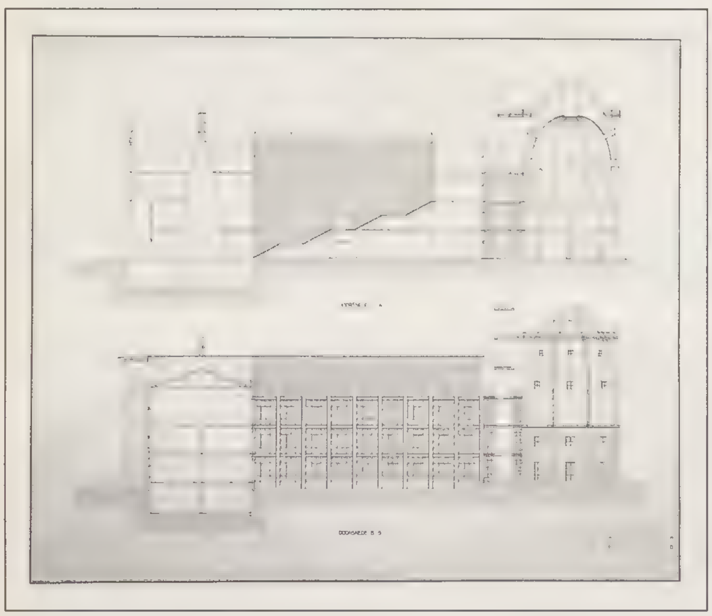


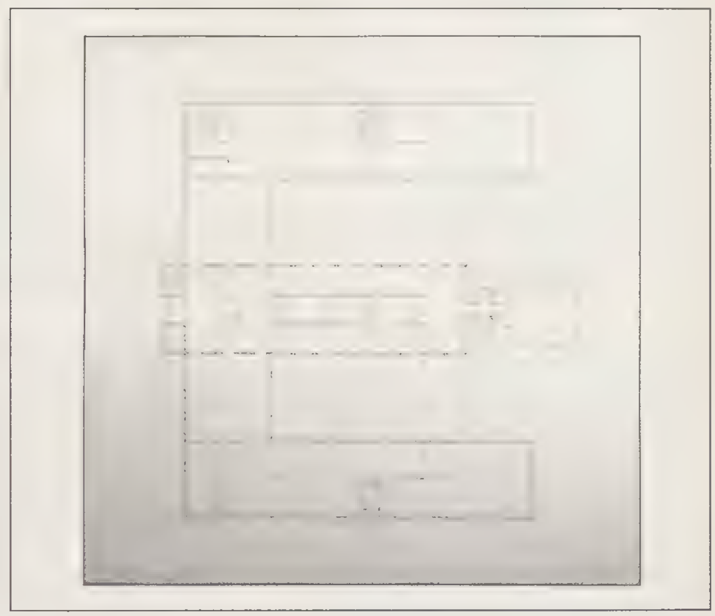


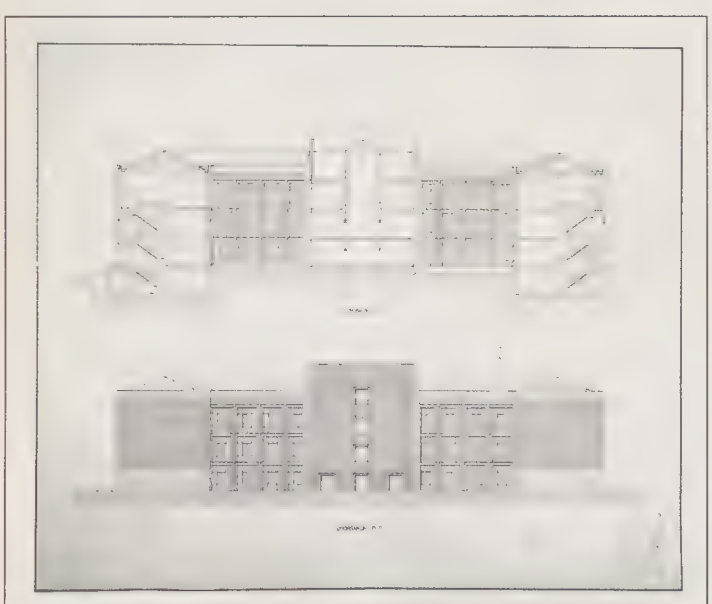

BONNEFANTEN
MUSEUM

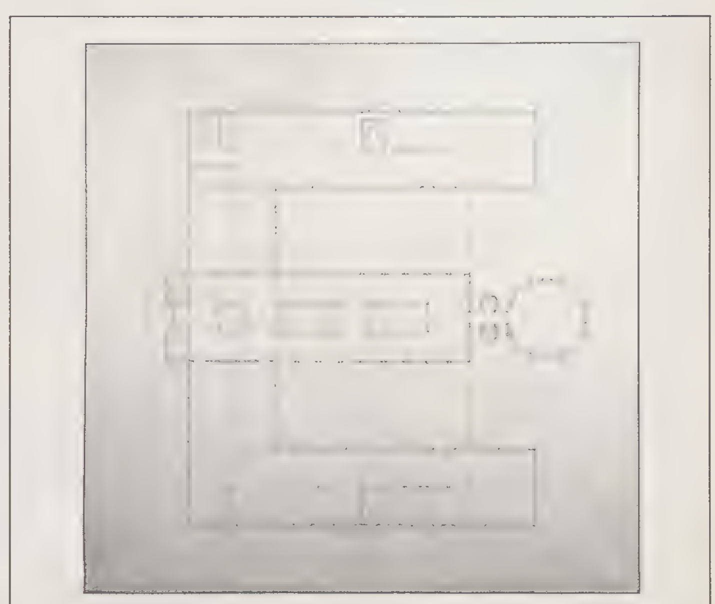








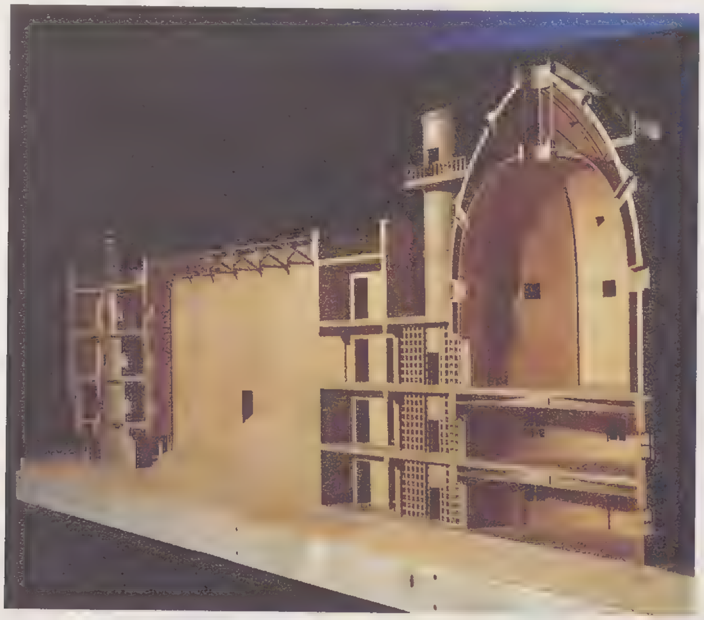




Prospetti sud e nord.
Sezione longitudinale del corpo centrale lungo l'asse di ingresso e prospetto interno.
Sezione trasversale e prospetto ovest senza la cupola.
Planimetria generale.
Pianta piano primo.

Pianta piano secondo.
Spaccato longitudinale del modello del corpo centrale e dettaglio.
Foto F. Fortis.

Nelle pagine seguenti:
Modello dello spaccato longitudinale del corpo centrale e del fronte interno.
Foto F. Fortis.

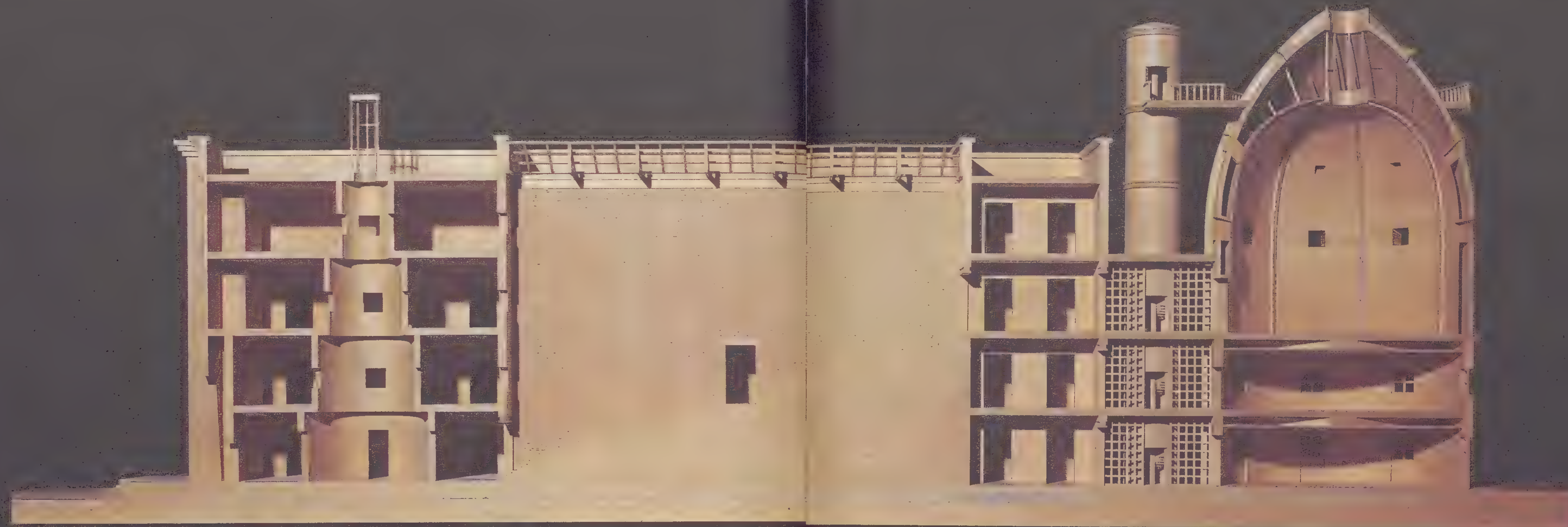




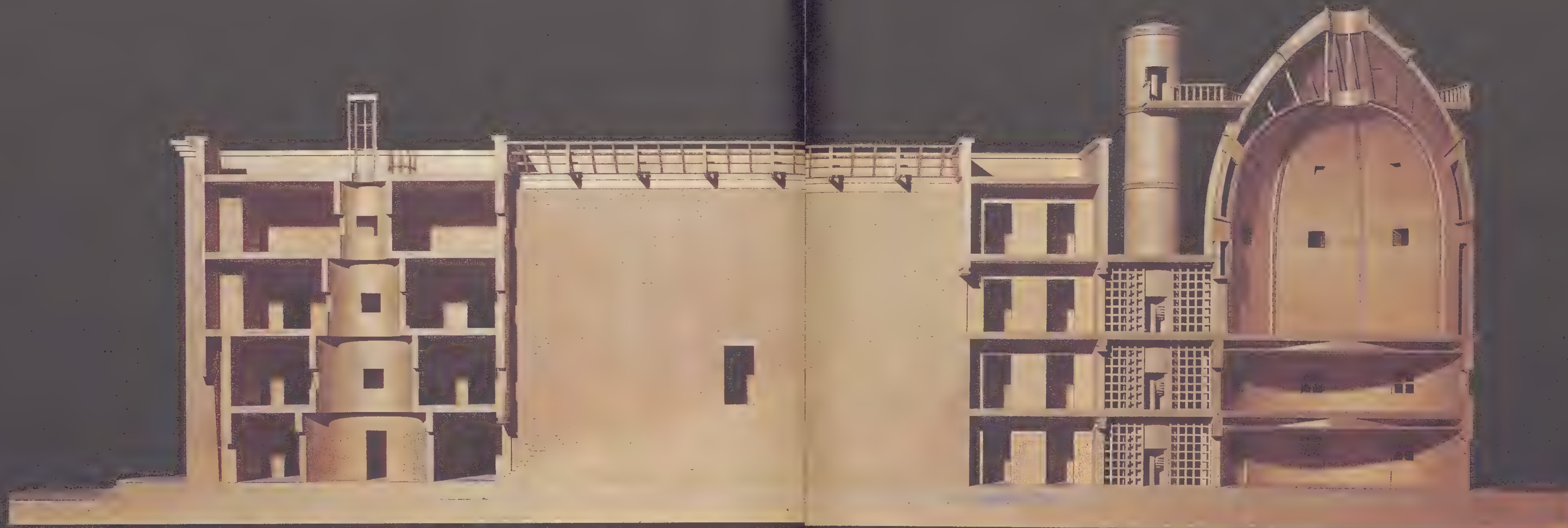
South and north elevations.
Longitudinal section of the central block along the entrance axis and interior elevation.
Transversal section and west elevation without the dome.
Site plan.
First-floor plan.

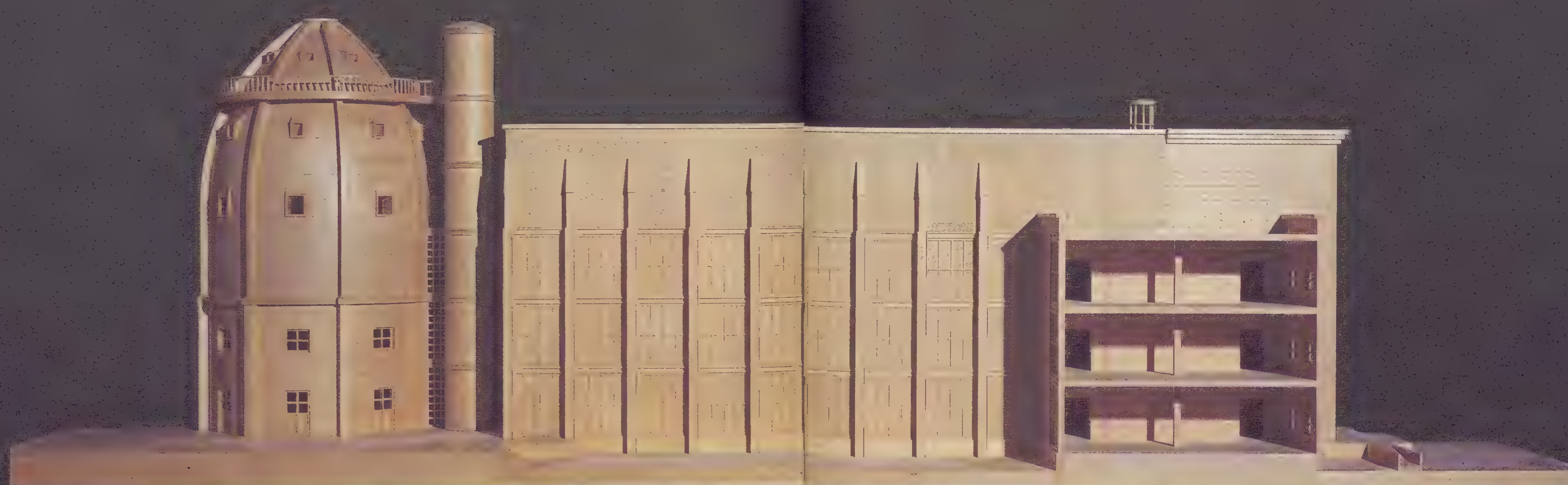
Second-floor plan.
Longitudinal cutaway of the model of the central block and detail.
Photo F. Fortis.

On the following pages:
Model of the longitudinal cutaway of the central building block of the interior elevation.
Photo F. Fortis.









Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad

1980-1982

Marcello D'Olivo



Vista del monumento con la città di Bagdad sul fondo. Foto S. Gamberoni.

View of the monument with the city of Baghdad in the background. Photo S. Gamberoni.

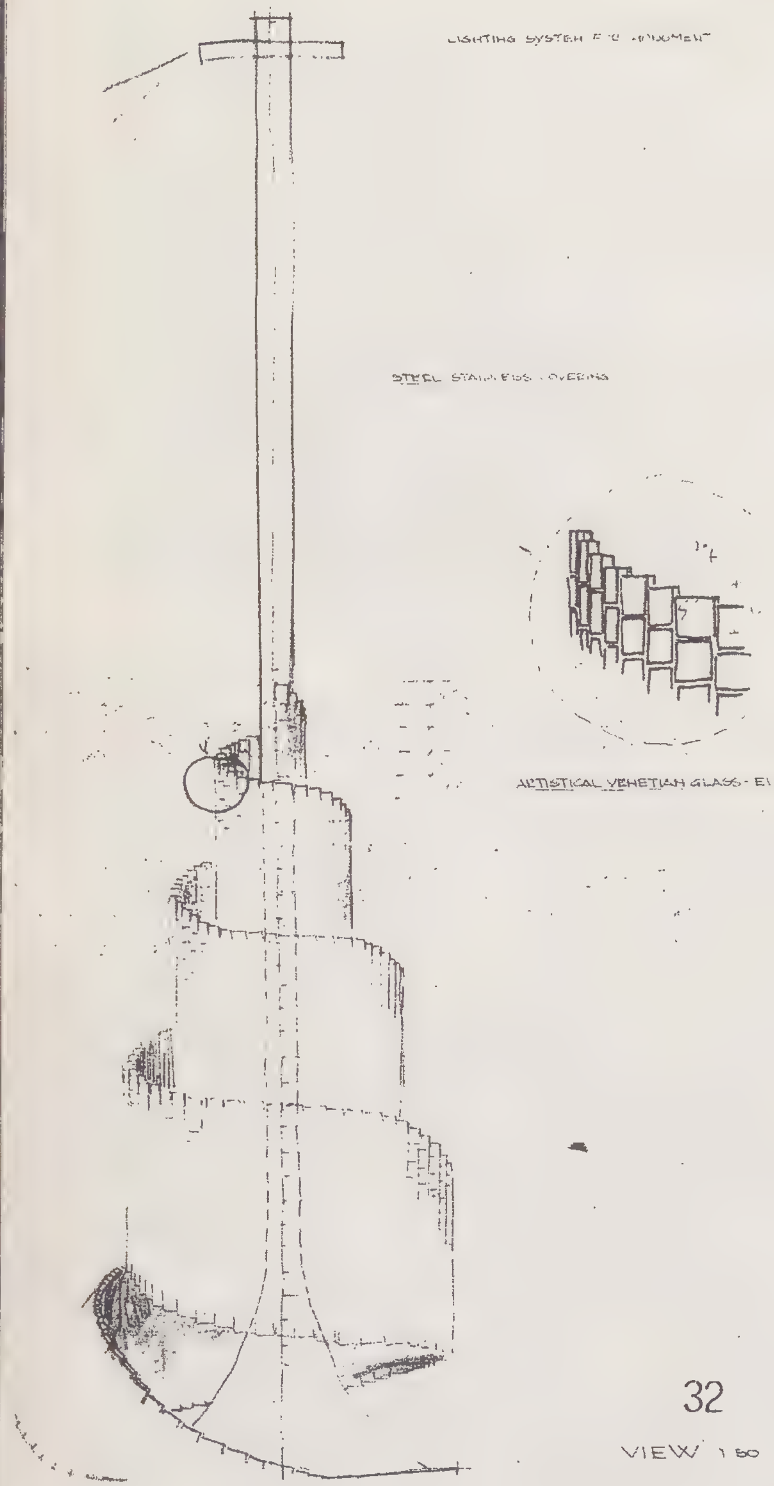
Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad
1980-1982

Marcello D'Olivo



Vista del monumento con la città di Bagdad sul fondo.
Foto S. Gamberoni.

View of the monument with the city of Baghdad in the background.
Photo S. Gamberoni.



Monumento al Milite Ignoto iracheno a Bagdad

Marcello D'Olivo

L'Iraq è Arabia — anche il suo modo di vivere e la cultura sono essenzialmente islamiche. Ma, a differenza degli altri paesi della penisola araba, ha dietro di sé il retaggio di quella che fu una delle più grandi civiltà del mondo. Mi riferisco alla civiltà mesopotamica che si sviluppò per 4000 anni tra il fiume Tigri e l'Eufrate. A parte gli imponenti resti di quella civiltà ancora oggi visibili, vi è qualcosa nella sua cultura e nel suo modo di vivere che ci ricollega all'antica Mesopotamia. Questo lo avvertii fin dalla mia prima visita in quel paese. Ritengo che il compito di un progettista è quello di avvertire forze, costumi, leggi che legano il paese dove deve intervenire con la sua opera; e che questa, oltre ad essere realizzata con le tecnologie del suo tempo, debba avere un qualche legame con quelle che furono le leggi economiche che legano quel dato paese con la sua antica cultura.

Fui ammirato dalla sapienza costruttiva delle loro costruzioni, e dalla aderenza ai problemi di clima, funzioni, geometria che questi resti ancora contengono.

Fu in Mesopotamia che l'uomo realizzò le prime città con costruzioni in mattoni.

Lo *zigurat* fu la costruzione tipica di queste città. Un cuore di terra (mattoni essicati al sole) con intorno, a più piani, le stanze collegate da rampe di scale esterne e sulle sommità la piazza con i giardini pensili, dove gli uomini andavano a dormire.

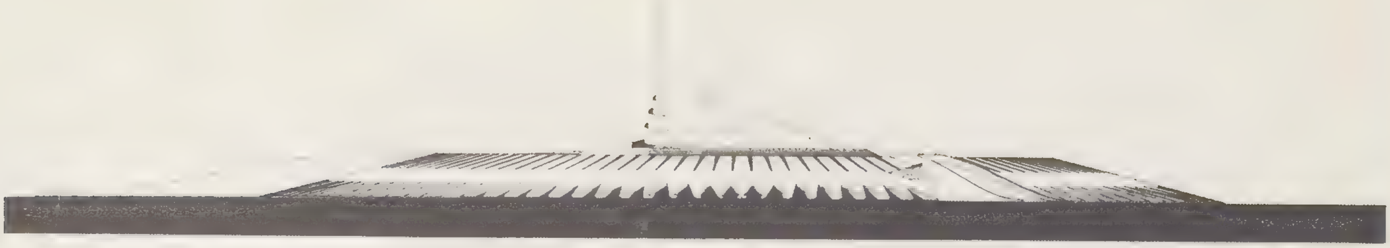
Anche oggi nelle torride estati gli iracheni dormono sulle piane coperture delle loro case.

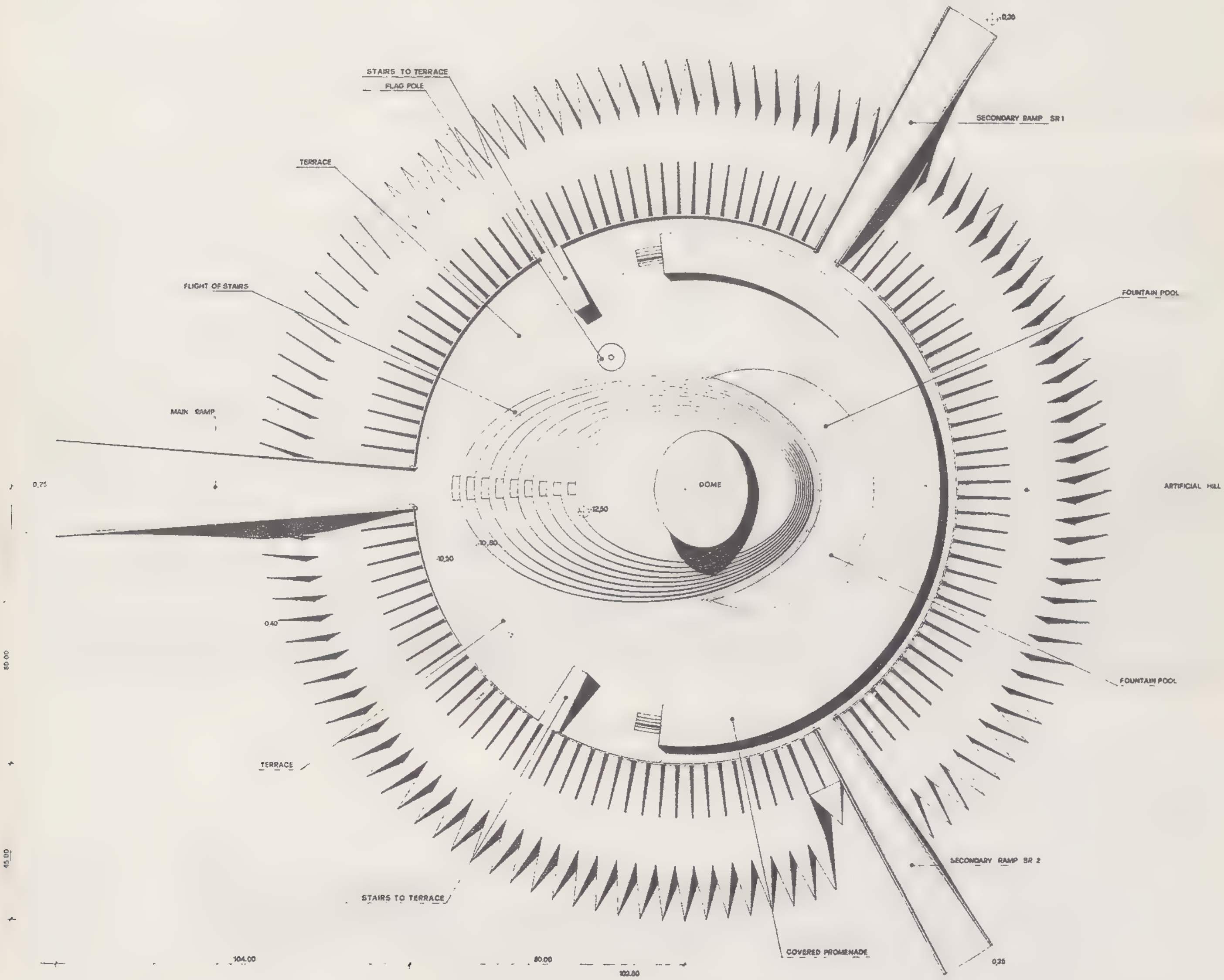
Un esempio significativo di come l'antica tecnologia unitamente al rigore geometrico sia sopravvissuta a 2000 anni dalla scomparsa dell'antica civiltà, è il minareto di Sàmarrá, realizzato interamente in mattoni, con un'enorme sapienza costruttiva. È una enorme spirale spaziale che con una rampa dolce e continua porta il visitatore dal piano di campagna a circa settanta metri di altezza.

Quando mi fu affidato il compito di costruire un Monumento al Milite Ignoto iracheno, su un'area di cira mq. 500.000 a ottocento metri dal fiume Tigri, lasciandomi completa libertà di concezione, pensai all'antico *zigurat* concepito con i materiali e le tecnologie del mio tempo: un cuore di terra; un intorno di locali di circa mq. 27.000 per contenere un museo delle loro antiche civiltà; tre rampe; una piazza sulla sommità.

Come accennato all'inizio attualmente l'Iraq è Islam. Mi fu raccomandato da una apposita commissione di "arabizzare" la mia architettura.

Feci presente che, pur provenendo da un'altra cultura, quella latina, era mio dovere tenere conto, nella mia opera di progettista, delle culture del paese dove operavo. La cultura irachena aveva le sue radici nel mondo mesopotamico, ed in omaggio a questo gli avrei realizzato un moderno *zigurat*. Fui capito e il monumento fu realizzato.



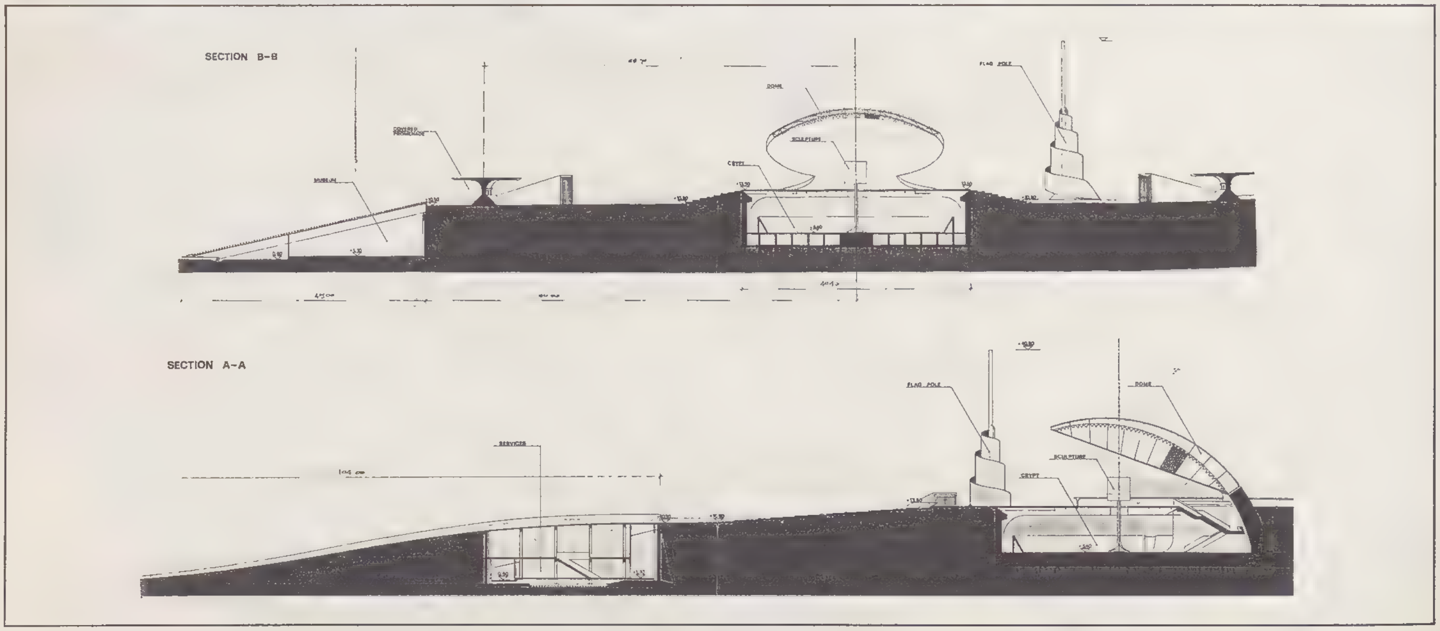


Schizzo di studio del palo bandiera (il rivestimento nei quattro colori della bandiera irachena è stato realizzato in vetro di Murano).
Prospetto e pianta delle coperture.

Study sketch of the flagpole (covered in Murano glass in the four colours of the Iraqi flag).
Elevation and roof plan.

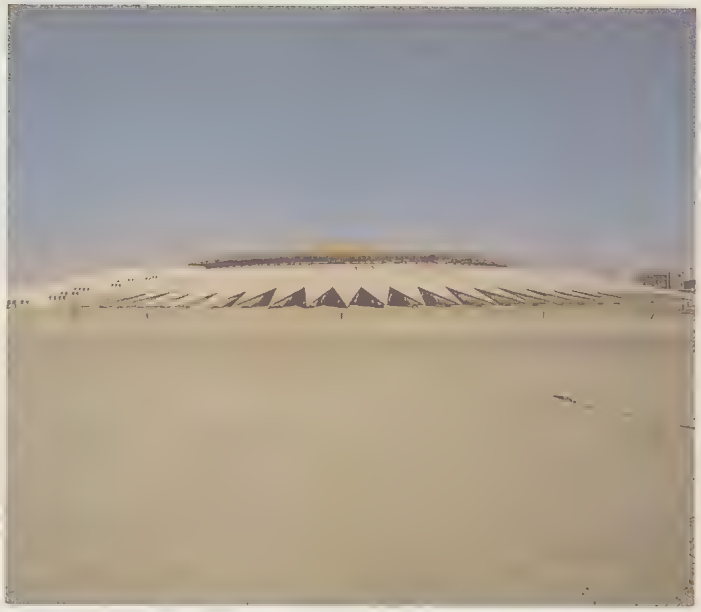





SECTION B-B
SECTION A-A
FLAG POLE
DOME
CRYPT
SERVICES

Monument to the Unknown Iraqi Soldier, Baghdad
Marcello D'Olivo

Iraq is Arabia; its lifestyle and culture are essentially Islamic. But unlike the other countries of the Arab peninsula, it holds the heritage of what was once one of the world's greatest civilizations — Mesopotamia — which thrived for four thousand years between the Tigres and the Euphrates. Aside from the impressive remains which can still be seen today, there is something in the Iraqi culture and lifestyle that has its origins in ancient Mesopotamia.
I sensed this the very first time I visited the country. I believe that the task of a designer is to be sensitive to the forces, customs and laws at work in the country in which he is working; not only is his work produced with the technologies of the day, it must also have some connection to the economic laws that tie the country to its ancient past.
I was impressed by the the expertise that went into their buildings and by the attention given to climatic problems, function and geometry found in these ancient remains.
It was in Mesopotamia that man built the first cities out of brick.
The ziqqurat *(Zikurat, zikurat), was the typical building of these cities. A central core made of earth (bricks dried in the sun) with rooms tiered around it on many levels and connected by exterior stairs. The building was topped by a terrace with the hanging gardens where the men would sleep. To this day the people of Iraq still sleep on the flat roofs on their houses during the torrid summer months.*
An important example of how ancient techniques and strict geometry have survived 2.000 years after the disappearance of the ancient civilization is the masterly built brick minaret of Sàmarrá. It is an enormous spiral with a gentle and continuous exterior ramp which takes visitors from ground level up to a height of about seventy metres.
When I was commissioned to built a monument to the Unknown Iraqi Soldier in a space of approximately 500,000 square metres, eight hundred metres from the river Tigris, I was given "carte blanche" and I thought of recreating the ancient ziqqurat *with today's materials and technology.*
The construction was to have a central brick-built core surrounded by rooms covering roughly 27,000 square metres in which a museum of the ancient civilization of this people would be housed. There would be three ramps and a flat terrace on top. As I said earlier, Iraq is now Islam.
A special committee recommended that my architecture should be Arabic in style. I pointed out that in spite of my own very different Latin background, it was my duty as an architect to take into account the culture of the country in which I was working. Iraqi culture, I said, had its roots in ancient Mesopotamia and I wanted to create a modern ziqqurat *to pay homage to this. The point was taken and the monument was built.*









Vista interna del museo (durante la costruzione).
Foto S. Gamberoni.

Schizzo di studio iniziale.
Schizzo della sezione del museo.
Sezioni.
Viste generale e di dettaglio.
Foto S. Gamberoni.

Interior of the museum (under construction).
Photo S. Gamberoni.

Early study sketch.
Sketch of the section of the museum.
Sections.
Overall and detailed views.
Photo S. Gamberoni.



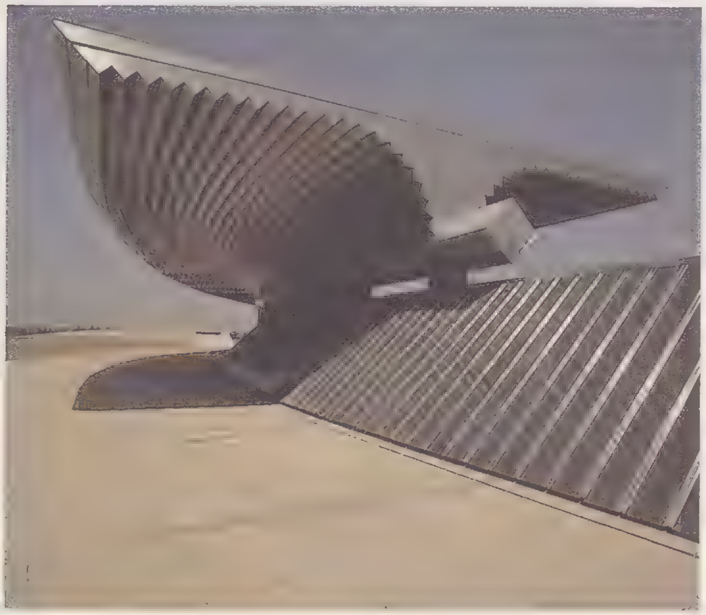
Vista interna del museo (durante la costruzione).
Foto S. Gamberoni.

Schizzo di studio iniziale.
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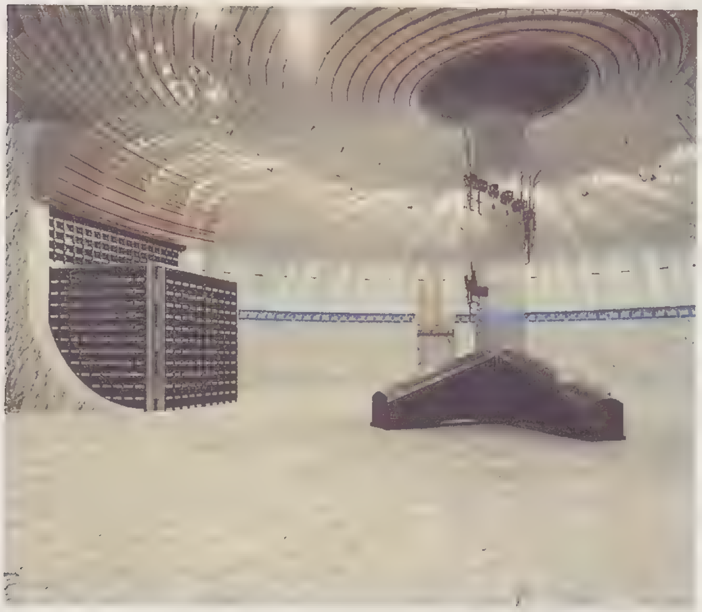




Viste della passeggiata coperta e della cupola con la scultura commemorativa (opera di Khaled al Rahal), e vista interna della cripta con la porta di ingresso e la colonna centrale. Foto S. Gamberoni.

Views of the covered walkway around the dome, the commemorative sculpture (by Khaled al Rahal) and interior view of the crypt, entrance door and central column. Photo S. Gamberoni.









Vista della terrazza (durante la costruzione) con la passeggiata coperta, la cupola e la vasca d'acqua a mezzaluna.
Foto S. Gamberoni.

View of the terrace (under construction), the covered walkway, the dome and the crescent-shaped basin.
Photo S. Gamberoni.



Vista della terrazza (durante la costruzione) con la passeggiata coperta, la cupola e la vasca d'acqua a mezzaluna.
Foto S. Gamberoni.

View of the terrace (under construction), the covered walkway, the dome and the crescent-shaped basin.
Photo S. Gamberoni.



Vista notturna della terrazza con la passeggiata coperta, il palo bandiera e l'ingresso al museo.
Foto S. Gamberoni

Night-time view of the terrace, the covered walkway, the flagpole and the entrance to the museum.
Photo S. Gamberoni.



Vista notturna della terrazza con la passeggiata coperta, il palo bandiera e l'ingresso al museo.
Foto S. Gamberoni

Night-time view of the terrace, the covered walkway, the flagpole and the entrance to the museum.
Photo S. Gamberoni.

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

***Renzo Zorzi** The Rebirth of Zodiac; **Guido Canella** The Foundation and Return of a Magazine; **Manfredo Tafuri** Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy; **Carlo Aymonino** Plan of the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice; **Gottfried Böhm** The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main; **Aldo Rossi** Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milano; **Claudio Dini** Building Sites of the Milan Subway System; **Ignazio Gardella** The Duomo Station; **Aldo Rossi** The Croce Rossa Station; **Guido Canella** The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefano Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

***Theatre History and Design; Julius Posener** Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Pœlzig; **Daniel Rabreau** The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French" Typology, 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Theatres and Pseudotheatres; **Theo Crosby** The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London; **Gottfried Böhm and Stefan Böhm** Concert Hall in Essen; **Aldo Rossi and Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto; **Guido Canella** Plans for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese and Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;*
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Zodiac 3

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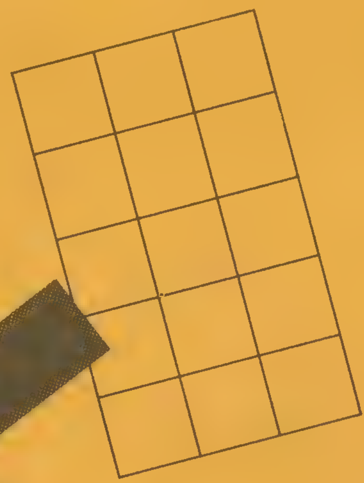






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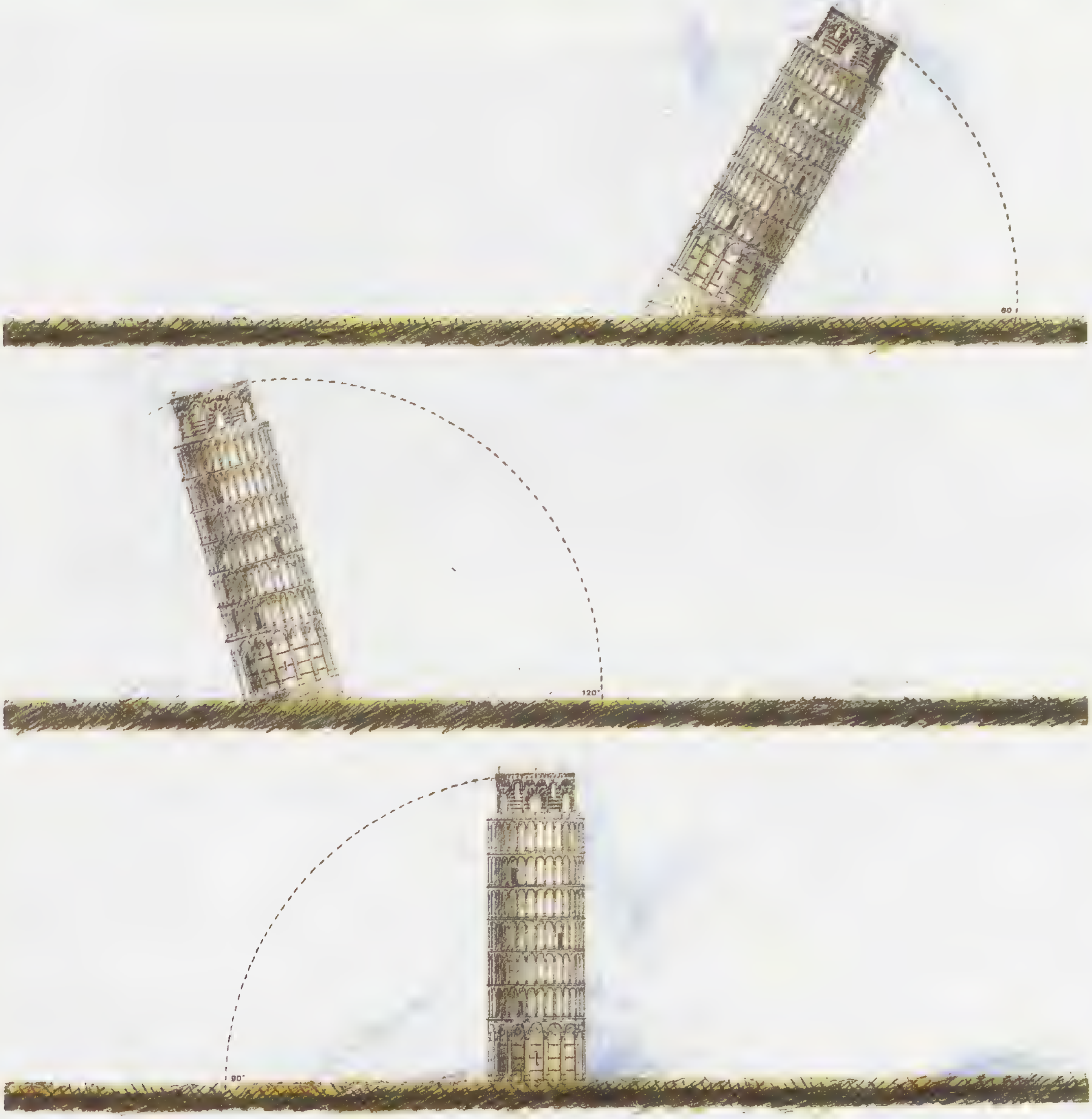
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Università e città

Guido Canella

Stiamo attraversando un periodo durando il quale sembra imporsi, straniata, un'etica del progetto per cui gli architetti sono stati - e non pochi se ne sono convinti come di un dover essere - deresponsabilizzati rispetto alle grandi funzioni civili, al loro destino nel corpo della città. Lasciando quindi ad altri, tutto e indiscusso, il compito di provvedervi.

A chiarimento dell'indefinito confine tra *planning* e *design*, si sarebbe insomma resa necessaria una semplificata distribuzione di competenze tra poetica dell'architetto, candidamente votata alla pura immagine, e specialismi disciplinari, questi sì accreditati ad interpretare gli interessi pubblici e privati che azionano le correlate scelte del congegno insediativo della comunità. E ciò indipendentemente dalla scala dei problemi: sia che si tratti della destinazione strategica di un complesso edilizio sia che si tratti di un pezzo di città.

Eppure, nonostante il conforto di tale improbabile chiarezza, guardandosi attorno non si resta certo persuasi che i risultati stiano volgendo al meglio. Per quanto mi riguarda poi, devo dichiararmi addirittura complice di quell'ambiguità delle competenze, poiché da un quarto di secolo mi trovo a coltivare architettura in quell'intreccio che le grandi funzioni sono chiamate a recitare sulla scena della città. Pur sempre almanaccando su una loro auspicabile dialettica.

In anni ormai lontani, infatti nel 1968, "L'architecture d'aujourd'hui" pubblicò un saggio intitolato *Passé et avenir de l'anti-ville universitaire*, dove cercavo di analizzare il configurarsi di questa, tra introversione ed estroversione, nel divenire della città. E successivamente, nel 1975, insieme a Lucio S. D'Angiolini, ho raccolto e curato in volume, con il titolo *Università: ragione, contesto, tipo*, i materiali di alcuni corsi di progettazione tenuti al Politecnico di Milano, tra gli anni Sessanta e Settanta, sul tema della fondazione di una università nell'arretrato contesto della Calabria.

Valeva allora, ma prevale ancora oggi, il punto di vista nel quale si dava per scontato che l'insediamento universitario fosse stato messo a punto fin dal secolo scorso e canonizzato per le occorrenze di quadri intellettuali di cui la società industriale necessitava. Sembrava anzi che quell'istituzione avesse già saldato il suo debito tipologico con la tradizione riproducendo il modello polarizzato della *cittadella universitaria*, nelle varianti a corte chiusa (superstite negli studi umanistici) o a blocchi autonomi (prevalente negli studi tecnico-scientifici). Un punto di vista quindi che, scontandone l'isolamento, per quanto riguarda la definizione architettonica ormai si limita ad elevare l'università tra i temi deputati a incorporare la dimostrativa qualità linguistica dell'architettura moderna all'intorno compromessa nello sviluppo incontrollato della compagine urbana.

Mentre proprio i termini stessi — *anticittà*, *contesto* e *ragione* — possono esprimere come e perché l'orientamento della nostra ricerca non tendesse a far discendere linearmente modelli da una gestazione avvenuta nel grembo di altre discipline (sociologia, tecnologia, ordinamento, *management*, ecc.). Un orientamento che invece tendesse a contestualizzare il percorso di ricerca in quel modificarsi del comportamento collettivo, e del paesaggio, per l'incidenza dei fattori produttivi e sociali. Così che ogni definizione dell'insediamento universitario, spinta fino al riscontro figurativo tra interno partecipato ed esterno di gravitazione, veniva cercata nell'effetto delle tensioni attivatesi tra l'atteggiarsi culturale del territorio e il configurarsi categorico della

University and City
Guido Canella

We are going throuth a time in which a certain estranged design ethic seems to have become prevalent. Architects have divorced themeselves from the responsibility — and many seem to be convinced this was inevitable — from civic issues and works, and their role within the context of the city. This task is left completely and unconditionally to others.
In order to clear up the hazy line of demarcation between planning and design, it appears that there is a need for a clearer assignment of responsibilities between the poetics of the architect, declaredly directed toward pure image, and other disciplines or professionals better qualified to balance the public and private interests which shape the structure of the community. This should not be applied only to problems of a specific scale, whether they refer to the usage strategy for a single building or the functioning of an entire area of the city. In spite of the relief provided by this improbable clarification, when we look around at the results we cannot persuade ourselves that this is all for the better the situation has been improving. In my case, I must say that I have even been an accomplice in the creation of this ambiguity of roles, as during the last twenty-five years I have been practicing architecture within the context of the intertwining of important function in the city, while always hoping to establish a dialectic among them. Many years ago, back in 1968, L'architecture d'aujourd'hui *published my essay entitled* Passé et avenir de l'anti-ville universitaire, *in which I attempted to analyze the siting of the university in relation to both its extrovert and introvert characteristics within the development of the city. Later, in 1975, together with Lucio S. D'Angiolini, I published, in a volume entiled* Università: ragione, contesto, tipo, *some material gathered from several design courses held at the Milan Polytechnic during the 1960s and 1970s, on the creation of a university in the backward context of Calabria. Back then, as today, the prevailing point of view took for granted that the shape of the university site had been developed and perfected during the last century, to provide the intellectual labour pool needed by the industrialized society. It seemed that university as an institution had already accepted a traditional setting by reproducing the polarized model of the "university citadel", with variations of the closed courtyard (prevalent for the humanities) and autonomous blocks (prevalent for technical-scientific studies). This approach took isolation for granted and with respect to architecture used the university as a theme assigned the task of embodying the language of modern architecture within the context of uncontrolled urban growth.*
The terms used in our study — anti-city, context, reason — might express how and why our research didn't derive models developed within the context of other disciplines (sociology, technology, organization, management, etc.). Our research, instead, was mostly focused on the context of the modifications of collective behaviour and of the landscape, due to the effects of social and industrial factors. Thus any analysis of the university siting, with respect to the relation between the parts or with the context, was sought in the effects of the tensions between the cultural environment and the university typology. At the time I began my essay, almost as if it could serve as a viaticum, by quoting the French city planning historian Marcel Poete who, in 1927, examining a plan of Paris from the beginning of the 16th century, also known as the "three characters" plan, identified three distinct elements: Ville, Cité, Université de Paris. *The island of Notre Dame was the centre*

tipologia.
Infatti, in apertura e quasi a viatico di quanto scrissi allora, citavo la riflessione dello storico dell'urbanistica francese Marcel Poëte espressa quando, nel 1927, di fronte a una pianta di Parigi dell'inizio del XVI secolo, quella cosiddetta *dei Tre Personaggi*, rilevava come già la titolazione risultasse di per sé significativa individuando *La Ville, Cité, Université de Paris*: tre parti di città ben distinte tra loro: l'isola di Notre-Dame come sede del potere religioso, la parte in destra della Senna, cioè la città vera e propria, sede del potere amministrativo laico e dei mercanti, e infine, in sinistra della Senna, la città universitaria nonché sede dei collegi e dei conventi dei quattro ordini mendicanti.
Ed è anche significativo come questa dislocazione di comunità studentesche, divise per cittadinanze e per nazioni di provenienza, contrapposta agli insediamenti di corporazioni e confraternite, espresse volta a volta dalla città o dalla campagna, venisse a proporsi, nelle sue antinomie, analogamente al *dualismo poleogenetico* tra nucleo murato e fiera dei mercanti di lungo corso. Quello storico dualismo che, stando a quanto sostenuto dallo storico belga Henri Pirenne nel 1925, aveva segnato l'origine della città borghese, allorquando le prime forme di capitalismo agirono da solvente dell'economia feudale. Una contrapposizione, quest'ultima dunque, che nel lungo periodo può ben declinare il rapporto tra città e campagna, tra staticità istituzionale e dinamica dello scambio. E però, a ben vedere, in certi frangenti storici può anche dar ragione sia della dislocazione dell'università sul territorio che della sua articolazione interna.
Si sa per certo che, nella fase iniziale degli *Studium generale* europei, le lezioni avevano luogo nelle chiese e sulle piazze e che l'ospitalità era assicurata dai conventi e dalle abitazioni private.
Sulla metà del XV secolo però, quando si presentò l'opportunità di condensare e razionalizzare tutto il disperso passivo sociale, nelle città padane quell'articolazione risulta di fatto riassorbita con la rigenerazione del tipo conventuale a chiostro nella crociera ospedaliera. Così che l'ospedale divenne inventario di malattia, di mendicità, ma anche opificio per la conversione e la formazione di nuove forze produttive: riforma degli ordini religiosi, diverse competenze a fronte di nuove necessità e quindi, ormai, di una cultura più avanzata, più sperimentale, come quella che avrebbero potuto promuovere e controllare le prime cattedre universitarie.
Ma, a questo punto, occorre cercare risposta al quesito posto dal se e come il rapporto di frontalità, ideologica e fisica, tra comunità urbana e corporazione universitaria possa oggi ragionevolmente riproporsi.
1. Sarebbe vantaggioso che, al pari di altre attività intensamente scambiatrici, l'insediamento universitario tornasse a far parte, nel ridisegno della città, delle funzioni motrici fondamentali. Sia pure assumendo diverse e nuove configurazioni consentite peraltro da certa emancipazione recente dallo *zoning*. Si può infatti constatare come già la successiva proliferazione dell'insediamento universitario si sia spesso prodotta da pura e semplice contaminazione tra tipo chiuso a quadrangolo e tipo aperto a blocchi. Eppure questa limitata rigenerazione non ha mancato di produrre, talvolta, veri e propri archetipi; come accadde, per esempio, all'inizio del XIX secolo soprattutto nella Virginia University, progettata a Charlottesville da Thomas Jefferson, assunta a *campus* per antonomasia.

of religious authority; the right side of the Seine, the City, was the centre of the administrative and merchant activities; finally, to the left of the Seine, there was the city of the university, the colleges, and the monasteries of the four mendicant orders. The location of this community of scholars and its subdivision by country of origin can be compared to the settlements of corporations and confraternites in the city and the countryside, similar to the urban dualism existing between the walled nucleus and the fairgrounds of the travelling merchants. This is the historical dualism which, at least according to the 1925 writings of Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, gave birth to the bourgeois city, at a time in which the earliest forms of capitalism began to dissolve the feudal economy. This dualism over the long term explains the relationship between the city and the country, between institutional inertia and the dynamic of trade. And if we take a closer look, in certain historical instances this type of dichotomy also explains the separation of the university from its surroundings as well as its internal configuration.

It has been ascertained that in the initial phase of the European Studium generale *(university) lessons took place in churches or in public squares, and that housing for the students was provided by monasteries or private homes. (Recently, however, sholars at the University of Leeds have confirmed that the birth of the university, like that of the astronomical observatory and the hospital, actually took place in the Muslim world, dating back to the college-mosque of Al-Quarawyyn, founded in Fez, Morocco, in the year 859, more than a century before the* Studium generale *of Bologna, Paris, Montpellier or Oxford).*

But half-way through the 15th century, when the opportunity to consolidate and rationalize the existing dispersed, obsolete social structure arose, in the cities of the Po valley this was achieved by reusing tho cloistered monastery typology, within the hospital transept plan. Thus the hospital became an inventory of illness, of destitution, but also the source of new productive forces, reform of the religious orders, different skills for new needs, thus leading to the creation of a more advanced, experimental culture which was to promote and control the first universities.

But at this point in our outline of the historical context, we need to find answers to the questions of if and how *this relationship between the urban community and the university can reasonably be re-established today.*

1. It would be advantageous if, like other interactive activities, the university were to become once again a fundamental driving force in the redesign of the city. This could be done taking advantage of the recent changes in zoning. It can be noted how university settings have mostly based themselves on two typologies: the closed, quadrangle typology and the open type of settlements, in blocks, and have take inspiration one from the other. However, even this limited form of regeneration has led at times to the creation of true archetypes such as Union College in New York State (early 19th century) and Virginia University in Charlottesville, designed by Thomas Jefferson, the campus par excellence.

We can also include among these the campus of the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago, designed in successive versions toward the end of the 1930s by Mies van der Rohe, even if it is a distilled version of the 1878 Kaiser Wilhelm University in Strasbourg by Eggart and Warth. However, its unique constructive essentiality and lightness include it in the

Sicchè si può pure ammettere che l'impianto dell'Illinois Institute of Technology di Chicago, elaborato sullo scorcio degli anni Trenta in successive versioni da Mies van der Rohe, anche se riproduce per distillazione l'antecedente storico proposto nel 1878 per la Kaiser Wilhelms-Universität di Strasburgo, almeno dal punto di vista dell'essenzialità costruttiva e della trasparenza figurativa venga annoverato anch'esso tra i più recenti capostipiti iconici.
Ma diventa qui più interessante scoprire che anche la discriminata tradizione nordamericana annovera il *campus* urbano aperto tra i suoi tipi. È questo il caso della New York University, fondata nel 1837 sul bordo settentrionale del Greenwich Village a Washington Square, dove è andata progressivamente costruendo il proprio *campus*, attraverso l'acquisizione e la ridestinazione di edifici già esistenti, residenziali e non (per esempio, riadattando a teatro-auditorium parte dell'ottocentesco Santuario battista della Judson Hall così come l'annessa torre a dormitorio femminile), ma anche attraverso la realizzazione di nuovi edifici (quali la Bobst Library e il Centro per gli studi mediorientali progettati con la consueta eleganza da Philip Johnson nei primi anni Settanta). Così che, nonostante l'intenso traffico che avvolge il centro del *campus*, in quanto coincidente con la piazza pubblica, suggestiona per come si è venuto a instaurare il rapporto tra quartiere urbano e comunità universitaria.
2. Diversamente dai paesi che si avvalgono di un consolidato assetto istituzionale, i più evoluti, altri paesi, quelli che si trovano tuttora tra sviluppo e sottosviluppo, attraversano situazioni di imprevedibile labilità istituzionale, incerti spesso tra reclutarvi, come e quanto, *élite* o massa. Ma può esser posta in discussione la configurazione fisica dell'università (e della scuola secondaria) senza attendere le risoluzioni sugli ordinamenti interni? Oppure quella configurazione può svincolarsene, e muoversi autonomamente fin da oggi, seguendo una strategia che sconti nei prototipi attuali la futura gemmazione, privilegiando gli interessi complessivi dell'istruzione più avanzata e quindi, nella sua generalizzazione a venire, gli interessi della società?
Sì, ci sembrò, ma a condizione del generale ripensamento dei fondamenti concettuali del sapere: valga in ciò l'esempio de *La costruzione operativa della fisica* di Mario Ageno — con insistenza allora ricordata da D'Angiolini — che, anziché nella meccanica dedotta dai principi newtoniani, e cioè dalle astrazioni teoriche, muove dall'esperienza pratica cumulando organizzazione teorica man mano che serva operativamente. La trasmissione di questo sapere crea libertà e accessibilità enormi e nuove. In tal caso l'università potrebbe farsi carico e responsabilizzarsi nella sua rifondazione generale, a partire dall'istruzione secondaria, instaurando peraltro un rapporto più diretto, immediato e pertinente con il mondo della produzione. E magari proprio occupando i luoghi che oggi la produzione tende ad abbandonare.
Un caso interessante, pure citato in quei corsi di progettazione anni Sessanta-Settanta, rimane quello della città di Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Quando, nel 1967, adottò come orditura della propria pianificazione urbana un programma di attrezzature scolastiche elaborato da un gruppo di architetti inglesi. In esso, ognuna delle cinque superscuole secondarie superiori previste era destinata a costituirsi come centro, l'innesco, per la rivitalizzazione e la ristrutturazione del rispettivo settore urbano.

list of the most recent archetypes.
But it is still more interesting to discover that even in the North American tradition the open urban campus has its place. This is the case of New York University, founded in 1837, in Washington Square, at the northern edge of Greenwich Village, where the campus expanded through acquisition and renovation of existing buildings, both residential and non-residential (such as the creation of an auditorium-theatre in a section of a 19th century Baptist Church, today known as Judson Hall, connected to a women's dormitory), and also through the construction of new buildings (such as the Bobst Library and the Centre for Middle East studies, both elegantly designed by Philip Johnson during the early 1970s). Thus, in spite of the intense traffic which passes through the centre of the campus, which is also a public park, the balance of pragmatism and vitality between the urban environment and the university community is quite impressive.
2. In contrast to the highly developed countries with a consolidated institutional structure, other nations, still in the phase between undervelopment and development, continue to operate in situations of institutional instability, uncertain about the question of whether, and when, to decide between the education of the masses and that of the elite. But can the physical configuration of the university (and of the secondary school) even be discussed without resolving internal problems of organization? Or can this configuration free itself and begin moving autonomously, incorporating future developments within present prototypes, protecting the interests of the most advanced forms of education in order to promote the interests of society as a whole?
We thought it could, but we also thought that a general reassessment of the conceptual foundations of knowledge was necessary. Following D'Angiolini's insistence let us take the example of La costruzione operativa della fisica *by Marco Ageno, which, rather than seeking to transmit the principles of mechanics according to Newton as a set of theoretical abstractions, sought to teach through practical experience, building theoretical knowledge on the basis of hands-on practice. This type of teaching creates enormous freedom and creativity.*
The university could play a major role in this type of instructional revolution, beginning with the secondary schools, while creating, at the same time, a closer relationship with industries, perhaps taking over the sites that, in the context of the city, industrial interests have abandoned.
An interesting case — which we used during the design courses of the 1960s and 1970s — is that of the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which, in 1967, organized its urban planning around a programme of school buildings designed by the British architects Geoffrey Copcutt, David Lewis and James N. Portman. In this programme, each of the five large secondary schools planned became a centre, a gravitational point for the renovation and renewal of an area of the city. By intervening with a sure hand and in synergy to resolve the problems of the various levels of instruction, but also in the areas of housing, consumer habits and services, even seeking to resolve traffic problems (both pedestrian and vehicle), this plan even managed to offer solutions for racial and social segregation problems.
3. Frequently the universities, especially the Liberal Arts colleges, have been located in existing buildings or even monuments in historical urban centres. Unfortunately this tendency has diminished in recent years, due to the fact

Intervenendo così risolutivamente, e in sinergia, nei problemi dei vari gradi dell'istruzione, ma anche delle abitazioni, dei consumi, della vita associata, dei servizi, dei diversi livelli di traffico (pedonale e motorizzato). Addirittura offrendo il solvente per i problemi delle segregazioni etniche e sociali.
3. È abbastanza frequente che l'università, e soprattutto le facoltà umanistiche, trovino sede in manufatti esistenti o addirittura monumentali del centro storico. Purtroppo ultimamente questa tendenza sembra rarefarsi, sia per gli elevati costi di ripristino o di restauro che il recupero comporta sia perché le cittadinanze, e quindi le amministrazioni in cerca di consenso, appaiono ormai restie ad ammettere masse studentesche nel centro urbano. (Piuttosto, adesso ci si orienta a ridestinare quei manufatti ai più svariati destini museali).
Di recente, però, in seguito alla smobilitazione dei grandi complessi industriali, si sono rese disponibili aree della periferia che sembrano meglio adattabili alle necessità delle facoltà tecnologiche (da ricordare, in proposito, la proposta avanzata nel 1970 dal Politecnico di Liverpool di insediare la propria sede nell'Albert Dock, in testa al molo del porto, rimasta però irrealizzata).
In tali scelte ubicazionali l'insediamento dell'università, pur inserendosi come corpo autonomo e decentrato soprattutto nella conurbazione, in virtù dell'alto grado di accessibilità anche regionale già precedentemente garantito, ma a seconda dell'assetto di coinvolgimento o di voluta discontinuità assunto nel tessuto urbano, può arrivare a svolgere un ruolo determinante nel processo di rimodellata urbanizzazione delle periferie e dei policentrismi attuali.
Sempre in quei corsi di progettazione anni Sessanta-Settanta, ci si era orientati con analoga strategia, integrata anche ad individuare i luoghi nei quali l'università avrebbe potuto gestire, in comune con la scuola secondaria superiore, la domanda di massa. A tal fine avevamo predisposto alcuni prototipi didattici (destinati ad aule di massa, laboratori, ecc.) da insediare nei *porti in terra*, e cioè nei punti di massima accessibilità dall'*hinterland* di Milano (erano elaborati per trascrizione dai condensatori a torre, le cosiddette *Staffe delle nuvole*, quelli che nel 1924 El Lisitzkij aveva immaginato di dislocare nei gangli della Sadovaje Kaltsò, la grande arteria di circonvallazione che corre attorno al nucleo storico di Mosca).
4. Soprattutto in questi ultimi anni l'edilizia universitaria non ha mancato di dar prova — se ne possono elencare alcuni casi esemplari nel panorama delle corrività *International Style* — di sapersi bene interpolare sia nel tessuto storico dei centri urbani sia in ambienti permeati da più recente tradizione, quella dei *campus*, dimostrando una volta di più tutta la miseria del pregiudizio: una qualificata espressione tipologica e figurativa può legittimamente coesistere in qualsivoglia paesaggio, purché sia reso in sé coerente dal tempo.
Ma passato e presente dell'insediamento universitario stanno anche a dimostrare come esso possa rendersi partecipe, produttivamente e contestualmente, del progresso delle città magari svariando volta a volta tra gli estremi dell'acropoli e del villaggio; ma anche come riesca a garantire la propria longevità funzionale reinterpretando le costanti più tipiche della sua tradizione architettonica e, proprio attraverso queste, a salvaguardare l'identità di una cultura e di un paesaggio particolari.

that renovation of such buildings is increasingly costly and that the population, and the administrations who seek their consensus, seem to have become wary of admitting student populations into urban centres. (Historical buildings, nowadays, are usually designated to become museums of one sort or another).
But recently, as a result of the incentives of major industries, certain areas adjacent to the historic centre have become available. These would be ideal locations for technological and scientific studies. An example of this is the proposal in 1970 to locate the Polytechnic Institute of Liverpool in the Albert Dock area, unfortunately never built.
In this type of location the university provides a higher level of accessibility for the surrounding areas of the city even though it is an autonomous element, decentralized with respect to the urban city centre. In the context of conurbations, such a complex can even play a decisive role in the process of the urban remodelling of the city outskirs and of today's polycentric areas. We adopted a similar design strategy in our design courses of the 1960s and 1970s, seeking to identify the sites universities, along with secondary schools, might use to the greatest advantage to satisfy the demand of the masses for educational services. We came up with certain prototypes for teaching environments (large lecture halls, laboratories, etc.) which would be located in earth ports, *the points of maximum accessibility for the outskirts and suburban areas of Milan. This idea was inspired by the tower condensors, the so-called "stirrups of the clouds" which in 1924 El Lissitzky had planned for the major intersections of the Sadovaje Kaltsò, the large traffic artery which encircles the historical centre of Moscow.*
4. Above all, during recent years university building has not failed to demonstrate — and we could list a number of examples within the International Style — a certain ability to insert itself both in the contex of the historical urban fabric and in that of more recent sites. The campus proved once again that prejudice is a sign of poverty: in fact, it would appear that an adequate typological and figurative expression can legitimately coexist with any built environment as long as it is coherent and consistent in time.
But the past and present of the university sites also prove that it is possible to create a productive, contextual participation in the progress of the city, creating variations, case by case, between the model of the acropolis and that of the village. The functional longevity of such typologies can be guaranteed by a reinterpretation of the most typical constants of their architectural tradition, thus preserving the identity of a particular type of landscape and environment.



Pavia. Scuole pubbliche ovvero Università (contrassegnate con L) e Ospedale San Matteo (contrassegnato con M) nella carta disegnata da L. Corte (1617), edita da O. Ballada (1654).

Pavia. Public Schools. The University (marked with an L) and San Matteo Hospital (marked with an M) in a drawing by L. Corte (1617), printed by O. Ballada (1654).

University and Territoriality: The "Studium Generale" at Pavia
Antonio Acuto

"Vogliano gli studiosi compiere questa ricerca delle fonti della scienza esperimentale nel seno delle nostre città".
(Carlo Cattaneo, *La città come principio ideale delle istorie italiane,* 1858)

"La nuova giurisprudenza municipale nata dall'applicazione delle acque all'agricoltura e sancita nei nostri statuti, si associò nelle nostre università collo studio delle scienze idrauliche, che erano anche già invocate a frenar di nuovo i fiumi, e a svenar paludi, e a sviare gli interrimenti dalle lagune. Intanto nelle università transalpine, tiranneggiate dalla scolastica, queste scienze e le matematiche stesse non avevano sede propria".
(Carlo Cattaneo, *ibidem*)

1. Spesso gli storici citano le parole pronunciate dall'imperatore Federico I, a sanzione dell'atto istitutivo dell'Università di Bologna: "*Chi non proverebbe pietà per quanti si sono fatti esuli per amore della scienza?*"[1]. Questi studenti "in viaggio" (*vagantes*), grazie all'atteggiamento del sovrano, sono sotto la sua protezione e perciò soggetti soltanto alla giurisdizione del maestro o del vescovo, mentre nulla può nei loro confronti il Comune, cioè la città che li ospita. Ora però l'intimo rapporto (tanto intimo da essere assai spesso conflittuale) tra Studio e città, che pure appare manifesto quando si considerino i centri universitari medievali, sembrerebbe contrastare con il carattere originale dell'università: lo stato "erratico" dei suoi soggetti. Ma forse anche per questo aspetto si rivela il regime dualistico attivo nell'insediamento urbano in rapida trasformazione. A cambiare la "città del vescovo" contribuiscono forze diverse: quelle che dalla campagna nuovamente dinamica (per bonifiche, disboscamenti, dissodamenti che consentono di produrre anche in eccedenza e mettono in moto il mercato fondiario) hanno tratto basi economiche sufficientemente favorevoli all'inurbamento e che ora si fanno protagoniste nella costruzione del nuovo tessuto produttivo e civile (attraverso corporazioni, *universitates* dei maestri artigiani, ecc.); quelle che fluiscono lungo itinerari regionali e continentali e che nell'ambito della città, ma in regime di franchigia, fanno stazione per ragioni di scambio economico, ma anche culturale.
Proprio in riferimento a questi agenti legati alla mobilità di lungo corso, confrontando sulla carta dell'Europa medievale la distribuzione delle fiere e quella delle sedi universitarie,

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"Let scholars undertake the search for the roots of experimental science in the heart of our cities" (*Carlo Cattaneo,* La città come principio ideale delle storie italiane, 1858).

"The new municipal laws approved by our legislature were born out of concern for irrigation needs in agriculture. Our universities are concerned with their application to the science of hydrology, which has allowed us block rivers, drain swamps and control the deposits of sediment in lagoons. In the universities north of the Alps, monopolized by scholasticism, these sciences and mathematics were not studied" (*Carlo Cattaneo*, ibid.).

1. Historians often cite the words pronounced by Emperor Frederick I when enacting legislation for the creation of the University of Bologna: "Who could help but feel pity for those who have gone into exile for the love of science?" [1]. *These "travelling" students (*vagantes*), were placed under the protection of the throne, and were thus subject only to the jurisdiction of the tutor or the bishop, while the municipal authorities of the city in which they lived had no power over them. The intimate rapport (so intimate that it was very often one of conflict) between the university and the city, so evident when we consider the university centres of the Middle Ages, would seem in this case to be in contrast with the original character of the university and its "wandering" students. But perhaps it is also for this reason that the dualistic regime was active in an urban settlement in rapid trasformation. Different forces combined to change the "city of the bishop". These included a dynamic rural situation (through land clearing, reclamation and tillage, which led to a production excess and consequently an active real estate market) which accumulated enough capital to found cities. They thus became the driving forces for the establishment of new social and production relations, creating corporations,* universitates *of master craftsmen, etc. Along with these were the forces which flowed along regional and intercontinental itineraries and which established themselves in the city for economic and cultural exchange, as franchises. It is interesting to note that in medieval Europe, universities and fairs were often located in the same areas. This is the case, in particular, of the Ile de France, Flanders, the Rhine valley and the Po plains area.*
If we consider the cities with university establishments we also notice settlement patterns which bear a partial similarity to those of the fairs: this is the case, for example, of the fair

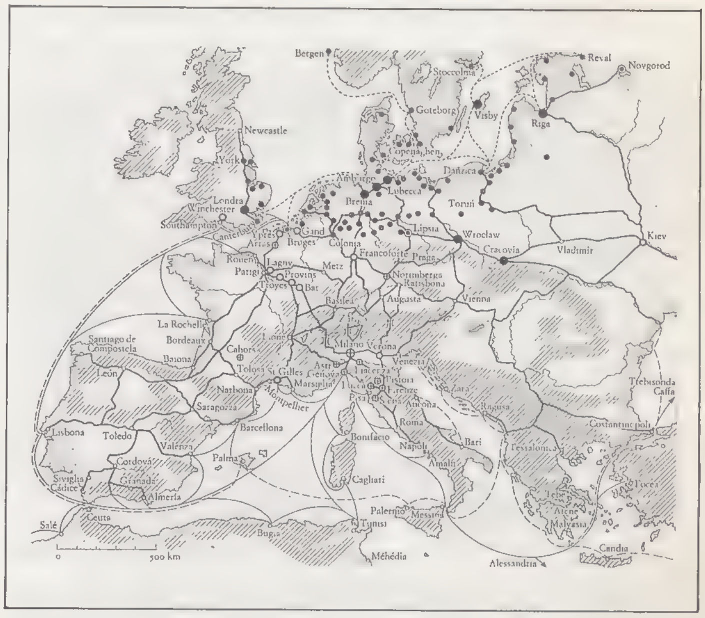
Distribuzione delle sedi universitarie in Europa occidentale nel Medioevo (da F. Cardini, M.T. Fumagalli-Beonio Broccheri, Antiche università in Europa. Storia e personaggi degli Atenei nel Medioevo, *Milano 1991).*
Distribuzione delle fiere in Europa occidentale nel Medioevo (da R.S. Lopez, La nascita dell'Europa, *Torino 1966).*
Parigi nella pianta di Braun e Hogenberg, detta "dei tre personaggi", intorno al 1540, (da P. Lavedan, Nouvelle histoire de Paris. Histoire de l'Urbanisme a Paris, *Parigi 1975).*

si rileva una sostanziale coincidenza di alcuni bacini: in particolare ciò risulta evidente per Ile de France, Fiandre, Valle del Reno, Pianura Padana.
D'altra parte, considerando le città con sede universitaria, vi si riscontrano modalità insediative per certi versi analoghe a quelle delle fiere: le quali — è il caso, per esempio, della Fiera di Sant'Alessandro a Bergamo — si organizzano in recinti appositamente allestiti, oppure — come a Lione — dilagano nella città in molti luoghi, che offrono sedi non esclusive.
Così Parigi medievale, che contende a Bologna il prestigio della più antica università, per molte ragioni è stata paragonata ad Atene, ma forse tra tutte la più suggestiva fa riferimento alla *forma urbis*, che, analogamente a quanto accadeva nella città greca, è tripartita: la *ville*, cioè la città vera e propria dei mercanti e degli artigiani; la *cité*, che ospita la cattedrale e la residenza reale; infine l'*université* con i collegi, a marcare la propria forte autonomia insediativa[2].
A Pavia invece, nella fase iniziale, l'Università non ha sede propria, tanto che le sue attività si svolgono in molti luoghi resi temporaneamente disponibili.
2. La veduta di Pavia, affrescata — si ritiene — da Bernardino Lanzani in San Teodoro nel 1522, è centrata sulla sequenza degli interventi, che realizzano il progetto per la città definito per iniziativa viscontea (poi integrato e completato per mano sforzesca). Disposti lungo il *cardo* romano, Ponte coperto, Strada Nuova, Castello, Parco, Certosa, Naviglio configurano un congegno unitario e articolato, sovraimposto alla compagine urbana, che in epoca comunale si era sviluppata sull'impianto antico. Incisa nel tessuto, ad ovest di Strada Nuova, risalta Piazza Grande, l'altro straordinario intervento urbanistico visconteo.
Lo Studio generale (*Studium generale utriusque iuris tam canonici quam civilis, nec philosophiae, medicinae et artium liberalium*) viene fondato — è l'anno 1361 — quando il grande cantiere visconteo, che in un decennio ha attraversato la città, si accinge a mettere in opera il Castello, prima di inoltrarsi nella campagna soprana[3].
A questo quadro deve ricondursi la scelta di Pavia come sede dello Studio: quando al piano municipale di riforma urbana si contrappone e si attua una strategia che coinvolge la città all'interno di un sistema di interventi di portata regionale.
3. Il ponte è collocato all'incrocio di due itinerari continentali: quello d'acqua (il sistema Ticino-Po) tra

of Sant'Alessandro in Bergamo, totally enclosed within a surrounding wall, or of the Lyon fair which was held throughout the city, in areas not exclusively destined for that purpose.
Medieval Paris, Bologna's rival in claiming to have the oldest university, has been compared with Athens for many reasons. Perhaps the most indicative of these is the forma urbis *which, as in the Greek city, is divided in three parts: the* ville, *or the city of the merchants and artisans; the* cité, *which included the cathedral and the royal residence; and finally the* université *with its colleges, a distinctly autonomous settlement*[2].
In Pavia, on the other hand, during the initial phase the university did not have its own campus, and its activities took place in a number of different structures, available on a temporary basis.
2. The frescoed view of Pavia, believed to be the work of Bernardino Lanzani in the San Teodoro church in 1522, is centred round the sequence of works which were part of the Viscontis project for the development of the city (later integrated and completed by the Sforzas). A unified and interrelated element consisting of the Roman cardo, *the Ponte Coperto (covered bridge), Strada Nuova (new street), the castle, the park, the Carthusian monastery, and the canal was superimposed upon the urban layout, which had grown following the plan of the ancient city. Cut into the fabric of the city, the Piazza Grande stands out to the west of the Strada Nuova as another example of the extraordinary urban workmanship of the Viscontis.*
*The university (*Studium generale utriusque iuris tam canonici quam civilis, nec philosophiae, medicinae et artium liberalium*) was founded in 1361, when the Viscontis programme, a huge building site which covered the entire city for a period of ten years, was about to initiate the construction of the castle, before moving off into the countryside*[3].
The context in which we must examine the choice of Pavia, the home of the university, is that of a city involved in municipal urban reform planning, placing the city at the hub a regional network of projects.
3. The Bridge is located at the intersection of two intercontinental itineraries: the Ticino-Po waterway, which runs between the Adriatic and the western Po plains, and the so-called Lombardy road rebuilt at the end of the Middle Ages on the layout of the old Postumia road, connecting Genoa to central European destinations[4].

Location of western european universities in the Middle Age (from F. Cardini, M.T. Fumagalli-Beonio Broccheri, Antiche università in Europa. Storia e personaggi degli Atenei nel Medioevo, *Milan, 1991). Location of markets in western Europe in the Middle Age (from R.S. Lopez,* La nascita dell'Europa, *Turin, 1966). Paris in a drawing by Braun and Hogenberg, known by the name "three characters", about 1540, (from P. Lavedan,* Nouvelle histoire de Paris. Histoire de l'Urbanisme à Paris, *Paris, 1975).*





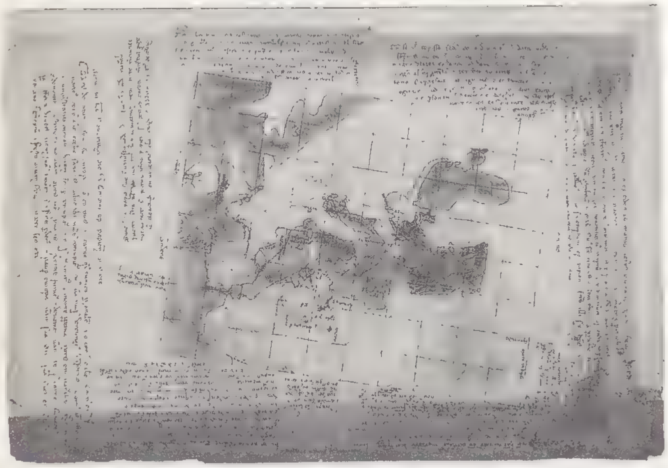


Pavia. Pianta della città sovrapposta ad una raffigurazione antropomorfa del Mediterraneo, disegnata da Opicino de Canistris (prima metà del sec. XIV), tratta dal Codice vaticano latino 6435, f. 84v (da P. Tozzi, Opicino e Pavia, *ivi 1991).*

Pavia. Pianta della città, disegnata da Opicino de Canistris (prima metà del sec. XIV), tratta dal Codice Palatino latino 1993, f. 27v (da P. Tozzi, cit.).

Pavia. Ricostruzione della planimetria del parco ducale della città di E. Mariani (da C. Magenta, I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia, *Milano 1888).*

Pavia. Veduta della città con sant'Antonio abate in un affresco in San Teodoro attribuito a Bernardino Lanzani, 1522.









City plan overlayed upon an antropomorphic representation of the Mediterranean sea, by Opicino de Canistris (early XVI century) from the Codice Vaticano Latino 6435, f 84v (P. Tozzi, Opicino e Pavia, *ivi 1991). Pavia. City plan, by Opicino de Canistris (early XIV century) from the Codice Palatino Latino, 1993, f. 27v (from P. Tozzi, cit.) Pavia. Reconstruction of the plan for the duke's park for the city by E. Mariani (from C. Magenta,* I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia, *Milan, 1988). Pavia. View of the city with S. Antonio in a fresco in San Teodoro, attributed to Bernardino Lanzani, 1522.*

Adriatico e Padania occidentale; quello di terra (la cosiddetta Strada di Lombardia, ricostruita in epoca comunale sul tracciato dell'antica Postumia) tra Genova e le destinazioni centroeuropee[4].
L'architettura del nuovo manufatto trova ragioni nel mutato ruolo sia del porto fluviale che della strada. Quello messo rapidamente in opera tra il 1351 e il 1354 da Jacopo da Cozzo e Giovanni da Ferrera, due ingegneri lomellini di lì a poco impegnati anche a Verona nella ricostruzione del Ponte delle Navi, è un edificio formato da vere e proprie torri, in funzione di piloni, fondate sui basamenti romani opportunamente consolidati e incrementati verso monte di potenti e alti speroni, sui fianchi delle quali si impostano arcate di luce variabile. Alle estremità del piano carrabile, che si sviluppa secondo una spezzata con vertice in corrispondenza del pilone centrale rivolto controcorrente, sono collocate porte turrite di testata. Il tetto a falde, che copre l'intero tragitto, rende il ponte abitabile[5]. La costruzione costituisce dunque il perno dell'apparato difensivo del porto, il quale, alla tradizionale funzione di scalo commerciale delle rotte fluviali tra città rivierasche padane e dei traffici tra Adriatico e bacini francesi e renani, assomma ora quella di base centrale della flotta militare viscontea[6]. D'altra parte, la facilitazione che il nuovo ponte garantisce con eccezionale efficienza e sicurezza ai traffici terrestri da e per Genova, corrisponde, nel quadro della riorganizzazione dei mercati secondo nuove polarità, all'incremento relativamente recente, ma rilevantissimo, degli scambi lungo direttrice continentale, conseguente allo sviluppo della manifattura centroeuropea, ma anche all'attitudine dell'agricoltura lombarda a produrre in eccedenza derrate alimentari per l'esportazione[7].
E' in questo intensificarsi dei flussi in transito la ragione strutturale dell' intervento sull'antico *cardo*, trasformato in Strada Nuova. All'interno della compagine urbana il tracciato viene reidentificato secondo l'andamento rettilineo, leggermente piegato ad occidente nei terminali, il piano carrabile reso continuo e selciato, la sezione ricalibrata[8].
4. Nel terminale urbano a settentrione, dove Strada Nuova conquista la quota elevata del terrazzo fluviale, è collocato il Castello, con carattere di residenza signorile, piuttosto che di apparato militare a complemento del *castrum* allestito da Matteo Visconti.
Esso sta a cavaliere di due recinti: quello delle mura urbane più esterne e un altro, pure murato, sviluppato per molte miglia a circoscrivere in tempi successivi un vasto territorio

The architecture of the new structure was based on the changing role of both the river port and the road. The construction was rapidly completed between 1351 by Jacopo da Cozzo and Giovanni da Ferrera, two engineers from Lomellina who shortly afterwards worked in Verona on the reconstruction of the Ponte delle Navi. The bridge's two towers which function as pylons are anchored to the Roman foundations, which were strengthened and enlarged upstream with high powerful buttresses, ribbed with arches of different sizes. The carriageway is sloped up towards the central pylon and shaped to fend the oncoming current. Two turretted doors mark the entrance to the bridge. The pitch roof, which covers the bridge from one end to the other, renders the structure inhabitable[5]. This construction became the centerpiece of the defensive apparatus of the port which besides its traditional function as a commercial stop on the river routes between the Adriatic and France and the Rhine valley, now also became the central base for the Viscontis' military fleet[6]. In the context of the reorganization of markets on the basis of new economic realities, the exceptionally efficient and safe travel to and from Genoa by land, guaranteed by the bridge, corresponds to the relatively recent but very sizable increase in trade along continental routes. This is a result of the progress of manufacturing in Central Europe and the Lombard agricultural tradition of production in excess of its needs in order to supply the export market[7].
This increase in the flow of through traffic is the reason behind the improvements which transformed the ancient cardo *into the Strada Nuova. Within the city this route was straightened out and curved slightly at the west end, while the carriageway was paved and the road's width made uniform[8].*
4. The Castle is located at the city's northern limit, where the Strada Nuova reaches the upper level of the river plateau. This is more of a residence for nobles than a military fortress to complete the castrum *built by Matteo Visconti.*
The castle straddles two barriers: the outer city walls and the wall built later to enclose a vast wedge-shaped territory north of the city. The park follows the Vernavola river and is divided into sections which correspond to the phases of its growth. It is a true botanical and zoological garden, covering wide areas of woodlands suitable for hunting[9]. At the northwestern corner the Carthusian monastery is the last monumental landmark in this territory. It is located at the beginning of the waterway that will eventually become the Naviglio canal. The plan of its church, later re-discovered

a forma di cuneo a nord della città. Organizzato lungo la Vernavola, un piccolo fiume che ne costituisce l'asse centrale, il Parco, diviso in comparti corrispondenti alle diverse fasi di crescita, si presenta come vero e proprio giardino zoologico e botanico, esteso tra boschi adatti alla caccia[9]. Sul vertice nordoccidentale la Certosa, caposaldo estremo in funzione di mausoleo, affacciato sul primo, incerto tracciato del futuro Naviglio, porta ben impressa nell'organismo della sua chiesa, successivamente reinventato dai Solari, una variante arricchita dell'impianto *ad quadratum* della chiesa pavese di Santa Maria del Carmine[10].
Così che il Castello, con la Cittadella, il Parco vecchio e nuovo, la Certosa e i suoi chiostri, riguardati nel loro complesso, formano un insediamento con fisionomia del tutto speciale e nuova, quasi un modello sperimentale, dove si alternano concentrazione e dilatazione spaziale. I caratteri della città sono compressi e trasposti in doppia, divaricata polarizzazione: nel Castello, che assembla, regolarizza e riconduce in unico dominio percettivo perimetro murato, piazza, portico, facciate, fino agli interni, dove una moltitudine di figure dipinte dalle pareti incombe sulla vita privata e di relazione e un concentrato di allestimenti speciali — dall'arsenale alla biblioteca — ordina il mondo degli oggetti secondo particolari criteri; nella Certosa, in ruolo di mausoleo posto, come in antico, lungo una via (d'acqua e di terra), prima ancora che di cenobio partecipe della vita rurale. Dentro il Parco invece sono i caratteri della campagna che vengono rielaborati in paesaggio, dove l'ordine del giardino si prolunga e si dirada, interrotto da boschi, arricchito di edifici, secondo un disegno controllato attraverso un' idraulica evoluta. Questo insediamento sembra definire e concludere un orizzonte, dentro il quale i comportamenti cercano ragioni nuove, forse più individuali, lontane comunque dal crogiuolo della vita collettiva della città.
5. L'impianto del Castello, progettato e realizzato — si ritiene — da Bernardo da Venezia tra il 1360 e il 1370, si avvale dello schema *ad quadratum*, non solo per determinare l'ordine geometrico complessivo (la vastissima corte centrale, il perimetro esterno), ma anche per conformare le singole parti dell'edificio (dalla pianta delle torri angolari alle campate dei corpi di fabbrica rettilinei, a quelle del portico archiacuto e del sovrastante loggiato, sviluppato in continuità sul perimetro del cortile)[11].
Questo impianto riprende e sviluppa la tipologia del Broletto, per come, proprio a Pavia, precocemente era andata evolvendo: da un nucleo originario parallelepipedo (un grande portico aperto sormontato da un'aula coperta delle medesime dimensioni) si era venuto ampliando, per addizione di corpi di fabbrica conformati in modo simile e disposti intorno alla corte interna a formare un complesso quadrilatero[12].
Questa riproposizione tipologica dell'impianto del Broletto, straniato però dal tessuto urbano e dalla contiguità con i capisaldi del centro civico e trasferito al Castello, di fatto afferma, piuttosto che continuità, un regime dualistico tra economie e istituzioni locali e quelle che vanno definendosi in un processo di accentramento e riarticolazione a livello di ampia territorialità regionale. Più precisamente, si tratta dei segni di un mutato ruolo giurisdizionale, fiscale, amministrativo, ma soprattutto economico della città rispetto al territorio di tradizionale gravitazione. Storici attenti avvertono che il processo di riorganizzazione feudale (ovvero il costituirsi di una rete di referenti dotati di poteri istituzionali conferiti dall'autorità centrale) e di emancipazione delle comunità rurali dal drenaggio di risorse (capitali e lavoro) operato dalla città, si accompagna a una profonda trasformazione dell'agricoltura, all'origine della quale non sta la cosiddetta "emigrazione di capitali" dal commercio all'agricoltura (i mercanti, stanchi dei loro traffici sempre meno remunerativi, investono nella terra), ma la crisi irreversibile della proprietà ecclesiastica nelle campagne lombarde, particolarmente profonda in quelle pavesi, dovuta all'intervenuto squilibrio tra enorme estensione dei fondi e capacità d'investimento ridotta al minimo[13].
6. E' dunque nella campagna, che si consolida il blocco di interessi, attivamente coinvolto nella strategia di accentramento e riarticolazione territoriale, in alternativa a quello espresso dalle corporazioni cittadine; vi concorrono: famiglie di tradizione nobiliare, piccoli mercanti, ma soprattutto fittavoli subentrati nella proprietà ecclesiastica senza introdurre innovazioni colturali di rilievo, soltanto ampliando il prato in vista di un indirizzo zootecnico più marcato e riorganizzando su basi aziendali la produzione, che incrementa anche molto grazie agli investimenti nelle infrastrutture canalizie, stradali, ecc.[14].
Proprio a sancire, entro un mutato quadro di rapporti, il ridimensionamento dell'economia cittadina, viene ampliato lo slargo esistente davanti al Broletto di tanto da aprire la Piazza Grande, capace di concentrare le attività

by the Solari, is an ornate variation of the plan ad quadratum *of the Santa Maria del Carmine church in Pavia*[10].

Thus the castle, with the citadel, the old and new parks, monastery and its cloisters, form a settlement with a special, new physiognomy, almost an experimental model, in which spatial concentration and expansion alternate. The characteristics of the city are compressed and placed at the two opposing poles along a lengthened axis. At one end, the castle and its surrounding walls group together the piazza, the portico, façades, and the interior spaces of the city. Here painted murals influence both public and private life, and a concentration of special purpose buildings from the Arsenal to the Library organize the world of material objects according to specific criteria. At the other end, the Carthusian monastery, like so many ancient mausolea, is located along a land or water route. It occupies a much more important place in rural life than its religious role would suggest. In the park, on the other hand, the characteristics of the countryside are reinterpreted in the landscape; the garden stretches far and wide and is interspersed by woods, enhanced by buildings, following a design controlled by a sophisticated hydraulic system. This settlement seems to define a separate and complete environment where the spirit may seek new paths, perhaps more personal, far from the melting pot of the city.

5. The plan of the castle, believed to have been designed and built between 1360 and 1370 by Bernardo da Venezia, is based on an ad quadratum *scheme for the overall geometry (the vast central courtyard, the external perimeter) as well as that of the single parts of the complex (from the plan of the corner towers to the spans of the rectilinear sections and the gothic portico with the arcade above, extending along the entire perimeter of the courtyard)*[11].

This plan dates back to Pavia's town hall, the Broletto, and develops this well evolved design further. The four sided parallelogram (a large open portico with an open hall above it of the same dimensions) was developed by adding other structures of the same shape around an internal courtyard[12]*.*

It is not a sign of continuity to repropose the typology of the Broletto, far removed from the urban fabric and from the landmarks of the urban centre, in this case transferred from the city to the castle. Rather it indicates a dualistic regime between local institutions and economies and others which were developing at the time, over a large regional territory, through a process of centralization and redistribution. More precisely, these are the signs of a change in the jurisdictional, fiscal, administrative and, above all, economic role of the city with respect to the territory. Attentive historical scholars note that the process of feudal reorganization (or the development of a network of decision makers by the central authorities and of the liberation of rural communities from the depletion of resources (capital and labour) brought about by the cities was accompanied by a deep trasformation in agriculture. The origins of this do not lie in the so-called "flight of capital" from commerce to agriculture (the merchants, tired of their increasingly unprofitable trade, invest in agriculture), but rather in the irreversible crisis of the church-owned lands of the Lombardy countryside, which was felt particularly in the Pavia region, due to the imbalance created by an enormous dilution of capital and an investment capacity reduced to a minimum[13]*.*

6. As a result, an alliance of interests was consolidated in the countryside, which was actively involved in the process of territorial centralization and redistribution, an alternative to the aspirations of the urban corporations. This alliance comprised of noble families, small merchants, and, above all, tenant farmers who worked the church lands without introducing any particular agricultural innovations. Rather, the latter expanded grazing areas, raising more animals, and reorganized production in the farming industry, increasing its output, thanks also to investments made in canals, roads, etc.[14]*.*

The space in front of the Broletto was expanded to become the Piazza Grande, an area of intense commercial activity. This project, completed in 1367, is a clear example of the changes wrought by a new urban economy within a series of changing relationships. The total length of the piazza is twice that of the distance betwen the northern facade of the Broletto and the decumano *(the main east-west axis of the city); the width of the piazza is half this distance. The piazza is thus composed of four adjacent squares which together form an elongated rectangle, and is bisected in the centre by the* decumano*. A continuous wall of buildings line its outer length, intempted only by porticoes and the main street. On the south end stands the Broletto (town hall), which ramained the centre of urban life in Pavia, despite the fact that the municipal administration no longer had real governing powers*[15]*.*

7. "The entire structure of the city faces south because of its location with respect to the Ticino river, toward which it slopes. It can easily be identified from afar, from any direction. It is from the south that one can admire the city at its best, at any distance, not just for the height of its great

commerciali. L'intervento, che risulta concluso nel 1367, è dimensionato in modo che, assunta la distanza tra il fronte nord del Broletto e il decumano massimo come misura di riferimento, la lunghezza totale ne risulti doppia e la larghezza pari alla metà. Così la geometria della piazza è data dalla sequenza di quattro quadrati adiacenti, a formare un rettangolo allungato, tagliato nel mezzo dal decumano massimo. L'invaso è delimitato sui lati lunghi da corpi di fabbrica continui, salvo l'interruzione al centro, e porticati, mentre sul lato meridionale affaccia il Broletto, sempre al centro della vita pubblica cittadina, sia pure privata di autentiche facoltà di governo[15].

7. "*Tutta la struttura della città, che guarda a sud a causa del letto del Ticino, verso il quale declinando discende, può essere agevolmente vista da lontano da ogni parte, tuttavia da sud presenta un aspetto mirabile a quelli che la guardano sia da vicino che da lontano, non solo per l'altezza delle innumerevoli torri, ma anche per l'imponenza di palazzi e chiese, tre delle quali — quelle di san Michele, di san Giovanni in Borgo e di san Pietro in Ciel d'Oro — per le loro dimensioni superano molte cattedrali, senza contare quelle due chiese che costituiscono la cattedrale e superano tutte le altre. Del resto moltissime delle altre sono di poco più piccole di queste tre, anzi quasi uguali*"[16]. Così nel 1330, stando in Avignone, Opicino de Canistris con l'occhio della memoria osserva Pavia, mettendosi in quell'identico punto di vista che, quasi esattamente due secoli più tardi, verrà prescelto da Bernardino Lanzani per comporre il suo affresco. La città appare diversa: una compagine compatta e densa, senza alcuna cesura, affollata di torri e chiese, tutte di straordinaria mole; il ponte è ancora quello romano; a settentrione il *castrum*, da poco impiantato da Matteo Visconti, entra marginalmente nel paesaggio.

Si può presumere però che, avanti il suo soggiorno provenzale, Opicino frequentasse anche altri osservatori, privilegiandone quasi certamente uno: "*Se infine qualcuno avesse piacere di vedere la forma della città e la qualità e quantità dei suoi palazzi e di tutti gli altri suoi edifici, salga con grato animo sulla torre della corte comunale: di lassù, dovunque volgerà lo sguardo, potrà ammirare cose meravigliose*"[17]. In particolare si potrà constatare che questa stessa città ha forma circolare, "*a modo di un cerchio, tale mirabile rotondità è il segno della sua perfezione*"[18]. A parlare qui è Bonvesin della Riva, non molti anni prima, che naturalmente si riferisce alla sua Milano. Ma è facile riscontrare anche in Opicino passaggi analoghi. Quanto alla

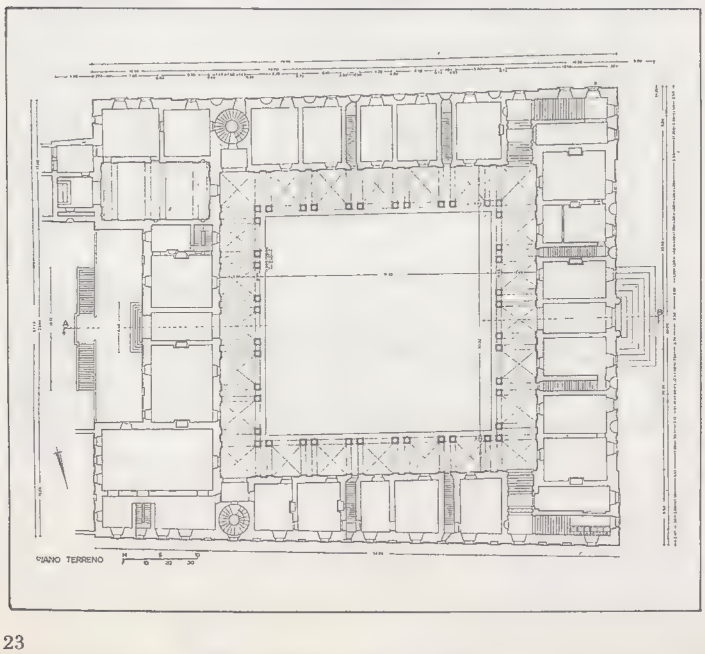
number of towers, but also because of the impressive stature of its palaces and churches, three of which (San Michele, San Giovanni in Borgo and San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro) are larger than most cathedrals, not to mention the fact that the two churches which together form the cathedral of Pavia are already larger than most. And many of the other structures of the city are almost as large as these three"[16]. *This is how, in 1330, while residing in Avignon, Opicino de Canestris remembered Pavia, from the very same angle used two hundred years later by Bernardino Lanzani for his fresco. The city looks different now, compact and dense, without openings, crowded by towers and churches, all extraordinarily large; the Romans bridge still exists; to the north the recently erected* castrum *is barely noticeable within the landscape.*

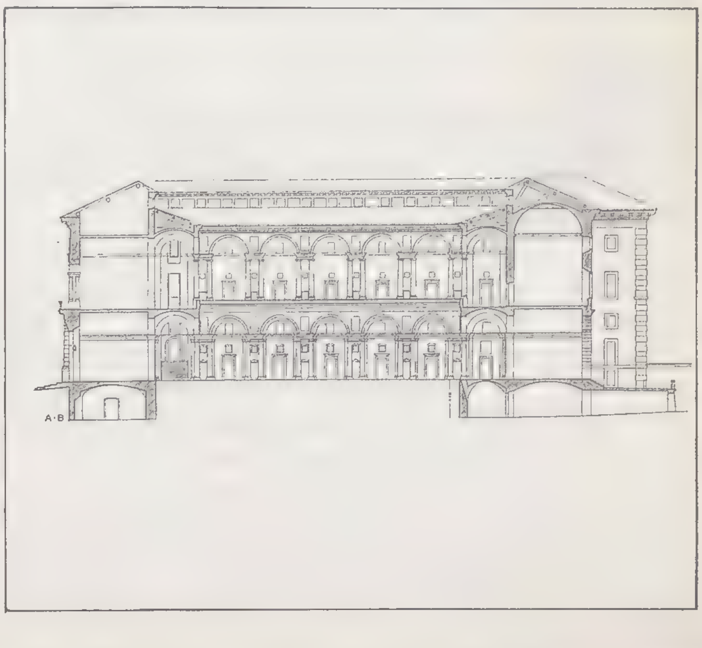
Nevertheless we can assume that before his sojourn in Provence, Opicino had conversed with others, quoting one admirer of cities in particular: "Finally, if one truly wishes to see the form of the city and the number and types of its palaces and other buildings, one should climb the steps of the tower of the city hall with joy in his soul: from up there, wherever one turns, he could see marvellous things"[17]. *In particular, the admiring observer noted that this city also had a circular form* "like a ring, an admirable rotundity which is the indication of its perfection"[18]. *These are the words of Bonvesin della Riva, a few years earlier, speaking of course of his own city, Milan. But similar passages are not too difficult to find in Opicino. With regard to the tower of city hall of Pavia he says:* "This bell-tower is so large that after one has taken into account the space occupied by the bells themselves and the guardroom, there still remains enough space to walk back and forth in all directions on just the terrace; there is enough space for a hundred persons, maybe more"[19]. *From the top of the tower one could look at the city, which was surrounded* "by three rows of walls... the internal walls, in the form of a quadrangle... the second wall, this too quadrangular... and the third barrier, nearly round except for the part to the south..."[20]. *Seen from above, the urban fabric displays a relatively regular grid of streets, with a few interruptions, such as the east-west axis (the original* decumano massimo*) which was completely blocked by the Senatore convent*[21]*; the streets also disappear behind groups of buildings reappearing again beyond them; the buildings are of varying heights, arranged in close groups and turned within themselves. But as the graphic illustrations of Opicino himself attest*[22], *he was not interested in simply*

Pavia. Collegio Borromeo, di Pellegrino Pellegrini, 1564-1580: veduta del cortile, pianta, sezione (da C. Baroni, Il Collegio Borromeo, *Pavia 1937).*

Pavia. Borromeo College, by Pellegrino Pellegrini, 1564-80: view of the courtyard, plan, section (from C. Baroni, Il Collegio Borromeo, *Pavia, 1937).*

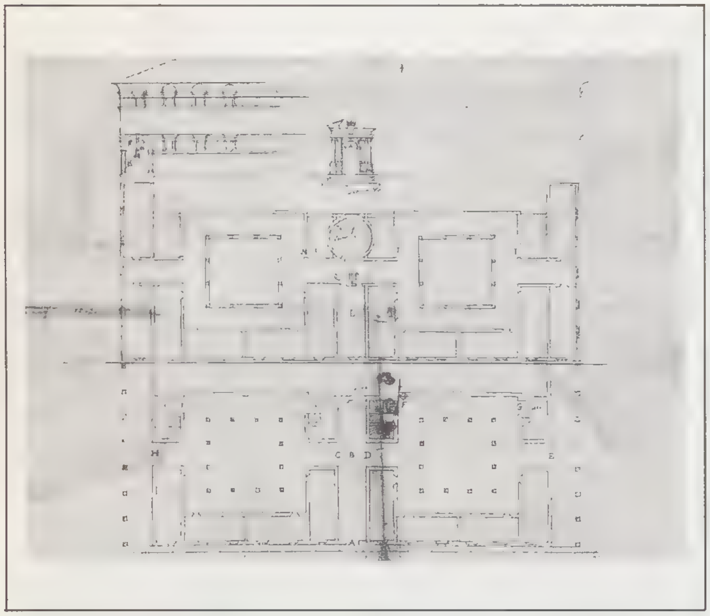


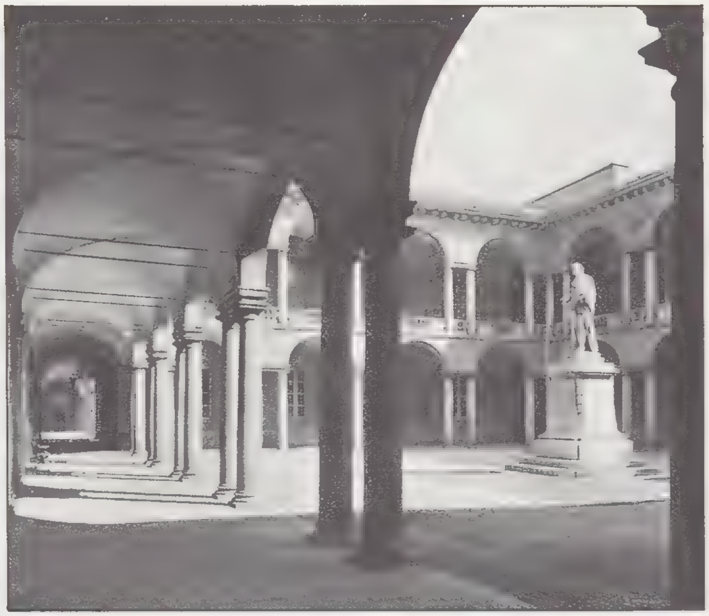


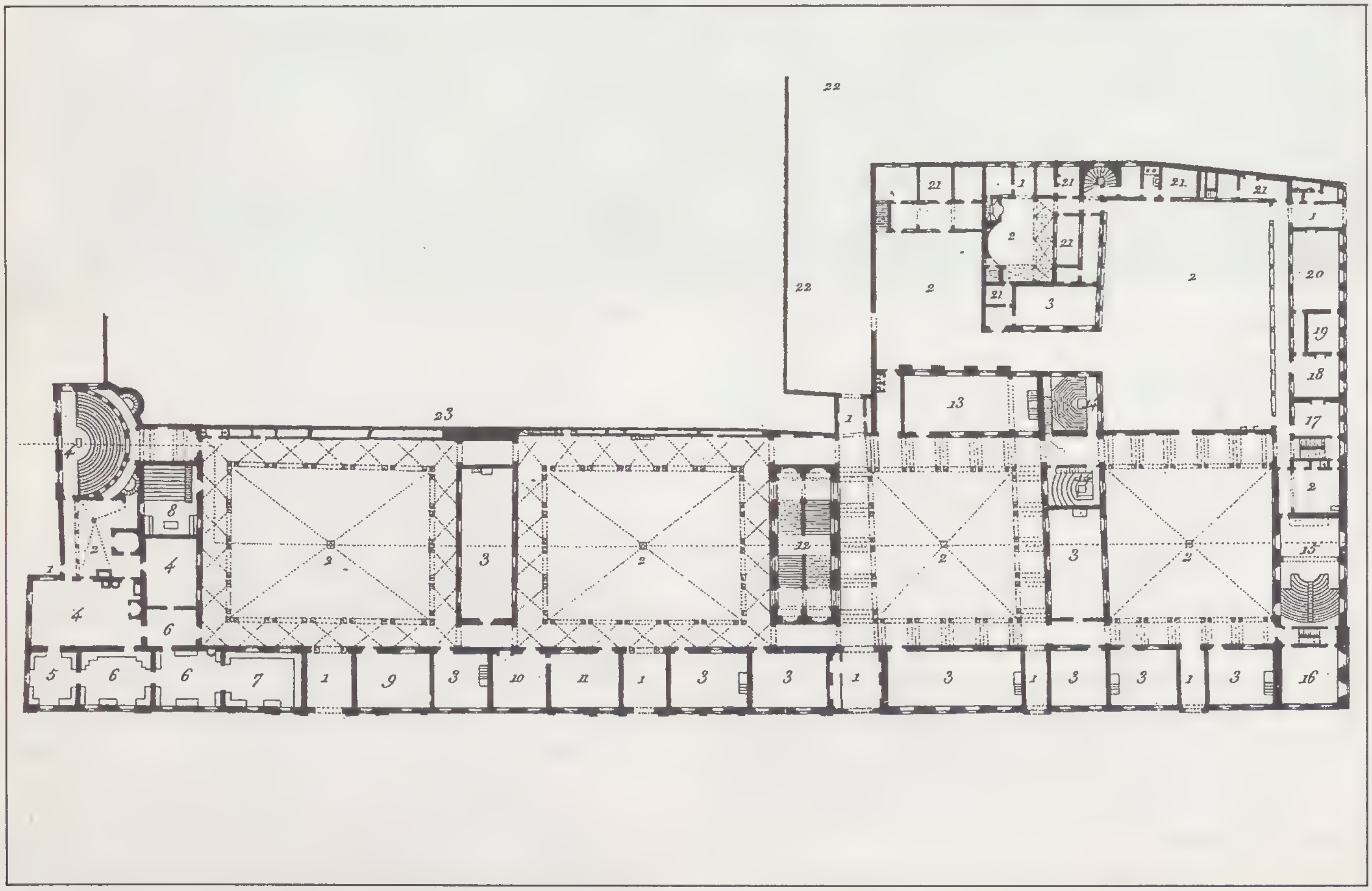


Pavia. Progetto di rifacimento del Palazzo dell'Università, di Gio. Ambrogio Pessina, 1671: prospetto su Strada Nuova, piante del piano terreno e primo (da P. Vaccari, Storia dell'Università di Pavia, *ivi 1957).*
Pavia. Veduta dell'antico Cortile Legale (da P. Vaccari, cit.).

Pavia. Università: planimetria del piano terreno, 1825 (da P. Vaccari, cit.).







Pavia. Design for remodeling of the University Building, by Gio Ambrogio Pessina, 1671: Strada Nuova elevation, ground floor and first floor plans (from P. Vaccari, Storia dell'Università di Pavia, *ivi 1957).*
Pavia. View of the old Cortile Legale (from P. Vaccari, cit.)

Pavia. University: ground floor plan, 1825 (from P. Vaccari, cit.)

torre civica di Pavia, "*questo campanile infatti è così largo che, oltre allo spazio che occupano le campane, oltre alla stanza dei sorveglianti, sulla sola terrazza che c'è si può camminare in lungo e in largo: potrebbe contenere là un centinaio di persone o forse più*"[19]. Di lassù si osserva la città, che è circondata "*da una triplice cinta di mura (...) quello interno, costruito quadrangolare (...). Il secondo muro, pure quadrangolare (...). Il terzo, poi, quasi rotondo da ogni lato tranne che a meridione (...)*"[20]. Visto dall'alto il tessuto lascia intuire un reticolo abbastanza regolare di percorsi, che a volte si interrompono, come nel caso di quello in direzione est-ovest (l'antico *decumano massimo*), completamente ostruito dal convento del Senatore[21]; oppure scompaiono dentro aggregazioni edilizie che fanno blocco in alzato, per poi riapparire oltre; l'edificato si presenta per comparti chiusi e introversi, sviluppati in altezza, ecc.
Ma, come dimostrano le reiterate elaborazioni grafiche da lui stesso redatte[22], Opicino non è interessato alla semplice descrizione della città, ma piuttosto a svilupparne un'interpretazione, che va oltre la morfologia e la geometria, per farsi addirittura progetto, legato a una precisa prospettiva tutta interna all'autentica cultura municipale, sia nei motivi di fondo, che per gli aspetti tecnici. Per Opicino, Pavia appartiene ancora ad uno spazio geografico vastissimo: non la ristretta penisola, ma il bacino mediterraneo; dentro il quale identifica una regione, la Pianura Padana, cioè Lombardia, abitata da costellazioni di città (vero e proprio sistema policentrico), e di queste riconosce in Pavia il centro geografico, economico, perfino linguistico. La forma complessiva di questo centro è riportabile *ad circulum* (il terzo muro è già quasi perfetto) e se vorrà espandersi, dovrà riprodurre questa figura; la parte interna è *ad quadratum* (il primo e il secondo muro sono quadrangolari) e bene si iscrive nel cerchio esterno (Filarete rielabora e complica forse questo modello per Sforzinda?). Ora, per conferire alla compagine urbana una ben definita continuità, necessaria per corrispondere a sempre più intense relazioni interne ed esterne, per favorire l'estroversione degli isolati e utilizzare gli edifici monumentali come nuclei di base per successive riconfigurazioni, occorre intervenire con decisione anche sul tessuto. Opicino opera con il disegno, riportando in valore l'antico impianto *ad quadratum* degli iugeri romani e lo estende a coinvolgere complessivamente la città esistente, nella *parte vecchia* e nella *parte nuova*, implicando l'impiego di procedure già sperimentate lungo oltre un secolo

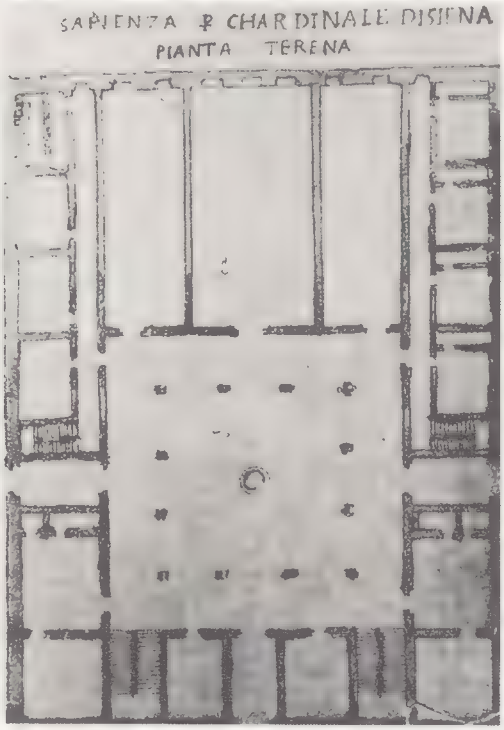
describing the city, but rather in developing an interpretation which would go beyond the questions of morphology and geometry to become a design in itself, a true insight into the cultural aspects of the city and their expression, using particular themes and techniques. Opicino still considers Pavia as part of a vast geographical space — not just the Italian peninsula, but the entire Mediterranean basin — in which he identifies a region, the Po valley or Lombardy, occupied by a myriad of cities (a true polycentric system), in which Pavia is the geographical, economic and even linguistic centre. The overall form of the centre relates to the ad circulum *notion (the third wall is almost a perfect circle). If the city should expand, in his opinion it will have to reproduce this shape; the internal part,* ad quadratum *(the first and second walls are quadrangular), fits well within the external circle (Filarete reworks and perhaps complicates this model for Sforzinda, the utopian city he designed on paper for the Sforzas). Opicino needed to portray a continuity in time in order to further the existing close relationships both within the urban community and with the rest of the world. He therefore needed to intervene using a bold hand, integrating isolated blocks into the urban fabric and using the monumental buildings as starting points for futher growth of the city. In order to do so, Opicino uses the ancient Roman* ad quadratum *plan in his drawings, repeating it to encompass both the "old part" and the "new part" of the city. He employs city planning techniques more than a century old, already used in the ex novo reconstruction of the city of Lodi and the southwest sector of Brescia, as well as in the plans of the free burgs for the inhabitants of Brescia and Cremona along the river Oglio.*
8. "There are many excellent doctors and surgeons in the city. More young people from Pavia than any other city in this region go to study in Bologna, less than four days away, and many return to their native city as experts in law or medicine, some with doctorates. There are also many experts in theology: clerics, men of the cloth and even some laymen"[23]. *This is still the chronicle of Opicino de Canistris, confirming the absence of an educational system at the university level in Pavia at the beginning of the 13th century. According to historians, this reveals a strong continuing tradition of higher education, dating back to the law school active during the high Middle Ages, when the city was a capital for several centuries. Historians believe that it was this very tradition which prompted Galeazzo Visconti to sponsor the institution of the University of Pavia in 1365*[24].

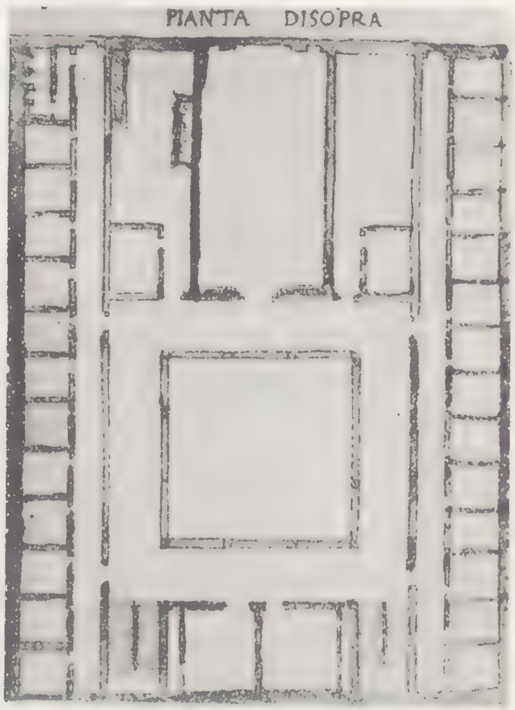
Siena. Progetto per la Nuova Sapienza, di Giuliano da Sangallo (prima redazione, 1492): piante del piano terreno e del primo piano, in Taccuino senese *f. 28v e f. 29r (da S. Borsi,* Giuliano da Sangallo: I disegni di architettura e dell'antico, *Roma 1985).*
Siena. Progetto per la Nuova Sapienza, di Giuliano da Sangallo (seconda redazione, 1492): piante del piano terreno e del primo piano, in Taccuino senese *f.20v e f.21r (da S. Borsi, cit.).*

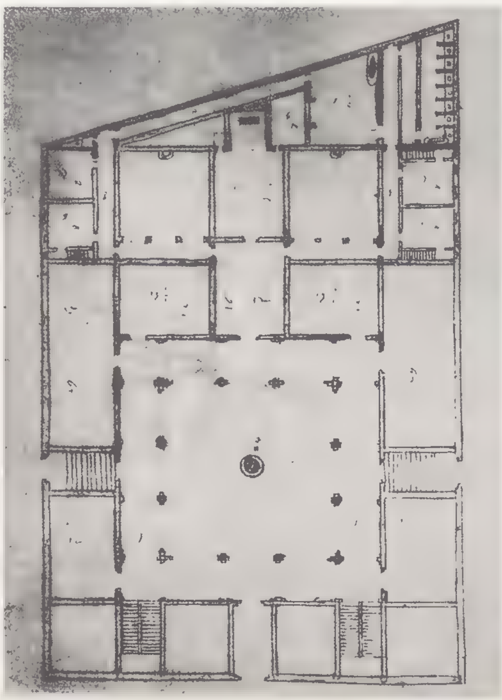
dall'urbanistica comunale, per esempio, nella ricostruzione *ex-novo* di Lodi, in quella del settore sud-occidentale di Brescia, ma anche negli impianti dei Borghi franchi, quelli per esempio, disposti in lunga fila a fronteggiarsi lungo l'Oglio da bresciani e cremonesi.
8. "*In città ci sono molti medici e chirurghi di gran valore: infatti più da Pavia che dalle altre città di quella regione si mandano giovani alle scuole di Bologna, che dista meno di quattro diete, donde molti ritornano esperti e istruiti nelle leggi, nei decreti e nella medicina e taluni addottorati in queste scienze. Si trovano là molti esperti in teologia: chierici, religiosi e anche certi laici*"[23]. Questa testimonianza ancora di Opicino de Canistris, se conferma l'assenza a Pavia di scuole di livello universitario agli inizi del Quattordicesimo secolo, rivelerebbe, secondo gli storici, il persistere vivace di una tradizione di studi superiori, la cui origine deve ricercarsi nella scuola giuridica attiva nell'alto medioevo, quando la città per alcuni secoli ebbe ruolo di capitale. Proprio in questa operante tradizione gli stessi storici hanno identificato la ragione, per la quale Galeazzo Visconti promosse nel 1365 lo Studio pavese[24].
Dopo aver accertato il carattere alternativo per la città della strategia viscontea rispetto al progetto comunale, la tesi non può essere accolta nel senso della continuità. Piuttosto si vorrebbe invocare la stessa tradizione operante in Pavia, per indurre che proprio quella era necessario condizionare attraverso l'iniziativa universitaria, al fine magari di assorbirla progressivamente.
Del resto, agli inizi lo Studio non ha sede propria. La disponibilità di locali per le scuole viene accertata da ufficiali deputati, che provvedono anche ad adattarli e comunque ad allestirli. Le aule sono sparse nei vari rioni della città, perloppiù presso conventi, ma più frequentemente sono collocate nel convento di San Tommaso, nella parrocchia di San Michele e soprattutto in Piazza del Popolo[25]. Viene così in luce il fatto che gli interventi viscontei in via di realizzazione (in particolare, Strada Nuova e Piazza Grande) già condizionano la città, tanto che una parte del patrimonio edilizio disponibile nel tessuto esistente viene di fatto coinvolto dalle iniziative in atto. Con ciò le attività dello Studio d'ora in poi contribuiscono alla progressiva trasformazione del centro cittadino, in un processo che troverà una sua prima conclusione quando, insediato il nuovo grande Ospedale unico, secondo una strategia di concentrazione dei servizi ormai in via di definitiva affermazione, l'Università troverà

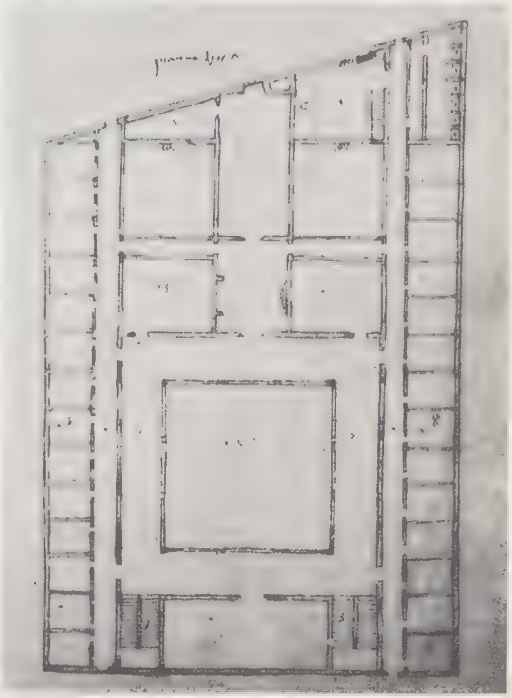
Recognizing the Visconti plans for the city development as an alternative to that of the municipal administration, we can no longer discuss them in terms of continuity with the past. Rather, we have to consider the new university in the light of the Pavian tradition of incorporating and eventually absorbing innovations.
In any case, the university had no campus of its own at the beginning. Officials were delegated to find premises for the school, adapting and furnishing them as necessary. The lecture halls were scattered all over the city, often in convents and monasteries, many of them in the convent of San Tommaso, the parish of San Michele and, above all, in Piazza del Popolo[25]*. This brings to light the fact that the works commissioned by the Visconti, still under construction (especially those of the Strada Nuova and the Piazza Grande), were already sufficiently advanced so as to free some of the existing buildings for the university initiative.*
From this moment on, the activities of the university contributed to the progressive transformation of the urban centre. This process and the strategy of concentration of services resulted in the construction of the new, large hospital. The university immediately became integrated within this strategy, even from a physical point of view[26]*.*
The hospital and the university were both examples of Viscontean achievements. While the plan of the hospital is an early harbinger of the cross-shaped plan, the university is designed as two adjacent units, those of the Lawyers and the Artists. "These two large rooms, separated by a common wall, each have an ample courtyard with porticoes, with many classrooms above and below"[27].
In both cases, the ad quadratum *design fits the introverted character of the typology. This aspect of the university structure in particular was inspired by the cloisters of a convent. In the case of Pavia one must however search for the reasons behind this introversion, not so much in narrow minded behaviour or the figurative expression of Gothic art, but rather in the rhythm of long-distance mobility which is the city's raison d'être. The changes which take place in this very pattern may help us to understand the differences which characterize the extraordinary work of Pellegrino Pellegrini in the design of the piazza in front of the main elevation of the Borromeo College, a square courtyard protected from above by a double order of columns with a garden behind it, open to the countryside*[28]*.*
9. During the course of the 16th century, universities in Pavia and many other cities established their campuses in the

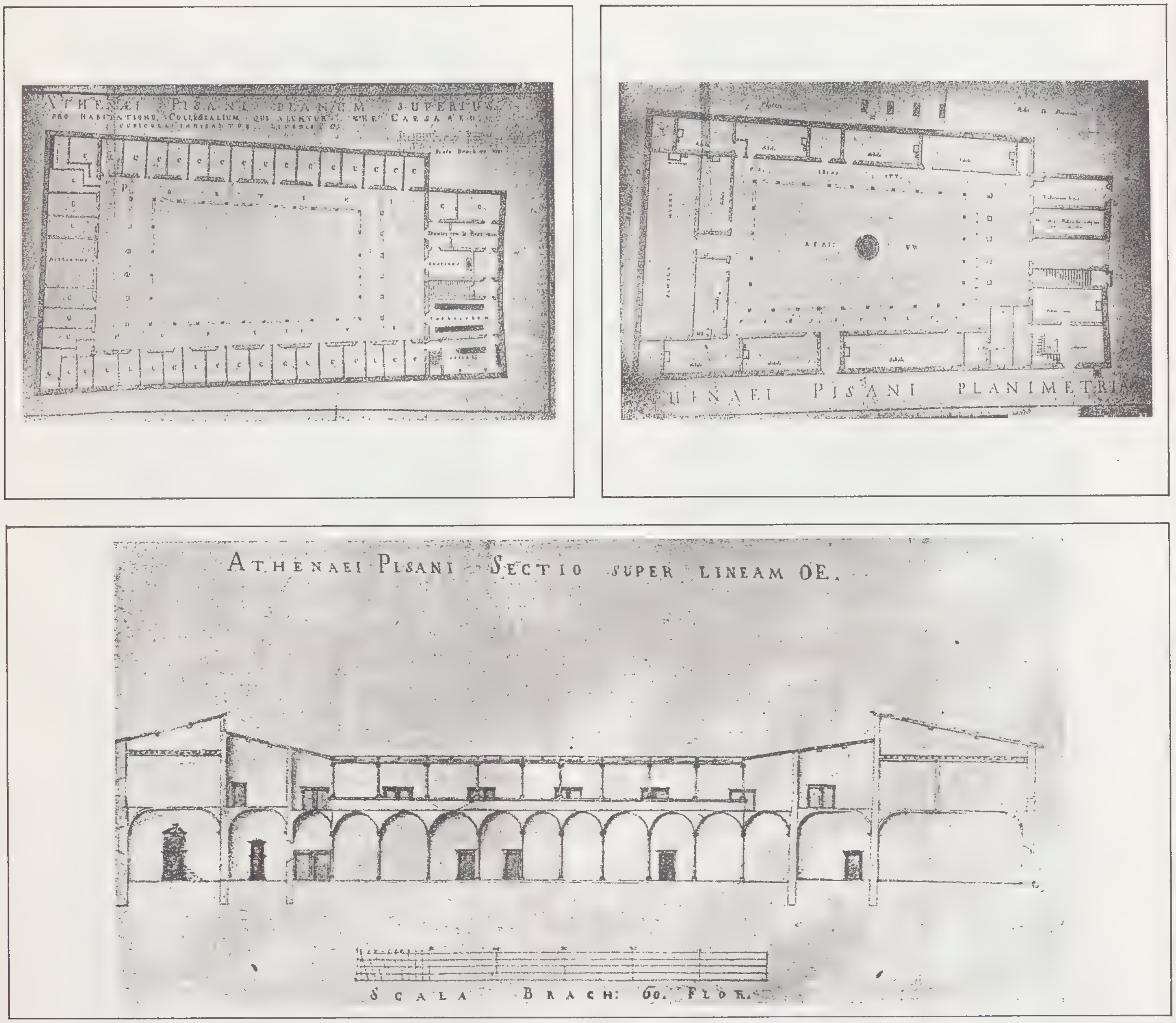
Siena. Design for the Nuova Sapienza, by Giuliano da Sangallo (first edition, 1492): ground floor and first floor plans, in Taccuino Senese, *f. 28v and f. 29r (from S. Borsi,* Giuliano da Sangallo: I disegni di architettura e dell'antico, *Rome 1985).*
Siena. Design for the Nuova Sapienza, by Giuliano da Sangallo (second edition, 1492): ground floor and first floor plans, in Taccuino Senese, *f. 20v and f. 21r (from S. Borsi, cit.).*











Pisa. Studio e Collegio di Sapienza: planimetria del piano terreno e del primo piano e sezione, inizio sec. XVII (da C. Lombardo, Di un'antica planimetria dello Studio pisano e del Collegio di Sapienza, *in "Bollettino storico pisano", XI-XIII, 1941-1943-1947).*

Pisa. Studio and Collegio di Sapienza: ground and first floor plan and cross-section, early XVII century (from C. Lombardo, Di un'antica planimetria dello Studio pisano e del Collegio di Sapienza, *in "Bollettino Storico Pisano", XI-XIII, 1941-1943-1947).*

nei suoi confronti ragioni d'integrazione, anche fisica[26].
Come l'Ospedale, così l'Università si trova sull'allineamento dei caposaldi viscontei. Mentre l'impianto dell'Ospedale sviluppa precocissimamente la crociera, quello dell'Università si articola in due unità adiacenti, di pertinenza rispettivamente ai Legisti e agli Artisti. "*Queste sono due stanze grandi contigue, da una sola parete separate, ciascuna delle quali ha un ampio cortile con portici d'attorno, con molte scuole e di sotto e di sopra*"[27].
In entrambi i casi il procedimento *ad quadratum* asseconda il carattere introverso della tipologia. In particolare si è voluto riferire questo aspetto dell'impianto universitario ad una elaborazione del chiostro conventuale; ma il caso pavese forse suggerisce di ricercare le ragioni di fondo di questa introversione, non tanto nel chiuso dei comportamenti e nella continuità della prassi gotica, che li porterebbe in figura, quanto nello speciale regime di mobilità di lungo corso che fa capo alla città. E le mutazioni intervenute proprio in questo regime forse aiutano ancora a comprendere lo scarto che interviene nella straordinaria invenzione di Pellegrino Pellegrini al Collegio Borromeo, articolata su piazza antistante la facciata, cortile quadrato proiettato in alto dal doppio ordine binato, giardino retrostante aperto sulla campagna[28].
9. Come a Pavia, in molte altre città, nel corso del Sedicesimo secolo, le Università si consolidano nel centro con sedi esclusive, secondo modalità insediative e caratteri tipologici propri nel momento in cui il ruolo attivo quasi ovunque si attenua fino ad eclissarsi. (Il confronto tra casi padani — Bologna e Padova, per esempio — e casi toscani — Pisa e Siena, per esempio — risulterebbe significativo per le differenze contestuali).
Quando alla fine del Settecento le Università vengono di fatto rifondate, l'insediamento nel centro viene messo in discussione: così, per esempio, avviene a Bologna e a Padova, dove si predispongono e si attuano progetti di decentramento. Il fatto che a Pavia ciò non avvenga e si proceda ad una riforma profonda della sede antica, dimostra indirettamente la perdita di ruolo della città, considerata ormai votata alla specializzazione universitaria[29].
Conviene però notare che nel caso patavino il decentramento universitario, riferito alle Facoltà tecnico-scientifiche (cliniche mediche, Specola astronomica, Scuola di architettura, dislocate rispettivamente nel nuovo Ospedale e nel Castello) si pone all'interno di un piano di *sdoppiamento del centro* messo a punto da Andrea Memmo

city centres, in accordance with the settlement models and typological tenets of the day. Soon, however, their role in urban life began to decline. (A comparison between cases in the Po valley — Bologna and Padua, for example — and cases in Tuscany, like Pisa and Siena, could turn out to be meaningful in the understanding of contextual differences). When the universities were founded for the second time at the end of the 1770s, their location in the city centres became a matter of discussion. This happened, for example, in Bologna and in Padua, where projects for the decentralization of the university were undertaken. The fact that this did not take place in Pavia, and that a complete renovation of the old site of the university was undertaken, only demonstrates the fact that the city had lost its role as an urban centre and was by then considered merely a centre of education[29].
Nevertheless, we should note that in the case of Padua the decentralization of the university involved the technical and scientific departments. The medical clinics were moved to the new hospital and the astronomical observatory and the school of architecture were moved to the castle as part of a design for the creation of a second centre developed by Andrea Memmo and Domenico Cerato. Activities at the simultaneous service of both countryside and city were located within the triangle of the castle-hospital-Prato della Valle in the city. When Giuseppe Japelli proposed the enlargement of the university campus under different conditions, he implied the complete demobilization of Bo[30]*. This is in fact the last attempt to utilize redesign of the university campus as a part of an overall urban transformation. Following this, the non-central, rural and main campuses are no longer actively involved in the life and construction of the city.*

Notes
1) Mentioned in F. CARDINI, M.T. FUMAGALLI BEONIO-BROCCHIERI, Antiche università d'Europa. Storia e personaggi degli Atenei nel Medioevo, *Milan, 1991, p. 68.*
2) See G. CANELLA, Passé et avenir de l'anti-ville universitaire, *in "L'architecture d'aujourd'hui", no. 137, March-April 1968, pp. 16-19.*
3) See P. VACCARI, Storia dell'Università di Pavia, *ibidem 1957, pp. 1-13.*
4) See P. VACCARI, Profilo storico di Pavia, *ibidem 1950, p. 73.*
5) See A.M. ROMANINI, La rielaborazione trecentesca di Pavia romana, *in "Atti del convegno di studio sul centro storico di Pavia", July 4-5, 1964, ibidem, 1969, p. 133.*
6) See L. ROSSI, Gli Eustachi di Pavia e la flotta viscontea e sforzesca nel sec. XV, *in "Bollettino della società pavese di Storia Patria": XIV (1914), pp. 30-70, 147-193, 362-400; XV (1915), pp. 153-227; XXIV (1924), pp. 27-100; XXV (1925), pp. 33-84; XXVII (1927), pp. 17-72; XXVIII (1928), pp. 253-287.*
7) See P. VACCARI, Profilo, *op. cit., pp. 72-73.*
8) See F. FAGNANI, La Strada Nuova, *in "Pavia", 1964, pp. 34-38.*
9) See L. BELTRAMI, Storia documentaria della Certosa di Pavia. I. La fondazione e i lavori sino alla morte di G. Galeazzo Visconti (1389-1402), *Milan, 1896.*

Bologna. Archiginnasio: pianta e prospetto, da G. Bianconi, Guida del forestiere per la città di Bologna e i suoi sobborghi, *1846 (da AA.VV.,* L'Archiginnasio. Il Palazzo, l'Università, la Biblioteca, *Bologna 1987).*
Bologna. Archiginnasio pubblico nella "Ichnoscenografia" di F. Gnudi, 1702 (da AA.VV., L'Archiginnasio, *cit.).*
Padova. Palazzo del Bo: spaccato prospettico nell' incisione di F. Bertarelli, sec. XVII (da AA.VV., Il Palazzo del Bo. Storia, architettura e restauri della facciata, *Padova 1989).*
Padova. Palazzo del Bo (contrassegnato con 72) nella pianta di G. Valle, 1784 (da AA.VV., Padova. Il volto della città dalla pianta del Valle al fotopiano, *Padova 1989).*

e Domenico Cerato, che articola sulla triangolazione incentrata su Castello-Ospedale-Prato della Valle quelle attività al servizio ad un tempo della campagna e della città. Giuseppe Jappelli, rielaborando in mutate condizioni questo piano, ripropone potenziato l'insediamento universitario, implicando la completa smobilitazione del Bo [30].
Di fatto questo è l'ultimo tentativo di puntare anche sulla riarticolazione dell'insediamento universitario per dar forza a un disegno complessivo di trasformazione urbana. In seguito Quartiere sub-centrale, Città degli studi, *Campus* foraneo, rinunciano definitivamente al coinvolgimento attivo dell'università nella vita e nella costruzione della città.

Note
1) Cit. in F. CARDINI, M.T. FUMAGALLI BEONIO-BROCCHIERI, *Antiche università d'Europa. Storia e personaggi degli Atenei nel Medioevo*, Milano 1991, p. 68.
2) Cfr. G. CANELLA, *Passé et avenir de l'anti-ville universitaire*, in "L'architecture d'aujourd'hui", n. 137, marzo-aprile 1968, pp. 16-19.
3) Cfr. P. VACCARI, *Storia dell'Università di Pavia*, ivi 1957, pp. 1-13.
4) Cfr. P. VACCARI, *Profilo storico di Pavia*, ivi 1950, p.73.
5) Cfr. A.M. ROMANINI, *La rielaborazione trecentesca di Pavia romana*, in AA.VV., *Atti del convegno di studio sul centro storico di Pavia*, 4-5 luglio 1964, ivi 1969, p. 133.
6) Cfr. L. ROSSI, *Gli Eustachi di Pavia e la flotta viscontea e sforzesca nel sec. XV*, in "Bollettino della società pavese di Storia Patria": XIV (1914), pp. 30-70, 147-193, 362-400; XV (1915), pp. 153-227; XXIV (1924), pp. 27-100; XXV (1925), pp. 33-84; XXVII (1927), pp. 17-72; XXVIII (1928), pp.253-287.
7) Cfr. P. VACCARI, *Profilo*, cit., pp. 72-73.
8) Cfr. F. FAGNANI, *La Strada Nuova*, in "Pavia", 1964, pp. 34-38.
9) Cfr. L.BELTRAMI, *Storia documentaria della Certosa di Pavia. I. La fondazione e i lavori sino alla morte di G. Galeazzo Visconti (1389-1402)*, Milano 1896.
10) Cfr. A.M. ROMANINI, *L'architettura gotica in Lombardia*, Milano 1964, vol. I, pp.426-428.
11) Cfr. A.M. ROMANINI, *La rielaborazione*, cit., pp. 131-132.
12) Cfr. A.M. ROMANINI, *Ibidem*, p. 130 e ID., *L'architettura*, cit. pp. 38-50, 181-190.
13) Cfr. C.M. CIPOLLA, *Une crise ignorée: comment s'est perdue la proprieté ecclesiastique dans l'Italie du Nord entre le XI et le XVI siècle*, in "Annales E.S.C.", n. 2, 1947, pp.317-327, passim e ID., *Per la storia delle terre della Bassa Lombarda*, in AA.VV., *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, Milano 1957, pp. 665-672.
14) Cfr. C.M. CIPOLLA, *Ibidem*.
15) Cfr. A.M. ROMANINI, *La rielaborazione*, cit., pp. 127- 128.
16) OPICINO DE CANISTRIS, *Liber de laudibus civitatis ticinensis* (1330), trad.it. a cura di D.Ambaglio, Pavia 1984, p. 57.
17) BONVESIN DELLA RIVA, *De magnalibus Mediolani* (1288), trad. it. di G. Pontiggia, Milano 1974, pp.43-45.
18) ID., p. 41.
19) OPICINO DE CANISTRIS, *Liber*, cit., p.75.
20) *Ibidem*, pp. 53-55.
21) Cfr. A. PERONI, *Problemi della documentazione urbanistica di Pavia dal medioevo all'epoca moderna*, in AA.VV., *Atti*, cit., p. 111.
22) Cfr. P. TOZZI, *Opicino e Pavia*, ivi 1990.
23) OPICINO DE CANISTRIS, *Liber*, cit., p. 79.
24) Cfr. P.VACCARI, *Storia*, cit., pp. 1-13; L. ERBA, *Guida storico-artistica*

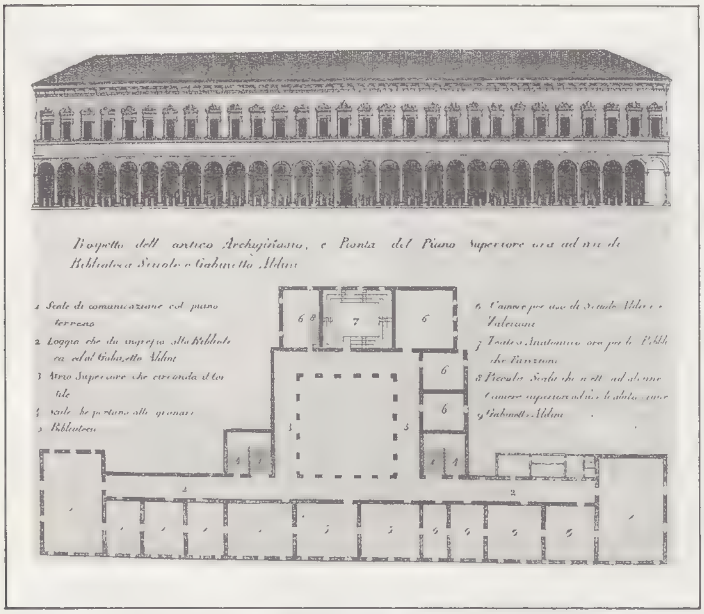
10) See A.M. ROMANINI, L'architettura gotica in Lombardia, *Milan, 1964, vol. I, pp. 426-428.*
11) See A.M. ROMANINI, La rielaborazione, *op. cit., pp. 131-132.*
12) See A.M. ROMANINI, ibidem, *p. 130 and ID.,* L'architettura, *op. cit. pp. 38-50, 181-190.*
13) See C.M. CIPOLLA, Une crise ignorée: comment s'est perdue la proprieté ecclesiastique dans l'Italie du Nord entre le XI et le XVI siècle, *in "Annales E.S.C.", no. 2, 1947, pp. 317-327, passim, and ID.,* Per la storia delle terre della Bassa Lombarda, *in "Studi in onore di Armando Sapori", Milan, 1957, pp. 665-672.*
14) See C.M. CIPOLLA, ibidem.
15) See A.M. ROMANINI, La rielaborazione, *op. cit., pp. 127-128.*
16) OPICINO DE CANISTRIS, Liber de laudibus civitatis ticinensis *(1330).*
17) BONVESIN DELLA RIVA, De magnalibus Mediolani *(1288).*
18) ID., p. 41.
19) OPICINO DE CANISTRIS, Liber, *op. cit., p. 75.*
20) Ibidem, *pp. 53-55.*
21) See A. PERONI, Problemi della documentazione urbanistica di Pavia dal medioevo all'epoca moderna, *in "Atti", op. cit., p. 111.*
22) See P. TOZZI, Opicino e Pavia, *ibidem, 1990.*
23) OPICINO DE CANISTRIS, Liber, *op. cit., p. 79.*
24) See P. VACCARI, Storia, *op. cit., pp. 1-13; L. ERBA,* Guida storico-artistica dell'Università di Pavia, *ibidem, 1976, pp. 7-15.*
25) See L. FRANCHI, L'edificio dell'Università, *in "Universitatis ticinensis saecularia undecima die XXI maii an. MCMXXV", Pavia, 1925, pp. 5-10.*
26) See A. PERONI, Residenza signorile e costruzioni pubbliche, *in "Pavia. Architettura dell'età sforzesca", Turin, 1978, pp. 9-89.*
27) See S. BREVENTANO, Istoria della antichità, nobiltà et delle cose notabili della città di Pavia *(1570), in E. SOLMI, "Scritti vinciani", Florence, 1924, p. 459.*
28) See C. BARONI, Il Collegio Borromeo, *Pavia, 1937.*
29) See for Bologna: L'Archiginnasio. Il Palazzo, l' Università, la Biblioteca, *Bologna, 1987; for Padua: L. PUPPI,* Padova. Case e Palazzi, *Vicenza, 1977; for Siena: G. CASCIO PRATILLI,* L'Università e il Principe: Gli Studi di Siena e di Pisa tra Rinascimento e Controriforma, *Florence, 1975, and S. BORSI,* Giuliano da Sangallo. I disegni di architettura e dell'antico, *Rome, 1985; for Pisa: G. CASCIO PRATILLI, op. cit., and C. LOMBARDO,* Di un'antica planimetria dello Studio Pisano e del Collegio di Sapienza, *in "Bollettino storico pisano", XI-XIII (1941-1943-1947), pp. 59-79; for Pavia: P. VACCARI,* Storia, *op. cit.*
30) G. ROMANELLI, Jappelli per l'università di Padova: un incompiuto manifesto di architettura, *in "Casabella", no. 429, October 1977, pp. 41-47.*

Bologna. Archiginnasio: plan and elevation by G. Bianconi, Guida del forestiere per la città di Bologna e i suoi sobborghi, *1846 (from AA.VV.,* L'Archiginnasio. Il Palazzo, l'Università, la Biblioteca, *Bologna 1987).*

*Bologna. Public Archiginnasio in the "Ichnoscenografia" by F. Gnudi, 1702 (from AA.VV., L'*Archiginnasio, *cit.).*

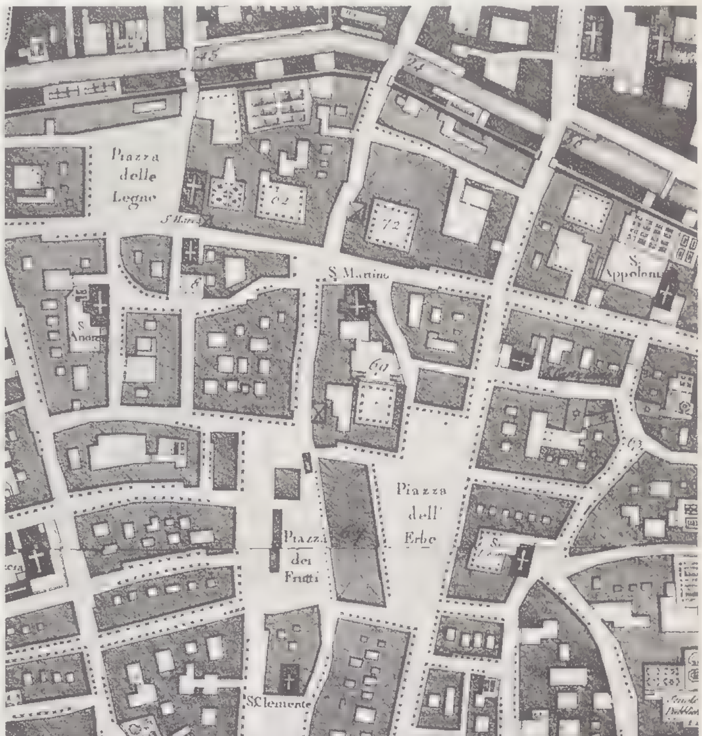
Padova. Palazzo del Bo: perspective cross-section by F. Bertarelli, XVII century (from AA.VV., Il Palazzo del Bo. Storia, architettura e restauri della facciata, *Padova 1989).*

Padova. Palazzo del Bo: (marked with 72) in a plan by G. Valle, 1784 (from AA.VV., Padova. Il volto della città dalla pianta del Valle al fotopiano, *Padova, 1989).*



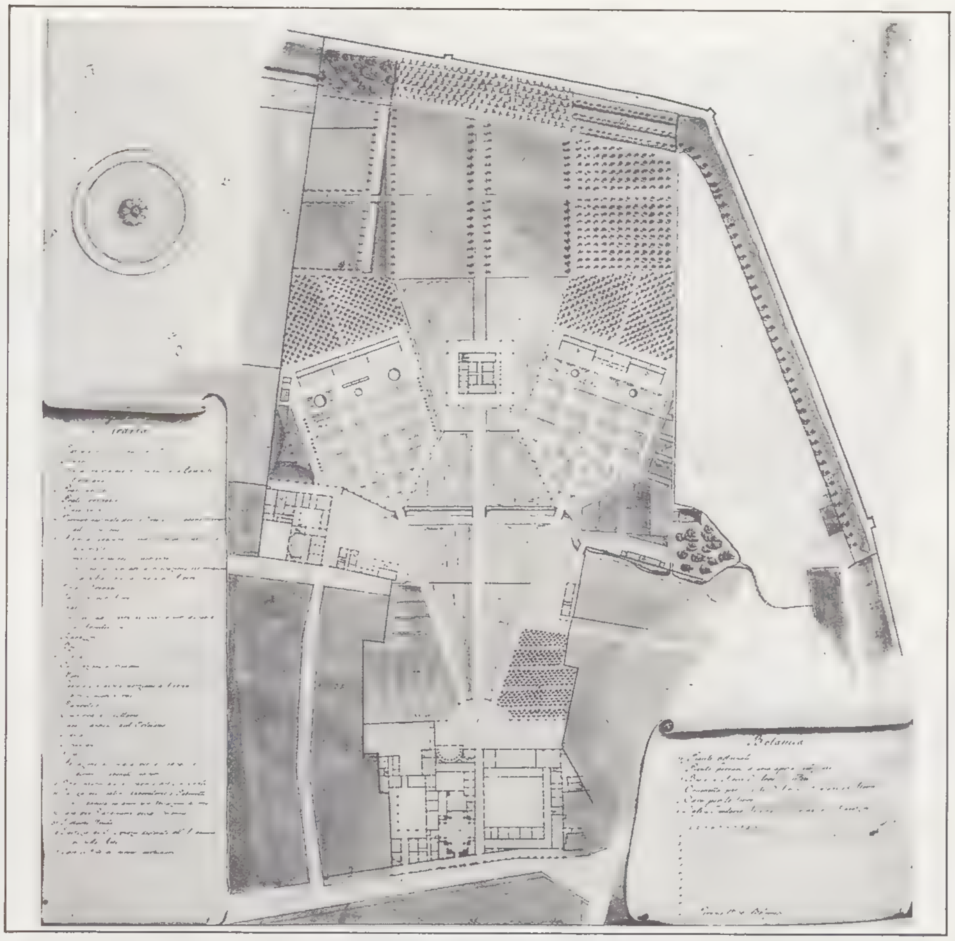


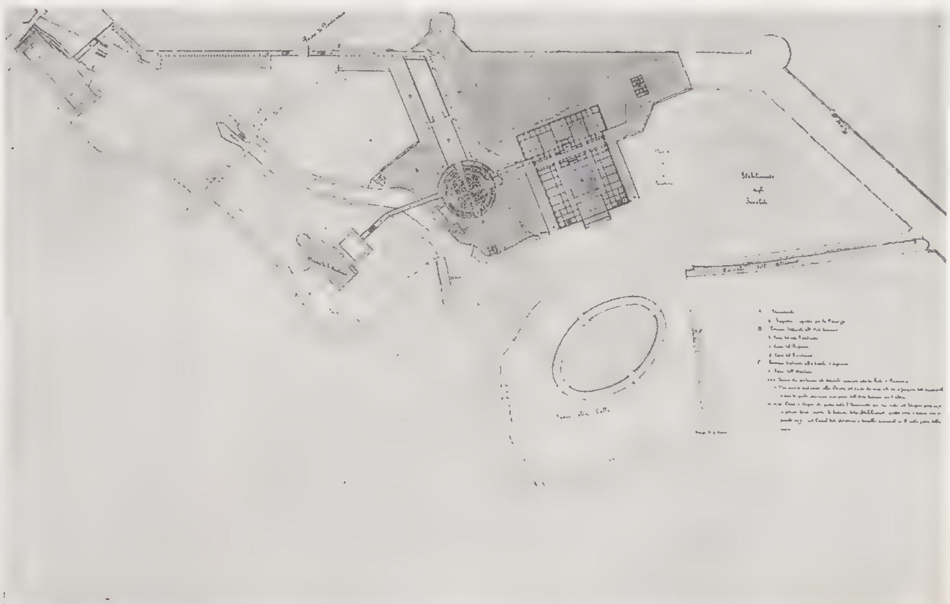




Bologna. Pianta generale dei Reali stabilimenti della Botanica, dell'Agraria, della Chimica e dell'Accademia di Belle Arti, di G.B. Martinetti, 1803 (da AA.VV., L'Archiginnasio, *cit.).*
Padova. Progetto per la nuova Università, di G. Jappelli, 1824 (da L. Puppi, Padova. Case e Palazzi, *Vicenza 1977).*

Bologna. General plan of the Reali Stabilimenti della Botanica, dell'Agraria, della Chimica and dell'Accademia delle Belle Arti, by G.B. Martinelli, 1803 (from AA.VV., L'Archiginnasio, *cit.)*
Padova. Design for the New University, by G. Jappelli, 1824 (from L. Puppi, Padova. Case e Palazzi, *Vicenza 1977).*





dell'Università di Pavia, ivi 1976, pp. 7-15.
25) Cfr. L.FRANCHI, *L'edificio dell'Università*, in AA.VV., *Universitatis ticinensis saecularia undecima die XXI maii an. MCMXXV*, Pavia 1925, pp. 5-10
26) Cfr. A. PERONI, *Residenza signorile e costruzioni pubbliche*, in AA.VV., *Pavia. Architettura dell'età sforzesca*, Torino 1978, pp. 9-89.
27) Cfr. S. BREVENTANO, *Istoria della antichità, nobiltà et delle cose notabili della città di Pavia* (1570), cit. in E. SOLMI, *Scritti vinciani*, Firenze 1924, p. 459.
28) Cfr. C. BARONI, *Il Collegio Borromeo*, Pavia 1937.
29) Cfr. per Bologna: AA.VV., *L'Archiginnasio. Il Palazzo, l' Università, la Biblioteca*, Bologna 1987; per Padova: L.PUPPI, *Padova. Case e Palazzi*, Vicenza 1977; per Siena: G. CASCIO PRATILLI, *L'Università e il Principe: Gli Studi di Siena e di Pisa tra Rinascimento e Controriforma*, Firenze 1975 e S. BORSI, *Giuliano da Sangallo. I disegni di architettura e dell'antico*, Roma 1985; per Pisa: G. CASCIO PRATILLI, cit.e C. LOMBARDO, *Di un'antica planimetria dello Studio Pisano e del Collegio di Sapienza*, in "Bollettino storico pisano", XI-XIII (1941-1943-1947), pp. 59-79; per Pavia: P. VACCARI, *Storia*, cit..
30) G. ROMANELLI, *Jappelli per l'università di Padova: un incompiuto manifesto di architettura*, in "Casabella", n.429, ottobre 1977, pp. 41-47.

Chapel for St. Thomas University, Houston, Texas
1991

Philip Johnson Architects

Associate: John Manley



Photo: R. Payne.

Chapel for St. Thomas University, Houston, Texas

1991

Philip Johnson Architects

Associate: John Manley

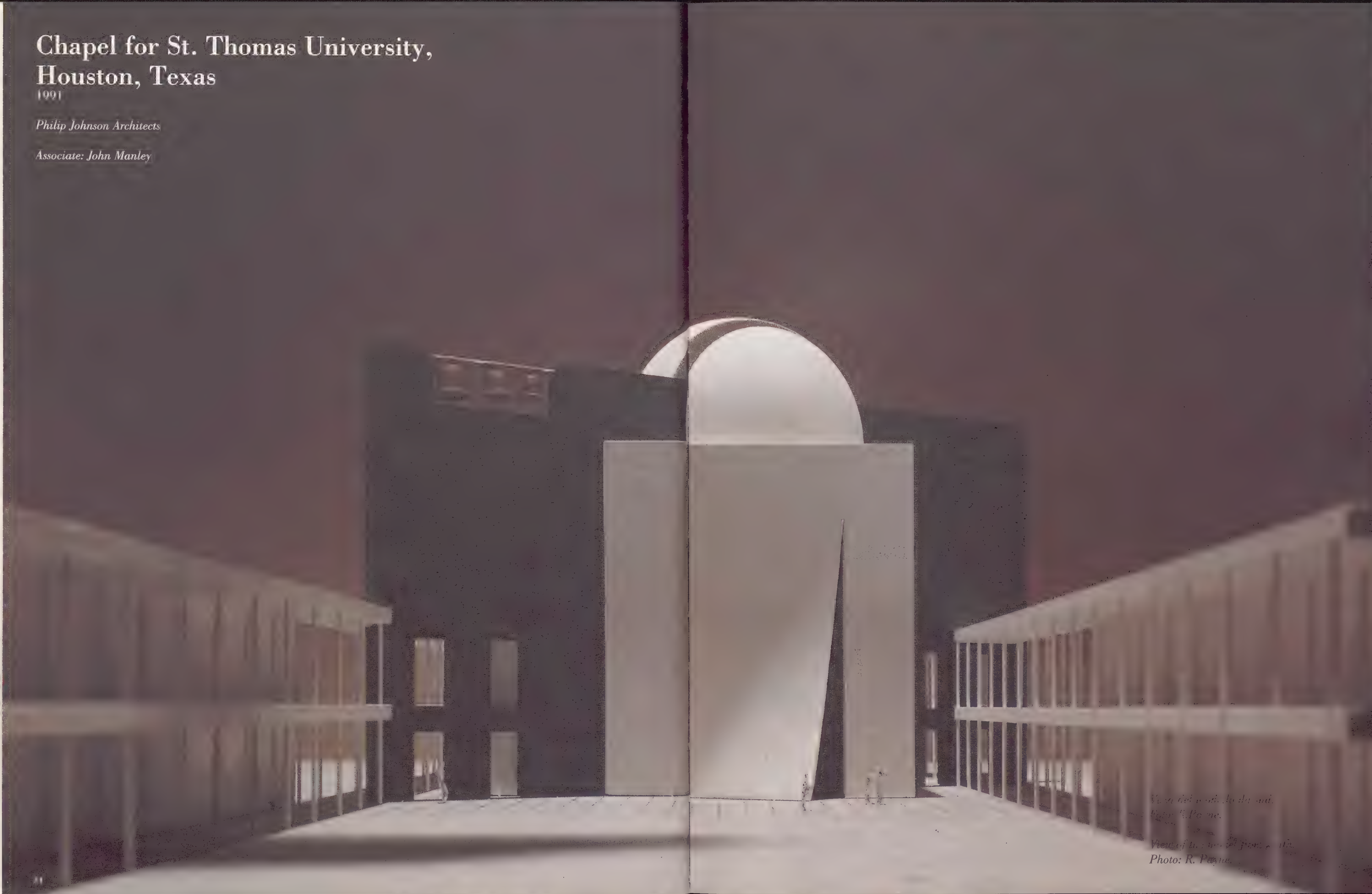


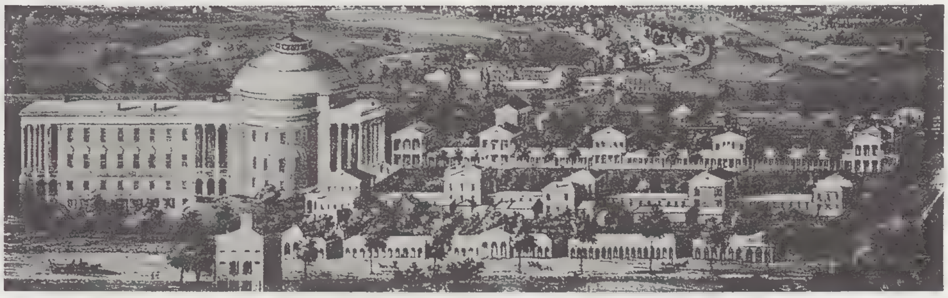
Photo: R. Payne.

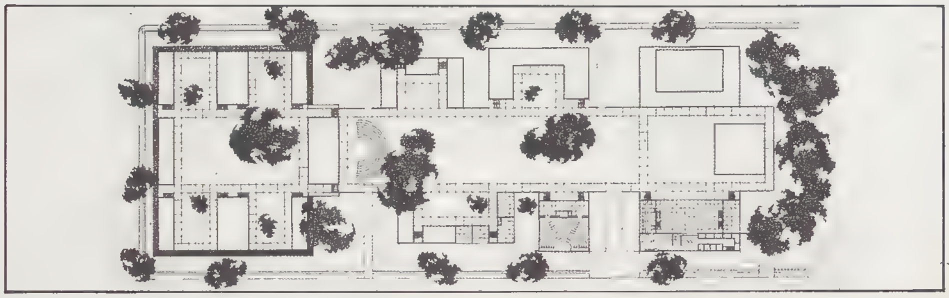
Cappella della Università di St. Thomas a Houston, Texas
Philip Johnson Architects

La cappella è un cubo di 18 metri, sormontato da una cupola tagliata da una fenditura, e può accogliere fino a 260 fedeli. Situata nel *campus* progettato da Philip Johnson, e costruito nel 1957, è circondata su tre lati da una galleria porticata a due piani che collega tutti gli edifici.
Il volume cubico della cappella è tagliato in diagonale da un muro in granito nero, forato da porte e finestre e dalla cella campanaria, che si conclude "investendo" entrambe le gallerie laterali. Internamente ed esternamente la cappella è rivestita in stucco bianco, mentre all'ingresso una parete piegata si proietta in avanti come la falda di una tenda.
L'interno è modesto. L'effetto principale è prodotto dal gioco della luce naturale proveniente da fonti nascoste quali la fenditura della cupola, il lucernario obliquo al di sopra dell'altare, il cono di luce che avvolge la statua della Vergine e la feritoia dietro l'organo. Ma l'elemento di maggior spicco è la grande croce della parete occidentale, realizzata in vetro trasparente che si staglia con la sua abbagliante luminosità nella penombra dell'interno.

Chapel for St. Thomas University, Houston, Texas
Philip Johnson Architects

The Chapel is a cube of 60 feet surmounted by a cleft dome and seating 260. Situated on a campus designed by Philip Johnson and built in 1957, it is surrounded on three sides by a two story gallery connecting all existing buildings. The Chapel is a cube that is "sliced" at an oblique angle by a punctured black granite stone wall. The wall ends by "crashing" through the galleries on both sides. It is perforated by doorways, windows and an opening for bells. The cube is white stucco, inside and out and the entrance is a warped wall that projects outward like a tent flap. The interior is modest. The main effect is the play of daylight from hidden sources: the slot through the dome above, the angled skylight above the altar, the chimney-like light over the statue of the Virgin and the slot behind the organ. Most important is the great cross on the west wall made of clear glass which makes a startling brightness in the comparatively dim interior.

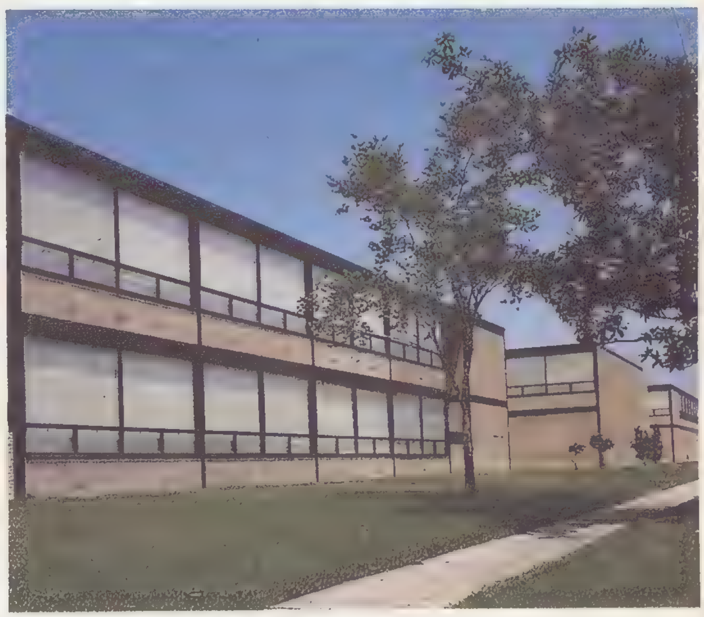






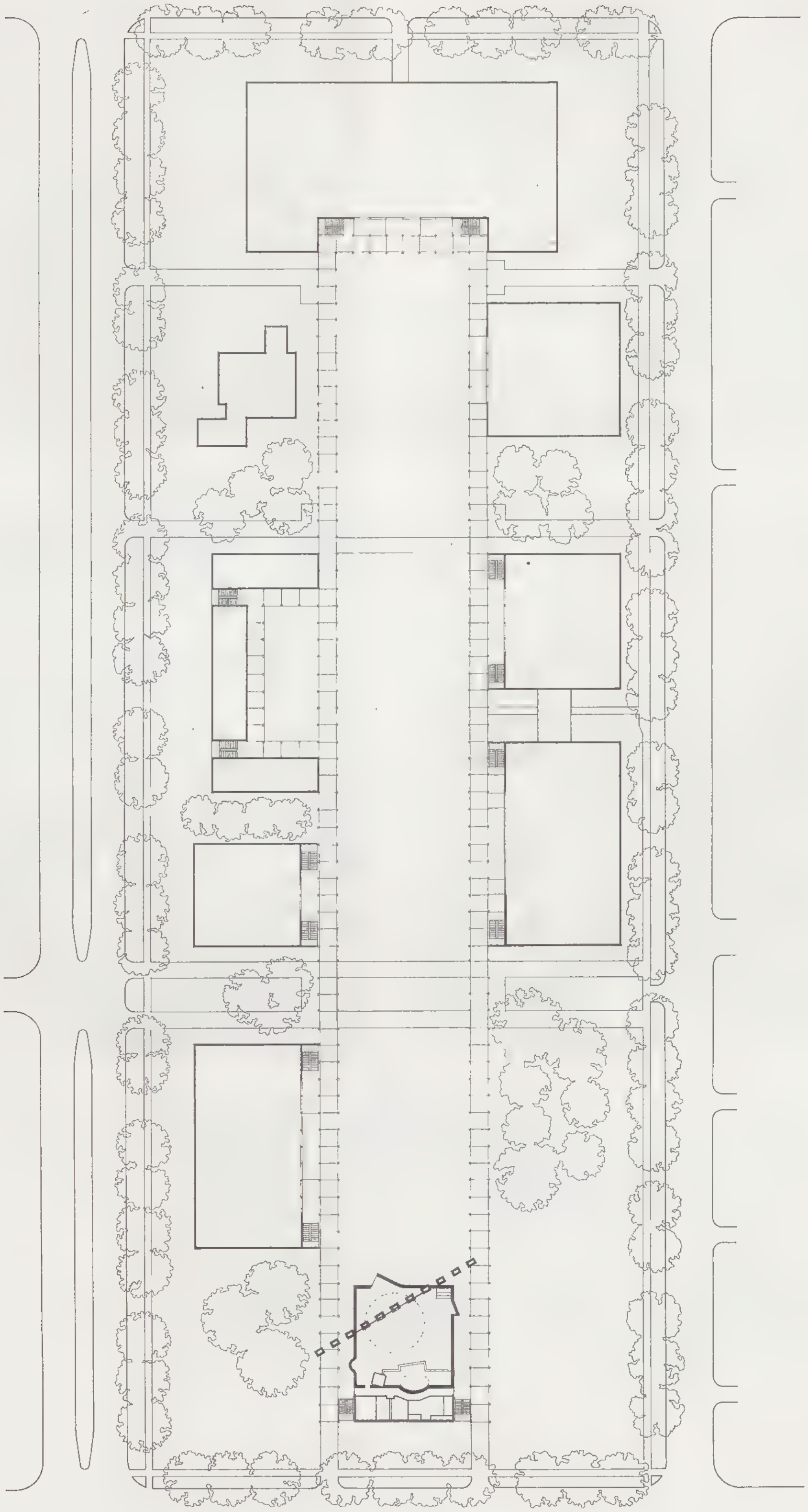






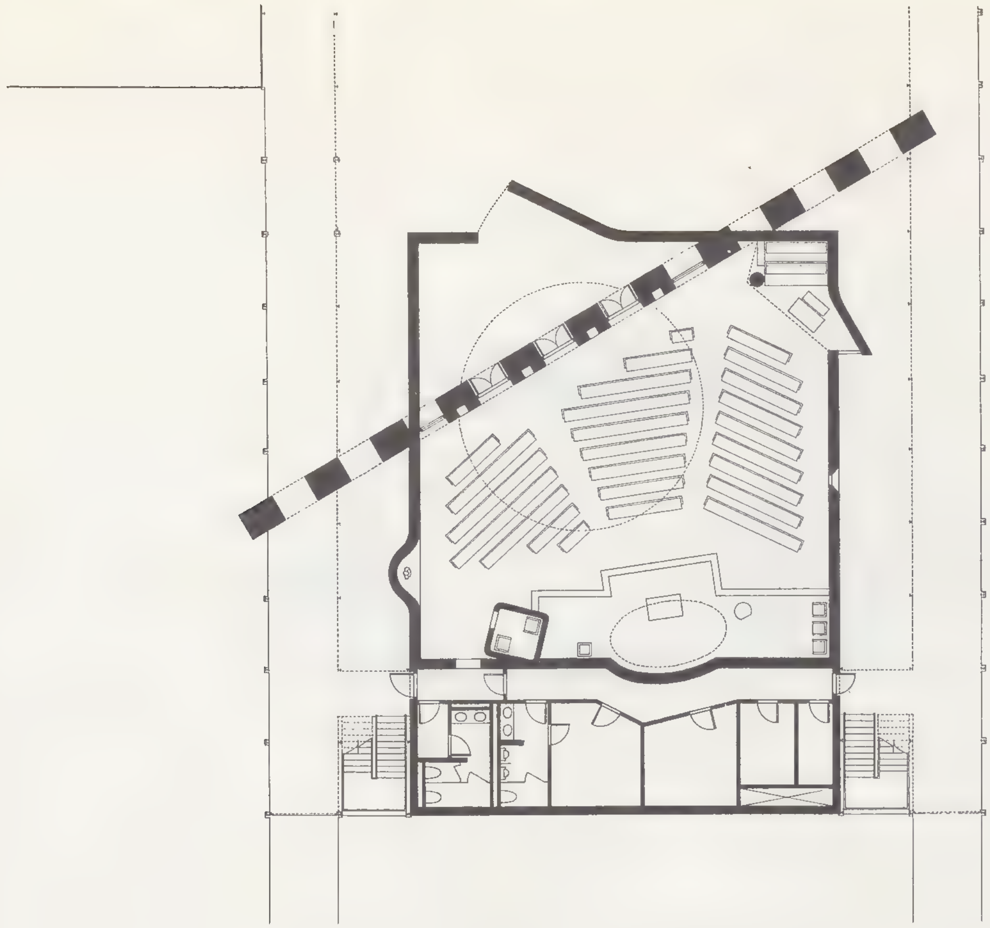
Thomas Jefferson, Università della Virginia, Charlottesville, 1804-17, riferita da Johnson al suo progetto per l'Università di St.Thomas, 1957. Philip Johnson, Università di St.Thomas, 1957: viste.

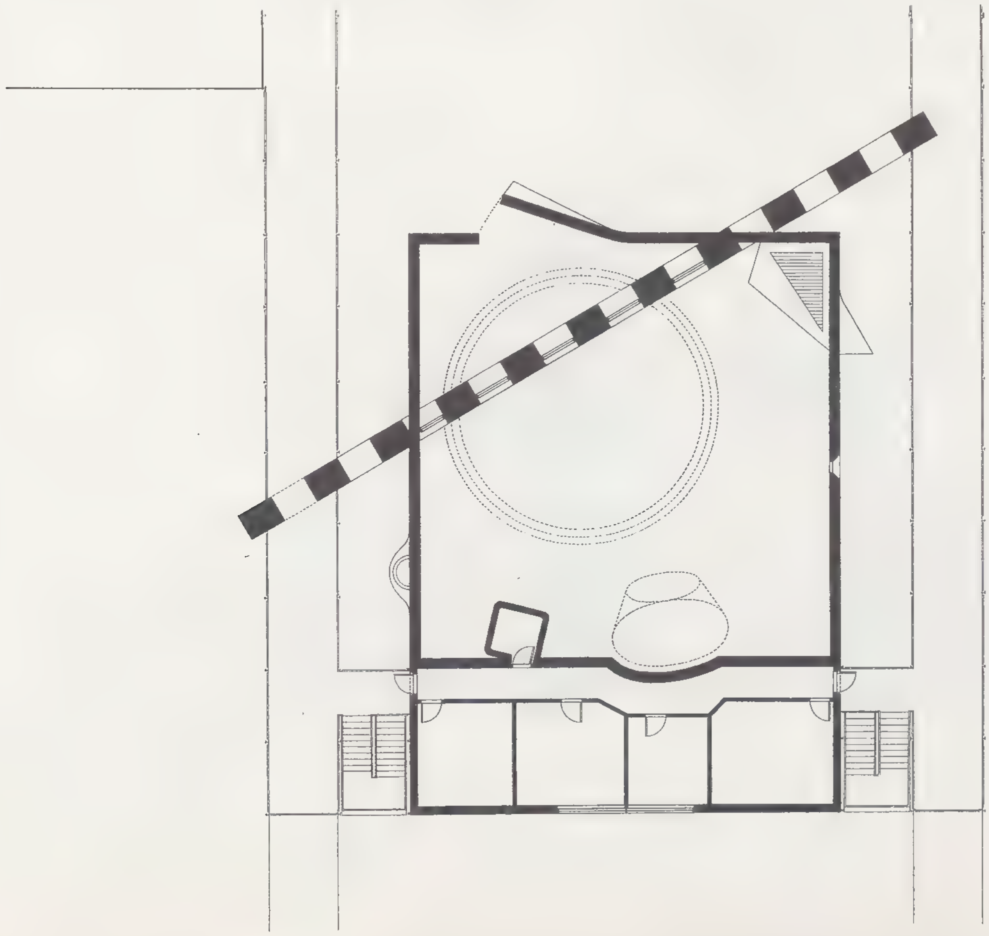
Thomas Jefferson, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1804-17, referred to by Johnson's design for the University of St. Thomas, 1957. Philips Johnson, University of St. Thomas, 1957: views.

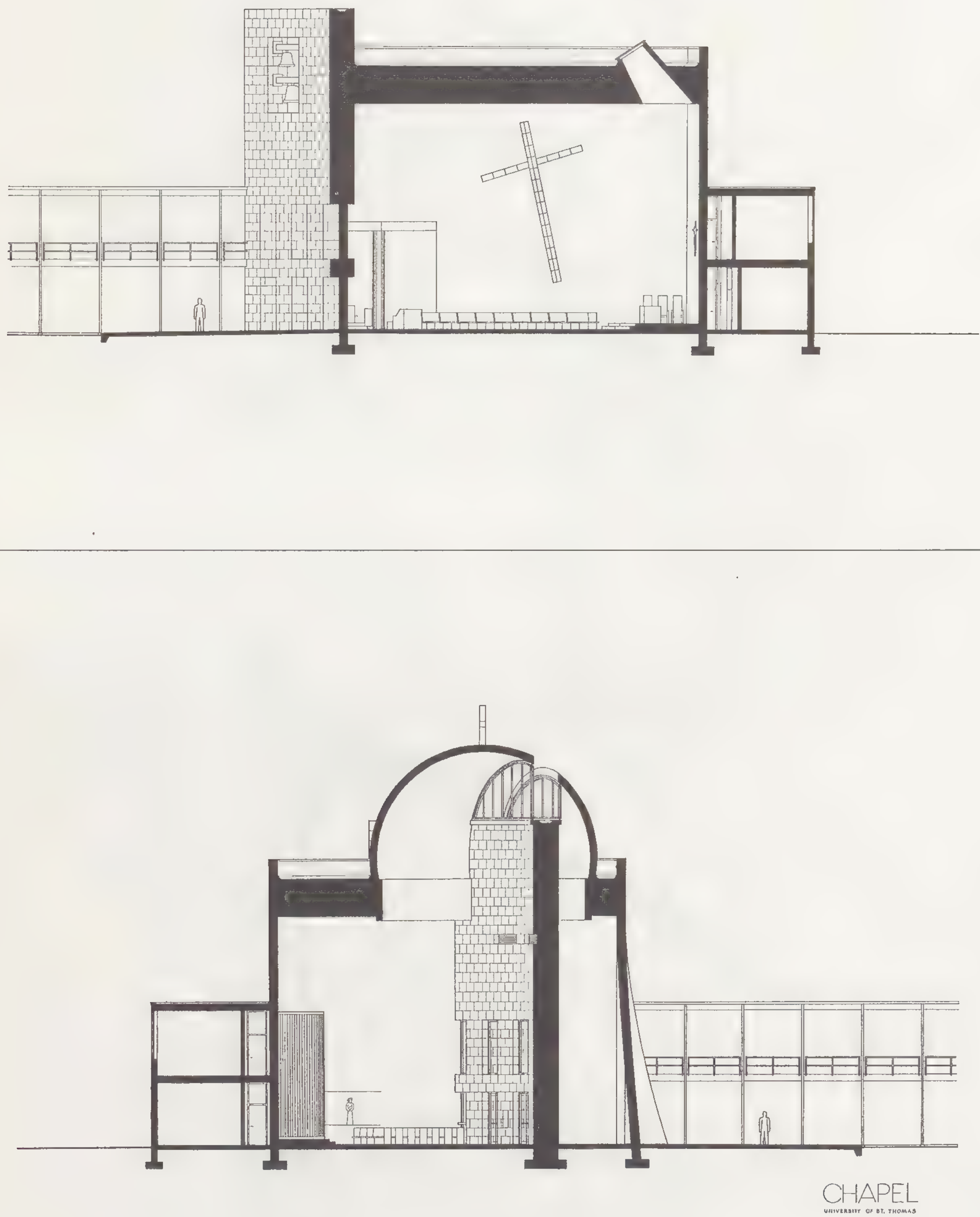


Planimetria generale dell'Università di St.Thomas con la cappella.
Piante del piano terra e del primo piano.

Site plan of the University of St. Thomas including the Chapel.
Ground and first floor plans.

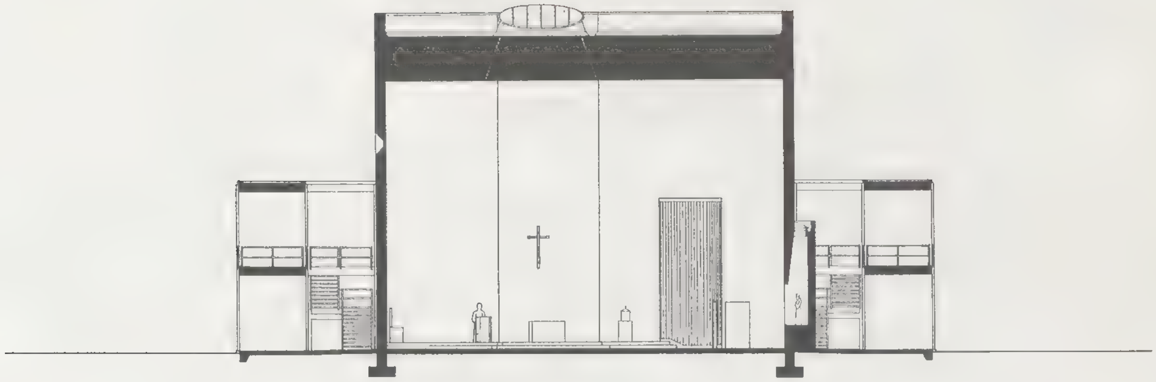


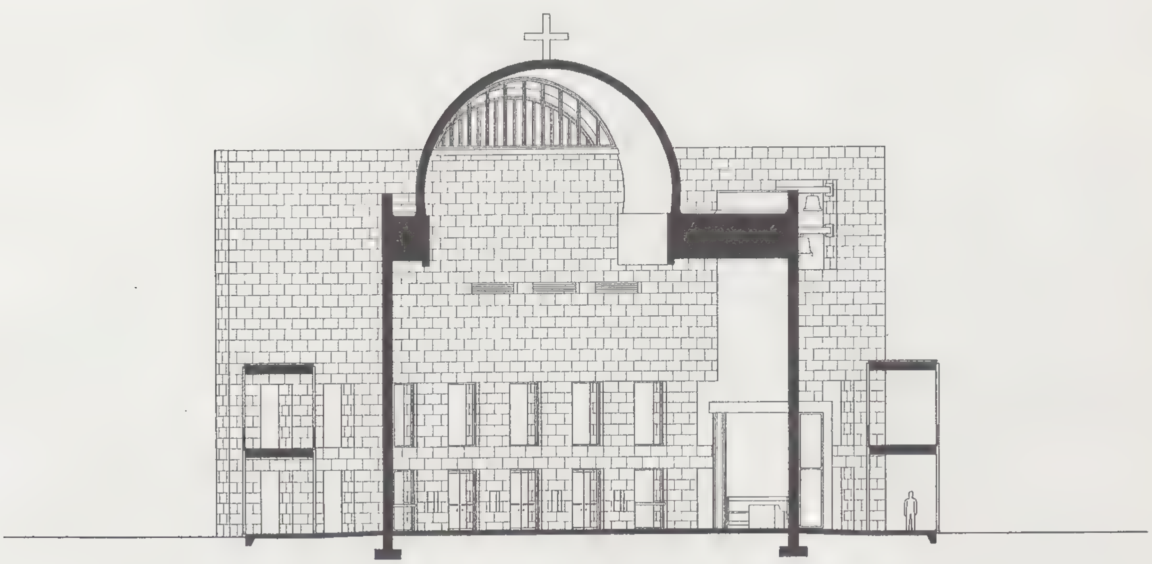


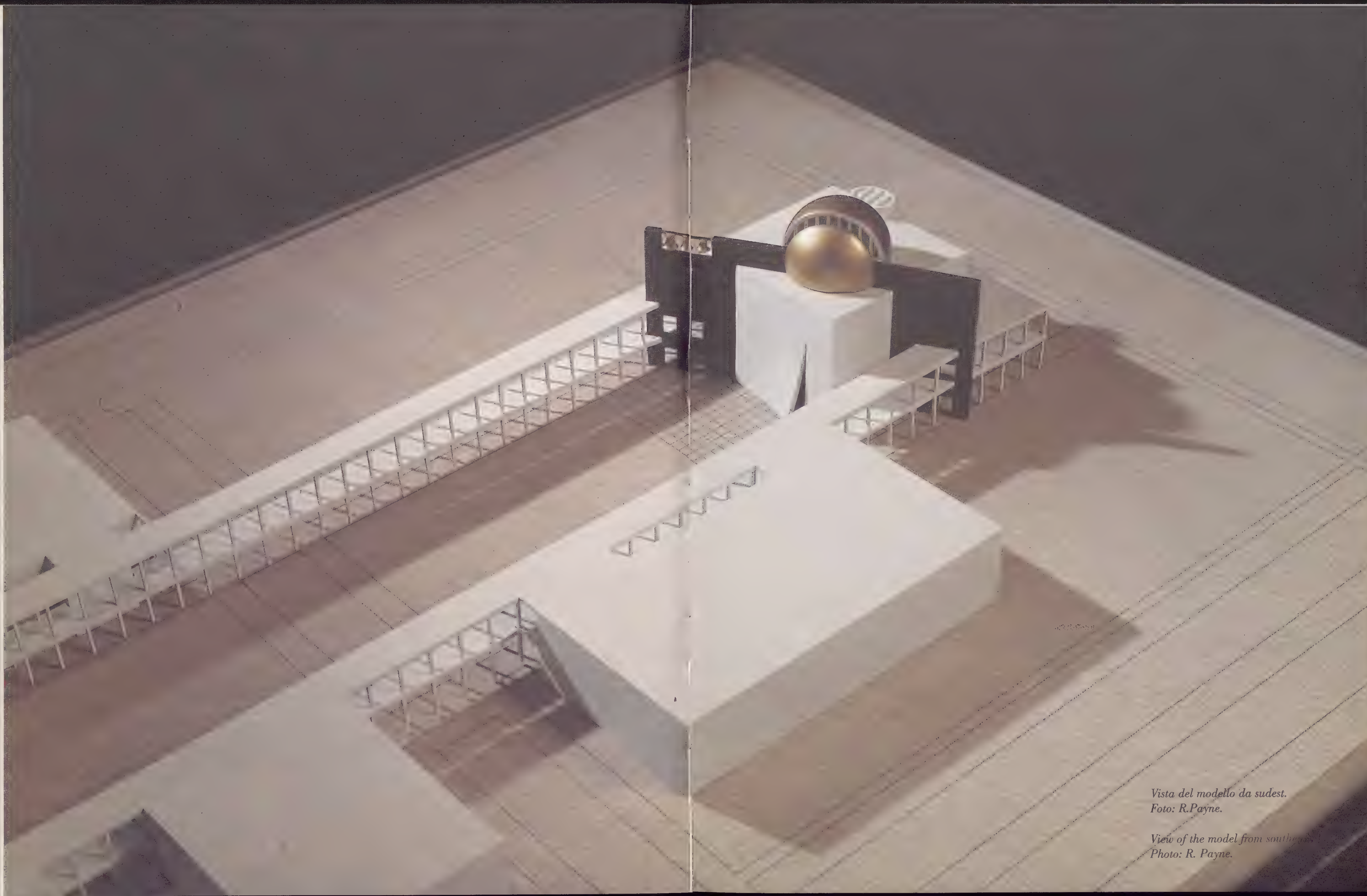


Sezioni longitudinali e trasversali.

Longitudinal and cross sections.

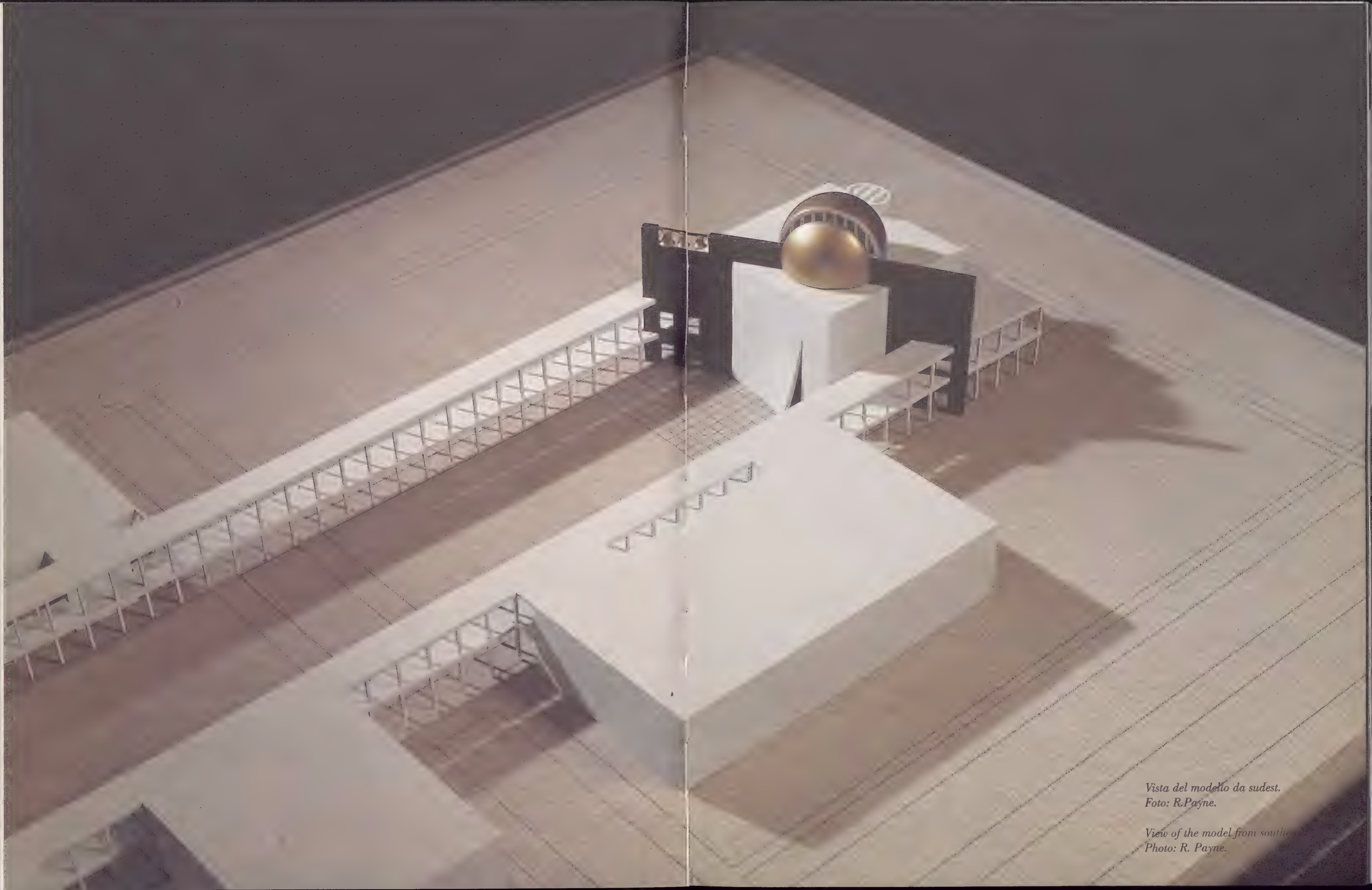






Vista del modello da sudest.
Foto: R.Payne.

View of the model from southeast.
Photo: R. Payne.

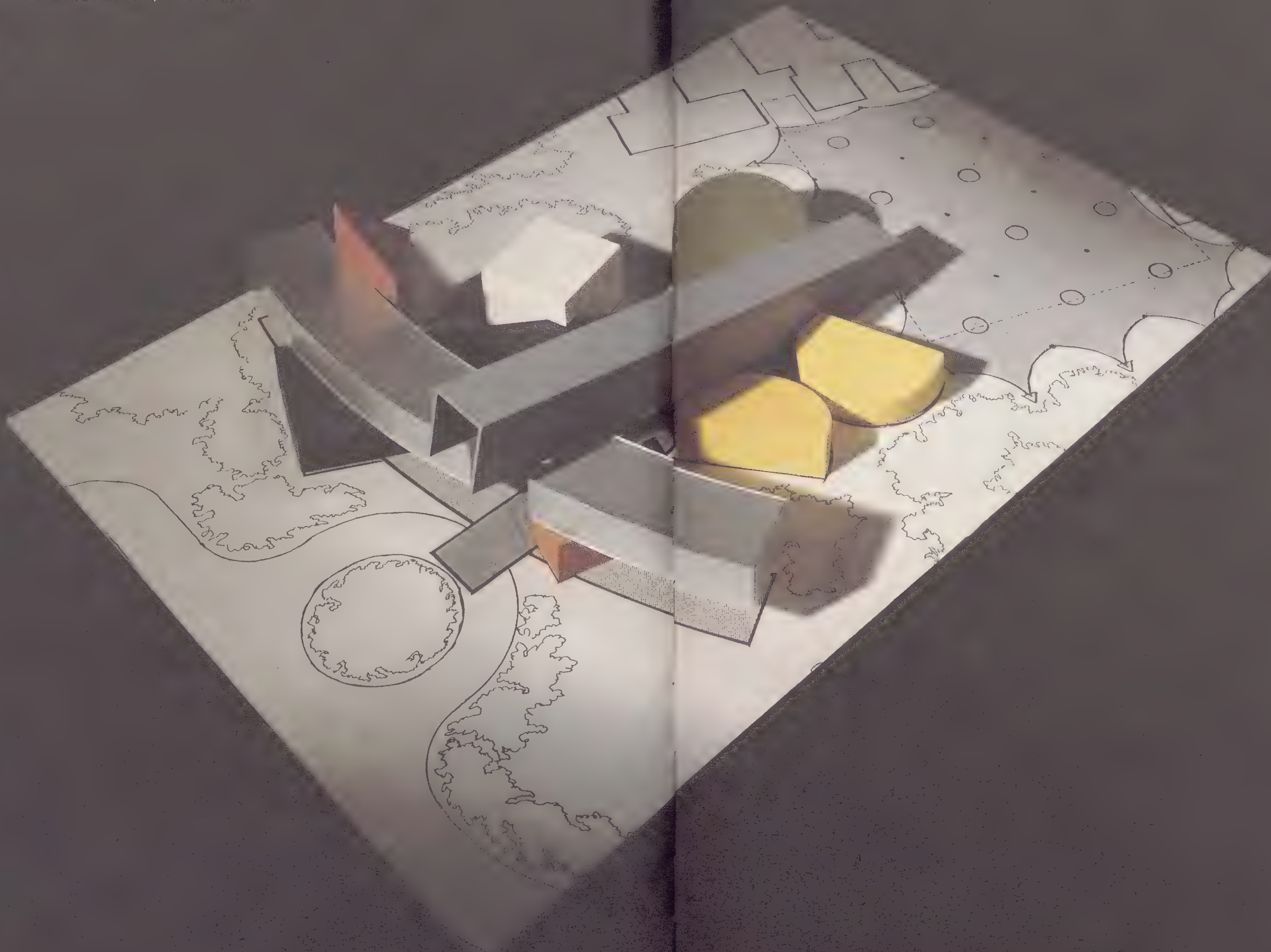


Vista del modello da sudest.
Foto: R.Payne.

View of the model from southe[...]
Photo: R. Payne.

Law School Addition, University of Houston, Texas
1991

Philip Johnson Architects

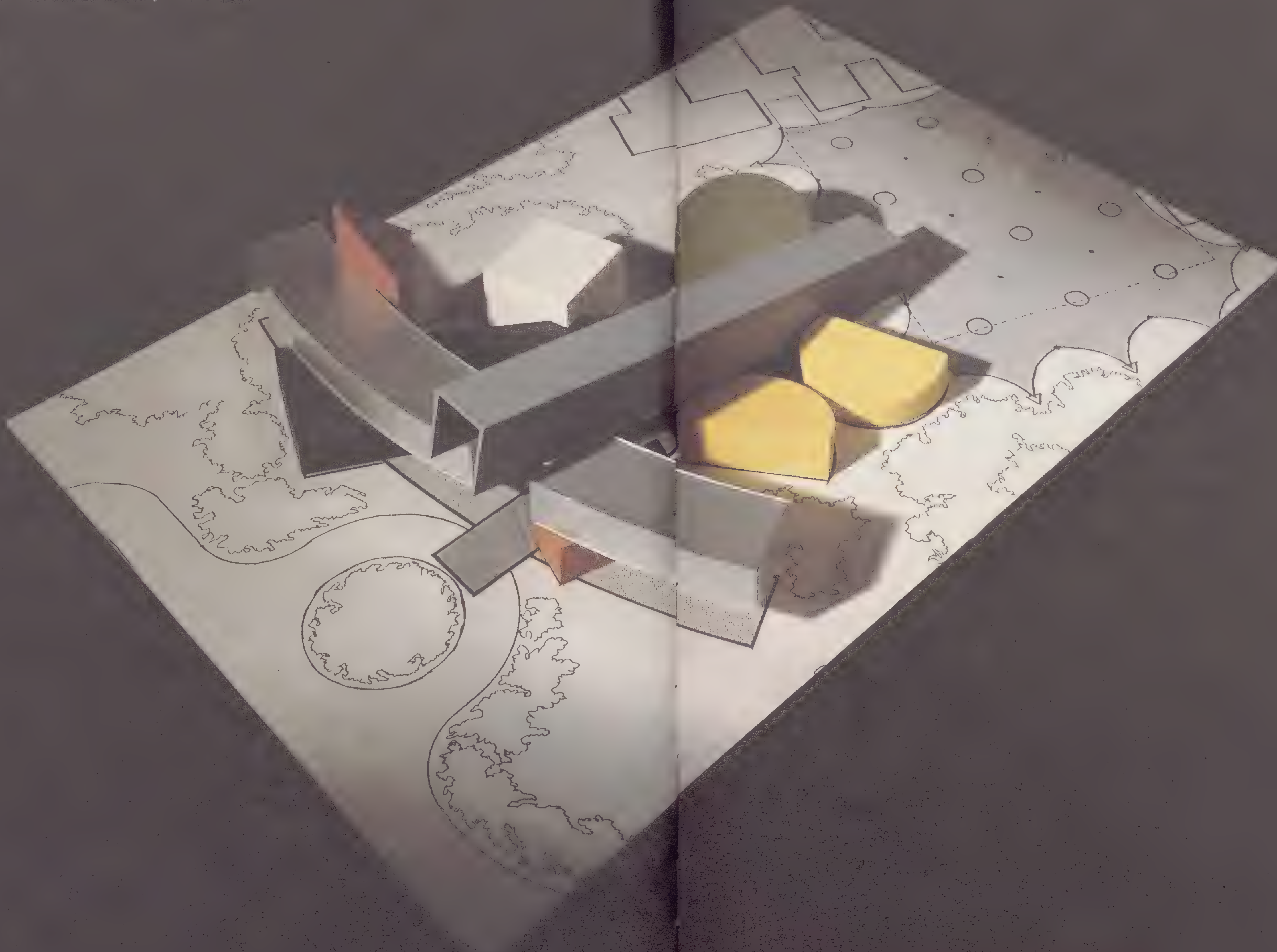


Vista del modello.
Foto: R.Payne.

View of the model.
Photo: R. Payne.

Law School Addition, University of Houston, Texas
1991

Philip Johnson Architects



Vista del modello.
Foto: R.Payne.

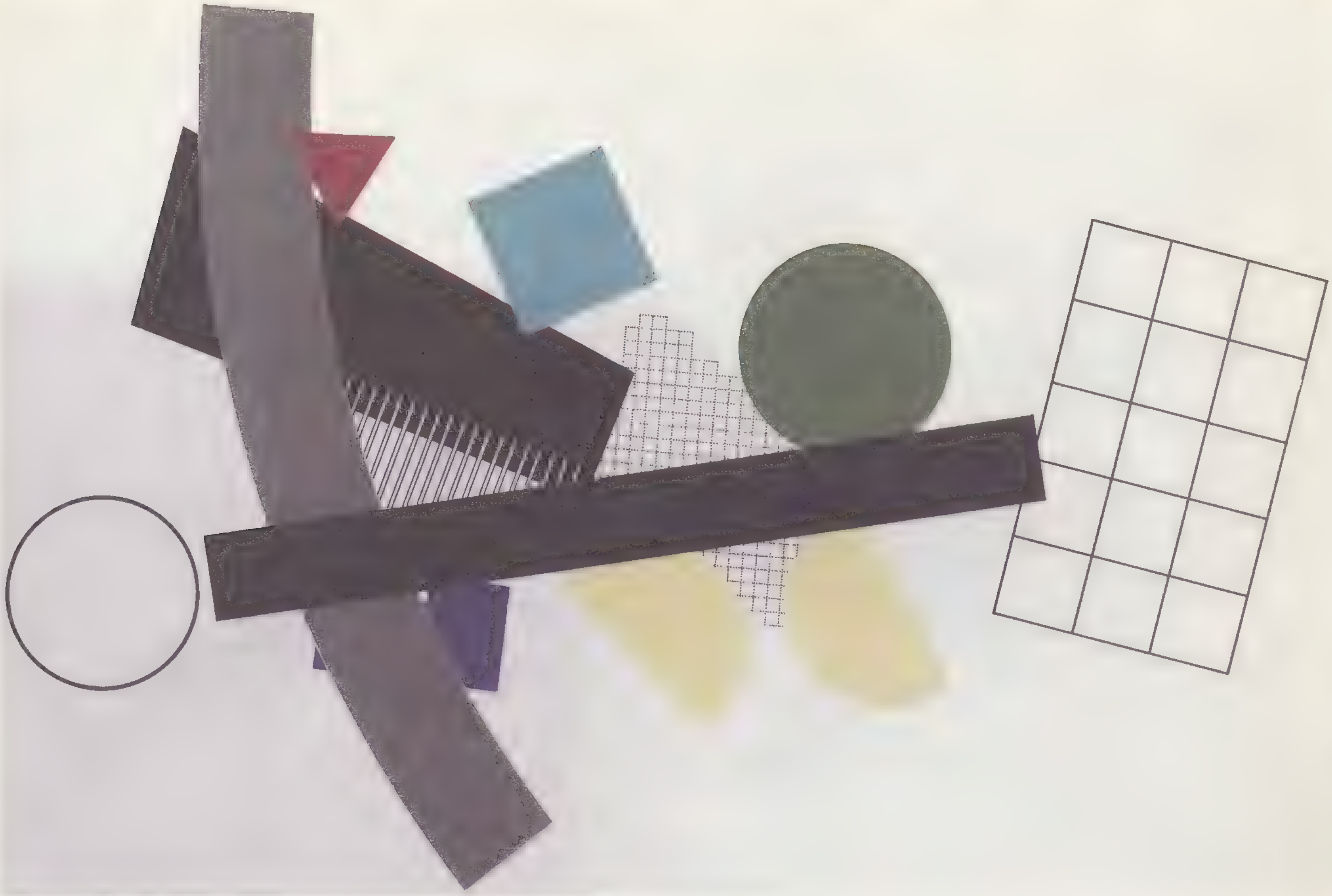
View of the model.
Photo: R. Payne.

Ampliamento della Facoltà di Legge della Università di Houston, Texas
Philip Johnson Architects

Si tratta di una struttura di mq. 3700 concepita come una "strada della legge", un lungo percorso all'aperto ma coperto capace di favorire l'interscambio tra Facoltà e studenti, che si snoda dall'ingresso principale fino a una piazza coperta da una grande tenda che rappresenta il luogo centrale della Facoltà.
Le singole funzioni del progetto sono contraddistinte da forme e colori diversi e si innestano sulla strada centrale intersecando gli spioventi del tetto che la ricopre. Gli uffici, ad esempio, sono concentrati in un corpo curvo tamponato a *curtain wall*, sospeso su elementi di sostegno e interrotto dal "baldacchino" di copertura della strada centrale.
Le restanti funzioni — caffeteria, aule di giustizia, spazi per seminari, centro studentesco — sono contrassegnate da rivestimenti in mattonelle bicottura a colori vivaci, mentre la copertura che protegge la strada centrale è in lastre di rame e piombo.

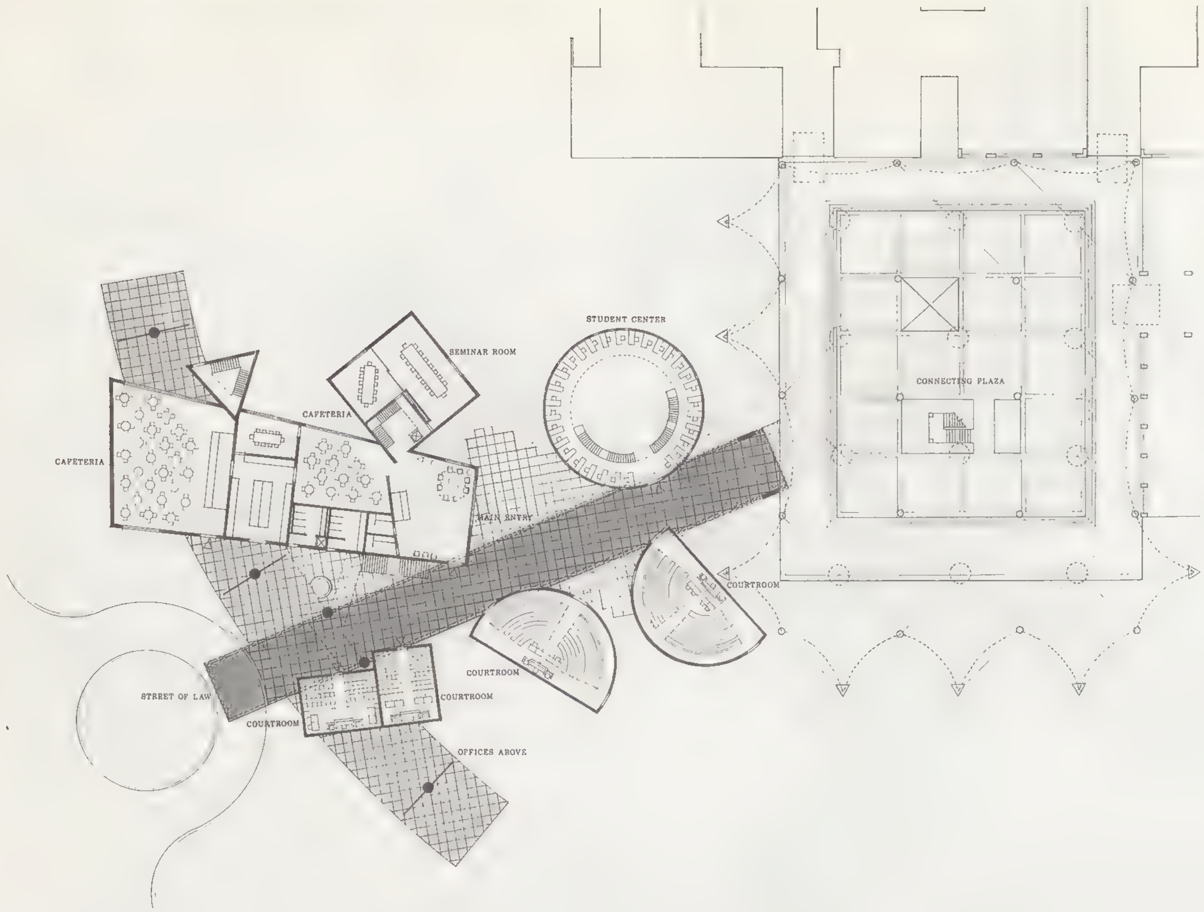
Law School Addition, University of Houston, Texas
Philip Johnson Architects

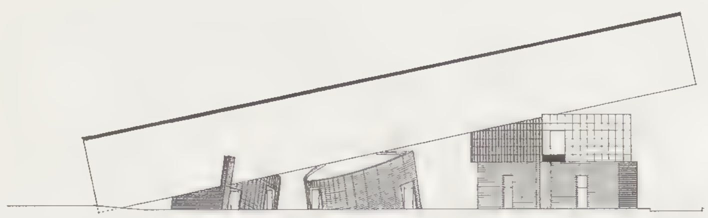
This is a new 40,000 sq. ft. facility conceived as a "street of law" where the interface between Faculty and students will occur in an open but covered promenade. This "street" proceeds from the formal entrance to a tent covered plaza representing the center of the school.
All individual functions are given different shapes and colors and are attached to the street and its sloping roof. The office block is a curved, curtain wall clad element raised on stilts that is cleft by the canopy over the street.
The remaining functions of courtrooms, cafeteria, seminar rooms and student center are clad in richly colored double-fired brick. The canopy over the street will be sheathed in lead coated copper.



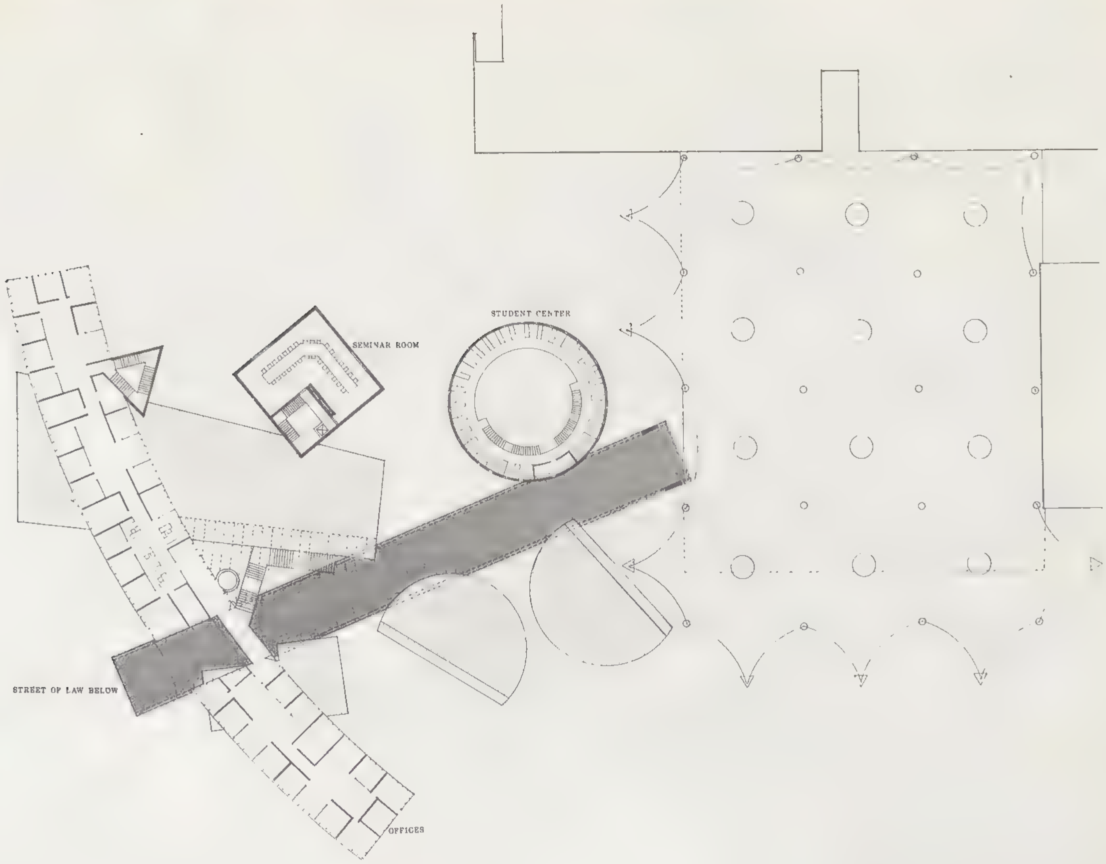
Collage di studio.

Study collage.





Piante del piano terra e del primo piano e sezioni sulla "strada della legge".





Plans of the ground and first floor and sections on the "street of law".



Vista del modello.
Foto: R.Payne.

View of the model.
Photo: R. Payne.



Vista del modello.
Foto: R. Pavan

View of the model.
Photo: R. Pavan.



Seton Hill College, School of Fine Arts, Greensburg, Pennsylvania
1991

Philip Johnson Architects

Collage di studio.

Study collage.

Seton Hill College, School of Fine Arts, Greensburg, Pennsylvania
1991

Philip Johnson Architects



Collage di studio.

Study collage.

Seton Hill College nella Accademia di belle arti a Greensburg, Pennsylvania
Philip Johnson Architects

Questo nuovo complesso di strutture per Accademia di belle arti fa parte della piccola Università umanistica privata di Greensburg in Pennsylvania. Esso consiste principalmente in un teatro per 600 spettatori, un altro spazio teatrale flessibile da 180 posti, aree ausiliarie di produzione, spazi di rappresentazione, *atelier* artistici, aule, uffici, una galleria d'arte e un padiglione d'ingresso, per un totale di mq. 9300 di superficie coperta.
Situato alla sommità di un colle ad un centinaio di metri dal più vicino edificio universitario, l'agglomerato delle nuove strutture rammenta, con i 45 metri d'altezza della torre posta all'ingresso, un borgo collinare italiano con il suo campanile. Tutto l'intervento è imperniato su questa torre, con l'ala del teatro che si allunga da un lato, la galleria d'arte da un altro e gli *atelier* e le aule in una terza direzione.
Tutte le gronde e le coperture inclinate dei tetti sono in lastre di rame e piombo, mentre le restanti superfici sono ricoperte in mattonelle smaltate bicottura a colori vivaci, quali rosso, nero, giallo, verde, grigio, blu. Tutti gli elementi metallici sono bianchi.

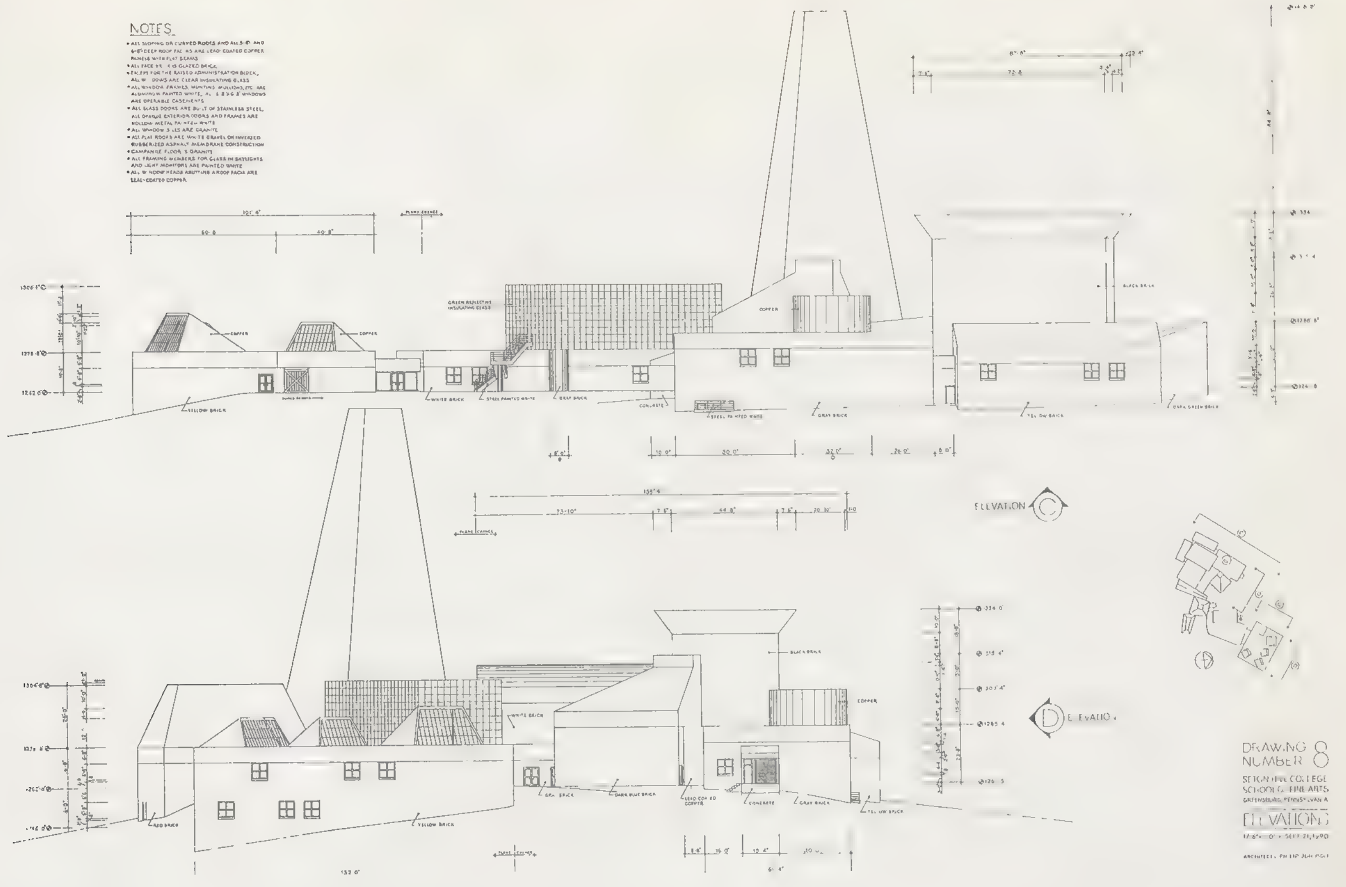
Seton Hill College, School of Fine Arts, Greensburg, Pennsylvania
Philip Johnson Architects

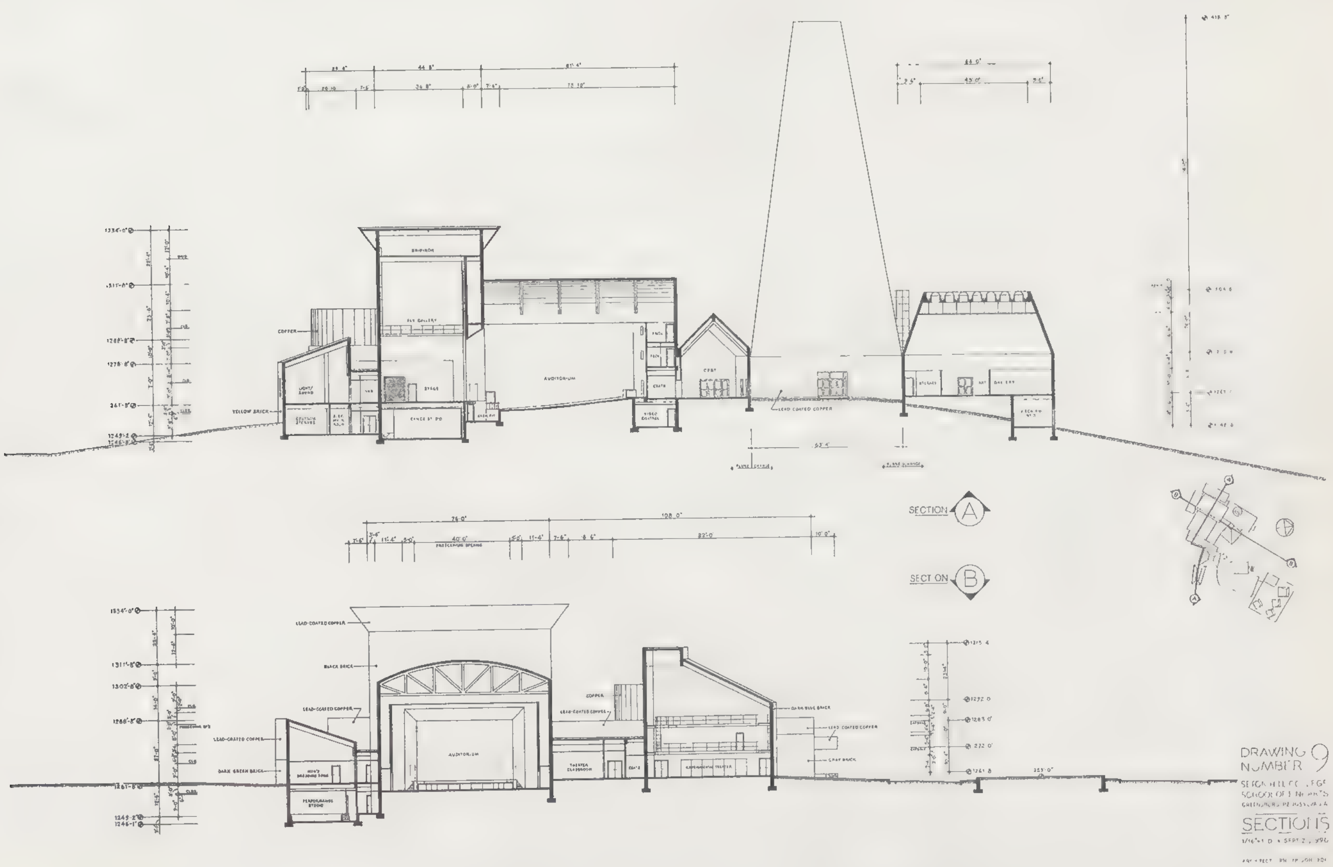
This is a new fine arts facility for a small, private liberal arts college in Greensburg, Pennsylvania. The major functions are a 600 seat theater, a 180 seat flexible theater, ancillary production areas, performance spaces, art studios, classrooms, offices, an art gallery and an entrance pavilion, all within 100,000 square feet of enclosed space.
Located on the top of a hill, 100 yards from the nearest school building, the grouping of component structures is reminiscent of an Italian hill town with the 150 foot tall entrance tower acting as the campanile. The facility is organized around the entrance tower, with the theater wing off to one side, the art gallery to another and studios and classrooms in a third direction.
All fascias and sloping roofs are covered in lead coated copper with the remainder of the skins clad in a variety of rich, double-fired glazed brick. Colors are red, black, yellow, green, grey, and blue. All metalwork is white.

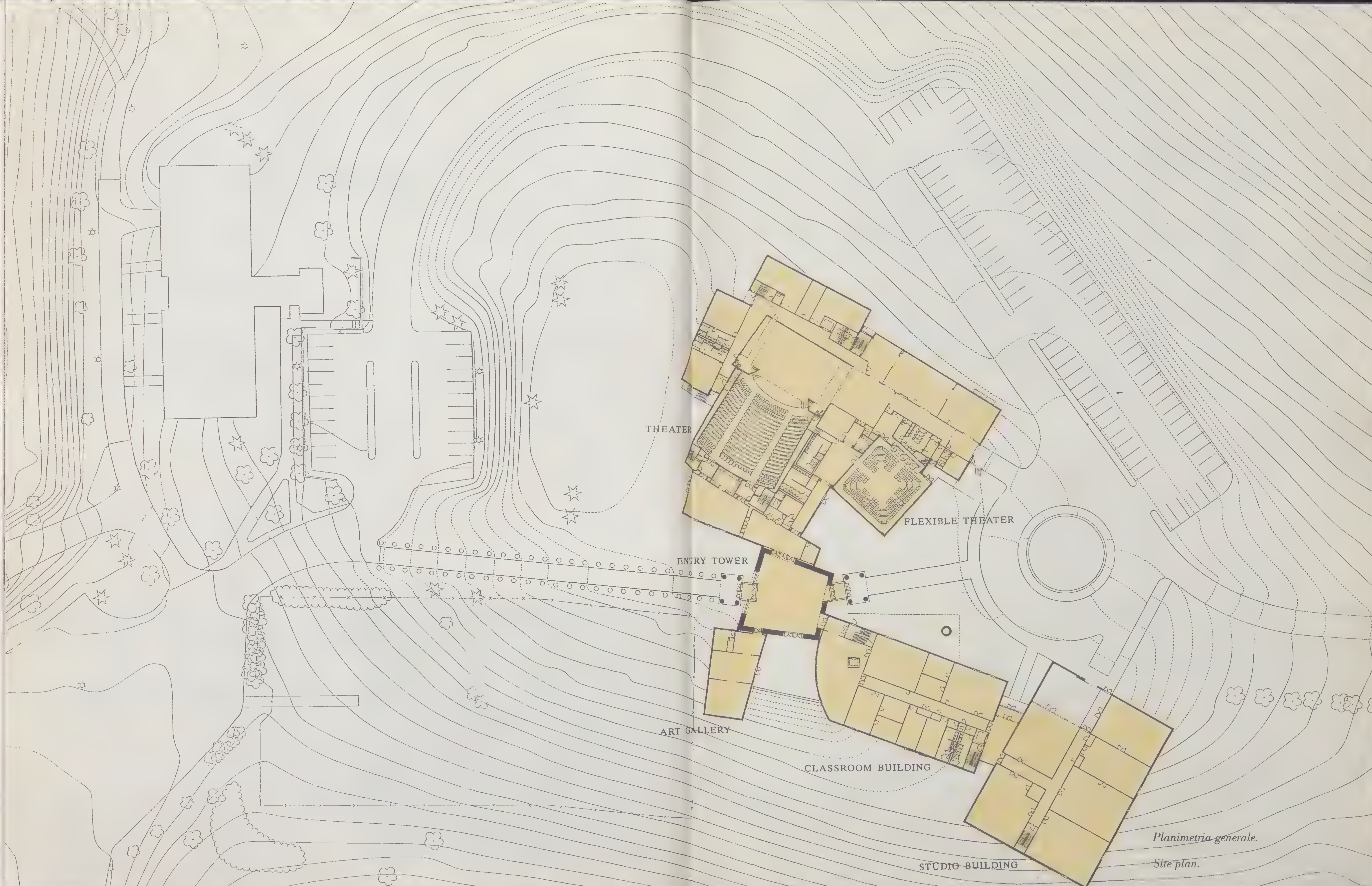
Vista dell'area di intervento.
Prospetti nordovest e nordest.
Sezioni longitudinale e trasversale sull'auditorium.

View of the proposed site.
Northwest and northeast elevations.
Longitudinal and cross sections on the Auditorium.



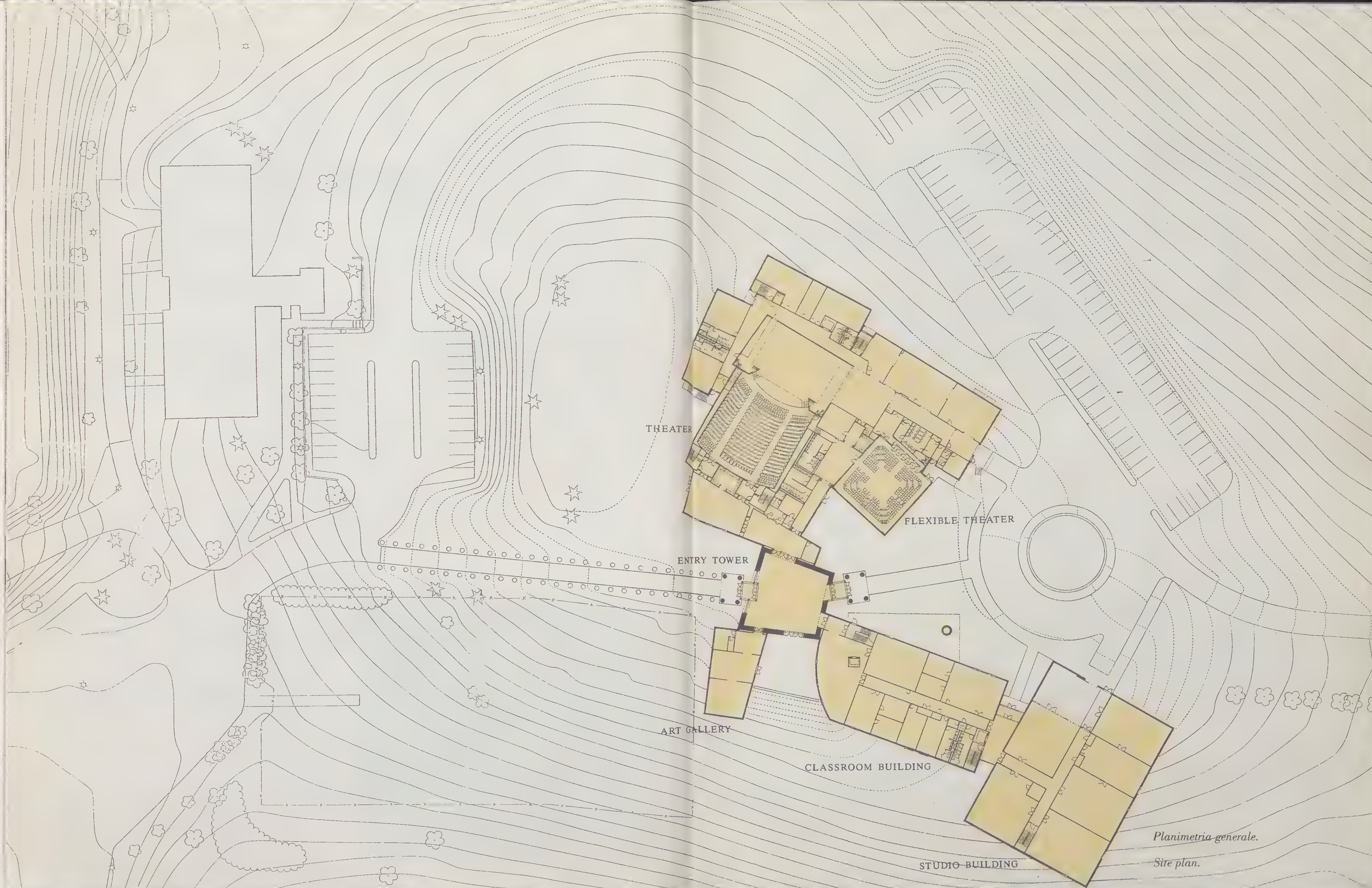

NOTES
ELEVATION C
DRAWING NUMBER 8
ELEVATIONS


SECTION A
SECTION B
AUDITORIUM
DRAWING NUMBER 9
SECTIONS



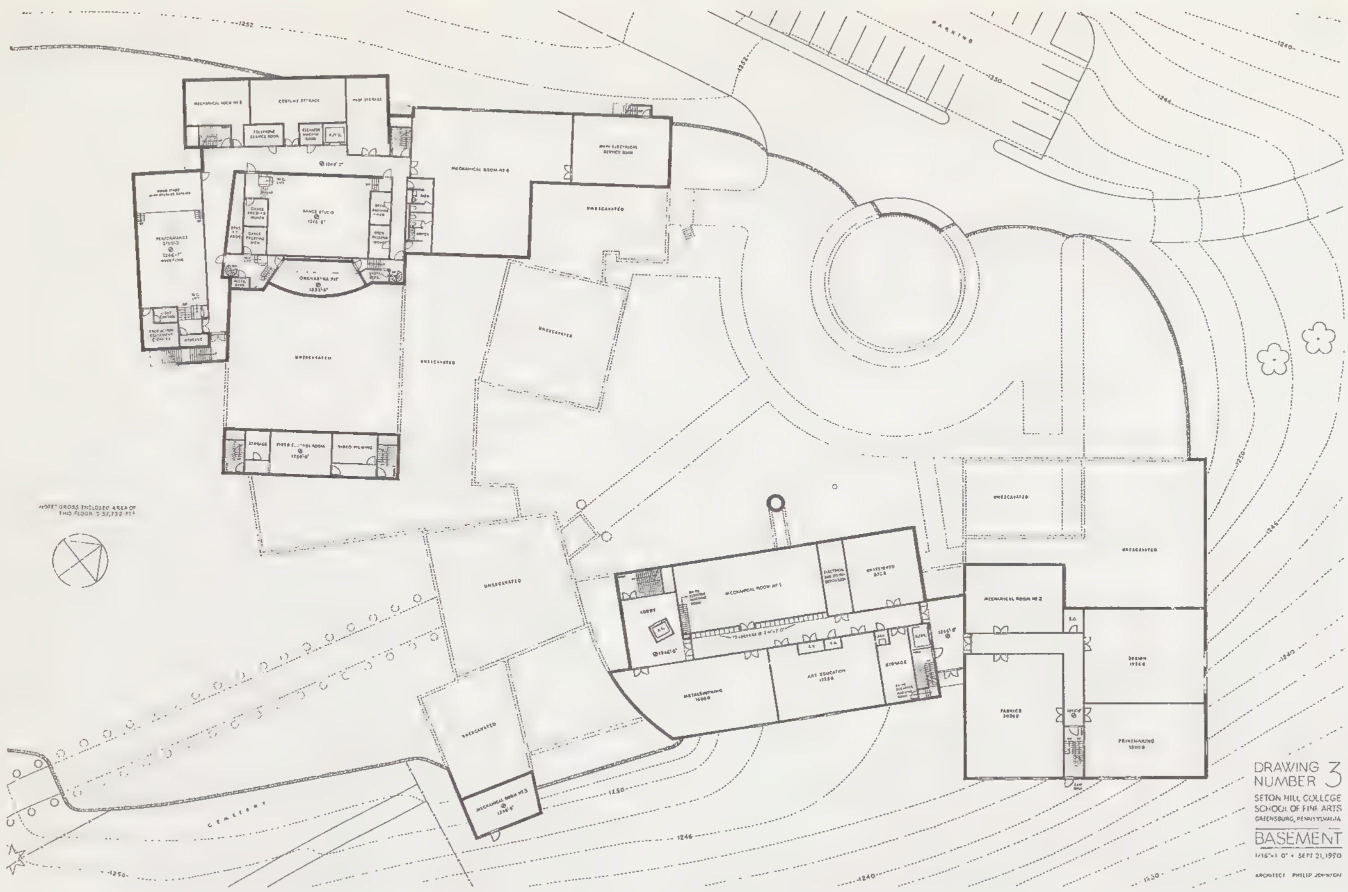
Planimetria generale.

Site plan.



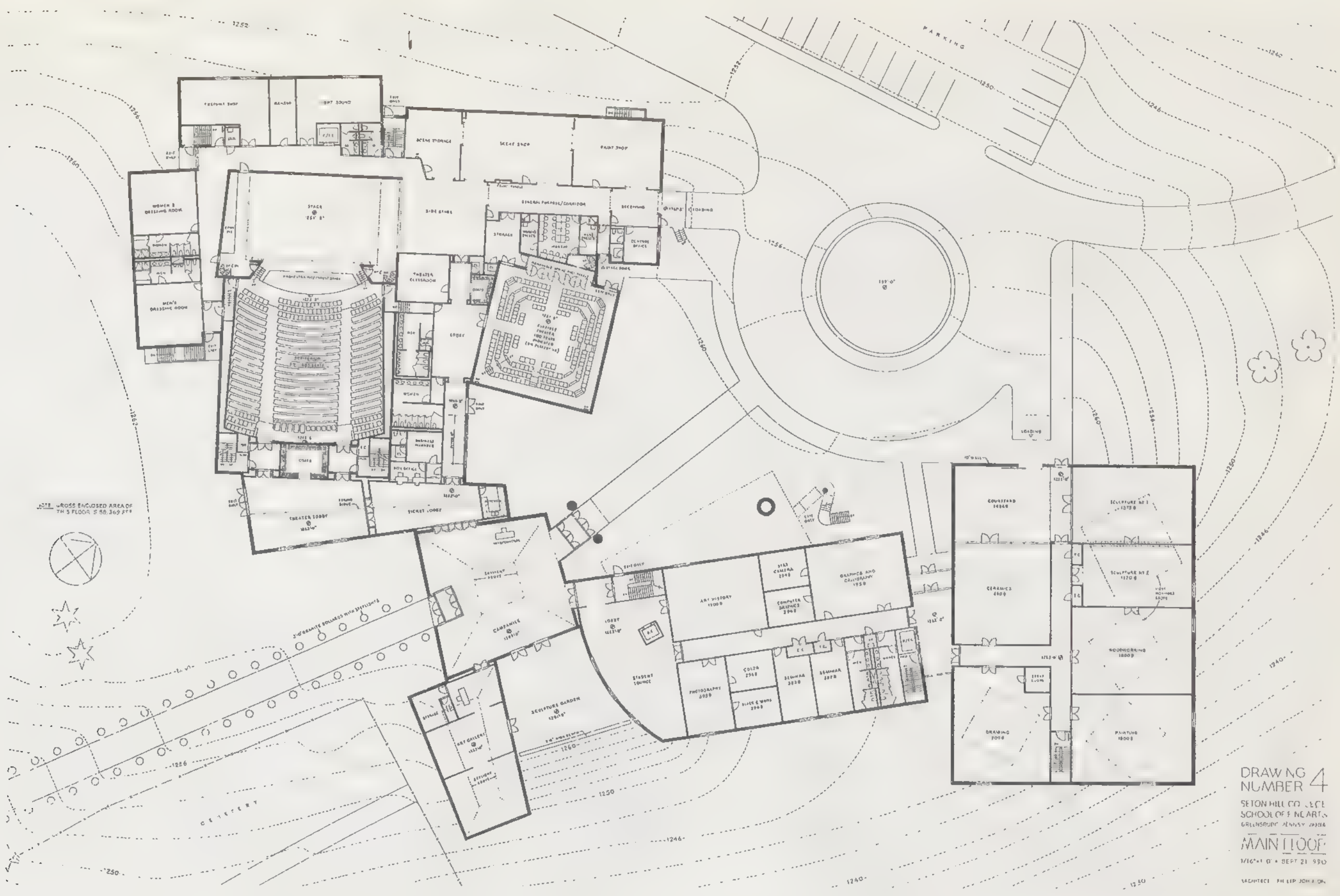
Planimetria generale.

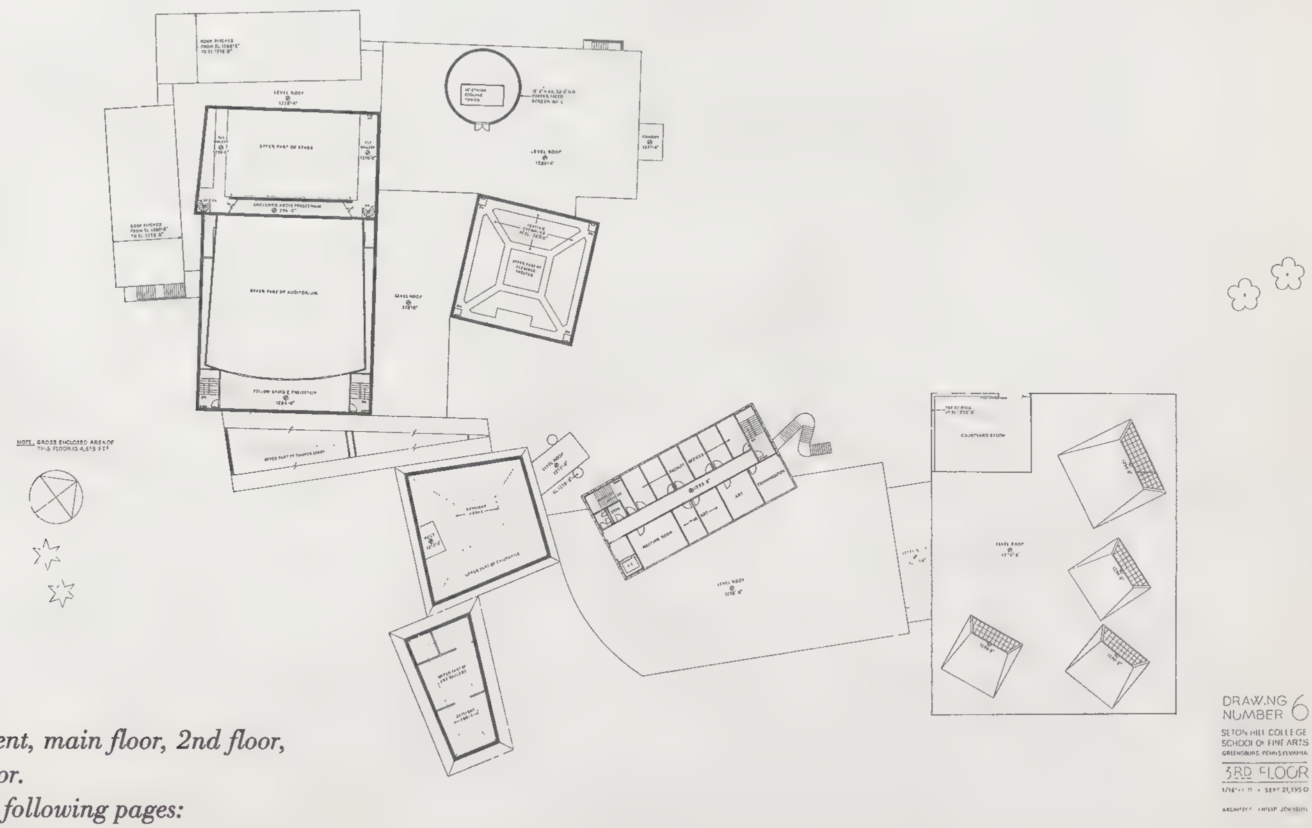
Site plan.



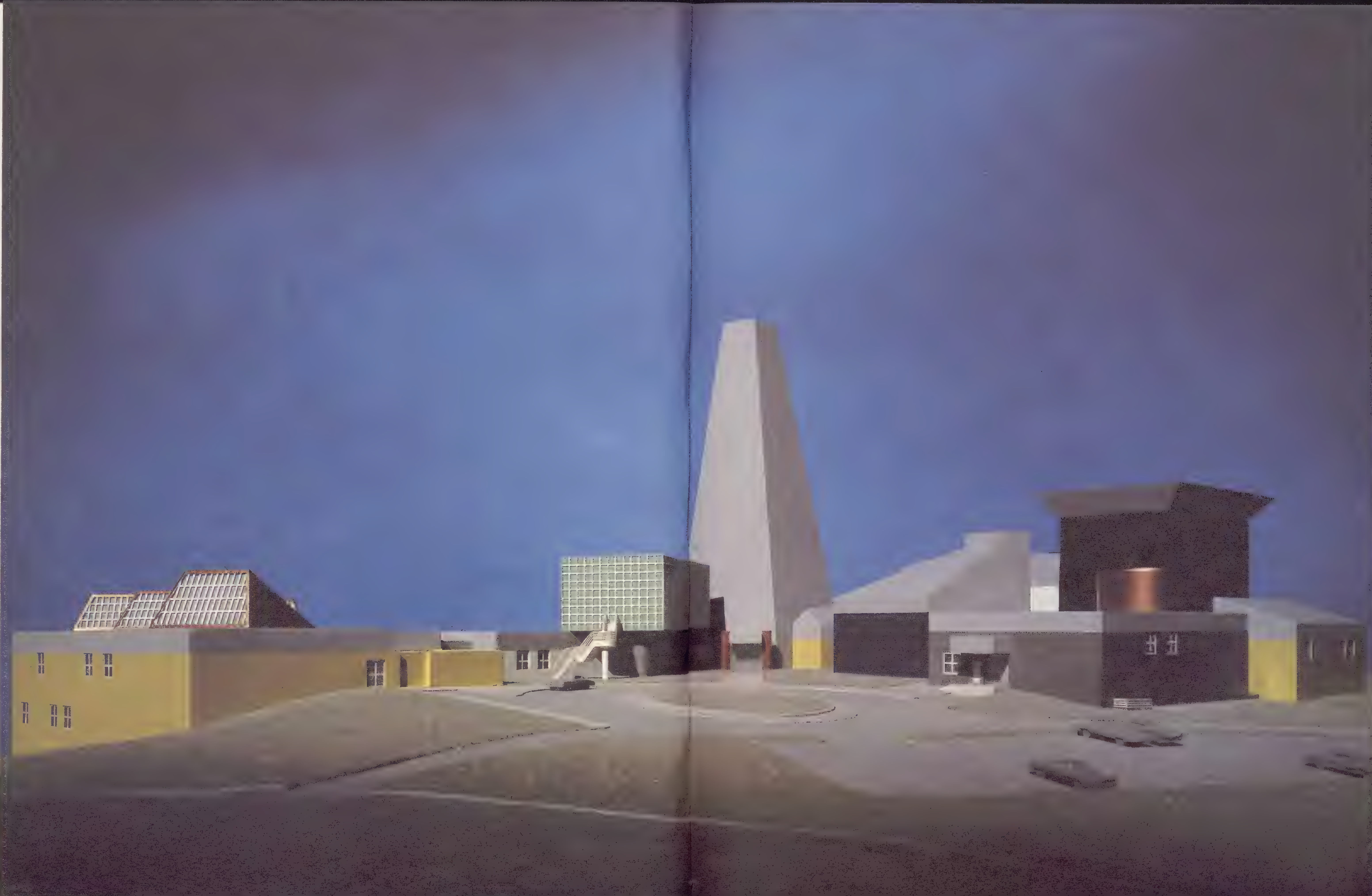


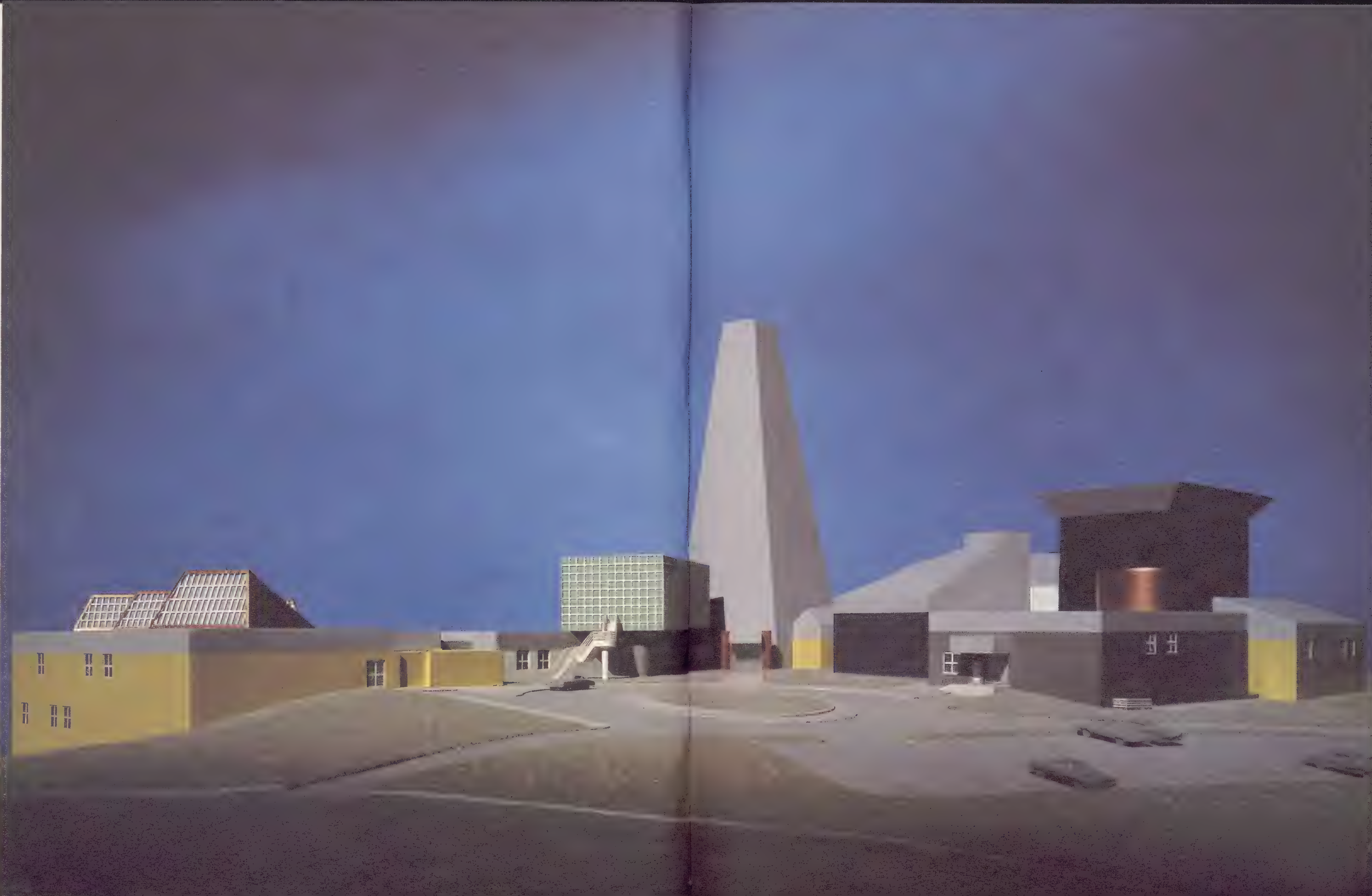
Piante dei piani interrato, terra, primo e secondo.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Viste del modello da nord e da sud.
Foto: W.Hoyt.



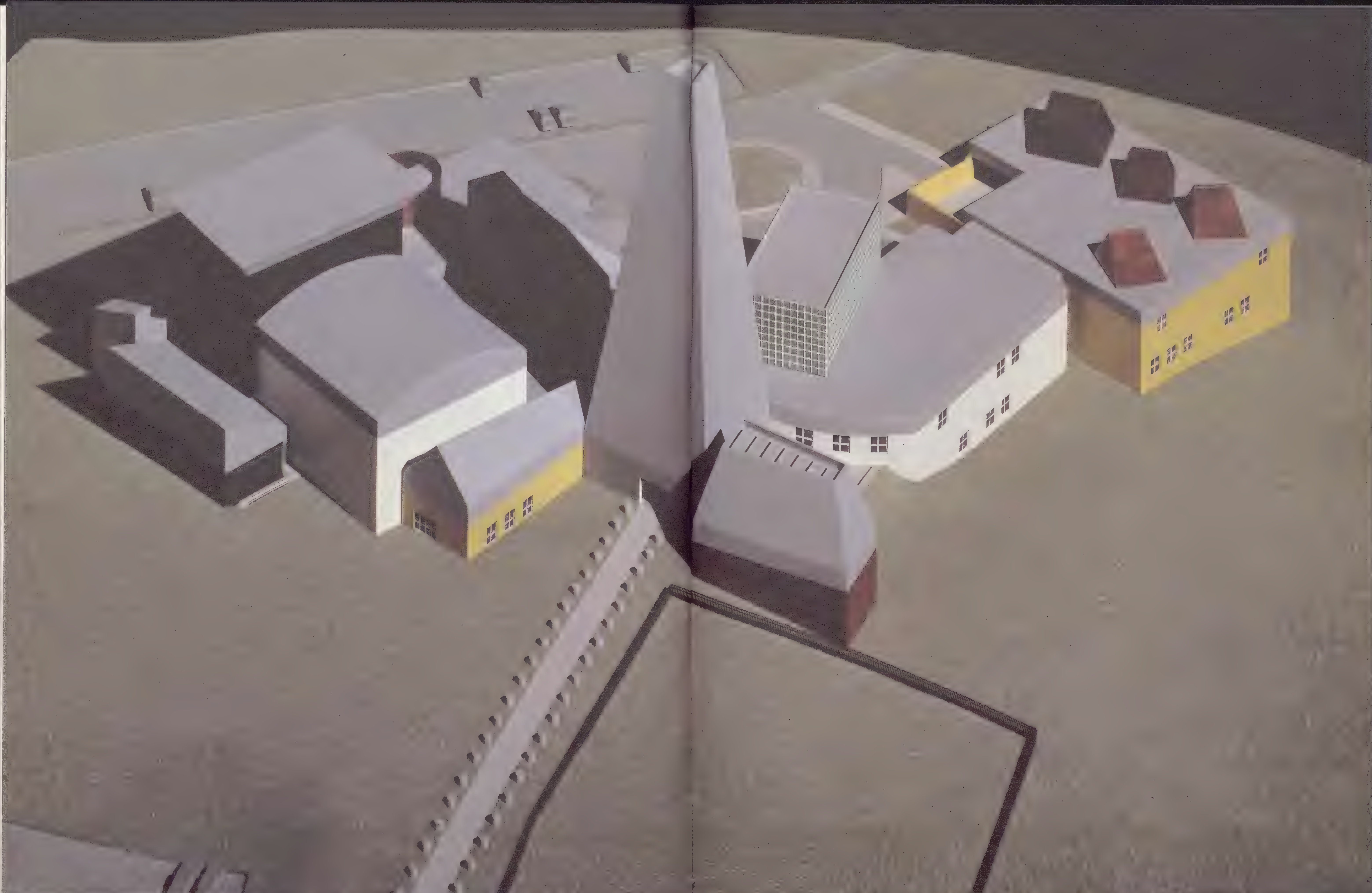


Basement, main floor, 2nd floor, 3rd floor.
On the following pages:
North and south views of the model.
Photo: W. Hoyt.







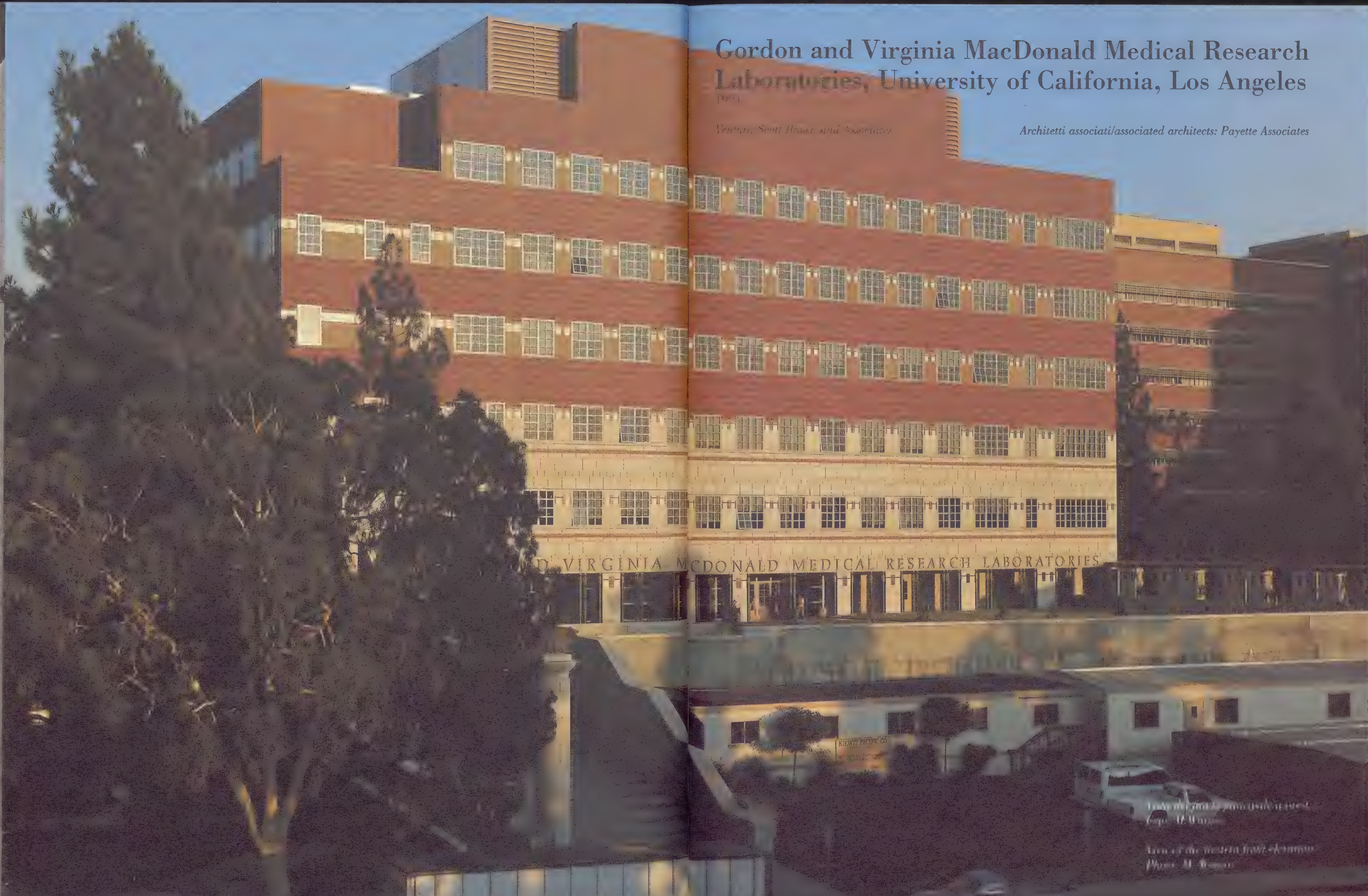


Gordon and Virginia MacDonald Medical Research Laboratories, University of California, Los Angeles

1991

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Architetti associati/associated architects: Payette Associates

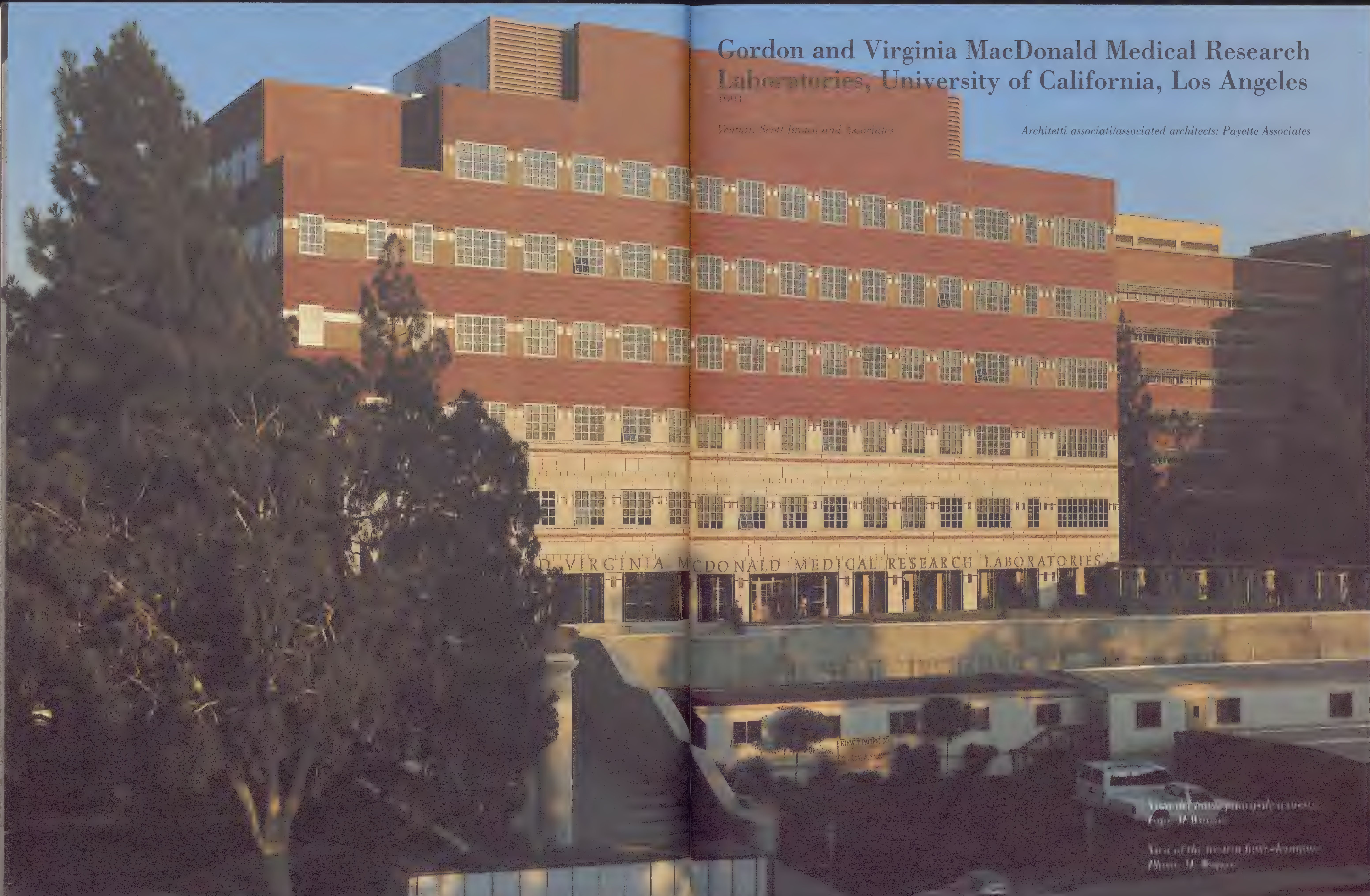


Gordon and Virginia MacDonald Medical Research Laboratories, University of California, Los Angeles

1991

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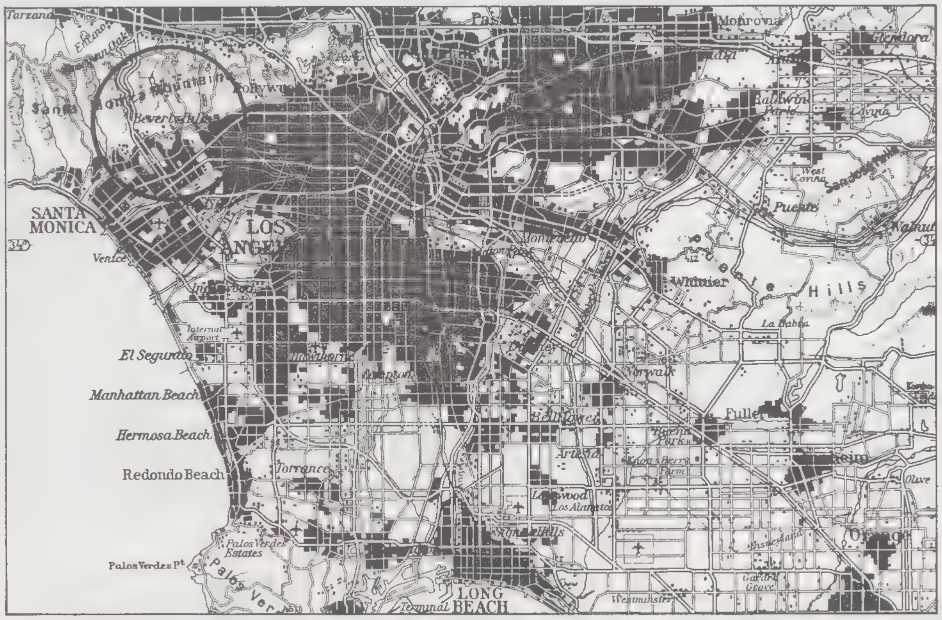
Architetti associati/associated architects: Payette Associates

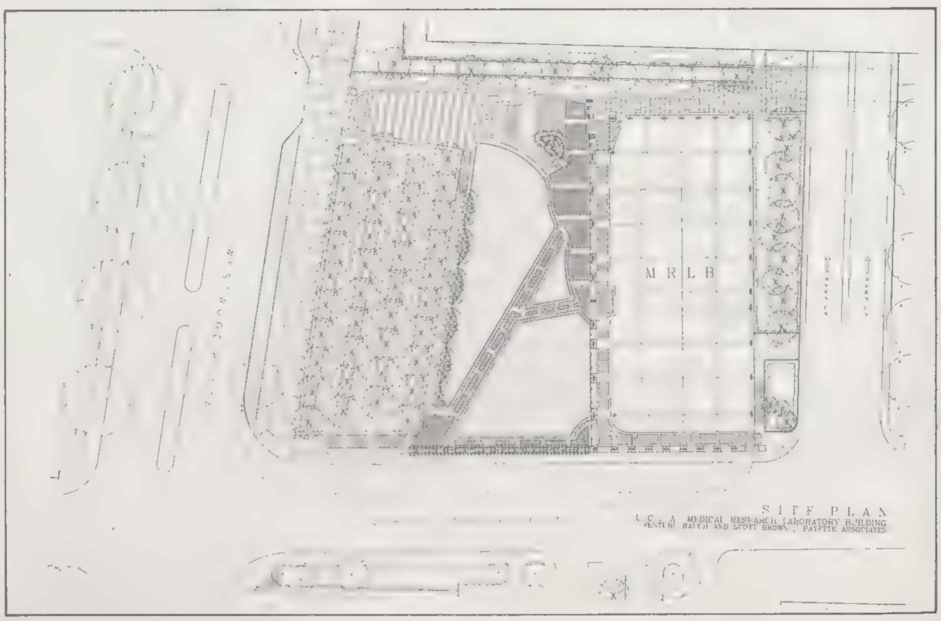


Laboratori di ricerca medica Gordon e Virginia MacDonald, Università della California, Los Angeles
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates e Payette Associates

I nuovi laboratori di ricerca medica copriranno una superficie di mq. 14.400 ad uso sia della Facoltà di Medicina della UCLA che dell'Istituto Medico Howard Hughes.
L'edificio di sette piani, ormai prossimo alla conclusione, è situato in posizione prominente, all'incrocio in salita fra Westwood Plaza e Circle Drive South, ed è stato progettato per corrispondere alla specificità del sito oltre che per ospitare all'interno laboratori, uffici ed altri spazi.
Lungo il lato ovest dell'edificio è stata progettata una vasta piazza verde come elemento di connessione con un altro, più piccolo, complesso di laboratori, che costituirà la seconda fase dell'intervento. Riprendendo l'impronta degli edifici originari della parte vecchia del *campus*, un portico continuo corre lungo il piano terreno del fronte sulla piazza, dove un'ampia scalinata orientata verso nord metterà in comunicazione il nuovo complesso con le altre zone dell'Università.
All'estremità settentrionale dell'edificio un portale con una grande arcata segna simbolicamente l'accesso pedonale, mentre una colonna isolata sull'angolo nordorientale del sito indica l'inizio di tale accesso pedonale.
Anche i principali materiali esterni dell'edificio mirano a richiamare l'architettura storica del *campus*: pietra artificiale, terra cotta e mattoni rossi modanati sono disposti a fasce orizzontali su tutti i quattro lati, mentre pietra calcarea di una calda tonalità di grigio evidenzia i primi due piani della facciata principale.
Finestre a piccole griglie quadrate e regolarmente intervallate tra loro caratterizzano uffici e laboratori, mentre a livello del sopralzo le grandi griglie in porcellana smaltata delle prese d'aria e degli scarichi del condizionamento segnalano gli impianti tecnologici dell'edificio.
Payette Associates, uno studio di

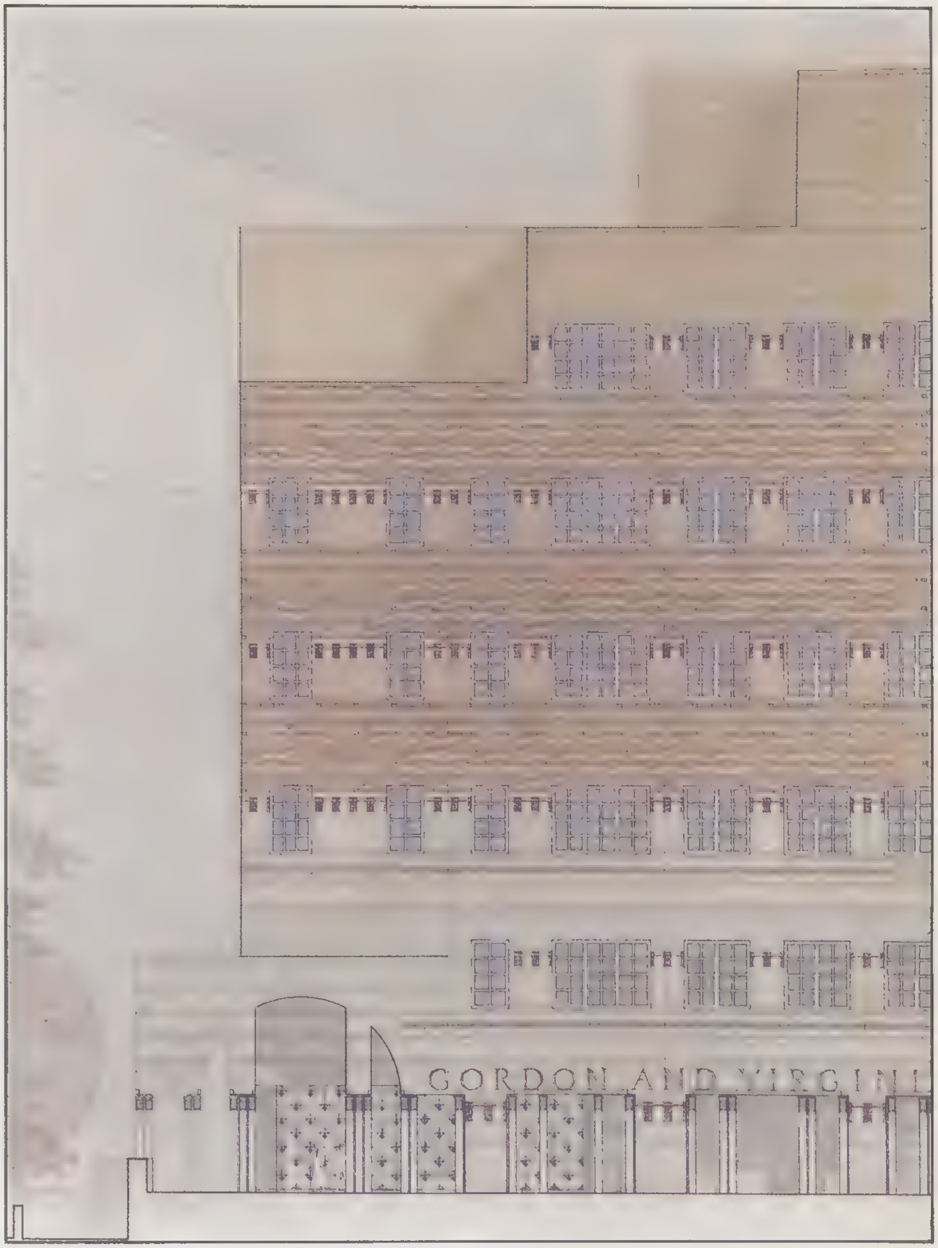






Gordon and Virginia MacDonald Medical Research Laboratories, University of California, Los Angeles
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates and Payette Associates

VSBA, in association with Payette Associates, are the architects for a new 155,000 square foot medical research laboratory to be used jointly by both the UCLA Medical School and the Howard Hughes Medical Institute.
The seven-story building, nearing completion, occupies a prominent sloping site at the intersection of Westwood Plaza and Circle Drive South. It has been designed to respond to this unique site as well as to accommodate the arrangement of Laboratories, offices and other spaces within.
Along the west side of the building is a broad, landscaped plaza designed to connect with a smaller laboratory building which will be the second phase of the project. Recalling the spirit of the historic buildings in the older section of the campus, an arcade extends across the main level of the plaza façade. The plaza connects with a wide, stepping pedestrian walk to the north which will link the new complex to the other parts of the campus.
At the building's northern end, a large arched portal spans the walkway, creating a symbolic gateway. At the northeastern corner of the site, a freestanding column marks the entrance to the walkway.
The principal exterior materials of the building are also inspired by the architecture of the historic north campus. Cast stone, terra cotta and patterned red brick are arranged in horizontal bands on all four sides, with warm grey limestone highlighting the first two floors of the front. Regularly spaced, small-paned windows suggest the offices and laboratories inside, while at the penthouse level large porcelain enamel-clad-air-intake grilles and exhaust plenums express the technological functions of the building.



Università della California a Los Angeles in una veduta del 1926.
Localizzazione della UCLA sulla pianta urbana di Los Angeles.
Planimetria.
Dettaglio del prospetto ovest.

University of California in Los Angeles in a view from 1926. UCLA shown in the city plan of Los Angeles.
Site plan.
Detail of the west elevation.



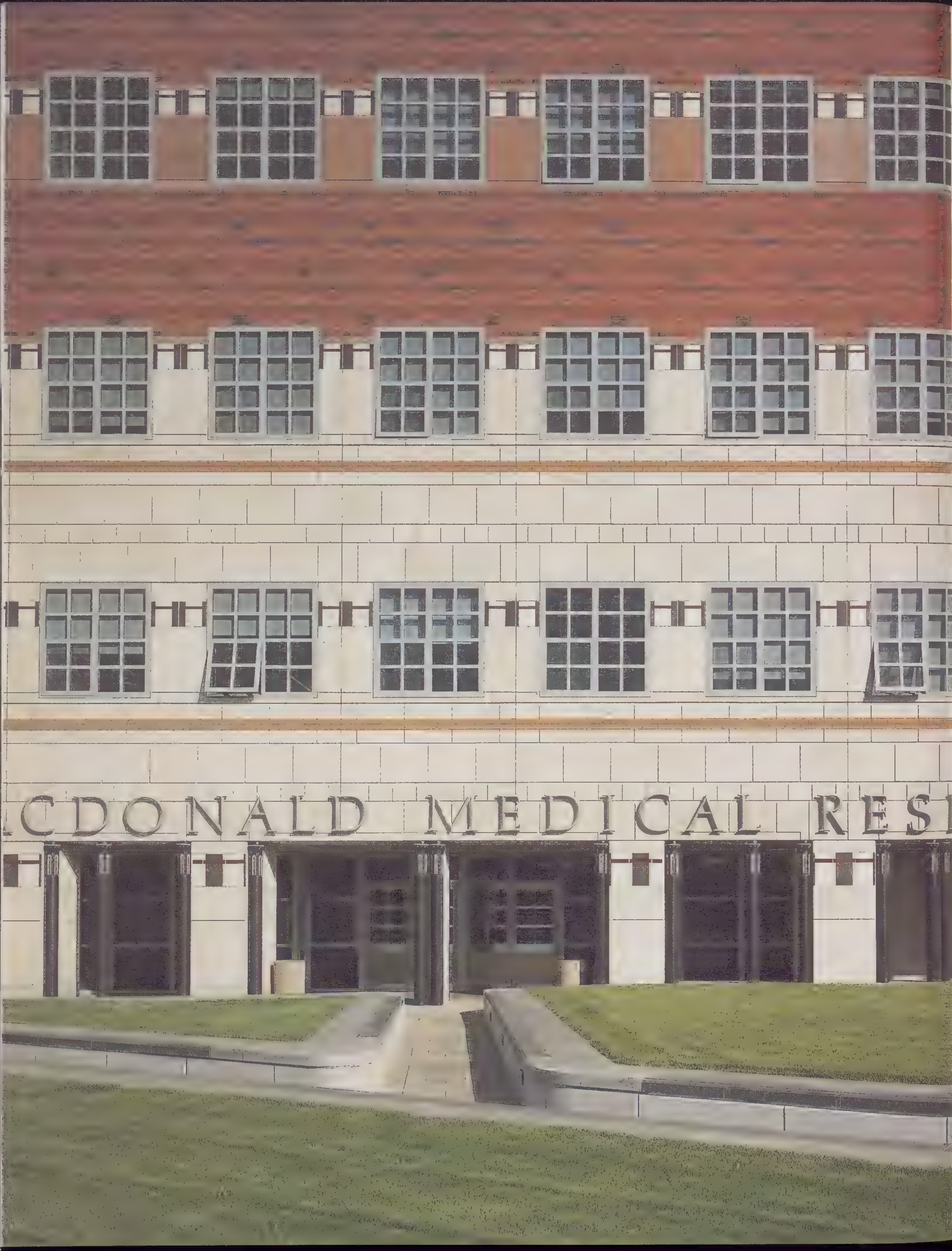


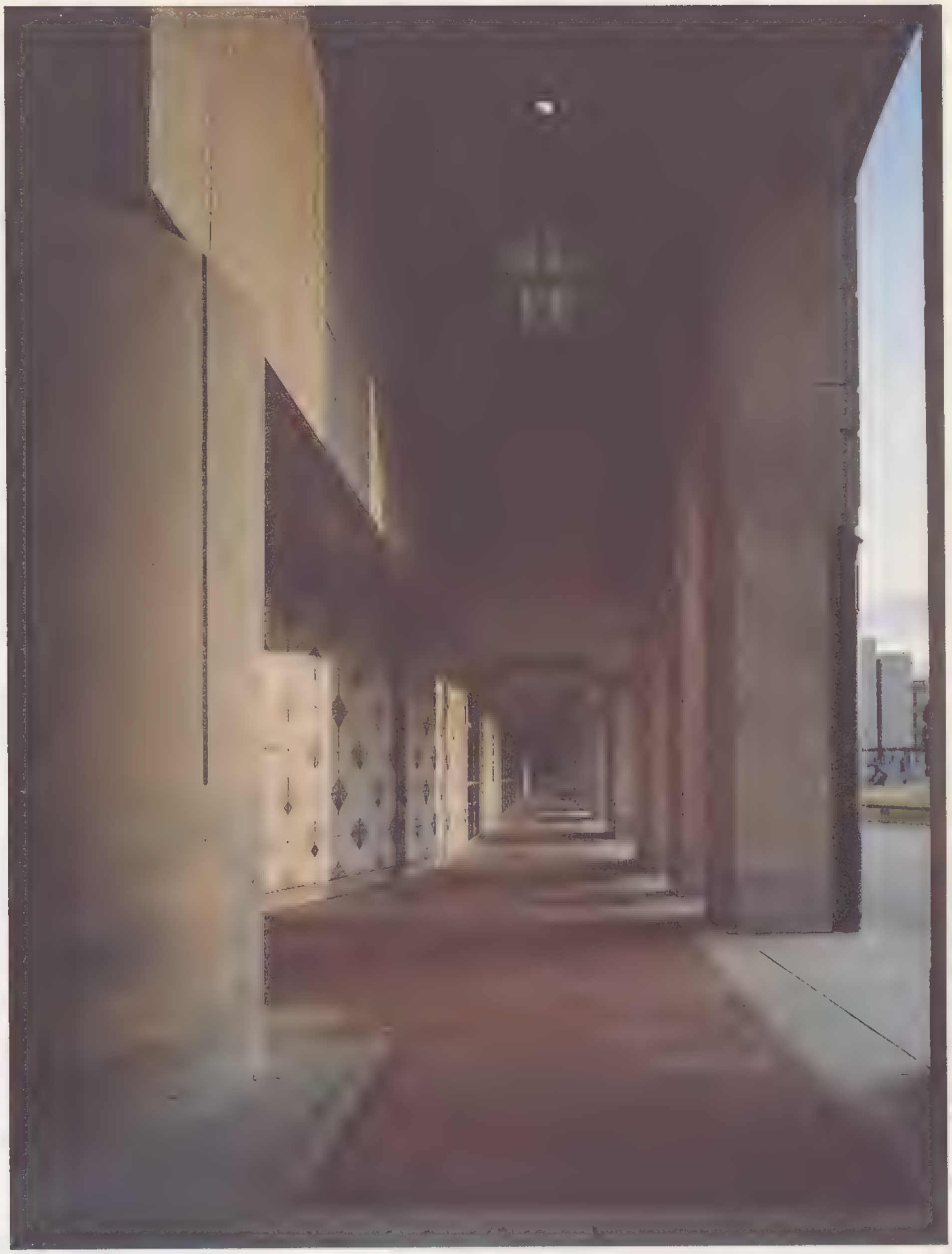
architetti specializzato in laboratori medici di ricerca, è responsabile delle sistemazioni interne, progettate con l'obbiettivo di soddisfare le esigenze attuali e future della Facoltà di Medicina e dell'Istituto medico Howard Hughes.

Viste da sudovest e dell'ingresso a ovest.
Foto: M.Wargo.

Views from southwest and of the west entrance.
Photo: M. Wargo.




CDONALD MEDICAL RES



Viste di dettaglio del fronte principale a ovest e del portico.
Foto: M.Wargo.

Detail of the main west elevation and portico.
Photo: M. Wargo.

Alcuni appunti sulla progettazione delle università americane

Robert Venturi

Quasi tutte le strutture universitarie riscontrano l'esigenza di essere architettonicamente generiche, adottando talvolta di proposito la tipologia del contenitore (*loft*), al fine di garantirsi la necessaria flessibilità fisica e spaziale, all'interno e nel tempo, che consenta di adeguarsi all'evolversi degli utilizzi. In tal modo si riconosce la continuità che caratterizza le istituzioni, il fatto che la vita di un edificio va ben al di là dell'esistenza dei fondatori di una certa istituzione. Si tratta di edifici che necessitano di un carattere rappresentativo oltre che di una dotazione di spazi tale da consentire i più variabili usi istituzionali; edifici robusti, solidi, che resistano all'usura del tempo e delle persone, ma che si ingentiliscano con gli anni; edifici a guisa di *loft* le cui caratteristiche architettoniche siano discrete e non invadenti, creando l'atmosfera più propizia al lavoro e alla concentrazione; edifici che possano anche favorire gli scambi occasionali, promuovere le relazioni e il senso di comunità attraverso l'impostazione dei percorsi interni. Se tali contenitori all'interno vogliono essere come dei fondali appena accennati, anche esteriormente devono adeguarsi il più possibile al contesto in cui sono inseriti.
Essendo luoghi di lavoro, caratterizzati però anche da una certa solennità, essi non possono seguire le mode architettoniche, ma piuttosto, come ho detto, devono essere in qualche modo generici e di conseguenza in grado di armonizzarsi con il resto dell'insediamento universitario, adattandosi al contesto per analogia, non per contrasto. Un edificio universitario non può sottostare all'esasperata tendenza del momento, né essere l'occasione di promozione del grande architetto che lo progetta, perché tali ambizioni gli architetti, più responsabilmente, non cercano di realizzarle nella progettazione di edifici universitari.
E' un'ironia che buona parte del lavoro del nostro studio consista in opere civiche e istituzionali, spesso attinenti alla progettazione di edifici universitari, che quindi devono privilegiare l'analogia contestuale piuttosto che il contrasto, costringendoci a trascurare le mode martellanti della nostra epoca, la musica a tutto volume, le spalle imbottite, le sollecitazioni commerciali. Nell'ambito di questi corsi e ricorsi del gusto, le aspettative dell'estetica odierna implicano grandi dimensioni, forme, colori e contrasti audaci; ma noi ci opponiamo a questa naturale tendenza contemporanea perché crediamo che l'obbiettivo sia di essere architetti ed artisti di valore attraverso opere che risultino conformi al contesto e non arbitrarie, si adeguino alla situazione e alla circostanza invece di soddisfare personali propensioni artistiche.
L'ironia sta in questo: io capisco bene l'universale tendenza a strafare della nostra epoca, ma, pur essendo io quello che a metà degli anni Sessanta diceva che "il meno è noioso" ("*less is a bore*"), oggi mi chiedo se non sia piutosto vero che "il più è noioso" ("*more is a bore*"); ed è per questo che mi macchierei volentieri del peccato di eccesso se fosse finalizzato unicamente a mettere in sintonia l'opera con il suo ambiente.

È risaputo che le tipiche università o *college* americani sorgono in zone rurali o, quanto meno, alla periferia di città e metropoli; ma anche nei casi in cui siano in zone centrali e perfettamente integrati nel tessuto urbano, vi è solitamente l'esigenza, o almeno l'aspirazione, di conferire all'insediamento universitario una dimensione unitaria, autonoma e riconoscibile, nell'impianto planimetrico e nella configurazione architettonica.
Questo senso di unità può coinvolgere, con minore o maggior uniformità, elementi e materiali architettonici, fattori simbolici e stilistici, questioni di scala e/o di relazioni spaziali. Pur non richiedendo una coerenza assoluta, questo carattere di unitarietà, che può essere raggiunto mediante combinazioni variabili dei succitati elementi, implica che l'architetto, intervenendo in un *campus* esistente e in fase di ampliamento — sia al proprio interno che all'esterno —, deve tener presente ciò che è venuto via via definendosi come contesto nella composizione architettonica. Tale contesto, come ho già accennato in precedenza, può trarre la propria armonia sia dalla contrapposizione che dalla ripresa di elementi preesistenti, cioè dal contrasto fra il vecchio e il nuovo o dalla continuità per analogia con l'esistente, o, naturalmente, dalla combinazione fra queste due alternative.
Così, essendo la componente contestuale determinante nei nostri progetti di edifici universitari, per farne la presentazione sarebbe opportuno illustrare gli edifici immediatamente circostanti, ma anche quelli che, sebbene non immediatamente adiacenti, esprimono lo spirito del luogo. In questi casi, infatti, è importante ricordare che per contesto non si possono intendere solo particolari aspetti fisici o formali, ma anche una più generale atmosfera del sito.
I quattro edifici da noi progettati per il *campus* di Princeton (uno dei quali è attualmente in costruzione) sorgono in un settore ai margini del *campus* stesso, dove le costruzioni preesistenti sono in mattoni con finiture in pietra calcarea, spesso con richiami stilistici gotico-elisabettiani. In tale ambito ci è sembrato opportuno ricercare una contestualizzazione per via analogica, benchè i nostri riferimenti storici e stilistici siano senz'altro indiretti, astratti, allusivi, e non certo letterali, al fine di ottenere quell'armonia contestuale di cui si è parlato.
I laboratori progettati per la UCLA prendono spunto dal notevole e originale complesso di edifici costruiti negli anni Venti al centro del *campus* in stile romanico-lombardo, con murature in mattoni decorati e finiture in pietra calcarea, mentre gli edifici della Facoltà di Medicina, che costituiscono il contesto immediato dei laboratori, sono in laterizio uniforme non decorato.
I nostri laboratori di ricerca dell'Università della Pennsylvania riflettono una filosofia analoga con la creazione di un edificio dallo spazio interno flessibile e privo di connotazioni precise come quello di un *loft*, la cui impronta architettonica esterna derivi non tanto da una scultorea articolazione volumetrica come nelle Richardson Medical Towers di Louis Kahn che sorgono nei pressi, ma dalla scansione ritmica di finestre e rientranze e dai motivi decorativi del rivestimento in laterzio. Decorazione che si rifà direttamente ai primi edifici del *campus*, dove un gioco di mattoni neri messi di taglio crea un disegno pressapoco romboidale, mentre le finestre, a riquadri piuttosto piccoli e rifinite in laterzio, riprendono anch'esse i particolari edifici tipo *loft* della Facoltà di Medicina eretti verso la fine del secolo scorso da Cope e Stewardson.

Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses

Robert Venturi

Most campus-academic buildings want to be generic architecturally, sometimes specifically loft-like, to be flexible inside physically and spatially over time for evolving uses. In this way they acknowledge the continuity that is characteristic of an institution — life within the building goes on beyond the lives of the individual academics that make up the institution; such buildings also want a dignity and generosity of scale appropriate for generic institutional uses; such buildings want also to be kickable — tough so they wear well with their hard use over time — they must mellow with age; such loft-like buildings want their architectural quality to be recessive, not intrusive — to be an ideal background for work and concentration; such buildings also want to accommodate incidental interaction, to promote community and communication implicitly in the character of their circulation, if such buildings want to work as recessive backgrounds inside, they largely want to be the same in terms of their context outside; these buildings that are workplaces, and dignified at the same time must not be architecturally trendy, but rather, as we've said, generic, and therefore most likely to extend harmony within their campuses and to acknowledge context via analogy, not via contrast — an academic building cannot succumb to the hyped sensibility of this moment or be a product for the promotion of the great architect who creates it. Those kicks the architect more responsibly derives not on a campus.

It is ironic that most of the work of our office consists of institutional-civic buildings that often pertain to campuses and require contextual analogy over contextual contrast; we are thereby out of step in terms of the sensibility of our time which is hyped — listen to loud music, look at the padded shoulders, watch the commercial sound-bites. Within the cycle of taste our perceptual expectations involve big scale, bold forms and colors and contrasts. But we resist this natural contemporary inclination so as to be good architect-artists making our art appropriate rather than arbitrary — suiting the circumstantial situation rather than an artistic inclination. The irony lies in: I know about the general appropriateness of hype in our time: was it not I who said in the mid-sixties: "less is a bore" *— although now I wonder if* "more is a bore"*. I would love to be hype, but only as appropriate to the job.*

It is well known that the typical university or "college" campus in the United States is rural, or at least tends to be at the edge of a town or a city. And even when it is downtown and integral within the street system of the city, there is traditionally the need, or at least the desire, for a sense of the campus as whole in terms of its layout and architecture. This sense of the whole can involve more or less consistently architectural elements of materials, symbolism or style, scale and/or spatial relationships. Certainly this sense of the whole does not necessarily involve absolute consistency — it can come via a heterogeneous combination of these elements — but in any case it means the architect designing for the existing campus as it grows, either within or beyond, must

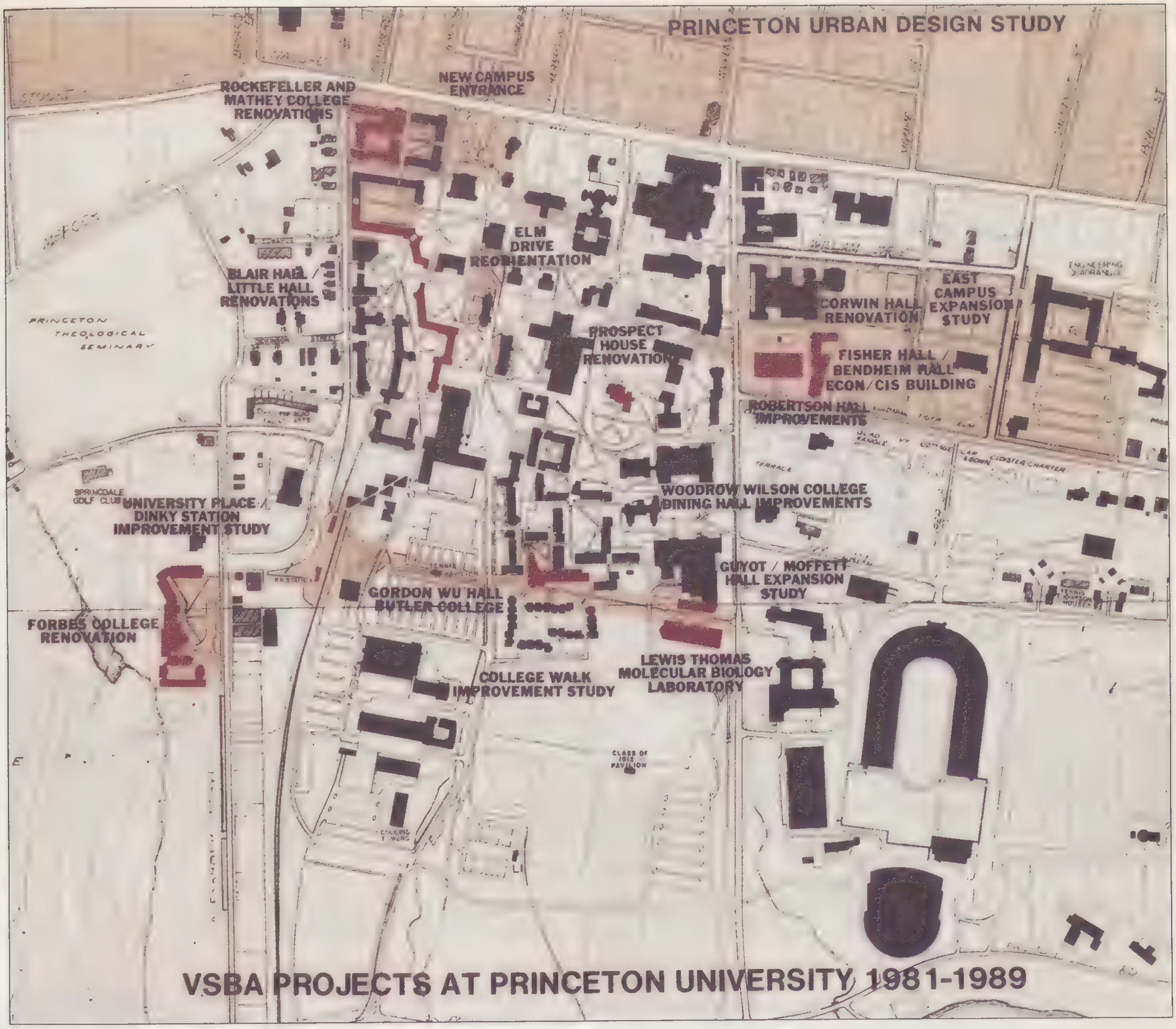
consider what has come to be known as context in architectural composition. And this context, as I have implied above, can derive its harmony via contrasting elements or analogous elements — that is, contrasting relationships between the new and the old or analogous relationships, or of course combinations of these two kinds of elements.
So an essential determinant of the designs of this office for campus architecture is contextual and it would be appropriate to illustrate the buildings immediately around the ones we have designed when we illustrate ours, and also buildings that are not necessarily adjacent but make up the ethos of the place; it is important to ackowledge that context included in these cases particular physical-formal dimensions but also the more general dimension of aura of the place.
All of the four buildings we have designed for the Princeton campus (one is now under construction) are in a precinct at the edge of the campus where the material of the existing buildings is brick, the trim is often limenstone, and the symbolism or style is often Gothic-Elizabethan. And we have found it there appropriate to achieve contextual harmony via analogy — although certainly our historical-stylistic references are indirect, abstracted, representational, and not literal.
Our laboratory building at UCLA refers to the important original complex of buildings in the center of the campus built in the '20s which are Lombardian-Romanesque with patterned brick surfaces and limestone trim; the immediate context, that of the Medical School contains brick buildings but no pattern.
Our research laboratory at the University of Pennsylvania reflects a similar policy of creating a laboratory building with generic, flexible loft space inside whose architectural quality outside derives not from sculptural articulation as in the Richardson Medical Towers by Louis Kahn nearby, but via rhythmic configurations of windows and bays and via ornament consisting of patterned brick. The latter element refers directly to the earlier buildings on campus of brick with black headers making so-called diaper patterns; the windows which have relatively small panes and are surrounded by masonry trim refer also to the distiguished loft-like buildings at the Medical School by Cope and Stewardson in the late 19th century.

Università di Princeton in una veduta del 1875, al centro la Nassau Hall.
Piano di sviluppo dell'Università di Princeton, 1906-11.
Progetti di Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates nell'Università di Princeton, 1981-1989.

University of Princeton seen in 1875. Nassau Hall is in the center.
Development plan of Princeton University, 1906-11.
Projects of Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates at Princeton University, 1981-89.



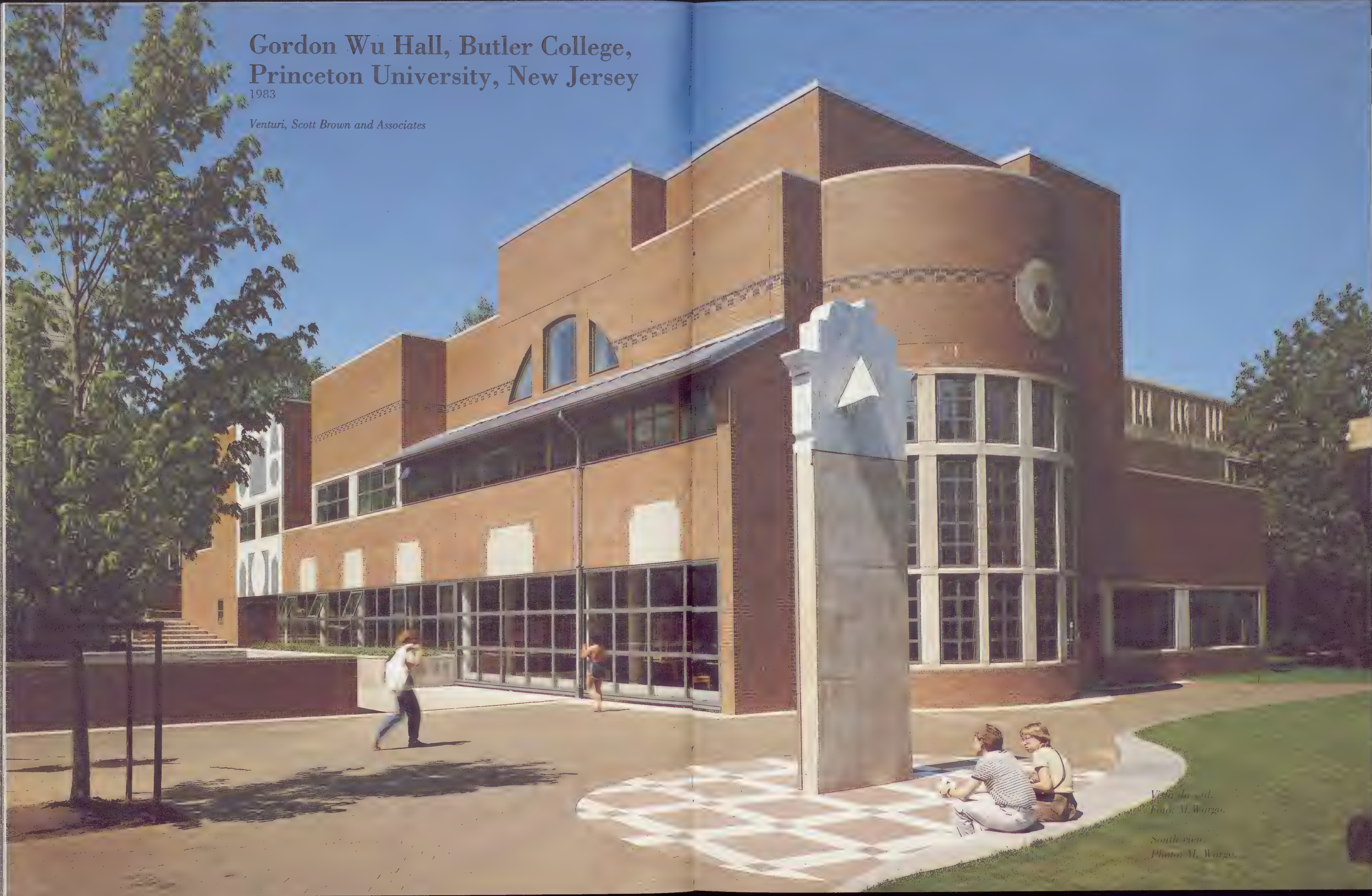



PRINCETON URBAN DESIGN STUDY
NEW CAMPUS ENTRANCE
ROCKEFELLER AND MATHEY COLLEGE RENOVATIONS
ELM DRIVE REORIENTATION
BLAIR HALL / LITTLE HALL RENOVATIONS
PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
CORWIN HALL RENOVATION
EAST CAMPUS EXPANSION STUDY
PROSPECT HOUSE RENOVATION
FISHER HALL / BENDHEIM HALL ECON/CIS BUILDING
ROBERTSON HALL IMPROVEMENTS
WOODROW WILSON COLLEGE DINING HALL IMPROVEMENTS
UNIVERSITY PLACE DINKY STATION IMPROVEMENT STUDY
GUYOT / MOFFETT HALL EXPANSION STUDY
GORDON WU HALL BUTLER COLLEGE
FORBES COLLEGE RENOVATION
LEWIS THOMAS MOLECULAR BIOLOGY LABORATORY
COLLEGE WALK IMPROVEMENT STUDY
VSBA PROJECTS AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY 1981-1989

Gordon Wu Hall, Butler College, Princeton University, New Jersey

1983

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates



Vista do sul.
Foto: M. Wargo.

South view.
Photo: M. Wargo.

Gordon Wu Hall, Butler College, Princeton University, New Jersey

1983

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates



Vista da sud.
Foto: M. Wargo.

South view.
Photo: M. Wargo.

Padiglione Gordon Wu nel Butler College, Università di Princeton, New Jersey
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

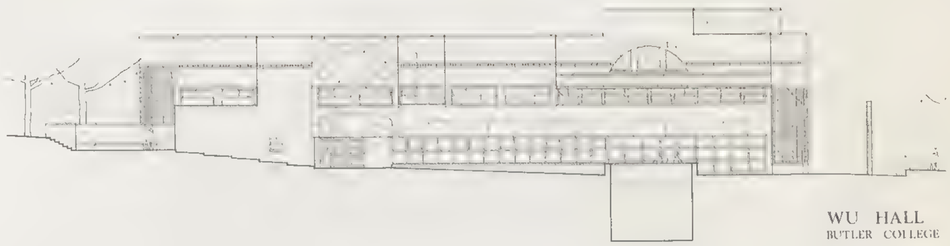
Nel progettare questo padiglione destinato a costituire il nucleo centrale di Butler College, un nuovo complesso residenziale per gli studenti dell'Università di Princeton, ci si è posti l'obbiettivo di ideare un edificio capace di conferire una precisa identità al nuovo *college*, diventandone il luogo privilegiato delle attività sociali ma realizzando, nel contempo, anche l'integrazione con gli altri due dormitori, più vecchi e di stili contrastanti, che sono complementari al nuovo intervento. Non occorreva solo tener conto dell'irregolarità, della pendenza e delle ridotte dimensioni del sito, ma anche della vicinanza di altri edifici e dell'esigenza di collegare il nuovo padiglione ad un *college* contiguo preesistente con cui avrebbe condiviso la cucina.
Pur derivando importanti riferimenti dall'ambiente circostante, l'edificio, con la sua forma allungata e la posizione centrale che ne fanno il *trait-d'union* visivo con gli altri due dormitori, non manca di una propria identità. Le finiture in laterizio e pietra calcarea e le finestre a nastro si rifanno alla tradizione gotica di Princeton, mentre l'ingresso principale, posto fuori centro sul fronte più esteso dell'edificio, è marcato da un grande fregio in marmo e granito grigio, che richiama le decorazioni altorinascimentali e segnala simbolicamente l'ingresso a tutto il *college* oltre che al singolo edificio.
All'interno, il lungo locale del refettorio riprende i vasti saloni della tradizione gotica inglese così tipici a Princeton; i bovindi, alti due piani a ciascuna estremità dell'edificio, conferiscono un senso di spazialità e di grandiosità simile a quello dei prototipi antichi e garantiscono un'illuminazione naturale intensa e gradevole; gli arredi, scelti dagli stessi progettisti, contribuiscono all'intimità e alla funzionalità del luogo.
Alla sinistra dell'atrio di ingresso, uno scalone conduce oltre uno dei bovindi, fino ad una sala di ritrovo da cui si diparte un corridoio che conduce agli uffici e, in fondo, ad una biblioteca che funge anche da zona di studio. Sia la sala di ritrovo che la biblioteca sono concluse, ad ogni estremità, dagli ampi bovindi che ne espandono visivamente le ridotte dimensioni.
Gli spazi, sia interni che esterni, sono progettati per favorire i contatti informali e spontanei tra gli studenti. Lo stesso scalone assolve a molteplici compiti. Ad esempio, dopo il pianerottolo alla base del bovindo, si allarga lateralmente in gradoni utilizzabili come sedili, svolgendo di conseguenza due funzioni distinte: la prima simbolica, ovvero innalzarsi fino alle grandi finestre del bovindo, mentre la seconda è di costituire un luogo informale di ritrovo e di attesa, che può fungere anche da anfiteatro al chiuso. Tutto l'edificio è accessibile ai portatori di *handicap*.
Un percorso parallelo all'edificio asseconda il pendio dell'asse nord-sud mediante un susseguirsi di gradini, rampe, pareti di sostegno e piccoli slarghi che danno luogo a spazi all'aperto dove gli studenti possono sedersi e ritrovarsi. All'estremità meridionale dell'edificio il nuovo percorso s'incrocia con College Walk, dove una nuova piazza con una colonna commemorativa conclude la passeggiata e segna un centro simbolico del *college*, unificando e conferendo identità ai tre edifici che lo compongono.

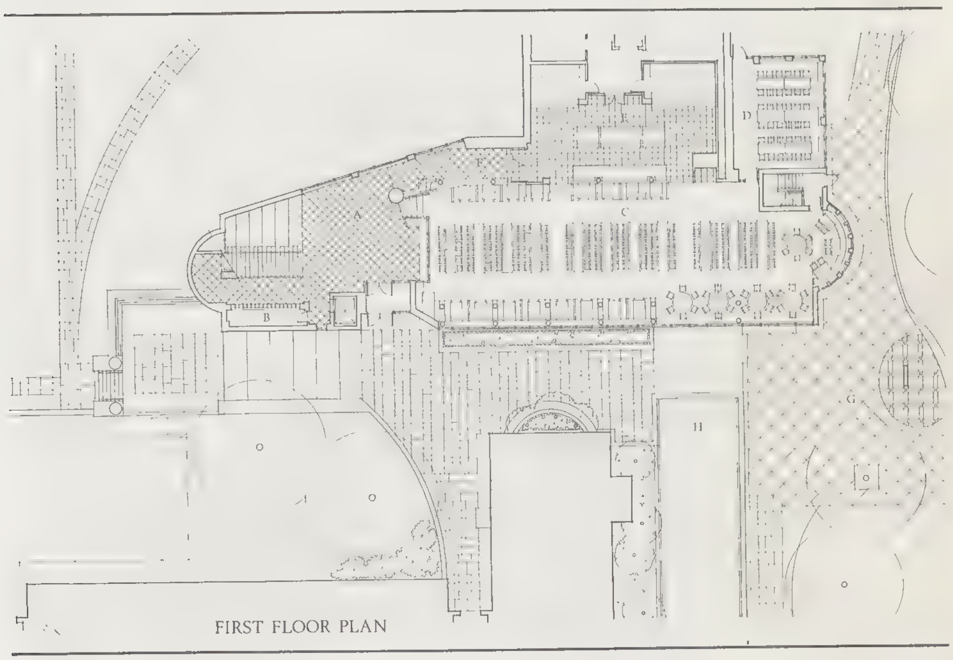
Gordon Wu Hall, Butler College, Princeton University, New Jersey
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

This building is the centerpiece of Butler College, a new undergraduate residential college at Princeton University. The design problem was to create a building that would provide an identity for the new college and serve as the focal point for its social life, but that would create also a cohesiveness bewtween the two other old dormitory buildings of disparate styles that make up the College. The site is irregular, sloping and narrow. Further constraints included the proximity of the other buildings and the need for the new hall to share an existing kitchen with an adjacent college that it has to connect with.
The building's design takes important cues from what is around it but it promotes also an identity of its own. Its long shape and central position make it a visual hyphen that connects the dormitories and unites them. The brick, limestone trim, and strip windows adhere to the traditional Gothic architecture of Princeton. The main entrance, set off-center and broadside in the buildings, is marked by a bold marble and gray granite panel recalling early Renaissance ornament and symbolizing the entrance to the college as a whole as well as to the building itself.
Inside, the long dining room recalls those English Gothic halls traditional at Princeton. Bay windows two stories high at each end of the building create some spaciousness and scale typical of historical prototypes, and admit lots of cheerful light. Furnishings, chosen by the architects, create intimate detail and promote comfort. To the left of the lobby, a stair leads past one of the bay windows up to a lounge. From the lounge, a hall parallels offices and ends at a library-study area. Both the lounge and the library look onto the large bay windows at each end, visually expanding the relatively small spaces.
Both inside and outside spaces are designed to provide opportunities for informal and spontaneous interaction among students. The stairway itself

Prospetto sudovest e piante dei piani terra e primo.

Southwest elevation, first and second floor plans.

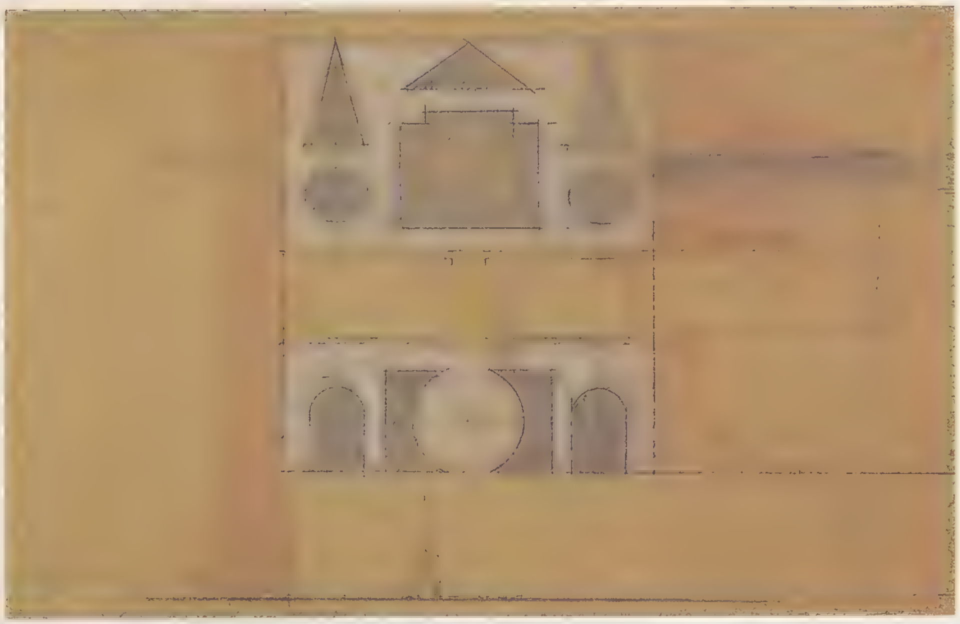












serves several purposes. As the first flight leads to a landing at the foot of the bay window, the stairs extend to one side, becoming larger, higher steps suitable for sitting. This space functions symbolically as a grand stair sweeping upward toward the bay window, as an informal waiting and gathering place, and it can serve as an indoor amphitheater. The building is fully accessible to the handicapped.

A walk parallel to Wu Hall modulates the slopes of the northsouth axis with a series of steps, ramps, retaining walls and small courts. These resultant outside spaces also serve as gathering areas with some opportunities for seating. At the south end of the building the new walk meets College Walk. There a new plaza with a memorial column terminates the walk creating a symbolic center of the College, and further identifying and uniting its theree buildings.

Viste interne dello scalone ad anfiteatro e del refettorio.
Disegno di studio del fregio in marmo bianco e granito grigio sull'ingresso principale.
Vista da est da College Walk.
Foto: T.Bernard.

Interior views of the main stairway and the servery.
Design sketch of the white marble and gray granite panel over the main entrance.
East view from College Walk.
Photo: T. Bernard.





Lewis Thomas Laboratory for Molecular Biology, Princeton University, New Jersey

1986

Payette Associates

Architetti associati/associated architects: Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Vista da nordovest da College Walk.
Foto: M. Wargo.

Northwest view from College Walk.
Photo: M. Wargo.

Lewis Thomas Laboratory for Molecular Biology, Princeton University, New Jersey

1986

Payette Associates

Architetti associati/associated architects Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates



Vista da nordovest da College Walk.
Foto: M. Wargo.

Northwest view from College Walk.
Photo: M. Wargo.

Laboratori di biologia molecolare Lewis Thomas, Università di Princeton, New Jersey
Payette Associates e Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

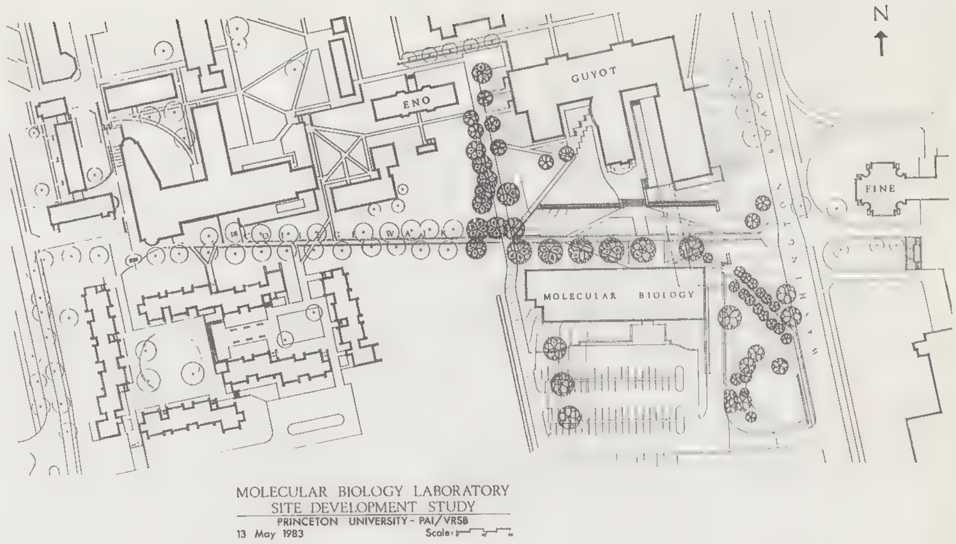
Il nuovo complesso di aule e laboratori rientra, con i suoi mq. 10.200, nella strategia adottata dall'Università di Princeton per conservare la propria preminenza nel campo della ricerca scientifica nei decenni a venire. Il progetto ha riguardato l'architettura esterna, i punti d'accesso, la sistemazione del sito e dei giardini, e ha dovuto tener conto delle specifiche esigenze derivanti dalle funzioni e dalla disposizione interna dell'edificio nel definire scala, ritmo e proporzioni delle facciate. I due prospetti longitudinali sono caratterizzati da un ritmo costante dei vani delle finestre identici fra loro, che riflettono i moduli ripetitivi degli uffici-laboratori interni e conferiscono una ricchezza di superficie alla forma complessiva. Sul lato meridionale le finestre sono arretrate per fornire un riparo dal sole, aggiungendo un ricco effetto chiaroscurale a tale fronte.
Fasce alterne di motivi in laterizio e di ampie finestre con modanature in pietra artificiale avvolgono il perimetro dell'edificio, mentre l'ultimo piano, più alto per alloggiare gli impianti tecnologici, è evidenziato da un altro più semplice motivo in mattoni e pietra artificiale. Anche i materiali impiegati si richiamano agli edifici esistenti in questo settore del *campus*.
Su entrambe le testate laterali sono dislocate ad ogni piano sale di ritrovo con grandi bovindi. Il variare delle superfici e della loro tessitura dà luogo ad un continuo cambiamento di scala che rende interessanti le lunghissime facciate e si ricollega alla tradizionale architettura collegiale gotica, quale si ritrova nel complesso della Guyot Hall, gli attuali Dipartimenti di Geologia e di Biologia, collocati a settentrione oltre College Walk.
L'edificio e la sistemazione esterna sono progettati per concludere ad est College Walk e segnare un punto di ingresso all'accesso meridionale da Washington Road alla parte principale del *campus*, realizzando al tempo stesso un collegamento fisico e simbolico con la Guyot Hall. Il collegamento fisico con il Dipartimento di Biologia è realizzato mediante un passaggio sotterraneo provvisto di un'area di servizio accessibile con una rampa seminterrata per i rifornimenti, mentre il collegamento simbolico è dato dai terrazzamenti, dalla pavimentazione e dalla piantumazione che modificano l'aspetto di College Walk. Un basso muro di sostegno alla base della Guyot Hall fa da cornice e da recinzione ai vari corpi del complesso creando uno spazio esterno davanti ai laboratori Lewis Thomas dove, nonostante la precisa definizione spaziale imposta dal muro, la pavimentazione è limitata al massimo per dare più spazio possibile al verde nel rispetto della tradizione dei cortili residenziali gotici di Princeton.
L'interno è suddiviso equamente in laboratori aperti e chiusi e ogni piano è concluso a ciascuna estremità da un'ampia sala con bovindo che funge da luogo di ritrovo, al fine di destinare alle attività sociali le aree più luminose dell'edificio dove massima è la percezione dell'ambiente esterno. Il ricorso a vasti corridoi — oltre a rendere disponibili spazi flessibili dove poter alloggiare o utilizzare macchinari — conferisce un ulteriore senso di apertura allo spazio interno, a cui contribuisce anche la relativa altezza dei locali dei laboratori di per sé visivamente complessi. Le pareti in vetro tra i laboratori e gli spazi ausiliari garantiscono una migliore illuminazione naturale e una percezione panoramica di tutta la profondità dell'edificio, creando un collegamento visivo fra i vari ricercatori. I corrimani, le porte, gli arredi e i pannelli sono in rovere, un materiale che, oltre ad essere resistente ed elegante, è anche naturale, fornendo un utile senso di familiarità ad un ambiente che, altrimenti, sarebbe asetticamente tecnologico. Il risultato è un luogo di lavoro sicuro e funzionale, adattabile ai cambiamenti sia a breve che a lungo termine, attento alle esigenze sia dell'individuo che dell'attività universitaria.

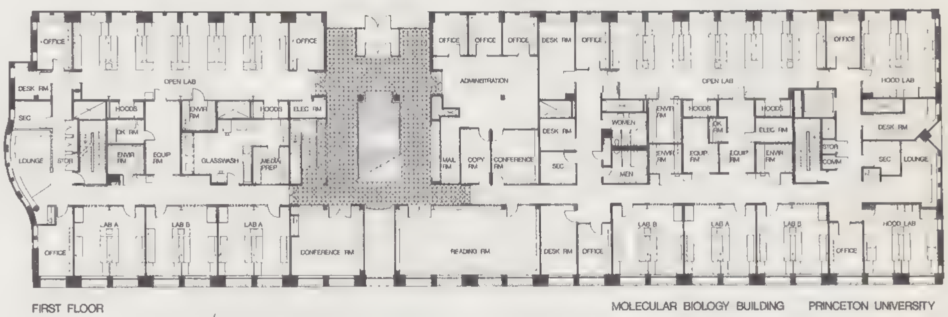
Lewis Thomas Laboratory for Molecular Biology, Princeton University, New Jersey
Payette Associates and Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

This new, 110.000 s.f. laboratory and classroom building is part of Princeton University's strategy for maintaining its leading position in the sciences in the decades ahead. VSBA is responsible for the exterior design, entry points, site planning, and landscaping. The scale, rhythm, and proportion of the façades are determined by specific requirements of program and interior layout. The two long elevations have an essentially consistent rhythm of identical window bays reflecting the repetitive lab-office modules and promoting a surface richness for the overall form. On the south side the windows are recessed to provide sun protection, adding a richer sculptural effect to that façade.
Alternating bands of patterned brick and large windows with cast stone trim wrap the perimeter of the building. A recessive brick and cast stone pattern differentiates the high upper floor, devoted to the mechanical plant. The exterior materials also relate to other buildings in this area of the campus. Both end elevations have large bay windows on each level containing lounges. The variety and texture of the surfaces create several orders of scale, lending interest to the traditional Collegiate Gothic architecture of Guyot Hall complex, the existing Geology and Biology Departments, located to the north across College Walk.
The building's design and landscaping serve to terminate College Walk from the east, create a sense of entrance to the main campus on Washington Road from the south, and make physical and symbolic connections with Guyot.
The physical connection to the Biology Department is made with a combined service area with a depressed loading ramp and an underground tunnel.
A symbolic connection is developed through terracing, paving, planting and by modifying the configuration of College Walk. A low retaining wall at the base of Guyot acts to frame and

contain the diverse Guyot complex and to provide an outdoor space in front of the Lewis Thomas Laboratory. Despite the formalization of this space by the wall, there is a minimum of paving and a maximum of lawn in the tradition of the Gothic residential courts at Princeton.

The interior consists of a balance of closed and open laboratories, each floor having a large bay window alcover-loung at each end. This organization places human activity at the ends of the building where natural light and awareness of external environs are maximized. Using wide corridors offers an additional feeling of openness and allows flexible space where equipment can be stored or operated. Glass walls between labs and internal support spaces bring natural light and views through the width of the building. These visual connections promote awareness of fellow researchers in a building which contains a collection of numerous, separately controlled environments. Room heights are also relatively high to provide additional openness in the visually complex labs. For durability and richness, oak is used on wall rails, doors, furniture and casewouk. This use of a natural material quietly humanizes the highly technical laboratory environment. These interior arrangements work to offer a safe, effective workplace, one adaptive to both short and long term change, sensitive to both individual and University needs.





Planimetria generale e pianta del piano terra.

Site plan and first floor plan.



Fisher and Bendheim Halls, Department of Economics and Center of International Studies Building, Princeton University, New Jersey

1990

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Vista da est da Prospect Avenue. Foto: M. Wargo.

East view from Prospect Avenue. Photo: M. Wargo.

Fisher and Bendheim Halls, Department of Economics and Center of International Studies Building, Princeton University, New Jersey

1990

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates



Vista da est da Prospect Avenue. Foto: M. Wargo.

East view from Prospect Avenue. Photo: M. Wargo.

Padiglioni Fisher e Bendheim nel Dipartimento di Scienze economiche e Centro di Studi Internazionali, Università di Princeton, New Jersey
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

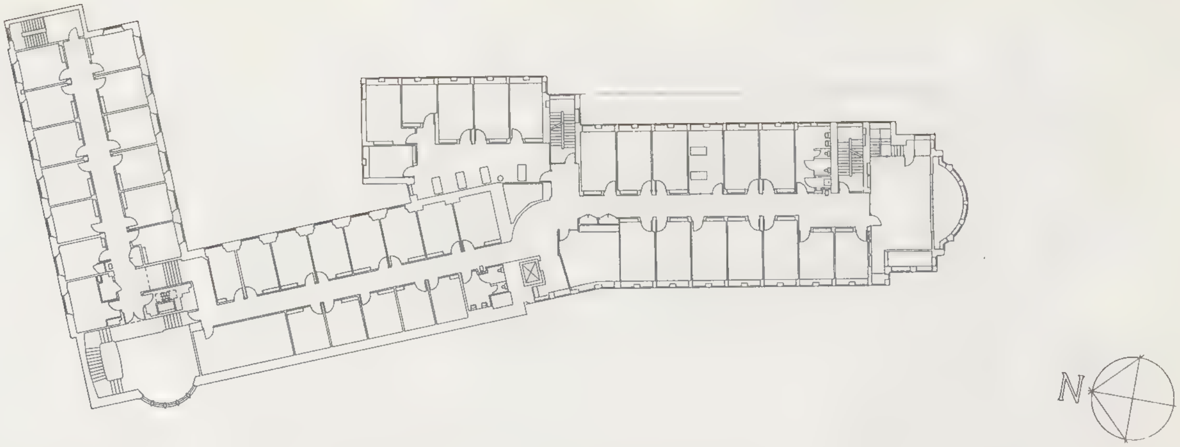
Il dipartimento di Scienze Economiche e il Centro di Studi Internazionali sono la terza opera architettonica rilevante realizzata dal nostro studio per l'Università di Princeton. Tale struttura copre una superficie approssimativa di mq. 5000 ed è collegata a due edifici universitari già esistenti, ovvero alla Woodrow Wilson School tramite un passaggio sotterraneo e alla E.S. Corwin Hall ad ogni piano. In essa trovano sede gli uffici del Dipartimento di Scienze economiche, il Centro di Studi Internazionali e, nella contigua Corwin Hall, il Dipartimento di Scienze politiche. Pur essendo destinato principalmente ad uffici di Facoltà, il nuovo edificio alloggia anche aule di grandi dimensioni, sale per seminari, locali attrezzati con computer, oltre che zone di studio e di ritrovo per laureandi nel seminterrato.
Il progetto di inserimento del nuovo edificio nel sito illustra il ruolo di mediazione che esso intende svolgere tra la scala intima e domestica delle mense e del *club* lungo Prospect Street e le grandi e armoniose strutture universitarie principali.

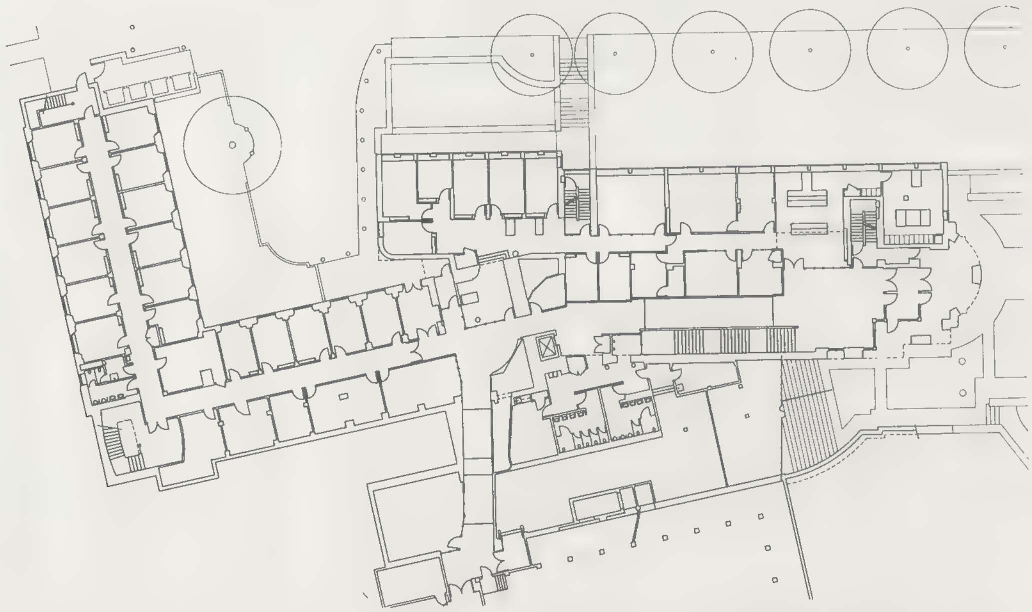
Fisher and Bendheim Halls, Department of Economics and Center of International Studies Building, Princeton University, New Jersey
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

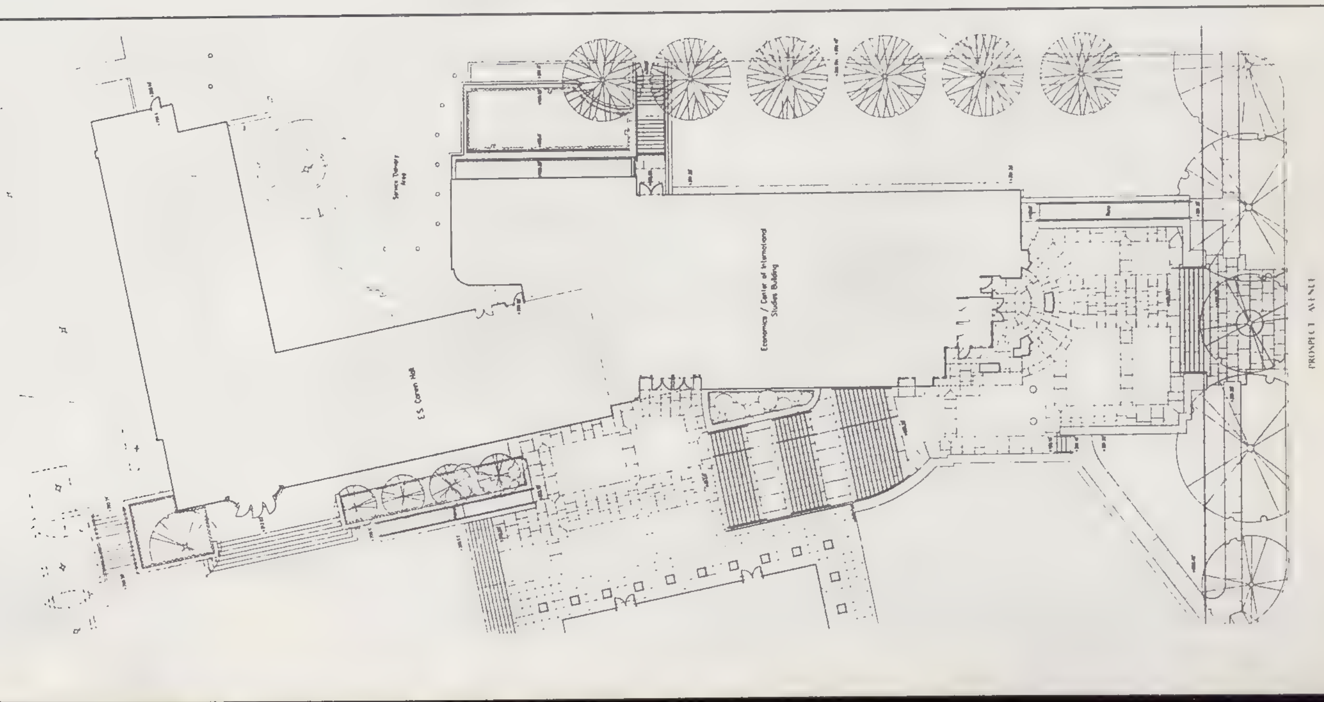
The Economics Department and the Center of International Studies on the Princeton campus is the third major building by this firm at the University. The 54,000 gsf structure is linked to two existing campus buildings: the Woodrow Wilson School below grade level and the E.S. Corwin Hall at every level. It houses the departmental offices for the Economics Department, the Center of International Studies and, in adjacent Corwin Hall, the Politics Department. Though most of the new construction houses faculty offices, there are larger classrooms, seminar and computer rooms, as well as study and meeting areas for graduate students in the basement.
Extensive site design supports the new building's role as a mediator between the intimate, domestic scale of the Eating Clubs along Prospect Street and the larger, handsome institutional structures of the main campus.

Planimetria con le sistemazioni esterne e piante dei piani terra e secondo.

Site plan with the exterior redevelopments and plans of the ground and second floors.


N




PROSPECT AVENUE


FISHER HALL

Viste da sud e vista interna del bovindo.
Foto: M.Wargo.

South views and interior view
of the bay-window.
Photo: M. Wargo.











College Rockefeller e Mathey,
Università di Princeton, 1980-83
Vista interna del refettorio ristrutturato.
Foto: T.Bernard.

Padiglione Blair del Mathey College,
Università di Princeton, 1983
Vista interna degli alloggi ricavati nel sottotetto.
Foto: T.Bernard.

College Malcolm S. Forbes Jr.,
Università di Princeton, 1984
Vista interna dell'edificio ristrutturato.
Foto: T.Bernard.

Guardiola del nuovo ingresso all'Università di Princeton, 1988
Vista.
Foto: M.Wargo.

Rockefeller and Mathey College,
Princeton University, 1980-83
Interior view of the renovated servery.
Photo : T. Bernard.

Blair Hall, Mathey College,
Princeton University, 1983
Interior view of the apartments created under the roof.
Photo: T. Bernard.

Malcom S. Forbes Jr. College,
Princeton University, 1984
Interior view of the renovated building.
Photo: T. Bernard.

New Campus Entrance Guard Booth,
Princeton University, 1988
View.
Photo: M. Wargo.



College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio

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Eisenman Architects in association with Lorenz and Williams Inc.

Peter Eisenman (Eisenman Architects), Richard Roediger (Lorenz and Williams Inc.)

Associates: George Kewin (Eisenman Architects), Jennifer Flinn (Lorenz and Williams Inc.)

Project Architects: Greg Lynn, Michael McInturf, Joseph Walter
Project Team: Dawn Barry, Laurence Blough, John Curran
John Hirschinger, Kelly Hopkin, Ed Mitchell, Madison Spencer

Engineers: Lorenz and Williams
Structural Project Manager: Tim McCrate
Mech/Elec/Plumb Project Manager: Jack Putnam
Project CADD Team: Joseph Mitolo, Les Picker, Shari Rotella, James Schriefer, Michael Schuyler

Landscape Architect: Hargreaves Associates, Glen Allen
Civil Engineer: United Consultants, Banwo Longe
Acoustical: Jaffe Acoustics, Mark Holden
Lighting: Fisher Marantz Inc., Richard Renfro
Audio/Visual: Boyce Nemec Designs, Andy Smith
Cost: Dugan and Meyers Interests Inc.
Silkscreens: John Nichols Studio, Relja Penezic



Spaccati del modello da nordest sull'ingresso.
Foto: R.Forth.

Northeast view of the model, cut through at the entrance.
Photo: R. Forth.

College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio

1991

Eisenman Architects in association with Lorenz and Williams Inc.

Peter Eisenman (Eisenman Architects), Richard Roediger (Lorenz and Williams Inc.)

Associates: George Kewin (Eisenman Architects), Jerome Flynn (Lorenz and Williams Inc.)

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Foto: R.Forth.

Northeast view of the model, cut through at the entrance.
Photo: R. Forth.

Facoltà di Design, Architettura, Arte e Urbanistica, Università di Cincinnati, Ohio
Eisenman Architects

La fase iniziale del nostro lavoro all'Università di Cincinnati è consistita nella definizione del programma di sviluppo della Facoltà di Design, Architettura, Arte e Urbanistica, con la riorganizzazione dell'edificio esistente di circa mq. 16.000 e la realizzazione di una superficie aggiuntiva di circa mq. 14.000 da adibire a spazi espositivi, biblioteca, teatro, studi e uffici. L'Università ci incaricò inoltre di migliorare qualità, quantità e accessibilità dei servizi e delle attrezzature della Facoltà.
Poiché l'edificio intende svilupparsi dall'interno stesso del suo luogo attuale — il sito vero e proprio, l'edificio preesistente e lo "spirito" della Facoltà — l'obbiettivo è stato quello di individuare l'architettura giusta nel contesto del sito. Il suo vocabolario nasce dall'andamento curvilineo del terreno e dalle forme spezzate dell'edificio esistente, creando una relazione dinamica capace di organizzare lo spazio tra i due elementi. Abbiamo lavorato con gli studenti, i docenti, gli amministratori e gli amici della Facoltà affinché il nuovo intervento non diventasse un monumento all'architettura, ma piuttosto il risultato di un processo evolutivo del quale tutti possano dire "l'abbiamo fatto noi".
Il progetto vuole rappresentare insieme una sfida e un cambiamento nel modo di educare. Non possiamo più insegnare a progettare in termini superficiali e senza principi. Le discipline del progetto infatti, in un'era dominata dai *media* come la nostra, rivestono un ruolo molto più importante di prima.
Perciò occorre ripensare, per una Facoltà a suo modo speciale, che cosa ci si studia e si realizza, come e perché. Ciò significa che abbiamo dovuto ripensare come debba essere un edificio adatto a tali attività. Per un'Università che voglia essere all'avanguardia nel suo settore, la sede deve rappresentare un modello: un edificio capace di esprimere una particolare attenzione verso la società e verso il ruolo che in essa è chiamata a svolgere la progettazione; un edificio che sappia esprimere il modo in cui l'Università accoglierà tale sfida.

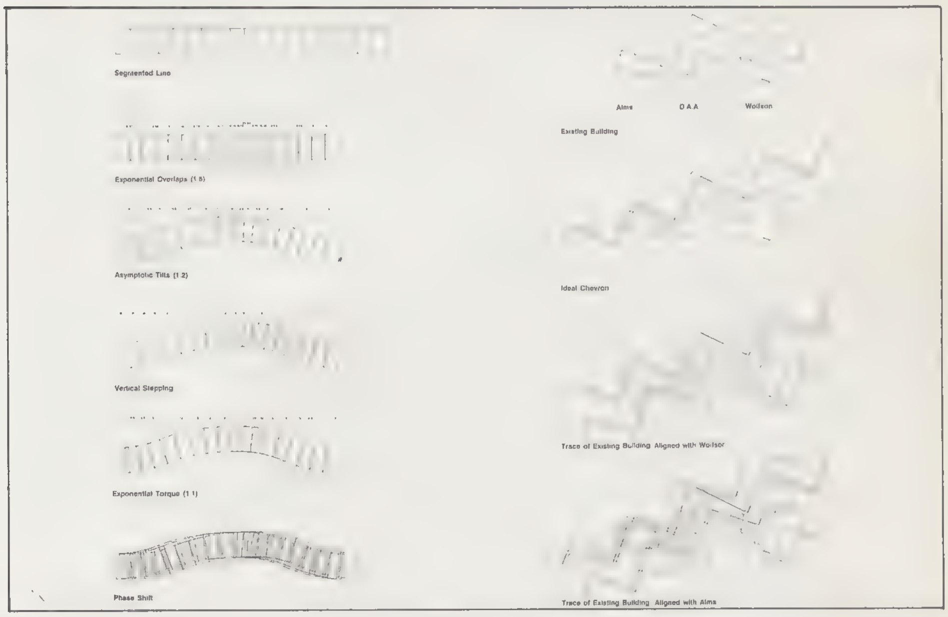
College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio
Eisenman Architects

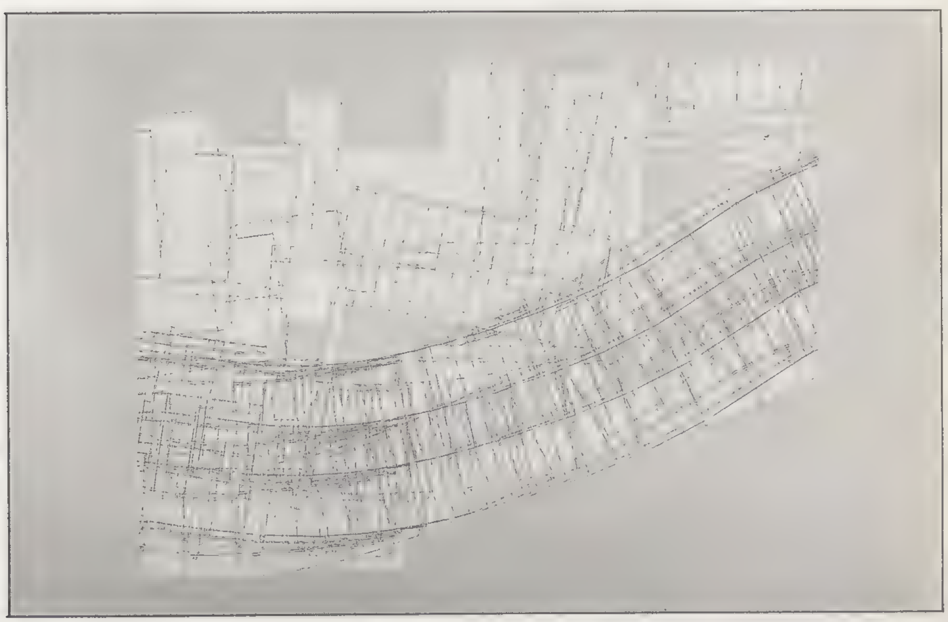
The initial phase of our work at the University of Cincinnati was to develop the program for the College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning so as to reorganize the existing 145.000 square feet of the building and built an additional 128.000 square feet of exhibition, library, theater, studio, and office space. In addition, the University charged us with improving the quality, quantity and accessibility of the facilities and equipment of the College.
Since the building will develop from within the place itself - the site, the existing building and the spirit of the college - the work is to find the building in the site. Its vocabulary comes from the curves of the land forms and the chevron forms of the existing building setting up a dynamic relationship to organize the space between the two. We worked together with the students, faculty, administrators and friends of the College so that the building was not a monument to architecture, but rather an evolutionary process of work which everyone can say "was created by us".
The project is going to challenge and change the mode by which we educate people. We can no longer train people to design the superficial and the inconsequential. Design disciplines have a far more important role in our age of information that is dominated by media, than ever before. Therefore, we need to rethink for a unique college, what it is they do, how they do it, and why they do it. This means that we had to rethink what a building has to be to house such activity. The building is to be a model for this kind of leadership. The building should express an attitude about society and about design's role in the society, and how the College will meet that challenge.

Planimetria, diagrammi concettuali, tracciati planimetrici.

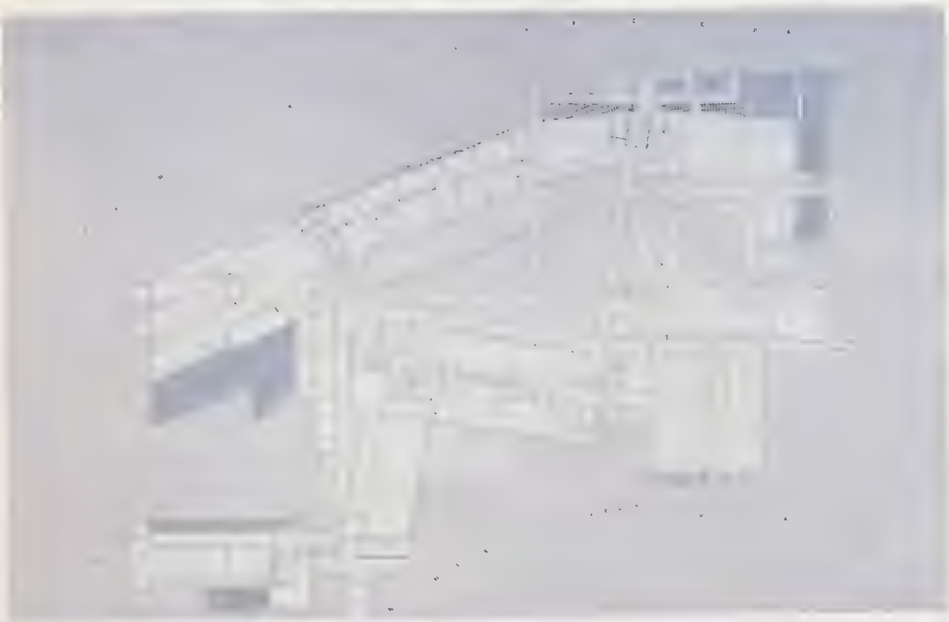
Site plan, conceptual diagrams, wire frame.







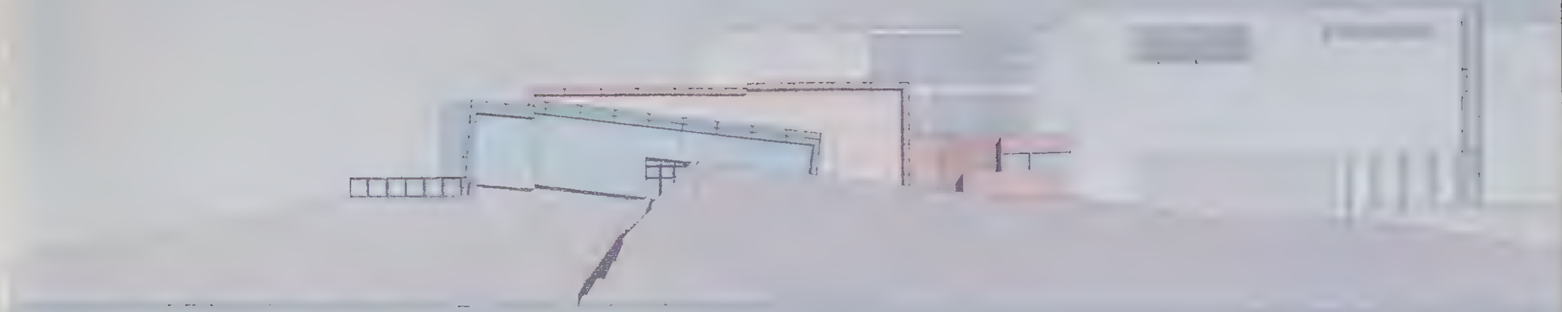


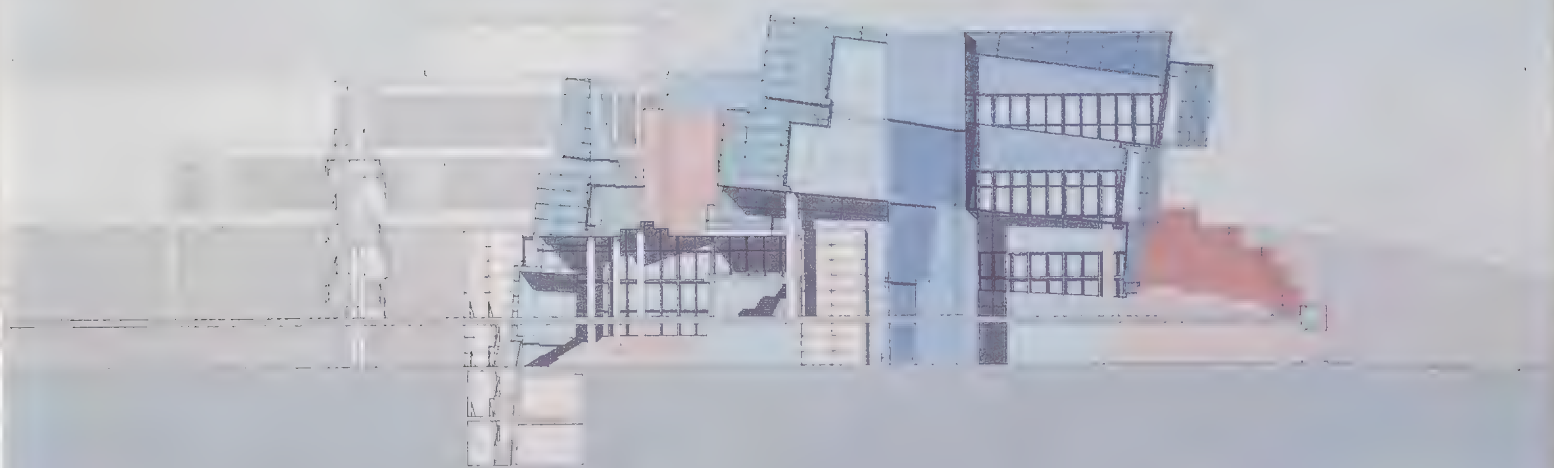




Piante dei piani terra, primo e secondo.
Prospetti ovest, est e nord.

Plans of ground, first and second floors.
West, east and north elevations.





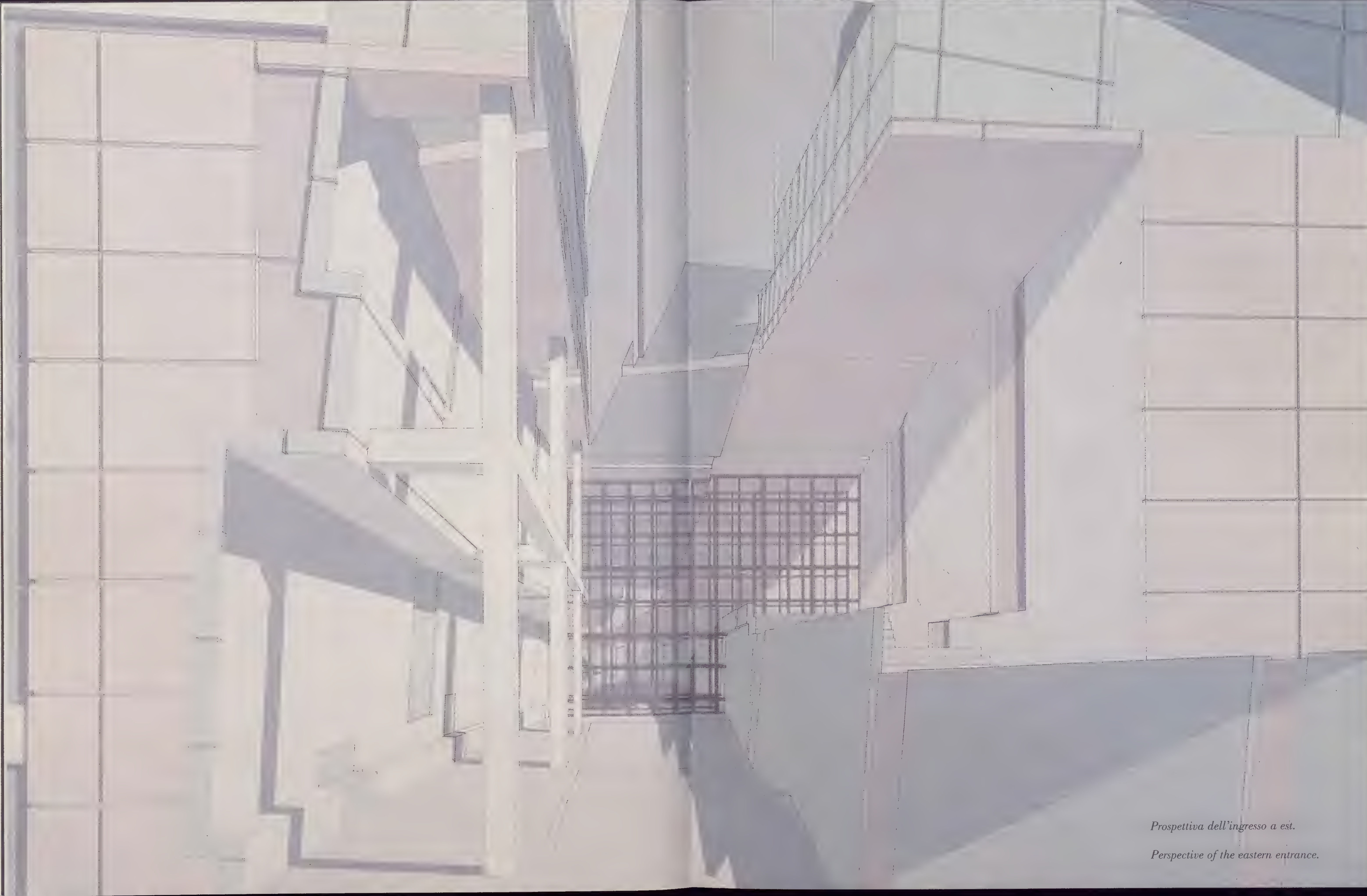




Sezioni trasversali e prospettiva dell'atrio.

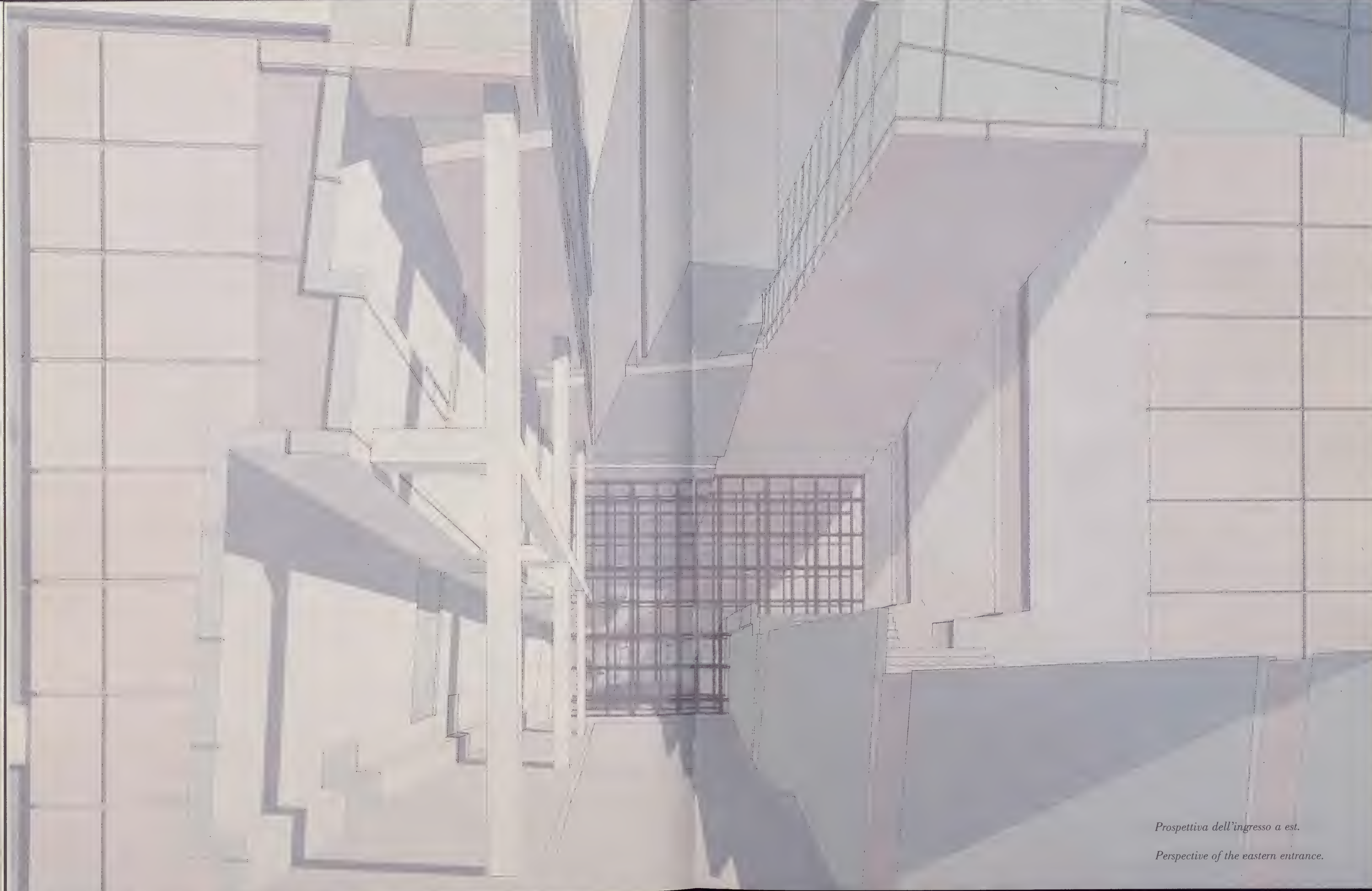
Cross sections and perspective of the entrance hall.





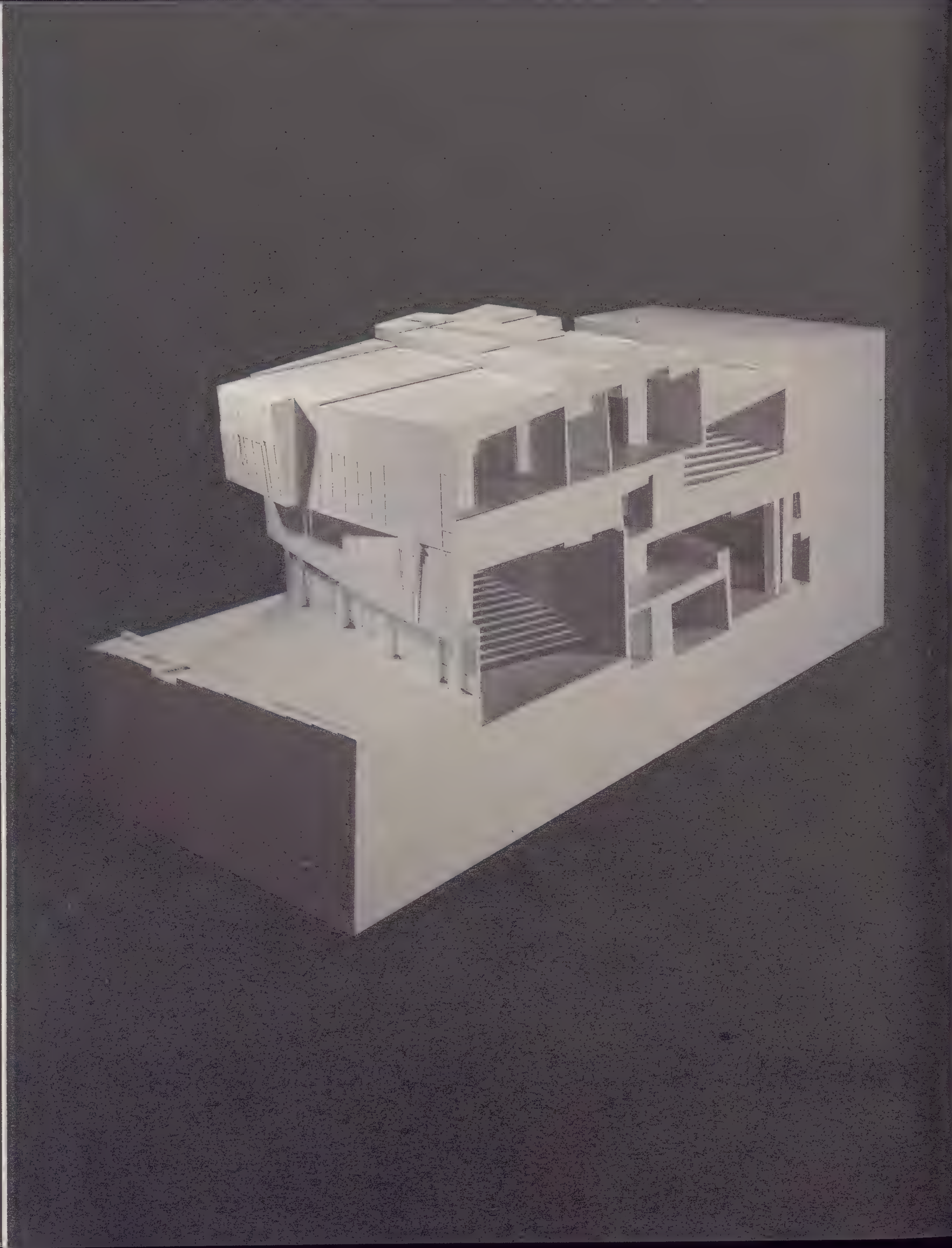
Prospettiva dell'ingresso a est.

Perspective of the eastern entrance.



Prospettiva dell'ingresso a est.

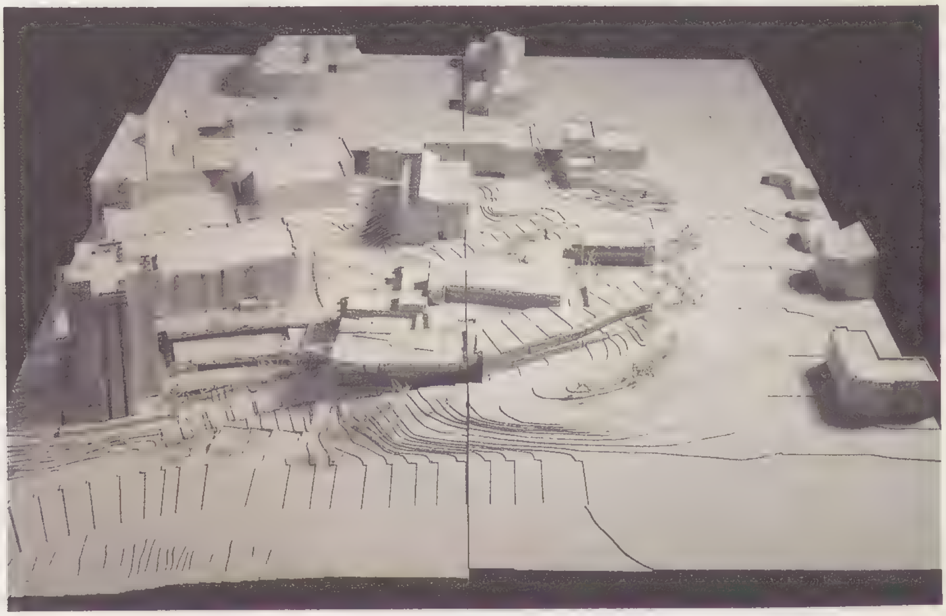
Perspective of the eastern entrance.



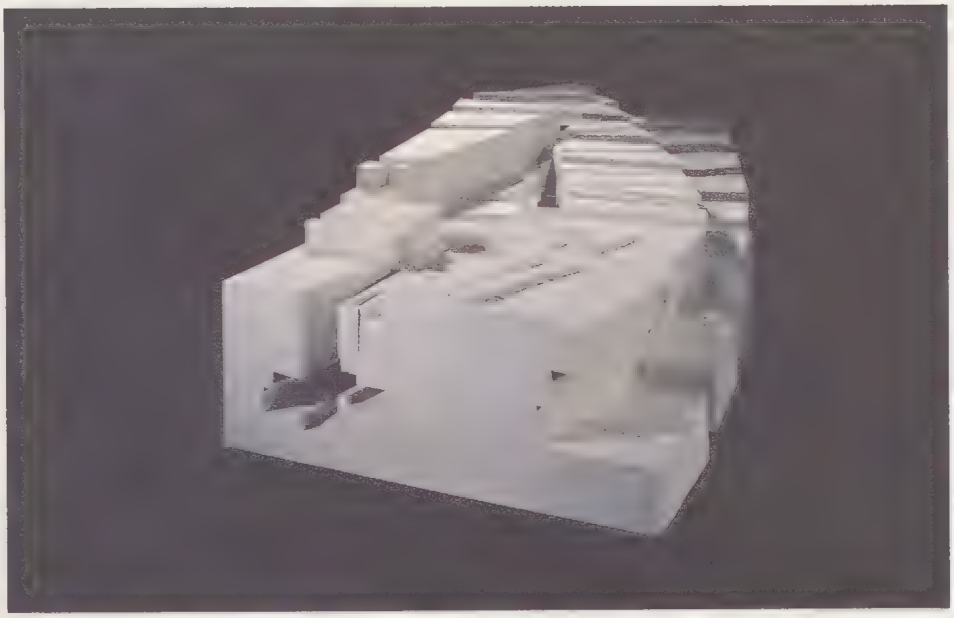
Viste da nordovest e da ovest dello spaccato del modello sull'auditorium.
Viste da nord e zenitale del modello generale.
Foto: R.Forth.

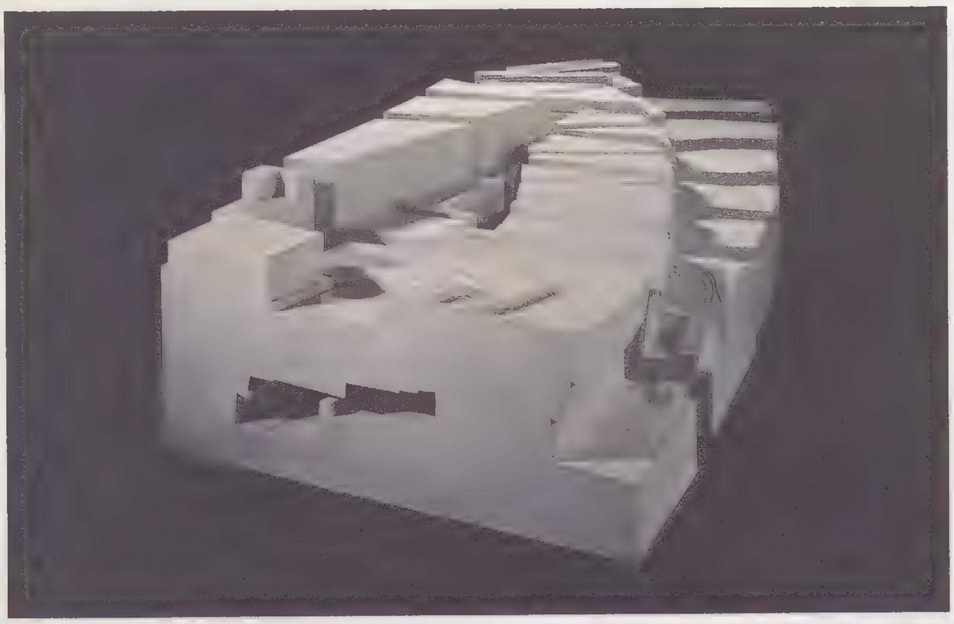
Northwest and west views of the model cut through the Auditorium.
North and overhead views of the site model.
Photo: R. Forth.

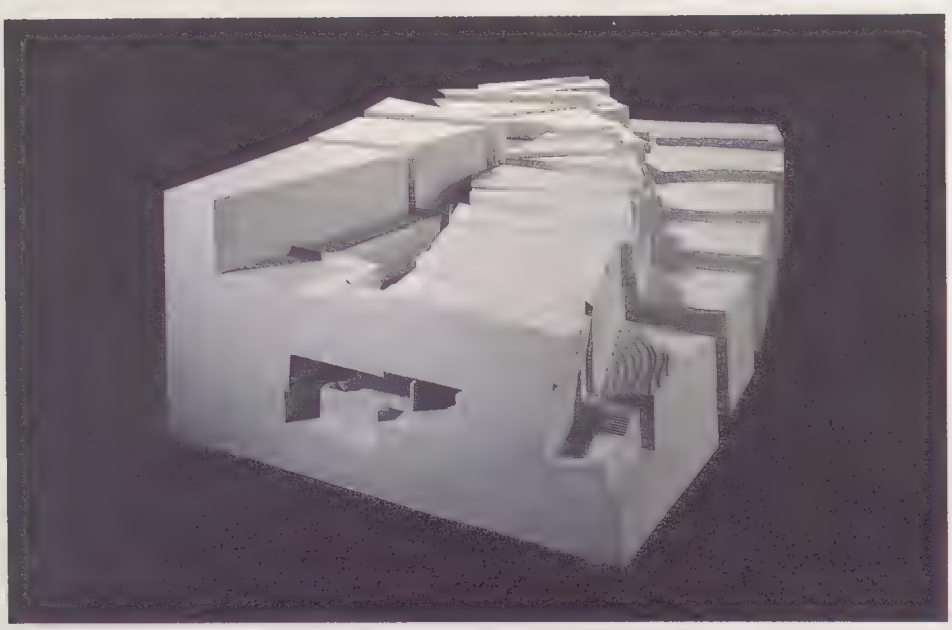






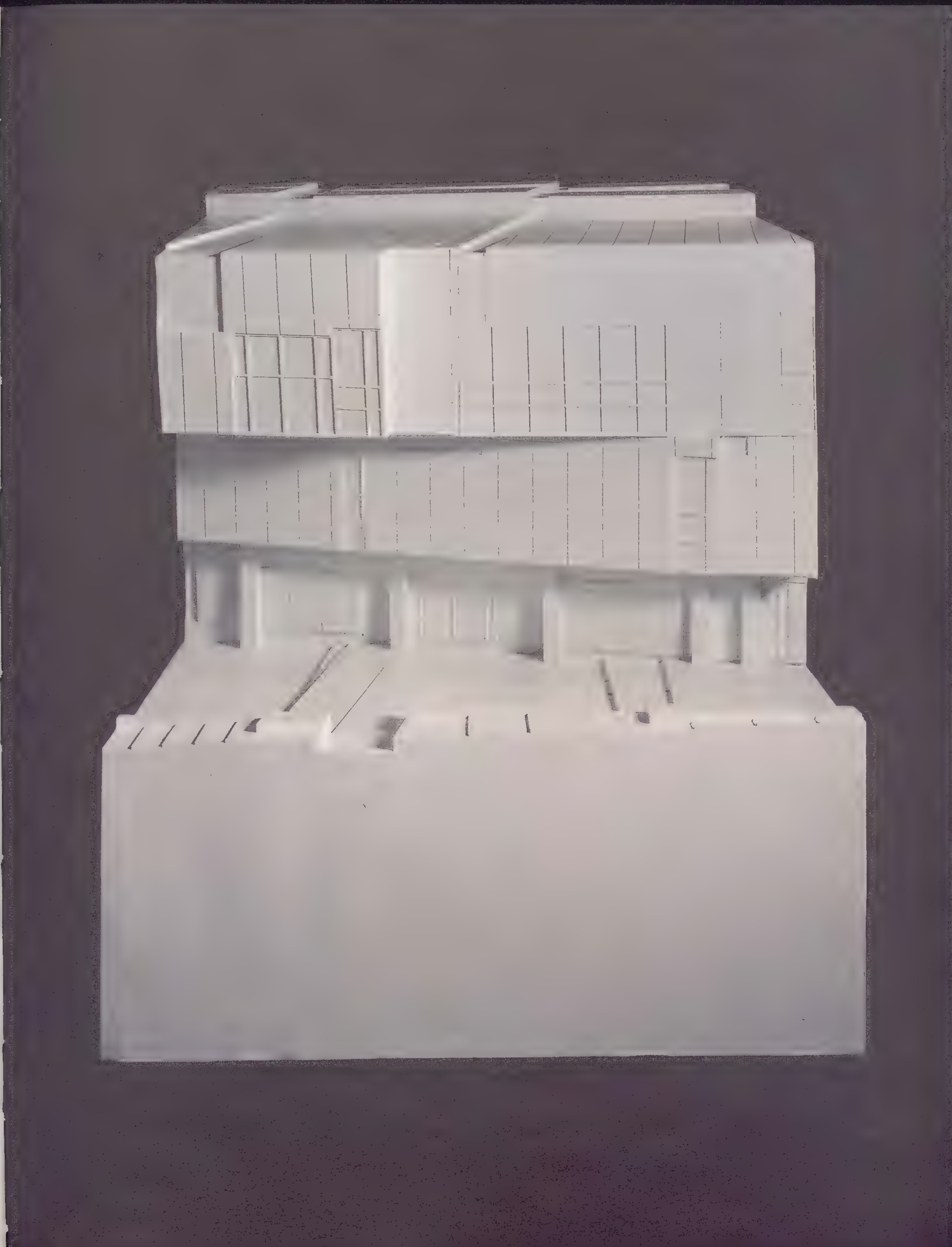






Spaccati progressivi da nordest del modello.
Foto: R.Forth.

Successive views from the northeast of the section of the model.
Photo: R. Forth.



Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

1982-1988

James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates

Architetti associati/associated architects: Wank, Adams, Slavin Associates

coll.: George Gianakopoulos, Robert Dye, Steve Bono, Robert Kahn, Walter Naegeli, Ulrike Wilke, Stephen Bono, Joan Nix, Harry Spring, Leonard Franco, Val Antohi



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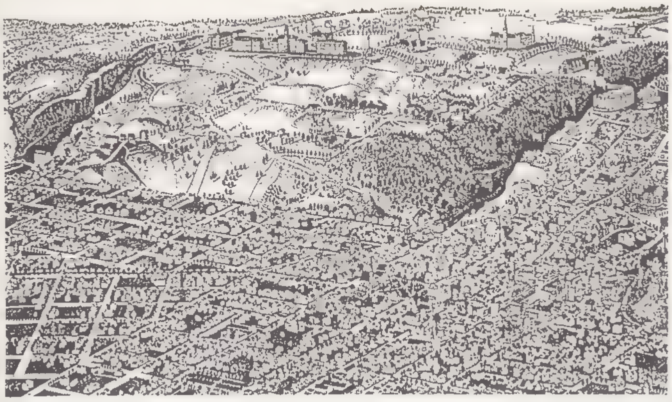


Discorso nel giorno dell'inaugurazione, 10 aprile 1988
James Stirling

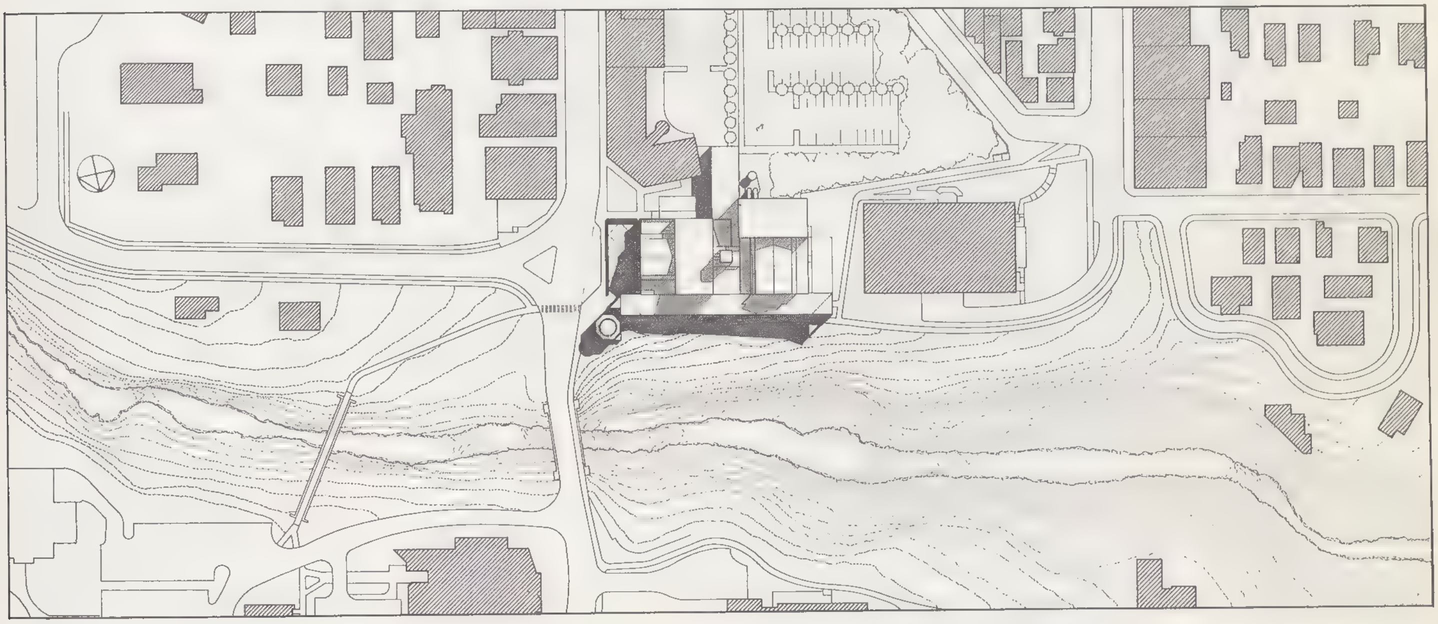
Signore e signori, è un onore essere qui in questa nostra opera a lavori conclusi e vederla animata e funzionale.
Mi si chiede spesso di tenere conferenze sul nostro lavoro nelle Facoltà di Architettura in molte parti del mondo, e in qualche occasione mi sono addirittura ritrovato a parlare in un teatro pubblico. La prima volta che ho dovuto presentarmi su un palcoscenico è stata al Teatro La Fenice di Venezia, città la cui Facoltà di Architettura conta migliaia di studenti. Era la più vasta sala disponibile e io avevo la sensazione di recitare in un film dei fratelli Marx, ma può darsi che sia stata quell'esperienza ad ispirarmi la forma della sala in cui ci troviamo oggi. Mi pare che la seconda occasione mi si sia presentata a Knoxville, nel Tennessee, dove, dal palcoscenico del Music Hall, mi accorsi, nel bel mezzo della conferenza, che avevo la cerniera dei pantaloni abbassata. Tuttavia, finora non mi era mai capitato di parlare in un teatro di mia ideazione e, per vostra fortuna, si tratterà di una presentazione molto breve.
Mi auguro che tutte le nostre opere siano uniche, e questa forse lo è in modo particolare essendo caratterizzata da una facciata anteriore, una laterale e da due facciate posteriori, fatto piuttosto insolito se si considera che quasi tutti i nostri edifici hanno una sola facciata posteriore. Potrei dire che finora non ci sono mai state le disponibilità economiche per realizzare un progetto tanto ambizioso; ma forse non sarebbe giusto, perché può darsi che avessimo deciso di non badare a spese per le due facciate principali e di conseguenza, essendo costretti a risparmiare sulle altre due, abbiamo creato due facciate posteriori.
Come avremmo potuto migliorare l'edificio se fossimo stati in grado di farlo?
Primo: convincendo, o corrompendo, Richard Haas perché dipingesse un gigantesco *trompe-l'oeil* che ricoprisse tutta la parete del teatro che dà sul parcheggio. Il murale avrebbe potuto rappresentare il *campus* visto attraverso il vallone con il Lago Cayuga in lontananza, come un dipinto di paesaggio di Magritte dove, al posto del nostro edificio, ci fosse la vista che si godeva prima della sua costruzione.
Secondo: sul lato prospiciente College Avenue spero che il muro che circonda la piazza possa essere abbattuto per far posto alla gradonata di un'arena all'aperto digradante verso una pergola coperta di glicine (quando è la stagione). Sarebbe come un invito per lo studente o per il semplice passante, un incoraggiamento in più allo svolgimento di eventi specifici o improvvisati nella piazza. Devo ammettere che è unicamente colpa mia se non abbiamo optato per questa soluzione in tempo utile per realizzarla; tuttavia credo che il costo di una modifica del genere non sia eccessivo.
Per il resto, l'edificio soddisfa tutte le nostre aspettative dal punto di vista architettonico e voglio in questa sede ringraziare il presidente Rhodes e i vari membri della commissione edilizia per il loro concreto e incessante

Opening Day Speech, April 10, 1988
James Stirling

Ladies and Gentlemen — It's a pleasure to be here in our completed building now that it is occupied and functioning. I'm asked to give lectures on our work in architecture schools around the world and on a few occasions I have found myself doing it in a public theatre. The first time I had to perform on stage was at the Theatre de la Feniche in Venice where the University has thousands of architectural students and it was the biggest room available and I felt I was in a Marx Brothers film. Maybe that experience influenced the shape of the room we are now in. I think the second occasion was from the footlights of the Music Hall in Knoxville Tennessee where halfway through the lecture I realised I was wearing unzipped trousers. But I've never spoken before in a theatre of our own devising. Mercifully this occasion will be a very short performance.
I hope all our buildings are unique and this one may be especially unique as it has a front side and a side side and two back sides — most of our building have a back side but two back sides is unusual. I might say that there was never enough finance for this ambitious project — but perhaps that's not fair; as maybe we chose to overspend on the two main façades and correspondingly had to underspend on the other two, hence two back sides.
Things which would improve the building: — if only we had been able to.
First*: if we could have persuaded or bribed Richard Haas to paint a giant* trompe-l'oeil *mural all over the carpark wall of the stage house, which picture could have been the view of the campus seen across the gorge with Lake Cayuga in the background, — like a Magritte painting of the landscape where the building has disappeared, which was the view which existed before the building was built.*
Secondly*: on the College Avenue frontage I hope the wall around the plaza could be removed and replaced by steps down to an arena focusing on the wisteria covered pergola (when they grow.) This would be inviting to the street, the students and passers by and this way the plaza would more easily encourage* ad hoc *and* impromptu *happenigs. I have to admit that it's entirely my fault that we didn't comprehend this in time and plan it that way. However, I do not think it would cost too much to make this alteration.*
Otherwise, the building is architecturally all that we had hoped it would be and I have to thank President Rhodes and the various members of the building committee for their long and sustained support.
I hope someday soon a Mozart opera will be performed in the Proscenium Theatre (we have the orchestra pit) a 3 ring circus will be held in the Flexible Theatre; a topless gogo dancer will appear in the bay window of the dance studio. Grand Kabuki will be staged in the loggia and there will be street performers in the plaza.
I would like to remember and thank some of those who at the end were no longer quite with us, but who made important

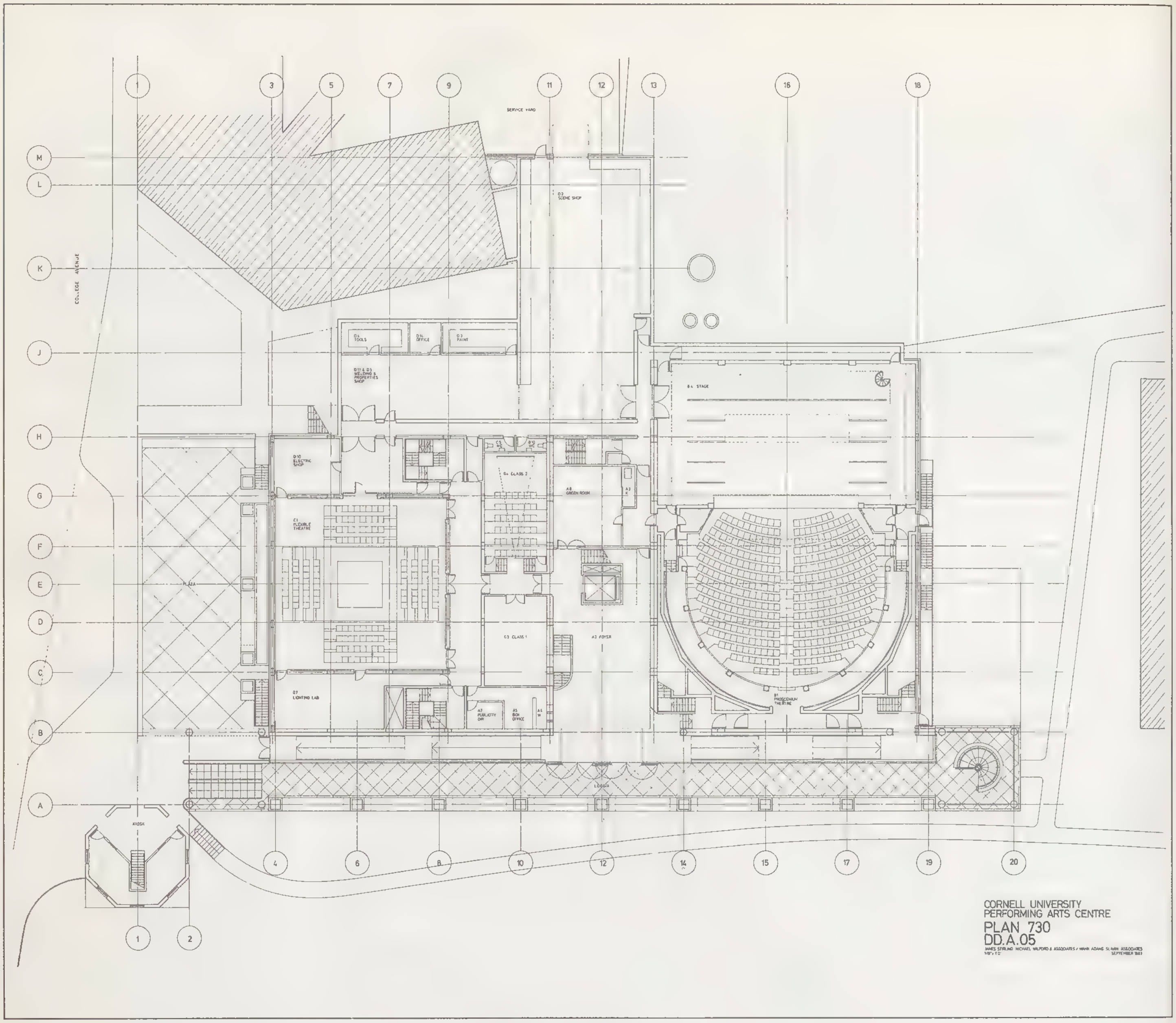






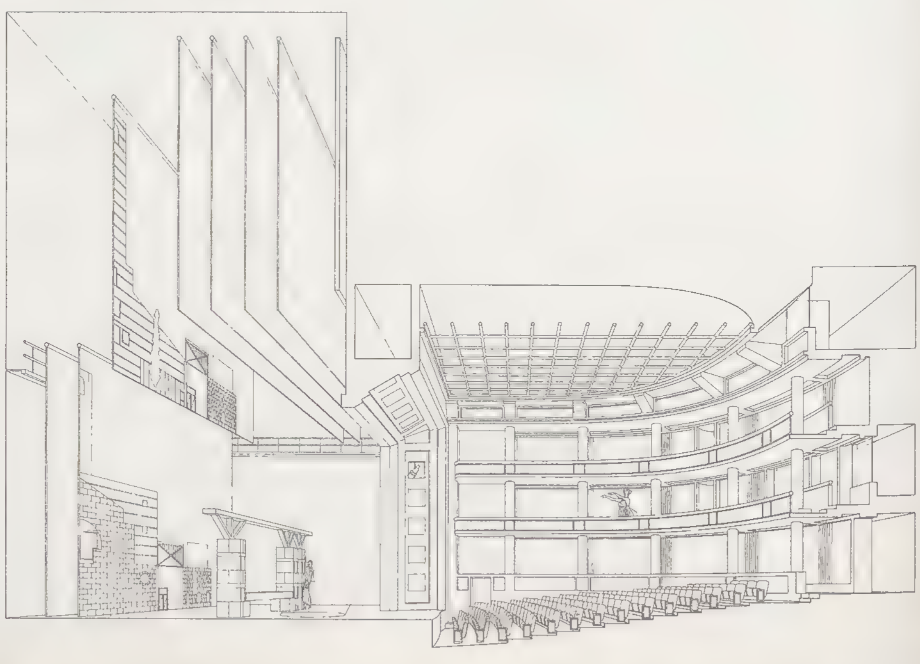
Ithaca in una veduta del 1882, in alto il campus *della Cornell University.*
Planimetria del campus *della Cornell University, 1966, a destra il luogo dell'intervento sulla Gola di Cascadilla.*
Planimetria generale.
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Vista da nordest.
Foto: R.Bryant/Arcaid.

Ithaca in a view from 1882. Cornell University Campus is at the top.
Plan of Cornell University Campus, 1966, project site on the Cascadilla Gorge is to the right.
Site plan.
On the preceding pages:
Northeast view.
Photo: R. Bryant/Arcaid.



Pianta del piano terra e sezione prospettica longitudinale del teatro.

Plan of the ground floor and longitudinal perspective section of the theatre.



sostegno.
Spero che molto presto si possa rappresentare un'opera di Mozart nel Proscenium Theatre (che dispone di fossa per l'orchestra), che un circo equestre dia spettacolo nel Flexible Theatre, che una ballerina in topless appaia dietro la vetrata del bovindo dello studio di danza, che uno spettacolo Kabuki venga rappresentato nella loggia e che la piazza sia animata da artisti di strada.
Vorrei inoltre ricordare e ringraziare alcuni fra coloro che, pur non avendoci accompagnati fino alla fine, ci hanno ugualmente fornito importanti contributi. In primo luogo Victor Becker, che ci ha messo in guardia costantemente sulla complessità e sui misteri della progettazione di palcoscenici e proscenii; e poi Bob Matyas, che ci ha assicurato la sua guida paterna e il suo parere "ornitologico" su ogni più piccolo aspetto dell'edificio. Vorrei inoltre ringraziare anche Lew Futterman, che da New York ci ha portato una ventata d'energia e di entusiasmo in un momento particolarmente critico del progetto.
Uno dei miei ultimi sopralluoghi in cantiere risale al "Giorno delle visite" dell'Università, quando i genitori vengono con i propri figli a farsi un'idea dell'ambiente accademico prima di affidarli all'istituzione. Ero seduto davanti al caffè di College Avenue, quando una famiglia si è avvicinata soffermandosi lungamente ad osservare l'edificio, finché il padre non si è sbilanciato affermando: "*Bene, mi sembra un pezzo di paesaggio fiorentino*", frase che alle mie orecchie è suonata come un complimento. Così, auguro a tutti coloro che verranno a studiare o a insegnare in questo borgo collinare che sa di tradizione italiana di godersi il soggiorno. Grazie.

Performing Arts Centre alla Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates

Il Performing Arts Centre (PAC), una struttura didattica per arti dello spettacolo oltre che centro teatrale dell'Università, è situato in posizione prominente in College Avenue, nei pressi del ponte sulla Gola di Cascadilla, quasi a fare da porta a tutto il *campus*. Una loggia precede e configura un gruppo di volumi teatrali, e riteniamo che tutto l'insieme si inserirà armoniosamente nell'atmosfera di piccola città di College Avenue e nell'aspetto pittoresco della gola. La sua ubicazione, esterna al *campus*, è ben collocata per attirare l'interesse sia della cittadinanza che del mondo accademico.
Il padiglione ottagonale, che segnala l'approssimarsi del PAC e che fa da centro informazioni dell'Università oltre che da pensilina della fermata dell'autobus, ospita, nelle sale superiori, il Dipartimento di Arti teatrali e spazi appositi per le compagnie di giro quali il National Theatre of Britain. Una nuova piazzetta, arredata con pergola e panchine, costituisce un luogo di ritrovo per gli studenti a cui si accede dal marciapiede.

contributions. Firstly, Victor Becker who neverendingly advised us on the complexities and mysteries of Stage/Proscenium planning and secondly, Bob Matyas who gave us his fatherly guidance and ornithological opinion on literally every aspect of the building. I would also like to thank Lew Futterman who came in form New York with revitalizing energy and zap at a critical stage of the project. One of my last side visits coincided with the University's 'Open Day' when parents come with their sons and daughters to view the academic scene before committing their offpring. I sat outside the café across College Avenue and a family group came by and they stopped and stared at the building long and hard. Finally I heard him say, "Well, I guess it's some sort of Florentine rip off" *which I took to be some sort of compliment. So I hope all who come to learn and teach in this Italianate hill village will enjoy the experience. Thank you*

Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates

The Performing Arts Centre (PAC) is a teaching facility for theatre arts and a performance centre for the University. Prominently sited on College Avenue close to the bridge over Cascadilla Gorge, the new building stands as a gateway to the campus. A cluster of theatre volumes is configured by a loggia, and we believe this ensemble will relate to the small town character of College Avenue and the picturesque aspect of the gorge. The location which is off-campus is well situated to draw audiences from both Town and Gown.
The octagonal pavilion which signals the approach to the PAC is a campus information centre and a shelter for the adjacent bus-stop. It's upper floor has rooms for the Theatre Arts Department and for touring companies such as the National Theatre of Britain. A new plaza, entered from the sidewalk is a place for students to meet and contains a pergola and seats.
Entry to the building is from the plaza and through the loggia — a promenade approach with views across the gorge towards the Campus and long views towards lake Cayuga. Part of the loggia is enclosed as an alternative bad-weather route leading to the entrance. A spiral staircase at the far end of the loggia connects to ground level allowing access to adjoining footpaths and the nearby multi-level car park. The three storey high entrance hall is also the main foyer *for the Proscenium and Flexible Theatres. It is located in the centre of the building and connects with all major spaces, encouraging interaction between theatre, dance and film groups and bringing guest artists and public into contact with students and faculty. The* foyer *opens to the loggia enabling audiences during the intermission to stroll in and out and take the view. The upper balconies which overlook it are connected to the entrance level by a staircase and a large elevator which extends upwards like a campanile, floodlit at*

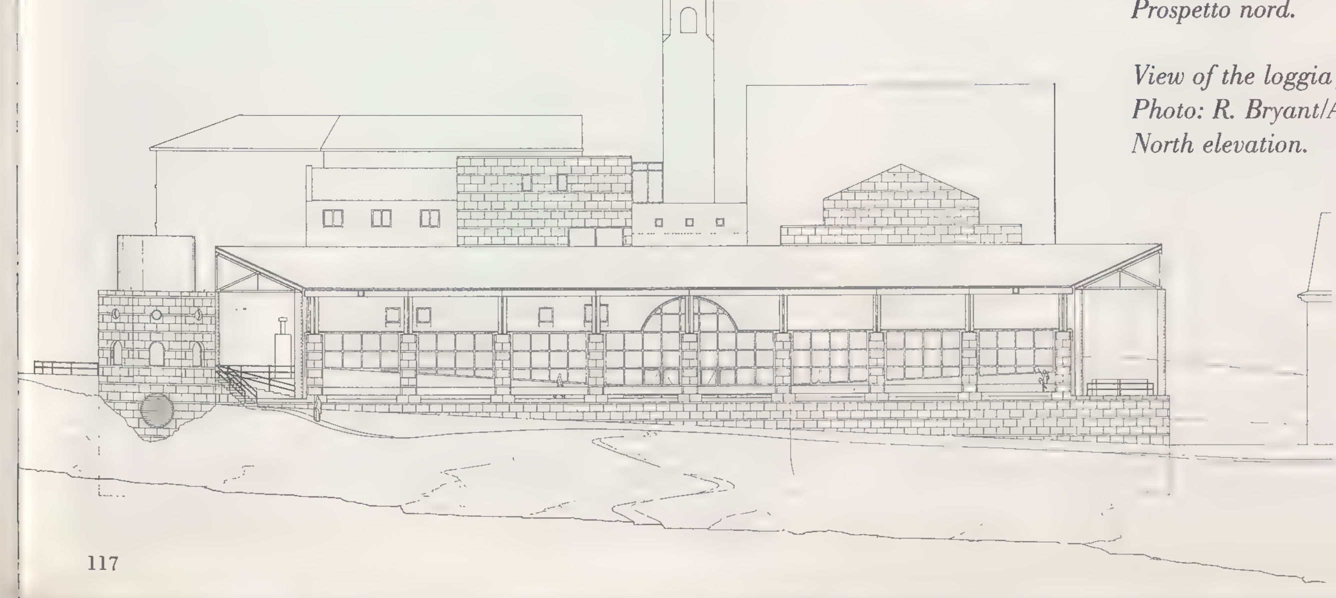
L'ingresso all'edificio avviene dalla piazza e attraverso la loggia, una passeggiata con vista sul *campus* al di là della gola e, più in lontananza, sul Lago Cayuga. La loggia, che in parte è chiusa fornendo un accesso alternativo all'edificio in caso di cattivo tempo, si conclude all'estremità con una scala elicoidale che conduce al piano terra, ai percorsi pedonali e al vicino parcheggio multipiano.
La *hall* d'ingresso, su altezza tripla e con funzione anche di *foyer* principale per il Proscenium Theatre e per il Flexible Theatre, è collocata al centro del complesso per collegare tra loro tutti gli spazi principali, incoraggiare gli scambi fra le attività teatrali, di danza e cinematografiche e mettere in contatto gli artisti di passaggio e il pubblico con gli studenti e con la Facoltà. Questo *foyer* si apre sulla loggia per dar modo agli spettatori di prendere una boccata d'aria durante gli intervalli ammirando il panorama, ed è collegato ai sovrastanti ballatoi che si affacciano su di esso tramite uno scalone e un grande ascensore che, con la sua nuova torre in una Università che già ne enumera altre, svetta verso l'alto come un campanile, illuminato anche di notte, annunciando il Performing Arts Centre al vicino centro di Ithaca.
Il Proscenium Theatre, che ha due ingressi dal *foyer*, può ospitare 456 spettatori, disposti a ferro di cavallo, di cui una parte in platea in sedili fissi serviti da corsie parallele, e il resto in posti mobili su due livelli di palchi e loggioni distribuiti attorno alla sala, creando per il pubblico e gli artisti un'atmosfera resa più intima dalle dimensioni ridotte del teatro. Il secondo piano del loggione ospita anche le cabine luci e suono ed è sovrastato da una cornice con cabina per la manovra del segui-persona. Il proscenio può essere trasformato in una pedana protesa entro la platea o in fossa per l'orchestra dotata di elevatori elettrici.
Anche al Flexible Theatre si accede dal *foyer* tramite ingressi distinti che conducono ai vari tipi di posti a sedere — gradinata, passerella, corridoio o proscenio —, sistemati su piattaforme adattabili e di capacità variabile tra i 140 e i 175 posti.
Dal *foyer* d'ingresso si può scendere all'*atelier* di danza collocato sotto il Proscenium Theatre, dove possono trovare posto fino a 132 spettatori sistemati su gradinate che lasciano sgombra la sala per le attività didattiche. Allo stesso livello, sotto il Flexible Theatre, troviamo il laboratorio/Black Box Studio con una capacità di 50-100 posti sistemati su piattaforme mobili che consentono di adottare diverse disposizioni di sala. Sia il laboratorio che l'*atelier* di danza sono dotati di più accessi e di soprastanti cabine di controllo.
Il pubblico può utilizzare anche la sala del Film Forum, il cui ingresso è situato in un ridotto sottostante il *foyer* principale. Dotato di 103 posti fissi disposti a gradoni, l'auditorium è corredato di un piccolo palcoscenico per rappresentazioni teatrali con ingresso laterale per gli attori.
Nel corpo del Flexible Theatre sono alloggiati altri *atelier* e aule dei Dipartimenti di Teatro, Danza e Cinema per un totale di 10 spazi divisi fra sale e studi.
La sala di lettura e la Sala Verde sono situate tra il Flexible

night, announcing the presence of the Performing Arts Centre to downtown Ithaca. It is a new tower on a campus which already has several.
The 456 seat horseshoe Proscenium Theatre has two entrance from the foyer. *Fixed seating on the main floor has parallel aisles and there is loose seating on two levels of balcony/boxes which extend around the room bringing audience and performers together in the informal atmosphere of a small scale theatre. At second balcony level are sound and light booths and above is a technical ledge which a follow-spot room. The forestage of the Proscenium is adaptable as thrust stage or as an orchestra pit with electrically operated lift.*
The Flexible Theatre is also approached from the foyer *and has multiple entrances which allow arena, thrust, alley or proscenium seating. The audience is seated on adjustable platforms whose capacity varies from 140 to 175.*
Visitors can descend from the entrance foyer *to the Dance Performance Studio located beneath the Proscenium Theatre. This studio can accommodate an audience of up to 132 on bleacher seating, allowing the floor to be cleared for teaching. At the same level beneath the Flexible Theatre is the Laboratory/Black Box Studio which accommodates from 50 to 100 people on adjustable seating platforms in a variety of configurations. Both the Laboratory and Dance Performance studios have multiple entrances and overviewing control booths.*
Public audiences can also use the Film Forum, which is entered from a lobby below the entrance foyer. *A raked auditorium has 103 fixed seats and the small stage could be used for drama with performer access from the side.*
Additional studios and classrooms for the Theatre, Dance and Film Departments are housed in the Flexible Theatre block. In all there are 10 auditoria/studios within the new building.
The reading Room and Green Room are located between the Flexible Theatre and Foyer below a mezzanine level of Administration and Faculty offices that have a reception area overlooking the entrance hall; above are further Acting and Dance studios.
The main Dance Studio has outdoor terraces on two sides overlooking the plaza and the gorge (for cooling off) and a triangular bay window projecting over the plaza, which is a resting place for dancers with views down to passers-by on College Avenue.
The upper floor of this building rises above surrounding roofs and trees allowing Faculty/Graduate offices views in several directions.
Performance and Studio support areas are arranged vertically around the elevator core. Student changing rooms are on the third floor, with showers, lockers and dressing rooms connecting via back-stage stairs to all performance areas. Scenery/Props production is at the rear of the building with truck access into the high bay area. The Scenery Shop opens through sound-isolating doors onto the Proscenium stage and the Flexible Theatre allowing vehicles to be driven on stage. Costume shop areas are beneath the Proscenium stage linked



Vista da nordovest della loggia.
Foto: R.Bryant/Arcaid.
Prospetto nord.

View of the loggia from northwest.
Photo: R. Bryant/Arcaid.
North elevation.



Theatre e il *foyer* al di sotto di un mezzanino che alloggia gli uffici dell'Amministrazione e della Facoltà e che dispone di una zona di ricevimento che dà sul *foyer* d'ingresso; al livello soprastante sono collocati altri studi di danza e di teatro.
L'*atelier* di danza più importante, fornito di terrazze laterali con vista sulla piazza e sulla gola (e dove gli allievi possono trovare refrigerio), è provvisto anche di un bovindo triangolare che sporge direttamente sulla piazza e che permette ai danzatori di riposarsi distraendosi alla vista dei passanti di College Avenue.
Il piano superiore di questo corpo si alza al di sopra dei tetti e degli alberi, garantendo agli uffici della Facoltà e delle Scuole di perfezionamento una vista panoramica in varie direzioni.
Gli spazi ausiliari per artisti e allievi sono disposti verticalmente attorno al nucleo dell'ascensore, con spogliatoi, docce, guardaroba e camerini al terzo piano collegati direttamente a tutti gli spazi di rappresentazione mediante scale apposite.
I laboratori per la produzione di scenografie e arredi, situati sul retro dell'edificio, sono dotati di ingressi per il carico e lo scarico delle merci che comunicano con i teatri attraverso un'area di altezza interna adeguata. Le scene possono così essere autotrasportate sui palcoscenici del Proscenium e del Flexible grazie al collegamento diretto fra il laboratorio di produzione e i teatri, che sono isolati da porte insonorizzate. Le sartorie, invece, sono collocate al di sotto del palcoscenico del Proscenium e sono collegate, mediante le scale posteriori, a tutti gli spazi teatrali e di produzione.
Gli impianti di condizionamento sono ubicati nello scantinato posteriore.
Il rivestimento interno del Proscenium Theatre è ad intonaco tinteggiato e pannelli in rovere, mentre le balaustre dei loggioni sono in lamiera traforata con cornice superiore in rovere e corrimano in ottone lucido; i pavimenti sono in *moquette* e i sedili felpati. Il Flexible Theatre, il Laboratory Theatre e gli studi di danza hanno le pareti rivestite di pannelli di legno, gli impiantiti a doghe di legno e sono illuminati mediante griglie tubolari in acciaio appese al soffitto.
Il *foyer* d'ingresso e la loggia sono pavimentati in marmo. Le facciate del padiglione, della loggia e quelle su College Avenue sono rivestite con lastre di marmo del Vermont a fuga larga, mentre gli altri prospetti sono in stucco e, originariamente, avrebbero dovuto essere intervallati, ogni cm. 120, da marcapiani in marmo ai quali si è dovuto rinunciare su alcuni fronti per questioni di costo. Le coperture spioventi sono in rame e piombo, con lastre di ardesia del Vermont nella loggia, dove le travi d'acciaio di sostegno della copertura sono di color verde francese, così come i telai metallici delle finestre. L'intradosso della copertura della loggia è in legno di sequoia tinto, come le panchine della piazza e la pergola. Quest'ultima è una struttura a sé stante, su cui si arrampicherà il glicine bianco e indaco delle fioriere poste sul retro.

by back-stage stairs to all performance and production spaces. The building is air-conditioned from plant-rooms located at the rear sub-basement. In winter, the system is augmented by perimeter convector heating.
The Proscenium Theatre has painted plaster finishes combined with oak panelling. Balcony fronts are perforated metal with oak caps and polished brass rails. Floors are carpeted and the seats have a plush finish. The Flexible and Laboratory Theatres and Dance Studios have wood panelled walls, sprung wood floors and suspended steel-pipe lighting grids.
The entrance hall and loggia are paved in marble. The pavilion, loggia and College Avenue façades are clad in open-jointed Vermont marble; stucco is used on the other elevations, which were to have horizontal courses of marble at 4'-0" intervals, but this was given up on some elevations as a cost-saving. Pitched roofs are lead-coated copper with Vermont slate on the loggia. The steel trusses carrying the loggia roof are painted french green matching the window metal-work. The soffit of the loggia is stained redwood, as are the plaza benches and the pergola — behind which are large planters containing purple and white Wisteria that will grow over the freestanding structure.





Viste da sud e da est della piazza di ingresso e della loggia.
Foto: R.Bryant/Arcaid.

Views of the entrance square and loggia from south and east.
Photo: R. Bryant/Arcaid.



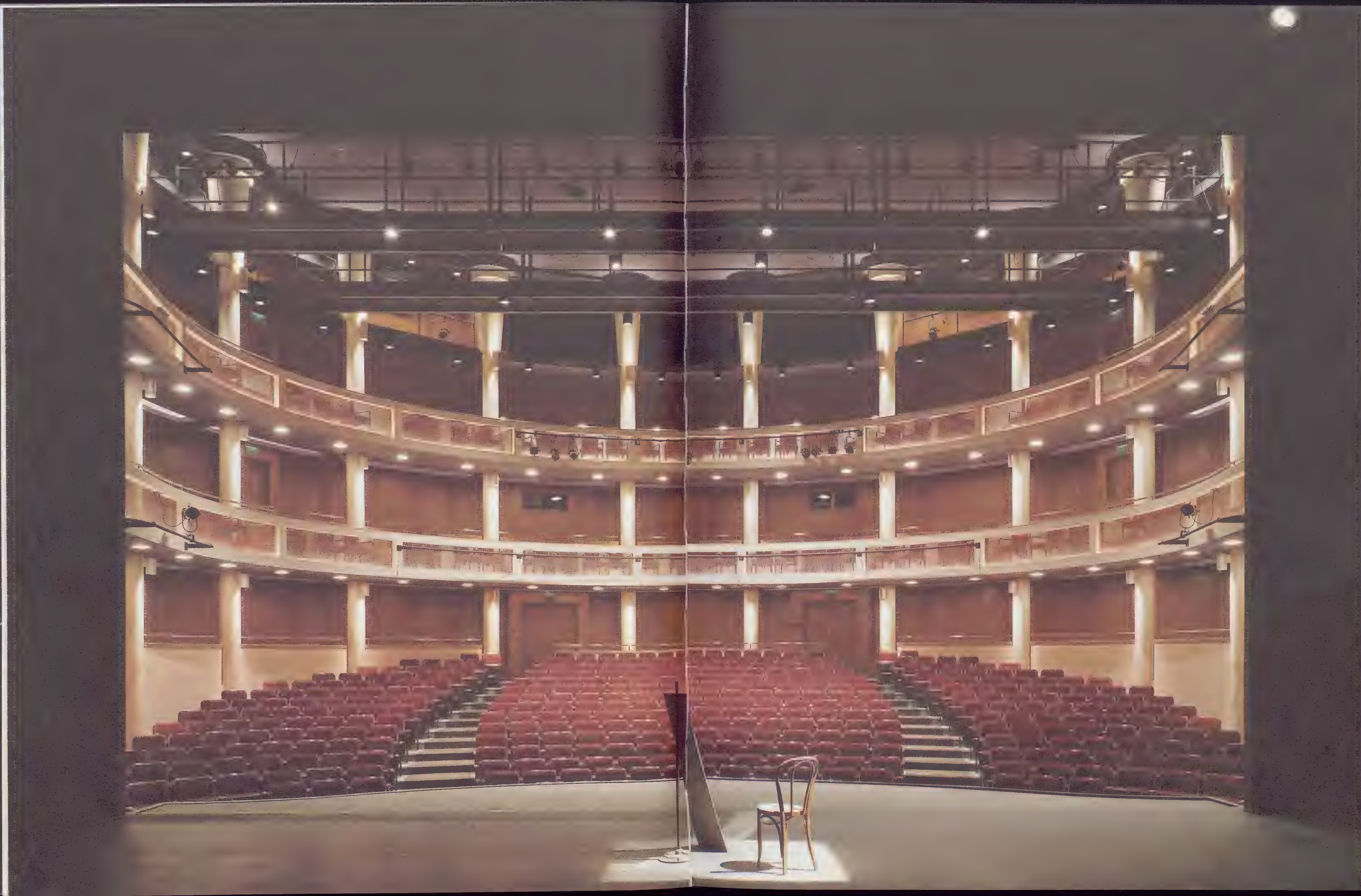
Viste interne del foyer *di ingresso, dello studio di danza e del teatro.*
Foto: R.Bryant/Arcaid.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Vista interna del teatro.
Foto: R.Bryant/Arcaid.

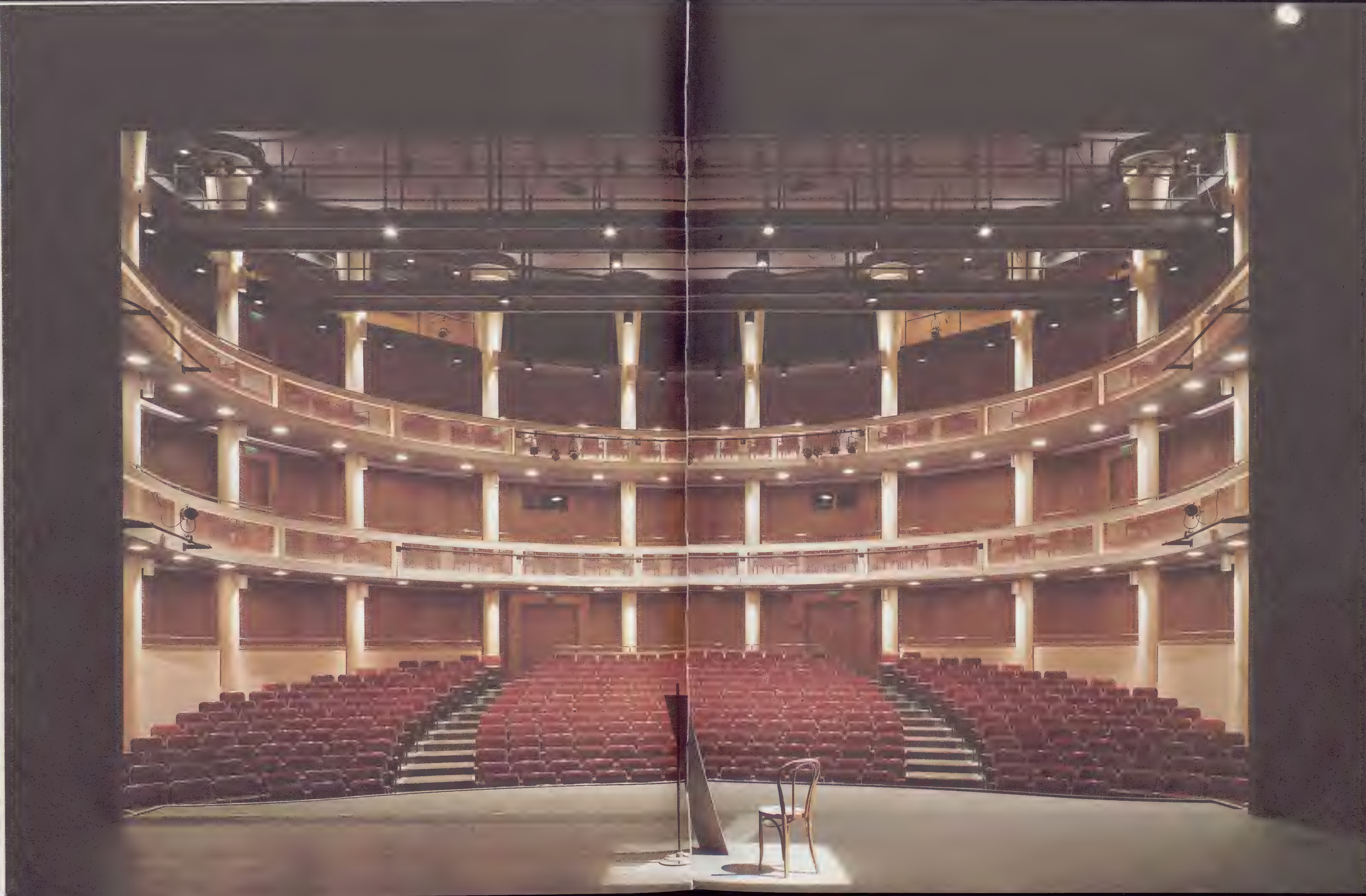
Interior views of the entrance foyer, *the dance studio and the theatre.*
Photo R. Bryant/Arcaid.
On the following pages:
Interior view of the theatre.
Photo: R. Bryant/Arcaid.









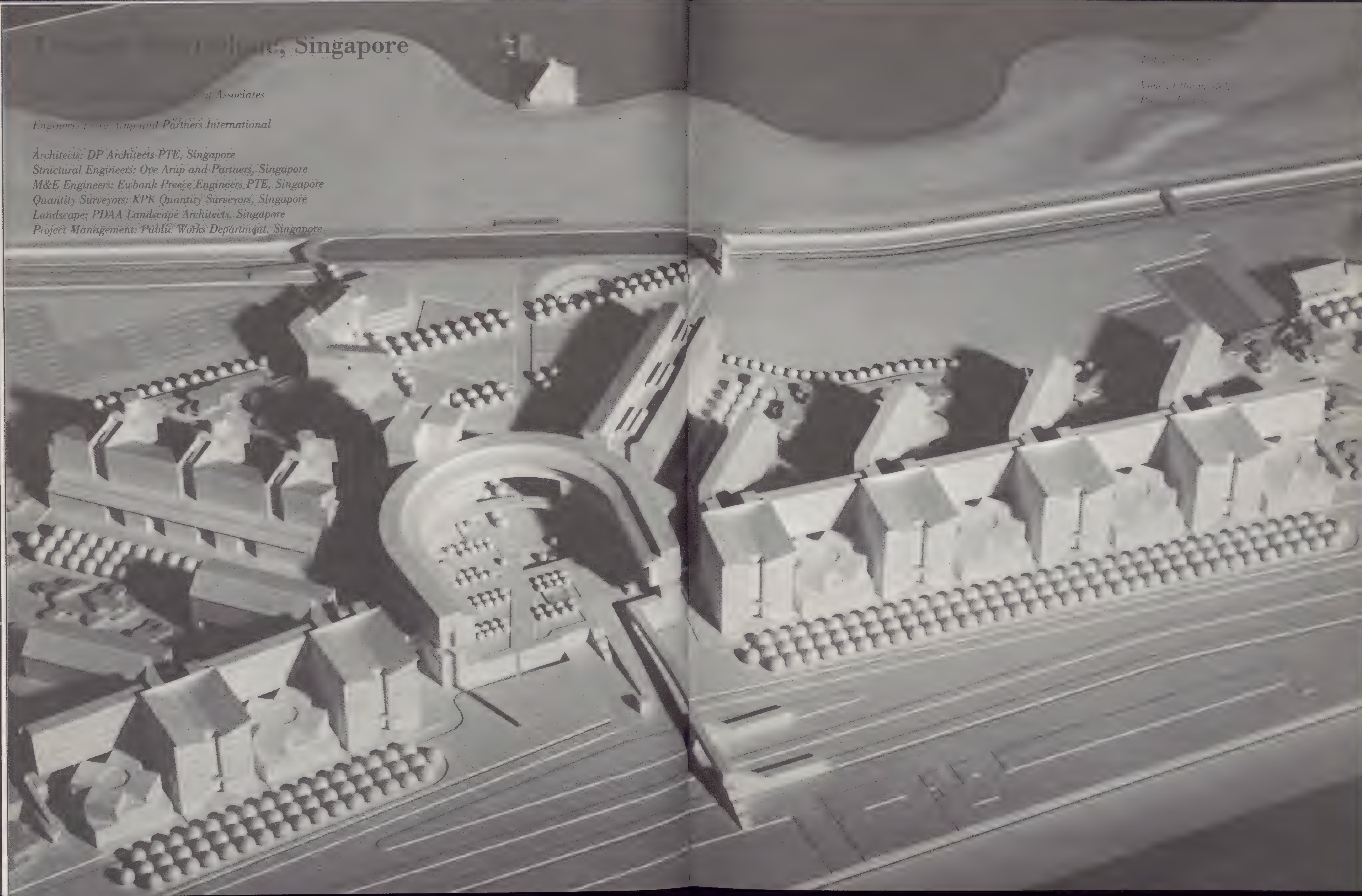


[illegible], Singapore

[illegible] Associates

Engineers: [illegible] and Partners International

Architects: DP Architects PTE, Singapore
Structural Engineers: Ove Arup and Partners, Singapore
M&E Engineers: Ewbank Preece Engineers PTE, Singapore
Quantity Surveyors: KPK Quantity Surveyors, Singapore
Landscape: PDAA Landscape Architects, Singapore
Project Management: Public Works Department, Singapore

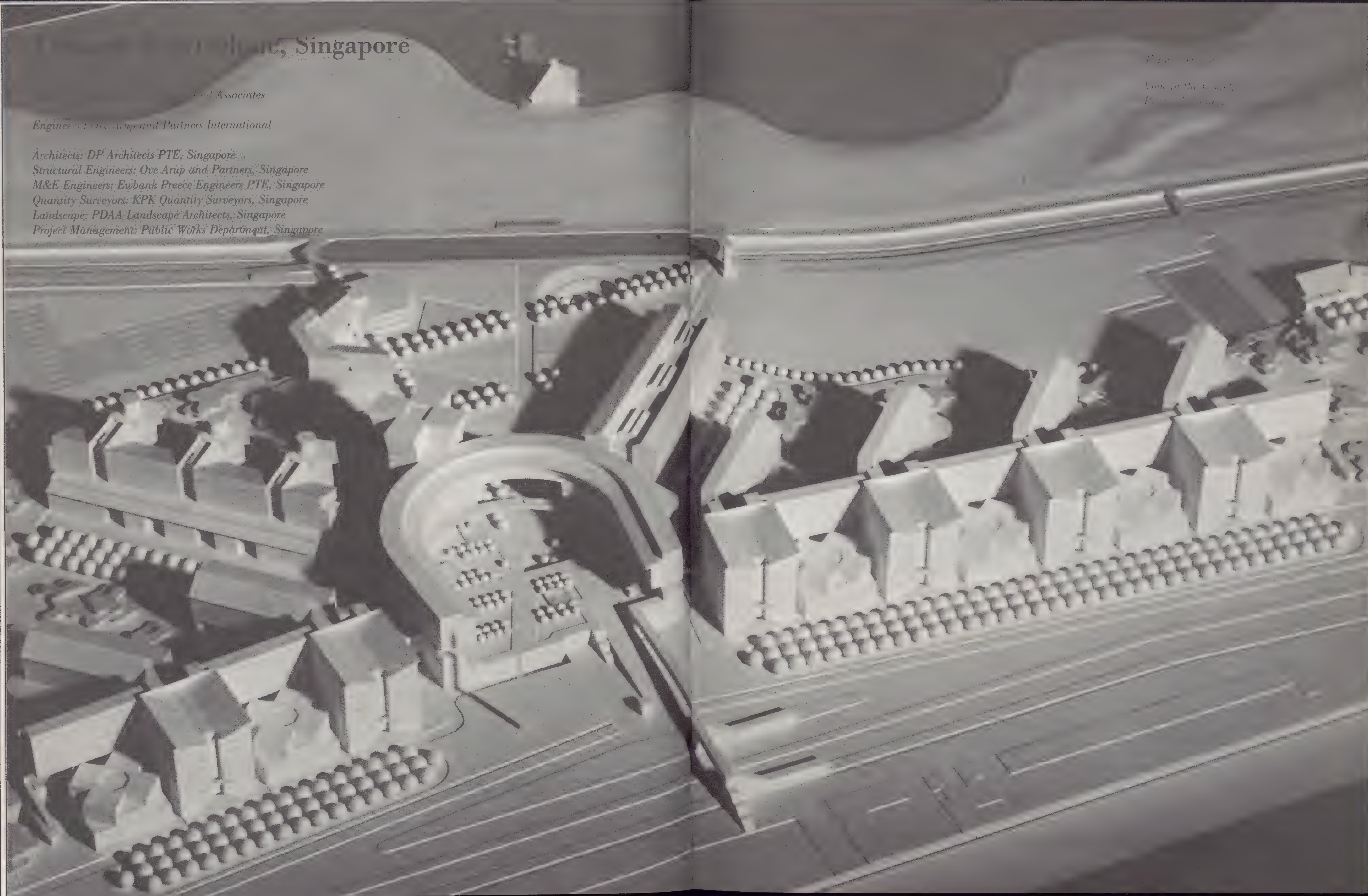


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Politecnico Temasek a Singapore
James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates

Il Politecnico Temasek comprenderà le Facoltà di Scienze applicate (2700 studenti), Economia (2640 studenti), Architettura (660 studenti) e Tecnologia (5400 studenti), su un'area di 30 ettari situata tra Tampines New Town e il bacino di Bedok, per un totale di 11.400 studenti, più 800-1000 docenti e 500 non docenti che formeranno complessivamente una "Città del Sapere" di 13.000 persone.

Al centro del complesso sorge una piazza rialzata a ferro di cavallo che si apre verso la Tampines Avenue One, costituendo il foro pubblico dell'Università, simbolo tangibile dell'apertura del Politecnico alla cittadinanza di Singapore. Una grande apertura, o "finestra", nell'edificio dell'Amministrazione inquadra una vista panoramica sul giardino triangolare in direzione del bacino; un ponte pedonale coperto attraversa la Tampines Avenue One collegando la piazza con la pensilina degli autobus da ambo i lati del viale, mentre un passo carrabile permette l'accesso alle auto dei VIP.

L'elemento centrale del Politecnico è costituito dall'edificio a ferro di cavallo dell'Amministrazione, il cui porticato di base alloggia banche, negozi, gallerie d'arte, ecc., creando un percorso pedonale riparato lungo il perimetro della piazza, quasi fosse una versione moderna e ingigantita della "five foot way" (i tradizionali portici ottocenteschi di Singapore). Al di sotto della piazza, un auditorium da 600 posti e un teatro polifunzionale da 250 sono accessibili da un *foyer* pubblico che da un lato dà sulla Tampines Avenue One mentre, dal lato opposto, si estende fino alle terrazze a giardino che saranno adibite a ricevimenti e rappresentazioni.

Gli spazi d'accesso alle quattro Facoltà, che si dipartono dal colonnato, sono riparati dalle strutture dei piani superiori e si prolungano all'aperto dando luogo a spazi ombreggiati.

Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore
James Stirling, Michael Wilford and Associates

Temasek Polytechnic will have separate School of Applied Science (2,700 students), Business (2,640 students), Design (660 students), and Technology (5,400 students) on a 30 hectare site between Tampines New Town and Bedok Reservoir. In all there will be 11,400 students with 800-1000 Academic staff and 500 support staff. A City of Learning of 13,000 persons.

At the centre is a raised entrance Plaza which opens towards Tampines Avenue One. This horseshoe Plaza is a public forum for the Campus and represents the Polytechnic's open relationship with the Singapore community. A large opening or "window" in the Administration Building frames a panoramic view over the triangular Garden towards the Reservoir. An enclosed footbridge across Tampines Avenue One connects the Plaza to the bus shelters on either side of the Avenue and a car ramp is provided for VIPs.

The horseshoe Administration Building is a focus of the Polytechnic, elevated on columns it shelters a promenade which encircles the Plaza. This promenade accomodates Banks, Shops, Exhibition Galleries, etc. — like an expanded 20th C version of the "five foot way"*. Beneath the Plaza, a 600 seat Auditorium and 250 seat Multi-Purpose Theatre have a public* foyer *which is entered from Tampines Avenue One and in the opposite direction extends onto Garden terraces for receptions and performances.*

The four Schools have concourse entrances off the promenade. These concourses are sheltered by upper levels of accommodation, and extend to shaded outdoor spaces.

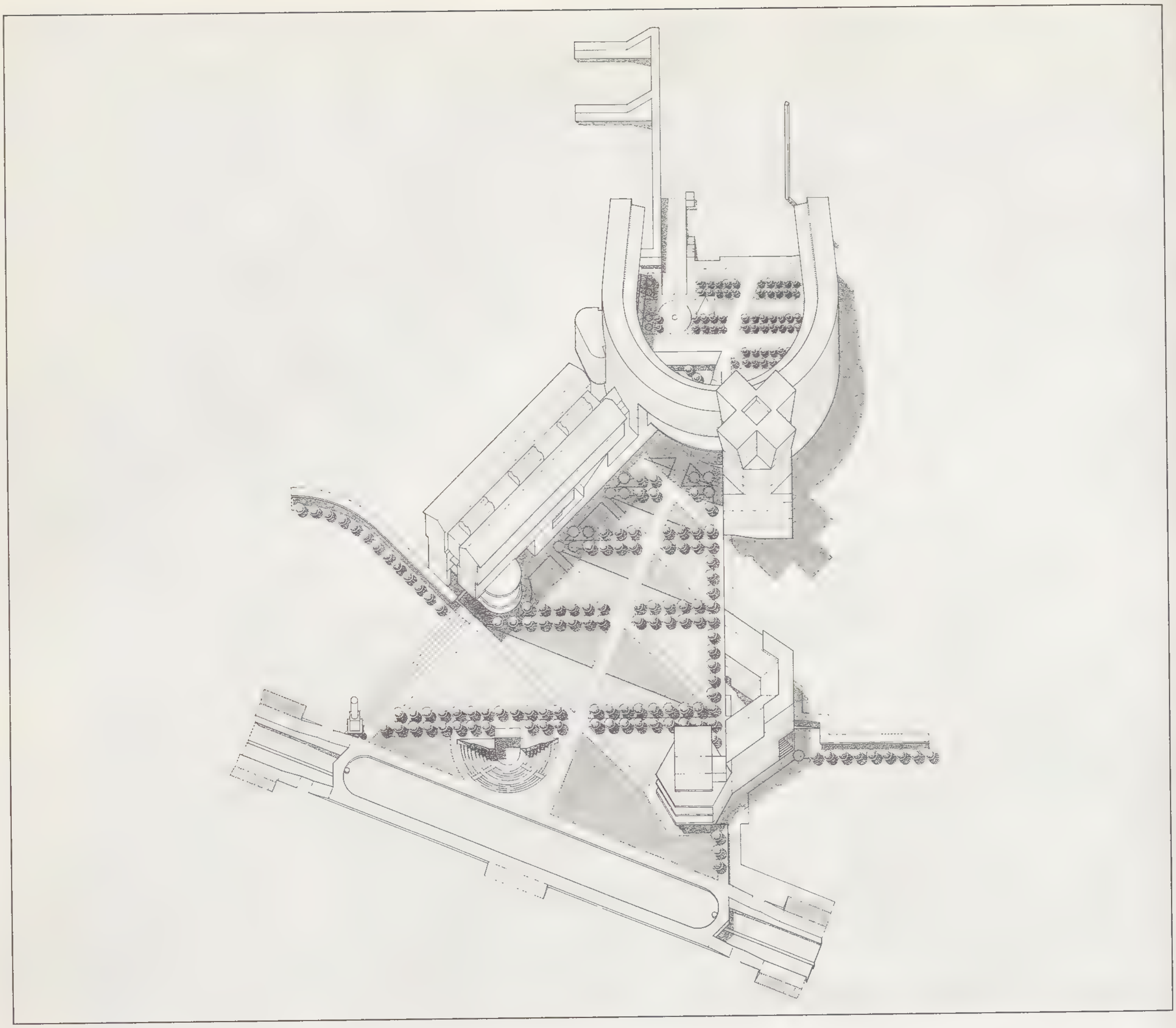
The schools are designed to balance vertical and horizontal movement, with most densely used spaces such as — lecture theatres situated on, or below, concourse level. Building expansion could occur at the end of each School with little disruption to completed building.

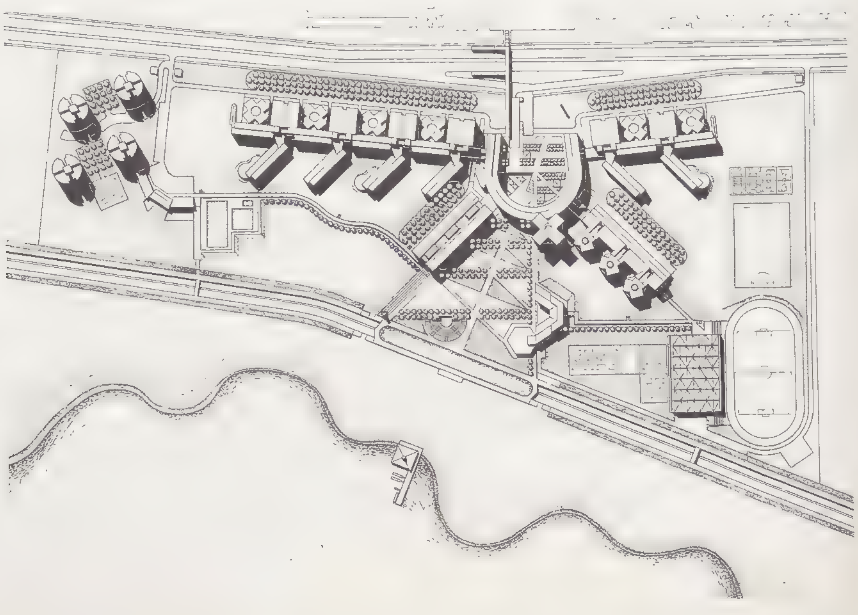
The promenade around the Plaza and the School concourses



Vista del modello.
Foto: J. Donat.

View of the model.
Photo: J. Donat.



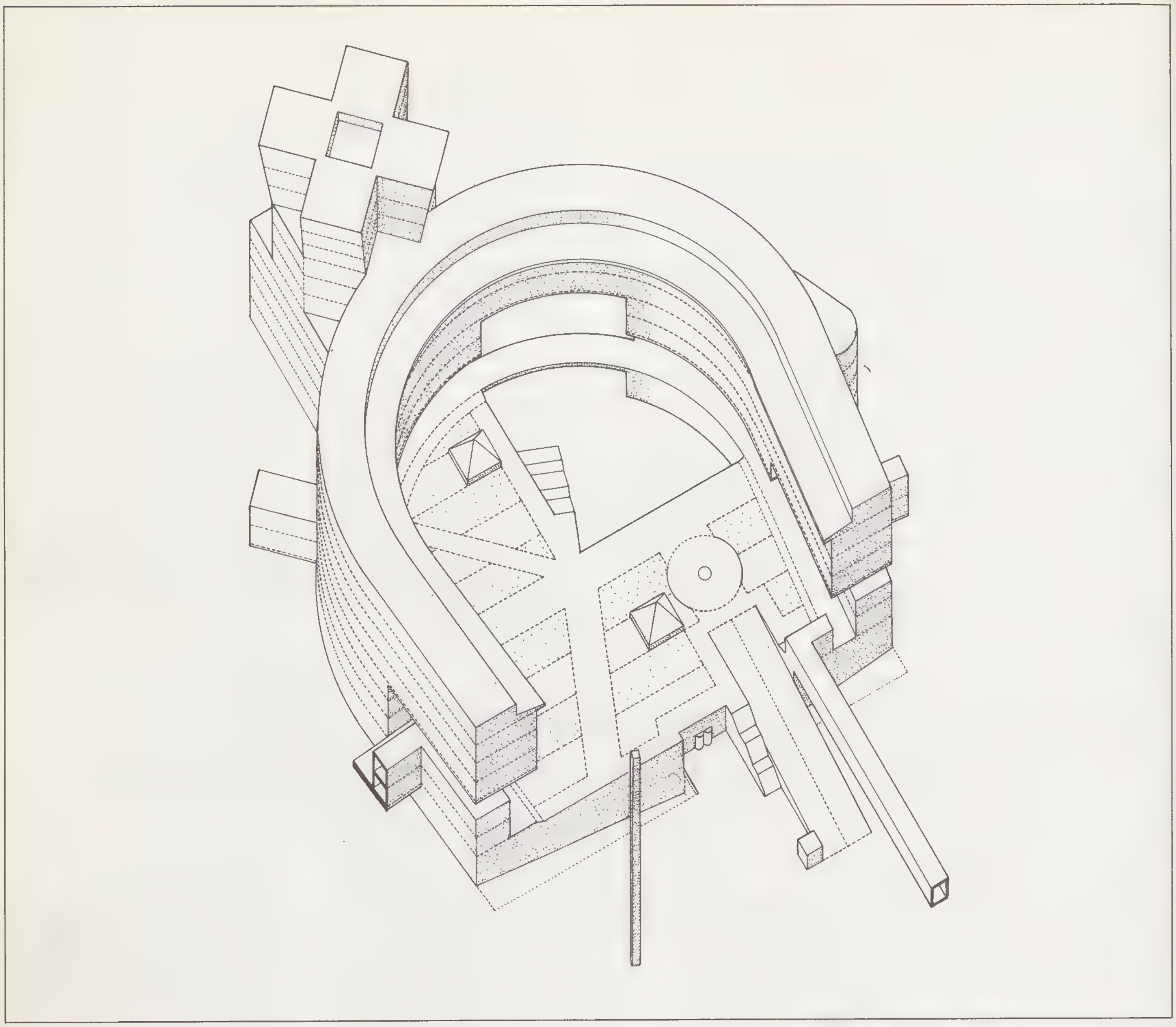


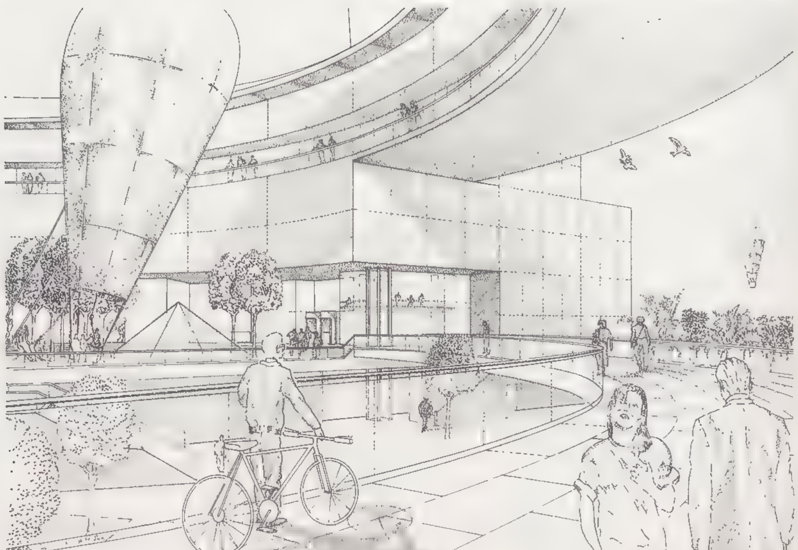
Le Facoltà sono progettate in modo tale da ottenere un rapporto equilibrato fra percorsi orizzontali e verticali, collocando gli ambienti più frequentati, come gli auditori, al livello degli atri di accesso, o al di sotto di essi. Gli eventuali ampliamenti che dovessero rendersi necessari dopo la conclusione dei lavori potranno essere collegati alle estremità di ogni Facoltà senza interromperne la continuità.
Il percorso attorno alla piazza e gli spazi di accesso alle Facoltà che da esso si irradiano formano un reticolo pedonale che collega tutti i luoghi accademici in modo che nessuna delle strutture didattiche disti più di cinque minuti a piedi dal punto centrale. Dalla parte inferiore della piazza si diramano percorsi coperti lungo i lati del giardino triangolare e attraverso il parco fino al centro studentesco, agli impianti sportivi, alle piscine e ai ritrovi di Facoltà.
L'accesso dalla Tampines Avenue One al sistema viario dell'Università che conduce a tutti gli edifici, ai parcheggi e alle aree di carico e scarico è controllato sia all'estremità orientale che a quella occidentale, consentendo ad un totale di 1000 autoveicoli e 6 autobus di parcheggiare all'interno.
Con i suoi 11 piani aperti a 2000 lettori, la biblioteca, che occupa anche alcuni spazi dell'edificio dell'Amministrazione, è l'edificio più elevato del *campus* e si staglierà sull'orizzonte di Singapore. Il centro studentesco, contiguo alla mensa centrale, è situato al limite orientale del giardino triangolare in modo che gli studenti possano godere della vista sul giardino e sul lago mentre consumano i pasti della mensa centrale, essendo le singole mense di Facoltà attrezzate solo per pasti leggeri e spuntini.
Attrezzature sportive, a cui si accede passando attraverso e sotto il centro studentesco, sono collocate, assieme ad un padiglione sportivo e ad uno stadio da 1500 posti attrezzato per l'atletica e dotato di campi da gioco, nei pressi dell'angolo sudorientale del giardino.
I ritrovi di Facoltà, il centro per l'infanzia, le piscine e le quattro torri condominiali del personale, che totalizzano 140 appartamenti, sono ubicati all'estremità occidentale del

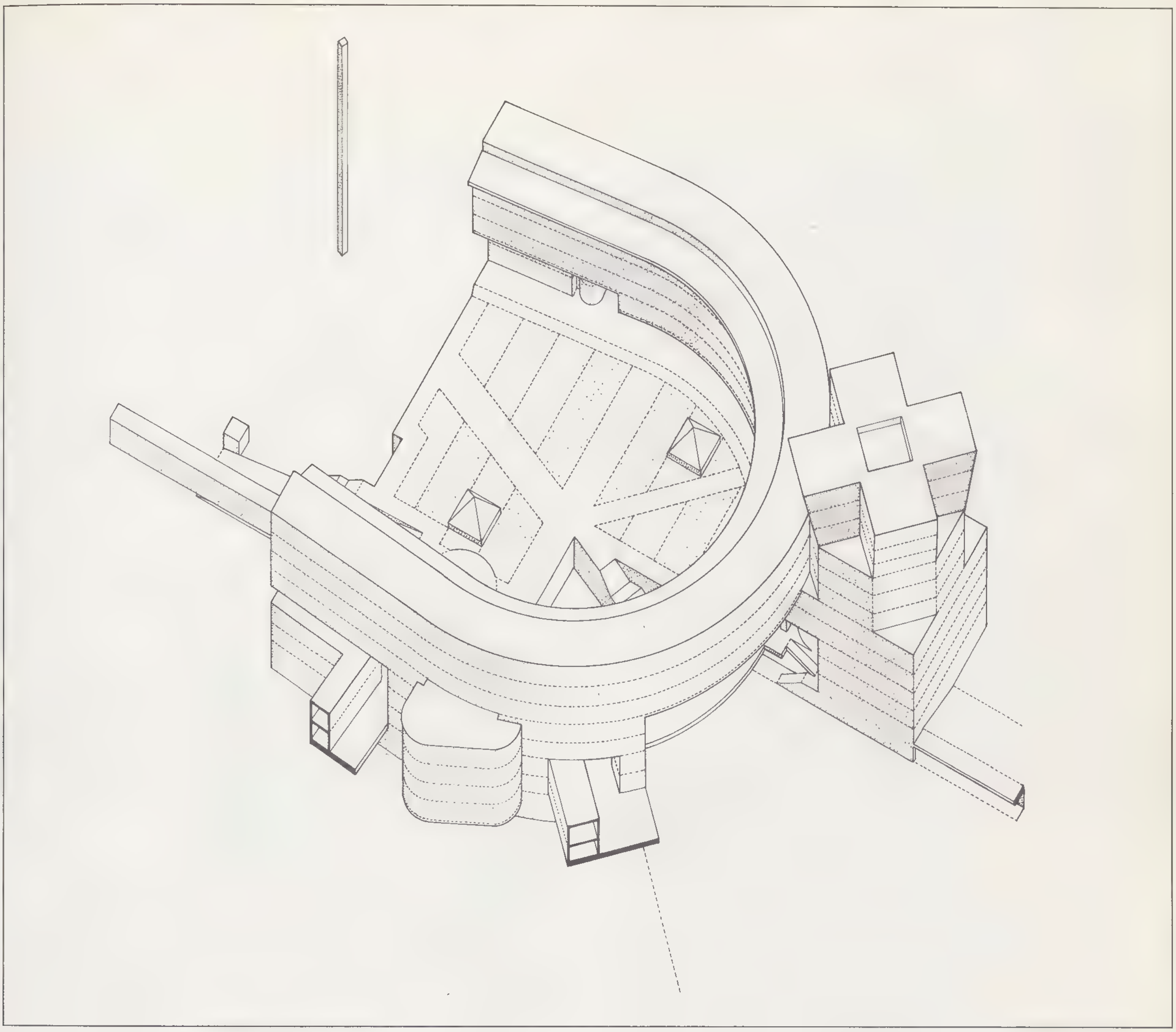
Assonometria del corpo centrale col giardino triangolare e planimetria generale.

Axonometric of the main building including the triangular garden and the main plan.

which radiate from it — form an armiture — a pedestrian network interconnecting all academic areas. All facilities are at a maximum 5 minutes walk from the centre. Covered ways extend from the lower Plaza along the edges of the triangular Garden and through the Park providing sheltered routes to the Student Centre and Sports facilities, and to the Swimming Pools and Faculty Club. Footpaths link to the jogging trail around the Reservoir via footbridges across the flood canal on the southern boundary. Controlled Entry/Exits off Tampines Avenue One at the east and west ends of the Campus allow access to the Campus road system which serves all buildings, car parks and servicing areas. A total of 1000 cars and 6 buses can be parked on site.
The highest building is the Library on 11 floors for 2,000 readers. It should be visible on the Singapore skyline. Althrough primarily a tower, it also has space within the Administration Building.
The Student Centre is located on the eastern edge of the triangular Garden, with an adjoining Central Canteen. Students could use Canteens within the Schools for light meals and snacks and the Central Canteen could provide more leisurely meals with views over the gardens and the lake.
A sports garden is entered by passing through and under the Student Centre and a Sports hall is located in the south-eastern corner of the garden, it adjoins a stadium (for 1,500), with outdoor sports pitches and play courts.
The Faculty Club and Childcare Centre and the Swimming Pools and four towers of staff housing (140 apartments) are at the western end of the site taking advantage of higher ground with distant views in all directions.
The different landscaping of the Plaza, the triangular Garden, and the Park ensures a variety of experience and sense of orientation. The conjunction of hard and soft lands caping on the Plaza will create a contained surface garden at the heart of the Campus. The triangular Garden which slopes from the Plaza towards the Reservoir connects

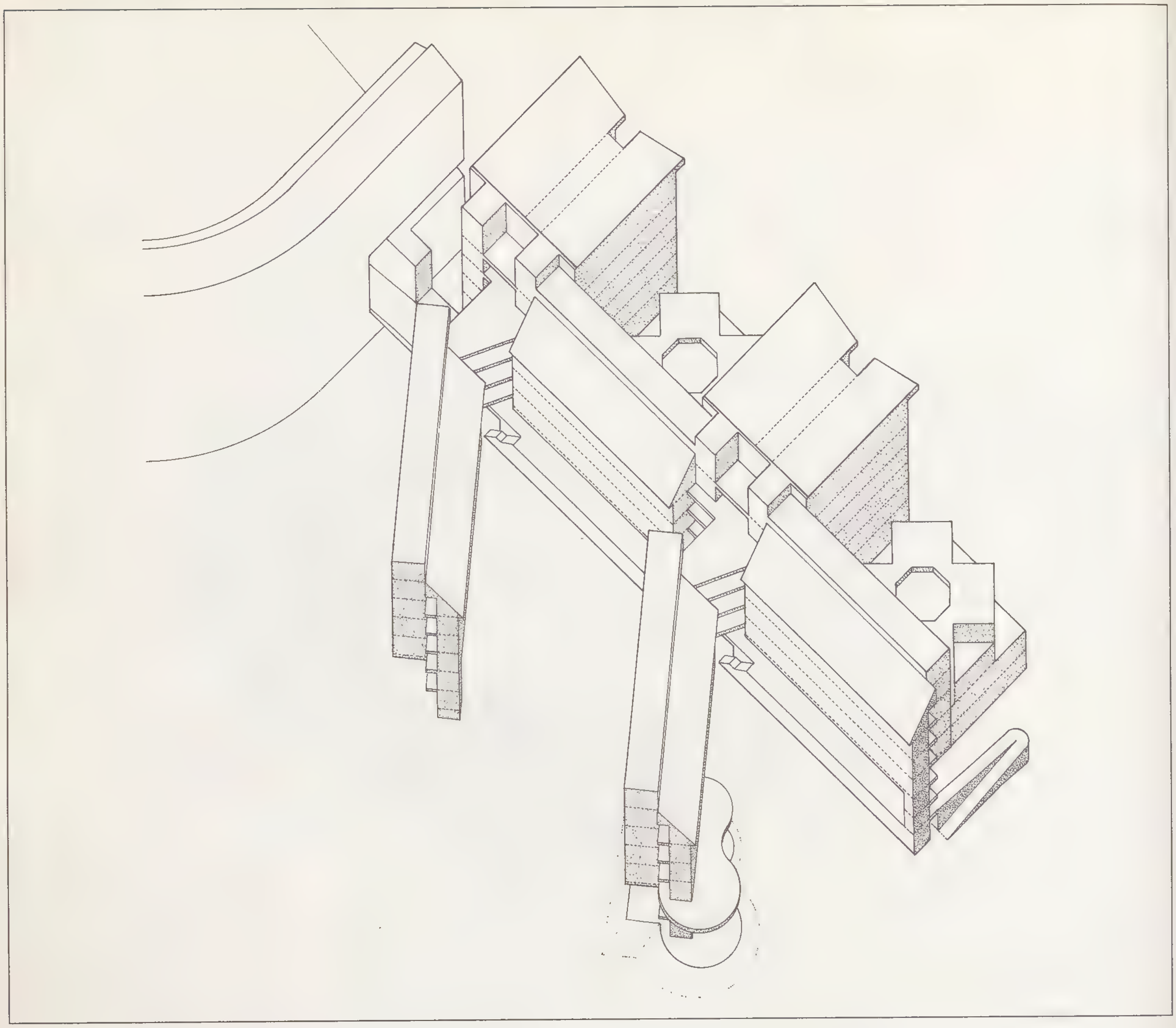


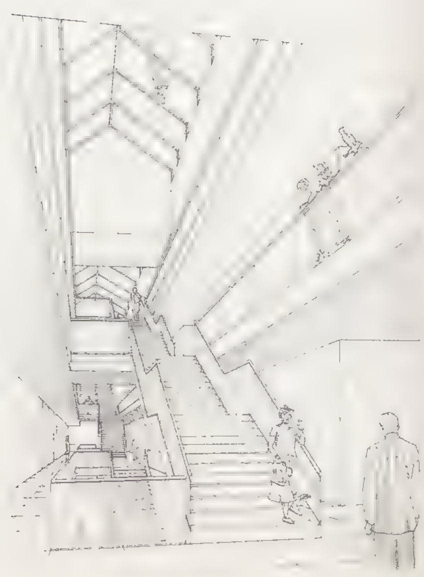




Assonometrie del corpo centrale e prospettiva del portico verso il giardino.

Axonometrics of the main building and perspective of the portico onto the garden.





sito su terreni collinari che consentono alla vista di spaziare in tutte le direzioni.
Le diverse soluzioni paesistiche previste per la piazza, per il giardino triangolare e per il parco contribuiranno a dare un senso di varietà e di orientamento sempre nuovi. Se la combinazione di geometria e natura caratterizzerà il giardino pensile inscritto nella piazza, cuore del *campus*, il giardino triangolare che digrada dalla piazza fino al bacino d'acqua, collegando i luoghi accademici a quelli ricreativi, costituirà il bucolico intorno della biblioteca, del centro studentesco e della mensa centrale. I sentieri e gli alberi di tale giardino segneranno i percorsi tra gli edifici dando adito al susseguirsi di spazi dilatati e di viste mutevoli. Altrove, le attrezzature didattiche e quelle ricreative sono congiunte da un grande parco all'inglese i cui pendii saranno piantati ad alberi frondosi sia per riparare dal sole gli edifici e garantire ombra e frescura a chi studia o si rilassa, sia per mascherare alla vista i parcheggi fondendoli nel paesaggio.
È in corso uno studio progettuale che integri architettura e ingegneria al fine di elaborare soluzioni energetiche efficaci che siano anche ambientalmente accettabili. All'esterno, ad esempio, sono previsti espedienti quali spazi vuoti passanti creati in modo da favorire il più possibile la circolazione dell'aria nelle zone pedonali. All'interno, invece, l'organizzazione dello spazio è tale da garantire ai locali dimensioni ottimali e ai fronti configurazioni che minimizzino i consumi energetici e sfruttino al massimo elementi quali la luce naturale negli ambienti di lavoro.
Il *campus* di Temasek si prefigge di diventare un punto di riferimento e di contribuire agli obbiettivi urbanistici e architettonici di Singapore. Gli edifici che lo compongono e le attività che vi si svolgono devono essere di facile lettura da parte di studenti, personale e visitatori e incoraggiare i contatti accademici e sociali. Il complesso edilizio del Politecnico, grazie al suo particolare progetto, si propone come un simbolo unico e memorabile che promuova l'ideale di un'istituzione didattica innovativa e multidisciplinare.

Assonometria degli edifici delle Facoltà e prospettiva interna dei percorsi distributivi.

Axonometric of the College buildings and perspective of the interior circulation.

academic and recreational facilities and creates an arcadian setting for the Library, Student Centre and Central Canteen. The paths and trees in this Garden define routes between buildings and form a succession of expanding spaces and changing views. Elsewhere an open landscaped Park unifies academic and recreational facilities. The rolling Parkland will be planted with clusters of large textured trees to shade buildings and provide shelter for study and relaxation. Large shade trees will blend car parking areas with the landscape. An integrated architectural and engineering design process is being pursued to achieve environmentally appropriate energy efficient solutions. Externally, features such as voids and breezeways are created to encourage as much air movement as possible around pedestrian zones. Internally, the organisation of spaces has been studied to establish optimum room dimensions and façade configurations to minimise energy consumption whilst maximising elements such as daylight on the working plane. Studies have been made of the local climate and environment to understand the implications of building orientation, position and scale. Temasek Campus will be a landmark, a contribution to Singapore's urban and architectural achievements. Buildings and activities should be easily comprehensible to students, staff and visitors encouraging academic and social interaction. By its particular design there should be established a unique and memorable image for this Polytechnic group of buildings which promote the ideal of an innovative and multi-disciplinary learning institution.

Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal

1988-1991

Alcino Soutinho

con/with: Luís Casal, Vitor Carvalho



Vista da sudovest.
Foto: L. Ferreira Alves.

Southwest view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves

Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal



Vista da sudoest.
Foto: L. Ferreira Alves.

Southwest view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.

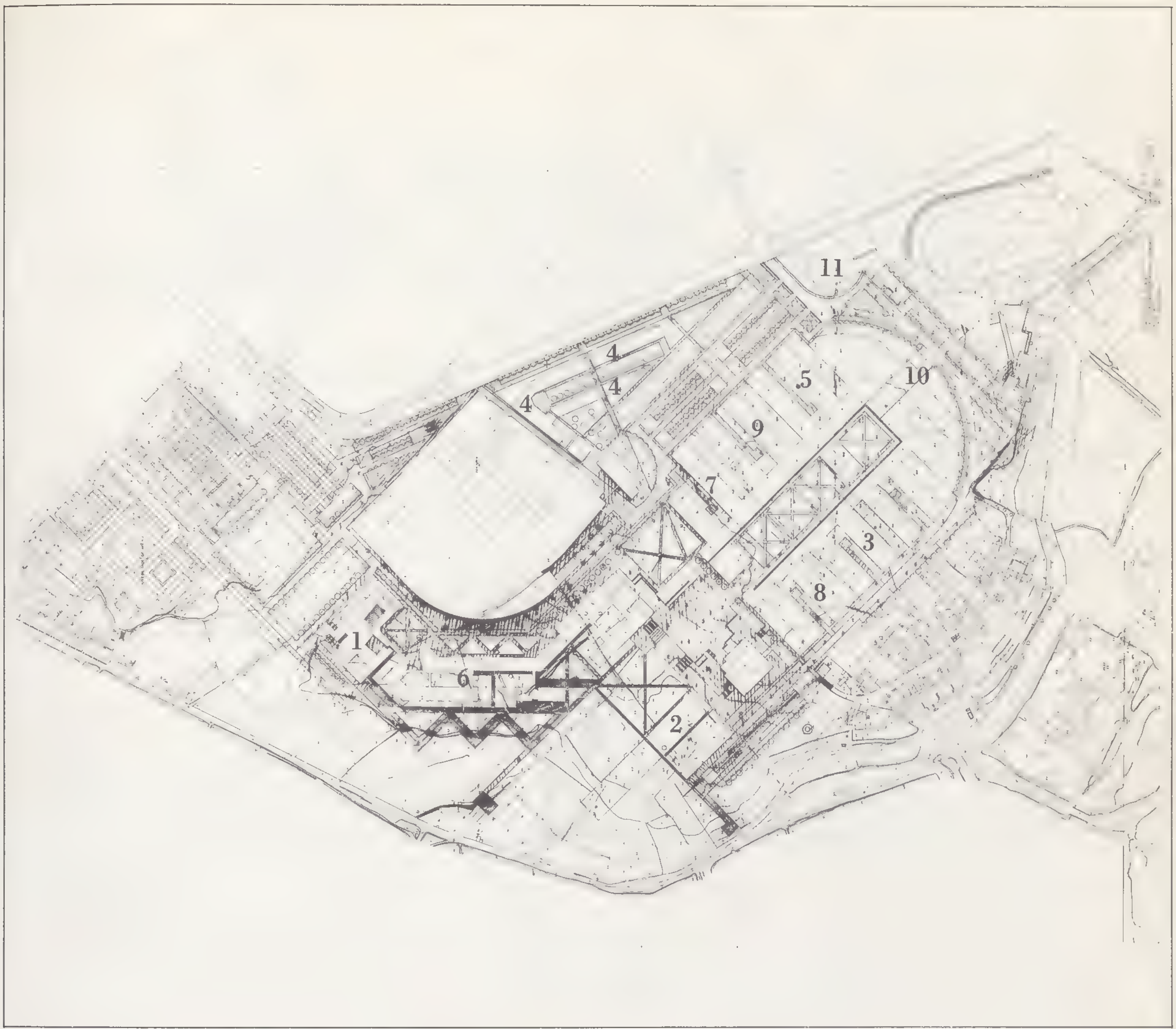
Dipartimento di Ingegneria della ceramica e del vetro, Università di Aveiro, Portogallo
Alcino Soutinho

L'edificio tiene conto, con gli adattamenti necessari, dei criteri definiti dall'*èquipe* del CEFA (Centro studi della Facoltà di Architettura), sia per quanto riguarda il piano insediativo generale che per quanto riguarda i problemi posti dalla contiguità di altri progetti.
L'insieme degli spazi che compongono l'edificio si sviluppa fondamentalmente secondo un quadrato di m. 60 di lato, sul quale si staccano tre volumi corrispondenti ad altrettante attività che rivestono ruoli specifici rispetto alla vita complessiva del Dipartimento (unità pilota, magazzino generale, auditorium). Tuttavia ognuno di questi corpi, caratterizzato da una autonoma identità morfologica, non deroga dai parametri volumetrici e di allineamento individuati dal Piano generale, assicurando la possibilità di leggere con chiarezza la continuità di fronte dei diversi edifici universitari, pur in presenza delle specifiche soluzioni formali dell'edificio.
La distribuzione orizzontale, utilizzando preferibilmente l'illuminazione laterale, si propone d'altra parte di ottenere soluzioni continue e flessibili e di evitare comunque punti di congestione.
Funzionalmente l'edificio si basa sul principio di abbinare spazi con usi affini, così da individuare nuclei facilmente accessibili e identificabili. La scelta dei materiali è stata operata in considerazione di questioni di manutenzione, di *comfort* e di economicità, tenendo conto della particolare destinazione dell'edificio, inevitabilmente sottoposto ad un uso "aggressivo". Tali materiali, di uso tradizionale in questa regione, rispondono a prioritarie esigenze di durata e conservazione, ma al tempo stesso sono coerenti alla soluzione architettonica, concorrendo decisivamente all'esito formale complessivo.

Department of Ceramic and Glass Engineering, University of Aveiro, Portugal
Alcino Soutinho

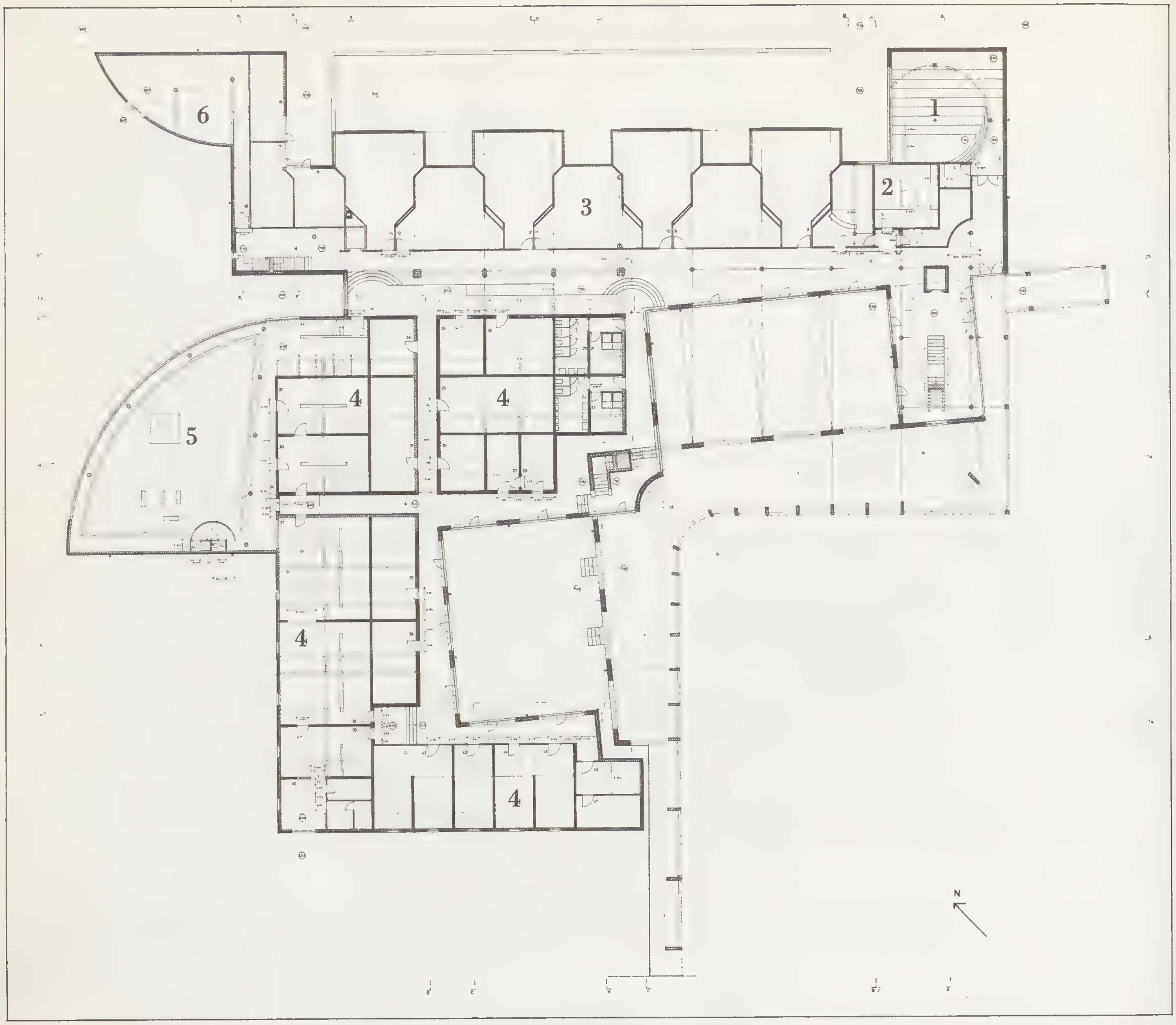
The building follows — within due limits — the criteria defined by the CEFA team (Research Centre of the College of Architecture) with respect to the overall siting and the problems derived by the fact that the design is contiguous with other projects.
Basically the footprint of the building is a 60 m × 60 m square to which three other volumes, each containing different functions that are part of the Department (pilot unit, general storage, auditorium) are attached. Each of these volumes has an autonomous morphological identity remaining, however, within the volumetric and alignment parameters of the Master Plan, guaranteeing a continuity in the street elevations of the various university buildings, in spite of the unique formal solution of each.
The plan distribution preferably uses exterior light making it possible to create flexible, continuous solutions, avoiding points of congestion.
In functional terms the building is based on the principle of combining spaces with related uses, thus creating easily accessible and identifiable nuclei. The choice of materials was based on criteria of ease of maintenance, comfort and costs, taking into account the particular use of this building, which inevitably will be particulary intense. These materials, which are traditionally utilised for buildings in this region, respond well to durability and wear while at the same time are consistent with the architectural solution, and are a major contribution to the aesthetic success of the complex.

Nuno Portas e Centro studi della Facoltà di Architettura di Porto, Piano generale dell'Università di Aveiro:
1) Dipartimento di Ingegneria della ceramica e del vetro, Alcino Soutinho (costruito);
2) Biblioteca, Alvaro Siza (in costruzione);
3) Dipartimento di Geologia, Eduardo de Souto Moura (progetto);
4) Residenza studentesca, Adalberto Dias (in costruzione);
5) Dipartimento di Chimica, Alcino Soutinho (in costruzione);
6) Dipartimento di Biologia, José Carlos Loureiro (costruito);
7) Dipartimento di Gestione, Pedro Ramalho (in costruzione);

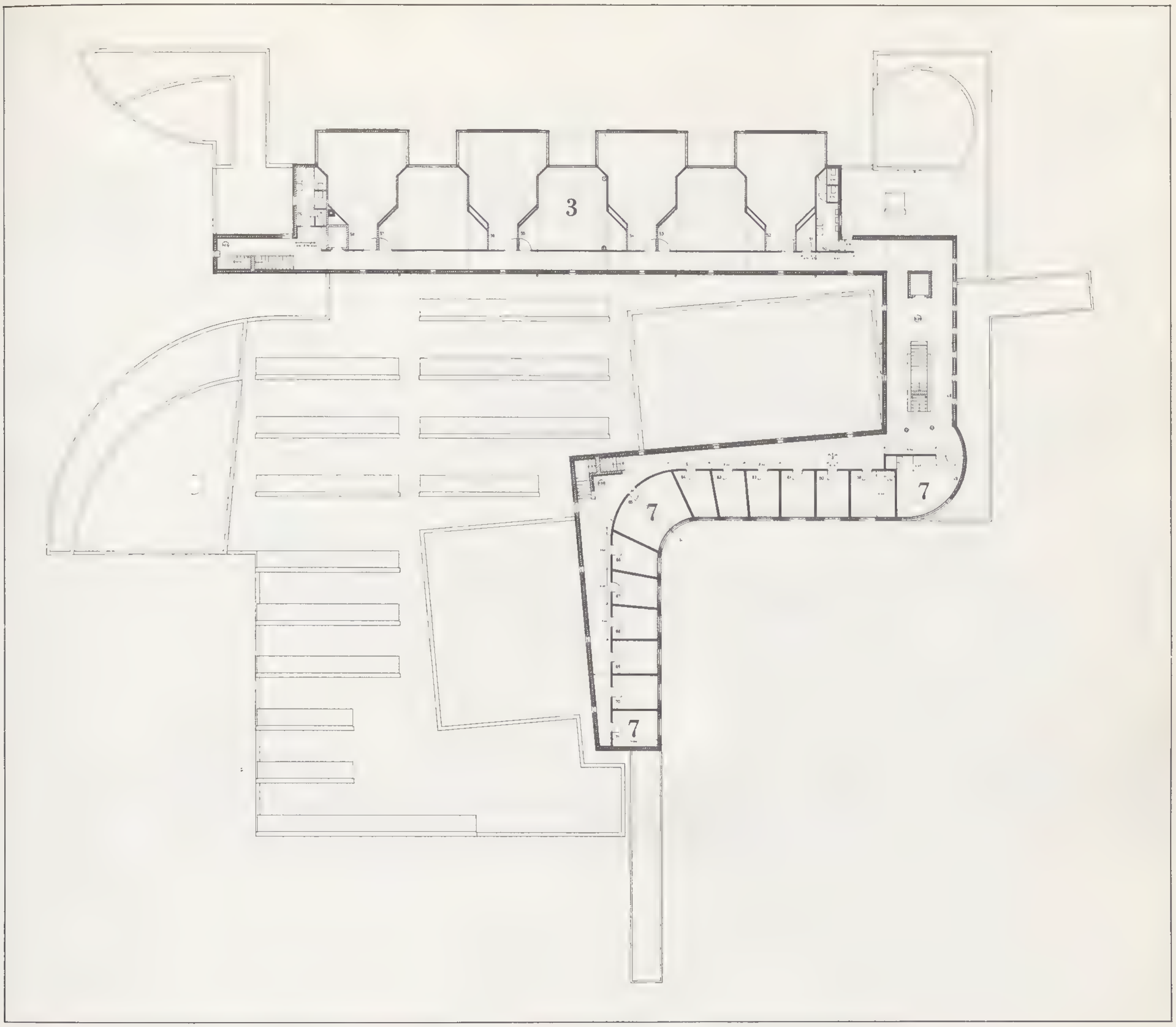


8) Dipartimento di Matematica, Carlos Pratas;
9) Dipartimento di Fisica, Alfredo Matos Ferreira (in costruzione);
10) Cisterna dell'acqua, Alvaro Siza (costruita);
11) Padiglione polisportivo, Vitor Carvalho e João Almeida (in costruzione).

Nuno Portas and Study Centre of the Faculty of Architecture, Porto, General Plan of the University of Aveiro:
1) Ceramics and Glass Engineering Departmental, Alcino Soutinho (built);
2) Library, Alvaro Siza (under construction);
3) Department of Geology, Eduardo de Souto Moura (project);
4) Hall of Residence, Adalberto Dias (under construction);
5) Departmental Chemistry, Alcino Soutinho (under construction);
6) Department of Biology, José Carlos Loureiro (built);
7) Department of Management, Pedro Ramalho (under construction);
8) Department of Mathematics, Carlos Pratas;
9) Department of Physics, Alfredo Matos Ferreira (under construction);
10) Water Cistern, Alvaro Siza (built);
11) Sports Pavilion, Victor Carvalho and João Almeida (under construction).

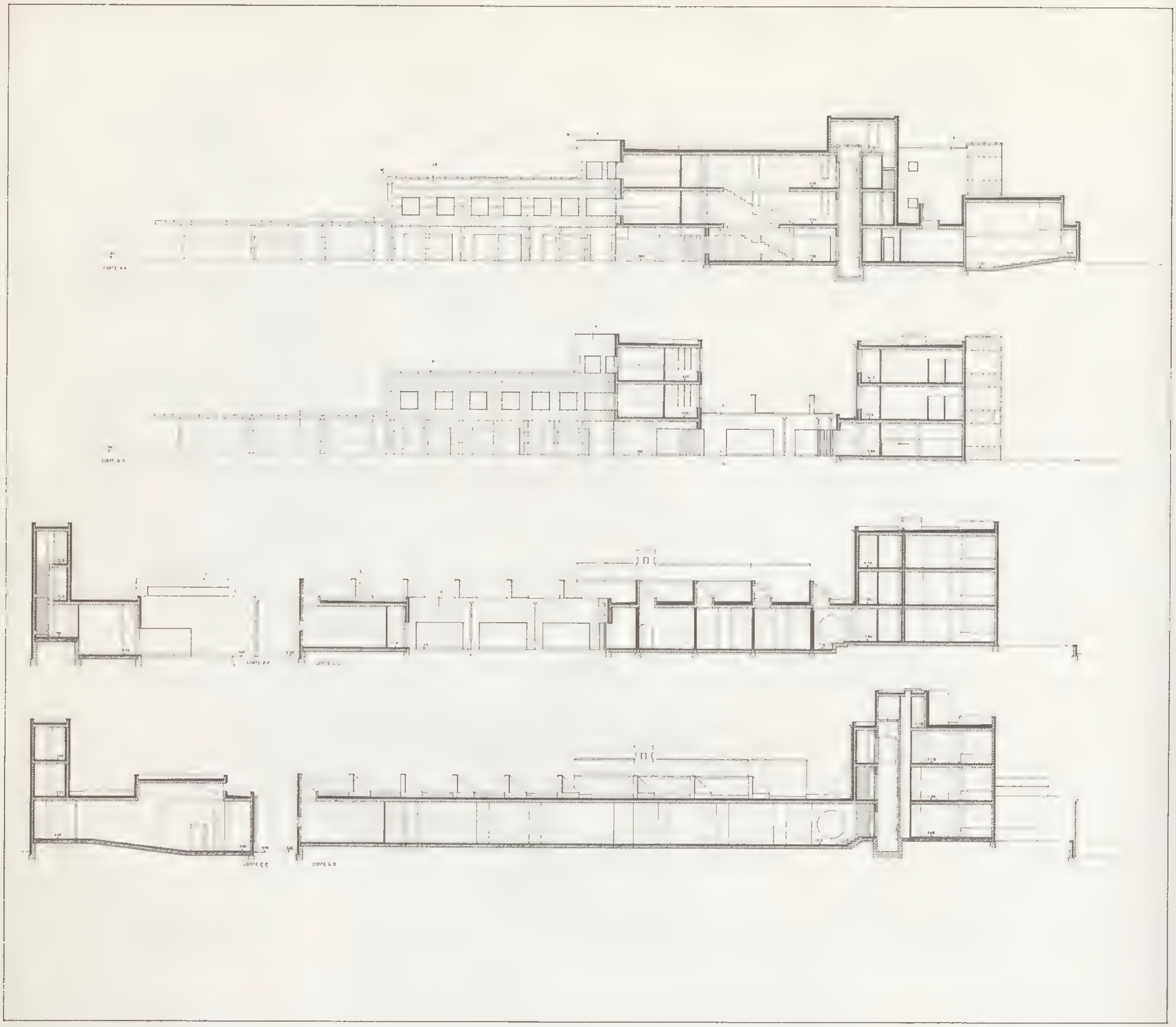


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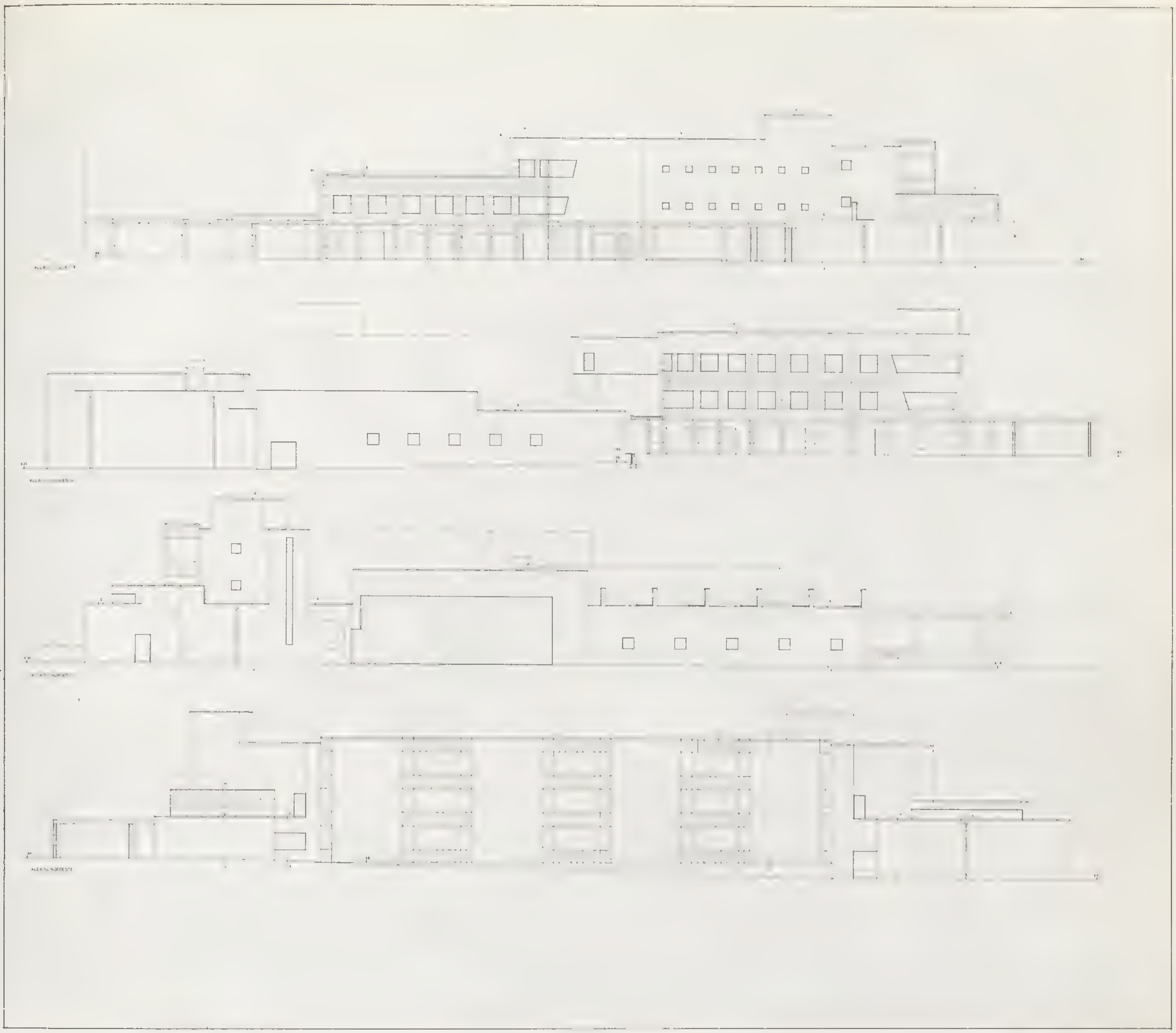
Piante dei piani terreno e primo:
1) auditorium; 2) direzione;
3) laboratori; 4) laboratori speciali;
5) unità pilota; 6) magazzino generale
ed impianti; 7) sale di studio.

Ground and first floor plans:
1) Auditorium; 2) General Office;
3) Laboratories; 4) Special Laboratories;
5) Pilot Assembly; 6) General storage
and Utility Spaces; 7) Study Rooms.



Sezioni e prospetti.

Sections and elevations.





Vista da sudest.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

South-east view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.



Vista da sudest.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

South-east view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.



Vista da est.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

East view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.



Vista da est.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

East view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.



Vista da nordovest.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

Northwest view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.



Vista da nordovest.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

Northwest view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.






Viste di dettaglio e viste interne.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

Detailed views and interior views.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.











Vista da sud.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

South view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.



Vista da sud.
Foto: L.Ferreira Alves.

South view.
Photo: L. Ferreira Alves.

1970: planimetria del *campus* di Pesaro.
1971: concorso per l'Università di Firenze.
1972: concorso per l'Università di Cagliari.
1973: concorso per l'Università della Calabria.
1973: progetto Roma-est per la XV Triennale di Milano.
1986: Concorso-appalto di idee per la II Università di Roma a Tor Vergata.
Venti anni fa. Nell'arco di quattro anni furono messi a punto la planimetria del *campus* di Pesaro — con l'edizione definitiva del Centro civico —; i tre concorsi delle Università — un po' diversi nelle quantità ma sostanzialmente simili nell'impianto —; da ultimo il progetto per Roma-est alla XV Triennale di Milano.

In quei quattro anni è terminato il Liceo scientifico del *campus* di Pesaro e si possono capire le diversità tra i cinque progetti ma anche le affinità che li accomunano, in particolare per i modi di organizzare la "struttura generale" di ogni progetto.
La planimetria del *campus*, corredata dai quattro edifici scolastici e dal Centro civico, è una planimetria per una data quantità di "istruzione superiore" per 3000 persone interessate dall'insegnamento.
Quanto sia labile il passo tra l'istruzione superiore e quella universitaria è da stabilire: sta di fatto che certamente mancano alcune "aggiunte" a farne un'università.
E tuttavia la mancanza del Centro civico, rimasto sulla carta per un equivoco "giuridico" — in quanto la concentrazione delle attrezzature di ogni Istituto in un unico edificio capace di utilizzare le quantità comuni per realizzare un vero e proprio *centro civico* — ha certamente influito negativamente sul complesso, anche come "figura" specifica (che non a caso continuo a portarmi appresso persino nella soluzione di progetto per Tor Vergata del 1986).

I tre progetti universitari sono assai simili.
La Università di Firenze, prima delle tre, è incentrata sull'unità delle due culture, l'umanistica e la scientifica, e su questa base è possibile intendere l'Università come un "settore di città" integrato e completo di tutti i suoi insegnamenti e servizi, riutilizzando gli edifici nel centro storico come residenze studentesche e centri di studio e di ricerca postuniversitari.
Il ricorso a procedimenti compositivi fondati sull'organizzazione di elementi architettonici semplici e su maglie edilizie ripetute e sulla leggera divaricazione di tali elementi, accentua i gradi di libertà dell'impianto generale come conseguenza del suo carattere di "grande intervento" realizzabile per stralci e tempi successivi.
L'individuazione, infatti, di una configurazione d'insieme non implica la definizione di un unico manufatto architettonico quanto l'assunzione di un preciso significato formale.
La possibilità di accrescimento dei singoli manufatti è infatti imperniata non già sulla sommatoria di successive parti, ma sulla concentrazione delle strutture architettoniche,

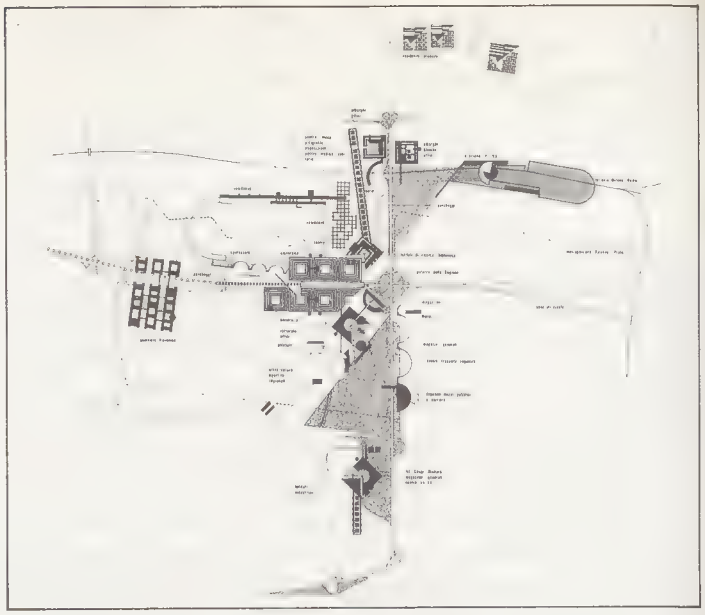
attraverso l'inserimento di nuove maglie, di nuovi piani e di nuovi percorsi senza che si venga alterando la riconoscibilità figurativa dell'insieme.
La libera utilizzazione del terreno e la sua disponibilità ad accogliere eventuali intrusioni e anomalie conferma l'alto grado di variabilità della configurazione proposta.

Il concorso per la sistemazione della Città universitaria di Cagliari si inserisce nella grave crisi dell'Università con la conseguente mancanza di una nuova legge; in compenso ci si muove verso l'unità tra la funzione didattica e l'attività di ricerca.
Continuità fisica quindi, tra insediamento universitario e centri produttivi; e continuità temporale con gli altri gradi di istruzione scolastica per una istruzione non gerarchica.
La decisione di concentrare le attrezzature universitarie in un unico luogo e l'ottica con cui è stato scelto il sito (massimo di accessibilità) pongono le premesse per un diverso rapporto con la struttura urbana, come continuità di "uso collettivo".
La tipologia si costituisce pertanto come sistema organizzativo dello spazio, coerentemente alle esigenze poste dal "servizio": le esigenze di una alta elasticità, anche per l'allora incerta definizione della nuova struttura dipartimentale, accanto alle integrazioni funzionali tra momenti diversi dell'attività di studio e di ricerca.
Quando alle categorie funzionali viene restituito nella definizione tipologica la "condizione al lavoro", è possibile procedere alla estrazione di un numero finito e controllabile di invarianti e soprattutto alla definizione dei momenti di passaggio da un insieme a un altro.
Il progetto, in sintesi, definiva in modo rigoroso le modalità d'uso dello spazio nelle sue grandi dimensioni mentre permaneva il carattere aperto ed elastico dello spazio singolo in quanto tale.
Ciò a partire dall'impatto con il terreno delle attrezzature (modi di occupazione del suolo) e della loro accessibilità dall'esterno che apparivano risolti mediante l'aderenza rigorosa dei volumi a un reticolo modulare e una maglia altrettanto uniforme di percorsi, per concludersi in un impianto in cui — fissato un piano unico di servizi collettivi — le integrazioni tra gli elementi di una medesima categoria di comportamento avvenissero sul piano orizzontale, quelle tra categorie eterogenee su piani verticali.
In questo senso il nuovo centro universitario acquistava il carattere di una "parte di città" il cui inserimento funzionale nel contesto della struttura urbana veniva arricchito dalla forma compiuta e riconoscibile.

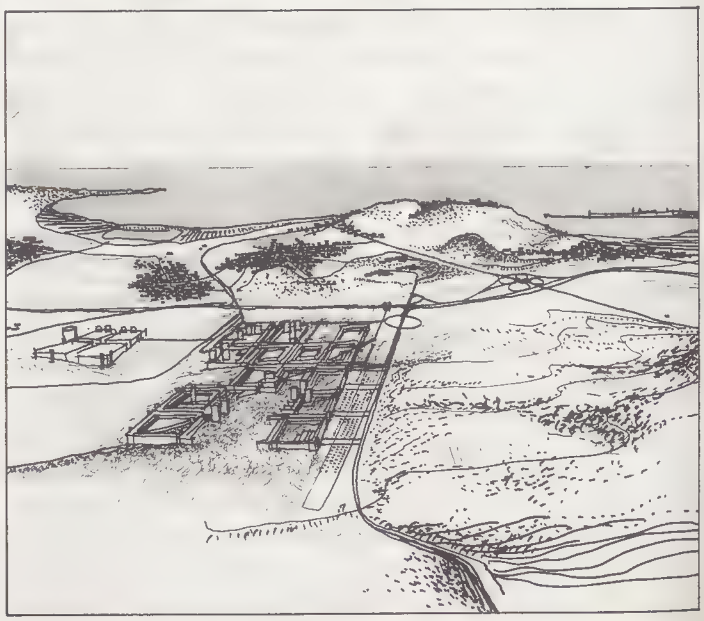
Attrezzare Roma-est come parte compiuta della struttura urbana può consentire la completa abolizione del traffico dalla zona archeologica, ripristinandone la sostanziale unità: il parco dell'Appia antica verrebbe a concludersi, ai margini del centro antico, con i monumenti dell'età imperiale (dal Foro di Traiano al Circo Massimo, dal Colosseo alla Domus aurea fino alle Terme di Caracalla), come "parte" di città recuperata nel suo tempo storico.
A integrazione del "sistema archeologico" il progetto prevede il restauro e il ripristino di tutto il percorso dell'Acquedotto Claudio come parco pubblico del settore urbano.
La proposta architettonica per Roma-est non prevede un futuro affinamento sul piano edilizio, poiché i "materiali" che adoperiamo sono dei manufatti che esistono già, come architetture costruite, sperimentate e sperimentabili, o quanto meno progettati per essere realizzati. E se possono essere individuate delle "citazioni" tese a dimostrare le diverse misure fisiche che l'architettura comporta (basti confrontare il Karl Marx Hof con La Tourette), il filo logico che lega le scelte dei singoli manufatti non è quello del *mixage* con il gusto del paradosso (la biblioteca di Samonà alle spalle del Centro direzionale di Rossi e Polesello) ma, più semplicemente, il recupero di una tecnica con tutto quanto di contraddittorio tale operazione oggi comporta nell'attuale contesto.
Precisare le quantità edificabili e le destinazioni d'uso funzionali significa passare dagli indici di zonizzazione e dagli *standard* di normative a tipologie architettoniche che recuperino indici e *standard* in un insieme edificato secondo i parametri dell'architettura.
In questa direzione vanno lette sia le varianti tipologiche assunte per l'abitazione, come possibilità di scelte diverse nelle unità di insediamento, sia la ripetizione di un "tipo", come conferma di necessità funzionali. La legge che determina variazioni e ripetizioni è quella dell'architettura: la sistemazione di spazi precisi, i rapporti tra un manufatto e l'altro, le relazioni di accessibilità e di interdipendenza tra le varie parti.
Fanno eccezione a tale legge quelle attrezzature che, per destinazione d'uso e necessità di localizzazione, non investono direttamente quella parte di città ma si ricollegano direttamente a una organizzazione diversa della struttura urbana nel suo insieme: tali sono il Centro politico-amministrativo di settore, e il Complesso universitario-ospedaliero.
Un nuovo "centro-città", servito da un sistema infrastrutturale che ne garantisce i rapporti con il settore urbano e con la città nel suo insieme, in particolare con il centro antico; rapporto quest'ultimo che, al di là della falsa coscienza dell'Asse attrezzato, è ricercato e individuato nella prosecuzione fino al nodo di San Lorenzo della vecchia direttrice di penetrazione dell'autostrada del Sole. Il centro diventa il punto di confluenza nelle unità insediative vecchie e nuove, sottolineato dalla rete dei percorsi automobilistici, da quella dei percorsi pedonali, così come dal nuovo tracciato del trasporto metropolitano.

Un salto di quindici anni, in occasione del concorso-appalto di idee per la II Università di Roma a Tor Vergata (1986). Dico subito di aver riutilizzato in parte — per conoscenza di misure architettoniche — e il Centro civico di Pesaro (nella parte centrale del progetto, sia pure con misure diverse) e i

diversi dipartimenti (sia pure in modi diversi da quelli dell'Università di Cagliari). In entrambi i casi i riferimenti precedenti mi consentivano di verificare le quantità necessarie avendo già chiare le soluzioni architettoniche.
L'impianto generale è collocato ai bordi dell'autostrada Roma-Napoli, ben oltre l'anulare. Siamo quindi in una zona di nuova costruzione, con l'eccezione di alcuni insediamenti abusivi costruiti in questi ultimi anni.
L'area proposta per il concorso non era solo quella centrale, quella cioè destinata a tutto l'impianto finale della nuova Università, ma comprendeva anche l'area circostante in modo da consentire un tentativo di ricucitura dei nuclei abusivi esistenti con la struttura urbana attraverso sistemazioni paesistiche e infrastrutturali. Come la strada centrale perpendicolare che sottopassa la parte centrale dell'Università, tutta pedonale, per poi ricongiungersi a nord con la strada di accesso a Roma.
Un primo elemento di riorganizzazione dell'esistente era dato dalle residenze universitarie, dalla zona sportiva e da un lago centrale che si voleva alimentare attraverso la rete di piccoli e numerosi canali agricoli esistenti. Ci sembrava infatti — questo lago — un elèmento aggiuntivo di miglioramento del luogo che segnasse da un lato la parte centrale più rappresentativa (il rettorato, la chiesa, il club, l'aula magna, ecc.) e dall'altra segnasse il primo appalto da realizzare e cioé un Policlinico universitario collegato con le Facoltà di medicina e chirurgia; in modo da decongestionare l'attuale Policlinico universitario Umberto I, ormai quasi impraticabile.
Come successivi interventi vi erano le Facoltà umanistiche e quelle scientifiche, il tutto organizzato secondo un "sistema" lineare; alle quali si potessero aggiungere laboratori o centri specialistici, mano a mano che si rendessero necessari.
L'impostazione dell'impianto è basata su delle grandi corti, con una distribuzione che grosso modo non si differenzia molto dagli istituti scientifici per Pesaro. Differente è la sovrapposizione delle corti, sia in verticale ma soprattutto nel percorso orizzontale centrale dove sono tutte le parti comuni, dai laboratori alle aule speciali, ai piccoli studioli, ecc.
Un impianto che potesse essere ripetuto ma anche essere, là dove fosse necessario, spezzato o rimanere incompiuto. Un sistema compatto ma articolato che mutasse completamente nella parte centrale con tutte le attrezzature di "servizio" e ricreative che, affacciandosi sul lago, sottolineavano l'importanza della piazza degradante sul lago.







University Design
Carlo Aymonino

Carlo Aymonino, Giorgio Ciucci, Costantino Dardi, Vittorio De Feo, Umberto De Martino, Mario Manieri Elia, Giovanni Morabito, Francesco Pierobon, Concorso per l'Università di Firenze, 1971: planimetria generale. Carlo Aymonino, Giorgio Ciucci, Bruno Conti, Costantino Dardi, Vittorio De Feo, Mario Manieri Elia, Giovanni Morabito, Raffaele Panella, Maria Luisa Tugnoli, Concorso per il piano urbanistico dell'Università degli Studi di Cagliari, 1972: planimetria generale e schizzo prospettico.

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1970: site plan for the Pesaro campus.
1971: competition for Florence University.
1972: competition for Cagliari University.
1973: competition for Calabria University.
1973: plan for Rome's east side presented at the 15th Milan Triennale.
1986: competition for the design and construction of Rome's second university at Tor Vergata.
Twenty years ago five projects were completed within four years: the site plan for the Pesaro campus (along with the final plan for the Civic Centre), the competitions listed above for three universities (which differed to some extent in size but had basically the same layout), and finally the plan for Rome's east side presented at the 15th Milan Triennale.
During those four years the Scientific School on the Pesaro campus was completed. It is easy to see the diversity of the five projects, but also their similarities, especially with respect to the organization of the overall structure of each project.
The site plan of the campus, consisting of four school buildings and the Civic Centre, was based on an attendance of 3,000 high school students.
Just where high school teaching ends and university education begins is still open for discussion. It is, however, evident that a number of additions would be needed to turn it into a university.
The fact that the Civic Centre never got beyond the drawing board as a result of legal quibbles — it had been conceived as a concentration of each institute's equipment into a single building capable of using the common area to create a real Civic Centre — undoubtedly had a negative effect on the complex which was left without a focal element (it is no concidence that this problem recurred in the 1987 design for Tor Vergata).

The three university designs are very similar.
The design of the first of the three, Florence University, is centered on integrating humanities and sciences. The University can be compared to an integrated city district complete with all teaching facilities. This is accomplished by converting the buildings in the historic district into student dorms and post graduate research and study centres.
The concept is based on the organization of simple architectural elements within building modules placed on a grid where slight variations of these elements occur. This increases the flexibility of the overall plan — necessary for a large scale project that will be implemented in different stages over a long period of time. The overall concept did not intend to establish a single architectural identity for the entire project, but to establish simple and precise rules and parameters within which individual facilities could be designed.
The possibility of adding to the individual buildings does not depend on the sum total of the future additions, but on the increase in architectural structures on additional layers of existing networks, including new floors levels, circulation, etc., without jeopardizing the overall aesthetic of the complex.

The free use of the land and the ease with which modifications and anomalies can be incorporated is evidence of the highly flexible nature of the proposed layout.

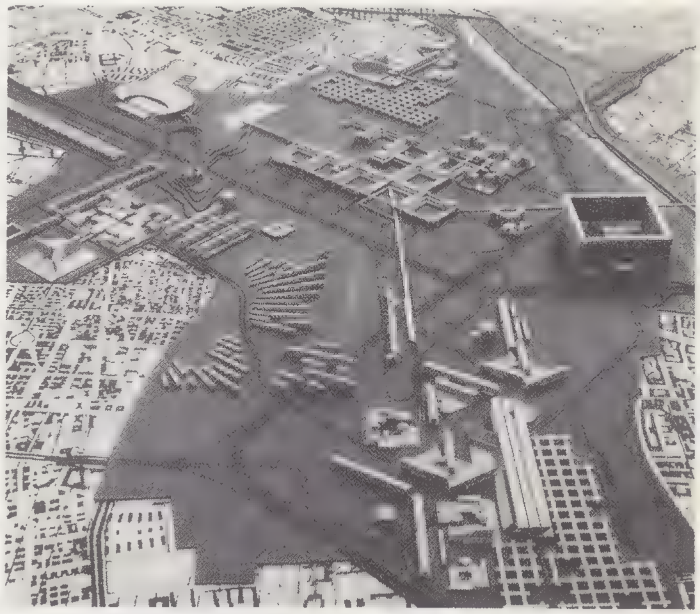
The competition for the redevelopment of Cagliari University campus was held in the midst of a serious crisis at the University: the absence of new statute. On the other hand the design concept moved towards unifying teaching and research activities, thus pursuing a physical continuity between the university campus and the centre of production as well as continuity with the other levels of schooling to ensure that education was not organized on a hierarchical basis.
The decision to concentrate the university facilities into one site and the criterion followed in choosing the site (i.e., maximum flexibility) paved the way for a new kind of relationship with the urban fabric based on continuity through "collective use".
The project was therefore developed around the organization of space, in accordance with the requirements of this type of facility, namely a high degree of flexibility (partly because the new departmental structure had not yet been defined) and the need for functional integration between the various aspects of study and research activities.
When the correct relationship between the different functions was established it became possible to identify a finite, controllable number of elements and more importantly, to define the phases by which the project would be accomplished.
In essence the design established strict uses for large scale spaces, while flexibility was maintained in establishing the function of individual spaces.
This began with the distribution of the various facilities on the land (i.e. site plan) and their accessibility. Access to all buildings was achieved by ensuring that the building volumes followed a strict modular grid with an equally uniform circulation network. In the resulting system, all services were located on one single level. Functions belonging to the same category were to be related horizontally and heterogeneous functions were related vertically.
In this way the new university facility mirrored the character of the city; the relationship to the context of the urban structures was enhanced by the design's complete, recognizable form.

The reorganization of Rome's east side as an integral part of the urban fabric could lead to a total ban on traffic in the archaeological area and the restoration of its basic unity: the park of the old Appian way would thus end at the edge of the ancient imperial centre (from the Forum of Trajan to the Circus Maximus, and from the Colosseum to the Domus Aurea as far as the Baths of Caracalla), thereby salvaging a part of the city's history.
The project also included another archaeological plan to restore and convert the area of the Aqua Claudia aqueduct into a public park in the city.
The urban plan for Rome's east side does not include any future improvements in terms of new buildings since existing structures are being used as built, taking advantage of already tried and tested or experimental architecture or at least with this in mind. Other examples can be cited to demonstrate the various physical aspects which architecture includes (it is sufficient to compare Karl Marx Hof with La Tourette). It follows that the logical theme linking the choices of the individual buildings is not one of intermixing with a taste for the paradoxical (the Samona library behind Rossi and Polesello's office district), but more simply adopting a technique which uses all the contradictions such an operation involves in an existing context.
Specifying the area to be built on and the use to which it is put means going from zoning requirements and building codes to architectural typologies, which take requirements and codes and apply them to a built environment according to architectural parameters.
It is from this point of view that the typological variation for the different residential units and for the repetition of a building "type" must be considered as a response to functional needs. The law governing variation and repetition is the law of architecture and dictates the organization of spaces, proportions between one building and another, and access and interdependence between the various elements. Exceptions to this law are those facilities which, because of their function and specific location, are not directly part of that particular area of the city, but relate to a different organization of the urban structure. Such facilities are, among others, the district's administrative and political centre and the university hospital complex.
Such a project would thus became a new city centre, served by an infrastructure connected with the city, especially with the historic district. Excluding the unsatifactory solution of simply connecting the two with an axis route along which a series of facilities are arranged, the link between the two centres should extend as far as the San Lorenzo intersection of the old road leading to the A1 motorway. As a result the centre becomes the meeting point for the old and new districts, incorporating the network of roads and pedestrian circulation and the new city public transportation network.

The competition for the design and construction of Rome's second university at Tor Vergata came fifteen years later (1986). I should point out immediately that using my experience as an architect I reused the appropriate elements of the Civic Centre of Pesaro (in the core part of the project, although on a different scale) as well as of the various university departments (although in different ways from those of Cagliari University). In both cases the experience of the previous designs gave me the proportions necessary to determine the basic areas and quantities, having already established architectural solutions once before.
The site is close to the Rome-Naples motorway, a good distance from Rome's circle belt. This is a district of new developments, except for a number of unauthorized settlements which have sprung up over the years.

The area proposed for the competition was not only the central part, that is to say the one set aside for the future university site, but it also included the surrounding area in an attempt to unite the existing unauthorized nuclei with the urban structure through landscaping and the creation of infrastructures. This also included the central pedestrian road which runs at right angles underneath the central part of the university and continues north to connect with the access road into Rome.
The university residence halls, the sports complex and a central lake to be fed from the many small farming canals in the area were the first stage in the reorganization process. The lake was considered an added element that would improve the site and serve to highlight the most representative portion of the central area (the president's quarters, the church, the university club, the main assembly hall and so on). It would also be part of the first phase of the project, namely a university general hospital linked to the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery that would relieve the present Umberto I University General Hospital, which had become overloaded.
Subsequent phases included the liberal arts and science colleges organized according to a linear desing in which laboratories or specialized centres could be added on as required.
The layout was based on large courtyards, similar to those used for the scientific institutes for Pesaro. The different lay in the vertical arrangement of the courtyards but more significantly in the main circulation, where all the common areas were located (laboratories, special teaching rooms, small studios, etc.).
The layout was intended to have sufficient flexibility to be repeated, but also broken up or left unfinished where necessary. The result was a compact but well-structured system that could change completely in the central core with all the service and recreational areas. These face onto the lake and highlight the square leading down to it.





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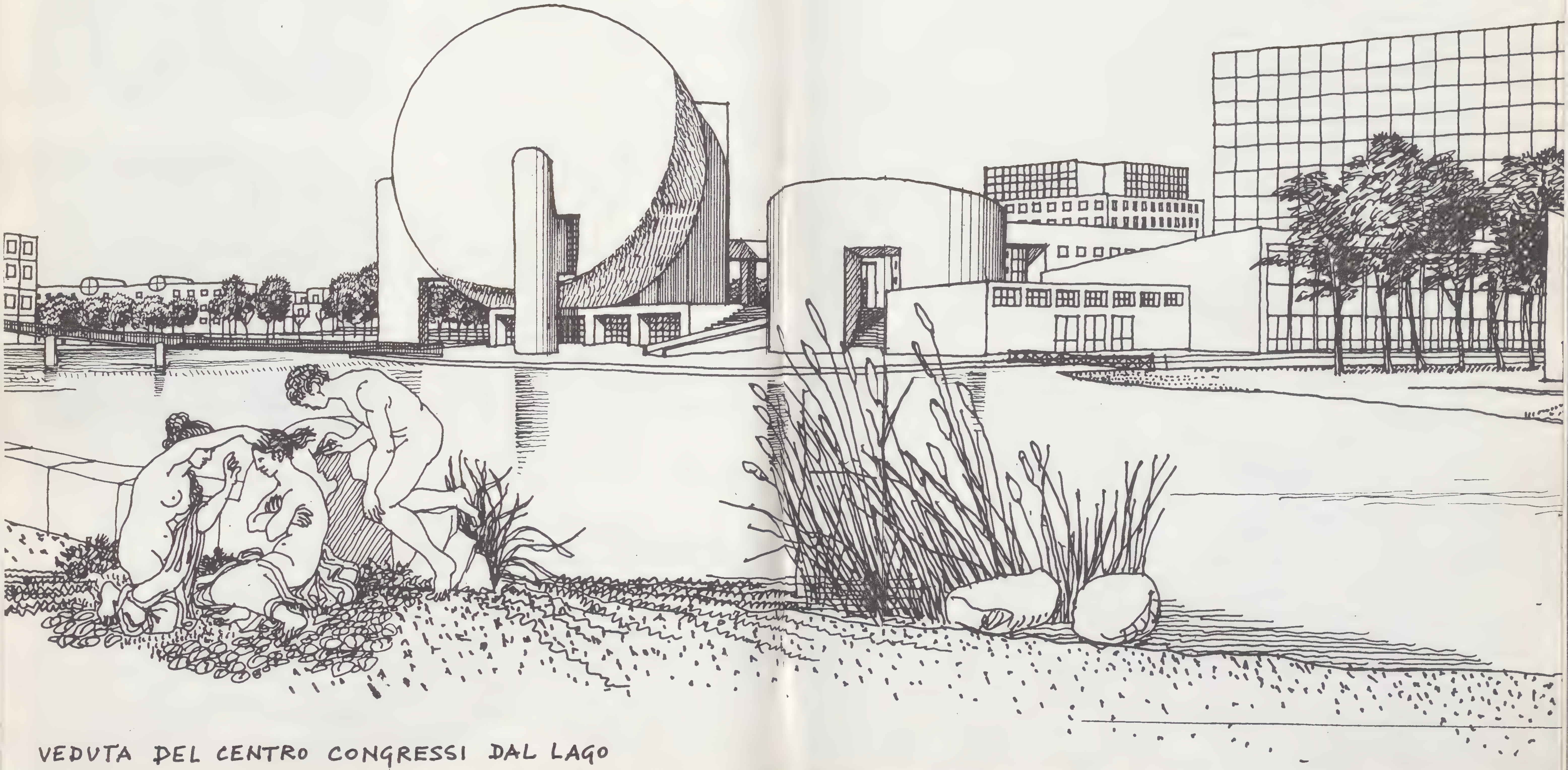
II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma

1986

Carlo Aymonino, Luigi Calcagni, Gigetta Tamaro, Gian Paolo Mar, Luisa Tugnoli

Veduta del Centro congressi.

View of the Congress Centre.

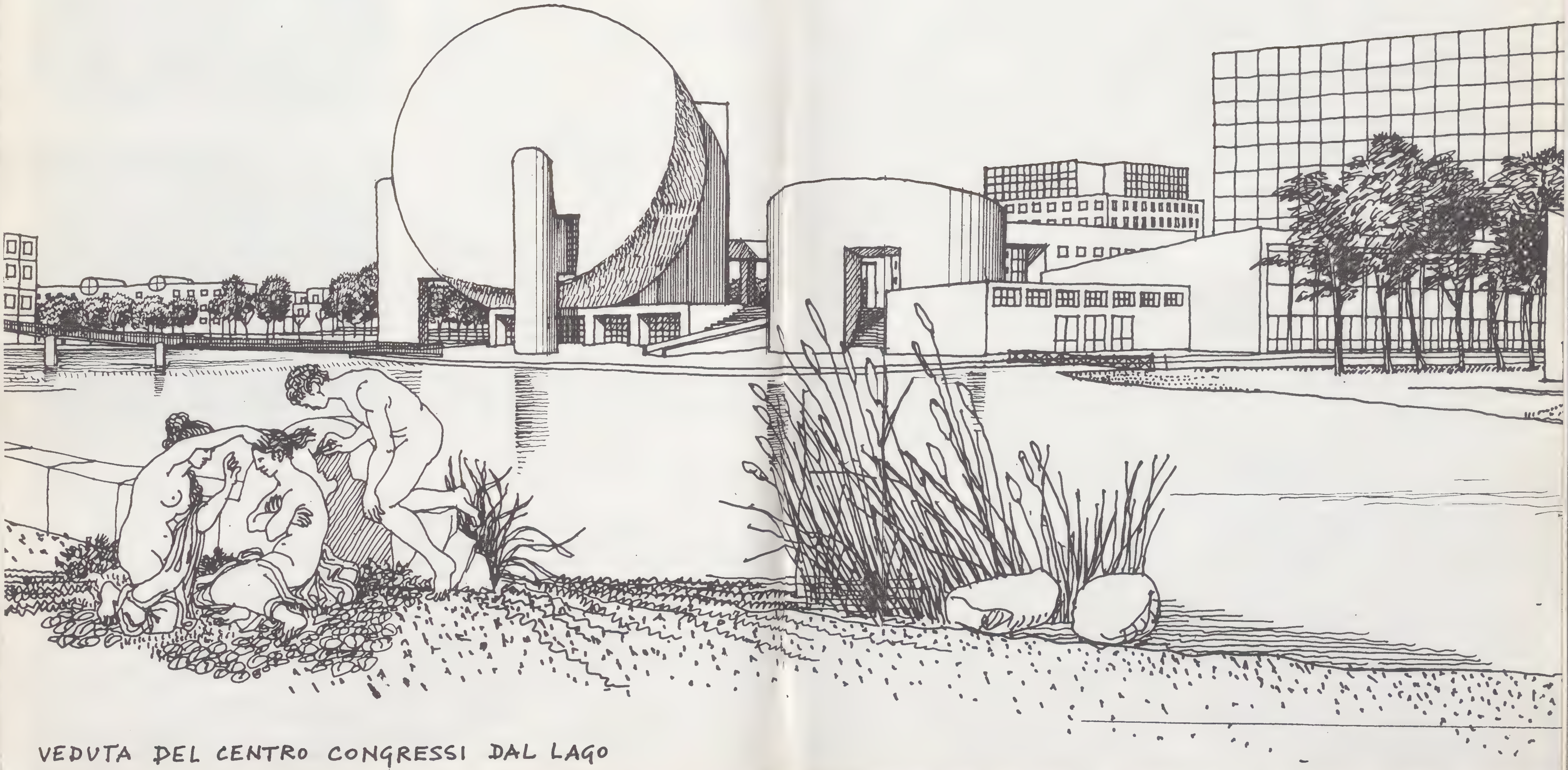


II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma
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Veduta del Centro congressi.

View of the Congress Centre.



Progetto di concorso per la II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma
Carlo Aymonino, Luigi Calcagni, Gian Paolo Mar, Gigetta Tamaro, Luisa Tugnoli

I concetti più generali assunti come riferimento per le strutture universitarie della II Università di Roma consistono nella opposizione alla tradizionale divisione tra il luogo della istruzione e quelli della vita sociale — peraltro suggerito dallo stesso piano programma di assetto generale — e nella affermazione della unità indissolubile fra funzione didattica e attività di ricerca. Continuità fisica, quindi, tra insediamento universitario, centri produttivi e attività collettive; e continuità temporale con gli altri gradi di formazione scolastica per una istruzione non gerarchica.
Nell'assetto complessivo del territorio e particolarmente nella sua area orientale, la decisione della concentrazione delle attività universitarie e la scelta di un luogo unitario, seppur articolato, di insediamento si configurano come un sostanziale ribaltamento — congiuntamente agli altri programmi pubblici, come il Sistema Direzionale Orientale (SDO) e la Fiera — del meccanismo di crescita della città così come si è venuta determinando negli ultimi anni.

Università e struttura urbana
La localizzazione della II Università svolge pertanto un ruolo urbano strategicamente molto importante, da cui deriva la necessità di un impianto di alta qualità funzionale e rappresentativa.
Ridefinizione del sistema delle relazioni funzionali alla scala urbana — in particolare quelle del traffico, sia su gomma che su rotaia — indotte dal nuovo insediamento universitario e dalle conseguenti scelte tipologiche costituiscono quindi le due valenze indotte da un'analisi del rapporto tra Università e struttura urbana.
La decisione di concentrare le attrezzature universitarie in un unico luogo confermando le scelte del Piano Regolatore Generale del 1964, che si affida più propriamente alle caratteristiche di accessibilità nei confronti del resto degli insediamenti che di continuità in senso fisico edilizio, appare l'elemento determinante per il consolidamento e completamento di quella parte di città, ponendo le premesse per un diverso principio organizzativo della struttura urbana. Determinanti a questo scopo sono conseguentemente la tipologia e i rapporti con il luogo.

La tipologia e la forma
La tipologia, nel progetto per la II Università di Roma, si costituisce come il sistema organizzativo dello spazio, coerentemente alle esigenze poste dal servizio; le esigenze di una alta elasticità, consone anche alla definizione della nuova struttura dipartimentale, accanto a quelle di una accessibilità commisurata alla dimensione e alla frequenza delle integrazioni funzionali tra momenti diversi dell'attività di studio e di ricerca, si pongono in prima istanza come contraddittorie rispetto a una più vasta esigenza di

Design Entry in the Competition for Rome's Second University at Tor Vergata, Rome
Carlo Aymonino, Luigi Calcagni, Gian Paolo Mar, Gigetta Tamaro, Luisa Tugnoli

The discussion about the construction of Rome's second university centred largely around avoiding the traditional distinction between seat of learning and places designed for social life and the belief that eaching and research functions are inseparable. Both of these ideas were implicit in the design progress. There was to be physical continuity between the university campus, the urban surroundings and collective activities; and a continuity with other levels of education to ensure that teaching was not organized on a hierarchical basis.
The decision to group the various activities of the university together onto one site, if not exactly under one roof, is a radical departure from the established patterns of growth in the city over recent years, along with other public programmes such as the SDO (the new business district on the east side of the city) and the new exhibition center.

University and Urban Structure
The siting of the 2nd university is therefore a question of great strategic importance from an urban planning perspective requiring excellent organization from a functional and aesthetic point of view.
The redefinition of the system of functional relations on an urban scale which the new university required — especially with respect to road and rail traffic — and the building typology to be used were the two key elements in the study of how the university was to relate the rest of the city.
The decision to concentrate the university facilities on one site, in accordance with the Urban Development Plan of 1964 (which was mostly concerned with accessibility from other sites rather than with the continuity of the actual urban fabric), played a decisive role in the consolidation and growth of that part of the city, paving the way for a new pattern in urban organization.
Because of these factors, building typology and relations with the site were of crucial importance.

Typology and Form
The term typology refers to the sytem of spatial organization in the plan for Rome's second universtiy in accordance with the demands made by the service to be provided. The need for considerable flexibility, consistent with the new departmental structure, and for a level of accessibility appropriate to the size and interface between the various study and research activities seem at first glance to contradict the broader demands of specialization and functional characterization of the spaces.
In essence the design defines precisely the uses to which large space is put while maintaining flexibility in establishing the function of individual space.
This becomes apparent on examining the layout of the



Planimetria generale.

Site plan.



Planimetria di studio.

Site sketch.

specializzazione e caratterizzazione funzionale degli spazi.
Il progetto definisce in modo rigoroso le modalità d'uso dello spazio nelle sue grandi dimensioni mentre permane il carattere aperto ed elastico nella specifica determinazione funzionale dello spazio singolo in quanto tale.
Ciò a partire dal momento dell'impatto con il terreno delle attrezzature (modi di occupazione del suolo) e della loro accessibilità dall'esterno, che appaiono risolti mediante l'aderenza rigorosa dei volumi ad un reticolo modulare e una maglia altrettanto uniforme di percorsi, per concludersi in un impianto in cui — fissato un piano unico di servizi collettivi — le integrazioni tra elementi di una medesima categoria di comportamento avvengano sul piano orizzontale, quelle tra categorie eterogenee su piani verticali.
In questo senso il nuovo centro universitario acquista il carattere di una parte di città il cui inserimento funzionale nel contesto della struttura urbana viene arricchito dalla sua presenza di forma compiuta e riconoscibile.
Il sistema della nuova università ha trovato la sua configurazione tipologico-formale e la sua idonea risposta organizzativa nei grandi anfiteatri artificiali a pianta quadrata, caratterizzati dalla declinazione di un unico organismo concentrico e continuo su due livelli, sfalsati e scanditi da lunghe lame di luce, all'interno del quale si vengono disponendo, alle quote progettualmente stabilite, le singole unità dipartimentali con i relativi servizi.
Tale organizzazione della struttura architettonica tende a rispondere nella maniera più pertinente alle esigenze di disponibilità ampia volumetrica e dimensionale dei diversi gruppi dipartimentali.
Il piano alla quota del terreno accoglie i collegamenti viari, anche carrabili, interni alla struttura universitaria, i parcheggi ad essi connessi, i punti di partenza dei percorsi verticali meccanizzati e non; in generale la rete di distribuzione di servizio per persone e cose.
Si fa notare la parziale indipendenza di tale rete da quella del policlinico alla quale si connette in due punti.
L'articolazione planimetrica prevista consente di rispondere all'esigenza di predisporre ampi spazi aperti che consentano sia di utilizzare direttamente il terreno anche ai fini della ricerca, sia di far scorrere all'interno dei grandi anfiteatri artificiali macchie di verde e spazi di incontro. Il piano a quota 75.00 infine è destinato ad accogliere quelle attrezzature anomale rispetto alla maglia organizzativa generale, quali grandi laboratori sperimentali, officine ed attrezzature pesanti, depositi, ecc., che trovano in un radicamento al terreno la loro motivata dislocazione.
Il piano alla quota 77.20 ha una importanza distributiva fondamentale poichè in esso si svolgono i percorsi primari che connettono le varie parti del complesso organismo, e si dispongono le attrezzature dipartimentali costituite dalle direzioni culturali, dai servizi amministrativi e burocratici, dalle segreterie, dalle sedi di rappresentanza, dalle biblioteche e depositi materiale didattico. In relazione a tale piano di base, che si colloca in posizione baricentrica nello spazio dell'organizzazione dipartimentale, alle quote 77.20,

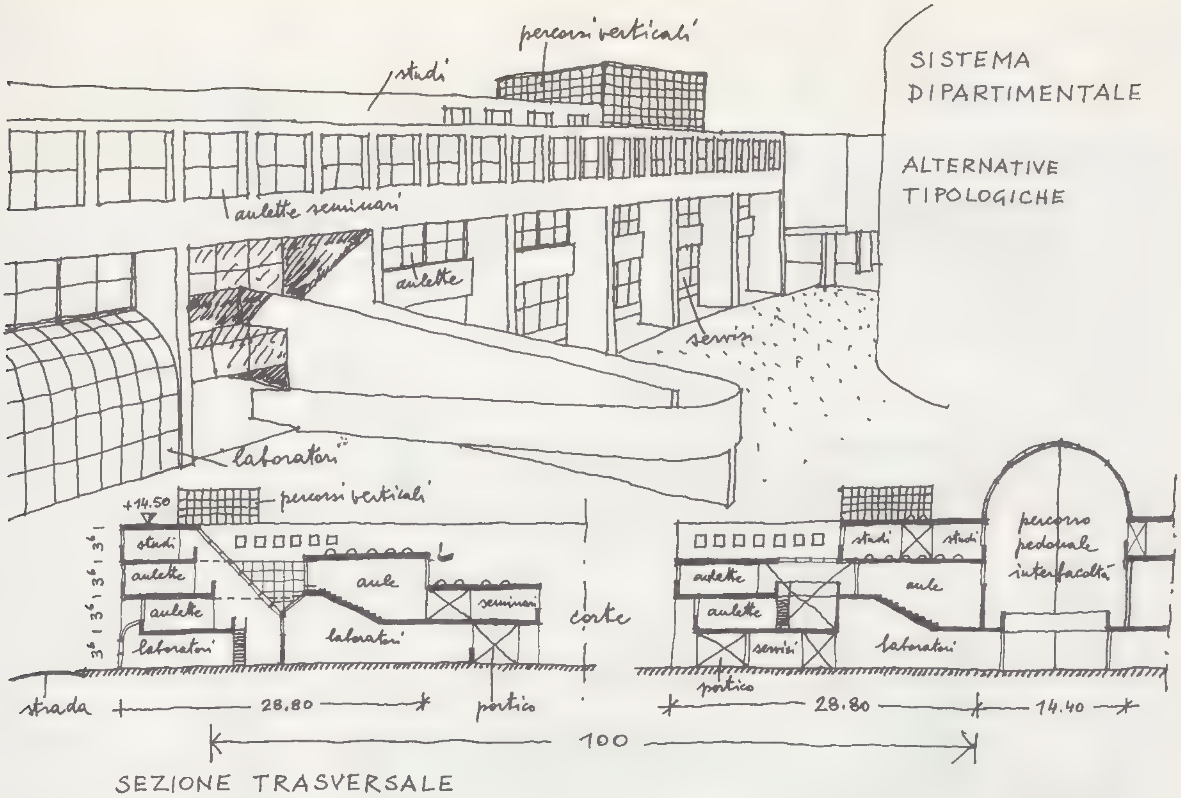
facilities, the land use and the accessibility to the area of the project.
Building masses are sited within a modular grid and an equally uniform circulation network. In the resulting system, (with its single level of public services) activities belonging to the same category are grouped horizontally while heterogeneous categories are grouped vertically.
Thus the new university centre mirrors the character of an area of the city. Its contextual relationship to the urban structures is enhanced by its complete and identifiable typology. The design concept of the new university is based on the design of large, square ampitheatres. Thus one single body is divided in to two staggered levels. Within these levels the individual departmental units and their services are located. Natural light enters the building between the different roof levels.
The architectural organization of the building was conceived in this manner to lend itself to the various departments' needs for flexible spaces.
The roads and circulation routes connecting the different parts of the campus, the carparks and the access points to lifts and stairs are at ground level.
This network connects to the hospital at two locations, but is otherwise independent of it. The overall plan provides for plenty of open areas that can be used directly for research or as green space, visible from the lecture halls, as well as gathering areas for students. Elevation +75.00 includes facilities that are not part of the general organizational network, such as large laboratories, workshops, heavy equipment, storerooms etc.
Elevation +77.20 contains the primary circulation routes connecting the various parts of the complex and the departmental facilities: cultural affairs, administration, secretary's office, reception rooms, libraries and storerooms for teaching material. The students' individual and group study areas, the faculty offices and seminar rooms are located at elevations +77.20, +84.40 and +91.60 and are designed as modular units so that they can be modified to meet any present or future organizational requirements.
High use areas are directly linked to the main floor at elevation +77.20 and include the larger laboratories and the main libraries located along the perimeter of the teaching areas, consisting of large fully-equipped classrooms of different sizes located at nodal points.
Elevation +77.20, which coincides with the main pedestrian route through the university and is directly linked to the central service and leisure areas, link the teaching units with their respective research facilities: it therefore consists largely of laboratories of various sizes and purposes. These are increasingly becoming an integral part of all specialized or didactic activities.
With the exception of special departmental spaces such as the library or the lecture halls for conventions and departmental seminars, the upper levels are dedicated to general and specialized research. These spaces can be organized in a wide variety of ways as required: as private studies for faculty

84.40, 91.60 sono organizzati i posti di lavoro degli studenti, individuali e collettivi, gli studi dei docenti e gli spazi seminariali in una disposizione modulare libera di modificarsi in funzione delle più diverse esigenze organizzative e dimensionali presenti e future.
In zone caratterizzate da alta concentrazione di interessi e da immediato collegamento con il piano di base (77.20) trovano altresì localizzazione:
- ai margini esterni: i laboratori pesanti, le biblioteche centrali;
- ai margini di contatto tra i sistemi: gli spazi fondamentali per la didattica costituita da grandi aule attrezzate, diversamente dimensionate.
Il livello alla quota 77.20, che coincide con il percorso pedonale principale di tutta l'Università ed è in diretta connessione con i servizi centrali e con gli spazi destinati al tempo libero, svolge il compito di integrare le unità didattiche con quelle di ricerca inerenti: è costituito quindi in gran parte da laboratori di diversa ampiezza e destinazione, che sono sempre più parte integrante di ogni attività, sia essa specializzata o didattica. I livelli superiori, a meno di spazi particolari a destinazione d'uso dipartimentale — come la biblioteca o le aule ad anfiteatro per convegni o seminari interni — sono riservati in modo specifico alla ricerca di base e specializzata, con i più vari modi di organizzazione che possono essere richiesti: dagli studi individuali per professori e interni, alle aule particolari per gruppi di ricercatori, alle salette per seminari, ai laboratori sperimentali.

La proposta architettonica
La proposta architettonica dichiara esplicitamente la complessa e interrelata natura dei suoi elementi costitutivi attraverso la predisposizione di una struttura figurativamente complessa, entro la quale i singoli manufatti concorrono alla determinazione di un fascio di relazioni spaziali, congruenti alla scala dell'intervento.
Il ricorso a procedimenti compositivi fondati sull'organizzazione di elementi architettonici semplici e su maglie edilizie ripetute, accentua i gradi di riconoscibilità dell'impianto generale come conseguenza del suo carattere di grande intervento direttore realizzabile per stralci e tempi successivi: l'individuazione, infatti, di una configurazione d'insieme non implica necessariamente la definizione di un unico manufatto architettonico o di un unico sistema di manufatti, quanto l'assunzione di un preciso significato formale e di qualificanti valori architettonici.
Accanto a ciò la predisposizione di una struttura architettonica fondata su un sistema organizzativo aperto a tutte le possibili modificazioni quantitative e qualitative garantisce la risposta del complesso a ogni variazione d'impegno dimensionale e funzionale. La possibilità d'accrescimento dei singoli manufatti è imperniata non già sulla sommatoria di nuove successive parti ma sulla condensazione nello spazio delle strutture architettoniche, attraverso la giustapposizione di nuove maglie, di nuovi

members and research fellows, special rooms for research groups, seminar rooms or laboratories.

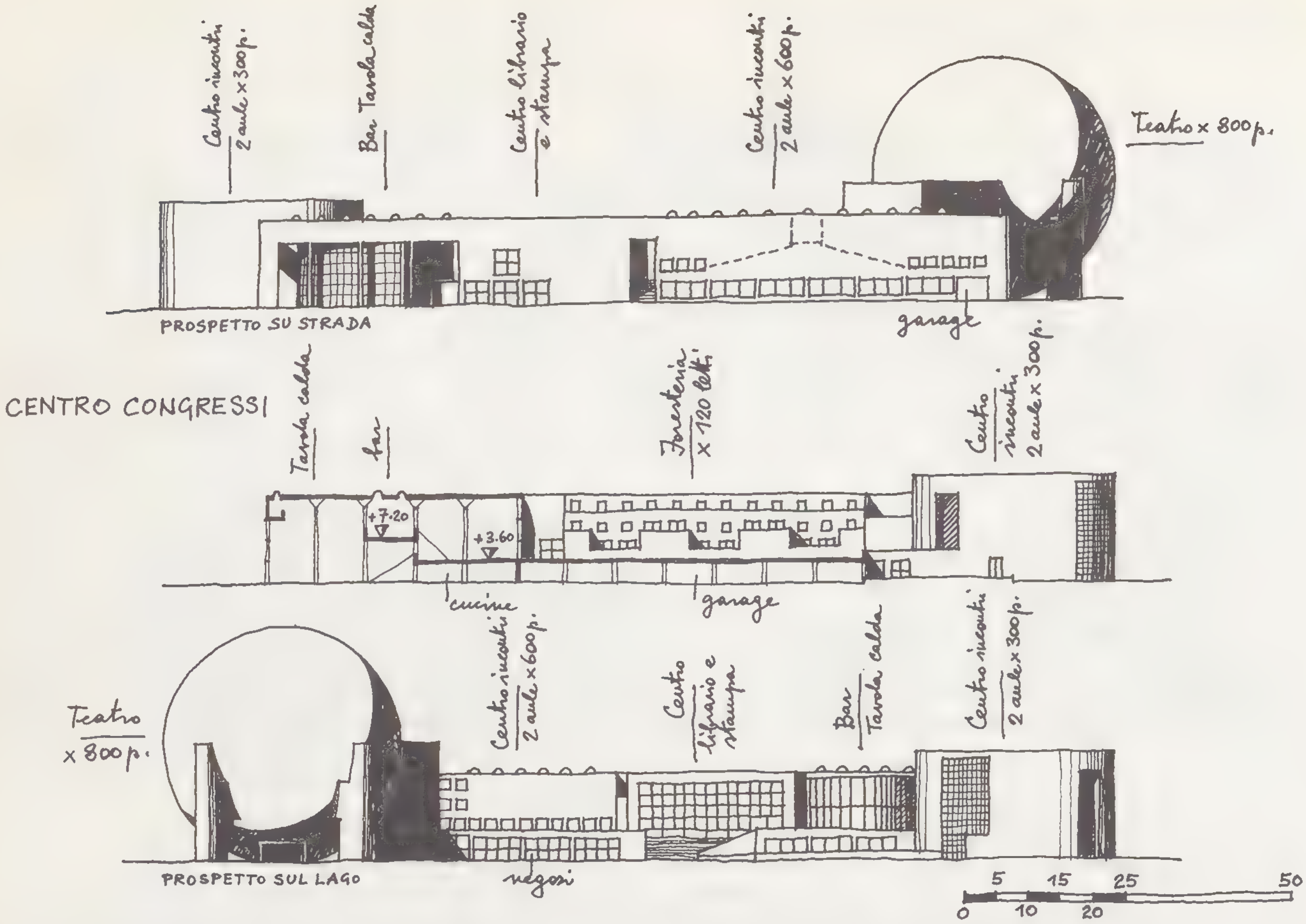
The Architecture
The architecture is the explicit expression of the complex and interrelated nature of the elements of this facility.
The expression of a highly sculptured structure is the framework within which the individual buildings are set, forming a series of spatial relations, consistent with the scale of the project.
The use compositional techniques based on the organization of simple architectural elements and repeated building modules enables the observer to recognize that the overall plan is but a consequence of the nature of the project: large-scale, long-term and divided into successive stages. Indeed the identification of an overall layout does not necessarily imply the definition of one single architectural building or system of buildings, but rather the establishment of a precise formal expression with high architectural values. Furthermore, maintaining the architectural structure open to all possible quantitative and qualitative modifications ensures that the complex provides for any variation to be made to its size and use. The possibility of adding to the individual buildings does not revolve around the cumulative effect of the new subsequent parts, but on condensing architectural structures in space through the juxtaposition of new modules,new floors, new thoroughfares and new volumes without interfering to any large extent with the character and formal meaning of the structures themselves.
The functional and architectural basis of the project was of course determined by the relationship with the site, improving it as a result.
The many existing planning contraints were taken into account, especially those relating to the archaeological and environment aspects of the site, which, due to the flexibility of the layout proposed, became added qualities for the site rather than obstacles.
Because of such constraints the ancient network of streets, rainwater canals and green spaces which had to be maintained were used to vary and enrich the relationship between the man-made structure and natural state of the site. In time the university organization, will also be able to use the existing ancient farmhouses as leisure facilities. The quarries were turned into a lake by using the confluence of two rainwater canals therby enhancing the surrounding scenery.
This quality of naturalness and artificiality (especially when the two are closely related, as in this case) is justly recognized as one of the factors that determine the improvement of production and research.
Finally, by concentrating so much into a "system" that is open to future development, the project has managed to limit the use of available land and locate the sports area close to the residential and green areas creating an extension of the existing natural archaeological park.

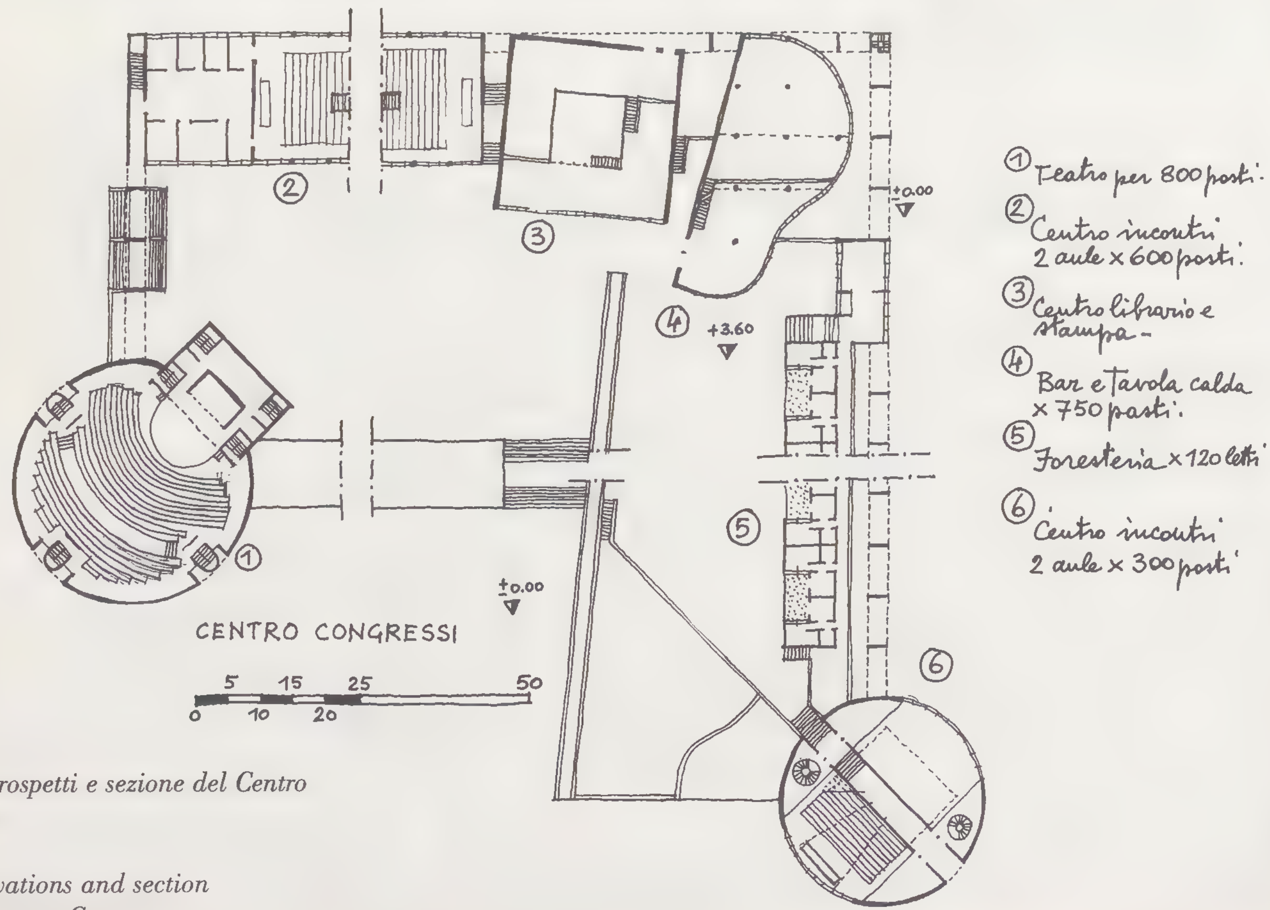




Alternative tipologiche del sistema dipartimentale.

Typological alternatives for the departmental system.





Pianta, prospetti e sezione del Centro congressi.

Plan, elevations and section of the Congress Centre.

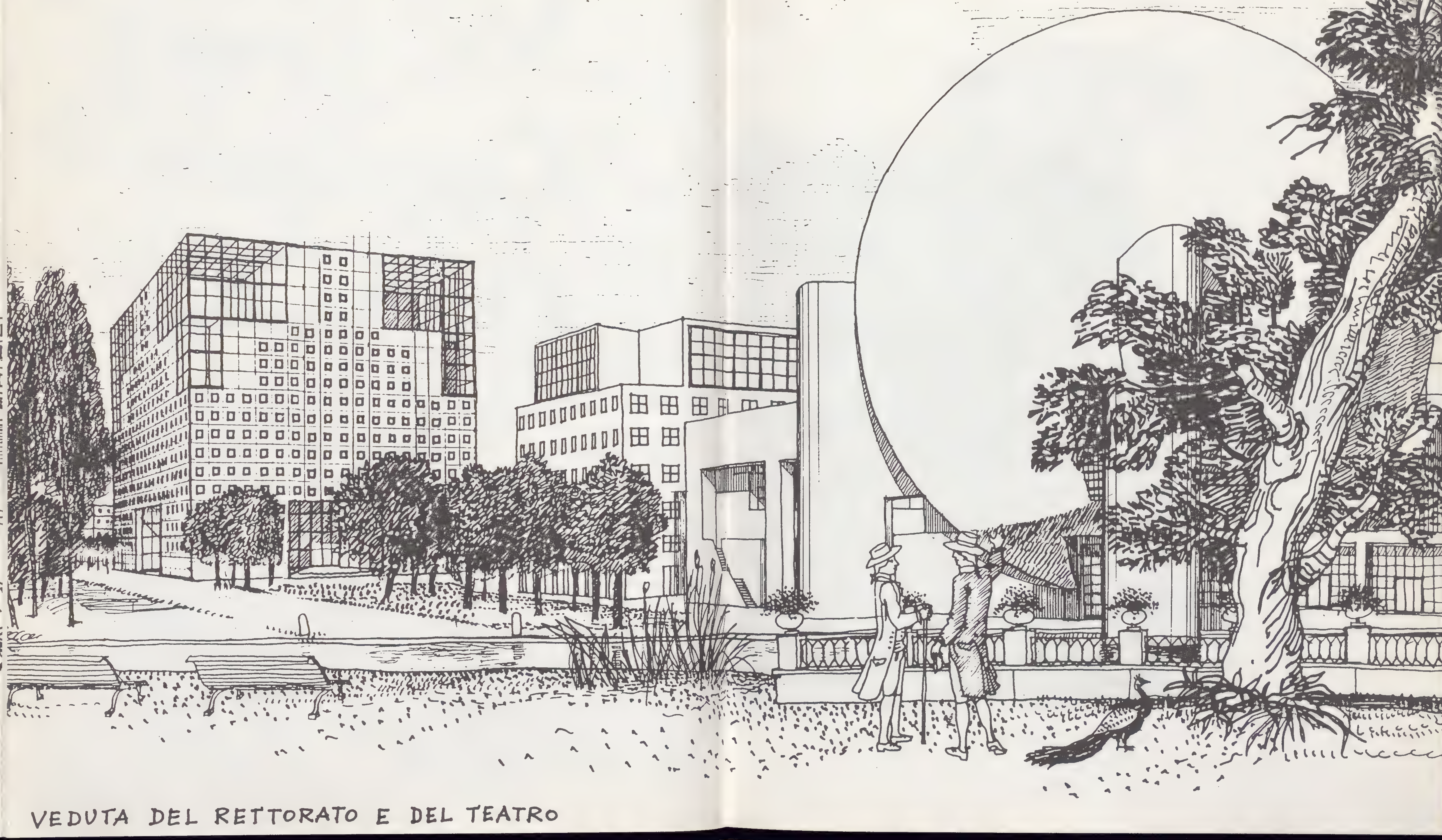
piani, di nuovi percorsi e di nuovi volumi, senza che si venga consistentemente alterando la riconoscibilità figurativa ed il significato formale di queste.
L'impostazione funzionale e architettonica del progetto è stata naturalmente determinata dai rapporti con il luogo, determinandone a sua volta alcune valorizzazioni.
In particolare sono stati tenuti presenti i numerosi vincoli esistenti, soprattutto quelli derivanti dal "sistema archeologico-ambientale" che, grazie all'alto grado di sostanziale flessibilità della configurazione proposta, da "ostacoli" sono divenuti "qualità aggiunta" dell'intero insediamento.
Così i tracciati antichi e i fossi, con le relative fasce verdi di rispetto, sono stati utilizzati per variare e arricchire il rapporto tra struttura artificiale e condizioni naturali; gli stessi casali antichi, in uno studio di maggior dettaglio, potranno essere utilizzati dalla organizzazione universitaria come attrezzature per il tempo libero; le cave infine sono state trasformate in un lago, approfittando della confluenza dei due fossi, accentuando e caratterizzando maggiormente la qualità paesistica.
La "qualità" naturale e artificiale — soprattutto quando, come nel caso presente, sono strettamente integrate tra loro — è oggi giustamente riconosciuta come uno dei fattori determinanti il miglioramento della produzione e della ricerca.
Il progetto infine, con il compattamento e l'articolazione delle notevoli quantità richieste in un "sistema" che può svilupparsi ulteriormente nel tempo, ha consentito di limitare l'occupazione del suolo disponibile e di spostare la zona sportiva (in modo da collegarla con quelle a servizio della residenza e con le zone verdi urbane a formare un sistema continuo) in modo da ampliare l'area del parco naturale archeologico.

Il sistema costruttivo
In sintonia con le finalità progettuali descritte il sistema costruttivo è unico per l'intero complesso ed è caratterizzato da una estrema semplicità realizzativa che non richiede, salvo per la parte riservata agli impianti tecnologici, particolari e sofisticate tecnologie operative (esecutive).
Si tratta in sostanza di una griglia di pilastrature impostata sul modulo base di m. 7.20 × 7.20 che a seconda dei casi individua strutture orizzontali di luce 7.20, 14.40, o 21.60 (grandi spazi, laboratori speciali, ecc.) che possono consentire l'impiego di procedimenti propri della prefabbricazione o della produzione a piè d'opera e l'assemblaggio o di quelli più tradizionali direttamente in opera mediante l'uso, comunque, di elementi in calcestruzzo precompresso. Il calcestruzzo armato diventa quindi il materiale costitutivo di tutta la struttura.
Analogamente tutte le superfici esterne sono costituite da pannellature in calcestruzzo prefabbricate con finiture che a seconda dei casi possono variare dalla semplice superficie in cemento colorato a stesure più raffinate in graniglia di marmo.

The Building System
Coherent with the objectives of the project, one building system has been used for the entire complex. By its own nature, this system is simple to erect and does not require any particularly sophisticated erection techniques, except for the state-of-the-art mechanical system and its operation.
The structural system consists of a 7.20 × 7.20 m. grid which allows for a column to column spacing of 7.20, 14.40 or 21.60 m. as is required for large spaces, special laboratories, etc. Construction can be accomplished by prefabrication or on-site production and assembly, or more traditional in situ *procedures such as pre-compressed concrete elements.*
Reinforced concrete was used throughout, and all the exterior surfaces were clad in prefabricated panels and finished either in coloured cement, or ground marble chips.

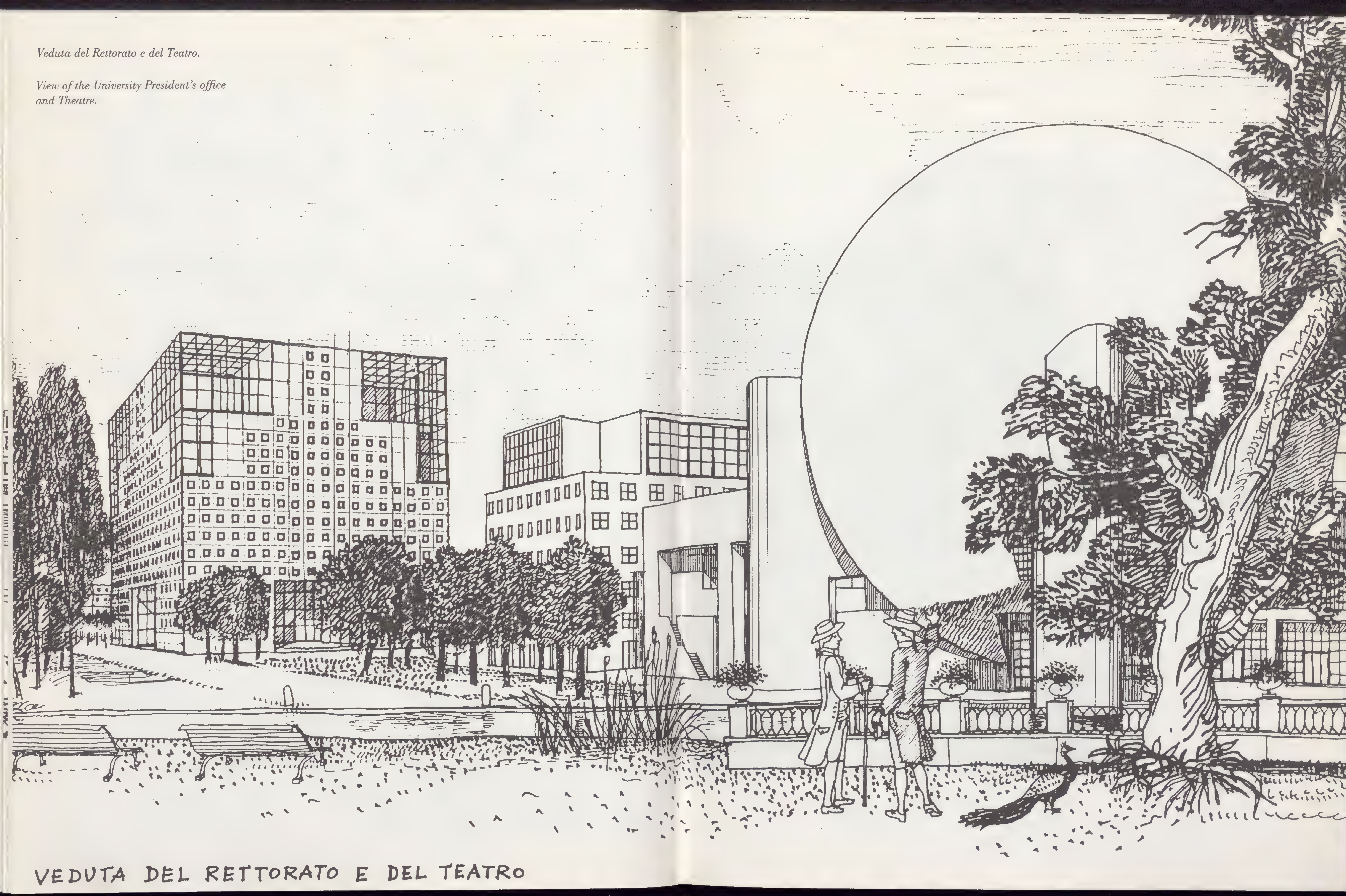
Veduta del Rettorato e del Teatro.

View of the University President's office and Theatre.



Veduta del Rettorato e del Teatro.

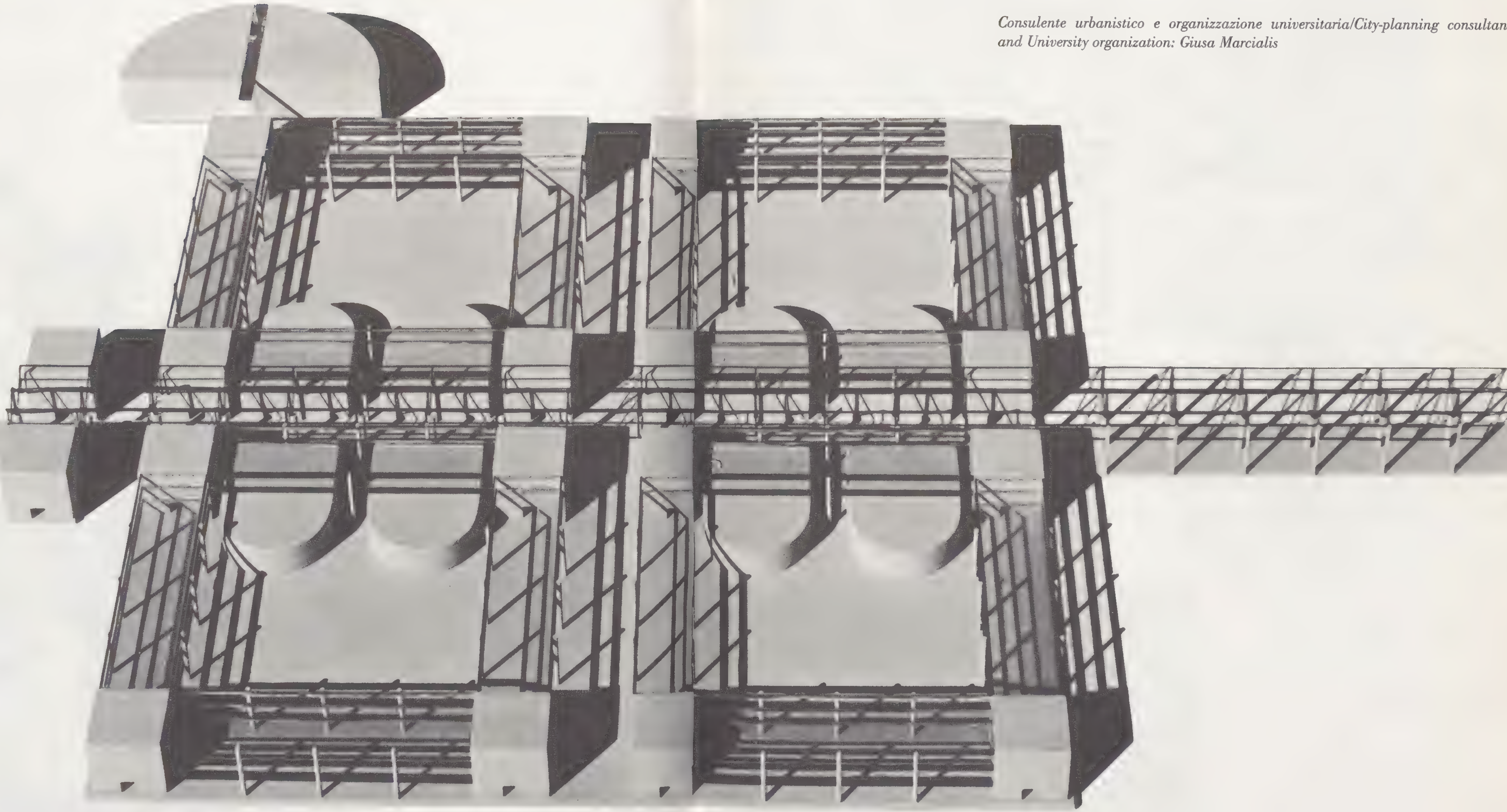
View of the University President's office and Theatre.



Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze dell'Università di Udine
1982

Gianugo Polesello

Consulente urbanistico e organizzazione universitaria/City-planning consultancy and University organization: Giusa Marcialis



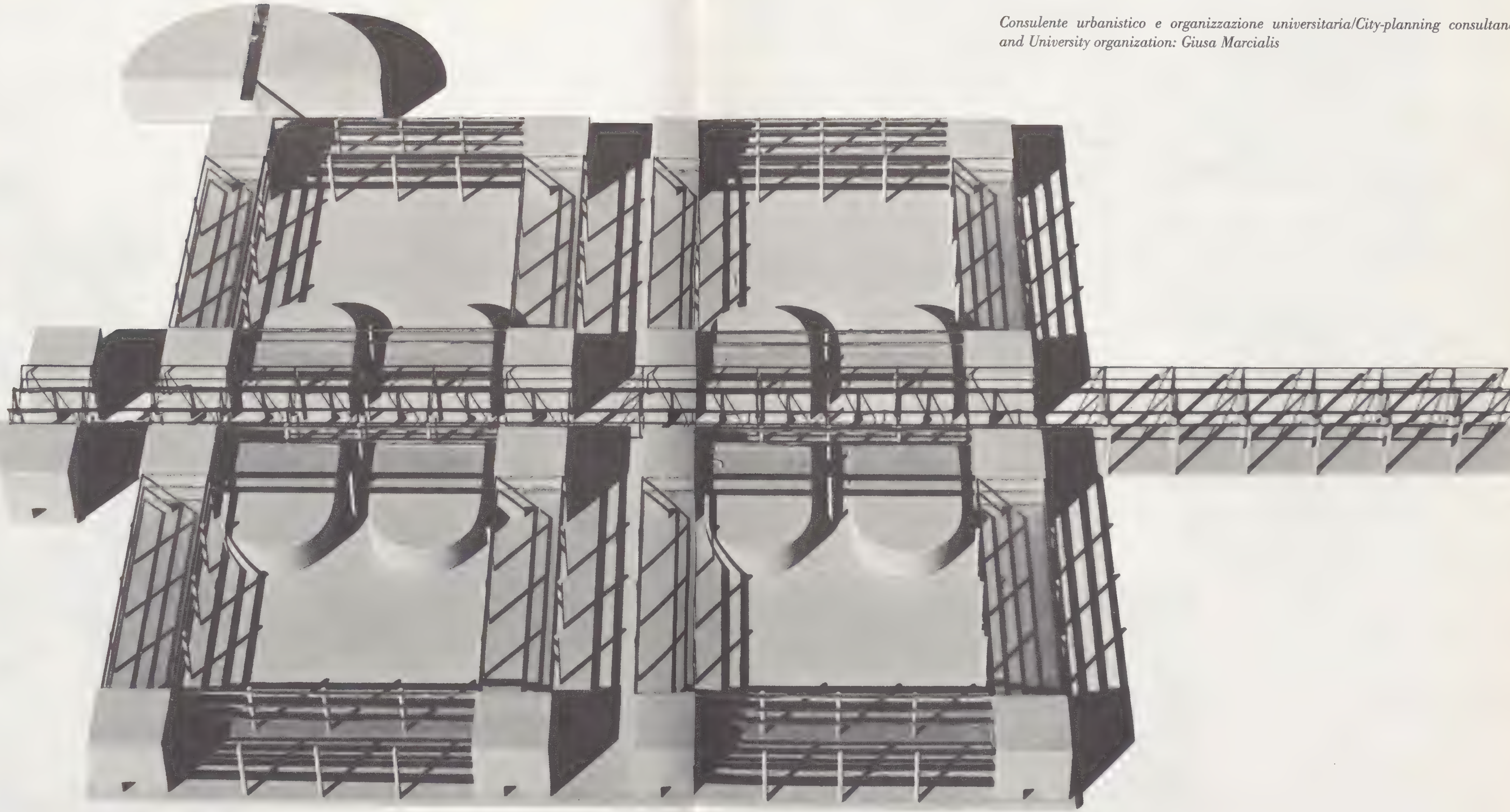
Vista del modello.

View of the model.

Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze dell'Università di Udine
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Vista del modello.

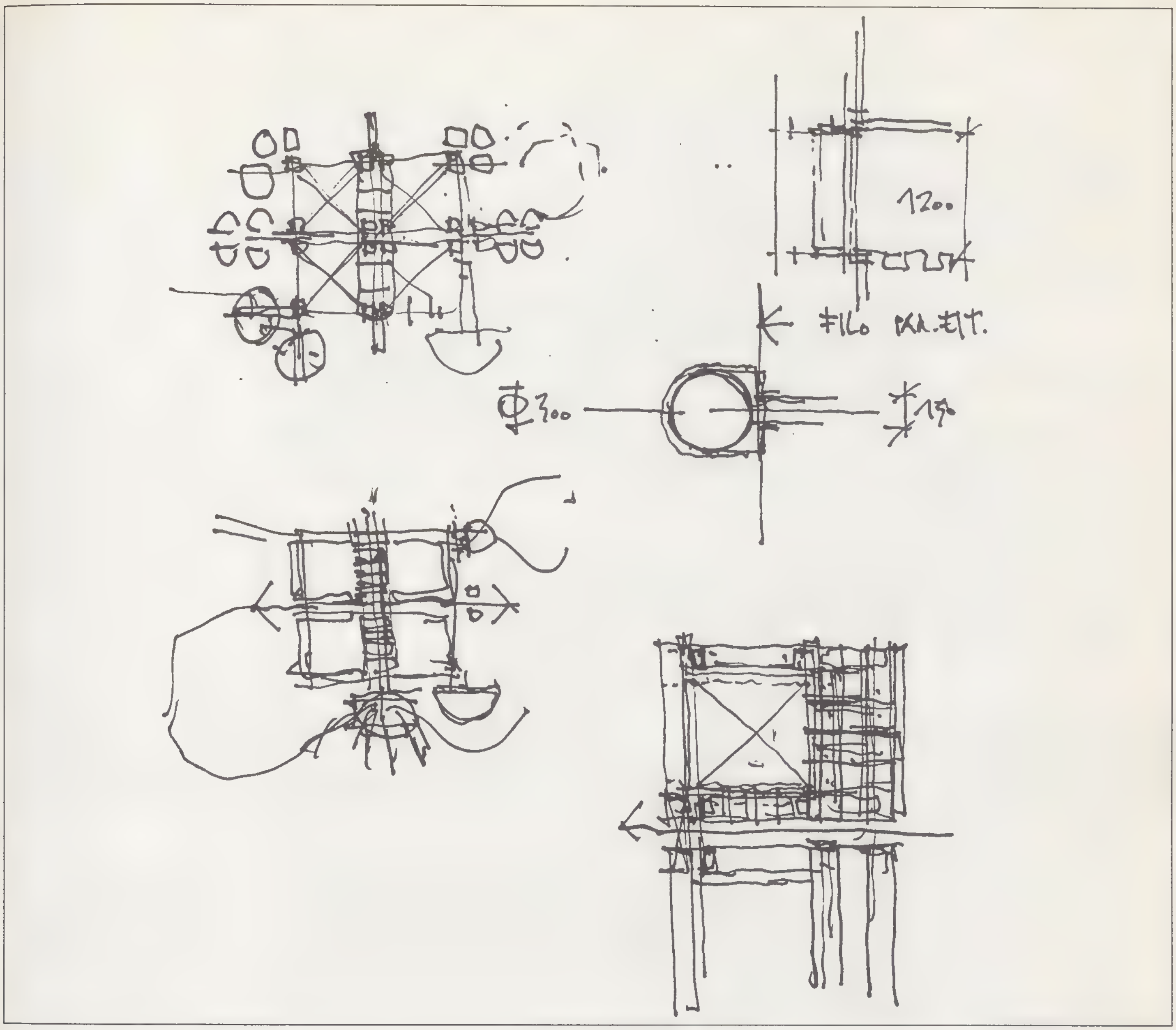
View of the model.

Progetto di concorso per la nuova sede delle Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze dell'Università di Udine
Gianugo Polesello, Giusa Marcialis

La domanda di spazi formulata nel bando di concorso è stata interpretata come una domanda essenzialmente quantitativa — seppur divisa per settori (amministrazione, didattica, ricerca, servizi) —, determinata soprattutto dalle previsioni della frequenza studentesca e del corrispondente contingente di personale docente e non docente.
A questa domanda si deve quindi rispondere garantendo la massima flessibilità organizzativa della struttura fisica del complesso universitario direttamente investito dal processo di sperimentazione (ricerca e parte della didattica), e insieme rendendo possibile tutte le aggregazioni funzionali-spaziali che un processo di sperimentazione dovrà e potrà mettere in atto anche per periodi delimitati (centri di servizio interdipartimentale).
L'obbiettivo del progetto è stato quindi quello di costituire una struttura funzionale della massima flessibilità, contenuta in un organismo architettonico precisamente definito e caratterizzato, con luoghi e spazi di identità immediatamente riconoscibile.
La struttura organizzativa universitaria si configura come un insieme organico costituito da elementi funzionali certi:
a) i corsi di laurea, cui è delegata la organizzazione generale della didattica e che quindi stabiliscono un rapporto continuo e stretto col corpo discente;
b) i dipartimenti, che organizzano la ricerca in tutte le sue accezioni (compresa quella connessa alla formazione delle tesi di laurea e ai dottorati di ricerca) all'interno di una o più facoltà, uno o più atenei. I rapporti principali interni ai dipartimenti riguardano quindi il corpo docente (interno ed esterno), le strutture fisiche della ricerca (laboratori, biblioteche, ecc.), e, infine, una quota limitata di corpo discente, laureandi e partecipanti ai dottorati di ricerca;
c) le facoltà, la cui figura, in questa fase, finisce per

Design Entry for the Competition for a New Faculty of Agriculture, Engineering and Science at the University of Udine
Gianugo Polesello, Giusa Marcialis

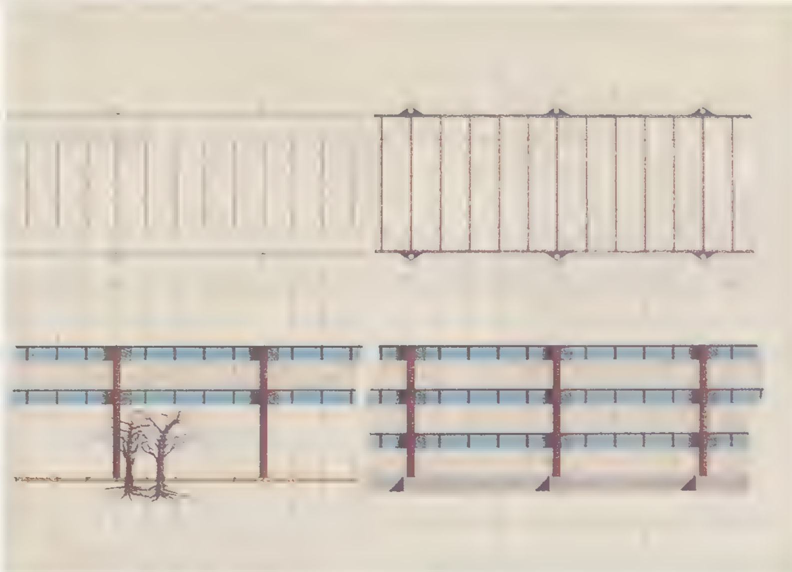
The requirements in the competition program were interpreted as a request for a response to a quantitative problem within a frame work of four different areas (administration, teaching, research and facilities). These requirements were governed, primarily, by the number of students and the corresponding number of teaching and non-teaching staff.
The design had to consider that the physical structure of a university campus directly concerned with the process of experimentation (research and some teaching) needed to be as flexible as possible, but at the same time allow for all the functional and spatial interaction that a process of experimentation can and must create, even if only for limited periods of time. An example of this may be found in interdepartmental service centers.
The objective of the project was therefore to create a functional structure that could be modified as required and which was to be contained within a distinctive architectural facility with easily-recognizable places and spaces.
The university's organizational structure is organic by nature but can be seen as consisting of certain functional elements:
a) the academic courses, thorough which the teaching is administered and are therefore the connection with the students;
b) the departments, which organize all the various forms of research work (including thesis and Phd research) developed in one or several faculties, or in one or several universities. Internal relationship are therefore mainly between the teaching staff (in-house and external), research facilities (laboratories, libraries etc.) and a limited number of students (undergraduates and Phd students);
c) the faculties, which have the characteristics of a politically- and scientifically-oriented structure and provide

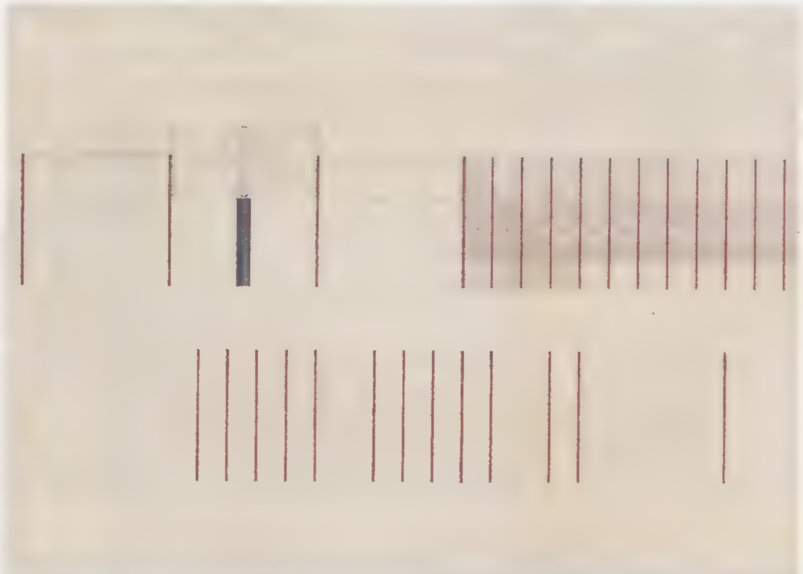




Schizzi di studio e schema di assetto urbanistico.

Study sketches and site plan within the context of the city.





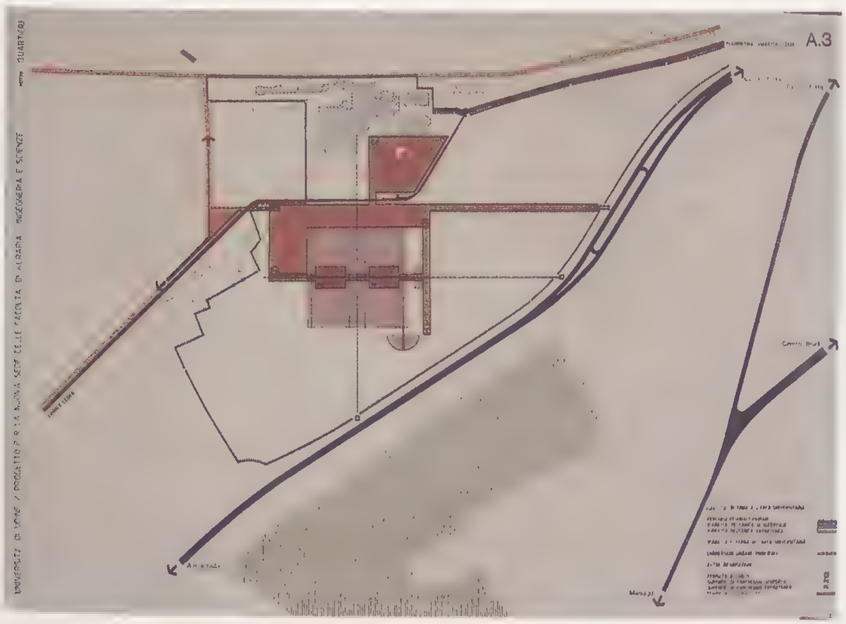
Disegni dei bracci dei "quartieri" e della strada-galleria.
Planimetria generale.

Drawings of the wings of the "complex" and of the street-gallery.
Site plan.

assumere caratteri di struttura di indirizzo politico-scientifico e di coordinamento generale; in sostanza legate a tutti i settori operativi dell'Università ma attraverso connessioni articolate e non necessariamente definite nello spazio.
E' da rilevare tuttavia che a questi tre settori organizzativi fondamentali non fa riscontro nei fatti una corrispondente suddivisione del personale docente e, in parte, anche di quello non docente. Fatto questo che comporta alcune logiche conseguenze nella costruzione del modello insediativo, prima fra tutte la opportunità di collocare nell'area le quantità richieste in maniera la più compatta possibile. Il rapporto tra superficie coperta e altezza dei manufatti determina quindi un tipo distributivo relativamente concentrato, nel quale i percorsi orizzontali sono contenuti al massimo e le relazioni fisiche possibili costituiscono un sistema con molteplici combinazioni interne.
L'intrecciarsi e il sovrapporsi delle relazioni rende la struttura universitaria molto simile a una città (o a un'abbazia?), certo una città semplificata, una città elementare come un *castrum* romano. Un *castrum* situato all'interno di un'area urbana funzionante e di un territorio fortemente urbanizzato.
Il rapporto fisico Università-città è risolto in termini di accessibilità aggiungendo all'ipotesi viabilistica del Piano Regolatore Generale una rotatoria, che rende il complesso universitario raggiungibile dalla grande viabilità in maniera diretta, e un collegamento con la Via Cotonificio attraverso il quale si realizza una connessione con la fascia settentrionale dell'espansione urbana.

Assetto urbanistico, accessibilità e parcheggi

Il manufatto principale dell'Università, costituito dai quattro "quartieri" attestati sulla strada-galleria, è situato al centro dell'area, in posizione parallela al canale industriale Ledra. Esso assume quindi le coordinate ortogonali del complesso dell'ex Cotonificio Udinese, nord-nordovest/sud-sudest.



general coordination; basically they are connected to all the operational sectors of the University in a variety of ways, even though not necessarily in a physical sense.
It should be pointed out that these three basic organizational segments do not in practice correspond to a similar subdivision of the teaching (and in part non-teaching) staff. This has certain logical consequences within a functional diagram. The translation in spaces questions the appropriateness of allocating all the required spaces in a single area as efficiently as possible. The resulting relationship between the floor areas and the height of the buildings results in a relatively high concentration of functions in which horizontal distances are kept to a minimum and proximity of functions creates a system with a multiplicity of internal combinations.
The connections and web of relations that characterize a university structure make it very similar to a city — or possibly an abbey. Better yet, similar to a simplified, rudimentary city such as a Roman castrum*: a* castrum *within a fully-functioning city and a highly urbanized environment. The physical connection between University and city is through the city street network. An interchange (not included in the Urban Development Plan) and a connection to via Cotonificio link the university site to the city's north side.*

City-Planning, Accessibility and Parking Spaces

The main university complex consists of four buildings facing onto the arcade and is located in the centre of the site, parallel to the Ledra, an industrial canal. The complex runs north-northwest/south-southeast, along the same axis as the formed cotton factory Cotonificio Udinese. The kitchen and refectory the main assembly hall and the sports facilities are directly connected to the main complex although they are independent of it.
Both vehicular and pedestrian acccess to the university campus have been provided.
The main connection to the campus as described above is via

La mensa, l'aula magna e le attrezzature sportive si configurano come elementi relativamente autonomi, sebbene direttamente connessi al complesso principale. L'accesso al complesso universitario avviene per via meccanica e pedonale. La principale connessione è con la grande viabilità proposta dal Piano Regolatore. Gli accessi pedonali sono due.
Il primo, e il più importante, è costituito in asse con la strada-galleria (parallelo quindi al viale di accesso meccanico) e si attesta sulla viabilità urbana in corrispondenza di una fermata del trasporto pubblico da istituire. Il secondo si stacca perpendicolarmente alla strada-galleria, serve le attrezzature sportive e si attesta sulla viabilità urbana in corrispondenza di un'altra possibile fermata del trasporto pubblico (e di un eventuale ingresso secondario dell'Università).
I parcheggi sono scoperti e coperti, tutti serviti dalla strada di accesso meccanico. I parcheggi scoperti, situati nella fascia retrostante il manufatto principale, verso l'ex Cotonificio, hanno una capacità di 350 auto. I parcheggi coperti, situati al piano seminterrato (quota -2.00) del complesso principale, in corrispondenza dei bracci aderenti alla galleria centrale, che funge da canale di distribuzione, hanno una capacità di 180 auto. Ad essi si accede per mezzo di rampe che sottopassano il percorso pedonale principale.

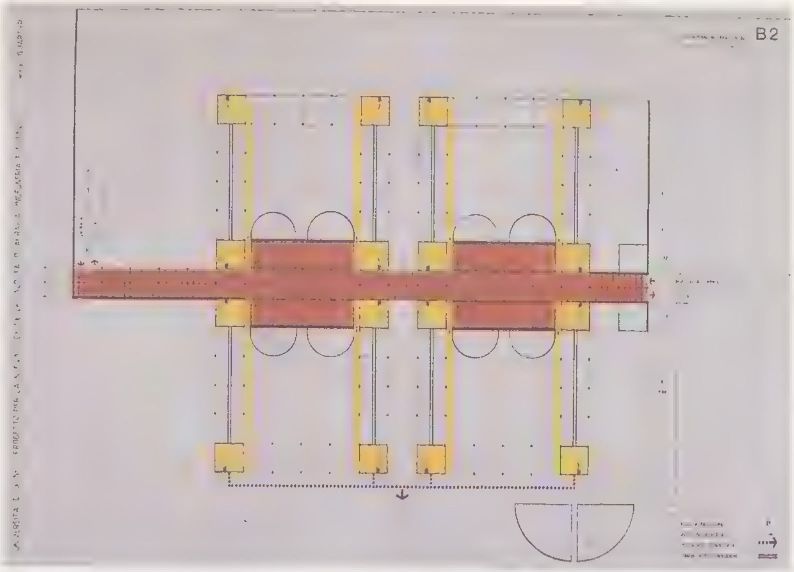
Le classi funzionali del progetto

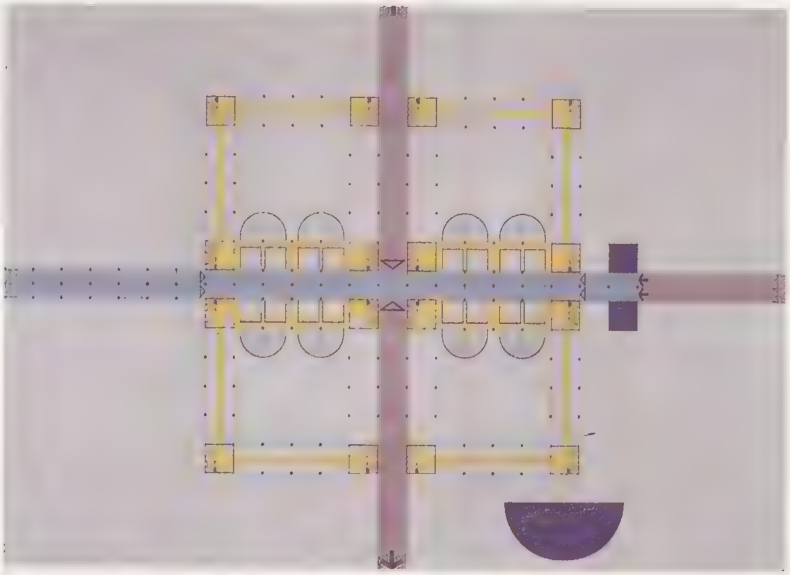
I settori funzionali del progetto sono: a) uffici (amministrativi e direzionali); b) ricerca; c) didattica; d) servizi.
Gli elementi costitutivi dei settori funzionali sono a loro volta classificabili e disaggregabili in unità-tipo, comunque ripetibili, tenuto conto della loro costituzione modulare; per ogni settore si possono individuare le seguenti unità-tipo: a) uffici (studi e amministrazione); b) studi, laboratori, biblioteche; c) aule, laboratori didattici, biblioteche.
E' evidente la intercambiabilità di alcune unità-tipo, tutta

the city street network, as part of the Urban Development Plan.
There are two points of access for pedestrians.
The main Pedestrian access runs parallel to the arcade (and therefore also to the main road access) and connects with the city streets at a bus stop.
The second pedestrian access is oriented at a right angle to the arcade. It serves the sports facilities and there are plans to provide a further bus stop where this path meets the street network. This would thus become a second entrance to the university.
Sheltered and outside car parks, all served by the access roads are part of the overall design.
The outside car parks, located behind the main building facing the former cotton factory, can hold 350 cars.
The sheltered parking spaces are in the basement of the main building (at elevation -2 metres). Located directly below the wings of the central arcade, the car park holds 180 cars.
Access is thru ramps under the main pedestrian accesses.

The Functional Breakdown

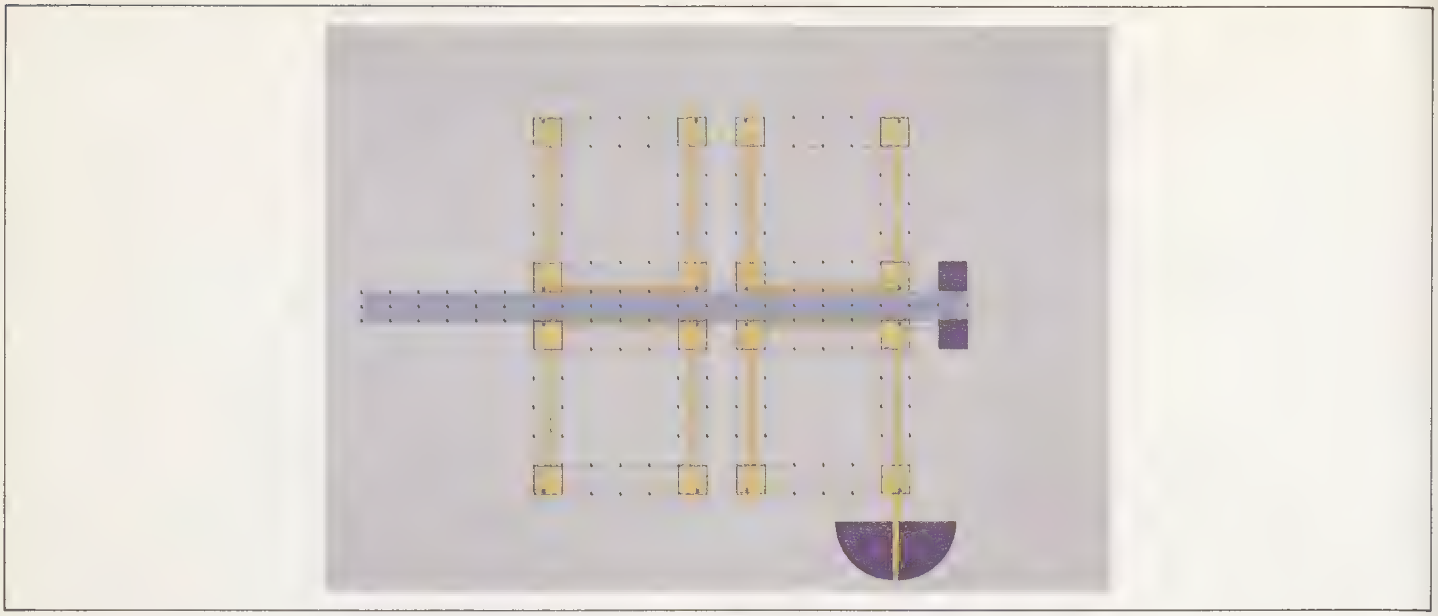
The design can be broken down into the following four main areas: a) administrative and management offices; b) research; c) teaching; d) facilities.
The elements which make up these areas can in turn be classified according to unit types, which, given their modular nature, can be repeated: each sector includes the following unit types: a) offices (studio and administrative); b) studios, laboratories and libraries; c) seminar rooms, teaching laboratories and libraries.
Certain unit types are interchangeable, according to the final functional or temporary organizational requirements.
The determination of the location of the various unit types in the design was based upon accessibility. The lecture theatres, for example, should logically be the most accessible areas and were therefore located on the ground floor along the primary circulation routes. Similarly, the research units

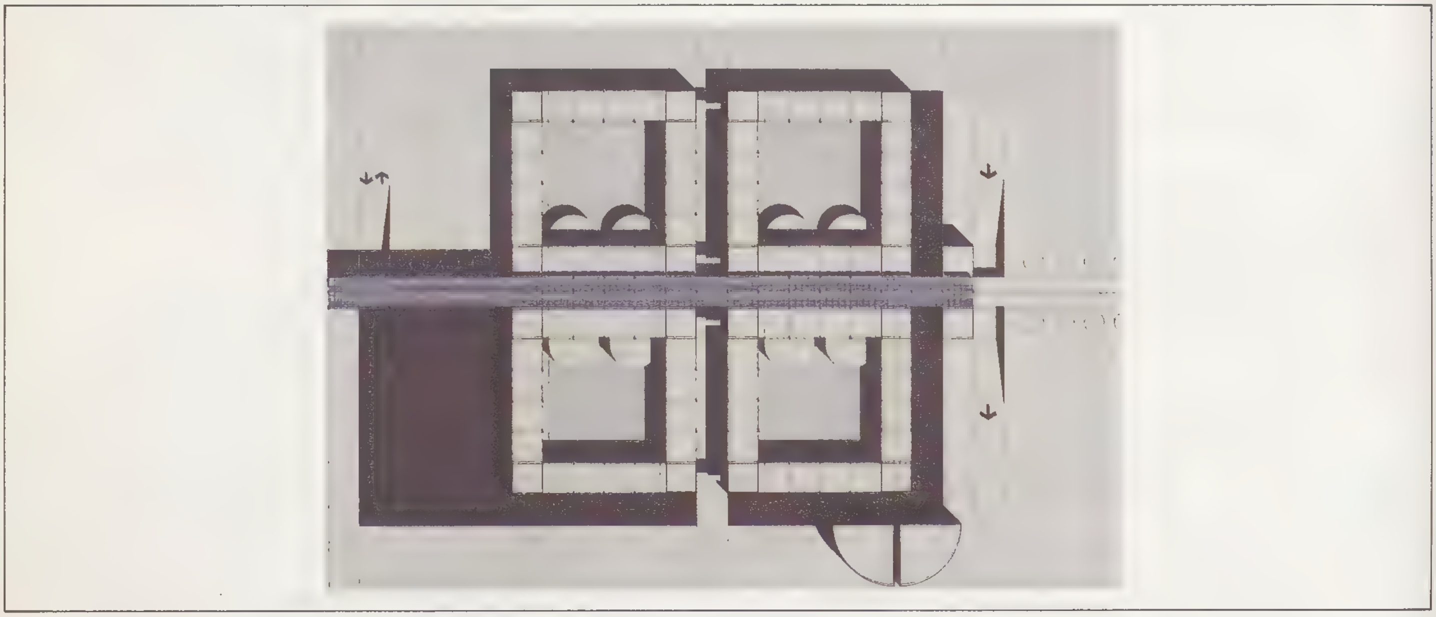




Piante dei piani interrato e terreno.

Plans of the basement and ground floors.





Piante dei piani primo e coperture.

Plans of the first floors and roof.

legata alla organizzazione funzionale definitiva o a organizzazioni temporanee finalizzate.
I rapporti di accessibilità guidano le scelte localizzative delle diverse unità-tipo. E' logico, per esempio, che le grandi aule godano del massimo di accessibilità e siano localizzate in modo da godere della massima autonomia e tranquillità.
I servizi saranno localizzati nei nodi di più facile e frequente passaggio.
Tuttavia anche all'interno dei settori funzionali e delle unità-tipo si determinano esigenze specifiche cui debbono corrispondere risposte particolari.
Segnatamente nel settore della ricerca si possono ipotizzare diversi modi della sua conduzione che danno luogo a soluzioni funzionali corrispondenti:
1) il ricercatore singolo che dispone di spazi di studio propri e utilizza gli spazi-laboratorio comuni;
2) il gruppo di ricerca che dispone di spazi-comuni commisurati all'entità del gruppo e di spazi-laboratorio propri o comuni;
3) lo spazio laboratorio è dotato di reti di servizio e attrezzature differenziate a seconda del settore scientifico cui fa capo e del tipo di ricerca che in esso si svolge.
Si tratta quindi di attrezzare al massimo le quantità di spazio che sicuramente saranno destinate a laboratorio o di rendere facilmente attrezzabili tutti gli spazi che, per la loro localizzazione, potranno agevolmente convertirsi in laboratori. E' evidente che la seconda soluzione garantisce la massima elasticità nella destinazione degli spazi.

Gli elementi metrici del progetto
I quartieri. I "quartieri" sono costruiti su un modulo di m. 3 × 3.
Lo spessore del corpo di fabbrica, costituito da 5 moduli, pari a m. 15 di ampiezza, consente la massima flessibilità nell'uso degli spazi.
Ogni braccio del "quartiere", di m. 60 di lunghezza, costituisce un elemento autonomo coincidente con uno

should be as independent and undisturbed as possible. Mens and womens facilities were located in easily accessible points along the most frequently used routes.
There are, however, also specific requirements within the functional sectors and unit types, to which unique solutions have to be found.
In the research sector in particular, a variety of different procedural set-ups can be imagined, each requiring a specific functional organization. These are but a few examples:
1) the individual researcher with his own study space, who uses common laboratory areas;
2) the research team with study spaces appropriate to the size of the team and individual or shared laboratory areas;
3) laboratory areas with service networks and equipment organized according to the scientific field involved and the type of research being carried out.
The spaces which will definitely be used as laboratories therefore need to be as fully equipped as possible, and any spaces which could be converted into laboratories at a later date should be planned and designed to be modified according to existing needs. This approach allowed for maximum flexibility.

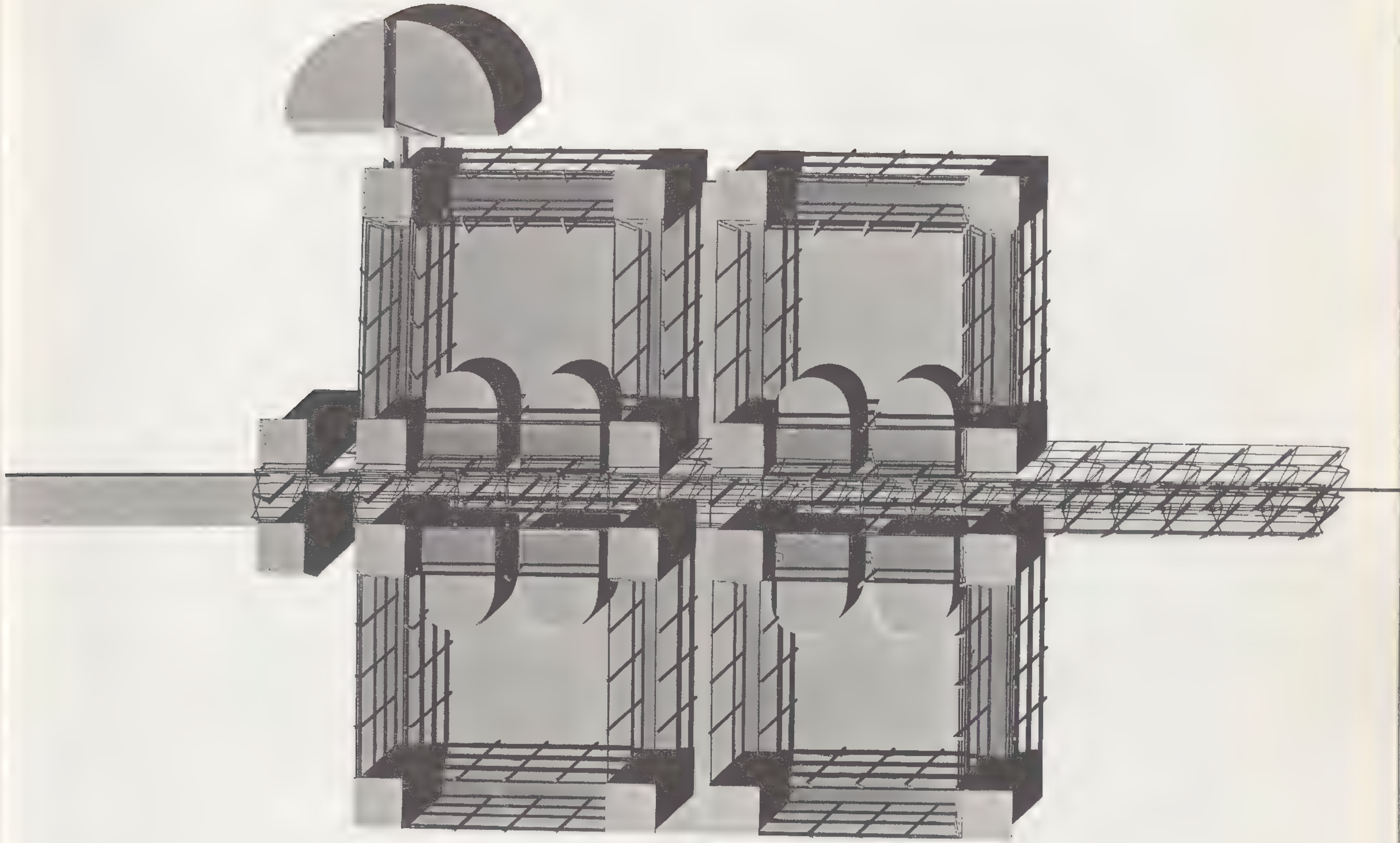
Size and Scale
***The Buildings.** The buildings are designed on a 3 × 3 module.*
Each building is 5 modules wide (15 m) which allows for maximum flexibility in the use of the space.
Each wing of the building is 60 m long and becomes a distinct architectural element, containing a specific funtion.
Every floor area is 900 square metres.
Each building is three floors high with a floor to floor height of 4.50 metres and a floor to ceiling height of 3.00 metres.
The gross floor area of the wings of each building is 9,000 square metres.
The usable floor area of the buildings (for teaching, research and administration) is 36,000 square metres.

stralcio funzionale. La superficie di piano è di mq. 900.
Ogni "quartiere" comprende 3 piani di altezza lorda (da pavimento a pavimento) di m. 4.50 e netta di m. 3.00.
La superficie lorda complessiva dei bracci di un "quartiere" è quindi di mq. 9000.
La superficie disponibile nei "quartieri" (per didattica, ricerca, amministrazione) è di mq. 36.000.
Il piano seminterrato dei quattro bracci connessi dalla strada-galleria è destinato a parcheggio. La sua superficie è di mq. 3600, capace di 180 autovetture.
I nodi tra i bracci del "quartiere" sono occupati dai collegamenti verticali (scale, ascensori, impianti) e da quelli orizzontali tra i diversi bracci. La superficie dei nodi, costituiti da 25 moduli, è di mq. 225 per piano.
La strada-galleria. La strada-galleria, che connette i "quartieri" e altri elementi del complesso universitario, è larga m. 15. Essa è il canale distributore principale del complesso universitario. Al piano seminterrato costituisce la strada di accesso al parcheggio.
Le grandi aule. Le grandi aule si attestano a spina di pesce al piano terra della galleria. Gli elementi della spina di pesce sono otto, radunati in gruppi di quattro.
Ogni elemento è costituito da un rettangolo di c.a. absidato (m. 15 × 24), con abside semicircolare di raggio pari a m. 12, e comprende due aule quadrate di m. 12 × 12 superficie lorda per aula mq. 144) e un'aula ad anfiteatro (superficie lorda mq. 298). A questa organizzazione-tipo possono sostituirsi altre combinazioni, per esempio aule con laboratori e eventuali altri spazi per didattica o ricerca.
L'aula magna. L'aula magna è situata in un semicerchio di m. 60 di diametro, con superficie lorda di mq. 1413, che comprende tutti quei servizi che la rendono utilizzabile anche per manifestazioni esterne a quelle universitarie.
E' localizzata a sudovest in prossimità della prima coppia di "quartieri".

The basements of the four wings connected to the arcade are to be used as car parks. Altogether their 3,600 square metres hold 180 cars.
Vertical circulation (stairs and lifts) and utility shafts are located at the connection of the wings to the main building. From here the horizontal circulations and mechanical runs, branch out to feed the wings.
These connection points occupy 25 modules, covering an area of 225 square metres per floor.
The Arcade. *The arcade, the street which connects the building and other elements of the universtity campus, is 15 metres wide. It forms the backbone of the whole complex. At basement level it serves as the access road to the car park.*
The Lecture Theatres. *The lecture theatres are arranged in a herring-bone pattern on the ground floor of the arcade. There are eight herring-bone elements in all, organized into two groups of four.*
Each element consists of a rectangle (15 × 24 m) and a semi-circular apse with a radius of 12 metres. It contains two 12 × 12 metre classrooms (144 square metre gross floor area) and an amphitheatre classroom (298 square metres gross floor area).
Other combinations are possible, such as classrooms with laboratories or other teaching or research spaces.
The Main Assembly Hall. *The main semi-circular assembly hall is 60 metres in diameter and has a gross surface area of 1,413 square metres, including all the facilities which make it suitable for extra-collegiate activities.*
It is located in the south-west section of the site, near the first pair of buildings.

Building Technologies

The main complex comprising the four buildings and the arcade is based on two building systems, one for the wings and one for the main core.
A steel frame structural system was used for the construction of the wings. The system consisted of 12 mm thick structural



Vista zenitale del modello.

Overhead view of the model.

La tecnologia del progetto

Il complesso principale costituito dai quattro "quartieri" e dalla strada-galleria è costruito su due sistemi tecnologici che corrispondono alle parti-componenti di ogni "quartiere", cioè i bracci e i nodi.

La struttura dei bracci è formata da campate di m. 15 × 15 sorrette da colonne tubolari in acciaio (diametro mm. 750 e spessore di parete mm. 12). Le travi di bordo longitudinali sono saldate a doppio T ad anima piena (H cm. 150, B cm. 37.5).

Esse vengono irrigidite da diaframmi verticali, saldati ad interasse di m. 3.

Le travi trasversali sono reticolari (H cm. 125), disposte a interasse di m. 3, in corrispondenza degli irrigidimenti verticali della trave longitudinale. Ad esse è sovrapposto un solaio di lamiera grecata e soletta collaborante in c.a.

I nodi sono costituiti da "torri" cubiche (m. 15 × 15 di base e m. 15 di altezza). I muri perimetrali sono in c.a., così pure i solai che funzionano da diaframmi orizzontali.

La copertura è traslucida e poggia su travi reticolari metalliche.

Su ogni lato si apre, al piano terreno, un fornice di m. 3 × 3. Per il resto le pareti esterne sono cieche.

La strada-galleria è costituita da una doppia campata (navata) di m. 15 (m. 7.50 ogni campata) con una fila di colonne metalliche centrali, situate a un passo di m. 15 in corrispondenza di quelle dei fronti dei "quartieri".

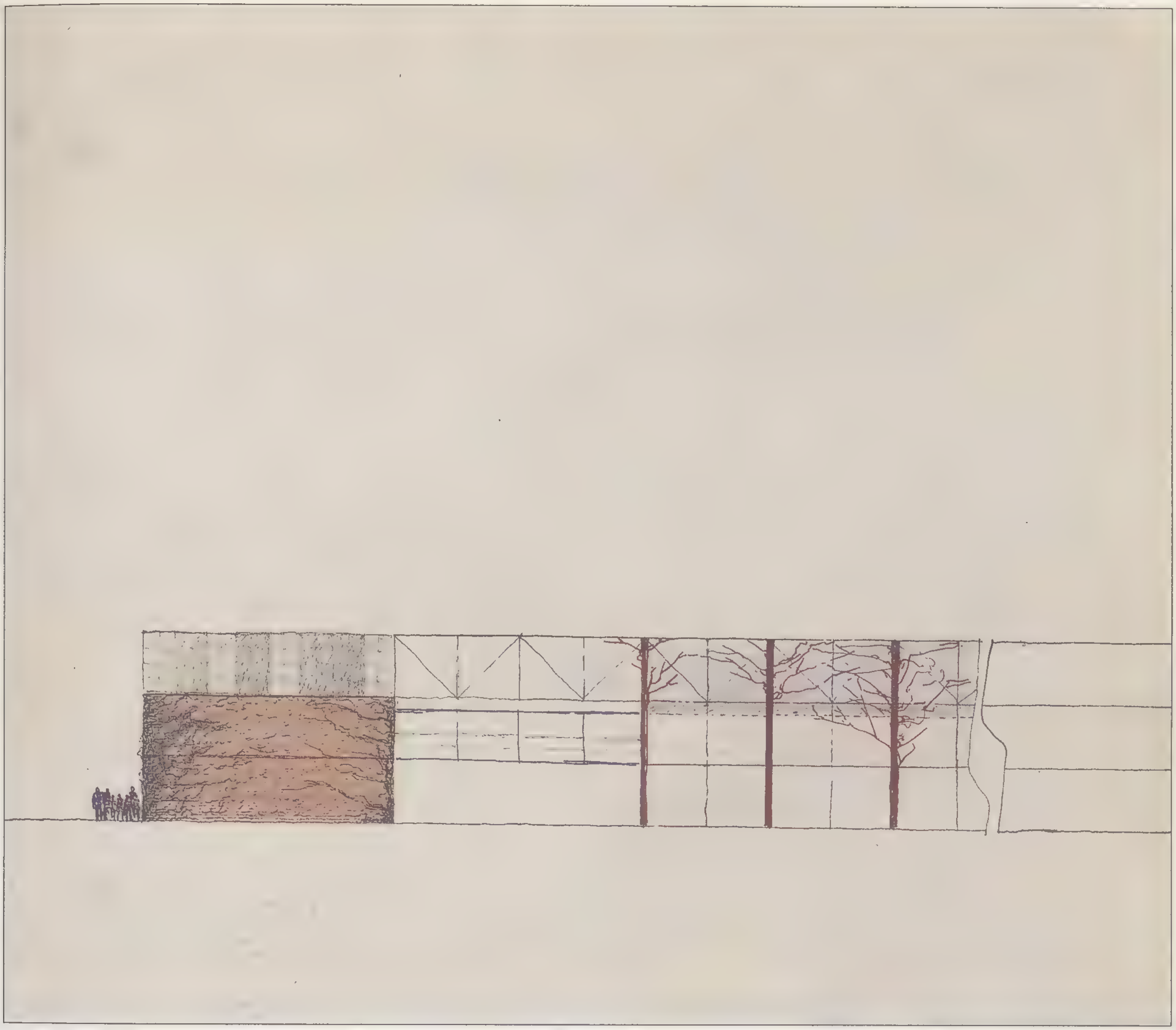
La copertura traslucida è sorretta da una struttura a trave reticolare con sezione a pantografo, in tubi di acciaio, imbullonata alle colonne cilindriche. All'interno delle colonne centrali sono contenuti i discendenti dei pluviali.

La strada-galleria si protrae con due campate oltre ai "quartieri" e termina in due torri cubiche di c.a.

steel columns 750 mm in diameter, spaced on a 15 × 15 m grid connected by solid web T-beams (150 cm high and 37.5 cm flange width) reinforced with stiffeners welded 3 m on center. Open web trusses (125 cm high) spaced 3 m on center at the stiffener locations support a corrugated metal floor deck with concrete fill.

The main core is a 15 × 15 × 15 m cube of concrete walls and floor slabs (which also act as diaphragms). The translucent roof material used is supported by open web trusses. A 3 × 3 m barrel-vault opening on each side of the core at ground level is the only exterior penetration.

The arcade is 15 m wide covered by a double vaulted barrel roof (7.5 m. per barrel). A row of steel columms spaced 15 m on center runs down the center of the arcade. The translucent roof material is supported by an open-web steel truss system bolted to the columns. Downspouts are nested inside the columns. The arcade extends beyound the buildings and terminates in a concrete tower at each end.



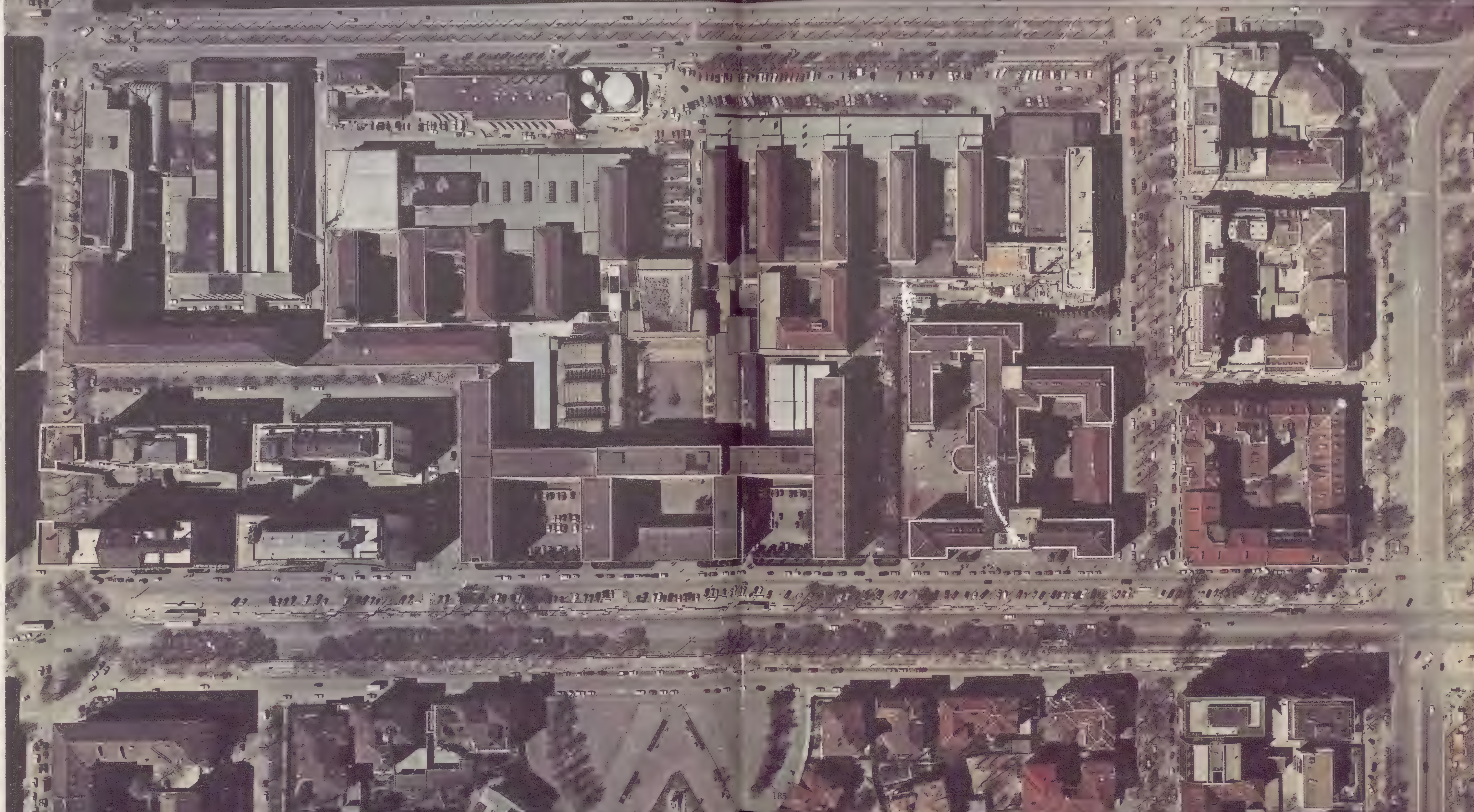
Schizzo di studio.

Study sketch.

Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico di Torino

1984-1992

Coordinatori/coordinators: Roberto Gabetti, Mario Fiameni
Gruppo di progettazione/project team: Pio Luigi Brusasco, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Guido Martinero, Giuseppa Novello, Elena Tamagno, Giovanni Torretta



Vista aerea zenitale della sede centrale del Politecnico in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi.

Overhead aerial view of the Head Office of the Polytechnic in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi.

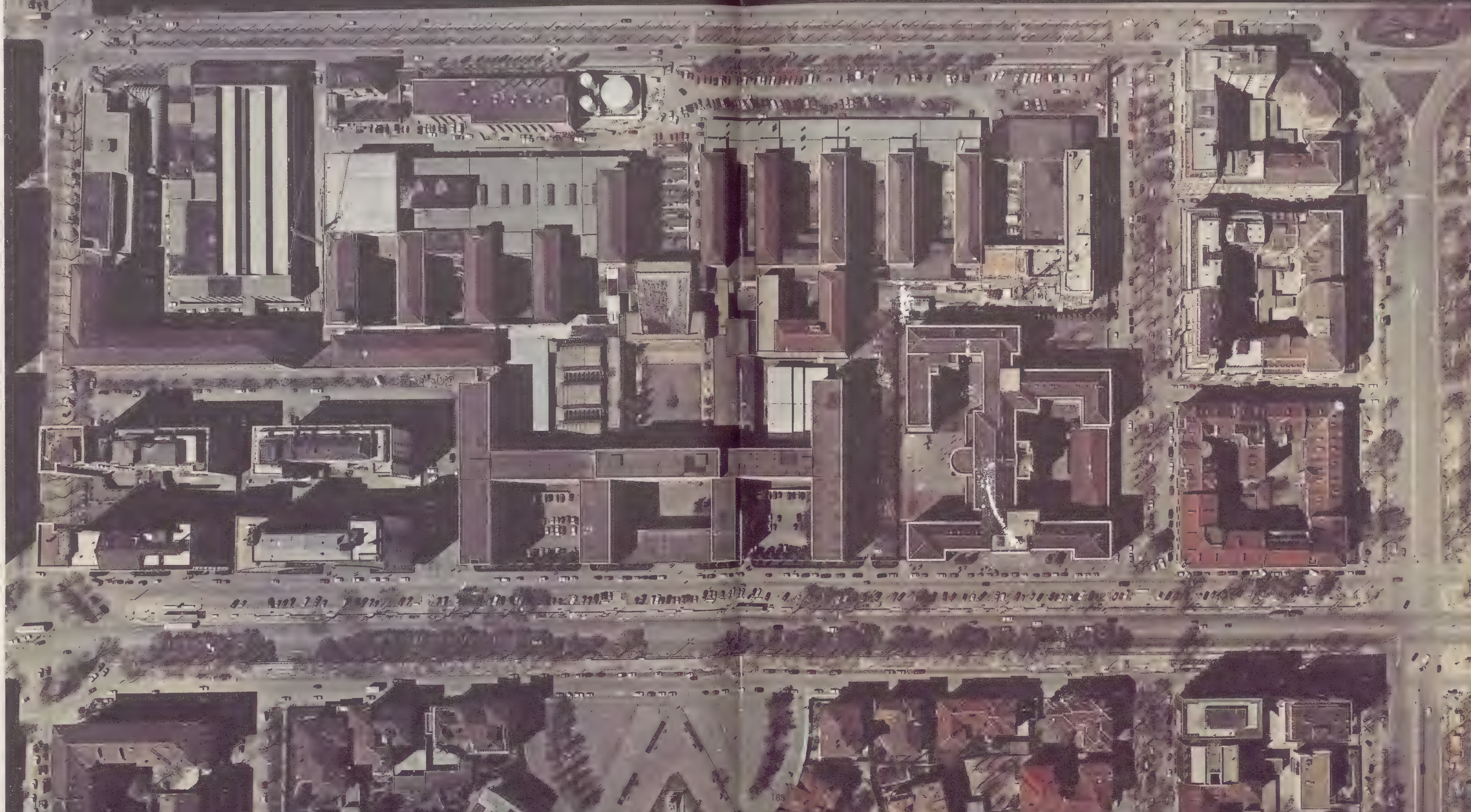
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Una protratta “epochè”
Roberto Gabetti

Il Politecnico di Torino aveva bisogno di nuovi spazi. Un primo ampliamento era stato realizzato, avendo come scopo principale l’urgenza — e i lavori proseguirono molto oltre il previsto — e il costo — e i consuntivi salirono alle stelle —. Nulla si era detto allora, della qualità delle opere — erano richieste opere edilizie, e non opere architettoniche, a Croce piacendo la distinzione —. Ora bisognava procedere agli altri ampliamenti. In Consiglio di Amministrazione io avevo sostenuto da sempre la stessa linea: impegnare subito le aree delle Officine Ferroviarie, per un futuro prossimo; e per un piano a breve termine intervenire entro l’area di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi 24, aprendo al massimo 3 o 4 cantieri, dopo avere presentato al Comune un piano “organico” — termine questo di impiego strumentale per farsi comprendere in situazioni di emergenza —. Doveva essere chiaro a tutti — sempre a parere mio — che questo nuovo piano seguisse la linea di una forza architettonica autentica — sia dal punto di vista della cultura, dell’arte oserei dire, che delle tecnologie e delle regole per una buona condotta del progetto e del cantiere —.
Come spesso avviene nei regimi costituzionali, chi fa una proposta viene designato per portarla a buon fine. Ho accettato i tempi strettissimi, la scala delle esigenze individuate dal piano Fiameni-Novello[1]; ma ho messo due condizioni: di formare per una esclusione scelta il gruppo dei progettisti e di organizzarne il lavoro senza interferenze. Il Consiglio o meglio il Rettore accettò e mi misi subito al lavoro. In tre o quattro giorni l’elenco dei progettisti era scelto. All’interno di questo elenco, nelle successive settimane si erano formati gruppi di affinità sui tre singoli temi: che erano così confermati lungo Corso Castelfidardo, in Via Peano, sull’ingresso di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi. Il nostro impegno era serio, il nostro lavoro gratuito: l’impegno era quello di consegnare tutti gli elaborati di base necessari all’Ufficio Tecnico del Politecnico, coadiuvato da professionisti esterni, per redigere il progetto per la concessione.
Questo è il contorno, ma non il tema.
Il gruppo di lavoro era oltretutto nuovo a questo tipo di esperienza. Altre volte avevamo lavorato assieme, ma si trattava di temi, e di gruppi altrimenti composti: era la prima volta — forse — in cui io non lavoravo assieme a Isola, e una delle pochissime volte in cui lavoravo fuori dalle pareti rassicuranti del nostro studio di Via Sacchi 22.
Ci siamo seduti lì — Pio Luigi Brusasco, Sisto Giriodi , Guido Martinero, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno, Giovanni Torretta — attorno ad un tavolo di noce, fra gli incombenti scaffali-vetrina del Museo Industriale: erano spazi che aveva ricavato un amico da poco scomparso, Augusto Cavallari-Murat, nei locali che gli erano stati assegnati nella “nuova” sede. C’era fra noi un imbarazzo, che portava al silenzio: ed io, che a parlare sono sempre stato propenso — ed era oltretutto questo che i chiamati al progetto si aspettavano da me — diventavo, a poco a poco, nel gruppo, il più taciturno.
Un primo tema — poi sempre ricorrente nel corso del

progetto — riguardava il rapporto con il quartiere e con l'edificio Muzio-Bairati-Pochettino-Fiat, sede del Politecnico (Carlo Mollino lo definiva "*Insigne Grissineria Torinese con sede in Milano*", ricordando come la prospettiva della nostra nuova sede rassomigliasse a quelle riportate sulle buste lunghe e strette, di carta oleata che si ritrovano nei tavoli dei ristoranti, e come quei grissini torinesi fossero invece prodotti a Milano: la battuta di Mollino era in più direzioni: andava anche verso Muzio).
Un altro tema riguardava le tecnologie: per il rapporto con quelle preesistenti, per l'affidabilità in un procedimento futuro da affrontare senza incerti.
Un terzo tema riguardava l'interpretazione che si doveva dare alle esigenze segnalate, comprendendole nelle necessità dell'architettura.
Un simile elenco, se prolungato nella speranza di fornire una griglia esatta degli argomenti che circolavano attorno a quel tavolo, sarebbe deviante. Nessun elenco infatti abbiamo mai formato; l'idea stessa di bloccare la soluzione con una griglia esauriente — esaustiva? — ci terrorizzava. Non volevamo sbagliare, facendo finta di aver tentato ogni strada per essere nel giusto: volevamo far giusto.
Ognuno di noi del resto aveva i suoi anni, le sue esperienze, le sue disillusioni; ognuno aveva letto i suoi libri — molti erano i libri comuni —, ma ciascuno aveva tratto sue convinzioni personali.
Preparandomi a quelle prime sedute, avevo avuto momenti concitati e momenti compressi: in solitudine li avevo vissuti, come devono fare le persone garbate. Così mi sono ricordato di quella sospensione di giudizio — quella *epochè* — appresa da Husserl, che mi si presentava non solo necessaria, ma comoda. Dovevo quindi osservare e tacere; sentire gli altri e non dire la mia; animarli per lavorare al progetto e non lavorare al progetto. Confesso di avere avuto attimi di vertigine; dovevo anche far fronte a difficoltà esterne impreviste, e rendermi sempre più ragione della fragilità del mio incarico. Ma ho cercato di evitare gli impacci.
Mi hanno incuriosito le fotografie che in quei giorni erano state prodotte — a sviluppo rapido — perché fossero viste assieme. Pareva che quel quartiere di piazza d'Armi, rimasto lì discontinuo, fosse scarso di significati, di indicazioni utili: quel Piazzale Duca d'Aosta, girato a mezza ruota davanti al n. 24 di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi, così vuoto, nonostante il peso del Fante; quei villini non sufficientemente occultati dal verde. E, dal lato opposto, quel Corso Castelfidardo che la recinzione del Politecnico trasformava nel retro di uno stabilimento industriale, retro posto lungo la trincea profonda della ferrovia Torino-Milano.
Ma non c'erano solo i contorni del lotto: c'era la costruzione del nuovo Politecnico, articolata nei suoi ordinati pettini razionalisti — direi anche prerazionalisti —, foderata di mattoncini di klinker o di lastre di pietra di Finale — un calcare tenero, che dimostrava crescenti propensioni a cadere giù, lastra dopo lastra —. Io ero rimasto all'"*Insigne Grissineria*"; allo sberleffo malizioso, con più sensi, che il *lieber Meister* Mollino mi aveva fischiato all'orecchio un tempo: e l'orecchio ancora fischiava. Ma tacevo: e vedevo gli altri prendersi cura con attenzione di quelle forme preesistenti, di quelle tecnologie non più correnti ma nemmeno avvalorate dal tempo; e poi soffermarsi con interesse su certi risvolti e connessioni, e tessuti. Io stavo attento: cercavo solo di capire. A poco a poco affiorava da ciascuno dei miei colleghi un parere ricorrente: il vecchio-nuovo Poli si presentava non solo come preesistenza della quale comunque tenere conto — e fin lì ci arrivavo anch'io — ma come un insieme coerente almeno a gruppi di edifici, con il quale entrare in un colloquio amabile, contiguo, senza rifiuto. Ho così cambiato nella mia cultura molti valori: se mi rimaneva impresso, storicizzato ormai, il giudizio di Mollino, riaffioravano accanto in positivo anche altri ricordi: il mio rispetto terribile per Muzio richiamava la passione autentica con la quale aveva assunto il compito di organizzare tutti gli edifici della nuova sede; la grande stima per Cesare Bairati, architetto, per Marcello Pochettino, ingegnere, assunti nelle due diverse facoltà, dai corsi che Muzio teneva (Composizione Architettonica e Architettura Tecnica).
Nessun ricordo reverenziale avevo per i riferimenti culturali espressi dal blocco centrale del Rettorato e delle due ali simmetriche adiacenti. Ma era proprio quel mio tipo di attenzione critica, compiacente ma non convinta, a dover mutare; così scherzando con i sei amici colleghi, e provocandoli pure, saltava fuori, a poco a poco, la verità. Erano pensieri rimasti dentro di me al tempo della polemica sul neoliberty: si trattava del tema del monumentale, di cui aveva trattato incisivamente Guido Canella, e che Carlo Olmo avrebbe discusso nel volumetto *Politica e Forma*[2].
Ma ci sono casi che non ci toccano da vicino, e che cerchiamo di mettere da parte; questa prassi pericolosa, mi aveva reso distratto e cocciuto. Non volendomi mostrare tale, dovevo quindi recuperare il tempo perduto, e chiedermi il come e il perché. La circostanza nuova rendeva del resto tutto più facile: erano solo loro, i giovani amici, che avessero il compito di fare: io avevo quello di osservare. La parte del *voyeur* discreto non è mai stata mia: e non posso sostenere che quella mia evocata *epochè* significasse un totale *understatement*: discutevo e mi accaloravo. Ripensavo alle sedute precedenti e in quella successiva mi rivolgevo all'uno o all'altro dei sei, in termini anche leggermente provocatori. Ma restavo chiuso a riccio: del resto l'essere noi un gruppo isolato, che galleggiava su di una barca lasciata andare liberamente alla deriva — almeno fino al giorno in cui non le sarebbe stata gettata una cima, per raccogliere i risultati raggiunti, per tornare in porto —, era condizione di assoluto privilegio. Un privilegio che alla cultura e all'arte dovrebbe essere più spesso riconosciuto.
A poco a poco ciascuno prendeva a cuore un suo angolo del tavolo. Vedevo Sisto, Pio Luigi e Giovanni trafficare assieme su Corso Castelfidardo, Lorenzo ed Elena stare dalla parte di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi.

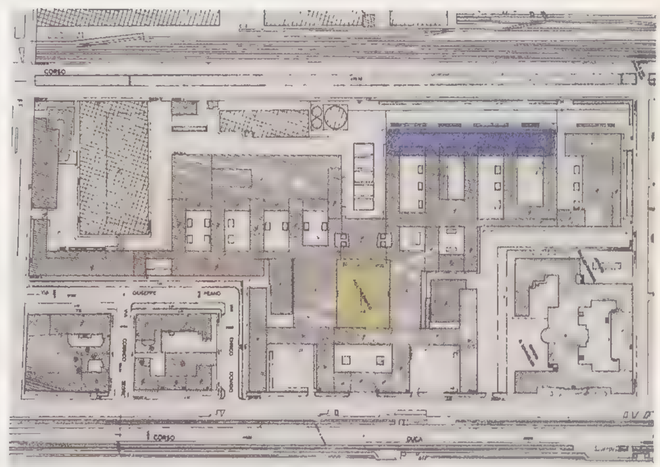
Ma presto le cose si venivano complicando; su Corso Castelfidardo dai tre "peones" arrivavano messaggi diversi — e la loro spedizione si separava in due gruppi —. Almeno dall'altra parte le soluzioni si presentavano più semplici: Lorenzo aveva una sua idea, che nessuno di noi capiva bene, ma che si adattava solo a Via Peano; Elena parlava di continuità di spazi aperti, di gallerie, di serre; argomenti che si potevano riferire al tema del Rettorato.
Ma attorno al tavolo le carte giravano; e ogni smazzata aveva un esito diverso.
Lodate prima tutte e due le soluzioni di Corso Castelfidardo, lodato, anche perchè lo si capiva poco, il progetto di Via Peano, ritenuta promettente la soluzione per il corpo centrale di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi 24, alle smazzate successive, il gioco cambiava. Il tentativo di ibridare i due progetti di Giriodi e di Brusasco, conteneva critiche all'una e all'altra soluzione; l'esame attento dei disegni di Mamino ci portava a chiedergli di essere più preciso lì, di dire meglio la sua là; l'analisi minuta delle articolate serre poneva mille questioni, rivolte tutte alla Tamagno. Ma così, dopo due o tre giri di carte, il gioco pareva fatto: si capiva ormai che tutti e loro sei, con me testimone-navigatore, erano impegnati a presentare una soluzione complessiva, di cui ciascuno si sentiva responsabile. Martinero — attento, giovane urbanista — registrava le proposte; le confrontava alle preesistenze; le inseriva nel diramato contesto di quella singolare zona residenziale e di servizi.
Sono venuti fuori tre progetti, consegnati a tempo di record all'Ufficio Tecnico: quelli elaborati — già pubblicati in edizione interna[3] —, hanno costituito poi il nostro riferimento base.
"Per la storia", in merito al corpo di Corso Castelfidardo, sono state assunte all'ultimo le proposte di Giriodi; più lineari, preferite rispetto a quelle di Brusasco, più articolate spazialmente (ma si deve a posteriori riconoscere che quella preferita flessibilità ha consentito, in sede esecutiva, di imporre che il corridoio del fronte ovest fosse portato in asse alla manica lunga). "Per la storia" il corpo di Lorenzo Mamino sarebbe rimasto pressocché intatto, proprio per quella sua collaudata facoltà di coniugare sogno e realtà.
"Per la storia" le complesse articolate proposte di Elena Tamagno, anche se variate in qualche modo, sono state assunte nella loro sostanza geometrica e distributiva.
Tutti e tre i progetti denotano una reciproca attenzione: nel senso che ogni progettista ha pensato agli altri. E ancora attestano una rispettosa vicinanza agli edifici inaugurati nel 1961 (trent'anni fa), remoti nella cronaca, avvicinati nella cultura d'oggi per il contributo recente di architetti-storici.
Alla fine anche il mio ruolo era rimasto intatto: quello di essere soltanto un osservatore attento, e se si vuole un animatore — non altro —. Tale ero, e tale avevo inteso rimanere. Anche senza veri obblighi di ufficio, vedo ancora oggi con interesse, con passione, disegni sempre più precisi, svolti da professionisti coscienziosi; e vedo crescere nel cantiere alcune forme che mi sono note.
Nella lunga storia del nostro Politecnico, rimane, questo, un tentativo interrotto — come sempre queste aperture sono a tempo determinato — di far crescere la Sede ad opera dei suoi docenti. Era successo così qualche volta, fino dalle origini; e mi fa senso pensare che io occupo oggi la stanza di Bonicelli, quel professore che ha tentato di insegnare le tecniche industriali come portatrici di una edilizia che avesse senso architettonico.
Se ci riferiamo alle esperienze di questo dopoguerra, il nostro blitz ha avuto un significato inoppugnabile: il tentativo di convincere gli ingegneri, docenti professionisti e allievi, nella loro sede ufficiale, che l'architettura esiste; che l'architettura ha le sue modalità e porta determinati risultati. A questo tentativo si coniuga quello di dare agli altri architetti la speranza di far meglio — un meglio ricco di valori estremi — le cose del mondo: a partire da quelle comuni e talora banali, che riguardano il loro contingente stato.

Così mi immagino il prossimo futuro di questo isolato compatto compreso fra Corso Duca degli Abruzzi, Via Peano, Corso Einaudi, Corso Castelfidardo, fino a proseguire per un tratto di Corso Montevecchio. Il "rimirante" — ci deve essere, nelle mie previsioni, qualche rimirante di architettura in più, anno dopo anno —, potrà accostarsi ad un complesso che esprime subito caratteri di organizzazione e di efficienza. Capirà che lì è presente una istituzione importante, e non solo una scuola di portata locale. Saprà distinguere, come fatto nostro torinese, quel corpo centrale di ingresso, ma non si soffermerà tanto su questo, quanto sulle penetrazioni in profondità fra le sale per la vita quotidiana degli studenti, i luoghi per le esposizioni, le attrezzature di un *Congresshaus*. Si accorgerà — il "rimirante" — di potere accedere dagli spazi esterni, verso quelle piccole corti, quei porticati solenni, quei piccoli fragili portichini, potendo curiosare indisturbato, fra gente che va e che viene: non solo giovani, ma visitatori, ricercatori italiani e stranieri, docenti e così via. Il luogo, con qualche accenno di verde, avrà caratteri continuamente presenti di amenità (è quanto Elena Tamagno sta ormai realizzando, mentre segue, di settimana in settimana, fra le quinte, l'*équipe* progettuale che cura gli esecutivi).
Andando poco più in là, verso Via Peano, il nostro ipotizzato "visitatore" sarà sorpreso di trovarsi davanti un qualchecosa di estremamente aulico, che gli richiama un atrio principale però chiuso, e assieme qualcosa di fresco, di vegetato da poco fra grandi vetrate. Sarà poi sorpreso nel capire che quel vegetato di fresco è invece un impalcato di acciai tubolari, ramificati verso l'alto per sostenere rampe aeree. Il tema dell'apertura dell'istituzione ai detentori di *handicap* — così presente nelle corti porticate di Elena Tamagno, per quel loro correre in superficie e penetrare in profondità — è qui svolto in altezza, per salire e scendere, anche senza ascensore, da un piano all'altro; per passare dolcemente fra uno e l'altro corpo di fabbrica. Capirà il "visitatore" di trovarsi davanti a una nota forte, monumentale, e a tante note dissonanti e lievi, ironiche e

allusive. Sarà anche stupito che l'architettura d'oggi abbia potuto fare tanto: essendo conoscitore di fatti istituzionali italiani, resterà anche un po' frastornato e penserà che non sia più vero il verso "*vedo l'Italia, e gli archi, e il cavalier Zanatta, del Catasto*" — gli può quasi parere che questa nostra istituzione politecnica ne sia esente —.
Con qualche tempo per meditare, da una postazione all'altra, il "curioso" ipotizzato signore, andrà lungo il viale di Corso Castelfidardo: sarà sorpreso da quel vecchio anchilosato grappolo di gallerie cilindriche contenenti il vento — opera mirabile, nata per la regia Bairati Pochettino —, e vedrà da lontano una lunga stecca, schermata da scale di sicurezza metalliche.
In quel luogo diverso e separato, le citazioni, nella sua memoria di "curioso", viaggeranno dalla Germania, per approdare agli States e torneranno indietro, passando — naturalmente — per Milano, metropoli internazionale. Quel muro lungo e chiuso sarà solcato a mezzo da una porta alta e stretta — ma non c'era già in Via Peano? — e sarà trapunto da buchi neri profondi, quadrati, ricorrenti. A tanta nobiltà farà animato contrasto l'utile — le numerose scale di sicurezza, che fan pensare a una previdenza normativa mirabile — e l'inutile; e cioè quel grande disegno architettonico esposto lungo una via a due sensi separati, percorsa in velocità. Ma è anche la velocità, il modo necessario per cogliere la terribile unità e ricorrenza di ognuno di quei segni e l'amenità che questi suggeriscono dietro le file degli alberi — fondale costruito e antico, predisposto per una scenografia assorta —.
Il "curioso" potrà quindi uscire di scena; o ritornare indietro per rientrare nei cortili retrostanti la stecca di Corso Castelfidardo, apprezzare terrazzini confortevoli, adatti alla meditazione di ricercatori pensosi. Ma, anche lì, il regno di Pindaro è lontano: piuttosto sono vicini i fitti segni dell'intelligenza e assieme dell'*humour*.
Qualità che ho da sempre apprezzato nei nostri sei giovani eroi.

Note
1) Cfr. *Per la sede di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi del Politecnico di Torino*, a cura di Guido Martinero, CELID, Torino 1988.
2) C. OLMO, *Politica e Forma*, Vallecchi, Firenze 1971.
3) Cfr. *Progetti del Politecnico per il Politecnico*, CELID, Torino 1991.





Localizzazione del Politecnico sulla pianta di Torino: A) futura espansione sull'area ex Officine Ferroviarie; B) sede centrale Corso Duca degli Abruzzi; C) sede Castello del Valentino.
Interventi nella sede centrale: zona centrale (giallo); edificio "G" (rosa); "ala nord" (blu).

Site plan of the Polytechnic on the plan of the city of Torino: a) expansion plan for the area of the old Railroad Depot; b) Main campus in corso Duca degli Abruzzi; c) Castello del Valentino Campus.
Works on the Head Office are highlighted as follows: Central Area (yellow), Building "G" (pink), "North Wing" (blue).

An Extended "Epochè"

Roberto Gabetti

The Turin Polytechnic needed new spaces into which it could expand. An initial addition had been built, with urgency being its driving force. The project had dragged on beyond the scheduled deadlines, and the costs had risen to the stars. At the time nothing was said about the quality of the buildings; the agenda was construction, not architecture, if Croce will allow us this differentiation. But now the time had come for further expansion. I persisted in advocating with the Board of Directors that the rail yards should be acquired immediately, as an investment in future development, and that any short-term plan should include developing the area of Corso Duca degli Abruzzi 24, opening at most three or four construction sites after having presented to the city officials an "organic" plan — a most useful buzz word in emergency situations. It would have to be clear to all the participants — at least in my opinion — that the new plan was to be a result of a coherent architectural concept both culturally and (dare I say) artistically, including state-of-the-art technology and abiding by the rules that govern construction and design.
As often occurs in constitutional environments the proponent of a good idea is assigned with the task of carrying it out. I accepted the very short time-frame for my share of the work, which also included fulfiuing the list of requirements of the Fiameni-Novello plan [1] for the city of Turin. However, I also insisted upon two conditions: to be able to choose the group of designers, and to be able to organise the work without interference. The Board, or better, the Dean, accepted these conditions, and I got to work immediately. After three or four days I had already chosen the architects. During the following weeks they split into three groups each one working on different areas: along Corso Castelfidardo, on Via Peano, and at the beginning of Corso Duca degli Abruzzi. The commitment was serious, the work a donation; the commitment was to deliver all the necessary basic documentation to the Technical Office of the Polytechnic, with the aid of outside professionals in order to establish the guidelines of the project for the commission.
So much for the preliminaries; now it was time for the most exciting part of the work.
The work group consisted of professionals for whom this was a new type of experience. We had worked together before, but in different contexts, and in different groups. This was perhaps the first time that I wasn't working with Isola, and it was also one of the first occasions in which I worked outside the reassuring walls of our studio at 22 Via Sacchi.
We gathered around the walnut table — Pio Luigi Brusasco, Sisto Giriodi, Guido Martinero, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno, Giovanni Torretta and I — amid the imposing glass-encased displays of the Industrial Museum, designed by a recently lost friend, Augusto Cavallari-Murat, in one of the rooms dedicated to him in the "new" facility. There was a certain embarassment in the air, which led to silence. As for myself, I had always been ready to talk — and those assembled were expecting me to do so — but, for no apparent reason, I became, little by little, the quietest of the group.
On of the first aspects that was discussed — and would keep

recurring during the course of the project — was that of the relationship of the design proposal with the neighborhood, and with the Muzio-Bairati-Porchettino-Fiat building, the headquarters of the Polytechnic. Carlo Mollino called it the Milan headquarters of the Insigne Grissineria Torinese *(Outstanding Turin Breadstick Company) referring to a company located in Milan, rather than in Turin, whose wax-paper packaged breadsticks can be found in almost every restaurant. This barb was directed towards many colleagues including the architect Muzio of Milano.)*
Another item of discussion was technology: the relationship with existing technology and new technologies to be adopted and pursued without hesitation.
A third item was the interpretation of the requirements, incorporating them into the architecture. To indulge in such a list, in the hope of providing an exact account of the discussions around the table, would be useless. In fact, we never did produce a concise list of requirements; the very idea of narrowing the scope of a solution within an exhaustive framework frightened us. We did not want to make the mistake of pretending to have attempted every possibility in order to feel that we were right: we just wanted to do the right thing.
Each of us, after all, had his or her share of years on their shoulders, experiences, disillusionments; each had read books — many of them common to all of us — and had come to personal conclusions. In preparing myself for those first sessions, I went through moments of intense agitation: I lived these moments in solitude, as all well-mannered people should. I recalled what was referred to by Husserl as "suspension of judgement" — "epochè" which appeared not only to be necessary, but also convenient at that time. Thus I would observe and not speak; listen to others without interfering; spur them to work on the project, but not work on it myself. There were moments of confusion; I also had to deal with unforeseen external difficulties, which only reminded me of the fragility of my position. But I tried to avoid obstacles and awkward situations.
My curiosity was tickled by the photographs which were taken in those days and rapidly developed to be screened together. The area of the Piazza d'Armi, in its state of disarray, provided few useful, significant insights; Piazzale Duca d'Aosta, half-cocked to face No. 24 Corso Duca degli Abruzzi, appeared so empty, in spite of the statue of the infantryman; and the existing houses seemed to be peeking through the scarce and skimpy gardens and foliage.
On the opposite side, Corso Castelfidardo was flanked on one side by the walls of the Polytechnic which had transformed the Corso into something like the back of an industrial plant; on the other side it was flanked by the deep trench cut by the Turin Milan railroad line.
But not only the surrounding area was analysed; there was also the old "new" Polytechnic. Built in a rationalist or even pre - rationalist era, its distinguishing elements included parallel wingwalls, clad in klinker bricks and Finale stone — a soft limestone which displays an increasing propensity to fall off façades, tile by tile. I still had the breadstick factory in my mind, that mischevious barb, with more than one meaning which lieber Meister *Mollino had whispered in my ear long ago: and my ears still echoed with the sound of those words. But I kept my counsel, and watched the others as they carefully began to take notice of those existing buildings and structures, of those technologies which were outdated and hadn't withstood the test of time; they examined with interest connections, implications and relationships. I paid close attention: I only wanted to understand. Little by little each of my colleagues began to come up with the same, recurring conclusion: the old "new" Polytechnic was not just an existing complex with which we would have a come to terms — even I understood that — but it was also a coherent entity, at least in terms of groups of buildings, with which we would have to establish a friendly, neighbourly and accepting relationship. This approach led me to rethink many values; althrough Mollino's opinion was by now cast in stone in my mind, other more positive memories began to come forth. I thought of the great respect I have for Muzio, which reminded me of the true passion with which he had undertaken the task of organising all of the buildings of the new campus, my great admiration for Cesare Bairati, architect, and Marcello Pochettino, engineer, both professors at the same schools in which Muzio taught courses in Architectural Composition and Technical Architecture.*
Unfortunately I didn't have any respectful memories of the main block and the two symmetrical adjacent wings. It was precisely this obliging but unconvinced attitude that I had to change; so joking with my six colleagues and provoking them as well, little by little the truth emerged. Unexpressed thoughts regarding the issue of monumentality, which Guido Canella had discussed extensively and which Carlo Olmo elaborated in his book Politica e Forma [2] *had remained inside of me since the days of the debate on Neo-liberty. There are some issues which don't affect us personally, and which we are tempted to set aside; this dangerous practice had made me absent - minded and stubborn. Not wishing to appear this way I had to make up for lost time and started asking myself questions. The novelty of the situation made things easier for me: only the others, my young friends, had a real job to do. Mine was simply to observe.*
The part of the discreet voyeur has never been one of my better roles: and I can't say that the "epochè" I invoked at the beginning really meant total detachment. I discussed argued, ranted; I thought about the preceding sessions, and during the following ones I addressed myself to one or another of the six members of the group somewhat challenging their views. But I did not open myself up completely; the fact that we were an isolated group, floating about in a boat left to drift freely with the currents — at least until the day in which we would return to port, to gather the results of our efforts — was truly a privilege, one which should be granted more often to culture and art.
Little by little each person grew fond of a certain corner of

the table. I saw Sisto, Pio Luigi and Giovanni begin to work together on Corso Castefidardo, while Lorenzo and Elena's interest leaned towards the area of Corso Duca degli Abruzzi. But soon things got more complicated. On Corso Castelfidardo the three players began to express diverging opinions and their team divided into two groups.
On the other side of the table the solutions were simpler: Lorenzo had an idea, which nobody really understood, but was suitable only for Via Peano; Elena spoke of a continuity of open spaces, galleries, greenhouses: themes which were well-suited to the administration building.
But the cards continued to be dealt around the table, and every hand had a different outcome.
First both of the solutions for Corso Castelfidardo were praised, as was the design for Via Peano, in part because it was not well understood, while the solution for the central part of Corso degli Abruzzi 24 was considered promising.
But during the next sessions things changed. The attempt to combine the two projects of Giriodi and Brusasco-generated criticism of both the solutions; a careful examination of the drawings by Mamino led us to ask him to be more precise here, explain things better there and so on; the detailed analysis of the design for the greenhouses led to a thousand questions, all directed to Tamagno.
After two or three of these rounds, the game seemed to have reached a conclusion. By now it was understood that all of us, the six designers and myself as witness-navigator, were committed to finding an overall solution in which each of us would feel responsible and participant. Martinero — a careful young city planner — recorded the proposals; he compared them with the reality of the area; he laid them over the complex context of that unique area of residential and service structures.
Three designs were developed and delivered in record time to the Bureau of City Planning and Architecture. All three have already been featured in an in-house publication[3] and were the basic points of reference for further development.
Ultimately Giriodi's more linear design was chosen for the building on Corso Castelfidardo, over the ideas of Brusasco-Torretta, which were better architected in terms of space (but, in hindsight it must be said that the flexibility of the option chosen allowed us, while making working drawings, to make important modifications such as realigning the west boundary with the long side of the building).
Lorenzo Mamino's design was left almost intact, because of his proven talent to reconcile dream and reality. Elena Tamagno's complex geometry and layout were modified slightly and then totally incorporated in the overall design. All three of the designs displayed consideration for the fellow designers; and each of the designs complements the building completed in 1961 (thirty years ago) keeping in mind that these existing buildings are distant in time, but close to today's culture because of the new life recently given to them by the attention of architect-historians.
In the end, my role also remained unchanged: an attentive observer, or, if you prefer, a stimulator — nothing more than that. That was my role, and that is how I have tried to remain. Even today, without any real job to be done, I am still observing with interest and with passion, as the designs become ever more tangible, developed by conscientious professionals; and I see them taking shape in sites with which I am already familar.
During the long history of our Polytechnic, this episode represented one more attempt — as they all are because of their brief existence — to expand the campus using the talent of the faculty. Such episodes had occurred before, since the foundation of the institute; and today I shudder when I think that I sit in the room which belonged to Boncelli, the professor who attempted to teach industrial techniques as instruments for the creation of building development with architectural meaning.
Our blitz — using post-war jargon — had an undeniable influence in convincing the engineers, professors and students, on their own home ground, that architecture does exist, that architecture has ways of working and leads to specific results. This experience goes hand in hand with the opportunity to give other architects the space in which to better the things of the world, starting with the commonplace and sometimes trivial things that make up their own world.

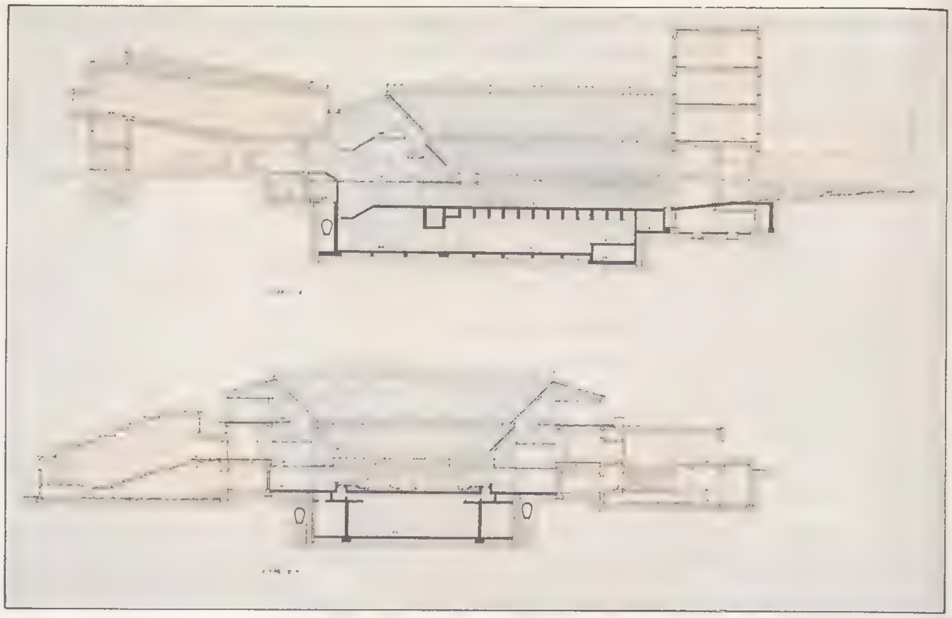
This is how I imagine the future of this area contained within Corso Duca degli Abruzzi, Via Peano, Corso Einaudi and Corso Castefidardo, extending along a section of Corso Montevecchio. An admirer, or contemplator of architecture — there will have to be one in the years to come — will stop and perceive an organized and efficient design. The importance of the institution will be apparent and will enable the admirer of architecture to set it apart from other more commonplace institutions . The entrance, so characteristically Torinese, will lead the contemplator into the lecture halls, the rooms that make up the everyday life of the students, the exibition spaces, the interior of a conference hall. The contemplator will discover entrances leading to interior courtyards, solemn porticoes, and small, inviting gateways. Meandering through the spaces he will explore undisturbed, among the crowd of young people, visitors, Italian and foreign researchers, professors and many more. Elena Tamagno is busily working to create an atmosphere of amenity within the overall design by using carefully placed areas of greenery, designed in conjunction with the rest of the team as it labours over the working drawings.
Toward Via Peano, our hypothetical visitor will be surprised to find himself standing before something extremely courtly, reminiscent of a main atrium, enclosed by large expanses of glass. The observer will also be able to discover a very intricate steel structure behind the glass, designed to support a network of handicap ramps.
Handicap accessibility to the grounds and buildings of the institution — emphasised in the design of the porticoed courtyards by Elena Tamagno — is developed vertically here, stretching from floor to floor without the use of an elevator,

and enables one to move with ease from one building to another. The visitor will realise that what he or she is seeing is a strong architectural statement that goes beyond the architecture itself. Cognizant of the quirks of the Italian institutions the viewer will be amazed that architecture has been able to accomplish such a feat. It will seem reasonable to think that the well known line: "I see Italy, I see the arches, and Squire Zanatta, of the Land Registry" *no longer applies. It might even seem plausible that our Polytechnic institute is somehow exempt to this running joke.*
Moving from one viewing point to another, our hypothetical contemplator will stroll along Corso Castelfidardo. He will be surprised by that old, slightly arthritic group of cylindrical galleries which do nothing more than contain the wind — an admirable design by Bairati and Pochettino — and, from afar, he will see a long rectangle shielded by metal fire stairs. In that radically different environment the "curious" observer will have images of Germany, the U.S. and Milan — an international metropolis — flashing thru the mind. He will see a sober elevation, lined by punched window openings and a high narrow door halfway down the interminable length of this wall — didn't we see that in Via Peano? A lively contrast to such sobriety is brought by the seemingly useful emergency stairs which would make one think of as the result of a well intentioned building code on safety issues. With that usefulness comes the uselessness of such a grand architectural design facing a two-way street with separate lanes and fast traffic. But it is the speed of travel itself that enables one to grasp the tragic unity and repetitiveness of each one of those elements and the pleasant atmosphere they suggest behind the rows of trees — a constructed, antique background, well-suited for an engrossed scenography.
Our visitor, having satified his curiosity may leave the scene or might turn back, again entering the courtyards behind Corso Castelfidardo to enjoy the pleasant atmosphere, ideal for the meditations of absorbed researchers. But even there, the kingdom of Pindar is far away: instead, we are closer to the densely ordered signs of intelligence and of humor, qualities which I have always appreciated in our six young heroes.

Notes

1) Per la sede di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi del Politecnico di Torino, *edited by Guido Martinero, CELID, Turin 1988.*
2) Carlo Olmo, Politica e Forma, *Vallecchi, Florence 1971.*
3) Progetti del Politecnico per il Policlinico, *CELID, Turin 1991.*

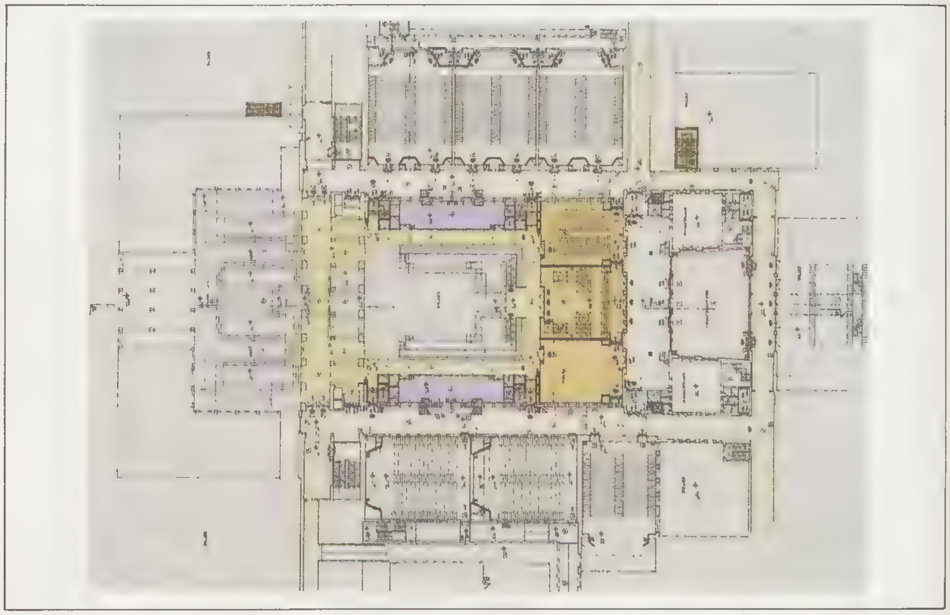




Politecnico di Torino, sede centrale in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi: Nuovo centro polifunzionale per congressi, museo, archivi e servizi, 1984-1992

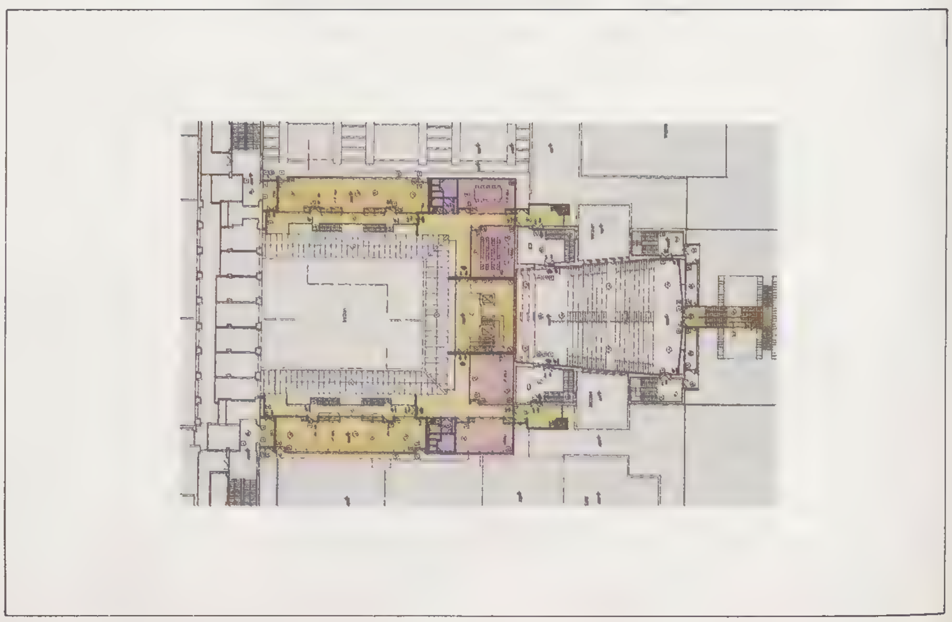
Turin Polytechnic, Main Campus in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi: The New Multifunctional Centre for Conventions, Museum, Archives and Services, 1984-1992

Coordinatore/Coordinator:
Roberto Gabetti
Progetto/Project: Elena Tamagno
Coordinatore del processo esecutivo/Executive process coordinator:
Pier Giovanni Bardelli
Progetto esecutivo/Executive project:
Piero Amore, Luciano Luciani



Vista della corte centrale.
Foto: D.Regis.
Sezione longitudinale e trasversale e piante dei piani rialzato e primo.

View of the central courtyard.
Photo: D. Regis.
Longitudinal and cross section and plans of the mezzanine and first floors.



Nuovo centro polifunzionale per congressi, museo, archivi e servizi nel progetto di ristrutturazione e ampliamento della sede centrale di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi del Politecnico di Torino

Elena Tamagno

Fra i progetti avviati nel 1983 per la ristrutturazione e l'ampliamento della sede del Politecnico di Torino in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi quello che riguarda la zona centrale ha subito, passando dalla fase "municipale" a quella esecutiva, le variazioni più importanti. Il primo progetto prevedeva di unificare le due corti poste sull'asse dell'ingresso principale, rivestendole su tre lati con una struttura di acciaio e vetro: un anello attraverso il corpo di fabbrica che le separava. Questa struttura era essenzialmente una grande falda vetrata, appoggiata ad un basso portico, richiusa sull'impluvio centrale. Quando, a distanza di oltre cinque anni, si mise mano al progetto esecutivo, alcune esigenze erano mutate, altre erano state in parte soddisfatte da interventi specifici, mentre si delineavano nuove ipotesi di ampliamento dell'ateneo: rimaneva la necessità di riqualificare, in senso sia funzionale sia formale, la zona centrale della sede, dove, con sempre maggiore intensità, si intrecciano i rapporti interni ed esterni dell'ateneo.

Il progetto esecutivo, elaborato nel 1990, prevede di aumentare sostanzialmente i volumi interessati alle opere edilizie, mediante sia nuova costruzione sia riqualificazione di spazi esistenti. Mentre il cortile est viene lasciato libero e risistemato come zona di passaggio e di sosta, quello ovest viene ribassato di un piano, ulteriormente scavato per ricavare una grande sala ipogea, "rivestito" su tre lati con la struttura di acciaio e vetro, il cui portico si sviluppa su due piani: quello superiore sbocca alle due estremità del portico esistente nel fabbricato fra i due cortili.

Quest'ultimo, nella sua parte centrale, viene portato su due livelli per consentire di scendere dalla quota d'ingresso a quella del cortile ovest, mentre la sua continuità al livello attuale è ripristinata con un ponte che può essere sollevato per consentire il transito di mezzi eccezionali. Sul cortile ovest si affacciano ambienti di studio e di soggiorno per gli allievi, caffeterie, locali da destinare ad uffici ed esercizi aperti al pubblico. L'impluvio centrale, come il cortile est, è completamente pavimentato e sistemato con gradinate che culminano nella scala di accesso al livello superiore del portico: la sua struttura muraria, rivestita di pietra, richiama nel disegno, nei materiali, nel loro apparecchio la facciata che sta di fronte e si contrappone, aulica e seriosa, alla minuta, colorata, trasparente tessitura delle pareti circostanti.

Addizione importante, rispetto al primo progetto, è la riqualificazione dei locali sottostanti le aule sui due lati nord e sud del cortile ovest e di alcuni tratti della "metropolitana" (grande percorso interrato che corre sotto gli attuali corridoi del piano terreno). Questi ambienti vengono a trovarsi al livello del cortile e possono essere adibiti a sede per la conservazione della memoria storica dell'ateneo: gli archivi e il Museo.

The New Multifunctional Centre for Conventions, Museum, Archives and Services in the Restructuring and Expansion Project of the Main Campus in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi of the Turin Polytechnic Institute

Elena Tamagno

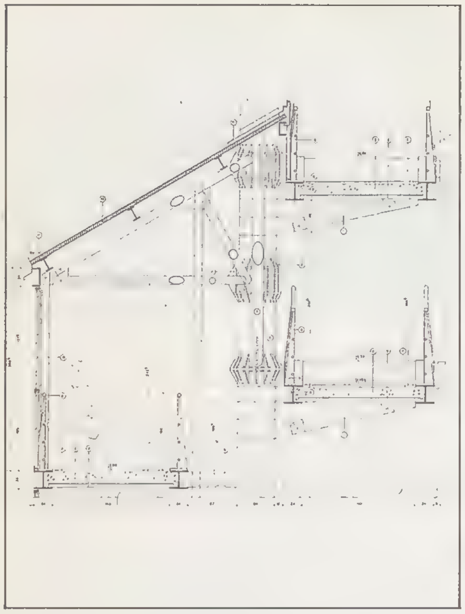
Among the projects begun in 1983 for the restructuring and expansion of the campus of the Turin Polytechnic on Corso Duca degli Abruzzi, the most important changes took place between the time of the city approval of the project and the building drawings specifically in what was referred to as the central area of the campus.

The first project included the connection of the two courtyards along the axis of the main entrance, surrounding them on three sides with a steel and glass enclosure: a ring round the building which separated them. This structure was essentially a large, glazed roof resting on a low portico which enclosed the central impluvium. When the building drawings were ready, five years later, certain requirements had changed, while others had been partially satisfied by specific changes along the way. A new direction for the expansion of the university was taking shape but the need remained, both in form and in function, to improve the central area of the campus in which the internal and external relations of the university interwined with ever more intensity.

The building drawings completed in 1990, included a substantial increase in the size of the buildings, including both new construction and the renovation of existing spaces. While the eastern coutyard was left open and reorganized into a circulation space and plaza the western courtyard was recessed one storey, to create a large underground hall, surrounded on three sides by the steel and glass structure, with a two-storey portico the upper part of which extends to the two extremities of the existing portico in the building between the two courtyards.

The central part of this building was raised to two storeys, making it possible to descend from the level of the entrance to that of the western courtyard, while a drawbridge, which can be raised to allow the passage of large vehicles was added at the same level. Study halls and lounges for the students, face onto the western courtyard, along with cafeterias and rooms for offices and activities open to the public. The central impluvium as in the eastern courtyard, is completely paved and is stepped up to the access stairs for the upper level of the portico: its exterior wall, clad in stone, reflects the opposite wall in terms of design and materials of the opposite wall and provides a courtly and serious contrast to the minute, colourful, transparent texture of the surrounding walls.

An important addition, with respect to the original project, is the renovation of the spaces beneath the lecture halls on the north and south sides of the western courtyard, and of certain sections of the "metro" (a large underground passageway which runs beneath the corridors of the ground floor). These spaces are now at the same level as the courtyard, and can be used as historical reminiscents of the university: the archives and the museum.

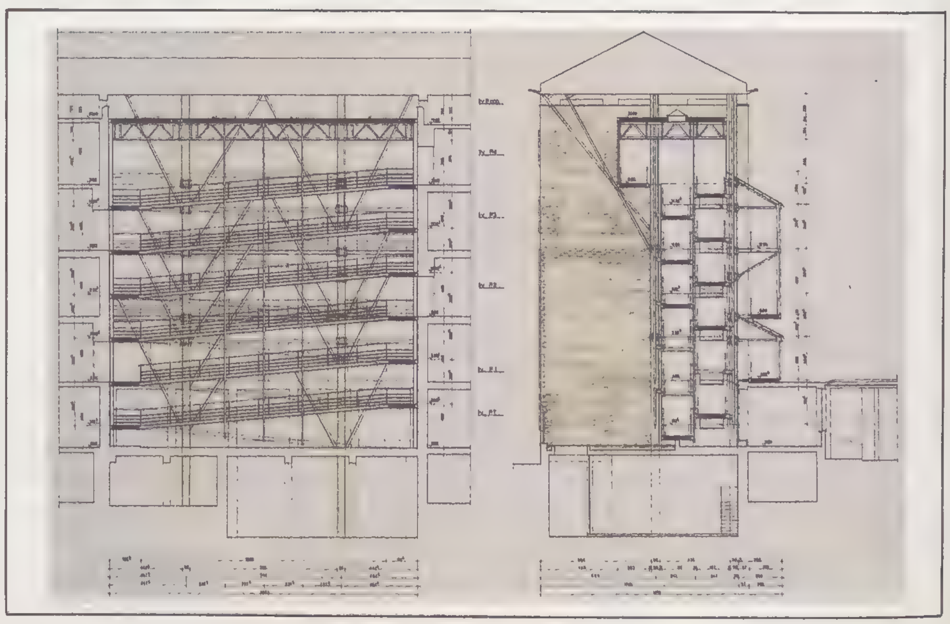




Politecnico di Torino, sede centrale in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi: "Finestra urbana" e sopraelevazione dell'edificio "G" per aule e uffici, 1984-1992

Turin Polytechnic, Main Campus in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi: "Urban Window" and Vertical Addition to Building "G" for Classrooms and Offices, 1984-1992
Coordinatore/Coordinator:
Roberto Gabetti
Progetto/Project: Lorenzo Mamino
Coordinatore del processo esecutivo/ Executive process coordinator:
Pier Giovanni Bardelli
Progetto esecutivo/Executive project:
Piero Amore, Luciano Luciani





Dettaglio della sezione.
Prospettiva su Via Peano.
Prospetti esterno e interno.
Prospetto e sezione della "finestra urbana".

Detail of the section.
Perspective on Via Peano.
Exterior and interior elevations.
Elevation and section of the "city window".

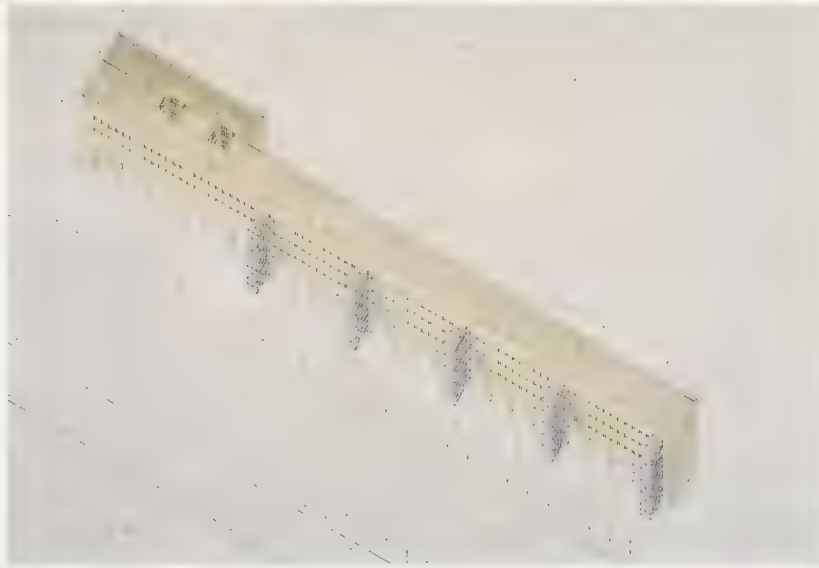
"Finestra urbana" e sopraelevazione dell'edificio "G" per aule e uffici nel progetto di ristrutturazione e ampliamento della sede centrale di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi del Politecnico di Torino
Lorenzo Mamino

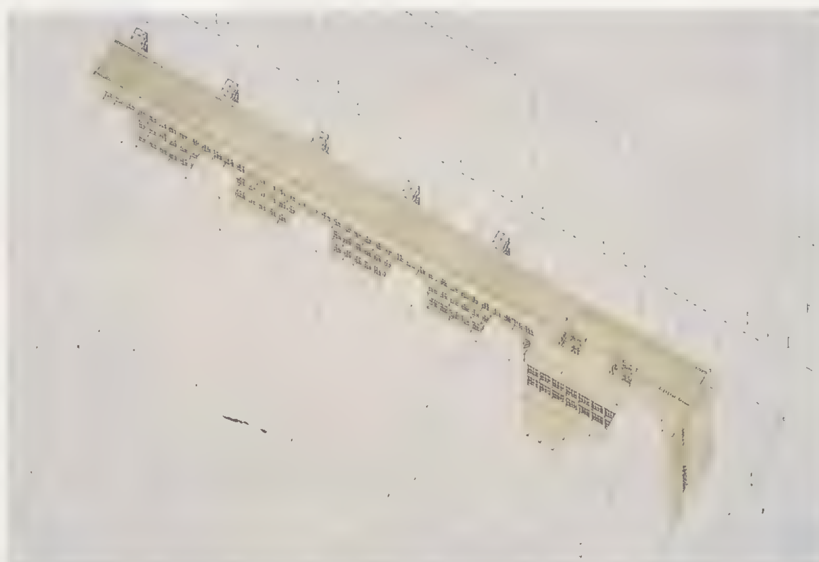
La Via Giuseppe Peano è una via interna che serve quasi esclusivamente per gli accessi ai cortili del Politecnico. Su di essa si affacciano sedi di Dipartimento, laboratori, aulette di ricerca.
Il corpo al fondo della via, a destra di chi guarda l'intero fabbricato, è composto di due soli piani fuori terra e risulta allineato, dopo un vuoto di quasi m. 19, con un altro corpo di fabbrica alto invece cinque piani fuori terra. I due edifici sono collegati, in orizzontale, unicamente al piano terreno e al piano seminterrato, mediante corridoio aggettante dai due corpi di fabbrica. In verticale i piani sono serviti da due scale principali poste una all'estremità nord del corpo di destra e una al centro del corpo di sinistra, distanti tra loro m. 105. Il progetto prevede la sopraelevazione del corpo basso fino ad uguagliare l'altezza dell'edificio alto.
I tre piani aggiunti assumeranno disegno, materiali di rivestimento, colori e particolari costruttivi dell'edificio esistente. Saranno cioè ripresi intonaci, materiali ceramici, serramenti, davanzali e ogni altro elemento già in opera. Sopra i due blocchi così ottenuti un unico tetto a due falde poggiante su solaio piano collegherà i due edifici in un solo organismo. I vani aggiunti sono destinati ad ospitare funzioni dipartimentali (direzione e ricerca).
Il grande varco tra i due edifici viene utilizzato invece per la realizzazione di un nuovo gruppo di collegamenti verticali che dimezzi la distanza tra le due scale esistenti. Esso consta di una rampa (pendenza costante inferiore al 10%; larghezza m. 1.60) e di una coppia di ascensori collocati in testa alla rampa, nel corpo di destra. Ai piani terzo, quarto e quinto fuori terra viene anche aggiunto un collegamento orizzontale a sbalzo dal volume della rampa. L'intero corpo della rampa e gli annessi passaggi aerei saranno, a differenza dei piani aggiunti, contraddistinti da forme e materiali nuovi e cioè tali da presentare una netta distinzione rispetto all'esistente. Ciò per portare alla schiera su Via Peano nel suo complesso un deciso aggiornamento compositivo.
Su quattro piloni a partire da terra verrà appoggiata una struttura leggera in ferro e vetro che dovrà apparire nettamente distaccata sia dall'attuale piano del terreno che dal solaio piano del tetto.
Tubi tondi di acciaio si protendono, dai quattro piloni, a sostenere i piani delle rampe, le passerelle sul retro e concorrono, da ultimo, a sorreggere il tetto, che ora si presenta come unico, grande coronamento di tutto l'insieme. Così la pura esigenza funzionale di costituire un collegamento definitivo ed efficace in orizzontale e in verticale a servizio dei due blocchi ha prodotto una aggiunta ariosa (e forse bizzarra) su un prospetto ritenuto fin troppo compatto e ripetitivo.

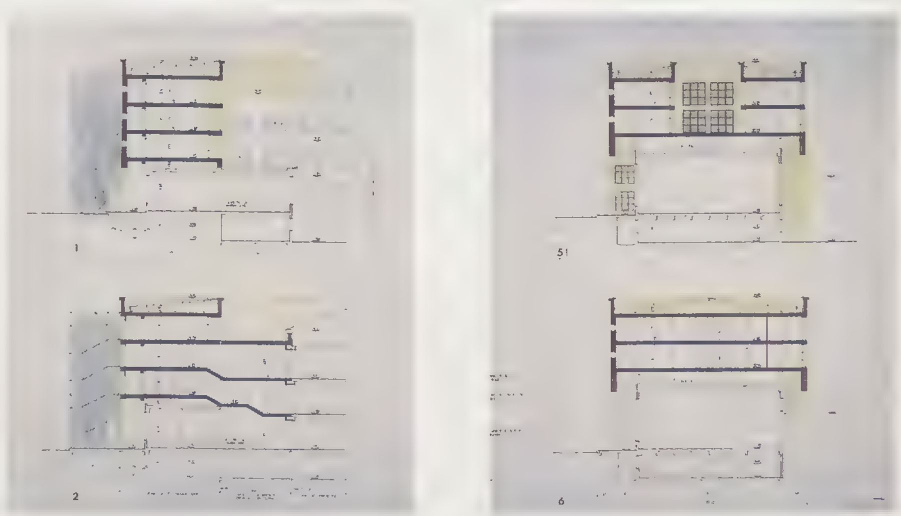
"Urban Window" and Vertical Addition to Building "G" for Classrooms and Offices, as Parts of the Design for Restructuring and Expansion of the Main Campus of the Turin Polytechnic Institute in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi
Lorenzo Mamino

Via Giuseppe Peano is used almost exclusively as an access road for the interior spaces of the Polytechnic and is lined with departmental offices, laboratories, and small research rooms.
The building at the end of the street, to the right when looking at the entire complex, is a two storey building on the same street alignment as a second five storey building. Between them there is an undeveloped area approximately 19 m wide. The two buildings are connected at the ground and basement levels by corridors. Vertical access is provided by two main stairwells placed at the northern extremity of the building to the right, and at the centre of the building to the left at 105 m from each other. The proposed addition increases the height of the lower building to match its neighbour. The three additional floors will be similar in design, materials, colours and detail to the existing building. All of the architectural details will be in keeping with the original design, including finishes, ceramics, window and door frames, window sills, etc. A single double-pitch roof will then be added to span bothbuildings integrating them into one building mass. The newly added spaces will be for departmental use (research and administration).
The large opening between the two buildings, on the other hand, will be used for new vertical circulation reducing by one half the distance between the two existing stairwells. The new vertical circulation will include a 1.6 m wide ramp with a constant slope of less than 10% and two elevators located at the end of the ramp, in the building to the right. The circulation corridors on the third, fourth and fifth floors above ground will also be connected to the ramp. The ramp and aerial passageways will be designed in different colors and shapes, setting them clearly apart from the existing structures and the three-floor expansion. This ought to update the composition of the entire complex on Via Peano.
Four round columns will support a lightweight iron and glass structure which will appear to float above the ground and the roof itself.
Round steel braces attached to the columns will support the ramps and the passageways. Braces will also extend up to support the roof, which becomes a powerful finishing touch for the complex. In this manner the purely functional need to create a complete and efficient horizontal and vertical access system for the two blocks becomes an opportunity to create an airy, open (and perhaps bizarre) element, a welcome addition to an environment which, in our opinion, is too compact and repetitive.









Politecnico di Torino, sede centrale in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi: "Ala nord" per laboratori e uffici, 1984-1992

Turin Polytechnic, Main Campus in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi: "North Wing" for Laboratories and Offices,
1984-1992
Coordinatore/Coordinator:
Roberto Gabetti
Progetto/Project: Sisto Giriodi
Coordinatore del processo esecutivo/
Executive process coordinator:
Pier Giovanni Bardelli
Progetto esecutivo/Executive project:
Renato Piramide

Vista del fronte loggiato sul cortile interno.
Foto: D.Regis.
Assonometrie su Corso Castelfidardo e sul fronte interno.
Sezioni trasversali e pianta.

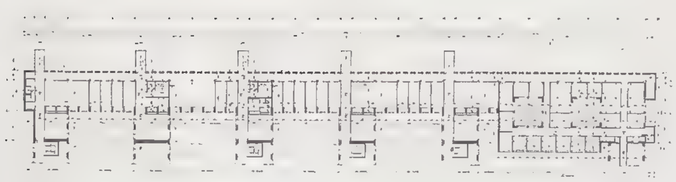
View of the loggia on the inner courtyard.
Photo: D. Regis.
Axonometrics on Corso Castelfidardo and on the interior elevation.
Cross sections and plan.

"Ala nord" per laboratori e uffici nel progetto di ristrutturazione e ampliamento della sede centrale di Corso Duca degli Abruzzi del Politecnico di Torino
Sisto Giriodi

Il progetto prevede la costruzione di un blocco destinato ad ampliare gli spazi per i Dipartimenti, al margine superiore del comparto, sovrapposto in parte ai laboratori esistenti.
I laboratori non sono tutti alti eguali, e non sono nemmeno fatti tutti eguali (è possibile distinguere una piastra bassa a manica doppia, con una pilastrata centrale, ed un capannone, più alto con un'unica grande luce libera).
Per questo l'edificio nuovo prevede tre piani sopra la piastra e solo due sopra il capannone, ed ancora i piani presentano uno sviluppo diverso: sono a manica semplice nella parte sovrapposta ai laboratori, mentre sono a piastra con piccoli cortili interni nella parte sovrapposta al capannone.
La distribuzione orizzontale avviene attraverso corridoi diritti che completano la rete dei corridoi degli edifici esistenti.
La distribuzione verticale avviene attraverso blocchi composti da scala ed ascensore, posti nei nodi del reticolo dei corridoi; sempre in questi nodi sono collocate le scale esterne di sicurezza.
I tipi di spazi previsti vanno dall'unità standard minima (studio per due docenti o ricercatori) in serie lungo il corridoio, alle sale per riunioni, laboratori, biblioteche specializzate, disposte prevalentemente nei nodi di saldatura con i corpi esistenti e nella piastra a due piani.
L'edificio è rivestito in klinker come gli edifici esistenti, i serramenti sono in alluminio anodizzato scuro, le scale esterne sono in ferro zincato.

"North Wing" for Laboratories and Offices in the Restructuring and Expansion Project of the Main Campus of the Turin Polytechnic in Corso Duca degli Abruzzi
Sisto Giriodi

The project includes the construction of a building designed to increase the departmental area, at the northern edge of the site using, in part, the space above the existing laboratory buildings. The laboratories are not all equal in height, nor are they all built in the same manner: one building is a low concrete structure with two rows of laboratories and a central row of columns while another is a shed-type construction with unencumbered floor space. The new building will add three storeys above the low concrete structure, and only two over the shed. The floor layout varies according to usage. A linear distribution of spaces for the area above the laboratories was used, while the plan above the shed-type building was kept less directional, interspersed with small internal courtyards. The circulation within these spaces will be connected directly with the network of corridors in the existing buildings. Vertical circulation elements containing stairs and elevators are located at the main intersections of the corridor network. The exterior fire stairs are also located at these intersections. The spaces range from a standard minimum unit (offices for two professors or researchers along an access corridor) to meeting rooms, laboratories and specialised libraries, located for the most part at the points of connection with the existing buildings and in the two-storey addition. The building is clad in klinker bricks, as are the existing buildings. The window frames are in dark anodised aluminium, and the exterior fire stairs are in galvanised iron.

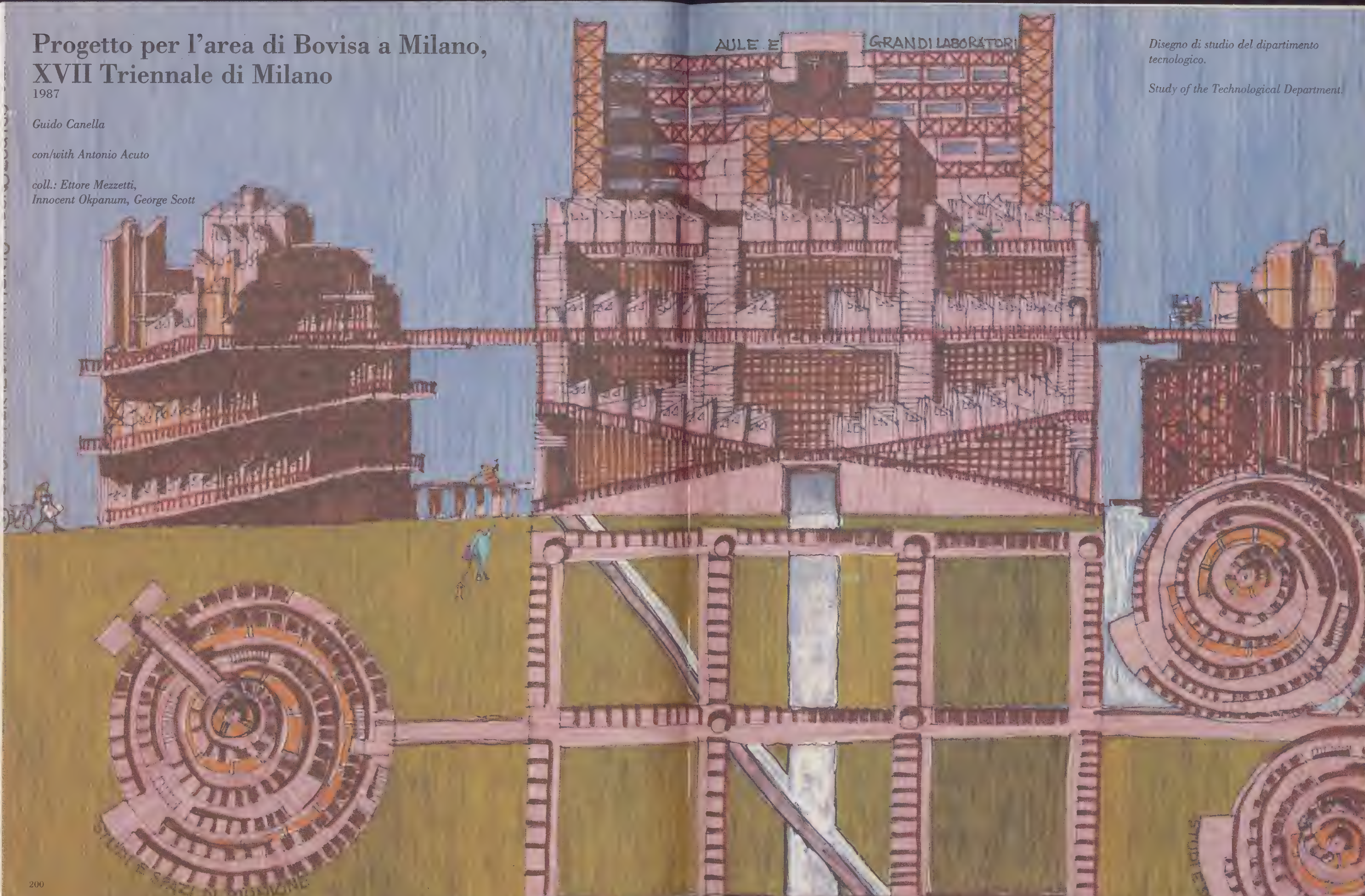


Progetto per l'area di Bovisa a Milano, XVII Triennale di Milano
1987

Guido Canella

con/with Antonio Acuto

coll.: Ettore Mezzetti, Innocent Okpanum, George Scott



Disegno di studio del dipartimento tecnologico.

Study of the Technological Department.

Progetto per l'area di Bovisa a Milano, XVII Triennale di Milano
1987

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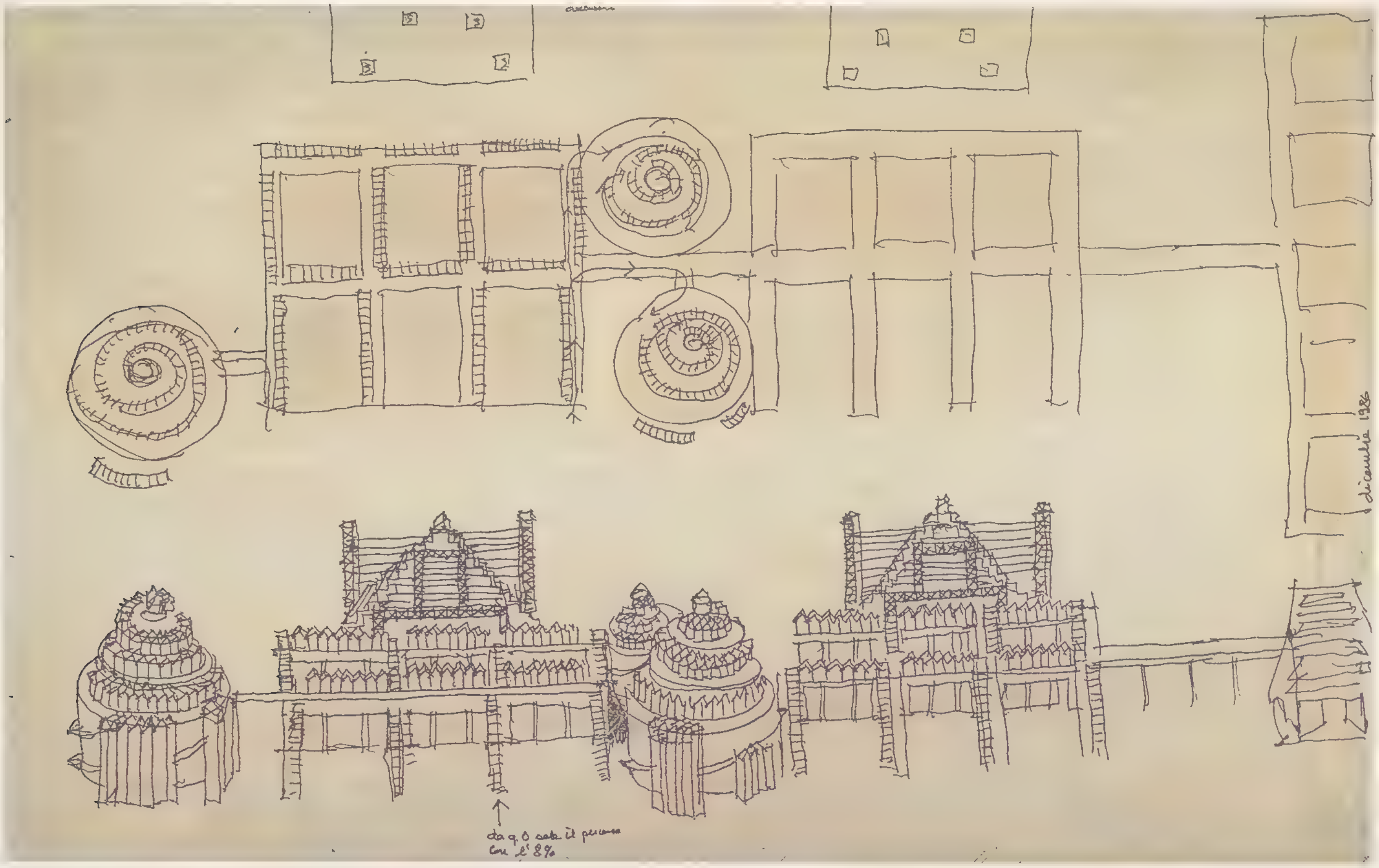


Disegno di studio del dipartimento tecnologico.

Study of the Technological Department.

Progetto per l'area di Bovisa a Milano presentato alla mostra "Le città immaginate" della XVII Triennale di Milano, 1987
Guido Canella

C'è chi va teorizzando che, dopo la fase dei grandi ingombri dell'era industriale, oggi la città terziaria deve costruirsi per piccole modificazioni e perfino per grandi vuoti (un po' maliziosamente si potrebbe aggiungere: soprattutto là dove è disponibile un ampio demanio pubblico). E un caso portato ad esempio è proprio quello di Bovisa.
Ma — si sa — la città non è un insieme statico, operabile pezzo a pezzo, ma un organismo vivo dove azioni e reazioni risultano sempre concatenate. Così un vuoto pianificato in Bovisa darebbe libero corso a quella serie di effetti striscianti che, dalla smobilitazione dei grandi impianti, qui più che altrove sta trasformando in piccoli sussulti il profondo respiro della periferia industriale, determinandone la progressiva perdita di identità: opifici in abbandono, capannoni già industriali ridotti a deposito per autotrasportatori, saturazione dei tessuti attraverso una tipologia condominiale, ecc. Fenomeno che né il piano direttore con lo *zoning*, né la normativa corrente con gli *standard*, né l'azione rivendicativa dei consigli di zona, né vincoli di tutela in nome dell'archeologia industriale, né l'iniziativa aziendale ormai protesa al mercato fondiario riescono a contrastare.
Per invertire questa tendenza riteniamo di proporre dimostrativamente concrete alternative di intervento, a partire dalle stesse potenzialità del contesto.
1. Per quanto riguarda il regime di mobilità (da sempre orientata secondo gravitazioni prevalenti non rivolte al centro città), proponiamo una nuova stazione unificata (per Ferrovie dello Stato, Ferrovie Nord e circonvallazione filoviaria) che faciliti in Bovisa l'intreccio di relazioni privilegiate: da Città Studi (riqualificata nel suo ruolo da integrazioni tra Dipartimenti di diverse Facoltà, con l'istruzione superiore, con il parco industriale di Lambrate); dal centro direzionale (riservato ad attività altamente selezionate — da quelle di approdo da lunga distanza per aereoporti e ferrovie a quelle di smistamento dalla rete regionale; da quelle di contrattazione delle tecnologie e dei mercati a quelle di rappresentanza delle municipalità e dei bacini storicamente connessi alla piazza milanese: Sestese, Brianza, Valle Olona, Canton Ticino —); dalla nuova Fiera (investita del ruolo di prolungamento del centro cittadino in punto di confluenza da tutto l'*hinterland* settentrionale, già attribuitole da Giuseppe De Finetti che la vedeva coincidere con il centro direzionale); dal settore nord, compreso tra Lambro e Olona, scambiatore con Milano nelle sue progressive fasi di industrializzazione per approvvigionamento di mercati, mano d'opera, tecnologie, che in Bovisa ha sedimentato occupazioni spaziali ingenti, molte ormai smobilitate.
Per quanto riguarda il regime funzionale, proponiamo di riqualificare le tradizionali vocazioni produttive attraverso l'insediamento di attività sperimentali, di ricerca universitaria applicata e terziarie in derivazione differenziale da quelle del centro direzionale. L'ipotesi relativa al Dipartimento tecnologico si pone in coerenza alla riarticolazione del Politecnico non più per Facoltà, ma per


dicembre 1986


G.C. dicembre 1986
FILARETE OSPEDALE MAGGIORE

Assonometria generale.
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Disegni di studio del dipartimento tecnologico e delle corti delle attività produttive e di sperimentazione (con il progetto di Filarete per l'Ospedale Maggiore).

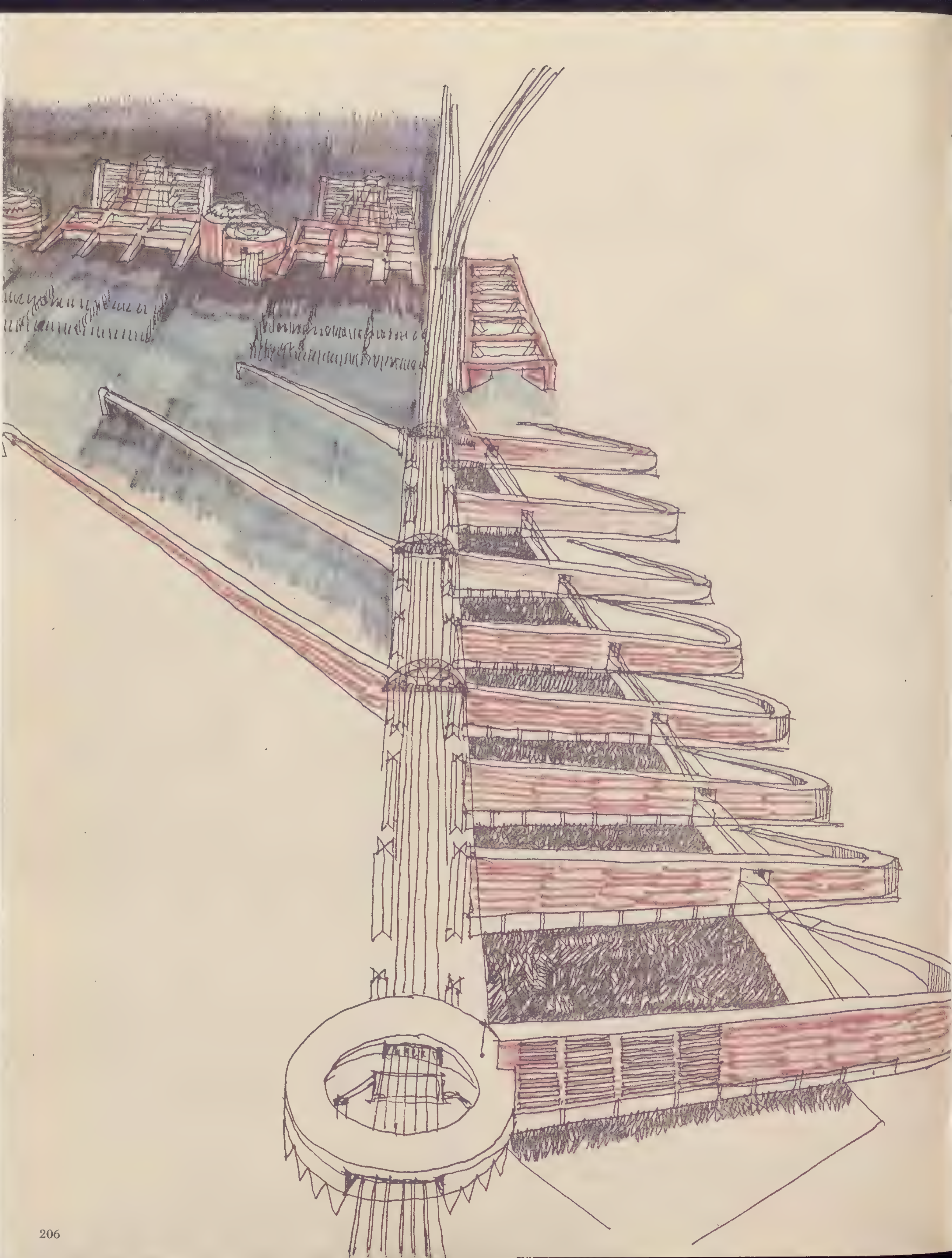
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Disegno di studio con in alto a sinistra il dipartimento tecnologico, in alto a destra della ferrovia le corti delle attività produttive e di sperimentazione, in basso la stazione ferroviaria e i corpi a spina per residenza e attività terziarie.
Viste del modello.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.



General axonometric.
On the preceding pages:
Study of the Technological Department and of the courtyards of the production and experimental activities (with Filarete's design for the Ospedale Maggiore).

On the following pages:
Study with the technological departments at the top left, the complex for the experimental production activities to the right of the railway, and the railway station and the herring bone residential and services blocks at the bottom.
Views of the model.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.

Dipartimenti in rapporto di frontalità con la produzione, ove essa manifesta le sue più importanti concentrazioni e tradizioni. In Bovisa il Dipartimento tecnologico si troverebbe in connessione con altre dislocazioni applicative a Lambrate, Sesto San Giovanni e Legnano.
Quanto alla nuova residenza, essa offrirebbe un possibile reinsediamento a quella che in Bovisa non è più direttamente interessata a un rapporto diretto con la produzione, ma corrisponderebbe anche alle necessità di temporanea permanenza di popolazione universitaria (assicurando una quota garantita di utenti alle nuove attrezzature sportive).
2. Per quanto riguarda il progetto di paesaggio, lo abbiamo proteso ad anticipare dimostrativamente una trasformazione necessaria, ma coerente alla conservazione dei caratteri del luogo, puntando su dispositivi capaci di promuovere attività motrici e nuovi comportamenti. Ciò avviene per linee differenziate d'intervento.
Il nucleo di Bovisa viene identificato entro un perimetro grosso modo triangolare. Vi sono inclusi tessuti promiscui, impianti di provvidenza (scuole di Via Bodio, chiesa della Beata Vergine del Buon Consiglio), percorso commerciale (Via Imbriani-Piazza Bausan), non ancora irrimediabilmente compromessi dalla necrosi subita dai grandi complessi industriali o dalla sostituzione residenziale avviata alla saturazione. Qui viene confermata quella morfologia discontinua e disomogenea ancora in grado di assecondare le riarticolazioni e contrazioni di un nuovo regime produttivo.
Sul bordo orientale gli edifici di recente destinati a servizi — soprattutto scolastici —, vengono riconnessi, mettendo in continuità e attrezzando in comune gli spazi aperti di pertinenza a ciascuno, in modo da costituire una fascia, sufficiente ad impedire la saturazione dei tessuti di Bovisa e di Dergano e capace di estendersi per varchi (anche appositamente predisposti): a nord, fino alla cascina Albana, e a sud, fino allo scalo Farini, convertito a parco, e al cimitero Monumentale.
A nord, tra le Vie Bovisasca, Andreoli, Durando e Cosenz viene ripristinato, attraverso opportune demolizioni, un grande prato quadrangolare; bassi muri continui lo suddividono in piazzali disponibili alle diverse occorrenze: circo, lunapark, attività all'aperto, transumanze, depositi. Dai lati nord e sud si fronteggiano la cascina Albana (il rilevato ferroviario alle spalle) e la cortina delle case a ballatoio; da est si affaccia il fronte delle tradizionali attività industriali (meccaniche e farmaceutiche), un segmento del quale (il corpo basso e allungato degli uffici della Ceretti e Tanfani costruito nel 1906) è ridestinato ad ospitare la municipalità della Bovisa (una municipalità di fatto, che esprime una vera e propria cultura etnica con radice nello storico rapporto di promiscuità insediativa di produzione e residenza); dal lato opposto, connesso al Dipartimento tecnologico attraverso un percorso a ponte sopra la ferrovia, prospetta il nuovo complesso per le attività produttive sperimentali, articolato in una serie di moduli quadrati sostenuti da corpi convergenti e decrescenti verso il centro delle corti.
Al grande prato confluiscono percorsi diversamente caratterizzati: il percorso campestre (e da Quarto Oggiaro); la strada degli autotrasportatori (e da Affori), quella (in quota) dell'Università (e da Villapizzone), quella (nel verde) dei servizi collettivi (e dal cimitero Monumentale). Le compresenze nei recinti, le sequenze dei fronti, l'intreccio delle provenienze ricompongono i diversi fattori di paesaggio in un ambiente complesso e unitario, dove la periferia "storica" ripristina un equilibrio tra *forma urbis e natura agri*.
Mentre la nuova addizione avviene intorno a due permanenze della Bovisa protoindustriale: la ferrovia e i gasometri. Destinata ad incrementare la propria funzionalità, la ferrovia, qui confermata al piano di campagna (e non affondata in trincea, come si vorrebbe), mantiene in superficie la barriera che divide il territorio di Bovisa, tanto da promuovere una rete di percorsi veicolari in quota resa praticabile dalle coperture inclinate e collimanti degli edifici destinati alle attività terziarie e alla residenza. Esaurita la loro funzionalità i gasometri perdono anche il ruolo simbolico assunto nella periferia industriale; cercare di riproporlo, conservandone la vuota integrità, magari in ossequio all'archeologia industriale, implicherebbe un'indefinizione o una sofisticazione comunque snaturanti dei gasometri e del loro intorno. Mentre ne rimarrebbe più incisiva la memoria nell'aderenza alla loro conformazione (come già avvenne nella riduzione degli abitati medievali all'interno degli antichi anfiteatri), aderenza ottenuta per aggregazioni e giustapposizioni così da renderli parte abitabile dell'incastellamento che ospita aule, laboratori, studi, spazi collettivi e di relazione, residenze del Dipartimento tecnologico.
Infine proponiamo di collegare ambientalmente l'ansa di Bovisa con l'area dell'attuale scalo Farini ridestinata a parco e con quella del centro direzionale, attraverso un bastione attrezzato, pedonabile e ciclabile in quota e al piano di campagna, destinato ad ospitare servizi alla residenza, alle attività produttive, allo sport, al tempo libero e, a tratti, al trasferimento riordinato della statuaria del Monumentale, così diradato e messo in continuità con la penetrazione del verde al cuore della città.
Il progetto cerca di esprimersi in paesaggio, evocando in rarefatta atmosfera, tesa tra città e campagna, la "natura industriale" dipinta da Mario Sironi, dove è presente, caratteristica dell'intera città, non solo della sua periferia, certa discontinuità, certa promiscuità, renitenti a comporsi secondo regole di una scenografia convenzionale e dove non di rado, tra le calcinature dei congegni del produrre, del risiedere, dello scambiare, si stagliano in tutto tondo, veri e propri monumenti, quei caposaldi che periodicamente hanno aggiornato la vocazione di Milano alla modernità.



Project Proposal for the Bovisa Area of Milan, Presented at the Exhibition "The Imaginated Cities" at the XVII Triennale, Milan, 1987
Guido Canella

Some theorists believe that after the large scale projects of the industrial era, the growth of the service oriented city of today should be based on small projects and the rehabilitation of large areas (especially, one may add with a touch of malice, where large areas of government property are available). An example frequently used in favor of this theory is the Bovisa area. However — as we all know — a city is not a static entity which can be worked on bit by bit, but a living organism in which actions and reactions are linked together. Thus a planned renewal for the Bovisa area would set off a series of reactions which have, since the demise of large industrial plants, been turning the city's mithty industrial outskirts into fragmented developments stripped of thir identity. Factories left idle, former industrial hangars turned into truck depots, high-density condominuim developments etc — these are examples of development that continues despite the master plan for city zoning, planning regulations, attempts to enforce standards for development, decrees by district councils, constraints imposed in the name of industrial archaeology or investments by private enterpreneurs, who have now reverted to being major investors in the real estate business. To reverse such tendencies we wish to propose concrete alternatives which can be measured and quantified. Such alternatives take into consideration the potential offered by the context itself.
1. To improve transportation (which has always been dictated by prevailing requirements, towards areas other than the city center), we suggest creating a new unified railway station. This station would serve the State Railway System, the Ferrovie Nord railways and the streetcar system along the downtown circular route. The Bovisa area would benefit by having better connections to many areas within the city such as the Citta Studi (Universtity campus) district which would in turn be upgraded to become a link between different university departments, higher secondary institutions and the Lambrate industrial park. Improved connections with the business district (where select activities have located their offices), with airports, railroads and regional traffic interchanges in the urban area, technology corridors, the financial district and city government agencies would also result. Stronger connections would be established with areas around the city, historically connected with the Milan market, such as Sestese, Brianza, Valle Olona and Canton Ticino. A strong link would finally be established with the Fiera (Exhibition Center) which, upon completition of its planned expansion will truly become the meeting point between an expanded city center and the northern outlying suburban region, as envisioned by Giuseppe De Finetti who also wished to see a business district included in the exhibition complex. Lastly a connection would be established with the city's northern outlying areas between the Lambro and the Olona which have always provided large areas of the city with labor, technology and goods during every industrial phase. An example of this is Bovisa which stands idle today. We suggest that the occupational aspect be approached by modernising the traditional forms of

production in the area, i.e., by inserting experimental activities, applied academic research and service activities of a different nature from those in the business district. The idea of a Department of Technology is in line with the re-organization of the Milan Polytechnic, no longer organized on the basis of faculties but based on departments, and would thus be directly connected with production in an area where it is most concentrated and most deeply rooted in the work tradition. The Department of Technology on the Bovisa site would be connected with other applied technology sites at Lambrate, Sesto San Giovanni and Legnano.

New housing would stimulate urbanization in Bovisa, by replacing existing dwellings no longer directly related to industry, and meeting the need for short-term housing for the local student population (thus ensuring a minimum number of users for the new sports facilities).

2. The urban landscape has been designed to anticipate the type of change needed, while retaining the character of the area and choosing elements capable of encouraging outdoor activities and new lifestyles. This has been approached at various different levels.

The nucleus of the Bovisa area can be inscribed within a rough triangle. This area includes mixed-use urban fabric, public facilities (schools in Via Bodio, the church of the Beata Vergine del Buon Consiglio) and a shopping district (Via Imbriani-Piazza Bausan). None of these have yet been irreparably damaged by the disintegration of the great industrial facilities or by their replacement with scores of housing complexes. This represents an example of uneven and discontinuous morphology still capable of surviving the reorganizations and changes of today's production regime.

On the eastern edge of the Bovisa area the buildings recently built to provide services to the community — especially schools — will have their exterior areas redesigned to form a continuous open strip extending through Bovisa and Dergano. These spaces will be equipped as required by their use and will be extendable using pre-determined passages — northward, all the way to Cascina Albana and southward, all the way to the Cimitero Monumentale (Cemetery) and the Farini freight station which will be converted into a park.

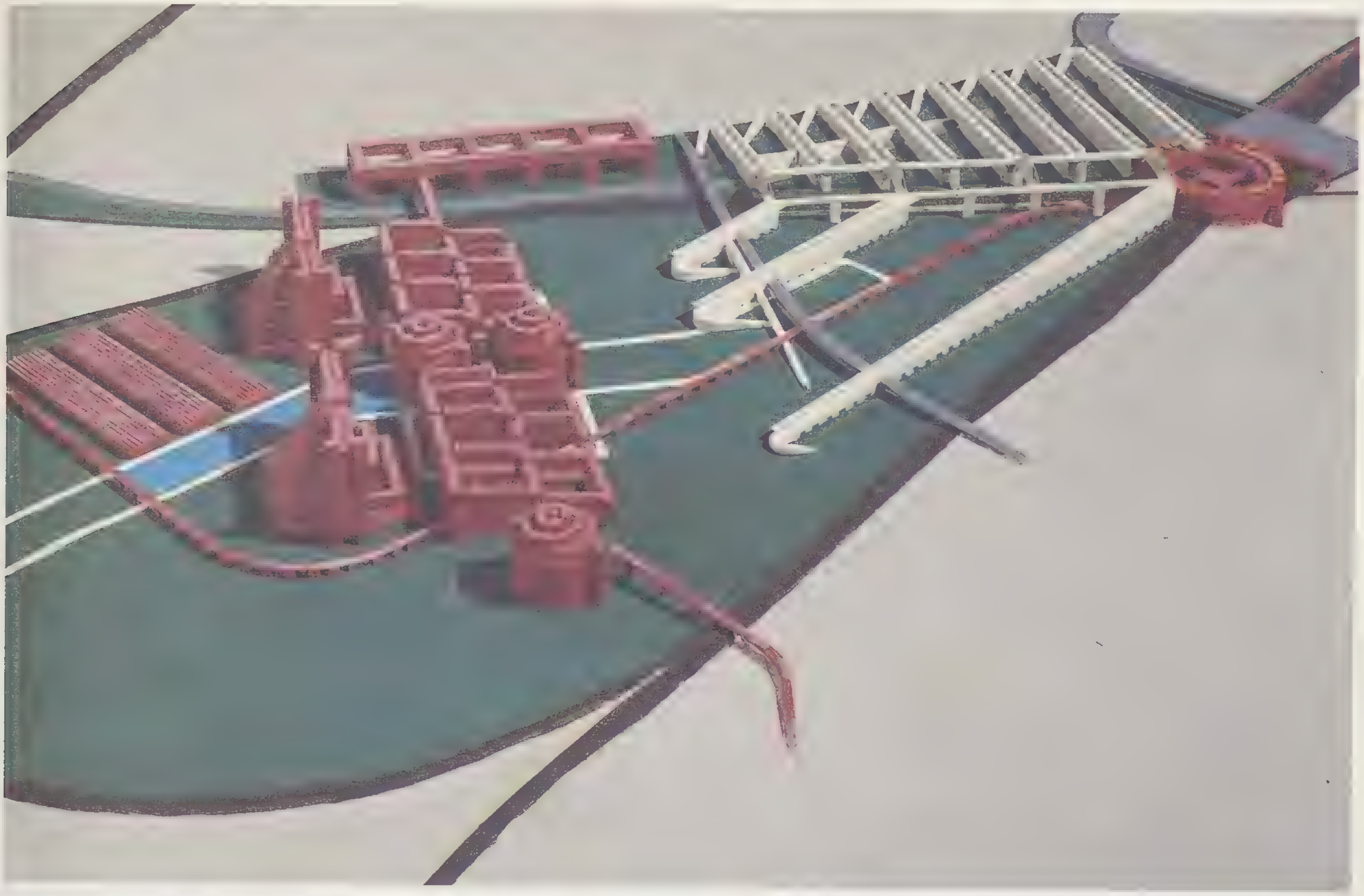
In the northern sector of the Bovisa area a large square zone between Via Bovisasca, Via Andreoli, Via Durando and Via Cosenz will be converted, by demolishing certain existing structures, into a large open field divided into smaller parcels by low dividing walls. These areas are planned for use by travelling circuses and funfairs, seasonal and open air activities, storage, etc. To the north the square faces the Cascina Albana (with the railway tracks further behind) and to the south, a long row of houses. The east side faces the traditional (mechanical and pharmaceutical manufacturing) industries of the area . Among these facilities is the long low office block of the Ceretti and Tanfani Company, built in 1906, which will be converted into the Bovisa Town Hall, a true town hall which expresses the real ethnic culture of the area with its roots in the historically mixed housing and manufacturing areas. To the west, connected to the Department of Technology by a bridge over the railroad, it will face the new complex for experimental productive activities. The complex will be designed as a series of square modules in decreasing heights, converging towards the centre courtyards of the buildings.

Various circulation routes converge onto this large open field. Among these are a typical country road, which leads out of the city towards Quarto Oggiaro; the main transportation route for truck haulers coming in from Affori; an elevated road leading to the university (and Villa Pizzone, surrounded by greenery), and the public transportation routes from the Cimitero Monumentale. The sum of all the various building types coexisting within the boundaries of this area, the sequence of street fronts and the variety of circulations in the area make for a complex and unified setting, where the historic city outskirts rediscover an equilibrium between forma urbis and natura agri.

The new complex to be built is planned around two landmarks of proto-industrial Bovisa; the railway and the gasometers. Growth is foreseen for the railway, an important element in the transportation system of the city. It runs at ground level in the Bovisa area (not in a trench as some might wish) and is the main reason for the construction of many vehicular overpasses, coordinated in height and location with the slopes of the roofs of the existing houses and office buildings. Since the gasometers are no longer functional they have lost their symbolic role in the city's industrial outskirts. An attempt to maintain this role by using them as examples of industrial archaelogy would be meaningless and would not maintain the authenticity of the gasometers and their surroundings. On the other hand, their memory would be preserved more effectively if their shape were retained (as in the case of the medieval towns that were built within the layout of the older Roman amphitheatres), through additions and juxtapositions that would make them a functional part of the building complex for classrooms, laboratories, common areas and residence halls of the Department of Technology.

finally we propose to connect the bovisa area with the farini freight station area (which as mentioned previously, will be converted into a park), and with the business district by means of an elevated by-pass. This would be at street and raised levels, both with pedestrian and bicycle lanes and would house social service facilities, offices and leisure activities as well as statues relocated from the Cimitero Monumentale, stretching all the way deep into the heart of the city.

This project is characterised by a landscape with a unique atmosphere which is a cross between the city and the countryside, similar to that depicted by Mario Sironi in his paintings of "Industrial Nature". The whole city (not just the outskirts) is both discontinuous and mixed in character, reluctant to conform to set rules of urban development. Many noteworthy structures stand out among the manufacturing, residential and commercial complexes of the city; these are the contemporary symbols that typify modern Milan.







Prospettiva generale dell'intervento nel settore nord di Milano.

General perspective view of the site on the map of the north side of Milan.



Prospettiva generale dell'intervento nel settore nord di Milano.

General perspective view of the site on the map of the north side of Milan.

Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano

1990



Vista del modello da nord.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

North view of the model.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano

1990



Vista del modello da nord.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

North view of the model.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.



Il progetto sulla pianta di Milano. Planivolumetria: 1) Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto, Centro congressi e Crociera; 2) Enrico Mantero, Crociera; 3) Matilde Baffa, Marina Molon, Raffaele Pugliese, Crociera; 4) Sergio Croce, Marcello Grisotti, Giuseppe Turchini, Laboratori; 5) Antonio Monestiroli, Piazza dei servizi e Residenza temporanea; 6) Giorgio Grassi, Biblioteca e Crociera; 7) Emilio Battisti, Edoardo Varon, Cino Zucchi, Settore sudovest; 8) Sergio Crotti, Mario Mocchi, Roberto Spagnolo, Fabrizio Zanni, Settore sudest; 9) Pierluigi Nicolin, Area a sud dei gasometri; 10) Vittoriano Viganò, Aree verdi.

The proposed design superimposed on the plan of Milan. Building massing: 1) Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto, Congress Centre and Cross-shape building; 2) Enrico Mantero, Cross-shape building; 3) Matilde Baffa, Marina Molon, Raffaele Pugliese, Cross-shape building; 4) Sergio Croce, Marcello Grisotti, Giuseppe Turchini, Laboratories; 5) Antonio Monestiroli, Services Square and Temporary Building; 6) Giorgio Grassi, Library and Cross-shape building; 7) Emilio Battisti, Edoardo Varon, Cino Zucchi, Southwest part; 8) S. Crotti, M. Mocchi, R. Spagnolo, F. Zanni, Southeast part; 9) P. Nicolin, South area of the gasometers; 10) Vittoriano Viganò, Green areas.

Progetto di nuovo insediamento del Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano, 1990

Design for a New Campus of Milan Polytechnic in the Bovisa Quarter, Milan, 1990

Coordinatore del progetto architettonico/Architectural project coordinator:
Antonio Monestiroli, Dipartimento di Progettazione dell'Architettura

Collaboratori/Collaborators:
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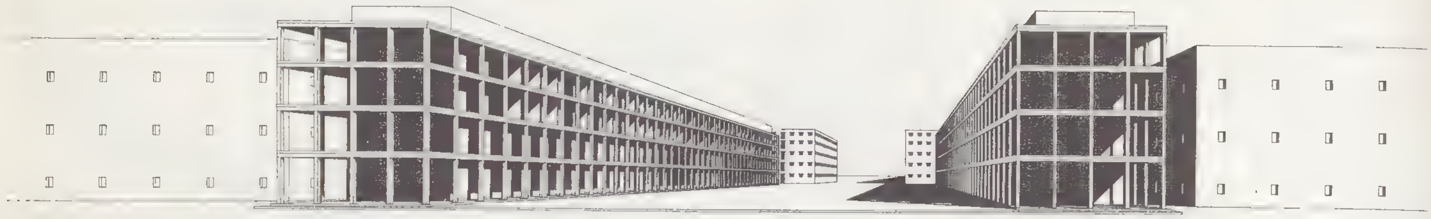
Matilde Baffa, Giorgio Fiorese, Giorgio Goggi, Marina Molon, Raffaele Pugliese, Maria Margherita Baggio, Giampaolo Corda, Vincenzo Donato, Giovanni Tacchini, Dipartimento di Progettazione dell'Architettura

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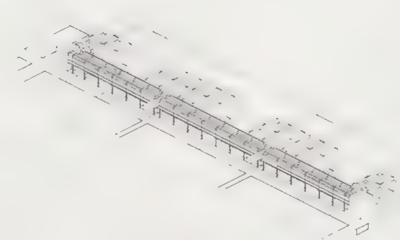

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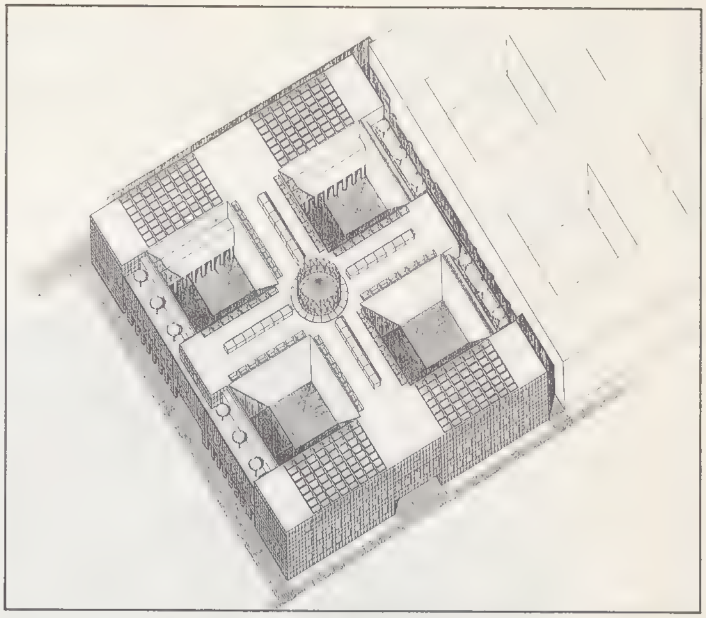
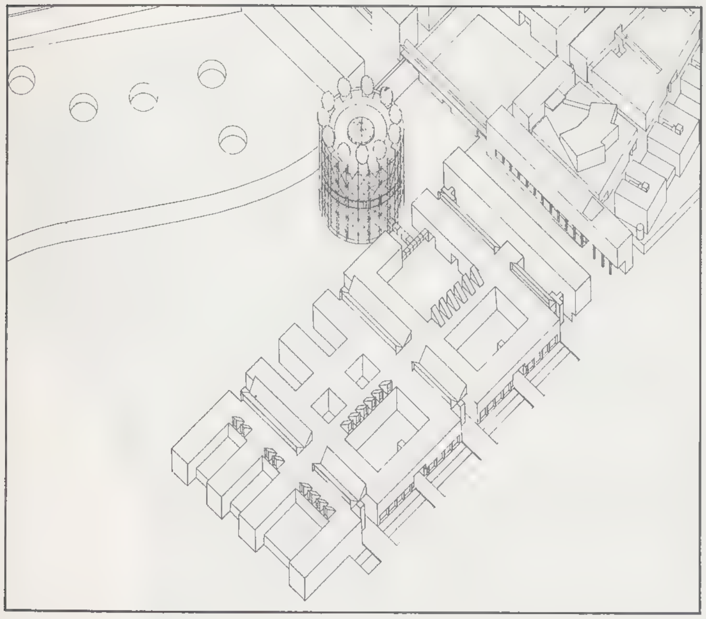
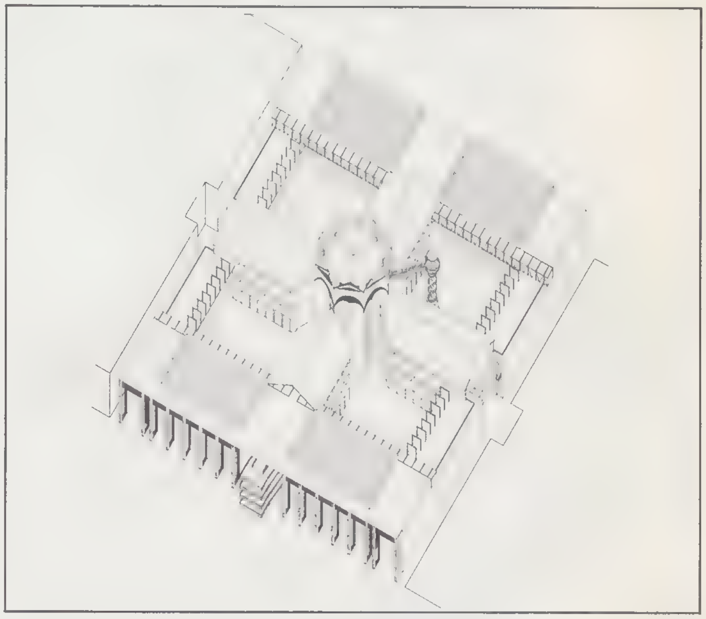
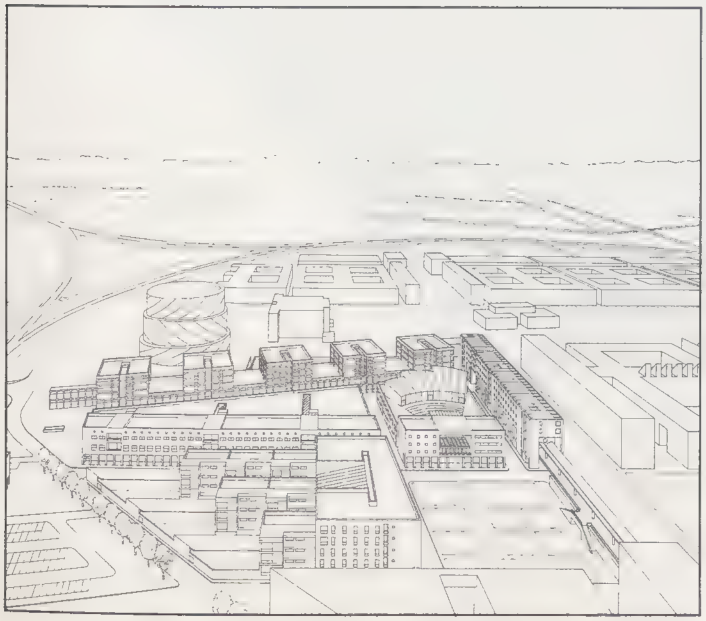
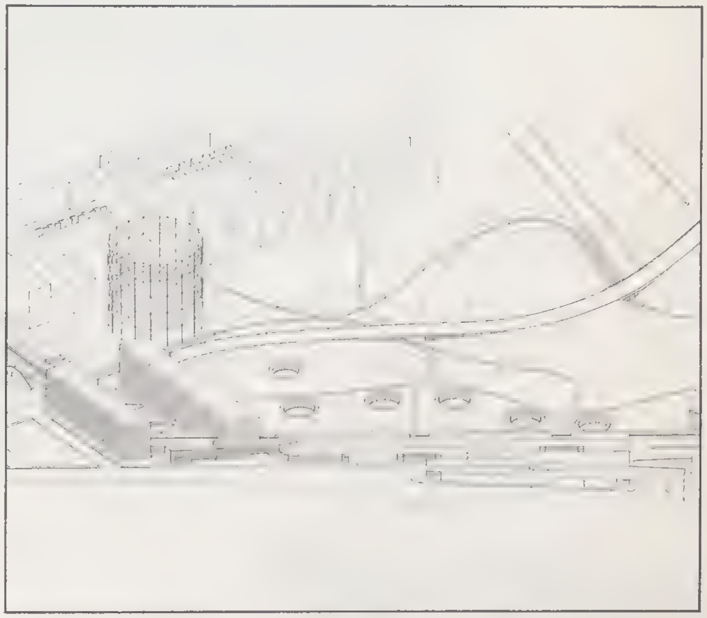




In questa pagina progetti di: Antonio Monestiroli, pianta e prospettiva; Sergio Croce, Marcello Grisotti, Giuseppe Turchini.
Nella pagina a fronte, da sinistra a destra e dall'alto in basso, progetti di: Vittoriano Viganò; Matilde Baffa, Marina Molon, Raffaele Pugliese; Sergio Crotti, Mario Mocchi, Roberto Spagnolo, Fabrizio Zanni; Enrico Mantero; Emilio Battisti, Edoardo Varon, Cino Zucchi; Pierluigi Nicolin.

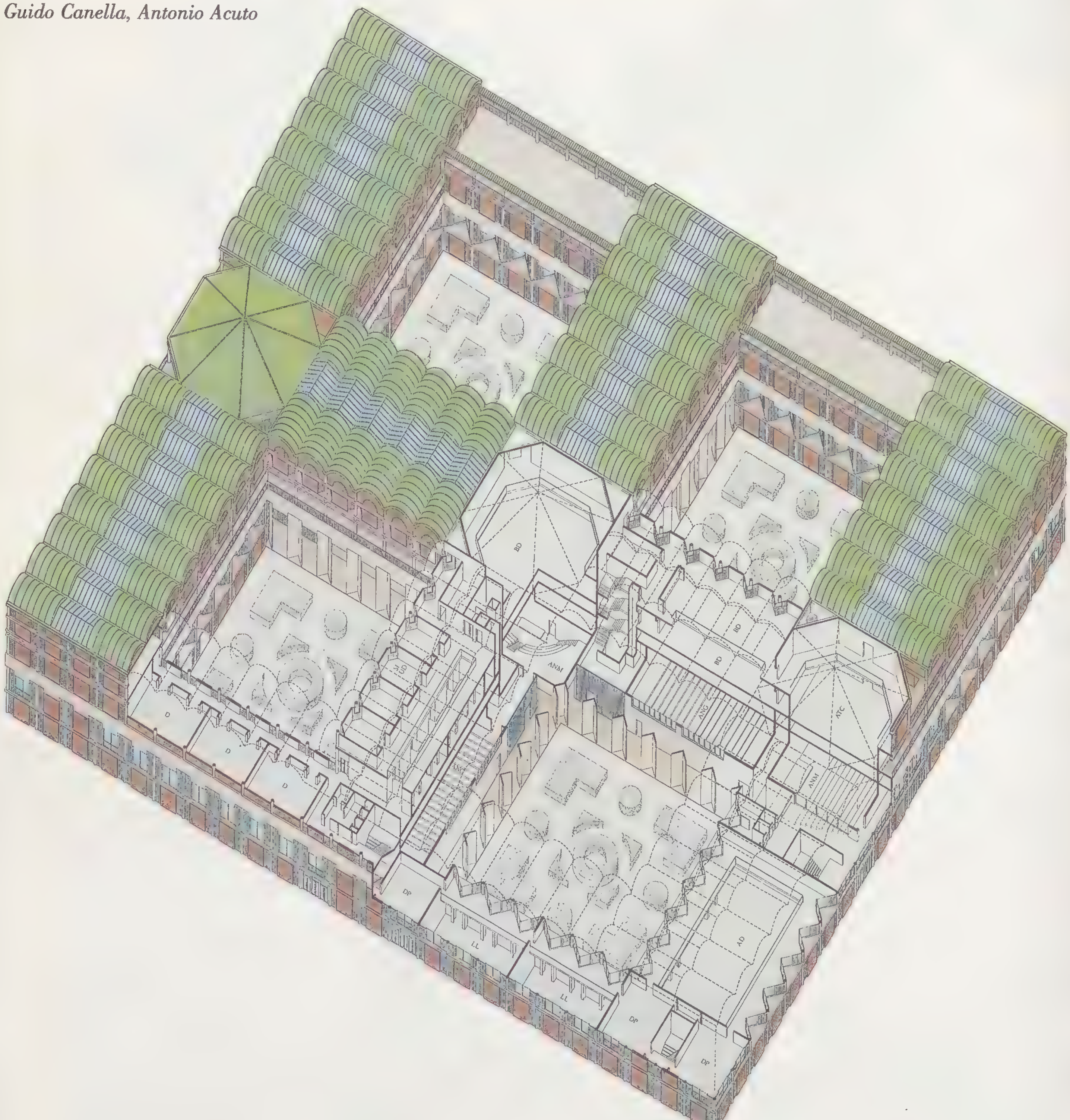
This page: plans and perspective of designs by Antonio Monestiroli, plan and elevation; Sergio Croce, Marcello Grisotti, Giuseppe Turchini.
Facing page, left to right, top to bottom, designs by: Vittoriano Viganò; Matilde Baffa, Marina Molon, Raffaele Pugliese; Sergio Crotti, Mario Mocchi, Roberto Spagnolo, Fabrizio Zanni; Enrico Mantero; Emilio Battisti, Edoardo Varon, Cino Zucchi, Pierluigi Nicolin.



Centro congressi e Complesso a crociera nel nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano
1990

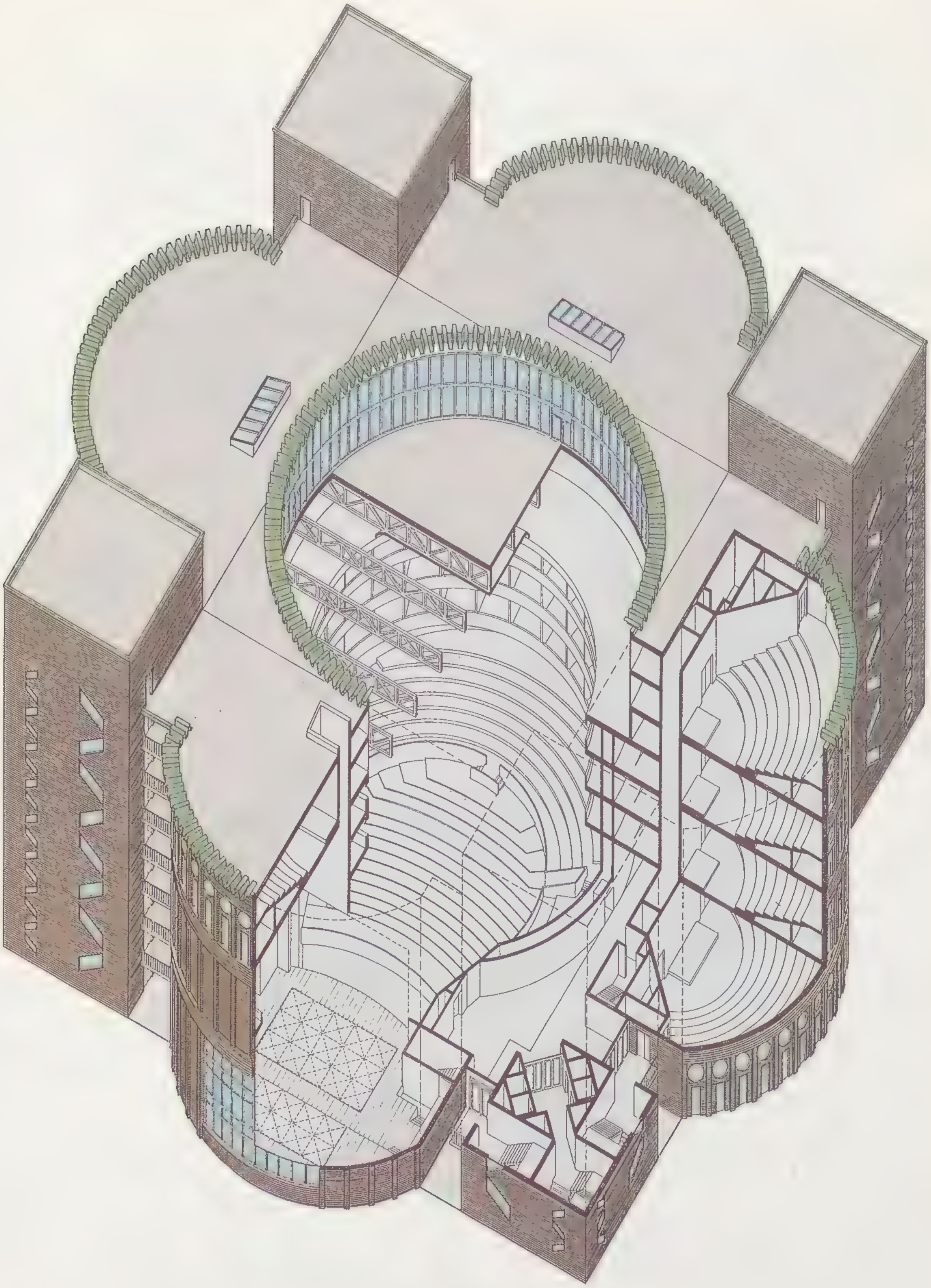
Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto



Spaccati assonometrici della Crociera e del Centro congressi.

Axonometric sections of the Cross-shape building and the Convention Centre.

coll.: Monica De Tomasi, Kimyiasu Kato, Marco Molinari, Innocent Okpanum, Domenico Strambena



Centro congressi con aule grandi per didattica generale e Complesso a crociera per attività dipartimentali nel progetto di nuovo insediamento del Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano
Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto

Centro congressi con aule grandi per didattica generale
L'edificio si sviluppa in altezza su un impianto centrale. Quattro torri quadrate (lato m. 12), poste ai vertici di un quadrato maggiore (lato m. 32), contengono i collegamenti verticali. Sui lati dello stesso quadrato sono collocate, sovrapposte, le grandi aule (quattro a nordovest, altrettante a sudest, tre a nordest, una soltanto a sudovest, tutte capaci di 250 posti). Nel grande vano centrale si configura così un corpo cilindrico incluso (diametro m. 32, altezza m. 18) che contiene la sala congressi-auditorium-aula magna, articolata in una platea e tre ordini di palchi (totale posti 566 + 270 = 836). Una torre scenica dislocata sul lato sudovest consente alla sala congressi prestazioni da vero e proprio teatro. Alle spalle del palcoscenico, un grande sipario rivolto all'esterno e verso la grande area verde consente rappresentazioni di massa *en plein air*. La funzione teatrale viene così a offrire un'ulteriore occasione di integrazione tra la comunità universitaria e la cittadinanza.

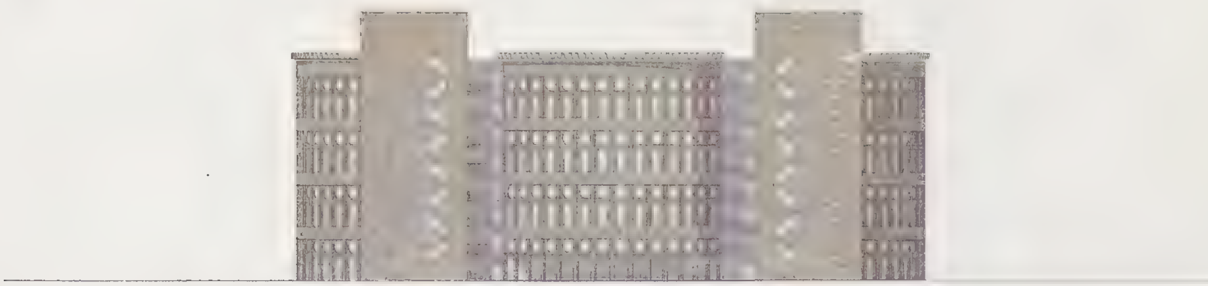
Complesso a crociera per attività dipartimentali
L'edificio si informa al caratteristico tipo a crociera (perimetro esterno con lati di m. 100 × 120, corti interne quadrate con lato di m. 30). La sezione di tutti i corpi è definita da un piano tecnico continuo (altezza lorda m. 2.40) dislocato tra le quote 6.10 e 8.50. Alla quota di campagna, nella crociera interna sono dislocate le aule a gradoni grandi (250 posti) e medie (150 posti), mentre i corpi perimetrali nordovest e sudest contengono le aule speciali e da disegno (mq. 400 circa ciascuna) e i corpi nordest e sudovest i laboratori leggeri. Le aule sono disimpegnate su entrambi i lati da corridoi in diretto contatto con l'esterno; mentre i laboratori lo sono da un corridoio rivolto verso corte.
Sopra il piano tecnico, entro navate a doppia altezza dotate di percorsi centrali su due livelli (8.50 e 12.00) illuminati dall'alto, sono organizzati: nei tre corpi di fabbrica orientati secondo l'asse nordest-sudovest, gli spazi riservati particolarmente alle attività dipartimentali; nel corpo della crociera, disposto secondo l'asse nordovest-sudest, la biblioteca, agli estremi della quale si trovano gli spazi di relazione e ricreativi entro vani a tutt'altezza con ballatoio perimetrale a quota 12.00. Mentre nei due restanti corpi perimetrali, disposti secondo l'asse nordovest-sudest, sono dislocate le piccole aule e gli spazi di lavoro collettivo a quota 8.50 e gli studi per i docenti a quota 12.00. Altri uffici (compresi quelli amministrativi), le attività di dottorato, quelle autonome degli allievi e altre ancora sono dislocate nei corpi semplici rispettivamente su due livelli (8.50 e 12.00) a nordest e su un livello (8.50) a sudovest.
Volte a botte poste in sequenza trasversalmente al corpo di fabbrica e, nel caso del corpo doppio, interrotte nel tratto centrale da un lucernario a falde, conformano la copertura dell'edificio, salvo che per i tre tiburi, coperti da padiglioni ottagonali.

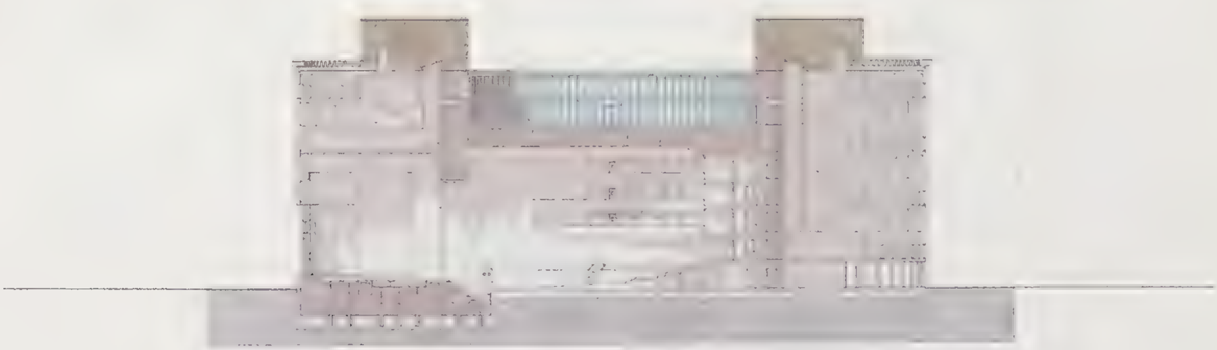
Prospetto sudest e sezione della Crociera.
Prospetto nordest e sezione del Centro congressi.

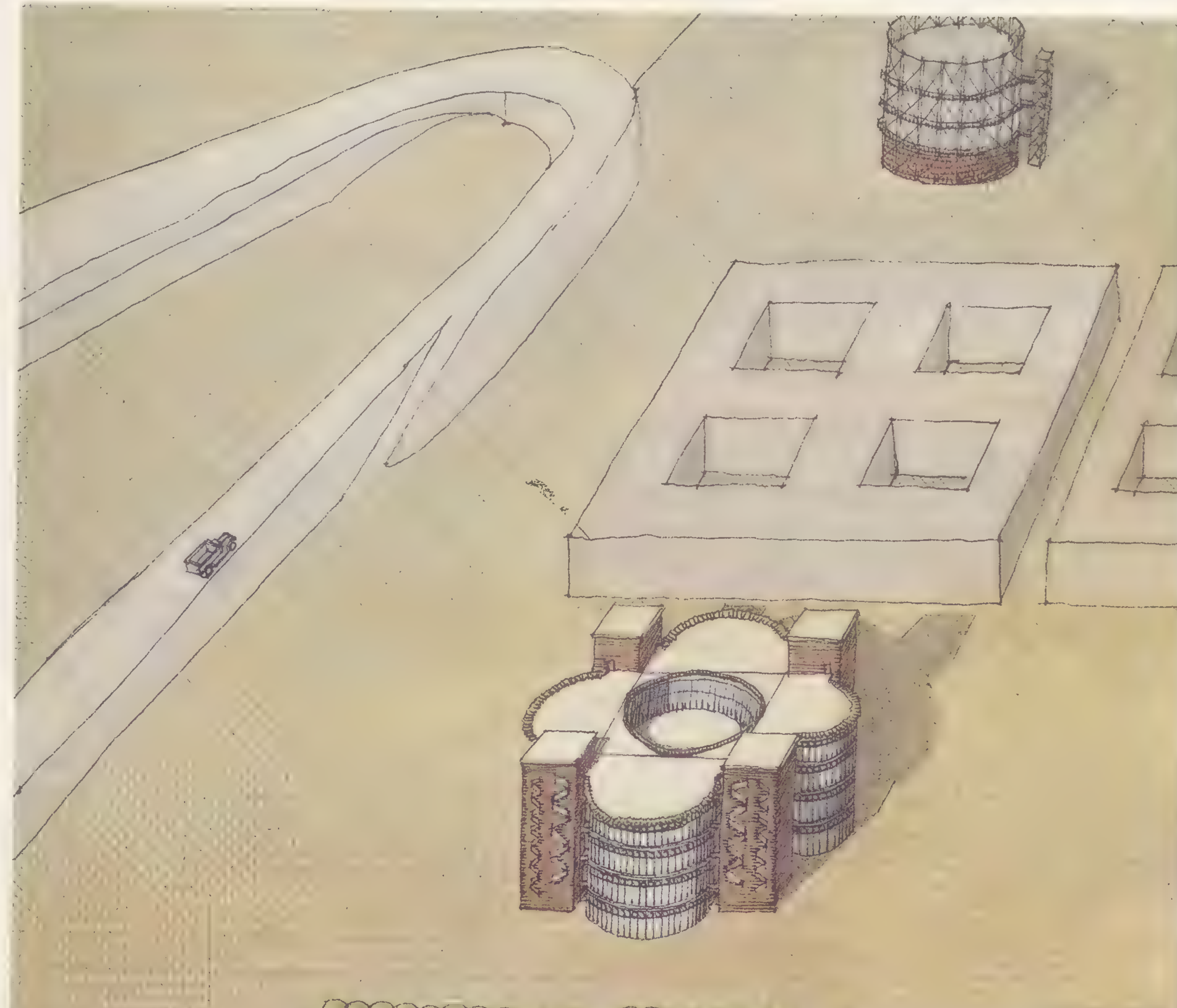
Southeast elevation and section through the Cross-shape building.
Northeast elevation and section through the Convention Centre.



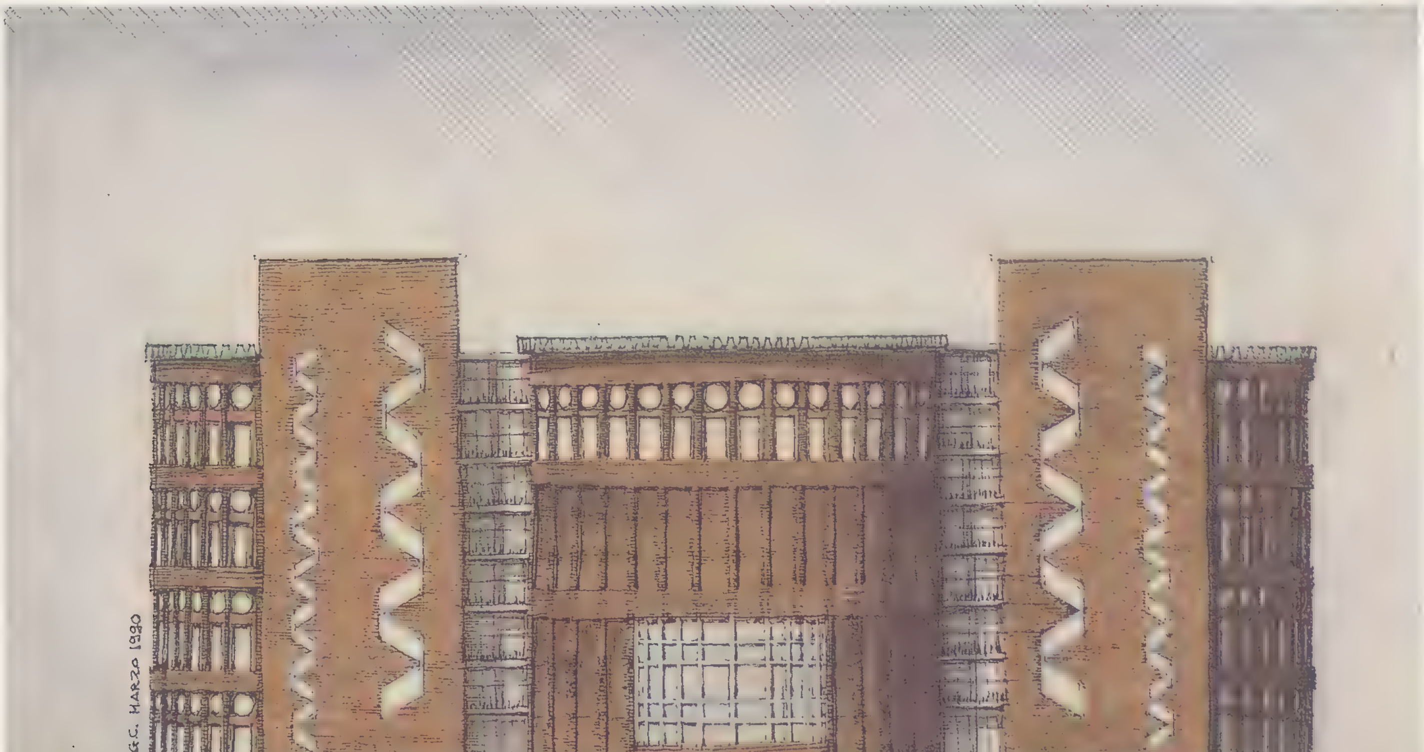


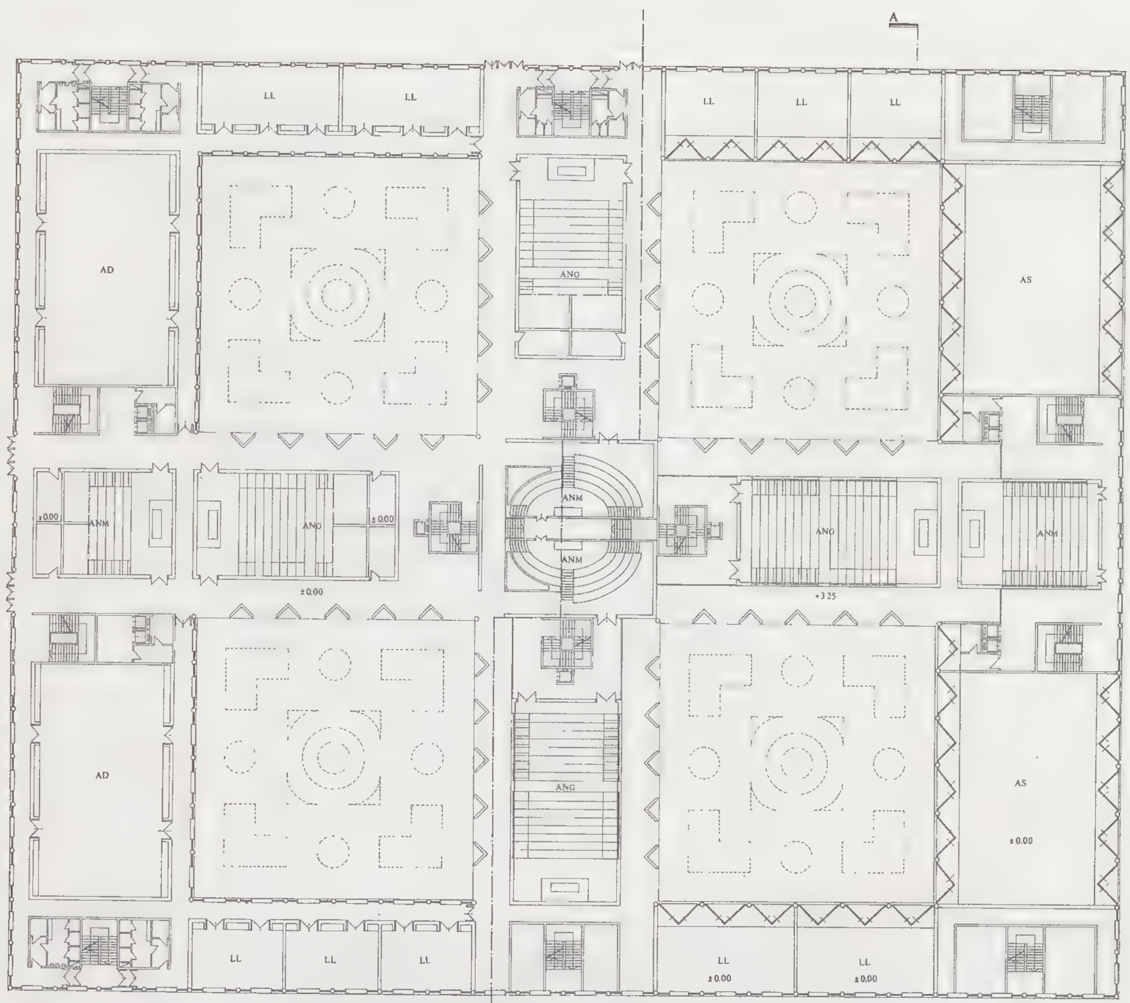





MARZO 1990


G.C. MARZO 1980


G.C. MARZO 1980
FRONTE SUD-OVEST
VERSO IL CAMPUS



PIANTE ALLE QUOTE ±0.00 E +3.25

ANG aula normale grande
ANM aula normale media
ANP aula normale piccola
ANP* aula normale dipartimento

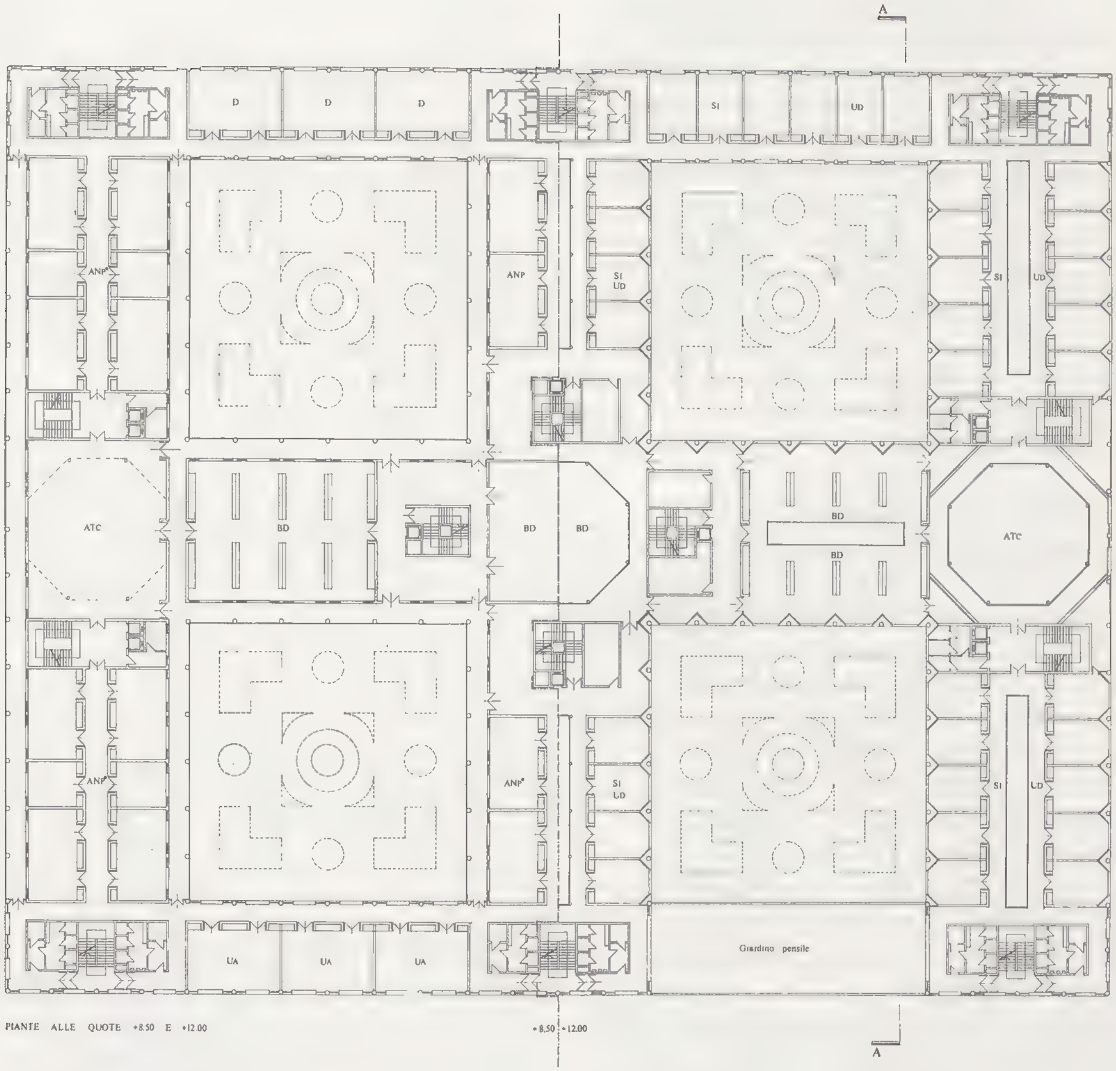
AI aula informatica
AD aula disegno
AS aula speciale

SI studio individuale
LD uffici docenti e ricercatori
UA uffici amministrativi
D dottorato
SR sala riunioni

LL laboratori leggeri
AT attrezzature collettive, ricreative, ecc
BD biblioteca dipartimento

Piante della Crociera ai piani terreno/primo e terzo/quarto.
Nelle pagine precedenti: Disegni di studio.

Plans of the Cross-shape building at ground/first floor and third/fourth floors.
On the preceding pages: Design sketches.



ANG aula normale grande
ANM aula normale media
ANP aula normale piccola
ANP* aula normale piccola dipartimento

AI aula informatica
AD aula disegno
AS aula speciale

SI studio individuale
UD uffici docenti e ricercatori
UA uffici amministrativi dipartimento
D dottorato
SR sala riunioni

LL laboratori leggeri
ATC attrezzature collettive
BD biblioteca dipartimento



Convention Center with Large Lecture Halls and Cross-Shape Complex for University Departments in the New Design for the Bovisa Campus of Polytechnic, Milan

Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto

The Convention Center with Large Lecture Halls

The building is organized around a central core. Four square towers (each with 12 m sides) containing the vertical circulation elements are set at the corners of a larger square building, measuring 32 m on each side. Large lecture halls are located along the side of the main square plan (four halls each on the northeast and southeast sides, three on the northeast and one only on the southwest side). Each lecture halls seats 250 students. The center portion of the building is the seat of the 32 meter diameter and 18 meter high convention hall/auditorium/aula magna. This multi-purpose room is divided into a ground level and three tiers, seating a total of 836 people (566 on the ground level and 270 on the tiers). A proscenium on the southwest side enables the room to be used as a true theatre. Behind the stage a large curtain separates the room from the green area outside: other raised, open air preformances may be conducted. The theatre thus offers another occasion for integration between the inhabitants of the city and the university.

Cross-Plan Complex for University Departments

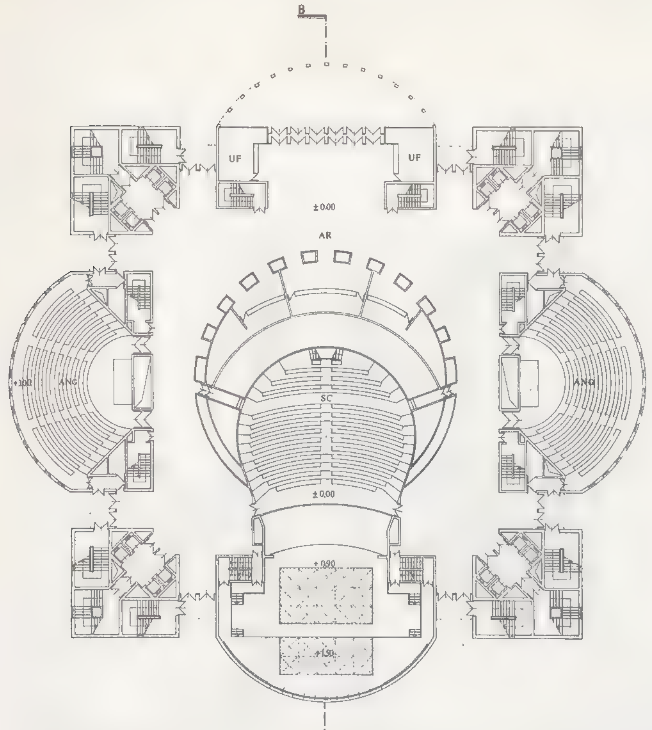
The building is based on a typical cross shape. The exterior dimensions of the complex are 100 m by 120 m with an inner courtyard 30 m square. A mechanical floor at elevation 6.10 m is 2.40 m high (floor to floor) and runs continuous throughout the building. The large (250 seat) and smaller (150 seat) stepped halls are located within the arms and the leg of the cross at ground level. The outer north west and south east blocks house the specialized classrooms and draughting rooms (approximately 400 sq. m each) and the north east and south west blocks house the laboratories for non-specialized activities. The classrooms open on both sides onto corridors leading directly out of the building. The laboratories on the other hand open on one side only onto a corridor leading to the coutyard.

The following spaces are located above the mechanical floor between double height naves with central circulation on two levels (elevation 8.50 m and 12.00 m) lit from above: departmental activity areas in the three blocks along the north east/south west axis; the library in the cross, along the north west/south east axis, at the ends of which are gathering and recreational areas which will have a double-height ceiling with a gallery along the perimeter at 12.00 m. The smaller classrooms and group work areas are located at elevation 8.50 m. The faculty offices are located at elevation 12.00 m along the north west/south east axis in the two remaining perimeter blocks. Other offices (including the administrative offices), PhD activities, independent student activities and other activities are organized in simple blocks on two levels (elevation 8.50 m and 12.00 m respectively) to the north east and one level (elevation 8.50 m) to the south west.

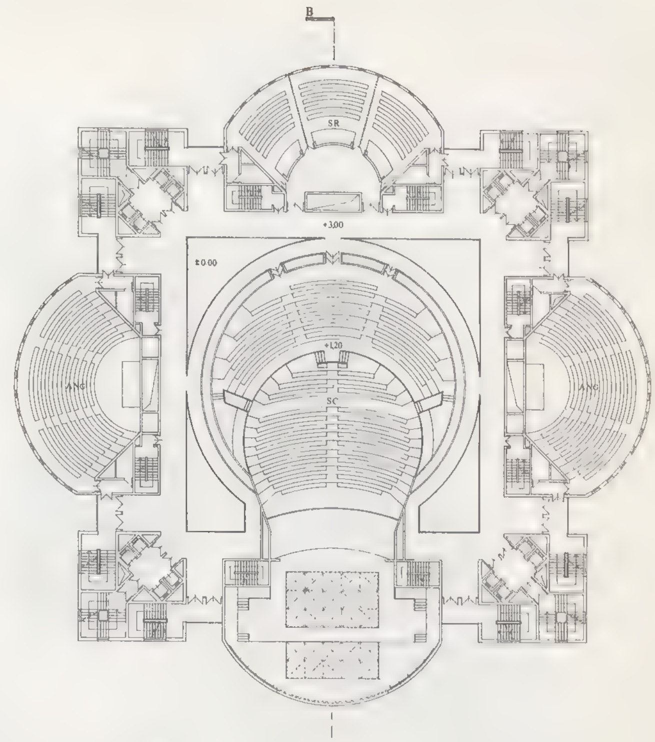
The barrel-vaulted roof runs at right angles to the main building and (in the case of the twin block), interrupted in the central part by a louvered sklight, except in the three octagonal lanterns.

Piante del Centro congressi ai piani terreno, primo, secondo e terzo.

Ground, first, second and third floor plans of the Convention Centre.



PIANTA PIANO TERRENO Q ± 0.00



PIANTA PIANO PRIMO Q +3.00



PIANTA QUOTE +12.00 E +15.00

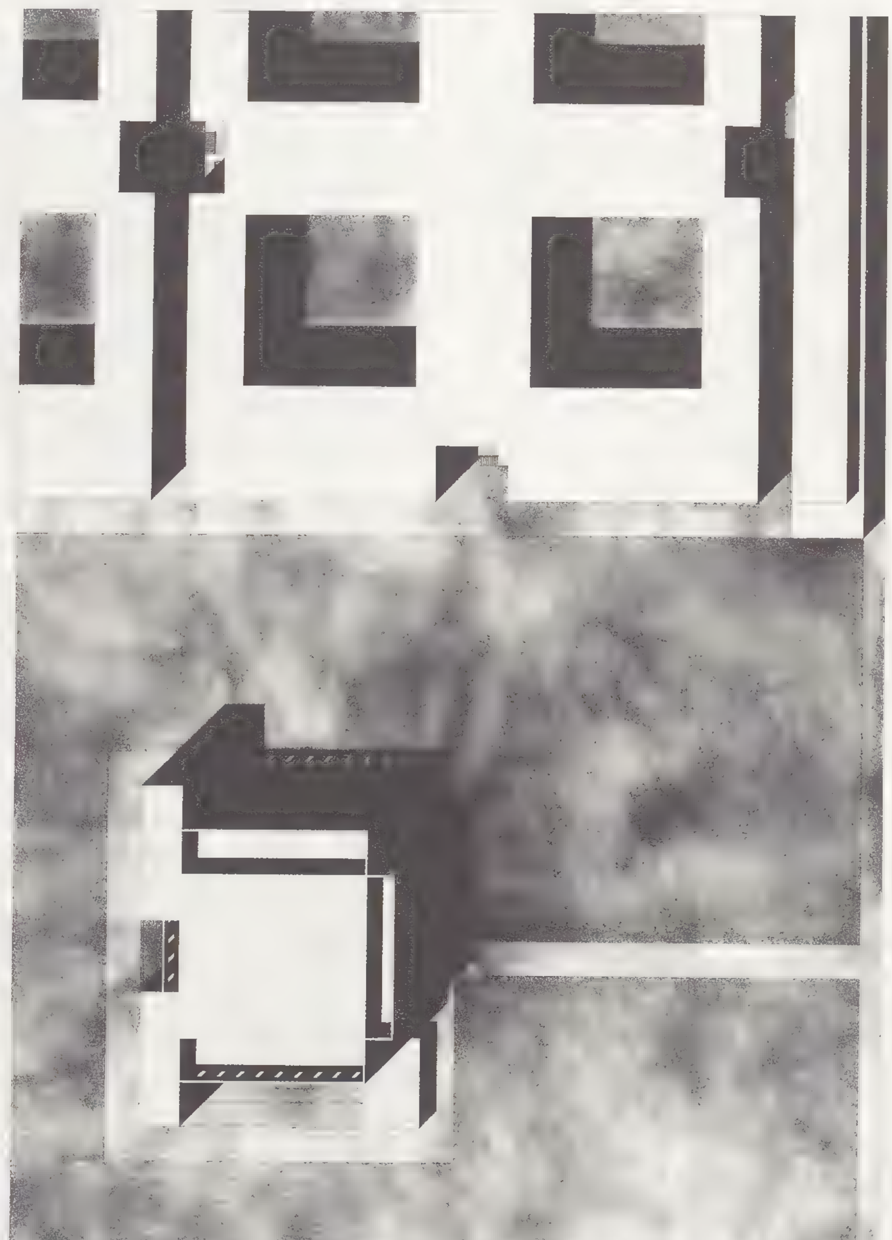


PIANTA QUOTA +18.00

Biblioteca e Complesso a crociera nel nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano
1990

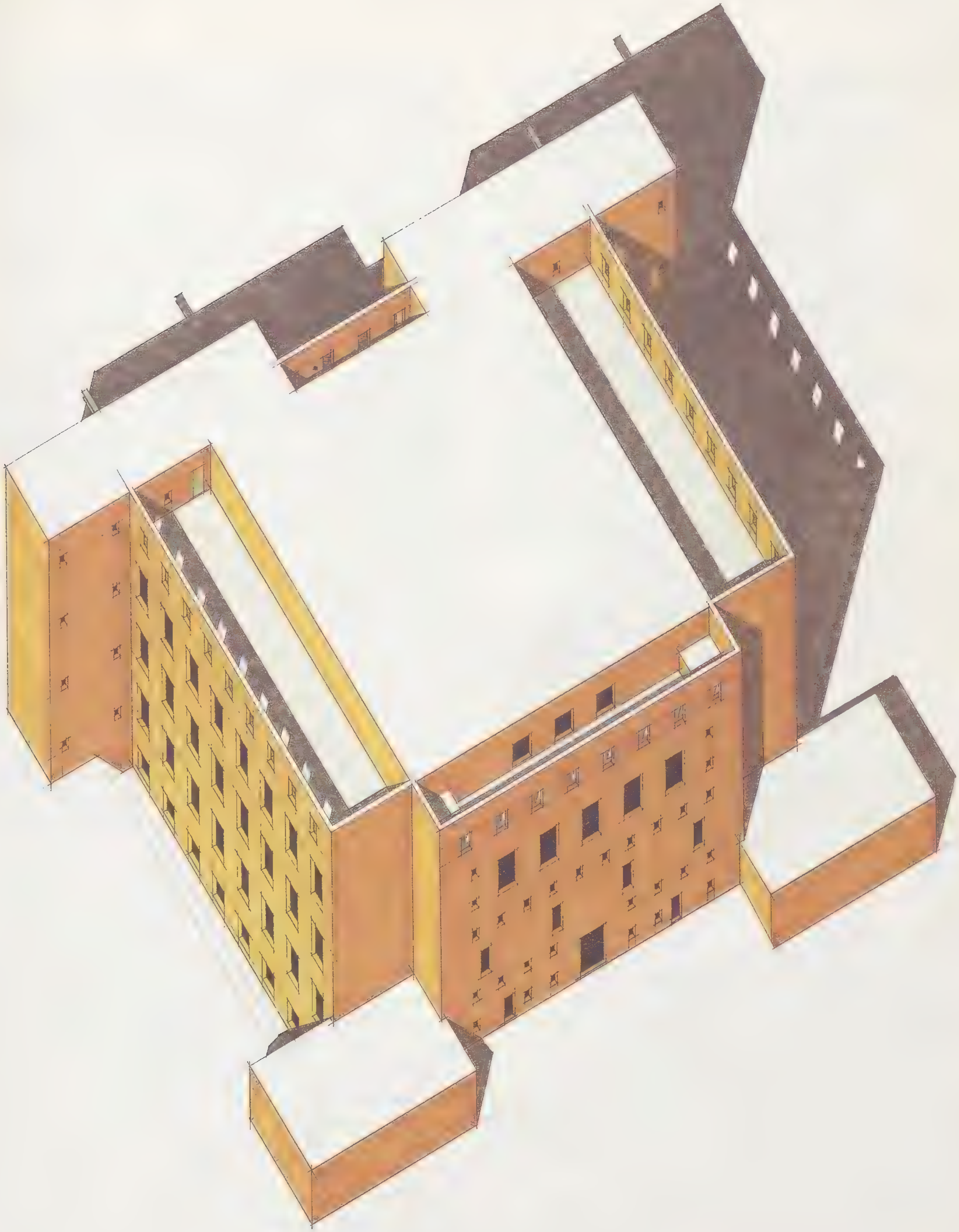
Giorgio Grassi

coll.: Nunzio Dego, Enrico Pelloni



Planivolumetria della Biblioteca e della Crociera e assonometria della Biblioteca.

Building massing of the Library, the Cross-shape building, and axonometric of the Library.

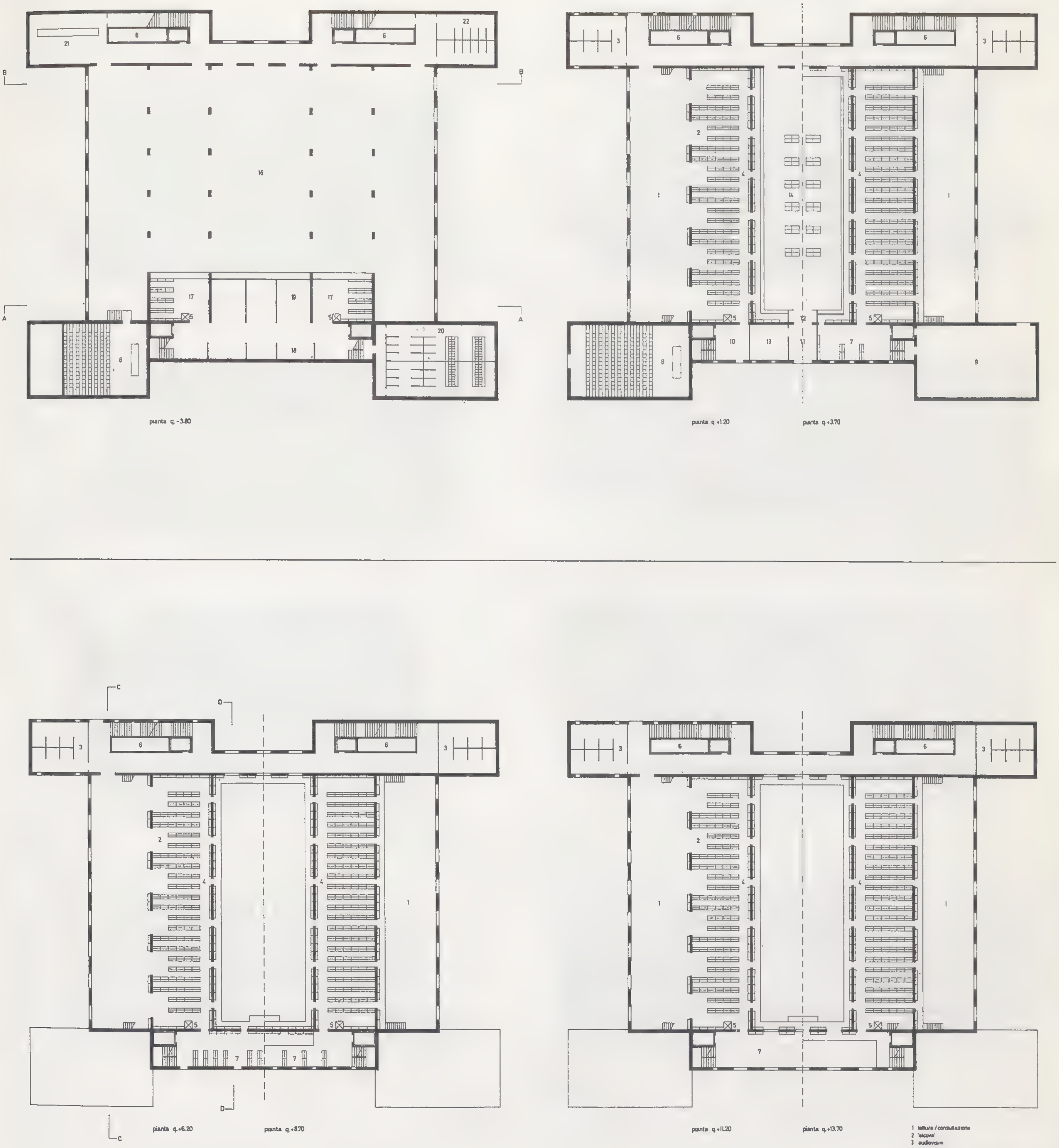


Biblioteca e Complesso a crociera per attività dipartimentali nel progetto di nuovo insediamento del Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano
Giorgio Grassi

Biblioteca
Il progetto parte dall'ipotesi (che appartiene alla tradizione anglosassone, ma ormai largamente accettata per flessibilità e migliore fruibilità) che una moderna biblioteca scientifica, o universitaria, debba anzitutto essere un deposito di libri facilmente e direttamente accessibile al pubblico specializzato.
In questo senso l'impianto tipologico scelto per il progetto, senza essere in contrasto con un funzionamento ad accesso chiuso della biblioteca, è predisposto prevalentemente per l'accesso cosiddetto libero (anche il suo eventuale ampliamento in altezza è visto in questa ottica).
Il carattere particolare di questo progetto è appunto la massima elasticità possibile fra il sistema ad accesso libero (con luoghi di lettura adiacenti al deposito) e quello ad accesso chiuso (con distribuzione centralizzata e sala di lettura separata). Il deposito si trova cioè collocato fra i due sistemi d'uso e la porzione di esso da destinare all'uno o all'altro sistema può essere facilmente modificata spostando la linea di separazione nel deposito stesso. Questa scelta ha portato a un impianto distributivo con i libri al centro e gli spazi per la lettura posti intorno e al piede di questi.
Un altro obbiettivo non secondario del progetto è che la biblioteca sia immediatamente riconoscibile nella sua specifica qualità, cioè che l'elemento architettonicamente dominante della biblioteca siano i libri stessi, la loro quantità sterminata: orgogliosa, monumentale rappresentazione del suo ufficio e del suo valore. Di qui appunto la scelta di porre al centro della composizione il deposito dei libri e al centro di questo, a tutt'altezza, l'atrio, la sala schedari, ecc., cioè l'elemento principale di distribuzione delle diverse parti, in modo che sia immediatamente percepibile sia la destinazione particolare dell'edificio, sia proprio la quantità — che qui diventa sinonimo di qualità — di ciò che esso è destinato a custodire.
Quindi un edificio a pianta centrale sviluppato intorno a un atrio a tutt'altezza, letteralmente tappezzato di libri e circondato, in particolare sui lati lunghi, dal deposito vero e proprio. Il quale deposito è a sua volta a diretto contatto delle sale di lettura e consultazione disposte su tre piani. Mentre la sua parte mediana è collegata meccanicamente con la sala comune di lettura che si trova sotto l'atrio. Nei due lati corti di quest'ultimo si trovano i collegamenti verticali e orizzontali, da un lato per il pubblico e dall'altro per gli addetti.
Nel presente progetto di massima l'edificio è previsto a struttura mista, con murature perimetrali di mattoni faccia a vista.
Per una superficie totale lorda di mq. 10.100 si hanno:
1) deposito libri (ad accesso chiuso e/o aperto) per

__Library and Cross-Shape Building for Departmental Activities in the Design for a New Campus of the Milan Polytechnic in the Bovisa Quarter, Milan__
Giorgio Grassi

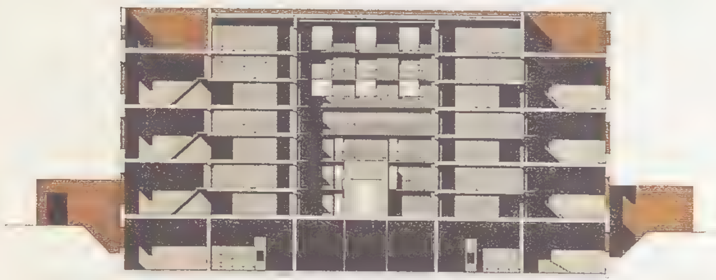
Library
The project is based on the premise (derived from the Anglo-Saxon tradition, widely accepted today because of its flexibily and efficiency) that a modern scientific or university library should, first and foremost, be directly and easily accessible to the public.
In keeping with this premise, the typology chosen for this design was selected in order to encourage free access, without precluding the possibility of including a closed stack section. (The possibility of added storeys, in the future, is also in keeping with this philosophy.)
The distinguishing feature of this project lies in its flexibility with respect to free access (reading areas adjacent to the stacks) and closed access (centralised distribution of reference materials and a separate reading room). The stacks are located between the two usage systems, and the portion of the stacks dedicated to one access system or the other can be modified with ease, simply by moving the line of separation. This functional criterion generated a lay-out with central stacks and reading rooms arranged around the perimeter of the stack area.
No less important in this design, was the idea that the library should be immediately recognized as such, meaning that the dominant architectural element was to be the books themeselves, in enormous quantities: a proud, monumental representation of the building's role and value. This guided the decision to locate the stacks, along with the card catalogues, in the centre of the building in an atrium which rises to the full height of the building. The atrium is the main access for the entire structure; in the atrium it is immediately obvious what the building is for, and the quantity — in this case intended to be synonymous with quality — of books is evident.
This resulted in a building with a central plan developed round a full-height atrium, literally walled with books and surrounded, particularly along its length, by the stacks themselves. The stacks are directly accessible to the reading and reference rooms distributed on the three levels. The center core is connected by an elevator to the common reading room below the atrium. Egress and elevators for circulation are located on the two short sides of the atrium, with one side for public use and the other for staff use.
The building is designed to be a mixed structure with exposed brick exterior cladding.
A building area of 10.100 sq. metres (7635 sq. metres of usable area) includes the following:
1) book stacks (closed or open access), for 750.000 volumes, 3300 sq. metres;
2) open access reading rooms (consultation rooms, special reference rooms, periodicals, technical/scientific documentation centre, audio-visuals, etc.), 1900 sq. metres;



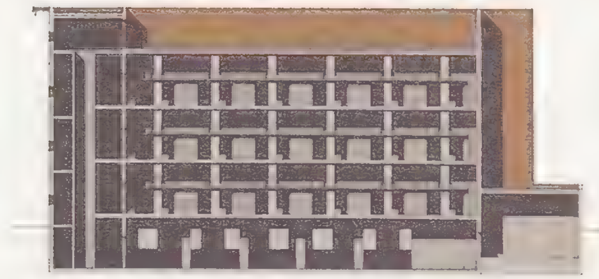
1 lettura / consultazione
2 'alcova'
3 audiovisivi
4 magazzino
5 montalibri
6 ventilazione / ecc
7 preparazione materiale bibliografico
8 conferenze / proiezioni
9 recezione / magazzino
10 ingresso personale
11 ingresso pubblico
12 controllo
13 guardaroba
14 schedar.
15 prestito
16 sala lettura
17 distribuzione
18 legatoria / foto / ecc
19 uffici
20 spogliatoi personale
21 cafeteria
22 servizi igienici

Piante della Biblioteca ai piani interrato, rialzato, primo e secondo.

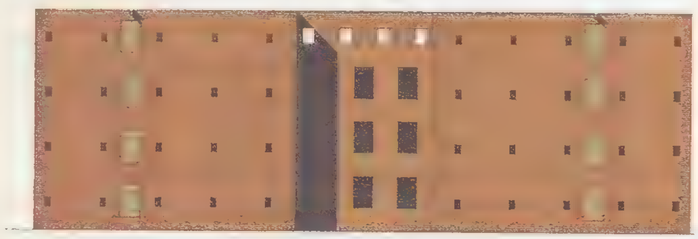
First underground, first floor above ground, first and second floor plans of the Library.



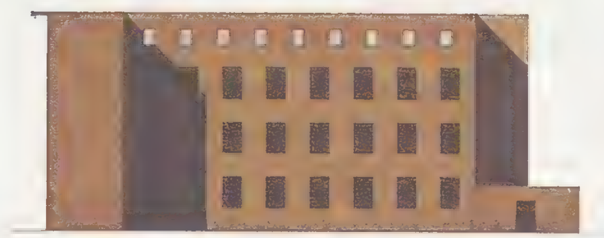
sezione sud-ovest (A-A)



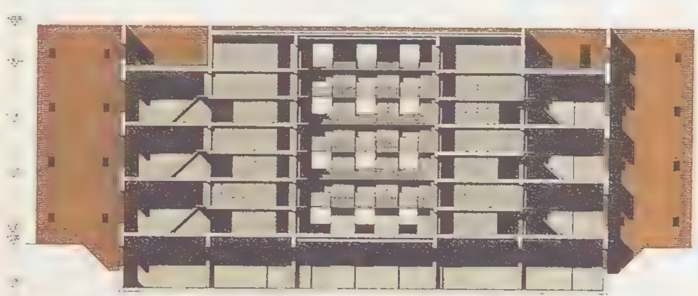
sezione sud-est (C-C)



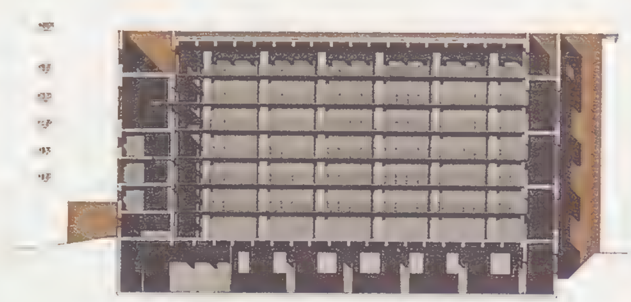
fronte sud-ovest



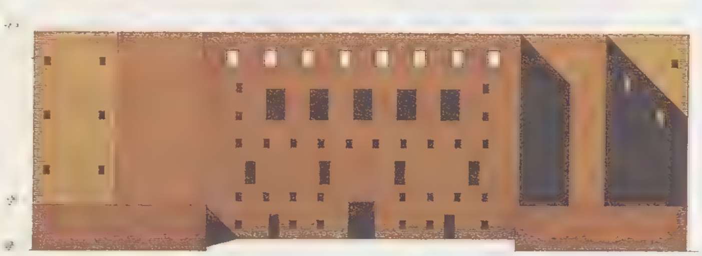
fronte sud-est



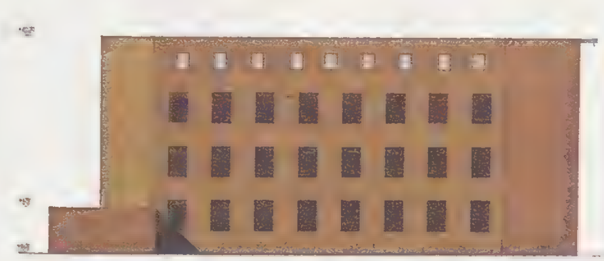
sezione nord-est (B-B)



sezione nord-ovest (D-D)



fronte nord-est



fronte nord-ovest

Sezioni e prospetti della Biblioteca.

Library sections and elevations.

n. 750.000 volumi, mq. 3300;
2) sale di lettura ad accesso libero (sale di consultazione, speciali di consultazione, periodici, centro di documentazione tecnico-scientifica, audiovisivi, ecc., mq. 1900;
3) atrio, schedari, prestito, ecc., mq. 400;
4) uffici, distribuzione, spogliatoi e servizi personale, recezione e preparazione materiale bibliografico, spedizione, magazzini, ecc., mq. 700;
5) sala di lettura ad accesso chiuso, mq. 1200;
6) sala conferenze/proiezioni (150 posti), mq. 135;
per un totale di superficie utile mq. 7635.

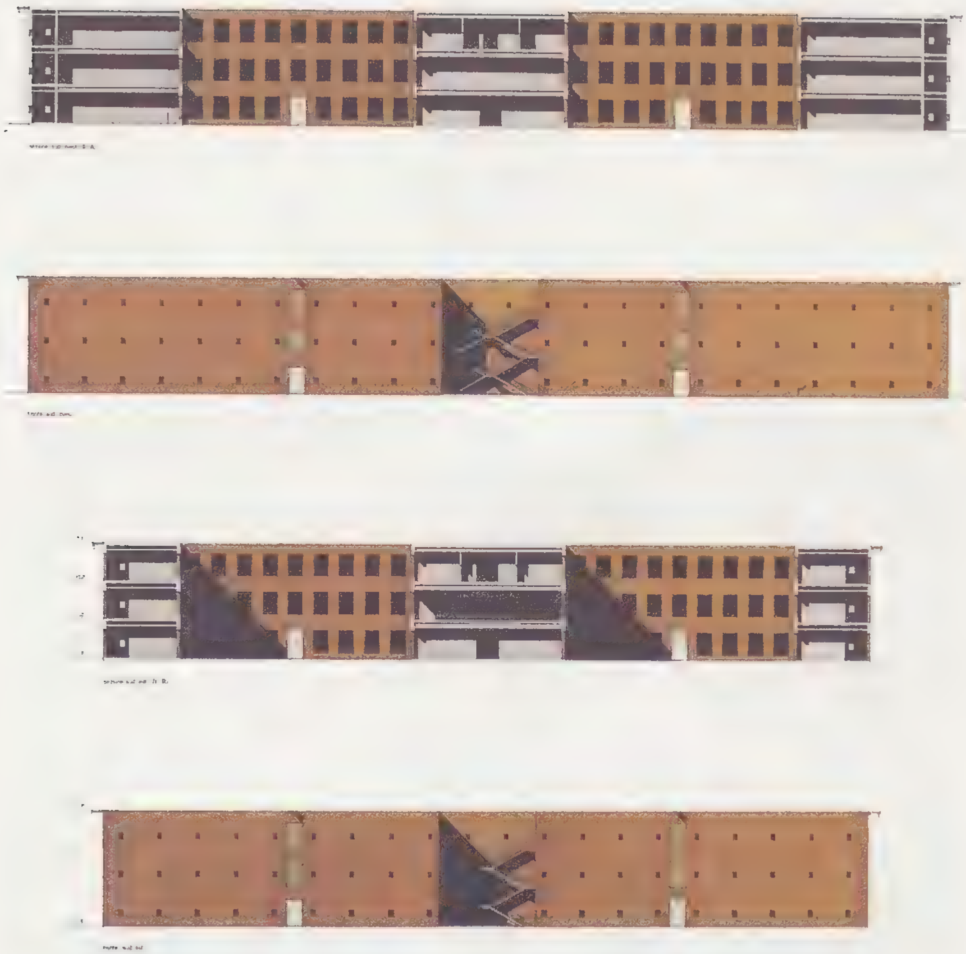
Complesso a crociera per attività dipartimentali
Il progetto fa sua, in senso letterale, la scelta di una tipologia edilizia a grandi blocchi a crociera (m. 100 ×120) che sta alla base di tutta l'edificazione del settore nordovest. Ivi compresa cioè la gerarchia sul piano tipologico fra la crociera propriamente detta e l'edificazione lungo il perimetro del blocco, che è confermata dalla tradizione di questo tipo di impianto. Di norma questa gerarchia si esprime architettonicamente con l'apparire della testata della crociera nel disegno dei fronti perimetrali (in quello del Filarete ad esempio essa appare su un piano più arretrato rispetto al filo del fronte esterno), cioè col fatto che la crociera raggiunge (in senso tipologico/distributivo) il perimetro esterno del blocco. Il che dà luogo alla figura canonica di una crociera centrale raccordata da quattro corpi a 'L' che chiudono le quattro corti interne.
In linea di larga massima nel progetto la crociera è destinata alla didattica generale (aule grandi con luce naturale da entrambi i lati), mentre i quattro corpi perimetrali a 'L' corrispondono ad altrettanti dipartimenti o parti di dipartimenti più grandi (ciò che è reso possibile da un percorso perimetrale continuo sul lato esterno del blocco).
Tutti i principali elementi funzionali del blocco prendono luce da grandi finestre aperte sui cortili interni. Come nell'impianto filaretiano le testate delle crociere non raggiungono il filo esterno dei fronti perimetrali. In queste rientranze sono alloggiate quattro scale di sicurezza a forbice e a cielo libero.
Al piano terra il blocco edilizio è attraversato da percorsi trasversali e longitudinali in asse ai quattro cortili che, oltre a consentire l'accesso a tutti gli elementi funzionali del blocco, lo mettono in comunicazione con gli altri blocchi adiacenti. Tre piani fuori terra (luce netta m. 4 con interpiano tecnico di m. 1) danno un'altezza netta di gronda di m. 15.
Nel presente progetto di massima l'edificio è previsto a struttura mista, con murature perimetrali di mattoni faccia a vista.
Per una superficie totale lorda di mq. 22.200 si hanno:
1) *didattica generale*, nella crociera per tre piani, superficie lorda mq. 8400;
2) *dipartimenti*, nei 4 corpi perimetrali a 'L' per tre piani, superficie lorda mq. 13.800.

3) atrium, card catalogues, check-in/check-out desk, etc., 400 sq. metres;
4) offices, corridors and vertical circulation, locker rooms and facilities for personnel, reception and bibliographical materials preparation, shipping, storage rooms, etc., 700 sq. metres;
5) limited access reading room, 1200 sq. metres;
6) conference/projection room (capacity 150), 135 sq. metres; for a total utilisable area of 7635 sq. metres.

The Departmental Activities Cross-Shape Building
The design embraces a building typology which is the basis of all buildings in the northwest region of Italy. Large building volumes are sited in a cross formation (100 × 120 m); surrounding these and the transept created by their layout is a perimeter building volume. The traditional typological hierarchy existing between the different volumes was followed in the design.
Normally this hierarchy is achieved, architecturally, by expressing the end of the transept in the design of the perimeter elevations (in Filarete's version, on the other hand, they are recessed with respect to the external façade); in other words, the transept reaches (in typological/layout terms) the external perimeter of the block. This layout generates the traditional central transept enclosed by four 'L' shaped volumes which, in turn, enclose the four internal courtyards. In this design the transept was intended for general didatic activities, containing large class rooms with natural lighting from two sides, while the four perimeter L-shaped volumes house departments or sections of larger departments.
A continuous circulation around the exterior connects all the building volumes.
All of the primary functional elements of the block receive sunlight through the large windows facing onto the internal courtyards. As in Filarete's plan, the ends of the transept do not reach the perimeter of the block. The recesses thus created house four exterior fire exits.
At ground level the complex is crossed by transverse and longitudinal paths in line with the four courtyards which, besides providing access to all of the functional elements of the block, also create connections with the adjacent blocks. The three storeys above ground have a 4 m. floor to floor height plus a 1 m. mechanical interstitial space between each floor.
The building is designed to be a mixed structure with exposed brick exterior cladding. A building of 22,200 sq. metres includes the following:
1) general teaching facilities, *in the storeys of the transept occupying a gross area of 8400 sq. metres;*
2) departmental areas, *in four perimetral three storey 'L's' occupying a gross area of 13,800 sq. metres.*
A total usable area of 15,200 sq. metres (including auxiliary rooms, services, etc., but excluding vertical and horizontal circulation, mechanical rooms, walls and structural elements, etc.) is distributed as follows:
ground floor: *Large/medium/small classrooms, departmental*

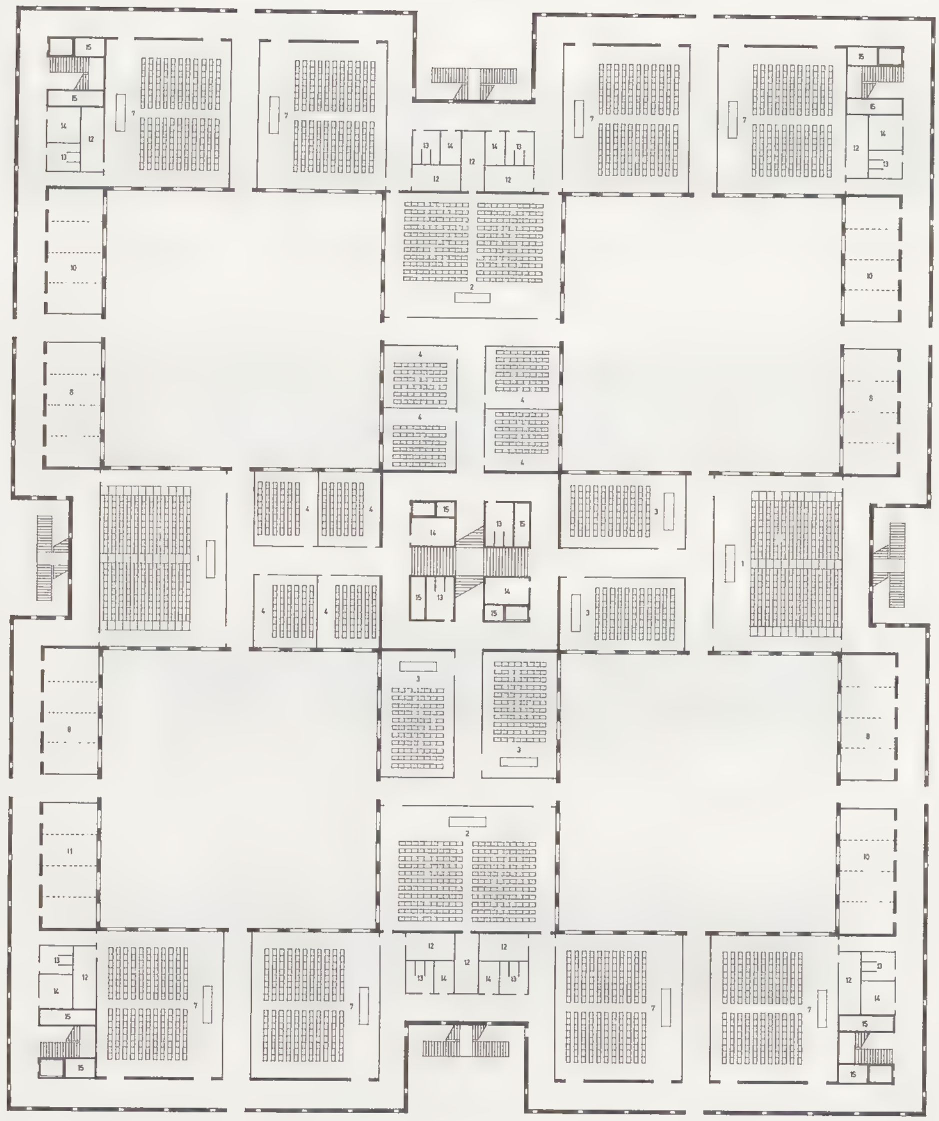
Mentre, per una superficie totale utile (inclusi vani accessori, servizi, ecc.; esclusi collegamenti verticali e orizzontali, vani impianti, spazi armadietti, ingombri vari, murature, ecc.) di circa mq. 15.200 si hanno:
al piano terra: aule grandi/medie/piccole, uffici amministrativi dipartimenti, attività collettive, spazi ricreativi, caffeteria, ecc., per mq. 4700;
al primo piano: aule grandi disegno/speciali dipartimentali, aule grandi/medie, uffici direzione/amministrazione dipartimenti, spazi individuali docenti, riunioni, ricerca, ecc., per mq. 5400;
al secondo piano: spazi individuali studenti/docenti, piccoli gruppi, seminari, dottorato di ricerca, informatica, lingue, ecc., uffici dipartimentali, biblioteche dipartimentali docenti/studenti, ecc., per mq. 5100.

and administrative offices, group activities, recreational spaces, cafeteria, etc., occupying a total of 4700 sq. metres;
first floor: *Large studios (art etc.), large and medium classrooms, administration, college administration offices, private faculty offices, meeting rooms, research rooms, occupying a total of 5400 sq. metres;*
second floor: *Private student/teacher rooms, small groups, seminars, research doctorates, data processing, languages, etc., departmental offices, departmental libraries for teachers and students, etc., occupying a total of 5100 sq. metres.*

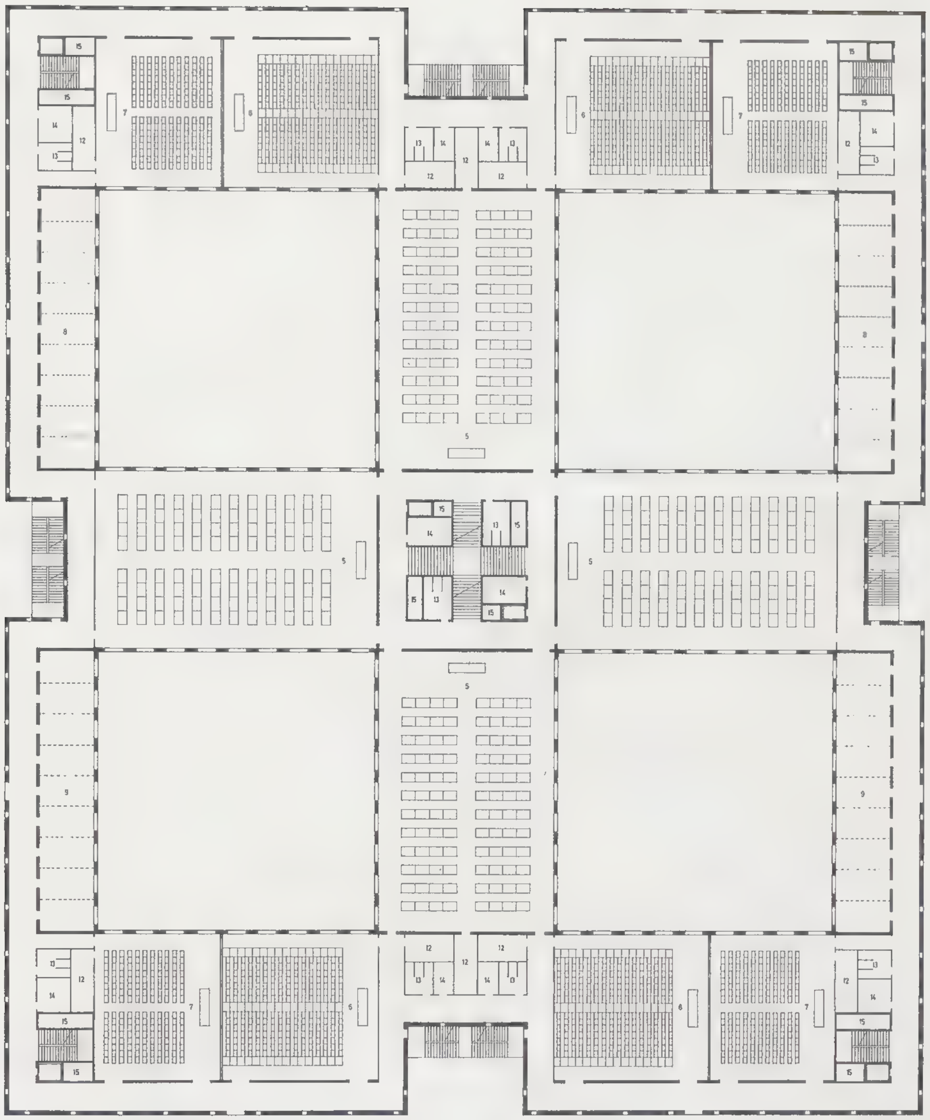


Sezioni e prospetti della Crociera.

Cross-shape building sections and elevations.



pianta q +0,20



pianta q. + 5 20

didattica generale
1 aule grandi a gradoni
(n. 2 da 250 mq.)
2 aule grandi
(n. 2 da 250 mq.)
3 aule medie
(n. 4 da 100 mq.)
4 aule piccole
(n. 8 da 50 mq.)
5 aule disegno e specializzate
(n. 4 da 550 mq.)
dipartimenti
6 aule grandi a gradoni
(n. 4 da 270 mq.)
7 aule grandi
(n. 12 da 220 mq.)
8 uffici
9 spazi individuali docenti / studenti
10 riunioni / seminari
11 cafeteria
12 locale servizio aula
13 servizi igienici
14 deposito
15 ventilazione / ecc.

Piante della Crociera ai piani terreno e primo.

Ground and first floor plans of the Cross-shape building.

Nuovo polo universitario a Como

1991

Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti

coll.: Claudio Confalonieri, Andrea Cassone, Alessandro Trivelli



Vista del modello da nordest.
Foto: S.Topuntoli.

Northeast view of the model.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.

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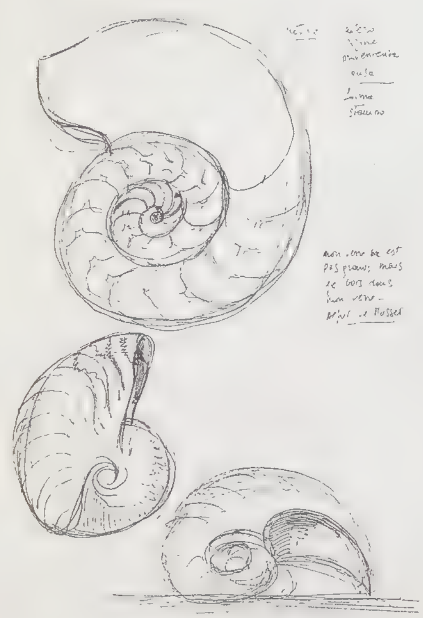
Vista del modello da nordest.
Foto: S.Topuntoli.

Northeast view of the model.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.

L'avant-projet
Gian Paolo Valenti

"La prima linea tracciata sulla carta è già la misura di ciò che non può essere pienamente espresso. La prima linea sulla carta è già qualcosa di meno".
Louis Kahn

Il proposito di associare studio e ricerca con la didattica, quale congruente risposta al recente ordinamento universitario, promuove la sperimentazione di inediti modelli tipologici, con i quali la permeabilità tra le due attività sia consentita mediante la permeabilità di differenti strutture edilizie.
Ma la limitata dimensione dell'intervento relativo al nuovo Polo universitario di Como e la sua specificità non hanno consentito una esauriente esplorazione delle connessioni spaziali, delle identificazioni e compatibilità ambientali delle attività e dei loro rapporti con i laboratori culturali esterni, ma solamente la verifica e il riproponimento di una scontata formulazione progettuale fondata sul raccordo dell'antinomia tra convenzionali destinazioni d'uso (aule per la didattica e sequenza cellulare per la docenza).
Pertanto ricerca tecnico-sperimentale e didattica passiva e operativa si pongono in ambiti separati, ma correlati mediante l'interposizione di un settore o "ambulacro" comune, che costituisce il luogo di interscambio informale.
Ne deriva che l'itinerario di ricerca progettuale più agevolmente praticabile, e nel contempo coerente per perseguire le finalità individuate, consiste nel far confluire in un evento costruttivo sufficientemente coordinato l'insieme delle diversità di fruizione ambientale ancora persistenti.
D'altra parte come conciliare due strutture organicamente differenti?
I modelli a disposizione indicano intendimenti e metodologie appropriate per singoli casi:
— la lezione palladiana suggerisce il coordinamento, l'appacificazione delle disparità, per cui ai rustici è assegnato un ruolo subordinato, ma soprattutto di risonanza, all'aulico impianto della residenza: "*la bellezza risulterà dalla bella forma, e dalla corrispondenza del tutto alle parti, delle parti fra loro, e di quelle al tutto*" (Andrea Palladio);
— Stirling, nella biblioteca della Facoltà di Storia dell'Università di Cambridge, forza dialetticamente i contrasti e le dissonanze della opposizione tra ambiente collettivo di lettura e ambienti frazionati e ristretti di studio, esprimendosi con blocchi di opposta natura e consistenza materica;
— nei frequenti schemi aaltiani, in una lettura più didascalica che architettonica del disegno planimetrico e altimetrico, vengono poste in relazione le strutture cellulari con quelle collettive mediante la diversificazione del tracciato morfologico che da ortogonale per le prime si configura saldamente agganciato, ma librato in espansione divergente ovvero in proiezione spaziale per le seconde.
Però già nei primi immaginari e nelle loro più immediate versioni del Polo universitario, un nucleo puntualmente segnalato ed emergente produce uno svolgimento quasi fisiologico di comparti in espansione.
La loro ragione d'essere, che non può essere coesistenza, deriva dalla potenzialità attribuibile al nucleo di alimentare e regolare la loro dimensione virtuale mediante l'intercomunicazione prevalentemente unidirezionale.
La concettualizzazione organica della struttura, la gerarchia dei ruoli funzionali, che è sembrata corrispondere all'arroccamento dei dipartimenti e alla dipendente disposizione a padiglioni radiali delle aule, hanno segnato il destino delle decisioni progettuali.
Ovviamente, nel divenire del progetto, l'imbrigliamento geometrico si impone con il corollario di regole del ben comporre, che pragmaticamente consentono la semplificazione dell'intero sistema edilizio, ma non può contraddire le linee forza originarie che costituiscono l'impalcatura del sistema figurale.



Nautilus Pompilius Linneus.
"Bella e relativamente solida conchiglia di grandi dimensioni (cm. 15/20), di aspetto spiralato e superficie levigatissima. La conchiglia è concamerata e le concamerazioni sono unite da un sifone mediano. Il mollusco con un sistema di compensazione idrostatica riesce a salire o a scendere, a seconda delle necessità. (...) Si trova nell'Oceano Indiano e nel Pacifico occidentale ed è discretamente frequente".
Conchiglie di tutti i mari, *Compagnia Generale Editoriale, Milano 1981, Volume IV, p. 1270.*

Nautilus Pompilius Linneus.
"A beautiful and relatively sturdy shell of large dimensions (15-20 cm.) with a spiral shape and very smooth surfaces. The shell is made of a sequence of compartments, one within the other, connected by a central syphon. The mollusk is able to rise or sink in the water by compensating for its weight with a hydrostatic mechanism (...) It is a quite commonly found in the Indian Ocean and the east Pacific".
Conchiglie di tutti i mari, *Compagnia Generale Editoriale, Milan 1981, IV, p. 1270.*

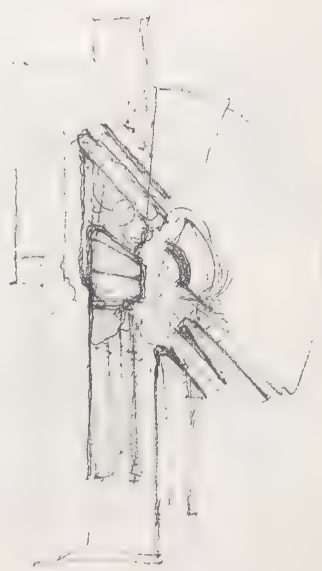
L'Avant projet
Gian Paolo Valenti

"The first plan drawn on paper is already
the measure of what cannot be fully expressed.
The first line on paper is already something less."
Louis Kahn

Recent university reorganisation means, in practice, that research and study activities should be closely associated with teaching. This encourages experimentation with new typological models, where the connection between the two activities is achieved by connecting different building structures.
The limited scale of the project for the new Como University and its specific nature did not however allow for full exploration of spatial relations, requirements of the activities or relationships of these activities with other educational facilities. It merely allowed for a generally accepted design formula which smoothed out the contradictions between conventional space uses and designations (classrooms and faculty offices).
For this reason, spaces for technical and experimental research and for teaching (lectures and labwork) were located in separate areas but linked by a corridor or common space which also functions as an informal meeting place.
Hence the easiest design research process to follow (one which does not lose sight of the objectives established) consists in organizing the various uses into a sufficiently coordinated building assembly. Otherwise how could two organically different structures be reconciled?
Architectural models that can be used as reference in such cases display methods and purposes which apply to individual instances. Palladio suggests coordination and the reconciliation of disparities (hence the subordination of the service areas of the house) but more importantly the creation of complementarity with the social and family rooms of the residence: "Beauty will derive from the beauty of the form, from the correspondence of the whole with the parts, of the parts among themselves and of the parts with the whole".
In the library of the Faculty of History at Cambridge University, Stirling emphasizes the logical contrasts and discrepancy between the open reading rooms and the smaller, compartment-like study areas. He expresses them using building volumes of contrasting shape and different materials.
In the Aalto-style schemes, office or cell like spaces are often related to larger, collective spaces through the diversification of the morphological system in a didactic rather than architectural reading of the plan and elevation: the orthogonal cellular spaces are replaced by a system of progressive spirals intended to be used as collective spaces.
The early ideas and concepts for the university have however already given shape to an embryonic nucleus. The expanding departments grew around this in an organic fashion.
Their existence was determined by the nucleus which fuelled them and regulated their size by a flow of communication directed mostly towards them.
The organic concept of the structure, the hierarchy of the functional roles which seemed to correspond to the deep-rooted modus operandi of the department and the existing radial wing buildings for the classrooms all influenced the design decisions.
Clearly, as a project progresses, geometric rigour is necessary, along with all the rules for proper composition which help simplify the entire building but should not be at odds with the generating lines which established the initial framework of the symbolic system.
Indeed the resulting design is contradictory. On the one hand it represents an operation of control and rational reorganization, and on the other it represents a confirmation of the message, of utopia, of prediction of the future and of poetry, expressed in the signs and ideas which generated it.
The image precedes the actual design, but — unlike images translated into the representation of visual imagery which

"Un jour qu'un projet avait présenté a l'ingénieur quelques difficultés d'exécution, celui-ci déclare la réalisation impossible sous cette forme. Dès lors, des quantités d'améliorations furent étudiées de part e d'autre, et l'ingégnieur trouva enfin un système statique exécutable.
Or, il se révéla à la surprise générale, que le tout premier avant-projet éliminé et classé d'Aalto se caractérisait précisément par une construction analogue à celle que proposait maintenant l'ingénieur".
Karl Fleig, Le travail à l'atelier d'Alvar Aalto, 1968, *in* Alvar Aalto, Band II 1963-1970, *Les Editions d'Architecture Artemis, Zurich 1971, p. 9.*

"One day a design with certain inherent problems with its execution was presented to the engineer. His first comment was that the design could not be built as shown and proceeded to modify the proposed solution until he found a solution which, according to the laws of static, was acceptable.
Well, it was indeed to everyone's surprise that the proposed solution offered by Aalto at the very beginning of the design bore a stunning resemblance to the design solution presented by the engineer."
Kark Fleig, Le Travail à l'atelier d'Alvar Aalto, 1968, *in* Alvar Aalto, Band II, 1963-1970, *Les Edition d'Architecture Artemis, Zurich 1971, p. 9.*



Infatti il progetto assume un ruolo contraddittorio: da un lato si propone come operazione di controllo e razionale riorganizzazione, dall'altro come convalida del messaggio, dell'utopia, della predizione e della poetica espressa nei segni e nelle notazioni propositive che l'hanno generato.
L'immagine, in sostanza, precede il disegno strumentale, però, diversamente da quelle tradotte nella rappresentazione della comunicazione visiva, che possono sottintendere, alludere, contenere ma non spiegare i contenuti, deve essere esplicita, scoperta e dichiarata nel faticoso percorso della codificazione esecutiva; in quanto l'architettura non si progetta ma si riprogetta continuativamente, perché se una delle vocazioni primarie per ogni autore è di creare una qualsiasi forma, è altrettanto vero che egli si deve pur sempre conciliare con essa.
La creatività forse non consiste nel raggiungimento di forme il più possibile equilibrate o comunque aderenti a qualche schema ordinario come se fossero dei valori in sè, ma, al contrario, consiste nella capacità di compromettere continuamente questa tendenza all'ordine consueto, con un nuovo tipo di ordine provocatore di sempre nuove contraddizioni.
Nel momento in cui si è avverata l'identità della forma e consolidata la conoscenza dei congegni ideografici che la ispirano e la governano, essa può essere riproposta e modificata in relazione al luogo inteso nella sua correlazione e risonanza con la cultura storica e collettiva, con i nodi della struttura formale urbana diversamente dislocati e con l'immediato intorno contestuale.
Percorrendo lungo il suo perimetro l'area disponibile per la costruzione del Polo universitario, valutando distanze, visuali, prospettive e destinazioni d'uso coopresenti, è manifesta la disomogeneità apparente e di contenuti dello scenario di margine urbano, ove si collocano purtuttavia alcuni blocchi edilizi significativi.
Una barriera protesa per circa duecento metri, sempre più aggettante con il crescere dei piani, ancorata a due blocchi emergenti (l'Istituto del Setificio), si propone come riferimento prioritario per la nuova costruzione universitaria.
A questo manufatto cementizio, ritmato da scansioni finestrate, oltre il quale si profilano i monti di Brunate, si affianca il dosso alberato dove alla base e in sommità sono distribuiti alcuni padiglioni dell'Ospedale psichiatrico.
La città storica di Como non è percepibile, non comunica alcun segnale, è oltre alcuni solchi significativi, quali la canalizzazione aperta del torrente Cosia e il tracciato ferroviario, in parte schermato da una cortina di modesti edifici residenziali.
Ma con la ricognizione e la conoscenza del luogo, si avvera solitamente il successivo momento figurativo del progetto di architettura. Ossia viene operata una lettura delle strutture formali e dei vincoli spaziali che l'ambiente comunica, impegnando la progettazione nella definizione e nella verifica delle relazioni tra proposito concettuale, organizzazione razionalizzata delle forme e sistema fisico contestuale.
Relazioni che si palesano mediante un atto modificatore: "*noi abbiamo delle matite in mano che usiamo di tanto in tanto, non per fare delle immagini superficiali, ma per fare delle determinazioni di volumi e di spazi*" (Le Corbusier).
Il proposito di ribaltare il tema ambientale conferendo all'Istituto del Setificio un ruolo passivo di fondale è parso il più convincente per ottenere una autonomia figurativa, allentando contrasti e incompatibilità formali mediante l'interposizione di uno spazio strutturato (piazzale) che si insinua nell'ansa della nuova edificazione.
Così la nuova costruzione si pone come cerniera, rotazione di visuali e dinamiche prospettiche per l'appropriazione ed il coinvolgimento del settore panoramico percepibile e per costituire il nucleo prioritario di riferimento di eventuali e possibili rimaneggiamenti del costruito esistente ai margini già urbanizzati del luogo.
Sull'altro fronte, ossia verso la pausa verde antistante, i primi tracciati articolano il volume con asperità e



"I miei schizzi non sono che appunti, contorni di visioni subitanee, benché nella loro natura di edifici, essi appaiano quali entità.
È di somma importanza fissare queste visioni sulla carta, così come ci balenano nella mente, poiché ogni nuova creatura porta con sé il germe del suo potenziale sviluppo".
Erich Mendelsohn, *a cura di Bruno Zevi, Zanichelli, Bologna 1982, p. 26.*

"My sketches are but notes, outlines of flashing images, even though they are complete since they are of buildings.
It is extremely important to put such visions on paper as they come to the mind since each one of them carries within it the seed of its potential development".
Erich Mendelsohn, *by Bruno Zevi Zanichelli, Bologna 1982, p. 26.*

can communicate between the lines, so to speak, and refer to, imply and accommodate the contents without explaining them — the image here has to be open and explicit so as to become a part of the laborious and dynamic process of codification. This is because architecture is not designed anew every time; rather, it is a continuous process of redesigning. For if one of the primary vocations of any designer is to create a particular form, it is equally true that he also has to feel comfortable with it.

Perhaps creativity does not consist in the achievement of the most balanced forms possible or at any rate of forms which follow some basic pattern as if they were values in their own right, but rather in the ability to continually check the tendency to gravitate towards the ordinary with a new type of order eliciting new contradictions all the time.

Once the identity of the consolidated form has been established and an awareness of the ideographical devices which inspire and govern it have been reached, it can be used again and again and modified in relation to the place, its culture and history, and the immediate surroundings.

An analysis which evaluates distances, views, perspectives and intended uses of the area surronding the site reveals that the urban context lacks homogeneity and substance, even though it contains a number of significant buildings.

The main landmark to be considered with respect to the new university project is the Silk Manufacturing Institute. This is a 200 m long multi-storey building in which each floor overhangs the floor below; this long elevation terminates on both sides in a rectangular block projecting beyond the plane of the façade. This cement construction with regular rows of windows, beyond which the Brunate mountains can be seen, stands by a tree-covered hill, at the top and bottom of which are several wings of the psychiatric hospital.

The historical city of Como is not in view. The only hints of its presence are in the open canal of the Cosia river and the railway lines, partly screened off by a row of modest residential buildings.

Acknowledgment and awareness of the site usually lead to a further step in the sculpting of the architectural project. In other words a reading is made of the structures and the spatial restrictions imposed by the setting, requiring that the design process defines and tests the relations between conceptual proposal, rational organization of forms and contextual physical system.

These relations become apparent in a single act: "We hold pencils in our hands which we use from time to time not to make superficial images but to determine volumes and spaces" *(Le Corbusier).*

The idea to reverse the theme of the setting by giving the Silk Manufacturing Institute a passive background role seemed to be the most efficient way of creating design autonomy, easing formal contrasts and problems of incompatibility. This was achieved through the use of a structured space (the plaza), which fits into the inside curve of the new building.

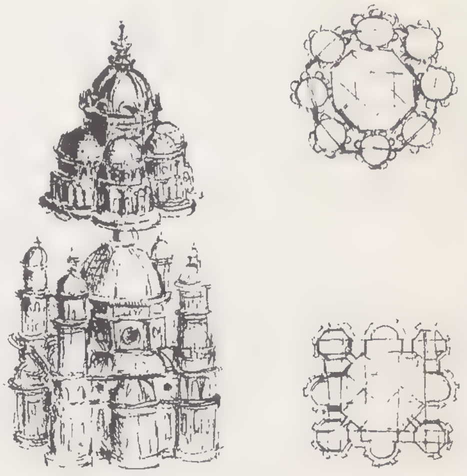
In this way the new building acts as a hinge, a rotation of views and perspectives, encompassing and engaging the viewer's field of vision. It thus becomes the main point of reference for any subsequent rearrangement of the existing buildings along the edges of the site.

The elevation towards the open green area in front of the building is composed of a series of uneven and fragmented volumes intended to represent an expansion or spatial projection of the nucleus, or, conversely, to represent voids in the compact mass, thereby incorporating the surroundings into one spatial unit.

The curves or protrusions of the initial design were worked and reworked until they seemed openings in an architectural object, enclosed within an idealized shell. This can be more explicitly expressed as a geometrically simplified or generic container, finite and finished, defined by a high degree of design autonomy. The formal reinterpretation of the structural and functional systems contained within a building located on a specific site has resulted in the reduction of the tensions between building and environment, favouring greater depth

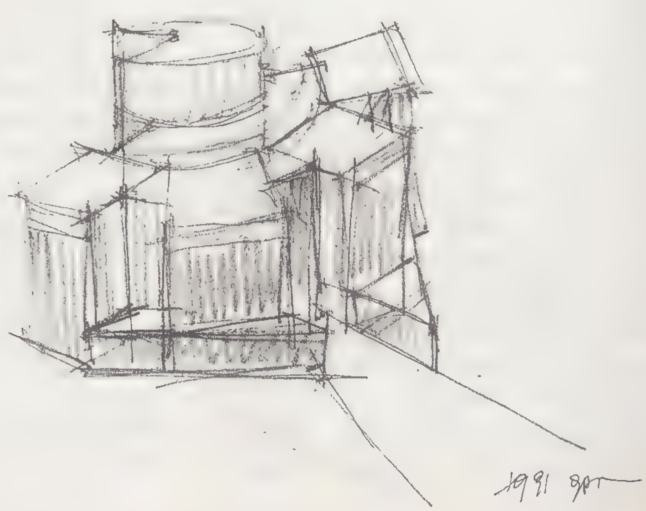
"Gli schizzi sparsi nei vari codici e che più numerosi si adunano nel Codice Atlantico ci mostrano il tormentoso travaglio di chi tentava il superamento di ogni soluzione già raggiunta per indagare tutte le possibilità dello schema (...). La ricerca è mossa dall'irresistibile bisogno creativo della fantasia. L'artista traccia sulla carta segni per fissare le soluzioni che gli si vanno maturando nella mente: sono appunti che forse un giorno potranno essere sviluppati, (...) schizzi che sembrano commentare ed illustrare un intero ragionamento".
Gino Clerici, Leonardo Da Vinci, *Istituto Geografico De Agostini, Novara 1956, p. 233.*

"The sketches scattered throuthout the codes, particularly in the Codice Atlantico are examples of the tortuous path chosen by one who drove himself beyond every solution already found to search all the possibilities available (...) The search is fueled by the irresistible creative need of the immagination. The artist draws signs on paper to hold on to solutions that are maturing in his head: they are notes that maybe one day will be developed (...) sketches that seem to be comments and illustrations of a whole thought."
Gino Clerici, Leonardo Da Vinci, *Istituto Geografico De Agostini, Novara 1956, p. 233.*



frantumazioni, con il duplice significato che solitamente hanno asperità e frantumazioni volumetriche: di costituire un'espansione o proiezione spaziale del nucleo o, al contrario, di costituire incavi nella massa materiale compatta atti a coinvolgere l'ambiente circostante in un'unica struttura spaziale.
Le anse o le prominenze dell'immagine iniziale, nelle operazioni e nelle manovre di disegno e ridisegno, permangono come fenditure in un "oggetto" architettonico, perimetrato in un idealizzato involucro che si propone più esplicitamente come contenitore geometricamente semplificato e banalizzato, come condizione stabilizzata, finita e definita con un alto grado di autonomia figurativa.
La rilettura formale del congegno strutturale-funzionale congelato in un ingranaggio, il cui perno è all'interno della figurazione planimetrica, ha bloccato e ridimensionato le tensioni tra costruito e ambiente, favorendo un approfondimento delle definizioni e delle notazioni lessicali sino a cancellare la consueta lettura dimensionale che si ottiene mediante i riferimenti di interpiano.
Ma se è vero che "*per portare a compimento ogni costruzione, occorre partire dalla sfera dell'immisurabile e procedere mediante il misurabile*" (Louis Kahn) e se è vero che le frequenti teorizzazioni sulla priorità tra forma e funzione possano intendersi invece solamente come tautologia, ossia come inscindibilità tra due qualificazioni coopresenti e confluenti sincronicamente nel medesimo evento creativo, ne consegue che i primi tracciati, i primi contorni, l'allusione alla materia, al colore, alla luce, alla natura, i corollari delle notazioni costituiscono la matrice e, come tale, il destino, il divenire del disegno, della sintassi e dell'ortografia di un possibile progetto di architettura.

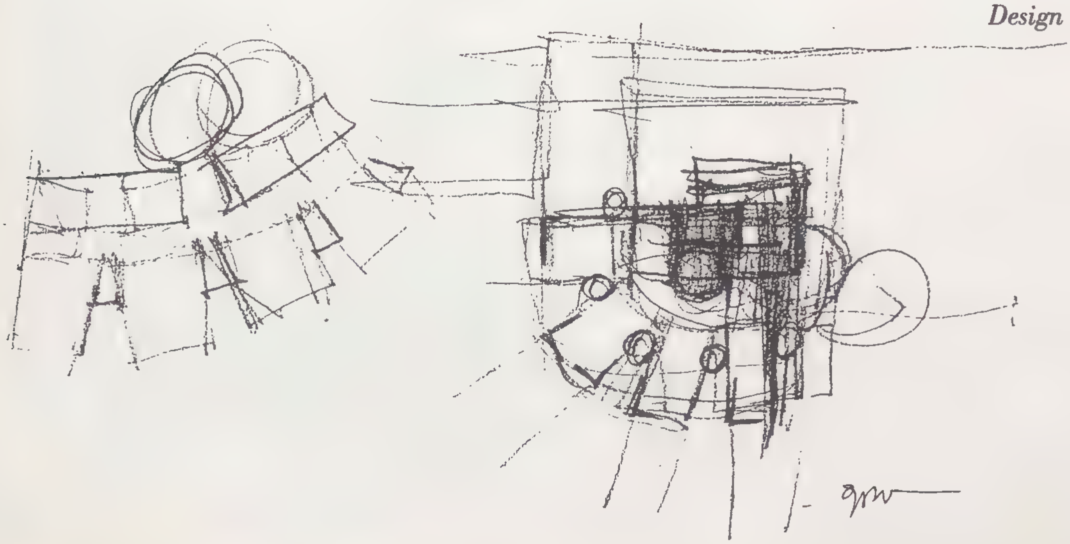
in the definitions and lexical notations, to the point of cancelling the traditional dimensional proportion established by floor-to-floor hieght.
But if it is true that "to complete any construction it is necessary to start from the sphere of the immeasurable and proceed by means of the measurable" *(Louis Kahn), we must also bear in mind that the frequent theorizing on the priority between form and function may be understood as mere tautology, or as the inseparability of two, co-existing dimensions which converge simultaneously in the same creative event. It follows that the first outlines, the first contours, the allusion to material, colour, light, nature and the logical results of these observations constitute the origin and consequently the fate and future of the design as well as the syntax and idiom of a possible architectural plan.*

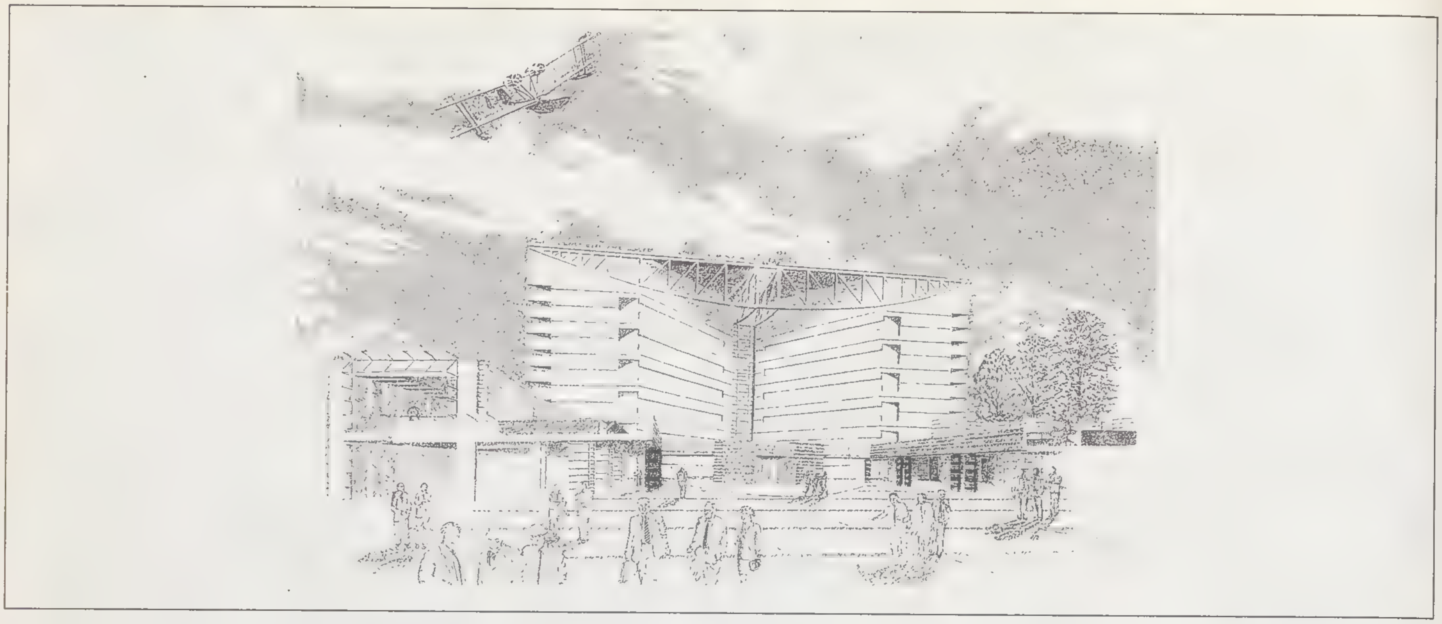


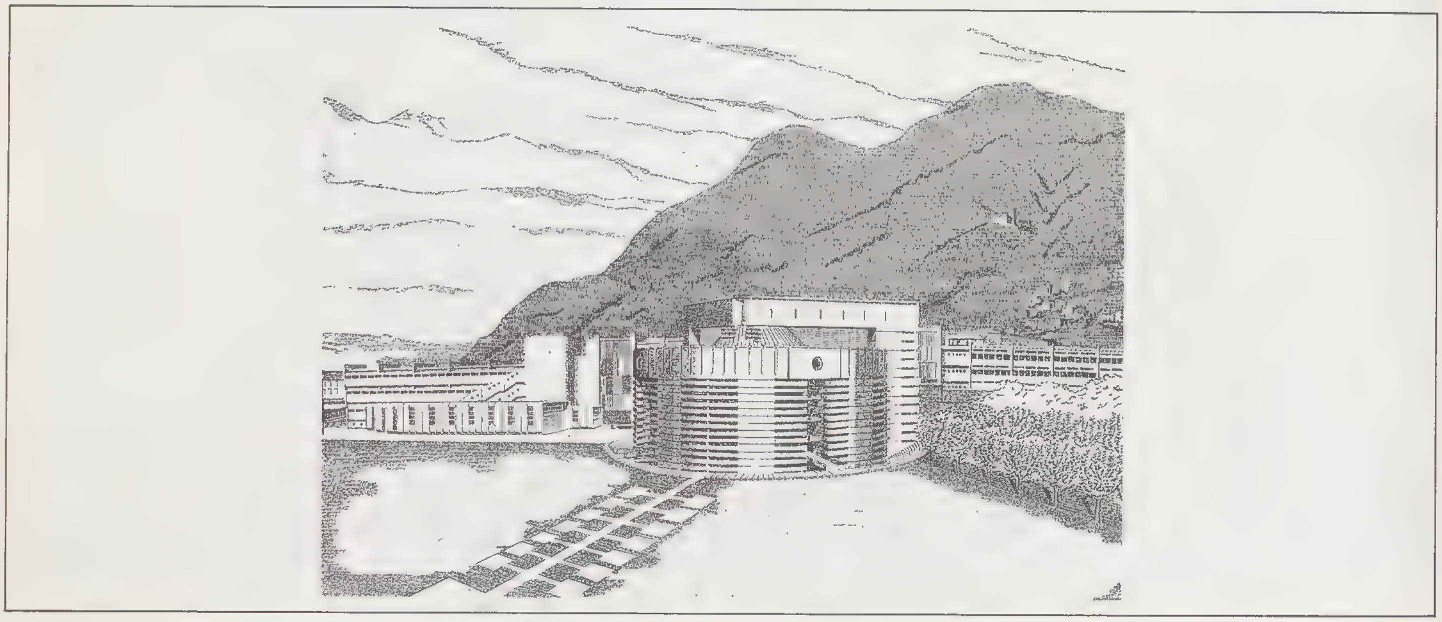


Schizzi di studio.

Design sketches.

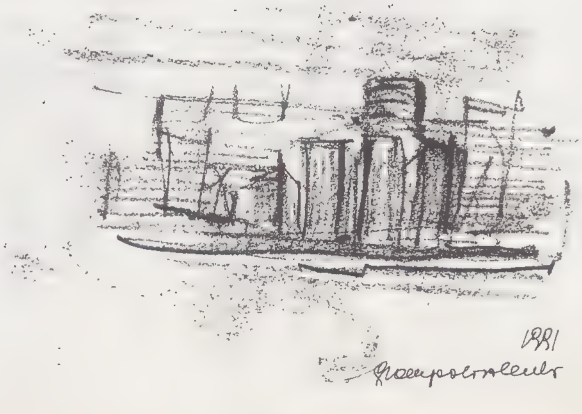






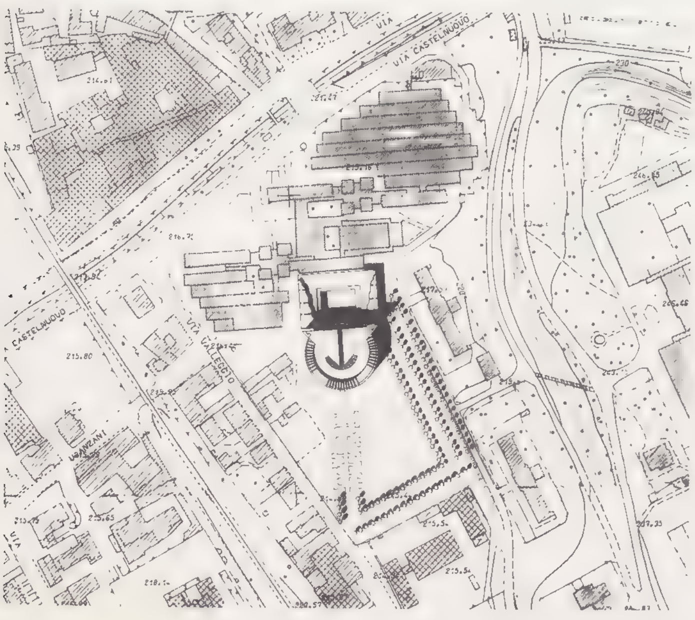
Prospettive da nord e da sud.
Schizzo di studio e planimetria generale.

North and south perspectives.
Design sketch and site plan.



Progetto per il nuovo polo universitario, Como
Emilio Pizzi e Gian Paolo Valenti

Il nuovo edificio e la città
Abbiamo affrontato il tema del progetto convinti della necessità di attribuire un significato nuovo ai legami tra l'istituzione universitaria e la città del nostro tempo.
Non si tratta solo di testimoniare con l'architettura l'evento della nascita di una nuova istituzione per la città ma dare corpo e carattere ad un momento di rivolgimento culturale profondo capace di alimentare nuove relazioni e comportamenti ed incidere sul destino futuro della comunità. Per questo si è voluto soprattutto prefigurare un diverso modello di relazioni spaziali che unisca strettamente i momenti della ricerca universitaria con quelli della didattica costruendo al contempo attraverso i rapporti fra il nuovo edificio ed il sito un nuovo territorio di relazioni aperte.
Pur trattandosi di un primo insediamento di spazi didattici e di laboratori si è insistito per attribuire una fisionomia riconoscibile a questo modello di relazioni che si è concretizzato in uno schema a pianta centrale con gli spazi didattici disposti ad emiciclo e affacciati direttamente sul corpo dei dipartimenti e degli spazi di ricerca.
La disposizione e la configurazione del nuovo edificio si lega indissolubilmente all'insieme degli elementi che caratterizzano questo particolare contesto della città di Como.
Si tratta di un'area contigua fisicamente alla città murata ma tuttavia assai meno in grado di proporre quel tessuto di relazioni tra le parti del costruito proprio della città antica.
La crescita novecentesca e la localizzazione di nuovi edifici istituzionali come l'ospedale psichiatrico, le caserme e la frammentazione tra tessuto industriale e tessuto residenziale hanno di fatto alimentato un carattere di separazione tuttora avvertibile nella condizione insediativa.
Lo stesso Istituto del Setificio non diversamente dalle altre istituzioni definisce con il contesto un rapporto di frontalità

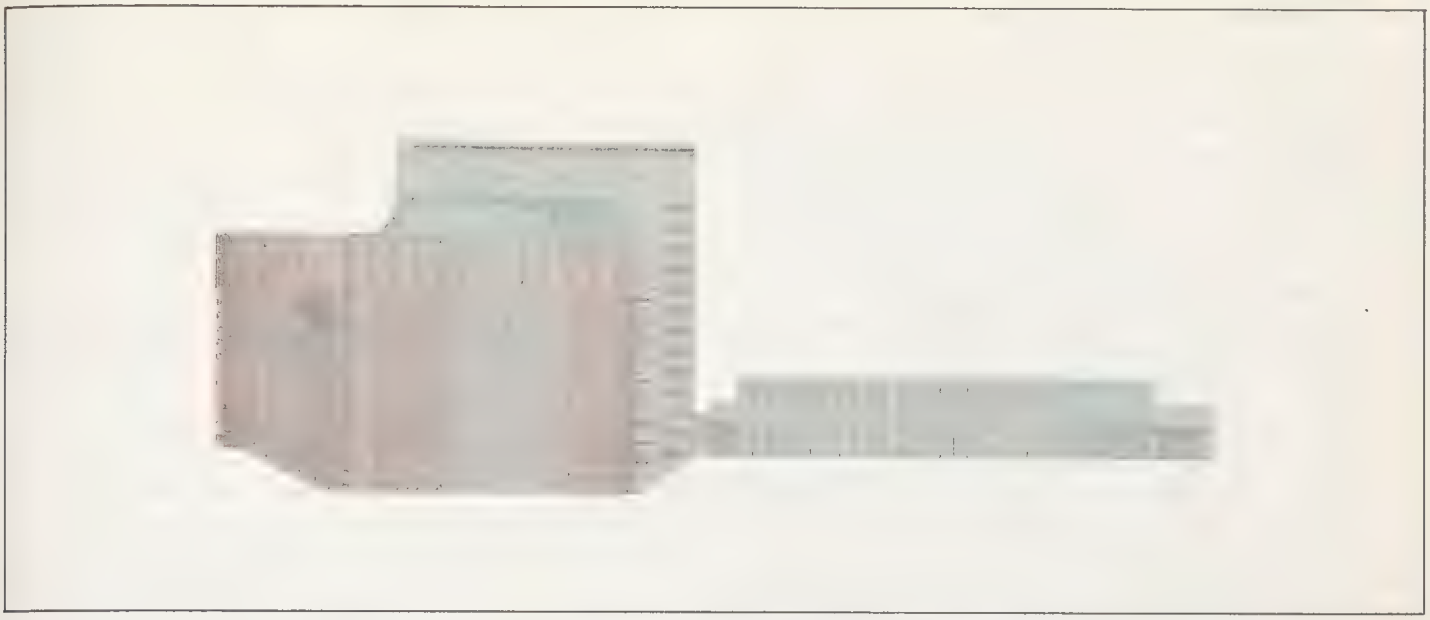


Design for the New University Complex, Como
Emilio Pizzi and Gian Paolo Valenti

The New Building and the City
After having reviewed the requirements of this project, we were convinced of the need to redefine the ties between university institutions and today's city. This did not only mean celebrating the birth of a new institution for the city through architecture, but also capturing and shaping a moment of intense cultural change capable of encouraging new relations and behaviours affecting the future of the community. This became the basic for a search for a new model of spatial relations, combining university research with teaching activities and devising at the same time, a new set of relationships between the building and its context. Although this is just a first phase of the project, which includes teaching and laboratory facilities, we felt it was important to create a specific aesthethic for this model, which translated into centralised layout, with the teaching spaces laid out in a semicircle directly facing the builiding containing the departmental and research facilities. The arrangement and configuration of the new building is inseparably linked to the array of elements which characterise this particular context of the city of Como.
This site borders the medieval walls of the city but is void of the rich weave of relations between the buildings, that exists within the historic city. Growth during the twentieth century, and the construction of new institutions such as the psychiatric hospital and the military barracks, and the fragmentation between industrial and residential areas, have led to a marked sense of dismemberment of the area. Even the silk-mill institute, like all institutional structures, has maintained a certain resilience to the surrounding context. The new building contains the basic teaching and research facilities of the new Como university complex and represents an opportunity to organize the area reversing the tendency of the city to grow in isolated indipendent areas. It was thus

e di impenetrabilità.
Il nuovo edificio destinato alle funzioni didattiche e di ricerca essenziali del nascendo Polo universitario comasco diviene così l'occasione per tentare di ridonare un diverso assetto all'area contravvenendo alla fatale attitudine di una crescita delle città per parti isolate e incomunicabili. Si è pensato quindi di utilizzare i caratteri di apertura della funzione universitaria per definire una diversa immagine di permeabilità del costruito. La figura del nuovo edificio che nasce da questi presupposti si caratterizza quindi sia per le relazioni che esso instaura con i fabbricati del Setificio nei quali sono ospitate parte delle funzioni didattiche e direzionali dell'Università sia verso l'esterno con gli elementi dell'insediamento al contorno: il grande spazio a verde pubblico, la cortina stradale di edilizia residenziale, le pendici della collina con le due palazzine più a valle dell'Ospedale psichiatrico.
Un unico edificio compatto raccoglie l'insieme delle funzioni previste dal programma organizzativo consentendo da un lato di definire all'interno un nuovo modello di relazioni, attraverso l'impianto a base-centrale, che risultano anche chiaramente individuabili dall'esterno, dall'altro di mantenere unitario e contenuto il volume del costruito evitando di espandersi, occupandola, sull'intera area.
La comunione di alcune funzioni attualmente presenti nel Setificio e che in esso permarranno anche dopo l'intervento (aula magna, mensa), ha suggerito la disposizione del fabbricato in fregio al complesso del Setificio stesso accentuando l'insieme delle relazioni attraverso la costruzione di una piazza ribassata come corpo di collegamento e in ultima istanza operando in direzione più di un completamento dell'Istituto che non della proposizione di una nuova e diversa edificazione ad esso antitetica.
Così facendo si è potuto mantenere per la gran parte libera l'area d'intervento, salvaguardandone la destinazione a verde attrezzato e creando la premessa per una più stretta relazione di tale spazio con le esigenze della comunità.

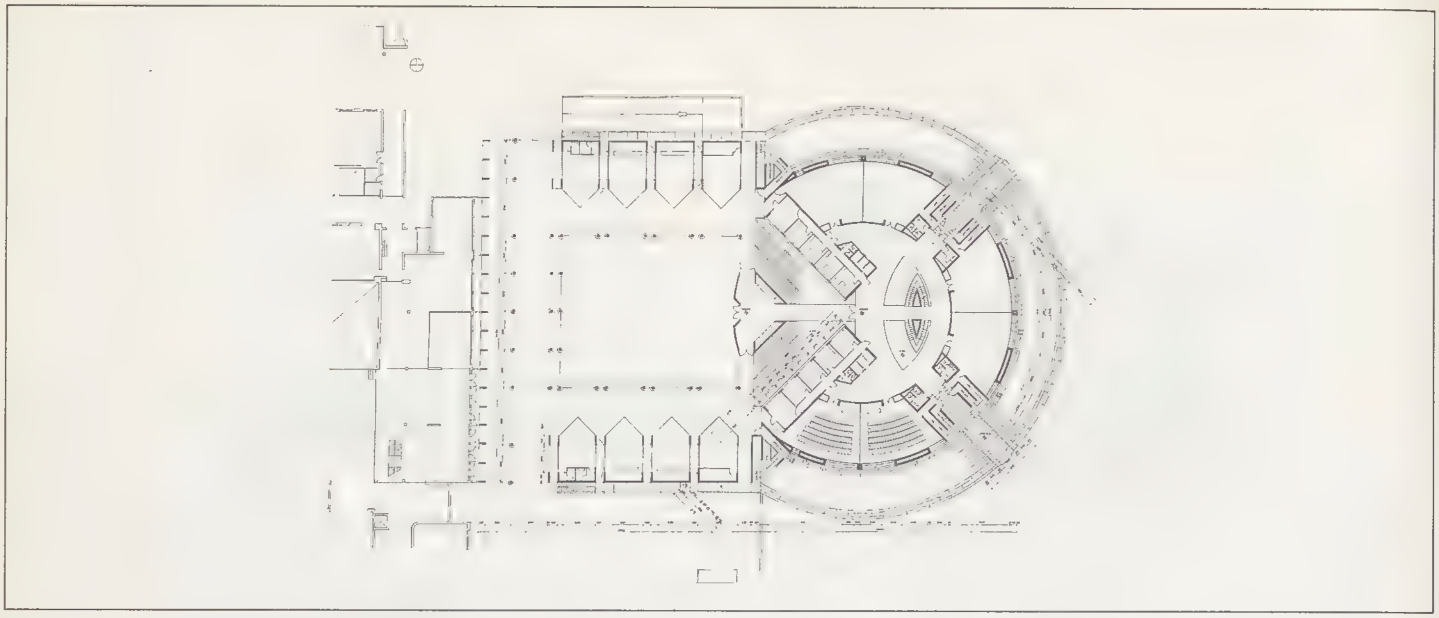
decided to use the characteristic of openness of the structures of a university to propose a different image for a building "open" to its surroundings. The image of the new buildings is a result of these premises and is characterised by the relationship it establishes with the buildings of the silk - institute, which contain a portion of the teaching and administrative facilities of the university, and the relation established with the surrounding elements: the large public gardens, the residential streetfront, the slope of the hill on which the two buildings are located and the psychiatric hospital at the foot of the hill.
A single compact building contains all of the functions required by the organisational programme, making it possible, on the one hand, to establish a new organisation of spaces, using a centralised layout, clearly recognisable from the outside, while on the other maintaining a single volume for the building, refraining from occupying the entire area of the site.
The grouping of certain facilities located within the silk-institute (auditorium, dining hall) determined the final siting of the new building. A sunken plaza was proposed as a design element that would tie both buildings together. The new building is designed to be a complement for the institute, rather than a new, different type of construction. This approach made it possible to keep a large part of the area of the project open to green spaces, creating the premise for a closer relation between these open green areas and the needs of the community.
The long curved elevation of the building which faces these spaces is intended to stand apart from the aligment of existing buildings on the site, suggesting, rather, the possibility for a better use of a system of green areas within the design of this part of the city. Two large entrances on this elevation serve as entrances to the three classrooms/lecture hall sections of the building as well as public access to the internal plaza sited between the departmental offices and the sloping elevation of the auditorium of the silk-mill. The plaza

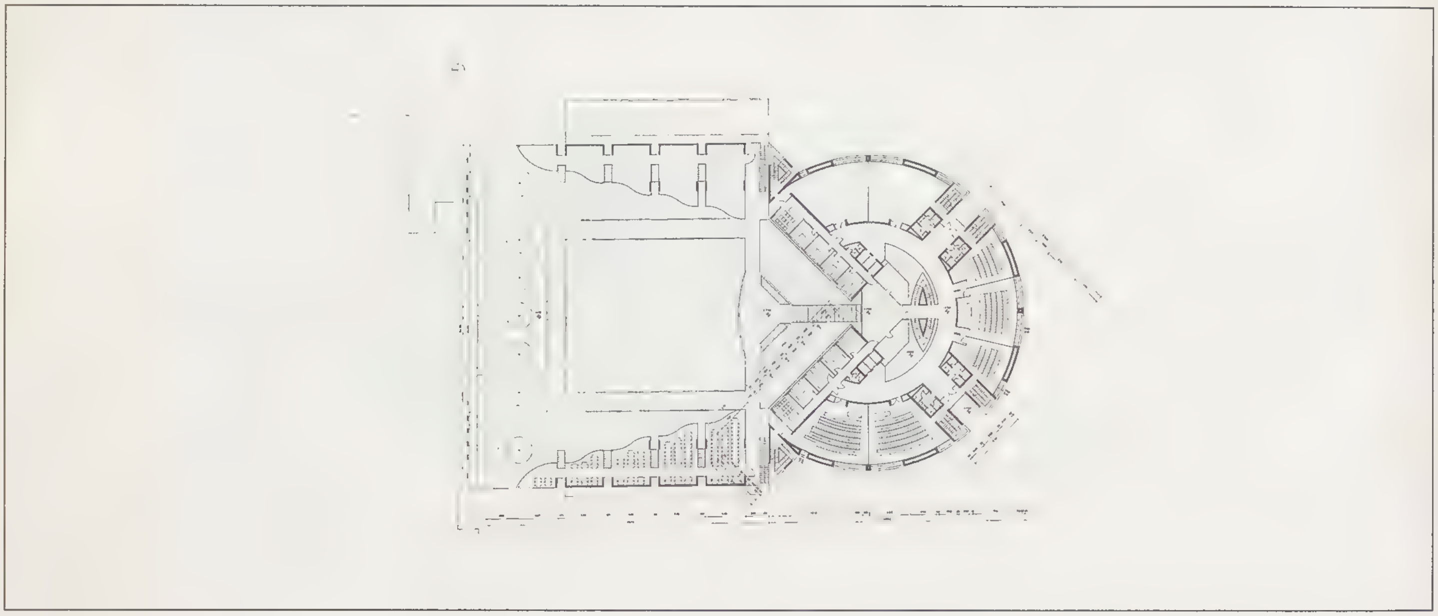




Prospetti est e nord.

East and north elevations.





Piante dei piani terra e primo.

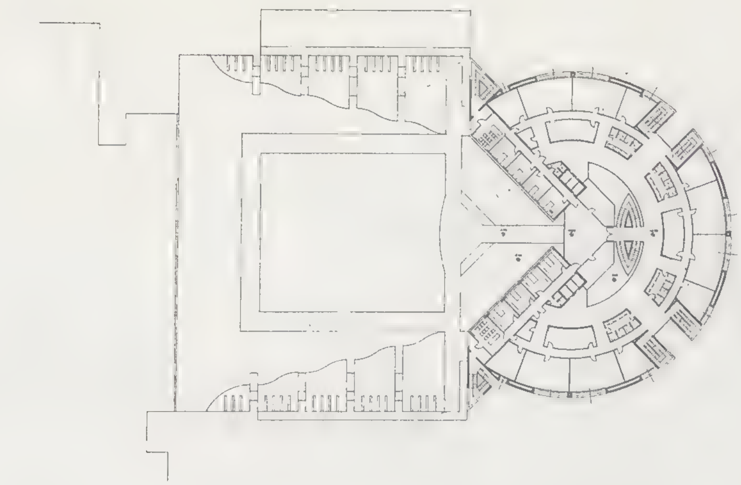
Ground and first floor plans.

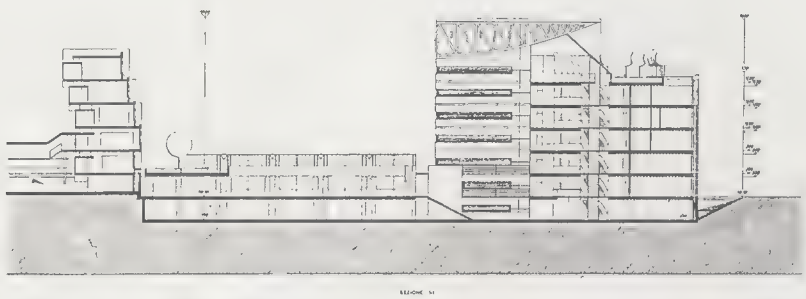
L'affaccio dell'edificio su questo spazio è caratterizzato da un lungo fronte in curva rivolto ad evitare il confronto e/o la conferma di allineamenti preesistenti e a suggerire piuttosto l'opportunità di un coinvolgimento più ampio del sistema del verde nel disegno di questa parte di città.
Su questo fronte due grandi aperture (coincidenti con lo spazio di separazione fra i tre blocchi didattici) individuano altrettanti accessi all'edificio che può quindi essere attraversato pubblicamente per raggiungere la piazza interna sulla quale si affacciano da un lato il fronte degli uffici dei dipartimenti, dall'altro il prospetto digradante del corpo aule del Setificio.
La piazza definisce un momento di pausa tra i due edifici nel quale trovano posto luoghi diversi di aggregazione ed incontro costituiti dall'affaccio vetrato del Museo della Seta, dalle cooperative librarie, da una caffeteria ed alla quota più alta dagli spazi di studio per gli studenti inseriti nel verde della copertura della piazza stessa.
Sempre sulla piazza, che diviene anche l'occasione per un riordino di un fronte a torto considerato come un retro del fronte principale, si affacciano inoltre la mensa ubicata nel Setificio, la biblioteca del Setificio e gli accessi all'aula magna.
La funzione pubblica di tale spazio è sottolineata anche dalle opportunità che essa offre per lo svolgimento di manifestazioni e spettacoli all'aperto che si potrebbero collocare sullo sfondo del grande portale coperto, che caratterizza l'immagine del fronte del nuovo edificio sulla piazza.
Nell'affrontare il tema posto da questo progetto ci si è posto in primo luogo l'obbiettivo di definire una organizzazione spaziale chiara che consentisse di cogliere unitariamente le relazioni fra le diverse parti favorendo un orientamento immediato in ogni punto dell'edificio.
L'impianto del nuovo edificio è in parte definito dal rapporto esistente fra una parte più propriamente didattica che si sviluppa su un tracciato circolare e la parte degli ambiti di ricerca essenzialmente legati agli spazi dei dipartimenti disposta in due corpi di fabbrica convergenti

is an element of separation between the two buildings.
A number of meeting places and gathering areas for large groups have been provided by the glazed elevation of the Museum of silk: coop bookstores, a cafeteria and, on the floor above, study areas for students are interspersed in the green spaces of the rooftop of the plaza itself.
The plaza also serves as an opportunity to rearrange a façade erroneously considered as the back of a building. The dining hall in the silk-mill, the silk mill library and the entrances to the auditorium all face the plaza. The public nature of this space is emphasised by the fact that it can be used for open air concerts or other events, which could be held against the backdrop of the large covered portal, which defines the character of the new building when seen from the plaza.
In designing this project, our first objective was to create a clear organisation of the spaces which would aid users and visitors to understand, at all times, the relations among the various parts, and allow them to orient themselves immediately to any part of the building.
The plan of the new building is, in part, determined by the relationship between the lecture halls and other teaching areas, arranged in a circular pattern, and the laboratories and research spaces, close to the departmental offices, arranged in two blocks around the central area of the semicircle where the vertical circulation elements are located.
Teaching and research areas face directly onto common corridors brightened by skylights, creating an ideal feeling of continuity between research and teaching activities.
The classrooms have also been divided into blocks separated by large openings that contribute to the illumination of the large internal space. These openings also provide views, from a number of points, of the exterior green area, enhancing the feeling of continuity between the interior and exterior spaces and the surrounding urban environment. The design is divided as follows: the six-storey cylindrical building contains the following teaching facilities: 3 lecture halls, capacity 250 students; 6 lecture halls, capacity 100 students; 9 classrooms,

nella zona centrale dell'emiciclo dove si concentrano gli elementi della distribuzione verticale e gli impianti di risalita. Entrambe le parti risultano infatti affacciate direttamente, ai diversi piani, su spazi distributivi comuni illuminati zenitalmente in modo da ricreare un ideale rapporto di contiguità tra momenti della ricerca e momenti della didattica.
L'insieme degli spazi didattici inoltre è stato frazionato in blocchi con l'apertura di grandi varchi che contribuiscono all'illuminamento del grande volume interno. Attraverso essi è possibile cogliere da diversi punti la visione sullo spazio esterno a verde in modo da rendere maggiormente percepibile il rapporto di continuità tra spazi interni e l'ambiente urbano che si caratterizza all'esterno.
Complessivamente gli spazi che compongono l'edificio risultano così articolati.
Per la parte didattica ospitata nel volume cilindrico che si sviluppa su sei piani: 3 aule grandi della capienza di 250 persone; 6 aule della capienza di 100 persone; 9 aule della capienza di 50 persone; 3 laboratori didattici di informatica; 3 laboratori didattici di fisica; 3 laboratori didattici di chimica; 12 sale per dottorandi e ricercatori.
Per la parte di ricerca dipartimentale ospitata nei due corpi rettilinei che confluiscono al centro del volume cilindrico sviluppati su sette piani: 60 studi docenti; 4 sale riunione; 8 spazi segreteria dipartimento; una biblioteca con due sale di lettura.
Attorno alla piazza trovano posto i seguenti spazi complementari: una caffeteria; 2 spazi per le cooperative librarie; 2 grandi spazi studio per gli studenti variamente articolati ed affacciati sulla copertura a verde.
Le superfici didattiche inclusa la biblioteca sono mq. 4049.
Le superfici per dipartimenti e docenti sono mq. 1410.
Le superfici per atrio, scale e distribuzione sono mq. 3358.
Le superfici per servizi sulla piazza, cooperative, caffeterie, studi studenti sono mq. 394.
Il totale delle superfici di pavimento è mq. 9518.

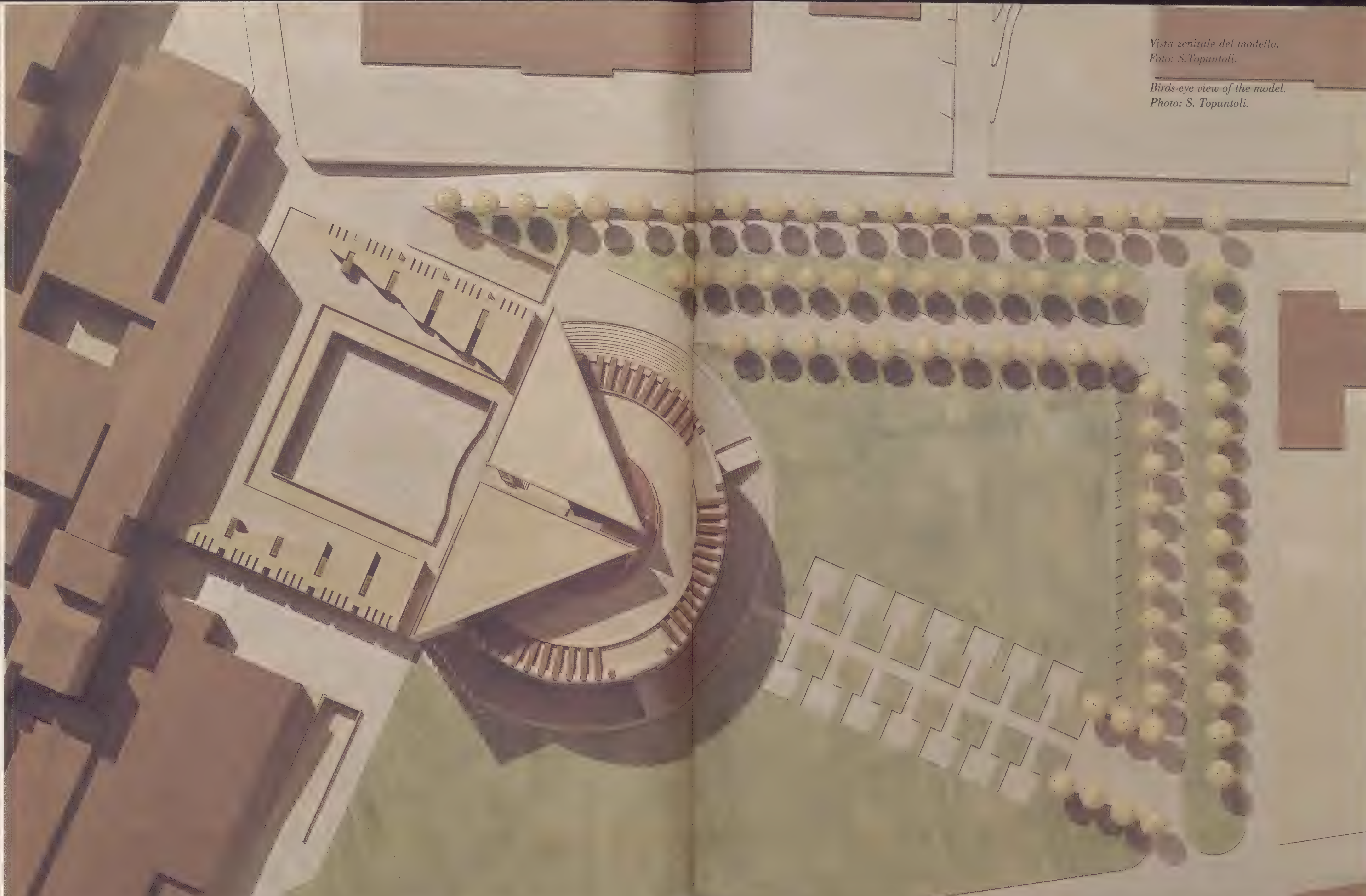
capacity 50 students; 3 teaching laboratories for computer sciences; 3 teaching laboratories for physics; 3 teaching laboratories for chemistry; 12 rooms for doctoral candidates and researchers.
The two seven-storey rectilinear buildings (which converge towards the centre of the cylindrical volume), contain the following departmental and research areas: 60 faculty offices; 4 conference rooms; 8 departmental offices; a library with two rooms.
Included within the project, around the plaza, there are also the following facilities: a cafeteria; 2 cooperative bookstores; 2 large study halls for the students with different lay outs, facing the green roof over the plaza.
The total volume of construction above ground is 45.501 cubic metres.
Teaching spaces, including the library, occupy 4049 sq. metres; department and faculty office spaces occupy 1410 sq. metres.
The atrium, corridors and stairs cover 3358 sq. metres; facilities along the perimeter of the plaza, including cooperative stores, cafeteria and student study halls occupy 394 sq. metres.
The total floor area of the complex is 9518 sq. metres.





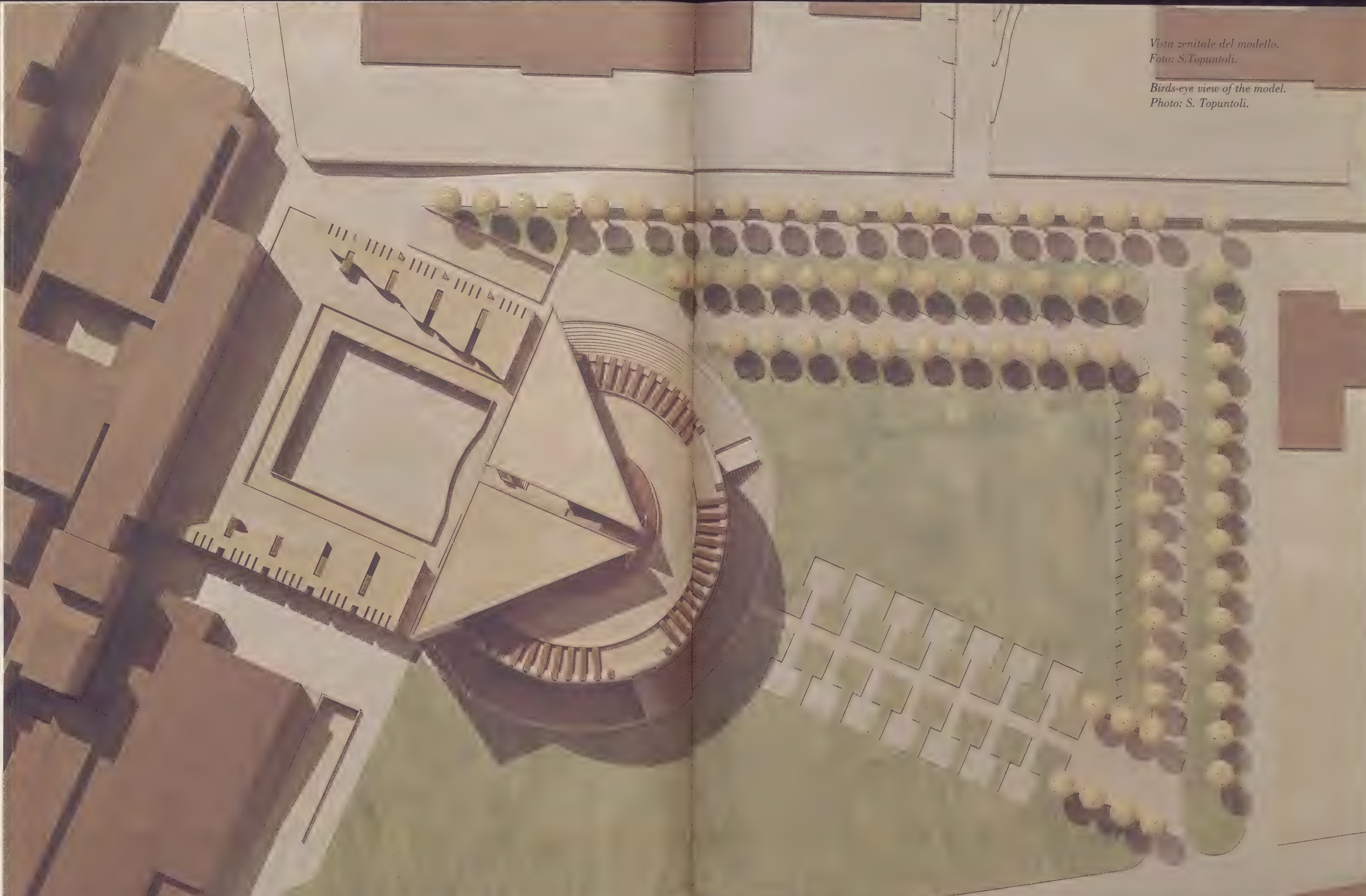
Pianta del piano terzo e sezione longitudinale.

Third floor plan and longitudinal section.



Vista zenitale del modello.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

Birds-eye view of the model.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.



Vista zenitale del modello.
Foto: S.Topuntoli.

Birds-eye view of the model.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.

Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese

1990

Aldo Rossi con/with Andrea Balzani

coll.: Marco Brandolisio, Luca Imberti, Francesco Gatti



Vista della corte interna da ovest.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

West view of the interior courtyard.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.

Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese
1990

Aldo Rossi con/with Andrea Balzani

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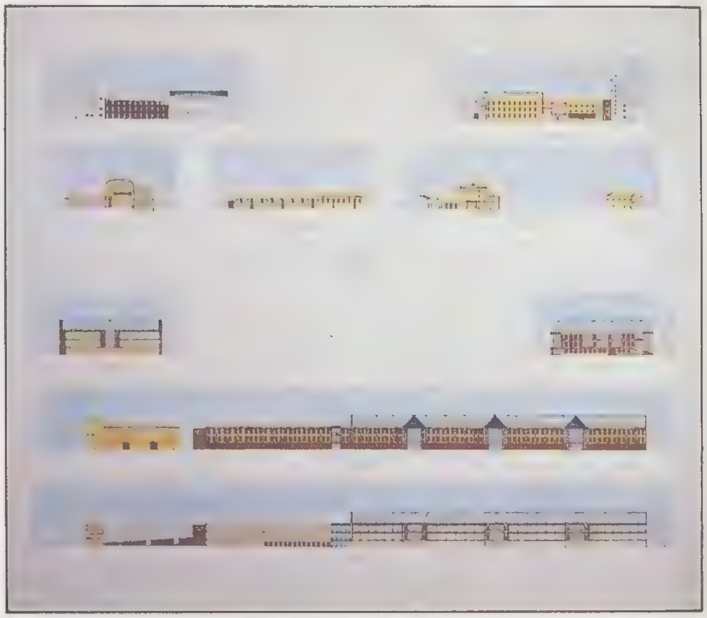


Vista della corte interna da ovest.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

West view of the interior courtyard.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.







Planimetria generale: 1) area di Corso Matteotti, prima fase d'intervento (in corso di attuazione); 2) area della Valle Olona, seconda fase d'intervento.
Planivolumetria generale, prospetti e sezioni.

Site plan: 1) Corso Matteotti area, first phase (in progress); 2) Valle Olona area, second phase.
Overall massing plan, elevations and sections.

Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese

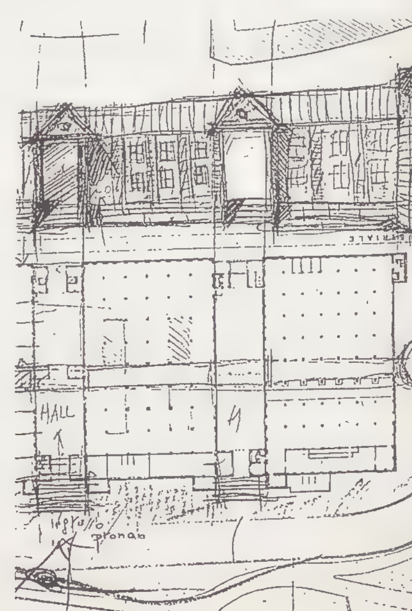
L'area e gli edifici dell'ex Cotonificio Cantoni di Castellanza sono da considerarsi di primaria importanza per la riqualificazione ed il futuro sviluppo di questo centro dell'Alta Lombardia. Importanza derivata dalla notevole estensione dell'area, dalla sua ubicazione rispetto al territorio ed al centro civico, dall'imponenza e dal grande fascino dei caratteri architettonici degli edifici industriali della Valle Olona. Il progetto nelle sue linee principali è un progetto di restauro e conservazione, anche se in realtà costruisce una nuova architettura con le alterazioni che si compiono nel disegno generale. Anche il parco, inteso nella sua matrice di elemento formativo del tessuto urbano, rappresenta uno dei temi del progetto. Il parco di villa Jucker, già decoroso e molto bello, viene reso pubblico e collegato con il sistema più vasto della Valle Olona, tramite un sottopasso (per l'attraversamento di Corso Matteotti), una scalinata e un sistema di rampe che collega il centro del paese con la Valle Olona.
Il problema della reinterpretazione degli edifici industriali è invece una questione propriamente di architettura. In questo senso il progetto qualifica e rappresenta, tramite l'architettura, i nuovi caratteri dell'Università e degli spazi per la collettività.
Nel progetto gli interventi edilizi sono stati diversificati, prevedendo usi differenti per le due parti (rispettivamente su Corso Matteotti e lungo la Valle Olona).
Nel nucleo di Corso Matteotti trovano sede i servizi collettivi oltre ad una piccola parte didattica (corsi biennali): gli edifici vengono ripuliti da tutte le superfetazioni e vengono demoliti alcuni fabbricati estranei al sistema dei cortili; si prevede il restauro dei fabbricati su Corso Matteotti, destinati a segreteria amministrativa e didattica, e di villa Jucker, destinata a rettorato ed a foresteria per i professori ad invito. Due torri di nuova costruzione segnano l'ingresso alla zona

The Carlo Cattaneo University in Castellanza, Varese

The area and buildings of Cotonificio Cantoni, the former cotton factory in Castellanza, are of primary importance in the redevelopment and future of this urban centre in Northern Lombardy. This importance derives from the considerable size of the area itself, its location in relation to the context and the civic centre, and from the particular charm of the architectural features that distinguish industrial buildings in the Olona valley. The project involves existing structures even though the modifications that are part of the overall design actually create a new architecture. The park, an intrinsic part of the urban fabric, is also an integral element of the project. The beautifully decorative park of Villa Jucker is to be opened to the public and linked to the larger Olona valley area by means of an underpass (beneath Corso Matteotti), a flight of steps and a system of ramps connecting the town centre with the Olona valley.
The issue of renovating industrial buildings adapting them to a different function is, however, essentially an architectural question. In this sense the project uses architecture to enhance and represent the new features of the university and public spaces.
A variety of construction techniques are involved in the project which is divided in two parts (one in Corso Matteotti and the other along the Olona valley), each of which will have different usage requirements.
The collective facilities and a small teaching section (for two-year courses) are located in the Corso Matteotti group. All architectural elements applied to the buildings over the years that do not belong to the original system of courtyards will be demolished. The project includes the restoration of the buildings on Corso Matteotti and those of Villa Jucker for administrative and teaching facilities, housing the president's offices and guest rooms for visiting professors. Two new towers will mark the entrance to the teaching and student facilities

didattica ed a servizio degli studenti, che si sviluppa intorno a una corte di edifici esistenti, le cui facciate vengono mantenute o ridisegnate per ottenere uno spazio architettonico dove il vecchio ed il nuovo creano una tensione, nel loro contrapporsi ed integrarsi. Il luogo più importante di questa parte del progetto è l'aula magna, pensata anche come piccolo centro congressi per il Comune di Castellanza. L'aula, che può ospitare circa seicento spettatori, ha accesso direttamente dalla corte ed è caratterizzata da una grande copertura ad arco ribassato (in legno rivestito con lastre di rame) e da due matronei accessibili al pubblico.
Nella zona della Valle Olona, demoliti gli edifici che si affacciano su Piazza Soldini, il progetto propone l'ubicazione delle parti più propriamente didattiche. Partendo da Piazza Soldini, per la quale è previsto un allargamento, si propone la creazione di una "piazza dell'università", caratterizzata dalla presenza di una quercia centenaria di grande bellezza ed imponenza.
Il primo degli edifici industriali esitenti, disposto in linea con la valle, con poche modifiche oltre al restauro delle facciate è destinato a spazi per la didattica e aule specializzate.
Nei quattro edifici rimanenti è concentrato l'intervento architettonico di maggior importanza: essi sono destinati a spazi per la didattica, laboratori e dipartimenti universitari, oltre ai parcheggi ubicati al piano terra. Essi rappresentano l'Università vera e propria pensata nell'ipotesi di massimo sviluppo.
La scelta fondamentale è di collegare i quattro corpi isolati con due gallerie vetrate, longitudinalmente e trasversalmente, formando così uno schema tipologico composto da tre crociere. Tale soluzione, oltre a distribuire omogeneamente i singoli corpi ed a consentire una realizzazione per parti autonome, lascia integra l'immagine del grande opificio con i suoi prospetti in mattone segnati dalle larghe vetrate e lo reinterpreta, nel contempo, in un edificio che afferma la propria modernità.

area, developed around a courtyard of the existing buildings. Their front elevations will be preserved or redesigned to obtain a space in which tension within the interaction and counterpoint of the old and new architecture is felt.
The main assembly hall is the most important part of the project, and will double as a small convention centre for the Municipality of Castellanza. Designed to seat approximately six hundred, it is accessible directly from the courtyard. It features a large roof in the form of a lowered arch (made of wood and clad in sheet copper) and two public galleries.
The Olona valley part of the project involves the demolition of the buildings facing Piazza Soldini and the creation of new parts intended for more strictly didactic purposes.
A "University Plaza" is to be created, starting from Piazza Soldini, which will be widened. An impressive old oak tree will be a feature of the plaza.
The first of the existing industrial buildings, in line with the valley and due to undergo few modifications apart from the restoration of the front, is to be used for teaching rooms and specialized activities. The four remaining buildings constitute the most significant architectural intervention. These are to be used to house classrooms, laboratories and university departments, with car parks situated at ground-floor level. They form the heart of the university, which was designed with future developments in mind.
A fundamental decision was to join the four isolated buildings longitudinally and transversely with two glazed galleries, thereby creating a typological pattern based on three cross-shaped elements. This solution, as well as dividing up the individual buildings more evenly and allowing for the creation of autonomous parts, preserves the image of the former factory with its brick fronts punctuated by glazed surfaces, and at the same time gives it a new, up-to-date interpretation.





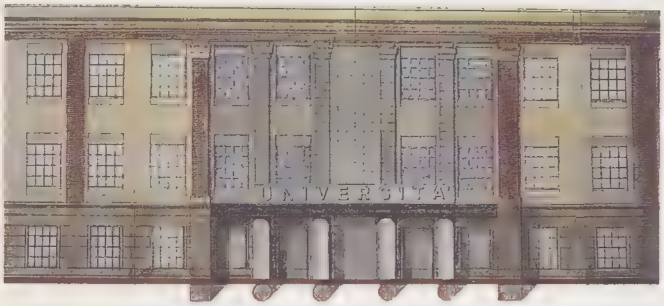






Schizzo di studio.
Viste del modello da nordest e da est.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.
Veduta zenitale dell'area di intervento e veduta dell'ex Stabilimento Cantoni.

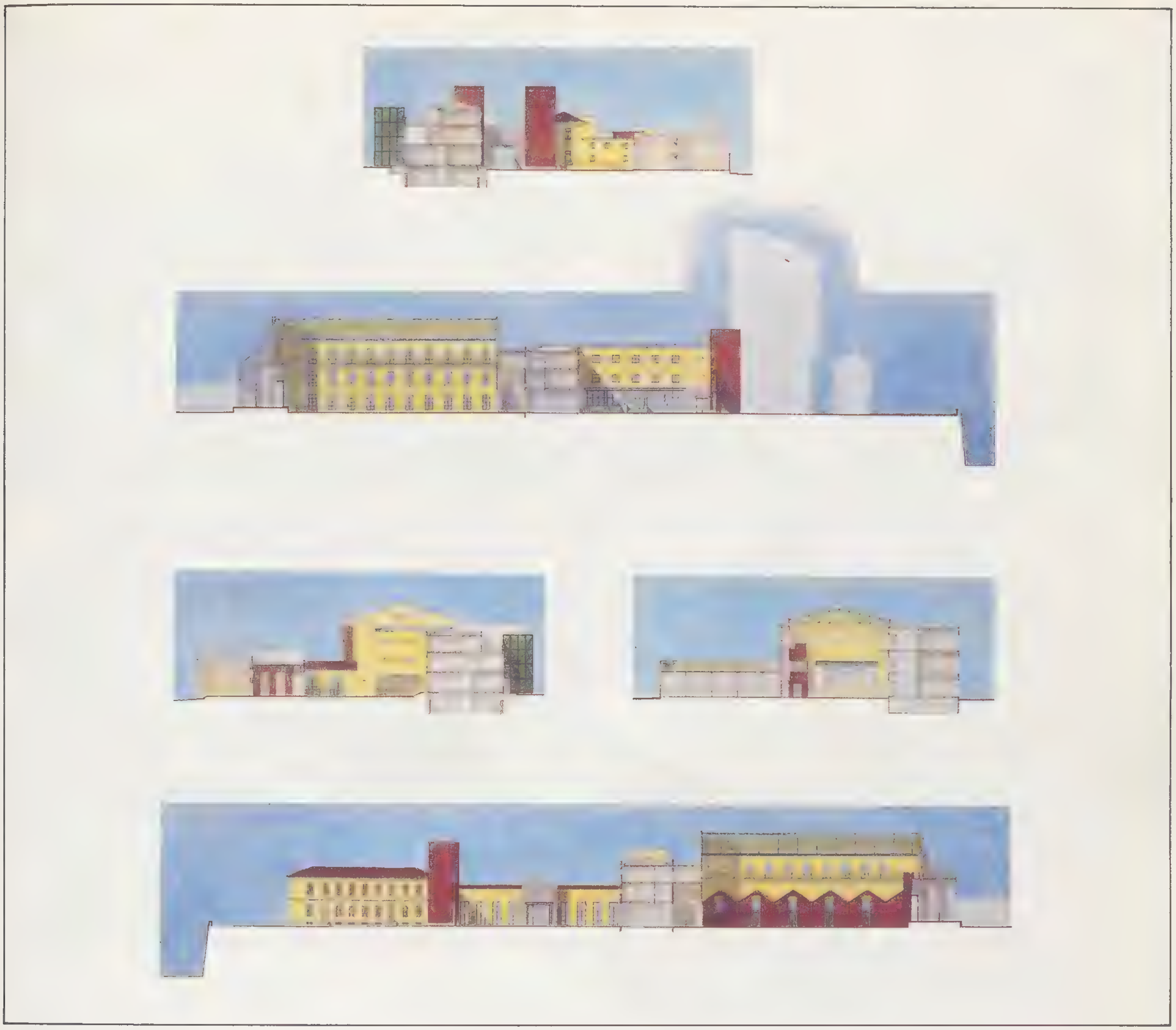
Study sketch.
Northeast and east view of the model.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.
Aerial view of the site and view of the old Stabilimento Cantoni.





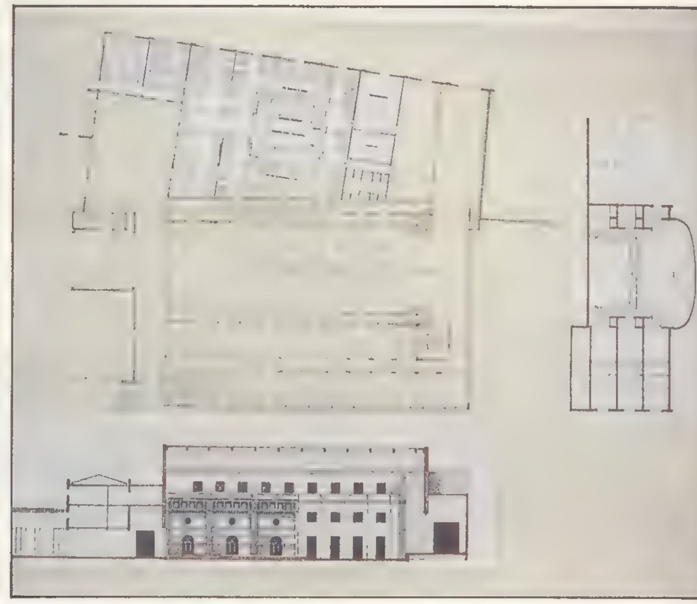


Disegni di studio del prospetto e della planimetria d'ingresso all'area della Valle Olona (seconda fase d'intervento). Pianta del piano terreno, prospetti e sezioni dell'area di Corso Matteotti (prima fase d'intervento).



Study sketches of the elevation and the entrance plan of the Valle Olona area (second phase).
Ground floor plan, elevations and sections of Corso Matteotti area (first phase).







Area di Corso Matteotti: disegni di studio dell'aula magna e vista dello stato attuale.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

Corso Matteotti area: study sketches of the aula magna and view of the existing space.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.







Area di Corso Matteotti: disegno di studio del fronte nordovest sul parco di Villa Jucker.

Corso Matteotti area: study sketch of the northwest elevation facing the park of Villa Jucker.



Area di Corso Matteotti: disegno di studio del fronte nordovest sul parco di Villa Jucker.

Corso Matteotti area: study sketch of the northwest elevation facing the park of Villa Jucker.





Area di Corso Matteotti: viste del fronte nordovest e vista interna.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

Corso Matteotti area: northwest views and interior view.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.







Area di Corso Matteotti: viste della corte interna e delle torri di ingresso (non ancora realizzata l'aula magna con accesso dalla corte).
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

Corso Matteotti area: interior courtyard views and the entrance towers (the aula magna and entrance to the courtyard are not yet built).
Photo: S. Topuntoli.

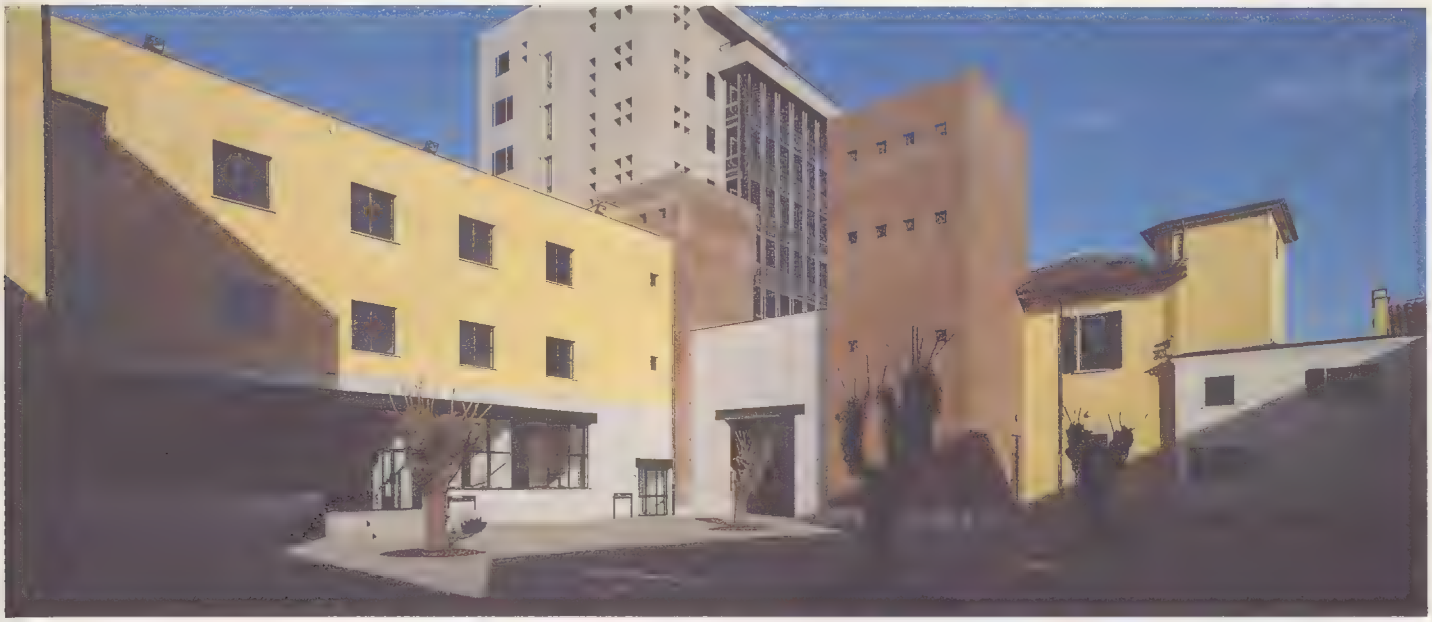






Area di Corso Matteotti: viste della corte interna.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

Corso Matteotti area: views of the interior courtyard.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.









Area di Corso Matteotti: vista della corte interna verso la biblioteca. Foto: S. Topuntoli.

Corso Matteotti area: view of the interior courtyard towards the library. Photo: S. Topuntoli.



Area di Corso Matteotti: vista della corte interna verso la biblioteca.
Foto: S. Topuntoli.

Corso Matteotti area: view of the interior courtyard towards the library.
Photo: S. Topuntoli.

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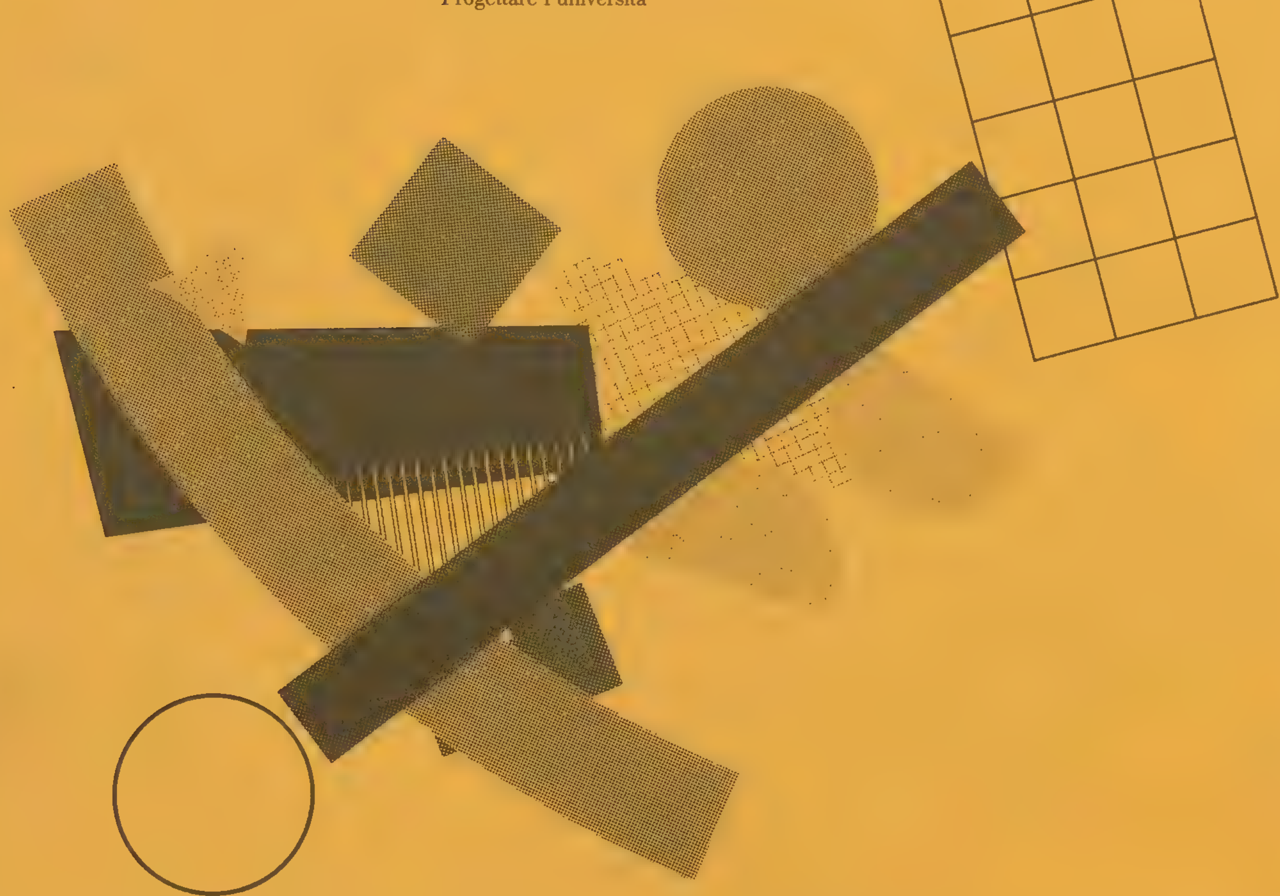
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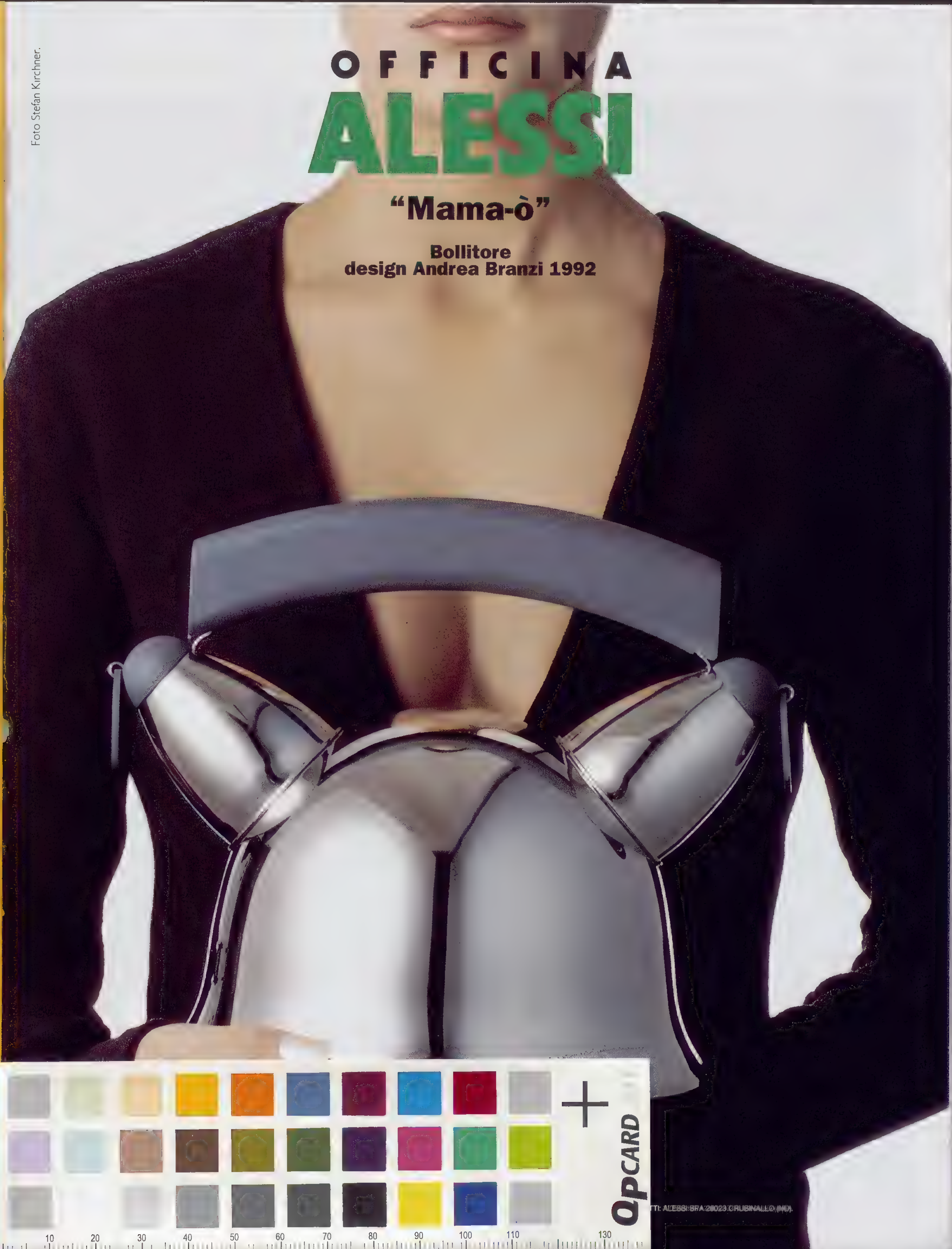
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Zodiac 7

Rivista internazionale d'architettura



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ALESSI
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Bollitore
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Zodiac 8

Rivista internazionale d'architettura
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Sono nate prima le regole o le eccezioni?

Da dove arrivano le idee? Dall'intuizione? Dall'esperienza? Dal pensiero? Dalla trasgressione?
O da tutto questo insieme?
E il design? Come nasce il design?

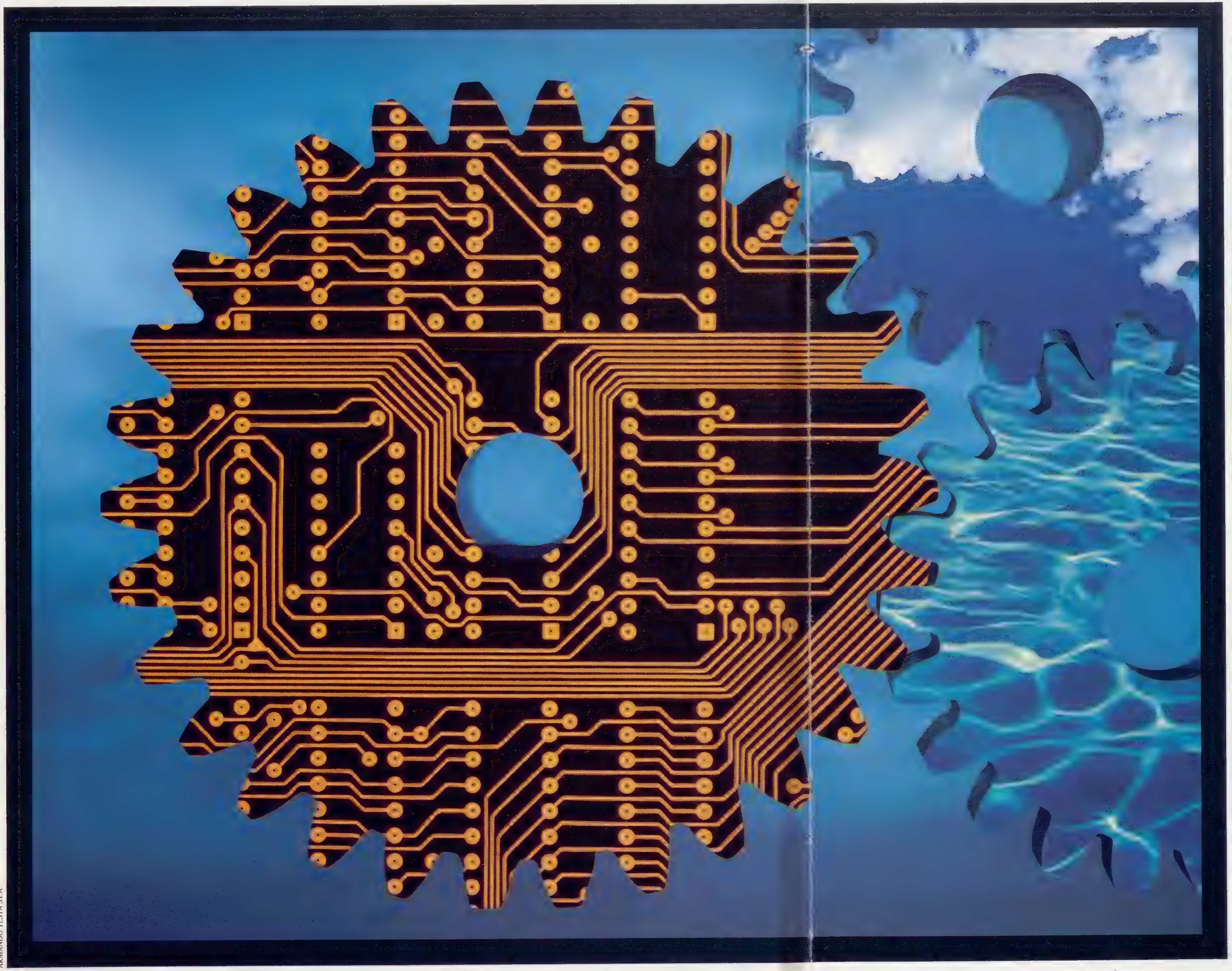
È la forma che determina la funzione? O viceversa?
E quando un oggetto prende vita? Quando entra nella nostra vita?
Quando diventa emozione?

Quando non è più un oggetto? Alessi? Alessi.

ALESSI

SE CI MANDATE IL VOSTRO NOME E INDIRIZZO CON LA SIGLA ZO/U POTREMO FARVI AVERE UN CATALOGO ILLUSTRATO DEI NOSTRI PRODOTTI. SHOW ROOM DI MILANO: CORSO MATTEOTTI 9.

Cos'è lo *sviluppo sostenibile*? La ricerca è in movimento, la Terra avrà nuove risorse.



Eni vi invita a riflettere sullo *sviluppo sostenibile*. Il ruolo innovativo della ricerca, unito a un utilizzo più equilibrato delle risorse, è la condizione per lo *Sviluppo Sostenibile*.

Un insieme di processi industriali e ambientali in grado di assicurare la crescita di oggi, salvaguardando le risorse necessarie alle generazioni future.

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Grazie a questi risultati, Eni è l'unico Gruppo industriale italiano presente nel *Business Council* alla Conferenza mondiale su Sviluppo e Ambiente, Rio '92, indetta dall'ONU per il mese di giugno.

Un incontro di fondamentale importanza per il futuro di tutti, in cui la ricerca Eni avrà molto da dire.

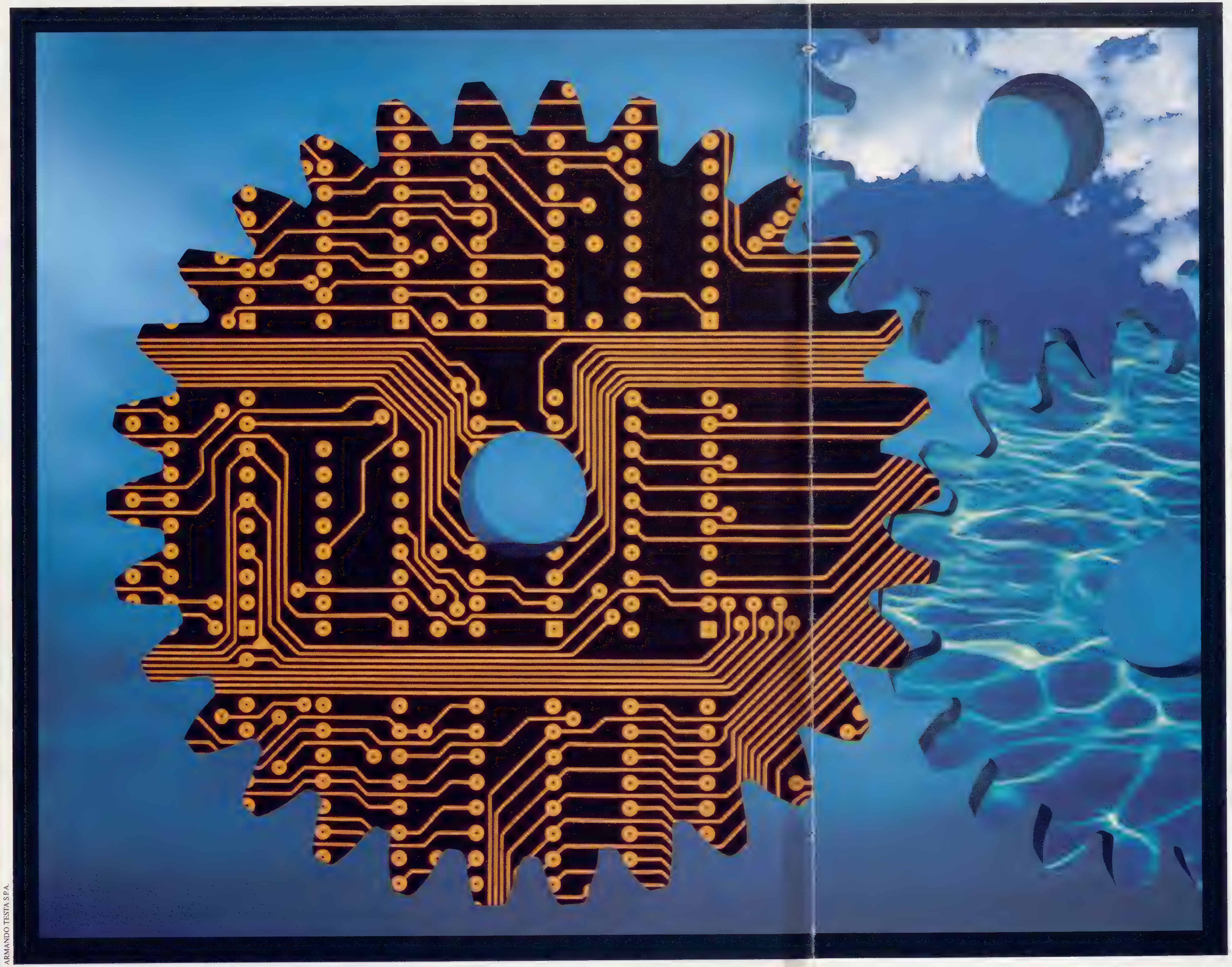
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Eni per uno sviluppo sostenibile.

ARMANDO TESTA S.P.A.

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Front cover: Alberto Cruz, Amereida Cooperative, Agorà "Henry Tronquoy", Open City, Valparaíso, Chile, 1973: view.

Zodiac 8

Sommario/*Contents*

Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992)

Carlo Aymonino
Manfredo Tafuri



Caro Jim,
quando il tuo angelo (verde la sua camicia) ti ha preso per mano,
una stretta al cuore.
Cos'altro dire al "mondo che abbiamo conosciuto così piccolo", cui
— con la *tua* lingua —
hai rivolto parole crudeli?
Eironéia. Fra le burle, l'inganno sulla tua nascita
(caccia e pettegolezzi sono aperti).
Così hai rimescolato questa folle età di mezzo.
Già troppe parole. La nave, oggetto dei tuoi pensosi sarcasmi,
rimane affidata a pochi
nocchieri severamente privi di rotte — La grande pausa.
Un ultimo, provvisorio sussurro.

Manfredo

Venezia, 15 settembre 1992

Dear Jim,
and so your angel (green was his gown) took your
hand, our heart's hand-grasp.
How else address "the world we knew so small",
for which — in your *language —*
your words came cruel?
Eironéia. *Amid trammels and trickery*
of your birth (the hunt is on, slander walks abroad).
Thus did you stir strife in a transitory age's insanity.
Too many words already. The ship, your long-seasoned
sarcasm's target, is still steered
by helmsmen bereft of bearings — The great pause.
One last, provisional whisper.

Manfredo

Venice, 15 September 1992

Caro Jim,

quando il tuo angelo (verde la sua camicia) ti ha preso per mano,
una stretta al cuore.

Cos'altro dire al "mondo che abbiamo conosciuto così piccolo," cui
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nocchieri severamente privi di rotte – La grande pausa –
Un ultimo, provvisorio sussurro.

Venezia, 15 settembre 1992.

Laboratorio Latinoamerica
Guido Canella

"arretez-vous encore un peu à considérer ce chaos"
(Descartes)*

Ammesso che anche in architettura sia da commemorare mezzo millennio dalla scoperta dell'America, un modo plausibile è sembrato quello di interpellare alcuni studiosi dal subcontinente latinoamericano per sollevare il sipario su quel panorama, in questi ultimi anni rimasto celato almeno a una prospettiva d'insieme dall'Occidente. Poiché, se per esempio la letteratura ha continuato a interessare la cultura occidentale nell'ossessivo interrogarsi sulla propria identità, pari attenzione non è certo riuscito a catturare l'operato recente degli architetti latinoamericani; e dire che il loro impegno non è stato meno ostinato —come si può constatare— nel proporsi criticamente i temi della genealogia, della legittimità, della autenticità, sia pure cercati per riflesso da quanto avvenuto in Europa e Nordamerica.
Sono ormai trascorsi quasi quarant'anni da quando il formalismo degli architetti brasiliani venne processato con l'accusa di eresia rispetto ai principi essenziali del Razionalismo[1]. Ma non è forse provato che le condanne per deviazionismo vengono impartite soprattutto nei momenti di crisi di regime, quando l'ideologia tende sempre più a cristallizzarsi e a perdere coscienza della realtà? Infatti, di lì a poco, si sarebbe definitivamente frantumata la dottrina *International Style*[2].
In quel frangente veniva alla luce che i presupposti, sui quali si era fondata la linea discriminante dell'architettura moderna soprattutto nei paesi europei, erano tutt'altro che unitari e che anche là, dove si postulava per l'*habitat* del Ventesimo secolo una rivoluzione pretesa dallo sviluppo della tecnica, quei presupposti non costituivano altro che gli intenti estremizzati, ormai ambiguamente velleitari, di esperienze eterogenee che sostanzialmente già avevano segnato, e certo più concretamente, l'architettura e la città nel secolo precedente.
Al punto che, guardando a ritroso, se si volesse cercare un carattere unificante dell'architettura d'avanguardia in Europa nella prima metà del Ventesimo secolo, oggi esso andrebbe forse ermeneuticamente fondato in un'accezione generale dell'Espressionismo, come epica rappresentazione di inanità del suo stesso predicato sociale.
Non può non stupire quindi che, da allora a tutt'oggi e proprio dal vecchio continente dove tanto hanno inciso l'*esprit de géométrie* e l'*esprit de finesse*, oltre a una generale attestazione di crisi sia venuto a mancare quel pungolo critico, sufficientemente accuminato e duttile così da analizzare istologicamente trame di pensiero e poetiche differenti e perfino contrastanti che, oggi appunto nell'architettura occidentale, risultano accomunabili soltanto per la rinuncia ai canoni della razionalità apparente, più o meno affioranti da quel magma genericamente etichettato come *postmoderno*, dove modi e termini presi a prestito da filosofia, sociologia, letteratura ottengono una superficiale, e non di rado distorta, corrispondenza di significato.
Mentre non stupisce affatto che la più recente generazione di architetti e studiosi latinoamericani non solo si riconosca e autolegittimi in una comune e particolare *condizione postmoderna*, ma addirittura da questa prenda vanto di pertinenza e primogenitura, una volta tanto rispetto all'esperienza occidentale di questi ultimi anni.
Pertanto appare abbastanza puntuale che l'architettura latinoamericana

The Latin American Laboratory
Guido Canella

"arretez-vous encore un peu à considérer ce chaos"
*(Descartes)**

Since the five-hundreth anniversary of the discovery of America has to be celebrated in architecture as in other fields, it seemed a good idea to ask a number of experts on Latin America to provide us with the kind of general survey of its architectural situation that has been difficult to achieve from the West in recent years.
Although the literature has continued to fuel Western architecture's obsessive doubts about its own identity, the recent achievements of Latin American architects have attracted rather less attention. And yet, as is well known, their critical commitment to establishing the genealogy, validity and authenticy of Latin American architecture (all be they related to developments in Europe and North America) has been no less impressive. Forty years have passed since the formalism of the Brazilian architects was condemned as heretical because it deviated from the basic principles of Rationalism[1]*, but hasn't it also been proven that such accusations of deviance usually surface when regimes begin to totter and their increasingly fossilised ideologies begin to lose touch with reality? Only a few years later, in fact, the collapse of the International Style would become total and irretrievable*[2]*.*
What this difficult situation revealed was that the assumptions on which assessments of modern architecture, especially in Europe, had been based were by no means universally shared, and that even in countries where many believed a technological revolution would transform twentieth-century urban environments, these assumptions were simply more extreme and ambiguously unrealistic continuations of tendencies that had already been present in a much more concrete form in the architecture and cities of the last century. So much so that if, in retrospect, we had to find some unifying feature in early twentieth-century avant-garde architecture in Europe, we would probably point to its widespread acceptance of Expressionism as an epic representation of the futility of its own social predicament.
One can only be amazed, therefore, that in the intervening period Europe itself — where esprit de géométrie, esprit de finesse *and a general feeling of crisis have cut so deep — has failed to provide us with critical tools incisive and flexible enough to analyse in detail a range of often conflicting philosophical and artistic approaches in Western architecture whose only common feature seems to be their rejection of rationality. Approaches, moreover, that have emerged from what is now commonly described as the* postmodern *predicament, the ferment of ideas borrowed from philospohy sociology and literature whose homogeneity is often more apparent than real. It is not suprising, then, that the younger Latin American architects and scholars not only identify with and validate their work in shared perceptions of the postmodern predicament, but even use it to assert for once their claim to a relevance and importance that surpasses even that of Western architects in recent years.*
So now seems the right time for Latin American architecture, once it has succeeded in overcoming its complex about being out of the mainstream of history, to develop greater "philosophical" self-awareness and so also more rational practical procedures. And this at a time when Western industrialised economies and ideologies are beginning to weaken, and the certainity of

Domingo Alvarez, El Gran Vidrio del Caribe, *1992, nella mostra personale* Una poética visual para la invención del Caribe, *Caracas, 1992. Vetro smerigliato, cm. 270 × 380.*

Domingo Alvarez, El Gran Vidrio del Caribe *1992, in his* Una poética visual para la invención del Caribe, *solo exhibition, Caracas, 1992. Ground glass, 270 x 380 cm.*

assuma consapevolezza "filosofica" di sé e perfino operatività critica più razionale, proprio quando le riesce di rimuovere il complesso di distacco dal corso della storia; cioè quando nell'Occidente più industrializzato le economie tendono a indebolirsi e le ideologie a sfrangiarsi, una volta venuta meno la certezza in una continuità dello sviluppo e in un mandato di civilizzazione su cui fondare uno statuto materiale e morale di necessità per le sorti del mondo. E ciò accade in conseguenza a guerre, fermenti di sovvertimento, crisi economiche e istituzionali; quando capitali, ingegno e soprattutto braccia del vecchio mondo, proprio per sopravvivere, sono costretti a riscoprire oltreoceano l'Eldorado: in America Latina, appunto, non lo furono forse la Buenos Aires tra il 1880 e il 1925 o la Caracas e Brasilia dell'ultimo dopoguerra?
Così che questa consapevolezza di uno spaesamento ciclico dell'Occidente potrebbe andare a risarcire in parte un credito di identità culturale, ancestralmente contratto e rimasto scoperto nei secoli, constatato che "*mezzo millennio fa, se certo non fu scoperta l'America, da tempi immemorabili abitata, fu sicuramente scoperta l'Europa. (...) Infatti non era Europa l'impero romano, né era Europa la struttura che, come mostrò Henri Pirenne (*Carlomagno e Maometto*), a Roma succedette, e cioè l'Islam: più che «Europa», queste due entità culturali e politiche erano «Mediterraneo», come ha stabilito 40 anni fa Fernand Braudel. Né fu Europa davvero il Sacro romano impero carolingio. (...) La «cristianità» non coincide con l'«Europa»: tutt'al più —e solo fino a oggi— può declinarsi con un'altra categoria ambigua e onnicomprensiva, come quella di «Occidente», divulgata come «Occaso», terra del «tramonto» (della «sera»),* Abendland *(da cui il gioco di parole spengleriano sul «tramonto dell'occidente». (...) Ma proprio l'accezione di «terra della sera» ci aiuta a capire perché Cristoforo Colombo, con il suo viaggio, ci abbia fatto scoprire l'Europa. Perché essa ha smesso di essere solo l'ovest dell'Asia, l'occidente del favoloso mondo orientale, ha smesso di confrontarsi solo con il miraggio (...) per sognare di un altro paradiso, quello del mondo nuovo, dell'eldorado, dell'utopia gesuita in Paraguay, della sconfinata prateria*"[3].
Tornando all'oggi e a proposito del futuro che attende l'Occidente —"*dove i tratti caotici della trasformazione a cui ora assistiamo fanno pensare al sorgere di una società che forse in alcuni aspetti sarà simile a ciò che conosciamo in America Latina e in altre parti della terra*"[4] —, sembra non possa essere ormai che la *metropoli*, come luogo deputato del caos, dell'alienazione individuale, della frammentazione e della dissociazione di classi e gruppi sociali tradizionali, quel plasma dove diventa reperibile, con la preistoria della condizione postmoderna, l'incubazione di quel nuovo *meticciato* attraverso il quale, e particolarmente nel paradigma latinoamericano, l'Occidente potrebbe a sua volta rispecchiarsi.
Pertanto termini e concetti usati dagli autori dei contributi qui raccolti assumono vigore di riferimento, proprio perché spinti fino al limite estremo del loro significare; quindi più congiunturali, ma anche più strutturali rispetto al valore sintomatico o soltanto esornativo con cui corrono nell'architettura occidentale. Il *postmoderno* nell'architettura latinoamericana viene così a denotare una profonda e diffusa condizione contestuale assai prima che rappresentativa, includendo il concetto di *regionalismo*, magari sollecitato fino all'ubiquità, comunque assai diverso dal regionalismo (critico o meno) con cui talvolta viene graziato il *revival* in





Domingo Alvarez, Tres Horizontes, *dal ciclo* Paisaje del tiempo de la Tierra en los días del Génesis, *1975-92. Legno, vetro, sabbia, cm. 54 × 100 × 10.5.*

Domingo Alvarez, Tres Horizontes, *from his* Paisaje del tiempo de la Tierra en los días del Génesis *cycle, 1975-92. Wood, glass and sand, 54 x 100 × 10.5 cm.*

continuing development and the West's role as the civilisation on which the material and moral fate of the world rests is diminishing. This is already happening as the result of wars, political subversion and economic and institutional crisis, at a time when the capital, skills and, above all, manpower of the Old World are having to rediscover the Eldorado that lies across the Pacific. After all, wasn't Buenos Aires just such an Eldorado for the West between 1880 and 1925, as Caracas and Brazilia have been in the postwar period?
Such awareness of the West's cyclical loss of relevance may end up partially making good its centuries-old reluctance to acknowledge that Latin American has its own cultural identity, given that "(...) five hundred years ago, although America itself, inhabitated since time immemorial, was not discovered, Europe most certainly was. (...) Europe was neither the Roman Empire, nor the civilisation, Islam, which, as Henri Pirenne *(From Charlemagne to Mahomet)* has shown, inherited the mantle of Rome. Rome and Islam were 'Mediterranean' rather than 'European', as Fernand Braudel pointed out forty years ago. Nor was Europe really the Carolingia Holy Roman Empire. (...) 'Christendom' was not the same as 'Europe'. Right up to the present day, some other ambiguous, all-embracing term has had to be used such as 'The Occident', or more popularly, the 'West', the land of the 'setting sun' (of 'evening'). *Abendland* (which gave Spenger his pun about 'the setting of the West'). (...) It is precisely this term 'the land of the setting sun' that enables to see why Christopher Colombus voyage in fact made us discover Europe, because Europe ceased to be just the land to the west of Asia, the West of the fabled Eastern world, and stopped comparing itself with what was only a mirage (...) to dream of another paradise, the New World, the Eldorado, the Jesuit utopia in Paraguay, the boundless prairies"[3].
Returning to present times, and the future that awaits the West — "where the chaos of the changes we are experiencing leads us to envisage the emergence of a society perhaps similar in some ways to what we know in Latin America and other parts of the world"[4] — *we can only conclude that it is in the* metropolis — *the modern world's designated place of chaos, individual alienation, and disintegration of traditional social groups and classes — that the new hybrid society common enough in Latin America but which the West may increasingly come to resemble, will be born, nurtured on a prehistory of postmodern sensibility and crisis.*
So the concepts and terms used by the authors of the essays collected here are highly indicative precisely because their meanings have been stretched as far as they will possibly go: they seem more relevant and acquire a more structural function, compared with the more generic or even just decorative meanings they usually have in Western architecture. In Latin American architecture, postmodern indicates a widespread, deeply-rooted predicament that is much more a function of specific context than a general situation.
It includes the concept of regionalism, *perhaps on a continental scale but nonetheless quite different from the regionalism (critical or otherwise) that is sometimes used to boost the credentials of European or North American revivals. The* metropolis *has become the final destination of a mass exodus from an infinitely large surrounding world that has been rendered uninhabitable, a place whose* periphery *has literally become the edge of the world, a place were* hybridisation *means the loss of not just ethnic, but also*

Europa e Nord America. La *metropoli* vi ritaglia la destinazione terminale di un esodo di massa da un restante infinito ormai reso inabitabile, dove la *periferia* diventa margine del mondo e il *meticciato* segnala perdita di memoria non solo etnica, ma anche sociale e storica, instaurando nuove identità su comportamenti effimeri e sradicati, appunto metropolitani, che sovvertono perfino il rapporto tra necessario e superfluo.
Ebbene, anche in questo paesaggio, dove la ricerca di qualità deve scontare un grado massimo di snervamento delle destinazioni, di degrado delle infrastrutture, di impoverimento dell'intervento pubblico, l'architettura latinoamericana, più che farsi portatrice di un'astanza puramente autoriflessiva di resa di fronte ad una predestinazione negativa fatalisticamente sopportata, sembra servirsi del connaturato struggimento, dell'agio che in essa il fantastico ha sempre goduto sul razionale, e ora perfino della stessa debolezza dell'odierna condizione postmoderna, per farsi carico, oggi come forse non mai, di un proprio compito conoscitivo, in ciò paradossalmente avvantaggiata dall'essenza babelica di una tradizione fondata proprio sul paradigma della diversità-alterità.
Per cui la perdita d'orizzonte, la difformità degli ambienti naturali e d'insediamento, la contaminazione dei riferimenti storici sembrano incoraggiarla ad abbandonare finalmente gli scrupoli della convenzionalità localistica, cioè del folclore e del mimetismo, e della conformità all'alternativa tra moderno e postmoderno, cioè dello storicismo, e invece a sospingerla verso la ricerca di una libera tipicità caso per caso, punto a punto, dacché la sua stessa eterogeneità non vi agisce più come presentimento critico di disgregazione, ma come principio di relatività tipologica, stazione di partenza per cominciare a ripensare il mondo abitato attraverso le reali, differenti e contraddittorie, necessità della comunità, articolate e ricomposte per successive approssimazioni nel concreto allegorico dell'architettura.
Dacché per scienziati ed epistemologi —come sostiene Ilya Prigogine— il "*caos produce ordine, (...) il divario tra «semplice» e «complesso», tra «ordine e disordine» è molto più sottile di quanto prima si pensasse*", e poiché il crescere della città —siamo qui a ripeterlo da tempo— si può meglio raffigurare proprio a partire dai momenti di crisi, viene da chiedersi se quello dell'America Latina non possa essere il laboratorio dove si è cominciato a sperimentare una diversa, nuova ragione anche per l'architettura occidentale.

Note
*) Cit. da A. CARPENTIER, *El recurso del método*, Siglo veintiuno argentina editore, 1974.
1) Cfr. P. CRAYMER, W. GROPIUS, H. OHYE, M. BILL, E.N. ROGERS, *Report on Brazil*, in "The Architectural Review", n.694, ottobre 1954, dove il punto di vista di Bill risulta ben distante da quello di Rogers (di cui cfr. anche *Pretesti per una critica non formalistica*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n.200, febbraio-marzo 1954).
2) Cfr. R. BANHAM, *Neoliberty-The italian retreat from modern architecture*, in "The Architectural Review", n.747, aprile 1959; E.N. ROGERS, *L'evoluzione dell'architettura-Risposta al custode dei frigidaires*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n.228, giugno 1959; E.N. ROGERS, *I CIAM al Museo*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n.232, ottobre 1959; O. NEWMAN, *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, Krämer, Stuttgart 1961.
3) M. D'ERAMO, *Cristoforo Colombo scopre l'Europa*, in "il manifesto", 21 settembre 1992.
4) J. HABERMAS, Colloquio con W. Privitera, in un aggiornamento all'edizione italiana di *Dopo l'utopia, il pensiero critico e il mondo d'oggi*, Marsilio, Venezia 1992.

social and historical memory, establishing new identities based on ephimeral, rootless modes of behaviour — metropolitan behaviour — which subvert even the relationship between the necessary and the superfluous. And yet, even in this landscape, where the search for quality has to reckon with increasing diversity of use, crumbling infrastructures and cuts in public spending, Latin American architecture, rather than instinctively taking it for granted that it will succumb to the fate the future has decreed for it, seems to be using widespread destruction, its long-standing acceptance and preference for fantasy rather than rationality, and now even the very weaknesses of its postmodern predicament, to develop cognitive self-awareness on an unprecedented scale, aided, paradoxically enough, by the multi-centredness of an architectural tradition based on paradigms of diversity and otherness. So this disorientation, variety of natural and human environment and pollution of historical reference seem to be encouraging Latin American architecture to reject at last the scruples of local convention (folklore, imitation) and its previous acceptance of the modern-postmodern dialectic (historicism), and strike out in search of individual local identities established case by case, point by point. Its heterogeneity no longer spells its own disintegration; it has become instead a principle that generates typological relativity, the starting point for a reinterpretation of living environments, based on the real, contradictory, varying needs of communities, which will gradually bring the physical allegories of architecture closer to the actual realities of the modern world. Since, as Ilya Prigogine says, scientists and epistemologists hold that "chaos produces order, (...) the distinction between 'simple' and 'complex', 'order' and 'disorder', is much more subtle than was once believed", *and since, as we have often said, cities seem to grow better out of crises, one wonders whether Latin America has not now become a laboratory that will eventually revitalise the West's own architecture also.*

Notes

**) Cited by A. CARPENTIER,* El recurso del método, *Siglo veintiuno argentina, 1974.*

1) See P. CRAYMER, W. GROPIUS, H. OHYE, M. BILL, E.N. ROGERS, Report on Brazil, *in "The Architectural Review", no. 694, october 1954, where Bill's point of view seems rather different from Roger's (see also* Pretesti per una critica non formalistica, *in "Casabella-Continuità", no. 200, February-March 1954).*

2) See R. BANHAM, Neoliberty. The italian retreat from modern architecture, *in "The Architectural Review",* no. 747, April 1959; E.N. ROGERS, L'evoluzione dell'architettura. Risposta al custode dei frigidaires, *in "Casabella-Continuità", no. 228, June 1959; E.N. ROGERS,* I CIAM al Museo, *in "Casabella-Continuità", no. 232, October 1959; O. NEWMAN,* CIAM '59 in Otterlo, *Krämer, Stuttgart 1961.*

3) M. D'ERAMO, Cristoforo Colombo scopre l'Europa, *in "Il Manifesto", 21 September 1992.*

4) J. HABERMAS, Conversation with W. Privitera, in an addition to the Italian edition of Dopo l'utopia, il pensiero critico e il mondo d'oggi, *Marsilio, Venice 1992.*

1. Teotihuacán, Messico, sec.II-VII: vista del centro cerimoniale dall'alto della Piramide della Luna.

1. Teotihuacán, Mexico, 2nd-7th century: the ceremonial centre seen from the Pyramid of the Moon.



1

La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione

Mario Sartor

The Latin American City: Pre-Columbian Ancestry, the Founding Laws and Tradition

Mario Sartor

Gli antecedenti indigeni

Quando arrivarono gli spagnoli a fine secolo XV la grande cultura urbana delle popolazioni centro e sudamericane era già finita da tempo, ma nessuno degli europei lo sapeva; e, forse, sarebbe meglio dire che la città precolombiana aveva avuto da un paio di secoli una grande svolta. Erano scomparsi i maggiori centri delle culture classiche, che avevano portato alla fioritura di grandi complessi cultuali e residenziali in area maya, zapoteca, nahua: Tikal, Monte Albán, Teotihuacán (figg. 1-4), Uxmal, Chichén Itzá appartenevano a un passato più o meno remoto, e le vestigia di alcuni di questi centri non sarebbero state "riscoperte" che di recente. Al sud erano scomparsi i grandi complessi e le grandi strutture delle culture andine: Chan Chan (fig.5), Pikillatqa, Moche, Viracochapampa, Tiahuanaco.

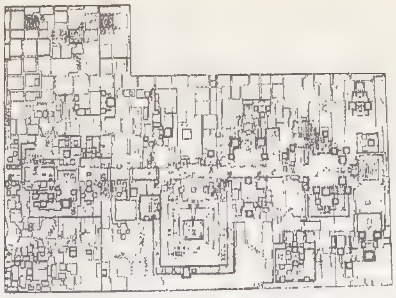
Chi approdava alle isole Antille o compiva le prime ricognizioni sulla terraferma, si trovava di fronte ad agglomerati di diversa consistenza, privi per la gran parte di tratti significativi per gli osservatori: ma non si trattava soltanto di una questione pregiudiziale di considerazione. Di fatto, la cultura urbana delle Antille non era in grado di offrire grandi esempi di urbanistica, né architetture di particolare pregio. Qui la cosiddetta "età classica" non era mai passata, e si costruivano edifici e complessi cultuali o residenziali sulla scia di una tradizione che sopravviveva stancamente. Gli osservatori non avrebbero potuto presagire ciò che l'archeologia dei secoli posteriori avrebbe rivelato della grande fioritura di città, compresa tra i secoli II e VIII, e della rifioritura maya e mixteca dei secoli XI-XIV.

In secoli lontani dalla scoperta e dalla conquista si era delineata una struttura fisica e simbolica allo stesso tempo della città mesoamericana, ricca di soluzioni variabili, ma improntata ad un uniforme impianto concettuale, che la proiettava come *umbilicus mundi*, ciascuna singolarmente, espressione di un cosmo ordinato, in cui uomini, animali e cose appartenevano allo spazio, diviso in quattro parti, come presumibilmente la prima divisione tribale. La santità del centro, punto critico dell'universo, e dei quattro punti cardinali, ipotecava la ritualità ed il sacro, determinava percorsi e sviluppi architettonici[1]. La società che trasformava lentamente la propria *leadership* da sacerdotale a signorile, ribadendo comunque i principi della casta e del privilegio, approdava all'espressione di un'architettura monumentale e fastosa, giocata su forme geometriche e volumetriche semplici, ma ardite per una cultura del neolitico avanzato. I percorsi rituali da tempio a tempio, le

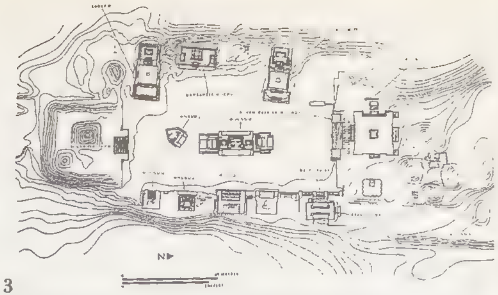
Native Ancestry

When the Spanish arrived at the end of the fifteenth century, the great urban cultures of Central and South America had already been dead for some time, although no European was aware of it at the time. It would probably be better to say, however, that pre-Columbian cities had undergone major changes over the previous two centuries. The main centres of classical culture that had generated the great Maya, Zapotec and Nahua religious and residential complexes had disappeared: Tikal, Monte Albán, Teotihuacán (figs. 1-4), Uxmal and Chichén Itzá belonged to a remote past, and the remains of some of them were not even "rediscovered" until quite recently. In the south, the great centres of Andean culture — Chan Chan (fig. 5), Pikillatqa, Moche, Viracochapampa and Tiahuanaco — had disappeared. Those who landed on the Antilles or reconnoitred the mainland would have found a variety of sites that on the whole meant very little to them. This was not simply prejudice on their part, however. The urban culture of the Antilles offered few significant examples of city-planning or architecture on a grand scale. Architecture and planning had never progressed beyond the "classical age", so religious or residential buildings adhered to a tradition then teetering on the verge of exhaustion. Contemporary observers could never have imagined what archaeological research in centuries to come would reveal about the flourishing growth of cities between the second and eighth centuries, and the revival of Maya and Mixteca civilisation between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.

Centuries before the discovery and conquest, a Central American city structure had emerged that was both real and symbolic. Although individually different, the cities were all based on a uniform conceptual plan which saw each individual city as an umbilicus mundi, *the expression of an ordered cosmos in which men, animals and things belonged to a quadripartite space that probably reflected the earliest tribal divisions. The sanctity of the centre — the critical point of the universe — and of the four cardinal points paved the way for religion and ritual and determined how architecture would develop[1]. As this society slowly shifted from priestly to aristocratic rule while maintaining and reinforcing the principles of caste and privilege, it also developed a stately, monumental architecture based on geometrical forms and volumes that were simple enough in their own way, but daring nonetheless for an advanced Neolithic culture. Thus, there were the ritual routes from temple to temple, acropolises*



2



3

2. *Teotihuacán, Messico, sec.II-VII: mappa archeologica. Da Millon, 1970.*
3. *Monte Albán, Messico, sec.III-VII: pianta del centro cerimoniale. Da Gendrop-Heyden, 1981.*
4. *Monte Albán, Messico, sec.II-VII: vista del centro cerimoniale.*
5. *Chan Chan, Perù, sec.XIV: vista parziale di un complesso residenziale del centro.*
6. *Teotihuacán, Messico, sec.II-VII, Palazzo di Quetzalpapalotl: vista di un cortile interno.*

2. *Teotihuacán, Mexico, 2nd-7th century: archeological map. From Millon, 1970.*
3. *Monte Albán, Mexico, 3rd-7th century: plan of ceremonial centre. From Gendrop-Heyden, 1981.*
4. *Monte Albán, Mexico, 2nd-7th century: view of ceremonial centre.*
5. *Chan Chan, Peru, 14th century: partial view of a central residential complex.*
6. *Teotihuacán, Mexico, 2nd-7th century, Palace of Quetzalpapalotl: view of an internal courtyard.*



4



5



6

acropoli realizzate con possenti operazioni di terrazzamento, le gradinate di raccordo ampie e lente, o ripide ed ardue, le architetture religiose, dominanti, costituite da corpi piramidali a gradoni e da templi massicci, con celle templari insignificanti come spazi interni; le architetture civili disposte a quadrilatero attorno ad un cortile interno (fig. 6), raramente a più piani, o a piani sovrapposti a gradoni attorno ad un corpo piramidale massiccio, costituiscono il "linguaggio" sintetico ed iterativo di un comporre nello spazio ogni volta diverso per le diverse qualità del luogo e dei materiali impiegati, dai conglomerati, all'*adobe*, alla pietra da taglio. La decorazione architettonica variava dagli stucchi dipinti alle pietre tagliate ed incastonate secondo criteri modulari per realizzare figure stilizzate o pannellature di rivestimento secondo una gamma vastissima di stimoli desunti dalla mitologia o dall'osservazione della natura. L'arte del costruire doveva procedere a imitazione del cosmo e sviluppare una ripetuta preghiera alle forze della natura, come appare in molti centri yucatechi.
Intorno alla città monumentale si snodava l'altra città, spesso inafferrabile oggi nella sua reale consistenza, deperita od ingoiata dalla foresta, devastata dagli elementi, quasi mai cercata dagli archeologi, fino alle soglie degli anni Ottanta di questo secolo.
Ravvisiamo tuttavia, nei grandi centri, un ordine preconcepito, una pianificazione che compensa pieni e vuoti, tra edifici e piazze, con un'assialità che pone l'accento sul comodo accesso ai templi, i fulcri nodali, e che non dimentica, in casi clamorosi come Teotihuacán, la spettacolarità di superare i dislivelli con pause costituite da piazzole di intermezzo, in cui si perde il senso esatto dell'ascesa. L'applicazione di una misura modulare, a Teotihuacán, con multipli e sottomultipli, per dimensionare edifici, piazze e quartieri, l'ortogonalità degli assi principali e la regolarità del centro cultuale come anche di quello residenziale, testimoniano una pianificazione accurata e vigile del complesso, fors'anche una progettazione iniziale già improntata secondo principi rigorosi di distribuzione degli spazi[2].
Ma nessuno dei conquistatori ebbe il privilegio di osservare tutto ciò. Quando si aperse la pagina della conquista della terraferma e della successiva colonizzazione, si offrirono alla loro considerazione i centri di una cultura urbana appartenente all'epoca che fu poi detta dagli archeologi del "postclassico". Sugli altipiani messicani, nella grande laguna dominava Tenochtitlan, attorniata da numerosi altri

with formidable terracework, gently sloping or steeply graded stairways, and imposing religious architecture of stepped pyramids and huge temples containing only small temple cells. Civil architecture was built in squares around inner quadrangles (fig. 6), rarely on more than one floor, or in overlapping floors stepped around massive pyramid structures. This was the essential grammar of a universal language whose local expression varied according to nature of the site and the building materials used, whether mortar, adobe or cut stone. Decoration included painted stucco, cut stone set in modular units to create stylised figures, and facing panels inspired by a vast range of mythological and natural themes. The art of building had to reproduce the structure of the cosmos, so buildings became prayers to natural forces, as can be seen in many Yucatan cities.
The rest of the city developed around the monumental centre, although natural decay, weather erosion and the encroachment of the jungle have left little actual substance for us to see today: until ten years ago, few archaeologists even attempted to find it.
Nevertheless, a pre-established order can be detected in way the large centres were planned: a balance between solids and voids, buildings and squares, and axes that promoted easy access to the temples — the cities' nodal points — without foregoing opportunities to exploit differences in level by constructing intermediate open spaces to break the impression of ascent. Teotihuacán offers spectacular examples of this. The use of a modular unit system to establish the size of buildings, squares and whole districts, the orthogonality of its main axes and the symmetry of its religious and residential centre reveal the care and precision that went into its planning, and may indicate that strict principles of spatial organisation governed the planning of cities in the early stages[2]*.*
But none of the conquistadors had the privilege of seeing any of this. When the mainland was conquered and subsequently colonised, what they saw were the centres of an urban culture belonging to an age archaeologists would later describe as "post-classical". Tenochtitlan dominated the Mexican plateau and the great lagoon, and was surrounded by numerous other coastal centres. On the coast, Cortés' troops stumbled on the beautiful city of Cempoala with its luxuriant natural surroundings. When alliances were being forged prior to launching an attack on the capital of the Aztec empire, the Spaniards discovered Tlaxcala and Cholula, and the coastal centres of the lagoon on the plateau. The great Aztec capital

centri rivieraschi. Sulla costa le truppe di Cortés si erano imbattute in Cempoala, bella di una natura rigogliosa. Nel momento dei giochi delle alleanze per sferrare l'attacco alla capitale dell'impero azteco, gli spagnoli conoscevano Tlaxcala e Cholula, e i centri rivieraschi della laguna sugli altipiani. La grande capitale azteca aveva in comune con le città dei periodi precedenti le motivazioni sacrali, ma ad esse si erano aggiunte tutte le funzioni proprie di una capitale moderna, da quella politico-amministrativa a quella economica e burocratica, e finanche quella difensiva, realizzata nel modo più congeniale alla sua natura anfibia, con la costruzione di ponti levatoi lungo le vie di accesso[3] (fig. 7). Dall'alto dei pendii da cui calavano gli spagnoli lo spettacolo strappava grida di meraviglia e qualcuno, pur smaliziato dal mestiere del soldato esercitato nell'altro mezzo mondo, da Roma a Costantinopoli, dalla Spagna a Venezia, non aveva altre immagini cui ricorrere che quelle suscitate dal sogno di Amadigi della letteratura cavalleresca[4].

La "modernità" della città d'acqua costruita su un'isola e su terre guadagnate alla laguna dell'altopiano, stava non tanto sul doppio registro delle vie d'acqua e di terra, sulla centralità della piazza quadrata a cui si addirizzavano le vie principali e in cui erano ravvisabili i poteri religiosi intesi anche come spettacolo del sacro, quanto su quella parte che, rappresentata dopo la conquista nella *Mapa en papel de maguey*, denotava la razionalità e la regolarità dei processi di bonifica della laguna attraverso l'uso di *chinampas*, piccole porzioni di terreno bonificato ottenute con una canalizzazione che si sviluppava a reticolo regolare (fig. 8).

Nell'America del Sud, un impatto più "distratto" dei conquistatori non ci ha fatto apprezzare l'essenza urbana del Cuzco; ma il suo nome, che significa ombelico, ed il suo ruolo di centro del Tahuantinsuyu, ovvero dei quattro quarti dell'impero incaico, lo configurano idealmente come il centro perfetto nell'impero del figlio del Sole. Le descrizioni di Garcilaso de la Vega aggiungono poco alla sua reale percezione, fatta salva la nobiltà delle sue origini, la magniloquenza dei suoi palazzi, la ricchezza dei suoi ornamenti e dei suoi giardini[5] (fig. 10).

Le culture urbane precedenti l'arrivo di Colombo interessarono non più di un 5% del territorio totale; ma è a partire da questo tessuto organizzativo, sociale e produttivo, che i conquistatori spagnoli presero lo slancio per le fondazioni che dovevano considerarsi fondamentali nello sviluppo successivo. Le svolte nel processo urbano, legato alle intenzioni produttive e di sfruttamento, avrebbero portato tuttavia ad un allargamento notevole dello spettro d'azione fondazionale: si sarebbe passati da una città eminentemente dell'interno e vincolata alla produzione del suolo, ad una città legata ancora alla produzione agricola ed alle risorse della manodopera indigena, tramite le istituzioni dell'*encomienda* e del *repartimiento*, ma soprattutto a centri creati per lo sfruttamento dei minerali ed alla loro elaborazione primaria, ed a città marittime, motivate dalla navigazione, dal commercio, dalla raccolta della produzione. Criteri ideologici diversi di considerazione della ricchezza e della capitalizzazione, come anche tecnologie più avanzate ebbero un ruolo fondamentale nella determinazione del luogo di fondazione delle città coloniali[6].

Le città coloniali

Ma nessuna città, o centro religioso, o agglomerato preesistente, andò bene ai conquistatori nel momento in cui, passata l'emergenza, divenivano colonizzatori. L'alterità culturale era così forte e la disparità numerica talmente elevata tra indigeni e spagnoli che bisognava per forza inventare uno spazio urbano diverso e ritornare alle rassicuranti certezze delle proprie architetture. Il che fu fatto nel più breve tempo possibile e con un apriori concettuale — anche se privo di articolata teoria — destinato a porre le basi di un fenomeno intensissimo nel XVI secolo, ma destinato ad esaurirsi ideologicamente soltanto nel secolo scorso con i centri realizzati dall'emigrazione europea.

Nicolás de Ovando rifondava, nel 1502, sulle rive del Río Ozama, nell'isola di Hispaniola, la città di Santo Domingo. Precedentemente, nel 1496, una città dello stesso nome era stata fondata poco distante, ma non aveva avuto fortuna. Una congiuntura diversa, questa volta, un numero più congruo di fondatori, una certezza maggiore di sopravvivenza economica, davano lo slancio e ponevano le basi della prima città "regolare" come impianto, moderna, secondo le parole del primo suo vescovo, l'italiano Alessandro Geraldini, di pochi anni dopo, con le sue vie ampie e i suoi palazzi alti e belli "*ritu Italiae*"[7]. Ovando aveva eseguito solo gli ordini dei Sovrani Cattolici "*que se hiciesen las poblaciones que le pareciese en la isla i que ninguno pudiese vivir fuera de ellas (...)*"[8]. Nulla da queste parole farebbe pensare che dovesse scaturire quella città regolare dal piano quadrettato che doveva suscitare

had the same religious precedents as the cities of the previous age, but had added to them all the political, administrative, economic and bureaucratic functions of a modern capital, and a defensive system, including drawbridges along access routes[3] *(fig. 7), appropriate to its amphibious location. The sight that greeted the Spaniards as they descended from the top of the slopes brought cries of wonder from them. Although his horizons had been broadened by experience as a soldier in the Old World in places as diverse as Rome, Constantinople, Spain and Venice, one of the conquistadors could do no better than compare what he saw to Amadigi's dream in the chivalric literature*[4].

The modernity of the city of water, built on an island and other land reclaimed from the lagoon on the plateau, lay not so much in its dual system of waterways and land routes, the square central plaza in which its main streets converged, and the deliberately spectacular presentation of the religious institutions sited there, as in the rationality and regularity of its land reclamation based on the chinampas *— small portions of land obtained by draining out water through a grid system of channels (fig. 8) — that would be faithfully reproduced in the* Mapa en papel de maguey *drawn up after the conquest.*

In South America, the conquistadors were less "attentive" to what they saw, so we have little knowledge of what Cuzco was like then. However, both its name (which means navel) and its central role in the Tahuantinsuyu (the four quarters of the Inca empire) suggest that it stood at the exact centre of the Empire of the Child of the Sun. Apart from his comments on the nobility of its origins, the magnificence of its palaces and the richness of its ornamentation and gardens[5] *(fig. 10), Garcilaso de la Vega's descriptions add little to our real perception of the city.*

Pre-Columbian urban cultures accounted for no more than five per-cent of the entire territory, but they provided the basic organisational, social and productive fabric that would be fundamental to later developments under the Spanish conquistadors. Changes in the role of cities linked to plans for production and exploitation led to new building on a significant scale. From being essentially inland centres dependent on the cultivation of the land, the cities developed into mining and primary processing centres for minerals, and into maritime cities based on navigation, trade and the collection and storage of the continent's productive output, although they retained their links with agricultural production based on native labour, the encomienda *and the* repartimiento. *So apart from capitalisation and the creation of wealth, other ideological criteria such as the introduction of more advanced technology strongly influenced the siting of the colonial cities*[6].

The Colonial Cities

But no existing city, religious centre or urban complex suited the conquistadors once the emergency was over and they became colonisers. The cultural difference was so great, and the numerical imbalance between natives and Spaniards so marked, that new urban spaces reassuringly similar to the Spaniards' own architecture had to be built. This was done in the shortest possible time using criteria which, although they never amounted to a theory as such, would underlie extensive building work in the sixteenth century and diminish in influence only in the last century when towns and cities were built to accommodate immigrants from Europe.

Nicolás de Ovando refounded the city of Santo Domingo on the shores of the Rio Ozama on the island of Hispaniola in 1502. Before this, in 1496, a city of the same name had been founded not far away but had failed to establish itself. Now, a different economic climate, the right number of new inhabitants and greater certainty of economic survival laid the basis for the first modern city with, as its first bishop, the Italian Alessandro Geraldini, put it a few years later, a "regular" layout, wide streets, and fine, tall ritu Italiae *buildings*[7]. *In doing this, Ovando had merely carried out the orders of the Catholic sovereigns* "que se hiciesen las poblaciones que le pareciese en la isla i que ninguno pudiese vivir fuera de ellas (...)"[8]. *However, there is nothing in these words to suggest the regular grid city that would inspire such awe and become the archetype for so many later cities in Latin America. Nor did Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo appear particularly surprised by the layout when he wrote of the city; he simply observed that Ovando apportioned lots and drew up the plan* "tal como está"[9]. *Planning rules as* a priori *assumptions emanating from a dominant political power simply did not exist, and yet Ovando's apparently spontaneous planning criteria would eventually be taken up and given theoretical respectability throughout the entire continent. Perhaps the secret lay in the basic division of the lots into a modular dividend that could be increased or decreased in multiples: it was the regularity of the rectangular lots that produced an orthogonal street network. The aim was to create a city for everyone, given that a royal writ barred anyone from living outside the city, but Spanish*

7. Tenochtitlán, Capitale Azteca: veduta a volo d'uccello. Acquerello databile anteriormente al 1538. Collezione Alessandro Zorzi. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale.
8. "Mapa en papel de maguey" (in realtà su carta di "amate"), databile tra 1557 e 1562, che riproduce una parcellazione di Messico. Messico, Biblioteca Nacional de Antropologia e Historia.
9. Santo Domingo: pianta. Da Palm, 1984.
10. Cuzco, Perù: pianta della città precolombiana. Da Kubler, 1984.

meraviglia e divenire l'archetipo di tante città che si sarebbero costruite in America Latina. Né Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo scrivendo della città appare stupito particolarmente per il suo impianto; osserva semplicemente che Ovando fece la ripartizione dei lotti ed eseguì la pianta della città "*tal como está*"[9]. La normativa, come apriori concepito da un potere politico, davvero non esisteva; eppure Ovando ricorre a criteri che, nella apparente spontaneità della loro affermazione, erano destinati ad aver seguito ed infine ad essere teorizzati capillarmente. Il segreto, forse, sta nella basilare ripartizione dei lotti, ovvero nell'applicazione di un dividendo dello spazio, modulare e passibile di multipli e sottomultipli; la regolarità di lotti rettangolari provoca il ritaglio di una viabilità retta ed ortogonale. Il fine era di ottenere una città per tutti, dato che nessuno poteva vivere fuori della città per disposizione regia ma, ancor più, per antica consuetudine urbana spagnola. Il risultato è nuovo, date le potenzialità di un territorio concepito come vergine, in cui il prodotto indigeno non costituisce un intoppo e in cui le uniche (fig. 9) difficoltà potrebbero essere quelle offerte dal sito. Ma Ovando come tanti, avventurieri o professionisti passati nel Nuovo Mondo, proveniva dal mestiere delle armi; aveva partecipato alla campagna che aveva abbattuto l'ultimo califfato arabo di Granada, ed aveva visto nascere alla vigilia della scoperta Santa Fe come avamposto cristiano. La regolarità dell'impianto di questo quartier generale dell'esercito spagnolo, destinato a divenire in seguito una città vera e propria, derivava la sua essenza dalla più antica tradizione delle *bastidas* medievali, rinvenibili nella Francia sudorientale, da Villeneuve sur Lot a Montpazier a Sainte Foy la Grande, e nella Spagna meridionale, da Sangüesa a Briviesca a Villareal. Vi è tuttavia una differenza di fondo tra la città di Santo Domingo e le *bastidas*: la prima non ha mura di protezione e contenimento, mentre le seconde obbedivano rigorosamente alla loro funzione militare ed avevavo mura di fortificazione. Evidentemente, ad Ovando era derivato dai modelli "storici" il criterio di suddivisione dello spazio secondo una geometria semplice e razionale che poteva essere astratta dal modello di base per funzioni in cui la difesa non era più il fattore primario, o era quantomeno da impostare con sistemi diversi, vista la sperequazione tecnologica tra spagnoli ed indigeni. Ma, giusto in quegli anni, che sono i primi del XVI secolo, si sperimentava nella Spagna del sud un tipo di città-mercato che ha i tratti comuni delle città sorte oltre Atlantico. Nella

city-planning practice was even more instrumental in making this happen. The potential of a land regarded as virgin territory, in which native production was no obstacle and the only difficulties (fig. 9) were those presented by sites themselves, meant that the cities were entirely new. But Ovando, like so many of the adventurers and professional experts who passed through the New World, had had a soldier's training; he had taken part in the campaign that toppled the last Arab caliph in Granada and had seen the emergence of Santa Fe as a Christian outpost in Spain just before the discovery of America. The regular layout of this Spanish army headquarters, later to become an actual city, derived essentially from the ancient mediaeval bastidas *that can still be seen in south-east France (Villeneuve sur Lot, Montpazier, Sainte Foy la Grande) and southern Spain (Sangüesa, Briviesca, Villareal). There is, however, a fundamental difference between Ovando's Santo Domingo and the earlier* bastidas*: the former has no protecting or retaining wall, while the latter had fortified walls that reflected their purely military function. Evidently, Ovando remembered these "historical" precedents when he chose to divide space rationally into simple geometrical units that could be used for purposes that were not primarily defensive, or could at least organised differently, given the technological gap between the Spanish and native populations. Also, in exactly the same period at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a type of market town was being developed in southern Spain that shared some features with the cities that were growing up on the other side of the Atlantic. Recent research has shown that the three cities founded in the province of Jaén — Valdepeñas, Mancha Real and Los Villares — had regular grids and no fortifications, logically enough given their civil function*[10]*. Deciding whether they reflect a mediaeval or Renaissance tradition seems virtually pointless since they employed planning concepts that have been used throughout the ages to greater or lesser extent depending on how concepts of the city have changed. It is striking how similar the instructions for the founding of these three cities in Doña Juana's* Real Cédula *of 1508 are to those given to Pedrarías Dávila five years later for the founding of the American cities. The planning criteria that went into the founding of the three Andalusian cities seem little different from those in the founding statutes of many of the colonial cities that appeared in America shortly afterwards. If there was an attempt to establish an architectural "bridge" with the founding of cities in Spanish*

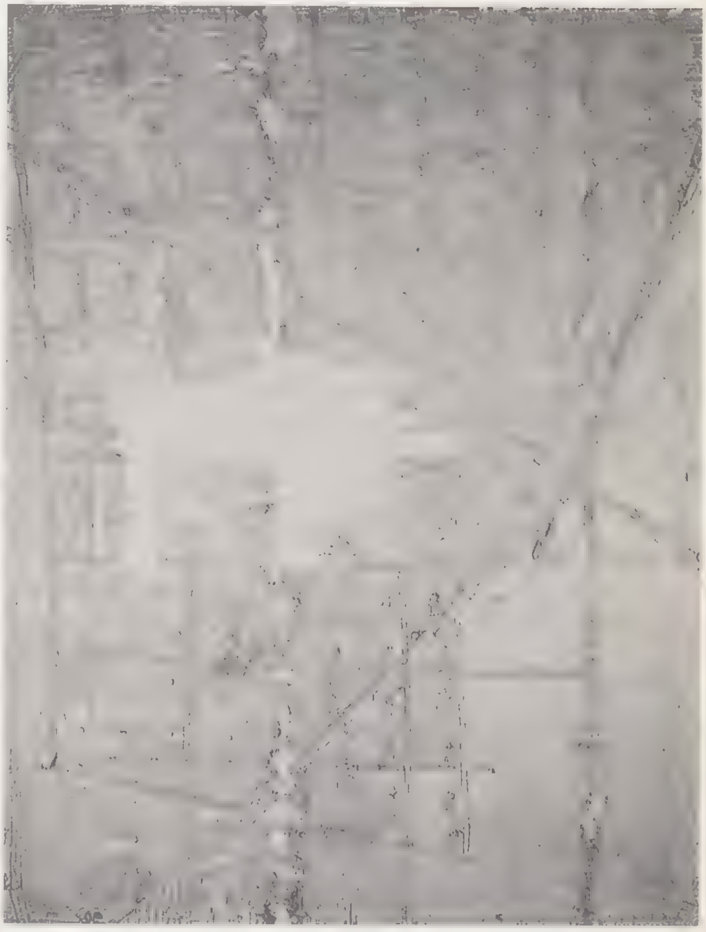
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7. Tenochtitlán, Aztec Capital: bird's-eye view. Watercolour dated prior to 1538. Alessandro Zorzi Collection, National Library, Florence.
8. "Mapa en papel de maguey" (in fact on "amate" paper) dating from 1557 to 1562 showing land apportionment in Mexico. Biblioteca Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, Mexico
9. Santo Domingo: plan. From Palm, 1984.
10. Cuzco, Peru: plan of the pre-Columbian city. From Kubler, 1984.



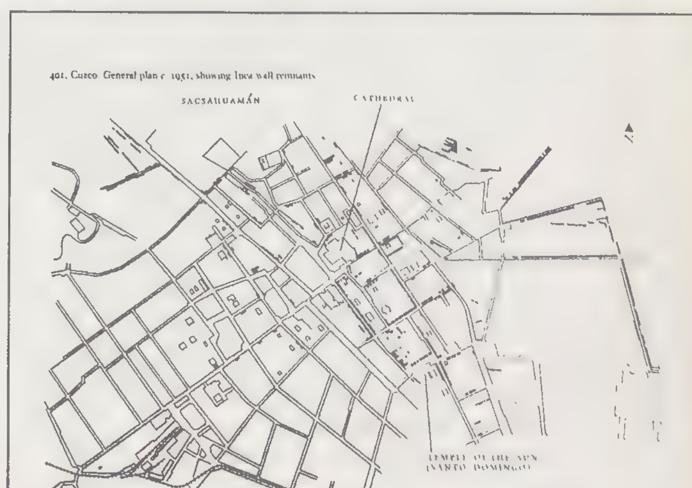
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provincia di Jaén, come è stato messo in evidenza recentemente, venivano fondate tre città, Valdepeñas, Mancha Real e Los Villares, di impianto regolare, prive di fortificazioni com'era logico, vista la loro funzione[10]. Discutere intorno alla loro proiezione, se verso la logica rinascimentale o la tradizione medievale, parrebbe quasi ozioso, dato che in realtà costituiscono la cerniera tra criteri urbanistici mai dismessi, anche se di volta in volta calati ad esprimere idee e funzioni diverse sul modo di essere delle città. È singolare che la normativa contenuta nella *Real Cédula* di Doña Juana del 1508, in merito alla fondazione delle tre città sopra menzionate, sia molto vicina a quella fornita cinque anni dopo a Pedrarías Dávila per la fondazione delle città americane. Le stesse giustificazioni addotte per la fondazione delle tre città andaluse non suonano diverse da quelle leggibili in tanti atti fondazionali di città coloniali di pochi anni posteriori. Se si cercava un "ponte" ancor più vicino alle operazioni fondazionali iberoamericane lo si è trovato proprio in quest'episodio. Ma vale la pena di considerare che il mondo europeo era stato costellato di episodi forse non numerosissimi ma significativi di nuove fondazioni, realizzate con pianificazioni regolari, da quelle della Pomerania dei secoli XII e XIII a quelle più tarde, del XV secolo, come Pago (fig. 11) nell'isola omonima della Dalmazia, fondata nel 1450, o come Cortemaggiore, del 1480; o come Gattinara, fondata nel 1242 con tracciato regolare, e rifondata nel 1525 da Mercurino Arborio, cancelliere di Carlo V, dopo esser stata distrutta dai francesi, con criteri non diversi da quelli ormai in uso oltre Atlantico[11]. Il piano ippodameo non aveva mai smesso di colpire, evidentemente.

Su queste condizioni generali e basilari, che spesso gli storici hanno trascurato, enfatizzando il ruolo di impossibili influssi rinascimentali derivanti dalle poche e signorili modificazioni urbane in corso, dalla Pienza del Rossellino all'Addizione erculea di Rossetti, ai fantastici ed irrealizzati progetti leonardeschi, alla Sforzinda ardita ma impossibile. Il Rinascimento delle corti e dei trattati — da quello albertiano a quello di Francesco di Giorgio, a quelli più tardi ed incentrati prevalentemente sui sistemi fortificatori — rimane rigorosamente al di fuori dell'operazione iberoamericana, almeno fin oltre la metà del secolo XVI, anche se una copia del trattato albertiano stampata in Francia fu di proprietà del viceré della Nuova Spagna, Antonio de Mendoza.

Resta essenziale, per comprendere il fenomeno urbanistico latinoamericano, intendere oltre ai caratteri generali della cultura europea, certamente non omogenea, ma non priva di lenti processi osmotici al tempo, quali fossero gli antecedenti della cultura urbana spagnola a cui, va detto subito, il testo di Vitruvio tradotto in spagnolo approdava solamente nel 1583, ovvero quasi un secolo dopo che ne era stata fatta un'edizione in volgare italiano nel 1486 ad opera di Giovanni Sulpicio da Veroli e Pomponio Leto. La cultura iberica, fondamentalmente urbana, durante secoli aveva fatto tesoro, come gran parte della cultura europea, di una tradizione letteraria che affondava le sue radici nel mondo medievale, alimentandosi alle speculazioni urbanistiche di Francesc Eximenic, il francescano catalano autore de *El Crestiá*[12], nel 1384, di ascendenza aristotelica, che proponeva una città dal tracciato a scacchiera. Sul piano delle letture, avevano avuto ampia diffusione le *Instituta rei militaris* di Vegezio dall'età carolingia sino alla bassa età media[13] quando, a fine XIV secolo, era considerato ancora un'autorità, con una diffusione valutata intorno alle 150 copie in territorio spagnolo metropolitano, e presto richiesta e inviata anche nelle colonie americane[14]. D'altro canto il pensiero tomistico espresso nel *De regimine principum*, che avrebbe avuto fortuna non solo in Spagna, ma anche in America, veniva ripreso nelle *Siete partidas* di Alfonso el Sabio; mentre Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo anticipava nella sua *Suma de la Política* molte delle clausole che si ritroveranno successivamente nelle istruzioni reali del 1513 e nelle *Ordenanzas de pobladores* del 1573[15]. Questa letteratura, in certo modo specialistica e destinata agli addetti ai lavori, costituisce la premessa teorica più probabile cui si ricorse per interpretare un fenomeno scoppiato quasi all'improvviso, come fu l'aprirsi sconfinato del mondo americano, e si accompagnò alla formulazione delle leggi mano a mano che veniva presa consapevolezza della vastità del processo di urbanizzazione da controllare. Lo si deduce contestualmente a leggi ed ordinanze, ma anche al fatto che tale materiale letterario, se pur non era il *vademecum* dei primi conquistatori, certamente divenne punto di riferimento successivo per colonizzatori che, oltre alle leggi, volevano richiamarsi al testo consolidato; quasi un *ipse dixit*, che progressivamente ricercherà altri riscontri, in Leon Battista Alberti, nel Vitruvio tradotto, in Cataneo, Maggi, ed altri ancora[16].

È pertanto quantomeno dubbia la ipotesi di un ricorso diretto al testo vitruviano nel processo di avvio dell'urbanizzazione americana. Sarebbe come ammettere



11. Pago, Dalmazia, Piazza, su progetto di Giorgio Orsini, 1450: vista. Si noti la via che taglia un lato della piazza.

11. Pago, Dalmatia, Square, from a project by Giorgio Orsini, 1450: view. Note the street that cuts one side of the square.

America, it certainly happened in this period, although it is worth bearing in mind that in Europe itself there were perhaps not very numerous, but nonetheless significant examples of new cities with regular plans: in Pomerania in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the founding of Pago (fig. 11) on the Dalmatian island of the same name in 1450, Cortemaggiore in 1480, and Gattinara, founded with a regular plan in 1242 and then refounded in 1525 by Mercurino Arborio, Chancellor to Charles V, after its destruction by the French. In all these cases, the planning criteria seem no different from those that were already being applied across the Atlantic[11].

Historians have often overlooked this basic general situation in their improbable attempts to discern a really quite impossible Renaissance influence deriving from a small number of aristocratically inspired modifications to cities: Rossellino's Pienza, for example, Rossetti's Addizione Erculea, *or Leonardo's fantastic unrealised projects and the daring but impossible Sforzinda. The Renaissance of noble courts and treatises (from those by Alberti and Francesco di Giorgio through to later ones on fortification systems) was totally alien to Spanish America, at least until the second half of the sixteenth century, even if Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, did own a French copy of Alberti's treatise. To understand city-planning in Latin America, it is essential to grasp not only the general characteristics of European culture, which was certainly far from homogeneous though not immune to the slow penetration of ideas, but also the Spanish urban culture that preceded it (bearing in mind that the Spanish translation of Vitruvius appeared only in 1583, almost a century after the publication of Giovanni Sulpicio da Veroli and Pomponio Leto's Italian version of 1486). Like most European cultures, Spain's essentially urban culture had relied for centuries on a mediaeval literary tradition fuelled by the planning ideas of Francesc Eximenic, the Catalan Franciscan monk whose Aristotelian* El Crestiá *of 1384*[12] *described a city with a grid layout. Vegezio's* Instituta rei militaris *enjoyed widespread popularity from the age of Charlemagne to the later Middle Ages*[13]. *With an estimated circulation of 150 copies in metropolitan Spain, it was still considered authoritative at the end of the fourteenth century and was soon in demand in the American colonies*[14]. *On the other hand, the Thomism of* De regimine principum, *which won favour not only in Spain but also in America, was taken up in Alfonso el Sabio's* Siete partidas, *while Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo's* Suma de la Política *anticipated much of the Royal Instructions of 1513 and the* Ordenanzas de pobladores *of 1573*[15]. *Although to an extent specialised and intended for expert readers, this literature probably supplied the theoretical framework in which the discovery of the limitless expanses of America — an almost unexpected event at the time — could be understood, as well as the basis for the laws that were gradually drawn up as awareness grew of the enormous scale on which urban development would have to be planned and controlled. This can be seen not only from the actual texts of laws and ordinances, but also from the fact that although the literature was not exactly a* vademecum *for the early conquerors, it undoubtedly focused the thinking of later colonisers who wanted not just laws but a well established text to work from, an* ipse dixit *almost, to which translations of Vitruvius, and texts by Leon Battista Alberti, Cataneo, Maggi and others besides, would gradually be added*[16].

It seems most unlikely, then, that Vitruvius' text had any direct influence on urban development in Spanish America. To believe so would be tantamount to saying that the discovery of America had been both forecasted and expected, and that, as a result, avant-garde urban planning deriving from Renaissance theorising which Alberti had, of course, initiated, and late fifteenth-century Italian culture had embraced, had developed in a Spain where Alberti was still unknown.

It seems likely, then, that insufficient importance has been given to one of the fundamental aspects of the conquest, and that conclusions have been drawn which reflect our modern secular thinking more than the reality of a Spain that was in many ways still mediaeval — or at least changing identity — at the time[17]. *While it mapped out areas of national influence and spelled out what was due to the Spanish crown by regarding the new colonies as a rightful inheritance to be seized, the Treaty of Tordesillas (1493) also attributed a profoundly religious significance to the whole colonial operation which made it similar in kind to the Reconquest of Spain itself. The official sanctioning of the Treaty was accompanied by a papal bull from Alexander VI, who also conferred royal patronage on the Crown and impressed on Spain the urgent need to evangelise the new territories as soon as possible*[18]. *Given the sheer size of America, such a task was possible only through the aggregation — enforced or otherwise — of the natives. But then, as Ecclesiastes enjoined, "*Bonum est fundare civitates.*" (Ecl. 10). Obviously, the Spanish Crown's initial instructions to Ovando regarding*

che l'America era attesa e prevista e che, conseguentemente, si sviluppava in Spagna un progetto urbano d'avanguardia sulla scia di una speculazione rinascimentale che, sì, Alberti aveva avviato, e la cultura italiana aveva a fine secolo XV ripreso, ma che rimaneva estranea ancora alla cultura spagnola.
Probabilmente si è sottovalutato uno degli aspetti fondamentali della conquista, e pertanto se ne sono tratte le conseguenze più consone al nostro pensiero laico che a quello, per tanti aspetti ancora medievale — o per lo meno indeciso — del mondo spagnolo[17]. Il Trattato di Tordesillas del 1493, con cui si consacra la conquista come opera iberolusitana, se ne dirimono le aree di influenza, se ne attribuiscono i meriti e i vantaggi alla Corona spagnola, secondo una concezione patrimoniale della colonia, conferisce come contropartita all'operazione un significato profondamente religioso, che si connatura con l'esperienza appena conclusa della *Reconquista*: la sanzione ufficiale del Trattato si accompagna ad una bolla di Alessandro VI, che attribuisce anche il patronato regio alla Corona ed investe i sovrani di Spagna del compito, prioritario, della evangelizzazione[18]; e, nella vastità del territorio, tale compito diveniva possibile solo attraverso la aggregazione, anche forzata, degli indigeni. Ma poi, come l'Ecclesiaste recitava, "*Bonum est fundare civitates*" (Ecl. 10). Si comprende sotto questa luce che le prime indicazioni fornite ad Ovando in merito al vivere congregati ha anche questa chiave di lettura; senza contare che era altrettanto importante per un potere che dispiegava fin dagli inizi le sue ali neofeudali ed instaurava rapporti di sudditanza e vassallaggio per controllare amministrativamente ogni risorsa territoriale ed umana.

Le leggi e le città

Sofistica, quasi pedante ed ossessiva, la normativa si ripete, precisandosi ed estendendosi nelle maglie di un esercizio burocratico che investe ogni aspetto della città e del vivere civile. Appare arduo pertanto individuare, se non come aposteriori di lettura, nella città iberoamericana l'espressione delle tre principali correnti della teoria politico-religiosa spagnola del XVI secolo, quella umanistica con una visione rinascimentale della missione civilizzatrice della Spagna, quella messianica, che attribuiva una missione mistica alla cristianizzazione dei popoli, e quella elaborata dai domenicani sulla scia del pensiero aristotelico-tomista, che concepiva una comunità di nazioni fondata sul diritto romano[19]. Tutto ciò sublima, e riduce allo stesso tempo, quanto nacque da uno stato di necessità, che doveva essere pilotato con pragmatismo e venduto come consapevolezza piena di valori (fig. 12).
Vale la pena, innanzitutto, di soffermarsi sul cerimoniale di fondazione, strettamente connesso con le norme di popolamento, e di forte sapore medievale. A compiere l'atto, che assume un valore sacrale e creativo, è il capo della spedizione, che ha concluso con la Corona una *capitulación*, ovvero un contratto che stabiliva obblighi e vantaggi tra le due parti[20]. Ad un preliminare di presa di possesso del luogo[21], segue la fondazione vera e propria, secondo un rituale che tende a sottolineare la santificazione dello spazio interno, dentro la perimetrazione della città, per distinguerlo da quello esterno, alla mercé di ogni nemico spirituale, oltre che fisico. L'antica distinzione tra *peiron* ed *apeiron*, il concetto lato di *templum*, il rituale della fondazione di Roma con la delimitazione simbolica dello spazio attraverso la traccia di un solco, sopravvivono, sia pure in una veste adeguata alla situazione. Sul finire del secolo XVI, vi fu chi si incaricò di teorizzare il rituale fondazionale, fornendone il prontuario, in una fase in cui la maggior parte delle fondazioni era già avvenuta[22]: individuato il luogo idoneo, il *caudillo*, alla presenza dei capi indigeni e della comunità spagnola, doveva procedere con una sequenza di atti esemplari, di valore simbolico e metaforico, come di valenza civile, sociale e religiosa, che sono ritenuti indispensabili perché esista la città, come essenza archetipica, come precostituito dell'uomo e di Dio, come prefigurazione insieme della "*civitas hominum*" e "*civitas Dei*". Il formulario cui si è fatto riferimento, nella astrazione esemplare, aveva avuto di fatto un numero altissimo di antecedenti nella realtà, e basterà ricordare, senza ricorrere puntualmente agli atti notarili che ne registrano i passaggi, le pagine dei cronisti e storici della conquista, più prodighi talora di informazioni sui sistemi di divisione e distribuzione dello spazio urbano.
Sulla fondazione di Veracruz (1519), la prima città sul continente ad essere realizzata, anche se ebbe bisogno di una rifondazione (1524), con l'intervento di uno *jumétrico*, Alonso García Bravo, che progetterà anche diverse altre città, tra cui la capitale novoispanica, dopo la conquista[23], storici e cronisti permettono di ricostruire il quadro procedurale della fondazione fin dall'inizio: il primo atto è politico; si riunisce un Consiglio, sotto la presidenza di Cortés, e si decide di fondare e popolare una città, con il

"congregational" life in the colonies should be read in this light, quite apart from the importance of this kind of social organisation to a power that had spread its neo-feudal wings across America right from the start and was actively building up relationships of subjection and servitude to ensure its administrative control of all human and land resources.

The Laws and the City

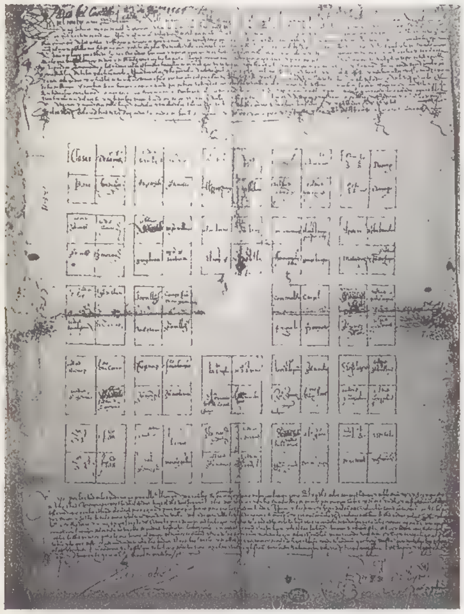
Legislation — exacting almost to the point of pedantry and obsession — repeated, perfected and extended itself in the closely-knit ranks of a bureaucratic army that pervaded every aspect of the city and civic life, so it is difficult — other than retrospectively — to detect in Spain's American cities the three major currents of sixteenth-century Spanish political and religious theory: the Humanistic strand with its Renaissance vision of Spain's civilising mission; the Messianic strand which saw converting the peoples to Christianity as a mystical mission; and the Aristotelian-Thomist strand of the Dominicans who envisaged a community of nations founded on Roman Law[19]*. All this both sublimated and reduced what had grown from necessity, and now had to be guided forward pragmatically and passed off as awareness rich in moral value (fig. 12).*

First of all, it is worth looking in some detail at the founding ceremony, which was closely related to the peopling laws of the time and had a strong mediaeval flavour. It was enacted — as a sacred, creative ritual — by the head of the expedition, who had drawn up a capitulación *(a contract stipulating mutual obligations and advantages) with the Crown*[20]*. Initial occupation of the site*[21] *was followed by the actual founding involving a ritual which sanctified the inner space within the city boundaries to distinguish it from the outside world, which was at the mercy of spiritual as well as physical enemies. The ancient distinction between* peiron *and* apeiron, *the broad concept of the* templum *and the ritual founding of Rome with the symbolic delimitation of its area with a ploughed furrow all survived in this ritual, albeit in a form more appropriate to the situation. Self-appointed theorists of the founding ritual appeared towards the end of the sixteenth century, in a period when most of the cities had already been founded, and compiled a handbook saying what had to be done*[22]*. Once a suitable site had been officially identified in the presence of the native chiefs and the Spanish community, the ritual proceeded with a sequence of exemplary acts of symbolic and metaphorical, as well as civic, social and religious significance. These were considered indispensable to the very existence of the city as an archetypal essence preordained by man and God as a prefiguration of both* "civitas hominum" *and* "civitas Dei"*. There had already been a large number of antecedents for this symbolically abstract ritual. We need not look here at the legal acts which document the various stages because the chroniclers and historians of the conquest were sometimes more forthcoming than legislators about how urban space was divided and distributed.*

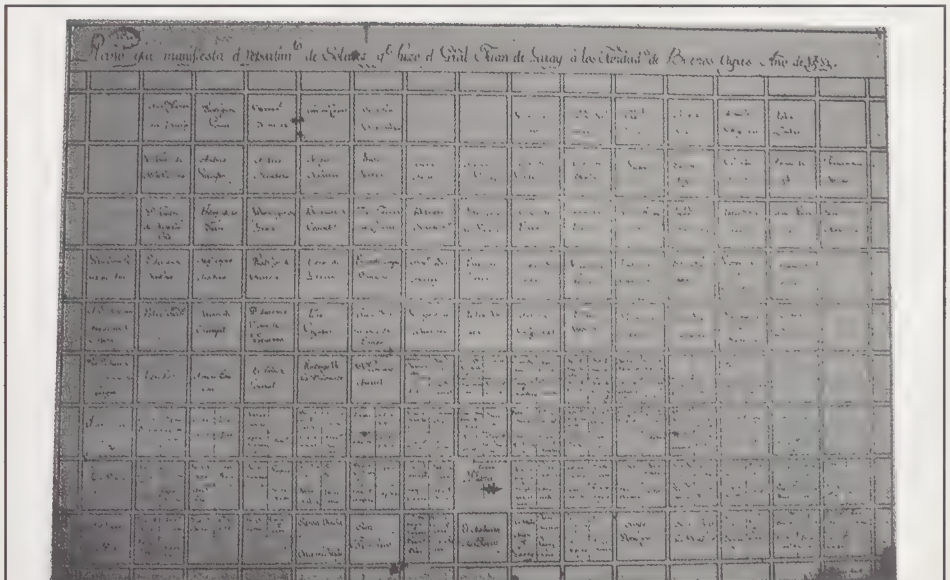
Veracruz (1519) was the first city to be built on the continent (though it had to be refounded in 1524) with the aid of a jumétrico, *or surveyor, Alonso García Bravo, who would also plan other cities, including the neo-Hispanic capital, after the conquest*[23]*. Contemporary historians and chroniclers have enabled us to reconstruct exactly how Veracruz was founded. The first act was political; a Council presided over by Cortés met and decided to found and people a city named Veracruz. To this end, councillors,* alcaldes *and all the other public officials were elected. Once the land had been divided into lots, the first stage was to earmark those that would become sites for the church, the main square, the city hall, the prison, the arsenals, the port* "and other public buildings necessary for the good government and order of the city"*. The remaining lots were then distributed to the citizens for them to build on*[24]*. In his account of the founding of Puebla de los Angeles in 1530, the Franciscan monk Toribio de Benavente also described how the land was divided into lots and the streets laid to a plan drawn up by a stone-mason who was part of the group. Antonio de Remesal quotes in full the acts for the (initial) founding of Santiago de los Caballeros in Guatemala by Pedro de Alvarado in 1524. The interesting thing about these acts seems to be their exemplary symbolic status, with appropriation of the site preceding the act of founding and the designation of the city's individual elements:* "Before all else I ordain that the walls of the city be built, and that the lines of the roads running north, south, east and west be marked out. I also ordain that four adjoining lots in four streets in the middle of the plan be designated as the city square. I also ordain that two lots be reserved in the most appropriate place near the square for the building of the church, which should be dedicated to Santiago. We will choose Santiago as our patron saint and intercessor, and I vow that we shall celebrate his feast day by saying his vespers and his *missa solemnis*, in conformity with the land and its disposition. And we shall also celebrate it with bulls, when there are bulls, and with jousting,

12. Mendoza, Argentina: pianta del 1561. Da Chueca Goitia-Torres Balbas, 1981.
13. Acámbaro, Messico: vista dall'alto.
14. Buenos Aires, Argentina: pianta del 1583. Da Chueca Goitia-Torres Balbas, 1981.

12. Mendoza, Argentina: plan of 1561. From Chueca Goitia-Torres Balbas, 1981.
13. Acámbaro, Mexico: view from above.
14. Buenos Aires, Argentina: plan of 1583. From Chueca Goitia-Torres Balbas, 1981.


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nome di Veracruz; a tale scopo vengono eletti consiglieri ed *alcaldes*, e tutte le altre cariche pubbliche. Ripartito il terreno in lotti, vengono indicati per primi quelli destinati alla chiesa, alla piazza, alle case del Consiglio, al carcere, agli arsenali, allo scalo, "*e ad altri luoghi pubblici e necessari al buon governo e all'ordine della città*"; per passare infine alla distribuzione ai cittadini dei lotti fabbricabili[24]. Il francescano Toribio de Benavente, nel menzionare la fondazione di Puebla de los Angeles, avvenuta nel 1530, fornisce anche i dettagli operativi per dividere in lotti, ritagliare le strade, seguendo le indicazioni date in un disegno realizzato da un tagliapietra che faceva parte del gruppo. Antonio de Remesal riporta integralmente gli atti fondazionali di Santiago de los Caballeros, Guatemala, fondata per la prima volta (1524) da Pedro de Alvarado. L'interessante di tali atti sembra essere il loro valore esemplare, come si evince dalla presa di possesso, cui fa seguito l'atto fondazionale e la designazione dei singoli elementi urbani: "*Prima di ogni cosa ordino che si faccia il muro di cinta della detta città, tracciando le vie nord, sud, est ed ovest. Ordino altresì che in mezzo al disegno siano indicati quattro lotti in quattro vie, uniti tra di loro, per la piazza della detta città. Ordino altresì che siano indicati due lotti vicino alla piazza, nel luogo più conveniente, dove sia edificata la chiesa, la quale sia dedicata a Santiago. Il quale prendiamo e scegliamo per nostro patrono ed intercessore, e prometto di festeggiare e celebrare il suo giorno facendo dire i suoi vespri e la sua messa solenni, conforme alla terra ed alla sua disposizione. E lo festeggeremo anche con tori, quando ci saranno, e con giostre, con lancio di canne e con altri divertimenti. Ordino altresì che si indichi un sito per un ospedale dove siano soccorsi e curati i poveri e i pellegrini. Il quale abbia per nome e dedica «Ospedale della Misericordia». Ordino parimenti che si indichi un sito conveniente per una cappella (...). Ordino altresì che si indichi un sito idoneo dove per supplica di questa città Sua Maestà o il suo governatore in suo nome faccia costruire una fortezza per la custodia e la sicurezza della detta città. Ordino altresì che vicino alla piazza siano indicati quattro lotti, uno per la casa de Cabildo, l'altro per il carcere pubblico e gli altri per le esigenze della città. Indicati i siti e i lotti sopra nominati, ordino che gli altri lotti siano ripartiti tra gli abitanti che sono o sono stati della detta città nel modo in cui si è proceduto nelle città e ville e paesi che in questa Nuova Spagna sono abitati da Spagnoli, non eccedendo né*

javelin-throwing and other amusements. I also ordain that a site be reserved for a hospital, where pilgrims and the poor may be given succour. Its name will be 'Hospital of Mercy'. Likewise, I ordain that a suitable site be chosen for a chapel (...). I also ordain that a fitting site be chosen where, by petition of this city, His Majesty or who governs in His name will build a fortress for the safeguarding and protection of the said city. I also ordain that four lots be found near the square, one for the Cabildo, the other for the public prison and the others for city offices. Once the sites and the above-mentioned lots have been chosen, I ordain that the other lots be divided among the inhabitants who are, or have been of the said city, in strict conformity with the procedures used in the towns, cities and villages in this New Spain which are inhabited by Spaniards"[25]. *As we have seen, at the end of the sixteenth century Vargas Machuca gave instructions for the founding of a city similar to those the colonisers had already followed seventy years previously*[26] *(fig. 13).*

The key idea was that city should be laid out "en forma de juego de ajedrez" — *the chessboard pattern which no law specified in so many words, but which seems to have been instinctively adopted by the colonisers, as well as encouraged by incessant legislative calls for good order. Those few* jumétricos *who worked for the conquistadors were involved not so much in inventing plans, as in drawing them to specification as technicians, ensuring necessary divisions were made, measuring and earmarking sites for essential buildings, and endowing the city with its legal, social, religious and economic substance.*

The royal Instrucciones *to Pedrarías Dávila (1513) when the mainland was being conquered not only gave general indications of where settlements were to be sited, but also referred explicitly to how cities should be planned and organised in phrases like "the nature of the people" which pointed to the social and hierarchical criteria that would shape the community in future. The titled, aristocratic Spain of the Reconquest and the* "hijosdalgo de solar conocido" — *the nobility of noted lineage — cast its long shadow even over the colonies, propagating the values (further developed during the conquest) and civil and economic structures that already existed in Spain. Thus, the land was divided into* peonías *and* caballerías, *units of measurement corresponding in remunerative worth to the rank of infantryman or knight, but there are other, almost obsessive references to how the rarefied, ascetic elements of abstract government were to be*

oltrepassando gli ordini soliti"[25]. Come si è visto, Vargas Machuca, sul finire del secolo XVI, dava indicazioni analoghe per la fondazione di una città a quelle seguite già oltre settant'anni prima dai colonizzatori[26] (fig. 13). L'espressione destinata a diventare canonica era che la città sarebbe stata tracciata "*en forma de juego de ajedrez*", ovvero secondo quel piano a forma di scacchiera, di cui non si parla esplicitamente in nessuna legge, ma che evidentemente era divenuto la naturale risultante di un procedimento istintivo, da una parte, e convogliato, dall'altra, da una martellante normativa che richiamava all'ordine. I pochi *jumétricos* al servizio dei conquistatori ebbero il loro da fare non tanto nell'inventare progetti, quanto nell'eseguire da tecnici i disegni, garantire le spartizioni, misurare e indicare la collocazione degli edifici essenziali a dar corpo giuridico, sociale, religioso ed economico alla città.

Le *Instrucciones* dei sovrani a Pedrarías Dávila (1513), nel momento in cui si procedeva alla conquista della terraferma, oltre a dare suggerimenti di carattere generale in merito alla dislocazione degli insediamenti, fanno esplicito riferimento ai criteri organizzatori del tracciato urbano, con valutazioni di carattere sociale e gerarchico, che sono evidenti in espressioni come le "*qualità delle persone*", significative di ruoli futuri nella comunità; la Spagna nobiliare ed aristocratica della Reconquista e degli "*hijosdalgo de solar conocido*", ovvero dei nobili di noto lignaggio, proietta la sua ombra lunga anche nella colonia, riproducendo la stessa scala di valori, con meriti acquisiti nella conquista, oltre che le stesse strutture civili ed economiche. Le terre verranno infatti spartite per *peonías* e *caballerías*, unità di misura che corrispondevano, come compenso, al rango di fante o di cavaliere. Ma si evidenziano pure, in maniera quasi ossessiva, i richiami all'ordine nella disposizione degli elementi che, calati da un iperuranio ideale ed asettico, costituiranno la trama in cui prenderà vita la città concreta[27]. Nell'astrazione del potere ordinatore, ogni città è uguale alle altre, come le cinquantaquattro dell'isola di Utopia di Thomas Moore somigliavano tutte alla capitale Amauroto. L'"*Ecce omnia nova facio*" biblico risuona quasi nel progetto pur introdotto sottotono e modesto di far bene le cose, che poi così non si ha più da mettervi mano (fig. 14).

Ma più incisivamente, e con il senso coattivo che ha la legge, Carlo V ordinava a Cortés, nel 1523, ciò che era stato suggerito a Pedrarías Dávila un decennio prima in merito al "*buen orden*" da osservare, ma la prospettiva si era prudentemente allargata: "*Fatta la scoperta per mare o per terra conformemente alle leggi che ne trattano, (...), coloro che si trovassero a dar compimento* [all'opera di fondazione], *osservino i seguenti requisiti. Sulla costa sia il sito elevato, sano e difeso, considerando il riparo, il fondo e la difesa del porto e, se fosse possibile, non abbia il mare né a mezzogiorno né a ponente; e in questi e negli altri insediamenti all'interno del territorio scelgano il sito tra quelli che sono liberi e si possa occupare per nostra disposizione, senza pregiudizio degli indios ed indigeni, o con il loro libero consenso. E quando realizzino la pianta del paese, lo dividano segnando le piazze, le vie e i lotti a rettifilo e a squadra, cominciando dalla piazza maggiore e ricavando a partire da questa le vie verso le porte e le strade principali, e lasciando tanto terreno aperto intorno che, ancorché la popolazione vada crescendo molto, possa sempre continuare a dilatarsi nella stessa forma. Procurino d'avere l'acqua vicina, e che si possa condurre all'abitato e ai poderi, facendola scendere, se fosse possibile, per utilizzarla meglio, e procurino d'avere vicino i materiali necessari per costruire, terre da lavoro, coltivazioni e pascoli, con cui ovvieranno al molto disagio e costo che conseguono alla distanza. Non scelgano siti da popolare in luoghi molto alti, per la molestia dei venti e le difficoltà dei servizi e del trasporto, né in zone molto basse, perché di solito sono malsane. Si fondino i nuovi insediamenti nelle zone di media altezza, che godano dei venti aperti del nord e del mezzogiorno, e se dovessero avere catene di monti o pendii, siano dalla parte di levante e ponente: e qualora non potessero evitare i luoghi elevati, facciano l'insediamento in zona che non sia soggetta a nebbie, avendo riguardo a ciò che sia più conveniente alla salute, e agli accidenti che si possono offrire. E nel caso che si edifichi lungo la riva di qualche fiume, l'abitato sia disposto in modo che, sorgendo, il sole colpisca prima il villaggio dell'acqua*"[28].

Nel documento ci sono già tutti i tratti caratteristici delle leggi ed ordinanze successive, che si ritroveranno nel 1526 e, con maggiore articolazione, ma non mutate nella sostanza, nel 1573, quando si ebbe la consacrazione definitiva delle normative di fondazione. Emergono alcuni elementi salienti da questa legge che, sia pur nella genericità, precisa le norme basiche di comportamento urbano sia per quanto concerne la dislocazione dell'abitato, sia per quanto concerne la sua regolarità, come, ancora, per l'indefinitezza in cui se ne lasciano i contorni, tali per cui,

translated into the physical substance of a living city[27].
In the abstract world of governmental power, each city was the same as any other, just as the fifty-four cities on Thomas More's island of Utopia all resembled the capital Amauroto. The Biblical "Ecce omnia nova facio" *almost seems to lie behind quietly understated exhortations to do things well now so that nothing more would have to be done in the future (fig. 14).*
More explicitly, and with the sanctioning of law, Charles V ordered Cortés in 1523 to follow the recommendations given to Pedrarías Dávila a decade earlier regarding the observance of "buen orden", *although the scope of the concept had now been prudently extended:* "Once discovery has been made by land or sea in accordance with the laws that govern it (...) all those entrusted with the task [*of founding the city*] should comply with the following requirements. On coasts, the site should be high up, salubrious and well-defended with regard to harbourage, sea bed and the fortification of the port, with the sea neither to the south nor to the west if possible. In these and other settlements inland, chosen sites should be unoccupied so that we may order them to be occupied without prejudice to the Indians and native populations, or else have their free consent when we do so. When the plan of the settlement is being drawn up, its squares, streets and lots should form a grid, starting with the main square from which the streets to the gates and the main external roads beyond should lead off, leaving plenty of free land round about so the city will retain its original shape even if its population increases rapidly. Water should be available nearby, and it should be possible to bring it to the dwellings and holdings, downhill if possible so that it can be used to better effect. Building materials, farmland and pasture should also be situated nearby to avoid the inconvenience and cost of distance. Sites on very high ground should be avoided because of the disturbance caused by the wind and the difficulties of service and transport; nor should they be in very low-lying areas, because they are usually unhealthy. New settlements should be founded on middle ground so as to enjoy open winds from north and south, and if there are ranges of mountains or hills, they should be to the east and west. Should it prove impossible to avoid high ground, the settlement should be sited in an area free from fog, with due regard for health and all other possible circumstances or inconveniences. If building is done along the shores of a river, the dwellings should be sited so as to receive the first rays of the rising sun"[28].
This document already contains all the typical features of subsequent laws and decrees. They are found in 1526 and, in greater detail but substantially unaltered, in 1573 when legislation governing the founding of cities was finalised. Although of a general nature, this legislation had important features that established a uniform basic approach to city planning, the siting of settlements, regularity of layout, and only vague reference to the surrounding area so that cities could expand without significant formal or spatial modification. Such planning suggests not only regular, orthogonal cities, but also modular construction in units of whose size was still unspecified in legal terms but had probably already been standardised through force of habit. It would seem natural to look for Vitruvian influence here, although the similarities were only superficial in Spain, as we have seen, where the real influences were Thomas Aquinas and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo[29]. *There are, it is true, surprising similarities between these authors and the logistics of the Vitruvian city and the Latin text's concern for proper sanitation, but if there was any influence, it was probably indirect, if only because — above and beyond the way the text was interpreted in Renaissance Italy (from the first translation to Fra' Giocondo, Cesariano and Barbaro) — Vitruvius' distribution of space was totally at odds with the Spanish* peonía *and* caballería *system, and the imperial vision which proved a decisive influence on the sequential development of colonial cities in America. This would seem a powerful argument against those who insist that the Renaissance was a revolution rather than a gradual evolution of trends. Moreover, the colonial cities were not usually fortified or surrounded by walls: defence was delegated to structures or cities that soon became specialised for just this purpose*[30]. *Philip II's formalism not only crystalised in law what previous habit and* ad hoc *legislation had already consolidated, but also attempted to define the role of the new cities in some detail. There is clear evidence of the lessons learned over the years, as well as an awareness of the dangers presented by a new international situation now that other nations were also on the American continent and pirates were ravaging the coasts. The recommendations and prohibitions of Philip II's 1573 Ordenanzas extended to the entire sphere of action. There was, for example, a ban on establishing villages along coasts because of piracy, health risks and the lack of adequate moral safeguards; the only exceptions were essential trading and defensive centres which had adequate*

secondo le sue potenzialità di sviluppo, possa ampliarsi senza remore formali né spaziali. Oltre che città regolare, ortogonale, si direbbe, nell'impianto, appare anche come città costruita per moduli non ancora fissati per legge nelle misure, ma probabilmente già standardizzati per consuetudine.
Ricercare i contatti con il testo vitruviano parrebbe naturale, ancorché le somiglianze siano del tutto esterne e, nella tradizione spagnola, riconducibili quantomeno a mediazioni già indicate dell'opera tomistica e di Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo[29]. I criteri logistici della città vitruviana, le preoccupazioni sanitarie del testo latino si ritrovano con sorprendenti analogie proprio negli autori sopra citati: se mai ci fu influenza, è del tutto probabile che non sia stata diretta, anche perché, al di là ed al di fuori delle teorie interpretative cui fu soggetto il testo nel Rinascimento italiano (dalla prima traduzione, a Fra' Giocondo, a Cesariano, al Barbaro), offriva di certo una distribuzione diversa dello spazio, peraltro non funzionale per nulla alla logica spagnola di distribuzione secondo i meriti di *peonía* e *caballería*, né a quella visione imperiale che fu determinante per lo sviluppo della serialità urbana coloniale. Il che parrebbe un argomento potente a confondere chi si ostina a considerare il Rinascimento come il frutto di una rivoluzione di tendenze invece che di una evoluzione graduale di tendenze. La città coloniale, inoltre, non fu fortificata né circondata di mura nella norma, demandando il compito di difesa a qualche struttura o a città specializzate ben presto in questa incombenza[30].
Il formalismo di Filippo II congelava in norme definitive ciò che consuetudini e legiferazioni precedenti avevano consolidato; non solo, ma si spingeva anche a definire capillarmente il rapporto con il territorio. Si fanno pure evidenti le esperienze maturate nel corso degli anni, e i rischi generati dalle nuove congiunture internazionali, che vedevano altre nazioni compresenti sulla scena americana e i corsari imperversare lungo le coste. Nelle Ordinanze del 1573 di Filippo II consigli e divieti si estendono a tutto il campo d'azione. Viene, ad esempio, fatto divieto di insediare villaggi sulla costa per il pericolo dei corsari, per non essere sufficientemente sani, né garanzia di moralità; si fa eccezione solo per quei centri necessari al commercio ed alla difesa, in porti adeguati[31]. Allo stesso tempo, si suggerisce che il processo urbanistico segua criteri precisi e gerarchici: città capoluogo, villaggi soggetti, unità produttive su base agropecuaria, con un ruolo determinato fin dall'inizio e le corrispettive autorità civili, giudiziarie e religiose[32]. Nelle Ordinanze appare chiaro anche il riferimento al reclutamento degli indigeni, indispensabile per l'avvio dell'attività produttiva, ma con tutte le cautele formali per garantire, almeno teoricamente, il rispetto della personalità giuridica degli indios, ufficialmente sudditi della Corona spagnola; ma resistono *repartimientos* ed *encomiendas*, anche se regolamentati in certa misura dalle *Leyes Nuevas* del 1542[33]. Il punto centrale, tuttavia, delle norme del 1573 sembra essere la Ordinanza XC, laddove si fissa definitivamente il numero minimo di abitanti per un villaggio a trenta, e si danno anche indicazioni che sembrano esemplari della proiezione economica della Corona[34]. Evidentemente la legge cerca di contemperare esigenze diverse, ma mira in ogni caso a dare una dimensione territoriale alla pianificazione, non solo per la logica distributiva dei favori e dei compensi, ma anche per la garanzia di omogeneità di sfruttamento delle risorse.
Si connaturarono talmente con la cultura coloniale questi principi ordinatori ed economici che, con pochissime variabili, vennero applicati nei diversi tentativi di colonizzazione agricola interna messicana con coloni europei importati, compiuti tra 1854 e 1882; così come permangono quali elementi ordinatori nella urbanistica delle città di nuova fondazione in America durante i secoli XVIII e XIX[35].
Piena di significato appare ancora l'Ordinanza XCI: "*Il detto termine e territorio sia ripartito nella forma seguente: si ricavi innanzitutto ciò che fosse necessario per i lotti dell'abitato e l'opportuno* ejido *e la prateria in cui possa pascolare abbondantemente il bestiame che, come si è detto devono avere gli abitanti, ed altrettanto, inoltre, per i beni comunali. Il resto di detto territorio sia diviso in quattro parti: una, a scelta, sia per colui che è vincolato a fare detto villaggio, e le altre tre si ripartiscano in trenta poderi per i trenta popolatori di detto abitato*"[36]. Tali norme erano già state formulate nella legiferazione del 1523, e qui vengono solamente riprese, senza mutamenti; e ciò vale anche per la dislocazione del tempio.
I lotti assegnati per le abitazioni variavano per multipli e disposizione, secondo il livello sociale e i meriti acquisiti[37], ma erano di una misura *standard*. La piazza conservava la collocazione e le caratteristiche già acquisite nella legiferazione precedente; pertanto doveva trovarsi in prossimità del porto nelle città marittime, o al centro dell'abitato in quelle dell'entroterra. Di forma

port facilities[31]. *It was also recommended that planning should reflect a precise hierarchical order descending from local administrative capital through its dependent villages to agricultural and livestock farming units, each with a pre-established role to play and its own civil, religious and legal authorities*[32]. *The* Ordenanzas *also refer explicitly to the recruitment of the native labour needed to get local production under way, with formal guarantees — in theory at least — for the legal status of the Indians, who were officially subjects of the Spanish Crown.* Repartimientos *and* encomiendas *existed as before, although regulated to a certain extent by the* Leyes Nuevas *of 1542*[33]. *However, the key to the 1573 legislation seems to be* Ordenanza XC, *which fixed a village's minimum population at thirty, and made other provisions that seemed designed to formalise the economic reach of the Spanish Crown*[34]. *The law was obviously intended to reconcile a wide variety of needs, but it also attempted to inject a continental, territorial dimension into planning not only to maintain the current system of land distribution based on royal favour and remuneration, but also to ensure that resources could be exploited in a uniform way. These organisational and economic principles proved so congenial to the colonial culture that they were applied virtually wholesale in the agricultural colonisation of Mexico between 1854 and 1882 using European farmers, and persisted throughout the planning of new cities in America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*[35].
Ordenanza XCI *is also significant:* "The said territory will be divided up as follows. First, everything that is needed for the lots of the settlement will be created, with a suitable *ejido* and prairie on which the livestock inhabitants need can graze freely, and all other necessary shared land and property. The rest of the said territory will be divided into four parts: one chosen freely by whomsoever is to create the said village as his own home, and the other three divided up into thirty farms for the thirty inhabitants of the settlement"[36]. *These rules had already been included in the 1523 legislation and were merely repeated here unchanged; the same went for the siting of the church.*
The lots assigned for homes contained different numbers of units and had variable layout depending on the social level and honorary status of their occupants[37], *but the basic units were of a standard size. The city square retained the positioning and characteristics it had been given in previous legislation, meaning it had to be near the port in maritime cities, or in the centre in inland settlements. It was a quadrangle one-and-a-half times as long as it was wide of a size appropriate to the number of inhabitants envisaged for the city, although allowance was made for the larger numbers that would have to be accommodated on feast-days and other occasions, over and above the regular "working" population. Thus, it had to be no smaller than two hundred feet wide by three hundred long, and no bigger than eight hundred by five hundred and thirty-two; the optimum recommended size was six hundred by four hundred. In addition,* "four main streets should lead off from the main square, each cutting one side of the square in half, with a further two at each corner. The four corners should face the four main winds, so that the streets leading off from the square are not exposed to the four main winds, which would be highly undesirable. There should be porticoes all around the square, and also in the four main streets leading off from it, for the convenience of the merchants who usually gather there; and the eight streets leading off from the four corners should be kept clear and not obstruct the porticoes (...)"[38] *(fig. 15). The layout of the city already determined the kind of architecture that would be built in it since the law implied that the new centres should have a life and function appropriate to the roles they were originally created to fulfil. As a result, legislation was concerned less with the stylistic features of buildings than with their layout, architectural quality and the sense of orderliness and permanence they should provide to override any feeling of temporariness. From Mexico City to Cuzco, the cities seem to have been intended as containers for largely standardised forms, but obviously this was never actually the case given the forces — economic, industrial, productive, religious, colonial rivalry with the mother country — that influenced the shaping of the city, although legal and social structures did generate many basic architectural forms (fig. 16). The main church was sited in internal areas outside the main square, and had to be separate from all other buildings (although as often as not its façade was in the main square) higher than its surroundings (with access by a flight of steps) to give it a position of pre-eminence. Legislation also envisaged that the* Casas Reales, *the* Cabildo *or* Concejo, *the customs and the arsenal would be built between the main square and the church* "at a distance that enhances rather than detracts from the church and does not disturb it, but allows them to be aided if necessary; if the settlement is on the coast, the church should be visible to anyone approaching from the sea, and its construction should serve as a defence to the port (...)"[39]

quadrangolare, lunga una volta e mezzo la sua larghezza, proporzionata al numero di abitanti previsto, ma tenendo in considerazione il fatto che la popolazione poteva aumentare, oltre all'attività sociale da svolgervi (feste ed altro), non doveva essere inferiore ai duecento piedi di larghezza e i trecento di lunghezza, con una dimensione massima di ottocento per cinquecentotrentadue; ma la proporzione ottimale consigliata era di seicento per quattrocento. Inoltre, "*dalla piazza partano quattro vie principali, ciascuna tagliando a metà un lato, ed oltre a queste, due per ogni angolo. I quattro angoli guardino ai quattro venti principali, perché uscendo così le vie dalla piazza non saranno esposte ai quattro venti principali, che sarebbe molto sconveniente; tutt'attorno, e le quattro vie principali che ne escono, abbiano portici per comodità dei commercianti che sogliono accorrere; e le quattro vie che usciranno dai quattro angoli escano libere, senza l'intralcio dei portici (...)*"[38] (fig. 15). La connotazione della struttura urbana portava con sé come conseguenza anche la connotazione architettonica. La legge implicava che i centri di nuova fondazione avessero la vitalità e la funzionalità proprie del loro ruolo predeterminato fin dall'inizio; sicché le norme non riguardano tanto i caratteri stilistici quanto la distribuzione degli edifici, la loro qualità architettonica, il senso complessivo della non-precarietà, ma al contrario dell'ordinato ed imperituro. Dalla Città di Messico al Cuzco le città parrebbero determinate ad essere dei contenitori di forme con poche variabili; il che evidentemente non fu, nel gioco delle forze che effettivamente concorsero a plasmare di fatto la città, da quelle economico-produttive a quelle religiose, alle ambizioni ben presto scatenatesi di rivaleggiare con la madrepatria. Conseguenza della struttura giuridica e sociale, le strutture architettoniche essenziali e predeterminate furono numerose (fig. 16). Il tempio principale era previsto nelle aree interne fuori della piazza maggiore, e separato da ogni altro edificio — anche se di fatto la consuetudine il più delle volte lo situerà affacciato alla piazza —, più elevato del suolo circostante, di modo che vi si accedesse per gradini, e dunque in una posizione preminente. Nell'ipotesi legislativa, tra la piazza maggiore ed il tempio andavano costruite le *Casas Reales*, il *Cabildo* o *Concejo*, la dogana e il cantiere, "*a distanza tale che esaltino il tempio e non gli siano di disturbo, e che, in caso di necessità, si possano soccorrere; e, se l'abitato fosse nella costa, sia collocato il tempio in modo che sia visto da chi viene dal mare, e la sua fabbrica sia come difesa del porto*

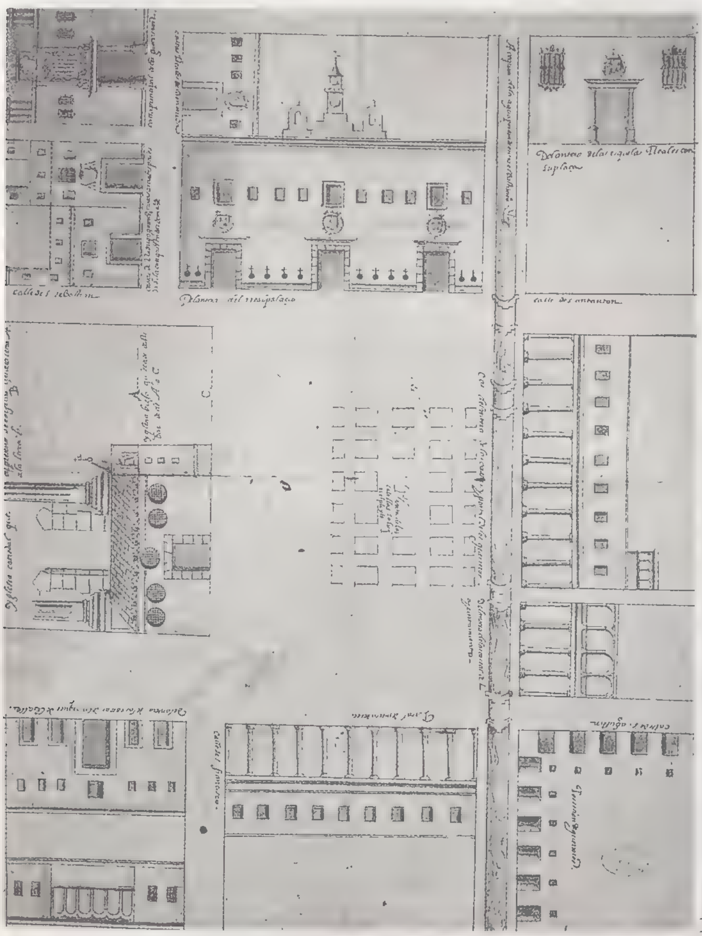
(fig. 17). The priority given to religion, both as an evangelising mission and as a central cultural element in the Spanish colonial world, is reflected in the priority given to the religious building itself. Far from being metaphorical, the idea of the church-fortress (figs. 18-20) was extensively developed and produced remarkable results, though more often inland than on the coast (with the notable exception of the early seventeenth-century church-fortress of Campeche on the Mexican coast). Usually it was the convent churches that became fortresses, although of a rather ambiguous kind. Their defensive function was often more a matter of form than substance, and they were usually better suited to repelling "neolithic" attacks by the native peoples than enemies with firearms[40]. Convents and other parish churches also found a place in the city. They were provided for in law, and were often designed into the original plan along with other squares and hospitals (usually flanking the church or in its cloisters) for non-contagious diseases. Special hospitals were built for contagious diseases, usually outside the cities on high ground where no wind could carry infection towards inhabited areas[41]. These planning principles, in some ways similar to Vitruvius', had already been applied by Eximenic in his Crestiá *(1384), where structures that might in any way "pollute" the settlement — abattoirs, hospitals, brothels — were sited outside the town. A law of 1541 established that hospitals should be built in all Spanish and Indian villages[42].*
As colonisation progressed, and the system of repartimiento *and* encomienda *was extended, many Indian pueblos were built to specifications that were more usually inflicted upon than proposed by the native population (figs. 21, 22). Numerous villages grew up around the many large convents that were built, until 1560 when measures were introduced to limit their construction and importance[43]. Finally, colonial law often prescribed the creation of Indian reserves not unlike the Spanish villages themselves, with the declared intention of promoting the aggregation of the Indian peoples, their religious education and the creation of a civil society[44]. In both the Spanish cities and the native villages, the arrogant assertiveness of the religious orders — Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and, to a lesser extent, the hired missionaries rather than secular clergy initially entrusted with the task of evangelisation — resulted in large convent complexes only partly intended for the monks themselves (figs. 23, 24): they were also intended to provide the education and indoctrination needed to absorb the natives into western*

15. Cholula, Messico, Piazza principale porticata, sec.XVI: vista.
16. Messico: mappa del 1596. Archivio General de Indias (A.G.I.), Siviglia.
17. Pueblo di Teutenango, Messico: mappa del 1582. A.G.I., Siviglia.

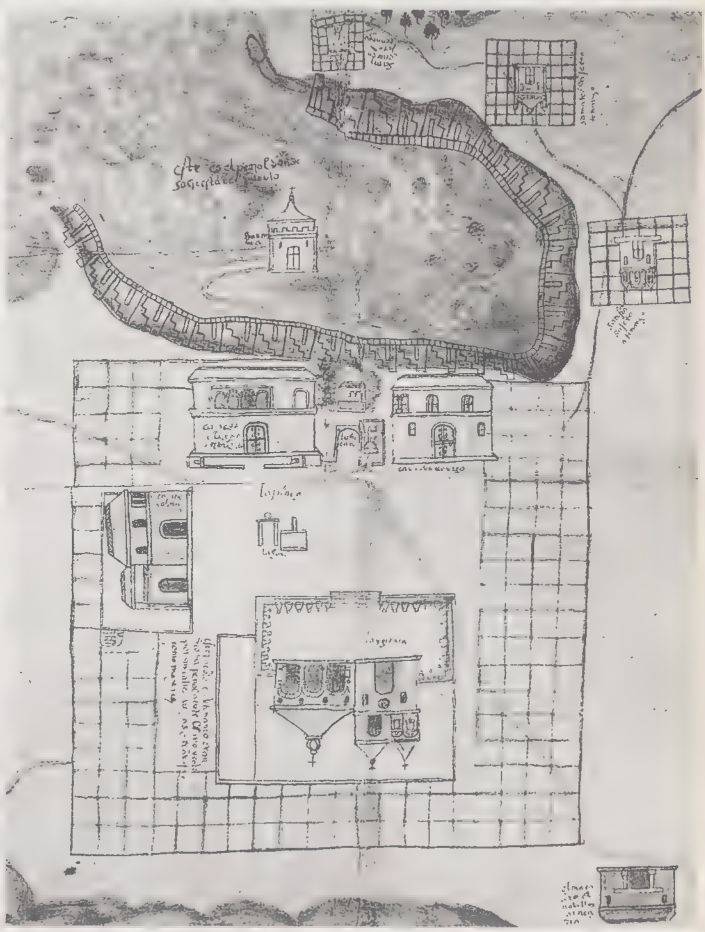
15. Cholula, Mexico, Porticoed main square, 16th century: view.
16. Mexico: map of 1596. Archivio General de Indias (A.G.I.), Seville.
17. Teutenango pueblo, Mexico: map of 1582. A.G.I., Seville.



15



16



17

18.19.20. Conventi di Yuririapúndaro, Tepeaca e Actopan, Messico, seconda metà sec.XVI: viste.

18.19.20. Convents at Yuririapundaro, Tepeaca and Actopan, Mexico, second half of 16th century: views.



18



19



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(...)"[39] (fig. 17). L'idea della priorità religiosa, sia come missione evangelizzatrice che come centralità culturale del mondo ispano-coloniale, si riflette tutta nella priorità concessa all'edificio religioso. L'idea del tempio-fortezza (figg. 18-20), tutt'altro che metaforica, fu coltivata a lungo ed ebbe espressioni notevoli tuttavia più nell'entroterra che nei porti, fatto salvo il caso di chiesa-fortezza di Campeche, dei primi anni del XVII secolo, sulla costa messicana; ma nella normalità furono le chiese conventuali ad assumere tali connotazioni, peraltro ambigue e per certi versi più formali che sostanziali o, in ogni caso, più adatte a far fronte ad un nemico neolita, come gli indigeni, che ad un nemico che facesse uso di armi da fuoco[40]. Nella città trovavano spazio anche conventi ed altre chiese parrocchiali. Tali strutture religiose erano già previste a norma di legge, e furono designate in più di una occasione nel progetto fondazionale, assieme ad altre piazze e alle strutture ospitalarie per infermi non contagiosi, di solito a lato delle chiese, e nei chiostri delle medesime. Per i contagiosi esistevano strutture apposite e solitamente decentrate, che dovevano sorgere in luoghi elevati e dove nessun vento soffiandovi potesse portare i contagi verso gli abitati[41]. I criteri, paralleli per certi versi a quelli vitruviani, avevano antecedenti nel *Crestiá* di Eximenic del 1384, che emarginava similmente tutte quelle strutture, dai macelli, agli ospedali, ai bordelli, che in qualche modo potevano "inquinare" l'abitato. Una legge del 1541 prescriveva che si fondassero ospedali in tutti i villaggi di spagnoli e di indios[42].
Nel corso della colonizzazione, e con l'estendersi del sistema del *repartimiento* e dell'*encomienda*, molti furono i *pueblos de indios* ad essere fondati, con procedimenti più subíti che promossi dagli indigeni (figg. 21, 22); e molti furono i villaggi che si enuclearono anche attorno ai grandi conventi che sorsero numerosi, fino a quando dal 1560 non iniziarono i provvedimenti tesi a limitarne la costruzione e l'importanza[43]. Infine, a più riprese, la legge sulle colonie tornò a prescrivere la creazione di riserve di indios con caratteristiche non dissimili da quelle generali dei villaggi di spagnoli, e con lo scopo dichiarato di favorirne l'aggregazione, il consorzio civile e l'educazione religiosa[44].
Nel tessuto urbano, così come in quello dei villaggi indigeni, la prepotente affermazione degli ordini religiosi — francescani, domenicani, agostiniani e, in misura minore, mercedari, a cui fu, più ancora che al clero secolare in un primo tempo affidata la evangelizzazione — portò alla realizzazione di grandi complessi conventuali destinati solo

culture, introduce them to colonial production methods and teach them the artistic techniques that would soon be needed — once the initial state of emergency was over — to meet the requirements of a world both religious and lay, public and private, with a voracious appetite for "luxuries" like architectural decoration, sculpture, frescoes and oil paintings. Work started on the construction of the great cathedrals — Mexico (fig. 27), Puebla, Lima, Cuzco — using the best available colonial architects who, eager to compete with the mother country, took the cathedrals of Spain as their models. Meanwhile, the monastic orders, soon to be joined (in 1572) by the Jesuits, channelled their effort into building convent complexes in which, alongside a traditional architecture based on earlier Gothic (fig. 28) or even Romanesque forms, the foundations of Spanish American architecture were also laid. These large complexes, especially the isolated ones that provided the social focus for scattered native peoples, not only incorporated the typical features of fortified buildings (battlements, sentry paths, buttresses, thick walls) but also spacious open structures — large enclosed courtyards with a chapel at each corner and a cross in the centre, and, next to the convent or in a room created on the side facing the court, the so-called "capilla de indios"*[45]. These chapels — perhaps most common in New Spain but also found in South America — were of varying design, but they made open-air services possible for Indians unaccustomed to enclosed spaces who came to worship in large numbers. The courtyard (fig. 25) thus became an architectural space either specifically designed for religious services or for performing subsidiary religious activities, partly because of the four corner chapels — called* posas *because they served as stopping points during processions — which also provided meeting points for groups learning the catechism, and perhaps also for brotherhoods and corporations[46]. Spanish legislation did not at first concern itself with the religious architecture, so individual groups were free to act on their own initiative. This is easily explained not as a desire to avoid direct interference, but as official recognition of the usefulness of missionary work in integrating the native peoples into civil and productive life. But when the monastic orders became too important, to the detriment of the secular clergy, and capitalisation began to threaten the social and economic equilibrium of the colonies, legislation began to bite deeper. In 1550, for example, Antonio de Mendoza complained that serious errors had been made with the monasteries[47]. Certainly, the building of the churches and convents had called for excessive resources and*

21. Pueblo de indios di Chicoalóapa, Messico: mappa del 1579. A.G.I., Siviglia.
22. Pueblo de indios di Huaxutla, Messico: mappa del 1580. A.G.I., Siviglia.
23.24. Conventi di Acolman e Huejotzingo, Messico, sec.XVI: viste.

25. Convento di Calpan, Messico, sec.XVI: pianta. Da Kubler, 1984.

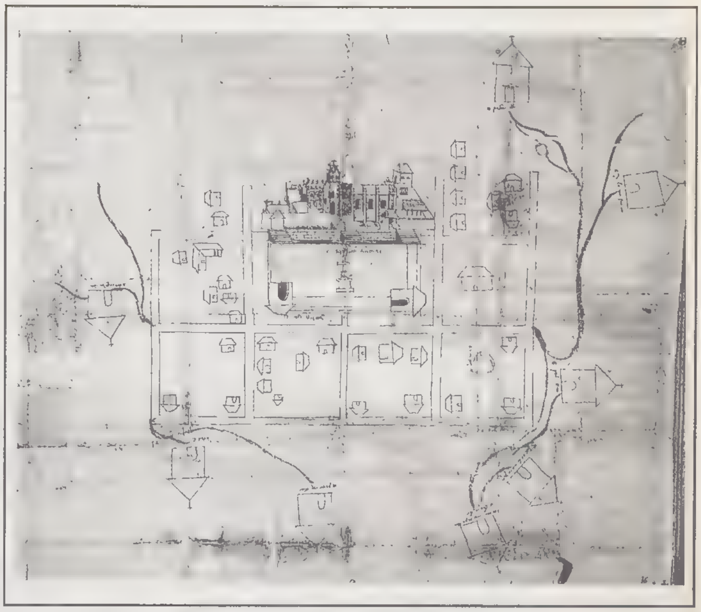
in parte a dar ricetto ai monaci (figg. 23, 24) ma anche ad avviare un'attività educativa e dottrinaria che doveva integrare gli indigeni all'interno della cultura occidentale, avviarli ai sistemi produttivi dei colonizzatori e all'apprendimento di quei processi artistici che avrebbero dovuto alimentare le attese di un mondo, religioso e laico, pubblico e privato, che ben presto, superata l'emergenza iniziale, diveniva vorace consumatore di beni "suntuari", quali potevano considerarsi la decorazione architettonica, la scultura, la pittura a fresco e ad olio. Mentre, da una parte, si inizia la costruzione delle grandi cattedrali, da quelle di Messico (fig. 27) e Puebla a quelle di Lima e Cuzco, ingaggiando i migliori tra gli architetti disponibili sul mercato coloniale, guardando ai modelli rassicuranti della madrepatria con cui c'era tutta la volontà di competere; dall'altra gli ordini monastici citati, a cui ben presto (dal 1572) si aggiungevano i gesuiti, protenderanno tutti i loro sforzi a fornire complessi conventuali in cui, a fianco di una tradizione architettonica passatista, prolungamento del gotico (fig. 28), se non addirittura del romanico, si pongono le creazioni originali dell'architettura iberoamericana. I grandi complessi conventuali, soprattutto quelli disseminati nei vasti territori, e punto di convergenza obbligato degli indigeni sparsi, non solo riproposero di frequente i tratti inequivocabili degli edifici muniti e merlati, con cammino di ronda, contrafforti e muri spessi, ma proposero anche strutture aperte ampie, come i grandi atrii cintati, santificati da quattro cappelle agli angoli e da una croce al centro e, a fianco del convento o in un vano ricavato sul lato che dà sull'atrio, la cosiddetta "*capilla de indios*"[45], una cappella di foggie diverse diffusa forse più frequentemente nella Nuova Spagna, ma ben presente anche nel Sudamerica, che serviva per la celebrazione delle funzioni all'aperto per indios che non avevano consuetudine con i luoghi chiusi e che accorrevano numerosi alle pratiche religiose. L'atrio (fig. 25), dunque, si trasformava in spazio architettonico sacro o propedeutico al sacro, anche per la presenza di quelle quattro cappelle d'angolo che, dette "*posas*" per la funzione di sosta processionale, avevano anche altri scopi, come quello di polo di raccolta dei gruppi catechetici e, fors'anche nel tempo, delle confraternite o corporazioni[46]. Nell'ambito delle realizzazioni architettoniche degli ordini la legiferazione spagnola non entrò per qualche tempo, lasciando l'iniziativa ai singoli. Ciò si spiega facilmente non tanto con la volontà di non interferire quanto con la funzionalità del lavoro missionario al consesso civile e

had required a huge native workforce, a matter of grave concern to colonists and public authorities alike, who would have liked access to both for their own purposes. So from 1551 on the law took control of the building of monasteries[48]. However, it continued to oscillate between overt protection of the natives and their more or less forced enlistment for works deemed of public utility. A royal writ of 1534 ordered that the Indians should build the houses of the clergy; another in the same year obliged inhabitants with encomienda *Indians to build houses of stone, and of course, native labourers were used to build them[49]. The conflict between the native population of Mexico City and its authorities over work on the building of the cathedral became emblematic[50]. Endless periods of forced labour and high taxation were needed to complete public works which the natives had long refused to become involved in (fig. 26).*
One wonders whether this was an attempt to create a sort of urban utopia, as many have claimed. Apart from Vasco de Quiroga's efforts in Mexican Michoacan territory, where an extraordinary building like the church of Pátzcuaro[51] standing alongside more generic hospitales *could express a desire to create a social structure in which the Indians would be given their freedom, there were no other examples of utopias in the sixteenth century. The prevailing pragmatism would soon be boosted by the need for a great fortified line whose construction would involve the Antonellis and Italo-Spanish school that revolved around Tiburzio Spannocchi on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The compromise between creative approaches to local situations and universal legislation is clearly seen in the general laws passed to ensure that local builders would not, on their own initiative, violate security regulations or fail to adopt the technological measures a burgeoning war was increasingly making necessary[52]. Military architecture manuals undoubtedly played an important part, as can be seen from the fairly substantial number of copies which crossed the Atlantic[53]. The coastal cities, built using the grid system, had their straight lines cut by curtain walls, bulwarks and bastions which impeded their orderly expansion for centuries and created new urban concentrations within existing layouts. The traditional Spanish American city, usually though not always regular in design, now absorbed the well-established principles of European fortification technology. La Habana, Veracruz, Campeche, Portobelo, Panamá, San Juan de Puerto Rico, Cartagena de Indias, El Callao and many other coastal cities would form the*

21. Chicoalóapa pueblo, Mexico:
map of 1579. A.G.I., Seville.
22. Huaxutla pueblo, Mexico:
map of 1580. A.G.I., Seville.
23.24. Convents at Acolman and
Huejotzingo, Mexico, 16th century:
views.
25. Convent at Calpan, Mexico, 16th
century: plan. From Kubler, 1984.



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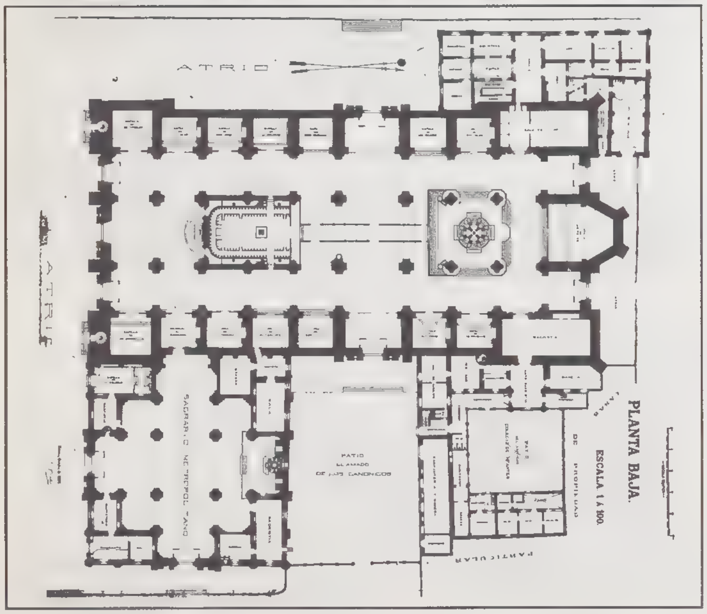


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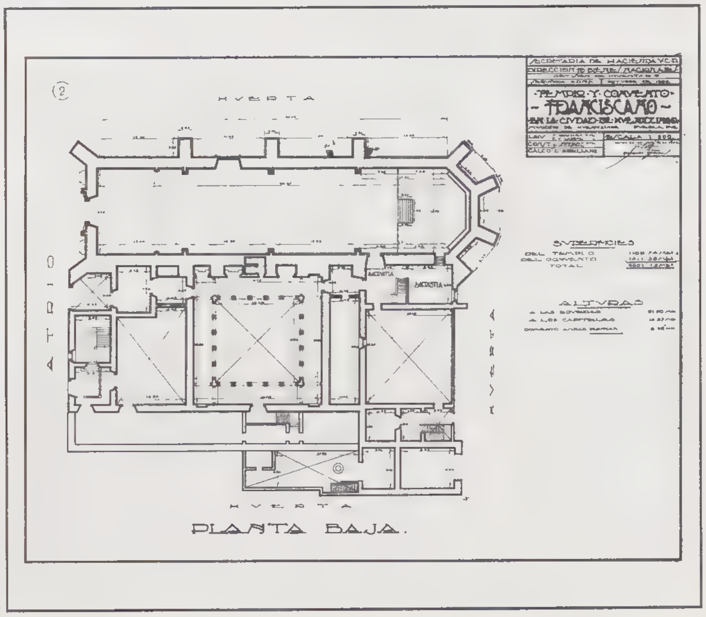
26. Izamal, Messico, Convento costruito su edificio preispanico, sec.XVI: vista della corte.
27. Cattedrale di Messico, iniziata nel 1563 su progetto di Claudio de Arciniega; pianta. Messico, Secretaría de Hacienda.
28. Convento di Huejotzingo, Messico, sec.XVI: pianta. Messico, Secretaría de Hacienda.



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27



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26. Izamal, Mexico, Convent constructed from a pre-Hispanic building, 16th century: view of the courtyard.
27. Mexico Cathedral, begun in 1563 from a project by Claudio de Arciniega: plan. Secretaría de Hacienda, Mexico.
28. Convent at Huejotzingo, Mexico, 16th century: plan. Secretaría de Hacienda, Mexico.

produttivo a cui veniva avviato l'indigeno. Ma quando il ruolo degli ordini monastici cominciò a farsi troppo importante a detrimento del clero secolare e, più avanti nel tempo, i fenomeni di capitalizzazione rischiavano di alterare equilibri socioeconomici, gli interventi normativi cominciarono a pesare. Antonio de Mendoza, ad esempio, lamentava nel 1550 che, a proposito dei monasteri si erano compiuti grandi errori[47]; e vi era stato certamente un assorbimento eccessivo di risorse nel costruire chiese e conventi, con un coinvolgimento massiccio di manodopera indigena che preoccupava coloni e pubbliche autorità, che l'avrebbero voluta per i propri scopi. È così che dal 1551 in avanti la legge prende sotto il proprio controllo l'edificazione di monasteri[48]. Ma l'oscillazione della legge tra l'ingaggio più o meno forzato degli indigeni per opere ritenute di pubblica utilità e la sua protezione è continua; è del 1534 una cedola reale che ordina che gli indios edifichino le case del clero, e dello stesso anno un'altra cedola che obbliga gli abitanti che hanno indios in *encomienda* a fabbricare case di pietra; ed è ovvio che a realizzarle era chiamata la manovalanza indigena[49]. Emblematico divenne il contrasto tra gli indigeni e le autorità di Città di Messico in merito ai lavori compiuti per l'edificazione della cattedrale[50], ed infinite furono le *corvées* imposte e i balzelli applicati per realizzare opere pubbliche da cui l'indigeno rimase per lungo tempo quasi del tutto estraneo (fig. 26).
Resta da chiedersi se, come spesso si è cercato di azzardare, si cercò di realizzare una specie di utopia urbana. Al di là delle imprese di Vasco de Quiroga in Messico in territorio michoacano, in cui a fianco di *hospitales* nel senso lato del termine, si provvide anche alla costruzione di un singolare edificio come la chiesa di Pátzcuaro[51], espressioni di una volontà di vita civile che affrancassero l'indio, nel XVI secolo non vi furono altre utopie, ma il massimo del pragmatismo, che trovò ben presto alimento nella grande linea fortificatoria, in cui furono protagonisti gli Antonelli e la scuola italo-spagnola che ebbe come fulcro Tiburzio Spannocchi, e che operò sia sulla costa atlantica che su quella del Pacifico. Il compromesso tra creatività, in relazione alle congiunture locali, e normativa, si ritrova nelle leggi che mirano ad un controllo generale per la sfiducia che gli esecutori locali di loro iniziativa violassero le norme di sicurezza o si dimostrassero al di sotto di quelle soluzioni tecnologiche che la guerra di corsa imponeva con una progressione

backbone of a maritime defence system whose construction became increasingly urgent as the ineffectiveness of existing structures gradually became apparent[54] (figs. 29-31).
But in parallel to this, and for quite different reasons, other civil architecture manuals were also gaining in popularity, such as those by Serlio and Vignola offering a wide range of general or specific architectural solutions[55] that enabled new American architecture to keep pace with European Renaissance architecture[56], a trend that would continue into the Baroque era, as Central American architecture (Mexico and Guatemala) amply demonstrates. The uniformity imposed on civil as well as military buildings by the Ordenanzas *of 1573 ("*serán de una forma para el ornato de la población"*) was achieved in real terms only to a very limited degree. When actually built, each individual city had its own history and identity, its own development and unique mix of styles. Their only common feature was a shared sense of decorum — probably imposed by the* Ordenanzas *— which regularly asserted itself whenever conditions permitted.*
The Jesuit reducciones *in the province of Paraguay are a case apart. Whether legendary or real, exalted or decried, they were in fact urban and social utopias, although not always in the way some have said. Within an established* reducciones de indios *tradition in no way alien to sixteenth-century and Franciscan neo-Hispanic culture (even if most significant developments occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), the* reducciones *were more the outcome of established urban planning practice than of specific legislation. In Sonora and Lower California, the Jesuit villages built to evangelise the natives also formed a defensive barrier along the precarious north-western borders, and had no definite form for quite some time because they tended to develop spontaneously around existing religious buildings[57]. In the province of Paraguay, however, which included territories now in modern Paraguay as well as parts of modern Argentina, Bolivia and border areas of Brazil, the Jesuits organised around thirty villages after their arrival in 1568 and governed them with a kind of paternalistic socialism that eventually collapsed in 1767 under the dual onslaught of the* bandeirantes *and the Enlightenment policies of Charles III and the Braganzas. The wealth of extant literature provides more examples of colonial archaeology and archaeological sociology than of real urban and architectural practice at the time. For that we have to rely on a small number of surviving maps and plans drawn up by the clerics themselves, and the architectural remains*

galoppante[52]. Il ruolo dei manuali di architettura militare fu senza dubbio importante ed è testimoniato dal discreto afflusso documentato di copie giunte oltre Atlantico[53]. Le città costiere, sorte all'insegna del piano quadrettato, subirono il ritaglio delle linee spezzate di cortine, baluardi, bastioni, cavalieri e rivellini, bloccando per secoli quell'espansione ordinata prevista, e creando nuovi fulcri urbani. La tradizione della città iberoamericana, tendente al regolare, anche se non sempre ne fu rispettato il criterio, accoglieva la ormai consolidata tecnologia fortificatoria europea. La Habana, Veracruz, Campeche, Portobelo, Panamá, San Juan de Puerto Rico, Cartagena de Indias, El Callao e tanti altri centri costieri costituirono il nerbo di una difesa marittima sempre più impellente e sempre più compromessa[54] (figg. 29-31).

Ma si innestò in parallelo e per tutt'altri fini, una diffusione più che discreta di altri manuali di architettura civile, quali il Serlio ed il Vignola che offrivano un campionario vasto di soluzioni architettoniche generali e particolari[55], in grado di porre al passo con le architetture rinascimentali europee le nuove creazioni americane[56] e, di più, interessando anche l'epoca del barocco, come è testimoniato ampiamente in America Centrale (Messico e Guatemala). L'uniformità richiesta dalle *Ordenanzas* del 1573 anche per gli edifici civili ("*serán de una forma para el ornato de la población*"), in realtà ebbe un esito molto modesto; nel suo farsi, la città, come insegnano i singoli episodi, ebbe ciascuna una sua storia, ed ogni edificio la sua identità, la sua crescita, le sue sovrapposizioni. Il senso del decoro, a cui probabilmente si richiama l'Ordinanza, è l'unico che si impone come regola ogni volta che le condizioni lo consentono.

Una valutazione a parte meritano le riduzioni gesuitiche della provincia del Paraguay. Tra leggenda e realtà, tra esaltatori e detrattori, espressero un'utopia urbana e sociale allo stesso tempo, anche se di segno diverso da quello spesso indicato. All'interno di una tradizione di sviluppo delle *reducciones de indios*, non avulse dunque dal contesto cinquecentesco e francescano novoispanico, anche se sviluppatesi tra Seicento e Settecento nella maggior parte, portavano i segni di una consuetudine urbana più che di una legiferazione puntuale chiamata in causa. Diversamente da quanto accadeva nel Sonora e nella Bassa California, dove i villaggi organizzati dai gesuiti per la evangelizzazione assumevano anche una funzione di difesa e barriera delle incerte frontiere nordoccidentali, ma rimanevano per molto tempo precari nella loro forma, per lo più accidentale e sórta per enucleazione attorno agli edifici religiosi[57], nella provincia del Paraguay, che comprendeva territori dell'attuale Stato omonimo, ma anche dell'Argentina e della Bolivia attuali, oltre che frange del Brasile, i gesuiti organizzarono una trentina di villaggi a partire dal loro arrivo, nel 1568, e ressero tali comunità con un socialismo paternalista che cadde sotto i colpi convergenti dei *bandeirantes* e della politica illuministica di Carlo III e dei Braganza, nel 1767. L'abbondante letteratura esistente potrà fornire a volontà dati che servono ormai più a illustrare un'archeologia coloniale ed una sociologia archeologica, che una realtà urbana ed architettonica, per la quale bisogna affidarsi alle poche piante e mappe realizzate dagli stessi religiosi ed ai resti architettonici, da tempo rivalutati. Il fatto essenziale, da un punto di vista urbanistico, fu l'osservanza di criteri di regolarità nella realizzazione del tracciato, senza che si sappia tuttavia se furono osservati i rituali complessi già individuati per le fondazioni per *capitulación*[58]. Punto nodale sembra essere la santificazione dello spazio urbano, che ha il suo centro in una piazza in cui convergono sia i significati religiosi che quelli civili, in cui l'asse è costituito da un elemento religioso, colonna o statua che sia; mentre il villaggio si divide in due parti: a chiudere un lato della piazza il fronte costituito da chiesa, cimitero, casa parrocchiale, officine e scuole, casa delle vedove e *tambo*, o casa degli ospiti; sugli altri tre lati si articolano ortogonalmente le vie su cui si affacciano case rigorosamente uguali (fig. 32). Sembra quasi che nelle riduzioni paraguensi si fondano insieme spontaneamente criteri urbani derivati dall'esperienza coloniale e suggellati dalle leggi, oltre che dalle molteplici esperienze condotte dagli inizi del periodo coloniale dai vari ordini religiosi. Il fulcro artistico ed architettonico rimane la chiesa, solitamente a tre navate, in cui l'arte gesuitico-guaraní, l'apporto di architetti italiani, da Andrea Bianchi a Giambattista Primoli, a Camillo Petragrassa e Giuseppe Brasanelli, profuse il meglio di sé, creando una originale inflessione barocca con l'impiego sapiente di risorse locali[59].

Note

1) La bibliografia relativa alle culture precolombiane è ormai vastissima. Si richiamano qui soltanto alcuni tra i lavori più noti: G. KUBLER, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, Harmondsworth 1984 (1ª ed. 1962); P. GENDROP, D. HEYDEN, *Architettura mesoamericana*, Milano 1981 (1ª ed. 1973). Per quanto concerne la visione cosmologica, si veda almeno: A. CASO, *El pueblo del Sol*, , México 1953; J. SOUSTELLE, *La pensée cosmologique des anciens Mexicains*, Paris 1966; G. KUBLER, *Les sources écrites de la cosmogonie*

themselves, whose true significance has long been appreciated. In planning terms, the important thing was the decision to adopt the regular grid system when the plan was being drawn up, although we do not know whether the complex capitulación *founding rituals were actually observed*[58]*. The crucial point seems to have been the sanctification of urban space centring on a square where religious and civic meaning converged in some symbolic religious element like a column or statue. By contrast, villages were divided into two: one side of the square was closed off by the church, cemetery, priest's home, workshops, the school, the widows' home and* tambo, *or guest-house. The other three sides had orthogonally arranged streets lined with meticulously standardised houses (fig. 32). It is almost as if the planning criteria developed under colonial rule (later codified in law), and the accumulated experience of the religious orders dating back to the very beginning of the colonial period, spontaneously merged in the Paraguayan* reducciones. *However, the artistic and architectural focus was always the church, usually with three naves, in which Jesuit-Guaraní art and the work of Italian architects like Andrea Bianchi, Giambattista Primoli, Camillo Petragrassa and Giuseppe Brasanelli reached its peak in an original Baroque idiom which made masterly use of local resources*[59].

Notes

1) The bibliography of published work on pre-Columbian cultures is now enormous. The following is a list of only some of the more important studies: G. KUBLER, The Art and Architecture of Ancient America, *Harmondsworth, 1984 (1st ed., 1962); P. GENDROP, D. HEYDEN,* Architettura mesoamericana, *Milan, 1981 (1st ed., 1973). For pre-Columbian cosmology, see at least A. CASO,* El pueblo del Sol, *Mexico, 1953; J. SOUSTELLE,* La pensée cosmologique des anciens Mexicains, *Paris, 1966; G. KUBLER,* Les sources écrites de la cosmogonie andine, *"Artibus et Historiae", 9 (1984), pp. 9-21;* The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel *(the Italian version, Padua, 1989, is my own).*

2) See R. MILLON, Urbanization at Teotihuácan, Mexico, *2 vol., Austin, 1974.*

3) See the excellent E. PASZTORY, Aztec Art, *New York, 1983, and J.L. DE ROJAS,* México Tenochtitlan. Economia y sociedad en el siglo XVI, *Mexico, 1986.*

4) See M. SARTOR, La città e la conquista, *Rome-Reggio Calabria, 1981, pp. 161-163.*

5) See G. DE LA VEGA, (El Inca), Commentari Reali degli Inca, *ed. Francesco Saba Sardi, Milan, 1977, pp. 558-567. For the Inca world, see S. AGURTO CALVO,* Estudios acerca de la construcción y planeamiento incas, *Lima, 1987.*

6) See J.E. HARDOY, Las ciudades en América latina, *Buenos Aires, 1972, pp. 42-43, 73; R.M. MORSE,* Introducción a la historia urbana de Hispanoamérica, *in* Estudios sobre la ciudad iberoamericana, *ed. Francisco de Solano, Madrid,*
1975, pp. 9-53; for more detailed aspects, see also J.L. ROMERO, La ciudad hispanoamericana: la estructura económica originaria, *"Cuadernos Americanos", vol. CLX (1968), pp. 149-164; D. RAMOS PÉREZ,* Minería y comercio interprovincial en Hispanoamérica (siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII), *Valladolid, 1970.*

7) See E.W. PALM, Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española, *Santo Domingo, 1984 (1st ed., 1955), pp. 60-61.*

8) A. DE HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS, Historia general de los hechos castellanos en las Islas y Tierras Firmes del Mar Océano, *Madrid, 1601-1615, Decade I, l. VI, chap. 4.*

9) G. FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO, Sumario de la natural Historia de las Indias, *Madrid, 1946, p. 474 ("Biblioteca de Autores Españoles", XXII; henceforth BAE).*

10) See V. PÉREZ RODRÍGUEZ, Primer urbanismo colonial de trazado regular en la provincia de Jaén y su influencia en el urbanismo hispanoamericano, *"Ciudad y territorio", 61 (1984), pp. 23-40.*

11) See M. SARTOR, La città e la conquista, *cit., p. 113;* La città latinoamericana: una sintesi di esperienze culturali, *"Scienza e Cultura", 1 (1987), pp. 123-138.*

12) F. EXIMENIC, El Crestiá. Regiments de Princeps de las ciutats i de la cosa pública *(1384), Barcelona, 1929. See also F. CHUECA GOITIA, L. TORRES BALBAS, J. GONZALES,* Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas, *Madrid, 1951, vol. II, p.89 ff.*

13) See E.W. PALM, Los monumentos arquitectónicos, *cit., p. 68.*

14) See G. GUARDA, Santo Tomás de Aquino y las fuentes del urbanismo indiano, *Santiago de Chile, 1965, p. 41.*

15) See I. LEONARD, Los libros del conquistador, *Mexico, 1953, p. 321. Also G. GUARDA,* Tres reflexiones en torno a la fundación de la ciudad indiana, *in* Estudios sobre la ciudad, *cit., pp. 89-106:100.*

16) See H. KROPFINGER VON KÜGELGEN, Europäische Buchexporte von Sevilla nach Neuspanien in Jahre 1586, *in* Eurupäische Bücher in Neuspanien zu Ende des 16. Jahrunderts, *"Das Mexiko-Project der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinsschaft", V, Wiesbaden, 1973, pp. 5-105; F. FERNÁNDEZ DEL CASTILLO,* Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI, *Mexico, 1982 (1st ed., 1914).*

17) I cannot share the interpretation of L. BENEVOLO, Las nuevas ciudades fundadas en el siglo XVI en América latina. Una experiencia decisiva de la arquitectura arquitectónica del "Cinquecento", *"Boletín del C.I.H.E", 9 (1968), pp. 117-136.*

18) See R. KONETZKE, America centrale e meridionale. I. La colonizzazione ispano-portoghese, *Milan, 1968, pp. 214-215; M. SARTOR,* L'esercizio e i presupposti del controllo politico amministrativo e religioso iberoamericano, *"Miscellanea di Storia delle Esplorazioni", VIII (1983), pp. 45-69.*

19 See R. MORSE, Introducción a la historia urbana de Hispanoamérica, *in* Estudios sobre la ciudad, *cit., p. 53.*

20) See A. GARCIA GALLO, Los principios rectores de la organización territorial de las Indias en el siglo XVI, *Madrid, Instituto Nacional de Estudios Jurídicos, 1970, pp. 317-318; also J.M. OTS CAPDEQUÍ,* Instituciones, *Barcelona, 1959, p. 11 ("Historia de América" Salvat, XIV).*

21) In a letter to Gerolamo Annari in October 1495, Michele da Cuneo gives one of the earliest accounts of the appropriation of a site, in this case an island: "(...) presi la possessione, como faceva el dicto signor armirante de le altre, in persona de la maestà del Re, videlicet io, per virtù de instrumento de notario pubblico, sopra la dicta isola eradicai erbora e tagliai arbori e piantai la croce e ancor le forche (...)". *See* Colombo, Vespucci, Verrazzano, Prime relazioni di navigatori italiani, *ed. L. Firpo, Turin, 1966, p. 72.*

22) See B. DE VARGAS MACHUCA, Milicia y descripción de las Indias, *Madrid, 1599, p. 105, cit. in G. GUARDA,* Tres reflexiones, *cit., pp. 89-90:* "En medio de lo más llano hará hacer un gran hoyo, teniendo cortado un gran trozo de arbol (...) el qual los mismos caciques y señores, sin que intervengan otros indios, lo alzaran, juntamente con algunos españoles, poniendo las manos también en él nuestro Caudillo, para que justificadamente se haga este pueblo, habiendo hecho su parlamento, el qual palo meteran en el hoyo (...). Y luego haziéndose la gente afuera, el Caudillo tomará un cuchillo que para el propósito tendrá aparejado, y le hincará en el palo, y volviéndose al campo dirá: "Caballeros, soldados y compañeros míos y los que presente estais! aquí señalo horca y cuchillo, fundo y sitio la ciudad de (...), la qual guarde Dios por largos años con aditamento de reedificarla en la parte que mas conviniere; la qual pueblo en nombre de Su Magestad y en su Real Nombre guardaré y mantendré paz y justicia a todos los españolos, conquistadores, vecinos y habitantes y forasteros y a todos los naturales, guardando y haciendo tanta justicia al pobre como al rico, y al pequeño

29.30.31. Piante delle città fortificate di Lima (1687), Veracruz (1764), La Habana (sec.XVI). Da Chueca Goitia-Torres Balbas, 1981.
32. Missione Gesuitica La Candelaria, in territorio Guaraní, Paraguay: pianta. Stampa del sec.XVIII. Da Marco-Dorta, 1973.

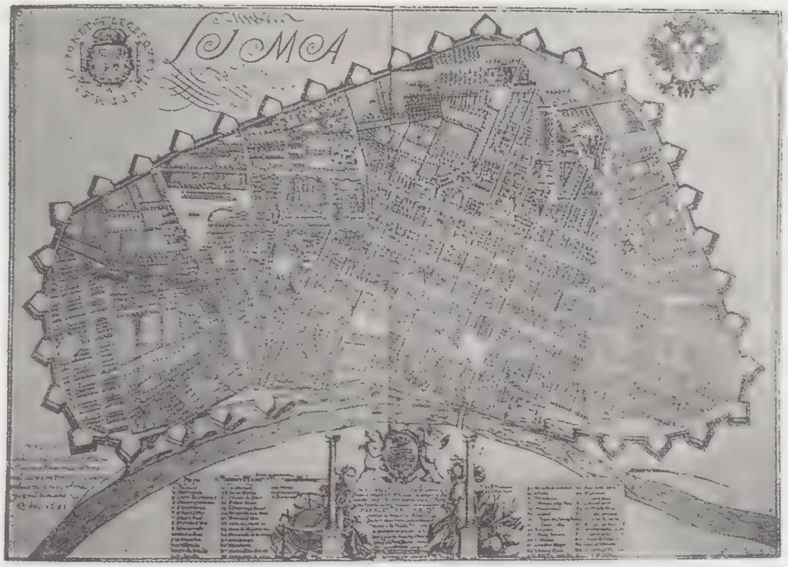
33. Missione Gesuitica San Ignacio Miní, in territorio Guaraní, Paraguay: pianta, sec.XVIII. Da Konetzke, 1968.

andine, "Artibus et Historiae", 9 (1984), pp. 9-21; *Il libro di Chilam Balam di Chumayel*, versione italiana a cura di Mario Sartor, Padova 1989.
2) Cfr. R. MILLON, *Urbanization at Teotihuacán, Mexico*, 2 voll., Austin 1974.
3) Si veda il bel lavoro di E. PASZTORY, *Aztec art*, New York 1983; ottimo il volume di J.L. DE ROJAS, *México Tenochtitlan. Economia y sociedad en el siglo XVI*, México 1986.
4) Cfr. M. SARTOR, *La città e la conquista*, Roma-Reggio Calabria 1981, pp. 161-163.
5) Cfr. G. DE LA VEGA, (El Inca), *Commentari Reali degli Inca*, a cura di Francesco Saba Sardi, Milano 1977, pp. 558-567. In merito al mondo incaico, cfr. S. AGURTO CALVO, *Estudios acerca de la construcción y planeamiento incas*, Lima 1987.
6) Cfr. J.E. HARDOY, *Las ciudades en América latina*, Buenos Aires 1972, pp. 42-43, 73; R.M. MORSE, *Introducción a la historia urbana de Hispanoamérica*, in *Estudios sobre la ciudad iberoamericana*, a cura di Francisco de Solano, Madrid 1975, pp. 9-53; inoltre, per gli aspetti specifici, J.L. ROMERO, *La ciudad hispanoamericana: la estructura económica originaria*, "Cuadernos Americanos" vol. CLX (1968), pp. 149-164; D. RAMOS PÉREZ, *Minería y comercio interprovincial en Hispanoamérica (siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII)*, Valladolid 1970.
7) Cfr. E.W. PALM, *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española*, Santo Domingo 1984 (1ª ed. 1955), pp. 60-61.
8) A. DE HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS, *Historia general de los hechos castellanos en las Islas y Tierras Firmes del Mar Océano*, Madrid 1601-1615, Decade I, l. VI, cap. 4.
9) G. FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO, *Sumario de la natural Historia de las Indias*, Madrid 1946, p. 474 ("Biblioteca de Autores Españoles", XXII; d'ora in avanti BAE).
10) Cfr. V. PÉREZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Primer urbanismo colonial de trazado regular en la provincia de Jaén y su influencia en el urbanismo hispanoamericano*, "Ciudad y territorio", 61 (1984), pp. 23-40.
11) Cfr. M. SARTOR, *La città e la conquista*, cit., p. 113; ID., *La città latinoamericana: una sintesi di esperienze culturali*, "Scienza e Cultura", 1 (1987), pp. 123-138.
12) F. EXIMENIC, *El Crestiá. Regiments de Princeps de las ciutats i de la cosa pública* (1384), Barcelona 1929. Si veda anche, sulla tematica, F. CHUECA GOITIA, L. TORRES BALBAS, J. GONZALES, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas*, Madrid 1951, vol. II, pp. 89, segg.
13) Cfr. E.W. PALM, *Los monumentos arquitectónicos*, cit., p. 68.
14) Cfr. G. GUARDA, *Santo Tomás de Aquino y las fuentes del urbanismo indiano*, Santiago de Chile 1965, p. 41.
15) Cfr. I. LEONARD, *Los libros del conquistador*, México 1953, p. 321. Inoltre, G. GUARDA, *Tres reflexiones en torno a la fundación de la ciudad indiana*, in *Estudios sobre la ciudad*, cit., pp. 89-106:100.
16) Cfr. H. KROPFINGER VON KÜGELGEN, *Europäische Buchexporte von Sevilla nach Neuspanien in Jahre 1586*, in *Europäische Bücher in Neuspanien zu Ende des 16. Jahrunderts*, "Das Mexiko-Projekt der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinsschaft", V, Wiesbaden 1973, pp. 5-105; F. FERNÁNDEZ DEL CASTILLO, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI*, México 1982 (1ª ed. 1914).
17) Una lettura che non si può condividere è quella fornita da L. BENEVOLO, *Las nuevas ciudades fundadas en el siglo XVI América latina. Una experiencia decisiva de la arquitectura arquitectónica del "Cinquecento"*, "Boletín del C.I.H.E", 9 (1968), pp. 117-136.
18) Cfr. R. KONETZKE, *America centrale e meridionale. I. La colonizzazione ispano-portoghese*, Milano 1968, pp. 214-215; M. SARTOR, *L'esercizio e i presupposti del controllo politico amministrativo e religioso iberoamericano*, "Miscellanea di Storia delle Esplorazioni", VIII (1983), pp. 45-69.
19 Cfr. R. MORSE, *Introducción a la historia urbana de Hispanoamérica*, in *Estudios sobre la ciudad*, cit., p. 53.
20)Cfr. A. GARCIA GALLO, *Los principios rectores de la organización territorial de las Indias en el siglo XVI*. Madrid, Instituto Nacional de Estudios Jurídicos, 1970, pp. 317-318; inoltre J.M. OTS CAPDEQUÍ, *Instituciones*, Barcelona 1959, p. 11

como al grande, amparando las viudas y huérfanos. Y luego, armado de todas sus armas (...), pondrá mano a su espada y haciendo con ella campo, bien ancho, entre la gente, dirá arrebatándose de cólera: Caballeros! Ya yo tengo poblada la ciudad de (...) en nombre de Su Magestad (...). Y en señal de posesión cortará con su espada plantas y yerbas del dicho sitio, apercibiendo a los presentes porqué lo hace y diciendo la hace sujeta a tal Audiencia o a tal Gobernación, o si la hace cabecera, y con esto enbaynará su espada y luego en el instante hará hincar una cruz, que para ello tendrá hecha, a una esquina de la plaza, que será a la parte que ya tendrá elegida para la iglesia, la qual plantará el sacerdote revestido, y al pie della se hará un altar y dirá su misa, asistiendo a ella todos los soldados con toda devoción y solenidad para demonstración de los naturales y movelles sus corazones; y haciendo muchas salvas con el arcabuzería, regocijando este día con trompetas y caxas. Y el sacerdote dar la advocación a la iglesia juntamente con el Caudillo".
23) See G. KUBLER, Arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVI, *Mexico, 1984 (1st ed., New Haven, 1948), pp. 78-80.*
24) See F. LÓPEZ DE GOMARA, Conquista de Méjico, *in* Historiadores primitivos de Indias, *I, Madrid, 1946 (BAE, XX), p. 321; B. DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO,* Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España, *in* Historiadores primitivos de Indias, *II, Madrid, 1947 (BAE, XXVI), p. 43; J. SUAREZ DE PERALBA,* Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias, *Mexico, 1949, p. 42.*
25) A. DE REMESAL, Historia general de las Indias Occidentales, *Madrid, 1964, p. 97 (BAE, CLXXV):* "The site of the valley is pleasant and smiling, the land is temperate with plentiful rivers and springs, there are fruit trees that are very useful and necessary for human life, with woods near to hand for building homes in large quantity (...). Much pasture for livestock, much rich, fertile land for cultivation, and water for irrigation, and good, easily available stone. The region is good, there are excellent roads to it from all sides, and it is not inhabited by natives. In the opinion of all Spaniards and natives, it is the best in Guatemala".
26) A Relación de Querétaro *of 1582 says that* "El pueblo de Querétaro está muy galanamente fundado en forma de un juego de ajedrez según lo trazó el dicho Juan Sánchez de Alanís, con muy grandes y espaciosas calles y plazas, como hoy están"*; cited in M. TOUSSAINT,* Arte colonial en México, *Mexico, 1983 (1st ed., 1948), pp. 3, 253.*
27) The text of the Instrucciones *says:* "Vistas las cosas que para los asientos de los lugares son necesarias, y escogido el sitio más provechoso y en que incurran más de las cosas que para el pueblo son menester, habéis de repartir los solares del lugar para hacer las casas, y éstos han de ser repartidos según las calidades de las personas, y se han de comenzar dados por orden, por manera que hechos los solares el pueblo parezca ordenado, así en el lugar que se dejase para plaza, como en el lugar en que hubiere iglesia, como en el orden que tuvieren las calles porque en los lugares que de nuevo se hacen dando orden en el comienzo, sin ningun trabajo ni costa quedan ordenados y los otros jamás se ordenan; acomodados todos los pobladores, los restantes solares queden para el Rey, que los repartirá o como su merced fuere; los han de ocupar inmediatamente sus propietarios con toldo o tienda de campaña, mientras edifican; si hay riesgo de que ataquen los indios cérquese lo poblado con empalizadas"*; see C. MARTINEZ,* Apuntes sobre urbanismo en el nuevo Reino de Granada, *Bogotá, 1967, pp. 172-173.*
28) Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias, *Madrid, 1943, Vol. II, p. 19.*
29) See G. GUARDA, Santo Tomás, *cit., pp. 24, 36-40.*
30) See the interesting essays by L. ZAWISZA, Fundacíon de las ciudades hispanoamericanas, *"Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 13 (1973), pp. 88-128; and P. LLUBERES,* El damero y su evolución en el mundo occidental, *"Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 21 (1975), pp. 9-66.*
31) "Ordenanzas sobre descubrimiento nuevo y población" *(1573), Ordenanza XLI, in* Colección de Documentos Inéditos *(henceforth* CODOIN*), Madrid, 1867, VIII, p. 500.*
32) Ordenanza XLII: "Elegidos los sitios para lugares cabeceras, se elijan en su comarca los sitios que pudiere haber para lugares subjetos, y de la jurisdicción de la cabecera, para estancias, chácaras, granjas, sin perjuicio de los indios".

29.30.31. Plans of the fortified cities of Lima (1687), Veracruz (1764) and Havana (16th century). From Chueca Goitia-Torres Balbas, 1981.
32. La Candelaria Jesuit Mission in Guaraní territory, Paraguay: plan. 18th-century print. From Marco-Dorta, 1973.

33. St. Ignacio Miní Jesuit Mission in Guaraní territory, Paraguay: plan, 18th century. From Konetzke, 1968.



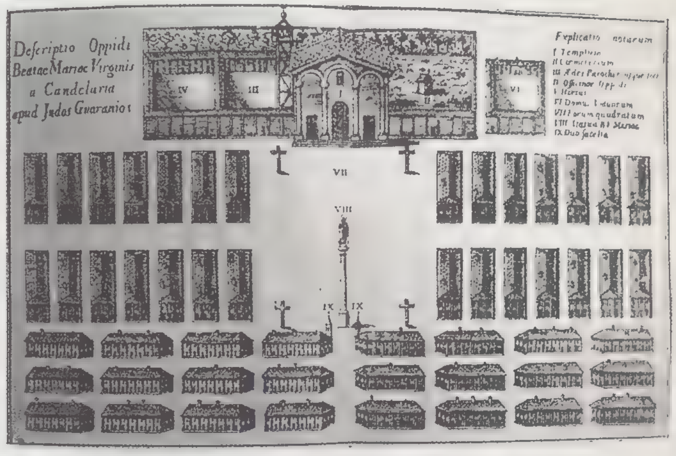
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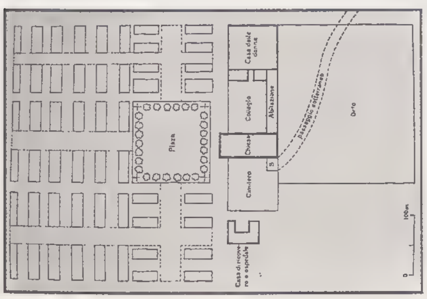
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34. Missione Gesuitica San Ignacio Miní, in territorio Guaraní, Paraguay, prima metà sec. XVII: vista.

34. St. Ignacio Miní Jesuit Mission in Guaraní territory, Paraguay, first half of 17th century: view.



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("Historia de América" Salvat, XIV).

21) Michele da Cuneo, in una lettera a Gerolamo Annari dell'ottobre 1495 fornisce una delle più antiche testimonianze di presa di possesso di un luogo, in questo caso un'isola: "*(...) presi la possessione, como faceva el dicto signor armirante de le altre, in persona de la maestà del Re, videlicet io, per virtù de instrumento de notario pubblico, sopra la dicta isola eradicai erbora e tagliai arbori e piantai la croce e ancor le forche (...)*" Cfr. *Colombo, Vespucci, Verrazzano, Prime relazioni di navigatori italiani*, a cura di L. Firpo, Torino 1966, p. 72.

22) Cfr. B. DE VARGAS MACHUCA, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias*, Madrid 1599, p. 105, cit. in G. GUARDA, *Tres reflexiones*, cit., pp. 89-90: "*En medio de lo más llano hará hacer un gran hoyo, teniendo cortado un gran trozo de arbol (...) el qual los mismos caciques y señores, sin que intervengan otros indios, lo alzaran, juntamente con algunos españoles, poniendo las manos también en él nuestro Caudillo, para que justificadamente se haga este pueblo, habiendo hecho su parlamento, el qual palo meteran en el hoyo (...). Y luego haziéndose la gente afuera, el Caudillo tomará un cuchillo que para el propósito tendrá aparejado - y le hincará en el palo, y volviéndose al campo dirá: "Caballeros, soldados y compañeros míos y los que presente estais! aquí señalo horca y cuchillo, fundo y sitio la ciudad de (...), la qual guarde Dios por largos años con aditamento de reedificarla en la parte que mas conviniere; la qual pueblo en nombre de Su Magestad y en su Real Nombre guardaré y mantendré paz y justicia a todos los españoles, conquistadores, vecinos y habitantes y forasteros, y a todos los naturales, guardando y haciendo tanta justica al pobre como al rico, y al pequeño como al grande, amparando las viudas y huérfanos". Y luego, armado de todas sus armas (...), pondrá mano a su espada y haciendo con ella campo, bien ancho, entre la gente, dirá arrebatándose de cólera: Caballeros! Ya yo tengo poblada la ciudad de (...) en nombre de Su Magestad (...). Y en señal de posesión cortará con su espada plantas y yerbas del dicho sitio, apercibiendo a los presentes porqué lo hace y diciendo la hace sujeta a tal Audiencia o a tal Gobernación, o si la hace cabecera, y con esto enbaynará su espada y luego en el instante hará hincar una cruz, que para ello tendrá hecha, a una esquina de la plaza, que será a la parte que ya tendrá elegida para la iglesia, la qual plantará el sacerdote revestido, y al pie della se hará un altar y dirá su misa, asistiendo a ella todos los soldados con toda devoción y solenidad para demonstración de los naturales y movelles sus corazones; y haciendo muchas salvas con el arcabuzería, regocijando este día con trompetas y caxas. Y el sacerdote darà la advocación a la iglesia juntamente con el Caudillo*".

23) Cfr. G. KUBLER, *Arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVI*, México 1984 (1ª ed. New Haven 1948), pp. 78-80.

24) Cfr. F. LÓPEZ DE GOMARA, *Conquista de Méjico*, in *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, I, Madrid 1946 (BAE, XX), p. 321; B. DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, in *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, II, Madrid 1947 (BAE, XXVI), p. 43; J. SUAREZ DE PERALBA, *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias*, México 1949, p. 42.

25) A. DE REMESAL, *Historia general de las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid 1964, p. 97 (BAE, CLXXV): "*E il sito della valle è allegro e ridente, e terra temperata e dalle buone acque di fiumi e fonti, e ci sono albereti fruttiferi molto utili e necessari per la vita umana, boschi molto vicini per costruire edifici in grande quantità (...). Molti pascoli per il bestiame, molta terra per culture agricole, e molto fertile, e acqua per irrigazione, e molta pietra a portata di mano, buona regione, e buone vie d'accesso da ogni parte, e disabitata dagli indigeni, e ad opinione di tutti gli spagnoli e gli indigeni la migliore del Guatemala*".

26) Una *Relacíon de Querétaro*, del 1582, dice che "*El pueblo de Querétaro está muy galanamente fundado en forma de un juego de ajedrez según lo trazó el dicho Juan Sánchez de Alanís, con muy grandes y espaciosas calles y plazas, como hoy están*"; citato in M. TOUSSAINT, *Arte colonial en México*, México 1983 (1ª ed. 1948) pp. 3, 253.

27) Così recita il testo delle *Instrucciones*: "*Vistas las cosas que para los asientos de los lugares son necesarias, y escogido el sitio más provechoso y en que incurran más de las cosas que para el pueblo son menester, habéis de repartir los solares del lugar para hacer las casas, y éstos han de ser repartidos según las calidades de las personas, y se han de comenzar dados por orden, por manera que hechos los solares*

Ordenanza XLIII: "Elegida la tierra, provincia, lugar en que se ha de hacer nueva población, y averiguada la comodidad de aprovechamientos que pueda haber, el Gobernador en cuyo distrito estuviere, o en cuyo distrito confinare, declare el pueblo que se ha de poblar, si ha de ser ciudad, villa o lugar; y conforme a lo que declare, se forme el consejo, república y oficiales y miembros della, según se declara en el libro de la república de españoles (...)", *in* CODOIN, *VIII, cit., p. 500.*

33) *For an authoritative treatment of the topic, see S. ZAVALA,* La encomienda indiana, *Mexico, 1973 (1st ed., 1935).*

34) *Ordenanza XC:* "Al que se obligare a poblar un pueblo de españoles, dentro de el término que le fuere puesto en su asiento, que por lo menos tenga treinta vecinos y que cada uno tenga una casa de diez vacas de vientre, y quatro bueyes, o dos bueyes y dos novillos; una yegua de vientre, cinco puercas de vientre, y seis gallinas y un gallo; veinte ovejas de vientre, de Castilla. Y que tendrá clérigo que administre los sacramentos y cosas necesarias al servicio del culto divino, y diere fianzas que lo cumplirá dentro de el dicho tiempo (...). Se le den (al pueblo) quatro leguas de término y territorio en quadro o prolongado, segun la calidad de la tierra acaeciere a ser; de manera que, en qualquiera manera se deslinde, venga a ser quatro leguas en quadro; con que por lo menos disten los términos del dicho territorio cinco leguas de qualquiera ciudad, villa o lugar de españoles que antes estuviere poblado; y con que sea en parte a donde no pare(zca) perjuicio a cualesquier pueblos de españoles o de indios que antes estuvieren poblados, ni de ninguna persona particular", CODOIN , *VIII, cit., p. 514.*

35) *See the remarkable J.B. ZILLI MANICA,* Italianos en México, *Jalapa, 1981, pp. 25, ff.; also M. SARTOR, F. URSINI,* Cent'anni di emigrazione. Una comunità veneta sugli altipiani del Messico, *Crocetta del Montello, 1983, pp. 86-88. For South America, see (ed.) R. GUTIÉRREZ,* La colonización del territorio argentino *(1875-1925),* "Construcción de la ciudad — 2C", *19 (1981), monograph issue.*

36) *Ordenanza XCI, in* CODOIN, *VIII, cit., p. 515; see also Ordenanzas XCVI and C, ibid., pp. 516-517.*

37) *See D. ENCINAS,* Cedulario Indiano, *Vol. IV, Madrid, 1946, p. 240.*

38) *Law IX, Ordenanzas 112, 113, 114, 115 in* Recopilación de Leyes, *II, cit., p. 21.*

39) *Law VIII, in* Recopilación, *II, cit., p. 21.*

40) *See G. KUBLER,* Arquitectura mexicana, *cit., pp. 99-101; R. CÓMEZ,* Arquitectura y feudalismo en México. Los comienzos del arte novohispánico en el siglo XVI, Mexico, *1989; M. SARTOR,* Arquitectura y urbanismo novohispánico del siglo XVI, *Milan-Mexico, 1992.*

41) *See the Ordenanzas of 1573, Book I, Doc. IV, in* Recopilación, *cit., p. 23.*

42) *See Law I, in* Recopilación, *cit, p. 23.*

43) *See* Recopilación, *Vol.II, Book I, Doc. III, Laws I, II, III, for the legislation. For more general aspects, see M. CUEVAS,* Historia de la Iglesia en México, *El Paso, 1928. The* Ordenanza de Patronazgo *of 1574 marks the end of the dominance of the mendicant orders. See R. KONETZKE,* America centrale e meridionale, *cit., pp. 226-227.*

44) *See* Recopilación, *cit., Vol. II, p. 207 (Book VI, Doc. III, Law I).*

45) *See E.W. PALM,* Las capillas abiertas americanas y sus antecedentes en el occidente cristiano, *"Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano", VI (1953), pp. 47-64;* El arte del Nuevo Mundo, después de la conquista española, *"Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 4 (1966), pp. 37-50; J. MC ANDREW,* The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico, *Cambridge (Mass.) 1965; G. KUBLER,* Arquitectura mexicana, *cit., pp. 362-363.*

46) *See M. CARRERA STAMPA,* Los gremios mexicanos. La organización gremial en Nueva España, *1521-1861, Mexico, 1954; R. GUTIÉRREZ,* Notas sobre la organización profesional de la arquitectura en España, América y el Rio de la Plata, (siglos XVI al XIX), *"Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 21 (1975), pp. 89-106.*

47) *See* Instrucciones que los virreyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores, *Mexico, 1967, I, p. 46 (*Instrucción *of the virrey Mendoza to the virrey Velasco).*

48) *See* Recopilación, *cit., Vol. I, p. 16 (Book I, Doc. III, Laws I, II, III).*

49) *See* CODOIN, "Documentos legislativos", *cit., III, pp. 205, 206, 210.*

50) *See L. CHAVEZ OROZCO,* Códice Osuna *(facsimile of the 1878 Madrid*

el pueblo parezca ordenado, así en el lugar que se dejase para plaza, como en el lugar en que hubiere iglesia, como en el orden que tuvieren las calles porque en los lugares que de nuevo se hacen dando orden en el comienzo, sin ningun trabajo ni costa quedan ordenados y los otros jamás se ordenan; acomodados todos los pobladores, los restantes solares queden para el Rey, que los repartirá o como su merced fuere; los han de ocupar inmediatamente sus propietarios con toldo o tienda de campaña, mientras edifican; si hay riesgo de que ataquen los indios cérquese lo poblado con empalizadas"; cfr. C. MARTÍNEZ, *Apuntes sobre urbanismo en el nuevo Reino de Granada*, Bogotá 1967, pp. 172-173.
28) *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, Madrid 1943, tomo II, p. 19.
29) Cfr. G. GUARDA, *Santo Tomás*, cit., pp. 24, 36-40.
30) Senza dubbio interessanti i lavori di L. ZAWISZA, *Fundacion de las ciudades hispanoamericanas*, "Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 13 (1973), pp. 88-128; P. LLUBERES, *El damero y su evolución en el mundo occidental*, "Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 21 (1975), pp. 9-66.
31) Cfr. "*Ordenanzas sobre descubrimiento nuevo y población*" (1573), Ordinanza XLI, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* (d'ora in avanti: *CODOIN*), Madrid 1867, VIII, p. 500.
32) Ordinanza XLII: "*Elegidos los sitios para lugares cabeceras, se elijan en su comarca los sitios que pudiere haber para lugares subjetos, y de la jurisdicción de la cabecera, para estancias, chácaras, granjas, sin perjuicio de los indios*". Ordinanza XLIII: "*Elegida la tierra, provincia, lugar en que se ha de hacer nueva población, y averiguada la comodidad de aprovechamientos que pueda haber, el Gobernador en cuyo distrito estuviere, o en cuyo distrito confinare, declare el pueblo que se ha de poblar, si ha de ser ciudad, villa o lugar; y conforme a lo que declare, se forme el consejo, república y oficiales y miembros della, según se declara en el libro de la república de españoles (...)*", in *CODOIN*, VIII, cit., p. 500.
33) Sull'argomento, con grande autorità, cfr. S. ZAVALA, *La encomienda indiana*, México 1973 (1ª ed. 1935).
34) Ordinanza XC: "*Al que se obligare a poblar un pueblo de españoles, dentro de el término que le fuere puesto en su asiento, que por lo menos tenga treinta vecinos y que cada uno tenga una casa de diez vacas de vientre, y quatro bueyes, o dos bueyes y dos novillos; una yegua de vientre, cinco puercas de vientre, y seis gallinas y un gallo; veinte ovejas de vientre, de Castilla. Y que tendrá clérigo que administre los sacramentos y cosas necesarias al servicio del culto divino, y diere fianzas que lo cumplirá dentro de el dicho tiempo (...). Se le den [al pueblo] quatro leguas de término y territorio en quadro o prolongado, segun la calidad de la tierra acaeciere a ser; de manera que, en qualquiera manera se deslinde, venga a ser quatro leguas en quadro; con que por lo menos disten los términos del dicho territorio cinco leguas de qualquiera ciudad, villa o lugar de españoles que antes estuviere poblado; y con que sea en parte a donde no pare[zca] perjuicio a cualesquier pueblos de españoles o de indios que antes estuvieren poblados, ni de ninguna persona particular*", *CODOIN* , VIII, cit., p. 514.
35) Cfr. il cospicuo lavoro di J.B. ZILLI MANICA, *Italianos en México*, Jalapa 1981, pp. 25, segg.; inoltre, M. SARTOR, F. URSINI, *Cent'anni di emigrazione. Una comunità veneta sugli altipiani del Messico*, Crocetta del Montello 1983, pp. 86-88. Per quanto concerne l'America del sud, si veda R. GUTIÉRREZ (a cura di), *La colonizacion del territorio argentino (1875-1925)*, "Construcción de la ciudad — 2C", 19 (1981), numero monografico.
36) Ordinanza XCI, in *CODOIN*, VIII, cit., p. 515; si vedano ancora le Ordinanze XCVI e C, *Ibidem*, pp.516-517.
37) Cfr. D. ENCINAS, *Cedulario Indiano*, tomo IV, Madrid 1946, p. 240.
38) Legge IX, Ordinanze 112, 113, 114, 115 in *Recopilación de Leyes*, II, cit., p. 21.
39) Legge VIII, in *Recopilación*, II, cit., p. 21.
40) Cfr. G. KUBLER, *Arquitectura mexicana*, cit., pp. 99-101; R. CÓMEZ, *Arquitectura y feudalismo en México. Los comienzos del arte novohispánico en el siglo XVI*, México, 1989; M. SARTOR, *Arquitectura y urbanismo novohispánico del siglo XVI*, Milano-México 1992.
41) Cfr. le Ordinanze del 1573, Libro I, título IV, in *Recopilación*, cit., p. 23.
42) Cfr. Legge I, in *Recopilación*, cit, p. 23.
43) Cfr. *Recopilación*, tomo II, Libro I, título III, Ley I, II, III, in merito alla normativa. Per gli aspetti di carattere generale, si veda M. CUEVAS, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, El Paso 1928. La "*Ordenanza de Patronazgo*" del 1574 segna la perdita decisiva del predominio degli ordini mendicanti. Cfr. R. KONETZKE, *America centrale e meridionale*, cit., pp. 226-227.
44) Cfr. *Recopilación*, cit., tomo II, p. 207 (Libro VI, título III, Ley I).
45) Si veda in proposito E.W. PALM, *Las capillas abiertas americanas y sus antecedentes en el occidente cristiano*, "Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano", VI (1953), pp. 47-64; ID., *El arte del Nuevo Mundo, después de la conquista española*, "Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 4 (1966), pp. 37-50; J. MC ANDREW, *The Open-air Churches, of Sixteenth Century Mexico*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1965; G. KUBLER, *Arquitectura mexicana*, cit., pp. 362-363.
46) Cfr. M. CARRERA STAMPA, *Los gremios mexicanos. La organización gremial en Nueva España, 1521-1861*, México 1954; R. GUTIÉRREZ, *Notas sobre la organización profesional de la arquitectura en España, América y el Rio de la Plata*, (*siglos XVI al XIX*), "Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 21 (1975), pp. 89-106.
47) Cfr. *Instrucciones que los virreyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores*, México 1967, I, p. 46 (Instrucción del virrey Mendoza al virrey Velasco).
48) Cfr. *Recopilación*, cit., tomo I, p. 16 (Libro I, título III, Ley I, II, III).
49) Cfr. *CODOIN*, "*Documentos legislativos*", cit., III, pp. 205, 206, 210.
50) Cfr. L. CHAVEZ OROZCO, *Códice Osuna* (facsimile dell'opera pubblicata in Madrid nel 1878, con pagine inedite), México 1947. Il Codice è del 1568.
51) Si veda in proposito M. TOUSSAINT, *Pátzcuaro*, México 1942; C. CHANFÓN OLMOS, *La catedral de San Salvador, el gran proyecto de don Vasco de Quiroga*, "Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas", 57 (1986), pp. 41-62.
52) Cfr. *Recopilación*, cit., tomo I, p. 574 (libro III, título VI, VII).
53) Cfr. I. LEONARD, *Los Libros del conquistador*, cit., passim; H. KROPFINGER VON KÜGELGEN, *Europäische Bücherexporte*, cit., pp. 42, segg.; J.M. ZAPATERO, *La fortificación abaluartada en América*, San Juan de Puerto Rico 1978.
54) Cfr. D. ANGULO ÍÑIGUEZ, *Bautista Antonelli. Las fortificaciones americanas del siglo XVI*, Madrid 1942; J.A. CALDERÓN QUIJANO, *Fortificaciones en Nueva España*, , Sevilla 1953; R. SEGRE, *Significación de Cuba en la evolución tipológica de las fortificaciones coloniales de América*, "Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 13 (1972), pp. 9-57; R. GUTIÉRREZ, *Arquitectura*, cit., pp. 81-83.
55) Cfr. S. SEBASTIÁN, *La influencia de los modelos ornamentales de Serlio en Hispanoamérica*, "Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 7 (1967), pp. 30-67; ID., *La huella italiana en la arquitectura de Colombia y Ecuador*, "Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 12 (1971), pp. 45-75; M. SARTOR, *Contributi italiani e mediazioni iberiche nei processi artistici latinoamericani (secc. XVI-XVII)*, "Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte", s. III (1990), pp. 223-263.
56) Cfr. J. MC ANDREW, M. TOUSSAINT, *Tecali, Zacatlán and the Renacimiento Purista*, "Art Bulletin", XXIV, 4 (1942), pp. 311-325.
57) Cfr. M. HERNÁNDEZ SÁNCHEZ BARRA, *La ultima expanción española en América*, Madrid 1957, pp. 147, segg.
58) Cfr. R. KONETZKE, *America centrale e meridionale*, cit., pp. 262-266; M. MARTINEZ MENDIETA, *El imperio jesuítico y la Ciudad del Sol*, "Foro Internacional", 3 (1962), pp. 277-305; H. BUSANICHE, *La arquitectura en las misiones jesuíticas guaraníes*, Santa Fe 1955; R. GUTIÉRREZ, *Estructura sociopolítica, sistema productivo y resultante espacial en las misiones jesuíticas del Paraguay durante el siglo XVIII*, Asunción 1976; ID., *Evolución urbanística y arquitectónica del Paraguay (1537-1911)*, Resistencia 1976.
59) Cfr. G. FURLONG, *La arquitectura en las misiones jesuíticas*, Buenos Aires 1973; E. MARCO DORTA, *Arte en América y Filipinas*, Madrid 1973, pp. 310-313 ("Ars Hispaniae", XXI); R. GUTIÉRREZ, *Arquitectura*, cit., pp. 210-219.

edition, with previously unpublished material), Mexico, 1947. The Codex dates from 1568.

51) See M. TOUSSAINT, Pátzcuaro, *Mexico, 1942; C. CHANFÓN OLMOS,* La catedral de San Salvador, el gran proyecto de don Vasco de Quiroga, *"Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas", 57 (1986), pp. 41-62.*

52) See Recopilación, *cit., Vol. I, p. 574 (Book III, Docs. VI, VII).*

53) See I. LEONARD, Los libros del conquistador, *cit., passim; H. KROPFINGER VON KÜGELGEN,* Europäische Bücheesxport, *cit., pp. 42, ff.; J.M ZAPATERO,* La fortificación abaluartada en América, San Juan de Puerto Rico, *1978.*

54) See D. ANGULO ÍÑIGUEZ, Bautista Antonelli. Las fortificaciones americanas del siglo XVI, *Madrid, 1942; J.A. CALDERÓN QUIJANO,* Fortificaciones en Nueva España, *Seville, 1953; R. SEGRE,* Significación de Cuba en la evolución tipológica de las fortificaciones coloniales de América, *"Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 13 (1972), pp. 9-57; R. GUTIÉRREZ,* Arquitectura, *cit., pp. 81-83.*

55) See S. SEBASTIÁN, La influencia de los modelos ornamentales de Serlio en Hispanoamérica, *"Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 7 (1967), pp. 30-67;* La huella italiana en la aquitectura de Colombia y Ecuador, *"Boletín del C.I.H.E.", 12 (1971), pp. 45-75; M. SARTOR,* Contributi italiani e mediazioni iberiche nei processi artistici latinoamericani (secc. XVI-XVII), *"Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte", s. III (1990), pp. 223-263.*

56) See J. McANDREW, M. TOUSSAINT, Tecali, Zacatlán and the Renacimiento Purista, *"Art Bulletin", XXIV, 4 (1942), pp. 311-325.*

57) See M. HERNÁNDEZ SÁNCHEZ BARRA, La ultima expanción española en América, *Madrid, 1957, pp. 147, segg.*

58) See R. KONETZKE, America centrale e meridionale, *cit., pp. 262-266; M. MARTINEZ MENDIETA,* El imperio jesuítico y la Ciudad del Sol, *"Foro Internacional", 3 (1962), pp. 277-305; H. BUSANICHE,* La arquitectura en las misiones jesuíticas guaraníes, *Santa Fe, 1955; R. GUTIÉRREZ,* Estructura sociopolítica, sistema productivo y resultante espacial en las misiones jesuíticas del Paraguay durante el siglo XVIII, *Asunción, 1976;* Evolución urbanística y arquitectónica del Paraguay (1537-1911), *"Resistencia", 1976.*

59) See G. FURLONG, La arquitectura en las misiones jesuíticas, *Buenos Aires, 1973; E. MARCO DORTA,* Arte en América y Filipinas, *Madrid, 1973, pp. 310-313 ("Ars Hispaniae", XXI); R. GUTIÉRRREZ,* Arquitectura, *cit., pp. 210-219.*

Luis Barragán, Casa Egerstrom, San Cristóbal, Messico, 1967-68. Foto P. Gasparini.

Luis Barragán, Egerstrom House, San Cristóbal, Mexico, 1967-68. Photo P. Gasparini.



Riflessioni dai Tropici
Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato

Thoughts from the Tropics
Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato

Lo specchio

"Gli specchi hanno una curiosa caratteristica. Sino a che li osservo, mi restituiscono i tratti del mio volto: ma se inviassi per posta alla persona amata uno specchio, in cui mi sono lungamente specchiato, perché si ricordasse delle mie parvenze, essa non potrebbe vedermi (e vedrebbe se stessa)"[1].
È questa una caratteristica dello specchio citata da Umberto Eco: ricordarla può sembrare lapalissiano, ma non per ciò è inutile. Se non altro, ci permette di sottolineare un aspetto del dibattito sull'architettura latinoamericana, in cui si è continuato a riflettere sulla cultura architettonica come fenomeno catottrico rispetto al centro. In molti casi ci si è attenuti rigidamente alla teoria della dipendenza culturale intesa linearmente, ipotizzando un binomio dialettico centro-periferia che portava fatalmente a spiegare e soprattutto a prospettare il nostro continente come una replica di modelli stabiliti dal centro. Tuttavia l'oggetto, il referente dell'immagine, può essere uno specchio andato in frantumi e l'immagine catottrica può risultare, paradossalmente, la raffigurazione integra di uno specchio rotto. Il naufrago lancia in mare una bottiglia con uno specchio come messaggio, e chi la raccoglie rimane coinvolto nel racconto del naufragio. Da questo gioco degli specchi rileviamo che — a parte l'esistenza di specchi che danno immagini deformate, abbellite, nitide o indistinte — l'immagine riflessa non può prescindere dal suo referente ed è talmente spoglia che se ci mettiamo in *jeans* davanti a uno specchio della reggia di Versailles non somiglieremo mai a Luigi XV e ai suoi cortigiani.
La metafora dello specchio, usata per caratterizzare la strategia culturale dei paesi sottosviluppati, considera l'immagine riflessa del referente sviluppato e rivela così la nostra dipendenza: l'America Latina è dunque un'area in cui si riproducono gli eventi di altri paesi e l'azione di altri architetti. Ma quando assistiamo al dissolversi dei miti della modernità, al decentramento, alla frammentazione delle immagini fornite da uno specchio rotto, queste immagini si riflettono, paradossalmente, in uno specchio integro: si è infranta la linearità della lettura. Tuttavia il dramma non si è convertito in farsa, ma è diventato qualcos'altro. È più facile riconoscerci nella trovata di Velazquez: siamo tutti qui, compreso il pittore che ha ritratto la famiglia di Filippo IV. Il pessimismo convive con l'ottimismo, la vecchiaia con l'infanzia, il potere con la sottomissione. Questa totalità contemporanea suggerisce la stessa inclusività, qui come in ogni altra parte del mondo; e insistere nel caratterizzare la

The Mirror

"There's a odd thing about mirrors," *says Umberto Eco.* "When I look into one, it reflects my features. But if I send a mirror I've gazed at for a long time to someone I love to remind her what I look like, she won't be able see me (she will only see herself)"[1].
Quoting this here might seem to be stating the obvious, but it's not entirely pointless, if only because it nails a tendency to see Latin American architecture merely as a reflection of something happening elsewhere, at the centre. Many have taken the idea of linear cultural transmission too literally, working within a binary centre-periphery dialectic that inevitably sees our continent and its architecture — both now and in the future — as replicas of models originating at the centre. And yet, the object a mirror reflects — the referent of its image — may itself be a shattered mirror, so that, paradoxically, what the mirror reflects back to us is an unshattered image. A castaway throws a bottle containing a mirror into the sea: whoever finds it becomes involved in the castaway's story. So the thing to remember about mirrors — apart from the ones that distort or enhance, clarify or obscure their referents — is that they can only reflect what is actually in front of them. In themselves they are nothing. If we stand before a mirror at Versailles wearing jeans, we'll never look like Louis XV and his courtiers.
Using mirror metaphors to describe and explain the cultures of underdeveloped countries creates the idea that what we see in the mirror is a faithful image of something more highly developed elsewhere, because the mirror itself contains nothing. Thus, Latin America reproduces other events, mimics the work of other architects, is nothing in itself, like a mirror. But when the mirror of our continent reflects back to us a broken mirror of fragmented images — decentralisation, the myths of Modernism crumbling to dust — the whole idea of linear cultural transmission collapses. What we have, paradoxically, is an unbroken image of a broken image: a dramatic situation indeed. But it hasn't yet degenerated into farce, it's changed into something else. Velazquez's brilliant idea of putting himself in his painting of Philip IV's family is the easiest way of describing it: pessimism coexisting with optimism, old age with childhood, power with subjugation. The totality of modern experience is equally comprehensive, in South America as everywhere else in the world. To persist in saying that Latin American culture merely mirrors the centre doesn't help us cope with the complexity of the age we're living in.

Enrique Del Moral, Mario Pani, C. Lazo, Città universitaria, Città del Messico, 1953.
Foto P. Gasparini.
Enrique Del Moral, Mario Pani, Ministero delle risorse idriche, Città del Messico, 1950.
Foto P. Gasparini.

Oscar Niemeyer, Padiglione di ballo, Pampulha, Brasile, 1940-42.
Foto P. Gasparini.

cultura latinoamericana come specchio del centro non serve ad affrontare la complessità del nostro tempo.
Questi modi di rappresentare il rapporto di interdipendenza giustificano i protagonismi derivati dalla termodinamica del decentramento: mettono in luce la ricchezza di particolari della realtà, ma non trascurano la preesistenza di un emittente le cui condizioni attuali costringono a riconoscere una molteplicità di centri. Che il centro crei l'illusione della sua inesistenza è paradossale, ma lo è ugualmente il fatto che a un architetto latinoamericano venga suggerita l'idea della diversità, mentre le sue inquietudini sono state provocate da un profondo desiderio di assimilarsi al centro o di farne parte. A questo punto, lasceremo da parte il compito di risolvere simili equazioni e ci dedicheremo a evidenziare determinati tratti che caratterizzano la cultura architettonica di alcuni luoghi del nostro continente.
Accettare la condizione entropica della cultura attuale implica un discorso critico che evita la costruzione di nuovi paradigmi e di nuove unità, come pure di identità nazionali, regionali o generazionali: accettiamo in prima istanza di parlare di architettura latinoamericana per arrivare a mostrarne l'effettiva dispersione.

Differenze e affinità: difficoltà di una messa a fuoco unitaria
Parlare dell'architettura latinoamericana significa certamente parlare della diversità propria dell'architettura di un continente, che non può essere racchiusa in un'unica nozione né può essere omogeneizzata senza il rischio di darne una lettura semplificata. Si tratta di un'architettura ricca di differenze, oltre che di affinità: di questo suo carattere è possibile seguire le tracce risalendo, al di là del cosiddetto Barocco americano nato dalla conquista iberica, alle culture architettoniche precolombiane. Quando però il continente adotta i linguaggi e le idee del Movimento Moderno, si cominciano a distinguere più nettamente le differenze prodotte non solo dalle peculiarità geografiche, ma anche dal fatto che in ciascun paese sudamericano vi è stato un modo specifico di concepire e interpretare l'architettura e le varie manifestazioni formali della modernità. L'entusiasmo modernista che animava nel 1922 i promotori della Settimana dell'Arte Moderna di San Paolo del Brasile era lontano dal tono pacato dell'oligarchia sostenitrice del Modernismo argentino. Da parte sua il Messico cominciava a spingersi sulla strada di "un'arte della necessità" associata al processo rivoluzionario, come

This explains — "justifies" in the typographical sense — a kind of multi-centred, interrelated, decentralisation revealing a wealth of detail ultimately derived from an original though now disintegrating source that forces us to acknowledge multiple centres, not just one. That this centre successfully creates the illusion of its own non-existence is paradoxical, but then, so is the fact that Latin American architects are urged to think in terms of diversity, while their uneasiness resulting from this idea stems from a heart-felt need to be absorbed *by the centre, to become a part of it.*
The solution to these conundrums must wait for another time: our task now is to look at South America and identify some of the characteristic features of Latin American architecture.
Accepting the entropy of contemporary culture means adopting a critical approach that avoids constructing new paradigms and unities, to say nothing of new national, regional or generational identities. So for the time being, let's just accept that there is *a Latin American architecture before going on to show how fragmented and diverse it actually is.*

Differences and Similarities: Why a Single Focus is Difficult to Achieve
Speaking of Latin America architecture certainly means speaking of architectural diversity on a continental scale: any attempt to impose conceptual unity runs the risk of over-simplification. It is an architecture with as many differences as similarities, of a diversity that reaches back from the so-called American Baroque of the Spanish conquest to pre-Columbian architecture. However, it was when the continent adopted the ideas and parlance of the Modern Movement that we begin to distinguish differences resulting not just from geographical diversity, but also from each South American nation's own way of perceiving and interpreting the architecture and other formal manifestations of Modern culture. The Modernist fervour that gripped the organisers of the São Paulo Modern Art Week in Brazil in 1922 was a far cry from the bland composure of the oligarchy that lent its support to Modernism in Argentina. Mexico, for its part, opted for "an art of necessity" linked, as one of its leading exponents, Juan Legarreta[2], confirms, to its revolutionary process. In Venezuela, the Positivism of the Juan Vicente Gómez regime allowed Modernity to reflect any of its existing European or North American paradigms.
All these tendencies, which began in the twenties and thirties, have since produced a range of formal variations and typologies that should prevent facile generalisations about

Enrique Del Moral, Mario Pani, C. Lazo, University Campus, Mexico City, 1953.
Photo P. Gasparini.

Enrique Del Moral, Mario Pani, Ministry of Water Resources, Mexico City, 1950.
Photo P. Gasparini.

Oscar Niemeyer, Dance Pavilion, Pampulha, Brazil, 1940-42.
Photo P. Gasparini.







Oscar Niemeyer, Casinò, Pampulha, Brasile, 1940-42.
Foto P. Gasparini.

Oscar Niemeyer, Casino, Pampulha, Brazil, 1940-42.
Photo P. Gasparini.



dichiarava uno dei suoi maggiori rappresentanti, Juan Legarreta[2]; e nel Venezuela il positivismo a cui s'ispirava il regime di Juan Vicente Gómez permetteva d'interpretare la modernità secondo uno qualsiasi dei paradigmi europei o nordamericani. Tutti questi processi, iniziatisi negli anni Venti e Trenta, hanno dato origine a varianti formali e tipologiche sufficienti ad evitare ogni generalizzazione nella lettura della nostra architettura contemporanea.
Parafrasando Octavio Paz, potremmo affermare che la modernità latinoamericana ha anticipato gli eventi che la spiegano. Si è formato un meccanismo artificiale, la metropoli, in cui convivono con un grado elevato di entropia mondi estranei e antitetici fra loro. Per paradossale che sembri, nelle nostre metropoli l'omogeneizzazione e l'uniformità (il *blasé* della tipologia simmeliana) sono compenetrate di un complesso tessuto di riferimenti al mondo contadino, al mondo magico-religioso, all'oligarchia degli allevatori di bestiame, all'aristocrazia coloniale: insieme con gli immigrati d'ogni paese essi danno vita a reazioni tutt'altro che indifferenziate. Lungi dall'omogeneizzarsi, la molteplicità s'identifica in ogni atto con inattesa immaginazione e con una singolare capacità di resistenza. Quest'ultima ci sembra essere un tratto caratteristico della vita delle nostre città; e le avanguardie architettoniche che hanno voluto prefigurare le forme di una società moderna hanno visto sfaldarsi la loro "catena di montaggio" in un mondo eterogeneo, dotato di una gran varietà di espressioni. Le abitazioni minime ed economiche previste dal programma dell'*Existenzminimum* hanno dovuto coesistere con le case autocostruite: nelle grandi città latinoamericane gli operai autentici hanno edificato in massa i loro alloggi precari, creando quelle singolari *Siedlungen* che sono state poi chiamate *favelas*, *barrios*, *villas*, ecc. Questa coesistenza ha messo drammaticamente in luce il carattere utopistico delle avanguardie, la cui modernizzazione "anticipata", come quasi sempre accade, è invecchiata rapidamente non appena le sue visioni sono state contaminate dalla realtà.
Queste forme anticipate di modernizzazione hanno dovuto inoltre convivere con altre espressioni lungo le strade dell'identità. Si trattava non tanto di progredire, quanto di conservare ciò che era stato costruito con la produzione agricola e con l'allevamento, dominati dalle oligarchie di origine spagnola e aristocratica. L'architettura del cosiddetto Neocoloniale era quindi altrettanto moderna in America di quanto lo era stato il Neoclassico nell'Europa

modern South American architecture.
To paraphrase Octavio Paz, we might say that Latin American Modernism has anticipated the events that actually explain it. An artificial mechanism — the metropolis — has developed in which highly entropied, mutually opposed worlds exist side by side. Paradoxical though this may seem, the apparent homogeneity and uniformity of our metropolis (which Simmel would have called blasé*) are riddled with complex references to peasant culture, the world of magic and religion, rancher oligarchy and colonial aristocracy. Like immigrants in any country, their presence has provoked a range of reactions that are anything but uniform. Far from becoming homogenised, multiplicity reasserts itself — in unexpectedly imaginative ways and with quite extraordinary stamina — in everything that is done. This sheer stamina seems a characteristic feature of city life here. Architectural avant-gardes anxious to discern the emergence of a truly modern society have seen their "assembly line" crumble into a heterogeneous world of multifarious expressive forms. The basic low-cost housing envisaged by the* Existenzminimum *programme has had to coexist with self-built housing. In the large Latin America cities, the real workers have built their own precarious dwellings on a massive scale, creating the extraordinary* Siedlungen *that have since been christened* favelas, barrios, villas *and so on. This coexistence of planned and unplanned housing has thrown the essentially utopian nature of the avant-garde movements into dramatic relief: as usual, their visionary "anticipations" of modernisation suddenly seem out of date when contaminated by reality. Moreover, these "anticipations" have also had to reckon with other indigenous identities. It has never been a question of progress tout court but of preserving what farming and ranching cultures dominated by oligarchies of aristocratic Spanish origin have achieved. Our so-called Neo-Colonial architecture was as modern in South America as Neo-Classicism was in Enlightenment Europe. Put as baldly as this, this may seem rather far-fetched: we mean simply that a search for an idea resulted in theorising on an unprecedented scale in South America. Martin Noel, Angel Guido, Ricardo Rojas, Federico Mariscal, Emilio Harth-Terré, José Mariano Filho and Lucio Costa in his early writings[3], all tried to lay down the rules for a national language in nations tending towards Modernism.*
An important term is missing from Chueca Goitía's equation of our Spanish legacy with Christianity, the Spanish language and Spanish architecture: the technology that had

dell'Illuminismo. Quest'affermazione, fatta senza considerazioni preliminari, potrebbe sembrare stravagante; ma essa intende suggerire la ricerca dell'Idea, attuata mediante una ricca produzione teorica con un'intensità mai raggiunta in precedenza nell'America Latina. Martin Noel, Angel Guido, Ricardo Rojas, Federico Mariscal, Emilio Harth-Terré, José Mariano Filho e infine, nei suoi primi scritti, Lucio Costa hanno cercato di stabilire le norme di un linguaggio nazionale per paesi che si affacciavano alla modernità[3].

Nell'affermazione di Chueca Goitía[4], secondo cui il nostro retaggio spagnolo è costituito dal cristianesimo, dalla lingua e dall'architettura, vi è una grande assente: la tecnica, che ha avuto il potere di convertire in esteriorità la nostra modernizzazione.

Questa strana convivenza di modernismi nell'architettura si è formata in città dall'aspetto regolare, fondate per lo più su piante a reticolo ortogonale, cioé su uno schema aperto e generico che consente presenze di ogni tipo. Pertanto, al di là della regolarità delle strade, è possibile identificare zone di elevata densità di concentrazione commerciale e di dispersione residenziale; aree di concentrazione della ricchezza e di dispersione della povertà; testimonianze dell'applicazione di politiche di zonizzazione urbana.

L'omogeneità s'incontra solo nelle singole zone, con varie possibilità di lettura: in uno stesso spazio sono presenti due, tre o più città.

Oltre a mancare di omogeneità interna, i nostri agglomerati urbani non sono paragonabili tra loro. Città del Messico ha in comune con San Paolo del Brasile solo il numero di abitanti: alla Plaza de las Tres Culturas, simbolo della stratificazione di sopravvivenze di una storia cominciata nel 1325 con l'insediamento atzeco, fanno riscontro nella città brasiliana — che pure è nata dalla colonizzazione portoghese nel 1554 — i *barrios* degli immigrati giapponesi e italiani. Le due metropoli sono quindi differenziate sia a livello diacronico che a livello sincronico.

La crisi, così evidente, dei grandi sistemi di pensiero e delle grandi scelte contemporanee ha destabilizzato il quadro dei riferimenti. L'America Latina ha pertanto un atteggiamento evasivo, come se possedesse un repertorio di confusioni capace di preservarla da ogni generalizzazione: è un continente in cui si verificano, nelle pieghe del tessuto culturale o nel folto della foresta, eventi capaci tuttavia di suscitare entusiasmi e ottimismi.

Allo stesso modo potremmo disegnare per il nostro continente mappe delle attività economiche, delle tecnologie costruttive derivanti dalle risorse naturali, delle tradizioni edilizie, delle lingue, delle immigrazioni, degli insediamenti coloniali: e scopriremmo con sorpresa che nessuna di queste mappe è sovrapponibile a un'altra. Ciò implica una molteplicità che impone di soffermarsi preliminarmente a redigere un quadro delle diversità da cui emerga, come diceva Deleuze, "*una distribuzione di caratteri differenziali nell'ambito della coesistenza*". Le economie cicliche stagionali di allevamento e di semina in Argentina, Uruguay, Colombia e Costa Rica s'intersecano con lo sfruttamento dei giacimenti minerari in Cile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela e Messico e con la raccolta ininterrotta di banane, canna da zucchero, cacao e noci di cocco nelle isole dei Caraibi. Le immigrazioni di tedeschi nel Cile, di giapponesi in Brasile, di italiani in Argentina durante il XIX secolo si sovrappongono alle preesistenze spagnole, portoghesi, francesi e fiamminghe dell'età coloniale; gli immigrati africani si sostituiscono ai nativi dal litorale caraibico fino al Brasile, e lo stesso fanno i cinesi nelle zone costiere del Pacifico. Pietra, argilla e canne, legno e mattoni sono compresenti nell'edilizia tradizionale; a questi materiali si aggiungono il ferro della grande architettura ottocentesca e il cemento armato del Novecento.

Pertanto, azzardare teorie su una possibile continentalità totalizzante presenta lo stesso pericolo del mettere in evidenza un unico tratto come caratteristico di un certo tipo di architettura in un luogo specifico: il pericolo di cadere nell'arbitrio.

Si potrebbe dire — come in effetti s'è detto — che l'America Latina non esiste. A rigore, in relazione alla scala di valori adottata, lo stesso potrebbe dirsi di quasi ogni altra regione o nazione del globo: la storia e la geografia di tutti i continenti sono letteralmente sature di differenze di varia intensità e di contrapposizioni più o meno accentuate. La struttura interna di ogni regione è interessata da innumerevoli stratificazioni, faglie e sovrapposizioni conflittuali, com'è ampiamente dimostrato dagli sviluppi politici mondiali degli ultimi anni.

L'idea dell'unità e della coesione dell'America Latina, che ha circolato e continua a circolare correntemente nelle reti informative internazionali, deriva in primo luogo dalla presenza storica delle due lingue iberiche, che collegano quasi tutte le nazioni del continente e conferiscono a quest'ultimo una diffusa immagine di uniformità. In verità, man mano che si affina l'analisi e ci si accosta un po' di più

the power to give modernisation an objective, physical existence[4].
This strange coexistence of architectural modernisms has developed in cities with regular street-plans — orthogonal grids no less — whose open, generically conceived planning styles have made possible an enormous range of building types. So in spite of their superficial regularity, our cities contain high-density areas, commercial areas and residential areas, wealthy areas and poor areas — the result of urban zoning policies implemented over the years. Only individual areas are homogeneous, and they too can be interpreted in various different ways. Two, three or more cities coexist in the same urban space.
In addition to lacking internal homogeneity, our conurbations also vary widely among themselves. The only thing Mexico City has in common with São Paulo in Brazil is the size of its population. The Plaza de las Tres Culturas, symbol of historical stratifications dating back to the Aztec Tenochitlan settlement of 1325, finds its counterpart in the barrios *of São Paulo's Japanese and Italian immigrants, even though the city was founded by Portuguese colonisers in 1554. The two cities are quite different, both diachronically and synchronically.*
Widespread crisis in twentieth-century philosophical, economic and political thinking has shifted all our points of reference. Latin America has responded evasively to these changes, as if its repertoire of confusion were already vast enough to save it from any tendency towards generalisation: the many folds of its cultural fabric, the dense mass of its forests, can still generate optimism and enthusiasm. Thus, we could draw maps of South America's economic activity, its natural-resource based construction technologies, its building traditions, languages, immigrant and colonial communities, and find to our surprise that none of them overlaps. This sheer diversity should be cause enough to make us stop and take stock. When we do, what we see is, as Deleuze said, "a distribution of coexisting differential features"*. The cyclical, seasonal farming and ranching economies of Argentina, Uruguay, Colombia and Costa Rica intersect with the mining economies of Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Mexico and the non-seasonal banana, sugar cane, cocoa and coconut economies of the Caribbean islands. Nineteenth-century immigrant communities — Germans in Chile, Japanese in Brazil, Italians in Argentina — have been superimposed on existing Spanish, Portuguese, French and Dutch populations dating back to the colonial era. African immigrants have supplanted native populations along the Caribbean coast as far down as Brazil, as the Chinese have done along the Pacific coast. Stone, clay, reeds, wood and brick were all used in traditional building, to which the iron of nineteenth-century grand architecture and twentieth-century reinforced concrete have been added.*
So, generalising on a continental scale carries the same risk as arbitrarily selecting one architectural feature as typical of the production of a single area. We might agree — as has already been said — that Latin America as such doesn't exist, but we could say the same about any other region or nation of the world if we followed this reasoning: the histories and geographies of all continents are literally saturated with differences, oppositions of lesser or greater intensity.
The internal structures of all regions have innumerable stratifications, fault lines and overlapping conflicts, as recent changes in world politics have amply demonstrated.
The idea of a coherent, unified Latin America that has been, and still is, current in international circles derives essentially from the historical presence of two Iberian languages that have spread across virtually all of the continent to create a general impression of uniformity. And yet, when you look more closely you find a huge mass of conflicting data that totally belies this impression. As well as differing — obviously — from other parts of the world, the most important thing about Latin America is the diversification you find within its own natural and cultural borders. Depending on geographical position and altitude, populations here eat differently, speak a wide range of different native or imported languages, cope with a wide range of totally different climates and lead social lives based on radically different memories, customs and popular imagery. An uninterrupted line of human feeling, passion, philosophy and eating habits stretches
from Mexico to Patagonia in an infinite variety of local peculiarities, modes and preferences.
So in Latin America it comes quite naturally to insist on difference where you see uniformity, and conversely to stress the common features which, in spite of everything, do seem to unify the continent whenever national differences are given undue prominence. For this reason, shifts in Latin America's political, economic and cultural strata have always been both centripetal and centrifugal: the dream of an impossible unity has alternated with enthusiasm for local variations which, rightly or wrongly, have been seen

Alfonso E. Reidy, Complesso residenziale "Pedregulho", Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1949-52. Foto P. Gasparini.
Ambiente urbano di San Paolo, Brasile. Foto P. Gasparini.
Clorindo Testa e SEPRA (Sanchez E., Peralta R., Agostini), Banco de Londres y América del Sur, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1960-66. Foto P. Gasparini.

alla realtà concreta ci troviamo di fronte a una massa ingente di dati che smentiscono decisamente quest'immagine unitaria. Oltre a differire, come è ovvio, dalle altre parti del mondo, l'America Latina è diversificata soprattutto entro i suoi confini naturali e culturali. A seconda della posizione geografica e dell'altitudine, le sue popolazioni si alimentano in modo diverso, parlano numerose lingue autoctone o importate, affrontano climi diversissimi e conducono un'esistenza sociale animata da memorie, consuetudini e immaginazioni in radicale contrasto fra loro. Dal Messico alla Patagonia sentimenti e passioni, amore e gastronomia si modulano in un'infinita varietà di toni, disposizioni e aspetti.
Nell'America Latina è quindi naturale accentuare le differenze quando si rileva una condizione di unità, e mettere invece in risalto gli elementi unitari, che nonostante tutto danno al continente una certa coesione, quando si esagerano le divergenze nazionalistiche. Per questo i vari livelli in cui si articolano la politica, l'economia e la cultura latinoamericana si sono andati contraendo e dilatando in un continuo moto centripeto e centrifugo, ora inseguendo un'impossibile unità, ora particolarizzando circostanze locali presuntivamente o effettivamente singolari e straordinarie.
La realtà dell'America Latina, apparentemente unitaria in superficie ma ambigua e conflittuale in profondità, ha dovuto affrontare in tutta la sua storia il problema di accordarsi con se stessa. Ma il problema di quella che viene impropriamente chiamata "identità" è stato e continua a essere quello del confronto con i due continenti, l'Europa e il Nordamerica, che hanno costituito dei punti di riferimento per l'America Latina e ne hanno modellato, nel bene e nel male, lo sviluppo.
Si tratta, come s'è detto, del grande tema del rapporto fra centro e periferia, che inevitabilmente grava, nonostante un secolo e mezzo d'indipendenza, su un mondo ex coloniale sottoposto al terribile processo della scoperta e della conquista. Ed è appunto la storia della nascita di questo rapporto, e del modo in cui si è preteso di risolverlo in un sincretismo ansioso di novità, che permette di identificare meglio ciò che è stata ed è tuttora l'America Latina: un riflesso e al tempo stesso una negazione dell'Europa e degli Stati Uniti.

Il problema del come fare architettura
"*L'idea di riconoscere l'altro nella sua alterità, non come inferiore o superiore ma semplicemente come diverso, è il*

as the distinguishing features of particular areas.
Latin America, a profoundly ambiguous, conflict-ridden continent unified by a superficial layer of uniformity, has had to wrestle throughout its history with this problem of coming to terms with itself. In reality, the problem of what is mistakenly called "identity" has been, and continues to be, one of coming to terms with two other continents, Europe and North America, which historically have always provided Latin America's twin poles of reference and shaped its development, for better or worse.
As we have seen, it all depends on the relationship between centre and periphery which, in spite of a century and a half of independence, still and inevitably asserts itself in a region caught up in a terrible process of discovery and conquest.
It is precisely this relationship — its origins, and the uneasy obsession with novelty that has fuelled successive attempts to syncretise its contradictory elements — that enables us to understand what Latin America was and still is: both a reflection and a negation of Europe and the United States.

The Problem of How to Build an Architecture
"Acknowledging the otherness of the other, not as something inferior or superior but simply different, is the basis of any true civilisation"[5]. *Octavio Paz, the great Mexican philosopher, takes us to the heart of an issue as relevant now as it has always been: the central problem of how to build an architecture in Latin America. Building an architecture is always and inevitably a complex and difficult undertaking, but the attempt to do it in societies as diverse as those we find in Latin America, quite apart from the additional difficulties this diversity presents, can only end up reproducing the ambiguities and contradictions of the continent as a whole.*
It is most unlikely that any kind of homogeneous, unified architecture can adequately reflect so disorderly and changeable a social structure, one so eager for modernisation yet also profoundly unaware of what this entails, and prone to imitation rather than adaptation. Only the individualism and almost ingenuous recklessness that has fuelled attempts to solve building problems in countries which, in spite of everything, do aspire to modernisation, can counterbalance Latin America's usual preference for routine, its resistance to change, its general passivity and mediocrity. This said, it is seriously doubtful whether opting for coherence and continuity, tradition and repetition, is a plausible or even feasible solution in solution in Latin American countries.

Alfonso E. Reidy, "Pedregulho" residential complex, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1949-52.
Photo P. Gasparini.
The urban environment, São Paulo, Brazil.
Photo P. Gasparini.
Clorindo Testa and SEPRA (Sanchez E., Peralta R., Agostini), Banco de Londres y América del Sur, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1960-66.
Photo P. Gasparini.







Eladio Dieste, Interno della Chiesa di Atlántida, Uruguay, 1959. Foto P. Gasparini.

Eladio Dieste, Interior of the church at Atlántida, Uruguay, 1959. Photo P. Gasparini.



fondamento di ogni civiltà autentica"[5]. Queste parole di Octavio Paz, il grande pensatore messicano, possono guidarci nelle profondità di un dibattito quanto mai attuale: il problema centrale del come fare architettura nell'America Latina. Fare architettura è di per sé arduo e complesso dappertutto; ma edificare e organizzare lo spazio per società, come quelle latinoamericane, al di là delle difficoltà aggiuntive che ciò presenta, offre il premio finale della qualità insuperabile risultante dalle ambiguità e dalle contraddizioni.

In effetti, a una struttura sociale disordinata e mutevole, vogliosa di modernizzazione ma al tempo stesso poco riflessiva e con una forte tendenza all'imitazione anziché all'adattamento, può difficilmente corrispondere un'architettura omogenea e unitaria. Solo l'individualismo e la temerità quasi ingenua con cui sono stati affrontati finora i problemi posti dalla edificazione di paesi che aspirano, nonostante tutto, a diventare moderni possono controbilanciare i caratteri dominanti di resistenza e di *routine*, di passività e di mediocrità. In ogni caso, va messa seriamente in dubbio l'opportunità e la convenienza, per paesi come quelli latinoamericani, di optare per la coerenza e la continuità, per la tradizione e la ripetizione.

Realtà molto diverse, sostanziate di contenuti culturali economici e politici differenti, conferiscono ai nostri contesti sociali una varietà interna straordinariamente ricca di sfumature. Se a queste differenze diacroniche si aggiungono quelle derivanti dalle situazioni geografiche regionali — clima, vegetazione, paesaggio, topografia, geologia — si ottiene un miscuglio estremamente variopinto e screziato di esigenze, scelte, aspirazioni e possibilità. Lieti di questa incoerenza e di questa mescolanza, dovremmo ricordare la frase, così pertinente, di Fernando Savater: "*Non vi è niente di più sterile della purezza autoctona e delle radici incontaminate*"[6]. Non ha senso chiedere risposte coerenti a una realtà come la nostra, formata da un complesso di parole, simboli, consuetudini e livelli economici differenti, perché ciò che in essa predomina è la felice incoerenza della diversità. Solo alla luce di questa osservazione — in apparenza così ovvia, ma così spesso dimenticata dallo Stato quando pretende di pianificare e da molti architetti nostrani quando progettano — si potrà cercare di costruire uno schema comprensivo. Senza voler imitare, s'intende, certe concatenazioni apparentemente logiche, del genere di quelle con cui Spinoza nella sua *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata* pretendeva di dimostrare l'indimostrabile,

Cultural, economic and political divergence have given us social contexts with extraordinarily subtle ranges of internal variation. When geographical differences — climate, vegetation, landscape, topography, geology — are added to this diachronic diversity, the result is an incredible hotchpotch of needs, choices, aspirations and possibilities. We should rejoice in this diversity, this lack of consistency, and remember Fernando Savater's apposite comment: "There is nothing more sterile than native purity and uncontaminated roots"[6]. *It makes no sense to expect a coherent response from a reality as complex as ours, so rich in linguistic, cultural, social and economic difference, whose very inconsistency is its dominant and most attractive feature. Only by bearing this in mind — it seems so obvious, yet it is so often forgotten by governments and even many architects when they get down to planning and building — can we fully grasp the situation. This in no way means adopting the apparently logical reasoning Spinoza used in his* Ethics *to prove the unprovable, but we do think there are common factors genuinely underlying the diversity of Latin American architecture.*

A heterogeneous social reality makes freedom a necessary condition for development, and it goes without saying that freedom is equally indispensable in more unified contexts, but it has a rather different function in Latin America's more variegated, and certainly heterogeneous dynamic.

In our case — although not only in ours — freedom means accepting that plurality is inevitable, right and desirable if internal tensions are allowed to develop in a healthy, creative way. In its full sense, plurality *in turn means an open and willing acceptance of* diversity, *the key, irreducible term of a logical sequence based on acceptance of internal difference between our nations. That diversity and respect for otherness are needed on a planetary scale as preconditions for any genuine civilising process is all the more reason why diversity is so essential in a socio-cultural environment like Latin America. To quote Octavio Paz once more,* "the only way to know ourselves is to recognise the otherness of others... There is no single human type: man is varied, is many men, and each represents something precious, something unique"[7]. *Whether speaking of Latin American architecture, or of Venezuelan, Argentinian, Peruvian or Brazilian architecture, we have to start with diversity as the essential mechanism that makes for concrete results: by encouraging autonomy and avoiding jargon, genuine — and genuinely original — cultural expression can be*

riteniamo di poter descrivere una sequenza di condizioni che si presenti come verosimile.
Una realtà sociale *eterogenea* impone la *libertà* come condizione necessaria per il suo sviluppo. È chiaro che la libertà è ugualmente indispensabile (ci mancherebbe altro!) anche in contesti più unitari; ma nel nostro essa deve dispiegarsi in modo diverso, tenendo conto proprio di questo ritmo interno più differenziato e comunque non omogeneo.
Libertà significa — nel caso che ci riguarda, ma non soltanto in esso — ammettere la pluralità come stato inevitabile, legittimo e desiderabile per uno sviluppo sano e creativo delle tensioni interne. A sua volta la *pluralità*, interpretata esattamente e nel suo pieno significato, porta ad accettare apertamente e di buon grado la *diversità*. Siamo giunti così a una parola chiave, termine logico e irriducibile di una sequenza che parte, come s'è detto, dal riconoscimento dell'eterogeneità interna delle nostre società.
Anche considerando la dimensione planetaria dell'esigenza di considerare il culto della diversità e il rispetto dell'alterità come condizioni di ogni processo genuino di civilizzazione, non si può fare a meno di notare la perentorietà con cui tale esigenza si pone in un ambito socioculturale come quello latinoamericano. Citando ancora Octavio Paz, diremo che "*l'unico modo di conoscere noi stessi è di riconoscere gli altri nella loro alterità (...). Non vi è un unico tipo umano: l'uomo è multiplo, è molti uomini, e ciascuno di essi rappresenta qualcosa di prezioso e di unico*"[7]. Sia che si parli di architettura latinoamericana o di architettura venezuelana, argentina, peruviana o brasiliana, bisogna dunque partire dalla diversità come fattore essenziale, come meccanismo scatenante risultati concreti: in tal modo, mettendo in opera auspicabili autonomie ed evitando la grettezza di pretese mitologie nazionalistiche, è possibile attingere espressioni culturali dotate di autentico significato e di sicura originalità. I possibili e inevitabili errori non contano molto: ciò che interessa è la graduale accumulazione di esperienze condivisibili e confrontabili. Dalla fermentazione o dall'incrocio di queste esperienze — a seconda che si preferisca usare un'immagine biochimica o una genetica — nascerà un'architettura fatta di tentativi e di approssimazioni, di ricerche e di recuperi: un'architettura certamente "meticcia" e ottimistica. Della combinazione di queste peculiarità potrà nutrirsi la necessaria valutazione del modo di usare la diversità.
Se esaminiamo la sequenza logica *eterogeneità - libertà - pluralità - diversità*, ci accorgeremo che l'ultimo termine richiede a sua volta una condizione indispensabile: non può esserci diversità senza *autenticità*. Occorre insistere su quest'aspetto cruciale della ricerca di identificazione: l'autenticità è un'esigenza e una garanzia, e senza di essa non vi è nessuna possibilità di realizzare un'architettura in sintonia con il *locus*.
Si potranno cogliere a volo alcuni aspetti generali e identificare alcuni caratteri più evidenti, ma risulterà sempre più facile indicare ciò che in un dato luogo e in un dato momento *non* è autentico; come avviene per molte definizioni, una delimitazione in negativo risulta più immediata e più sicura di una in positivo. Basta pensare, per esempio, al rapporto fra autenticità, identità e tipicità. L'essere autentico implica un atteggiamento molto più ampio e attuale, più aperto e comprensivo, ma anche più segreto e individuale che non quello legato alla metafisica dell'identità. La ricerca dell'identità ha avuto l'inconveniente di creare una specie di catalogo rivolto verso il passato, un'entomologia delle tradizioni, che ha contribuito notevolmente a togliere dinamismo a questo concetto e a renderne tediosa la discussione.
La ricerca della diversità, se è autentica, ha il vantaggio di non esser ricerca ma scoperta, creazione, apparizione spontanea, richiamo primordiale, rivendicazione di ciò che è profondo e necessario. Strano metro di misura, quello dell'autenticità: essendo descrittivo e non precettivo, permette solo di constatare ciò che già esiste, ma non di prevedere. Figlia dei sensi, della sensibilità e del ricordo, della riflessione e della capacità di vedere e ascoltare, l'autenticità, in quanto misura della spontaneità, non ammette la benché minima concessione alla *routine* e ai luoghi comuni dell'esotismo e del falso pittoresco, né il benché minimo tratto di "tipicità". Bisogna in effetti rendersi conto che l'autenticità è costruzione del futuro e non mai semplice replica della tradizione. In America Latina siamo di fronte a una situazione storica che ci offre, in maniera singolare e favorevole, le condizioni perché il discorso teorico e critico si connetta con le operazioni pratiche. Discutere e chiarire che cosa intendiamo per modernizzazione e postmodernità, per autenticità e realismo, e così via, significa oggi contribuire ad affilare gli strumenti necessari per realizzare uno spazio costruito più significativo e più cordiale: così si ritiene in Argentina, Brasile, Cile, Messico, Colombia, dove esiste già una ricca produzione di testi polemici su questi temi.

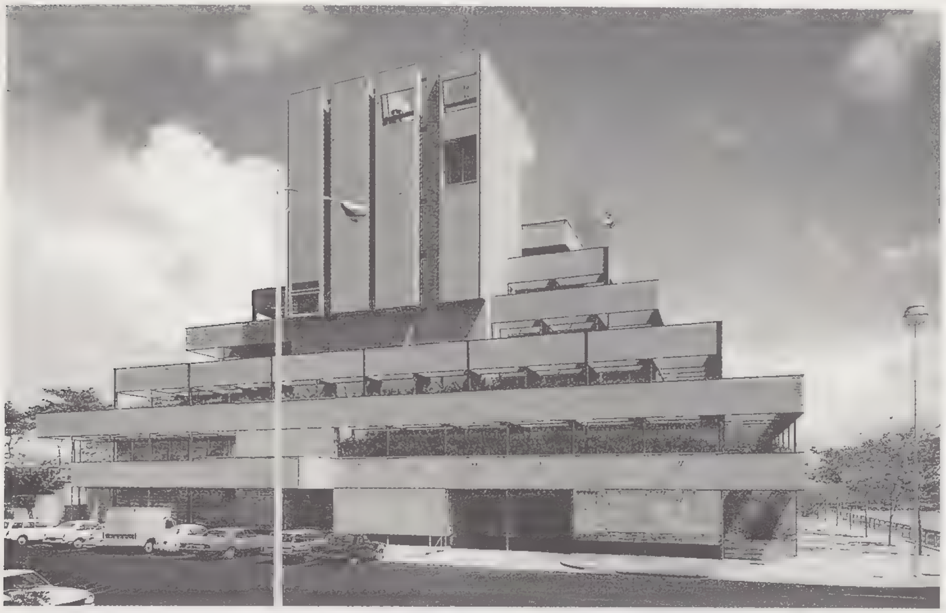
achieved.
Mistakes will inevitably be made, but this matters very little: what counts is a gradual accumulation of shared, comparable experience. The fermentation or cross-fertilisation of these experiences — depending on whether you prefer a biochemical or genetic image — will produce an architecture of innovation and approximation, experiment and revival: certainly, an optimistic, "hybrid" architecture. Once this has been achieved, the need to evaluate how diversity is used will develop quite naturally.
If we look at the logic of the heterogeneity-freedom-plurality-diversity *sequence more closely, we realise that the final term, diversity, implies another essential precondition: that there can be no diversity without the* authenticity *that is crucial to any search for identity. Authenticity is both a need and a guarantee; without it, it is impossible to produce architecture in harmony with its site. We could list here the more salient general features that make an architecture authentic, but it's always easier to say what isn't authentic in any given place at any given time. As often happens, a negative definition can be clearer and more reliable than a positive one. Think, for example, of the relationship between authenticity, identity and typicality. Authenticity suggests much greater breadth and openness, a more topical, comprehensive approach than the idea of identity. The problem with searching for an identity is that you create a kind of catalogue of the past, an entomology of traditions, which tends to weaken the dynamism of the concept itself and render its discussion tedious.*
The search for diversity — if genuine — has the advantage of being not so much a search as a mode of discovery, a process of creation, of spontaneous revelation. It assumes the force of a primeval urge, the assertion of what is profoundly felt and needed. Authenticity is an odd yardstick: being descriptive rather than prescriptive, it allows you only to describe what is already there, not predict what will happen. A child of the senses and sensibility, of thought and memory, of the ability to see and listen, authenticity is a measure of naturalness and so makes not the slightest concession to routine, tawdry exoticism, fake picturesqueness or "typicality". In fact, authenticity is the construction of a future, never simply the recreation of a past. The historical situation in Latin America is now extraordinarily favourable for the translation of critical and theoretical discussion into practice. Deciding exactly what we mean by modernisation, Postmodernism, authenticity, realism and so on now means sharpening the tools we need to create spaces that are more meaningful, more social. This, at least, is what people think in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Colombia, where a wide-ranging literature on this subject already exists. Latin American architects have never talked *so much about South American architecture as they have in recent years, or to put it another way, never before have they talked so much about* themselves.
A whole range of books, publications, magazines and reviews are displaying quite a new interest in the problems, tasks and possibilities of architecture, and it is significant that this has coincided with the production of really first-class work in spite of the crises and difficulties that now beset the continent. But that's the way history is: strangely, unexpectedly, the history of our century has served to show to what extent we have wanted to cocoon ourselves in the notion that events are inevitable and can even be programmed. But now we know that unexpected things do happen, and in future we shall try to understand why *they have happened. We should know anyway that periods of crisis are usually extremely creative: modern art has almost always attained its creative peaks in periods of turmoil, not of relative stability. We should say at once that we do not share the idea that artistic power unfailingly increases in times of personal or collective crisis, when the living is hard and the belly is empty. The "Van Gogh theory" does not appeal to us, but the fact remains that in countries like Chile and Colombia that have suffered terrible social traumas over recent years, writings and works of notable quality have been produced, at least in the field of architecture.*
Let us now return to our original theme: what making architecture means south of the Rio Grande. Where does the kernel of the issue lie, what is it all really about? Seminars, conferences, books and reviews have all been telling us what is and isn't desirable in Latin American architecture. As the Argentinian scholar Marina Waisman says, there has emerged "in the field of theory and criticism a valid nucleus of studies that attempt to see the architecture of our countries — both now and in the past — through American eyes using instruments which, depending on point of view, place the object of analysis in appropriate contextual frames"[8]. *This means throwing away our crutches, accepting that reality contains our memories and roots and also provides our point of departure. It means trying to create what Waisman herself calls* "a new modernity" *by forgetting all our inferiority complexes, no matter what form they take. It*

In realtà, mai come in questi ultimi tempi gli architetti latinoamericani hanno parlato tanto dell'architettura del loro continente: vale a dire, mai hanno parlato tanto di se stessi. Tutta una fioritura di libri, pubblicazioni, seminari e riviste riflette un nuovo interesse per i problemi, i compiti e le possibilità; ed è altrettanto sintomatico che ciò avvenga contemporaneamente alla produzione di opere di altissimo valore, nella situazione di crisi e di difficoltà che turba il continente. Ma la storia è fatta così; strana, incalcolabile e imprevedibile, come l'esperienza di questo secolo si è incaricata di ricordare a noi che abbiamo finito per cullarci nell'idea volontaristica di un tempo inevitabile e addirittura programmabile. Accadono cose non previste, e in futuro cercheremo di capire come e perché sono accadute. In ogni caso, dovremmo sapere bene che di solito i periodi di crisi sono anche ricchi di creatività: l'arte moderna, con tutte le sue straordinarie invenzioni, ha avuto i suoi momenti migliori non nei periodi di maggiore tranquillità, ma quasi sempre in quelli di maggior fermento.
Precisiamo che non abbiamo molta simpatia per l'idea che il potere della parola e del gesto dell'artista si accresca inevitabilmente nelle crisi personali e collettive, nella fame e nelle angustie: non ci piace, per intenderci, la "dottrina Van Gogh". Sta di fatto, però, che proprio in questi ultimi anni e in paesi soggetti a grandi traumi sociali come il Cile e la Colombia sono apparsi, almeno nel campo dell'organizzazione dello spazio, opere e testi di grande importanza.
Ma torniamo alla riflessione che si sta attualmente svolgendo su ciò che implica il fare architettura a sud del Rio Grande. Qual è il nocciolo del dibattito, e di che cosa in realtà si discute? In seminari e convegni, in libri e riviste si evidenzia il tema dei caratteri desiderabili e indesiderabili dell'architettura latinoamericana: come afferma la studiosa argentina Marina Waisman, è emerso "*nel campo della teoria e della critica un valido nucleo di studi che intende guardare l'architettura dei nostri paesi — sia quella attuale che quella del passato — con occhi americani, usando strumenti specifici che al mutare del punto di vista possano mettere a fuoco l'oggetto dell'analisi nella cornice che ad esso corrisponde*"[8]. Ciò implica l'abbandono delle stampelle, l'accettazione della realtà come radice, memoria e punto di partenza per andare avanti; significa tendere a realizzare ciò che la stessa Waisman chiama "*una nuova modernità*", superando ogni complesso d'inferiorità, quale che sia il modo in cui esso si manifesta. Va sottolineato qui l'interesse

should be stressed here the South American interest in analysing the relationship between mimesis, imitation and authenticity. As "working" distinctions they have already produced a copious literature fuelled, obviously, by an equally impressive corpus of architectural practice and achievement.
While acknowledging the essential unity of our roots, languages and traditions, most people here feel that one inevitable and welcome outcome of the sheer size of our continent — its incredible variety of life-styles — should be a diversity which, along with what has produced it and what it is now producing, has to be safeguarded and encouraged within a civilised framework of democratic tolerance and understanding. South America's sheer potential for development offers us an extraordinary repertoire of alternatives and choices. Our real future lies in this potential for growth which, in spite of everything, is man's unique inheritance, not in the impoverishment and restrictions of a global culture that has been debilitated and undermined rather than enhanced by the communications boom, and artificially reduced to anaemic, one-dimensional imitation.
In architecture, the safeguarding and encouragement of what we think can only be called "regionalism" has become an extremely attractive option over recent years. But it's a complex business, and theoretical treatments of the theme have often confused rather than clarified the real issues.
The regions of a continent or subcontinent are defined and unified by interpreting cultural legacies and human and productive geography mediated in terms of explicit or implicit objectives and needs. This, at any rate, is what Villanueva, Clorindo Testa, Salmona and Barragán have achieved in their work.
Differing conditions, concepts and world visions can often produce correspondingly heterogeneous architectural responses when channelled into an equally varied array of programmes and projects. In the art and technology of spatial organisation, the key idea that diversity should develop within a consolidated framework of shared belief and achievement is steadily gaining ground in Latin America.
The most important development of recent years — and we should note it well — is a growing awareness of how closely the common denominators of the continent are related to its contradictions: the country and the city, North and South, ethnic and cultural diversity. So now more than ever (see the recent SAL, Seminar of Architecture in Latin America, in Chile) we have the possibility of replacing mere imitation

Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz, Sede della Corporación Venezolana de Guayana, Ciudad Guayana, Venezuela, 1967-70. Foto P. Gasparini.
Rogelio Salmona, Complesso residenziale "El Parque", Bogotá, Colombia, 1965-70. Foto P. Gasparini.

Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz, Corporación Venezolana de Guayana Headquarters, Ciudad Guayana, Venezuela, 1967-70. Photo P. Gasparini.
Rogelio Salmona, "El Parque" residential complex, Bogota, Colombia, 1965-70. Photo P. Gasparini.









Carlos Raúl Villanueva, Città universitaria, Caracas, Venezuela, 1952-57: vista interna dell'aula magna e viste della piazza coperta.
Foto P. Gasparini.
Carlos Raúl Villanueva, "Urbanización 23 de Enero", Caracas, Venezuela, 1955.
Foto P. Gasparini.

Carlos Raúl Villanueva, University campus, Caracas, Venezuela, 1952-57: internal view of the great hall and views of the covered square.
Photo P. Gasparini.
Carlos Raúl Villanueva, "Urbanización 23 de Enero", Caracas, Venezuela, 1955.
Photo P. Gasparini.







Distribuzione della popolazione in America del Sud e in Europa. Da Vilar, 1971.

di analizzare la contrapposizione fra mimesi, imitazione e autenticità: come poli "operativi" opposti essi hanno già dato origine a una copiosa letteratura, alimentata ovviamente da una prassi architettonica altrettanto ricca di esempi.
Pur nella coscienza dell'unità di radici, di lingua e di tradizioni, prevale la sensazione che l'immensità del continente e l'eterogeneità dei modi di vita impongono un'inevitabile e salutare diversità: questa diversità, insieme alle sue cause e alle sue conseguenze, dev'essere difesa e favorita in una cornice civile e democratica di comprensione e di tolleranza. La ricchezza prodotta dai vari canali di sviluppo rappresenta uno straordinario capitale di alternative e di scelte differenti. Sul piano dell'istanza di crescita che nonostante tutto è propria della specie umana, è questa la strada che veramente interessa, e non quella dell'impoverimento e del riduttivismo di un'unica cultura indebolita e malata, nonostante l'uso convulso della comunicazione, e ridotta artificiosamente alla condizione anemica dell'imitazione unidimensionale.
Nell'architettura questo criterio di difesa e di sviluppo di ciò che secondo noi non può essere denominato che "regionalismo" ha assunto negli ultimi anni una grande forza di attrazione. Ma i riferimenti sono molteplici, e spesso il discorso teorico su questo tema tende a confondere, più che a chiarire, il suo orientamento e il suo significato specifico. Le regioni che compongono un continente o un subcontinente si definiscono e si agglomerano in base a un retaggio culturale e a una geografia umana e produttiva, in funzione di finalità visibili e latenti. Ad ogni modo, il risultato è l'opera di un Villanueva o di un Clorindo Testa, di un Barragán o di un Salmona.
Condizioni, concezioni e visioni del mondo diverse, in funzione di programmi diversi, conducono spesso a forme di risposta architettonica differenti. In questo campo — ossia in ciò che riguarda la tecnica e l'arte di organizzare lo spazio — stiamo assistendo nell'America Latina al formarsi di una nozione importante e diffusa: quella della diversità nell'ambito di una solida cornice comune. La novità di questi ultimi anni, di cui converrà tener conto, consiste in una progressiva presa di coscienza degli stretti rapporti tra fattori comuni e fattori divergenti, o anche contraddittori, nel mondo rurale e in quello urbano, nel Sud e nel Nord, nelle varie presenze etniche e culturali. Si può dire dunque che vi siano oggi maggiori possibilità (si veda ad esempio il recente SAL, Seminario di Architettura Latinoamericana, del Cile) di sostituire all'imitazione la comprensione e l'assimilazione critica delle esperienze internazionali, e di associare a queste esperienze un serio sforzo di creazione originale e autentica, fondato sull'identificazione della storia e della natura locali.
Un programma eclettico? Certamente un programma aperto a tutto, senza dogmi né preclusioni; ma al tempo stesso un programma di lavoro comune, la cui validità poggia sull'intenzione di riflettere "insieme", sulla capacità e volontà di parlare e ascoltare, alla ricerca di risultati che possono essere modesti oppure ambiziosi ed eccezionali.
L'eterogeneità dell'America Latina è fondata sull'autenticità e sulla tensione verso il futuro: due poli a prima vista contraddittori, ma che costituiscono l'essenza — posto che ve ne sia una — della complessa originalità di questa realtà.
Il colombiano Alberto Saldarriaga precisa: "*Nell'architettura, come nella musica, nel romanzo e nelle arti figurative, modernità e carattere latinoamericano non sono stati in totale contrasto fra loro: al contrario, il loro incontro ha dato origine a possibilità insolite e a risultati straordinari. Le opere che hanno accettato di essere latinoamericane, senza troppi ragionamenti e senza cercare giustificazioni, sono in genere quelle che meglio riflettono questo spirito*"[9].
Come si vede, la nozione che assume un valore insolito in questa fine di secolo è quella di "latinoamericanità", definita anche da vari autori come "*modernità appropriata*" (Christian Fernandez Cox), "*regionalismo critico*" (Kenneth Frampton) o "*architettura altra*" (Enrique Browne).
Si tratta di sfumature diverse, corrispondenti alle facce di una concezione necessariamente poliedrica. Vi sono anche, occorre dirlo, obiezioni e dubbi, ad esempio da parte della studiosa anglomessicana Ada Dewes o, su un altro versante, da parte dell'argentino Pancho Liernur. Questi respinge decisamente l'interpretazione populista della latinoamericanità, specialmente quando essa si limita a voler "*metter in pace le nostre cattive coscienze ripetendo parole di povertà, come se questa dovesse essere rivendicata in quanto tale, anziché essere semplicemente eliminata*"[10].
Vi sono in effetti varie interpretazioni di quello che Browne chiama, con un certo ottimismo, "*il nostro movimento*"[11], ma vi è anche una salda unità di opinioni sul fatto che lo spirito della latinoamericanità debba avere, quale che sia la sua essenza, due basi culturali e affettive indispensabili: anzitutto il riconoscimento dei valori in se stessi, al di fuori del meccanismo dell'imitazione, e in secondo luogo l'assoluta necessità di accettare e anzi di coltivare le



Population distribution in South America and Europe. From Vilar, 1971.

with informed critical assimilation of international experience, and seriously using this to create authentic, original architecture that reflects our regional history and geography.

Is an eclectic programme what we need, then? Well, certainly we need a programme that is open to everything, that rejects dogma, the preclusion of possibility. Yet such a programme is also a shared enterprise that will work only if there is a willingness to "think" together, to listen to and discuss ways of achieving shared aims, whether these be modest or exceptionally ambitious.

Latin America's heterogeneity is a function of its authenticity and orientation towards the future. At first sight this may seem a contradiction in terms, but authenticity and future orientation are the essence — assuming there is one — of South America's complexity and originality. As Colombian Alberto Saldarriaga puts it: "In architecture as in music, in the novel as in the figurative arts, modernity and Latin Americanness have never been totally opposed: on the contrary, their juxtaposition has generated unusual possibilities and extraordinary results. Works that have accepted their Latin Americanness without seeking to over-rationalise or justify it are usually the ones that best reflect this spirit"[9].

As can be seen, "Latin Americanness" — variously defined as "appropriate modernity" *(Christian Fernandez Cox), "critical regionalism" (Kenneth Frampton) and "other architecture" (Enrique Browne) — is gaining considerable ground as we approach the end of the century. These definitions are merely various aspects of a concept which is, of its very nature, multi-faceted. And there are those who question or disagree with these definitions: the Anglo-Mexican scholar Ada Dewes, for example, or, from a different point of view, the Argentina Pancho Liernur. But they are united in their rejection of populist Latin Americanness, especially when definitions of it amount to little more than* "appeasing our guilt consciences by harping on poverty rather than simply eliminating it, as if pointing out that poverty exists and is somehow valuable in itself"[10].

What Browne has rather optimistically called "our movement"[11] can be interpreted in many different ways, but there is wide agreement that, whatever its "essence", Latin Americanness must have two cultural and emotional priorities: first and foremost, a recognition that, imitations aside, values are valuable in themselves, and second, an urgent need to accept and indeed cultivate difference.

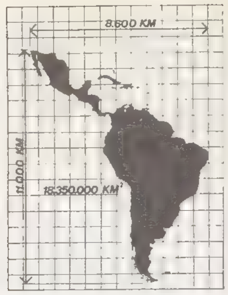
This is fundamental to the freedom of thought, the operation of memory and the cultural appropriation and expression that will enable us to make an architecture we can feel at ease with.

One of the Americas

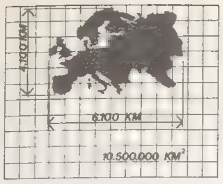
The part of South America which journalists and travellers have written about — a hot, tropical, magical, dissolute place — is how most people imagine the whole continent. Writers and novelists from Alexander von Humbolt, Blaise Cendrars and Jules Verne to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle[12], Carpentier and García Márquez have given the world an image of South America — as extraordinary as it is unrepresentative — that has been exaggerated to the point of caricature by Hollywood cinema and ladled out to a credulous world. Picturesque interpretations aside, one aspect of the architecture built for this Caribbean region of tropical climate and vegetation should be clearly grasped: the human dwelling place, in the sense of shelter, exists to protect men from heat rather than from rain and cold, so shelter itself is open and transparent. Human life nestles in the shadow of buildings, needs the shade buildings provide, a notion that Cendrars takes to almost comical lengths in one of his improbable verses: "I found a group of men in the shade, in the tenuous shade of a crane". *Life's events happen in places that provide shade. This generalisation also establishes Latin America's kinship with a land that lies at its geographical antipodes. Junichiro Tanizaki's poetry is perhaps ultimately trying to get at something very different, but it does convey something the two lands have in common:* "... We Japanese [...] when we open a parasol, we do so mainly to cast a shadow on the ground, and then we build a home together in the pale light of this shadow [...]"[13].

The European avant-garde, or the optimistic philosophy that accompanies it, has given us the idea of architecture as "a skilful interplay of volumes in the light". *From the Bible to the Enlightenment, light has traditionally been identified with reason, intellect and justice, so for Europe, shadow has been the negation of happiness, of life, of joy. Unfortunately, this metaphorical use of the word "shadow" does not make it any easier to analyse tropical architecture in a positive way, precisely because it is based on a skilful interplay of shadows and penumbras. So talking about "shadow" isn't simply the periphery's way of playing around with contrasts in an attempt to explain its architecture; the idea is fundamental to understanding exactly what makes its architecture*

Confronto dimensionale tra America del Sud e Europa. Da Vilar, 1971.
Oscar Niemeyer, Lucio Costa, Esplanade *dei Ministeri, Brasilia, Brasile, 1958.*
Foto P. Gasparini.
Ambiente urbano di San Paolo, Brasile.
Foto P. Gasparini.







Comparative sizes of South America and Europe. From Vilar, 1971.
Oscar Niemeyer, Lucio Costa, Esplanade of the ministerial buildings, Brasilia, Brazil, 1958.
Photo P. Gasparini.
An urban environment, São Paulo, Brazil.
Photo P. Gasparini.



Arcipelago di San Blas, Panama: 300 isole abitate dagli indios Cunas.
Foto R. Paolini.
Valle de Los Ingenios, Cuba: coltivazione della canna da zucchero.
Foto R. Paolini.
Palazzo del Re Henri Christophe, Sans Souci, Haiti, 1810.
Foto R. Paolini.

Paesaggio dello Stato di Lara, Venezuela.
Foto R. Paolini.
Le saline di Araya, Venezuela.
Foto R. Paolini.
Fiume Orinoco in Venezuela nel suo punto piú stretto (m.800).
Foto R. Paolini.

differenze. Quest'ultimo è il tratto fondamentale della libertà di concezione, di memorie, di appropriazioni e di culture su cui sarà possibile costruire un'architettura che ci faccia sentire a nostro agio.

Una delle Americhe

L'America nota attraverso le testimonianze di cronisti e viaggiatori e le fantasie della letteratura popolare, l'America calda, tropicale, magica e sregolata, è la parte del nostro continente che porta sulle sue spalle l'identificazione col tutto. Da Alexander von Humboldt a Blaise Cendrars, da Jules Verne ad Arthur Conan Doyle[12] e sotto l'impulso della narrativa di Carpentier e di García Márquez si è costruita un'idea tanto singolare quanto parziale dell'America, esagerata fino alla caricatura e largamente diffusa dal cinema di Hollywood. Ma al di là di ogni interpretazione pittoresca, in questa parte del continente caratterizzata dal clima e dalla vegetazione della regione tropicale caraibica viene messo chiaramente in luce un aspetto dell'architettura: l'alloggio, inteso come riparo, serve non tanto a proteggere dal freddo e dalle intemperie quanto dal caldo, e a tale scopo il riparo stesso è aperto e trasparente. L'edificio accoglie sotto la sua ombra l'abitare umano, e questa necessità vitale è espressa ai limiti del comico in un verso inverosimile di Cendrars: "*Scoprii un gruppo di uomini all'ombra, nell'ombra risicata di una gru*". Gli eventi della vita si svolgono nei luoghi che danno ombra. Quest'affermazione generica consente di avvicinarsi a una spiegazione che collima, agli antipodi dell'America Latina e per ragioni molto diverse, con un'espressione poetica di Junichiro Tanizaki: "*(...) Noi giapponesi (...) apriamo anzitutto un parasole per gettare un'ombra sulla terra, e nella pallida luce di quest'ombra edifichiamo insieme una casa (...)*"[13].
L'Avanguardia europea, o il pensiero dell'Avanguardia, latore di ottimismi, ha formulato la nozione di architettura come "*gioco sapiente dei volumi sotto la luce*". Dalla Bibbia fino alla rivoluzione illuminista la luce è stata tradizionalmente identificata con la ragione, l'intelletto e la giustizia; per l'Europa, l'ombra è quindi la negazione della felicità, della vita, dell'allegria. Temo che quest'uso metaforico del termine non giovi ad analizzare positivamente nel suo contesto reale l'architettura dei tropici, che si propone piuttosto un gioco sapiente di luoghi d'ombra o di penombra. Il riferimento all'ombra non è un semplice gioco dei contrari con cui una periferia cerca di caratterizzare la

so distinctive.
The very concept of architecture implies a mode of habitation, of being on the land. In a sense, you can interpret this experience in terms of either the light an inhabited place generates around it, or the shadow it casts on the ground. In other words, all the associations a building has with distance, historical time, use, shelter, memory and even the existence of whoever is there to look at it, are just as important as the intrinsic architectural merit of its volumes. This is a partial reading of Latin American architecture, of course. It applies only in those areas with tropical climates, and does not exclude other more complex or wide-ranging interpretations. Our aim is merely to point to what is perhaps the most significant feature of tropical architecture: the creation and use of shadow, or as Rogelio Salmona says, penumbra.
Life in the shadows does not conjure up "images of sadness and obscurity", *as Boullée put it*[14]. *On the contrary, when tamed, attenuated, filtered by roofs and walls, sunlight creates areas of penumbra in which profiles are defined, gestures are perceived, communication occurs. The home becomes a domestic counterpart of spaces created for social encounter. This domestic — and in no way threatening — image of the home provides the key to understanding what life in the tropics is all about, irrespective of the construction techniques and architectural forms of specific buildings. We insist on this point not so much because we want to identify what is physically distinctive about Latin American architecture, but to do away with centralist approaches and offer a new vision to those who see the tropics from the centre, as has been the case from Le Corbusier to Wallace Harrison. This new approach will explain much about the architecture not just of the young Niemeyer, or Lucio Costa, the Roberto brothers, Barragán, Villanueva and others — famous master architects all — but also the work of the younger generations: Rogelio Salmona in Cartagena de Indias, Jesús Tenreiro in Ciudad Guayana, or Jimmy Alcock and Fruto Vivas in Caracas.*
Architectural forms based on shadow become more interesting when they are used to define a borderline between an exterior and an interior; that is, when they distinguish between an architectural work as an artistic unity and the tactile physical detail of its interior. When seen from the distance in a unified, aesthetic, "Hildebrandian" way, tropical architecture gives no indication of its surroundings and limits, so it's difficult to decode it. Conversely, if you look

San Blas archipelago, Panama: 300 islands inhabited by Cunas Indians.
Photo R. Paolini.
Los Ingenios valley, Cuba: sugar cane cultivation.
Photo R. Paolini.
Palace of King Henri Christophe, Sans Souci, Haiti, 1810.
Photo R. Paolini.

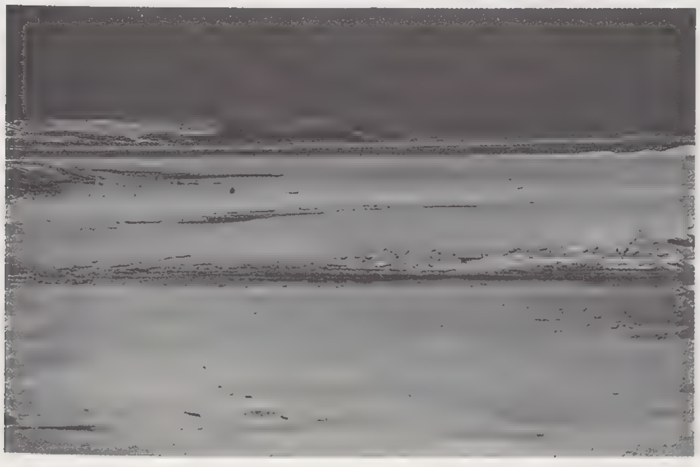
Landscape in Lara State, Venezuela.
Photo R. Paolini.
Araya salt mines, Venezuela.
Photo R. Paolini.
The River Orinoco in Venezuela at its narrowest point (800 m.).
Photo R. Paolini.







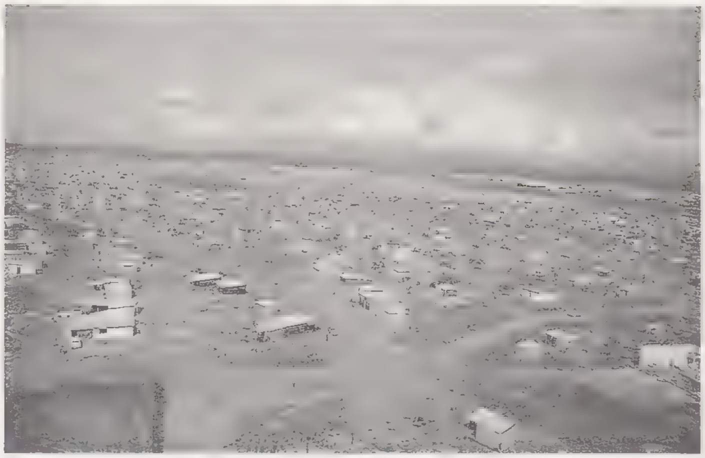




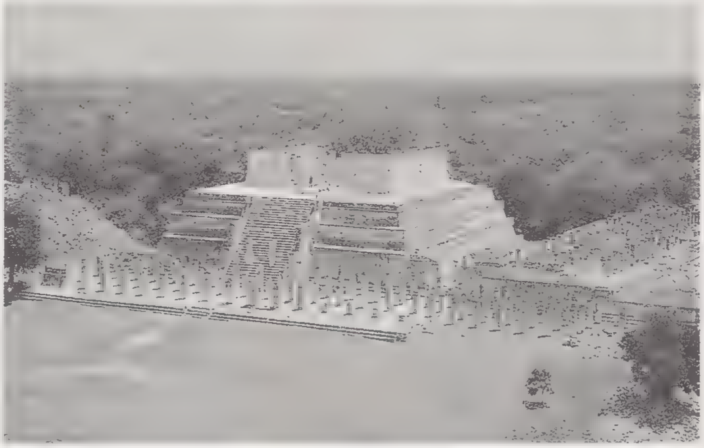


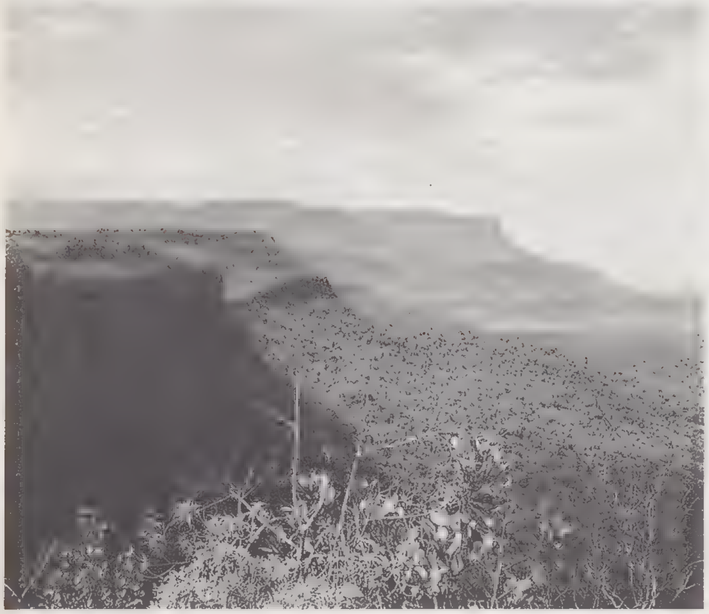
Ambiente urbano di Bogotá, Colombia.
Foto R. Paolini.
Ranchos *a San Felix, Venezuela.*
Foto R. Paolini.
Il Canale di Panama.
Foto R. Paolini.
Tempio delle 1000 colonne, Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, Messico.
Foto R. Paolini.
Formazioni geologiche di Tepuyes, m.1000 di altezza s.l.m., Stato di Bolivar, Venezuela.
Foto M. Delgado.

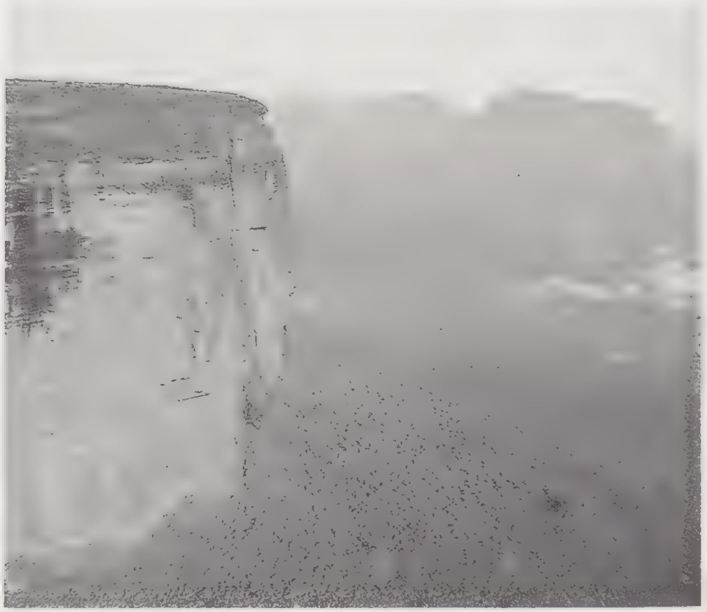












Urban environment, Bogota, Colombia. Photo R. Paolini.
Ranchos in San Felix, Venezuela. Photo R. Paolini.
The Panama Canal. Photo R. Paolini.
Temple of the 1000 Columns, Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, Mexico. Photo R. Paolini.
Geological formations at Tepuyes, 1000 m. above sea level, Bolivar State, Venezuela. Photo M. Delgado.

propria architettura, ma è il punto di partenza per una lettura specifica.
L'esperienza dell'architettura riguarda una determinata forma del dimorare, del risiedere sulla terra, e una chiave di lettura di quest'esperienza vissuta può essere sia la luminosità che diffonde il segno dell'abitare, sia l'ombra che un edificio necessariamente produce. In altri termini, non meno importante del valore intrinseco del volume è tutto ciò che esso determina in relazione alla distanza, al tempo storico, all'uso, alla protezione, alla memoria e all'esistenza stessa di chi lo percepisce.
Questa lettura parziale di un aspetto dell'architettura latinoamericana si riferisce naturalmente allo spazio geografico definito dal clima tropicale, senza peraltro escludere interpretazioni più ampie e più complesse; essa cerca solo di identificare nella creazione e nell'uso delle ombre —o, come dice Rogelio Salmona, delle penombre— quella che è forse l'esperienza architettonica più significativa dei tropici.
La cultura dell'ombra non rimanda all'idea di "*immagini tristi e oscure*", come in Boullée[14]; al contrario, il sole controllato, attenuato, vagliato attraverso tetti e pareti crea zone di penombra in cui si definiscono i profili, si percepiscono i gesti e si realizza la comunicazione, contropartita domestica che fornisce gli spazi per l'incontro sociale. Quest'immagine, tutt'altro che intimidatoria e anzi, come abbiamo rilevato, domestica, costituisce un ambito peculiare in cui avvengono i fatti essenziali della vita dei tropici, quali che siano la tecnica e la forma architettonica adottate. Insistiamo su questo punto non tanto per trovare un aspetto capace di dare un'identità alla cultura architettonica latinoamericana, ma perché queste considerazioni servono a distinguere un tratto che spiazza la visione centralista e propone una nuova formulazione per coloro che guardano ai tropici a partire dal centro, com'è avvenuto da Le Corbusier a Wallace Harrison.
Da questo nuovo punto di vista potremmo tornare a leggere non solo l'architettura del primo Niemeyer, di Lucio Costa, dei fratelli Roberto, di Barragán, di Villanueva, ecc., ossia dei grandi maestri più noti, ma anche quella delle ultime generazioni: dall'opera di Rogelio Salmona a Cartagena de Indias a quella di Jesús Tenreiro a Ciudad Guayana o di Jimmy Alcock e Fruto Vivas a Caracas.
Le forme architettoniche derivate dalla cultura delle ombre presentano maggior interesse quando sono interposte a guisa di limite o di frontiera fra un esterno e un interno:

at it from the inside, in an analytical and essentially tactile way, you understand better how it was made but begin to doubt its value as a total work. The Classical distance-view which makes "aesthetic" readings of architecture possible often runs into difficulty in the tropics because intermediate spaces — constructed penumbras — not only crowd the borderline between architecture (in its unity) and nature (the environment), they also make it difficult to know when you are actually standing outside *the architecture. Images of space dissolve, become intangible. Where does Carlos Raúl Villanueva's building in the Plaza Cubierta of the Universidad Central de Venezuela actually end? How far back do you have to stand to get a unified view of it? Where do the curves of the portico of Oscar Niemeyer's Casa de Baile in Pampulha begin? What laws govern the configuration of its geometry? These are all architectural forms that lack precise definition — they lend themselves to unpredictable development — and yet they are also core features of the architecture itself. Where is the entrance or exit to the Borges-like labyrinth of galleries in Salmona's Casa de Huéspedes Ilustres in Cartagena? These works, like poorer popular dwellings, delimit a broader space than walls alone are capable of doing: as they extend into natural exteriors, they mediate between building and a terrain which, in South America, has a significant influence on how architecture is actually perceived. So let us agree that these intermediary spaces accommodating significant social and individual activity do actually break the official rules of Western architecture, in the sense that their most typical feature is the dissolution of mass and volume.*

Another Problem: the Lack of Architectural Permanence

This principle is further complicated by the effects of what could be called a fairly consistent "geographical factor" in the tropics. Penumbra is not the only essential life function here. A traditional lack of real architectural permanence has been crucial in producing a distinctive architecture powerfully influenced by a concept of space which, although open and elemental, is fundamentally impermanent, temporary. The fact that certain natural elements pose no threat to human comfort has produced in tropical architecture a relaxation, a kind of depletion and insouciance (relative to Western architecture) which, though unquantifiable, strictly determine human attitudes to constructed or constructable space.
As we have said, the sheer size of the terrain is crucial here. It

quando cioé costituiscono la linea di separazione tra l'opera nella sua unicità artistica e la visione tattile e dettagliata del suo interno. Se questo genere di architettura si osserva da lontano, in una visione unitaria ed essenzialmente estetica, alla maniera di Hildebrand, non si riesce a identificarne i contorni e i limiti, ed è quindi difficile decodificarla. Se invece la si guarda da vicino, in una visione analitica ed essenzialmente tattile, si comprende meglio la sua fattura, ma diventa incerto il suo valore come opera globale.
Nell'ambiente dei tropici la visione classica da lontano, che permette una lettura di tipo estetico, urta spesso contro una difficoltà. Gli spazi intermedi, le penombre costruite, non solo s'incontrano al confine tra l'architettura (la sua unità) e la natura (l'ambiente), ma impediscono di collocarsi convenientemente in un di fuori: la loro immagine si dissolve e non si lascia cogliere. Dove termina l'edificio di Carlos Raúl Villanueva nella Plaza Cubierta dell'Universidad Central de Venezuela? Dov'è situato il punto in cui può costituirsi una lontananza unificatrice? Dove cominciano le curve del porticato della Casa de Baile di Oscar Niemeyer a Pampulha? E quali sono le leggi di queste geometrie? Si tratta di strutture formali indeterminate, suscettibili di sviluppi imprevisti, ma che al tempo stesso sono il nucleo più significativo di queste architetture. Dove si apre o si chiude il labirinto borgesiano delle gallerie della Casa de Huéspedes Ilustres di Salmona a Cartagena? Queste opere, come pure quelle di fattura più povera e popolare, definiscono uno spazio più ampio di quello delimitato dai muri: si estendono verso un esterno naturale e costituiscono una mediazione tra l'edificio e il territorio, le cui dimensioni nel nostro continente incidono sul modo di percepire l'architettura. Accettiamo quindi che questi spazi di mediazione, nei quali si svolgono importanti attività sociali o individuali, trasgrediscano gli statuti ufficiali dell'architettura occidentale, nel senso che il loro carattere più tipico è il dissolversi della massa e del volume.

Un altro problema: la mancanza di permanenza architettonica

Al criterio su esposto vanno affiancate altre considerazioni, riguardanti un certo tipo di approccio a ciò che potremmo chiamare "la ragione geografica", abbastanza generalizzata nella zona dei tropici. In effetti, qui non è soltanto la penombra ad essere una funzione vitale; la tradizionale mancanza di una vera cultura della permanenza architettonica contribuisce notevolmente a dar vita a un genere di architettura del tutto particolare, in cui si manifesta con grande intensità una dimensione dello spazio aperta ed essenziale, ma fondamentalmente provvisoria. Il fatto che non sia necessario proteggersi da certi elementi naturali ha suscitato nell'architettura un caratteristico rilassamento, una specie di diminuzione relativa, di indifferenza che, pur non essendo valutabile quantitativamente, definisce l'atteggiamento dell'uomo rispetto allo spazio edificato e edificabile.
Come si è detto, a questa circostanza non è estranea la dimensione del territorio, la cui vastità fa sì che nell'America Latina non solo il singolo edificio, ma la città sia come un avamposto di fronte all'immensità delle distese di vegetazione naturale, delle gigantesche montagne, dei deserti di sabbia e di pietre. Senza dubbio questa dimensione è un invito alla libertà; ma diventa anche un'avventura impossibile coprire di architetture il nostro continente. Non può esservi controllo razionale là dove la natura domina il territorio; le nostre città sono semplici fortini avanzati, in cui la gente si agglomera, si accalca e rivela le sue ambizioni metropolitane.
L'America è una proiezione dell'Europa nella misura in cui si tengono presenti questo timore e questa difficoltà di abitare l'immenso. Quando ci si rende conto che le dimensioni sconfinate del continente sono incontrollabili, si è costretti dalla natura a una continua vigilanza, come di fronte alla foresta di Horacio Quiroga, che non ti dà respiro e alla minima disattenzione ti divora. Nel 1924 José Eustaquio Rivera si chiedeva: "*Qual è la poesia dei luoghi remoti, dove sono le farfalle simili a fiori traslucidi, gli uccelli meravigliosi, i ruscelli canori? Povera fantasia dei poeti che conoscono unicamente le solitudini addomesticate!*"[15]. E intanto creava una poesia alimentata da un mondo di vertigini forestali che a ogni istante minacciava di divorarlo. La vegetazione traboccante predomina e sta in agguato: è vano ignorarlo, e bisognerà invece constatare, con Mariano Picón Salas, "*lo strano contrappunto di una natura che ogni ventiquattr'ore torna a essere vergine*"[16].
Nello scoprire questa natura Le Corbusier, la figura più paradigmatica dell'architettura *machiniste*, enunziò il "*teorema del meandro*"[17]. Durante la sua visita in Argentina egli commentava: "*(...) Questo continente americano è dimensionato sulla scala dell'aeroplano (...). Guardate infatti una carta geografica: tutto è gigantesco e, all'improvviso, una borgata si fa città (...). Un posto avanzato è una casa*

is so vast that whole cities, let alone single buildings, become mere outposts in the face of the continent's huge expanses of natural vegetation, enormous mountains as well as sand and stone deserts. This spaciousness undoubtedly invites freedom, but also makes it impossible to cover the continent with architecture. There can be no rational control in a land where nature reigns supreme. Our cities are simply fortified outposts where people gather, form crowds and express their metropolitan ambitions.

South America may be regarded as a projection of Europe if we take into account the fears and difficulties that living in such immensity creates. When we realise that the limitlessness of the continent is untamable, nature itself imposes the need for constant vigilance, as with Horacio Quiroga's forest which never lets up and devours you if you drop your guard even for a moment. In 1924, José Eustaquio Rivera wondered: "What is the poetry of the far-off places where the butterflies look like translucent flowers, where the birds are miraculous, where the rivulets sing? How limited are the imaginations of poets who know nothing of untamed solitude!"[15]. *Rivera created poetry out of stupefying forests that threatened to devour him at any moment. Lush vegetation lies in ambush on all sides. It is pointless ignoring it. Like Mariano Picón Salas, you can only observe and acknowledge* "the weird counterpoint of a nature that reverts to virgin territory every twenty-four hours"[16].

In the process of discovering this nature, Le Corbusier, the most representative of the mechanistic architects, produced his "theorem of the meander"[17]. During his visit to Argentina, he commented: "... This region of America is scaled for the aeroplane. Look at the map: everything is huge, here and there you see a town, a city [...] An outpost, it's a house [...] The plain surrounds it on all sides. Where are neighbours? Where can you get provisions? Where is the postman who brings your letters? Nothing. Not a hope, no one to rely on, except yourself"[18].

This "outpost" is the fort Pancho Liernur spoke of[19]. You can try to create some semblance of a metropolis there, but awareness of the terrain tends to modify the very stuff of architecture.

In the fifties — an architectural boom-time in Latin America thanks to its links with developments in North America — architectural complexes were produced on a scale unprecedented elsewhere in the world: the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, the Universidad Central de Venezuela, the Banco Obrero, the "Cerro Piloto" and "23 de Enero" residential complexes in Caracas, the new capital of Brasilia. This was architecture built to match the scale of the terrain, although it was certainly also an outcome of government megalomania and financial links with international banking. And yet, such explanations overlook something implicit in all South American culture: Brasilia's great routeways were conceived on a territorial scale, but so too was the Calle de los Muertos in Teotihuacán.

Features that Create No Identity

So far we have looked at the features of the architecture of only some regions of our continent, the lands of lush tropical vegetation, great rivers and monotonous plains, the agreeable Caribbean climes. And yet, the fact remains that such geographical features are also found in Australia, the Philippines or Malaya, so it should come as no surprise to find the same sort of architecture there: physical conditions being equal, you would expect similarities. So if physical conditions offer no recognisable identity, what sense is there in analysing Latin American architecture in terms of climate and geography? Well, it makes sense if the aim of the analysis is a practical one. Obviously, it's useful when you are trying generalise, and also when you are trying to point to the perilous road "good" (let alone "most appropriate") architecture will have to follow in South America.

Years ago, the great teacher and architect Marcos Winograd said he accepted anything that would stimulate architectural renewal, but added that this renewal would not be enough to eliminate poverty and squalor. All the architects had done was shift the focus of attention: the theory of dependence had given way to the theory of self-centredness. Latin America's chronic poverty had nothing specifically to do with architecture, so with one of the parties missing it all became a one-way debate. Magical realism had shaken off the inconvenience of individual people and their real needs because their very presence was an embarrassment to the architectural debate then in progress.

In such an entropied universe, architecture found it had no clothes, had nowhere to hide: there were either no referents and paradigms or too many; there were no social fronts, no macro or micro plans. There was one Uruguyan architect who had constructed a fine building in Tokyo, one Chilean architect who had done good work in France[20], one *Colombian architect who had built fine stuff in Bogotá and Cartagena, just as there were architects from Europe, North America or Japan who had done interesting things in Latin*

(...). La pianura tutt'attorno. Dov'è il vicino? Dove si trova un luogo di rifornimento? (...) il postino che consegna la corrispondenza? Nulla. Nessun'altra speranza che bastare a se stessi, da soli"[18].

L'avamposto è il fortino di cui ci parlava Pancho Liernur[19]: si può cercare di simulare in esso condizioni di tipo metropolitano, ma la coscienza del territorio tende a modificare la materia stessa dell'architettura.

Negli anni Cinquanta —un decennio di grandi realizzazioni per l'America Latina, grazie alla sua partecipazione allo sviluppo nordamericano— sorgono complessi architettonici di scala inedita a livello mondiale: l'Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, l'Universidad Central de Venezuela, i complessi residenziali "Cerro Piloto" e "23 de enero" del Banco Obrero a Caracas, la nuova capitale di Brasilia. Si tratta di espressioni proporzionate all'immensità del territorio, che trovano certamente una spiegazione nella febbrile megalomania dei governanti e nelle connessioni finanziarie della banca internazionale. Ma queste ragioni non danno esattamente conto di una forma e di una dimensione specifiche, che vanno ricercate tra le pieghe della cultura sudamericana: le grandi arterie di Brasilia hanno dimensioni territoriali, ma lo stesso può dirsi della Calle de los Muertos a Teotihuacán.

Caratteri che non creano un'identità

Ci siamo riferiti finora ad alcuni caratteri tipici dell'architettura di una zona del nostro continente, quella dei tropici assolati e vegetali, dei grandi fiumi, della monotonia delle pianure e dell'amenità della regione caraibica. Resta tuttavia il fatto che questi caratteri d'ordine geografico sono comuni anche all'ambiente australiano, filippino o malese, e perciò non sarebbe sorprendente incontrare architetture analoghe in altre parti del mondo: a parità di condizioni materiali, queste analogie appaiono prevedibili. Ma allora, se le condizioni materiali non consentono un'identificazione certa, che senso ha voler analizzare in base ad esse l'architettura latinoamericana? Rispondiamo che ciò è possibile quando si persegua una finalità operativa. In primo luogo, ovviamente, quando si tenta una globalizzazione, una generalizzazione; in secondo luogo, quando ci si propone d'indicare la strada rischiosa che deve percorrere la "buona" architettura, o quanto meno l'architettura più appropriata.

Anni fa un grande professore e architetto, Marcos Winograd, affermava di accettare qualsiasi stimolo al rinnovamento architettonico, ma osservava che ciò non bastava a far scomparire la povertà e la miseria. Gli architetti avevano prodotto solo uno spostamento d'interessi: dalla teoria della dipendenza si era passati a quella della disciplina autocentrata. In effetti, la cronica povertà latinoamericana non riguardava problemi specifici di architettura, e nel dibattito disciplinare mancavano addirittura i soggetti: il realismo magico era riuscito a scrollarsi di dosso gli individui e le loro condizioni oggettive, la cui presenza intralciava tutto il dibattito architettonico.

In quest'universo entropico l'architettura è rimasta nuda, senza possibilità di nascondersi: non vi sono referenti né paradigmi, o ve ne sono troppi. Non esistono trincee sociali, né programmi massimi o minimi: vi è *un* architetto uruguaiano che costruisce un ottimo edificio a Tokio, *un* architetto cileno che lavora bene in Francia[20], *un* architetto colombiano che realizza opere eccellenti a Bogotà e a Cartagena, così come vi sono architetti provenienti dall'Europa, dal Nordamerica o dal Giappone che fanno cose interessanti nell'America Latina.

L'impraticabilità dell'utopia sociale nel mondo è più che mai confermata in un continente in cui la povertà cresce sfacciatamente; è diventato allora più facile per l'architettura tornare a scrivere sulle sue bandiere il motto "autonomia". I concetti caratteristici del postmoderno — l'alienità, la diversità, la sintassi frantumata, la sovraesposizione delle immagini, l'intercambiabilità dei segni, l'indifferenza dei valori, secondo la diagnosi culturale di Nelly Richard[21]— si traducono nella sfida di un complesso di domande senza risposta.

Se ad esempio seguiamo il pensiero di Omar Calabrese, espresso in *Mille di questi anni* e in *L'età neobarocca*, approdiamo a risultati analoghi. Il carattere tipico della nostra epoca può essere definito adeguatamente come spirito barocco o neobarocco. Quali sono i suoi tratti più evidenti sul piano della cultura delle forme e del comportamento, ossia sul piano dell'estetica e dell'etica? La società occidentale postmoderna è dominata da valori estetici, le cui espressioni più frequenti e visibili sono l'esasperazione del gusto e il predominio della moda. Le principali componenti di questa situazione sono la frammentazione, l'instabilità, la variazione nella ripetizione, la ricerca e l'impulso verso la complessità eclettica, l'accantonamento o la sovversione dei valori antichi e recenti. È facile vedere che a quest'elenco di tendenze fa puntuale riscontro un'etica fondata sulla fruizione delle

America.
The impracticability of the social utopia is now more evident than ever on a continent where poverty grows shamelessly by the minute — it's become easier now for architecture to go back to writing "autonomy" on the flags it waves. The characteristic features of Postmodernism — which according to Nelly Richard[21] *include alienation, diversity, broken syntax, over-exposure of images, interchangeability of signs and indifference to values — have been translated into a mass of questions with no answers.*
If we follow, for example, Omar Calabrese's line of reasoning in Mille di questi anni *and* Edad neo-barroca, *we reach a similar conclusion. Our age can quite adequately be defined as Baroque or neo-Baroque in spirit. If we had to say where this is formally, behaviourally or culturally most evident, or in other words, how this spirit manifests itself in aesthetic and ethical terms, the answer would be that Postmodern Western society is permeated by aesthetic values whose commonest and most visible expressions are the glorification of taste and the dominance of fashion. Its main components are fragmentation, instability, variation through repetition, a search and desire for eclectic complexity, an enchantment with or subversion of values ancient and modern. Equally, this list of trends conveniently matches ethical values based on exploitation of appearance, the importance we attach to how we "appear" in the world, universality as the common denominator of communication, the desire for success, and in addition to all this, a renewed desire for subjectivity.*
Obviously, to say this implies no plan of action on our part, no manifesto pro or con. We are simply diagnosing our times, or more exactly, listing the symptoms of the Western world we tropical Latin Americans — on the left at the bottom, a bit above the Equator — are willy-nilly a part of, torn between admiration for and fear of what we see in it.
There is no denying, for example, that consumption of international art, life-styles, clothing and popular music — consumption in the sense of waste and continuous obsolescence — has now reached extraordinary levels. Rapid turn-around in fashions is now the norm in a world that has lost the faith in progress that so typified the nineteenth century. Rightly or wrongly, more than one kind of betrayal has been laid at modernity's door. For example, sophisticated transgression (rapidly converted into transient orthodoxy) has replaced Le Corbusier's "patient searching"*. European or North American deconstructionism (with or without pseudo-theoretical support) admirably illustrates how popular the systematic exploitation (or, if you like, interpretation) of what sociologists call the "life-style" of the world's dominant nations is becoming. This fragmentation, fracturing, overlapping of deconstructed forms reflect quite literally what has happened everywhere in the world in the wake of nationalist revival and local independence movements: existence as pointless conflict, devoid of utopian promise or future hope, static in its expectation that everything and anything goes. This, as Calabrese reminds us, is what typifies the social life of today. Conflict of forms and search for image have established themselves in current architectural practice in a general rush to enjoy what Andy Warhol called fifteen minutes of fame.*
If this is what is happening at the "centre", what are things like in what we'll continue to call the "periphery"? Our culture and ways of life have long been profoundly influenced by the centre, but this doesn't mean we have lost the diversity that comes from living on the periphery. The Western world — glutted with pragmatism, disillusioned by its failed utopian future, haunted by the spectre of environmental disaster and surprised by historical developments that seem to have taken it back to square one — has traumas and needs that are different from ours.
Even in the context of Columbus' five-hundredth anniversary — a conventional enough viewpoint, when all is said and done — it is worth asking how appropriate it us for us to connive in sharing the centre's view of our experience. Should we, who have gone such a short way down the road towards modernisation, adopt the yardsticks and formulas, the fashions and anxieties, the hedonistic attitudes, dramas and problems of a world that is even now groping to find a way out of modernity? We should repeat once again that we are not advocating some absurdly regressivist view; trying to blot out the sun with your finger is never a very wise move. Universality, especially in an age dominated by an irresistable information flow and electronic communications, is not at issue here: it is exploding into a true poetry of the fragmentary, and more than merits the primary importance accorded to it. What is at issue, however, is the need to get away from uncritical imitation and folklorist, reactionary nationalism. The elimination of all our inferiority complexes should be accompanied, for a start, by critical self-awareness and a real commitment to combining what is properly ours and what comes from afar, the traditional and the new, clay and aluminium, in an innovative, creative project. And this project — although the idea may at first sight seem absurd — will have an

apparenze, sull'importanza attribuita al nostro modo di "comparire" nel mondo, sull'universalità come dimensione mediatoria e sul desiderio di successo, oltre che su un rinnovato bisogno di soggettività. Non si tratta ovviamente di un programma d'azione o di un manifesto a favore o contro: si tratta solo di una diagnosi del nostro tempo o, più esattamente, di una lista di sintomi presenti in quel mondo occidentale in cui noi latinoamericani dei tropici —in basso a sinistra, un po' al di sopra dell'equatore— siamo inseriti volenti o nolenti, a metà strada fra l'ammirazione e il timore.

È innegabile, ad esempio, che il consumo delle forme nel mercato internazionale delle arti, nelle usanze, nell'abbigliamento o nella musica popolare —un consumo inteso soprattutto come spreco e continua usura— ha assunto un ritmo impressionante. Il rapido succedersi delle mode rappresenta la norma in un mondo in cui è venuta meno la fede nel progresso, così tipica dell'Ottocento, e la modernità è stata accusata, a torto o a ragione, di più di un tradimento. Ad esempio, la pratica sofisticata della trasgressione, rapidamente convertita in normalità temporanea, ha sostituito la "*ricerca paziente*" di Le Corbusier; e il decostruttivismo europeo o nordamericano, con o senza sostegno pseudoteorico, può illustrare con estrema proprietà e precisione il diffondersi di un modo coerente di utilizzare (o, se vogliamo, d'interpretare) quello che i sociologi chiamano lo "stile di vita" della parte dominante del mondo. La frammentazione, la rottura e la sovrapposizione delle forme decostruttiviste sembrano riecheggiare letteralmente gli analoghi processi che accompagnano in tutto il mondo il rinascere dei nazionalismi e dei particolarismi locali. L'esistenza come conflitto vacuo, l'esistenza priva di utopia e di futuro auspicabile, sospesa in un'aspettativa che tutto permette e tutto legittima, è —come ci ricorda Calabrese— la dimensione tipica della vita sociale di questi anni. Il conflitto delle forme e la ricerca dell'immagine si sono insediati anch'essi nella prassi architettonica contemporanea, all'inseguimento di quel quarto d'ora di celebrità di cui parlava Andy Warhol.

Se questo è ciò che avviene nel "centro", qual è la situazione in quella che continueremo a chiamare "periferia"? Da lungo tempo la nostra cultura e i nostri modi di vita sono profondamente influenzati dal centro, ma non per questo è scomparsa la diversità che nasce dalla nostra condizione periferica. Il mondo occidentale, sazio di ragione pragmatica e disilluso dal fallimento del progetto utopico del futuro, preoccupato per il disastro ambientale e sorpreso dagli sviluppi di una storia che sembrava essere conclusa e invece ricomincia da capo, è soggetto a traumi e a bisogni urgenti che non coincidono con i nostri. Anche ponendosi nell'ottica —d'altronde convenzionale— del centenario colombiano, converrà chiedersi quanto sia pertinente per noi solidarizzare con le prospettive che il centro del mondo occidentale ricava dalla propria esperienza. Noi, che non abbiamo neppure percorso molta strada sul cammino della modernizzazione, dovremmo adottare metri di misura e formule, mode e angosce, atteggiamenti edonistici, drammi e problemi di un mondo che sta cercando a tentoni la porta d'uscita dalla modernità? Non intendiamo —è bene ripeterlo— abbandonarci a una visione nutrita di assurdi desideri regressivi: voler coprire il sole con un dito non è mai raccomandabile. L'universalità, specialmente in quest'epoca di dominio irresistibile dell'informazione e della comunicazione elettronica, non è affatto in discussione; a questa universalità, che sta esplodendo in una vera e propria poetica del frammento, è più che giusto attribuire un'importanza primaria. Ciò di cui si discute è piuttosto la necessità di collocarsi in una prospettiva diversa sia dalla cieca imitazione, sia dal nazionalismo folcloristico e reazionario. L'eliminazione di ogni complesso d'inferiorità dovrebbe essere accompagnata, per cominciare, dal riconoscimento autocritico e dall'impegno tenace di associare ciò che è nostro a ciò che viene da lontano, il tradizionale e il nuovo, l'argilla e l'alluminio, in un progetto inventivo e creativo dotato —per quanto ciò possa sembrare a prima vista assurdo— di un'autenticità fresca e originale, realmente "meticcia". Giacché di questo noi siamo fatti: di ambiguità, di spazio, di gioia e di fiducia nel futuro. Le difficoltà e le tragedie del mondo sono anche nostre (né potrebbe essere diversamente, nel famoso "villaggio globale"); assistiamo con estremo interesse all'evoluzione mondiale, che oltre tutto ci condiziona; ma non dobbiamo lasciarci ingarbugliare dalle realtà di una parte del globo che ha una sua storia. Siamo intimamente uniti a quelle realtà, siamo parte di quel mondo (a dispetto dei nostalgici, che guardano solo al passato); ma lo siamo in una dimensione e con un ritmo diversi.

In altre parole (si prega di accettare la metafora senza sottilizzare troppo), il caviale e le mele non ci dispiacciono in assoluto, ma in generale continuiamo a mangiare

authenticity that is fresh and original, genuinely "hybrid". This is what we already are and possess: ambiguity, space, joy and hope in the future. We share in the tragedies and difficulties of the world (it could not be otherwise in the "global village"); we are totally involved in world developments, which have a powerful influence on us apart from anything else. But we must not allow ourselves to be swallowed up by just one part of this world that has its own history, its own reality. We are intimately linked to that reality, we are a part of that world (nostalgics notwithstanding, who see only the past), but we live in a different dimension and at a different pace.

In other words (and we would ask our readers to take our metaphor simply on face value), we are not averse to caviar and apples, but on the whole we go on eating maize bread and mangoes. Does this mean anything? Well, yes, probably that the road which to us seems the easiest and most promising one for Latin American architecture to take is the one that produces work embodying the originality and authenticity of our every regional situation, every local variation, every historical phase, every version of our cultural syncretism.

In more than one sense, the big moment for the periphery, for diversity, has now come. The ties that formerly obliged us to adopt a Postmoderm life-style have been severed, so the difference and otherness that lie at the heart of creation can be released and welcomed. This originality, which belongs to us and, with its amazing mass of contradictions, makes us what we are, has been our investment: we can now enjoy spending it "without fear or complexes".

However, Gerardo Mosquera[22] *has warned us against the exoticism that lurks behind this resurgence of regionalism and "otherness". After so many decades of trying to imitate the intangible ghost of modernity, it would be sad indeed if we became picturesque buffoons acting out displays of magical realism for visiting culture vultures.*

So the warning is a timely one. We need originality, not exoticism; authenticity, but not the planned, voluntaristic kind based on the "cosmetic readjustment" you see when electoral candidates swing their image-improvement campaigns into action. But we do have to be more daring, more courageous, more independent, more active in combining and mixing things, in constructing and destroying things, in separating and connecting things, and more severe in our criticism (certainly) but more humorous when we criticise.

Naturally, we can't just throw everything into the melting pot. There is the danger that things will simply end up juxtaposed and nothing else. Sheer talent and a lot of hard, patient work is needed if we are to produce work that will leave its mark. That magic word "authenticity", the key to our method and eventual success, does seem to hint at what the eminent architect Rogelio Salmona has called "realism", of something related to our ability to understand exactly *the situation we are in. A sixth sense, as it were, that persuades us to use one material rather than another, or both; remember buildings we knew as children; revive the joyousness of some happy moment in our past.*

Obviously, what is not spontaneous can never be authentic. Spontaneity is essential if realism and authenticity are going to start off and end up in the ways we described earlier. Incorrigible Latin American optimists that we are, let's say "end up" rather than "start off", given that the architecture of authenticity has already produced important new works in Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Colombia.

The Conditions for Pre-Postmodern Architecture

To conclude, and to attempt to convey what is best about current Latin American thinking, we must now touch upon a theme which, although well known, still offers much food for thought and analysis. We mean Postmodernism, in its dual South American function as the routing of Western Modernism and a resurgence of freedom in the periphery. Postmodern architecture, that drastic and irreverent negation and rejection of what has been regarded as "modern" for more than half a century, is now an arena for intellectual skirmishing on many fronts. It has symbolised, in terms accessible to everyone, the collapse of applied rationality and the failure of functionalist dogma and totalitarian utopias. Faith in science and progress and the worship of technology, once the mainstays of Modernism, have given way under a barrage of criticism that has wielded such sharply-honed weapons as revival of the historical repertoire, irony, semiotic codes of memory, abundant fantasy, freely applied irrationality, and a new willingness to deploy the arsenal of kitsch. In just one decade, Postmodern architecture has been instrumental in bringing about quite a scandalous return to the past, but in the process the flimsiness and sheer tedium of much of its achievement has been revealed. In the major Western nations, it has degenerated into monotonous repetition and sterile commonplace, but it must be admitted that it has *drawn attention to something quite fundamental. The decline of modern architecture and the spread of Postmodernism are only external manifestations of a crisis*

schiacciate di granoturco e manghi. Questo significherà qualcosa? Vorrà dire, probabilmente, che la strada che ci sembra più percorribile e più promettente per l'architettura latinoamericana è quella che attesta con le opere l'originalità e l'autenticità di ogni situazione regionale, di ogni istanza locale, di ogni momento storico, di ogni versione del nostro sincretismo culturale. Sotto più di un aspetto, questo è il momento della rivincita delle periferie e delle diversità. Grazie alla recisione dei vincoli prodotta dallo stile di vita postmoderno, la differenza e l'alterità, insediati al centro della creazione, possono dare origine a un'avventura felice e appassionante. Questa originalità, che ci appartiene e che ci fa essere ciò che siamo, con tutto il tremendo cumulo delle sue contraddizioni, è appunto il capitale non utilizzato di cui possiamo ora godere i frutti "senza timori né complessi".

Gerardo Mosquera[22] ci ha messo in guardia dai rischi dell'esotismo che sono in agguato dietro questo nuovo rifulgere del regionalismo e dell'alterità. A questo punto, dopo tanti decenni di imitazione dell'inafferrabile fantasma della modernità, sarebbe triste diventare pittoreschi giullari che interpretano imitazioni del realismo magico ad uso dei turisti culturali.

Sia dunque benvenuto quest'avvertimento. Originalità, ma non esotismo; autenticità, ma non quella che reca l'impronta del volontarismo, della previsione pianificata, della cosmesi correttiva, come avviene nelle campagne di creazione dell'immagine dei candidati elettorali. Occorre però essere più audaci, avere più coraggio e più indipendenza di giudizio, più energia nel combinare e mescolare, nel distruggere e costruire, nel separare e connettere; più severità nel criticare, senza dubbio, ma associata possibilmente a un maggior senso dell'umorismo.

Naturalmente non tutto potrà finire nel crogiolo della mescolanza o fondersi nell'amalgama. Vi è il pericolo della mera giustapposizione, e perché nascano opere capaci di lasciare un'impronta saranno sempre necessarie la rivelazione del talento e l'ossessione del lavoro paziente.

Nel contenuto della parola magica *autenticità*, chiave del metodo e del successo, vi è qualcosa di ciò che l'eminente architetto colombiano Rogelio Salmona ha indicato, ci sembra, come "realismo": qualcosa, dunque, che riguarda la nostra capacità di capire il momento e la situazione. Un sesto senso, per così dire, che ci porta a usare un materiale anziché un altro o tutti e due insieme, a ricordare uno spazio della nostra infanzia o a far rivivere il sapore o la musica di un'ora felice.

È chiaro che non può esservi autenticità che non sia spontanea. Ed è questa, senza dubbio, la condizione fondamentale perché il realismo/autenticità possa essere il punto di partenza, o d'arrivo, a cui ci riferiamo. Diciamo pure, con l'incorreggibile ottimismo latinoamericano, il punto d'arrivo, giacché l'architettura dell'autenticità è stata già annunziata da opere importanti in Messico, Venezuela, Brasile e Colombia.

Le condizioni di una pre-postmodernità

Infine, per poter meglio definire il senso della parte più interessante del pensiero latinoamericano attuale è indispensabile toccare un tema largamente noto, ma che offre ancora un campo assai fecondo di analisi e di riflessione: il postmoderno e il significato che esso ha, nella sua duplice veste di superamento della modernità occidentale e di possibile epifania della libertà nella periferia. Nel postmoderno architettonico, espressione drastica e irriverente di negazione e di rifiuto di ciò che per più di mezzo secolo era stato considerato "moderno", si concentrano attacchi e difese di innumerevoli polemiche. Esso ha simboleggiato, nei termini più comprensibili da tutti, il crollo della razionalità strumentale e il dileguarsi del dogma funzionalista, dell'utopia totalizzante. Quelli che erano i pilastri portanti della modernità occidentale, la fede nella scienza e nel progetto e l'adorazione della tecnica, hanno ceduto sotto il peso delle critiche più aspre, armate di strumenti efficaci come il ritorno all'uso del repertorio storico, l'ironia, i codici semiotici della memoria, il traboccare della fantasia e della libera irrazionalità, il ricorso al magazzino del *kitsch*. In effetti, in un decennio l'architettura postmoderna ha dato fondo alle risorse di uno scandaloso ritorno al passato, ha evidenziato le pastoie di un fondamento debole e tedioso e nei grandi paesi dell'Occidente è scaduta in monotona ripetizione e in luogo comune. Bisogna ammettere, peraltro, che quest'architettura è servita a mettere in luce un fatto indiscutibile: il declino dell'architettura moderna e la diffusione del postmoderno sono state solo le manifestazioni esteriori di una profonda crisi che tocca tutto il mondo attuale della produzione, della politica e della cultura.

Il postmoderno è un'epoca, una tappa della storia che, volere o no, stiamo attraversando: come atmosfera culturale e come atteggiarsi del gusto è penetrato in tutte le manifestazioni umane, dalla politica alla danza, dalla

that is now effecting all areas of production, politics and culture in the modern world.
Postmodernism is an age, a historical period we are living through whether we like it or not. As a cultural ambience and attitude of taste, it has penetrated all areas of human life, from politics to dance, philosophy to popular music. As a manifestation of an exclusively Western crisis limited to the developed countries of the centre, the periphery has opposed and condemned it, despite its stereotyped ubiquity, as just another of the many imitative currents that have lapped the shores of Third World countries in this century.
And yet, intellectuals in the developed countries themselves have made it their job to deceive us over just this issue. Classic works of Postmodern criticism, especially those by Vattimo[23]*, have offered explanations at variance with our description of an explosion that has blown science and rationality, progress and utopia, to smithereens. A number of Latin American architects, historians, sociologists and philosophers, among them Enrique Browne, Marina Waisman, Alberto Saldarriaga, Nelly Richard, Celeste Olalaquiaga, Ticio Escobar and Carlos Pérez*[24]*, also share this view.*
In essence, they identify two major causes for the crisis of modernity in the countries of the centre: 1) an exceptional increase in global communications that has levelled out all values in the "global village"; 2) the revolt of the periphery and the collapse of traditional colonialism that have given all forms of cultural diversity an equal right to a place in the limelight. Both explanations place us denizens of the exotic, under-developed Third World periphery at the centre of the Postmodern crisis. To summarise a highly complex and sophisticated theoretical debate, we might say that all this redeems us from the inevitability of imitation, frees us from the constraints imposed by the need to imitate "superior" models, gives us total freedom of choice and, for the first time, allows us the right to be ourselves.
As co-founders of the Postmodern revolution, we in the periphery, without asking permission and with no feelings of inferiority, can now assume our naturally ambiguous, heterogeneous guise and take upon ourselves all responsibility for our magic, folly and strange rationality.
As co-founders of Postmodernism, it now only remains for us to realise how important we are: no kind of imitation is "necessary", no predetermined sequence of cultural development now must be followed. We might even say, as Celeste Olalaquiaga has openly stated, that "the habit of orienting itself simultaneously towards a range of different cultures has enabled Latin America to anticipate Postmodern pastiche and reprocess it to an extent that our culture, like most cultures in post-colonial, Third World countries, became Postmodern before the post-industrial cultures of the centre, and generated what could be called pre-Postmodernism"[25].
All this gives us an unexpected feeling of freedom, a new kind of authenticity and realism. Practical architecture will no longer have to assimilate and imitate the latest fashions from the centre, continually update itself to win acceptance or try to seem what it isn't and can't be. On the contrary, it can now don with total freedom, and with even more justification, the kind of diversity we South Americans wear in our everyday lives. The atmosphere will certainly be different. How different was neatly summarised the Chilean architect Carlos Pérez on his return from a symbolic voyage to Europe: "Travelling in Europe makes you realise that the gleaming brilliance of copies can be more impressive than the dull opaqueness of aged originals; that the simulacrum, with its fictions, excavations and impurities, can be more interesting than a smug original; or simply, that the original either doesn't exist any more or — and it amounts to the same thing — no longer interests anyone. These things makes travelling a distinctly therapeutic experience. They allow South American intellectuals to exorcise the ghosts that haunt them and hinder them in their work, research and day-to-day concerns. The upheaval of this journey has had a salutary effect: the disappearance of all residual feelings of reverence, and recognition that you are as much a foreigner in Europe as you are in your own home"[26].
Quite. Our task must be to decide whether for us, irreverent foreigners in our own homes, this invitation to play the Postmodern game is culturally appropriate insofar as, paradoxically, it justifies and excuses what we have always actually been.

Notes
1) U. ECO, Sugli specchi e altri saggi, *Milan, 1985, pp. 19-20 (Spanish trans.* De los espejos y otras ensayos, *Barcelona, 1988, p. 22.).*
2) "We shall make people's homes. Aesthetics and rhetoricians — let us hope they all die — will then hold their discussions". *Juan Legarreta, cited in I. KATZMAN,* La Arquitectura Contemporánea Mexicana, precedentes y desarrollos, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, *Mexico, 1963, p. 151.*
3) See M. S. NOEL, Fundamentos para una estética nacional, *Buenos Aires, 1926; F.E. MARISCAL,* La Patria y la Arquitectura Nacional, *Mexico, 1915; A. GUIDO,* Orientación Espiritual de la Arquitectura en América, *Rosario, 1927; R. ROJAS,* Silabario de la decoración americana, *Buenos Aires, 1930; J. KRONFUS,* La Arquitectura colonial en la Argentina, *Córdoba, 1920.*

filosofia alla musica popolare. Concepito finora come espressione caratteristica ed esclusiva della crisi dei paesi sviluppati del centro, il postmoderno è stato avversato e condannato in periferia perché ritenuto, nonostante la sua diffusione stereotipata, un'altra delle tante ondate imitative tipiche del mimetismo del Terzo Mondo.

Ma il dibattito culturale degli stessi paesi del centro si è incaricato di disingannarci: le pagine già classiche della critica postmodernista, e in particolare quelle di Vattimo[23], ci danno una spiegazione diversa dell'esplosione che ha mandato in frantumi scienza e razionalità, progresso e utopia. Una simile tesi è stata ripresa e sviluppata criticamente da alcuni architetti, storici, sociologi e filosofi latinoamericani, tra cui Enrique Browne, Marina Waisman, Alberto Saldarriaga, Nelly Richard, Celeste Olalquiaga, Ticio Escobar, Carlos Pérez[24].

Sintetizziamo qui l'essenza di questa tesi. La crisi della modernità nei paesi del centro è dovuta soprattutto a due cause: 1) l'eccezionale aumento dell'intercomunicazione mondiale, che ha dato origine all'equiparazione di tutti i valori nel "villaggio globale"; 2) la rivolta delle periferie e il crollo del colonialismo tradizionale, che hanno messo in primo piano, con uguali diritti, tutte le diversità. Entrambe le cause mettono noi cittadini del mondo esotico, della periferia sottosviluppata e terzomondista, al centro della crisi postmoderna. Riassumendo alla meglio una discussione teorica molto sofisticata, diremo che questa tesi ci riscatta dall'imitazione inevitabile, ci libera da ogni legame con modelli d'ordine superiore, ci dà piena indipendenza di giudizio e ci autorizza per la prima volta a essere noi stessi. In quanto coautori della rivoluzione postmoderna, noi della periferia possiamo oggi, senza chiedere permesso a nessuno e senza complessi d'inferiorità, assumere il nostro volto ambiguo ed eterogeneo, accollandoci la nostra follia, la nostra magia e la nostra strana razionalità.

In quanto coautori del postmoderno, non ci resta che diventare consapevoli della nostra importanza: non vi è nessuna imitazione "necessaria", né vi sono strade da percorrere secondo tappe predeterminate e inevitabili. Si può addirittura sostenere, come ha fatto apertamente Celeste Olalquiaga, che "*l'abitudine di riferirsi contemporaneamente a culture diverse ha portato l'America Latina ad anticipare il* pastiche *postmoderno, riciclandolo a tal punto da indurci a dire che la nostra cultura, come la maggior parte di quelle dei paesi postcoloniali o terzomondisti, è stata in qualche modo postmoderna prima di quella dei centri postindustriali e ha dato vita, per così dire, a una pre-postmodernità*"[25].

Da queste considerazioni può sprigionarsi, inaspettatamente, un'aria di libertà e di novità autentica e realistica. Nella prassi dell'architettura non si tratterà allora di assimilare e imitare l'ultima moda, di essere aggiornati per essere accettati, di sembrare ciò che non si è e non si può essere; bensì di accollarsi con piena libertà, e a maggior ragione, la diversità di cui ci vestiamo ogni giorno. L'atmosfera sarà differente, e potrebbe essere efficacemente riassunta in queste parole del cileno Carlos Pérez, di ritorno da un viaggio simbolico in Europa: "*Viaggiare per l'Europa significa rendersi conto che la lucentezza delle copie può essere più spettacolare dell'opacità vetusta dei modelli; che il simulacro, con le sue finzioni, i suoi scavi, e le sue impurità, può essere più interessante dell'originale soddisfatto di sé; o semplicemente che l'originale non esiste da nessuna parte, o anche —il che fa lo stesso— non interessa più nessuno. Queste constatazioni danno al viaggio una virtù terapeutica: esso consente all'intellettuale latinoamericano di sbarazzarsi di certi fantasmi che lo opprimono e lo inibiscono nella sua produzione, nella ricerca e nella prassi. Il turbamento causato da questo viaggio ha una conseguenza salutare: la scomparsa di ogni residuo di riverenza e il riconoscimento del fatto di essere altrettanto straniero in Europa quanto a casa propria*"[26].

E in effetti bisogna convenire che per noi, irriverenti e stranieri in patria, quest'invito al gioco postmoderno rappresenta una strategia culturale adatta, in quanto legittima oggi, paradossalmente, ciò che in fondo siamo sempre stati.

Note

1) U. ECO, *Sugli specchi e altri saggi*, Milano 1985, pp. 19-20, trad. spagnola *De los espejos y otras ensayos*, Barcelona 1988, p. 22.

2) "*Faremo le Case del Popolo. Esteti e retori — speriamo che muoiano tutti — faranno poi le loro discussioni*", Juan Legarreta, cit. in I. KATZMAN, *La Arquitectura Contemporánea Mexicana, precedentes y desarrollos*, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México 1963, p. 151.

3) Cfr.: M. S. NOEL, *Fundamentos para una estetica nacional*, Buenos Aires 1926; F.E. MARISCAL, *La Patria y la Arquitectura Nacional*, México 1915; A. GUIDO, *Orientación Espiritual de la Arquitectura en América*, Rosario 1927; R. ROJAS, *Silabario de la decoración americana*, Buenos Aires 1930; J. KRONFUS, *La Arquitectura colonial en la Argentina*, Córdoba 1920.

4) F. CHUECA GOITIA, *Invariantes en la Arquitectura hispanoamericana*, Madrid 1981, p. 159.

5) O. PAZ, *La conquista de México*, in "Claves de Razón Práctica", n. 19, gennaio-febbraio 1992.

6) F. SAVATER, *Contra las Patrias*, Barcelona 1984, p. 195.

7) O. PAZ, cit.

8) M. WAISMAN, *Un proyecto de modernidad*, in AA.VV., *Modernidad y postmodernidad en América Latina*, Bogotá 1991, p. 89.
9) A. SALDARRIAGA, *Discusiones actuales en torno a la arquitectura latinoamericana*, Bogotá 1991.
10) J. F. LIERNUR, *Nacionalismo y universalidad en la arquitectura latinoamericana*, in *Modernidad y postmodernidad*, cit., p. 71.
11) E. BROWNE, *Algunas características de la nueva arquitectura latinoamericana*, in "Summa" n. 286-87, 1991.
12) Cfr.: J. VERNE, *Le superbe Orénoque*, 1898, trad. spagnola *El soberbio Orinoco*, Caracas s.d.; A. CONAN DOYLE, *The Professor Challenger Stories. The Lost World*, London 1912.
13) J. TANIZAKI, *In Praise of Shadows*, New Haven 1977, pp. 17-18 (cit. in A. REED, *Signifying Shadows*, in "Via", n. 11, 1990).
14) E.-L. BOULLÉE, *Architecture. Essai sur l'art*; trad. spagnola *Arquitectura. Ensayo sobre el arte*, Barcelona 1985, p. 71; trad. it., *Architettura. Saggio sull'arte*, Padova 1967, p. 75.
15) J.E. RIVERA, *La Vorágine*, Caracas 1976, p. 142.
16) M. PICON SALAS, *Biblioteca Mariano Picón-Salas*, vol. IV, Monte Avila 1987, p. 148.
17) "*Il corso di questi fiumi, in queste terre illimitate e piatte, sviluppa pacificamente l'implacabile conseguenza della gravità, della fisica; si tratta della legge della linea di maggior pendenza la quale, quando tutto diviene piatto, genera il teorema commovente del meandro. Io lo chiamo teorema perché il meandro che risulta dall'erosione è un fenomeno a sviluppo ciclico, assolutamente simile a quello del pensiero creativo, dell'invenzione umana. Disegnando dall'alto dell'aereo i lineamenti di un meandro, sono riuscito a spiegarmi le difficoltà che incontrano i processi umani, gli ostacoli in cui essi inciampano, le soluzioni apparentemente miracolose che improvvisamente risolvono situazioni inestricabili. Per mio uso, ho battezzato questo fenomeno la* legge del meandro, *e nel corso delle mie conferenze a San Paolo e a Rio ho approfittato di questo miracoloso simbolo per introdurre le mie proposte sulle riforme urbanistiche e architettoniche, per prendere appoggio dalla natura in una circostanza in cui presentivo un pubblico capace d'incolparmi di ciarlataneria*", LE CORBUSIER, *Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme*, Parigi 1930, trad. it *Precisazioni sullo stato attuale dell'architettura e dell'urbanistica*, a cura di F. Tentori, Bari 1979, p. 15.
18) LE CORBUSIER, cit., trad. it. pp. 13-14.
19) Le idee qui espresse hanno cominciato a prendere corpo durante le conversazioni, informali ma impegnative, sulle nostre città e sulla nostra architettura avute con Pancho Liernur a Caracas nell'inverno 1991.
20) Ci riferiamo a Rafael Viñoly nel Forum di Tokio e a Borja Huidobro nel nuovo Ministero francese delle Finanze.
21) Cfr. N. RICHARD, *Latinoamérica y la Postmodernidad*, in "Revista de Critica Cultural", n. 3, aprile 1991, Santiago de Chile.
22) Cfr. G. MOSQUERA, *El síndrome de Marco Polo: algunos problemas alrededor de arte y Eurocentrismo*, relazione tenuta al Primer Encuentro Internacional sobre Teoría de las Artes Visuales, Caracas 1992.
23) Cfr. specialmente il primo capitolo *Postmoderno: una società trasparente?* del volume *La società trasparente*, Milano 1989.
24) Cfr.: E. BROWNE, cit.; M. WAISMAN, cit.; A. SALDARRIAGA, cit.; N. RICHARD, cit.; J.J. BRUNNER, *6 preguntas a J.J. Brunner*, in "Revista de Crítica Cultural", n. 2, 1991, Santiago de Chile; N. GARCIA CANCLINI, *Escenas sin territorios*, in "Revista de Crítica Cultural", n. 3, 1991, Santiago de Chile; C. OLALQUIAGA, *Tupinicópolis, la ciudad de los indios retrofuturistas*, in "Revista de Crítica Cultural", n. 3, 1991, Santiago de Chile; T. ESCOBAR, *El arte actual en relación con la modernidad y la postmodernidad*, relazione tenuta al Primer Encuentro Internacional sobre Teoría de las Artes Visuales, Caracas 1992.
25) C. OLALQUIAGA, cit.
26) C. PEREZ, *Una visión peregrina*, in "Revista de Crítica Cultural", n. 3, 1991, Santiago de Chile.

4) F. CHUECA GOITIA, Invariantes en la Arquitectura hispanoamericana, *Madrid, 1981, p. 159.*
5) O. PAZ, La conquista de México, *in "Claves de Razón Práctica", no 19, January-February 1992.*
6) F. SAVATER, Contra las Patrias, *Barcelona, 1984, p. 195.*
7) O. PAZ, op. cit.
8) M. WAISMAN, Un proyecto de modernidad, *in* Modernidad y postmodernidad en América Latina, *Bogotá, 1991.*
9) A. SALDARRIAGA, Discusiones actuales en torno a la arquitectura latinoamericana, *Bogotá, 1991.*
10) J. F. LIERNUR, Nacionalismo y universalidad en la arquitectura latinoamericana, *in* Modernidad y postmodernidad, *op. cit. p. 71.*
11) E. BROWNE, Algunas características de la nueva arquitectura latinoamericana, *in "Summa", nos. 286-87, 1991.*
12) See J. VERNE, Le superbe Orénoque, 1898 (Spanish trans. El soberbio Orinoco, *Caracas, 1898); A. CONAN DOYLE,* The Professor Challenger Stories. The Lost World, *London, 1912.*
13) J. TANIZAKI, In Praise of Shadows, *New Haven, 1977, pp. 17-18 (cited in A. REED,* Signifying Shadows, *in "Via" 11, 1990).*
14) E.-L. BOULLÉE, Architecture. Essai sur l'art *(Spanish trans.* Arquitectura. Ensayo sobre el arte, *Barcelona, 1985, p. 71).*
15) J.E. RIVERA, La Vorágine, *Caracas, 1976, p. 142.*
16) M. PICÓN SALAS, Biblioteca Mariano Picón-Salas, *vol. IV, Monte Avila, 1987, p. 148.*
17) "The courses of the rivers in these flat limitless lands peacefully elaborate the implacable consequences of gravity, of physics. This is the law of the steepest gradient which, when everything becomes flat, produces the moving theorem of the meander. I call it a theorem because the meander which results from erosion is a phenomenon that develops cyclically in a way totally like creative thought, human invention. Drawing the outlines of a meander from an aeroplane, I was able to explain to myself the difficulties that human processes meet with, the obstacles they stumble against, the apparently miraculous solutions that suddenly solve insoluble situations. For my own use, I baptised this phenomenon the law of the meander, and I made good use of this wonderful symbol during my lectures in São Paulo and Rio to present my proposals for planning and architecture reforms, and to turn to nature for support in situations where an audience might have accused me of charlatanism". *LE CORBUSIER,* Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme, *Paris, 1930.*
18) LE CORBUSIER, op. cit.
19) These ideas developed during informal though serious conversations with Pancho Liernur about our cities and architecture in Caracas in the winter of 1991.
20) We refer here to Rafael Viñoli's Forum in Tokyo and Borja Huidobro's new French Ministry of Finance.
21) See N. RICHARD, Latinoaméricana y la postmodernidad, *in "Revista de Critica Cultural", no. 3, April 1991, Santiago de Chile.*
22) See G. MOSQUERA, El síndrome de Marco Polo: algunos problemas alrededor de arte y Eurocentrismo, *lecture at the Primer Encuentro Internacional sobre Teoría de las Artes Visuales, Caracas, 1992.*
23) See especially the first chapter, G. VATTIMO, Postmoderno: una società trasparente? *in* La società trasparente, *Milan, 1989.*
24) See E. BROWNE, op. cit.; M. WAISMAN, op. cit.; A. SALDARRIAGA, op. cit.; N. RICHARD op. cit.; J.J. BRUNNER, 6 preguntas a J.J. Brunner, *in "Revista de Crítica Cultural", no. 2, 1991, Santiago de Chile; N. GARCIA CANCLINI,* Escenas sin territorios, *in "Revista de Crítica Cultural", no. 3, 1991, Santiago de Chile; C. OLALQUIAGA, Tupinicópolis, la ciudad de los indios retrofuturistas, in "Revista de Crítica Cultural", no. 3, 1991, Santiago de Chile; T. ESCOBAR,* El arte actual en relación con la modernidad y la postmodernidad, *lecture at the Primer Encuentro Internacional sobre Teoría de las Artes Visuales, Caracas, 1992.*
25) C. OLALQUIAGA, op. cit.
26) C. PEREZ, Una visión peregrina, *in "Revista de Crítica Cultural", no. 3, 1991, Santiago de Chile.*

Le Corbusier, Appartamento Beistégui, Parigi, 1930-31.

Le Corbusier, Beistégui Apartment, Paris, 1930-31.



Un nuovo mondo per lo spirito nuovo: le scoperte dell'America Latina da parte della cultura architettonica del XX secolo*

Jorge Francisco Liernur

*A New World for the New Spirit: Twentieth-Century Architecture's Discovery of Latin America**

Jorge Francisco Liernur

"Devo riconoscere, cosa che credo toccherà a tutti coloro che agiscono sullo stesso principio, che nell'esporgli quelle cose in effetti informavo e istruivo me stesso su molti punti che o non conoscevo, o non avevo pienamente considerato prima, ma che si presentavano naturalmente alla mia mente quando li sviscerayo per istruire questo povero selvaggio. E in quella occasione, nell'indagare il mistero delle cose, sentii più passione che mai prima; così che, traesse o no questa povera creatura selvaggia un beneficio da me, io avevo gran motivo di essere grato al cielo perché era venuto a me. Il mio dolore mi pesava meno, il mio soggiorno qui divenne oltre ogni dire confortevole"

Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 1719, Torino 1963

Un modo per introdurre: l'espisodio dell'Esposizione del 1889

Dal ristorante del primo livello della Torre Eiffel lo sguardo del visitatore della Grande Esposizione Universale di Parigi del 1889 rilevava in primo piano due costruzioni su entrambi i lati del suo asse sudovest-nordest. Si trattava dei padiglioni Messicano e Cileno[1]. Nella loro dislocazione speculare rispetto all'asse di composizione, questi edifici rappresentavano i due estremi tra i quali oscilla la moderna cultura architettonica latinoamericana nell'immaginario dell'occidente. Sul lato destro dell'osservatore il Padiglione Messicano era una sorta di monumento preispanico[2] che, si supponeva, avrebbe dovuto esprimere il "carattere" dell'architettura di questo paese. Sul lato sinistro, il Padiglione Cileno era una struttura prefabbricata smontabile che fu successivamente trasportata e rimontata a Santiago del Cile[3].

L'anacronismo della proposta messicana fu criticata duramente. Si produceva, come succederà nell'arco del secolo, un complesso incrocio di sguardi. L'Esposizione del 1889 cercava di mostrare l'importanza della Francia nella grande onda del Progresso. La mostra sulla "abitazione umana", organizzata da Charles Garnier con una interpretazione in chiave "antropologica" dell'abitare in *tutte* le nazioni, dava spazio all'"altro" da quel progresso: e perciò il padiglione risultava non solo anacronistico ma addirittura atopico. Però Antonio Peñafiel, progettista dell'edificio, non aveva fatto altro che riproporre la logica che gli stessi francesi avevano inaugurato in una Esposizione anteriore. In effetti, nella Mostra parigina del 1867 era stato presentato un Padiglione Messicano consistente nella riproduzione —realizzata e supervisionata personalmente da

"I must confess to have found what I believe all those who act upon the same principle will find, that in laying things open to him, I really informed and instructed myself in many things that either I did not know, or had not fully considered before, but which occurred naturally to my mind upon my searching into them for the information of this poor savage. And I had more affection in my inquiry after things upon this occasion than ever I felt before; so that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or not, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me. My grief sat lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure "

Daniel Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, 1719

By Way of Introduction: the 1889 Paris Exhibition

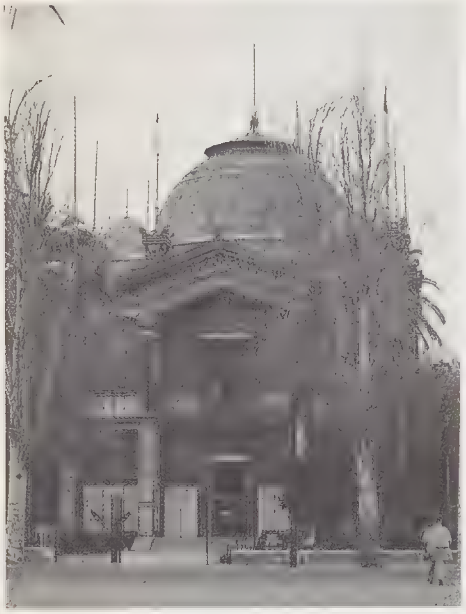
When they looked down from the restaurant on the first level of the Eiffel Tower in 1889, visitors to the Great Universal Exhibition of Paris saw constructions immediately below the Tower on either side of the Exhibition's southwest-northeast axis: the Mexico and Chile pavilions[1]. With their symmetrical positioning in the layout of the Exhibition, these buildings represented the two extremes between which conventional Western opinion believed modern Latin American architecture fluctuated. On the right, the Mexican Pavilion stood as a sort of pre-Hispanic monument[2] supposedly representing the "character" of the country's architecture. Opposite it, on the left, stood the Chile Pavilion, a collapsible prefabricated structure that was subsequently shipped to Santiago de Chile and reassembled there[3].

The anachronistic Mexican contribution was fiercely criticised: then as throughout the rest of the century, the country was caught in a complex crossfire of conflicting opinion. The 1889 Exhibition set out to demonstrate the importance of France's contribution to the great wave of Modern Progress. Charles Garnier's exhibition on the "human dwelling", in which the life-styles of all *nations were presented from an "anthropological" point of view, afforded glimpses of the "other side" of this Progress, so the Mexico pavilion was actually out of place as well as anachronistic. And yet, all Antonio Peñafiel, the designer of the building, had done was to carry a stage further something the French themselves had started in a previous exhibition. The Mexico Pavilion at the 1867 Exhibition had featured a reproduction — built under the personal supervision of Cesar Daly himself — of the Quetzacoatl Temple at Xochicalco[4]. In this case, Maximilian of Austria, an emperor imposed by Napoleon III,*

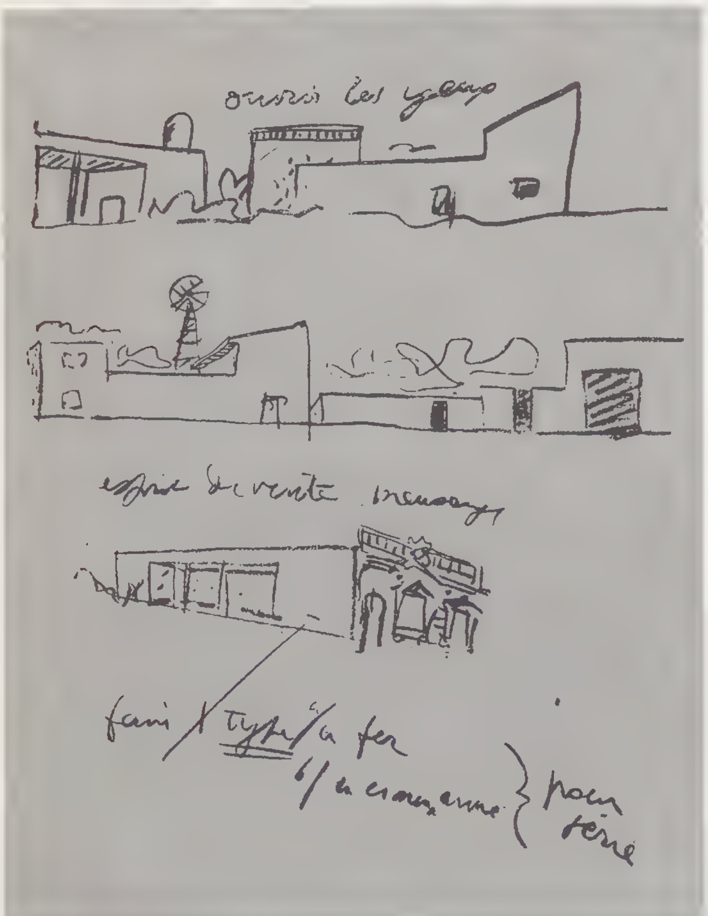
Gottfried Semper, Progetto per un teatro a Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1858.
Henri Picq, Padiglione del Cile all'Esposizione Universale, Parigi, 1889.
Antonio Peñafiel, Padiglione del Messico all'Esposizione Universale, Parigi, 1889.

Le Corbusier, Schizzi di edifici, Buenos Aires, 1929. Da Précisions, *Parigi, 1930, p. 229.*
Le Corbusier, Schizzo di studio per l'Atelier Davila, Santiago, Cile, 1929.











Gottfried Semper, Theatre project in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1858.
Henri Picq, Chile Pavilion at the Universal Exhibition, Paris, 1889.
Antonio Peñafiel, Mexico Pavilion at the Universal Exhibition, Paris, 1889.
Le Corbusier, sketches of buildings, Buenos Aires, 1929. From Précisions, *Paris, 1930, p. 229.*
Le Corbusier, study sketch for the Davila Studio, Santiago, Chile, 1929.

Cesar Daly— del tempio di Quetzacoatl a Xochicalco[4]. In questo caso, Massimiliano d'Austria, un imperatore imposto da Napoleone III, mostrava il Messico nella sua differenza. In uno stadio iniziale della modernità, non era l'omologazione, ma la coesistenza delle diversità la chiave che questa Esposizione postulava: "*Tutti i popoli del mondo sono qui presenti e, anche quelli nemici, vivono in pace uno a fianco dell'altro*"[5].
Nel 1889 il Padiglione Cileno si dispose sul polo opposto rispetto al postulato del Messico, e adottò la strategia dell'autodissoluzione. Instaurare il mito della "gioventù", ignorando passato e radici, sembrava l'attitudine adeguata per ottenere un'accettazione senza problemi nel "concerto delle nazioni". Henri Picq, l'architetto francese che progettò il padiglione, elaborò così una risposta senza alcuna allusione al paese che stava rappresentando. All'interno, i conquistatori europei, con sfavillanti armature protagoniste della *Fondazione di Santiago*, una tela del pittore cileno Pedro Lira, meditavano sul futuro del loro atto sotto un duplice punto di vista: quello della perplessità dell'indio sottomesso ai loro piedi, e quello della simpatia del pubblico che si soffermava ad osservarli.

Fare l'America

I committenti

È noto che nella seconda metà del XIX secolo, durante il periodo di espansione imperialista alla ricerca delle materie prime, i paesi dell'America Latina subirono improvvisi e determinanti processi di trasformazione. La modernizzazione delle infrastrutture disarticolò bruscamente pratiche e idee tradizionali della disciplina architettonica, derivate dal modello classico, imponendo nuove domande e nuovi operatori. Un cospicuo flusso di professionisti europei coprì, nella prima fase, quelle nuove necessità e servì da base per una nuova articolazione della disciplina.
L'America Latina costituiva allora un favoloso campo di realizzazioni nel quale confluivano professionisti di quasi tutti i paesi, attratti dalle risorse disponibili, dall'elevata domanda, dalla mancanza di importanti competenze e dalla capacità ricettiva delle *élite*. Gustav Eiffel costruì chiese e case; Gottfried Semper ebbe modo di mostrare la sua concezione teatrale nel concorso per l'Opera di Rio de Janeiro; Pedro Benoit progettò e costruì la città di La Plata; Francisco Tamburini il Teatro Colon di Buenos Aires; Thomas Reed il Campidoglio di Bogotà; Adamo Boari il Palazzo delle Belle Arti del Messico. Così dalla città di

had portrayed a different Mexico because, in those early days of the modern era, the Exhibition had set out to portray the co-existence of differences rather than point to standardisation: "All the peoples of the world are present here, and even enemy peoples live side by side in peace"[5].
Later, in the 1889 Exhibition, the Chile Pavilion went the opposite way to the Mexico Pavilion by consciously embracing a strategy of self-dissolution. Establishing a cult of "youth" by ignoring its past and roots seemed the right way for Chile to win easy acceptance in the "concord of nations". Thus, Henri Picq, the French architect who designed the pavilion, produced a building that made no allusion to the country it actually represented. Inside, in the The Founding of Santiago *by the Chilean painter Pedro Lira, the European* conquistadors *in their gleaming armour offered a dual vision of the future outcome of their deeds: the bewilderment of a subjugated Indian grovelling at their feet, and the well-wishes of a crowd gathered to look at them.*

Creating America

The commissioning Agents

The Latin American countries underwent sudden and radical change in the second half of the nineteenth century as they felt the impact of Imperialist expansion hungry for industy's raw materials. The modernisation of their infrastructures led to the disintegration of traditional architectural ideas and practices based on classical models, ushering in new demands and a new breed of architects and entrepreneurs. In the early stages, these new needs were met by a substantial flow of European professionals who also laid the foundations for new approaches to architecture.
At that time, Latin America offered fabulous opportunities that drew professionals from virtually the entire world, attracted by the resources available, the high level of demand, unfilled positions of responsibility and a ruling class receptive to new ideas. Gustav Eiffel built churches and houses, Gottfried Semper was given the opportunity to explain his concept of theatre in the competition for the Rio de Janeiro Opera House, Pedro Benoit designed and built the city of La Plata, Francisco Tamburini built the Colon Theatre in Buenos Aires, Thomas Reed the Capitol in Bogotà and Adamo Boari the Fine Arts Building in Mexico. From Punta Arenas in Tierra del Fuego to the Californian peninsula in Central America, hundreds of architects and engineers experienced what it meant to work in a professional "Eldorado" whose mythical glories fuelled even the

Walter Gropius, Frank Möller, Progetto di club nautico nel piano urbanistico per Chapadmalal, Argentina, 1931.
Richard Neutra, Progetto per un centro sanitario, Portorico, 1944.
Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Progetto per l'edificio Bacardi a Santiago di Cuba, 1957.

Marcel Breuer, con E. Catalano e C. Coire, Ristorante a Mar del Plata, Argentina, 1948.
Walter Gropius, Frank Möller, Progetto di residenze collettive a Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1931.

Punta Arenas, nella Terra del Fuoco, fino alla penisola della California in America Centrale, centinaia di architetti ed ingegneri sperimentarono il mito di un "eldorado" professionale che alimentò anche l'immaginazione delle avanguardie della prima decade del XX secolo.
Per le *élite* latinoamericane arricchite, le principali capitali europee, ma soprattutto Parigi, erano luoghi di seconda residenza negli anni della nascita e dello sviluppo di queste avanguardie. Non è strano quindi che, anche se in forme diverse, molti loro esponenti frequentarono gli ambienti più sofisticati della rivoluzione moderna, così come rilevato da grandi classici della letteratura quali *I sette cavalieri dell'apocalisse* di Valle Inclán o *Il ricorso del metodo* di Carpentier. Famiglie possidenti come i Bemberg dell'Argentina, i Platiño della Bolivia, o i Gargantini in Svizzera[6], vivevano il riflesso dell'immigrazione, e i loro figli si formavano come europei. L'argentino Jorge Luis Borges era un giovane studente a Ginevra quando a Zurigo scandalizzava il Cabaret Voltaire; il poeta cileno Huidobro collaborava a "L'Esprit Nouveau"[7], il cubano Emilio Terry forniva sofisticate idee all'*élite* parigina. Il tango era tanto nuovo quanto il *jazz*, e ballarlo snob come finanziare qualche avventura dell'avanguardia.
Spesso si dimentica che anche uno dei più strani esperimenti di Le Corbusier si produsse in questa congiunzione culturale. Componente ed animatore di questa "*gentry illuminata e cosmopolita*"[8], Carlos (Charles, Charly) Beistégui, il proprietario della terrazza degli Champs Elysées 136, era membro di una famiglia messicana arricchitasi con le miniere. In un ambiente più raccolto, Henry Sloman, benché di origine tedesca, aveva fatto fortuna nella estrazione del salnitro, residendo per più di tre decenni in Cile. Stabilitosi ad Amburgo con grande disponibilità di capitali, Sloman decise di entrare nel mondo dell'edilizia durante la grave inflazione del 1921. Il risultato fu un grande edificio residenziale per operai che progettò Fritz Höger e che Sloman, in omaggio al suo passato, battezzò "Chilehaus"[9].
Con maggiore frequenza, anche se sedotti dal generoso corno dell'abbondanza dell'America Latina, gli architetti europei riuscirono a completare opere nel nuovo continente. La tenacia di Le Corbusier, si sa, fu premiata in diverse misure e in varie occasioni[10]. In forma di progetti preliminari rimasero la casa per Victoria Ocampo, un "grattacielino", un museo, un *atélier* e un complesso di case a Buenos Aires; così come un laboratorio per Roberto

imagination of the early twentieth-century avant-garde movements.
During the formative years of these avant-gardes, the nouveau rich Latin American élites *had second homes in the main European capitals, especially Paris. So it is no surprise that, even if in their own different ways, many of them moved in the more sophisticated Modernist revolutionary circles, as can be seen from such great literary classics as Valle Inclán's* The Seven Horsemen of the Apocalypse *or Carpentier's* Recourse to the Method. *The consequences of this inverse immigration rubbed off on such wealthy families as the Bembergs in Argentina, the Platiños in Bolivia and the Gargantinis in Switzerland[6], all of whose children were brought up as Europeans.*
Argentine-born Jorge Luis Borges was a young student in Geneva when the Cabaret Voltaire was the scandal of Zurich; the Chilean poet Huidobro wrote for L'Esprit Nouveau[7], *and the Cuban Emilio Terry brought sophisticated ideas to the attention of the Paris* élite. *The tango was as new and as fashionable as jazz, and dancing it had the same snob value as financing some new avant-garde venture. It is often forgotten that this cultural cross-fertilisation also gave rise to one of Le Corbusier's strangest experiments. Carlos (Charles, Charly) Beistégui, member and* animateur *of this* "enlightened, cosmopolitan gentry"[8] *and owner of the terrace at Champs Elysées 136, came from a Mexican family that had grown rich on mining. Less conspicuously, German-born Henry Sloman had lived for over three decades in Chile where he had built a fortune on salt-petre. After settling in Hamburg with a large amount of capital behind him, he decided to go into the construction business during the great inflation of 1921. The result was a large working-class housing complex designed by Fritz Höger, which Sloman named the "Chilehaus" as a tribute to his past[9].*
Although seduced by the cornucopian riches of Latin America, European architects were increasingly able to complete works on the New Continent. As is well known, Le Corbusier's tenacity was rewarded in varying degrees on various occasions[10]. The Victoria Ocampo house, a "little skyscraper", a museum, a studio and a housing complex in Buenos Aires, as well as a workshop for Roberto Davila in Chile, another house in São Paulo for Paulo Prado and a chapel in Bogotà, never got beyond the preliminary design stage. The design for the French Embassy in Brasilia, which did reach an advanced design stage, was an attempt to sum

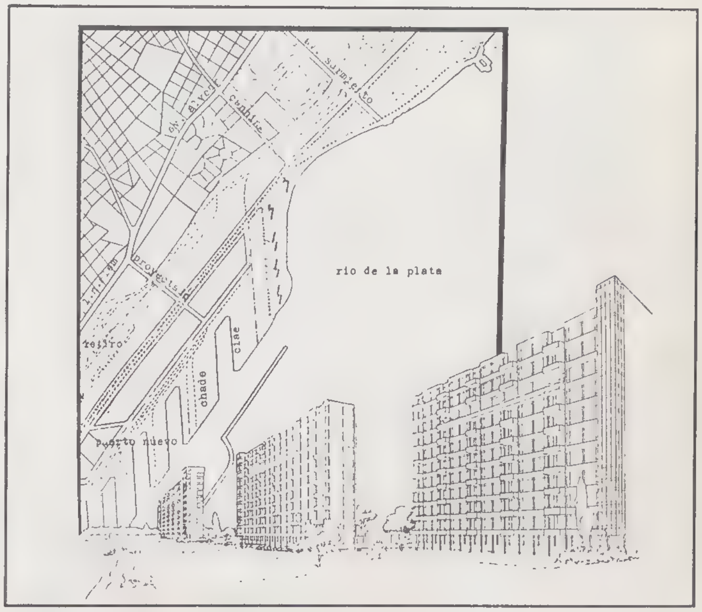
Walter Gropius, Frank Möller, Sailing club project in the city plan for Chapadmalal, Argentina, 1931.
Richard Neutra, Health centre project, Portorico, 1944.
Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Project for the Bacardi Building in Santiago de Cuba, 1957.
Marcel Breuer, with E. Catalano and C. Coire, Restaurant in Mar del Plata, Argentina, 1948.
Walter Gropius, Frank Möller, Project for communal residences in Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1931.











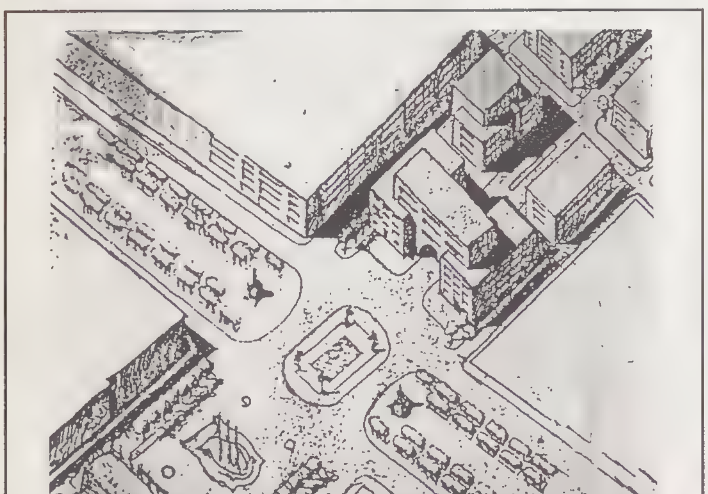
Alfred Agache, Piano per Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1926-30.
Lucio Costa, Park Hotel, San Clemente, Stato di Rio, Brasile, 1944.
Oscar Niemeyer, Casa Niemeyer, Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1953.
Oscar Niemeyer, Padiglione di ballo, Pampulha, Brasile, 1940-42.
Karl Brunner, Proposta per il centro civico di Santiago, asse nord-sud, Cile, 1934.
Le Corbusier, Proposta urbanistica per San Paolo, Brasile, 1929.

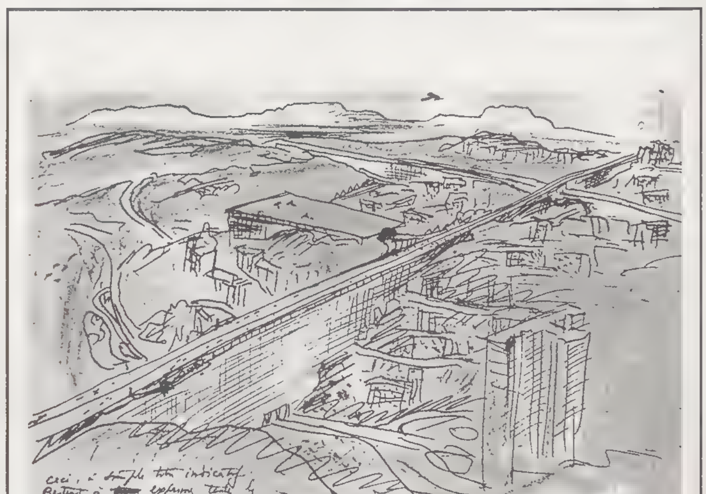












Alfred Agache, Plan for Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1926-30.
Lucio Costa, Park Hotel, San Clemente, Rio State, Brazil, 1944.
Oscar Niemeyer, Niemeyer House, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1953.
Oscar Niemeyer, Dance Pavilion, Pampulha, Brazil, 1940-42.

Karl Brunner, Proposal for the centre of Santiago (north-south axis), Chile, 1934.
Le Corbusier, Planning proposal for São Paulo, Brazil, 1929.

Davila in Cile, un'altra casa a San Paolo per Paulo Prado e una cappella a Bogotà. Il progetto per l'ambasciata di Francia a Brasilia raggiunse uno sviluppo avanzato e costituì un tentativo di sintesi della sua concezione tripartita del senso delle forme: l'ortogonalità (il quadrato) per l'umano, il cerchio per l'ordine del cosmo, la sinuosità per l'accidentale[11]. Nella casa per Matias Errazuriz in Cile, sulla riva del Pacifico, Le Corbusier reinterpretò le costruzioni popolari del Cono Sud e scoprì la formula vernacola della pietra e del legno, che successivamente si sarebbe convertita in una sorta di parola ricorrente della polemica regionalista negli anni a seguire. Il suo intervento nel Ministero dell'Educazione di Rio de Janeiro fu controverso, ma l'edificio finì per essere costruito e nel 1936 permise di comprovare, per la prima volta nella storia dell'architettura occidentale, le qualità del tipo per uffici composto su piastra verticale, che la sede delle Nazioni Unite avrebbe reso popolari un decennio più tardi. La casa per il Dottor Curutchet nella città argentina di La Plata è una delle più interessanti opere costruite da Le Corbusier tra gli anni Quaranta e Cinquanta. In essa, una piccola opera che riprende i temi del periodo purista e apre la fase di ricerca delle case indiane[12], Le Corbusier ottiene una inedita simbiosi tra due tipi di architetture: quella dell'*objet trouvé* e quella macchinistica.
Con minore fortuna, e anche forse con minore convinzione, Walter Gropius cercò di impiantare uno studio a Buenos Aires, prima di emigrare in Inghilterra. Per farlo contò sull'aiuto di Frank Möller, un giovane architetto a cui suggerì la possibilità di intraprendere l'attività professionale in Argentina[13]. Si avvarranno di alcune relazioni, come la facoltosa famiglia Martinez de Hoz, per la quale progettarono un insediamento turistico; e con l'appoggio della sempre protagonista Victoria Ocampo. A Buenos Aires Möller presentò le sue attività come quelle dello studio Möller/Gropius, e portò a termine, tra gli altri lavori, l'adattamento sulle rive del Rio de La Plata del progetto che Gropius aveva esposto al CIAM di Bruxelles, e la costruzione di due piccole case economiche nel suburbio di Buenos Aires. Nella stessa città, tre decenni più tardi, Gropius progettò l'ambasciata della Germania Federale, ma l'opera non riuscì a concretizzarsi.
Mies van der Rohe realizzò almeno tre progetti per diversi paesi dell'America Latina: il consolato degli Stati Uniti a San Paolo del Brasile e gli edifici per l'amministrazione della ditta Bacardi in Messico e a Cuba. Quest'ultimo

up his tripartite concept of form: the square for man, the circle for cosmic order and the curve for the accidental[11]. Le Corbusier reinterpreted the popular dwellings of the Cono Sud in his house for Matias Errazuriz, in Chile, on the Pacific seashore discovering the stone and wood vernacular formula that would become a recurrent theme in regional controversies in years to come. His work on the Education Ministry in Rio de Janeiro was controversial but the building eventually went up in 1936 and gave Western architecture its first ever vertical, slab-like office block, the type that would become popular a decade later with the United Nations building. The house for Doctor Curuthcet in the Argentine city of La Plata is one of the most interesting of Le Corbusier's works of the forties and fifties.
In this small building that reworks a number of Purist themes and marks the start of his research into Indian houses[12], Le Corbusier achieved a then unprecedented symbiosis of mechanistic architecture and architecture as objet trouveé.
Less successful and perhaps with less conviction, Walter Gropius tried to set up a studio in Buenos Aires before emigrating to Great Britain. To do this he enlisted the help of the young architect Frank Möller, offering him the opportunity to work professionally in Argentina[13]. They made use of their connections, including the well-to-do Martinez de Hoz family for whom they designed a tourist resort, and worked with the support of Victoria Ocampo, still a leading figure. Möller signed his work Möller/Gropius, and completed, among other things, the adaptation on the Rio de La Plata waterfront (the project for which Gropius had exhibited at the CIAM in Brussels) along with two small, low-cost houses in the suburbs of Buenos Aires. In the same city, three decades later, Gropius designed the West German Embassy, but the project never got off the ground.
Mies van der Rohe succeeded in building at least three projects in various Latin American countries: the United States Consulate in São Paulo, Brazil, and the Bacardi offices in Mexico and Cuba. The latter illustrated very well Mies's interpretation of the relationship between system and exception, rule and difference[14]. Obliged by his client's program to produce a totally free plan, Mies incorporated into his design at least two features which once again made it both part of a series and a specific response to a given situation. The outdoor galleries of the traditional Havana hotel in which he lived gave him the idea of adding them to the new office block, while the Cuban climate persuaded him to use reinforced concrete[15]. The result was a brilliantly original solution that later served as the basis for the

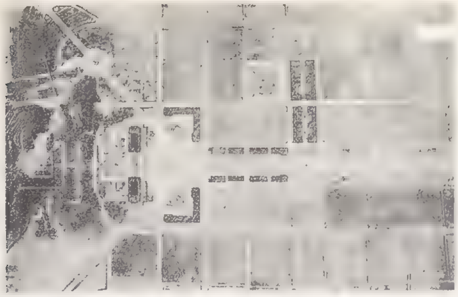
Maurice Rotival, Primo progetto per il Piano di Caracas, 1939: planimetria generale e prospettiva.

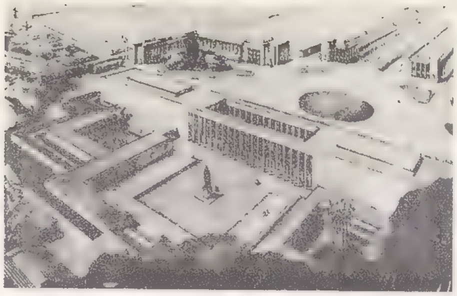
Maurice Rotival, Initial project for Caracas city plan, 1939: general plan and perspective view.

costituì un eccellente esempio del senso miesiano di intendere la relazione tra sistema ed eccezione, regola e differenza[14]. Dovendo realizzare una pianta assolutamente libera, condizionata in questo caso da una richiesta del committente, Mies incorporò nella sua soluzione almeno due caratteristiche che fecero del suo progetto, una volta di più, una parte di una serie e, contemporaneamente, una risposta particolare. I ballatoi del patio dell'albergo avanero tradizionale in cui risiedeva gli suggerirono il loro impiego intorno al blocco dell'edificio; le caratteristiche del clima salmastro del luogo lo spinsero all'uso del cemento armato[15]. Il risultato fu una magnifica soluzione inedita che servì a sua volta come base per il progetto della Nationalgalerie di Berlino.
Marcel Breuer costruì un ristorante a Mar del Plata come risultato di una sua visita del 1948 in Argentina. Ma tra i maestri consacrati dalla storiografia fu Richard Neutra che manifestò maggiore interesse e impegno nella regione. Questo interesse non solo si espresse nelle sue diverse visite, quanto nelle svariate proposte architettoniche. Allo stesso modo in cui seppe articolare temi dell'avanguardia centroeuropea con la cultura nordamericana, Neutra ha agito da nesso tra queste e l'ambito latinoamericano. Favorita dalla politica "modernizzatrice" che il Dipartimento di Stato degli Stati Uniti promuoveva nella regione[16], e insistendo sulla determinazione della forma legata a fattori geografici (clima, materiali, paesaggio), la sua formula progettuale ebbe una immensa ripercussione in quasi tutti i paesi dell'America Latina. Egli stesso elaborò una serie di progetti di scuole ed ospedali per il Portorico, e costruì case unifamiliari a Caracas e L'Avana.

I viaggi e i piani

A differenza delle altre aree del "terzo mondo", l'America Latina sembra presentarsi alla vista del "primo mondo" come un fenomeno con il quale è legata: non appartiene al centro, ma ne è una delle estremità, il bordo di un territorio per il quale l'Atlantico è un mare interno. Dal nord, la si percorre con la familiarità di un cortile posteriore. Da est si intraprende una visita alla frontiera: il Pacifico è il riflesso liquido degli Urali.
Il riconoscimento di questo "lontano occidente" possiede inoltre l'attrazione della *tabula rasa*. Non offre la densa "saggezza" dell'oriente[17], ma seduce con il "rilassamento" della sua apertura: dopo quattro secoli, una pagina bianca copre il gigantesco genocidio e rifulge come verità naturale.
Non sono stati pochi i "curiosi" che si presentarono per lasciare su di essa una traccia. Frank Lloyd Wright visitò Rio de Janeiro nel 1930. Aveva accettato di far parte della giuria del concorso per il Faro di Colombo, e come tale assegnò il primo premio a un progetto in stile neomaya. Senz'altro nella sua autobiografia [18] questo episodio occupa un posto minore. Di quella visita Wright ricorda il clima e il paesaggio, ma soprattutto un evento politico di cui si descrive come protagonista: la ribellione degli studenti contro i vecchi metodi didattici della Scuola di Belle Arti. Secondo la sua testimonianza fu il suo appoggio, opponendosi alle autorità con il rischio di essere arrestato, che permise agli studenti di sostenere le loro rivendicazioni. Vale la pena di ricordare che la "scoperta" del Brasile da parte del MOMA (Museum of Modern Art) si verificò nello stesso anno, il 1943, in cui Wright ricorda il suo soggiorno, e che le principali figure del Movimento Moderno studentesco erano state tra gli altri Lucio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer e i fratelli Roberto, le "stelle" dell'Esposizione del MOMA.
Walter Gropius visitò il Messico nelle sue vacanze estive del 1946[19]. Sebbene avesse viaggiato all'interno del paese, trascorse nella capitale la maggior parte del tempo, dove tentò di realizzare un progetto per una chiesa che aveva elaborato con un alunno di Harvard, Jorge Gonzalez Reyna. Gropius scoprì il Brasile una decina d'anni dopo Wright, nel gennaio del 1954, in un episodio su cui torneremo più avanti. Nello stesso viaggio visitò il Perù, dove fu ospite del Presidente, l'architetto Fernando Belaunde Terry. A Cuba, dove era stato nel 1949, Gropius trascorse varie settimane nel 1957. Come parte delle sue riflessioni di questo periodo, gli interessava osservare la relazione tra idee generali e particolarità locali di entrambi i paesi. Più che la "purezza" della produzione precolombiana, del Perù ammirò il sincretismo tra il codice importato dai conquistatori spagnoli e la cultura e le conoscenze degli indios, così come si esprimeva nei monumenti barocchi del Cuzco o di Lima. In un diario successivo, Ilse Gropius descrisse da Cuba la collaborazione di suo marito con vecchi studenti di tutto il mondo come un'eccellente opportunità per produrre una felice "*combinazione tra forme moderne e particolarità locali*"[20].
Il viaggio realizzato nel 1929 in America Latina ebbe per Le Corbusier significati più intensi e trascendenti. E, con quello del 1936, più trascendenti di quelli delle successive visite (del 1947, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1962). Questo viaggio





Nationalgalerie in Berlin.
Marcel Breuer built a restaurant in Mar del Plata after a visit to Argentina in 1948. But of the all-time architectural greats it was Richard Neutra who showed most commitment to South America. His interest was expressed not only by his various visits to the continent, but also in the wide range of architectural projects he produced there. Just as he had been able to unite the themes of the Central European avant-gardes and North American culture, he also provided the link between these themes and the Latin American context. Encouraged by the "modernising" policies the U.S. State Department was promoting in the region[16], and with his insistence that geographical factors (climate, materials, landscape) should determine form, his design formula had an immense influence on nearly all the Latin American countries. He himself designed a series of schools and hospitals for Puerto Rico and built detached houses in Caracas and Havana.

Travels and Plans
Unlike other "Third World" regions, Latin America appears to have much in common with the "First World": it does not belong to the centre, but it is certainly one of the centre's outer regions, the fringes of a territory which has the Atlantic Ocean is its inland sea. From the north you cross it as if it's your own backyard. From the east you head towards frontier country: the Pacific Ocean is a liquid equivalent of the Urals. This "far West" also has the attraction of the tabula rasa. *It lacks the intense "wisdom" of the Orient[17], but the "relaxation" of its openness is highly seductive. Four centuries on, the land of mass genocide was just an enormous blank on the map: it was simply there, like a natural truth. And many "pioneers" were ready and willing to leave their mark on it. Frank Lloyd Wright visited Rio de Janeiro in 1930, having agreed to sit on the jury for the Colombo Lighthouse competition (he awarded first prize to a neo-Maya style project). This episode is certainly downplayed in his autobiography[18]. Wright recalls the climate and the landscape, but most of all a political event which he describes firsthand: the student rebellion against outdated teaching methods at the School of Fine Arts. From what he says, it was because of his support in opposing the authorities, even at the risk of being arrested, that the students were able to uphold their claims. And it is worth remembering that the "discovery" of Brazil by MOMA (Museum of Modern Art) took place in 1943, the year Wright made his visit there, and the leading figures of the modern student movement included Lucio Costa, Oscar Niemeyer and the Roberto brothers, the "stars" of the MOMA exhibition.*
Walter Gropius visited Mexico during his 1946 summer vacation[19]. Although he travelled in the interior of the country, he spent most of his time in the capital, where he attempted to realize a project for a church he had designed with Jorge Gonzalez Reyna, a student at Harvard. Gropius "discovered" Brazil a decade or so after Wright, in January 1954, in an episode I shall return to later. During the same trip he visited Peru, where he was the guest of the President, architect Fernando Belaunde Terry. In 1957 Gropius spent several weeks in Cuba, which he had visited in 1949. His thinking during this period made the relationship between general ideas and local characteristics in both countries especially interesting to him. Rather than the "purity" of its pre-Columbian architecture, he admired Peru's synthesis of the code imported by the Spanish conquistadors and the culture and knowledge of the native Indians, as expressed in the baroque monuments of Cuzco and Lima. In a later diary, Ilse Gropius wrote in Cuba that her husband's collaboration with former students from around the world was an excellent opportunity to produce a happy "combination of modern forms and local characteristics"[20].
Le Corbusier's trip to Latin America in 1929 had a more intense, transcendental significance for him — certainly more transcendental, with the one he made in 1936, than subsequent visits in 1947, 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1962. This trip allowed him to make at least two crucial discoveries: architecture as landscape, and linear organisation in urban planning. Reeling under the impact of his first flight over the pampas and the selva — the almost "divine" way it occupied the entire territory — Le Corbusier went on to explore, especially in his project for Rio de Janeiro, the possibility of an encounter between man and nature on an equal footing. Furthermore, in his sketch for Buenos Aires he formulated for the first time the linear layout based on the radial organisation of the Ville Contemporaine, and began the series (Buenos Aires/Moscow/Ville Verte/Barcelona) that culminated in his theories for the Ville Radieuse[21]. Although not a member of the Buenos Aires planning office, he was officially commissioned to implement the urbanisation plan for Bogotà in Colombia. Considered by some as an example of his insensitivity to context, others see the plan as an example of realism and a subtle reading of landscape and history. In any event, his work in Bogotà gave him the

Mathias Goeritz, Museo sperimentale "El Eco", Città del Messico, 1952-53.
Mathias Goeritz, Scultura nei giardini di El Pedregal di Luis Barragán, San Angel, Messico, 1945-50.
Max L. Cetto, Casa per vacanze, Tequesquitengo, Messico, 1948.
Max L. Cetto, Casa a El Pedregal, San Angel, Messico, 1941.
Enrico Tedeschi, Progetto della Facoltà di architettura, Università di Mendoza, Argentina, 1963.
Silos granari Bunge e Born, Buenos Aires, Argentina (da Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes, *1913).*
Silos granari in Canada (da Le Corbusier, Vers une Architecture, *Parigi, 1923).*

permise al maestro almeno due scoperte decisive: l'architettura come paesaggio e l'organizzazione lineare del piano urbanistico. Colpito dal grande impatto del suo primo volo aereo sulla pampa e la selva, dalla sua collocazione quasi "divina" sulla totalità del territorio, Le Corbusier esplorò, specialmente nella sua proposta per Rio de Janeiro, la possibilità di un confronto alla pari "uomo-natura". D'altra parte, nel suo schizzo per Buenos Aires formulò per la prima volta lo schema dell'organizzazione lineare che rivisitava la proposta radiocentrica della Ville Contemporaine e iniziava la serie (Buenos Aires-Mosca/Ville Verte-Barcellona) che culminerà nella formulazione teorica della Ville Radieuse[21]. Se l'ufficio del piano di Buenos Aires non lo incluse tra i suoi membri, ottenne, però, l'incarico ufficiale di realizzare il piano di urbanizzazione di Bogotà in Colombia. Considerato da alcuni come esempio della sua insensibilità nei confronti delle condizioni contestuali, questo piano è rivendicato da altri come un esempio di realismo e sottile lettura del paesaggio e della storia. In ogni modo, il suo lavoro a Bogotà gli permise di riprendere respiro dopo le dure esperienze della sede delle Nazioni Unite e di Saint Dié; e, per giunta, risultò un eccellente banco di prova per formulazioni fino allora solo teoriche come quelle delle "7 V" e dei "settori urbani", o nuove come il "Centro Civico" in quanto "cuore della città" (VIII CIAM, Hoddesdon, Inghilterra)[22].
Altri viaggiatori, come Werner Hegemann e Auguste Perret, non riuscirono neanche ad inserire le loro proposte nella realtà latinoamericana.
L'urbanista tedesco venne ospitato per sei mesi (all'inizio degli anni Trenta) dagli argentini, e fornì consigli ai comuni di Rosario, Mar del Plata e Buenos Aires, oltre alla città uruguaiana di Montevideo[23]. La sua teoria del "*natürliche Entwicklung*" per la città, cioè della necessità di lasciare libertà agli attori del fenomeno urbano senza vincolarli a piani totalizzanti, il suo entusiastico appoggio all'estensione urbana periferica a bassa densità, erano già una realtà, a suo giudizio, nelle città rioplatesi. Conferma "pratica" delle sue teorie, in queste città le periferie si erano sviluppate seguendo l'estensione della rete tranviaria, mediante l'autocostruzione di piccole case individuali da parte dei settori popolari.
Perret, invece, fece nel 1936 solo una breve visita in vari paesi del Cono Sud, dove tenne alcune conferenze.
Karl Brunner, codirettore con Hegemann di "Der Städtebau", accettò l'ambiente latinoamericano fino al

chance to catch his breath after the difficult experiences of the United Nations headquarters and Saint Dié. It was also an excellent testing ground for formulations that had been only theoretical until then — the "7 Vs", "urban sectors" — as well as new ones like the "Civic Centre" as the "heart of the city" (VIII CIAM, Hoddesdon, Great Britain)[22].
Other travellers like Werner Hegemann and Auguste Perret were unable even to get the Latin Americans to listen to their ideas.
The German town planner was received as a guest by the Argentinians for six months and was a consultant to the municipalities of Rosario, Mar del Plata and Buenos Aires, as well as the Uruguayan capital Montevideo[23]. His theory of "natürliche Entwicklung" *(natural development) in the city, i.e. the need to give urban planners and architects freedom to move unhampered by master plans, and his championing of low-density suburban expansion were, in his view, already a reality in the cities of the Rio de La Plata region. In "practical" confirmation of his theories, the suburbs of these cities had developed along extensions to existing tram lines as their worker populations gradually built their own small homes. By contrast, Perret made only a brief journey in 1936 to various countries in the Cono Sud, where he gave several lectures. Karl Brunner, co-director with Hegemann of* Der Städtebau, *felt committed enough to the Latin American environment to live in Chile from 1929 to 1932. He then moved to Colombia, where he lived and worked until 1947, after which he returned to Austria[24].*
But the Germans were certainly not the largest national group of town planners working on the continent. Frenchmen Forestier, Alfred Agache and Maurice Rotival developed and tested traditional French planning concepts on a large scale in various LatinAmerican cities. Alfred Agache was town planner in Rio de Janeiro when Le Corbusier visited the city, and on closer inspection, their ideas do not seem wholly incompatible[25]. Forestier was advisor to the Buenos Aires authorities when the Aesthetic Buildings Plan was drawn up in 1925[26] and was also working in Havana, where he drew up his General Plan between 1925 and 1930[27]. Maurice Rotival was commissioned to draw up the plan for Caracas. After the war it was the Spaniard Josep Lluís Sert who worked on city plans for Peru, Colombia and Brazil from his office in New York.

Exile
America was founded on exile. This extreme "hospitality"

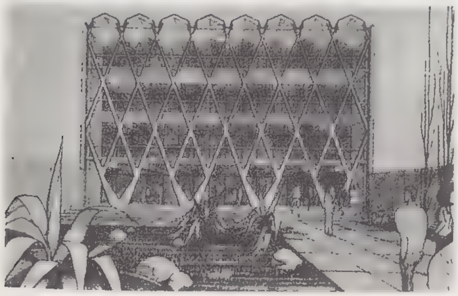
Mathias Goeritz, "El Eco" Experimental Museum, Mexico City, 1952-53.
Mathias Goeritz, Sculpture in Luis Barragán's gardens in El Pedregal, San Angel, Mexico, 1945-50.
Max L. Cetto, Holiday home, Tequesquitengo, Mexico, 1948.

Max L. Cetto, House in El Pedregal, San Angel, Mexico, 1941.
Enrico Tedeschi, Project for the Faculty of Architecture, University of Mendoza, Argentina, 1963.
Bunge and Born grain silos, Buenos Aires, Argentina (from Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes, *1913).*

Canadian grain silos (from Le Corbusier, Vers une Architecture, *Paris, 1923).*



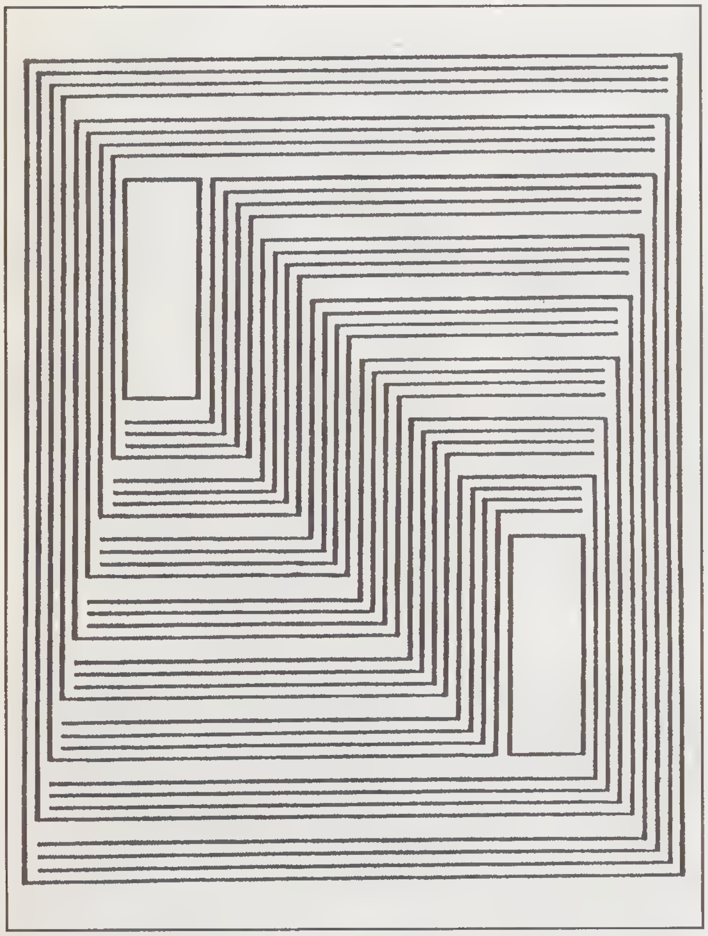






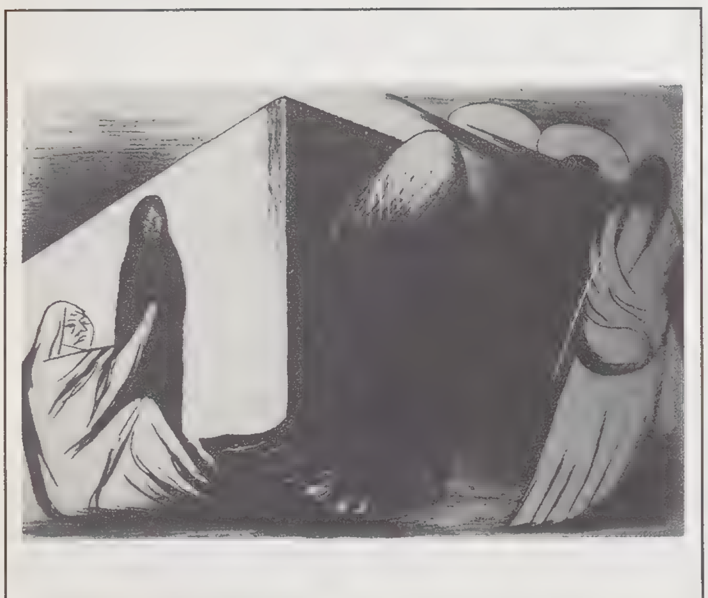
Josef Albers, Monte Albán, *1942.*
Rudolph M. Schindler, Foto di un pueblo Taos, Nuovo Messico, 1915.
Frank Lloyd Wright (collaboratore Rudolph M. Schindler), Hollyhock House, Los Angeles, 1921.
José Clemente Orozco, Soldaderas, *1928.*

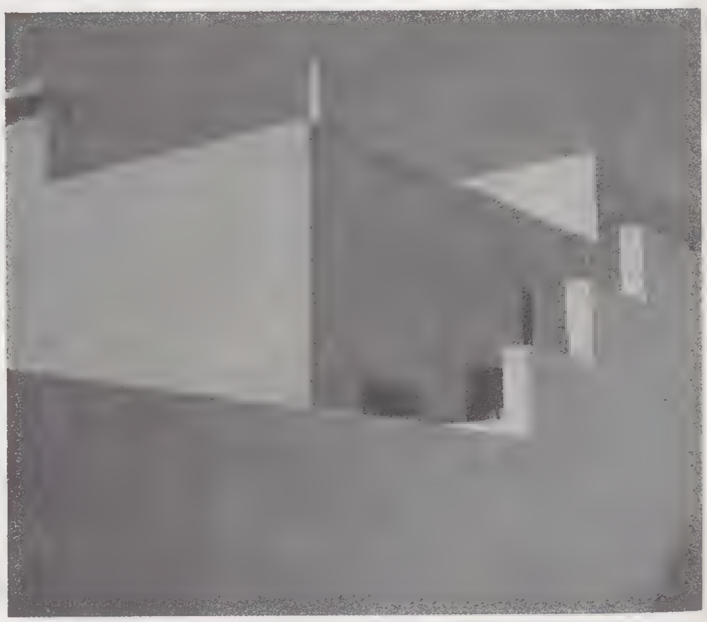
Luis Barragán, Casa Robles León, Guadalajara, Messico, 1928.











Josef Albers, Monte Albán, *1942.*
Rudolph M. Schindler, Photo of a Taos pueblo, New Mexico, 1915.
Frank Lloyd Wright (with Rudolph M. Schindler), Hollyhock House, Los Angeles, 1921.
José Clemente Orozco, Soldaderas, *1928.*

Luis Barragán, Robles León House, Guadalajara, Mexico, 1928.

punto di stabilirsi in Cile dal 1929 al 1932, anno in cui si trasferì in Colombia, dove visse e lavorò fino al 1947, quando tornò in Austria[24].
Ma certamente non furono tedeschi gli urbanisti che, con maggior frequenza, lavorarono nel continente. I francesi Forestier, Alfred Agache e Maurice Rotival prolungarono e collaudarono a grande scala le linee tradizionali del pensiero urbanistico del loro paese, applicandolo a varie città latinoamericane. Alfred Agache era l'urbanista di Rio de Janeiro quando Le Corbusier visitò la città, e, a ben guardare, le due proposte non sono incompatibili[25].
Forestier fu consigliere del comune di Buenos Aires durante l'elaborazione del Piano di Estetica Edilizia del 1925[26] e lavorò anche a L'Avana, dove elaborò il suo Piano Direttore tra il 1925 e il 1930[27]; e Maurice Rotival fu incaricato del Piano di Caracas.
Nel dopoguerra, fu lo spagnolo Josep Lluís Sert che dal suo ufficio negli Stati Uniti lavorò in piani delle città per il Perù, la Colombia e il Brasile.

L'esilio
Quella dell'esilio è una condizione costitutiva dell'America, e questa forma estrema di ospitalità si allarga fino all'inverosimile quando si mischia con le tradizioni del Sud, generose nell'accogliere e spietate nel rifiutare.
Come dappertutto, i viaggiatori che arrivano fuggendo non mostrano maggior segno comune che quello della sorpresa. Per cui la loro "scoperta" è velata dalla gratitudine e dalla necessità degli immigranti di volersi adattare.
Nel 1948, Enrico Tedeschi, un promettente giovane dell'Italia mussoliniana, arrivò in Argentina con l'obbiettivo di partecipare alla colossale impresa universitaria promossa dal Generale Perón sul monte precordigliero di Tucumán. Tedeschi ebbe un ruolo decisivo nella formazione di una scuola storiografica in Argentina. Nel gruppo dei progettisti con cui lavorò, convissero due interpretazioni opposte dell'organicismo: quella di Eduardo Catalano, orientato verso le ricerche tecnologiche; e quella di Eduardo Sacriste, interessato sempre di più all'architettura neovernacola. Insieme a Tedeschi, il secondo dopoguerra italiano obbligò alla ritirata congiunturale o definitiva figure come Gino Calcaprina, coautore del Monumento alle Fosse Ardeatine, e Alberto La Padula, autore del Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana all'EUR. Ed anche altri protagonisti dell'ambiente architettonico italiano sperarono, nell'epoca della ricostruzione, in nuove opportunità offerte dall'America

assumes amazing proportions when combined with the traditions of the South, generous when it welcomes and pitiless when it rejects.
As in any other country, travellers who flee there show little more than ordinary surprise at what they find: the force of their "discovery" is softened by gratitude and the immigrant's need to adapt.
In 1948 Enrico Tedeschi, a promising young man from Mussolini's Italy, arrived in Argentina hoping to take part in General Perón's massive university project on Mount Tucumán in the Pre-Cordiglieras. Tedeschi played a decisive role in forming a historiographical school in Argentina. Two opposing concepts of architectural unity existed side by side in the group of architects he worked with: Eduardo Catalano's, which favoured technological experimentation, and Eduardo Sacriste's, with its increasing interest in neo-vernacular architecture. The postwar situation in Italy forced not only Tedeschi to withdraw, but also, temporarily or permanently, other figures like Gino Calcaprina, co-designer of the Monument to the Ardeatine Graves, and Alberto La Padula, designer of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana at E.U.R. in Rome. During the years of reconstruction, other leading Italian architects had also pinned their hopes on the new opportunities Latin America offered: Ernesto Rogers, Luigi Piccinato, and Pier Luigi Nervi, who established relations with the Argentine government[28]. Pier Maria Bardi, one of modern Italy's leading figurative artists, decided at the same time to move permanently to Brazil[29].
This postwar emigration exactly mirrored the anti-fascist exile of the decade before the war. Hannes Meyer, for example, arrived in Mexico after failed attempts to settle in the Soviet Union, Switzerland and Spain[30]. Other examples of anti-fascist exile were Paul Westheim, editor of Das Kunstblatt *and figurehead for radical groups in his country, and Mathias Goeritz. In 1938, Max Cetto arrived in Mexico from the north after crossing the southwestern United States. Prior to this he had trained with Hans Poeizig in Berlin and worked for a time with Ernst May's social-democrats in Frankfurt. His work postulated a paradoxical synthesis between future and past closely linked to a concept of the "Mexican character" that found its purest expression in the architecture of Luis Barragan[31]. Tibor Weiner, former* Bauhausler *and member of Meyer's group in the Soviet Union, sought refuge with little success in Chile[32], while Leopold Rother, an active member of Fritz Schumacher's group in Hamburg, played a decisive role in the formation*

Latina, come mostrano i casi di Ernesto Rogers, Luigi Piccinato o Pier Luigi Nervi, che strinsero relazioni con il governo argentino[28]. Pier Maria Bardi, una delle figure più importanti della cultura figurativa moderna in Italia, decise nelle stesse circostanze il suo trasferimento definitivo in Brasile[29]. In perfetta simmetria con questa emigrazione del secondo dopoguerra, il decennio anteriore era stato caratterizzato dall'esilio antifascista. È il caso di Hannes Meyer, che arrivò in Messico dopo i tentativi non riusciti di stabilirsi in Unione Sovietica, Svizzera e Spagna[30]; ed è anche il caso di Paul Westheim direttore di "Das Kunstblatt" e figura di riferimento dei gruppi radicali del suo paese, e, in seguito di Mathias Goeritz. Nel 1938 Max Cetto raggiunse il Messico dal nord, dopo aver attraversato il sudovest degli Stati Uniti. Vi giungeva dopo essersi formato con Hans Poelzig a Berlino e dopo un periodo di lavoro con i socialdemocratici di Ernst May a Francoforte. La sua opera postulò una paradossale sintesi tra futuro e passato, strettamente associata all'espressione più distillata del "carattere messicano": le architetture di Luis Barragán[31]. Tibor Weiner, ex *bauhausler* e membro del gruppo di Meyer in Unione Sovietica, si rifugiò senza molta fortuna in Cile[32], mentre Leopold Rother, attivo nel gruppo di Fritz Schumacher ad Amburgo, svolse un ruolo decisivo nella formazione dell'architettura colombiana, realizzando un'opera originale e di grande valore come l'Università di Bogotà[33]. Dell'avanguardia austriaca, Buenos Aires accolse Walter Loos, protagonista di primo piano nel Werkbund di quel paese e coautore dell'Esposizione del 1931 a Vienna. Lo spagnolo repubblicano Antonio Bonet, legato al Gatcpac, andò in esilio in Argentina[34], paese in cui si era ritirato nel 1928 anche il russo Wladimir Konstantinowsky[35].

Nei fondamenti dell'architettura moderna

Così come è successo per gli esempi nordamericani e canadesi, i grandi silos latinoamericani —quelli argentini in particolare— furono rapidamente integrati all'immaginario modernista. Walter Gropius li mostrò per la prima volta nel famoso articolo *Die Entwicklung moderner Industriebaukunst*[36], sebbene già avesse fatto riferimento al tema nella sua conferenza di aprile del 1911 *Monumentale Kunst und Industriebau* al Folkwang-Museum di Hagen[37]. Il testo di Gropius era una richiesta di attenzione rivolta ai suoi connazionali, e non faceva differenza tra nord e sud dell'America nel citarli ad esempio per modernizzare la produzione tedesca: in relazione al suo tema, l'avanzamento tecnologico di entrambe segnava il retrocedere relativo della Germania[38]. Delle quattro fotografie con cui illustrava l'articolo solo una riguardava gli Stati Uniti, mentre le rimanenti tre l'Argentina. I giganteschi volumi gli suggerivano un confronto con l'architettura egizia, che denunciava l'influenza di Wilhelm Worringer e che questi riprenderà anni dopo.

Ma per chiudere il circolo tracciato manca un passo intermedio, quello realizzato da Le Corbusier in *Vers une Architecture*. In effetti per dimostrare che "*gli ingegneri nordamericani schiacciano con i loro calcoli l'architettura agonizzante*", Le Corbusier adottò l'illustrazione di Gropius ma operando tre cancellazioni. Prima: trasformò gli architetti che progettarono il silo di Buenos Aires in ingegneri. In realtà era stato costruito da Amme, Giesecke & Konegen Ag di Braunschweig, un'impresa tedesca che soleva contare sulla consulenza di Theodor Fischer. L'intenzione marcatamente architettonica dell'edificio si notava dai timpani ripetuti nelle ali laterali e nel corpo centrale. Per "disarchitettonizzare" la sua fotografia, Le Corbusier cancellò questi timpani. Per cui l'edificio che pubblicò in *Vers une Architecture* appariva coronato da una gigantesca cornice piana[39].

La seconda manomissione riguardò il materiale: il complesso dei silos dimostrava le possibilità plastiche del cemento armato, nascondendo il fatto che quelli di Buenos Aires erano dei giganteschi edifici in mattoni.

La terza operazione fu meno complicata. Il silo dell'Argentina si trasformò in un silo del Canada.

Con Worringer, che attraverso il suo *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* aveva introdotto i mezzi per la rivalutazione dell'arte "cubista" egizia e aveva suggerito la prima comparazione di Gropius, il circolo si chiuse nel 1927. Fu quando si pubblicò *Aegyptische Kunst*, dove tra le tante illustrazioni antiche si mostravano sorprendentemente due esempi moderni: il modello del progetto per l'aeroporto centrale di Berlino di H. Kosina e i silos di Buenos Aires, presi da un libro di Le Corbusier con la didascalia "*deposito di grano in Canada*". Attraverso questa illustrazione Worringer polemizzava con l'americanismo di Gropius: la titanicità egizia poteva caratterizzarsi come "*eccesso tipico della supercivilizzazione*" mentre quella americana, primitiva, era "*impotente ansia di grandi dimensioni, la cui imponente ostentazione serve solo, in fondo, a celare un vuoto ideale con supremi «record» materiali*"[40].

of Colombian architecture, creating Bogotà University, a work of considerable originality and importance[33]. *Buenos Aires welcomed Austria's avant-garde Walter Loos, a leading figure in Austria's* Werkbund *and co-designer of the 1931 Vienna Exhibition. The Spanish Republican Antonio Bonet, linked to the Gatcpac, went into exile in Argentina*[34], *where the Russian Vladimir Konstantinowsky had also moved in 1928*[35].

The Foundations of Modern Architecture

The great Latin American grain storage silos — especially the ones in Argentina — soon became an integral part of the Modernist imagination, just as those in North America and Canada had been. Walter Gropius showed them for the first time in his famous article Die Entwicklung moderner Industriebaukunst[36], *although he had already mentioned them in his lecture* Monumentale Kunst und Industriebau *given the Folkwang-Museum in Hagen in April 1911*[37]. *Gropius' text, a call to attention directed at his fellow Germans, made no distinction between the north and the south: both were held up as examples of modernisation for German architecture, in the sense that the technological progress of both only pointed to the fact that Germany was falling behind*[38]. *Only one of the four photographs he used to illustrate the article was taken in the United States, the other three were from Argentina. The gigantic silos they depicted suggested to him a comparison with ancient Egyptian architecture, thus revealing the influence of Wilhelm Worringer which he would take up again years later. But the final link in the chain was still missing, and it was provided by Le Corbusier in* Vers une Architecture. *To demonstrate that* "North American engineers crush poor architecture with their calculations", *Le Corbusier used Gropius' illustration, but he altered it in three ways.*

First, he transformed the architects who had designed the Buenos Aires silo into engineers. Actually it had been built by Amme, Giesecke & Konegen Ag of Braunschweig, a German firm which used Theodor Fischer as a consultant. The markedly architectural design for the building could be seen from the gables, repeated in the side wings and in the central body.

In order to "de-architecturalise" his photograph, Le Corbusier removed these gables. As a result the building published in Vers une Architecture *appeared to be crowned by a gigantic flat cornice*[39].

The second piece of tampering concerned the material: the silo complex demonstrated the sculptural possibilities of reinforced concrete, but in fact the gigantic Buenos Aires silos were made of brick.

The third operation was simpler: the Argentine silo became a Canadian one.

The process came full circle in 1927 with Worringer, who pointed the way to a reassessment of the "Cubist" art of ancient Egypt in Abstraction und Einfühlung *and suggested the first comparison with Gropius. Then* Aegyptische Kunst *was published, which included, among its many illustrations of ancient architecture, two surprising modern examples: H. Kosina's model for Berlin's central airport, and the Buenos Aires silos, taken from one of Le Corbusier's books, with the caption "grain storage depot in Canada". Worringer used this illustration to question Gropius' Americanism: the titanic nature of ancient Egypt could be seen as an* "excess typical of super-civilisation", *while America was more primitive, revealing* "an impotent anxiety to do things on a big scale, whose overbearing ostentation only serves in the end to conceal an absence of ideas with record-breaking material performance"[40].

Viewpoints

"Everyone agrees: the child, the savage, the metaphysician"
Le Corbusier, Vers une Architecture

Jean Paris was quite clear: "In order for my consciousness to exist, for it to arrive in the world, otherness must enter my being and give it form: this mirror in which I can discover myself through new eyes must be held out to me. The only possibility I have of understanding myself is, again, the possibility of being understood (...) I see myself because others see me"[41].

Modern culture works like these four mirrors, at the center of which the original image seems to dissolve. Artists on the periphery look at the European avant-garde, which looks at the United States, which looks at the primitive Americans, Africans and Asians, who look at and are looked at by the Europeans... Eyes are focussing all the time on different objects, so that the myth of "Latin America" assumes the changing forms of clouds to these diferent eyes: it is at once an illustration of naivety, the power of dreams, vibrancy, revolutionary force, the future, the "Latin spirit", syncretism.

"For they are as nature made them, that is to say, of great

Gli sguardi

"*Tutti sono d'accordo: il bambino, il selvaggio, il metafisico*"
Le Corbusier, *Vers une Architecture*

Jean Paris lo ha detto chiaramente: "*Perché la mia coscienza sia, perché arrivi al mondo, è necessario che l'alterità si introduca nel mio essere e lo determini; è necessario che questo specchio dove posso scoprirmi attraverso nuovi occhi mi sia teso. La mia unica possibilità di comprendermi ritorna ad essere quella di essere compreso, io mi vedo perché mi vedono*"[41].
La cultura moderna funziona come questi pezzi di specchi nell'incrocio dei quali sembra dissolversi l'immagine originaria: gli artisti della periferia guardano all'avanguardia europea, che guarda agli Stati Uniti, che guardano ai primitivi americani, africani e asiatici, che guardano e sono guardati dagli europei... In ogni momento gli sguardi si dirigono verso diversi oggetti: così questa unità mitica che è l'"America Latina" si presenta a questi diversi sguardi con le forme mutevoli delle nuvole: l'ingenuità, la forza onirica, la natura vibrante, la potenza rivoluzionaria, il futuro, lo spirito latino, il sincretismo.

"*Poiché essi sono come la natura li ha fatti, cioè di grande semplicità e spontaneità naturale*"
Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, XVII sec.

Uno dei topici che fondano l'"architettura moderna" è la nuova relazione che si stabilisce tra arte e verità[42]. Quando i segni si discreditano come mediatori si esige la "percezione evidente e definita" che fonda l'utopia della *Glaskultur*. In una cultura della trasparenza le cose dovrebbero manifestare senza mediazione il loro contenuto essenziale. Questo topico è comune nell'arte moderna. Un contemporaneo di Ruskin come Gauguin indicò una delle risposte possibili: la fuga fino ai popoli "primitivi", depositari di una purezza che le convenzioni sembravano aver sepolto. Originariamente Gauguin progettava di trovare questi primitivi a Panama, dove i francesi costruivano il canale e dove viveva sua sorella. "*Je m'en vais a Panama* — scrisse — *pour vivre en sauvage, (...) j'emporte mes couleurs et mes pinceaux et je me retemprerai loin de tous les hommes*"[43].
Come è noto, il percorso di Gauguin venne ripreso da Picasso in *Le demoiselles d'Avignon*. Argan ha spiegato che era la necessità di recuperare l'unità distrutta dall'irruzione moderna che animava questa ricerca di recupero dell'arte primitiva[44]. A suo giudizio, il superamento di questo dualismo si produsse su due piani diversi. Da un lato, nell'indagine formale, esplorando le possibilità di ristrutturazione dello spazio di rappresentazione. Dall'altro, nelle investigazioni sull'"altro" dalla ragione classica. L'avanguardia diresse il suo sguardo verso la produzione formale primitiva, collocandosi in quella condizione che è stata chiamata "*presente etnografico*"[45]. Questo presente etnografico, in cui le forme possono spostarsi da un luogo ad un altro, da una condizione storica ad un'altra, al di sopra del tempo e dello spazio, è il più comune dei processi di transculturazione dalla periferia al centro. Se questa modalità consiste nella selezione e valorizzazione che una porzione dell'umanità attua sulla produzione globale dell'altra, la condizione periferica non sembra definirsi per la sua assenza. Anche nella cultura della periferia si producono processi di selezione e valorizzazione[46]. La sua differenza dalle culture centrali consiste piuttosto nel fatto che questi processi difficilmente inglobano altre produzioni altrettanto periferiche, che rimangono slegate tra loro.

Precubismi

Insieme all'Africa e all'Oceania, per la variante formalista dello sguardo del moderno verso i primitivi, l'America Latina si presentava come uno dei luoghi dove potevano ancora trovarsi forme incontaminate, trasparenti. "*Rimane solo la Patagonia, la Patagonia che porta in me immensa tristezza/ la Patagonia, e un viaggio nei mari del Sud*", scriveva Blaise Cendrars nel 1913.
Abbiamo ricordato come in questo periodo l'interesse degli artisti fosse riposto nelle trasformazioni delle forme di rappresentazione. Nelle maschere africane che osservava, Picasso scopriva una costruzione non modellata dello spazio, l'eliminazione del chiaroscuro che aveva caratterizzato il prospettivismo realista occidentale. La definizione dello spazio per "facce e piani" fu la chiave che gli permise di rompere uno dei canoni decisivi della tradizione.
Tracce di nuove forme come prodotto di una società moralmente pura potevano essere cercate anche nei deserti del nord dell'antico territorio messicano, dove i Gesuiti spagnoli avevano costruito le loro missioni per evangelizzare ed integrare gli indigeni, soprattutto nel secolo XVII. Con una rilevante influenza di Ruskin, la cultura radicata nella

simplicity and natural naivety"
Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, 17th century

One of the pillars on which "modern architecture" rests is the new relationship it establishes between art and truth[42]. *When symbols are discredited as mediators, then the* "obvious, clear perception" *on which* Glaskultur *is based asserts its claim. In a transparent culture, things should be manifest without the need to mediate their essential content. This is a commonplace in modern art. Gauguin, Ruskin's contemporary, indicated one possible response: to flee to "primitive" peoples, the safeguards of a purity which convention seems to have killed off.*
Gauguin originally planned to find these primitives in Panama, where the French were building the canal and his sister lived. "Je m'en vais à Panama," *he wrote,* "pour vivre en sauvage (...) j'emporte mes couleurs et mes pinceaux et je retemprerai loin de tous les hommes"[43].
As is well known, Picasso took up the theme of Gauguin's travels in Les demoiselles d'Avignon. *Argan explains that behind this search for primitive art lay a need to retrieve a unity that had been shattered by the onset of Modernism*[44]. *In his opinion, this dualism was overcome on two different levels: on the one hand, in formal enquiry, exploring the possibilities of restructuring representative space, and on the other, by exploring the concept of "otherness" in Classical thought. The avant-garde focussed its attention on primitive formal architecture, adopting what is called the "ethnographical present" as its stance*[45]. *This* "ethnographical present", *in which forms can move from one place to another, from one historical location to another regardless of time and place, is the most common form of transcultural exchange from periphery to centre. The selection and exploitation of one part of humanity by another occurs in both central and peripheral cultures*[46]. *What differentiates them is that the periphery is less likely to engulf other equally peripheral cultures, which remain disconnected.*

Precubisms

For the Formalist variant of the Modernist interest in primitive peoples, Latin America, together with Africa and Oceania, was one of the places in which uncontaminated, transparent forms could be found. "All that is left is Patagonia," *wrote Blaise Cendrars in 1913,* "the Patagonia that fills me with immense sadness/Patagonia and a voyage through the South Seas". *We have already seen that the artists of this period were interested in transforming artistic modes of representation. Picasso discovered forms in the African masks that were not modelled around space, and noted the absence of the* chiaroscuro *which had characterised Western perspective realism. The definition of space by* "facets and planes" *was the key to break one of the most powerful ground-rules of tradition.*
Indications for new forms in the products of morally pure societies could also be found in the northern deserts of ancient Mexico, where the Spanish Jesuits built their missions to evangelize and absorb the natives, especially in the seventeenth century. Heavily influenced by Ruskin, the culture which had taken root on the western seaboard of the United States discovered that the wholesome, unadorned missionary buildings created by allegedly idyllic communities of Indians and missionaries supplied a model that could oppose the cosmopolitanism of the eastern seaboard. Furthermore, those cubic volumes and unadorned plain brick surfaces also showed how reinforced concrete could be used in the construction industry[47]. *Irving Gill's architecture is one of the more elaborate examples of this type of architecture. Admired its links with native architecture, Spanish Jesuit missionary architecture in old Mexico also had strong links with the simple constructions of the Pueblo Indians. These forms were taken up immediately by Frank Lloyd Wright, and also influenced Rudolph Schindler's architecture. Schindler visited the Taos sites in 1915, where for the first time in America he felt* "a real feeling of the earth that bore them"[48]. *Soon afterwards he designed the house for Dr. Martin. At this time Schindler was also working on the project for one of the most representative buildings of Wright's "pre-Columbian" period, the Hollyhock House. Esther McCoy points out that with this building Wright tried to follow Sullivan's suggestion that he relate it right back to primitive African dwellings.*
In 1918 Victor Horta also began to take an interest in the old Spanish missions. In his trip to the United States to raise public awareness about the German occupation of Belgium, he contacted Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, author of The Missionaries of California *(1908) and in late October visited and made detailed drawings of numerous missions*[49].
In 1923 Rose Henderson sang the praises of the colonies of painters who had settled in Taos and Santa Fé from 1903 onwards to pursue their anthropological interest in the Indian and Pueblo tribes[50], *stating that* "the Indians were the first cubists in this land".

costa occidentale degli Stati Uniti scoprì che nelle costruzioni spoglie e semplici delle missioni, prodotte da quelle che immaginava idilliache comunità di indios e missionari, poteva trovarsi un modello da opporre al cosmopolitismo della costa orientale. Per giunta quei volumi cubici e quelle superfici senza ornamenti, costruiti in mattone crudo, costituivano anche un modello per le applicazioni del cemento armato nell'industria delle costruzioni[47]. L'architettura di Irving Gill fornisce uno degli esempi più elaborati prodotti in questa direzione.
Considerata anche per il suo sincretismo in relazione alla produzione indigena, l'architettura delle missioni gesuitiche spagnole nel vecchio territorio del Messico aveva un grande legame con le costruzioni semplici degli indios Pueblos.
Queste forme furono accolte prontamente nella poetica di Frank Lloyd Wright ed influenzarono anche l'architettura di Rudolph Schindler. Nel 1915 Schindler visitò le costruzioni Taos, dove sentí per la prima volta in America "*la sensazione reale della terra che le portava*"[48]. Poco dopo disegnò la casa per il Dr. Martin. Schindler in questo momento collaborava anche al progetto di uno dei più rappresentativi edifici del periodo "precolombiano" di Wright, la Hollyhock House. Esther Mc Coy ha fatto notare come con questo edificio Wright avesse cercato, secondo il suggerimento di Sullivan, di riconnettersi indietro fino alle costruzioni primitive africane.
Nel 1918 anche Victor Horta si interessò alle costruzioni delle vecchie missioni spagnole. Nel suo viaggio negli Stati Uniti come sostenitore di una campagna di sensibilizzazione contro l'occupazione del Belgio da parte delle truppe tedesche, stabilì un contatto con padre Zephyrin Engelhardt, autore di *The missionaries of California*, pubblicato nel 1908, e nelle ultime settimane di ottobre visitò e disegnò dettagliatamente alcune missioni[49].
Affermando che "*gli indios sono stati i primi cubisti di questo paese*", Rose Henderson esaltò nel 1923 le colonie dei pittori stabilitisi dal 1903 a Taos e Santa Fé, interessati all'antropologia degli indios e delle tribù Pueblos[50]. È questa la chiave che orientò la lettura dei monumenti maya del Messico proposta da Ludwig Hilberseimer nel 1922.
Per Hilberseimer era esaltante la semplicità delle loro forme, "*la partizione degli elementi esterni [che] esprime la struttura dello spazio interno*", la posizione e le relazioni reciproche tra gli edifici, il contrasto tra "*la chiarezza della connotazione cubista*" e l'ornamento con fregi di maschere di "*grottesca fantasia*". Parafrasando Karl With, e in sintonia con il dibattito tedesco, legava la forza espressiva di queste costruzioni alle condizioni in cui venivano concepite e prodotte, immerse in un mistico impulso popolare ed unitario[51].
Pochi anni dopo le costruzioni precortesiane saranno indicate come base della nuova architettura, ma riferite, ora, al *boom* dei grattacieli negli Stati Uniti. Fu un cileno, Francisco Mujica, che propose in una delle prime storie del grattacielo questo difficile rapporto tra una delle più sofisticate manifestazioni del nuovo e l'architettura primitiva americana[52].
Negli anni Trenta le costruzioni precolombiane impressionarono anche Joseph Albers, che viaggiò nel 1935 in Messico e aggiunse alle sue elaborazioni il tema delle grandi strutture gradonate. È del 1942 la sua serie di litografie su piastre di zinco, chiamate *graphic tectonics*, di cui *Monte Alban* è la più conosciuta. Margit Rowell segnala anche l'interesse di Albers per le strutture cubiste dei Pueblos[53].
Recentemente, giovani artisti come Michelle Stuart e Robert Smithson hanno potenziato in opere come *Nazca Lines Start Chart* (1981) della prima, e *Story board for Spiral Jetty Film* del secondo, i segni geografici precortesiani dei Nazca in Perù[54]. I monumenti maya sono stati anche un nesso tra l'Ecole des Beaux Arts di Parigi e l'estetica modernista: André Remondet, Grand Prix del 1936, decise di eludere le tradizionali rappresentazioni delle rovine romane e mandò a Parigi i suoi disegni delle rovine di Chichén Itzá e Uxmal[55].
Sebbene in tutti i casi citati, l'interesse per gli aspetti formali del patrimonio primitivo americano abbia avuto un sostegno teorico, in poche occasioni l'osservazione degli indios si è intrecciata così intensamente con il proprio pensiero come nel caso di Hannes Meyer. Com'è noto, Meyer visse in Messico tra il 1938 e il 1949. Nel corso di questa lunga presenza la sua incomprensione dell'ambiente locale ed il disinteresse di questo per le sue proposte, lo indussero ad avvicinarsi alle popolazioni e alle opere degli "*splendidi*" indios, dotati di una "*sorprendente amabilità e bellezza corporea*". Gli indios rappresentavano per Meyer un'area di rifugio, l'unica in cui poteva trovare una trasparenza e purezza essenziale, al di là della storia[56].
Nell'ultimo periodo della sua presenza, Meyer partecipò all'organizzazione dello Studio di Grafica Popolare, in cui si tentava di assimilare le tecniche, ma soprattutto lo "*spirito collettivo dell'arte india*", alla ricerca di una espressione

This was the key to Ludwig Hilberseimer's interpretation of Mexico's Maya monuments in 1922. Hilberseimer was excited by the simplicity of their form, "the arrangement of the external elements [which] express the structure of the interior elements", *the positioning and interplay of buildings, the contrast between* "the clarity of the cubist connotation" *and decoration with friezes featuring* "grotesque, fantastic" *masks. Paraphrasing Karl With, and in keeping with German thinking at the time, he related the expressive force of these constructions, steeped in generalized, popular, mystical impulses, to the circumstances in which they were conceived and built*[51].

A few years later, the pre-Cortes constructions were singled out as a basis for the new architecture, but linked this time to the skyscraper boom in the United States. It was a Chilean, Francisco Mujica, who pointed in an early skyscraper to this problematic relationship between one of the most sophisticated manifestations of the new and primitive American architecture[52].

In the thirties the pre-Columbian constructions also left their mark on Joseph Albers, who in 1935 travelled through Mexico adding the large, stepped structures he found there to his repertoire. His series of zinc lithographs called graphic tectonics, *of which Monte Alban is the best known, are dated 1942. Margit Rowell also notes Albers's interest in Pueblo cubist structures*[53].

Young artists like Michelle Stuart and Robert Smithson have recently developed the pre-Cortes geographical symbols of the Nazca in Peru in works like Stuart's Nazca Lines Start Chart *(1981) and Smithson's* Story Board for Spiral Jetty Film[54].

The Maya monuments also formed a link between the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and modern aesthetics: André Remondet (1936 Grand Prix) decided to avoid traditional representations of Roman ruins and send his drawings of the Chichén Itzá and Uxmal ruins to Paris instead[55].

Although all this interest in the formal aspects of the primitive American heritage had a theoretical basis, few observers identified more closely with the Indians they observed than Hannes Meyer. Meyer lived in Mexico between 1938 and 1949. During this long stay his failure to understand the local environment — and the environment's lack of interest in his ideas — persuaded him to try to get closer to the peoples and works of the "splendid" *Indians, who were endowed with* "surprising sweetness and bodily beauty". *For Meyer, the Indians represented an escape, the only place where he could find a transparency and essential purity that transcended history*[56]. *During the latter part of his stay, Meyer helped to organise the Study of Popular Graphics, which attempted to assimilate the techniques but above all the* "collective spirit of Indian art" *in its search for authentic expression. It was no coincidence that the place and the Indians reminded Meyer of Paul Klee*[57]*: the pure facial expression the artist had sought and found in children was the same the native population used to interpret and express the nature of their world, or so Meyer imagined.*

However, native forms were not the only ones to serve as models for modern poetics. Popular "naif" building also played a part in the debate, strongly influencing many anonymous, low-cost dwellings as well as industrial buildings. Homes on the outskirts of large expanding cities like Buenos Aires, Montevideo or São Paulo were "modern", mass-produced objects, perfect examples of the new "lyricism".

Le Corbusier found in these houses the same "esprit de verité" *he was seeking in other areas of mass production, observing that* "every day" *the* "Italian builders" *in Rio de La Plata had* "quite naturally created the terraced roofs"[58], *the* "standard plan, and a clever play of forms under the Argentinian light, a pure, harmonious play of forms". *In Buenos Aires he discovered the La Boca district, an enormous expanse of popular housing built on pilotis using a balloon-frame system*[59]. *And he went to Asunción in Paraguay to* "see the Indians' houses (...) which are the most total act of devotion a sensitive soul is capable of".

As we have seen, Werner Hegemann visited Argentina soon after Le Corbusier, having been asked to act as consultant for the planning offices of various cities. These constructions did not go unnoticed by Hegemann either, and he too, in his own way, included them in his survey of modern urban architecture[60]. *Having faded in Germany during unification, the spirit of Schinkel lived on — Hegemann believed — in Rio de La Plata. There,* "Classical forms have been simplified to the point [...] where they have *'directly and unconsciously'* been translated into the entirely new forms of *'Sachlichkeit'*". *Thus,* "our postwar cubism did not need to be introduced into South America by any European architect; it was already well established and consolidated in a solid tradition".

The Feathered Headdress: Magic, Mambo and Candomblé

"From Europe, Brazil's new architecture seems as mystical

Lasar Segall, Allestimento carnevalesco, San Paolo, Brasile, 1934.
Wladimir Konstantinowsky, Scenografia per un film dal Faust *di Goethe, Berlino, 1925.*
Konstantin S. Mel'nikov, Progetto di concorso per il Faro di Colombo, Santo Domingo, 1929.

Nikolai A. Ladovskij, Progetto di concorso per il Faro di Colombo, Santo Domingo, 1929.

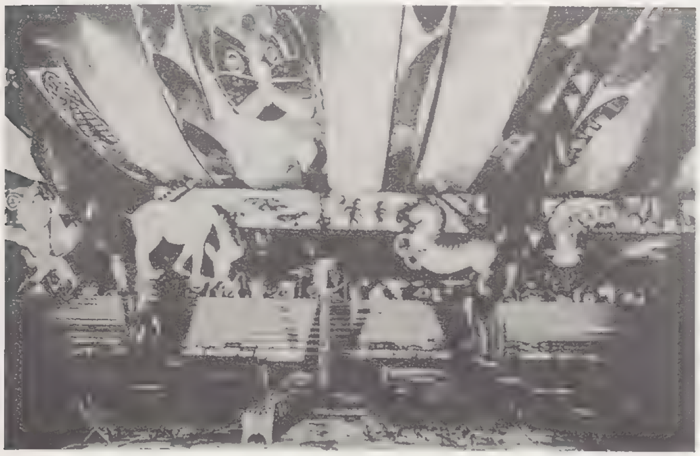
genuina. Non a caso, il luogo e gli indios ispirarono a Meyer ricordi di Paul Klee[57]: lo sguardo puro che l'artista aveva cercato e trovato nei bambini era lo stesso con il quale gli indigeni — immaginava Meyer — leggevano ed esprimevano il mondo.
Però non solo le forme indigene alimentarono le poetiche moderne. Allo stesso modo, anche la produzione edilizia popolare, *naïf*, si inserì in questo dibattito. In questo caso, questi oggetti acquisteranno un ruolo importante in tanti prodotti contemporaneamente anonimi e popolari, ma anche di natura industriale. Le abitazioni delle periferie delle grandi città in espansione come Buenos Aires, Montevideo o San Paolo erano oggetti "moderni" di serie e costituivano un perfetto esempio del nuovo "lirismo".
Le Corbusier trovò in queste case lo stesso "*esprit de verité*" che cercava in altri segmenti della produzione in serie; ed ebbe modo di osservare anche che "*ogni giorno*" i "*costruttori italiani*" del Rio de la Plata avevano "*fatto nascere in modo naturale i tetti a terrazza*"[58], la "*pianta standard, e un bel gioco di forme sotto la luce argentina, un gioco di forme armoniose e pure*". A Buenos Aires scoprì il quartiere de La Boca, un'enorme distesa di abitazioni popolari su *pilotis* costruite con un sistema *balloon-frame* [59]. E si recò a Asunción, nel Paraguay, a "*vedere le case degli Indios (...) che sono l'atto più totale di devozione di un'anima sensibile*".
Come abbiamo già visto, poco dopo Le Corbusier, visitò l'Argentina Werner Hegemann, contattato per fornire alcune consulenze agli uffici di pianificazione di varie città. Anche ad Hegemann non passarono inosservate queste costruzioni, e anche lui, a modo suo, le incluse nella sua interpretazione del fenomeno urbano e architettonico moderno[60]. Smarritosi in Germania ai tempi della unificazione, lo spirito di Schinkel, sintesi di utilità e classicismo, perdurava, secondo Hegemann, nel Rio de la Plata. Lì "*le forme classiciste si sono semplificate al punto (...) che in modo «diretto ed inconscio» si sono tradotte nelle forme nuovissime della «Sachlichkeit»*". In questo modo "*il cubismo del nostro dopoguerra non ebbe bisogno di essere introdotto in Sudamerica da nessun architetto europeo; si era stabilito saldamente da tempo, crescendo su una solida tradizione*".

La corona di piume: magia, mambo e candomblé
"*Vista dall'Europa la nuova architettura brasiliana ci appare così mistica e romantica come appariva ai nostri*

and romantic to us as "Hy Brazil", that vast, legendary glass tower off the coast of Galaway inhabited by fabulous creatures, seemed to our forefathers".
Report on Brazil, *The Architectural Review, October 1954*

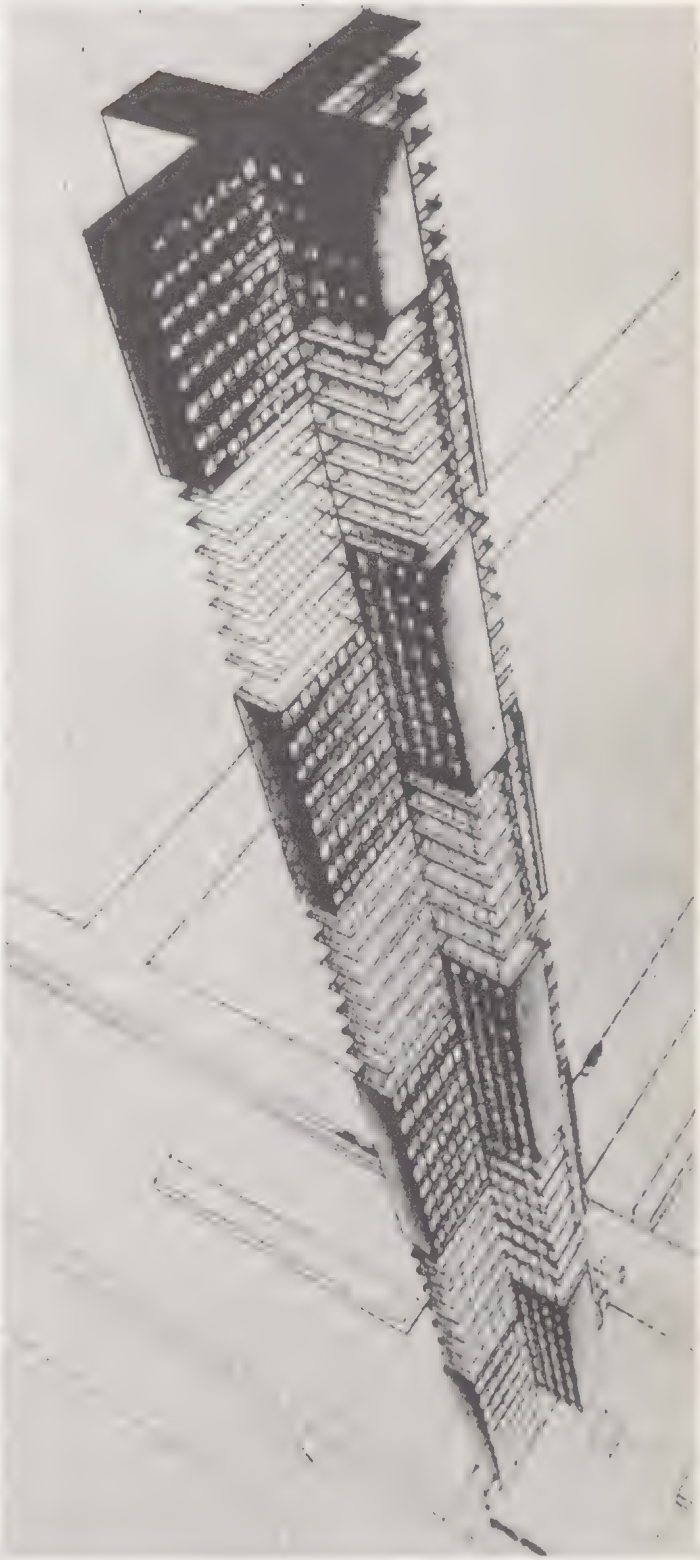
Romanticism ushered in modern art, bringing with it recognition and experience of dreams, the irrational and the mystical, and a passionate worship of nature. At a theoretical level, formulations of the Einflühlung *concept by Vischer to Lipps enabled Henry van de Velde to construct a theory of the line based on the idea of "force". In 1902, he stated that* "the line is a force that acts in a similar way to natural, elemental forces" *and that the natural lines which express this force could be used to create artistic forms which in turn could produce a sense of action and power[61]. Since he saw nature in an instrumental way (as a creator of forms, he was external to the object he represented) the relationship between "new art" and "new world" was obviously not his first priority. By contrast, North American organicists like Greenough, Whitman, Sullivan and Melville took it much more seriously. Ultimately vitalist in origin, in Nietzsche as much as in Bergson, the identification of "force" with "new world" and "new art" gained impetus from the feeling of decadence which the First World War had left in its wake. It was Oswald Spengler who found the key to their integration. Like Nietzsche, Spengler saw the decadence of Western civilisation (especially in Europe) as a loss of strength, a loss of life-force brought on by the new rational and mechanical order. The future could only belong to young peoples because they were guided not by plans for the future but by a pure life-force.*
The Expressionists of Die Brucke *opposed the conditioning of object by subject and gave this vitalism artistic form. With the changes this brought, not only was the world to be created* ex novo, *not imitated, but the force the subject needed to "come out of itself" had became crucially important. This force reached its highest intensity in the freedom of natural events, youth and an absence of the conventions which acted as obstacles or a dead weight.*
It was no coincidence that Spengler's influence penetrated Latin America so quickly and so profoundly, or that German Expressionism was equally rapid in establishing links with Brazilian culture. Ten years after going into exile in São Paulo in 1913, Lazar Segall, one of Die Brucke's *committed members, had settled permanently in Brazil. Brazil-born Anita Malfatti studied in Berlin but she, too, was expelled*

Lasar Segall, Carnival displays, São Paulo, Brazil, 1934.
Vladimir Konstantinowsky, Set for a film of Goethe's Faust, *Berlin, 1925.*
Konstantin S. Mel'nikov, Competition project for the Columbus Lighthouse, Santo Domingo, 1929.
Nikolai A. Ladovskij, Competition project for the Columbus Lighthouse, Santo Domingo, 1929.







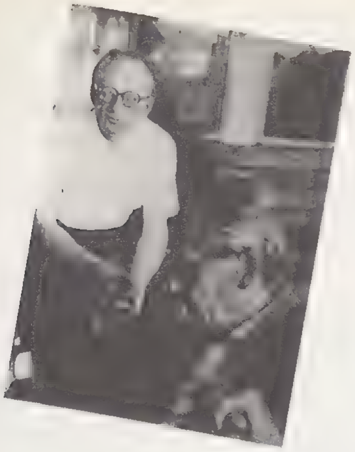






antenati il «Hy Brazil», questa grande e leggendaria torre di vetro nell'entroterra della costa di Galaway, abitata da creature favolose".
Report on Brazil, "The Architectural Review", ottobre 1954

Con il riconoscimento e l'esperienza dell'onirico, dell'irrazionale, del mistico, così come con l'adorazione della natura, il romanticismo inaugurò il ciclo moderno dell'arte. In sede teorica la formalizzazione del concetto di *Einfühlung*, da Vischer a Lipps, permise ad Henry van de Velde di costruire una teoria della linea a partire dalla idea di "forza". Come è noto, nel 1902 van de Velde sosteneva che "*la linea è una forza che agisce in modo simile alle forze naturali elementari*" e postulava che le linee prodotte dalla natura come espressioni di quella forza potessero esser impiegate nelle forme artistiche inducendo a loro volta sentimenti di azione e potenza[61]. Senz'altro, dato che il suo riferimento alla natura era strumentale — in quanto, cioè, come soggetto creatore si collocava in posizione esterna al suo oggetto di rappresentazione— il rapporto tra "arte nuova" e "mondo nuovo" non si presentava ai suoi occhi come prioritario. La relazione tra i due termini fu avvertita invece dall'organicismo nordamericano, da Greenough a Sullivan, da Withman a Melville. Di ispirazione vitalista, tanto nel pensiero di Nietzsche come in quello di Bergson, l'integrazione tra "forza", "mondo nuovo" e "arte nuova" ricevette un impulso a partire dal sentimento di decadenza conseguente agli avvenimenti della prima guerra mondiale. Fu Oswald Spengler che trovò la chiave di questa integrazione. In effetti, nietzscheanamente Spengler intendeva la decadenza della civiltà occidentale (europea in particolare) come un indebolimento, come la perdita del suo impulso vitale a causa dell'ordine razionale-meccanico. Il futuro poteva appartenere solamente ai popoli giovani, nella misura in cui questi non sono guidati da piani ma da un puro impulso vitale.
Movimento opposto al condizionamento del soggetto sull'oggetto, l'espressionismo di *Die Brucke* diede forma artistica al vitalismo. Con questo cambiamento, non solo il "mondo" doveva essere creato *ex-novo* e non imitato, ma acquisiva inoltre importanza fondamentale la forza sulla quale il soggetto doveva contare per "uscire da sé". Questa forza acquistava la sua massima intensità nella libertà dei fenomeni naturali, nello stadio giovanile e nell'assenza di convenzioni che agiscono come impedimento o zavorre. Non a caso Spengler ebbe rapida ed intensa diffusione in America Latina: e non a caso l'Espressionismo tedesco stabilì legami altrettanto rapidi con la cultura brasiliana. Lasar Segall, uno dei membri stabili di *Die Brucke*, esule a San Paolo nel 1913, dieci anni più tardi si era radicato in Brasile. Anita Malfatti, brasiliana, studiò a Berlino e venne espulsa ed esiliata anch'essa a San Paolo nel 1917.
Nel 1918 i giovani artisti russi Gregori Warchavchick e Wladimir Konstantinowsky emigrarono da Odessa, loro città natale, dirigendosi in Italia. Da lì nel 1924 il primo dei due partì per il Brasile, il secondo si stabilì fino al 1921 a Berlino, dove lavorò con i fratelli Luckhardt, realizzando scenografie e costumi per vari spettacoli espressionisti. Nel 1928 emigrò anch'egli stabilendosi a Buenos Aires, dopo una breve sosta in Brasile. La sua opera è una delle più feconde del primo periodo dell'architettura moderna in Argentina. Dei più conosciuti architetti espressionisti, solo Hugo Häring sviluppò un progetto per l'America Latina: il Club Germania a Rio de Janeiro.
La rivalutazione del mito, tanto in chiave psicologica (Jung) quanto antropologica (Lévy Strauss) ed estetica (Cassirer), stimolava dall'inizio del secolo l'interesse della cultura europea nei confronti degli indigeni. Questo interesse aveva ispirato le ricerche di Aby Warburg sugli indios Pueblos e la sua visita alla frontiera messicana nel 1896[62].
Ma fu con il Movimento surrealista che la presenza dei temi latinoamericani acquistò un ruolo decisivo. Breton visitò il Centroamerica e tornò ammaliato dalle pratiche Vudù. L'opera di Wilfredo Lam inglobò segni e temi mistici della cultura caribeña; lo stesso fece Matta in relazione alla cultura delle isole del Pacifico. Le dinamiche vibrazioni curve di Kandinsky, le forme "disciolte" di Dalì e Mirò si mischiavano in questo modo con l'immaginario magico della regione: la linea come forza poteva incarnarsi, più in là del soggetto, nel mito di un sentimento popolare.
Alla fine degli anni Trenta e agli inizi degli anni Quaranta, dopo il Congresso Internazionale Surrealista del 1938, fece irruzione nella cultura architettonica internazionale la produzione brasiliana e, in minor misura, alcune





and exiled to São Paulo in 1917.
In 1918 young Russian artists Gregori Warchavchick and Vladimir Konstantinowsky emigrated from their native city of Odessa to Italy. From there, Warchavchick set out for Brazil, while Konstantinowsky moved to Berlin until 1921, where he worked with the Luckhardt brothers, creating stage sets and costumes for various Expressionist performances. In 1928 he also emigrated and settled in Buenos Aires, after a brief stay in Brazil. His work is among the finest in the early period of modern Argentine architecture. Of the better-known Expressionist architects, only Hugo Häring produced a project for Latin America: the Club Germania in Rio de Janeiro.
The revaluation of myth at the beginning of the century — psychologically (Jung), anthropologically (Lévy-Strauss) and aesthetically (Cassirer) — stimulated European interest in native cultures, inspiring Aby Warburg's studies of the Pueblo Indians and his visit to the Mexican border in 1896[62].
But it was with the Surrealist movement that the decisive importance of Latin America became apparent. Breton visited Central America and came back fascinated by voodoo practices. The work of Wifredo Lam incorporated mystical symbols and themes from Caribbean culture. Matta did the same with Pacific island cultures. Kandinsky's dynamic, vibrating curves, and Dalì and Mirò's "melting" forms thus mingled with South American magic: the line as a force could become find its objective embodiment outside the creating subject in popular myth.
In the late thirties and early forties, after the International Surrealist Congress of 1938, Brazilian architecture and, to a lesser extent, similar manifestations in other Latin American countries burst on the international architectural scene.
It was given the seal of approval by the Museum of Modern Art in New York and an American Institute of Architects "anxious to establish close ties with Brazil, a country which will be a future ally of ours"[63]. *This policy, adopted by President Roosevelt halfway through the decade, aimed to re-establish neighbourly relations with Latin American countries after a period of "hardline diplomacy", and to consolidate Pan-American unity in the face of Axis aggression.*
On the other hand, late-thirties North American culture was seeking to develop a modern profile of its own based on organicism and the informal, which would find its architectural expression in Saarinen's poetics and Cranbroock's Academy of Design. However, the basic formula for a "modern American" alternative to European architecture needed to absorb other "American" architecture to become complete. One outcome of this need was a book by Goodwin on Brazil. Others were the reinstatement of Candela and O'Gorman's architecture in Mexico, and one of the design events of this century, the creation of the BKF chair by Antonio Bonet, Juan Kurchan and Jorge Ferrari, which the MOMA purchased in 1939. Despite local variations and the obvious dominance of Brazil, all this architecture had impressive formal content — abundant curves, sculptural freedom and organic links with natural forms — and stood as a clear rejection of the early CIAM's the rigid formulae.
The outcome of the Second World War gave the Untied States a hegemony which consolidated internationally the architectural positions that had been defined shortly before the war, with the result that the validity of related Latin American architecture was considerably enhanced.
The role of Siegfried Giedion in CIAM after the Second World War was substantial. Half of the paper he gave at the Bridgewater Congress[64]*, in which he drew conclusions about the forties, is devoted to European architecture and the remainder to American architecture, in turn laboriously sub-divided into North American and South American architecture. Giedion's interest in Latin American architecture was very much along the lines we have already seen: hope in new generations distant from war but nonetheless* "aware that the way their parents did business can only spell catastrophe". *In* Mechanization Takes Command *Giedion agreed that a rigid rationalism had developed in the interwar period*[65]. *Brasilia, in his view, gave a glimpse of what the third age of space would be like: the five illustrations accompanying the 1960 preface to the second Italian edition of* Space, Time and Architecture *show Chandigarh, Ronchamps, Kunio Maekawa's Festival Pavilion in Tokyo and two views of the Three Towers Plaza in the new Brazilian capital.*
The flirtation with Latin American "vitalist" architecture lasted the duration of European expiation for having caused the loss of twenty million human lives. With earlier optimis now restored, an unusual court was set up in the prestigious offices in 1954 of The Architectural Review *to pass "judgment" (objectively, of course) on Brazilian architecture.*

Nelle pagine precedenti:
Hannes Meyer con allievi e collaboratori del Instituto de Urbanismo y Planificación, poco dopo il suo arrivo in Messico, 1940.
Lucio Costa, Frank Lloyd Wright e Gregori J. Warchavchik a Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1931.
Max Cetto e Walter Gropius in Messico, 1946.
Ernesto N. Rogers, Alvar Aalto, Pietro Maria Bardi, Walter Gropius e altri a San Paolo, Brasile, 1954.

Previous pages:
Hannes Meyer with students and collaborators at the Instituto de Urbanismo y Planificación shortly after his arrival in Mexico, 1940.
Lucio Costa, Frank Lloyd Wright and Gregori J. Warchavchik in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1931.

manifestazioni simili di altri paesi della regione.
Laconsacrazione avvenne per iniziativa del MOMA di New York e dell'American Institute of Architects "*ansiosi di tenere strette relazioni con il Brasile, un paese che sarà nostro futuro alleato*"[63]. Questa politica era stata intrapresa dal presidente Roosevelt a metà del decennio, diretta a ricomporre con i latinoamericani relazioni di "buon vicinato" dopo le asprezze del tempo della "diplomazia del bastone", e avrebbe consolidato l'unità americana in vista del confronto con le potenze dell'Asse.
D'altra parte la cultura nordamericana della seconda metà degli anni Trenta cercava di definire un profilo moderno proprio, profilo che si sviluppava intorno all'organicismo e all'informale, ai quali la poetica di Saarinen e l'Accademia del Disegno di Cranbroock daranno espressione architettonica. La formula elementare di "una architettura moderna americana", alternativa a quella europea, necessitava dell'assunzione di altre architetture "americane" per completarsi. Uno dei risultati di questa esigenza fu il libro di Goodwin sul Brasile. Un altro risultato fu la rivendicazione delle architetture di Candela e O'Gorman in Messico, e la nascita di uno dei fenomeni del *design* di questo secolo, la sedia BKF, di Antonio Bonet, Juan Kurchan e Jorge Ferrari, acquistata dal MOMA nel 1939. Sebbene con varianti, e con una evidente predominanza del Brasile, in tutti i casi si trattava di una produzione di grande carica formale, ricca di linee curve, di libertà plastica, di relazioni organiche con le forme naturali, in evidente rifiuto delle formule rigide dei primi CIAM.
Il risultato della seconda guerra mondiale assegnò agli Stati Uniti un ruolo egemonico che consolidò a livello internazionale le posizioni definite nel periodo immediatamente precedente, e ciò legittimò con maggiore forza le produzioni latinoamericane ad esse connesse. A tale risultato non fu estraneo il ruolo di Siegfried Giedion nei CIAM del secondo dopoguerra. Se si analizza la sua relazione al Congresso di Bridgwater[64], dove si fa un bilancio degli anni Quaranta, si può osservare che metà della relazione è dedicata alla produzione europea e la restante a quella americana, prolissamente divisa a sua volta in due metà, quella per l'America settentrionale e quella per l'America meridionale. L'interesse di Giedion per la produzione latinoamericana segue le linee fin qui tracciate: ripone la sua speranza in queste nuove generazioni emergenti, lontane dall'esperienza della guerra ma "*coscienti che il modo di condurre gli affari dei loro genitori può portarli solo alla catastrofe*". In *Mecanization takes command* Giedion aveva riconosciuto il percorso del rigido razionalismo tra le due guerre[65]. Brasilia sarebbe stata, secondo lui, il punto di arrivo della terza età dello spazio: le cinque illustrazioni che accompagnano la prefazione del 1960 alla seconda edizione italiana di *Spazio, Tempo ed Architettura*, danno idea del suo pensiero: Chandigarh, Ronchamp, il padiglione delle Feste di Tokio di Kunio Maekawa e due illustrazioni della Piazza dei Tre Poteri della nuova capitale brasiliana.
Il *flirt* con la "vitalista" architettura latinoamericana durò lo spazio dell'espiazione europea per essere stata motivo dell'immolazione di venti milioni di vite umane. Nel 1954 recuperando l'originale ottimismo, si istituì un insolito tribunale nella prestigiosa sede di "The Architectural Review" dove si procedette a "giudicare" (oggettivamente, certo) l'architettura di un paese: il Brasile. La "*forza della naturalezza*" si convertì in "*anarchia della giungla*", l'"*impulso giovanile*" in "*capricci infantili*", il "*mistero del mito*" in "*sensualità sovraccarica*". Ernesto Rogers e Max Bill impersonavano con sicurezza il loro ruolo di custodi della "vera" legalità moderna, e da allora l'accusato fu radiato dai circoli civilizzati[66].

Architettura e rivoluzione

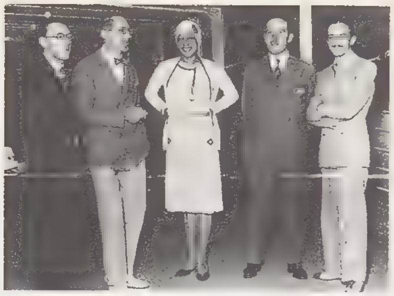
Alla fine degli anni Cinquanta, quella che per alcuni era una società appagata, cominciò per altri ad essere avvertita come un problema. Partecipando ad un dibattito nell'inverno del 1958, Aldo van Eyck si lamentava degli inconvenienti a cui aveva condotto la massiccia ricostruzione europea secondo i parametri CIAM: "*Non c'è spazio per l'imponderabile, nessun luogo dove possa annidarsi*"[67].
Questa insofferenza, questa sensazione di perdita di identità spinse alcuni architetti legati al Team X a guardare nuovamente ai primitivi[68]. Ma, nel momento in cui lo sguardo degli architetti europei si voltava verso la periferia come fonte di identità, giungevano al loro apice i processi di decolonizzazione in Africa (Algeria, Congo specialmente), mentre in America Latina aveva luogo la Rivoluzione cubana. Identificati come lotte dei popoli per mantenere la propria identità, questi processi si rapportavano perfettamente con il dibattito architettonico internazionale centrato intorno alla questione della mancanza di "qualità" e "identità" nella produzione moderna.
Nel caso dell'America Latina, la Rivoluzione cubana attrasse nei primi anni molti intellettuali, la cui figura

Max Cetto and Walter Gropius in Mexico, 1946.
Ernesto N. Rogers, Alvar Aalto, Pietro Maria Bardi, Walter Gropius and others in São Paulo, Brazil, 1954.

The "force of naturalness" was transformed into "the anarchy of the jungle", the "impulse of youth" into "childish impulses", the "mystery of the myth" into "overloaded sensuality". Ernesto Rogers and Max Bill confidently played their parts as custodians of "true" modern legality, and from that moment on the accused was expelled from civilised circles[66].

Architecture and Revolution

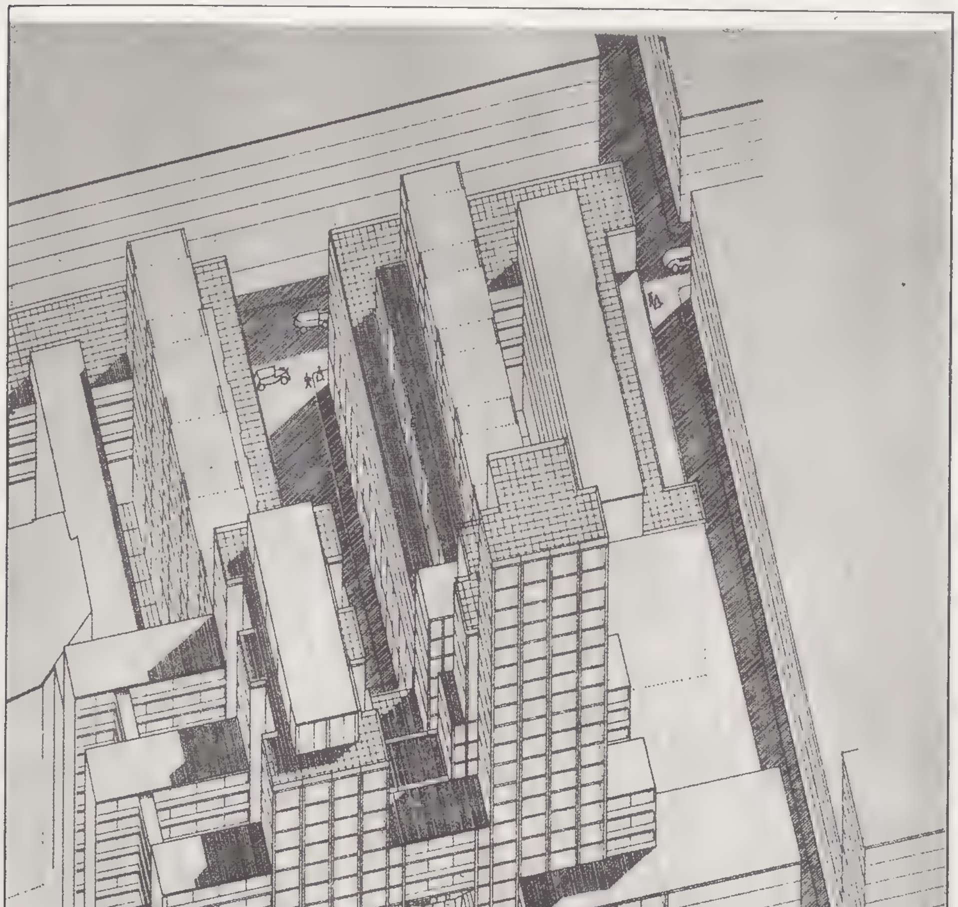
At the end of the fifties, what some had seen as a satisfied society began to be seen by others as a problem. In a debate in the winter of 1958, Aldo van Eyck complained of the negative consequences of massive reconstruction in Europe along rigidly predetermined CIAM lines: "There is no room for the imponderable, no place where it can nestle"[67]. This intolerance, the feeling of loss of identity, led some architects associated with Team X to take a fresh look at the primitives[68]. But at a moment when European architects were starting to look to the periphery as a source of identity, the decolonization of Africa (especially Algeria and the Congo) was reaching its height, and the Cuban revolution was underway. Interpreted as the struggles of peoples intent on retaining their own identities, these developments fit in perfectly with an international architectural debate centring on the lack of "quality" and identity in modern architecture.
In Latin America, the Cuban revolution attracted many intellectuals in the early years, including Sartre, the most representative of them all, who concerned himself with the problem of the relationship between individual and socialism. Italians Vittorio Garatti and Roberto Gottardi and Cuban Ricardo Porro worked in the Art Schools to develop a neo-Expressionist interpretation of the "sugar hurricane". But this was not the kind of "positive", ingenuous style that could win admittance to the European debate of the day: the leading lights of demographic and urban growth on a planetary scale were the bidonvilles, the favelas, the villas miseria. In 1971, at the height of the debate, Martin Pawley in Britain came up with Garbage Housing as a way of the reutilising waste material to solve the housing problems that still existed in the West and thus evitalise existing concepts of housing[69]. The ordinary lives of millions of people living on the margins of society in Latin America and the Third World would thus acquire a theoretical status and respectability that could be applied to advanced Western societies.
In the years when protest culture was calling into question the very foundations of the discipline — the hitherto unquestioned principles of social organisation like the family, or the immovability of homes — radical circles were seeking alternative housing styles crossed, as often as not, with ideas deriving from the technological utopias of the day. Alan Turner pointed to the destitute settlements on the hills around Caracas as a more advanced alternative mode of housing[70]. Thus, the chaos and the destruction of these marginal populations which some saw as an evil to be contained and eventually eliminated were regarded by others as genuinely feasible alternatives, a blueprint for the future as well as a critique the present[71]. It is significant that in Italy (although the trend would eventually prove highly influential internationally), Leonardo Benevolo would devote a whole chapter to Latin America, complete with the usual praise for Brazilian architecture, in his Storia dell'Architettura Moderna published in 1960, and, well aware of the need to redesign the instruments of modern architecture, would conclude his Storia della Città (1975) with a detailed visual survey of the alienated suburbs of Latin American cities.
The publication by leading European magazines of numerous thematic issues devoted to the "Third World" in general or to "Latin America" in particular, started a trend which culminated in the International Union of Architects Conferences in Havana (1963) and Buenos Aires (1969) and, above all, the United Nations competition for an Experimental Housing Project (PREVI) in the Peruvian capital, Lima. The competition attracted not only Peruvian architects, but also leading international figures like Kiyonori Kikutake, Noriaki Kurokawa and Fumihiko Maki from Japan, Atelier 5 from Switzerland, Candilis, Josic and Woods from France, Aldo van Eyck from the Netherlands and James Stirling from Britain. The aim was to formulate a high-density alternative to horizontal configurations of individual homes. By majority vote, the jury awarded first prize to Ohl, Atelier 5 and the Japanese group, although an extraordinarily vehement dissenting document issued by a minority of jury members condemned the Ohl project as an intolerable example of traditional rationalism. As an alternative, it championed the project submitted by the Center for Environmental Structure led by Christopher Alexander which was more in line with the kind of new solutions we looked at earlier[72].
However, these "revolutionary" proposals are as important for what they reveal as for what they overlook. Thus, the Mexican revolution, the first major instance of social unrest in the twentieth century, had architects scrambling to find





Le Corbusier con Joséphine Baker sul piroscafo di ritorno dal Sudamerica, 1929.
Luis Barragán, Restauro di una casa, Guadalajara, Stato di Jalisco, Messico, 1932.
Hannes Meyer, Progetto di sviluppo della "Manzana de Corpus Christi", Città del Messico, 1947: assonometria da nord.

Le Corbusier with Joséphine Baker on the ship, returning from South America, 1929.
Luis Barragán, House restoration, Guadalajara, State of Jalisco, Mexico, 1932.
Hannes Meyer, Development project for the "Manzana de Corpus Christi", Mexico City, 1947: axonometric view from the north.



paradigmatica fu Sartre, impegnato proprio sul problema del rapporto individuo/socialismo. Gli italiani Vittorio Garatti e Roberto Gottardi, insieme al cubano Ricardo Porro, cercarono di interpretare l'"uragano sullo zucchero" in chiave neoespressionista nelle Scuole d'Arte. Ma non era questo il registro "positivo" ed ingenuo che poteva interloquire con il dibattito europeo di quel momento: nella saga dei maggiori processi di crescita demografica ed urbana del pianeta, le nuove "stelle" erano le *bidonvilles*, le *favelas*, le *villas miseria*. Nel 1971, al culmine di questo dibattito, Martin Pawley proponeva in Gran Bretagna il "*Garbage Housing*", la riutilizzazione dei residui come via per risolvere i problemi abitativi ancora esistenti in Occidente, rinnovando allo stesso tempo la concezione dell'abitazione[69]. La vita abituale di milioni di marginali dell'America Latina e del Terzo Mondo avrebbe acquistato in questo modo uno statuto teorico come strumento applicabile nelle società avanzate dell'Occidente.

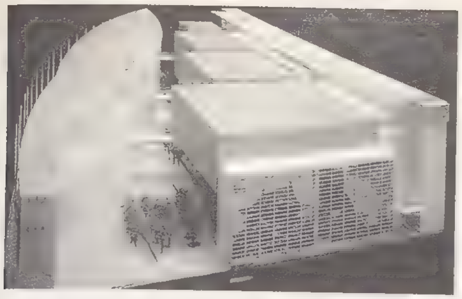
Negli anni in cui la cultura contestatrice poneva in discussione tutti i fondamenti della disciplina, intesi come presupposti fino ad allora indiscussi dell'organizzazione sociale, come la famiglia o l'inamovibilità delle residenze, i circoli radicali cercarono, incrociandosi molte volte con le utopie tecnologiche, modelli alternativi dell'abitare. Così osservando la popolazione povera di Caracas stabilitasi sulle colline della città, Alan Turner la indicava come una alternativa più avanzata[70].

Il caos e la destrutturazione di queste popolazioni marginali, che ad altri osservatori si presentavano come un male che doveva essere controllato ed eliminato, risultavano, secondo quei punti di vista, strade praticabili, indicazioni di una forma alternativa di pensare il futuro, fondamenti per una critica del presente[71]. È significativo che nel caso della cultura italiana (anche se con una grande ripercussione a livello internazionale), Leonardo Benevolo dedicherà all'America Latina un capitolo con le abituali lodi dell'architettura brasiliana nella sua *Storia dell'architettura moderna* del 1960, mentre, attento alla necessità di ripensare gli strumenti dell'architettura moderna, concluderà con una dettagliata ricognizione grafica dei quartieri marginali dell'America Latina la sua *Storia della Città* del 1975.

La pubblicazione in questa chiave di numeri monografici delle principali riviste europee, dedicati o al "Terzo Mondo" in generale o all'"America Latina" in particolare, segnò un processo che ebbe i suoi momenti culminanti nei Congressi dell'Unione Internazionale degli Architetti tenuti a L'Avana (1963) e a Buenos Aires (1969) e, soprattutto, nel concorso promosso dalle Nazioni Unite per un Progetto Sperimentale di Alloggi (PREVI) che doveva localizzarsi a Lima, capitale del Perù. Insieme ad architetti peruviani, al concorso parteciparono figure di primo piano del dibattito internazionale come i giapponesi Kiyonori Kikutake, Noriaki Kurokawa, Fumihiko Maki, l'Atelier 5 dalla Svizzera, i francesi Candilis, Josic e Woods, l'olandese Aldo van Eyck e l'inglese James Stirling. Si trattava di formulare una alternativa ad alta densità per case individuali aggregate orizzontalmente, e la maggioranza della giuria assegnò il primo premio a Ohl, all'Atelier 5 e al Gruppo giapponese. La minoranza della giuria emise un documento che dissentiva con straordinaria durezza dal progetto di Ohl, che si qualificava come esempio di un razionalismo tradizionale insostenibile. Come alternativa si indicava il progetto del Center for Environmental Structure guidato da Christopher Alexander, in sintonia con la ricerca di nuove soluzioni alle quali abbiamo fatto riferimento precedentemente[72].

Nell'esame di queste ipotesi "rivoluzionarie" è importante tanto quello che si rivela quanto quello che si ignora. Così, mentre nel 1910 la Rivoluzione messicana si presentò come la prima grande agitazione sociale del XX secolo, mettendo subito architetti e intellettuali di fronte alla necessità di dare risposte immediate e generalizzate alle grandi richieste popolari su casa, istruzione e salute, il fenomeno non fu registrato dalla cronaca o dalla storia. Solo alcuni settori progressisti degli Stati Uniti lo avvertirono tardivamente[73].

Sebbene praticamente ignorata dalla cultura europea, vista dall'Unione Sovietica, l'esperienza messicana doveva rappresentare una speciale attrazione negli anni degli scambi più intensi tra i due paesi, durante il governo del generale Calles ed il successivo periodo del "maximato". Le riprese di *Que viva Mexico* da parte di Sergej Eisenstein sono una testimonianza eloquente, come parte di una corrente di interscambi che vide da parte messicana la presenza dei grandi muralisti, specialmente fino alla ascesa dello stalinismo. Ma per la cultura architettonica sovietica, l'America Latina non sembrava presentarsi che come variante di un fenomeno maggiore, identificato in qualche modo con le sue stesse ossessioni: America come sede "naturale" del nuovo[74]. Il concorso internazionale del Faro di Colombo a Santo Domingo organizzato dall'Unione Panamericana mobilitò un rilevante numero di progettisti sovietici: ventitre gruppi, tra cui quelli di Nikolai Ladovskij e



Rafael Viñoly, Progetto di concorso per il Forum di Tokio, 1990.

Rafael Viñoly, Competition project for the Tokyo Forum, 1990.

immediate, generalised responses to large-scale demands for housing, education and health, yet journalists and historians passed over the event in silence. Only certain progressive groups in the United States noticed it later on[73]*. Although virtually ignored in Europe, events in Mexico must have drawn considerable attention in the Soviet Union during the years when understanding between the two countries was at its strongest — during the rule of General Calles and the "maximato" that followed. Eisenstein's* Que Viva Mexico *gives an eloquent account of the situation in the context of cultural exchanges that saw the importation of the great Soviet mural painters, especially in the period preceding the rise of Stalinism. But to Soviet architecture, Latin America seemed only an variation on a wider theme that in some ways mirrored its own obsessions: America was seen as the "natural" centre of the new*[74]*. The international competition for the Colombus lighthouse in Santo Domingo organised by the Pan-american Union mobilised a significant number of Soviet designers: twenty-three groups, including those led by Nikolai Ladovsky and Konstantin Mel'nikov, had the opportunity to formulate a representative idea of the "New World"*[75]*. Melnikov's project, a huge and rather unusual mechanical device symbolising the birth of America as a new, original world within the broader umbrella of "European civilisation" had a great impact on the jury (which included Raymond Hood, Eliel Saarinen, and later Frank Lloyd Wright). While they testified to the ingenuousness and mythical distance that separated the Soviet Union from Latin America, they also reaffirmed the widely-held beliefs still current in the early thirties by which many Europeans judged both the north and the south of the American continent.*

The Classical Spirit of Latin America

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, shortly after the United States' defeat of Spain (i.e. when it assumed the mantle of its Imperialist role), Silvester Baxter, later a leading North American diplomat at the Pan-american conferences, published a book on colonial Latin American architecture. As a politician, Baxter used seventeenth- and eighteenth-century civil and religious architecture south of Rio Bravo to show his fellow Americans how to go about reinstating the concept of an American architecture whose importance now called for more significant documentation than the modest examples of North American wooden architecture could provide. For the first time, the architecture of America's Spanish colonies had been linked to the development of modern architecture.

The actual building of modern architecture in Latin America did not run counter to attempts to link it to the past although, of course, the nature of the link varied according to the heritage each country had to offer.

In European circles, the reinstatement of links between modern Latin American architecture and colonial architecture was a side-effect of the debate over the relationship between modernism and classicism, broadly defined during the thirties but developed in greater depth in Fascist Italy. It is well-known that Giuseppe Terragni, who championed the view most decisively, attempted to incorporate the "Fascist revolution" in a classically-inspired "absolute form". Terragni's position was defended against dissenters like Giuseppe Pagano and Marcello Piacentini by Quadrante, *the magazine edited by art critic and theoretician Pietro Maria Bardi who, after the Liberation, emigrated to Brazil, where he founded and became curator of the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art. As a supporter of the Fascist regime, Bardi made his first trip to Latin America in 1934 for an exhibition of modern Italian architecture, but it was the Swiss-Italian Alberto Sartoris rather than Bardi who was most instrumental in establishing the trend. Sartoris travelled to Latin America at the same time as Bardi; later, in 1948, he published a multiple-volume work of which* Ordre et climat méditerraneé[76] *was the first. The book attempted to give a global view of "modern architecture" as an alternative not only to Giedion's* Space, Time and Architecture, *but also, and mainly, to Nikolaus Pevsner's* Pioneers..., *because both these books attributed only a marginal role to Italian architecture in the development of the Modern Movement. At the same time, he criticised the early ideas of Zevi, who had defended North American organicist architecture. So Sartoris did two things: on the one hand, he included Italian architecture in a broader "Latin" or "Mediterranean" order deriving from classical Rome; on the other, the protagonists of his "History" were the various countries he regarded as "Latin", which thus excluded Great Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, Poland and Scandinavia. Sartoris referred to both North and South America in his* Ordre et climat americains *(the inclusion of Japan is totally incomprehensible)*[77]*. South America occupied more than half the book, the message being that the* "Latin spirit" *in fact represented the best and most relevant* "modern architecture"*. The classically-inspired spirit in Latin America was the result of several factors: the Latin multiracial*

Konstantin Mel'nikov, ebbero così l'occasione di formulare una proposta rappresentativa del "nuovo mondo"[75]. Il progetto di Mel'nikov, un insolito gigantesco dispositivo meccanico che simboleggiava la nascita dell'America come mondo nuovo e originale dall'interno della "civiltà europea" produsse un grande impatto sulla giuria (a cui parteciparono Raymond Hood e Eliel Saarinen, e in un secondo tempo Frank Lloyd Wright). E, se testimoniavano l'ingenuità e la distanza mitica che separavano realmente l'universo sovietico da quello latinoamericano, riaffermavano anche quella convinzione diffusa secondo la quale, ancora al principio degli anni Trenta, molti circoli europei giudicavano il sud ed il nord del continente.

Lo spirito classico dell'America Latina

Nell'ultima decade del XIX secolo, poco dopo la disfatta della Spagna per mano degli Stati Uniti, vale a dire nel momento iniziale della costruzione del suo ruolo imperialista, Silvester Baxter, che sarà uno dei maggiori rappresentanti diplomatici nordamericani alle conferenze panamericane, pubblicò un libro sull'architettura coloniale in America Latina. Come politico, Baxter si proponeva in questo libro di dare una lezione ai suoi connazionali sull'esempio più utile — quello delle costruzioni civili e religiose dei secoli XVII e XVIII a sud del Rio Bravo— al rinnovamento dell'architettura del suo paese, attestato in una posizione che richiedeva un linguaggio importante, per la cui definizione non bastavano i modesti esempi in legno della storia dell'architettura nordamericana. Per la prima volta l'architettura del passato coloniale spagnolo trovava una mediazione con il progetto moderno.
La costruzione dell'architettura moderna in America Latina non fu estranea al tentativo di connetterla con l'eredità del passato. Naturalmente questo legame variò, essendo dipendente dalla differente consistenza di questa eredità nei diversi paesi.
In ambito europeo la rivendicazione dei legami tra architettura moderna latinoamericana e architettura coloniale si produsse come derivazione di un importante settore del dibattito sulla relazione modernismo-classicismo, generalizzato durante gli anni Trenta sebbene sviluppato con maggiori articolazioni nell'Italia fascista. È risaputo che fu Giuseppe Terragni che rappresentò in maniera più determinata la linea che cercava di incarnare la "Rivoluzione fascista" nella "forma assoluta" derivata dallo spirito classico. Rispetto ad altri centri d'opinione guidati da Giuseppe Pagano o Marcello Piacentini, la posizione di Terragni era difesa dalla rivista "Quadrante", diretta da Pier Maria Bardi, critico e toerico d'arte che, dopo la Liberazione emigrò in Brasile, dove fu fondatore e direttore del Museo d'Arte Moderna di San Paolo. Come sostenitore del regime fascista, nel 1934 Bardi fece il suo primo viaggio in America Latina per una esposizione di architettura moderna del suo paese. Ma non fu egli direttamente, bensì lo svizzero-italiano Alberto Sartoris che diede impulso alla tendenza a cui facevamo riferimento. Sartoris viaggiò in America Latina negli stessi anni; più tardi, nel 1948, pubblicò un'opera in diversi volumi di cui *Ordre et climat méditerranéens*[76] fu il primo. Il libro cercava di opporre una visione globale dell'"architettura moderna", alternativa allo *Spazio, Tempo ed Architettura* di Giedion, ma soprattutto al *Pioneers...* di Nikolaus Pevsner, poiché entrambi questi libri assegnavano all'architettura italiana un ruolo marginale nella costruzione del Movimento Moderno.
Contemporaneamente polemizzava con le prime formulazioni di Zevi, che difendeva l'architettura organica nordamericana. Sartoris realizzò in questo modo una doppia operazione: da un lato incluse l'architettura italiana in un ordine maggiore "latino" o "mediterraneo", derivato dalla Roma classica; dall'altro i protagonisti della sua "Storia" erano i diversi paesi di quello che si intende come latinità, escludendo Inghilterra, Germania, Unione Sovietica, Polonia e Paesi Scandinavi. Studiando *Ordre et climat américains*[77] (lasciando da parte l'incomprensibile inclusione del Giappone), Sartoris faceva riferimento all'America del Nord e del Sud. La seconda occupava più della metà del tomo e sosteneva che lo "*spirito latino*" altro non è che la condizione sostantiva della migliore e più rilevante "*architettura moderna*". Erede dello spirito classico, in America Latina questa condizione era il prodotto di diversi fattori: la comunità razziale latina, la magnifica esperienza dell'architettura barocca coloniale di origine iberica, e l'opera didattica di quell'eccezionale maestro latino che era Le Corbusier. Portatrice dello spirito commerciale, l'America del Nord era per il mondo anglosassone quello che, portatrice dei valori dello spirito, era l'America Latina per il Mediterraneo: "*Ogni essere sensibile ammirerà con grande emozione l'architettura nuova del Messico e del Brasile, dove la dottrina è passata ai fatti, ha fondato uno stato presente dell'arte di costruire, ha trasformato la maggior parte della pratica edificatoria in questi paesi. Al contrario, sono da porre alcune riserve su quei movimenti che negli*

community, the magnificence of Spanish colonial Baroque architecture and the teachings of that exceptional "Latin" master architect, Le Corbusier. North America, the bearer of the commercial spirit, was to the Anglo-Saxon world what Latin America, the bearer of spiritual values, was to the Mediterranean: "Every sensitive being will be impressed by the new architecture of Mexico and Brazil, where doctrine has given way to facts; it embodies the present state of the art in building and has transformed building practice in these countries. On the other hand, some reservations need to be made about those movements which in the United States have raised hopes likely to compromise the purity of style that is still developing [...] In the Latin order of new Mexican and Brazilian architecture, we rediscover Classical serenity, those enduring elements of a monumental configuration [...]"

The Global Village and Its Corners

What Latin America do observers in Europe, Japan and North America "discover" today?

In terms of post-industrial visual culture, it is only a slight exaggeration to say that, at least for the time being, South American architecture has virtually sunk without trace. Now that the last residual utopian ideals of the sixties have vanished, and in an age of total hedonism with a completely alien and so undifferentiated "barbarian" horde pressing at the gates, South American architecture simply does not count any more.

Equally, it can hardly be said that Latin American creativity has distinguished itself over recent years. There is no shortage of reasons for this. One is the inverted cash-flow brought on by massive foreign debt which has turned South America into an exporter of capital. Another is the violent suppression of all forms of critical, progressive thinking which has only served to accelerate the flight of capital. As a result, public and private investment in non-luxury construction has been reduced to a minimum to the detriment of large-scale communal projects. Both factors have caused or accelerated the flight of Latin American intellectuals and professionals to Europe or the United States. So, in the eighties, the role of Latin American "postmodernism" was determined by Heideggerian reformulations of its true locus, *its "weakness" and irrelevance to "hard" modern centrality,*

a no less anti-modern apotheosis of "thematic" approaches in the face of "objective" approaches, and consequently, the "rediscovery" of colonial urban grids.

The MOMA Luis Barragán exhibition consecrated the "spirit" that was supposed to underlie Latin American architecture: large opaque walls, broad shadows, unprocessed materials, enigmatic silence. Doubtless well-intentioned theoreticians like Kenneth Frampton defended Latin American difference as a form of resistance, as an alternative central standardisation.

Urban planning studies sponsored by Spain and especially by Italy have subsequently generated finance for building projects, as has happened in Andalusia.

So often driven by the difficult conditions in their country, many Latin Americans have attempted to reverse the earlier trend towards differentiation by camouflaging themselves as Europeans or North Americans. Their camouflage has been so successful that they have disappeared altogether, creating in the process some of the most interesting examples of stateless architecture the global village has ever produced. It is worth remembering, among other things, that the New York avant-garde has relied on contributions from Mario Gandelsonas, Diana Agrest, Rodolfo Machado and Jorge Silvetti; that Cesar Pelli played an important role in the development of large-scale projects in New York; that the competition for the Seville Expo was won by Emilio Ambasz, now resident in Italy, where Tomas Maldonado remains a leading contemporary figure. Nor should we forget that the Paris Opera was designed and built by Ott, the Uruguayan, and that another recent monument in Paris was a joint project by Chemetov and Chilean-born Borja Huidobro, who also won the competition for the redevelopment of the Defense.

Should there still be any doubts as the millenium draws to a close, let it be said once and for all that the relationship between centre and periphery seems a good deal more complex than any notion of simple opposition would suggest. What difference is there between the Los Angeles riots in 1992 and events in Caracas and Buenos Aires in 1991 and 1990? How peripheral is Detroit today compared with São Paulo? And how peripheral is Naples compared with Lima, or Mexico City with Hong Kong?

And yet, we cannot assume that "the end of history" has magically done away with difference. It would be more accurate to say that the nucleus seems to have exploded.

If this were true, the roving camera-eye of films like Wenders's Paris, Texas *or* Until the End of the World *would convey a very different message, that all notion of "place" has finally been eliminated in modern culture. There could be no more telling example of this than the result of one of our most*

Stati Uniti hanno provocato una situazione di aspettativa nefasta alla purezza di uno stile in formazione (...). Nell'ordine latino della nuova architettura messicana e brasiliana, riscopriamo quella serenità classica, quegli elementi costanti di un dispositivo monumentale (...)".

Il villaggio globale e i suoi angoli

Quali Americhe Latine "scoprono" gli occhi che oggi guardano dall'Europa, dal Giappone e dall'America del Nord?

È solo di poco esagerato affermare che nel campo visivo postindustriale, almeno per il momento, la cultura architettonica del subcontinente sta per raggiungere una dimensione prossima al niente. Dissolti gli ultimi residui utopistici degli anni Sessanta, in pieno clima edonistico e con un gigantesco, diversissimo e perciò indifferenziato universo di "barbari" dall'altro lato della barriera, la produzione del subcontinente non conta.

Senz'altro, non è meno sicuro che la tensione creativa latinoamericana è stata poco apprezzabile negli ultimi anni. Non sono mancate ragioni per questo. Una è stata l'inversione del flusso finanziario che, per via del meccanismo del gigantesco debito estero, ha trasformato il subcontinente in esportatore di capitali. Un'altra è stata la violenta repressione che, come mezzo per garantire quest'inversione, è stata esercitata su ogni forma di pensiero critico e progressista. Come conseguenza della prima si è ridotto al minimo l'investimento pubblico e privato nelle costruzioni non di lusso, che ha significato una contrazione dei programmi di grande respiro per opere di interesse collettivo. Entrambe le ragioni hanno provocato o accentuato l'esodo di intellettuali e professionisti latinoamericani verso l'Europa o gli Stati Uniti. Perciò negli anni Ottanta l'America Latina ha occupato nella cultura architettonica "postmoderna" solo quei luoghi che le assegnano la rivendicazione heideggeriana del suo *locus*, la sua condizione "debole" e marginale rispetto alla "dura" centralità moderna, e la non meno antimoderna apoteosi della "trama" rispetto all'"oggettualismo" e, di conseguenza, la "riscoperta" del reticolo urbano coloniale. L'esposizione del MOMA dedicata all'opera di Luis Barragán è stata la via della consacrazione di un modello per questo "spirito" che caratterizzerebbe l'architettura latinoamericana: grandi muri opachi, larghe ombre, materiali grezzi e un enigmatico silenzio. Senza dubbio con buone intenzioni, alcuni teorici come Kenneth Frampton hanno difeso la differenza regionale latinoamericana come forma di resistenza, come alternativa ai processi centrali di omologazione.

Dalla Spagna e dall'Italia, soprattutto, sono stati promossi studi sul reticolo urbano, e sono state finanziate, successivamente, esperienze di costruzione, come in Andalusia.

Spinti molto spesso dalle dure condizioni del loro paese, non sono pochi i latinoamericani che hanno invertito il cammino descritto precedentemente, per tentare a loro volta di mimetizzarsi con la cultura europea o nordamericana. Lo hanno fatto tanto bene da riuscire a sparire in quanto tali, realizzando alcuni dei pezzi più interessanti dell'architettura senza patria del villaggio globale. Vale la pena di ricordare, tra gli altri esempi, che l'avanguardia newyorkese ha contato sul contributo di Mario Gandelsonas, Diana Agrest, Rodolfo Machado e Jorge Silvetti; o il ruolo di Cesar Pelli nelle grandi imprese di quella città; o che il Concorso per l'Esposizione di Siviglia è stato vinto da Emilio Ambasz, oggi residente in Italia, da dove Tomás Maldonado continua ad essere uno dei protagonisti della cultura contemporanea. E non si può dimenticare neanche che l'Opéra di Parigi è stata progettata e costruita dall'uruguaiano Ott, e che un altro monumento recente di quella città è una opera congiunta di Chemetov e del cileno Borja Huidobro, che hanno vinto anche il concorso per la riurbanizzazione della Défense.

Semmai mancassero incertezze in questo fine millennio, l'intreccio tra centro e periferia sembra contenere aspetti assai più complessi di quelli di una semplice opposizione. Che distanza separa il saccheggio di Los Angeles del 1992, dai fatti di Caracas o di Buenos Aires del 1991 e 1990? Quanto periferica è oggi Detroit rispetto a San Paolo? Quanto lo sono, rispettivamente, Napoli e Lima, Messico e Hong Kong?

D'altra parte, non si tratta di supporre che la "fine della storia" ha magicamente eliminato le differenze. Piuttosto si deve riconoscere che il nucleo sembra essere esploso.

Se così fosse, si dovrebbe attribuire un altro significato allo sguardo mobile che ci propone una filmografia come quella di Wim Wenders, da *Paris-Texas* a *Fino alla fine del mondo*: nella cultura moderna ogni "luogo" è stato finalmente annullato. Nessun esempio è più adatto, in questo senso, del risultato di uno dei grandi concorsi degli ultimi anni: il maggiore santuario della cultura della fine del secolo suggerisce la metafora di una nave, si sta costruendo

important recent competitions. Our fin-de-siècle *culture seems best enshrined in metaphor of the ship, and this ship is actually being built in the Tokyo by Rafael Viñoly, a Uruguayan architect who trained and established himself professionally in Argentina and now lives in New York.*

Notes

(*) Much of this work was made possible thanks to support from Germany's Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

1) Following a practice that was undoubtedly unintentional though no less widespread, given that it was alien to traditional western practice, both buildings were eliminated from one of the best-known illustrations of the exhibition that features widely in histories of contemporary architecture.

2) The pavilion is dealt with in a chapter in a collection of essays edited by D. SCHAVELZON, La Polémica del arte nacional en México, *1850-1910, Mexico, 1988.*

3) D. BASAEZ and A.M. AMADORI, El pabellón chileno en la Exposición Universal de Paris, *Santiago de Chile, 1989.*

4) D. SCHAVELZON, El pabellón Xochicalco en la Exposición Internacional de Paris de 1867; *IDEM,* La polémica del arte nacional en México, 1850-1910, *op cit.*

5) Cited in S. GIEDION, Space, Time and Architecture, *Cambridge, 1941. Spanish translation:* Espacio, tiempo, architettura, *Barcelona, 1968.*

6) M. DAGUERRE, Hacer la América; intercambios entre el Ticino y la Argentina a traves de la inmigración, *Como/Buenos Aires, 1991.*

7) See V. HUIDOBRO, La création pure, *in L'"Esprit Nouveau", no. 7, 1921.*

8) For a description of this environment, see P. SADDY, Le Corbusier e l'Arlecchino *in "Rassegna", no. 3, July 3, 1980. For Beistégui, see* Entretien avec Charles de Bestégui *in "Connaissance des Arts", no. 3, May 15, 1952.*

9) See DR. H. BUSCH AND R.F. SLOMAN, Das Chilehaus in Hamburg. Sein Bauherr und sein Architekt, *Hamburg, 1974.*

10) Le Corbusier's relations with Latin America have been exhaustively researched in recent years. OYARZÚN has collected some of these studies in his Le Corbusier y Sudamérica, Viajes y proyectos, *Santiago de Chile, 1991. Other interesting works are: VARIOUS AUTHORS,* Le Corbusier en Colombia, *Bogotà, 1987; P.M. BARDI,* Lembranca de Le Corbusier, Atenas, Italia, Brasil, *São Paulo, 1984; and VARIOUS AUTHORS,* Le Corbusier e o Brasil, *São Paulo, 1987.*

11) This interpretation is advanced by W. STRABUCCHI and J.J. UGARTE, La embajada de Francia en Brasilia. Una interpretación del proyecto *in* Le Corbusier y Sudamérica, op. cit.

12) See J. LIERNUR, P. PSCHEPIURCA, Precisiones sobre los proyectos de Le Corbusier en la Argentina, 1929-1949, *in "Summa", November 1987.*

13) See R.R. ISAACS, Der Mensch und sein Werk, *Berlin, 1983. Moeller implies this possibility in one of the presentations he makes of the studio. See* Moderne Baukunst in Deutschland. Walter Gropius in Buenos Aires? *in "La Plata Zeitung", November 29, 1931.*

14) U. ECO, Cuernos, cascos, zapatos: algunas hipótesis sobre tres tipos de abducción, *in Dupin, Homes, Peirce,* El signo de los tres, *edited by U. Eco and T.A. Seboek, Barcelona, 1989. Original edition,* The Sign of Three, *1983. "For Aristotle, defining something means supplying a specific type (*genus*) and difference (*differentia*); type and difference circumscribe the species".*

15) A description of the birth of the project was published by G. SUMMERS in A letter to Son *in "A+U", January 1981, cited in F. SCHULZE,* Mies van der Rohe. A Critical Biography, *Chicago-London, 1985.*

16) Neutra published his works for Puerto Rico in São Paulo in a bilingual edition with the intriguing title Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate. *According to Gregori Warchavchick in the preface, Neutra visited Latin America on a trip sponsored by the North American State Department. For his contacts with various countries in South America, see R. NEUTRA,* Life and Shape, *1962. Second Spanish edition:* Vida e forma, *Buenos Aires, 1972.*

17) See E. GARIN, On the trail of the "different"; American Savages and Chinese Sages, *in* Renaissances and Revolutions. Cultural Movements from the 14th to the 17th Centuries, *Rome-Bari, 1975.*

18) F.L. WRIGHT, An Autobiography, *New York, 1943.*

19) R.R. ISAACS, op. cit.

20) Ibid.

21) This fundamental step in the development of the Ville Radieuse was ignored, as is usually the case, in R. FISHMAN's excellent essay From the Radiant City to Vichy *in WALDEN, R. (ed.),* The Open Hand, *Cambridge, 1982.*

22) P. BANNEN LANATA, Bogotà-Colombia. Cinco viajes y un plan para una ciudad latinoamericana, *in* Le Corbusier y Sudamérica, op. cit.

23) S.W. HEGEMANN, Als Städtebauer in Südamerika and Gemeinnützige Kleinwohnungsb Bauten *in "Wasmuths Monatshefte Baukunst", 1932. For Hegemann's relations with Argentina, see my* Juncal y Esmeralda, Perú House, Maison Garay: fragmentos de un debate tipológico y urbanístico en la obra de Jorge Kalnay, *in "Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano", no. 25, 1987.*

24) See H. ELIASH M. MORENO, Arquitectura y modernidad en Chile 1925-1965, *Santiago de Chile, 1989. For Brunner's activity in Colombia, see S. ARANGO,* Historia de la Arquitectura Colombiana, *Bogotà, 1989.*

25) R. PEREYRA, El Plan de Alfred Agache para Rio de Janeiro, *1986. J-CH. TOUGERON,* Donat Alfred Agache, un architect urbaniste. Un artiste, un scientifique, un philosophe, *in "Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale, no. 8," April 1981.*

26) A. NOVICK, Maestros, pares, socios *in "Arquitectura Sur", no. 4, March 1991.*

27) R. SEGRE, Lectura crítica del entorno cubano, *Havana, 1990.*

28) Rogers gave several lectures in Argentina and Peru, and established contacts with the Tucumán group. Piccinato was commissioned to design several new districts in Buenos Aires (See C. DE SESSA, Luigi Piccinato architetto, *Bari, 1985). Nervi was a Tucumán consultant and designed various hangars for the new international airport at Ezeiza.*

29) F. TENTORI, P.M. Bardi, *Milan, 1990.*

30) For Hannes Meyer, see P. RIVADENEYRA, Hannes Meyer en México, *in* Apuntes para la historia y crítica de la arquitectura mexicana en el siglo XX, *in "Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico", Mexico, 1980; W. KLEINERUESCHKAMP, Exilarchitektur; Hannes Meyer in Mexico, in* Hannes Meyer, Architekt, Urbanist und Lehrer, 1889-1957, *Zurich, 1990; A. GORELIK and J. LIERNUR,* La sombra de la vanguardia. Hannes Meyer en México 1938-1949, *(in press), Buenos Aires, 1992.*

31) See L. GOMEZ O., Entrevista con Max Cetto, *in* Testimonios Vivos, Quadernos de Arquitectura y Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico, *Mexico, 1981.*

32) For the activities of German exiles during the Second World War, see W. KIESSLING, Exil in Lateinamerika, *Berlin, 1981.*

33) Cf. H. ROTHER, Arquitecto Leopold Rother, *Bogotà, 1984.*

34) An exhaustive bibliography exists for Antonio Bonet. The main studies are: VARIOUS AUTHORS, Antonio Bonet y el Rio de La Plata, *Barcelona, 1987; KATZENSTEIN, NATANSON, SCHWARTZMAN,* Antonio Bonet. Arquitectura y Urbanismo en el Rio de La Plata y Espana, *Buenos Aires, 1985; F. ORTIZ, M.A. BALDELLOU,* La obra de Antonio Bonet, *Buenos Aires, 1978.*

35) See the catalogue of the Vladimiro Acosta *exhibition, Buenos Aires, 1987.*

36) In Jahrbuch of the Deutschen Werkbunes, *Jena, 1913.*

37) See R.R. ISAACS, op. cit. *Gropius probably became interested in this theme five years earlier when he had to build a silo for his family at Gut Janikow.*

38) Gropius states in the article: "Compared with other European countries, Germany seems to have progressed in the field of industrial construction aesthetics. However, in America, the birthplace of industry, large constructions of an unsung majesty that outstrips any German building of their kind, are created. In their monumental power, the grain storage silos of Canada and South America, the coal towers of the great railways, and the modern offices of the North American industrial trusts stand comparison with the constructions of Ancient Egypt".

a Tokio, e il suo autore è Rafael Viñoly, un uruguaiano, formatosi e professionalmente affermatosi in Argentina, che abita (?) a New York.

Note

(*) Gran parte di questo lavoro è stato possibile grazie al sostegno della Fondazione tedesca Alexander von Humboldt.
1) Con una operazione sicuramente inconscia ma non per questo meno frequente, dato che questo fatto non rientrava nell'immaginario occidentale, in una delle illustrazioni più diffuse dell'Esposizione vengono cancellati entrambi gli edifici, ed è questa la rappresentazione che circola nei manuali di Storia dell'Architettura Contemporanea.
2) Al padiglione è dedicato un capitolo della raccolta curata da D. SCHAVELZON, *La polémica del arte nacional en México, 1850-1910*, Messico 1988.
3) Cfr. P. BASAEZ, A.M. AMADORI, *El pabellón chileno en la Exposición Universal de Paris*, Santiago del Cile 1989.
4) Cfr. D. SCHAVELZON, *El pabellón Xochicalco en la Exposición Internacional de Paris de 1867*, in IDEM, *La polémica del arte nacional en México, 1850-1910*, cit.
5) Cit. in S. GIEDION, *Space, Time and Architecture*, Cambridge 1941, trad. it. *Spazio, tempo ed architettura*, Milano 1954, trad. spagnola *Espacio, tiempo, architettura*, Barcellona 1968.
6) Cfr. M. DAGUERRE, *Hacer la América; intercambios entre el Ticino y la Argentina a traves de la inmigración*, ciclostilato, Como-Buenos Aires 1991.
7) Cfr. per esempio: V. HUIDOBRO, *La création pure*, in "L'Esprit Nouveau", n. 7, 1921.
8) Una descrizione di questo ambiente in: P. SADDY, *Le Corbusier e l'Arlecchino*, in "Rassegna", n. 3, luglio 1980. Su Beistégui: *Entretien avec Charles de Beistégui*; in "Connaisance des Arts", n. 3, 15 maggio 1952.
9) Cfr. DR. H. BUSCH, R. F. SLOMAN, *Das Chilehaus im Hamburg. Sein Bauherr und sein Architekt*, Amburgo 1974.
10) Le relazioni di Le Corbusier con l'America Latina sono state abbondantemente studiate negli ultimi anni. F.P. OYARZÚN ha raccolto alcuni di questi studi nel suo *Le Corbusier y Sudamérica. Viajes y proyectos*, Santiago del Cile 1991. Altri volumi interessanti sono: AA.VV., *Le Corbusier en Colombia*, Bogotá 1987; P. M. BARDI, *Lembranca de Le Corbusier. Atenas, Italia, Brasil*, San Paolo, 1984; AA. VV., *Le Corbusier e o Brasil*, San Paolo 1987.
11) Si propone questa interpretazione nel lavoro di W. STRABUCCHI, J. J. UGARTE, *La embajada de Francia en Brasilia. Una interpretación del Proyecto*, in *Le Corbusier y Sudamérica*, cit.
12) Cfr. J. LIERNUR, P. PSCHEPIURCA, *Precisiones sobre los proyectos de Le Corbusier en la Argentina, 1929-1949*, in "Summa", Nov. 1987.
13) Cfr. R. R. ISAACS, *Der Mensch und sein Werk*, Berlin 1983. In una delle presentazioni dello Studio che Moeller fa in Argentina lascia intendere questa possibilità. Cfr. *Moderne Baukunst in Deutschland. Walter Gropius in Buenos Aires?*, in "La Plata Zeitung" 29. nov. 1931.
14) U. ECO, *Cuernos, cascos, zapatos: algunas hipotesis sobre tres tipos de abducción*, in Dupin, Holmes, Peirce, *El signo de los tres*, a cura di U. Eco e T. A. Seboek, Barcellona 1989, ed. orig. *The sign of three*, 1983, trad. it. *Il segno dei tre*, Milano 1983: "*Per Aristotele, definire qualcosa significa fornire un genere (*genus*) e una differenza (*differentia*) specifica, genere e differenza circoscrivono la specie*".
15) La descrizione della genesi del progetto fu pubblicata da G. SUMMERS, in *A letter to Son*, in "A+U", gennaio 1981, cit. in F. SCHULZE, *Mies van der Rohe. A critical biography*, Chicago-Londra 1985.
16) Neutra pubblicò i suoi lavori per il Porto Rico a San Paolo in una edizione bilingue con il suggestivo titolo di *Architecture of social concern in regions of mild climate*. Secondo quanto riferisce Gregori Warchavchick nella prefazione, Neutra visitò l'America Latina in un viaggio patrocinato dal Dipartimento di Stato nordamericano. Per i suoi contatti con i diversi paesi della regione cfr. R. NEUTRA, *Life and Shape*, 1962, 2ªed. spagnola *Vida e forma*, Buenos Aires 1972.
17) Cfr. E. GARIN, *Alla scoperta del "diverso"; i selvaggi americani e i saggi cinesi*, in *Rinascite e rivoluzioni. Movimenti culturali dal XIV al XVII secolo*, Roma-Bari 1975.
18) Cfr. F. L. WRIGHT, *An Autobiography*, New York, 1943, trad. it. *Io e l'archittetura*, Milano 1955.
19) Cfr. R.R. ISAACS, cit.
20) Ibidem.
21) Questo passaggio fondamentale nella genesi della Ville Radieuse venne ignorato, come è abituale, nell'eccellente lavoro di R. FISHMAN, *From the Radiant City to Vichy*, in R. Walden (editor), *The open hand*, Cambridge 1982.
22) Cfr. P. BANNEN LANATA, *Bogotá-Colombia. Cinco viajes y un plan para una ciudad latinoamericana*, in *Le Corbusier y Sudamérica*, cit..
23) Cfr. W. HEGEMANN, *Als Städtebauer in Südamerika* e *Gemeinnützige Kleinwohnungsbauten*, in "Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst", 1932. Per le relazioni di Hegemann con l'Argentina cfr. il mio: *Juncal y Esmeralda, Perú House, Maison Garay: fragmentos de un debate tipológico y urbanistico en la obra de Jorge Kalnay*, in "Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano", n. 25, 1987.
24) Cfr. H. ELIASH, M. MORENO, *Arquitectura y modernidad en Chile 1925-1965*, Santiago del Cile 1989. Sulle attività di Brunner in Colombia cfr. S. ARANGO, *Historia de la Arquitectura Colombiana*, Bogotá 1989.
25) Cfr. R. PEREYRA, *El Plan de Alfred Agache para Rio de Janeiro*, ciclostilato, Rio de Janeiro 1986; J-CH. TOUGERON, *Donat-Alfred Agache, un architect urbaniste. Un artiste, un scientifique, un philosophe!*, in "Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale", n. 8, aprile 1981.
26) Cfr. A. NOVICK, *Maestros, pares, socios*, in "Arquitectura Sur", n. 4, marzo 1991.
27) Cfr. R. SEGRE, *Lectura crítica del entorno cubano*, L'Avana 1990.
28) Rogers tenne alcune conferenze in Argentina e in Perú e stabilì contatti con il gruppo di Tucumán. Piccinato ricevette l'incarico di progettare diversi nuovi quartieri a Buenos Aires (cfr. C. DE SESSA, *Luigi Piccinato architetto*, Bari 1985). Nervi fu consulente a Tucumán e progettò diversi hangar nel nuovo aeroporto internazionale di Ezeiza.
29) Crf. F. TENTORI, *P. M. Bardi*, Milano 1990.
30) Su Hannes Meyer: P. RIVADENEYRA, *Hannes Meyer en México*, in *Apuntes para la historia y critica de la arquitectura mexicana en el siglo XX*, in "Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico", Messico 1980; W. KLEINERUESCHKAMP, *Exilarchitektur; Hannes Meyer in Mexico*, in *Hannes Meyer, Architekt, Urbanist und Lehrer, 1889-1957*, Zurigo, 1990; e A. GORELIK, J. LIERNUR, *La sombra de la vanguardia. Hannes Meyer en México; 1938-1949*, (in corso di stampa), Buenos Aires 1992.
31) Cfr. L. GOMEZ O., *Entrevista con Max Cetto*, in *Testimonios vivos*, "Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico", Messico 1981.
32) Per le attività degli esuli tedeschi durante la seconda guerra mondiale cfr.: W. KIESSLING, *Exil in Lateinamerika*, Berlino 1981.
33) Cfr. H. ROTHER, *Arquitecto Leopoldo Rother*, Bogotá 1984.
34) Esiste una nutrita bibliografia su Antonio Bonet. I principali studi sono: AA. VV., *Antonio Bonet y el Rio de la Plata*, Barcellona 1987; KATZENSTEIN, NATANSON, SCHVARTZMAN, *Antonio Bonet. Arquitectura y Urbanismo en el Rio de la Plata y España*, Buenos Aires 1985; F. ORTIZ, M. A. BALDELLOU, *La obra de Antonio Bonet*, Buenos Aires 1978.
35) Cfr. Catalogo dell'esposizione *Vladimiro Acosta*, Buenos Aires 1987.
36) In "Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes", Jena 1913.
37) Cfr. R. R. ISAACS, cit. Probabilmente Gropius si interessò a questo tema cinque anni prima, quando dovette costruire un silo per la sua famiglia a Gut Janikow.
38) Gropius nell'articolo citato afferma: "*Paragonandola ai restanti paesi d'Europa, la Germania sembra aver progredito nell'ambito dell'estetica delle costruzioni industriali. Però nella madre patria dell'industria, in America, si*

39) R. BANHAM dealt with the theme of silos and identified this change in A Concrete Atlantis. U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture, *Mass., 1986.*
40) W. WORRINGER, Äegyptische Kunst, *Munich, 1927.*
41) J. PARIS, L'espace et le regard, *Paris 1965. Spanish translation:* El espacio y la mirada, *Madrid, 1967.*
42) Watkins has identified a moralist basis underlying research into new relations between the two elements. Drescler notes that its remoteness from the academic world lies in the key role classical lexis plays in architectural language. Foucault seems to agree when he states that in the modern episteme: "The text allows for the formation of part of the signs and forms of truth; language is no longer one of the symbols of the world, nor the distinguishing mark given to things from the beginning of time. Truth finds its manifestation and its symbolism in obvious, well-defined perception". *Spanish translation:* Las palabras y las cosas, *Mexico, 1968.*
43) Cited in F. CACHIN, Gauguin, *Paris, 1988.*
44) "The historical problem was not Negro sculpture but the crisis in European culture, which was forced to look outside its own circle to find value models... [Picasso] realised that the value of Negro art lay in a unity, an integrity, a formal absoluteness of which Western art is ignorant because its concept of the world is, according to ancient tradition, dualist: matter and spirit, particular and universal, things and space", *G.C. ARGAN,* Modern Art 170/1970, *Florence, 1970, p. 512.*
45) The "ethnographical present" has been defined as "a form of expression which extracts cultural expression from its historical dimension and amalgamates individuals from entire generations to produce a single figure representative of the past and present of the society", *S. PRICE,* Art Autre-Art Notre, *in "Les cahiers du Musée d'Art Moderne", no. 28, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1989.*
46) On the influence of modern readings of the primitive, Angel Rama says: "In the arts of the twenties and thirties, this occurred in all the aesthetic movements and, with great clarity, in the various narrative tendencies of the period. Carpentier is no exception: having heard the dissonance of Stravinsky's music, his ear rediscovered and reproduced the best of the African rhythms he had heard in the small Negro village of Regla, near Havana. Not even Michel Angel Asturias, an automatic writing enthusiast, believed it could redeem the lyricism and thinking of the native communities of Guatemala. In the same way, on examining 'Macunaina', Gilda de Mello and Souza discerningly suggested the idea of a double source which symbolically explains a verse of the poet, 'Soy un tupí' tañendo un laúd" ("I am a Tupí — a native — and play a lute" *— ed.)* in order to understand the work", *in A. RAMA,* Transculturación en América Latina, *Mexico, 1982.*
47) See K. WEITZE, California's Mission Revival, *Berkeley, 1986.*
48) See E. McCOY, Vienna to Los Angeles, Two Journeys, *California, 1979.*
49) See Y. OOSTENS-WITTAMER, Horta en Amerique, *Brussels, 1986.*
50) R. HENDERSON, A Primitive Basis for Modern Architecture *in* The Architectural Record, *1923, vol. LIV, no. 2.*
51) "The raising of religious representations of monumental architecture to works of total art is possible only if enthusiasm can be generated from the internal unity of a working community, its depersonalisation, and its pure love of work, and only when this working community in turn feels at one with the village community. The specialness of art can achieve these lofty aims in the synthesis of construction, image and village", *in L. HILBERSHEIMER,* Mexicanische Baukunst, *in "Das Kunstblatt", no. 4, 1922.*
52) "In these latter days a new tendency has appeared that does not accept the preconceived patterns of the classical and the Gothic styles, but strives to express spontaneously a rational and sincere decoration of the structure employing for this purpose the most modern lines. The characteristic qualities of these new lines and proportions present great resemblance with the elements of primitive American architecture. The new architecture has had to find an element which only marked the limit of the wall-surface. By this quality and by the fact that its principal decorative elements are brought out in large surfaces, the new style strikingly recalls the Pre-Columbian architecture with its palaces and pyramids with small cornices, and magnificent decorations carved in big dominating surfaces". *F.MUJICA,* History of the Skyscraper, *Paris, 1929.*
53) Cited in C. PATERNOSTRO, Escultura incaica y arte constructivo, *in "Arte informa", Buenos Aires, July 1984. In 1953 Albers taught for one term at the Faculty of Architecture at the Catholic University of Santiago de Chile.*
54) "What fascinated the post-minimalist generation was the impossibility of reading them from the ground up, and also the way in they cancelled out, collapsed the vertical and horizontal axes by which Cartesian space is organised", *in Y.-A. BOIS,* La Pensée Sauvage, *in "Art in America", April 1985.*
55) Cf. D. DREW EGBERT, The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture, *Princeton, 1972.*
56) See GORELIK/LIERNUR, op. cit.
57) "I have so often thought of our Mexican context in the light of all the different things that have happened in these places", ibid.
58) LE CORBUSIER, Précisions sur un état present de l'Architecture et l'Urbanisme, *Paris, 1930.*
59) "Une bicoque ouvrière en tôle ondulée (entièrement) tirée a quatre épingles, dont un rosier rose ornait la porte. C'était tout un poème des temps modernes", ibid.
60) Hegemann's interest led him to publish a work on these dwellings in "Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst" entitled The Spirit of Schinkel in South America.
61) "The existing affinity between the nature of the force which penetrates the line and that of the forces whose actions and results we see in nature. The same forces that are present in the wind, in fire and in the air are at work in these lines", *in H. VAN DE VELDE,* The Line is a Force, *1923, quoted in R. DE FUSCO,* L'idea di Architettura. Storia della critica da Viollet-le-Duc a Persico, *Milan, 1964, p. 48.*
62) See E. GOMBRICH, Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography, *London 1970.*
63) P.H. GOODWIN, Brazil Builds, *New York, 1943.*
64) S. GIEDION, A Decade of New Architecture, *Zurich, 1951.*
65) "The vanguard of science and art arrived at a new perception of the world, announcing the end of the age of rationalism... Now, after the Second World War, it may well be that there are no people left, however remote, who have not lost their faith in progress. Men have become frighyened by progress, changed from a hope to a menace. *S. GIEDON,* Mechanization Takes Command. A Contribution to Anonymous History, *New York, 1948.*
66) See P. CRAYMER, M. BILL, W. GROPIUS, H. OHYE, E. ROGERS, Report on Brazil, *in "The Architectural Review", October 1954.*
67) "For the things that espace the limitations of the architect's ameliorative thinking — no place where it can nestle. Instead of the inconvenience of filth and confusion, we have now hot the boredom of hygiene. The material slum has gone — in Holland for example it has — but what has replaced it? Just mile upon mile of organized nowhere, and nobody feeling he is 'somebody living somewhere'", *A. VAN EYCK in (various authors)* Team 10 Primer, *Buenos Aires, 1964.*
68) "I believe that if so many architects are interested nowadays in the habitat of the indians (the Pueblos) or in that of the negroes in Africa, it is because here one may still recognise the spatial expression of the whole population... Here is the drama. Here in our society we are attempting to establish for the anonymous client a spatial expression of his way of living. In primitive societies this way of living still exists, but it lacks precisely those techniques which help to get rid of fear and to attain total life.. For this reason we need each other whether we may be white, yellow, black" *J. BAKEMA,* ibid.
69) "What is needed is a means of converting this industrial waste material, by means of a secondary use capability, into raw material for other processes", *M. PAWLEY,* Garbage Housing *in "Architectural Design", February 1971.*
70) "In sharp contrast to the traditional slum of older cities, where poor people live in obsolete housing in the inner areas, here the worst housing is both new and peripheral". *He concludes that* "perhaps we in Britain should accept unlikely and seemingly impossible events in the development of cities rather than try to impose limitations based on irrational fear of growth", *A. TURNER,* Caracas, *in "Architectural Design", August 1969.*
71) In an article eloquently titled Sweet Disorder and the Carefully Careless,

realizzano grandi costruzioni, la cui sconosciuta maestosità supera qualsiasi grande edificio tedesco di questo tipo. I silos di grano del Canada e Sudamerica, quelli di carbone delle grandi ferrovie e i moderni uffici dei trust nordamericani dell'industria, sopportano nella loro monumentale potenza un confronto con gli edifici dell'antico Egitto".

39) R. BANHAM ha trattato il tema dei silos e individuato questo cambiamento in *A Concrete Atlantis. U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture*, Mass. 1986.

40) W. WORRINGER, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Monaco 1927.

41) J. PARIS, *L'espace et le regard*, Parigi, 1965, trad. spagnola *El espacio y la mirada*, Madrid 1967.

42) Watkins ha identificato una base moralista nella ricerca di nuove relazioni tra i due elementi. Drexler nota che la distanza dall'universo accademico si stabilisce nel distinto ruolo assegnato al lessico classico come chiave del linguaggio architettonico. Coincide con Foucault, quando questi afferma che nell'episteme moderna: "*(...) il testo lascia formare parte dei segni e delle forme della verità; il linguaggio non è più una delle figure del mondo, nè il marchio imposto alle cose dagli inizi dei tempi. La verità trova la sua manifestazione e il suo segno nella percezione evidente e definita*" in M. FOUCAULT, *Le parole e le cose. Un'archeologia delle scienze umane*, 1966, Milano 1967, trad. spagnola *Las palabras y las cosas*, Messico 1968.

43) Cit. in F. CACHIN, *Gauguin*, Parigi 1988.

44) "*(...) il problema storico non era la scultura negra, ma la crisi della cultura europea, costretta a cercare al di fuori del proprio ambito i propri modelli di valore. (...)* [Picasso] *si rende conto che il valore dell'arte negra consiste in un'unità, in un'integrità, in un'assolutezza formale, che l'arte occidentale ignora perché la sua concezione del mondo, per antica tradizione, è dualistica: materia e spirito, particolare e universale, cose e spazio.*", G.C. ARGAN, *L'Arte moderna 1770/1970*, Firenze 1970, p. 512.

45) Il "presente etnografico" è stato definito come "*una forma di espressione che ottiene come effetto quello di estrarre l'espressione culturale dalla sua dimensione storica e di amalgamare gli individui di intere generazioni per costruire una figura sola, rappresentativa della società passata e presente*", S. PRICE, *Art Autre-Art Notre*, in "Les cahiers du Musée d'Art Moderne", n. 28, Centro Georges Pompidou, Parigi 1989.

46) Rispetto all'influenza dello sguardo moderno sul primitivo Angel Rama dice: "*Nel campo delle arti degli anni venti e trenta questa operazione si compie in tutte le correnti estetiche e con molta nitidezza nei diversi orientamenti narrativi del periodo. Non fa eccezione Carpentier che, ascoltando le dissonanze della musica di Stravinsky, aguzza l'orecchio per riscoprire e poi valorizzare i ritmi africani che si sentivano da secoli nel villaggetto negro di Regla, vicino a L'Avana. Neanche Michel Angel Asturias che, entusiasta della scrittura automatica, pensa che possa servire al riscatto della lirica e del pensiero delle comunità indigene del Guatemala. Allo stesso modo, esaminando «Macunaina», Gilda de Mello e Souza avanza perspicacemente l'ipotesi di una doppia fonte che esprimerebbe simbolicamente un verso del poeta («Soy un tupí tañendo un laúd»; «Sono un tupí [abitante indigeno, n.d.r.] e suono un liuto») per comprendere l'opera;* in A. RAMA, *Transculturación en América Latina*, Messico 1982.

47) Cfr. K. WEITZE, *California's Mission Revival*, Berkeley 1986.

48) Cit. in E. MC COY, *Vienna to Los Angeles. Two journeys*, California 1979.

49) Cfr. Y. OOSTENS-WITTAMER, *Horta en Amerique*, Bruxelles 1986.

50) R. HENDERSON, *A primitive basis for modern architecture*, in "The Architectural Record", 1923, vol. LIV, n.2.

51) "*Elevare le rappresentazioni religiose dell'architettura monumentale ad «opera d'arte totale» è possibile solo se si fa crescere un entusiastico spirito dall'unità interna di una comunità di lavoro, dalla sua spersonalizzazione, dal suo puro amore per il lavoro, ma anche solo quando questa comunità di lavoro può, a sua volta, sentirsi tutt'uno con la comunità del villaggio. Tutta la manifestazione particolare dell'arte può raggiungere questi alti obiettivi nella sintesi di costruzione, immagine e villaggio*", L. HILBERSEIMER, *Mexikanische Baukunst*, in "Das Kunstblatt", n. 4, 1922.

52) "*Recentemente è apparsa una nuova tendenza che rifiutando gli schemi preconcetti dello stile classico e gotico, cerca di definire in modo spontaneo una decorazione razionale e sincera della struttura, in base alle linee più moderne (...). Le qualità peculiari di queste nuove linee e proporzioni presentano una stretta similitudine con gli elementi dell'architettura americana definiti nel passato. La nuova architettura ha dovuto trovare un elemento che delimitasse semplicemente la superficie del muro. In virtù di questo e del fatto che i principali elementi decorativi sono progettati su grandi superfici, il nuovo stile ricorda in modo impressionante l'architettura precolombiana, in particolare i palazzi e le piramidi dalle piccole cornici, con magnifiche decorazioni in rilievo su superfici imponenti*", F. MUJICA, *History of the Skyscraper*, Parigi 1929.

53) Cit. in C. PATERNOSTRO, *Escultura incaica y arte constructivo*, in "Arte informa", Buenos Aires, luglio 1984. Albers insegnò nel 1953 per un semestre alla Facoltà di Architettura dell'Università Cattolica di Santiago del Cile.

54) "*Quello che affascinava la generazione postminimalista era l'impossibilità di poterli leggere dal suolo, ma anche il modo con cui cancellavano, collassavano gli assi verticali e orizzontali secondo i quali si ordina lo spazio cartesiano*". In Y. A. BOIS, *La Pensée sauvage*, in "Art in America", aprile 1985.

55) Cfr. D. DREW EGBERT, *The Beaux-Arts tradition in french architecture*, Princeton 1972.

56) Cit. in GORELIK/LIERNUR, cit.

57) "*Quante volte ho pensato al nostro ambiente messicano, davanti all'accadere variopinto di questi luoghi*", Ibidem.

58) LE CORBUSIER, *Precisions sur un état present de l'Architecture et de l'Urbanisme*, Parigi 1930, trad. it. *Precisazioni sullo stato attuale dell'architettura e dell'urbanistica*, a cura di F. Tentori, Bari 1979.

59) "*(...) Una bicocca operaia, interamente in lamiera ondulata, tutta azzimata e con un rosaio rosa che ornava la porta. Si trattava di un vero e proprio poema dei tempi moderni*", Ibidem.

60) L'interesse di Hegemann lo porta a pubblicare un lavoro su queste abitazioni in "Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst" intitolato *Lo spirito di Schinkel in Sudamerica*.

61) "*L'affinità esistente tra la natura della forza che penetra la linea e quella delle forze di cui vediamo l'azione e i risultati nella natura. Operano in tali linee le stesse forze che nella natura sono presenti nel vento, nel fuoco e nell'aria*", in H. VAN DE VELDE, *La linea è una forza*, 1923, cit. in R. De Fusco, *L'idea di Architettura. Storia della critica da Viollet-le-Duc a Persico*, Milano 1964, p. 48.

62) Cfr. E. GOMBRICH, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*, Londra 1970, trad. it. *Aby Warburg. Una biografia intellettuale*, Milano 1983.

63) PH.L. GOODWIN, *Brazil builds*, New York 1943.

64) S. GIEDION (a cura di), *A Decade of New Architecture*, Zurigo 1951.

65) "*(...) L'avanguardia della scienza e dell'arte giunse ad una nuova percezione del mondo che annunciava il tramonto dell'età del razionalismo. (...) Dopo la seconda guerra mondiale è ben comprensibile che tutti, anche quanti vivono appartati, abbiano smarrito la fede nel progresso. Gli uomini ormai sono invasati dal terrore del progresso che da speranza si è trasformato in minaccia*", S. GIEDION, *L'era della meccanizzazione*, Milano 1967, ed. orig. *Mechanization Takes Command. A Contribution to Anonymous History*, New York 1948.

66) Cfr. P. CRAYMER, M. BILL, W. GROPIUS, H. OHYE, E. ROGERS, *Report on Brazil*, "The Architectural Review", ottobre 1954.

67) "*E neanche per le cose che sfuggono ai limiti del pensiero modificatore dell'architetto. Al posto degli inconvenienti della corruzione e della confusione, abbiamo conseguito ora il tedio dell'igiene. Il tugurio materiale se n'è andato — in Olanda, per esempio, è già superato — ma che cosa lo ha rimpiazzato? Semplicemente miglia e miglia di un niente organizzato, e nessuno sente che ci sia qualcuno che sta vivendo in qualche luogo*", A. VAN EYCK, in AA.VV., *Team 10 Primer*, 1962, trad. spagnola, Buenos Aires 1964.

68) "*Credo che se tanti architetti sono interessati oggi all'habitat degli indios Pueblos o a quello dei negri africani, è perchè in questi casi si può ancora rintracciare l'espressione spaziale dell'intera popolazione (...). E qui è il dramma. Nella nostra società stiamo cercando di stabilire un'espressione spaziale per un*

committente anonimo, per il suo modo di vivere. Nelle società primitive questo modo di vivere esiste ancora, anche se mancano proprio le tecniche che lo aiuteranno a liberarsi da tale condizione e a raggiungere i livelli della vita civile (...). Per questa ragione abbiamo bisogno gli uni degli altri, bianchi, gialli o neri", J. BAKEMA, Ibidem.

69) "*Quello che serve è una idea per convertire questi rifiuti industriali, come possibilità di un secondo uso, come materie prime per altri processi*", M. PAWLEY, *Garbage Housing*, in "Architectural Design", febbraio 1971.

70) "*In forte contrasto rispetto ai tradizionali bassifondi delle più vecchie città, dove la povera gente vive in abitazioni obsolete nelle aree centrali, qui le peggiori abitazioni sono insieme nuove e periferiche*"; e conclude affermando che "*forse noi in Gran Bretagna dovremmo accettare eventi inimmaginabili e apparentemente impossibili nello sviluppo delle città piuttosto che imporre contenimenti basati sull'irrazionale paura di crescita*", A. TURNER, *Caracas*, in "Architectural Design", agosto 1969.

71) In un articolo dal titolo eloquente *Sweet disorder and the carefully careless* (*Dolce disordine e accurata negligenza*) Robert Maxwell avvertiva: "*Io credo che noi vorremmo renderci maggiormente conto delle implicazioni antropologiche del nostro sviluppo percettivo secondo i nuovi ordini dell'attività artistica*", in "Architectural Design", aprile 1971.

72) Si distaccava da ciò: "*Un approccio rinnovato, un impegno per la dignità e i valori dell'individuo, un riconoscimento e una comprensione dei rapporti complessi tra questo individuo, la sua famiglia, i suoi beni, il suo vicinato e l'intera comunità*", in *PREVI/Lima. Low cost housing project*, in "Architectural Design", aprile 1970.

73) Di fronte alla produzione moderna messicana Esther Born afferma: "*La sua quantità giunge come una sorpresa. Tale quantità sarebbe inaspettata in qualunque città del Nord America; ma per uno del Nord, a conoscenza del Messico solo attraverso la letteratura e i racconti, l'energia dispiegata e l'aggiornatissima qualità sono doppiamente sconcertanti*", in *The new architecture in Mexico*, New York 1937.

74) Cfr. R. BANHAM, *A Concrete Atlantis...*, cit.

75) Cfr. A. KESLEY (a cura di), *Concurso Internacional. Faro en Memoria de Cristobal Colón*, Santo Domingo 1931.

76) A. SARTORIS, *Encyclopédie de l'Architecture Nouvelle. Ordre et climat mediterranéens*, Milano 1948.

77) A. SARTORIS, *Encyclopédie de l'Architecture Nouvelle. Ordre et climat américains*, Milano 1954.

in "Architectural Design", May 1972, Robert Maxwell states: "I believe we need to become more aware of the anthropological implications of our progressive perception of new orders through artistic activity".

72) "Freshness of approach, a commitment to the dignity and worth of the individual, a recognition and understanding of the complex linkages between the individual, his family, his belongings, his neighbours, and the entire community", *in Previ, Peru, "Architectural Design", April 1970.*

73) On modern Mexican architecture, Esther Born states: "The quantity of it comes as a surprise. Such a quantity would be unexpected in any North American city; but to the Northerner, acquainted with Mexico only through literature and hearsay, the energy displayed and the up-to-the-minute quality are doubly astonishing", *in "The New Architecture in Mexico", New York, 1937.*

74) See R. BANHAM, A Concrete Atlantis..., op. cit.

75) See A. KESLEY, Concurso Internacional. Faro en Memoria de Cristobal Colón, *Santo Domingo, 1931.*

76) A. SARTORIS, Encyclopédie de l'Architecture Nouvelle. Ordre et climat mediterranéens, *Milan, 1948.*

77) A. SARTORIS, Encyclopédie de l'Architecture Nouvelle. Ordre et climat américains, *Milan, 1954.*

Eladio Dieste, Chiesa di Atlántida, Uruguay, 1959.

Eladio Dieste, Church at Atlántida, Uruguay, 1959.



Deserto e Selva: dall'astrazione al desiderio. Note sul dilemma del regionalismo nell'architettura latinoamericana
Roberto Fernández

"Non hanno distrutto lo spazio, l'hanno semplicemente reso infinito con la distruzione del centro"
J. Baudrillard, *L'America*, 1986, Milano 1987

"Non c'è naturalismo assoluto possibile, dato che sempre si filtra quello metaforico"
H. A. Murena, *La Metafora y lo Sagrado*, Barcellona 1984

Tra l'astrazione della reale "modernità" di un oggetto completamente nuovo, frutto d'invenzione, e la ricerca di una "naturalità" inafferrabile, di un realismo sprovvisto a tutti gli effetti di senso, l'America con la sua cultura storica e gli artefatti che popolano il suo quotidiano, come l'architettura, può leggersi come un dilemma. Enigma di significazione, una volontà di differenziazione, apportatrice di identità, può dar luogo a un discorso "sul peculiare", alla proposta di una regionalità caratterizzante, ad una costellazione di microculture che apportano qualcosa di specifico a questo presente che dissolve l'omogeneità della civilizzazione moderna; questo specchio rotto che frantuma il sogno narcisista dell'Illuminismo.
Oppure il contrario. L'America potrebbe concepirsi come il perfetto riflesso di una modernità che, dall'Europa, sembra possedere solo la condizione dell'Utopia. Jean Baudrillard, in *L'America*, la sua filosofica "*roaring story*", prospetta, provocatoriamente, questa seconda possibilità: "*L'America è la versione originale della modernità, noi ne siamo la versione doppiata o dotata di sottotitoli. L'America esorcizza la questione dell'origine, non ha il culto dell'origine né il mito dell'autenticità, non ha un passato né una verità fondatrice. Non avendo conosciuto l'accumulazione primitiva del tempo, vive in una perenne attualità*".
In definitiva, una mancanza di Storia o almeno la doppia situazione di avere coniugato vigorose forme mitologiche ancestrali assieme alla riuscita intenzione di cavalcare una conquista basata, da sempre, sul trionfo della razionalità. La razionalità dell'ordine formale del profitto e dello sfruttamento della natura, partendo dalla finzione dello Stato liberale fino al suo esito urbano.
Perciò, complemento o opposizione, specchio o caricatura che sia, l'America non ammette solo, ma richiede la lettura dall'Europa, mentre qualsiasi concetto di identità —ossia, di differenza— parte dalla forma in cui si modifica o perpetua l'illusione della razionalità vicina a completare i suoi quattro secoli di storia, in piena condizione apocalittica.

Desert and Selva: from Abstraction to Desire. Notes on the Regionalist Dilemma in Latin American Architecture
Roberto Fernández

"They haven't destroyed space, they've simply made it infinite by destroying the centre".
J. Baudrillard, America, *1986*

"No absolute naturalism is possible, given that it is always filtered through the metaphorical".
H. A. Murena, La Metafora y lo Sagrado, *Barcelona, 1984*

America is in a dilemma, trapped between the abstract real "modernity" of a totally new, invented object and the quest for an elusive "naturalness", a realism totally devoid of meaning.
America is an enigma — an urge to differentiate, a conferer of identity — so it seems appropriate to speak of "individual" identities, distinctive regions, a constellation of micro-cultures that give specificity to a present that is dissolving the standardisations of modern civilisation, a broken mirror shattering the image of the Enlightenment's narcissistic dream. But the reverse is also true. America could well be seen as the perfect reflection of a modernity which from Europe seems only utopian.
In America, *his philosophical "roaring story", Jean Baudrillard provocatively envisages the second possibility:*
"America is the original version of modernity, we are only its dubbed or subtitled version. America exorcises the problem of origin: it worships neither origin nor the myth of authenticity, it has neither a past nor a founding truth. Since it has had no experience of sheer accumulated time, it lives perpetually in the present".
To put it bluntly, America has no history, or at least, it has performed the dual feat of successfully combining vigorous mythological ancestral forms with assimilation of a conquest that was always based on the triumph of rationality — in this case, a rationality of profit and the exploitation of nature fuelled by the fiction of a liberal state whose fullest expression was the development of the city.
So, whether we see it as a complement or contrast to, a mirror or caricature of Europe, America not only can, but should be interpreted from a European point of view. Equally, any concept of identity, i.e. of difference, should explain how America has modified or perpetuated an illusion of rationality now almost four hundred years yet still utterly apocalyptic.

1. European "critiques", from Kant and Hegel to Habermas and Kondtjerlink — via Marx, Nietsche, Freud, Adorno and



1. Le "critiche" europee, da quelle di Kant ed Hegel fino a quelle di Habermas e Kondtjerlink — passando attraverso Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, Adorno e Sartre — hanno cercato, disperatamente, di ricomporre le crepe del progetto razionale, di ricompattare e suturare gli effetti della violenza omologatrice della modernità. Discorsi politici che hanno cercato di inserire una storia decadente in un futuro utopico: se il "moderno reale" è violenza, il "moderno utopico" è lo scenario teorico delle "critiche".
Certo, l'America non produce: critica. Non pensa all'illusione della salvezza umanistica, immersa com'è in una frammentazione che sta per diventare un vero e proprio territorio concreto della violenza, fin dai tempi della morte di 2000 indios al mese che Filippo II, razionalmente, accetta come "tetto" per lo sfruttamento delle miniere d'argento di Potosi, necessario per ottenere un *quantum* che avrebbe potuto unire, con un ponte, entrambi i continenti e che servì solo ad affondare l'economia imperiale.
L'America non pensa, viene pensata. Da qui la sua condizione di permanenza prima che di trascendenza, il suo "stare" prima di "essere".

2. Con i ponti di argento dell'economia e i ponti di carta della filosofia politica, in America è impossibile la costruzione di una regionalità autonoma, di una storia parallela. Giappone, Scandinavia o le frontiere latinizzate del blocco slavo hanno potuto consolidare una cultura del "regionale", basata su una sottile tematizzazione della vernacolarità e su letture contestualizzate del materiale culturale del centro metropolitano. Il classicismo "provinciale" di Svezia o Finlandia — e anche dei Paesi Baschi o della Lombardia — è una esemplificazione della possibilità di un regionalismo dei "margini". In America — tanto nell'area anglosassone e protestante del nord che in quella latino-cattolica del centro e del sud — questa discreta marginalità, capace di sostenere un discorso domestico, amabile, borghese ed artigianale, diviene impossibile. Perché non è sentita né ricercata dalle meschine dirigenze culturali locali ed anche perché non lo permette il perfetto apparato della dominazione coloniale, richiesto dalla creazione di un continente pensato come un'unica grande impresa. Qui ci sono le varie "Compagnie delle Indie", trafficanti globali di minerali, vegetali e animali, compresi gli schiavi.
Ma l'impossibilità del "margine" introduce la prima particolarità regionale dell'America, che è quella della sua "progettualità" da parte europea. Una progettualità presente, per esempio, nell'arte dei *xumetricos*, mediante il tracciato, secondo i Codici delle Indie, di più di 2000 villaggi e città, oppure nelle varie pratiche architettoniche che si impiegarono nella realizzazione di 60.000 templi ed edifici religiosi. Il tutto attraversato da patetiche tensioni tra progetto e realtà, simile alla confusione di sirene e serpenti piumati dell'ornamentazione barocca dei portali, o segnato da dimensioni smisurate come quelle dei templi panoptici di Vasco de Quiroga che, in pieno XVI secolo, immagina chiese-spettacolo di 5 navate che avrebbero dovuto ospitare fino a 60.000 anime, o quelle della costruzione di El Cercado, la città protetta degli indios, dentro la stessa Lima coloniale.
Astrazione, proposito assoluto della ragione, fuori scala, applicazione gigantesca dei concetti illuministi, si trasformano, così, negli aspetti dominanti della matrice europea impressa alla costruzione moderna dell'America. Ma, non sono, per caso, questi i segni estremi del progetto moderno? Non è forse con questa concezione che i "pionieri" jeffersoniani tracciarono "quadricole" urbane nel deserto occidentale del Nordamerica, o con la quale Le Corbusier "risolve" San Paolo con il disegno di un ipermoderno incrocio di superstrade? Forse, in questa modernità esasperata sta il primo segno di "regionalità", la prima condizione di "differenza" della cultura americana. Una differenza basata sul dogma e sull'eccesso, una combinazione, questa, che l'esercito gesuita di Ignazio di Loyola concepì in Europa e realizzò in America.

3. Bisogna dire che, sin dall'origine, l'America presenta il conflitto tra natura e cultura, tra paesaggio e tecnologia. Conflitto moderno per antonomasia, che seduce i biologi — come Humboldt, capace di identificare l'America con "Hylea", una condizione superiore di Natura — ma che anche tecnicizza i nativi.
Come dice H.A. Murena, la città americana non ha nome, è un accampamento nato dallo sfruttamento delle risorse, che ignora la tradizione cosmogonica delle fondazioni per esaurirsi nell'espediente geometrico di una perfetta suddivisione tra proprietari. L'America è la prima grande operazione immobiliare della storia moderna, ma questa operazione prolifica non solo sull'Hylea smisurata di una mega-natura, ma anche sull'inoccultabile storia delle civilizzazioni precolombiane. Gli *ceques*, tracciati simbolici delle città *quechuas*, sono più complessi, nella loro

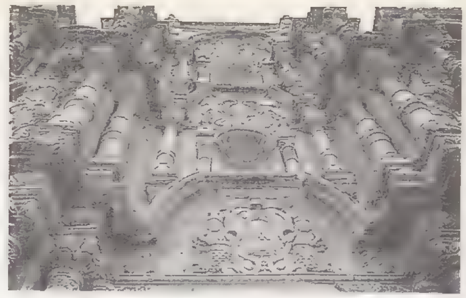
Cappella di Tinta, Bolivia, sec. XVIII.

Chapel at Tinta, Bolivia, 18th century.

Sartre — have desperately tried to paper over the cracks of the rational design, to patch up and reconsolidate what the traumatic standardisations of modernity have torn apart. These critiques were political discourses that attempted to find a place for decadent history in a utopian future: if "modern reality" is violence, the "modern utopia" is the theoretical scenario these "critiques" have produced. Certainly, America does not produce, it criticises. The illusion of humanistic salvation has no place in its thinking. The process of fragmentation that is coming close to making it an authentic land of violence began with Philip II's rational acceptance of the deaths of 2000 Indians per month as a "ceiling" figure in the Potosi silver mines whose output would provide the quantum *needed to bridge the two continents (in the event, it served only to destroy the imperial economy).*
America did not think, it was thought about. Hence its condition of permanence rather than transcendence, its being "somewhere" rather than "something".

2. These silver bridges of economics and paper bridges of political philosophy made it impossible to achieve regional autonomy — a parallel history — in America. Japan, Scandinavia and the Romance fringes of the Slav nations have managed to build "regional" cultures by subtly institutionalising their vernacular idioms and contextualising the culture of the metropolitan centre. The "provincial" classicism of Sweden or Finland — and also of the Basque countries and Lombardy — shows how "peripheral" regionalism of this sort can be achieved. In America, whether in the Protestant, Anglo-Saxon north or the Latin, Catholic centre and south, this kind of unassertive identity — domesticated, easy-going, middle-class, craft-based rather than fully industrial — can never be achieved. The continent's narrow-minded cultural leaders have neither wanted nor sought it, and its creation would have thrown out of joint the carefully planned colonialisation of a continent conceived as one big business. America has always been a land of "Companies of the Indias", those world traders in minerals, vegetables and animals (including slaves). The impossibility of creating an authentically "peripheral" identity was what originally gave America its first distinctively regional identity as a playground for European planners — according to the Indias Codices, the work of the jumétricos *which is scattered throughout more than 2000 towns and villages; architectural planning resulted in the building of 60,000 temples and religious buildings. Through it all there is a touching discrepancy between planning desire and physical limitation — rather like the confusion of mermaids and plumed serpents you find in the Baroque ornamentation of church portals — and a desire to build on an impossibly large scale, as in the panoptic temples which Vasco de Quiroga, in the middle of the sixteenth century, envisaged as spectacular five-naved churches that could accommodate 60,000 worshippers, or the building of El Cercado, the protected Indian city inside Lima, the colonial capital.*
Abstraction — absolute reason blown up out of all proportion — and the wholesale application of Enlightenment ideals were thus the dominant features of a European model that has imprinted itself on the building of modern America. But don't they also happen to be the most obvious features of Modernism? Weren't these the concepts the Jeffersonian "pioneers" used when they marked out their urban "grid systems" in the western desert, or with which Le Corbusier "solved" the São Paulo problem by designing an ultra-modern highway grid? Perhaps this tendency to carry modernity to extremes is what strikes the observer most about the "regionality", the "otherness" of American culture, an "otherness" of dogma and excess which Ignatius of Loyola's Jesuit army conceived in Europe and put into practice in America.

3. It must be said that America has always presented the conflict between nature and culture, landscape and technology. A "modern" conflict, to call it by another name, which fascinated biologists — like Humboldt, who identified America with "Hylea", a superior condition of nature — but also brought technology to the natives.
As H. A. Murena says, the American city was nameless, an encampment resulting from the exploitation of resources which ignored the cosmogonical tradition by which cities were once founded and ended up relying on the geometrical expedient of regular subdivision of territory among landowners. America was the first large-scale real estate operation of the modern age, not just in the vast Hylea of its mega-nature, but also throughout the history of its pre-Columbian civilizations. The ceques, *the symbolic outlines of the* quechuas *cities, have more complex mythological overtones than the founding acts of the Romans or Germanic peoples. This crude insertion of urban culture into natural vastness shows just how artificial a technological*



dimensione mitica, che gli atti fondativi romani o germanici. Questa condizione di un primitivo inserimento in una natura smisurata esalta l'artificiosità di una operazione tecnologica come la conquista.
L'inospitalità moderna americana è più di tre secoli precedente al discorso heideggeriano.
"*Il mondo è ostile* — dice l'antropologo argentino R. Kusch —. *In esso può darsi l'ira divina o la semplice tormenta, il mais o l'erbaccia, la ricchezza o la miseria, e si può vivere felici o perdere la libertà ingiustificatamente. Tutto è incerto e non offre nessun appiglio. Si richiede allora una soluzione, una risposta, per evitare le incertezze e l'ostilità del mondo. Da qui, allora, l'uso del silenzio. Non si tratta del silenzio nel senso di non dire parole, ma di quello che c'è quando si parla. Il silenzio che consiste nel non dire cose essenziali*" (*America Profunda*, Editorial Bonum, Buenos Aires 1975).

4. L'America, allora, come un trittico: la natura, onnipresente e gigantesca, le culture precolombiane originarie, di forte configurazione mitologica come modo di abitare l'incommensurabile, e l'atto di modernità del progetto europeo per la costruzione di un mondo.
Dalla combinazione differente di queste fonti, radicate nell'episteme dell'associazione uomo-paesaggio, hanno tratto origine gli elementi di formazione di una cultura nella quale la sua "regionalità" dipende dalla combinazione dei fattori originari. Per esempio, le estetiche barocche d'America sorgono dalla mitizzazione del mondo naturale — il mondo vegetale, la selva, l'Hylea di Humboldt, o il luogo che completa la teoria evoluzionistica di Darwin, viaggiatori avidi, entrambi, dell'America ottocentesca — che ricopre, con la vernice dei discorsi controriformisti, l'*horror vacui* e la ridondanza, propri del mondo indigeno. I risultati, dal punto di vista intellettuale, saranno i grandi pensatori e poeti, come il peruviano Arguedas, il cubano Sarduy o il colombiano Mutis.
Il naturale, onnipresente e potente, definisce una determinata idea dello spazio; il vegetale alcuni comportamenti estetici. Guardando dal paradigma europeo, rimane la possibilità di immaginare un'estetica del "realismo fantastico" che si basa, essenzialmente, sulla parodia costituita da una quotidianità "barocca" — di impostazione mitizzante di fronte ad una natura potente, in cui la propria vita diventa uno scorrimento naturale —, così come appare nella letteratura del cubano Lezama Lima, del colombiano García Marquez o del messicano Rulfo. Quale "regionalità" mostra questa produzione? Quella del realismo "fantastico", se la si legge da un'ottica moderna occidentale. La stessa che demonizza la tecnologia, per esempio, tra i contadini boliviani che oggi continuano a preferire suppliche mitiche agli dei della natura e della pioggia, piuttosto che una semplice ed efficiente pompa d'acqua sotterranea.

5. Regionalità, o peculiarità, emergente dalla diversa fusione delle componenti della società, della storia e del paesaggio: nella quale, per esempio, il moderno appare non come sostanza o insieme di contenuti ideologici, ma come stile, come una forma di esposizione. È, questa, un'altra caratteristica americana la cui cultura sembra fiorire in una modernità "formale", quella che ha permesso l'affermazione di poeti simbolisti *avant-la-lettre* come Ruben Dario, o di narratori come Borges, che hanno riscritto antichi temi di origine mitica — come il tradimento, la guerra o il sogno della futura morte — con l'implacabile modernità di stile che può raggiungere solo chi, lontano dalle fabbriche metropolitane, lavora nella perfezione della forma, non con l'etica del discorso moderno. Da qui l'erudizione come supporto di una testualità neutra, non romantica, una forma precisamente postmoderna grazie al distacco della "passione" moderna dai contenuti, che, come dicevo prima, sono invece classici. La fusione di paesaggio, miti ancestrali e componenti della modernità della conquista, non solo contiene termini diversi in cui si strutturano le estetiche americane —i discorsi singolari del barocco, la rappresentazione mitica della vegetalità della natura (che ha permesso ai classicisti architetti repubblicani nordamericani di immaginare un ordine basato sulla pannocchia di mais, la pianta americana più diffusa), la modernità "oggettiva" di ciò che è distante dal mondo metropolitano centrale—, ma anche l'idea di meticcio, il concetto fondamentale della mescolanza tra l'autoctono e l'esterno, che non potrà mai spiegare la violenza della conquista. Dice bene Baudrillard, nel suo *L'America*, riguardo alla caparbia resistenza — e, pertanto, presenza culturale — dell'indiano nordamericano che, sebbene sconfitto, sembra preferire uno *status* di persistente "barbarie" rispetto a un'idea di modernità non culturale o politica, ma meramente economica-industriale, modellata dalla società *yankee*. Una "barbarie" che genera, per così dire, una religiosità animista, temeraria ed ammaliata dal paesaggio e, in ultima istanza, una potenza mitizzante per la

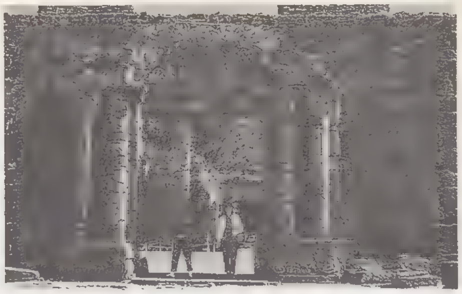
Portale barocco della chiesa di Asillo, Bolivia, sec. XVII.

Baroque portal of the Church at Asillo, Bolivia, 17th century.

operation like the conquest really was.
The inhospitableness of modern America preceded Heidegger's theory by three centuries.
"The world is hostile," *says the Argentinian anthropologist R. Kusch.* "In it there can be divine wrath or simple torment, maize or weeds, wealth or misery. People can live happily or lose their freedom for no good reason. Nothing is certain, there is nothing to hold on to. So a solution is needed, an answer, to avoid the uncertainties of the world and its hostility. Hence the use of silence. Not silence in the sense of not uttering words, but the silence you create when you speak. The silence that consists of not saying essential things". *(*America Profunda, *Editorial Bonum, Buenos Aires, 1975).*

4. America, then, is a triptych: huge, omnipresent nature; the original pre-Columbian cultures with their prodigious mythological configurations that make the immeasurable inhabitable; and the modernity of the European project for the construction of a world. Various permutations of this man-and/versus-nature theme produced the lineaments of a culture whose "regionality" depended, precisely, on how original influences were combined. For example, America's Baroque aesthetic was a mythicising of the natural world — the plant world, the selva *and, as perceived by two inveterate nineteenth-century travellers, Humboldt's Hylea and the land that brought Darwin's theory of evolution to completion — which overlaid the* horror vacui *and redundancy of the native world with a veneer of Counter-Reformation argument. In intellectual terms, the result would be a crop of great poets and thinkers like Arguedas in Peru, Sarduy in Cuba and Mutis in Colombia.*
Nature, omnipresent and powerful, produced a particular idea of space, the plant world and also an aesthetics of a rather special kind. In European terms, there is nothing strange about "fantasy realism". It is essentially, a parody of "Baroque" ordinariness which mythicises the power of nature and makes life a natural flow, as in the literature of the Cuban Lezama Lima, the Colombian García Marquez or the Mexican Rulfo. But what "regionality" does this literature contain? To modern western thinking, it is a regionality of "fantasy realism" — the kind, for example, that demonised technology for Bolivian peasants, who even now prefer mythical prayers to nature and their rain gods to a simple, efficient underground water pump.

5. So America's regionality, or peculiarity, is a combination of social, historical and geographical factors: a regionality in which, for example, Modernism features neither as physical substance nor as coherent ideological content, but as a style, *a form of display.*
American culture seems to have thrive on the modernist forms that enabled avant-la-lettre *symbolist poets like Ruben Dario, or fiction-writers like Borges, to rework ancient mythological themes — betrayal, war, the dream of future death — with the relentless modernity of those who have distanced themselves from factories to work with the perfect forms, rather than the ethics, of Modernism. Hence, erudition has supported a neutral, non-romantic textuality that is postmodern precisely because modern "passion" has detached itself from content which , as we have seen, is classical. The conquest's fusion of landscape, ancestral myths and certain types of Modernism has produced not only all the forms of American art — the Baroque; the mythical representation of the vegetal world (which enabled Classicist Republican architects in North America to invent an architectural order based on the corn-cob, America's most widely-occurring plant form); the peripheral "objective" modernity of things distant from the central metropolitan world — but also the idea of hybridisation, the blending of autochthonous and external, which alone can never explain the violence of the conquest. Baudrillard is right when he points in* America *to the stubborn resistance — and hence cultural presence — of the North American Indians who, though defeated, seem to prefer "barbaric" status to a modernity — merely economical and industrial rather than cultural and political — that Yankee society has thust on them. This "barbarity" generated, so to speak, an animistic attitude towards religion, an uncritical admiration for the land and, ultimately, a capacity for mythicising that has transformed the building of a nation into an attempt to create an artificial second nature whose highest forms of expression are Disneyland and the cinema. And yet, all this was achieved without abandoning parody. As Baudrillard says:* "Here — in America — the decadence and farce of cinematographic illusion offers itself as reality, just as Disneyland is offered as a parody of the fantasy world". *So, as its director Mr. Fitzgerald points out, Paris' Eurodisney is rejected by French intellectuals (who are still rationalists!) but not by their children. America shows its power to retaliate when a "crude" artefact like Eurodisneyland is built in Europe's dense cultural landscape, paradoxically enough in the very year when*



quale tutta la saga della costruzione di un territorio può vedersi come il tentativo di creare una seconda natura, prodotta con artifici e artefatti, e della quale Disneyland e il cinema sono le massime espressioni.
Ma senza abbandonare la parodia. Dice Baudrillard: "*Qui vi presentano, in realtà* — in America —, *l'aspetto più decadente e risibile dell'illusione cinematografica, così come a Disneyland viene esibita una parodia dell'immaginario*". Perciò l'Eurodisney parigino — per dirla come Mr. Fitzgerald suo direttore — viene rifiutato dagli intellettuali francesi (ancora razionalisti!), ma non lo sarà dai loro figli. L'America produce una sorta di contraccolpo nel momento in cui costruisce un artefatto "rozzo" come Eurodisney nel denso paesaggio culturale dell'Europa, paradossalmente nel pieno della celebrazione del V centenario della conquista. Così come Epcot a Disney World in Florida, negli anni Settanta, è una delle prime operazioni "serie" della nuova urbanistica sperimentale, per gli anni Ottanta la progettazione urbano-architettonica "alla Disney" — per esempio, i provocatori alberghi di Michael Graves, "Swan" e "Dolphin" — apre sicuri spiragli al *postmodern* ironico, allucinato *kitsch* dei tempi recenti, pienamente adatto ai programmi del consumismo. Il presente vede maltrattata la sua "serietà" moderna e qualcosa di questa tendenza proviene proprio dall'America.

6. La complessità dell'universo americano spiega, dunque, diverse modalità della sua produzione culturale, che emergono come paradigmi sufficientemente consolidati.
Da una parte, il paradigma primigenio del naturale, l'imponenza del paesaggio, che è all'origine di cosmogonie panteiste tanto sofisticate come quelle egizie, e con un'architettura quasi ridotta a semplice dimensione esterna, così come emerge nei grandi spazi templari messicani o nell'elaborata geografia produttiva dei terrazzamenti andini. "*È di legno la mia pazienza, sorda, vegetale*" dicono i versi di Cesar Vallejo, il grande poeta peruviano, ricorrendo, una volta di più, al riferimento naturalista che tanto aveva impressionato Humboldt. Il rito della creazione dei Maya parla dell'"uomo di mais", dell'invenzione umana che sorge non dall'astratto e metaforico terreno della cristianità europea, ma dalla concreta e organica vegetalità americana. Il paradigma del naturale-colossale trasgredisce la cesura violenta della conquista e impregna, come materiale vernacolare, il meticciato tipico del Barocco americano. Il quale è il secondo grande paradigma culturale dell'America, frutto del progetto utopico europeo confrontato con la realtà e l'epoca della conquista. Barocco dell'eccesso o della ridondanza, nei portali messicani di Santa Prisca di Taxco, o barocco minimalista nelle molteplici configurazioni dei templi e degli insediamenti dell'area dell'altopiano del sud del Perù. Ma il barocco è anche portatore del progetto di una modernità produttiva, abbellisce la prodigiosa ingegneria dell'efficienza e del rendimento, come il milione di fedeli battezzati da nove frati nel 1526, in Messico, o le macchine di fede e produzione delle tredici missioni paraguaiane del Juli, in piena selva chaqueña, capaci non solo di costruire uno Stato ma di affrontare, con successo, le battaglie militari con le *bandeirantes* brasiliane e le truppe dell'armata portoghese.
Un terzo livello in questa sintesi di paradigmi estetici è l'arte fantastica, in quanto congiunzione di linguaggi barocchi e di una natura travolgente. La paura dell'ignoto, dello smisurato, da parte dei conquistatori spagnoli, compila, come in poche altre occasioni, numerose antologie di situazioni immaginarie. I bestiari — l'unico che non fantastica nelle sue descrizioni è Colombo — tendono a raccontare le paure, ma sono anche la base di una estetica fantastica che, se vogliamo menzionare i letterati, arriverà fino a Borges, Paz, Lezama Lima, Carpenter, Cortazar e tanti altri. Qui sarebbe da specificare come si traspone in America la condizione manierista e barocca della "chimera" — distorsione demonizzata dell'immagine dell'uomo rinascimentale ideale —, quella che Bernini, molto dispettosamente, trovava alla base dell'arte borrominiana.
Il quarto luogo emerge, con la forza dell'ibridazione che esiste nella costruzione vertiginosa del continente, il tema del meticciato prodotto dalle differenti fusioni, europee-indio, europee-africane, indio-africane. Molto rapidamente l'abitante naturale della terra sarà meticcio — il *gaucho* rioplatense, per esempio — con tutto quello che ciò comporta circa l'impronta complessa dei segni di una o dell'altra origine. L'ibridismo delle fusioni dà luogo a produzioni eclettiche, ma anche ad una quotidianità piena di intersezioni di differenti provenienze. L'unica cosa che è uguale a se stessa, in America, è in definitiva la comune figura del meticcio che persiste e si alimenta nei secoli, soprattutto sul piano delle culture popolari. Il conservatore, in America, è il prodotto dell'ibridazione.
Come quinto aspetto, in questo primo elenco di estetiche, c'è il moderno come "esteriorità", come pura

Rovine delle Missioni Gesuitiche del Juli, Missione di San Ignacio Miní, Paraguay, sec.XVII.

Ruins of the Jesuit Missions of Juli, Mission of St. Ignacio Miní, Paraguay, 17th century.

the five-hundredth anniversary of the conquest is being celebrated.
Just as, in the Seventies, Epcot in Florida's Disney World was one of the first "serious" attempts at new experimental town-planning, Disney-style urban and architectural design in the Eighties — Michael Graves' provocative Swan and Dolphin hotels, for example — has certainly given a boost to the ironic postmodernism and hallucinatory kitsch of recent times which is perfectly geared to consumer planning. Modern "seriousness" is now being abused, and this is partly the fault of America itself.

6. Thus, the complexity of the American world explains the various forms of its cultural output, which now have all the appearance of well-established paradigms. First there is the primitive paradigm of nature, the predominance of landscape that produced sophisticated pantheistic cosmogonies like those of ancient Egypt, and an architecture reduced to a simple external presence, as in the great Mexican temples or the elaborate terraced cultivation of the Andes. "My patience is made of wood, it is deaf, it is vegetable" *runs a verse by Cesar Vallejo, the great Peruvian poet, again employing the naturalist references which made such an impression on Humboldt. The Maya rite of creation speaks of "maize man", of human invention which springs not from the abstract, metaphorical terrain of European Christianity, but from America's real, organic plant world.*
This paradigm of a colossal nature spanned the violent interlude of European conquest to produce that typical vernacular cross-breed of American culture, the Baroque. This is America's second great cultural paradigm, then, the outcome of European utopianism confronted by physical reality and an age of the conquest. It is a Baroque of redundancy and excess, as in the Mexican portals of Santa Prisca in Taxco, or the minimalist Baroque of the various religious and residential complexes in the plateau region of southern Peru. But the Baroque also ushered in a Modernism based on prodigious efficiency and productive output, as in the million Mexican faithful christened by only nine friars in 1526, or the thirteen Paraguayan Juli missions in the heart of the chaqueña *forest, which proved capable not only of building an entire state, but also of successfully waging war on the Brazilian* bandeirantes *and the troops of the Portuguese army.*
The third paradigm was fantastic art, a blending of Baroque idiom with luxuriant nature. The Spanish conquistadors' fear of the unknown, of limitless vastness, generated an extraordinary catalogue of imaginary situations and beings. The bestiaries (the only writer who did not invent fantastic descriptions was Columbus himself) not only encapsulated these fears, but also laid the basis for a fantasy art which, in literary terms, would lead to Borges, Paz, Lezama Lima, Carpenter, Cortazar and many others. To mention only one specific case, the "chimera" of Baroque Mannerism — the demonised perversion of the ideal Renaissance man which Bernini insultingly regarded as the inspiration for Borromini's art — was actually transported to America from Europe.
The fourth paradigm, an outcome of the inevitable hybridisation that occurred when the continent was constructed with such amazing speed, was, precisely, the hybrid, the result of Euro-Indian, Euro-African and Indo-African interbreeding. The cross-breed quickly became the native inhabitant of the continent — the gauchos of the Rio de la Plata, for example — with all that implied in terms of cultural complexity and identity. Hybridisation produced eclectic results, but also a daily life rich in cultural contrast. In America, the only authentic figure down the centuries has been the ubiquitous cross-breed who has proved so influential on popular culture especially. The preserver and transmitter of culture in America was the cross-breed, a product of hybridisation.
The fifth paradigm is modernity as "externality" — pure manipulation of forms. This kind of Modernism permeated the continent, whether in the Spanish Leyes de Indias *or the dour Protestant traditions of the North American pioneers (see Penn's original plan for Philadelphia, based on the grids of Israelite communities, or the Masonic exoticism of L'Enfant's plan for Washington).*
Modernism developed this "externality" in America because all its forms were available as styles rather than as a system of social and political concepts. Octavio Paz described very well America's failure to identity with the real essence of Modernism — the Modernism that flowed from the democratic principles of the French Revolution. It was invaded by pure manipulation of signs, or what we would now call Postmodernism. Darcy Ribeiro, the Brazilian anthropologist, describes this "externality" as follows:
"Our wise Emperor Pedro II created only two educational institutions, the Deaf and Dumb Institute and the Imperial Institute for the Blind. Our first university was founded by decree in 1922 to meet a pressing, though entirely non-educational need. The King of Belgium was visiting

Birabén e Lacalle Alonso, Edificio per uffici in calle Uruguay, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1935.
Gregorio Sánchez, Ernesto Lagos e Luis María De La Torre, Edificio residenziale Kavanagh, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1936.
Complesso residenziale in calle Entre Rios, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1917.
Carlos Raúl Villanueva, Scuola Gran Colombia, Caracas, Venezuela, 1937.

manipolazione di elementi formali, dalle stesse origini americane fissate nelle *Leyes de Indias* ispaniche, fino anche alle rigide tradizioni protestanti dei pionieri nordamericani, come nel caso del tracciato originario di Penn per Filadelfia, basato sulla griglia delle comunità israelitiche, o in quello dell'esotismo massonico che regge il piano di L'Enfant per Washington.
L'esteriorità del moderno si perfeziona nella pura disponibilità delle sue figure come stile, non come un sistema che implica un concetto sociopolitico. Octavio Paz ha definito con precisione la debole identità americana con l'essenza della modernità — quella cioè derivata dai principi della democrazia rivoluzionaria francese —, secondo la quale la modernità americana si satura in una piena manipolazione dei segni — oggi diremmo *postmoderna* —.
Un passaggio dell'antropologo brasiliano Darcy Ribeiro illustra questa esteriorità: "*Il nostro saggio imperatore Pedro II creò solo due istituzioni educative, l'Istituto dei Sordomuti, e l'Istituto Imperiale dei Ciechi. La nostra prima Università si fece nel 1922 e si creò per decreto, per una ragione molto importante, sebbene extraeducativa. Il re del Belgio visitava il Brasile e la cancelleria doveva attribuirgli il titolo di Dottore* honoris causa. *Non potendo onorare il re come il protocollo esigeva perché non c'erano università, se ne creò una per l'occasione, l'Università del Brasile*" (in *Indianidades y Venutopias*, Editorial del Sol, Buenos Aires 1988).
Si può anche guardare al moderno non solo come a qualcosa di esteriore o formale, ma anche come ad un mondo di irrazionalità, che ha solo poche differenze rispetto ad altre tradizioni rituali. Come un sistema sufficientemente perverso, quale quello descritto da Kafka nel suo mondo periferico della Praga postmedievale. Educazione, Stato, Giustizia, Architettura liberali si configurano, più che come fatti sostanziali, come forme, meri rituali di procedimenti solo apparentemente progrediti, o come sistemi simbolici innovatori, ma ugualmente mitici.
Un sesto ed ultimo aspetto di questa rassegna di caratteristiche culturali è, come conseguenza della modernizzazione, la nuova ibridazione sociale risultante dalla massiccia immigrazione europea degli ultimi 120 anni in molti paesi americani, come Stati Uniti, Messico, Brasile, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Uruguay, Cile o Argentina.
L'immigrazione di europei marginali — massa di diseredati esclusi dalla lotta per entrare, in Europa, nel mondo urbano industriale — rafforza l'esteriorità del moderno, costituendo

Brazil and the Chancellory had to award him an honorary degree. Being unable to honour the King as protocol required because there was no university, the University of Brazil was specially created for the occasion" *(in* Indianidades y Venutopias, *Editorial del Sol, Buenos Aires, 1988).*
Modernity can also be seen not just as something external — a matter of forms — but also as a world based on forms of irrational behaviour and belief that are also found in other ritual traditions. Kafka's post-medieval, twilight Prague is one such system, though a perverted one. Education, the State, Justice and Architecture are not physical facts, but either mere forms — rituals that gesture towards the progress that seems to have been made over the centuries — or symbolic systems that are no less mythical for being new.
The sixth and last paradigm, an outcome of modernisation, is the social hybridisation massive immigration from Europe has brought in its wake over the past 120 years in many American countries (the USA, Mexico, Brazil, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Uruguay, Chile, Argentina). These poor European immigrants — disinherited mass shoved aside in the scramble to appropriate the industrial world of Europe's cities — reinforced the externality of modernism and provided America with another class of modern social and cultural misfits. The result was yet another form of modernism which has produced, among other things, urban systems fuelled by debased forms of industrialisation. "As we know," *says Ribeiro,* "industrialisation is a process of free social transformation, but here it has become a mechanism of recolonisation".
This immigration has increased America's hybridisation still further. In the new Latin American cities (Santiago, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City) that grew up when the new wave of immigrants was superimposed on existing hybrid populations, the result was a veritable Babel of contrasting and/or conflicting cultural symbols and languages. Thus, these surprisingly European cities, with their new centres and districts, their ports and boulevards, are in reality the creations of French city planners — virtuoso urban designers or academic decorative artists like Bouvard, Forestier, Agache and Rotival.

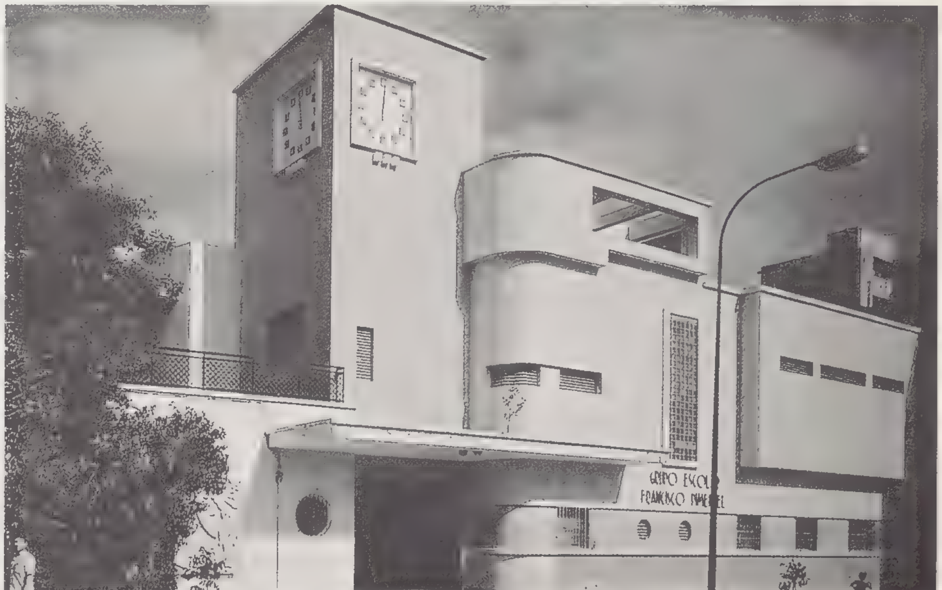
7. Before exploring the vast, eclectic geography of Latin American architectural forms, a brief historical and cultural note would perhaps not be out of place.
First, we should distinguish between spontaneous, anonymous

Birabén and Lacalle Alonso, Office building in Calle Uruguay, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1935.
Gregorio Sánchez, Ernesto Lagos and Luis María De La Torre, Kavanagh residential building, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1936.
Residential complex in Calle Entre Rios, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1917.
Carlos Raúl Villanueva, Gran Colombia School, Caracas, Venezuela, 1937.



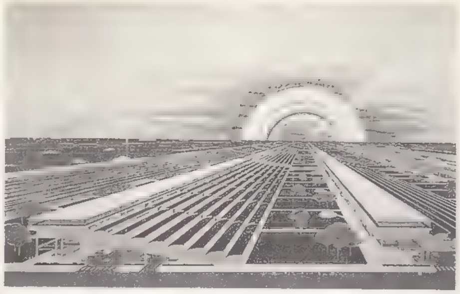




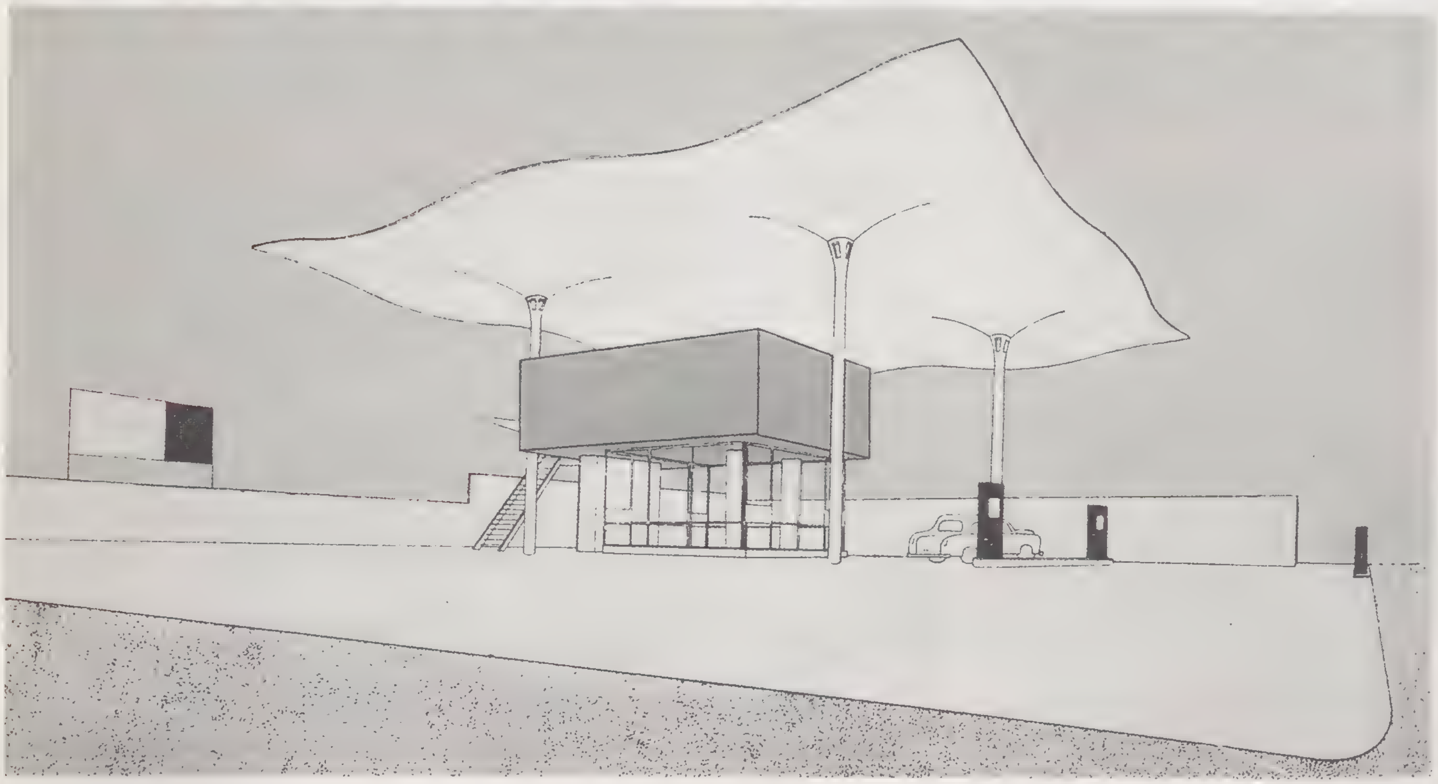


Amancio Williams, Progetto "Case nello spazio", Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1942-80.
Amancio Williams, Casa del ponte a Mar del Plata, Argentina, 1943-45.
Amancio Williams, Progetto di Stazione di servizio, Avellaneda, Argentina, 1954-55.

Amancio Williams, "Homes in Space" project, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1942-80.
Amancio Williams, Bridge house in Mar del Plata, Argentina, 1943-45.
Amancio Williams, Service station project, Avellaneda, Argentina, 1954-55.







nello scenario americano un'altra classe di emarginati della modernità. Così si crea un altro effetto di modernità differenziata, producendo, per esempio, alcuni sistemi di urbanizzazione legati a una industrializzazione imperfetta. Dice bene il già citato Ribeiro: "*L'industrializzazione che, come si sa, è un processo di trasformazione liberatoria della società, da noi si tradusse in meccanismo di ricolonizzazione*".
E dal punto di vista della cultura ibrida meticcia l'immigrazione ha significato, per l'America, un aumento di questa ibridazione, dando luogo a una vera situazione babelica, nella confusione di simboli e linguaggi della nuova città latinoamericana che allora si stava formando (come Santiago del Cile, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro o Città del Messico), con l'ondata alluvionale di masse immigratorie sovrapposte alle precedenti componenti meticce. Così sorgono i nuovi centri e i quartieri, i porti e i *boulevard*, in questa città così sorprendentemente europea quanto falsa, la città degli urbanisti francesi, scenografi di virtuosismi, abbellitori accademici, come Bouvard, Forestier, Agache o Rotival.

7. Cominciare ora ad addentrarsi nella vasta ed eclettica geografia delle espressioni architettoniche latinoramericane, richiede, forse, alcune righe di premessa per chiarire la storia e la cultura di queste terre.
Per iniziare a stabilire qualche criterio di distinzione, vale la pena dividere l'edilizia spontanea o anonima dalla produzione disciplinare vera e propria. Se, certo, l'America è il risultato di una costruzione pensata e pianificata, alla rigorosa condizione iniziale del progetto si sovrappone la storia molto peculiare della sua produzione reale, certamente molto differente dal caso europeo, ed anche dalle culture orientali. All'inizio esiste pochissima architettura di *élite*, ed inoltre una scadente qualificazione delle maestranze è causa di alcuni insediamenti molto modesti. La rigida struttura ortogonale dei tracciati urbani dà luogo a pochi edifici di qualità (salvo che nelle città principali, come Lima, Città del Messico o Quito), a volte progettati da religiosi italiani o centroeuropei con una formazione non propriamente specifica. Una eccezione a questa regola può essere il caso di Andrea Pozzo, formatosi nei circoli gesuitici vicini al Vignola a Roma. Su questa scarna base prolifera un tessuto omogeneo di case basate sulla matrice della *domus* romana e ispanoandalusa (con influenze arabe), articolata su tre cortili rettangolari in

building and architecture in the real sense of the term. The America we see today is certainly the outcome of deliberate planning and building, but the theoretical coherence of the original project has, in practice, produced results quite different from anything in Europe or the East. At first there was very little elite architecture, and a widespread lack of professional expertise meant that much architecture was of a rather low standard. The rigidly orthogonal urban grids produced few quality buildings (except in major cities like Lima, Mexico City and Quito), and these were sometimes designed by Italian or Central European clerics who had had no real professional training. One exception was Andrea Pozzo who received his training in Jesuit circles close to Vignola in Rome.
The plain orthogonal grid produced a homogeneous urban fabric of houses modelled on the Roman and Spanish-Andalusian domus *(with some Arab influence) organised around three rectangular courtyards. The discrepancy between monumental architecture and the general urban fabric would persist until the end of the last century, when relatively new types of collective popular housing began to appear — the Chilean* cites, *for example, blocks of collective housing that would play an important (albeit speculative) role in the construction of the modern city. The integration of isolated architectural monuments into a general urban fabric that the European cities, with their more complex urban layouts and highly differentiated cultures, have achieved over the centuries, was never possible in the American cities. Strictly speaking, Latin American architecture simply means isolated monuments, small fragments that have had little impact their urban contexts. The exception — as we shall see — is some rationalist-functionalist modern architecture that has proved successful because of its accessibily European ideological orientation, and because it has proved cheaper to build than the architectures offered by America's unrealistically historicist movements or the earliest forms of modern architecture to arrive in America, such as* Art Nouveau.
So what follows is an analysis of "regional" variations in mainstream architecture only; in other words, we shall be looking at bits and pieces of cities rather than total cities. This will perforce exclude many projects linked (to varying degrees) to urban rehabilitation schemes — Uruguay's housing cooperatives; the Brigata Revueltas and architects like Carlos Gonzalez Lobo in Mexico; Lima's large-scale housing projects (the Malvinas district, for example); the Villa

successione. La dicotomia tra architettura monumentale e tessuto urbano è molto rilevante e si modifica solo alla fine del XIX secolo, con la moltiplicazione di tipologie di abitazioni popolari collettive relativamente innovative, come le *cites* cilene, blocchi di abitazioni collettive con un ruolo interessante nella costruzione della città, sebbene di carattere chiaramente speculativo.
Ma il rapporto tra architettura urbana e monumento isolato non potrà mai, nella città americana, acquisire gli stessi caratteri di integrazione raggiunti nel corso di molti secoli nelle città europee, caratterizzate dalla presenza di tracciati urbani più complessi e di tendenze culturali assai differenziate. Perciò parlare di architettura latinoamericana — se ci si riferisce al campo istituzionale-disciplinare — significa parlare di architettura di monumenti isolati, piccoli frammenti che non riescono a sostenere trasformazioni significative della struttura urbana, con l'eccezione, come vedremo, di qualche contributo dell'architettura moderna razional-funzionalista, proprio per la disponibilità del suo schema ideologico di origine europea e per il suo massiccio impiego come stile più economico di quello postulato dalle correnti velleitariamente storicistiche o dai primi prodotti della modernità arrivati in questa parte del mondo, come l'*art nouveau*.
Perciò, il discorso che seguirà riguarda l'analisi delle possibili varianti di "regionalità" nel campo strettamente disciplinare, ossia di alcuni frammenti qualificati di città. Rimangono, in tal modo, fuori dall'ambito di questo saggio numerose iniziative più o meno legate a programmi di rinnovamento dei tessuti popolari, come i lavori delle cooperative d'abitazione in Uruguay, l'opera della Brigata Revueltas e di Carlos Gonzalez Lobo in Messico, i grandi interventi di abitazioni popolari a Lima, come il Quartiere Malvinas o l'organizzazione popolare di Villa El Salvador, il lavoro di promozione di "comunità" del cileno Fernando Castillo, i diversi interventi nel campo dell'abitazione popolare degli argentini Horacio Berretta e Victor Pelli, ecc.
Dopo tali premesse si possono meglio raccogliere le esperienze significative dell'architettura latinoamericana in tre ambiti — corrispondenti a loro volta, a tre estetiche —: l'estetica del paesaggismo e il suo rapporto con il naturalismo ambientale, soprattutto territoriale; l'estetica del barocco, inteso come proposta artigianale o manufatta; l'estetica di una modernità "contestualizzata", inserita nella peculiare situazione sociale e culturale dell'America Latina.
Sicuramente resta ancora una certa quota di architettura "internazionale" che si autoconcepisce come autonoma da un territorio o da una società concreti, in un tentativo — un poco vano, stando alle molteplici *performance* più o meno fallite — che denuncia l'impraticabilità di un internazionalismo assoluto. Esempi di questa categoria di interventi sono visibili nel *low-tech* — versione impoverita del *high-tech* — delle patetiche torri in vetro presenti in qualsiasi parte dell'America Latina, o in certi complessi residenziali, comunque non peggiori dei perversi complessi delle periferie di Madrid, Parigi o Milano.
Per discutere i termini possibili del difficile "regionalismo" americano mi atterrò dunque ai tre gruppi prima enunciati, evitando di riconoscere come "regionale" quello che, come si è visto, patisce solo la condizione di una internazionalità imperfetta e fallita.

8. Non sembra possibile riconoscere la dimensione cosmopolita della produzione latinoamericana — in letteratura, arte o architettura, ma anche in economia, politica o vita quotidiana — in un infruttuoso accostamento ai modelli canonici "centrali", bensì in quello che si offre al dominio dell'universale a partire dalla differenza della sua singolarità e irripetibilità.
È certa l'esistenza di un "olimpo" del cosmopolitismo — si legga, per esempio, Mies, Johnson, SOM, Foster, Rogers, Piano, Nouvel, Gregotti, ecc. — al quale si vorrebbe riferire qualsiasi rispettabile progettista di qualsiasi grande città di questa regione, sotto l'imperativo dell'alta "professionalità". In termini altrettanto infruttuosi altri si riferiscono a un "olimpo aggiornato" — per esempio, quello di Rossi, Stirling, Meier, Graves, Bofill, Moneo, ecc. —, in questo caso coloro che sostengono il valore di un'architettura come produzione di beni culturali, in una fase del capitalismo come l'attuale assai segnata da un'alta circolazione di valori simbolici.
Ma, d'altra parte, in questo mondo di crescente frammentarietà vi sono altre situazioni la cui validità sembra sussistere fin tanto che mantengano il loro *status* frammentario; in altri termini, fin tanto che non si lasciano omologare per una disponibilità universale. Mi riferisco, per un verso, ad architetti "provinciali", vale a dire legati a una prassi culturale contestualmente circoscritta, come per esempio i casi di Utzon, Siza, Anselmi, Van Eyck, Pietilä, Grung, Ando, Navarro Baldeweg, Canella, Grassi, Fernandez Alba, Erskine, De la Sota, Ridolfi, Scarpa, ecc.
E, d'altra parte, ad architetti "sperimentali", ossia di ridotta

El Salvador popular organisation; Fernando Castillo's "community" promotion work in Chile; Horacio Berretta and Victor Pelli's various popular housing projects in Argentina; and so on.

These distinctions enable us to identify three major types of Latin American architecture, which also correspond to three different aesthetic approaches to architecture: "landscape" architecture, and how it relates to the natural environment, especially around cities; "Baroque" architecture based on manufacturing and craft principles; and the "contextualised" modernist architecture of Latin America's unique social and cultural situation. There is also, of course, a certain amount of "international" architecture which, by its own admission, resists identification with local social context — usually in vain, judging from the many failures we have seen, which only goes to show that "pure" internationalism is impossible. Just look, for example, at the low-tech (high-tech's poor relation) of the pathetic glass towers that crowd the continent, or some of our residential complexes (although they are no worse than some the outlandish structures that have been built in the outskirts of Madrid, Paris or Milan)

I shall use these three approaches — landscape, Baroque and contextialised Modernism — to define what "regionalism" means in America (the kind of debased, and largely unsuccessful internationalism we have just looked at cannot be regarded as "regional" in any real sense).

8. There would seem little point in using the models of the "centre" to define the "peripheral" cosmopolitanism of Latin American culture, whether in literature, art and architecture, or economics, politics and daily life. It is better to do it the other way round, and see what the uniqueness of the American situation has contributed to cosmopolitan.

Certainly, there is a cosmopolitan elite — Mies, Johnson, SOM, Foster, Rogers, Piano, Nouvel, Gregotti, and others — by which many feel the "professionalism" of any respectable architect in any major American city should be judged.

Others, who believe (equally misguidedly in my view) that in our present symbolic phase of capitalism, architecture acquires its real value as a cultural object, have produced a more "up-to-date" elite comprising Rossi, Stirling, Meier, Graves, Bofill, Moneo and others.

On the other hand, in an increasingly fragmented world, there are other situations that acquire meaning precisely because they remain *fragmentary, because they go on refusing to be assimilated. Here I mean both "provincial" architects bound to contextually circumscribed cultural situations — Utzon, Siza, Anselmi, Van Eyck, Pietilä, Grung, Ando, Navarro Baldeweg, Canella, Grassi, Fernandez Alba, Erskine, De la Sota, Ridolfi, Scarpa and others — and "experimental" architects whose real impact has been cultural rather than purely architectural — Tschumi, Hadid, Morphosis, Koolhaas, Culot, Mack. And also, of course, the "exotics" who inhabit the fringes of the architectural world — Fathy, El Wakil, Bawa, Correa and Seldam, to mention only the best known of them.*

These architects — provincial, experimental or exotic as the case may be — have created, or are able to create fragmentary worlds, and it seems either pointless or impossible to try to link or internationalise what they have achieved. I think we should see "regionalism" not as a cultural imperative, definition or role, but as a deliberate choice, a systematic attempt to place a project in a specific context that gives it meaning and validity. It is this opting for the "regional" — in the sense we have defined it here — that probably makes Latin American architecture so distinctive, yet this architecture has no discernible genealogy or hierarchy, no recognisable centres or key works, no movements (avant-gardes) or schools. It's very difficult to arrive at a "Theory of American Regionality", so I would prefer to start by looking at a number of actual examples.

9. Mexico holds pride of place in Latin America's immense geography of "landscape" architecture because, in a sense, its draw directly on the pre-Columbian tradition of monumental architecture and large open spaces — Pedro Ramirez Vazquez's National Museum of Anthropology (1964), for example, or various works by the Abraham Zabludovsky and Teodoro Gonzáles de Léon group like the Colegio de México headquarters (1975), the INFONAVIT administration complex (1973) or the "Rufino Tamayo" Museum of Modern Art (1980).

Monumentality, an overriding preference for huge, unadorned horizontal masses, a grandiose deployment of empty space and the manipulation of materials in sculptural or geological rather than purely architectural ways, are some features of this architecture which draws on anthropological perceptions of local culture without totally ignoring the tenets of Modernism.

In Brazil, the other great American culture with an important "landscape" tradition (in this case more natural than cultural), Burle-Marx's large parks and gardens seem to have

capacità operativa se non sul piano culturale, come Tschumi, Hadid, Morphosis, Koolhaas, Culot, Mack, ecc. E, infine, alla saga degli "esotici" periferici come, tra quelli che si conoscono sufficientemente, Fathy, El Wakil, Bawa, Correa, Seldam, ecc.
Provinciali, sperimentali o esotici formano, o possono formare, un mondo frammentato di riferimenti, impossibile o inutile da collegare o internazionalizzare. Su questo piano, in questo contesto, è possibile, credo, discutere la questione del "regionalismo", non come un imperativo, una determinazione o un ruolo, ma come una scelta deliberata, come una intenzione programmatica che si sforza di situare un apporto progettuale in uno specifico contesto di valorizzazione e convalidazione. È nel campo di tale opzione per il regionale, come delimitazione specifica del contesto dell'operazione progettuale, che l'esperienza latinoamericana ha, probabilmente, uno spazio. Uno spazio che, per le sue caratteristiche, è mancante di genealogie o gerarchie chiare, di punti di elaborazione o di opere a cui riferirsi, di formazione di movimenti come quelli delle avanguardie, di posizioni di magistero. Perciò è molto difficile definire una "Teoria della regionalità americana", essendo preferibile invece il tono di una iniziale enumerazione delle esperienze.

9. Nel vasto territorio delle estetiche del "paesaggismo" si dovranno ubicare, in primo luogo, le esperienze messicane, che si rifanno, in un certo senso, alla tradizione precolombiana della scala monumentale dei grandi spazi aperti. Come il Museo Nazionale di Antropologia di Pedro Ramirez Vazquez (1964), o le varie opere del gruppo di Abraham Zabludovsky e Teodoro Gonzáles de León, quali la sede del Colegio de Mexico (1975), il Complesso amministrativo INFONAVIT (1973), il Museo di Arte Moderna "Rufino Tamayo" (1980).
Monumentalità, dominio dell'articolazione di vaste masse orizzontali e aperte, concezione magniloquente del vuoto, manipolazione della materialità architettonica come una sostanza maggiormente legata allo scultoreo o al geologico, sono alcune caratteristiche di queste proposte nelle quali si trovano reminiscenze antropologiche di identificazione con le culture locali, senza un totale disinteressamento ai codici moderni.
In Brasile, l'altra grande cultura americana segnata dal grande patrimonio paesaggistico — in questo caso, più naturale che culturale — l'opera di Burle-Marx, architetto di grandi parchi e giardini, sembra seguire la linea di una progettualità direttamente tendente ad imitare le caratteristiche di una foresta desiderata e armoniosa. Non lontano da un simile naturalismo, Severiano Porto, residente a Manaus, al margine dell'Amazzonia e nel cuore della foresta, definisce un'architettura che si stacca appena dalla ripetizione mimetica delle soluzioni dell'*habitat* popolare: elementi in legno irregolari, canne, tessuti sono usati, a scala differente, come si usano negli ambienti popolari, secondo una tecnica comprovata da una efficacia ambientale relativamente economica e garantita in un ambiente tanto angusto come la selva tropicale. Opere come le case Porto (Manaus, 1971), Schuster (Taruma, Amazzonia, 1974), o l'Ostello nell'Isola di Silves (1979) — curvilineo adattamento al paesaggio costiero — esemplificano questa produzione che ricerca una identità nel rapporto con il paesaggio etno-naturale in cui si sviluppa.
Il venezuelano Fruto Vivas, che lavora nell'umida e tropicale Maracaibo, ha indagato soprattutto l'idea di una architettura paesaggistica — inserita in una natura forte — basata sullo sviluppo di una tecnologia quasi esclusivamente ambientale. La villa progettata sulle colline di Bello Monte, a Caracas (1961) o, ancora meglio, la sua casa-albero a Maracaibo (1974), sono oggetti che si espongono con la massima generosità alla circolazione dell'aria, rivelando una volontà di fusione con l'ambiente circostante, ottenuta con procedimenti moderni, per niente folcloristici o vernacolari. Porto e Vivas esprimono due maniere quasi estreme di confrontarsi con il paesaggio: la mimesi e l'adattamento, l'intento di trasformare in misura minima il preesistente e lo sforzo massimo di invenzione tecnologica per ottenere qualche qualità abitativa in ambienti difficili, la "*techne*" artigianale e il "disegno".
I discorsi "paesaggistici" sono vari. Oscar Niemeyer descrive, negli anni Quaranta, la sua passione curvilinea come la conseguenza della contemplazione del paesaggio. "*Non è l'angolo retto quello che mi attrae. Nè la linea retta. Rigida, inflessibile, creata dall'uomo. Ciò che mi attrae è la curva libera e sensuale. La curva che trovo nelle montagne del mio paese, nel corso sinuoso dei suoi fiumi, nel corpo di una donna desiderata. Di curve è fatto tutto l'universo*" (in E. Browne, *Otra Arquitectura en America Latina*, Editorial G. Gili, Mexico 1988, un interessante compendio dell'architettura della regione, con la volontà di affermarne tale condizione). E Niemeyer accompagna le sue riflessioni

been designed to reproduce the features of a natural forest whose harmonious equilibrium is both accepted and desired. With similar naturalism, Severiano Porto, who lives in Manaus deep in the rain forests on the borders of Amazonia, has produced architecture that only just falls short of wholesale imitation of popular local forms: irregular wooden elements, reeds and fabrics are given the uses they have in popular architecture, but on a different scale, and techniques of proven economic and environmental effectiveness are used, an important consideration in the restricted environment of the rain forest. Works like the Porto House (Manaus, 1971) and Schuster House (Taruma, Amazonia, 1974), or the Refuge on the Island of Silves (1979) which hugs the curving coastline, illustrate his search for an architectural identity based on the ethnic and natural features of landscape.

In Venezuela, Fruto Vivas has worked in the damp tropical climate of Maracaibo to develop a landscape architecture in imposing natural sites which employs totally environmental technology virtually throughout. His Monte Bello house on hills outside Caracas (1961), or better still, the tree-house in Maracaibo (1974), make the fullest possible use of natural ventilation in an attempt to identify totally with their environments, and use modern techniques that are neither vernacular nor merely folkloristic. Porto and Vivas exemplify two extreme approaches to landscape architecture: imitation versus adaptation, minimum alteration of what is already there versus consummate technological inventiveness deployed in the creation of recognisably habitable dwellings in difficult environments, the "techne" of the crafsman versus the "design" of the architect.

"Landscape" architecture has been described in different ways. In the forties, Oscar Niemeyer said that his passion for curves was a direct outcome of his observation of landscapes. "It isn't the right-angle that attracts me, nor even the straight line, that rigid, inflexible creation of man. What attracts me is the freedom and sensuality of the curve. The curve I find in the mountains of my country, in the sinuous course of its rivers, in the body of a woman I desire. The whole universe is made of curves" *(in E. Browne,* Otra Arquitectura en América Latina, *Editorial G. Gili, Mexico 1988, an interesting compendium of American architecture that seeks to show that this is, in fact, the case).* Niemeyer's written thoughts are accompanied by drawings of mountains and women. His works in Pampulha (especially the Church of St. Francis of Assisi with its undulating reinforced concrete roofing, or the Casino with its forest of columns, both dating from 1943), the Copan Building in São Paulo (1951), the undulating mass of the Belo Horizonte (1950), and his own home in Gavea, Rio de Janeiro (1953), all reveal this desire to compose by imitating nature (and this in a period well before the building of Brasilia or the São Paulo Memorial de America Latina). Rather than merely alluding metaphorically to nature, his works seem to embody a geographical or geological concept of architecture which has the limitless abundance and omnipotent creative narcissism of Nature itself. The work of the Brazilian architect Alfonso Reidy dates from Neimeyer's early period (when Burle-Marx was also active). Later, in an almost modern Brazil, Italo-Brazilian architect Lina Bo Bardi's rehabilitation of an old industrial area in Pompeya, São Paulo, which she began in 1980, opened up further possibilities for landscape architecture (the subject being, in this case, an ugly landscape of industrial suburbs that seemed virtually the antithesis of America's virgin natural expanses). Bo Bardi's project succeeded in demonstrating that the visual and environmental quality of an industrial suburb can in itself justify rehabilitation. Although fairly common in Europe, this kind of project is relatively rare in America. Martha Levisman's refurbishings of old industrial buildings for the Antorchas Foundation, an important cultural body, began in 1989 and deserve special attention.

Juvenal Baracco, a Peruvian architect-engineer no stranger to modernist architectural approaches, may also be regarded as a "regionalist" for his shrewd evaluations of the natural sites he has always worked in around Lima. His house for Hastings the artist (1975) on a cliff on the Pacific coast in the Barranco area near Lima, or his various works on La Barca beach, again near Lima (1981-1985, especially the Gezzi house) make ingenious use of environmental features — a diagonal arrangement against the scarp in the Barranco house, for example, or new patio-living room typologies in the beach houses (which, like Vivas'houses, are designed to exploit prevailing climatic conditions, here extremely dry). When you walk around Lima's much degraded historical centre full of the small subdivisions that map the course of the modern city's spontaneous development, you realise that Baracco's recreation of the fragmented geometries of the old republican buildings is in fact an interpretation of the city's new urban landscape (as in the Apesteguia House, 1977, a set of small apartments virtually carved out from the shell of an old 1904 house.

manoscritte con disegni di montagne e donne. Le opere di Pampulha (la chiesa San Francesco d'Assisi, soprattutto, con le ondulate coperture in cemento armato, o la selva di colonne del Casino, tutte del 1943), l'edificio Copan, a San Paolo (1951), o il blocco ondulato di Belo Horizonte (1950) e la casa per se stesso a Gavea, Rio de Janeiro (1953), sono opere in cui questa volontà di comporre quasi con l'idea di imitazione della natura appare con forza, prima del periodo, per così dire, monumentalista di Brasilia o del Memorial de America Latina, a San Paolo, e sembrano rappresentare episodi che non alludono metaforicamente al naturale, semmai sembrano pensare direttamente l'architettura come geografia o geologia, con un gesto smisurato e con un onnipotente narcisismo di creazione della "Natura". Del primo periodo di Niemeyer, che coesiste con lavori di Burle-Marx, è anche l'opera del brasiliano Alfonso Reidy. In un Brasile già quasi contemporaneo, la rimodellazione di una vecchia area industriale a Pompeya, San Paolo, che la italobrasiliana Lina Bo Bardi inizia nel 1980, apre un'altra dimensione a una architettura sensibile al paesaggio, in questo caso il degradato paesaggio dei sobborghi industriali, quasi agli antipodi della natura vergine d'America. E il progetto della Bo Bardi ha la forza di sostenere che la qualità visiva e ambientale di un suburbio industriale può essere elemento sufficiente per una operazione di recupero che valorizzi la memoria del sito. Qualcosa di abbastanza comune in Europa, ma non tanto frequente in America, dove meritano di essere citati gli interventi di riuso di vecchi edifici industriali che l'argentina Martha Levisman inizierà (1989) per la Fondazione Antorchas, un importante ente culturale.

Juvenal Baracco, ingegnere-architetto peruviano sufficientemente compromesso con i discorsi moderni, risulta anch'egli di matrice regionalista se valutiamo la sua acuta percezione delle caratteristiche dei contesti naturali in cui lavora, sempre vicino a Lima. La Casa dell'artista Hastings (1975), su una scogliera di fronte al Pacifico, nella zona di Barranco nei pressi di Lima, o le varie opere sulla spiaggia La Barca, sempre vicine a Lima (1981-1985, in particolar modo la Casa Gezzi), presentano una ingegnosa tematizzazione dei dati ambientali, dalla possibilità di articolare uno schema diagonale, appoggiato alla scarpata, nella casa di Barranco, allo sviluppo di inedite tipologie articolate sul patio-soggiorno nelle case sulla spiaggia, dove nuovamente il progetto, come nell'esempio di Vivas, si conforma fortemente alle condizioni climatiche, in questo

10. Let us now move on from "landscape" to "Baroque", our next approach to the "regionality" of Latin American architecture. We have already seen how America assimilated European Baroque and Counter-Reformation tendencies in a rather unusual way by transforming them into an "official" poetics of colonisation. Certainly, the forms this produced were much more original than any in Europe at the time. Their hybrid ornamentation blended the various cultural influences that united in the architecture of the period (especially in religious buildings), producing "minor" art forms (soft-stone masonry and carving, stucco ornamentation, polychrome reliefs and panels) and a rather curious modus operandi *— a fusion, so to speak, of virtually medieval building procedures — that reflected collaboration between the various craft corporations of the day, and the limited effectiveness of projects that were rarely worked out in any detail before work actually started. So American Baroque had no "theory" behind it, in the sense that no detailed project was ever drawn up before work started. This produced an architecture we would now call vernacular or "colonial" because it derived from a shared European and American history and refelected the taste of Vice-Regal era. It also had links with America's "primitive" art, "low-grade" Baroque based on pragmatic craft production and the received or consumer-oriented forms of popular taste. Decorative* horror vacui, *simple technologies (brick, ceramics, local wood), redundant picturesque composition and the use of more or less popular stylistic elements are what distinguish this architecture and establish its kinship with other "peripheral" modern architecture (Fathy, Bawa, and Laurie Baker, the Englishman who lives in Kerala in South Bengal). In America we have, among others, José Zanine Caldas in Brazil, originally a carpenter who has built about a hundred houses around Rio inspired by the local* favelas *and using recycled materials. There is also Carlos Mijares, a Mexican with a religious training, who has built a series of chapels, schools and religious buildings in the Mexican interior based on obsessive repetitions of the stone-walled single units typical of the Arab cultures that Fathy's popular housing has exploited to such good effect. In Chile, Edward Rojas, who works on the island of Chiloe, has found new uses for the hard larch-wood tiles once used locally for wall and roof coverings on the island (the old craft techniques were virtually extinct before Rojas revived them). The Italo-Argentinian Gian Carlo Puppo has built many small houses that revive American Baroque craft techniques,*





Abraham Zabludovsky e Teodoro González de León, Museo di Arte contemporanea "Rufino Tamayo", Messico, 1980.
Juvenal Baracco, Casa Hastings, Barranco, Lima, Perù, 1975.

Abraham Zabludovsky and Teodoro González de León, "Rufino Tamayo" Museum of Contemporary Art, Mexico, 1980.
Juvenal Baracco, Hastings House, Barranco, Lima, Peru, 1975.



Clorindo Testa e SEPRA (Sanchez E., Peralta R., Agostini), Banco de Londres y America del Sur, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1960-66.

Clorindo Testa and SEPRA (Sanchez E., Peralta R., Agostini), Banco de Londres y América del Sur, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1960-66.

caso estremamente asciutte. Quando uno percorre il molto deteriorato centro storico di Lima, pieno di piccoli frazionamenti che alludono chiaramente allo sviluppo di una nuova geografia urbana dell'informalità, può intendere come da questo riferimento Baracco derivi la ricerca di una geometria di frammentazione delle vecchie costruzioni repubblicane, proponendo una interpretazione del suo nuovo paesaggio urbano, per esempio, nel progetto di Casa Apesteguia (1977), un insieme di piccoli appartamenti quasi scavati nella carcassa alla vecchia casa del 1904.

10. Un secondo importante campo di esperienze può raggrupparsi attorno alle "estetiche barocche", e costituisce un altro termine di discussione su una possibile "regionalità" americana. Si è già prima ricordata la peculiarità della ricezione americana delle tendenze controriformiste e barocche europee, assunte come poetiche "ufficiali" della colonizzazione che, senza dubbio, in America trovarono forme di espressione assai originali rispetto ai modelli europei. Alludo all'ibridismo dei motivi ornamentali — originato dai diversi elementi culturali che confluiscono nell'architettura, soprattutto negli edifici religiosi —, alla manifattura delle forme artistiche "minori" — per esempio, la lavorazione in pietre tenere, le opere ornamentali in stucco, i rilievi e le tavole policromate — e a un *modus operandi* abbastanza curioso, per così dire una fusione di strategie costruttive di natura quasi medievale, per gli apporti di diverse corporazioni artigianali e per lo scarso peso di progetti assai poco formalizzati.
Insomma, un barocco senza "teoria", vale a dire, senza progetto rigoroso e precedente al fatto edilizio.
Da ciò si costruisce, in America, una certa tradizione architettonica che oggi può essere chiamata vernacolare o "coloniale", perché esprime l'"origine" della storia euroamericana e il carattere estetico dominante nella fase del dominio vicereale. È una tradizione legata all'estetica primitiva dell'America, quel barocco "povero" contraddistinto da una produzione di carattere artigianale e pragmatica e da forme di consumo o di ricezione legate al gusto popolare.
Horror vacui decorativo, tecnologie semplici — mattone, ceramiche, legni locali —, composizione pittoresca e ridondante e ricorso a stilemi più o meno popolareschi sono i segni di questa produzione, paragonabile a quella di altre culture della periferia della modernità, come quelle rappresentate da Fathy, Bawa o Laurie Baker, l'inglese

including ornamentation, lively surface textures, and refuge-like spaces reminiscent of Wright, whose interest in pre-Columbian art and the Baroque-colonial synthesis is well known. Puppo also writes and travels, surveying the materials of popular American architectural culture as he goes.
The works of this small number of architects — more could certainly be cited since their chosen branch of architecture is "populist", and therefore fairly widespread, though "minor" — could easily be grouped with the "folk" architecture of other peripheral cultures (as we have seen), but to do so would risk failing to distinguish between popular series production and the "cultivated", one-off products which these works most assuredly are.
When allied to new uses of modern materials, these combinations of craft-Baroque and landscape recall other similar constructions in the United States: for example, Antoine Predock's desert constructions in stone, concrete and untreated brick, like the recent University of Arizona Fine Art Center in Tempe, or the Argentinian Emilio Ambasz's extensive work in Europe and the States (he has experimented widely with the assimilation of architecture into natural sites in his buildings for Californian wine-producers and his recent gardens in San Antonio, Texas; both projects are skilful combinations of environmental technology and landscape architecture). Although they are primarily landscape architects, Porto and Baracco, whom we looked at earlier, have also used Baroque elements in many projects designed to generate environmental and ecological (natural and urban) metaphors.
The same is also true of Niemeyer, whose desire to be a "form giver" — a central concept in Baroque art — has long been apparent, although he should perhaps not be grouped with the other "Baroque" architects because he had little interest in the mechanical application of themes, still less craft technology. He was more concerned with concepts, *the invention of forms to be realised physically at a later stage (which sometimes created enormous practical difficulties, as in his Latin American Memorial Library with its huge cross beam more than six metres high).*
The distinction in Niemeyer between art and profession, architectural project and craft manufacture, is also found in the Argentinian architect Clorindo Testa. Although born in Benevento in Italy, he is perhaps one of the American architects who comes closest to a concept of architecture as art, architecture as the invention of original forms. His success has certainly been remarkable, perhaps because (like

residente in Kerala, nel Bengala meridionale.
Nel panorama americano abbiamo, per esempio, José Zanine Caldas, un brasiliano originariamente carpentiere, che ha realizzato un centinaio di case nella zona di Rio, elaborando la tematica delle *favelas* e l'uso di materiali riciclati. Oppure Carlos Mijares, un messicano di formazione religiosa, che ha realizzato una serie di cappelle, scuole ed edifici religiosi all'interno del Messico, con l'ossessiva reiterazione di singoli corpi in muri di pietra, in un lavoro in cui risuonano modalità tipiche delle culture arabe, ben illustrate nelle costruzioni popolari di Fathy. Ed anche il cileno Edward Rojas, che lavora nell'isola di Chiloe, partendo da una rielaborazione della tecnologia delle tegole di larice, sottili lamine di un albero di legno duro con le quali si ricoprono pareti e coperture, secondo una vecchia tradizione artigianale e antropologica isolana, quasi in estinzione al momento dell'importante opera di recupero da parte di Rojas. Si potrebbero anche menzionare gli apporti dell'italoargentino Gian Carlo Puppo, che ha realizzato numerose piccole case legate alla rielaborazione di estetiche artigianali di chiara derivazione dal barocco americano, comprendendo, in questo caso, l'apparato ornamentale, l'esuberante *texture* delle superfici ed il recupero di spazi legati all'idea di rifugio, con riferimenti, inoltre, alla tradizione progettuale di Wright, il cui interesse per le estetiche precolombiane e i sincretismi barocco-coloniali è sufficientemente conosciuto. Puppo compie anche un lavoro di ricerca sui materiali dell'estetica popolare americana, attraverso vari viaggi e scritti.
Questo piccolo gruppo di esempi — sicuramente ampliabile, dato che appartiene a un segmento abbastanza "populista" del lavoro disciplinare e, pertanto, esteso e subalterno — è assai prossimo alle esperienze folcloristiche, per cui, da una parte, può essere assimilato alle architetture *folk* di altre culture periferiche (come si diceva prima), ma, d'altra parte, corre il rischio che in esso non si possa distinguere tra opera popolare e seriale ed esperimento "colto" e univoco, quale in effetti è.
Queste combinazioni di barocco-artigianale e paesaggismo, unitamente alla reinterpretazione di materiali moderni, si allargano ad espressioni che negli Stati Uniti possono essere riferite a matrici simili: penso, per esempio, a Antoine Predock (con le sue costruzioni desertiche di pietra, cemento e mattone crudo in Arizona, come il recente Fine Art Center dell'Università dell'Arizona a Tempe), o all'argentino Emilio Ambasz, con una estesa pratica professionale negli Stati Uniti ed in Europa (con i suoi numerosi esperimenti di assorbimento dell'architettura nel territorio, come le realizzazioni per i viticoltori californiani o il recente lavoro per i giardini di San Antonio, in Texas, una unione di tecnologia ambientalmente condizionata e impiego dell'architettura come materia creatrice di paesaggio).
Architetti già menzionati, come Porto o Baracco, non sono estranei a queste estetiche baroccheggianti, benché debbano essere soprattutto considerati in rapporto alla questione del paesaggio, in tante architetture prevalentemente interessate a metaforizzare il territorio, l'ambiente e l'ecologia, naturale o urbana.
Lo stesso può dirsi nel caso di Niemeyer, in cui la volontà di essere un "*form giver*" — elemento centrale della tradizione barocca — è evidente da tempo. Forse Niemeyer non è inquadrabile tra i "barocchi", in quanto la sua estetica non risulta dall'applicazione più o meno meccanicista di una idea costruttiva, né tanto meno da una tecnologia artigianale. Niemeyer si preoccupa maggiormente di concetti, di invenzioni formali, che successivamente troveranno una loro realizzazione, magari con grandi difficoltà pratiche come nel caso della Biblioteca del Memorial de America Latina con la sua esagerata trave trasversale di più di sei metri di altezza. C'è certo, in Niemeyer, una distinzione definita tra arte e professione, tra progetto architettonico e manufatto artigianale.
Questa differenza si trova anche nel caso dell'argentino Clorindo Testa, forse uno degli architetti americani — anche se nato a Benevento in Italia — più vicini a una concezione dell'architettura come arte, vale a dire come invenzione originale di forme. Capacità senza dubbio notevole, premesso che, come l'americano Gehry, egli è assai portato a interloquire con l'insieme degli stimoli di una città come Buenos Aires — per di più così astratta — per proporre un'idea di progetto in cui prevale una concezione plastica, di rotondità oggettuale, che è propria del gesto artistico, ma ottenendone poi anche —e questa è la sua abilità— una consistente vivibilità come oggetto architettonico. Testa, in ogni modo — da qui la sua inclusione in questo gruppo — considera fondamentale e dominante nella sua estetica la definizione formale dell'oggetto, il quale, d'altra parte, si colloca sintomaticamente nelle diverse correnti espressive dell'arte contemporanea: tachismo, *action painting*, *body art*, *land art*, arte povera, *bad art*, decostruzionismo, ecc. Questa artisticità, insomma, dipendente da un "gesto" direttamente o indirettamente manuale, si assimila alla

Gehry in America) his natural terrain has been a city as stimulating — and as abstract — as Buenos Aires where he has developed projects based on rounded, plastic, quintessentially artistic forms that also succeed — and therein lies his skill — in being eminently liveable as architecture. Liveableness apart, Testa regards the formal definition of objects as his fundamental priority (hence his inclusion in this group), and this allies him with a number of modern art movements: tachisme, action painting, body art, land art, minimal art, bad art, deconstructionism, etc. So this Baroque "artiness" of explicit or implicit manual "gesture" is another aspect of American "regionalism". In Testa's work, it can be seen in buildings like the Banco de Londres (1964) and the National Library (1962) that are important enough to have won him international recognition as a sixties "neo-brutalist" (see "Global Architecture"). However, none of this has impeded the development of markedly deconstructivist tendencies (rather similar to those of the SITE group) in his latest buildings for the Santa Rosa Civic Centre (1960-1990) and international competition projects like the one for the restructuring of the Acropolis site in Athens. The same may be said of his skilful explorations of hybrid folkloristic themes (rural-urban, simple-sophisticated), as in his Di Tella house (1968).
Lina Bo Bardi's irregular, almost manually-executed openings literally cut the concrete wall of her Pompeya sports complex, and her freely-executed linkage of complex's various buildings, reveal a similar liking for carefully considered "gesture" in which architecture becomes an art object seemingly dependent on manual skill for its execution.

11. A number of other interesting "regionalist" projects have explored the interface between what I have called "landscape" and "Baroque" architecture. They include the "Las Casas Blancas" movement in Argentina and the "Cooperativa Amereida" in Chile, whose attempts to establish a regional identity have not been entirely successful, although they are representative of certain theoretical and philosophical approaches to architecture in Latin America. "Las Casas Blancas" — described in no. 14 of the original series of Zodiac (April 1965) as an "anti-rationalist reaction" *— first came to prominence in the late fifties as a modern-romantic blend of arts and crafts, garden suburb architecture, organicism, empiricism, and other philosophies. Originally a genuine reaction against the rational-functionalist tenets of mainstream Modernism, the movement subsequently achieved greater intellectual respectability by embracing social and Christian philosophies ranging from Teilhard de Chardin to the Paleo-Christianity of the Arca community and, later, the French "personalism" of Perroux, Mounier,* Esprit *magazine, and so on. It also drew inspiration, justifiably enough, from the rather poor vernacular architecture of the small plateau villages in north-west Argentina where the earliest colonial settlements had been built on even earlier Inca settlements that had established themselves as the Empire extended south into areas now in modern Argentina. The outcome was series of suburban houses (including, among others, the Sixties Urtizberea, Ellis, Fernandez, Demaria and Moore houses), a church (the Church of Fatima in Martinez, north of Buenos Aires) and a variety of popular, even ordinary works. Next, the* Tierra *community was founded, a suburban settlement west of Buenos Aires emboding the seventies hippy philosophy of communal self-sufficiency, and then a whole district, Moreno, well rooted in its surrounding popular suburbs. This project, which included buildings produced using craft techniques (ferroconcrete with whitewashed walls, for example) was an attempt to create a contemplative communal environment clearly based on the architectural traditions of monastic life. In the meantime, Claudio Caveri, leader and architect of "Las Casas Blancas", was writing books arguing that the movement embodied a special form of Latin American "fantasy realism" (the kind found in García Marquez's novels) and so had a populist political legitimacy that placed its architectural and cultural philosophy within the mainstream of "correct" social thinking based on Peron's popular social nationalism.*
Chile is an unusual country. Its distinctive culture and geography — Pablo Neruda's "loca geografia", *or crazy geography — have produced leading cultural figures like Neruda himself, Vicente Huidobro, the great modern surrealist of* Altazor *fame, and Matta, the distinguished sculptor who proved so influential in Le Corbusier's "transrationalist" circle.*
Chilean architecture has a well-established theoretical tradition exemplified by the works of Juan Borchera and Isidro Suarez who since the sixties have devoted themselves exclusively to producing a modern philosophical and mathematical basis for Chilean architecture. In the same period, another movement, led by architect Alberto Cruz Covarrubias who worked briefly in the Le Corbusian mould, employed the principles of poetry in a thoroughgoing revision

tradizione del paradigma barocco che cerco di proporre come una delle ipotesi "regionaliste". Una gestualità che appare, in Testa, in edifici come il Banco de Londres (1964) o la Biblioteca Nazionale (1962), di importanza tale da collocarlo negli elenchi internazionali — vedi "Global Architecture" — tra i vari "neobrutalisti" degli anni Sessanta. Ciò che, tuttavia, non gli ha impedito un precoce gesto decostruttivista — quasi simile al gruppo SITE — nei suoi ultimi edifici per il Centro civico di Santa Rosa (1960-1990) o in varie partecipazioni a concorsi internazionali come la ristrutturazione dell'area dell'Acropoli di Atene. Analogamente si può dire alla sua capacità di esplorare una specie di ibrido folclore rurale-urbano, popolare-colto, come nella Casa Di Tella (1968).
Anche le aperture irregolari, quasi manuali, che Lina Bo Bardi taglia letteralmente nella parete di cemento del suo Complesso sportivo di Pompeya o le connessioni libere che attraversano i diversi edifici del complesso fanno parte di questa stessa vocazione di poderosa gestualità che considera il prodotto architettonico un oggetto artistico quasi dipendente dalla manualità della sua esecuzione.

11. Esattamente all'incrocio, per così dire, delle estetiche che si sono chiamate "paesaggistiche" e "barocche", con in più una riflessione sui dati territoriali e l'esercizio di alcune attitudini plastiche, artigianali, opera nel contesto americano una serie di esperienze con la connotazione di espressioni "regionaliste", per esempio il movimento argentino chiamato "Casas Blancas" e la "Cooperativa Amereida" in Cile. Espressioni paradigmatiche di alcune posizioni teoriche e filosofiche sulla questione architettonica, nel segno di una ricerca di identità regionale che non sempre ha raggiunto esiti di rilievo.
Il caso argentino — che fu presentato nel numero 14 della prima serie di "Zodiac" (aprile 1965), come una "*reazione antirazionalista*" — si manifesta negli ultimi anni Cinquanta, coniugando una serie di influenze moderno-romantiche come la tradizione *art & crafts*, il modello del sobborgo-giardino, proposte organiciste ed empiriste, ecc. Si tratta di una vera reazione alla modernità più canonica, di sembianza razional-funzionalista, che verrà nobilitata da una tensione filosofica socialcristiana — da Teilhard de Chardin fino al paleocristianesimo del tipo di quello delle comunità dell'Arca, ispirate da Lanza del Vasto — convergente, alla fine, verso le proposte del "personalismo" francese (Perroux, Mounier, la rivista "Esprit", ecc.). D'altro lato si cerca ispirazione negli scarsi antecedenti di vernacolarità più o meno legittima, rinvenibili nelle costruzioni dei piccoli villaggi dell'altopiano del nordovest argentino, laddove si stabilirono i primi insediamenti coloniali fondendosi con le preesistenze del vecchio impero incaico, che si estendeva, verso sud, fino a queste terre attualmente in territorio argentino. Il risultato sarà un insieme di abitazioni suburbane (le case Urtizberea, Ellis, Fernandez, Demaria, Moore, ecc., tutte degli anni Sessanta), un tempio — la Chiesa di Fatima, a Martinez, a nord di Buenos Aires — e numerose opere caratterizzate da una certa volgarizzazione — e banalizzazione — stilistica, fino a sfociare nell'organizzazione di una comunità, chiamata *Tierra*, uno stanziamento periferico a ovest di Buenos Aires, nel quale ha preso corpo una prima idea di comunità autosufficiente secondo le idee correnti del *hippysmo* agli anni Settanta, per arrivare al consolidamento di un quartiere, chiamato Moreno, più o meno radicato nei suburbi popolari dell'area, dove venne realizzata una serie di edifici eseguiti artigianalmente — per esempio, ferrocemento e muratura pitturati in calce bianca — alla ricerca di ambienti contemplativi e comunitari, certamente riconducibili alla tradizione dell'architettura monastica.
Parallelamente, il *leader* di questo movimento, Claudio Caveri, l'architetto ispiratore di "Las Casas Blancas", sviluppa un lavoro ideologico, con vari libri che tendono a presentare questo movimento come una forma peculiare del "realismo fantastico" latinoamericano — quello, per certo verso, esemplificabile con l'opera letteraria di García Marquez — e a proclamarne una legittimità politica che, basata su discorsi populisti, colloca questa proposta edilizia e culturale in una posizione "corretta" secondo una prospettiva di progressismo sociale coerente al progetto nazionalista-popolare incarnato dal peronismo.
Il Cile è un paese abbastanza peculiare in America, con una cultura e una geografia — la "*loca geografia*" di Neruda — sufficientemente caratterizzate per incoraggiare una intensa produzione poetica, magnificamente testimoniata nella opera del citato Pablo Neruda, di Vicente Huidobro — il grande moderno surrealista di *Altazor* — o del celebre artista plastico Matta, che ebbe così tanta influenza nel giro "transrazionalista" di Le Corbusier.
In questo contesto, vive una solida tradizione teorica nel campo del pensiero architettonico, per esempio nell'opera di Juan Borchers e Isidro Suarez, due architetti dediti, dagli

of architectural practice in Chile. Together with a group of sculptors and poets, including the Argentinian Enio and Godofredo Iommi brothers, he established a base at the Catholic University of Valparaíso and, in 1969, bought land on the Pacific coast where the "Cooperativa Amereida" (the name is an intentionally epic-sounding amalgamation of America and Aeneid*) was eventually founded with the aim of building an entire city, the* Ciudad Abierta de Ritoque, *based on "poetic planning principles". Various "poetic acts of founding" followed, including hospederias (houses for families and visiting guests), a number of communal buildings with music halls and meeting rooms, and a cemetery. Other buildings have slowly been added over the past twenty years, complex compositions build from with simple materials in accordance with the movement's poetic principles (which have recently acquired what can only be called a markedly deconstructivist slant).*
As projects, "Las Casas Blancas" and "Amereida" are intimately related to the complex cultural and ideological situations of their respective countries, so their architecture reflects the intellectual and environmental climates these situations have produced. They have every right to be regarded as "regional", in the sense that they are expressions of endogenous local conditions. But none of this has prevented them — and this is typically American — from being strongly influenced by thoroughly international figures like Teilhard de Chardin, Lanza del Vasto and Wright (in the case of "Las Casas Blancas"), or Rimbaud and Le Corbusier (in the case of th "Amereida"), which means that they have also succeeded in grafting exogenous elements onto their specific local situations.

12. It might well be observed here that the works we have looked at so far, including some I have classified as "Baroque" (since their inspiration was artistic and craft-based), embody many of the "central" features of modernism. For example, "Baroque" architecture contains something of the "Expressionism" that has attempted, outside mainstream rationalism in a vast assortment of projects ranging from Soviet Constructivism to Taut and Mendelsohn, to find workable symbols for urban, industrial, political and cultural modernism. This is equally true of the "Las Casas Blancas" and "Amereida" projects, which have assimilated elements of modernism like organicism and the garden suburb, and have made symbolic use of modern poetry. Perhaps the ways architects have chosen to come to terms, directly or indirectly, with the problems of urban and industrial modernism mark the true watershed in modern America architecture. In this sense, of the three types of architecture this essay is concerned with, "contextualised modernism" — the assimilation or adaptation of mainstream modernist elements to produce local variants specific to individual cities or cultures — is perhaps most closely identified with America's reworkings of the rationalist-functionalist modernism whose theories have fuelled the evolution of the modern industrial city.
The main problem has been, of course, America's lack of industrialisation, and its widely differing planning and architectural traditions. It is perhaps only natural, then, that one of the architects most closely involved in the assimilation of modernist rationalism and functionalism, the Argentinian Amancio Williams, who won the praise of important European figures like Le Corbusier and Max Bill (see no. 16, 1966, of the original series of Zodiac for a detailed survey of his work), began his professional career as a utopian. With projects like Houses in Spaces (1942), the Hanging Skyscraper (1946), the Concert Hall (1943), hospitals in the province of Corrientes (1948-53, possibly the first hospitals based on the new theories of indeterminate, flexible distribution), the City Humanity Needs *project (1974-83, a kind of* Obus Plan *with a high-sounding name) and his entirely concrete Iggam Factory (1962, an open though fully industrialised factory), Williams has embodied the almost "orthodox" (and, in technologically speaking, highly experimental) approaches of most American projects that have tried to come to terms with postwar modernism. With their notable intellectual rigour, his projects have been laboratories of Modernism in the truest sense.*
Although his work seems thoroughly cosmopolitan, it is also "regional" to the extent that it attempts to produce essential architecture (abstract, rational) that can act upon specific geographical locations and cultures (perhaps, in their turn, abstract and irrational). The practical results have sometimes been disappointing, but the projects have always been theoretically stimulating. With his ability to use modernism as a language rather than as a political or ethical programme, Williams is to Architecture (a non-autonomous discipline) what Borges is to Literature. The "regional" in Williams' work has been his downfall because his intellectual and planning rigour has prevented him from popularising the language of Modernism.
Other architects too have attempted to contextualise

anni Sessanta, unicamente alla costruzione di un pensiero filosofico e matematico come fondamento della pratica architettonica. Nello stesso periodo un movimento diretto dall'architetto Alberto Cruz Covarrubias, con una breve pratica di impronta corbusieriana, comincia una revisione dell'essenza dell'atto architettonico, sotto la prospettiva dell'attività poetica. Assieme ad artisti plastici e poeti — come i fratelli argentini Enio e Godofredo Iommi — si connettono all'Università Cattolica di Valparaíso e, nel 1969, comprano dei terreni davanti all'Oceano Pacifico e fondano la "Cooperativa Amereida" — fusione di *America* e *Eneide*, cosa che rivela la volontà epica dell'iniziativa — per costruire una città, la *Ciudad Abierta* di Ritoque, secondo i principi del "progettare poetico". Da questa impostazione presero avvio diversi "atti poetici di fondazione", secondo i quali si progettarono e costruirono alloggi — chiamati *hospederias* — destinati alle famiglie e agli ospiti in visita, alcuni edifici comunitari con sale di musica e riunioni, e un cimitero. Per più di venti anni si sono andati, lentamente, aggregando altri edifici, tutti di composizione complessa, con materiali poveri e legati alla riflessione poetica di cui si è parlato, compresi i più recenti che riflettono con marcata evidenza quella che si potrebbe chiamare una estetica decostruttivista.

Gli episodi di "Las Casas Blancas" e "Amereida" sono inscindibili dalle complesse situazioni culturali ed ideologiche dei rispettivi paesi, le loro architetture nascono da queste caratteristiche intellettuali ed ambientali, e per tutto questo hanno la piena connotazione di espressioni "regionali", vale a dire, sorte da condizioni endogene e specifiche. Il che non impedisce — e questa è una caratteristica americana — che tali movimenti appaiano tanto nitidamente influenzati, per esempio, da figure internazionali come Teilhard de Chardin o Lanza del Vasto o Wright, nel caso di "Las Casas Blancas", o Rimbaud e Le Corbusier, nel caso di "Amereida", secondo una esemplare appropriazione di elementi esogeni per la costruzione di determinati discorsi fortemente radicati in luoghi specifici.

12. Si potrebbe ben dire che le esperienze sopra segnalate, comprese alcune di quelle che si sono classificate come "barocche" (in quanto artistico-artigianali), contengono alcuni elementi "centrali" della modernità. Per esempio, nel caso del "barocco", ritroviamo molte delle concezioni generatesi intorno al pensiero "espressionista", il quale pure ha tentato, fuori dai canoni razionalisti, di tematizzare simbolicamente la modernità urbana e industriale e politicoculturale, nel vasto arco che va dal Costruttivismo sovietico a Taut e Mendelsohn. E ciò vale, d'altra parte, per le ricordate esperienze di "Las Casas Blancas" e "Amereida", che hanno assimilato diversi elementi della complessa modernità culturale, quali la tematica organicista, quella del sobborgo-giardino, o l'uso del simbolismo dei poeti moderni.

Ciò che in qualche modo crea uno spartiacque è la selezione dei riferimenti — legati o non legati — ai problemi della modernità urbano-industriale. Per questo, il nostro terzo gruppo di tendenze estetiche, che chiamo "modernità contestualizzata" — assimilazione e adattamento di elementi della modernità centrale per proporne varianti regionali specifiche per ogni città o cultura —, si dovrebbe riferire, con maggiore enfasi, al modo di recepire da parte americana le componenti razionaliste e funzionaliste della modernità, vale a dire quelle legate, nella proposta teorica, allo sviluppo della città industriale.

Il primo problema sarà, da subito, quello della insufficiente industrializzazione americana e, conseguentemente, delle differenti forme di urbanizzazione e costruzione metropolitana.

Forse in questo senso sembra naturale che uno degli architetti più rappresentativi di questo accoglimento del razionalismo funzionalista, l'argentino Amancio Williams, tanto celebrato da europei importanti come Le Corbusier o Max Bill — e ampiamente pubblicato sul numero 16 della prima serie di "Zodiac" (1966) — sia stato inizialmente un utopista.

Con i progetti Case nello spazio (1942), Grattacielo sospeso (1946), Sala per concerti (1943), Ospedali per la provincia di Corrientes (1948-53, forse i primi edifici sanitari concepiti secondo le nuove teorie della indeterminazione e flessibilità distributive), la *Città di cui ha bisogno l'Umanità* (1974-83, nome altisonante per una specie di grande *Plan Obus* locale) o la Fabbrica di cemento Iggam (1962, una fabbrica aperta, puro contenitore dei processi industriali), egli ben testimonia lo sviluppo progettuale quasi canonico — e altamente sperimentale, soprattutto nell'aspetto tecnologico — della maggioranza dei programmi che si trovava ad affrontare la modernità nel dopoguerra, con un rigore progettuale che fa del suo lavoro una autentica pratica di laboratorio.

Sebbene il suo programma sembri essere di assoluto cosmopolitismo, è distinguibile una dimensione di

modernist rationalism — Carlos Raul Villanueva in Venezuela ("Gran Colombia" School, 1939; Venezuela Central University, Caracas, 1952; University Hospital of Caracas, 1944); Lucio Costa in Brazil (Park Hotel, Nova Friburgo, 1944; Parque Guinle Building, Rio de Janeiro, 1953); Juan Martinez (Law School, Santiago, 1938), Sergio Larrain (Oberpauer Building, Santiago, 1930) and Enrique Gehbard (House in Calle Sucre, Santiago, 1940) in Chile; Julio Vilamajo (Vilamajo House, Montevideo, 1930; Engineering Faculty, Montevideo, 1938) and Carlos Surraco (Institute of Hygiene and Traumatology, Montevideo, 1936) in Uruguay; José Villagran Barcia (Huipulco Sanatorium, Mexico, 1929) and Enrico del Moral (Piazza Ocampo complex, Mexico City, 1940; House in Tacubaya, 1947) in Mexico; Wladimiro Acosta (a Russian emigre who studied, among others, with Piacentini: Avenida Figueroa Alcorta Building, Buenos Aires, 1945; House in Calle Pampa, Buenos Aires, 1953) and Eduardo Sacriste (House in Calle Arribeños, Buenos Aires, 1935; School at Suipacha, Buenos Aires, 1956) in Argentina.

In all their work — as well as in Grigori Warchavchik's work in Sao Paolo, Juan O'Gorman's early work (his splendid studio for artist Diego Rivera, for example) and in projects by Antonio Vilar, Alberto Prebisch and Jorge Kalnay — Modernism has been confidently adapted to local planning requirements. This has created an impression of universal progress that transcends local specification or restriction, a kind of "Esperanto", a universal idiom or symbolic system conveying the realities of modernisation and change. The language of modernism has always had to be manipulated — professionally disinfected, cleansed of its inherent ideological and aesthetic implications. So it was when American modernism became (presumably) more closely involved with local cultures and situations that the attractiveness of a "regional" modernism, able to distance itself from mainstream modernism, first became apparent. This can be seen in the works of Costa, Martinez, Larrain, Vilamajo, O'Gorman and Sacriste we have already looked at, or the work of other well known "transgressors" like the Buenos Aires Sanchez-Lagos-De la Torre group which has deployed a stylistic palette ranging from neo-Tudor to the modern (a common enough occurrence in Latin America given its non-ideological enthusiasm for imported architectural languages). This detachment, allied with the professionalism of full academic training, has produced convincing modern architecture of good international standard like the above-mentioned group's Kavanagh Building in Buenos Aires (1938), which was not only an intelligent adaptation of the North American skyscraper to a specific urban site, but was also, in its time, the tallest reinforced concrete building in the world.

13. This interestingly pragmatic modernism has to an extent given "peripheral" American modernism an ideological identity comparable with that of "central" European modernism. This is evident in the links between the work of Costa, Reidy and Niemeyer in Rio de Janeiro and Le Corbusier, between the work of the Davila Carson brothers in Chile and, again, Le Corbusier, or between the Buenos Aires "Austral" group in Buenos Aires and the Catalan Antoni Bonet. The result has been, paradoxically, a "regionality" that is orthodox as modernism, at least in stylistic terms. Montevideo's landscape of thirties public buildings, or Buenos Aires' proliferation of rationalist communal dwellings (two engineers, Antonio Vilar and Walter Moll built more than 2000 of them), were, at the time, fully representative of America's as it were "provincial" modernism.

From these practical beginnings — as well as from important theoretical formulations like Mexican "pauperism", the rationalist popular housing and public services architecture linked to Lazaro Cardenas' nationalist populism of Lazaro Cardenas, represented in many works by Legorreta, Mendiola and O'Gorman himself — I think American architecture has developed in two main directions. On the one hand, there have been attempts to establish an internationalism that can counteract provincial or regionalist tendencies (although these have survived anyway thanks to America's technology gap). On the other, there have been attempts, as we have seen, to create first-class architecture that identifies with "provincial" situations. Important examples of the former trend are found in countries that are either very "European" (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay) or "new" so far as their urban development is concerned (Venezuela).

However, it is "regionalism" that interests me most, and to avoid an impossibly long (and speciously "definitive") list of examples, I would like to end this essay by commenting briefly on the work of a small number of "contextualised modernists" — Salmona, de Groote, Legorreta, Solsona, Roca and, especially, Barragán.

It is important to note, however, that some of the architects we have already looked at — Baracco, Vivas and Testa — have themselves made some use of "contextualised

Clorindo Testa e Francisco Rossi, Centro civico di Santa Rosa, La Pampa, Argentina, 1980.
Clorindo Testa, Palestra tra le arcate di un viadotto ferroviario, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1991.
Carlos Mijares, Centro parrocchiale San José, Jungapeo, Messico, 1982.

Severiano Mário Porto, Centro di Protezione Ambientale, Manaus, Brasile, 1983-88.

"regionalità", in quanto egli si propose lo sviluppo complesso di una architettura essenziale — astratta e razionale — come maniera di intervenire in un territorio e in una cultura specifici, forse, rispettivamente, astratto e irrazionale. La conseguenza è un certo insuccesso realizzativo, ma una elevata fecondità teorica. Capace di manipolare il moderno come linguaggio — non come programma etico-politico — Williams, in un'arte non autonoma come l'Architettura, sarà l'equivalente di Borges in Letteratura. Il "regionale" in Williams è il suo insuccesso, nella certezza di un rigore progettuale che gli ha impedito di banalizzare il linguaggio della modernità.
Altre esperienze sono ascrivibili a questa assimilazione contestualizzata del razionalismo centrale, come i casi del venezuelano Carlos Raúl Villanueva (Scuola Gran Colombia, 1939, Università Centrale del Venezuela, Caracas, 1952, Ospedale Universitario di Caracas, 1944); del brasiliano Lucio Costa (Park Hotel di Nova Friburgo, 1944, Edificio Parque Guinle, Rio de Janeiro, 1953); dei cileni Juan Martinez (Scuola di Diritto, Santiago, 1938), Sergio Larrain (Edificio Oberpauer, Santiago, 1930) e Enrique Gehbard (Casa in Calle Sucre, Santiago, 1940); degli uruguaiani Julio Vilamajo (Casa Vilamajo, Montevideo, 1930, Facoltà di ingegneria, Montevideo, 1938) e Carlos Surraco (Istituti di Igiene e di Traumatologia, Montevideo, 1936); dei messicani José Villagran Garcia (Sanatorio di Huipulco, Messico, 1929) e Enrico del Moral (Complesso nella piazza Ocampo, Città del Messico, 1940, Casa a Tacubaya, 1947); degli argentini Wladimiro Acosta (emigrato russo, che aveva studiato tra l'altro con Piacentini, Edificio dell'Avenida Figueroa Alcorta, Buenos Aires, 1945, Casa in Calle Pampa, Buenos Aires, 1953) e Eduardo Sacriste (Casa di Calle Arribeños, Buenos Aires, 1935, Scuola a Suipacha, Buenos Aires, 1956).
In tutti questi casi, come nell'opera a San Paolo di Grigori Warchavchik, i primi lavori di Juan O'Gorman (come lo splendido Atelier dell'artista Diego Rivera) o i progetti di Antonio Vilar, Alberto Prebisch e Jorge Kalnay, il moderno si dispiega con sicurezza e capacità di adattamento a programmi e requisiti locali. Si direbbe che emerge una idea di modernità intimamente atta all'illusione di un progresso indefinito ed ecumenico. Il moderno, così, come un "esperanto", un idioma universale, un sistema simbolico che sembra alludere al mutamento e alla modernizzazione.
In America, il linguaggio moderno ha dovuto sempre essere manipolato, con giusta asepsi professionale, con giusta

modernity": to deny this would be make their complex, interesting works seem overly vernacular of "folkloristic".
The Colombian Rogelio Salmona, returning to his native city of Bogotá after training for nine years with Le Corbusier in Paris, has produced important, mainly residential work that makes widespread, and often highly original use of brick.
It includes the El Parque complex (1970) and the Santa Barbára complex (1990), carefully inserted into distinctive urban contexts like the city's ancient historical centre; the House of the Illustrious Guests in Cartagena (1981), a large official residence built in local yellow stone that blends beautifully with former colony's old fortified port; and the recent National Archive building (1992), a serenely self-confident arrangement of volumes around three internal patios (reminiscent of Kahn's work in Dacca or the Exeter Library) offering a skilful blend of tradition, modernity and classical inspiration (including cornices and mouldings designed around specially produced ceramic elements). Other Bogotá architects have built on Salmona's modern architecture (suitably adapted to site and technology, in this case brick) which, when systematically repeated, can generate a whole site, landscape or district (as Carlos Morales and Jorge Rueda have done). One important pioneer in the aesthetic and structural uses of brick has been the Uruguayan engineer Eladio Dieste, whose various religious buildings (the churches in Atlantida and Durazno, 1958 and 1968 respectively) and industrial buildings (the Massaro Factory, and the Herrera and Obes maritime warehouse, both in Montevideo, 1968 and 1980 respectively) are the result of interesting experiments with forms, fabrics and spaces.
Christian de Groote, the Chilean architect, has made especially elegant use of modern idioms in the "crazy geography" of his native country — the Hotel Ralun (1978) in the southern city of Puerto Montt; the Fuenzalida House (1983) near Santiago, an extensive, almost classically conceived brick composition; the Vergara House (1982), clean-cut stone volumes above the beach at Algarrobo; and the restructuring of the "El Mercurio" newspaper building in Valparaíso (1979), a sensitive adaptation of the old building dating from the period of English rule. De Groote has carefully blended skilful manipulation of modernist idioms with unusual sensitivity to landscape. Much the same could be said of other Chilean architects like Pedro Murtinho, Cristian Fernandez Cox, Enrique Browne, Eduardo San Martin, Cristian Boza, Cristian Undurraga and others.
The Mexican architect Ricardo Legorreta has in some ways

Clorindo Testa and Francisco Rossi, Santa Rosa Civic Centre, La Pampa, Argentina, 1980.
Clorindo Testa, Gymnasium between the arches of a railway viaduct, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1991.
Carlos Mijares, San José Parochial Centre, Jungapeo, Mexico, 1982.

Severiano Mário Porto, Environment protection centre, Manaus, Brazil, 1983-88.









Cooperativa Amereida, Cimitero della Città Aperta, Ritoque, Valparaíso, Cile, 1978.
Enrique Browne, Progetto di casa, seconda versione, La Dehesa, Santiago, Cile, 1989.
Rogelio Salmona, Casa nella savana di Bogotà, Colombia, 1991.

Amereida Cooperative, Cemetery of the Open City, Ritoque, Valparaíso, Chile, 1978.
Enrique Browne, Project for a house (second version), La Dehesa, Santiago, Chile, 1989.
Rogelio Salmona, House in the Bogota savannah, Colombia, 1991.







neutralizzazione delle componenti ideologiche dell'estetica. Perciò, quando lo si adottò ad un livello di maggior, presunto, coinvolgimento con la cultura ed il territorio, vi emerge la seduzione "regionalista" della presa di distanza dai canoni, come nel caso di Costa, Martinez, Larrain, Vilamajo, O' Gorman o Sacriste, tra gli autori prima citati, e come è il caso di altri "trasgressori" noti quali, per esempio, il gruppo di Buenos Aires Sanchez-Lagos-De la Torre, capace di offrire un arco di possibilità stilistiche che andava dal *neotudor* al moderno, caso frequente in America Latina e significativo dell'agnosticismo ideologico con cui si rielaboravano i linguaggi. Distacco che, unito ad una professionalità certamente ottenuta nella formazione accademica, ha finito col produrre opere significative di sicura modernità, di livello internazionale, come l'edificio Kavanagh, a Buenos Aires, firmato nel 1938 dal suddetto gruppo, che non solo esprime concretamente un intelligente adattamento al sito urbano del modello dello *skyscraper* nordamericano, ma che può vantarsi di essere stato, allora, la costruzione in cemento armato più grande del mondo.

13. Sulla base di questa importante esperienza di modernità pragmatica — non priva di risultati significativi nella ricerca di una identità ideologica confrontabile con gli obbiettivi della modernità centrale, come nel caso del gruppo carioca di Costa, Reidy e Niemeyer, in rapporti con Le Corbusier, o dei fratelli Davila Carson in Cile, anch'essi rivolti al repertorio corbusieriano, o del gruppo "Austral" di Buenos Aires, guidato dal catalano Antoni Bonet — si andò costruendo una "regionalità" paradossalmente molto legata alle ortodossie moderniste, almeno sul piano del linguaggio. Il paesaggio degli edifici pubblici di Montevideo, costruiti nella decade degli anni Trenta, o la proliferazione di edifici razionalisti per residenza collettiva in altezza che popolano Buenos Aires (due ingegneri, Antonio Vilar e Walter Moll, costruirono più di 2000 edifici di questo genere), costituiscono, almeno per questo periodo, una delle situazioni di maggiore realizzazione della modernità, per così dire, "provinciale".
A partire da questa base — e da episodi di grande interesse teorico, come il "pauperismo" messicano, una architettura razionalista per l'abitazione popolare e i servizi pubblici legata al populismo nazionalista del regime di Lazaro Cardenas, espressa nell'opera molteplice di architetti come Legorreta, Mendiola e lo stesso O'Gorman — l'esperienza americana più recente si delimita, a mio giudizio, da una

inherited the mantle (and subsequently become the populariser) of Barragán, especially in his use of patio formations and large coloured planes — the chain of Camino Real hotels (Mexico City, 1968; Cancun, 1975; Ixtapa, 1981); the Huatulco Club Mediterranée (1987); the Banamex (1981) and IBM (1977) Buildings; the Banco de Monterre (1984); and the Solana Marriot Hotel (Solana, Houston, 1991). In all these works, Legorreta has used Barragán's understated minimalist idiom, huge wall surfaces and square openings in an architectural dialectic that provides abstract-desert-like settings for rare glimpses of plants and water courses. One of Legorreta's special achievement has been his introduction of this type of architecture to the USA in important works like the Southlake-Westlake complex, two office and residential nuclei, split by a typical desert highway in Texas, that terminate in the Solana Marriot Hotel. Other South American architects who have made a name for themselves in the USA have successfully exported this blend of modernist "de Stijl" *minimalism and popular Mexican native and colonial elements — Ambasz in Argentina, for example, and, in Costa Rica, Carlos Jimenez (his studio-home in Houston, 1984; the small Houston Fine Art Press building, 1986, again in Houston: refined understated buildings evoking the simple vernacular of Costa Rican churches).*
For thirty years Justo Solsona has headed one of his country's most brilliant and sought-after architectural practices, often working internationally in countries like Italy, Spain and Holland. Generally speaking, his work is cosmopolitan enough to be regarded as mainstream modern architecture, although he has produced three groups of projects that also seem distinctly "regionalist". First, there are skilful renovations old buildings that establish new relationships with their urban context while retaining the original features of the buildings themselves (FATE Building, 1966; Banco de la Cuidad headquarters and various branch offices, 196975, all in Buenos Aires; etc.). Second, there are his critical though highly constructive contextualised interventions that have considerably enhanced the homogeneous urban fabric of Buenos Aires (CASFPI Building, 1979, an intelligent adaptation of a conventional city-centre prism construction that has been given it a new layout to meet new needs; the Rioja residential complex, 1972, similar to the large constructivist blocks of Charkov's Ministry of Industry but also interesting for its revitalisation of traditional residential typologies). Finally, there is his series of landscape-buildings with underground structures which, as in some works by the

parte nella pratica di un'internazionalità che cerca di eliminare le sue componenti regionali o provinciali — che in ogni modo sopravvivono, nelle brecce tecnologiche —; e, dall'altra parte, in lavori che, ispirati ai precursori che si sono citati, ricercano una architettura di qualità attraverso la sua massima identità con le condizioni di "provincialità".
Per esempio, uno sviluppo importante della prima tendenza è riscontrabile in paesi o molto "europei" come l'Argentina, il Cile e l'Uruguay, o molto nuovi nella loro formazione urbana, come il Venezuela.
Il punto di vista di questo saggio privilegia la seconda tra le posizioni prima richiamate; e per non eccedere in una enumerazione impossibile e categorica, posso chiudere queste note commentando brevemente il lavoro di alcuni architetti da ritenere significativi rispetto a quella tendenza che abbiamo chiamato "modernità contestualizzata". Sono i casi di Salmona, de Groote, Legorreta, Solsona, Roca e, specialmente, Barragán.
In primo luogo, vale la pena di segnalare che alcuni degli architetti di cui si è già parlato, come Baracco, Vivas o lo stesso Testa, non sono interamente estranei a questa modernità contestualizzata. Non capirlo significherebbe ridurre le loro proposte, di grande complessità ed interesse, a termini forse eccessivamente vernacolari o *folk*.
Il colombiano Rogelio Salmona, la cui scuola è stata il lavoro per nove anni nello studio parigino di Le Corbusier, ha sviluppato, tornando nella sua città di origine Bogotà, una importante opera segnata da un intenso e sperimentale impiego del mattone, fondamentalmente in lavori residenziali: il Complesso El Parque (1970) e il Complesso Santa Barbara (1990), proposte di meditata inserzione in contesti urbani caratteristici, come l'antico centro della città; la Casa de Huespedes Ilustres di Cartagena (1981), una grande residenza ufficiale costruita con una pietra gialla locale, che si inserisce mirabilmente nel contesto di questo vecchio porto fortificato della Colonia; o il suo recente edificio per l'Archivio Nazionale (1992), una serena organizzazione di volumi intorno ad alcuni patii interni che ricorda i lavori di Kahn per Dacca o per la Biblioteca Exeter, con una proposta che interseca sagacemente tradizione, modernità e composizione di sapore classico, compreso l'impiego di cornici e modanature risolte con pezzi speciali in ceramica. Altri architetti di Bogotà hanno consolidato questa volontà di affermazione di una architettura moderna —adattata a un luogo e a una tecnologia: il mattone—, capace, a sua volta, nella

Piedmontese Gabetti-Isola group, become roof plazas (ATC Television Building, 1978; Oks House, 1974; FATE Offices, 1989; etc.).
Miguel Angel Roca, an Argentinian who now lives in Cordoba, the country's second most important city, has worked extensively overseas, including in Hong kong and South Africa where he has had to design and plan in explicitly "cosmopolitan" ways. However, in another important series of urban projects in Cordoba (where he has twice been appointed Municipal Architect) for communal facilities, architectural restoration, streets and squares, he has developed a sort of local identity reminiscent of Heidegger, Norberg-Schultz, and Kahn (with whom he studied and worked in Philadelphia). In Casablanca, Morocco, he is at present building an important urban residential complex reminiscent of the "African" modernism of the ATBAT group, and has completed, in La Paz, Bolivia, a large public administration complex (civic and hospital centre, public parks) commissioned by the local authorities in which he has incorporated a number of existing local elements such as Inca walls coloured like aguayos, *the fabric shoulder packs mothers carry their children around in. an In a recent anthology of his work in a survey that has also included Fathy, Correa, Seldam, Bawa, El Wakil and a few others, the British magazine* Mimar *has recently described him as a "regionalist".*
The work of the Mexican architect Luis Barragán provides a fitting conclusion to this essay. His work is wide-ranging and various, starting with provincial experiments in his native Guadalajara and then neo-Hispanic classical and historicist works, some of which betray an Arab influence (the Gonzalez and Cristo Houses, Guadalajara, 1928 and 1929 respectively). He later developed a more composite style that blended the almost neo-plastic Mexican minimalism of the colonial tradition, with its references to monastic buildings, and reworkings of pre-Columbian or popular volumes and colours (for example, the vegetal colours that have been extracted from desert plants since time immemorial to paint rough walls). This has culminated in the Las Arboledas (1958) and Los Clubes (1963) districts (the latter includes the San Cristobal Riding Stables and Egerstrom House of 1967); the House in San Angel (1947); the Capuchin Convent at Tlalpan (1952-55); the Galvez House in San Angel (1955); the Pedregal park in San Angel (1945, where the Prieto Lopez House is also sited); and most important of all, his last major work, the Gilardi House (1976), in which he carries the

Justo Solsona e Ass., Ristrutturazione dell'edificio FATE, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1972.
Justo Solsona e Ass., Complesso residenziale Rioja, Buenos Aires, 1974.
Luis Barragán, Casa Gilardi, San Angel, Messico, 1976.
Eolo Maia e Ass., Case economiche a Belo Horizonte, Brasile, 1976.

Justo Solsona and Associates, Restructuring of the FATE building, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1972.
Justo Solsona and Associates, Rioja residential complex, Buenos Aires, 1974.
Luis Barragán, Gilardi House, San Angel, Mexico, 1976.
Eolo Maia and Associates, Low-cost housing in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, 1976.









reiterazione sistematica, di costruire luogo, paesaggio o territorio, come il caso di Carlos Morales e Jorge Rueda.
Un pioniere nella interpretazione estetica e strutturale del mattone è, in America, l'ingegnere uruguaiano Eladio Dieste, che in diverse opere religiose (le chiese di Atlantida e di Durazno, rispettivamente del 1958 e 1968) e industriali (la Fabbrica Massaro o il Magazzino portuale di Herrera e Obes, entrambi a Montevideo, rispettivamente del 1968 e 1980) ha prodotto un'importante ricerca su forme, tessiture e spazi.
Christian de Groote è un architetto cileno che applica con singolare eleganza linguaggi moderni a situazioni particolari della sua "pazza geografia", come l'Hotel Ralun (1978), nella meridionale Puerto Montt, la Casa Fuenzalida (1983), vicino a Santiago, una estesa massa di mattoni, quasi di composizione classica, la Casa Vergara (1982), nitidi volumi di pietra sopra la spiaggia di Algarrobo, e la rimodellazione dell'edificio del quotidiano "El Mercurio" a Valparaiso (1979), un delicato intervento sul vecchio edificio dell'epoca della dominazione inglese. De Groote condensa con prudenza una raffinata manipolazione di termini contemporanei con una particolare sensibilità nei confronti del paesaggio, attitudine che, in qualche misura, si può estendere anche ad altri architetti cileni come il gruppo di Pedro Murtinho, Cristian Fernandez Cox, Enrique Browne, Eduardo San Martin, Cristian Boza, Cristian Undurraga, ecc.
Ricardo Legorreta è l'architetto messicano che, in qualche modo, eredita e diffonde il lascito di Barragán, e soprattutto la sua estetica di costruzioni a patio e con grandi piani di colore, come è visibile nella serie di hotel Camino Real (Città del Messico, 1968, Cancun, 1975, Ixtapa, 1981), nel Club Mediterranée Huatulco (1987), nelle sedi per le imprese Banamex (1981) e Ibm (1977), nel Banco de Monterrey (1984) e nell'Hotel Solana Marriot (Solana, Houston, 1991). In tutti questi lavori Legorreta elabora l'estetica minimalista e silenziosa del maestro Barragán, i suoi enormi piani murari, le aperture quadrate e la dialettica di una architettura che è come un fondale desertico e astratto per la fugace apparizione di alcune piante e fili d'acqua. Significativo in Legorreta è la riuscita introduzione di queste poetiche all'interno degli Stati Uniti in opere di una certa importanza, come il Complesso Southlake-Westlake, due nuclei di uffici e abitazioni tagliati da una tipica autostrada del deserto in Texas, complesso che termina con l'Hotel Solana Marriot citato prima. Questo

silent asceticism of desert solitude to its ultimate conclusion. "America," *says Baudrillard,* "always gives me an impression of genuine asceticism. Its culture, politics and even sensuality are superimposed on a primal scene of total desert". *Barragán has distilled this feeling in a blend of the elements that permeate the complexity of America's alienated "marginal" modernism.*
Ezequiel Martinez Estrada, an Argentinian essayist, also describes the solitude of America, in this case the solitude of the pampas: "The traveller never looks up, except out of fear. What attracts his eyes is something more distant than the horizon, the point of arrival. He remembers when he started his journey. Everyone on the plain comes from somewhere else. Not even the tree you find on the plain — the ombu — actually comes from there. It provides no wood, and Virgil would not have sung of it in his Georgics" *(*Radiografia de Las pampas, *Editorial Hyspamérica, Buenos Aires, 1981).*
America is a mystery, a dense tangle of founding myths and utopian longings, desert and forest. I end with these lines from Poem LX of Trilce by Cesar Vallejo, the visionary poet who performs the ancient role of dichter with telling insight: "You depart under your great plumage of eternally unknown Americas / leaving me bereft of your ambiguous emotion / your knot of dreams".





Pedro Murtinho e Ass., Ampliamento del Collegio Murialdo, Santiago, Cile, 1980.
Jorge Rueda, Carlos Morales, Casa Rueda, Bogotà, Colombia, 1981.

Pedro Murtinho and Associates, Extension to Collegio Murialdo, Santiago, Chile, 1980.
Jorge Rueda, Carlos Morales, Rueda House, Bogota, Colombia, 1981

Raul Lier, Alberto Tonconogy, Centro commerciale "Paseo Alcorta", Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1990-92.
Miguel Angel Roca, Parco La Florida, La Paz, Bolivia, 1990.

Raul Lier, Alberto Tonconogy, Shopping center "Paseo Alcorta", Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1990-92.
Miguel Angel Roca, La Florida Park, La Paz, Bolivia, 1990.





risultato, nell'esportazione di estetiche derivate dalla fusione tra minimalismo moderno "*de stijl*" ed elementi delle culture indigene e coloniali popolari messicane, si estende anche ad altri sudamericani affermati negli Stati Uniti, come il già citato Ambasz o come il costaricano Carlos Jimenez, con la sua Casa-studio costruita a Houston (1984) o la piccola Casa editrice Houston Fine Art Press, nella stessa città (1986), opere discrete e raffinate che evocano le semplici chiese vernacolari del suo paese d'origine.
L'argentino Justo Solsona conduce da trent'anni uno degli studi professionali più prolifici e brillanti del suo paese, spesso impegnato anche in lavori internazionali in Italia, Spagna o Olanda. Il suo lavoro, visto nell'insieme, è sufficientemente cosmopolita da rappresentare senz'altro un esempio di qualità nella produzione attuale sperimentale dell'architettura contemporanea. Ma ci sono tre gruppi di progetti in cui si rivelano, per così dire, interessi "regionalisti". Da una parte, alcuni recuperi di vecchi edifici, ridisegnati con rispetto per l'organismo esistente, ma anche con la volontà di stabilire un nuovo dialogo con il contesto urbano (Edificio FATE, 1966, Sede centrale e diverse succursali del Banco de la Ciudad, 1969-75, tutti a Buenos Aires, ecc.). In secondo luogo, interventi urbani di un contestualismo critico ma fecondo nel proporre un arricchimento dell'omogeneo tessuto urbano di Buenos Aires (Edificio CASFPI, 1979, un intelligente esercizio di smontaggio di un prisma tipologico convenzionale nel centro della città, per adattarlo ad un impianto e a un programma specifici; Complesso abitativo Rioja, 1972, un lavoro evocativo dei grandi blocchi costruttivisti tipo Ministero dell'Industria di Charkov, interessante anche per la riattivazione del tessuto residenziale tradizionale). Infine una serie di edifici-paesaggio, con architetture ipogee dove diventano dominanti le coperture-piazza, confrontabili con certi lavori del gruppo piemontese Gabetti-Isola (Edificio per la televisione ATC, 1978, Casa Oks, 1974, Uffici dell'impresa FATE, 1989, ecc.).
Miguel Angel Roca, argentino residente a Cordoba, la seconda città del paese, ha svolto un'intensa attività internazionale, per esempio a Hong Kong o in Sudafrica, dove si è trovato nella condizione di progettare in "chiave" cosmopolita. Ma in un'altra serie di importanti interventi urbani a Cordoba, dove ha occupato per due volte il posto di architetto municipale — servizi collettivi e restauri della stessa architettura della città, strade, piazze — ha sviluppato una sorta di identità con il *locus*, in una ricerca progettuale non distante dalle idee di Heidegger o Norberg-Schultz, e dalle proposte di Kahn, con cui Roca ha studiato e lavorato a Filadelfia. A Casablanca, Marocco, in questo periodo egli sta costruendo un importante complesso urbano-residenziale che evoca la modernità "africana" del gruppo ATBAT, e ha concluso a La Paz, Bolivia, un grande complesso di edifici pubblici commissionati dal Comune (centro civico e sanitario e parchi pubblici), in cui ha ricercato diversi agganci ad elementi della cultura esistente, dalla vecchia idea dei muri incaici alla gamma cromatica degli *aguayos*, gli zainetti di tessuto con cui le madri portano i loro figli. La rivista inglese "Mimar" gli ha conferito recentemente il riconoscimento di "regionalista", avendo pubblicato una antologia delle sue opere, dopo quella di Fathy, Correa, Seldam, Bawa, El Wakil e pochi altri.
Forse conviene chiudere questo saggio con la menzione dell'opera del messicano Luis Barragán. Opera libera e varia, dagli inizi provinciali nella natale Guadalajara, con lavori in forme classicistiche e storicistiche neoispaniche, comprese certe reminescenze arabe (case Gonzalez e Cristo, Guadalajara, 1928 e 1929, rispettivamente). Opera che più tardi si consolida nello sviluppo di una estetica composita, dove si mescolano minimalismo quasi di sapore neoplastico, impiego di tradizioni coloniali ispaniche, con la memoria di ambienti monastici, insieme alla rielaborazione di idee su colore e volumi di origine precolombiana e di diffusione popolare, come l'uso di coloranti vegetali che da tempo immemorabile si estraggono da piante del deserto per dipingere i muri rugosi. Questa opera culmina nei progetti dei frazionamenti di Las Arboledas (1958) e Los Clubes (1963) — con le Scuderie San Cristobal e la Casa Egerstrom (1967) —, la Casa a San Angel (1947), il Convento de las Capuchinas de Tlalpan (1952-55), la Casa Galvez a San Angel (1955), il Parco del Pedregal a San Angel (1945, dove c'è inoltre la Casa Prieto Lopez) e fondamentalmente la sua ultima opera significativa, la Casa Gilardi (1976), nella quale si distilla, fino alle estreme conseguenze, una estetica del silenzio, una ascesi identificabile con la solenne solitudine del deserto.
"*L'America mi dà sempre* — dice Baudrillard — *l'impressione di un'autentica ascesi. La cultura, la politica, ma anche la sessualità, vi sono sottoposte alla visione esclusiva del deserto, che costituisce qui la scena originaria*". Barragán ha condensato questa sensazione nell'intreccio dei diversi elementi che attraversano la realtà americana, nella sua complessità di estraniata modernità di "margine".

Un saggista argentino, Ezequiel Martinez Estrada, parla anch'egli della solitudine americana, in questo caso quella della Pampa. "*Il viaggiatore non volge mai lo sguardo se non per timore, e quello che lo attrae è qualcosa che sta più lontano dell'orizzonte, l'arrivo. Ricorda la partenza. Tutta la gente della pianura proviene da altri luoghi. Neppure l'albero di questa pianura, l'ombu, è di lì. È un albero che dà solo ombra, è per il viaggiatore che passa e si riposa. Non dà legno e Virgilio non lo avrebbe cantato nelle sue* Georgiche". (*Radiografia de Las Pampas*, Editorial Hyspamerica, Buenos Aires, 1981).
Nel mistero dell'America, nel denso incrocio di miti fondativi e utopie di novità estrema, tra il deserto e la selva, posso concludere con queste righe della poesia LX di *Trilce* pronunciate da Cesar Vallejo, visionario e lucido nel suo antico compito di *dichter*: "*Sotto eterne americhe inedite, il tuo gran piumaggio,/te ne vai e mi lasci senza la tua ambigua emozione,/senza il tuo nodo di sogni*".

1. Vittorio Garatti, Scuola di Balletto, Cubanacan, L'Avana, 1961-64.

1. Vittorio Garatti, Ballet School, Cubanacan, Havana, 1961-64.



1

Rapporto dall'Avana
Sergio Baroni

Riflettere, parlare, scrivere su quanto succede oggi a Cuba, in qualsiasi campo di attività, è, perlomeno, una operazione avventurosa ed avventurata. Il tempo, infatti, sembra essersi precipitato, in quest'ultimo periodo, sull'isola, e cicli che prima richiedevano anni per compiersi sono adesso compressi nello spazio di mesi.
Se la riflessione trova, allora, difficoltà per seguire lo svolgersi degli avvenimenti, fissare in uno scritto alcuni punti di riferimento in una situazione tanto complessa e dinamica comporta evidentemente svariati rischi.
Il primo è quello di una perdita di profondità dovuta all'accavallarsi di eventi, quasi sempre esogeni, di portata sconvolgente, vissuti, nei fatti, come una sorta di catastrofi naturali. Un secondo, una specie di inversione prospettica, per cui processi relativamente recenti risultano affievoliti nella memoria collettiva mentre sono riaffiorati con una forza straordinaria, seppure scevra di una qualsivoglia connotazione nostalgica, i grandi temi e le intuizioni degli anni iniziali della Rivoluzione.
Un terzo rischio, l'annebbiamento dell'attesa: resta ancorato il progetto sociale come ideale, però se ne sono perduti i contorni, delineati faticosamente con una pratica divenuta quasi maniacale fino a tempi molto recenti.
Con un passato ancora da interpretare, un presente alla giornata ed un futuro denso di ombre, l'atteggiamento forse più salutare sarebbe "sospendere il giudizio". Risulta invece indispensabile fare il punto, anzi con più frequenza, non fosse altro che per stendere appunti da consegnare a un diario o come monitoraggio di una esperienza che resta, in molti sensi, viva e particolare.
Questo è appunto il senso di questo "rapporto"; non pretende, ovviamente, di fornire una panoramica dell'architettura che si fa attualmente a Cuba, ma solo fissare alcune considerazioni su aspetti particolari, nodi che possano indicarne le possibili evoluzioni.
Come spesso succede in occasione di grandi avvenimenti collettivi — le celebrazioni, le fiere, le feste — a Cuba il 1991 è stato un anno importante per l'architettura: vi hanno tenuto luogo i Giochi Panamericani all'Avana e Santiago e, in quest'ultima, il Quarto Congresso del Partito. Queste circostanze hanno indotto e accelerato la ultimazione di varie opere che, in una certa misura, riassumono le tendenze in atto. Potrebbe sembrare paradossale, però è precisamente in queste condizioni tanto estreme che l'attuale architettura cubana ha cominciato a fare i conti col suo passato, in questo caso non diviso, come sempre

Report from Havana
Sergio Baroni

Thinking, speaking and writing about what's happening in Cuba today, in whatever field of activity you care to choose, is a risky business to say the least. Time seems to have speeded up lately on the island, with the result that cycles that once took years to run their course now take only months.
So when thinking has trouble in keeping pace of events, writing a paper that attempts to establish points of reference in a situation as complex and dynamic as Cuba's entails a number of risks.
One is a loss of depth caused by an overlapping of (almost always external) events of quite frightening impact that are experienced on the ground as a kind of natural catastrophes. A second is a sort of inverted perspective which makes recent events seem less immediate in the collective consciousness than more distant ones, with the result that the issues and insights of the early years of the Revolution, though stripped of any nostalgic association, have returned with extraordinary force.
A third is the dimming of hope and expectation: although the social project still stands as an ideal, its actual contours, laboriously defined with almost maniacal zeal until only recently, have been lost sight of.
With a past still in need of interpretation, a present that changes from day to day and a shadowy, uncertain future, the wisest course would probably be to "suspend the judgement". And yet, it seems essential to stop more frequently now to take stock, if only to jot down diary notes or monitor developments which, in many ways, remain extraordinarily real and special.
This is very much the spirit of this "report". Obviously, no attempt is made to offer a complete survey of the present-day architecture in Cuba. The aim is simply to reflect on certain aspects of it, the things that seem the most likely indicators of how it will develop in future.
As often it happens during major public events — celebrations, fairs, festivals — the 1991 has been an important year for architecture in Cuba, with the Pan-American Games in Havana and Santiago, and the Fourth Party Conference, also in Santiago. These events speeded up the completion of works which to an extent typify the trends happening now. It may seem paradoxical, but it is precisely these extreme conditions that are enabling Cuban architecture to start coming to terms with its past. In the case of architecture, the past is not divided, as elsewhere, into pre y post *1959, but into* pre y post *mid Sixties, when the initial*

succede, in *pre y post 1959*, bensì riferito alla metà degli anni Sessanta, quando si chiuse la prima stagione della ricerca e della sperimentazione, non solo architettonica. Quindi sono opere che permettono una riflessione su quanto accaduto in un arco di 25 anni, il tempo di un intero ciclo generazionale, in cui, nel mondo occidentale sviluppato, gli architetti che si inoltrano ora nell'età più matura hanno speso, messo a profitto o dilapidato l'eredità trasmessa loro dai maestri del Movimento Moderno.
Questa successione generazionale si è prodotta, a Cuba, in modo totalmente anomalo rispetto al resto del mondo, dovuto a un particolare "effetto-serra" provocato da una duplice azione di isolamento: quella esterna che cercò di tagliare qualsiasi nesso economico, politico, culturale di un paese che si era incredibilmente ribellato all'ordine costituito, nientemeno che nei Caraibi, il *courtyard* degli Stati Uniti; e quella interna che, a volte inconsapevolmente, rifiutava quanto procedesse dall'esterno come possibile fonte di contaminazione ideologica o, quanto meno, di messaggi indecifrabili per la stessa natura dell'emittente.
Questo ebbe, tra i molti altri effetti negativi, quello di ridurre drasticamente i nessi tradizionali di Cuba con il suo ambiente naturale: Caraibi, America Latina, Stati Uniti, per ristrutturarli in un sistema di relazioni centrato sul ruolo del paese nel campo dei paesi socialisti e del Terzo Mondo; solamente sul piano culturale si riuscì a mantenere un flusso di contatti, soprattutto con l'America Latina, che, bene o male, ridussero l'ostracismo.
In tali circostanze il paese venne assumendo progressivamente il carattere di un grande laboratorio dove la costruzione di una società emergente dal sottosviluppo si sarebbe sperimentata sulla base dei principi del socialismo scientifico.
Sono da sottolineare due aspetti di simile strategia: da una parte la fiducia, quasi mitica, nelle potenzialità dello sviluppo tecnico-scientifico, che avrebbe dovuto condurre, tra l'altro, ad appoggiare la modernizzazione principalmente su massicci programmi di investimenti, trascurando la costruzione di nuovi rapporti di produzione nei quali l'uomo potesse assumere il ruolo dominante e creativo che gli corrisponde; dall'altra, il significato dell'internazionalismo, che, nelle relazioni del paese con il cosiddetto campo socialista, pretendeva di stabilire una concezione sistemica, dalla quale si derivavano impegni politici, economici, diplomatici, militari, culturali presi in blocco, e che non potevano frammentarsi ed essere gestiti autonomamente.
Queste circostanze possono aiutare a comprendere i tratti che hanno caratterizzato in Cuba questo periodo trentennale e, in tali coordinate culturali, economiche e politiche, collocare i riferimenti sostanziali del processo d'evoluzione del fare architettonico per pervenire infine all'esame delle tendenze più recenti.
Nel decennio immediatamente anteriore alla vittoria popolare, l'architettura cubana più impegnata stava portando avanti uno sforzo di assimilazione dei codici dell'*International Style*, interpretandoli in un'ottica locale delineata soprattutto dal peso delle variabili ambientali che avevano svolto un ruolo determinante nella qualificazione dell'architettura del passato; distanziandosi in tal modo dalla produzione ancora intrisa di monumentalismo propria della committenza statale, come dalla povertà culturale dell'architettura commerciale propria della speculazione edilizia ed anche della piccola committenza privata.
Con questa corrente tendeva ad identificarsi una linea d'impegno sociale che privilegiava però il discorso politico, che collocava la missione e la ragione d'essere della professione nell'adempimento di doveri di solidarietà con le grandi masse di diseredati. Questa terza tendenza era particolarmente forte tra i giovani e nella Facoltà di Architettura, dove il movimento studentesco associava avanguardia politica ed avanguardia culturale: non è casuale che il presidente della Federazione Studentesca, José Antonio Echeverria, martire nell'assalto al Palazzo Presidenziale nel 1957, fosse uno studente d'architettura.
È ovvio che, al trionfare della Rivoluzione, fosse questa forza di giovani, sommariamente preparati, a prendere il sopravvento.
Ed è da qui che cominciano ad assumere un valore decisivo i dati quantitativi. Da una parte l'esodo ridusse la professione alla metà; le tre centinaia di architetti rimasti dovettero affrontare non solo una richiesta in crescita accelerata, ma anche l'apertura di nuovi campi d'azione nei quali mai si erano inoltrati: si strutturò la pianificazione fisica, alla scala urbana e regionale; si affrontò la progettazione di complessi industriali e installazioni agricole e il disegno di vasti territori agro-pastorizi; ci si avviò nel disegno grafico e industriale; questo mentre i temi tradizionali della scuola, della salute, dello sport, della casa assumevano un carattere di massa e distribuito su tutta la geografia del paese, mentre praticamente tutta la capacità di progettazione, compresa quella dell'Università, rimaneva concentrata nella capitale.

period of revolutionary research and experimentation came to end, in architecture as in many other fields.
So these works allow us to take stock of what has happened over a period of twenty-five years — an entire generation — during which architects in the developed world, now approaching middle age have exhausted, betrayed or squandered the inheritance bequeathed to them by the Masters of the Modern Movement.
The greenhouse effect of Cuba's dual isolation has made generational shift from Modern to Postmodern totally different here from the rest of the world. On the one hand, the outside world has tried to sever all economic, political and cultural links with a Caribbean nation in America's backyard that has dared to challenge the established order. On the other, a sometimes unconscious process of internal isolation has rejected external influence as a possible source of ideological contamination, or at least, as a source of messages that are indecipherable precisely because of the nature of their source.
Among other negative effects, this has drastically reduced Cuba's traditional links with its natural environment — the Caribbean, Latin America, the USA — and encouraged the development of systematic relations with other socialist and Third World countries. Only on the cultural front has Cuba been able to maintain anything like normal contact with its immediate neighbours — Latin America especially — and this has somewhat reduced its isolation and ostracism, for better or worse.
In this situation, Cuba gradually came to be seen as a huge laboratory where scientific social principles were being used to build a new society in a country emerging from underdevelopment.
Cuba's strategy was twofold. On the one hand, there was an almost mystical faith in the potential of technological and scientific development in which massive investment programmes were seen as indispensable to the country's modernisation. As a result, little attempt was made to build the kind of new productive relationships that would have given individuals the dominant creative role in the process they should have had. On the other, there was Cuba's internationalism which was attempting to establish systematic relations with the rest of the so-called socialist world. This generated a broad spectrum of political, economic, diplomatic, military and cultural commitments that could not be separated out and managed independently. This helps to explain some of the things that have happened in Cuba over the last thirty years, and to establish links between architectural development and cultural, economic and political contexts that make recent trends more comprehensible.
In the decade immediately prior to the people's victory, Cuba's more committed architects were engaged in assimilating the International Style, suitably modified to take account of the local climatic and environmental variables that had shaped Cuban architecture in the past. This distanced them from a state commissioning machine still heavily committed to monumentality, as well as from the mediocrity of the commercial architecture favoured by property speculators and even private clients.
Another factor was a social commitment that added a political dimension to their work. The mission and raison d'être *of architecture was to show solidarity with the great mass of the island's dispossessed. This duty was felt especially by young people in general and those in the Architecture Faculty, where the student movement made little distinction between political and cultural avant-garde commitment. It is no accident that the president of the Student Federation, José Antonio Echeverria, who died during the storming of the Presidential Palace in 1957, was an architecture student.*
Obviously, it was this body of largely uneducated young people that took charge once the Revolution had succeeded, and from then on the sheer amount of work that had to be done became a decisive factor. The brain drain halved the number of architects in Cuba, and the three hundred or so who remained not only had to cope with a mushrooming demand, but also master fields of activity they had never worked in before: the planning of industrial complexes and farming units, the design of huge agricultural and sheep-farming estates, and graphic and industrial design. In the meantime, traditional issues like schooling, health, sport and the home had to be tackled en masse *on a national scale, while practically all the nation's planning capacity (including the university) was concentrated in the capital.*
The only response to a challenge on this scale was radical socialisation of activity. Architects agreed to become state employees, the entire student body divided his time between the university and planning centres, lecturers in new disciplines made good the deficiencies the brain drain had left behind it by working part-time alongside practising professionals, and new graduates moved to the interior of the country. Cuban nationals were aided by substantial numbers of foreign technicians, especially from Latin



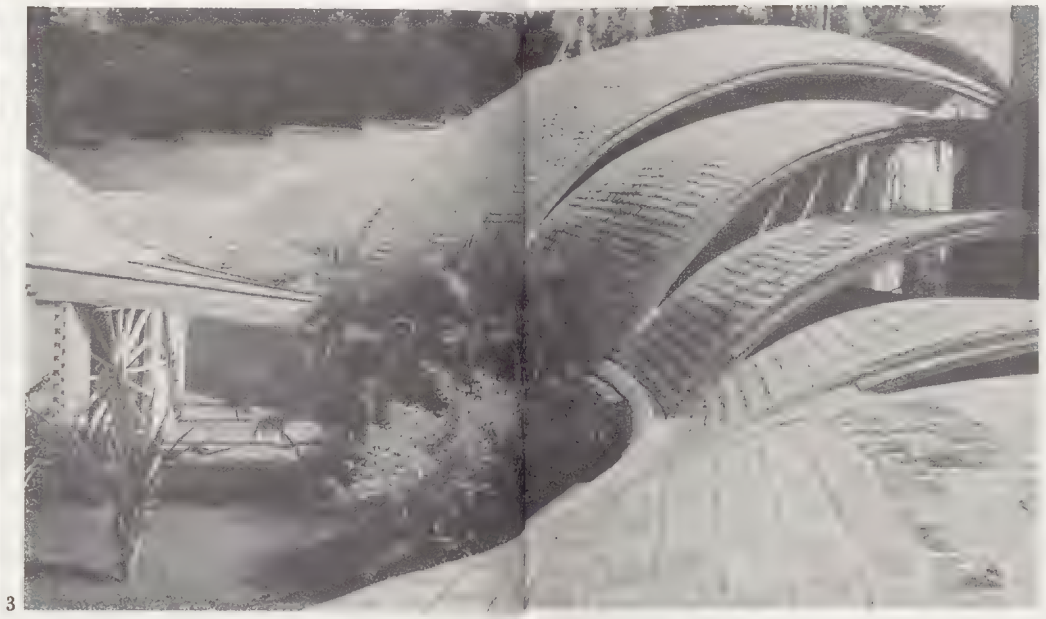
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1. Vittorio Garatti, Ricardo Porro, Roberto Gottardi, Scuole Nazionali d'Arte (ENA), Cubanacan, L'Avana, 1961-64: planimetria generale.
2.3.4. Vittorio Garatti, Scuola di Balletto, 1961-64.
5. Ricardo Porro, Scuola di Arti Plastiche, 1961-63.
6. Roberto Gottardi, Scuola d'Arte Drammatica, 1961-63.
7. Ricardo Porro, Scuola di Danza Moderna, 1961-63.

1. Vittorio Garatti, Ricardo Porro, Roberto Gottardi, National Art Schools (ENA), Cubanacan, Havana, 1961-64: general plan.
2.3.4. Vittorio Garatti, Ballet School, 1961-64.
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6. Roberto Gottardi, School of Dramatic Art, 1961-63.
7. Ricardo Porro, School of Modern Dance, 1961-63.



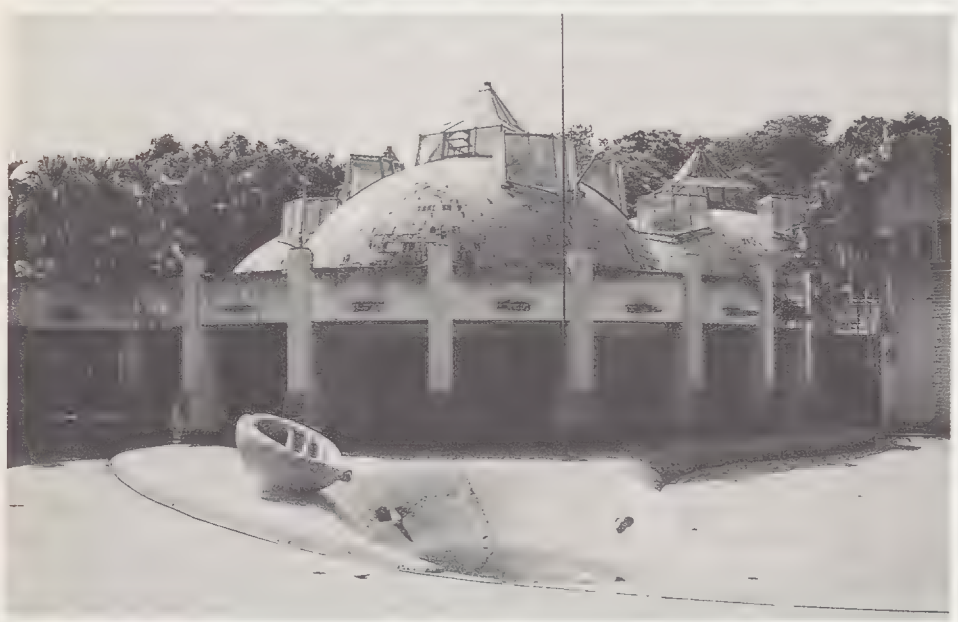
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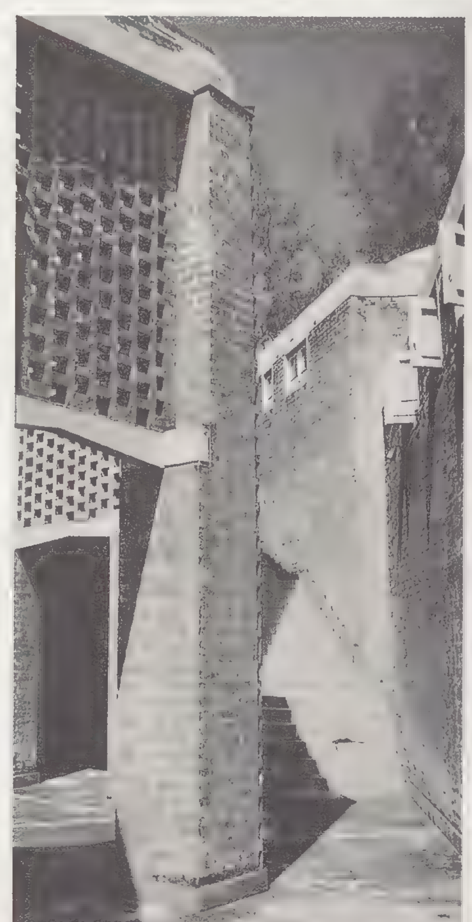
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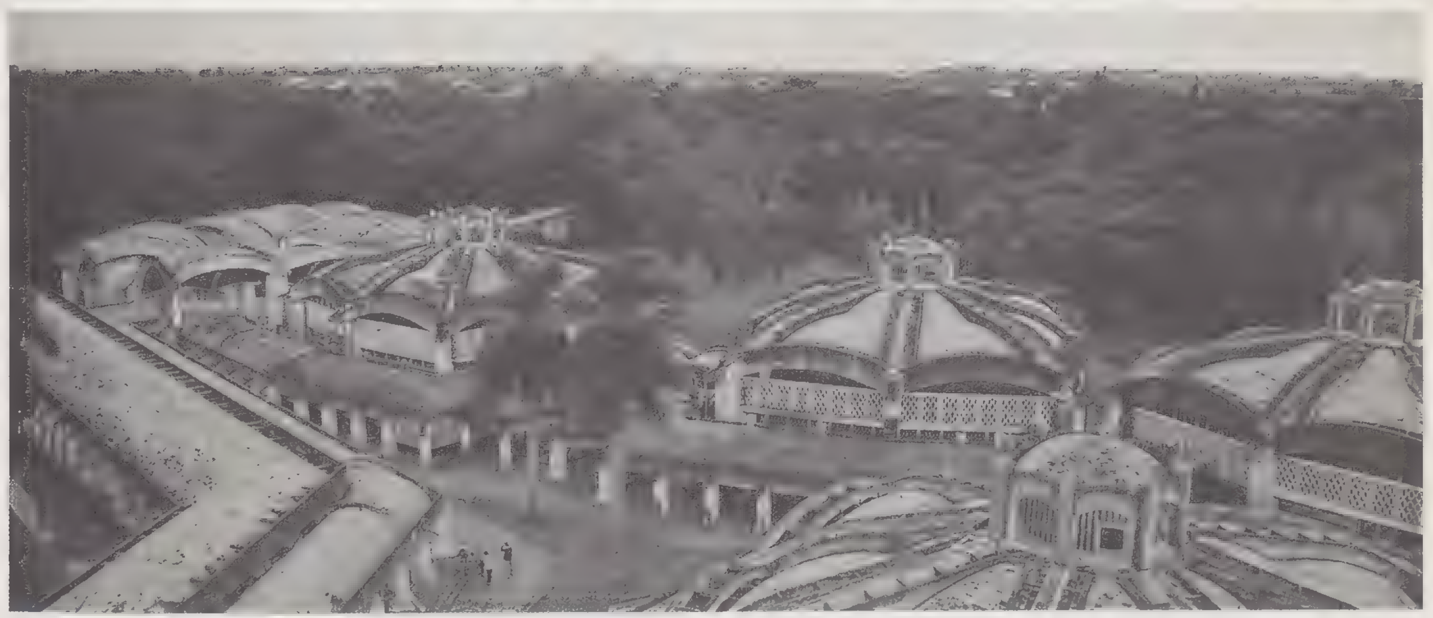
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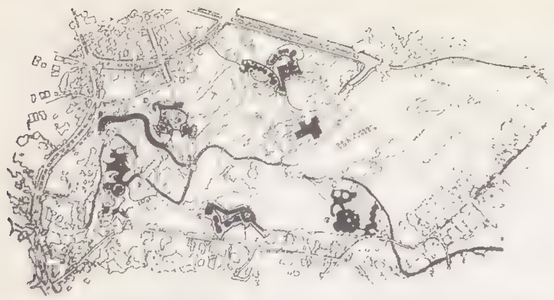
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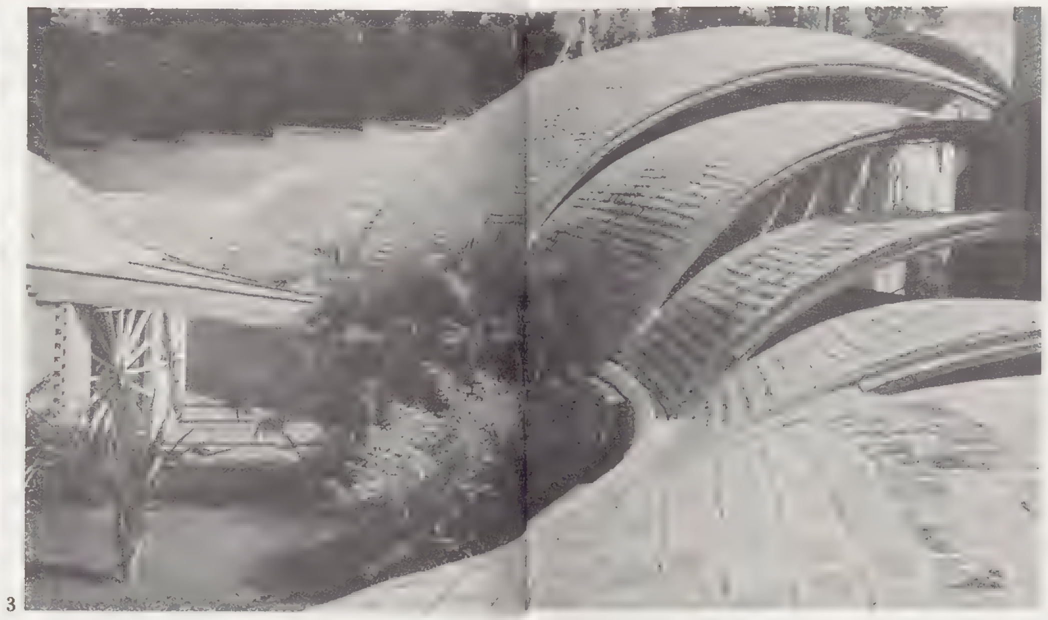
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1. Vittorio Garatti, Ricardo Porro, Roberto Gottardi, Scuole Nazionali d'Arte (ENA), Cubanacan, L'Avana, 1961-64: planimetria generale.
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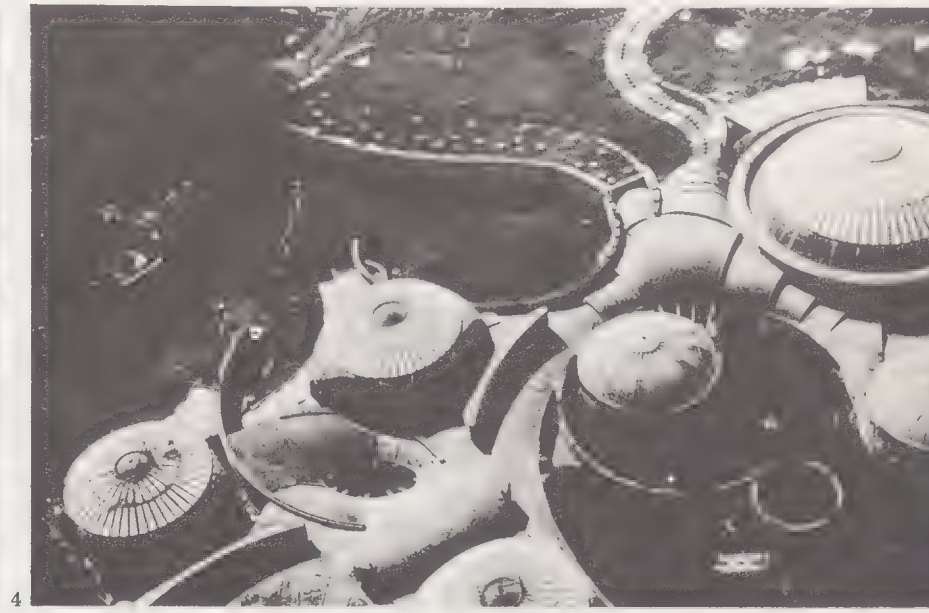
1. Vittorio Garatti, Ricardo Porro, Roberto Gottardi, National Art Schools (ENA), Cubanacan, Havana, 1961-64: general plan.
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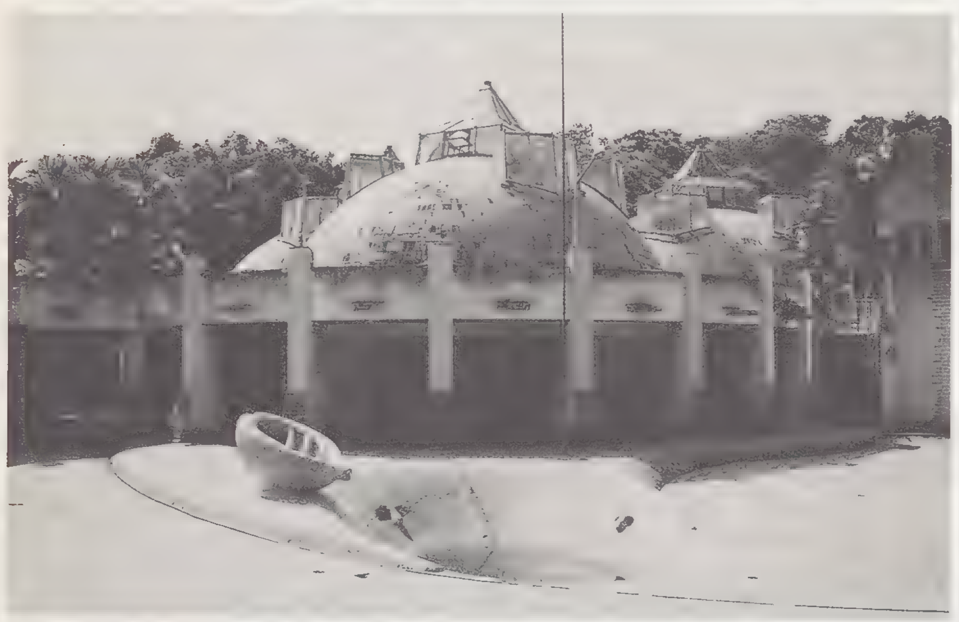
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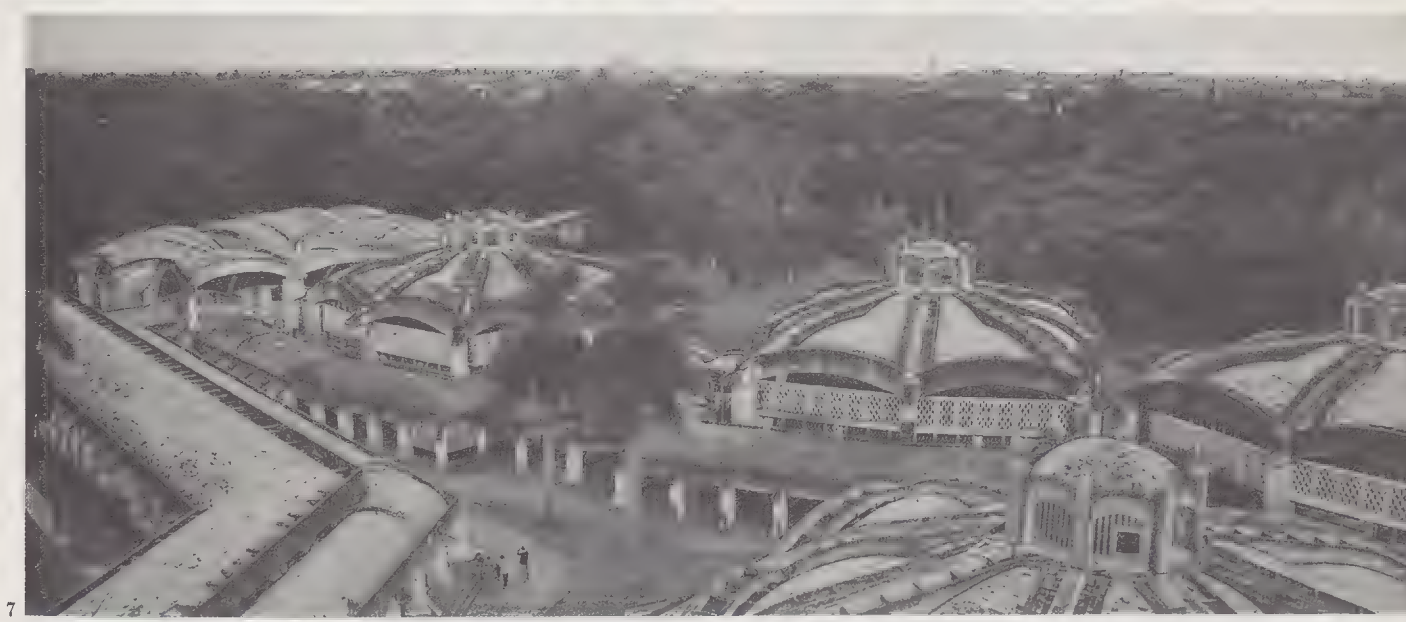
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1.2. Humberto Alonso, Fernando Salinas, Josefina Montalvan, Manuel Rubio, José Fernandez, Città Universitaria "José Antonio Echeverría" (CUJAE), L'Avana, 1961-64.
3. Roberto Carrazana (coll. R. Estévez, H. d'Acosta, M. Gonzalez, M. Alvarez, L. Castro), Complesso residenziale Avana Est, L'Avana, 1959-62.
4. Josefina Rebellón e altri, "Scuola secondaria nel campo", 1969.
5. Reynaldo Togores, Scuola media superiore vocazionale "Máximo Gómez", Camagüey, 1975.
6. Joaquim Galván, Ristorante "Las Ruinas", L'Avana, 1972.



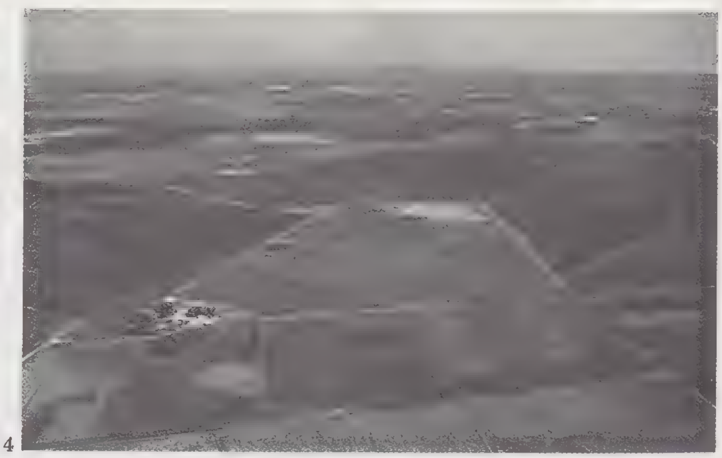
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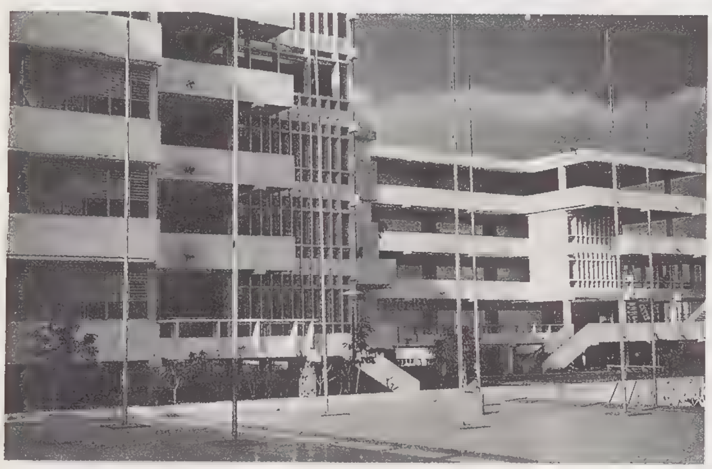
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1.2. Humberto Alonso, Fernando Salinas, Josefina Montalvan, Manuel Rubio, José Fernandez, "José Antonio Echeverría" University Campus (CUJAE), Havana, 1961-64.
3. Roberto Carrazana (with R. Estévez, H. d'Acosta, M. Gonzalez, M. Alvarez, L. Castro), East Havana residential complex, Havana, 1959-62.
4. Josefina Rebellón and others, "Secondary School in the Fields", 1969.
5. Reynaldo Togores, "Máximo Gómez" vocational High School, Camagüey, 1975.
6. Joaquim Galván, "Las Ruinas" restaurant, Havana, 1972.

La risposta a una sfida di tali dimensioni poté trovarsi solamente in una drastica socializzazione dell'attività: la professione fu consensualmente statalizzata; la totalità degli studenti divise il proprio tempo tra Università e centri di progettazione; i docenti per le nuove discipline e per coprire i vuoti causati dall'esodo vennero reperiti *part-time* tra i professionisti in funzione; i nuovi laureati si trasferirono all'interno del paese; mentre, d'altra parte, sopravvenne l'aiuto di un numero importante di tecnici stranieri, soprattutto latinoamericani, che trovarono così la maniera concreta di esprimere la loro solidarietà militante.
Questo fu il clima morale, politico, economico, in cui fece i suoi primi passi la cosiddetta "Architettura della Rivoluzione".
Di questo periodo sono le architetture che, ancora oggi, costituiscono l'obbligatorio punto di riferimento per quanto si sta portando avanti nel paese.
Tre sono le opere paradigmatiche di quel momento: l'unità residenziale Avana Est, la Città Universitaria e le Scuole Nazionali d'Arte.
La prima, realizzata nel 1960, rappresentava il primo complesso di abitazioni a grande scala (8000 abitanti) che si fosse mai costruito a Cuba. Il progetto fu elaborato dall'oggi al domani sotto la pressione dell'emergenza: bisognava aprire un cantiere di grandi dimensioni che permettesse di contrastare gli effetti del collasso della committenza privata prodotto dalla Riforma Urbana, che aveva decapitato la speculazione edilizia e fondiaria.
Il progetto si uniformò agli indirizzi contemporanei del disegno urbano europeo, particolarmente inglese e scandinavo, che fino a quel momento, in Cuba, non avevano mai oltrepassato le soglie dei recinti universitari.
Su questa scia si sono mossi da allora praticamente tutti gli interventi urbanistici, fino agli ultimi anni Ottanta, con periodiche oscillazioni tra l'adozione esplicita dei vincoli imposti dall'introduzione di tecnologie industrializzate e la ricerca di articolazioni spaziali più rapportate alla tradizione urbana; alla lunga ne è uscita una pratica carica di ambiguità, obbediente a norme progettuali spesso portatrici di mediocrità e schematismo.
Le altre due opere sono centri di insegnamento: il primo rispondeva a una antica rivendicazione del movimento studentesco progressista, il secondo sorgeva come intenzione di costruire il contesto ambientale idoneo alla preparazione artistica di migliaia di studenti di America Latina, Africa ed Asia: un grande centro culturale che fu, in

America, who thus found a practical way of expressing their militant solidarity with the Revolution.
This was the moral, political and economic climate in which Cuba's so-called "Architecture of the Revolution" began to emerge: the architecture which even now provides an obligatory yardstick for new architecture in the country dates from this period. Three key models for future development were handed down from this period: the East Havana residential unit, the University Complex and the National Art Schools.
The first, completed in 1960, was the first large-scale residential complex (8000 inhabitants) ever built in Cuba. It was designed virtually overnight, in response to emergency housing needs, when the collapse of private commissioning in the wake of the Urban Reform project that had abolished land and property speculation, made large-scale building work an urgent necessity. The project embodied contemporary European urban planning concepts, especially from Britain and Scandinavia, which in Cuba had never before penetrated beyond the confines of university lecture rooms.
This project provided the model for virtually all subsequent urban development up to the end of the Eighties, in which open acceptance of the constraints imposed by industrialised technology alternated with a search for spatial configurations more suited to Cuba's urban tradition. In the long run, what in fact emerged was an ambiguous architecture based on planning policies that were frequently over-schematic and of a low standard.
The other two works were both teaching institutions, one designed to meet the long-standing demands of the progressive student movement, the other to provide an appropriate environment for the artistic education of thousands of Latin American, African and Asian students, in the form of a large cultural centre that would become one of the earliest manifestations of the Third-World solidarity the Revolution had always been committed to.
The two projects were built at the same time, but adopted virtually opposed languages and styles that soon came to symbolise what the future of Cuban architecture would bring. The Cuidad Universitaria José Antonio Echeverria (CUJAE) built between 1961 and 1964 was based on a modular grid with specialised buildings connected by covered walkways that unified its open ground-floor areas. When filled in with large adjacent or integrated areas of lush horizontal or vertical vegetation, the buildings formed a coherently organised ensemble incorporating the basic principles

1. Comunità agricola "El Tablon", provincia di Villa Clara, 1974.
2. Insediamento agricolo tradizionale.
3.5. Julio Dean, Teresa Baeza, Magaly López, Orlando Cárdenas, Eduardo Rodriguez, Edmundo Azze, Distretto residenziale "José Martí", Santiago di Cuba, 1964-67 (prima fase).

questo senso, una delle prime manifestazioni di quella vocazione terzomondista che la Rivoluzione ha mantenuto da sempre.
Due progetti, di fatto contemporanei, che scelsero soluzioni tipologiche e linguistiche praticamente opposte e che si rivelarono in questo emblematiche e premonitrici.
La CUJAE (Ciudad Universitaria "José Antonio Echeverría") (1961-64) si progettò sulla base di una maglia modulare, con edifici specializzati, interconnessi da canali di circolazione coperti, che uniscono i pianiterra sempre liberi. Abbinate o intercalate si collocano generose aree di densa vegetazione che si propagano orizzontalmente e verticalmente. Si conforma così un insieme molto articolato dove tornano ad essere presenti le componenti assiomatiche del verde, del patio, del portico, della persiana, che dagli anni Trenta sono stati i supporti sui quali operare la acclimatazione ambientale e linguistica del Movimento Moderno.
Il sistema costruttivo, di grande semplicità, introduceva una delle tecniche più avanzate all'epoca, il *lift-slab*, usato sino allora in opere industriali e la cui assimilazione incontrò non poche difficoltà. In sintesi, una ortodossa ed entusiasta adesione ai postulati funzionali, espressivi, tecnici del modernismo, compresa la localizzazione (in termini di *campus*) alla periferia della città, con la evidente sottovalutazione del ruolo di diffusione culturale che naturalmente genera la funzione universitaria nel corpo della città. Sorse così, di fatto, una tipologia che si sarebbe ripetuta massivamente, dieci anni più tardi, nel programma di edilizia sociale più importante del paese, quello delle costruzioni scolastiche.
La seconda opera, le ENA (Escuelas Nacionales de Arte), fu pure localizzata esternamente al centro della città, però, questa volta, nel cuore stesso del più esclusivo dei quartieri dell'Avana: il Country Club. Il terreno scelto fu il bellissimo campo da golf, circondato dalle ville e dalle abitazioni più lussuose della capitale, adibite, dopo il loro abbandono, a residenze studentesche, analogamente a quasi tutte quelle che, quantitativamente, rappresentavano la quinta parte e la più opulenta della città. Con questo punto di partenza, di per sé già dissacrante, i progettisti affrontarono la sfida di produrre un ambiente carico di stimoli, di suggerimenti, di metafore, per la formazione di un tipo speciale di studente, un giovane deciso a fare dell'arte il suo mezzo d'espressione e di vita.
Senza voler cadere in disquisizioni retoriche sul se, come e

of vegetation, patios, porticoes and shutters that had shaped the environmental and stylistic acclimatisation of the Modern Movement since the Thirties.
The complex's beautifully simple construction system used the lift-slab, the most advanced building technique of the day, for the first time ever in Cuba. It has since then been used in industrial construction, but getting it accepted was by no means an easy business. In short, the complex resulted from the enthusiastic though orthodox adherence to the functional, stylistic and technical principles of Modernism, which led among other things to the decision to build the university campus in the outskirts of the city, and obviously weakened the cultural impact the university might have had if it had been situated in the city centre. A typology was thus established that would be reproduced on a massive scale ten years later in the school building project that represented the country's most important social building programme to date.
The Escuelas Nacionales de Arte (ENA) was also sited outside the city centre, but this time at the very heart of Havana's most exclusive district, the Country Club. The chosen site was the Club's beautiful golf course surrounded by the capital's most luxurious houses that had become student residences when their owners abandoned them, like almost all the housing that had formed the city's fifth most opulent district. With an already desecrated site as the basis of their brief, the architects faced the challenge of creating a stimulating, metaphor-rich environment in which rather unusual students — young people, committed to appropriating art as personal expression and raison d'être *— could receive the education they needed.*
Without entering into rhetorical discussion of whether and how individuals are shaped by the buildings they inhabit, there can be little doubt that the only response to the political decision to build the Art Schools, motivated by the solidarity and libertarian ideologies of the time, could be an architectural project of the highest artistic and cultural standard. The idea of a single compact building to house the five faculties envisaged for the School — Theatre, Dance, Ballet, Plastic Arts and Music — was quickly abandoned for planning and technical reasons in favour of a kind of garden complex of five separate buildings around the edge of the site that would leave the beautiful central open space and existing Country Club installations intact. Much was spoken and written about the ENA at the time, both in Cuba and abroad. If I go over the old ground again here, it is because the project is an unusual example of the kind

4. Distretto residenziale "Montecarlo", Camagüey, anni '80.

1. "El Tablón" farming community, Villa Clara province, 1974.
2. Traditional farming settlement.
3.5. Julio Dean, Teresa Baeza, Magaly López, Orlando Cárdenas, Eduardo Rodriguez, Edmundo Azze, "José Martí" residential district, Santiago de Cuba, 1964-67 (phase one).

4. "Montecarlo" residential district, Camagüey, 1980s.


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per quali vie può l'ambiente costruito contribuire a formare l'individuo, ciò che è evidente è il fatto che alla proposta politica, carica dell'ideologia solidaristica e libertaria del momento, la risposta progettuale non poteva essere altra che uno sforzo interpretativo al più alto livello artistico e culturale. Sorpassata rapidamente, per considerazioni di ordine operativo tanto sul piano progettuale come costruttivo, l'idea di un impianto unico, compatto, che alloggiasse le cinque attività previste — teatro, danza, balletto, arti plastiche e musica — , l'impostazione prescelta fu quella di strutturare una sorta di città-parco, formata da cinque edifici autonomi collocati ai margini del terreno, lasciando al centro la stupenda zona verde e le installazioni preesistenti del Country Club, adibite a funzioni logistiche ed amministrative.

Delle ENA si è parlato e scritto molto, a suo tempo, a Cuba e all'estero; se ci torniamo sopra è perché costituiscono un caso singolare di quei fenomeni di transculturazione che hanno formato da sempre il carattere più persistente della cultura cubana. E qui conviene tener conto di certe considerazioni che accomunavano gli architetti preposti all'opera e che pongono in una luce particolare la portata e il significato di questa loro operazione. I tre progettisti, Ricardo Porro (n. 1925) cubano, Vittorio Garatti (n. 1927) e Roberto Gottardi (n. 1927) italiani, avevano da poco compiuti i trent'anni, e avevano un'esperienza ancora ridotta quanto ad architetture realizzate; tutti e tre avevano vissuto molto da vicino il dibattito italiano degli anni Cinquanta sui limiti e le frustrazioni del Movimento Moderno, avevano attinto dall'opera di Wright e di Gaudí, assistito al clamore di Ronchamp e della Torre Velasca e rivisitato il *liberty*. Avevano però confrontato queste esperienze con il mondo eccitato e drammatico, contaddittorio, di un Venezuela primigenio, dove stava maturando la ricchissima lezione di Carlos Raúl Villanueva. È stato l'innesto di questa carica ideale, multipla, su un programma originale nella sua stessa concezione, in un ambiente naturale dalle innumerevoli suggestioni e in un clima culturale e politico esaltato da uno straordinario e ben legittimo ottimismo, che ha prodotto queste opere eccezionali (nei diversi significati del termine): come cose fuori del normale e come fatti solitari.

Ciò che apportarono queste opere alla cultura architettonica cubana fu l'allargamento d'orizzonte della pratica progettuale: al di là della ricerca climatica ed ambientale, della volontà compositiva, della comprensione e impiego del luogo e della natura, si portò avanti una sperimentazione intensa, quasi affannata, di invenzione di spazi e forme, derivata da molteplici suggestioni, riferimenti, metafore, trattate e rielaborate con procedimenti diversi — cambi di scala, esasperazione e rottura dei ritmi, inclinazioni e strapiombi, complessità e incroci di linee forza e di direzione, frammentazione della volumetria —, in un approccio che rifiutava la concezione lineare, astrattamente geometrica di un mondo ordinato da una supposta razionalità, già brandita ma al tempo stesso contraddetta dalla "cultura del capitale", per affondare il suo realismo nella complessità di relazioni scaturite da una società in piena esplosione delle sue contraddizioni. È in questo senso che esse costituiscono a tutt'oggi un punto di riferimento obbligato e anche e ancora provocatorio per quella che potrebbe essere l'architettura di una società innovatrice che pretende di costruirsi un mondo alternativo all'omologazione proposta dalle ideologie centrali.

Le polemiche sulle ENA sono state in molti casi devianti. Sarebbe sbagliato interpretarle come prodotti *ante litteram* del postmodernismo, se non si chiarisse prima a quale delle sue tante anime ci si riferisce; di fatto si affermava il diritto di restituire l'architettura al novero dei mezzi espressivi, derivandoli non da "segni" storicisti ma dalle potenzialità dei propri elementi costruttivi, il muro, l'arco, la cupola, i serramenti ... Sbagliò anche chi interpretò l'esito di questa vicenda (il fatto che tre delle cinque Scuole non si siano mai completate e che non si siano mai ripetute esperienze del genere) come una scelta di politica culturale, come una specie di condanna di una concezione elitista, edonista dell'architettura. Se le Scuole non ebbero continuità nello sviluppo dell'architettura cubana, questo si deve al formarsi di un insieme di circostanze che d'allora ha configurato lo scenario costante della realtà architettonica cubana e che solo molto recentemente ha cominciato a dar segni di cambiamento.

Una di queste circostanze, forse la meno importante, fu la perdita di attualità del programma; chiuso l'accerchiamento esterno su Cuba, la scala del complesso si considerò eccessiva per i fabbisogni interni. Allo stesso tempo cominciava a affiorare una carenza che sarebbe divenuta cronica nel settore: la mancanza di mano d'opera specializzata per affrontare programmi edilizi massivi ed urgenti, e in questo senso il cantiere delle ENA ne costituiva una riserva di gran valore che poteva essere impiegata altrove in interventi più pressanti. Infine la scarsità

of transculturation that has always been a prominent feature of the Cuban culture. It is worth considering here some of the things the architects commissioned to do the job had in common because it offers special insights into the scope and significance of what they achieved. The three architects, Ricardo Porro (1925) from Cuba, and Vittorio Garatti (1927) and Roberto Gottardi (1927) from Italy, were barely thirty at the time and still had little experience of actually building architecture. All three had been closely involved in the debate over the limitations and frustrations of the Modern Movement in Italy in the Fifties, had drawn their inspiration from Wright and Gaudí, had contributed to the furore over Ronchamp and the Torre Velasca, and had participated in the Art Nouveau revival. However, they had also been able to relate their experience to the dramatical and contradictory events of a primitive Venezuela where the talented Carlos Raúl Villanueva was even then bringing his vision of architecture to maturity. It was the grafting of this rich conceptual and imaginative inheritance into a programme already original in itself, in a highly stimulating and extraordinarily (and justifiably) optimistic natural environment, that produced these exceptional works (in all senses of the word), unique achievements totally different from the general run of architecture at the time.

Their effect on Cuban culture was to broaden the horizons of routine planning and design practice in the country. In addition to climatic and environmental research, the will to create, and better understanding and use of the site and nature, experimentation proceeded at an almost breathless pace with new spaces and forms deriving from a wide range of factual and metaphorical input that was reprocessed in various ways — changes of scale, exaggerated or broken rhythms, slopes and overhangs, complex or intersecting force and direction lines, fragmentation of volumes — to produce an approach that rejected the abstract geometrical linearity of a supposed rationality (which had already been both accepted and contradicted by transnational Havana itself) in favour of a realism founded on the complexity of a society bursting with contradictions. In this sense, the Schools still provide an indispensable, if controversial point of reference for future architecture in a changing society that professes to be building a world different from the homologous uniformity created by central ideologies.

Much of the controversy over the ENA was misguided. It would be mistaken to see the arguments that emerged as ante litteram *products of Postmodernism unless we decide first which of Postmodernism's many aspects they advocated or opposed. In point of fact, the right to reinstate the validity of architecture as an artistic medium based not on historical "signs" but on the expressive potential of its various elements — the wall, the arch, the dome, window and door frames — was widely asserted. It would also be mistaken to see the outcome of the project (three of the five schools have never been finished and concept has never been repeated) as a political and cultural choice, that seemed to condemn an elitist, hedonistic concept of architecture. That the Schools never entered the mainstream of Cuban architecture was due to factors which have continuously shaped the development of Cuban architecture since then, and have only very recently shown signs of changing.*

One of these factors, perhaps the least important, was simply the programme's loss of relevance. Once Cuba had been isolated from the outside world, the scale of the complex was considered disproportionate to the country's internal needs. Also, the lack of the skilled labour needed to cope with urgent, large-scale, building projects — it would eventually become chronic in the building industry — was beginning to make its presence felt. The ENA site held valuable reserves of manpower which it was decided could be usefully deployed for more urgent work elsewhere. Finally, a growing scarcity of essential finishing materials on the site — wood, ceramics, brick, electric and sanitary installations, etc. — made it increasingly difficult to bring the project to completion. Work virtually stopped, and the tangled web of arguments that would eventually be used to demonstrate the project's impracticability and justify abandoning it was gradually woven. This is now acknowledged to have been a grave mistake. It is becoming increasingly evident that the failure to finish the Schools was a set-back in a revival of Cuban architecture that had been having trouble in making headway since the pre-Revolutionary days. The Schools project, it is now realised, had speeded up the process considerably and had linked it to the country's new social project.

In the event, understandably enough, what prevailed were instead simplistic pseudo-rational procedures for coping with the huge demand for projects and construction with minimum resources.

The Fifth Congress of the International Union of Architects, held in Havana in 1963, provided a platform for the basic principles of the "environmental ideology" Cuba was itself proposing to adopt and considered appropriate for the whole



1. Manifesto dell'esposizione Arquitectura Joven Cubana, *1990.*

1. Poster for Arquitectura Joven Cubana *exhibition, 1990.*

crescente di materiali indispensabili nelle opere di finitura del cantiere (legnami, ceramiche, cotti, installazioni elettriche e sanitarie, ecc.) rese sempre più difficile portarle a termine. I cantieri praticamente si estinsero e, a posteriori, si venne poco a poco tessendo il groviglio di argomentazioni che ne giustificava l'abbandono e ne decretava l'impraticabilità. Fu un grave errore del quale ci si rende conto adesso, quando diviene evidente che, con le Scuole, si interrompeva un processo di rinnovamento dell'architettura cubana che, con difficoltà, veniva avanti dagli anni prerivoluzionari e che esse avevano straordinariamente accelerato e ancorato al nuovo progetto sociale.
Prevalse invece, e comprensibilmente, l'adozione dei facili procedimenti pseudorazionalisti per affrontare col minimo di risorse l'immane richiesta di progetti e di costruzioni.
La celebrazione all'Avana, nel 1963, del V Congresso dell'Unione Internazionale degli Architetti, fu l'occasione per esporre i principi cardinali di quella "ideologia ambientale" che Cuba si proponeva di adottare e che considerava proponibile per tutto il Terzo Mondo, in aperta opposizione ai modelli offerti o imposti dalle metropoli da cui questo si stava faticosamente sganciando.
La pretesa di dominare, in diretta, il processo di conformazione dello spazio costruito, dalla scala macroterritoriale fino al disegno industrializzato degli oggetti di uso quotidiano, ricevette il consenso e l'adesione entusiasta di tutto il corpo professionale, che ne assunse la responsabilità con un misto di riscatto e di profezia, senza l'ombra di un dubbio sulle reali dimensioni dell'impresa. Atteggiamento caratteristico di un modo di fare assai generalizzato che pure ha dato risultati spesso impensabili o improbabili se posti su un piano di rigorosa razionalità[1].
Nel settore edilizio, la modernizzazione venne impostata come industrializzazione, tipificazione e prefabbricazione, una strategia che tenne poco conto dei necessari periodi di maturazione e delle inevitabili connessioni con altri settori dell'economia, della tecnica e della cultura. Nella misura in cui la complessità delle situazioni si faceva più pressante, le soluzioni messe in atto, nello sforzo di coprire comunque la totalità dei problemi, tesero a una progressiva semplificazione, in un processo di riduzione nel quale si andò abbassando inevitabilmente la qualità non solo dei progetti, ma anche dei materiali, dell'esecuzione, dell'integrazione tra le diverse operazioni. In mancanza di tecnici, la tipificazione passò dagli elementi costruttivi agli edifici, disponibili in catalogo, pezzi assolutamente autonomi da inserire in qualsiasi contesto, solo vincolati da elementari considerazioni funzionali.
In questo quadro il risultato di gran lunga più convincente si è prodotto nella realizzazione di uno dei programmi più ambiziosi affrontati dal paese, la costruzione di centinaia di scuole medie interne, dislocate nelle campagne, come parte della trasformazione tecnologica e sociale di interi territori, dediti alle coltivazioni di ortaggi, agrumi e tabacco, alle quali gli studenti apportarono e tuttora apportano una quota importante della forza lavoro.
Per afferrare lo spirito dell'epoca basterebbe ricordare come, pochi anni prima, nel 1962, Giuseppe Samonà, a conclusione di un'interessante esperienza pedagogica alla Facoltà di Architettura di Roma, aveva accennato ad una avveniristica riorganizzazione delle strutture scolastiche: "*Esisteranno* — diceva — *delle grandi localizzazioni scolastiche di scuole medie che saranno molto più significative delle Università, perché in esse matureranno le intelligenze e si formerà una socialità assai viva. Queste localizzazioni vivranno per conto proprio sul terreno aperto, saranno elementi isolati dalla concentrazione e dai suoi poli di cui non avranno bisogno materialmente* (...)"[2]. Questa prefigurazione si è attuata quasi letteralmente a Cuba ed è tuttora un esperimento sociale che è ben lungi dall'aver espresso tutte le sue potenzialità. Resta il fatto che proprio per questo suo carattere ripetitivo, come pezzo di un disegno globale destinato a investire le nuove dimensioni del territorio, le *Scuole nel Campo* sono trascese a simbolo, sul piano linguistico e tipologico, della più audace operazione di transmutazione culturale della Rivoluzione.
Per contro, mentre alla scala regionale i vincoli ancora deboli lasciavano spazio per operazioni di questo genere, il rapporto con la città si faceva più schematico e conservatore, dovuto a una presa di distanza, di natura più economica che culturale, rispetto alle strutture preesistenti, recepite come un capitale da utilizzare sino all'estremo, mentre addossate ad esse si andavano erigendo le nuove strutture, funzionali ai programmi che via via venivano introdotti nella vita sociale.
Il paesaggio urbano che ne è derivato, con un centro percepito più come vecchio che come storico, ed una periferia tutta fatta di oggetti nuovi scelti da un repertorio centralizzato, è, quanto meno, sconcertante nel suo palese rifiuto di stabilire una continuità culturale ed ambientale, contraddittoriamente a un'ipotesi politica che aveva rivendicato le radici della Rivoluzione nella storia di

of the Third World, in open opposition to the models offered and imposed by the metropolis Cuba was laboriously disassociating itself from The idea that it would and should be possible to control directly the shaping of all constructed space, from projects on the smallest scale right up to the industrial design of consumer objects was enthusiastically welcomed and approved by the whole profession, which assumed responsibility for its implementation with a mixed sense of liberation and prophetic awe, and no trace of doubt as to the real scale of the undertaking. Their attitude reflected an extremely generalised approach to doing things that has often produced unforeseen or unlikely results when examined in a strictly rational way.

In the building industry, modernisation was imposed in the form of industrialisation, standardisation and prefabrication, a strategy which took little account of the time needed for ideas to develop and mature, or of other unavoidable connections with other areas of the economy, technology and culture. As the situations became increasingly complex, the solutions adopted to deal comprehensively with all the country's problems were gradually simplified in a process of retrenchment that inevitably lowered the standard not only of projects but also of materials, workmanship and the coordination of all the work that was going on. Since there were no technicians, standardisation was extended from construction components to entire buildings available from catalogues, free-standing units that could be inserted into any context provided just the functional basics were taken account of.

The most convincing outcome by far of this situation was the building of hundreds of lower secondary schools as part of one of the country's most ambitious social programmes. Situated out in the fields, the schools were intended to assist in the technological and social transformation of entire regions given over to the vegetable, citrus fruit and tobacco cultivation for which the pupils themselves provided a significant proportion of the work force.

As an indication of the spirit of the times, we might recall that a few years earlier in 1962, Giuseppe Samonà ended a fruitful period of teaching at the Architecture Faculty in Rome by outlining a futuristic reorganisation of the school system: "There will be large concentrations of secondary schools that will be much more important than the universities because they will bring to maturity the minds that will contribute to the formation of an extremely dynamic society. These school complexes will exist independently on the open land, isolated from the general population and cities they will have no material need of (...)"[12]. *This prophecy became almost literally a reality in Cuba, and has still far from yielded its full potential. The fact remains that, precisely because they are a recurring element in a global strategy designed to transform the country, the* Schools in the Fields *have become a linguistic and typological symbol of the Revolution's boldest attempt yet to transform Cuban culture.*

By contrast, although at a regional level weaker central control still left room for operations of this kind, relations with the city were more conservative and schematic because of an economic rather cultural aloofness which saw existing structures as capital to be utilised to the full, and to which new structures forming part of the programmes entering the social life of the country could be added.

The resulting urban landscape — with a centre perceived simply as old rather than historical and outskirts built entirely from a central, standardised repertoire — is disconcerting to say the least in its obvious rejection of cultural and environmental continuity, in open contradiction to a political stance that had located the origins of the Revolution in a hundred-year history of a struggle for liberation and had used its own cultural identity as a weapon of resistance.

It was from just these paradoxes that the first signs of architectural renewal began to appear in the Eighties in a series of factors that would produce widely differing, and often confused and contradictory results.

The impetus towards renewal came from a variety of sources. One was the Faculty of Architecture, where haggard groups of students (egged on by equally haggard faculty gurus), dissatisfied with the forms of pragmatism then in force, reaffirmed the transcendental nature of architecture and pursued various courses of study that led them to rediscover forms of architecture their fathers had rejected, look more closely at eclectic typologies rather than the colonial ones that were already taken for granted and at various forms of Postmodernism, and reactivate some of the "tropicalising" tendencies of pre-Revolutionary Modernism. The result was a new ethical and aesthetic stance that rejected, in the name of popular culture and in contrast to the cultural policies then in force, the demagogic slovenliness that was justifying and condoning the increasing disfigurement of the country's architectural environment.

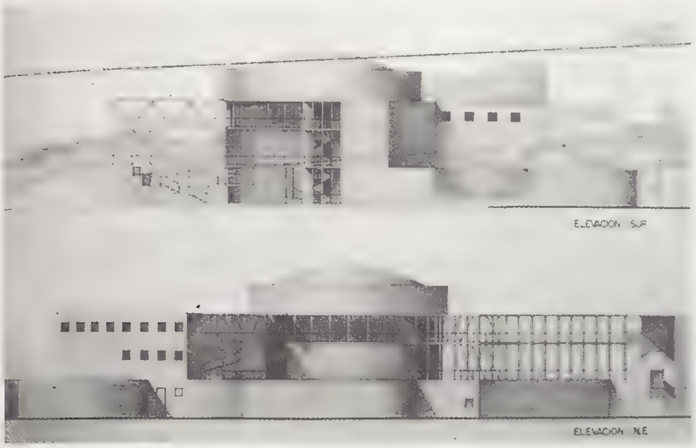
Another source was Havana's Architecture and Urban Planning Office which, under Mario Coyula Cowley's shrewd

1. Teresa Luis, Oscar García, Teatro a Casablanca (progetto di laurea), L'Avana, 1989.
2. Francisco Bedoya, Concorso per un edificio residenziale a Reina y Aquila (primo premio), L'Avana, 1990.
3. Hector Laguna, Omaggio alle Scuole d'Arte. Contributo al "Taller de ideas" sull'identità nazionale, 1991.
4. Teresa Luis, Oscar García, Hector Laguna, Concorso per la sede della Associazione "Hermanos Saiz" (primo premio), L'Avana, 1990.
5. Claudia Baroni, Oscar Guevara, Ileana Perez, Concorso per studenti per il Memoriale a José Antonio Echeverría (primo premio), Cardenas, 1987.
6. Belkis Guevara, Julio Olmedo, Oscar Guevara, Concorso per la sede dell'Associazione "Hermanos Saiz" (secondo premio), L'Avana, 1990.

cent'anni di lotta liberatrice e che assumeva come arma di resistenza la propria identità culturale.
Precisamente da questi paradossi nascono, nella decade degli anni Ottanta, i primi sintomi di rinnovamento, in un susseguirsi di condizionamenti di diversa indole che ne determineranno esiti dissimili, spesso confusi e contraddittori.
I luoghi da cui prendono avvio queste correnti di rinnovamento sono molteplici.
Uno è la Facoltà di Architettura, dove sparuti gruppi di studenti (animati da non meno sparuti docenti di talento), insoddisfatti dei vari pragmatismi dominanti, si sono riproposti il senso trascendente della disciplina e hanno intrapreso itinerari diversi, che li hanno portati alla riscoperta dei trattati di architettura che i padri avevano bruciato, all'esame delle tipologie eclettiche più che di quelle coloniali già scontate, alla frequentazione dei vari postmodernismi, alla ripresa degli intenti di "tropicalizzazione" dei codici moderni degli anni prerivoluzionari. Ne è risultata una nuova posizione etica ed estetica che rifiutava, proprio in nome della cultura popolare e perifericamente rispetto alle politiche culturali vigenti, la sciatteria demagogica con la quale si giustificava e permetteva la crescente deturpazione dell'ambiente costruito.
Un altro è l'Ufficio di Architettura e Urbanistica dell'Amministrazione della capitale, dove la direzione oculata di Mario Coyula Cowley[3] ha permesso la ricerca di un modo alternativo di costruire e ricostruire la città, nella fattispecie l'Avana, un gioiello minacciato non si sa se più dal tempo o dagli uomini. Il suo lavoro di recupero della trama storica della città è stato fondamentale ai fini di rifondare, tanto nell'Università come negli uffici di progetto, i principi del disegno urbano.
Nella stessa direzione ha operato l'ufficio del Historiador de la Ciudad, una istituzione prestigiosa ma eminentemente culturale trasformata da Eusebio Leal in un ente dinamico, costruttivo, a cui si deve l'azione iniziale di ricostruzione dell'Avana Vecchia, dichiarata da parte dell'UNESCO "Patrimonio dell'Umanità", fatto che a sua volta ha potenziato il Centro di Conservazione, Restauro e Museologia (CENCREM), facendone uno dei fulcri più importanti di cultura architettonica e urbanistica.
Su questi processi si è innestata, a partire dalla seconda metà degli anni Ottanta, un'azione sempre più diffusa ed articolata di rimessa in discussione delle forme

management[3], made possible research into alternative ways of constructing and reconstructing the city, and more specifically, Havana itself, a jewel under now under threat as much from the effects of time as from the actions of man. His work in preserving the historical fabric of the city was fundamental in re-establishing urban planning principles in both the university and the planning offices.
Still another source was the office of the Historiador de la Ciudad, an outdated institution which Eusebio Leal had transformed into a dynamic, constructive enterprise that had initiated the reconstruction of Old Havana. UNESCO had declared Old Havana part of the Heritage of Man, and this had in turn given more clout to the Conservation, Restoration and Museum Centre (CENCREM), which had become one of Cuba's key architectural and urban planning institutions as a result.
From the mid Eighties on, more widespread and increasingly coherent discussion of the organisational procedures, technical assumptions and cultural principles that had informed almost twenty years of architectural design work added extra impetus to these processes. Although it all remained very much a matter of argument and debate, and relatively few points were ever agreed on, some projects were realised which enable us to assess the scope and validity of the changes taking place.
First and foremost, there was the work of the young generations who had graduated in Eighties. It is they who have contributed most to the debate, mainly through competitions, conferences and exhibitions, with wide-ranging projects that identified them with the cultural ferment that has gradually spread from the plastic arts to other areas of intellectual activity[4]. Their finished work is allied to the process of urban renovation triggered off by the re-emergence of the microbrigadas, *worker organisations in all areas of activity who were brought in to make good the shortfall of manpower needed in a capital desperate to build new homes. In the earlier phase during the Seventies, the* microbrigadas *had intervened at city level and had so been responsible for the construction of large suburban districts. More recently, they have worked within each of the fifteen municipalities that make up the city, which has meant that the problem of how to fit new buildings into the city's historical fabric has had to be faced. This enabled project groups to be decentralised at local level, and this is where the new generations of architects have found most room to work in. And it is precisely here that the contradictions and deviations*

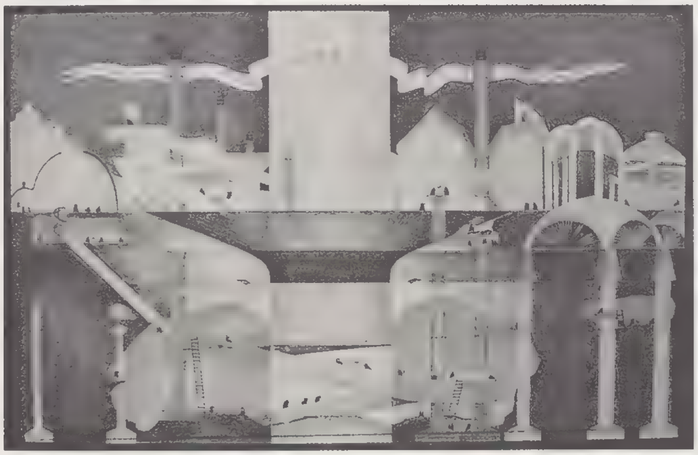
1. *Teresa Luis, Oscar García, Theatre in Casablanca (degree project), Havana, 1989.*
2. *Francisco Bedoya, Competition project (first prize) for residential building in Reina y Aquila, Havana, 1990.*
3. *Hector Laguna, Tribute to the Art Schools. Contribution to the "Taller de ideas" on national identity, 1991.*
4. *Teresa Luis, Oscar García, Hector Laguna, Competition project (first prize) for "Hermanos Saiz" Association headquarters, Havana, 1990.*
5. *Claudia Baroni, Oscar Guevara, Ileana Perez, Student competition project (first prize) for Memorial to José Antonio Echeverría, Cardenas, 1987.*
6. *Belkis Guevara, Julio Olmedo, Oscar Guevara, Competition project (second prize) for "Hermanos Saiz" Association headquarters, Havana, 1990.*



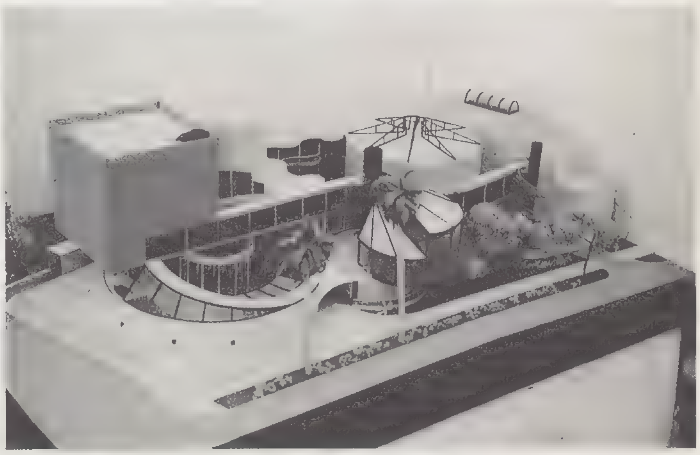
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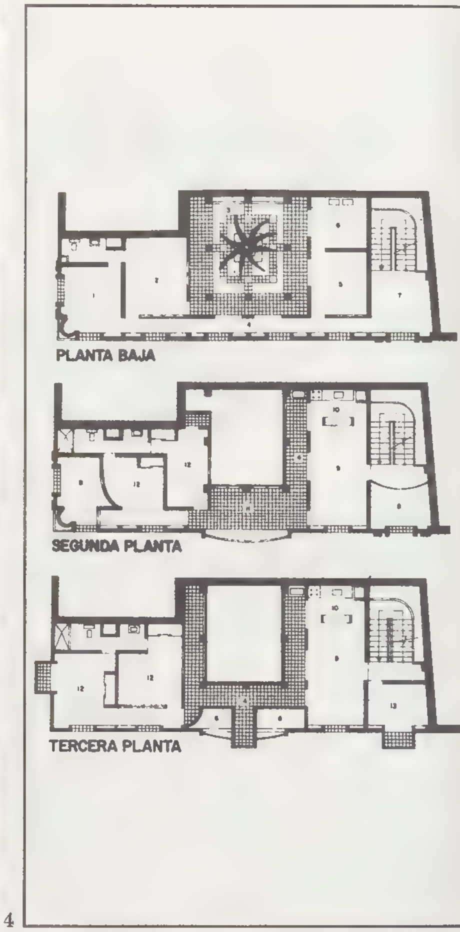


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1. Casa-consultorio secondo un progetto-tipo iniziale, poi in parte abbandonato, Santiago di Cuba, 1988.
2. Eduardo Luis Rodriguez, Alloggi nell'Avana Vecchia (Microbrigadas), 1988.
3. Ricardo Fernandez, Casa-consultorio nell'Avana Vecchia, 1988.

4.5. Eduardo Luis Rodriguez, Casa-consultorio nell'Avana Vecchia, 1987-88: piante e vista.


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1. Early pilot project, later partially abandoned, for a surgery-home, Santiago de Cuba, 1988.
2. Eduardo Luis Rodriguez, Housing in Old Havana (Microbrigadas), 1988.
3. Ricardo Fernandez, Surgery-home in Old Havana, 1988.
4.5. Eduardo Luis Rodriguez, Surgery-home in Old Havana, 1987-88: plans and view.

organizzative, delle premesse tecniche e dei principi culturali sui quali si era venuta strutturando durante quasi vent'anni l'attività progettuale. Benché questo sviluppo si sia prodotto principalmente sul piano del dibattito ed abbia fissato solo alcuni punti sui quali si è esteso il consenso, non sono mancate alcune realizzazioni che permettono di calibrarne la portata e verificarne la legittimità.
In primo luogo risalta il lavoro delle giovani generazioni, laureatesi durante gli anni Ottanta: sono le leve che più hanno contribuito al dibattito, attraverso soprattutto concorsi, convegni, mostre, con una diversificazione di contributi comune al fermento culturale che, a partire dalle arti plastiche, si è esteso gradualmente ad altre sfere dell'intellettualità[4]. Le opere realizzate si inseriscono soprattutto nel processo di rinnovo della città, innescato dal rifiorire delle "*microbrigadas*", organizzazioni operaie — di tutti i settori d'attività — incaricate di sopperire alla mancanza di forza lavoro, nella capitale, per far fronte alla costruzione d'alloggi. Mentre nella fase anteriore (anni Settanta) le *microbrigadas* agivano alla scala dell'intera città producendo grandi quartieri periferici, recentemente invece si sono strutturate alla scala dei 15 municipi che conformano la città, imponendo così la necessità di affrontare l'inserimento degli interventi nei tessuti storici. È stata questa l'occasione per decentrare gruppi di progetto al livello municipale, dove più facilmente hanno trovato spazio queste nuove generazioni. Ed è proprio in episodi come questi che si evidenziano le contraddizioni e le deviazioni che ha provocato la mancanza di quella che avrebbe potuto essere una fertile osmosi tra la progettazione di programmi massivi e la sperimentazione affidata a opere specifiche, la dialettica permanente tra quantità e qualità, tra tradizione ed innovazione, tra ricerca teorica e pratica costruttiva. A questo vuoto concettuale si è sopperito con letture decontestualizzate dell'architettura, pubblicata e pubblicizzata, del Nord sviluppato, che così di nuovo approda, in una ennesima operazione "autocolonizzante", in queste terre ancora immuni dal tardocapitalismo, dalla postindustrializzazione, dalla disideologizzazione, insomma dai fondamenti della condizione postmoderna. Siamo lontani dallo sforzo di coniugare con nuove sintassi i temi ancestrali riproposti dal ciclone rivoluzionario, come successe negli anni Sessanta. Si tratta invece, in troppi casi, dell'adozione gratuita di una grammatica ancora estranea e poco assimilata, che spesso arriva a produrre solo un banale pseudoaggiornamento linguistico più vicino al "franglais" o

produced by the absence of what might have been a fruitful exchange between large-scale planning and experimentation with individual works, and the eternal dialectic between quantity and quality, tradition and innovation, theory and practice, are most apparent. The conceptual void has been filled with decontextualised approaches to architecture — published and publicised in the developed North — which have thus made yet more "self-colonising" inroads into countries still unaffected by late capitalism, post-industrialisation and de-ideologisation, or in short, by the principles of Postmodernism. The effort that was made to provide the indigenous themes brought to the forefront by the Revolutionary fervour of the Sixties with a new syntax now seems remote indeed. All too often, what we have seen is the uncritical adoption of a new syntax still largely alien and undigested in Cuba that has only produced a spurious updating of language which seems more like "Franglais" or "Spenglish" than any new form of eclecticism. And yet, in spite of these perhaps inevitable limitations, some works do show that these developments merit continuous discussion, monitoring and encouragement.
Eduardo Luis Rodriguez (1959) is one of the younger architects who has contributed most to this collective enterprise. In addition to being an active exhibition organiser, lecturer, writer and researcher in relatively unknown areas of Cuban architectural history, Rodriguez has to his credit one of the projects that had the greatest impact on the already tottering structures of placid institutional life in the late Eighties. In Cuba, the state "family doctor" is responsible for bringing healthcare to 120 families, or around 500 inhabitants. He is the essential link in an increasingly complex and comprehensive network of services which is beyond question one of the most remarkable and widely known achievements of Cuba's social policy. His role is more preventive than therapeutic, so his work in the community involves systematic observation of the environmental, social and domestic conditions of the families he is responsible for. The need to live in the community means that the "clinic" has to be integrated with the homes of the resident doctor and nurse, so could a new architectural typology had to be devised that could meet the needs of the moment. One way of doing this might have been to make a "mark" on the territory, especially since most of the top-priority areas in the programme were situated in rural or mountainous regions. This solution would have been a repetition of the Schools in the Fields *project whose architectural forms successfully*

al "inglagnol" che ai nuovi eclettismi.
Nonostante questi limiti, forse inevitabili, alcune opere indicano comunque che questa ricerca merita di occupare uno spazio permanente dove possa essere discussa, seguita e stimolata.
Eduardo Luis Rodriguez (n. 1959) è uno di questi giovani che con maggiore impegno contribuisce all'indagine collettiva. Animatore di esposizioni, conferenziere, articolista, ricercatore in alcuni dei terreni meno esplorati della storia architettonica cubana, ha al suo attivo una delle opere che più hanno scosso, verso la fine degli anni Ottanta, le già tentennanti strutture del quieto vivere istituzionale.
Il "medico della famiglia" è una figura assistenziale che deve portare la sanità pubblica alla scala di 120 famiglie, più o meno 500 abitanti. È concepito come l'anello di partenza di una sempre più complessa ed esauriente rete di servizi che è, indubbiamente, uno dei risultati più notevoli e riconosciuti della politica sociale del paese. Il suo compito non è tanto terapeutico quanto preventivo ed ha quindi una proiezione nella comunità che comporta l'osservazione sistematica delle condizioni ambientali, sociali, domestiche delle famiglie interessate. Dalla necessaria convivenza con la comunità assistita deriva che il "consultorio" sia integrato con gli alloggi del medico e dell'infermiere. Si tratta quindi di una nuova tipologia, la cui progettazione rispecchia chiaramente i travagli del momento. Un modo di avvicinarla sarebbe stato di farne un "segno" nel territorio, soprattutto trattandosi di zone rurali di montagna, prioritarie nell'attuazione del programma. Questa impostazione avrebbe ripetuto l'esperienza delle *Scuole nel Campo*, che riuscirono effettivamente a identificare formalmente quel particolare programma scolastico. Di fatto, la prima risposta progettuale, ancora subordinata all'idea del progetto-tipo, andava in questo senso; sfortunatamente (o chissà se fortunatamente) il livello del progetto, incapace o incurante di adempiere al ruolo simbolico che la nuova tipologia avrebbe potuto assumere, fu di tale povertà che comportò l'abbandono di questa opzione, per approdare infine alle soluzioni singole, d'altra parte rese indispensabili dall'estendersi del programma ai tessuti urbani, una occasione ulteriore per cimentarsi nella relazione nuovo-vecchio-antico, che era stata sistematicamente elusa per quasi trent'anni.
La Casa-consultorio realizzata nel 1988 per l'Avana Vecchia da Eduardo Luis Rodriguez affronta il problema evitando pigri mimetismi, ricorrendo invece a uno studio

embodied the philosophy of the project itself, and in fact, the first solution to be proposed, then still a pilot project, was very much of this type. Unfortunately (or perhaps fortunately), the standard of the project, unable to or uninterested in fulfilling the symbolic function the new typology could have offered, was so low that the whole idea was abandoned in favour of the individual solutions that became necessary when the project spreaded into the towns and cities and offered a further opportunity to consolidate the relationship between the new, the old and the ancient that had been systematically avoided for almost thirty years.
The clinic-home designed by Eduardo Luis Rodriguez for Old Havana in 1988 has tackled the problem by avoiding uncritical imitation and making a careful survey of the forms and structures of the district. This is one of the city's most composite areas. It has been continuously renovated, and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fortifications, eighteenth-century Baroque churches, nineteenth-century "religiocratic" palaces and twentieth-century American banks rub shoulders with each other amicably enough in a broader eclectic fabric of modest, dignified popular homes that constitute the most visible and representative face of Havana's architecture. In Rodriguez's building, the central idea of the patio — which land speculation has significantly reduced in size and function to become little more than a small courtyard — is reinstated and becomes the heart of the building once again. The rooms of the clinic are located around the patio, with the two sets of living quarters above them. The large glazed wall projects whatever light there is in the narrow side-street outside into the patio; from there, it spreads with varying degrees of intensity into the corridors and rooms of the building to produce, in minimal space, a striking range of light, colour and environmental contrasts typical of the modern approach to the living space. Outside, the building reproduces many of the characteristic features of the district — sloping roofs, small balconies, the ratio between filled and empty spaces, the proportions of the rooms, the use of mouldings and colours — and becomes one of the best examples in Cuba of contextualised architecture still in the process of completion.
Almost at the same time, the most ambitious project ever commissioned from a young (if not actually contemporary) architect was completed in Santiago at the other end of the island. José Antonio Choy (1949) and his wife, Julia Léon were commissioned to design a hotel for the country's second most important city, "the cradle of the Revolution",

1.2. Roberto Caballero (con altri), Villaggio Panamericano, L'Avana, 1991.
3. Eusebio Azcue, Sala polivalente per attrezzature sportive, L'Avana, 1991.

1.2. Roberto Caballero (with others), Pan-American Village, Havana, 1991.
3. Eusebio Azcue, Multi-purpose sports hall for sports, Havana, 1991.



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1.2.3.4. José Antonio Choy, Julia León e altri, Hotel Santiago, Santiago di Cuba, 1991.

1.2.3.4. José Antonio Choy, Julia León and others, Hotel Santiago, Santiago de Cuba, 1991.



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attento delle forme e delle strutture della zona, il quartiere più composito della città, dove il rinnovamento è stato permanente e dove coabitano senza troppi scandali le fortificazioni del XVI e XVII secolo, le chiese barocche del XVIII, i palazzi della "sacarocrazia" del XIX e le banche americane del XX, il tutto su un tessuto di quell'eclettismo popolare, modesto e dignitoso, che è l'anima più visibile e diffusa dell'architettura avanera. Da questi riferimenti ha tratto spunto la Casa-consultorio; l'idea del patio, ridotto a dimensioni e funzioni minime — quasi un cavedio — dalla speculazione estrema del suolo, qui si riscatta e ridiventa il cuore dell'edificio; sul suo perimetro si organizzano le sale del consultorio a piano terra e le stanze dei due alloggi sovrapposti; la grande vetrata riversa su questo piccolo spazio la luminosità che riesce a catturare nella stretta strada laterale, e da qui questa si diffonde con diverse gradazioni nei corridoi, nelle camere, riuscendo a produrre, in uno spazio minimo, una intensa modulazione di contrasti luminosi, cromatici, atmosferici, che sono l'apporto di una sensibilità moderna al modo di abitare. All'esterno l'edificio si proietta con molteplici assonanze con le forme ricorrenti nel quartiere, dai tetti inclinati, al rapporto pieni-vuoti, alle proporzioni dei vani, all'uso di modanature e colori, all'affacciarsi di piccoli balconi, divenendo il caso più riuscito a Cuba di una contestualizzazione ancora in via di maturazione.
Quasi contemporaneamente a questo intervento si è realizzato a Santiago, all'estremo opposto dell'isola, il progetto più ambizioso affidato a un giovane, se non proprio di questa generazione, molto vicino ad essa. José Antonio Choy (n. 1949) e la moglie Julia León sono gli architetti incaricati di progettare un albergo per la seconda città più importante del paese, la "culla della Rivoluzione", le cui strutture ricettive erano rimaste molto arretrate rispetto alla crescita demografica ed economica.
Il tema comportava vari problemi, dalla ubicazione che doveva relazionarsi con il centro storico, rimanendone comunque ai margini, alla tecnologia che doveva essere di rapida esecuzione ed antisismica, alla volumetria che doveva tener conto di trame urbane fragili, però in processo di trasformazione. Un dato addizionale, che assunse via via importanza decisiva durante il progetto, era la destinazione dell'albergo al turismo internazionale, e quindi la adozione di standard di comfort e servizi corrispondenti.
La storia del progetto è emblematica delle traversie che sta vivendo l'architettura cubana: il risultato ottenuto è il frutto

whose hotel infrastructure had failed to keep pace with demographic and economic growth.
They were faced with a number of problems, including the siting of the hotel (which had to be on the edge of the historical centre yet identified with it), technology that would be both earthquake-resistant and speedy to assemble, and volumes that had to take account of a fragile urban fabric that was even then undergoing significant change. One further consideration which eventually became a priority during the design stage was the fact that the hotel was intended to attract international tourists, so appropriate standards of comfort and service had to be guaranteed.
The history of the project is emblematic of the difficulties Cuban architecture is going through, in the sense that the end result is the outcome of a series of clashes between vested interests in which the support given to the architects by local political interests, and the commitment of local constructors eager to free themselves from the domination of the capital, played an important part. An expanding local iron industry made it possible to use iron structures, a novelty in a country that had preferred until then to use reinforced concrete, relegating iron to industrial uses. The investment programmes in the early years, when the aim was to encourage tourist growth and a liberal attitude to expense was the order of day, produced yet another novelty, a plastic and glass curtain wall that could be tinted to screen out some of the glare of the tropical sun. In short, a set of local circumstances unlikely to be repeated in the foreseeable future meant that one of Cuba's costliest and most complex buildings could be erected when the country was about to be plunged into the crisis it is still wrestling with today. It is also one of the buildings that restates in the clearest and most unequivocal way the whole issue of aesthetic quality that seemed to have died away with the abandonment of the Art Schools project twenty-five years earlier. In spite of the powerful vernacular influence exerted by the city, the project succeeds in creating a technological image that harnesses a wide range of overlapping metaphors: the city recent industrial expansion, the references in the building's outline and shape to the ships that plough the waters of the beautiful bay, the broken outline of the hills surrounding the city which are echoed in the configuration of the roofs, the use of lively popular colours (already sanctioned by Sixties plastics and graphics), and use of the metal roofing much employed in the Antilles. Even the hotel's siting in one of the highest areas in the historical city, at a point where several inland roads

di una sequenza di scontri tra schieramenti diversi, in cui ha giocato un peso notevole l'appoggio dato ai progettisti dalle istanze politiche locali e l'impegno dei costruttori di Santiago, desiderosi di una sorta di affrancamento dall'egemonia della capitale. Una industria siderurgica locale in via di espansione ha permesso inoltre l'adozione di strutture in acciaio, fatto nuovo nel paese che aveva da anni confinato questo materiale alle costruzioni industriali, preferendogli il cemento armato. I programmi di investimento degli anni più recenti in cui si è puntato sulla crescita turistica, che non andavano molto per il sottile quanto a spese, hanno consentito un'altra novità: un *curtain-wall* di alluminio policromo e vetro, che permetteva a sua volta di introdurre un trattamento cromatico capace di resistere agli effetti devastatori del sole tropicale. Insomma, un insieme di circostanze, forse irrepetibili per molto tempo, che ha fatto sì che alle soglie stesse della crisi attuale si sia inaugurata una delle opere più complesse e costose del paese. Ed anche una delle opere che con più chiarezza e determinazione ripropone il problema della qualità e dell'immaginazione, che sembrava essersi spento venticinque anni prima nelle rovine delle Scuole d'Arte.
Nonostante le forti suggestioni vernacole che provenivano dalla città, il progetto propone un'immagine tecnologica che imbriglia molteplici metafore sovrapposte: dalla recente vocazione industriale della città, al richiamo, nella sagomatura della pianta, delle navi che solcano la stupenda baia, al profilo frastagliato delle colline che la circondano e che riecheggia, nella configurazione dei tetti, alla vivacità cromatica di origine popolare, ma già canonizzata dalla plastica e dalla grafica degli anni Sessanta, all'uso di coperture metalliche frequenti nella cultura antillana. La sua stessa localizzazione, in una delle zone più elevate della città storica, in un punto di confluenza di varie vie d'accesso dall'entroterra, al culmine di un asse viario che si è convertito progressivamente nel luogo deputato alle attività culturali della città — Teatro, Facoltà di Medicina, Politecnico, Centro di Informatica, Città dello Sport, alberghi, Piazza monumentale —, ne fa inevitabilmente un punto di riferimento, un segno inequivocabile di identità, in ovvio contrasto con le quattro case-torre con le quali, a poche centinaia di metri, si pretese, nei primi anni Ottanta, di "rinnovare" e "modernizzare" l'immagine della città. Considerazioni analoghe valgono per le soluzioni interne, tese a ricreare una trama quasi di natura urbana, densa di episodi spaziali, ambientali, formali. Più che in qualsiasi

converge at the head of an arterial road that has gradually become the cultural focus of the city — its Opera House, Medical Faculty, Polytechnic, IT Centre, Sports Centre, hotels and monumental square are all located along it — has, inevitably, made it a local landmark, an unmistakeable presence, in contrast with the four apartment blocks a few hundred metres away that had been intended to "refurbish" and "modernise" the city image in the early Eighties. The same is also true of the hotels interiors, which were designed to reproduce an almost urban density of spatial, formal and environmental incident. More than in any other Cuban project, young artists and designers have been given the chance everywhere in this building to work alongside the architects in creating distinctive spatial environments, whether in the bedrooms, the function rooms, the lobby, the external areas or the roof installations.
Another work, the Pan-American Village, completed in 1991 to coincide with the Pan-American Games and designed by a group of architects under Roberto Caballero (1949) to provide accommodation initially for 7000 athletes, and then a similar number of permanent residents in Havana, marks a turning point in urban housing design and planning.
We have already looked at how projects of this type developed in Cuba and, briefly, at some of the results they have achieved. It should be added here that everyone now knows and agrees that the housing problem has to be tackled with strategies that go beyond exclusively state intervention to involve a much broader range of interests, including, first and foremost, the population itself which has already proved its adaptability and skill in exploiting situations that escape the notice of heavyweight state structures. If this happens, it will entail radical changes not only in the country's productive system but also in its planning procedures, which have so far been organised from highly centralised offices. Local initiatives promoted by People's Councils — elected bodies to which many local administration functions are now being transferred — represent a trend towards decentralisation in which substantial decision-making powers are being handed over to local communities. In association with these Councils, "integrated change workshops" have been created to provide local planning assistance and social security services at local community level. This marks an entirely new subdivision of planning levels in Cuba that will promote real grass-roots participation in decision-making and meaningful dialogue between state structures and the people. As a result, architecture will have to take on new and far-reaching

1. José Antonio Choy, Terminal dell'Aeroporto Executive, Santiago di Cuba, 1987.

1. José Antonio Choy, Executive Airport Terminal, Santiago de Cuba, 1987.



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altra opera cubana, si è dato spazio in questo edificio a giovani artisti e *designer* che hanno saputo con i loro interventi, in felice sintonia con gli architetti, interpretare e contribuire alla caratterizzazione di ogni spazio, dalle camere da letto ai locali pubblici, alle zone d'attesa, alle aree esterne, alle coperture attrezzate.
Un'altra opera, il Villaggio Panamericano, finito nel 1991 in occasione dei Giochi Panamericani e progettato da un gruppo diretto da Roberto Caballero (n. 1949) per ospitare inizialmente 7000 atleti, e poi un numero equivalente di abitanti della capitale, rappresenta una svolta, in questo caso nel disegno urbano centrato sul problema della residenza.
Si è già accennato ai primordi di progetti di questo tipo ed anche, sommariamente, ai relativi esiti. Si deve aggiungere che è ormai evidente e riconosciuto che la questione degli alloggi deve essere affrontata con strategie che non possono limitarsi all'esclusiva azione statale, ma che devono invece coinvolgere una molteplicità di soggetti, a cominciare dalla stessa popolazione che ha dimostrato la sua capacità e flessibilità nell'utilizzare situazioni e potenzialità che sfuggono alla logica delle grandi e pesanti strutture statali. Ciò comporta una radicale trasformazione, non solo di tutto il complesso produttivo, ma anche della fase progettuale, finora organizzata in uffici altamente centralizzati.
Esperienze locali si stanno portando avanti alla scala dei Consigli Popolari di recente costituzione, organi elettivi a cui stanno trasferendosi numerose attività amministrative, in un decentramento che delega ampie quote decisionali alle comunità. Si sono creati, abbinati a tali Consigli, "Laboratori di trasformazione integrale" che mirano a svolgere una funzione di progettazione locale e di assistenza sociale alle comunità di quartiere, in modo tale da prospettare una articolazione assolutamente inedita, nella pratica cubana, tra i diversi livelli di pianificazione, favorendo una effettiva partecipazione delle istanze di base e un dialogo efficiente tra strutture statali e società civile, dove l'architettura dovrà affrontare impegni e responsabilità culturali di nuova e grande portata.
Parallelamente a tali processi, il Villaggio Panamericano rappresenta, all'interno della progettazione statale, il punto di convergenza di vari ripensamenti che venivano maturando in istituti tanto amministrativi che didattici, miranti al recupero della trama viaria reticolare, della strada commerciale, di spazi collettivi articolati e dotati di funzioni e connotazioni ambientali precise, di un asse gerarchizzato, strutturante l'intero impianto, secondo la tradizione del *"paseo"* alberato dell'Avana antica. Benché la realizzazione non riesca sempre ad evitare facili mimetismi, secondo certe immagini in voga, resta il fatto fondamentale del riscatto di uno spazio urbano che si era dissolto, ridotto a contenitore di funzioni meccaniche e di traffico, rinunciando al ruolo di coesione, di catalizzatore di contatti sociali della strada, dei passeggi, delle piazze, dei lungomare, ruolo particolarmente sentito in un ambiente come quello cubano, essenzialmente estroverso e aperto alla socialità.
Gli avvenimenti più recenti hanno comportato una drastica riduzione dei cantieri. Dalla drammatica situazione attuale, in cui l'obbiettivo principale è la sopravvivenza, tutti concordano che si potrà uscire solo con coraggio, immaginazione e creatività: il fatto che negli anni appena trascorsi si siano formati architetti che già hanno dato prova di essere capaci di prospettare una palingenesi aderente e attenta alle nuove condizioni in cui dovrà svolgersi la vita del paese, permette di sperare che l'uscita dalla crisi, come esprime l'ideogramma cinese oggi molto citato, significhi anche una nuova opportunità per riprendere il discorso sull'architettura tanto felicemente iniziato trent'anni fa.

Note
1) Fernando Salinas (nato nel 1930 e dolorosamente scomparso in questi giorni) e Roberto Segre (n. 1934) sono senz'altro le figure che più hanno contribuito a mantenere aperto il discorso sulle componenti culturali dell'architettura e dell'urbanistica, dedicando una particolare energia alla sistematizzazione e diffusione dei principi del "disegno ambientale". Entrambi hanno svolto a livello latinoamericano, nell'ambito universitario e in altri circoli, un lavoro essenziale sul piano teorico, critico e storico e, nel caso del primo, una opera progettuale e di ricerca tra le più importanti del periodo.
2) G. SAMONÀ, *Conclusioni*, in AA.VV., *La città territorio*, Bari 1964, p. 99.
3) Mario Coyula Cowley (n. 1935), professore alla Facoltà di Architettura, è attualmente il vicedirettore del "Gruppo per lo Sviluppo Integrale della Capitale", un centro preposto al coordinamento e alla promozione delle diverse attività attinenti allo sviluppo dell'Avana. Il Gruppo svolge un ruolo molto importante di articolazione delle diverse competenze amministrative, di insegnamento e di ricerca insieme con il Governo Provinciale (La Città dell'Avana è in sé una delle 14 provincie del paese). Dipendono da questa istanza i "Laboratori di sviluppo integrale" cui si fa riferimento più avanti.
4) La maggior parte di questi giovani ha trovato un punto d'approdo nell'Associazione "Fratelli Saiz", circolo culturale che ha patrocinato concorsi d'idee (particolarmente importante quello per la sua stessa nuova sede), dibattiti, mostre (emblematica quella realizzata all'inizio del 1990 "Architettura Giovane Cubana"), premi alle opere di architetti giovani (esempio recente il premio "Walter Betancourt" abbinato alla IV Biennale dell'Avana, che è anche stata l'occasione per un doveroso omaggio alla memoria di un architetto nato e formatosi negli Stati Uniti, che ha lasciato a Cuba un'importante, anche se poco conosciuta, opera di alto livello culturale).

cultural commitments and responsibilities.
In parallel with this, the Pan-American Village represents, in terms of state planning, a focal point for the reappraisals now taking place in Cuba's administrative as well as teaching institutions of how the functions of the city's street grid can be restored — the concept of the commercial street, clearly articulated collective space with precise environmental connotations and functions, a hierarchical axis that will structure the entire grid in the tradition of Old Havana's tree-lined Paseo. *Although the finished project does not entirely been eschew facile imitation of fashionable themes, the fact remains that it has redeemed an urban area that had disintegrated into a mere container for mechanical functions and traffic, abandoning its role as a catalyst for social contact and cohesiveness in streets, promenades, squares and along the seafront — a need that is felt especially strongly in an essentially extrovert country like Cuba open to any kind of social contact.*
Recent events have drastically reduced the amount of building work going on. Everyone agrees that the only way out of the present situation — in which the first priority is sheer survival — is to draw on the nation resources of courage, imagination and creative talent. The fact that architects who completed their training only a few years ago are already able to envisage an architectural rebirth commensurate with the new conditions that will determine the future life of the city, leads us to hope that, as in the Chinese ideogram everyone is quoting at the moment, Cuba's eventual recovery will also provide a new opportunity to resume the architectural debate that has begun so well thirty years ago.

Notes

1) Fernando Salinas (b. 1930 and sadly dead in these days) and Roberto Segre (b. 1934) are undoubtedly the architects who have done most to keep discussion about the cultural aspects of architecture and urban planning in Cuba going. They have played an especially active role in formulating and popularising the principles of "environmental design". Both have produced essential theoretical, critical and historical work at the university and elsewhere. Salinas was also responsible for one of the most important planning and research works of the period.

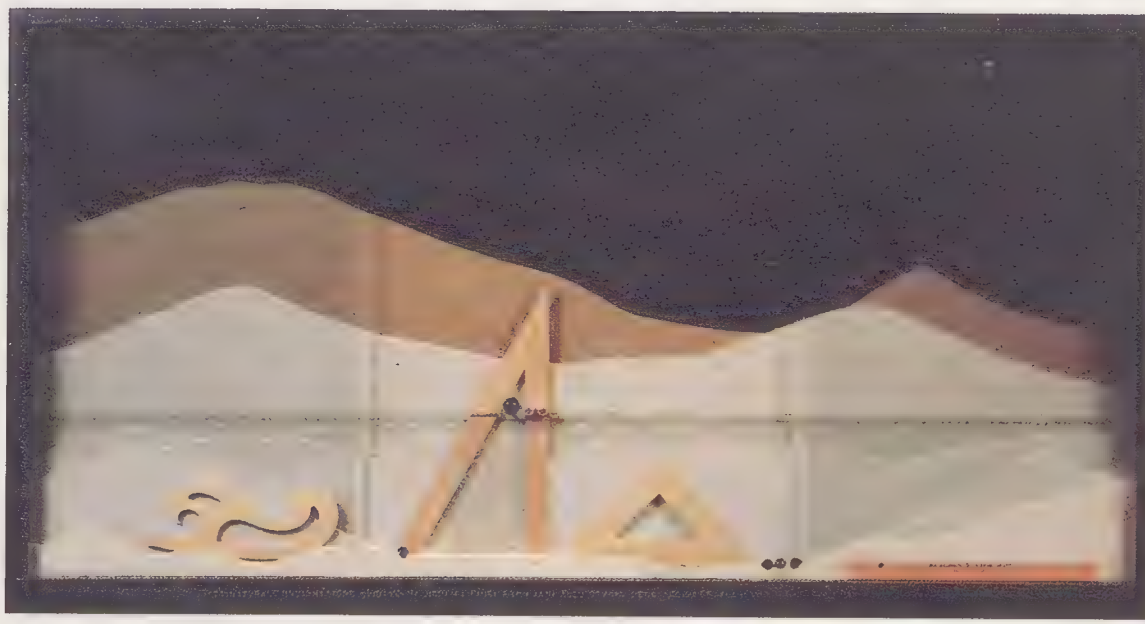
2) G. SAMONA', Conclusioni, *in Various Authors,* La città territorio, *Bari, 1964, p. 99.*

3) Mario Coyula Cowley (b. 1935), lecturer in the Faculty of Architecture, is currently deputy director of the capital "Integrated Development Group" founded to coordinate and encourage activities that can contribute to the development of Havana. The Group plays an important part in coordinating administrative, teaching and research functions in conjunction with the Provincial Government (the City of Havana is in one of the country's fourteen provinces). The "integrated change workshops" we shall be looking at later on are coordinated by the Group.

4) Most of these young architects have received support from the "Fratelli Saiz" Association, a cultural body that has sponsored competitions (the one for its own new headquarters was especially important), debates, exhibitions ("Young Cuban Architecture" early in 1990 was representative) and prizes for works by young architects (one recent example was the "Walter Betancourt" prize linked to the Fourth Havana Biennial, which also paid due tribute to an architect born and trained in America who left Cuba an important though little known work of a high cultural standard).

Domingo Alvarez, "Da naturale inclinatione guidato mi diedi nei miei primi anni allo studio dell'architettura", *1992. Legno, vetro, sabbia, cm. 75.5 × 143.2 × 10.2.*

Domingo Alvarez, "Da naturale inclinatione guidato mi diedi nei miei primi anni allo studio dell'architettura", *1992. Wood, glass and sand, 75.5 x 143.2 x 10.2 cm.*



Domingo Alvarez (1935), Venezuela

Alberto Cruz (1917), Cooperativa Amereida, Chile

Christian de Groote (1931), Chile

Clorindo Testa (1923), Argentina

Aslan y Ezcurra, Argentina

Gramática/Guerrero/Morini/Pisani/

Urtubey/Pisani arqs. e ings., Argentina

Lina Bo Bardi (1919-1992), Brasil

Luiz Paulo Conde (1934), Brasil

Severiano Mário Porto (1930), Brasil

Rogelio Salmona (1929), Colombia

Laureano Forero (1938), Colombia

Fruto Vivas (1928), Venezuela

Jimmy Alcock (1932), Venezuela

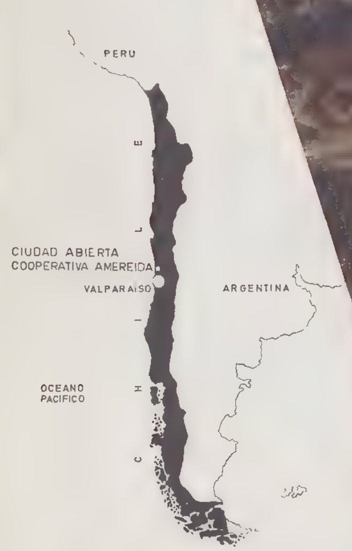
Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (1936), Venezuela

Abraham Zabludovsky (1924), México

Opere e autori presentati in questo numero sono stati indicati da Juan Pedro Posani (1931), Alberto Sato (1945), Jorge Francisco Liernur (1946), Roberto Fernández (1946) e Sergio Baroni (1930)

The architects and works featuring in this issue were chosen by Juan Pedro Posani (1931), Alberto Sato (1945), Jorge Francisco Liernur (1946), Roberto Fernández (1946) and Sergio Baroni (1930)



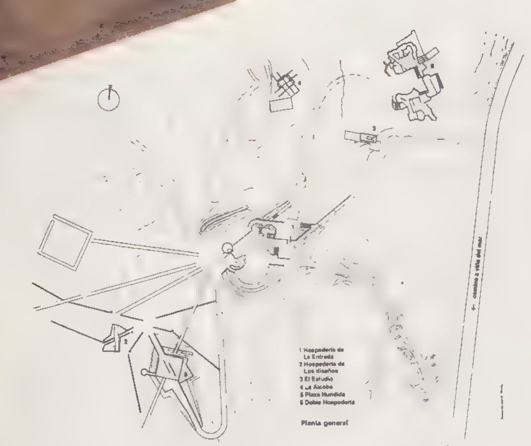


The siting of the Open City on the South American continent.
Open City, Valparaíso, Chile, 1970.
Aerial view and site plan.

Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida, Chile

Ciudad Abierta, Valparaíso, Chile, 1970
Agora de Tronquoy, Ciudad Abierta, Valparaíso, Chile, 1973
Lugares de Hospitalidad, Ciudad Abierta, Valparaíso, Chile, 1972
"Travesia" a Santiago, Chile, 1988
"Travesia" a la Pampa, Argentina, 1990

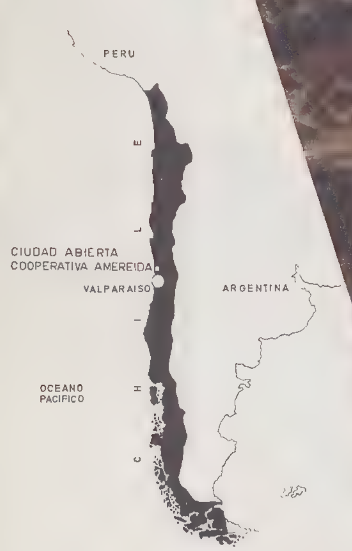
Localizzazione della Città Aperta nel continente sudamericano.
Città Aperta, Valparaíso, Cile, 1970.
Vista aerea e planimetria.



"Città Aperta", "Agorà", "Luoghi di Ospitalità", "Traversie"
Gruppo "Città Aperta", Valparaíso, Cile

Cominciamo questo scritto di presentazione delle nostre opere occupandoci della loro nascita. Perché per noi l'origine è un fatto categorico.
Siccome siamo americani, dell'America del Sud, l'origine per noi è qualcosa che ci fa vivere una condizione di costante formazione, formandoci noi stessi nel dar forma alle opere.
Viviamo secondo una tradizione che va costruendo la forma di se stessa.
Abbiamo citato l'origine, ora possiamo aggiungere un fatto: dalla fine della nostra stagione di studenti universitari abbiamo lavorato sempre in gruppo. Imparando a concepire e realizzare le opere in comunità, rispecchiando l'essenza delle città, la cui forma è il risultato dell'operato di innumerevoli architetti. Forse per questo, non siamo insensibili all'incontro con i poeti.
Essi ci hanno insegnato che la loro poesia è quella che canta l'origine. È una poesia, questa, che non solo scrive poemi, ma celebra anche "atti poetici". Con questa poesia, dalla quale non ci siamo mai separati, abbiamo portato avanti una esperienza, giorno per giorno, durata 40 anni. I poeti scrissero *Amereida*, l'*Eneide* d'America.
Ascoltandola, abbiamo cominciato a dare forma, con uno sguardo secondo il quale un occhio vede l'opera che si sta alzando qui, un altro occhio vede come questa si stende là sul continente.
Secondo questi concetti presentiamo due opere di architettura: una, che ha luogo qui a Valparaíso e che abbiamo chiamato "Città Aperta"; l'altra che ha luogo là, in tanti punti della lunghezza e della larghezza di questo continente americano, in opere che chiamiamo "Opere della Traversia".
Abbiamo potuto realizzare tali opere perché, durante tanti anni, abbiamo pensato che l'opera di architettura non è una massa indistinta di materia architettonica, ma è opera "di apertura", oppure "di fondazione". Quest'ultima accenna a quell'edilizia che, giorno per giorno, via via costruisce la città, mentre la prima, quella di apertura, è quella nella quale noi ci troviamo impegnati direttamente e che, potrebbe dirsi, agisce in un tempo diverso di quella di fondazione: essa creativamente ripiega su se stessa, affinché la fondazione avanzi.
Noi viviamo nella coscienza che un giorno un'apertura come la nostra sarà fondazione, anche se non ci preoccupiamo direttamente che ciò possa accadere. E così costruiamo il tempo presente perché, pensiamo, la costruzione del presente è la destinazione dell'operare architettonico in questa America del Sud.
Abbiamo citato *Amereida*: in verità questo scritto avrebbe dovuto essere dedicato a far conoscere l'opera poetica: rimane comunque l'invito, per chi sia interessato, a conoscerla. Quello che possiamo fare è presentare le nostre



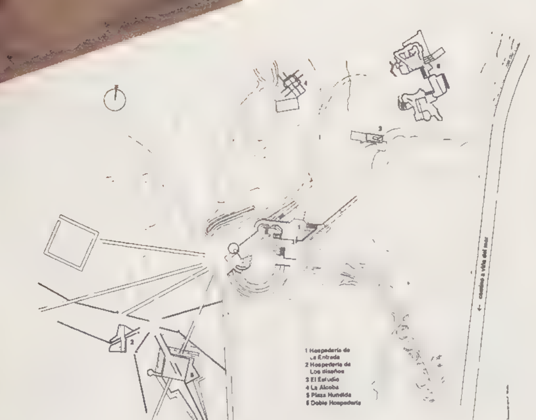


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Ascoltandola, abbiamo cominciato a dare forma, con uno sguardo secondo il quale un occhio vede l'opera che si sta alzando qui, un altro occhio vede come questa si stende là sul continente.
Secondo questi concetti presentiamo due opere di architettura: una, che ha luogo qui a Valparaíso e che abbiamo chiamato "Città Aperta"; l'altra che ha luogo là, in tanti punti della lunghezza e della larghezza di questo continente americano, in opere che chiamiamo "Opere della Traversia".
Abbiamo potuto realizzare tali opere perché, durante tanti anni, abbiamo pensato che l'opera di architettura non è una massa indistinta di materia architettonica, ma è opera "di apertura", oppure "di fondazione". Quest'ultima accenna a quell'edilizia che, giorno per giorno, via via costruisce la città, mentre la prima, quella di apertura, è quella nella quale noi ci troviamo impegnati direttamente e che, potrebbe dirsi, agisce in un tempo diverso di quella di fondazione: essa creativamente ripiega su se stessa, affinché la fondazione avanzi.
Noi viviamo nella coscienza che un giorno un'apertura come la nostra sarà fondazione, anche se non ci preoccupiamo direttamente che ciò possa accadere. E così costruiamo il tempo presente perché, pensiamo, la costruzione del presente è la destinazione dell'operare architettonico in questa America del Sud.
Abbiamo citato *Amereida*: in verità questo scritto avrebbe dovuto essere dedicato a far conoscere l'opera poetica: rimane comunque l'invito, per chi sia interessato, a conoscerla. Quello che possiamo fare è presentare le nostre

opere di architettura, che permettono di segnalare questa poesia. D'altra parte sappiamo che le opere architettoniche di fondazione ammettono di essere mostrate, mentre quelle di apertura si ribellano. Cosicché, questa presentazione prende forma con queste due assenze: il senso poetico, e la dimensione propriamente di apertura delle opere che abbiamo realizzato.

Nonostante tali assenze, crediamo che in questo momento la nostra attività possa esser conosciuta dagli europei affinché il nostro presente — di cui abbiamo parlato — si avvicini di più all'arte della costruzione del mondo.

D'accordo con tutto questo, puntiamo sulla dimensione d'apertura dell'opera architettonica, che si manifesta come "opera-edificio" e come "opera-continente".

Quanto al continente americano, è innegabile una tradizione che lo considera abitualmente come un limite: una situazione limite d'Europa, perché oltre il Pacifico gli europei proseguono con una diversa densità. È innegabile che ogni operare comincia col generare il limite. Questa tradizione si trova "assunta" nella nostra realtà d'oggi — nel nostro pensiero e nella pratica architettonica — nelle opere costruite a partire dai limiti. Succede così che la tradizione del continente come limite si riversa nella precisione dei limiti dell'opera architettonica attuale.

Ascoltando la parola di *Amereida*, possiamo dire che la generazione dell'opera non inizia dai limiti, bensì dal centro. Negli "atti poetici" i poeti si arrestano sospesi e gli architetti, per un attimo, rimangono in solitudine; in questo momento fanno un passo avanti per dar forma a un "vuoto architettonico", un "vuoto" in cerca dei suoi limiti. Pertanto si apre la possibilità di una nuova comprensione di tutto quello che è una situazione limite; è ciò che *Amereida* chiama: "*cambiare il nord*".

Questa azione segnala la relazione tra parola poetica, che parla "per sé" in lingua, e mestiere di architetto, che parla "per sé" nel linguaggio architettonico. La relazione è: Origine = Poesia e Generazione = Mestiere architettonico, Opera di architettura.

Adesso possiamo mostrare le opere. Ma prima dobbiamo avvertire che ne abbiamo costruite circa quindici nella "Città Aperta" e circa quaranta nelle "Traversie" nel continente. Non siamo in grado di scegliere quali mostrare, ma ne prenderemo due o tre, quasi a caso. Esse in ogni modo parleranno dell'ordine comune che ha dato loro forma, analogamente a quanto succede per le opere dell'inizio di questi nostri quarant'anni, circa una ventina, giacché ogni opera s'impegna a costruire la sua realizzazione cominciando da una stessa origine.

Mostreremo due momenti di questa relazione Poesia-Architettura. In uno, la poesia parla di Vita, Lavoro, Studio: della loro unità. Essa è propriamente un'utopia. Ma la poesia indica l'"utopia realizzata". E tale realizzazione ci ha indotto a costruire e abitare la "Città Aperta" che, per governarsi, necessita di ciò che abbiamo chiamato "Agorà"; perché la "Città Aperta" è fatta soltanto coi nostri sforzi, e coi nostri mezzi, curando che "l'atto di apertura" non sia privato della sua libertà creativa. La nostra azione creativa si produce nel modo che chiamiamo "*en ronda*", dove tutti sono tesi a costituirsi in un solo, unico architetto.

Per questo le prime opere sono costituite da tre luoghi destinati soltanto a celebrare "agorà" (riunioni per il governo della "Città Aperta"). Non disponevamo di nessuna prefigurazione di cosa avrebbero dovuto essere queste "Agorà di apertura"; solo ci soccorreva il vuoto dell'"atto poetico".

Ne mostriamo una: il suo pavimento è elastico, per consentirci di ritrovare l'equilibrio. Giacché nell'"Agorà" ci si parla in piedi e a una certa distanza. Si tratta di dare forma a una dimensione pubblica, diversa certamente da quella delle consuetudini domestiche.

Questa relazione tra pavimento e parola la chiamiamo "ospitalità". Tutta la "Città Aperta" è ordinata per l'ospitalità, giacché vi si ascoltano i nostri ospiti.

Così noi non abitiamo in case, ma in "Luoghi di Ospitalità". Ne presentiamo alcuni che, in virtù dell'ospitalità, si ordinano intorno al tavolo da pranzo e al dopo-pranzo.

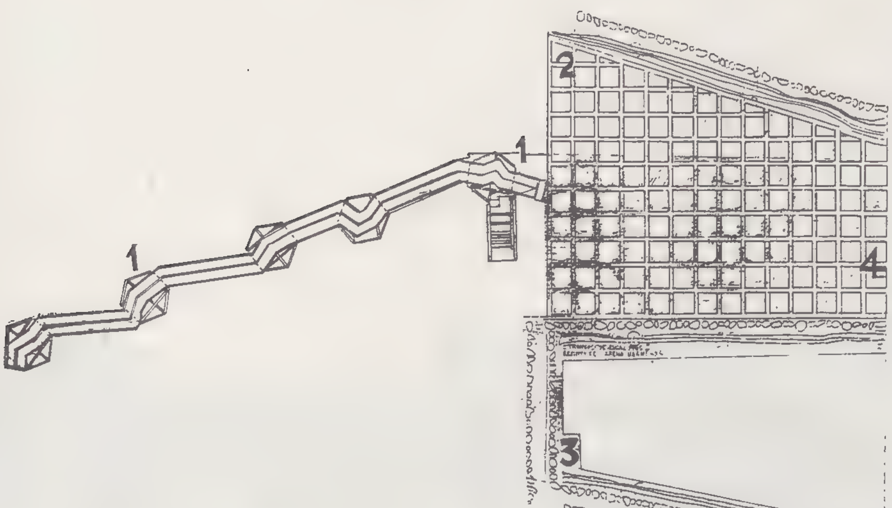
In un secondo momento si ascolta la parola poetica di *Amereida*, che ci segnala la parola "abissale". Questa ci induce a compiere una "Traversia" al centro della Pampa argentina: detenzione e solitudine. Fin prima di fare il primo passo, ne raccogliamo in un disegno l'estensione, il cui limite è senza termine. Affinché questa visione senza termine non debba dissolversi semplicemente "nell'ammirevole", ascoltiamo la parola "abissale", che ci fa scoprire nella Pampa un livello sotto terra ed un altro sopra le nostre teste: la Pampa scorre tra questi due livelli, come un'elezione che si porta a termine. La parola "abissale" ci lascia in una "libertà-senza-alternativa", per esercitare la libertà di scelta.

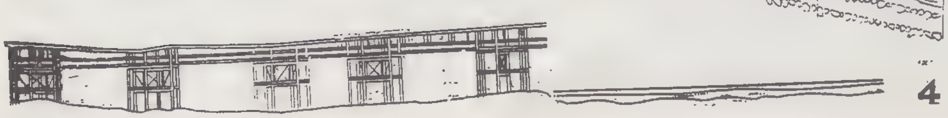
Le "Traversie" producono questi segni lievissimi, che si offrono agli abitanti e alle autorità locali, essendo questo un altro modo di ospitalità.

Mostriamo, come nel caso della "Città Aperta", anche alcune "Traversie". Una a Santiago, nel centro di questa città capitale: si è scritto un poema attraverso una scultura che abbiamo eretto in un parco accanto al fiume che solca la città. Il poema indica che non si deve abbandonare la città a causa dei terremoti e delle inondazioni che periodicamente succedono, ma rimanere sulla stessa terra, in un'attitudine di destino che "con-segna" il luogo. In questo caso l'architettura costruisce tre situazioni: una a campo aperto per leggere il poema, un'altra per leggerlo dentro la scultura, una terza per leggerlo dentro il parco: ospitalità per il cittadino che di lì passa. E tale obbiettivo possiamo realizzarlo giacché tutta la nostra azione si è svolta sempre a fianco della scultura e degli scultori che lavorano vicino a noi.

Le ultime considerazioni riguardano i disegni e le fotografie. Di solito si dice che gli scritti sono quelli che rimangono. Così sarà anche in questa pubblicazione, nonostante che per noi, magari, rimanga un orizzonte nel quale si levi quella parte sconosciuta che tutte le parole portano con sé. Come indica il vero senso di *Amereida*, la quale sorveglia il







Agorà "Henri Tronquoy", Città Aperta, Valparaíso, Cile, 1973.
Vista, pianta e prospetto.
"I luoghi di Agorà richiedono un atto riflessivo: salire ad un ponte «elastico»".
"I luoghi di Agorà richiedono ricchezza: scultura. La Città Aperta é abitata anche da scultori".

Agorà "Henri Tronquoy", Open City, Valparaíso, Chile, 1973.
View, plan and elevation.
"The places of the Agorà call for an act of reflection: mounting a 'flexible' bridge".
"The places of the Agorà call for opulence: sculpture. The Open City is also inhabited by sculptors".



Agorà "Henri Tronquoy", Città Aperta, Valparaíso, Cile, 1973. Viste.

Agorà "Henri Tronquoy", Open City, Valparaíso, Chile, 1973. Views.



mistero dell'Oceano Pacifico, avventura nel nostro continente.

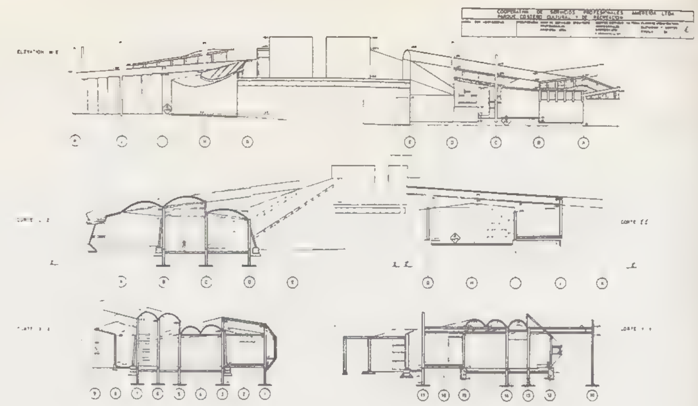
Nel 1950 inizia una collaborazione tra un poeta — Goffredo Iommi nato a Buenos Aires — ed un gruppo di architetti cileni — tra i quali uno maggiore per età, Alberto Cruz, con il nome del quale spesso viene identificato il gruppo —. Questo gruppo si mantiene e cresce durante 40 anni in forma ininterrotta.
Nel 1952 si sposta da Santiago a Valparaíso, e nell'Università Cattolica di Valparaíso fonda l'Istituto di Architettura, che promuove la Scuola di Architettura. Nel 1970 il gruppo cresce, dai dieci degli inizi si arriva a cinquanta con donne e bambini, e viene fondata la "Città Aperta", non lontano da Valparaíso.
Nel 1984 iniziano dei viaggi per il continente americano, realizzati da professori ed alunni della Scuola di Architettura. Sono questi la continuazione di un primo viaggio, che nel 1964 compimmo insieme a poeti, filosofi, scultori europei ed americani, da Capo Horn a Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, attraversando il continente interno.
Ogni dieci anni il gruppo organizza un'esposizione pubblica, che mostra gli studi effettuati e le opere architettoniche costruite.
I poeti hanno tenuto vari "atti poetici" in Europa ed America.
L'opera di Goffredo Iommi è pubblicata in piccole edizioni della Scuola di Architettura, e i suoi libri si trovano nelle biblioteche cilene. Iommi è vissuto per lunghi periodi a Parigi, dove ha fondato con altri poeti la "Revue de Poésie". Col nostro gruppo stanno pittori e scultori, tra i quali Claudio Girola, uno scultore argentino che è sempre con noi, tanto in Europa come in America.
Ultimamente alcuni europei hanno visitato la "Città Aperta", e l'hanno commentata in riviste di architettura.
Nel gruppo scherzando si dice che, così come alcuni architetti nel corso del tempo hanno adottato un altro nome, noi potremmo chiamarci "Città Aperta".
Per queste ragioni firmiamo così.

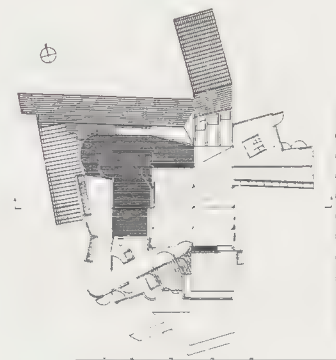
Città Aperta

"Open City", "Agorà", "Places of Hospitality", "Travesías".
"Open City" group, Valparaíso, Chile

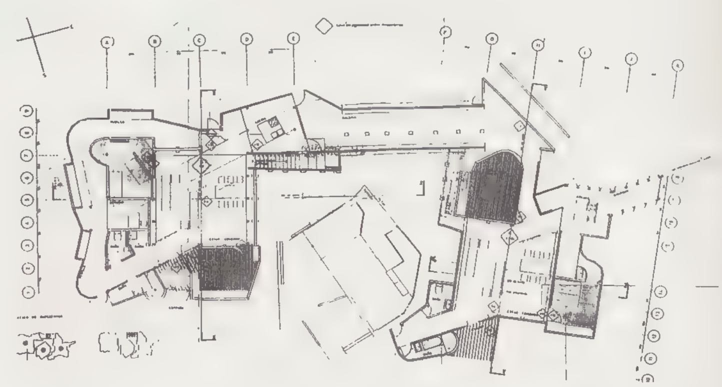
We would like to open this introduction to our architecture by saying how it came into being, because we believe that, origin is a key consideration.
Being of American - South American origin means that we are in a constant state of becoming: in shaping and developing ourselves, we likewise develop and give shape to our architecture. We live in a tradition that develops by constantly shaping the idea that informs its own development.
Added to the idea of origin is the fact that we have always worked as a group ever since we graduated. We have learned to design and build together. Our architecture reflects the nature of the city whose form is the result of the work of countless architects. Perhaps this is why we are susceptible to poets when we meet them. They have taught us that theirs is a poetry of origins, a poetry that not only generates poems but also celebrates "poetic acts". This poetry has been with us day and night for the past forty years. The poets wrote the Amereida, *in effect the American version of the* Aeneid.
As we listened to it, we began to shape our work, observing it with one eye as it grew up here, and with the other eye as it spread out over the continent.
These are the concepts underlying the two works we are presenting here: one, which we call "Open City", in Valparaíso, the other spread the length and breadth of the Continent in a variety of works we call "Works of Travesías/Crossing".
We were able to realize these works because we have thought for many years that a work of architecture is not an indistinct mass of architectural material, but a process either of "openness" or of "founding". "Founding" means the day-to-day construction that gradually creates a city. "Openness" is what we are ourselves directly committed, and it develops in a different time dimension from "founding". It is self-referential and self-reflexive in a creative way and makes "founding" both a possibility and a reality. We live in the awareness that one day our "openness" will result in "founding", even though we are not directly concerned with what may happen. We build the present because we believe that the mission of South American architecture is to build the present.
We mentioned the Amereida. *This essay should really have been devoted to making this poem known, and we strongly recommend it to anyone interested in understanding South America better. All we can do here is introduce our architecture and suggest that it points to the greatness of the poetry that inspired it. And yet we know that "founding" is open to view, while "openness" resists inspection.*
So this introduction lacks two things: a sense of poetry, and a sense of poetry in the architecture we have built.
Despite this, we feel the time is right for our work to be made known to Europeans so that our present — the one we have

spoken of — can be related more closely to the art of construction elsewhere in the world. This said, let us look now at the "openness" that results in the distinction between work as individual buildings and work as continental construction we mentioned earlier.
There is undeniably a tradition which regards the American Continent as a limitation, imposed on an essentially European situation because Europeans work at a different intensity once they cross the Pacific. Certainly, every work begins by defining limits, and this tradition is "taken up", as it were, in our current situation — in our architectural theory and practice — in the works that take limitation as their starting points. And so it happens that the tradition of the continent as a limitation generate precise limits in the architecture now being built.
When we listen to the Amereida, *we realise that architecture is not generated from the edges but from the centre. In "poetic act", poets suddenly come to a halt, and architects momentarily find themselves on their own. It is at this moment that they proceed to give form to an "architectural void", a "void" in search of its own limits. This situation opens up a new awareness of everything that is a limitation, what the* Amereida *calls* "changing the north".
This action points to the relationship between the poetic word, which speaks "for itself" in language, and the profession of the architect, which speaks "for itself" in architectural idiom. The equation is: Origin = Poetry+Generation = Architectural Profession, Work of Architecture.
Let us now move on to our works themselves. First, we should say that we have built about fifteen in the "Open City" and around forty in the "Travesías/Crossings" in the Continent. Unable a we are to choose which ones to present, we have selected two or three, virtually at random. In any event, they will point to the common order which gave them form, as in the works — around twenty — dating from the beginning of our forty years of professional activity, since each work develops and is completed starting from the same origin.
We shall discuss two aspects of the Architecture-Poetry relationship. In one, poetry speaks of the unity of Life, Work and Study. It is a real utopia. But the poetry points to a "realised utopia" which has led us to build and live in the Open City. In order to govern itself, the "Open City" needs an "Agorà", because the "Open City" was made through our effort and talent alone, and we ensured that the "act of openness" was not deprived of its creative liberty. Our creative work is produced in a way we call "en ronda", *in which everyone tries to blend together to become one single architect.*
For this reason, the early works were three places designed exclusively to celebrate "Agorà". We had no prior notion of what form this "Agorà of openness" would take. Our only guidance came from the void of the "Poetic Act".
If we look at one of these places, we see that the floor undulates to allow us to rediscover our balance, because in the "Agorà" you speak at a certain distance from each other. A public mode is given an architectural form which is





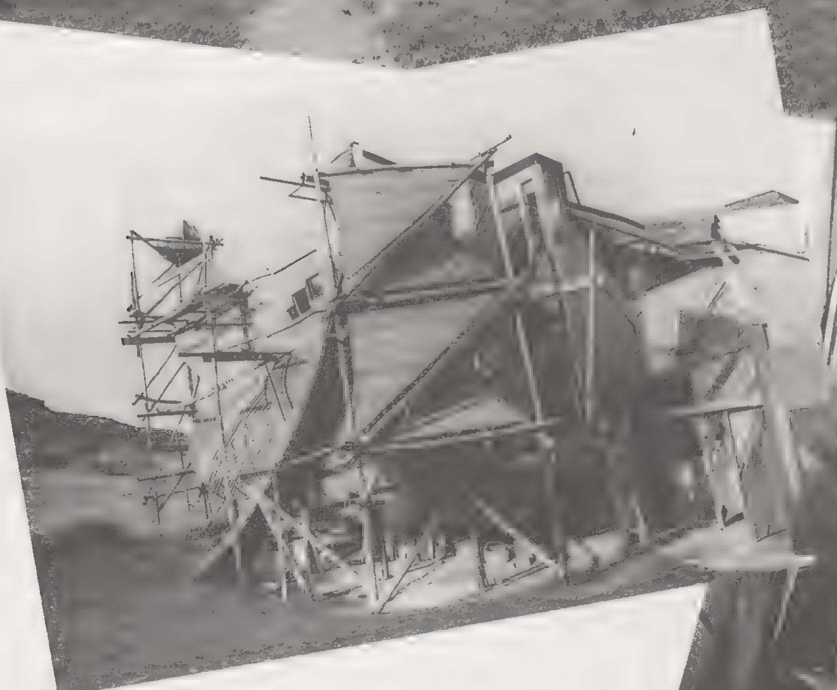




Luogo di Ospitalità, Città Aperta,
Valparaíso, Cile, 1972.
Prospetti, sezioni e piante.
Viste esterne e interna.
"Il rigore è la relazione vuoto-limite. Ogni volta nuovamente, nessun millimetro di limite per se stesso".

Place of Hospitality, Open City,
Valparaíso, Chile, 1972.
Elevations, sections and plans.
Exterior and interior views.
"Rigour is the relationship between empty space and limitation. Newly, each and every time, not a millimetre of limitation for oneself".





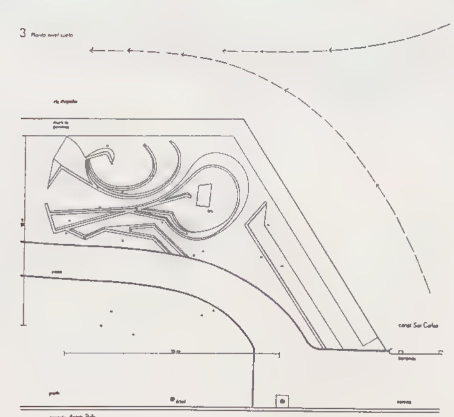






"Traversia" a Santiago, Cile, 1988.
Viste e pianta.
"L'apertura non si origina dalla produzione che fonda, ma dalla lucidità nel costruire ogni volta l'opera di apertura."

"Travesía" in Santiago, Chile, 1988.
Views and plan.
"Openness comes not from production that lays foundations, but from clear-sightedness every time a work of openness is built".

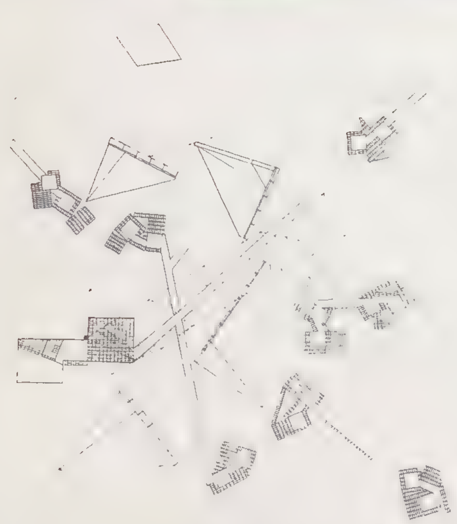


certainly different from the usual domestic one.
We call this relationship between floor and word "hospitality". The whole "Open City" is organised around hospitality since it is there that we meet and talk to our guests.
So we don't live in houses, but in "places of hospitality". Here we present some which are arranged around the dining table and after-dinner conversation in order to facilitate hospitality.
At a later stage we shall listen to the Amereida, *which teaches us the word "abyssal". This prompts us on a journey across the Pampas or Argentina, a region of confinement and solitude. But before taking the first step on our journey, we convey in a drawing the sheer size, the limitlessness, of the Pampas. To ensure that this vision does not fade into mere "admiration", we take heed of the word "abyssal", which teaches us that in the Pampas there are two levels, one below ground, the other over our heads: the Pampas extend between these two levels like an irrevocable decision. "Abyssal" gives us freedom without choice, and so the freedom to exercise choice.*
The "Crossings" reproduce faint signs and offer them to the inhabitants and local authorities of the Pampas, another form of hospitality. As with the "Open City", we present a number of "Crossings". One is in the centre of Santiago, a poem written on a sculpture we erected in a park along the river which flows through the city. The poem says that the city should not be abandoned because of the earthquakes and floods that periodically occur there. People should stay on the land and accept the destiny that "de-limits" the place. Here, architecture constructs three situations: an open one in which to read the poem, another to read the poem in the sculpture and a third to read it in the park. This, too, is hospitality, achieved because we have always worked closely with sculpture and with sculptors.
Finally, the drawings and photographs. It is usually said that only written things are permanent. This is also true of this publication, despite the fact that we are left with a horizon beyond which there lies everything the written word leaves unsaid. This is the true meaning of the Amereida *that enshrines the mystery of the Pacific Ocean, the adventure of our Continent.*
In 1950, the Buenos Aires poet Goffredo Iommi began to work with a group of Chilean architects usually referred to by the name of its senior member, Alberto Cruz. The group stayed together and continued to grow over the next forty years.
In 1952 it moved from Santiago to Valparaíso, where it founded the Architecture Institute at the Catholic University of Valparaíso which sponsors the School of Architecture. In 1970 the group grew from its original ten members to fifty, including women and children, and "Open City" was founded not far from Valparaíso.
Travels around the American continent began in 1984, organised by professors and students at the School of Architecture. These were a continuation of earlier travels in 1964 in the company of European and American poets, philosophers and sculptors, extending across the interior of the Continent from Cape Horn to Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia.
Every ten years the group organises a public exhibition of the group's studies and the architecture it has built.
The poets have performed various "poetic acts" in Europe and America.
Goffredo Iommi's work is published in limited editions by the School of Architecture and sold in bookshops in Chile. Iommi lived for many years in Paris, where he founded Revue de Poesie *with a group of other poets. Painters and sculptors in Europe and in America belong to our group, including Claudio Girola, the Argentinian sculptor.*
Some Europeans visited the "Open City" recently and commented on it in architecture magazines.
We say jokingly in the group that, just as certain architects down the ages have adopted another name, so we should now call ourselves "Open City". So be it.

Open City



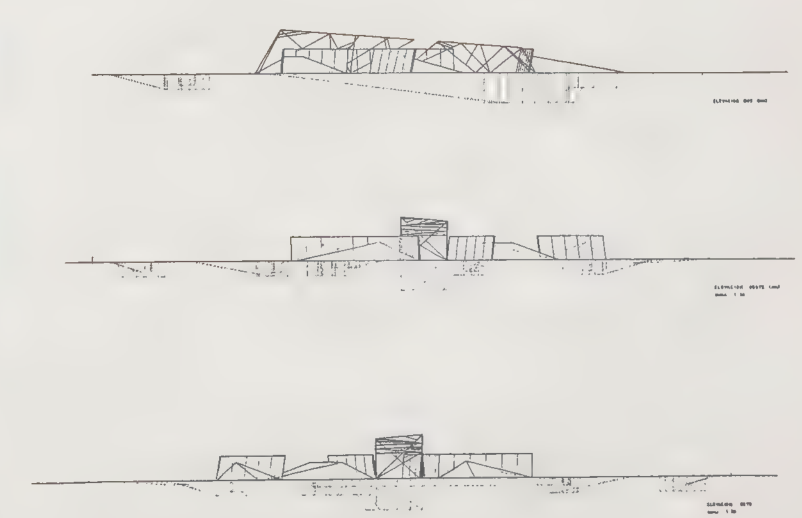




"Traversia" alla Pampa, Argentina, 1990.
Viste, planimetria e prospetti.
"Le dimensioni in architettura rappresentano qui «fortune identiche»".
"Il grande e il piccolo oltre l'emozione potenziale".
"Rimanere lungamente in un posto è una virtù della fondazione, l'apertura è un rimanere più breve".

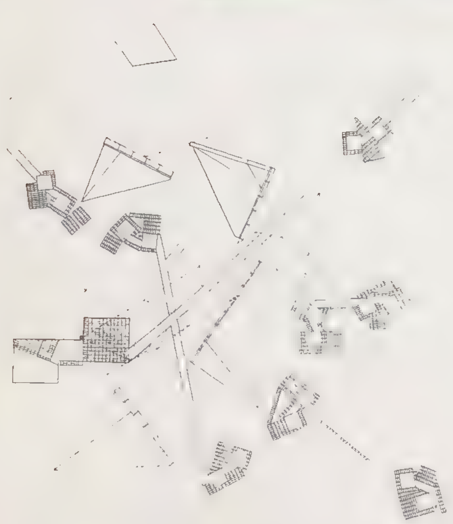
"Travesía", in the Pampa, Argentina, 1990.
Views, site plan and elevations.
"Architectural dimensions here represent 'identical fortunes' ".
"Large and small beyond potential feeling".
"To remain at length in a place is a virtue of founding, openness implies a briefer stay".







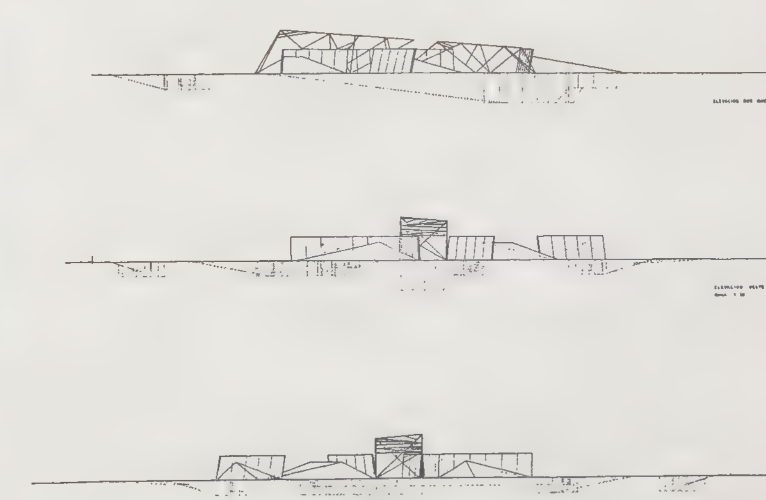




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Christian de Groote, Chile

Casa Orrego, Zapallar, Chile, 1989
Casa Fuenzalida, La Dehesa, Santiago, Chile, 1984

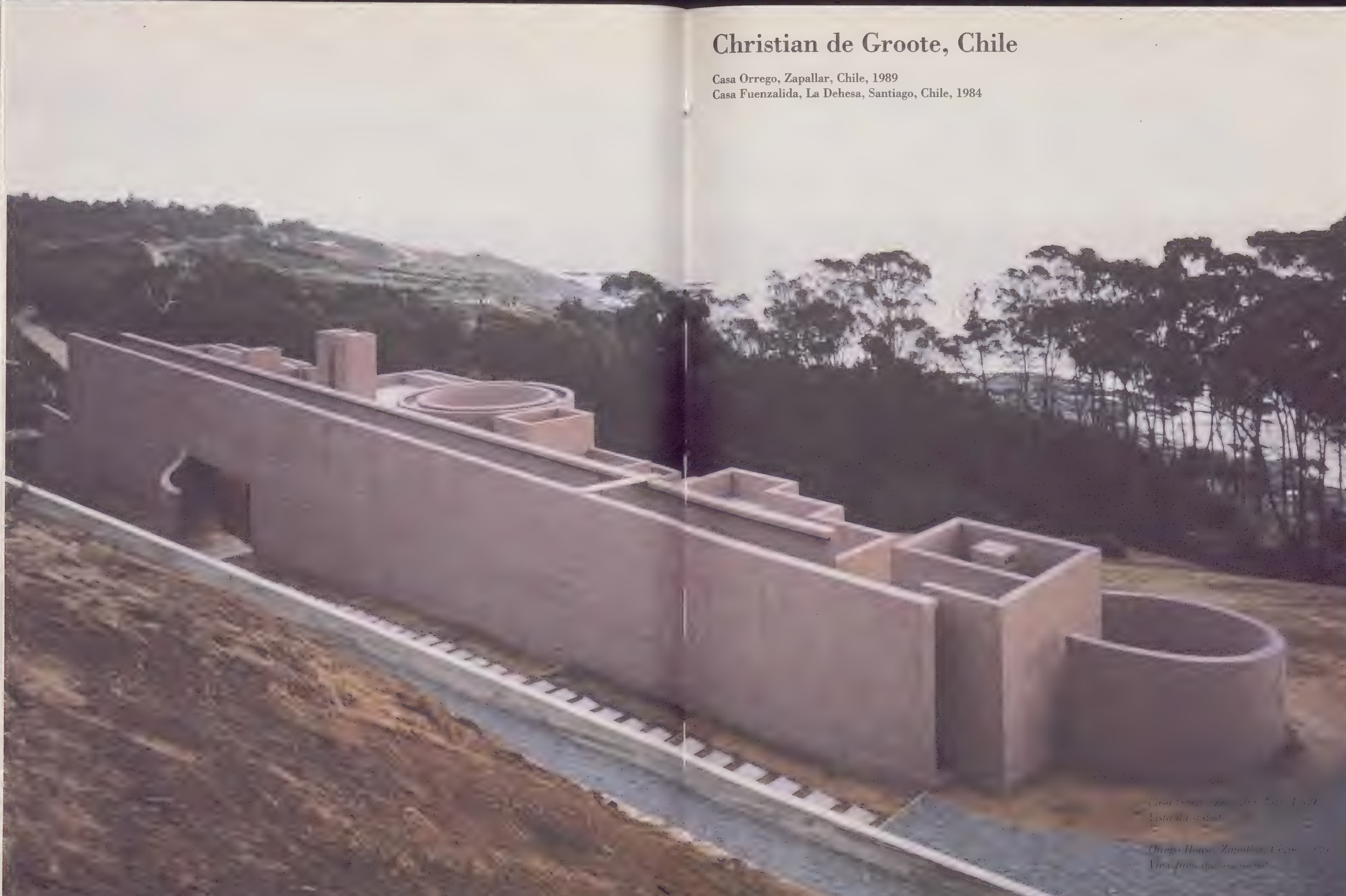


Casa [illegible]
Vista [illegible]

Orrego House, Zapall[illegible]
View from the [illegible]

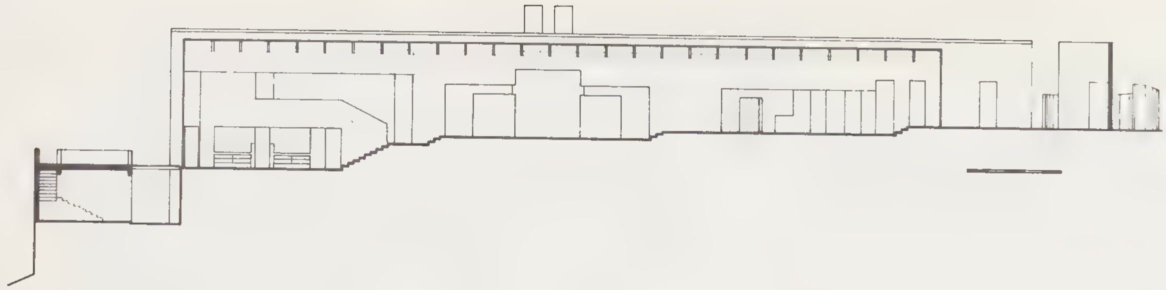
Christian de Groote, Chile

Casa Orrego, Zapallar, Chile, 1989
Casa Fuenzalida, La Dehesa, Santiago, Chile, 1984

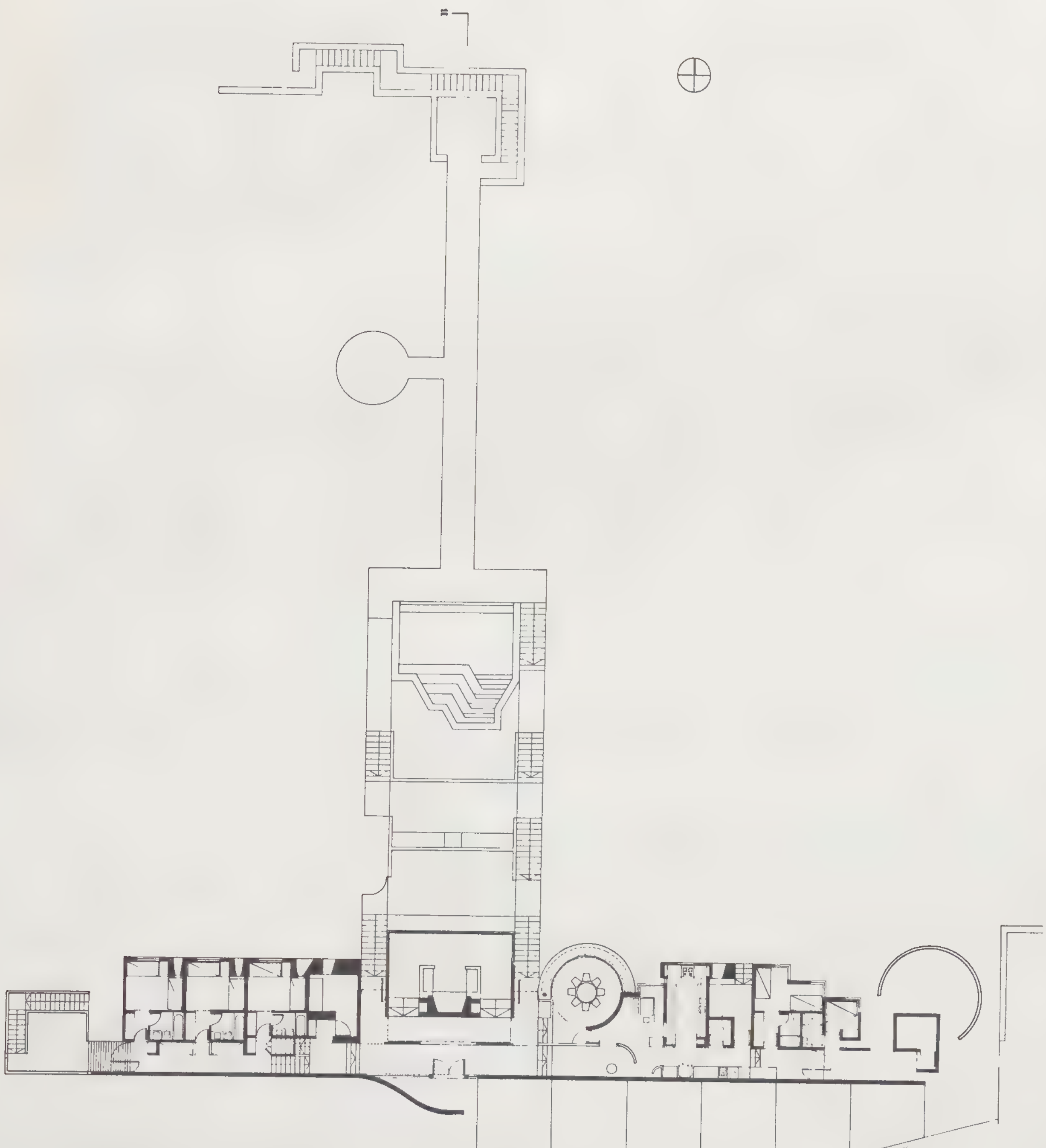


Casa [illegible] 1989.
Vista [illegible]

Orrego House, [illegible]
View from the [illegible]

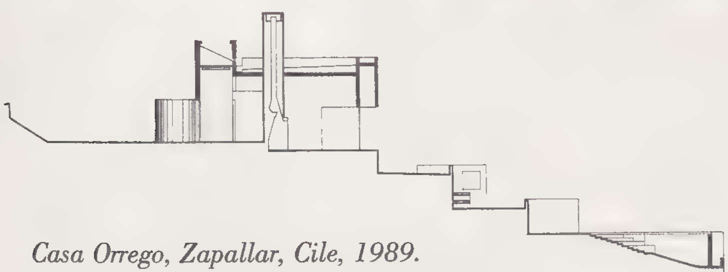


CORTE A-A









Casa Orrego, Zapallar, Cile, 1989.
Sezione longitudinale, pianta del piano terra e sezione trasversale.
Vista da nordovest e vista interna lungo il corridoio centrale.

Orrego House, Zapallar, Chile, 1989.
Longitudinal section, ground-floor plan and cross section.
View from the north-west and interior view of the central corridor.

Casa Orrego, Zapallar, Cile
Christian de Groote

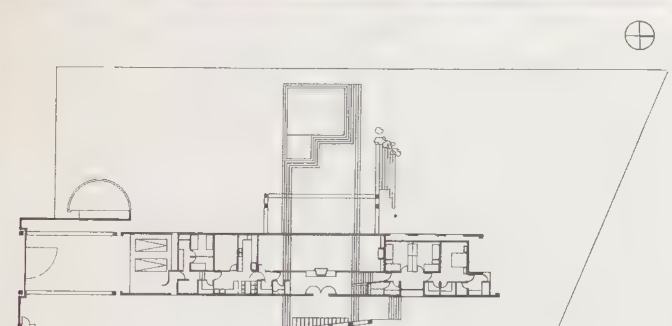
Ubicato in un incantevole tratto di costa, a metà strada fra la rinomata stazione balneare di Zapallar e Cachagua, entrambe a km 10 di distanza, il sito, che si affaccia su una splendida caletta denominata "El Pangue", è di mq. 5000 e si trova a mezza costa tra la nuova strada e quella vecchia. Verso occidente, tra la casa e la spiaggia, una fila di altissimi eucalipti fa da schermo e da filtro alla vista sul mare e sugli scogli, trasformando il tramonto in una visione straordinaria.
L'impostazione architettonica ha mirato a realizzare un contrappunto "geografico" rispetto allo schermo degli eucalipti, da cui derivano la natura e la concezione lineare del progetto. Nel contempo si è voluto ottenere la *privacy* più completa, isolando al massimo la casa dai rumori provenienti dalla strada sul lato superiore del sito.
A questo scopo, è stata creata una vera e propria "strada", della larghezza di m. 1.80, formata da una doppia parete, che collega tutte le stanze agendo da barriera acustica e visiva contro l'inquinamento proveniente dalla strada, ma lasciando libera la vista del cielo grazie alla copertura vetrata. Su questa "strada" i singoli locali della casa formano una piccola "città", con le stanze divise tra loro da spazi intermedi simili a piazzette destinate al riposo e alla meditazione.

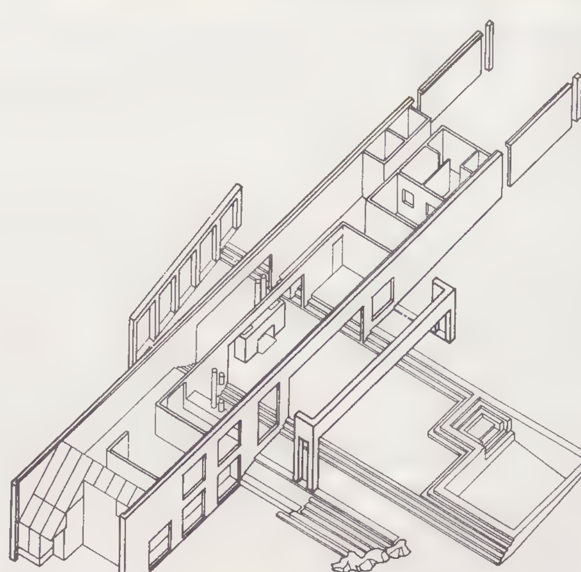
The Orrego House, Zapallar, Chile
Christian de Groote

Located on a beautiful stretch of coastline halfway between the popular beach resort of Zapallar and Cachagua, both 10 km away in either direction, the 5000 sq m hillside site lies midway between the old and new roads overlooking a magnificent rocky bay called "El Pangue".
A line of unusually tall eucalyptus trees between the house and the beach to the west screens out the sea and the rocks and creates extraordinary visual effects at sunset.
The architecture aims to establish a "geographical" contrast with the screen of eucalyptus trees which in fact determined the linear layout and feel of the project. At the same time, the house was to enjoy complete privacy and be as isolated as possible from traffic noise coming from the road that runs along the upper edge of the site.
To achieve this, an actual "street" 1.8 m wide was created. Consisting of a double wall connecting all the rooms, it acts as a barrier to noise and visual pollution from the road but retains a view of the sky by means of a glazed roof. The various rooms of the house form a miniature "town" around the street and are themselves separated by intermediate spaces resembling small squares for relaxation and meditation.











Casa Fuenzalida, La Dehesa, Santiago, Cile, 1984.
Viste da ovest, da sudest e da sudovest.
Pianta del piano terra e assonometria.

Fuenzalida House, La Dehesa, Santiago, Chile, 1984.
Views from the west, south-east and south-west.
Ground-floor plan and axonometric.

Casa Fuenzalida, La Dehesa, Santiago, Cile
Christian de Groote

La casa, ubicata nella periferia nordorientale di Santiago, nella splendida vallata montuosa di La Dehesa, occupa un sito relativamente lungo e stretto di m. 34 × 70, con un pendio piuttosto pronunciato longitudinalmente, in direzione nord-sud, e con una vista suggestiva sulle montagne a est.
L'imponenza delle caratteristiche geografiche del luogo e la scarsità di costruzioni nella vallata hanno suggerito l'ideazione di un edificio che mitigasse l'asprezza dell'ambiente.
Concepita come un grande volume orizzontale lungo quasi m. 50 × 8 di larghezza, la casa, livellando il terreno con la sua linearità, è un punto di riferimento visivo che consente di apprezzare, esaltandolo, il dolce pendio della vallata verso sud e l'aspra massa rocciosa della catena montuosa.
L'edificio è costituito da due pareti parallele a doppio strato di mattoni distanziate fra loro da uno spazio di 8 metri il cui tetto è sorretto da una serie di travi di legno che si succedono ogni cm. 50.
Sfruttando il pendio longitudinale del sito, la casa si sviluppa su diversi livelli che si riducono ad un unico piano all'estremità settentrionale, diventano tre al centro, dov'è collocata la zona soggiorno, e due all'estremità meridionale, dove si trovano le camere da letto.

The Fuenzalida House, La Dehesa, Santiago, Chile
Christian de Groote

The house is located in the north-eastern outskirts of Santiago in the beautiful mountain valley of La Dehesa. It occupies a relatively long, narrow site (34x70 m) on a fairly steep north-south longitudinal slope with spectacular views of the mountains to the east.
The imposing geographical features of the site and the small number of other buildings in the valley suggested the idea of a building that would soften the ruggedness of the geographical setting.
The house was conceived as a large horizontal volume almost 50 m long by 8 m wide. By levelling out the slope along its longitudinal axis, it becomes a landmark that enchances and highlights the gentle slope of the valley to the south and the rugged rocky mass of the mountain range.
The building consists of two parallel walls of double-layer brick 8 m apart spanned by a roof with wooden rafters at 50-cm intervals. To exploit the longitudinal slope of the site, the house is built on various levels which reduce to a single floor at the northern end, with three in the centre where the living area is situated, and two on the southern side where the bedrooms are located.

Clorindo Testa, Argentina

Balneario "La Perla", Mar del Plata, Argentina, 1986-92
Con/With: Juan J. Genoud, Osvaldo Alvarez Rojo



Vista do sul

View from the south



Clorindo Testa, Argentina

Balneario "La Perla", Mar del Plata, Argentina, 1986-92
Con/With: Juan J. Genoud, Osvaldo Alvarez Rojo

Vista da sud

View from the south

Stabilimenti balneari e Lungomare a Mar del Plata, Argentina

Nel 1985 l'*équipe* Testa-Genoud-Alvarez Rojas vinse il concorso per il progetto preliminare degli Stabilimenti balneari "La Perla"; progetto che, sviluppato a livello esecutivo, è attualmente in fase di realizzazione. L'idea di fondo della proposta era di dotare il luogo di un "edificio-avvallamento" che seguisse ed enfatizzasse con le sue ondulazioni le linee del paesaggio naturale configurando un basamento visivo. Per questo non si è pensato a costruzioni che potessero confondersi con l'ambiente edificato circostante, cosa che avrebbe occultato l'accidente naturale rappresentato dall'avvallamento.
Una terrazza, che forma una passeggiata con salita e discesa, si snoda lungo la costa e dà maggior ampiezza al marciapiede urbano. Questa idea di avvallamento-basamento risulta accentuata dal colore rosso dei mattoni a vista, materiale essenziale di rifinitura dell'intero complesso.
Il programma prevede cinque stabilimenti con usi simili, che si sviluppano su tre livelli: spiaggia, "*rambla*", e passeggiata, che si snodano attraverso piattaforme di cerniera a pianta stellare, disponendo anche di zone di parcheggio nelle aree esterne. Il progetto preliminare presentato al concorso prevedeva anche una pasticceria e una piscina nel primo stabilimento, idea che non è poi stata sviluppata.
Nello Stabilimento balneare n. 1, dalla prima "stella" di collegamento e di discesa alla spiaggia si dipartono due percorsi — "*rambla*" e passeggiata — che si dividono e si incontrano varie volte e di cui la passeggiata costituisce un ampliamento del Bulevar Poralta Ramos. Quando il livello del marciapiede urbano a est è più basso rispetto a quello della passeggiata, sono state praticate delle aperture che inquadrano punti panoramici in direzione del mare e che coincidono con i ristoranti, gli accessi o i negozi, le cui coperture rappresentano, a loro volta, i punti di maggior altezza delle ondulazioni della passeggiata. Nella ricerca di una soluzione economica, la struttura in cemento armato è stata resa modulare, su una maglia rettangolare di m. 4.10 × 8.10. I muri di tamponamento sono in mattoni semindustriali, lasciati a vista e tinteggiati di rosso.
Questi criteri valgono anche per gli altri stabilimenti. Per lo Stabilimento n. 2 si è dovuto tener conto degli edifici esistenti, che sono stati ristrutturati e ampliati. È stata rispettata altresì la maggior parte delle calate verso la spiaggia. Nella scalinata doppia annessa allo Stabilimento n. 4, una delle rampe è stata trasformata in un'aiuola a gradinate. È stata conservata anche la grande scalinata tra gli Stabilimenti n. 2 e n. 3, di fronte a Piazza España.

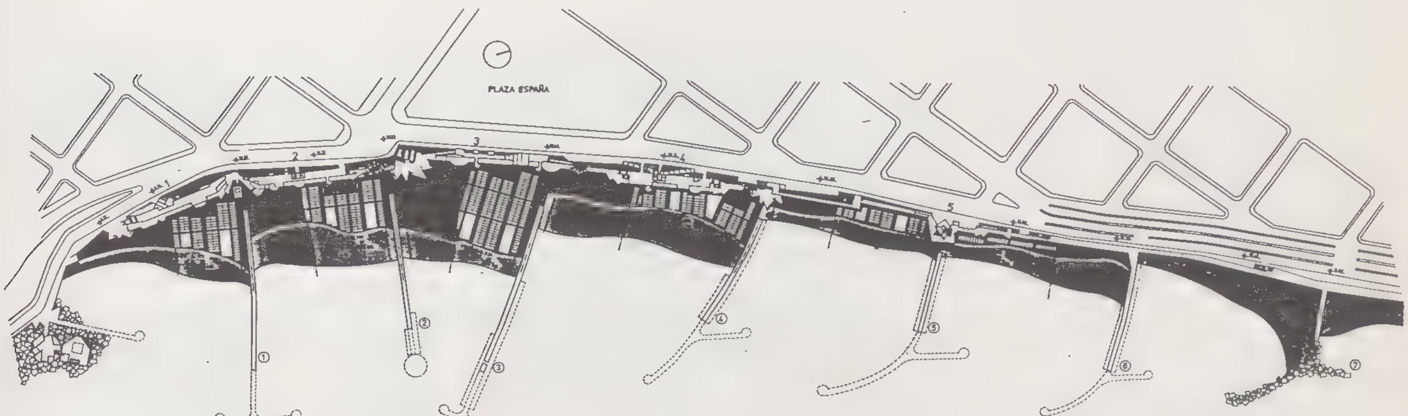
Beach and Seafront Facilities, Mar del Plata, Argentina

In 1985 the Testa-Genoud-Alvarez Rojas team won the competition for a preliminary project for the "La Perla" beach facilities. The project subsequently passed into its executive phase and is now under construction. The basic idea was to add a "sunken structure" to the site which would follow and emphasise the natural contours of the terrain and give it a sort of visual underpinning. So the idea of a construction that would fit in with the surrounding buildings was rejected as this choice would have drawn attention away from the natural depression created by the sunken structure.
A terrace which forms an undulating promenade winds along the coast, widening the existing pavement. The idea of a "sunken foundation" is further accentuated by the plain red brick which is used as facing throughout the complex.
The project has five structures with similar functions distributed on three levels — beach, "rambla" *and* "promenade" *— which extend through a sequence of star-shaped platforms with carparks in the outlying areas. The preliminary competition project also included a pâtisserie and a swimming pool, but the idea has since been dropped.*
In the bathing No. 1, two walkways — the "rambla" and the "promenade" — depart from the first connecting "star" (which also gives access to the beach below) and subsequently meet up again, intersect and separate at various points along their routes. The "promenade" itself is an extension of Bulevar Poralta Ramos. Where the existing pavement is lower than the level of the promenade, openings have been created to provide panoramic views of the sea, coinciding with restaurants, access points and shops whose roofs form the crests of the undulating "promenade".
To reduce costs, the reinforced concrete structure was designed in modular units on a 4.10 x 8.10 m rectangular grid. The red-painted walls are in unfaced semi-industrial brick. These same procedures were used for the other bathing stations. In No. 2, existing buildings, since been refurbished and enlarged, had to be taken into account. Similarly, most of the paths down to the beach were retained. One of the flights of the No. 4 double stairway was converted into a terraced flower garden. The large flight of steps between No. 2 and No. 3 opposite Plaza España was also retained.



Vista da nordest e planimetria generale con i cinque stabilimenti balneari.

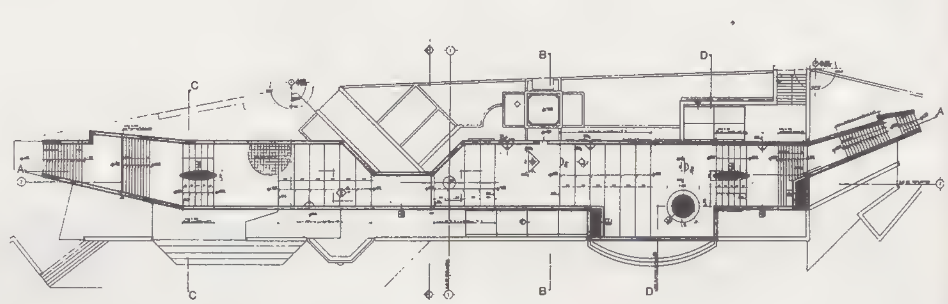
View from the north-east and general plan with the five beach facilities.

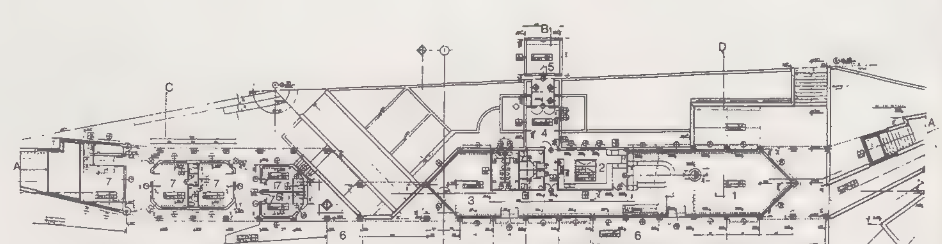




Viste da sud e da nord, piante della copertura e del primo piano, prospetti e sezione longitudinale dello Stabilimento n. 1.

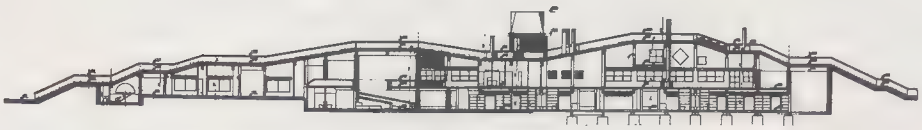
Views from the south and north, roofing and first-floor plans, elevations and longitudinal section of the No. 1 beach facility.

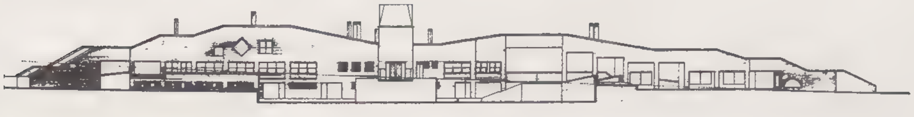




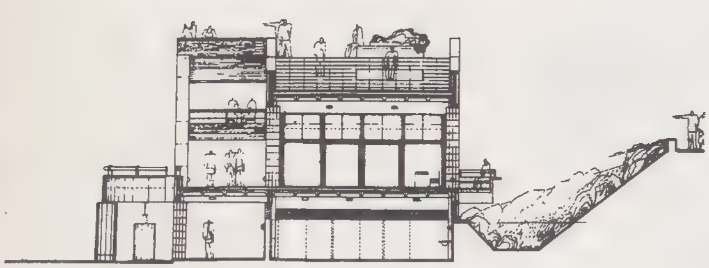


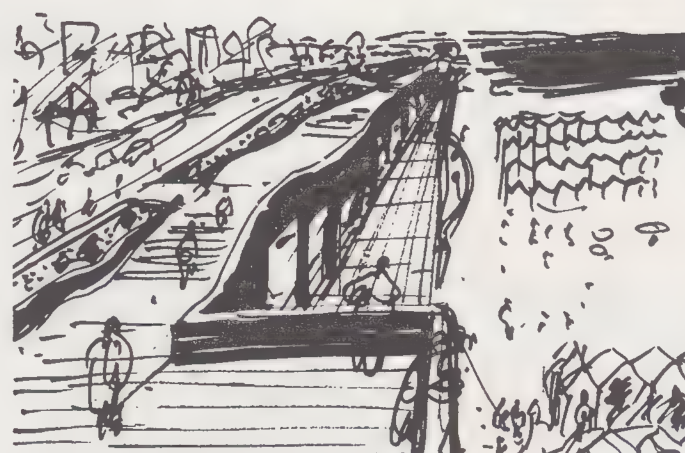














Viste da nordest e da ovest, sezione trasversale e schizzi di studio.

Views from the north-east and west, cross section and study sketches.





Aslan y Ezcurra, Argentina

Edificio Hoechst, San Isidro, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1989
Progetto/Project: Jorge Aslan, Horacio Angiletta, Rodolfo Riva, Héctor Bautis, Rudolf Drewes

Vista da nordest.
Foto A. Leveratto.

View from the north-east.
Photo A. Leveratto.

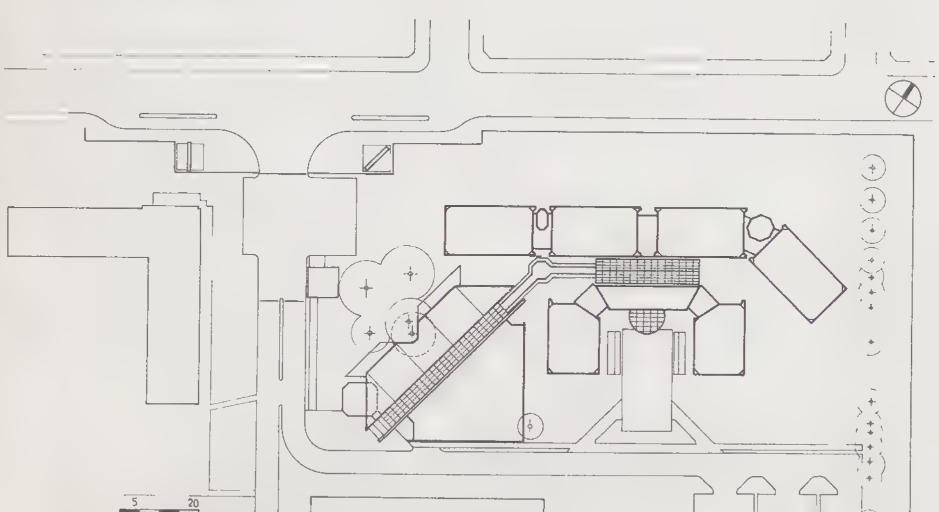
Sede amministrativa della Hoechst Argentina a San Isidro, Buenos Aires, Argentina
Aslan y Ezcurra

Il complesso sorge su un'area suburbana dove l'azienda già aveva le sue dipendenze tecniche, rendendo necessaria una riconfigurazione dell'ingresso per evitare, nelle ore di punta, l'interferenza con il traffico ordinario sul viale urbano.
Annesso alla nuova portineria, presso una macchia d'alberi preesistente, è stato realizzato uno specchio d'acqua.
Il nuovo edificio si sviluppa in un piano terra e due piani alti, in armonia con l'altezza delle costruzioni dello stesso complesso e con quelli esistenti attorno.
La pianta è impostata su un asse longitudinale, con quattro piccole ali verso il centro della proprietà: due nella zona mediana, che delimitano il patio d'ingresso all'edificio, e due oblique che chiudono lateralmente l'insieme.
Si entra nella *hall* d'ingresso dal lato opposto alla strada di distribuzione interna, e un gioco di vetrate in facciata la rende riconoscibile dall'esterno della proprietà. È alta dieci metri, con un coronamento vetrato e su di essa affacciano le balconate di distribuzione dei piani alti. La disposizione in pianta presenta corridoi centrali e locali di lavoro finestrati: i percorsi di circolazione orizzontale terminano con pareti vetrate e rappresentano, in alcuni casi, uscite di emergenza.
L'edificio mensa comprende una caffeteria self-service per 250 persone per ogni turno, un'area di ricevimento per ospiti e tre sale da pranzo riservate.

Hoechst Argentina Headquarters Building, San Isidro, Buenos Aires, Argentina
Aslan y Ezcurra

The complex is located in a suburb where the company already had its engineering division, meaning that the entrance layout had to be changed to avoid interference with normal rush-hour traffic on the city avenue. An ornamental pond was created near an existing clump of trees next to the new porter's lodge. The new building has a ground floor and two upper floors matching the height of the rest of the complex and the surrounding buildings. The plan has a longitudinal axis with four small wings extending towards the centre of the property: two in the middle section enclosing the entrance patio to the building, and two slanting ones which close off the site at the sides.
Access to the entrance hall is from the side opposite the internal access road (its distinctive glass façade makes it easily recognizable from outside the property). The hall is 10m high with a glass roof and access balconies leading to the upper floors running round its interior walls. The plan features central corridors and windowed workshops and offices.The corridors terminate in glass walls which in some cases serve as emergency exits. The canteen building contains a self-service cafeteria that can handle 250 workers per shift, a reception area for guests and three private dining rooms.

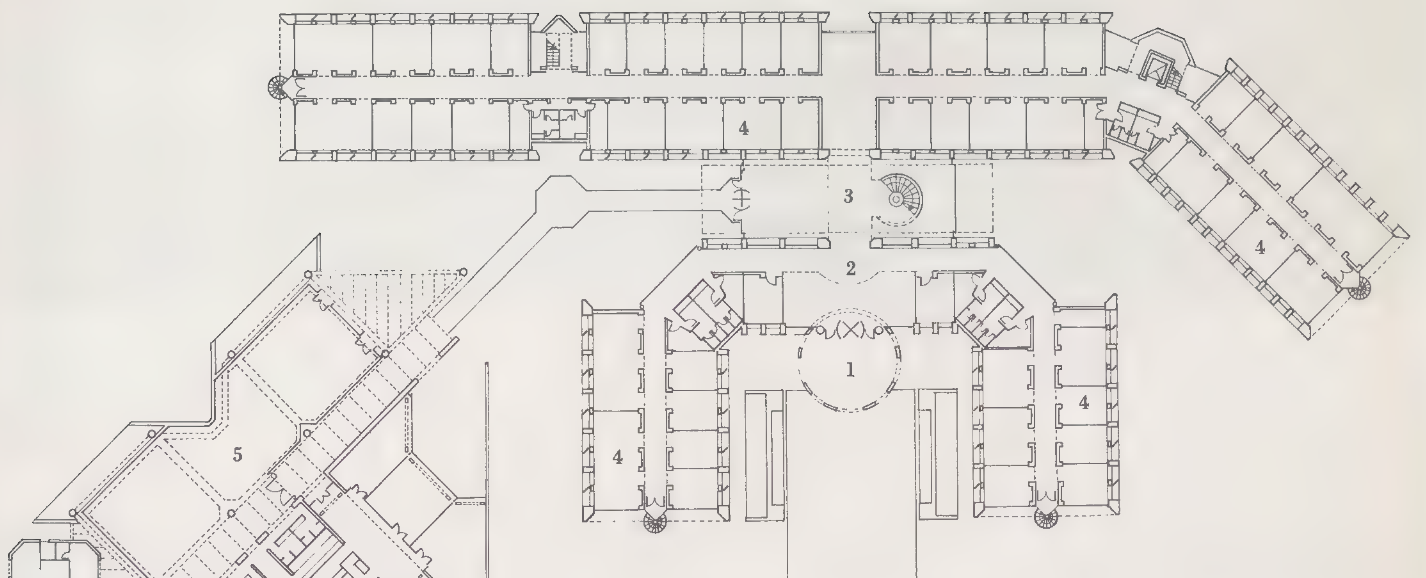




Viste da sudest.
Foto A. Leveratto.
Planimetria generale e pianta del piano terra: 1) ingresso; 2) hall; 3) atrio; 4) uffici; 5) mensa.

Views from the south-east.
Photo A. Leveratto.
General site plan and ground-floor plan: 1) entrance; 2) hall; 3) atrium; 4) offices; 5) canteen.





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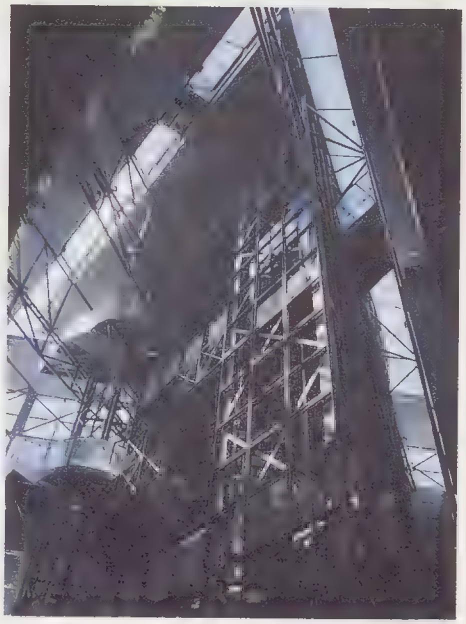


Viste interne dell'atrio e dell'edificio della mensa e vista da sudovest verso l'atrio.
Foto A. Leveratto.

Interior views of the atrium and canteen building, and a view from the south-west looking towards the atrium.
Photo A. Leveratto.



Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani, Argentina



Nuevo Centro Shopping, Córdoba, Argentina, 1988
Progetto/Project: Sara Gramatica, Juan Carlos Guerrero, Jorge Morini, José Pisani, Eduardo Urtubey, Juan Pisani, Daniel Alvarez Rivero, Agustin Alvarez Rivero

Vista da sud verso le rampe d'accesso su Avenida Duarte Quirós e vista interna della torre centrale.

View from the south towards the access ramp on Avenida Duarte Quirós and internal view of the central tower.

Centro Commerciale a Cordoba, Argentina

Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani

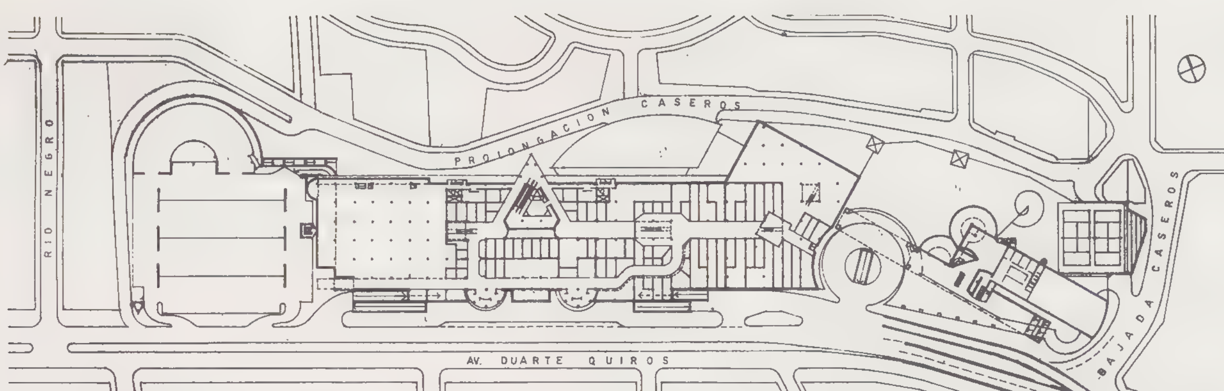
Il complesso si compone di uno *shopping center* e di un albergo a cinque stelle con servizi di livello internazionale, organizzati in modo da risultare funzionalmente indipendenti, ed è ubicato su un terreno particolarmente interessante, una vera e propria piattaforma-terrazza affacciata sulla città.
Questa circostanza, e la particolare conformazione orografica del terreno, hanno portato a situare il centro commerciale nel settore centrale, lasciando una vasta superficie aperta all'estremo occidentale e insediando l'albergo dalla parte opposta, all'estremità della calata Caseros. In questo modo si danno due visuali libere, l'una naturale e l'altra ottenuta attraverso trasparenze e l'attenta disposizione dei volumi di basamento dell'albergo che, a sua volta, sfrutta al meglio queste visuali.
Gli accessi principali all'albergo e al centro commerciale sono sull'Avenida Duarte Quirós, mentre sulla Calle Caseros, che conserva il suo carattere di quartiere, sono dislocati gli accessi all'area depositi e servizi.
Il centro commerciale è composto da un supermercato, quattro negozi Ancla e 170 locali commerciali, con 900 posti macchina sotterranei, a livello strada e sulla copertura.
Gli spazi commerciali sono organizzati attorno ad un percorso longitudinale con due livelli di circolazione tangenti una piazza-terrazza con vista sulla città, e dispongono di un livello inferiore verso la piazza degli alimentari. L'insieme si risolve nella formazione di un grande volume chiuso, lungo m. 190 e largo m. 45, con superfici di facciata molto elaborate. Al centro, sopra l'Avenida Duarte Quirós, si trovano le rampe per l'accesso dei veicoli ai parcheggi sotterranei e sulla copertura.
Nella zona ovest del complesso è ubicato un supermercato, collegato col parcheggio all'aperto all'estremità del terreno, mentre sul lato est è situato un negozio di grandi dimensioni. Entrambe le strutture sono dotate di accessi pedonali indipendenti dall'esterno e dall'interno.
Il settore centrale è dominato da una piazza con sistemi di circolazione verticale meccanica, dove sono concentrati tutti gli esercizi di carattere gastronomico e sull'ampia copertura della quale trova posto un "caffè panoramico".
Da tutti i livelli della piazza (piazza degli alimentari) si può contemplare la città attraverso le vetrate dei serramenti, giacché questa piazza è l'unica parte trasparente del volume. A sua volta, quando è illuminato, questo spazio funziona come una grande lanterna a scala urbana.

Shopping Centre, Cordoba, Argentina

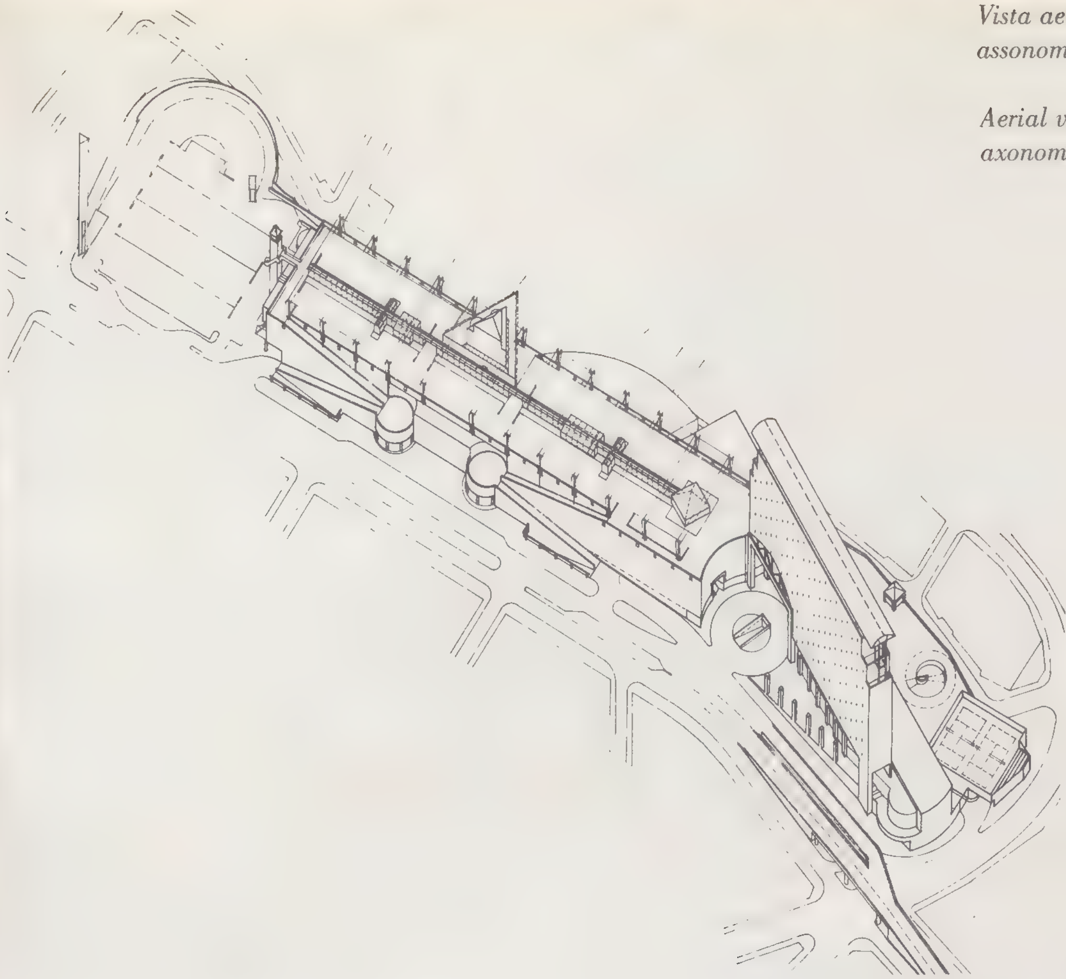
Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani

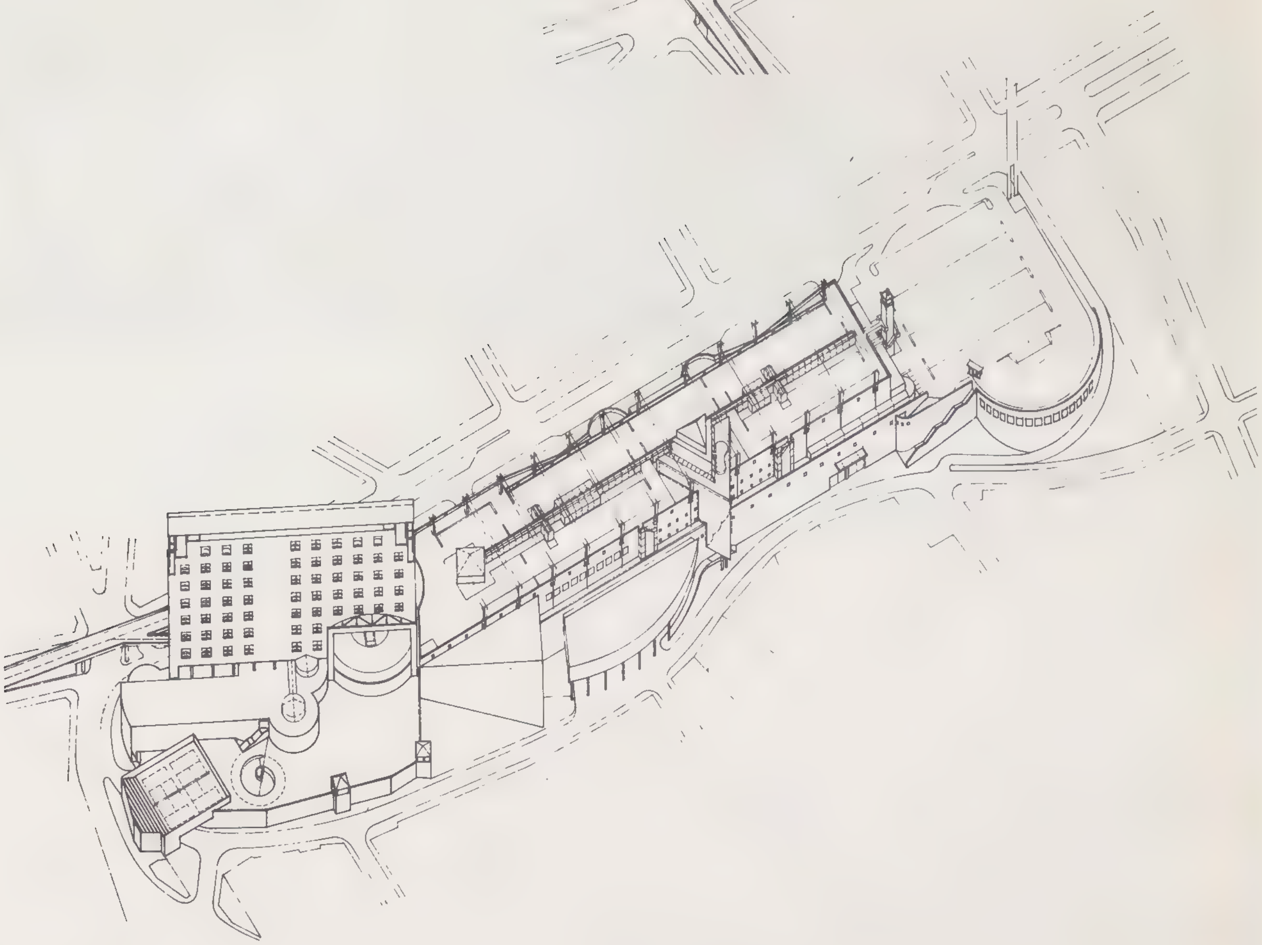
The complex, consisting of a shopping centre and a separate 5-star international hotel is located on an unusually interesting site, a true platform-terrace overlooking the city. This, and the mountainous nature of the terrain, persuaded the architects to place the shopping centre in the middle of the site, leaving a large open space at the western end and locating the hotel at the opposite end on the edge of the Caseros slope. This has created two open views: one natural, the other resulting from the transparency and careful positioning of the volumes of the foundation of the hotel's ground-level volumes which in turn exploit the site's visual potential to the full.
The main entrances to the hotel and the shopping centre are in Avenida Duarte Quirós, while the service and delivery entrances are in Calle Caseros, which has retained its neighbourhood atmosphere.
The shopping centre includes a supermarket, four Ancla stores and 170 other shops, with underground, street-level and roof parking for 900 cars.
The shops are flank a two-tier walkway around a terrace-piazza overlooking the city. There is also lower level towards the covered "market" plaza. The complex is enclosed in a large 190x45 m shell with elaborately decorated facqdes. The vehicle access ramps to the underground and rooftop parking areas are in the centre above the Avenida Duarte Quirós.
In the western part of the complex there is a supermarket linked to an open-air carpark at the edge of the side; to the east there is a large store. Both of structures have independent pedestrian access from outside and inside the complex.
The central part is dominated by a "market" plaza with lifts and elevators where all the food shops are located. There is a "panoramic cafè" on the spacious roof.
Views of the city can be enjoyed from all levels of the plaza through large windows. In fact, the plaza is the only transparent part of the entire building. When illuminated at night, the plaza becomes a huge lamp shining out across the city.





PLANTA BAJA NIV. +48,70 / EXPLANADA DE ACCESO Y FOYER. NIV. +45,73





Vista aerea da nord, pianta e assonometrie da sud e da nord.

Aerial view from the north, plan and axonometrics from the south and north.



Lina Bo Bardi, Brasil

Centro de Lazer SESC "Fábrica da Pompéia", São Paulo, Brasil, 1981-89
Con/With: André Vainer, Marcelo Carvalho Ferraz

Vista da ovest delle torri del complesso sportivo.
Foto Archivio L. Bo Bardi.

View from the west of the sports complex towers.
Photo Archive L. Bo Bardi.

Centro per il tempo libero SESC "Fábrica da Pompéia", San Paolo, Brasile
Lina Bo Bardi

Una galleria sotterranea per le acque piovane (in realtà la famosa fossa delle acque nere), che occupa un'estremità dell'area della Fabbrica di Pompéia, ha trasformato la quasi totalità del terreno destinato a zona sportiva in area non edificabile. Rimangono due pezzi di terreno libero, uno a sinistra l'altro a destra, in prossimità della "torre-camino-serbatoio dell'acqua", rendendo così tutto molto complicato. Ma, come disse il grande architetto statunitense Frank Lloyd Wright, "*le difficoltà sono i nostri migliori amici*". Costretta ad operare su due pezzetti di terra, ho pensato alla meravigliosa architettura dei "forti" militari brasiliani, persi in riva al mare o nascosti per tutto il paese, nelle città, nelle foreste, nella solitudine dei deserti e del *sertão*. Sono sorti così i due "blocchi", quello dei campi da gioco e della piscina e quello degli spogliatoi. In mezzo, l'area non edificabile. E... come collegare i due blocchi? Esisteva un'unica soluzione: la soluzione "aerea", grazie alla quale i due blocchi si abbracciano tramite passerelle in cemento precompresso.
Provo nei confronti dell'aria condizionata lo stesso orrore che provo per i tappeti. E così sono nati i "pertugi" preistorici delle caverne, senza vetri, senza nulla. I "pertugi" permettono di avere una ventilazione incrociata permanente.
Ho dato al tutto il nome di "cittadella", traduzione della parola inglese *goal*, perfetta per un complesso sportivo.
Per l'area non edificabile ho pensato ad un grande "*deck*" in legno. Corre da un lato all'altro del "terreno proibito", lungo tutto il suo perimetro; a destra, una "cascata", sorta di pluviale collettore all'aria aperta.
Il mio grande amico Eduardo Subirats, filosofo e poeta, afferma che il complesso di Pompéia possiede una potente maniera espressionista. È vero, e ciò dipende dalla mia formazione europea. Ma esso non dimentica il surrealismo del popolo brasiliano, le sue invenzioni, il suo piacere nel ritrovarsi *todos juntos* (tutti assieme), nel danzare, cantare. Così ho dedicato il mio lavoro di Pompéia ai giovani, ai bambini, alla terza età: *todos juntos*.

SESC Leisure Centre "Fábrica da Pompéia", São Paulo, Brazil
Lina Bo Bardi

An underground tunnel for rainwater (actually a notorious cesspool) at one end of the Fábrica of Pompéia has rendered unsuitable for building almost all the land chosen for the sports centre. Two lots remain on the left and right near the "tower-cum-chimney-cum-water tank" that services the tunnel, making things very complicated indeed. But, as the great American architect Frank Lloyd Wright put it: "Difficulties are our best friends". *Forced to work with these two small pockets of land, I was reminded of the marvellous architecture of Brazilian military "forts", some by the sea, others hidden all over the country in cities, forests, the solitude of deserts and the* sertão *(hinterland). This led to the idea of two "blocks" — one comprising the playing fields and the swimming pool, the other the changing rooms — on either side of the wasteland. The problem was how to connect the two blocks. There was only one answer: an "aerial" solution linking the two "blocks" with pedestrian bridges in prestressed concrete.*
My aversion for air conditioning is matched only by my horror of carpeting. This is what led me to create the glassless, featureless prehistoric "caves" which provide constant cross-ventilation.
For the area on which building wasn't feasible I designed a large wooden deck running from one side to the other of the "no-man's land" round its entire perimeter. To the right there is a "waterfall", a sort of open-air rainwater trap.
My good friend Eduardo Subirats, the philosopher and poet, says that the Pompéia complex is strikingly Expressionist. I agree. This is probably a result of my European training, but this doesn't mean I have forgotten the Surrealism of the Brasilian people, their inventiveness, the pleasure they take in being together, todos juntos, *in dancing and singing. Therefore my work in Pompéia is dedicated to the young, the children, the elderly:* todos juntos.





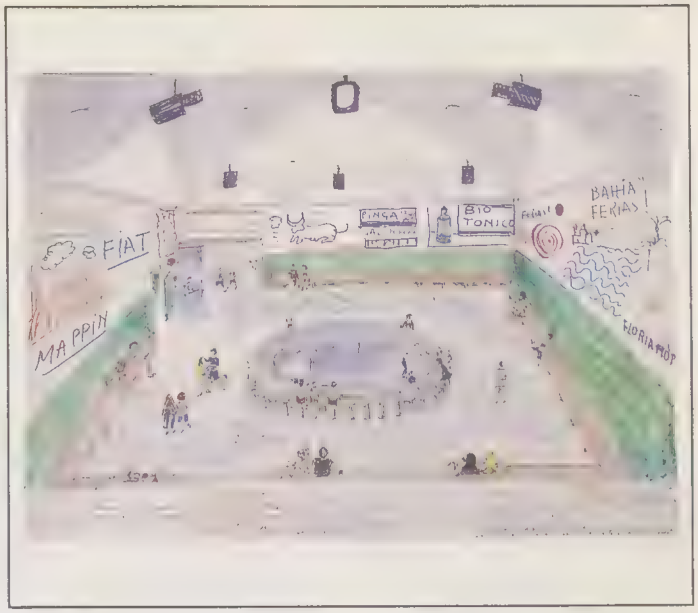






Vista dalla "finestra-pertugio" della torre delle palestre.
Foto R. Fialdini.
Vista interna di una palestra.
Foto R. Fialdini.
Vista da sudovest nel contesto urbano.
Foto S. Gicovate.
Vista interna del padiglione delle attività generali.
Foto S. Gicovate.
Vista interna e schizzo di studio del bar nella torre dei servizi.
Foto S. Gicovate.
Vista interna e schizzo di studio del teatro.
Foto Archivio L. Bo Bardi.
Prospetto dei padiglioni e pianta del piano terra: 1) torre delle palestre





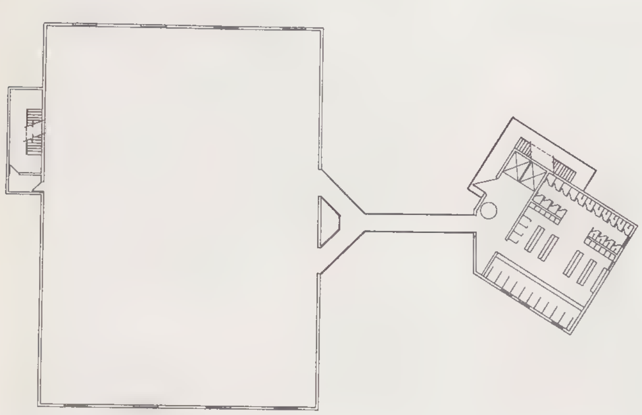


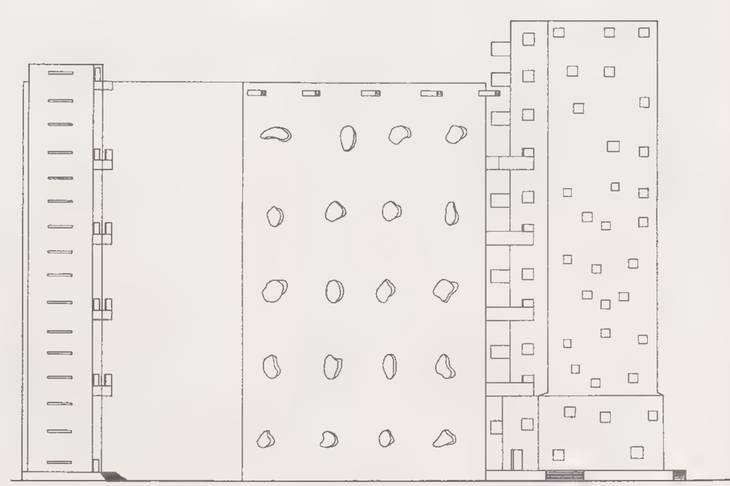


(complesso sportivo); 2) torre dei servizi (complesso sportivo); 3) torre d'acqua; 4) depositi e impianti; 5) cucina; 6) ristorante; 7) biblioteca; 8) spazio espositivo; 9) foyer del teatro; 10) teatro; 11-17) laboratori; 18) padiglione grande; 19) asilo di infanzia; 20) informazioni e segreteria.

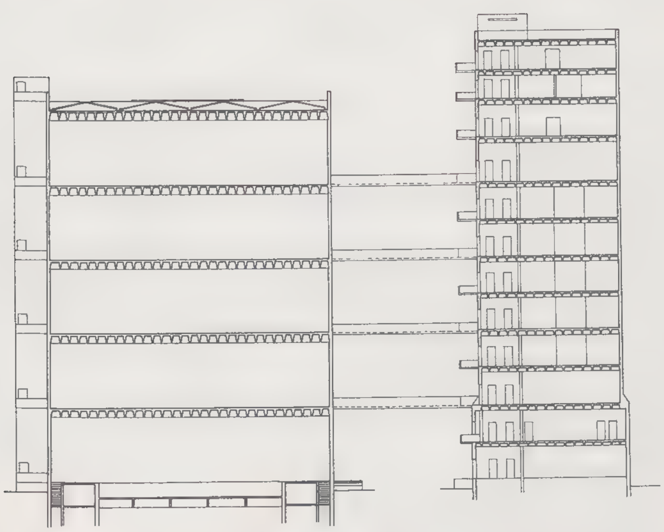
View from the "window-hole" of the gymnasiums tower.
Photo R. Fialdini.
Internal view of a gymnasium.
Photo R. Fialdini.
The urban context seen from the south-west.
Photo S. Gicovate.
Internal view of the general activities pavilion.
Photo S. Gicovate.
Internal view and study sketch of the bar in the services tower.
Photo S. Gicovate.
Internal view and study sketch of the theatre.
Photo Archive L. Bo Bardi.
Elevation of the pavilions and ground-floor plan: 1) gymnasiums tower (sports complex); 2) services tower (sports complex); 3) water tower; 4) storerooms and installations; 5) kitchen; 6) restaurant; 7) library; 8) exhibition space; 9) theatre foyer; 10) theatre; 11-17) workshops; 18) large pavilion; 19) crèche; 20) information desk and secretary's office.











Viste delle passerelle di collegamento tra la torre delle palestre e la torre dei servizi.
Foto S. Gicovate.
Pianta, prospetto e sezione trasversale delle torri del complesso sportivo.

Views of the footbridges linking the gymnasiums tower and services tower.
Photo S. Gicovate.
Plan, elevation and cross section of the sports complex towers.



Luiz Paulo Conde, Brasil

Escola da Fundação Bradesco de Osasco, São Paulo, Brasil, 1987-91
Con/With: Mauro Neves Nogueira, Rizza Paes Conde, Marcos Moraes de Sá

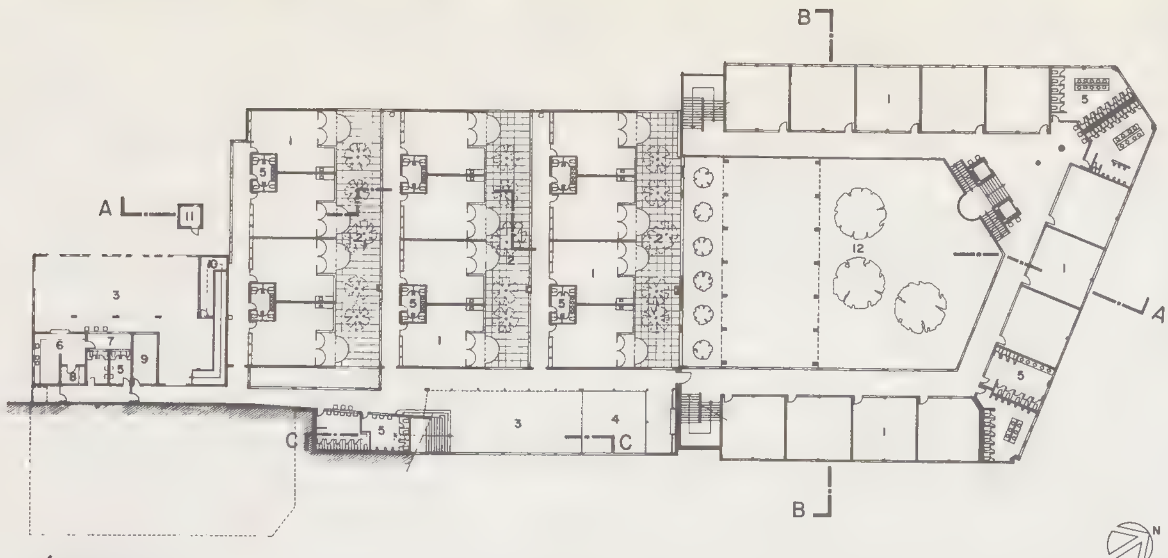
Vista della facciata nordovest del corpo della scuola elementare e media. Foto D. Casoy.

View of the north-west façade of the primary and middle school building. Photo D. Casoy.

Scuola elementare e media e asilo nido della Fondazione Bradesco a Osasco, San Paolo, Brasile
Luiz Paulo Conde

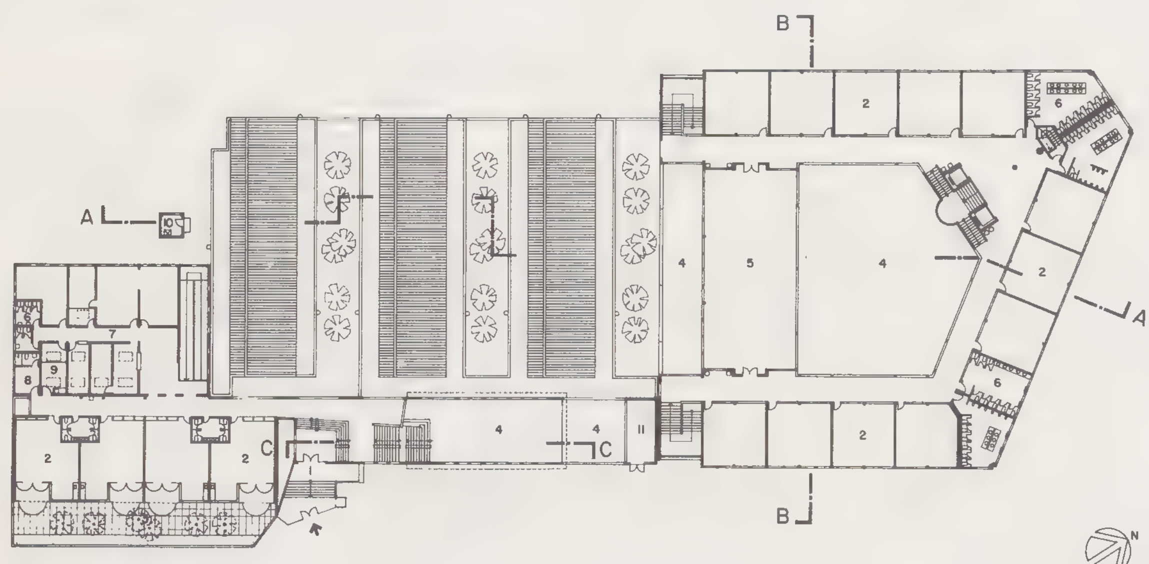
La scuola è stata progettata considerando due fasi successive di realizzazione, corrispondenti a due richieste distinte del programma: asilo nido (480 allievi) e scuola elementare e media (960 allievi). Si richiedeva inoltre l'utilizzazione di un corpo di fabbrica esistente, conservandone l'identità volumetrica.
Tale programma, le particolarità del lotto e la nostra esperienza precedente hanno suggerito l'adozione di tipologie distinte per ogni settore: a padiglioni per l'asilo nido, con aree scoperte integrate alle aule; a cortile centrale per la scuola elementare e media, per la necessità di concentrazione e di sviluppo verticale del programma. Questo dualismo tipologico non ha impedito una soluzione unitaria, ottenuta tramite il rivestimento ceramico e le coperture. La ceramica, oltre che economica e di facile manutenzione, ha consentito infatti una stereometria versatile, la messa in evidenza degli elementi architettonici e la costruzione di un'architettura coerente con il contesto industriale circostante.
Nel progetto la razionalità d'impianto e del sistema modulare delle aule si riflette nelle piante e nei fronti, consentendo tuttavia una grande variabilità compositiva. Così le facciate si caratterizzano per la differenziazione dei serramenti, la presenza dei *brise-soleil* e le variazioni dei davanzali, tutti elementi connessi alla funzionalità. Ma vi sono anche riferimenti a una nostra precedente esperienza di restauro, nel 1986, di una scuola *art-déco* degli anni Trenta a Rio de Janeiro, l'Istituto "La Fayette", e al "protomodernismo carioca", fenomeno che abbiamo studiato nel corso degli anni Ottanta.
Nell'asilo nido lo spazio principale è longitudinale, corrispondente alla sequenza atrio-patio coperto: qui l'inflessione della grande scala, le variazioni di quota, la circolazione laterale connessa ai solarium, i materiali, i colori creano una complessità spaziale che rappresenta il centro della composizione.
Nella scuola elementare e media il cortile centrale è, allo stesso tempo, chiuso e aperto, e la doppia altezza sotto la palestra lo integra al solarium, mentre altri due spazi aperti lo connettono ai fronti laterali e all'esterno.
La scala principale — con la gradinata di accesso e l'affaccio aperto al piano soprastante —, il castello d'acqua e i locali tecnici, insieme individuano un asse di simmetria dentro una composizione di pianta asimmetrica; mentre le gallerie dell'ultimo piano e il fronte della biblioteca, con paramento continuo ma al tempo stesso con serramenti differenziati dietro la ringhiera, rappresentano altri elementi caratteristici.
Queste sottili variazioni a una "regola", caratteristica dell'architettura tradizionale brasiliana, contribuiscono alla ricchezza spaziale, accentuata dal cromatismo d'ispirazione vernacolare, al rapporto tra l'esterno e i cortili interni e alla valorizzazione dei percorsi e degli spazi comuni.

1 . SALAS DE AULA
2 . SOLÁRIO
3 . PÁTIO COBERTO
4 . PÁTIO DESCOBERTO
5 . SANITÁRIOS
6 . COZINHA
7 . DESPENSA
8 . ÁREA DE SERVIÇO
9 . ALMOXARIFADO
10. DEPÓSITO
11 . BOMBAS
12 . VAZIO



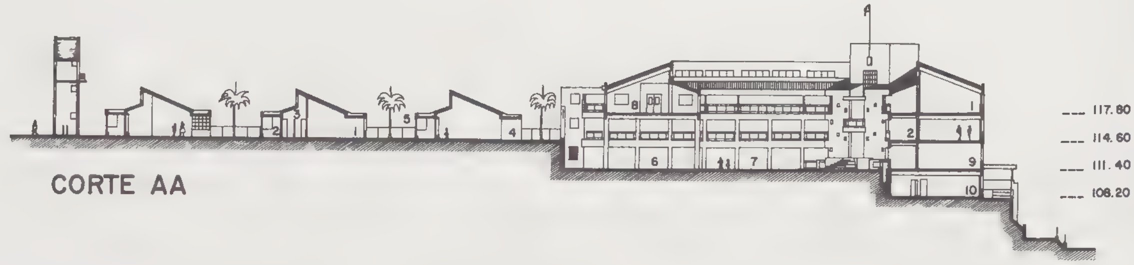
NÍVEL 114.60

1 . ACESSO PRÉ-ESCOLAR
2 . SALAS DE AULA
3 . SOLÁRIO
4 . VAZIOS
5 . SALA DE GINÁSTICA
6 SANITÁRIOS
7 ADMINISTRAÇÃO ESCOLAR
8 . ENFERMARIA
9 . GABINETE DENTÁRIO
10. BARRILETES
11 . SUBESTAÇÃO



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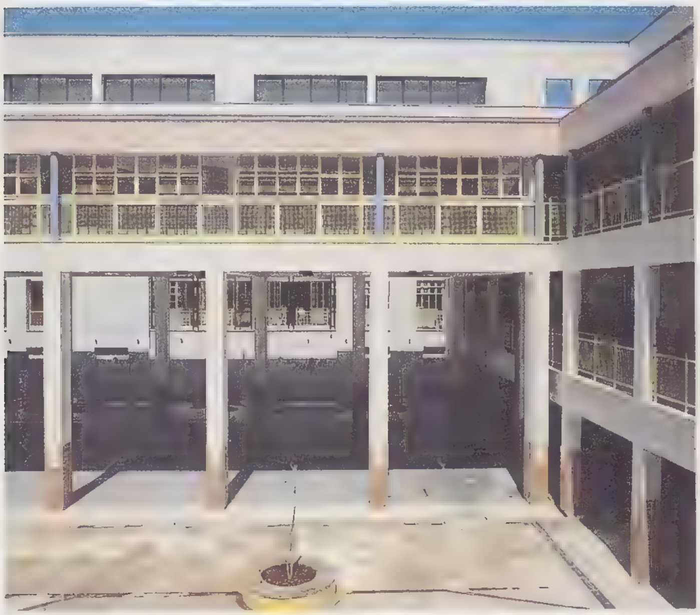
1 . SALAS DE AULA
2 . CIRCULAÇÕES
3 . SANITÁRIO
4 . VARANDAS
5 . SOLÁRIOS
6 . PÁTIO COBERTO
7 . PÁTIO DESCOBERTO
8 . SALA DE GINÁSTICA
9 . SECRETARIA
10. BIBLIOTECA
11 . CASTELO D'ÁGUA



CORTE AA



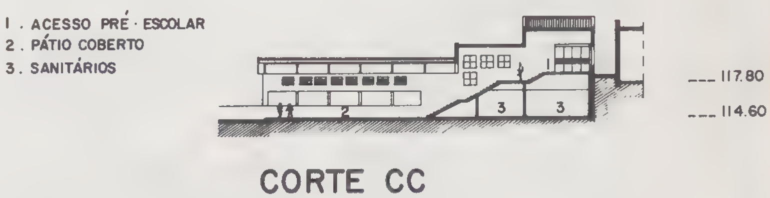






Piante e sezioni longitudinali.
Viste da nordest, da nord e del cortile interno del corpo della scuola elementare e media.
Foto D. Casoy.

Plans and longitudinal sections.
Views from the north-east and north, and the internal courtyard of the primary and middle school building.
Photo D. Casoy.







Vista da nordest e viste di dettaglio dell'asilo nido.
Foto D. Casoy.

View from the north-east and close-up of the nursery school.
Photo D. Casoy.

Bradesco Foundation Nursery, Primary and Middle School, Osasco, São Paulo, Brazil
Luiz Paulo Conde

The school was designed to be built in two stages to meet the two separate requirements of the program: a nursery school (480 children) followed by a primary and middle school (960 pupils). An existing building had to be reutilised without changing its volumes.
Both the nature of the program and site, as well as our program experience, suggested distinct types of buildings for each section of the complex: a pavilion for the nursery school with integrated open-air areas in each classroom, and a central courtyard for the primary and middle school (given the program specification that these functions be grouped together and that this area of the site be developed vertically).
Although the two building typologies are quite distinct, the complex has been unified by the use of ceramic facing and uniform roofing. As well as being economical and easy to maintain, ceramic facing made it possible to create flexible stereometrics, highlighting the structural and architectural elements of the complex, and produce architecture that blends well with its industrial surroundings.
The rational layout and the modular classroom system is reflected in the floor plans and facades, although a high degree of compositional flexibility has been achieved nonetheless. Thus, façades have contrasting door and window frames, brise-soleils *and a variety of window sills: a range of decorative elements with a clear functional purpose. There are also references to one of our earlier restoration projects in 1986 for the "La Fayette Institute", a thirties Art Deco school in Rio de Janeiro, and to the "Rio de Janeiro proto-Modernism" phase we went through during the eighties.*
In the nursery school the main space is longitudinal corresponding to the covered atrium-patio sequence in which the curve of the large staircase, variations in level, the side corridor leading to the solarium, the materials and colours create a spatial complexity that becomes the central feature of the composition.
In the primary and middle school the central courtyard is both open and closed and is integrated with the solarium by the two-storey space beneath the gymnasium, while two other open spaces connect it to the side facades and the exterior.
The central staircase (with access steps), fully visible from the upper level, the water tower and the technical and services rooms create a symmetrical axis within an unsymmetrical plan. The top-floor galleries and the library, whose unbroken façade is punctuated by contrasting door and window frames behind a balcony railing, also characterize the building.
This subtle way of bending rules is typical of Brazilian architectural tradition. It results in a greater variety of spaces (enhanced by colour schemes borrowed from popular culture), strengthens the relationship between the exterior and interior courtyards, and puts communal space and access areas to their best possible use.





Severiano Mário Porto, Brasil

Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Balbina, Manaus, Brasil, 1983-88
Con/With: Mário Emilio Ribeiro

Vista aerea da nord.

Aerial view from the north.

Centro di Protezione Ambientale di Balbina, Manaus, Brasile
Severiano Mário Porto

Il Centro di Protezione Ambientale di Balbina, progettato per studiare e seguire gli impatti ambientali derivanti dalla costruzione e dal funzionamento della centrale idroelettrica di Balbina — la prima di ampia portata costruita nello Stato dell'Amazzonia —, ha tenuto conto del fatto che una vasta area sarebbe stata inondata nella fase di formazione del bacino artificiale. La foresta, di conseguenza, sarebbe stata toccata, e con essa il suo ecosistema, con riflessi su clima, temperatura, flora, fauna, ecc. Oltre a questo, la registrazione degli effetti prodotti durante la costruzione e la sistematizzazione delle relative conoscenze così acquisite avrebbero fornito un valido aiuto e un utile orientamento per futuri interventi dello stesso genere in Amazzonia, suggerendo provvedimenti e percorsi atti a minimizzare gli effetti negativi e pregiudizievoli di opere di questo tipo nella regione. Il programma teneva conto delle esigenze di un centro di ricerca, configurato essenzialmente come un insieme di laboratori specifici, di uso molteplice e temporaneo, spazi programmati per attività di raccolta dati e ricerca sul campo e spazi annessi per alloggio e soggiorno. Situata all'ingresso dell'agglomerato edificato per le necessità del cantiere della centrale, la costruzione rispetta la pendenza costante e naturale del terreno, con l'installazione delle diverse unità in aree a quote diverse collegate da passerelle e passaggi coperti. Le singole unità sono state disposte attorno ad un "vuoto" centrale — spazio destinato ad attività varie, con uno specchio d'acqua ripartito su vari livelli — e impiantate in modo da utilizzare correttamente i venti dominanti nella regione. Le forme e le volumetrie dipendono essenzialmente dal sistema costruttivo. La soluzione ad ampia copertura non è stata condizionata dalla rigidità dei materiali utilizzati, ma si è cercata un'assoluta libertà compositiva. La linea di colmo della copertura ha un andamento libero, che segue il percorso sinuoso fatto di punti più alti e più bassi, orientando il tracciato dei fili di gronda della copertura in modo da formare aggetti protettivi con un andamento alternato in successione in altezza e larghezza.
Il progetto ha cercato di esplorare al massimo le possibilità offerte dal legno, le cui qualità non si limitano a quelle delle specie commercialmente note. Sono state selezionate e impiegate varietà atte ad essere applicate alle diverse parti della costruzione, sia allo stato naturale che attraverso lavorazione in cantiere.
Tronchi tondi, travi e colonne rettangolari semplicemente sgrossate, assi, travetti e squadre in legno lavorato e, come copertura, *covacos* (scandole di legno) rappresentano il repertorio essenziale dei materiali da costruzione. Pareti in muratura contengono gli ambienti chiusi, strutturalmente indipendenti dalla copertura. Negli ambienti ad aria condizionata, chiari lucernari in vetro trasparente consentono di ammirare la bellezza della copertura.

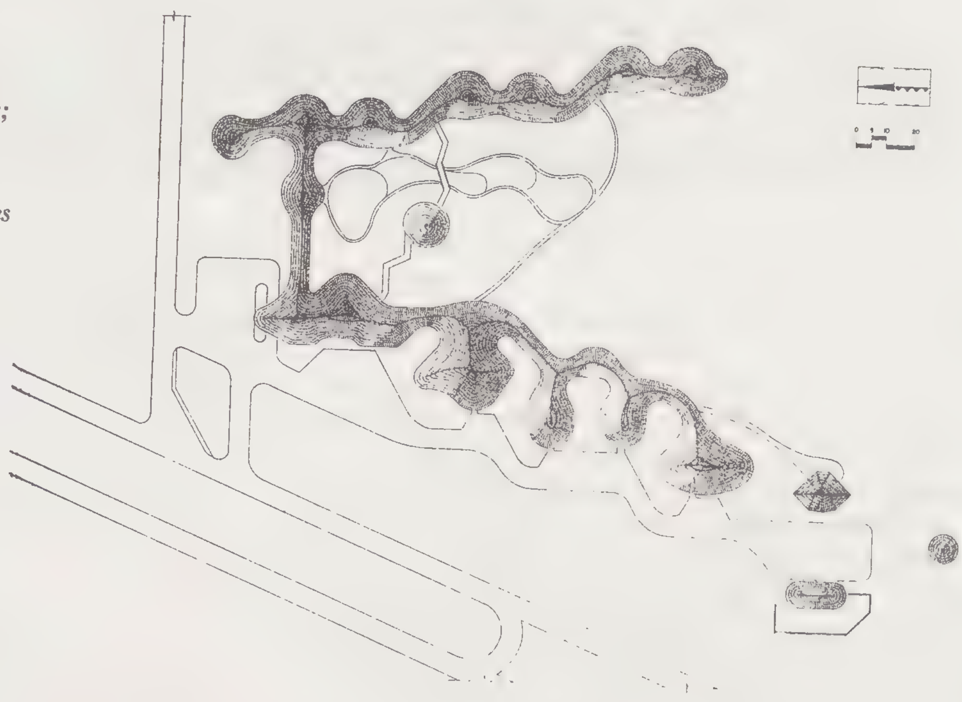
Balbina Environment Protection Centre, Manaus, Brazil
Severiano Mário Porto

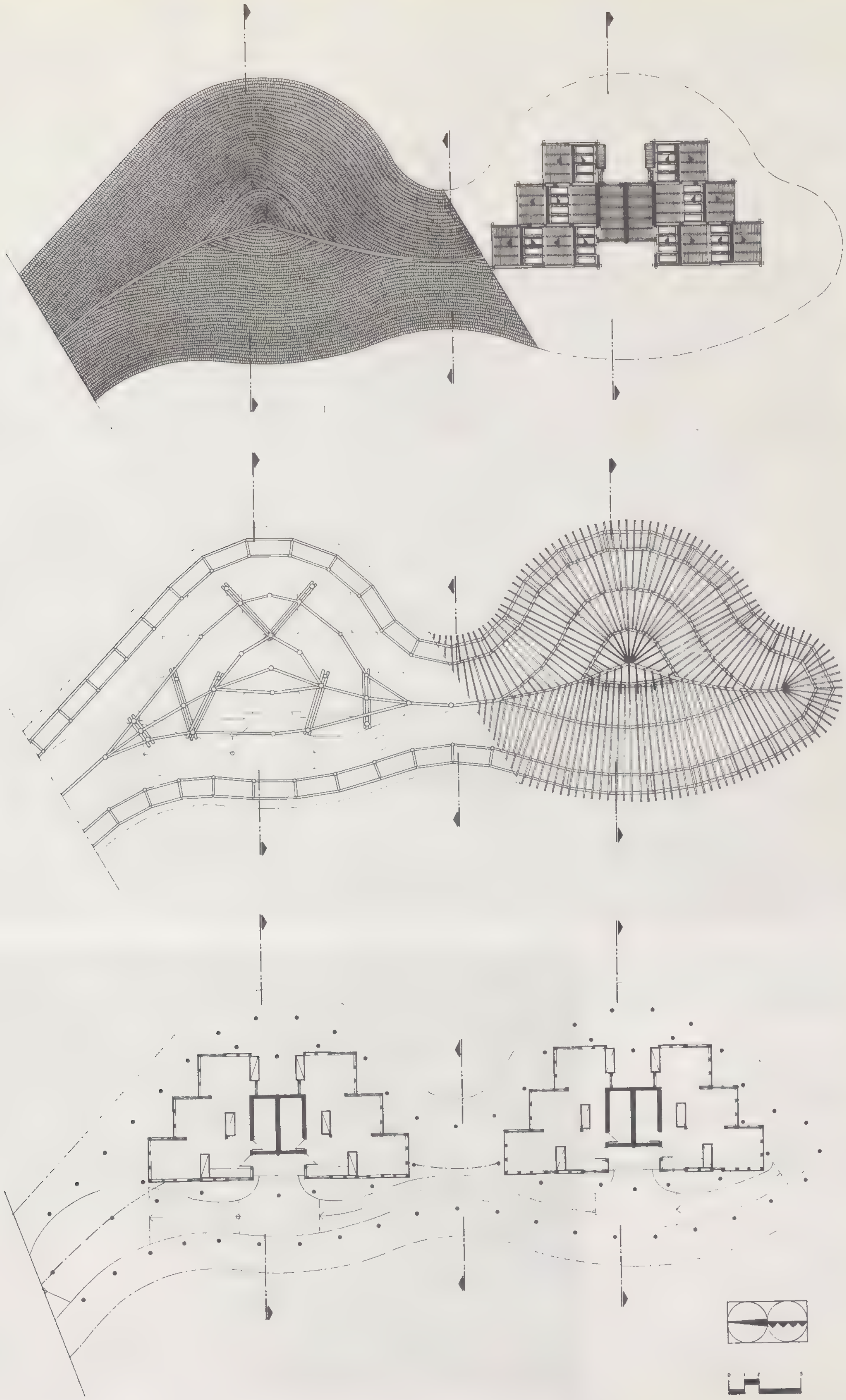
The creation of the Balbina Environment Protection Centre for the monitoring and studying of the environmental impact of the construction and operation of the Balbina hydro-electric plant (the first large installation of its kind in the Amazon State) took into account the fact that widespread flooding, necessitated by the new reservoir would effect the forest and its ecosystem, altering climate and temperature as well as the distribution of flora, fauna, etc. Monitoring and study of the impact of the new installation will provide valuable input for future projects, and help developing measures and procedures, that will minimise the negative effects of works of this kind in the Amazon region.
In order to do this, the program needed a research centre, basically a group of specialised multi-purpose temporary laboratories, data collection and field research areas and annexes for lodgings and visitors.
Situated at the entrance of the settlement built to service the original construction site, the various units of the centre extend down the naturally sloping terrain on different levels connected by footbridges and covered walkways. The individual units are arranged around a central multi-purpose open space that also features a split-level ornamental pond. The centre is positioned to exploit the region's prevailing winds the the full.
The forms and the volumes are a direct consequence of the construction system used. Thus, the broad roofs are less a function of rigid materials than of a desire for total compositional freedom. The roof ridge hugs the undulating line of the centre's high and low points, and the overhanging eaves are oriented to provide shelter in a sequence of varying heights and widths.
The project attempted to explore the potential of wood to the full, using types that do not usually find their way onto the commercial market. Varieties were specially selected for use in various parts of the centre to be either in their natural state, or processed on the site.
Round trunks, rough-hewn rectangular columns and beams, planks, site-machined lintels and squares and wood covacos *weatherboard for the roofs provided the centre's repertoire of construction materials. Masonry walls, structurally independent of the roofing, were used to create indoor spaces. In the air conditioned rooms, transparent glass skylights has been installed to reveal the beauty of the roofing.*

Planimetria generale del piano terra, in basso la parte costruita e in alto la parte in progetto: 1) residenza dell' amministratore; 2) alloggi; 3) servizi agli alloggi; 4) acquario; 5) area multiuso; 6) reception, *soggiorno, museo, studi e mensa; 7) laboratorio di limnologia; 8) primo laboratorio polivalente; 9) servizi sanitari; 10) secondo laboratorio polivalente; 11) laboratorio di endemie polivalenti; 12) alloggi; 13) inceneritore; 14) lavanderia, officine di manutenzione edifici e depositi; 15) parcheggi.*
Planimetria generale delle coperture.
Piante di dettaglio delle coperture, della struttura di copertura e del piano terra degli alloggi.

General ground-floor plan; the part already constructed is at the bottom, and the area still being planned at the top: 1) administrator's residence; 2) living quarters; 3) services for living quarters; 4) aquarium; 5) multi-purpose area; 6) reception, common room, museum, study rooms and canteen; 7) limnology laboratory; 8) first multi-purpose laboratory; 9) health services; 10) second multi-purpose laboratory; 11) multivalent endemias laboratory; 12) living quarters; 13) incinerator; 14) laundry, buildings and storerooms maintenance workshops; 15) carparks.
General plan of roofing.
Detailed plans of roofing, roof structures and the ground floor of the living quarters.









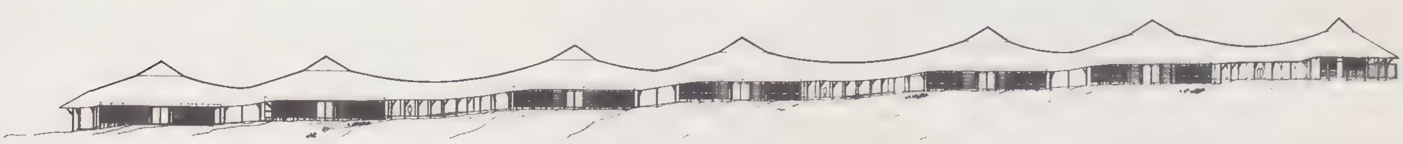
Viste di dettaglio di un padiglione e del percorso coperto e vista da est.
Prospetti e sezioni trasversali della parte costruita.

Detailed views of a pavilion and the covered walkway, and a view from the east.
Elevations and cross sections of the part already built.















Rogelio Salmona, Colombia

Casa de Huespedes Ilustres, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, 1980-81
Con/With: Germán Téllez
Centro Cultural y Museo "Quimbaya", Armenia, Colombia, 1984

Casa degli Ospiti Illustri, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, 1980-81.
Vista da est sulla baia.
Foto R.L. Castro.

The House of Illustrious Guests (Official Guest Residence), Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, 1980-81.
View of the bay from the east.
Photo R.L. Castro.

Casa degli Ospiti Illustri, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia
Rogelio Salmona

La *Casa de Huéspedes Ilustres de Colombia*, a Cartagena de Indias, realizzata per la parte riguardante il restauro in collaborazione con Germán Téllez, "*nasce da un pugno di rovine dimenticate nella baia di Cartagena, e dall'interrogativo posto dal vasto patrimonio lasciato nella nostra patria da 300 anni di dominio coloniale spagnolo (...)*". (Germán Téllez, *El Fuerte de Manzanilla y la Casa de Huéspedes de Colombia en Cartagena*).
La Casa degli Ospiti Illustri è quindi conseguenza del recupero del sito e delle rovine del vecchio Forte di San Juan de Manzanillo, incorporato in un'opera nuova: la Residenza degli Ospiti della Colombia.
Il riuso del passato nel presente pone sempre grandi difficoltà di progetto, quali: il trovare il rapporto appropriato tra il nuovo e l'antico; l'evitare (in questo caso per volontà dei progettisti) che il piccolo fondaco di mq. 117 di superficie coperta del Forte di San Juan de Manzanillo scomparisse di fronte alla nuova costruzione, venti volte più grande; l'evitare che l'altezza dei due edifici nuovi schiacciasse quello più antico; il far sì che la distanza tra le due opere fosse quella giusta e necessaria a differenziare e dare autonomia a ciascuna delle due costruzioni, ottenendo allo stesso tempo un'unica architettura in cui antico e nuovo continuassero a coesistere unitariamente, sia costruttivamente che formalmente.
La Casa degli Ospiti, situata di fronte alla città circondata da mura e costruita in pietra, non poteva dimenticare l'imponente presenza di questo materiale nella costruzione della città; cosa che risalta in ogni parte della Residenza.
Le forme e i volumi, pensati per essere scoperti progressivamente, non dovevano imporsi sul paesaggio: spicca solo la copertura in tegola spagnola del vecchio fondaco.
La Casa, articolata in una successione di patii, è costruita in mattoni e pietra corallina, come le mura di Cartagena. Massicci muri traforati disegnano patii e corridoi — riferimenti all'architettura della città — attraverso i quali si scoprono di scorcio tutti gli spazi della Casa, luoghi di incontro diversificati che tuttavia conservano una rigorosa unità.
Dai patii la luce brillante si attenua verso gli ambienti interni, attraverso corridoi dove in canali di mattoni scorre acqua fluente proveniente dai patii stessi: acqua ritrovata, che forma onde e suoni rinfrescanti. Le coperture a volta sono state fatte per poter camminare e scoprire, in un percorso all'aperto, patii e paesaggi, cielo, mare, e giardini che circondano la Casa.

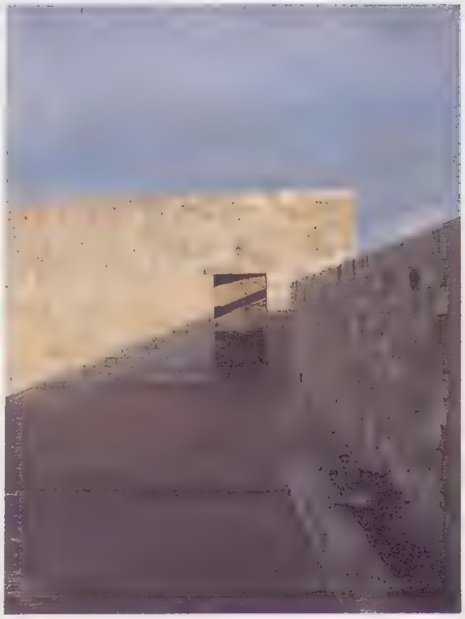
The House of Illustrious Guests, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia
Rogelio Salmona

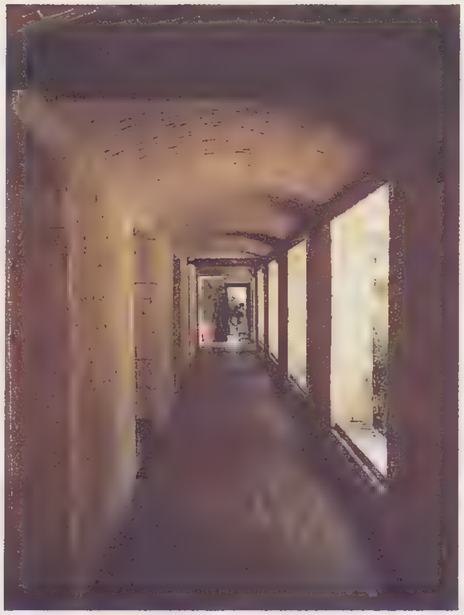
The Casa de Huéspedes Ilustres de Colombia, *in Cartegena de Indias, renovated in collaboration with German Téllez, "was born from a handful of forgotten ruins in the bay of Cartagena, and from the ambiguous inheritance three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule have bequeathed to our country [...]." (Germán Téllez,* El Fuerte de Manzanilla y la Casa de Huéspedes de Colombia en Cartagena*).*
The new Official Guest Residence of Colombia, is the result of reclaiming and restoring the site and the ruins of the old Fortress of San Juan de Manzanillo.
Reusing the past in the present always raises enormous design difficulties, such as finding the right balance between ancient and modern; preventing (in this case at the architects' express wish) the small 117 sq.m. covered storage space of the Fortress of San Juan de Manzanillo from being dwarfed by the new building, which was twenty times bigger; preventing the height of the two new buildings from overwhelming the old building; ensuring that an appropriate and necessary distance be created between the two buildings to make them distinctive and independent of each other, but at the same time creating an architectural unity in which old and new forms and constructions can continue to exist side by side.
The House of the Guests opposite the walled stone city, could not ignore the predominance of this material in city, so stone is very much in evidence throughout the Residence. It was also important that forms and volumes, designed to be discovered little, by little should not be an imposition on the landscape: the Spanish tiled roof of the old warehouse is the only prominent element.
The house, structured in a sequence of patios, is built of brick and coralline stone, like the walls of Cartagena itself. The patios and corridors — references to the architecture of the city — have solid perforated walls through which the spaces of the Residence and its various meeting places, all distinctive yet carefully unified, can be glimpsed.
The bright light from the patios filters through to the interior spaces, down corridors where water from the patios themselves flows through brick channels: water rediscovered, water that ripples and refreshes with the sounds it makes. The vaulted roofs were designed to provide an outside walkway from which to discover patios, landscapes, the sea, the sky and the gardens surrounding the house.



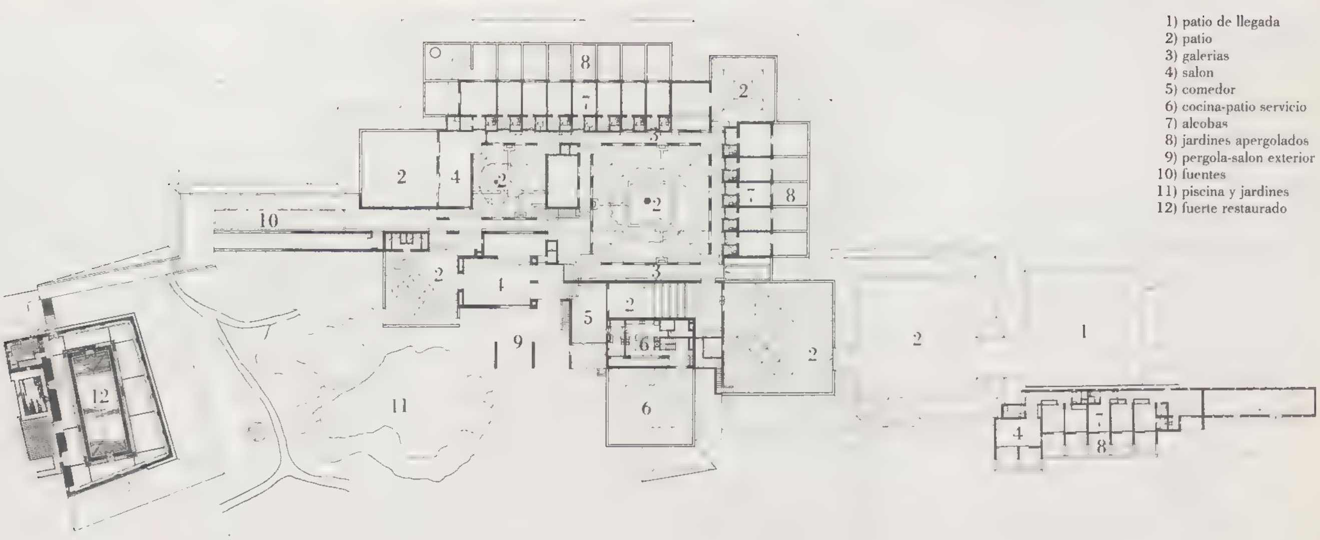
Casa degli Ospiti Illustri, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, 1980-81.
Viste del patio d'ingresso e del "patio del caucciù".
Viste della terrazza di copertura e della galleria del "patio del caucciù".
Foto R.L. Castro.
Pianta del piano terra.

The House of Illustrious Guests (Official Guest Residence), Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, 1980-81.
Views of the entrance patio and the "rubber-tree patio".
Views of the roof terrace and the gallery in the "rubber-tree patio".
Photo R.L. Castro.
Ground-floor plan.

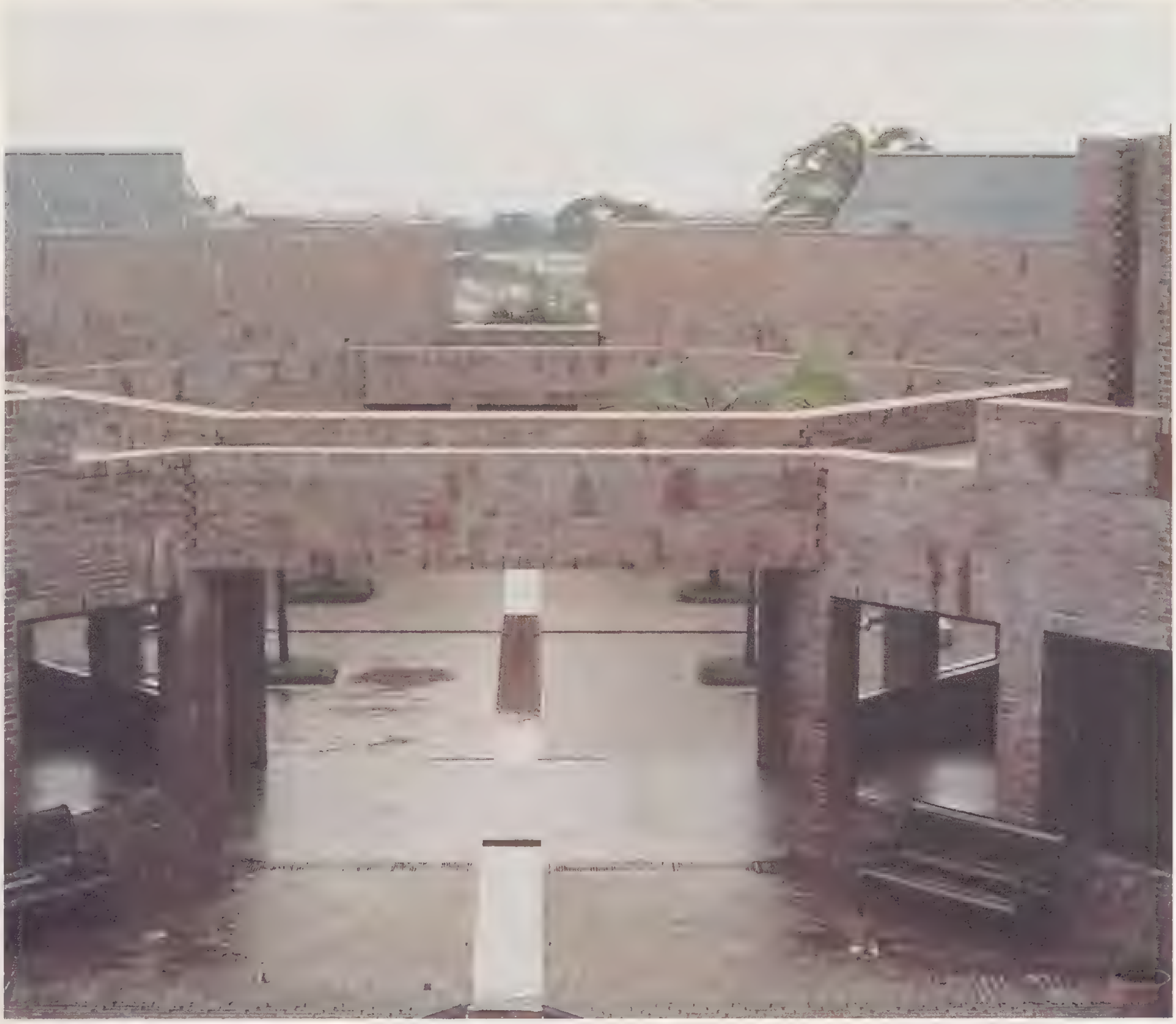








1) patio de llegada
2) patio
3) galerias
4) salon
5) comedor
6) cocina-patio servicio
7) alcobas
8) jardines apergolados
9) pergola-salon exterior
10) fuentes
11) piscina y jardines
12) fuerte restaurado



Centro culturale e Museo "Quimbaya", Armenia, Colombia, 1984.
Viste da sudovest del primo patio e dell'ingresso lungo l'asse principale.
Foto R.L. Castro.

"Quimbaya" Cultural Centre and Museum, Armenia, Colombia, 1984.
Views from the south-west of the first patio and entrance along the main axis.
Photo R.L. Castro.



Centro culturale e Museo "Quimbaya", Armenia, Colombia
Rogelio Salmona

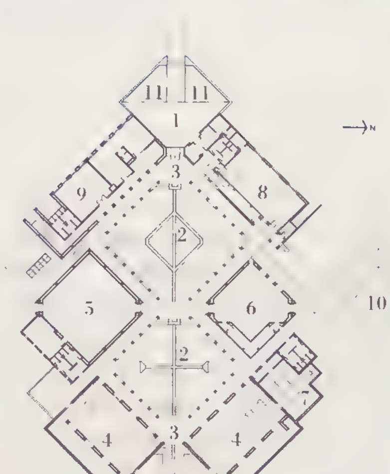
La funzione dell'edificio e i suoi usi, lo stesso nome di "Quimbaya" imponevano, di fatto, condizioni molto particolari a questo progetto, che si aggiungevano a tutte quelle usuali dei musei; perché in un edificio destinato a questo scopo, il problema non è solo museografico, come pensano e vorrebbero museografi e critici d'arte: un recinto vuoto, privo di architettura, una semplice costruzione atta unicamente a "collocare" i pezzi di un lascito, fosse pure il più ricco e raffinato della cultura precolombiana di Colombia.
L'inserimento regionale del nuovo edificio, di una nuova architettura, era un altro dei problemi da risolvere; perché, al di là della ricchezza dell'architettura popolare Quindiana, specialmente nelle abitazioni, la preesistenza di altri aspetti architettonici era inesistente, e andava creata. E' parso tuttavia importante non irrompere in modo irrispettoso nella zona con un'architettura che potesse impedire agli abitanti della regione di scoprire e trovare nel nuovo edificio elementi familiari al loro ambiente, come i patii, i percorsi e la trasparenza dell'architettura.
Questi elementi determinanti si sono sommati al difficile e complesso problema di trovare un linguaggio architettonico di attualità, capace di andare oltre la sintesi del passaggio da una cultura a un'altra, senza cedimenti alla tentazione di una "architettura precolombiana moderna", né rotture irreversibili con il passato e con il luogo. E, cosa altrettanto importante, risolvendo nel nuovo edificio le funzioni ad esso assegnate: divulgare e conservare l'eredità precolombiana, e offrire alla regione un luogo di cultura.
Nell'incontro di tutti questi aspetti sta il fondamento di un'architettura contestuale, regionale e universale.
Il progetto ha teso ad articolare l'edificio su un unico piano, nel quale le diverse parti comunicassero attraverso rampe o mutamenti impercettibili di livello, e fossero tuttavia segnate dalla geometria, dalla disposizione del pavimento e dallo scorrimento dell'acqua, con una visione d'insieme.
Una successione di patii conforma l'edificio, tanto al livello delle gallerie che delle terrazze. La direzione del percorso è data dall'acqua, che scorre in canali di mattoni e accompagna il visitatore.
L'edificio sembra "scavato" nel terreno. Dai patii e dalle gallerie traforate si scorgono le diverse sezioni del museo, dalle quali attraverso grandi aperture si vede la cordigliera, viola e maestosa in lontananza.
Come in altri progetti simili, ho voluto che questa architettura si potesse scoprire nel percorrerla, che si scoprissero i suoi spazi e ciò che contengono come si scopre la natura, con sorpresa e incanto. Attraverso patii e gallerie, finestre interne e muri traforati che attraversano i volumi, si scopre la ricchezza dell'oreficeria Quindiana e di nuovo, nell'ambiente creato, la natura della regione, i muri a gradoni e i diversi terrazzamenti che supportano giardini e canali d'acqua.

"Quimbaya" Cultural Centre and Museum, Armenia, Colombia
Rogelio Salmona

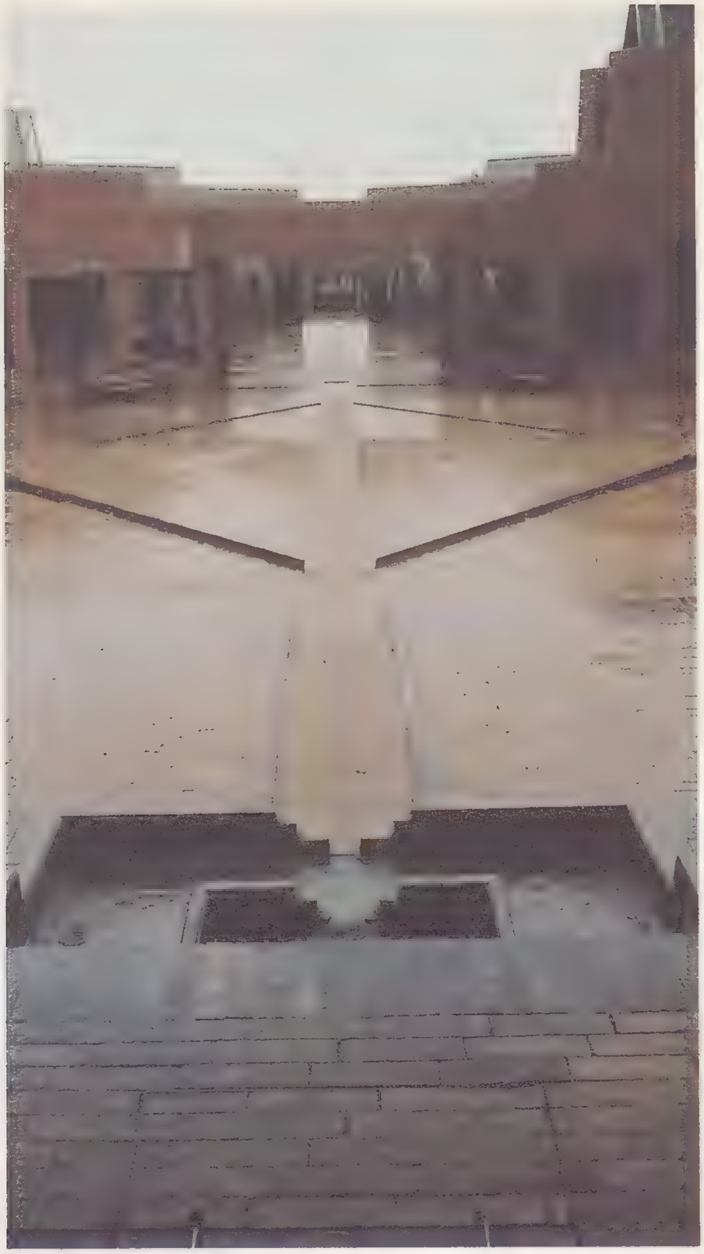
The function and uses envisaged for the building, — and indeed the name "Quimbaya" itself, — imposed very special conditions on this project, in addition to all those normally associated with museums. Although museum specialists and art critics would have it otherwise, the problems presented by this type of building go beyond those of conventional museums, whose empty, architecturally unstructured spaces merely serve to "house" the individual items of a bequest (even if in this case the bequest includes many of Colombia finest pre-Columbian artefacts). Another problem was the siting and integration of the new building, a new architecture, in its local environment. Although popular Quindian architecture (especially its dwellings) is well established in the region, there was no existing architectural base to work from, so one had to be created. It nevertheless seemed important that the architecture should not be a tactless, insensitive presence in the area that might dissuade local inhabitants from discovering that the new building contained elements they were familiar with in their own environment: patios, open corridors and light, transparent architecture. In addition to all this, there was the difficult and complex problem of finding a topical architectural idiom that could represent more than just the transition from one culture to another without succumbing to the temptations of "modern pre-Columbian architecture" or making a total break with the past and with the local context. Just as importantly, the new building actually had to perform the functions assigned to it: the presentation and preservation of the pre-Columbian heritage and the creation of a cultural focus for the region.
The aim of the project was to create a sense of unity by organising the building on a single floor with ramps or imperceptible changes in level to link its various parts, which would anyway be rendered distinctive by geometrical arrangement, floor layout and water flow.
The basis of the building is a sequence of patios at both gallery and terrace level. The route through the museum follows the direction of water which flows through brick channels, accompanying the visitor as he goes. The building seems to have been dug out of the ground. The various sections of the museum can be seen from the patios and tunnel galleries, and the majestic, purple mountains of the cordillera are visible in the distance through large openings in various parts of the museum. As in other similar projects, I wanted an architecture you discover by walking through it, and its spaces (and what they contain) you discover with the same surprise and enchantment that you feel experimenting the nature. The patios, galleries, interior windows and the perforated walls that span the volumes allow the visitor to discover the riches of Quindian gold-work, and also to rediscover, in the environment thus created, the nature of the region, the stepped walls and the terrace-work supporting the gardens and water channels.



1) patio de entrada
2) patio
3) galerias
4) salas de esposición
5) salon multiple
6) cafeteria
7) biblioteca
8) salon para niños
9) administración
10) teatro al aire libre
11) espejos de agua



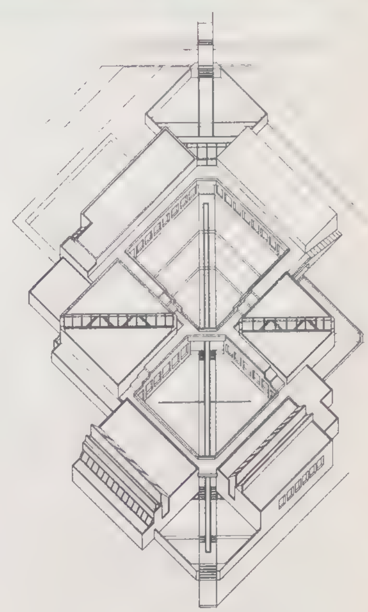


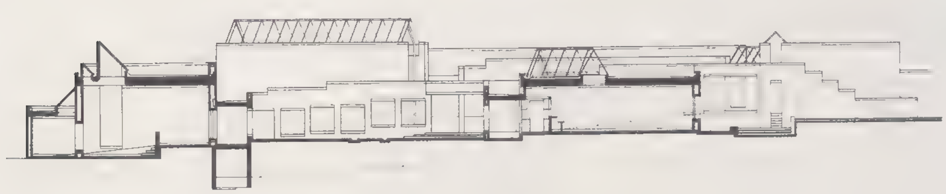


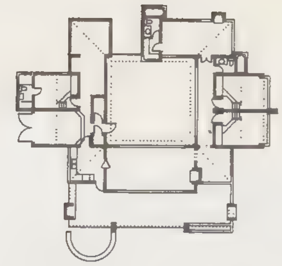


Centro culturale e Museo "Quimbaya", Armenia, Colombia, 1984.
Vista interna di una galleria e vista del primo patio.
Viste da sudovest e da nordest lungo l'asse principale.
Foto R.L. Castro.
Pianta del piano terra, sezione e assonometria.

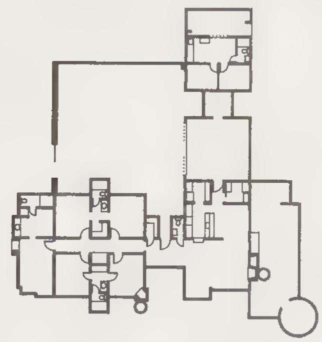
"Quimbaya" Cultural Centre and Museum, Armenia, Colombia, 1984.
Internal view of a gallery and view of the first patio.
Views from the south-west and north-east along the main axis.
Photo R.L. Castro.
Ground-floor plan, section and axonometric.



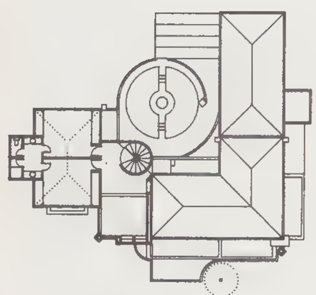


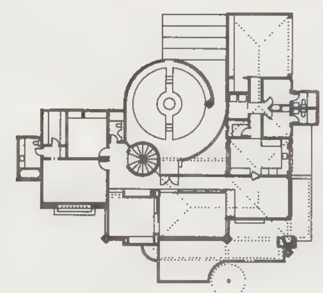


Florida Blanca

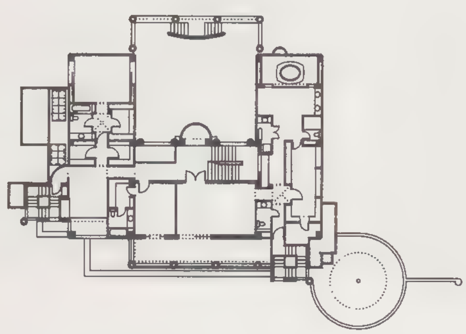


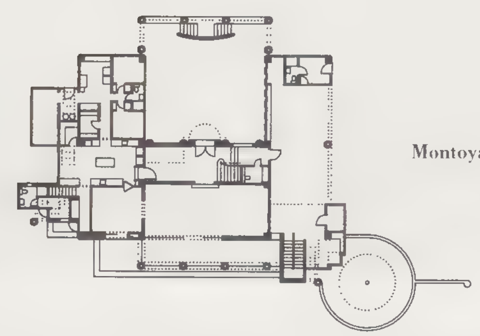
Escorcia I



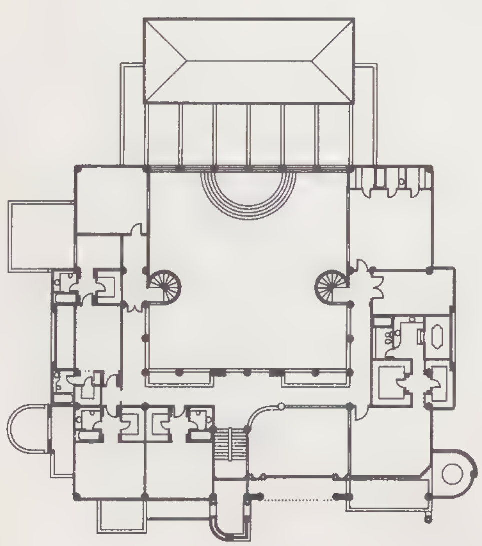


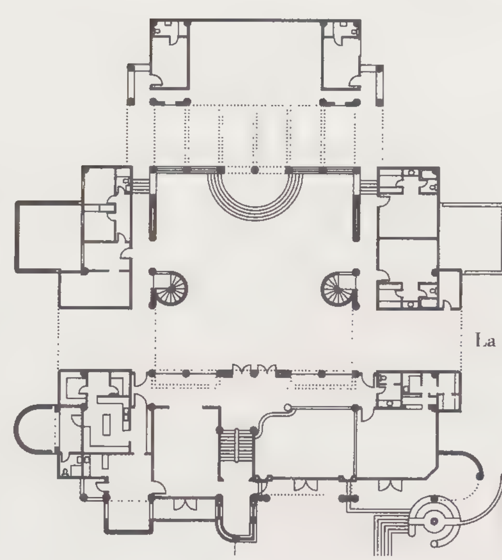
Escorcia II





Montoya





La Providencia

0 5

Laureano Forero, Colombia

Casa Florida Blanca, La Ceja, Antioquia, Colombia, 1982
Casa Escorcia I, La Ceja, Antioquia, Colombia, 1982
Casa Escorcia II, Envigado, Antioquia, Colombia, 1989
Casa Montoya, Pereira, Colombia, 1988
Casa La Providencia, Medellin, Colombia, 1987

Piante delle case Florida Blanca, Escorcia I, Escorcia II, Montoya, La Providencia.

Plans of the Florida Blanca, Escorcia I, Escorcia II, Montoya and La Providencia houses.

Cinque residenze unifamiliari in Colombia
Laureano Forero

Residenza Florida Blanca
Il patio, un elemento di grande utilità per la strutturazione dello spazio, compare in epoche e luoghi diversi in tutto il mondo. Assunto come punto di partenza compositivo nella progettazione di una residenza, esso coagula attorno a sé l'intera casa istituendo una semplice gerarchia di spazi il cui risultato è un'atmosfera intima e serena.
La rigidità del clima ha indotto a prediligere spazi chiusi, resi più gradevoli dal tepore di numerosi camini e dai quali si può ugualmente godere la vista del paesaggio, soprattutto dalla zona soggiorno che si estende su un intero lato del patio. Davanti al soggiorno, dalla parte opposta del patio, una terrazza coperta, abbellita da piante e rampicanti, si affaccia sul lontano panorama della vallata.
Il corridoio parte dal soggiorno e conduce alle camere da letto, provviste di soppalchi per alloggiare eventuali ospiti. In fondo al corridoio è collocata la camera da letto padronale, preceduta da un piccolo atrio davanti al caminetto e disposta su gran parte del lato del patio opposto alla zona soggiorno.
Le pareti esterne e interne sono in grandi mattoni pieni, a cui fanno da contrappunto le gronde in terracotta del patio, che convogliano efficacemente l'acqua piovana.

Residenza Escorcia I
Questa casa di campagna unifamiliare, situata in una zona climatica fredda, è dotata del patio tipico della nostra tradizione, che fa da elemento di transizione fra spazio esterno e ambiente interno, un atrio quadrato a cielo aperto dove poter piantare un albero al centro.
La casa stessa è pensata come confine con il mondo esterno. All'angolo principale della sua pianta quadrata si trova il soggiorno con la terrazza scoperta che può essere utilizzata come sala da pranzo.
L'impianto di riscaldamento, basato su caminetti e sull'energia solare, è risolto con due grandi camini cilindrici, che svolgono contemporaneamente una funzione pratica ed espressiva.
Le murature in mattoni e cemento si integrano armoniosamente con l'incantevole panorama circostante.

Residenza Escorcia II
La topografia del luogo ha consentito di utilizzare il patio sia come punto di partenza per la progettazione della casa, alla quale si accede con una rampa laterale e con un piccolo percorso gradinato posto al centro, che come elemento di distribuzione degli spazi interni.
Su pianta asimmetrica a "U", la casa si snoda attorno al patio semicircolare e deve il proprio equilibrio formale ad un corpo scala cilindrico che dà accesso a un mezzanino dove sono collocate le due camere da letto dei ragazzi.
La bellezza del panorama è esaltata all'interno dalla continuità visiva tra i diversi spazi e dalla attenta

collocazione dell'atrio, della sala da pranzo, della biblioteca e della camera da letto padronale.
Le facciate in mattoni in vista rispettano la tradizione architettonica locale e sono arricchite da pergole in cemento che fungono da prolungamento degli ambienti comuni.

Residenza Montoya
Immersa in un magnifico paesaggio, la casa, caratterizzata da una pianta a "U" che moltiplica le viste sull'intorno, ingloba un patio quadrato che fa da *foyer* all'aperto. Superato questo ingresso scenografico, si trova una zona soggiorno che, oltre ad ampliare l'atrio principale, funge da "belvedere", reimpiegando gli elementi più caratteristici della tradizione architettonica tropicale.

Residenza La Providencia
Circondato da colonne massicce, il patio è come un vasto locale centrale che connette, in maniera funzionale ed elegante, la gradinata curva di accesso, i passaggi orizzontali su due piani tutt'intorno e i corpi scala verticali (quello principale e quelli secondari cilindrici). I vari spazi ausiliari di cui è composta la casa —gradinata d'accesso, ingressi al patio, piscina, sala da pranzo all'aperto, terrazze, ecc.— sono articolati fra loro in modo da creare un basamento su cui poggia il volume massiccio della casa, ovviando alla pendenza del sito.

Five Detached Family Residences in Colombia
Laureano Forero

Florida Blanca Residence
The patio has been used in different periods and places throughout the world, and has always proved an extremely effective means of structuring space. When taken as a starting point for residential architecture, it can gather the house around itself, establishing a simple hierarchy of spaces that creates an intimate, peaceful atmosphere.
Here, given the coldness of the climate, enclosed spaces have been chosen. They are enlivened by the visual and physical warmth of numerous fireplaces and the views of the surrounding landscape, especially those from the living area which runs the entire length of one side of the patio. On the opposite side of the patio, a roofed terrace with plants and creepers offers a splendid view up the distant valley.
The corridor runs from the living area to the bedrooms, which have mezzanine floors to provide additional room for guests. The master bedroom, preceded by a small lobby in front of the fireplace, is at the end of the corridor and occupies most of the side of the patio opposite the living area.
The exterior and interior walls are in large, solid brick which contrasts with the terracotta patio guttering that transports rain water efficiently to ground level.

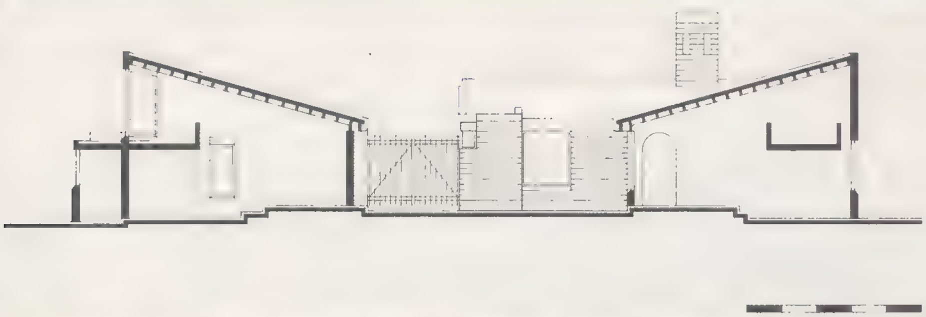
Escorcia I Residence
This detached country house in a cold-climate area has the traditional patio which serves as a transitional space between outdoor and indoor environments, providing a square, open-air atrium in the centre of which a tree can be planted. The house was conceived as a border area between the home and the outside world. The living-room, with an open terrace that can be used as a dining room, is sited at the top corner of the square groundplan.
The heating system, based on fireplaces and solar energy, terminates in two cylindrical chimneys that have a visual as well as purely practical function.
The brick and concrete masonry blends harmoniously with the beautiful surrounding views.

Escorcia II Residence
The nature of the site made it possible to use the patio both as the starting-point for the design of the house, access to which is by a side ramp and a central path with steps, and as a way of organising interior space.
The unsymmetrical U-shaped plan develops around the semicircular patio and achieves formal equilibrium thanks to a cylindrical staircase leading to a mezzanine floor where the two children's bedrooms are situated.
The beautiful view is enhanced inside by the visual continuity of the various spaces and the careful positioning of the hall, dining-room, library and master bedroom.
The unfaced brick walls in the local architectural tradition are decorated with concrete pergolas which extend the communal living areas.

Montoya Residence
This house set in magnificent surroundings has been given a U-shaped plan to provide numerous views of the surrounding landscapes. The house is laid out around a square patio that serves as an open foyer giving access to the rest of the house. Beyond this dramatic entrance is a living area which both extends the main hall and serves as a "belvedere" reutilising the most characteristic features of traditional tropical architecture.

La Providencia Residence
Surrounded by solid columns, the patio is like an enormous central room that provides a functional and stylish way of linking the curved access stairway, the horizontal passageways that surround it on two levels and the vertical staircases (the main one and the smaller cylindrical ones). The house's various auxiliary spaces (driveway, patio entrance, swimming-pool, open dining-room, terraces, etc.) are laid out to create a level base for the solid volume of the house that compensates for the natural slope of the site.





Casa Florida Blanca, La Ceja, Antioquia, Colombia, 1982. Viste e sezione. Foto J. F. Gómez.

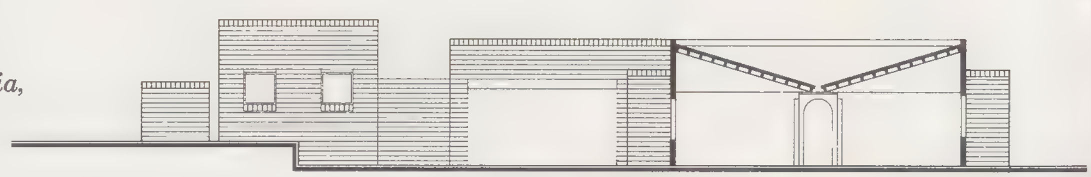
Florida Blanca House, La Ceja, Antioquia, Colombia, 1982. Views and section. Photo J. F. Gómez.





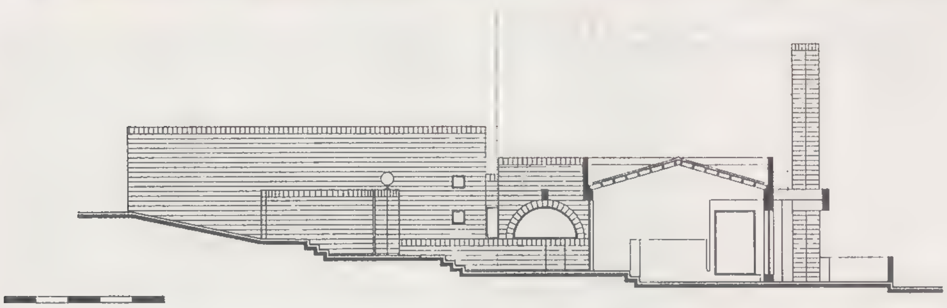
Casa Escorcia I, La Ceja, Antioquia, Colombia, 1982.
Viste e sezione.
Foto J. F. Gómez.

Escorcia I House, La Ceja, Antioquia, Colombia, 1982.
Views and section.
Photo J. F. Gómez.









Casa Escorcia II, Envigado, Antioquia, Colombia, 1989.
Viste e sezione.
Foto J. F. Gómez.

Escorcia II House, Envigado, Antioquia, Colombia, 1989.
Views and section.
Photo J. F. Gómez.





Casa Montoya, Pereira, Colombia, 1988.
Viste.
Foto L. Forero.

Montoya House, Pereira, Colombia, 1988.
Views.
Photo L. Forero.







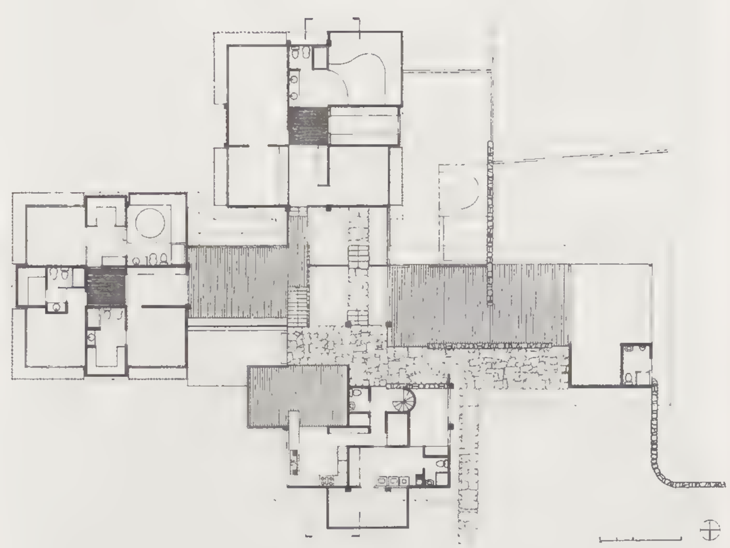
Casa La Providencia, Medellín, Colombia, 1987.
Viste.
Foto J. F. Gómez.

La Providencia House, Medellín, Colombia, 1987.
Views.
Photo J. F. Gómez.



Fruto Vivas, Venezuela

Casa Aldo Riccio, Barquisimeto, Venezuela, 1986
Casa Gisela Adjiman, Quinta Clarena, Caracas, Venezuela, 1988
Sistema costruttivo/Constructive system: Fruto Vivas
Progetto/Project: Gisela Adjiman
Proyecto de remodelación integral del Barrio "Los Erasos", Caracas, Venezuela, 1991
Con/With: Nelson Faillace, Gisela Adjiman



Casa Aldo Riccio, Barquisimeto, Venezuela, 1986.
Vista da nord e pianta.
Foto e disegno S. Hernández de Lasala.

Aldo Riccio House, Barquisimeto, Venezuela, 1986.
View from the north and plan.
Photo and drawing by S. Hernández de Lasala.

Casa Aldo Riccio, Barquisimeto, Venezuela

Testo di Silvia Hernández de Lasala

L'idea di mantenere inalterato il luogo e di ottenere una reale integrazione con la natura assume una forma concreta nella proposta, fatta da Fruto Vivas, di *alberi per vivere*. Ad un modo di abitare immaginato dall'architetto si sommano una proposta di tipo ecologico e un impianto strutturale che, complessivamente, caratterizzano questa tipologia edilizia che consente di dar soluzione a programmi architettonici differenziati, con materiali e componenti strutturali di diversa natura. La Casa Aldo Riccio di Barquisimeto, Venezuela — una delle città più importanti della parte occidentale del paese —, rappresenta un esempio di tale possibilità proposta da Fruto Vivas, nella quale un nucleo strutturale centrale, omaggio al suo amico Oscar Niemeyer, sostiene le piastre in aggetto con spazi a volta in mattoni, visibili dal giardino.
La progettazione dell'insieme, strutturato sulla base di elementi indipendenti sopraelevati, contrasta con il cuore centrale della casa, in parte aereo e in parte confitto nel terreno, sorta di transizione tra la topografia del giardino e gli elementi pensili. Uno degli aspetti più significativi della casa è rappresentato dall'abbassamento della temperatura e dal flusso d'aria fresca che si verificano all'interno dei padiglioni. Questo effetto di bioclimatizzazione, così significativo in luoghi in cui il clima è caldo tutto l'anno, si è potuto ottenere grazie al pavimento traforato della parte centrale dei volumi sospesi e alla sopraelevazione della parte centrale delle coperture degli stessi, soluzione che crea un interessante effetto camino. Si tratta, essenzialmente, di alloggi staccati dal suolo, per poter sfruttare il giardino e riscattare la topografia naturale dell'edificio che invece potrebbe invaderla, affinché il costruito produca ombra e costruzione del luogo, anziché occuparlo con la sua presenza.

Casa Gisela Adjiman, Quinta Clarena, Caracas, Venezuela

La casa sorge su un lotto di mq. 600 e si articola in 4 padiglioni bioclimatizzati, con un grande spazio centrale aperto e passaggi a copertura piana intercomunicanti tra loro e colleganti le diverse aree abitative, comuni e di servizio. Il complesso è rialzato di un piano rispetto al terreno, lasciando il piano terra destinato a giardini, aree comuni e ricreative. Le aree sottostanti i padiglioni rappresentano spazi comuni e zone di prolungamento degli alloggi. La casa è sospesa su 4 colonne in c.a. che sostengono i 4 padiglioni, formati da moduli di m. 5 × 5 composti di telai portanti di m. 5 × 2.50. Il disegno della struttura e il sistema costruttivo sono stati forniti dall'architetto Fruto Vivas e dalla Empresa de Sistemas F.V., mentre l'architetto proprietario, Gisela Adjiman, ha sviluppato il progetto, le divisioni interne e gli impianti.

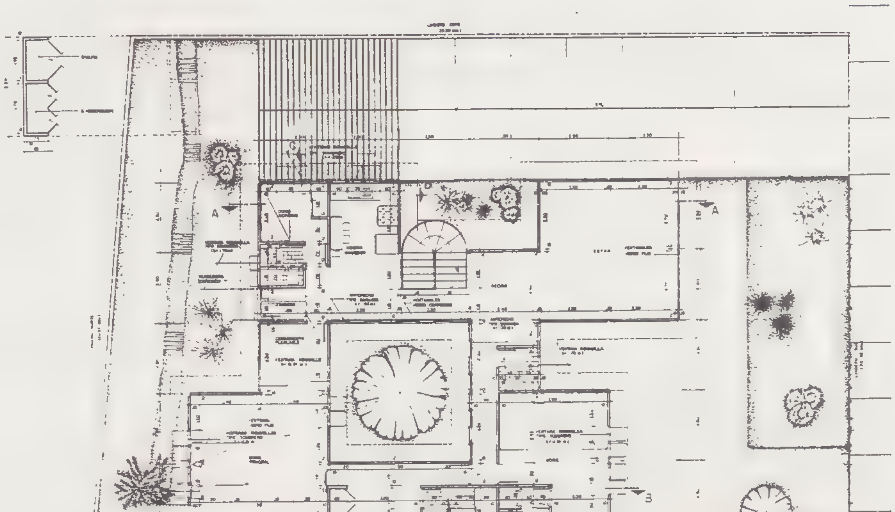
Progetto di ristrutturazione del Barrio "Los Erasos", Caracas, Venezuela

Il Barrio "Los Erasos" rappresenta una comunità di 450 famiglie, per un totale di 4000 abitanti circa. Si trova al centro della zona di urbanizzazione residenziale di San Bernardino, a Caracas, circondato da due cliniche private, un albergo di lusso, un museo e un centro residenziale di elevato livello economico.
La formazione del Barrio "Los Erasos" inizia, nel 1958, con l'invasione di famiglie molto povere provenienti, per la maggior parte, dall'interno del paese; in un'area verde, zona di salvaguardia di *quebradas* (fenditure del terreno), venne a crearsi nell'arco di trent'anni una comunità consolidata, al prezzo, tuttavia, della completa occupazione del parco esistente. La maggior parte degli abitanti vive in alloggi precari, con pareti di mattoni, strutture di cemento e copertura in lamiera di zinco. Man mano che la crisi dell'economia nazionale si andava aggravando, crebbe rapidamente il fenomeno della delinquenza, che arrivò a fare di questa la quinta "zona di pericolo rosso" della città. La nascita delle associazioni di quartiere e la presenza di istituzioni benefiche resero possibile il consolidarsi di un movimento di autogestione a bassissimo grado di criminalità, che si è conquistato il rispetto della città.
Di fronte alla minaccia di sgombero — motivata dai livelli di delinquenza — la comunità organizzata ha proposto una autoristrutturazione integrale della quale il Governatorato del Distretto Federale ha incaricato, nel 1991, l'architetto Fruto Vivas — che ha aderito — e l'architetto Nelson Faillace, oltre ad un'*équipe* di professionisti per il lavoro sul campo, guidata dall'architetto Gisela Adjiman. Nell'arco di tre mesi è stato elaborato un programma integrale, risultato di una indagine minuziosa, al quale la comunità ha fornito una squadra di tecnici e operai (tra i quali alcuni ex-malviventi) che ha portato alla presente proposta.
Sono stati fissati i seguenti obiettivi:
1. Sviluppare un programma produttivo fondato, in primo luogo, su un'agricoltura urbana e, in un secondo momento, sulla commercializzazione dei prodotti agricoli nei dintorni; premessa del programma saranno corsi di formazione professionale nel settore dell'agricoltura a terra e idroponica, per raggiungere alcuni scopi di base: la produzione autogestita, il rifornimento di ortaggi e la creazione di un mercato dei fiori.
2. Dalle analisi elaborate è emersa la necessità di ristrutturare trecento abitazioni, creando un sistema semplificato di telai in tubolari metallici che consentano la crescita in verticale delle case esistenti, ovvero la loro sostituzione in caso di fatiscenza; questo, comunque, installando tetti piani di lamiera grecata e cemento alleggerito che ne rendano possibile lo sfruttamento ai fini di una produzione agricola urbana, eliminando tutte le coperture instabili e trasformando il quartiere in una grande "nicchia ecologica" colma d'ombra e, soprattutto, con una miglior qualità della vita e del clima.

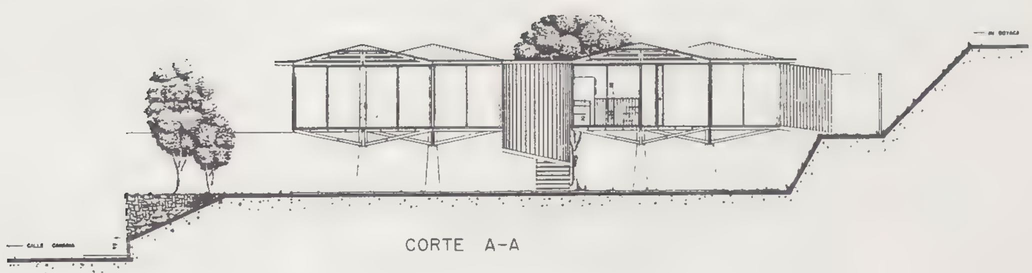


Casa Gisela Adjiman, Quinta Clarena, Caracas, Venezuela, 1988 (sistema costruttivo: Fruto Vivas; progetto: Gisela Adjiman).
Vista della casa in costruzione e vista di dettaglio.
Pianta e sezioni.

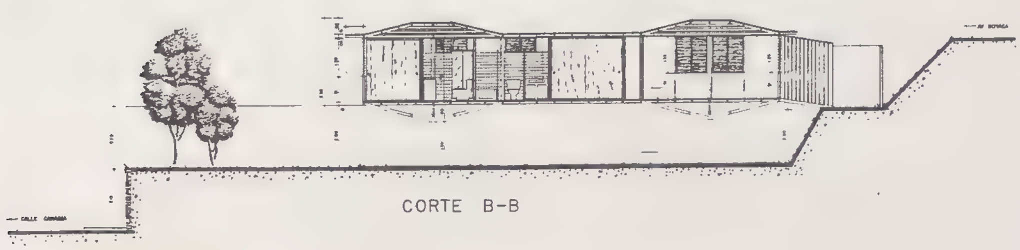
Gisela Adjiman House, Quinta Clarena, Caracas, Venezuela, 1988 (construction system: Fruto Vivas; project: Gisela Adjiman).
View of the house under construction and a detail.
Plan and sections.







CORTE A-A



CORTE B-B

3. La costruzione, in questo spazio, di cento alloggi — con la demolizione delle case poste su terreni instabili e attraverso un sistema di telai portanti in tubolari metallici — consentirà alla comunità di realizzare edifici posti a grande altezza rispetto a quelli esistenti, con soluzioni orizzontali continue a due piani, rendendo così possibile lo sviluppo di coltivazioni idroponiche sulle terrazze e integrandoli urbanisticamente con la rete esistente di piccole vie. Recuperando aree verdi negli spazi liberi e attrezzando alcuni siti per la creazione di laboratori e piccole manifatture (quali panetterie, lavanderie, ecc.), tutte autogestite, si attuerebbe il programma di microimprese popolari varato nel paese.
Il sistema costruttivo si fonda su un componente tubolare unico, con un multiplo modulare di m. 0.90 × 0.90, disegnato in modo da risolvere l'unità minima di base con solo quattro componenti strutturali da riempire con diversi tipi di pannelli realizzati con materiali riciclati. Queste tecniche sono già state sperimentate dall'architetto Fruto Vivas, in un programma di autocostruzione sperimentato nel 1980 in altri quartieri della città di Caracas, dove sono state costruite circa 1300 unità abitative nel quadro di un programma di emergenza. Attualmente il progetto di sviluppo integrale del Barrio "Los Erasos" è nella fase di appalto, ma risente dei problemi economici del paese.

Aldo Riccio House, Barquisimeto, Venezuela
Text by Silvia Hernández de Lasala

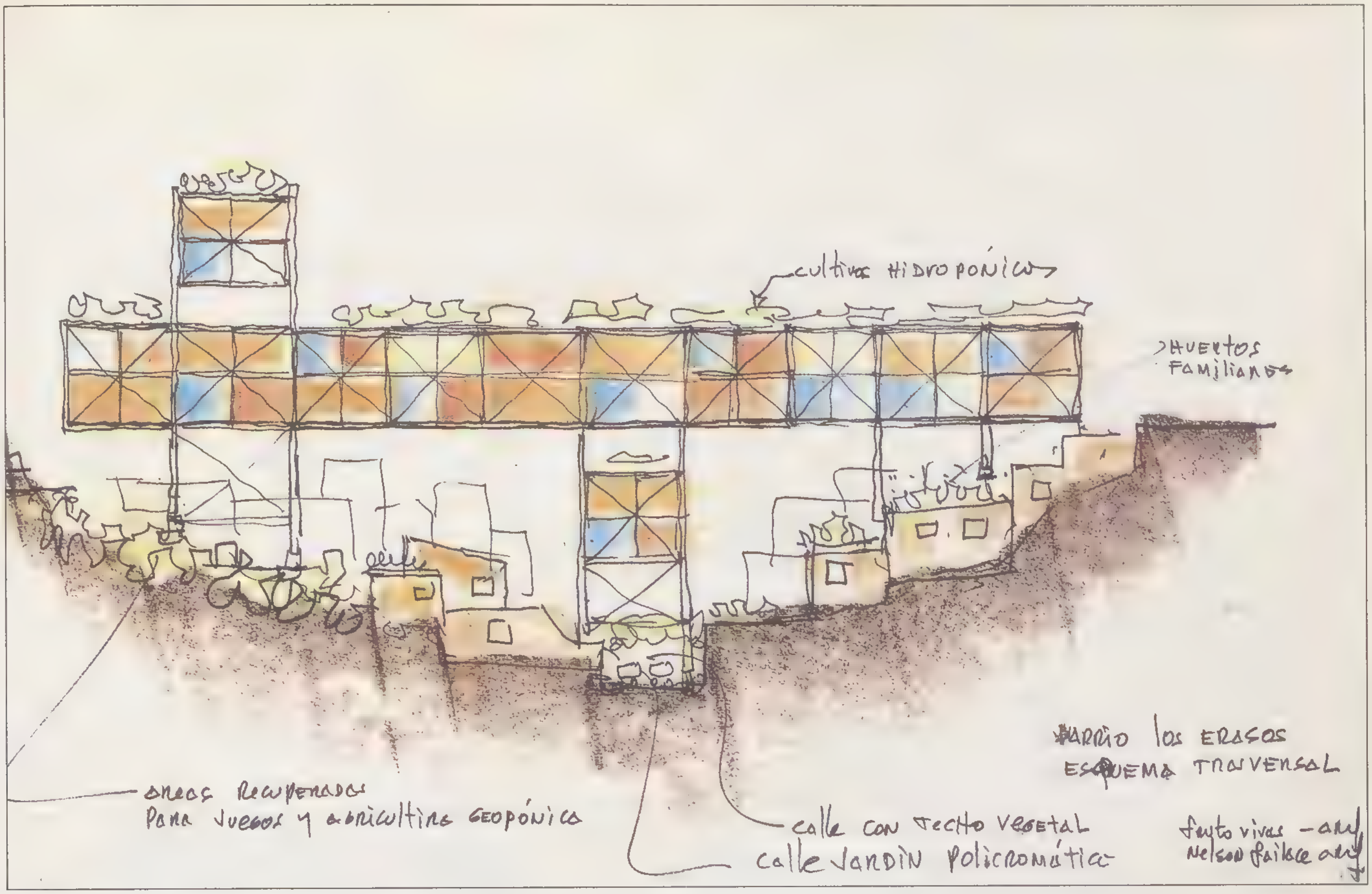
The idea of leaving a site unchanged to achieve an unusual degree of integration between architecture and nature becomes a reality in Fruto Vivas's trees for living *project.*
The architect's blueprint for living combines with an ecological approach and a structural layout typical of such buildings to make possible a range of different projects, using diverse materials and structural components.
The Aldo Riccio house in Barquisimeto, one of Venezuela's most important western cities — illustrates the potential of the approach. A central structural nucleus — a tribute to Vivas' friend Oscar Niemeyer — supports overhanging slabs with vaulted brick spaces that can be seen from the garden.
The overall design, structured around free-standing raised elements, contrasts with the central core of the house (partly aerial, partly terrestrial) to create a sort of transition between garden setting and suspended architecture.
One of the most important features of the house is the lowering of temperature and cool air-flowing achieved inside the pavilions. This natural climate control, so important in areas that are hot all year round, is obtained by perforating the floors and raising the roofing in the central parts of the suspended volumes. An interesting chimney effect is also achieved.
Essentially, the rooms of the house have been raised above ground level to enhance rather than overwhelm the natural site. The building creates shade and a sense of place, blending with the site rather than merely occupying the surrounding garden.

Gisela Adjiman House, Quinta Clarena, Caracas, Venezuela

The house, on a 600 sq.m site, consists of four pavilions with natural climate control, a large central open space and interconnected passages with flat roofing, linking the various living spaces, communal areas and service installations. The entire house is raised by one floor to leave the ground level free for gardens, communal spaces and recreation. The areas under the pavilions serve as communal spaces and outdoor extensions to the rooms.
The house is supported by four concrete columns, one beneath each of the four pavilions. Each pavilion is a 5 x 5 m module with 5 x 2.5 m high structural frames.
Fruto Vivas and Empresa de Sistemas F. V. were responsible for structural design and construction while architect and proprietor Gisela Adjiman developed the project, the internal layouts and the installations.

Barrio "Los Erasos" Redevelopment Project, Caracas, Venezuela

The "Los Erasos" Barrio is a community of 450 families, amounting to a total of around 4000 inhabitants, in the centre of the San Bernardino residential area, in Caracas, surrounded by two private clinics, a luxury hotel, a museum and an up-market residential complex.
The quarter began to take shape in 1958 when destitute families, most from the interior of the country, moved into the quebradas *green belt, forming a stable community that eventually over-ran the whole of the park itself. Most of the families live in make-shift concrete-frame brick dwellings with corrugated zinc roofs. As the national economic crisis worsened, soaring crime rates rapidly turned the quarter into one of the city's five "no-go" areas, but the creation of neighbourhood associations and the ministrations of charitable institutions fostered a local self-help movement, which has virtually eliminated crime and won the respect of the entire city.*
Faced with the threat of eviction as a solution to the area's soaring crime, the community organisations came forward and offered to refurbisdh the entire area themselves. As a result, in 1991 the Federal authorities approached architects Fruto Vivas (who accepted the commission) and Nelson Faillace, plus a team of construction experts under architect Gisela Adjiman, to oversee the project. In three months, an integrated redevelopment program emerged, based on the results of a detailed survey carried out with the assistance of community technicians and workers (some of them former criminals).
The program set itself the following objectives:
1. The development of an income-generating enterprises initially based on urban agriculture that would later extend







Barrio "Los Erasos", Caracas, Venezuela, 1991.
Schizzo di studio, vista dello stato attuale e planimetria generale.

Barrio "Los Erasos", Caracas, Venezuela, 1991.
Study sketch, view of the barrio as it is now and general site plan.

to marketing agricultural produce from surrounding areas. Professional training courses in conventional and hydroponic agriculture will help to achieve some basic aims: total self-management, a supply of vegetable products, and the creation of a flower market.

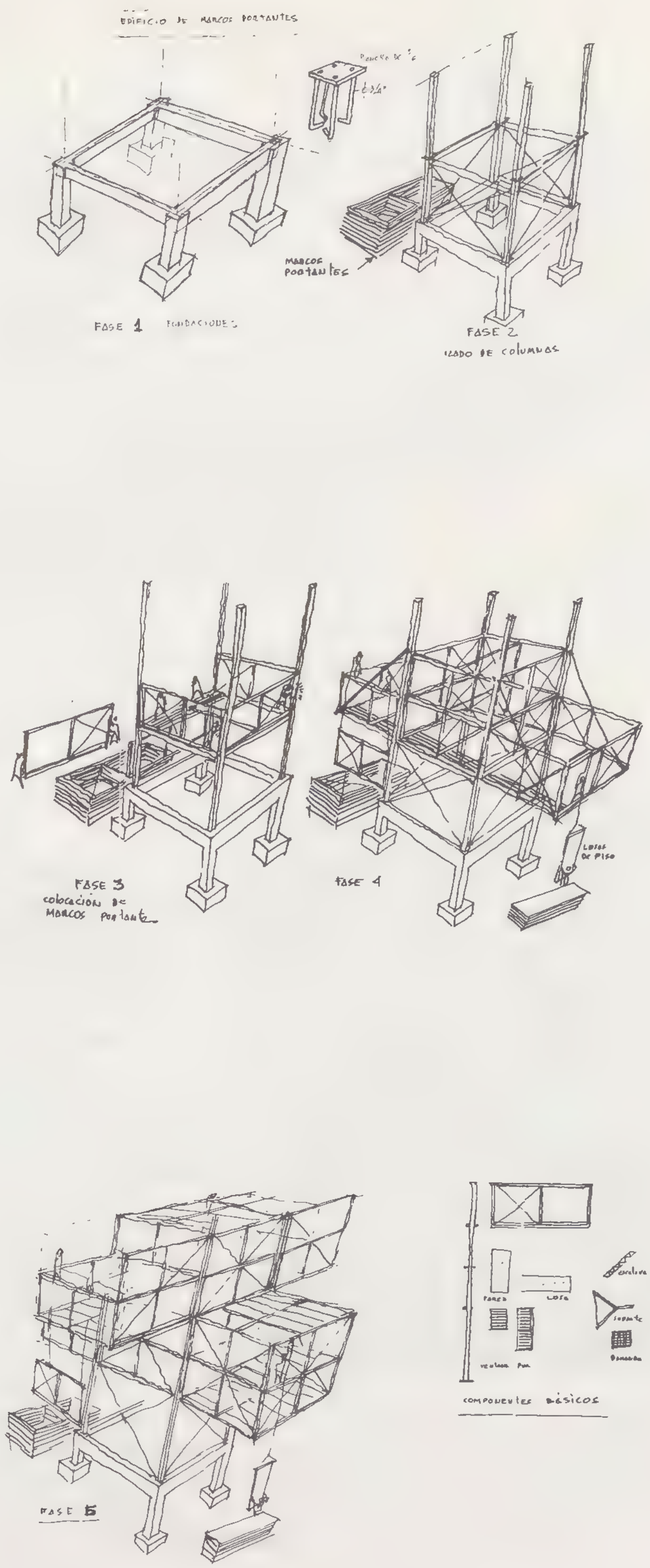
2. Studies revealed the need to restructure three hundred dwellings. A simplified tubular metal system will permit vertical additions to existing homes and the replacement of those in danger of collapse. Light flat roofing in corrugated reinforced concrete will be installed to make rooftop argriculture possible. The elimination of all unstable roofing and the transformation of the quarter into a large shady "ecological niche" will create a higher standard of living and a better local climate.

3. The construction of a hundred new homes (and the demolition of those built on unstable ground) using tubular metal supporting structures that enable taller buildings to be erected with side extensions that blend with the existing fabric of small streets as well as providing terraces for hydroponic agriculture. By reclaiming some open areas for parks and gardens, and providing facilities on some sites for self-run workshops and small businesses (bakeries, laundries, etc.), the project also carries forward Venezuela's nationwide local enterprise development program.

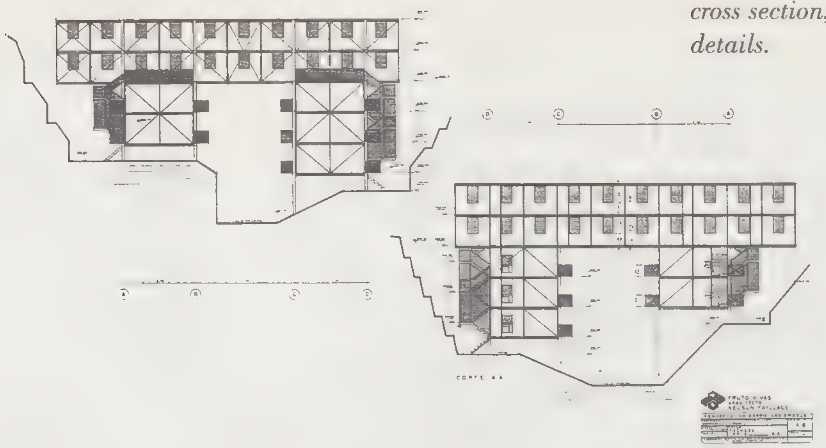
Construction is based on a single 0.90 x 0.90 m tubular metal module giving a basic unit with only four structural components that can be filled with a variety of panels made from recycled materials. Fruto Vivas used these techniques in a self-help construction program for other Caracas neighborhoods in 1980, when about 1300 dwellings were built to meet emergency housing needs.

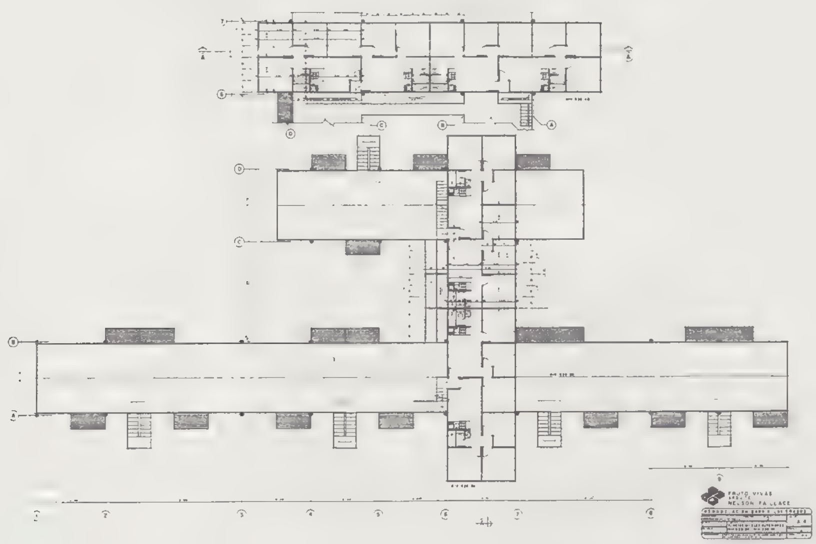
The present "Los Erasos" redevelopment project is now at the tendering stage, although the effects of the country economic problems are now being felt.

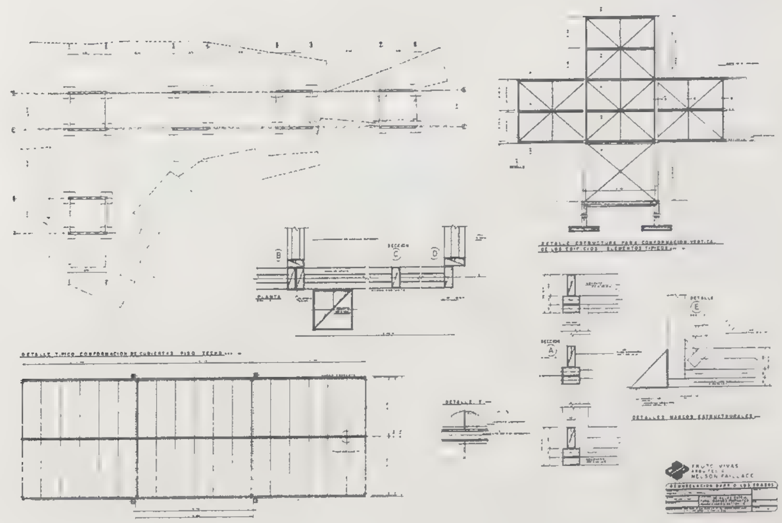
Barrio "Los Erasos", Caracas, Venezuela, 1991.
Schemi delle fasi costruttive, prospetto e sezione trasversale, pianta e dettagli costruttivi.



Barrio "Los Erasos", Caracas, Venezuela, 1991.
Construction diagrams, elevation and cross section, plan and construction details.









Jimmy Alcock, Venezuela

Edificio de apartamentos Altolar y Loma Verde, Bello Monte, Caracas, Venezuela, 1965
Casa La Ribereña, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela, 1985
Casa Bottome, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela, 1987-89

Edificio per appartamenti Altolar e Loma Verde, Bello Monte, Caracas, Venezuela, 1965.
Vista della corte interna.
Foto E. Vergara.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Viste.
Foto E. Vergara.
Dettaglio del prospetto, sezione trasversale, spaccato assonometrico, prospetto, pianta.

Altolar and Loma Verde apartments building, Bello Monte, Caracas, Venezuela, 1965.
View of the internal courtyard.
Photo E. Vergara.
Following pages:
Views.
Photo E. Vergara.
Detail of elevation, cross section, axonometric section, elevation, plan.

Edificio per appartamenti Altolar e Loma Verde, Bello Monte, Caracas, Venezuela
Testo di William Niño

Sito sulle colline a sud della città, questo edificio si apre alla vista della valle di Caracas e, soprattutto, delle montagne di nordest. L'insieme, comprendente circa quarantacinque appartamenti, rappresenta, nei suoi tre livelli di circolazione (cinque piani disposti in linea), un'esperienza inedita nell'architettura contemporanea venezuelana. La sua disposizione si articola lungo un lotto sinuoso, in senso orizzontale e parallelo all'inclinazione orografica.
La soluzione rispetta un vasto muro di contenimento preesistente. Questo stesso muro rappresenta il basamento in pietra e la determinante formale della progettazione architettonica: una volumetria "murata" che, disponendosi orizzontalmente alla maniera dei vagoni di un treno, segue le ondulazioni della orografia e racchiude il proprio spazio interno, silenzioso e "tropicalizzato".
L'architettura si dispone qui come il bordo che delimita lo spazio della città, riparando entro la cinta della propria interiorità il tema dell'edificio: i ballatoi di circolazione sospesi come ponti aerei. Lo spazio interno di Altolar riprende l'idea del patio d'ombra, attraverso un involucro in penombra pensato come una membrana che protegge la massa architettonica. La sensazione di vuoto, di peso invertito e di tropicalità viene accentuata dalla sovrapposizione di questi profondi corridoi. Ancorata strutturalmente per mezzo dei suoi chiari portici, "*la curva dell'edificio ben potrebbe proseguire fino a solcare completamente la Cordigliera della Costa*" (come sognava Le Corbusier nel Piano Obus per Algeri o a Rio de Janeiro). Ad Altolar, la "pelle" non opera unicamente come elemento di transizione, ma è protagonista dell'architettura valorizzando il vuoto. Questo vuoto è una forma di ordine complesso, che abbraccia e trasforma in mito, lungo i ponti, gli spazi abitativi. L'organizzazione di tipo cellulare avvolge il tema dell'abitare in una serena atmosfera monastica, una "cittadella fortificata" rivolta, in questo caso, verso la vegetazione del chiostro.

Casa La Ribereña, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela
Testo di William Niño

La Ribereña si situa nel punto centrale di un lotto lievemente inclinato, esposto su un duplice scenario paesaggistico: verso nord, la splendida vista della montagna dell'Avila; verso sud l'orlo di una spaccatura del terreno, aperta sulle lontane visuali della città. Questa condizione di dualismo viene risolta adottando la radicale apertura e libertà di una specifica tipologia architettonico-paesaggistica, articolata fino quasi alla dispersione, integrata tra patii e, contemporaneamente, "distanziata" da uno degli elementi più commoventi dell'architettura venezuelana: il *corredor de sombra* (corridoio d'ombra).
Questo spazio di arrivo, pergolato, aperto in sequenza sui





patii e che approda infine alla spaccatura (oggi trasformata in piscina), struttura l'asse di articolazione dei volumi, agendo come chiaro riferimento "tropicalizzato" dell'architettura coloniale e dei Caraibi.
L'immagine della casa non presenta una facciata principale o rappresentativa; al suo posto un muro intersecato da un cubo segnala il punto di accesso e di demarcazione della sua territorialità. L'enfasi spaziale della Ribereña si presenta nei percorsi e nei cortili, che rendono protagonisti i mutamenti di direzione, di scala, di visuali e prospettive.
La marcata differenziazione dei suoi locali (servizi, lavoro, alloggi e salone), valorizzati attraverso geometrie contrapposte, e il continuo utilizzo di materiali in vista — caldi, porosi e nobili (cotto, granito, pietra) —, tutto ciò conferisce alla casa la chiara atmosfera "brutalista" dell'habitat di montagna.
Nella Ribereña lo spazio non è contrassegnato da elementi di chiusura, ma dai mutamenti di scala, dagli effetti plastici e cinetici della luce, dal valore della materia e — soprattutto — dalla costante presenza di una vegetazione limite che valorizza la "tropicalità" di una casa caraqueña.

Casa Bottome, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela
Testo di William Niño

Questo edificio si trova su una collinetta dai dolci pendii orientati a nord, in un magnifico sito che sovrasta i campi da golf, bordati, in lontananza, dalle montagne. In esso compaiono elementi innovativi nel modo di affrontare lo spazio abitativo: il riferimento diretto alla tipologia coloniale, i quattro corridoi che circondano il patio e i volumi che racchiudono il giardino centrale si mescolano con una serie di effetti spaziali che allontanano tali riferimenti, attraverso l'allusione a una scarna architettura medievale e la manipolazione, di volta in volta più sottile, di una luce pienamente "tropicalizzata".
Il tema della casa si sviluppa attraverso la sacralizzazione di una serie di spazi che commemorano ciascuno il rito dell'abitare l'intimità, seguendo ogni volta il sereno spostamento imposto dal *chiostro*; l'ingresso, profondamente assiale e scenografico, viene enfatizzato usando l'effetto prodotto dalla scalinata, caratterizzata dal colonnato che delimita il patio di ingresso. Una volta oltrepassata la soglia, la tipologia monastica si presenta nel patio di luce e nell'enfasi dei corridoi, che silenziosamente rendono indipendenti gli usi degli spazi e le loro attività.
L'atmosfera del luogo, condensata nel patio interno, si libera verso la terrazza-ballatoio del patio stesso, che si apre sulle magnifiche vedute dell'Avila attraverso una duplice copertura, che si potrebbe definire l'elemento emblematico e strutturante l'intera casa: il complesso incrociato di uno scheletro portante che regge l'espressionistica copertura.

Altolar and Loma Verde Apartment Building, Bello Monte, Caracas, Venezuela
Text by William Niño

Situated on the hills to the south of the city, this building overlooks the valley of Caracas and, most importantly, the mountains to the north-east. The complex comprising about forty-five apartments on three different access levels (five floors laid out horizontally one after the other) extends along a winding site that hugs the contours of its mountain location, and is a new departure in contemporary Venezuelan architecture.
A large existing container wall was retained to become the stone foundation and formal basis of the architecture: it runs around the site adapting to undulations in the terrain like a string of railway cars, enclosing a hushed, "tropicalised" space within.
Here the architecture acts as a border which delimits the expanse of the city, protecting the theme of the building — suspended access balconies like shuttles — within its interior.
The internal space of Altolar resembles a shadowy patio because of the shaded, membrane-like shell that envelops and protects the main structure. The feeling of open space, inverted weight and tropicality is accentuated by the overlapping of these deep, shady walkways. Structurally anchored in its sun-filled porticoes, "the curve of the building might well be continued to plough right through the coastal Cordillera" *(as Le Corbusier dreamt in the Obus Plan for Algiers, or in Rio de Janeiro).*
In Altolar, the "skin" acts not just as an element of transition, but becomes the main feature of the architecture by taking advantage of its open space to the full. This void becomes a complex organising principle which embraces and mythicizes living spaces in the areas along the pedestrian footbridges. The cellular layout cocoons living space in a serene, monastic atmosphere, creating a "fortified citadel" oriented, in this case, toward the vegetation in the cloister.

La Ribereña House, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela
Text by William Niño

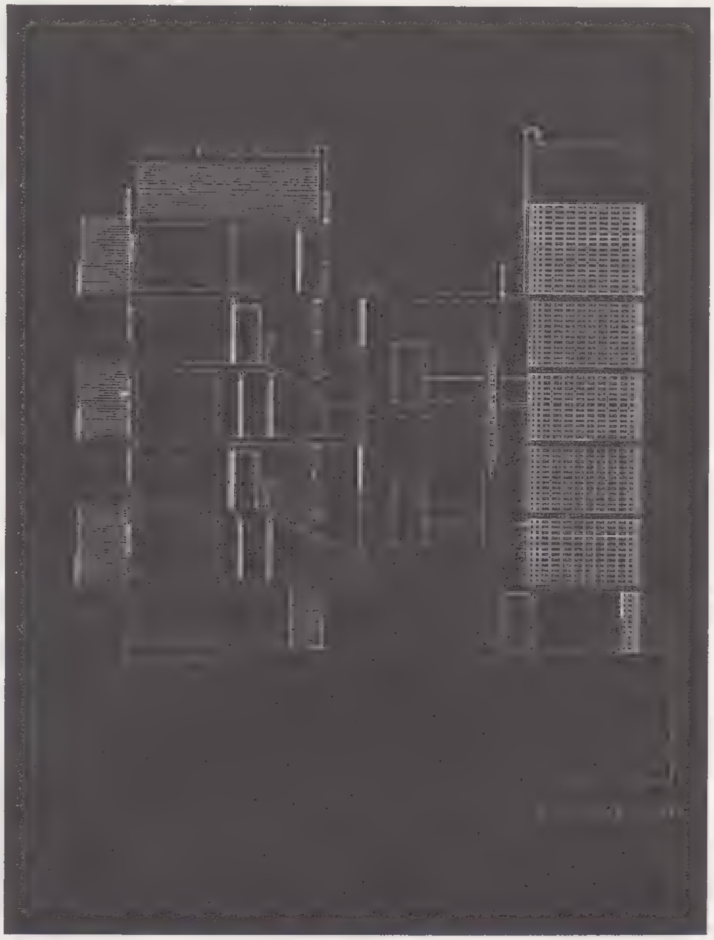
La Ribereña is at the centre of a gently sloping site facing two contrasting landscapes: to the north, a splendid view of the Avila, and to the south, a rift in the terrain which opens onto a fine view of the distant city. The duality of the site has been exploited in architecture of an openness and freedom that verges almost on formlessness. There are unifying patios, but the architecture seems to "distance" itself nonetheless from one of the most attractive elements of Venezuelan architecture: the corredor de sombra, *literally "shadow corridor".*
The arboured approach to the house extending through the sequence of patios to the rift to the south (now a swimming-pool) structures the axial arrangement of the volumes and makes evident reference to the "tropical" features of colonial and Caribbean architecture.

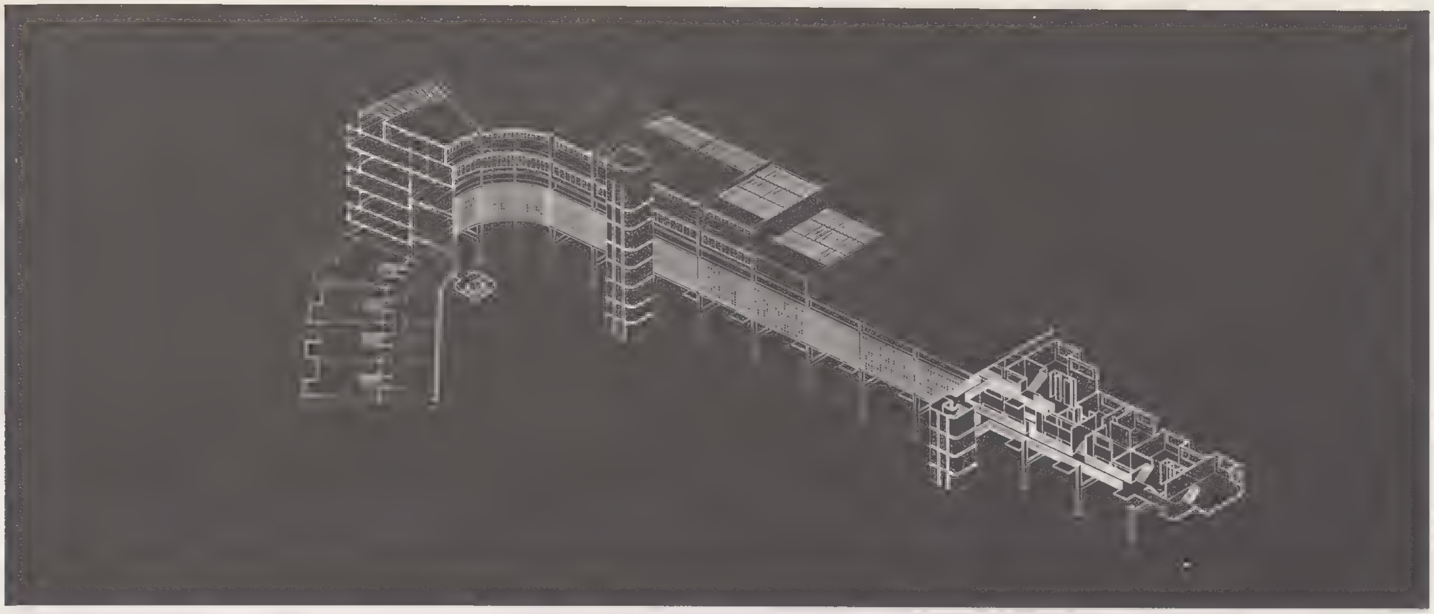
The house has no recognizable formal façade; instead, a wall intersected by a cube marks both the edge of the site and entry. The main spatial features of La Ribereña are its walkways, corridors and courtyards which emphasise changes in direction, scale, view and perspective. The clearly differentiated spaces (services, work areas, bedrooms, living area) are highlighted by contrasting geometries and uniform use of unfaced, quality materials — warm, porous terra cotta, granite and stone — all of which gives the house the "brutalist" feel of its surrounding mountain environment. Spaces are delimited not by enclosure, but by changes in scale, the three-dimensional and kinetic effects of light, the quality of materials and above all by the abundance of plants which enhance the "tropical" atmosphere of this Caracas home.

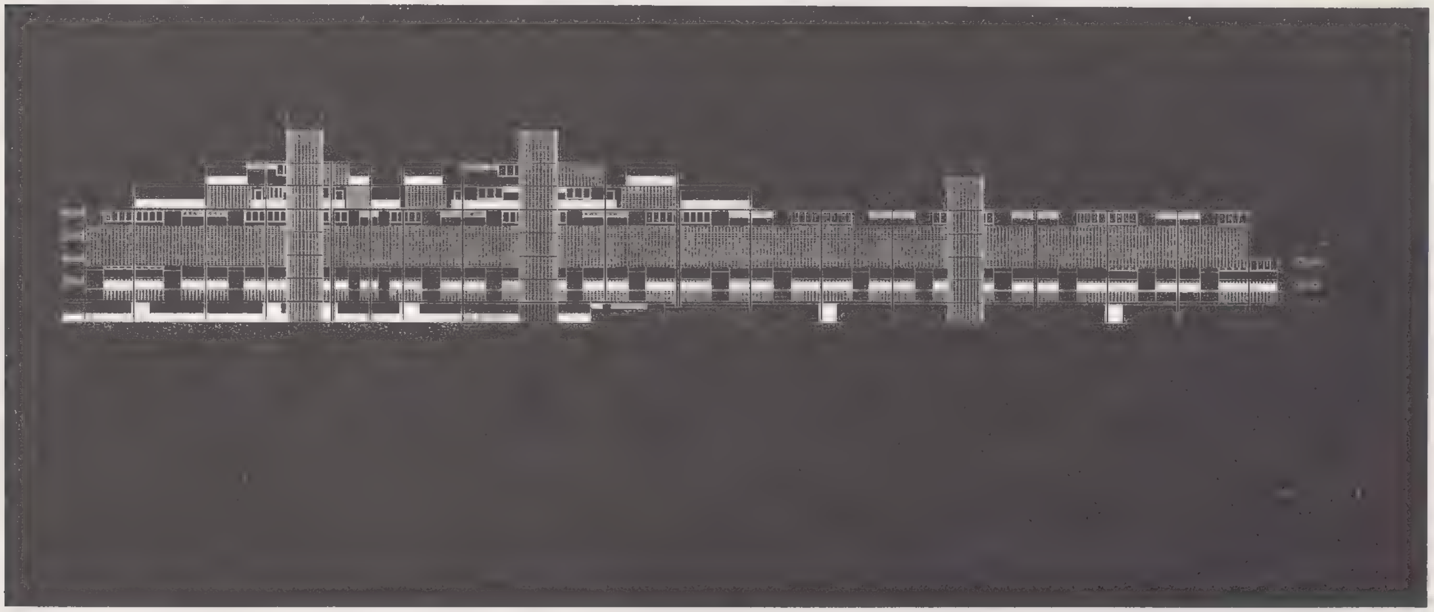
Bottome House, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela
Text by William Niño

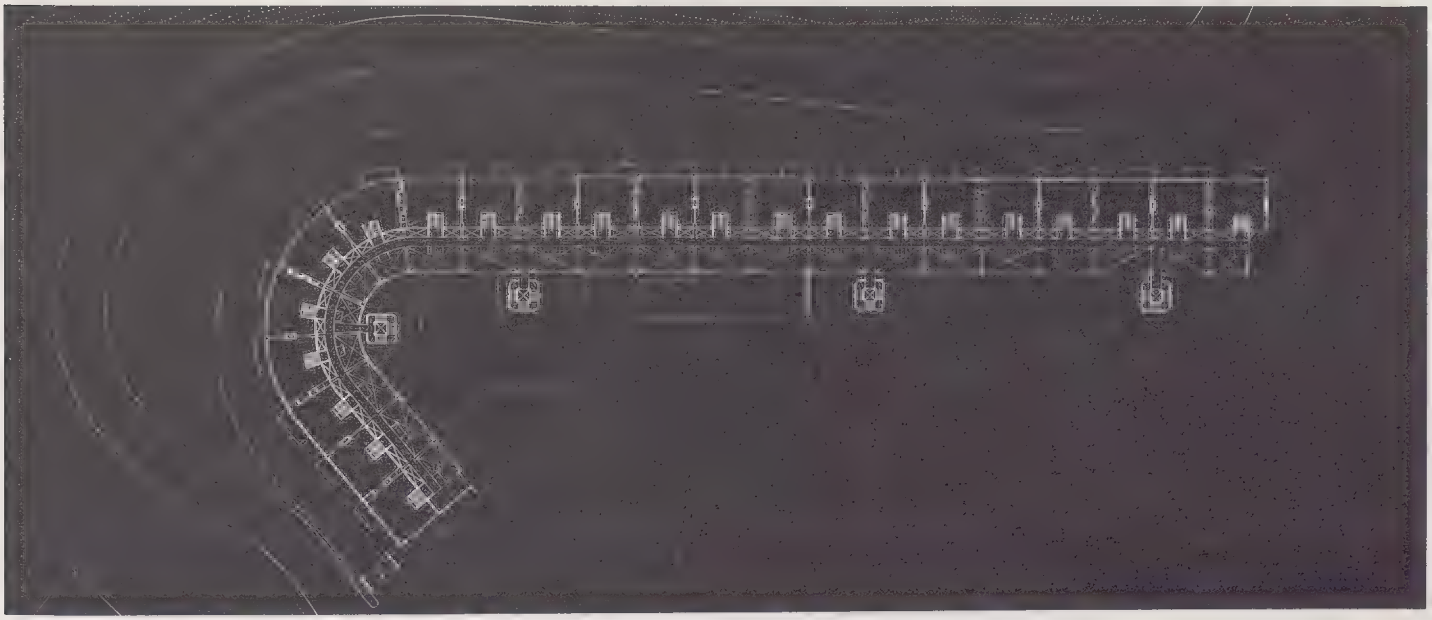
The house is located on a small hill with gentle north-facing slopes on a magnificent site overlooking the golf course enclosed by mountains in the distance. Innovative approaches have been adopted towards the design of living space: the direct references to colonial typologies, the four corridors around the patio and the volumes enclosing the central garden combine with spatial effects which seem to contradict these references and suggest bare medieval architecture and a subtle range of "tropical" light effects.
The house's theme develops through a sequence of "sanctified" spaces arranged around the central cloister, each in its own way commemorating some ritualistic aspect of domestic intimacy. The highly axial, theatrical entrance is emphasised by the stairway with a row of columns that mark off the entrance patio. Once over the threshold, the monastic nature of the architecture becomes evident in the sun-filled patio and the insistent use of corridors which unobtrusively define and separate the nature and function of the spaces. The monastic atmosphere of the house, condensed in the internal patio, finds relief in the balcony-terrace of the patio itself which offers magnificent views of the Avila through a double roof which is probably the most characteristic structural feature of the whole house: the complex structural grid which provides support for the expressionistic roof.



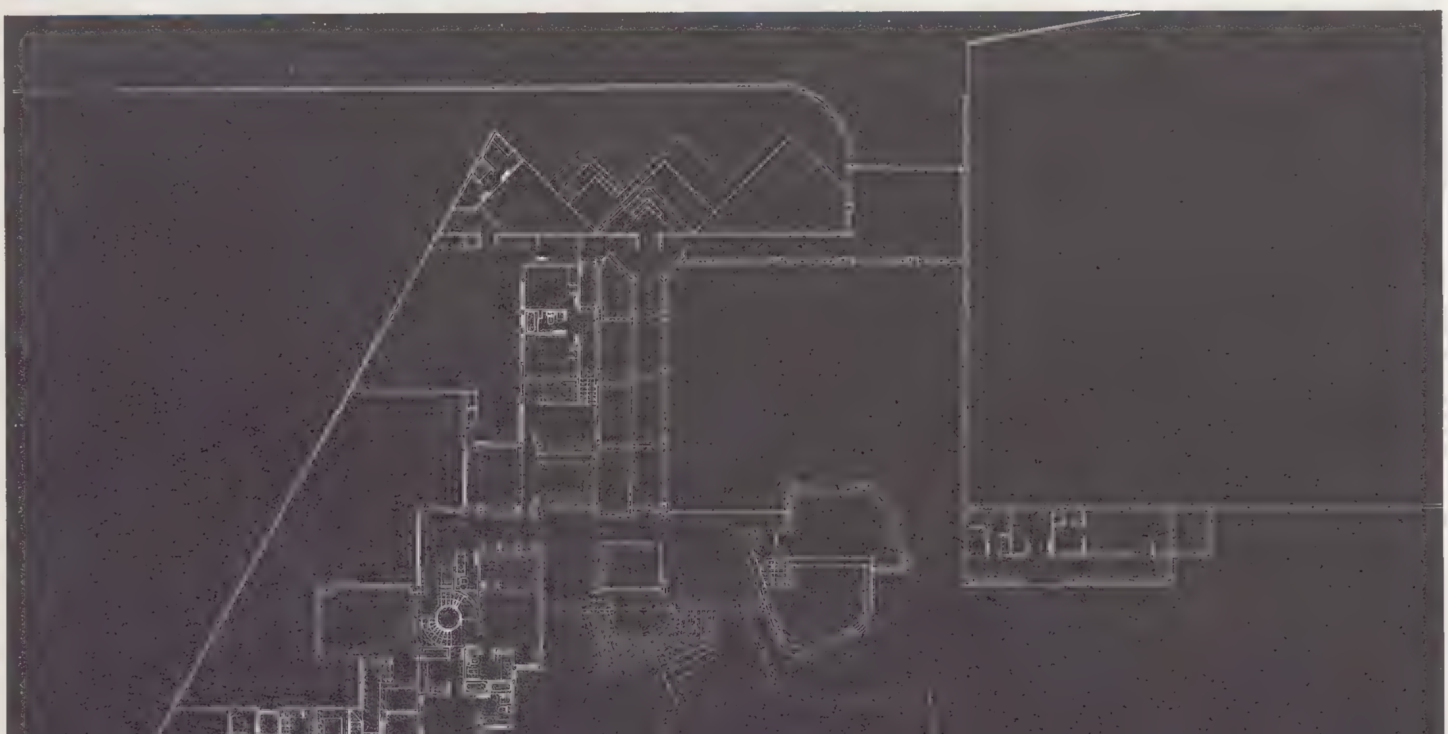












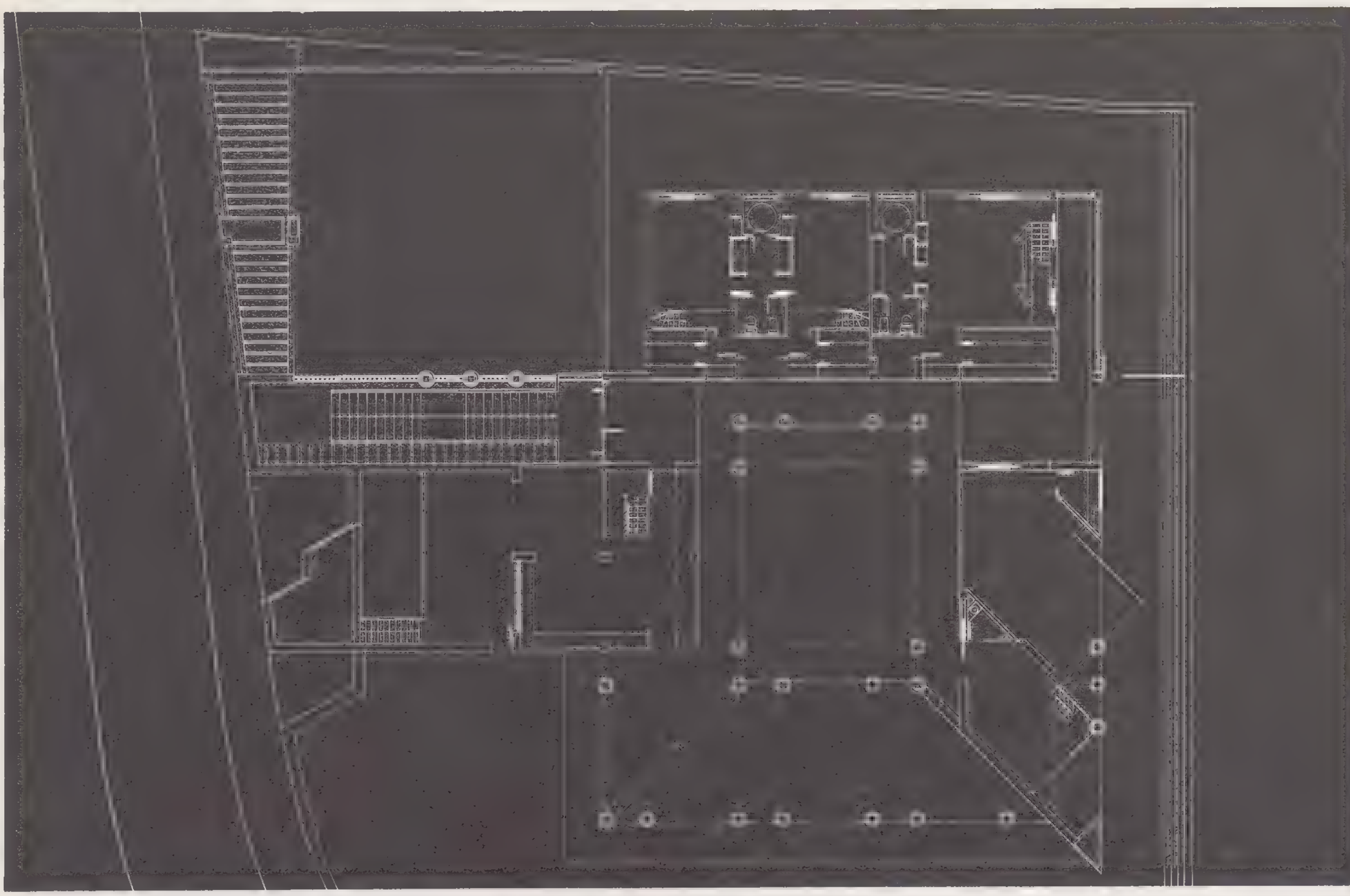




Casa La Ribereña, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela, 1985.
Viste dell'esterno, dell'ingresso e del "corredor de sombra".
Foto E. Vergara.
Pianta.

La Ribereña House, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela, 1985.
Views of the exterior, entrance and the "corredor de sombra".
Photo E. Vergara.
Plan.









Casa Bottome, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela, 1987-89.
Viste dell'esterno, del patio, della scala di ingresso.
Foto E. Vergara.
Pianta.

Bottome House, Caracas Country Club, Venezuela, 1987-89.
Views of the exterior, patio and entrance stairway.
Photo E. Vergara.
Plan.



Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz, Venezuela

Abadía Benedictina, Güigüe, Venezuela, 1984-89

Vista aerea da est.
Foto O. Lohner.

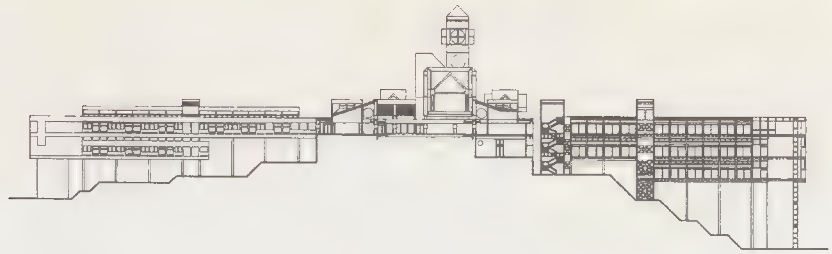
Aerial view from the east.
Photo O. Lohner.

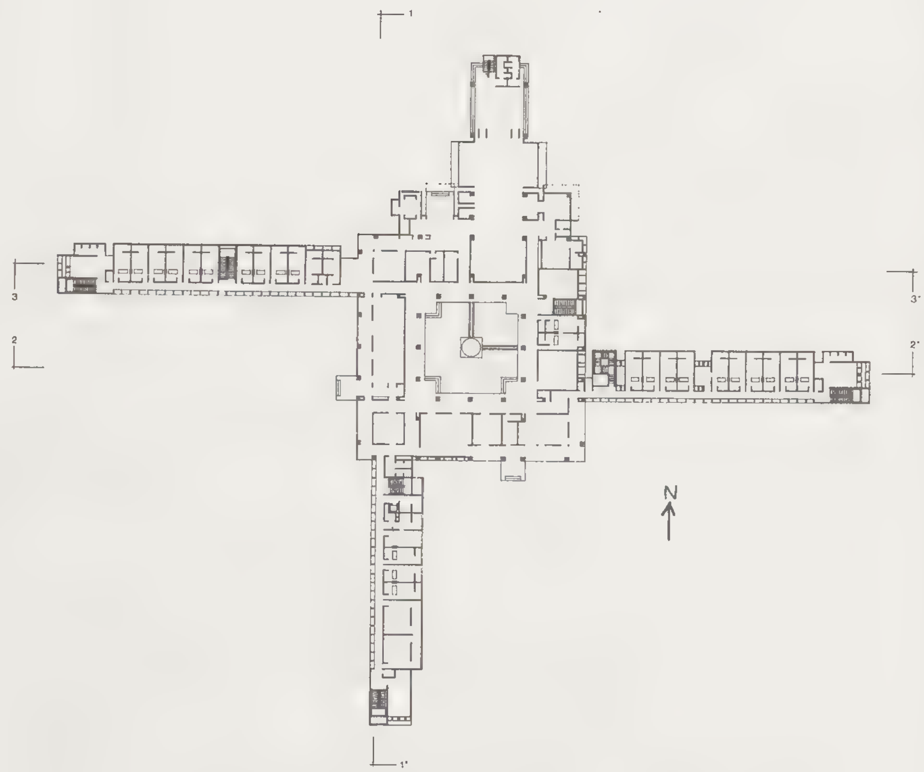
Abbazia Benedettina "San José", Güigüe, Venezuela
Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz

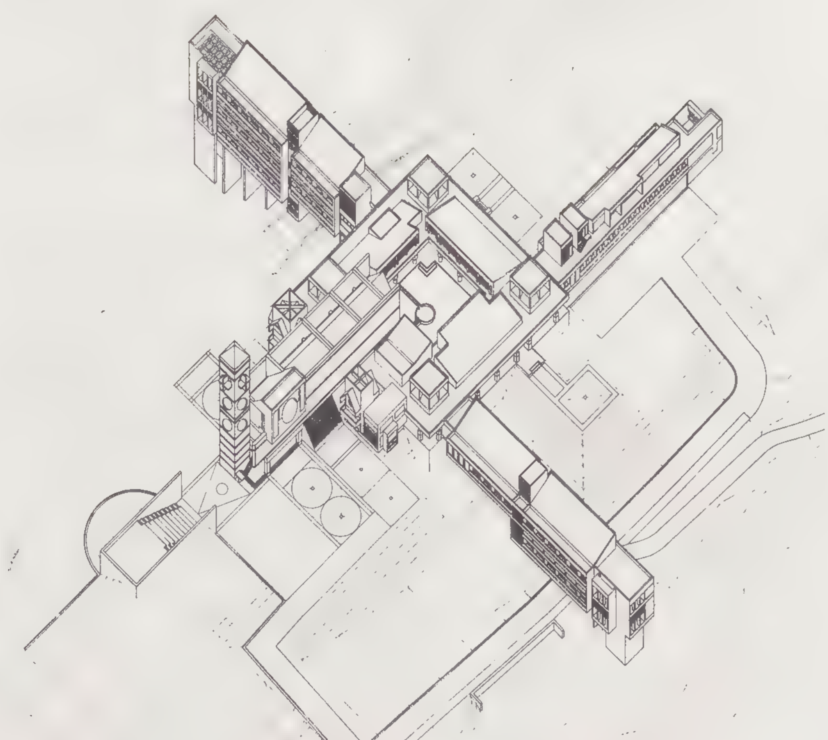
Il Monastero si trova a sudovest del lago di Valencia, su un'altura a m. 600 sul livello del mare, con una splendida vista sul lago, sulla Cordigliera della Costa e sul paesaggio circostante.
Comprende 32 celle per i monaci e 15 celle per gli ospiti, gli ambienti distribuiti intorno al chiostro, e gli annessi di servizio. La Chiesa Abbaziale nella sua parte anteriore fa parte del chiostro, costituendo l'elemento visivo fondamentale del chiostro stesso e di tutto il complesso.
Il chiostro, la chiesa e l'atrio poggiano direttamente sul terreno, e, dal punto centrale del patio, si estendono orizzontalmente le tre ali degli annessi, le cui strutture di sostegno scendono progressivamente fino a toccar terra nel modo più naturale possibile, creando trasparenze visive. In un certo qual modo, l'edificio sembra essere "disceso" al suolo, non si sa da dove né tantomeno quando ("c'era una volta..."), né perché.
Lo spazio di strutturazione architettonica dell'insieme è il patio del chiostro: a partire da esso si distaccano o si ancorano tutti gli spazi rimanenti. Il profilo dell'edificio rivela movimenti orizzontali, ascensionali e discendenti; le sue quattro estremità coincidono, approssimativamente, con i quattro punti cardinali, di modo che l'insieme pare abbracciare lo spazio in tutte le sue direzioni. Non lo si può percepire come insieme, se non da lontano. Registrarlo nella memoria richiede vari percorsi. La climatizzazione ambientale è naturale, e sfrutta a questo scopo le brezze dominanti in questo clima, caldo e umido malgrado rare escursioni termiche, quando la pioggia cade copiosa e il vento si fa turbinoso. Si odono costantemente i suoni della natura e qualche suono proveniente dal villaggio più vicino.
I materiali sono: terracotta, cemento, legno, vetro e cemento decorativo, con minimo intervento del colore, applicato unicamente in taluni elementi delle celle.
È interessante notare come gli umili abitanti del villaggio vicino a Güigüe abbiano fatto del monastero un punto di riferimento, come avveniva nell'antico Medioevo. Cosa strana, se si pensa che le culture indigene di questa regione adoravano la Gran Dea, rappresentata in figurine di terracotta rinvenute negli scavi archeologici e generalmente nota come "Venere di Tacarigua", dal nome originario del lago.

Sezione verso la chiesa e la torre campanaria, pianta e assonometria.
Vista del fronte della chiesa sul chiostro.
Foto O. Lohner.
Vista del portico del chiostro.
Foto R. Paolini.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Vista aerea da nord.
Foto O. Lohner.

Section towards the church and bell-tower, plan and axonometric.
View of the church façade overlooking the cloister.
Photo O. Lohner.
View of the cloister portico.
Photo R. Paolini.
Following pages:
Aerial view from the north.
Photo O. Lohner.







The "San José" Benedictine Abbey, Güigüe, Venezuela
Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz





The monastery is located to the southwest of the lake of Valencia, on a rise about 600 metres above sea level, with a splendid view of the lake, the coastal cordillera and the surrounding landscape.
There are 32 cells for the monks and 15 for guests, arranged around a cloister, as well as service annexes. The frontal part of the abbey church faces onto the cloister, and is the fundamental visual element of the cloister and the entire complex.
The cloister, the church and the atrium rest directly on the ground, while the three horizontal annexes wings extend outwards from the centre of the patio. The support structures for these wings gradually descend to ground level in the most natural way possible creating a feeling of visual openness.
In a sense, the building seems to have "landed" on the site — we know neither how, when ("once upon a time") nor why.
The architectural structuring of the space begins with the patio of the cloister, the starting point for all the other spaces. The profile of the building develops upwards, downwards and horizontally, its four extremities coinciding approximately with the four compass points so that the ensemble seems to embrace space in all directions. The complex cannot be seen in its entirely except from a certain distance: you have to walk around it to perceive and remember it properly. Climate control is natural, making use of the breezes which predominate in this warm, humid region, apart from rare temperature variations which produce heavy rainfall and high winds. The sounds of nature are constantly present, together with sounds of human life in the nearby village.
The materials are terra-cotta, concrete, wood, glass and decorative cement, with only minimal touches of colour applied solely in some parts of the cells.
It is interesting that the humble inhabitants of the nearby village of Güigüe have "adopted" the monastery, much as they did in the Middle Ages. This is strange because the native religion of the region was based on worship of the "Great Goddess", represented in terra-cotta figurines found in archaeological sites, popularly known as the "Venus of Tacarigua" after the original name of the lake.





Abraham Zabludovsky, México

Teatro de la Ciudad, Guanajuato, México, 1987



Vista da nord.

View from the north.

Abraham Zabludovsky, México

Teatro de la Ciudad, Guanajuato, México, 1987

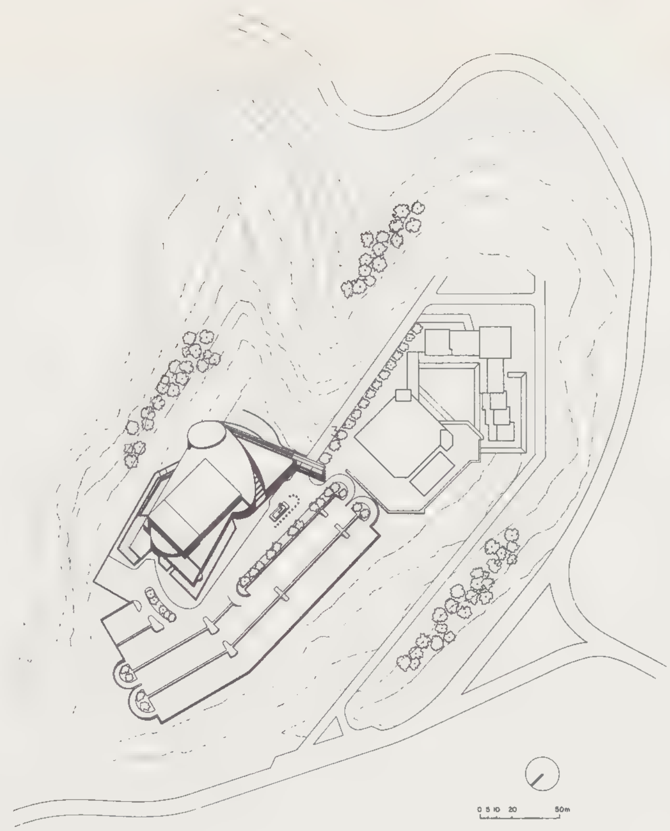


Vista da nord.

View from the north.

Teatro della città a Guanajuato, Messico
Abraham Zabludovsky

L'antica città di Guanajuato è stata dichiarata "Patrimonio dell'Umanità", tra le altre caratteristiche, per la sua ricchezza architettonica. Il fatto di essere racchiusa entro un'area dalla topografia accidentata e circondata da aspre colline le conferisce un aspetto del tutto particolare.
Su una delle colline dei dintorni, a fianco della strada di accesso alla città, è stato costruito questo teatro in grado di ospitare 2000 spettatori: 1230 in platea e 770 nella galleria. È destinato a spettacoli operistici, di musica sinfonica, di balletto, oltre che a conferenze, disponendo anche di un auditorio per 200 persone.
Il complesso ha l'affaccio principale sulla città e le colline circostanti. Vi si accede tramite una grande porta che immette in una piazza, che da un lato comunica con il parcheggio e dall'altro si prolunga in un portico a tripla altezza che racchiude all'interno il fronte convesso dell'ingresso.
Il vestibolo si sviluppa su due livelli connessi da ampie scalinate, con la caffeteria da un lato e i servizi igienici dall'altro. Gli accessi alle sale sono laterali, per evitare corridoi interni. La composizione volumetrica deriva essenzialmente dall'intersezione di due corpi, dai quali si staccano diversi volumi — curvi e lineari — che partono da livelli differenti per terminare in modo digradante.
Le finiture di tutti i muri esterni, e di parte di quelli interni, sono in cemento trattato con graniglia di marmo.

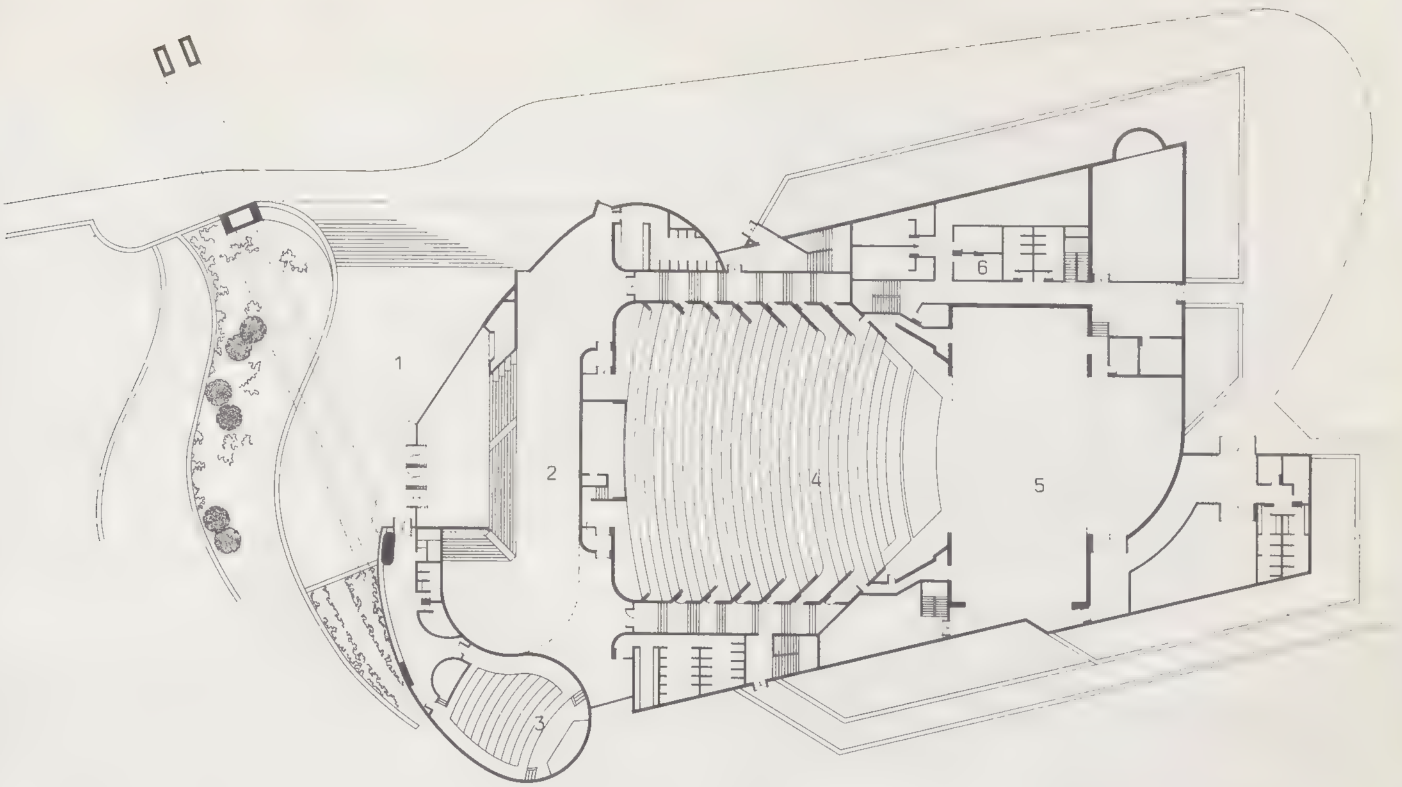


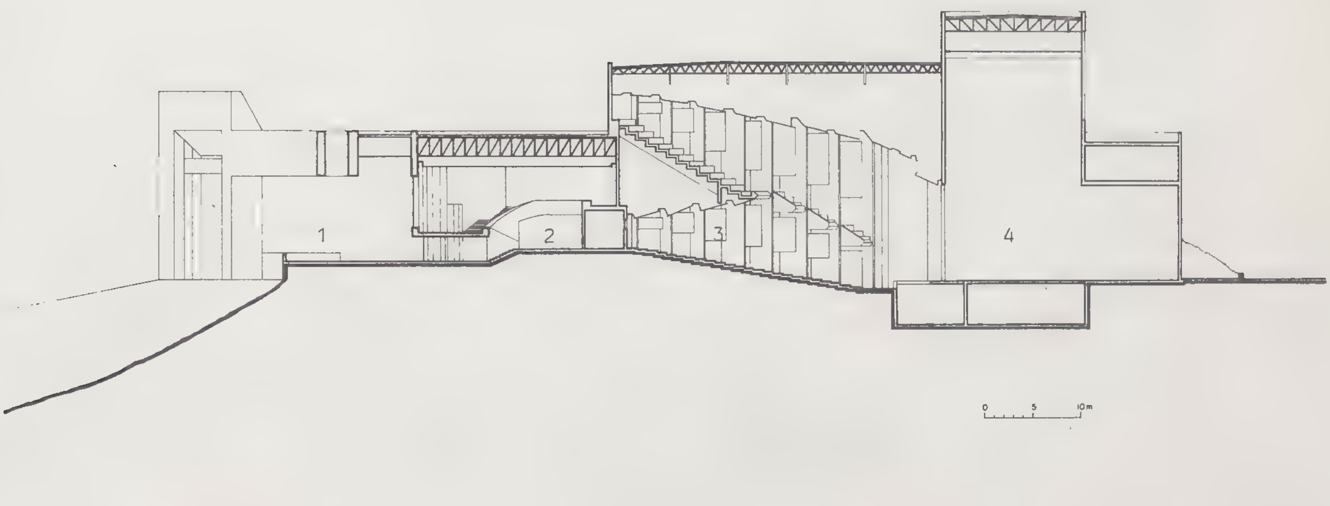
Planimetria generale.
Pianta del piano terra: 1) portico d'ingresso; 2) foyer*; 3) auditorium; 4) sala; 5) palcoscenico; 6) camerini.*
Sezione longitudinale: 1) portico d'ingresso; 2) foyer*; 3) sala; 4) palcoscenico.*
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Vista da sudest.

General site plan.
Ground-floor plan: 1) entrance portico; 2) foyer; 3) auditorium; 4) theatre; 5) stage; 6) dressing rooms.
Longitudinal section: 1) entrance portico; 2) foyer; 3) theatre; 4) stage.
Following pages:
View from the south-east.

Civic Theatre, Guanajuato, Mexico
Abraham Zabludovsky

The ancient city of Guanajuato was declared part of the "Heritage of Mankind", among other reasons for the architectural riches its contains. Its position on uneven ground surrounded by bleak hills gives it a truly striking appearance.
The theatre was built up one of the surrounding hills on the road leading into the city. With seating for 2000 — 1230 in the stalls and 770 in the circle — it was designed for opera, ballet, orchestral concerts and also lectures (it has a 200-seat conference auditorium). The main front of the complex face the city and the surrounding hills. Access is through a large gateway into a plaza which leads on one side to the car park and extends on the other into a three-tier portico enclosing the convex entrance front. The foyer is on two levels connected by wide staircases with the cafeteria on one side and public facilities on the other. Interior corridors have been avoided by providing lateral access to the auditoriums.
The volumetric composition is based on the intersection of the two blocks from which various curved and linear volumes lead off at different levels to produce a sloping sequence.
All the exterior walls and some of the interior walls are faced in concrete treated with ground marble.


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Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefano Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Pœlzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French" Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm and Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi and Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plans for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese and Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;*
Kurt W. Forster *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n. 1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

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Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; Il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal + Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella and Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling and Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la città? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti e Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

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Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino II** Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epochè"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

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Front cover: Carlo Aymonino Drawing of the Colossum of San Carlo, Arona, 1993.

Zodiac 9

Sommario/*Contents*

Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo

Guido Canella

Quando, negli anni Cinquanta, mi si offrirono le prime occasioni di pubblicare alcuni studi conseguenti a rispettive perlustrazioni, i miei interessi si rivolsero alla Scuola di Amsterdam, al Costruttivismo sovietico che, insieme al Novecento milanese, dell'architettura realizzata tra le due guerre disegnavano un contorno più radicato a specifici contesti culturali (nazionali, regionali) e prodottosi a margine, e talora anche in aperta alternativa, alla tendenza internazionalista del Movimento moderno.
Ebbene, nella serie di quaderni dove appuntavo biografie, regesti e considerazioni sugli argomenti trattati, ve ne sono alcuni con copertina azzurra dove raccoglievo i dati sugli architetti tedeschi appartenenti a quella conosciuta come la poetica dell'Espressionismo (da Behrens a Poelzig, da Schumacher a Bruno Taut). Architetti e opere che già allora costituivano oggetto di una personale predilezione e sui quali, tuttavia, non mi sono sentito fin qui di pronunciarmi pubblicamente.
Prevaleva, allora come oggi, la convinzione critica per cui, nel passaggio dall'Espressionismo alla *Neue Sachlichkeit*, nell'architettura si sarebbe verificata gradualmente quella stessa sostanziale trasmutazione avvenuta per pittura, musica, letteratura. Come si trattasse anche qui di due concezioni ideologicamente e rappresentativamente contrapponibili per figurazione e assunzione di responsabilità operativa nei confronti della società; pertanto: intransitiva la prima, transitiva la seconda.
Mentre mi incalzava il presentimento per cui, piuttosto che sul criterio di affinità figurativa, occorresse rifondare la distinzione sul diverso coefficiente di contestualità e radicalità tipologica comportato volta a volta dalla deformazione. (Per esempio, già negli anni Cinquanta rifiutavo di adeguare —come ricorre nella storiografia del Moderno— l'esperienza della Scuola di Amsterdam all'Espressionismo tedesco; e, per quanto riguarda il Novecento milanese, denunciavo quel taglio critico che impediva un confronto diretto tra Terragni e Muzio, Pagano e De Finetti, Gardella e Fiocchi).
Correva infatti —e ancor oggi ricorre— un'accezione del termine *espressionismo* che lo identifica in un genere riaffiorante a tratti nell'arte moderna, dove in architettura equivarrebbe a tensione, esasperazione di linee (oblique, curve, spirali), ad enfatica plasticità di masse fortemente accentuate e contrastate, a squillante intensificazione cromatica (insomma, da Gaudì a Rudolf Steiner, dalla berlinese Philharmonie di Scharoun all'ultimo Michelucci).
Gianfranco Contini (nel 1977, alla voce *Espressionismo letterario* dell'*Enciclopedia del Novecento*) ha definitivamente reso istituzionale una distinzione, di fatto largamente praticata, tra l'accezione categoriale, generalizzante e allegorica del termine (che, nel caso, egli riteneva pertinentemente scorrevole da Grünewald a Bacon, sconfinando per periodi, etnie, generi fino a Céline e Gadda) e l'accezione cronologica, geografica, intenzionale propria all'Espressionismo tedesco.
Ma non è questa distinzione autorevole che qui mi preme ricalcare, quanto piuttosto provare a distaccarmi e sconfinare da un intendere la pulsione espressionista in architettura —quella, appunto, consumatasi nella Germania prebellica e weimariana— come una sorta di implosione patologica, quasi un *auto-da-fé*, magari stimolante, ma fisiologicamente riassorbita e superata, alla stregua di una crisi di crescenza nella fase ancora adolescente (se non proprio infantile) dell'arte moderna.
E per questo sconfinamento ritengo doveroso richiamarsi a Giulio Carlo Argan, proprio dacché, con puntuale sistematicità, si è trovato a tornare più volte sull'Espressionismo: a partire dal famoso saggio su *Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus* del 1951, ai testi sul *Novembergruppe* (1963) e su *L'architettura dell'Espressionismo* (1964), fino all'intervento al convegno di studi sull'Espressionismo, tenuto a Firenze nel 1964, quando, trattando della questione estetica in generale, e trovandosi perciò più sollevato dal ruolo comunque finalizzato svoltovi dall'architettura, egli sembrava voler misurare tutta la dissipazione entropica della sua figurazione.
Vi sosteneva, infatti, che l'Espressionismo, diversamente dalle altre correnti artistiche contemporanee, non inventò un linguaggio figurativo; agì soltanto da ponte di passaggio dal post-impressionismo cézanniano alle altre esperienze dell'avanguardia; men che meno fondò uno stile; semmai aprì "*la strada a un'estetica non più fondata sul concetto di forma e di rappresentazione, ma su quella di* segno: *l'estetica* semantica, *appunto*". Ne stigmatizzava, inoltre, l'atteggiamento non-antiborghese e, quindi, l'anacronismo quando lottò "*per la rivendicazione di una spiritualità collettiva* [proprio] *nel momento in cui si* [andava accelerando] *il ritmo della trasformazione in senso industriale dell'economia*".
Argan si è orientato nel labirinto dell'arte moderna seguendo il filo rosso della progettualità, intesa come apertura di una prospettiva in avanti, come virtualità protesa

Notes towards a Critique of Expressionism

Guido Canella

When, in the Fifties, I was asked for the first time to publish studies based on my work in progress to date, my thoughts turned to the Amsterdam School, Soviet Constructivism and the Novecento movement in Milan, the three interwar architectural movements that seemed most strongly rooted in specific cultural (national, regional) contexts and had developed outside the mainstream internationalism of the Modern Movement, sometimes even in direct opposition to it. I had kept a series of notebooks containing biographical annotations, documentation and other jottings on the themes I was working on. The ones with light blue covers contained my notes on German Expressionist architects like Behrens, Poelzig, Schumacher and Bruno Taut: these architects and their works interested me very much even then, although I have never discussed them publicly before now.

Then, as now, the prevailing critical view was that the gradual shift from Expressionism to Neue Sachlichkeit *in architecture mirrored a similar shift in other fields like music, painting and literature, as if, in architecture too, the two concepts were ideologically and aesthetically opposed in both the artistic forms they employed and the kind of practical social commitment they implied: Expressionism was seen as intransitive,* Neue Sachlichkeit *as transitive.*

But I was convinced that the real difference between the two movements lay not so much in the similarity or otherwise of the artistic forms they employed, as in the varying degrees of integration with context and typological innovation their respective deformations seemed to indicate. Even in the Fifties I rejected the tendency of Modern Movement historiography to try to equate the Amsterdam School with German Expressionism, and disagreed with critics who resisted direct comparison between architects like Terragni and Muzio, Pagano and De Finetti, Gardella and Fiocchi, in discussions of the Novecento movement in Milan.

Then, as now, expressionism *was seen as an intermittent feature of Modern art which manifested itself in architecture as compositional tension, exaggeration of line (oblique, curved, spiral), powerful sculptural contrasts of volume and mass and bold uses of bright, primary colour (as in Gaudí and Rudolf Steiner, Scharoun's Berlin Philharmonie and Michelucci's later works).*

In his article on Literary Expressionism *in the* Enciclopedia del Novecento *(1977), Gianfranco Contini gives a definitive account of the distinction widely made in practice between expressionism as a general allegorical feature of artistic production that transcends genre, historical period and nation (uniting, in his view, figures as diverse as Grünewald and Bacon, Céline and Gadda), and Expressionism as a discrete movement that occurred in a certain place at a certain time — in short, German Expressionism.*

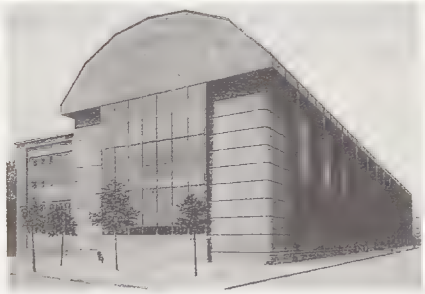
However, my main concern here is not to elaborate on Contini's authoritative distinction but to disassociate myself from the view that Expressionism in architecture — the Expressionism of prewar and Weimar Germany — was a sort of pathological implosion, an architectural auto-da-fé *stimulating enough in its day, but physiologically reabsorbed and eventually superseded by mainstream architecture as a critical stage in the adolescent (if not childhood) development of Modern art.*

To do this I need to turn to Giulio Carlo Argan who wrote extensively and systematically about Expressionism, first in his famous essay Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus *(1951), and then in* Novembergruppe *(1963) and* L'architettura dell'Espressionismo *(1964), culminating in his paper at the Florence conference on Expressionism in 1964. Here, in a general aesthetic discussion of the phenomenon that freed him from considering only the role architecture has played in its development, he seems to have attempted a comprehensive survey of the entropic dissipation the artistic forms of Expressionism have undergone.*

He concluded that Expressionism, unlike other contemporary artistic movements, never generated its own figurative language, let alone its own style : it acted only as a bridge between Cézanne-inspired Post-Impressionism and other forms of avant-garde experimentation. If anything, it made possible "an aesthetics no longer based on a concept of form and representation, but on a concept of the *sign:* an aesthetics of *semantics,* in fact"*. He also criticised Expressionism for its refusal to be anti-bourgeois and for its anachronistic efforts to* "reinstate collective spirituality *[just]* at a time when national economies were *[increasingly]* becoming industrialised"*.*

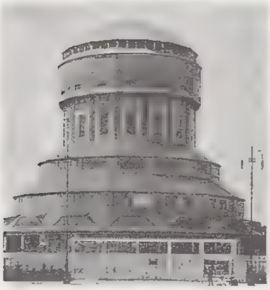
Argan found his way through the labyrinth of Modern art by following the golden thread of planning and design as windows on the future, as virtuality adopted in individual cases as a way of clarifying the practical role of art in social evolution, meaning that art had to generate a coherent and (at least ideally) constructive language to prevent the extinction of art itself. In this he proved a faithful disciple of Lionello Venturi (1885-1961) with whom he did his training, and a champion of the concept of taste Venturi formulated in the Twenties. I have looked at this concept in previous issues of Zodiac*, but it is worth repeating here that he defined taste*

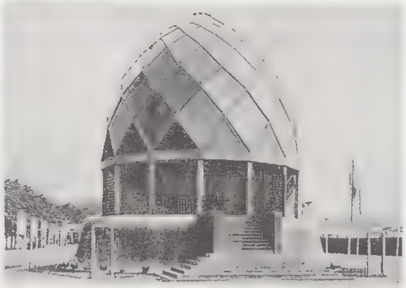
Peter Behrens, Fabbrica di turbine AEG, Berlino, 1909.
Hans Poelzig, Torre serbatoio dell'acqua con sottostante mercato, Posen, 1911.
Bruno Taut, Padiglione del vetro all'Esposizione del Werkbund Tedesco, Colonia, 1914.



volta a volta a chiarire l'operatività del fare artistico rispetto al divenire della società e, perciò, tenuta a tradursi in linguaggio coerente e almeno idealmente costruttivo, pena la morte stessa dell'arte. Un filo, il suo, tra quelli snodati dal pensiero di Lionello Venturi (1885-1961), alla scuola del quale si era formato, e particolarmente dal concetto di *gusto* da questi formulato ancora negli anni Venti. Concetto che ho già ricordato su queste pagine, ma che val la pena di richiamare in "*(...) quegli elementi costruttivi dell'opera* [d'arte], *che possono essere dissociati dall'opera, che possono trovarsi in più opere e che non s'identificano con l'arte stessa;* (...) [che] *sono di varia natura, dalla tecnica all'ideale, ma hanno un comune carattere di fronte alla sintesi, alla creazione dell'opera d'arte*".
Argan veniva così a circoscrivere un'area storica transitiva delle avanguardie, compresa l'architettura, in qualche modo separata da una restante area intransitiva, condannata, quest'ultima, alla quasi esclusiva registrazione delle crisi epocali.
Un motivo corrente di questa distinzione va dunque trovato nel piano-programma, per un'oggettività semplificata e riproducibile nella produzione di beni e di città, che il Razionalismo volle indirizzare, come offerta irrinunciabile, alla seconda rivoluzione industriale. Ma, anche senza digredire sociologicamente, si sa bene, a conti fatti, quanto frammentaria e marginale ne risultò l'ipotesi totalizzante. Altro ricorrente motivo di distinzione lo si può trovare nella figurazione, quasi che, dopo la stagione della soggettività espressionista, liberamente trascendente dalla convenzionalità del tardo classicismo e dalle allegorie del naturalismo, con il recupero dell'oggettività (*Sachlichkeit*), si sarebbe finalmente ristabilita la coerente adesione all'impalcatura ortogonale-reticolare della costruzione; così che, con una prova di reversibilità dagli estremi della deformazione, l'avanguardia avrebbe fornito la palese garanzia di poter corrispondere ai problemi della società. Mentre è riscontrabile come, anche nella fase dell'acquisita oggettività, la poetica del Movimento moderno si sia incrementata dimostrativamente per ulteriori soprassalti trasgressivi, impennate e scomposizioni deformanti (i protagonisti dell'esperienza espressionista chiamati ad insegnare alla Bauhaus, il progetto di Gropius per il Total Theater del 1927 —che lo stesso Argan considera "*l'ultimo orizzonte dell'Espressionismo*"—, il rutilante *bricolage* del progetto di Le Corbusier per il Palazzo dei Soviet a Mosca del 1931).

E, a questo punto, può servire da chiarimento un confronto tra il punto di vista di Argan e quello di Edoardo Persico (1900-1936) —più anziano di una decina d'anni ed egli pure allievo di Venturi— che di quello stesso concetto di *gusto* aveva colto, invece, il filo più "situazionale" dell'opera d'arte moderna, ritenendola impegnata in una sorta di funzione testamentaria, cioè a farsi carico e dar conto della congiuntura storica attraversata, come fosse un filtro ipersensibile ma, ad un tempo, il più puro possibile. Per rimarcare la divergenza dei due punti di vista, ricorro, ancora una volta, a quel passo di *Punto e da capo per l'architettura*, dove Persico nel 1934 stigmatizzava l'atteggiamento di alcuni Razionalisti italiani: "*Almeno per quanto riguarda i nostri architetti* (...) *pochissimi sanno che cosa sia occorso perché la Germania esprimesse, per esempio, un Otto Haesler, il costruttore della "Siedlung Blumägerfeld" di Celle: addirittura, l'organizzazione industriale di tutto il paese. Naturalmente, qui non si vuole stabilire una priorità dell'economia di fronte all'arte. Il contenuto "pratico" della nuova architettura è soltanto una forza ideale, è prima di tutto esplosione morale, non già preoccupazione realistica di bisogni. I nostri architetti credono che questa pregiudiziale sia, invece, soltanto un problema pratico* (...). *Essi ignoreranno sempre che il segreto di Haesler, o di Ernst May, l'urbanista della nuova Francoforte, è essenzialmente un segreto religioso*".
A ben guardare, al di là della deformazione anti-naturalistica, incorporata come presupposto comune dell'avanguardia all'atto di superare le poetiche del precedente modernismo (per esempio, dell'Art Nouveau e delle sue ramificazioni), l'architettura dell'Espressionismo comporta, sia pure intrecciata e talvolta addirittura derivata dalla visione cosmica (*Frühlicht*), l'assunzione, la trasformazione e la traduzione in positivo, ma mai subordinata, di tematiche speciali e delle corrispettive nuove conoscenze: primariamente l'industria, con il suo indotto che agiva da trasformatore dei soggetti tradizionali della progettazione (dall'abitazione di massa al padiglione espositivo), e, quindi, tecniche e materiali diversamente impiegati e combinati (dal ferro al vetro, dal cemento al *klinker*), nonché la variazione di scala e la scoperta di una città fuori dalla città. Viene a cadere così la tesi che la pretende appena portatrice di sintomi, e in ciò soltanto esaltata precorritrice della fase di completa e matura consapevolezza funzionalista.
Ma, se è vero che l'architettura dell'Espressionismo non





Peter Behrens, AEG turbine factory, Berlin, 1909.
Hans Poelzig, Water tower with market underneath, Posen, 1911.
Bruno Taut, Glass pavilion at the German Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, 1914.

as "constructive elements of the work *[of art]* which can be separated from the work, which may appear in several works and which are not identified with art itself ... *[which]* are of various types, from the technical to the intellectual, but relate in similar ways to the final synthesis, the creation of the work of art".

Argan delineated a transitive historical area in the development of avant-garde (including architecture) somehow distinct from an intransitive area which could only record historical crises as and when they happened.

One recurring feature of this distinction was the programmed planning of simplified, repeatable objectivity in the manufacture of goods and the building of cities which Rationalism had proposed as an intrinsic part of the second industrial revolution. Even without straying too far into sociology, we now know how fragmentary and largely irrelevant this globalising, catch-all approach proved to be in the end.

*Another distinctive recurring feature was figuration, almost as if, with the resurgence of objectivity (*Sachlichkeit*) after a period of expressionist subjectivity that had freely transcended late classicist convention and naturalist allegory, the coherent use of four-square ortogonal grids had at last been reinstated. The implication here is that, by demonstrating it could retreat from and reverse the extremes of deformation the Expressionists had pursued, the avant-garde had also given clear proof of its ability to respond to social issues. But the reality was that, even with its newly-acquired "objectivity", the poetics of the Modern Movement continued to develop by deforming, exaggerating or flouting established norms as it had always done (the Expressionists who taught at the Bauhaus; Gropius' Total Theatre project, 1927, which Argan regarded as* "the ultimate Expressionist experience"*; the exuberant bricolage of Le Corburier's project for the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow, 1931).*

It is worth comparing Argan's notion of taste with the rather different concept elaborated by Edoardo Persico (1900-1936) — ten years his senior and, like him, a pupil of Venturi — who stressed Modern art's "situational" function as a kind of "witness" documenting and responding to social and historical context, a filter that could be ultra-sensitive to change while largely retaining its essential purity.

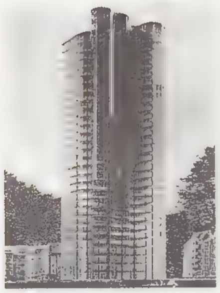
The difference between the two views is evident in the passage from Punto e da capo per l'architettura *(Back to Basics in Architecture) (1934) in which Persico criticises the attitudes of certain Italian Rationalists:* "So far as our architects are concerned ... very few appreciate what was needed for Germany to produce an Otto Haesler, the builder of the "Siedlung Blumägerfeld" in Celle: it required nothing less than the industrial organisation of the entire country. Naturally, my intention here is not to show that economics should take priority over art. The 'practical' content of the new architecture is purely intellectual: it is primarily a moral outburst rather than an expression of practical concern for human need. And yet, our architects still believe that the issue here is a practical one... They will never realise that the secret shared by Haesler or Ernst May, the planner of the new Frankfurt, is essentially a religious one".

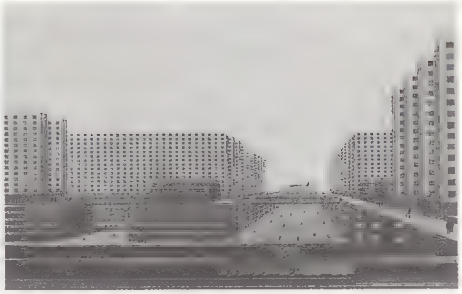
*On closer inspection, it becomes clear that, beyond the basic anti-naturalism that fuelled all avant-garde attempts to oust the aesthetic principles of previous forms of Modernism (e.g. Art Nouveau and its offshoots), Expressionist architecture — although involved in and, in some cases, even directly derived from a cosmic vision (*Frühlicht*) — in fact implied the assimilation, transformation and rehabilitation (though never subordination) of a whole range of new themes and their related fields of knowledge. The most important of these was industry, which served indirectly to transform traditional objects of planning (everything from social housing to exhibition pavilions) and so also to introduce new uses and combinations of techniques and materials (steel, glass, concrete, clinker) as well as variations in scale and the discovery of the city outside the city. This, of course, demolishes the idea that Expressionist architecture was merely a transmitter of symptoms, an exuberant precursor of Functionalist in its conscious and fully developed form.*

It may be true, then, that Expressionist architecture was more than a tendency that spent itself in the fight against naturalist and classicist tradition — it was, after all, the source of many of the stylistic prototypes Rationalist architecture would draw on so freely — but it remains to be established to what extent and in what ways the Expressionist impulse has remained a vital force up to the present day.

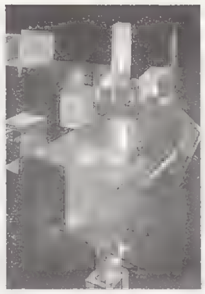
With the hindsight we have now, it seems both ingenuous and self-serving to see modern architecture past and present in terms of formal similarities and differences that correspond more or less exactly to ideological similarities and differences. The reality is that once the social inadequacies of Rationalist architecture became evident after World War II, responsible criticism could no longer be based simply on ideological commitment; it now had to take account of typological

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Progetto di grattacielo in vetro, 1920-21.
Ludwig Hilberseimer, Progetto di metropoli verticale, 1924.
Emil Nolde, L'adulatore, *1919.*
Karl Voelker, Cemento, *1923.*
Paul Klee, Città italiana, *1928.*





può essere costretta in un moto consumatosi tutto nella rivoltosa denuncia della tradizione naturalista-classicista, dacché costituì la fucina dove vennero forgiati i prototipi di un campionario dal quale l'architettura del Razionalismo avrebbe attinto a piene mani, resta da accertare con che incisività e in quale ruolo la pulsione espressionista potrebbe aver persistito fino ad oggi.
Infatti, soprattutto agli occhi di poi, appare abbastanza ingenua o pretestuosa una ricognizione nell'architettura moderna, passata e presente, affidata a distinzioni e allineamenti formali più o meno schematicamente derivati dalle ideologie. Mentre, a partire dall'ultimo dopoguerra, una volta constatata la crisi del predicato sociale razionalista, la responsabilità critica non può più fondarsi soltanto sull'impegno di bandiera, ma deve coinvolgere la consistenza tipologica complessamente intesa, dove *deformazione* e *trasformazione* costituiscono un tutt'uno inseparabile, una soluzione inscindibile nell'essenza, e semmai da sviscerare affrontando personalità per personalità, opera per opera. Una soluzione ai cui estremi la deformazione risulterà —come già risultò— sublimarsi magari fino alla pura rappresentazione (monumenti realizzati da Gropius a Weimar nel 1922 per le Vittime di Marzo e da Mies van der Rohe a Berlino nel 1926 per Liebknecht e la Luxemburg, su su fino al progetto di Terragni per il *Danteum* di Roma del 1938) e la trasformazione inverarsi non nell'utilitarismo, ma nella rivoluzione d'uso (la Torre-serbatoio d'acqua costruita da Poelzig a Posen nel 1911, dotata di un sottostante mercato, la Scuola ad anello inserita da Neutra nel progetto della Rush City Reformed del 1926, lo stesso Total Theater, la Casa-comune realizzata a Mosca da Ginzburg nel 1928, su su fino alla *Casa famiglia per la famiglia cristiana* progettata da Cesare Cattaneo nel 1942).
Da qui potrebbero discendere alcuni corollari.
La questione del classicismo, nei confronti della quale la cultura tedesca vive da sempre una sorta di complesso edipico. Così anche l'Espressionismo —secondo lo stesso Argan "*il suo ideale è sempre il bello, la Grecia di Winckelmann, di Hölderlin, di Nietzsche, e se la sua opera non dà il bello, ma, non di rado, il suo opposto (o quello che si crede esser tale) è perché così si altera e deforma il bello*"—, con la Fabbrica di turbine AEG realizzata da Behrens a Berlino dal 1909, inaugura in architettura la sua azione di deformazione, proprio enfatizzando e corrodendo il traliccio classicista. Un traliccio che nel naturalismo dello *Jugendstil* appariva ormai esorcizzato e che invece da qui, come pregiudizio ossessivo o come latente bisogno di identità evocato nella stilizzazione (l'Istituto di ginnastica ritmica a Hellerau, presso Dresda, realizzato da Tessenow tra il 1910 e il 1912 e perfino il Padiglione austriaco all'Esposizione del Werkbund tedesco realizzato a Colonia dal secessionista Hoffmann nel 1914), comincia ad incombere non solo in Germania sul corso dell'architettura tra le due guerre. Soprattutto quando il fine del progetto contempla la città assunta nel suo insieme di organismo e paesaggio etnico, così che il traliccio classicista riaffiora incrementato o menomato dal principio di straniamento in più o meno esplicita allegoria (dalle immedesimazioni contestuali di Schumacher ad Amburgo dal 1909, di Bruno Taut a Magdeburgo dal 1921, alla colonna dorica presentata da Loos al concorso per la *Chicago Tribune* nel 1922, agli esperimenti di Perret, Bonatz, Dominikus Böhm, Muzio, De Finetti e tanti altri in altrettante città europee).
Altra questione —per così dire, simmetrica rispetto alla prima— riguarda la rarefazione formale che la pulsione espressionista, attraverso un processo di progressiva distillazione, estremizza fino al purismo, rinunciando, diversamente da altre correnti d'avanguardia, al supporto ideologico della tecnica (la cui emblematica risultava già mitizzata e profusa fin dal XIX secolo) e, caso mai, esprimendone solo in metafora le implicazioni connesse alla provvidenza di massa.
Un percorso, questo lungo il quale la deformazione si compie nella rarefazione purista, nella cui gestazione il radicalismo suprematista di Malevič, la stereometria neoplastica di Van Doesburg convergono sulle trasparenze delle Officine Fagus di Gropius del 1911, della *Glasarchitektur* teorizzata da Paul Scheerbart nel 1914 e dei progetti di blocchi e grattacieli di Mies van der Rohe e di Hilberseimer eseguiti tra il 1919-1921; un percorso che solo nei maturi anni Venti e nei primi anni Trenta si intreccia con l'ideologia dell'oggettività, per poi, quasi preannunciato dalla *Città italiana* raffigurata in un dipinto di Paul Klee del 1928, tornare a sublimarsi, anche tipologicamente, nell'auspicio civile dei sanatori di Duiker e di Aalto, delle scuole e dei quartieri di May, di Duiker, di Haesler, di Beaudouin e Lods realizzati in quegli stessi anni e, dunque, attestati proprio in quel *segreto religioso* evocato da Persico.
Tanto che, all'accentuarsi dell'involuzione politica che molti paesi europei, e in particolare l'Italia, si trovano ad attraversare negli anni Trenta, il paradigma della

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Project for a glass skyscraper, 1920-21.
Ludwig Hilberseimer, Project for a Vertical metropolis, 1924.
Emil Nolde, The Worshipper, *1919.*
Karl Voelker, Concrete, *1923.*
Paul Klee, Italian City, *1928.*

consistency in the total sense, in which deformation *and* transformation *are at bottom one and the same thing, an indissoluble unity, and can only be analysed (if at all) by looking at individual architects and works. When this approach is carried to extremes, deformation is manifested in such sublimated form that it becomes pure representation (Gropius' monument in Weimar to the victims of the March Rising, 1922; Mies van der Rohe's monument to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Berlin, 1926; Terragni's project for the* Danteum *in Rome, 1938), and transformation results not in utilitarianism but in new types of use (Poelzig's water tower with a market below it in Posen, 1911; the annular school Neutra added to the Rush City Reformed project, 1926; Gropius' Total Theatre; Ginsburg's collective house in Moscow, 1928; Cesare Cattaneo's* Family Home for the Christian Family, *1942). This deformation-transformation nexus may have had a number of important consequences.*
In the case of Classicism, for example, which German culture has always related to in a rather Oedipal way, Argan's view was that the ultimate aim of Expressionism "has always been the creation of beauty — the Greece of Winckelmann, Hölderlin and Nietzsche. If Expressionist works have given us not beauty but, very often, its opposite (or what we think of as its opposite) this is because beauty itself undergoes deformation and change". *In this sense, with the building of Behrens' AEG turbine factory in Berlin (from 1909), Expressionist architecture introduced deformation by both drawing attention to and eroding the classicist framework that* Jugendstil *naturalism already seemed to have exorcised. From then on — either as a obsessive bias or as a latent search for identity through stylisation (Tessenow's Rhythm Gymnastics School in Hellerau near Dresden, 1910-12, and even Hoffmann's Secessionist Austrian Pavilion at the Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne, 1914) — the classicist framework become a burden on interwar architecture in Germany and other countries besides. Especially in situations where the design task was the realisation of an idea of the city as a fusion of organism and ethnic landscape, the classicist framework reasserted itself — variously enhanced or impaired by the principle of alienation — in more or less explicitly allegorical form from Schumacher's and Bruno Taut's contextual identifications in Hamburg and Magdeburg from 1909 and 1921 respectively and Loos' Doric column for the 1922* Chicago Tribune *competition to the experiments of Perret, Bonatz, Dominikus Böhm, Muzio, De Finetti and many others in a variety of European cities.*
Another outcome of the deformation-transformation nexus — symmetrical, in a sense, to the one we have just looked at — was Expressionism's gradual distillation of formal rarefaction into Purism. Unlike in other avant-garde movements, this meant foregoing the ideological support of technology (already extensively mythicised since the nineteenth century), with the result that Expressionism's commitment to the wider social implications of architecture was metaphorical only. As deformation gradually developed into purist rarefaction, Malevitch's Suprematism and Van Doesburg's neoplastic stereometry were channelled into the glass walling of Gropius' Fagus factory (1911), Paul Scheerbart's theoretical Glasarchitektur *(1914) and Mies van der Rohe and Hilberseimer's skyscraper and office block projects (1919-21). The shift became identified with the ideology of objectivity only in the late Twenties and early Thirties. Later, as Paul Klee's painting* Italian City *(1928) already seemed to suggest, this objectivity would reappear in sublimated (and also typological) form in civic structures like Duiker and Aalto's sanatoria and the schools and housing estates built in the same period by May, Duiker, Haesler, Beaudouin and Lods, who were rooted, as we have seen, in what Persico called a religious secret.*
Indeed, when faced with the political involution that was gathering momentum throughout Europe in the Thirties, especially in Italy, the paradigm of deformation underwent still further change and reverted, even ideologically, to the wholly allegorical extremes of Classicism (Sironi's Galleria dei Fasci at the 1932 Fascist Revolution Exhibition in Rome) and Purism (Persico's Victory Room at the Sixth Milan Triennial in 1936). So, when we try to see the deformation and diversity of twentieth-century Modern architecture in an Expressionist perspective, we have to ascertain whether its manifestations are authentic or not, which was not necessary with Eclectism, for example. We can do this by referring to context, as in Venturi's concept of taste, *and by applying — metaphorically, work by work — the principles of practical art criticism (*critica dell'occhio*) which that other great master Roberto Longhi — virtually the same age as Venturi (1890-1970) though also his rival — formulated for the evaluation of twentieth-century Italian art.*

Critics of modern architecture have rarely adopted Longhi's empirical approach — they have almost always preferred to base their judgements on generalised a priori *categories and*

Otto Haesler, Scuola elementare, Celle, Hannover, 1928.
Johannes Duiker, Sanatorio Zonnestraal, Hilversum, 1928.
Mario Sironi, Galleria dei Fasci alla Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista, Roma, 1932.
Edoardo Persico, Salone della Vittoria alla VI Triennale, Palazzo dell'Arte, Milano, 1936.





deformazione si articola nuovamente, tornando ad appuntarsi anche ideologicamente sugli estremi tutti allegorici del classicismo (la Galleria dei fasci allestita da Sironi alla Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista di Roma del 1932) e del purismo (il Salone della Vittoria allestito da Persico alla Sesta Triennale di Milano del 1936).
Pertanto la considerazione sotto specie espressionista della deformazione e della difformità, anche contraddittoria, con cui si compie il ciclo dell'architettura moderna in questo secolo, diversamente da quanto si verificò in passato, per esempio nell'eclettismo, pretenderebbe l'accertamento critico mirato a stabilirne l'effettiva autenticità; valutabile questa, oltre che da un inserimento contestuale, magari condotto con procedere analogo a quello sotteso dal concetto di *gusto* nel significato venturiano, da un'indispensabile *critica dell'occhio*, allegoricamente interprete opera per opera, analoga al procedere che fu in pittura di Roberto Longhi, l'altro caposcuola —quasi coetaneo (1890-1970), ma rivale di Venturi— nella critica d'arte italiana del Novecento.

Un procedere, quello longhiano, ben raramente riscontrabile nella critica dell'architettura moderna, quasi sempre svolta per categorie e pregiudizi generalizzanti.
Per questa via, approfondite le condizioni del presente e il ruolo che ancora oggi può svolgervi l'impegno nel progetto d'architettura, si eviterebbe di confondere le battaglie civili su ambiente e assetto della città (pur legittime nei *mala tempora* d'oggi) con la critica dell'architettura. Questa, infatti, riconquista la propria dignità solo quando, doverosamente impegnata, ma non affetta da pregiudizi, si proponga di distinguere il valore morale dell'eccezionalità e della complessità dal restante bordo del conformismo e del collaborazionismo, affrontando ruolo e grado della deformazione fino a contestualizzarne le difformità. Dacché bisogna pur convenire che, proprio a partire dalla radicalità e dalla intensità del dissenso espressionista, non rimane alcuna probabilità di una effettiva, cioè non contraffatta, restaurazione del classicismo, se non dilazionata a un futuro imprevedibile, alla stregua di una redenzione *post-mortem* (non stanno forse là a indicare tuttora un punto di non-ritorno i periodi neoclassici di Picasso e di Strawinsky o il *ritorno all'ordine* dei Novecentisti italiani?).
Critica dell'architettura che riacquista autorità quando rinunci di accondiscendere ad una attesa ormai privatista e consumista di una comune opinione benpensante, versata a privilegiare dell'architettura solo i disparati *exploit* di una bigiotteria volta a volta tecnicista o decorativa, eccentrica o consolatoria. Dacché, nonostante una malintesa filologia tenda a disporli tutti sullo stesso piano del Moderno, permangono altrettanto distinguibili i valori anche nel suo trascorso d'avanguardia.
Le note che precedono vanno quindi intese anche a chiarimento, da qualcuno pur richiesto, della considerazione, contenuta nell'ultimo numero di "Zodiac", dove sostenevo che "*(...) guardando a ritroso, se si volesse cercare un carattere unificante dell'architettura d'avanguardia in Europa nella prima metà del Ventesimo secolo, oggi esso andrebbe forse ermeneuticamente fondato in un'accezione generale dell'Espressionismo, come epica rappresentazione di inanità del suo stesso predicato sociale*".
Ma esse possono valere anche come risposta, non tanto indiretta, all'ultimo *editoriale* in breve dedicato a "Zodiac" ("L'architettura - Cronache e storia", n. 446, dicembre 1992), dove Bruno Zevi osserva: "*Guido Canella disorientato. Indubbiamente è (o era?) uno dei migliori architetti italiani. Ha anche diretto ottime pubblicazioni. Ma poi ha risuscitato la olivettiana "Zodiac" e si è smarrito, ha barcollato in stato confusionale. "Bisogna fare qualche cosa", si è detto, e ha costituito un "Comitato d'orientamento" in cui troviamo, insieme a Eisenman e Foster, nientemeno che Stirling e Aldo Rossi. Non manca neppure Philip Johnson. Orientamento retro o retro-retro o talmente vario da essere spappolato e non orientare affatto. Il tutto, a vantaggio di chi? di cosa?*". (Tra l'altro non si tratta dell'architetto Norman R. Foster, ma dello storico dell'arte e dell'architettura Kurt W. Forster).

* * *

Questo numero si apre con alcune proposte per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo Borromeo in Arona, rimasto inconcluso.
Ad incoraggiare l'idea era stato Giovanni Testori quando, ancora durante gli ultimi incontri, aveva personalmente contribuito con un ritratto di San Carlo, con lo stralcio dai suoi *Trionfi*, ripromettendosi inoltre di presentare i disegni di architettura su queste pagine e successivamente in una mostra, senza riuscirvi per la morte sopravvenuta. Pertanto questi disegni restano da ora dedicati alla memoria del grande artista e studioso.

Otto Haesler, Primary school, Celle, Hannover, 1928.
Johannes Duiker, Zonnestraal Sanatorium, Hilversum, 1928.
Mario Sironi, Galleria dei Fasci at the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution, Rome, 1932.
Edoardo Persico, The Victory Room at the 6th Triennale, Palazzo dell'Arte, Milan, 1936.

assumptions — but once we have described present conditions and determined the role that social engagement still plays in architectural planning, his approach would enable us to avoid confusing ethical criticism of the environmental quality and physical layout of our cities (justifiable though this is in our present mala tempora*) with architectural criticism proper. Architectural criticism can be fully reinstated only if it makes an unbiased — though committed — attempt to distinguish ethically viable originality and complexity from conformist, collaborationist context by assessing the extent and function of deformation in works and contextualising the diversities it produces. Given the radical insights Expressionist dissent has given us, we must accept that no authentic, i.e. non-counterfeit reinstatement Classicism is possible, unless in some unforeseeable* post mortem *future redemption (don't Picasso and Stravinsky's Neo-Classicism and the Italian Novecento architects'* return to order *still indicate a point of no return?).*
Architecture criticism will regain its authority only when it refuses to bow to widespread consumer demand — an expression of conformist lay opinion — that reduces architecture to a glittering array of isolated individual achievements that meet all needs by being technicalist or decorative, eccentric or consolatory by turns. The merits of avant-garde architecture are evident and undeniable, even if philological misunderstanding has tended to make critics see it in a uniformally Modernist perspective.
These notes should be seen, then, as the clarification some have asked for of the views I expressed in the last issue of Zodiac, *where I said that* "... if, in retrospect, we had to find some unifying feature in early twentieth-century avant-garde architecture in Europe, we would probably point to its widespread acceptance of Expressionism as an epic representation of the futility of its own social predicament". *They are also a reply — and I hope not an indirect one — to Bruno Zevi's article on* Zodiac *in* L'architettura — Cronache e storia, *no. 446, December 1992, in which he says:* "Guido Canella disoriented. He is (or was?) undoubtedly one of Italy's best architects. He also edited some excellent publications. But then he resuscitated the Olivetti *Zodiac* and lost his way, tottering around in a state of confusion. 'Something must be done', he said to himself, so he set up an 'Orientation Committee', where we find along with Eisenman and Foster, no less than Stirling and Aldo Rossi. Even Philip Johnson is there. Retro and retro-retro orientation, or so varied an orientation that it is just a pulp, not orienting at all. And all for whom? For what?" *(I would only comment that the Foster here is not Sir Norman R. Foster the architect, but Kurt W. Forster the art and architecture historian).*

* * *

This issue opens with proposals for the completion of the San Carlo Borromeo Sacro Monte in Arona, which remained unfinished.
The idea was encouraged by Giovanni Testori who, in our final meetings, made his own contribution to the project with a portrait of San Carlo Borromeo and an extract from his Trionfi. *He also undertook to present the architectural drawings in* Zodiac *and, later, in an exhibition, but died before the project could be brought to completion.*
The drawings we reproduce here are, then, a tribute to a great artist and scholar.

Carlo Borromeo, Milano e i Sacri Monti*

Derek A.R. Moore

Il velo in cui la vivida rievocazione manzoniana aveva avvolto la Milano di Federico Borromeo è stato da tempo rimosso, ma la suggestione da esso prodotta offusca in parte la nostra visione della città al tempo del predecessore e cugino di Federico, Carlo Borromeo. Vi è la tendenza a ritenere che i periodi in cui i due Arcivescovi ressero effettivamente la Diocesi milanese (1565-1584 e 1601-1631) formino un periodo unitario, chiaramente definito nelle sue finalità riformatrici e nei suoi mezzi artistici e urbanistici. Questo fa sì che la nostra comprensione della storia urbana della capitale lombarda nel tardo Cinquecento e nel primo Seicento non sia ancora sufficientemente articolata[1].

Senza dubbio nel 1631, alla morte di Federico Borromeo, Milano era una città molto diversa da quella in cui si era stabilmente insediato come Cardinale Arcivescovo, nel 1565, il suo ventisettenne cugino Carlo. La trasformazione — chiamiamola così, in attesa di un termine più preciso — subìta dalla città nei decenni intercorsi tra queste due date è senz'altro una fra le più importanti avvenute nell'Europa della prima età moderna; ma essa è stranamente refrattaria alle tecniche interpretative nate dall'esame di altre città nello stesso periodo. Si ha inoltre la fastidiosa sensazione che un altro velo di nebulosa e sviante agiografia minacci di ostacolare la nostra comprensione della Milano di Carlo Borromeo (figg. 1-2). In questa situazione, può essere utile esporre alcune considerazioni di fondo sul carattere urbanistico della città e descrivere le varie fasi in cui si formarono le idee di Carlo e giunsero ad effetto i suoi interventi[2].

1. Milano nel 1565

Va ricordato anzitutto che l'attività milanese di Carlo fu condizionata o addirittura vincolata, più di quanto non si sia soliti ammettere, dalle caratteristiche generali della città operanti a lungo termine e dagli sviluppi urbanistici più recenti[3]. L'elemento fondamentale del tessuto urbano, il sistema viario, era cambiato di pochissimo nel primo Rinascimento (figg. 3-4). I nuovi edifici innalzati dai Visconti, dagli Sforza e dalle altre *élite* presenti in città, come i Fiorentini, avevano portato di rado a una ristrutturazione dell'ambiente urbano[4], e la persistenza della rete stradale medievale aveva continuato a condizionare la nuova edilizia fino a buona parte del Cinquecento. Dopo la contrazione tardoantica della città romana, nel medioevo Milano si era espansa radialmente lungo le sei strade d'accesso principali, collegate poi secondo tracciati anulari da nuove strade minori; il giro delle mura tardomedievali e il sistema dei navigli — canali scavati nei secoli XV e XVI per trasportare fin nel centro cittadino pietre da costruzione e altre merci provenienti dal Lago Maggiore — avevano contribuito a stabilizzare la forma circolare della città.

Quando nel 1565 Carlo Borromeo tornò a Milano, buona parte del centro cittadino era come ingolfato dalla presenza di grandi complessi religiosi in disuso, per lo più affidati in commenda a prelati assenteisti. In questo senso molto concreto l'immobilismo urbanistico dovuto alle vecchie proprietà fondiarie rappresentava l'aspetto tangibile di una decadenza istituzionale e religiosa che reclamava una riforma[5] (fig. 5).

La stasi urbanistica della città era dovuta peraltro anche alle specifiche difficoltà che caratterizzano i rapporti fra i tre centri di potere: il dominio spagnolo, impersonato dal Governatore e sostenuto da una forte guarnigione insediata nel Castello Sforzesco; il Senato e le altre istituzioni civiche, che disponevano di scarso potere effettivo ma controllavano alcuni settori della vita commerciale e professionale cittadina; e naturalmente la Chiesa, ossia l'Archidiocesi di Milano, il cui territorio non coincideva esattamente con quello del Ducato[6]. Di questi tre centri, il meno attivo nel rimodellare la città era stato quello impersonato dai predecessori immediati di Carlo; notevoli edifici ecclesiastici e secolari erano stati invece costruiti, negli anni fra il 1530 e il 1570 circa, da privati cittadini, da nuovi gruppi religiosi e da istituzioni civiche. Il Governatore spagnolo degli anni intorno alla metà del secolo, l'italiano Ferrante Gonzaga, era sembrato sul punto d'introdurre a Milano le innovazioni dell'urbanistica rinascimentale, ma la sua attività si era bruscamente interrotta nel 1554. Sotto di lui era stato realizzato un moderno sistema di mura fortificate, che aveva raddoppiato la superficie della città[7], e i regolamenti edilizi erano stati estesi alle zone periferiche con insediamento sparso, nelle quali però non si era avuta un'intensa attività costruttiva (fig. 4).

Gli edifici di nuova architettura sorti verso la metà del Cinquecento furono dovuti in gran parte all'iniziativa delle nuove comunità religiose: così la Chiesa dei Santi Paolo e Barnaba, progettata per i Barnabiti da Galeazzo Alessi e innalzata a partire dal 1561. Questa e altre chiese, come quella di San Paolo Converso (o alle Monache), anch'essa legata ai Barnabiti, o quella di Sant'Angelo, per quanto innovative nella disposizione interna, ebbero scarso influsso

*Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti**
Derek A.R. Moore

The vivid, evocative veil which Alessandro Manzoni — with the prose of I promessi sposi *— draped around the popular image of the Milan of Federico Borromeo has long since been lifted, but its seductive effects still partially obscure our vision of the city during the life of his cousin, Carlo Borromeo. There is a tendency to see the tenures of the two Archbishops as constituting a unitary "Borromean" period, secure in its reformatory aims and sure in its artistic and urbanistic means. Our understanding of the urban history of the Lombard capital in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is not yet sufficiently nuanced*[1].

There can be little doubt that Milan was a very different place at the death in 1631 of Manzoni's hero, Archbishop Federico Borromeo, than it had been when his cousin, the twenty-seven year old Cardinal Archbishop Carlo Borromeo, took up permanent residence at his Cathedral church in Milan in 1565. The transformation — for lack of a better word — of the city of Milan in these decades surely deserves to be counted among the most significant of early modern Europe, but it remains curiously resistant to the techniques of interpretation forged in the study of other cities of the period. There is, furthermore, the disturbing sensation that a new veil, woven of the filmy, distorting stuff of hagiography threatens now to interpose itself between us and a more complete understanding of Carlo Borromeo's Milan (figs. 1 and 2). At this juncture it is perhaps useful to make some basic observations about the character of the city's urbanism and to set out the stages by which Carlo Borromeo's ideas were formed and his actions took effect[2].

1. Milan in 1565

It must be said at the outset that Carlo Borromeo's work in the city of Milan was conditioned, even constrained, by both the city's general urban characteristics over the longue durée *and by recent developments to a greater degree than is usually recognized*[3]. *The urban fabric of Milan in its most basic aspect, the street pattern, had changed very little during the early Renaissance (figs. 3 and 4). The new buildings erected under the Visconti, the Sforza and other elites resident in the city, such as the Florentines, had rarely led to a reconfiguration of the urban surround*[4]. *The persistence of the medieval street network conditioned new building well into the sixteenth century. After the late antique implosion of the Roman city, medieval Milan grew outwards in radial fashion along the six principal roads to the city. Smaller lateral streets developed as circumferential connectors between the pinwheeling radial roads. The circuit of late medieval walls and the system of* navigli, *the waterways built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to bring building stone and other goods to the center of the city from Lago Maggiore, reinforced the circular form of the city.*

When Borromeo returned to Milan in 1565 much of the center of the city was, so to speak, impacted with the large, disused complexes of religious houses, most of which were held in commenda *by absentee prelates. In this very real sense the urban inertia of entrenched ancient holdings was a tangible sympton of an institutional and religious decadence in need of reform*[5] *(fig. 5).*

But the causes of Milan's urban stasis lay also with the peculiar impasse that tended to characterize relations among the three poles of power in Milan: the Spanish dominion personified by the Governor and backed by a substantial garrison housed at the former Castello Sforzesco, the Senate and other civic institutions that held little real power but oversaw aspects of the city's commercial and professional life, and of course the Church, which is to say the Archdiocese of Milan, an entity that did not perfectly coincide with the territorial state[6]. *Of these the Archbishops immediately preceding Carlo Borromeo were the least active in shaping the city, whereas notable religious and secular structures were erected from the 1530s to 1560s by private citizens, new religious groups and Milanese institutions. The Governor for the Spanish at mid-century, the Italian Ferrante Gonzaga, had seemed on the verge of bringing the innovations of Renaissance urban design to Milan before his regime was cut short in 1554. Gonzaga had built a new set of walls, a modern system of fortifications which effectively doubled the area of the city*[7]. *Building regulations were extended to this sparsely inhabited periphery, but little new building occured there (fig. 4).*

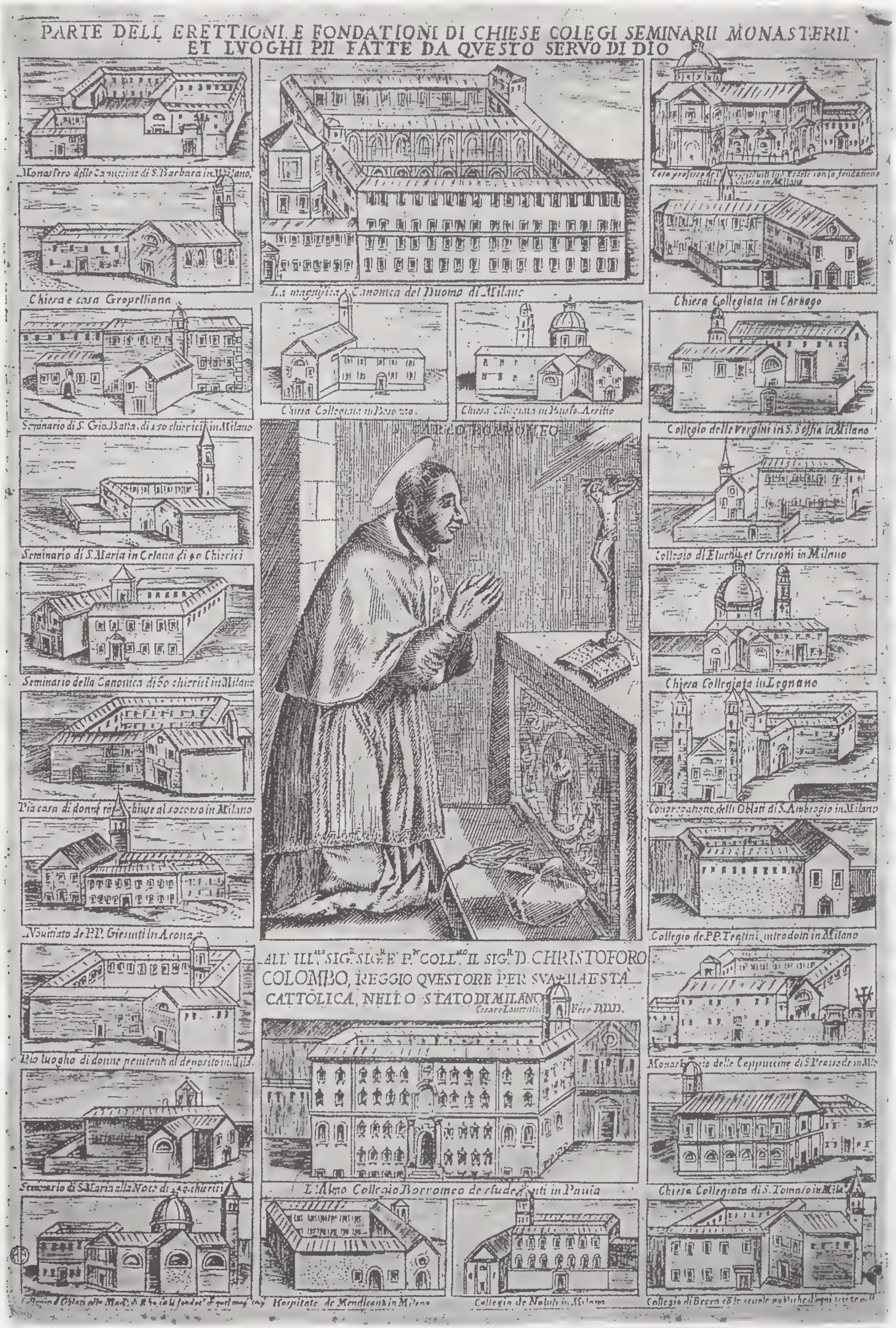
Much of the innovative architecture at mid-century was inspired by new religious communities, such as the Barnabites at SS. Paolo e Barnaba, designed by Galeazzo Alessi and built from 1561 ff. This and other new churches such as San Paolo Converso (or alle Monache; also associated with the Barnabites) and Sant'Angelo, however innovative in their internal arrangements, had little effect on the urban surround. Significant for Borromeo's later work were several mid-century developments that had the potential of dissolving the resistance to urbanistic change in Milan. On the one hand, the Constitutiones Domini Mediolanensis *imposed on Milan by the emperor Charles V in 1541 included key*

1.2. Due raffigurazioni di Carlo Borromeo. Nella prima di esse, Il vero ritratto, la vita, morte, fatti, et miracoli di Santo Carolo Borromeo, *inc. Petrus de Jode, prima metà XVII sec., sono presentati i fatti della sua vita, parecchi dei quali riguardano Milano e i suoi edifici ecclesiastici. Nella seconda raffigurazione,* Parte delle erettioni e fondationi di chiese, colegi, seminarii, monasterii et luoghi pii fatte da questo servo di Dio, *inc. Cesare Laurentio, 1610, il Santo è rappresentato come grande patrono dell'edilizia (si veda l'analogo ritratto del Papa Sisto V nella fig. 32). Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.*



1

1.2. Two representations of Carlo Borromeo. The first, Il vero ritratto, la vita, morte, fatti et miracoli di Santo Carolo Borromeo, *an engraving by Petrus de Jode dating from the first half of seventeenth century, shows events in his life, many concerned with Milan and its church buildings. The second,* Parte delle erettioni e fondationi di chiese, colegi, seminarii, monasterii et luoghi pii fatte da questo servo di Dio, *an engraving by Cesare Laurentio, 1610, shows the Saint as a leading patron of architecture (see the similar portrait of Pope Sixtus V, fig. 32). Collezione Bertarelli, Milan.*



sul circostante tessuto urbano. Importanti per la successiva attività di Carlo Borromeo furono invece alcuni fatti nuovi di metà secolo, che riuscirono a vincere la resistenza contro il mutamento urbanistico di Milano. Le *Constitutiones Domini Mediolanensis* imposte alla città da Carlo V nel 1541 contenevano le procedure di base per l'acquisto delle aree occorrenti per realizzare nuovi progetti nel centro cittadino: chi intendeva edificare con magnificenza ("*laute aedificare*") poteva espropriare i lotti confinanti, compensandone i proprietari col valore di mercato del suolo aumentato di un quarto[8]. Leggi come queste erano in vigore da decenni a Roma e in altre città. Come ha fatto notare Gianni Mezzanotte, le procedure in questione avevano lo scopo di promuovere le iniziative edilizie delle *élite* secolari che avevano tradizionalmente patrocinato l'architettura nel Rinascimento, ma nella Milano degli anni tra il 1540 e il 1560 ben pochi privati e ben poche istituzioni civiche furono in grado di trarre profitto dalle nuove disposizioni; in effetti esse favorirono soprattutto l'edilizia ecclesiastica promossa dai due Borromeo e da altri nel tardo Cinquecento e nel Seicento.

Il periodo di transizione compreso tra la fine del Governatorato di Ferrante Gonzaga (1554) e il ritorno a Milano di Carlo Borromeo (1565) fu caratterizzato da alcuni progetti, diversi tra loro per dimensioni e per committenza. Durante la costruzione del suo nuovo gigantesco palazzo, progettato da Galeazzo Alessi, il banchiere Tommaso Marino andò acquistando lotti di terreno situati fra il palazzo stesso e il Broletto Nuovo, che dopo essere stato nell'età comunale il centro politico della città aveva continuato a esserne il centro commerciale. Marino intendeva giovarsi delle leggi sulle espropriazioni per aprire in quel vecchio quartiere una strada avente inizio dal portale della sua dimora (fig. 7)[9]. Questo progetto, concepito forse dallo stesso Alessi (probabile ideatore, alcuni anni prima, della Strada Nuova a Genova), è stato giustamente paragonato all'apertura di Via dei Baullari a Roma, in asse con Palazzo Farnese; ma questa strada faceva parte di una più vasta trasformazione dell'ambiente urbano, comprendente una rete di nuove strade, varie modifiche a quelle preesistenti e l'apertura di una piazza davanti al palazzo[10]. Da parte sua, il progetto milanese prevedeva una ricostruzione controllata delle case sui due lati della nuova strada.

Il fatto che questa non sia stata realizzata è dovuto in primo luogo al crollo dell'impero finanziario di Marino, ma è anche un sintomo della resistenza opposta dalla città alle innovazioni urbanistiche. Nell'età rinascimentale i privati, e più spesso le istituzioni, avevano potuto mettere insieme vaste aree edificabili per attuare grandiosi progetti (ad esempio l'Ospedale Maggiore), ma di rado l'adiacente tessuto urbano era stato rimodellato come parte integrante del nuovo complesso. Probabilmente a Milano l'*ethos* della proprietà pubblica era stato soffocato dal secolare predominio di regimi feudali o neofeudali, da quelli dei Visconti e degli Sforza a quello spagnolo; al primo Borromeo toccò quindi in eredità un ambiente urbano difficile da modificare.

2. Carlo Borromeo prima del 1565

Di rado si tiene conto del fatto che, nel 1565, quando arrivò a Milano per insediarsi stabilmente nella sua Archidiocesi, Carlo Borromeo era tutt'altro che digiuno di architettura e di urbanistica, ma al tempo stesso era ancora molto lontano dalla visione che della città avrebbe avuto nell'età matura. Sotto questo riguardo l'agiografia ha tracciato di Carlo patrono dell'architettura un ritratto in cui l'inesperienza si mescola incongruamente con la provata capacità di un uomo di Chiesa della Controriforma attivo in campo edilizio, di un personaggio cioè che ricorda in qualche modo Sisto V (l'analogia tra i due emerge ad esempio dal confronto tra le rappresentazioni delle fig. 2 e 32).

La spiegazione va cercata nella tradizione familiare. Come la maggior parte delle famiglie nobili milanesi, i Borromeo non avevano fatto proprio il mecenatismo di tipo rinascimentale; tuttavia a soli ventidue anni Carlo ricevette da suo zio Pio IV un gran numero di incarichi nella Curia romana, diventandone a tutti gli effetti il responsabile[11]. Inizialmente Carlo, non ancora ordinato sacerdote, condusse a Roma la vita di un giovane e ricco aristocratico oberato di lavoro, collezionando antichità e indulgendo alla passione per la caccia. In coincidenza, pare, con la morte del fratello maggiore (1562) egli s'impegnò più a fondo nella fase finale del Concilio tridentino (recandosi fra l'altro a Verona, che negli anni Trenta era stata il centro delle riforme istituzionali e architettoniche del vescovo Gian Matteo Giberti[12]) e si diede allo studio della teologia e della patristica, partecipando con ecclesiastici di orientamento affine a riunioni di tipo accademico note come *noctes vaticanae*[13]. Carlo si accostò inoltre ai Gesuiti, studiò gli *Esercizi spirituali* del Loyola e fu infine ordinato sacerdote; fin dal 1560 era stato nominato da Pio IV Arcivescovo di

mechanisms for acquiring property in the city center in order to further new building projects. If one intended to build on a magnificent scale, "laute aedificare", *one could compensate neighbors for the expropriation of their property by paying out the market value plus one quarter*[8]. *Similar laws had been in effect in Rome and other centers for decades. Gianni Mezzanotte pointed out that such mechanisms had been intended to promote building by the traditional secular elites of Renaissance architectural patronage, but that in the event, very few individuals or Milanese institutions were in a position to take advantage of the new favorable laws during the 1540s and 1550s. Ecclesiastical building promoted by the Borromeo Archbishops and others in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was in fact the chief beneficiary of this legislation. Several projects of varying scale and patronage are representative of this transitional period after the governorship of Ferrante Gonzaga and prior to Carlo Borromeo's return to Milan in 1565. The banker Tommaso Marino, while building his colossal new palace designed by Galeazzo Alessi, began acquiring properties between the site of the palace and the Broletto Nuovo, the former political center of communal Milan that had continued to be the commercial center of the city. Marino intended to take advantage of the laws of expropriation in order to drive a new street through this old quarter from the portal of his palace (fig. 7)*[9]. *This scheme, which may have been suggested by Alessi, the probable author of the Strada Nuova in Genoa of several years before, has rightly been compared to the creation of the Via de' Baullari at the Palazzo Farnese in Rome. There the street was part of a comprehensive transformation of the urban surround that included a network of new streets, several revisions to older streets, and the piazza in front of the palace*[10]. *Marino's Milanese project also included the controlled rebuilding of the housing on either side of the street.*

That the project for the street was not carried out was due, most immediately, to the collapse of Marino's financial empire, but is also symptomatic of the resistance of the city to urbanistic innovation. Individuals in Milan, but more often institutions, could assemble large building plots during the Renaissance and carry out projects of colossal scale — witness the Ospedale Maggiore — but rarely was the urban surround shaped as an integral part of the project. Perhaps the ethos of a public domain had been stunted in Milan by centuries of domination by feudal and neo-feudal regimes: the Visconti, the Sforza, the Spanish. Borromeo was to inherit this intractable urban fabric.

2. Carlo Borromeo before 1565

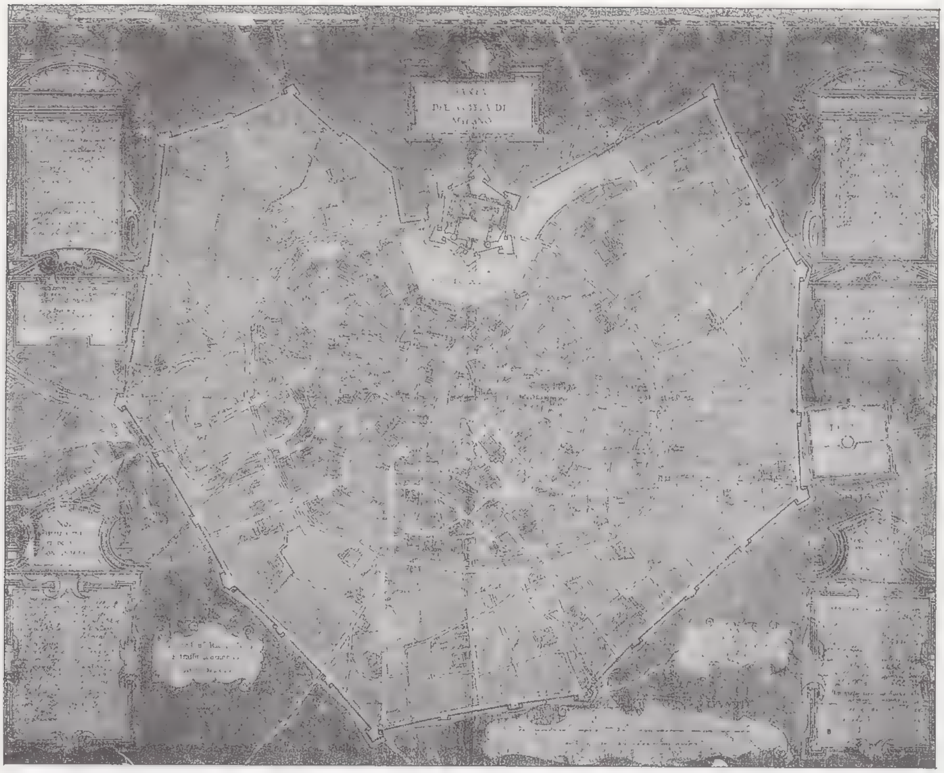
It is rarely explicitly acknowledged that when Borromeo arrived in Milan in 1565 to take up permanent residence in his Archdiocese he was, on the one hand, far from ignorant of architecture and urbanism. He was, however, many years away from his mature vision of the city. In these matters the hagiographic portrait of Borromeo as patron presents an incongruous blend of naïf *and fully developed churchman-builder of the Counter-Reformation somewhat in the manner of Sixtus V, as the similarity of their two portraits suggests (figs. 2 and 32).*

Parentage holds the key. The Borromeo, like most Milanese noble families, had not participated in "Renaissance" modes of patronage. However, at a mere twenty-two years of age Borromeo took up a myriad of duties in the curia of his uncle pope Pius IV, becoming for all intents and purposes its executive director[11]. *Initially Borromeo, not yet a priest, led the life of a wealthy, if overworked, young nobleman in Rome. He collected antiquities and indulged a passion for the hunt. The death of his older brother in 1562 seems to have coincided with Borromeo's closer involvement with the conclusion of the Council of Trent (including a visit to Verona, the site of bishop Gian Matteo Giberti's institutional and architectural reforms during the 1530s*[12]*) and a turn to the study of theology and patristic texts. These studies were pursued with like-minded churchmen in the quasi-academic gatherings known as the* noctes vaticanae[13]. *Borromeo also grew close to the Jesuits, studied the Ignatian* Spiritual Exercizes, *and finally became a priest. Pius had already made him Archbishop of Milan in 1560 and Borromeo made plans to return to Lombardy as soon as his uncle permitted*[14].

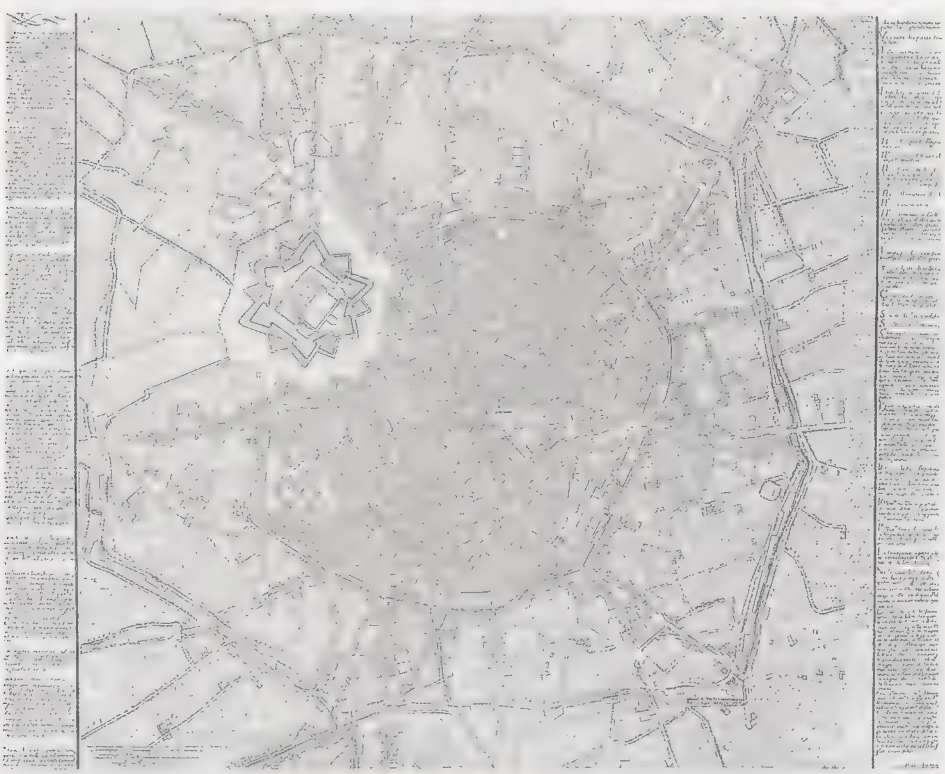
That Borromeo's "conversion" in Rome and evident religiosity were in some sense conditioned by family traditions that set the Borromeo apart from the secular pursuits of much of the Milanese nobility is suggested by an unpublished account of the Palazzo Borromeo at Santa Maria Podone by the first band of Jesuits in Milan[15]. *In a letter of 21 July 1563 Father Benedetto Palmio, leader of the group and one of the foremost Jesuit preachers, described with evident pleasure and surprise the prevailing devotional character of the works of art collected in Palazzo Borromeo:* "...in diverse stanze ci sono dipinti bellissimi Jesu cosa che

Milano, e si preparò a tornare in Lombardia non appena avesse ricevuto il consenso dello zio[14].
La "conversione" romana di Carlo e la sua evidente religiosità furono in un certo senso condizionate dalla tradizione di famiglia per cui i Borromeo erano rimasti estranei alle ambizioni secolari di molta nobiltà milanese: lo dimostra fra l'altro un resoconto inedito sul Palazzo Borromeo a Santa Maria Podone stilato dal capo della prima comunità gesuitica stabilitasi a Milano[15]. In una lettera del 21 luglio 1563 il padre Benedetto Palmio, capo del gruppo milanese e noto come uno dei più eminenti predicatori gesuiti, descrive con palese compiacimento e sorpresa il carattere prevalentemente devozionale delle opere d'arte raccolte nel palazzo: "(...) *in diverse stanze ci sono dipinti bellissimi Jesu cosa che non si sogliono depingere in palazzi secolari, et certo segno mi parse che per questa casa doveva essere piantato un colleggio della compagnia di Jesu*".
L'Arcivescovo Borromeo aveva inoltre mostrato ai Gesuiti "*un bel Jesu di relievo* (...) *et le molte pitture di Santi che sono in questa casa mostrano che furono sempre persone religiose, come ancho la cita li rende bonissimo testimonio*"[16].
Pio IV, nato Giovanni Angelo Medici, aveva coltivato un'immagine di splendido mecenatismo nello stile dei "veri" Medici, quelli fiorentini, e in effetti era riuscito a orientare la *magnificentia* rinascimentale verso la glorificazione della Chiesa quale si era autodefinita nelle sessioni conclusive del Concilio di Trento. La formulazione data dal Papa a questa sintesi di Rinascenza e Controriforma sarebbe stata di fondamentale importanza per la concezione dell'architettura ecclesiastica di Carlo Borromeo.
Oltre a essere stato un notevole (anche se eclettico) patrono delle arti e dell'architettura, Pio IV aveva promosso numerose iniziative urbanistiche. Il Palazzo dei Giureconsulti, che il Papa aveva fatto innalzare a Milano su progetto di Vincenzo Seregni (fig. 6), regge bene il confronto con molte fra le più innovative sistemazioni urbane degli anni Sessanta, come il portico dei Banchi costruito dal Vignola nella Piazza Maggiore di Bologna o il vasariano complesso degli Uffizi eretto a Firenze per Cosimo I. È interessante peraltro il fatto che per Carlo Borromeo abbiano avuto più importanza i progetti urbanistici romani di Pio IV, in cui sono state notate anticipazioni dei successivi e più vasti interventi di Sisto V[17]. La Strada Pia e la Chiesa di Santa Maria degli Angeli, ricavata nelle Terme di Diocleziano, contenevano già molte delle implicazioni

non si sogliono depingere in palazzi secolari, et certo segno mi parse che per questa casa doveva essere piantato un colleggio della compagnia di Jesu". *Further, Borromeo showed the Jesuits* "un bel Jesu di relievo... et le molte pitture di Santi che sono in questa casa mostrano che furono sempre persone religiose, come ancho la cita li rende bonissimo testimonio[16]".
Pius IV, born Gian Angelo de' Medici, had cultivated the image of magnificent patron in the style of the true, Florentine Medici, but in fact succeeded in turning the means of Renaissance magnificentia *toward the glorification of the Church as it redefined itself in the closing sessions of the Council of Trent. Pius's framing of this synthesis was to be of fundamental importance for Borromeo's concept of religious architecture.*
Pius had been not only a notable if ecletic patron of the arts and of architecture, but he had also promoted a number of urbanistic projects. The so-called Collegio dei Giureconsulti in Milan (fig. 6), which Pius had built according to the design of Vincenzo Seregni, can be compared favorably with several of the most innovative urban projects of the 1560s, such as Vignola's Portico dei Banchi on the Piazza Maggiore in Bologna and Vasari's Uffizi for Cosimo I in Florence. Interestingly enough, however, Pius's urban projects in Rome would be more significant for Borromeo and have been recognized as precursors of the later, more comprehensive undertakings of Sixtus V[17]. The Strada Pia and the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in the Baths of Diocletian brought together many of the formal and ideological elements of Sixtus' later network of streets, monuments and churches. The renovation of the ancient road that led from the Quirinal to the Aurelian walls included Michelangelo's Porta Pia as a new monumental point-de-vue[18]. *The renovation of the central hall of the great ancient bath complex of Diocletian as the church of the Carthusians was the first rededication of a pagan structure in many centuries. The militant dedicatory inscription sets the tone for Sixtus V's rededication of Egyptian obeliscs and Roman column monuments:* "Quod fuit Idolum, nunc Templum est Virginis/Auctor est Pius ipse Pater, Daemones aufugite".
Borromeo was directly involved in the realization of these projects. He could not have had a more elevated "apprenticeship" in architectural patronage and urban imagery. But the conditions of Borromeo's patronage in Milan would be so different from those in place for Pius or any other sixteenth-century pope. The limits as well as the



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3. Francesco Maria Richini, Pianta di Milano, 1603: una delle prime iconografie fedeli della città. I progetti edilizi messi in evidenza rispetto al generico tessuto urbano sono per lo più quelli riguardanti le fondazioni ecclesiastiche.
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.
4. Marc'Antonio dal Re, Pianta di Milano, 1734: sono visibili le successive cinte murarie; quella fortificata esterna, costruita dal Governatore spagnolo Ferrante Gonzaga verso la metà del Cinquecento, racchiudeva ancora la città nel XVIII secolo.
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.

3. Francesco Maria Richini, Plan of Milan, 1603: one of the first true ichnographic plans of the city. For the most part, the building plans called out of the undifferentiated urban fabric are those of ecclesiastical foundations.
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.
4. Marc'Antonio dal Re, Plan of Milan, 1734: the successive rings of Milan's walls are legible in Dal Re's plan. The outermost fortifications built by Ferrante Gonzaga, governor for the Spanish crown during the mid-sixteenth century, still contained the city in the eighteenth.
Milan, Raccolta Bertarelli.

5. Marc'Antonio dal Re, Pianta di Milano, 1734: particolare del centro cittadino con molti degli edifici più importanti. Fra le opere edilizie promosse da Carlo Borromeo vi sono, oltre a quelle eseguite nel Duomo: la Residenza dei Canonici e il Palazzo Arcivescovile, subito a sud del Duomo; San Fedele e la Casa professa dei Gesuiti, a nord del Duomo; il Collegio gesuitico di Brera, in alto a sinistra; il Collegio Elvetico, in alto a destra, e subito al disotto di esso il Seminario Maggiore.
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.

5. Marc'Antonio dal Re, Plan of Milan, 1734: detail of the center of the city showing many of the city's most prominent structures. Among the institutions or building projects promoted by Borromeo are, apart from the works in the Cathedral: the canons' residence and Archbishop's palace just south of the Cathedral, San Fedele and the Jesuits' Casa Professa, north of the Cathedral, the Jesuit Collegio di Brera at the upper left, the Collegio Elvetico at the upper right, the Seminario Maggiore just below the Collegio Elvetico.
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.



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formali e ideologiche della rete di strade, monumenti e chiese poi realizzata da Papa Sisto. Il ripristino dell'antica strada che dal Quirinale conduceva alle mura aureliane includeva una nuova monumentale meta visiva, la michelangiolesca Porta Pia[18]; e la trasformazione dell'aula centrale del grande complesso termale antico in una chiesa certosina rappresentava la prima consacrazione di un edificio pagano dopo molti secoli. L'orgogliosa iscrizione dedicatoria di Santa Maria degli Angeli "*Quod fuit idolum, nunc templum est Virginis / Auctor est Pius ipse pater, daemones aufugite*" aveva già il tono delle dediche che Sisto V avrebbe apposto sugli obelischi egizi e sulle colonne onorarie romane.
Carlo Borromeo, direttamente coinvolto nell'attuazione di questi progetti, non avrebbe potuto compiere un apprendistato più qualificato come promotore di interventi architettonici e urbanistici; ma le circostanze in cui si sarebbe svolta la sua attività milanese sarebbero state ben diverse da quelle esistenti nella Roma di Pio IV o di qualsiasi altro Papa del Cinquecento. I risultati e i limiti dell'esperienza compiuta a Roma dal giovane Borromeo sarebbero apparsi evidenti non appena egli avesse cercato di trasformare Milano[19].

3. Le opere di Carlo Borromeo fino al 1576 e l'urbanistica episodica

Inizialmente il programma milanese di Carlo non comprendeva opere su scala urbana; del resto, per le ragioni sopra dette sarebbero risultati difficili anche interventi minori. Giunto a Milano, l'Arcivescovo concentrò la sua attenzione soprattutto sulle chiese, o meglio sui loro interni, visti come spazi per la preghiera e per l'amministrazione dei sacramenti: le nuove sistemazioni da lui adottate non ebbero in pratica nessuna incidenza sulla forma dell'ambiente urbano[20]. Prioritaria nel programma borromaico era la riforma delle pratiche devozionali, sia tra i laici che nel clero; pur essendo stato testimone dello zelo di Pio IV nell'accrescere il patrimonio monumentale di Roma e della Chiesa, Carlo cominciò dall'opera, più importante anche se meno appariscente, di riforma del comportamento religioso e dei suoi aspetti esteriori e strutturali. Rimane il fatto che egli era convinto, per tradizione familiare e per le proprie esperienze romane, dell'importanza di dare una forma agli spazi destinati a ospitare le pratiche devote così rinnovate. Risultò ben presto che l'attuazione delle riforme implicava certe conseguenze

fruits of Borromeo's early Roman experience would become apparent as Borromeo sought to transform Milan[19].

3. Carlo Borromeo's works before 1576 and episodic urbanism

Work on an urban scale initially was not part of Borromeo's program in Milan, and for the reasons described above even small-scale interventions would prove to be difficult. Once in Milan Borromeo focused his attention primarily on churches, that is, on church interiors as the setting for the sacraments and for prayer. These works had almost no impact on the shape of the urban setting[20]. The reform of devotional practices, both lay and religious, was primary in Borromeo's program. Despite witnessing his uncle's zeal for adding to the monuments of the Church and of Rome, Borromeo began with the more fundamental, but less tangible work of reforming behavior and its outward, structured forms. However, this having been said, due to family traditions and his experiences in Rome, Borromeo was convinced of the importance of shaping the vessels that were to contain his reformed practices. Almost immediately the implementation of this reform was seen to involve practical architectural aspects. The urban dimension of such reformatory, liturgical, institutional and architectural concerns is, however, far more difficult to identify than many modern writers would admit[21]. We can, however, delineate several ways in which Borromeo's reforms and pastoral works had an indirect or delayed effect on the transformation of the city. Borromeo's work set in motion a number of approaches to urban design and ways of conceiving the city that would come to fruition only at the end of the century and during the tenure of Federico Borromeo as Archbishop.
The presbytery of Milan Cathedral was thoroughly reorganized and served as an example for churches of lesser dignity and complexity (figs. 9 and 10)[22]. Borromeo's aim was to accord each grade of priest, religious and canon his proper station around the altar, with its new sacrament tabernacle (a gift of Pius IV), and to present the celebration of the eucharist as if on a stage so that the laity could both view its choreography with sufficient clarity and involvement and yet be separated by a decorous distance. Borromeo was also concerned with the dwellings of religious communities of various sorts. The Cathedral canons in particular were brought into a more rigorous religious life when Borromeo erected a new canons' residence adjacent to the Archbishop's palace, just south of the Cathedral (fig. 8)[23].

6. Veduta del cosiddetto Palazzo dei Giureconsulti, progettato su commissione di Pio IV da Vincenzo Seregni dopo il 1560. L'edificio era destinato ad accogliere in un'unica sede varie componenti del governo cittadino, tra cui il Collegio dei Nobili Giureconsulti. Nella veduta del Broletto Nuovo è stato omesso il medievale Palazzo della Ragione. Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.

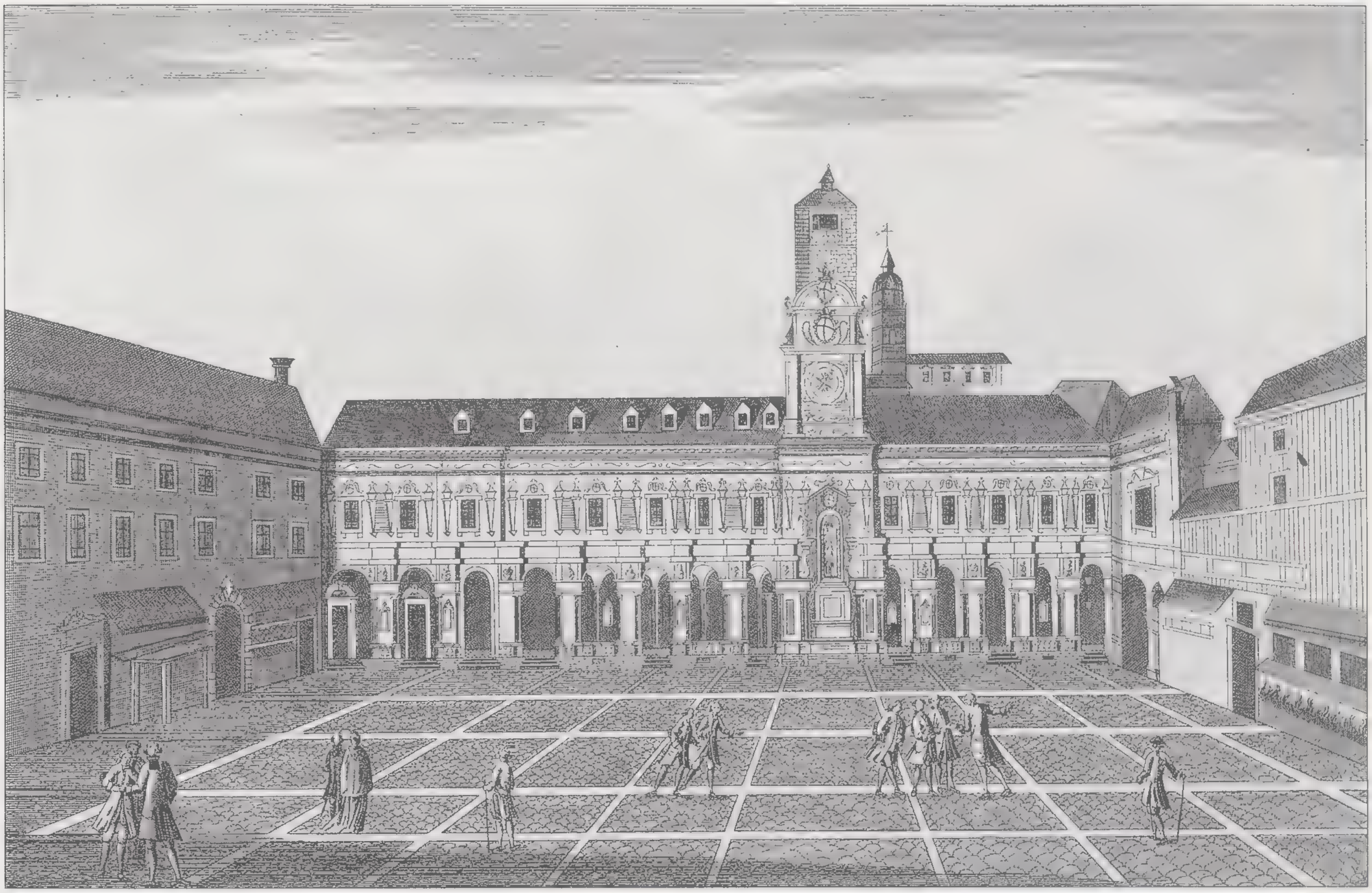
7. Gianni Mezzanotte, Ricostruzione della pianta del centro di Milano verso il 1560: è indicata la strada progettata da Galeazzo Alessi tra il Palazzo di Tommaso Marino e la zona del Broletto Nuovo (da AA.VV., Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento, *Genova 1975).*

pratiche per l'architettura; tuttavia la dimensione urbanistica degli interventi innovatori — liturgici, istituzionali e architettonici — è assai più difficile da identificare di quanto non siano disposti ad ammettere molti autori moderni[21].
Cercheremo comunque di indicare attraverso quali vie le riforme e l'azione pastorale di Carlo Borromeo ebbero un influsso indiretto o ritardato sulla trasformazione di Milano; la sua attività diede infatti l'avvio a modi d'impostare la progettazione urbanistica e di concepire la città che avrebbero prodotto i loro frutti solo sul finire del secolo e al tempo dell'arcivescovato di Federico.
Il presbiterio del Duomo fu completamente ristrutturato e servì da modello per altre chiese di minor rango e complessità (figg. 9-10)[22]: Carlo volle dare a ciascuna categoria di sacerdoti, religiosi e canonici il posto che le competeva intorno all'altare — per il quale Pio IV aveva donato un nuovo tabernacolo — e presentare come su un palcoscenico la celebrazione eucaristica, così che i fedeli potessero vederne chiaramente la coreografia e sentirsene partecipi, pur rimanendo a rispettosa distanza. Si occupò anche degli alloggi di varie comunità ecclesiastiche, e in particolare indirizzò i canonici del Duomo verso una vita religiosa più severa erigendo per loro una nuova residenza accanto al Palazzo arcivescovile, subito a sud del Duomo (fig. 8)[23].
Per i lavori nel Duomo, per la Canonica e per la maggior parte degli altri edifici patrocinati direttamente, Carlo Borromeo si valse di Pellegrino Tibaldi, versatile pittore, architetto, progettista di sculture e imprenditore artistico[24]. Oltre ad avere con lui stretti rapporti personali d'intesa e di fiducia, Carlo deve averlo visto come un possibile emulo di Michelangelo, l'artista preferito da Pio IV[25]; a quanto pare le non comuni capacità inventive e tecniche di Tibaldi lo mettevano in grado di dare forma tangibile alle idee del suo mecenate. Ogni valutazione dell'influsso che Carlo Borromeo esercitò sulla città poggia quindi sulla comprensione dei rapporti di lavoro tra i due[26].
La costruzione di San Fedele, chiesa dei Gesuiti di Milano e primo edificio sacro importante innalzato in città dopo il ritorno di Carlo (figg. 11-13), è stata spesso presentata come un suo intervento tipico: e in effetti la storia edilizia di questa chiesa può illustrare efficacemente in che modo le idee di Borromeo abbiano finito con l'avere un notevole influsso sulla configurazione di alcuni luoghi di Milano, e fino a che punto tale influsso sia stato solo indiretto[27].
La Chiesa di San Fedele appare in alto a destra nella

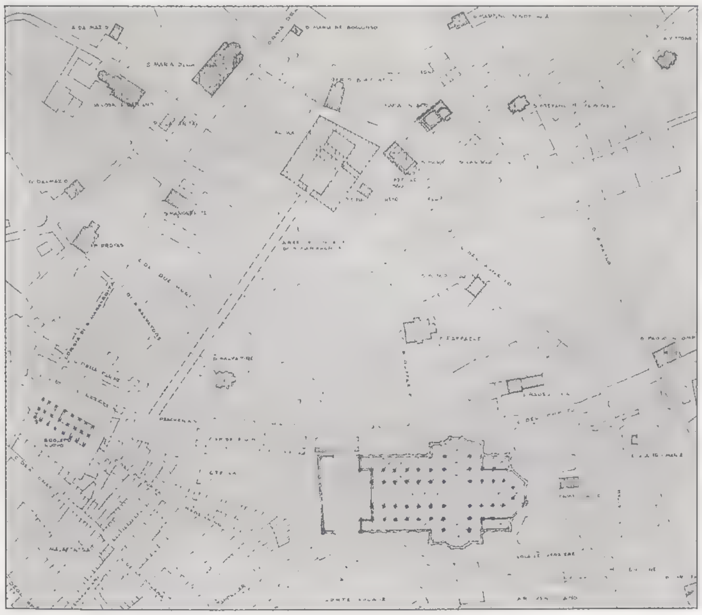
For the Cathedral works, the Canonica, and most other buildings under his direct patronage Borromeo turned to the versatile Pellegrino Tibaldi — painter, architect, designer of sculpture and general artistic impresario[24]. Beyond an unusual level of personal understanding and trust, Borromeo may have been drawn to Tibaldi's emulation of Michelangelo, the favorite of Pius IV[25]. Tibaldi's combination of unusual inventiveness and practicality seems to have enabled him to give tangible form to Borromeo's ideas. Any evaluation of Borromeo's impact on the city of Milan depends on an understanding of his working relationship with Tibaldi[26].
The building of San Fedele, the seat of the Jesuits in Milan and the first major church built after Borromeo's arrival in Milan (figs. 11 to 13), is often held up as a prototypical Borromean project. Indeed it can serve as a case study of how Borromeo's ideas came to have considerable effect on the shape of certain places in Milan. The story of San Fedele also demonstrates how indirect Borromeo's influence could be[27].
The church of San Fedele appears on the Parte delle erettioni e fondationi *woodcut, upper right (fig. 2). A close examination of the documents and contemporary testimony reveals that however essential Borromeo was to the establishment of the Society of Jesus in Milan, he should not be portrayed as the "patron" of the church in the traditional sense. His material support to the building effort seems to have been limited to only a portion of the building costs, making available the design services of Tibaldi, and providing much of the* pietra d'Angera *from quarries at his ancestral holdings on the shores of Lago Maggiore, directly opposite Arona, the site of the future* Sacro Monte.
There is a tendency to equate Borromeo's role with that of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who shouldered the entire cost of building the Roman Gesù in the same years and who imposed the site, architect and design on the order. Even Borromeo's moral support, especially in the early going, was not as firm as the Jesuits had hoped. We might say today that Borromeo provided, in effect, "seed money", "marketing" and "technical assistance" to the project, but let groups such as the Jesuits cultivate their own supporters among the lay populace.
In a similar sense the church as built, following the deliberations between Tibaldi and the Jesuits, does not reflect, element for element, the prescriptions that Borromeo would set out in his manual Instructionum fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae libri duo *(Milan, 1577)[28].*

6. View of the so-called Palazzo dei Giureconsulti commissioned by pope Pius IV and designed from Vincenzo Seregni after 1560. The structure was intended to collect in a single building many disparate elements of Milan's civic government, including the Collegio dei Nobili Giureconsulti. The view of the Broletto Nuovo omits the medieval meeting hall.
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.

7. Gianni Mezzanotte, Reconstructed plan of the center of Milan around 1560 showing the street projected by Galeazzo Alessi to run from the palace of Tommaso Marino to the area of the Broletto Nuovo (from AA.VV., Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento, *Genoa 1975).*



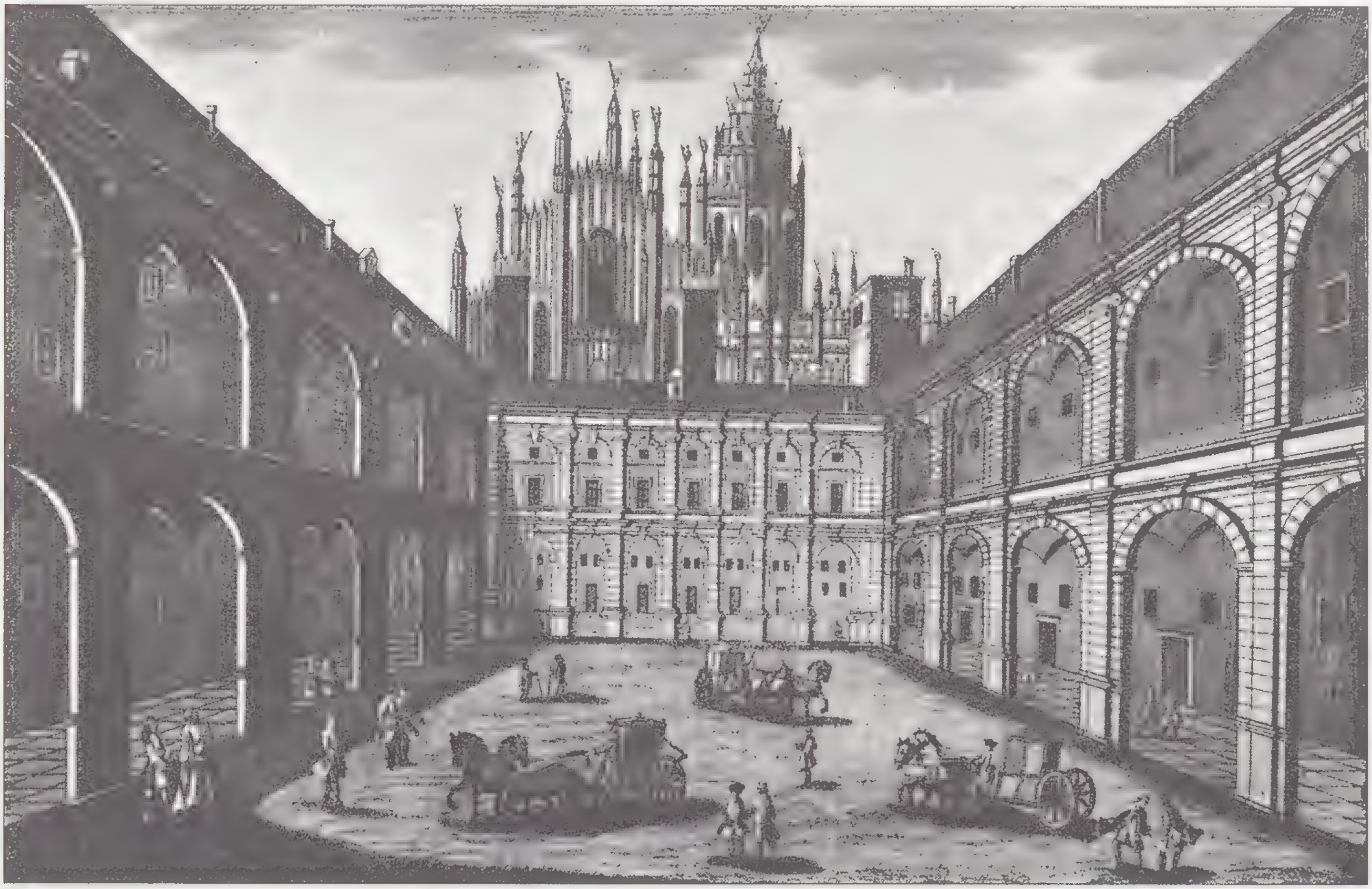
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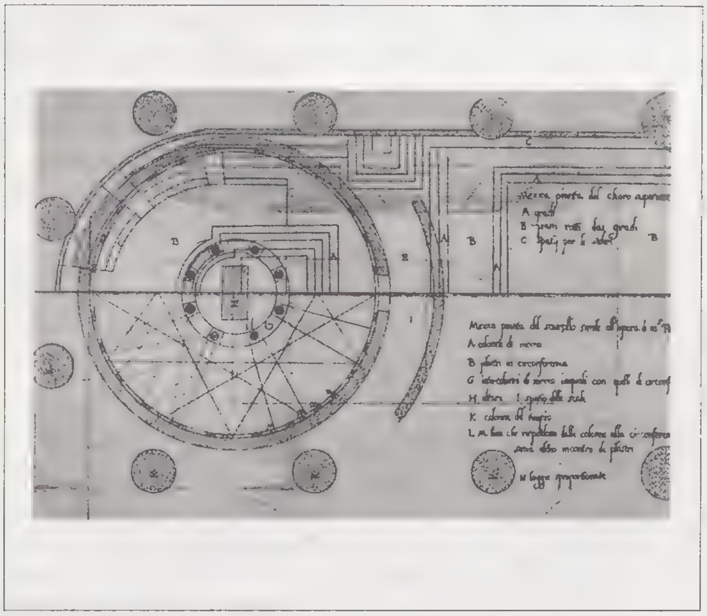
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8. Pellegrino Tibaldi, Cortile della Canonica del Duomo, Milano, 1564: con la costruzione di questo edificio Carlo Borromeo cercò di far sì che la categoria privilegiata dei Canonici conducesse una vita religiosa comunitaria più ordinata. Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.

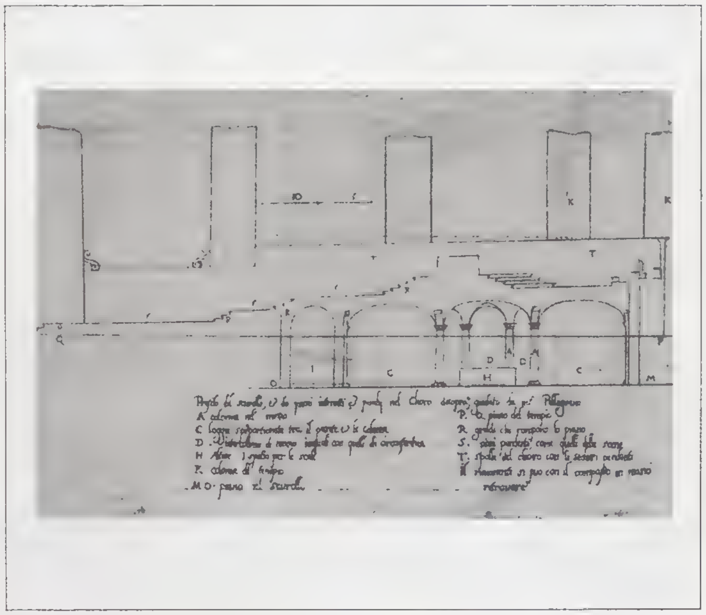
9.10. Martino Bassi, Pianta e sezione del presbiterio del Duomo, Milano, 1572: nella pianta sono visibili i pilastri preesistenti, lo "scurolo" (cripta), una parte del coro soprelevato, ecc. Il progetto di Pellegrino Tibaldi, con le caratteristiche gradinate e piattaforme inclinate, formanti una specie di palcoscenico, è rappresentato così da Martino Bassi nel suo polemico saggio Dispareri in materia di architettura e perspettiva..., *Brescia 1572.*



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8. Pellegrino Tibaldi, Courtyard of the Canons of Milan Cathedral, 1564: Carlo Borromeo's intention in building the residence was to ensure that the privileged order of Canons led a more regular communal religious life. Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.
9.10. Martino Bassi, Plan and section of the presbytery of Milan Cathedral, 1572: the plan shows the existing piers, the "scurolo" or undercroft, part of the raised chancel and other features. Pellegrino Tibaldi's project with its characteristic steps and inclined platforms forming a kind of stage is represented here by Martino Bassi in his polemical essay Dispareri in materia di architettura e perspettiva..., *Brescia 1572.*

xilografia *Parte delle erettioni e fondationi...* (fig. 2). Da un attento esame dei documenti e delle testimonianze contemporanee risulta che Carlo Borromeo, pur avendo avuto una parte primaria nell'insediamento della Compagnia di Gesù a Milano, non può essere considerato il committente di quest'opera, nel senso tradizionale del termine; a quanto pare egli contribuì materialmente alla costruzione solo finanziando una quota della spesa, mettendo a disposizione Tibaldi come progettista e fornendo gran parte della pietra d'Angera occorrente (cavata nei possessi aviti dei Borromeo sulle rive del Lago Maggiore, proprio di fronte ad Arona, sito di un futuro Sacro Monte). Il suo ruolo non può essere quindi equiparato, come si tende talvolta a fare, con quello del Cardinale Alessandro Farnese, che negli stessi anni sostenne per intero il costo della costruzione del Gesù a Roma, imponendo alla Compagnia il sito, l'architetto e il progetto da lui scelti. Anche l'appoggio morale dell'Arcivescovo fu, specialmente nei primi tempi, meno deciso di quanto non avessero sperato i Gesuiti: oggi potremmo dire che egli fornì una sovvenzione iniziale, il "*marketing*" e l'assistenza tecnica al progetto, ma lasciò che i padri cercassero tra i laici i loro finanziatori.
Analogamente, non si può dire che la chiesa, così come fu progettata da Tibaldi in collaborazione con i Gesuiti, rifletta puntualmente i precetti che Carlo avrebbe poi esposto nel suo manuale *Instructionum fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae libri duo*, pubblicato a Milano nel 1577[28].
Nonostante la minuziosità di molte sue prescrizioni, quest'originale raccolta di indicazioni orientative lasciava agli architetti un'ampia libertà d'azione. Tibaldi ne approfittò, modellando un notevole interno in cui l'uso di elementi architettonici "classici" è associato ad alcune innovazioni conseguenti alla riforma: la crociera coperta a cupola nella tradizione di Alberti e del Rinascimento maturo e le volte in parte riprese (come in Santa Maria degli Angeli a Roma) dalle sale termali antiche convivono qui con la navata unica, ad aula, delle chiese e degli oratori riformati e con i confessionali e i palchetti (chiamati più tardi "coretti") incorporati nella struttura[29].
A differenza degli interventi promossi direttamente da Carlo in questo periodo, la costruzione di San Fedele ebbe un'importanza considerevole per l'urbanistica milanese. Nell'ubicare la chiesa Tibaldi riuscì infatti a coinvolgere nel suo progetto il rigido sistema viario della zona e a utilizzare la procedura, sancita verso la metà del secolo, per la conversione dei suoli privati in suolo pubblico. La nuova

This unprecedented set of guidelines, minute as many of its prescriptions were, afforded considerable latitude to the architect. Tibaldi took advantage of that latitude in shaping a striking interior that conflates high-style architectural elements with numerous reformed innovations: the unitary, hall-like nave of reformed churches and oratories, the domed crossing of Albertian and High Renaissance tradition, vaulting based in part on ancient thermal halls (such as that transformed as Santa Maria degli Angeli), as well as built-in confessionals and viewing balconies, later known as coretti[29].
Unlike Borromeo's direct commissions in these years, the San Fedele project was of considerable significance for Milanese urbanism. In siting the church, Tibaldi not only succeeded in engaging the intractable Milanese street pattern of the area, but also exploited the mid-century mechanisms for exchanging private land for public. The new church was aligned north-east/south-west along the north-west side of the isola. *The main façade was to be placed on the small piazza shared by one of the main entrances of Palazzo Marino (figs. 12 and 13)*[30]*. Although this piazza was given its full dimensions only at the end of the century, Tibaldi's design called for nearly doubling its size. This land given over to public domain was credit in a sense for other slivers taken by the nave and north-east end of the church along its north side. Piazza San Fedele was an early, successful use of the mechanisms for property exchange discussed above; Tibaldi's design, as carried out and extended by a later architect working for the Jesuits, created one of the first newly shaped piazzas in central Milan.*
Tibaldi's design of San Fedele formulated another more subtle way of engaging the urban fabric. The north-west flank of the church (fig. 11) is one of the most elaborately articulated of the Renaissance, presenting a double applied order that inventively reflects the interior. In fact, the scansion of the north flank determined that of the main façade. Tibaldi developed the north flank to such an unusual extent because it could be seen from the Corsia del Giardino (now Via Manzoni), one of the principal arteries of the city. The approach concedes the relative permanence of the urban fabric, and instead uses a kind of show façade, a teatro, *to enhance the urban presence of the new structure*[31].
The two approaches to urbanism present in Tibaldi's design of San Fedele — the direct engagement of the setting and its scenographic embellishment — were fundamental for Milanese architecture in the following decades. Most of Francesco Maria Richini's works, such as the façade of the Collegio Elvetico (fig. 14), utilized these methods, often in

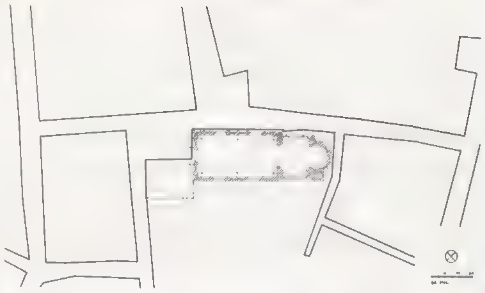
11. Ricostruzione delle aree edificate e del sistema viario esistenti nella zona intorno a San Fedele nel 1567. Tra le due piazzette su cui si affaccia la nuova chiesa gesuitica progettata da Tibaldi (indicata a tratteggio) s'interpone l'angolo dell'incompiuto Palazzo Marino; il duplice orientamento della chiesa, a nordovest e a sudovest, implica l'ampliamento della piazzetta antistante la facciata (disegno dell'autore).
12. Pellegrino Tibaldi, San Fedele, Milano, 1569: fianco nordoccidentale. Tibaldi diede a questo prospetto un'articolazione superficiale particolarmente ricca in quanto esso era visibile dalla vicina Corsia del Giardino, una delle principali arterie della città. La Chiesa ha una duplice valenza urbanistica: la forma della facciata portò all'ampliamento della piazzetta adiacente a Palazzo Marino, mentre il fianco nordoccidentale fu

chiesa fu disposta sul lato nordoccidentale dell'isolato, con l'asse diretto da nordest a sudovest e con la facciata sulla piazzetta su cui si apriva uno degli ingressi principali di Palazzo Marino (figg. 12-13)[30]. La piazza assume le sue dimensioni definitive solo alla fine del Cinquecento, ma il progetto di Tibaldi prevedeva già un raddoppiamento della sua estensione originaria; analogamente divennero di proprietà pubblica altri piccoli lotti, interessati dalla navata e dall'estremità nordorientale della chiesa. L'ampliamento di Piazza San Fedele fu uno dei primi, felici esempi di utilizzazione della procedura di esproprio dei suoli; il progetto di Tibaldi, condotto poi a termine da un altro architetto operante per i Gesuiti, diede origine a una delle prime piazze di forma nuova del centro di Milano. In quest'occasione fu formulata anche un'altra e più raffinata modalità di coinvolgimento del tessuto urbano. Il fianco nordoccidentale della chiesa (fig. 11), con la sua articolazione su due ordini di semicolonne in cui si rispecchia originalmente l'interno, è uno dei prospetti più elaborati del Rinascimento. In effetti, la scansione della facciata fu determinata proprio da quella del prospetto laterale, che Tibaldi arricchì in maniera così insolita perché era visibile da una delle principali arterie cittadine, la Corsia del Giardino (oggi Via Manzoni). Questo modo di procedere, mentre permetteva una certa conservazione del tessuto urbano, accentuava la presenza in esso del nuovo edificio per mezzo di una facciata di mostra, di un "teatro"[31].

I due approcci urbanistici presenti nel progetto di Tibaldi per San Fedele — il coinvolgimento diretto dell'ambiente e il suo arricchimento scenografico — furono di fondamentale importanza per l'architettura milanese dei decenni successivi. Entrambi i metodi furono adoperati, spesso in associazione tra loro, nella maggior parte delle opere di Francesco Maria Richini, ad esempio nel Collegio Elvetico (fig. 14). In quest'edificio sono tipicamente evidenziati sia il rapporto fra l'attività di Carlo Borromeo e l'urbanistica milanese, sia quello fra le attività dei due Borromeo[32]. Il Collegio fu fondato da Carlo per la formazione dei sacerdoti svizzeri destinati a tornare nel Canton Ticino e nei Grigioni per consolidarvi la fede cattolica minacciata dall'avanzata protestante, e come tale figura tra le "*erettioni e fondationi*"; ma la sua sede definitiva, con l'insolita facciata curva, fu eretta solo al tempo di Federico (fig. 14). Le riforme istituzionali del primo Borromeo finirono dunque con l'avere notevoli effetti sul tessuto urbano, ma spesso ciò

combination. In fact the Collegio Elvetico is a project that typifies the relationship between Borromeo's work and Milanese urbanism, generally speaking, and between the work of the two Borromeos specifically[32]*. This institution was founded by Borromeo to train priests who would return to the Swiss cantons of Ticino and Grigioni to reinforce the Catholic faith in the face of Protestant advances. It appears among Borromeo's* erettioni e fondationi. *But the permanent seat, with its unusual curved façade, was not built until the time of Federico (fig. 14). Thus, the institutional reforms of Borromeo were eventually to have considerable effects on the urban fabric, but often in forms which he shaped only indirectly.*
Given the working relationship between Tibaldi and Borromeo in the years between 1565-1577, works such as San Fedele — quasi-independent commissions to Tibaldi — can be considered in some sense approved by Borromeo and, if not direct expressions of his ideas, then creations that expand on and project Borromeo's precepts into areas such as urban design where his ideas were not articulated in writing. Borromeo's institutional reforms led to another change in the way the city was understood as an urban entity. This change was at once broader than the approaches to urban design just described, because it extended to the entire territory of Lombardy, but perhaps less tangible in its effects. In the correspondence cited above the Jesuits had discerned the correlation between the character of the "house" and the character of the city. Borromeo likewise proceeded from the center outwards, from the Cathedral to the other churches of the city and then to the entire territory and Archdiocese. A system of visitationes, *or pastoral visitations, tours of inspection, was instituted so that Borromeo and his vicars could assure themselves that all religious places — churches, oratories, chapels, monasteries, convents, etc. — were arranged and outfitted according to a strict decorum*[33]*. Only occasionally did the recommendations of the visitations touch on issues we might consider urbanistic, but the relentless assertion of control from the center and the indefatigable journeys of Borromeo and his associates to every corner of the Archdiocese between 1565 and 1576 served to build up a comprehension of the linked nature of the ecclesiastical terrain (fig. 15). This sense of connectedness may have had architectural and urbanistic implications later in Borromeo's career, when he became more closely acquainted with the* Sacri Monti.
We can now draw some conclusions about the first dozen

elaborato come prospetto di mostra visibile da maggior distanza. Foto M. Mucchi.
13. Piazza San Fedele a Milano, in una veduta seicentesca di G. Garavaglia: a sinistra il Palazzo eretto da Galeazzo Alessi per Tommaso Marino; la Chiesa gesuitica di San Fedele, progettata da Pellegrino Tibaldi e costruita a cominciare dal 1569, è affiancata dalla Casa professa dei Gesuiti, eretta più tardi (da C. Torre, Il ritratto di Milano, *ivi 1674).*

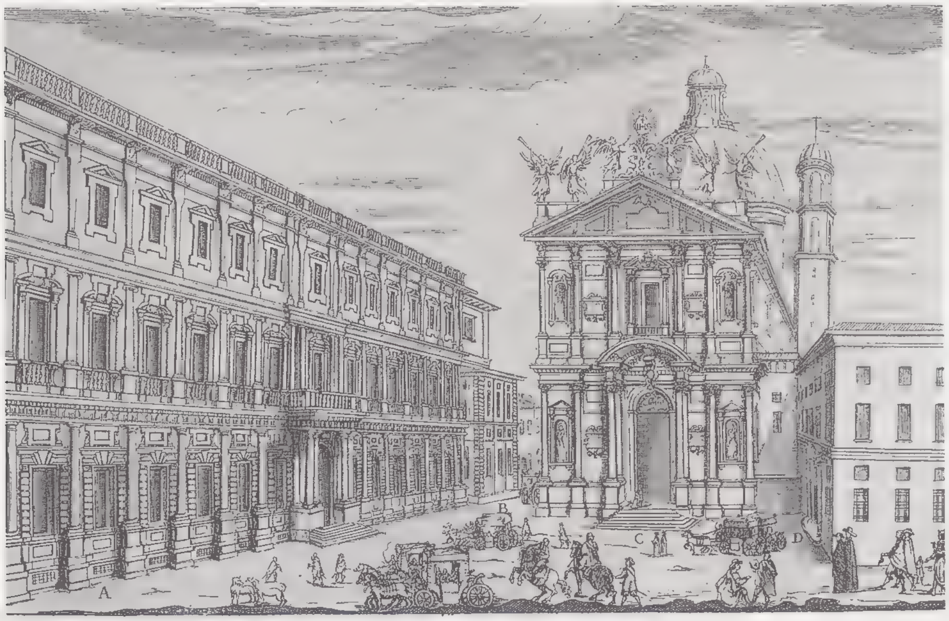


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11. Reconstruction of the buildings and road network around San Fedele in 1567. A corner of the still unfinished Palazzo Marino juts between the two small piazzas Tibaldi's new Jesuit church (shown by dotted lines) faces onto. The dual orientation of the church to the northwest and southwest meant that the small piazza adjoining the façade had to be enlarged (author's plan).
12. Pellegrino Tibaldi, San Fedele, Milan, 1569: northwest flank. Tibaldi gave this flank of the church highly ornamented surfaces because it was visible from the nearby Corsia del Giardino, one of the city's main thoroughfares. In planning terms the church served a dual role: the shape of its façade meant that the small piazza adjoining Palazzo Marino had to be enlarged, and the northwest flank was decorated to make it more impressive when seen from a distance. Photo M. Mucchi.
13. Piazza San Fedele, Milan, in a seventeenth-century view by G. Garavaglia: the palace built by Galeazzo Alessi for Tommaso Marino is on the left; the Jesuit Church of San Fedele designed by Pellegrino Tibaldi and built from 1569 on is flanked by the later Casa Professa of the Jesuits (from C. Torre, Il ritratto di Milano, *Milan 1674).*

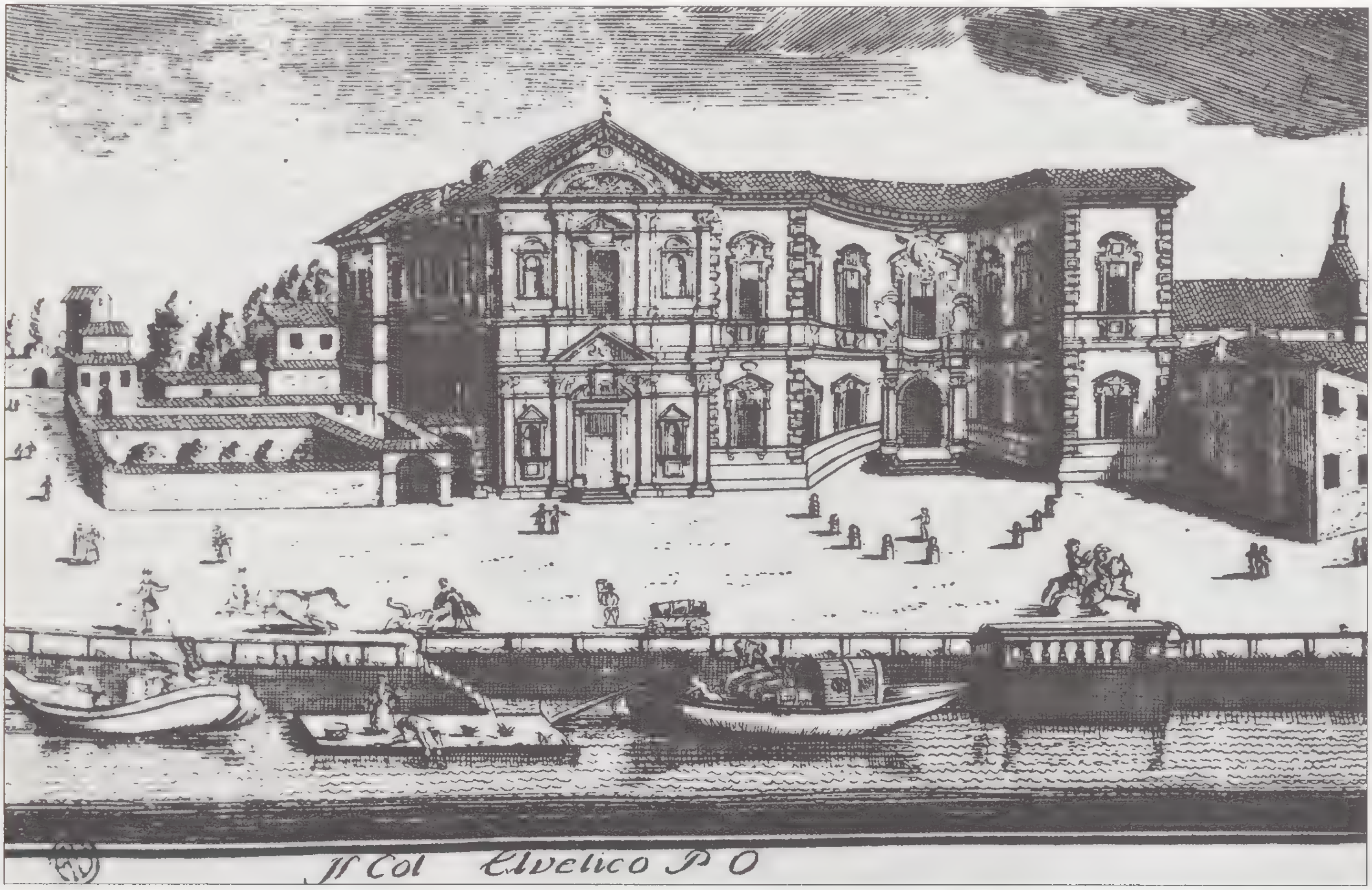


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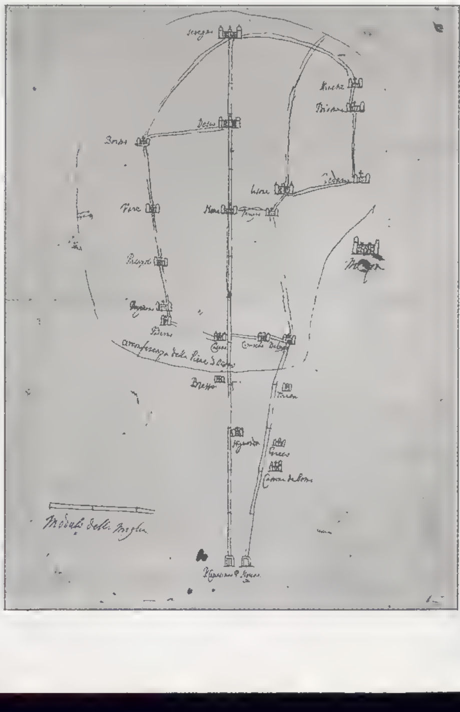


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14. Il Collegio Elvetico a Milano, in una veduta settecentesca di Marc'Antonio dal Re: nella sua storia si concreta il rapporto fra i due arcivescovi Borromeo: l'istituto fu fondato da Carlo e raffigurato tra le sue "erettioni e fondationi", *ma fu Federico a promuovere la costruzione del nuovo edificio, iniziata nel 1608 su progetto di Fabio Mangone, con la facciata di Francesco Maria Richini del 1629. Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.*
15. Schema dell'itinerario della visita pastorale di Carlo Borromeo condotta nel 1579 nella pieve di Desio, poco a nord di Milano. Il percorso ha inizio da Porta Comasina, situata all'estremità inferiore del foglio. Archivio della Curia arcivescovile, Milano.



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14. The Collegio Elvetico, Milan, in an eighteenth-century view by Marc'Antonio dal Re. The College embodies the relationship between the two Borromeo archbishops: it was founded by Carlo and is listed among his "erettioni e fondationi", *but it was Federico who actually sponsored the construction of the building (designed by Fabio Mangone with a 1629 façade by Francesco Maria Richini) which began in 1608.*
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.
15. The itinerary of Carlo Borromeo's pastoral visit to the pieve of Desio just north of Milan in 1579. The route begins at the Porta Comasina at the bottom edge of the sheet.
Archivio della Curia Vescovile, Milan.

avvenne in modi legati solo indirettamente al suo influsso. Dati i rapporti di collaborazione tra Carlo e Tibaldi negli anni tra il 1565 e il 1577, si può dire che anche opere come San Fedele, commesse quasi autonomamente all'architetto, siano state in un certo senso approvate dal Cardinale Arcivescovo e siano, se non espressione diretta delle sue idee, creazioni che estendono i suoi precetti a campi, come quello della progettazione urbanistica, per i quali tali idee non sono esposte in scritti.
Le riforme istituzionali di Carlo portarono a un altro mutamento nel modo di concepire la città come entità urbana. Rispetto ai due approcci urbanistici sopra descritti, tale mutamento fu più vasto, in quanto si estese all'intera Lombardia, ma al tempo stesso ebbe forse effetti meno tangibili. Nel citato resoconto sulla dimora dei Borromeo i Gesuiti avevano scorto una connessione tra il carattere della «casa» e quello della città; analogamente, nella sua azione Carlo procedette dal centro alla periferia, dal Duomo alle altre chiese cittadine e all'intero territorio dell'Archidiocesi. Fu istituito un sistema di *visitationes*, ossia di visite pastorali o giri d'ispezione, che consentisse all'Arcivescovo e ai suoi vicari di accertarsi personalmente che tutte le sedi ecclesiastiche — chiese, oratori, cappelle, monasteri, conventi, ecc. — fossero disposte e attrezzate in conformità di un rigoroso *decorum*[33]. Solo occasionalmente le raccomandazioni fatte durante queste visite riguardarono temi che si possono considerare urbanistici; ma l'inflessibile imposizione di controlli dal centro e l'instancabile dinamismo del presule e dei suoi assistenti, che tra il 1565 e il 1576 raggiunsero ogni angolo dell'Archidiocesi, resero tutti coscienti del carattere interconnesso della sfera d'azione ecclesiastica (fig. 15). Questa consapevolezza avrebbe avuto conseguenze architettoniche e urbanistiche nel periodo successivo, quando Carlo si sarebbe interessato più da vicino dei Sacri Monti.
Possiamo ora trarre alcune conclusioni sul primo periodo (1565-1576) in cui Carlo governò di persona l'Archidiocesi milanese, ponendosi ben presto come fonte di direttive architettoniche e sostituendosi efficacemente ai gruppi innovatori laici. Nel 1577 le sue prescrizioni più minuziose avrebbero trovato una forma definita e un veicolo di diffusione nelle *Instructiones*; nel frattempo Tibaldi, sia in qualità di consulente, sia con l'esempio delle opere eseguite per conto dell'Arcivescovo o in collaborazione con lui, promuoveva una nuova architettura e potenzialmente una nuova urbanistica. La riorganizzazione amministrativa della

years of Borromeo's direct supervision of the Church in Milan and the Archdiocese. He had quickly established himself as the source of architectural directives, effectively superceding the innovative lay groups. His most minute prescriptions were being recorded and would be disseminated in the Instructiones *after 1577 while Tibaldi, in a consultative capacity or by the example of his works for or in association with Borromeo, promoted a new architecture and, potentially, a new urbanism. Borromeo's administrative reorganization of the city and the Archdiocese encouraged the conception of a vast ecclesiastical "system" in which each layman, confraternity, oratory, parish church, monastic house, religious order, sanctuary and Cathedral had its place in the renovation and reformation of religious life. For the most part this emerging territory-wide conception of religious life and religious building remained a reform of institutions and practices. However, the urbanistic innovations of the new architectural projects, such as those described in relation to San Fedele, were capable of shaping the urban setting and of endowing each new or renovated project with a more conspicuous visual impact.*
One could argue that this approach to shaping an immediate surround and scenographically projecting the church or institution by way of its façades, would, when applied to all new and many existing foundations, transform the image of the city. The city would be constituted by an inherited street pattern punctuated by newly shaped piazzette *setting off the vigorous show façades of religious buildings (figs. 3, 5 and 12). This might be termed an episodic urbanism. With large-scale projects affecting streets and civic squares not forthcoming from dormant or uncommitted secular authorities — Spanish and Milanese — the Archbishop's work could not be expected to extend beyond the religious buildings and their immediate setting. Borromeo's reforms and his direct and indirect building projects did, in effect, promote this new episodic structure in Milan. But it remained for Federico Borromeo, in the first decades of the seventeenth century, to realize this vision. By that time the institutions founded or promoted by Borromeo, such as the Collegio Elvetico, the Jesuit Collegio di Brera, the Seminario Maggiore, as well as the churches and residences of the new religious orders, were housed in extensive new structures that not only reshaped the immediate urban setting but presented exuberant show façades to their surround (fig. 5).*

città e dell'Archidiocesi attuata dal Borromeo favorì la formazione di un vasto sistema ecclesiastico in cui ogni componente — dal singolo laico alle confraternite, alle case monastiche e agli ordini, dalle chiese parrocchiali al Duomo, dagli oratorii ai santuari — aveva un suo posto nel rinnovamento e nella riforma della vita religiosa. Per lo più questa nuova concezione su scala territoriale della vita e dell'edilizia ecclesiastiche agì a livello delle istituzioni e della prassi religiosa; tuttavia le innovazioni urbanistiche connesse con gli interventi architettonici, come quelle descritte a proposito di San Fedele, erano in grado di plasmare l'ambiente urbano e di conferire alle nuove fondazioni e alle ristrutturazioni una maggiore incidenza visiva.

Si può pensare che questo modo di rimodellare le immediate adiacenze di un edificio ecclesiastico e di proiettarne scenograficamente le facciate nell'ambiente avrebbe potuto, se applicato a tutte le nuove fabbriche e a molte di quelle preesistenti, trasformare l'immagine della città. In questa concezione urbanistica, che potremmo chiamare "episodica", il vecchio sistema viario sarebbe stato punteggiato di nuove piazzette capaci di mettere in risalto le vigorose facciate di mostra degli edifici ecclesiastici (figg. 3, 5, 12). In una situazione in cui l'inerzia e il disimpegno delle autorità secolari, sia spagnole che milanesi, impedivano l'approntamento di piani su larga scala che influissero sulle strade e sulle piazze pubbliche, non ci si poteva aspettare che l'azione dell'Arcivescovo si estendesse al di là degli edifici ecclesiastici e del loro ambiente immediato. In effetti le riforme di Carlo Borromeo e i suoi interventi edilizi diretti o indiretti promossero a Milano questa nuova struttura urbana episodica; ma sarebbe toccato a Federico, nei primi decenni del Seicento, il compito di realizzarla. Solo allora gli istituti fondati o promossi da Carlo (il Collegio Elvetico, il Collegio gesuitico di Brera, il Seminario Maggiore), come pure le chiese e le sedi dei nuovi ordini religiosi, avrebbero potuto disporre di nuovi e vasti edifici che, oltre a rimodellare l'adiacente scenario urbano, avrebbero inciso sull'ambiente con le loro ricche facciate di mostra (fig. 5).

4. Due svolte: la peste del 1576-78 a Milano e l'esperienza dei Sacri Monti

Come abbiamo visto, le riforme e le iniziative edilizie di Carlo Borromeo implicavano una struttura urbana episodica, in cui la città era concepita come un tessuto storico punteggiato di isole ecclesiastiche privilegiate. Nella riforma organizzativa della Diocesi attuata dall'Arcivescovo queste isole erano collegate col centro, piuttosto che tra loro (fig. 15). La Milano borromaica può essere vista come qualcosa di più e di meno della somma delle sue parti, nel senso che l'attività di Carlo e dei suoi contemporanei può essere interpretata come un insieme di interventi discontinui da cui ebbe origine a poco a poco una nuova concezione della città. D'altro lato, tra gli studiosi si è manifestata di recente la tendenza a vedere i singoli interventi come parti di un più vasto programma esistente fin dall'inizio, volto a trasformare Milano, secondo l'espressione di Gianni Mezzanotte, in una "*città rituale*"[34].

A mio parere, mentre nella prima fase dell'arcivescovato di Carlo (fino al 1577 circa) le sue iniziative edilizie rimasero eventi urbanisticamente isolati, nel restante periodo della sua vita, dal 1577 al 1584, vari fattori e nuove esperienze lo spinsero verso una concezione urbanistica "globale", in cui gli edifici ecclesiastici di ogni genere fossero connessi in un programma d'insieme; tuttavia nell'opera di Carlo anche questa connessione rimase allo stato potenziale, come l'approccio per singole isole e per scenografie urbane sopra descritto. Sarebbe stato piuttosto Federico a tradurre in realtà le implicazioni, di straordinaria ricchezza, contenute nell'attività di suo cugino[35].

Fra i presupposti della più vasta concezione urbanistica di Federico vi sono due innovazioni di Carlo: la divisione della città in sei settori, che presero nome dalle principali porte urbiche (Porta Nuova, Porta Ticinese, ecc.), e la prassi delle visite pastorali[36]. Probabilmente queste novità organizzative favorirono la tendenza a disporre in sequenze coerenti, se non altro nella visione delle autorità ecclesiastiche, i nuovi edifici di carattere religioso. Tuttavia queste sequenze, sia nella città che nel territorio circostante, non erano necessariamente legate a un programma tematico o iconografico, ma erano fondate sulla prossimità fra i vari edifici e sulla loro posizione lungo certi percorsi; analogamente, le sequenze connesse con le visite pastorali non erano intese come programmi narrativi determinati da un ordine prescritto e immutabile. Ad ogni modo questa disposizione in sequenza, che si potrebbe denominare "ordinamento stazionale", era destinata a emergere in altre due iniziative legate all'attività di Carlo Borromeo: quella delle croci devozionali installate durante la peste e quella dei Sacri Monti.

4. Turning points: the plague in Milan, 1576-78, and the experience of the Sacri Monti

Carlo Borromeo's reforms and commissions implied an episodic urban structure. The city would be experienced as an archaic fabric punctuated by privileged ecclesiastic enclaves. Borromeo's reorganization of the diocesan administration bound these foundations to the center, rather than to each other (fig. 15). Borromeo's Milan can seem at once both more and less than the sum of its parts. That is, one could view Borromeo's action and the patronage of his contemporaries as discrete interventions that slowly, incrementally built up a new vision of the city. On the other hand there is a tendency in recent scholarship to interpret the single projects as part of a comprehensive program — present from the outset — for transforming Milan into a "città rituale", *to use Gianni Mezzanotte's phrase*[34].

I would argue, however, that during the early phases of Borromeo's tenure (before about 1577) these foundations remained distinct events within the city, and that during the remainder of Borromeo's life, from 1577 to 1584, several factors and experiences moved Borromeo towards *a new, total urbanistic vision that saw all types of foundations and structures bound in a comprehensive program, but that this linkage was, like the previously described approach to urban enclaves and urban scenography, only* potential *in Carlo Borromeo's work. Federico Borromeo would realize the extraordinarily rich implications of his cousin's work*[35].

Among the preconditions for the comprehensive urban vision of Federico were the division of the city by Carlo into six sectors named for a major gate (Porta Nuova, Porta Ticinese, etc.) and the practice of pastoral visitations[36]. *Such organizational changes may have fostered the experience of the religious foundations — by the ecclesiastical authorities, at any rate — in linked series. However, these series, whether within the walls or in the Milanese territory, were based on proximity and route, not necessarily on a thematic or iconographic program. Neither were the series of foundations linked by a pastoral visitation experienced as a sequential program, a narrative built up by a prescribed and unalterable order. However, such an experience, which we might calls stational ordering, was to emerge in two other projects in which Carlo Borromeo had a part.*

5. The plague and Borromeo's crosses: the map of charitas

The plague that ravaged northern Italy from 1576 until the early months of 1578 claimed thousands of lives in Milan (fig. 16). The notable network of hospitals and charitable institutions, which Borromeo had done much to build up in order to care for the curable and indigent, was overwhelmed by the numbers of sick soon after the scourge arrived in Milan[37]. *The hospital of last resort, a place to confine the plague-ridden before their inevitable death, was the quattrocento Lazzaretto di San Gregorio, which lay just outside the Porta Orientale (figs. 17 and 18)*[38]. *Borromeo made an extraordinary effort to minister to the ill during the plague, even at this dark epicenter of suffering. He and others celebrated mass in the midst of the vast precinct and brought the sacrament to those languishing along its terrible perimeter. For this purpose Borromeo had made use of a pavilion-like structure, open on all sides, so that the suffering could view the celebration. Following the cessation of the plague Borromeo commissioned Tibaldi to design the permanent open pavilion over the altar that survives today as the church of San Carlo al Lazzaretto (fig. 17)*[39].

This arrangement of a centrally placed structure activating a surrounding area of devotion was a method of organization that Borromeo also created in the city during the plague. In an effort to slow the contagion the populace had been confined to their houses, forbidden by the authorities to assemble in common places, such as churches. In an effort to circumvent this regulation and to continue to minister to his ravaged flock, Borromeo had temporary altars set up in the major intersections (called carrobbi *by the Milanese) of the city (figs. 19 and 21)*[40]. *In this way much of the population could view the celebration of the eucharist from the windows and doors of their houses. After the plague had receded, Borromeo commissioned a series of urban markers to commemorate the temporary altars and crosses. Most of these nineteen monuments consisted of a marble or granite plinth and a monolithic granite column topped by a wooden cross (fig. 20).*

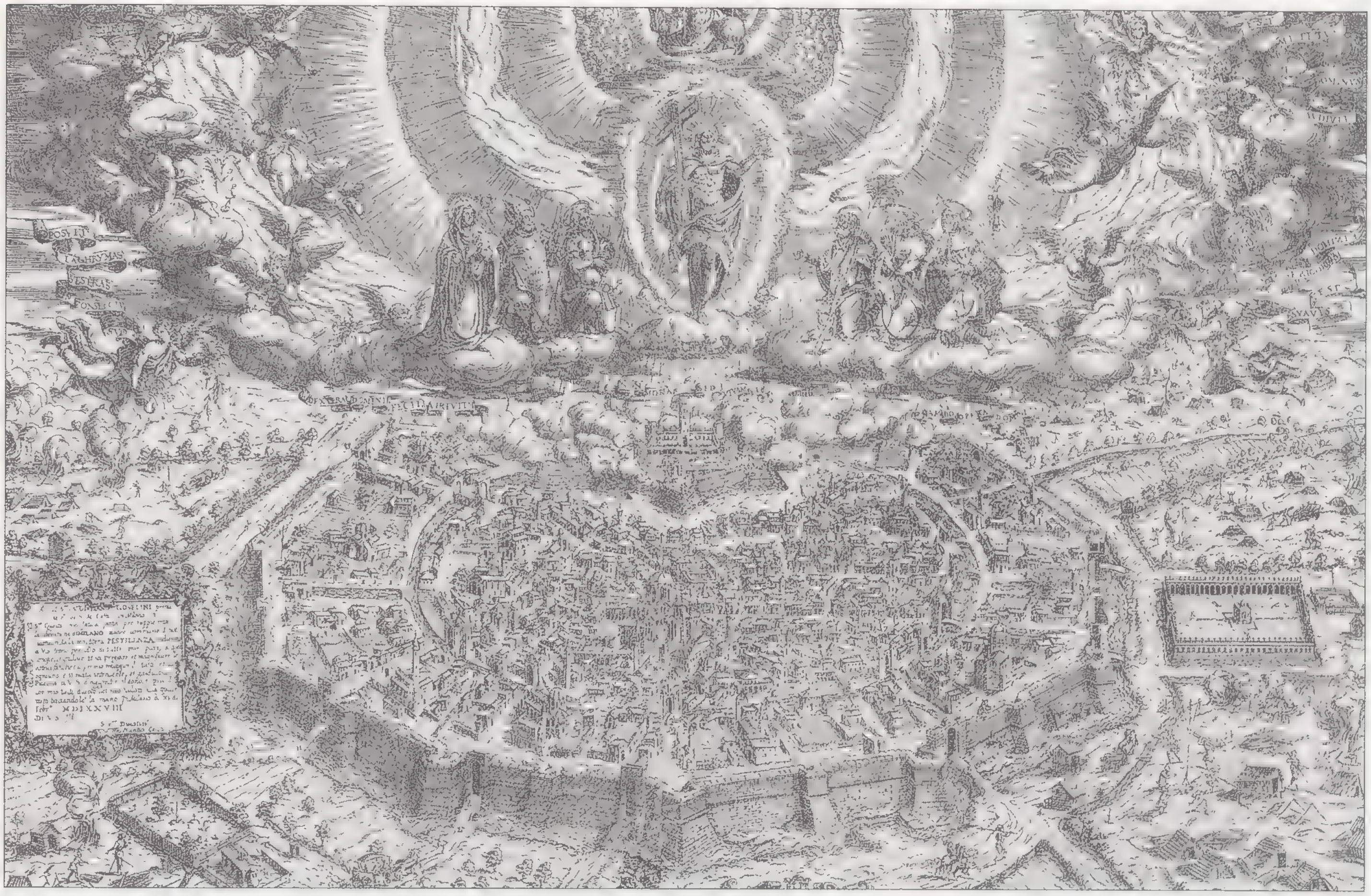
In some sense this project might be considered a revival of the medieval practice of placing crosses and other shrines at important intersections. Borromeo's crosses, however, all commemorated the same event and were reinforced as focal points of their neighborhood by his institution of confraternities for their care. These confraternities served to continue the spirit of community forged by the adversity

5. La peste e le croci devozionali: i luoghi della *charitas*
L'epidemia che devastò l'Italia settentrionale dal 1576 ai primi mesi del 1578 fece migliaia di vittime a Milano (fig. 16). Poco dopo l'inizio del contagio il notevole complesso di ospedali e di istituzioni caritative che Carlo Borromeo aveva istituito per l'assistenza ai malati e agli indigenti fu messo in crisi dal gran numero di ricoverati[37]. L'ospedale degli incurabili, dove gli appestati venivano isolati in attesa dell'inevitabile fine, era il quattrocentesco Lazzaretto di San Gregorio, situato subito fuori Porta Orientale (figg. 17-18)[38]. L'Arcivescovo si prodigò nel confortare i malati anche in questo sinistro epicentro di sofferenza, alternandosi con altri sacerdoti nel celebrare la messa nel mezzo del vasto recinto e nel recare i sacramenti a coloro che languivano alla sua periferia: il sacrificio eucaristico avveniva in una specie di padiglione aperto su tutti i lati, in modo che i malati potessero assistervi da lontano. Dopo la fine dell'epidemia Carlo Borromeo incaricò Tibaldi di innalzare al disopra dell'altare un padiglione permanente aperto, che sopravvive tuttora nella Chiesa di San Carlo al Lazzaretto (fig. 17)[39]. Durante la pestilenza questo criterio di erigere in posizione centrale una struttura capace di attivare la devozione nell'area circostante fu adottato da Carlo anche nel centro cittadino. Nel tentativo di rallentare il contagio, le autorità avevano confinato gli abitanti nelle loro case, vietando ogni riunione nei luoghi pubblici, comprese le chiese. Per poter continuare a soccorrere il suo gregge così gravemente colpito, l'Arcivescovo fece costruire nei più importanti crocicchi (*carrobbi*) della città altari provvisori sormontati da croci (figg. 19-21)[40]: in tal modo gran parte della popolazione poteva assistere alla messa dalle finestre e dalle porte delle case. Terminata l'epidemia, Carlo ordinò che a ricordo di questi altari fosse eretta una serie di diciannove monumenti, che assunsero anche il valore di punti di riferimento urbanistici; essi consistevano per lo più in un basamento di marmo o di granito e in una colonna monolitica di granito sovrastata da una croce di legno (fig. 20). In un certo senso questo provvedimento riprendeva l'usanza medievale di collocare croci o edicole sacre nei crocevia più importanti; ma i monumenti eretti da Borromeo erano tutti commemorativi dello stesso evento, e il loro carattere di punto focale di un vicinato era rafforzato dall'istituzione, da lui voluta, di confraternite che ne avessero cura. Monumenti e confraternite sarebbero serviti a ricordare e a perpetuare lo spirito comunitario suscitato dalle avversità al tempo dell'epidemia.

of the plague and the crosses were reminiscent of that commonality as well.
Most of the crosses made permanent by Borromeo shared with a prominent church of the neighborhood the dedication to a patron saint. However, Federico Borromeo introduced a number of innovations to the project of Carlo's crosses, innovations that illustrate the relationship between their two visions of Milan. Federico not only increased the number of crosses, bringing crosses to other parts of the city and creating a more even distribution of monuments, but he added a stational dedication to that of the locally prominent saint[41]*. That is, each cross now corresponded to a station of Christ's passion. What had been a group of similar monuments became a series. In Carlo's scheme the crosses had been determined by local needs and conditions and served as focal points of a centripetal devotion on the scale of the neighborhood. In Federico's scheme these same monuments could also be experienced in a prescribed sequence, the narrative of the passion; this series involved the entire area of the city. During the plague Carlo's celebration of the mass was a localized event; Federico led processions from cross to cross, terminating at the Cathedral. This is the passage from an episodic to a stational conception. One could say that latent in Carlo's organization of the plague crosses was the principle of a stational urbanism, but this concatenation in narrative sequence was accomplished only much later by Federico.*
The linked, sequential experience of monuments and places was not unknown in Carlo's time, but its elaboration on an urban scale may not yet have been carried out[42]*. The organizational schema and iconographic program of the* Sacri Monti, *however, could have provided Carlo and Federico with a quasi-urban model for their visions of Milan.*

6. Carlo Borromeo, the* Sacri Monti *and stational urbanism
During the sixteenth century the Archdiocese of Milan included within its territory the town of Varallo and the Sacro Monte *begun there in the last decades of the fifteenth century (figs. 22 to 31). The complicated intentions of the* Sacro Monte*'s founder, the Franciscan Bernardino Caimi, and its promoters in the region of Varallo revolved around the concept of creating a place that would replicate in some fashion the sites of the Holy Land, especially Jerusalem*[43]*. This analogous environment was intended as a destination of pilgrimage, perhaps as an alternative to the increasingly*

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16. Nunzio Galiti, Pianta prospettica di Milano, 1578, eseguita per celebrare la liberazione della città dalla pestilenza del 1576-78. Si notino in primo piano i numerosi nuovi cimiteri fuori le mura e a destra il Lazzaretto principale, costruito nel Quattrocento. Il Lazzaretto, a pianta pressoché quadrata, era isolato mediante un fossato pieno d'acqua. Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.

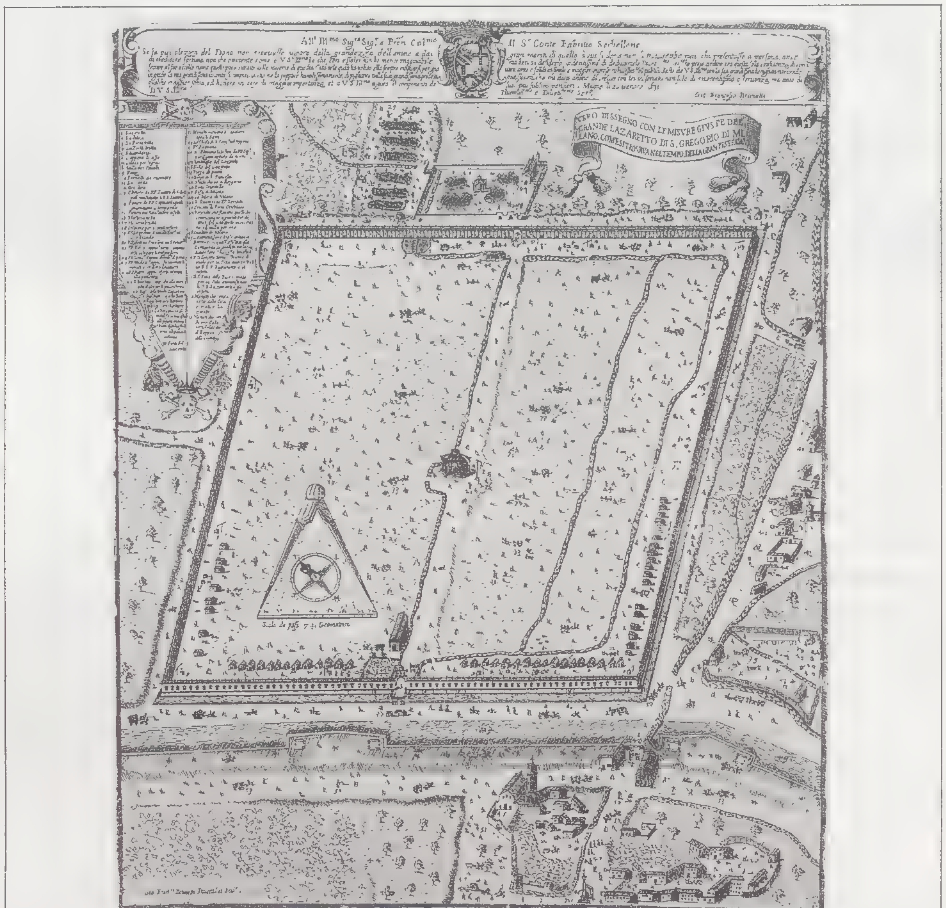
16. Nunzio Galiti, Perspective plan of Milan, 1578, drawn to celebrate the deliverance of the city from the plague of 1576-78. Note the numerous new cemeteries outside the city walls in the foreground and, on the right, the principal plague hospital, the Lazzaretto built in the fifteenth century. The almost perfectly square Lazzaretto was isolated by a wet moat.
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.

17. *Pellegrino Tibaldi, San Carlo al Lazzaretto (originariamente dedicata a San Gregorio), 1578 c.: pianta e alzato della cappella eretta nel Lazzaretto di Milano (copia dell'originale). Quest'edificio ottagonale aperto fu progettato in modo che i degenti potessero assistere da lontano alla celebrazione eucaristica. Archivio storico civico, Raccolta Bianconi, III, 36, Milano.*
18. *Giovanni Francesco Brunetti, Veduta del Lazzaretto di San Gregorio, Milano, 1631. Dopo la cessazione dell'epidemia all'inizio del 1578, Carlo Borromeo incaricò Pellegrino Tibaldi di progettare un padiglione permanente con altare da erigere al centro del Lazzaretto in sostituzione della costruzione provvisoria visibile nella veduta di Galiti. Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.*

17. *Pellegrino Tibaldi, San Carlo al Lazzaretto, Milan (originally dedicated to St. Gregory), around 1578: plan and elevation of the chapel built inside the Lazzaretto (original's copy). The open octagonal building was designed to allow the bedridden to assist at Holy Communion from a distance. Bianconi Collection, III, 36, Archivio Storico Civico, Milan.*
18. *Giovanni Francesco Brunetti, View of the Lazzaretto di San Gregorio, Milan, 1631. When the plague died away early in 1578, Carlo Borromeo commissioned Pellegrino Tibaldi to design a permanent pavilion with an altar for the centre of the Lazzaretto to replace the temporary construction shown in Galiti's view. Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.*



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Molte di queste croci permanenti erano dedicate al santo patrono di una chiesa importante del vicinato; a quest'associazione Federico Borromeo ne affiancò un'altra, nel quadro di una serie di innovazioni all'iniziativa di Carlo che possono servire a chiarire il rapporto fra le rispettive concezioni della città. Oltre ad accrescere il numero delle croci, impiantandone in nuove zone e distribuendole in modo più uniforme, Federico ne dedicò quattordici alle varie stazioni della *Via Crucis*[41]: da un gruppo di monumenti consimili si passò così a una sequenza di monumenti. Mentre nel programma di Carlo le croci erano sorte in funzione di esigenze e di condizioni locali ed erano servite come punti focali di una devozione "centripeta", a scala di vicinato, nel programma di Federico gli stessi monumenti potevano essere visti secondo una sequenza preordinata, come un racconto della Passione, e coinvolgevano l'intera area urbana. Durante la pestilenza la celebrazione della messa da parte di Carlo era stata un evento localizzato; Federico invece guidava le processioni da una croce all'altra, avendo come meta finale il Duomo. Queste differenze segnano il passaggio da una concezione episodica a una stazionale; si può dire che il principio urbanistico stazionale fosse già latente nella disposizione delle croci voluta da Carlo, ma che la loro concatenazione in una sequenza narrativa sia stata attuata solo molto tempo dopo da Federico.
La connessione di più monumenti e luoghi in una sequenza non era ignota ai tempi del primo Borromeo, ma forse non era ancora possibile attuarne un'elaborazione su scala urbana[42]; fu probabilmente il programma organizzativo e iconografico dei Sacri Monti a fornire a Carlo e poi a Federico un modello quasi-urbano con cui concepire la città.

6. Carlo Borromeo, i Sacri Monti e l'urbanistica stazionale

Nel Cinquecento l'Archidiocesi di Milano includeva nel suo territorio la cittadina di Varallo e il Sacro Monte sorto nei suoi pressi a cominciare dagli ultimi decenni del Quattrocento (figg. 22-31). Le complesse intenzioni del fondatore del Monte, il francescano Bernardino Caimi, e dei promotori dell'iniziativa nella zona di Varallo erano centrate sull'idea di creare un sito che riproducesse in qualche modo i Luoghi Santi e in particolare Gerusalemme[43]. Questo sito sarebbe stato meta di pellegrinaggi, forse in alternativa al viaggio in Terrasanta, divenuto sempre più difficoltoso.

difficult journey to the true Holy Land. In addition to the supposed similarity of the topography — a similarity which is difficult for the modern observer to grasp — the Sacro Monte *of Varallo presented life-size sculptural tableaux of striking realism, dedicated to the major events in the life of Christ*[44]. *The early structures, built in the time of Caimi and in the first decades of the sixteenth century, are in fact clusters of rooms representing towns and places, such as Bethlehem, Nazareth, Mount Sion, Mount Tabor and the sites in and around Jerusalem that saw the events of Christ's passion. Each room contains the sculptural staging of one event. In addition to the direct route of the* Via Dolorosa *from the entrance of the* Sacro Monte *to the summit of the hill there must have been paths between each clustered structure. This rather loose organization sufficed until the middle of the sixteenth century when the Adda family and others initiated a replanning of the site and a new phase of building. Galeazzo Alessi seems to have been the principle architect of this new phase and the so-called* Libro dei Misteri *from about 1565 to 1569 in the Biblioteca Civica in Varallo may record his designs*[45]. *The complex was to be enriched in several ways. First, the route from bottom to top was formalized into a series of switchbacks and made to conform to the narrative sequence of the sacred history. Numerous chapels were added or projected to be added along this path. Most of the new structures were to be dedicated to a single event from Christ's life and to consist of a single space for the sculptural tableau. In addition, there were planned a number of chapels to depict Old Testament prefigurations of Christ and the Church, such as Adam and Eve. These stations filled out and completed as a narrative what had earlier been a region in miniature. A topographically analogous environment was transformed into a kind of spatially articulated narrative.*
It is difficult to know if Borromeo appreciated the urban implications of this transformation. He visited the Sacro Monte *of Varallo several times beginning in 1578 and was probably aware of the changing organizational structure. In Alessi's scheme the summit of the hill — the chapels of the passion representing Jerusalem itself — would have become in effect a single structure, with the chapels arrayed around a central open space (fig. 23). This culmination of the series and reorganization of the summit, however, was not carried out in full, due in part to the intervention of the vigilant Carlo Borromeo. He intervened most decisively, however, in the design of the chapels, concerned — it seems — that the*

19. Giovan Battista Crespi detto il Cerano, Erezione delle Croci in Milano, *1603: Carlo Borromeo innalza croci nei carrobbi di Milano durante la pestilenza del 1576-78. Le croci e gli altari eretti in quegli anni furono poi sostituiti da strutture in pietra. Duomo, Milano.*

20. Marco Antonio Barateri, La Gran Città di Milano, *1629: dettaglio con una croce commemorativa su una colonna di granito con basamento marmoreo nel carrobbio di San Michele alla Chiusa, quartiere di Porta Ticinese. Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.*

21. Sulla carta di Marco Antonio Barateri, La Gran Città di Milano, *1629, le principali iniziative di Carlo Borromeo: i circoletti indicano le chiese e le case religiose; i quadratini i seminari e le scuole; il triangolo l'ospedale; le crocette le croci commemorative e le sedi delle relative*

Oltre a questa presunta somiglianza topografica — difficile da cogliere per l'osservatore moderno — il Sacro Monte di Varallo offriva la vista di numerosi gruppi scultorei in grandezza naturale, di impressionante realismo, illustranti i principali eventi della vita di Cristo[44]. Gli edifici più antichi, eretti al tempo di Caimi e nei primi decenni del Cinquecento, erano formati da gruppi di stanze identificati con località come Betlemme, Nazaret, il Monte Sion o il Monte Tabor e con i luoghi di Gerusalemme e dintorni in cui si svolse la Passione: ogni stanza conteneva la messa in scena plastica di un singolo evento. In aggiunta alla strada che dall'ingresso al Sacro Monte conduceva direttamente alla sommità del colle (*Via Dolorosa*) è probabile che vi fossero strade secondarie colleganti fra loro i vari gruppi di stanze.
Questa disposizione relativamente dispersa sembrò accettabile fino a quando, verso la metà del Cinquecento, la famiglia Adda intraprese insieme ad altri una ristrutturazione del sito e la costruzione di nuovi edifici. L'architetto ispiratore di questa seconda fase fu a quanto pare Galeazzo Alessi, i cui progetti sono forse riportati in un manoscritto della Biblioteca Civica di Varallo, il cosiddetto *Libro dei Misteri* del 1565-69 circa[45]. Il complesso fu arricchito in vario modo, a cominciare dal percorso verso la sommità del colle, che assunse la forma di una serie di rampe tortuose e fu adattato alla sequenza narrativa della storia sacra. Lungo questo percorso furono aggiunte numerose cappelle (altre rimasero allo stato di progetto), dedicate per lo più a singoli eventi della vita di Cristo e formate da un unico vano contenente il gruppo scultoreo; furono anche progettate alcune cappelle dedicate a prefigurazioni veterotestamentarie di Cristo e della Chiesa, come Adamo ed Eva. Queste "stazioni" ampliavano e completavano quella che era stata la riproduzione in miniatura di un territorio, conferendole il carattere di un ciclo narrativo: un ambiente modellato su un'analogia topografica veniva trasformato in uno spazio in cui si articolava un racconto.
È difficile stabilire se Carlo Borromeo abbia colto le implicazioni urbanistiche di questa trasformazione: a cominciare dal 1578 egli visitò più volte il Sacro Monte, e probabilmente si rese conto del mutamento intervenuto nella sua struttura. Nel progetto di Alessi le cappelle della Passione, situate sulla sommità del colle e rappresentanti Gerusalemme, avrebbero dovuto fondersi in un unico edificio, con cappelle disposte tutt'intorno a uno spazio

staging and presentation of the tableaux were altering the viewing experience of the pilgrim (fig. 27)[46]. Borromeo also wanted to preserve the experience of internal pilgrimage. The polychrome sculptural groups were particularly efficacious visual demonstrations of sacred history and, if properly supervised, of Catholic dogma for the unlettered. Borromeo sought to direct work at Varallo from afar after his initial visit. He chose to stop there during the last days of his life, even praying at the chapels of the Sacro Monte *during a nocturnal pilgrimage. Borromeo's ascetic excesses had worn him down and after leaving Varallo and stopping briefly at Arona, his birthplace, the future saint died in Milan on 3 November 1584.*
Federico Borromeo continued Carlo's interest in Varallo and promoted several other Sacri Monti. *In these new foundations were codified several important modifications begun in Carlo's time. First, the initial purpose of the* Sacri Monti *as destinations of Italian internal pilgrimage was expanded to include a counter-reformatory dimension directed at the Protestantism that had made inroads in the Swiss valleys[47]. Second, several* Sacri Monti *confirmed the shift, begun at Varallo in the 1560s, from the representation of an analogous topography, a distant territory in miniature, to a stational sequence following a strict historical chronology. This narravive, historical approach was in turn modified in at least one case into a kind of metahistorical presentation of Christian truths.*
The Sacro Monte *at Orta (1591 ff.) used the narrative means of Varallo to present scenes from the life of Saint of Francis Assisi in a meandering series of twenty chapels. This extension of the subject of* Sacri Monti *to the commemoration of post-scriptural personages was exploited by Federico Borromeo in the foundation of the* Sacro Monte *at Arona that was to be dedicated to Carlo Borromeo himself, canonized in 1610. Arona was to be the only* Sacro Monte *presenting the acts and miracles of a "modern" figure.*
The large chapels of simple massing possess a severity and a gravitas *lacking at the other* Sacri Monti. *The few chapels that were built on the hill above Arona near the colossal sculptural likeness of Carlo Borromeo seem to have incorporated some distinctive forms from early Christian architecture. Presumably these chapels would have been linked by a clear path leading the pious visitors through the narrative of Carlo's life and works.*
The assertion of a unitary path could not have become more thoroughly monumentalized than at Varese, where the Sacro

confraternite (da L. Gambi e M.C. Gozzoli, Milano, *Bari 1982).*

19. Giovan Battista Crespi ("Il Cerano"), Erezione delle Croci in Milano, *1603: Carlo Borromeo had crosses built at Milan's crossroads during the plague of 1576-78. The crosses and altars built during the period were later replaced by stone constructions.*
Duomo, Milan.

20. Marco Antonio Barateri, La Gran Città di Milano, *1629: detail showing a commemorative cross on a granite column and marble plinth at the carrobbio of San Michele alla Chiusa (St. Michael of the Lock) in the area around Porta Ticinese.*
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.



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Preceding page:
21. On Marco Antonio Barateri's map, La Gran Città di Milano, *1629, showing Carlo Borromeo's most important architectural works: the circles indicate churches and religious houses; the squares seminars and schools; the triangle the hospital; and the small crosses the commemorative crosses and the homes of their respective confraternities (from L. Gambi and M.C. Gozzoli,* Milano, *Bari 1982).*

scoperto (fig. 23); ma questa riorganizzazione della zona culminante del complesso non fu portata a termine, anche per l'intervento del sempre vigile Arcivescovo. Egli interferì in modo determinante nella progettazione delle cappelle, preoccupato a quanto pare che la messa in scena e la presentazione dei gruppi plastici potessero alterare l'esperienza visiva dei pellegrini (fig. 27)[46]. Carlo Borromeo desiderava anche salvaguardare l'esperienza del pellegrinaggio interiore: i gruppi scultorei policromi presentavano la storia sacra con particolare efficacia visiva e potevano servire, con un'adeguata supervisione, a illustrare agli illetterati il dogma cattolico. Dopo una prima visita, Carlo cercò di guidare da lontano l'attività edilizia a Varallo; e qui volle fermarsi negli ultimi giorni della sua vita, recandosi anche a pregare nelle cappelle del Sacro Monte durante un pellegrinaggio notturno. Partito da Varallo, dopo una breve sosta nella nativa Arona, il futuro santo, logorato dalle assidue pratiche ascetiche, si spense a Milano il 3 novembre 1584.
L'interesse di Carlo per il Sacro Monte di Varallo fu ereditato da Federico, che promosse la formazione di vari complessi analoghi in cui furono codificate alcune importanti modifiche avviate al tempo di Carlo. Innanzi tutto, alla funzione originaria del Sacro Monte come meta di pellegrinaggi provenienti dalle regioni italiane fu affiancata, nello spirito della Controriforma, la lotta contro le infiltrazioni protestanti nelle vallate svizzere[47]. In secondo luogo, in alcuni dei nuovi complessi trovò conferma il passaggio, iniziatosi a Varallo dopo il 1560, da un'analogia topografica (la rappresentazione in miniatura di un lontano territorio) a una sequenza stazionale vincolata a una rigorosa cronologia. Quest'impostazione storico-narrativa fu a sua volta modificata, in almeno un caso, in una specie di rappresentazione metastorica delle verità cristiane.
Nel Sacro Monte di Orta (1591 sgg.) i mezzi narrativi di Varallo furono adoperati per presentare, in una serie di venti cappelle disposte lungo un percorso tortuoso, episodi della vita di San Francesco d'Assisi. Quest'ampliamento della funzione dei Sacri Monti alla commemorazione di eventi postbiblici fu ripreso da Federico nella fondazione del complesso di Arona, da lui dedicato allo stesso Carlo Borromeo, canonizzato nel 1610. In questo Sacro Monte — il primo e unico in cui fossero presentati fatti e miracoli di un personaggio contemporaneo — le grandi cappelle, di semplice volumetria, sono di un'austerità e di una *gravitas* ignote agli altri complessi; le poche cappelle erette sul colle che sovrasta Arona, presso la statua colossale di San Carlo, hanno forme che ricordano quelle tipiche dell'architettura paleocristiana. È probabile che questi edifici fossero collegati da un percorso ben definito, destinato a guidare il pio visitatore lungo il racconto della vita e delle opere del Santo.
L'adozione di un percorso unitario trovò la sua espressione più monumentale nel Sacro Monte di Varese, fondato da un frate cappuccino e costruito a cominciare dal 1605 su progetto dell'architetto milanese Giuseppe Bernasconi[48]. In esso una larga rampa su terrapieno, costituente già di per sé una struttura di notevole importanza, non consente alcuna deviazione dal percorso prefissato. Le quindici cappelle ospitano figurazioni plastiche dei misteri del Rosario; si dice che le distanze tra le varie cappelle lungo la rampa siano determinate dal tempo occorrente ai pellegrini per recitare una posta di orazioni. La successione dei misteri, divisi in tre gruppi (gaudiosi, dolorosi e gloriosi), segue naturalmente la cronologia della vita di Cristo; ma la novità del complesso di Varese consiste nel risalto che in esso assume, in contrapposto a una rappresentazione puramente narrativa, la scelta su basi teologiche dei temi di meditazione[49].
Siamo qui molto lontani dalla rievocazione della Terrasanta concepita a Varallo nel Quattrocento. Al tempo di Federico (che morì nel 1631) si affermò definitivamente la disposizione stazionale dei Sacri Monti emersa a Varallo al tempo di Carlo: l'esatta definizione del percorso, l'invariabilità della sequenza e il controllo dell'esperienza visiva insiti nell'organizzazione stazionale si accordavano bene con l'intento controriformistico di stabilire le condizioni e i contenuti della vita religiosa. Abbiamo visto come Federico abbia modificato il carattere disperso ed episodico delle croci erette da Carlo durante la peste ordinandole in una sequenza coerente. È probabile che nell'applicare questa disposizione nell'ambiente urbano egli si sia ispirato all'organizzazione dei Sacri Monti, e in particolare di quello di Varallo: in effetti, anche nella forma stazionale assunta nel tardo Cinquecento questo complesso conservava la distribuzione dispersa ed episodica degli edifici originali, composti ciascuno di più stanze e corrispondenti ai luoghi più notevoli della Terrasanta.
Si può dire che al tempo di Federico il Sacro Monte rappresentasse in un certo senso la corografia ideale degli interventi dei Borromeo a Milano. Le nuove fabbriche ecclesiastiche che i due arcivescovi avevano assiduamente promosso, influendo anche sulla loro forma architettonica,

Monte, *founded by a Capuchin friar, was built from 1605 ff. according to the designs of the Milanese architect Giuseppe Bernasconi*[48]. *There a broad, built-up ramp — a major construction in itself — allows no deviation from the set path. The fifteen chapels house sculptural representations of the Mysteries of the Rosary. It is said that the distances along the ramp between each chapel are determined by the time needed for a pilgrim to say a decade of the Rosary. The progression of the three groups of five mysteries, the Joyful, the Sorrowful and the Glorious Mysteries, is of course chronological with respect to Christ's life, but the novelty of Varese consists of its emphasis on the theological selection of subject matter for meditation, as opposed to a merely narrative presentation*[49].

We are a long way from the re-presentation of the Holy Land conceived at Varallo in the fifteenth century. During Federico's lifetime — he died in 1631 — the stational ordering of the Sacri Monti *that had begun to emerge at Varallo during Carlo's time was definitively established. The clarity of route, immutability of sequence, and control of the viewing experience inherent in stational organization accorded well with the counter-reformatory effort to determine the conditions and content of religious life. We have seen how Federico transformed the loose, episodic nature of Carlo's plague crosses into a coherent stational sequence. The* Sacri Monti, *especially Varallo, may have provided Federico with a model of such stational ordering to be applied in an urban setting. In its late sixteenth-century stational form Varallo preserved the looser, episodic structure of the earlier clustered buildings standing for major sites of the Holy Land.*

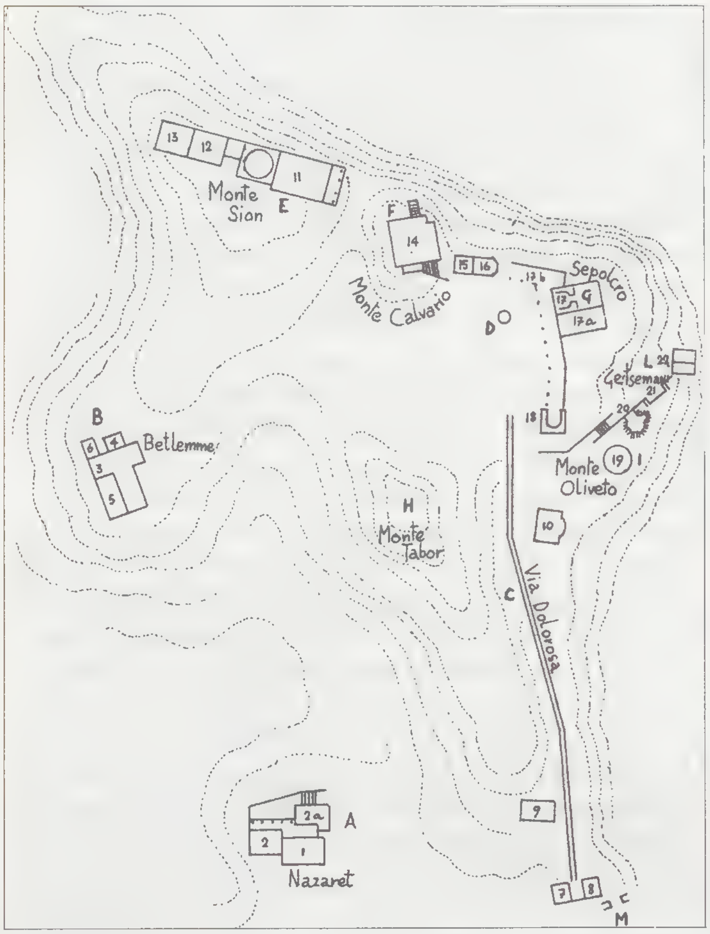
One could suggest that in some sense the Sacro Monte *represented the mental map of Borromean interventions in Milan by the time of Federico. The Borromeo archbishops had assiduously promoted and shaped the religious foundations of Milan. These were dispersed as locally significant show pieces, hierarchically graded institutions, and stationally linked crosses (fig. 21). If one were to imagine the experience of these projects — both the episodic and the interconnected — without the intervening civic structures and residential urban fabric, it would resemble in more than a passing way the complex organization of the* Sacro Monte *of Varallo where the original group of episodes was evident within the newer, comprehensive stational schema.*

"Borromean" Milan was organized as a religious cityscape in a way that was analogous to the topography of pilgrimage in the Sacro Monte.

The archbishops of Milan were forced to cultivate programmatic and conceptual links between their works in the intractable urban fabric of the city and in the face of uncooperative civil powers. They could do little to change the streets connecting their undertakings. As archbishops the Borromeo could not be expected to have the power to alter radically the street network of Milan in order to make more evident the programmatic linkage of their works. In this regard a comparison with the Rome of pope Sixtus V sheds light on both the character and the limitations of Borromean interventions in Milan. The thrust of Sixtus V's works in Rome between 1585 and 1590 was to refurbish the pilgrimage routes between the seven major basilicas of the city and to link these routes with the rest of Rome and with other noteworthy monuments (fig. 32)[50]. *In addition to numerous restorations and projects for new construction, Sixtus sought to link the churches by means of broad straight streets, a major urban element pioneered by previous urbanist-popes of the Renaissance. These streets, beginning at Santa Maria Maggiore, were drawn across the Roman* disabitato *by Domenico Fontana and were scaled to accommodate a number of passing coaches (fig. 33).*

The result was a commodious and newly clarified network of pilgrimage routes (fig. 34). Sixtus also dedicated to Christianity such pagan structures as the Colosseum — presumed site of mass martyrdom — and the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and sought to bring these vestigia *into the system of holy sites delineated by the new streets. Many of the streets were punctuated by re-erected obelisks, whose dedicatory inscriptions sound the same militant theme of Christianity triumphant over paganism. This theme and the use of the obelisks and columns as urban markers visible from great distances along the new streets were perhaps first conjoined in Pius IV's sequence Strada Pia-Porta Pia-Santa Maria degli Angeli, but with Sixtus we are presented not only with a comprehensive system for the stational experience of the principal Roman basilicas, but a framework for interpreting the entire city and its surround. This schema — both a literal street network and a conceptual framework — was represented most vividly in the Bordino print (fig. 33) of Sixtus' works. All other unrelated structures and urban fabric have been omitted from the essential landscape of pilgrimage. Rededicated monuments and refurbished churches are shown symbolically, linked in the stellate pattern of the new streets. This diagram of Sixtine Rome could be compared —* mutatis mutandis *— to early*

22. Ricostruzione della planimetria del Sacro Monte di Varallo all'inizio del Cinquecento. Le cappelle sono composte da più stanze contenenti gruppi scultorei che raffigurano per lo più scene della Natività e della Passione; la loro successione lungo un percorso in senso orario corrisponde approssimativamente alla cronologia degli eventi. La ricostruzione deriva da un manoscritto conservato nella Biblioteca Civica di Varallo, pubblicato in G. Alessi, Libro dei Misteri, *a cura di S. Stefani Perrone, vol. I, Bologna 1974.*
23. Planimetria del Sacro Monte di Varallo con un progetto, forse di Galeazzo Alessi, per erigere nuove cappelle e per riunire le ultime cappelle sulla sommità del colle in un unico edificio disposto intorno a un cortile circolare (dal Libro dei Misteri, *cit.).*
24. Galeazzo Alessi, Progetto di pianificazione generale del Sacro Monte di Varallo, 1565-1569: tra le



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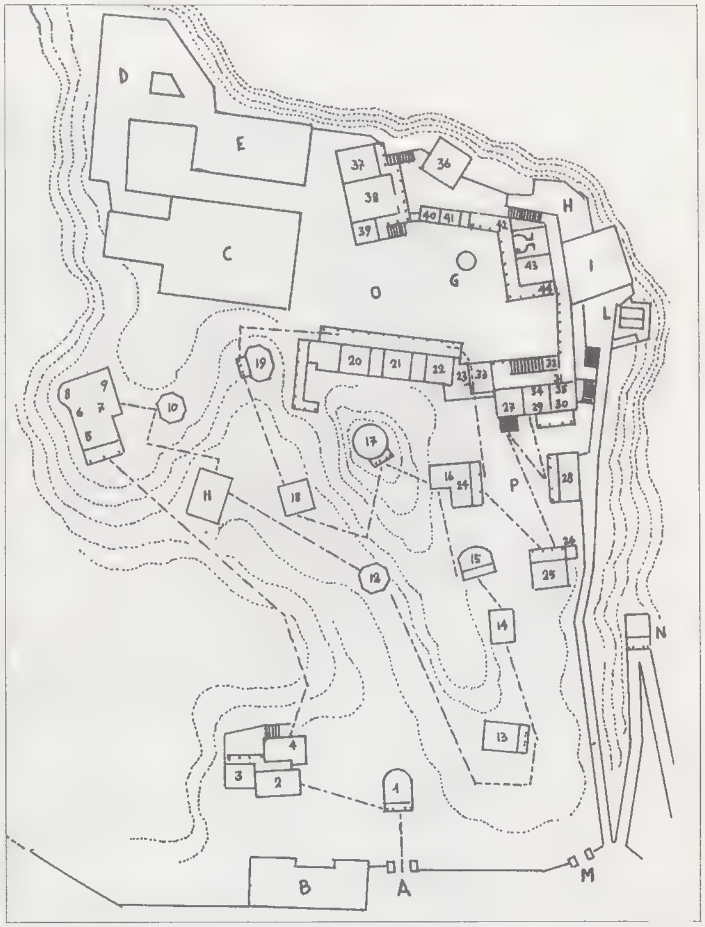


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preesistenti cappelle composte da più stanze sono state inserite, secondo un percorso meglio ordinato cronologicamente, numerose cappelle simili a padiglioni (dal Libro dei Misteri, *cit.).*
25. Veduta del Sacro Monte di Varallo al tempo di Federico Borromeo, con la scritta "Questa è la nuova Hierusalemme fabricata nel Sacro Monte di Varallo di Sesia nel Stato di Milano".
Raccolta Bertarelli, Milano.
26. Planimetria del Sacro Monte di Varallo allo stato attuale (dal Libro dei Misteri, *cit.).*



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26

22. Reconstruction of the general plan of the Sacro Monte, Varallo, in the early sixteenth century. The multiple-roomed chapels contain groups of statues showing scenes from the Nativity and Passion; a counterclockwise route would approximate the sacred chronology. The reconstruction is based on a manuscript in the Municipal Library, Varallo, published in G. Alessi, Libro dei Misteri, *by S. Stefani Perrone, vol. 1, Bologna 1974.*
23. General plan of the Sacro Monte, Varallo, with a project, perhaps by Galeazzo Alessi, for the construction of new chapels and the unification of the most recent chapels on the top of the hill in a single building arranged round a circular courtyard (from Libro dei Misteri, *op. cit.).*
24. Galeazzo Alessi, General planning project for the Sacro Monte, Varallo, 1565-1569: numerous pavilion-like chapels have been inserted between the existing multiple-roomed chapels to improve the chronological sequencing (from Libro dei Misteri, *op. cit.).*
25. View of the Sacro Monte, Varallo, at the time of Federico Borromeo with the inscription "Questa è la nuova Hierusalemme fabricata nel Sacro Monte di Varallo di Sesia nel Stato di Milano". *("This is the New Jerusalem built at the Sacro Monte of Varallo".) Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan.*
26. General plan of the Sacro Monte, Varallo, as it is now (from Libro dei Misteri, *op. cit.).*

27. Progetto per una cappella del Sacro Monte di Varallo destinata ad accogliere una raffigurazione scultorea della fuga in Egitto. In realtà quest'episodio della vita di Cristo è tuttora rappresentato in una delle cappelle originarie, comprendenti più stanze con gruppi plastici. Può darsi che questa proposta, la cui attuazione avrebbe alterato radicalmente il modo di vedere l'evento, sia stata una di quelle che incontrarono l'opposizione di Carlo Borromeo (dal Libro dei Misteri, *cit.).*



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27. Design for a chapel at the Sacro Monte, Varallo, to house a sculpture of the Flight into Egypt. This episode from the life of Christ is still represented in one of the original multiple-roomed chapels containing groups of statues. It is possible that this proposal, which would have radically altered the religious interpretation of the event, was one of a number that met with Carlo Borromeo's disapproval (from Libro dei Misteri, *op. cit.).*

erano sparse per la città ed erano costituite da edifici di mostra d'importanza locale, da sedi di istituzioni gerarchicamente ordinate e da croci collegate tra loro in una sequenza stazionale (fig. 21). Se si considerano tutti questi componenti — sia quelli episodici che quelli interconnessi — isolatamente dagli altri edifici pubblici e dal tessuto urbano residenziale, il loro sistema presenta un'analogia non soltanto superficiale con il complesso organismo del Sacro Monte di Varallo, in cui il gruppo originario di episodi rimaneva in evidenza entro il nuovo e più ampio schema stazionale. Il paesaggio ecclesiastico della Milano borromaica appare cioè organizzato in modo analogo alla topografia di pellegrinaggio del Sacro Monte.
Nel promuovere la formazione di nessi programmatici e concettuali tra le loro iniziative edilizie i due Arcivescovi si trovarono di fronte a un tessuto urbano difficilmente modificabile e ad autorità secolari mal disposte a collaborare: né essi avevano il potere di alterare sostanzialmente il sistema viario della città per rendere più evidenti le connessioni tra i vari edifici ecclesiastici. Sotto questo riguardo, un confronto con la Roma di Sisto V può gettare luce sul carattere e sui limiti degli interventi dei Borromeo a Milano. Nelle opere intraprese fra il 1585 e il 1590 quel Papa fu mosso dalla volontà di rinnovare le strade di pellegrinaggio fra le sette basiliche maggiori e di metterle in comunicazione col rimanente tessuto urbano e con altri monumenti notevoli (fig. 32)[50]. In aggiunta ai numerosi restauri e progetti di nuovi edifici, Sisto volle che le principali chiese fossero collegate per mezzo di ampi rettifili (importante strumento urbanistico, già adoperato da altri papi del Rinascimento); queste strade, molte delle quali irraggiantisi da Santa Maria Maggiore, furono tracciate da Domenico Fontana attraverso il "disabitato" e dimensionate per un traffico di carrozze piuttosto intenso (fig. 33).
Ne risultò una rete di strade di pellegrinaggio ampie e disposte secondo un criterio chiaro e moderno (fig. 34). Il Papa consacrò inoltre edifici pagani come il Colosseo, ritenuto sede di martirii di massa, e le Colonne di Traiano e di Marc'Aurelio, inserendo queste vestigia nel sistema di luoghi santi definito dalle nuove arterie. Su molte di queste furono rialzati obelischi, nelle cui iscrizioni dedicatorie era ripresa l'orgogliosa affermazione del trionfo della fede cristiana sul paganesimo. L'associazione tra questo tema e l'uso di obelischi e colonne come punti di orientamento urbanistici visibili da grande distanza lungo nuove strade era stata già attuata nella sequenza Santa Maria degli Angeli-

plans of the Sacro Monte *of Varallo. At Varallo the whole project was new, of course, and the routes curve according to the topography of the hill, but the partly extra-urban setting of Sixtus' network reinforces the comparison[51]. Each is a stational network with a primary sequence of visitation and alternate routes. Each of these schemata might be compared in turn to the reductive map of a Borromean pastoral visitation (fig. 15), where the graphic record of the itinerary connects the religious structures in a diagrammatic representation of routes and stational destinations.*
I believe we can visualize a Bordino-like image of Milan — with the civil and residential fabric suppressed — to set beside these other schemata. At its center would be the Cathedral. Along the radiating, spoke-like thoroughfares of medieval Milan appear the major new institutions of Borromean foundation and embellishment. Over this and the episodically experienced parishes, churches of the new religious orders, and the enhanced vestigia *of Ambrosian antiquity, would lie the processional route linking the plague crosses in a stational order culminating at the Cathedral. With regard to the city of Milan, the comprehensive organization suggested by both the pastoral visitations and the transformation of the* Sacro Monte *into an ordered, sequential experience was perhaps latent or potential in Carlo Borromeo's work, but it remained for Federico to gather his cousin's episodically dispersed projects into a firmer stational framework. This powerful programmatic experience of religious Milan, while leaving the street pattern all but intact, came to dominate the image of the city in the seventeenth century. Perhaps inspired by the organizational structure of the* Sacri Monti, *Federico wove the loose skein of Borromean undertakings into an urban fabric of unitary design.*

Notes
** This essay is a sketch for a larger study of Carlo Borromeo, the city of Milan and the* Sacri Monti. *I should like to thank Guido Canella and the* Zodiac *Editorial Committee for this opportunity to present initial findings, and Enrico Bordogna for his patient and careful management of the project. In preparing the text I owe special thanks to Charlotte Nichols and Robert Miller. For assistance in Milan I should like to acknowledge Prof.ssa Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, Janice Shell and Richard Schofield.*
1) Among the fundamental studies of Milan and Milanese architecture during the sixteenth century are: G. MEZZANOTTE, L'attività dell'Alessi nell'urbanistica milanese del Cinquecento, *in* Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento *(Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 1974), Genoa, 1975, pp. 449-459; A. SCOTTI,* Per un profilo dell'architettura milanese (1535-1565), *in* Omaggio a Tiziano. La cultura artistica milanese nell'età di Carlo V, *Milan, 1977, pp. 97-121; IDEM,* Architettura e riforma cattolica nella Milano di Carlo Borromeo, *in "L'arte", n.s., V, 1972, pp. 54-90. Most studies, however, do not address matters of urban history and urban design — a deficiency of modern scholarship in many areas*

Strada Pia-Porta Pia promossa da Pio IV; ma la ristrutturazione voluta da Sisto V, oltre a una rete di strade collegante in un vasto complesso stazionale le principali basiliche, forniva anche un quadro di riferimento per l'interpretazione dell'intera città e delle sue adiacenze.
I due aspetti del sistema — quello materiale della rete di strade e quello concettuale del quadro di riferimento — sono rappresentati efficacemente in una stampa illustrante un'opera di G.F. Bordino (fig. 33), in cui la topografia di pellegrinaggio della Roma sistina è riprodotta nelle sue linee essenziali, priva di ogni edificio non pertinente e del rimanente tessuto urbano: le chiese rinnovate e i monumenti pagani consacrati sono indicati simbolicamente entro lo schema stellato delle nuove strade che li connettono. Questa raffigurazione schematica della Roma di Sisto V è paragonabile, con i dovuti mutamenti, alle prime planimetrie del Sacro Monte di Varallo. Naturalmente quest'ultimo era stato progettato *ex-novo*, con un andamento dei percorsi dettato dalla topografia del colle; tuttavia l'analogia è avvalorata dal fatto che la ristrutturazione sistina si estende oltre l'abitato[51]. Entrambi gli schemi presentano una rete di stazioni, con una sequenza principale di visita e percorsi alternativi; e ciascuno schema può essere messo a sua volta a confronto con lo schizzo planimetrico di una visita pastorale di Carlo (fig. 15), in cui l'itinerario collegante le varie sedi ecclesiastiche è rappresentato graficamente con i suoi percorsi e le sue mete stazionali.
Si potrebbe pensare di affiancare a questi schemi un'immagine di Milano analoga a quella di Roma riportata nell'opera di Bordino, priva cioè del tessuto residenziale e degli edifici civici. Al centro vi sarebbe il Duomo; lungo le arterie a raggiera della città medievale si vedrebbero i principali edifici fondati o rinnovati dai due Borromeo e gli episodi architettonici costituiti dalle chiese parrocchiali o dai nuovi ordini religiosi e dalle vestigia dell'antichità ambrosiana rimesse in valore; a tutto ciò si sovrapporrebbe l'itinerario processionale che collegava le croci commemorative dell'epidemia in una sequenza stazionale culminante nel Duomo. L'organizzazione dell'intera città suggerita dalle visite pastorali e dalla trasformazione del Sacro Monte in un complesso sequenziale era forse già latente nell'opera di Carlo, ma toccò a Federico riunire le episodiche realizzazioni di suo cugino in un più saldo quadro stazionale. La sua nuova visione programmatica della vita religiosa della città avrebbe dominato l'immagine di Milano nel Seicento, pur lasciandone quasi intatto il

of architectural history. One can collect valuable information piecemeal from other sorts of studies, e.g.: Storia di Milano, vol. X, L'età dei Borromeo (1559-1630), *Milan, 1957; P. MEZZANOTTE and G. BASCAPÈ,* Milano nell'arte e nella storia, *Milan, 1948; L. GAMBI and M.C. GOZZOLI,* Milano, *1982; AA.VV.,* Le strade di Milano. Storia della città attraverso la sua toponomastica, *4 vols., Milan, 1969-1971; and other studies cited below.*
2) See, for example, A. BURATTI ET AL., La città rituale: la città e lo Stato di Milano nell'età dei Borromeo, *Milan, 1982. In this work the suggestions of G. MEZZANOTTE (*L'attività dell'Alessi, *op. cit.) are given an expansive interpretation.*
3) For the classical and late antique substrata of Milan, see, among others: the volumes of Ritrovamenti e scavi per la 'Forma Urbis Mediolani', *Milan, 1949 ff.; R. KRAUTHEIMER,* Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics, *Berkeley,1983, pp. 69-92; and the early volumes of the* Storia di Milano.
4) The unbuilt project for a new quarter of Milan under the patronage of the Sforza is discussed by M. TAFURI, Urban development strategies in Renaissance Italy, *in "Zodiac", n.s. no. 1, 1988, pp. 39-40.*
5) For example, the area between Milan Cathedral and the Palazzo Marino was kept from commercial or residential redevelopment during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the outsized and underpopulated convent of Santa Radegonda.
6) The relations among these disparate entities have been studied by, among others, M. BENDISCIOLI, in Storia di Milano, *vols. 9 and 10; and F. CHABOD,* Per la storia religiosa dello Stato di Milano durante il dominio di Carlo V, *Bologna, 1938.*
7) On Ferrante Gonzaga's urban projects, see especially: A. SCOTTI, Per un profilo, *op. cit.; G. MEZZANOTTE,* L'attività dell'Alessi, *op. cit.; and C. BARONI's numerous studies of individual structures built during Gonzaga's regime.*
8) The laws concerning building are discussed by A. SCOTTI, Per un profilo, *op. cit., pp. 98 ff. The legislation had the effect of fixing the street pattern in its medieval configuration, for no one was permitted to build* "aedificia quae se protendant extra muros domorum in vias publicas".
9) The project is discussed by G. MEZZANOTTE, L'attività dell'Alessi, *op. cit., pp. 449 ff.*
10) G. SPEZZAFERRO with R. TUTTLE, Place Farnèse: urbanisme et politique, *in* Le Palais Farnèse, *ed. Ecole Française de Rome, Rome, 1981, vol. I, part 1, pp. 85-123.*
11) From the vast bibliography dealing with Carlo Borromeo, see: H. JEDIN, Carlo Borromeo, *Rome, 1971;* San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century, *ed. J.M. HEADLEY and J.B. TOMARO, Washington, D.C., 1988; and AA.VV.,* San Carlo Borromeo e il suo tempo, *2 vols., Rome, 1986. On Carlo Borromeo's curial career, see L. PASTOR,* History of the Popes, *London-St. Louis, 1928, vol. XVI, pp. 401 ff.*
12) See E. CATTANEO, Influenze veronesi nella legislazione di san Carlo Borromeo, *in* Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia *(Atti del Convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia), Padua, 1960, pp. 123-166.*
13) On the noctes vaticanae *and other pursuits of the young Borromeo, see L. PASTOR, op. cit., and P. PASCHINI,* Il primo soggiorno di San Carlo Borromeo a Roma, 1560-1565, *Turin, 1935. It is noteworthy that while Borromeo changed titular churches several times during his first years in Rome, he always chose very ancient foundations in need of repair located in the Esquiline region of Rome. He eventually settled on Santa Prassede. But it was only after Borromeo had been established in Milan for about a decade, in the mid 1570s, that he promoted an extensive renovation of Santa Prassede that presaged the more systematic restoration of churches to their presumed early Christian state by Cesare Baronio.*
14) H. JEDIN, Carlo Borromeo, *op. cit., p. 18.*
15) Borromeo had called the Society of Jesus to Milan — following an earlier, unsuccessful attempt to establish a community of Jesuits in the city — to preach in the Cathedral and to lead the new schools that Borromeo regarded as essential for the reform of the priesthood (a diocesan seminary) and the education of the laity (the Jesuit college).
16) Letter of 21 July 1563, from Father Benedetto Palmio in Milan to Francesco Borgia, Father General of the Society of Jesus, in Rome (Archivum Romanum



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28. La strage degli Innocenti, *cappella XI, Sacro Monte di Varallo, con statue di Giacomo Paracca, Michelangelo Rossetti, Michele Prestinari e affreschi dei fratelli della Rovere detti "i Fiamminghini", 1586-1598: particolare.*

28. La strage degli Innocenti, *eleventh Chapel (Sacro Monte, Varallo), with statues by Giacomo Paracca, Michelangelo Rossetti and Michele Prestinari and frescoes by the della Rovere brothers ("I Fiamminghini"), 1586-1598: detail.*



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29. La strage degli Innocenti, *cappella XI, Sacro Monte di Varallo, con statue di Giacomo Paracca, Michelangelo Rossetti, Michele Prestinari e affreschi dei fratelli della Rovere detti "i Fiamminghini", 1586-1598.*
30. Gaudenzio Ferrari, Pastore, cappella VII, L'Adorazione dei pastori, *Sacro Monte di Varallo, 1513-15.*
31. Piazza dei Tribunali, con edifici di Giovanni d'Enrico, Sacro Monte di Varallo, 1600-1619.

29. La strage degli Innocenti, *eleventh Chapel (Sacro Monte, Varallo), with statues by Giacomo Paracca, Michelangelo Rossetti and Michele Prestinari and frescoes by the della Rovere brothers ("I Fiamminghini"), 1586-1598.*
30. Gaudenzio Ferrari, a Shepherd, seventh Chapel, L'adorazione dei pastori, *Sacro Monte, Varallo, 1513-15.*
31. Piazza dei Tribunali with buildings by Giovanni d'Enrico, Sacro Monte, Varallo, 1600-1619.



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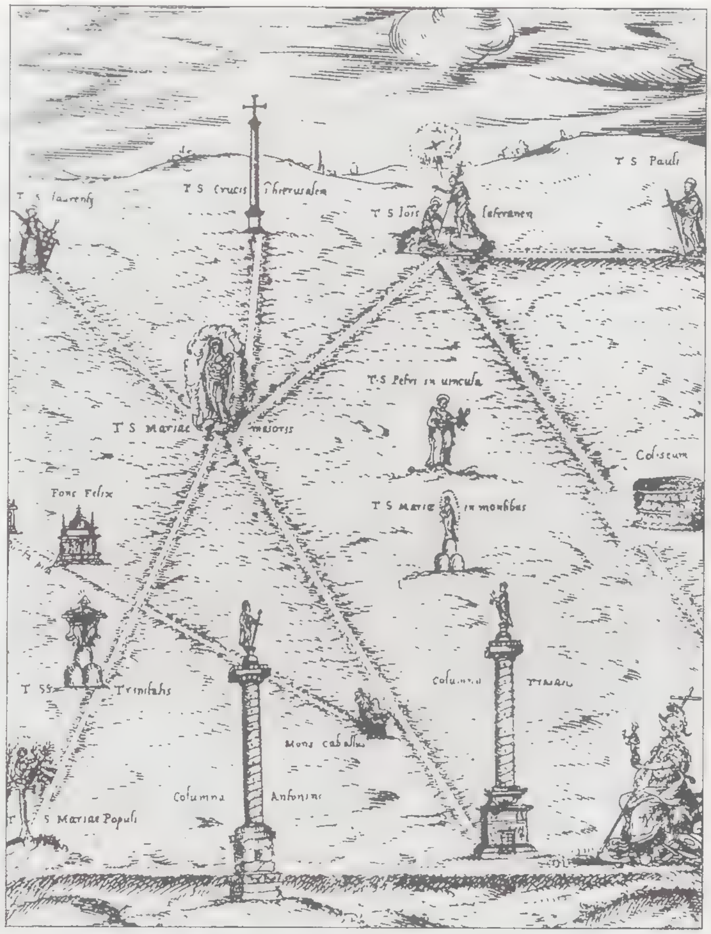
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32. Ritratto di Sisto V contornato dalle immagini delle sue maggiori iniziative edilizie romane. Il Papa è chiamato auctor *delle opere rappresentate, e solo in uno o due casi l'affermazione è esagerata (ad esempio per San Pietro). È singolare che le numerose strade di collegamento tra questi edifici siano ricordate in uno solo dei riquadri, nel penultimo registro della colonna di sinistra (da G. Pinadello,* Invicti quinarii numeri series..., *1589).*

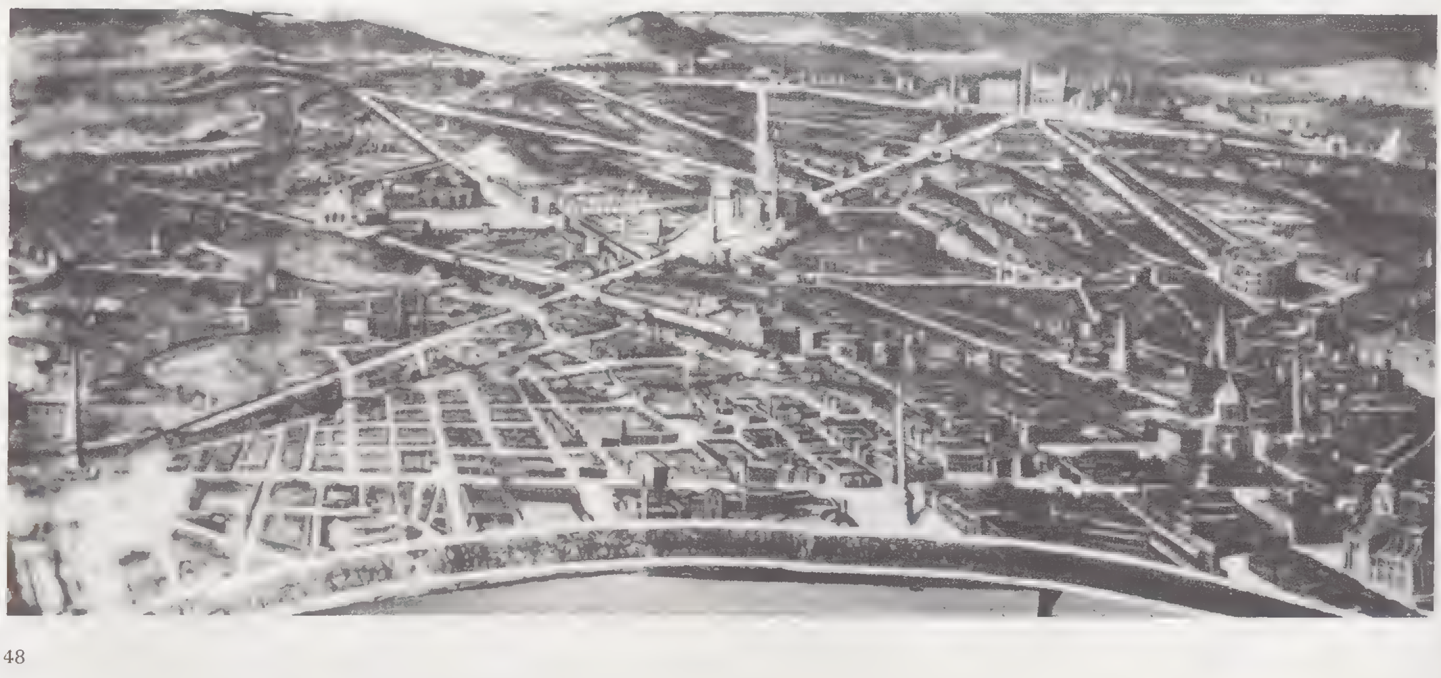
33. In questa nota xilografia (da G.F. Bordino, De rebus preclare gestis a Sixto V, *Roma 1588) è rappresentato nelle sue linee essenziali il programma urbanistico di Sisto V nel centro di Roma, nel "disabitato" e fuori delle mura. Le mura stesse e tutto il rimanente tessuto urbano non compaiono nella raffigurazione, che si limita a indicare per immagini i luoghi e i percorsi più importanti.*



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34. Veduta di Roma con strade, edifici e monumenti voluti da Sisto V (da un affresco del 1590 c. nell'ala della Biblioteca Vaticana fatta erigere dal Papa). L'iscrizione dell'affresco (qua non riprodotta) mette in rilievo l'importanza dei nuovi rettifili nel programma urbanistico sistino e la loro essenziale funzione di collegamento tra le principali basiliche romane. La Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore, contenente la tomba del Papa, e la sua villa nelle vicinanze sono situate al centro della veduta, in cui è omessa molta parte della città medievale e rinascimentale.

Biblioteca Vaticana, Roma.

sistema viario; ispirato probabilmente dalla struttura dei Sacri Monti, Federico raccolse in un tessuto urbano unitario le sparse fila delle iniziative edilizie sue e del suo predecessore.

Note

* Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

Questo saggio è l'abbozzo di un più ampio studio su Carlo Borromeo, la città di Milano e i Sacri Monti. Desidero ringraziare Guido Canella e il Comitato editoriale di "Zodiac" per avermi consentito di presentare qui i primi risultati della mia ricerca, ed Enrico Bordogna per la pazienza e la cura con cui ha organizzato la pubblicazione. Per la preparazione del testo sono particolarmente grato a Charlotte Nichols e a Robert Miller; per l'assistenza prestatami a Milano ringrazio la prof. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, Janice Shell e Richard Schofield.

1) Tra gli studi fondamentali su Milano e sull'architettura milanese nel Cinquecento ricordo: G. MEZZANOTTE, *L'attività dell'Alessi nell'urbanistica milanese del Cinquecento*, in *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento*, (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 1974), Genova 1975, pp. 449-459; A. SCOTTI, *Per un profilo dell'architettura milanese (1535-1565)*, in *Omaggio a Tiziano. La cultura artistica milanese nell'età di Carlo V*, Milano 1977, pp. 97-121; ID., *Architettura e riforma cattolica nella Milano di Carlo Borromeo*, in "L'arte," n.s., V (1972) pp. 54-90. Tuttavia la maggior parte degli studi non prendono in esame — secondo una cattiva abitudine di molti ricercatori di storia dell'architettura — le questioni di storia e di progettazione urbana. Interessanti notizie sparse possono essere attinte da studi di altro genere, ad esempio: *Storia di Milano*, vol. X, *L'età dei Borromeo (1559-1630)*, Milano 1957; P. MEZZANOTTE, G. BASCAPÈ, *Milano nell'arte e nella storia*, ivi 1948; L. GAMBI, M.C. GOZZOLI, *Milano*, Bari 1982; AA. VV., *Le strade di Milano. Storia della città attraverso la sua toponomastica*, 4 voll., ivi 1969-71; e da altri studi citati nel seguito.

2) Cfr. ad esempio A. BURATTI ET AL., *La città rituale: la città e lo Stato di Milano nell'età dei Borromeo*, Milano 1982. In quest'opera vengono ampiamente sviluppati gli spunti proposti da G. MEZZANOTTE in *L'attività dell'Alessi*, cit. nella nota 1.

3) Sul substrato classico e tardoantico di Milano si vedano fra l'altro i volumi *Ritrovamenti e scavi per la Forma Urbis Mediolani*, Milano, 1949 e sgg.; R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Tre capitali cristiane — Topografia e politica*, Berkeley 1983, Torino 1987, pp. 107-148; e i primi volumi della *Storia di Milano*.

4) Il progetto per un nuovo quartiere di Milano promosso dagli Sforza e non attuato è esaminato da M. TAFURI, *Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, in "Zodiac", n.s., n. 1, 1988, p. 39.

5) Ad esempio, nel XV e XVI secolo la ristrutturazione commerciale o residenziale della zona tra il Duomo e Palazzo Marino fu ostacolata dalla presenza dell'enorme e spopolato convento di Santa Radegonda.

6) I rapporti fra questi tre poteri eterogenei sono stati studiati fra l'altro da M. BENDISCIOLI, in *Storia di Milano*, voll. IX e X, e da F. CHABOD, *Per la storia religiosa dello Stato di Milano durante il dominio di Carlo V*, Bologna 1938.

7) Sui progetti urbanistici di Ferrante Gonzaga si vedano specialmente: A. SCOTTI, *Per un profilo*, cit. nella nota 1; G. MEZZANOTTE, *L'attività dell'Alessi*, cit. nella stessa nota; e i numerosi studi di C. Baroni su singoli edifici costruiti sotto il Gonzaga.

8) Le leggi sull'edilizia sono esaminate da A. SCOTTI, *Per un profilo*, cit. nella nota 1, pp. 98 sgg.; tale legislazione ebbe l'effetto di bloccare nella sua forma medievale il sistema viario, in quanto non era permesso a nessuno di costruire "*aedificia quae se protendant extra muros domorum in vias publicas*".

9) Il progetto è esaminato da G. MEZZANOTTE, *L'attività dell'Alessi*, cit. nella nota 1, pp. 449 sgg.

10) G. SPEZZAFERRO, R. TUTTLE, *Place Farnèse: urbanisme et politique*, in *Le Palais Farnèse*, Ecole Française de Rome, Roma 1981, vol. I, parte I, pp. 85-123.

Societatis Iesu, Ital. *123, f. 90). This assessment of the decorations of the Palazzo Borromeo may be surprising to modern readers, who know the palace for its rare late medieval frescoes of secular subject matter.*

17) J.S. ACKERMAN, The Architecture of Michelangelo, *2nd. ed., Chicago, 1986, p. 248 ff. On Pius IV's Roman building projects, see also: L. PASTOR,* History of the Popes, *op. cit., see note 11; M. FAGIOLO and M.L. MADONNA,* La Roma di Pio IV: la 'Civitas Pia', la 'Salus Medica', la 'Custodia Angelica', *in "Arte Illustrata", V, 1972, pp. 383-402. On Pius' Milanese projects, see the chapter on Vincenzo Seregni in C. BARONI,* L'architettura lombarda da Bramante a Richini. Questioni di metodo, *Milan, 1941.*

18) The complex relationship of patronage and esteem that existed between Pius IV and Michelangelo was witnessed, and probably shared in, by the young Borromeo. See the suggestions put forward by R. DE MAIO, Carlo Borromeo e Michelangelo, *in* San Carlo e il suo tempo, *op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 995-1011.*

19) Carlo Borromeo, who owned land in the vicinity of the Baths of Diocletian, may have had a considerable role in the project to transform the baths into a church according to Michelangelo's design, although he was not the instigator of the project, as claimed by his later biographer, G. GIUSSANO, Vita di San Carlo Borromeo, *Rome, 1610, p. 32. See J.S. ACKERMAN,* Michelangelo, *op. cit., pp. 260 ff.*

20) For an overview of Carlo Borromeo's approach to the reform of church interiors, see A. SCOTTI, Architettura e riforma cattolica, *op. cit., passim, as well as the literature cited below in notes 22, 24, and 27.*

21) On Carlo Borromeo's administrative innovations, see A. BURATTI ET AL., La città rituale, *op. cit., pp. 9-50.*

22) On the works in Milan Cathedral, see: A. SCOTTI, Architettura e riforma cattolica, *op. cit., pp. 67 ff.; as well as the older G. ROCCO,* Pellegrino Pellegrini, "l'architetto di S. Carlo", e le sue opere nel Duomo di Milano, *Milan, 1939, passim; and the contentious, but valuable M. BASSI,* Dispareri in materia d'architettura e perspettiva con pareri di eccelenti e famosi architetti che li risolvono, *Brescia, 1572.*

23) There are few synthetic studies of the Canonica per se *or of the Archbishop's palace in general; see C. BARONI,* Documenti per la storia dell'architettura a Milano nel rinascimento e nel barocco, *vol. 2, Rome, 1968, pp. 243 ff.*

24) In addition to the works by A. SCOTTI and G. ROCCO already cited, see: A. SCOTTI, L'architettura religiosa di Pellegrino Tibaldi, *in "Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura 'Andrea Palladio' ", XIX, 1977, pp. 221-250; J.S. ACKERMAN,* Pellegrino Tibaldi, San Carlo Borromeo, e l'architettura sacra del loro tempo, *in* San Carlo e il suo tempo, *op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 573-586; the older W. HIERSCHE,* Pellegrino de' Pellegrini als Architekt, *Parchim i. M., 1913; as well as numerous other studies by G. ROCCO and A. PERONI. Studies of San Fedele and other works are cited below.*

25) See above, note 18.

26) This relationship has been described in outline by A. SCOTTI and J.S. ACKERMAN, opp. citt.

27) D. MOORE, Pellegrino Tibaldi's Church of S. Fedele in Milan: The Jesuits, Carlo Borromeo and Religious Architecture in the Late Sixteenth Centry, *Ph. D. dissertation (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University), Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1988.*

28) Borromeo's Instructiones *have been republished by P. BAROCCHI,* Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, *vol. 3, Bari, 1962.*

29) D. MOORE, Pellegrino Tibaldi's Church of S. Fedele, *op. cit., ch. V and passim.*

30) IBID., ch. III and Epilogue.

31) The concept of an architectural teatro *— a prospect, a thing to behold, an architectural and urbanistic show piece — took shape between this time and later in the seventeenth century; see R. KRAUTHEIMER,* The Rome of Alexander VII: 1655-1667, *Princeton, 1985, pp. 4 ff. and passim.*

32) On the building history of the Collegio Elvetico, see C. BARONI, Documenti, *op. cit., pp. 306 ff.*

33) The practice of pastoral visitation is described most succinctly by A. SCOTTI, Architettura e riforma cattolica, *op. cit., pp. 64 ff. and passim. See also A. PALESTRA, ed.,* Visite pastorali di Milano (1423-1859), *Rome, 1971.*

Preceding pages:
32. Portrait of Sixtus V surrounded by views of the most important architectural projects he sponsored in Rome. The Pope is described as auctor of the works shown, and this is certainly no exaggeration except in a handful of cases (St. Peter's, for example). It is odd that the many roads he had built to link the buildings are recorded in only one of the views, the second last in the left-hand column (from G. Pinadello, Invicti quinarii numeri series..., *1589).*
33. This famous woodcut (from G.F. Bordino, De rebus preclare gestis a Sixto V, *Rome 1588) shows the essential outline of Sixtus V's planning scheme for the centre of Rome, the disabitato areas and the land outside the walls. The walls themselves and all the rest of the urban fabric are not shown in the woodcut, which was intended to portray only the city's most important sites and streets.*

11) Tra la vasta bibliografia su Carlo Borromeo si vedano: H. JEDIN, *Carlo Borromeo*, Roma 1971; *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, a cura di J.M. HEADLEY, J.B. TOMARO, Washington (D.C.) 1988; AA. VV., *San Carlo Borromeo e il suo tempo*, 2 voll., Roma 1986. Sulla carriera di Carlo nella Curia si veda L. PASTOR, *Storia dei papi*, voll. XVI, Roma 1910-1934, vol. VII.
12) V.E. CATTANEO, *Influenze veronesi nella legislazione di san Carlo Borromeo*, in *Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia* (Atti del Convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia), Padova 1960, pp. 123-166.
13) Sulle *noctes Vaticanae* e sulle altre attività del giovane Borromeo cfr. PASTOR , *Storia*, cit. nella nota 11, e P. PASCHINI, *Il primo soggiorno di S. Carlo Borromeo a Roma, 1560-65*, Torino 1935. È degno di nota il fatto che egli, pur cambiando più volte chiesa titolare nei primi anni della sua permanenza a Roma, abbia scelto sempre fondazioni molto antiche bisognose di restauri e situate nella zona dell'Esquilino. Si stabilì infine nel titolo di Santa Prassede, ma solo verso la fine degli anni Settanta, quasi un decennio dopo il suo trasferimento a Milano, diede inizio a un'estesa ristrutturazione di quella basilica, preannunzio dei più sistematici restauri promossi da Cesare Baronio in numerose chiese per riportarle alle presunte condizioni dell'età paleocristiana.
14) H. JEDIN, *Carlo Borromeo*, cit. nella nota 11, p. 18.
15) Dopo un primo tentativo abortito di insediarsi a Milano, la Compagnia di Gesù fu chiamata da Carlo Borromeo a predicare nel Duomo e a dirigere le nuove scuole a cui l'arcivescovo attribuiva un ruolo decisivo nella riforma del clero (Seminario diocesano) e nell'educazione del laicato (Collegio gesuitico).
16) Lettera al padre Francesco Borgia, generale della Compagnia di Gesù a Roma (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Ital. 123, f. 90). Questo giudizio sulle opere d'arte del palazzo Borromeo può sembrare sorprendente ai lettori moderni, che conoscono quest'edificio per i preziosi affreschi tardomedievali di soggetto profano.
17) J.S. ACKERMAN, *L'architettura di Michelangelo*, Londra 1961, Torino 1968, pp. 100-108. Sulle iniziative edilizie romane di Pio IV si vedano anche L. PASTOR, *Storia* cit. nella nota 11; M. FAGIOLO, M.L. MADONNA, *La Roma di Pio IV: la 'Civitas Pia', la 'Salus Medica', la 'Custodia Angelica'*, in "Arte Illustrata," V (1972), pp. 383-402. Sui progetti milanesi del papa, si veda il capitolo su Vincenzo Seregni in C. BARONI, *L'architettura lombarda da Bramante a Richini. Questioni di metodo*, Milano 1941.
18) Il giovane Borromeo fu testimone, e probabilmente partecipe, del complesso rapporto di mecenatismo e di stima tra Pio IV e Michelangelo. Si vedano le proposte avanzate da R. DE MAIO, *Carlo Borromeo e Michelangelo*, in *San Carlo e il suo tempo*, cit. nella nota 11, vol. II, pp. 995-1011.
19) Carlo Borromeo, che possedeva dei terreni nei pressi delle Terme di Diocleziano, ebbe forse un ruolo notevole nella trasformazione delle terme in chiesa secondo il progetto di Michelangelo, anche se non ne fu il promotore originario, come affermò invece il suo biografo G. GIUSSANO, *Vita di san Carlo Borromeo*, Roma 1610, p. 32. Cfr. J.S. ACKERMAN, *Michelangelo*, cit. nella nota 17, pp. 105 sgg.
20) Per l'impostazione data da Carlo alla riforma degli interni di chiese, si vedano A. SCOTTI, *Architettura e riforma cattolica*, cit. nella nota 1, *passim*, e la letteratura citata qui di seguito nelle note 22, 24 e 27.
21) Sulle innovazioni amministrative di Carlo Borromeo cfr. A. BURATTI ET AL., *La città rituale*, cit. nella nota 2, pp. 9-50.
22) Sui lavori nel Duomo di Milano si vedano: A. SCOTTI, *Architettura e riforma cattolica*, cit. nella nota 1, pp. 67 sgg.; G. ROCCO, *Pellegrino Pellegrini "l'architetto di S. Carlo" e le sue opere nel Duomo di Milano*, Milano 1939, *passim*; e il polemico ma utile M. BASSI, *Dispareri in materia d'architettura e perspettiva con pareri di eccellenti e famosi architetti che li risolvono*, Brescia 1572.
23) Vi sono pochi studi di sintesi sulla Canonica e sul Palazzo arcivescovile in generale: si veda C. BARONI, *Documenti per la storia dell'architettura a Milano nel rinascimento e nel barocco*, vol. II, Roma 1968, pp. 243 sgg.
24) In aggiunta ai lavori di A. Scotti e di G. Rocco già citati, si vedano: A. SCOTTI, *L'architettura religiosa di Pellegrino Tibaldi*, in "Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura 'Andrea Palladio' ", XIX (1977), pp. 221-250; J. S. ACKERMAN, *Pellegrino Tibaldi, San Carlo Borromeo e l'architettura sacra del loro tempo*, in *San Carlo e il suo tempo*, cit. nella nota 11, vol. I, pp. 573-586; W. HIERSCHE, *Pellegrino de' Pellegrini als Architekt*, Parchim i. M. 1913; e i numerosi altri studi di G. Rocco e di A. Peroni. Gli studi su San Fedele e su altre opere sono citati nel seguito.
25) Cfr. sopra, nota 18.
26) Questo rapporto è stato delineato da A. Scotti e da J.S. Ackerman nelle opere citate nella nota 24.
27) D. MOORE, *Pellegrino Tibaldi's Church of S. Fedele in Milan: The Jesuits, Carlo Borromeo and Religious Architecture in the Late Sixteenth Century*, dissertazione di dottorato (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University), Ann Arbor (Michigan) 1988.
28) Le *Instructiones* sono state ripubblicate da P. BAROCCHI, *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento*, vol. III, Bari 1962.
29) D. MOORE, *Pellegrino Tibaldi's Church of S. Fedele*, cit. nella nota 27, cap. V e *passim*.
30) *Ibid.*, cap. III ed *Epilogue*.
31) Nel tardo Cinquecento e nel Seicento prende forma il concetto di "teatro" architettonico, nel senso di vista prospettica, facciata di mostra, meta visiva di particolare interesse architettonico e urbanistico; cfr. R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Roma di Alessandro VII, 1655-1667*, 1985, Roma 1987, pp. 9 sgg. e passim.
32) Sulla storia edilizia del Collegio Elvetico cfr. C. BARONI, *Documenti*, cit. nella nota 23, pp. 306 sgg.
33) La pratica delle visite pastorali è descritta sinteticamente da A. SCOTTI, *Architettura e riforma cattolica*, cit. nella nota 1, pp. 64 sgg. e *passim*. Cfr. anche A. PALESTRA (a cura di), *Visite pastorali di Milano (1423-1859)*, Roma 1971.
34) Cfr. sopra, nota 2.
35) Come mecenate e collezionista di opere d'arte Federico Borromeo è stato oggetto di recente di numerose ricerche, ma non vi è ancora una sintesi della sua attività nel campo dell'architettura e dell'edilizia. Su vari aspetti del mecenatismo di Federico Borromeo cfr. P.M. JONES, *Federico Borromeo: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan*, Cambridge 1993.
36) Cfr. sopra, nota 21.
37) Si vedano i capitoli sulla peste nel vol. X della *Storia di Milano*.
38) Sulla cappella di San Gregorio, fatta erigere da Carlo Borromeo al centro del Lazzaretto quattrocentesco, come padiglione permanente per celebrarvi la messa, cfr. C. BARONI, *Il tempietto ottagono di San Carlo al Lazzaretto*, Milano 1934.
39) La maggior parte delle zone perimetrali del Lazzaretto quattrocentesco furono demolite nell'Ottocento in occasione della costruzione di nuovi quartieri residenziali.
40) L'erezione di croci durante la pestilenza e la loro successiva trasformazione in monumenti permanenti sono menzionate dalla maggior parte degli antichi biografi di Carlo Borromeo e da alcuni studiosi moderni della sua opera di patrono dell'architettura: cfr. G. MEZZANOTTE, *L'attività dell'Alessi*, cit. nella nota 1, p. 454, e A. BURATTI ET. AL., *La città rituale*, cit. nella nota 2, pp. 95 sgg. In almeno uno dei crocevia interessati, quello presso San Dionigi, esisteva una croce risalente al XIV secolo; e da una fonte cinquecentesca risulta che croci analoghe erano state erette durante la pestilenza del 1524. Per un elenco delle croci, con materiale illustrativo, cfr. il catalogo della mostra *Le "crocette" nella Milano di san Carlo*, a cura di F. ROGGIANI ET AL., Milano 1984.
41) Le croci erette da Carlo Borromeo non erano propriamente croci stazionali, come spesso sono chiamate. Federico mise inoltre le confraternite sotto la supervisione di un unico organismo diretto dalla congregazione degli Oblati.
42) V.H. THURSTON S.J., *The Stations of the Cross*, Londra-New York 1906.
43) Nella vasta letteratura sul Sacro Monte di Varallo va ricordato anzitutto P. GALLONI, *Sacro Monte di Varallo. Atti di fondazione. Origine e svolgimento delle opere d'arte*, 2 voll., Varallo 1909-1914; altre fonti e studi più recenti sono citati nel seguito. Desidero ringraziare qui la prof. K. Weil-Garris Brandt, il prof. W. Hood e J. Disponzio per aver richiamato la mia attenzione su vari aspetti notevoli dei Sacri Monti.

34. View of Rome with streets, buildings and monuments decreed by Sixtus V (from a fresco, c. 1590, in the wing of the Vatican Library Sixtus V himself caused to be built). The inscription in the fresco, (here not illustrated), stresses the importance of Sixtus V's new road network and its crucial function in linking the major Roman basilicas. The Church of Santa Maria Maggiore (containing the Pope's tomb) and his villa nearby are in the centre of the view, which omits a large part of the medieval and Renaissance city. Vatican Library, Rome.

44) Sul significato dei gruppi plastici cfr. K. WEIL-GARRIS, *'Were this clay but marble': A Reassessment of Emilian Terra Cotta Group Sculpture*, in *Le arti a Bologna e in Emilia dal XVI al XVII secolo* (Atti del XXIV Congresso internazionale di Storia dell'arte, 1979), a cura di A. EMILIANI, Bologna 1981, pp. 61 sgg.; e W. HOOD, *The Sacro Monte of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion*, in *Monasticism and the Arts*, a cura di T.G. VERDON, Syracuse (N.Y.) 1984, pp. 291 sgg.
45) Di questo manoscritto è stata pubblicata un'edizione in *facsimile* col titolo *Libro dei Misteri. Progetto di pianificazione urbanistica e figurativa del Sacro Monte di Varallo in Valsesia (1565-1569)*, 2 voll., a cura di A.M. BRIZIO e S. STEFANI PERRONE, Bologna 1974. Cfr anche M.L. GATTI PERER, *Martino Bassi, il Sacro Monte di Varallo e S. Maria presso San Celso*, in "Arte Lombarda", IX (1964), pp. 21-57.
46) Cfr. *Libro dei Misteri*, vol. I, p. 43.
47) La funzione di propaganda controriformista dei Sacri Monti — che ovviamente mancava nella formulazione quattrocentesca di Varallo — è stata messa in risalto da R. WITTKOWER, *I Sacri Monti delle Alpi italiane*, nel suo *Idea e immagine. Studi sul Rinascimento italiano*, 1978, Torino 1992, pp. 322-338. Sui complessi di Orta, di Arona ecc., cfr. D. BIANCO, G. FRANGI, G. TESTORI, *Sacri Monti delle Alpi*, Milano-Bergamo 1982.
48) Cfr. P. BIANCONI ET AL., *Il Sacro Monte sopra Varese*, Milano 1981.
49) Questo punto è messo in risalto da W. HOOD nella sua recensione di P. Bianconi et al., *Il Sacro Monte sopra Varese*, cit. nella nota 48, in "The Art Bulletin", LXVII (1985), pp. 333-337.
50) Per una bibliografia della Roma di Sisto V cfr.; H. GAMRATH, *Roma sancta renovata. Studi sull'urbanistica di Roma nella seconda metà del sec. XVI, con particolare riferimento al pontificato di Sisto V (1585-1590)*, Roma 1987; R. SCHIFFMANN, *Roma Felix. Aspekte der städtebaulichen Gestaltung Roms unter Papst Sixtus V*, Bern-New York 1985.
51) L'elemento temporale nel progetto di queste reti premoderne di monumenti e interventi urbani deve essere ancora studiato adeguatamente.

34) See above, note 2.
35) While Federico as a patron and collector of the figural arts has been the subject of much recent research, Federico as a builder and patron of architecture awaits a modern synthesis. On various aspects of Federico Borromeo's patronage, see P.M. JONES, Federico Borromeo: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan, *Cambridge, 1993.*
36) See above, note 21.
37) See the Storia di Milano, *vol. X, chapters on the plague.*
38) On Carlo Borromeo's commission of the Chapel of San Gregorio in the center of the quattrocento Lazzaretto as a permanent pavilion for celebrating the eucharist, see C. BARONI, Il Tempietto ottagono di San Carlo al Lazzaretto, *Milan, 1934.*
39) Most of the quattrocento perimeter of the Lazzaretto was demolished in the nineteenth century as Milan's residential districts were developed.
40) The initial erection of the crosses during the plague, and the subsequent rendering of these in permanent materials, are mentioned by most early biographers of Carlo Borromeo and by some modern scholars of his architectural patronage; see G. MEZZANOTTE, L'attività dell'Alessi, *op. cit., p. 454; and A. BURATTI ET AL.,* La città rituale, *op. cit., pp. 95 ff. At least one intersection, that at San Dionigi, had a cross dating from the fourteenth century. A sixteenth-century source states that similar crosses had been set up during the plague of 1524. For a list of the crosses, with illustrative material, see the exhibition catalogue by F. ROGGIANI ET AL.,* Le "Crocette" nella Milano di San Carlo, *Milan, 1984.*
41) Carlo's crosses were not, strictly speaking, stational crosses, as they are often called. Federico also brougth the confraternities under the supervision of a single group headed by the order of the Oblates.
42) See H. THURSTON, S.J., The Stations of the Cross, *London-New York, 1906.*
43) The vast literature of the Sacro Monte *at Varallo should be headed by P. GALLONI,* Sacro Monte di Varallo. Atti di fondazione. Origine e svolgimento delle opere d'arte, *2 vols., Varallo, 1909-1914. Other sources and more recent studies are cited below. I should like to thank Prof.ssa K. Weil-Garris Brandt, Prof. W. Hood, and J. Disponzio for calling my attention to numerous important aspects of the* Sacri Monti.
44) On the significance of the sculptural tableaux, see: K. WEIL-GARRIS, 'Were this clay but marble': A Reassessment of Emilian Terra Cotta Group Sculpture, *in* Le arti a Bologna e in Emilia dal XVI al XVII secolo *(Acts of the 24th International Congress on the History of Art, 1979), ed. A. EMILIANI, Bologna, 1981, pp. 61 ff.; and W. HOOD,* The Sacro Monte of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion, *in* Monasticism and the Arts, *ed. T.G. VERDON, Syracuse, 1984, pp. 291 ff.*
45) This manuscript is published in a modern facsimile edition as Libro dei Misteri. Progetto di pianificazione urbanistica e figurativa del Sacro Monte di Varallo in Valsesia (1565-1569), *2 vols., eds. A.M. BRIZIO and S. STEFANI PERRONE, Bologna, 1974. See also M.L. GATTI PERER,* Martino Bassi, il Sacro Monte di Varallo e Santa Maria presso San Celso, *in "Arte Lombarda", IX, 1964, pp. 21-57.*
46) See Libro dei Misteri, *vol. 1, p. 43.*
47) The propagandistic, counter-reformatory role of the Sacri Monti, *which of course was not present in the fifteenth-century formulation, has been stressed by R. WITTKOWER,* 'Sacri Monti' in the Italian Alps, *in his* Studies in Italian Renaissance Art, *pp. 175-183. On Orta, Arona and other* Sacri Monti, *see D. BIANCO, G. FRANGI, G. TESTORI,* Sacri Monti delle Alpi, *Milan and Bergamo, 1982.*
48) See P. BIANCONI ET AL., Il Sacro Monte sopra Varese, *Milan, 1981.*
49) This point is emphasixed by W. HOOD in his review of P. BIANCONI ET AL., Il Sacro Monte sopra Varese, *op. cit., in "The Art Bulletin", LXVII, 1985, pp. 333-337.*
50) For a bibliography of Sixtine Rome, see: H. GAMRATH, Roma sancta renovata: Studi sull'urbanistica di Roma nella seconda metà del sec. XVI con particolare riferimento al pontificato di Sisto V (1585-1590), *Rome, 1987; and R. SCHIFFMANN,* Roma Felix: Aspekte der städtebaulichen Gestaltung Roms unter Papst Sixtus V, *Bern and New York, 1985.*
51) The temporal element in the design of such premodern networks of monuments and urban interventions has yet to be adequately explored.



Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona

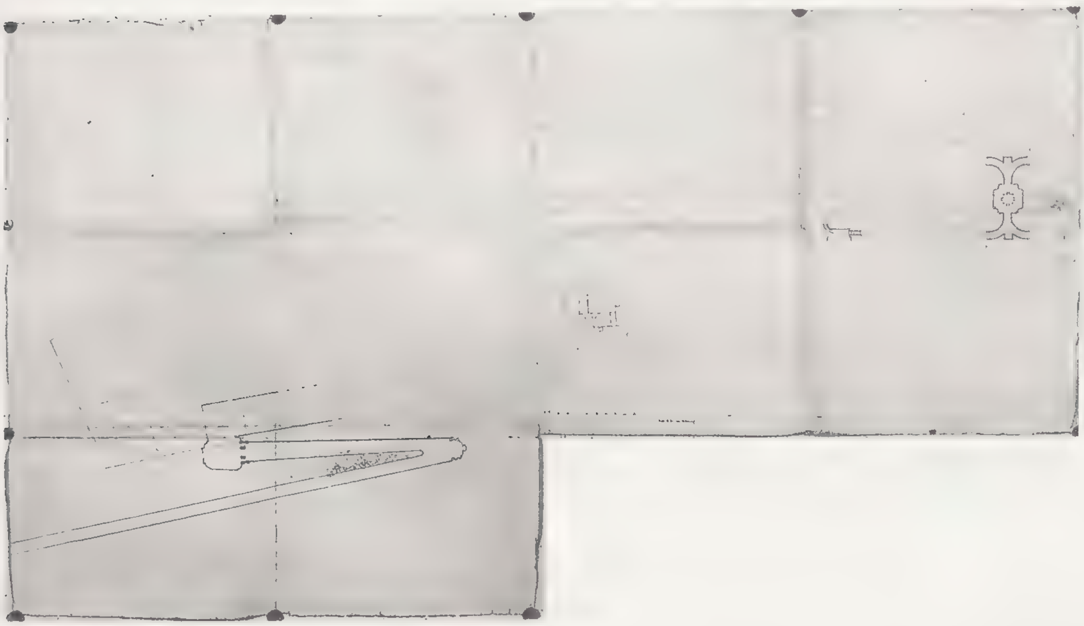


Per il completamento del Sacro Monte
di San Carlo ad Arona


Seminario di Arona
di S. Carlo

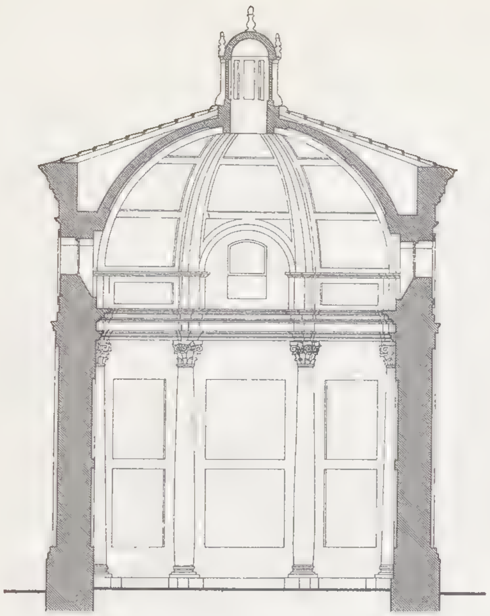
Mappa catastale dell'intero Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona con indicati i diversi edifici, anche le cappelle non realizzate, 1723.
Da A. Buratti Mazzotta, Il Sacro Monte ed il colosso di San Carlo, *in AA.VV.,* Immagini e presenze di San Carlo nella terra di Arona, *a cura di A. Buratti Mazzotta, G. Oneto, A. Torelli, Arona 1984.*
Carlo Fontana, Progetto di sistemazione del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona, 1689.
Da A. Buratti Mazzotta, Il Sacro Monte ed il colosso di San Carlo, *cit.*

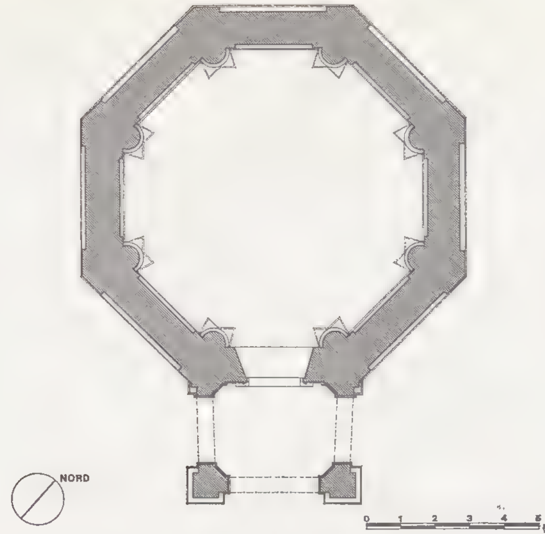
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Veduta del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona secondo il primitivo progetto di Francesco Maria Richini e del padre oblato Marco Aurelio Grattarola.
Incisione recante la data 1714, ma certamente ridisegno di una stampa del secolo precedente (c. 1622).
Da A. Buratti Mazzotta, L'apoteosi di Carlo Borromeo disegnata in due secoli di progetti per il Sacro Monte di Arona (1614-1828), *in AA.VV.,* Sacri Monti. Devozione, arte e cultura della Controriforma, *a cura di L. Vaccaro, F. Riccardi, Milano 1992.*

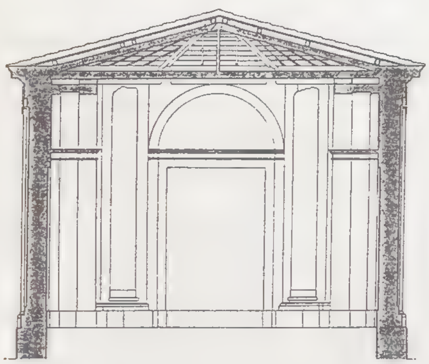


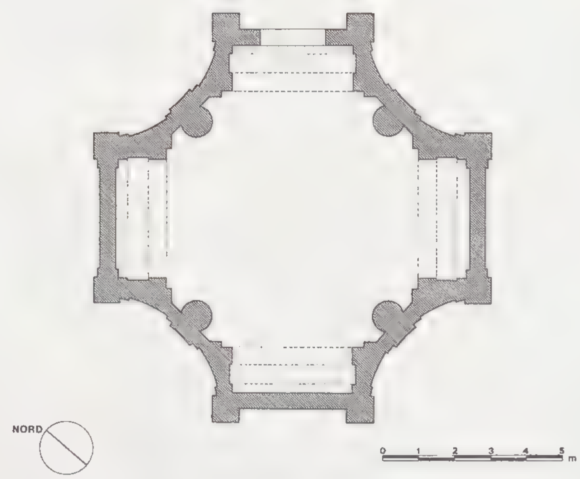
Land registry map of the entire San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona, showing its various buildings, including the unbuilt chapels, 1723.
From A. Buratti Mazzotta, Il Sacro Monte e il colosso di San Carlo, *in (Various Authors)* Immagini e presenze di San Carlo nella terra di Arona, *edited by A. Buratti Mazzotta, G. Oneto, A. Torelli, Arona 1984.*
Carlo Fontana, Project for the renovation and completion of the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona, 1689.
From A. Buratti Mazzotta, Il Sacro Monte e il colosso di San Carlo, *op. cit.*

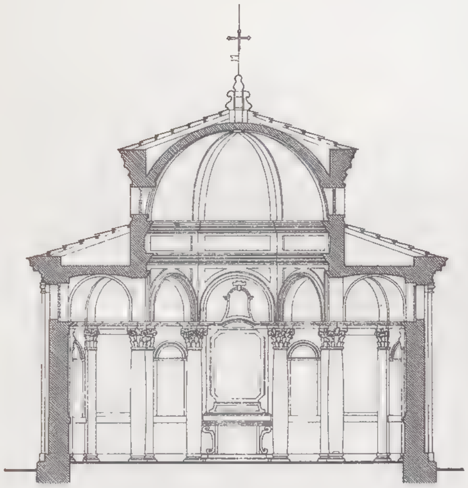
Preceding pages:
View of the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona, in the original project by Francesco Maria Richini and Oblate Father Marco Aurelio Grattarola.
Engraving dated 1714 but undoubtedly a reworking of a print published in the previous century (c. 1622).
From A. Buratti Mazzotta, L'apoteosi di Carlo Borromeo disegnata in due secoli di progetti per il Sacro Monte di Arona (1614-1828), *in (Various Authors)* Sacri Monti. Devozione, arte e cultura della Controriforma, *edited by L. Vaccaro, F. Riccardi, Milan 1992.*

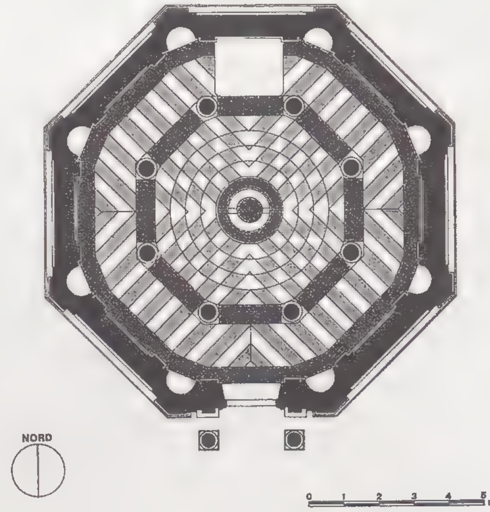



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*Cronologia della costruzione del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona**

1614. Lettera con cui il Padre Oblato Marco Aurelio Grattarola, che precedentemente si era occupato a Roma del processo di santificazione di Carlo Borromeo, presenta al Cardinale Federico Borromeo l'idea di un Sacro Monte in onore del Santo da edificarsi ad Arona.
Lettera di Federico Borromeo a Padre Grattarola con l'approvazione dell'idea della creazione del Sacro Monte e l'autorizzazione ufficiale a raccogliere fondi e organizzare finanziariamente l'impresa.
Posa della prima pietra della Chiesa di San Carlo da parte di Federico Borromeo, su progetto di Francesco Maria Richini e sotto la direzione artistica di Giovan Battista Crespi, detto il Cerano, che disegnerà il modello della statua colossale di San Carlo; costruzione di una strada di accesso al colle dal lago.
*1615. Padre Grattarola pubblica l'*Informatione dell'origine e progresso della fabrica del Sacro Monte di San Carlo in Arona, *probabilmente corredata da una rappresentazione iconografica del progetto, della quale però non è rimasta traccia.*
1620. Inizia l'edificazione del Seminario, sempre per volontà di Federico Borromeo, "affinché i chierici posti alla presenza di San Carlo fossero stimolati e accesi a coltivare lo studio non meno che la pietà". *Il progetto è presumibilmente di Francesco Maria Richini e la sua costruzione si protrarrà fino al 1643.*
1625. La responsabilità e la proprietà del Sacro Monte viene affidata al Collegio dei Conservatori dell'Ambrosiana di Milano, visti gli scarsi risultati dell'amministrazione precedente.
Viene incaricato Marc'Aurelio Città de' Gigli per l'esecuzione di statue in terracotta secondo modelli precedentemente approvati. Al Sacro Monte vi lavora anche Melchiorre d'Enrico (1630 c.) contemporaneamente impegnato al Sacro Monte di Varallo.
1627. Presenza di Francesco Maria Richini al Sacro Monte, dove interviene anche nella sistemazione del verde e delle acque.
1628-30. Si blocca la costruzione della maggior parte delle cappelle, per difetto dei committenti e per la peste.
1632. Giovanni Angelo Crivelli (attivo anche all'Isola Bella) interviene in sostituzione del Richini, esegue uno schizzo per la scala di accesso alla Chiesa (1634).
1637. Vengono portati ad Arona diversi pezzi del Colosso di rame, eseguiti a Milano secondo i disegni del Cerano (conservati all'Ambrosiana).
1642. Dallo Stato delle chiese di Arona *dell'Arciprete Graziano Ponzone (Archivio Parrocchiale di Arona) risulta il seguente stato di fatto: quattro cappelle terminate (I, III, XII, XV); otto iniziate (IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII); di due sono state posate le fondamenta (VI, XIV); una non è stata neppure iniziata (II). Parti del Colosso sono conservate nella chiesa maggiore; i lavori per le cappelle dell'Eremo non sono neppure cominciati.*
1646. Informatione dell'origine e progresso della Fabrica del Sacro Monte di San Carlo in Arona, *con* Nota delle cappelle appoggiate a Benefattori *(Archivio Parrocchiale di Arona), praticamente trascrizione dello* Stato delle chiese di Arona *dell'Arciprete Ponzone.*
1653. Nota delle Cappelle del Monte di S.to Carlo appoggiate a benefattori *(Archivio Borromeo Isola Bella), replica delle precedenti e a sua volta trascritta con poche varianti nel 1656. Viene qui riportata integralmente:*
"Si fabricano quindeci capelle conforme disegno di fare il fondatore nel sudetto monte nelle quali si devano rapresentare le virtù principali et attioni eroiche del santo tanto in pitture come in statue.
Prima capella della «Nascita del santo»; a spese delli s.ri bancheri di Milano. È finito tutto l'edificio continente e sono finite tutte le statue; mancano le pitture all'intorno.
2ª cappella rapresenta «La vocatione del stato ecclesiastico et cardinalato in Roma». Si fa a spese delli s.ri bancheri oltramontani. È finito tutto l'edificio continente et sono principiate alcune statue.
3ª capella «La conclusione del sacro Concilio di Trento»; a spese delli s.ri dottori di collegio di Milano. Non si n'è anche posta la prima pietra. Se vi sarà che faccia instanza alli s.ri di collegio si farà cominciare perché sono molto bene animati.
4ª «L'intrata pontificale in Milano»; a spese del collegio de' s.ri procuratori di Milano. È fato l'edificio più della metà et vi sono molte pietre lavorate di mettere in opera et le collone di miarolo per il vestibolo.
5ª «La visita della provincia»; fu comminciata dalla cità di Brescia et è nell'altezza d'un brazzo et mezzo sopera la terra.
6ª «La conversione delli heretici et visita di Griggioni»; appoggiata alli s.ri orefici et gioiellieri di Milano; è fato solamente un poco di fondamento.
7ª «L'archibuggiata che gli fu sparata»; a spese della 4ª regione della diocesi e di mons.r primicerio Giulio Cesare Visconte. Era in molto buon termine e vi sono molte pietre lavorate tanto di marmo quanto d'altra pietra detta d'Angera; quali pietre per il gelo e per altro si vanno frangendo.
8ª «La renuntia de titoli e ricche entrate»; a spese de' s.ri mercanti di lana et drapieri di Milano. È fata gran parte dell'edificio continente.
9ª «La vigilanza e cura nella peste di Milano»; a spese della prima regione della diocesi di cui era visitatore mons.r Fedele. È fatto tutto il fondamento et è alta fuori di terra due brazza.
Xª «La processione col s.mo Chiodo al tempo della peste»; fu cominciata dal em.mo s.r cardinale Ferrante Taverna. È fato l'edificio continente più della metà et vi sono molte pietre di sarizi lavorate da mettere in opera.
XIª «La fondatione della Congregatione delli Oblati»; a spesa della detta Congregatione et delli Oblati. È fato oltre il fondamento parte dell'edificio alto da brazza 4 et un Gio. Maria Longo ha riceuto lire trecento per provedere le pietre del vivo et del zoccolo.
XIIª «La peregrinatione al s.mo

Sudario di Torino et Verallo»; a spese delli s.ri merzari di Milano. L'edificio continente è finito; manca solamente il lanternino di sopra et il vestibolo con la rizzatura rustica et polita.
XIII[a] «La translatione de' corpi santi»; a spesa della terza regione di cui era visitatore mons.r Mazenta. È fato oltre il fondamento parte del muro alto un brazza con molte pietre vive di mettere in opera.
XIV[a] «La morte del santo»; a spese deli s.ri mercanti d'oro e seta di Milano. Sono principiati li fondamenti.
XV[a] «La canonizzazione del santo»; a spese delli s.ri cavaglieri e fratelli Francesco, Gerolamo Litta di Milano. È finito l'edificio continente da tutto ponto; mancano solamente le statue. Quindeci capellette rappresentanti la vita contemplatica del santo appoggiate all'altezze ser.me di Savoia non sono neanche principate et queste si faranno intorno al colosso del santo fabbricato in parte dal em.mo cardinale Federico Borromeo et adeso si trova nella chiesa del Sacro Monte in pezzi.
La chiesa maggiore s'è appoggiata alla pietà della Maestà Catholica et alle elemosine delle altre tre regioni della diocesi et ancora alla devota charità di tutto il stato di Milano. Dietro all'altare maggiore di detta chiesa è stata trasferita la camera stessa nella quale nacque s.to Carlo, quale era prima nella rocha sopra d'Arona chiamata la «camera delli tre laghi» overo «hospitale delli soldati». In essa camera hora si celebra la s.ta messa et è cinta intorno d'un vago e bello porticale ornato di pietre intagliate con angeli festoni et pitture".
1692-98. Carlo Fontana svolge uno studio per un riordinamento del Sacro Monte, con l'ingresso, l'atrio, la scala della Chiesa e un piedistallo per il Colosso.
1692. Riprendono i lavori per la costruzione del Colosso con la posa della prima pietra del piedistallo. Il progetto è probabilmente di Carlo Fontana.
1696. Completamento del Colosso da parte degli scultori Bernando Falconi e Siro Zanella, che variano leggermente il progetto originale del Cerano, aumentando di poco le misure della statua. Le altre statue e le scalinate del basamento del Fontana non vengono realizzate, viene invece eseguita la doratura del Colosso.
1711. Rilevato lo stato di degrado delle cappelle e della strada del Sacro Monte.
1714. Concorso per il completamento del Sacro Monte. In questa occasione viene probabilmente ristampato il disegno primitivo del Richini.
1723. Mappa catastale teresiana di Arona (conservata all'Archivio di Stato di Torino). Comprende anche l'area del Sacro Monte e presenta l'indicazione di tutte le cappelle.
1815-27. Restauri per la Chiesa, l'Undicesima cappella e il Colosso. Ai lavori partecipa Carlo Amati, che progetta la scala fissa da inserire nel piedistallo del Colosso (1826) e l'atrio della Chiesa.
1934. Viene costruita la nuova ala del Seminario, demolendo la Quindicesima cappella.
1974-75. Restauro statico del Colosso eseguito dall'ingegnere Carlo Ferrari da Passano, con la sostituzione di alcune parti dell'ossatura portante in legno con nuovi profilati in acciaio.
Attualmente restano tre cappelle: la Prima, l'Ottava (adibita a legnaia) e l'Undicesima, prive delle decorazioni scultoree. Dell'antico percorso restano due tratti, interrotti dalla nuova strada. Il Sacro Monte appartiene ancora all'Ambrosiana di Milano, a parte l'edificio del Seminario, affidato dalla Diocesi di Novara ai Padri oblati di San Carlo e Sant'Ambrogio, che vi hanno aperto un Istituto Tecnico per Geometri e un Liceo Linguistico.

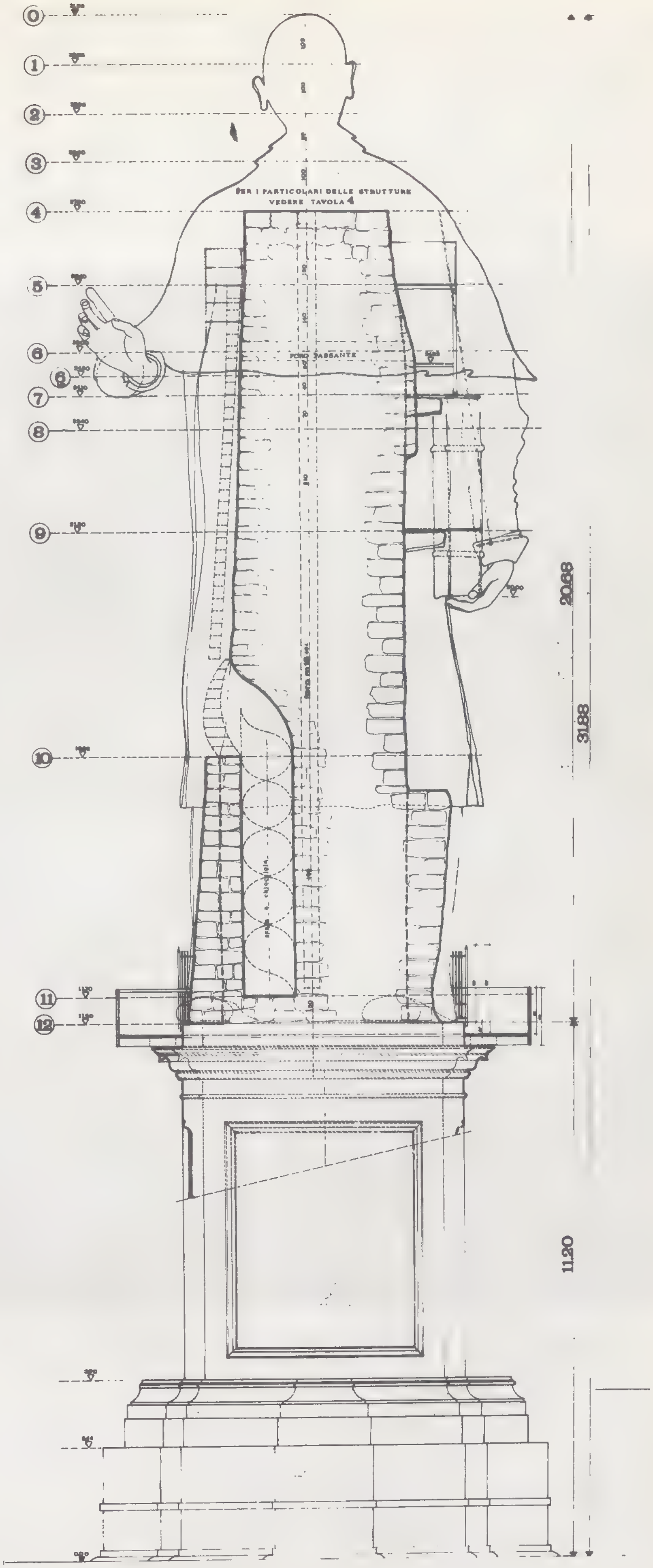
(*) Questa cronologia essenziale delle vicende del Sacro Monte è stata compilata nel corso di una tesi di laurea alla Facoltà di Architettura del Politecnico di Milano (allieve Gentucca Canella, Anna Foppiano, relatore prof. Gian Paolo Semino: Completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo in Arona, *a.a. 1991-92).*
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Rilievo del Colosso di San Carlo eseguito dall'Ingegner Carlo Ferrari da Passano in occasione del restauro, 1974-75: sezione verticale.
Da C. Ferrari da Passano, Il restauro statico e conservativo del colosso di S. Carlo ad Arona, *in AA.VV.,* Immagini e presenze di San Carlo nella terra di Arona, *cit.*

Nelle pagine precedenti:
Piante e sezioni dal rilievo dello stato attuale delle tre cappelle superstiti del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona: Prima cappella, della Nascita; Ottava cappella, della Rinuncia (rilievo della sezione di A. Bacialli, R. Canella, L. Ferrari); Undicesima cappella, degli Oblati.
Da P. Frigerio e P.G. Pisoni, Appendice, *in "Verbanus. Rassegna per la cultura, l'arte, la storia del lago", n. 5, Intra 1984.*

Drawing of the Colossus of San Carlo by engineer C. Ferrari da Passano to mark restoration work in 1974 and 1975: vertical section.
From C. Ferrari da Passano, Il restauro statico e conservativo del colosso di S. Cárlo ad Arona, *in (Various Authors),* Immagini e presenze di San Carlo nella terra di Arona, *op. cit.*

Preceding pages:
Plans and sections from the relief model showing the present state of the three remaining chapels of the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona: the First chapel, The Birth, the Eighth, The Renunciation (relief section by A. Bacialli, R. Canella, L. Ferrari); the Eleventh, The Oblate Congregation. From P. Frigerio and P.G. Pisoni, Appendix in "Verbanus. Rassegna per la cultura, l'arte, la storia del lago", no. 5, Intra 1984.



Giovan Battista Crespi detto il Cerano, Carlo visita gli appestati, *1602.*
Milano, Duomo.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Tanzio da Varallo, San Carlo porta in processione il Santo Chiodo, *1628 c.,*
Cellio, Parrocchiale.
Foto P. Vandrasch.



Giovan Battista Crespi ("Il Cerano"), Carlo visita gli appestati, *1602.*
Milan Cathedral.
Following pages:
Tanzio da Varallo, San Carlo porta in processione il Santo Chiodo, *ca. 1628,*
Parish Church, Cellio.
Photo P. Vandrasch.

*Chronology of the Building of the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona**

1614. Oblate Father Marco Aurelio Grattarola, who had been instrumental in the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in Rome, writes a letter to Cardinal Federico Borromeo proposing the idea of a Sacro Monte in Arona to commemorate the saint.
Federico Borromeo replies approving the idea and officially authorising financial arrangements for the enterprise and the collection of funds.
Federico Borromeo lays the foundation stone of the Church of San Carlo designed by Francesco Maria Richini under the artistic direction of Giovan Battista Crespi, "Il Cerano", who would later design the model for the Colossus of San Carlo. A road is built from the lake shore to the hill.
1615. Father Grattarola publishes Informatione dell'origine e progresso della fabrica del Sacro Monte di San Carlo in Arona, *probably with illustrations which have now unfortunately been lost.*
1620. Building starts on the Seminary, again at the wish of Federico Borromeo, "so that when priests come into the presence of San Carlo they may be encouraged to cultivate their learning as well as their piety". *The project was presumably by Francesco Maria Richini and took until 1643 to build.*
1625. Responsibility for and ownership of the Sacro Monte is awarded to Milan's Collegio dei Conservatori dell'Ambrosiana in view of the poor results achieved by the previous administration.
Marc'Aurelio Città de' Gigli is commissioned to produce terracotta statues based on approved existing models. Melchiorre d'Enrico, already working on the Sacro Monte at Varallo, is also commissioned (entering service around 1630 c.).
1627. Francesco Mario Richini is also brought in to work on the gardens and waterworks.
1628-30. Lack of commitment from patrons and the outbreak of plague bring work on most of the chapels to a halt.
1632. Giovanni Angelo Crivelli (already working on Isola Bella) replaces Richini and produces a sketch for the stairway to the Church (1634).
1637. Various pieces of the copper Colossus executed in Milan from designs by Il Cerano (in the Ambrosiana Library) are taken to Arona.
1642. Dean Graziano Ponzone's Stato delle chiese di Arona *(Arona parish records) states that four chapels are finished (I, III, XII, XV), work has begun on eight (IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII), two (VI, XIV) have had only the foundations laid, and one (II) has not even been started yet. Parts of the Colossus are stored in the main church. Work on the hermitage chapels has not begun either.*
1646. Informatione dell'origine e progresso della Fabrica del Sacro Monte di San Carlo in Arona, *with* Nota delle cappelle appoggiate a Benefattori *is practically a transcription of Dean Ponzone's earlier* Stato delle chiese di Arona.
1653. Nota delle Cappelle del Monte di S.to Carlo appoggiate a benefattori *(Borromeo Archive, Isola Bella) reproduces previous surveys and is in turn transcribed with minor variations in 1665. The full text reads:*
"Fifteen chapels are being built, according to the wishes of the founder of the Sacro Monte, in which the most important deeds and building works of the Saint are to be represented by pictures and statues.
The First Chapel, 'The Birth of the Saint', is being paid for by the Bankers of Milan. The whole building is now complete and the statues are finished. The paintings have not been done yet.
The Second, 'The Saint's Calling to the Priestly Vocation and the Awarding of his Cardinalship in Rome', is being paid for by the Ultramontane Bankers. The whole building is finished and work has begun on some of the statues.
The Third, 'The Conclusion of the Holy Council of Trent', is being paid for by the Collegiate Doctors of Milan. The foundation stone has not even been laid, and this should be brought to the attention of the Doctors, who are most determined men and will certainly see to it that work starts.
The Fourth, 'The Ceremonial Entry of San Carlo into Milan', is being paid for by the Procurators of Milan. More than half the building is up, much carved stone is ready for mounting and the Miarolo columns are ready for the vestibule.
The Fifth, 'San Carlo Tours the Province', was begun by the city of Brescia and now rises one and a half yards above the ground.
The Sixth, 'The Conversion of the Heretics and the Visit to Grisons', is being paid for by the Goldsmiths and Jewellers of Milan. Only some of the foundations have been laid.
The Seventh, 'The Harquebus that was Fired at the Saint', is being paid for by the 4th Region of the Diocese and by Monsignor Giulio Cesare Visconte. Work is at an advanced stage and there is much carved stone, marble and what is called 'Angera' stone ready for use. Some stones have cracked because of the frost and other causes.
The Eighth, 'San Carlo Renounces Titles and Riches', is being paid for by the Wool Merchants and Drapers of Milan. Most of the building is finished.
The Ninth, 'San Carlo Watches Over and Attends to the Plague-Striken', is being paid for by the 1st Region of the Diocese, where Monsignor Fedele was visiting prelate. The foundations are laid and the walls are now two yards high.
The Tenth, 'The Procession of the Holy Nail in Plague Times', was begun by Cardinal Ferrante Taverna. More than half the building is complete and there is much carved Larizi stone ready for use.
The Eleventh, 'The Founding of the Oblate Congregation', is being paid for by that congregation. The foundations are complete and the walls are four yards high. Gio. Maria Longo has received three hundred lire to build the stone uprights and plinth.
The Twelfth, 'Pilgrimage to the Holy Shroud of Turin and to Varallo', is being paid for by the Merzari of Milan. The building is finished. Only the lantern, the vestibule with the rustic roof and the plastering are missing.

The Thirteenth, 'The Translation of the Corpi Santi', is being paid for by the 3rd region, where Monsignor Mazenta was visiting prelate. The foundations are complete and the walls are a yard high, with much stone ready to be used.
The Fourteenth, 'The Death of the Saint', is being paid for by the Gold and Silk Merchants of Milan. Work has started on the foundations.
The Fifteenth, 'The Canonization of the Saint', is being paid for by the brothers Cav. Francesco and Cav. Gerolamo Litta of Milan. The building is entirely finished. Only the statues are needed now.
Fifteen smaller chapels representing the contemplative life of the Saint, to be paid for by His Most Serene Highness of Savoy, have not even been begun. They are to be built around the Colossus of the Saint that was partly constructed by Cardinal Federico Borromeo and is now in pieces in the Church of the Sacro Monte.
The Main Church is being paid for by His Majesty the Catholic King, with alms from the other three regions of the Diocese and charitable contributions from the whole state of Milan.
The room in which the Saint was born, known as 'the room of the three lakes' or Soldiers' Hospice, has been brought from Rocca d'Arona and rebuilt behind the high altar in the Main Church. Mass is now said in it, and it is surrounded by a fine portico decorated with carved stone angels, festoons and pictures".
1692-98. Carlo Fontana produces a study for the reorganisation of the Sacro Monte which includes an entrance, atrium and stairway for the Church and a pedestal for the Colossus.
1692. Work resumes on the Colossus with the laying of the foundation stone of the pedestal. The project was probably by Carlo Fontana.
1696. The Colossus is completed by sculptors Bernardo Falconi and Siro Zanella, who vary Cerano's original project slightly by making the statue a little larger. Fontana's other statues and the steps for the plinth are not built: the Colossus is gilded instead.
1711. The deterioration of the chapels is noted.
1714. A competition for the completion of the Sacro Monte is announced. Richini's original design is probably reprinted.
1723. Maria Teresa's land registry map of Arona (now in the State Archive, Turin) is published. It also covers the area of the Sacro Monte and shows all the chapels.
1815-27. The Church, Eleventh Chapel and Colossus are restored, with the assistance of Carlo Amati who also designs the permanent staircase to go inside the pedestal of the Colossus (1826) and the atrium of the Church.
1934. The new wing of the Seminary is built by demolishing the Fifteenth Chapel.
1974-75. Static restoration of the Colossus is carried out by engineer Carlo Ferrari da Passano: parts of the wooden supporting framework are replaced with new steel members. Three chapels remain: the First, the Eighth (now a wood store) and the Eleventh, which no longer have sculptures. Two sections of the old pilgrim route remain, severed by the new road. The Sacro Monte is still owned by the Ambrosiana of Milan, except for the Seminary building given by the Diocese of Novara to the Oblate Fathers of San Carlo and St. Ambrose, who have converted it into a technical and language school.

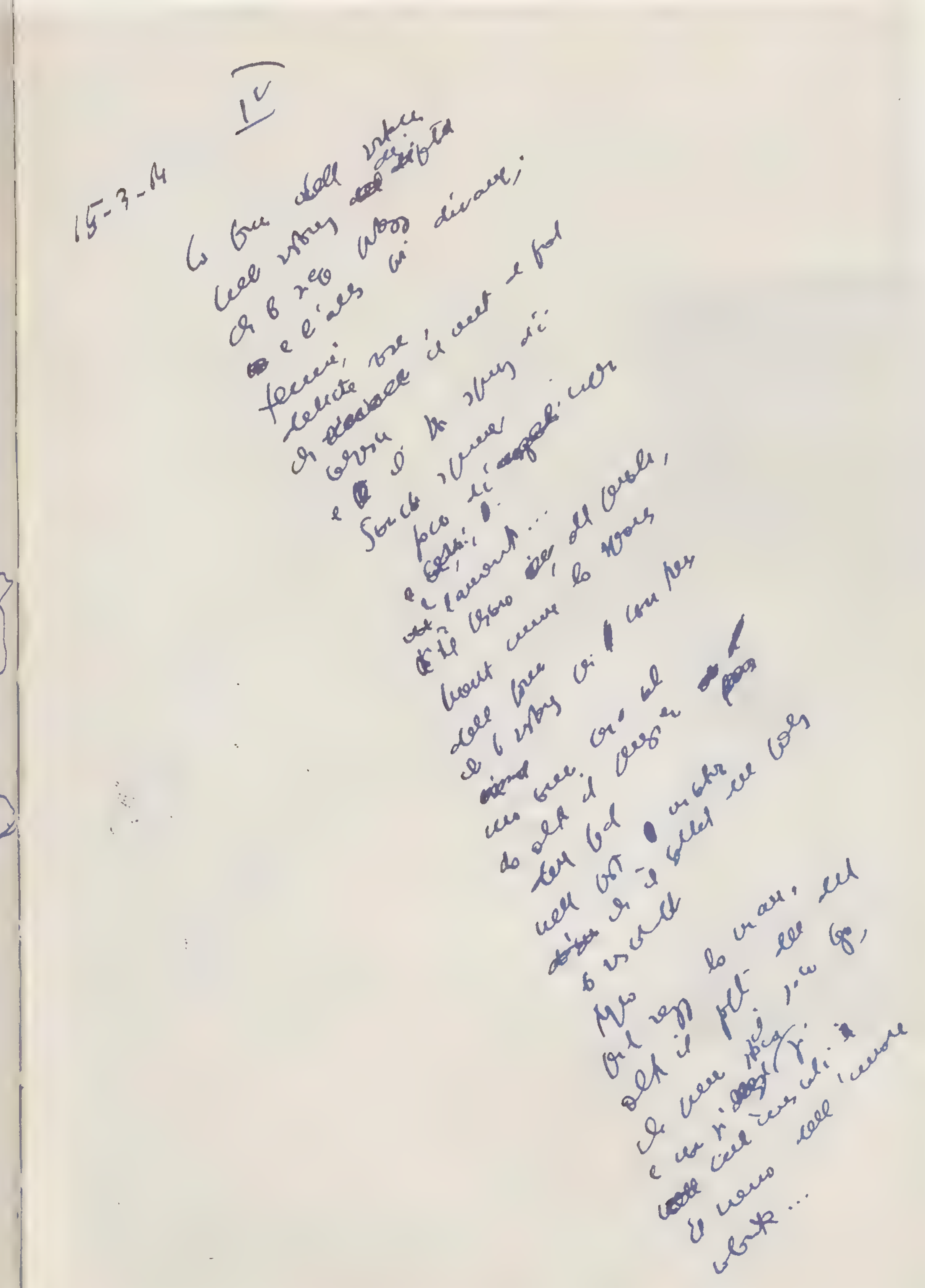
(*) This brief chronology of the building of the Sacro Monte was complied by Gentucca Canella and Anna Foppiano for their degree thesis (supervised by Prof. Gian Paolo Semino), Faculty of Architecture, Milan Polytechnic: Completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo in Arona, *academic year 1991-92.*
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Giovanni Testori
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo

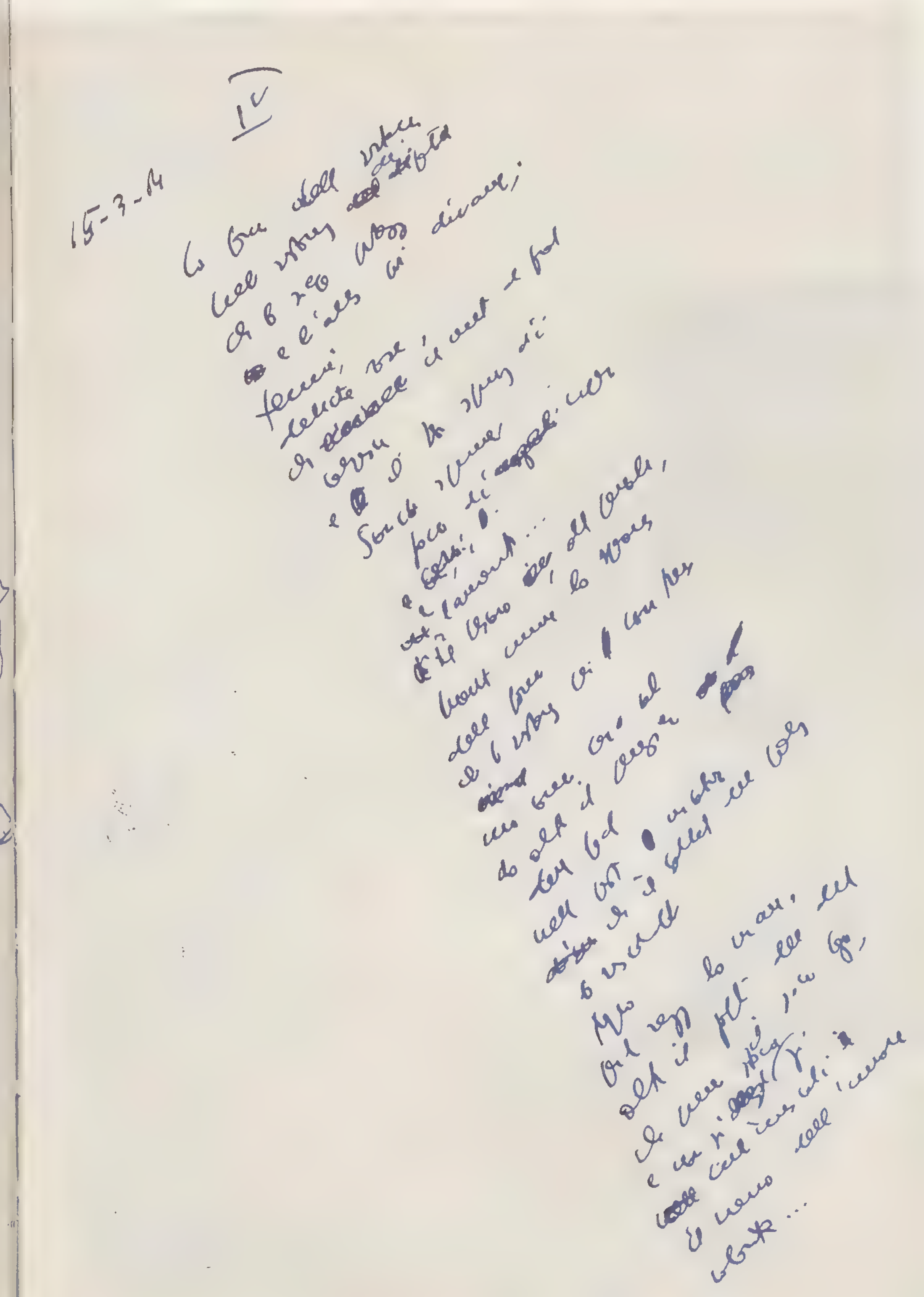


Pagine da I trionfi, *manoscritto,* Intermezzo II. L'ultima processione di S. Carlo, *marzo 1964.*

Pages from I trionfi, *manuscript,* Intermezzo II. L'ultima processione di San Carlo, *March 1964.*



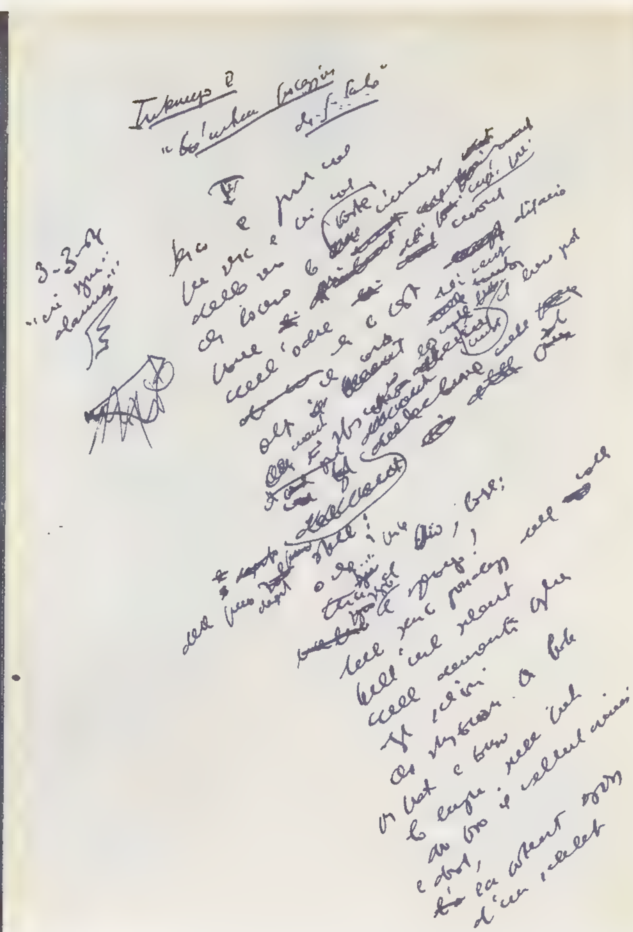
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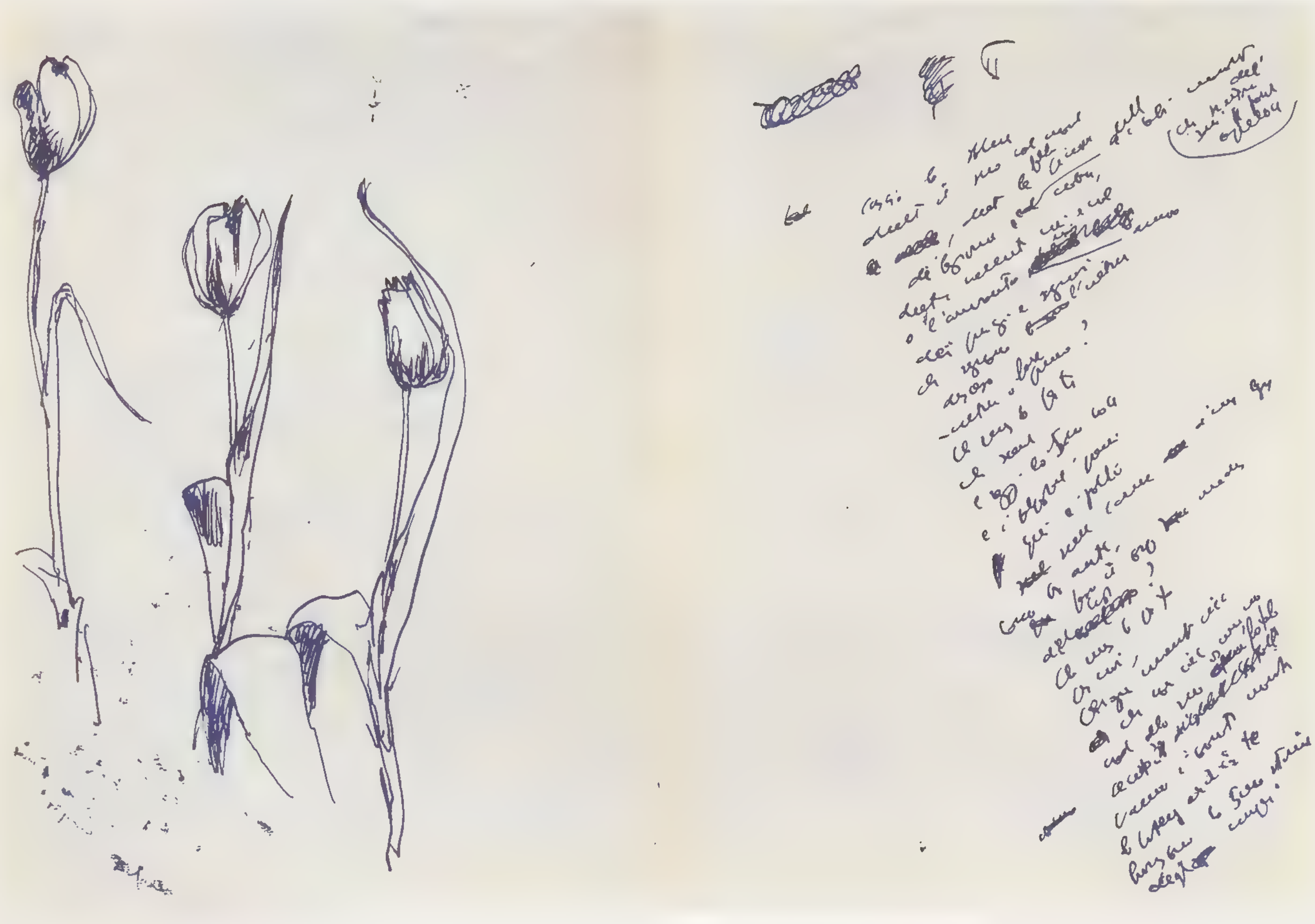
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L'ultima processione di S. Carlo*

Giovanni Testori

I

Serica e grande viola,
piú serica e piú viola
della sera
che bagna le verdi,
immense piane
nel dolore dei poveri morenti
che la peste dilania
oltre il coro dei vinti,
mentre si disfano le nubi
al lieve grido
della deserta, prima stella.
Luce di Dio,
segno di speranza?
Nella serica grandezza della valle,
nella greve preghiera
degli schiavi
che strisciano per fede,
per pietà e paura
la lingua sulle pietre
dove passa il velluto cremisi
e dorato,
la potente saggezza
d'uno scheletro vivente
ormai per poco,
pregante sempre,
da prima che nascesse,
nel grembo della madre...
Le lingue strisciano tremanti;
le mani si stringono,
ora che s'apre il fianco disumano
d'ogni cielo
e i figli bruciano dell'uomo
nell'inutile valva di bellezza.
David,
strazio di cupi e bianchi monti,
lupo dell'anima e del sesso,
dove sei,
dove?
E dove nascondi,
ora,
il tuo ombelico?
Dove i tuoi denti
teneri e dorati
di vincente?
La mannaia è scesa
sulla valle montana
e sulla terra;
il tuo braccio è calato
nel gesto
di vendetta;
Golia è caduto,
come l'ombra dai massi,
tra le forre
che Gavala fiorisce;
la livida neve
s'è gemmata di grigi,
duri muschi.
David,
tu che reggi la pisside
dell'ultima speranza
e ingigantisci
le azzurre crepe dei ghiacciai;
tu che t'abbracci, nei segreti silenzi,
ai tronchi degli abeti,
i cervi insegui,
imiti le lontre,
stendendoti nel sonno
all'ombra dei piú alti cedri,
dov'è, David,
l'occhio tuo
d'iddio diseredato?
Guarda la povera tua razza,
la razza dello strame alpino,
dell'alpina mestizia siderale,
la montana giovinezza
dei tuoi maschi,
il delicato ardore
dei piú giovani grembi,
guarda i vecchi
stendere le palme,
strisciare la lingua sui ciottoli,
sulla lunga benda
di garza e di velluto
su cui scende
la sacra mantide dell'ossa
e perde sangue
da ferite inesistenti,
stringe la croce
e nella croce
il chiodo derelitto
che i cani confissero nel Cristo
— trema il labile vetro
che gli fa custodia,
al soffio di metallo,
al gemere di gocce
che incrostano di sangue
la breve, dura punta —
guarda i ginocchi,
le rotule infangate;
guarda le schiene,
gli occhi perduti
dietro i ciclamini
dei gran manti
che i ciclamini gareggiano
e vincono dei boschi
nel vincere d'ogni piú grande sera,
immensa goccia
che dilata il nulla
sul muschio delle case.
Geme il Borgo
al suono di Doccio
e di Morondo,
mentre il bronzo
scalpella la brevità
dell'ora
nell'addio che il pastore rivolge
al misero suo gregge;
batte il ciottolo
dei santi
sulle case di Foresto
e di Quarona;
puzzano ascelle
e piedi di fanghiglia;
i cardi si richiudono
al giungere dell'ombra,
ma il viola piú resiste,
l'immenso viola
che allunga la porpora
regale,
i principi insegue
nella vana statura
del Vescovo che scende,
esile, stento,
al battito della morte
ormai vicina
— e sa;
la meditata fine
ha già sudato
nella piccola cella degli Ulivi;
sa che l'attende Arona
nel silente disastro del suo lago,
acqua che sdoppia
ogni esistenza in sé
ed ogni fede,
apre nel senso
il suo contrario
ed il nonsenso
forse
d'ogni cosa
e tra la pelle dei guanti
levigati,
i polpastrelli e l'ossa,
sopporta la fatica
di reggere la croce
e, nella croce,
lo sdegno dei cristiani,
povero chiodo
chissà come
e in quale terra
o tomba
ritrovato
— tu vedi,
David?
O se non David,



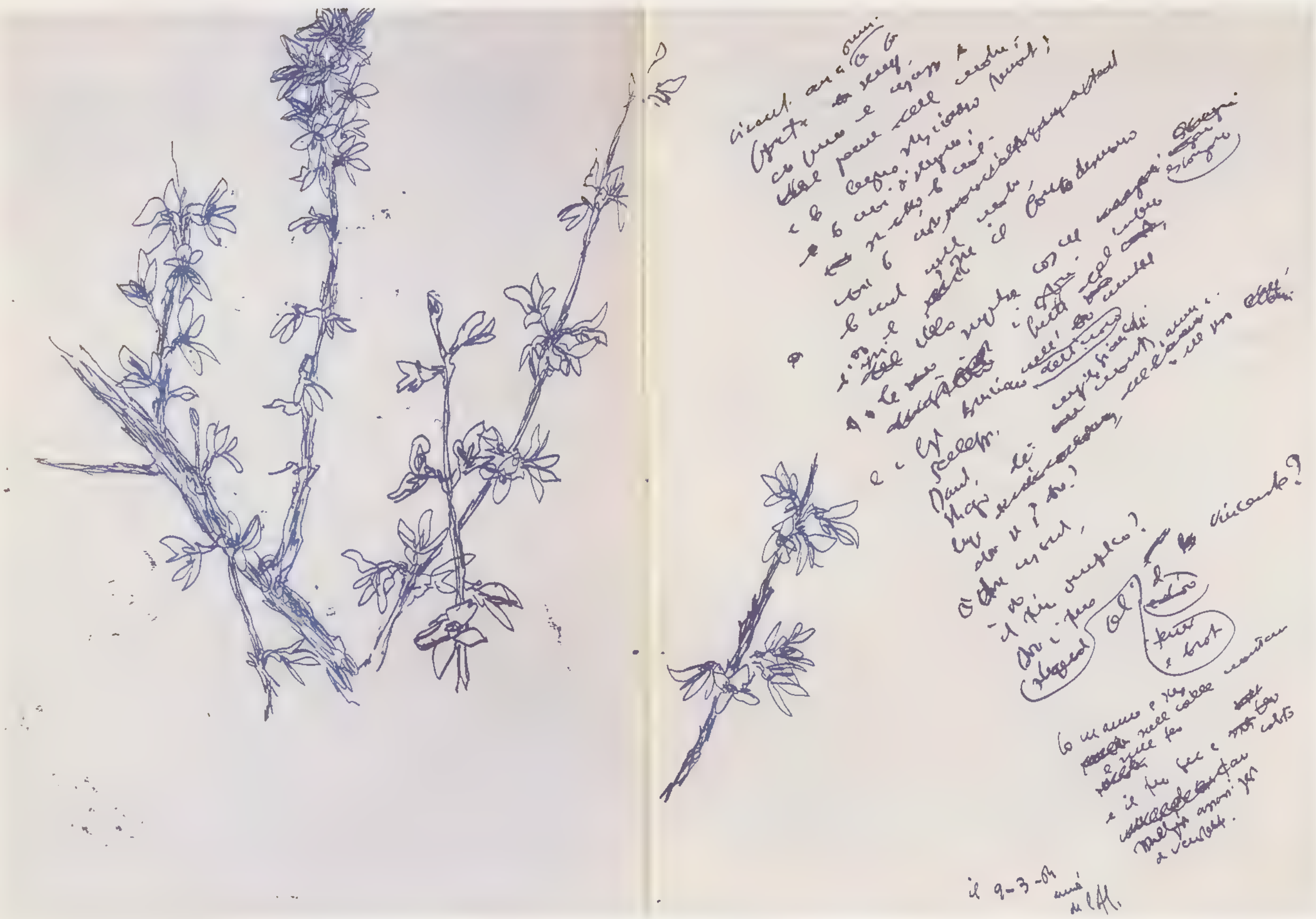
Pagine da I trionfi, *manoscritto,* Intermezzo II. L'ultima processione di S. Carlo, *marzo 1964.*

Pages from I trionfi, *manuscript,* Intermezzo II. L'ultima processione di San Carlo, *March 1964.*

giovane nato appena,
appena aperto
ai venti del tuo Riale,
tu,
cui il dono dell'arte maledetto
batte nelle cellule del cranio,
mentre ribatte giú,
l'addio,
ribatte, come a morte
— no,
non è a festa
il coro degli organi del Borgo,
perché la morte insegue
nelle porpore e nei manti,
nei piumati cappelli
dei reggenti
e introduce ogni dove
il muso suo di cane derelitto
ed affamato —
batte a silente requiem
la campana di fede
di Fobello
e tu senti crescere in te
come l'eretto sangue
cosí lo sdegno
del cristiano impossibile
che sei,
ora che secoli sono ormai passati
e sai:
gli anni,
i decenni,
la catena del tempo
a ridosso del macigno
che ogni sera si fa luce
di rosa,
piú rosa del tuo giovane vigore
o quasi,
o rosa certo come il labbro della donna
che di colpo hai visto nel sorriso,
di colpo hai trafugato
con le volpi,
là, nel bosco,
per avere,
perché contro la spoglia
della morte
o contro l'incombente
solitudine dei vinti
che resta, se non la povera demenza
di fondere se stessi
ad altra carne
e nel silenzio piú spettrale
e sacro,
urlare al Dio,
dilà da quei decenni,
dilà dal tempo stesso
d'ogni tempo:
Tu,
santità, luce suprema,
indifferenza,
perché hai cosí fatto
di carne e vanità
la solitudine dei figli?

II

I visi lasci,
le grandi statue, le crete,
dietro il tuo viola manto,
dietro le folte piume dei fagiani,
dietro i cangianti dei cedroni
che svettano sulle tese dei cappelli,
dietro i velluti neri e viola
e l'amaranto amaro
dei principi e signori
che seguono l'ultima discesa
che dal Monte ti porta verso il Borgo
— ultima
o forse prima...
Che senso ha
che l'una sia o l'altra
per te
che scendi,
reggi la croce,
i polpastrelli premi,
a graffio,
sulle vene d'un legno
cosí antico?
E quale mai
per noi,
per ogni vivo che, non cieco,
creda alla sua fatale,
oscura cecità?
Vanno dietro te
i manti coronati;
la potenza anche in te
fiorisce la breve storia
degli imperi
e c'è chi nasce, geme
e nessuna preghiera porta
dilà dall'essere una muta
lingua di cristiano
che penzola dai labbri,
una mano che supplice
si stende
al passaggio del Vescovo
e Signore...
Guarda;
o sí, guarda
la calda immensità
di questo lembo di natura,
di questa crosta un giorno spenta,
poi fiorita,
come adesso che pur autunno geme
nei gemiti dei servi del tuo Dio
— cadono, al passo del corteo,
le castagne dorate
dai ricci gonfi
di puntuti ori
e il tonfo
ti ridesta in cuore
e piú ancora
nell'acuta mente
il suono della fine
verso cui vai,
sfatto dall'ostinata volontà
di credere o volere,
felice forse
che anche la tua giornata
sia cosí finita;
guarda
come tutto ora si porta
a spegnersi nel cerchio della fine,
ad avere in un punto
la sua gloria di cardo
o rosa morta,
l'espansa,
la canina,
e l'altra che fiorí
nel cuore della stella
e dentro il cranio senza pace
dell'artista maledetto...
Ma tu,
che senso dai,
che peso,
all'ossa tue
vestite d'ogni luce,
e d'ogni onore,
al suono dell'eterna,
cupa linfa
che in te fiorí
di sacra gloria
e di civile, religioso orgoglio?
Cosí facile è
per chi ti guarda
rimediare al destino
che in te porti nel tuo incerto
franare d'ogni giorno!
Già trema il sole
dietro l'antica Rocca;
Arona attende;
attendono i parenti;
i messi son già giunti
da Lugano;
la voce dell'Adorno
ti martella il cervello
lí, alle tempie;
pulsa il sangue già corrotto;
prepara il verme di Fetonte
l'ultima strozza,



Pagine da I trionfi, *manoscritto,* Intermezzo II. L'ultima processione di S. Carlo, *marzo 1964.*

Pages from I trionfi, *manuscript,* Intermezzo II. L'ultima processione di San Carlo, *March 1964.*

l'embolo fatale,
il disordine
che presto porterà
l'ombra tua stanca
nell'immane crosta di cellule
e silenzio...
. . . .

IV
La sostanza della forma
nella forma dei petali
che la siepe protegge
e l'alba poi divampa;
tenui,
delicate rose
che il vento di Gavala
colpisce
e il Sesia spruzza di bianche spume,
gocce di vipere
cervi
e giú,
piú giú, lamenti...
Il Vescovo è alle pendici
mentre muore la speranza
nella forma
che la sostanza più non tiene,
ma come cera cala
da oltre il pensiero
nella fede
nella pasta incolore
che il battito del polso
ha riscaldato,
troppo,
perché regga la mano,
oltre il graffio del dito
che preme il sacro legno
e non si stacchi giú,
nei muscoli,
il nervo dell'ultima,
umana volontà...
. . . .
. . . .
"Fu come dissi:
l'ora è questa.
Che altro posso
nei miei anni,
nel cranio che il verme
già distrugge
in caverne, come queste,
di popolo?
O popolo disfatto,
popolo rattrappito nell'attesa
e nella furia,
il mostro scenderà ancora
su di voi...
David
è lontano...
Suor Corona,
mia sorella,
nell'ora della fine,
nella fine d'ogni ora,
prega
perché forti siano le fondazioni.
come la nostra Rocca
o i dirupi, qui,
di questa valle
o il Monte
che ho lasciato,
ora
e per sempre...
La città è lontana,
Milano che non vedo,
Milano che non sento
nei bronzi,
nelle voci...
Fa' che superi il confine,
il lago,
la mia sponda;
la culla fa' che lasci,
senza pianto;
mi colga là,
la morte,
nel popolo vicino,
vicino alle mie membra,
nell'ora del sudore,
nell'ora della fine...
... l'ultima discesa
si conclude...
Popolo mio di monte
e tu, mio lago,
isole dorate dell'infanzia,
corona di principe e signore
nei gigli
di chi predisse a me
santità, luce
e governo...
il passo è stanco...
... ma la chiesa di marmo
s'avvicina,
le guglie di ricamo
che nell'alba vidi
e sempre amai,
nei digiuni contai,
come l'ossa,
dove il cielo si faceva di rosa
e poi di spine...
... sempre ricorderò le cime
dell'estate,
nell'infanzia...
Chiodo di Cristo,
Chiodo crocefisso,
nell'ora della forma
che si sforma,
nell'ora dello strame,
la luce dell'umana farfalla
si distenda,
in ali,
cada la crisalide nel Borgo,
là,
sulla piazza
della mia Milano,
e la tua festa sia
e mia,
nel dolore,
nell'amore..."
. . . .

* Da Giovanni Testori, *I trionfi*, Milano 1965.
L'ultima processione di S. Carlo è il secondo *Intermezzo* a separazione delle tre parti di cui si compongono *I trionfi*. Di tale *Intermezzo*, a sua volta composto di quattro parti, si pubblicano qui, d'intesa con l'autore, la prima parte integralmente e due estratti delle parti seconda e quarta.



Disegno per la Nona cappella, La vigilanza e cura nella peste di Milano. San Carlo comunica gli appestati, *1993.*

Design for the Ninth Chapel, La vigilanza e cura nella peste di Milano. San Carlo comunica gli appestati, *1993.*

San Carlo's Last Procession*
Giovanni Testori

I

Seric and large violet,
more seric and more violet
than the evening
wetting the green,
immense flat lands
in dying poor's pain
that the plague tears to pieces
beyond the defeated chorus,
while clouds are melting
at the desert, first star's
slight cry.
God's Light,
hope sign?
In the valley's seric broadness,
in the heavy prayer
of slaves
gliding for faith,
for compassion and fear
their tongues over the stones
where crimson and golden velvet
is walking by,
powerful wisdom
of a living skeleton
still for a while,
always praying,
from before he was born,
in his mother's womb...
Tongues trembly grazing;
hands are grasping,
now that the inhuman hip
of any sky
and man's children are burning
in the useless valve of beauty.
David,
torment of dark and white mountains,
wolf of soul and of sex,
where are you,
where?
And where are you hiding,
now,
your navel?
Where your winner's teeth
tender and gilded?
The axe has now descended
on the mountain valley
and on the earth;
your arm has lowered
in the gesture
of revenge;
Goliah has fallen,
like shadow from the rocks,
among ravines
that Gavala flourishes;
ghastly snow.
adorned itself with gray,
hard moss.
David,
you holding the last
hope pyx
and magnifying
blue crevasses of glaciers;
you embracing, in the silent secrets,
the fir-logs,
you follow deers,
imitate otters,
laying down in your sleep
in the shadow of the highest cedars,
where is, David,
your eye
of destituted god?
Look at your poor race,
race of alpine fodder,
of alpine sidereal melancholy,
mountain youth
of your males,
delicate ardor
of younger laps,
and look at the old men
stretching their palms,
gliding their tongues on stones,
upon the long bandage
of gauze and velvet
on which the holy mantis of bones
descends and loses blood
from non-existent wounds,
he grasps the cross
and in the cross
the abandoned nail
which dogs knocked into Christ
— the fragile glass trembles
that is its custody,
at the metal blow,
at the drops moaning
encrusting with blook
the short, hard top —
look at the knees,
the muddy knee-caps;
look at the backs,
lost eyes
behind cyclamens
of great mantles
that cyclamens compete
winning in woods
in any greater evening's victory,
immense drop
spreading the nothing
upon the houses' moss.
The village cries
at Doccio's sound
and Morondo's,
while bronze
chisels the time's
shortness
in the farewell the shepherd adresses
to his scanty flock;
stone of saints
knocks
on Foresto's
and Quarona's houses;
armpits smell
and feet of mud;
thistles close
at the shadow's coming,
but the violet resists longer,
immense violet
extending its purple
regal,
following princes
in the descending Bishop's
vain stature,
thin, stunted,
at death's knock
now close
— and he knows;
the meditated end
he sweated already
in the narrow olive-tree cell;
he knows Arona is wainting for him
in the silent disaster of her lake,
water doubling
any existence inside itself
and any faith,
opening in the sense
its contrary
and the nonsense
maybe
of anything
and between smooth
skin of gloves,
finger-tips and bones,
carrying the fatigue
of holding the cross
and, in the cross,
the Christians' indignation.
poor nail
who knows how
and in which land
or grave
found again
— you see,
David?
Or if not David,
young just born,
just opened

to the winds from your Riale,
you,
to whom the cursed gift of art
knocks in the skull's cells,
while reknocking down,
the farewell,
reknocking down, like to death
— no,
it isn't festive
the Village organs chorus,
because death follows
in purples and mantles,
in regents feathered
hats
introducing everywhere
its forlorn and hungry
dog's face —
knocks a silent requiem
Fobello's faith bell
and you feel it growing inside
like erected blood
thus indignation
of the impossible Christian
that you are,
now that centuries have elapsed
and you know:
years,
decades
time's chain
close to the rock
each evening becoming pink
light,
pinker than your young vigour
or almost so,
or pink certainly like the woman's lip
which you suddenly saw in the smile,
suddenly you stole
with the foxes,
there, in the wood,
to have,
because against death's
skin
or against the incumbent
solitude of the defeated
what is remaining, if not the poor madness
of fusing oneself
and other flesh
and in the most spectral
and holy silence,
scream to God,
beyond those decades,
beyond the time itself
of any time:
You,
sanctity, supreme light,
indifference,
why did you so make
of flesh and blood
the children's solitude?

II

Faces you leave,
large statues, clays,
behind your purple mantle,
behind thick pheasant feathers,
behind those mutable of capercaillies
standing out on hat-brims,
behind black and purple velvets
and bitter amaranth
of lords and princes
following the last descent
carrying from Mountain to Village
— last
or maybe first...
What sense does it have
that the one be or the other
for you
walking down,
holding the cross,
pressing the finger-tips,
scratch-wise,
on the veins of so ancient
a wood?
And what
for us,
for any living one who, not blind,
believes his fatal,
obscure blindness?
They are walking behind you
crowned mantles;
power also in you
brief story flourishes
of empires
and there is someone born, he cries
and no prayer brings
beyond being a mute
Christian's tongue
hanging from lips,
a supplicating hand
stretches out
at the Bishop's walk
and Lord...
Look;
o yes, look
at this trip of nature's
warm immensity,
of this once extinguished crust,
then flourished,
like now while still the autumn cries
in the servants' groaning of your God
— they are falling, at the procession's step,
golden chestnuts
of swollen husks
with pricking gold
and the splash
is waking you up in your heart
and even more
in the sharp mind
the sound of the end
towards which you are going,
broken by the obstinate will
of believing or wanting,
maybe happy
that even your day
ended up like this;
look
at how everything now goes
to die out in the circle of the end,
to have in a point
its thistle's glory
or dead rose,
expanded,
dogrose,
and the other which flourished
in the star's heart
and in the cursed artist's
peaceless skull...
But you,
what sense do you attribute,
what weight
to your bones
dressed up with every light,
and any honor,
at the sound of the eternal,
dark lymph
flourished in you
with holy glory
and with civil, religious pride?
So easy it is
for those looking at you
to put a remedy to destiny
that in yourself you bring in your uncertain
everyday collapsing!
Yet the sun trembles
behind the ancient Rock;
Arona is waiting;
relatives are waiting;
messengers have arrived already
from Lugano;
Adorno's[1] *voice*
is hammering your brain
there, on the temple;
the already corrupted blood is pulsing;
Phaethon's worm is preparing
the last throttle,
fatal embolus,
disorder
that soon will carry

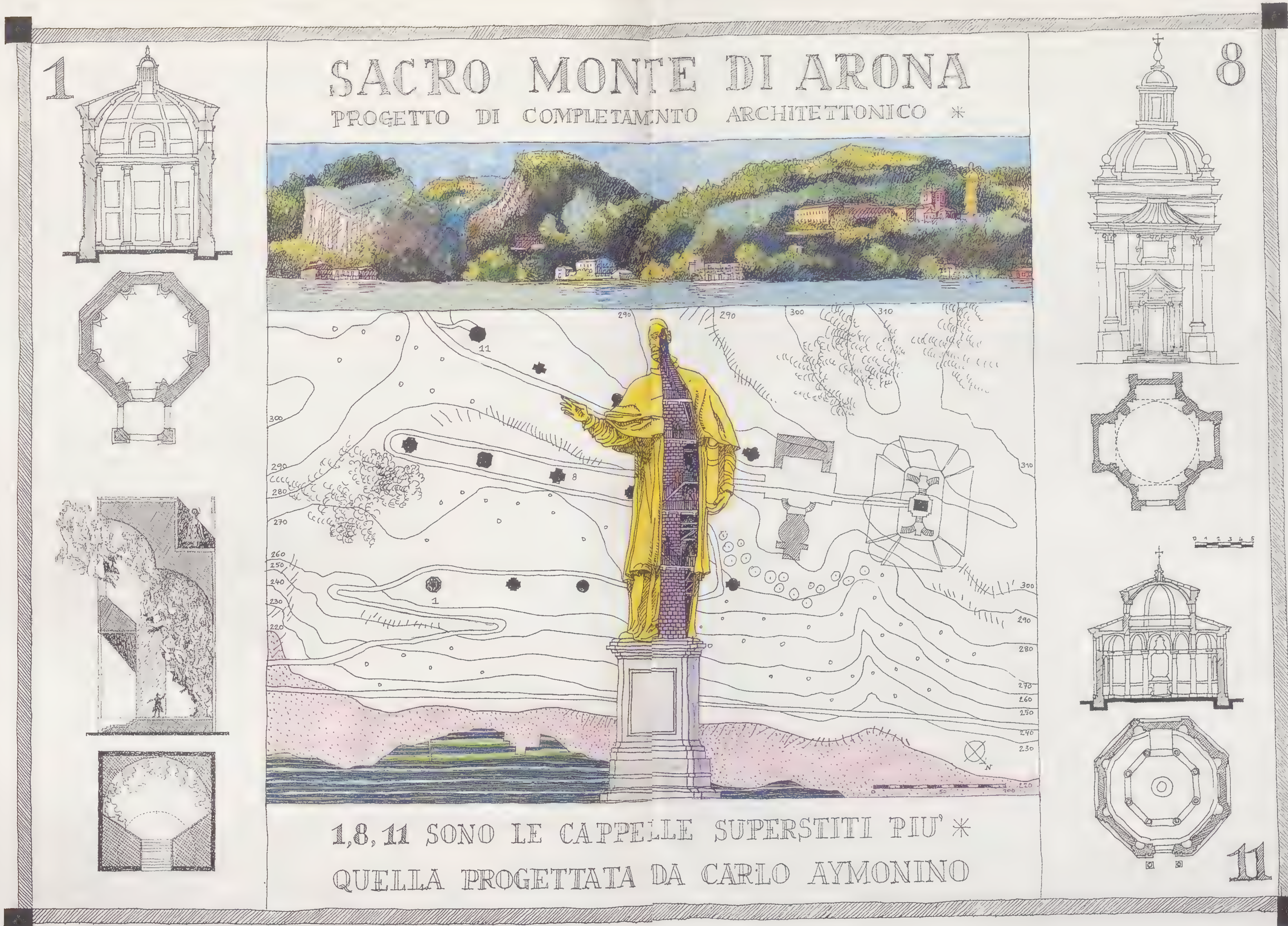
your tired shadow
in the enormous crust of cells
and silence...
. . . .

IV
The shape's substance
in shape of petals
that the hedge protects
and dawn then fires;
slender,
delicate roses
that Gavala's wind
strikes
and the Sesia sprinkles with white river foam,
vipers drops,
deers
and down,
more downwards, moanings...
The Bishop is on the slopes
while hope dies away
in the shape
which substance doesn't hold any longer,
but like wax it drops
from beyond the thought
of faith
into colorless dough
heated
by wrist pulse,
too much,
for it to hold the hand,
beyond the finger scratch
pushing the holy wood
and not to come off,
into the muscles,
nerve of the last,
human will...
. . . .
. . . .
"It was just as I said:
this is the time.
What else can I
in my years,
in the skull which the worm
destroys already
in caves, like these,
of people?
O defeated people,
people benumbed in wait
and in fury,
the monster again will descend
on you...
David
is far away...
Sister Corona,
my sister,
in the time of the end
in the end of any time,
is praying
so that strong be the foundations,
like our Fortress
or this valley's
precipices, here,
or the Mountain
that I left,
now
and forever...
The city is far away,
Milan that I cannot see,
Milan that I cannot feel
in the bronzes,
in the voices...
Make me go beyond the border,
the lake,
my edge;
the cradle make me leave,
without crying;
may death,
catch me there,
in the nearby people,
next to my limbs,
in the time of sweats,
in the time of the end...
the last descent
comes to an end...
My mountain people
and you, my lake,
golden islands of infancy,
princely crown and lord
in lilies
of the one who predicted me
sanctity, light
and govern...
the walk is tired...
but the marble church
gets closer,
the embroidery spires
which I saw at dawn
and always loved,
in the fastings I counted,
like bones,
where the sky gets pink
and then of thorns...
... always will I remember the peaks
of summer,
in my childhood...
Christ's Nail,
crucified Nail,
in the time of unshapely
shape,
in the time of litter,
may the human butterly's light
stretch,
into wings,
may the Village's chrysalis,
there,
on the square
of my Milan,
and may your feast be
and mine,
in pain,
in love...".
. . . .

**From: Giovanni Testori,* I trionfi, *Milano 1965.*
(Translated by Elena Urgnani).
San Carlo Last Procession *is the second* Intermezzo *among the three parts constituting* I trionfi. *Of such* Intermezzo, *in its turn made up by four parts, we are publishing here, in conformity to the author's will, the first part entirely, and two excerpts from the second and fourth part.*

Note
1) Father Adorno, St. Carlo Borromeo's confessor.

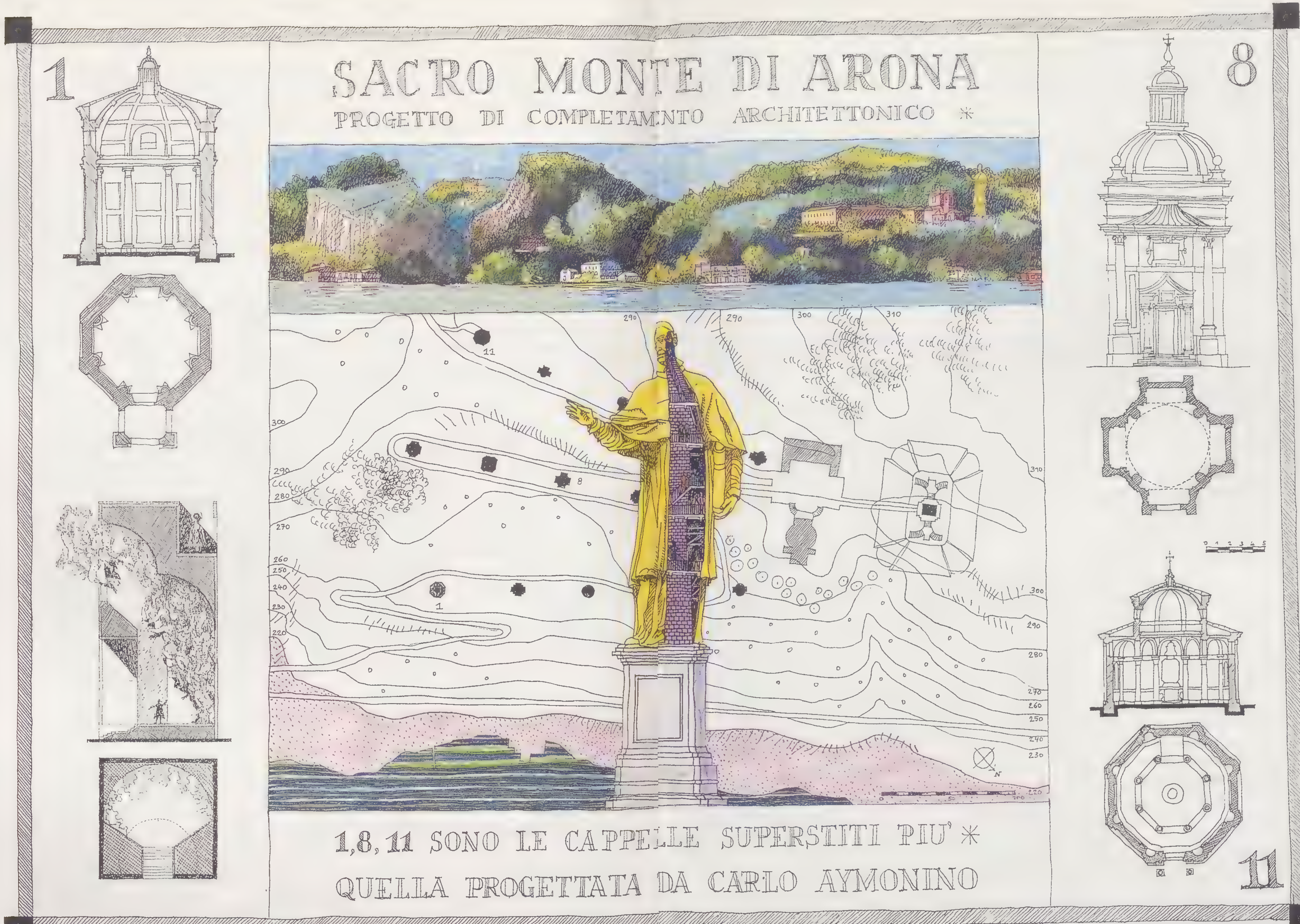
Carlo Aymonino
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Disegno.

Drawing.

Carlo Aymonino
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Disegno.

Drawing.

Per il Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona
Carlo Aymonino

Ho scelto il tema della Resurrezione perché la "scena" è piena di gente, tutti belli e ben disposti perché è la fine di ogni tribolazione e di ogni condanna.
Ritengo infatti che la Resurrezione dovrebbe essere il cambiamento definitivo e totale del nostro stato (dall'essere in vita e in morte all'essere eterni) e quindi la condanna, cioè l'Inferno, è temporanea, riguarda il periodo anche lunghissimo che precede il Giudizio finale.
Perciò una Folla che mano a mano risorge con i propri, concreti corpi e sale verso il Cielo, mutando dai colori vivaci (la vita) al bianco del marmo (l'eterno).
Ho sempre presente la bellezza degli affreschi di Luca Signorelli, nel Duomo di Orvieto — il Giudizio finale — con i Beati e i Dannati, le numerosissime figure, la loro varietà.
Per l'architettura ho immaginato un aspetto esterno molto contenuto (banale) e uno interno assai variato nelle immagini e nella luce.

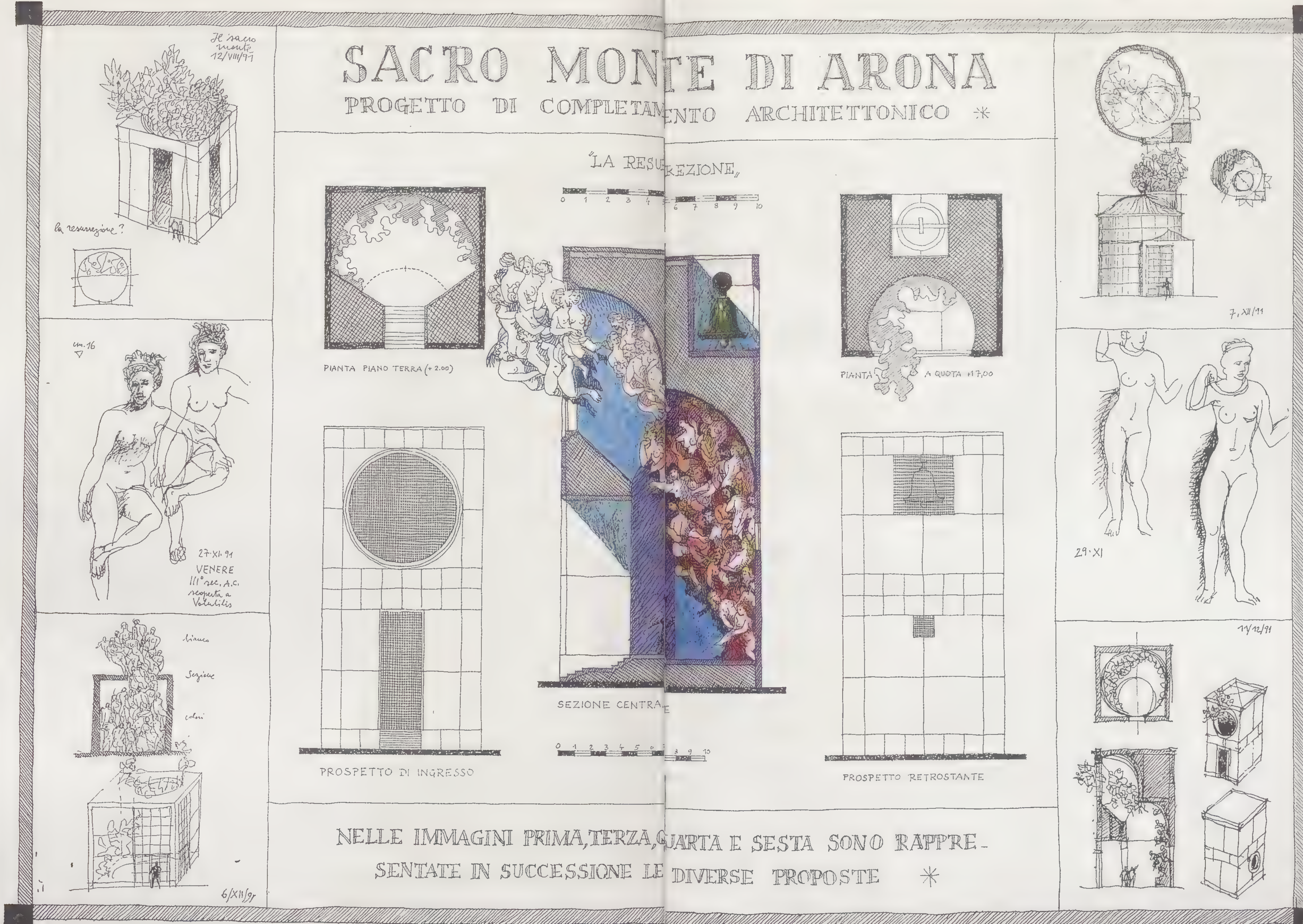
For the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona
Carlo Aymonino

I chose the theme of the Resurrection because the "scene" is full of people who are kindly and well disposed now that tribulation and punishment have come to an end.
I believe the Resurrection means total and final change in our existential state (from earthly life and death into eternal being), so punishment — Hell — is only the temporary, if extremely prolonged period that precedes the Last Judgement.
Thus, as crowds of people gradually attain Resurrection they ascend to Heaven in their physical earthly bodies, divesting themselves of the bright colours of life and donning the marble whiteness of eternity.
My inspiration here is Luca Signorelli's frescoes of the Last Judgement in the Cathedral of Orvieto depicting the Blessed and the Damned and a huge variety of other figures.
As for the architecture, I imagined a very ordinary (banal) exterior and an interior offering a wide range of images and light.

Spaccato del modello.
Foto M. Mucchi.

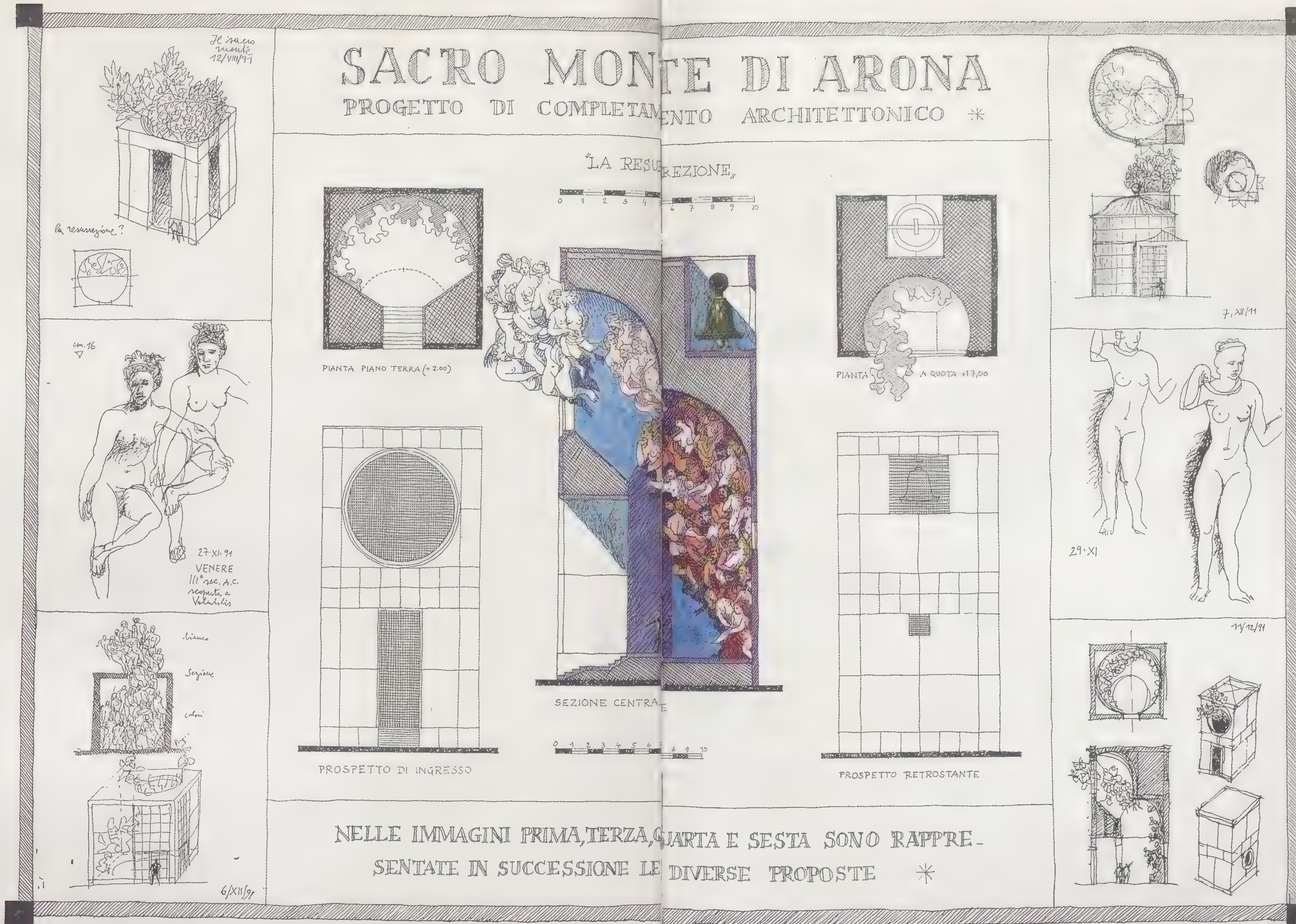
Vertical section of model.
Photo M. Mucchi.





Disegno.

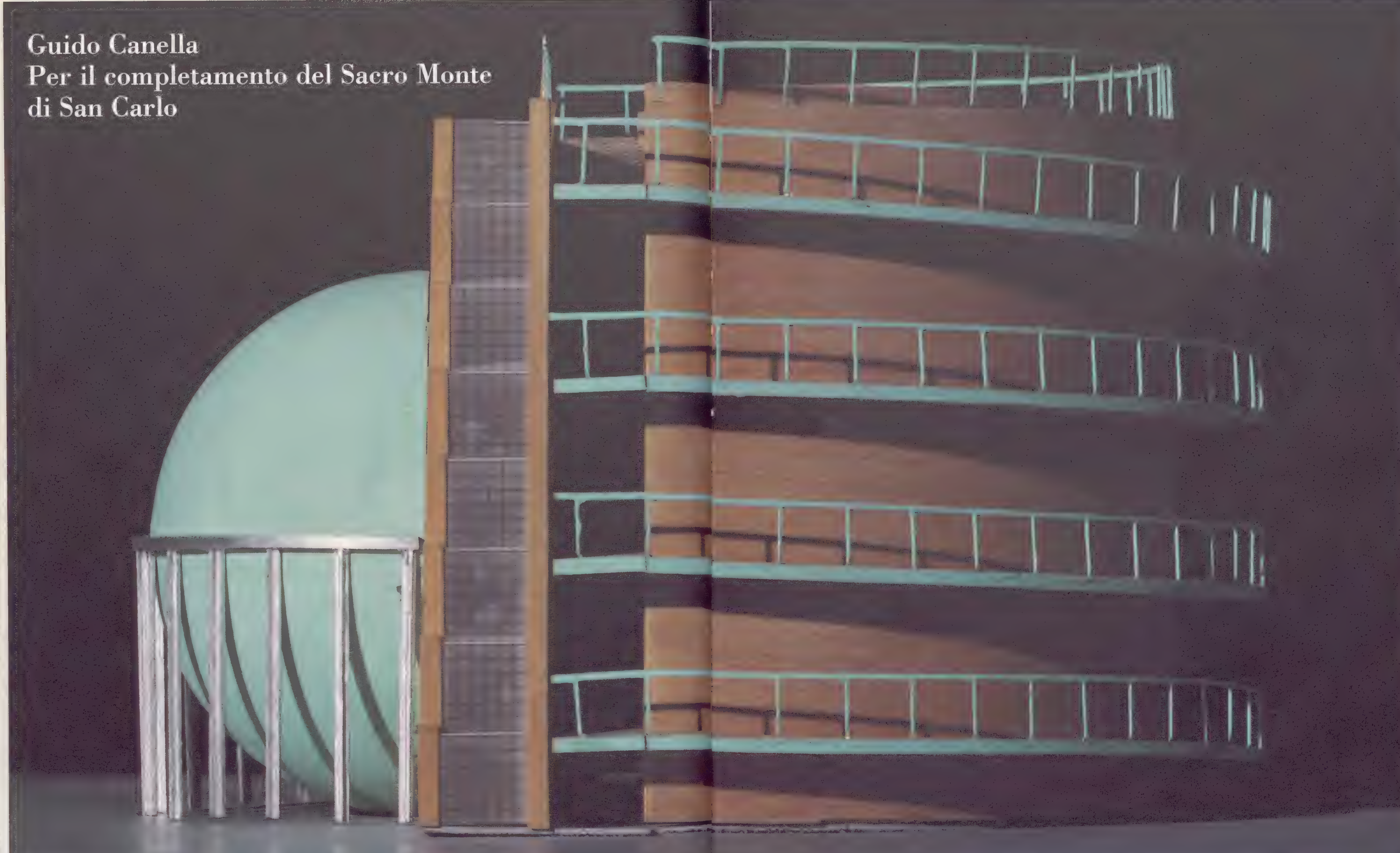
Drawing.



Disegno.

Drawing.

Guido Canella
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Vista del modello da est.
Foto S. Topuntoli.

View of the model from the east.
Photo S. Topuntoli.

Guido Canella
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Vista del modello da est.
Foto S. Topuntoli.

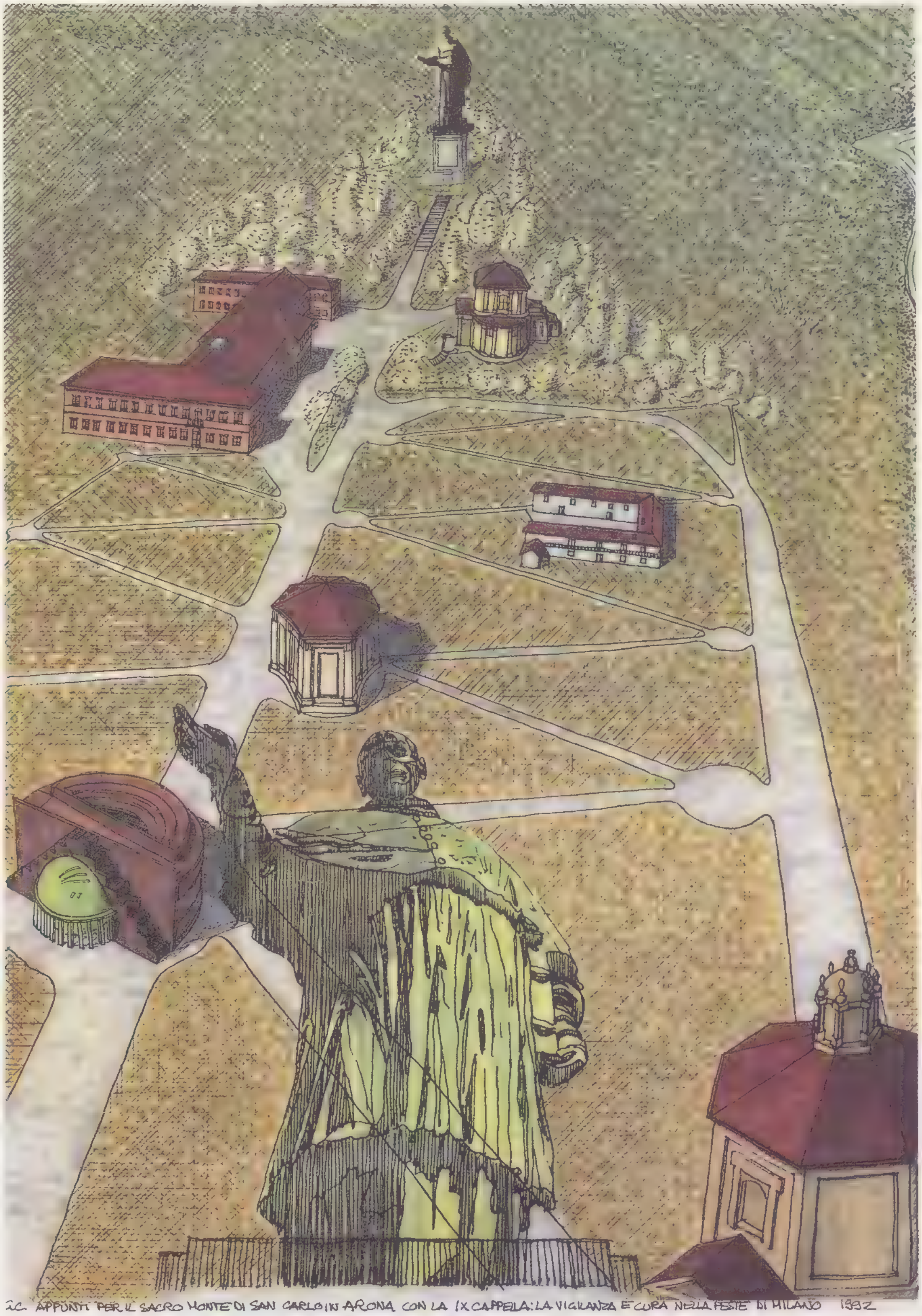
View of the model from the east.
Photo S. Topuntoli.

Per il Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona
Guido Canella

Penso che sia comprensibile come, trovandomi da più di quarant'anni a frequentare e poi risiedere periodicamente a pochi minuti dall'incompiuto Sacro Monte di Arona (prossimo a quello di Orta e all'archetipo di Varallo), io abbia inseguito la chimera del suo completamento, con le prime 15 cappelle tra quelle originariamente previste, a formare quel percorso-vestibolo di immedesimazione, indispensabile all'avvicinamento religioso, ma nondimeno estetico, del superstite Colosso di San Carlo, oggi isolato come un afflitto gigante a sbalordire le festive curiosità dei gitanti tra le polverose manovre dei pullman.
Una chimera fin qui sfiorata soltanto nella simulazione esemplare del progetto. Per esempio, nel 1979, quando la evocavo alla XVI Triennale nel presentare il concorso per la progettazione di un *museo metropolitano dell'area milanese*: non un museo-contenitore, ma un'istituzione irradiata sul territorio, come lo fu nel Seicento l'Ambrosiana destinata a promuovere alcuni prodigi dell'arte lombarda (tra i quali, appunto, i Sacri Monti e lo stesso Colosso del Cerano). Una chimera in seguito insinuata ai figli come tema di scuola e, oggi infine, ad alcuni amici architetti che vi hanno aderito, quasi si trattasse di un nuovo Weissenhof secolare e religioso, museale e sacrale, del resto coerente al particolare composto di natura e artificio che ha stratificato il circostante paesaggio del Verbano.
Tra i diversi soggetti della vita di San Carlo, fin da allora previsti, ho prescelto quello attribuito alla IX cappella, dedicata a *la vigilanza e cura nella peste di Milano*, quella peste che vi ricorreva ciclicamente e che, non soltanto in metafora, potremmo riconoscere anche oggi.
Oltre la convenzione drammaturgica di contemplare dal piano di campagna il quadro rappresentato nella cappella, il progetto prevede un percorso di risalita alla copertura praticabile, ottenuto da rampe curvilinee, alternate interne ed esterne, così da predisporre una sequenza, progressiva in altezza, di viste panoramiche tra la scena allestita e l'ambiente circostante proteso fino al lago e dominato dal Colosso.
Nella concavità di una semisfera illuminata, dove filtra anche la luce naturale, è focalizzato il diorama simbolico della città con i principali suoi monumenti e il lazzaretto, al quale ad intermittenza può sovrapporsi, proiettata sul sipario in tulle trasparente, la ricca iconografia di San Carlo.
La costruzione è rivestita di granito rosso Pantheon, reperibile nella vicina cava di Omegna; mentre la semisfera, bianca traslucida, all'esterno è rivestita in rame e contraffortata da una rastrelliera in acciaio.

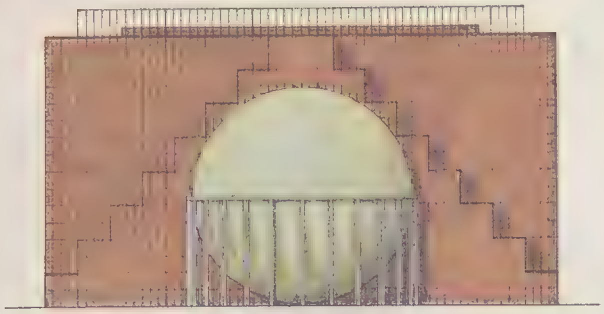
For the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona
Guido Canella

I have been visiting the unfinished Sacro Monte at Arona (near the other one at Orta and the archetype at Varallo) for more than forty years and have spent regular periods living only a few minutes away from it, so I think it's only natural that the dream of completing it has been with me for many years. Its completion would mean erecting the first fifteen of the original chapels to provide an essential religious prelude — as well as a suitably aesthetic approach — to the Colossus of San Carlo, now standing in lonely isolation like an afflicted giant surrounded by coach loads of gaping tourists.
So far this dream of mine has been realised only in the imaginary simulated form of projects. In 1979, for example, I proposed the idea at the 16th Triennial in the competition project I submitted for a metropolitan museum in the Milan area, which suggested not a container-style museum but a museum "function" promoting significant artistic activity over a wider area of Lombardy, much as the Ambrosiana did in the fifteenth century, giving us the region's various Sacri Monti and Cerano's Colossus itself. I have subsequently handed down this dream to my children as a subject for school and university projects and, most recently, to architect friends who have willingly taken it up. The result has been a kind of modern-day Weissenhof, an enterprise both secular and religious involving the concepts of both museum and church fully in keeping with the extraordinary composite landscape of natural and man-made features that has developed over the centuries in the Verbano region where the Sacri Monti are located.
Of the various events in the life of San Carlo the original Sacro Monte was designed to represent, I chose the one allocated to the Ninth Chapel, "San Carlo Watches Over And Tends To The Plague-Striken", because the theme of recurring plague so common at the time is still with us today, and not just in metaphorical form either.
As well as embodying the dramatic convention in which the view depicted in the chapel painting is open to real contemplation at ground level, the project also includes an ascent by curving ramps, alternately inside and outside the chapel, to the terrace roof which creates a gradually ascending panoramic sequence of views of both the chapel's theatrical interior and the surrounding landscape, dominated by the Colossus, which extends towards the lake.
The result is a hemisphere, its concavity illuminated by filtered daylight, offering a symbolic diorama of the city with its monuments and lazaretto periodically overlaid by elements from the extensive iconography of the Saint projected onto a transparent tulle backdrop.
The cladding of the building — red Pantheon granite from the nearby Omegna quarries — contrasts with the external cladding — copper sheets with a steel bracing framework — of the translucent white hemisphere.

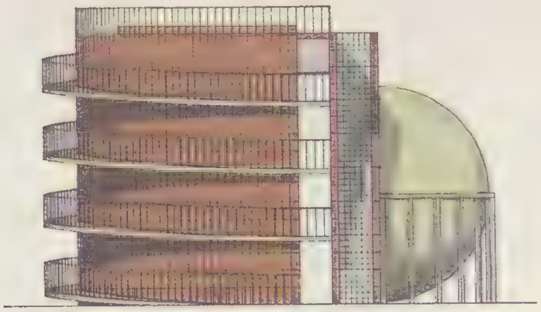

A.C. APPUNTI PER IL SACRO MONTE DI SAN CARLO IN ARONA CON LA IX CAPPELLA: LA VIGILANZA E CURA NELLA PESTE DI MILANO 1992

SACRO MONTE DI SAN CARLO IN ARONA

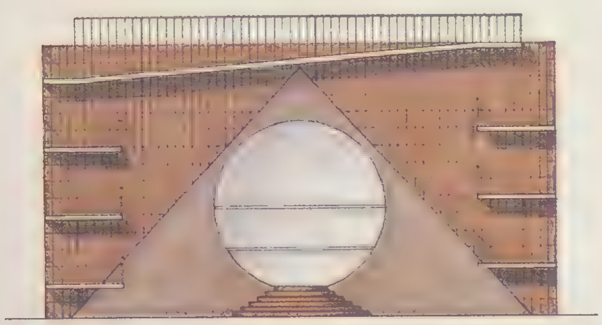
IX CAPPELLA - LA VIGILANZA E CURA NELLA PESTE DI MILANO



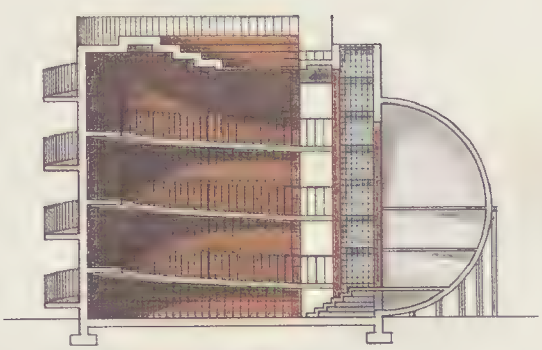
PROSPETTO SUD



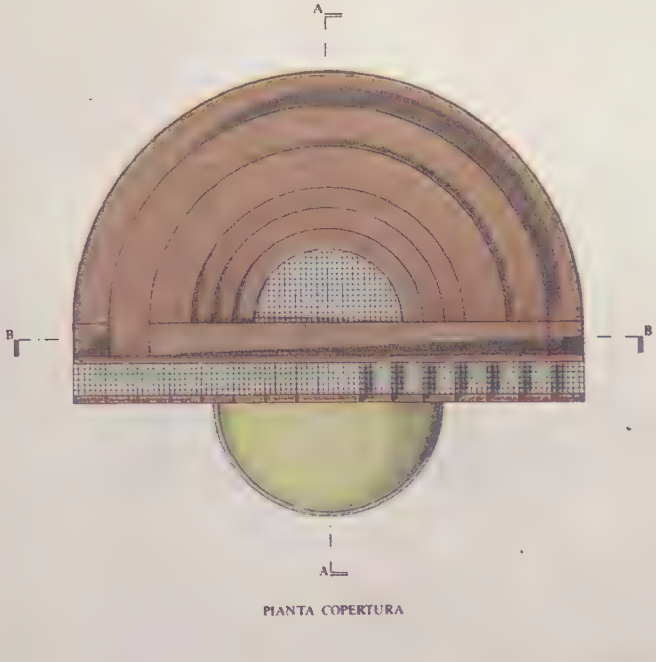
PROSPETTO OVEST



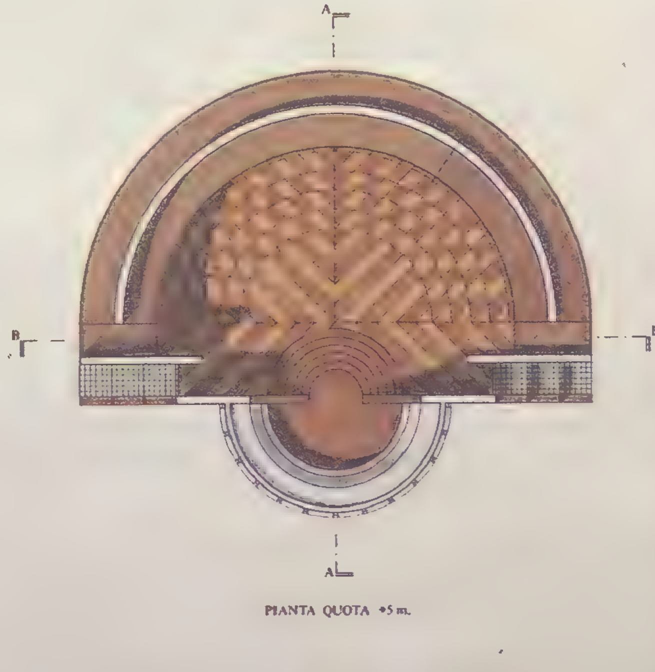
SEZIONE B-B



SEZIONE A-A



PIANTA COPERTURA

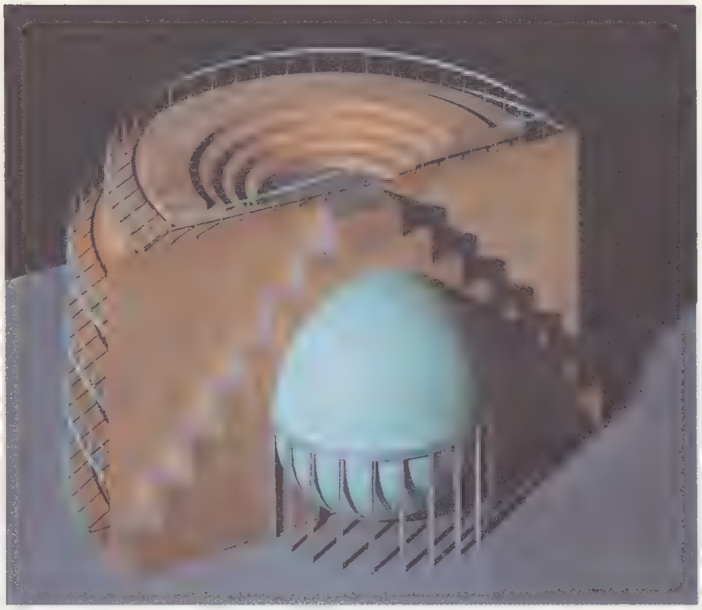


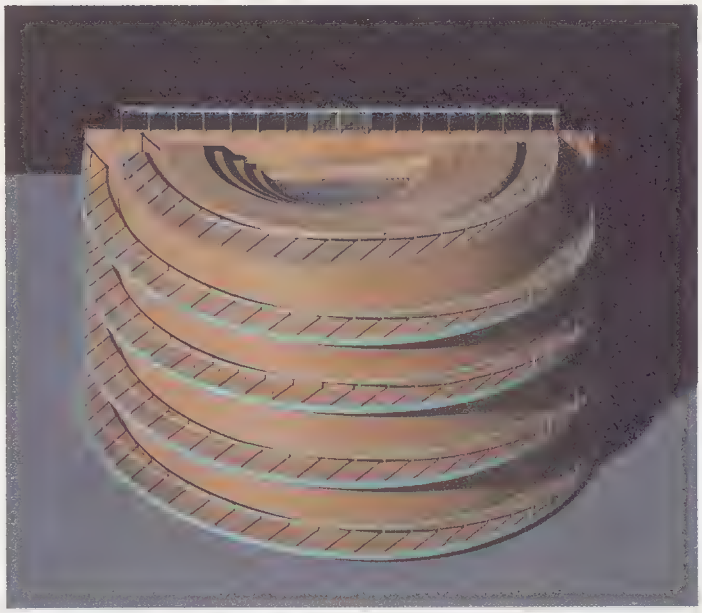
PIANTA QUOTA +5 m.

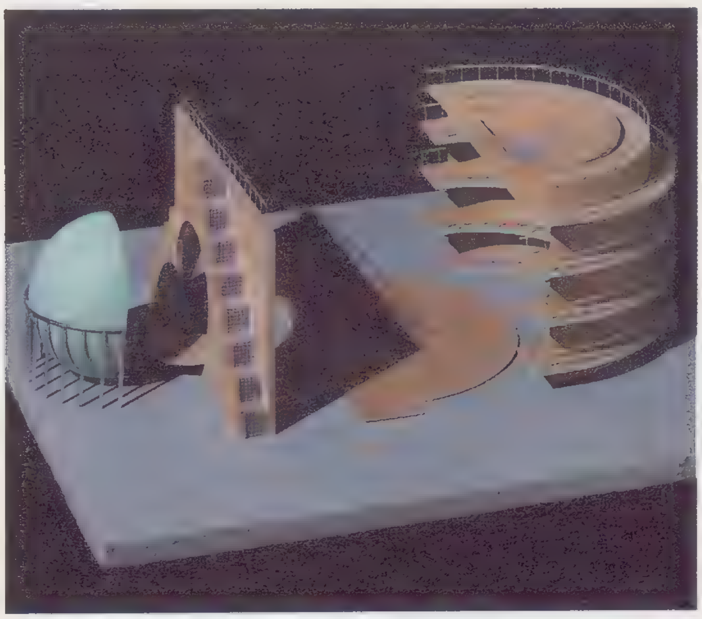
0 5 10 m.

Prospetti, sezioni e piante.
Viste del modello da sudovest
e da nord e vista dello spaccato.
Foto S. Topuntoli.

Elevations, sections and plans.
Views of the model from the
southwest and north and view
of vertical section.
Photos S. Topuntoli.







Disegni dell'interno.

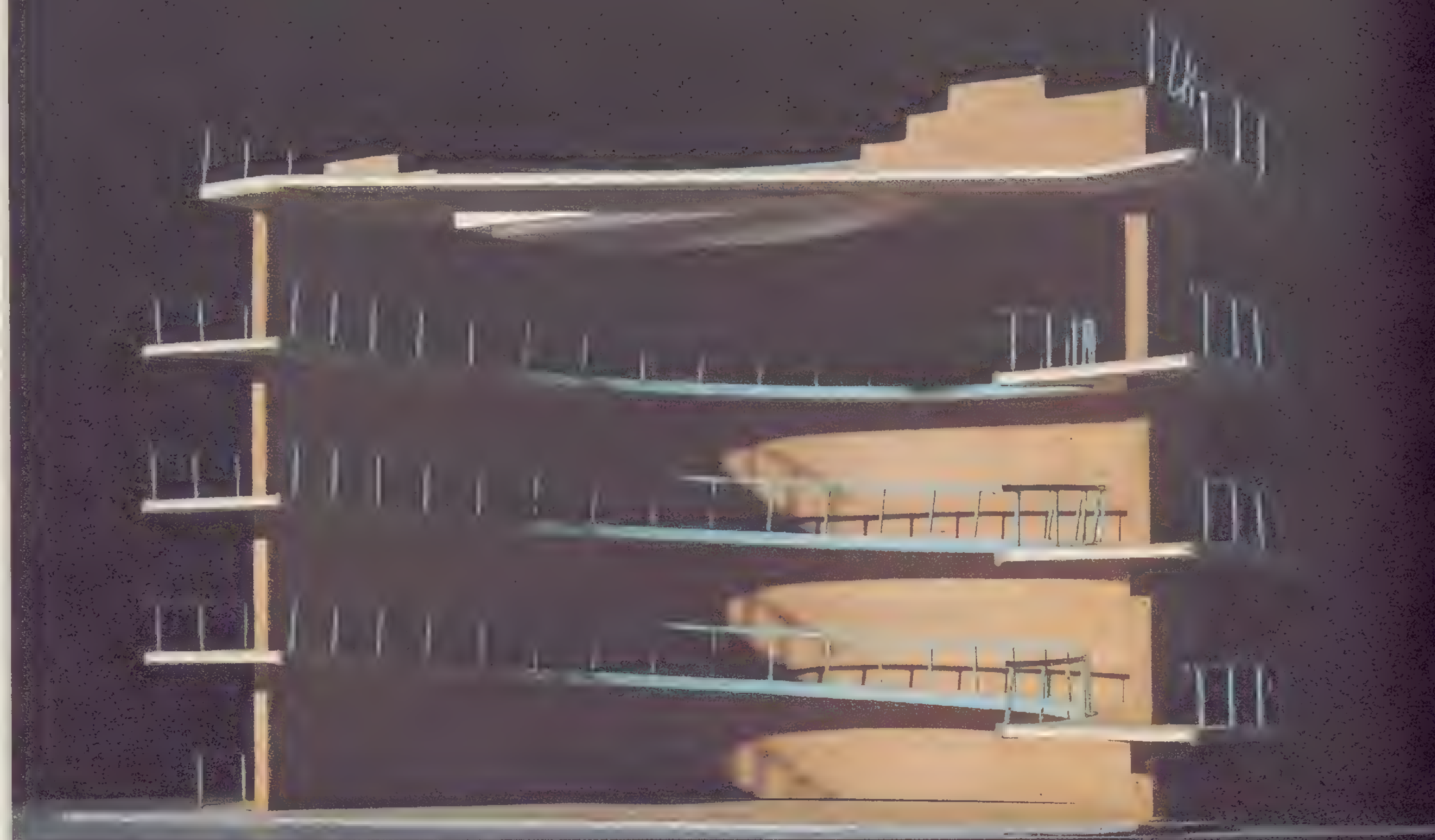
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Viste interne del modello.
Vista del modello da sud.
Foto S. Topuntoli.

Drawings of the interior.

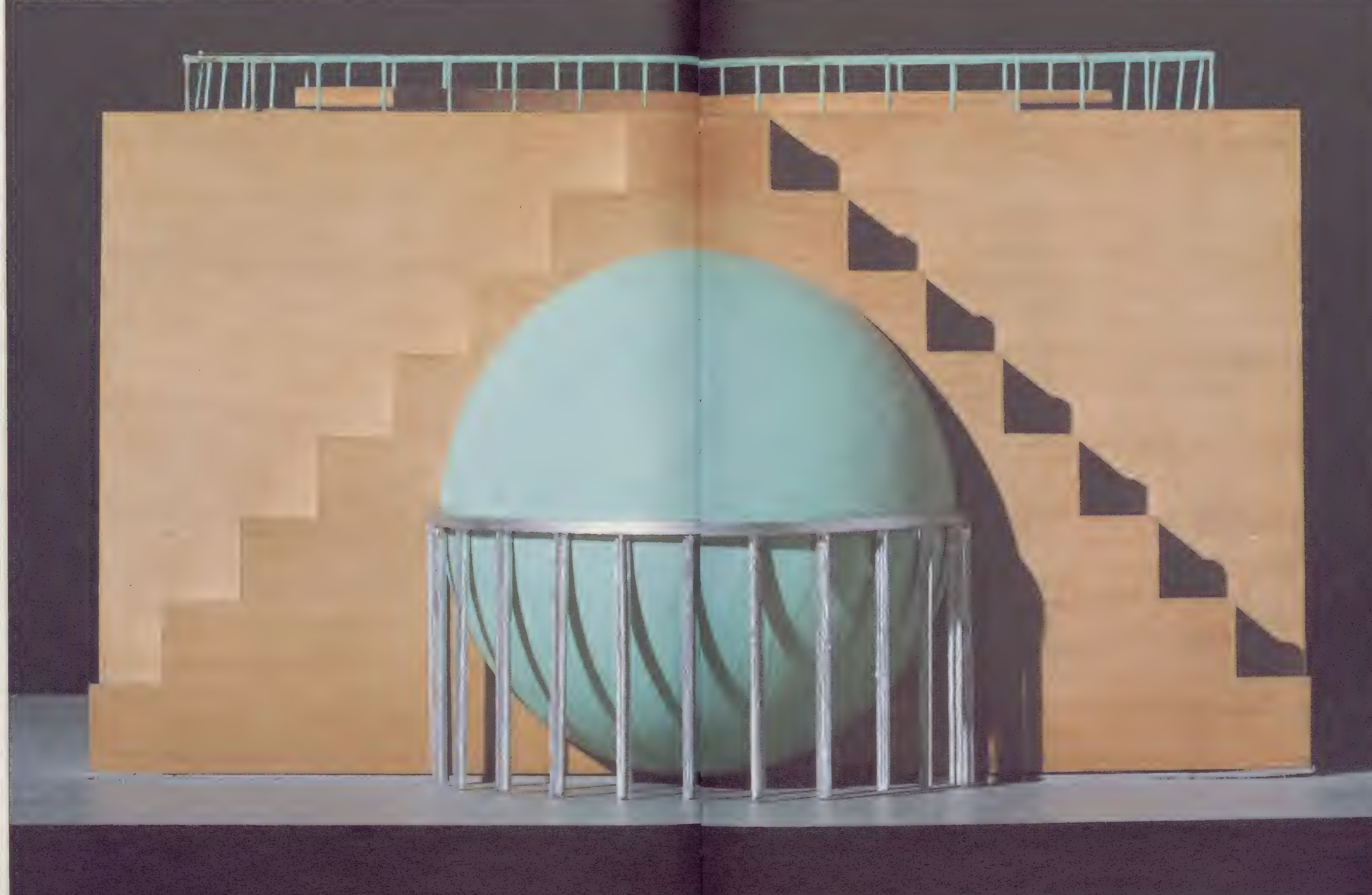
Following pages:
Interior views of the model.
View of the model from the south.
Photos S. Topuntoli.













Ignazio Gardella
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Planimetria *General plan.*

Ignazio Gardella
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Planimetria *General plan.*

Per il Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona
Ignazio Gardella

1. Ricostruire l'antico percorso pedonale del Sacro Monte secondo la mappa catastale del XVIII secolo dove sono indicate le cappelle non realizzate.
2. Restaurare le tre cappelle esistenti (I, VIII, XI) ubicate sul percorso.
3. Costruire al posto di ogni cappella mancante una edicola con una scritta ricordante l'episodio al quale il numero della stazione si riferisce, incisa su una lastra ottagonale di pietra con superficie lucidata. La lastra è racchiusa tra due blocchi monolitici collegati da un architrave.
Nell'architrave è infissa una croce in acciaio inossidabile.
I blocchi monolitici appoggiano su un basamento raccordato con alcuni gradini al percorso del Sacro Monte.

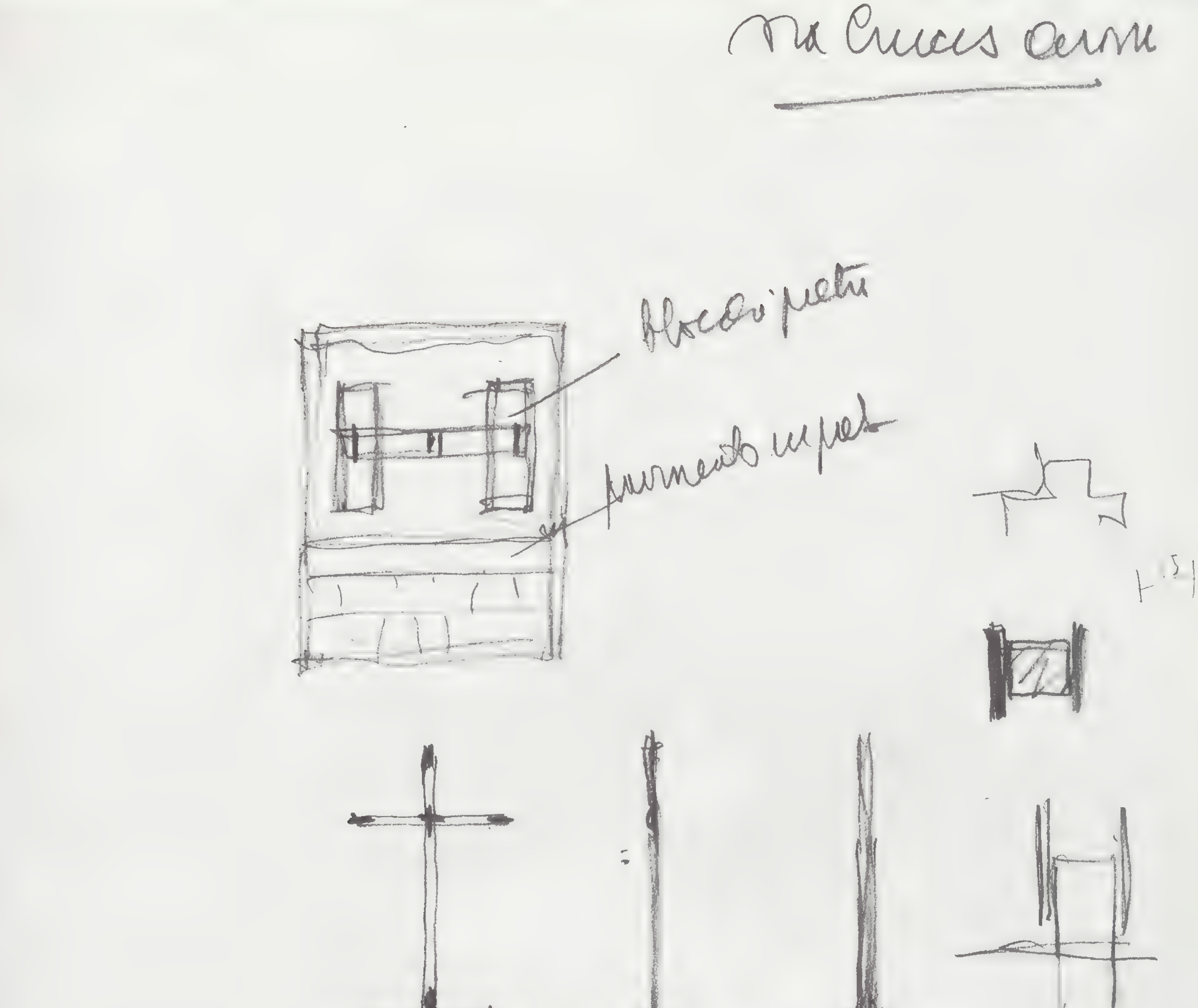
For the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona
Ignazio Gardella

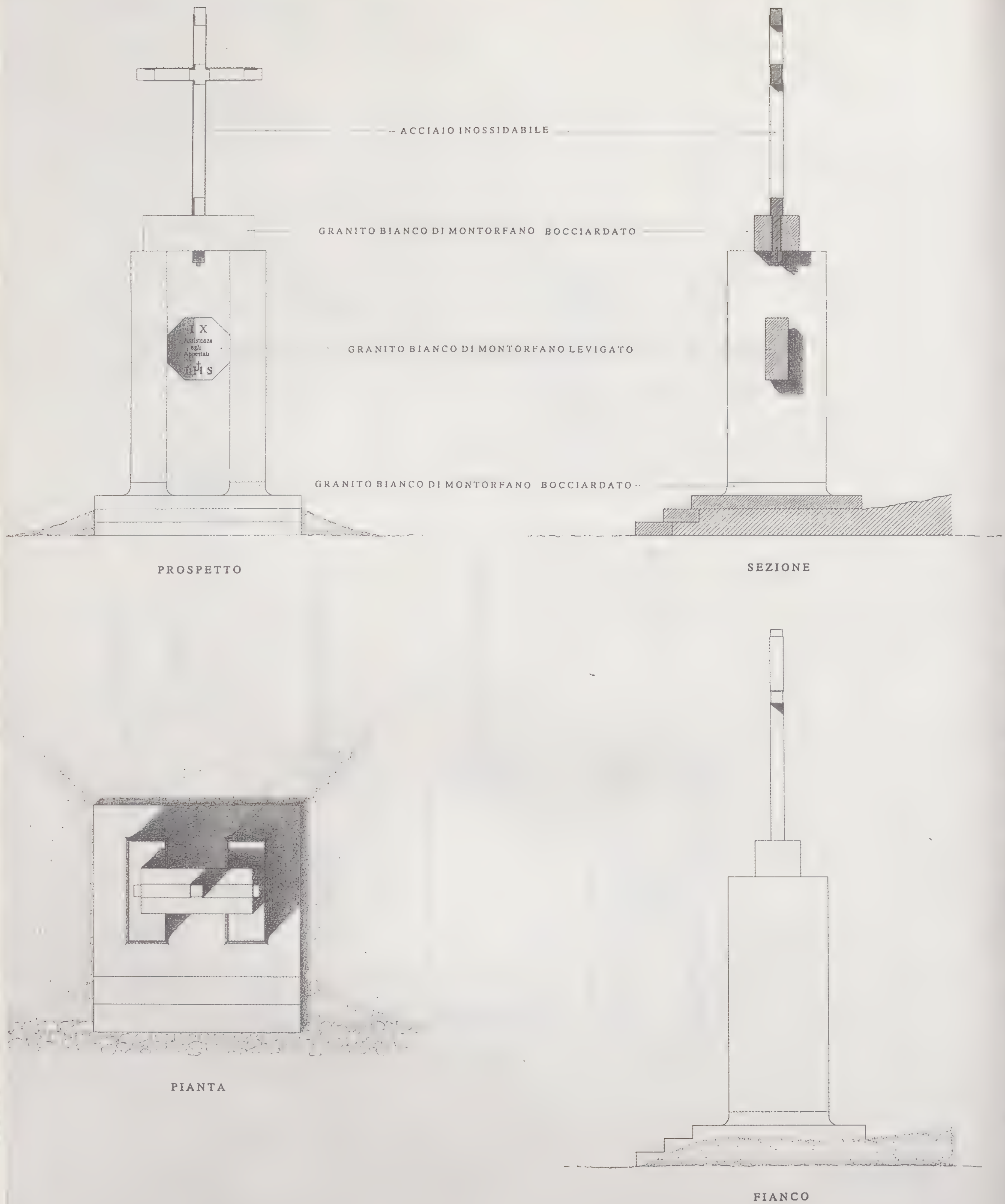
1. Reconstruction of the ancient Sacro Monte road based on the eighteenth-century land registry map showing the unbuilt chapels.
2. Restoration of the three existing chapels (I, VIII, XI) located along the road.
3. The construction, on the site of each missing chapel, of an aedicule with an inscription recording the event the number of the station refers engraved on an octagonal stone slab with a polished surface. The slab is framed by two monolithic blocks linked by an architrave. A stainless steel cross is set in the architrave. The monolithic blocks rest on a plinth linked by steps to the Sacro Monte road.

Schizzi di studio dell'edicola.

Nelle pagine seguenti:
Prospetti, sezione, pianta e veduta prospettica dell'edicola.

Study sketches of the aedicule.
Following pages:
Elevations, section, plan and perspective view of aedicule.


40
150
110

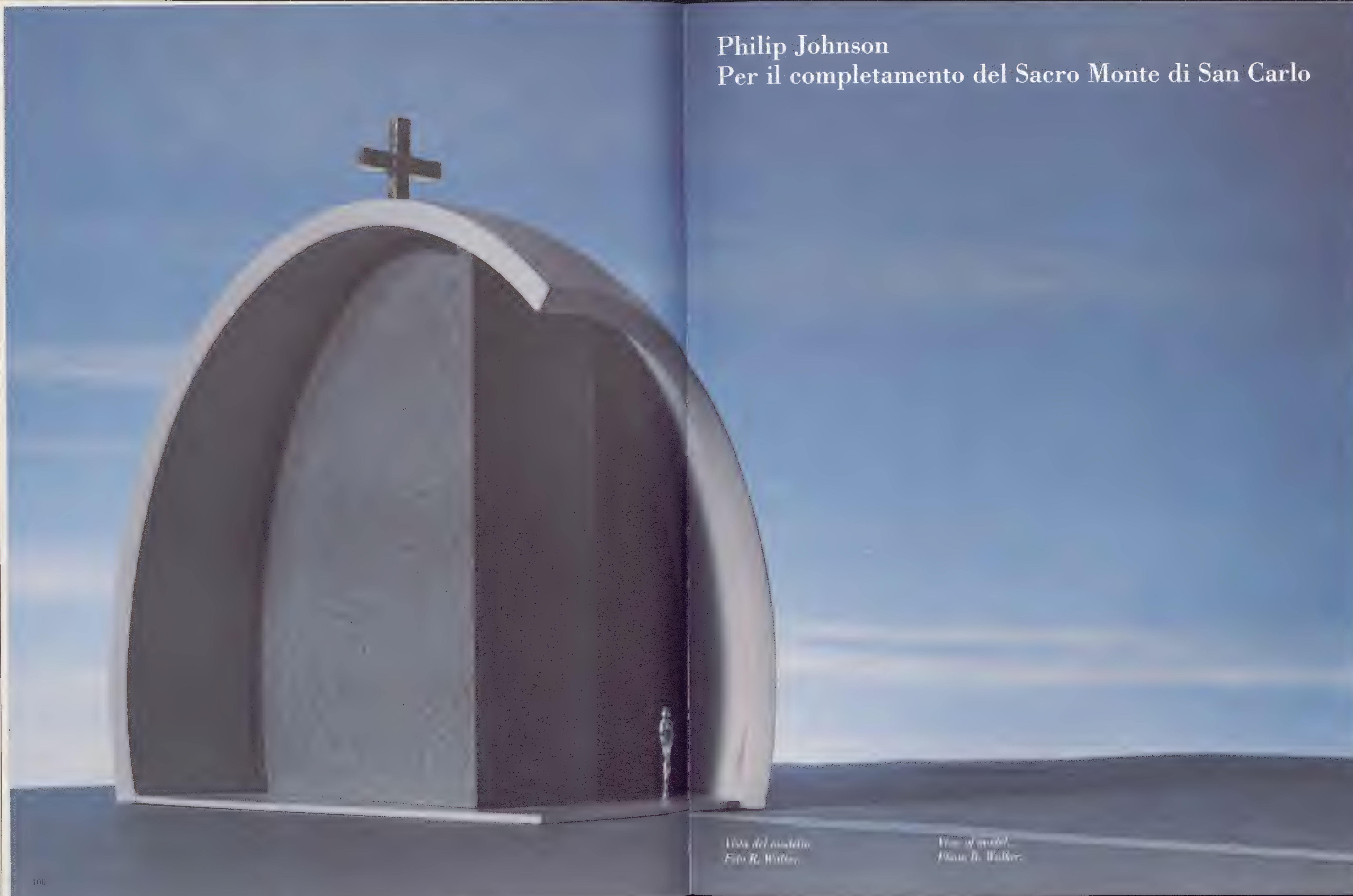


IL SACRO MONTE DI ARONA

L'EDICOLA - SCALA 1-20


I X
Assistenza
agli
Appestati
I.H.S

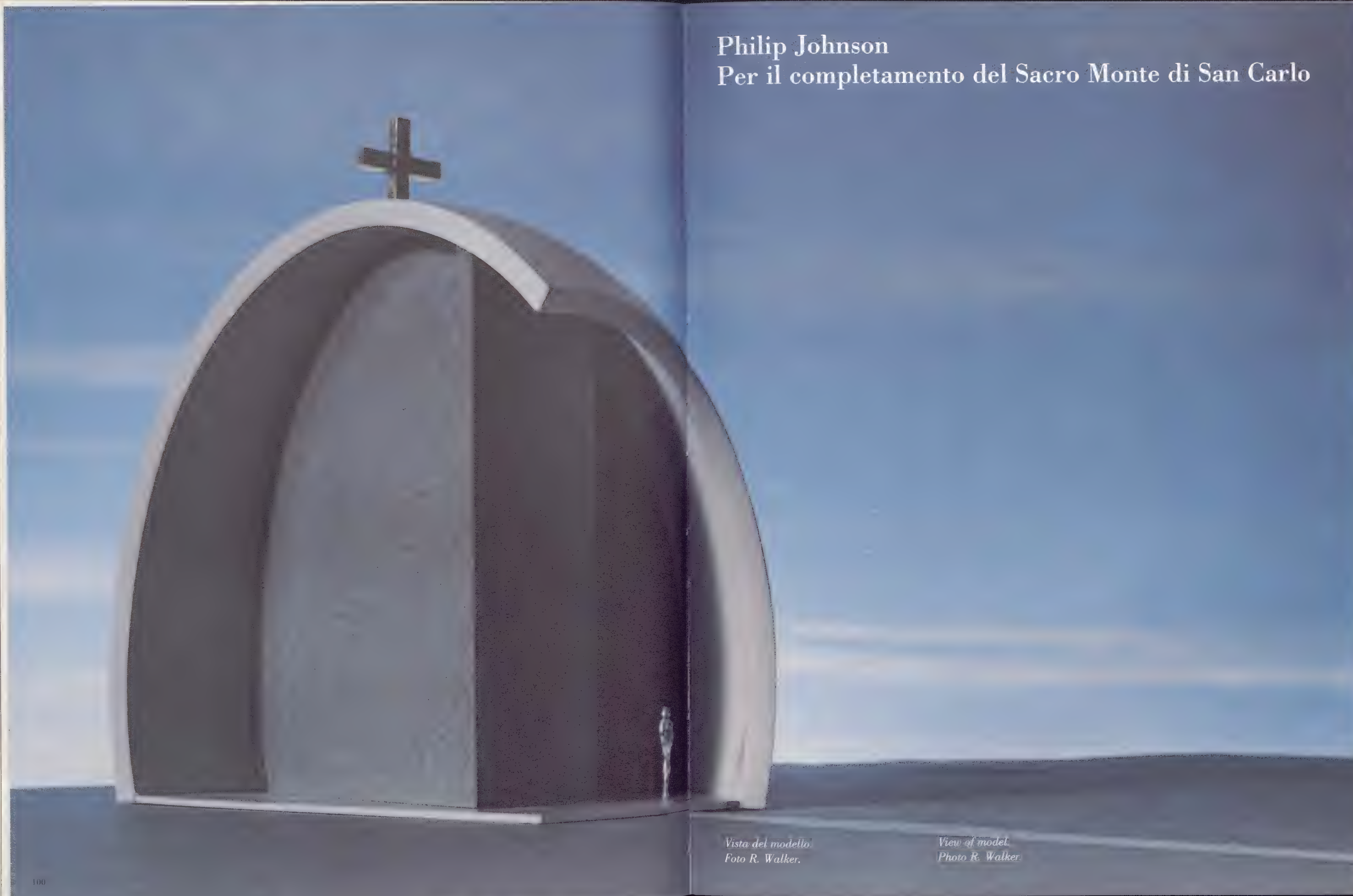
Philip Johnson
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Vista del modello.
Foto R. Walker.

View of model.
Photo R. Walker.

Philip Johnson
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Vista del modello.
Foto R. Walker.

View of model.
Photo R. Walker.

Per il Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona

Philip Johnson

La mia cappella è concepita all'interno come uno spazio a forma di grembo avvolto entro un grande "uovo", con una luce gradevole e smorzata, filtrata e riflessa dalle superfici dell'uovo.
La cappella ha forma di una volta ellittica bianca, rivestita di marmo, arbitrariamente sezionata per dar riparo a due pareti a "L" di marmo grigio.
È illuminata molto debolmente da una fascia vetrata che stacca la parete dalla volta ovale; mentre una vetrata all'ingresso fronteggia il muro lungo, che ne riflette la luce dentro la cappella.
La forma a uovo non richiede né una collocazione né un ambiente particolari, rendendo indifferente l'ubicazione della cappella lungo il percorso processionale al Sacro Monte.

For the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona

Philip Johnson

*My chapel is conceived as a womb-like interior space in a very big egg, with delicious, muffled light filtered and reflected from the surfaces of that egg.
The chapel is a white, marble-sheathed elliptical dome arbitrarily sliced to shelter an "L" of gray marble.
It's very dimly lighted by a strip of windows that divides the wall from the egg, plus the glass entry wall, facing the long wall and reflecting back into the chapel.
The egg shape of the chapel requires no siting, no setting. Therefore, it makes no difference where it is placed along the processional up the Sacro Monte.*

Feb 19, 1993

Chapel on the Monte Sacro

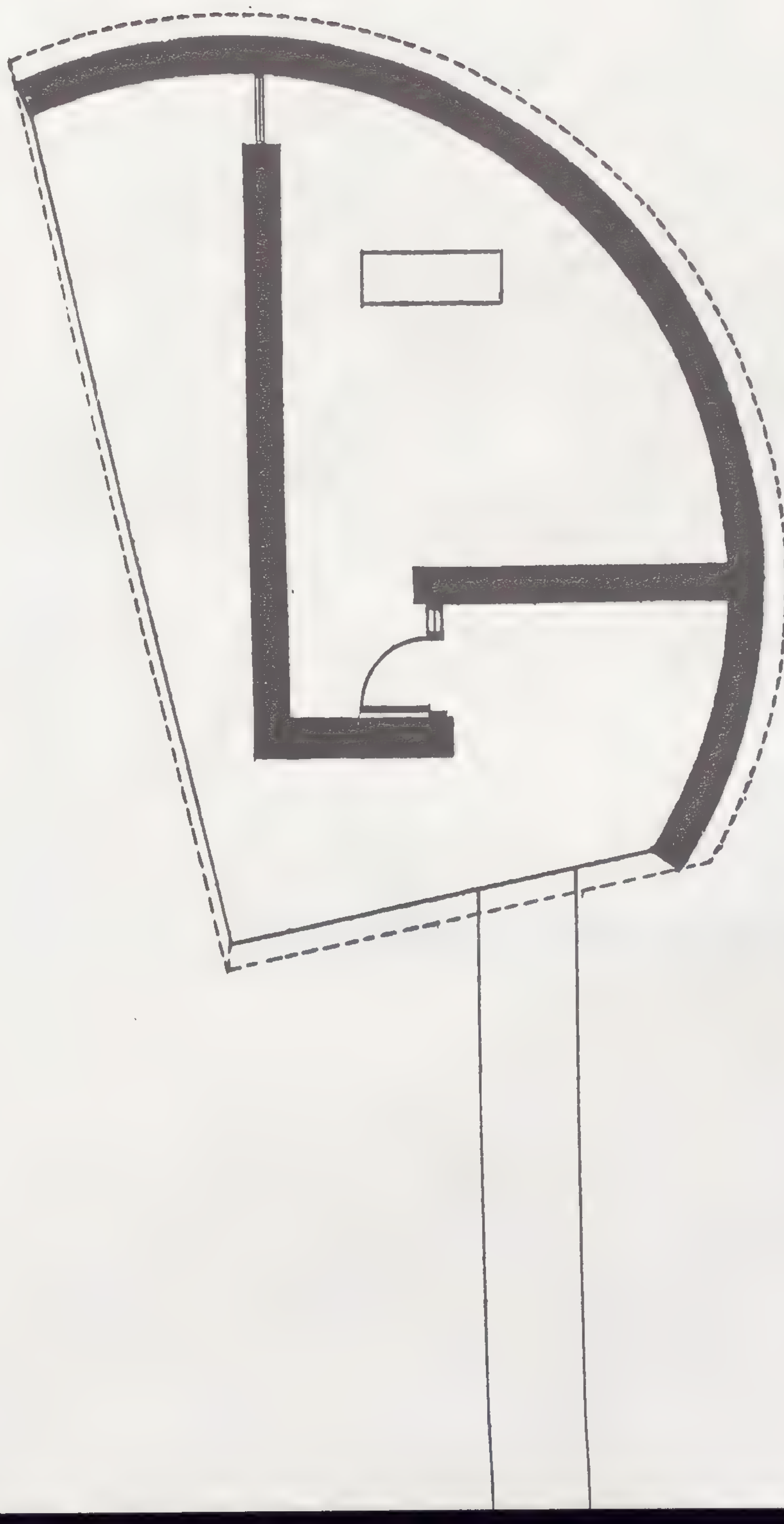
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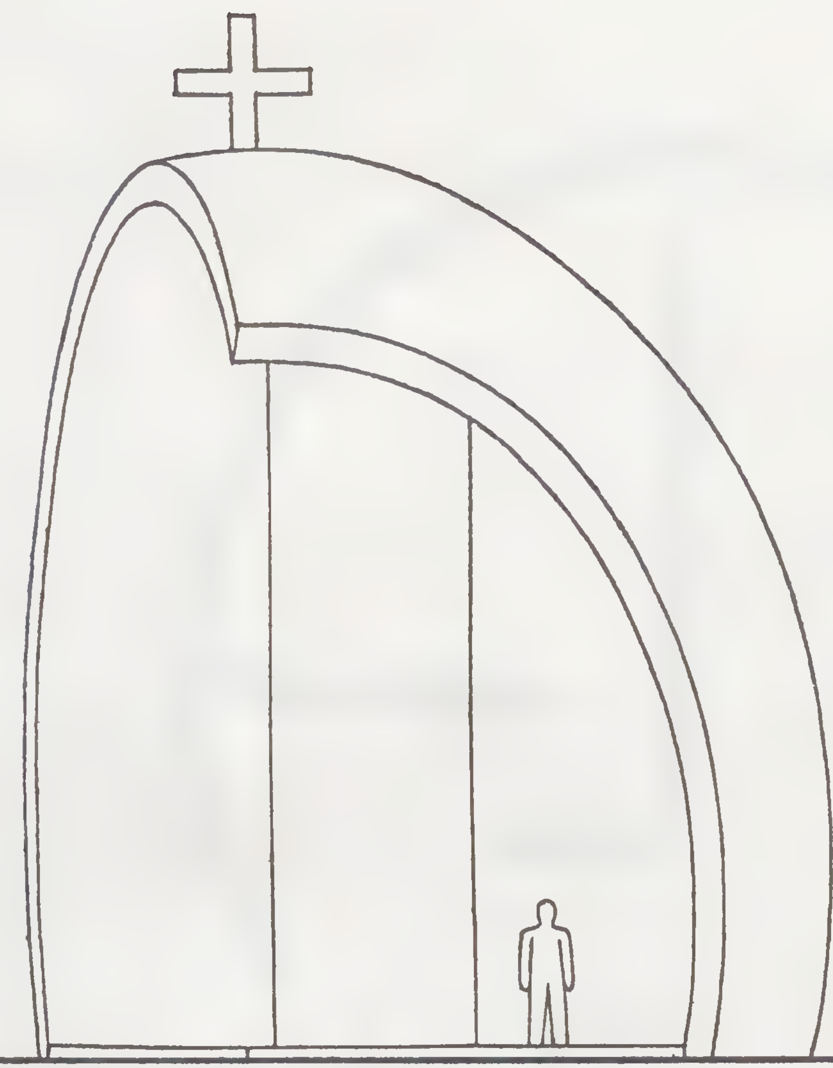
The egg shape of the Chapel requires no siting, no setting. Therefore it makes no difference where it is placed along the processional up the Monte Sacro.

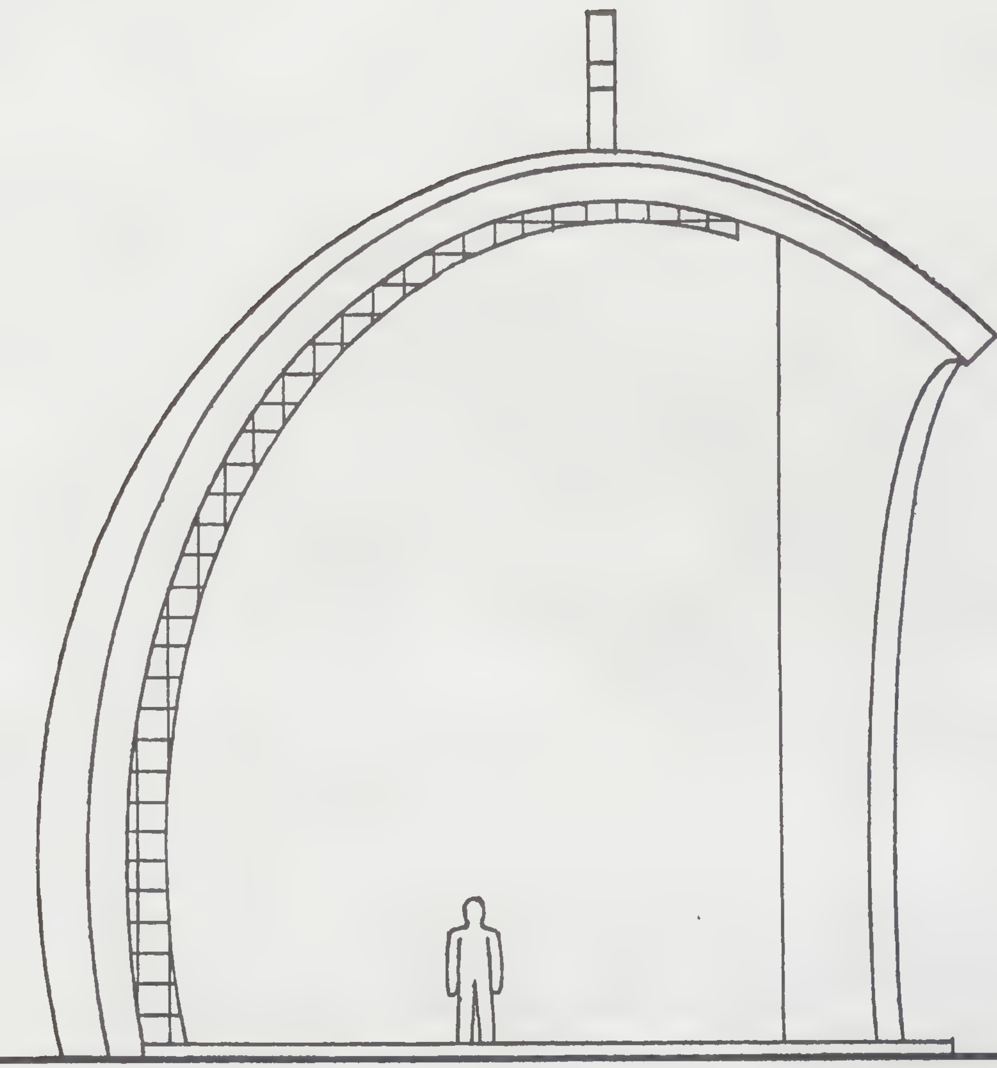
Pianta. *Plan.*

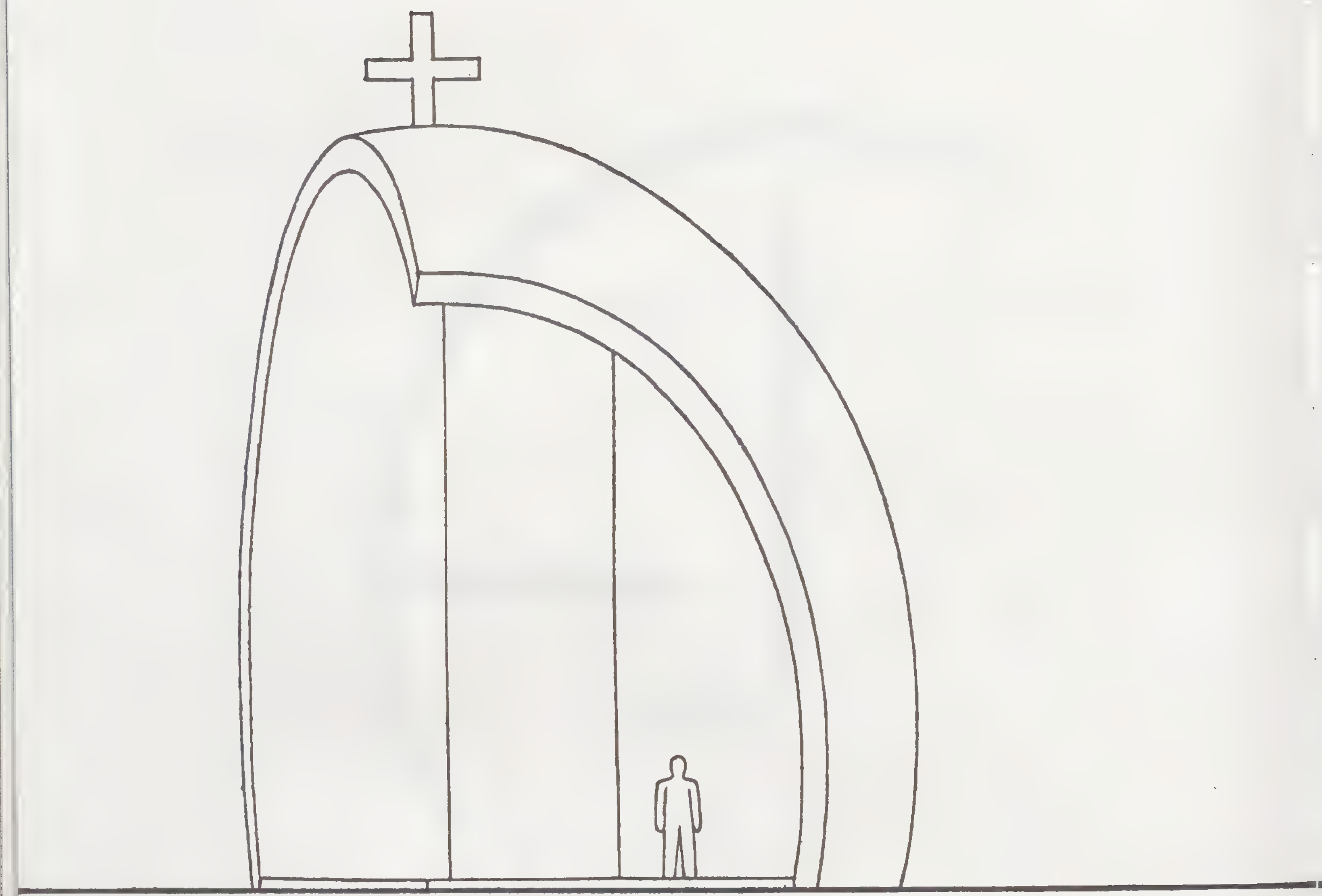


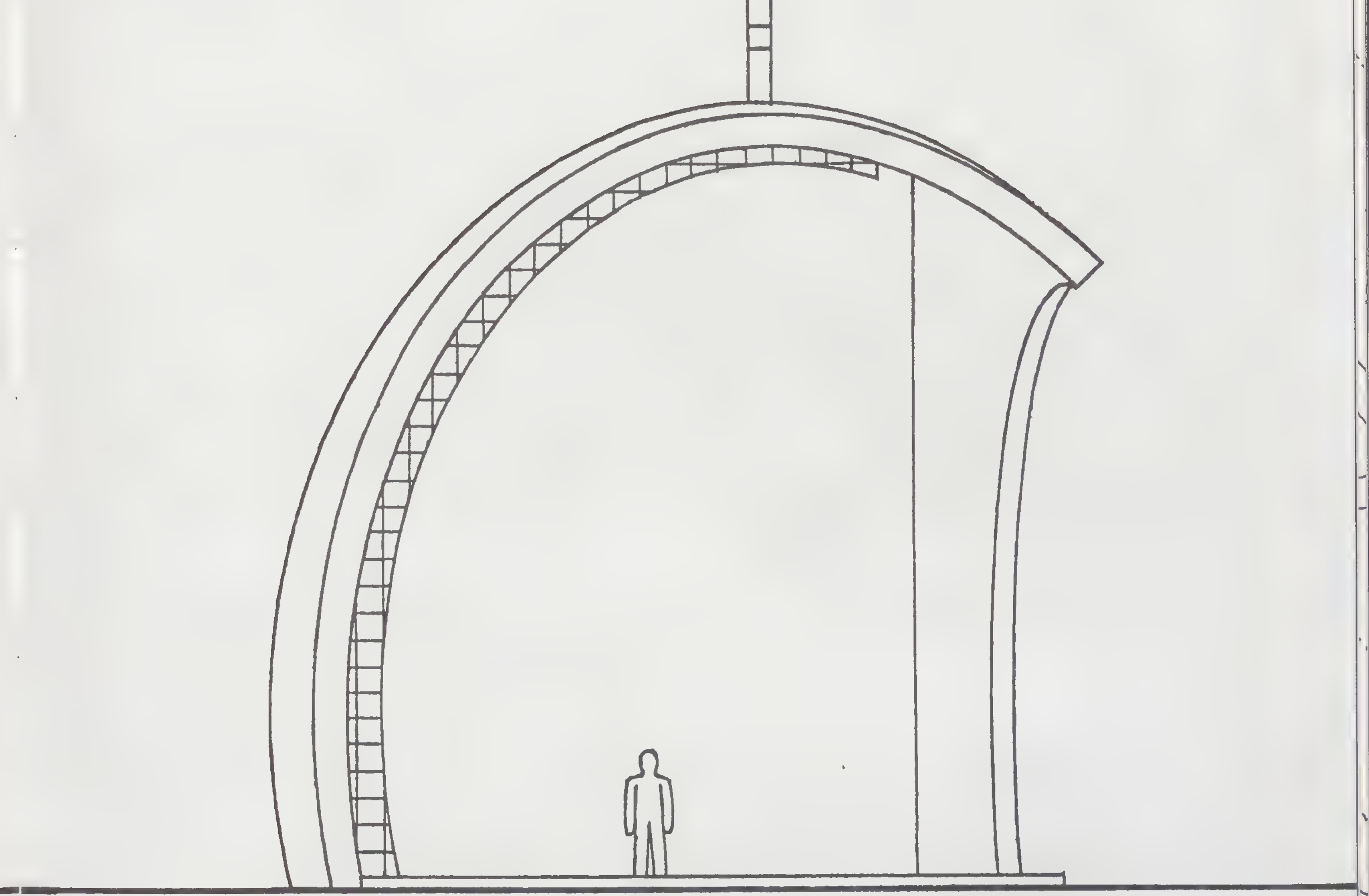
Prospetti.

Elevations.







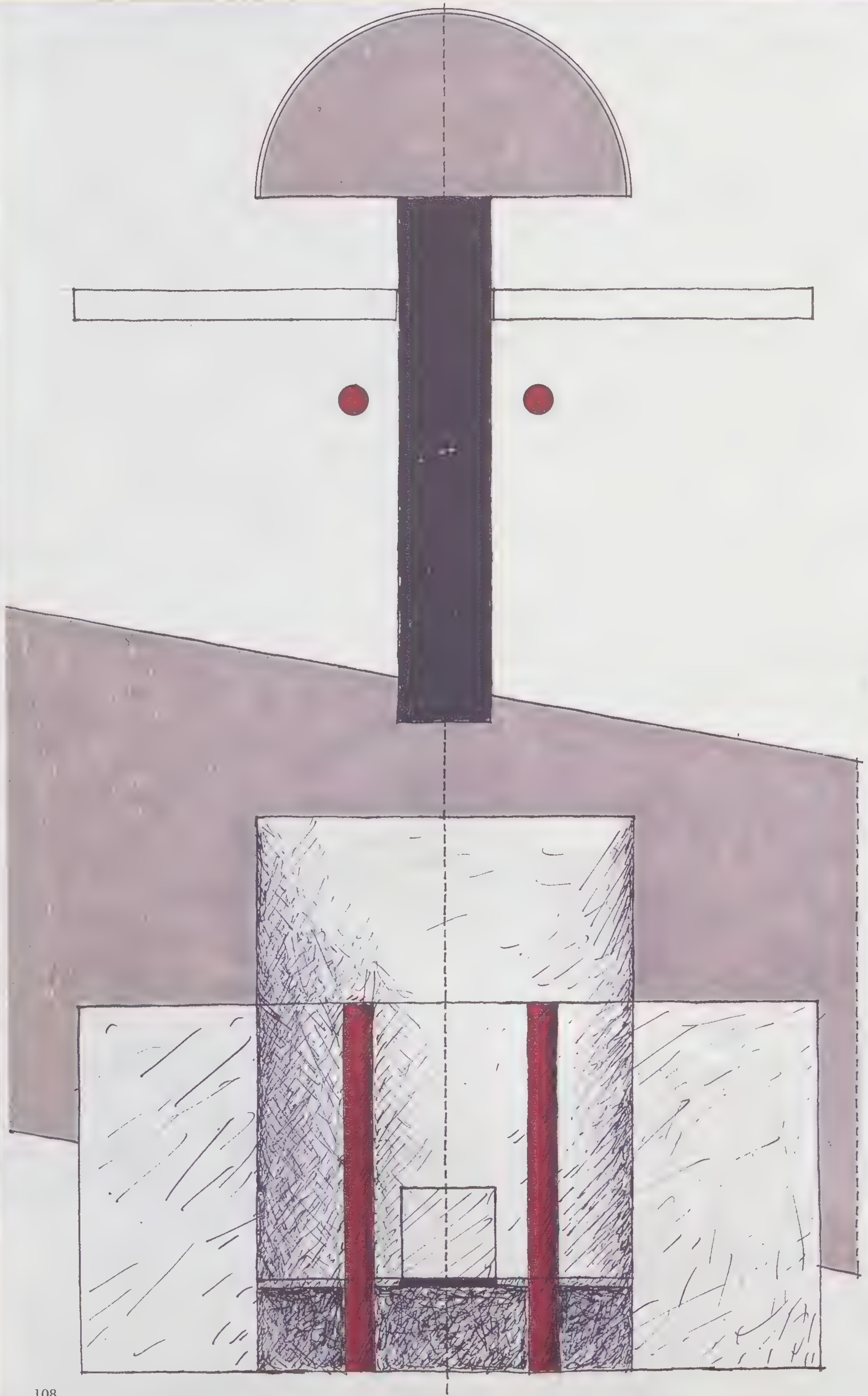




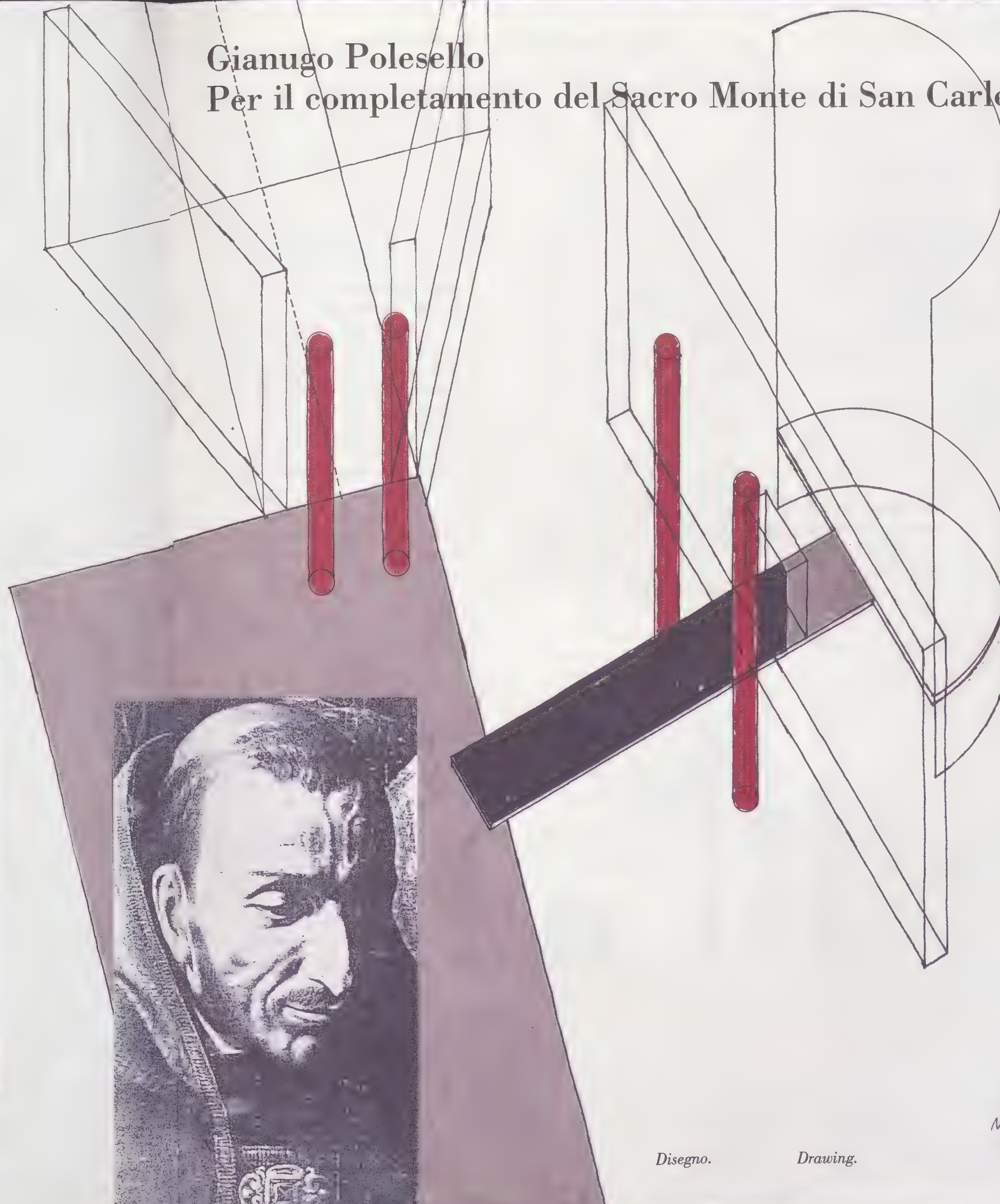
Paul R. Walker.



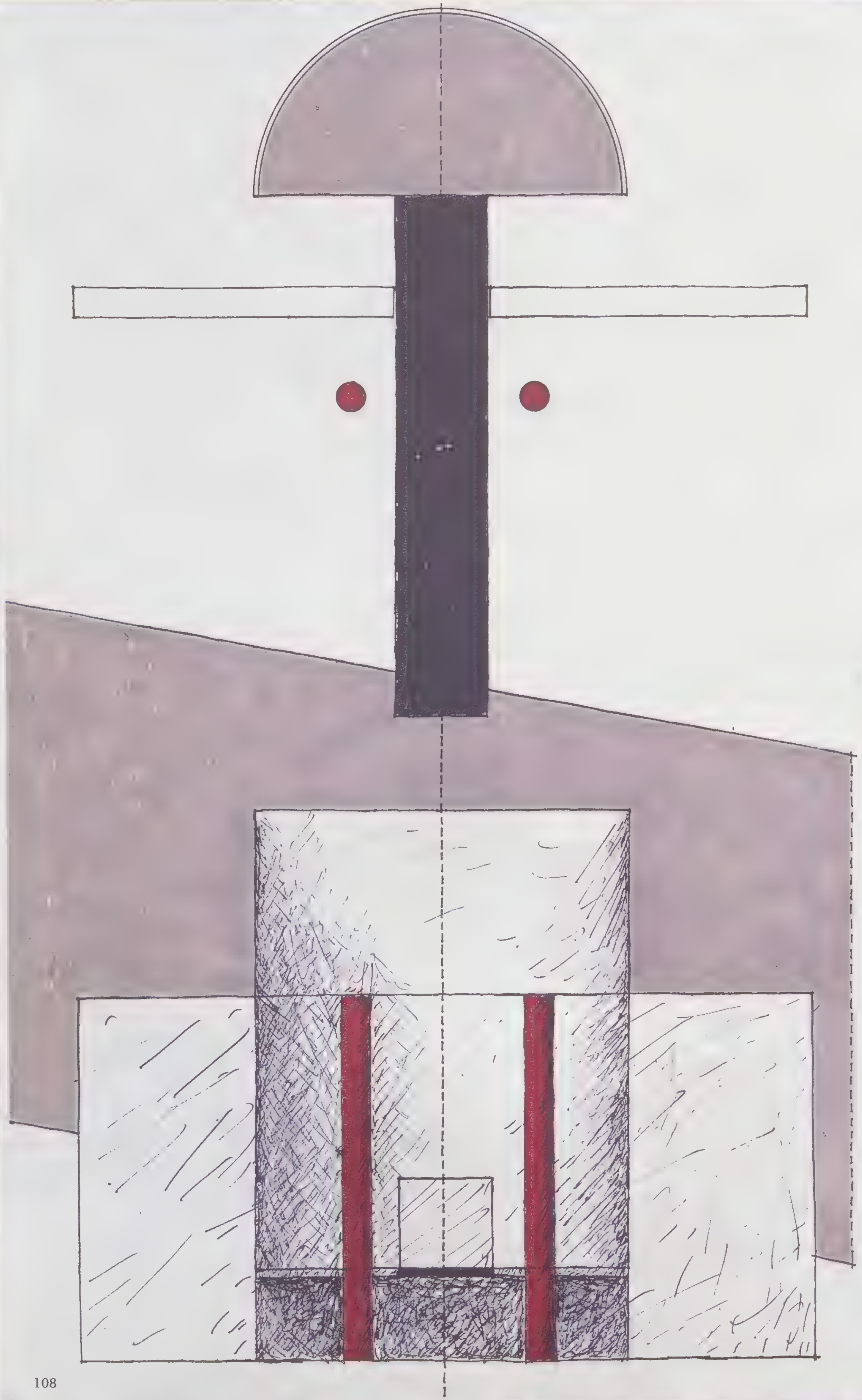
View of model.
Photo R. Walker.



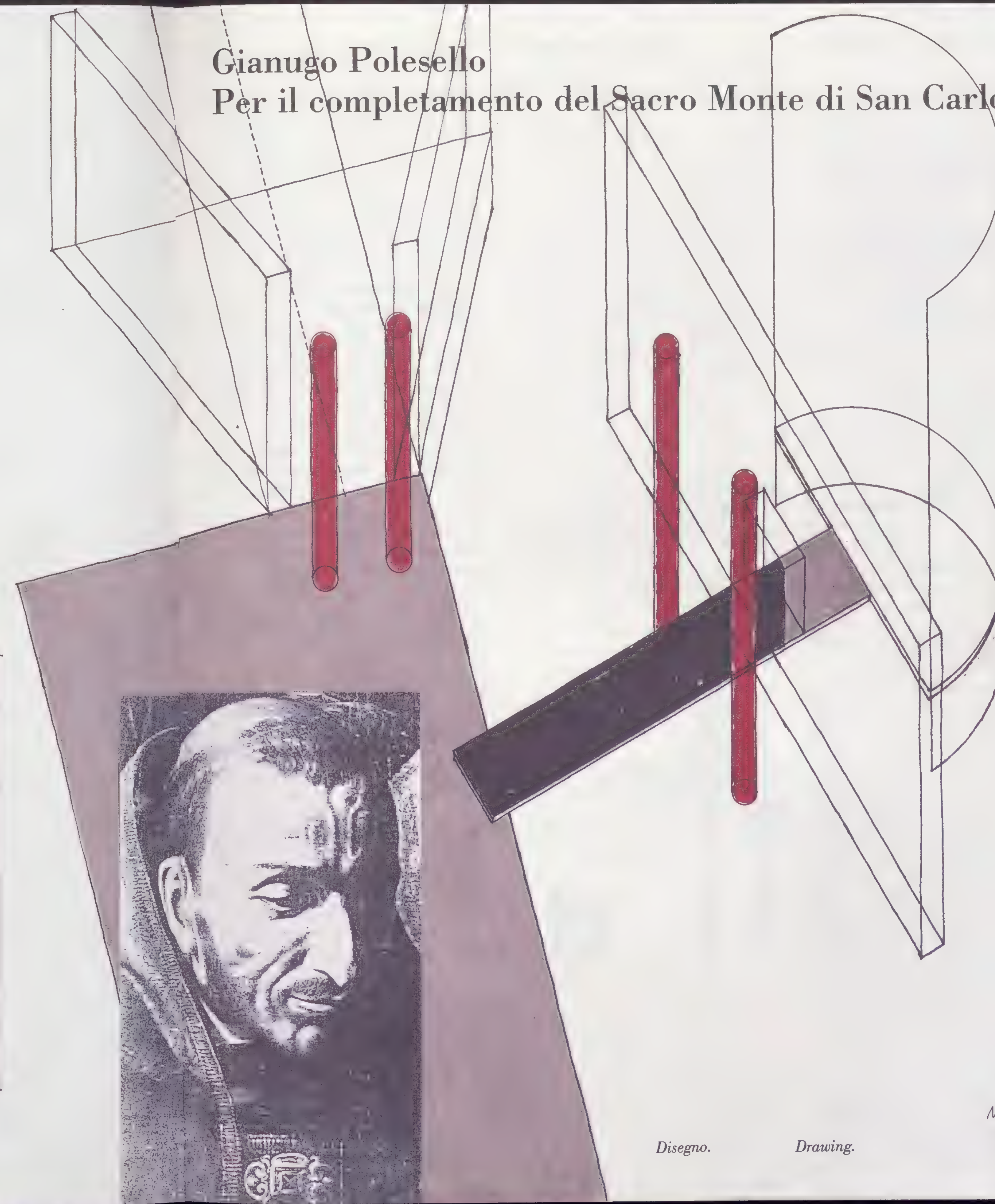
Gianugo Polesello
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Disegno. *Drawing.*



Gianugo Polesello
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Disegno. *Drawing.*

Per il Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona

Gianugo Polesello

Si tratta di appunti per un progetto di architettura, reazioni e riflessioni *in situ*, della fine di giugno del 1991, dopo un sopralluogo con Ignazio Gardella.
Ripresi nel dicembre 1992, nel gennaio 1993 li ho ridisegnati costringendoli nella forma di un progetto non finito. Credo, in ogni modo, che i termini della composizione, il senso che ho voluto dare ai singoli elementi non debbano più essere cambiati. Può intervenire la tecnologia, la topografia, ecc., a suggerire parziali adeguamenti, a suggerire soluzioni più accattivanti o più coerenti con la logica generale del progetto, ecc.; ritengo, però, di non dover cambiare.
Tra la prima idea e la stesura recente, così, non ho introdotto modificazioni, non ho cambiato; ho solo messo ordine nella composizione generale, ho ridisegnato le cappelle discoperte disposte ai bordi della piattaforma dalla quale si diparte il percorso in salita verso la statua del Santo.
L'architettura di vetro (muri trasparenti-colorati, colonne) è la dominante del progetto, dà il senso della composizione, segna, nel variare della luce del giorno la natura luminosa del luogo.
Le colonne di vetro sono le colonne del Danteum di Terragni, le lastre trasparenti-colorate ripropongono una Alpine Architektur sul lago.
Insieme, colonne e muri di vetro, definiscono fondali, quinte, personaggi in una composizione scenica di figure-simboli di una architettura astratta, lucida nel vasto teatro alpino.
Non mi sono proposto di ricostruire la sequenza delle cappelle mancanti; non ho ritenuto di ripetere la successione definita e ritmata di luoghi scenici come tappe di una conoscenza di eventi o di fatti legati alla vita di San Carlo o al Nuovo o Antico Testamento.
Ho preferito la via della simultaneità non sistematica della compresenza o della "confusione", istituendo un "prima", un luogo da catecumeni, di preparazione e di studio nel quale stare, all'origine del percorso verso la grande statua di San Carlo.
Il percorso, allora, non è un rito processionale; rappresenta la tensione in una direzione.
La combinazione di tutti gli elementi-architetture in una costruzione-composizione unitaria ha origine dal caso: sono tre le cappelle superstiti. Esse forniscono una traccia, sono la prima figura di un luogo dentro il quale stare, contemplare l'esterno, le montagne, il paesaggio.
La composizione, dopo la definizione topografica nelle tre cappelle, è costruita sull'asse ortogonale alla base del triangolo che coincide con la salita-rampa dalla strada che parte da Arona e sale verso San Carlo.
La parte iniziale di questo asse è una piattaforma di pietra, di figura rettangola, allungata. Lungo il perimetro stanno le pagine di vetro, isolate, doppie, aperte come pagine di un libro. Esse sono il supporto o il fondale per descrizioni, per figure-statue, per "scritture".
Una sola cappella, anch'essa discoperta, composta da un piano frontale di vetro con un'apertura quadrata e da una esedra semicircolare, distaccata dal piano di vetro, molto alta (m. 18), anch'essa di vetro.
La cappella non ha tetto, è discoperta, è solo segno sul suolo, accenna ad una recinzione.

Venezia, 12 gennaio 1993

For the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona

Gianugo Polesello

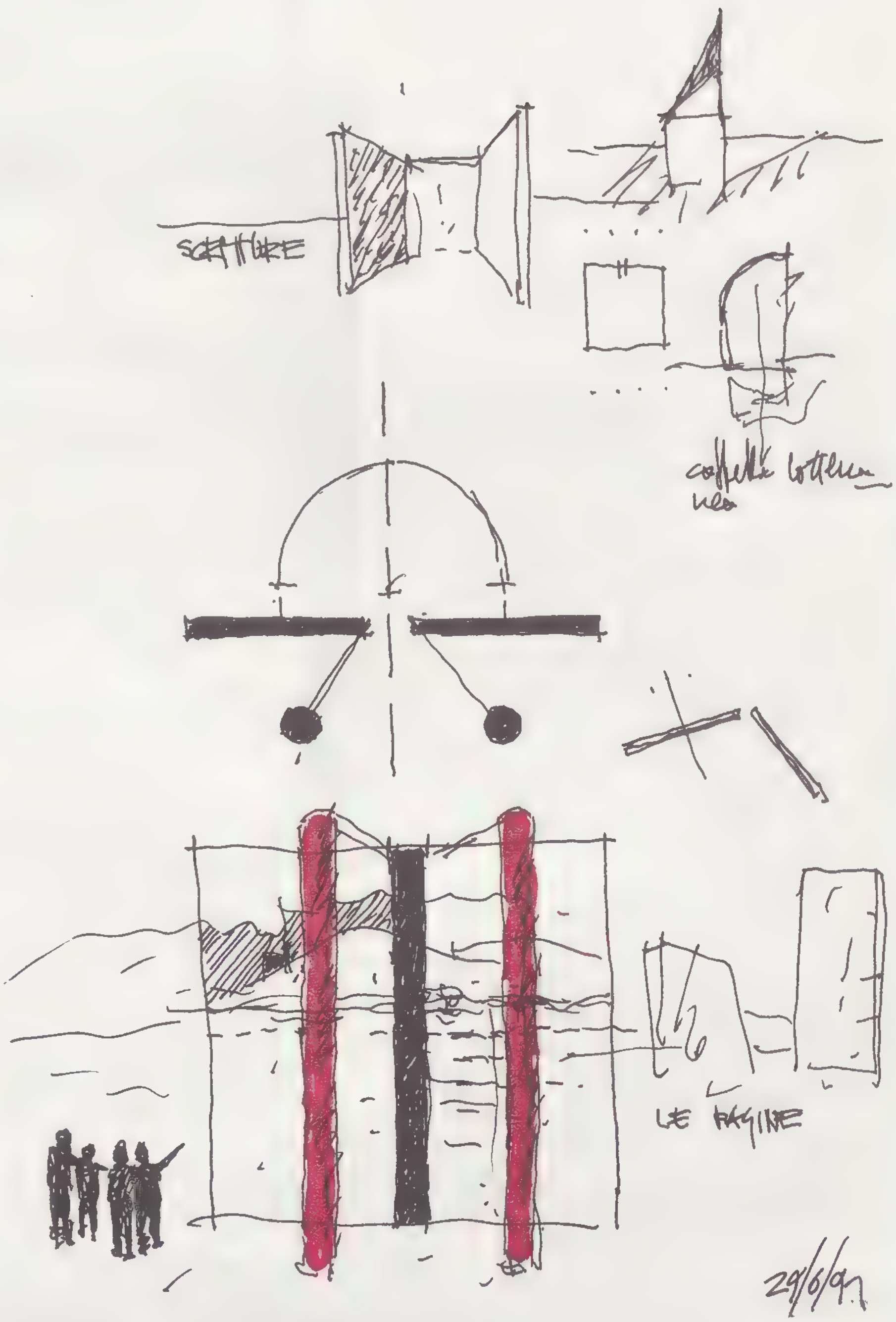
These notes for an architecture project — thoughts and reactions jotted down on site — date from the end of June 1991 when I surveyed the location with Ignazio Gardella.
I looked at them again in December 1992 and reworked them in January 1993 to give them the form of a project in progress. I think, though, that the basic features of the composition, and the meaning I wanted each of the individual elements to have, won't have to be modified any more. Technological, topographical or other kinds of intervention may suggest partial changes, solutions that are more attractive or more consistent with the general logic of the project, or other modifications, but I don't think I'll have to change anything.
I've made no changes, and I haven't changed in the period between the original idea for the project and the latest version of it. All I've done is make the general composition tidier, and redesign the open-air chapels along the edges of the platform from which the path leads up to the statue of the saint.
Glass architecture (transparent-coloured walls, columns) is the dominant feature of the project: it lends order to the composition and enhances the luminous nature of the site as the light changes during the day.
The glass columns are the columns of Terragni's Danteum, and the transparent-coloured slabs recreate alpine architecture in a lakeside setting.
The glass columns and walls jointly define backdrops, sets and characters in a stage composition of symbolic figures rendered in lucidly abstract architecture in a huge alpine theatre.
I decided not to reconstruct the sequence of missing chapels, having no wish to recreate a rhythmical succession of clearly defined scenic sites as a narrative of events or facts associated with the life of St. Carlo or the Old and New Testaments.
I preferred the unsystematic simultaneity of "confusion", of events that are

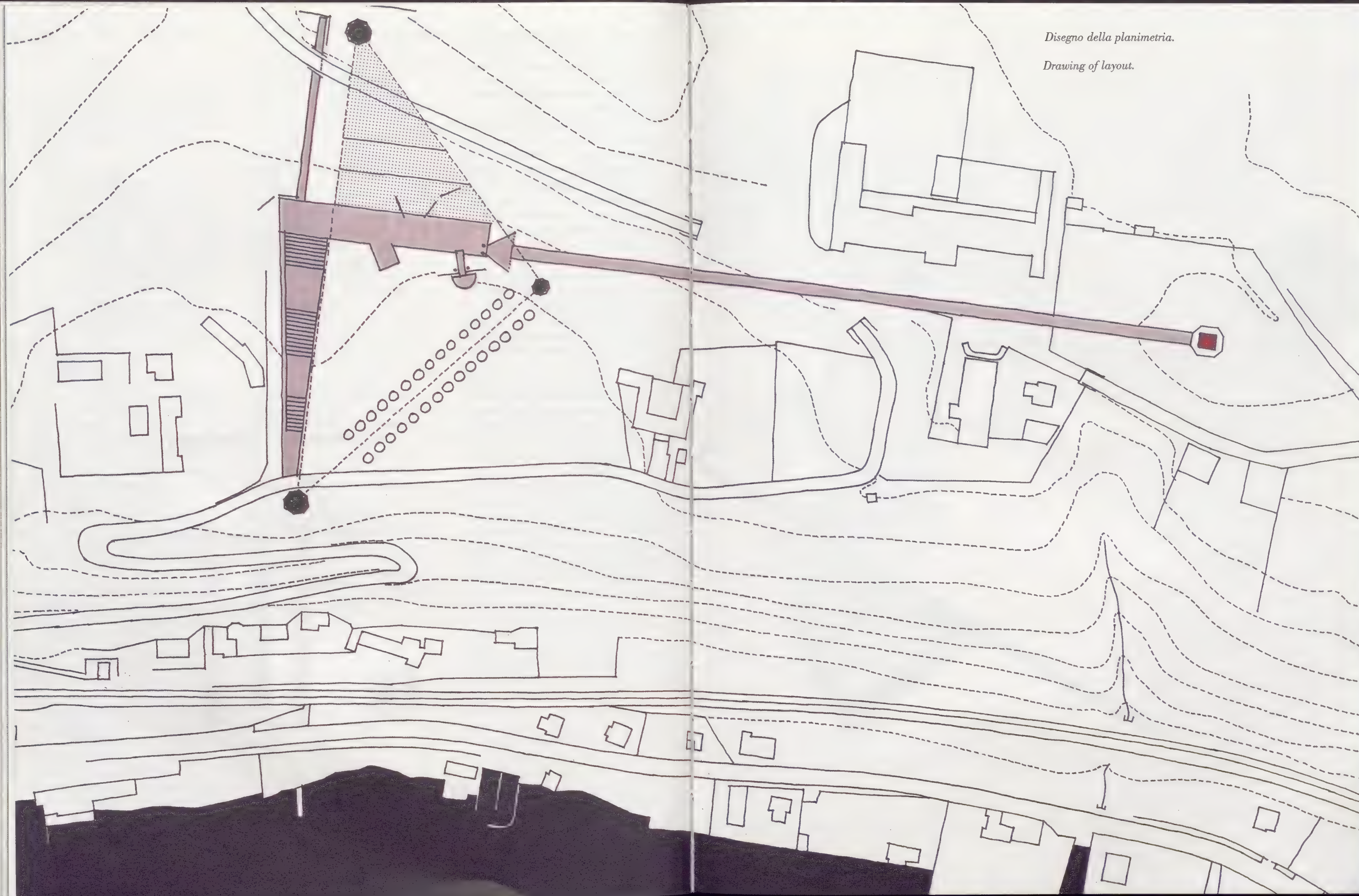
co-present rather then sequenced. This is why I created a catechumenical site at the foot of the path leading to the great statue of the saint where people can prepare themselves and study. So the pathway isn't a processional rite; it represents tension leading in a certain direction.
The way these elements and architectures came together in a unified construction-composition was fortuitous. There were three surviving chapels and they laid a trail, a preliminary outline of a place where people could go to contemplate the outside world, the mountains and the landscape.
With the topographical definition the three chapels had already given the site, I laid out the composition along the orthogonal axis formed by the base of the triangle that corresponds to the ramp which carries the road up from Arona towards St. Carlo.
The initial section of this axis is a stone platform in the form of an elongated rectangle. Around the perimeter stand the isolated double pages of an open glass book. These provide a support or backdrop for descriptions, statue figures and "writings".
There is only one chapel, again an open-air structure consisting of a glass façade with a square opening and an extremely high (18 m) semicircular glass exedra separate from the glass surface. The chapel has no roof, it is open to the sky: a symbolic sign on the land that creates a sense of enclosure.

Venice, January 12th 1993

Schizzo di studio.

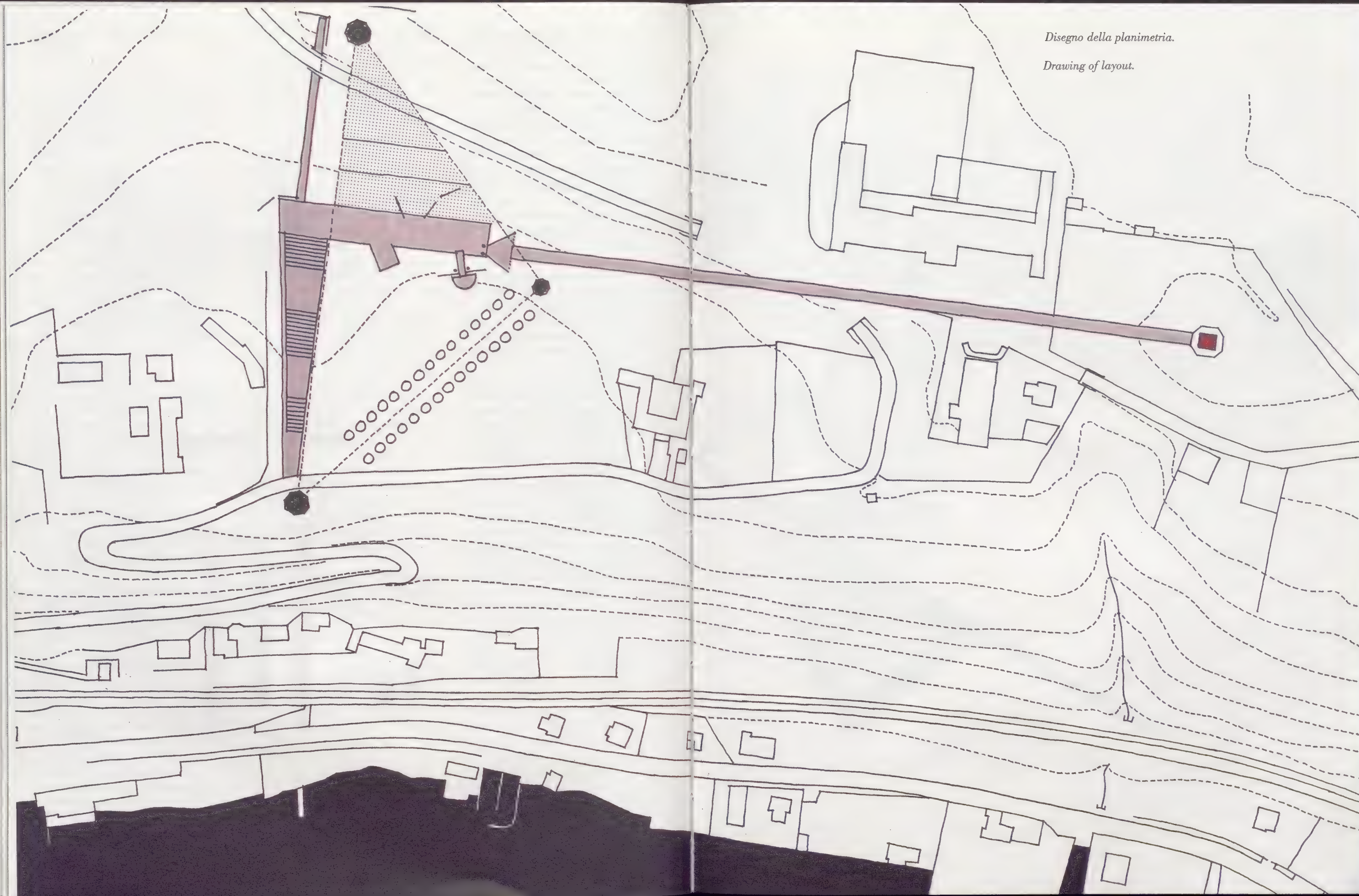
Study sketch.





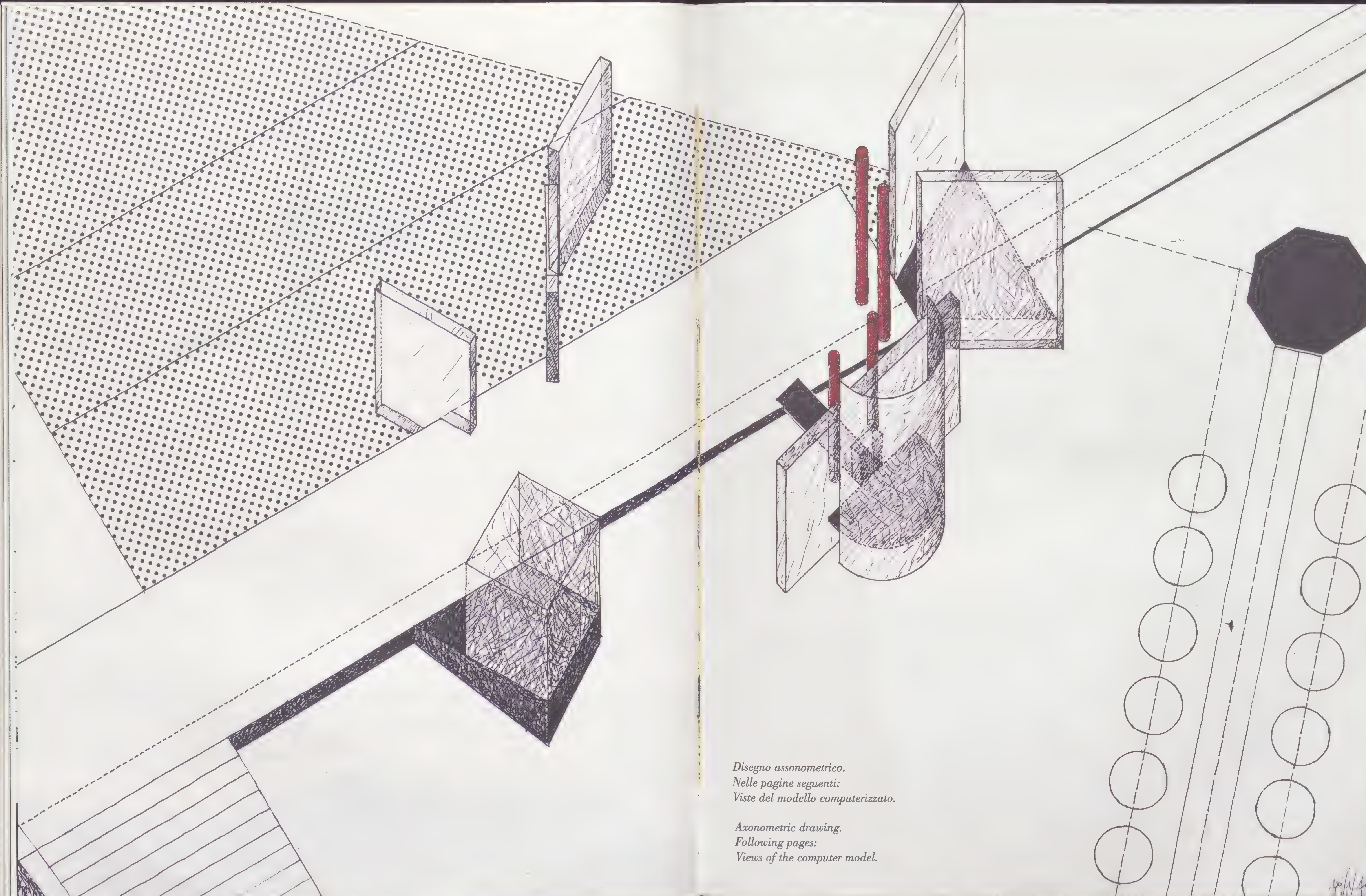
Disegno della planimetria.

Drawing of layout.



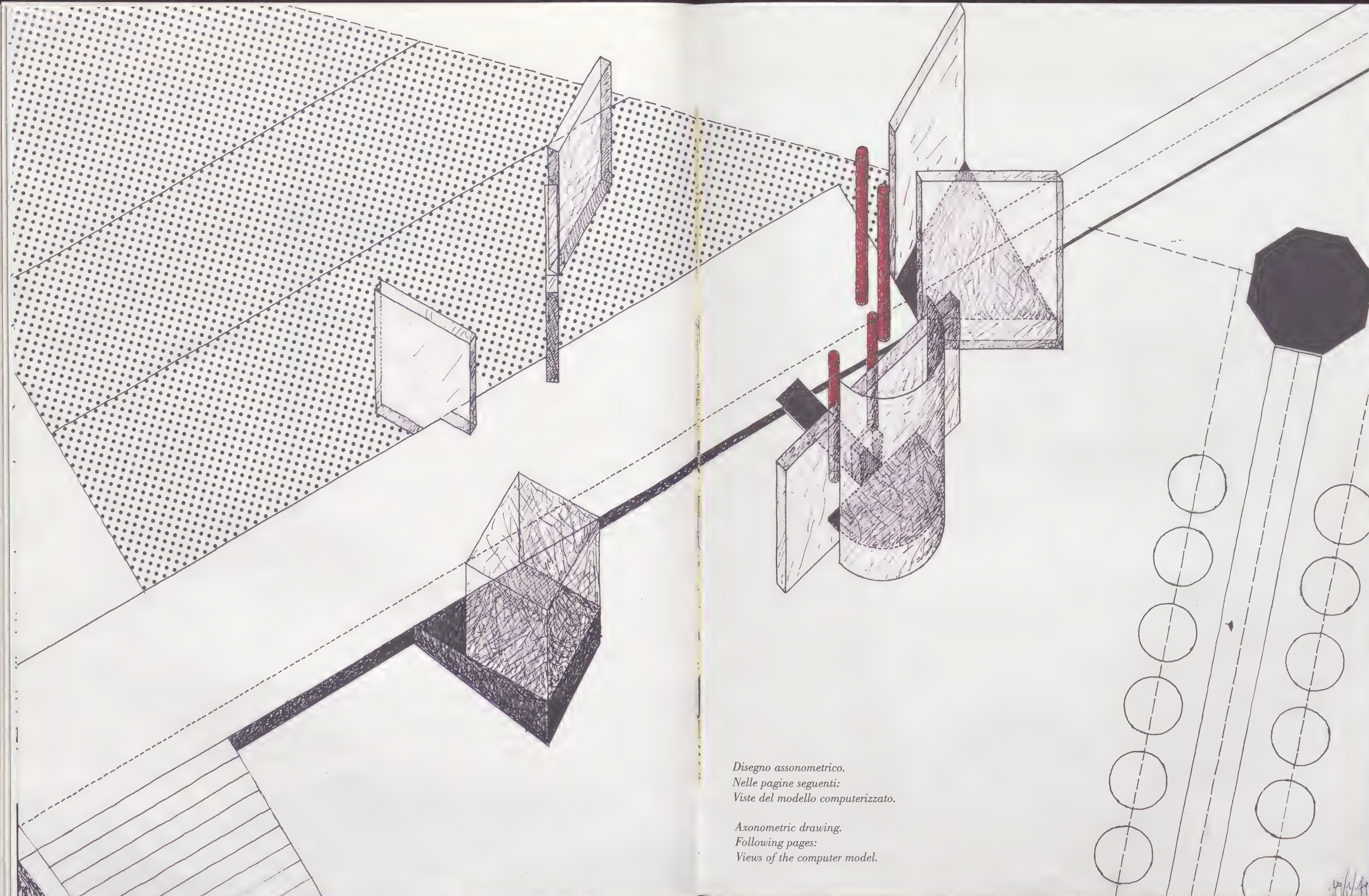
Disegno della planimetria.

Drawing of layout.



Disegno assonometrico.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Viste del modello computerizzato.

Axonometric drawing.
Following pages:
Views of the computer model.

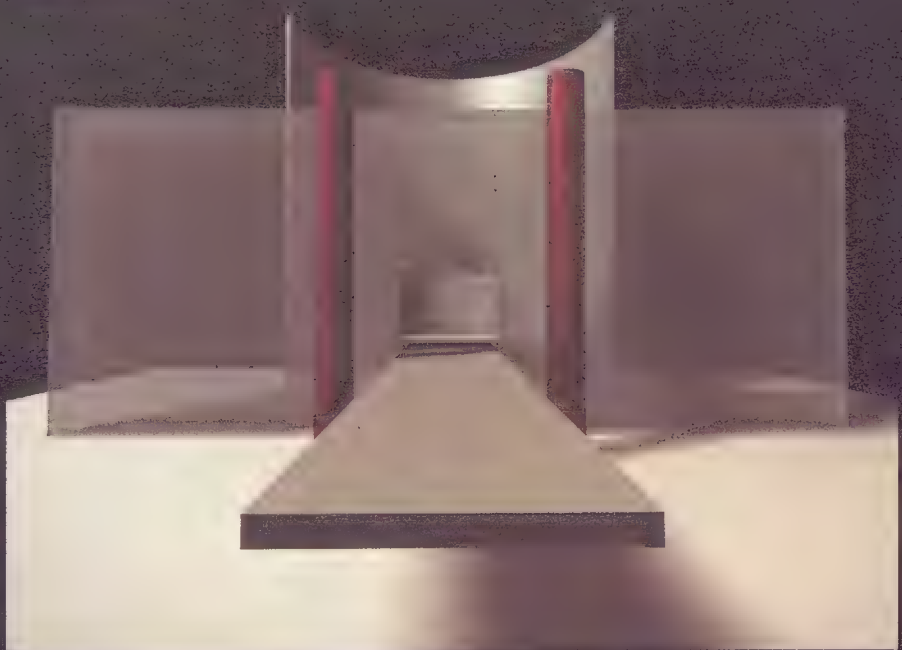


Disegno assonometrico.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Viste del modello computerizzato.

Axonometric drawing.
Following pages:
Views of the computer model.



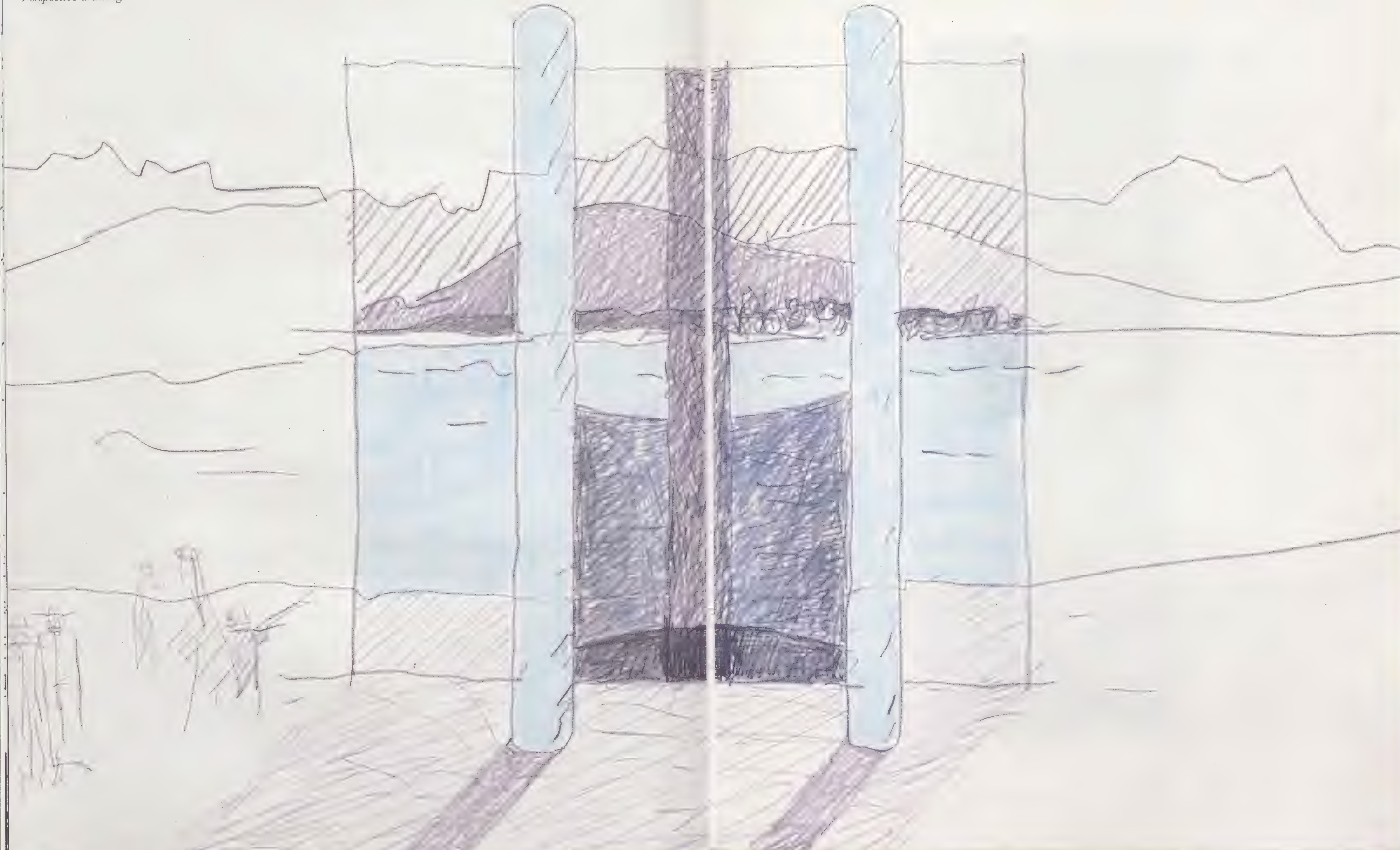






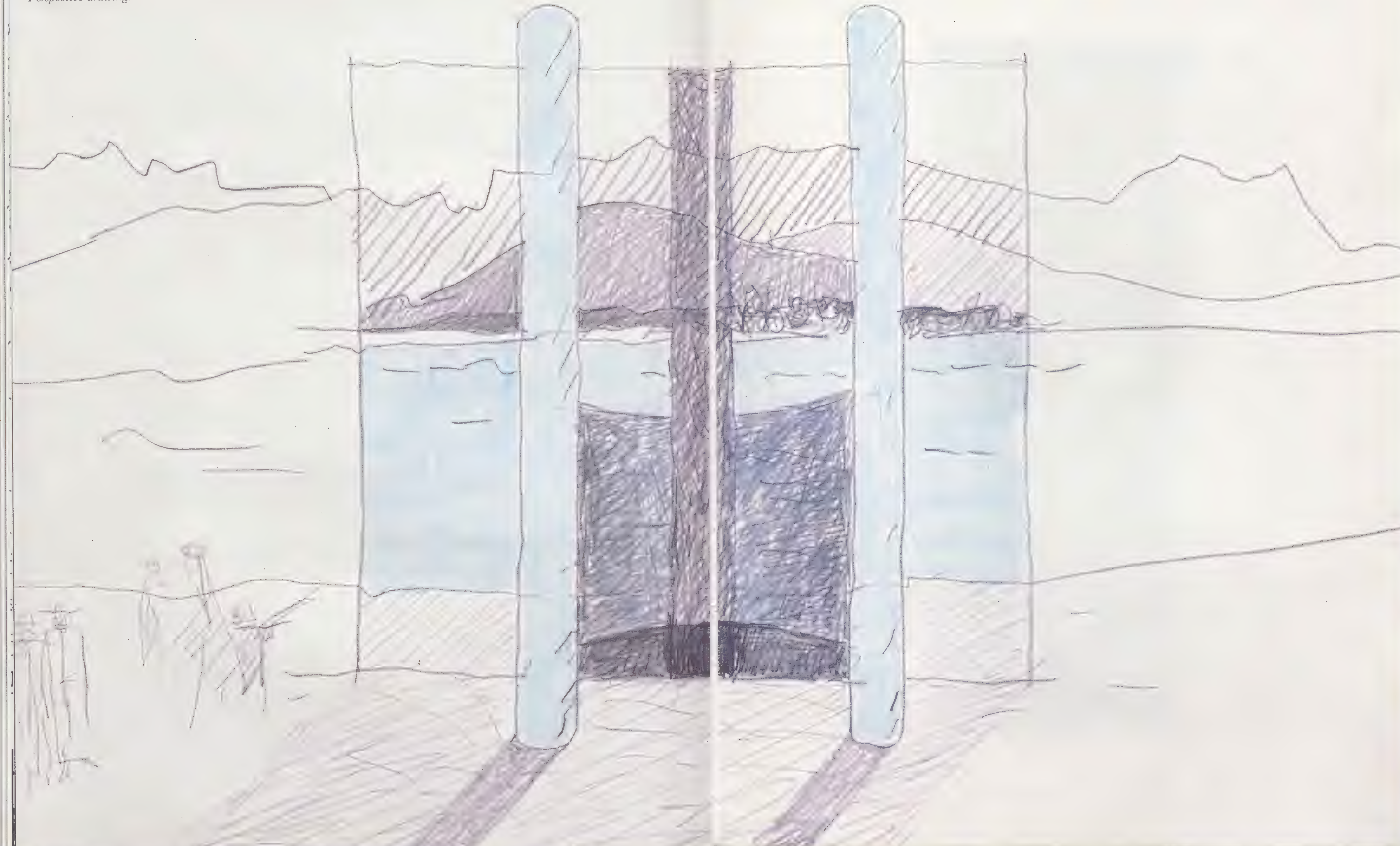
Disegno prospettico.

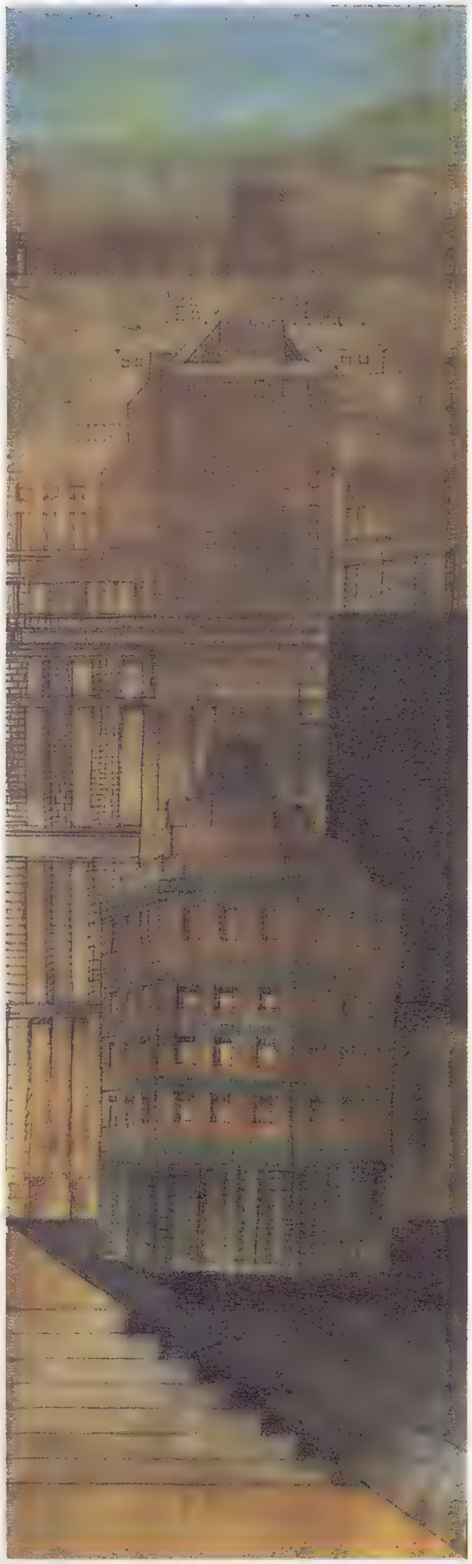
Perspective drawing.



Disegno prospettico.

Perspective drawing.





Disegni.

Drawings.

Aldo Rossi
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Per il Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona*
Aldo Rossi

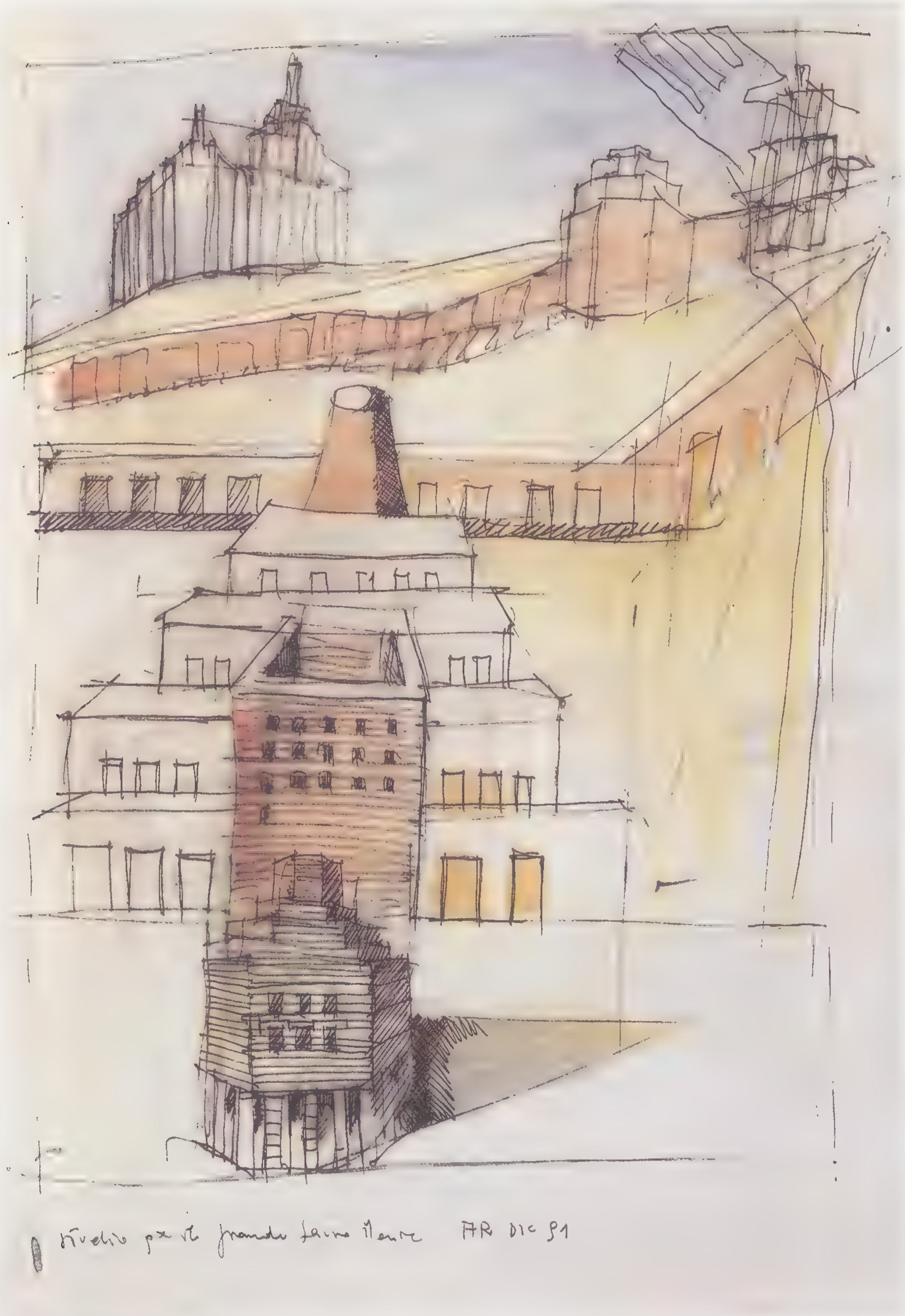
(...) Nell'infanzia ero particolarmente impressionato dai Sacri Monti: mi sembrava certo che la storia sacra era completamente riassunta nella figura di gesso, nel gesto immobile, nell'espressione fermata nel tempo di una storia altrimenti impossibile da raccontare.
(...) San Carlone di Arona: un'opera che ho disegnato e studiato più volte e mi è ora difficile riportarla all'educazione figurativa dell'infanzia. Ho capito poi che mi piaceva perché qui i limiti disciplinari dell'architettura, della macchina, dello strumento, si fondono in un'invenzione meravigliosa. Come nella descrizione del cavallo omerico, il pellegrino entra nel corpo del santo, come in una torre o un carro governato da una tecnica sapiente. Salita la scala esterna del piedistallo, la ripida ascensione all'interno del corpo rivela la struttura muraria e le saldature delle grosse lamiere. Infine la testa è un interno-esterno; dagli occhi del santo il paesaggio del lago acquista contorni infiniti, come un osservatorio celeste.
Ma forse anche per la sua dimensione questa costruzione mi dà uno strano senso di felicità: la sua forza è potenziale. Se osservate una locomotiva o un carro armato fermo, l'effetto non è molto diverso.
(...) Tra l'educazione dell'infanzia non posso dimenticare il Sacro Monte di S. e gli altri Sacri Monti che visitavamo al confine dei laghi. Indubbiamente è stato il mio primo contatto con l'arte figurativa ed ero, come sono, attratto dalla fissità e dalla naturalezza, dal classicismo delle architetture e dal naturalismo delle persone e degli oggetti. La sospensione che ne provavo suscitava in me forme di esaltata freddezza, anche qui volevo entrare oltre la grata, disporre un mio oggetto sopra la tovaglia consumata dell'ultima cena, uscire dalla condizione di chi passa; in ogni mio progetto o disegno credo vi sia l'ombra di questo naturalismo, che va oltre le bizzarrie e le piaghe di queste costruzioni. Quando ho visto a New York l'opera completa di Edward Hopper ho capito tutto questo della mia architettura: quadri come *Chair Car* o *Four Lane Road* mi hanno riportato alla fissità di quei miracoli senza tempo, tavole apparecchiate per sempre, bevande mai consumate, le cose che sono solo se stesse.

* Da Aldo Rossi, *Autobiografia scientifica*, 1981, Pratiche Editrice, Parma 1990, pp. 9-13.

For the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona*
Aldo Rossi

(...) In my childhood I was particularly struck by the Sacri Monti: I felt certain that sacred history was completely summed up in the plaster figure, in the motionless gesture, in the expression stopped in the course of a story that would otherwise have been impossible to tell.
(...) San Carlone at Arona, a work which I have drawn and studied so many times that it is now difficult for me to relate it to the visual education of my childhood. I subsequently understood that it pleased me because here the limits that distinguish the domains of architecture, the machine, and instruments were dissolved in marvellous invention. As with the Homeric horse, the pilgrim enters the body of the saint as he would a tower or a wagon steered by a knowing technician. After he mounts the exterior stair of the pedestal, the steep ascent through the interior of the body reveals the structure of the work and the welded seams of the huge pieces of sheet metal. Finally, he arrives at the interior-exterior of the head; from the eyes of the saint, the view of the lake acquires infinite contours, as if one were gazing from a celestial observatory.
But perhaps the very dimensions of this construction give me a strange feeling of happiness: its strength is potential. When one observes a motionless locomotive or tank, the effect is not very different.
(...) From my childhood education I cannot forget the Sacri Monti of S. that I mentioned before and the other Sacri Monti that we visited on the shores of lakes. Undoubtedly, they gave me my first contact with figurative art, and I was, as I now am, attracted by stasis and naturalness, by the classicism of architecture and by the naturalism of people and objects. The quality of suspension that I experienced in them aroused in me forms of exalted coolness: here too I wanted to pass beyond the window grate, to set out one of my own objects on the tablecloth used at the last meal, to escape the condition of a passerby. In all of my projects and drawings, I believe there may be a hint of this naturalism which transcends their oddities and defects. When I saw the complete work of Edward Hopper in New York, I realized all this about my architecture: paintings like Chair Car *or* Four Lane Road *took me back to the stasis of those timeless miracles, to tables set for eternity, drinks never consumed, things which are only themselves.*

* *From Aldo Rossi,* A Scientific Autobiography, *MIT Press, Cambridge 1981, pp. 2-5.*



Disegno.

Drawing.

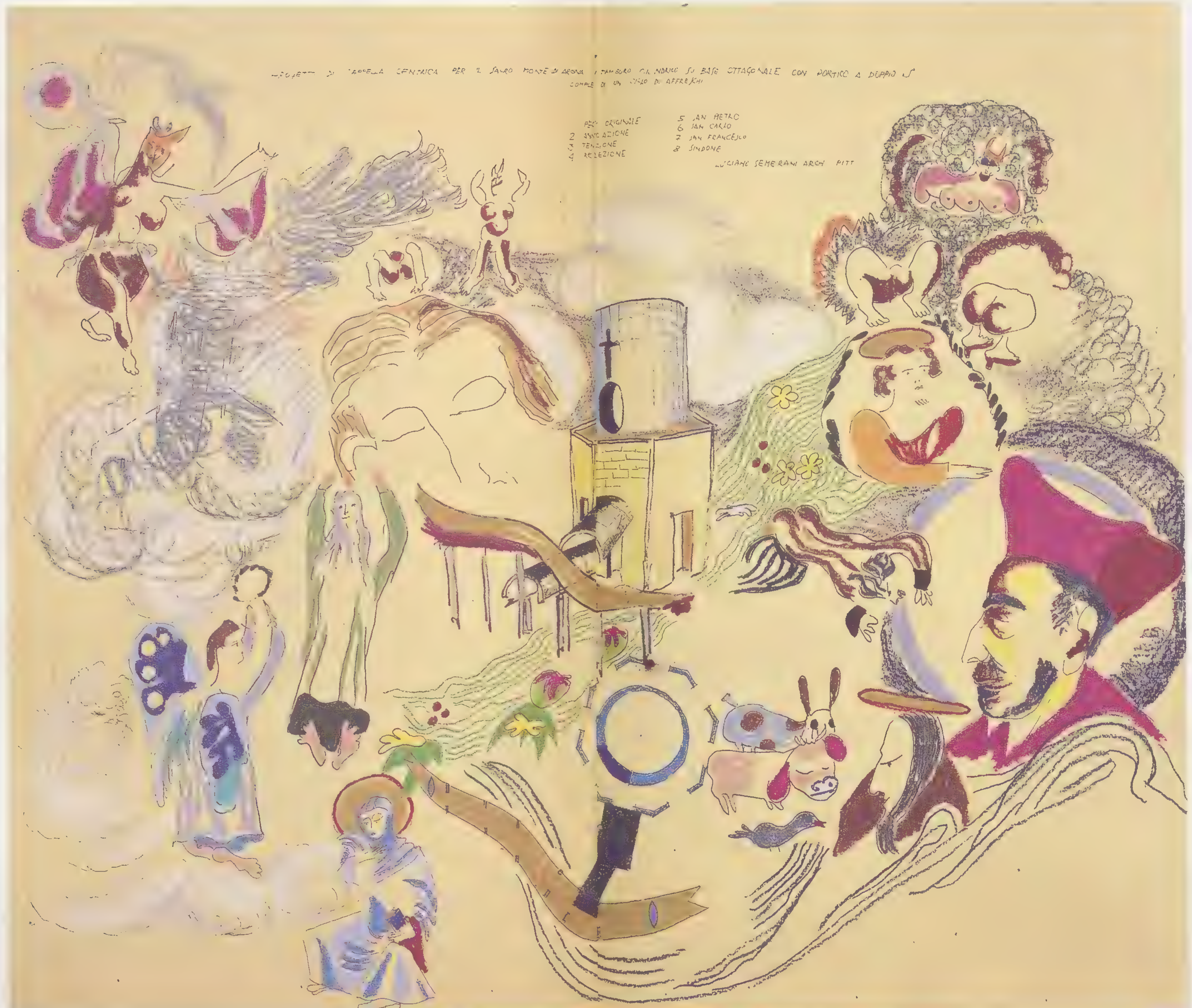


Disegni.

Drawings.



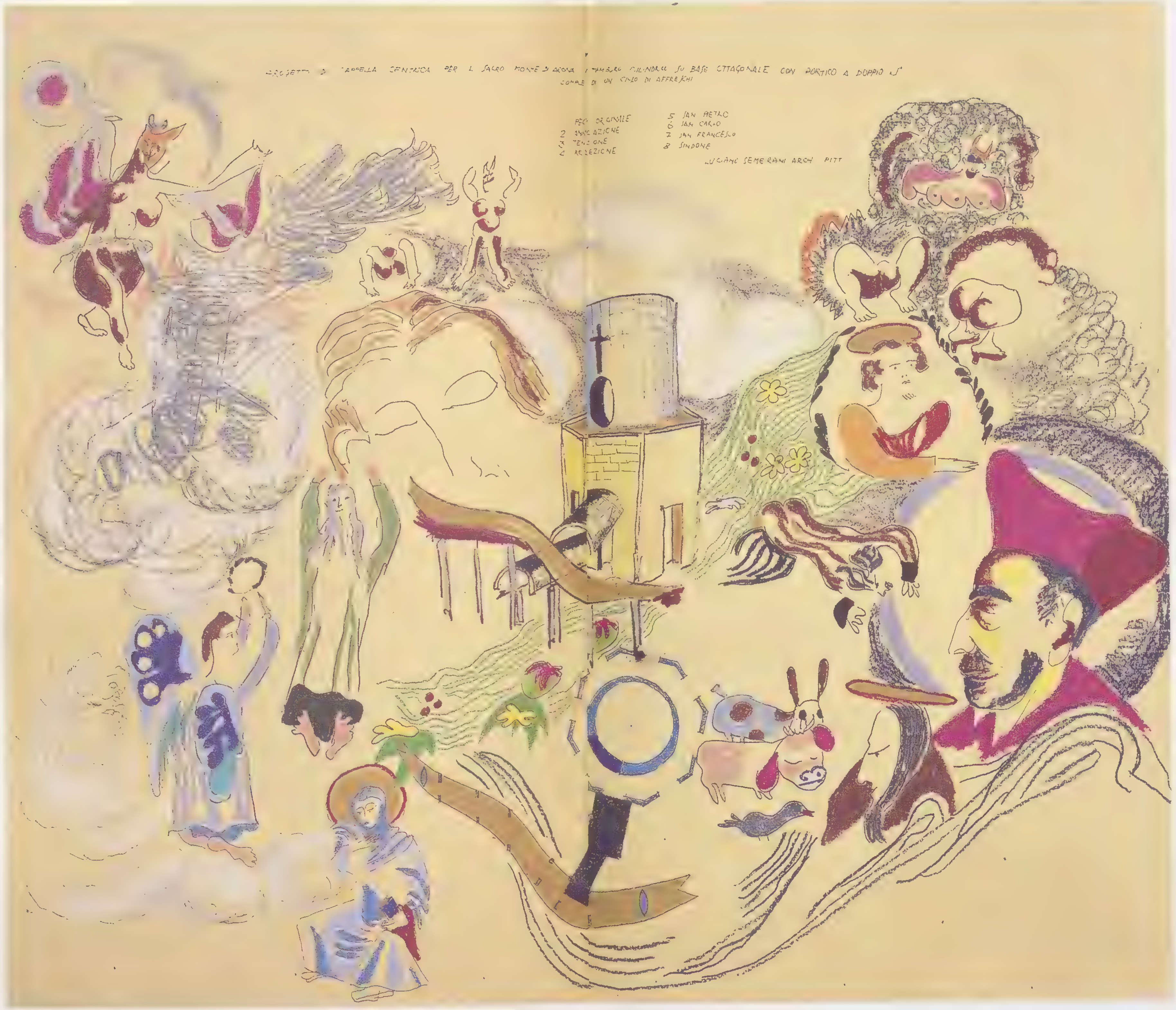
Luciano Semerani
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Disegno.

Drawing.

Luciano Semerani
Per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo



Disegno.

Drawing.

Per il Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona

Luciano Semerani

L'affermazione del filosofo lituano Levinas, che teme il *sacro*, parente "bene" dello *stregonesco*, e allontana il *sacro* dal *religioso* perché quest'ultimo resti salvo dall'idolatria e da un'eccessiva dimestichezza con il divino, è fortemente influenzata dalla tradizione ebraica.
Ma anche alla tradizione cristiana, e segnatamente quella della Chiesa Cattolica Apostolica Romana, per quanto gloriosa della passione e del sacrificio di sangue, da duemila anni quotidianamente rinnovato, è assai più essenziale la quotidianità religiosa, e la ripetizione dei gesti che non l'eccezionale manifestazione del sacro.
Per questo tipo di ragionamenti, o forse solo per la necessità di indurre alla visita e alla preghiera per mezzo di figure architettoniche povere ma convincenti, ho pensato di comporre un ottagono alto m. 10, di m. 5 di lato, affrescato all'interno come un'antica televisione, con una lanterna circolare di diametro m. 6, aperta con un solo foro circolare strombato e sormontata da una croce latina.
Mentre il cilindro sarà finito intonacato con sabbia calce e cemento ogni lato dell'ottagono sarà rivestito con una lastra monolitica in marmo rigenerato color verde Alpi.
Sull'ingresso principale, spostato di 45 gradi rispetto al foro di facciata, si snodano due brevi volte d'ingresso disassate e sfilate tra loro, che saranno costruite in lastra di piombo al pari della copertura di una aerea pensilina d'ingresso di andamento mistilineo.
Pilastri e colonne di sostegno seguono un ritmo sincopato e partecipano, con la pensilina e le diverse asimmetrie dell'insieme, della mondanità che avvolge la parte immutabile della costruzione: quella a pianta centrale, nucleo solido di una cappella pensata, si direbbe in retorica, come un ossimoro.

For the San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona

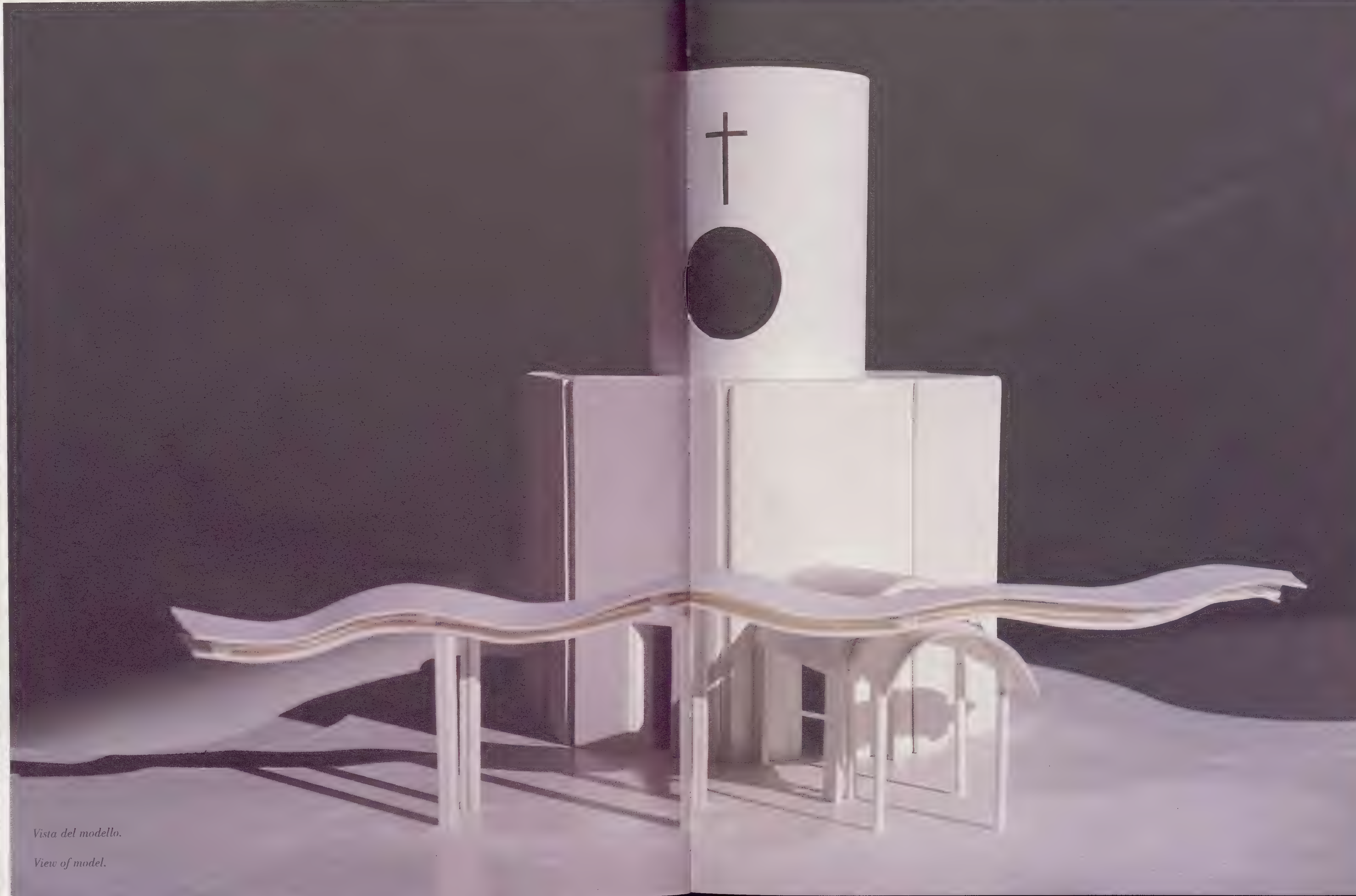
Luciano Semerani

Levinas, the Lithuanian philosopher who feared sacredness, *the "good" parent of* witchcraft, *and kept* religiosity *apart from* sacredness *to preserve it from idolatry and over-familiarity with the divine, was strongly influenced by the Jewish tradition.*
But daily religious routine — the repetition of acts rather than periodic manifestations of sacredness — plays a much more central role in the Christian tradition, most notably in the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church, glorious in the Passion and blood sacrifice it has celebrated every day for the past two thousand years.
For this reason, or perhaps only because of the need to create plain though inspiring architecture that would induce people to come and pray, I decided on an octagon 10 metres high with 5 metre sides, frescoed inside like an ancient TV set. It also has a round 6 metre diameter skylight with a single splayed circular aperture surmounted by a Latin cross.
The cylinder will be faced with sand, lime and cement plastering, and each side of the octagon will be clad with a single slab of regenerated alpine green marble.
The main entrance, 45° off line from the façade aperture, has two shallow discontinuous off-line entrance vaults that will be built in the same lead sheeting as the roof of the mixtilinear cantilevered entrance porch.
The syncopated support columns and pilasters, the porch and the various asymmetries of the composition partake of the worldliness that characterises the permanent part of the construction; by contrast, the central section, the solid nucleus of an imaginary chapel, would be called an oxymoron in rhetoric.

Vista del modello.

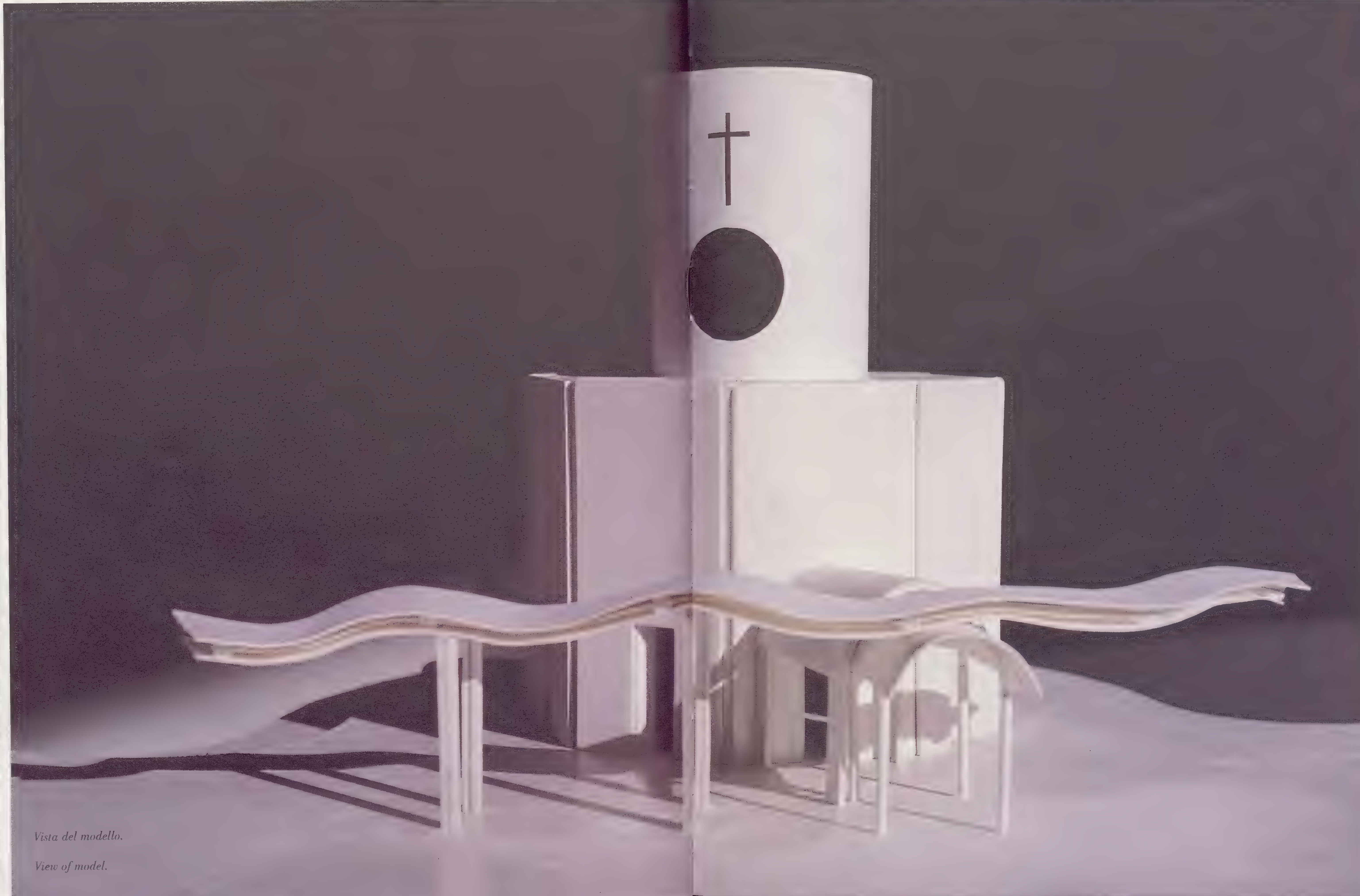
View of model.





Vista del modello.

View of model.



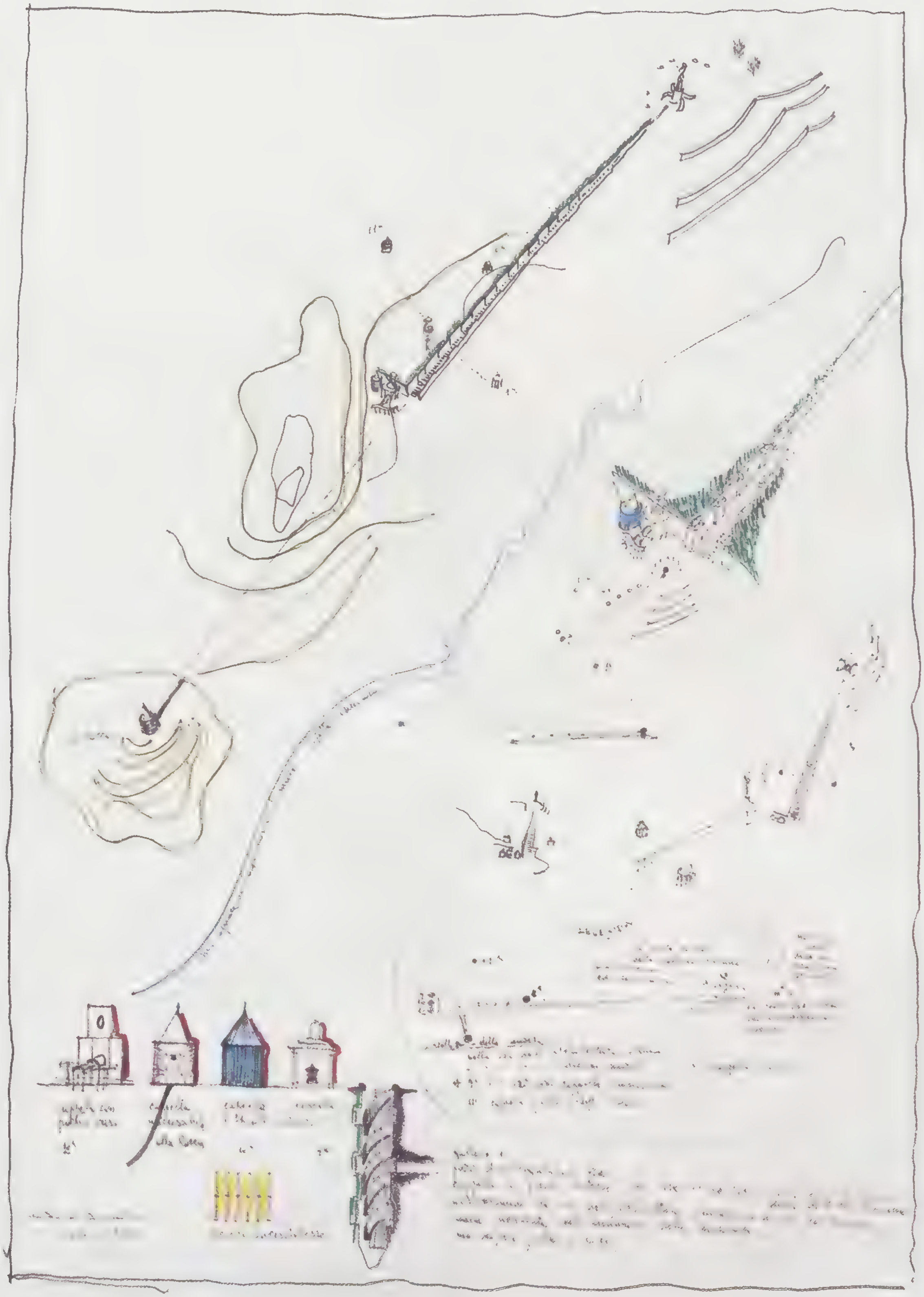
Vista del modello.

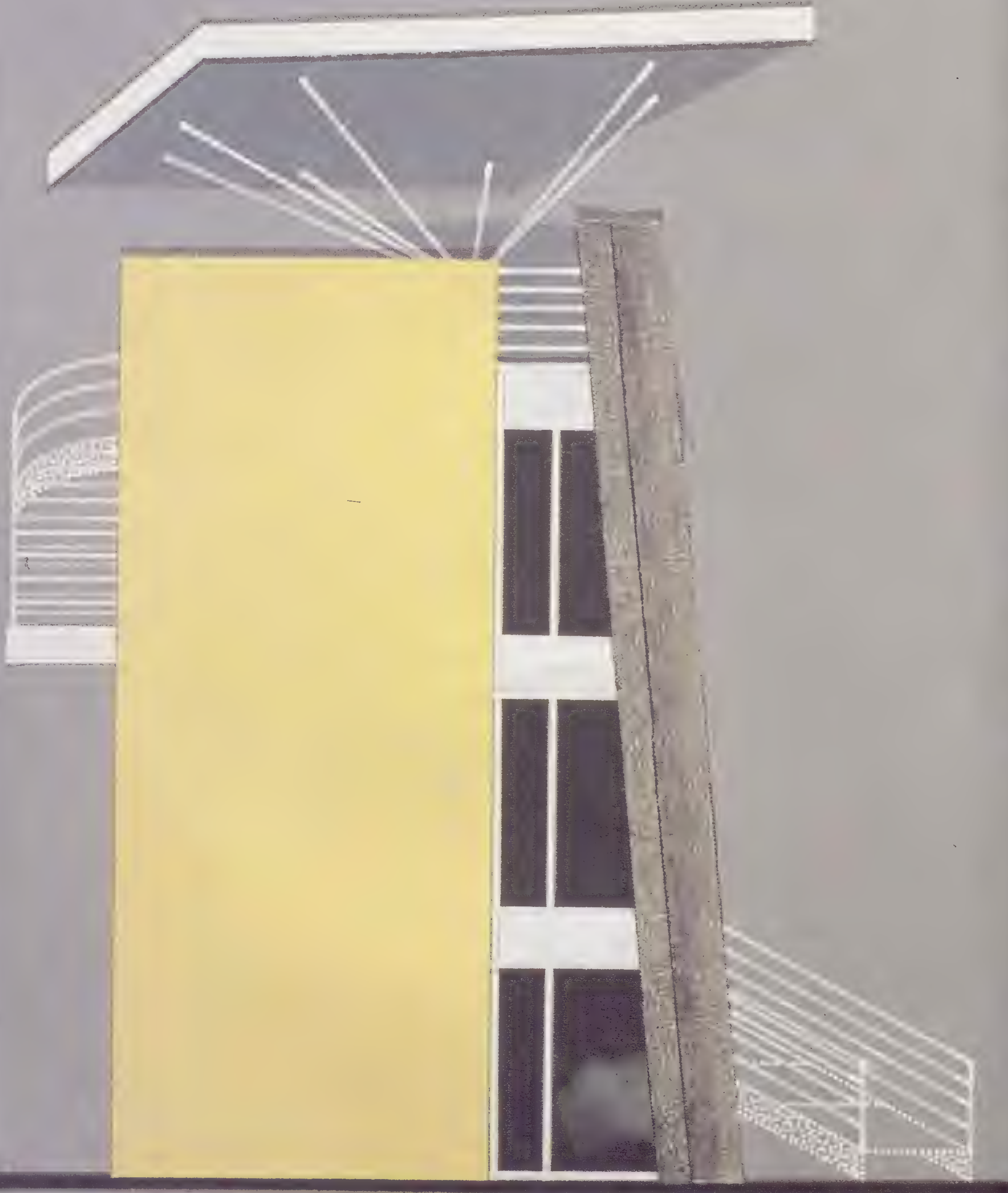
View of model.



Vista del modello, disegno.

View of model, drawing.





Padiglione di orientamento a New Canaan: prospetto ovest e pianta.

Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan: west elevation and plan.



Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut

1991-1993

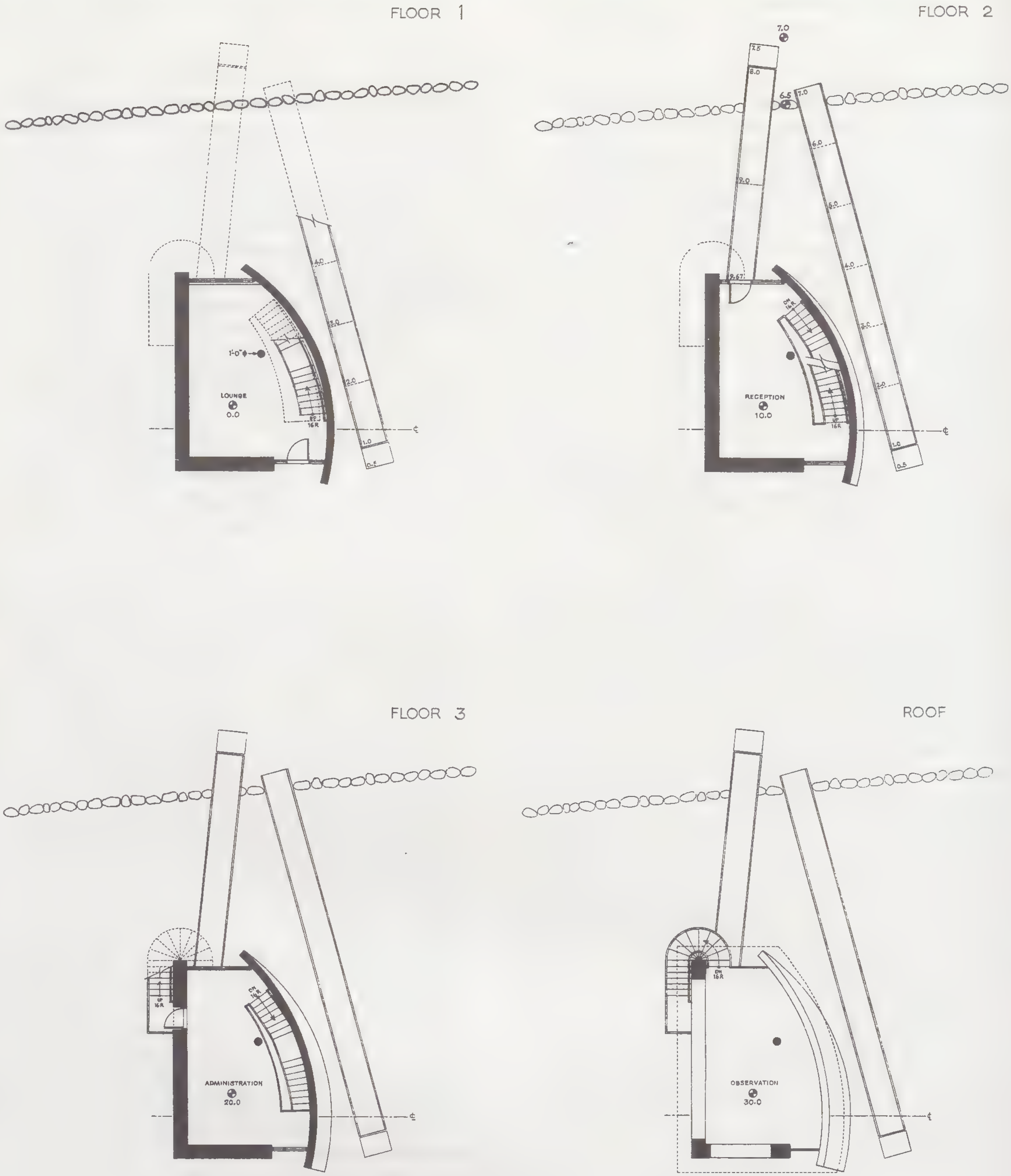
Philip Johnson Architects

Intervista a Philip Johnson *
di Peter Eisenman
New York, gennaio 1992

Eisenman: Vorrei inizialmente discutere la condizione della monumentalità nell'architettura contemporanea. Per cominciare, prendiamo il tuo Lipstick Building, l'edificio a forma di rossetto. Hai spesso ricordato come il tuo proposito iniziale nel progettarlo fosse quello di dimostrare la possibilità di una monumentalità d'autore a New York, al contrario di quanto sostenuto da Paul Goldberger. La domanda è questa: hai concepito il Lipstick, che certamente non è un edificio contestuale, in modo tale che la forma ne risultasse monumentale?
Johnson: La forma è monumentale, la situazione contestuale.
E. Comunque non è come l'AT&T Building, dove ti sei rivolto alla strada, accettandola.
J. È l'opposto dell'AT&T, la sua è una monumentalità per giustapposizione, come nel Seagram Building.
E. Il Lipstick consegue monumentalità per giustapposizione.
J. E anche per contrasto. Il Lipstick riesce ad interrompere la continuità della cornice, l'ottusità di una lunga e noiosa strada americana che va avanti all'infinito.
E. Ma in che modo l'AT&T persegue la sua monumentalità? È al livello della strada?
J. È al livello della strada, col portico; e con il coronamento a cielo aperto, verso il mondo. Un grattacielo americano è un mostro con la testa di idra, che ha bisogno di una base e di un coronamento. L'Empire State Building, per esempio, è privo di base, e passando in autobus lo si avverte. Ma questo non è il caso dei miei edifici, l'AT&T o il Lipstick, che sono entrambi monumentali, sebbene in modo diverso in ragione del sito. Quello del Lipstick è formato da una sequenza di edifici senza fine, e non sapresti infatti dire se ti trovi alla Quarantottesima strada o alla Sessantottesima strada. Una situazione che va avanti senza fine, quella della griglia americana; che da ultimo continua in aperta campagna. Per riuscire a dare un senso alla griglia bisogna conferire all'edificio un accento che enfatizzi la cortina stradale. Paul Goldberger pensa che io l'abbia interrotta, ma io direi che le ho semplicemente concesso una cesura, una pausa, un breve arresto.
E. Niente da ridire su tutto ciò. Tuttavia, dal momento che la forma del Lipstick è simmetrica, non sarebbe stata più indicata per un edificio posto all'interno dell'isolato, piuttosto che in una condizione d'angolo? Dal momento che la possibilità d'interruzione arriva con l'angolo, tu stai dicendo che non c'è angolo.
J. No, gli angoli del Lipstick sono gli angoli degli edifici adiacenti.
E. Ma a sud non c'era alcun edificio.
J. C'è ora, l'hanno appena terminato. Il rammarico, di Mies e mio, dopo aver costruito il Seagram, fu che demolirono uno degli edifici adiacenti per rimpiazzarlo con uno arretrato, mentre il Seagram avrebbe dovuto rimanere l'unico edificio arretrato. È il problema urbanistico con cui ci si scontra sempre in una società capitalistica o pluralistica.
E. Ma supponi che ognuno operi interruzioni; cos'è che concede privilegio ad una ditta di liquori come la Seagram?
J. Non puoi generalizzare sull'esperienza di quel singolo edificio; si costruisce sempre secondo un modello di città che è già stabilito. Mies aveva avvertito il problema dicendo: "*Beh, non ci sono arretramenti, quindi arretriamo noi*". Naturalmente due edifici vennero subito realizzati arretrati rovinandone l'angolo, che infatti non si dovrebbe vedere, proprio come nel caso del Lipstick. Infatti ciò che conferisce la cesura è l'angolo dell'edificio adiacente. Un'ultima osservazione: la monumentalità dell'AT&T, stando al livello della strada, è assimilabile a Palazzo Massimo del Peruzzi, che infatti avvertì il medesimo problema. Allora, come si rende leggibile un gesto in un edificio inserito tra altri? Peruzzi curvò la facciata. Per sua fortuna la strada era già di per sé leggermente curva.
E. Stai per caso sostenendo che la monumentalità è una costante nel tempo? Prima hai detto che Peruzzi conseguì una certa monumentalità con il portico e la curvatura della facciata. Stai forse suggerendo ora che la monumentalità è la stessa in una strada americana come in una di Roma? La strada romana non presenta lo stesso problema della strada americana.
J. Peruzzi trasse vantaggio dalla curvatura accidentale della strada.
E. Che è cosa diversa dall'interruzione di una strada.
J. Strade senza fine hanno necessità di più frequenti interruzioni, come un arretramento.
E. E quindi la curvatura del Peruzzi non è affatto monumentale. Approfitta semplicemente di una accidentalità esistente. Non c'è intenzionale monumentalità nel trarre beneficio dall'accidentale.
J. Peruzzi usò l'accidentalità di un luogo in un determinato momento storico; si trattò di un gesto specifico.
E. C'è un dibattito oggigiorno riguardante gli edifici che si affannano a spiccare nella loro monumentalità d'autore ed edifici che invece si adeguano al resto. In questi termini potresti mettere a confronto il tuo edificio sulla Boylston Street a Boston con l'adiacente nuovo edificio di Stern? Quale è la loro differenza di base? È il loro differire stilistico ed estetico, o piuttosto concettuale e urbano?
J. Il tema su cui differiscono è la monumentalità urbana. Ritengo che l'edificio di Stern svilisca le intenzioni urbanistiche e architettoniche del mio iniziale edificio doppio, perché non si estende all'intero isolato. Il mio progetto ambiva a fare di un isolato una maestosa e monumentale parte di Boston. Le piccole corti presenti nel progetto non erano vere e proprie corti, ma piuttosto intervalli. Troppo piccole come corti e troppo grandi come interruzioni, essi fornivano tuttavia una pausa necessaria in un edificio di duecento metri. Realizzando l'ampliamento con un edificio vernacolare "all'antica e qualsiasi", si svilisce l'idea dell'isolato. Di conseguenza, ci siamo visti

Interview with Philip Johnson
by Peter Eisenman
New York, January 1992

Eisenman: *I would first like to discuss the status of monumentality in contemporary architecture. To begin with, we can take your "lipstick" building. You have often said that your goal in designing the building was to prove that signature monumentality was possible in New York, even though Paul Goldberger asserted that it was impossible. The question is, did you design the lipstick building — certainly it is not contextual — so that the form is monumental?*
Johnson: *The form is monumental; the situation is contextual.*
E. However, it is not like the AT&T Building. You took the street front; you accepted it.
J. It is the opposite of the AT&T Building. It is monumentality by juxtapostition, like the Seagram Building.
E. So that is gets its monumentality by juxtaposition.
J. And also by contrast. But what the lipstick building does is to interrupt the cornice, the dullness of a long dull American street that goes on endlessly.
E. How does AT&T get its monumentality? Is it at the street level?
J. It is at the street level that AT&T gets its monumentality, through the arcade; against the world, by the top. An American skyscraper is a hydra-headed monster. It needs to have a bottom and a top. The Empire State Building, for example, does not have a bottom. You do not know it when you pass in a bus. In my buildings, you cannot make that mistake. You go by either the lipstick building or the AT&T, and they are both monumental, but in different ways because of the site. The site of the lipstick building is an endless row that you cannot tell if you are on 48th Street or 68th Street. It just goes an and on, because the American way of doing a grid layout is endless; if eventually this goes off into the prarie. To make any sense out of a grid, you have to have an accent that emphasizes the street line. Paul Goldberger feels that I have interrupted the street line. I say that I have merely given it a caesura, a pause, a little moment.
E. I have no problem with that. However, since the shape of the lipstick building is symmetrical, would it have been better as a mid-block building rather than a corner building? Because the possibility of interruption comes at the corner. What you are saying is that there is no corner.
J. No, the corners of the lipstick building are the corners of the next buildings.
E. But there was no building to the south.
J. There is now. They just finisched it. That was our disappointment. Mies' and mine, when, after we built the Seagram Building, they tore down one of the buildings and also set it back. Seagram should be the only setback. That is the urbanistic problem that one always faces in capitalist or pluralist society.
E. But suppose everybody made interruptions? What gives a liquor company any priority?
J. You cannot generalize from this one building. You have to build it over a city pattern that is already established. Mies had that problem, and he said, "Well, there are no setbakcs, so let us set back". *Of course, two buildings came along immediately that also set back spoiling his corner, because the corner of that building should not be seen, just like here. But it is actually the corner of the adjacent building that gives you the caesura. There is one more point: the monumentality of the AT&T Building being just at the street line is comparable to the Palazzo Massimo by Peruzzi. Peruzzi had this problem as well. How are you going to know if any gesture can be read in the building? So he bowed the façade. Luckily, the street was also slightly curved.*
E. Are you therefore saying that monumentality is constant over time? First you are saying that Peruzzi achieved a certain monumentality with an arcade and the bowing of the building. You do it in the lipstick building with a similar bowing of the building, and essentiatly an arcade. Are you suggesting that monumentality is constant whether it is an American street, or a Roman street? The Roman street does not have the problem of the American street.
J. Peruzzi took advantage of the actual curve of the street as an accident.
E. Which is different than the interruption of the street.
J. Endless streets need more occasions, like a setback.
E. So Peruzzi's curve is not monumental at all. It is merely taking advantage of a certain accident; it's not attempting to be monumental in the sense that it takes advantage of accident.
J. He used the accident of that place in its time; it was a thing in itself.
E. There is a current debate between buildings that strive to stand out, signature monumentality and those that blend in. On these terms, can you compare your building in Boston with the new Stern building next to it? Basically, what is the difference? Is it merely stylistic and aesthetic, or is it conceptual and urban?
J. It concerns urban monumentality. I think that Stern's building belies the architectural and urbanistic intentions of my original double building — because it does not take advantage of the entire block. My project attempted to make a block that would be a dignified and monumental prominent part of Boston. The little courts that we had were not intended as courts, but were only markers. They were too small for courts, and in a way almost too big for markers, but they provided the pause that you need in a six-hundred-foot block. By making a vernacular "any-old building" addition on it, you sort of spoil the point of the block. So we had to make our point in half a block, which we did. You can take one unit away from a two-unit building, but you lose the symmetry, you lose the monumentality, and the urbanistic intention. But Stern said what he was doing was to make the building more like Boston, that mine was too monumental, too 19th century. What he did was to pick up the vernacular details around the buildings like the Ritz. He merely changed the vernacular in different parts of the building and it just



Padiglione di orientamento a New Canaan: piante dei piani terra, primo, secondo e della terrazza panoramica. Planimetria generale con la Glass House (1949).

Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan: plans of the ground, first and second floors and the lookout platform. General plan with the Glass House (1949).

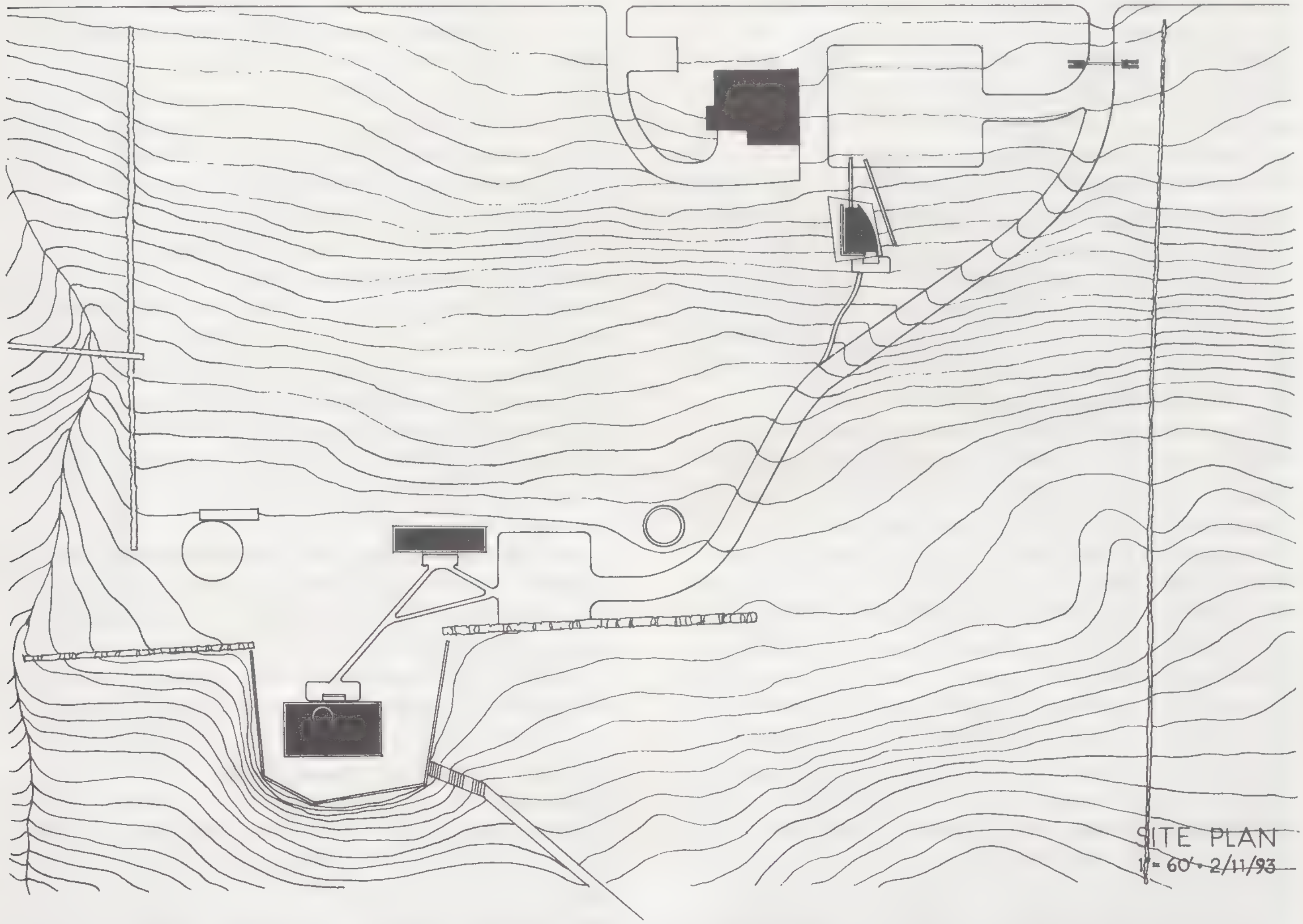
Philip Johnson, Padiglione di orientamento nel complesso della Glass House a New Canaan, Connecticut

Il Padiglione di orientamento si trova all'ingresso del gruppo di edifici che compongono la proprietà, che recentemente è stata donata a una istituzione pubblica.

È situato lungo una strada secondaria e ospiterà l'ingresso e i vari servizi destinati ai gruppi guidati in visita.

La costruzione è iniziata nel 1992. Il piano terreno è adibito a sala video e sala d'attesa. Il piano principale ospita il banco della reception e la vendita dei libri. Il terzo piano è riservato agli uffici, mentre sul tetto c'è una terrazza belvedere. Il padiglione a torre è situato al margine di un terrazzamento presso la sommità di una collina dove sarà realizzato un parcheggio. La sua collocazione è stata studiata in modo da offrire la possibilità di ingressi separati ai diversi piani.

La parete sud è un guscio ricurvo e inclinato rivestito di rame piombato. Le pareti di muratura sono rivestite di mattoni lucidi bicottura di colore giallo. Gli elementi in metallo sono bianchi.



Philip Johnson, Orientation Pavilion in the Glass House complex, New Canaan, Connecticut

The Orientation Pavilion is at the entrance to the group of buildings that comprise the property, which was recently bequeathed to a public institution.

Sited on a minor road, it will contain entrance facilities for guided tours of the property.

Construction began in 1992. The ground floor is a video viewing and waiting room. The main floor contains the entrance desk and bookstore. The third floor is offices while the rooftop provides a lookout platform.

The tower is placed on the edge of a terrace near the top of a hill where a parking lot will be built. The tower is carefully placed off the edge to allow for separate entries to the different floors.

The south wall is a curved, leaning shell clad in lead coated copper. The masonry walls are faced in yellow double-fired, glazed brick. The metal work is white.

costretti a contenere la nostra proposta entro metà isolato, come poi è avvenuto. Non si può sottrarre un'unità ad un edificio che ne prevede due, senza perdere simmetria, ma anche monumentalità e l'intenzione urbanistica. Ma Stern diceva che stava cercando di rendere il suo edificio più bostoniano. Ma ciò che gli è riuscito è stato di riprendere alcuni dettagli vernacolari presenti negli edifici circostanti, come il Ritz. Egli ha semplicemente cambiato l'accento vernacolare di alcune parti dell'edificio, che infatti si dissolve nel contesto del paesaggio. Perciò sostengo che tutto ciò che è riuscito a fare è stato di sciupare la contestualità dell'isolato che io intendevo ottenere in quel luogo. Naturalmente anch'egli ha il suo super-io, ogni architetto ne ha uno, e così ha fatto il suo edificio diverso.
E. In rapporto al tuo.
J. Egli voleva dimostrare qualcosa di diverso. Ma non dobbiamo parlare per forza di quegli edifici. Piuttosto, perché non parliamo della differenza tra monumentalità architettonica e monumentalità urbanistica?
E. Ma, in verità, parlando di queste idee nel modo in cui lo hai fatto, non stai parlando anche ideologicamente?
J. Certamente.
E. Tu non stai parlando esteticamente.
J. No, no. Questa è ideologia e urbanistica. L'urbanistica non è estetica.
E. Tu parli di un atteggiamento ideologico verso la città.
J. Di un'ideologia urbanistica.
E. Non intendevo dire atteggiamento politico, ma ideologico. Tu stavi parlando di una strategia urbana che non si riduca a semplice estetica. Non importa se le proporzioni del tuo edificio sono più aggraziate di quelle dell'edificio di Stern, o se l'edificio in sé è più gradevole: quello che è in gioco è l'atteggiamento verso una parte di città in relazione ad altre. Tu ritenevi che ci fosse bisogno di un edificio simmetrico e monumentale, qualcosa che poi si articolasse ad una scala inferiore — con le cesure e il resto —, in modo che le parti fossero relazionate al tutto. Mentre Stern negava completamente l'esistenza di tutto questo, compiacendosi in un falso contestualismo fatto di stile e dettaglio, mentre il tuo era contestualità dell'insieme.
J. Un'ultima osservazione. Copley Square a Boston è un monumento storico, e i monumenti storici possiedono una loro estetica, una loro importanza, siano essi buona architettura oppure no. Il Copley Plaza Hotel non è una buona architettura, ma si sforza di dialogare con la Biblioteca e la Cattedrale. Di conseguenza ambisce a quel tipo di monumentalità di cui parlavo prima, una porzione più ampia di città riportata alla scala di un isolato. Il progetto di Stern si arresta a metà dell'isolato ed è un errore.
E. Ora, l'ultima domanda riguarda le tue riflessioni sul luogo. Forse potresti delineare brevemente il problema del "luogo qualsiasi" e offrire qualche osservazione sulla differenza tra contesto ed effetti "internazionalistici" che derivano da concezioni globali dell'architettura. Quella del luogo è fondamentalmente un'idea sei-settecentesca, l'idea di Roma quando fu riorganizzata dai Papi per piazze e assi; l'idea di connettere una città attraverso una rete di assi e piazze. Ma ora che abbiamo a che fare con macchine e *computer*, con *network* elettronici, non abbiamo più bisogno di trovarci in nessun luogo specifico. L'idea che qualcuno possa esperire una città di assi e piazze è quasi perduta. Se viaggi in aereo scegli un aeroporto come quello di Chicago, per fare una riunione. Quando vai a Tokyo, non trai esperienza da alcun luogo. Cioè, oggi non traiamo forse esperienza soltanto da luoghi di scala molto ridotta? In altri termini, si possono pianificare città come si faceva nel Settecento o nell'Ottocento?
J. No. Non si possono pianificare le città come nel Settecento o nell'Ottocento. Non mi ero reso conto che ci fosse un cambiamento tecnico o elettronico; ho sempre pensato semplicemente ad un cambiamento di popolazione. Non è un caso che le migliori piante di città siano state quelle ellenistiche; non è casuale, perché a quel tempo si conosceva la dimensione della città, questa era comprensibile in quanto unità di base.
E. E allora cosa fai, se devi pianificare una porzione di città, oggi?
J. Pianifichi per quanto puoi, considerate le circostanze; e poi dici: al diavolo il piano! A Berlino ora hanno di fronte esattamente questa situazione. Cercano di riproporre orientamenti verso la pianificazione della città che furono del Kaiser, facendo girare all'indietro le lancette dell'orologio. Se partecipi ad un concorso — cosa che al momento sto facendo — ti spediscono immagini, fotografie, alcune degli anni Trenta, il che è paradossale. Immagini scattate nel 1935, in un altro regime che non vogliamo emulare. Ma la città guglielmina era assai brutta col suo Neobarocco. Ti mandano tutte le regole del periodo al quale ti dovresti conformare; il che è peggio del caos. Il risultato sarà una torta congelata.
E. Ma allora cosa suggeriresti di fare a Berlino?
J. L'unico modo di affrontare il problema di una città di quelle dimensioni — e, per di più, di una città distrutta — è di ricominciare da capo. Ci sono dei grandi architetti in grado di farlo.
E. L'idea di Le Corbusier era di ripartire da zero, e guarda l'effetto che ha sortito: il caos. Tutti quei blocchi residenziali disseminati in spazi verdi deserti, dove il contesto è demolito. Non credo che la soluzione oggi sia la distruzione del contesto, il ripartire da zero.
J. Prendi in considerazione un'idea di una certa parte della città e dici: "*È qui che vogliamo si materializzi culturalmente un'idea di città*". Si faceva sempre così nella pianificazione della città prussiana. Dopo di che il resto lo si lasciava a se stesso. Esattamente ciò che i Russi hanno fatto a Berlino, con la Stalinallee, per esempio, che è essenzialmente un'idea molto buona. La Stalinallee offre un orientamento, ti dice dove sei; quanto agli edifici, erano di quel periodo e non potevano essere diversamente. Dietro cominciò il caos. E se vuoi realizzare una Place Vendôme, tutto quello che devi fare è disegnare la piazza e dire:

fades into the contextual landscape. And I claim all he did was to ruin the contextuality of the block that I had intended to place there. But naturally, he has an ego; every architect has an ego, and he had to make his different.

E. *In relationship to you.*

J. *He made a different kind of statement. We do not have to talk about either building. Rather, we can talk about the difference between architectual monumentality and urbanistic monumentality.*

E. *But actually, when you talk about these ideas in the way you have just spoken about then you are talking ideologically?*

J. *Surely.*

E. *You are not talking aesthetically?*

J. *No, no. This is ideology and urbanism. Urbanism is not aesthetic.*

E. *You are talking about an ideological attitude toward the city.*

J. *It is an urbanistic ideology.*

E. *I do not mean political. You are talking about an urban strategy, which belies mere aesthetics. It is not that the proportions of your building are nicer, that it looks better than Robert Stern's. It is an attitude toward a piece of the city in relantionship to the other places. Your idea was that a symmetrical and monumental place was needed, something which then stepped down to a smaller scale — to the little markers, etc. — that related the scale of the individual to the scale of the whole. And Stern completely denied the existence of this by pandering to a kind of faux contextualism of style and detail, whereas your contextualism was a contextualism of the whole.*

J. *One more point. Copley Square in Boston is a historic monument, and historic monuments have their own aesthetic, their own importance, whether they are good architecture or not. The Copley Plaza Hotel is not good architecture, but it makes a good try at it with the Library and the Cathedral. So I had that kind of monumentality in mind, the idea of that larger area would be carried down to the block. Stern's project stops in mid-block, and it is a mistake.*

E. *Now, the last question concerns your thoughts on place. Perhaps you could briefly outline the "anyplace" problem, respecting the difference between context vs. the internationalizing effects of global architectural ideas. Place is basically a 17th- or 18th-century idea, the idea of Rome when it was divided up by the Popes into squares and axes, the idea of connecting a city through a network of axes and squares. Now, when we are dealing with fax machines and computers, with electronic networks, we no longer have to be anyplace. The notion of anyone ever experiencing a city as squares and axes is almost lost. When you travel by air, you have a conference in the airport in Chicago. When you go to Tokyo, you never experience any places at all. Do we experience place today in anything but a very small scale? In other words, can we plan cities as we planned them in the 18th and 19th centuries?*

J. *No. You cannot plan cities the way you could in the 18th and 19th centuries. I did not realize there was a technical change and an electronic change; to me it is just a population change. The best city plans are not accidentally Hellenistic. You see, it was no accident because they knew the size of the city. It was comprehensible as a basic unit.*

E. *So what do you do if you are planning a piece of the city today?*

J. *You just plan as far as you can under the circumstances, and then you say the hell with it. Now, in Berlin today they are facing exactly that. They are trying to set up the Kaiser's orientation toward city planning, a matter of reversing the clock. They send you as a competing architect — which I am right now — pictures, actual photos, of the 1930s, which is ironic. These pictures were taken in 1935 under a certain other regime we do not want to copy, but the Wilhelmenian city was very ugly. It goes back to neo-Baroque. They send you all the rules of that period you have to conform to. That is worse that chaos. It is going to be just a frozen custard effect.*

E. *But then, what would you suggest you could do to Berlin?*

J. *The only way to treat the big-city problem of that kind, a destroyed city, is to start over again. There are great architects that can do it.*

E. *Le Corbusier's idea was to start over again. Look what that did. That was chaos. All those housing blocks sitting in those unattended green spaces where you knock the context down. I do not believe the answer today is the destruction of the context, to start over again.*

J. *You take an idea of a certain part of the town and say,* "We will make our cultural statement right here". *That was done always in Prussian planning. And just let the rest go. Which is just what the Russians did in Berlin. For example, the Stalinallee, which essentially is a very good idea. The Stalinallee would give you an orientation — you knew where you were; the buildings were of that period and could never be of any other period. Behind it, chaos started. And you want to do a Place Vendôme, all you do is the square and say,* "Look, you build behind there", *but you design the square.*

E. *You do not think it is a matter of style? It is a matter of scale? We are not talking about style, because you can build any style.*

J. *No, any style that is suitable to your era or unsuitable to your era, and that is what New Berlin means.*

E. *Are you talking about a Zeitgeist again? You just stated,* "suitable to your era". *It sounds like Mies' argument.*

J. *I should not have said that. That is leftover bullshit talk that everyone falls into. You are absolutely right; there is no such thing as the Zeitgeist. You make the Zeitgeist. The only way to get the spirit of the times is technology.*

E. *Is it the will of the individual? And you say there is no influence on the will of the individual on the Zeitgeist?*

J. *But that is a philosophic problem that we can leave to Goethe.*

E. *Let us take another philosophic problem: the idea of beauty vs. ideology as the critical arbiter of architectural*







Viste della Glass House (1949).
Vista della Glass House, a destra, e dei padiglioni nel parco: padiglione sul lago, galleria della scultura, galleria della pittura.

Views of the Glass House (1949).
View of the Glass House (right) and the pavilions in the park: lakeside pavilion, sculpture gallery, painting gallery.



"*Attenzione, voi potete costruire, ma oltre quel perimetro*", e tu progetti la piazza.
E. Tu non pensi che sia questione di stile? O piuttosto di scala? Noi non stiamo parlando di stile, perché non si può costruire in stile, qualunque esso sia.
J. No, uno stile è adatto o non adatto ad un'epoca, e questo è il significato della Nuova Berlino.
E. Stai parlando di nuovo di *Zeitgeist?* Hai appena asserito "*adatto ad un'epoca*". Suona come un ragionamento miesiano.
J. Non avrei dovuto dirlo. È la solita zavorra in cui si ricade. Hai assolutamente ragione: lo *Zeitgeist* non esiste, sei tu che lo inventi. L'unico modo di esprimere lo spirito del tempo è la tecnologia.
E. E la volontà dell'individuo? Stai sostenendo che la volontà dell'individuo non influisce sullo *Zeitgeist*?
J. Ma questo è un problema filosofico, che possiamo lasciare a Goethe.
E. Prendiamo un altro problema filosofico: l'idea di bellezza contrapposta a quella di ideologia come arbitro critico del progetto architettonico. Quali sono le implicazioni intellettuali di un cambiamento di gusto? È il bello dell'*Abstract Expressionism* identico a quello della *Pop Art*?
J. Penso di no.
E. Allora esistono diverse bellezze; e bisogna render conto di una differenza nella reazione a queste opere. In altri termini, se dici che esiste un differente concetto di bellezza, se la bellezza non è un concetto stabile, certamente ha qualcosa a che vedere con lo spirito del tempo, con lo *Zeitgeist*, il che ci conduce a questioni filosofiche.
J. E alla verità delle cose.
E. Ma la diversa bellezza dello *Abstract Expressionism* dalla *Pop Art* non ci porta allo stesso problema in architettura?
J. Questo tipo di confronto è giusto. Ti chiedi perché l'atteggiamento verso i due tipi di bellezza cambi? Si può rispondere che dipende dallo *Zeitgeist*; si può anche semplicemente dire che si tratta di come va il mondo. Le due risposte sono assolutamente conseguenti. È forse un problema che le cose si presentino oggi in un modo e domani in un altro? E perché mai dovrebbe accadere diversamente? Perché dovrebbero ripetersi nello stesso modo? Perché mai la simmetria dovrebbe essere qualcosa di più di un modo di veder le cose?
E. E quindi non sottoscriveresti la spiegazione di Vincent Scully che rimanda alla simmetria del corpo, alla simmetria della natura... Naturalmente Benoit B. Mandelbrot e tutti gli altri frattali sostengono che la natura non è simmetrica, ma che semplicemente appare tale.
J. Sembra tale qualche volta, e in termini molto generali. Dopotutto abbiamo due mani.
E. Sì, e una destra e una sinistra nel cervello.
J. Se ci stiamo indirizzando verso la verità obbiettiva della scienza, suggerirei di lasciar perdere. Sono semplicemente le tendenze di un'epoca — puoi chiamarle *Zeitgeist* se preferisci — a far pensare che ci sia qualcosa d'obbiettivo. Non c'è nulla di obbiettivo, tutto è relativo. Ci doveva essere la *Pop Art* prima che si potesse cambiare il modo di vedere.
E. La *Pop Art* ti spinge a cambiare il modo di vedere, trasforma l'idea di ciò in cui la bellezza può consistere. Potrebbe essere stato così da sempre, anche se non ce ne siamo accorti fino all'avvento della *Pop Art*. L'arte, quindi, trasforma il nostro modo di vedere, e ci consente di vedere, poi, cose del passato o del futuro in modo differente. Se è così la bellezza vi contribuisce, perché c'è qualcosa di bello, o evocativo nella visione estetica della *Pop Art*. Non c'è il brutto, ma piuttosto qualcosa che approssima una nuova definizione di bellezza o un modo diverso di considerarla. Al di fuori dell'ideologia, la bellezza contribuisce a questa possibilità di trasformare la visione.
J. Giusto.
E. E non ha nulla a che fare con l'ideologia.
J. Non ancora.
E. Ma se convieni che la bellezza in teoria può trasformare l'ideologia — o la visione — come puoi assecondare questa specie di visione pluralistica dell'architettura, in cui tutto è possibile e quindi non c'è posto per una visione di trasformazione? Se ogni cosa va bene, non vi è mai trasformazione, né ci potrà mai essere. Infatti, se vogliamo essere onesti, tu preferiresti una situazione univoca piuttosto che pluralistica. Il pluralismo è soltanto un atteggiamento politicamente corretto che ci si sente in dovere di adottare, ma di base preferiresti una visione del mondo univoca.
J. Sì, una visione del mondo univoca è ciò che mi auguro; e per questo ho detto che l'architettura non sarà ciò che vorremmo che fosse fino a quando non avremo una nuova religione che spinga a fare qualcosa di finalizzato.
E. Allora, come puoi contribuire a questo pluralismo attuale?
J. In altre parole, se davvero crediamo che abbiamo bisogno di una nuova religione, di una visione del mondo univoca e così via, come posso continuare a sottoscrivere le virtù del pluralismo? Immagino si tratti di un atteggiamento che fa parte della mia generazione, e dei miei sentimenti. Io sono una specie di grillo parlante della professione. Ritenere che niente va bene e tutto è possibile è una specie di libertà. Che meraviglia! Che straordinaria libertà! Ma, vedi, la libertà totale non è una buona idea, a meno che non si sia stabilito in cosa consista ciò che è buono.
E. Le differenze tra la Houston Law School e il Museo della televisione a Toronto caratterizzano il pluralismo in atto. Se tu dovessi proporre un paradigma per queste nuove tendenze progettuali; se, in altri termini, davvero tu ritenessi che non debba esserci oggi né un'architettura moderna 1930 circa, né un'architettura vittoriana 1890 circa, allora quale dovrebbe essere la tendenza?
J. Il fatto stesso che non posso specificarla è l'aspetto davvero interessante del momento che viviamo. Potrei considerare il tuo lavoro come l'opposto di ciò che Rem Koolhaas sta facendo, ed entrambi sono per me affascinanti. Un giorno potranno non esserlo più; chi può dirlo? Ma il tuo lavoro non potrebbe essere più diverso dal mio Museo della televisione. Sono concepiti secondo presupposti diversi, si propongono fini diversi.
E. Non ti permetterò di sgattaiolare. Ripeto, se davvero

design. What are the intellectual implications for a change in taste? Is the beauty of the abstract expressionists the same as the beauty of the Pop artists?
J. *I think not.*
E. *Then there is a different beauty; you have to account for the difference in the reaction to these works. In other words, if you are saying there is a different concept of beauty, if beauty is not stable, then this certainly has something to do with the spirit of the age, the Zeitgeist, and leads to philosophic issues.*
J. *And to the truth of things.*
E. *Doesn't that then lead you to the same problem in architecture, what is the difference between the beauty of abstract expressionism and the beauty of Pop art?*
J. *Right, that type of comparison. And why does the attitude toward them change? You can say it is the Zeitgeist; you can say it is just the way things happen. That it is sequential; it is a matter that it happens this way today and another way tomorrow, and why shouldn't it? Why should it look the same? Why should symmetry go on being the key to things?*
E. *So you would not give Vince Scully's natural argument that the body is symmetrical, that nature is symmetrical... Of course. Benoit B. Mandelbrot and all the fractal people say that nature is not symmetrical: it only appears to be.*
J. *It only looks that way once in a while, in a general way. We have two hands.*
E. *Yes, and left and right sides of the brain.*
J. *If we are going to the objective truth of science, I would like to leave all that out. It is merely that the trends of the time — and you cannot call it Zeitgeist — that is talking as if there were already some thing there which is objective. There is nothing objective; it is all relative. You had to have the Pop art before you could change the way you see.*
E. *Pop art forces you to change the way you see, transforms your idea of what beauty might be. It could have always been this way, but you did not see it this way until Pop art comes along. So art transforms the way we see and allows us, then, to see again things in the past and things in the future in a different way. If that is the case, then beauty contributes to it, because there is something beautiful or evocative in the aesthetic vision of Pop art. It is not ugly, it has something to do with a new definition of beauty or a reframing of beauty. Outside of ideology, beauty contributes to this possibility of transforming vision.*
J. *That is right.*
E. *And it has nothing to do with ideology.*
J. *Not yet.*
E. *Then if you would agree that beauty in the abstract can transform ideology, or transform vision, how can you then applaud a kind of pluralistic view of architecture where you can have anything, and therefore no vision of transformation? If anything goes, than there is no transformation at all, or can never be. In fact, if we were being honest, you would rather have a singular situation than a pluralistic situation. Pluralism is only a politically correct stance that you adopt, but basically you would rather have a singular world view.*

religion?
J. *I would never use that world because it means so many other things.*
E. *You do not want to use "ennobling"?*
J. *No, I do not. What is beauty? You say,* "the change in beauty". *But what is beauty to change like that? There is no beauty as such because you make it when you feel good. I know beauty when I see it; only because I burst into tears. Well, that is a hell of a solipsistic way to look at aesthetic values, but it does come down to that. But it only does when you press the right button with the right people at the right time. And who makes that decision? Aristotle answered that a great worthy inventive gesture by a man of earnestness, it means the great one that does it, somebody like Mies, or somebody visionary. It is a very personal business, and when it hits, it is glowing. And that is why all these ridiculous romantic works come about that we can laugh at now — Beauty and truth, truth and beauty, all you know on Earth, but something happened there that was of that period.*
E. *Be careful, now. When you start to say,* "of that period...". *There you go again. We need at some point to put that to rest, because it keeps coming back into everything you talk about.*
J. *I know.*
E. *It is like some demon from the unconscious.*
J. *Well, it probably comes from my own romantic upbringing, and a classical ideology keeps coming out. Just like I work on a piece of paper, and still my little old habits come in, you know.*
E. *But it is a cycle? It is a wheel that is turning, that is classical on one side and romantic on the other, and it basically just turns?*
J. *Yes, a real dichotomy. The past is not wrong. You can take any of these opposite pairs.*
E. *But it has nothing to do with now. It is merely the fact that it changes.*
J. Change *was the name of the only magazine I ever started. Change. Because everything we know comes from Heraclitus. In my political days the only thing we believed in was change.*
E. *If you were to do a house, like the Glass house today, or Peter Lewis's house, would it be different? The Peter Lewis house is not like the Glass house.*
J. *To me it is just the way I feel that particulary day.*
E. *What makes the Peter Lewis house different? The Glass house could never have been done today. No one would have that transformative vision. Today it would not be seen to be transformative precisely because it has already been done. So what you are trying to do is get out of the way of what has been done. Therefore, everything that we do, as Harold Bloom says, is swerving out of the way of what already exists. So to think* "I'll do Pop art again" *is nonsense. The fact that something is already done leaves an imprint in the world which would no longer be seen as change when it is done again. In other words, the fact that the coin of modernism has already come up is imprinted on this rolling stone.*



Padiglione di orientamento a New Canaan: viste del modello da sudest e da sudovest.
Foto R. Walker.

Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan: views of the model from the southeast and southwest.
Photos R. Walker.



ritieni la trasformazione necessaria, quale sarà la nuova tendenza mirata alla trasformazione?
J. Chiunque parli a partire dalle proprie convinzioni, abitudini o circostanze, non è in grado di profetizzare. Una nuova unicità che sia davvero onnicomprensiva non può essere prefigurata. Voglio dire che si possono sognare cattedrali gotiche fin che vuoi, ma ciò che le ha rese possibile è impossibile da prevedere.
E. Sono convinto che hai una certa nostalgia per quel tipo di nobilitante singolarità che caratterizzò il moderno nel suo momento più alto. Stai per caso suggerendo che il cambiamento di circostanze, di scala, o storico, non lo rende più possibile?
J. No di certo, perché non credo che il mondo potrebbe essere travolto da un insieme così idiota di convinzioni. Certamente la direzione sbagliata per l'architettura è lo storicismo, l'artigianato, il feticismo per i materiali e, socialmente, il *politically-correct*. La mia nuova etichetta è "NPC", *non-politically-correct*.
E. Beh, tu sei sempre stato *non-politically-correct*.
J. Sono rimasto stupefatto dallo scoprire su cosa Ackerman ruppe con Hitchcock. Egli disse: "*Ho sempre pensato che fosse terribile essere un esteta, pensare che la bellezza fosse premio a se stessa, senza far affidamento su tutte quelle importanti condizioni sociali che migliorano il mondo*". Non mi oppongo ad una convinzione, mi oppongo all'idea idiota di miglioramento e progresso, che l'architettura possa far del bene a qualcuno, il che è poi parte di quell'idea moralistica.
E. Allora che cosa significa nobilitante? Cos'è la nuova religione?
J. Non userei mai quella parola, significa troppe altre cose.
E. Non vuoi usare *nobilitante*?
J. No, non voglio. Allora, cos'è la bellezza? Tu dici: "*Il cambiamento nella bellezza*". Ma cos'è la bellezza per poter cambiare? Non c'è bellezza in quanto tale, ognuno la crea a partire da un proprio sentire. Io conosco la bellezza soltanto quando la vedo; soltanto perché mi commuovo. Bene, questo può sembrare un modo davvero solipsistico di guardare ai valori estetici, ma in fondo di questo si tratta. E ciò avviene quando qualcuno preme il bottone giusto, con la gente giusta, e al momento giusto. E chi prende la decisione? Aristotele rispondeva che occorre un grande gesto, meritevole e ingegnoso, esercitato da un uomo integro, il gesto di un grande, qualcuno come Mies, un visionario. Qualcosa di molto personale ma che, quando va a segno, irradia. E questa è la ragione per la quale affiorano queste ridicole idee romantiche che ora ci fanno sorridere. Bellezza e verità, verità e bellezza, tutto il sapere del mondo, eppure qualcosa accade che è patrimonio di un periodo.
E. Fai attenzione, ora. Perché quando dici: "*Di un periodo...*" incorri di nuovo nello stesso problema. Ad un certo punto dobbiamo trovare un momento di arresto, perché la questione riaffiora in tutto quello che dici.
J. Lo so.
E. È come un demone che viene dall'inconscio.
J. Beh, probabilmente deriva dalla mia formazione romantica, unitamente ad un'ideologia classicista che continua a venir fuori. Come quando lavoro con un foglio di carta tra le mani e le mie vecchie abitudini riaffiorano, lo sai.
E. Ma si tratta di un ciclo? È una ruota che gira, classica in un verso e romantica nell'altro, oppure semplicemente gira?
J. Sì, si tratta di una vera dicotomia. Il passato non è in errore. Di fatto puoi prendere in considerazione una coppia di opposti qualsiasi.
E. Ma non ha nulla a che fare con l'oggi, indica semplicemente un cambiamento.
J. *Cambiamento* è il titolo dell'unica rivista cui io abbia dato vita. Cambiare. Giusto, perché tutto quello che sappiamo viene da Eraclito. Ai tempi del mio attivismo politico, l'unica cosa in cui si credeva era il cambiamento.
E. Se dovessi progettare oggi la Glass House oppure la Peter Lewis House sarebbero diverse? La Peter Lewis House è diversa dalla Glass House.
J. Per me, dipenderebbe da come mi sentirei quella giornata particolare.
E. Cos'è che rende la Peter Lewis House differente? La Glass House non potrebbe mai essere costruita oggi: nessuno avrebbe una tale visione della trasformazione. Oggi non apparirebbe oggetto di trasformazione proprio perché è stata già realizzata. Di conseguenza, qualsiasi cosa facciamo si allontana, come dice Harold Bloom, da ciò che già esiste. E quindi dire: "*Faccio di nuovo della* Pop Art" è un controsenso. Il fatto che qualcosa sia già stato realizzato lascia un'impronta nel mondo che non potrebbe essere registrata come cambiamento se avvenisse di nuovo. In altri termini, il fatto che il modernismo sia già stato inventato fa già parte del corso delle cose.
J. Sì, in un certo qual modo.
E. E di conseguenza la realtà del cambiamento non potrebbe risolversi di nuovo nel modernismo.
J. No, perché ci sono troppi fattori diversi.
E. E questi fattori non sono politici.
J. No!
E. Sono totalmente estetici.
J. Totalmente estetici! E, bada, non uso il termine *ideologicamente*.
E. Totalmente estetici. C'è una nuova estetica chiamata "assenza di forma" nella quale le cose sono amorfe, gelatinose, senza spina dorsale, senza vertebre, senza struttura, qualcosa come il Barocco o il Rococò. Si tratta di un nuovo spirito, in cui si rifugge da articolazioni costrittive quali il modernismo, eccetera. Può una cosa del genere accadere in architettura?
J. No, non credo che l'assenza di forma possa trasformarsi in architettura.
E. Può accadere soltanto in pittura?
J. Beh, no, forse potrebbe accadere in architettura, ma come obbiettivo va perseguito attraverso un modo di vedere completamente differente. Il nostro amico Rem Koolhaas lo ha fatto ad Amsterdam. Rem sta facendo qualcosa di diverso.

(*) Traduzione di Paolo Berdini.

J. Yes, a singular world view is what I dream of; that is why I say architecture will not be what we want it to be — how I want it to be — until we have a new religion that gives you an impulse to do something.
E. Then how can you contribute to this ongoing pluralism?
J. In other words, if we really believe that we need a new religion, a singular world view — whatever, how can I keep writing on the virtues of pluralism? I suppose it is just in my own generation, my own feeling. I am sort of a grasshopper in the field. It is a type of freedom, that nothing goes, everything is possible. How nice! The great freedom that you have. But you see, total freedom is not a good idea unless there is a basis in what is good!
E. The differences between your Houston Law School and the television museum in Toronto characterize a pluralism of their own. If you could propose a paradigm for this new design tendency; in other words, if you really thought there should be today not the Modern architecture of the 1930s, not the Victorian architecture of the 1890s, what would that tendency be?
J. The fact that I cannot specify it is the very interesting part of where we are. You can take what you are doing as the opposite of what Rem Koolhaas is doing, yet they are both fascinating to me. Now, someday they are not going to be. Someday it might not be so. But your work is as different from my television building as anything possibly could be. They were for different purposes and serve different ends.
E. I do not want to let you off the hook. If you honestly think that transformation is necessary, what is the next transformational tendency?
J. Anybody who is speaking from his own convictions and from his own habits or his own moment, cannot prophesy. A new singularity that would really count for anything cannot be foreseen. I mean, you can dream about Gothic cathedrals all you want, but the things that occurred that made them possible are impossible to say or to foresee.
E. I believe that you long for a kind of ennobling singularity that characterized the modern at its high point. Are you suggesting that because of the change in the time, scale, history, this is no longer possible?
J. No, I am not, because I do not think the world could be swept by a perfectly idiotic set of beliefs. Certainly the wrong direction for architecture is historicism, handicraft, material fetishism, and socially, politically-correct. My new label for myself is NPC — non-politically-correct. What I crave to be.
E. Well, you have always been non-politically-correct.
J. I was amazed to find that is where Ackerman split with Hitchcock. He said, "I always thought that it was terrible to be an esthetician, that beauty was its own reward, not count on all the important sociological things that improved the world, you know". *I am not against a belief: what I am against is this idiotic idea of improvement and progress, the idea that architecture betters anybody, which is part of that moralistic idea.*
E. Then what does ennobling mean? What is the new

J. Yes, somewhere.
E. And therefore the fact of change could not reproduce modernism again.
J. No, because there are too many different factors.
E. And those factors are not political.
J. No!
E. They are totally aesthetic.
J. Totally aesthetic! And I do not use the word ideologically.
E. Totally aesthetic. There is a new aesthetic called formlessness where things are blobby and amorphous, not with backbones, vertebrae, structures — more like Baroque or Rococo. This is a new spirit, that we do not want to see strict articulation like modernism, etc. Can this occur in architecture?
J. No, I do not think formlessness could be made into an architecture.
E. Only in painting?
J. Well, no, it could be in architecture, but it has to be done through an entirely new way of looking. Our friend Rem Koolhaas did it in Amsterdam. Rem is doing something different.

Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil

1988-1989

Oscar Niemeyer

con/with: Maria Cecilia [illegible] Fernando Andrade, Hél[illegible]



Vista da ovest del Padiglione delle Cerimonie, in fondo, e della Biblioteca dell'America Latina, a destra. Foto M. Moch.

View from the west of the Pavilion of Ceremonies, in the background, with the Latin American Library on the right. Photo M. Moch.

Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil

[illegible]

Oscar Niemeyer

con/with: Maria Cecilia Scharlach, Maria Amélia Mello Galvão, Fernando Andrade, Hél[illegible]



[illegible]

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Da Pampulha al Memorial dell'America Latina*
Oscar Niemeyer

"*L'inattendu, l'irregularité, la surprise et l'étonnement sont une partie essentielle et une caractéristique de la beauté*"
Charles Baudelaire

"*Non è l'angolo retto che mi attira. E nemmeno la linea retta, dura inflessibile, creata dall'uomo. Quello che mi attira è la curva libera e sensuale. La curva che trovo nelle montagne del mio paese, nel corso sinuoso dei suoi fiumi, nelle nubi del cielo, nel corpo della donna amata. L'Universo è fatto di curve. L'Universo curvo di Einstein*"
Oscar Niemeyer

Ho commentato varie volte il modo in cui sono solito classificare la mia architettura, suddividendola in cinque fasi distinte. Prima, Pampulha; poi, da Pampulha a Brasilia; successivamente, Brasilia; quindi, il mio lavoro all'estero; e, infine, l'ultimo progetto che ho realizzato per San Paolo.
Ma mai ho commentato come queste diverse fasi siano state influenzate da ciò che accadeva nel mondo dell'architettura e dal mio pensiero di architetto; le reazioni provocate dal mio lavoro e le mie reazioni. Oggi, rivedendo i miei progetti, capisco meglio perché in tutte queste fasi è sistematicamente presente un sentimento di contestazione.
In molte occasioni ho parlato del problema dell'informazione genetica e in che modo, essendo questa responsabile delle nostre qualità e difetti, essa influisce, a mio avviso, sulle nostre reazioni. Non mi posso lamentare di quell'essere occulto presente dentro di noi, dipendente dall'informazione genetica e che tante volte ci domina. Ma ho già commentato come esso mi coinvolge ogniqualvolta inizio un nuovo progetto, prendendomi per il braccio, mandandomi in *trance* verso i percorsi della fantasia, delle forme nuove e inusitate, fonte dello spettacolo architettonico da noi preferito. Così quell'essere occulto, partecipe dei miei entusiasmi e delle mie rivolte in questo lungo dialogo che manteniamo nel corso della vita, interferisce nelle mie reazioni e nel mio lavoro, trasmettendo a quest'ultimo quei sentimenti, come se fosse portatore del mio sdegno e delle mie proteste. In effetti, esaminando la mia opera di architetto si può verificare, nelle varie fasi a cui ho fatto cenno, come queste siano state influenzate da questo vecchio sosia, trasformandole a volte in uno sfogo di fronte agli equivoci che, a mio avviso, coinvolgevano l'architettura.
Tutto cominciò quando iniziai gli studi per Pampulha — la mia prima fase — disprezzando deliberatamente l'angolo retto così benedetto e l'architettura razionalista composta da un righello e da una squadra, per penetrare coraggiosamente in quel mondo di curve e forme nuove offerteci dal cemento armato. Ed è stato sulla carta, mentre disegnavo questi progetti, che mi sono ribellato contro questa architettura monotona e ripetitiva, così facile da elaborare, che si è moltiplicata dagli Stati Uniti al Giappone. E l'ho fatto con la disinvoltura richiestami dal mio sosia,

From Pampulha to the Latin American Memorial*
Oscar Niemeyer

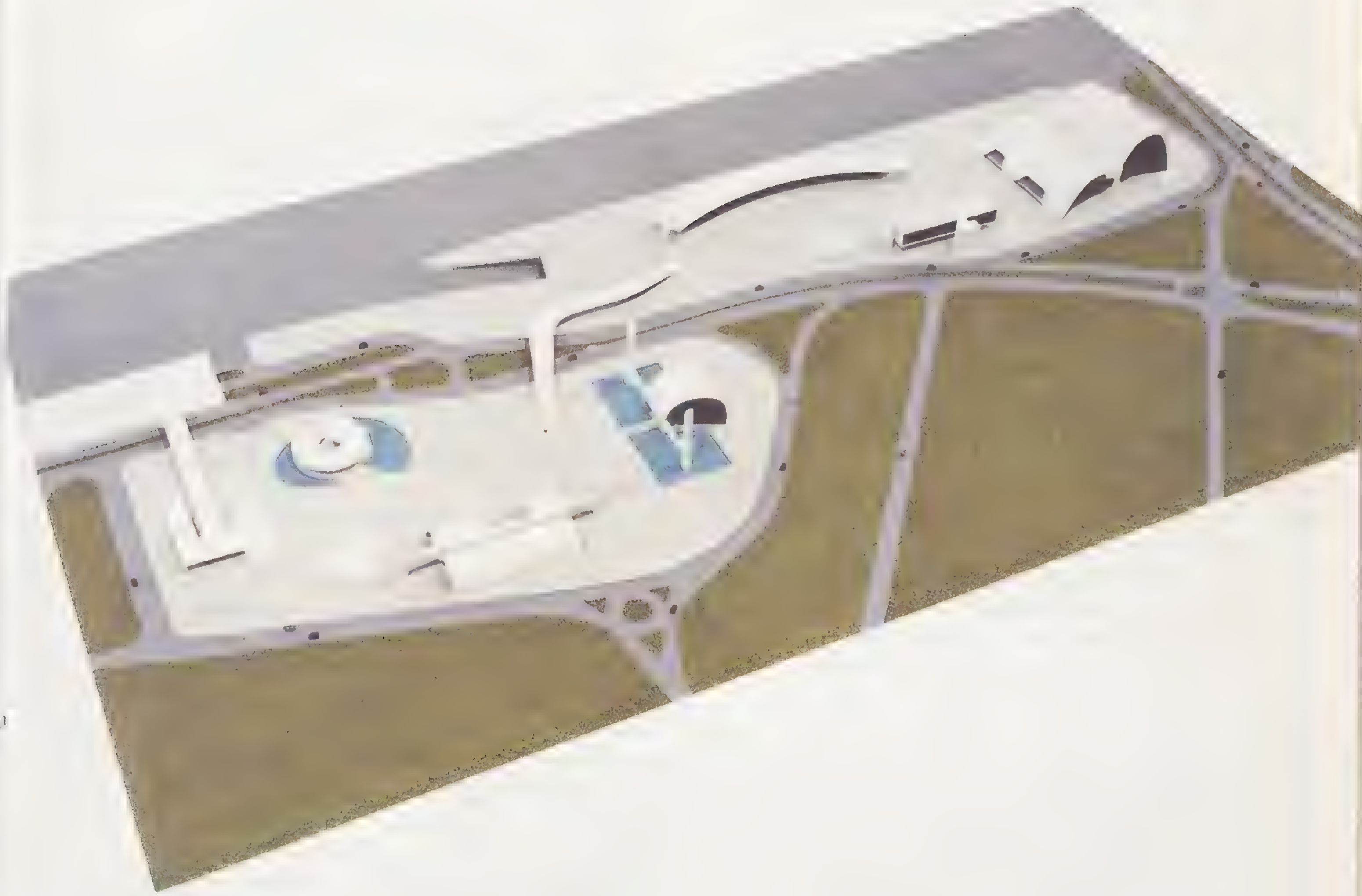
"L'inattendu, l'irregularité, la surprise et l'étonnement sont une partie essentielle et une caractéristique de la beauté"
Charles Baudelaire

"I don't feel drawn to the right angle. Or to the harsh, inflexible straight line created by man. What attracts me is the free, sensual curve. The curve I find in the mountains of my country, in the winding courses of its rivers, the skies in heaven and the body of a beloved woman. All the Universe is made of curves. The curved Universe of Einstein."
Oscar Niemeyer

I've said on several occasions that I usually classify my architecture by dividing it into five distinct phases. First Pampulha, then the period from Pampulha to Brasilia, then Brasilia, then my work abroad, and finally, the last project I did for São Paulo.
But I've never said what influence architectural events in general, and my own architectural thinking in particular, have had on these various phases: the reactions provoked by my work and my own reactions. Looking back on my projects now, I understand better why each of these phases was systematically pervaded by a spirit of protest.
I've often referred to the problem of genetic information, how I believe it influences our reactions because it programmes the positive and negative aspects of our personalities. I myself have no right to complain about this hidden being, created inside us by genetic information, which so often determines the way we are. I've said before how it takes possession of me when I start a new project, leading me by the hand in a trance-like state down the road to fantasy and the new, unusual forms from which architecture we prefer ultimately flows. This hidden being has shared the enthusiasms and aversions that have played their part in the prolonged inner dialogue I (like everyone else) have conducted with myself throughout my life, influencing my reactions and making my work a vehicle for the emotions that fuelled my protest and disdain. I see now how this kindly "double" has influenced the various phases of my career and has sometimes made my work a protest against the errors I felt architecture was involved in.
It all began with my studies for Pampulha (my first phase) when I deliberately rejected the right angle so beloved of Rationalist architecture — a ruler and set square, basically — and bravely entered the world of new forms and curves reinforced concrete offers us.
As I designed the Pampulha projects, I rebelled on paper against the monotonous, repetitive architecture that has proved so easy to design that it now covers the globe from the USA to Japan. I made my protest with the instinctive self-assurance my double required of me, covering the church with a variety of curves and giving the Casa do Baile a porch canopy that developed in curves along the shore. It was an

Vista del modello da sudovest.
Foto M. Moch.

View of the model from the southwest.
Photo M. Moch.

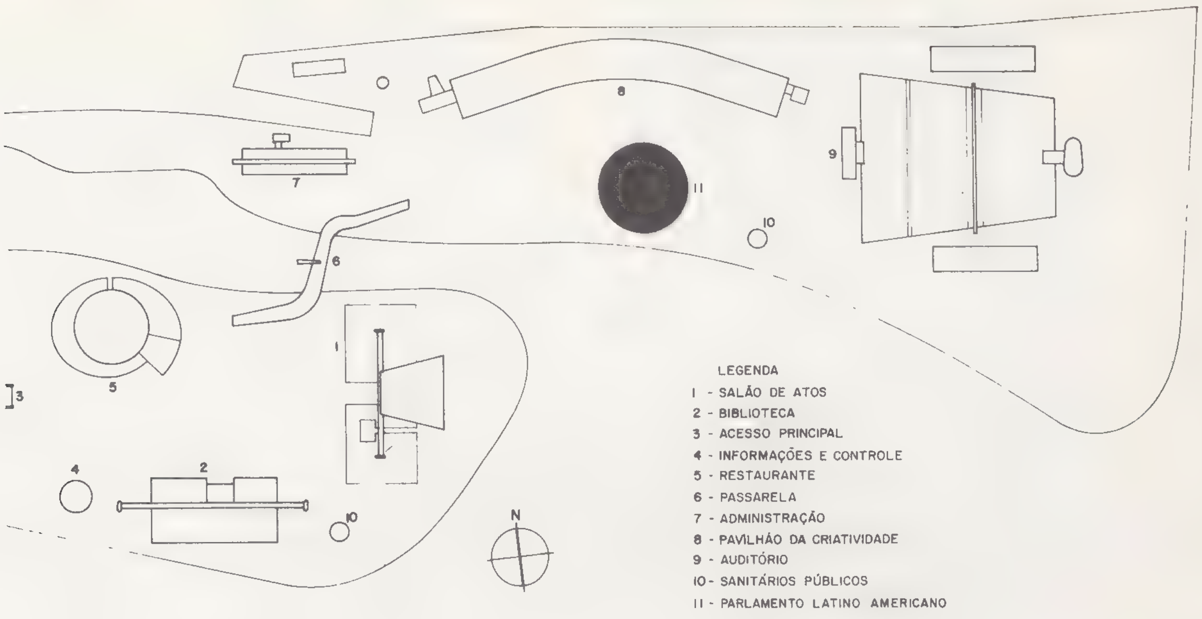


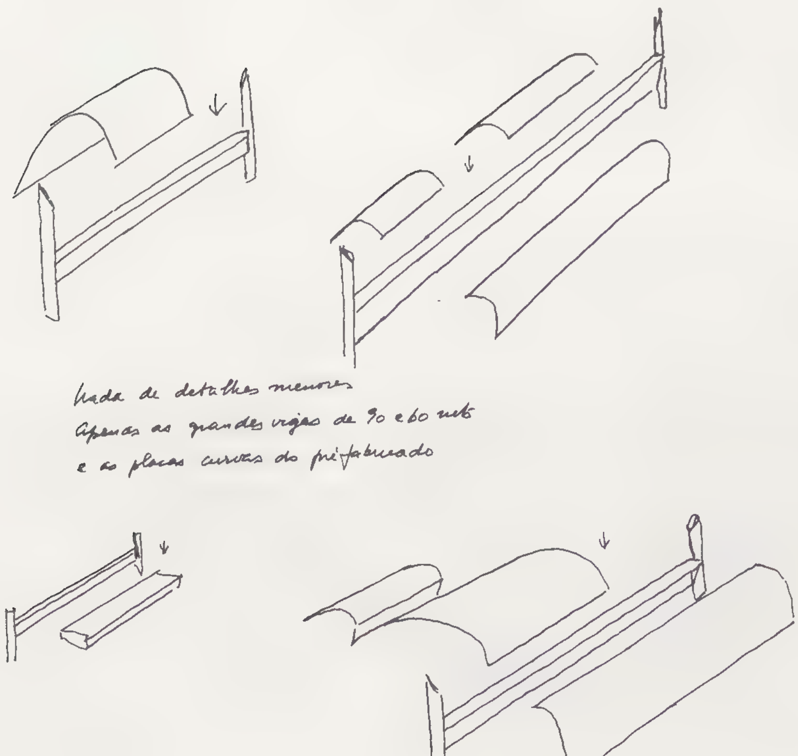
coprendo la chiesa di Pampulha di curve variate così come il portico della Casa do Baile, che si svilupperà anch'esso con forme curvilinee, lungo il margine della piccola isola. Si trattava dell'affermazione ambiziosa di come l'ambiente in cui vivevo esalti le sue spiagge bianche, le sue montagne monumentali, le sue vecchie chiese barocche, le sue belle donne abbronzate.
Alcuni, ancora legati ai limiti funzionali dell'epoca, hanno tentato di criticare Pampulha, ma si trattava di un'opera così corretta e creativa che qualche anno più tardi, a Parigi, intesi da un collega francese, Deroche, questa frase significativa: "*Pampulha fu il grande entusiasmo della mia generazione*".
Era un mondo di forme nuove che si anteponeva agli equivoci di un'architettura che cominciava a scomparire.
Da Pampulha a Brasilia la mia architettura ha seguito la stessa linea di libertà plastica e di inventiva architettonica ed io sono stato attento alla necessità di poterla spiegare, di difenderla dalle limitazioni della logica costruttiva.
Così, se disegnavo una forma diversa, dovevo avere degli argomenti per definirla. Quando ad esempio progettai un blocco curvilineo che si muoveva libero sul terreno, lasciai di fianco uno schizzo per dimostrare che era stato suggerito dalle curve di livello esistenti; quando disegnai facciate inclinate diedi la stessa spiegazione come se fossero destinate a proteggere o assecondare le condizioni di insolazione esistenti; quando progettai un auditorio, la cui forma poteva ricordare un oggetto che gli rassomigliava, mi sono appellato alla visibilità interna; quando creai un sistema di montanti che si aprivano a ventaglio, la ragione addotta fu il desiderio di ridurli a terra e moltiplicarli in alto, ottenendo un'economia strutturale; quando proposi delle coperture ondulate con appoggi inclinati alle estremità, ho presentato come giustificazione il problema strutturale della spinta; quando progettai la casa di Oswald de Andrade con la facciata caratterizzata da un gioco innovatore di curve e linee rette, la giustificazione che portai fu quella dei differenti piedritti adottati.
In questo modo ho difeso la mia architettura e le mie fantasie, creando forme nuove, elementi architettonici che si sono aggiunti col tempo al vocabolario plastico dell'architettura, spesso riutilizzati da altri architetti ma non sempre con la scala e l'attenzione desiderabili.
Durante questo periodo ho fatto tre viaggi all'estero. Il primo su invito di Lucio Costa, affinchè potessi lavorare insieme a lui nel progetto del Padiglione del Brasile alla Fiera Internazionale di New York; il secondo in Venezuela, dove ho progettato un museo, una piramide rovesciata che aveva la sua spiegazione nella conformazione del terreno; il terzo a New York dove ho partecipato, all'ONU, ad un concorso riservato, durante il quale il mio progetto è stato scelto all'unanimità. In esso ho tenuto separati il luogo dei Consigli da quello della Assemblea Generale, localizzando il primo in un corpo basso ed esteso vicino al fiume e il secondo all'estremità del terreno, creando così la Piazza delle Nazioni Unite. Da questo lavoro ho avuto una doppia

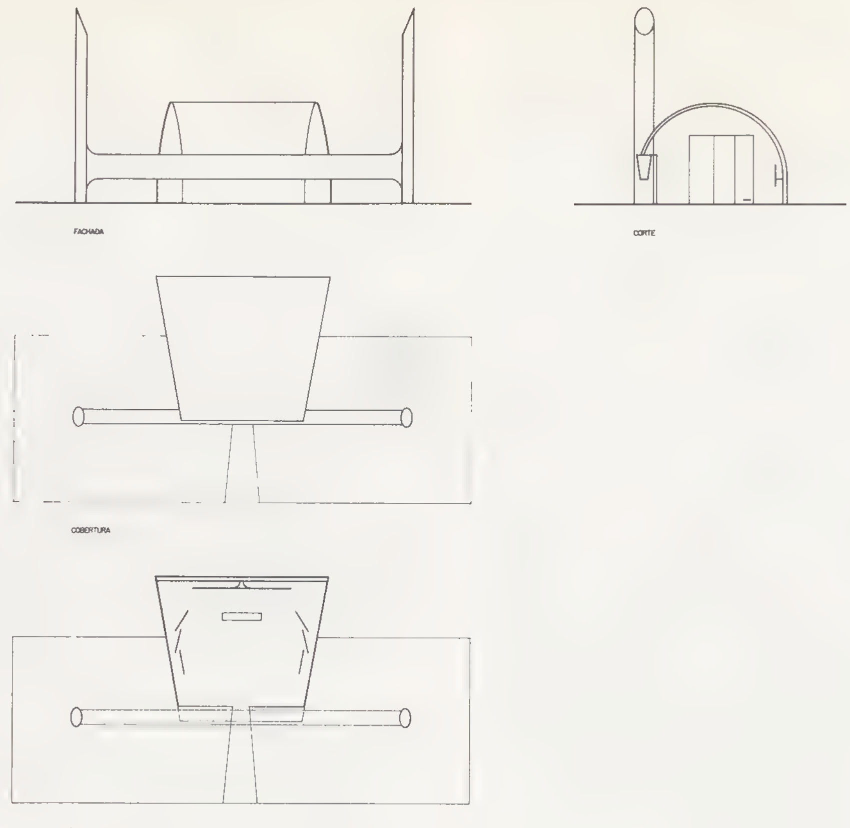
ambitious statement of how I felt the environment I was living in — white beaches, majestic mountains, old rococo churches, beautiful sun-tanned women — should best be enhanced.
Pampulha drew the fire of critics still strait-jacketed by the functionalism, but it was so creative, so right as a project. I heard the French architect Deroche say in Paris some years later that "Pampulha was the great enthusiasm of my generation".
In effect, it was a world of new forms opposed to the errors of an architecture already beginning to disappear. I always knew I would have to be able to explain the sculptural freedom and inventiveness of my architecture from Pampulha to Brasilia and defend against the charge of having overstepped the limits of conventional building logic. Whenever I designed a form that was different, I had to have logical arguments ready to justify it. So when I drew a curved block freely extending over a site I also added a sketch showing how the curving slopes of the terrain itself had suggested the idea to me. Similarly, tilted façades became a way of exploiting or mitigating a building's exposure to the sun; an auditorium had a form resembling some other object because this would improve internal visibility; uprights opening outwards and upwards like a fan were a way of economising on structure by having less at ground level and more in the upper levels; corrugated roofing with tilted end supports was a way of coping with structural thrust; the unusual curved and straight lines of façade of the Oswald de Andrade house were justified by the variety of piers I used in its construction.
So I defended my architecture and the promptings of my imagination, creating new architectural elements and forms that have since entered the lexicon of modern architecture and are now often used by other architects, although not always on the scale and with the care I would like.
I travelled abroad three times during this period, first to America when Lucio Costa invited me to build the Brazilian Pavilion for the New York International Fair with him, and then to Venezuela to design a museum — an inverted pyramid I justified by the configuration of the site. The third trip was again to New York, where my project for the invited United Nations complex competition was unanimously chosen. I kept the Secretariat separate from the Assembly by locating the former in a low building near the river and the latter at the end of the site, thus creating the United Nations Plaza. My project was chosen, as I have said, but the following day I accepted Le Corbusier's proposal to relocate the Assembly in the centre of the site. I did so as a gesture of respect to the old man who had given me so much. He never said anything, although some years later, when we were lunching at his Paris home, he looked at me for some time and said "You are most generous". *Afterwards, of course, I realised he was referring to that morning in New York when, to please him, I decided to abandon my own winning project and present project 23-32 with him.*
I must admit that when I started work on Brasilia I was

Planimetria generale e schizzi degli elementi costruttivi.

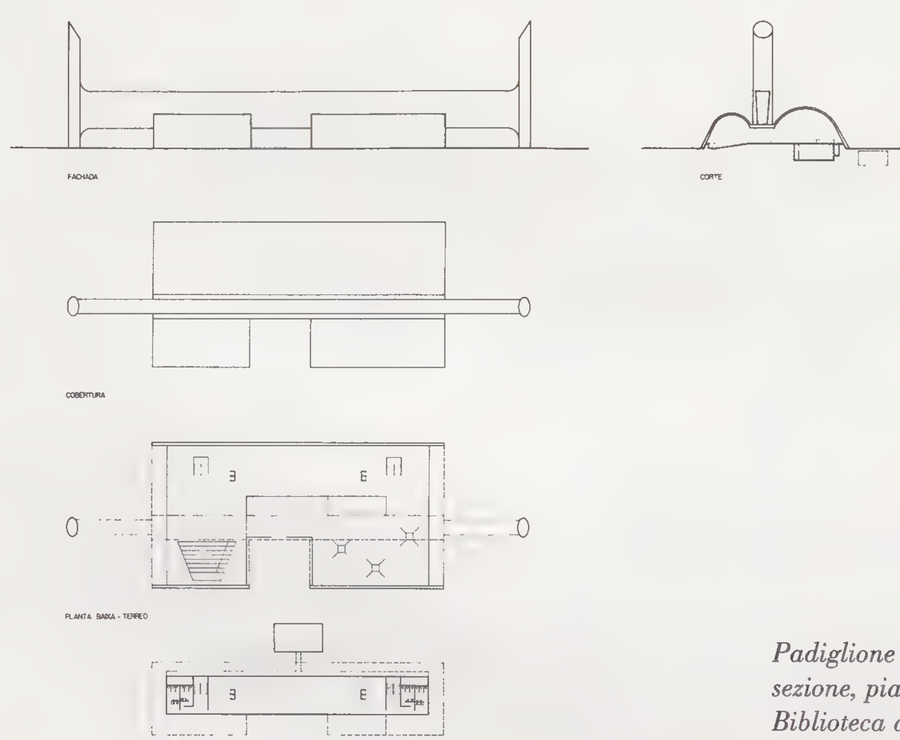
General plan and sketches of the construction elements.







MEMORIAL DA AMERICA LATINA
SALÃO DE ATAS



MEMORIAL DA AMERICA LATINA
BIBLIOTECA

Padiglione delle Cerimonie: prospetto, sezione, piante.
Biblioteca dell'America Latina: prospetto, sezione, piante.

Pavilion of Ceremonies: elevation, section and plans.
Latin American Library: elevation, section and plans.

soddisfazione. Fu il mio progetto ad essere scelto; ma successivamente accettai la proposta di Le Corbusier, che il giorno dopo mi chiese di collocare la Assemblea Generale al centro del terreno. Lo assecondai: una prova di solidarietà verso il vecchio Maestro che mi ha dato molto. A questo fatto, tuttavia, egli non ha mai accennato, nonostante che, alcuni anni più tardi, durante un pranzo nella sua casa di Parigi, guardandomi a lungo egli m'abbia detto: "*Tu sei generoso*". E capii, naturalmente più avanti, che si riferiva a quella mattina a New York quando, per poterlo ascoltare misi da parte il mio progetto, che era già stato scelto, per presentare insieme il progetto 23-32.

Confesso che già dall'inizio del mio lavoro a Brasilia ero stanco di tante spiegazioni. Sapevo di avere abbastanza esperienza per potermi liberare da esse, non interessato alle inevitabili critiche che i miei progetti avrebbero suscitato. Come all'epoca di Pampulha, ero dominato da un sentimento di protesta. Non era più l'imposizione dell'angolo retto che mi irritava ma la preoccupazione ossessiva in favore della purezza architettonica, della logica strutturale, della campagna sistematica contro la forma libera e creatrice che mi attira, considerata con disprezzo cosa gratuita e superflua. Parlavano di "purismo" — di "*machine à habiter*", di "*less is more*", di "funzionalismo", ecc. — senza capire che tutto questo svaniva di fronte alla libertà plastica offerta dal cemento armato. E con questo l'architettura contemporanea si perdeva nei suoi ripetuti cubi di vetro, eretti ostentatamente sui marciapiedi.

Immaginavo dunque come, stanchi di tante ripetizioni, i suoi promotori avrebbero un giorno optato per qualcosa di diverso, delusi dai dogmi che tanto difendevano, convinti in fondo che la bellezza deve prevalere. E questo è successo ora, benché ancora una volta essi si allineino in modo equivoco e complice dietro questa avventura del postmodernismo, ripetendo gli stessi edifici, reimpiegando in essi dettagli abusati di un'architettura vecchia e superata.

E ricordavo con dolore come una volta ultimata una determinata struttura nulla si sapeva dell'architettura che l'avrebbe dovuta completare e che sarebbe sopraggiunta successivamente come aspetto secondario. Un'imposizione di rigorismo tecnico, un equivoco che ha sempre ingannato i puristi con le loro strutture mediocri. A mio avviso spetterebbe all'architettura, anteponendosi ai problemi strutturali, creare lo spettacolo architettonico che i temi attuali reclamano, seguendo le fantasie dell'architetto e utilizzando i perfezionamenti della tecnica.

E decisi che negli edifici di Brasilia questa sarebbe stata la mia scelta, caratterizzandoli con le stesse strutture congeniali alle idee formali. Ed ho cercato di speculare intorno al cemento armato, soprattutto sugli appoggi, facendoli terminare a punta, sottili, sottilissimi, con edifici concepiti come se sfiorassero appena il suolo. Mi ricordo con quanto piacere disegnai le colonne del Palazzo Alvorada ed ancora con quanto piacere le vidi poi riprodotte dappertutto (in Grecia, in Libia, in Svizzera, perfino a Parigi, coprendo interamente la facciata della sede Kodak

already tired of explaining myself all the time. I knew I was experienced enough not to have to do it, and was indifferent to the criticisms I knew my projects would inevitably attract. As in the Pampulha period, I was dominated by the urge to protest, although it was no longer the imposition of right angles that incensed me, but the obsession with architectural purity and structural logic, the systematic attack on the free, creative forms which I loved so much but many others sneeringly dismissed as gratuitous and unnecessary. People spoke of "purity" — "machine à habiter", *"less is more", "functionalism" and the like — without realising that all these things pale to insignificance beside the sculptural freedom reinforced concrete offers. I felt that contemporary architecture had lost its way among the endless glass cubes architects were ostentatiously lining the pavements of our cities with.*

I used to think that one day the champions of this kind of architecture, disenchanted with the dogmas they had defended for so long and persuaded at last that beauty must prevail, would eventually tire of repeating themselves and decide to do something different. This has now happened, although in supporting Postmodernism they're just repeating the same old buildings, this time with a decorative veneer of outmoded architectural detail.

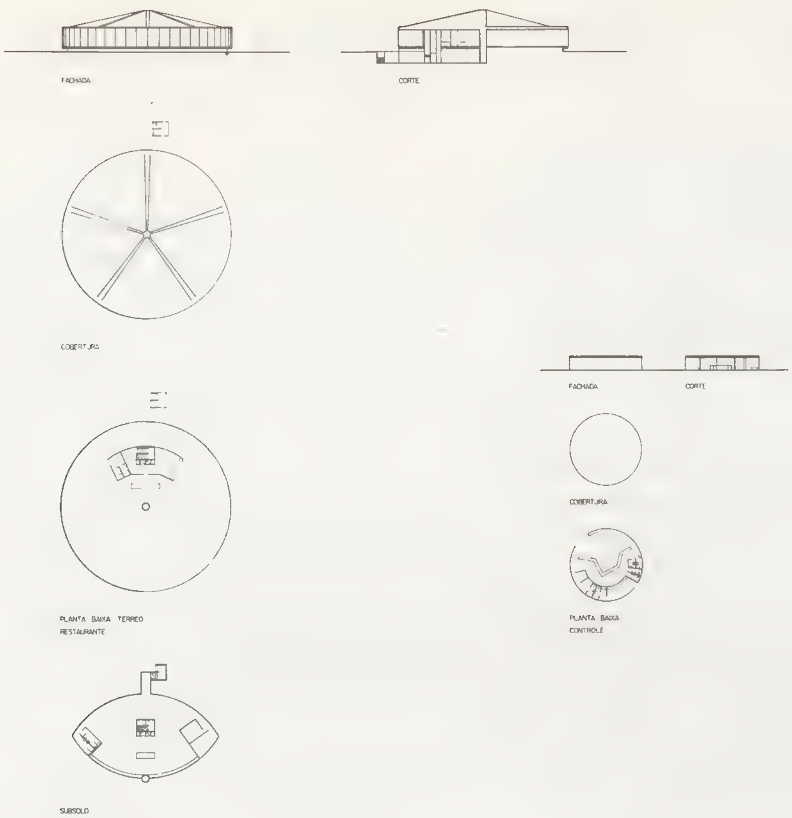
What always depressed me was that architecture, which should complete a structure once it has been designed, was added almost as an after-thought — an error deriving from the misguided technical rigour that purists with their mediocre structures have always succumbed to. In my view, structure is determined by architecture, not vice versa: architecture should create the architectural image the modern world demands of it by being true to its architect's vision and using all the technological means at our disposal.

In the buildings for Brasilia I decided to do this by devising structures that corresponded to my ideal, imaginary forms. I tried to use reinforced concrete as much as I could, especially for structural supports terminating in the finest of fine points in buildings that barely seemed to touch the ground. I still remember what a pleasure it was to design the columns of the Alvorada Palace, and the even greater pleasure of seeing them copied all over the world in Greece, Libya, Switzerland and even Paris, where the façade of the Kodak building is one large photograph — the surprise of architectural invention contrasting with the prevailing monotony of the time.

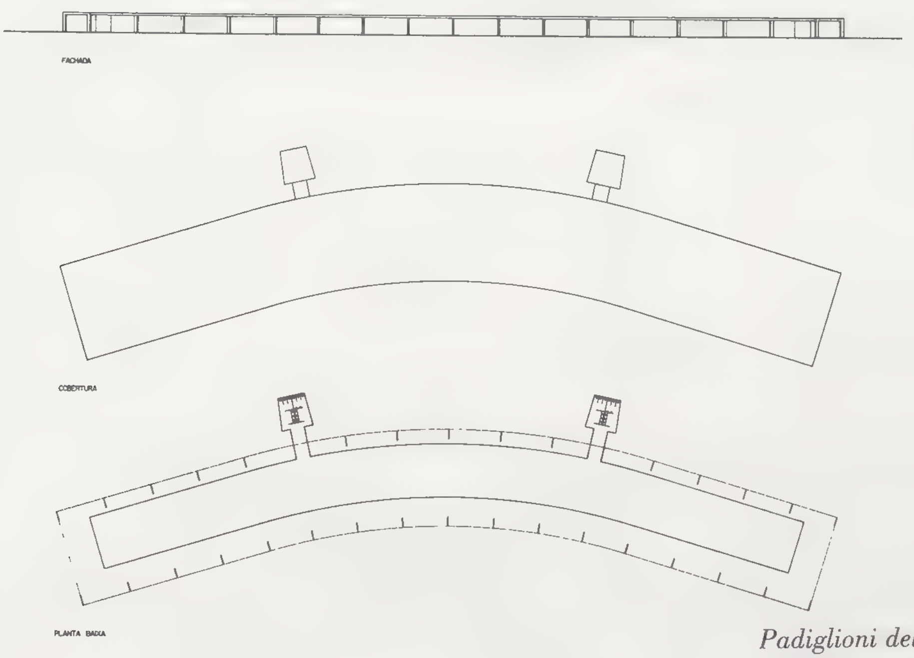
I started work on the Planalto Palace and the Law Courts in the Square of the Three Powers in much the same spirit, distancing columns from façades and imagining myself strolling among them as I looked at the plan, trying to "feel" the different angles they would create. This is what made me reject the plain, functional uprights mere "structure" would have dictated and deliberately choose these new forms, laughing with my double at the "errors" mediocre architects would take pleasure in finding in my designs. Nothing made them alter their views, they felt no curiosity, but if they had been curious, if they had read more, how much they would

con un'enorme fotografia). La sorpresa dell'invenzione architettonica contrastava con la monotonia esistente.
E con lo stesso impegno mi sono applicato a Palazzo Planalto e alla Corte Suprema nella "Praça dos Três Poderes". Staccando le colonne dalle facciate, immaginandomi, davanti alla pianta progettata, camminare curioso in mezzo a queste colonne, cercando di "sentire" i differenti angoli che avrebbero potuto provocare. E questo mi portò a rifiutare il montante semplice, funzionale, preteso dal problema strutturale, preferendo, coscientemente, la forma nuova disegnata, ridendo con il mio sosia di quell' "equivoco" che la mediocrità intorno a me avrebbe scoperto con piacere.
Niente li dissuadeva e non erano curiosi. Se lo fossero stati, se avessero letto un po' di più, come avrebbe loro fatto bene, ad esempio, questa frase di Heidegger: "*La ragione è nemica del pensiero*". E senza dubbio dell'immaginazione. Un giorno, seduto davanti al Palazzo dei Dogi, a Venezia, sorpreso dalla sua ammirevole leggerezza, trovai in quella magnifica opera di Calendario l'esempio di ciò che la mia architettura difendeva. E proprio lì, scrissi questo piccolo testo, immaginandomi di conversare con un architetto razionalista. Un dialogo, semplice e socratico, che trascriverò.
«Cosa ne pensa di questo palazzo?
Magnifico.
E delle colonne molto lavorate?
Superlative.
Ma lei, come funzionalista, non le preferirebbe più semplici e funzionali?
Esattamente.
Ma se così fosse, non si sarebbe ottenuto questo splendido contrasto tre le colonne piene di arabeschi e la parete liscia che esse sostengono.
È vero.
Allora deve convenire che quando una forma crea bellezza, trova giustificazione nella stessa bellezza».
I miei progetti a Brasilia proseguirono vorticosamente. Il teatro, ad esempio, fu concepito in tre giorni di carnevale. Non ho mai reclamato. Se non c'era il tempo per pensare più a lungo, quanto meno mancava pure il tempo per le modifiche indesiderate. Ero dominato dalla ricerca di soluzioni nuove. Ad esempio nella Cattedrale ho evitato le soluzioni usuali, le vecchie Cattedrali buie, che ricordano il peccato. Al contrario, ho voluto che fosse in oscurità la galleria di accesso alla navata e, al contrario, che questa fosse tutta illuminata, colorata, rivolta con le sue belle vetrate trasparenti verso gli spazi infiniti.
Dai preti ho sempre avuto comprensione ed appoggio, compreso il Nunzio Apostolico che mentre la visitò non seppe contenere il suo entusiasmo: "*Questo architetto deve essere un santo per immaginare così bene questo splendido collegamento della navata con i cieli ed il Signore*".
Concepii gli altri edifici con la stessa preoccupazione di inventiva architettonica: il Congresso, mostrando la gerarchia dei suoi settori con le grandi cupole piene di

have learned from Heidegger's celebrated maxim that "reason is the enemy of thought" *— and also, of course, of the imagination. One day, as I sat admiring the extraordinary lightness of the Doges' Palace in Venice, I realised that Calendario's masterpiece was an example of everything I was trying to defend in my architecture. There and then, I wrote this imaginary conversation — a straightforward Socratic dialogue — between myself and a Rationalist architect:*
— What do you think of this Palace?
— Terrific.
— And its highly elaborate columns?
— Fantastic.
— But as a Functionalist, wouldn't you have preferred something simpler, more functional?
— Certainly.
— But then there wouldn't be this wonderful contrast between the columns decorated with arabesques, and the plain wall they support, would there?
— That's true.
— So you must agree that when a form creates beauty, that beauty is itself sufficient reason for the form to exist.
My projects in Brasilia rapidly went ahead. The theatre, for example, was conceived during three days of carnival. I never complained. True, there was no time to think things through more carefully, but this also meant there was no time for people to impose changes I didn't want. I was totally absorbed in my quest for new solutions. In the Cathedral, for example, I avoided all the usual solutions you find in old, gloomy sin-laden cathedrals. I wanted the exact opposite — a dark gallery leading to a brilliantly lit, colourful nave soaring upwards with beautiful stained-glass windows that carry the eye towards infinite space.
The priests always understood what I was trying to do and gave me their support, including the Papal Nuncio who was unable to contain his enthusiasm when he visited the Cathedral: "The architect who conceived this wonderfully intimate relationship between the nave, the Heavens and Our Lord must indeed be saint".
The same concern for architectural inventiveness went into all the other buildings — the Houses of Parliament with major hierarchical divisions grouped under contrasting domes; the Law Courts with water pouring miraculously down a glass façade; the Pantheon whose white, bird-like form adds beauty to the Square of the Three Powers. The only exception was the Foreign Ministry, where I wanted to show how easy it is to please everyone with a solution that is both correct and pleasant but also routine, lacking the greater inventiveness and sensitivity of truly original work.
When I visit Brasilia now I feel that our efforts weren't in vain: the city represents a period of heroic optimism in Brazil, and the architecture reflects my state of mind at the time and my courageous decision to use it to express my innermost feelings. I also think I succeeded in reproducing the volumes and open spaces of Lucio Costa's overall plan and all the other features that make Brasilia the welcoming and



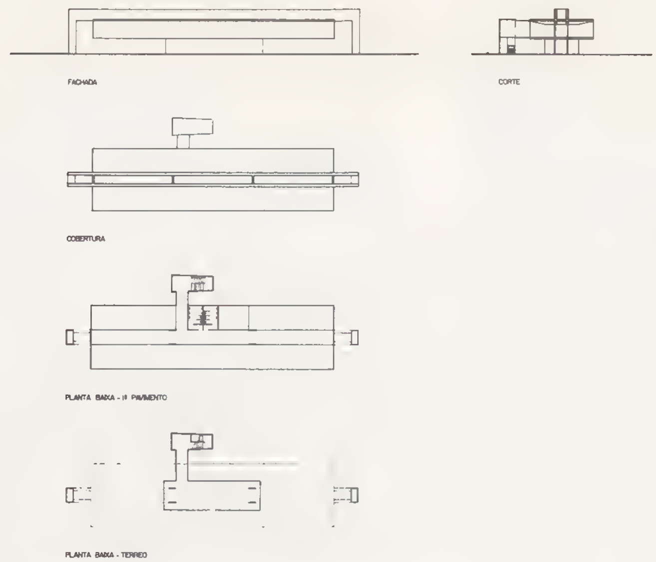
MEMORIAL DA AMERICA LATINA
RESTAURANTE e CONTROLE



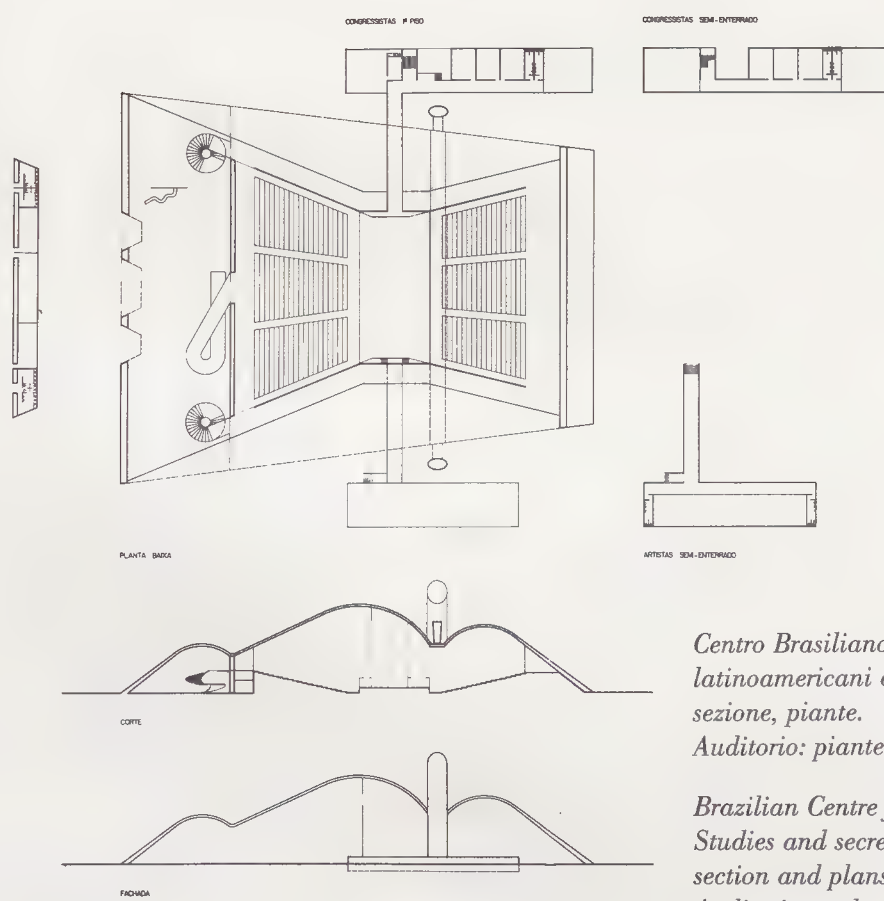
Padiglioni del Ristorante e delle Informazioni: prospetti, sezione, piante. Padiglione della Creatività: prospetto, piante.

Restaurant and Information Pavilions: elevations, section and plans. Pavilion of Creativity: elevation and plans.

MEMORIAL DA AMERICA LATINA
PAVILHÃO DA CRIATIVIDADE



MEMORIAL DA AMERICA LATINA
SECRETARIA



MEMORIAL DA AMERICA LATINA
AUDITORIO

Centro Brasiliano di Studi latinoamericani e segreteria: prospetto, sezione, piante.
Auditorio: piante, sezione, prospetto.

Brazilian Centre for Latin American Studies and secretary's office: elevation, section and plans.
Auditorium: plans, section and elevation.

contrasti; il Ministero della Giustizia, rovesciando miracolosamente acqua dalla sua facciata di vetro; il Pantheon, concepito come un uccello bianco ad arricchire la Piazza dei Tre Poteri. Soltanto nel Ministero degli Esteri ho agito in modo diverso, desideroso di dimostrare com'è facile ottenere il consenso di tutti con una soluzione corretta, generosa ma di *routine*, priva di una maggior invenzione e sensibilità.
Oggi, quando visito Brasilia, sento che il nostro sforzo non è stato vano, che Brasilia ha segnato un periodo eroico di lavoro ed ottimismo; che la mia architettura riflette bene il mio stato d'animo ed il coraggio di esibire in essa ciò che mi commuove più intimamente. Ed inoltre che, lavorandoci, ho saputo rispettare il Piano pilota di Lucio Costa nei suoi volumi e negli spazi liberi, nella sua caratteristica, così ben concepita, di città accogliente e monumentale.
Per vent'anni la dittatura militare ha occupato il nostro paese. Nessuno sottovalutò Brasilia, ma un disinteresse, una disistima permanenti hanno permesso che tante cose fossero disprezzate. Mi riferisco specialmente agli edifici mediocri in essa costruiti, spezzando l'unità urbana originaria.
Un giorno, sotto la pressione dei più reazionari, ho dovuto lasciare la nuova capitale e proseguire le mie rivolte e la mia architettura all'estero.
Ma coloro che intendevano paralizzarmi, senza volere mi hanno dato la più grande opportunità. Nel vecchio mondo ho trovato gli appoggi desiderati: De Gaulle e Malraux crearono per me una legge speciale che mi ha permesso fino ad oggi di lavorare in Francia come un architetto francese; Boumedienne mi convocò in Algeria e Giorgio Mondadori in Italia. Ed ecco alcune delle opere migliori da me progettate. La sede del Partito Comunista Francese a Parigi; la Camera del Lavoro a Bobigny; lo Spazio Oscar Niemeyer a Le Havre; la sede Fata, a Torino; la Mondadori a Milano; le Università di Constantine e Algeri in Algeria.
In questa fase, la quarta della mia carriera di architetto, ha prevalso il proposito di mostrare non solo la libertà plastica della mia architettura, ma anche il progresso dell'ingegneria del mio paese. Nella sede del Partito Comunista Francese ho mostrato com'è importante mantenere esteriormente un gioco armonioso di volumi e spazi liberi, ciò che spiega la scelta di aver sistemato il grande salone della classe operaia nel sotterraneo; nella Camera del Lavoro com'è possibile fare un'opera economica, trattando il blocco principale con maggior contenutezza ma arricchendolo nel contempo con il contrasto delle forme libere dell'auditorio; nello Spazio Oscar Niemeyer ho ribassato la piazza per proteggerla dal freddo e dai venti permanenti locali, soluzione senza eguali in Europa, creando con gli edifici delle superfici curve, soavi, cieche, quasi astratte. Un'opera che ha meritato da parte di Bruno Zevi, al Congresso del Cairo, questo elogio inaspettato: "*Inserisco la Piazza di Le Havre tra le dieci migliori opere dell'architettura contemporanea*". Nella sede Fata, cinque piani sospesi alle travi di copertura, ho realizzato una interessante soluzione strutturale, calcolata da Riccardo Morandi che l'ha commentata in questo modo: "*Per*

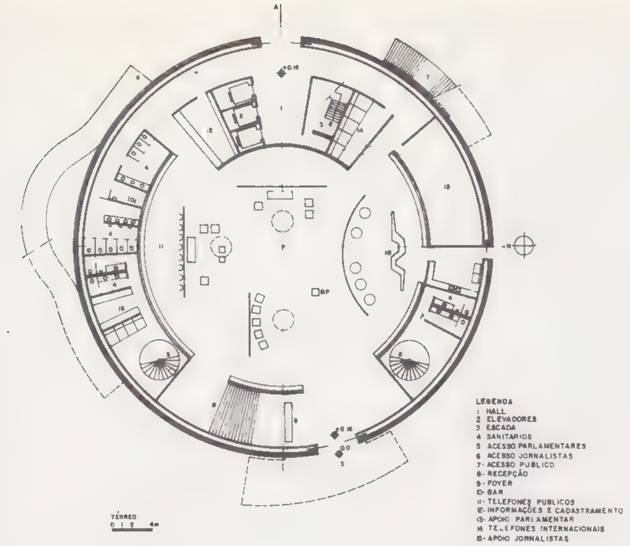
hospitable city it was so skilfully designed to be.
Our country was governed by a military dictatorship for twenty years. No one actually undervalued Brasilia, but a certain indifference, a kind of permanent contempt, meant that many aspects of it were never really appreciated.
I'm thinking here especially of the mediocre buildings that were erected later on with total disregard for the urban unity the project had been intended to achieve.
The day eventually came when reactionary forces obliged me to abandon the new capital and continue my architectural rebellion overseas. But the people who had hoped to thwart me in the New World had unwittingly done me a good turn because in the Old World I received the support I needed: De Gaulle and Malraux passed a special law that allows me, even today, to work in France like any other French architect, Boumedienne invited me to work in Algeria and Giorgio Mondadori asked me to go to Italy. I did some of my best work in those countries: in France, the French Communist Party headquarters in Paris, the Labour Exchange in Bobigny and the Space Oscar Niemayer in Le Havre; in Italy, the Fata Building in Turin and the Mondadori Building just outside Milan; and in Algeria, the universities of Constantine and Algiers.
In this fourth phase of my career my aim was to demonstrate not only the sculptural freedom my architecture had acquired, but also the engineering progress my native country had made.
In the Communist Party headquarters I sited the workers' hall below ground level to show how important it is to maintain a harmonious external interplay of solid volumes and unoccupied space. In the Bobigny Labour Exchange I tried to show that it was possible to build cheaply by designing a regular main building that contrasted with the free forms of the auditorium. In the Space Oscar Niemayer I lowered the plaza to shelter it from the cold winds that blow there and gave the buildings blank, smoothly curved, almost abstract surfaces. This solution, unique in Europe, won unexpected praise from Bruno Levi at the Cairo Congress: "I rank the Le Havre plaza among our ten best works of contemporary architecture". *In the Fata Building, which has five floors suspended from the roof beams, I used a structure in reinforced concrete calculated by Massimo Morandi, who recalls:* "For the first time I was given the chance to show what I know about reinforced concrete". *I gave the porticoes of the Mondadori Building a different, almost musical rhythm, and in Algeria, an architecture of large open spaces, fifty-metre openings and twenty-five metre overhangs allows the shortcomings of local labour go unnoticed.*
In answer to those who say my work has not been well received abroad, I can only point out that my finished buildings are now permanent architectural landmarks, and that the people who commissioned them from me have asked me to do others. The French Communist Party commissioned head offices for its newspaper L'Humanité *(they are now being built) and Giorgio Mondadori came to Rio to ask me to design new offices in central Milan.*

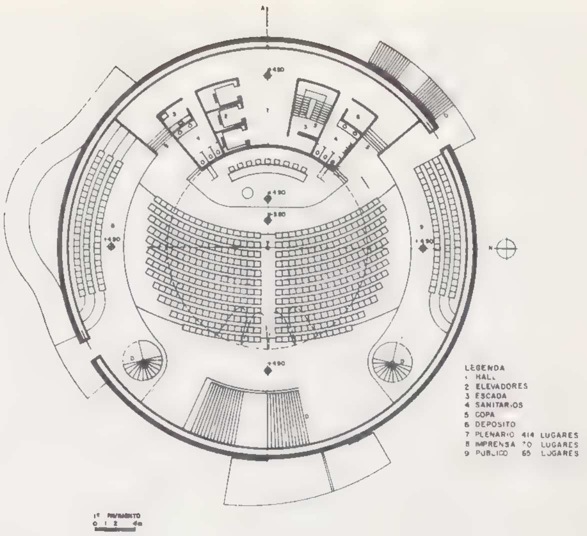
la prima volta mi hanno dato la possibilità di mostrare ciò che conosco del cemento armato". Nella sede Mondadori ho caratterizzato le arcate con un ritmo diverso, quasi musicale; in Algeria ho pensato grandi spazi liberi, vani di 50 m., con oscillazioni di 25, un'architettura così imponente che in essa scompaiono le imperfezioni della mano d'opera locale.
In questo modo rispondo a coloro che davano ad intendere che il mio lavoro non era ben accolto all'estero, mostrando loro opere realizzate che costituiscono un punto di attrazione quotidiana mentre i committenti continuano ad invitarmi per altri progetti, come nel caso del Partito Comunista Francese, per il suo giornale "l'Humanité" — già in fase esecutiva — e di Giorgio Mondadori, venuto a Rio per affidarmi un progetto per la sua nuova sede nel centro di Milano.
Ed ora a San Paolo, nel Memorial dell'America Latina, il mio lavoro di architetto presenta altre caratteristiche e soprattutto ciò che più mi piace, la libertà plastica con cui è stato concepito. Libertà che ho difeso nel corso della vita e che mi permette di disprezzare tutti i dogmi, tutti i preconcetti, adottando la tecnica più avanzata senza dimenticare lo spazio necessario all'invenzione e alla fantasia. E questo spiega gli spazi enormi, le travi di 70 e 90 m. e le coperture curve di cemento armato che appoggiano su di esse strutturalmente. Mi piace inoltre l'aspetto vario di questa architettura, le grandi superfici curve e bianche che prevalgono sulle vetrate che tanto caratterizzano l'architettura contemporanea.
Ho realizzato pochi progetti di carattere sociale e confesso che mentre li facevo mi sentivo in qualche modo complice dell'obbiettivo demagogico e paternalistico che essi nascondono: ingannare la classe operaia che rivendica salari migliori e uguali opportunità. Questo spiega la mia risposta quando un giorno, convocato dalla Polizia Politica, mi fu chiesto: "*Cosa pretendete voi comunisti?*". "*Cambiare la società*". Non pensavo all'architettura, ma a quella enorme miseria che sovrasta il nostro paese.
D'altra parte, la monumentalità non mi ha mai spaventato quando un tema forte la giustifica. In fondo, dell'architettura sono rimaste le opere monumentali, quelle che segnano il tempo e l'evoluzione della tecnica. Quelle che, giuste o meno sotto il profilo sociale, ancora ci commuovono. È la bellezza che s'impone sulla sensibilità dell'uomo. Come sono stati grandi i vecchi maestri, coloro che hanno creato le cupole immense, le volte straordinarie, le vecchie cattedrali!
Rileggo questo testo e rimango sorpreso del tono polemico che lo attraversa; e voglio subito ribadire che l'architettura non è per me una cosa fondamentale, che la vita, la famiglia, gli amici, la giustizia sociale, sono più importanti in questo mondo di illusioni in cui viviamo. E mi ricordo sempre del vecchio Balzac che diceva: "*La letteratura... sono un uomo che vive e nient'altro*".
(...)

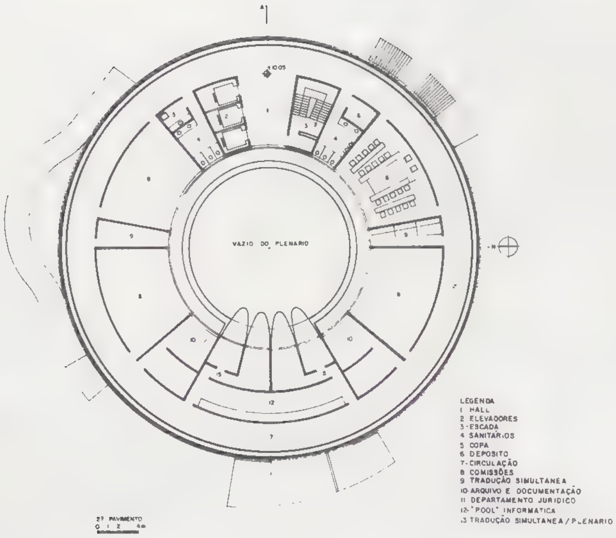
* Da "Módulo", n. 100, marzo 1989, pp. 15-37.

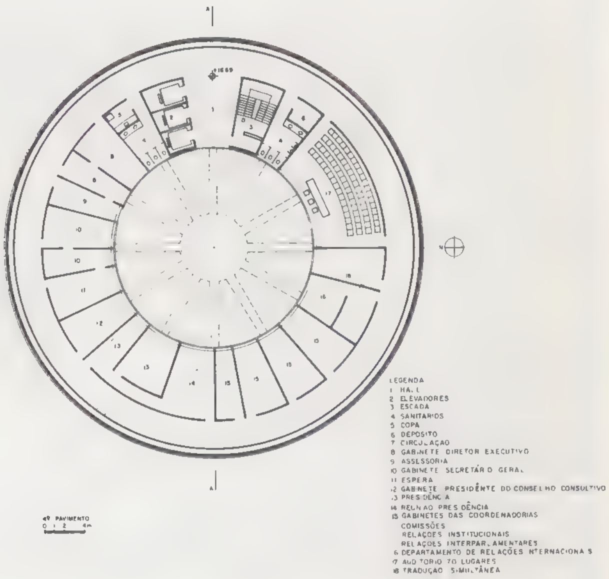
Now, in the Latin American Memorial in São Paulo, my architecture has taken on new features, but what I like most about it is that the sculptural freedom of my conception has been fully realised. I have championed this freedom throughout my life, and this has enabled me to reject dogma and prejudice and use state-of-the-art technology in ways that still leave room for creativity and fantasy — hence the enormous open spaces of the Memorial and the seventy- and ninety-metre structural beams that support its curved reinforced concrete roofs. I also like the variety of the architecture — large, curved, white surfaces so refreshingly different from the glazed surfaces of so much contemporary architecture.
I've done very few projects of a "social" *nature, and I must say that when I have, I always felt I was somehow underwriting the demagogic, paternalistic attitudes they concealed: duping a working class that only wants better wages and the same opportunities as everyone else. This is why, when the Brazilian political police summoned me and asked:* "What do you Communists want to achieve?", *I answered:* "To change society". *I wasn't thinking about architecture, but the misery our country is overwhelmed by. On the other hand, I have never fought shy of monumentality when the need for it was strong enough. In the end, it is monumental architecture that survives — works that symbolise the ages and technologies that produced them — and this architecture moves us still, irrespective of its social rightness. Beauty always overcomes human sensitivity and scruple. How great the old master architects were, the men who created huge domes, fantastic vaulting, the old cathedrals!*
Re-reading this I'm surprised by how belligerent I sound. Let me repeat that architecture is not fundamental to me — family, friends, social justice, life itself are much more important in this world of illusions we live in. I always remember what Balzac said as an old man: "Literature ... I am a man who lives, and no more".
(...)

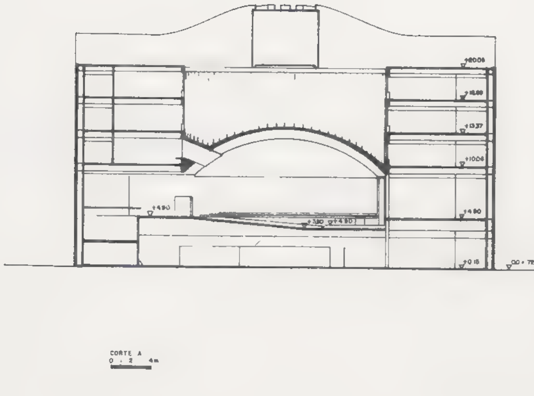
* *From* "Módulo", *no. 100, March 1989, pp. 15-37.*

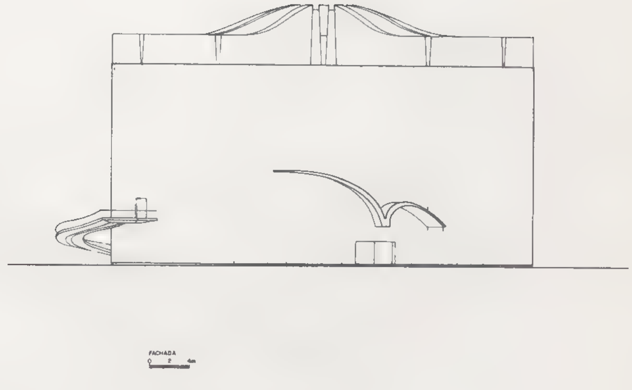












Parlamento dell'America Latina: piante, sezione, prospetto.

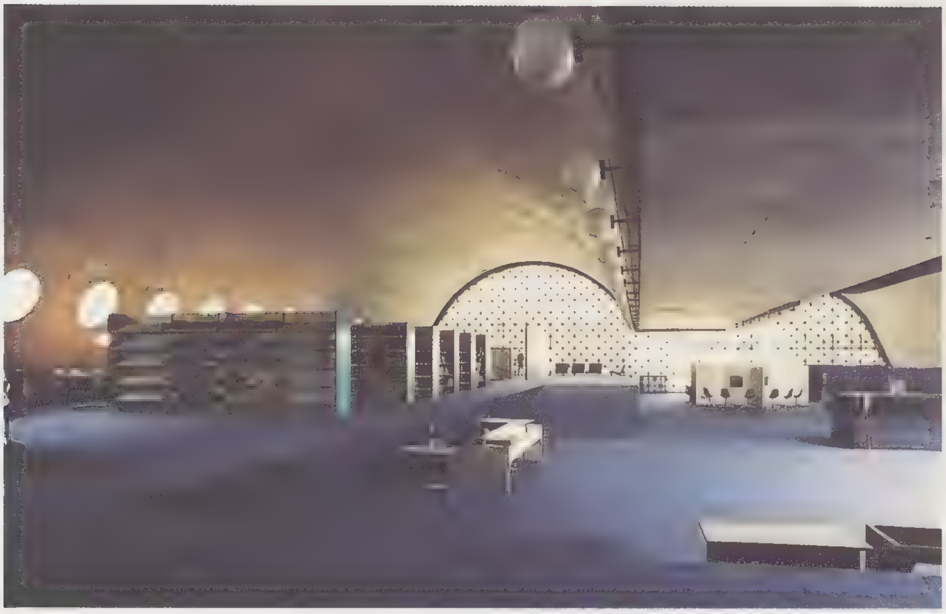
Latin American Parliament: plans, section and elevation.



Vista da nord della passerella con in fondo la Biblioteca.
Viste interne della Biblioteca.
Foto M. Moch.

View of the footbridge from the north with the Library in the background.
Interior views of the Library.
Photos M. Moch.





Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo

Lionello Puppi

È del 18 marzo 1989 l'inaugurazione ufficiale dell'ultima grandiosa opera di Oscar Niemeyer, il Memorial dell'America Latina in San Paolo; poco più di un anno era trascorso dalla posa della prima pietra, il 10 gennaio 1988, e che un simile complesso architettonico possa esser stato condotto a compimento — ad eccezione dell'episodio del Parlamento latinoamericano, che è integrazione coerente successiva, essendo stato rimesso il *dossier* progettuale nel luglio 1991 — in così breve arco di tempo (sebbene, per vero, l'urgenza impressa al cantiere abbia fatto sottovalutare le possibilità di tenuta degli intonaci esterni i quali, in ogni caso, si vanno ora rapidamente risarcendo) par quasi incredibile, nel momento in cui ancor più stupefacenti appaiono la ricchezza e la freschezza creative del maestro brasiliano che, con codesta impresa mirabolante, attinge un vertice tra i più alti della sua produzione ormai sterminata. Che, dell'evento — il quale scaturisce da fermenti trascendenti le vicende e la situazione attuali dell'architettura, come è pur sotteso dalla motivazione che a Niemeyer assegnava il premio "Principe de Asturias" 1989 (il più ambito e prestigioso riconoscimento che la Spagna riserba a protagonisti eminenti, intellettuali ed artisti, della cultura di matrice iberica in senso lato) là dove faceva esplicito riferimento al Memorial sottolineando come esso "*unisca alla sua bellezza il progetto dell'integrazione della cultura dell'America Latina*" —, la risonanza, in Italia, sia stata, a dir tanto, scarsa e svagata, induce a qualche riflessione preliminare, e che potremmo subito riassumere nella constatazione che la nostra attenzione per quanto accade e ferve nel subcontinente iberoamericano è, alla fin dei conti e quantomeno, frammentaria. Quando pur si appunta, e magari con dispiegamento di informazioni ed analisi attente, su fatti indubbiamente clamorosi ed eclatanti, si lascia sfuggire intrecci più segreti, un ribollire recondito di fermenti che prefigura, tentando faticosamente di fondarlo, un destino possibile e decisivo di riscatto, affidandolo alla ardua costruzione della coscienza dell'unità culturale dell'America Latina, nelle sue componenti ispaniche e lusitane, come condizione della conquista di una gestione autentica ed effettiva, non più dunque subalterna a scelte e vantaggi esterni, del controllo delle immense potenzialità del Continente.
"*La sola integrazione che esiste nell'America Latina*" — annotava amaramente Darcy Ribeiro, antropologo e scrittore di fama internazionale, e ben noto anche in Italia — "*è quella delle grandi corporazioni: che non sono nostre. Ciò che abbiamo è un'America Latina balcanizzata, frazionata in mille frammenti, un Brasile isolato come fosse un blocco a sè. Ed è, lungo la storia, la nostra tragedia. Ogni tentativo di approssimazione all'unità compiuto sino ad oggi è abortito*". E richiamava, Ribeiro, la lezione di Josè Martì e di Simón Bolívar, convocato anche da Gabriel García Marquéz:

Oscar Niemeyer. The Latin American Memorial, São Paulo

Lionello Puppi

The official opening of Oscar Niemeyer's last great project, the Latin American Memorial in São Paulo, took place on 18 March 1989, little more than a year after the laying of the first stone on 10 January 1988. That an architectural complex of this size — excluding the Latin American Parliament building, whose project was submitted in July 1991 — was completed in such a short space of time seems little short of miraculous (although pressure of work led to serious miscalculation over the adhesiveness of the exterior plasterwork, now quickly being remedied). The sheer creativity and originality of the Memorial are amazing, and make it one of the most impressive of the Brazilian master's now numerous masterpieces. The ideas that went into its design and construction transcend the narrower concerns of contemporary architecture, and explain why its success in "uniting beauty with the integration of Latin American culture" made it the winner of the 1989 "Principe de Asturias" award, Spain's most coveted prize for intellectual or artistic achievement in Spanish culture in the broadest sense. And yet, the Memorial is still little known or appreciated in Italy, to say the least, and one can only conclude that this reflects the half-heartedness of Italy's interest in South America, despite the social and architectural importance of what is happening there and all the information and analysis now available. The less obvious aspects of the changes now sweeping Latin American seem to go unnoticed, yet it is precisely the laborious effort these changes presuppose that makes them a prefigurement of the entire continent's salvation. A bold attempt to raise awareness of Latin America's distinctive Spanish and Portuguese cultural identity is now seen as the first step towards real cultural autonomy no longer subject to external criteria and constraints, and the realisation of the continent's enormous potential.
As Darcy Ribeiro, the internationally famous anthropologist and writer (he is well known even in Italy), notes with some bitterness: "Latin America's only form of integration comes from the large corporations, and they don't belong to us. What we have is a Balkanised Latin America split into a thousand pieces, a Brazil so isolated that it seems a world apart. This has been our tragedy throughout history. All attempts so far to unite the continent have ended in failure". *Ribeiro's conclusions echo those of Josè Martì and Simón Bolívar, and also of Gabriel García Marquéz, who added that* "uniting Latin America would mean creating the greatest and strongest of all alliances". *In other words, unification — integration in the most practical and creative sense — would mean liberation, salvation and progress for millions of people who so far have known only poverty, hunger and despair.*
The "idea" of the Memorial (the Casa de las Américas in Havana was an earlier attempt to realise it) was based on just



Vista della Mão sangrando.
Foto M. Moch.

View of the Mão sangrando.
Photo M. Moch.



Vista interna e vista da nord del Padiglione delle Cerimonie. Foto M. Moch.

Interior view and view from the north of the Pavilion of Ceremonies. Photos M. Moch.



"*unire l'America Latina sarebbe creare la maggiore e la più forte di tutte le alleanze*". Unire, integrare nel senso più concreto e creativo, per la liberazione, il riscatto, il progresso di milioni sin qua dannati alla miseria, alla fame, alla disperazione.
L' "idea" del Memorial dell'America Latina scaturisce da codeste premesse (cui, invero, la Casa de las Americas dell'Avana aveva tentato a suo tempo di offrir un esito possibile) nel momento in cui vengono raccolte e rilanciate dal Governatore dello Stato di San Paolo, Orestes Quércia: un centro di aggregazione e di dibattito culturali, un laboratorio capace di forgiare e render risonante una coscienza di identità inconfondibile.
Il numero 0 e il numero 1 del periodico *Nossa America-Nuestra America* del Memorial, apparsi a lavori in corso e per la vigilia dell'inaugurazione, assai ricchi e stimolanti, già dichiaravano il valore e il significato di un suggestivo manifesto programmatico. Ennesima utopia? Ad un anno di distanza dalla giornata inaugurale, il bilancio appare confortante: i *padiglioni* del complesso son stati visitati da decine di migliaia di persone; la biblioteca è ben funzionante (e già si pensa, anzi, d'ampliarne la capacità di contenimento dei materiali librari); il *teatro* è attivo. Parole caute di speranza e di determinazione, che non solo resta inflessibile ma cresce di lena, scrivono Orestes Quércia ("*Un sogno realizzato, un nuovo passo verso il futuro*"), Darcy Ribeiro ("*America Latina: è scoccata l'ora della nostra identità*"), Eduardo Galeano ("*Essere o copiare, essere o sembrare*"), Fernando Morais ("*Una battaglia per l'integrazione, un'arma efficace: la cultura*"), in una monografia uscita a celebrar l'anniversario e che, tra l'altro, significativamente ripropone il testo dell'orazione pronunciata, dopo aver ricevuto il Premio Nobel 1982, da Gabriel García Marquéz nella sala d'onore dell'Accademia svedese di Lettere. Il Memorial, dunque, già vive, obbedendo alle ragioni presiedenti alla sua concezione.
Ed entriamo, finalmente, nel merito specifico; architettonico. Niemeyer, chiamato ad inventar gli spazi adeguati di una simile, ardua struttura, ha affrontato il tema difficile con il consueto entusiasmo, accresciuto da partecipazione convinta e profonda; ha attinto dalle miniere inesauribili della sua fantasia forme capaci di coniugare il massimo d'allusività simbolica con le ragioni della più efficiente funzionalità attraverso le più spericolate ed acrobatiche sperimentazioni tecniche dei materiali. Le sue consultazioni, a codesto riguardo, con Darcy Ribeiro (che, dell'impresa, ha dettato, per dir così, il canovaccio) — ma, anche, con altri intellettuali ed artisti iberoamericani — sono state frenetiche, ma, al tempo stesso, tali da indirizzare, fondare, garantire il suo impegno. "*Pochi temi m'hanno dato tanta allegria nel progettarli*" — scrive nella succitata monografia — "*come il Memorial dell'America Latina. In primo luogo, per il sentimento politico che rappresentava. Riunire i popoli di questo Continente per discutere insieme i suoi problemi, scambiando esperienze, lottando per i diritti di quest'America Latina tanto esplorata ed offesa. Quindi, poiché si trattava di un complesso di edifici che, ben progettati, potevano creare ciò che in architettura chiamiamo* spettacolo architettonico. *Per questo, la sua architettura doveva essere realizzata con totale libertà, al di fuori di ogni preconcetto, d'ogni regola, sostenuta dalla tecnica più accorta, plasmando lo spazio necessario attraverso l'immaginazione. E i suoi edifici avrebbero dovuto mantenere nella fantasia delle proprie forme creative quella corrispondenza, quell'unità che una buona architettura esige*". La tensione dell'architetto, lo sforzo tenace di mettere in forma siffatto ambizioso programma costruttivo son documentati dagli schizzi in parte, fortunatamente, scampati (Niemeyer, per solito, distrugge i fogli su cui vien fermando, via via, il *farsi* dell'idea) e conservati negli archivi del Memorial: un segno improvviso, sovrapporsi di tratti nervosi, cancellature, riprese e rielaborazione sino al *presagio* di un'immagine, dell'esito, (e alcuni qui si propongono). Che è, poi, nella prospettiva della concreta esecuzione costruttiva, sfida — già però lucidamente consapevole dell'affermazione — alle tecniche ingegneristiche, alla possibilità di manipolazione dei materiali.
Scrive Josè Carlos Sussekind, da tempo ormai collaboratore di Niemeyer per i calcoli, in un appunto manoscritto del 21 dicembre 1989, alla sua volta custodito dagli archivi del Memorial: "*Le strutture* [del complesso] *rappresentano, talora, l'episodio più alto di interazione tra ingegneria e architettura, nel momento stesso in cui attestano, per i tempi futuri, che vi fu un'epoca — 1988 — un Continente — l'America Latina —, un Paese — il Brasile —, una civiltà, in grado di concepire ed eseguire il maggior vano libero del mondo. Siffatta premessa non dispensa dall'enfatizzare l'entusiasmo che m'offrì codesto progetto d'ingegneria, venendo a coronare una intera vita professionale costruita nell'*attuazione *accanto a Oscar Niemeyer. Come in tutti gli altri, e tanti, progetti, Oscar esibì i suoi primi schizzi, ragionammo insieme sui modi di soluzione possibile e, quindi — me lo ricordo bene —, passammo un fine di settimana definendo sostegni, dimensioni di base. L'opera era concepita. Da quella scadenza, i sei mesi della stesura esecutiva in dettaglio dei progetti e i dodici mesi della costruzione.*"
Ne è scaturito, nella ritrovata, incredibile, primavera del genio e del talento di Niemeyer — entro il cuore di una delle più caotiche e vertiginose città del mondo; in un'area affollata da edilizia rozza e degradata — un "frammento" urbano di perfetta, e fascinosa, compiutezza. Non gelida e metafisica rappresentazione d'astratte forme, ma invito attraente, insieme, e perentorio, alla speranza come progetto realizzabile d'alternativa impalcata. E son le cadenze eleganti dei candidi oggetti curvi e mistilinei; la magica armonia che li rilega, per vicendevoli e rallentati richiami suggestivi, sulla estesa base di cemento e d'acqua, in un componimento che sembra tradurre in presenza plastica e architettonica una "bachiana" di Villa Lobos.
Dalla rinnovata stazione del *metrò* di Barra Funda, un lungo

these premises, which Orestes Quércia, governor of São Paulo State, had crystalised in his proposal to build a centre where people could congregate for cultural debate, a laboratory that could forge cultural awareness and give it a coherent voice. In the stimulating range of problems they raised, the first two issues of the Memorial's own journal Nossa América-Nuestra América *(nos. 0 and 1 which appeared respectively during the building of the complex and on the eve of its inauguration) were in themselves a manifesto for a centre of this type. Just another utopian dream, then? By no means. The Memorial seemed to be working extremely well a year after it opened. Its pavilions had been visited by tens of thousands of people, the library was fully operative (there are already plans to create room for more books) and the theatre was active. A monograph published to mark the Memorial's first anniversary (which also included, significantly enough, 1982 Nobel Prize winner Gabriel García Marquéz's speech to the Swedish Academy of Letters) was cautiously optimistic, and comments by contributors showed that, far from flagging, determination to see the project through was speedily gathering momentum:* "A dream come true, a new step towards the future" *(Orestes Quércia),* "Latin America: the hour of our identity has now arrived" *(Darcy Ribeiro),* "To be or to copy, to be or to seem" *(Eduardo Galeano),* "Culture: a battle for integration, an effective weapon" *(Fernando Morais). So the Memorial is very much alive, and has remained true to the principles that gave it birth.*
And what of the architecture itself? Niemeyer threw himself into the difficult task of creating spaces for such a challenging project with his usual enthusiasm, heightened by his personal commitment to the aims of the project. Drawing on the inexhaustible resources of his imagination, he created forms that unite maximum symbolic allusiveness with optimum functionality in daringly innovative uses of materials. He consulted at length not only with Darcy Ribeiro (who, in a manner of speaking, gave the scheme its basic plot) but also with other Latin American intellectuals, whose advice underwrote, focused and lent weight to his personal commitment. "Few of the projects I have worked on have brought me so much joy as the Latin American Memorial", *wrote Niemeyer in the anniversary monograph I quoted from earlier.* "First and foremost because of the political concept it represented: bringing the peoples of our continent together to discuss their problems and compare experiences, fighting for the rights of a Latin America that has been so thoroughly exploited and wronged. And then because the complex of buildings, if well designed, could create what architects call an *architectural spectacle.* Its architecture had to be conceived with total freedom, unhampered by preconceptions and rules, and the spaces my imagination dictated to me needed the engineering support that alone could translate them into physical reality. The forms of the buildings had to have the creative interrelatedness and imaginative unity that is the hallmark of all good architecture". *Something of the project's architectural tension and Niemeyer's dogged determination to see the ambitious scheme through are evident in the sketches that have fortunately been preserved in the Memorial archives. Niemeyer usually destroys the sketches he makes as he gradually develops his ideas, but here we can trace the sequence of improvisations, additions and deletions that eventually cohere in a* presentiment *of what the final design might look like (a number of versions are evident in the sketches). And as Niemeyer was already well aware, this presentiment is also, in practical building terms, an engineering challenge, an intimation of how materials might be manipulated.*
In a handwritten note of 21 December 1989, also preserved in the Memorial archives, José Carlos Sussekind, Niemeyer's long-standing engineering adviser, wrote: "The structures *[of the complex]* often represent the interaction between engineering and architecture in its highest form, and at the same time bear witness, for posterity's sake, to the fact that there was an age — 1988 — a continent — Latin America — a country — Brazil — and a civilisation that could conceive and build the largest free space in the world. None of this detracts from the project's excitement as an engineering challenge, as the crowning achievement of a career spent with Oscar Niemeyer finding ways of *implementing* architecture. As in all his many other projects, Oscar showed me his preliminary sketches and we worked together on ways of realising them. I remember we spent a weekend calculating the basic dimensions and the structural support that would be needed. The project came into being. After that, we took six months to draw up detailed executive designs for the projects and twelve months to do the actual building".
The result of this amazing resurgence of Niemeyer's creative powers was a bewitchingly perfect urban "fragment" surrounded by ugly, dilapidated buildings in the centre of one of the world's most chaotic cities. His complex is no icy, metaphysical representation of abstract forms; it invites people to by offering an alternative project that really can be achieved, and the invitation is both attractive and irresistible. The unadorned stylishness of his curved or mixtlinear buildings, and the magical harmony that unites them through cumulative cross-reference and quotation on a broad concrete or water base, produces a total composition that seems the sculptural and architectural equivalent of one of Villa Lobos' "Bachianas Brasileiras".
From the renovated Barra Funda underground station, a long walkway guides — or rather attracts — the visitor towards the huge open space preceded by Franz Weissmann's stereometric network in the form of a stylised tropical flower. Directly in front, suspended over water, is the circular restaurant building whose interior is vitalised by Athos Bulcão's measured progression of azulejos, *or "repertoire of symbols". Beyond, on the other side, is the triple curve of the Latin American Library which at present holds thirty thousand specialist volumes. Also equipped with cinema and music archives, it is the focus of the Memorial's historical memory and awareness. The shrine is sealed — in homage to the*



Vista da ovest lungo il porticato del Padiglione della Creatività.
Vista da sudest del Centro Brasiliano di Studi latinoamericani e vista da ovest dell'Auditorio.
Foto M. Moch.

View from the west along the portico of the Pavilion of Creativity.
View from the southeast of the Brazilian Centre for Latin American Studies and views from the west of the Auditorium.
Photos M. Moch.





passaggio tragitta, ma si vorrebbe dire trascina, il visitatore verso il vasto slargo introdotto dal rosso intreccio stereometrico, stilizzazione d'un fiore tropicale, di Franz Weissmann: a fronte, un edificio circolare, sospeso sull'acqua, e che funge da ristorante, animato, all'interno dal lento percorso di *azulejos* — "repertorio dei simboli" — di Athos Bulcão; oltre, sul lato opposto, la triplice curvatura della Biblioteca dell'America Latina, capace — sinora — di trentamila volumi specializzati e attrezzata di cineteca e di archivio musicale, il luogo della memoria e della consapevolezza storica, suggellato, in ossequio al principio niemeyeriano nel Memorial praticato sino in fondo (e si veda la monografia testè uscita al riguardo: *Integraçao das Artes*), dell'integrazione delle arti, dal gran *mural* — in omaggio allo scrittore Clay Gama de Carvalho — di Mario Gruber, e attraversato da un incredibile, magico, trasparente di Marianne Peretti. Oltre, sullo sfondo, un'altra forma curva sostenuta da un asse fissato a due enormi pilastri (tremila e duecento metri quadrati), alla sua volta specchiantesi sull'acqua su cui *galleggia* il candido blocco marmoreo traforato di Bruno Giorgi, si offre — ammonitore, ne guarda l'atrio il gran pannello di Portinari evocante il martirio di Tirandentes (un'opera del 1949 destinata a Ouro Preto e recuperata al Memorial); a lato, e a ridosso delle immense finestre traforate, stanno le *quinte* graffite di Poty-Carybé — ad incontri ufficiali e dibattiti sui problemi del Subcontinente. A ridosso della scultura, dovuta allo stesso Niemeyer, di una gran mano aperta sul cui palmo si disegna, rosso, quasi sangue colato da una ferita, il profilo dell'America Latina, una passerella guizzante conduce, quindi, scavalcando l'avenida che *taglia* lo slargo del Memorial, alla semiellisse del Padiglione della Creatività, museo dell'arte popolare di tutto il Sudamerica, ai parallelepipedi incrociati del Centro brasiliano di Studi latinoamericani e alle modulazioni maestose, infine, dell'Auditorio, riservato agli spettacoli: originalissimo, suggestivo, polivalente, spazio teatrale, cui invita l'ultima scultura plasmata da Ceschiatti (agosto 1989) poco prima della morte e che *segnano* l'immenso, serpeggiante, siderale *mural* di Tornie Ohtake e il fondale geometrico di Scliar. Candido cilindro — solo *segnato* dalla "tettoia" come ali dispiegate in volo al principale ingresso e dall'audace, acrobatico passaggio riservato all'accesso dei giornalisti; coronato da una copertura frastagliata —, l'edificio del Parlamento latinoamericano accampa la piazza tra Padiglione della Creatività e Auditorio. Miracolosi funambolismi di tecnica ingegneristica han consentito (ma abbiam, indietro, ancitipata la conferma di Sussekind) l'impresa, offrendoci l'*experiri* di aerea e coinvolgente levità d'oggetti di proporzioni immense, scaricati d'ogni peso di greve monumentalità, e fatti, dall'accortezza della forma sapiente e spregiudicata, eloquenti e universalmente leggibili. Perché, se brasiliane son le radici di un simile evento, esso "parla" un linguaggio comprensibile e partecipabile su scala vasta, ed è, allora, patrimonio universale.

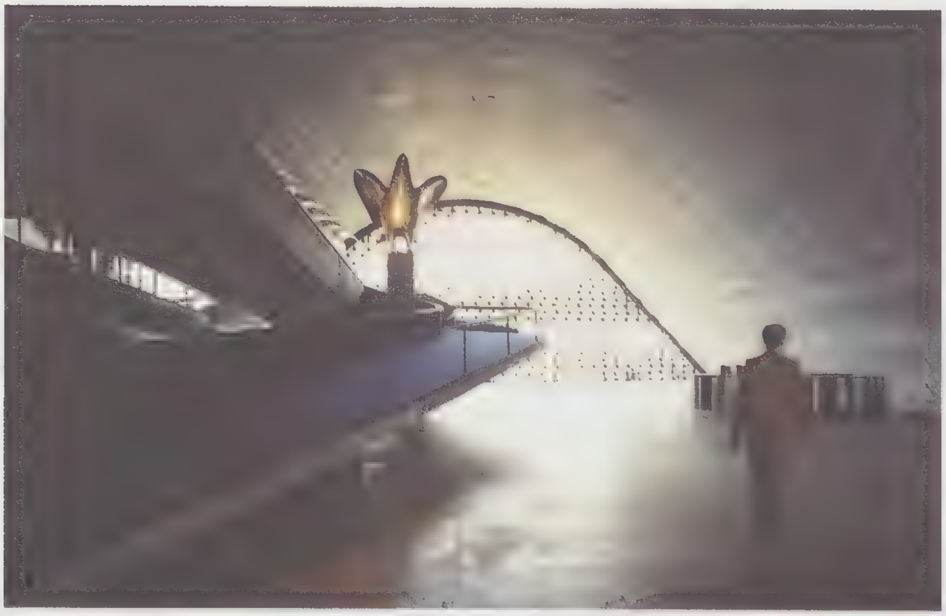
Nella *autobiografia*, che da poco è stata pubblicata (*Meu sosia e eu*, Revan, Rio de Janeiro, 1992) — ma che abbiamo avuto il privilegio di leggere nella redazione dattiloscritta — Niemeyer riconosce nel Memorial il traguardo di un percorso imperterrito del quale indica la successione *in crescendo* delle tappe precedenti: "*Dapprima, Pampulha; quindi, da Pampulha a Brasilia; poi Brasilia; in seguito le attuazioni all'estero; e, infine, l'ultimo progetto realizzato per San Paolo*". Quest'opera: dove la sua incomparabile concezione dell'architettura attinge i modi d'espressione più radicali e definitivi. Al coraggio dell'artista che ha saputo spingere a tanto e impalcare, con coerenza e senza compromessi, la libertà della propria fantasia, dovrebbe rispondere il coraggio del critico capace di riconoscere e additare nel Memorial — al cospetto di un panorama complessivo di produzione architettonica che scaturisce, salve poche eccezioni, dallo sforzo ostinato ed estenuante, non meno che mediocre (il sonno — non il sogno, e i sogni — della fantasia) d'esorcizzare, d'aggirare, di fuggire i fantasmi del Movimento Moderno — la dignità indiscutibile e alta di un confortante capolavoro.

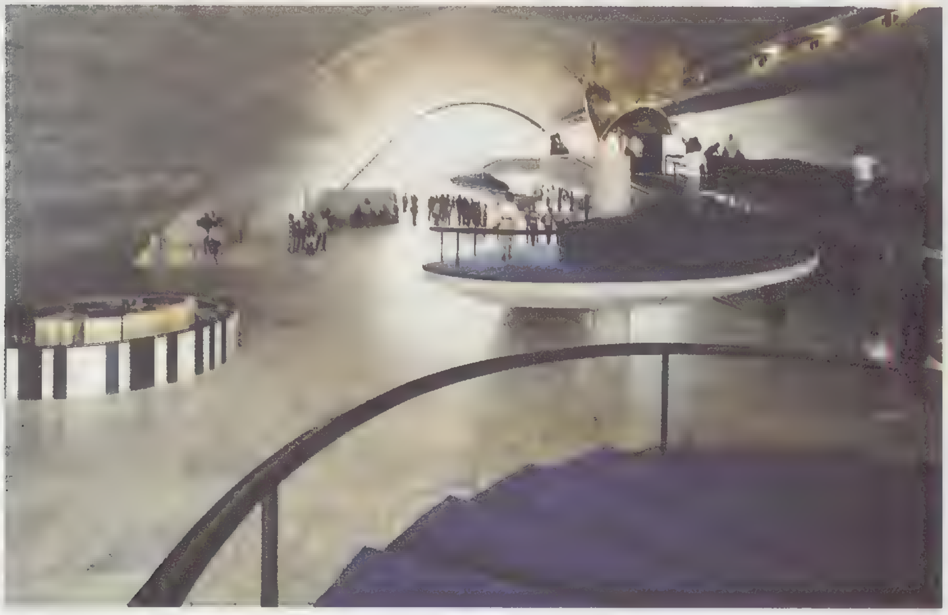
principle of the integration of the arts Niemeyer consistently applies in the Memorial (see his monograph, Integraçao das Artes*) — by Mario Gruber's large* mural, *his tribute to writer Clay Gama de Carvalho, and is traversed by Marianne Peretti's magically beautiful transparent work. In the background another curved form, supported by an axis fixed to two huge pillars (three thousand and two thousand square metres), is in turn reflected in the water on which Bruno Giorgi's plain perforated marble block floats. Its function as a venue for official meetings and debates on Latin American problems is signalled by the atrium, with Portinari's large panel evoking the martyrdom of Tirandentes (a 1949 work originally intended for Ouro Preto) and, on the side near the enormous perforated windows, Poty-Carybé's graffito screens. Near the sculpture (by Niemeyer himself) of a large open hand with the outline of Latin America etched in its palm like blood oozing from a wound, a footbridge spans the avenida that bisects the open space of the Memorial, carrying visitors to the semi-ellipse of the Pavilion of Creativity, a museum of South American popular art, the crossed parallelepipeds of the Brazilian Centre for Latin American Studies and the majestic Auditorium, a stunningly original multipurpose theatrical space heralded by Ceschiatti's last sculpture (August 1989) produced shortly before his death, Tornie Ohtake's immense, meandering, stellar* mural *and Scliar's geometrical backdrop. The Latin American Parliament building in the plaza between the Pavilion of Creativity and the Auditorium is a plain cylinder with a jagged roof enlivened only by its main entrance canopy in the form of outspread wings, and the daringly acrobatic walkway of the press entrance. As Sussekind has already indicated, the complex is an amazing feat of aerial engineering and lightness in which huge objects are relieved of all monumental* gravitas *and rendered universally intelligible thanks to their shrewdly unconventional forms. Although the project is Brazilian in origin, it "speaks" a language all nations can understand, and so belongs to the world.*
*In his recently published autobiography (*Meu sosia e eu, *Revan, Rio de Janeiro, 1992), which I had the privilege of reading in manuscript, Niemeyer acknowledges that the Memorial was the project all his previous efforts had been leading to:* "Pampulha comes first, then the period from Pampulha to Brasilia. This is followed by Brasilia itself, the work abroad, and finally, the last project I did for São Paulo". *In the Memorial his unique concept of architecture attains its final, most radical form. His artist's courage, integrity and imaginative freedom are total and uncompromising. In a situation where, with few exceptions, architecture as a whole seems the outcome of repeated, not to say mediocre (imagination's slumber, not its dream, or dreams) attempts to exorcise, circumvent or flee the ghosts of Modernism, critics should be equally courageous in pointing to the rare and unquestionable dignity of Niemeyer's consoling masterpiece.*



Viste interne della sala dell'Auditorio, con il dipinto di Tomie Ohtake, e del foyer.
Foto M. Moch.

Interior views of the Auditorium with the painting by Tomie Ohtake, and the foyer.
Photos by M. Moch.







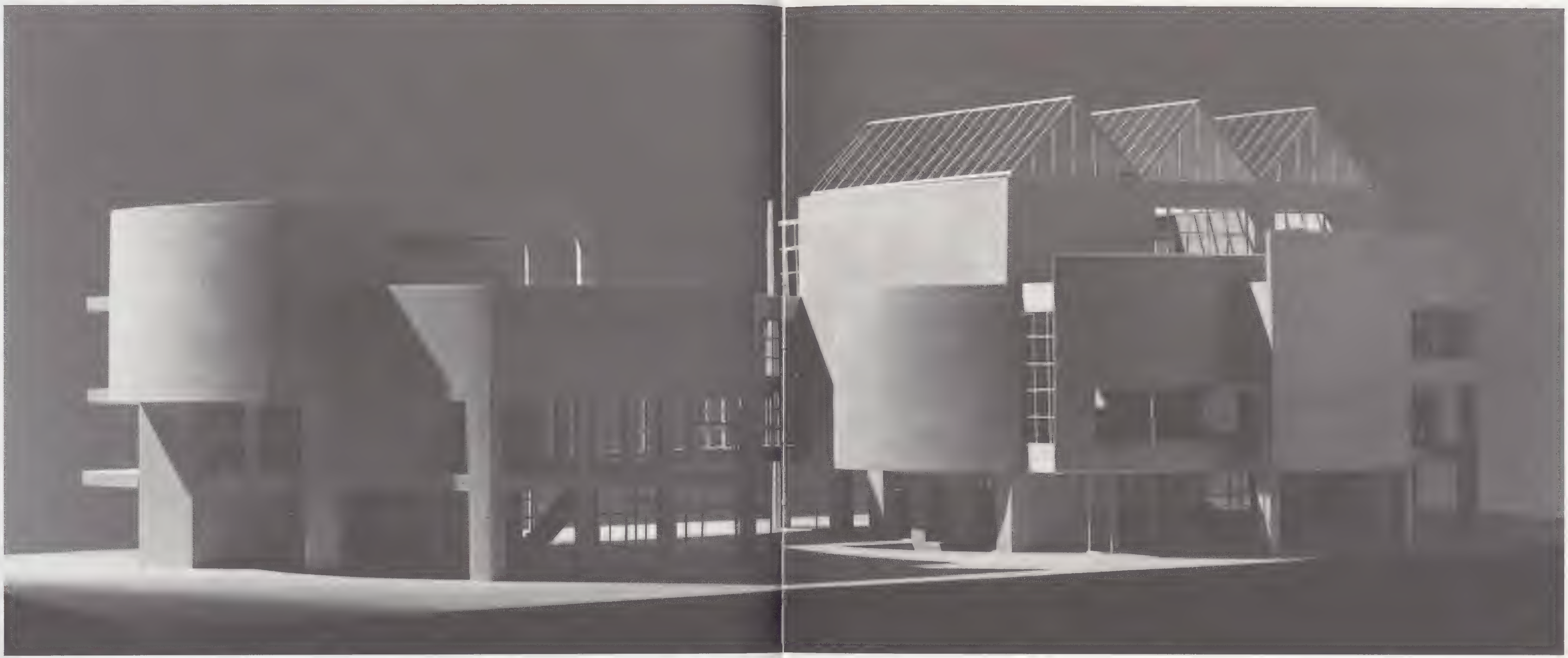
Vista da ovest dell'Auditorium.
Foto M. Moch.

View of the Auditorium from the west.
Photo M. Moch.



Vista da ovest dell'Auditorio.
Foto M. Mock.

View of the Auditorium from the west.
Photo M. Mock.



Vista del modello da nordest.
Foto P. Mauss/Esto.

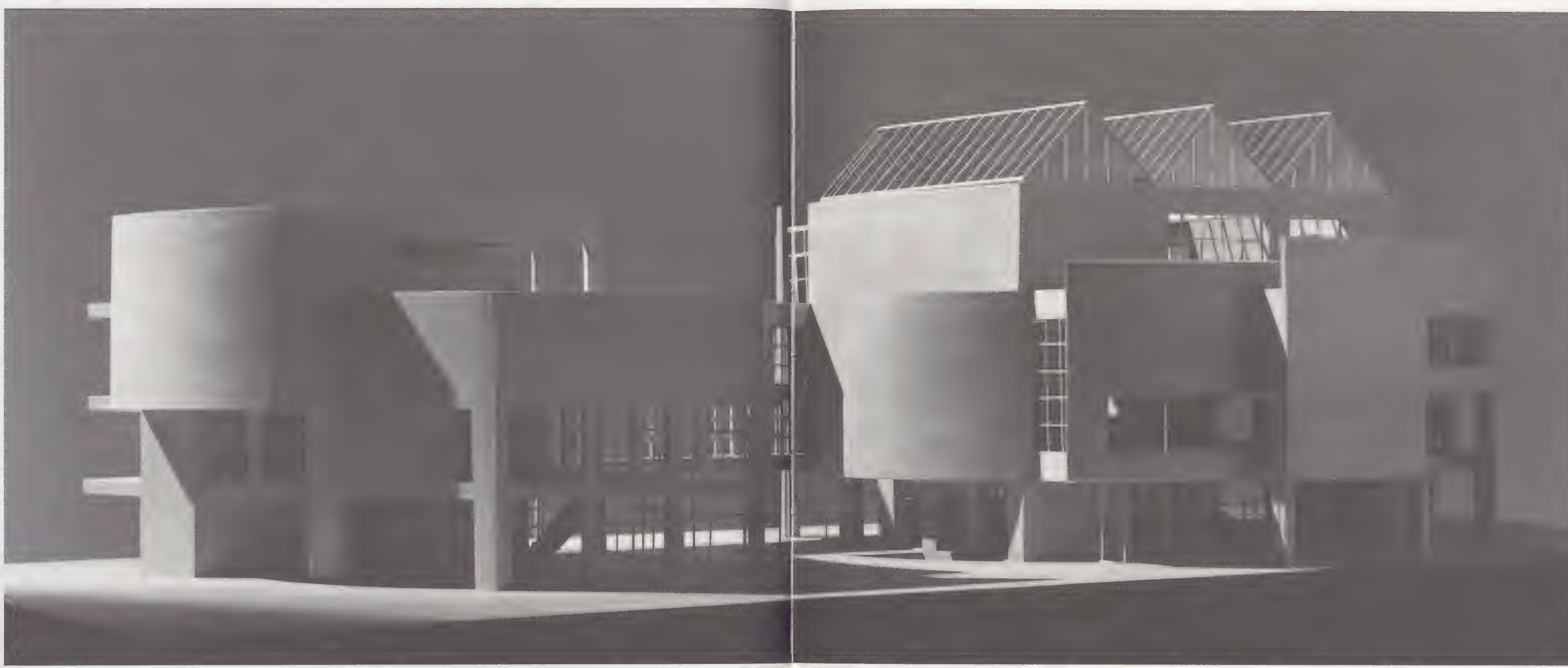
View of the model from the northeast.
Photo P. Mauss/Esto.

Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany

1986-1993

Richard Meier & Partners

Design Team: Richard Meier, Mary Buttrick, David Ling, Bernhard Lutz, Jonathan Marvel, Siobhan McInerney, Rainer Scholl, Gunter Standke, Wolfram Wöhr



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Progetto per un Padiglione espositivo e sala convegni a Ulm, Germania
Richard Meier

Il progetto è il risultato di un Concorso a inviti per un nuovo Padiglione espositivo e sala convegni nella Piazza della Cattedrale di Ulm, comprendente anche il ridisegno della piazza stessa.
Concepito come elemento di contrasto e di completamento della Münsterplatz, il progetto si basa su una maglia planimetrica di nove moduli quadrati, racchiusi su tre lati da una serie di segmenti di circonferenze concentriche che configurano degli schermi circolari deformati e spezzati da una serie di assi e di linee frontali che li intersecano, derivanti in parte dalla cattedrale, in parte dalla geometria complessiva della piazza e degli immediati intorni.
L'ubicazione del Padiglione sull'angolo sudoccidentale della piazza attira l'attenzione sullo sbocco della Hirschstrasse nello spazio principale, invitando, con la propria forma aperta, a fare ingresso nella piazza da questo punto. La generale relazione di complementarietà tra edificio e piazza è accentuata da una serie di piccoli spazi all'aperto e da taluni elementi di mediazione che ne inquadrano particolari visuali.
L'accesso al Padiglione avviene attraverso un *foyer* a piano terreno dove sono collocati l'ufficio turistico cittadino e un'agenzia per la rivendita di biglietti. Da tale *foyer*, uno scalone e un ascensore conducono direttamente alla sala per convegni e conferenze del primo piano e ai due livelli sovrapposti di spazi espositivi. Un ponte coperto-loggia funge da collegamento, a piano terreno, fra ristorante e atrio d'ingresso, mentre il primo piano è caratterizzato da uno stretto rapporto visivo tra sala convegni e piazza, con viste trasversali sulla cattedrale. Pur essendo completamente costruito in cemento armato, il cubo centrale corrispondente ai nove moduli quadrati è rivestito in pietra naturale, mentre le parti ricurve e l'annesso ristorante sono rivestiti in stucco.
Il progetto dell'edificio è completato dalla sistemazione della Münsterplatz, in particolar modo da una nuova pavimentazione, il cui reticolo riprende le dimensioni della cattedrale. Il sagrato è mantenuto libero da arredi, mentre il lato nordoccidentale della piazza è piantato a sicomori in modo da ottenere una scala più raccolta, adeguata all'area commerciale di fronte.
Una fontana in posizione asimmetrica costituisce il terzo vertice del triangolo ideale che unisce il campanile della cattedrale al centro del Padiglione.



Veduta prospettica da ovest.

Perspective view from the west.

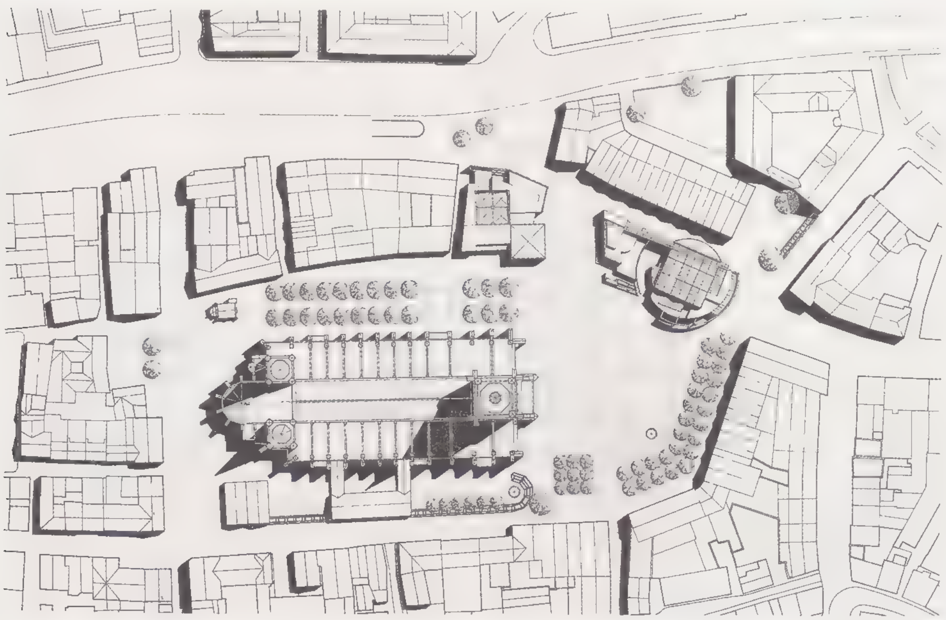


Assonometria da nordest e planivolumetria.

Axonometric from the northeast and plan of volumes.

Project for an Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany
Richard Meier

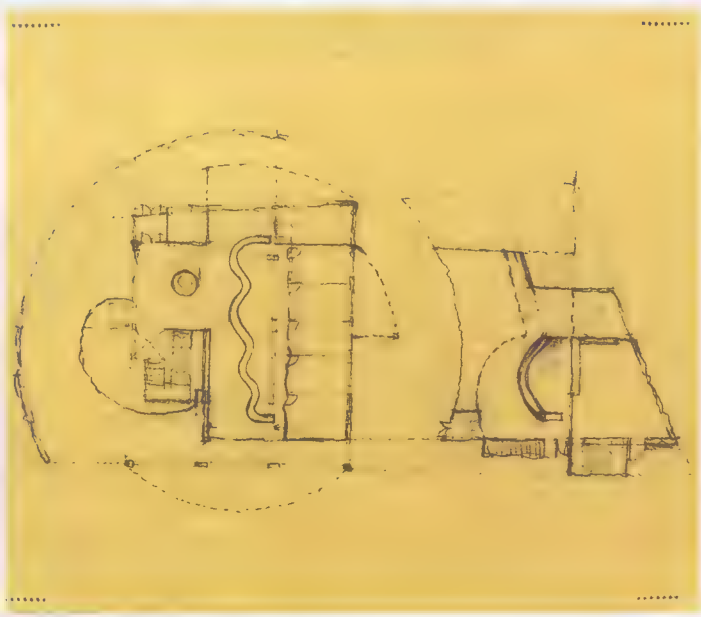
This project was the outcome of an invited Competition for a new exhibition and assembly building in the Cathedral Square, Ulm, including the redesign of the square. Conceived as a foil and a complement to the Münsterplatz, this design is based on a nine-square plan, enclosed on three sides by a number of concentric circles. These circular screens are modified and curtailed by a series of intersecting axes and frontage lines, derived in part from the Cathedral and in part from the general geometry of the square and its immediate surroundings. The placement of the building on the southwest corner of the square draws attention to the intersection of the main space with Hirschstrasse. The open form of the building at this point affords an inviting entry into the square. The general complementary interplay between the building and the square is facilitated through a series of small outdoor spaces, and certain mediatory elements that frame salient views into the square.
Entry is through a foyer at ground floor where the city's tourist office and ticket agency are to be found. A main stair and elevator rising from the foyer afford immediate access to the lecture hall/assembly room on the first floor and to two successive levels of exhibition space above. A covered loggia/bridge link at ground level serves to connect the restaurant to the entry foyer. The main assembly space on the first floor has intimate visual contact with the square and affords oblique views onto the Cathedral. While of reinforced concrete construction throughout, the central nine square cube is faced in natural stone while the curved portions and the restaurant annex are clad in stucco.
The overall design of this building is complemented by the refurbishing of the Münsterplatz, above all by a new paving grid, the dimensions of which are derived from the Cathedral. This parvis *has been kept free of furniture while its periphery to the north west is planted with sycamore trees so as to afford a more intimate scale appropriate to the commercial frontage. An asymmetrically situated fountain serves as the third point of a conceptual triangle connecting the Cathedral tower to the center of the building.*

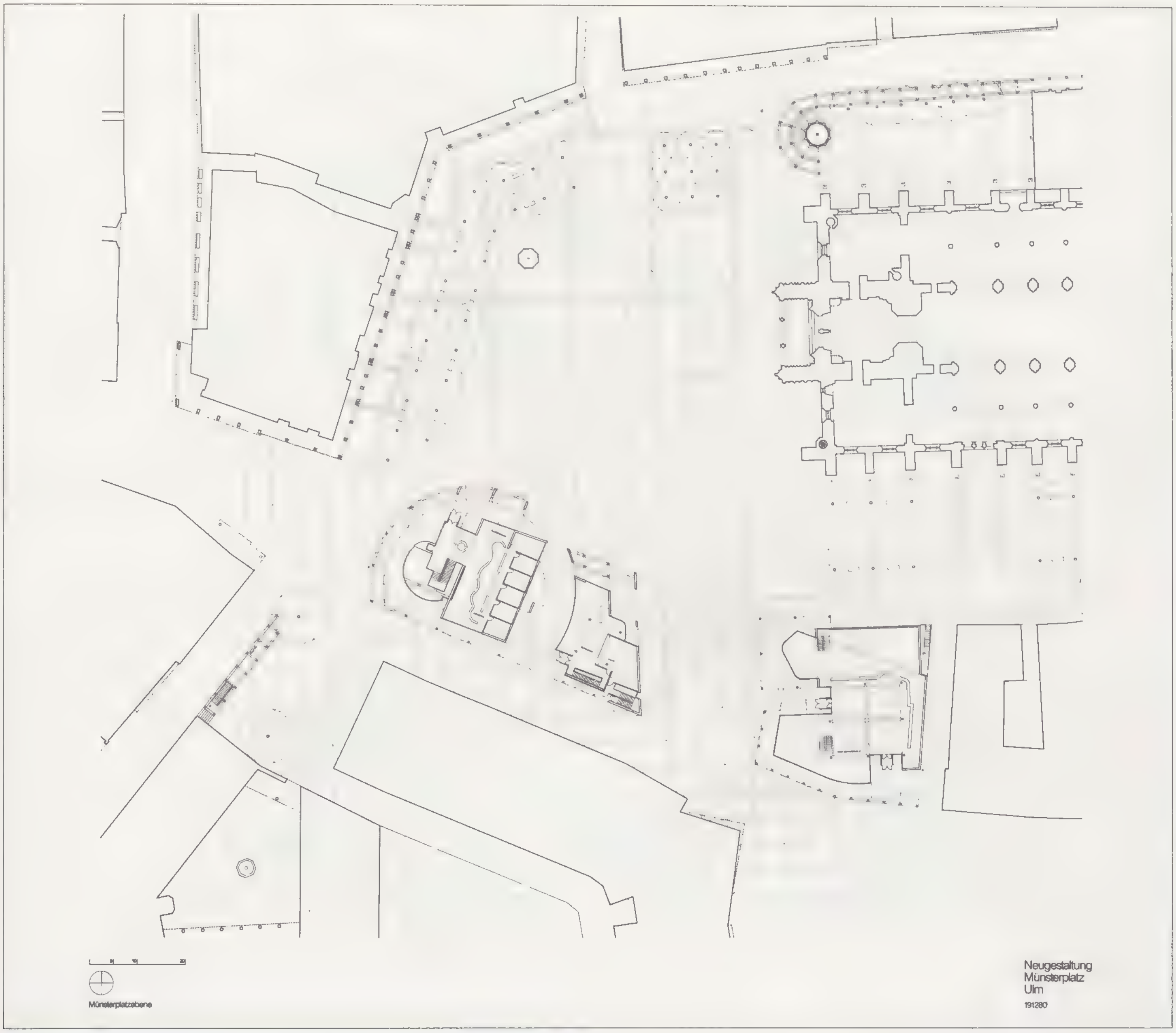


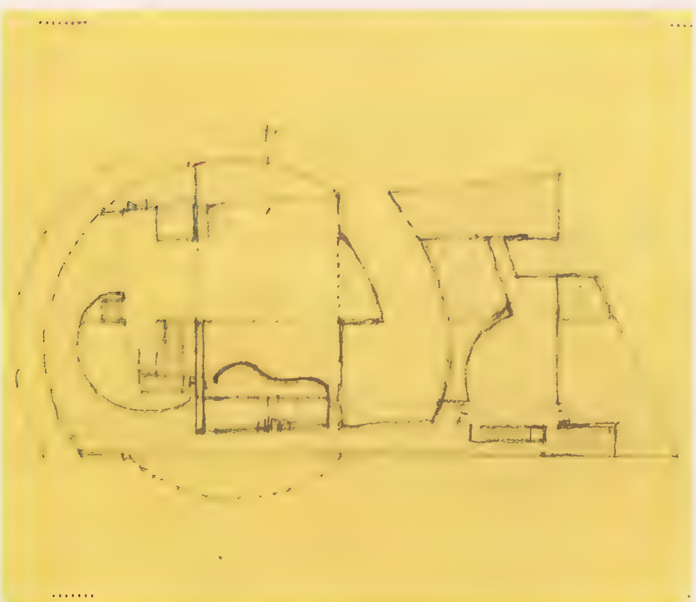


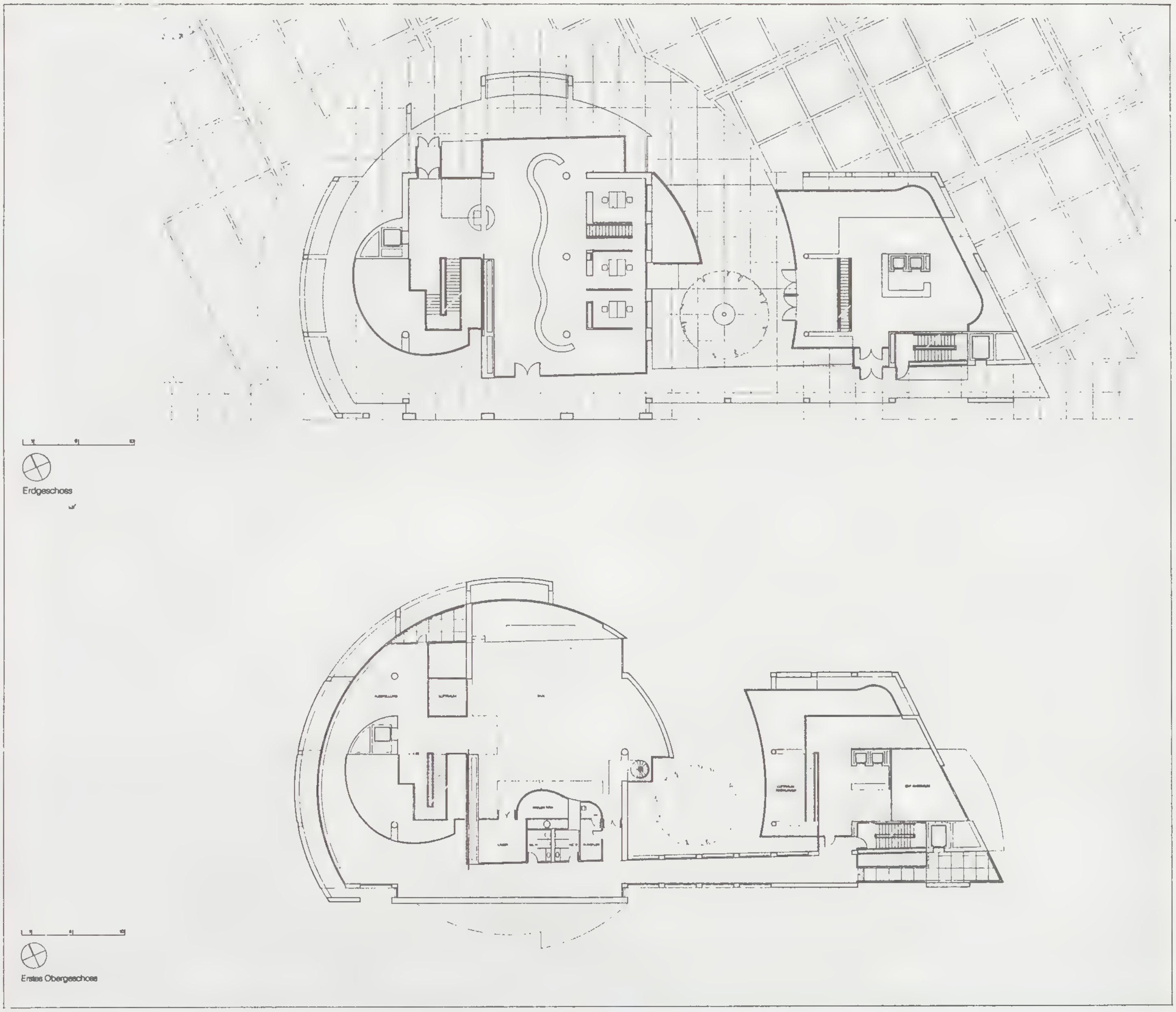
Vista del modello del precedente progetto di concorso nel contesto urbano.
Foto W. Hoyt/Esto.
Planimetria generale e schizzi di studio delle piante.

View of the earlier competition project model in its urban context.
Photo W. Hoyt/Esto.
General plan and study sketches of the plans.



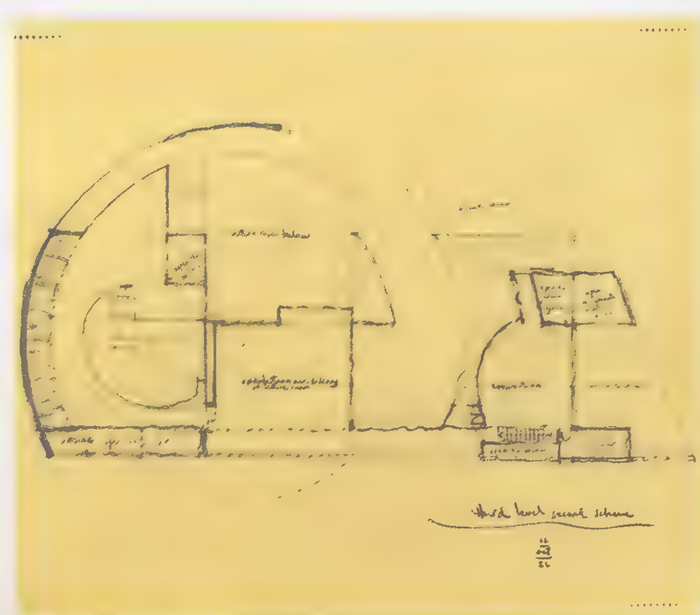

Münsterplatzebene
Neugestaltung
Münsterplatz
Ulm
191280

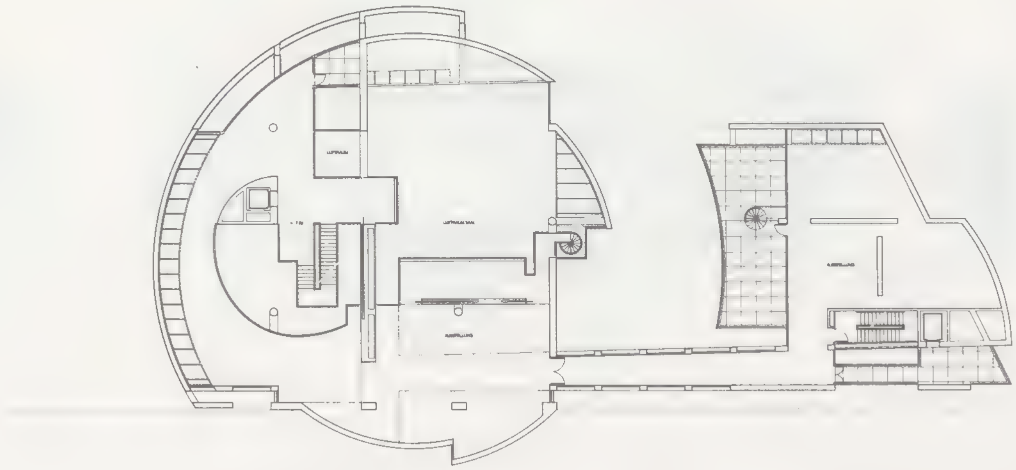




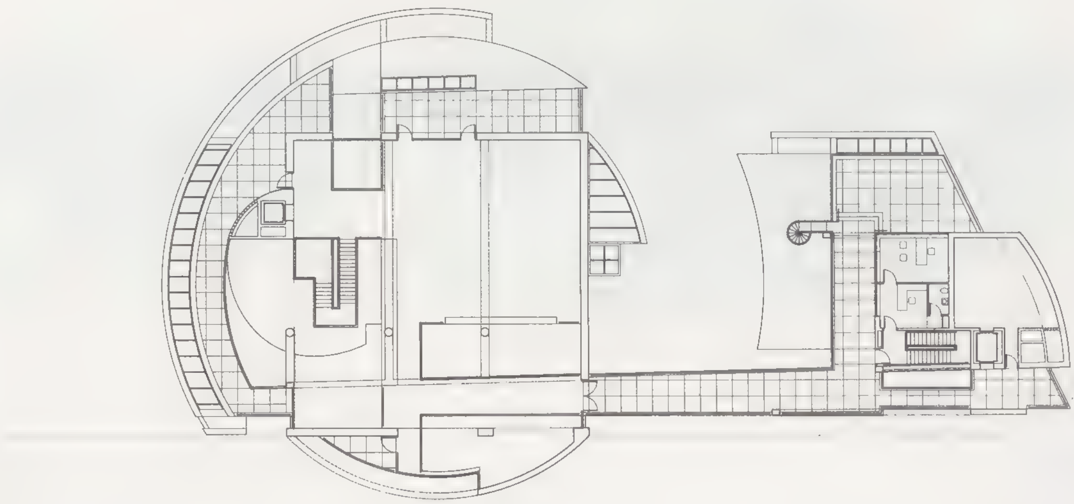
Piante dei piani terra, primo, secondo e terzo e schizzi di studio delle piante.

Plans of the ground, first, second, third floors and study sketches of the plans.

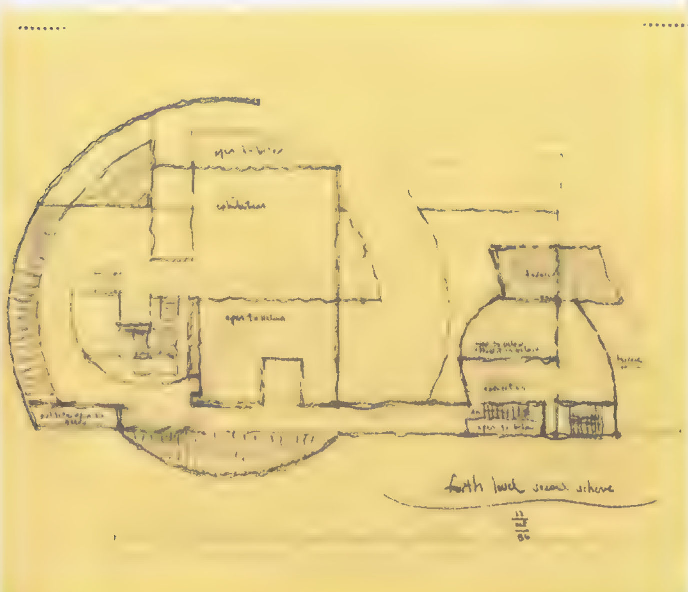


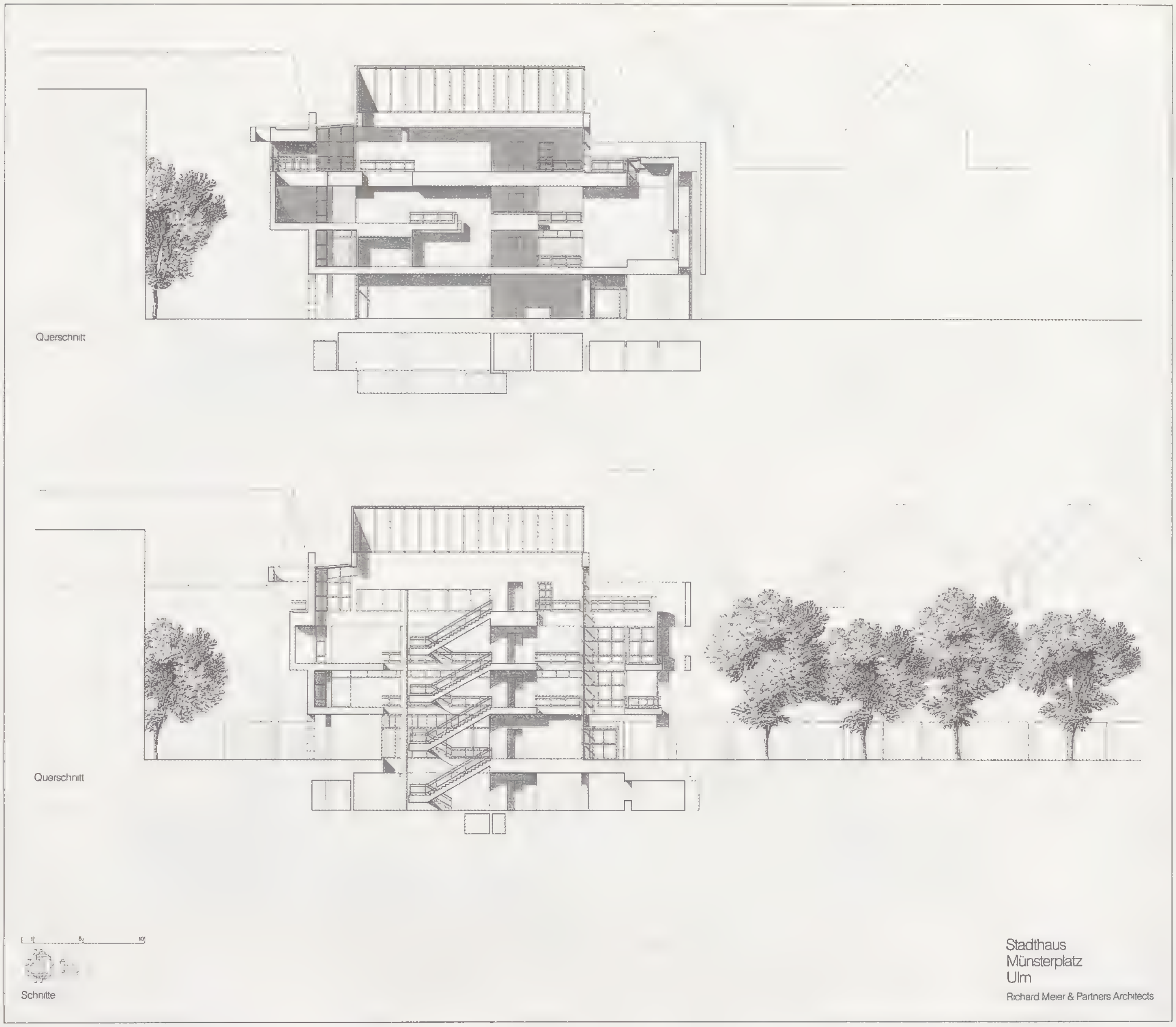


Zweites Obergeschoss



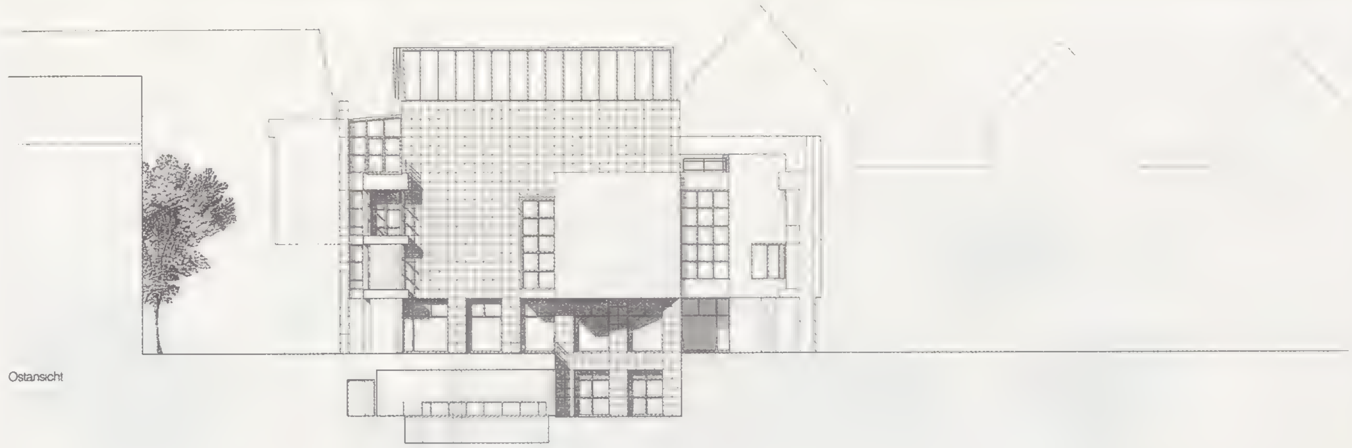
Drittes Obergeschoss



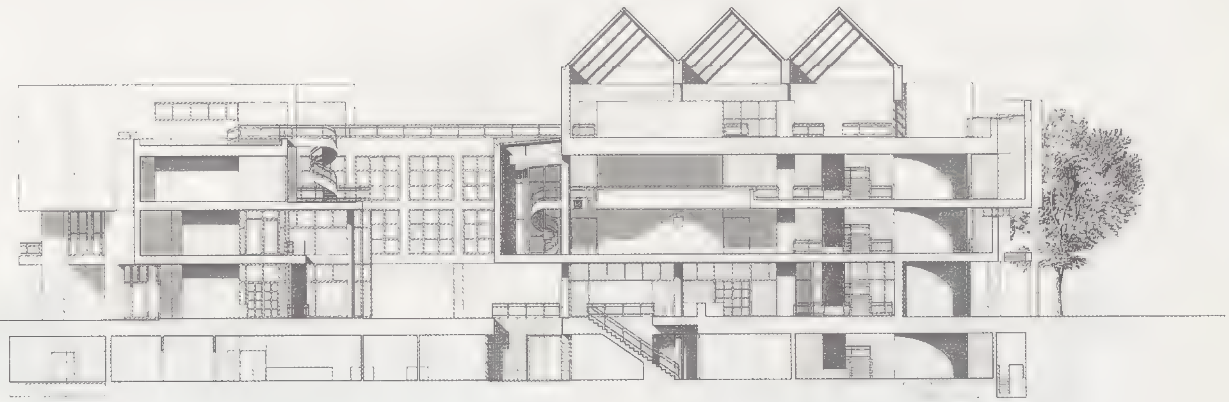


Sezioni trasversali e longitudinale.

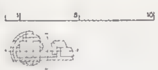
Cross sections and longitudinal section.



Ostansicht



Längsschnitt



Schnitte

Stadthaus
Münsterplatz
Ulm

Richard Meier & Partners Architects



Prospetti ovest, nord, est e sud.

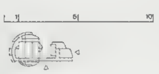
West, north, east and south elevations.



Ostansicht Münsterplatz



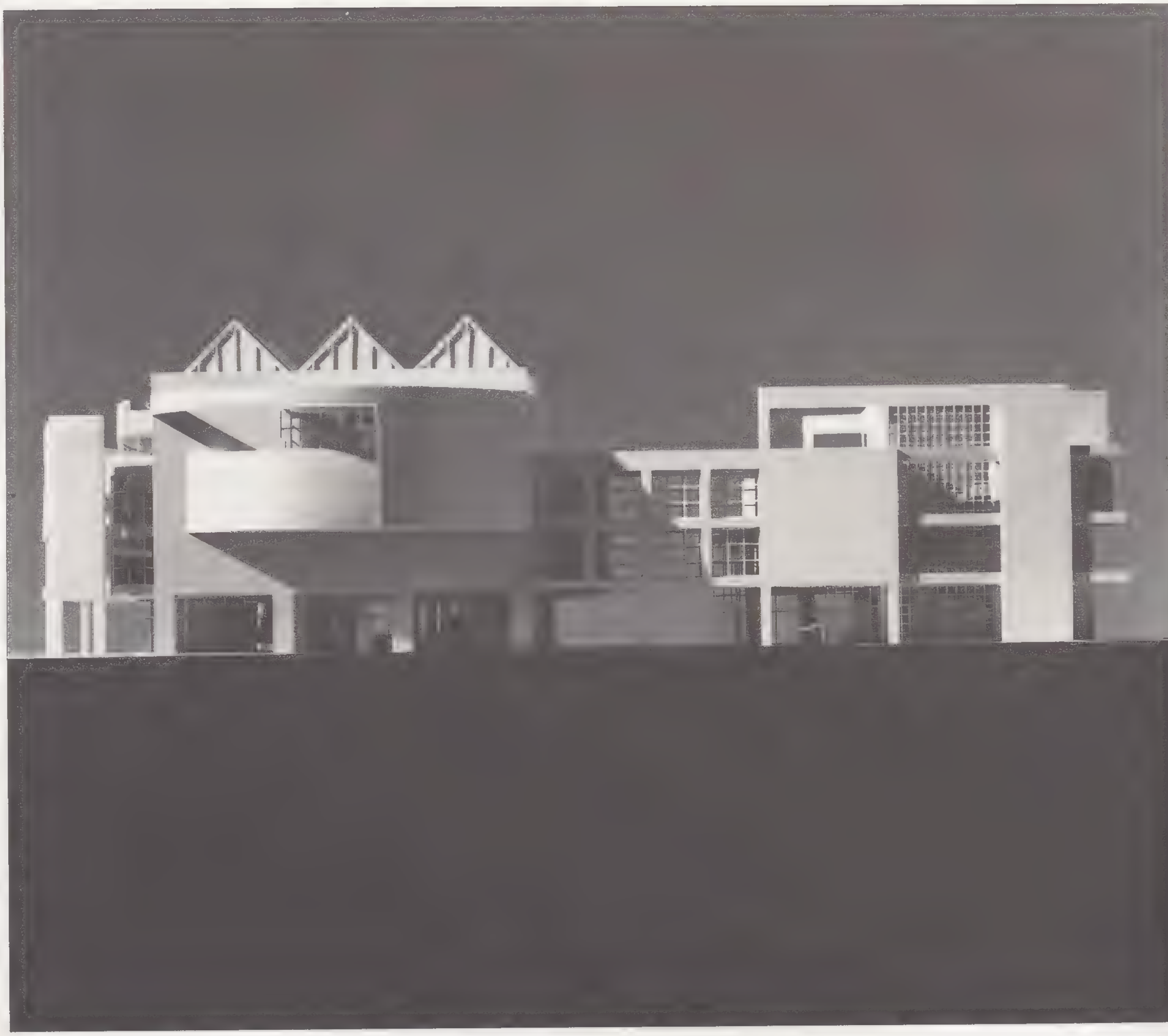
Ansicht Neue Strasse—Hirschstrasse



Ansichten

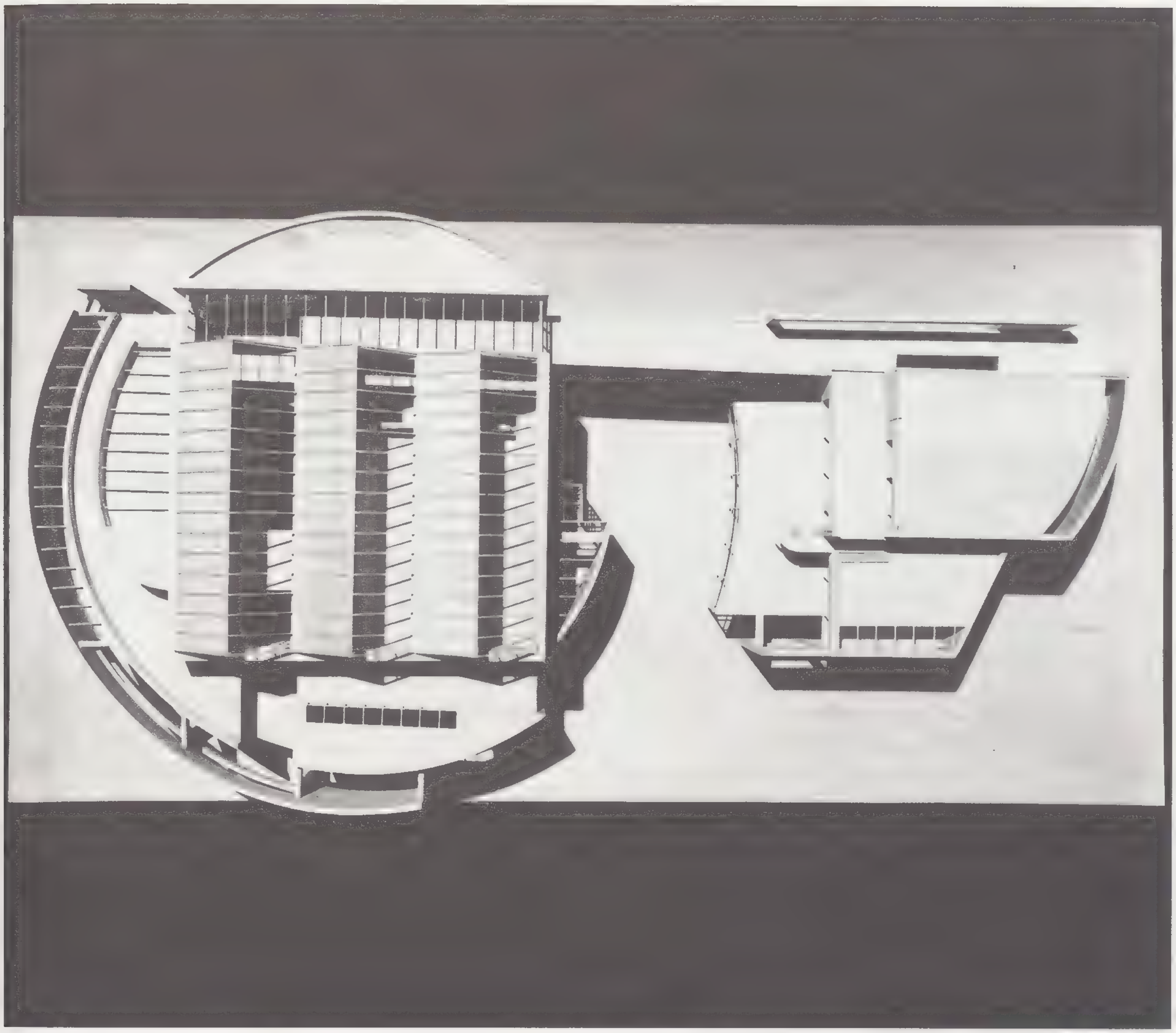
Stadthaus
Münsterplatz
Ulm

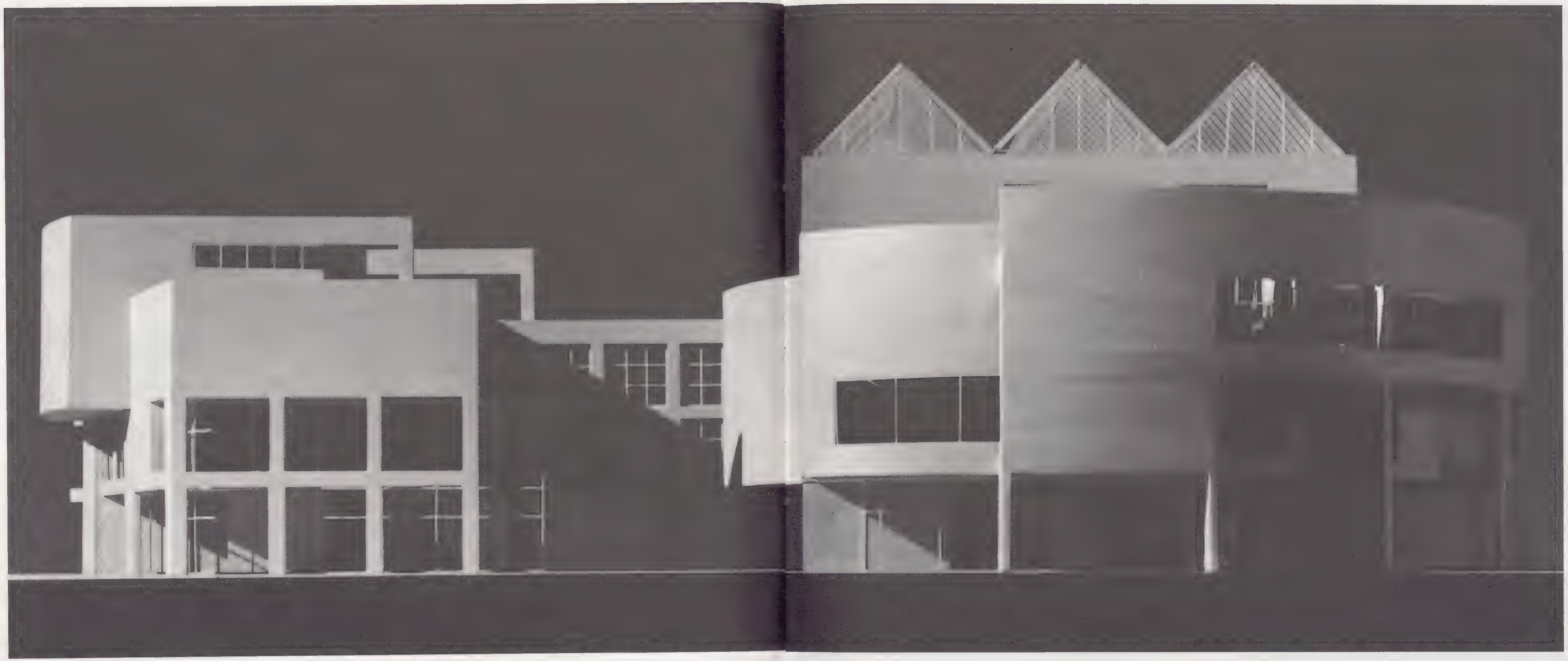
Richard Meier & Partners Architects



Vista del modello da sud e vista zenitale.
Foto P. Mauss/Esto.

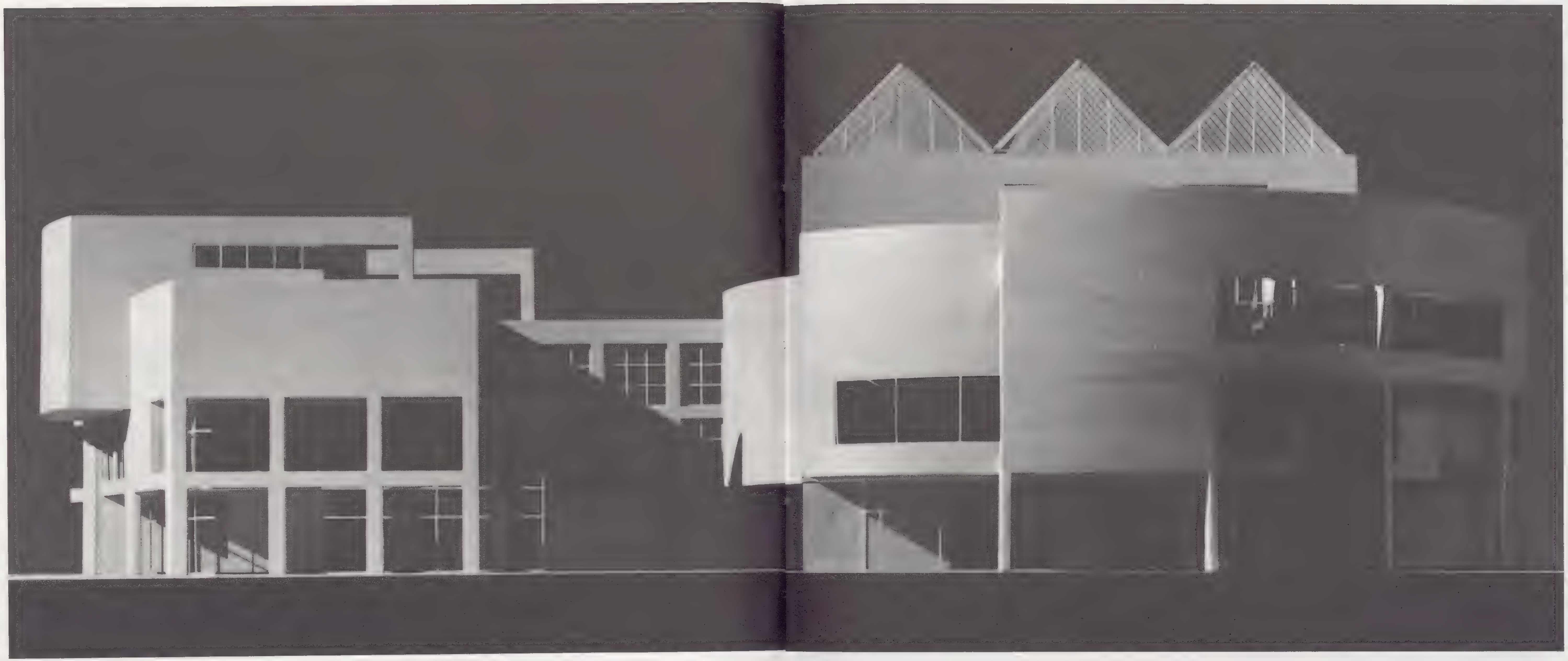
View of the model from the south and an overhead view
Photos P. Mauss/Esto.





Vista del modello da nord.
Foto P. Mauss/Esto.

View of the model from the north.
Photo P. Mauss/Esto.

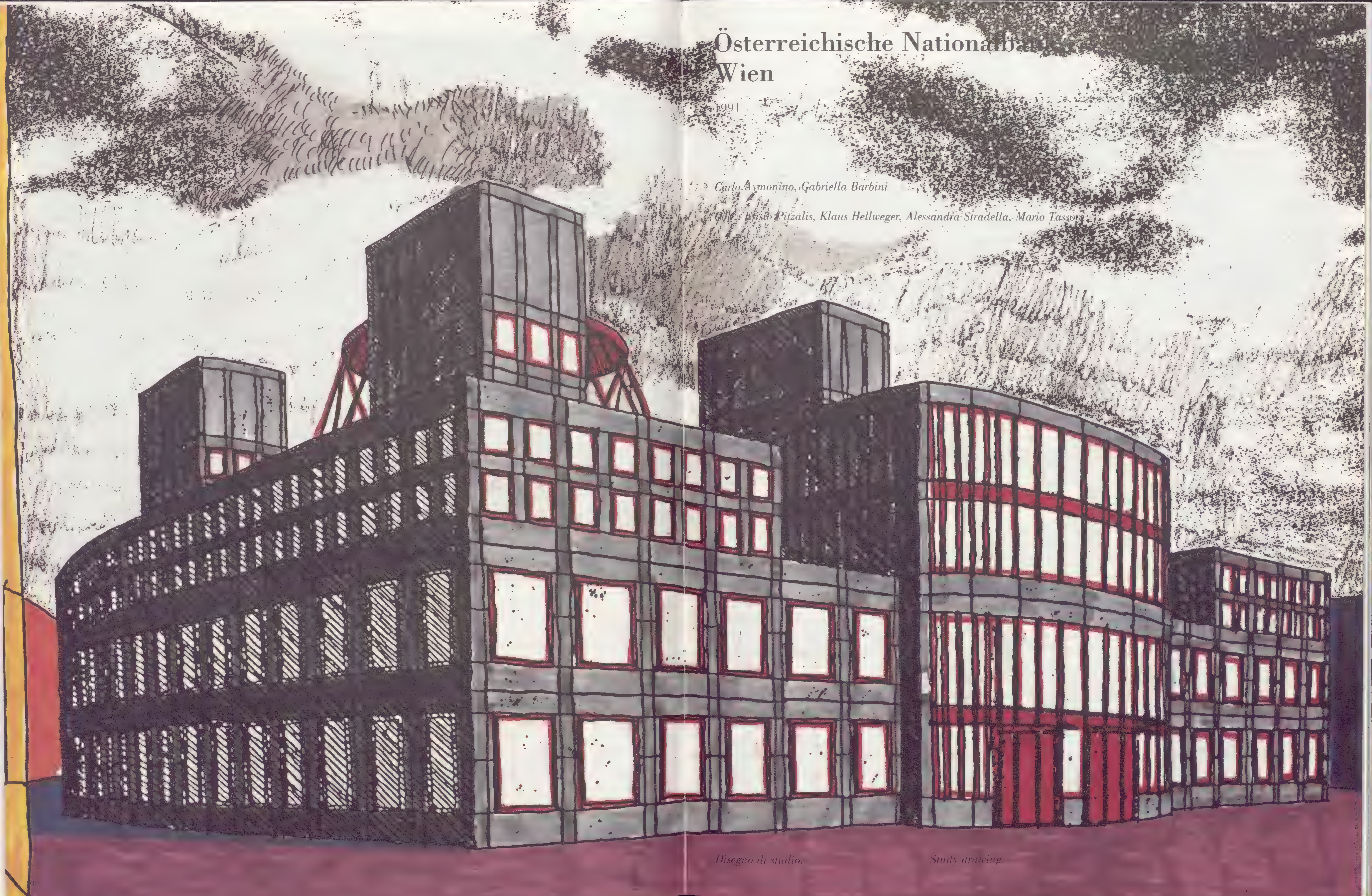


Vista del modello da nord.
Foto P. Mauss/Esto.

View of the model from the north.
Photo P. Mauss/Esto.

Österreichische Nationalbank Wien

1991



Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini

Coll.: Efisio Pitzalis, Klaus Hellweger, Alessandra Stradella, Mario Tassoni

Disegno di studio.

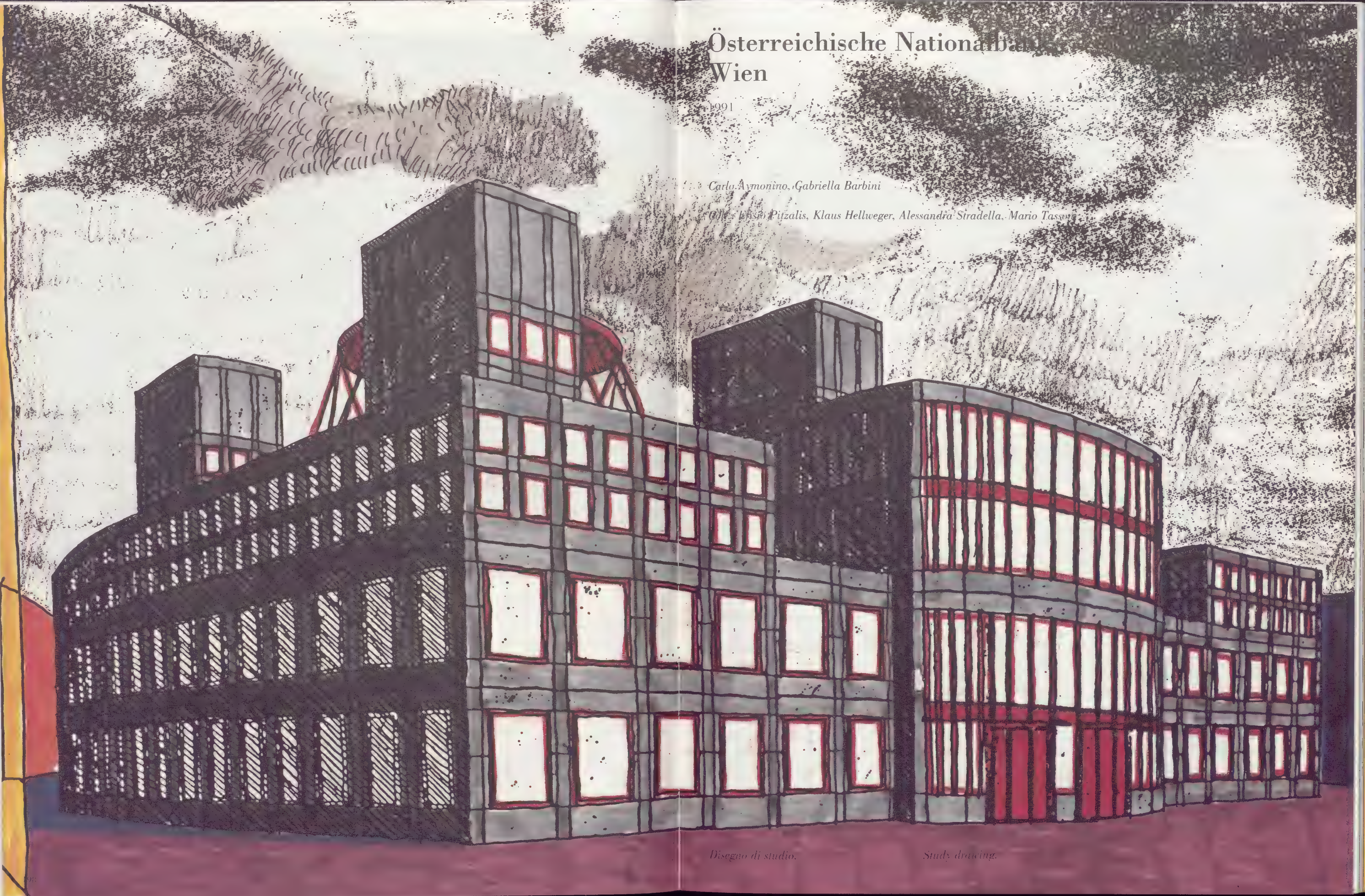
Study drawing.

Österreichische Nationalbank
Wien

1991

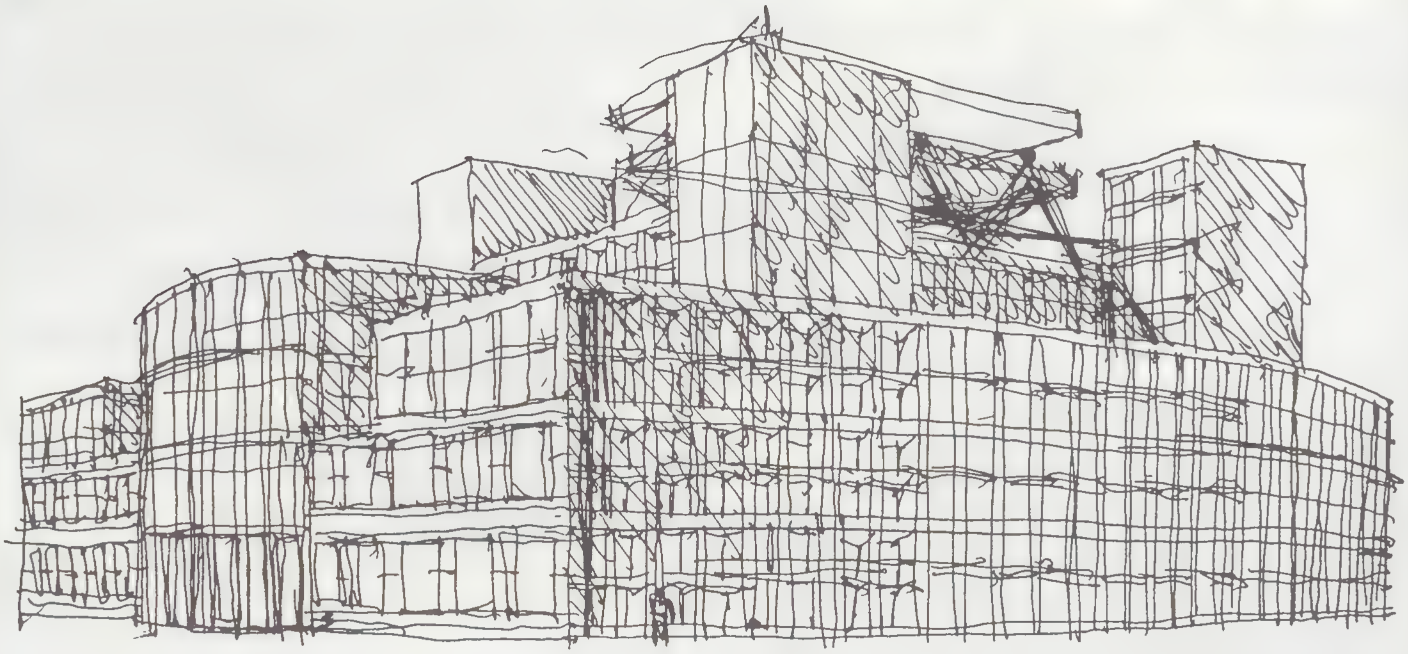
Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini

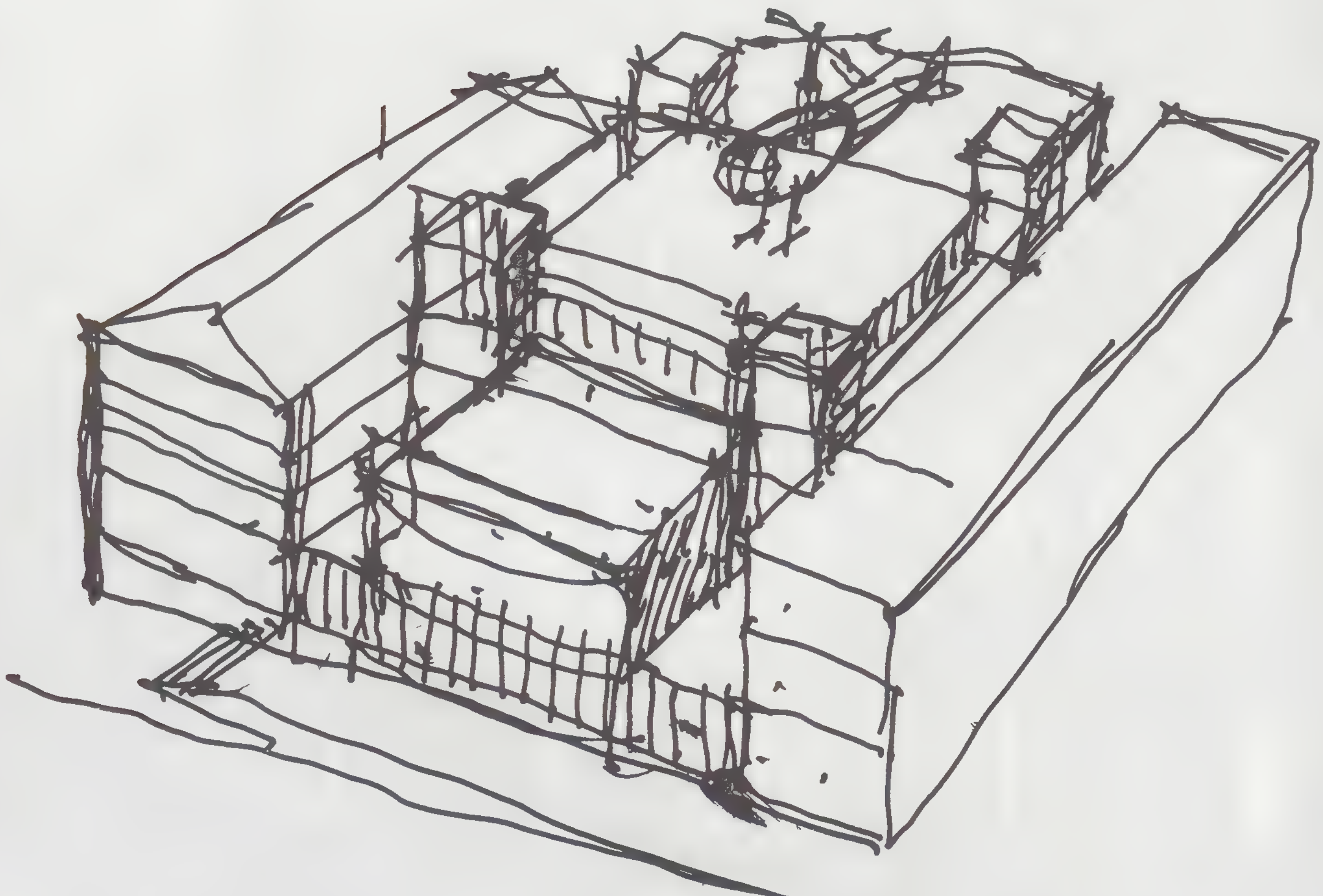
Coll.: Efisio Pitzalis, Klaus Hellweger, Alessandra Stradella, Mario Tassoni



Disegno di studio.

Study drawing.





Schizzi di studio.

Study sketches.

Nuova sede della Banca Nazionale Austriaca a Vienna
Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini

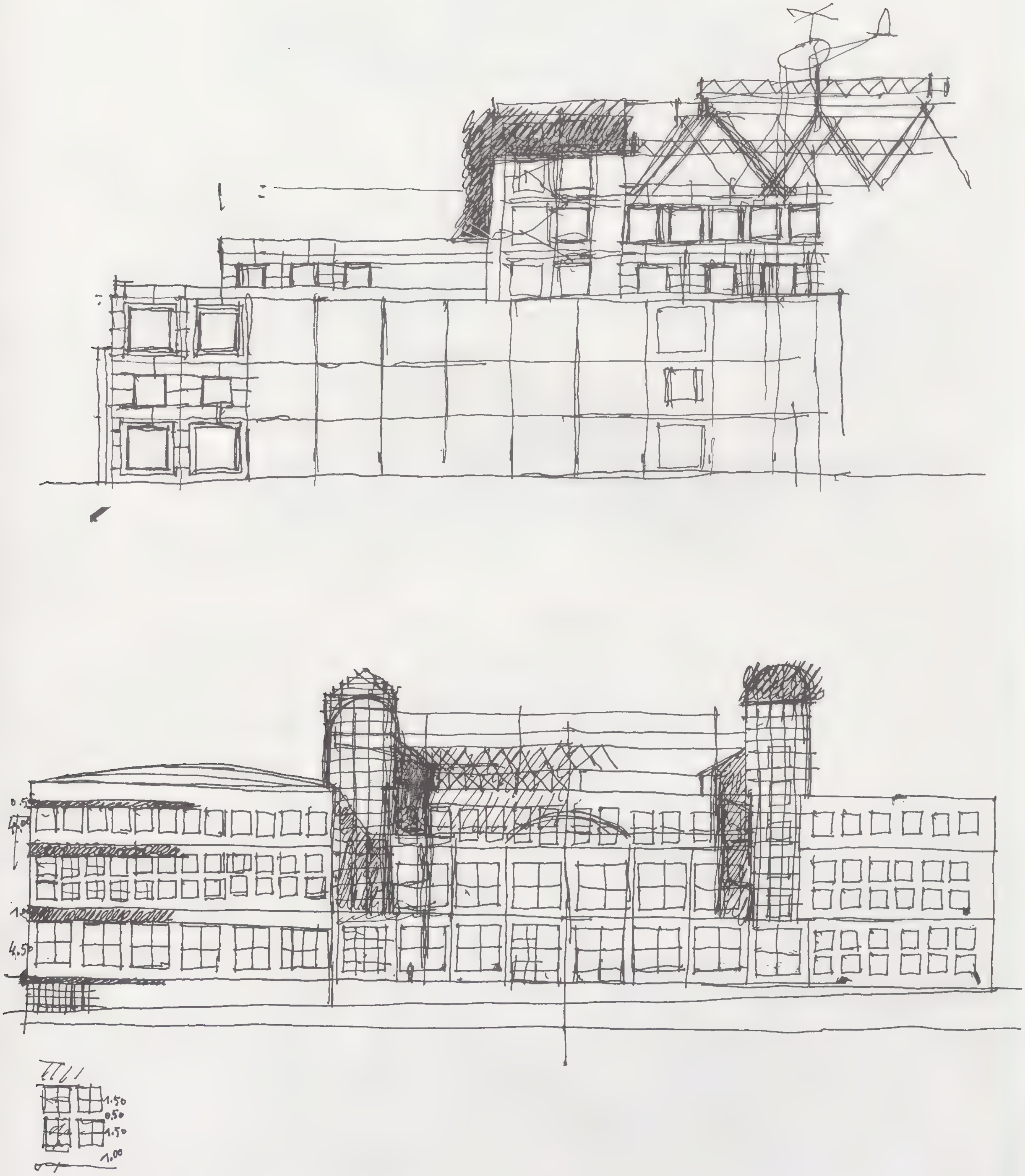
La nuova sede aggiunta della Österreichische Nationalbank è un edificio notevolmente articolato ma unitario, con pochi materiali — marmo, ferro e vetro — e pochissimi dettagli. Lo stesso inserimento dell'eliporto, pur differenziandosi notevolmente dal resto del fabbricato, fa tuttavia parte dell'insieme.
L'impianto generale è basato sulla doppia destinazione d'uso e cioè l'alta sicurezza e la sicurezza normale; entrambe con un unico ingresso dalla Garnisongasse, dal quale si suddividono dopo aver superato il primo controllo. Per il passaggio in alta sicurezza sono previsti ulteriori controlli, uno localizzato allo stesso piano terreno, un altro al primo piano sotterraneo. Quest'ultimo è situato prima degli spogliatoi dai quali si risale, in modo autonomo e indipendente, a tutte le destinazioni di alta sicurezza che non interferiscono mai con la sicurezza normale.
L'alta sicurezza è pertanto sempre autosufficiente, in verticale e in orizzontale: fatta eccezione per l'ingresso in comune e la cucina, i due sistemi sono completamente separati.
Nell'impianto distributivo si è ricorso il meno possibile all'uso dei corridoi, preferendo servire direttamente dai corpi scala i diversi locali dotati di un'autonoma distribuzione interna altamente flessibile e suscettibile di periodiche trasformazioni. Il limitato uso dei corridoi si rende necessario anche al fine di evitare possibili zone a rischio prive di un adeguato controllo.
Al primo piano un corridoio situato in zona di sicurezza normale si affaccia all'interno della sala di produzione e permette ad eventuali visitatori di seguire le varie fasi di lavorazione delle banconote senza che questi possano mai penetrare nei locali ad alta sicurezza.
Tutti i locali che per necessità distributive sono situati all'interno dell'edificio, privi di luce naturale, sono perloppiù adibiti a locali tecnici, archivi, depositi o specifici locali di lavoro, utilizzati per brevi periodi di tempo nell'arco della giornata.
I collegamenti verticali che si dipartono dal *caveau* sono tutti situati in una posizione centrale. In altezza essi non superano mai il secondo piano e al posto di uno di essi, tra il secondo e il terzo livello, è alloggiato un montacarichi ad uso specifico per la tipografia interna. Un altro montacarichi ad uso specifico, situato sul perimetro esterno dell'edificio, consente la rapida evacuazione dei rifiuti prodotti nei livelli sotterranei.
L'accesso veicolare è previsto sulla Garnisongasse in prossimità dell'angolo sud dell'edificio, così da consentire una più agevole circolazione degli automezzi provenienti dalle due contrarie direzioni. La circolazione automobilistica avviene in un'unica direzione in senso orario. Nell'angolo nord sulla Garnisongasse è disposta l'uscita ben visibile dalla zona di controllo.
Nella parte posteriore dell'edificio è possibile prevedere

New Head Offices for the Austrian National Bank, Vienna
Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini

The new headquarters of the Österreichische Nationalbank (Austrian National Bank) is an extraordinarly complex but unified building with few materials — marble, iron and glass — and even fewer details. Even the additional heliport, although strongly differentiated from the rest of the building, is an integral part of the total ensemble.
The general layout fulfils the dual function of providing high security and normal security areas inside the same building, with both sharing the same Garnisongasse entrance before they separate after an initial security control area.
The high security route has further check points, one on the ground floor itself and another on the first underground level before the changing rooms from which there is then independent access to all the high security areas which never overlap with other normal security areas.
So the high security area is totally self-sufficient both horizontally and vertically. Apart from the shared entrance and the kitchen, the two systems are completely separate.
Corridors have been used as little as possible in the spatial layout. Staircases lead directly to a variety of rooms with their own independent and highly flexible internal layouts that can be altered as often as required. Limiting the use of corridors was also a way of avoiding inadeguately controlled high-risk areas inside the building.
On the first floor a normal security corridor flanks the production room and allows visitors to observe the various phases in bank-note production without having access to the high security rooms.
All the rooms that had to be situated inside the building for reasons of spatial organisation receive no natural light and serve as installations rooms, archives, store rooms or other kinds of working environment that need to be used for only short periods during the day.
The internal printing works of the bank has its own high-speed "security airlock" — two facing doors which give access to the stair circulation of the two systems, but never both at the same time. The stairs and lifts that leave the "vault" are all centrally located and never go above the second floor. Between the second and third floors a goods lift has been installed in one of the wells for the exclusive use of the print works. Another special purpose goods lift on the outer perimeter of the building allows refuse from the underground levels to be removed quickly from the building. The main access doors to the building also serve as emergency exits, as well as two large doors in the machine room, again on the ground floor. The heliport deck which can easily be reached from the four stair wells, all with fire doors, offers another emergency exit.
Vehicle access is provided in the Garnisongasse near the south corner of the building to allow traffic coming in both directions to circulate more easily.
Inside the building traffic circulates clockwise in one

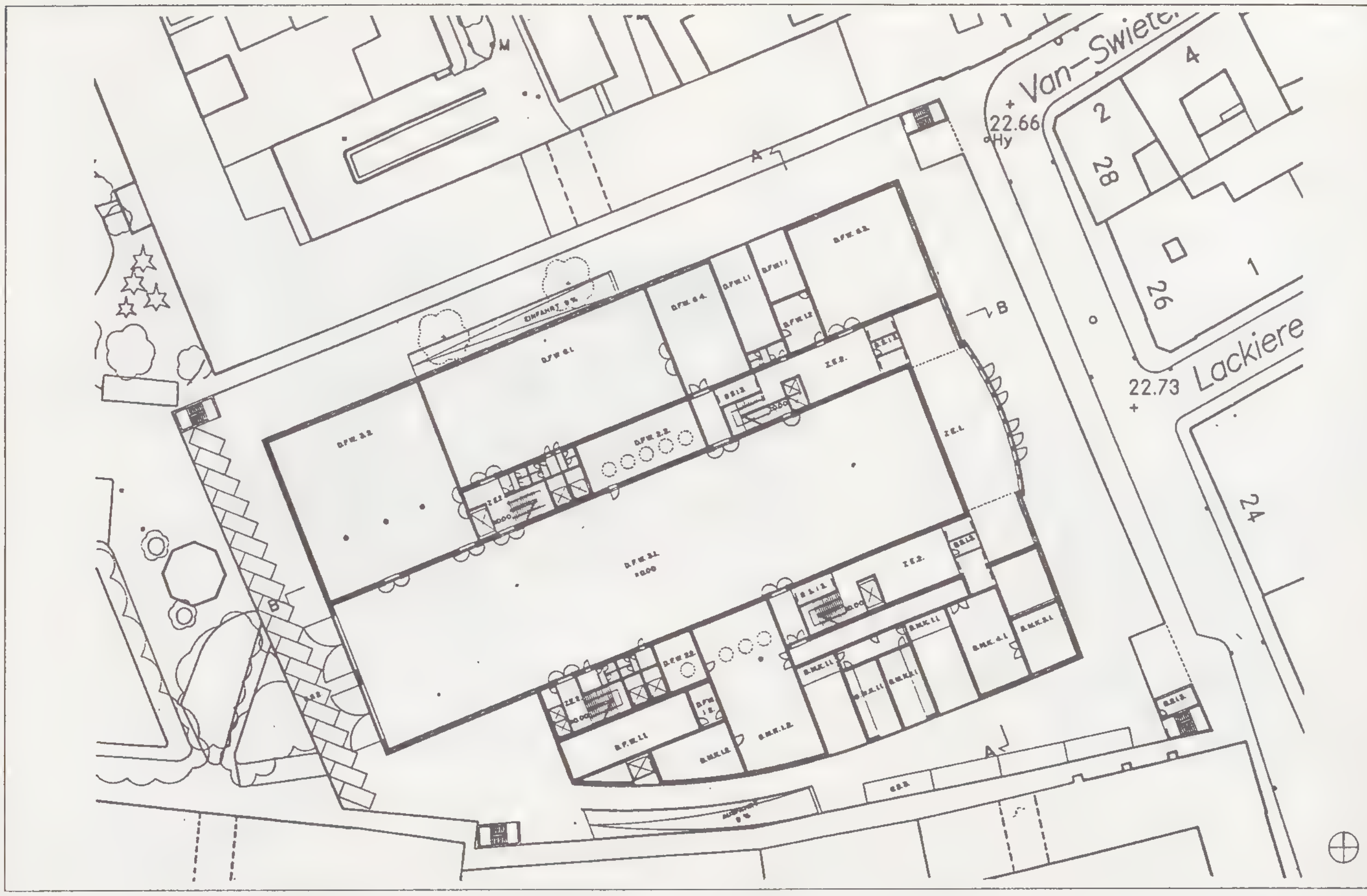
circa 20 posti auto che, all'occorrenza, possono aumentare sfruttando l'ampio spazio antistante l'ingresso principale. Immessi nel circuito veicolare interno alla banca è inoltre possibile accedere ai parcheggi sotterranei attraverso una rampa dalla pendenza non superiore al 9%. I parcheggi comprendono circa 200 posti auto, sistemati su tre livelli corrispondenti ai due piani sotterranei della banca.
Al terzo livello sotterraneo si trova esclusivamente il collegamento con l'edificio di rappresentanza. Due varchi distinti separano immediatamente le zone di alta e normale sicurezza.
Al piano terreno sono interamente localizzati i box della D.F.W. e B.M.K. (tipografia titoli e cassa banconote e monete): quelli ad alta sicurezza, compresi i rispettivi posti d'attesa, sono in prossimità del controllo d'accesso, mentre quelli a sicurezza normale sono sul lato opposto. Gli automezzi di grandi dimensioni raggiungono un apposito box, situato anch'esso in un punto facilmente visibile dal controllo. Inoltre, tali mezzi si introducono all'interno del box in retromarcia così da evitare complicate manovre, consentire un più rapido scarico merci e un'agevole ripresa del percorso di uscita.
L'intero edificio è meccanizzato, in particolare nel sistema di finestrature. Queste infatti, non solo sono interamente automatiche, ma sono altamente differenziate a seconda dell'esposizione alla luce.
Gli infissi sono di massima sicurezza e doppi: ciò consente di realizzare all'interno della camera d'aria tutti quei dispositivi adatti ad ottenere una luce costante e uniforme. Da qui anche la limitazione delle due aperture *standard*: i grandi finestroni di tutti i reparti tecnici e la quadrifora di tutti gli uffici. I quattro prospetti infatti, pur omogenei nel trattamento materico, presentano alcune differenze nell'accostamento delle diverse aperture.
Il prospetto nord è caratterizzato, ai primi due piani, da un ritmo costante di ampie finestrature che consentono una migliore illuminazione naturale. Il prospetto sud è invece interamente traforato da bucature più minute in modo da schermare maggiormente l'intensità della luce. Il prospetto est, che in parte continua il ritmo delle finestrature situate a nord, presenta un corpo centrale arrotondato, completamente vetrato e scandito da ravvicinati elementi verticali entro cui si aprono le porte d'ingresso. Il prospetto ovest, ad eccezione dei grandi portali, è interamente privo di aperture, di cui rimane traccia attraverso la trama delle incisioni praticate sulla superficie marmorea.
Si è evitato ogni appiglio o cornice, in modo da confermare anche nei dettagli l'impianto generale. Solo al quarto piano è prevista — volendolo — una terrazza per parte in modo da consentire anche l'aria naturale alle due unità del ristoro.
Il rivestimento esterno è di marmo grigio venato entro il quale sono inseriti gli infissi in ferro brunito nelle due dimensioni *standard*.
L'eliporto infine è costituito da una piattaforma sospesa su tralicci metallici ed è collegato, mediante due opposte scale mobili, alle torri scala dell'edificio.

direction only, and the exit at the north corner on the Garnisongasse is clearly visible from the security control area. Parking space for twenty cars to the rear of the building can be supplemented when needed by the large space in front of the main entrance. The vehicle route inside the bank also gives access to the underground car parks via a ramp with a gradient that never exceeds 9%. The car parks take two hundred vehicles on three levels (corresponding to the two underground levels of the bank) on the perimeter at some distance from the perimeter of the bank building itself. There are emergency stairs as the four corners of the quadrilateral for rapid evacuation of the area to the streets outside.
The only direct link to the official normal security building is on the third underground level, where two separate corridors immediately separate off the high and normal security areas.
The D.F.W. and B.M.K. (the bank's bond printing and cash departments) garages are all on the ground floor, the high security garages with their waiting areas are near the access control post, while the normal security garages are on the opposite side. Large vehicles are directed to a special garage, again clearly visible from the control post, and have to reverse in to avoid awkward manoeuvring, facilitate rapid unloading and make it easier for drivers to rejoin the exit route.
The entire building is mechanised, most notably the windows which are not only fully automatic but also highly differentiated to cope best with the light they receive. They have high security double frames which allow all the equipment needed to guarantee constant uniform light to be mounted in the cavities. The two types of standard window opening in the building — the large windows in all the technical departments and the four-light windows in all the offices — seem limited by comparison.
The four fronts of the building, although made from the same materials, differ in the arrangement of their doors and windows.
The north front has a regular row of large windows on the first two floors to exploit natural light to the full, while the south front is perforated throughout with smaller openings offering greater protection from the sun. The east front continues the windowing of the north front but also has a rounded all-glass central block with closely drawn vertical elements between which the entrance doors are inserted. Apart from the large doorways, the east front has no openings whatever, although window traces have been etched in the marble surface.
Cornices and ledges have been totally avoided to keep the exterior consistent with the general plan down to the smallest detail. A terrace can be added to the fourth floor only if desired, partly to give the two canteens located there more fresh air.
The external cladding is grey veined marble with burnished iron window frames in two standard sizes.
Finally, the heliport consists of a platform suspended on metal trellises linked by two escalators at either corner to the stair towers of the building.

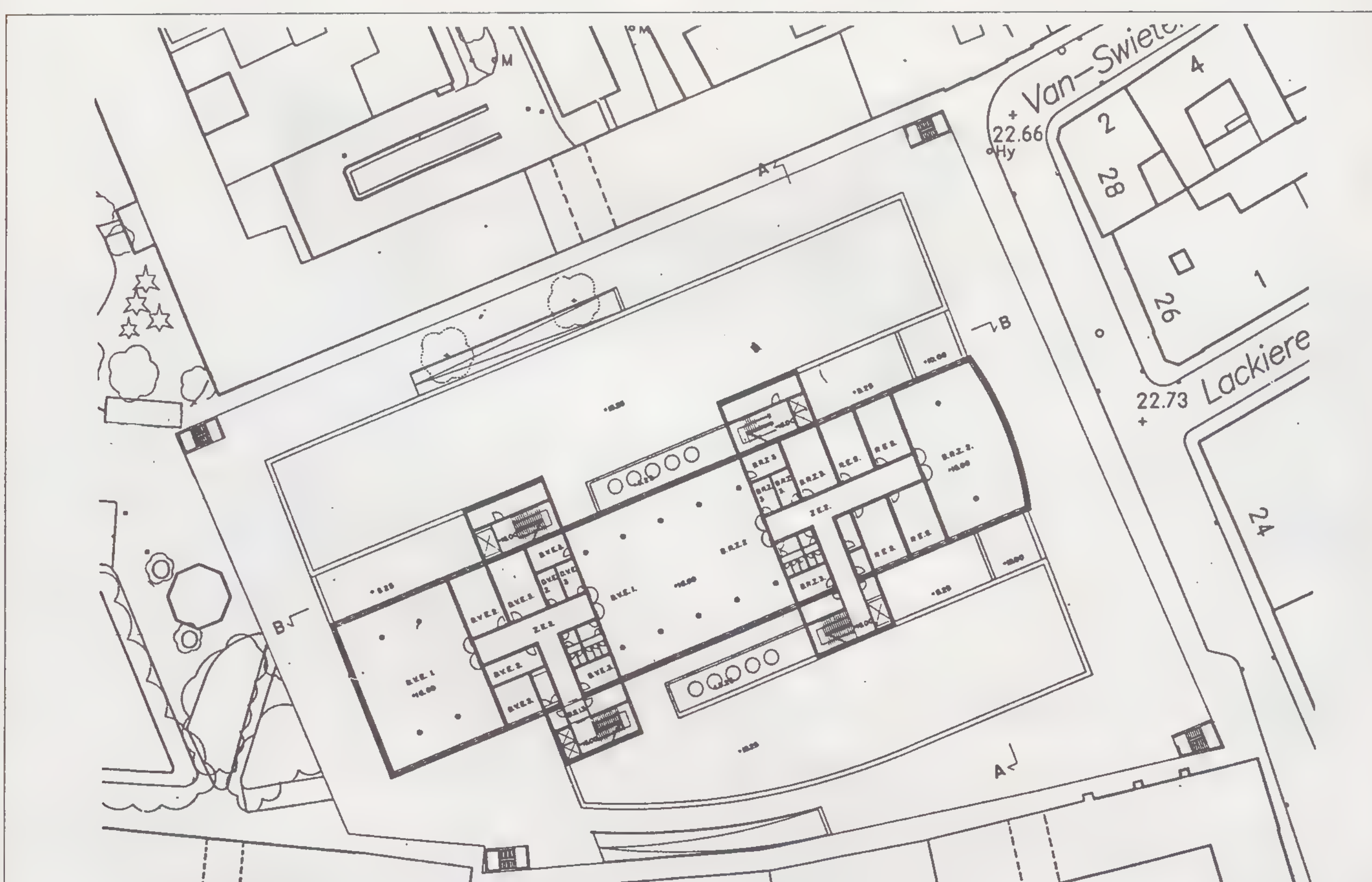


Schizzi di studio.

Study sketches.



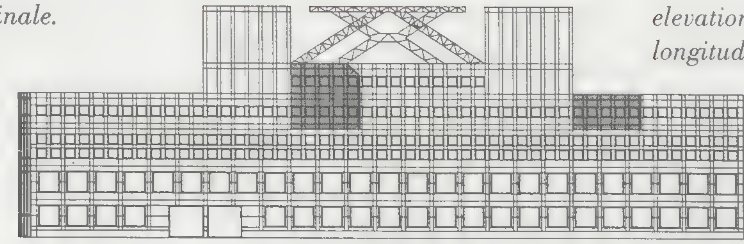
Van-Swiete
22.66
Hy
22.73
Lackiere



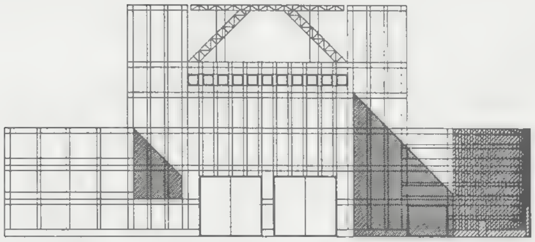
Van-Swiete
22.66
Hy
22.73
Lackiere

Piante dei piani terra e terzo, prospetti e sezioni trasversale e longitudinale.

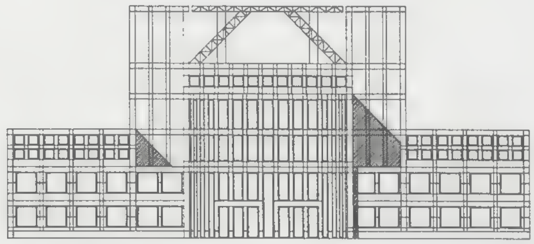
Plans of ground and third floors, elevations, cross section and longitudinal section.



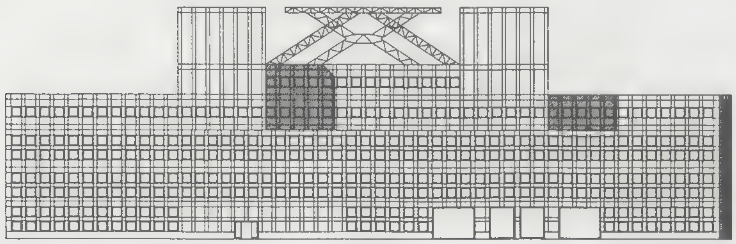
ANSICHT NORDEN



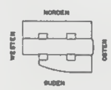
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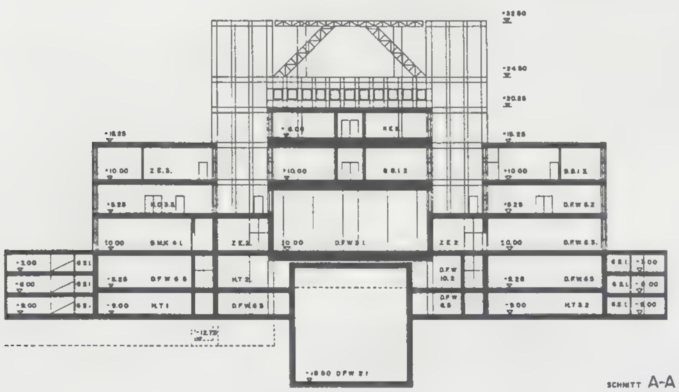


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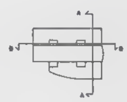


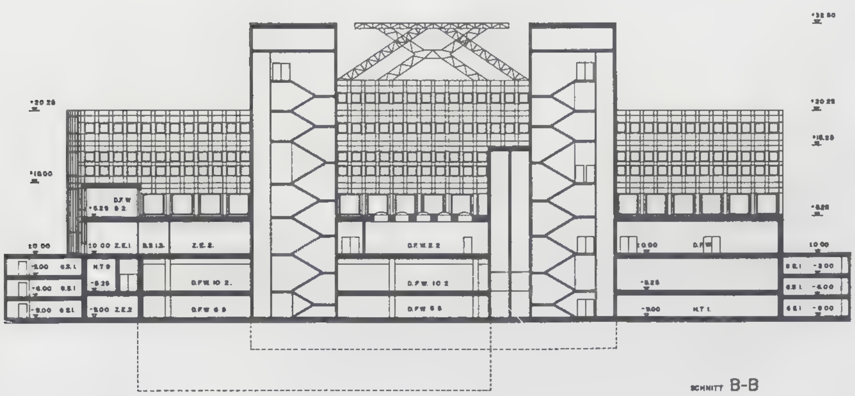
ANSICHT SUDEN





SCHNITT A-A



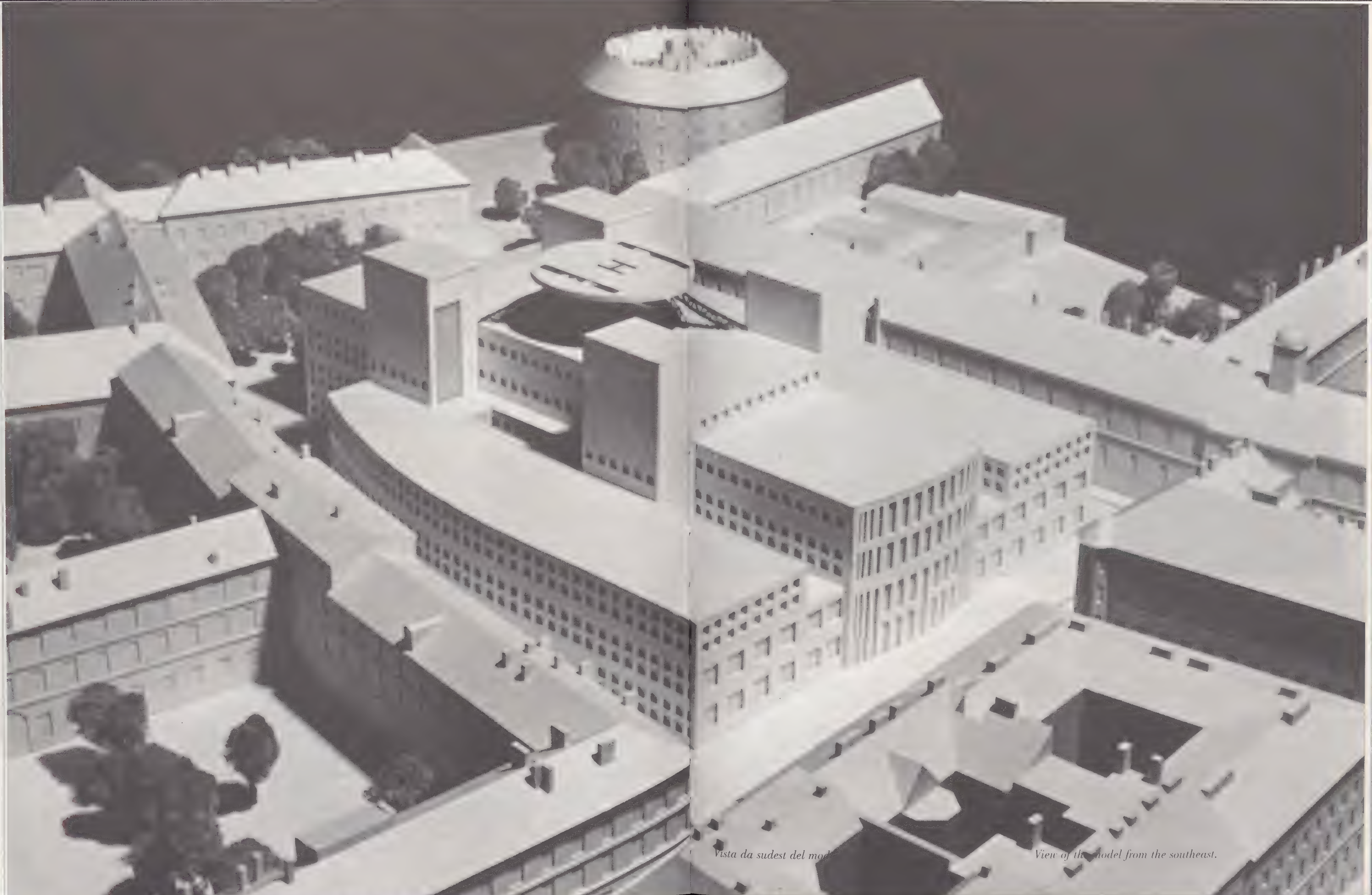


SCHNITT B-B



Vista da sudest del mod

View of th model from the southeast.



Vista da sudest del modello. *View of the model from the southeast.*



Vista da sud.
Foto D. Leistner.

View from the south.
Photo D. Leistner.

Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland

1987-1992

Gottfried Böhm

con/with: Bernd Hellriegel
Coll.: Franz Kilian, Klaus Bölkow, Stefan Abelen, Beate Morgner
Realizzazione delle decorazioni del pavimento/Floor decoration realized by: Heymann/Duteil



Vista da sud.
Foto D. Leistner.

View from the south.
Photo D. Leistner.

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Il nuovo Municipio del Distretto di Kalk a Colonia, Germania
Gottfried Böhm

Il sito
Nei testi di storia, Kalk viene citata come "Villa Kalka" già nel 1003. Tuttavia il piccolo villaggio idilliaco di Kalk è diventato città soltanto nel 1870 circa, con insediamenti industriali. Nel 1910 è stata incorporata nel territorio di Colonia, dopo che a seguito dello smantellamento delle mura medievali la città si era estesa a destra del Reno. Il vecchio municipio lungo la Kalker Hauptstraße, di fronte all'attuale sito, è stato mantenuto come sede amministrativa. Con la riforma del territorio comunale del 1975, Colonia è stata divisa in 9 Distretti civici, ciascuno con propria rappresentanza eletta ogni 5 anni nelle elezioni comunali. Uno di questi è Kalk. A metà degli anni Ottanta è stato scelto il sito centrale per il nuovo municipio di Distretto lungo la Kalker Hauptstraße, in corrispondenza del collegamento con la rete degli autobus e della metropolitana.

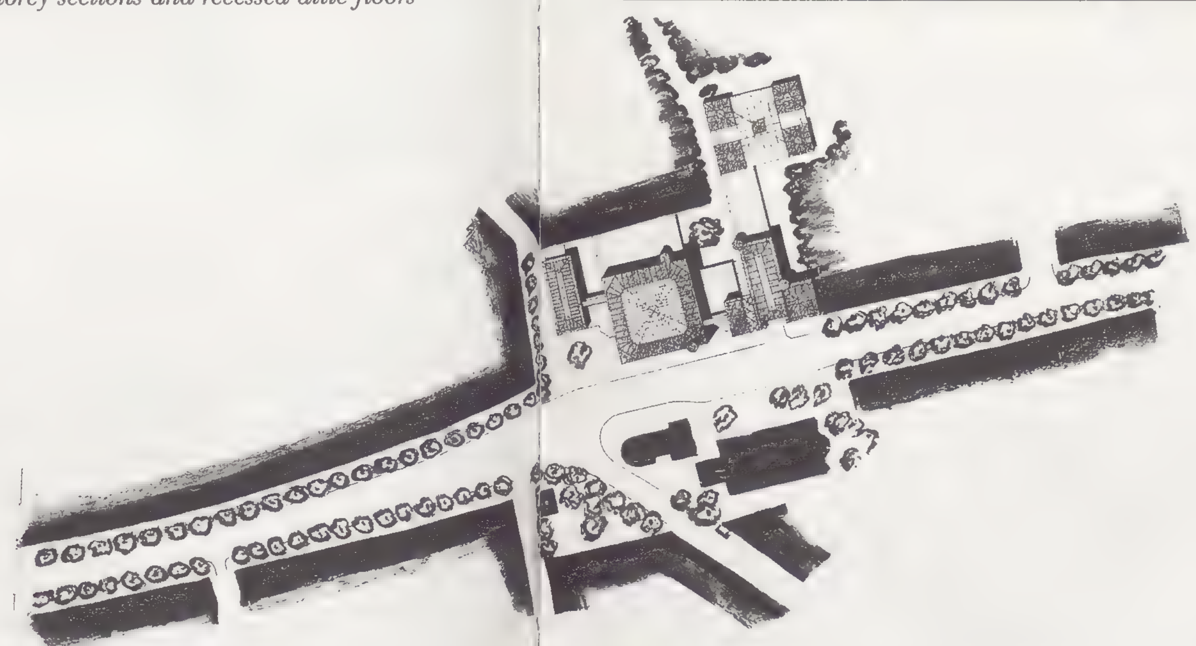
Il programma urbanistico
Il sito — nel punto in cui la Kalker Hauptstraße, una vecchia strada di pellegrinaggio, incrocia la Steprathstraße e la Kapellenstraße di fronte alla Kalker Kapelle con la Marien-Kirche — era particolarmente idoneo per la realizzazione di un *ensemble* urbanistico nella zona centrale del Distretto. Il complesso del Municipio, formato da più corpi, si presenta come un ampliamento della piazza sulla quale affaccia la nuova uscita della metropolitana, recentemente spostata. I corpi laterali riprendono l'altezza degli edifici attigui; mentre il corpo principale, di pianta quadrata, con la copertura a piramide vetrata e la scala a chiocciola prominente sulla strada, sottolinea l'importanza della presenza del Municipio.
La scelta dei materiali evidenzia la relazione dei diversi edifici con il contesto della piazza. Riprendendo la vicina

The New Town Hall in the Kalk District, Cologne, Germany
Gottfried Böhm

The site
In the history books Kalk is already called "Villa Kalka" by 1003, but the small idyllic village of Kalk became a town only around 1870 when factories and industries were built. Kalk became part of Cologne in 1910 when the city was extended to land right of the Rhine after the medieval walls had been demolished. The old town hall opposite the present site in the Kalker Hauptstraße has been kept as administrative offices. With the municipal land reform of 1975, Cologne was divided into nine municipal districts each with its own council elected every five years in municipal elections. Kalk is one of these districts. In the mid eighties a site for the new town hall was chosen on the Kalker Hauptstraße in the centre of the district with good bus and underground links.

The planning project
The site at the point where the Kalker Hauptstraße, an old pilgrim road, crosses the Steprathstraße and the Kapellenstraße opposite the Kalker Kapelle with the Marien-Kirche was especially suitable for a new planning ensemble in the centre of the district. The municipal complex consisting of several buildings was designed as an extension to the square where a new underground exit has recently been resited. The side buildings are the same height as the other adjacent buildings, while the square main building with a glass pyramid roof and a spiral staircase clearly visible from the road draws attention to the importance of the town hall complex.
Materials were chosen that would relate the new buildings to the rest of the square. The side buildings are in brick, like the nearby Marien-Kirche and chapel, while the main building, footbridges, single-storey sections and recessed attic floors





Assonometria e planimetria generale.

Axonometric and general plan.

Il nuovo Municipio del Distretto di Kalk a Colonia, Germania
Gottfried Böhm

Il sito
Nei testi di storia, Kalk viene citata come "Villa Kalka" già nel 1003. Tuttavia il piccolo villaggio idilliaco di Kalk è diventato città soltanto nel 1870 circa, con insediamenti industriali. Nel 1910 è stata incorporata nel territorio di Colonia, dopo che a seguito dello smantellamento delle mura medievali la città si era estesa a destra del Reno. Il vecchio municipio lungo la Kalker Hauptstraße, di fronte all'attuale sito, è stato mantenuto come sede amministrativa. Con la riforma del territorio comunale del 1975, Colonia è stata divisa in 9 Distretti civici, ciascuno con propria rappresentanza eletta ogni 5 anni nelle elezioni comunali. Uno di questi è Kalk. A metà degli anni Ottanta è stato scelto il sito centrale per il nuovo municipio di Distretto lungo la Kalker Hauptstraße, in corrispondenza del collegamento con la rete degli autobus e della metropolitana.

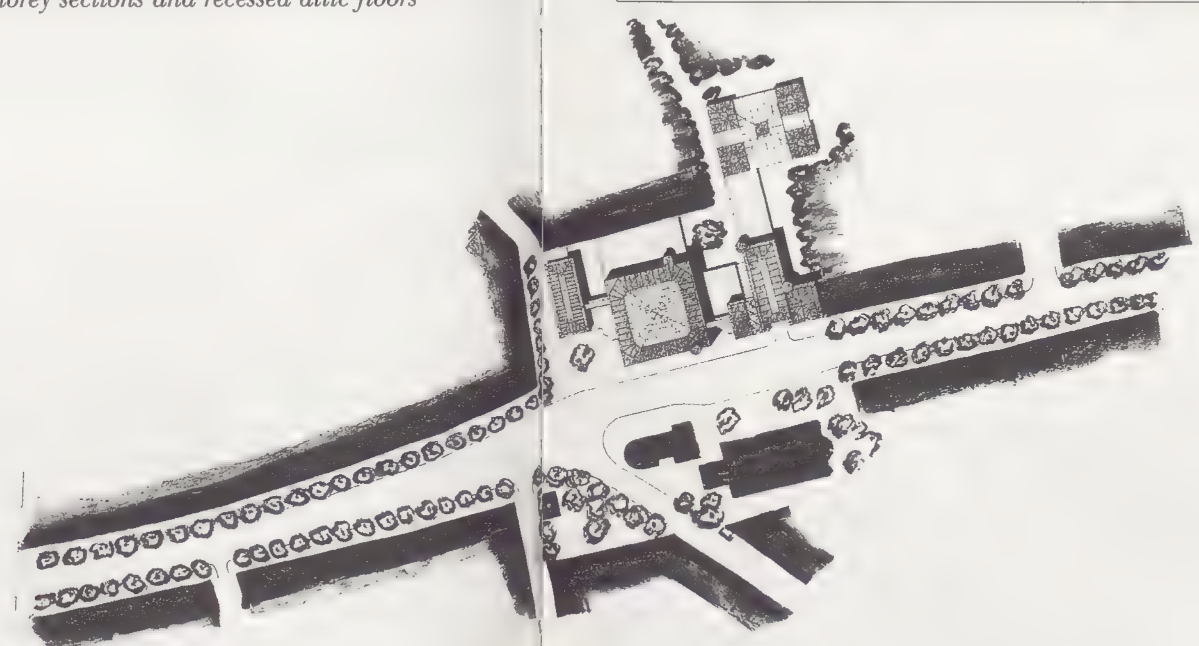
Il programma urbanistico
Il sito — nel punto in cui la Kalker Hauptstraße, una vecchia strada di pellegrinaggio, incrocia la Steprathstraße e la Kapellenstraße di fronte alla Kalker Kapelle con la Marien-Kirche — era particolarmente idoneo per la realizzazione di un *ensemble* urbanistico nella zona centrale del Distretto. Il complesso del Municipio, formato da più corpi, si presenta come un ampliamento della piazza sulla quale affaccia la nuova uscita della metropolitana, recentemente spostata. I corpi laterali riprendono l'altezza degli edifici attigui; mentre il corpo principale, di pianta quadrata, con la copertura a piramide vetrata e la scala a chiocciola prominente sulla strada, sottolinea l'importanza della presenza del Municipio.
La scelta dei materiali evidenzia la relazione dei diversi edifici con il contesto della piazza. Riprendendo la vicina

The New Town Hall in the Kalk District, Cologne, Germany
Gottfried Böhm

The site
In the history books Kalk is already called "Villa Kalka" by 1003, but the small idyllic village of Kalk became a town only around 1870 when factories and industries were built. Kalk became part of Cologne in 1910 when the city was extended to land right of the Rhine after the medieval walls had been demolished. The old town hall opposite the present site in the Kalker Hauptstraße has been kept as administrative offices. With the municipal land reform of 1975, Cologne was divided into nine municipal districts each with its own council elected every five years in municipal elections. Kalk is one of these districts. In the mid eighties a site for the new town hall was chosen on the Kalker Hauptstraße in the centre of the district with good bus and underground links.

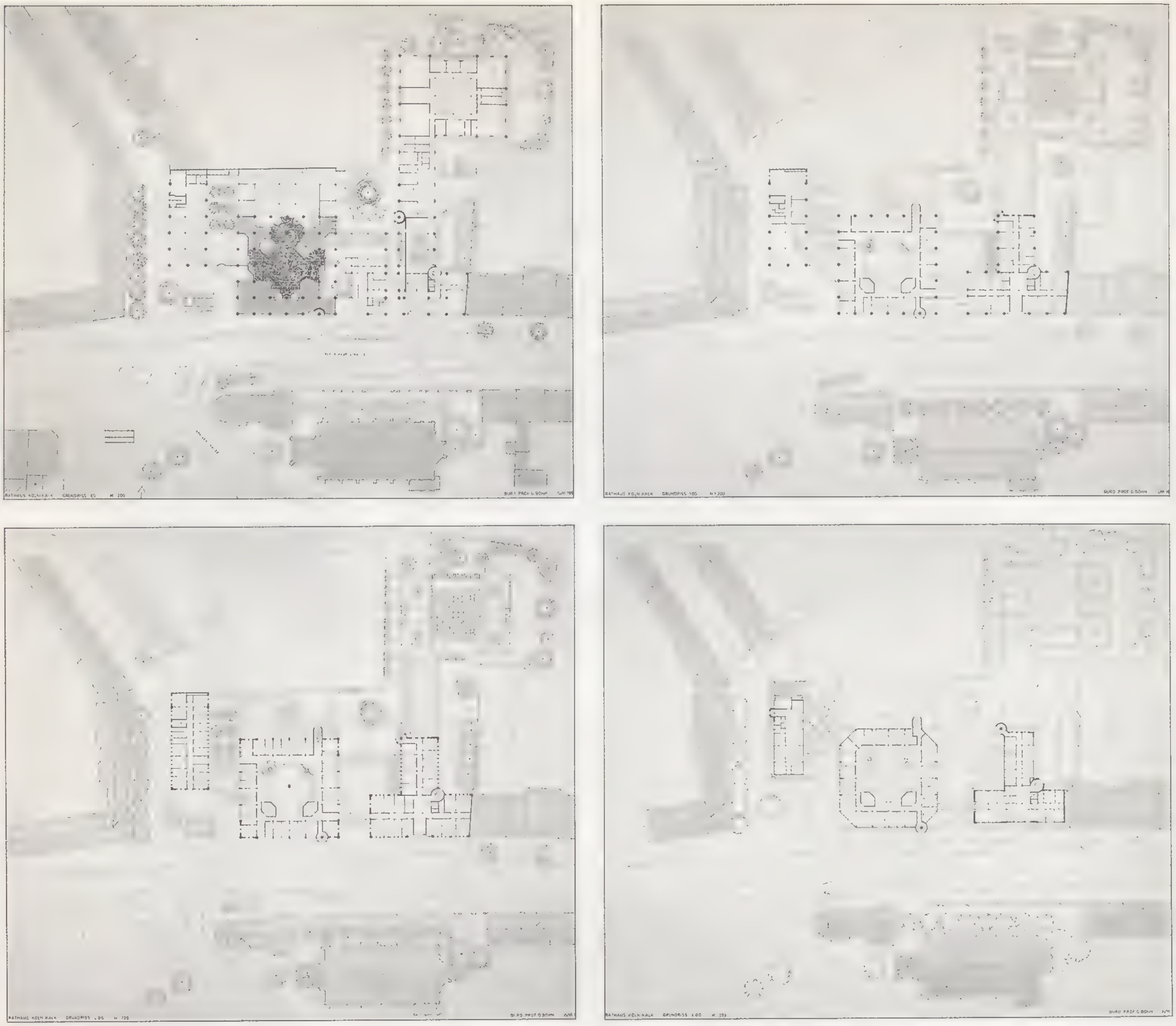
The planning project
The site at the point where the Kalker Hauptstraße, an old pilgrim road, crosses the Steprathstraße and the Kapellenstraße opposite the Kalker Kapelle with the Marien-Kirche was especially suitable for a new planning ensemble in the centre of the district. The municipal complex consisting of several buildings was designed as an extension to the square where a new underground exit has recently been resited. The side buildings are the same height as the other adjacent buildings, while the square main building with a glass pyramid roof and a spiral staircase clearly visible from the road draws attention to the importance of the town hall complex.
Materials were chosen that would relate the new buildings to the rest of the square. The side buildings are in brick, like the nearby Marien-Kirche and chapel, while the main building, footbridges, single-storey sections and recessed attic floors





Assonometria e planimetria generale.

Axonometric and general plan.



Piante dei piani terra, primo, secondo, quarto e sezione trasversale.

Plans of ground, first, second, fourth floors and cross section.

Marien-Kirche e la cappella, le parti laterali del Municipio sono in mattoni, mentre l'edificio principale, i ponti di collegamento, le parti ad un piano e i piani attici arretrati sono con facciata in ferro e vetro.

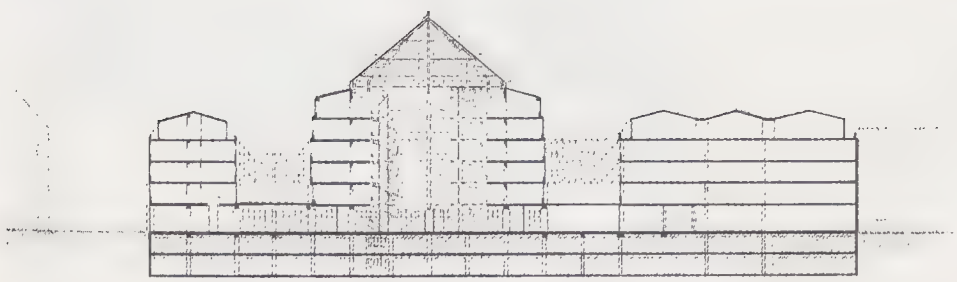
L'edificio

Il nuovo edificio è costituito da quattro parti:
a) ala laterale di cinque piani sulla Steprathstraße con biblioteca al piano terreno e al primo piano e uffici ai piani superiori;
b) corpo principale di sei piani sulla Kalker Hauptstraße, caratterizzato a piano terra da una grande *hall* centrale, con retrostante salone dell'anagrafe su un solo piano, e uffici ai piani superiori;
c) ala laterale di cinque piani a forma di "T" sulla Kalker Hauptstraße, con ristorante, mensa, cucina e sala conferenze al piano terreno e uffici ai piani superiori;
d) corpo di un piano sul lato del cortile, per la Volkshochschule (università popolare).
Ponti vetrati al secondo e terzo piano collegano le ali laterali con l'edificio centrale.
Sotto i corpi A, B e C si trovano due autorimesse sotterranee con 160 posti macchina, archivi, locali tecnici e magazzini, mentre sotto il corpo D un piano interrato ospita locali per seminari utilizzati anche dalla Volkshochschule.
La grande *hall* coperta con la piramide vetrata dell'edificio principale costituisce la "piazza" centrale dalla quale si accede a tutte le zone funzionali. A piano terreno la sua trasparenza è accentuata dalle pareti vetrate delle singole zone funzionali e dai cortili verdi interni.
Una scala a chiocciola in acciaio, che si sviluppa verso l'alto per 7 piani, ed un ascensore panoramico con cabine in vetro rendono accessibili i ballatoi superiori.
La *hall* sarà a disposizione dei cittadini per manifestazioni, esposizioni, feste ed occasioni analoghe. Essa rappresenta l'area di comunicazione degli uffici amministrativi che hanno sede nei piani superiori, i cui ballatoi di distribuzione affacciati sul vuoto centrale sono anche zone d'attesa.

have iron and glass façades.

The building

The new building has four sections:
a) a five-storey side wing in Steprathstaße housing a library on the ground and first floors and offices on the other floors;
b) the main six-storey building in Kalker Hauptstraße with a large main hall on the ground floor and a single-storey registry office behind, and offices on the upper floors;
c) a T-shaped five-storey side wing in Kalker Hauptstraße with restaurant, canteen, kitchen and lecture rooms on the ground floor and offices on the upper floors;
d) a single-storey building on the courtyard side for the Volkshochschule (open university).
The side wings are linked to the main building by glass footbridges on the second and third floors.
Below A, B and C buildings there are two underground car parks for 160 vehicles, archives, installations and store rooms, while D building has an underground level with seminar rooms also used by the Volkshochschule. The large hall with the glass pyramid roof in the main building serves as a central "plaza" giving access to all the functional areas of the complex. On the ground floor its transparency is enhanced by the glass walls of the adjoining functional areas and the planted internal courtyards.
A steel spiral staircase rising seven floors and a panoramic lift with glass cabins lead to the upper access balconies.
The main hall, available to citizens for exhibitions, functions and other events, is a communications hub for the offices on the upper floors whose access balconies giving onto the large main void also serve as waiting areas.
The office area is based on a 1.375 × 5 m spatial module (5.5 × 5.5 m structural grid). This versatile arrangement will allow each office to have from two to four modules depending on changes in the organisational structure of the area.
The Volkshochschule on the ground floor of the L-shaped side wing is linked on the courtyard side to the five-storey building



La zona degli uffici è caratterizzata da un modulo spaziale di m. 1.375 × 5.00 (reticolo strutturale m. 5.50 × 5.50). Gli uffici sono previsti di due, tre o quattro moduli, secondo un criterio di flessibilità nel tempo in base alle variabili esigenze della struttura organizzativa.
La Volkshochschule è ospitata a piano terreno nell'ala laterale a "L" collegata sul lato del cortile all'edificio a cinque piani attestato sulla Kalker Hauptstraße.
L'inserimento urbanistico nella zona interna dell'isolato è risolto ampliando l'ala laterale sino a formare un corpo con salone centrale a copertura vetrata, attorno al quale si dispongono, ai piani terreno e seminterrato, locali per seminari e altri spazi funzionali, mentre il salone stesso può essere utilizzato per varie manifestazioni (esposizioni, *forum*, ecc.). Alla Volkshochschule si accede dalla Kalker Hauptstraße attraverso un passaggio pubblico che dà su un cortile interno dove sorge un grande castagno e sul quale è dislocato l'ingresso con annessi *foyer* e sala per conferenze (attrezzata anche con palcoscenico).

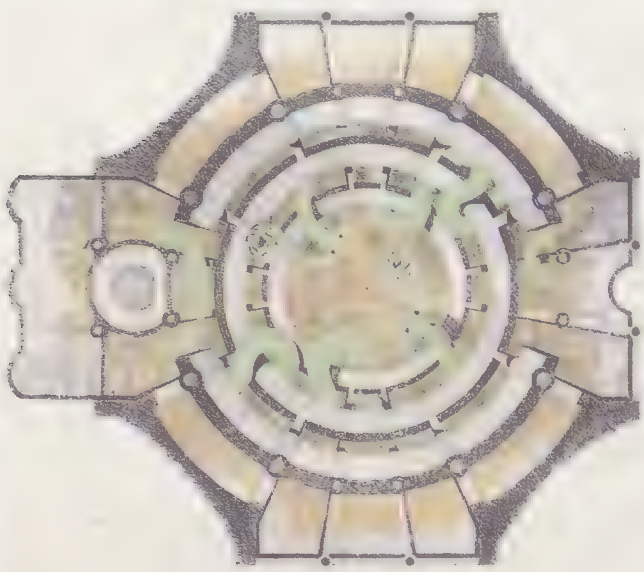
Struttura e materiali
Tutti i quattro corpi del complesso hanno struttura a telaio in cemento armato, controventata con pannelli-parete. A causa delle costruzioni adiacenti e della posizione delle strade di accesso è stato necessario prevedere lungo tutto il perimetro una struttura di contenimento.
La facciata in *klinker* è l'elemento figurativo essenziale, con muratura a doppia parete e intercapedine di cm. 12. Come mattone è stato scelto un mattone pieno scuro a cottura tradizionale, messo in opera a blocco, con corsi a coltello in corrispondenza di architravi e davanzali; le copertine di aggetti e davanzali sono in mattoni speciali senza protezione in lamiera. I pilastri circolari hanno diametro di m. 1.00; nel corpo principale essi terminano con corsi di mattoni speciali verniciati in smalto rosso.
Una componente importante della facciata principale è costituita dal corpo cilindrico della scala a chiocciola, eseguito in diversi tipi di *klinker* e con diversi tipi di tessitura; la posizione avanzata sulla strada di questo elemento e il suo coronamento gli conferiscono un risalto particolare nell'affaccio urbano del complesso.
La facciata in metallo è in lamiera di alluminio di tono grigio RAL 7015 verniciata a fuoco, ripartita dai profili delle lesene verticali. Le finestre sono in profilati di alluminio a due colori (grigio e antracite), con veneziane esterne a lamelle orizzontali del medesimo colore.
La copertura a piramide vetrata della *hall* (m. 22.00 × 22.00) riprende esternamente la partitura della facciata metallica con una struttura di profilati in acciaio (HEA 320) ed arcarecci in profilati di acciaio (KEB 180). Le vetrate sono in vetro termico riflettente di colore neutro, che consente un'illuminazione naturale e, nei mesi invernali, la produzione passiva di calore. Aperture di sicurezza sul tetto consentono il deflusso del fumo e del calore, mentre un impianto di ventilazione assicura il ricambio d'aria nel periodo estivo. Il riscaldamento della cupola vetrata è ottenuto con un nastro termoconvettore lungo il perimetro. La pulizia esterna è possibile grazie ad apposite passerelle, mentre manutenzione e pulizia interne sono effettuate da una piattaforma di servizio mobile e telescopica all'altezza del cornicione.
Nella *hall* del corpo centrale gli elementi in calcestruzzo (mensole, sostegni, travi, intradossi del soffitto) sono verniciati con un velo di colore rosso, cui fanno da contrasto le pareti intonacate con toni chiari tendenti dal grigio al giallo. Tutte le parti in acciaio sono verniciate in grigio scuro (scala, ascensore, balaustre).
Il pavimento della *hall*, in gettata di cemento bordata con mattoni posati a coltello, è decorato con un dipinto dello stesso Gottfried Böhm. Un *collage*, sviluppato su cinque piani e costituito da disegni, schizzi, foto e ritagli di giornale relativi al progetto e all'andamento del cantiere, orna la parete affacciata sulla *hall* di una delle due torri sanitarie laterali, disponibile ad essere completato con ulteriori raffigurazioni dagli utenti.



in the Kalker Hauptstraße. The complex has been incorporated into the block it occupies by extending the side wing to form a building with a main glass-roofed hall with seminar rooms and other functional spaces arranged around it on the ground and basement floors. The hall itself can be used for a variety of functions like exhibitions, forums, etc. Access to the Volkshochschule from the Kalker Hauptstraße is by a public walkway giving onto an internal courtyard (with a large chestnut tree) containing the entrance and adjoining foyers and a ground-level lecture hall with a stage.

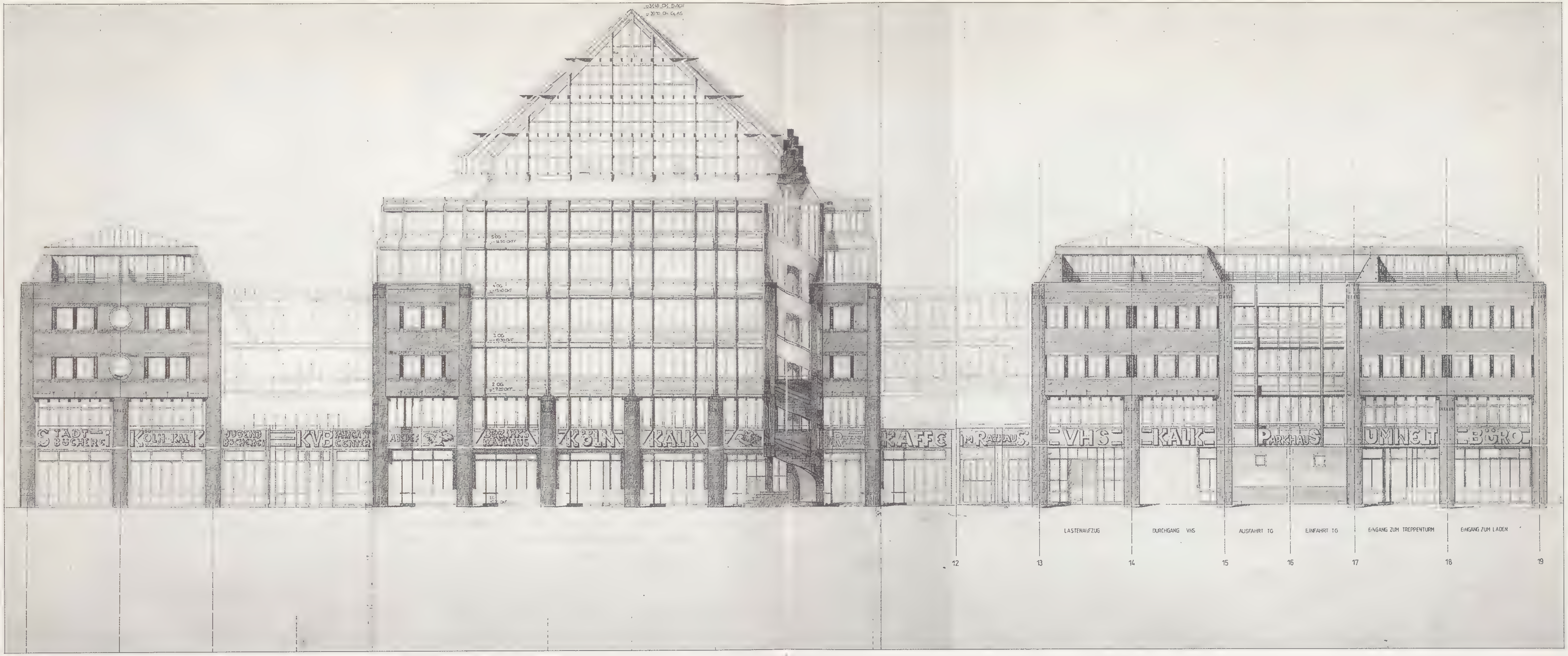
Structure and materials

All four buildings have reinforced concrete frames braced with wall panels. A containing structure running the whole length of the perimeter was required because of the adjacent buildings and the positioning of the access roads.
The main figurative element is the clinker façade, a double masonry wall with a 12 cm cavity. The bricks are solid dark-coloured blocks fired in the traditional way with knife-edge strakes marking the architraves and window-sills. The overhangs and window-sills are in special brick with no protective sheeting. The round columns have a diameter of one metre and terminate in the main building in special red painted brick courses.
One important feature of the main façade is the cylindrical spiral staircase structure in several kinds of variably textured clinker. Its forward positioning and coping make it a prominent feature of the complex in its urban context.
The metal façade in grey oven-painted RAL 7015 aluminium sheeting is supported by vertical columns. The windows have two-tone (grey and anthracite) aluminium frames and outside blinds with horizontal aluminium strips in the same colour.
The drawn HEA 320 steel structure and drawn KEB 180 steel purlins of the hall's 22 x 22 m glass pyramid roof continue the metal composition of the façade below. The panes are made of uncoloured thermal mirror glass which provides natural light and helps to warm the hall in winter.
Safety openings in the roof allow smoke and heat to escape and a ventilation system ensures regular air exchange in summer. The glass dome is heated by a convector strip running round its perimeter. There are special catwalks for outside cleaning and a telescopic platform at frame height is used for inside cleaning.
The concrete elements in the hall of the main building (brackets, supports, beams, roof soffits) are painted in red film which contrasts with the light greys and yellows of the plaster walls. All the steel elements (stairs, lift, balustrades) are painted dark grey.
The hall floor in cast concrete with edge-laid brick borders is decorated with a painting by Gottfried Böhm himself.
A five-storey collage of drawings, sketches and press cuttings about the project and how work is progressing adorns the wall of one of the two sanitary towers facing the hall, and can eventually be completed by the users themselves.



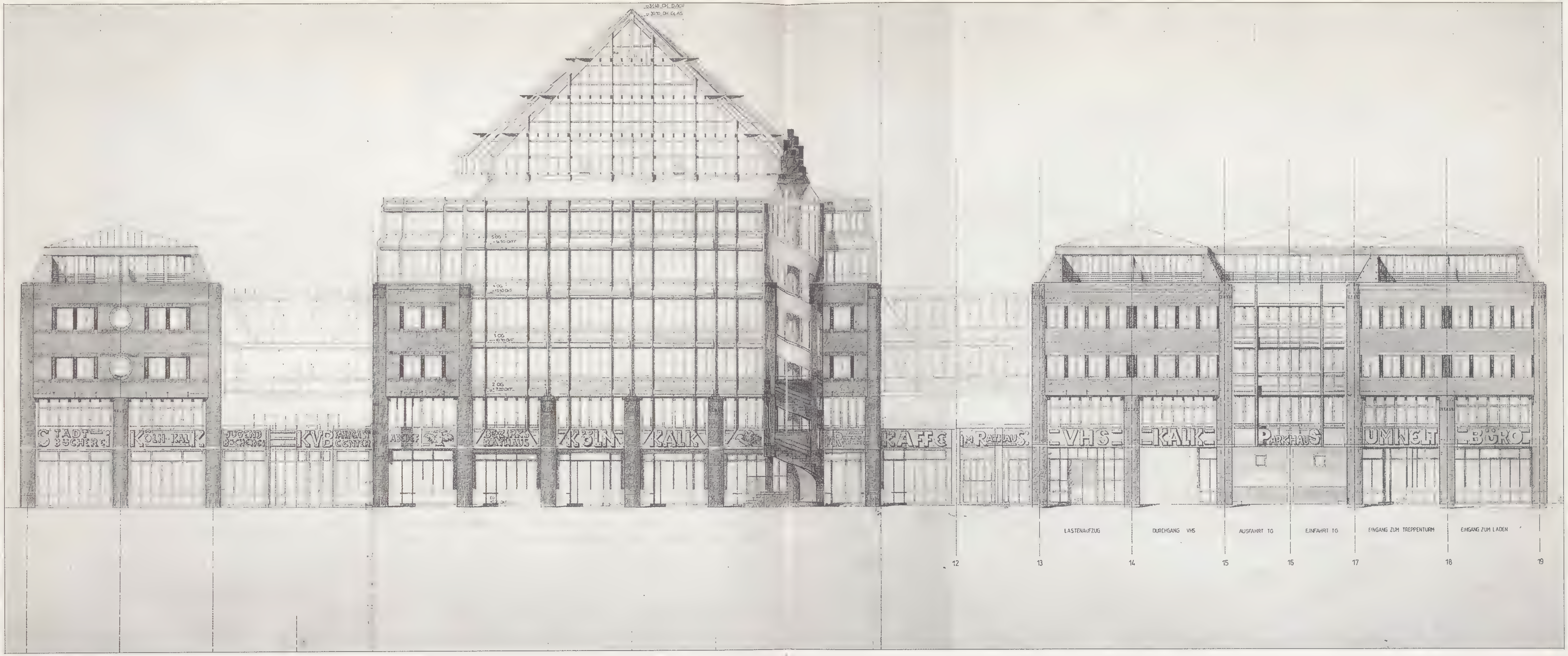
Studi per il pavimento della grande hall *centrale.*

Studies for the floor in the large main hall.



Prospetto sud.

South elevation.



Prospetto sud.

South elevation.



Viste da sud e da sudovest.
Foto D. Leistner.

Views from the south and southwest.
Photos D. Leistner.





Vista da ovest e vista interna della grande hall *centrale.*
Foto D. Leistner.

View from the west and interior view of the large main hall.
Photos D. Leistner.



Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland

1984-1992

Gottfried Böhm

con/with: Georg F. Adolphi, Jürgen Minkus, Dörte Gatermann



Vista da nord.
Foto D. Leistner.

View from the north.
Photo D. Leistner.

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Vista da nord.
Foto D. Leistner.

View from the north.
Photo D. Leistner.





Teatro municipale a Itzehoe, Germania
Gottfried Böhm

Il teatro sorge come un'isola in un punto in cui si allarga la zona verde, antico alveo del fiume Stör tra la Altstadt e la Neustadt, costituendo un elemento di congiunzione tra i due quartieri.
La fascia verde che circonda l' "isola" costituita dallo Stadttheater e da un edificio mutualistico pubblico (AOK) si biforca all'altezza della fontana, sulla cui piazza si apre l'ingresso principale del teatro. Un porticato, dal quale sono accessibili anche il *foyer* degli artisti e il teatro studio per le prove, crea un collegamento pedonale protetto che conduce a un autosilo esistente e alla stazione degli autobus (ZOB).
La sala teatrale, cuore dell'edificio, è concepita unitariamente fra auditorio e superficie scenica e tiene conto dell'esigenza di rispondere a usi molteplici e differenziati (spettacoli teatrali, concerti, convegni, feste, ecc.).
Le pareti interne della sala sono costituite da una corona di sostegni rotondi in mattoni, con due gallerie per il pubblico al primo e secondo livello e una galleria tecnica in corrispondenza delle finestre soprastanti. Un soffitto chiuso, che riproduce la forma del tetto, chiude la parte superiore dell'auditorio, sotto la quale si trova un soffitto acustico staccato e trasparente che contiene il graticcio scenico.
La sala è illuminata naturalmente grazie a due piccoli cortili vetrati disposti trasversalmente su entrambi i lati e alle finestre della parte superiore, così da consentire manifestazioni diurne come convegni, mostre, ecc.
La caratteristica più importante del teatro consiste nel fatto che il palcoscenico si configura come una parte libera all'interno dell'auditorio, la cui pianta ricorda una piazza che chiude sala e palcoscenico in una delimitazione costante e unitaria dello spazio. Per grandi manifestazioni il palcoscenico può essere rimosso e raccolto completamente in nicchie laterali, mentre in occasione di rappresentazioni teatrali esso si spinge all'interno dell'auditorio, come un

Vista aerea di Itzehoe con il teatro a ridosso del nucleo storico.
Planimetria generale del progetto di concorso (con l'edificio della biblioteca, poi non realizzata).

Aerial view of Itzehoe with the theatre near the historic centre.
General plan of the competition project (with the library building which was never built).

Civic Theatre, Itzehoe, Germany
Gottfried Böhm

The theatre is an "island" in the green belt that once separated the Altstadt and the Neustadt, and now serves to join them.
The green area around the "island" consisting of the Stadttheater and a state health insurance building (AOK) forks at the fountain square where the main entrance to the theatre is sited. A portico leading also to the artists' foyer and rehearsal theatre creates a sheltered pedestrian walkway giving access to an existing multi-storey car park and the bus station (ZOB).
The theatre itself, the heart of the building, unites the auditorium and the stage area in a single concept that takes full account of the many different uses the theatre will be put to (plays, concerts, conferences, functions, etc.).
The internal walls of the hall are formed by a crown of round brick supports with a first and second level circle and a technical gallery at the level of the windows above. The closed ceiling reproduces the form of the roof and a separate transparent acoustic ceiling below it also houses the stage framework.
Thanks to two small glazed courtyards laid cross-wise on both sides and the upper-level windows, the hall enjoys natural light and can be used for day-time events like conferences, exhibitions, etc.
The most important feature of theatre is that the stage is free-standing inside the auditorium itself, whose plan resembles an urban square that encloses the hall and stage in a single unified spatial concept. The stage can be completely removed and stored away in side recesses for large exhibitions; for stage performances it juts forward into the auditorium like a stage mounted in a public square or the toy theatres children build in the middle of their bedrooms. This plan gives a powerful sense that performances are the focus of a real constructed world, as in many open-air theatres and

palcoscenico installato in una piazza all'aperto o uno di quei teatrini che i bambini installano al centro della loro camera. Questa soluzione planimetrica esalta il gioco della rappresentazione al centro di un mondo reale costruito, con un forte effetto simile a quello prodotto da molti teatri all'aperto o da antiche arene.
Le 7 file anteriori di sedili sono disposte su un piano inclinato mobile, che rende possibile prolungare in avanti il palcoscenico.
Per l'uso normale come teatro sono disponibili complessivamente circa 650 posti a sedere, di cui 450 circa in platea (altri 40 posti sul podio dell'orchestra) e 190 nelle gallerie. Per l'uso ad arena sono previsti 750 posti.
La sala è circondata ad anello da un corpo più basso che ospita sia il *foyer* (che sul lato dell'auditorio è aperto su 3 piani) che i locali ausiliari (camerini, magazzino, ecc.). La caffeteria, con una piccola sala annessa ed appartata (padiglione rotondo a se stante), si affaccia sul *foyer* che contiene gli ingressi, la cassa, il guardaroba per il pubblico. Il *foyer* si sviluppa intorno alla platea, terminando su entrambi i lati in due piccoli cortili che contengono le scale di sicurezza della sala. Il teatro studio costituisce un corpo a se stante, con accesso separato dal portico coperto ed un piccolo *foyer* proprio (usabile anche come *foyer* degli artisti), disponibile per manifestazioni minori senza dover aprire il *foyer* principale.
Le facciate del corpo principale, tra i sostegni in mattone dello spessore di m. 1.00 circa, sono tamponate con strutture in ferro e vetro, mentre il teatro studio è rivestito con pannelli metallici verniciati a fuoco.
Le pareti interne della sala e del *foyer* sono rivestite in pannelli di legno, eventualmente verniciati. La copertura è in lamiera verniciata. Il pavimento della sala e del teatro studio è in *parquet*; quello del *foyer*, del guardaroba del pubblico e dei piccoli cortili laterali è in mattoni.

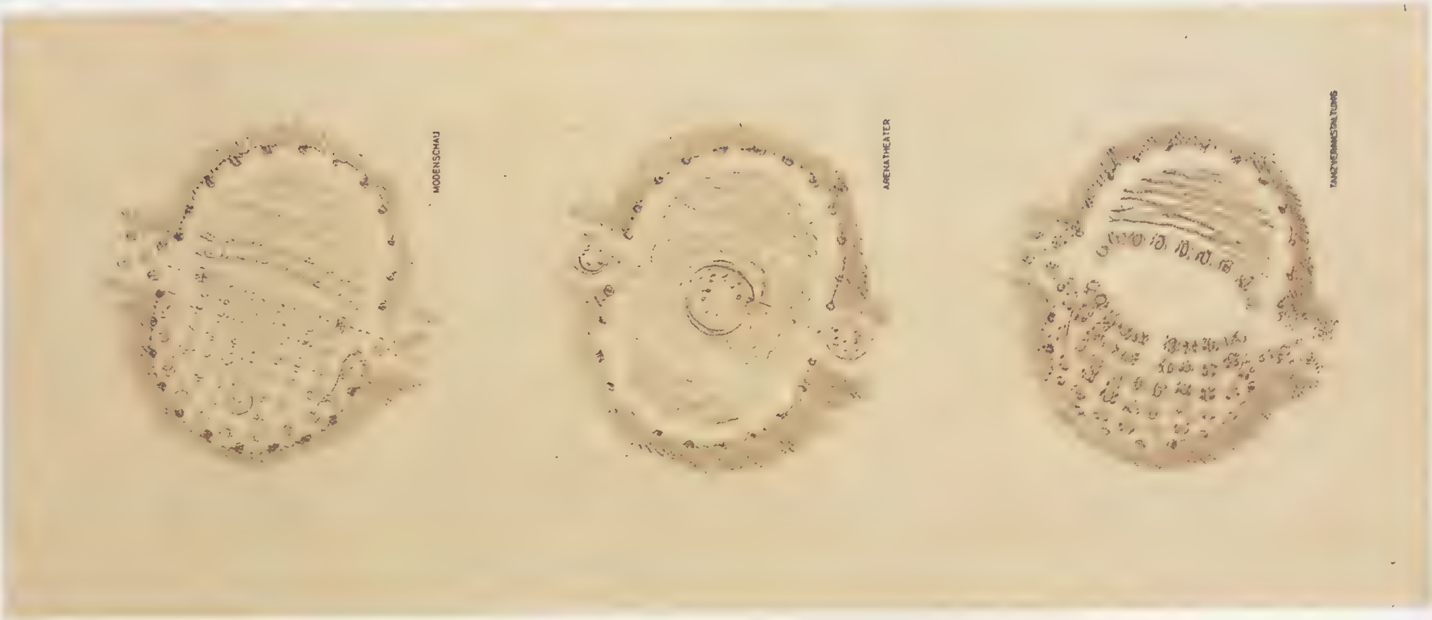
ancient amphitheatres.
The front seven rows of seats are mounted on a movable sloping surface over the orchestra pit that allows the stage to be extended forwards. Under normal circumstances the theatre seats around 650, 450 in the stalls (with another 40 on the orchestra platform) and 190 in the two circles; 750 can be seated when the interior is arranged as an amphitheatre.
The hall is ringed by a lower building housing the foyer (open on three floors on the auditorium side) and other service rooms (dressing rooms, store rooms, etc.). The coffee shop with a small annex room (a round free-standing pavilion) gives onto the foyer which contains the entrances, the cash desk and cloakrooms. The foyer extends round the auditorium, terminating on both sides in two small courtyards containing the emergency stairs for the hall. The rehearsal theatre is a free-standing building with separate access from the covered portico and its own small foyer (also serving as an artists' foyer) which can be used for small exhibitions without having to open up the main foyer.
The façades of the main building have brick supports approximately one metre thick with glass and iron infill, and the rehearsal theatre is faced with metal oven-painted panels. The internal hall and foyer walls have wood panels that can also be painted. The hall and rehearsal theatre floors are parquet, and the foyer, cloakroom, and small side courtyard floors are brick.



Pianta del piano terra del progetto di concorso (con l'edificio della biblioteca, poi non realizzata).

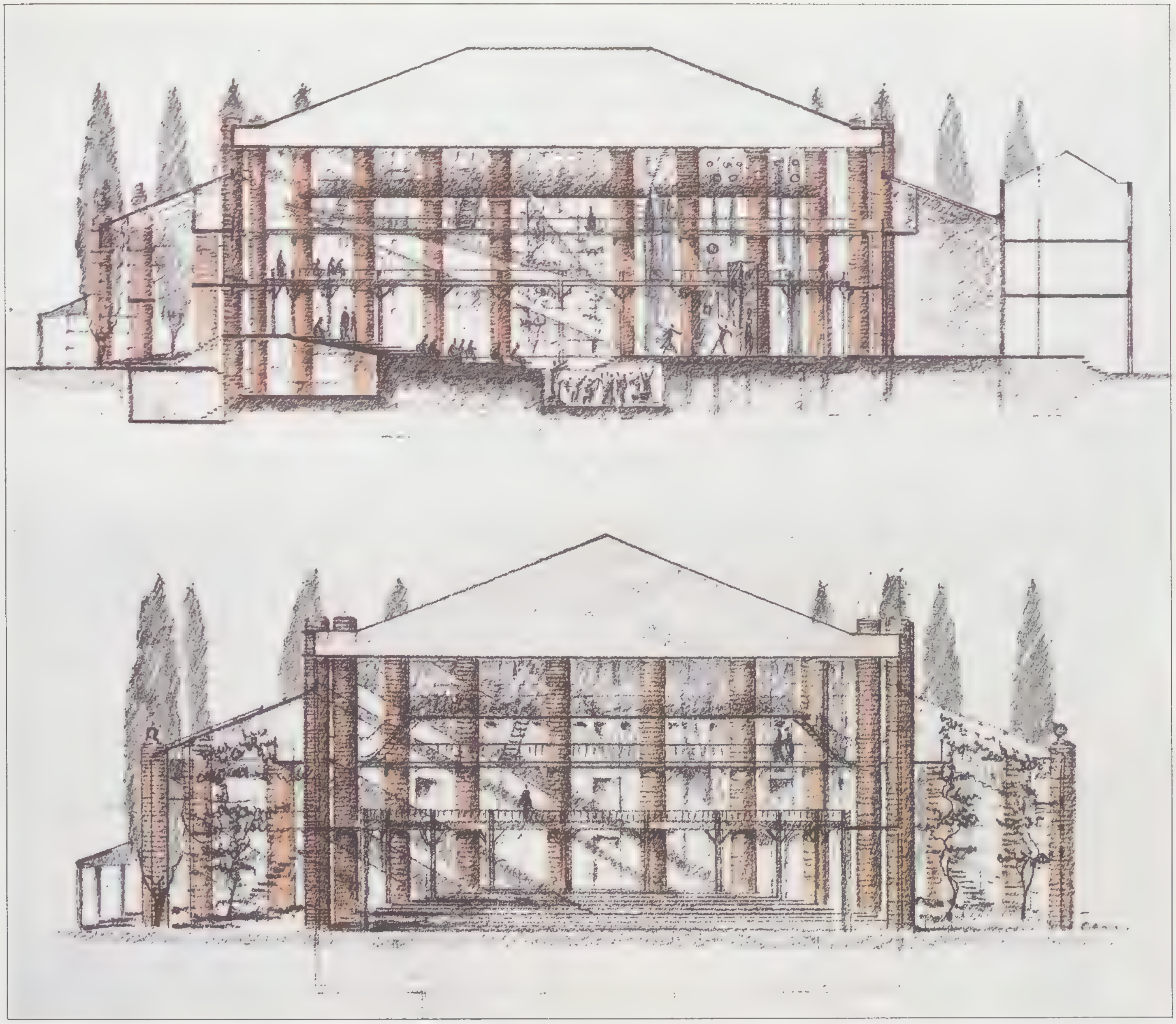
Ground-floor plan of the competition project (with the library building which was never built).

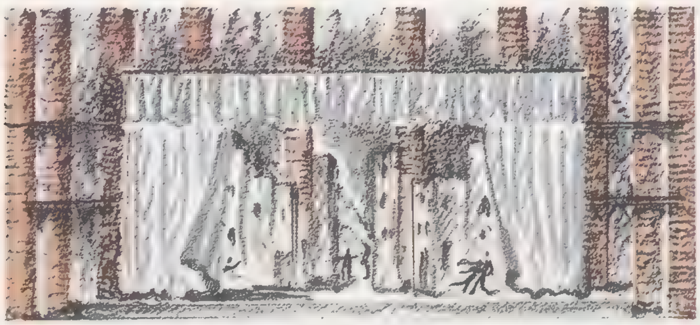


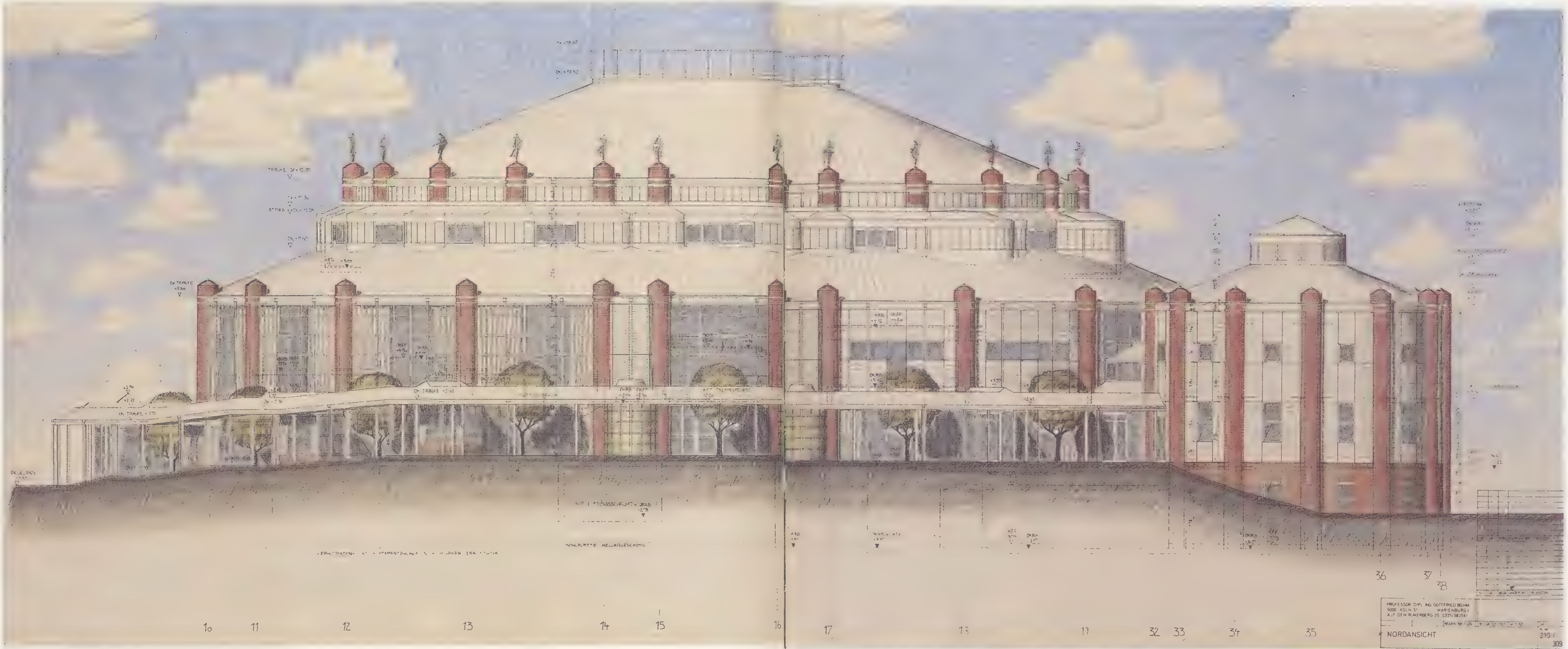


Sezione e schizzi di studio delle diverse disposizioni della sala.
Sezioni longitudinale e trasversale e sezione della sala verso il palcoscenico.

Section and study sketches of various hall layouts.
Longitudinal section, cross section, and section of the hall towards the stage.

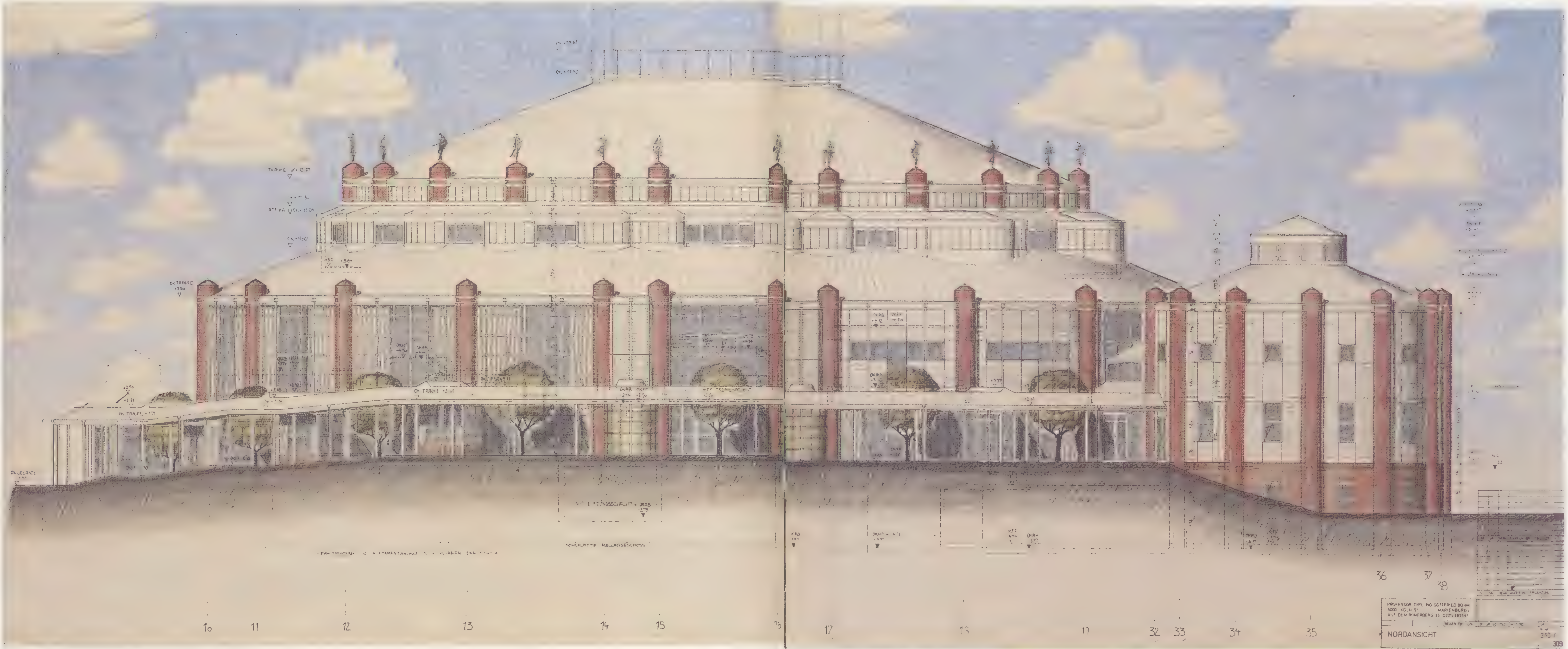






Prospetto nord.

North elevation.



Prospetto nord.

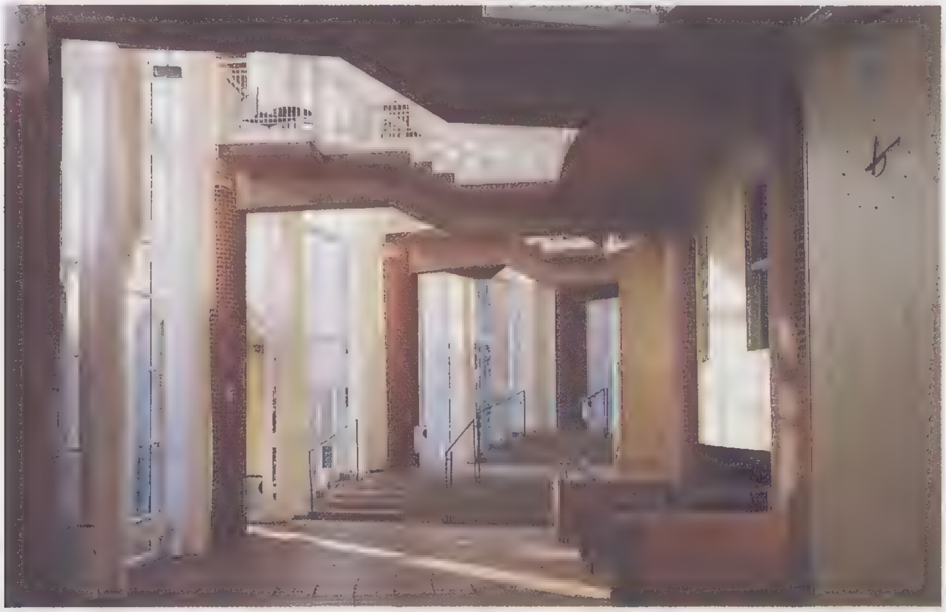
North elevation.



Vista da nordest e viste interne del padiglione caffetteria e del foyer.
Foto D. Leistner.

View from the northeast and interior views of the coffee shop pavilion and foyer.
Photos D. Leistner.





Nelle pagine seguenti:
Vista interna della sala verso il palcoscenico con i dipinti prospettici.
Foto D. Leistner.

Following pages:
Interior view of the hall looking towards the stage, with the perspective paintings.
Photo D. Leistner.

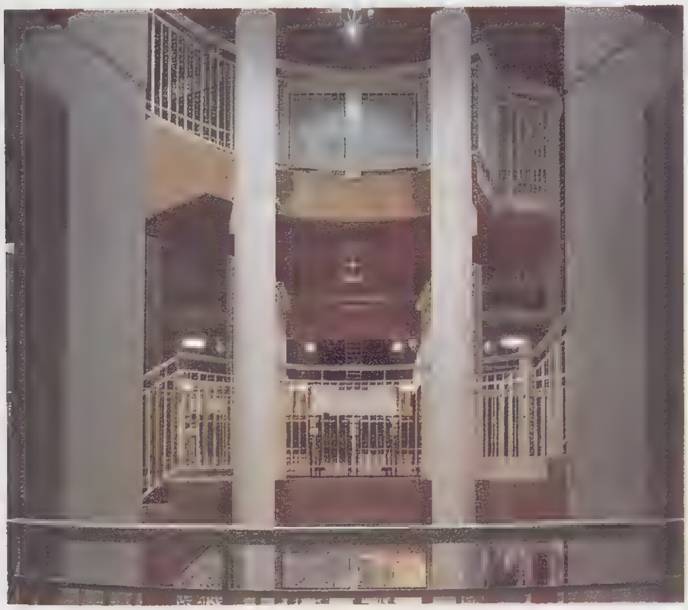












Viste interne della sala.
Viste interne del teatro studio e di un vano scala.
Foto D. Leistner.

Interior views of the hall.
Interior views of the rehearsal theatre and a stair well.
Photos D. Leistner.

Vista da nordest.
Foto D. Leistner.

View from the northeast.
Photo D. Leistner.



Vista da nordest.
Foto D. Leistner.

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Vista frontale della scena.
Foto C. Urbano.

Front view of the stage.
Photo C. Urbano.

Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

1992

Aldo Rossi



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Vista frontale della scena.
Foto C. Urbano.

Front view of the stage.
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La scena di *Elettra* è semplicemente il cortile del grande palazzo dove si consuma il sacrificio di Agamennone e quindi altri omicidi, dove gli Atridi sono vittime e carnefici. Sulla facciata di ferro del palazzo sono fissati il volto di Agamennone, il magnanimo (come dice il nome), e la testa di Elettra, la vendicatrice.
Elettra discendente da Atreo cresce come una serva perché testimone del delitto, ma il suo pallore appare come luce livida sul palazzo con macchie rosse rivelatrici di malattie segrete o di un male genetico trasmesso ai titani e che Perseo non ha distrutto.
L'architettura micenea era opera di profondità, oscure entrate, luce zenitale, pozzi d'acqua, ombre: come i nuraghi o le discese sacre nell'acqua della Sardegna, l'isola punica gelosa della propria storia. Così questa costruzione degli Atridi giunge a noi con la stessa gelosia: scarsa, obliqua storia.
E io la vedevo nel nostro mondo come noi vediamo le città dove viviamo: immense distruzioni, edifici sfasciati, miseria, confusione delle lingue. La maledizione degli Atridi continua nella Los Angeles di *Blade Runner*, nella Manhattan di *Escape from New York* o nella Roma di Pasolini così come era continuata nella Londra di Shakespeare ma anche nei Docklands.
Vedevo gli zingari rumeni accampati a centinaia attorno alla porta di Brandeburgo e l'architettura un tempo *gloriosa* dei re prussiani ridotta a sfondo bruciato di colonne annerite dalle guerre come dal fuoco dei profughi.
E le grandi fabbriche abbandonate, cadenti, con crepe trasversali nella muratura e ferro, ruggine, macchine, vagoni, strumenti di cui abbiamo perso il senso o l'uso.
Tutto questo è ciò che vedevo nel palazzo degli Atridi: l'impossibile sfida ad Apollo si era trasformata in una provocazione stupida, e le frecce del dio cadevano sul progresso. E colpivano anche il vendicatore vittima, il misterioso Oreste condannato all'azione dal destino e dalla folle sorella. Esce dalla casa del vecchio padre adottivo con l'amico Pilade, amico ridotto a testimone ma simbolo dell'amicizia e del silenzio innocente del testimone.
In questa tragedia tutti sono coinvolti e sfuggono coloro che desiderano; a partire dal rapporto tra Oreste e Clitemnestra. E ognuno è testimone suo malgrado sperando che non accada ciò che segretamente desidera. Come dice una vecchia canzone americana: "*Please don't love me, because I love you*". Ma Agamennone, il magnanimo, e la figlia Elettra, la vendicatrice, avevano in se stessi il proprio testimone, indifferenti all'amore incestuoso che la maledetta Clitemnestra sfrutta invano con il figlio lasciandolo nella pazzia. Ma la scena, l'architettura dove nasce? In realtà, nonostante l'orgoglio costruttivo o ingegneresco dell'architettura esse si confondono persino nella triade vitruviana. Tutto quanto ho scritto è architettura, sia la scena fissa di una qualsiasi casa o la corte del palazzo degli Atridi. Il padre, la figlia, il ferro dei coltelli e delle



spade, le porte famose di favolosi tesori, le finestre dei servi e degli eroi, le decorazioni lucenti con smalti di donne bellissime e di agili efebi. E tutto questo attraversato da una crepa, cedimento della costruzione o affiorare in superficie del sangue di questo palazzo/manicomio o clinica.
Clinica da cui usciranno i cadaveri. Nell'antica Grecia vi era una macchina per questo; oggi nell'ignoranza di questa macchina ho pensato che essi usciranno su binari, sopra lettini con bende insanguinate tanto fu cruenta la morte. Ma in modo altrettanto cruento finì il re di Micene. Oreste si avvierà alla persecuzione delle Erinni poco difeso dall'arco di Apollo. Così finisce la tragedia e credo che sia difficile rappresentarla anche per questo sdegno e questa miseria degli eroi. Ma essa si esalta e attraversa noi stessi ed esalta questo mestiere: teatro o scenografia, scenografia o architettura quali altri mezzi per rappresentare sempre uguale la storia? Un re tradito, un vile che lo uccide, una moglie terribile, un figlio incestuoso e le storie passate. Ed Elettra che divide e giudica e uccide. Per questo Elettra, la figlia del Magnanimo, è ferma sulla scena, con luce livida sul volto con macchie rosse come un morbo genetico, oscuro, irrisolubile se non nell'altro rosso, del sangue, che essa vuole e che sarà versato dal fratello innocente. Ma lui, Agamennone, il principe magnanimo, fratello del re di Sparta, compare sulla pietra metallo, sulla fabbrica o palazzo abbandonato come l'eroe. Forse l'ultimo in un mondo che odia gli eroi. Questi sono gli elementi per la costruzione del palazzo degli Atridi che alla fine non sarà altro che un muro di paura, un manicomio, l'ultima clinica. Ma anche sorgerà una bellezza sconosciuta nella notte di Taormina, nella terra di Sicilia circondata dal mare degli dei e degli eroi.
Sono queste pietre della Magna Grecia, della Sicilia, del mare greco che come un sogno tra virtù e peccato hanno costruito questi disegni. I costumi sono per ora definiti rispetto ai personaggi. Io penso che prima di fare alcuni disegni sia necessario entrare nei personaggi e poi vederne la realizzazione con il sarto. D'altra parte anche la scenografia è come sedimentata nel pensiero e nella fantasia prima di diventare progetto. Con Giorgio Pressburger abbiamo stabilito alcuni caratteri che non saranno modificati.
Elettra avrà un costume giallo ocra, da mendicante, da serva: ma qualcosa la distinguerà.
Clitemnestra è vestita di nero, ma il suo nero è carico di ori e perle, come il bastone che porta; essa è come il monumento dei suoi delitti. Le due donne che seguono Clitemnestra sono vestite una di giallo e una di viola, ma hanno il viso imbiancato e dipinto. Esse sono come figure delittuose. Oreste è vestito di bianco come un giovinetto, ma lo stesso bianco sarà insanguinato con l'assassinio della madre e di Egisto.
I servi che porteranno gli animali al sacrificio saranno vestiti di rosso. E tutte le comparse con vestiti di lino a colori diversi, e pelli di capra e mantelli. Mentre gli atleti che si esercitano nel grande Foro come nella tradizione di Micene avranno un perizoma. Le guardie avranno elmi e corazze di cuoio.
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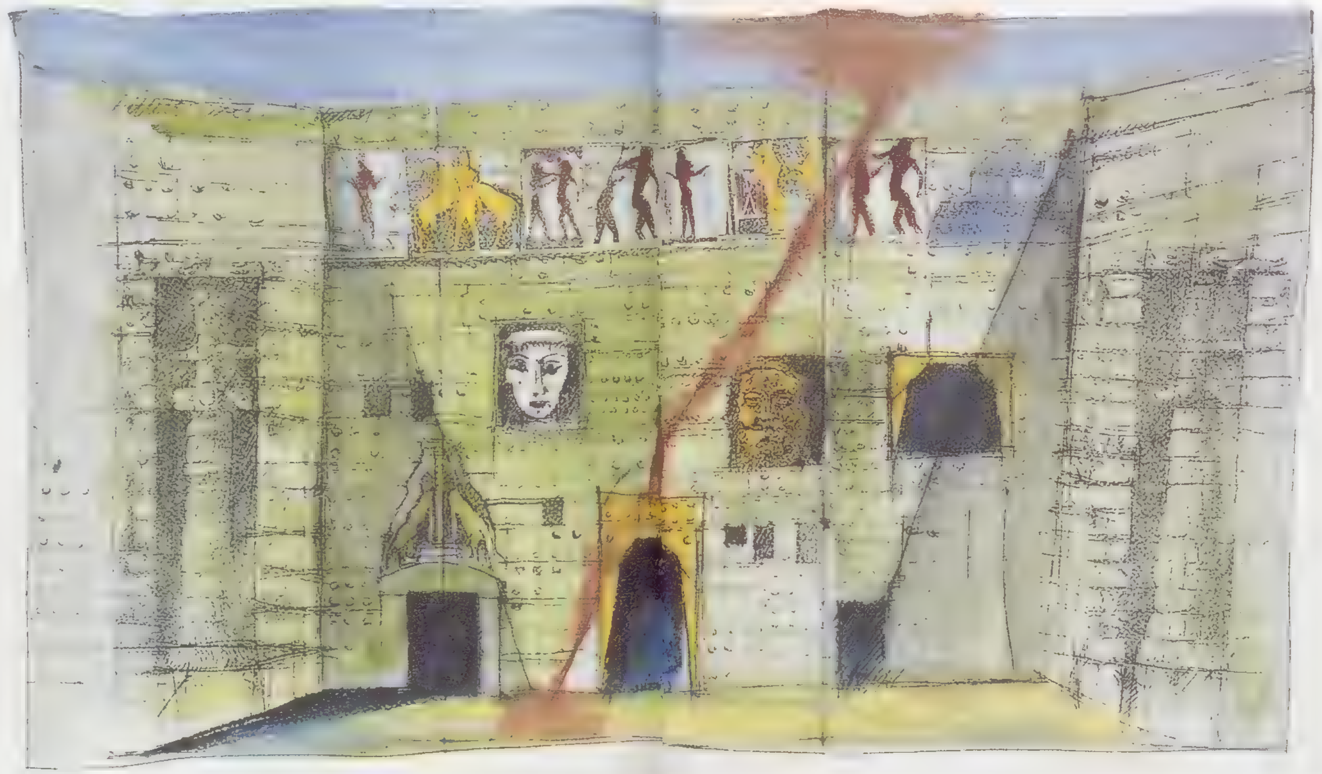
Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

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Stage Set and Costumes for Electra, *Taormina*
Aldo Rossi

The set for Electra *is simply the courtyard of the great palace where Agamemnon was sacrificed and other murders committed, where the descendants of Atreus are both victims and executioners. On the iron façade of the palace are fixed the face of Agamemnon — a noble man, as his name suggests — and the head of Electra, the avenger. Electra, a descendant of Atreus, grew up as a servant girl because she had witnessed the murder, but her pallor seems a livid white light shining on the palace. Mycenaean architecture was a composition of depths, concealed entrances, overhead lighting, wells and shadows, like the* nuraghes *or sacred descents to water in Sardinia, the Punic island jealous of its history. So this construction of the House of Atreus transmits the same jealousy to us. I saw the palace in our world as we now see the cities we live in: immense destruction, buildings emolished, poverty, confusion of tongues. The curse of the House of Atreus lives on in the Los Angeles of* Blade Runner, *the Manhattan of* Escape from New York *and Pasolini's Rome, as it did in Shakespeare's London and now also in the Docklands.*



I saw hundreds of Romanian gypsies camped around the Brandenburg Gate, and once glorious Prussian architecture reduced to a desolate scene. And once great buildings now abandoned and crumbling with cracks running through their iron and masonry — rust, machinery, railway trucks and tools we no longer know the meaning or use of. I saw all this in the great palace of the House of Atreus: the impossible challenge to Apollo transformed into stupid provocation, and the arrows of the god falling on progress, blighting it. His arrows also fall on the avenging victim, the mysterious Orestes condemned to act by fate and his sister's madness. He leaves the home of his ageing adoptive father with his friend Pilades. Everyone is involved in this tragedy, and everyone flees the person they desire; it starts with Orestes and Clytemnestra. Each the other's unwilling witness, and each hoping that what they secretly desire will never happen. As an old American song says: "Please don't love me, because I love you". *But Agamemnon — the noble — and his daughter Electra — the avenger — were their own witnesses, indifferent to the incestuous love which the accursed Clytemnestra in vain sought to satisfy with her son, driving him insane. But where did the scene, the architecture come from? Despite the architecture's pride in its construction and engineering, both in fact derive from the Vitruvian triad. Everything I have written about here is architecture, whether the fixed scene of an ordinary dwelling or the courtyard of the House of Atreus. The father, the daughter, the iron of knives and swords, the famous doors adorned with fabulous treasures, the windows of servants and heroes, decorations with the glittering brilliance of beautiful women and nimble effeminate youths — all this is glimpsed through a crack caused by subsidence in the building, in the blood of a madhouse-cum-palace or clinic that is now welling to the surface. A clinic which only the dead may leave. The ancient Greeks had a machine for carrying out dead bodies, but since we don't really know what it was like, I had them brought out on stretchers on railway tracks with bloody bandages testifying to the bloodiness of their deaths. But the king of Mycenae had an equally bloody death. Orestes will set off to persecute the Erinyes with what little protection Apollo's bow affords. This is how the tragedy ends, and I think it's difficult to render because of the misery and disdain of the heroes themselves. But tragedy penetrates and exalts us, and exalts the stage designer's craft: theatre or stage set, stage set or architecture, how else can unchanging history be rendered? A king betrayed, a coward who murders him, a terrible wife, an incestuous son, stories from the past and Electra who divides and judges and kills. This is why Electra, daughter of Agamemnon the noble, is motionless on the stage with a livid white light on her face, a face stained red as if by some obscure, genetic ailment that can be purged only by the red of the blood she desires, and will be shed by her innocent brother. Agamemnon, the noble prince, brother of the king of Sparta, appears on the metal stone of the building or palace, abandoned like the hero himself — perhaps the last hero in a world that hates heroes. These are the elements of which the House of Atreus is composed; in the end it becomes a wall of fear, a madhouse, the ultimate clinic. But an unknown beauty will also be seen during the night in Taormina, in the land of Sicily surrounded by the sea of heroes and gods. These are the stones of Magna Graecia, of Sicily, of the Greek sea from which these designs are constructed as if in a dream hovering between righteousness and sin. So far the costumes have been matched with the characters in the play. I think you have to work your way into the characters before making designs, and then see how to make them up with the tailor. The stage set also has to settle, lie dormant in the mind and imagination, as it were, before it can become a project. I worked out some characters with Giorgio Pressburger, and these will remain unchanged. Electra will have a yellow ochre beggar-woman or servant's costume but she will also have some distinguishing mark. Clytemnestra is dressed in black, but a black laden with gold and pearls, like the staff she carries. She stands as a monument to the murders she has committed. The women who attend her are dressed in yellow and purple but they have the white painted faces of women who have been murdered. Orestes is dressed in white like an adolescent boy, but this white will be stained with the blood of his mother and Aegisthus. The servants who bring the animals to the sacrifice will be dressed in red, and all the extras will wear variously coloured linens, goat skins and cloaks. The athletes who exercise in the great Forum will wear loincloths, as Mycenaean tradition dictates. The guards will wear helmets and leather armour. At the end Electra and Orestes will be dressed as a prince and princess, Electra in gold and flowers, Orestes in gold and purple.*

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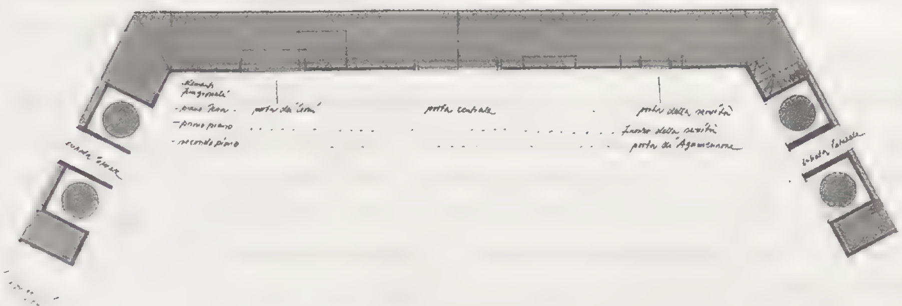
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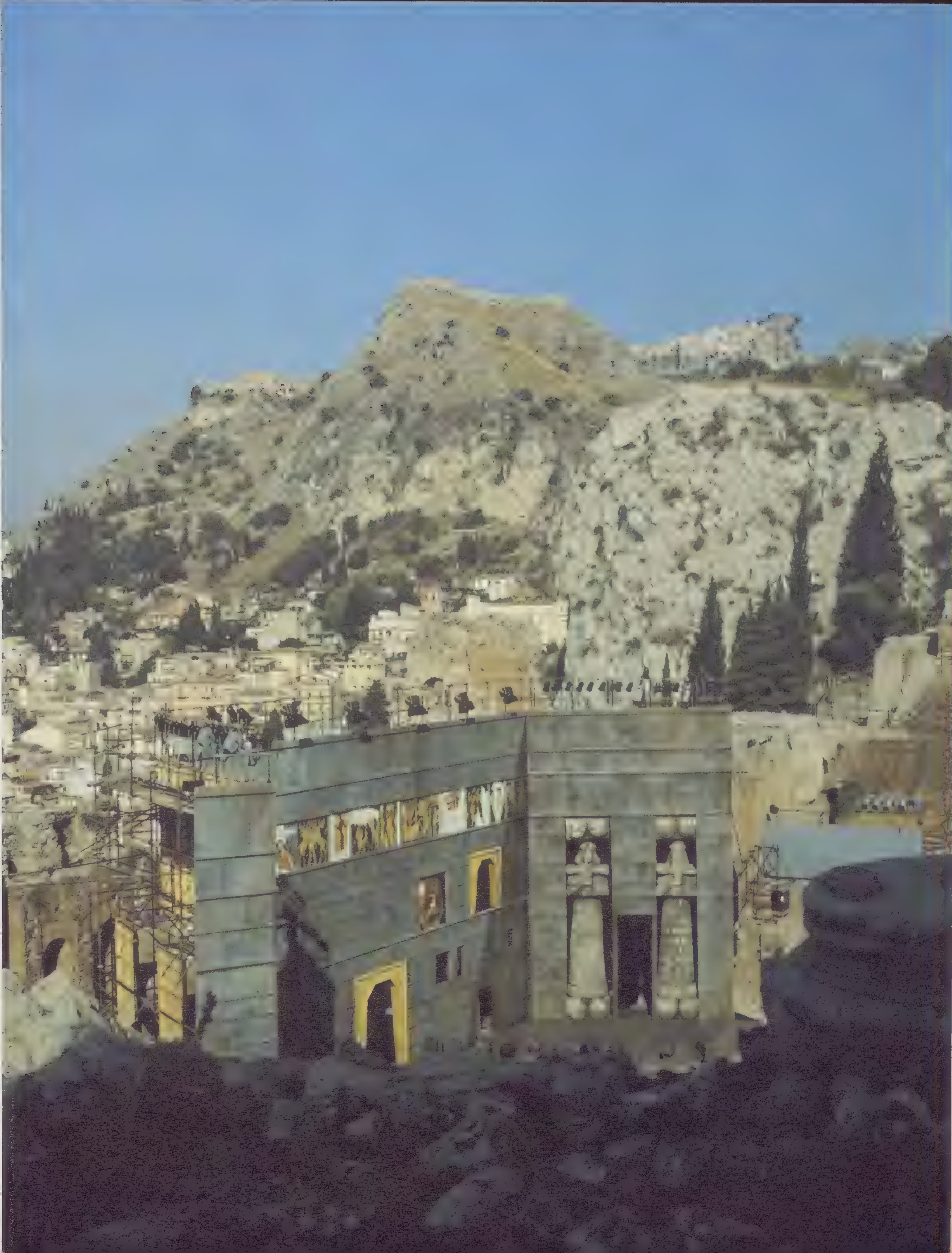


Vista di dettaglio, pianta e vista laterale.
Foto C. Urbano.
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Disegno di studio.
Prospetto.

Detail, plan and side view.
Photos C. Urbano.
Preceding pages:
Study drawing.
Elevation.









Vista laterale.
Foto C. Urbano.

Side view.
Photo C. Urbano.



Vista laterale.
Foto C. Urbano.

Side view.
Photo C. Urbano.

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

***Renzo Zorzi** The Rebirth of Zodiac; **Guido Canella** The Foundation and Return of a Magazine; **Manfredo Tafuri** Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy; **Carlo Aymonino** Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice; **Gottfried Böhm** The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main; **Aldo Rossi** Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan; **Claudio Dini** Building Sites of the Milan Subway System; **Ignazio Gardella** The Duomo Station; **Aldo Rossi** The Croce Rossa Station; **Guido Canella** The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

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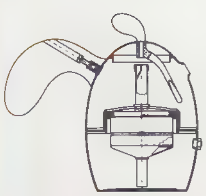
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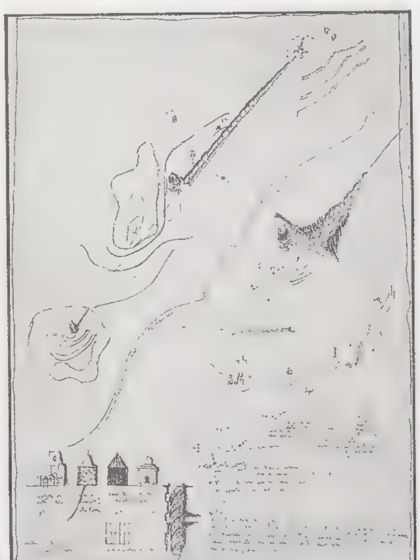
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In copertina: Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl, Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni: pianta di studio del piano attico, estate 1981.

Front cover: Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl, Civic Centre, Terni: study plan of attic floor, summer 1981.

Errata corrige
Nel numero 9 di "Zodiac", dopo il progetto di Luciano Semerani, è stato pubblicato a pagina 133 un progetto di sistemazione del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona senza precisare che l'autore è Gigetta Tamaro.

Correction
In "Zodiac 9" we published a project for the reorganisation of San Carlo Sacro Monte, Arona on page 133 after the Luciano Semerani project without specifying that it was by Gigetta Tamaro.



Zodiac 10

Sommario/*Contents*

Contesto *versus* modello
Guido Canella

Un archeologo che volesse proporsi, nel prossimo millennio, il confronto tra i progetti di due torri, entrambe destinate all'uso pubblico — il Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali per Terni di Ridolfi e Frankl e la Max Reinhardt Haus per Berlino di Peter Eisenman —, non mancherebbe di interrogarsi sulla ragione e sul significato di un loro coesistere nell'attuale "gran teatro" dell'architettura.
Infatti, tra la fine del XIX secolo e gli anni Trenta, nei paesi più industrializzati il mondo della tecnica aveva esercitato sul Modernismo e sull'Avanguardia un'ipoteca sempre più incombente, un'etica che affidava all'immancabile progresso della tecnica il compito di risolvere i bisogni prioritari della società; per certi versi un'ipoteca analoga a quella esercitata oggi dall'universo della comunicazione sul fare tecnico, artistico e sul far città.
È noto che, di fronte alle mutilazioni subite dalle città europee nell'ultima guerra, l'architettura riscoprì nella tradizione della cultura insediativa l'occasione irrinunciabile per rivedere i principi operativi del Movimento Moderno e ciò spesso ad opera di personalità che si erano formate nel Razionalismo.
(Parafrasando Jacques Derrida, interlocutore privilegiato da Peter Eisenman, si potrebbe anzi affermare che, dalla fase della ricostruzione postbellica a quella dell'espansione, tra le pagine del *libro* della tecnica l'architettura si è trovata costretta a riscrivere da diversi punti di vista e in diverse direzioni la propria biografia).
È anche noto che, per l'affermarsi un po' dovunque nell'Occidente semilibero di una versione corriva dell'*International Style*, quella revisione non solo incontrò resistenze in un gusto ormai suggestionato dall'efficienza della modernità, ma scatenò anche reazioni per quanto sopravviveva ideologicamente in coloro che si volevano riconoscere a diverso titolo nella integrità razionalistica del Movimento Moderno.
Da un punto di vista operativo, l'alternativa più consistente alla trasgressione (o *ritirata*) dai principi del Movimento Moderno si ebbe nel risarcimento sociale che sopraintese alla ricostruzione delle città britanniche, soprattutto di seguito alla conquista delle amministrazioni da parte del Partito laburista, quando sulla tradizione locale dell'alloggio a schiera e della *garden city* si impressero i criteri tipologici e urbanistici elaborati dagli architetti razionalisti nel corso dei CIAM tra il 1928 e il 1937.
Perché, però, risalire al sentire di quasi mezzo secolo fa, per un discorso che pretende di affrontare l'attualità dal punto di vista del futuribile?
Perché, pur scontandosi tanto la fragilità delle linee di resistenza opposte dagli architetti impegnati all'abbrutimento delle città quanto la genericità delle reazioni d'opinione pubblica che ne è seguita, può riuscire di qualche interesse riandarvi anche nell'evolversi di una ricorrente contrapposizione.
La contrapposizione, infatti, che già dall'ultimo CIAM, tenutosi a Otterlo nel 1959, si sarebbe potuta schematizzare tra contesto e modello (ove per *contesto* potremmo intendere il concreto e complesso prodursi, strutturale e culturale, di ogni insediamento nel suo tempo, differente punto a punto sul territorio; mentre per *modello* potremmo intendere l'assunzione dell'insediamento come categoria suscettibile di una prima generalizzazione, tale da potersi affrontare secondo uno schema concettuale prefissato e, almeno virtualmente, onnivalente).

Context versus *Model*
Guido Canella

An archaeologist of the next millennium who wanted to compare two projects for public service towers — Ridolfi and Frankl's Civic Centre in Terni and Peter Eisenman's Max Reinhardt Haus in Berlin — would have much to ask about the reasons for, and meaning of their coexistence on the great stage of contemporary architecture.

In the period from the end of the nineteenth century to the Thirties, technology was laying ever greater claims on Modernism and the Avant-Garde in the industrialised nations, in the sense that the unfailing march of technological progress had been given the ethical task of solving society's most urgent problems. In some ways, this claim was similar to the one modern communications would later make on technological, artistic, planning and building culture.

When they were called on to repair the damage European cities had suffered during the Second World War, the architects of the time, even if many of them had had a Rationalist training, found that settlement traditions offered an invaluable opportunity to revise the operational principles of the Modern Movement (to paraphrase Jacques Derrida, Peter Eisenman's privileged interlocutor, we might even say that, in the period from postwar reconstruction to modern expansion, through the pages of the book *of technology architecture was obliged to revise or rewrite certain chapters of it's own biography.)*

It is also well known that, as a facile version of the International Style began to take root in the partially-free West, this rewriting was opposed not only by converts to modern efficiency, but also by those with an ideological commitment to keeping the Rationalist integrity of the Modern Movement alive.

In operational terms, the most plausible alternative to breaking with (or retreating from*) the principles of the Modern Movement was the kind of social reinstatement that underlay the reconstruction of the British cities, especially after Labour won power in local councils and typological and planning criteria elaborated by Rationalist architects in the CIAMs from 1928 to 1937 were superimposed on local terrace housing and garden city traditions.*

But why should we have to go back almost fifty years to validate an argument that claims to examine the present from the point of view of the futurible*?*

The reason is that, even if we take for granted the feeble opposition of committed architects to the brutalising of our cities and the unfocused public reaction to this brutalisation, it is interesting nonetheless to trace the development of a recurrent contraposition.

As early as the last CIAM in Otterlo in 1959, this contraposition had taken the form of context *versus* model*, where* context *means, in structural and cultural terms, the concrete and complex growth of individual human settlements in specific temporal and geographical settings; while* model *implies taking settlement as a category susceptible to a kind of initial generalisation, using a pre-established conceptual scheme of seemingly universal validity.*

Thus, we could say that Mario Ridolfi's approach throughout his career was based on the concept of context*: his early training, his exceptionally committed support of the Modern Movement in the Thirties, the writing, even while the war was on, of his* Manuale dell'architetto *(published in 1946*

E, allora, *contestuale* potrebbe risultare sempre l'atteggiamento di Mario Ridolfi lungo il paradigma del suo operare: dalla messa a punto degli strumenti professionali alla singolare militanza nel Movimento Moderno negli anni Trenta; dall'applicarsi durando ancora la guerra alla stesura del *Manuale dell'architetto* — pubblicato nel 1946 sotto gli auspici dell'USIS e del CNR, nel quale i criteri del costruire razionale venivano adeguati allo stato delle risorse e della maestranza della realtà italiana — all'adesione nel dopoguerra per temi, destinazioni, luoghi, espressioni ai caratteri differenziali di ogni tradizione insediativa, pur senza mai concedere al mimetismo: da Roma a Pavia, da Terni a Cerignola, da Nuoro a Ivrea.
Mentre *modellistico* potrebbe risultare l'atteggiamento teorizzato ed elaborato a più mani dai membri del Team 10, quando postulavano nel *New Brutalism* la sintesi figurativa elementare delle poetiche dei grandi maestri internazionali e nella griglia delle relazioni della vita associata il correttivo dell'urbanistica funzionalista.
Bisogna dire che nel passaggio dalle generazioni che avevano militato "eroicamente" nell'architettura moderna d'anteguerra a quelle formatesi successivamente, le ricerche si sono articolate e complicate e le motivazioni, opponendovisi, si sono spesso estremizzate. Eppure tra esse, soprattutto a partire dagli anni Sessanta, si sono verificate corrispondenze parallele, influenze spesso intrecciate, solidarietà, convergenze generazionali ancor più che etniche e geografiche, non tanto diversamente da quanto era avvenuto per le precedenti generazioni attraverso le riviste e i CIAM.
Così che, al crudo radicalismo scientista, dei nati tra il 1915 e il 1925, teso a incorporare e modellare il soccorso della tecnologia e della sociologia all'architettura e all'urbanistica, si contrapponeva l'affabulazione della storia dei nati tra il 1925 e il 1935, praticata con riguardo contestuale, e perciò non tendenzioso e propagandistico, come era avvenuto sotto i regimi autocratici, ma volto a recuperare quella *memoria collettiva* — secondo la definizione elaborata da Maurice Halbwachs negli anni Venti — di cui la città diventava per eccellenza corpo e identità.
Per esempio, i primi contributi del gruppo Archigram (anagraficamente situato ben addentro gli anni Trenta) vennero considerati come un'estremizzazione del New Brutalism, spinta fino all'utopia. Mentre, al di là di una evidente radicalizzazione, sia tecnica che sociologica, era da scoprirne la voglia di caricatura, tutta protesa ad entrare di forza nel circuito emblematico della comunicazione; caricatura che varcava spregiudicatamente i confini del futuribile addomesticato nel consumo (il cartone animato), come del resto avveniva con la Pop Art. Semmai, la continuità ideologica tra i giovani di Archigram e i più anziani Brutalisti è da rinvenire là dove la *performance* ostentava il valore del *modello* di relazione nell'aggregarsi indefinito degli alloggi-capsule in *Plug-in City*, mentre il suo lascito figurativo, prima di evaporare nell'effimero, avrebbe trovato un'imprevista conversione efficientista nella retorica eccentricità delle prove *High-Tech* (valga per tutti il caso del Beaubourg).
Così, se nel corso degli anni Sessanta e Settanta si diffondeva una certa eurofilia (generazionale e cioè dei nati tra il 1925 e il 1935) teoricamente e progettualmente fondata sul contesto della città, disposta anche al confronto, e talvolta a intrecciarsi, con la trascrizione allegorica del paesaggio sperimentata da alcuni loro coetanei nordamericani, negli stessi

Partecipanti all'incontro CIAM 1 La Sarraz, 1928.

Participants at CIAM 1 La Sarraz, 1928.



Partecipanti all'incontro CIAM 10 Otterlo, 1959.

Participants at CIAM 10. Otterlo, 1959.



under the auspices of the United States Information Service and Italy's National Research Council) which adapted rational building criteria to the financial and human resources of Italy at the time, and his application, in terms of theme, use, site and style, of these criteria in the postwar years to the individual features of settlement traditions, in locations as various as Rome, Pavia, Terni, Cerignola, Nuoro and Ivrea, without ever resorting to mimicry.

By contrast, the approach collectively theorised and elaborated by members of Team 10 was based on the concept of model *— their New Brutalism was a basic figurative synthesis of the poetics of the great international architects, and the grid of social relationships was seen as a corrective to the drawbacks of functionalist urban planning.*

Certainly, the architectural scene became a good deal more complex with the shift from the generations of architects who had "heroically" championed prewar modern architecture to those who had started their training at a later date: theoretical and stylistic research became more complex and differentiated, polarised through mutual opposition.

But even so, especially from the Sixties, parallels were established, influences often combined, solidarity developed and generational rather than ethnic or geographical affinities emerged, much as had happened with previous generations through the architectural reviews and the CIAMs.

Thus, the angry science-oriented radicalism of the architects born between 1915 and 1925, who had tried to adapt technology and sociology to the needs of architecture and urban planning, was opposed by the historical fabulation of the architects born between 1925 and 1935, whose context-based approaches avoided the propagandist bias adopted under autocratic regimes in an effort to reinstate the collective memory *(as defined in the Twenties by Maurice Halbwachs) which the city would come to embody and epitomise.*

For example, the early work of the Archigram group (whose members were born in the Thirties) was regarded as an extreme, utopian instance of the New Brutalism; whereas apart from an evident technological and sociological radicalisation, they also expressed a clear tendency towards caricature, that would eventually spread beyond the confines of a futurible *subdued by mass consumption (the animated cartoon) to play an important role in the symbolic functions of communications culture, as happened with Pop Art.*

If anywhere, the ideological continuity between the young Archigram architects and the older Brutalists is to be seen in cases where performance paraded its status of a model *of social relationships, as in the infinitely repeatable capsule-habitations of the Plug-in City, while its figurative legacy would become surprisingly efficiency-oriented in the rhetorical eccentricity of High-Tech experiments (the Beaubourg is a representative example) before dispersing into ephemerality.*

Thus, the Sixties and Seventies saw the spread of a kind of Europhilism (propounded by architects born between 1925 and 1935) based in theoretical and design terms on the context of the city, even though disposed to confront and sometimes interlace with the allegorical transcriptions of landscape championed by some of their North American contemporaries.

But, in radical opposition to it, during the same period and still today, we

anni e ancora oggi è riscontrabile una sorta di anglofilia (generazionale e cioè dei nati tra il 1915 e il 1925 con gli immancabili proseliti) che le si contrapponeva radicalmente mirando a prolungare l'affidabilità del modello.
E proprio secondo quest'ultimo orientamento si trovano oggi allineati quanti, coprendo un vasto campo di interessi e d'azione sul territorio, ne rivendicano il controllo dirigistico con programmi tesi alla resa archeologica dei centri storici, all'arresto dell'espansione periferica attraverso cinture verdi dove operare la conversione dei relitti industriali (in vuoti alternati a comparti per attività ritenute emergenti, ma, offrendosene l'occasione, interessati anche alla polarizzazione esterna di nuovi insediamenti residenziali).
Non può quindi stupire che a tale atteggiamento arridano svariati consensi: in genere espressi dagli amministratori, che vi colgono un'ubiquità funzionale garantita dalla neutralità politica del modello. Gli arridono consensi, per altro, anche dall'anima contabile dei movimenti ecologisti, orientata a qualificare la città solo in base a valori parametrici. E infine, dai mezzi d'informazione, che vi trovano semplificate risposte alle interrogazioni di un'opinione pubblica benpensante (ma, talvolta perfino, da quell'urbanistica sociologicizzante che, veicolando dal basso i bisogni delle comunità, li rivendica normalizzati per vincoli e standard di provvidenza).
Del resto l'adozione del modello, oltre a regolamentare univocamente il territorio, prescrive la qualità del progetto di architettura, quando questa, ribadendosi neo-razionalistica e richiamandosi a certi principi gropiusiani, teorizza la modestia minimalista: "un nuovo che deve apparire come fosse sempre stato".
E dire che tale prescrizione scaturisce spesso da mirate, e a volte sistematiche, perlustrazioni nel passato e nel recente dell'architettura e della città; ricerche che, rispetto alle precedenti, si reclamano aggiornate sui più avanzati contributi storiografici (la "*histoire globale*" delle "Annales" o l'empirismo storico anglosassone). Quando, per la verità, proprio quei tramiti, invece che lasciar dedurre un modello di omologazione, inviterebbero a valorizzare differenze comportate dall'individualità del contesto, per mettervi a fuoco autenticamente risorse, caratteri e identità di ogni evento urbano e architettonico.
A Terni, proprio sulla Piazza del Popolo, si incrociavano il cardo e il decumano della città romana, e sul sito destinato alla Torre di Ridolfi e Frankl sorgeva una cappella, andata distrutta, probabilmente connessa al complesso medievale dell'Ospedale di San Pietro.
A Berlino, proprio frontalmente all'area triangolare sulla quale avrebbe dovuto sorgere il grattacielo di vetro progettato nel 1919 da Mies van der Rohe, sul sito destinato alla Torre di Eisenman e anch'esso compreso tra Sprea e Friedrichstrasse, sorgeva dal 1867 un mercato coperto (poi adattato per ospitare il Circo Schumann, riadattato ancora nel 1919 da Hans Poelzig per lo Schauspielhaus del grande Max Reinhardt, e in seguito ancora più volte ristrutturato e rimaneggiato).
Non è un caso, dunque, che proprio dall'intolleranza del modello di conservazione possa venire quella serie di dubbi che ritardano la realizzazione del progetto del Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni. Così come non è un caso che proprio dal pregiudizio del modello linguistico si

also find a kind of Anglophilism (propounded by architects born between 1915 and 1925 and their inevitable proselytes) that attempted to demonstrate the continuing validity of the model.
This latter trend is evident now in multiple and far-reaching attempts to assert the claims of dirigiste planning in projects designed to force historical centres into merely archeological features and bring suburban sprawl to a halt with green belts and the conversion of derelict industrial areas (empty spaces alternate with areas intended for what are seen as emergent activities, but also, when the occasion presents itself, for new suburban housing estates).
It is hardly surprising, then, that this approach has won widespread support, usually from local administrators who find in it a functional unconcern assured by the political neutrality of the model; but also in the bookkeeper mentality of green movements which see cities only in terms of pre-established environmental parameters, and finally from the mass media which see model-based planning as a convenient sop to conventional public opinion (but sometimes even from the kind of sociological planning whose bottom-up approach translates social need into legal constraints and supply standards).
In addition to imposing uniform planning controls, model-based approaches actually prescribe the kind of architecture that can be built when architects eager to establish their neo-rationalist credentials based on certain principles of Gropius, adopt the minimalist credo that a building should be "something new that looks as if it has always been there".
Ironically, prescriptions like these are often the result of targeted and sometimes systematic surveys of architecture and cities in past and more recent times, claiming to be more up to date because they draw on more advanced historical methods (the "histoire globale" *of the "Annales" or Anglo-Saxon historical empiricism). But rather than suggesting a type-testing model, the surveys encouraged the enhancement of individual contextual differences by giving the resources, features and identities of each and every architectural or planning event an authentic focus.*
In Terni, the Piazza del Popolo marks the intersection of the cardo and decumanus of the ancient Roman city, and a chapel (now destroyed) probably linked to the medieval complex of the Hospital of St. Peter once stood on the site where Ridolfi and Frankl's Tower should eventually be built.
In Berlin, on the site intended for Eisenman's Tower between the Sprea and Friedrichstrasse, directly opposite the triangular lot where the glass skyscraper designed by Mies van der Rohe (1919) should have been built, there was once a covered market, built in 1867, which was converted into a home for the Schumann Circus, then adapted by Hans Poelzig in 1919 for the great Max Reinhardt's Schauspielhaus and subsequently restructured and readapted on numerous other occasions.
So it is no accident that the innate intolerance of the conservation model has given rise to the doubts that are now delaying the implementation of Ridolfi and Frankl's Civic Centre project in Terni.
Similarly, it is no accident that the inherent bias of the linguistic model is now producing reservations over Eisenman's Max Reinhardt Haus project in Berlin (it has been accused of being inappropriately quasi-sculptural, and of embodying speculative linguistic concepts arbitrarily transferred

appunti oggi una serie di riserve sul progetto berlinese della Max Reinhardt Haus (è accusato di prodursi impropriamente ai limiti della scultura o di farsi interprete di speculazioni linguistiche arbitrariamente tradotte in architettura).

Mentre da un *ubi consistam* contestuale, che sapesse accogliere non solo la Torre di Terni, evidentemente inserita ben addentro nel *libro* della storia, ma anche la Torre di Berlino, pur votata a una "*riscrittura prediscorsiva*" dell'architettura, entrambe potrebbero risultare inscritte, sia pure con diverso intento di significatività, nel *gran libro* della città.

to architecture).

And yet, if a contextual ubi consistam *approach were adopted that could accommodate both the Terni tower (which obviously belongs to the book of history) and the Berlin tower (intended as a* "prediscursive reinscription" *of architecture), the two buildings, though with different intentions of meaning, could both be inscribed in the* great book *of the city.*

1. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, La regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura, *Roma, 1562: frontespizio.*

1. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, La regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura, *Rome, 1562: frontispiece.*



1

Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola*

Christof Thoenes

L'ascesa dell'artista nella società del Rinascimento è vista oggi generalmente come una conseguenza del suo emanciparsi dalla condizione di artigiano: l'artista di corte, uscito dall'ambiente ristretto delle corporazioni cittadine, entra come intellettuale nella cerchia dei poeti, dei dotti e dei letterati[1]. Ciò vale senz'altro per le arti figurative, anche se il caso di Michelangelo, che ancora da vecchio insisteva sulla "sua" arte di scultore (nel senso di artigianato, di mestiere), dimostra che vi erano delle tendenze contrarie a quel modello esplicativo. La situazione è invece più complessa, fin dall'inizio, per quanto riguarda l'architettura: l'attività dell'architetto — a differenza di quelle dei capimastri e degli artigiani edili — era di natura più mentale che fisica, e quindi poteva essere esercitata anche dai membri della classe superiore e addirittura dai prìncipi. Tuttavia anche qui il Rinascimento portò a innovazioni fondamentali, tra cui la nascita, nell'Italia del Quattrocento, di una teoria umanistica dell'architettura. Questa teoria, considerata finora soprattutto dal punto di vista della storia dell'arte, ebbe conseguenze di grande portata anche per la storia sociale dell'architettura, in quanto diede origine a un nuovo livello di comunicazione fra artisti e committenti. Il mondo della teoria, ristretto inizialmente (al tempo di Alberti) a un'*élite* di intellettuali delle due categorie, divenne accessibile nel Cinquecento, grazie specialmente alla diffusione delle opere di Serlio, a un numero crescente di architetti e di amatori, che s'incontravano per parlare di architettura non come *ars mechanica*, ma come componente di una cultura di classe orientata soprattutto verso gli studi umanistici e antiquari[2]. Ciò portò alla formazione di stili architettonici riconducibili alle loro radici sociali in modo molto più diretto di quelli precedenti: si pensi alle ville e ai palazzi eretti per l'aristocrazia vicentina da Palladio, ampiamente studiati sotto quest'aspetto in tempi recenti.
In tale contesto appaiono ben inseribili anche l'opera e la figura del Vignola. Noto ad artisti e a dilettanti come autore del più diffuso "libro di colonne", il Vignola fu per più di vent'anni al servizio dei Farnese, che erano allora una delle famiglie di committenti più potenti, più ambiziose e dotate di maggior prestigio sociale. Può sembrare quindi naturale associare strettamente questi due nomi e vedere nell'artista l'araldo di quella politica di potenza farnesiana che trovò la sua espressione architettonica ideale soprattutto nei grandiosi palazzi di Caprarola e di Piacenza[3]. Ma un esame più attento mostra che un simile *cliché* non corrisponde né all'epoca del Vignola, né al suo comportamento sociale.

Architecture and Society in the Work of Vignola

Christof Thoenes

The rise of the artist in Renaissance society is now usually seen as a result of the emancipation of the craftsman: once liberated from the narrow confines of city corporations, the court artist became an intellectual and entered the circle of poets, scholars and men of letters[1]. This is certainly what happened in the figurative arts, although the case of Michelangelo, who even as an old man insisted that he had "his" way of doing sculpture, his own approach to the sculptor's craft or trade, shows there were other forces running counter to this trend. But architecture was a much more complicated affair right from the start. Unlike master masons and craft builders, architects did mental rather than physical work that people of superior social rank, and even princes, could perform if they wished. But here, too, the advent of the Renaissance brought about fundamental changes, including, in Quattrocento Italy, the formulation of a Humanistic theory of architecture. Although it has largely been seen up to now as a phenomenon of art history, this theory also had a profound effect on the social history of architecture because it gave rise to a new relationship between architects and their patrons. Theoretical discourse had initially (at the time of Alberti) been the prerogative of an intellectual elite of architects and patrons, but in the sixteenth century, largely thanks to the popularity of Serlio's works, it became accessible to growing numbers of professional and amateur architects who met to talk about architecture not as an ars mechanica *but as part of a class culture largely based on Humanistic and antiquarian study[2]. This produced architectural styles more closely linked to social realities than earlier ones had been. The villas and palaces Palladio built for the aristocracy of Vicenza are a case in point, as numerous recent studies of the social processes that led to their construction have clearly shown.*
Vignola's life and work seems to fit this pattern very well. Known to artists and dilettanti *as the author of the nation's most widely read "book of columns", Vignola worked for more than twenty years in the service of the Farnese family, which numbered some of the most powerful, ambitious and socially prestigious patrons of his age. It may seem natural to link the two names, and see Vignola as a vehicle for the Farnese political power that reached its architectural apex in the magnificent palaces he designed for them in Caprarola and Piacenza[3], but closer study reveals that neither Vignola's work itself nor his social behaviour support this assumption. If we accept that sociology can help us to understand Vignola's architecture, we can only conclude that it should be read in a*

Ammesso che l'analisi sociologica possa contribuire alla comprensione della sua architettura, essa va impostata diversamente: ed è quello che cercherò di fare.
Anzitutto, che cosa realmente sappiamo sui rapporti tra il Vignola e i Farnese? Se esaminiamo il relativo materiale, quantitativamente cospicuo[4], sotto l'aspetto degli scambi d'idee fra l'architetto e i suoi committenti, il risultato è piuttosto deludente. Le lettere al cardinale Alessandro, al duca Ottavio o a "Madama" (Margherita d'Austria, la committente di Piacenza e di Parma) trattano tutt'al più di questioni pratiche, come la disposizione e la funzione di singole stanze, ma in genere riguardano lagnanze di concorrenti ai quali il Vignola doveva tener testa, intrighi di funzionari di corte o altri argomenti analoghi. Non si apprende nulla sulle nuove concezioni dell'architetto, né sul modo in cui esse venivano accolte dai suoi patroni; non si ha neppure l'impressione che vi sia stato un dialogo, e tanto meno che con l'andar del tempo si sia stabilito tra le due parti un rapporto di fiducia. Al contrario, mentre a Caprarola il Vignola riuscì abbastanza bene a far valere il proprio programma, nonostante il ristretto margine di autonomia dovuto alle fabbriche preesistenti, a Piacenza l'idea che gli stava più a cuore, quella del grande teatro, rimase sulla carta[5]; e anche il suo ultimo incarico farnesiano, la Chiesa del Gesù a Roma, può dirsi assolto solo a metà, essendo stato preferito per la facciata il progetto del più giovane concorrente Giacomo della Porta. Già John Coolidge ha notato l'incapacità del Vignola di persuadere alla lunga i suoi committenti[6]. Ciò sorprende in un artista che a suo tempo fu così famoso ed ebbe successo anche in quanto autore di libri come la *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*, accolta con tanto favore anche e specialmente dai "signori"[7]. In effetti questo successo arrivò inatteso per lo stesso interessato, che era stato mosso dall'intento di scrivere un manuale per gli architetti ("*quelli che habbino qualche introduttione nell'arte*"): un manuale non da leggere, ma da utilizzare al tavolo da disegno[8]. Il libro si apre bensì con una dedica "*all'Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signore mio et Padrone Singularissimo il Cardinale Farnese*", ma essa non contiene altro che frasi retoriche di ossequio, di una vuotaggine quasi sconveniente (a differenza, ad esempio, delle dediche di Serlio, in cui spesso viene già formulata l'idea fondamentale del libro). Segue — nettamente distinta già per la disadorna semplicità dei caratteri dell'intitolazione — la prefazione "*Ai lettori*", in cui Vignola illustra il principio che è alla base della sua "*regola*". Si tratta di un metodo per il corretto proporzionamento degli ordini di colonne, elaborato dapprima, come l'autore afferma, per proprio uso e pubblicato ora solo per le insistenze di alcuni amici. Il suo pregio maggiore consiste nel fatto che col suo aiuto è possibile adattare i vari ordini a una qualsiasi altezza prestabilita: è possibile cioè risolvere uno specifico problema pratico, importante per l'architetto ma privo d'interesse per il committente. Il Vignola tratta perciò il tema in modo puramente pragmatico, mediante disegni rigorosamente schematizzati, rinunziando a tutte quelle considerazioni storico-antiquarie e metafisiche che avrebbero potuto formare oggetto di conversazioni sull'architettura di tipo letterario. Che l'autore si sia curato ben poco dei lettori appartenenti ad altri strati sociali risulta fra l'altro dalla mancanza di ulteriori manifestazioni di gratitudine verso il suo patrono, per le quali alcune tavole avrebbero potuto fornire ottime occasioni: i gigli e gli emblemi farnesiani che talvolta compaiono restano senza commento, e il cornicione di Caprarola è presentato semplicemente come "*di mia inventione*", senza che sia nemmeno nominato il committente dell'edificio[9]. Non sappiamo come questi abbia accolto l'opera dedicatagli dal suo architetto di corte, ma forse in seguito il Vignola ebbe modo di ravvedersi: nella seconda edizione il libro fu arricchito di una serie di particolari (quattro portali e un camino) tratti da edifici farnesiani, e in due didascalie venne se non altro menzionato l' "*Ill.mo et R.mo Car.le Farnese*"[10]. Sarebbe certamente errato voler scorgere in tutto ciò un atteggiamento di protesta del Vignola verso i suoi signori e committenti: nessun artista del suo tempo avrebbe potuto permettersi qualcosa di simile, tranne il vecchio Michelangelo, che anche sotto questo riguardo ebbe una posizione particolare. Se il Vignola, secondo tutte le testimonianze che abbiamo su di lui, non era un uomo gradevole nei rapporti quotidiani, nelle relazioni con i personaggi altolocati deve aver saputo dominare questo lato del suo carattere: le sue lettere ai membri della famiglia Farnese non sono mai prive della dovuta deferenza. Ciò che appare evidente è piuttosto una certa mancanza della formazione codificata nel *Cortigiano*, fatta di cultura, di tatto, di abilità e di padronanza di quello "stile di corte" che serve a fare dello scrivente un interlocutore piacevole e a conquistargli le simpatie del nobile destinatario. Tanto più chiaramente emergono le doti positive del Vignola, la serietà, la costanza, il senso della dignità della propria

rather different way. This is what I shall now attempt to do. To begin with, what do we really know about Vignola's relations with the Farnese family? When we search the records — and they are abundant[4] *— for exchanges of ideas between the architect and his patrons, the results are rather disappointing. His letters to Cardinal Alessandro, the Duke Ottavio and "Madama" (Margherita of Austria who commissioned the palaces in Piacenza and Parma) make little mention of practical matters like the layout and function of individual rooms. More often than not, we find complaints about the rivals Vignola had to keep abreast with, accounts of court intrigues and the like, but nothing about new architectural concepts and how his patrons reacted to them, and nothing to suggest that there was even dialogue between them, or that a relationship of trust had been built up over time. Quite the opposite, in fact. Although obliged to work with existing buildings, Vignola managed to achieve more or less what he wanted in Caprarola, but in Piacenza his vision of a large theatre remained never got beyond the drawing board*[5]*, and even his last Farnese commission, the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome, was only half realised because a façade by a younger rival, Giacomo della Porta, was chosen instead of his own. John Coolidge has already noted Vignola's failure to exert any lasting influence on his patrons*[6]*. This may seem surprising in so successful an artist also renowned as the author of* Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura *which had been so well received — significantly enough — by the "noble" readers of his day*[7]*. But Vignola himself was surprised by the success of his book, which he had intended as a manual for architects (*"those who have some grounding in the art"*), an aid to practical design rather than a book to be read*[8]*. Its empty rhetorical dedication* "all'Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signore mio et Padrone Singularissimo il Cardinale Farnese" *is of an almost embarrassing obsequiousness that contrasts notably with, for example, Serlio's dedications which already contain the kernel of the book that follows. Vignola then offers an introduction* To the readers *— the title is printed in strikingly simpler, much less elaborate lettering — in which he illustrates the underlying principle of his* "rule"*, a method for the correct proportioning of orders of columns which, Vignola says, he worked out for his own use originally but then published on the insistence of a group of friends. The most important advantage of his method is that it enables architects to scale various orders of columns to any given height. In other words, it can resolve specific practical problems that are important for architects but of no interest to patrons. So Vignola approaches his subject in a purely practical way using rigourously diagrammatic rather than descriptive drawings, and foregoes all the historical, antiquarian or metaphysical considerations that make "literary" conversations about architecture possible. The absence of further expressions of gratitude towards his patron shows that, apart from practising architects, Vignola had virtually no interest in other kinds of readers. Some of his illustrations could have served very well as tributes to his patrons, but the Farnese lilies and emblems he occasionally reproduces are passed over without comment, and the Caprarola cornice is presented simply as* "di mia inventione" a design of mine) *with no mention of the patron who had commissioned the building from him*[9]*. We do not know how his patron reacted to this dedication from his court architect, but Vignola may well have seen the error of his ways at a later date: the second edition of the book includes details (four portals and a chimney) of Farnese buildings, and his patron,* "Ill.mo et R.mo Car.le Farnese"*, is at least mentioned in two captions*[10]*. It would certainly be mistaken to see all this as some kind of protest against his lords and patrons on Vignola's part: no artist of his day would have dared attempt such a thing, except the aged Michelangelo, who again seems to be the exception that proves the rule. From all the accounts we have of him, Vignola does not seem to have been a particularly easy-going man in private life, but he would certainly have taken care to keep the more awkward aspects of his character well in check when dealing with high-ranking figures: his letters to members of the Farnese family never lack the reverence that would have been expected of him. What does emerge, however, is a certain lack of the formal rhetorical propriety Castiglione codified in his* Cortigiano, *that mixture of cultural breeding, tact and "courtly" fluency that made writers agreeable correspondents and helped them to captivate noble readers. As a result, Vignola's more positive traits — seriousness, reliability, awareness of the dignity of his position — come over all the more clearly, especially the pride of the expert who knows his job inside out and, in his view, better than anyone else. This is evident in the pitiless judgements he passes on the work of colleagues, and also explains the arrogant, irritable and sometimes excessively offensive and aggressive tone he adopts*[11]*. His fight against the "errors" of others was always — and also — a fight for morality in art, and so for his own independence. Shoddy work that violated the "rules" of the*

condizione: troviamo qui l'orgoglio dello specialista che conosce bene il proprio lavoro e ritiene di conoscerlo meglio di chiunque altro. Ciò risulta evidente dall'inesorabilità dei suoi giudizi sulle opere dei colleghi, e al tempo stesso spiega il tono irritato e arrogante, talvolta fuori misura, aggressivo e offensivo, di quei giudizi[11]: la lotta contro gli "errori" degli altri è sempre anche una lotta per la moralità artistica, e quindi per la propria autonomia. Il lavoro scadente, che urta contro le "regole" del mestiere, inficia quel patto non scritto fra artista e committente che assicura al primo la sua indipendenza e garantisce al secondo di essere servito secondo le regole dell'arte. Su questo, e non sull'intrigo, l'adulazione e l'abilità retorica il Vignola fonda la sua posizione a corte, che è quella di chi è esperto in un dato campo ben definito, di chi conosce i propri limiti e non cerca di oltrepassarli, ma si attende anche che siano rispettati dal suo signore. Compiti precisi e mano libera per assolverli: si può caratterizzare così il suo ideale.
Il Vignola non si è espresso in questi termini, ma forse qualcosa del suo modo di concepire il proprio ruolo si riflette nel frontespizio del suo trattato (fig. 1). Il ritratto dell'autore vi appare incorniciato entro un'edicola, contenuta a sua volta in un involucro chiuso simile a uno scenario teatrale: un singolare insieme di elementi incastonati l'uno nell'altro, di non facile interpretazione iconografica[12]. L'edicola è ornata dallo stemma e dalle imprese del cardinale Alessandro: se la consideriamo come un'immagine della casa Farnese, ciò significa che il Vignola lavorava "in" essa, "sotto" il suo patrono (il cui stemma sovrasta l'immagine dell'artista), ma entro uno spazio nettamente delimitato, che appartiene a lui solo e che egli occupa interamente. Il fatto paradossale è che questo "interno" è rappresentato senza sfondo e quindi aperto, ossia come un vero e proprio "spazio libero", mentre tutt'intorno appare impedita la comunicazione col mondo esterno; un messaggio forse inconscio, "subiconografico", che trova rispondenze nell'architettura vignolesca[13]. Dopo aver parlato delle condizioni esterne in cui si svolse il lavoro del nostro, esaminiamone ora i risultati: in che modo la sua opera architettonica può illuminarci sul suo comportamento sociale? Anche qui basterà qualche accenno. Prenderò l'avvio dal problema del rapporto tra "regola" e "invenzione" nelle architetture del Vignola. Non mi riallaccerò al vecchio equivoco secondo cui l'autore della *Regola* avrebbe inteso sostituire alla fantasia architettonica un canone; vi è tuttavia un certo contrasto tra la fama che

trade invalidated the unwritten pact between artist and patron that underwrote the independence of the former and ensured that the latter was correctly served as the art itself prescribed. It was on this principle, rather than on intrigue, flattery and rhetorical skill, that Vignola founded his status at court as an expert in a clearly defined field, as a man who knows his limits and tries keep to them, but also expects his lord to do the same. Clearly defined tasks and a free hand in executing them were the essence of his ideal, then.
Vignola never actually said this in so many words, but some idea of how he conceived his role can be found in the frontispiece to his treatise (fig. 1). The portrait of the author is framed by an aedicula, and this is framed in turn by what looks like a theatre stage set. The result is a remarkable set of iconographical elements set one inside the other which is by no means easy to interpret[12]. The aedicula is adorned with the crest and deeds of Cardinal Alessandro: if we take this as an image of the Farnese family, it suggests that Vignola works "in" the family "under" his patron (whose crest dominates the portrait of the architect) but within a clearly defined space that belongs solely to him and which he alone occupies. Paradoxically, this "interior" space has no background and so appears unlimited, "free space" in the true sense, while everything around it seems to impede communication with the outside world: an unconscious, "sub-iconographical" message perhaps that finds its counterpart in Vignola's architecture[13]. Let us now move from the conditions that determined how Vignola worked to the results he actually achieved. What insight does his finished architecture give us into his social behaviour? Here, too, a minimum of documentation will suffice. Let us start with the relationship between "rule" and "invention" in Vignola's architecture. The old misconception that Vignola wished to replace architectural invention with a book of rules need not concern us here, although there is a certain discrepancy between the fame he enjoyed among his contemporaries and the limited inventiveness now attributed to his work. Very few sixteenth-century architectural forms, motifs or concepts seem to have originated with Vignola, and none of his buildings are especially notable for originality[14] and imaginative daring, or for splendour of appearance and artistic inventiveness. Only experts can appreciate the quality — and quantity — of Vignola's skills: the rational layout of plans and floors, the structural solutions, the economy of means, the appropriacy of ornament, the finely judged proportions, the sheer technical mastery. These were the skills that really

2. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Villa Giulia, Roma, 1550-55: particolare della facciata.
Foto Alinari.

2. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Villa Giulia, Rome, 1550-55: detail of façade.
Photo Alinari.



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3. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Villa Giulia, Roma, 1550-55: vista della facciata.
4. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Palazzo Farnese, Piacenza, 1560: progetto della facciata.
Parma, Archivio di Stato.

3. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Villa Giulia, Rome, 1550-55: view of façade.
4. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Farnese Palace, Piacenza, 1560: design for façade.
Parma, State Archive.



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egli ebbe presso i contemporanei e le limitate capacità inventive che oggi gli vanno attribuite. In effetti è difficile identificare nell'architettura del Cinquecento forme, motivi o idee riportabili al Vignola, e nessuna delle sue opere ci conquista al primo sguardo per le sue particolari doti di originalità[14], di arditezza o d'immaginazione, per lo splendore dell'aspetto o per una peculiare espressività. Solo l'esperto apprezza la qualità — o la quantità — del lavoro professionale che l'architetto ha dedicato ad esse. L'organizzazione razionale delle piante e degli alzati, la soluzione di tutti i problemi di articolazione delle membrature, l'economia di mezzi, la correttezza degli ornamenti, il calcolo attento delle proporzioni, la tecnica sicura: erano queste le cose che stavano a cuore al Vignola e di cui stigmatizzava la mancanza nei colleghi e nei concorrenti.
Chiarirò questo punto con alcuni esempi[15]. La palazzina di Villa Giulia (figg. 2, 3) non deve aver offerto nulla di nuovo, per quanto riguarda il repertorio di forme, ai conoscitori contemporanei, e specialmente ai lettori del *Quarto Libro* di Serlio; ma la giustapposizione degli ordini situati ai due estremi del catalogo serliano — toscano (rustico) e composito — le conferisce una tensione tutta particolare. Il Vignola non ha fatto nulla per attenuarla: al contrario, l'ha messa in risalto nel disegnare dettagli come le incorniciature delle finestre[16] e le nicchie sovrapposte sui due piani. L'unità dell'insieme è intanto affidata a uno schema tripartito che organizza l'intera facciata e al tempo stesso denunzia la disposizione interna dell'edificio. Uno sguardo al prospetto di un qualsiasi palazzo precedente (ad esempio di quello Farnese) mostra quale sia stata la novità sostanziale: il passaggio dalla composizione paratattica a quella sintattica, in cui il valore intrinseco della singola forma passa in seconda linea rispetto al suo valore di posizione[17]. La divisione in orizzontale fra i due piani e quella in verticale fra le tre parti della facciata creano un'intelaiatura in cui s'inseriscono le aperture, largamente spaziate nelle due ali e saldamente serrate nel corpo centrale. In quest'ultimo è replicato lo schema ternario, con la parte mediana (portale d'ingresso e sovrastante balcone) in ulteriore leggero risalto, quanto basta per dare alle membrature un'articolazione plastica a tutto tondo senza interrompere il contesto del rilievo. Si ottiene così un effetto d'insieme del tutto nuovo, in cui l'intera struttura appare fortemente sotto tensione, pur presentandosi in tutta la sua trasparenza: superfici murarie e bugnature, paraste e

mattered to Vignola, and he roundly condemned his colleagues and rivals when he failed to find evidence of them in their work.
A few examples will be useful here[15]. The Villa Giulia's repertoire of forms (figs. 2, 3) probably held few surprises for architecture connoisseurs of Vignola's day, especially those who had read Serlio's Quarto Libro, *but Vignola's juxtaposing of the two extreme orders in Serlio's classification — the Tuscan (rustic) and the composite — gives his building a special kind of tension which he did nothing to lessen. On the contrary, he drew attention to it in details like the window frames[16] and the superimposed niches on the two storeys. The tripartite scheme of the façade creates unformity of ensemble and also points to the internal organisation of the building. A glance at the façade of any earlier palace (the Farnese Palace, for example) quickly shows that Vignola's shift from paratactical to syntactical composition, in which the intrinsic value of individual forms is subordinated to the extrinsic value of their positioning[17], is in fact highly original. The horizontal separation of the two floors, and the vertical separation of the three parts of the façade creates a frame into which the windows, widely spaced in the two wings but tightly packed in the main central building, are inserted. The tripartite scheme is also repeated in the main building, whose middle section (the entrance portal and balcony above it) has the extra prominence needed to give the structure full sculptural relief without breaking the continuity of its context. The result is a totally new concept of ensemble in which the entire structure, although fully transparent, creates a powerful impression of being held together by tension. The wall surfaces and ashlar work, pilaster strips and columns, cornices and trabeations are clearly rendered yet also united in a totally logical way. A detailed analysis of the entire building would be needed to show how Vignola consistently uses this kind of "integral composition" to exploit a repertoire of wholly conventional forms and make it totally authentic. This need to authenticate the total composition demonstrates Vignola's increasing mistrust of individual forms, a kind of weakening of his artistic ego that now looks to schematic ordering for intellectual support. The extent to which this shift embodies social tendencies that transcend individual cases is an open question[18]. What we can say, however, is that Vignola's stylistic idiolect finds its counterpart in his theoretical discourse, in the sense that he was the first theorist to extrapolate a system of architectural and stylistic orders from*

colonne, cornici e trabeazioni rimangono nettamente distinte, e al tempo stesso sono concatenate secondo una logica perfettamente comprensibile. Occorrerebbe un'analisi dettagliata ed esauriente per mostrare come attraverso una coerente "composizione integrale" di tutti i particolari l'architetto sia riuscito a elaborare nel modo più ricco un repertorio di forme in sé del tutto convenzionale e a confermarne proprio con questo l'autenticità. L'aver sentito il bisogno di questa conferma rivela un calo di fiducia nella forza vitale dei particolari, una specie d'indebolimento dell'*Ego* artistico, che cerca ora sostegno in schemi ordinatori. Fino a che punto siano qui riconoscibili delle tendenze sociali che trascendono il caso individuale, è una questione che lasceremo aperta[18]; comunque, l'atteggiamento stilistico del Vignola corrisponde al suo modo di procedere nella teoria, dove fu il primo a dedurre il canone degli ordini da una "regola generale" prestabilita alla quale le singole regole devono essere subordinate[19]. L'accento centrale dominante e il suo inserimento nel sistema della facciata rimarranno anche in seguito un motivo ricorrente nel Vignola (fig. 4); il simbolismo sociale di questa soluzione è evidente, anche quando manca una diretta giustificazione politico-iconografica (fig. 5). Il problema è sempre quello di mettere in risalto un portale col suo apparato decorativo e al tempo stesso di trattarlo come parte della struttura complessiva. Insieme al repertorio delle singole forme (edicole, bugnature, ecc.), anche un dato tipologico come la torre centrale del Palazzo di Piacenza viene integrato nella facciata in modo tale da perdere gran parte del suo carattere semantico, di espressione della sovranità ducale, e da apparire infine come un risultato del lavoro di progettazione, una forma nata solo dalla logica interna della composizione architettonica[20].
Per chiarire questo concetto sarà opportuno dare un'occhiata alle architetture di Palladio. Nato un anno dopo del Vignola, egli sta cronologicamente alla stessa distanza dal classicismo rinascimentale, aderisce sostanzialmente agli ideali di quell'età, e tuttavia è diventato quasi un antagonista del nostro. Già la Villa Pisani a Montagnana (fig. 6), eretta contemporaneamente a Villa Giulia e ad essa simile nell'organizzazione della facciata, mostra da un lato la sovrana indifferenza di Palladio per ogni sorta di trattamento delle superfici alla maniera del Vignola, e dall'altro quella tipica scioltezza compositiva che si manifesterà sempre più nettamente nell'evoluzione

a predefined "general rule" to which individual rules had to be subordinated[19]. This emphasis on the central section of the façade and how it relates to the rest of the composition is a constant feature of Vignola's subsequent work (fig. 4), and its social symbolism is quite evident, even when there seems no direct political or iconographical justification for it (fig. 5). The problem was always the same: how to throw an entrance portal and its decorative framing into strong relief without detracting from the effect of the total composition. Quite apart from his repertoire of individual forms (aediculae, ashlar work, etc.), even a typological feature like the central tower of the Farnese Palace in Piacenza is integrated with the façade in such a way that it loses much of its significance as an expression of ducal sovereignty and seems the outcome of deliberate architectural design, a form produced by the internal logic of the total architectural composition[20].
A brief look at Palladio's architecture will help to make this concept clearer. Although born only a year later than Vignola, and so chronologically distanced from Renaissance Classicism and intellectually committed to the ideals of his age to much the same extent, in real terms Palladio became Vignola's virtual antithesis. His Villa Pisani in Montagnana (fig. 6), built at the same time as the Villa Giulia and broadly similar in the organisation of its façade, shows both Palladio's supreme indifference to Vignola's ways of handling surfaces, and the looseness of composition that would increasingly characterise his work (it would be perceived as either scandalous or liberating, depending on point of view). Palladio's villas especially (figs 8, 9) seem compositions of ready-made elements: heterogeneous forms are casually thrown together, arches are flanked by columns, trabeations flow unbroken across walls and piers, surfaces are freely extended. The problem of how to relate walls to structure is either non-existent or, if it cannot be avoided, is solved in ways that would have attracted Vignola's most virulent sarcasm. It is not so much that Palladio broke individual rules, as that he established the principle that fundamentally incompatible elements can peacefully coexist in the same composition. This coexistence of disparate elements is what gives late Palladian buildings their apparent lack of gravity and makes them look like theatre sets, collections of "motifs" assembled for display — porticoes, colonnades, fronts, ashlar walls, huge orders daringly placed before buildings with no regard for subdivision in floors. Vignola totally rejected this device. For him, the architect's job was to work both the order itself

5. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Chiesa del Gesù, Roma, 1568: progetto della facciata. Incisione di Mario Cartaro.

5. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Chiesa del Gesù, Rome, 1568: design for façade. Engraving by Mario Cartaro.



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dell'architettura palladiana e sarà sentita, secondo i punti di vista, come scandalosa o come liberatoria. Specialmente le ville (figg. 8, 9) sembrano spesso composte con elementi prefabbricati: strutture eterogenee vengono associate fra loro con disinvoltura, le colonne si affiancano agli archi, le trabeazioni corrono continue su pareti e piedritti, le superfici si distendono liberamente. Il problema della mediazione tra pareti e membrature non esiste, oppure viene risolto, quando non è possibile eluderlo, in un modo che avrebbe suscitato nel Vignola quanto meno dei commenti sarcastici. Non si tratta tanto di singole infrazioni alle regole, quanto del principio della coesistenza pacifica di elementi in fondo incompatibili fra loro: coesistenza che conferisce specialmente ai ricchi e grandiosi apparati del tardo Palladio quell'assenza di gravità che li rende così simili a quinte teatrali. Ciò che si vede sono dei "motivi" messi in mostra: porticati, colonnati, frontoni, pareti bugnate, ordini giganti anteposti arditamente ai corpi di fabbrica senza tener conto della loro articolazione in piani. Il Vignola ha rigorosamente rifiutato quest'ultimo espediente; per lui sia l'ordine, sia tutti gli altri motivi sono materiali che l'architetto deve elaborare, fondendoli in un tutto unico in cui ciascun elemento sia in relazione con l'insieme. Il confronto tra due cortili, entrambi con portici a due piani (figg. 7, 18), mostra ancora una volta la noncuranza con cui Palladio si discosta da quella "*ben'intesa Architettura*"[21] che il Vignola si sforzava di portare gradualmente a perfezione nelle sue opere. La stessa impressione si ha dal paragone fra due facciate di chiese (figg. 10, 11); all'esplicito accostamento di grandi motivi in vivo contrasto fra loro si contrappone una struttura a rilievo quasi omogenea, rigida e in sé conclusa, della cui organizzazione ritmica, estremamente complessa e magistralmente dominata, si prende coscienza solo a poco a poco[22].

Non stupisce quindi che, nonostante l'importanza dell'opera del Vignola per la generazione seguente, non si sia formata una sua scuola nel senso usuale del termine: egli insegnò un metodo, non una maniera, e lasciò soluzioni di problemi, non modelli riutilizzabili. Il repertorio di Palladio è caratterizzato invece proprio dalla sua riproducibilità; e così nei secoli XVII e XVIII esso si diffuse nel mondo nordico-protestante, mentre nei paesi cattolici s'imponeva il linguaggio architettonico del barocco romano. Contrastanti nei loro contenuti ideologici, entrambi i movimenti erano frutto di una cultura che con G. C. Argan[23] abbiamo imparato a intendere come cultura retorica, di persuasione: quella, appunto, con cui il Vignola era in opposizione. Naturalmente non è il caso qui di esprimere giudizi di qualità o di discutere valutazioni personali. Se il Vignola può essere considerato in un certo senso più "professionale" come architetto, Palladio lo supera per ampiezza di orizzonti, ricchezza di idee e cultura storica, nonché per quel profondo interesse verso il mondo antico che egli condivise coi suoi committenti e seppe trasmettere ai posteri con la sua opera. Ciò implica un ulteriore elemento di differenziazione, forse il più importante: il carattere comunicativo dell'arte palladiana. Se ai nostri occhi i suoi edifici appaiono tanto più vitali, suggestivi e attraenti di quelli del Vignola, è anche perché essi stimolano la nostra immaginazione. La sintesi dei singoli motivi in un tutto unico, che per il Vignola costituisce la sostanza del disegno, in Palladio rimane in fondo affidata al riguardante. Le sue architetture, oggettivamente irrisolte o "non finite" (in senso vignolesco) danno soggettivamente un senso di gioia a chi sappia percepirle quali "immagini": come a Goethe, che credette di vedere in esse "*la forza del grande poeta*"[24]. L'elemento sociale qui insito diventa palese se sostituisce alla figura del riguardante quella del committente, a cui prima di ogni altro il progetto si rivolge[25]. In effetti quest'architettura si realizza nel dialogo: l'abbondanza d'idee che essa presenta, in sempre nuove combinazioni, equivale a un repertorio di proposte fatte al committente, così come le illustrazioni dei *Quattro libri*, a prescindere dalle loro insufficienze grafiche, danno talvolta l'impressione che disegni e xilografie rappresentino il vero volto dell'opera di Palladio. Anche un semplice frammento (come le sue due campate del Palazzo Porto-Breganze, fig. 12) può bastare a rendere visibile la sua concezione, mentre un edificio incompiuto del Vignola come il Palazzo Farnese di Piacenza (fig. 13), nonostante le sue dimensioni gigantesche, ha in sé qualcosa d'insufficiente e di irrimediabilmente non realizzato: solo nell'opera attuata per intero, solo nel travaglio esecutivo vissuto fino all'ultimo si sarebbe potuto manifestare il vero contenuto di quest'architettura.

Il Vignola ebbe la fortuna di portare a termine il suo capolavoro, o almeno di poter lavorare al suo completamento fino alla morte: così volle, secondo Vasari, il suo mecenate e committente Alessandro Farnese, che gli lasciò esplicitamente mano libera in tutte le questioni importanti[26]. In effetti il Palazzo di Caprarola è visto oggi

and all his other architectural motifs into a unified ensemble in which each individual element is clearly related to the whole. Comparison of two courtyards, both with two-storey porticoes (figs 7, 18), again shows Palladio's careless disregard for the "fully intelligible architecture"[21] *Vignola was gradually seeking to perfect. A comparison of two church façades (figs 10, 11) is equally revealing: powerfully contrasted large-scale motifs stand in opposition to rigid, self-contained, virtually homogeneous relief structures whose masterly and extremely complex organisational rhythms only gradually become apparent*[22].

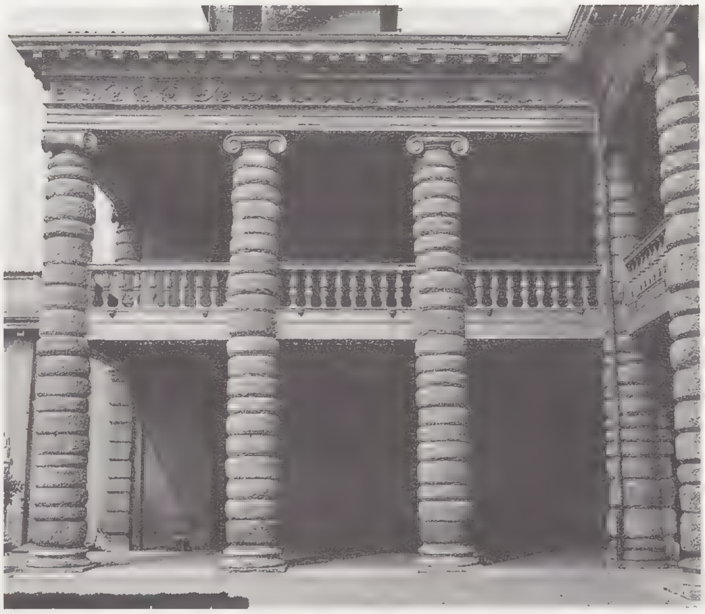
So although Vignola's work was important to the generation that came after him, the fact that it produced no school in the usual sense of the term is not really surprising. He taught a method, not a style, and left solutions to problems behind him, not models that could be imitated. By contrast, Palladio left forms that could be copied, with the result that his style spread throughout the northern Protestant countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while Roman baroque dominated the architectural language of the Catholic countries. Although ideologically different, both were the products of a culture which G. C. Argan[23] *has described as rhetorical or suasive, just the kind of culture Vignola was opposed to. Naturally, questions of architectural or personal merit do not concern us here. If Vignola was, in a certain sense, the more "professional" architect of the two, Palladio surpassed him in breadth of vision, abundance of ideas and historical awareness, and also in the profound interest in the world of antiquity he shared with his patrons and successfully bequeathed to posterity in his works. This suggests another — and perhaps the most important — difference between the two architects, the fact that Palladio's architecture is so "communicative". One reason why his buildings seem so much more attractive, evocative and vital than Vignola's is that they speak to our imagination. Vignola embodied the synthesis of individual elements in a total ensemble in his actual designs, but Palladio intended onlookers to make their own syntheses whenever they looked at his buildings. Objectively speaking, Palladio's architecture is unresolved, "unfinished" in Vignola's sense of the term, but it communicates a sense of joy to those able to perceive it as "image" — Goethe, for example, saw in it* "the power of the great poet"[24]. *The intrinsic social dimension of Palladio's architecture becomes even clearer if we replace "onlooker" with "patron", the person for whom, more than anyone else, his projects were intended*[25]. *Palladio's architecture lives through dialogue: the abundance of his ideas, and their consistently novel permutations, turns his architecture into a "sample book" for patrons, just as the illustrations in his* Quattro Libri *sometimes give the impression that his drawings and xylographs are, in spite of their technical shortcomings, the real essence of his work. Even a simple fragment like the two bays of the Porto-Braganze Palace (fig. 12) reveals the general concept that underlies his architecture, while an unfinished building by Vignola — the Farnese Palace in Piacenza (fig. 13), for example — seems intrinsically inadequate, irretrievably incomplete, in spite of its imposing size. Only in his completely finished work, only in buildings where his patient labour has been allowed to run its full course, does the true stature of Vignola's architecture become apparent.*

Vignola had the good fortune to be able to finish his masterpiece, or at least to be able to work on it right up to his death, at the express wish (according to Vasari) of his patron Alessandro Farnese who gave him free rein in all the important architectural aspects of its design[26]. *Indeed, the Caprarola Palace is now seen almost exclusively as a monument to its architect rather than the "great cardinal" who lived and held court there. Even the deeds of the Farnese family itself, copiously catalogued by the Zuccari brothers in their interior frescoes, seem ill at ease in Vignola's huge edifice. The imprint of his patron's personal power is visible in the composition as a whole — the siting of the fortress above the town, the wide road leading up to it, the square in front that seems intended to set it apart, the staggered access ramps, the sheer mass of the building with its corner bastions and the size of the complex as a whole — but the clockwork-like precision with which all the elements are assembled and integrated gives no impression of a superior controlling will. The result is not a tribute to the sovereignty of a prince, but a triumph of organisation (figs 14-18)*[27]. *The architecture is anonymous and conventional: there is no "eloquence" to strike the eye, no dominant emphasis to break the prismatic regularity of the building. Even the central bay is marked only by the entrance portal on the lower floor*[28]. *After passing through it, the visitor arrives in the hermetically sealed circular courtyard which, unusually for constructed architecture, produces a feeling of total disorientation: all sense of direction vanishes when you reach the centre of his clockwork design. This is the result of the pentagonal geometry of the building. The entrance axis passes through the centre of the clockwork mechanism and then runs up*

6. Andrea Palladio, Villa Pisani, Montagnana (Padova), 1544: vista.
7. Andrea Palladio, Villa Sarego, Santa Sofia di Pedemonte (Verona), 1568-69: cortile.
Foto Tuttle.
8. Andrea Palladio, Villa Rotonda, Vicenza, 1567: vista del portico.
9. Andrea Palladio, Villa Barbaro, Maser (Treviso), 1560: vista del corpo centrale.



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6. Andrea Palladio, Villa Pisani, Montagnana (Padua), 1544: view.
7. Andrea Palladio, Villa Sarego, Santa Sofia di Pedemonte (Verona), 1568-69: courtyard. Photo Tuttle.
8. Andrea Palladio, Villa Rotonda, Vicenza, 1567: view of portico.

9. Andrea Palladio, Villa Barbaro, Maser (Treviso), 1560: view of main building.

quasi esclusivamente come un monumento del suo architetto e non del "gran cardinale" che vi ebbe dimora e vi tenne corte; e anche le gesta della famiglia Farnese eternate con dovizia di particolari dai fratelli Zuccari negli affreschi all'interno ci appaiono come sperdute in questa grande macchina architettonica. Tutt'al più, l'impronta del potere personale del patrono è ancora visibile nell'impostazione d'insieme; la posizione sopraelevata della Rocca rispetto al paese, lo stradone che sale verso di essa, la piazza antistante, che sembra voler "mantenere le distanze", lo scaglionamento delle rampe, il blocco del palazzo con i suoi bastioni angolari, le dimensioni stesse del complesso danno all'osservatore questa sensazione. Ma proprio la precisione con cui tutte queste parti si integrano come in un meccanismo d'orologeria non fa pensare all'intervento di una singola volontà superiore: si assiste, più che al manifestarsi di una sovranità principesca, al trionfo di un'organizzazione (figg. 14-18)[27]. Il linguaggio architettonico è anonimo e convenzionale, non vi è nessun motivo "eloquente" che colpisca l'occhio e nessun accento centrale interrompe la regolarità del blocco prismatico: anche la campata mediana è segnata solamente dal portale d'ingresso nel piano inferiore[28]. Per esso il visitatore arriva nel cortile circolare, un ambiente ermeticamente chiuso che gli comunica — cosa poco frequente nell'architettura costruita — un senso di perdita totale dell'orientamento: arrivati al centro del rotismo, non è più possibile percepire alcuno stimolo direzionale proveniente dall'esterno.
Quest'effetto è prodotto dalla geometria del pentagono, che fa sì che l'asse d'ingresso, oltrepassato il centro, urti nel vertice opposto del blocco poligonale, in cui s'incontrano le due ali posteriori del palazzo. Per proseguire verso l'interno di questo bisogna cercare fra dieci aperture visivamente uguali quella giusta, che conduce allo scalone elicoidale: situato in posizione periferica, esso costituisce per così dire un altro elemento del rotismo, che ingrana con la grande ruota centrale e trasporta il visitatore, girando in senso inverso, al piano superiore.
Com'è noto, il cortile circolare ha precedenti interessanti dal punto di vista iconografico nei progetti di Francesco di Giorgio, a Villa Madama e nel Palazzo di Carlo V nell'Alhambra; per Caprarola già il Sangallo aveva progettato un cortile di questo tipo, e anche il disegno di Peruzzi per un palazzo Orsini con cortile circolare dev'essere stato noto al Vignola, che a suo tempo ne aveva previsto uno simile nel progetto di villa per Marcello

against the opposing vertex of the polygonal block where the two rear wings of the palace meet. To penetrate the interior from here, the visitor has to decide which of the ten identical doorways leads to the main spiral staircase, positioned off-centre like another clockwork element geared to the main central wheel, which carries the visitor upwards (in a direction contrary to the movement of the main hub) to the floor above.
As is well known, this kind of circular courtyard has interesting iconographical precedents in Francesco di Giorgio's designs for the Villa Madama and Charles V's palace in the Alhambra. Sangallo had already designed a courtyard of this type for Caprarola, and Vignola, who must also have been familiar with Peruzzi's design for an Orsini palace with a circular courtyard, also included one in his design for a villa for Marcello Cervini[29]. His decision was probably influenced by the notion familiar to all theorists of his day that the circle was a "perfect" geometrical form; and in fact, no other geometrical figure allows his ideal of fully integrated architectural composition to be realised so completely. A square or rectangular courtyard has four sides that meet at the corners, and they have to be linked in some way. To do this, the regular sequence of doors and windows has to be broken and the shape of the piers has to be modified, with the result that the length of the sides can vary independently of the building's actual configuration. By contrast, a circular courtyard has a fixed, immutable shape with an unbroken sequence of supports and openings that look the same from any angle. The design results from two mathematical procedures: the construction of a star-shaped configuration of axes (in Caprarola this may have been done by laying out a rectangular decagon, as described, for example, in Serlio, I, 14), and the extension of a cylindrical wall whose total length (π x base diameter) is then divided by the number of bays. Any alteration to the measurements of the ground-plan produces a vertical change, and vice versa. Vignola went one step further by using the "cadenced span" principle for his wall, in which a plain sequence of arches on pillars (as in the Villa Cervini) is replaced by alternating supports and openings of various widths which are also mathematically related to each other. The result is a design whose realisation calls for architectural skill of a high order. The same inflexibility of method is evident even in the tiniest details of the courtyard's structure. This is not one of many "possible" courtyards (as in Palladio) but the solution *to the problem of the courtyard itself. As in Bramante, the two floors*

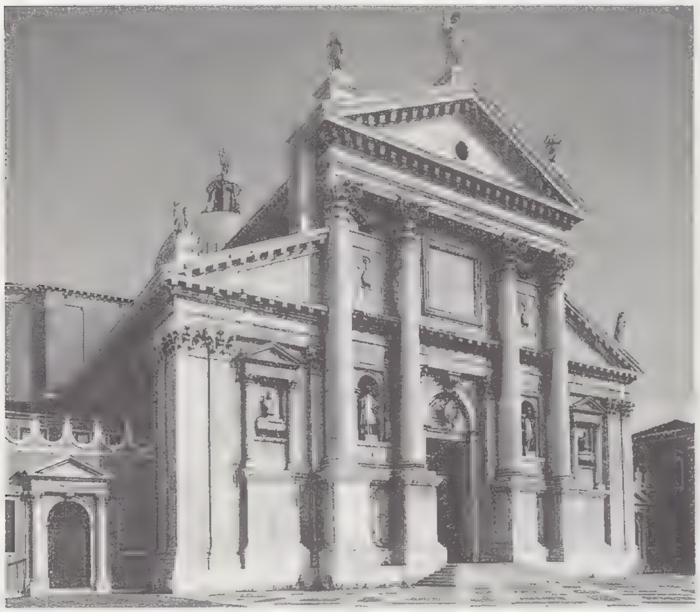
10. Andrea Palladio, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venezia, 1566: vista della facciata.
Foto Böhm.
11. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Roma, 1566-67: vista della facciata.
Foto GFN.

12. Andrea Palladio, Palazzo Porto-Breganze, Vicenza, 1550: vista.
13. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Palazzo Farnese, Piacenza, 1560: vista.
Foto Lorenz.

Cervini[29]. La sua scelta fu probabilmente determinata dall'idea, familiare a tutti i teorici, del cerchio come forma geometrica "perfetta"; e in realtà non vi è nessun'altra figura che consenta di attuare così compiutamente l'ideale della composizione architettonica integrata. Un cortile quadrato o rettangolare è formato infatti da quattro lati che s'incontrano nei vertici e qui devono essere raccordati tra loro, così che s'interrompe la sequenza uniforme delle aperture e si è costretti a modificare la forma dei piedritti; inoltre la lunghezza dei lati è variabile in modo indipendente dal sistema di articolazione adottato. Un cortile circolare ha invece una forma di per sé statica e immutabile, in cui la successione dei sostegni e delle aperture si chiude su se stessa senza cesure e presenta lo stesso aspetto in tutte le direzioni. La sua progettazione è fondata su due operazioni matematiche: la costruzione della stella di assi (eseguita forse a Caprarola mediante il tracciamento di un decagono regolare, ad esempio col procedimento descritto in Serlio, I, 14), e lo sviluppo in piano della parete cilindrica, la cui lunghezza totale, ottenuta moltiplicando per π il diametro di base, va poi divisa per il numero delle campate. Ogni cambiamento delle misure in pianta provoca quindi modifiche nell'alzato, e viceversa. Il Vignola ha fatto di più, organizzando la parete secondo il principio della "travata ritmica", in cui il semplice susseguirsi di arcate su pilastri (come nella Villa Cervini) è sostituito dall'alternanza di sostegni e aperture aventi larghezza diverse, anch'esse in rapporto non casuale tra loro. Si trattava, nell'insieme, di un compito progettuale che poteva essere assolto solo a un livello di professionalità molto elevato.
La stessa inflessibilità di metodo si manifesta nell'elaborazione del sistema di membrature, fin nel disegno dei particolari: non siamo di fronte a uno fra i tanti cortili "possibili" (alla maniera di Palladio), ma alla soluzione del problema del cortile in sé. Il tema dei due piani è svolto, sulla scia di Bramante, mediante il contrasto fra il bugnato del piano basamentale e le sovrastanti semicolonne, ma al tempo stesso viene messa in evidenza la continuità in verticale: nell'"ordine rustico" (ripreso da Serlio, IV, f. 130 *v*), in apparenza pura superficie muraria, è già latente una strutturazione, mentre le membrature del piano superiore, nonostante la loro piena corposità, rimangono parti di un contesto parietale. In tal modo il conflitto fra parete e ordini, fra struttura ad arco e struttura architravata, tipico del porticato su pilastri rinascimentale, viene risolto come

develop through a contrast between the ashlar base plinth and the half-columns above it, but vertical continuity is also stressed: the "rustic order" he took from Serlio (IV, f. 130 v*) seems a plain wall surface but in fact conceals a structure, while the upper floor structures are integral to the total design of the wall, in spite of their solidity. So the conflict between wall and orders and arched and architraved structures presented by Renaissance pillar-supported porticoes is resolved as a mathematical equation. There is no artistic or decorative redundancy, and each element takes its place in a rationally calculated ensemble. Let us return now to our original question. If the courtyard in Caprarola — and indeed the whole building in all its parts and particulars — is an "exemplary" piece of architecture, an essay in "autonomous" art entirely devoted to solving the problems it has set itself, how can it also be a "symbol of power", an architectural expression of Farnese political power? This is where the second part of my argument should begin, but I shall not pursue it here because I am not a historian and — like Vignola — I feel I should limit myself to my own discipline. This said, even professional historians seem hard put to define the exact role the Farnese family played in sixteenth-century politics and society[30], but seems to have been an ambiguous one in which more progressive attitudes — the dismantling of traditional feudal structures, the creation of a centralised administration and a modern army, willingness to accept new religious organisations like the Jesuits, etc. — coexist with the desire to preserve and reinstate aristocratic life-styles and modes of thought. It is hardly surprising, then, that Vignola's status as an artist reflects the ambiguous nature of the Farnese court he belonged to and worked in. His refusal to enter into dialogue with his patron (or the failure of any dialogue that had been established) and his inability to assert himself at court seem to have laid the groundwork for the aesthetic triumph of Caprarola. The apparently self-centred artist who limits or rejects social intercourse to enable his* opus magnum *to be realised is a social phenomenon that has parallels in other contemporary contexts. According to Vasari, Cardinal Alessandro decided to give his architect's "waywardness" free rein. Vignola himself translated this into the self-imposed task of completing his building to the best of his ability as a culmination of his life's work and a statement of his professional* ethos. *In this sense, his artistic shortcomings — prosaicness, uniformity, formal pedantry — reflect a new scale of social values: order, discipline, devotion to work. His adherence to these values*

10. Andrea Palladio, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, 1566: view of façade. Photo Böhm.
11. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Rome, 1566-67: view of façade. Photo GFN.
12. Andrea Palladio, Porto-Breganze Palace, Vicenza, 1550: view.
13. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Farnese Palace, Piacenza, 1560: view. Photo Lorenz.



10



11



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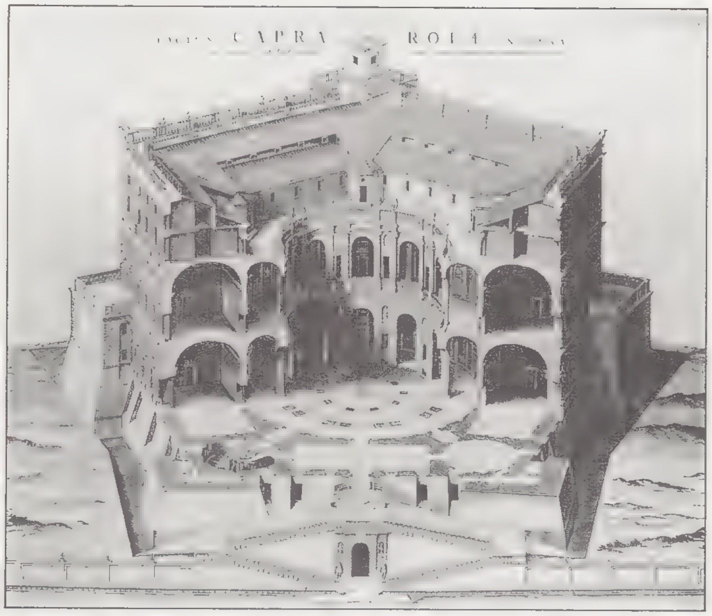


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14. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, 1559: particolare della facciata.
15. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, 1559. Incisione di Francesco Villamena.
16. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, 1559: vista della facciata principale con la piazza antistante.



14



15



16

14. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Farnese Palace, Caprarola, 1559: detail of façade.
15. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Farnese Palace, Caprarola, 1559. Engraving by Francesco Villamena.
16. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Farnese Palace, Caprarola, 1559: view of main façade and square.

un'equazione matematica: non vi è alcun residuo espressivo-decorativo, e ciascun elemento figura al proprio posto in un insieme risultante da un calcolo razionale. Chiudo qui la mia analisi per tornare al problema da cui siamo partiti. Se il cortile di Caprarola — come l'intero palazzo, in tutte le sue parti e in ogni suo aspetto — rappresenta un'opera architettonica esemplare, un saggio di arte "autonoma", tutta protesa verso la soluzione dei problemi, com'è possibile che si tratti al tempo stesso di un "simbolo del potere", di un'espressione architettonica della politica di potenza dei Farnese? Dovrebbe cominciare qui una seconda parte del mio discorso, che non svolgerò perché non sono uno storico e sento — come il Vignola — di dover rimanere nei confini della mia disciplina; sembra del resto che anche gli storici di professione trovino qualche difficoltà nel definire il ruolo dei Farnese nella politica e nella società del Cinquecento[30]. Si trattò a quanto pare di un ruolo ambivalente, in cui ad aspetti progressisti — lo smantellamento di strutture feudali tradizionali, la creazione di un'amministrazione centralizzata e di una moderna forza armata, l'atteggiamento favorevole a nuove forme di organizzazione religiosa come la Compagnia di Gesù, ecc. — si mescolava la tendenza a conservare o a ripristinare mentalità e forme di vita aristocratiche. Non può quindi sorprendere che anche nella posizione del Vignola come artista di corte dei Farnese vi siano dei caratteri ambigui e problematici: proprio la sua rinunzia al dialogo col committente (o il fallimento di tale dialogo) e la sua incapacità di affermarsi nell'ambiente di corte sembrano essere, a Caprarola, i presupposti della felice riuscita estetica. Ma l'apparente egocentrismo dell'artista che tronca o rifiuta i rapporti sociali per poter realizzare il suo *opus magnum* è esso stesso un fatto di storia della società, non senza paralleli contemporanei. La libertà d'azione che secondo Vasari il cardinale Alessandro concedeva al "capriccio" del Vignola si traduceva per lui nell'autoimporsi l'obbligo di condurre a termine secondo ogni sua capacità l'opera iniziata, come risultato del suo lavoro e come testimonianza del suo *ethos* professionale. Da questo punto di vista le sue insufficienze estetiche — la prosaicità, l'uniformità, la pedanteria formalistica — corrispondono a una nuova scala di valori sociali: senso dell'ordine, disciplina, dedizione al lavoro. L'adesione a questi valori fa del Vignola il rappresentante di una specie di ragion di Stato *ante litteram*, non ancora affermatasi come tale nella mentalità dei contemporanei e tanto meno in

made him a representative of a new social and political order that had not yet taken root in the minds of contemporaries, still less in the minds of Farnese family itself[31]. In this sense, Vignola seems to have been more socially aware than his patron: instead of traditional decorum *he gave him models of spatial organisation, examples of order that transcended existing reality and so also influenced its development. Vignola's architecture should be seen as one of the influences that produced this first manifestation of political absolutism, rather than an "expression" of something that had already been formed.*

Notes

This paper, first published in German in "Kritische Berichte", 1987, fasc. 3-4, was presented at the "Artists and Society in Rome and Florence in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" conference at Rome University in November 1981.

1) See the fundamental essay by M. WARNKE, Hofkünstler, *Cologne 1985.*

2) Especially in Northern Italy, where patrons already well versed in Humanistic culture existed alongside architects who had still had a largely craft-based training and had developed their skills in the tradition of the "German manner". Serlio's works were mainly intended for these architects. His first published book "on the five manners of buildings" *(later the* Quarto libro *of his series), presents a modern range of styles, while the next book* "on the antiquities of Rome" *(later the* Terzo libro*) supplies the necessary historical and antiquarian background. Unlike Vitruvio and Alberti, he was able to omit the technical aspects of building which his readers already knew about first hand. See CH. THOENES,* Sebastiano Serlio. Sesto seminario internazionale di storia dell'architettura, *Milan 1989.*

3) The concept of the palace as a "symbol of power" became a major discussion topic at an interdisciplinary conference on the Farnese courts held in Parma and Piacenza in October 1976. Some of the arguments presented here opposing this view were advanced as working hypotheses during that conference. See (ed.) M.A. ROMANI, Le corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza, *I,* Potere e società nello stato farnesiano, *Rome 1978. A different view is advanced by M. TAFURI in* Iacopo Barozzi da Vignola e la crisi del manierismo a Roma, *in "Bollettino del Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio", 9 (1967, but 1968), pp. 385-398, which offers the completest and most convincing interpretation to date, although also the most critical of Vignola's work as a whole.*

4) First and foremost, Vignola's letters collected by R.J. TUTTLE in La vita e le opere di Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, *with essays by J. Coolidge, W. Lotz and others, Bologna 1974, pp. 163-177.*

5) CH. THOENES, Vignola e il Teatro Farnese a Piacenza, *in "Bollettino del Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio", 14 (1974), pp. 243-256.*

6) J. COOLIDGE, Vignola's Character and Achievement, *in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 9, (1950), pp. 10-14 This essay is fundamental to the discussion here.*

7) What follows has been exhaustively studied by CH. THOENES in Per la storia editoriale della "Regola delli cinque ordini", *in* La vita e le opere, *cited in note 4, pp. 179-189; see also CH. THOENES,* Vignolas "Regola delli cinque ordini", *in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 20 (1983), pp. 345-376.*

8) According to the preface, whoever uses the book will get everything he needs directly from the illustrations "without the bother of troublesome reading". *The professional architect's aversion to useless words is matched, as we shall see, by his "good" architect's aversion to superfluous ornament, i.e. ornament with no compositional justification. In both cases, technical and practical rationality rooted in the craft itself rebels against Serlio's mainly literary concept of architecture (see above, note 2). For the contrast between literary and craft-oriented architects, see*

quella dei Farnese[31]. In tal modo l'architetto dimostra un grado di consapevolezza più avanzato di quello del suo committente: invece di fornirgli il tradizionale *decorum*, traccia modelli di organizzazione spaziale, esempi di ordine che trascendono la realtà esistente, e con ciò la condizionano. Più che come "espressione" del potere del primo assolutismo, l'architettura del Vignola va intesa come contributo alla sua formazione.

Note

* Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone

Il presente testo è stato pubblicato in lingua tedesca in "Kritische Berichte", 1987, fasc. 3-4. Esso ha origine da un contributo al convegno sul tema "Artisti e società a Roma e Firenze nei secoli XV e XVI", tenutosi presso l'Università di Roma nel novembre 1981.

1) Cfr. il fondamentale saggio di M. WARNKE, *Hofkünstler*, Köln 1985.

2) Specialmente nell'Italia settentrionale, dove ai committenti già dotati di cultura umanistica si contrapponeva una categoria di architetti di formazione ancora prevalentemente artigianale, cresciuti nella tradizione della "maniera tedesca". A quest'ultimi soprattutto erano destinate le opere di Serlio: nel libro, pubblicato per primo, "*sopra le cinque maniere de gli edifici*" (poi *Quarto libro* della serie) si esponeva una moderna stilistica, mentre in quello successivo "*sopra le antiquità di Roma*" (poi *Terzo libro*) si fornivano le necessarie conoscenze storico-antiquarie. A differenza che in Vitruvio e in Alberti, era possibile qui omettere la trattazione della tecnica edilizia, che la cerchia dei probabili lettori conosceva già bene per esperienza diretta. Cfr. in proposito CH. THOENES (a cura di), *Sebastiano Serlio, Sesto seminario internazionale di storia dell'architettura*, Milano 1989.

3) In un convegno interdisciplinare sulle corti farnesiane tenutosi a Parma e a Piacenza nell'ottobre 1976, l'idea del palazzo come "simbolo del potere" fu assunta quasi come parola d'ordine. Alcune delle argomentazioni qui presentate contro tale identificazione furono formulate come ipotesi di lavoro in quella sede: cfr. M.A. ROMANI (a cura di), *Le corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza*, I, *Potere e società nello stato farnesiano*, Roma 1978. Un'impostazione più differenziata è quella di M. TAFURI, *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola e la crisi del manierismo a Roma*, in "Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio", 9 (1967, ma 1968), pp. 385-398: questo saggio contiene l'interpretazione tuttora più completa e convincente, e al tempo stesso la critica più severa, dell'opera complessiva del Vignola.

4) In primo luogo le lettere del Vignola, raccolte da R.J. TUTTLE in *La vita e le opere di Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, con contributi di J. Coolidge, W. Lotz e altri, Bologna 1974, pp. 163-177.

5) CH. THOENES, *Vignola e il Teatro Farnese a Piacenza*, in "Bollettino del Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio", 14 (1974), pp. 243-256.

6) J. COOLIDGE, *Vignola's Character and Achievement*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 9 (1950), pp. 10-14; trad. it. in *La vita e le opere*, cit. nella nota 4, pp. 1-9. Questo saggio è fondamentale per la problematica qui esaminata.

7) Quanto segue è studiato esaurientemente da CH. THOENES, *Per la storia editoriale della "Regola delli cinque ordini"*, in *La vita e le opere*, cit. nella nota 4, pp. 179-189; cfr. ID., *Vignolas "Regola delli cinque ordini"*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 20 (1983), pp. 345-376.

8) Secondo la prefazione, chi utilizzerà l'opera potrà, "*senza gran fastidio di leggere*", trarre direttamente dalla visione delle tavole tutto l'essenziale. All'avversione del professionista contro le parole inutili corrisponde, come vedremo, quella del "*buon*" architetto contro l'ornamentazione superflua, cioè non giustificata da ragioni compositive. In entrambi i casi una razionalità tecnico-pratica radicata nel mestiere reagisce contro una cultura architettonica del *H. GÜNTHER*, Ein Entwurf Baldassarre Peruzzis für ein Architekturtraktat, *in "Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana", 26 (1990), pp. 135-170 and especially pp. 138, 153.*

9) Regola, *plate 32. Plate 14 shows a sketch of the main portal in Caprarola with Vignola's sole comment that* "in the building itself I found it worked very well".

10) THOENES 1974, op. cit. in note 7, pp. 187 ff.

11) See the florilegium cited by COOLIDGE, op. cit. in note 6 Italian ed., p. 6: "Horrendous, senseless, an unforgivable error, incompatible with any order, totally off the mark, absurd and repellent to the eye". *Vignola's vocabulary of approval is much rather sparer, even when applied to his own works: see note 8 above on the anti-literary stance of the* Regola. *Well-executed architecture needs no comments because it "speaks" for itself.*

12) Such an attempt is made in THOENES 1983, op. cit. in note 7, pp. 367-374.

13) Ibid., p. 376, note 118.

14) As is known, the pentagonal form of the Caprarola Palace was dictated by the shape of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's existing plinth, built after 1521.

15) I shall deal mainly with façades here because they are easier to analyse using photographs, although analysis of plans and interiors would produce more or less the same result.

16) The window cymatia of the upper-floor windows are not actually composite, but contrast noticeably in any case with the rustic ground-floor aediculae. Vignola also uses the same form with the Corinthian (designs for Piacenza) and Ionic orders (Caprarola, corner window on the piano nobile*) as well as in the Banchi portico in Bologna above a Corinthian order (where it thus should be read as part of a composite order). See also the chimney from the Farnese Palace in Rome now in the Lancellotti Palace, given as additional plate in the* Regola, *where it could belong to either the composite or the Corinthian order (THOENES 1974, pp. 187 ff.). Similar forms are found in Serlio (VII, pp. 80 ff.) where they are sometimes described as* "bastard works" *(here and henceforth all quotations from Serlio are taken from the complete edition edited by V. Scamozzi, Venice 1619).*

17) The most remarkable precedent is the Raphaelesque façade of the Villa Madama dating from before 1520: see the papers by G. DEWEZ and CH. L. FROMMEL in Raffaello a Roma. Il convegno del 1983, *Rome 1986.*

18) According to JAKOB BURCKHARDT (concerning the portrait, in Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien, *Basle 1898, p. 241),* "the evident decline of the individual element" *in sixteenth-century Italian art* "does not seem to have been limited to art history alone".

19) His predecessors started with empirically calculated individual measurements: see THOENES 1983, op. cit. in note 7, pp. 353-355.

20) See other folios from the same series in P. DREYER, Beiträge zur Planungsgeschichte des Palazzo in Piacenza, *in "Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen", n.s., 8 (1966), pp. 160-203. The other side of perfection is a certain uniformity: optimal solutions to similar problems resemble each other. The same is true of the engravings in the* Regola, *where the system of orders is represented in the most economical way without taking into account how monotonous the book becomes as a result.*

21) Letter to Martino Bassi of 28 August 1570: see TUTTLE, op. cit. in note 4, p. 177.

22) The upper floor was begun later but probably reproduces Vignola's design on the whole. The composite scheme of the central two-storey section is practically the same as the one used for the façade of the Villa Giulia.

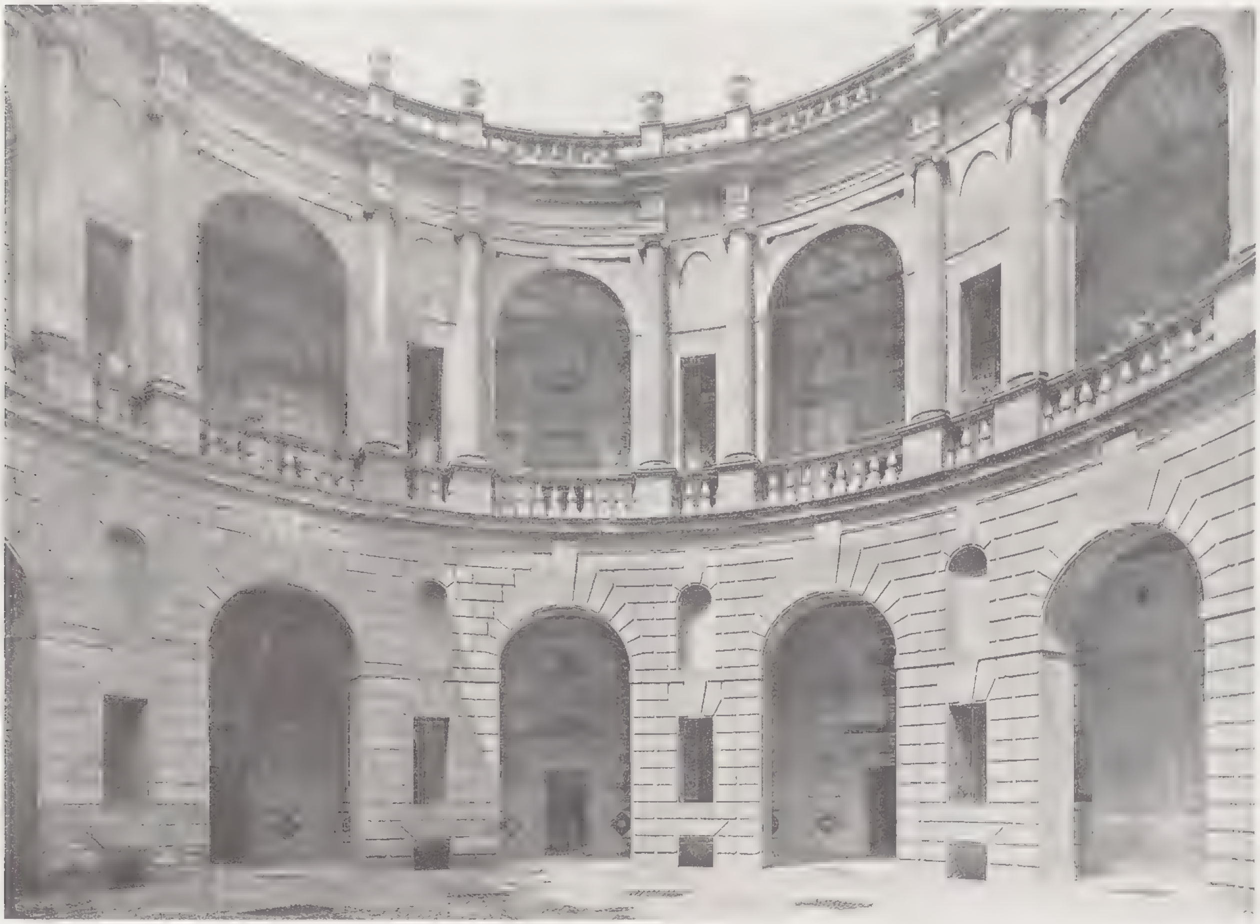
23) G.C. ARGAN, Retorica e architettura, *in* Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes, 21. Internationaler Kongress für Kunstgeschichte 1964, *Berlin 1967, vol. III, pp. 218-221.*

24) Italienische Reise, *19 September 1786; immediately before he makes his famous comment on the* "difficulty ... of joining columns to walls" *and the fact that Palladio succeeds* "only in persuading us". *See also the passage on* "incongruences" *("Inkongruitäten") by Palladio in* Tagebuch der Italienischen Reise, *5 October 1786.*

25) See now the excellent study by G. Zampa, Andrea Palladio e la sua committenza. Denaro e architettura nella Vicenza del Cinquecento, *Rome 1990.*

17. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, 1559: vista del cortile.
Foto Anderson/Alinari.
18. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, 1559: particolare del portale principale.
Foto Tuttle.

17. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Farnese Palace, Caprarola, 1559: view of courtyard.
Photo Anderson/Alinari.
18. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Farnese Palace, Caprarola, 1559: detail of main gate.
Photo Tuttle.



17



18

tipo di quella di Serlio, orientata in senso prevalentemente letterario (cfr. sopra, nota 2). Per il contrasto fra autori di formazione letteraria e di origine artigiana cfr. ora H. GÜNTHER, *Ein Entwurf Baldassarre Peruzzis für ein Architekturtraktat*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana", 26 (1990), pp. 135-170 e specialmente pp. 138, 153.
9) *Regola*, tav. 32. Nella tav. 14 è rappresentata una parafrasi del portale principale di Caprarola, di cui il Vignola dice soltanto che "*in opera l'ho provato reuscire molto bene*".
10) THOENES 1974, op. cit. nella nota 7, pp. 187 sg.
11) Cfr. il florilegio riportato da COOLIDGE, op. cit. nella nota 6, ed. it., p. 6: "*mostruoso, privo di senso, errore insopportabile, non si adatta a nessun ordine, completamente fuori strada, assurdo, repellente da guardare*". Il lessico delle valutazioni positive è molto più esiguo, anche nei riguardi delle proprie opere: cfr. la precedente nota 8 sull'impostazione antiletteraria della *Regola*. L'architettura ben eseguita non ha bisogno di commenti, perché "parla" da sola.
12) Un tentativo in tal senso è stato compiuto da THOENES 1983, op. cit. nella nota 7, pp. 367-374.
13) *Ibid.*, p. 376, nota 118.
14) Com'è noto, la forma pentagonale del Palazzo di Caprarola fu dettata dalla preesistente parte basamentale di Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane (costruita dopo il 1521).
15) Tratteremo prevalentemente dei prospetti, più facili da analizzare mediante fotografie; lo studio delle piante e degli interni condurrebbe sostanzialmente allo stesso risultato.
16) Le cimase delle finestre del piano superiore non sono propriamente composite, ma comunque contrastano nel modo più netto con le edicole rustiche del pianterreno. La stessa forma è usata dal Vignola anche in connessione con l'ordine corinzio (progetti per Piacenza) e con quello ionico (Caprarola, finestra d'angolo del piano nobile), nonché nel portico dei Banchi a Bologna, al disopra di un ordine corinzio (dove quindi va intesa come appartenente al composito). Cfr. anche il camino proveniente dal Palazzo Farnese a Roma, oggi nel Palazzo Lancellotti, riprodotto nella tavola aggiunta alla *Regola*, dove potrebbe essere riferito all'ordine composito o a quello corinzio (THOENES 1974, pp. 187 sgg.). Forme analoghe s'incontrano in Serlio (VII, pp. 80 sg.) dove sono chiamate talvolta "*bastarda opera*" (qui e nel seguito citiamo Serlio dall'edizione completa curata da V. Scamozzi, Venezia 1619).
17) Il precedente più notevole è costituito dalla raffaellesca facciata di Villa Madama, che risale a prima del 1520: cfr. la restituzione di G. DEWEZ e i contributi dello stesso e di CH. L. FROMMEL in *Raffaello a Roma, Il convegno del 1983*, Roma 1986.
18) Secondo J. BURCKHARDT (a proposito del ritratto, in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*, Basel 1898, p. 241), "*l'evidente declino dell'elemento individuale*" nell'arte italiana del Cinquecento "*non sembra essere stato un fenomeno limitato alla storia dell'arte.*"
19) I suoi predecessori erano partiti invece da singole misure ottenute empiricamente: cfr. THOENES 1983, op. cit. nella nota 7, pp. 353-355.
20) Crf. gli altri fogli della serie in P. DREYER, *Beiträge zur Planungsgeschichte des Palazzo in Piacenza*, in "Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen", n.s., 8 (1966), pp. 160-203. Il rovescio della perfezione è una certa uniformità: le soluzioni ottimali date a problemi analoghi si somigliano fra loro. Lo stesso accade per le incisioni della *Regola*, nelle quali lo scopo di rappresentare il sistema degli ordini è raggiunto nel modo più economico, senza tener conto dell'aspetto monotono che il libro viene così ad assumere.
21) Lettera a Martino Bassi del 28 agosto 1570: cfr. TUTTLE, op. cit. nella nota 4, p. 177.
22) Il piano superiore fu innalzato più tardi, ma dovrebbe corrispondere nelle sue linee principali al progetto del Vignola. Lo schema compositivo della parte centrale a due piani è in pratica lo stesso usato per la facciata di Villa Giulia.
23) G.C. ARGAN, *Retorica e architettura*, in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes, 21. Internationaler Kongress für Kunstgeschichte 1964*, Berlin 1967, vol. III, pp. 218-221.
24) *Viaggio in Italia (Italienische Reise)*, 19 settembre 1786; subito prima vi è la ben nota osservazione critica sulla "*difficoltà... di associare le colonne ai muri*" e sul fatto che sotto tale aspetto Palladio riesce "*solo a persuadere*". Cfr. anche il passo sulle "*incongruenze*" ("*Inkongruitäten*") di Palladio nel *Giornale del viaggio in Italia* (*Tagebuch der Italienishen Reise*), 5 ottobre 1786.
25) A questo proposito v. ora l'eccellente studio di G. ZAUPA, *Andrea Palladio e la sua committenza. Denaro e architettura nella Vicenza del Cinquecento*, Roma 1990.
26) [Il cardinale Farnese] "*volle che tutto nascesse da capriccio, disegno e invenzione del Vignola*": G. VASARI, *Le vite...*, ed. G. Milanesi, Firenze 1878-85, VII, p. 107.
27) Cfr. la serie di fotografie riprodotta in *La vita e le opere*, op. cit. nella nota 4, pp. 68-80. Manca tuttora una monografia adeguata all'importanza dell'edificio.
28) L'incisione di Hoefnagel del 1577 (*ibid.*, fig. 37) viene incontro alle aspettative del riguardante, in quanto amplia leggermente, su tutti e tre i piani, la campata centrale della facciata d'ingresso.
29) P. DREYER, *Vignolas Planungen für eine befestigte Villa Cervini*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 21 (1984) pp. 365-396; sul motivo del cortile circolare, cfr. le pp. 387 sg.
30) Crf. il congresso menzionato nella nota 3 e la pubblicazione ivi citata, con ulteriore bibliografia. Quest'ultima si riferisce soprattutto ai ducati dell'Italia settentrionale; le condizioni politico-sociali di una residenza cardinalizia come Caprarola, situata nello Stato della Chiesa, e il loro specifico substrato culturale dovrebbero essere considerati a parte, anche se rimase valida la base comune della politica familiare farnesiana. V. ora anche F. E. KELLER, *Zum Villenleben und Villenbau am römischen Hof der Farnese*, Berlin 1980.
31) Cfr. ad esempio il progetto michelangiolesco di sistemazione del Campidoglio redatto per Paolo III, espressione architettonica dell'aspirazione a una comunità ben governata da un *optimus princeps*; essa corrisponde, più che all'idea che i sovrani si facevano del proprio ruolo, alle aspettative formulate dalla successiva dottrina borghese dello Stato. Com'è noto, Michelangelo si aspettava da Paolo IV "*che acconci egli il mondo*" (G. VASARI, op. cit. nella nota 25, VII, p. 240; R. DE MAIO, *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento*, Napoli 1963, pp. 99 sg.).

26) [Cardinal Farnese] "wished that everything should be the result of Vignola's waywardness, intention and invention"*: G. VASARI,* Lives, *ed. G. Milanesi, Florence 1878-85, VII, p. 107.*

27) See the sequence of photographs in La vita e le opere, *op. cit. in note 4, pp. 68-80. A satisfactory monograph on the importance of the building has still not been written.*

28) Hoefnagel's engraving of 1577 (ibid., fig. 37) meets the expectations of the onlooker because it slightly enlarges the central bay of the entrance façade on all three storeys.

29) P. DREYER, Vignolas Planungen für eine befestigte Villa Cervini, *in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 21 (1984) pp. 365-396; for the circular courtyard, see pp. 387 ff.*

30) See the conference mentioned in note 3 and the publication cited there, plus its further bibliography. The latter deals mainly with the dukedoms of Northern Italy. The social and political status of a cardinal's residence like Caprarola in the Papal States and its peculaiar cultural substratum should regarded as a special case, although both are an outcome of Farnese family politics. See also F. E. KELLER, Zum Villenleben und Villenbau am römischen Hof der Farnese, *Berlin 1980.*

31) See, for example, Michelangelo's Campidoglio project for Paul III, an architectural expression of the desire for a community well governed by an optimus princeps. *Rather than the ideas sovereigns themselves had of their role, it represents the later bourgeois concept of the state. As is known, Michelangelo hoped that he would* "set the world to rights" *(G. VASARI, op. cit. in note 25, VII, p. 240; R. DE MAIO,* Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento, *Naples 1963, pp. 99 ff.).*

Verso un linguaggio contestuale: breve storia dell'architettura turca contemporanea*

Sedad Hakki Eldem

Il miracolo della cultura e dell'architettura islamica

L'Islam fece il primo tentativo di unificazione dei popoli islamici più di un millennio fa: nei primi secoli dopo la morte di Maometto si espanse con rapidità inaudita, conquistando con le armi interi continenti e spingendosi fino ai Pirenei e all'Himalaya. Ai popoli che vivevano nella sua sfera d'influenza l'Islam offrì una via d'uscita dalle tenebre e una nuova visione del mondo: sulla scia di questo grande moto religioso, una nuova civiltà si diffuse e ben presto mise radici nei territori conquistati.

Il mondo islamico fruì di un'armonia sociale e culturale che favorì un rapido sviluppo. La transizione dallo stile di vita nomade e quello stanziale avvenne in tempi brevissimi e con effetti straordinari, anche per l'atteggiamento eclettico dell'Islam, che cercò di assimilare dalle civiltà preesistenti quegli elementi che meglio si accordavano con la sua essenza socioculturale. L'Islam stesso divenne il principio organizzatore della struttura giuridica e amministrativa: in tal modo, nonostante l'eterogeneità dovuta alla varietà dei gruppi etnici e religiosi, il mondo islamico ebbe una civiltà assolutamente omogenea.

Questo straordinario sviluppo riguardò anche le arti e l'architettura. In breve tempo sorsero su un'immensa area geografica opere architettoniche con evidenti caratteri comuni. Lungi dal soffocare le risorse stilistiche dei singoli paesi, l'Islam le pose al servizio dei propri ideali, riuscendo così a comporle in un tutto unitario. Col tempo i Persiani e i Turanidi all'Est e i Siriani, gli Egiziani e i Nordafricani all'Ovest si associarono agli Arabi nel creare una varietà di forme originali da cui sarebbero nati dei veri miracoli di architettura.

Questi miracoli non sorsero dal nulla: l'Islam si considerava l'erede dell'Impero Romano, sede di un'altra grande civiltà edilizia e urbanistica, e intendeva continuare le tradizioni culturali della Grecia classica, specialmente nel campo della medicina e della filosofia. L'Islam conservò per secoli un ruolo dominante su scala mondiale, e nell'estendere verso est la sua sfera d'influenza incontrò altre civiltà in fase di declino più o meno avanzato, riuscendo ad assimilarle.

Nel secolo Diciannovesimo la civiltà europea, orientata verso la prassi e la tecnologia, frantumò la delicata struttura dell'Islam, riducendolo a una cultura di rango inferiore. Sotto la pressione schiacciante della nuova civiltà la maggior parte dei paesi islamici perse, dal punto di vista politico come da quello culturale, la propria identità e la propria libertà. Ma è lecito chiedersi se questa perdita sia stata veramente totale, se non vi sia ancora qualche germe nascosto e se le nostre iniziative attuali non possano ricollegarsi ai successi di tanti secoli fa. Il tempo intercorso ha modificato il modo di vivere degli uomini e ha proposto loro nuovi modelli; i popoli islamici hanno subìto influssi differenti e hanno preso strade separate. Tuttavia le arti, l'architettura e l'organizzazione culturale possono avere una parte importante nel riunire di nuovo questi popoli: ciò mi spinge a passare brevemente in rassegna i tentativi compiuti in questa direzione nella Turchia e in altri paesi musulmani.

*Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey**

Sedad Hakki Eldem

The miracle of Islamic culture and architecture

Islam made its first attempt to solve the problem of unification twelve or thirteen centuries ago. In the first centuries after the death of Muhammad it expanded with unprecedented speed, conquering whole continents by the sword. Islam embraced mankind from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas, bringing to those within its sphere of influence a new outlook, a new civilization and a way out of the darkness. Islamic civilization followed in the wake of this great religion, spreading and quickly taking root in the conquered territories.

The areas conquered by Islam enjoyed a social and cultural harmony that encouraged rapid development. Islamic civilization first had to pass from a nomadic to a settled pattern of living. This transition took place over a very short period of time and with an extraordinary effect. It was effected in part by the eclectic attitude of Islam, which sought to assimilate those elements of previous civilizations that would best accord with its own sociocultural structure. Islam itself became the organizing principle in the legal and administrative structure. While the various ethnic, racial and religious groups gave the lands dominated by Islam a heterogeneous character, the civilization that resulted was completely homogeneous.

The arts and architecture were part of this extraordinary development.

In a short period and over a huge geographical area, architectural works were built that clearly shared common characteristics. Instead of destroying particular resources and styles of the lands it embraced, Islam used them to serve its own ideals and in this way succeeded in uniting them in a single whole. In time, the Persians and Turanians in the east and the Syrians, Egyptians and North Africans in the west joined forces with the Arabs to create new shapes of their individual devising that would become new architectural miracles.

Islam did not produce these miracles from thin air. It considered itself the heir to the Roman Empire, the other great civilization which achieved fame as a builder and urbanizer before the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Islam held itself responsible for the continuation of the traditions of learning, medicine and philosophic thought of classical Greece. It retained its dominance as a world leader for centuries, and as it expanded its sphere of influence eastwards, it met with other civilizations in various stages of decay and was able to assimilate them.

In the nineteenth century, the pragmatic and technologically-oriented European civilization crushed the delicate structure of Islam and reduced it to a second class civilization. From the political and also from the cultural point of view, most of the countries of Islam completely lost their individuality and their freedom to the crushing new civilization. But perhaps this loss has not been quite complete. Is there still a smouldering spark? Can our present enterprises be reconnected with the successful ventures of so many centuries ago? The passing years have changed men's

I movimenti di riforma architettonica in Turchia

Nel periodo compreso tra la metà dell'Ottocento e gli inizi della prima guerra mondiale — o meglio, i primi anni di vita della seconda Costituzione, promulgata nel 1921 — si ebbero in Turchia due tentativi di ridefinizione consapevole dell'architettura. Il primo, condotto dai fratelli Serkis e Nikogos Balyan, portò a innestare nell'architettura ottomana classica lo stile andaluso e quello gotico, dando origine a uno stile che può essere denominato neo-ottomano. Non si tratta di uno stile eclettico, nel senso che oggi diamo a questo termine: benché ispirate a stili architettonici del passato, le sue forme erano nuove e originali, come dimostrano gli esempi del Palazzo Çirağan, eretto dai fratelli Balyan, e della Moschea della sultana Valide, di Montani. Sul finire del secolo Alexandre Vallaury rivitalizzò l'antico stile ottomano progettando edifici in legno con gronde in forte aggetto, come il Mejit Efendi Kiosk o il Duyun-i Umumiye, oggi sede del Liceo maschile di Istanbul.
Negli stessi anni sorsero grandi e splendidi edifici in uno stile storicizzante fondato su prototipi gotici e rinascimentali. In altri paesi musulmani, specialmente in quelli sotto l'influsso inglese, si costruirono edifici in stile gotico-moghul (Palazzo di Mysore) o mamelucco (Moschea di Rifai). Tutte queste opere furono create da architetti non musulmani e non residenti nei rispettivi paesi; solo in Turchia, dov'era radicato nella tradizione il ricorso ad architetti residenti, alcuni degli autori furono ottomani.
Il secondo tentativo di riforma, terminato anch'esso con la prima guerra mondiale, fu guidato da architetti musulmani locali come Vedad, Kemalettin o Muzaffer, che avevano studiato in Europa ma conoscevano bene ogni particolare dell'architettura ottomana classica, specialmente di quella delle moschee. Essi rimasero fedeli e addirittura vincolati a questa tradizione, sebbene le forme architettoniche da loro usate fossero tipicamente eclettiche. In questo movimento ebbe una parte di primo piano l'italiano Giulio Mongeri, la cui opera principale è la sede della Banca Ziraat.
Kemalettin e Vedad, autori a Istanbul della Posta centrale e del Palazzo per uffici Vakif Hān, proseguirono la loro attività anche dopo la fondazione della Repubblica con una serie di mediocri edifici, tra cui il Palace Hotel di Ankara.
Nel 1926 la decisione di Atatürk di respingere il progetto di Mongeri per un Palazzo presidenziale in stile ottomano, con cupola e torri, segnò la fine di questo periodo architettonico. In quegli anni lo stile "cubista" in auge nell'Europa centrale conquistò una solida posizione in Turchia, continuando a dominare la scena per quasi due decenni. Le città turche, specialmente Ankara, divennero un agglomerato di edifici grigi con coperture piane, del tutto estranei all'ambiente. I piani urbanistici (anche qui soprattutto ad Ankara) furono predisposti secondo criteri che non tenevano conto né del carattere storico delle città, né della topografia locale; questi piani, redatti in base all'estetica di Camillo Sitte sotto la direzione di Hermann Jansen, trovarono applicazione in numerose città turche e ne distrussero radicalmente il carattere tradizionale. Uno dei fattori principali di tale distruzione fu l'edificazione dei nuovi centri sullo stesso sito di quelli preesistenti; ma anche quando fu scelta una diversa ubicazione, come nel caso della "nuova città" (Yenişehir) di Ankara, il centro antico finì ugualmente per essere demolito.
Nel frattempo si costruivano in Africa settentrionale nuove città di esemplare bellezza come Fez e Rabat, che non possono essere ripudiate come semplici prodotti della colonizzazione, ma costituiscono esempi validi. Per lo più il centro storico (la *casbah*) e l'area del Palazzo rimasero intatti, mentre la città nuova fu fondata in un altro sito, così da interferire il meno possibile con l'antico insediamento. In tal modo fu evitata l'orrenda mutilazione del patrimonio architettonico avvenuta in Turchia.

L'abitazione turca e lo stile architettonico nazionale

Lo stile cubista ebbe un enorme influsso e nel giro di dieci o quindici anni alterò l'aspetto delle nostre città; ma a cominciare dal 1935 si manifestò un movimento di reazione, nato nell'Accademia di Belle Arti (Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi), che si proponeva di fondare uno stile architettonico nazionale. Sebbene tra il 1935 e il 1950 l'influsso di questo movimento si fosse esteso a tutto il paese, tra il 1950 e il 1955 esso fu costretto a cedere il passo agli stili e alle tendenze internazionali, provenienti soprattutto dagli Stati Uniti.
Sino al 1930, tutti i tentativi di far rinascere un movimento per una architettura nazionale turca avevano affondato le loro radici nella tradizione degli edifici religiosi monumentali. Ciascun nuovo edificio veniva cupolato, voltato, porticato, così come lo erano stati gli antichi; solo funzioni e proporzioni mutavano. Lo stile finiva spesso con lo svilirsi in una decorazione senza vita infinitamente ripetuta. Stazioni, alberghi, palazzi per uffici, ogni struttura che si prestasse a richiamare su di sé un'idea di monumentalità veniva fornita di cupola. Al tempo stesso la distribuzione delle masse tradiva un'imitazione, intenzionale o inconscia, dei modelli rinascimentali europei. In tutto il settantennio per cui durò il tentativo di creare uno stile nazionale, l'unico architetto capace di trovare ispirazione fuori d'Europa sembrò essere Alexandre Vallaury, che riprese l'architettura abitativa locale e innalzò edifici come l'Hotel Büyük Ada nell'Isola dei Principi presso Istanbul.
Il movimento per uno stile nazionale ebbe origine dalla riscoperta dell'abitazione turca: per evitare la pura e semplice imitazione dello stile europeo, si cercarono i caratteri nazionali nell'architettura abitativa. I tentativi precedenti si erano ispirati all'uso di archi e cupole di mattoni e di pietra; ma era cominciata ormai l'era del cemento armato, e in tutto il mondo l'architettura si era adattata al nuovo materiale. Lo stile nazionale turco doveva modernizzarsi, ossia doveva servirsi del cemento armato, rinunziando alle forme massicce, pesanti e solenni e adottando forme leggere, trasparenti e aperte, che sembrano librarsi sopra il suolo. Occorreva concentrare l'attenzione sui piani superiori, come nelle antiche case

lives and given them a new and different pattern. The peoples of Islam have come under different influences, taken different paths and grown apart from each other. The arts, architecture and an established culture can play an important role in reconciling these people once again.

I should like briefly to review previous attempts at this kind of reunification in Turkey and other Muslim countries.

Architectural reform movements in Turkey

The period starting in the mid nineteenth century and ending with the early years of the First World War, or rather, of the Second Turkish Constitution, saw two separate attempts at a self-conscious architectural redefinition.

The first, in the form of the partnership of Serkis and Nikogos Balyan, resulted in the grafting of the Andalusian and Gothic styles onto classical Ottoman architecture and the emergence of a style which might be called neo-Ottoman. This style is not eclectic as we understand the term today. Though inspired by old styles of architecture, its forms were original and new.

Important examples are the Balyan brothers' Çirağan Palace and the Valide Mosque by Montani. At the turn of the century, Vallaury put new life into the old Ottoman style when he designed wooden houses with overhanging eaves (Mejit Efendi Kiosk and the Duyun-1 Umumiye, now the Istanbul Boys' Lycée).

In the same period, large and splendid buildings were constructed in a historicizing style based on Gothic and Renaissance prototypes. In other Muslim countries, particularly those under British influence, buildings were designed in the Mughal-Gothic (Mysore Palace) and Mamluk (Rifai Mosque) styles. All of them, including those in Turkey, were created by non-Muslims and, except in Turkey, by non-residents. In Turkey, the use of resident architects was a strong tradition, so at least some of the architects were Ottomans.

In the second reform period, which also ended with the First World War, native Muslim architects (Vedad, Kemalettin, Muzaffer) dominated the scene.

These men had studied in Europe, but they were also familiar with every detail of classical Ottoman architecture, particularly of mosque architecture. They remained faithful to and even bound by these traditions, although architectural form had become completely eclectic.

The architect Mongeri, though an Italian, was in the forefront of this movement. His greatest work is the Ziraat Bank building.

Kemalettin and Vedad produced the Istanbul post office and the Vakif Hān (office building), and continued their activities after the foundation of the republic with a series of undistinguished buildings, such as Ankara's Palace Hotel. When in 1926 Atatürk rejected Mongeri's plans for a towered and domed Ottoman presidential palace, an architectural era came to an end.

Around this time the "Cubist" style of Central Europe found a foothold in Turkey and dominated the scene for the next fifteen or twenty years. The Turkish cities, particularly Ankara, became a conglomeration of grey flat-roofed buildings, entirely foreign to their environment. Urban planning, again especially in Ankara, developed along lines unsuited both to the ancient character of the town and to local topography. These plans, the products of the aesthetic of Camillo Sitte and the leadership of Jansen, were applied in numerous cities, effectively wiping out their ancient characteristics. New cities were built over the old, a decisive factor in this annihilation. The foundation of a locality named "New City" (Yenisehir) in Ankara did not prevent the destruction of the ancient city by the planners.

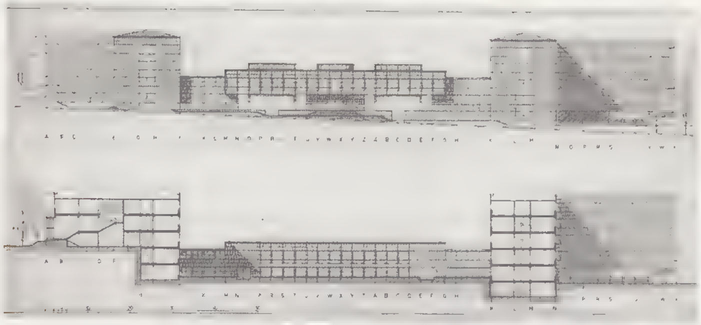
During the same period, new towns of exemplary beauty (Fez, Rabat) were being built in North Africa. These cannot be dismissed simply as products of the colonizers, for they are worthy examples. In most cases the ancient city centre (casbah) *and the palace areas remained untouched, while a new city was founded in a separate location where it would interfere as little as possible with older settlement areas. In this way the terrible mutilation that took place in Turkey was avoided.*

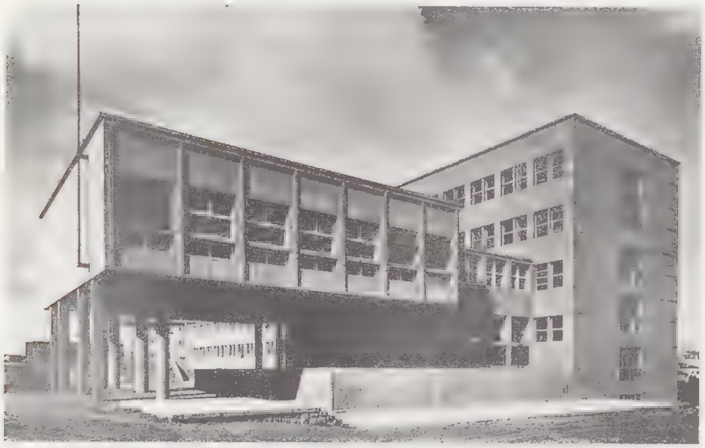
The Turkish house and the national architectural style

The Cubist style had a tremendous influence, and over a period of ten or fifteen years it changed the face of our cities. But from 1935 on a reaction set in. Its origins were in the Academy of Fine Arts (Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi), and its aspiration was to establish a national architectural style. Between 1935 and 1950 it extended its influence over the whole country, until between 1950 and 1955 it was forced to give way to international, particulary American, styles and trends.

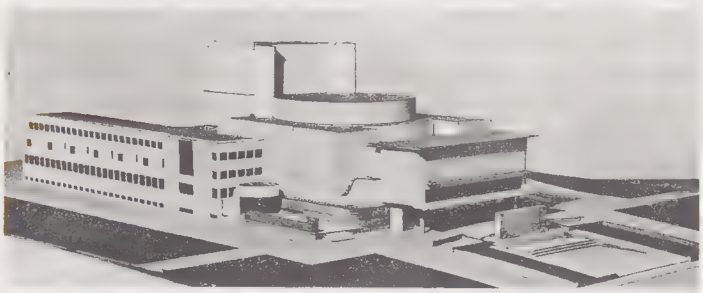
Until the 1930s, all attempts at a renaissance of or a movement toward a national Turkish architecture had their roots in the tradition of monumental religious buildings. Each new edifice was domed, arcaded and porticoed as the old had been; only proportions and functions were changed. The style was often debased, and a lifeless decor was endlessly repeated. Stations, hotels, office buildings, any structure where a measure of monumentality was found desirable would be padded out with domes. At the same time, the massing of elements intentionally or unintentionally betrayed European Renaissance models. Over the period of seventy years in which the attempt to find a national style continued, Vallaury seemed to be the only one who was able to find his inspiration elsewhere. He found it in domestic architecture, and produced buildings like the Büyük Ada Hotel in Princes Island, Istanbul.

The movement toward a national style began with the discovery of the Turkish house; to avoid mere imitation of the European style, national characteristics were sought in Turkish domestic architecture. Previous attempts at defining a Turkish national style had been inspired by the use of brick and stone arches and domes. But the age of reinforced concrete had now arrived, and world architecture had









turche, innalzate su pali sopra un cortile di pietra, con un piano terreno costituito di solito da un semplice spazio libero non usato a scopi abitativi. La casa non doveva più poggiare su muri massicci, ma su snelli pilastri, analoghi ai *pilotis* propagandati da Le Corbusier dal 1925 in poi.
Per rendere l'atmosfera di quel periodo mi rifarò alle mie esperienze personali. Quando Le Corbusier pubblicò *Vers une Nouvelle Architecture* (così nel testo originale, N.d.T), studiavo con Mongeri all'Accademia di Belle Arti e il nostro libro di testo era Vitruvio. Ci facevano disegnare una serie di capitelli, ciascuno dei quali rappresentava una corrente dell'architettura, cominciando da quelli greco-romani per arrivare a quelli ottomani; nei nostri progetti facevamo uso talvolta di questi capitelli e dei sottostanti piedritti. Il secondo libro di testo era la raccolta dei Grand Prix de Rome dell'Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts.
Studiai le architetture di Le Corbusier sui libri e in sito, sebbene a quel tempo vi fosse ben poco da vedere: Villa Savoie non era stata ancora costruita, e la Casa Stein a Garches era stata appena terminata. Andai spesso a trovare Le Corbusier nel suo studio di Rue de Sèvres e gli mostrai i miei disegni: s'interessò al mio lavoro ed esercitò su di me un profondo influsso. Ero affascinato dal progetto *Domino*: chi avrebbe immaginato che quarant'anni dopo avrei cercato (senza successo) di applicarlo in Libia? Solo due aspetti dell'opera di Le Corbusier mi lasciavano insoddisfatto: non prestava sufficiente attenzione allo scheletro in cemento armato, e le coperture dei suoi edifici perdevano. Ero a quel tempo, e sono tuttora, un appassionato dell'ossatura portante: pensavo che l'architettura moderna andava giudicata dalla sua bellezza strutturale, e che le proporzioni e le pareti di tamponamento dell'architettura turca potevano adattarsi bene a quel tipo di struttura.
Da Rue de Sèvres passai in Rue Franklin, e Auguste Perret ne fu lieto. Volevo imparare a usare il cemento armato faccia a vista: per me la cosa più importante era questa, lasciare che la bella ossatura parlasse da sola. Colorai le pareti di tamponamento, come si faceva ad Ankara, a Kastamonu e ad Amasya. Il calcestruzzo di Perret era incolore ed era modellato in casseforme, ma non grezzo, come spesso si dice erroneamente: al contrario, era finemente bocciardato, e col tempo si è visto che le superfici così lavorate invecchiano bene.
Le case di Le Corbusier erano tutte bianche, perché egli non faceva distinzione fra ossatura e pareti. Le sue finestre erano panoramiche, orizzontali ed estese all'intera parete; quelle di Perret erano invece verticali, come uomini in piedi. Questa sostanziale diversità d'impostazione mi turbò per qualche tempo, ma alla fine trovai una soluzione, a cui sono rimasto sempre fedele. Nell'abitazione turca tradizionale le finestre sono disposte in file, con differenti proporzioni verticali e orizzontali: nella *hall* esse coprono l'intera parete, formando una fascia interrotta solo da pochi elementi di sostegno, il meno ingombranti possibili. Adottai questa forma, che non fu approvata né da Le Corbusier né

adapted itself to that material. The Turkish national style had to modernize or, in other words, be applied to concrete. It had to reject the massive, the weighty and the solemn and embrace light, transparent, multi-windowed forms that seem to hover above the ground. Attention had to be focused above ground level, as it was in the old Turkish houses perched on stilts above a stone courtyard. The ground floor of the Turkish house was usually no more than an empty space and was not used as a living area. The house did not rely on massive walls but on dainty pillars for its support, as did the piloti *style that Le Corbusier began to popularize from 1925 onwards.*

To convey the atmosphere of that period I will fall back on my own experience. I was a student under Mongeri at the Academy of Fine Arts when Le Corbusier's Vers une Nouvelle Architecture *was published. Our textbook was Vitruvius. We would draw a series of capitals, starting with the Greco-Roman and ending with the Ottoman style: each represented an architectural trend. We would occasionally make use of these capitals and the pillars beneath them in our projects. Importantly, the secondary textbook of the period was the* Beaux-Arts Grand Prix de Rome *collection.*

I made a study of the architecture of Le Corbusier both from books and site visits, although there was little to see at the time. The Villa Savoie had not yet been built, and Stein's house at Garches had only recently been finished. Le Corbusier was working in his studio in the Rue de Sèvres.

I visited him often and showed him my drawings. He took an interest in me, and his influence on me was profound. I was fascinated by the Domino *project; who would have imagined that I would attempt it forty years later in Libya (though it met with no success)? I was unhappy with only two aspects of Le Corubusier's work: he did not pay sufficient attention to the reinforced concrete skeleton, and his roofs leaked. I was then, and still am, a devotee of the reinforced concrete skeleton. To me, modern architecture must be judged by the beauty of its structure. Turkish proportions and infill walls could fit into such skeletons.*

I moved from the Rue de Sèvres to the Rue Franklin and A. Perret was pleased that I had done so. I wished to learn how to leave reinforced concrete bare. That for me was the main point — the beautiful skeleton should be left to speak for itself. I pictured the infill walls coloured, as they were at Ankara, Kastamonu and Amasya. Perret's concrete was colourless. It was moulded, but not "brutal", as it is so often wrongly described today. On the contrary, it was delicate and refined. The surfaces were textured, boucharde *as it was known in those days. Time has shown that these surfaces grow old beautifully.*

Corbusier's houses were always white, for he made no distinction between framework and wall. His windows were panoramic, the same length as the walls, and horizontal: Perret made his windows vertical, like a standing man. This essential difference in their points of view disturbed me for some time, but in the end I found a solution to which I have always remained faithful. In the traditional Turkish house,



Opere di Sedad H. Eldem:
Direzione generale dei Monopoli di Stato, Ankara, 1934-37: prospetto, sezione e viste;
Progetto di Conservatorio e Teatro, Istanbul, 1935: modello;
Localizzazione di alcune opere sulla pianta di Istanbul:
1) Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere, 1942-44; 2) Uffici dell'Assistenza Sociale, 1962-64; 3) Hotel Hilton, 1952-55, con Skidmore, Owings & Merrill.

Buildings by Sedad H. Eldem:
State Monopolies General Directorate, Ankara, 1934-37: elevation, section and views;
Project for Conservatory and Theatre, Istanbul, 1935: model;
Siting of some of Eldem's buildings in Istanbul:
1) Faculty of Sciences and Arts, 1942-44; 2) Social Security Agency Complex, 1962-64; 3) Hilton Hotel, 1952-55, with Skidmore, Owings & Merrill.

da Perret, senza peraltro che nessuno dei due me ne spiegasse il motivo.
Era possibile applicare questo schema all'architettura turca moderna? Due anni dopo, a Berlino, verificai questa possibilità in alcuni progetti particolareggiati di moschee in calcestruzzo, con o senza cupole. L'ossatura, finemente lavorata in superficie, assumeva un valore espressivo autonomo; al di sopra di una certa quota le pareti, anziché avere le solite finestre con incorniciature di stucco, erano divise in settori di calcestruzzo bianco, mentre la zona inferiore era rivestita di laterizi o di marmo. In seguito realizzai queste idee su scala più ampia in Libia, usando superfici geodetiche e sfaccettate in luogo della cupola emisferica.
A Berlino vidi per la prima volta l'album di Frank Lloyd Wright pubblicato da Wasmuth, e la mia attenzione fu attirata dalle *prairie houses*, alcune delle quali erano già state costruite. Mi parve di scoprire in queste opere elementi importanti dell'abitazione turca del futuro: i profili bassi e allungati, le file di finestre, le ampie gronde e le forme delle coperture erano molto simili a quelle che avevo in mente per le abitazioni del mio paese. Queste case d'ispirazione romantica e naturalistica erano molto più attraenti di quelle scatolari di Le Corbusier, e l'uso della pietra appena sbozzata e del legno naturale ne accresceva l'effetto. A quel tempo non ero in grado di cogliere la differenza concettuale e di qualità tra questi due stili architettonici: mi chiedevo in che modo Wright fosse arrivato a concepire le sue forme, e questa domanda mi tenne impegnato per ore e ore al Völkerkunde Museum (Museo Etnologico). Arrivai alla conclusione che le fonti di Wright non si trovavano in America, ma in Asia, e che il termine *prairie* era solo una metafora per indicare i profili bassi e allungati. Sotto l'influsso di Wright elaborai una serie di progetti di case che furono poi esposti presso la Società Turca di Ankara.
Più tardi Wright avrebbe trovato nelle forme azteche e messicane l'ispirazione a usare un nuovo tipo di calcestruzzo, anch'esso grezzo, massiccio e modellato in casseforme, ossia non vincolato all'idea di ossatura. Osservai direttamente questa tecnica per la prima volta nel 1938, visitando la Chiesa Unitaria di Oak Park presso Chicago, le cui pareti mi ricordarono quelle dell'American Girls' College ad Arnavutköy, che da studente avevo visto ed esaminato con attenzione: erano state modellate nel 1916 con sabbia gialla e non erano affatto grezze, ma volutamente lisce e raffinate. Le due opere erano molto lontane fra loro per gusto architettonico e per decorazione, ma erano simili per qualità e per valori formali. Trent'anni dopo, nel 1960, Le Corbusier avrebbe riscoperto quest'uso del calcestruzzo a Marsiglia, anche se per ragioni economiche fu costretto a modellarlo con metodi molto primitivi.

Lo stile architettonico nazionale (1932-1952)

Nel 1932 fu istituito presso l'Accademia di Belle Arti un Seminario sullo stile architettonico nazionale, con lo scopo di promuovere uno stile moderno fondato sull'architettura abitativa turca; la sua elaborazione muoveva da un'indagine sugli edifici esistenti, poi da ristrutturare. Potei così proseguire con i miei allievi le ricerche svolte in Anatolia quando ero ancora studente: scoprimmo insieme bellezze architettoniche affascinanti, fin allora ignorate.
Parallelamente al lavoro del Seminario procedevano i progetti di edifici e le ricerche sulle tecniche costruttive. Tra il 1935 e il 1950 la Turchia elaborò il suo nuovo stile: le forme cubiste passarono di moda e al loro posto tornarono i tetti a falde e le gronde sporgenti. Le ragioni di questo cambiamento erano più pratiche che ideologiche: in quasi tutti gli edifici cubisti di Ankara i tetti piani perdevano e i rivestimenti in laterizio si staccavano dalle pareti. Tutte le coperture dovettero essere sostituite, e il Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici stabilì che le nuove costruzioni avessero tetti a falde e gronde. Dopo venticinque anni lo stesso Ministero sta cercando oggi di far fronte alla rinnovata tendenza verso le coperture piane imponendo vari vincoli, ad esempio un valore minimo dell'inclinazione dei tetti.
Con lo scoppio della seconda guerra mondiale ferro e cemento scomparvero dal mercato, gli edifici multipiani furono abbandonati a favore di quelli più bassi e la muratura piena sostituì il cemento armato. In Europa il termine "nazionalismo" assunse un altro significato, e l'influsso tedesco cominciò a manifestarsi nel nostro paese in forme nuove. Bruno Taut, venuto in Turchia dopo aver soggiornato in Giappone, poté giovarsi del lavoro svolto nel Seminario dell'Accademia per progettare il suo edificio della Facoltà di Lingue, Storia e Geografia ad Ankara. Egli tentò, a mio parere con ottimi risultati, di dare un carattere locale alle sue pareti di mattoni e di pietra.
L'"età della pietra" era cominciata: il successo di questo materiale fu favorito sia dalla situazione economica, sia dall'autorità politica, che reclamava edifici in pietra, solidi e durevoli, invece delle fragili strutture cubiste di Ankara. Lo stile nazionale fu quindi robusto e monumentale, anche per la presenza in Turchia in quel periodo di Paul Bonatz, fautore delle costruzioni in pietra (così erano stati costruiti molti ponti sulle autostrade tedesche). Tra il 1940 e il 1945 sorsero nello stile nazionale numerosi edifici in muratura con tetti a falde e gronde sporgenti, come le Facoltà di Scienze a Istanbul e ad Ankara, il Mausoleo di Atatürk e molte opere realizzate dal Consiglio Tecnico Superiore. In parecchie città dell'Anatolia questi grandi edifici si sono inseriti facilmente nel paesaggio e nell'adiacente tessuto urbano, senza alterarne il carattere tradizionale; si può affermare inoltre che nei trent'anni circa trascorsi dalla loro costruzione hanno dimostrato una buona resistenza alle intemperie.
Sul finire degli anni Cinquanta vi fu una reazione che mise fine al movimento per l'architettura nazionale: gli edifici del periodo precedente furono ritenuti troppo eclettici, il nazionalismo fu equiparato a fascismo, e comunque l'Accademia era stata distrutta da un incendio e il

windows are arranged in rows of differing vertical and horizontal proportions. In the hall the windows cover the whole wall, forming an unbroken band except for a few bridging elements kept as unobtrusive as possible. I adopted that form. Neither Corbusier nor Perret approved of my idea, though they never said why.

Could modern Turkish architecture follow the same pattern? I tried out this idea two years later in Berlin, producing detailed projects of concrete mosques with and without domes. The skeleton would speak for itself and would be finely textured. Above a certain level the walls would be divided into white concrete sections, in place of the old plaster window frames, while the lower area would be tiled or marbled. I put these early ideas into practice in Libya in a more massive form, using geodesic or faceted forms in place of the halfdome.

In Berlin, I first saw the Frank Lloyd Wright album published by Wasmuth: the "prairie houses", a few of which had already been built, attracted my attention. I believed I had discovered some important elements of the Turkish house of the future in these designs. The long, low lines, the rows of windows, the wide eaves and the shape of the roofs were very much like the Turkish house I had in mind. These romantic, naturalistic houses were far more attractive than the box-like architecture of Le Corbusier. The use of rough-hewn stone and natural wood increased their effectiveness. I was not, at the time, able to detect the difference in quality and intellect between these two styles of architecture. How had Wright arrived at these forms? This question kept me occupied for hours at the Germany Volkskunde Museum (Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde). Wright's sources were not in America, but in Asia, and "prairie" was merely a metaphor for the long, low lines. Under the influence of Wright, I designed a project for a series of houses that were exhibited at the Turkish Society in Ankara.

Wright was later to find inspiration in Aztec and Mexican forms to use a new type of concrete. This concrete was also brutal, massive and moulded — that is, it was not in a skeleton style. I was to get my first look at this technique in a visit to the Unitarian Church in Oak Park, near Chicago, ten years later in 1938. During my student days I used to visit the American Girls' College in Arnavutköy, where I studied the concrete walls of the building in detail. They had been moulded, using yellow sand, in 1916, but instead of being brutal they were deliberately smooth and refined. The walls of the Oak Park church reminded me of the walls of the school in Arnavutköy. The two were worlds apart in architectural taste and decor, but in form and value they were similar. Thirty years later Le Corbusier would discover how to do this with concrete (Marseilles 1960), even though forced by lack of funds to mould it by the most primitive methods.

The national architectural style (1932-1952)

In 1932, a seminar on the national architectural style was opened at the Academy of Fine Arts. Its goal was to encourage a new modern style based on Turkish domestic architecture. It stipulated that the development of the new Turkish style begin with an examination of existing structures, which should then be reconstructed. I was able to continue with my own students the research I had done in Anatolia during my student days. We discovered hitherto unknown and fascinating beauties.

Building projects and construction research ran parallel to the work of the seminar. Between 1935 and 1950 Turkey evolved its new architectural style. Cubist forms lost their appeal and were replaced by buildings with pitched roofs and eaves. The cause of this change was not ideological, but prosaic; nearly all the flat roofs of the Cubist buildings in Ankara leaked, and the terracotta facings came away from the walls. All the roofs had to be replaced, and the Ministry of Public Improvement and Housing stipulated that all new construction must have pitched roofs and eaves. The same Ministry is now trying, twenty to twenty-five years later, to deal with a second trend toward flat roofs by imposing various specifications, minimum roof angles and the like.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, iron and cement disappeared from the market and high-rise structures were abandoned in favour of buildings of a few storeys. Massive-walled structures replaced reinforced concrete.

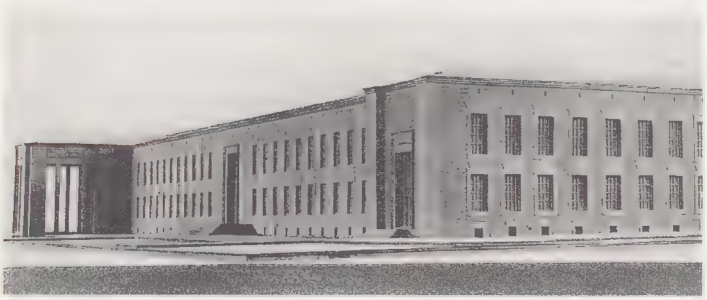
Nationalism took on a different meaning in Europe, and Germany's influence began to express itself in new forms in Turkey. Bruno Taut, who came to Turkey from Japan, was able to make use of the work done at the Academy seminar in his building for the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography in Ankara. He attempted to impart a Turkish character to his brick and stone walls and was, in my opinion, highly successful.

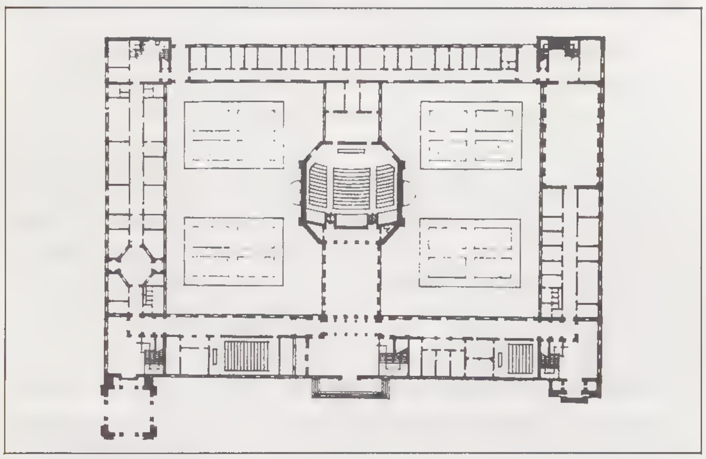
The Stone Age had begun, with both policy and the economy playing their part in its development. Policy demanded that buildings be built of stone, strong and durable, unlike the frail Cubist buildings of Ankara.

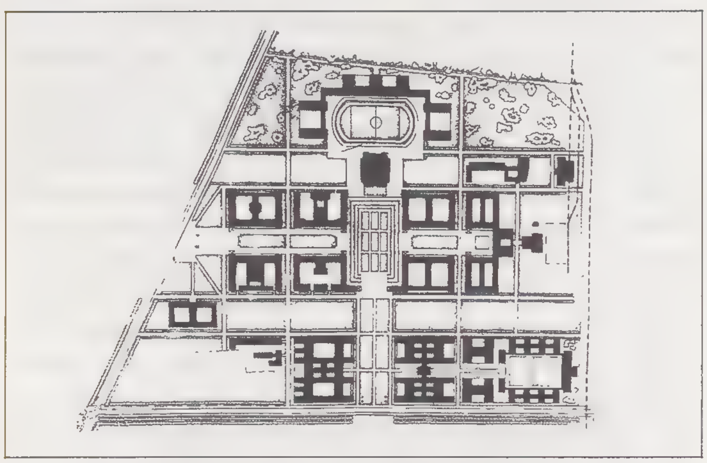
The national style was therefore solid and monumental. The presence of Paul Bonatz in Turkey during the period contributed to this outcome, as he was a devotee of stone construction. Many of the bridges over the German autobahns had been built of stone. Between 1940 and 1945, buildings such as the Faculties of Science at Istanbul and Ankara, the Atatürk Mausoleum and many buildings of the Technical and Professional Education Council were all constructed as massive eaved or pitch-roofed buildings in the national style. In many of the cities of Anatolia these rambling, large-scale structures were well adapted to their surroundings and to the landscape; it cannot be denied that they have weathered well over the thirty years or so since their construction. They have merged completely into their surroundings, and do not seem to have spoiled the ancient character of the Anatolian towns.

In the late 1950s a reaction ended this national architecture. The buildings of the period were regarded as too eclectic, and nationalism was equated with fascism. In any case the Academy had burned down, and the seminar had come to









Seminario era stato soppresso. Fu bandito a quel tempo un importante concorso per la progettazione del Palazzo di Giustizia di Istanbul: fra i progetti presentati, per lo più in muratura di pietra, ne fu scelto uno a struttura leggera di cemento armato, che teneva conto dei caratteri tradizionali e locali. Per vari motivi l'edificio non fu mai ultimato, ma il progetto vincitore segnò ugualmente l'inizio di una nuova era, in cui l'architettura turca cercò di esprimersi mediante le tecniche moderne e non soltanto attraverso il passato. L'ossatura in cemento armato sarebbe rimasta in vista e le pareti di tamponamento avrebbero denunziato la loro funzione.

Con la costruzione dell'Hotel Hilton a Istanbul l'architettura turca perse molto del suo carattere regionale e cominciò ad affermarsi la tendenza a imitare l'architettura europea e ancor più quella americana: col tempo quest'imitazione diede origine, com'è inevitabile in questi casi, a versioni esagerate e quasi caricaturali dei prototipi. La tendenza in questione esiste tuttora, ma nel frattempo le idee di funzionalità e di struttura a telaio sono passate in secondo piano rispetto a formalismi e manierismi continuamente mutevoli. La ricerca di uno stile contestuale turco è vista quasi come obsoleta, anche se il Palazzo di Giustizia di Istanbul, ancora incompiuto, ha continuato a ispirare qualche progetto e qualche iniziativa isolata.

Il Seminario sullo stile architettonico nazionale presso l'Accademia di Belle Arti è tornato a nuova vita sotto forma di Dipartimento per la Conservazione del Patrimonio Architettonico; l'attività avviata nell'Accademia quarant'anni fa viene proseguita da istituzioni come il Politecnico del Medio Oriente, il Politecnico di Istanbul, la Scuola di Architettura di Yildiz ecc., che continuano a promuovere l'interesse per l'architettura turca e la tutela dei monumenti e delle città.

Nuovi progetti

Alcuni nuovi progetti, relativi a complessi edilizi anziché a singoli edifici, stanno a dimostrare che la vecchia idea di vicinato come unità comunitaria sta riacquistando validità; fra i più importanti programmi di questo tipo citeremo quelli di Yildiz e di Zeyrek. Alle forme tradizionali sono ispirati molti edifici d'abitazione e alcune sedi di ambasciata ad Ankara; nell'Ambasciata del Pakistan ho cercato di adattare i principi architettonici islamici alle condizioni climatiche della nostra capitale, ma non si può stabilire se le sue volte in cemento armato non siano in realtà ispirate a un qualche progetto di Le Corbusier.

Nello stesso periodo il Governo pakistano si rivolse a me per un importante progetto, che poteva rappresentare una pietra miliare per gli architetti turchi. Il progetto di Louis Kahn per Dacca aveva suscitato perplessità nei governanti pakistani, e in generale i paesi musulmani erano stanchi di fare da terreno di addestramento per gli architetti stranieri. Non potei accettare l'incarico (anche se in seguito ebbi modo di mettere in atto nel Pakistan le mie idee), e la Moschea di Islamabad fu progettata in mia vece da Vedat

an end. At that time an important design competition for the Istanbul Law Courts was announced. From among the projects submitted, most of them solid stone buildings, a light reinforced concrete design which retained individual and local characteristics was selected. For various reasons the building itself was never completed, but its design was enough to begin a new era, as Turkish architecture sought to express itself through modern techniques and not simply through the past.

The concrete skeleton was to remain naked and the infill walls to appear functional. With the building of the Istanbul Hilton Hotel, architecture lost much of its regional character and the trend toward European and more particularly American architecture made its appearance; in the process it became, as every imitation is bound to, an exaggerated version, almost a cartoon of the original. The trend continues; meanwhile, the concepts of architectural function, frame and structure have been overshadowed by constantly changing formalist and mannerist trends. The search for a local Turkish style has become almost obsolete, although the still incomplete Law Courts have been the inspiration for one or two isolated movements and projects.

The Academy's seminar on the national architectural style was revitalized as a Preservation Department. Various schools of technology (the Middle East Technical University, the Istanbul Technical University, the Yildiz School of Architecture and others) are continuing the work started at the Academy forty years ago. Along disciplined and scientific lines, they continue to promote interest in Turkish architecture and the protection of monuments, towns and cities.

New projects

New construction projects that treat buildings as groups, rather than as individual structures, are evidence that the old idea of the neighbourhood is again gaining validity. Among the most important projects planned along these lines are the constructions at Yilkız and Zeyrek. Houses inspired by old forms have been built, and some of the embassy buildings in Ankara also belong to this group. The Embassy of Pakistan attempts to apply the architectural principles of Islam to the climatic conditions of Ankara, but it cannot be established that the real inspiration for its reinforced concrete vaulting was any particular design by Le Corbusier.

About this time the government of Pakistan approached me about a large project, an offer that represented an important milestone for Turkish architects. Louis Kahn's project at Dacca had embarrassed the government of Pakistan, and the Muslim countries had grown tired of acting as a training ground for foreign architects. I was unable to accept the offer, although I did have subsequent opportunities for carrying out my ideas in Pakistan. In my stead Vedat Dalokay designed a mosque in Islamabad, the first mosque in concrete which is both modern and Islamic. The design is Turkish in origin, with four minarets and a central dome. Its decisive form was not accepted in Ankara, but the structure is now rising

Opere di Sedad H. Eldem:
Casa Ayaşli, Istanbul, 1938;
Facoltà di Scienze, Università di Ankara, 1943: modello e pianta.
Università di Ankara, 1943: planimetria generale proposta.

Buildings by Sedad H. Eldem:
Ayaşli House, Istanbul, 1938;
Faculty of Sciences, University of Ankara, 1943: model and plan.
University of Ankara, 1943: proposed general plan.

Dalokay. È la prima moschea in calcestruzzo che sia al tempo stesso moderna e islamica, ispirata com'è alla tradizione turca con i suoi quattro minareti e la cupola centrale. La sua forma nettamente definita non fu ben accolta ad Ankara, ma l'edificio è ora in costruzione a Islamabad e io spero che questa creazione islamica, così moderna e importante, venga presto ultimata.
Un'altra moschea moderna, più piccola ma non meno notevole, è in costruzione a Cenzur (Tripoli): si tratta di un edificio dal carattere più semplice e sommesso, con una cupola in calcestruzzo a motivi orizzontali che ricordano l'intreccio di un canestro. Ma a parte questi due esempi l'odierna architettura religiosa islamica è in generale carente per qualità e per validità estetica, anche perché spesso è progettata da persone estranee alla nostra tradizione. Così la Moschea di Medina e la grande Moschea della Mecca sono attualmente in rifacimento in uno stile tutto d'imitazione, che non dovrebbe essere stato mai accettato dal mondo islamico e che rappresenta un regresso nel passato, anziché un passo avanti verso il futuro.
Il Piano urbanistico secondo il quale Ankara si sviluppò subito dopo l'avvento della Repubblica era evidentemente errato; e altrettanto manchevoli erano i Piani di ampliamento e di miglioria attuati a quel tempo in altre città. Il fatto che negli ultimi quindici anni siano nate delle *bidonville* dimostra che non si può parlare di un serio impegno di pianificazione urbanistica e di progettazione abitativa in Turchia. La situazione del nostro paese in questo campo è caotica: vi sono numerose istituzioni accademiche e scientifiche in grado di fornire il personale specializzato e gli strumenti per uscire dal caos, ma tutte queste istituzioni procedono su binari separati, senza incontrare mai la realtà.
Ciò non è avvenuto nei paesi dell'Africa Settentrionale e in una certa misura in Iraq, nel Pakistan, nell'India e nei paesi musulmani del lontano Oriente, dove le istituzioni accademiche e scientifiche hanno seguito in modo responsabile l'esecuzione di molti progetti esemplari, con livelli di qualità generalmente alti. In Turchia, invece, le tecniche e i materiali usati nella maggior parte degli edifici sono di qualità inferiore, le città vengono edificate in base a *standard* meno elevati, e anche le vecchie case che tanto ammiriamo non hanno resistito al deterioramento come in altri paesi musulmani: molte di esse, costruite in legno e in mattoni cotti al sole, sono oggi in rovina. I paesi islamici in cui il materiale da costruzione tradizionale è la pietra hanno il vantaggio che i loro édifici scompaiono solo quando vengono demoliti intenzionalmente; d'altra parte in paesi come l'Iran, dove i materiali più usati sono il mattone e la terra cotta, la situazione è ancora più grave che in Turchia, giacché gli edifici così costruiti si degradano non appena se ne trascura la manutenzione.
Grazie all'accresciuta importanza della produzione del petrolio nell'ultimo decennio, i paesi musulmani dispongono oggi, per la prima volta nella loro storia, di enormi risorse; una delle conseguenze di questa nuova ricchezza è l'attività edilizia senza precedenti in pieno sviluppo in Kuwait, negli Emirati Arabi Uniti, in Arabia Saudita e in Libia. In questi paesi sono impegnate in grandiosi progetti importanti società di architettura e d'ingegneria inglesi e americane, e perfino società bulgare e jugoslave. Lo stile di queste opere è quello internazionale affermatosi in tutto il mondo: insieme a progetti interessanti e ambiziosi s'incontrano edifici insignificanti e di qualità inferiore, ma la caratteristica comune a tutti è di essere estranei all'ambiente in cui sorgono. Ci si può chiedere come sia possibile dare un carattere regionale a un aeroporto, a un palazzo per uffici o a un albergo, visto che tutti questi edifici funzionali devono presentare un insieme di caratteristiche simili: ma *simili* non significa necessariamente *identiche*.
Il mondo islamico è diventato un banco di prova per l'architettura occidentale. Accanto a edifici stilisticamente estranei all'ambiente ve ne sono molti in cui si scorge se non altro un tentativo di attuare uno stile regionale; tuttavia la profonda diversità di cultura e di gusto fa sì che i risultati siano diseguali e scoordinati. Sarebbe troppo ottimistico vedere in questo genere di edifici qualcosa di veramente utile per l'architettura islamica del futuro: affermare ciò significa soltanto essere realisti, non certo voler denigrare in blocco queste architetture moderne, alcune delle quali sono di altissimo livello qualitativo.
Gli edifici innalzati ad Ankara cinquant'anni fa furono progettati da architetti mitteleuropei come Holzmeister, Elsässer, Egli, Orley, Jansen, Breuhaus, che si spartirono per molti anni gli incarichi in Turchia ed esercitarono a lungo il loro influsso sulla successiva generazione di architetti locali; tuttavia le opere di questi maestri stranieri non lasciarono un'impronta durevole sul nostro paese. Le Corbusier era "persona non grata", e l'inserimento nel centro di Ankara di un edificio nel suo stile incontrò una forte opposizione. Solo col risveglio del movimento per un'architettura nazionale turca due architetti tedeschi, Taut e Bonatz, si staccarono dal gruppo e cominciarono a pensare in termini regionali, realizzando interessanti edifici moderni; queste opere rimasero peraltro esempi isolati, sommersi dalla generale tendenza verso il cubismo.
C'è da sperare che tutto ciò non si ripeta oggi nei paesi arabi, sui quali sono puntati gli sguardi degli architetti di tutto il mondo. I dati ambientali dovranno essere presi in considerazione a una scala più ampia di quella regionale, e cioè alla scala dell'intero Islam: l'attuazione di quest'ideale può essere inizialmente difficile, ma deve rimanere il fine ultimo di ogni pianificazione urbanistica e abitativa. Dopo tutto, l'ambiente prossimo dell'uomo è costituito dalla casa, dal vicinato e dalla città.
Nel formulare i nostri obiettivi futuri non dobbiamo trascurare il lavoro che stanno già svolgendo nel mondo islamico gli architetti musulmani, a cominciare da Nader Ardalan e dal gruppo Firoughi D.A.Z., in Iran, e da Hassan Fathy, in Egitto. Nonostante gli ammirevoli sforzi compiuti per continuare la propria tradizione architettonica regionale, gli iraniani non sono riusciti del tutto a tenersi lontani da

in Islamabad. I hope this most modern and most important creation of Islam will soon be completed.
Another smaller though equally important modern mosque is being built at Cenzur in Tripoli. This building is softer in character and more familiar in spirit. Its dome is of concrete, horizontally patterned in a basket weave. I hope that we shall soon see the successful completion of this project as well. Generally speaking, however, contemporary religious architecture which symbolizes Islam is regrettably lacking in quality and aesthetic merit. The fact that it is often planned by outsiders to the traditions is certainly a factor. The mosque at Medina and the Shrine at Mecca, for example, are being rebuilt in an entirely imitative style of architecture which should never have been accepted by the Islamic world. They are a throwback to the past rather than a step forward into the future.
It is quite clear that our capital of Ankara, which was built simultaneously with the Republic, was wrongly planned. The additions and improvements made in other cities at the same time are no longer effective. The appearance of shantytowns in the past fifteen years shows that it is inappropriate to claim that there are any serious town planning or housing projects in Turkey. Housing and urbanization in this country are in a chaotic state. Plenty of academic and scientific establishments in Turkey could supply the skills and facilities necessary for the ordering of this chaos, but all of them run parallel to reality, on different tracks.
In North Africa, and to some extent in Iraq, Pakistan, India and the Far Eastern Muslim countries, establishments of this type were set upon firm foundations; they have been responsible for the completion of many exemplary projects, with standards generally maintened at a high level. This has not been the case in Turkey. The material and technical quality of most Turkish buildings is lower than in other countries. Our cities are never built to the same high standards, and even the old Turkish houses which we admire so much have failed to stand up to wear and tear as well as have the houses in other Muslim countries. Constructed of wood and sun-baked bricks, many of them are now in ruins. Muslim countries in which stone is the traditional building material have an advantage; their buildings are not likely to disappear unless they are deliberately demolished. On the other hand, in a country such as Iran where the main building materials are brick and baked earth, the situation is even more serious than it is in Turkey, since buildings made of these materials fall into disrepair at the first sign of neglect.
Owing to the increasing importance of oil production in the last ten years, the Muslim countries now have unprecedented resources at their disposal. An unprecedented level of building activity in the oil-producing countries of Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Libya is one result of the new wealth. It is increasing in momentum as British architectural and engineering firms are engaged in large-scale projects, joined by well-known American firms and even Bulgarian and Yugoslavian companies. Their work is in the international style accepted by the world. Along with interesting and ambitious projects, one can find tasteless buildings of low quality. One factor common to all is that they remain alien to their surroundings. One may ask how an airport, an office block or a hotel can be fitted into a regional mould, since all these functional buildings have to display a similar set of characteristics. They are similar, *but not necessarily* identical.
The world of Islam has become a testing ground for Western architecture. While many of the buildings being produced are alien from the architectural point of view, most of them do at least show attempts at a regional, Eastern style. However, since the basic tastes and styles involved are so completely different, the results are uneven and uncoordinated. It would be overly optimistic to see in this type of architecture anything of great use to the Islamic architecture of the future. To admit this is only being realistic, and is not to denigrate the quality of every building that has gone up: some of these represent modern architecture of the highest standard.
The buildings put up in Ankara half a century ago were also the products of Central European architects. The Holz-meisters, the Elsassers, the Eglis, the Orleys, the Jansens, even the Breuhauses divided the field of Turkish architecture among themselves for many years, and the next generation of Turkish architects long remained under their influence. But the work of these foreign architects made no lasting impression on the face of the country. Le Corbusier was persona non grata *with these designers. The introduction of a building in the style of Le Corbusier into the centre of Ankara met with strong opposition. It was only with the awakening of the national architecture movement that two architects broke away from the group and began to think along regional lines. Taut and Bonatz became devotees of the national style and bequeathed interesting, and at the same time modern, buildings to the country. However their work remained isolated, and was swept up in the all-enveloping trend towards Cubism.*
One hopes that this pattern will not be repeated in the Arab countries upon which the gaze of world architecture is now focused. The environmental data should be considered on a larger than regional scale. The scale must be all of Islam. It may be difficult to create the desired ideal at first, but this should be the aim in urban and domestic planning. After all, man's immediate surroundings are his home, his neighbourhood and his city.
In formulating our goals for the future we must not overlook the work that is already being done by Muslim architects in the Islamic world. Chief among these are Hassan Fathy of Egypt, and Nader Ardalan and the Firoughi D.A.Z. group of Iran. The Iranians, while heroically attempting to carry on the traditions of their own regional architecture, have not been entirely successful in holding themselves aloof from general trends — the names of Sert and particularly of Kahn come to mind. But this view is not necessarily a criticism. Is Le Corbusier not the common inspiration of the Japanese school, whose architects represent the most original regional







certe tendenze internazionali, per le quali vengono subito alla mente i nomi di Sert e più ancora di Kahn.
Quest'osservazione non va però intesa necessariamente come una critica: gli architetti giapponesi, creatori di uno stile regionale che è oggi quello di maggiore originalità in tutto il mondo, non hanno avuto forse come fonte d'ispirazione comune Le Corbusier? E non è forse lui il padre dell'architettura regionale, moderna e barocca al tempo stesso, oggi predominante in Brasile? Kenzo Tange, Costa e Niemeyer sono individualmente personalità straordinarie ma non si può ignorare ciò che essi devono a Le Corbusier. Tornando all'Iran, gli architetti della nuova generazione, lasciatisi alle spalle Aalto e Rudolph, sono attualmente sotto l'influsso di Kahn; è sperabile che un giorno possano liberarsene e proseguire da soli.
Diverso è il caso di Hassan Fathy: egli cerca ispirazione solo nella tradizione estetica del suo paese, facendo uso di semplici tecniche indigene, così che è difficile collocare i suoi edifici in un qualsiasi periodo. I teorici dell'architettura potranno domandarsi quale contributo possa dare questo stile, quali siano le sue possibilità a una scala più ampia o in un ambiente urbano, e fino a che punto esso sia eclettico; resta il fatto che Fathy ha dischiuso a noi e a tutto il mondo islamico nuovi orizzonti. I suoi progetti ci riportano magari indietro di secoli, ma sono pienamente regionali; ed è difficile stigmatizzare l'eclettismo di fronte agli sconcertanti manierismi di certa architettura moderna. Fathy ha annunziato un'era di forme nuove, in un nuovo ambiente e con nuove possibilità; ha le stesse fonti d'ispirazione e la stessa ricchezza d'idee di Kahn e di Aalto, e io confido che la nuova generazione di architetti musulmani farà tesoro del suo insegnamento.

Per la rivitalizzazione della tradizione architettonica islamica

Siamo giunti così al terzo e più importante aspetto del nostro tema. Finora ho parlato soprattutto della Turchia e della mia esperienza personale, sia perché conosco bene entrambi gli argomenti (specialmente il secondo), sia perché i chiarimenti connessi con le mie esperienze dirette potrebbero dare ai futuri architetti musulmani un'idea dei compiti che li attendono. Lo scopo primario da me perseguito in cinquant'anni di professione è stato la creazione di uno stile architettonico contestuale: mi sono accostato a questo problema da vari punti di vista, alcuni dei quali sono risultati poco idonei o poco fecondi. Col tempo mi sono andato sempre più convincendo che in architettura l'internazionalismo non rappresenta una scelta produttiva; e questa convinzione è appunto uno dei motivi per cui siamo riuniti qui. In tutto il mondo l'architettura è in crisi: il funzionalismo e l'internazionalismo hanno perso validità, e ci troviamo di fronte a un nuovo "ismo", il regionalismo. Il nostro scopo dovrebbe essere di soddisfare le istanze del regionalismo nella società islamica: vediamo in che modo sia possibile realizzare tale scopo.
Prima di guardare al futuro, e per proteggerci dall'influsso

style of architecture in the world today? Is he not also the father of the modern and simultaneously baroque local architecture now dominant in Brazil? Kenzo Tange, Costa and Niemeyer are all giants in their own right, but they cannot deny the debt they owe to Le Corbusier. The new generation in Iran, having left Aalto and Rudolph behind, is currently under the influence of Kahn. It may be hoped that one day they will shake of his influence and stand on their own feet.

Hassan Fathy is a different proposition. He seeks his inspiration only in the aesthetic of his own country, using simple native techniques. As a result, it is difficult to place his buildings in any period. What contribution can this style of architecture make? What can it offer on a larger scale? Can it hold its own in an urban setting? Is it really eclectic? Architectural theoreticians may concern themselves with these questions, but Hassan Fathy has opened up new vistas for us and for the Islamic world. His designs may take us back through the centuries, but they are thoroughly regional. Can the label of eclecticism be a bad thing, when compared with the bewildering mannerisms of modern architecture? Fathy has heralded a new era in architecture, with new forms, a new environment and new possibilities.

He has the same sources of inspiration and the same wealth of ideas as Kahn and Aalto. I trust that the new generation of Muslim architects will take Fathy's lesson to heart.

Toward the revitalization of the Islamic architectural tradition

We have now reached the third and most important aspect of our subject. Up to this point, much of what I have to say has been concerned with Turkey and with my personal experience, partly because I know both subjects, especially the latter, very well, but also because the explanations related to my personal experience are intended to give future Muslim architects an idea of what kinds of commitments they will have to make. The chief aim of my fifty years of professional life has been to create a regional architectural style. I have approached the problem from various angles, not all of which have been appropriate or successuful. With time I have become even more convinced that internationalism in architecture is not a productive choice. This conviction is indeed one of the reasons for gathering here today. World architecture is in a state of crisis. The various "isms," such as functionalism and internationalism, are no longer valid. We now face a new "ism": regionalism. It should be our aim to realize the claims of regionalism in Islamic society, but how are we to achieve this aim? I would like to direct my attention to this question.

Before attempting to look to the future, and in order to protect ourselves from the influence of alien cultures, we must concern ourselves with our own architectural heritage, reap its fruits and take strength and inspiration from it. Any other approach would be unproductive and would necessarily be swallowed up in the flood of world architecture. We must first gain an understanding of our own individuality, become





Opere di Sedad H. Eldem:
Caffé Taşlik, Istanbul, 1947: viste interna ed esterna;
Casa Suna Kiraç, Vaniköy, 1965;
Uffici dell'Assistenza Sociale, Istanbul, 1962-64;
Residenza per l'Ambasciata del Pakistan, Ankara, 1964-74.

Buildings by Sedad H. Eldem:
Taşlik Caffee House, Istanbul, 1947: interior and exterior views;
Suna Kiraç House, Vaniköy, 1965;
Social Security Agency Complex, Istanbul, 1962-64;
Pakistan Embassy and Residence, Ankara, 1964-74.

di culture estranee, dobbiamo occuparci del nostro retaggio architettonico, raccoglierne i frutti e trarne forza e ispirazione; ogni altro approccio sarebbe sterile e verrebbe sicuramente travolto dalla piena dell'architettura internazionale. Dobbiamo anzitutto riconoscere la nostra identità, familiarizzarci coi valori della nostra cultura e della nostra architettura, imparare ad amarli e ad esserne orgogliosi; solo dopo aver gettato queste nuove fondamenta, valendoci del sapere e della sensibilità, potremo delineare il nostro nuovo stile.

Ci si potrebbe chiedere perché sia necessario guardare al passato e non sia sufficiente guardare avanti. La risposta è che la sola strada dell'Islam verso il futuro è attraverso il passato: ad esso appartengono i maggiori successi dell'Islam, e in seguito non abbiamo fatto altro che segnare il passo. Non ci resta, purtroppo, che ripercorrere la nostra storia e cercare ispirazione in essa: solo allora potremo avventurarci su un nuovo terreno. La prima cosa che ci occorre è un fondamento solido.

Il programma per la salvaguardia e lo sviluppo della cultura architettonica islamica e per l'attuazione della sua supremazia può essere così riassunto: ricerca dei valori architettonici della nostra civiltà; analisi particolareggiata, definizione e presentazione di tali valori; tutela il più possibile efficiente dei superstiti valori del passato; studio tecnologico, climatico e sociologico delle nuove possibilità architettoniche, con un'appropriata sperimentazione; incentivazione di questo settore mediante concorsi e riconoscimenti. Le principali attività consisteranno nel lavoro di ricognizione e di documentazione, nella pubblicazione dei risultati e nella loro presentazione in convegni e riunioni.

Il mondo islamico venne per la prima volta a contatto con l'Occidente nel Settimo e nell'Ottavo secolo, durante la sua espansione religiosa e politica; questi primi contatti hanno avuto effetti durevoli sulle successive relazioni tra le due culture. Nei secoli seguenti i rapporti fra Occidente e Oriente proseguirono con le guerre religiose e poi con i viaggi di esplorazione; nel Quattordicesimo secolo l'Islam penetrò in Europa con la potenza ottomana, mentre il secolo Quindicesimo conobbe il declino dell'Islam in Spagna. Motivi commerciali e politici indussero gli occidentali ad acquistare familiarità con l'Oriente, pur conservando alcuni pregiudizi nei suoi riguardi. Quando nel Diciannovesimo secolo l'Occidente si mise ad approfondire la ricerca delle proprie radici, il bacino Egeo, le coste meridionali e orientali del Mediterraneo e il Medio Oriente erano ancora sotto il dominio dell'Islam; pur collocando le origini della propria civiltà nel passato greco, ellenistico e romano, l'Occidente si rese conto di non poter più ignorare le civiltà orientali e quella islamica.

Qualche secolo fa, la sete di conoscenze degli occidentali li portò a esplorare l'Oriente e a interessarsi dell'architettura islamica. Naturalmente le possibilità di ricerca scientifica di quei tempi non sono paragonabili a quelle attuali: le difficoltà incontrate dagli studiosi occidentali nell'esaminare il patrimonio artistico dell'Islam non vanno sottovalutate, e in parte non sono state ancora superate. Ciò nonostante, l'architettura islamica è stata oggetto d'interesse e di ricerca in Occidente da almeno un secolo e mezzo. Le prime opere importanti in questo campo furono gli *album* sull'architettura persiana ed egiziana pubblicati negli anni dopo il 1830 da Pascal Coste; e già sotto il patronato di Napoleone alcuni studiosi avevano rilevato edifici d'abitazione egiziani, anche se si era trattato di un lavoro privo di moventi scientifici e di risultati importanti.

Dobbiamo la nostra conoscenza della Istanbul di circa due secoli fa alla passione e all'operosità dell'architetto Melling; un lavoro analogo fu intrapreso in Turchia e in Iran da Flandin, che disegnò numerosi palazzi di Isfahan; va ricordata infine l'opera di Texier.

Nel nostro secolo numerose ricerche di inestimabile valore sono state condotte nel mondo islamico da studiosi di talento come Herzfield, Franz, Cunningham, Creswell, Gabriel, Pope, Goddard, Reuter, La Roche; Bannister Fletcher aveva trattato con una certa sufficienza quella che egli chiamava "*architettura saracena e islamica preistorica*", ma nell'edizione più recente del suo manuale quest'atteggiamento è alquanto cambiato. L'architettura selgiuchide e quella ottomana hanno ora il posto che loro compete nel quadro della cultura islamica; senza l'enorme lavoro compiuto da C. Gurlitt a Istanbul, Edirne e Damasco — lavoro che si riflette nella ricchezza delle sue pubblicazioni — questi stili architettonici sarebbero rimasti poco apprezzati.

La diffusione dei disegni e delle fotografie a colori ha permesso in questi ultimi anni la produzione di molte opere interessanti che cercano di presentare il mondo islamico non solo dal punto di vista scientifico, ma anche da quello estetico e umano. L'Occidente ha fatto largo uso di queste possibilità per studiare il nostro mondo ed esprimere le sue opinioni su di esso. A questa accresciuta conoscenza hanno contribuito alcune recenti pubblicazioni sull'architettura dell'Islam, costituite sia da libri, sia da articoli nelle riviste accademiche e professionali: un esempio è dato dagli articoli su Isfahan e Aleppo pubblicati da Cantacuzino in "The Architectural Review". Ricerche come queste andrebbero incoraggiate e dovrebbero essere intraprese più spesso dagli architetti e dagli accademici locali. Accanto al lavoro dei singoli studiosi occorre qui menzionare quello delle organizzazioni occidentali che hanno promosso l'interesse per il mondo islamico e la ricerca su di esso, fondando istituti archeologici nei loro stessi paesi, nel Medio Oriente e nelle altre nazioni musulmane.

In alcuni paesi appartenenti in passato al mondo islamico gli edifici innalzati sotto varie dinastie musulmane sono stati oggetto di conservazione e di studi pubblicati; particolarmente attiva in questo campo è stata l'Unione Sovietica, ma un grande impegno hanno dimostrato anche Stati minori come la Bulgaria, la Jugoslavia e la Grecia. Rimane tuttavia da vedere se gli sforzi compiuti siano sufficienti per uno studio e una presentazione della civiltà

familiar with the values of our own culture and architecture and learn to love and be proud of them. Only after structuring the new foundations with the help of knowledge and sensitivity can we design our own new style.

One might ask why it is necessary to look into the past. Why can we not simply look forward? The answer is that Islam's only way into the future is through the past. The greatest achievements of Islam are those of the past; since then we have merely been marking time. It is a regrettable fact that we must first journey into our past and seek our inspiration there. Only then we can venture forward onto new ground. Our first requirement is a solid foundation.

The programme through which the preservation and development of Islamic architectural culture and its leadership in that field can be realized may be summarized as follows: research into the architectural values of our civilization; detailed examination, definition and presentation of these values; the most effective preservation of the values remaining from the past; technological, climatic and sociological research into new architectural possibilities and appropriate experimental work; encouragement in this area by means of competition and reward. The main activities of research, definition and presentation lie in recording and research work, the publication of findings and their presentation at meetings.

The world of Islam first came into contact with the West in the seventh and eighth centuries, during its expansion as a religious and political power. These first contacts had a lasting effect on future relations between the two cultures. In the centuries that followed West-East movement continued, in the form of religious wars and later with journeys of discovery. In the fourteenth century Islam entered Europe through the power of the Ottomans, while in the fifteenth it declined in Spain. Commercial motives as much as political ones led the Westerner to familiarize himself with the East, even though he might remain prejudiced. When in the nineteenth century the West became concerned with tracing its roots, the Aegean-Mediterranean basin and the East were still under the control of Islam. While the West placed the origins of its civilization in the Greek, Hellenistic and Roman past, it also realized it could no longer ignore Eastern and Islamic civilizations.

A few centuries ago, the Western world's thirst for knowledge led it to explore the East and show an interest in Islamic architecture. The academic standards of those times cannot, of course, be compared with those of the present day.

The difficulties encountered by Western scholars in their examination of the artistic worlds of Islam must not be overlooked; they have still not been entirely overcome. In spite of this, the architecture of Islam has been a subject of interest and research in the West for at least the past 150 years. The earliest works of importance in this field are the albums of Egyptian and Persian architecture published by Pascal Coste in the 1830s. Even earlier than this, scholars under the patronage of Napoleon recorded Egyptian houses, though this work had no scholarly motives and did not amount to anything of importance. We owe our knowledge of the Istanbul of 190 years ago to the interest and efforts of the architect Melling. Flandin undertook similar work in Turkey and Iran, drawing the many palaces of Isfahan. Texier must also be remembered.

In the present century, much invaluable work has been done in the Islamic world by talented scholars such as Herzfield, Franz, Cunningham, Creswell, Gabriel, Pope, Goddard, Reuter and La Roche. Although Bannister Fletcher treated what he calls Saracenic and prehistoric Islamic architecture *with a certain flippancy, this attitude has changed somewhat in the most recent edition of his book. Seljuk and Ottoman architecture are now being allowed to take their rightful place on the Islamic scene. If it were not for the tremendous work carried out by C. Gurlitt in Istanbul, Edirne and Damascus, and the wealth of his publications, these architectural styles would have remained unappreciated. With the widespread use of drawings and coloured photographs in the last few years, many works of interest have been produced which seek to present the Islamic world not only from a scholarly, but also from an aesthetic and human angle. Photographic reproductions have opened new vistas. The West has made full use of these opportunities to study the world of Islam and to express its own views.*

The most recent developments have added to the available information. Recent publications on the architecture of Islam, whether books or articles in academic, or just as importantly, in professional magazines, continue these investigations. One example is the articles on Isfahan or Aleppo by Cantacuzino in Architectural Review. *Research of this kind is to be encouraged, and it should be undertaken more frequently by native architects and academics. Organized efforts must be remembered along with the work of individuals. Western organizations have founded archeological institutes in the Middle East, in Muslim countries and in their own countries to promote interest and research in the Muslim world.*

In countries that were formerly part of the Islamic world, buildings built under various Muslim dynasties have been preserved and made the subject of published research.

The Sovietic Union has been particularly active on this front. To date, however, none of these countries has shown the commitment to conservation and preservation evident in the small states of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece. Whether the efforts of these establishments are adequate for unbiased study and presentation of Islamic civilization is a matter for discussion. It cannot be said that increasing interest in this field of study has led to any clear-cut archievement. The most telling factor in the attainment of this goal will certainly be the success of Islam in presenting itself to the West — rather than the success of the West in understanding Islam — and in its being able to make certain facts about itself accepted, although they may lead to controversies.

I prefer to speak of the situation in Turkey with which I am familiar. Besides the movement toward a national architectural style at the Academy, which after all is forty-five years old, five universities now offer preservation

islamica esenti da pregiudizi; non si può dire infatti che il crescente interesse per l'argomento abbia portato a risultati chiaramente definiti. Nel perseguire questo scopo il fattore più significativo sarà non tanto la capacità degli occidentali di comprendere l'Islam, quanto la capacità dell'Islam di presentarsi agli occidentali e di riuscire a far accettare loro alcune realtà su se stesso, anche se tali realtà potranno dare origine a controversie.

Qui di seguito preferisco parlare della situazione in Turchia, che mi è familiare. Oltre al movimento per uno stile architettonico nazionale, esistente presso l'Accademia già da 45 anni, vi sono oggi cinque Università in cui si tengono corsi di Conservazione e Restauro e altri tre Istituti interessati a queste tematiche. I lavori compiuti dalle suddette istituzioni verranno pubblicati; una delle attività da esse svolte consiste nelle ricerche su particolari località, ricerche che certamente susciteranno vivo interesse quando i loro risultati saranno dati alle stampe. C'è da sperare che a queste attività ne facciano seguito altre su scala più ampia. Troppo a lungo i paesi musulmani sono rimasti indifferenti al proprio retaggio architettonico: si direbbe che finora l'Islam non abbia ritenuto necessario conservare nel loro stato originario gli edifici antichi. L'atteggiamento per cui il rinnovo totale è preferibile alla conservazione è particolarmente evidente nel caso delle abitazioni e delle città. Nessuno ha pensato di documentare con disegni e fotografie le case lasciate in abbandono prima che fossero ricostruite a scopo di lucro. Città come Gedda e perfino come Medina e La Mecca vengono distrutte in nome della modernizzazione, e le loro vecchie case e strade sono sostituite da orribili ammassi di cemento: delle belle balconate di legno *mashrabiya* di Gedda non è rimasta alcuna traccia.

Negli ultimi cento anni sono andati irrimediabilmente perduti innumerevoli tesori artistici e architettonici. Il rilevamento e lo studio degli edifici antichi sono fatti recenti; e anche se in passato non sono mancati del tutto, in genere sono stati condotti, come l'opera di valutazione e di classificazione, da non-musulmani. D'altra parte non dobbiamo dimenticare che questi ricercatori, archeologi e architetti stranieri, che ora critichiamo così volentieri, hanno lavorato fino a pochi anni fa in condizioni estremamente difficili: talvolta non riuscivano neppure ad accedere agli edifici che intendevano studiare, o erano costretti a ricorrere a stratagemmi per farlo. Dobbiamo ad essi eterna gratitudine per le loro fatiche.

Certamente il nostro lavoro di ricerca dovrà avere lo scopo di dare alle generazioni future un'idea dell'essenza culturale dell'Islam. Molto è stato già fatto, in numerosi paesi islamici, da studiosi locali e stranieri e da istituti di ricerca collegati con università e accademie; questi studi hanno riguardato in massima parte l'architettura monumentale e solo in misura molto minore l'architettura regionale e abitativa e la storia urbana. Il primo e più importante compito della Fondazione Aga Khan sarà di raccogliere, esaminare e pubblicare i risultati di queste ricerche: ciò richiederà l'istituzione di un centro in cui i materiali dispersi e disorganici possano essere composti in un insieme coerente e in cui si possa raggiungere un'unità di scopi e di metodi (...).

Non possiamo però limitarci a studiare i valori culturali del passato islamico: dobbiamo anche riuscire a trasferire nel futuro le realizzazioni di quel passato, e ciò sarà possibile solo se i risultati della ricerca storica verranno valutati, elaborati e reinterpretati. I tipi e le dimensioni degli insediamenti, i problemi amministrativi, le tecniche edilizie, la scelta e l'impiego dei materiali sono tutti aspetti dell'architettura regionale che devono essere attentamente considerati e messi in conto, così che i risultati degli studi possano essere effettivamente utilizzati per la progettazione edilizia.

La Fondazione Aga Khan può svolgere un ruolo importante nel promuovere il coordinamento delle attività riguardanti lo sviluppo tra i vari stati, i ministeri responsabili e le altre istituzioni; quest'opera di promozione comprende anche lo studio degli esempi tradizionali e il loro adattamento alla tecnologia moderna, ai materiali disponibili e alla manodopera locale. In questo campo i vari paesi musulmani si trovano in stadi di sviluppo differenti, ma hanno tutti in comune il fatto di essere, dal punto di vista economico, paesi in via di sviluppo.

In alcuni di essi, caratterizzati da un elevatissimo prodotto nazionale lordo, dovuto ai proventi della vendita del petrolio, è naturalmente più intensa l'attività costruttiva, anche se purtroppo essa è svolta per la maggior parte da stranieri. Gli edifici più importanti possono rappresentare un simbolo di *status* e un motivo di orgoglio per le generazioni future, com'è avvenuto per il patrimonio culturale del passato; ma sono inaccettabili come monumenti e sono estranei alla cultura e alle tecnologie dei paesi in cui sorgono.

Fino a quando i paesi musulmani del nostro secolo si accontenteranno di far parte di una cultura islamica fondata solo sulla potenza economica? La civiltà islamica non appartiene esclusivamente a uno o più paesi, ma dovrà essere, come in passato, un modo comune di pensare e di esprimersi, un tutto armonico. Il problema è di avere una politica culturale comune, ed è deplorevole che finora essa non sia stata presa in esame né dalle singole nazioni, né da un organismo internazionale: in ciò consiste l'importanza della Fondazione. Sarà senza dubbio un compito difficile, ma è essenziale che esso sia intrapreso a livello internazionale da un ente non politico e non prevenuto: solo così sarà possibile eliminare le difficoltà derivanti dalle differenze regionali e socioculturali.

(*) Conferenza tenuta al secondo Seminario della serie *Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World*, organizzato da The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, Istanbul 26-28 settembre 1978; pubblicata in The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, Atti del Seminario, The Aga Khan Awards, Ginevra 1980, pp. 89-99.
Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

and restoration courses and three other institutes are concerned with these subjects. The work done by these establishments will eventually be published. One of their activities is research in specific localities, which will no doubt arouse interest when available in print. It is to be hoped that this work will be followed by activities on a larger scale.

The Muslim countries have remained indifferent for too long to their own architectural heritage. It is as if Islam believed it unnecessary to preserve old buildings in their original state. The attitude that complete renewal is preferable to preservation is particularly apparent where houses and cities are concerned. Quite apart from the business of reconstructing abandoned buildings left to decay, no one has thought to preserve them through drawings and photographs. Cities, for instance Jiddah and even Mecca and Medina, are being ruined in the name of modernization. The old streets and houses have been annihilated, replaced by ugly piles of concrete. Not a trace of the beautiful wooden mashrabiya *balconies of Jiddah remains.*

Over the last hundred years, countless architectural and artistic treasures have been irretrievably lost. Survey and study of these buildings are new developments. Such studies had not been entirely lacking in earlier times, but again they were carried out for the most part by non-Muslims. Evaluation and classification have also been carried out by foreigners. We must not forget that the work of these foreign researchers, archeologists and architects, which we now take such great pleasure in criticizing, was carried out until only a few years ago under conditions of extreme difficulty. They were sometimes unable even to enter the buildings they were studying, or were forced to resort to guile to gain entry. I am eternally grateful for their efforts.

The aim of our research work should undoubtedly be to convey to future generations an idea of Islamic cultural values. Much work has already been done in many of the Islamic countries by both foreigners and native scholars, and by research institutes attached to universities and academies. Most of this work has been concerned with monumental architecture, a much smaller proportion with regional domestic and urban architectural history. The first and most important work of the Aga Khan Foundation will be to collect, evaluate and publish the results of this research. This will require the establishment of a centre so that disorganized and diffuse elements may be gathered into a whole, and a unity of aim and method can be achieved. (...)

It is not enough merely to examine the cultural values of Islam's past. We must also be able to convey the achievements of the past to the future, and this only becomes possible when the results of research into the past are evaluated, developed and reinterpreted. Types and sizes of settlements, their administration, building techniques, choice and utilization of materials are all areas of regional architectural study which must be carefully considered and evaluated, so that their results can be used in actual building projects.

The Aga Khan Foundation can perform an important role in promoting coordination between nations, responsible ministries and other bodies in their work of development; this will include the study of traditional examples and their adaptation to modern technology, local materials and the local work force. While the Muslim countries are in various stages of development on these fronts, a common factor is that all, from the economic point of view, are "developing" countries.

The extremely high gross national product in some of them is related to income from oil. The oil-rich Muslim countries are certainly the most active in construction work, though this work is unfortunately carried out for the most part by foreigners. The buildings that emerge may be status symbols and a source of pride to future generations, as the cultural heritage of the past has been, but they are unacceptable as monuments and are alien to the cultures and technologies of the countries in which they stand.

How long will the Muslim countries of the twentieth century be content to remain part of an Islamic culture based solely on the criterion of economic power? Islamic civilization is not the possession of one, or even a few countries. It should be, as it was in the past, a common mode of thought and expression and a harmonious whole. The question is one of a common cultural policy: it is regrettable that it has not yet been dealt with either by an individual nation or an international organization. This is where the importance of the Foundation lies. Without doubt the task will be a difficult one, but it is essential that it be undertaken on an international level by an unbiased, non-political body. Only then will regional and sociocultural differences cease to present problems.

(*) Lecture at the second seminar on Architectural Transformations in the Islamic world, *organized by the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in Istanbul, Turkey, 26-27 September 1978; published in The Aga Khan Award for Architecture,* Conservation as Cultural Survival, *proceedings of Seminar, The Aga Khan Awards, Geneva 1980, pp. 89-99.*



Sedad Hakki Eldem (1908-1988) nel 1978.

Sedad Hakki Eldem (1908-1988) in 1978.

La ricerca di un'identità nell'architettura turca moderna degli ultimi cinquant'anni

Suha Özkan

Nella storia dell'architettura turca degli ultimi cinquant'anni emerge prepotentemente la figura di Sedad Eldem, maestro, ricercatore, architetto-progettista che più di ogni altro ha contribuito allo sviluppo dell'architettura turca contemporanea. Sebbene sia un luogo comune affermare che questi tre ambiti si sono intrecciati nel corso di tutta la sua vita, alimentandosi a vicenda fino a culminare in forma cristallizzata nell'opera architettonica, non esistono prove concrete di tale travaso. Ovviamente, l'interesse per questi tre diversi aspetti del suo operare architettonico non può che essersi sviluppato contemporaneamente; tuttavia non si può dire con certezza quanto l'opera si sia alimentata della ricerca o, viceversa, quanto l'abbia influenzata.

Da un esame più attento si deduce che Eldem si sforzava di tenere questi tre ambiti rigorosamente separati, in modo che si evolvessero autonomamente senza troppi contatti diretti, o addirittura interferenze, fra loro. Benché, per formazione, egli propendesse verso il modello tedesco, didatticamente attingeva piuttosto al classicismo dell'accademia francese tipico di J.N.L. Durand. Sostenitore convinto dell'eredità del passato, Eldem non pretendeva che i suoi allievi creassero dal nulla, ma che si rifacessero alla storia. Sulla traccia delle possibili soluzioni che egli stesso forniva, — se non per tutto un edificio almeno per le sue componenti — gli allievi erano chiamati a elaborare le rispettive proposte progettuali basandosi su questo ventaglio di soluzioni, le cui alternative dovevano essere collaudate una per una e dimostrarsi architettonicamente valide. Questo metodo consentiva agli allievi di perfezionare le loro conoscenze e di affinare le tecniche di progettazione di ogni singolo elemento dell'organismo da costruire. Sull'esempio di Durand[1], i testi di Eldem[2] puntano sull'esposizione dettagliata delle soluzioni e forniscono una gamma esauriente di elementi e di particolari architettonici. Deliberatamente, egli scelse di pubblicare tali materiali come libri di testo patrocinati dall'Accademia di Stato.

La sua attività di ricerca, più che essere finalizzata alla didattica, ha coinvolto direttamente gli allievi che per più di un quarantennio hanno svolto rilievi e misurazioni di case e palazzi di tutta la Turchia. Tali materiali, integrati dalle sue ricerche accademiche, sono stati da lui raccolti e pubblicati in volumi successivi durante un lungo lasso di tempo e, assieme alle opere *La storia del Bosforo*, *La casa turca*, *L'eredità architettonica turca* e ad alcune monografie su singoli edifici, formano un *corpus* che, a buon diritto, può essere considerato l'*opera magna* dell'architettura turca. Sembra ironico, ma sebbene Eldem sia stato uno dei più prolifici studiosi della storia dell'architettura turca, non esiste una testimonianza significativa del suo pensiero teorico; e questo per il semplice motivo che le sue ricerche erano indirizzate quasi esclusivamente allo studio e alla pubblicazione degli eventi storici e contemporanei

Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity

Suha Özkan

Sedad Eldem has been the most influential figure in every field of contemporary Turkish architecture over the past fifty years, and has contributed as much to the development of Turkish architecture as a teacher and researcher as he has done as a practising architect and designer. It has often been thought that these three areas of professional interest were interlinked throughout his life and career, feeding off each other to crystallise in the forms of his finished architecture, yet there is no real evidence to suggest that this actually occurred. Obviously, his interest in — and the influence of — his teaching, research and practice developed simultaneously, but which influenced which? It seems difficult to know whether his research was the cause or an effect of his architecture.

On closer inspection, one soon realises how careful he was to keep them separate so that they could develop independently of — or, perhaps, without interfering with — each other. Although his training was basically German, his teaching style was much closer to classic French Academy approaches, especially those of J. N. L. Durand. He never expected his students to create a whole building from a scratch. First they had to master the existing heritage which provides a range of solutions if not for whole buildings, then certainly for their component parts. New buildings derive from existing possibilities that have already been thoroughly tested and are known to be architecturally valid, so to design each and every component of a feasible building, his students first had to perfect their knowledge of existing techniques to provide a vehicle for their individual talents. Like Durand's[1], Eldem's textbooks[2] describe detailed solutions to specific problems: essentially, they are comprehensive manuals of building details and components, intentionally commercial publications validated by the State Academy sponsored research Eldem was engaged in at various times.

Eldem's research was related to his students, not to his teaching. Over a period of more than forty years, they provided the surveys and plans of houses and mansions all over Turkey which, when combined with his own academic research, would be published under his name in successive volumes over long periods of time. Books like The History of the Bosphorus, The Turkish House, The Turkish Architectural Heritage *and his handful of monographs on individual buildings are rightly regarded as the* opera magna *of Turkish architectural publishing. There is some irony in the fact that although he was one of the most prolific authors on Turkish architectural history, we know almost nothing about his personal views on architecture theory and practice. He confined his research exclusively to analyses of historical and contemporary architecture.*

Eldem has always been a prominent architect, well enough placed in the Turkey's architectural elite to receive major commissions to build prestigious buildings on prime sites for

dell'architettura.
Da sempre considerato un eminente architetto particolarmente apprezzato dalle *élite*, la sua fama gli è valsa incarichi di rilievo per opere di grande prestigio ed importanza urbana, condotte a termine sempre con profonda perizia e responsabilità. Ciò gli ha procurato un posto eccelso nell'ambito dell'architettura turca, meritandogli, unico tra i tanti, il titolo di "Artista di Stato". Nonostante l'evidente complessità delle sue opere e la cura che ad esse dedicava, i percorsi che lo hanno portato a determinate soluzioni, il suo pensiero, i valori o semplicemente le teorie che lo hanno guidato restano indecifrati, inespressi e di conseguenza ancora oscuri. Non esiste alcuna indicazione di una specifica filosofia progettuale, nessun accenno al suo pensiero, ma sembra che ogni suo successo sia da attribuirsi unicamente a talento e intuizione. Da un artista del suo rango e delle sue capacità creative ci si aspetterebbe un pari livello di elaborazione teorica. Invece egli è rimasto muto, lasciando che il suo lavoro parlasse per lui, preferendo essere ricordato come un maestro severo, un ricercatore meticoloso, un progettista intuitivo la cui posizione intellettuale era solida e austera.
Quando intrapresi la stesura della monografia sull'opera architettonica di Eldem, con la collaborazione del dottor Engin Yenal di Istanbul, mi trovai di fronte all'insolubile ostacolo rappresentato dall'inesistenza di un suo pensiero teorico esplicito. Di conseguenza, scrivere un libro sul più importante architetto contemporaneo del paese senza poterne conoscere in profondità la filosofia, si presentava come un'impresa ardua e sconcertante.
Già dai primi anni Trenta, con l'iniziale comparsa di una pubblicistica architettonica, Eldem era attivo nel circolo formatosi attorno alla prima rivista di settore, "Mimar", successivamente ribattezzata "Arkitekt"; ma le nostre ricerche bibliografiche non ci hanno fruttato alcuno scritto di rilievo ad eccezione di due articoli polemici apparsi nel 1939 e nel 1940[3], periodo in cui il nazionalismo, derivato dal Nazionalsocialismo tedesco, esercitava una pesante influenza sul clima politico e sociale del paese. Poiché l'isolamento e l'emarginazione della Turchia dovuti alla guerra favorivano qualsiasi iniziativa autarchica, anche Eldem aveva auspicato, nei due articoli citati, un intervento di tipo autocratico da parte dello Stato per emanare specifiche direttive architettoniche. Oltre a questi scritti, che a 45 anni di distanza non rendono giustizia al suo pensiero, praticamente non esistono testimonianze esplicite del suo cammino intellettuale e della sua maturazione artistica.
Ai fini della nostra monografia, che si prefiggeva di attirare l'attenzione della comunità internazionale sull'opera architettonica di Eldem, i due articoli summenzionati hanno rivestito un valore puramente documentario, in quanto non vi è dubbio che, successivamente, egli sia stato guidato da ben altre idee nel corso della sua attività. L'esigenza di risalire alle sue origini, ai suoi studi giovanili, al periodo della sua formazione, ci ha indotti ad incontrare personalmente Eldem, che abbiamo trovato ancora perfettamente vigile e lucido di memoria, nonostante l'età avanzata e i gravi problemi di salute. La decisione di intervistarlo era stata presa di comune accordo con il dottor Yenal ed era scaturita dalla necessità di ottenere informazioni di prima mano sul suo passato e sulla sua filosofia dell'architettura e della progettazione. L'intervista ci avrebbe, inoltre, fornito il pretesto per porgli domande poco diplomatiche su certe questioni sulle quali era stato criticato e addirittura di esprimergli alcune nostre riserve, un'impresa, questa, che richiedeva notevole coraggio, in quanto nessun altro si sarebbe mai azzardato ad interrogarlo su tali questioni data la natura carismatica del personaggio, il suo carattere introverso e il suo atteggiamento alquanto severo nei confronti degli allievi.
Fu così che nelle giornate di martedì del 1986, ogniqualvolta la sua salute cagionevole lo consentiva, lo intervistammo. Delle 25 ore di registrazione[4], che costituiscono la base della nostra monografia[5] e che verranno, un giorno, pubblicate, ricordiamo soltanto alcuni frammenti e rivelazioni.
Era sempre stata considerata di capitale importanza, per il linguaggio architettonico di Eldem, l'influenza della *casa turco-ottomana*, che egli si proponeva di rigenerare quasi fosse una sua scoperta originale, rilevandone e assimilandone le strutture compositive e formali. Nel corso dei nostri incontri Eldem confessò candidamente che, sebbene avesse lavorato con maestri quali Le Corbusier e Auguste Perret in Francia e Hans Poelzig in Germania, i suoi principali punti di riferimento erano stati Frank Lloyd Wright e Edwin Lutyens. Pur essendo perfettamente consapevole di ciò che il modernismo rappresentava e puntando a un atteggiamento progettuale sempre mantenuto sul filo sottile della modernità, egli tuttavia trovò maggiori consonanze con quest'ultimi due architetti. Uno sguardo attento ai volumi, alle proporzioni, alle coperture, ai cornicioni, all'uso del colore nei suoi edifici confermano l'influenza di tali architetti e la contiguità con essi stabilita nella ricerca di un'identità architettonica che lo aveva portato ad elaborare per la Turchia un linguaggio contestuale e contemporaneo, come Lutyens aveva fatto per Nuova Delhi e Wright per il Midwest americano. Ciò che accomuna i tre artisti è la capacità di cogliere gli elementi di un linguaggio tradizionale nella loro essenza astratta, al fine di elaborare soluzioni originali contrapposte ai *pastiche* del passato.
Nella ricerca di un linguaggio contestuale, Eldem attribuiva notevole importanza ai materiali contemporanei scegliendo, ad esempio, il cemento armato laddove l'utilizzo dell'acciaio per rivisitare le forme ottomane delle architetture civili, realizzate fondamentalmente in legno, sarebbe stato scontato. Tale scelta è da attribuirsi all'influenza di Auguste Perret dal cui magistero trasse insegnamento diretto nel suo *atelier*. Pur essendo stato, com'è noto, in contatto con molti grandi architetti quali Walter Gropius, Lazslo Moholy-Nagy e Marcel Breuer, e profondamente legato ad altri come Bruno Taut e Hans Poelzig, che pure hanno vissuto per un

important clients. He fulfilled these commissions with the conscientiousness and care they deserved, and the results have won him a unique place in Turkey's architectural community as the only architect among thousands with the title of "State Artist".

Despite the obvious care and sophistication of his buildings, we know little of the thought processes, values or even just theories that went into their production, for the simple reason that he himself has been reluctant to speak of them. It all seems to have been a matter of talent and intuition: his private thinking never resulted in an explicit design philosophy. Certainly, one would expect a man of his creative talent to possess the intellect needed to assimilate and elaborate the complexities of the design process, yet he has remained silent and allowed the word spread on the grapevine instead. He preferred to be known as a strict teacher, meticulous researcher and intuitive designer. His intellectual discourse was trenchant and austere.

When Dr. Engin Yenal and I agreed to write a much-awaited monograph on Eldem's architecture, we faced the impossible dilemma of describing an architect who has communicated virtually nothing of his personal approach to architecture. Having to write a book on Turkey's most significant contemporary architect without being able to research his thoughts in some depth was both disconcerting and worrying. Turkish architectural publishing has existed since the early thirties, and Eldem was active in it from the start in his work for Turkey's first architectural journal Mimar *(later renamed* Arkitekt*), but the published literature yields nothing of any substance, apart from two controversial articles published in 1939 and 1940*[3]*, unfortunately at a time when Turkish Nationalism — an offshoot of German National Socialism — was a major social and political force in the country. As the war continued, Turkey's psychological insularity tended to encourage anything claiming to be "local." Eldem's articles contain pleas for autocratic state action to establish national architectural styles, and hardly do justice to his thinking forty-five years on, but we had virtually no other material to help us trace his intellectual development over the years. For the purposes of a monograph intended to bring Eldem's achievement to the attention of the international community, these two articles were of purely historical interest only — clearly, his subsequent work as a practising architect was based on rather different ideas. What we really needed to do was research his upbringing, education and training. In the event, we were able to interview Eldem and benefit directly from an intellectual alertness and power of recall that seemed remarkable in an elderly man afflicted by serious health problems. Our aim was not only to obtain first-hand historical information and some knowledge of his architectural philosophy, but also to ask him difficult questions about the things he has been criticised for during his long life. This was especially important because his personal charisma, reticence and somewhat tyrannical attitude towards his juniors have dissuaded people from asking critical questions in the past. However, we felt our reasons for wanting to interview him — and daring to ask these questions — were the right ones.*

On Tuesdays in 1986, whenever his frail health permitted it, we asked him to tell us the story of his life, describe the history of various buildings and explain his ideas and attitudes. These twenty-five hours of recorded interviews[4] *gave us the basic material for our book*[5] *and will eventually be published in its own right. Here we can only quote or paraphrase fragments of Eldem's disclosures during the interviews.*

It has always been thought that the basic ingredient of Eldem's architectural language was his interest in reinstating the typology of the Turkish (Ottoman) House, as if he had discovered and developed it himself. In the interviews, Eldem candidly accepted that even though he worked with masters like Le Corbusier and August Perret in France and Hans Poelzig in Germany, the main influences on his architecture were Frank Lloyd Wright and Edwin Lutyens. He understood very well what the Modernists were trying to do and felt close to the cutting edge of modernity, but found Wright and Lutyens more suited to his search for a local Turkish idiom. A closer look at the volumes, proportions, roofs and eaves and use of colour in his architecture certainly confirms how important they were to him: his search for a Turkish identity paralleled both Lutyens' attempt to create a contemporary local idiom for New Delhi and Wright's achievements in Mid-West America. All three had a firm grasp of abstract issues that helped them to avoid pastiche *and develop genuinely original solutions to the problems they faced.*

The use of modern materials is fundamental to Eldem's concept of local idiom. Although it might have seemed natural to use steel to reproduce the wooden structures of Ottoman civil architecture, he used reinforced concrete instead, mainly because of his personal admiration for and friendship with August Perret which had a direct influence on how his own practice developed. Eldem's relations with other great architects like Walter Gropius, Lazslo Moholy-Nagy and Marcel Breuer are well known, and he got to know Bruno Taut and Hans Poelzig very well when they came to Istanbul, but Wright, Lutyens and Perret were always the dominant influences on his architecture.

Eldem feels that his struggle to establish a national style has been unsuccessful: there was never any lack of effort and commitment on his part, but the end product was a failure.

"As I explored the origins of authentic Turkish architecture, fashions were sweeping the architectural *lingua franca.* These fashions become major illnesses in the countries they take root in, especially societies that are vulnerable because they lack determination and have no strength of character. Weakness of character leads to imitation, and you can't fight that. It will take generations to understand what I was trying to do."[6]

The tripartite nature of his general involvement in architecture — teaching, research and practice — resulted in the dual nature of his finished architecture. Throughout his career he veered from Modernism to Regionalism and back

periodo a Istanbul, in realtà gli autentici ispiratori di Eldem sono stati Wright, Lutyens e Perret.
Egli, tuttavia, non si riteneva soddisfatto della sua opera, pensando che i suoi sforzi sarebbero caduti nel vuoto.
Egli stesso afferma: "*Mentre studiavo le origini dell'autentica architettura turca, le mode facevano piazza pulita della* "lingua franca" *dell'architettura. Le mode sono uno dei peggiori mali di un paese, un flagello che investe una società soprattutto quando essa è vulnerabile per incertezza e debolezza di carattere. L'imitazione è uno dei frutti di tale debolezza di carattere, ed è qualcosa difficile da combattere. Ci vorranno generazioni prima che possa essere compreso ciò che ho cercato di fare*"[6].
La triplice natura del suo impegno di architetto sfociava, in concreto, in un'ambiguità espressa, nel corso di tutta la sua carriera, dall'alternarsi continuo di modernismo e di regionalismo, secondo il tipo di opera da realizzare. Nelle banche, negli alberghi e negli uffici non esitava a servirsi delle forme di espressione più moderne e avanzate con risultati assai diseguali, come nel caso del Ministero degli Esteri, Ankara (1974), dell'Hotel Hilton, Istanbul (1952), della Akbank, Istanbul (1967), dell'Ambasciata Indiana, Ankara (1965), dei blocchi per uffici Alarko, Istanbul (1976), tanto per fare qualche esempio; mentre per edifici di altra destinazione si sforzava sempre di richiamarsi all'identità regionale. Eldem ha lavorato in stretto rapporto con Gordon Bunshaft di Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, nella realizzazione dell'Hotel Hilton di Istanbul. In quel periodo, in cui la sua opera e i suoi scritti erano largamente pubblicati, egli si riconosceva su posizioni rigorosamente moderniste, anche se il suo contributo a questo edificio rimane parzialmente in ombra per la maggiore notorietà di Bunshaft e SOM. Tuttavia Eldem si trovò a militare nel fronte dell'architettura moderna anche agli inizi della sua carriera, fino a quando, negli anni della seconda guerra mondiale, fu incaricato del progetto della Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul e di quella di Scienze dell'Università di Ankara: incarichi in occasione dei quali egli approfondì e sperimentò l'adozione di un linguaggio contestuale. Rispetto allo storicismo, Eldem opta per una espressione moderna e contemporanea colta nei caratteri essenziali, così da poter essere coniugata con i valori del contesto, contrariamente a un'imitazione mimetica delle forme e dei modelli autoctoni o del passato. Pur non considerando lo storicismo come un rifugio sicuro per l'espressione architettonica, Eldem ammette sinceramente di essere stato egli stesso storicista: un altro paradosso, se si considera che non mitizzava il passato, ma lo giustificava se utile a costruire un'identità contestuale o regionale[7].
Pur avendo sostenuto, tra 1939 e 1940, l'intervento dello Stato per stabilire e imporre un linguaggio architettonico adatto al paese, successivamente Eldem ha chiarito tale posizione spiegando che, in un paese di 15 milioni di abitanti, con soltanto 300 architetti per costruire circa 500 edifici all'anno, il Governo avrebbe potuto intervenire definendo degli *standard* cui attenersi. In effetti fu quello che avvenne, con il risultato che la qualità delle opere architettoniche era di gran lunga superiore rispetto a quella della Turchia odierna, dove 16.000 architetti, su una popolazione di 55 milioni di abitanti, si contraddistinguono per il loro scarso impegno intellettuale e dove mancano controlli e riferimenti[8].
Per rimediare all'attuale sviluppo caotico, Eldem propone una standardizzazione delle misure e dei sistemi strutturali. A suo parere, questo è ciò che si è verificato nel passato, attraverso secoli di prove e di errori che hanno dato luogo ad una perfezione reiterabile nel tempo. E si domanda: "*Perché non attendersi un atteggiamento simile anche oggi? Ne risulterebbe un'architettura neutra, e forse anche anonima, che è esattamente ciò che mi auguro per le nostre città; sebbene l'anonimità sia l'obiettivo più difficile da raggiungere per un architetto*"[9].
Non solo nell'architettura ma anche per quanto riguarda il paesaggio Eldem tentava di richiamarsi all'identità turca, come dimostra un suo saggio sul *giardino turco*. La sua preoccupazione principale era di ricreare l'atmosfera storica degli antichi giardini. Ma i suoi progetti per il Çirağan Palace, Istanbul (1943), e per il Caffè Çamlica, Istanbul (1941) non vennero realizzati secondo le sue aspettative, tanto da indurlo a lamentare la mancanza di architetti del paesaggio in Turchia. "*Hanno frequentato tutti scuole in Europa e in America*", egli dice, "*studiando una architettura del paesaggio che non ha niente a che fare con la tradizione del giardino turco. Così ho dovuto reinventarla!*"[10].
Il successo di Eldem è sempre stato attribuito alla sua capacità di individuare i principi astratti dei volumi, delle proporzioni, dei pieni e dei vuoti, dei materiali e delle tessiture. Eppure quando gli chiedemmo se ciò fosse frutto di uno studio consapevole, non senza manifestare la sua sorpresa, ci rispose che dipendeva per lo più da circostanze accidentali. Ci disse anche di apprezzare il rigore con cui il professor Alparslan Ataman aveva analizzato la sua opera[11]. Questo sincero sbalordimento ci confermò, ancora una volta, la natura essenzialmente intuitiva della sua arte.

Note
1) J.N.L. DURAND, *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Royale Polytechnique*, Paris 1817-19.
2) Cfr. S.H. ELDEM, *Catilar (Tetti)*, Istanbul 1977.
3) S.H. ELDEM, *Milli Mimari Meselesi (Il problema di un'architettura nazionale)*, in "Arkitekt", 1939, pp. 220-223; e *Yerli Mimariye Doğru (Verso un'architettura nazionale)*, in "Arkitekt", 1940, pp. 69-74.
4) Cfr. S. ÖZKAN, E. YENAL, *Sedad Eldem'le Söylesiler* (trascrizione integrale dell'intervista a Sedad Eldem, circa 220 pagine, non ancora pubblicata), 1987. La VMV (Fondazione di Architettura Vanli) ha mostrato interesse alla pubblicazione della intera trascrizione.
5) S. BOZDOĞAN, S. ÖZKAN, E. YENAL, *Sedad Eldem, Architect in Turkey*, Mimar Book-Concept Media Ltd., Singapore 1987, dove sono pubblicati alcuni estratti dell'intervista.
6) S. ÖZKAN, E. YENAL, *cit.* alla nota 4, p. 38.
7) Cfr. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
8) Cfr. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
9) *Ibid.*, p. 77.
10) *Ibid.*, p. 96.
11)Cfr. A. ATAMAN, in "Process and Architecture", numero monografico a cura di A. Ertug, n. 27, Tokio 1981.

again depending on the work he was doing at any particular time. In banks, hotel and offices — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Hilton Hotel, Akbank, the Indian Embassy, Alarko — he had no hesitation in adopting ultra-modern styles (to varying degrees of success), but the rest of his architecture was an exploration of regional identity. He has never satisfactorily explained why he strove so hard to be like other contemporary architects, but considerable faith in his own talent must have been needed to work as easily — and with equal competence — in all areas of architecture.
Eldem also became closely associated with Gordon Bunschaft of S.O.M. when they did the Istanbul Hilton Hotel together — a period when Eldem was at his most uncompromisingly modern and his work was being published more extensively than at any other time. His contribution to the building was eclipsed by the prestige of his partner, but there can be no doubt that his early styles were consistently modern until he was commissioned to design the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Istanbul University and the Faculty of Sciences at Ankara University during the Second World War, and he began to assimilate Turkish forms and develop his own "local" style.
Eldem has always preferred to relate the abstract principles of modern and contemporary architecture to local forms, rather than slavishly reproduce local historical forms and techniques, yet he openly accepts that he himself has been a historicist, ironically condoning historicism as a practical source of local or regional identity while rejecting it as theoretical safe haven for architectural identity.[7]
In his wartime articles he stated that the Turkish state should autocratically establish and impose a suitably Turkish national style. He clarified this later by pointing to the need for such a policy in a country with a population of only 15 million and only 300 architects in which 500 buildings had to be built each year and the government could actually impose standards if it wished. In the event this is what happened, and the resulting architecture was far superior to anything we have now. Today (1986) Turkey's 55 million population is served by 16,000 architects, but lack of public interest in architecture and non-existent controls are now compounded by a radical lack of intellectual involvement in architecture.[8]
To remedy Turkey's present chaotic development, Eldem proposes standardised proportions and structures. Hundreds of years of architectural trial and error have resulted in perfect, infinitely repeatable forms. "Why shouldn't this happen now? The result will be neutral and perhaps anonymous architecture, and this is exactly what I'd like to have for our cities. Anonymity is the most difficult thing for an architect to achieve."[9]
Eldem tried to regenerate Turkish identity in landscape as well as architecture, and even published a book on Turkish gardens, but his main concern was always to reinstate the historical role of the garden, as in his projects for the Ciragan Palace, Istanbul (1943), and the Çamlica Café, Istanbul (1941), neither of which was realised to his satisfaction. He complains about the dearth of native landscape architects in Turkey: "Their understanding of landscape comes from European and American training, and has nothing to do with our garden tradition. So I have to reinvent that too!"[10]
Eldem has always been praised for the abstract coherence of his proportions, solids, voids, materials and textures, but he claims that he discovered them accidently rather than consciously and makes no secret of his surprise — and delight — at Prof. Alparslan Ataman's analyses of his architecture.[11]
This sincere astonishment also shows what profoundly intuitive architect he was.

Notes

1) *J.N.L. DURAND,* Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Royale Polytechnique, *Paris 1817-19.*
2) *See S.H. ELDEM,* Catilar (Roofs), *Istanbul, 1977.*
3) *S.H. ELDEM,* Milli Mimari Meselesi (The Problem of National Architecture), *"Arkitekt", 1939, pp. 220-223; and* Yerli Mimariye Doğru (Towards a Local Architecture), *"Arkitekt", 1940, pp. 69-74.*
4) *See S. ÖZKAN, E. YENAL,* Sedad Eldem'le Söylesiler *(Full unpublished transcript of the interview with Sedad Eldem, approx. 220 pages) 1987. VMV (the Vanli Architecture Foundation) has indicated interest in publishing the entire transcript.*
5) *S. BOZDOĞAN, S. ÖZKAN, E. YENAL,* Sedad Eldem, Architect in Turkey, *Mimar Book-Concept Media Ltd., Singapore 1987, which contains several extracts from the interview.*
6) *S. ÖZKAN, E. YENAL, cited in note 4, p. 38.*
7) *Ibid., p. 58.*
8) *Ibid., p. 69.*
9) *Ibid., p. 77.*
10) *Ibid., p. 96.*
11) *See A. ATAMAN, in "Process and Architecture", monograph issue, edited by A. Ertug, no. 27, Tokyo 1981.*

Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Istanbul University

1942-1944

Sedad Hakki Eldem



Vista della facciata sud lungo la Ordu Paşa Caddesi.
Foto M.J. Biggs.

View of the south front on Ordu Paşa Caddesi.
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La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem
Antonella Gallo

Non sappiamo quanto l'idiosincrasia accademica che ancora circonda l'"Architetto di Stato" Sedad Hakki Eldem sia riconducibile ad una egemonia professionale esercitata per oltre mezzo secolo; né ci è dato sapere in che misura quell'egemonia sia stata il riflesso di blasonate discendenze culturali e politiche, come sembrano indicare le scarse monografie a lui dedicate. Tuttavia, se è vero che l'opera non supera mai l'architetto, molti sono gli indizi — in una vita professionale pur segnata dalla contingenza delle opportunità — a parlare con eloquenza di un *fare* che, idealmente, ha i suoi immediati antecedenti nella cultura tedesca e mitteleuropea d'inizio secolo.
Quella stessa cultura che individua nella generazione dei Bonatz, Taut, Häring, Höger, il punto di intermediazione tra Behrens, Poelzig, Hoffman (i precursori nati prima del Settanta) e la generazione dei Gropius (i moderni nati dopo l'Ottanta).
Una comunanza di intenti, se non una stretta affinità sul piano linguistico e formale, riconduce l'opera del più giovane Sedad Hakki Eldem a quell'ambito di esperienze.
Discendente da una antica famiglia dell'*upper class* ottomana, che fra i suoi membri annovera intellettuali, politici e personaggi di spicco della gerarchia militare, Sedad Hakki Eldem — nato a Istanbul nel 1908 — compie i suoi primi studi fra Zurigo, Ginevra e Monaco, città dove il padre viene mandato a rappresentare il Governo turco in qualità di diplomatico. Nel 1924 torna a Istanbul per iscriversi al Dipartimento di Architettura della Sanayi-i-Nefise Mektebi, l'Accademia di Belle Arti nata nel 1883 sul modello della francese Ecole des Beaux Arts.
Diplomatosi nel 1928, Eldem torna in Europa; prima a Parigi dove frequenta alternativamente lo studio di Le Corbusier e quello di Perret, poi a Berlino dove si trova ad avere come tutore Hans Poelzig, allora professore alla Charlottenburg Technische Hochschule. Il ritorno in Turchia, qualche anno più tardi, segna l'inizio della sua lunga carriera professionale, ma anche dell'attività universitaria cui farà seguito nel 1941 l'elezione a membro del Consiglio Supremo per i Monumenti, organo ufficiale preposto al controllo e alla tutela delle aree più delicate della città di Istanbul.
Se negli anni della prima giovinezza le sue peregrinazioni in giro per l'Europa gli avevano fatto conoscere e poi amare Schinkel, Semper, Lutyens, ma anche i Taut e poi Wright, attraverso la pubblicazione di Wasmuth, il ritorno in patria sembra di fatto coincidere con la riscoperta dell'architettura vernacolare turca e della grande tradizione ottomana.
Da sempre convinto che nella storia e nella tradizione dell'architettura siano depositati giacimenti sotterranei che, una volta dissepolti, consentono una diversa presa sui problemi del presente e del futuro, una diversa organizzazione dei mezzi e quindi del disciplinare, è in un

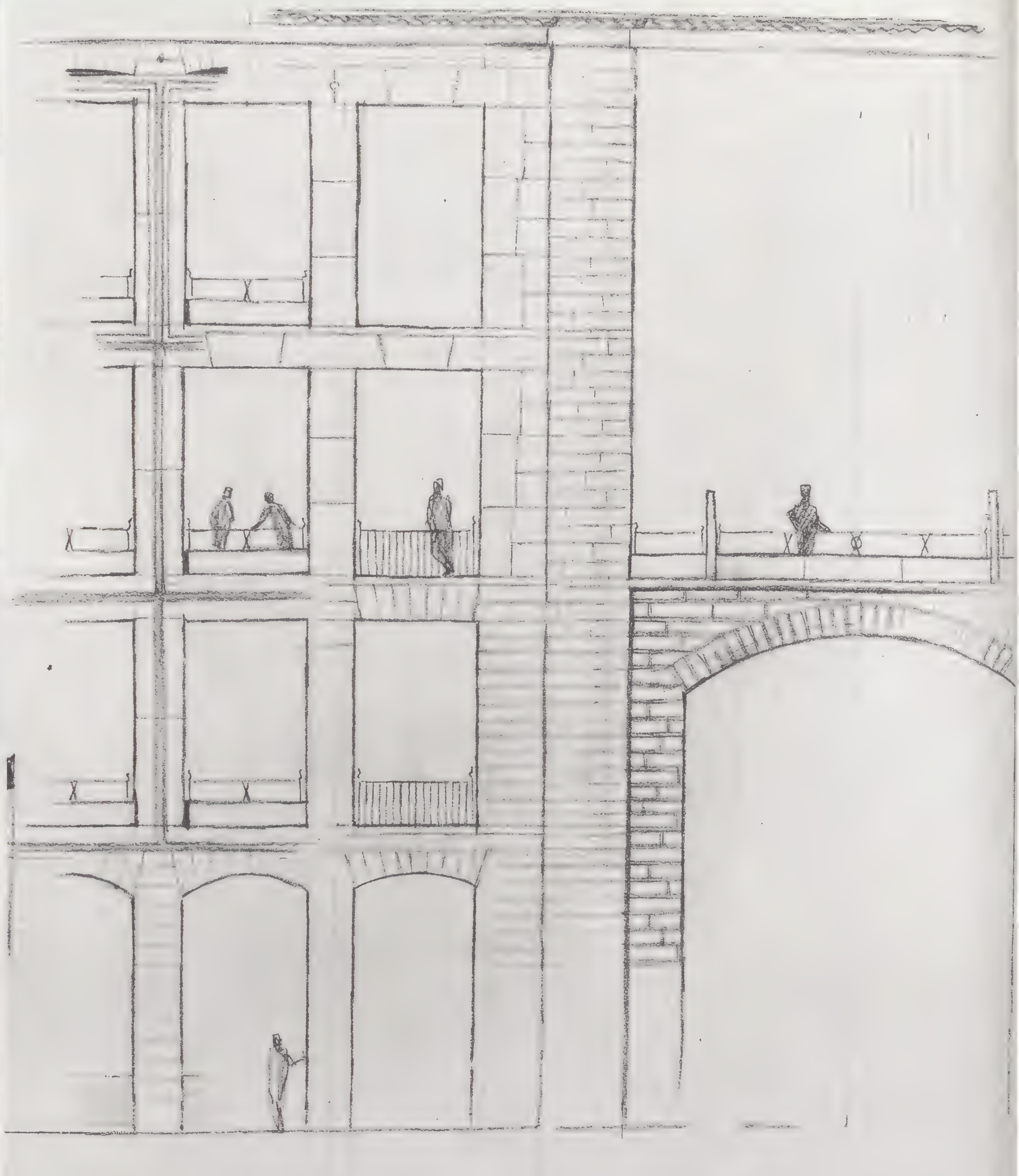
Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Istanbul University, by Sedad H. Eldem
Antonella Gallo

We don't know to what extent the academic idiosyncrasy of "State Architect" Sedad Hakki Eldem is the outcome of more than half a century of professional hegemony, or whether that hegemony was a reflection of Eldem's cultural and political pedigree and clout (as the few references to it in the monographs seem to suggest it is). The building may never be greater than the architect, but in Eldem's case — even if his professional life was subject to chance and opportunity like anyone else's — there seems every justification for saying that his way of doing architecture has its immediate antecedents in early-century German and Central European culture.
In architects like Bonatz, Taut, Häring and Höger, this culture established a link between Behrens, Poelzig and Hoffman (the forerunners of modernism born before 1870), and Gropius' generation (born after 1880).
Shared aims rather than close formal or linguistic similarities seem to link the work of the younger Eldem to this German and Central European culture.
Eldem was born in Istanbul in 1908 into an ancient upper-class Ottoman family of intellectuals, politicians and high-ranking military figures. He received his early education in Zurich and Geneva, and also Munich where the Turkish government had sent his father as a diplomat. He returned to Istanbul in 1924 and enrolled at the Sanayi-i-Nefise Mektebi, the Academy of Fine Arts founded in 1883 along the lines of France's Ecole des Beaux Arts. After graduating in 1928 Eldem returned to Europe, first to Paris where he divided his time between the studios of Le Corbusier and Perret, and then to Berlin where he was taught by Hans Poelzig, then a lecturer at the Charlottenburg Technische Hochschule. His return to Turkey a few years later. marked the start of both his professional career and a university career that would lead to his election as a member of the Supreme Council for Monuments, the official body appointed to monitor and safeguard Istanbul's more fragile architecture, in 1941.
In his youth, his pilgrimages to Europe had brought him into contact with Schinkel, Semper and Lutyens as well as Taut and then Wright, all of whose work he grew to love, but the publication of Wasmuth on his return to Turkey seemed to coincide with the rediscovery of Turkish vernacular architecture and the great Ottoman tradition.
Eldem always believed that architectural history and tradition concealed buried layers which, when brought to the surface, would enable architects to see problems of the present and future in a different light, and so organise both architectural practice and theory differently. It was in a past conceived essentially as a body of laws, codes and structural relationships that Eldem thought he could find an antedote to supremacy of decorative surface styles in the First National Architectural Movement: "Until the 1930s, all attempts at a renaissance of or a movement towards a national Turkish



Disegno di studio.

Study drawing.



Disegno di studio.

Study drawing.

passato, pensato nella sua essenza, come legge, codice, struttura relazionale, che Eldem intravede un antidoto al decorativismo imperante, agli stilemi di superficie che contraddistinguono il Primo Movimento Nazionale per l'Architettura: "*Sino al 1930, tutti i tentativi di far rinascere un movimento per una architettura nazionale turca avevano affondato le loro radici nella tradizione degli edifici religiosi monumentali. Ciascun nuovo edificio veniva cupolato, voltato, porticato, così come lo erano stati gli antichi; solo funzioni e proporzioni mutavano. Lo stile finiva spesso con lo svilirsi in una decorazione senza vita infinitamente ripetuta. Stazioni, alberghi, palazzi per uffici, ogni struttura che si prestasse a richiamare su di sé un'idea di monumentalità veniva fornita di cupola*" [1].

In aperta polemica con coloro che guardano al passato come fonte inesauribile per una imitazione formale fine a se stessa, Sedad Eldem si fa interprete di una istanza di rigore destinata ad assumere un preciso significato ideologico-politico nel mutato contesto storico e culturale determinato dall'avvento della nuova ondata nazionalista, che investe la Turchia sul finire degli anni Trenta.

Ma a una tale istanza di rigore — punto cardine del Manifesto del Secondo Movimento Nazionale per l'Architettura, nato non casualmente in seno all'Accademia — sono anche affidate le speranze di una cultura architettonica che cerca di sottrarsi all'arbitrio e alla pochezza concettuale dell'architettura di maniera. Se la tradizione resta l'interlocutrice privilegiata, muta tuttavia il modo di interrogarla: non più la storia, ma ciò che nella storia sembra resistere al cambiamento viene chiamato a legittimare l'architettura del nuovo corso.

Funge da premessa e sostegno al nuovo *stile nazionale* una lunga e accurata attenzione tipologica per l'architettura turco-ottomana, sottoposta per la prima volta dallo stesso Eldem ad una vera e propria operazione di rilevamento e ridisegno analitico, al fine di individuare le costanti strutturali che ne articolano il linguaggio e che stanno all'origine delle diverse disposizioni spaziali, delle gerarchie compositive, delle scenografie comportamentali e delle espressioni simboliche che in essa si fondono; tutto quello cioè che noi oggi intendiamo come esito culturale di una analisi urbana e architettonica svolta alla luce della nozione di *tipo*.

Manifesti dello stile sono gli edifici stessi costruiti su commissione governativa intorno alla prima metà degli anni Quaranta; primo fra tutti la Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere a Istanbul, progettata nel 1943 con la consulenza di Paul Bonatz e momento chiave di una ricerca intesa a recuperare il valore civile dell'architettura fra le esigenze primarie di una teoresi e di una pratica della progettazione.

Al salto di scala, che il tema in sé necessita, corrisponde in questo edificio un uso massiccio della pietra e dei materiali di rivestimento nonché la rinuncia ad esibire la struttura portante; tema caro ad Eldem sin dai tempi della sua frequentazione dello studio di Rue Franklin.

Il sistema è dato dall'organizzazione dei percorsi lungo i due

architecture had their roots in the tradition of monumental religious buildings. Each new edifice was domed, arcaded and porticoed as the old ones had been: only proportions and functions were changed. The style was often debased, and a lifeless decor was endlessly repeated. Stations, hotels, office buildings, any structure where a measure of monumentality was found desirable, would be padded out with domes." [1].

Eldem's open disagreement with those who saw the past as an endless source of self-justifying formal imitation led him to champion a kind of conceptual integrity and rigour that would acquire precise ideological and political overtones in the much altered cultural and historical context Turkish nationalism would bring with it in the late Thirties. However, this new rigour — the rallying-cry of the Second National Movement for Architecture which began, significantly enough, at the Academy of Fine Arts itself — also offered hope to architects eager to abolish the arbitrariness and conceptual paucity of mannered architectural styles. Architecture would still find its primary interlocutor in tradition, but the dialogue would be different: now it was not history, but what seemed immune to historical change, that would legitimate new architecture.

Painstaking study of Ottoman architectural typologies in Turkey provided the foundation and support of the new national style. *Eldem himself was one of the first to record and analytically recreate them in order to discover the structural constants of their language that had produced their concepts of layout, use, hierarchical composition and symbolic representation. Or in other words, everything we would now see as the cultural outcome of architectural and urban study based on the concept of architectural* type, *or structure.*

The manifestoes of this new style were the actual buildings commissioned by the Turkish government in the early Forties. The most important was the Faculty of Science and Arts in Istanbul, designed in 1943 in consultation with Paul Bonatz, a milestone in the search to reinstate civic architectural values that could combine theoretical rigour with practical design.

The increase in scale the building itself necessitated was achieved through massive use of stone and cladding and concealment of the load-bearing structure, practices dear to Eldem after his studies with Le Corbusier in his Rue Franklin studio.

The layout is based on corridors aligned on two perpendicular axes that determine the arrangement of the courtyard buildings — a labyrinthine pattern that recreates the traditional layout of Islamic homes in Turkey. As in the Ottoman tradition, it is transition from space to space rather than the sequencing of space that unifies the project. Eldem was able to put his design skills to even more eloquent use in transitional areas whose figurative features have a dignity that transcends their specific functional requirements.The route from the large hall along vaulted corridors to the various departments of the building — a sequence that

assi perpendicolari che guidano la disposizione degli edifici a corte. Un'intensa trama di spazi, che nella loro essenza corrispondono ai luoghi tradizionali della città e della casa turco-islamica, assegna — come è nella tradizione ottomana — non alla successione delle figure, peraltro semplice, ma agli spazi di transizione il ruolo di vero elemento unificatore del progetto. È questo anche l'ambito in cui Eldem esplicita con maggior eloquenza la sua abilità compositiva conferendo ai luoghi di intermediazione una dignità figurativa che travalica la loro specifica funzione. Il percorso che dalla grande *hall* conduce attraverso i corridoi voltati ai diversi nuclei del complesso, oltrepassando gli imponenti spazi porticati, i vestiboli, la stupenda sala absidata, altro non è se non una successione stratificata di spazi in cui all'infinito viene dilatato il concetto di soglia. Le nicchie — *eyvan* in arabo — che entro murature doppie o quadruple nella moschea, nel mercato, nelle residenze imperiali, rendono il muro abitabile, diventano spazi interstiziali fra stanza e stanza, fra il "dentro" e il "fuori", ballatoi e camminamenti.
Così, sull'idea del *sofa* (nella casa turca tradizionale il luogo centrale destinato ad ospitare i riti del sociale e fondamento della sua organizzazione spaziale), prende corpo la grande *hall* a tripla altezza: fulcro dall'intera composizione nonché elemento che dà ordine e misura all'intero impianto.
Se nella tradizione della cultura occidentale i luoghi destinati a fare da scenario ai momenti collettivi della vita pubblica e civile posseggono una loro specifica individualità, che si manifesta sia fisicamente che socialmente nella singolarità della costruzione e nella gerarchia di interrelazioni che essa istituisce con il contesto, nella civiltà islamica la rappresentazione delle funzioni urbane è demandata a strutture notevolmente più complesse che si estendono — secondo un principio di reiterazione — all'intero tessuto urbano, trasformando la città in un unico organismo altamente articolato, disposto a rivelarsi solo a chi lo penetra. Costretta entro tale struttura, solo eccezionalmente l'architettura diviene fatto esperibile nella sua unicità. In questo meccanismo di introversione, la scarsa importanza data all'esterno riduce la percezione del limite, della dimensione, della funzione del singolo edificio.
A tale principio tenta di uniformarsi, nella sua più accentuata frammentarietà, l'unico fronte — dei tre visibili — prospettante sulla strada che collega il Bazar Egiziano alla Moschea del Solimano. Diversa è invece la relazione stabilita dalle due altre facciate, che rispettivamente delimitano, da un solo lato, il fronte stradale della Resit Pasa Caddesi e della Ordu Pasa Caddesi: due strade ortogonali fra loro, nate, come altre grandi arterie ad esse collegate, da un piano di sventramento attuato all'inizio degli anni Quaranta.
A differenza dell'altro fronte, per il quale è ancora possibile rapportarsi, quantomeno idealmente, ad un tessuto più antico, qui la mutata situazione contestuale sopraggiunta a sventramenti e demolizioni — e quindi l'assenza di referenti immediati capaci di imporre, almeno parzialmente, un ordine e una misura — costringe l'edificio a ridisegnare i limiti dell'isolato; nuovi punti di confine fra la città antica e la città moderna, che sorgerà di lì a poco.
Una perentoria monumentalità caratterizza entrambe le facciate, che un basamento diversamente proporzionato e modulato solleva dalla linea stradale. Una tessitura compatta di corsi alterni di pietra e mattoni appena arretrata in corrispondenza dell'imponente ingresso granitico, che attraverso la corte aperta conduce assialmente alla grande *hall*, accompagna il lato prospiciente la Resit Pasa Caddesi sino alla cesura determinata dall'introflessione dell'angolo, secondo ingresso alla Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere, ma anche artificio utile all'architetto per introdurre e preannunziare il tema successivo. L'idea della *casa turca* per antonomasia, e cioè un basamento che normalmente solleva la parte muraria aggettante, anche geometricamente indipendente dalla linea stradale, è il tema sviluppato nella facciata parallela alla Ordu Caddesi. Qui, però, la parete intonacata non aggetta, non arretra, ma solleva se stessa insieme con la sottile copertura che la corona al di sopra dell'alto basamento, ora trasformatosi in ordine gigante di pilastri.
È questo un procedimento compositivo che — almeno idealmente — molto sembra avere in comune con quella interpretazione fabbrile e tessile dell'architettura che riconduce il nucleo centrale della questione architettonica intesa come questione culturale all'incontro di due idee-forza: *tipo* e *rivestimento*. Il riferimento a Gottfried Semper e all'influenza sua su quanti, germanofoni, studiano architettura nell'ultima parte del secolo Diciannovesimo e gli inizi di questo è evidente. È forse meno presente l'importanza che assumono le implicazioni antropologiche, piuttosto che non quelle storiche, nelle nozioni semperiane di tipo e rivestimento e il fascino che tale dimensione, antropologico-culturale, esercita su quegli architetti che si pongono, al tramonto degli imperi multinazionali e di una cultura europea essenzialmente internazionale, la questione delle vie "nazionali" all'architettura. In clima di tardo risorgimento o, nei paesi più arretrati, di ritardatissimo rinascimento, alle soglie del nostro secolo ci si pone alla ricerca di un carattere autoctono dell'architettura.
Anche per Sedad Hakki Eldem il rapporto con la tradizione culturale turca e ottomana, depositata nelle pietre di Istanbul, ha il valore della riscoperta di sorgenti mitiche e originarie di ispirazione e della stessa ragion d'essere delle cose in un luogo. Questo diventa anche pretesto per ribadire la funzione civile o addirittura pedagogica dell'architettura. In questo senso, il sodalizio culturale con l'*establishment* turco è molto più che un rapporto professionale o cortigiano; paragonabile caso mai al rapporto tra Masaryk e Plečnik a Praga nel primo periodo di quella prima repubblica democratica. È il classico tema dell'incontro dell'architetto con il Principe; ma sostanziali modificazioni sono intervenute nella storia dei popoli tanto da far sembrare a Istanbul, come a Praga, come ad Amsterdam o Stoccolma *outdated* queste ricerche che, del resto,

includes imposing arcades, vestibules and the amazing apsed hall — is a stratified succession of spaces in which the concept of threshold is infinitely deferred. The alcoves, or eyvan, *that elsewhere make the double or quadruple walls of the mosque, market and imperial palaces habitable, here become interstitial spaces between room and room, "inside" and "outside", galleries and corridors. Thus, the great triple-height hall, the fulcrum of the entire composition regulating the layout of the building throughout, incorporates the concept of the* Sofa.

In our Western tradition, the identities of the public stages on which we enact our collective lives are manifested physically and socially in distinctiveness of construction, and the hierarchical way these structures relate to context.

In Islamic culture, however, these urban structures are much more complex because they extend by repetition throughout the entire urban fabric, transforming the whole city into a highly complex single organism that reveals its true nature only when you penetrate it. In this sort of context, buildings rarely stand on their own as coherent, isolated structures in their own right. The introversion of Islamic architecture and the relative unimportance of "exterior" affects perceptions of boundary, size and function in individual buildings.

Of the three that are visible, the one and only Faculty front on the street that links the Egyptian Bazaar to the Solyman Mosque attempts to put this ancient principle into modern practice. The other two in the Resit Pasa Caddesi and Ordu Pasa Caddesi — two orthogonally linked streets created, like the other thoroughfares they lead to, as part of a urban clearance plan implemented in the early Forties — relate very differently to context.

Unlike the other front which relates, if only theoretically, to a much older fabric, these two fronts face areas that have been demolished and cleared. Since there are no immediate landmarks or referents to impose even partial order on the context, the building had to provide a way of recreating the limits of the site it stood on, new boundaries between the ancient city and the modern that would soon grow up next to it.

Both fronts, which stand on a plinth of modulating size and shape that raises them above street level, are uncompromisingly monumental. A compact weave of alternating stone and brick courses, slightly recessed around the imposing granite entrance leading axially across the open courtyard to the large hall, runs along the Resit Pasa Caddesi as far as the break at the corner marking the second entrance, which the architect skilfully used to anticipate the building's next theme. The idea of the Turkish house *par excellence — a base normally supporting a jutting wall that may be geometrically independent of the line of the street — is used in the parallel front on Ordu Caddesi. Here, however, the plaster wall does not jut out but rises straight up with the light roof that covers it above a high base that has now become a row of gigantic columns.*

In theory at least, this seems to have much in common with the textural, craft-inspired approach to architecture that centres on how two key concepts — structure *and* cladding *— interrelate. The reference to Gottfried Semper and his influence on the German-speaking architects who did their training around the turn of the century is unmistakeable. The main thrust of Semper's concepts — and the fascination they exerted on the architects who were exploring the possibilities of "national" approaches to architecture as world empires and an essentially international European culture waned — is perhaps more anthropological than historical. In this early-century context of delayed renewal or even, in more backward countries, extremely late renaissance, architects were eager to discover what the "intrinsic" rather than "historical" properties of architecture were.*

Eldem too saw the relationship with Turkish and Ottoman tradition he found in the stones of Istanbul as the rediscovery of a mythical cultural source, a font of inspiration and even the raison d'être for things being in the places they were. This provided him with an excuse to reiterate the civil or even pedagogical function of architecture. In this sense, his cultural solidarity with the Turkish establishment was much more than a professional obligation or political opportunism — the comparable case of Masaryk's relations with Plečnik in Prague is instructive — and seems a classic example of the architect meeting the prince. It is major changes in subsequent history, whether in Istanbul, Prague, Amsterdam or Stockholm, that have made the historical research that led to the birth of regionalist architecture seem outdated to us now.

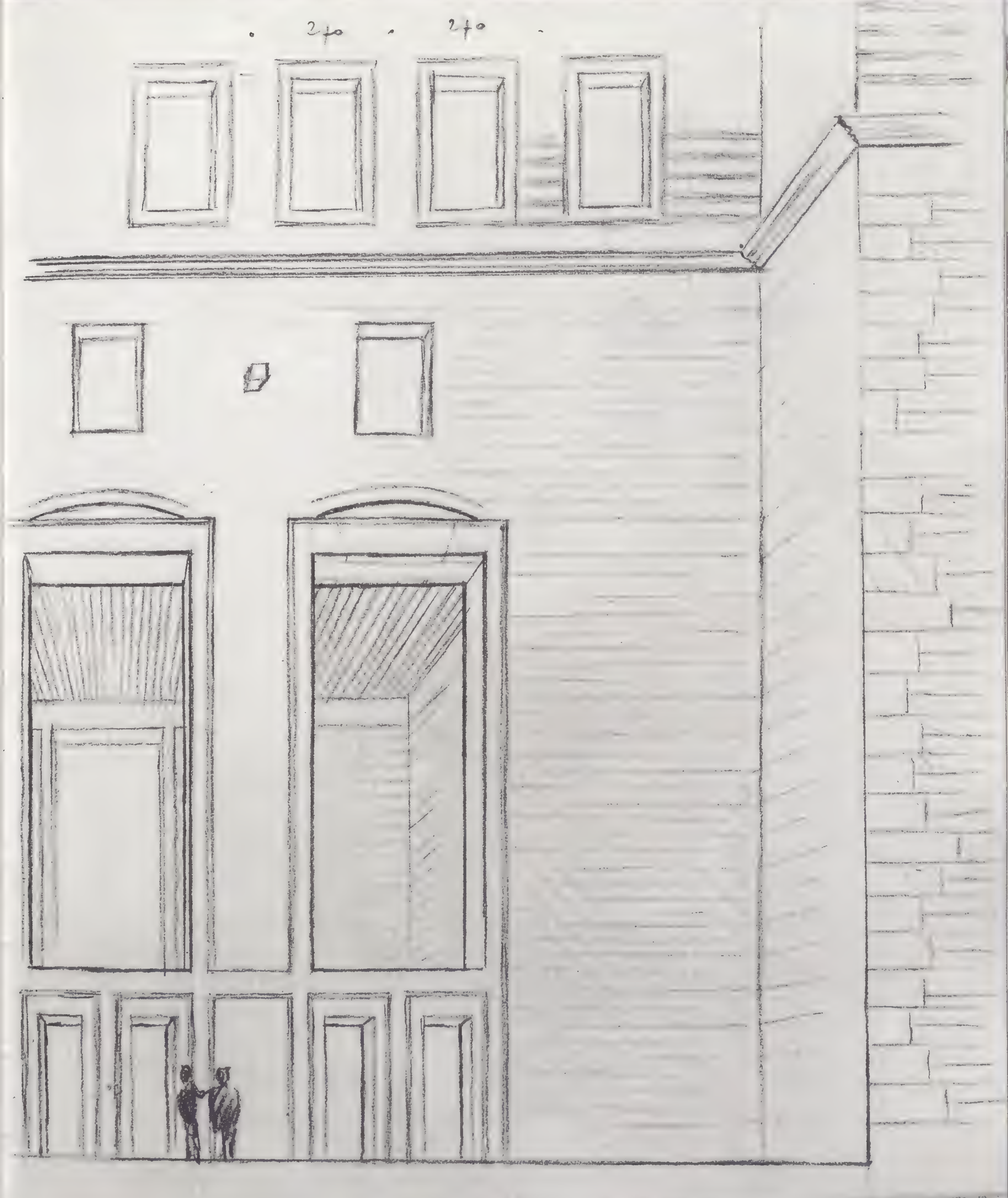
This rejection of internationalism raises important general issues — not least the need to defend one's own professional market from outside invasion — although there is no space to go into them here. Suffice it to say that court culture could never aspire to internationalism when conflicts and alliances between reigning families were the basis of the state itself, and international artists, and so international ideas, were circulating freely. The fact that for two or three centuries neo-classicism suceeded in imposing a uniform language on a shared project to compete with antiquity on a world scale — whether in London, Paris and Berlin, Vienna or Munich — says much for individual and regional creative potential, even within a single and apparently restrictive culture.

The differences between neoclassical architects like Cockerell, Boullée and Durand, Schinkel, or Von Klenze and Nobile, were certainly no less marked than those between Berlage, Plečnik and Eldem. But in Eldem's case, things began to take a very different turn when avant-bourgeois, bourgeois and haut-bourgeois internationalism — in many ways well disposed towards the idea of free circulation of capital and patents, willing to apply the concept of free trade to the commissioning of buildings and firmly committed to technological progress — ran headlong into his claim that "Islam's only way into the future is through the past" [2]. *But Eldem's concept no longer means reassessment of picturesque architectural styles of the past as in the First National Movement for Architecture, or simply defending traditional building techniques that make manifest the craft*

sfoceranno nel regionalismo.
Vi sono importanti questioni generali — che qui non potremo trattare — implicite in quest'atteggiamento, sottese in questo rifiuto dell'internazionalismo, non ultime anche esigenze di difesa di uno spazio professionale protetto. Diremo rapidamente che la cultura di corte non poteva avere un respiro internazionale, laddove conflitti e accordi tra grandi famiglie regnanti costituivano le fondamenta dell'istituzione statuale stessa e dove, corrispondentemente, circolavano artisti e, conseguentemente, idee di formazione internazionale. Il fatto che per duecento-trecento anni da Londra a Parigi a Berlino e infine a Vienna e a Monaco sia stato il Neoclassicismo ad imporsi come linguaggio unificato, entro un unico progetto moderno e mondiale di competizione con gli antichi, può solo far riflettere sulla ricchezza delle possibilità espressive individuali e regionali pur entro un unico ed apparentemente rigoroso modello culturale.
Le distanze che separano fra loro gli architetti del neoclassico, da Cockerell a Boullée e Durand, da Schinkel a Von Klenze a Nobile non sono minori di quelle che separano Berlage da Plečnik e Sedad Hakki Eldem.
Solo che un rovesciamento sostanziale è avvenuto sul piano culturale quando ad una tensione internazionalista preborghese, borghese ed altoborghese, che non è indipendente dall'idea di una libera circolazione internazionale dei capitali e dei brevetti, che imita, anche nel mondo della costruzione, la logica della libera concorrenza mercantile e crede nel ruolo vincente dell'innovazione tecnologica, si oppone l'affermazione di Sedad Eldem che "*la sola strada dell'Islam verso il futuro è attraverso il passato*"[2].
Non è più tanto un rivalutare episodi pittoreschi, come nel Primo Movimento Nazionale per l'Architettura turca, non è più solo difendere procedimenti costruttivi tradizionali consanguinei ad una dimensione artigiana del mestiere dell'architetto. La funzione di questa architettura di retroguardia è eretica, oppositoria nei confronti di una omologazione internazionale. Molto probabilmente sarebbe impensabile, all'esterno di un disegno politico anticolonialista, anche questa difesa di retroguardia delle radici originarie e locali di una architettura e di una città. Guido Canella su "Zodiac" n. 8, autunno 1992, parla, a proposito dell'architettura latinoamericana, di un postmodernismo che soprattutto nasce da una attenzione profonda e diffusa ad una condizione contestuale e che include il concetto di regionalismo "*magari sollecitato sino all'ambiguità*". Sedad Eldem, viceversa, sembra piuttosto fermarsi alle soglie della modernità, in una sorta di premoderno in cui i legami con la tradizione e il rifiuto dell'"effimero" e dello "sradicato" mantiene l'architettura in una condizione di relativa autonomia.
Si tratta di un rifiuto, o di una impossibilità costituzionale, all'omologazione, di un fastidio verso l'oscillazione del pendolo del gusto, si tratta certamente di una consapevole e sofferta inattualità alla quale Eldem sarà costretto a

dimension in architecture. Eldem's rearguard architecture is heretical in intent, opposed to the standardisations of internationalism. Even his rearguard defence of the local roots of an architecture and a city would probably be unthinkable outside the anti-colonialist political context he worked in. In his discussion of Latin American architecture in Zodiac no. 8, autumn 1992, Guido Canella describes a postmodernism that mainly derives from close and widespread attention to context, and includes a concept of regionalism that has "perhaps been carried to the level of ambiguity". *By contrast, Eldem seems to stop just short of modernism in a sort of premodern state where links with tradition and rejection of "ephemerality" and "rootlessness" make architecture a relatively autonomous discipline.*
Here we have rejection of, a constitutional incapacity to accept standardisation, a distaste for changes in taste itself and, certainly, deliberate and deeply-felt outdatedness which Eldem had to try to eradicate in himself but never really renounced.
Replying in an interview in 1986 to those who insist on trying to rationalise what is always called his "historicist" or "reactionary" period, Eldem said: "I have always tried to avoid an architecture smelling of historicism. Yet, in the composition of some large buildings, the results have approached what may perhaps be taken as historicism. A young architect, 35 years old in those years, when given a commission for such big compositions, feels like pursuing historicist research ... How many architects can afford to miss this opportunity? With those buildings — with the stone facing, tile finishes, etc. — an architecture hitherto unknown in the monumental buildings of Ankara or Istanbul was visualised. It is perhaps possible to say that the architect, carried away by the commission, has gone too far in his historicism. What would one do today, if commissioned such building? I am always intrigued by this question whenever I start my autocritique. I think I would repeat the same horizontal courses of stone and I would employ ceramic tiles or clay motifs in high-relief. I would perhaps make them in a fashion drawing even closer to historicism. And I would do this openly and not discreetly"[3].
This is a shrewd defence of what he did in his youth, convincingly supported by reference to numerous buildings whose sheer grandiosity of design and creative inventiveness challenge even the greatest masterpieces of Classicism. It is also a deliberate and dignifed assertion of personal integrity which now seems more than worthy of respect.

Notes
1) S.H. ELDEM, Towards a Local Idiom: A Summary History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey, *in The Aga Khan Award for Architecture,* Conservation as Cultural Survival, *Proceedings of the* Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World *series, Istanbul 26-28 September 1978, The Aga Khan Awards, Geneva 1980, p. 90.*
2) Ibid., *p. 96.*
3) Interview with Sedad Hakki Eldem, 1 April 1986, *in S. BOZDOĞAN, S. ÖZKAN, E. YENAL,* Sedad Eldem, Architect in Turkey, *Mimar Book - Concept Media Ltd, Singapore 1987, p. 62.*

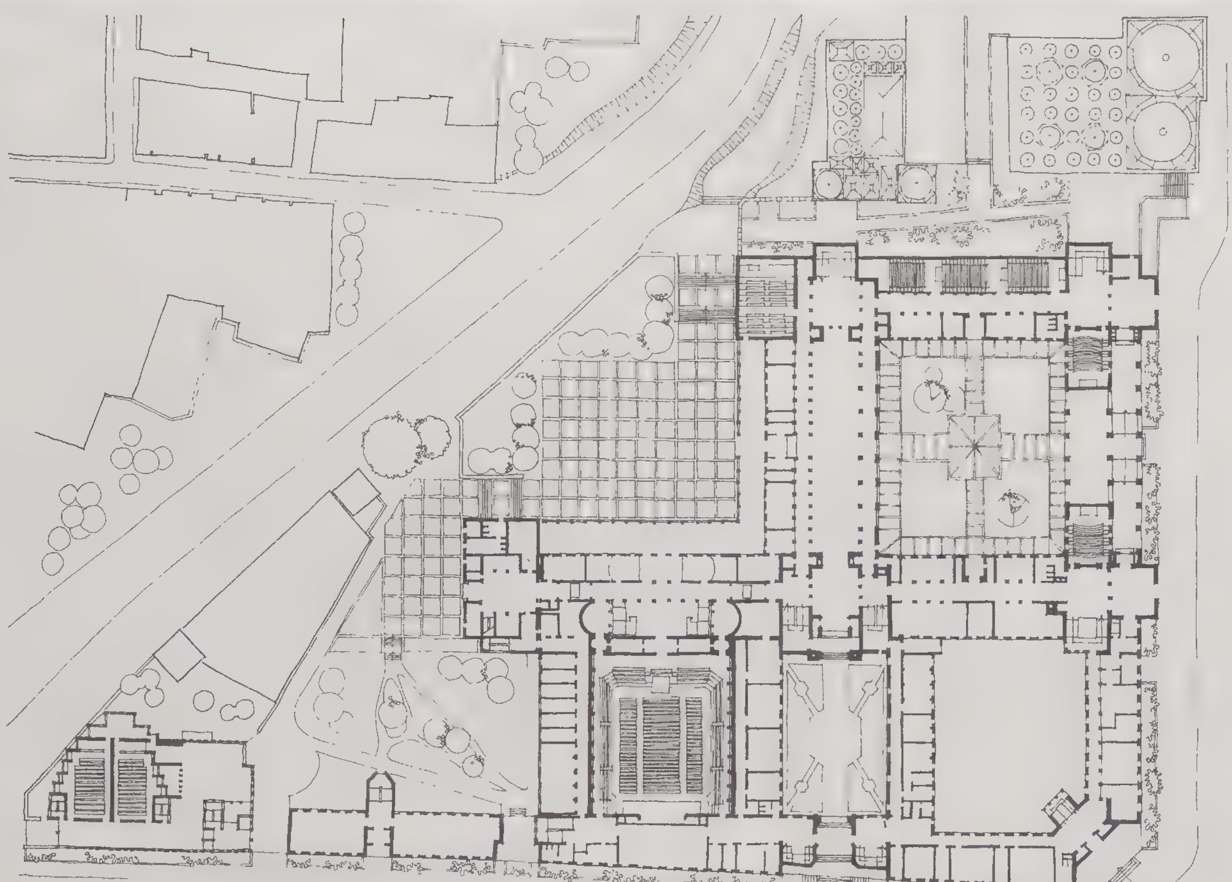


Disegno di studio.

Study drawing.



Disegni di studio e pianta generale. *Study drawings and general plan.*



sottrarsi, ma alla quale non rinuncerà mai sino in fondo.
A coloro che ancora si ostinano ad indagare le ragioni di quello che da sempre è stato definito il suo periodo storicista e reazionario, in un'intervista del 1986, che precede di due anni la sua morte, il vecchio maestro risponde: "*Ho sempre cercato di schivare un'architettura in odore di storicismo. Tuttavia, nella composizione di alcuni grandi edifici, i risultati sono approdati a ciò che forse può essere inteso come storicismo. Un giovane architetto, a quel tempo trentacinquenne, messo di fronte ad un tale tema si sentiva perseguitato dalla ricerca storicistica (...). Ma quanti architetti possono dire di avere rinunciato ad una simile opportunità? Con quegli edifici, con le facciate di pietra, le finiture di mattone, un'architettura sino ad allora sconosciuta negli edifici monumentali di Istanbul e Ankara prese forma (...). Cosa farebbe uno oggi messo di fronte alla stessa opportunità? Sono sempre stato affascinato da questa domanda ogni volta che inizio la mia autocritica. Penso che ripeterei gli stessi corsi orizzontali di pietra, impiegando negli altorilievi ceramiche e terrecotte secondo uno stile persino più incline allo storicismo. E nel fare questo vorrei essere esplicito, non discreto*"[3].
Un'abile difesa della propria giovinezza, sapientemente consolidata in una fabbrica amplissima, che vuole competere per grandiosità d'impianto e ricchezza d'invenzione con le più alte invenzioni della classicità; ma anche una forma di consapevole dignità a cui sembra doveroso, oggi, portare rispetto.

Note
1) S.H. ELDEM, *Toward a Local Idiom: A Summary History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey*, in The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, Atti del secondo Seminario della serie *Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World*, Istanbul 26-28 settembre 1978, The Aga Khan Awards, Ginevra 1980, p. 90.
2) *Ibidem*, p. 96.
3) *Interview with Sedad Hakki Eldem, 1 April 1986*, in S. BOZDOĞAN, S. ÖZKAN, E. YENAL, *Sedad Eldem, Architect in Turkey*, Mimar Book - Concept Media Ltd., Singapore 1987, p. 62.



Viste della facciata sud lungo la Ordu Pasa Caddesi.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Views of the south front on Ordu Pasa Caddesi.
Photos M.I. Biggi.



Viste della porta sull'angolo sudovest tra la Ordu Pasa Caddesi e la Resit Pasa Caddesi.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Views of entrance on the southwest corner between Ordu Pasa Caddesi and Resit Pasa Caddesi.
Photos M.I. Biggi.







Viste della facciata ovest e della porta sulla Resit Pasa Caddesi.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Views of the west front and entrance on Resit Pasa Caddesi.
Photos M.I. Biggi.





Vista interna della grande hall.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Interior view of great hall.
Photo M.I. Biggi.



Vista interna della grande hall.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Interior view of great hall.
Photo M.I. Biggi.



Viste interne della Biblioteca e dei vestiboli agli estremi della grande hall. Foto M.I. Biggi.

Interior views of the Library and the vestibules at either end of the great hall. Photos M.I. Biggi.





Viste interne del vestibolo e della sala absidata di ingresso all'Aula Magna. Foto M.I. Biggi.

Interior views of vestibule and apsed entrance hall to the Aula Magna. Photos M.I. Biggi.







Viste interne dell'Aula Magna e di due corpi scala.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Interior views of the Aula Magna and two staircases.
Photos M.I. Biggi.







Vista interna dell'Aula Magna.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Interior view of the Aula Magna.
Photo M.I. Biggi.



Vista interna dell'Aula Magna.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Interior view of the Aula Magna.
Photo M.I. Biggi.

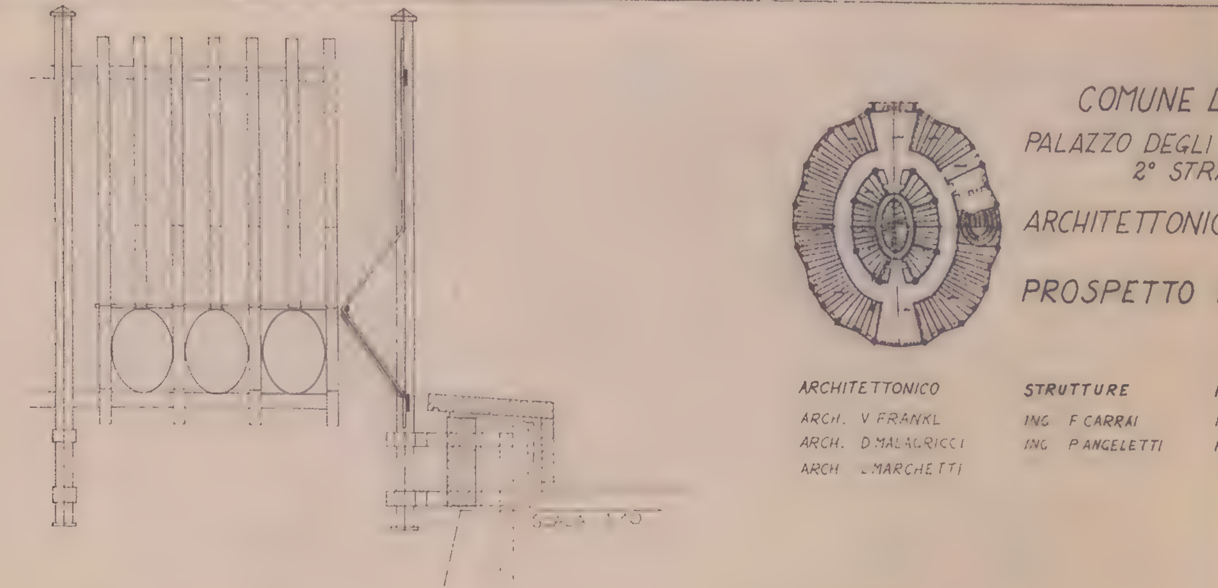
Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali, Terni

1964-1993

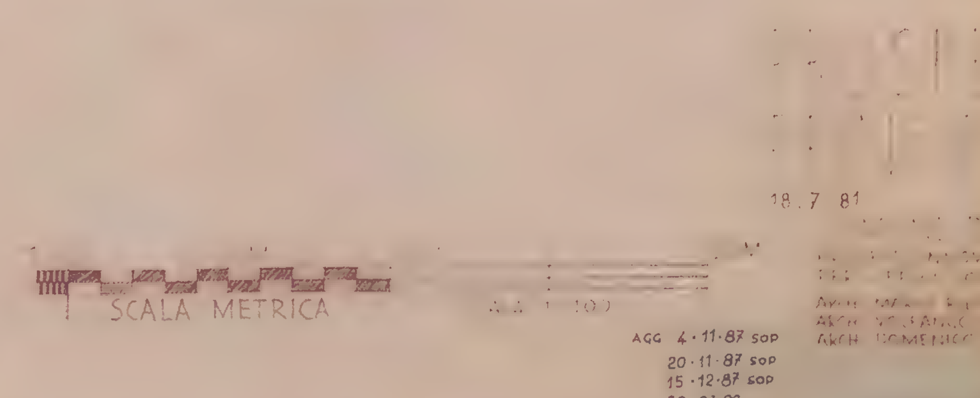
Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl
con / with Domenico Malagricci e Luciano Marchetti

Strutture: Ing. Paolo Angeletti, Ing. Ferdinando Carrai
Impianti: Ing. Pietro Marchetti, P.I. Gabriele Mostarda



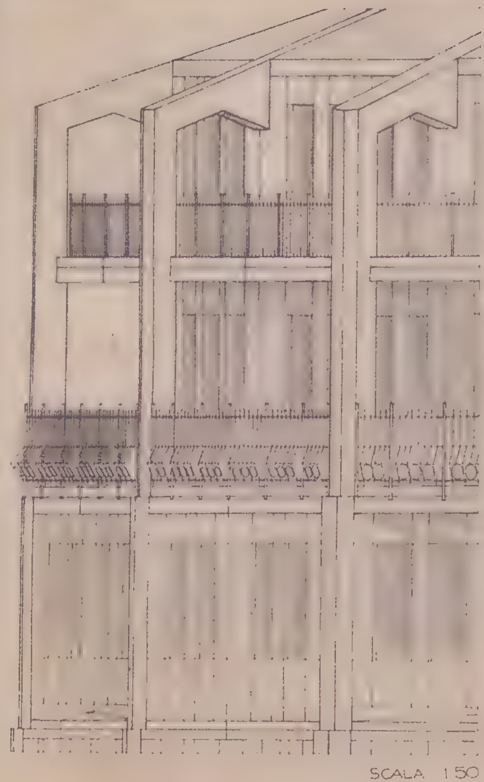






Prospetto principale su Corso del Popolo con a destra Palazzo Spada.

Main elevation on Corso del Popolo with Palazzo Spada on the right.

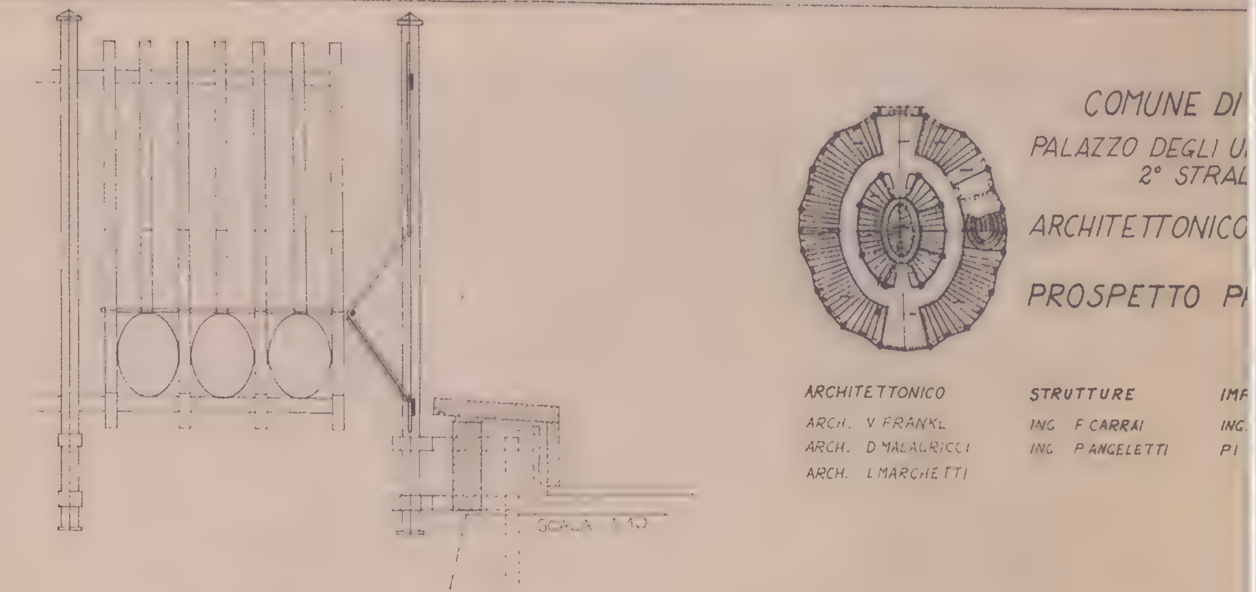


Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali, Terni

1964-1993

Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl
con / with Domenico Malagricci e Luciano Marchetti

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Prospetto principale su Corso del Popolo con a destra Palazzo Spada.

Main elevation on Corso del Popolo with Palazzo Spada on the right.

Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni
Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl, Domenico Malagricci, Luciano Marchetti

È motivo di orgoglio essere consapevoli che il nuovo Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali sarà realizzato in prossimità dell'antico Foro romano. Il luogo è ben identificabile, all'incrocio del cardo e del decumano romani, rispettivamente Via Roma-Corso Vecchio e Via Cavour-Via Garibaldi. È questo il punto più alto della città da dove il terreno scendeva verso i due fiumi; da qui *"Inter amnes"* (città tra i due fiumi), definizione latina che originò il nome della città di Terni.
Nel Rinascimento, vicino a questo punto, la famiglia Spada costruì il proprio palazzo, opera non di Sangallo il Giovane ma di qualcuno della sua scuola; uno dei più rappresentativi edifici della città.
Nel dopoguerra il Palazzo fu acquistato dall'Amministrazione Comunale per ospitarvi i propri uffici: fu una scelta che, seppur felice, non bastò a contenere tutti i reparti comunali. L'allora sindaco Ezio Ottaviani, con buona visione del futuro, decise di aggiungere a Palazzo Spada un nuovo fabbricato in direzione della Torre di Barbarasa per ospitare i nuovi uffici e la Sala del Consiglio. Questa scelta doveva essere comunque subordinata al compimento dei lavori di restauro di Palazzo Spada.
L'incarico per il Nuovo Palazzo fu affidato a Mario Ridolfi, poi esteso a Volfango Frankl e Domenico Malagricci e, dopo che Ridolfi ci ha lasciati, a Luciano Marchetti.

Primo stralcio
Il primo stralcio riguarda il recupero di tre palazzi storici in linea su Via Roma. Il primo, adiacente a Palazzo Spada, è Palazzo Fulvi, con muri ed elementi antichi superstiti e parti ricostruite agli inizi del secolo. Il pianterreno, con un bel cortiletto rinascimentale, era ben recuperabile. Per i piani superiori si sono dovuti rinforzare muri e solai per

Civic Centre, Terni
Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl, Domenico Malagricci, Luciano Marchetti

Knowing that the new Civic Centre in Terni will stand near the city's ancient Roman forum is justifiable reason for pride. The site is clearly marked at the intersection of the Roman cardo and decuman, now Via Roma-Corso Vecchio and Via Cavour-Via Garibaldi respectively. This is the highest point of the city, from which the land sloped down to the two rivers that gave the city its original Latin name of "inter amnes", the city between two rivers.
During the Renaissance the Spada family built its palace nearby. Designed not by Sangallo il Giovane but certainly by someone of his school, it is one of the city's most distinctive and representative buildings.
The municipality bought Palazzo Spada after the Second World War to house its administrative offices. The choice was a shrewd one, but the building still proved too small to house all the departments, so with admirable foresight the current mayor, Ezio Ottaviani, decided to commission a new building joined to Palazzo Spada on the Torre di Barbarasa side to house new offices and the Council Chamber. However, the prime concern remained completing the restoration of Palazzo Spada.
The commission for the new building was awarded to Mario Ridolfi, who was later joined by Volfango Frankl and Domenico Malagricci. Luciano Marchetti joined the team when Ridolfi died.

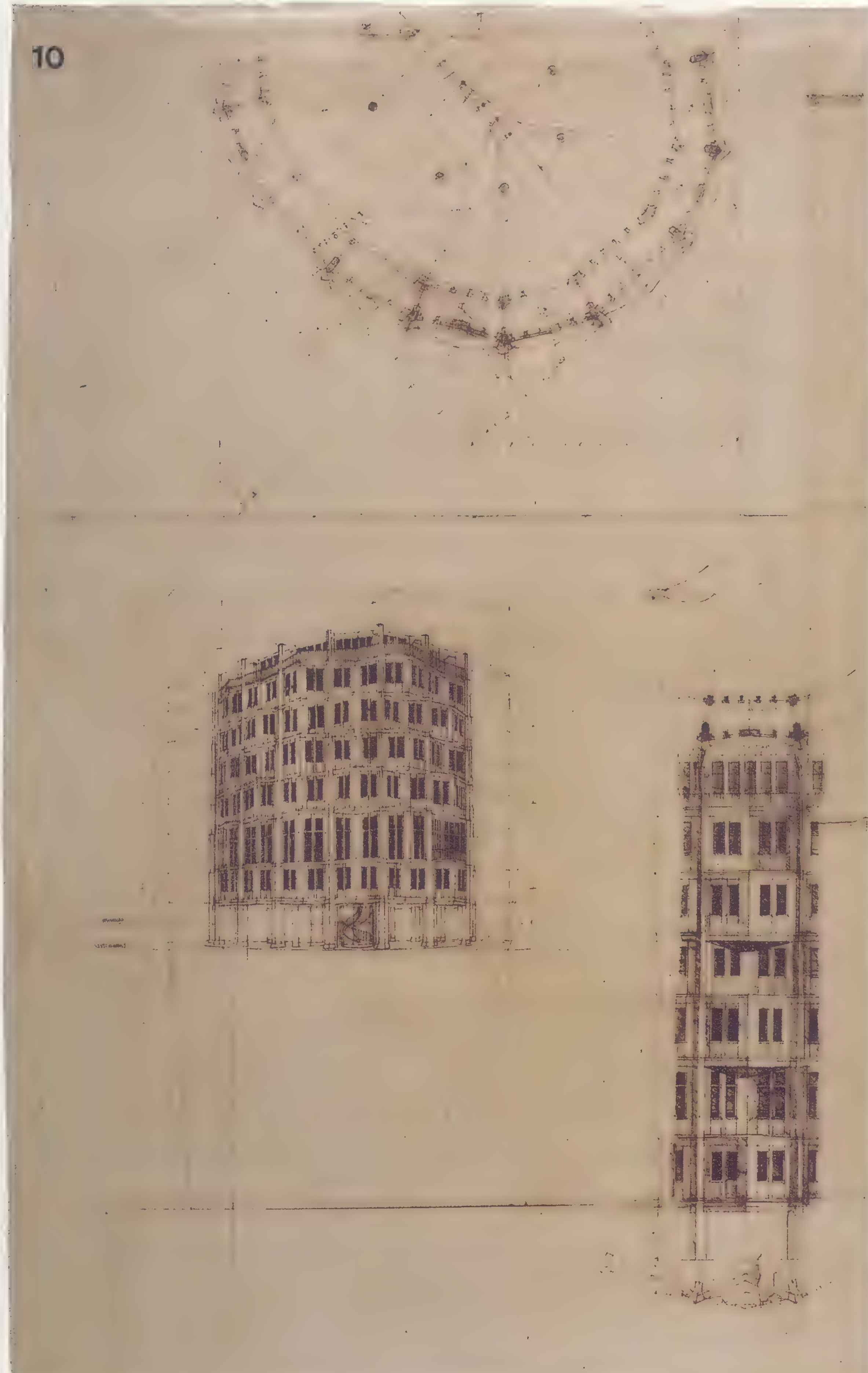
First stage
The first stage of the project involved the renovation of the three adjacent historical palazzos in Via Roma. The first, Palazzo Fulvi, immediately adjoining Palazzo Spada, still had some of its original walls and features and parts that had been rebuilt at the beginning of the century. The ground floor with its fine Renaissance courtyard posed no problem,

Disegno di studio, primavera 1981.

Study drawing, srping 1981.



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soddisfare la normativa antisismica visto il nuovo uso ad uffici pubblici. L'ultimo piano, interamente suddiviso in piccoli ripostigli, stanzette di fortuna, scalette aggiunte, è stato completamente ristrutturato.
Di fianco abbiamo Palazzo Fabri, che presenta anch'esso una struttura muraria antica e che evidenzia un buon restauro realizzato nel 1899 in stile "pre-liberty". Le strutture, i solai, le partizioni interne e la bella scala erano in avanzato stato di degrado.
L'ultimo edificio, Palazzo Pierfelici, il meglio conservato, è anche il più interessante per storia e valore artistico. Di struttura medievale, ebbe il suo momento più importante nel Rinascimento (portale e cornici in travertino alle finestre del primo piano), fu sopraelevato di un piano in epoca barocca e fu abbellito da una grande scala a pianta quadrata con vuoto al centro databile intorno al 1800.
Il primo stralcio non aveva un progetto di massima. Con l'intento di recuperare quanto più possibile degli edifici esistenti, è stato effettuato un rilievo, tanto accurato quanto rischioso, a causa dell'avanzato degrado degli stessi. Questo ha portato alla redazione di un progetto di recupero con l'inserimento della nuova torre dei servizi, cerniera di collegamento con il secondo stralcio. I lavori, iniziati dopo breve tempo nel 1988, si stanno avviando verso la conclusione.

Secondo stralcio
Il secondo stralcio vede come gruppo di progettazione gli architetti Volfango Frankl, Domenico Malagricci e Luciano Marchetti per le architetture, gli ingegneri Paolo Angeletti e Ferdinando Carrai per le strutture e l'ingegner Pietro Marchetti e il perito industriale Gabriele Mostarda per gli impianti.
Iter progettuale. In questo secondo stralcio, contrariamente al primo, vi è una lunghissima fase progettuale (resa nota in diverse pubblicazioni nazionali ed internazionali). Dalle prime piante rettangolari degli anni Sessanta si passò per

but the walls and ceilings of the upper floor had to be reinforced to conform with anti-earthquake legislation for public buildings. The top floor, divided throughout into small storage areas, temporary rooms and extra staircases, had to be totally restructured.
Palazzo Fabri next door also had original walling and parts that had been competently restored in "pre Art Nouveau" style in 1899. Its load-bearing walls and structures, ceilings, partition walls and fine staircase were badly delapidated.
Palazzo Pierfelici, the last of the three, was the best preserved as well as the most interesting artistically and historically. Although a medieval building, it attained its full glory in the Renaissance (main gate, travertine frames of the first-floor windows) and was given an extra floor in the Baroque era and a large square-welled staircase around 1800.
There was no general plan for this first stage of the project. Since the aim was to salvage as much as possible of the existing buildings, we conducted a detailed general survey — a hazardous undertaking given the delapidation of the buildings. This enabled us to draw up a renovation plan that included the insertion of the new installations tower providing the key to the second stage of the project. Work on the first stage began in 1988 and is now nearing completion.

Second stage
The team now working on the second stage includes architects Volfango Frankl, Domenico Malagricci and Luciano Marchetti for the architecture, engineers Paolo Angeletti and Ferdinando Carrai for structures, and engineer Pietro Marchetti and industrial consultant Gabriele Mostarda for installations.
Project development. *Unlike the first stage, the second called for lengthy preliminary planning and design work (described in various Italian and international publications). The early rectangular plans dating from the sixties were gradually adapted to accommodate new architectural ideas and changes in the municipality's requirements, the most*

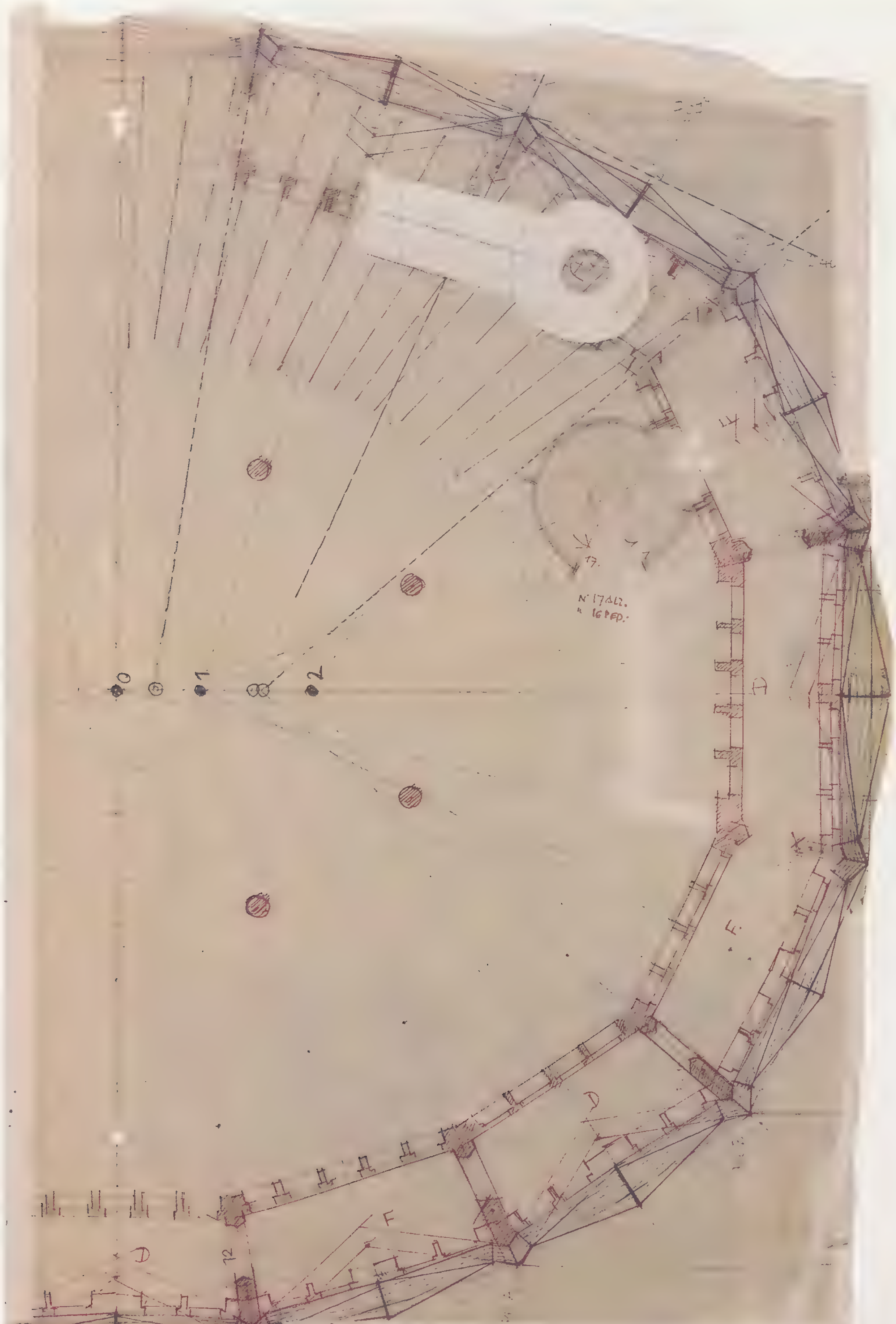
Disegno di studio, estate 1981. *Study drawing, summer 1981.*

varie soluzioni successive che erano frutto sia di nuove scelte architettoniche che di indicazioni diverse da parte dell'Amministrazione. L'indicazione più importante fu quella che prevedeva l'inserimento della nuova Sala Consiliare e di un numero notevole di uffici.
Le vecchie piante rettangolari furono abbandonate per un edificio più grande a forma ottagonale che si inseriva ancor meglio a fianco di Palazzo Spada. Non era però ancora soddisfacente la divisione interna e si arrivò per stadi successivi alla definizione dell'attuale pianta ovoidale che risolveva questo problema.
Progetto finale. In questa ellisse la zona uffici è posta lungo il perimetro esterno ed è suddivisa in tanti settori modulari come gli spicchi di un limone. Tre di questi moduli creano lo spazio dell'unità minima lavorativa, lasciando la possibilità di aumentare i moduli per ottenere uffici più grandi, fino a pervenire alla soluzione estrema della pianta libera. All'esterno, il volume formato da 16 lati, alterna ad ogni piano *bow-window* e rientranze, evitando così un noioso verticalismo e dando equilibrio tra verticale ed orizzontale alla parete sfaccettata del «Bidone» (così lo chiamava scherzosamente Ridolfi).
Il volume a pianta ovale viene abbracciato dalla piazza che lo circonda. Sul retro esso si unisce, tramite la nuova torre dei servizi, ai tre Palazzi ristrutturati nel primo stralcio. L'edificio, lungo l'asse minore, viene compresso tra il fianco severo di Palazzo Spada e quello di un edificio di recente costruzione. L'asse maggiore, posto in direzione del sole e delle colline lontane, viene accentuato da una loggia posta al primo piano e da una diversa partitura dei pilastri, che rendono il lato frontale del poligono più largo.
Struttura. La pianta tipo si presenta con una struttura che forma due anelli ovali concentrici, composti quello esterno da 16 pilastri e quello interno da 8. Quelli esterni, verticali per tutti i piani, sono a pianta esagonale da quota -7.50 a quota 0.00 e pentagonali da quota 0.00 al telaio di copertura. Quelli interni, esagonali, sono verticali per la

important of which was the addition of the Council Chamber and many more offices.
In the end, the original rectangular plans were abandoned in favour of a larger octagonal building that fitted even better into the space next to Palazzo Spada. However, the internal layout still proved unsatisfactory and the present oval plan gradually evolved as a solution to this problem.
Final project. *In the oval building the office area runs round the perimeter and is divided into numerous modular sections like segments of a lemon. Three of these sections form a minimum working unit which can be expanded with more sections to give larger offices or even full open-plan space. Outside, the sixteen-sided building — or "bidet" as Ridolfi jokingly called it — has alternating bow windows and recesses to break its otherwise monotonous vertical sweep and balance the horizontal and vertical axes of its faceted walls. The building is enclosed by the surrounding square and is joined at the rear to the new installations tower that provides the link with the three historic palazzos renovated in the first stage of the project. Along its minor axis, the building is squeezed between the austere flank of Palazzo Spada and another recent building. The major axis facing the sun and distant hills is enhanced by a first-floor loggia and a different arrangement of pillars which makes the front face of the polygon seem larger.*
Structure. *The standard plan has a structure based on two concentric oval rings of pillars. The outer ring consists of sixteen external and eight internal pillars. The external pillars, which run vertically through all the floors, are hexagonal from height -7.50 to 0.00 metres, and pentagonal from 0.00 to the roof frame. The hexagonal internal pillars are vertical above ground but tilt outwards like a tent below ground and then fork at first basement level to accommodate the Council Chamber above and keep it free of the structure.*
Cloister. *A small oval cloister providing air and light for the internal office nucleus is to be built from the second floor up in the centre of the building.*

Pianta di studio del piano attico, estate 1981.

Study plan of the attic floor, summer 1981.





parte fuori terra, mentre nella parte interrata si aprono inclinandosi come una tenda verso l'esterno, per poi biforcarsi all'altezza del primo piano interrato.
Tutto questo per poter accogliere la Sala conferenze, lasciandola libera dalla struttura.
Chiostrina. Dal secondo piano in poi sarà realizzata al centro dell'edificio (sopra alla Sala Consiliare) una chiostrina ovale per dare aria e luce al nucleo interno degli edifici.
Sala Consiliare. Al centro del primo piano si trova la Sala Consiliare che copre tutta la superficie circoscritta dagli 8 pilastri dell'anello interno. All'esterno di questa vi è un anello di 2-2.50 metri di larghezza che rimane a disposizione del pubblico.
Piano pilotis. Il pianterreno è un piano aperto a *pilotis*. Il pavimento, scendendo dal bordo esterno delimitato dai 16 pilastri verso il centro con una leggera pendenza, crea una cavità che invita in direzione del portico. Alla base dei pilastri saranno poste delle panche di pietra che ne seguono il perimetro.
Sala sotterranea. Dalla quota 0.00 del piano *pilotis*, come già descritto, gli 8 pilastri interni si inclinano e si biforcano verso l'esterno fino a raggiungere la quota -7.50. Si ottiene così un ambiente a doppia altezza di forma tronco-conica che sarà in grado di contenere fino a 500 persone. A metà altezza (quota -3.60) si affaccerà sulla platea una balconata con due file di posti a sedere.
Solai e soffitti. I solai ed i soffitti saranno realizzati utilizzando la tecnica già impiegata nel primo stralcio. Il solaio sarà costituito da travetti prefabbricati che alloggeranno all'intradosso dei materiali quali ceramiche, cotto o pietra da lasciare in vista.

Analisi dei piani
Quota -7.50 — Secondo piano interrato. Sala sotterranea multiuso per 500 posti destinata a conferenze, riunioni, seminari e spettacoli vari. All'esterno della sala si avranno i

Council Chamber. *The Council Chamber in the middle of the ground floor covers the whole area circumscribed by the inner ring of eight pillars. An outside ring 2-2.5 metres wide running round its perimeter serves as public space.*
"A pilotis" ground floor. *On the open à pilotis ground floor, the floor slopes gently towards the centre from the border ring of sixteen pillars, creating a dip that leads the eye back to the porticoed boundary. Perimeter benches will be installed at the foot of the pillars.*
Basement room. *As mentioned, the eight internal pillars tilt outwards below the ground à pilotis level and then fork down to height -7.50 metres. This creates a double-height truncated-cone environment that can seat up to five hundred people. Half way up (height -3.6 metres) there will be a balcony circle with two rows of seats.*
Ceiling and floor structure. *The same technique adopted in the first stage of the project will be used — prefabricated beams with ceramic, brick or stone cladding on the visible surfaces.*

Analysis of floors
Height -7.50 metres — second basement level. *A multi-purpose 500-seat basement hall for conferences, meetings, lectures and other events. Corridors and services will be installed around the outside. This level is linked to the rest of the building by five stair wells, three public lifts, a goods lift and a small service staircase. The lobby was already built during the first stage of the project.*
Height -3.60 metres — first basement level. *A balcony circle overlooking the hall below with a perimeter corridor and facilities that include a bar, cloakroom, small reception rooms, etc. This level is served by the staircases and lifts described above, and will extend sideways to the boundaries of the existing buildings to include rooms housing technical installations for the entire building. There will also be a garage for official cars with direct access to the courtyard above. The pillars in the lobby, which has already been built,*

Disegno di studio dei pilastri e dei bordi dei solai, estate 1981.

Study drawing of pillars and beam edges, summer 1981.

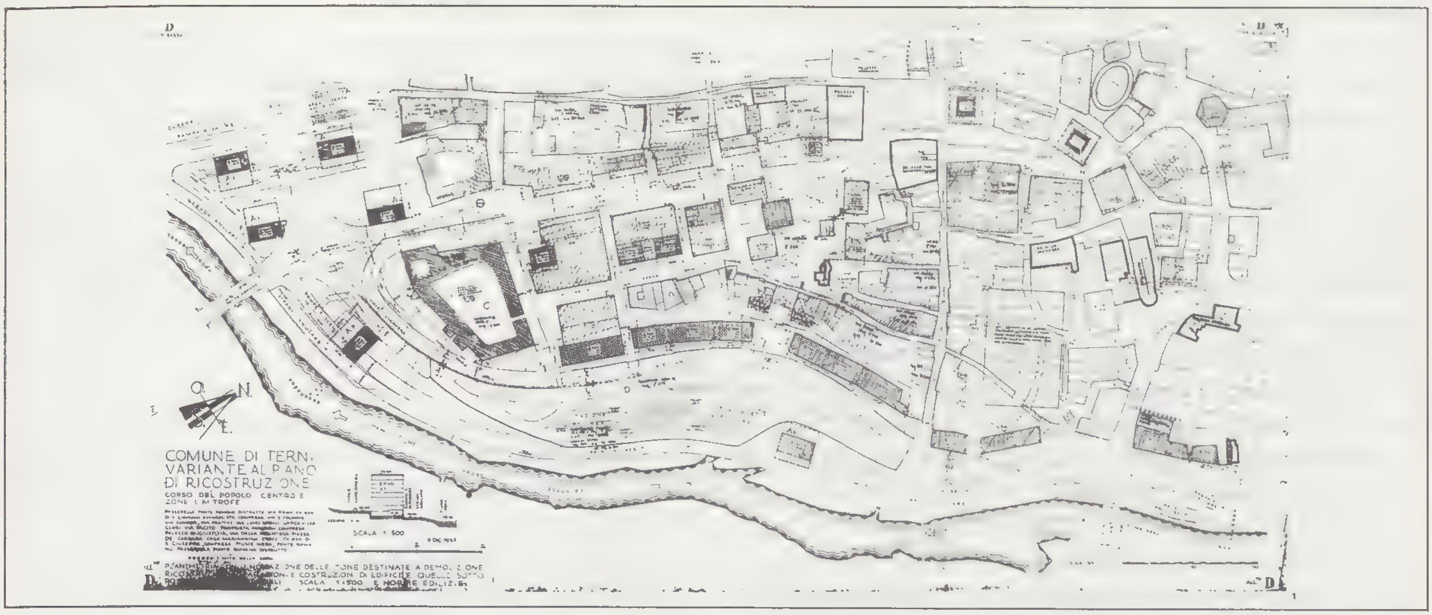
corridoi ed i servizi. Questo livello è collegato al resto dell'edificio da cinque corpi scala, tre ascensori per il pubblico, un montacarichi ed una scaletta di servizio. L'atrio di accesso è stato già realizzato nell'ambito del primo stralcio.
Quota -3.60 — Primo piano interrato. Balconata che si affaccia sulla sala sottostante, contornata dal corridoio e dai servizi per il pubblico quali: bar, guardaroba, salottini, ecc. Questo livello sarà servito dallo stesso sistema distributivo sopra citato. Il piano, che si estenderà lateralmente fino al limite degli edifici esistenti, ospiterà tutti i locali necessari agli impianti tecnici dell'intero fabbricato. Vi sarà inoltre, con accesso dalla corte soprastante, una rimessa per le auto di servizio dell'Amministrazione. L'atrio di questo piano, già realizzato, sarà decorato con delle sculture sulla struttura a pali opportunamente lasciata in vista.
Quota 0.00 — Piano terreno. Da questo livello, oltre agli accessi alla sala sottostante di cui si è già parlato, parte una grande scala a pianta ellittica che dopo aver raggiunto al primo piano la Sala Consiliare, si restringe e continua fino all'ultimo piano. In un ambiente a fianco del cortile Fulvi si realizzerà un'altra grande scala a chiocciola ("scala degli sposi") che scenderà ai due livelli interrati e che avrà al fianco, nella zona attigua, un grande ascensore.
Quota +4.10 — Piano ammezzato. Ospiterà gli uffici ed il nucleo centrale sarà destinato ad accogliere il centro elettronico e telematico del Comune.
Quota +7.50 — Piano primo. Questo livello, posto alla stessa quota del piano nobile di Palazzo Spada, è collegato a quest'ultimo per mezzo di una struttura leggera. Accoglierà la Sala Consiliare, le sale per la Maggioranza e la Minoranza, i relativi uffici, la sala per i giornalisti e vari spazi per il pubblico. La Sala Consiliare nel nucleo centrale sarà coperta da un lucernario posto alla base della chiostrina.
Quota +12.00 — Piano secondo. A questo livello terminano le scale esistenti degli edifici del primo stralcio e da qui,

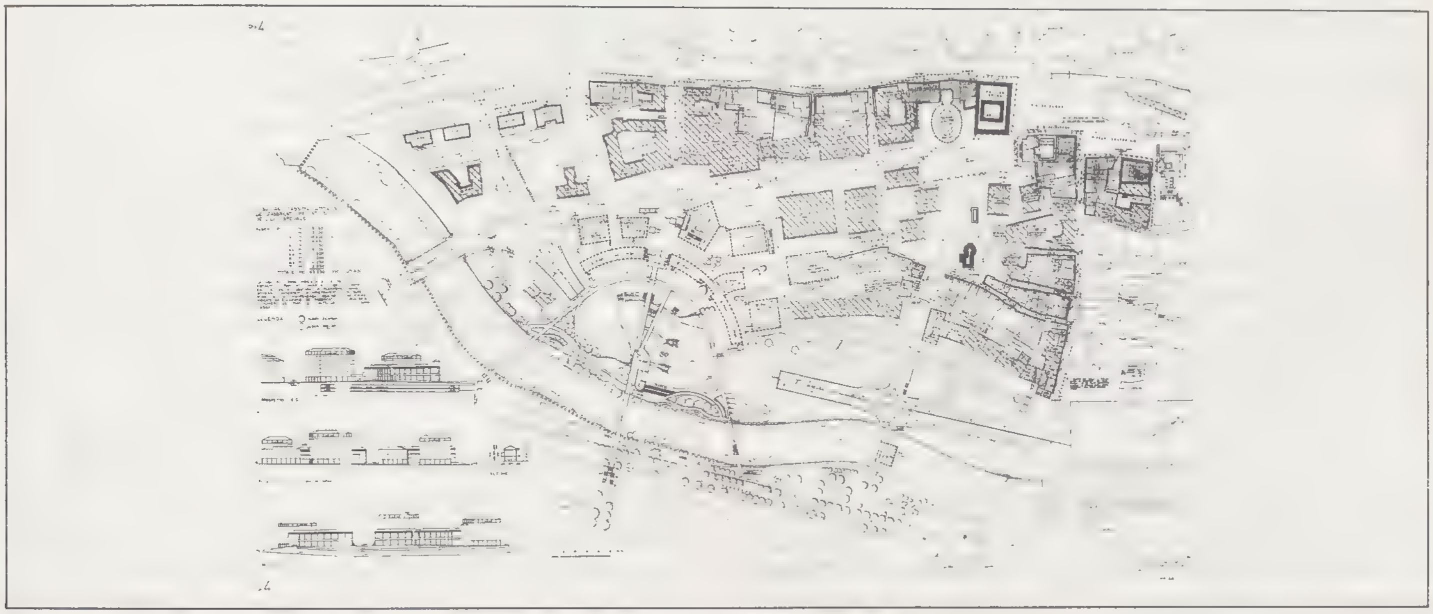
Disegni iniziali per il Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali, 1967 e 1979.

Preliminary drawings for the Civic Centre, 1967 and 1979.

have been left unfaced for sculptural decoration at a later date.
Height 0.00 — ground floor. *In addition to the stairs and lifts to the lower levels mentioned earlier, a large elliptical staircase ascends to the first-floor Council Chamber and then narrows as it rises to the top floor. An area flanking the Fulvi courtyard will house a large spiral staircase ("bride and groom stairs") descending to the two basement levels, with a large adjoining lift.*
Height +4.10 metres — mezzanine floor. *This will house offices; the central nucleus will become the municipality's data processing and telematics centre.*
Height +7.50 metres. — first floor. *This floor, linked to the piano nobile of Palazzo Spada on the same level by a lightweight bridge structure, will house the Council Chamber, meeting rooms and offices for ruling and opposition councillors and officials, a press room and various public spaces. The Council Chamber in the central nucleus will be lit by a skylight in the floor of the cloister above.*
Height +12.00 metres — second floor. *The exisiting staircases in the first-stage buildings terminate here. The staircase in the new installations tower (still unfinished) serving the upper floors will rise from this level, along with the cloister surrounded by small meeting, computer, archive and service rooms.*
Height +15.40, +18.80 metres — *third and fourth floors. These will have the same functional layout as the second floor.*
Height +22.20 metres — fifth floor. *Open-plan office. The original project envisaged that this floor would be flush on the outside with the floors below, but after discussions with the municipal planning office it was decided to recess the outside walls (at the same height as the crowning cornice on Palazzo Spada) to create a loggia floor.*
Height +25.60 metres — attic floor. *The perimeter terrace is open at this level and the roof of the building is flush with the recessed volume. The offices are also open-plan on this*









Variante al Piano di Ricostruzione per l'area di Corso del Popolo (M. Ridolfi, V. Frankl, con D. Malagricci), 1957.
Piano Particolareggiato per l'area di Corso del Popolo (V. Frankl, D. Malagricci, con L. Marchetti, S. Panunzi), 1987.

Variant of the Reconstruction Plan for the Corso Popolo area (M. Ridolfi, V. Frankl with D. Malagricci), 1957.
Detailed Plan for the Corso del Popolo area (V. Frankl, D. Malagricci, with L. Marchetti, S. Panunzi), 1987.

nella nuova torre di servizi (da completare) partirà la scala che servirà i piani superiori. Da qui inoltre parte la chiostrina interna sulla quale si affacceranno piccoli locali da destinare a sale riunione, sale *computer*, archivi e servizi vari.
Quote +15.40, +18.80 — Piani terzo e quarto. Questi livelli avranno il medesimo schema funzionale del piano secondo.
Quota +22.20 — Piano quinto. Ufficio a pianta libera. Il progetto originario prevedeva per questo piano lo stesso ingombro esterno dei sottostanti, ma dopo vari incontri con la Soprintendenza venne suggerita la soluzione che a questa quota (la stessa del cornicione di coronamento di Palazzo Spada) arretrasse il tamponamento esterno dell'edificio come il piano attico soprastante, creando così un piano loggiato.
Quota +25.60 — Piano attico. A questo piano la terrazza perimetrale è scoperta; la copertura dell'edificio termina a filo con il volume arretrato. Anche in questo caso gli uffici sono a pianta libera. Nel sottotetto sarà realizzato un ballatoio che si affaccerà all'interno del piano stesso.
Sulla copertura, all'altezza del colmo della falda, Ridolfi aveva previsto un coronamento di ferro.

Questo progetto, che nasce negli anni Sessanta e che vede ora ultimata la sua fase progettuale esecutiva, ha impiegato nel corso di tutti questi anni tante persone e molte energie. Prima fra tutte vogliamo ricordare la figura di Mario Ridolfi che vi dedicò interamente l'ultima parte della sua vita. Rivedere quindi in questo luogo il Centro Civico e restituirne in breve tempo alla città la funzione originaria sarà la massima gratificazione per tutto questo lavoro.

Studio della pianta, dei pilastri e dei paramenti esterni
La pianta centrale di forma ellittica è il risultato di lunghissimi studi che hanno impegnato il gruppo dei progettisti fin dagli anni Settanta, generando numerosissime versioni, così come è già stato espresso precedentemente.
La particolarità di questa pianta è che essa non è riconducibile geometricamente ad alcuna forma conosciuta. Questo fatto è dovuto essenzialmente a due motivi tecnici: il primo è quello di ottenere la maggiore superficie utile possibile rimanendo alle dovute distanze dagli edifici esistenti, avanzando su Corso del Popolo; il secondo, che è poi quello che genererà la forma finale della pianta in modo dettagliato, è dovuto alla volontà di realizzare tutte le tamponature esterne con pannelli prefabbricati di modulo costante, modificando semplicemente alcuni angoli del poligono ed alcuni pilastri esterni.
Il risultato è un poligono a 16 lati la cui geometria è generata da un sistema di coordinate aventi origine al centro della pianta. Detto sistema individua l'estremo esterno dei 16 pilastri e gli angoli che si formano tra un lato e l'altro.
Geometria generale dell'edificio. L'intero sistema della pianta viene racchiuso in un rettangolo ideale di m. 26.50 × 30.50 avente gli stessi assi della sopra citata ellisse e tangente gli 8 pilastri più estremi. Questa simmetria rispetto ai due assi rende sufficiente l'analisi approfondita di un solo quarto dell'ellisse.
La struttura dell'edificio è formata da 8 pilastri interni e da 16 esterni che individuano 14 campate perimetrali uguali di m. 5.60 di ampiezza, più due campate eccezionali poste perpendicolarmente all'asse maggiore dell'ellisse ampie m. 6.80. Una di esse è il giunto di congiunzione con gli edifici ristrutturati del primo stralcio, mentre l'altra è il lato più estremo che si affaccia su Corso del Popolo. Ciascuno dei 16 lati viene ulteriormente diviso in due da una coppia di pannelli prefabbricati, il cui punto di congiunzione tra loro alternatamente avanza o arretra creando delle bugne o delle nicchie sulla facciata. Questo sistema viene ulteriormente alternato anche in senso verticale (sopra ogni bugna vi sarà un arretramento e viceversa). Con l'aumentare dei piani, diminuendo l'angolo di incidenza tra i pannelli, si attenuerà l'effetto sopra descritto. Questo comporta una graduale riduzione planimetrica dell'ellisse ad

level. An internal gallery installed under the roof will overlook the interior space. Ridolfi envisaged iron coping on the summit of the roof.

This project, which began in the seventies and is now nearing completion, involved much effort and many people over the years. We would like to express here our gratitude to Mario Ridolfi, who devoted himself entirely to the project in the closing years of his life. The crowning satisfaction of all this effort will be to see the new Civic Centre completed and its original function in the city speedily reinstated.

Design of layout, pillars and external claddings

The oval main building was the outcome of lengthy study that has kept the design team fully occupied since the seventies. As we have seen, many different versions were produced along the way before the final plan was perfected. The unusual thing about the plan is that it derives from no known geometrical form. There are two essentially technical reasons for this. This first is that we wanted to obtain as much usable space as possible while maintaining the necessary distance from the exisiting buildings by extending the new one into Corso del Popolo. The second, which resulted in the final detailed plan, was that we wanted to use standard module prefabricated panels for the external walls, which simply meant modifying some corners of the polygon and one or two of the external pillars.

The result was a sixteen-sided polygon produced geometrically by a system of coordinates emanating from the centre of the plan. This system determines the outer limit of the sixteen pillars and the corners formed by adjacent facets of the walls.

General geometry of the building. *The entire system is contained within an imaginary 26.50x30.50 m. rectangle with the same axes as the oval, delineated by the eight outer pillars. Because the plan relates symmetrically to the two axes, detailed analysis of only one quarter of the oval enabled us to plan the entire building.*

The structure of the building consists of eight internal and sixteen external pillars that delineate fourteen identical perimeter bays 5.60 metres wide, plus two extra 6.60 metre bays perpendicular to the main axis of the oval. One forms the join with the buildings that were renovated during the first stage of the project; the other, facing Corso del Popolo, forms the edge of the new buildings furthest away from the older ones. Each of the sixteen sides is divided in two by a pair of prefabricated panels with alternating recessed or protruding joins that create ashlars and niches on the façade. This alternating design also extends upwards (a niche above each ashlar, and vice versa). By reducing the angle of incidence between the panels upwards through the floors, the visual effect gradually weakens as the eye moves up. This means that the surface area of each floor gradually diminishes, but because the pillars also have to be tapered for structural reasons, and since the angle between the panels will also progessively reduce, it will be possible to use one standard prefabricated panel for all the floors, except for the last two loggia floors and the differentiated main front.

Sizing of pillars. *So far we have calculated a basic sixteen-sided polygon whose corners correspond exactly to the ends of the pillars on the mezzanine level. Sizing and building the pillars will be done as follows:*

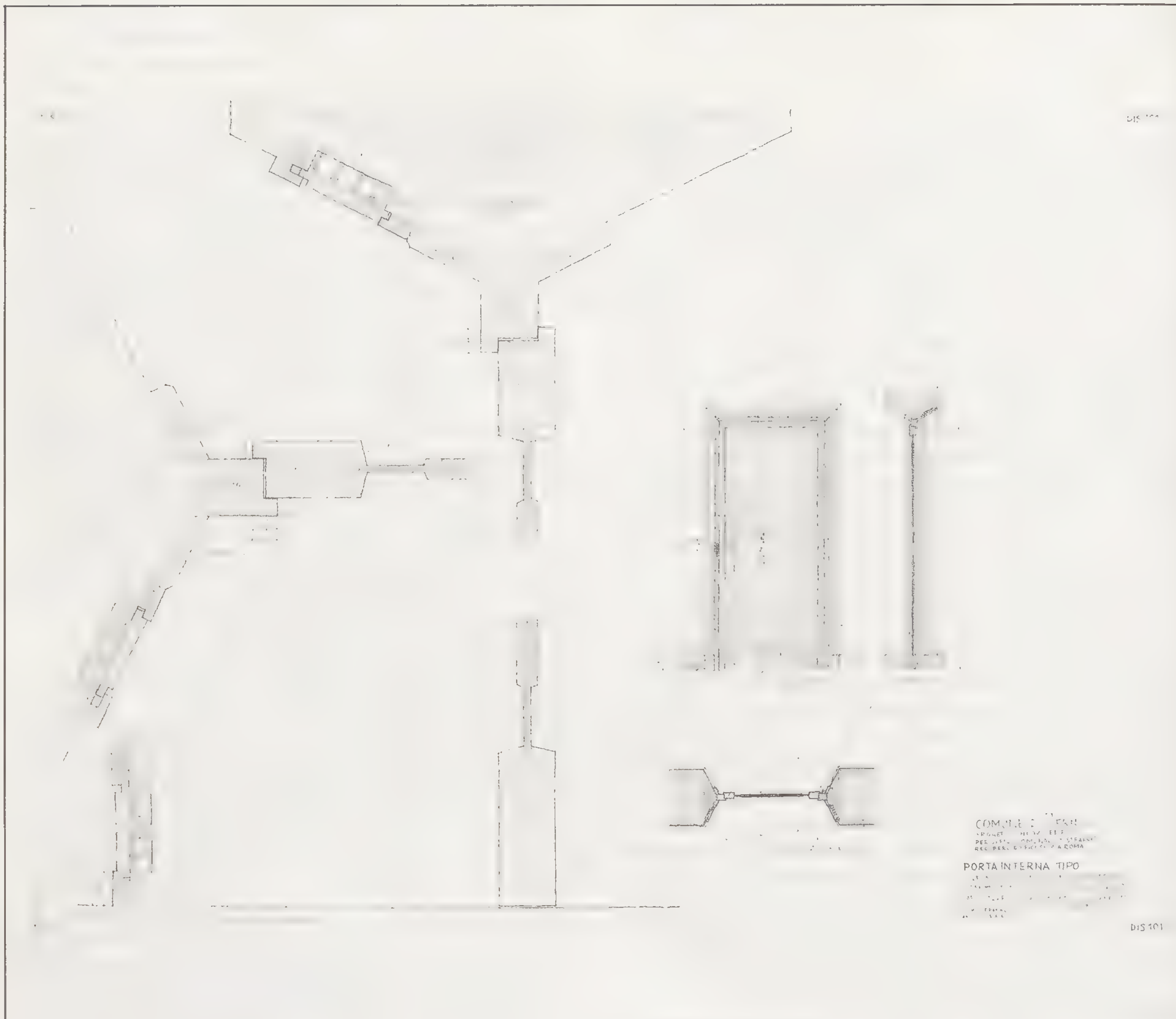
1) draw an external line parallel to the side of the polygon to a distance of 25 centimetres;

2) draw the line perpendicular to the mid point of the side;

3) the intersection of these lines is point A marking the furthest apex of the ashlars from the mezzanine floor up;

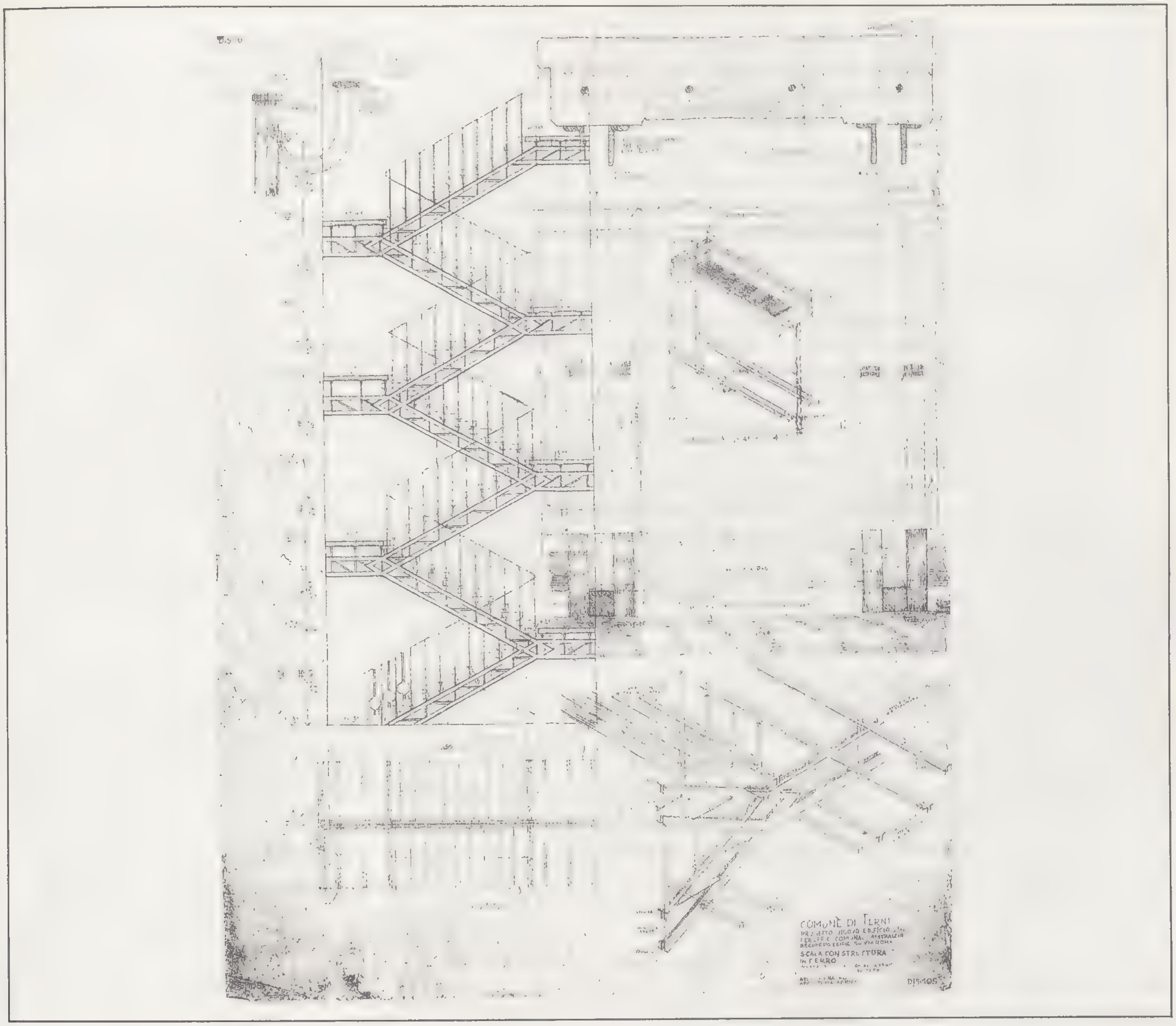
4) point B is opposite point A on the median axis at a distance of 90 centimetres, and marks the furthest extent of the panel recesses (vertically this will be the same on all the floors).

5) drawing two circumference arcs of radius 2.40 metres (the size of the panel) from point A to point B will give a point that determines the maximum width of the pillar (the same procedure with a radius of 3.00 metres will be used for the

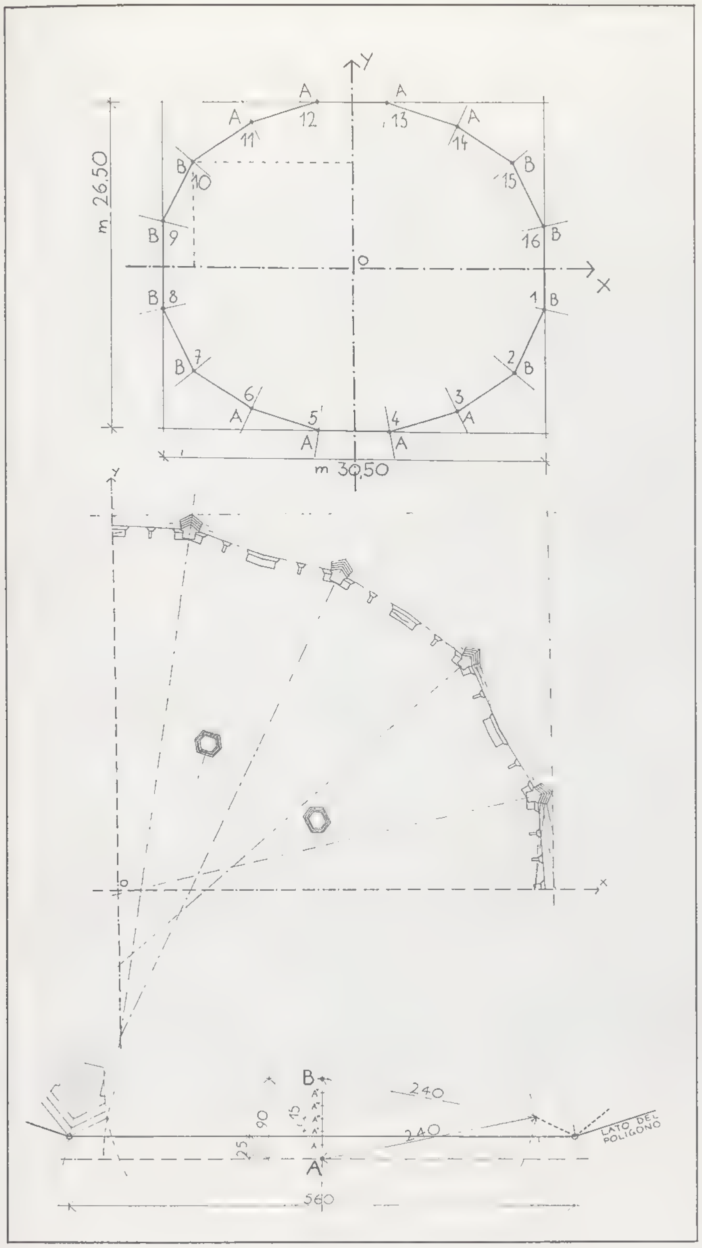


Dettagli dei serramenti interni e della scala nel primo stralcio di intervento su Via Roma (recupero dei Palazzi Fulvi, Fabbri e Pierfelici), ultimato nel 1993.

Details of internal door frames in the first stage of the project in Via Roma (renovation of Palazzos Fulvi, Fabbri and Pierfelici) completed in 1993.


COMUNE DI TERNI
SCALA CON STRUTTURA
IN FERRO
DIS.105

ogni piano, ma, rastremando per motivi strutturali anche i pilastri e riducendo come già detto l'angolo tra i pannelli, sarà possibile ottenere l'impiego di un unico pannello prefabbricato per tutti i piani, tranne che per i due piani loggiati e per il lato frontale eccezionale.
Dimensionamento dei pilastri. Fin qui siamo giunti alla determinazione del poligono di base a 16 lati, i cui vertici individuano esattamente le punte estreme dei pilastri al piano ammezzato. Per la loro costruzione e dimensionamento si procederà come segue:
1) si traccia una retta esterna parallela al lato del poligono ad una distanza di cm. 25;
2) si traccia la perpendicolare al lato nel punto di mezzeria;
3) l'intersezione tra le rette tracciate origina il punto A che sarà il vertice più avanzato delle bugne a partire dal piano ammezzato;
4) opposto al punto A, sull'asse di mezzeria, ad una distanza di cm. 90 si trova il punto B, che individua la massima rientranza dei pannelli (questa verticalmente sarà la medesima per tutti i piani);
5) tracciando dai punti A e B due archi di circonferenza di raggio m. 2.40 (misura del pannello) si determina un punto che darà la massima larghezza del pilastro (lo stesso sistema ma con un arco di raggio di m. 3.00 sarà usato per l'unica campata maggiore frontale);
6) per i piani superiori il metodo sarà lo stesso ma occorrerà tener conto che il punto A arretrerà sull'asse mediano di cm. 15 per ogni piano. Questo comporta un arretramento, anche qui ad ogni piano, del vertice esterno dei pilastri;
7) i pilastri così determinati presentano poi una ulteriore rientranza laterale che permette l'installazione di un giunto tecnico tra pilastro e pannello;
8) si è ottenuto così un pilastro che, anche se vincolato dalle misure esterne fisse sopra determinate, permette sul lato interno di essere aumentato di dimensione fino ad assolvere alle esigenze statiche.
Avanzamento e arretramento dei pannelli. Come abbiamo già visto, vi è una alternanza orizzontale e verticale tra avanzamenti e arretramenti dei pannelli, tali da creare bugne e rientranze. Quando abbiamo una bugna sopra una rientranza non si presentano particolari problemi tecnici in quanto lo smaltimento delle acque piovane in parete viene risolto modellando il perimetro del cordolo del solaio sottostante con un opportuno gocciolatoio.
Quando invece è la rientranza ad essere sopra la bugna si viene a creare una zona a forma di losanga che deve essere protetta e coperta. Si è creata così una superficie con una doppia inclinazione che, partendo dai pannelli arretrati convoglia le acque verso il bordo esterno del solaio, anch'esso opportunamente sagomato con un gocciolatoio. La pendenza che verrà data alle lastre di materiale lapideo usate per il rivestimento di questa superficie sarà direzionata oltre che verso l'esterno anche verso l'asse centrale della campata ove vi sarà un compluvio per evitare che le acque possano raggiungere i pilastri. Anche il gocciolatoio del cordolo sarà inclinato verso l'asse della campata per avere un unico punto di smaltimento.
Ulteriori informazioni tecniche saranno leggibili negli elaborati grafici.

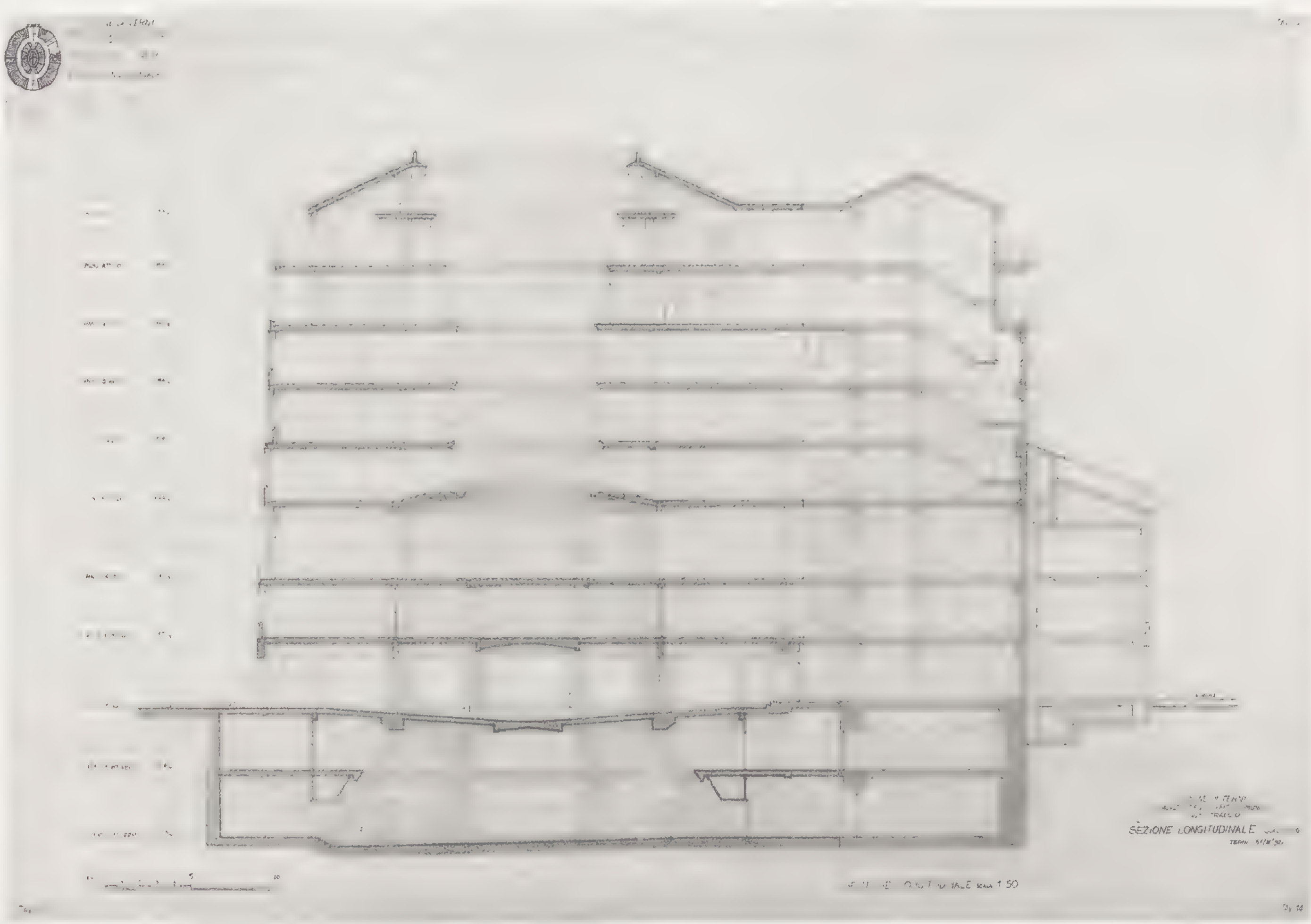


Schemi geometrici del poligono della pianta per il dimensionamento di un pannello prefabbricato di modulo costante.

Geometrical diagrams of polygon from the sizing plan for a standard module prefabricated panel.

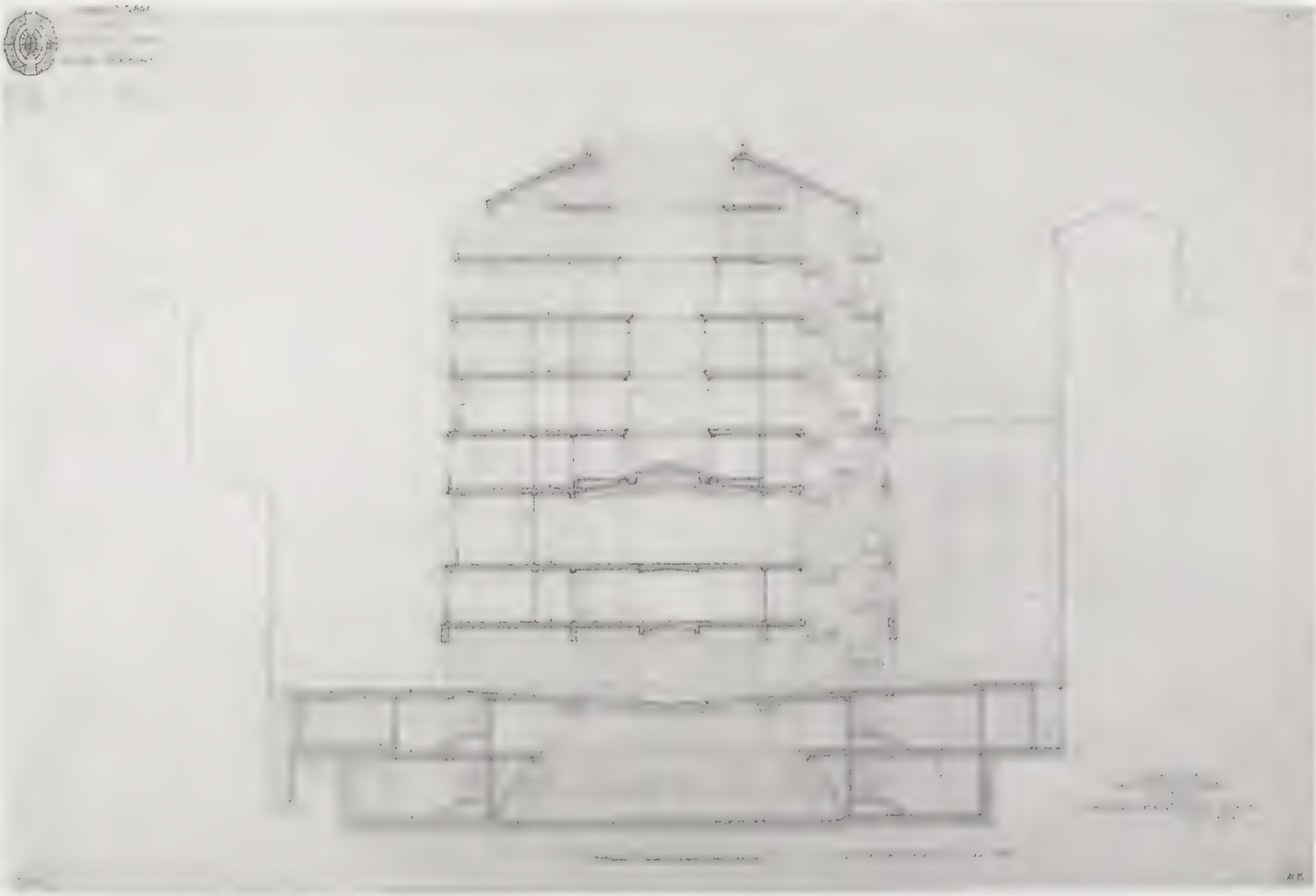
single large front bay);
6) the procedure will be used for the upper floors, although point A will be progressively recessed on the median axis by 15 centimetres on each floor; this will produce a recessing of the external apices of the pillars, again on each floor;
7) these pillars will also be laterally recessed to allow the installation of a technical joint between the pillars and panels;
8) this gives a pillar which conforms with the external measurements of the building but can be made larger on the inside to meet the static requirements of the building.

Recessing and protuberance of panels. *As we have seen, the panels are alternately protruded and recessed both horizontally and vertically. When an ashlar is above a niche there are no special technical problems because rainwater can be kept off the walls by fitting the ends of the floor girders immediately below with spouts.*
When a niche is above an ashlar a losenge-shaped area is formed that has to be protected and covered. The problem is solved with a double-slope surface extending outwards from the recessed panels which channels water to the outer edge of the girder which is also fitted with a spout.
The stone external cladding panels will also be angled both outwards and towards the central axis of the bay where a conduit ensures that water is kept away from the pillars. The girder spouts will also be tilted towards the axes of the bays to create a single drainage point.
Further technical information can be found in the technical drawings.



Sezioni longitudinale e trasversale.

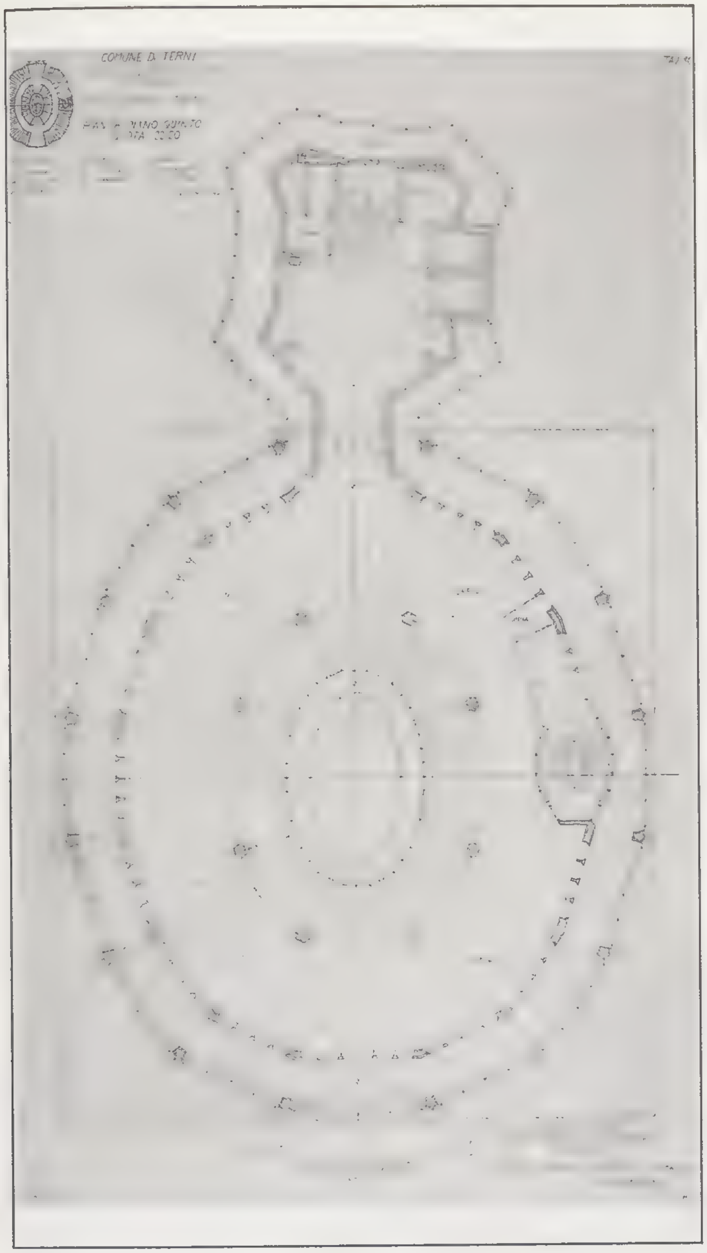
Longitudinal and cross sections.

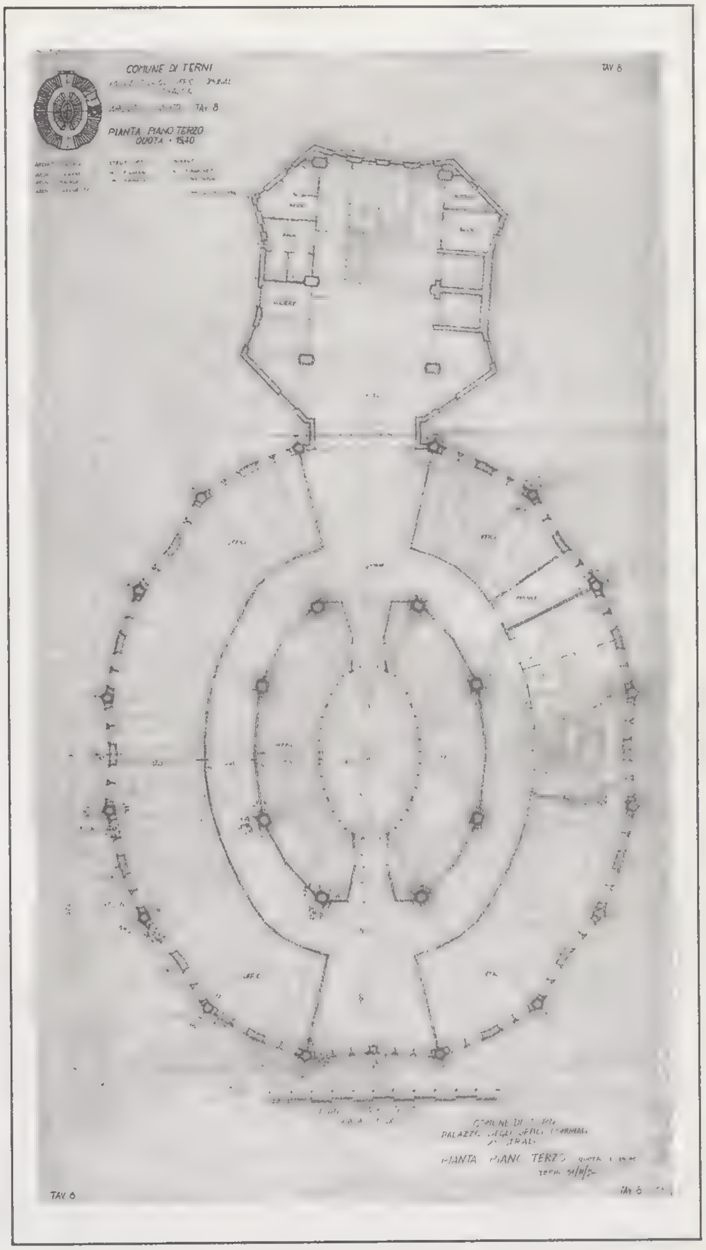


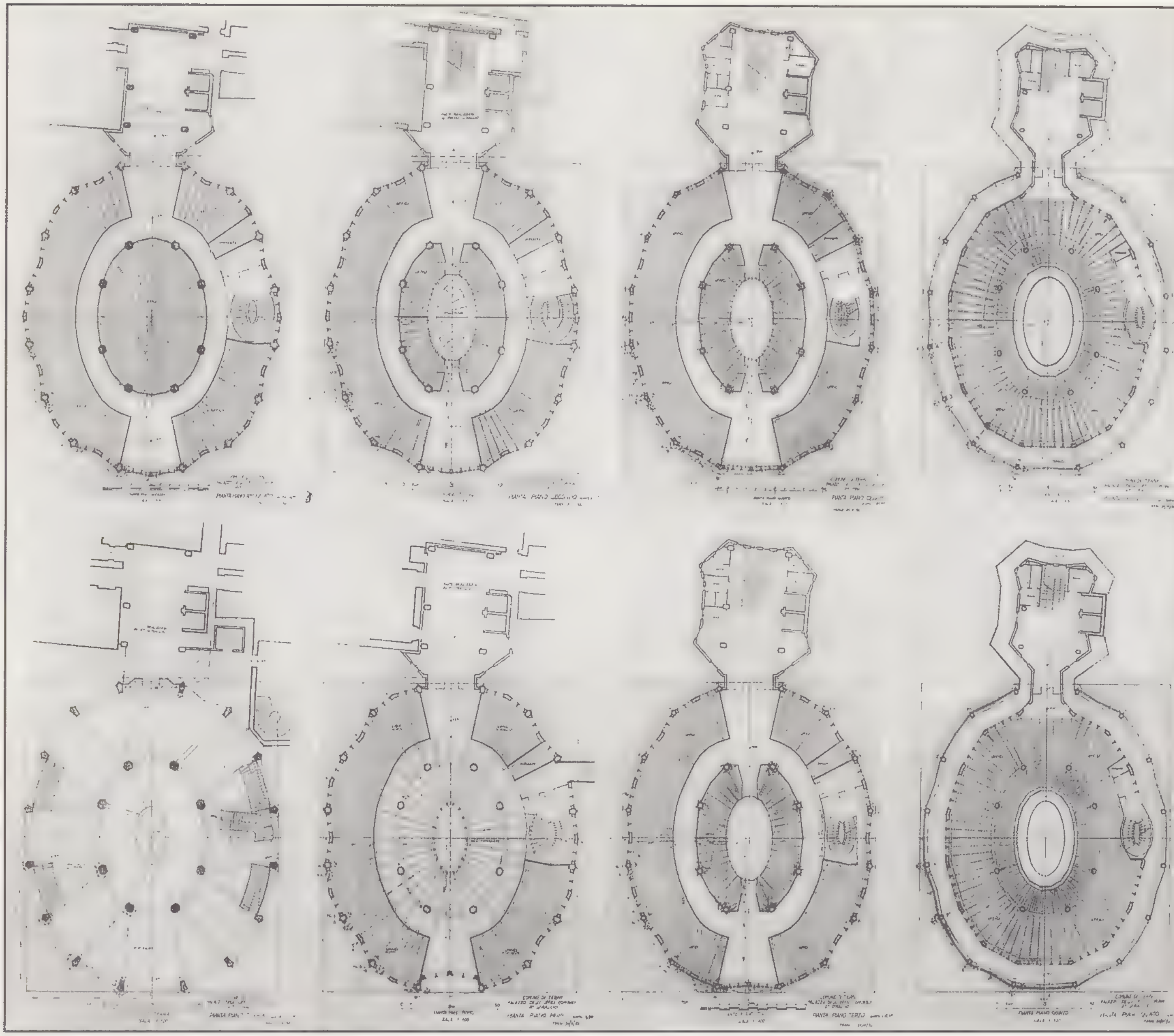


Pianta tipo della distribuzione interna con pannelli divisori prefabbricati. Piante dei piani terzo e quinto.

Standard plan of internal layout with prefabricated partition panels. Plans of third and fifth floors.

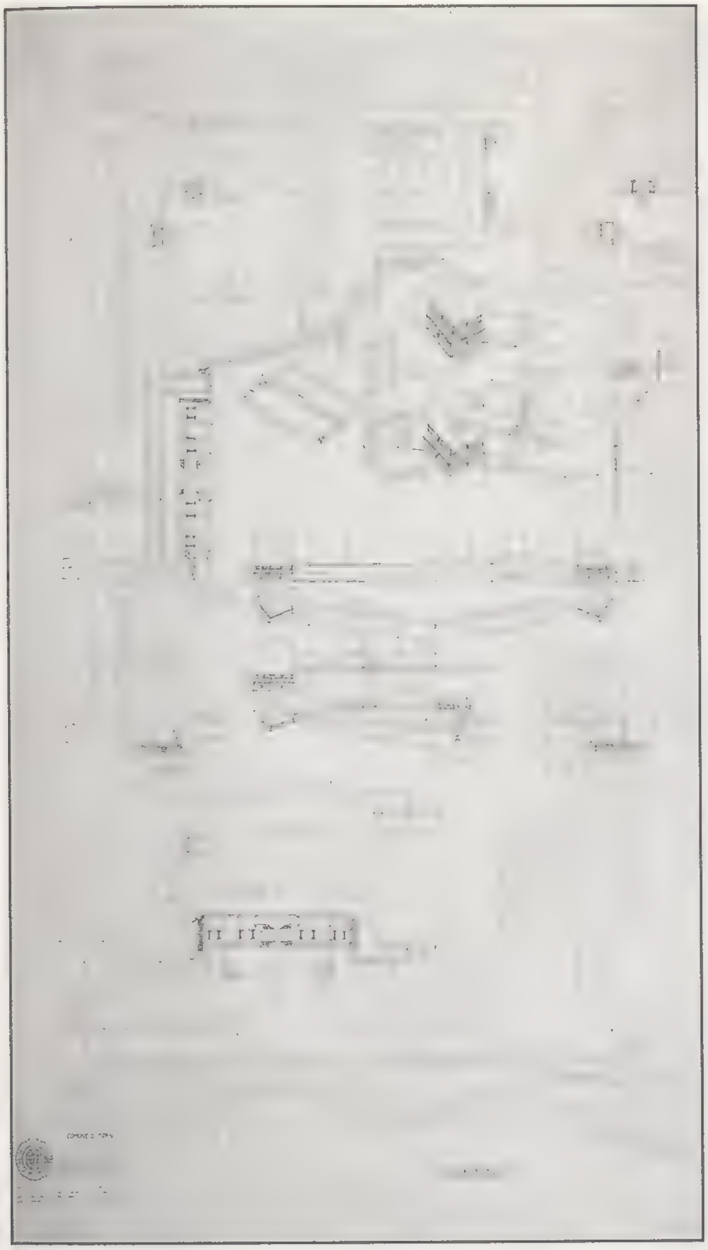

COMUNE D. TERNI

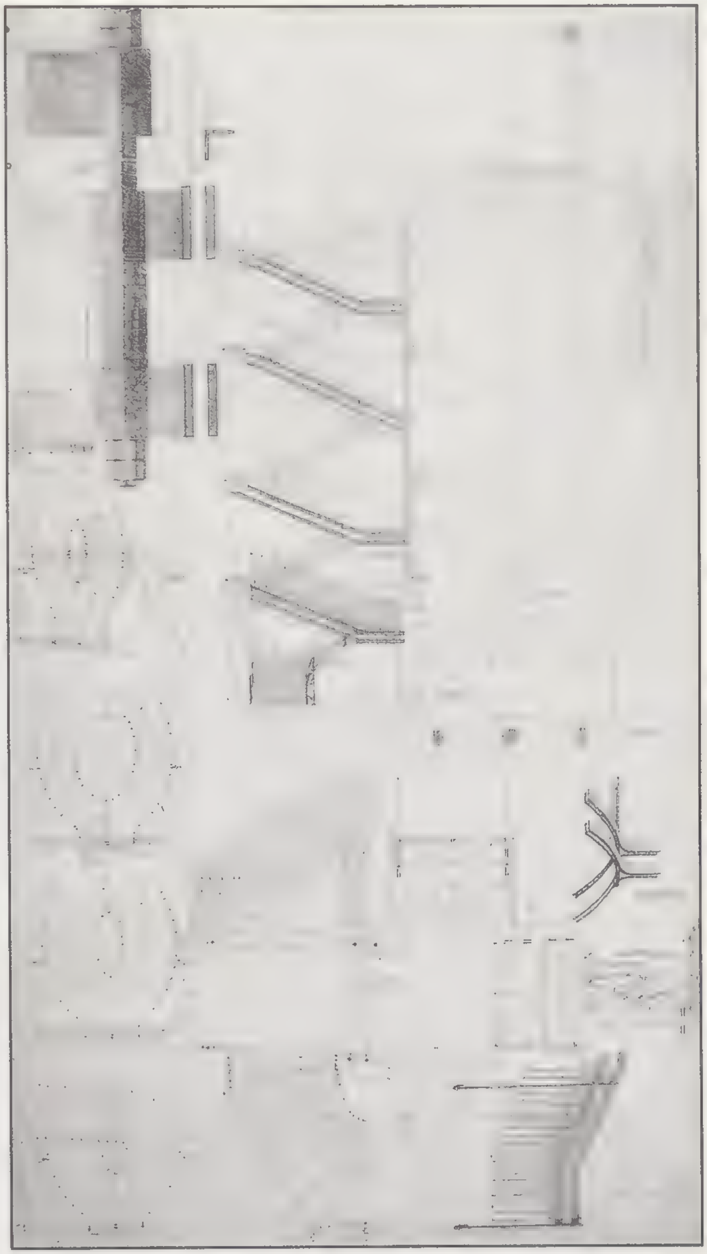

COMUNE DI TERNI
TAV 8
PIANTA PIANO TERZO
QUOTA + 15.40
TAV 8
TAV 8



Piante dei piani ammezzato, terreno, primo, secondo, terzo, quarto, quinto, attico.
Dettagli del pannello prefabbricato esterno e della scala in ferro e travertino.

Plans of mezzanine, ground, first, second, third, fourth, fifth and attic floors.
Details of an external prefabricated panel and an iron and travertine staircase.





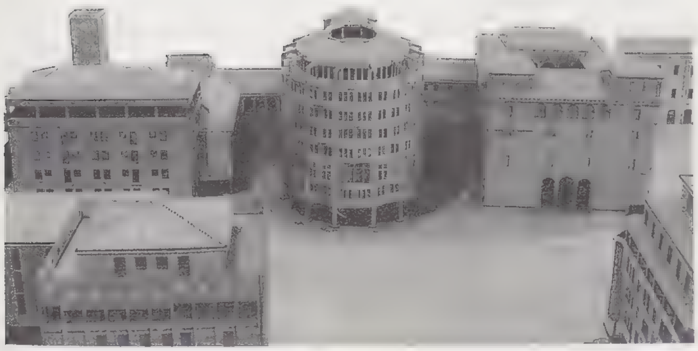


Viste del modello.

Views of model.



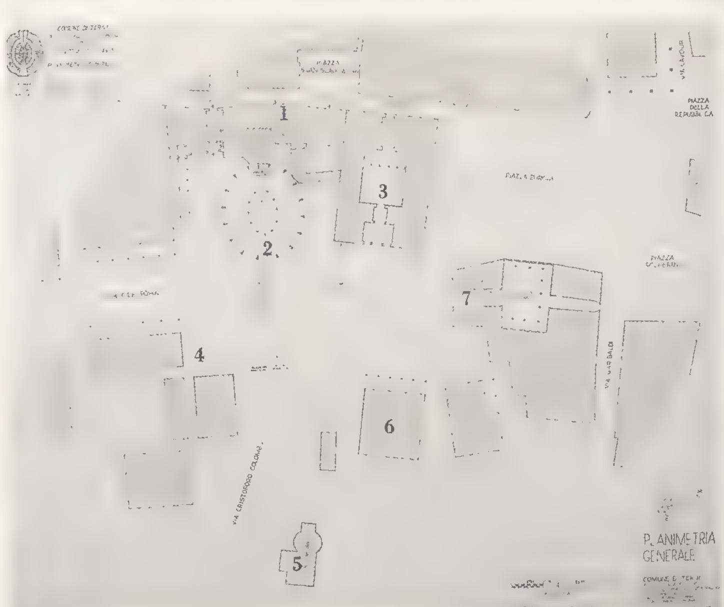




Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni*

Christoph L. Frommel

Alcuni di voi si domanderanno che cosa ci faccia qui, a questa tavola rotonda, uno storico dell'architettura del Rinascimento, qui dove architetti contemporanei vogliono discutere di un progetto dei giorni nostri. Fortunatamente tuttavia si sta profilando, da un paio d'anni a questa parte, un avvicinamento tra i protagonisti del nuovo e i difensori del vecchio, soprattutto quando ne va di mezzo la configurazione di città sviluppatesi nel corso della storia.
Gli architetti si sono allontanati sempre più dalle linee radicali di un Le Corbusier, che avrebbe voluto sostituire la vecchia Parigi con una completamente nuova. D'altra parte gli storici hanno capito che una musealizzazione totale delle città antiche nasconde in sé grandi pericoli. La difficoltà per un dialogo fruttuoso tra gli architetti e gli storici sta non da ultimo proprio nel fatto che, per questi quesiti, difficilmente può trovarsi una filosofia generalmente vincolante e che ogni caso vuole essere considerato singolarmente e individualmente. I punti di vista degli architetti sono necessariamente del tutto diversi dai nostri e non solo nei casi estremi, come per esempio in quello della scala di ferro nel cortile di Palazzo Strozzi oppure in quello della sistemazione dell'interno di Santa Maria degli Angeli a Firenze.
Alcuni anni fa venni incaricato dal Centro Palladio di condurre delle trattative con Renzo Piano su una nuova torre, che egli voleva erigere, su incarico del Comune di Vicenza, direttamente accanto alla Basilica Palladiana. Naturalmente fu difficile chiarirgli quanto fosse rischioso cambiare in punti decisivi una piazza simile, che è oltretutto una delle più importanti d'Europa — anche se lì ci sono resti dell'epoca fascista, che si vorrebbe volentieri sostituire con qualche cosa di meglio—. Attualmente a Roma è altrettanto complicato convincere i responsabili che non si può affatto così semplicemente dotare di un tetto in vetro il cortile del Palazzo Nuovo sul Campidoglio, dove sta il monumento del Marc'Aurelio, anche se il progetto è di Carlo Aymonino.
Completamente diverso è invece il caso del progetto di Ridolfi-Frankl. Come si sa, lo stato attuale dell'edilizia a Terni è il risultato di tre grandi distruzioni recenti. In epoca romana Terni, allora chiamata "*Inter amnes*" cioè "*tra i fiumi*", non era una città grande bensì, stando a quanto è noto, bella e viva. Purtroppo non esiste ancora un plastico che raffiguri una specie di ricostruzione di questa città romana. In epoca premedievale poi questo tessuto urbano si ridusse ad un minimo, per poi rinascere piano piano con monumenti belli, ma non di particolare importanza. Negli ultimi anni dell'Ottocento la città venne travolta dalla rivoluzione industriale e subì danni ingenti nella seconda guerra mondiale. Furono rase al suolo alcune zone del centro, cosicché la città venne a perdere, in un certo senso, la sua identità.
Scegliere Palazzo Spada come sede dell'Amministrazione comunale fu proprio un'ottima idea. Questo palazzo, attribuito a Sangallo, si trova sull'incrocio del cardo e del decumano dell'antica cittadina romana, vale a dire proprio nel punto più centrale del centro storico. Per secoli il centro della città è rimasto in questo punto. Ciò che mancava era lo spazio urbano circondante questa nuova sede del Comune, in quanto quella che oggi si presenta quale facciata effettiva del palazzo, come si sa, non è altro che la facciata posteriore che si apriva sul giardino con una loggia inferiore e una superiore. Qui non si trattava solo di armonizzare il vecchio con il nuovo. Qui si trattava prima di tutto di creare uno spazio pubblico, nel quale anche la cittadinanza di Terni si sarebbe potuta riconoscere. Oltre a Palazzo Spada occorreva tener conto della Rotonda medievale di San Salvatore a est e del settecentesco Palazzo Montani a nord. I primi passi importanti per trasformare questa zona molto amorfa in uno spazio urbano, vennero fatti da Ridolfi e da Frankl già tra il 1959 e il 1963, quando eressero a est le



Planimetria generale: 1) Uffici Comunali, primo stralcio di intervento ultimato nel 1993; 2) Uffici Comunali, secondo stralcio di intervento, in progetto; 3) Palazzo Spada, XVI sec.; 4) Case Franconi (M. Ridolfi, V. Frankl, con D. Malagricci), 1959-60; 5) Chiesa di San Salvatore, V sec.; 6) Casa Pallotta (M. Ridolfi, V. Frankl, con D. Malagricci), 1961-63; 7) Casa Montani (M. Ridolfi, V. Frankl, D. Malagricci, M. Montani, L. Marchetti), restauro in corso.
Chiesa di San Salvatore, Terni, V sec.

*On Mario Ridolfi and Volfango Frankl's Project in Terni**

Christoph L. Frommel

Some of you will be wondering what a historian of Renaissance architecture is doing at this symposium in the company of contemporary architects here to discuss a project that is actually being developed now. Fortunately for us all, champions of the new and defenders of the old have been finding they have more in common than they thought over the past few years, especially when the issue at stake is the historical configuration of cities. Architects have increasingly distanced themselves from the radical views of Le Corbusier, who wanted to do away with the old Paris and build a totally new one, while historians have come to realise that turning our ancient cities into museums is also a very risky business. The difficulty of establishing meaningful dialogue between architects and architectural historians lies not least in the fact that getting both sides to agree on common approaches to problems like these seems a fairly hopeless task, and that each individual case has to be considered on its own merits. And yet, architects' points of view are necessarily different from ours, and not just in extreme cases either, as the iron staircase in the courtyard of Palazzo Strozzi, and the interior refurbishment of S. Maria degli Angeli in Florence amply show.

Some years ago I was asked by the Centro Palladio to negotiate with Renzo Piano over the new tower he had been commissioned by the Comune of Vicenza to build right next to the Palladian Basilica. Naturally, it was difficult to convince him how risky it is to tamper with the uniformity of a piazza like this one — other considerations apart, it is one of the most important in Europe — even if it does contain remnants of Fascist architecture one would willingly see replaced by something better. Even now, in Rome, it is proving equally difficult to convince the authorities that you can't just erect a glass roof over the statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Palazzo Nuovo on the Capitol, even if the project is by Carlo Aymonino.

The Ridolfi-Frankl project is a very different matter, however. As is well known, Terni's present architectural configuration is the result of three major destructive periods in recent history. In Roman times, when it was called "Inter Amnes", *or* "Between Rivers", *Terni was not a large city, although it was an attractive and lively one by all accounts. Unfortunately, we still don't have a model that shows us what the Roman city looked like. In pre-medieval times this fabric was pared right down to the bone. It was gradually restored in later ages and given some fine, though not particularly important monuments. In the late nineteenth century the city was overwhelmed by the industrial revolution and then suffered extensive damage during the Second World War, when a number of central areas were razed to the ground and the city in a way lost its identity.*

Choosing Palazzo Spada as the city's town hall was an excellent idea. This Palazzo, which has been attributed to Sangallo, stands at the intersection of the cardo and decumanus of the ancient Roman city; or in other words, at the very heart of the ancient historical centre and what has effectively been regarded as the true centre of the city for centuries. What was missing was empty urban space around the new local government headquarters, in the sense that what now seems the main façade of the Palazzo is in fact the rear façade with upper and lower loggias that once overlooked the garden. Here the task was not simply to harmonise the old with the new, but also to create a new public space the citizens of Terni would be able to identify with — in addition to Palazzo Spada, the medieval Rotonda di S. Salvatore to the east and the eighteenth-century Palazzo Montani to the north also had to be taken into account. The first steps towards transforming this amorphous area into genuine urban space had already been taken as far back as 1959-63, when Ridolfi and Frankl built the Franconi and Pallotta Houses to the east. The exhibition



General plan: 1) Civic Centre, first stage completed in 1993; 2) Civic Centre, second stage now being planned; 3) Spada Palace, 16th century; 4) Franconi Houses (M. Ridolfi, V. Frankl with D. Malagricci), 1959-60; 5) Church of San Salvatore, 5th century; 6) Pallotta House (M. Ridolfi, V. Frankl with D. Malagricci), 1961-63; 7) Montani House (M. Ridolfi, V. Frankl, D. Malagricci, M. Montani, L. Marchetti), restoration in progress.

Church of San Salvatore, Terni, 5th century.

Case Franconi e Pallotta. La mostra sottolinea bene il virtuosismo con cui questi nuovi volumi furono messi in rapporto non solo tra di loro, ma anche con la Rotonda e con gli altri edifici più antichi, senza con ciò creare fili rigidi. A questa area tuttavia manca ancora il suo fulcro effettivo, manca ancora il suo centro formale e funzionale e quindi il suo significato proprio. Mi sembra che Ridolfi e Frankl si riallaccino in modo convincente alla grande tradizione dell'architettura italiana, senza con ciò rinnegare il proprio linguaggio formale. Permettetemi di chiarire brevemente questo stretto rapporto con la grande tradizione italiana, considerando alcuni aspetti rilevanti: il corpo della costruzione manifesta subito il suo ruolo dominante non solo grazie alla sua altezza e larghezza, ma soprattutto grazie alla sua forma particolare. Si tratta di un edificio centralizzato con pianta a sedici angoli, un poliedro ergentesi con un tetto piatto, come lo conosciamo da tanti battisteri di piazze medievali in Italia. Il suo pianterreno è aperto, una moderna versione di quell'antica tradizione di logge aperte, con le quali gli edifici comunali da sempre hanno manifestato la loro vicinanza ai cittadini. Solo il terzo piano ha un'altezza doppia, presentandosi così come il vero e proprio piano nobile, il piano di rappresentanza, dove si trova anche la Sala del Consiglio — anche questa una caratteristica antica della più autentica architettura civile di rappresentanza—. Non per niente tutti i piani degli edifici adibiti strettamente ad abitazione, come le Case Franconi e Pallotta, sono tutti della stessa altezza. L'ultimo piano infine è aperto sullo stile di un Belvedere, una loggia panoramica. Questo elemento caratteristico della grande tradizione dei palazzi e delle ville non per niente si trova anche nella facciata di Palazzo Spada ed è rievocato anche negli attici dalle Case Franconi e Pallotta. Cercate di capirmi bene: non intendo qui giustificare l'architettura attuale guardandola con gli occhi di ieri o addirittura dell'altro ieri ma, molto di più, richiamare la Vostra attenzione su una qualità del tutto particolare degli architetti Ridolfi e Frankl, che mi sembra un pregio dell'architettura italiana di questo secolo. Qui non si rompe così radicalmente con la tradizione come altrove e si è così legati, così identici con la propria cultura urbana, che non si ha timore, coscientemente — e spesso forse perfino incoscientemente — di ispirarsi ai grandi prototipi del passato. Naturalmente qui gioca un ruolo particolare anche il fatto che proprio nella storia dell'architettura italiana il corpo stereometrico venga usato sempre di nuovo nella sua forma pulita — si potrebbe quasi dire "nuda"—. Un tale senso di tradizione è ovvio anche in due altre caratteristiche di questo progetto. Come vi è noto, non si tratta di un edificio completamente centrale, ma molto di più, di un ovale con asse longitudinale dominante. Nei piani inferiori poi questo asse longitudinale porta anche nel centro degli edifici più antichi che danno su Via Roma. Sapete quanto fossero malvisti gli assi longitudinali proprio all'inizio del moderno classico e come furono paragonati perfino ad un modo di pensare totalitario; essi sono tuttavia sia funzionalmente che visualmente un contrassegno dell'architettura di rappresentanza di quasi ogni grande epoca, e così si avverte anche qui dentro la grande tradizione.

Davanti a un simile ovale assialmente orientato, ad ogni storico dell'architettura vengono in mente immediatamente le chiese di Vignola o di Borromini, che resero popolare in tutta l'Europa questo tipo di pianta. Proprio l'aspetto borrominiano viene sottolineato da altre due particolarità: uno è che le sedici superfici del poliedro si alternano ritmicamente piegandosi una volta verso l'interno e una volta verso l'esterno — direttamente paragonabile quindi al famoso andamento alternato di elementi concavi e convessi di Borromini—. Borrominiano o berniniano è anche il collocamento di questo corpo ovale in un ambiente più basso e a forma di ferro di cavallo — basti pensare a Sant' Ivo di Borromini o all'Ariccia di Bernini, dove appunto un edificio centrale collocato allo stesso modo costituisce anche lì il nucleo di una piazza e dell'intero complesso urbano—.

shows very well how expertly these new buildings harmonise not only with each other but also with the Rotonda and the other older buildings without detracting from the flexibility of the existing arrangement. But the area still lacked coherence — it had no formal or functional focus and so no real identity. I think that Ridolfi and Frankl's work in Terni is a genuine continuation of the great Italian architectural tradition that also does full justice to the personal styles of the architects themselves. With your permission I'd like to clarify briefly what I think this link with the great Italian tradition is by listing some of the major features of the project. First, the actual body of the building is immediately imposing not just because of its height and width, but also, and mainly, because of its unusual shape. It's a regular sixteen-cornered building, the sort of flat-roofed polyhedron that has been used so often for baptistries in Italy's medieval piazzas. The ground floor is open, a modern version of the traditional open loggias Italy's civic architects have always adopted over the centuries to relate their public buildings to the citizens they were designed to serve. Only the third floor is double height, which gives it the appearance of a genuine piano nobile where the Council Chamber — another ancient feature of traditional civic architecture — is also located. It is no accident that all the floors of the strictly residential buildings like the Franconi and Pallotta Houses are all the same height. Finally, the top floor is open, rather in the style of a Belvedere or panoramic loggia. Again, it is no accident that this highly traditional feature of palaces and villas is also found on the façade of Palazzo Spada and is evoked in the attic floors of the Franconi and Pallotta Houses. Please don't misunderstand me: I'm not trying to justify today's architecture by likening it to yesterday's — or even older — architecture. Much more importantly, I want to draw your attention to an unusual feature of Ridolfi and Frankl's architecture that also seems one of the most valuable achievements of twentieth-century Italian architecture — the fact that the break with tradition has been much less drastic than in other countries, and links with traditional Italian urban culture are so strong, so intimate that there has been no reluctance to draw consciously — sometimes even unconsciously — on the great architectural prototypes of the past. Naturally, the fact that the stereometric volume in its basic — one might almost say "nude" — runs throughout the history of Italian architecture is also an important consideration. The sense of tradition is also evident in two other features of the project. As you know, the building isn't absolutely regular — it's an oval with a dominant longitudinal axis. On the lower floors this axis also leads to the centre of the older buildings facing Via Roma. You all know how much these longitudinal axes were frowned on at the start of the modern classical era — they were even regarded as an expression of totalitarian thinking — but they have been the visual and functional hallmark of civic architecture in virtually every age, so here we have another link between Ridolfi and Frankl's project and the Italian tradition.

Axially oriented ovals of this sort immediately remind architectural historians of Vignola and Borromini churches, which popularised the concept of the oval on a European scale. Two other features make the link with Borromini even more evident. One is that the sixteen sides of the polyhedron alternate rhythmically as they fold inwards and outwards by turns, exactly as in Borromini's sequences of alternating convex and concave elements. The siting of the oval inside a lower horse-shoe structure is another link with Borromini and Bernini — think of Borromini's church of Sant'Ivo or Bernini's Ariccia, where a regular building sited in this way also becomes the nucleus of a piazza and the whole surrounding urban complex. When you look at the plan of Ridolfi and Frankl's project with a historian's eye you are immediately reminded of a sacred building of some sort, although the prototype of all these ovals is ultimately the Colosseum, a secular building. Finally, the skeletal mode of construction derives from another non-secular building



Palazzo Spada, Terni, XVI sec.

Spada Palace, Terni, 16th century.

Osservando la pianta del progetto con occhio storico si pensa infatti dapprima ad un edificio sacro, benché il prototipo di tutti questi ovali rimanga, in fondo, il Colosseo. Da un'altra tradizione non proprio profana, e cioè da quella gotica, deriva infine il metodo di costruzione a scheletro, anche se oggi naturalmente lo si motiva soprattutto tecnologicamente. Basterà guardare i primi edifici di Ridolfi e di Frankl degli anni Trenta, dove questo scheletro è molto meno esplicito, per capire che il metodo di costruzione a scheletro significa anche una decisione formale.
Certamente quindi non si potrà rimproverare al progetto dei due maestri una mancanza di rispetto davanti alla grande tradizione architettonica e urbanistica italiana. E con ciò intendo dire che il nuovo Palazzo Comunale aiuterebbe soprattutto la nuova piazza a raggiungere il suo giusto equilibrio formale — un equilibrio cioè tra gli edifici più antichi a pareti chiuse, come Palazzo Spada, la Rotonda e Palazzo Montani da una parte, e dall'altra le costruzioni a scheletro di Ridolfi e di Frankl, di cui ne esistono già diverse—. Proprio nel contrasto di questi due sistemi di interpretazione della parete vedo anche il fascino del tutto particolare di questa piazza. Non si tratta per l'appunto di quella tipica e arbitraria crescita selvaggia, per colpa della quale soffrono così tante nuove città, ma di un intrecciarsi cosciente e ben sintonizzato di due principi in sè omogenei ma opposti. Su simili contrasti — ma solo quando questi hanno un certo equilibrio tra di loro — si fonda la bellezza di alcune delle nostre città più importanti. Si pensi solo alle piazze del duomo a Milano e a Siena o alle piazze di Bourges o di Chartres, dove la costruzione a scheletro della cattedrale gotica è incorniciata dalle facciate chiuse di edifici postmedievali.
Ancora una volta tengo a precisare che non voglio giustificare il nuovo con il passato servendomi di paragoni ambigui; desidero solo richiamare l'attenzione su certi principi fondamentali nella tradizione europea, di cui hanno tenuto conto Ridolfi e Frankl in una coerenza del tutto particolare. *Sub specie aeternitatis* non è poi tanto importante se ogni dettaglio corrisponde al gusto dell'anno 1993 o meno; conta prima di tutto se un edificio, tra 50 o 100 anni, sarà ancora in grado di adempiere esteticamente e funzionalmente al suo compito. Per il resto non ho alcuna preoccupazione che l'esecuzione possa deludere. Ho la fortuna di abitare e di lavorare da anni nelle stanze della Bibliotheca Hertziana, alcune delle quali trasformate proprio da Volfango Frankl. La nostra personale amicizia si è sviluppata anche grazie a questa esperienza estetica e se qui mi pronuncio a favore dell'*opus magnum* dei suoi ultimi anni, non lo faccio principalmente per motivi personali, ma per contribuire alla realizzazione di un concetto veramente importante.
Milano, 19 marzo 1993

(*) Intervento alla tavola rotonda *Un palazzo per la città*, in occasione della omonima mostra organizzata presso la Facoltà di Architettura del Politecnico di Milano, 15-19 marzo 1993.



Piazza del Popolo, Terni, con al centro Palazzo Spada, a sinistra le Case Franconi e a destra Casa Pallotta.
Piazza del Popolo, Terni, con a sinistra Palazzo Spada e al centro Casa Montani.

Piazza del Popolo, Terni, with Spada Palace in the centre, the Franconi Houses on the left and the Pallotta House on the right.
Piazza del Popolo, Terni, with Spada Palace on the left and the Montani House in the centre.

tradition — the Gothic — although the decision to adopt it here was, of course, principally a technological one. However, a glance at Ridolfi and Frankl's thirties buildings, where the skeleton is much less apparent, is enough to show that the decision was also an aesthetic and formal one.
So no one could accuse Ridolfi and Frankl of lack of respect for Italy's great architectural and planning traditions, by which I mean that the new Town Hall should help the new piazza to achieve its proper formal equilibrium as a blend of older buildings with closed walls, like Palazzo Spada, the Rotonda and Palazzo Montani, and Ridolfi and Frankl's newer skeletal constructions, of which several have already been built. I think these contrasting wall concepts are what give the piazza its unique charm. This is not the arbitrary, uncontrolled growth that has disfigured so many new towns and cities, but a deliberate and beautifully harmonious blend of two contrasting though entirely coherent principles. The beauty of some of Europe's major architectural cities has been achieved by carefully balanced contrasts of this sort — think of the cathedral squares in Milan and Siena or the squares in Bourges and Chartres, where skeletal Gothic cathedral construction is framed by the closed façades of post-medieval buildings.
Once again, I must insist that my intention is not to justify the new in terms of the old by making ambiguous comparisons — I simply want to draw your attention to certain basic principles of the European tradition that Ridolfi and Frankl have combined and incorporated in their personal vision of civic architecture. Sub specie aeternitatis, *it doesn't really matter very much whether or not every detail is attuned to architectural taste in the year 1993; much more important is whether a building will still work functionally and aesthetically fifty or a hundred years from now. Personally, I have no doubt that the finished project will be entirely satisfactory. For many years I have had the good fortune to live and work in the rooms of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, some of which Wolfgang Frankl himself renovated and*



refurbished. Our personal friendship partly resulted from the aesthetic pleasure this building has always given me, and if I declare myself in favour of this opus magnum *of his later years, I do so not for personal reasons, but to assist in the physical realisation of a truly important architectural concept.*

(*) Paper given at the Un palazzo per la città, *symposium marking the homonymous exhibition at the Faculty of Architecture, Milan Polytechnic, 15-19 March 1993.*

Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin

1993

Eisenman Architects

Principal-in-charge: Peter Eisenman
Associate Principal-in-charge: George Kewin

Project Architects: Edward Mitchell, Lindy Roy, Richard Labonte
Project Team: Armand Biglari, Brad Gildea, Norbert Holthausen, Gregory Luhan, Stefania Rinaldi, David Schatzle, Jon Stephens
Project Assistants: Federico Beulcke, Mark Butler, Andrew Burmeister, Robert Holton, Patrick Keane, Brad Khouri, Joseph Lau, Vincent LeFeuvre, Fabian Lemmel, John Maze, Sterrett Meyer, Debbie Park, Silke Potting, Benjamin Wade

Landscape Architect: Hanna/Olin Ltd., Laurie Olin, Shirley Kressel, Marion W. White
Colour Consultant: Donald Kaufman Color
Structural Engineer: Severud Associates, Edward M. Messina, Edward DePaola
Mechanical Engineer: Jaros, Baum & Bolles, Augustine A. DiGiacomo, Kenneth J. Zinn

Wind and shadow studies: Spacetec Datengewinnung
Cost Estimating: Dossel Consultant Inc., Stewart Dossel
Computer Images: Edward Keller



Vista del modello da est.
Foto J. Littkemann.

View of model from the east.
Photo J. Littkemann.

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Vista del modello da est.
Foto J. Littkemann.

View of model from the east.
Photo J. Littkemann.

Progetto per la Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlino

"E simili in tutto alla fabbrica senza fondamento di questa visione, le torri incappucciate di nubi, gli splendidi palazzi, i sacri templi, lo stesso immenso globo e tutto quel che vi si contiene s'avvieranno al dissolvimento"
(Shakespeare, *La Tempesta*, 4.151)

Il sito della Max Reinhardt Haus sembra destinato a riacquistare un posto preminente nella futura topografia di Berlino, non solo a causa dell'imponente opera di ricostruzione attualmente in corso nella Friedrichstadt, ma anche dei nuovi ed importanti ampliamenti, senza precedenti e senza riscontri nel passato, delle aree limitrofe. Fra essi, si possono enumerare il nuovo e vasto complesso degli edifici del Governo, la concentrazione, senza pari, di sedi aziendali più a sud, il Kulturforum, il grande complesso ospedaliero della Charite, collocato subito a nord e, infine, le nuove stazioni ferroviarie centrali.
La Max Reinhardt Haus sorgerà subito a nord della intersezione tra i principali assi urbani, fra l'Unter den Linden, che va in direzione est-ovest, e la Friedrichstrasse in direzione nord-sud, come una testa di ponte sopra la Stazione Friedrichstrasse. Questi isolati hanno da tempo rivestito una grande importanza urbana, e sono il sito, oltre che di altri grandi edifici, di potenziali segni urbani, come il primo grattacielo di vetro progettato da Mies van der Rohe subito dopo la grande guerra. Le nuove ed enormi opere, che dovrebbero essere realizzate a ovest e a sud-ovest, modificheranno profondamente il carattere e l'identità di tutta la zona; di conseguenza, il sito in questione occuperà un posto di rilievo in seno al nuovo tessuto urbano di Berlino, collegato come sarà a tutte le aree sopra richiamate, e costituirà una concentrazione di servizi in grado di attirare e di soddisfare un pubblico molto diversificato.
Il carattere dominante della nuova Max Reinhardt Haus sarà, al contempo, simbolico e "ricreativo" nel senso più completo del termine; prenderà il posto dell'ex-Schauspielhaus del famoso impresario teatrale tedesco, da cui deriva il nome, progettata da Hans Poelzig. Simbolicamente, vuole guardare in avanti e non al passato, combinando il meglio della Germania con una visione ideale del suo futuro; programmaticamente, vuole rappresentare l'energia e l'immaginazione di Reinhardt, diventando un centro moderno dei mezzi di comunicazione, e distinguendosi tra gli altri grattacieli circostanti per il suo essere un'eterotopia. Il progetto prevede un ventaglio completo di attività per il corpo e per lo spirito le cui componenti principali sono: un albergo, un centro sportivo e ricreativo, sale per proiezioni su pellicola e su magnetico, agenzie di stampa e di pubbliche relazioni, ristoranti, video e nastroteche. Più che da un preciso programma di utilizzo, l'opera è definita dal suo porsi come vasto palcoscenico affacciato sulla città e racchiuso dalle molteplici sfaccettature della Reinhardt Haus, condensate in un unico punto di riferimento urbano.
Quasi per definizione, l'edificio non può che assumere una forma prismatica, cioè ripiegarsi su se stesso e, contemporaneamente, aprirsi verso un infinito quadro di riferimenti e di richiami metropolitani, sempre frammentari e in continua evoluzione. È destinato a diventare un'opera autenticamente profetica, una "antenna" la cui sola presenza segnala l'esistenza di comunicazioni invisibili e impercettibili che, alla loro ricezione, diventeranno la materia futura della vita quotidiana. Ciò che distingue la "piega", il "ripiegamento" da altre e più convenzionali strategie di progettazione architettonica è proprio la capacità di catturare e "includere" aspetti che tendono ad essere esclusi: l'edificio "piegato" racchiude in sé solo quanto viene estendendosi in esso. Applicata alla Reinhardt Haus, questa condizione di "piega" risulterà dal contrarsi ed espandersi delle dimensioni urbane di Berlino fino a simulare, in un'unico edificio, la tendenziale densità della metropoli.
Per lungo tempo, la cultura tedesca ha rappresentato l'identità metropolitana con l'icona della sovrastruttura (posata, per contro, su infrastrutture estremamente complesse). Dalla *Stadktrone* espressionista al cinema e alla letteratura, la natura e l'esperienza della vita metropolitana si dischiudono e si espandono in ogni direzione, per fondersi, periodicamente ed eccezionalmente, nell'idea di un unico edificio. Una simile struttura equivale ad un *unicum* all'interno della città stessa, perché acquisisce la capacità di rappresentare in un unico luogo ciò che è sparso ovunque, di radunare frammenti urbani sparpagliati e inconciliabili in una disposizione caleidoscopica. Solo un edificio che non esaurisce in se stesso il proprio valore simbolico, solo una struttura definita dall'esterno potrebbe assumere questo ruolo. Anzi è proprio questa sua unicità a porre la Max Reinhardt Haus *hors concours*, sia che ci si riferisca all'attuale dibattito sui grattacieli, sia che la si confronti con altri.

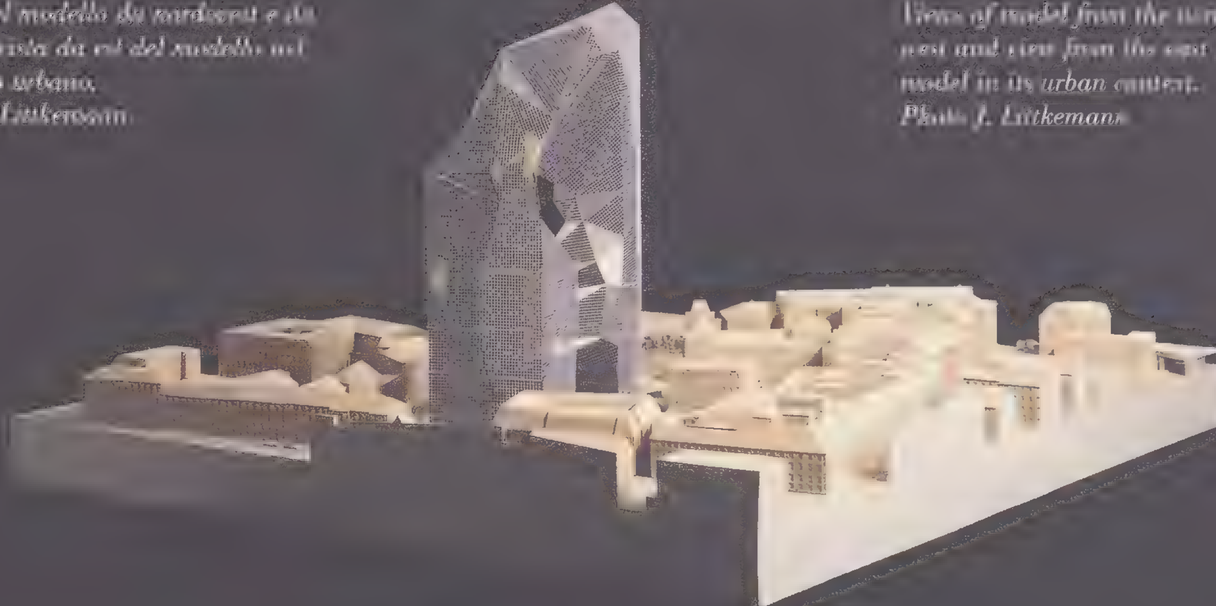
Vista del modello da ovest.
Foto J. Lindemann

View of model from the west.
Photo J. Lindemann



Viste del modello da nordovest e da ovest e vista da est del modello nel contesto urbano.
Foto J. Lüttkemann

Views of model from the northwest, west and view from the east of the model in its urban context.
Photo J. Lüttkemann







Project for the Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin

And like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which It Inherit, shall dissolve;
(Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 4.151)

The site of the Max Reinhardt Haus seems destined to regain prominence in the future topography of Berlin due not only to massive rebuilding now underway in the Friedrichstadt, but also to major new developments which have no earlier presence (nor any comparable history) in adjoining precincts. Among these will be the last new governmental complex, the singular concentration of corporate headquarters further south, the Kulturforum, the large medical complex, the Charite, which lies immediately to the north and lastly the new central railroad stations.

The Max Reinhardt Haus will be located at the head of the city's major cross-axes, formed by the intersection of Unter den Linden (east-west) and Friedrichstrasse (north-south), as a "bridgehead" above Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse. These city blocks had long been recognized for their pivotal location, and, among major buildings, were singled out as sites for potential landmarks, such as the project for the first glass "skyscraper" designed by Mies van der Rohe shortly after World War I. The immense new developments stated to be situated to the west and southwest will completely after the character and balance of this entire zone. Occupying a conspicuous point within the new topography of Berlin, the site connects to all of the above-mentioned areas and seeks to proffer services capable of attracting and engaging a very diverse set of publics.

The dominant character of the new Max Reinhardt Haus will be both symbolic and recreational *in the fullest sense of the term. Named for the famous German theatrical entrepreneur, it occupies the site of his former* schauspielhaus *designed by Hans Poelzig. Its symbolism is intended to be forward instead of backward-looking, combining the best of what is German with a symbolic vision of the future. Its program would be representative of Reinhardt's energy and vision: a present-day media center and, by comparison with other skyscrapers, a heterotopia. This program includes a complete range of contemporary activities for body and mind. The principal components of this mix are a hotel, beauty and fitness establishments, commercial office space, a sports and game center, film and video auditoria, press and PR agencies, restaurants, and video and audiotheques. The project is less defined by a fixed program of use than by the vast arena of its urban context; encompassed by the various facets of the Reinhardt Haus, in such a manner as to condense them into a landmark.*

Almost by definition, the building has to assume a "prismatic" *character, that is to say, it needs to fold into itself — but also open itself out to — an infinite, always fragmentary, and constantly changing array of metropolitan references and relationships. It will become a truly prophetic building, a kind of antenna whose appearance alone signals the presence of invisible and inaudible communications which, upon reception, shall become the stuff of daily life in the future. What sets "folding" apart from more conventional strategies of architectural design is precisely its capacity to* include *those aspects that tend to be excluded, the "folded" building holds within itself only what extends into it. Applied to the Reinhardt Haus, this "folded" state will result from a gathering or bundling of the urban dimensions of Berlin to simulate in one building the tendential density of the metropolis.*

German culture has long represented metropolitan identity with the icon of the superstructure *(resting, conversely, on extremely complete* infrastructures*). From the expressionist* "Stadtkrone" *to cinema and literature, the nature and experience of metropolitan life unfolds and expands in all directions, coalescing periodically — and uniquely — in the idea of a* single *building. Such a structure amounts to a* singularity *in the city itself, acquiring the capacity to represent on one site that which is of* many places, *and gathering the diffuse and unstable bits and pieces of the city into a kaleidoscopic array. Only a building that has no iconic character itself, only a structure that is "extrinsically" constituted could possibly assume this role. Moveover, its very singularity would put the Max Reinhardt Haus* hors concours, *both with regard to the current debate about high-rise building and by comparison with other skyscrapers.*

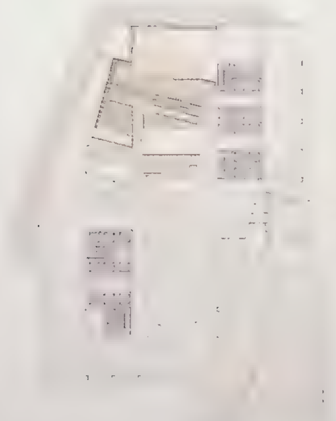


Planivolumetria nel contesto urbano, con a destra la Friedrichstrasse e in basso la Sprea e la ferrovia.
Piante dei piani secondo interrato, terreno, primo, terzo, ottavo, tredicesimo, ventiseiesimo e ventinovesimo.

Volumetric plan of the building in the urban context with the Freidrichstrasse on the right and the Sprea and railway at the bottom.
Plans of second basement, ground-floor, first, third, eighth, thirteenth, twenty-sixth and twenty-ninth floors.



EBENE 0 MAX REINHARDT THEATER UND BÜRO TURM LOBBY



EBENE - 2 MAX REINHARDT THEATER



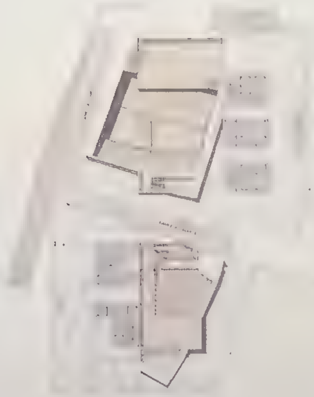
EBENE 13 HOTEL UND BÜRO



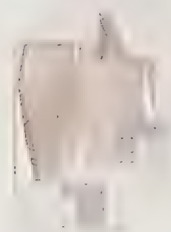
EBENE 8 HOTEL UND MEDIAZENTRUM



EBENE 3 HOTEL UND EINKAUFSGALERIE



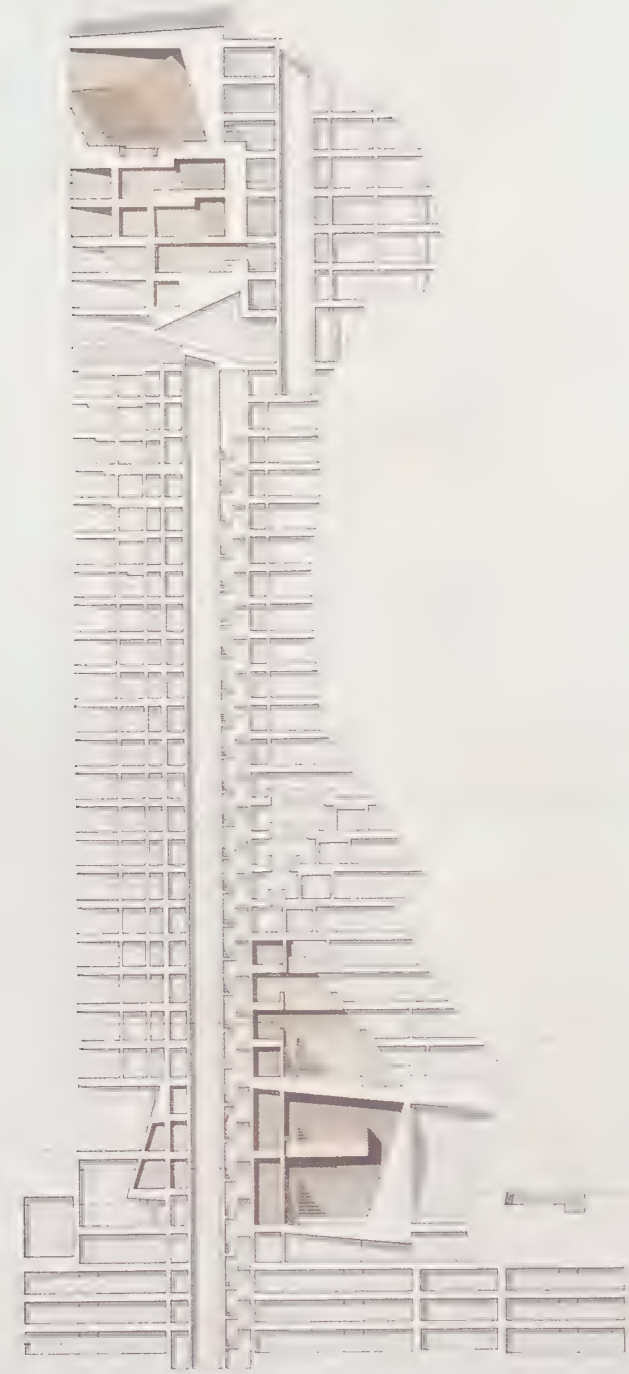
EBENE 1 MAX REINHARDT THEATER UND EINGANG HOTEL TURM



EBENE 29 NACHTKLUB



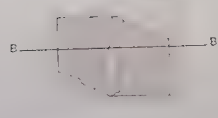
EBENE 26 FITNESS STUDIO



Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale.

Cross and longitudinal sections.

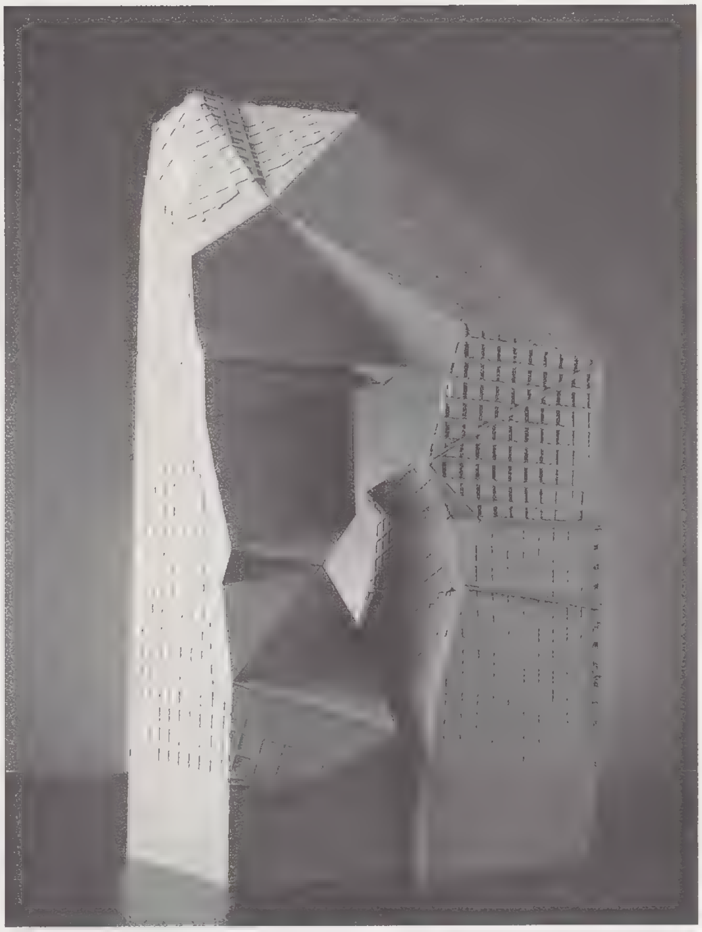


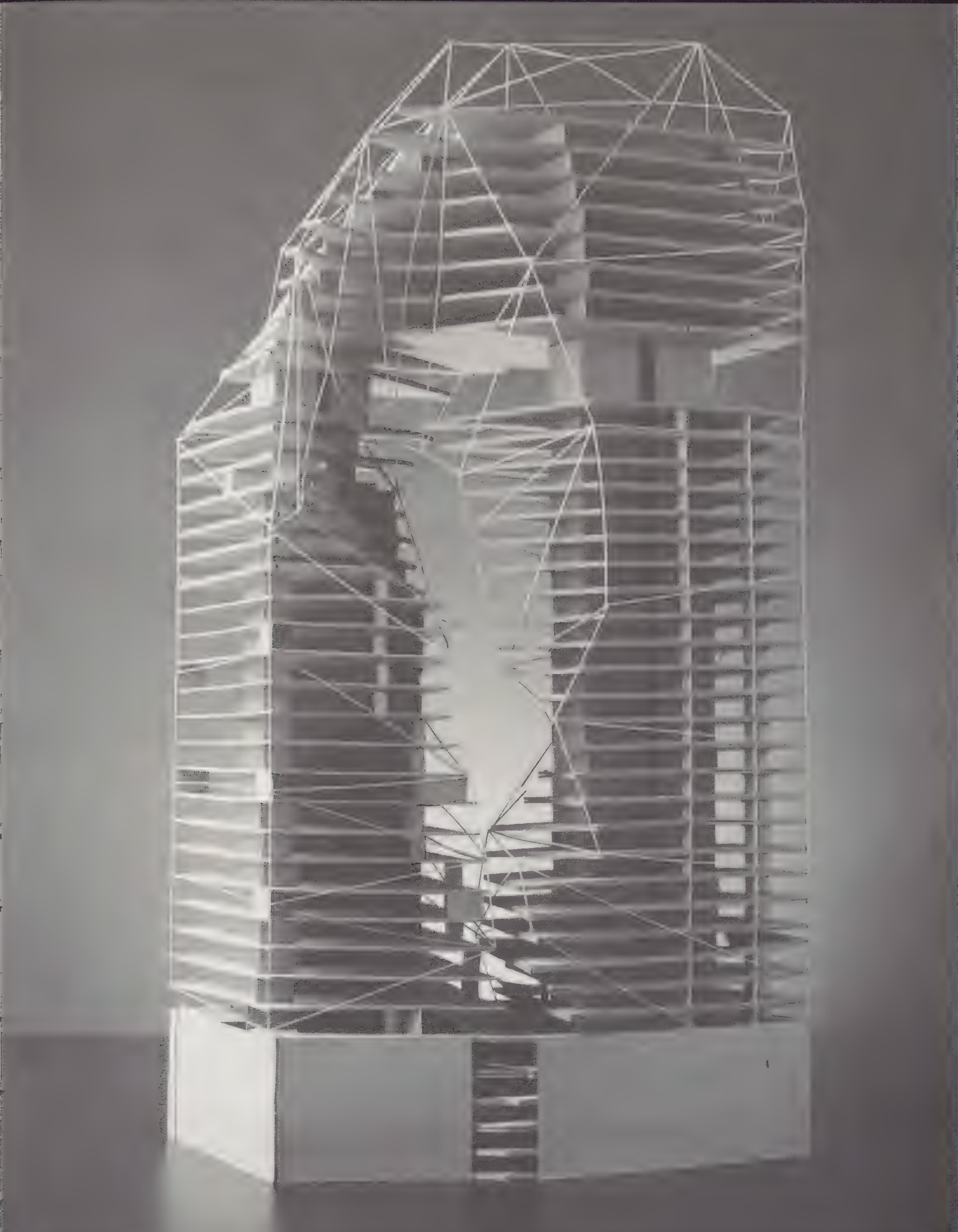


SCHNITT B

Modelli di studio delle facciate e della struttura interna.
Foto D. Frank.

Study models of the fronts and internal structure.
Photos D. Frank.



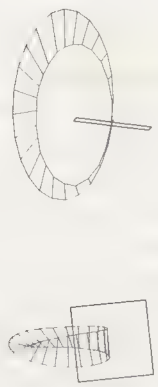




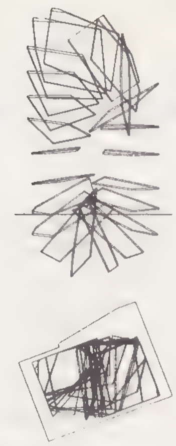
Vista da sud del modello di studio.
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[illegible]

[illegible] *the south.*
[illegible]
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[illegible]

MOEBIUS FALTUNG
ERSTER UMLAUF
QUASI-KRISTALL



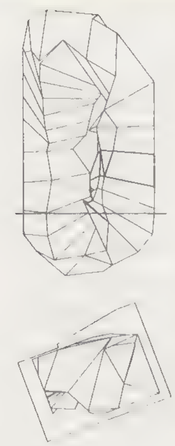
ERSTER UNLAUF
ANGEHÄNGTE PLATTEN



TRANSPARENTES DIAGRAMM
GESCHNITTENER PLATTEN



VOLUMETRISCHE UMSETZUNG
DER PLATTENOBERFLÄCHEN

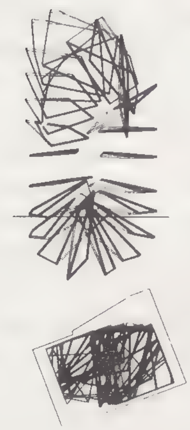


FORM DES ERSTEN UMLAUFS
QUASI-KRISTALL

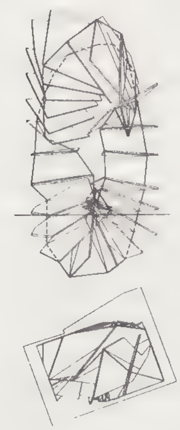
MOEBIUS FALTUNG
ZWEITER UMLAUF
PHANTOM-KRISTALL



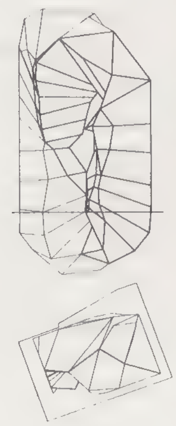
ZWEITER UMLAUF
PLATTENTEILUNG



TRANSPARENTES DIAGRAMM
GETEILTER PLATTEN



OBERFLÄCHENTEILUNG ENTLANG
DER PLATTENKANTEN

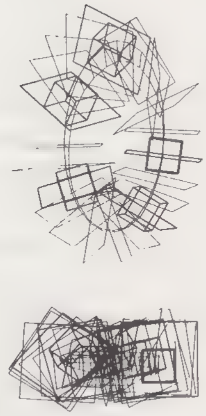


PHANTOM-ABDRUCK AUF DIE
QUASI-KRISTALL-FORM

MOEBIUS FALTUNG
DRITTER UMLAUF
KRISTALLINE VERWACHSUNG



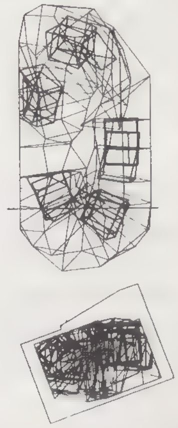
DRITTER UMLAUF
KUBISCHE VOLUMEN



ANGEHÄNGTE
KUBISCHE VOLUMEN



PLATTENVERFALTUNG
AM KUBUS



QUASI-KRISTALL MIT
KRISTALLINEN VERWACHSUNGEN

La Max Reinhardt Haus, nuova meta urbana per Berlino
Kurt W. Forster

A differenza di altre metropoli, Berlino manca di un *segno urbano* sul genere della Torre Eiffel a Parigi, dell'Empire State Building a New York o della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele a Milano: segni famosi in tutto il mondo, edificati volutamente come tali ed entrati subito a far parte della memoria civica.
Nel caso di Berlino vien fatto certamente di pensare al distrutto Castello, alla Porta di Brandeburgo o alla Colonna della Vittoria, ossia agli emblemi, per così dire, della storia della città; ai quali si potrebbero aggiungere oggi il Reichstag, la Gedächtniskirche o i luoghi della cosiddetta "topografia del terrore". Ma questi sono, più che *monumenti*, *presenze ammonitrici*, mentre i primi restano nell'ambito familiare della storia cittadina.
Come capitale della Prussia e poi dell'Impero e della Repubblica, Berlino sollecitò la creazione di uno specifico segnale urbano. L'utopistica idea di un Duomo di dimensioni colossali, da erigere come simbolo della nazione dopo le guerre d'indipendenza, non fu attuata; e anche i fantasiosi progetti per una "Cattedrale della Comunità" o la grandiosa *Stadkrone* concepita da Bruno Taut si tradussero solo indirettamente nella realtà. Si può affermare tuttavia che nel tardo Ottocento l'idea di un monumento nazionale s'incarnò nel Reichstag (che perciò fu subito degradato dai nazisti a luogo di scandalo politico), mentre i progetti utopistici dell'epoca di Weimar sono ancora, in questo scorcio del Novecento, in attesa di un riscontro storico.
La situazione odierna della città e il suo futuro (nelle loro dimensioni territoriali, dei trasporti, industriali, sociali e culturali) fanno sì che i pochi edifici che potrebbero costituire un segno urbano — ad esempio la Porta di Brandeburgo, il Duomo, l'Isola dei Musei — non esercitino un effetto visivo al di là del loro ambiente immediato.
I grandi contrassegni urbani del passato si facevano notare soprattutto per i loro particolari aspetti tecnologici ed economici, e in tal modo ciascuno di essi riusciva a mettere in luce le molteplici implicazioni della propria situazione culturale. Una costruzione ardita come la Torre Eiffel raccolse l'eredità delle cattedrali del medioevo, protese verso un'altezza sempre maggiore, e fornì alla Francia un messaggio destinato a tutto il mondo, valido ancora oggi. Così la Torre Eiffel rimane un simbolo del potenziale industriale e organizzativo francese, mentre a New York l'Empire State Building e il Rockefeller Center, eretti in un periodo di grave crisi finanziaria, testimoniano delle capacità realizzatrici di un'ambiziosa nazione mercantile e dei suoi grandi gruppi economici. Per loro natura, dunque, i moderni segnali urbani *non* possono risolversi nei propri aspetti formali, architettonici e simbolici, ma devono manifestarsi entro *contesti produttivi e culturali* profondamente radicati. Quali sono questi contesti nel caso di Berlino?
In seguito alle vicende del dopoguerra, il sito su cui sorgeva il teatro di Max Reinhardt ha avuto finora scarso risalto nella topografia della città; ma esso acquisterà un'importanza del tutto nuova nel quadro del generale sviluppo della zona compresa tra Reichstag e l'ansa della Sprea a nord e la Potsdamer Platz e Leipziger Platz a sud. In particolare, i futuri addensamenti urbani lungo l'Unter den Linden e la Friedrichstrasse, insieme all'eccezionale concentrazione di istituzioni pubbliche e di sedi di grandi gruppi economici, produrranno qui verso la fine del secolo condizioni metropolitane di livello mondiale. A sud della Reinhardt Haus la presenza di punti focali del traffico e il massiccio sviluppo edilizio conferiranno all'area intorno alla Stazione della Friedrichstrasse la funzione di accesso rispetto al centro della città, come del resto era stato chiaramente riconosciuto già nel primo dopoguerra. A nord la zona intorno all'antica Porta di Oranienburg assumerà una "funzione di soglia" paragonabile, se non superiore, a quella della Stazione del Zoologischer Garten. Le soluzioni confuse adottate negli anni Cinquanta in quest'ultima zona stanno a dimostrare che con le idee efficientistiche sul traffico si conclude ben poco in urbanistica; di fronte all'inevitabile concentrazione di esseri umani e di istituzioni occorre innalzare una meta, un segnale visibile da lontano.
In che modo questo contrassegno urbano potrà sottrarsi al moderno dilemma che sempre nasce quando si vogliono associare le implicazioni funzionali a quelle simboliche? Innanzi tutto non dovrà proporsi esclusivamente come segnale, nel senso che dovrà assolvere — come per noi oggi è naturale — a una *molteplicità di usi*; in secondo luogo non dovrà indulgere a capricci formali, rivestirsi di involucri alla moda condannati a logorarsi in brevissimo tempo. Come può essere dunque immaginato un contrassegno urbano che non venga eretto esclusivamente come tale, né sia concepito come una rappresentazione simbolica?
Un moderno contrassegno urbano non dovrà nascere dall'iniziativa di un organo statale, né rispondere agli intenti di un gruppo politico; non dovrà essere un edificio di stretta osservanza, ma un oggetto che possa adattarsi pienamente alle sue implicazioni urbane e funzionali, e al tempo stesso trascenderle con un *eccesso* d'inventività. È quanto mai significativo che l'intero progetto sia ancorato a una delle più solide tradizioni della cultura berlinese, quella teatrale, e in particolare alla figura di Max Reinhardt. All'estremità nord della Friedrichstrasse, nelle immediate vicinanze di edifici e di vestigia teatrali, la Reinhardt Haus non si riporta solo al brillante passato del Winterzirkus, del Theatervergnügen e del teatro didattico, ma proietta nel cuore della metropoli *il mondo dei mass media, il cyberspace* della comunicazione. Se si trattasse solo di un altro teatro (e a Berlino non ce ne sarebbe certo bisogno), o di un tentativo di rappresentare simbolicamente la cultura dei *mass media* (come potrebbe farlo una torre della radio e della televisione), allora la Reinhardt Haus non svolgerebbe mai il ruolo di segno urbano. Per assurgere a tale ruolo servirebbero piuttosto edifici non monofunzionali.
Per questo centro di *mass media*, di spettacoli e di svago il

progetto prevede anche un'elevata concentrazione di attività commerciali di ogni genere; tale addensamento metropolitano di funzioni modernamente integrate, che caratterizzano l'espandersi della cultura dei *mass media*, può fare della Reinhardt Haus *una presenza unica* nella città. Singolare per la sua avveniristica mescolanza di funzioni e per il suo carattere teatrale e ricreativo — che risponde pienamente alla particolare psicologia della cultura dei *mass media*, fondata sulla rapida alternanza di dispersione e concentrazione — l'edificio rappresenta la proiezione nel prossimo futuro del Teatro di Reinhardt. Entrano qui in gioco alcuni aspetti che possono essere spiegati solo attraverso le *idee architettoniche* a cui si ispira il progetto. Appartiene al carattere epocale dell'architettura di Peter D. Eisenman il fatto che nelle sue opere più recenti (ad esempio nel progetto di concorso per l'Istituto di Biologia molecolare dell'Università di Francoforte, nel progetto esecutivo di un grande complesso per uffici nella stessa città, o nella Scuola di Architettura dell'Università di Cincinnati) lo sviluppo delle forme edilizie prenda avvio dalla situazione geologica, urbana e storica e l'edificio incorpori in sé queste relazioni.

Nella Reinhardt Haus Eisenman mette in particolare risalto due aspetti: il collocarsi dell'edificio nella tradizione ideale della *Stadtkrone*, a causa della sua singolare funzione di segnale urbano, e una *continuità organica* aperta a tutte le inversioni, imposta dalla posizione dell'edificio nella città e dalla molteplicità delle sue utilizzazioni. Nella sua forma cristallina — che traccia un ampio arco tra la primitiva tecnologia della radio e il silicone dei semiconduttori — e nella contemporanea compenetrazione (e inversione) *organica* della struttura, ispirata al nastro di Möbius, la Reinhardt Haus reca la duplice impronta del nostro secolo: troviamo qui associate in un tipo edilizio del tutto nuovo l'immagine della stabilità e quella del continuo cambiamento, della rotazione e della compenetrazione. Il gioco delle luci e delle ombre sulle superfici cristalline e sui prismi di quest'edificio dalle molte facce ne fa una similitudine sempre mutevole della moderna cultura dei *mass media*; in esso si fondono in un accordo carico di tensione *l'universalità tecnologica della nostra epoca e la pregnante singolarità del presente berlinese.*

La posizione nelle immediate vicinanze del fiume, della ferrovia e di un grande asse stradale conferisce a questo contrassegno urbano il necessario carattere di punto nodale, e al tempo stesso lo inserisce direttamente nel contesto metropolitano, con una ricchezza quasi inesauribile di relazioni funzionali. L'edificio non risulta estraneo alla compagine urbana, ma nasce proprio dalla città e rappresenta ciò che essa è in grado di creare. *Sotto questo aspetto la Reinhardt Haus, con le sue superfici sfaccettate, potrebbe entrare in un rapporto urbanistico — che non sarebbe di rivalità o di contrasto, ma di contrappunto — con la torre della televisione dell'Alexanderplatz.*

La Reinhardt Haus conserverebbe inalterata la sua singolarità come segnale urbano di Berlino anche nel caso probabile che venisse affiancata da altri grandi edifici. L'impressione suscitata dalla sua forma, forse unica nella storia dell'edilizia, non è tanto quella di una mole massiccia, quanto quella di un *gioco di luci* che mette in mostra l'infinita variabilità di aspetti e di compenetrazioni del mondo della comunicazione.

Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin
Kurt W. Forster

Berlin stands in stark contrast to other capital cities for it can scarcely claim to possess city landmarks, that is, emblems of the metropolis in the sense of the Parisian Eiffel Tower, New York's Empire State Building, or the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele *at Milan. These and other universally recognized urban markers were* deliberately *erected as such, and rapidly entered into collective memory.*
In the case of Berlin, one would of course invoke the (absent) Schloss *or Royal Palace, the (restored)* Brandenburger Tor *(Brandenburg Gate), or the (relocated)* Siegessäule *(Victory Memorial) as emblems of the city's past. Today one might be inclined to rank the (restored)* Reichstag, *the (ruined)* Gedächtniskirche *(Memorial Church), or even the so-called* "Topographie des Terrors" *in this same category — the latter assuming more* the character of a memorial than a monument per se, *and the former firmly immured in a particular moment of the city's history.*
As capital of Prussia, and later of the Reich, *and the Republic, Berlin has virtually defied association with a single urban emblem. The utopian conception of a cathedral of colossal dimensions, which would have been erected as national symbol following the wars of independence, never materialized — just as the visionary projects for a 'communal cathedral' or Bruno Taut's idea for a* Stadtkrone *manifested itself only indirectly.*
Although the Reichstag *was declared to fulfill the role of national monument upon its completion in the late nineteenth century (and hence derided by the Nazi regime as a site of national scandal), utopian projects dating from the Weimar era onward have silently awaited their historical counterparts at the end of the twentieth century.*
The contemporary realities of Berlin and the prospects for her future (in all their territorial, commercial, industrial, social, and cultural ramifications) are such that the few structures which could or would *serve as a symbolic landmark for the city — for example, the* Brandenburger Tor, *the* Dom *(Cathedral), or the* Museumsinsel *(Museum Island) — all fail to command a visual presence that projects beyond the bounds of their immediate surroundings.*
The meaningful landmarks of the past have not distinguished themselves primarily as visual objects, *but also stood out for their remarkable technological or industrial qualities. They typically possess the capacity for bringing to light manifold references within a particular set of urban and cultural conditions. As such, the daring edifice of the Eiffel Tower undertook to prove its claim to surpass the soaring heights of medieval cathedrals — thereby conveying to the world a message that still today holds true: its 'message' asserted the compass and extent of French industrial and organizational potential. In like manner, both the Empire State Building and Rockefeller Center in New York were conceived as emblems of enterprising trade and national industries. In fact, it is in the nature of modern urban landmarks that they are constituted less through architectural or symbolic traits than by their sheer capacity to evoke fundamental and far-reaching associations with* commercial and cultural phenomena. *One might well ask what, in fact, would constitute similarly 'fundamental' associations in the case of Berlin?*
As dictated by the course of postwar history, the site of the former Max Reinhardt Theater languished undervalued in the torn topography of the city until, in the context of recent and sweeping development strategies aimed at the Spreebogen/Reichstag zone as well as Potsdamer/Leipziger Platz, it acquired entirely new importance. In particular, the projected urban densification along Unter den Linden *and* Friedrichstrasse *mirrors the intense concentration of public institutions and administrative headquarters that prefigured metropolitan conditions toward the end of the last century. Traffic interchanges and massive building development attribute to the site around the* Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse *a new inner-city 'gateway' function — a role that was clearly anticipated after the first World War. In the near future, the vicinity of the former* Oranienburger Tor *will indeed adopt a* threshold *function, comparable with that of* Bahnhof Zoo — *though possibly capable of surpassing it. The embarassing strategies of the 1950s for developing the zone around the* Bahnhof Zoo *make it all too plain that very little can be achieved by urban planners and traffic engineers alone. The inevitable concentration of people and institutions can find its anchor only in a highly conspicuous landmark.*
How can such an urban landmark elude the modern dilemma that invariably arises when functional and symbolical references become entwined? First, a landmark must not present itself exclusively as such; on the contrary, it must convince us of being entirely capable of fulfilling a multitude of purposes. *Second, it must not resort to figuration in its design and thereby run the risk of exhausting its visual power (in the same way that 'modish' fashions inevitably submit to ebbing tides of taste). How, then, does one envisage a city emblem that is neither erected ostensibly as such, nor construed to be an ephemeral symbolical representation?*
A modern city landmark should not rise at the behest of any government agency, nor should it serve the objectives of a particular political constituency; neither should its meaning turn on reference to a specific historical event. Rather it should constitute an object that on the one hand submits itself entirely to its urban and functional tasks, while on the other hand revealing their essence in an imaginative balancing act. It seems eminently sensible for one of the most vital traditions of Berlin culture, that is, theatre — personified in the figure of Max Reinhardt himself — to function as symbolical anchor for the larger initiative to develop a city landmark: at the head of Friedrichstrasse, and in immediate proximity to sites of both former and contemporary theatrical establishments, the Reinhardt Haus *evokes not only its glittering precursors like the* Winterzirkus *(Winter Circus) and the combined atmosphere*

of Theatervergnügen *and didactic theatre, but promises to project the* media world *— the communications circus of today and tomorrow — upon the mind of the metropolis. As merely one more 'show' building (something for which there is obviously no demand, given Berlin's rich and varied tradition of theatre life), or as an attempt at a symbolic representation of media culture (in the form of a radio and television tower), the* Reinhardt Haus *could hardly play the role of city landmark.*

As nexus of media, entertainment, and recreational *offerings, on the other hand, the project proposes a maximum concentration of commercial, consumer, and experiential possibilities. This metropolitan density of function and its new ubiquity — not to mention its affinity with phenomena that pervade the rapid evolution of a media culture — bestow upon the whole* Reinhardt *enterprise a* singular presence *in the city. Singular in its forward-looking combination of functions and in its recreational character, and entirely in accord with the psychology of the* media *with their rapid alternation of distraction and concentration, the proposed building represents a reincarnation of Reinhardt's theater in our own time.*

At this point, unique architectonic ideas *inherent in the* Reinhardt Haus *project come into play: it is peculiar to the epochal character of the works of Peter D. Eisenman that in his recent projects (including the design for the Molecular Biology Laboratory at the University of Frankfurt, the soon-to-be realized large-scale project for a Frankfurt business park, and the building for the Architecture School of the University of Cincinnati), the* form *of a building evolves out of the particularities or conditions of its geological, urban, and historical site, and indeed to such extent that the building literally folds in upon itself these contextual implications.*

With the Reinhardt Haus, *Eisenman casts two aspects in particularly high relief: its singular role as urban landmark places it in the conceptual tradition of Taut's* Stadtkrone, *while the manifold nature of its functionality and urban situation impose on it principally an inversion capable of generating an* organic continuity. *In its enormous* crystalline *form — expressive of a wide arc of phenomena ranging from the primitive technology of radios to the future of semiconductors — and in its simultaneous* organic *pervasion (and inversion) suggested by the* Möbius Strip, *the* Reinhardt Haus *conveys the dual signature of this century: it fuses the image of* stability *inextricably with that of* perpetual flux, *turning the idea of self-reversal into an entirely new building type. The play of light and shadow on the crystalline surfaces and edges of this many-faceted structure underscores its metaphoric power to suggest the modern* media culture, bringing the technological universality of the epoch into suspended harmony with its singular architectural instantiation in Berlin.

This site in the immediate vicinity of the river, railroad, and major urban axes signals its status as juncture, *a condition that is indispensable for such an urban marker. Its locus simultaneously* forges *links between the site and the metropolis at large, and furnishes the project with nearly inexhaustible functional relations and inter-relations. It falls not outside the scope of the city, on the contrary springing from within it and representing precisely that which the city itself is capable of producing.* In this respect, the Reinhardt Haus enters into a decidedly urban rapport with the Fernsehturm at Alexanderplatz, a relationship predicated not on antithesis, but on articulated counterpoint.

As emblem of Berlin, the Reinhardt Haus *would retain its singularity undiminished, even among other buildings of major scale. Its form — unique as it is in the history of architecture — conjures less an afterimage of its massive scale than the kaleidoscopic facets and characteristics of the world of communications, just as the* Lichtspiel *of cinema came to animate the stage of the traditional theatre.*

Translated by Denise Bratton.

Kongresshaus Salzburg, 1992



Vista aerea zenitale di Salisburgo nell'intorno del Castello Mirabell: 1-2) Kongresshaus attuale (archh. Fellerer & Woerfle, P[illegible]inger & C[illegible] 1957) e Hotel Sh[illegible] area o[illegible] del Concorso; 3) Parco e Castello Mirabell (costruito nel 1606, rinnovat[illegible] nel 1721-27 da Lukas von Hildebrandt); 4) Kurhaus; 5) Mozarteum; 6) Landestheater; 7) Chiesa della Santissima Trinità, di J.B. Fischer von Erlach, 169[illegible]-1702; 8) Faberhaus (1873-1878)

Overhead aerial view of Salzburg around the Schloss Mirabell: 1-2) the present Kongresshaus (arch. Fell[illegible] [illegible] and the S[illegible] Hotel, [illegible] competition project; 3) the Mirabell Park and Castle (built in 16[illegible], [illegible] in 1721-27 by Lukas [illegible] Hildebrandt); 4) Kurhaus; 5) Mozarteum; 6) Landesth[illegible]; 7) C[illegible] [illegible] 169[illegible]-1702; 8) Fab[illegible] 18[illegible]

Kongresshaus, Salzburg, 1992

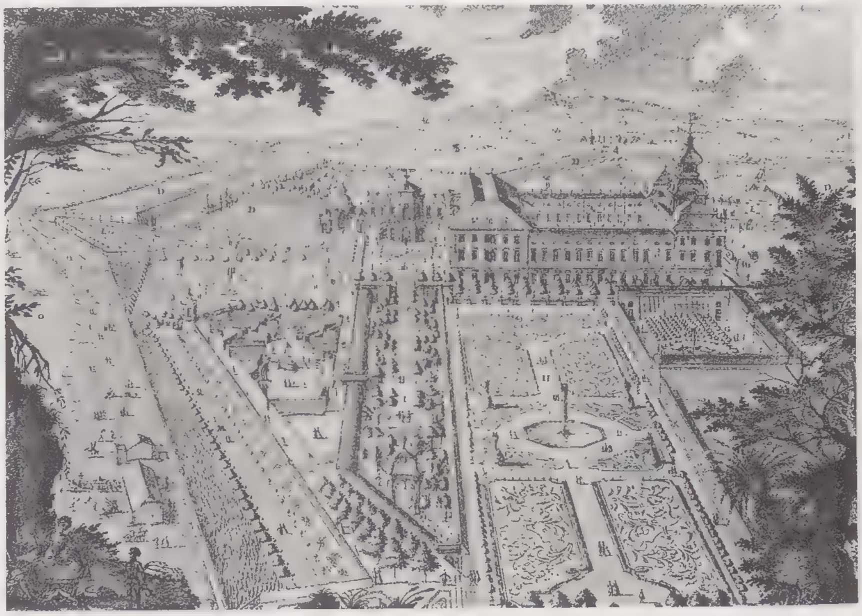


Vista aerea zenitale di Salisburgo nell'intorno del Castello Mirabell: 1-2) Kongresshaus attuale (archh. Fellerer & Woerfle, Prossinger & Cevela, 1957) e Hotel Sheraton, area oggetto del Concorso; 3) Parco e Castello Mirabell (costruito nel 1606, rinnovato nel 1721-27 da Lukas von Hildebrandt); 4) Kurhaus; 5) Mozarteum; 6) Landestheater; 7) Chiesa della Santissima Trinità, di J.B. Fischer von Erlach, 1694-1702; 8) Faberhaus (1873-1878).

Overhead aerial view of Salzburg around the Schloss Mirabell: 1-2) the present Kongresshaus (arch. Fellerer & Woerfle, Prossinger & Cevela, 1957) and the Sheraton Hotel, [illegible] convention project; 3) the Mirabell Park and Castle (built in 16[illegible], restored in 1721-27 by Lukas [illegible] Hildebrandt); 4) Kurhaus; 5) [illegible]; 6) Landestheater; 7) [illegible]; 8) Faberhaus (18[illegible]).

Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo
Hans Hollein

Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo svoltosi nel 1992 riveste un significato esemplare. Un concorso internazionale che prevedeva l'invito a undici architetti altamente qualificati è stato giudicato da una Giuria internazionale altrettanto qualificata. Significativo è che il committente, ossia la città di Salisburgo, abbia deciso di invitare non soltanto professionisti della città bensì architetti di tutto il mondo. Gli invitati, metà austriaci e metà stranieri, sono stati indicati dal committente, con la collaborazione del presidente della Giuria: Juan Navarro Baldeweg (Spagna); Friedrich Brandstätter (Austria); Joe Coenen (Olanda); Franz Fonatsch (Austria); Massimiliano Fuksas (Italia); Henri Gaudin (Francia); Hilmer und Sattler (Germania); Fumihiko Maki (Giappone); Elsa Prochazka (Austria); Schmidsberger und Knall (Austria); Bernard Tschumi (USA).
Gustav Peichl ha declinato l'invito, peraltro non accettato neppure da Rafael Moneo e da Richard Meier per eccessivi impegni professionali.
I progetti presentati sono stati tutti di qualità elevata, rendendo complicato alla Giuria, riunitasi per due giorni, stilare una graduatoria di merito. Ogni partecipante aveva la possibilità di presentare il proprio progetto e discuterlo personalmente con la commissione giudicatrice.
Dopo le presentazioni dei singoli progetti è emerso sugli altri un gruppo di tre (quelli qui illustrati). A un secondo esame più approfondito, svolto secondo parametri prestabiliti (soluzione urbanistica, architettura, funzione, tecnica costruttiva e, non da ultimo, economicità) il progetto di Navarro Baldeweg è risultato primo, seguito a pari merito da quelli di Maki e di Tschumi. Una segnalazione di merito hanno avuto i progetti di Brandstätter, Gaudin e Prochazka.
L'area di progetto presenta caratteri molto particolari, situata come è nelle immediate vicinanze del Castello Mirabell, all'interno del parco. L'area è attualmente occupata dal vecchio Palazzo dei Congressi, che delimita un margine del parco e costituisce un passaggio coperto tra gli edifici posti sull'angolo Auerspergstrasse-Rainerstrasse. Attiguo si trova l'Hotel Sheraton. Il concorso chiedeva di progettare il Palazzo dei Congressi sull'area, leggermente ampliata, del vecchio edificio con una serie di prescrizioni molto limitative, tra le quali una stretta connessione costruttiva e funzionale con l'albergo. Queste prescrizioni, che hanno esercitato grande influenza sia nella concezione che nella valutazione dei progetti, si sarebbero rivelate successivamente in parte non così condizionanti. Per quanto riguarda l'altezza non erano state imposte restrizioni oltre a quelle previste dal regolamento edilizio.
Oltre alla costruzione del Palazzo dei Congressi, il bando prevedeva anche una destinazione alberghiera. Uno degli aspetti essenziali era tuttavia rappresentato dall'integrazione del progetto rispetto alla zona circostante, considerata l'importanza del contesto del Castello barocco Mirabell e dei suoi giardini. Gli isolati delle vie confinanti sono composti in parte da edifici del periodo della *Gründerzeit* (edificazione successiva alla demolizione ottocentesca delle mura) e in parte da edifici costruiti negli ultimi vent'anni. Nessuno di questi edifici ha particolare rilevanza architettonica, mentre il Castello Mirabell è una delle opere d'arte dell'architettura barocca, costruito da Lukas von Hildebrandt come residenza estiva per l'amante dell'arcivescovo principe. Si desiderava edificare un Palazzo dei Congressi che fosse all'altezza, in termini moderni, della qualità del Castello.
Non sono state poste condizioni stilistiche né di rispetto storicistico, tuttavia si dava per assodato che i progetti corrispondessero al *genius loci* e al carattere storico dell'area; non dovevano risultare imitativi, bensì distinguersi per una loro identità.
Nessuno dei progetti consegnati ha fatto ricorso a un



Competition for the New Congress Centre, Salzburg
Hans Hollein

The 1992 international competition for the new Congress Centre in Salzburg was exemplary of its kind. Projects by the eleven distinguished architects invited to participate were judged by an equally distinguished jury, and it should be noted that the client, the city of Salzburg, decided to invite architects from all over the world, as well as local architects from the city. The client chose the participants, half from Austria and half foreign, in collaboration with the president of the jury. They included Juan Navarro Baldeweg (Spain), Friedrich Brandstätter (Austria), Joe Coenen (the Netherlands), Franz Fonatsch (Austria), Massimiliano Fuksas (Italy), Henri Gaudin (France), Hilmer und Sattler (Germany), Fumihiko Maki (Japan), Elso Prochazka (Austria), Schmidsberger und Knall (Austria) and Bernard Tschumi (USA).
Gustav Peichl declined to participate, and Rafael Moneo and Richard Meier bowed out because of pressure of work. The projects submitted were all of a high standard, which made the jury's two-day task a difficult one. All the architects were given the opportunity to present their projects and discuss them personally with the panel of judges.
A short-list of three projects (the ones discussed below) was drawn up, and after a second round of more detailed discussion based on agreed assessment criteria (planning concept, architecture, function, construction methods and, last but not least, cost) the project by Navarro Baldeweg was declared the winner, with Maki and Tschumi tying in second place. Brandstätter, Gaudin and Prochazka also received citations.
The site inside the park near the Schloss Mirabell is a very unusual one. At present the area is occupied by the old Congress Centre which closes one edge of the park and forms a covered walkway between the buildings on the corner of Auerspergstrasse and Rainerstrasse. The Sheraton Hotel stands immediately next to it. The brief stipulated that the new Congress Centre had to be built on the slightly enlarged site of the existing one. A number of severe constraints were imposed on the design, including a strong constructional and functional link between the new building and the nearby hotel. This was a major consideration in the conception and evaluation of the projects, although in the event it proved less limiting than might have been expected. No limits were imposed on building height apart from those already in force in the city.
The brief also called for a hotel facility in the specification for the Congress Centre, although integration of the new structure remained a key stipulation given the importance of the nearby baroque castle and its gardens. The blocks in the surrounding streets are composed partly of buildings dating from the Gründerzeit *period (the building that took place after the demolition of the nineteenth-century walls) and others erected over the past twenty years.*
None of these buildings is of any special architectural merit, but the castle is a major baroque edifice built by Lukas von Hildebrandt as a summer residence for the archbishop prince's lover. The aim was to build a Congress Centre of the same architectural quality in modern terms as the old castle. No stylistic or historical criteria were imposed, although it was assumed that the projects would match the genius loci and historical ambience of the area. The designs had to be distinctive, then, rather than imitative.
None of the architects opted for historicisation: all acknowledged the potential of the site and rose to the challenge of establishing a dialectical relationship with it. The three short-listed projects were impressive precisely because of the way they related a distinctive modern identity to historical context, and all three architects adapted their personal languages well to the needs of the site, which in reality extends beyond the nearby castle to the city of Salzburg, whose parks and skyline are visible from the

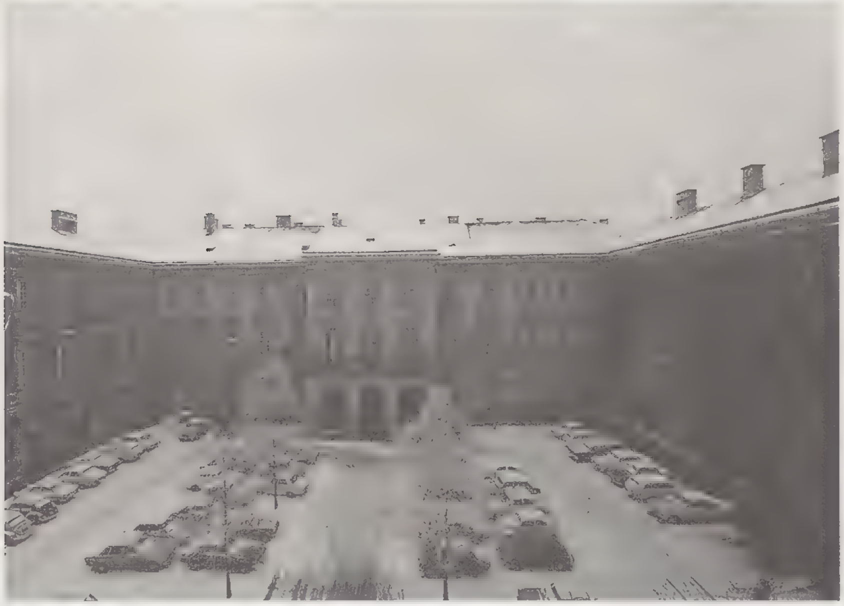


Castello Mirabell: veduta storica con i Bastioni demoliti nel 1867. Incisione di Franz Anton Danreiter, 1730.
Piano per l'ampliamento di Salisburgo redatto da Carl Schwarz, 1862-63.

Schloss Mirabell: historical view with the walls demolished in 1867. Engraving by Franz Anton Danreiter, 1730.
Plan for the expansion of Salzburg by Carl Schwarz, 1862-63.

linguaggio architettonico storicizzante; semmai da tutti sono state riconosciute le potenzialità del luogo ed è stata accolta la sfida ad entrare in rapporto dialettico con esso.
Anche i tre progetti premiati traggono la loro forza dal dialogo tra la propria intelligibilità e la presenza della storia, e ciascuno dei tre architetti ha modulato il proprio linguaggio formale in rapporto al luogo prescritto. Il luogo, infatti, non è rappresentato soltanto dalle immediate vicinanze del Castello Mirabell, bensì dall'insieme tangibile e visibile della città di Salisburgo, con i suoi edifici e la sua natura quali si possono ammirare dal Palazzo dei Congressi, la famosa *silhouette* di Salisburgo.
Fumihiko Maki ha proposto un oggetto "tecnoide" di forma cubica e compatta ma anche trasparente, con uno sviluppo verticale forse eccessivo, perfettamente organizzato e corrispondente a tutte le funzioni richieste, pur mantenendo una forte carica poetica.
Bernard Tschumi è riuscito ad adattare il suo linguaggio alle condizioni del luogo, impossessandosene e sviluppando un particolare dinamismo scenografico dei percorsi.
Juan Navarro Baldeweg ha rivelato il suo virtuosismo con la creazione di grandiosi spazi interni, che poi ha avvolto con un rivestimento metallico di sorprendente espressività.
La Giuria ha proposto alla città di Salisburgo di fare realizzare il progetto al primo premiato.
Essa era composta da: Hans Hollein, presidente; Otto Steidle, vice-presidente; Dolf Schnebli; Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani; Francesco Dal Co; il sindaco dr. Harald Lettner; il consigliere Dietrich Masopust; arch. Christoph Achammer; dr. Christian Piller.

Congress Centre and contribute significantly to the local ambience.
Fumihiko Maki proposed a compact "technoid" cube that is transparent (though still perhaps too high) and beautifully organised to meet the functional requirements of the brief without loss of poetry.
Bernard Tschumi successfully adapted his personal language to the brief by developing the dynamic theatrical features of circulation routes in the complex to the full.
Finally, Juan Navarro Baldeweg submitted a virtuoso essay in the deployment of grandiose interiors wrapped in surprisingly expressive external sheet metal cladding. This was the project the panel of judges eventually recommended to the city of Salzburg for construction.
The jury consisted of Hans Hollein (president), Otto Steidle (vice-president), Dolf Schnebli, Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, Francesco Dal Co, dr. Harald Lettner (Mayor of Salzburg), councillor Dietrich Masopust, arch. Christoph Achammer and dr. Christian Piller.





Castello Mirabell: viste della corte interna e del fronte ovest.

Schloss Mirabell: views of the internal courtyard and west front.

Kongresshaus, Salzburg

1992

Juan Navarro Baldeweg

con / with Rolf Brülisauer, Franz Bucher, José Joaquin Lizasoain Urrutia, Andrea Lupberger, Jorge Meijide Tomás, Veronica Scortecci, Pau Soler Serratosa



Vista del modello sull'angolo tra Rainerstrasse e Parco Mirabell.

View of the model on the corner between the Rainerstrasse and the Mirabell Park.

Kongresshaus, Salzburg

1992

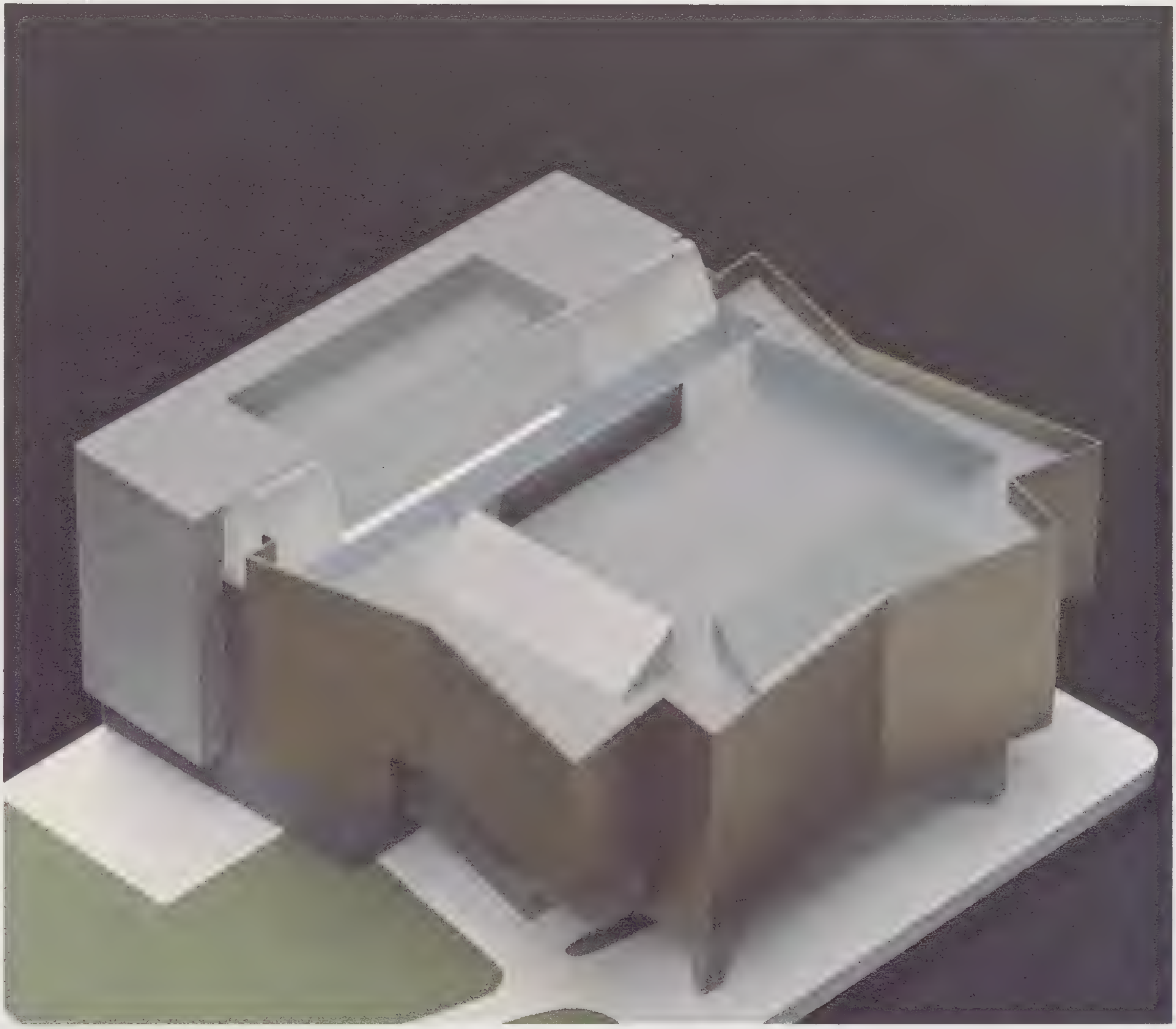
Juan Navarro Baldeweg

con / with Rolf Brüllmann, Franz Fischer, José Joaquín Lizancos Cerdá, Andrea Leyburger, Jorge Mejide Tomás, Vanessa Sontecci, Pau Soler Serratosa



Vista del modello sull'angolo tra Rainerstrasse e Parco Mirabell.

View of the model on the corner between the Rainerstrasse and the Mirabell Park.





Viste del modello dall'alto.
Planimetria generale.

Views of the model from above.
General plan.

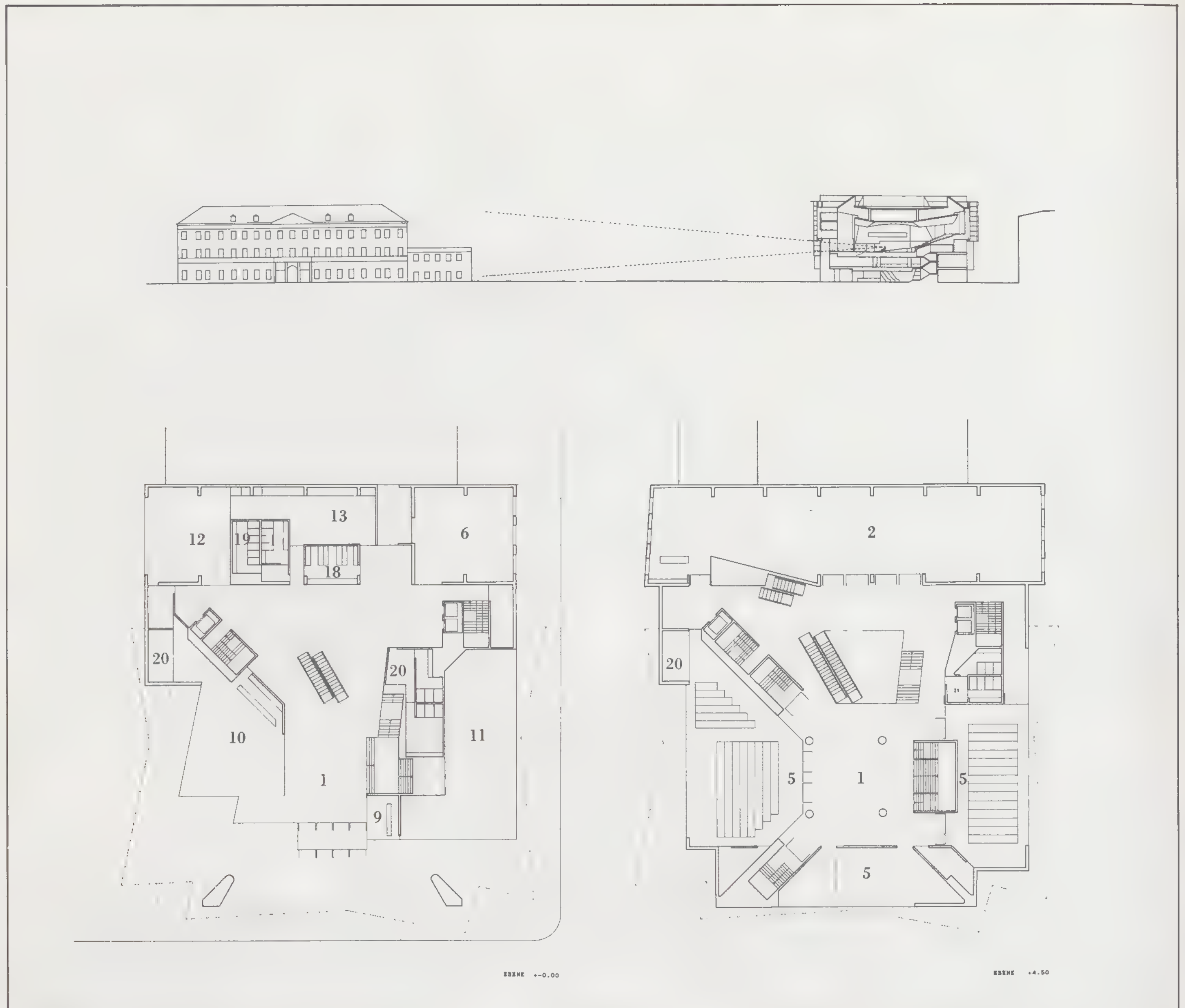
Progetto di concorso per il nuovo Centro Congressi, Salisburgo
Juan Navarro Baldeweg

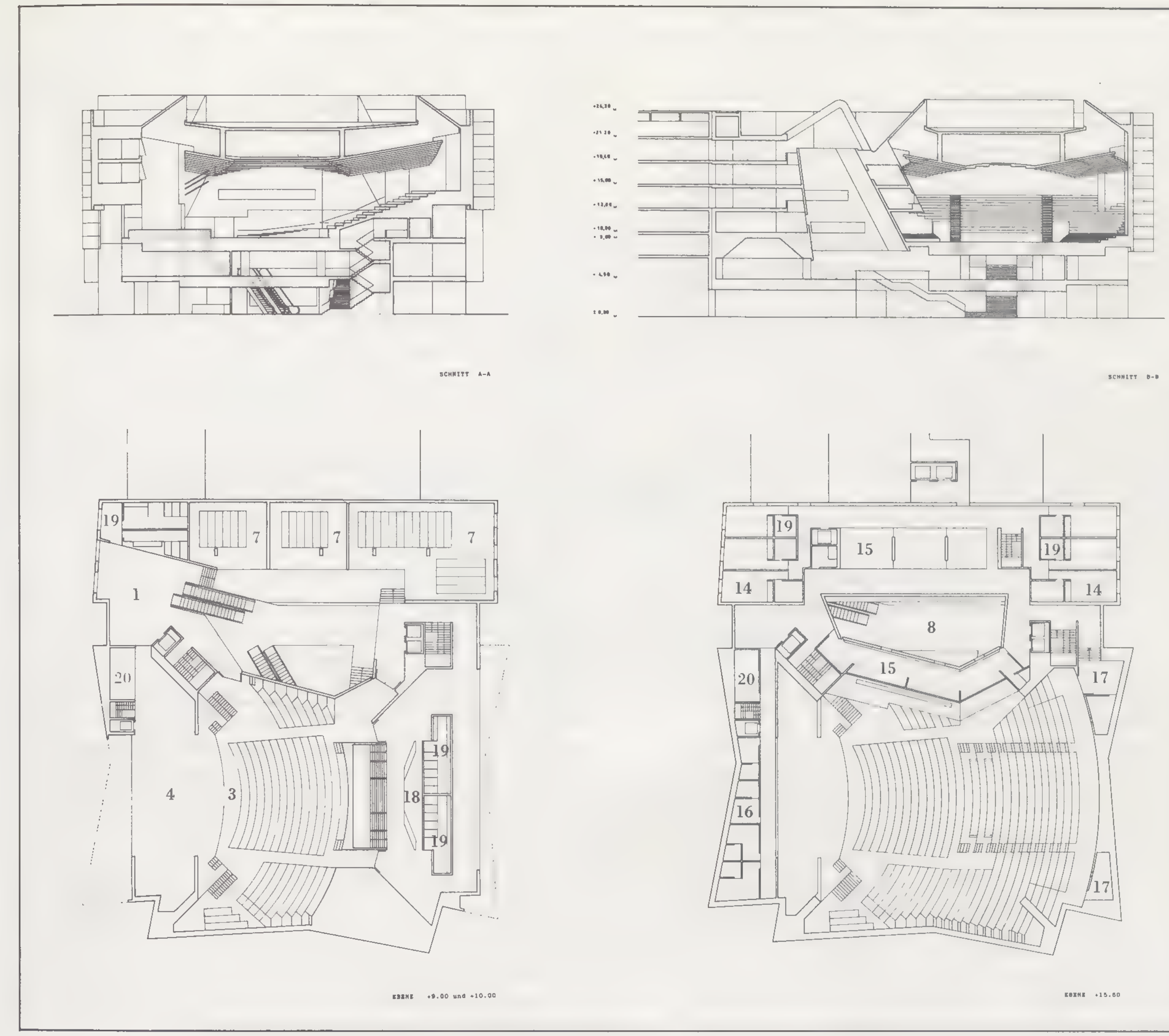
L'edificio del Centro Congressi si presenta a forma di stella, coperto da un rivestimento metallico color oro pallido. Sorgerà di fronte al Castello Mirabell come una figura complementare, dialogante con esso e, allo stesso tempo, distinta e indipendente. La sua geometria rievocherà, in dimensioni concentrate e ridotte, i poligoni irregolari delle fortificazioni che un tempo circondavano l'antico Castello.
L'area edificata è stata aperta sia al parco, sia alla Reinerstrasse. Lungo quest'ultima si articola l'ingresso principale al Centro Congressi, reso permeabile ad entrambi, parco e strada, man mano che ci si inoltra nell'area.
A piano terra trova posto il vestibolo di ingresso e si distribuiscono gli accessi principali, la caffetteria e il ristorante, orientati verso il parco. Attorno all'angolo più visibile e commerciale formato da Reinerstrasse e Auerspergstrasse sono disposti i negozi.
La grande Sala Congressi, detta Sala Maggiore, si trova sopra la zona di ingresso. Piu in là si apre, a tutta altezza, un grande *patio*, luogo centrale, ambito pubblico per eccellenza e asse spaziale attorno al quale si articolano gli accessi e tutte le attività del Centro.
Sotto la Sala Maggiore un vestibolo in ammezzato agevola gli accessi diretti ai diversi spazi garantendo una accessibilità fluida e uniforme. La vista della Sala Maggiore si apre sul Parco Mirabell, sul Rosenhügel e, più lontano, sulla città, sul profilo di Salisburgo. Molte iniziative potranno godere di questo insostituibile sfondo. La sala sfrutta l'illuminazione naturale: la luce entra in modo zenitale, ritagliando la forma del tetto, scivolando lungo le pareti ed esaltando le forme architettoniche dell'interno. Nella maggior parte dei casi le attività sono compatibili con la luce naturale e lo spazio risulta, di conseguenza, più bello e accogliente.
Le esigenze strutturali della Sala Maggiore caratterizzano



Competition Project for the New Congress Centre, Salzburg
Juan Navarro Baldeweg

The star-shaped Congress Centre building with its pale gold metal cladding is sited directly opposite the Schloss Mirabell forming a complementary architectural presence that relates to the castle while remaining a distinct and independent entity in its own right. Its geometry suggests on a smaller, more condensed scale the irregular polygonal forms of the fortifications that once encircled the ancient castle. The shiny gold surfaces of the cladding will gradually draw the gaze of people arriving from Reinerstrasse and so become an active element of the total architectural concept. The luminous polyhedron will enhance the site by evoking memories of an ancient heraldic past as well as the sensuality of new materials.
The project reflects in a linear way the complexity and specificity of the brief without forfeiting clarity of organisation or intrinsic coherence by combining the distinct functional features of a congress centre and a hotel.
The complex faces both Reinerstrasse and the park. The main Congress Centre entrance is on the street, where visitors will find they have access to both the park and the street as they gradually penetrate the complex.
The main lobby and entrances are on the ground floor with the cafeteria and restaurant facing the park. The shops are grouped around the more visible commercial corner formed by Reinerstrasse and Auerspergstrasse.
The large lecture room, or Great Hall, is over the lobby. Beyond it there is a large full-height patio, *the core of the complex and a public space par excellence, around which all the Centre's entrances and functions are laid out.*
Beneath the Great Hall, a mezzanine vestibule facilitates direct access to the various spaces via its four corner entrances which place all areas within equal — and equally easy — reach of visitors to the complex. The Great Hall offers views

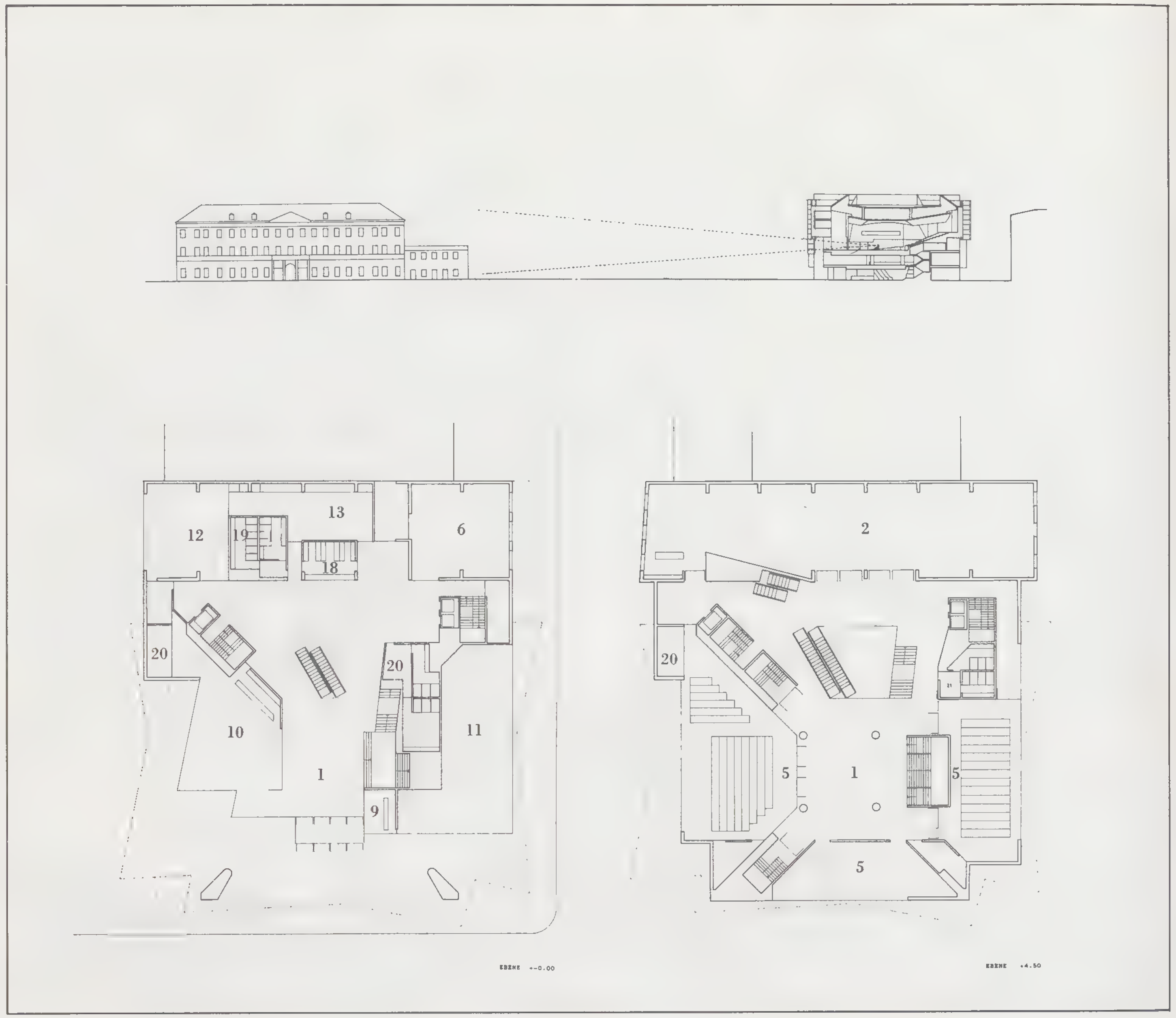


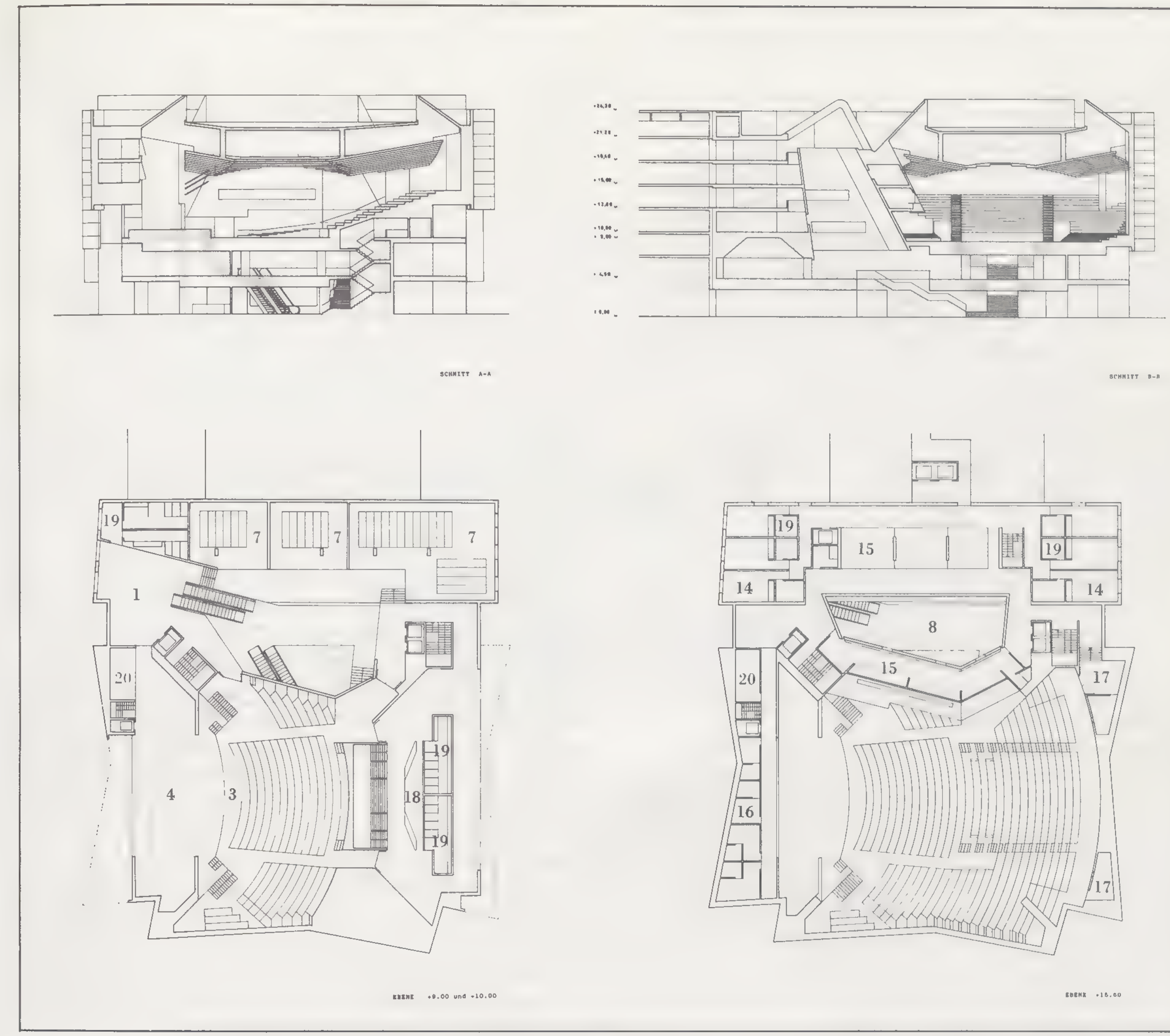


Sezioni.
Piante alle quote: ingresso; sala da ballo; auditorium e sale riunioni; uffici e albergo: 1) foyer; 2) sala da ballo; 3) auditorium; 4) palcoscenico; 5) sale secondarie; 6) sala conferenze; 7) sale riunioni; 8) patio coperto; 9) biglietteria; 10) caffetteria; 11) negozi; 12) ristorante; 13) cucina-dispensa; 14) camere; 15) amministrazione; 16) sale prova per artisti; 17) locale tecnico; 18) guardaroba; 19) bagni-wc; 20) montacarichi.
Schizzo prospettico dell'edificio tra Auerspergstrasse e Rainerstrasse.

Sections.
Floor plans: main lobby; ballroom; auditorium and meeting rooms; offices and hotel: 1) foyer; 2) ballroom; 3) auditorium; 4) stage; 5) auxiliary rooms; 6) lecture room; 7) meeting rooms; 8) covered patio; 9) ticket office; 10) cafeteria; 11) shops; 12) restaurant; 13) kitchen and pantry; 14) rooms; 15) administration; 16) rehearsal rooms; 17) technical centre; 18) cloakroom; 19) WCs and bathrooms; 20) goods lift.
Perspective sketch of the building between the Auerspergstrasse and Rainerstrasse.

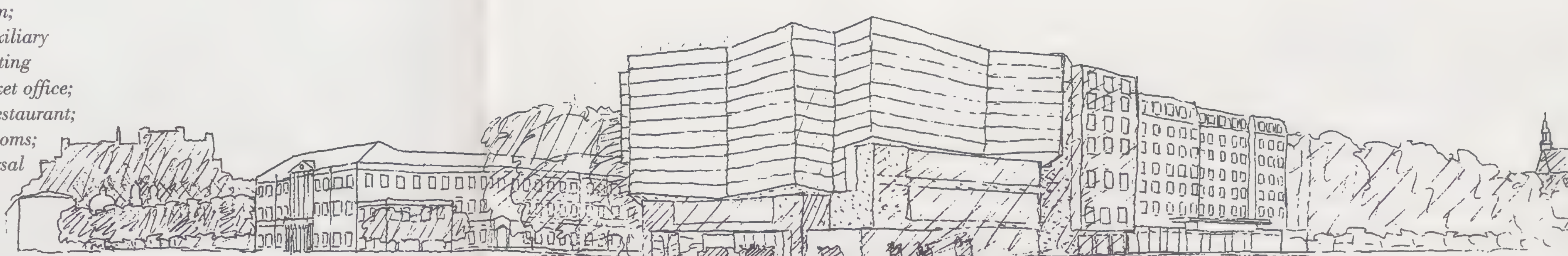






Sezioni.
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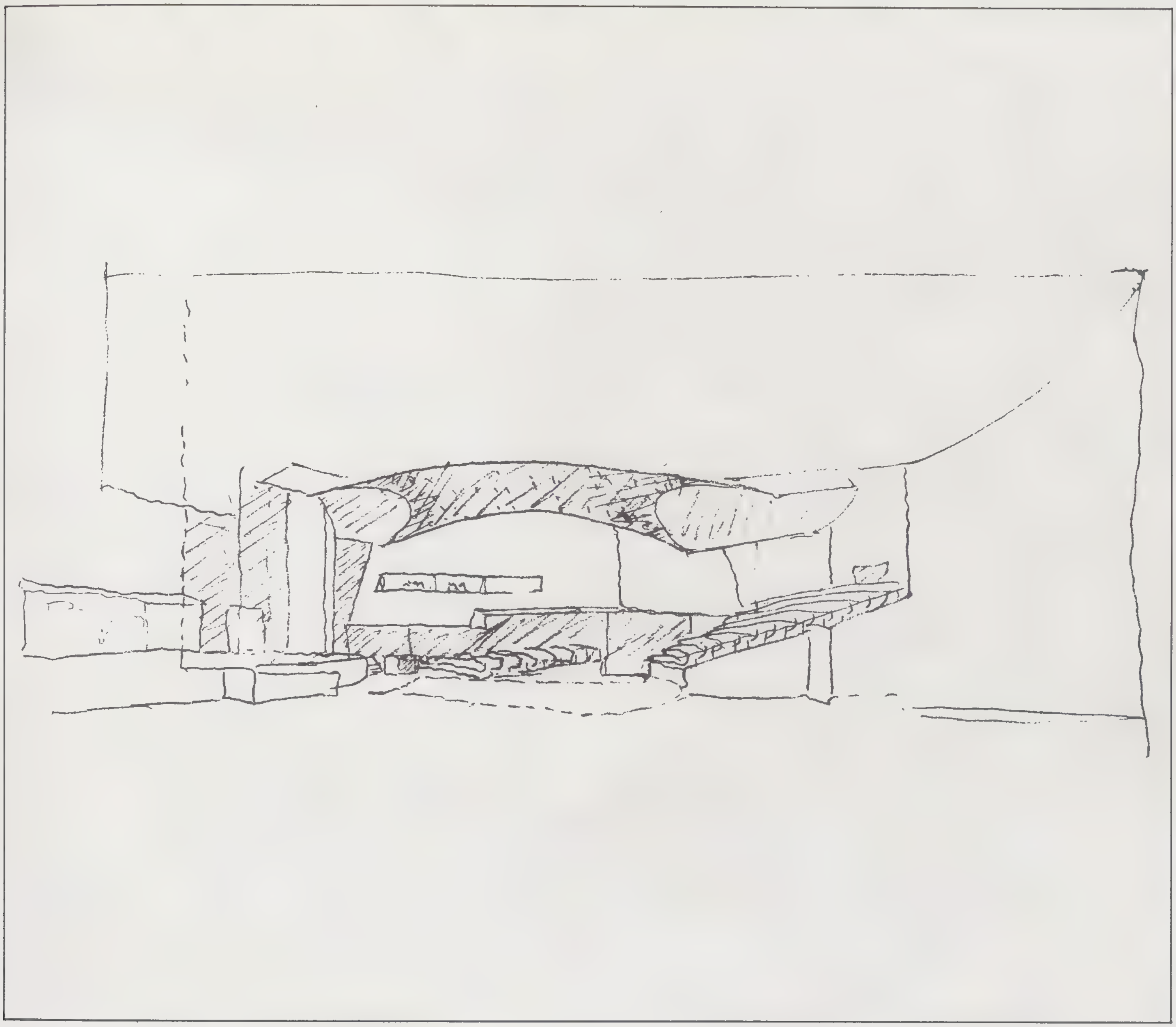
questa parte del progetto. La sala e la relativa copertura poggiano su pilastri disposti ai quattro angoli. L'ammezzato, dove si trovano i diversi accessi e altre sale minori, può essere considerato come un nucleo di controventatura dell'insieme, creando un tutto organico. Una specie di baldacchino a lamine, la cui forma richiama una volta a crociera risultante dall'intersezione di superfici cilindriche molto aperte, fa da chiusura acustica della sala. Questa superficie lamellare pende da un'armatura di nervature o membrane verticali, ordinate in modo radiale, che poggiano sui quattro grandi pilastri d'angolo. La geometria della volta a crociera conferisce allo spazio un ordine che protegge e dà un senso unitario alla sala, dal perimetro irregolare. La soluzione strutturale per queste grandi forme sarà mista: acciaio e cemento armato. L'acciaio, in lamine, verrà impiegato come intelaiatura permanente del cemento, garantendo la purezza geometrica e la rifinitura delle superfici visibili.
Il Salone da ballo, al quale si accede contemporaneamente dal grande spazio del *patio* e dall'Hotel Sheraton, ha forma rettangolare. Una copertura avvolgente accoglie, in scala molto precisa, il grande volume necessario.
La comunicazione tra Centro Congressi e albergo è agevole. Le camere e gli altri spazi del volume aggiuntivo sono tuttavia indipendenti dal Centro Congressi, collegati soltanto ai piani superiori dell'albergo.
L'aspetto esterno rispecchia il carattere differenziato del Centro Congressi e dell'Hotel Sheraton; è stata tuttavia creata, contemporaneamente, una continuità compositiva e si è ottenuto un insieme unitario dall'immagine vitale, rivelatrice della forte integrazione esistente all'interno.
La cornice splendente del rivestimento metallico che avvolge il Centro Congressi si sovrappone al prisma di cristallo e pietra naturale che ospita i piani inferiori. Tale prisma presenta, a contatto con le strade, forme più regolari, adattandosi alle strade stesse e assicurando la propria convivenza con gli edifici vicini.

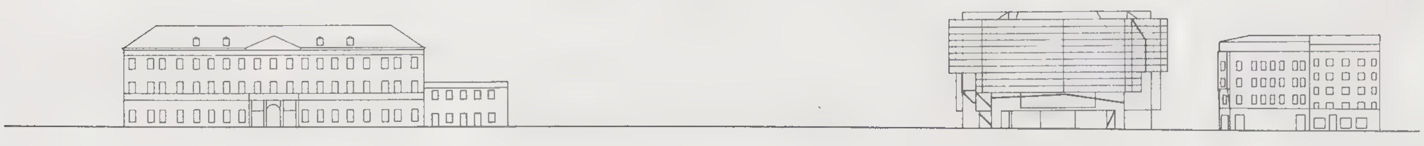
Schizzo di studio e disegno per l'interno dell'auditorium.
Prospetti su Rainerstrasse, su Auerspergstrasse e su Parco Mirabell.

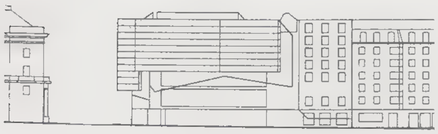
Study sketch and drawing for the auditorium interior.
Elevations on Rainerstrasse, Auerspergstrasse and the Mirabell Park.

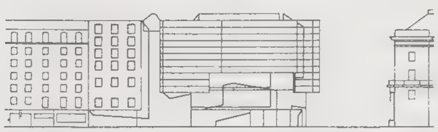
over the Mirabell Park, the Rosenhügel and the city and skyline of Salzburg in the distance — an incomparable backdrop for the numerous events the Centre will host. The hall is illuminated by natural light that enters from above, outlining the shape of the roof, then slides round the walls enhancing the architectural forms of the interior. Natural light will be compatible with most of the Centre's events, and the space is more attractive and welcoming as a result.
This section of the project is shaped around the structural requirements of the Great Hall and its roof which rest on four corner pillars. The mezzanine level, where the vestibule with entrances and other smaller rooms are located, provides a conceptual core that braces the entire structure and gives it organic unity. An acoustic canopy structure of overlapping sheets — effectively a cross vault created by intersections of open cylindrical surfaces — hangs from a radial framework of vertical ribs resting on the four corner pillars.
The geometry of the cross vault gives the hall a sheltered feel and unifies the space created by the irregular perimeter walls. The structure of these large forms is provided by a mixture of steel and reinforced concrete. Steel plate function as a permanent framework for the concrete and ensures that the geometry and finish of the visible surfaces retain their purity.
The rectangular ballroom with its carefully calibrated enveloping roof has access from both the large patio space and the Sheraton Hotel. Access between the Congress Centre and the hotel is fluid, although the new rooms and other spaces in the additional block function independently of the Congress Centre since they are joined to the hotel on the upper floors only. From the outside the hotel and Congress Centre remain visually distinct, although continuity of design creates a visual unity that reflects the functional integration of the interiors.
The shiny metal cladding of the Congress Centre surmounts the natural glass and stone prism of the lower floors whose more regular forms adapt to the streets and integrate the complex with the neighbouring buildings.






ANSICHT OST


ANSICHT NORD


ANSICHT SÜD

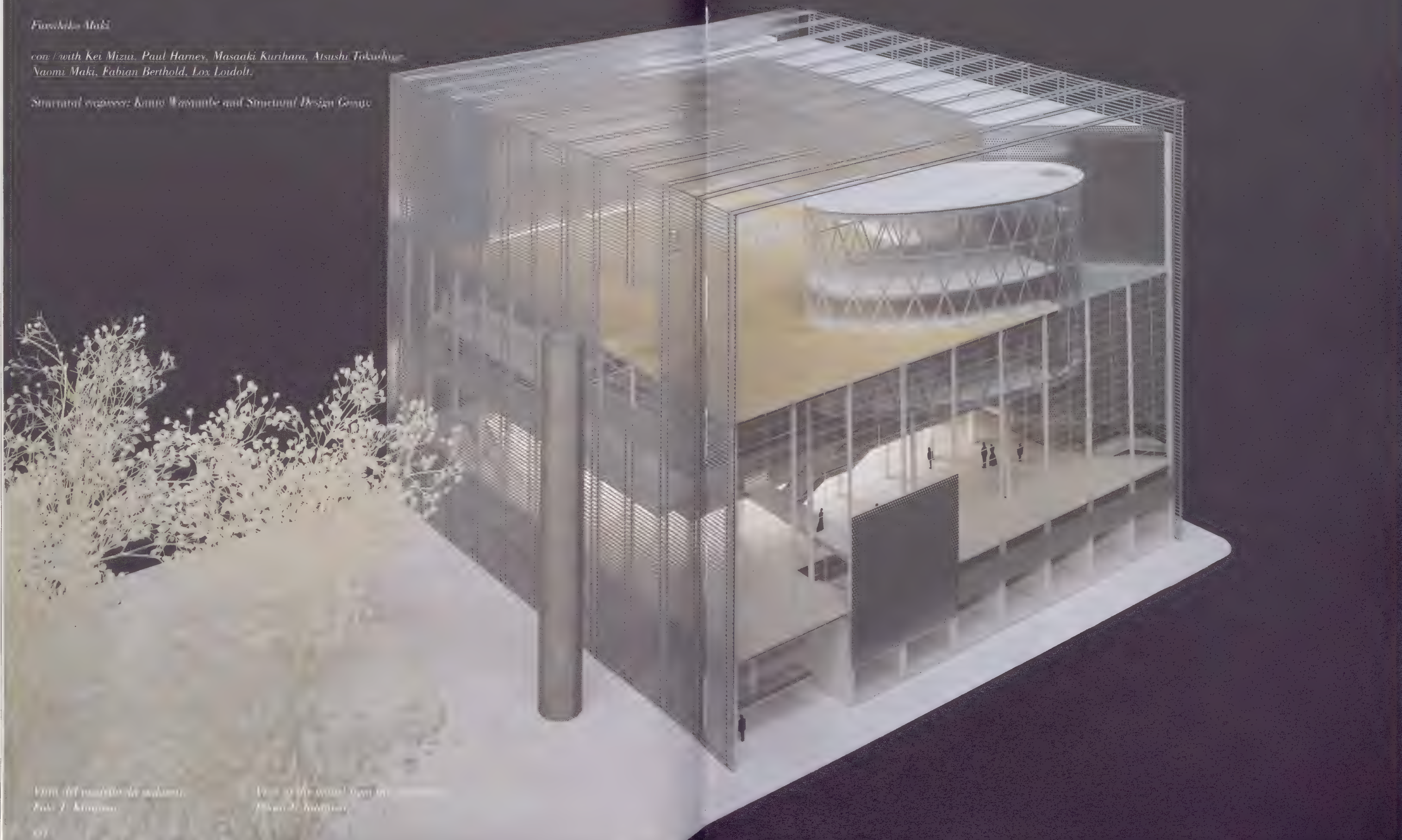
Kongresshaus, Salzburg

1992

Fumihiko Maki

con / with Kei Mizui, Paul Harney, Masaaki Kurihara, Atsushi Tokushige, Naomi Maki, Fabian Berthold, Lox Loidolt.

Structural engineer: Kunio Watanabe and Structural Design Group



Kongresshaus, Salzburg

1992

Fumihiko Maki

with Kei Mizui, Paul Harney, Masaaki Kurihara, Atsushi Toku[illegible], [illegible] Maki, Fabian Berthold, Lox Loidolt.

Structural engineer: Kunio Watanabe and Structural Design Group.



Progetto di concorso per il nuovo Centro Congressi, Salisburgo
Fumihiko Maki

Il sito
Situato nel cuore del centro storico di Salisburgo, il nuovo Centro Congressi sostituisce il centro preesistente che risaliva agli anni Cinquanta e che, pur assolvendo alle medesime funzioni, non era più in grado di soddisfare adeguatamente la crescente domanda di strutture congressuali ed espositive al centro della città. Di conseguenza, l'Amministrazione comunale, con la collaborazione della proprietà del confinante Hotel Sheraton, ha indetto un concorso internazionale per la progettazione di un nuovo complesso.
Il programma prevedeva l'ampliamento della sala principale, un notevole incremento numerico delle sale riunioni e dei servizi ausiliari facenti parte del centro esistente, oltre all'aggiunta, in base all'accordo con l'albergo adiacente, di 32 camere per gli ospiti, di una sala da ballo, di un ristorante e di ulteriori sale riunioni. Nonostante la assai maggiore complessità del programma e il raddoppio del volume da edificare, l'area edificabile rispetto all'edificio preesistente risultava incrementata solo marginalmente. Il bando di concorso, tuttavia, accennava alla possibilità di oltrepassare l'altezza di gronda che caratterizza questa zona di Salisburgo, posta a m. 22.00 dal suolo, affidandosi al buon senso e alla fantasia degli architetti.

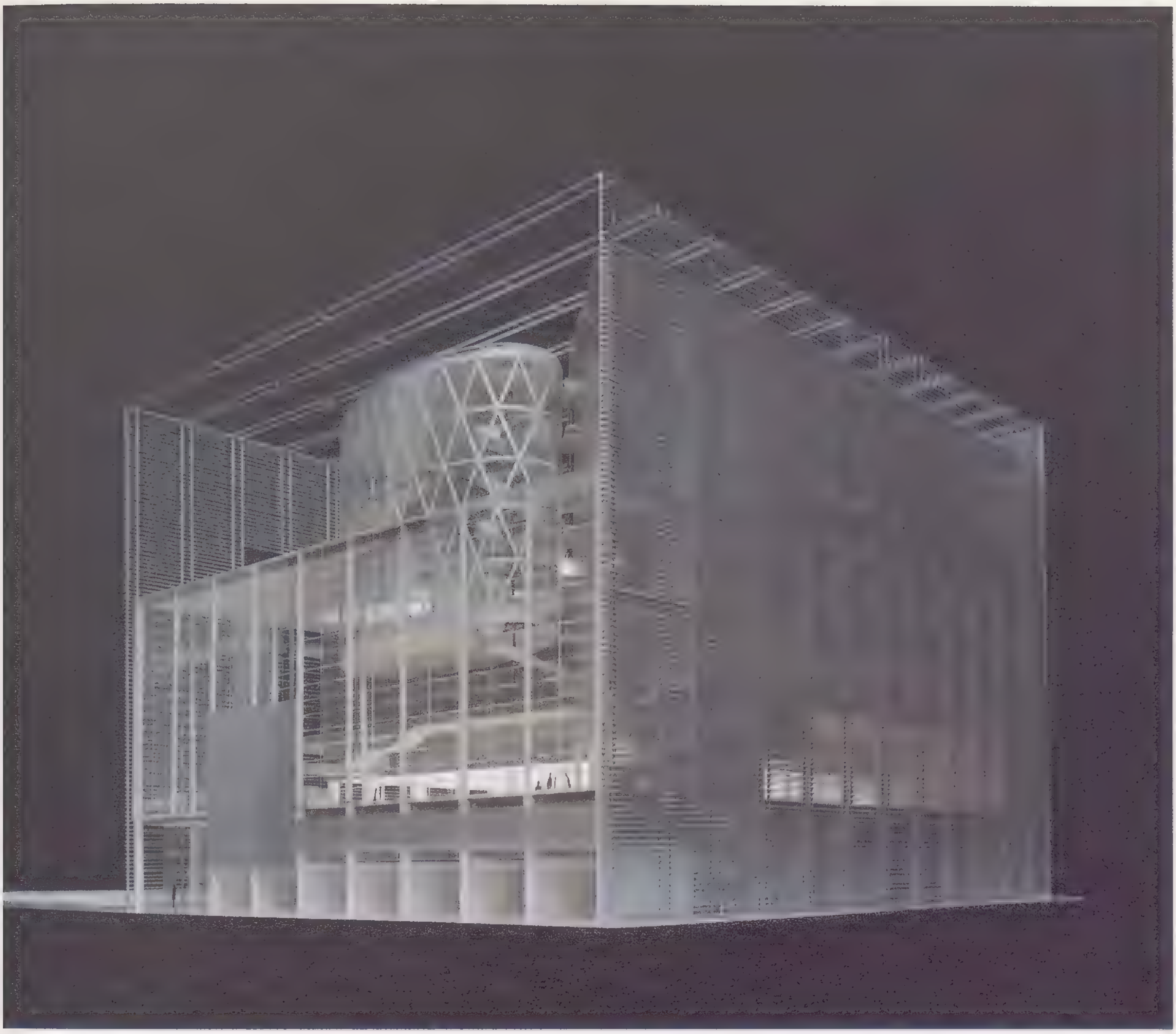
La concezione architettonica
La città ideale è una stratificazione di molteplici architetture, ciascuna delle quali simboleggia il contesto storico e culturale da cui ha avuto origine e di cui è il prodotto. Gli edifici pubblici dovrebbero, perciò, incarnare concretamente lo spirito del presente se vogliono, un giorno, far parte di un passato significativo anche se, inizialmente,

Competition Project for the New Congress Centre, Salzburg
Fumihiko Maki

Conditions
The New Congress Center, which replaces an existing facility of the same function, is located in the heart of historic Salzburg. The existing Congress Center, built in the 1950's, can no longer adequately accommodate the increasing demand for conference and display facilities in central Salzburg. Thus, together with the owners of the Hotel Sheraton which adjoins the site, the City of Salzburg conducted an international invited competition to develop plans for a new building.
The program of the New Congress Center greatly expands the quantity and size of the meeting rooms, Main Hall, and support facilities which comprise the existing Center. In addition, as part of the joint venture with the adjacent hotel, 32 guest rooms, a ballroom, a restaurant, and additional meeting rooms were to be accommodated. Despite the vastly more intricate program and the doubling of the building volume, the buildable area of the site was only slightly expanded. The sponsors of the competition, however, cited the possibility to build higher than the 22m eave line which typifies this part of Salzburg, leaving the height limitation to the common sense and imagination of the designer.

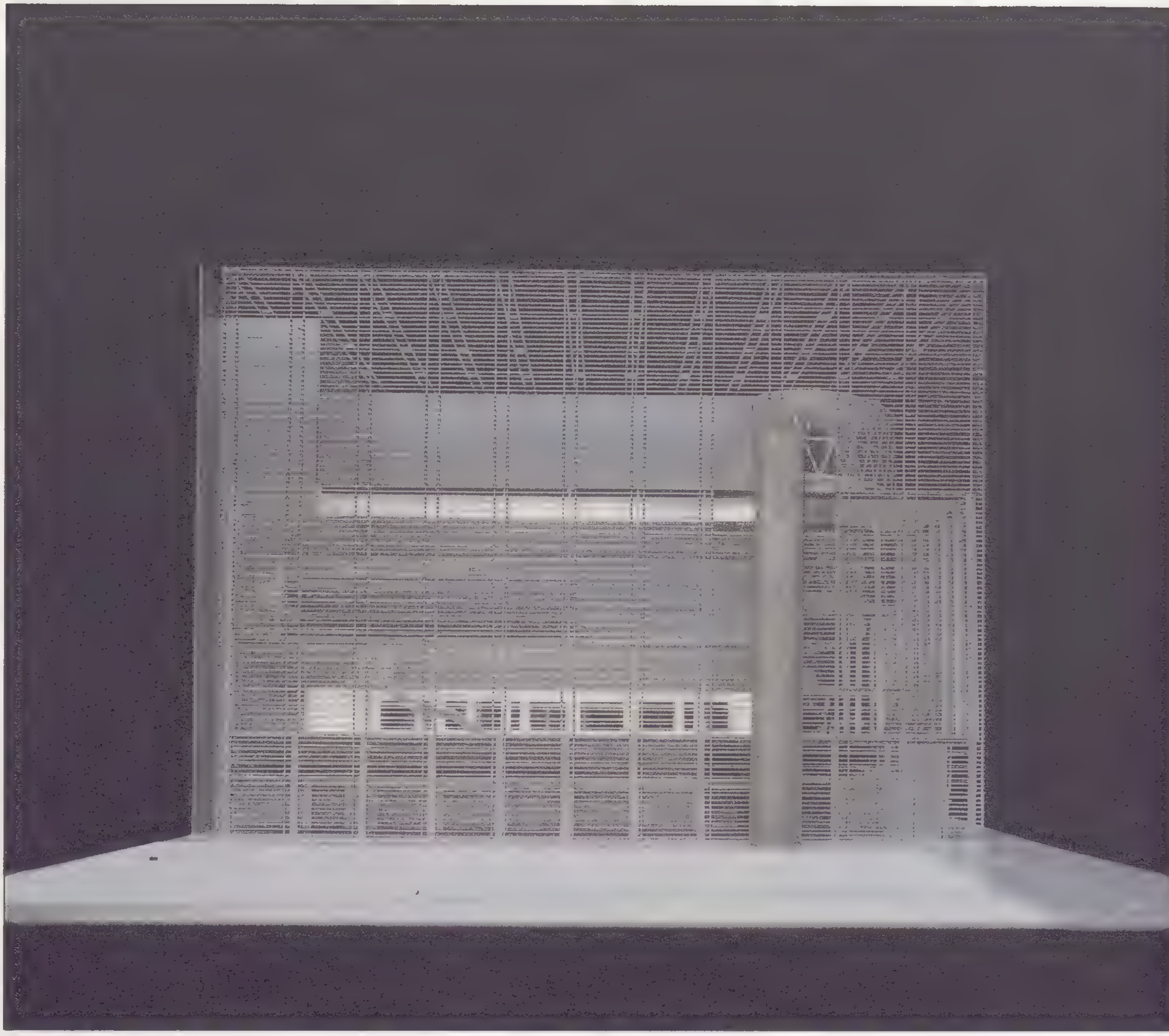
Design concept
The ideal city is a superimposition of multiple architectures, each of which symbolizes the historic and cultural context of its origin and emergence. Public buildings, then, should especially embody the spirit of the present, if they are eventually to become a part of the meaningful past. They must do this even if at first they seem to stand in contradiction to the historic city.
Near to the Congress Center site are two landmark buildings, the Schloss Mirabell and St. Andrew's Church, which are

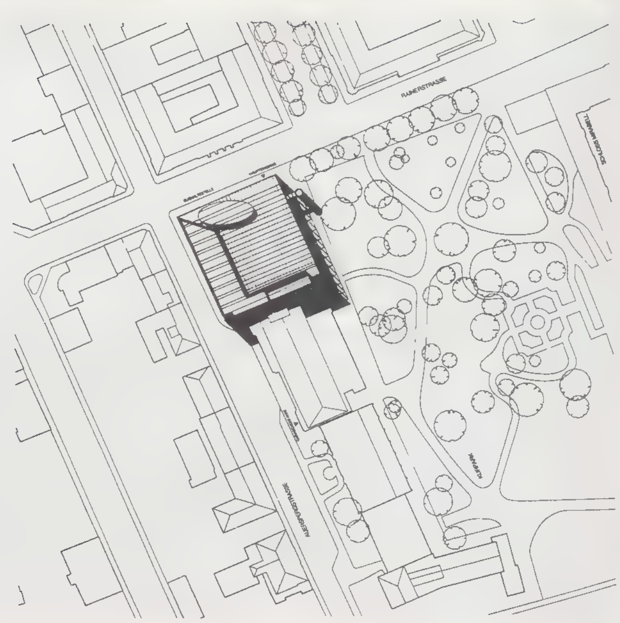




Vista del modello nel contesto urbano.
Vista del modello tra Rainerstrasse e Auerspergstrasse.
Foto T. Kitajima.

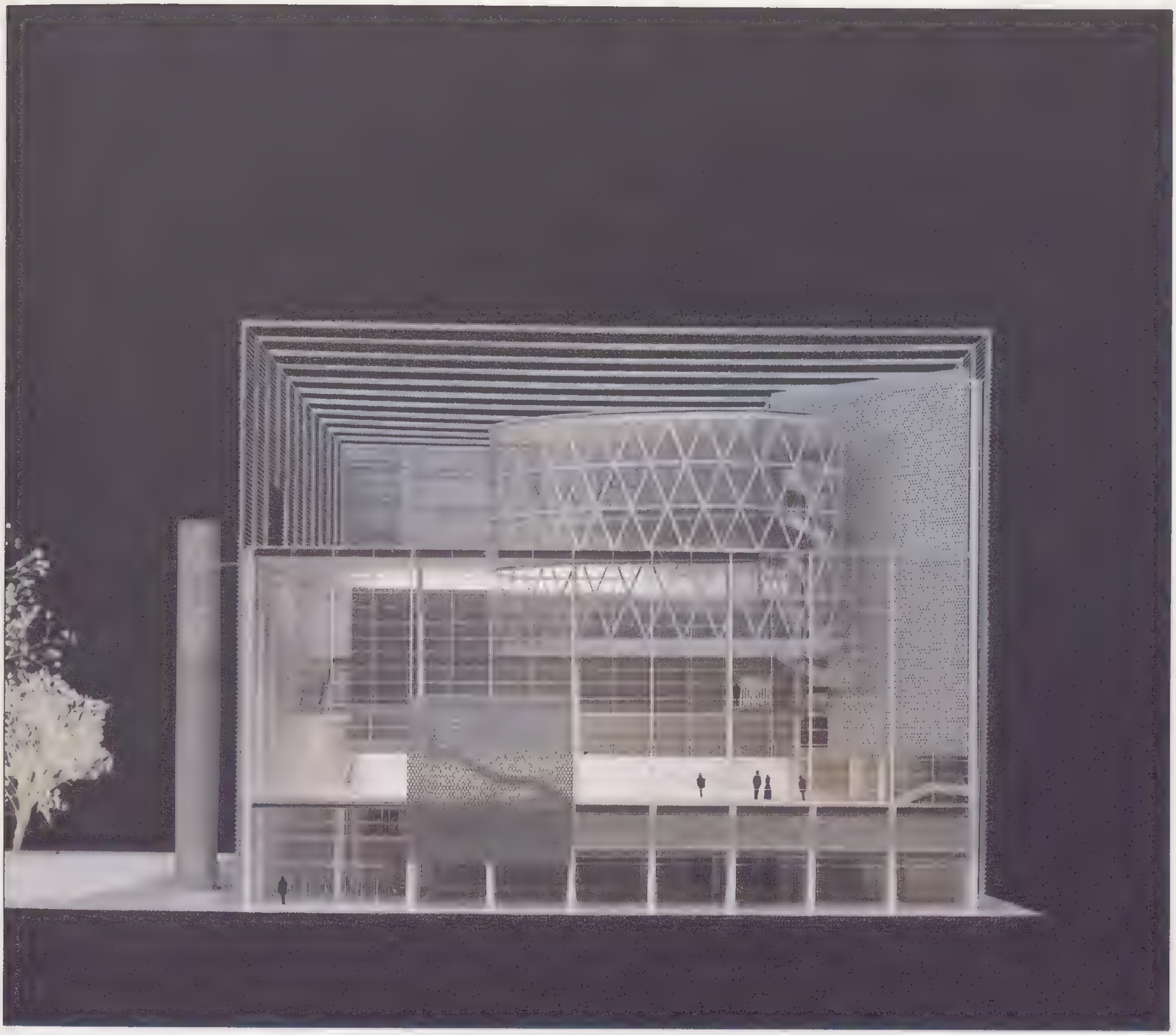
View of the model in the urban context.
View of the model between the Rainerstrasse and Auerspergstrasse.
Photos T. Kitajima.





Viste del modello dal Parco Mirabell e da Rainerstrasse.
Foto T. Kitajima.
Planivolumetria e schema diagrammatico.

Views of the model from the Mirabell Park and Rainerstrasse.
Photos T. Kitajima.
Volumetric plan and diagram.



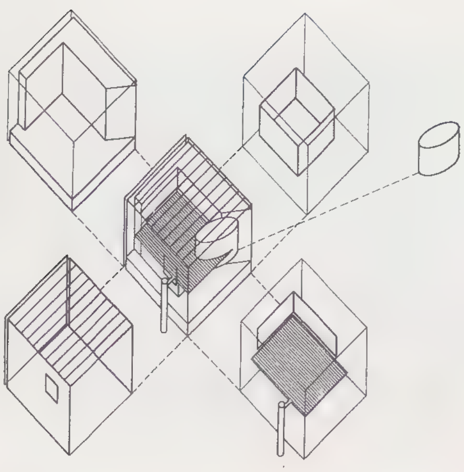
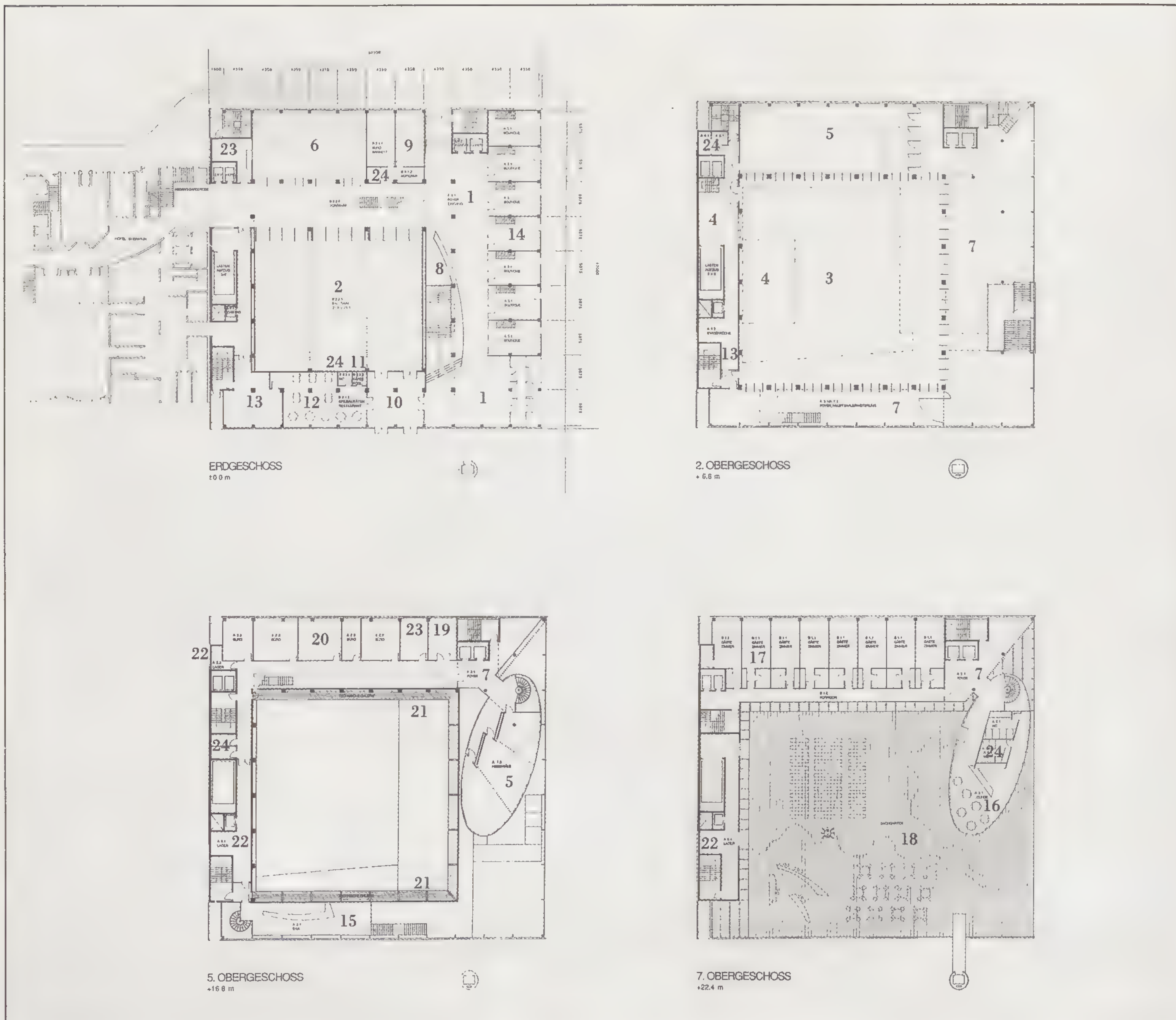
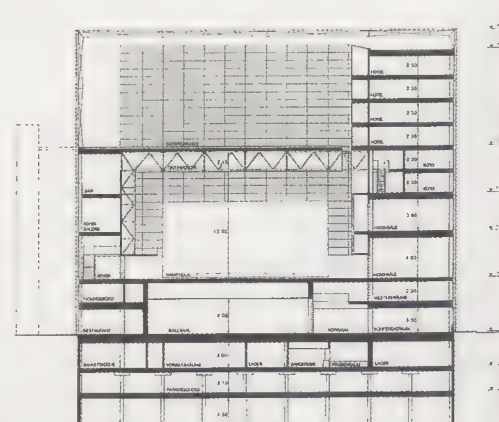


DIAGRAMM FORM + RAUM



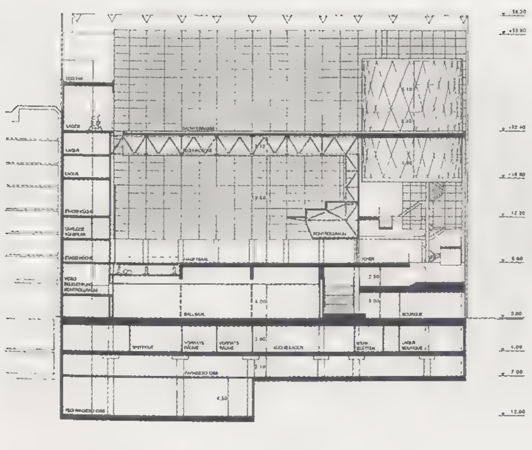
Piante alle quote: ingresso; auditorium e sala da ballo; uffici; albergo e terrazza: 1) ingresso; 2) sala da ballo; 3) auditorium; 4) palcoscenico e retropalco; 5) sale secondarie; 6) sala conferenze; 7) foyer; 8) biglietteria; 9) ufficio vendite; 10) atrio; 11) guardaroba; 12) ristorante; 13) cucina; 14) negozi; 15) caffetteria; 16) salone; 17) camere; 18) giardino pensile; 19) sala traduttori; 20) amministrazione; 21) passerella tecnica; 22) magazzino-dispensa; 23) locale tecnico; 24) servizi.
Sezioni.



NORD-SÜD SCHNITT

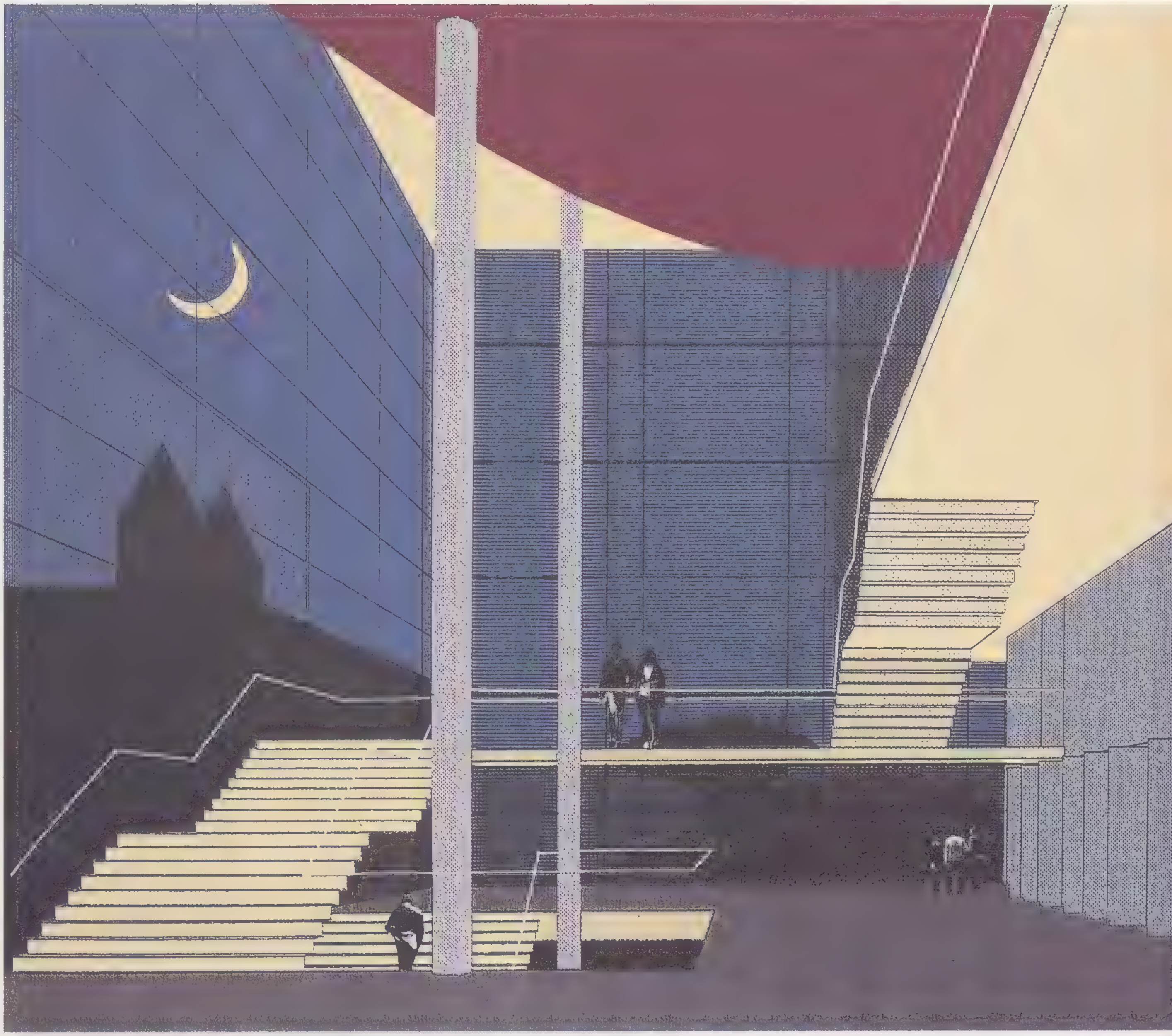
appaiono in stridente contrasto con la città storica.
Accanto al Centro Congressi sorgono due edifici che fungono da punti di riferimento e che rappresentano due diversi periodi storici: il Castello Mirabell e la Chiesa di Sant'Andrea. Con la sua chiara forma geometrica e la sua ricercata leggerezza in deliberato contrasto con i circostanti palazzi del Diciottesimo e Diciannovesimo secolo, il nuovo Centro Congressi completa concettualmente una trilogia con i due edifici vicini, identificandosi nello spirito del suo tempo ed esplorando arditamente le possibilità della modernità del Ventesimo secolo.
La sua forma cubica costituisce un simbolo che si imprime nella memoria e funge da recinto neutrale alla complessa struttura in esso racchiusa. I lati nord e sud sono schermati da una serie di griglie regolabili, mentre la sommità è chiusa da una struttura aerea che, prolungandosi al di sopra della terrazza pensile, conferisce al cubo l'aspetto di una fragile gabbia. Vi fa contrasto la faccia orientale del cubo, quasi completamente vetrata e priva di schermatura, che prospetta sulla più trafficata delle due strade adiacenti, lasciando chiaramente in vista il carattere spaziale e il brulichio di attività umane dei principali spazi pubblici dell'edificio. La terrazza, a quota + 22.00, si pone in continuità con l'altezza degli edifici circostanti e fornisce, grazie ad un ascensore dal piano terreno, un insolito e suggestivo ampliamento dello spazio pubblico.

representative of two different historical periods. The New Congress Center was conceived as completing a trilogy with these buildings and, like them, marks the spirit of its own time. With its clear geometric order and its insistence on lightness (in quite deliberate contrast to the surrounding 18th and 19th century buildings), it is a vigorous exploration of the possibilities of 20th century modernism.
The cubic form creates a memorable symbol while serving as a neutral enclosure for the highly complex program accommodated within. The north and south sides of the cube are covered by a screen of adjustable ouvers, while the top of the cube is spanned by a light frame. Where these constructions extend above the roof terrace, the cube then becomes only an ephemeral cage. In contrast, the east side of the cube — which faces the busiest of the two adjacent streets — has no screen. Almost completely glass, this elevation fully displays the spatial character and human activity of the main public spaces. The roof terrace at the 22m level establishes continuity with the height of surrounding buildings and provides, by way of an elevator from ground level, an unusual and exciting extension of the public space.



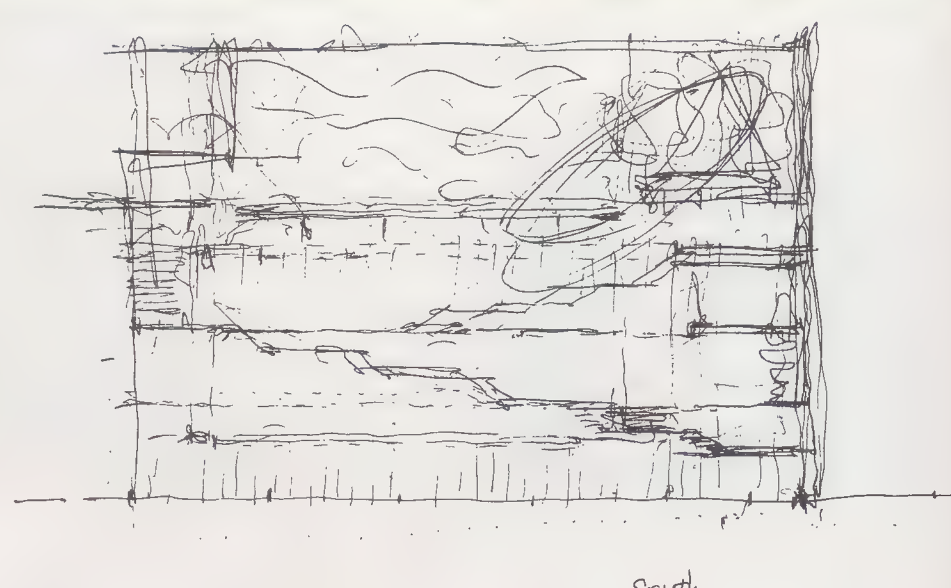
OST-WEST SCHNITT

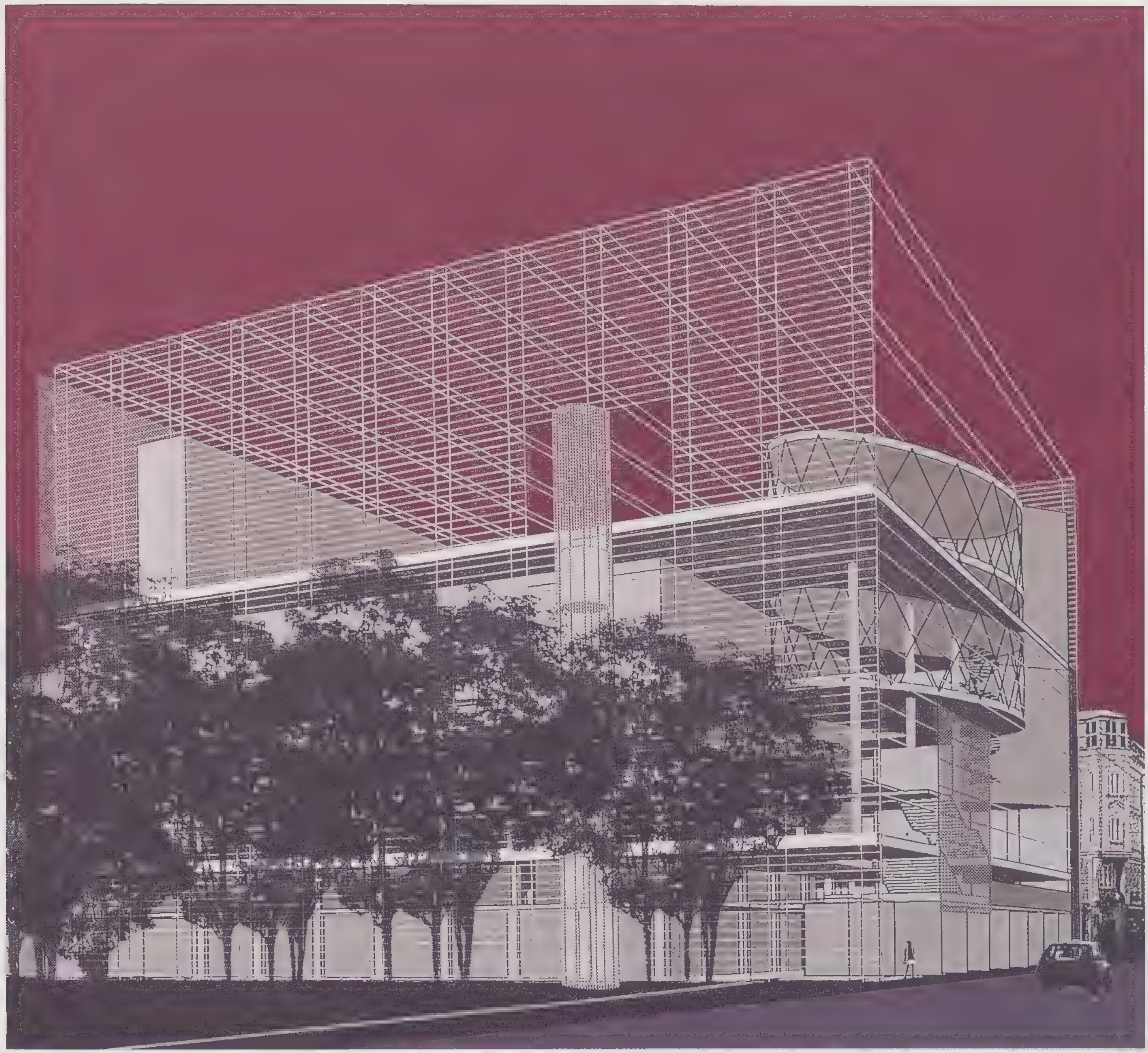
Floor plans: entrance; auditorium and ballroom; offices; hotel and terrace:
1) entrance; 2) ballroom; 3) auditorium; 4) stage and backstage; 5) auxiliary rooms; 6) lecture hall; 7) foyer; 8) ticket office; 9) sales office; 10) lobby; 11) cloakroom; 12) restaurant; 13) kitchen; 14) shops; 15) cafeteria; 16) hall; 17) rooms; 18) hanging garden; 19) translation room; 20) administration; 21) installations gantry; 22) storeroom and pantry; 23) technical centre; 24) WCs and bathrooms.
Sections.

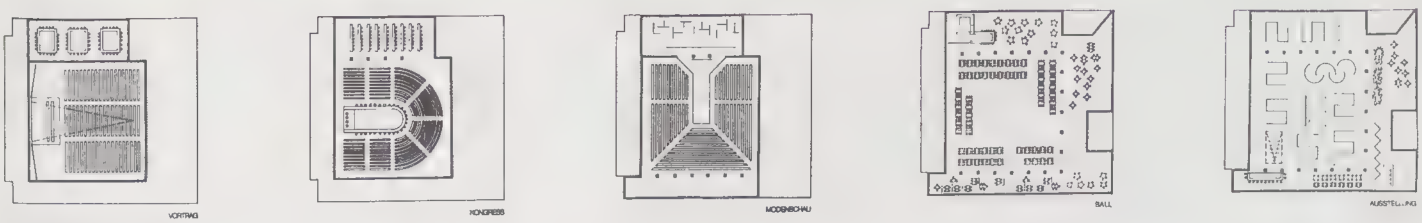


Vedute prospettiche dell'interno e dell'esterno.
Schizzo di studio.
Varianti distributive dell'auditorium.

Interior and exterior perspective views.
Study sketch.
Variant layouts of auditorium.







NUTZUNGSVARIANTEN

Kongresshaus, Salzburg

1992

Bernard Tschumi

con / with Henning Ehrhardt, [illegible], Jeremy Edmiston, Mark Haukos, Tom Kowalski, Jim Sullivan, Robert Young



Vista del modello sull'angolo tra Rainerstrasse e Parco Mirabell. Foto D. Cornish.

View of model on the corner between the Rainerstrasse and Mirabell Park. Photo D. Cornish.

Kongresshaus, Salzburg
1992

Bernard Tschumi

con / with Henning Ehrhardt, James Jessup, Jenny Edelman, Mark Haukos,
Tom Kowalski, Jim Sullivan, Robert Young



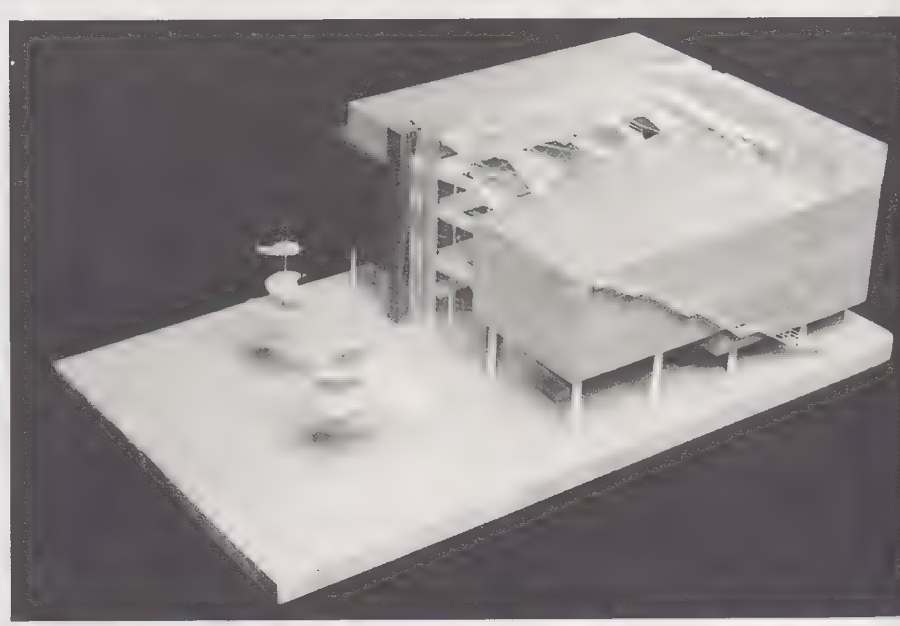
Vista del modello sull'angolo tra Rainerstrasse e Parco Mirabell. Foto D. Cornish

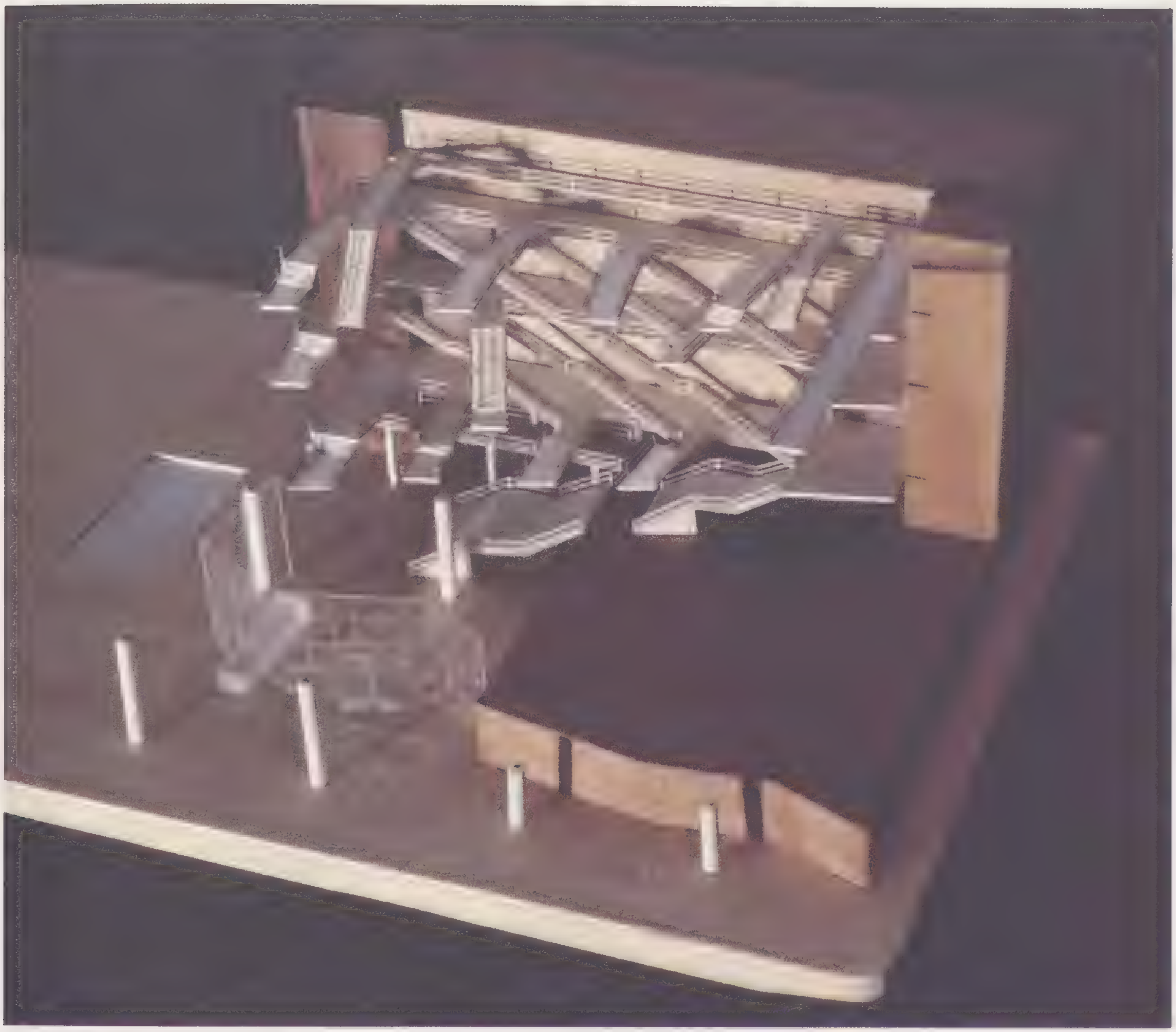
View of model on the corner between the Rainerstrasse and Mirabell Park. Photo D. Cornish.



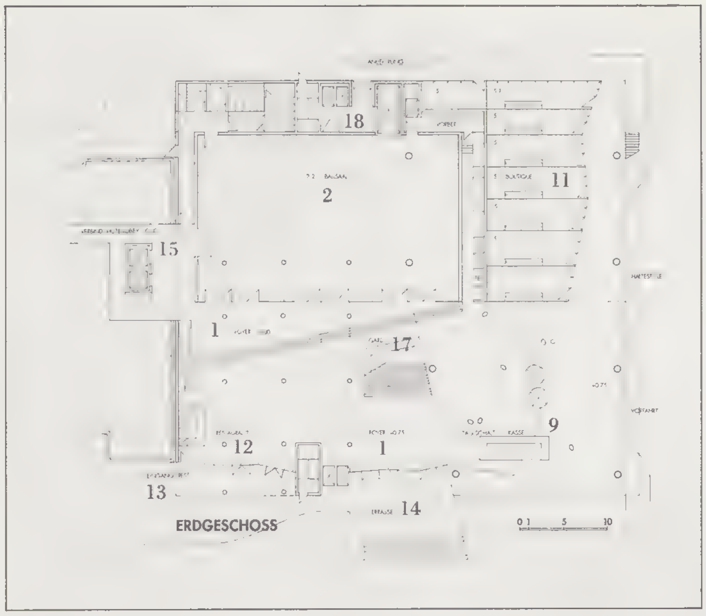
Viste del modello.
Veduta prospettica dell'esterno.

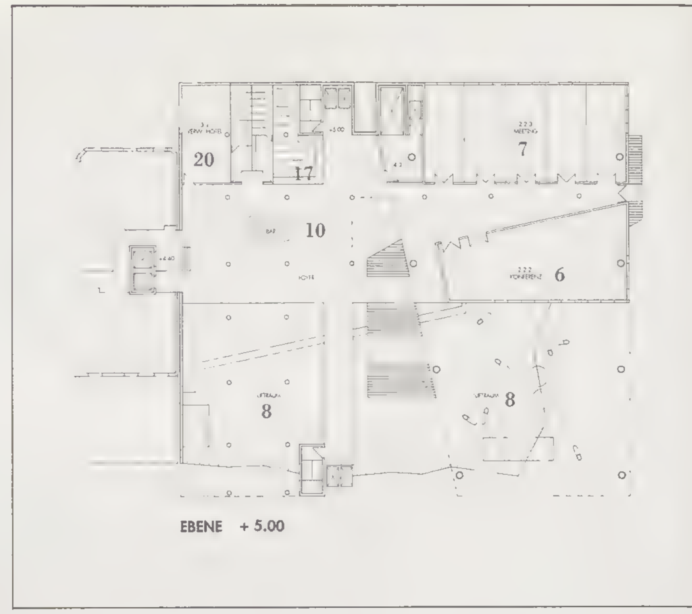
Views of model.
Exterior perspective view.

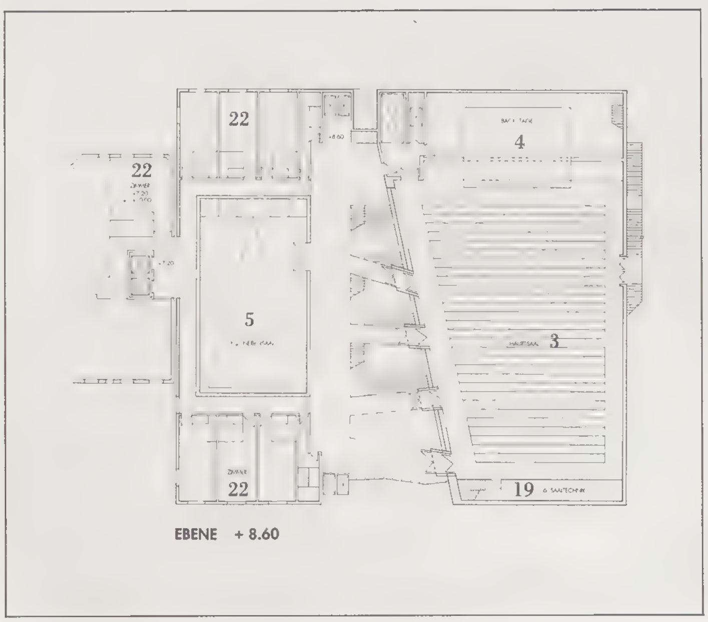


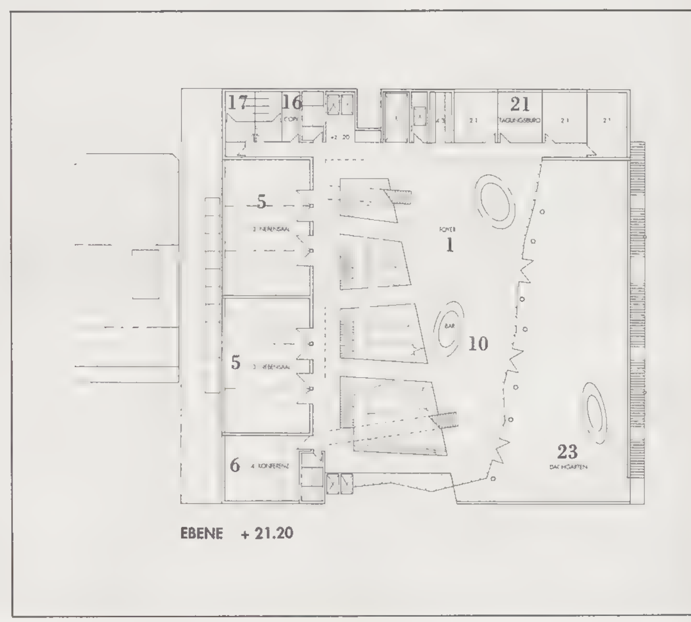




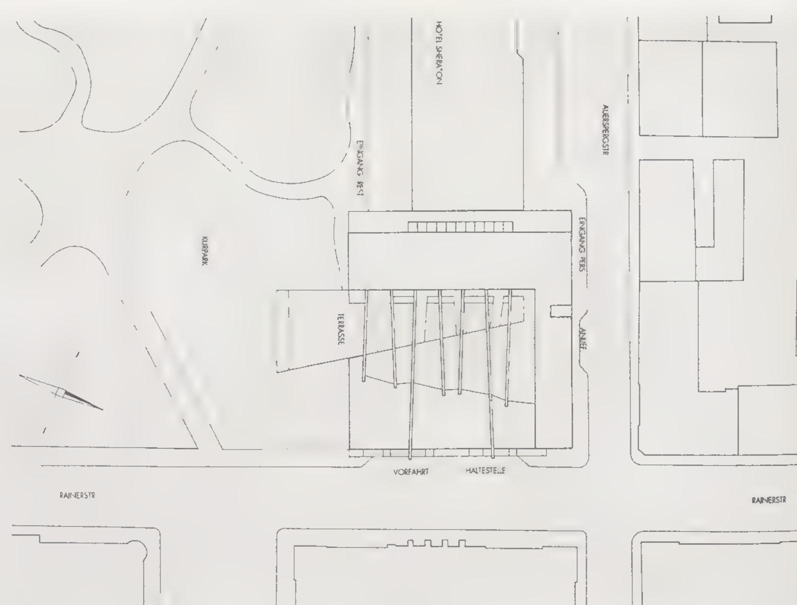


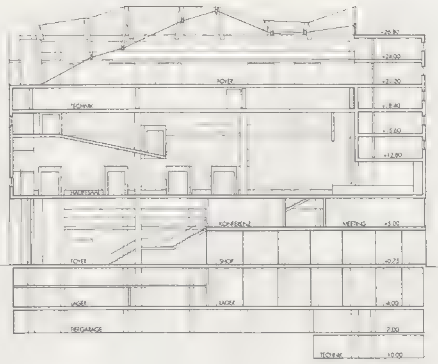




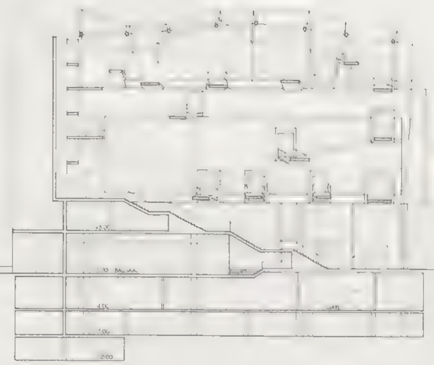


Piante alle quote: ingresso e sala da ballo; foyer; auditorium e albergo; terrazza e sale riunioni: 1) foyer; 2) sala da ballo; 3) auditorium; 4) palcoscenico e retropalco; 5) sale secondarie; 6) sala conferenze; 7) sale riunioni; 8) grande hall verticale; 9) biglietteria; 10) caffetteria; 11) negozi; 12) ristorante; 13) ingresso ristorante; 14) terrazza; 15) atrio hotel; 16) stanza riproduzioni; 17) guardaroba; 18) ingresso personale; 19) locale tecnico; 20) amministrazione; 21) organizzazione conferenze; 22) camere; 23) giardino pensile.
Sezioni e prospetti su Parco Mirabell e su Rainerstrasse.
Planimetria generale e schema diagrammatico.

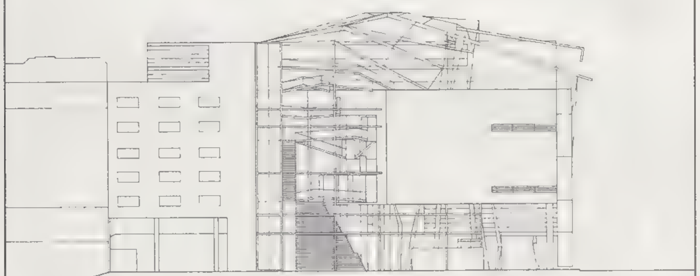




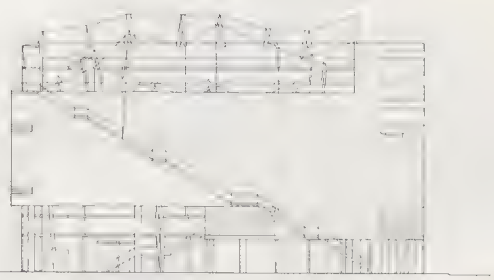
SCHNITT C-C



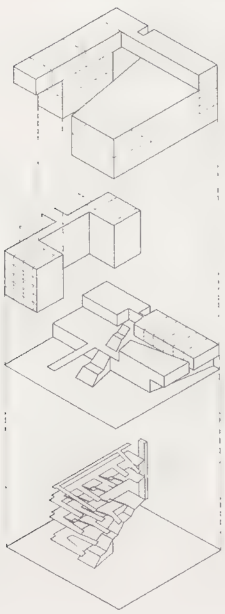
SCHNITT F-F



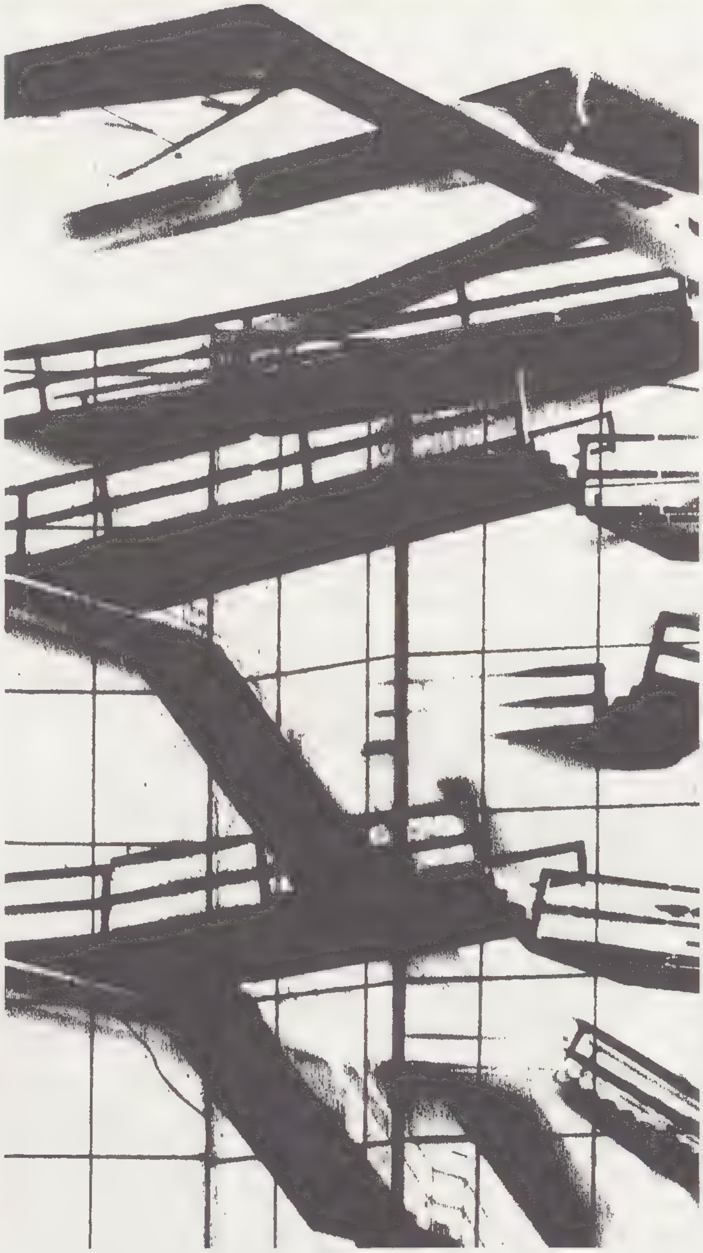
ANSICHT PARK



ANSICHT RAINERSTR.



Floor plans: entrance and ballroom; foyer; auditorium and hotel; terrace and meeting rooms: 1) foyer; 2) ballroom; 3) auditorium; 4) stage and backstage; 5) auxiliary rooms; 6) lecture hall; 7) meeting rooms; 8) large vertical hall; 9) ticket office; 10) cafeteria; 11) shops; 12) restaurant; 13) restaurant entrance; 14) terrace; 15) hotel lobby; 16) copying room; 17) cloakroom; 18) staff entrance; 19) technical room; 20) administration; 21) conference administration; 22) rooms; 23) hanging garden. Sections and elevations on the Mirabell Park and Rainerstrasse. General plan and diagram.





Studi del modello.
Schizzo di studio.

Studies of model.
Study sketch.

Progetto di concorso per il nuovo Centro Congressi, Salisburgo
Bernard Tschumi

In un'epoca in cui gli eventi culturali sono sempre più spesso sostituiti dalla loro trasmissione telematica, può sembrare paradossale l'ideazione di una struttura destinata agli scambi e alla comunicazione dal vivo; eppure è questo il tema del concorso per il Centro Congressi di Salisburgo. Tale paradosso è accentuato dalla collocazione della nuova struttura nel centro storico di Salisburgo, sebbene, secondo il bando di concorso, "*un progetto coerente ai caratteri urbani del luogo sia di importanza decisiva*". Alcuni dei nuovi spazi previsti saranno, inoltre, destinati ad uso alberghiero e dovranno disporre di un accesso riservato, mentre alle rimanenti aree del Centro Congressi si accederà da un ingresso pubblico principale.
I requisiti sono, dunque, i seguenti:
1) un luogo di incontro specifico inserito in uno spazio telematico globale;
2) un'architettura contemporanea nel cuore della città storica;
3) un'intersecarsi di funzioni pubbliche e private.
Il progetto da noi proposto per il nuovo Centro Congressi risponde a questi tre concetti e si pone l'obiettivo di soddisfare ciascuno dei requisiti in un unico grande spazio edificato destinato alla città. Uno spazio che sia, nel contempo, semplice e complesso, spettacolare e razionale, oltre che storicamente significativo, come le chiese, i palazzi e i musei circostanti. Uno spazio, quindi, che si identifichi con la città di Salisburgo in base alle nostre concezioni urbane contemporanee.

La concezione urbanistica
La posizione preminente, lungo un'arteria principale e un vasto parco, nei pressi della Chiesa di Sant'Andrea e del Castello Mirabell e adiacente a un grande albergo,



Competition Project for the New Congress Centre, Salzburg
Bernard Tschumi

At a time when the electronic transmission of media culture is increasingly becoming a substitute for most public life, it seems paradoxical to conceive of a building devoted to the idea of public exchange and communication. Such is, however, the mandate of the Convention Center competition in Salzburg. This paradox is compounded by the fact that the new Convention Center is to be located in the historical city of Salzburg, where "a design suited to the local urban atmosphere is of decisive importance" *(official competition guidelines). In addition, part of the required functions are reserved for hotel extension (hotel rooms) that must have their own* private *access, while the other sectors of the Convention Center must have their own major* public *access.*
These, then, are the issues:
1) a local place of public meeting in a global space of electronic flows.
2) a contemporary architecture in the midst of the historical city.
3) the intersection of public and private functions.
All inform our proposal for the new Convention Center. Our aim was to resolve each of these issues into one major building space for the city — a space that is simultaneously clear and complex, spectacular and sensible and as significant for the future as the nearby churches, palaces and museums; a space that would reflect the city of Salzburg amidst our contemporary urban condition.

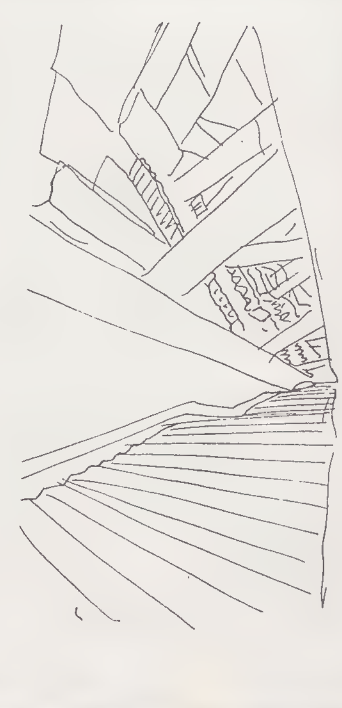
The urban issue
A prime location, along a main avenue and a major park, near Saint-Andra Church and Schloss Mirabell, with a large hotel adjacent to the future center, suggested specific spatial stratègies.

implicava stragegie spaziali specifiche.
In base alla nostra concezione era prevista la creazione di uno spazio pubblico dove strada, parco e paesaggio urbano complessivo si intersecassero, una grande *hall* verticale che diventasse un punto di riferimento urbanistico capace di stabilire nuovi rapporti con la città di Salisburgo:
a) con il cielo, stagliandosi tra i campanili delle chiese e le cupole della città vecchia come una luminosa e spigolosa calotta di vetro visibile da lontano;
b) con il parco, come un grande cuneo spaziale che ingloba edificio e giardino;
c) con la strada, allargando gli spazi pedonali e ampliando gli accessi per i veicoli;
d) con l'albergo, con cui entra in rapporto diretto e solidale.

La concezione architettonica
Il nostro obiettivo era di evitare la separazione programmatica fra le diverse funzioni, puntando invece ad una compenetrazione tra esse che fosse vantaggiosa e che riducesse al minimo la disgregazione, cercando di ottenere contemporaneamente la massima densità e il più ampio spazio aperto interno possibili.
Ancora una volta è questo spazio pubblico — la grande *hall* verticale — che diventa sia immagine che simbolo dell'edificio; uno spazio che, nel suo salire verso il cielo, assume una connotazione quasi montana. Teatro di tutti gli incontri, la *hall* verticale funge da denominatore comune e da mezzo di collegamento fra tutte le principali aree del complesso: ingresso, vestiboli, ristorante, sala da ballo, sale convegni, sale riunioni, atrii e via dicendo. Con i suoi scaloni, le balconate, le passerelle, la *hall* diventa il *non plus ultra* spaziale di tutti i possibili incontri tridimensionali. In fondo al grande cuneo che ne costituisce la forma, un tabellone verticale visualizza incessantemente informazioni in continuo aggiornamento.

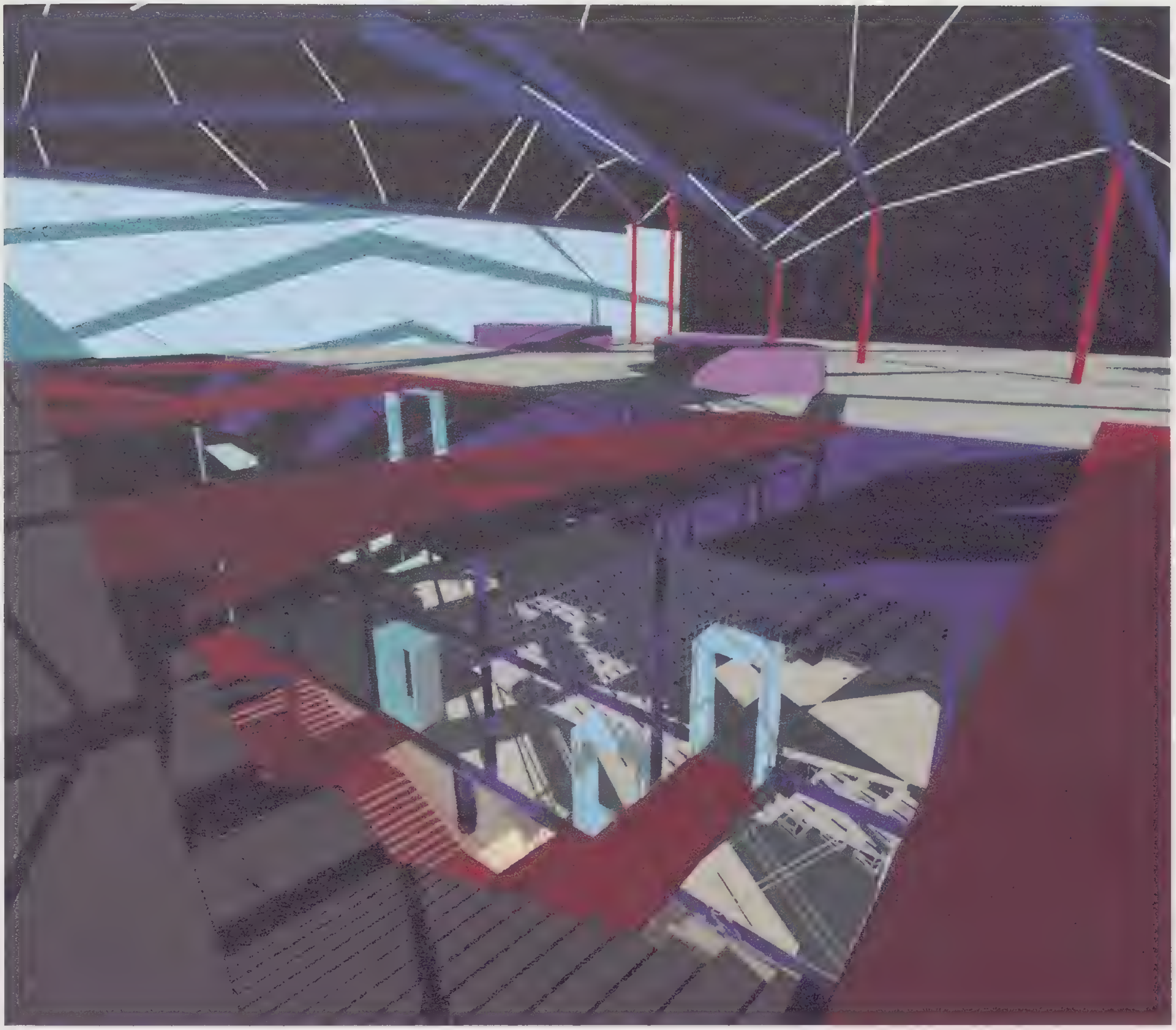
Our concept was to provide a public space that would allow for the intersection of the space of the Street, the Park and the overall city-scape: a Vertical Hall that would become the urban focus of the project, providing new relationships with Salzburg:
a) with the sky, located among all the church spires and cupolas of the old city, as a luminous angulated glass dome, visible from afar.
b) with the Park, as a large wedge of space that engages the building and the garden.
c) with the Street, widening the pedestrian flow; with expanded vehicular access.
d) with the Hotel, in a direct and compact relation.

The architectural issue
Our aim was to avoid programmatic separation among the different functional part and, on the contrary, to try justaposing them so that they would be turned into an advantage. We searched for the maximum interpretation of functions until the minimum of disruption. As our concept, we aimed at combining the highest possible density with the largest possible open internal space.
Here again, it is this public space — the Vertical Hall *— which becomes both the image and the symbol of the building, a space that is almost mountain-like in character as it reaches for the sky. The place of all programmatic encounters, the Vertical Hall, acts as a common denominator between all major functions of the building entrance, lobbies, restaurant, ballroom, conference rooms, convention rooms, foyers, and so forth.*
The Vertical Hall acts as the link between all foyers and lobbies of the Center. With its stairs, balconies and bridges, it becomes the ultimate space of possible encounters, in 3-d. At the end of the wedge-shaped Hall, a vertical billboard constantly displays moving information.



Schizzo di studio.
Veduta prospettica della hall verticale.

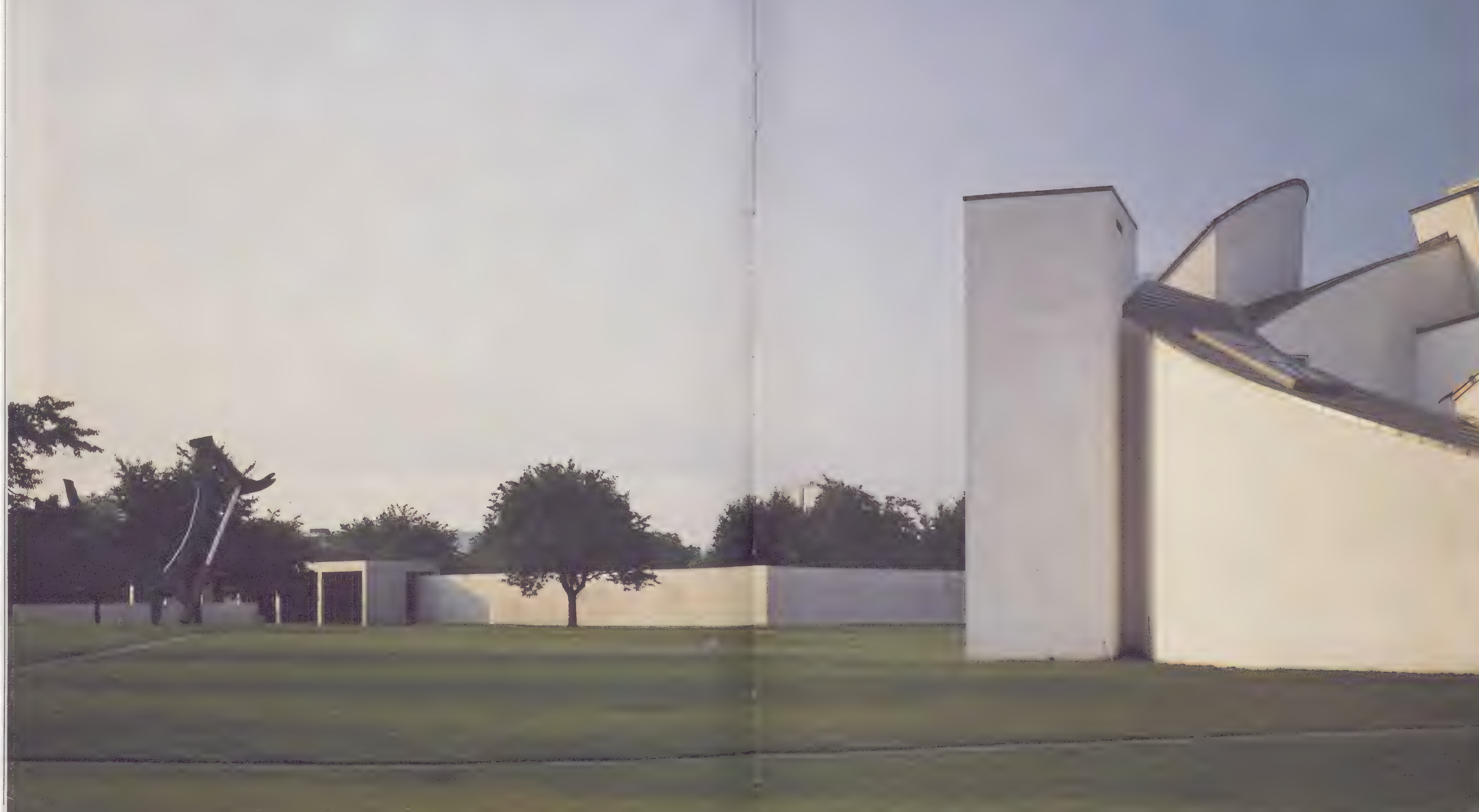
Study sketch.
Perspective view of vertical hall.



Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland

Vista del complesso da nordovest: in primo piano il Design Museum, di F.O. Gehry, sul fondo la scultura Balancing Tools, *di C. Oldenburg e C. Van Bruggen, e il Centro Conferenze, di T. Ando.*
Foto R. Bryant.

View of the complex from the northwest: in the foreground, F.O. Gehry's Design Museum; in the background, C. Oldenburg and C. Van Bruggen's sculpture Balancing Tools, *and T. Ando's Congress Centre.*
Photo R. Bryant.



Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland

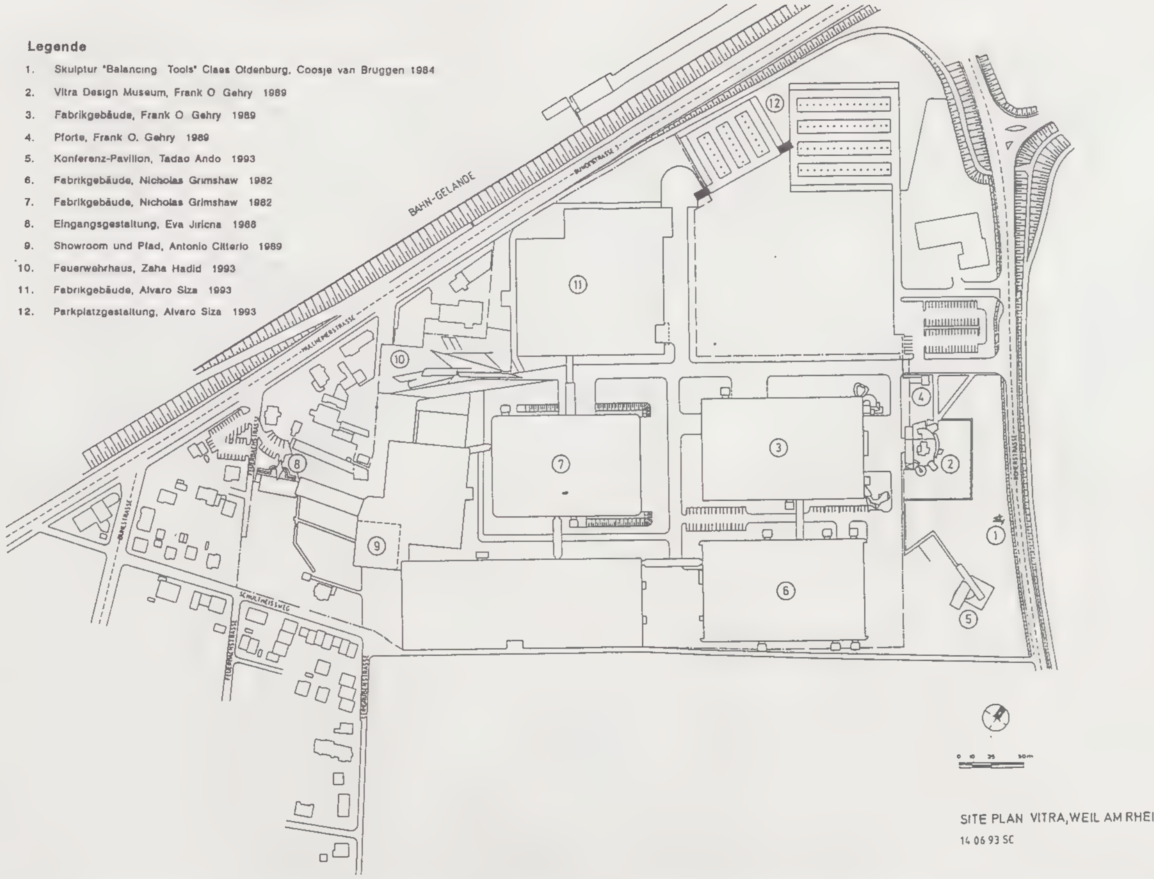


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Photo R. Bryant.

Legende

1. Skulptur "Balancing Tools" Claes Oldenburg, Coosje van Bruggen 1984
2. Vitra Design Museum, Frank O Gehry 1989
3. Fabrikgebäude, Frank O Gehry 1989
4. Pforte, Frank O. Gehry 1989
5. Konferenz-Pavillon, Tadao Ando 1993
6. Fabrikgebäude, Nicholas Grimshaw 1982
7. Fabrikgebäude, Nicholas Grimshaw 1982
8. Eingangsgestaltung, Eva Jiricna 1988
9. Showroom und Pfad, Antonio Citterio 1989
10. Feuerwehrhaus, Zaha Hadid 1993
11. Fabrikgebäude, Alvaro Siza 1993
12. Parkplatzgestaltung, Alvaro Siza 1993



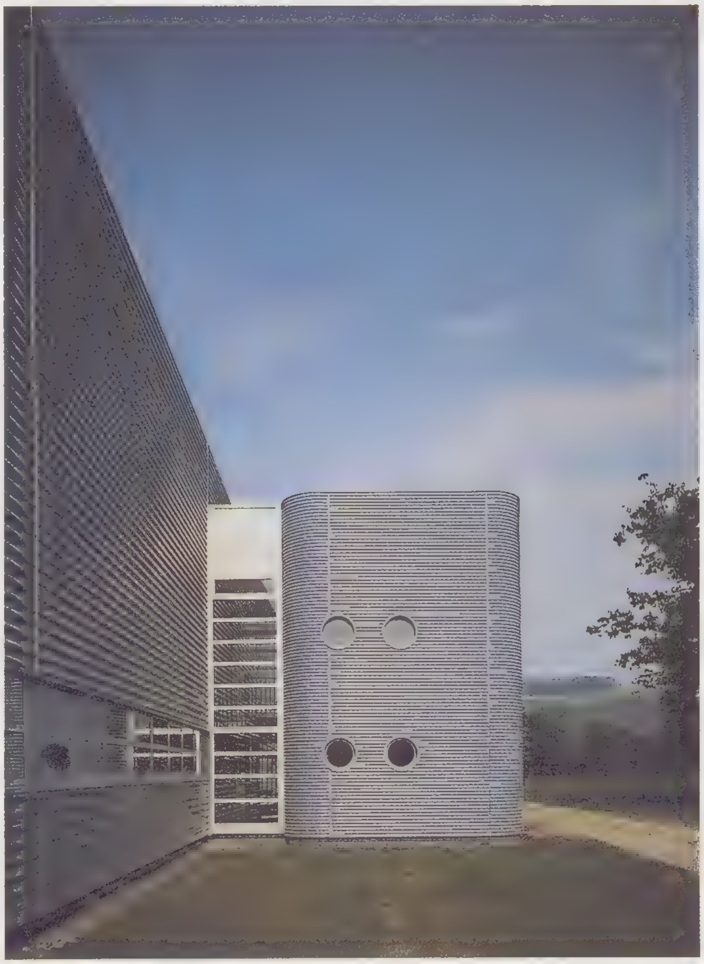


Planimetria generale: 1) Scultura Balancing Tools, *Claes Oldenburg e Coosje Van Bruggen, 1984; 2) Design Museum, Frank O. Gehry, 1989; 3) Fabbrica, Frank O. Gehry, 1989; 4) Ingresso, Frank O. Gehry, 1989; 5) Centro Conferenze, Tadao Ando, 1993; 6) Fabbrica, Nicholas Grimshaw, 1982; 7) Fabbrica, Nicholas Grimshaw, 1982; 8) Entrata del Vitrashop, Eva Jiricna, 1988; 9) Passerella e showroom, Antonio Citterio, 1989; 10) Stazione dei pompieri, Zaha M. Hadid, 1993; 11) Fabbrica, Alvaro Siza, 1993; 12) Parcheggio, Alvaro Siza, 1993. Localizzazione del complesso Vitra sulla planimetria di Weil-am-Rhein. Vista aerea del complesso. Foto E. Meyer.*



General plan: 1) Balancing Tools, *sculpture, Claes Oldenburg and Coosje Van Bruggen, 1984; 2) Design Museum, Frank O. Gehry, 1989; 3) Factory, Frank O. Gehry, 1989; 4) Entrance, Frank O. Gehry, 1989; 5) Congress Centre, Tadao Ando, 1993; 6) Factory, Nicholas Grimshaw, 1982; 7) Factory, Nicholas Grimshaw, 1982; 8) Entrance to the Vitrashop, Eva Jiricna, 1988; 9) Catwalk and showroom, Antonio Citterio, 1989; 10) Fire Station, Zaha M. Hadid, 1993; 11) Factory, Alvaro Siza, 1993; 12) Car Park, Alvaro Siza, 1993. Siting of the Vitra complex in the Weil-am-Rhein grid. Aerial view of complex. Photo E. Meyer.*





Architettura moderna alla Vitra, Weil-am-Rhein

La Vitra, industria per la produzione di mobili fondata nel 1950 a Weil-am-Rhein da Willy Fehlbaum, diede inizio alla propria attività senza un preciso programma architettonico nella realizzazione della propria sede produttiva, portando a termine negli anni seguenti una serie di edifici funzionali di qualità disomogenea. Nel 1981, a causa di un grande incendio che distrusse più di metà della fabbrica, si diede avvio a un programma di ricostruzione fondato su un concetto di identità aziendale, con la realizzazione dello stabilimento progettato dall'architetto inglese Nicholas Grimshaw, la cui architettura *high-tech* corrispondeva all'idea di azienda ad alto livello tecnologico che la Vitra voleva affermare. Grimshaw elaborò un piano generale per tutto il sito, che prevedeva la realizzazione di edifici di qualità architettonica omogenea e in base al quale furono costruiti due stabilimenti. Successivamente, il rapporto con Frank O. Gehry, iniziato nel campo della progettazione di mobili, si estese al Vitra Design Museum e alla fabbrica relativa e portò ad elaborare un ulteriore concetto: per ogni edificio e per ogni intervento si sarebbe dovuto ricorrere ad un architetto diverso, che sembrasse quasi predestinato ad uno specifico intervento e la cui opera avrebbe dovuto essere in grado di stabilire una corrispondenza dialettica e stimolante con gli edifici circostanti.
Così se Nicholas Grimshaw nei suoi edifici industriali rappresenta il versante della precisione tecnologica e produttiva, e Frank O. Gehry nel suo Museo del Design quello di una dimensione giocosa e creativa, Zaha M. Hadid nella Stazione dei Vigili del Fuoco ben esprime il ritmo e il dinamismo di questa specifica destinazione, mentre Tadao Ando il rigore e la chiarezza propri di un Centro Conferenze e Alvaro Siza la tranquilla stabilità di un padiglione produttivo, contiguo agli edifici di Grimshaw, Hadid e Gehry.
Invece di una identità architettonica aziendale univocamente definita, la Vitra ha piuttosto voluto affermare una idea di molteplicità e complessità, con la speranza di creare, attraverso il dialogo tra i vari architetti, un luogo vitale dal quale le persone che vi lavorano e i visitatori possano ricavare uno stimolo estetico. L'architettura della Vitra si prefigge inoltre di qualificare l'ingresso settentrionale alla città di Weil-am-Rhein, contrapponendosi non solo al desolato paesaggio delle zone industriali e commerciali, ma differenziandosi anche da una idea di architettura industriale che si propone come dimostrazione e verifica del proprio potere aziendale. Quello della Vitra è un concetto di architettura aperta, ma non per questo agnostica. Mentre il pluralismo che caratterizza l'impianto generale potrebbe essere definito postmoderno, al contrario le singole opere dei diversi architetti si sforzano di raccogliere e di approfondire l'eredità del moderno.

Modern Architecture at Vitra, Weil-am-Rhein

Vitra, the furniture manufacturing concern founded in Weil-am-Rhein by Willy Fehlbaum in 1953, had no definite architectural plans for the development of its site when it opened, so the result was an assortment of functional, stylistically varied buildings. When fire destroyed over a half of the factory in 1981, the firm decided to take the first step towards creating a corporate building concept by commissioning British architect Nicholas Grimshaw to design high-tech architecture corresponding to the high-tech corporate image Vitra wished to promote. Grimshaw developed a general plan that would cover the whole site with aesthetically similar buildings, and two further factories were designed and built to this plan. Then discussions with Frank O. Gehry, initially on furniture design but later on the Vitra Design Museum and its related factory, led to another concept: every new building — or intervention — would be assigned a different architecture who seemed "destined" for the project and whose work would interact in stimulating ways with the existing buildings.
Thus, Nicholas Grimshaw, represents technology and precision, Frank O. Gehry (Vitra Design Museum) exhilaration and openess, Zaha Hadid (Vitra Fire Station) speed and dynamics, Tadao Ando (Vitra Conference Centre) discipline and clarity, and Alvaro Siza (Vitrashop factory adjacent to the Grimshaw Hadid and Gehry buildings) tranquillity and restraint.
So, instead of uniform corporate architecture Vitra has opted for variety and complexity, in the hope that dialogue between the different architects will create a stimulating site which Vitra staff and visitors will feel inspired and delighted by. Furthermore, Vitra architecture will give Weil-am-Rhein a northern approach that not only contrasts with usual dreary industrial and trading suburbs, but also avoids the temptation of turning architecture into a display — and confirmation — of corporate power. The Vitra architectural concept is open, but not to everything. The pluralism of the general design could be regarded as post-modern but the individual works of the various architects seek to assimilate the modern heritage and extend it still further.

Vista del complesso da sudest: da sinistra a destra, fabbrica e Design Museum, di F.O. Gehry, e scultura Balancing Tools di C. Oldenburg e C. Van Bruggen.
Fabbrica, di N. Grimshaw: vista di dettaglio.
Foto T. Fritschi.

View of the complex from the southeast: from left to right, Frank O. Gehry's factory and Design Museum, and C. Oldenburg and C. Van Brugger's Balancing Tools *sculpture.*
Nicholas Grimsbaw's factory: detail.
Photos T. Fritschi.

Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein
1989-1993

Tadao Ando

Project Architect: Hiromitsu Kuwata
Project Management: GPF & Assoziierte, Günter Pfeifer and Roland Mayer
Structural Engineer: Peter M. Bährle



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[illegible] P. Warchol.

1 View from north
Photo P. Warchol.

Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein

1989-1993

Tadao Ando

Project Architect: Hiromitsu Kuwata
Project Management: GPF & Assoziierte, Günter Pfeifer and Roland Mayer
Structural Engineer: Peter M. Bährle



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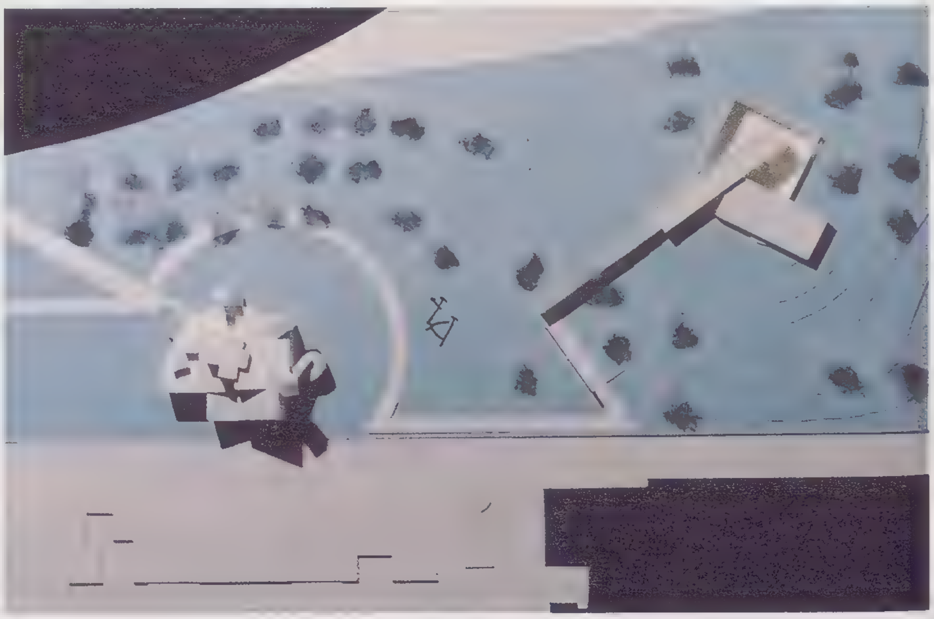
1 View from south.
Photo P. Warchol.

Centro Conferenze della Vitra, Weil-am-Rhein
Tadao Ando

Il Centro Conferenze è destinato a una industria di mobili che produce un'ampia serie di pezzi di famosi *designer* di ieri e di oggi, come Charles Eames, Mario Bellini e Philippe Starck. Nell'edificio, situato vicino alla fabbrica, nella Germania meridionale, vengono svolte le più diverse attività, dalla formazione del personale alle conferenze.
Il tema principale del progetto consisteva nella collocazione dell'edificio sul terreno — una grande spianata — e nel modo migliore per accedervi. Ho scelto di ridurre l'edificio a una presenza minima e di affondarne parte del volume nel terreno. Con semplici forme geometriche — cerchi e quadrati — ho definito una composizione di volumi e vuoti in contrasto tra loro, cercando di creare una maggiore ricchezza nello spazio interno. Dato che nei pressi, sullo stesso terreno, sorge il Museo del Design di Frank O. Gehry, ho prestato particolare cura nell'orientare l'edificio in modo che, senza toccare gli alberi esistenti, fosse in armonia e in equilibrio con il Museo e con la scultura di Oldenburg situata tra i due edifici.
Per accedere al Centro Conferenze i visitatori devono girare intorno al Museo, superare la scultura all'aperto e costeggiare un muro a "L". L'edificio è costituito da tre elementi: un volume rettangolare che si snoda parallelo alle pareti della corte ipogea; un volume rettangolare che si innesta nella corte con un'angolatura di 60 gradi e un volume cilindrico vuoto collegato ai due volumi rettilinei. L'edificio è formato da due piani che ospitano la *hall*, sale riunioni, biblioteca, camere private, tutte affacciate sulla tranquilla corte ipogea. La corte, incassata nel terreno pianeggiante, è un mezzo per catturare gli elementi della natura — luce e vento — entro lo spazio dell'edificio stesso. La natura impregna l'architettura di colore e contribuisce all'orchestrazione della vita quotidiana.

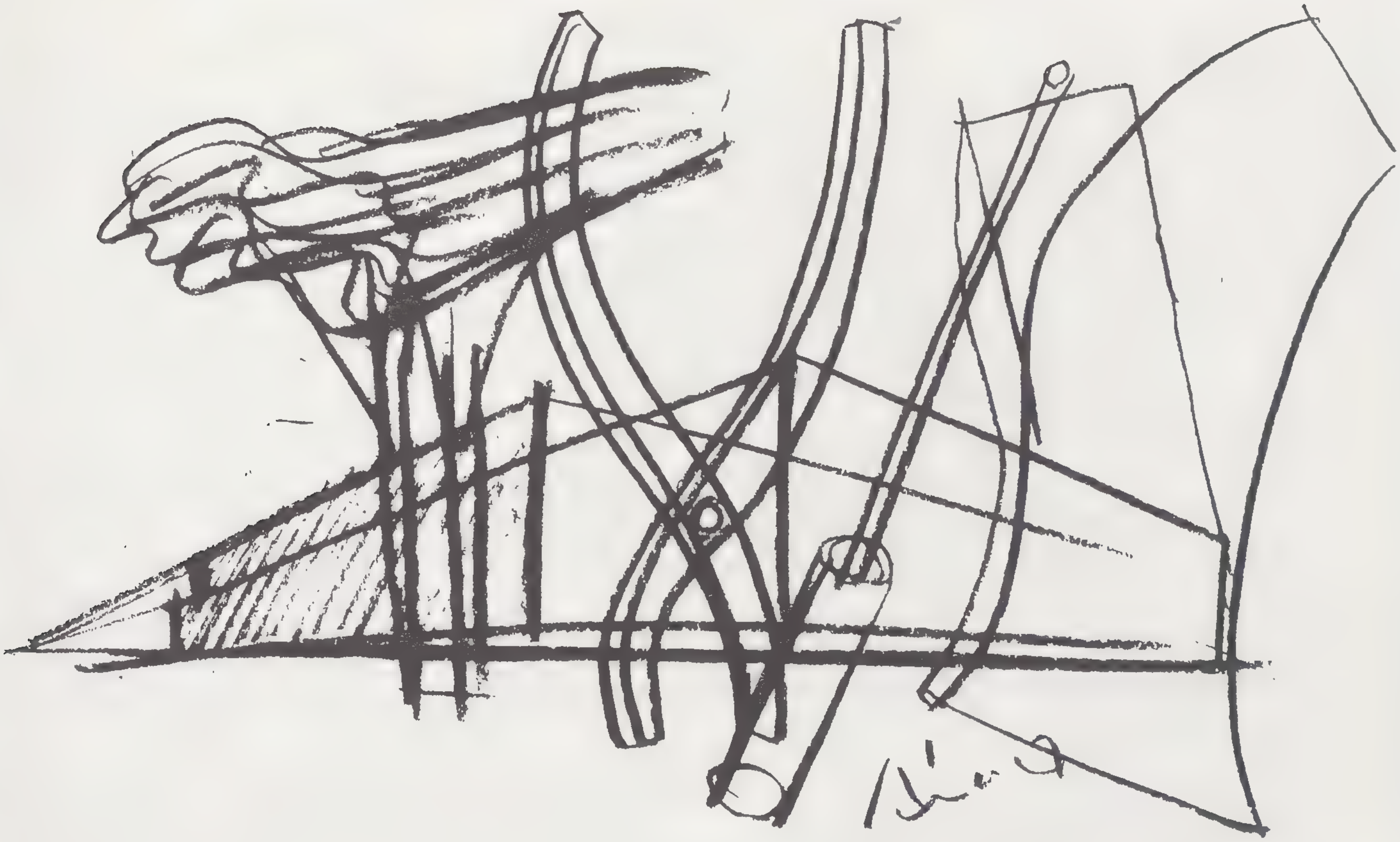
Vitra Conference Center, Weil-am-Rhein
Tadao Ando

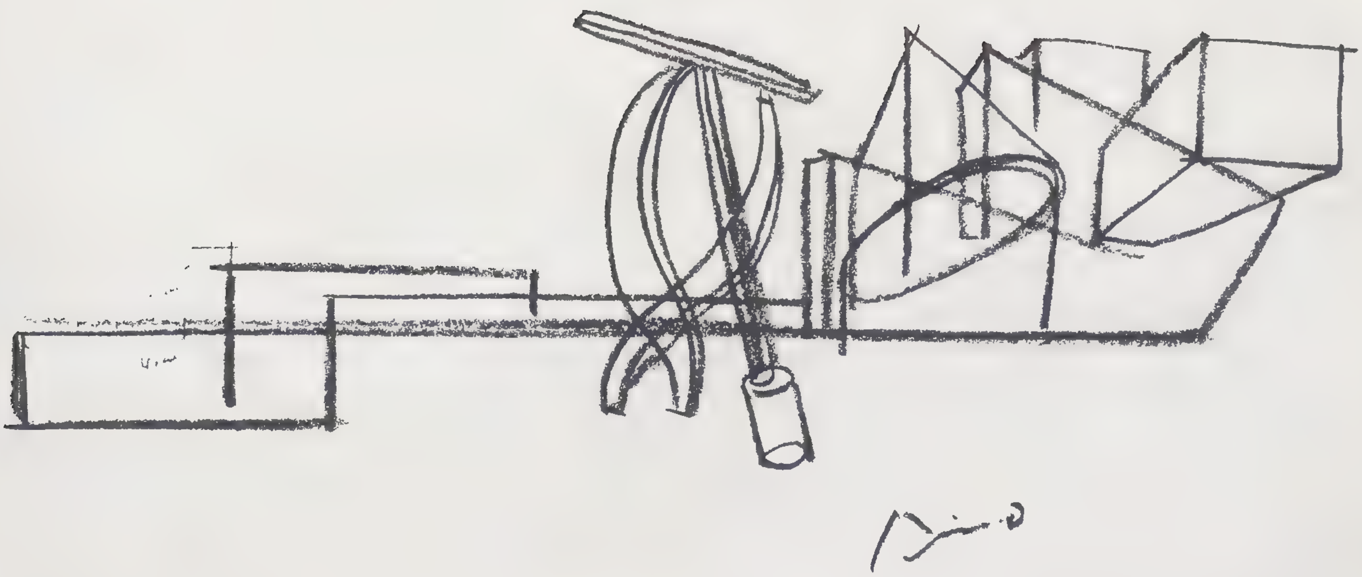
This seminar house was designed for a furniture company which produces a wide range of furniture by designers of both traditional and contemporary renown like Charles Eames, Mario Bellini, and Philippe Starck. The building, which is located near the company's production facility in southern Germany, accommodates various company activities, from staff training to conferences.
The principal focus of the project was the positioning of the building and its approach path, on the site, which is extremely flat. I decided to minimize the building on the site and to situate part of its volume underground. Using simple geometric forms — circles and squares — I formed a composition of contrasting volumes and voids and sought to generate a rich interior space. Frank O. Gehry's Vitra Design Museum stands nearby on the same site. Selecting an orientation for the building that would achieve harmony and balance with the Design Museum — and with a sculpture by Olbenburg located between the buildings — and avoid disturbing the existing trees on the site required careful deliberation.
Visitors make a circuitours loop around the Museum, past the outdoor sculpture, and approach the building along an L-shaped wall. The building has three elements — a rectangular volume running parallel to the walls of the square sunken court, a rectangular volume which penetrates the court at a 60-degree angle, and a cylindrical volume forming a spatial void that interlocks with the two rectilinear volumes.
There are two levels accommodating conference rooms, a library, private rooms, and a lobby, all of which open into the tranquillity of the sunken court. Inset into the flat site, the sunken court functions as a device to lure and retain natural elements — light and wind — within all spaces of the building. Nature imbues the architecture with color and helps to orchestrate daily life.



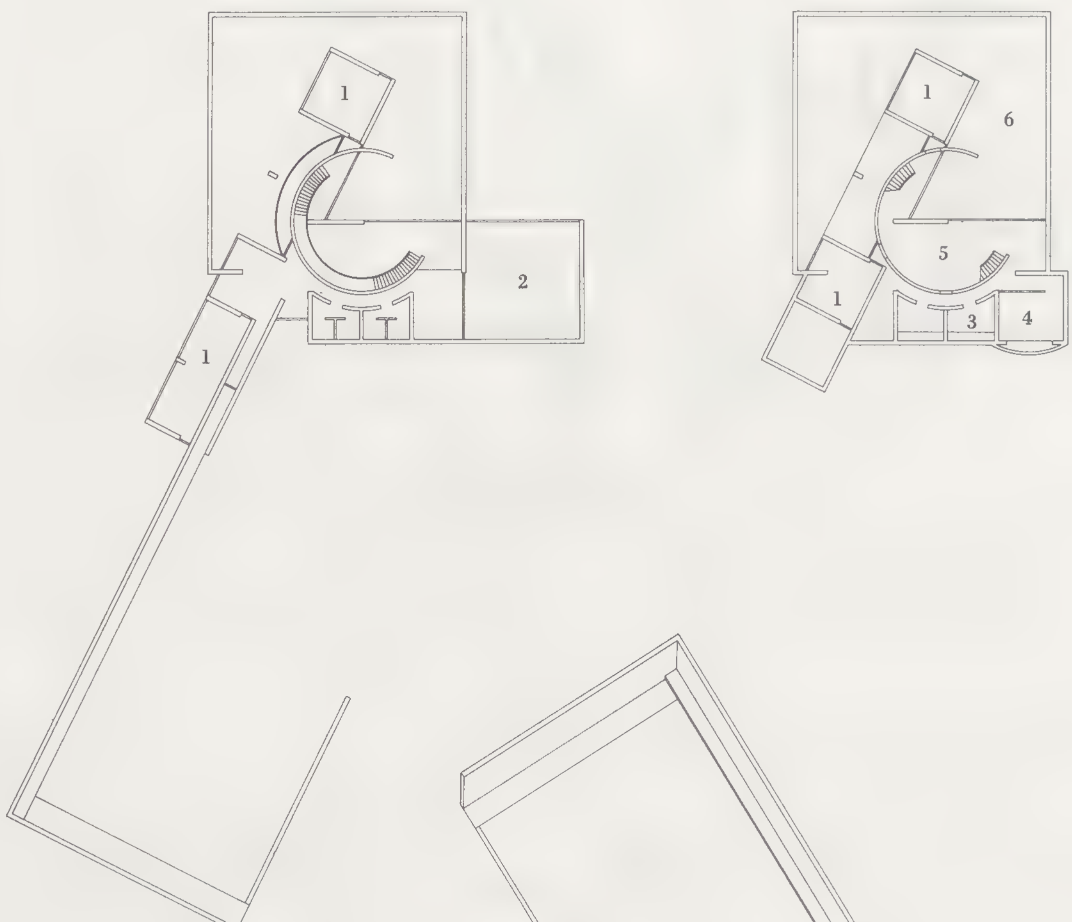
Vista zenitale del modello e schizzi di studio.

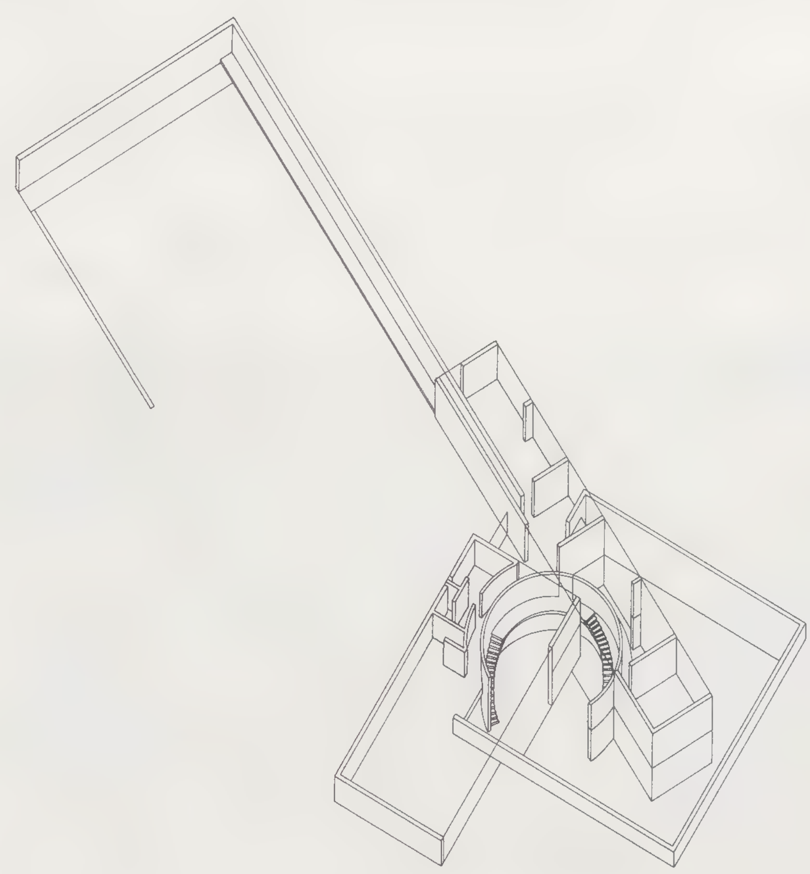
Overhead view of model and study sketches.





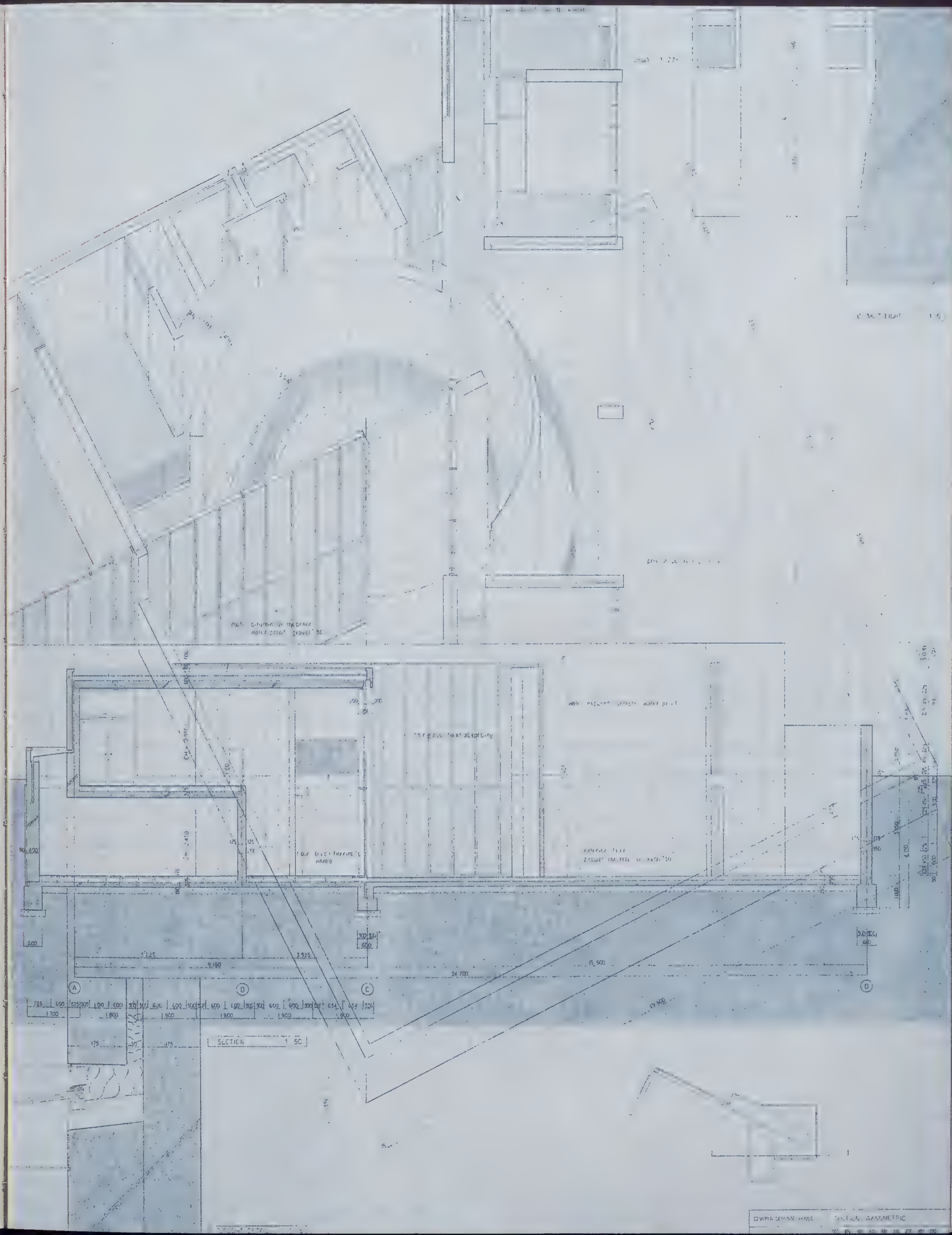






Sezione trasversale.
Piante del piano terreno e interrato: 1) sale per conferenze; 2) sala audiovisivi; 3) stanza per ospiti; 4) biblioteca; 5) hall; 6) corte ipogea.
Spaccato assonometrico.
Disegno di dettaglio.

Cross-section.
Ground-floor and basement plans: 1) lecture rooms; 2) audiovisuals room; 3) guest room; 4) library; 5) hall; 6) underground court.
Split axonometric.
Detailed drawing.


SECTION



Vista da est sulla corte ipogea.
Foto P. Warchol.

View of underground court from the east.
Photo P. Warchol.

Vista da est sulla corte ipogea.
Foto P. Warchol.

View of underground court
from the east.
Photo P. Warchol.







Vista della corte ipogea e vista interna.
Foto R. Bryant.

View of the underground court
and interior view.
Photos R. Bryant.



Viste esterna e interna della hall.
Foto R. Bryant.

Exterior and interior views of the lobby.
Photos R. Bryant.





Vista da sudest.
Foto R. Bryant.

View from southeast.
Photo R. Bryant.



Vista da sudest.
Foto R. Bryant.

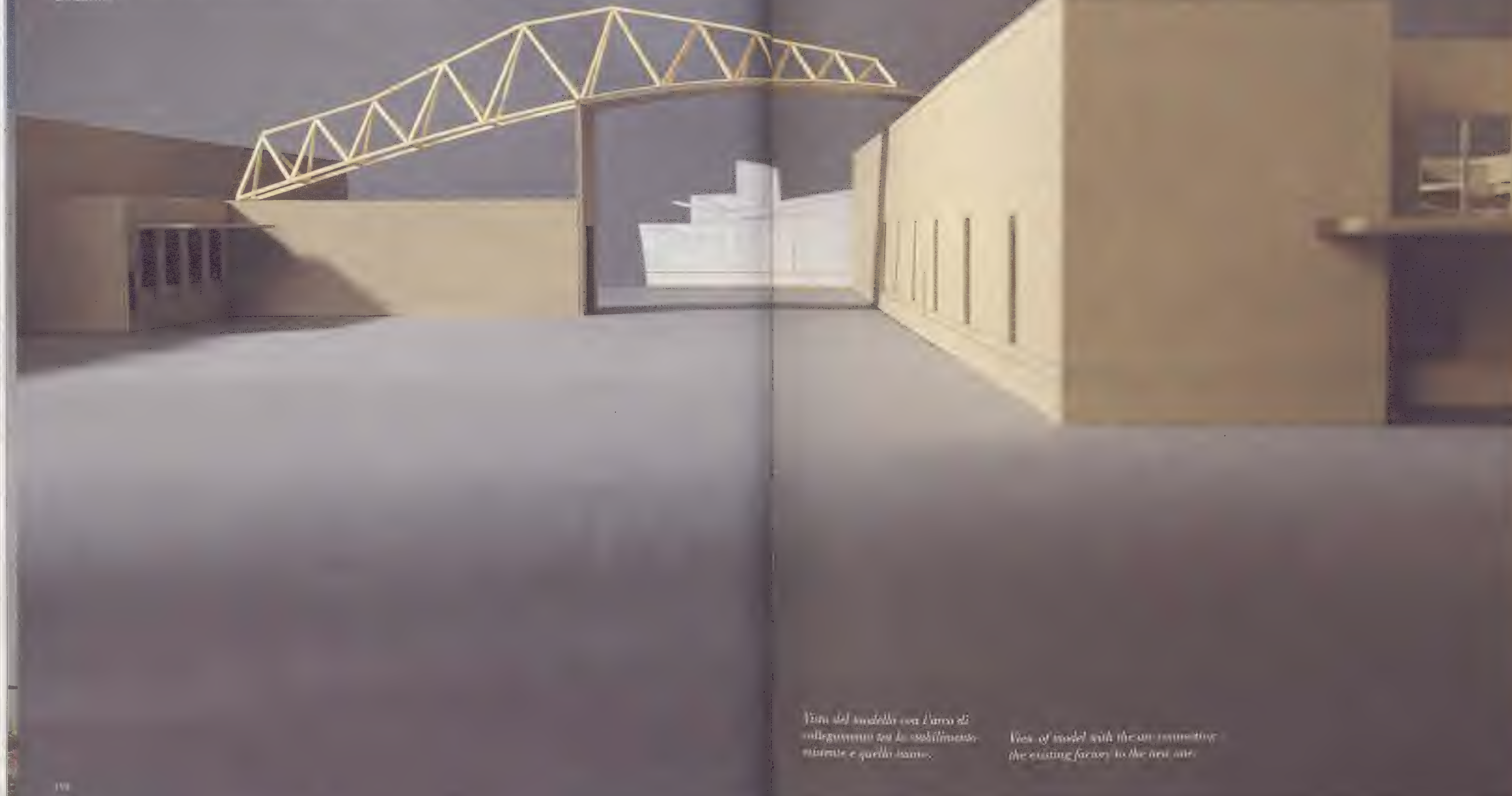
View from southeast.
Photo R. Bryant.

Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein

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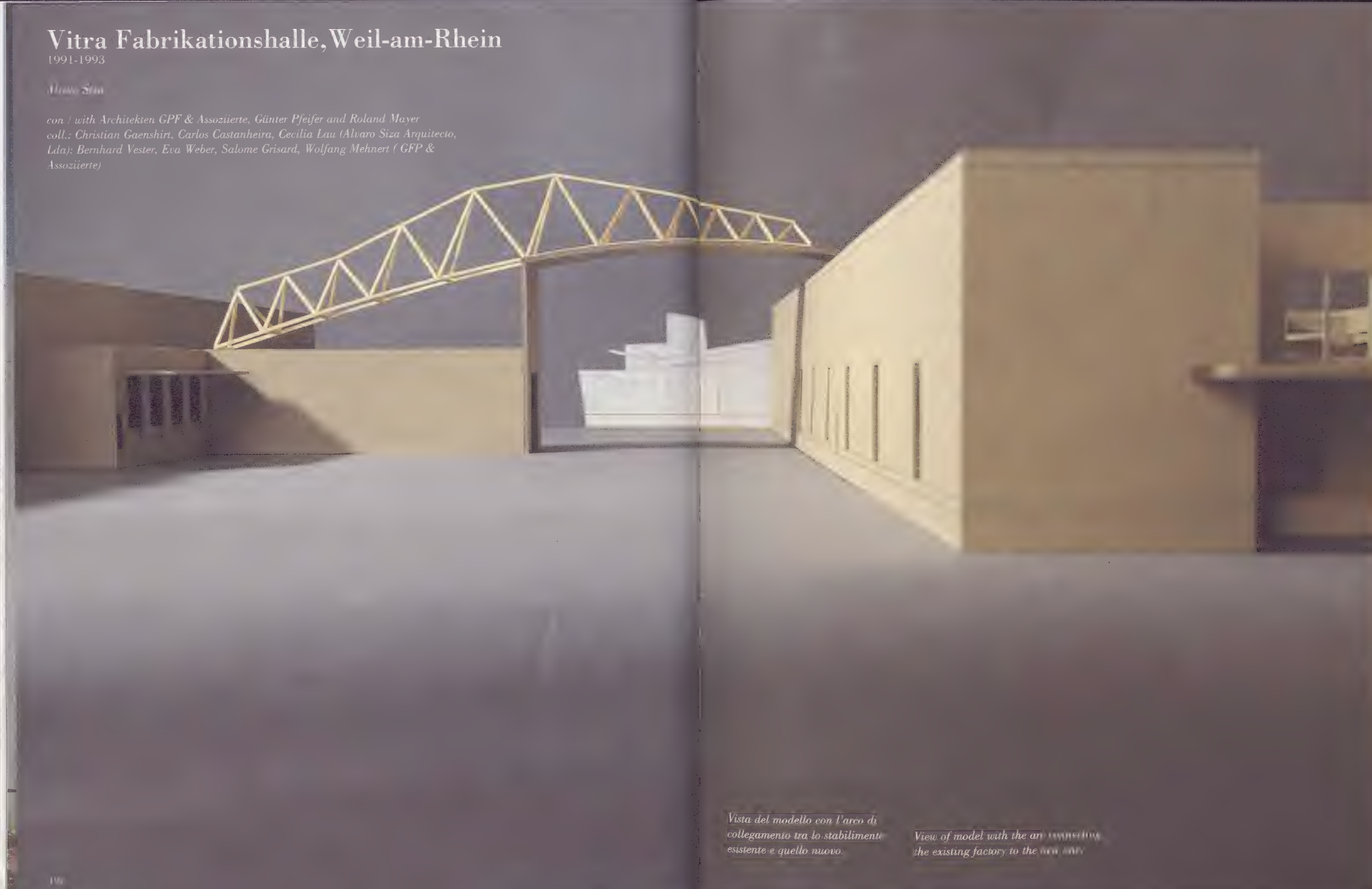
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Vista del modello con l'arco di collegamento tra lo stabilimento esistente e quello nuovo.

View of model with the arc connecting the existing factory to the new one.



Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein

1991-1993

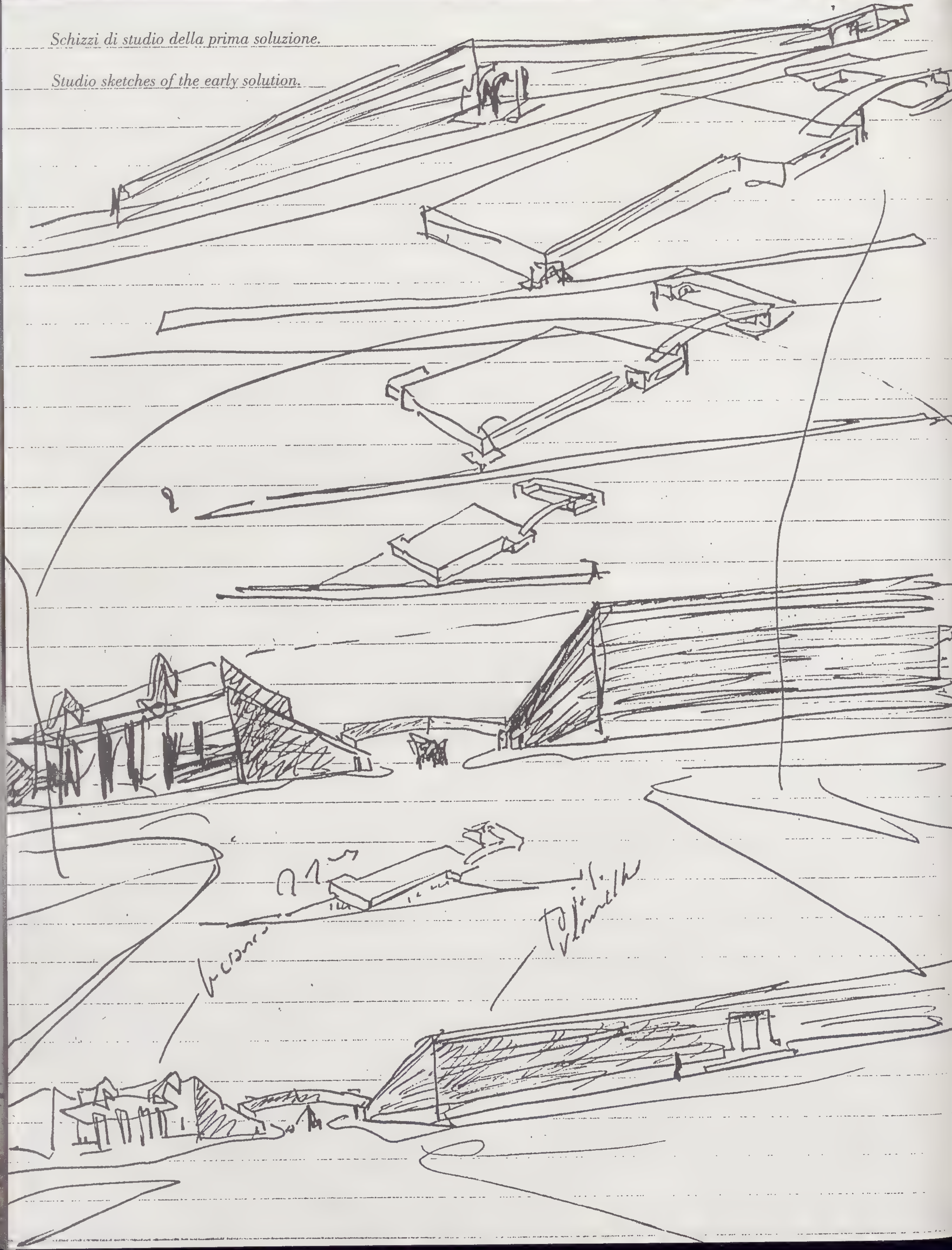
con / with Architekten GPF & Assoziierte, Günter Pfeifer and Roland Mayer
coll.: Christian Gaenshirt, Carlos Castanheira, Cecilia Lau (Alvaro Siza Arquitecto, Lda): Bernhard Vester, Eva Weber, Salome Grisard, Wolfang Mehnert (GFP & Assoziierte)

Vista del modello con l'arco di collegamento tra lo stabilimento esistente e quello nuovo.

View of model with the ar
the existing factory to the

Schizzi di studio della prima soluzione.

Studio sketches of the early solution.



Nuovo Stabilimento della Vitra, Weil-am-Rhein
Alvaro Siza

Il progetto dello stabilimento Vitra si è sviluppato in due fasi consecutive a partire dall'estate 1991, data dell'incarico per la progettazione di una fabbrica e di un immobile per uffici. Il progetto iniziale aveva collocato i due nuovi edifici ad ambo i lati di Charles Eames Street, la principale via di attraversamento dell'area della fabbrica, collegandoli fra loro mediante un'ampia arcata in cemento. Tale struttura, oltre a costituire un passaggio coperto da uno stabilimento esistente dietro il corpo a uffici al nuovo stabilimento, inquadrava la nuova Caserma dei vigili del fuoco realizzata da Zaha Hadid in fondo alla strada. Tuttavia, dal gennaio 1992, il progetto è stato modificato radicalmente con l'eliminazione degli uffici, non più necessari, e un notevole ampliamento della fabbrica, collocata sullo stesso terreno. L'arco, rimasto allo stesso posto con la funzione originaria, costituisce, per la sua posizione e le sue proporzioni in rapporto agli edifici confinanti, un punto di riferimento per tutto il complesso. La sua calotta in acciaio penderà da una trave a sbalzo anch'essa in acciaio la cui funzione è di staccarlo discretamente dal nuovo fabbricato. Col brutto tempo, la calotta verrà calata su quattro cavi e offrirà riparo dalle intemperie al personale e alle merci diretti allo stabilimento attiguo. Il nuovo fabbricato, utilizzato per le lavorazioni metalliche di Vitrashop, è coperto da un tetto in acciaio con lucernari lineari ed è sostenuto da colonne di cemento in linea con il reticolo degli stabilimenti esistenti. Tutti gli impianti — gas, elettricità, telefono, illuminazione e riscaldamento — sono alloggiati nella struttura in acciaio della copertura, lasciando l'interno completamente sgombro e adattabile ad ogni uso. Oltre ad un'area produttiva di mq. 9000, l'edificio alloggia un deposito automatizzato per tubi metallici, alcuni annessi per produzioni particolari, un impianto di trasformazione e, al secondo piano, locali per il personale disposti attorno ad un patio sopraelevato sull'angolo sud orientale del fabbricato. All'interno della grande area produttiva, sono collocati due padiglioni più piccoli che adempiono a funzioni specifiche: uno, dal tetto scultoreo, che serve ad alloggiare gli spogliatoi e l'ufficio dei capireparto e che rammenta, per le sue dimensioni, le case di campagna della zona; l'altro, una struttura metallica circolare somigliante a un UFO, sostenuta da quattro colonne in acciaio, che racchiude la sala di controllo dei macchinari computerizzati. Particolarmente curato è il progetto delle lunghissime facciate concepite in mattoni grezzi, con finestre in acciaio verniciato e zoccolo in granito portoghese. Lo stabilimento si rifà, dunque, per certi versi, alla gloriosa stagione dell'edilizia industriale ottocentesca, ma forse rimanda anche ad uno scenografico muro in mattoni di Villa Adriana.
Poiché l'edificio viene realizzato sul sito dell'ex parcheggio del personale, il progetto prevede un nuovo parcheggio per 400 vetture all'estremità occidentale del terreno, con pavimentazione a blocchi di cemento ed erba negli interstizi, e alla fine tutto ombreggiato da aceri.

New Vitra Factory Building, Weil-am-Rhein
Alvaro Siza

The Vitra factory project developed in two consecutive stages. In summer 1991 Siza was asked to design a factory and an office building for the Vitra campus in Weil-am-Rhein. Siza sited his new structures on either side of Charles Eames Street, the factory area's main thoroughfare, and joined them with a large concrete arch forming a sheltered walkway from an existing factory past Siza's office building to his new production hall. The arch also frames a view of Zaha Hadid's new fire station at the end of the street.
However, the Vitra plan has undergone drastic modification since January 1992. The office building is no longer necessary and the factory has to be much bigger than before, and on the same site.
The arch still retains its primary function on its original site and is now a landmark on the campus because of its positioning and scale in relation to neighbouring structures. Its steel canopy will be hung from a cantilevered steel truss to keep it at a discreet distance from the new production hall. In bad weather the canopy will be lowered on four cables to protect people and goods moving to and from the nearby factory.
The Vitrashop metal production factory has a steel roof with linear skylights supported by concrete columns set on the same grid as the existing factories. All installations like gas, electricity, telephone, lighting and heating are housed in the steel roof structure to make the floor area as flexible as possible. In addition to the production hall of around 9,000 square metres, the building contains an automated metal tubing store, special production rooms, a power sub-station and, on the second floor, staff rooms around an elevated patio in the south-eastern corner of the building.
Inside the large hall Siza has also installed two smaller buildings to house special functions, a small shed with restrooms and a foreman's office — the sculptural roof and scale are reminiscent of village houses in the surrounding countryside — and a round "UFO"-like metal structure on four steel columns that provides office space for the computers which run the machinery in the production hall.
Special care was taken over the design of the façades, which are very long with rough brick facing and painted steel window frames banded by Portuguese granite at the base. This creates the impression of some imposing nineteenth-century industrial building, although memories of a brick wall in the ancient Villa Hadriana are also discernible.
Because the new factory was built over what was once the staff car-park, Siza also designed a new parking area for four hundred vehicles on the Western edge of the campus with asphalt gangways and precast concrete grills in the parking bays that will allow the grass to grow through. The entire car-park will eventually be shaded by maple trees.





Vista del modello della prima soluzione.
Vista del modello del progetto in corso di realizzazione.

View of the model of the early solution.
View of the model of the project under construction.

Viste del modello della sala interna di controllo dei macchinari computerizzati.

View of the model of the internal computerised machinery control room.





Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein

1993

Zaha M. Hadid

Project Architect: Patrik Schumacher

Detail Design: Patrik Schumacher, Signe Hoffmann
Design Team: Simon Koumjian, Edgar Gonzalez, Kar Hwa Ho, Voon Yee-Wong,
Craig Kiner, Cristina Verissimo, Maria Rossi, Nicola Cousins, David Gomersall,
Olaf Weishaupt
Models: Daniel Chadwick, Tim Price
Project Management: GPF & Assoziierte, [illegible]
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Vom Südwesten
Foto C. Richters

View from the southwest
Photo C. Richters.

Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein

1993

Zaha M. Hadid

Project Architect: Patrick Schumacher

Detail Design: Patrick Schumacher, Signy Svalastoga
Design Team: Simon Koumjian, Edgar Gonzales, Kar-Hwa Ho, Voon Yee-Wong, Craig Kiner, Cristina Verissimo, Maria Rossi, Nicola Cousins, David Gomersall, Olaf Weishaupt
Models: Daniel Chadwick, Tim Price
Project Management: GFP & Assoziierte, Freie Architekten BDA, Roland Mayer with Jürgen Roth, Shahrlar Eetezadi, Eva Weber, Wolfgang Menhert



Vista da sudovest.
Foto C. Richters.

View from the
Photo C. Rich

Planimetria generale di studio con lo schema dei campi coltivati e delle vigne circostanti.

General study plan showing the layout of the surrounding fields and vineyards.



Stazione dei Vigili del Fuoco della Vitra, Weil-am-Rhein
Zaha M. Hadid

Strategie progettuali e concetti architettonici
Il progetto ha preso avvio dall'incarico di costruire una postazione antincendio nel settore nordoccidentale del vasto complesso dello stabilimento Vitra a Weil-am-Rhein, ma ben presto il programma è stato esteso alla progettazione dei muri perimetrali, di una rimessa per le biciclette e di una struttura per le esercitazioni dei vigili del fuoco.
In primo luogo, abbiamo effettuato uno studio globale del sito dello stabilimento, prefiggendoci l'obbiettivo di collocare le strutture richieste in modo che non risultassero soffocate dai grandi capannoni industriali, ma piuttosto contribuissero a dare forma a tutta l'area e a conferire identità e scansione alla principale via di attraversamento del complesso. Tale strada — che si estende dal Museo della sedia fino all'altra estremità del sito dove ora sorge la Caserma dei pompieri — era stata immaginata come un'area lineare a verde, quasi il prolungamento artificiale dello schema dei campi coltivati e delle vigne circostanti.
Da questo concetto sono derivate implicazioni specifiche per la Caserma dei pompieri che, invece di essere progettata come un oggetto isolato, è stata pensata come elemento di bordo della zona verde, definendo lo spazio piuttosto che occupandolo. Tale risultato è stato raggiunto ideando un fabbricato lungo e stretto che costeggia la strada.
L'edificio, collocato dove in precedenza la strada subiva un brusco scarto in parallelo, segue tale mutamento di direzione ponendosi obliquamente rispetto all'asse principale della strada e piegandosi su se stesso per assecondarne l'andamento. La geometria dell'edificio riflette l'intersecarsi dei due principali assi direzionali del sito a cui deve la sua origine. L'asse dei circostanti campi coltivati e del complesso industriale s'incrocia, infatti, con un secondo asse direzionale che taglia l'angolo del terreno e che deriva dalle numerose linee ferroviarie che passano da Weil-am-Rhein seguendo la direzione del Reno. Tale intersecarsi di assi, precedentemente assorbito all'interno del sistema rettilineo dell'area per mezzo di rotazioni e spostamenti ortogonali, adesso è ripreso dalla Caserma dei vigili del fuoco.
Oltre a delimitare il perimetro dell'area dello stabilimento, la Caserma fa anche da schermo agli edifici limitrofi che disturbano l'unitarietà del complesso Vitra.
Le funzioni di definizione dello spazio e di schermatura sono state il punto di partenza per l'elaborazione della concezione architettonica: una serie di pareti lineari, stratificate, perforate, inclinate e interrotte a seconda delle esigenze funzionali della Caserma racchiusa negli spazi da esse definiti.
La rottura principale è data dal movimento delle autopompe che tagliano il flusso lineare dei muri e del paesaggio circostante e che sono parcheggiate sotto un'ampia tettoia oltre le porte scorrevoli di una delle pareti. Altre pareti racchiudono due spazi lineari che s'intersecano e che sono

Vitra Fire Station, Weil-am-Rhein
Zaha M. Hadid

Design strategies and architectural concepts
The project began as a commission to build a fire station on the north-eastern edge of the vast Vitra complex in Weil-am-Rhein, and was soon extended to include the boundary walls of the site, a bicycle shed and training and exercise facilities for firefighters.
We began by studying the total site because we didn't want the elements commissioned from us to be lost among the huge existing factory sheds. We used these elements to structure the whole site by giving identity and rhythm to the main street running through the complex. This street — it stretches from the Chair Museum to the opposite end of the site — had been envisaged as a linear landscaped zone that artificially extended the linear patterns of the surrounding fields and vineyards.
This had specific implications for the fire station. Rather than designing the building as an isolated object, we envisaged it as the outer edge of the landscaped zone, defining rather than occupying space. We achieved this effect by designing a long narrow building flanking the street.
The building is sited at a point where a sudden corner once shifted the street onto a new parallel axis. The fire station reflects this by cutting the axis of the street at an angle and then folding in on itself to lead the road round. The geometry of the building is consistent with the two major geometrical configurations of the area. The linear orientation of the surrounding fields and factory site intersects with a second axis that slices off one corner of the otherwise four-square site in parallel with the railway tracks that follow the Rhein past Weil-am-Rhein. This collision of axes, formerly absorbed by orthogonal shifts and steps in the site itself, has been incorporated in the fire station.
While marking the edge of the site, the fire station also screens the Vitra complex from neighbouring buildings which confuse its identity.
The space-defining and screening functions of the building gave us the architectural concept of a linear, layered sequence of walls. The fire station inhabits the spaces between these walls which puncture, tilt or break depending on functional requirements.
The main puncture allows fire trucks to leave the building along an axis that cuts the linear flow of the walls and surrounding landscape. Sliding doors in one of the walls open to reveal the fire trucks parked under a large roof. Further walls enclose two other linear spaces that meet other functional requirements of the building. The wall beam spanning the garage space was extended to create a third space above. The building seems hermetic because its interiors open up vertically, not horizontally.
As you cross the spaces of the fire station you catch glimpses of red fire trucks whose manoeuvring lanes are marked in the asphalt (the firefighters' ritualised exercise and training routines will also be marked in the ground as choreographic

destinati ciascuno a una funzione diversa, mentre un terzo spazio sovrastante è generato dal prolungamento della travatura che abbraccia lo spazio della rimessa. L'edificio si presenta, dunque, ermetico ad una lettura frontale e rivela il proprio interno soltanto da una prospettiva perpendicolare. Passando attraverso gli spazi della Caserma, si intravedono le grandi autopompe rosse le cui linee di movimento sono segnate sull'asfalto, così come le esercitazioni ritualizzate dei pompieri s'inscriveranno sul terreno realizzando una serie di connotazioni coreografiche. Tutto l'edificio è movimento congelato che esprime la tensione dell'essere all'erta e l'eventualità di precipitarsi all'azione in qualsiasi istante. I muri sembrano scivolare l'uno sull'altro, mentre i grandi portali scorrevoli formano letteralmente delle pareti mobili.

La disposizione funzionale

Il progetto unifica due aree molto diverse fra loro: la rimessa delle autopompe e i vari servizi per i vigili del fuoco. Il ricorso a pareti scorrevoli caratterizza ambo le parti, la cui intersezione è espressa da una rottura o da una curvatura dell'asse dell'edificio nel punto in cui vi si accede. Da questo ingresso, che è anche il punto di controllo operativo di tutto il fabbricato, si passa alla rimessa attraverso il locale delle attrezzature dal quale è separata unicamente per mezzo di un piano a se stante. Progettata per cinque autopompe e divisa in cinque corsie poste ad un'angolatura di 60° rispetto alla parete d'accesso, due delle quali fuoriescono sul retro per consentire interventi di manutenzione esterni, la rimessa si presenta prospetticamente come una lunga parete di porte scorrevoli sovrastata da una copertura fluttuante.
Gli spazi per i pompieri sono suddivisi in tre corpi allungati, o raggi, rappresentati in prospetto da tre pareti volutamente distinte. Il primo raggio è formato da una serie di scompartimenti che alloggiano gli spogliatoi per 25 uomini e 10 donne e contiene anche i bagni, un locale adibito a pronto soccorso e uno per i servizi tecnici. Esteriormente si presenta come un muro massiccio inclinato, interrotto unicamente da una serie di strette feritoie. Il volume compatto e pluricellulare del raggio è tagliato da uno spazio lungo e continuo con un alto soffitto ascendente e una parete ininterrotta e lievemente ricurva a vetrate che caratterizza esternamente il secondo raggio ove è collocata l'area delle esercitazioni. Tre lunghe pareti divisorie costituite da armadietti metallici mediano il passaggio fra i due raggi in un punto in cui il soffitto si apre su una scala a mensoloni che sale al terzo raggio, il cosiddetto locale di ritrovo che funge anche da sala convegni. Tale spazio conduce alla terrazza che sovrasta la palestra e che, nell'altra direzione, dà sul tetto della rimessa. La parete esterna del terzo raggio è il proseguimento dell'elemento strutturale che racchiude la rimessa e si distingue per una lunghissima e relativamente bassa apertura con inserti a persiana che dà l'impressione di una ferita orizzontale inferta alla parete.

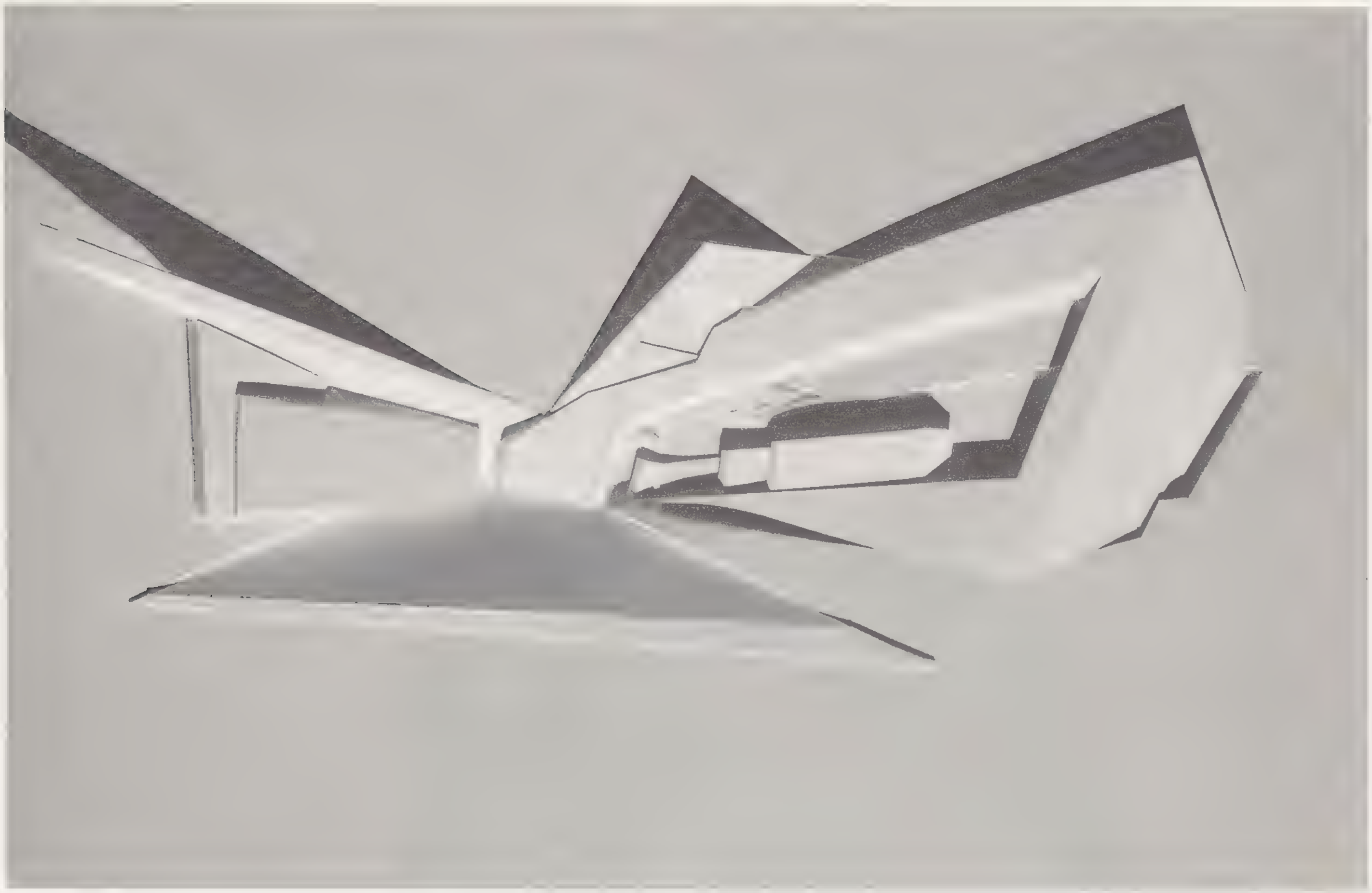
notations). The whole building conveys an impression of frozen movement, the tension of being on the alert, and seems ready to explode into action at any moment. The walls appear to slide past each other, while the large sliding doors literally form a moving wall.

Functional layout

The design unites two very different aspects of the brief: housing for firetrucks and facilities for firefighters. The stacked wall concept embraces both functions, which intersect in a break or bend in the line of the building at the exact point where the entrance is located.
This point of entry is also the control point from which the building is managed. Access to the garage is via the equipment area separated from the garage proper by a free-standing screen wall only. The garage itself is equipped to take five fire trucks. Five parallel lanes run at a 60° angle through the screen wall into the garage, with two emerging from the rear entrance to allow for outdoor maintenance. In elevation the garage is a long wall of sliding doors with a canopy floating above.
The firefighters' quarters are arranged in three long volumes, or "beams", which appear as three distinctive walls in elevation. One beam comprises a row of changing rooms for 25 male and 10 female firefighters, plus bathrooms, a first-aid room and a utilities room. The exterior, with a row of narrow slits as its only openings, is solid and tilts outwards. The compact, cellular volume of the beam is cut open by a long continuous space with a high, upward sloping ceiling and an unbroken, gently curving glass wall that forms the fitness centre. The second beam created externally by the curved glass wall has three long rows of steel cupboards — the lockers — which divide the two beams. A ceiling opening at the point where the beams meet houses a cantilevered staircase leading to a third beam — the club room, which also functions as a seminar room — which in turn leads to the terrace over the fitness centre and overlooks the garage roof in the other direction. The exterior wall of the third beam is a continuation of the structural beam that spans the garage and has a low louvred window opening, almost as if the wall has been sliced through horizontally.

Construction and materials

The entire building is made from site-mixed unfaced reinforced concrete. We decided this was the most suitable medium for the project because of its sculptural expressiveness and the ambitious structural spans and cantilevers it would enable us to create. We took special care to keep the edges really sharp: all fittings like roof edgings or claddings were avoided because they would have detracted from the simplicity of the building's prismatic form and the abstractness of the architectural concept. The frameless windows, the large sliding panels enclosing the garage and the interior treatment — including the lighting described below — are equally "devoid" of detail.
We used structural tours de force *to achieve the design*





Modelli di studio in rilievo.

Study relief models.



Planivolumetria e vista aerea.

Volumetric plan and aerial view.

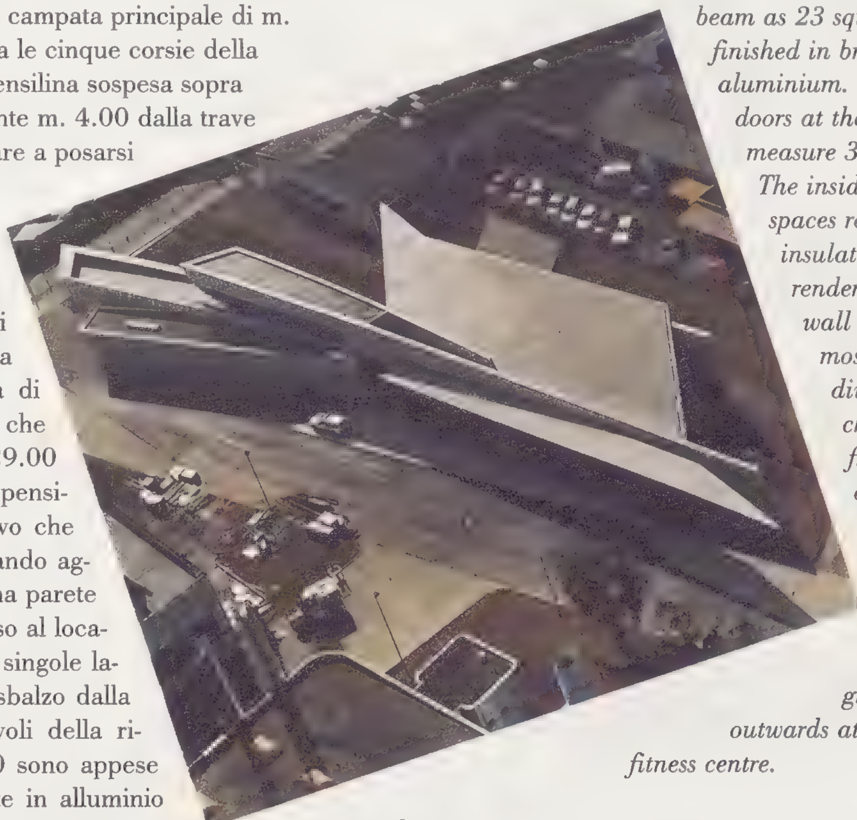
Costruzione e materiali

Tutto l'edificio è stato realizzato in cemento grezzo armato sul posto, rivelatosi il mezzo più adatto alle nostre intenzioni: espressività scultorea, lunghe campate e mensoloni strutturalmente ambiziosi. Cura particolare è stata dedicata alla nitidezza di tutti i profili, evitando qualsiasi accessorio come scossaline o rivestimenti del tetto che avrebbero distolto l'attenzione dalla semplicità della forma prismatica e dall'astrattezza della concezione architettonica. La stessa mancanza di dettagli caratterizza le vetrate prive d'intelaiatura, le grandi porte scorrevoli che racchiudono la rimessa, gli spazi interni e persino l'impianto di illuminazione descritto più avanti. Fra le ardite realizzazioni strutturali che conferiscono il voluto dinamismo all'opera possiamo enumerare: la campata principale di m. 32.00 di lunghezza che abbraccia le cinque corsie della rimessa e la zona d'accesso; la pensilina sospesa sopra l'ingresso di quest'ultima aggettante m. 4.00 dalla trave portante fino a dividersi per andare a posarsi su una serie di esili colonne da cui sporge di altri m. 12.00 lungo lo stesso asse; il lato minore della rimessa che è delimitata da una parete inclinata di mq. 90.00 interamente vetrata; la parete a vetrata ricurva e priva di intelaiatura della zona palestra, che chiude un'apertura di oltre m. 29.00 senza soluzione di continuità; la pensilina d'ingresso al locale di ritrovo che misura m. 21.00 e risvolta lasciando aggettare la pesante estremità di una parete lunga m. 70.00; la scala d'accesso al locale di ritrovo che è realizzata con singole lastre prefabbricate in cemento a sbalzo dalla parete. Le cinque porte scorrevoli della rimessa, le cui ante di mq. 23.00 sono appese alla trave principale, sono rifinite in alluminio graffiato, mentre le due porte a battente sul retro misurano mq. 30.00 ciascuna.

Le pareti delle aree che necessitano di coibentazione sono rinzaffate, quelle dei bagni sono piastrellate a mosaico di vetro, gli armadietti che segnano il confine fra gli spogliatoi e la palestra sono in ferro e acciaio inossidabile, mentre l'estremità della palestra è delimitata da una parete dorata inclinata verso l'esterno.

Illuminazione

L'illuminazione, che è parte integrante della struttura architettonica, non è costituita da punti luminosi ma si basa su un concetto di linearità. La luce, infatti, proviene da fessure incise nei piani piuttosto che da corpi sospesi nello spazio e le linee luminose indirizzano il movimento necessariamente preciso e veloce di tutto l'edificio. Nella rimessa, ad esempio, la luce emerge da incisioni nella pavimentazione che definiscono i percorsi delle autopompe.



dynamic we wanted. The main span over the five garage lanes, including the entrance, measures 32 metres and the canopy that floats above the garage cantilevers 4 metres from the main beam before splitting off to rest on a row of slender columns and then cantilever another 12 metres along its axis. The short end of the garage is enclosed by a 90 square metre tilted glass wall, and the curved, frameless glass wall of the fitness centre fills an opening with an unbroken span of over 29 metres. The club room opening measures 21 metres and actually turns the corner to allow the heavy top end of the 70 metre wall to cantilever out. The staircase leading to the club room is made from precast concrete slabs which cantilever separately from the wall. The five sliding doors enclosing the garage hang from the main beam as 23 square metre sheets finished in brushed aluminium. The two pivot doors at the back each measure 30 square metres. The inside surfaces of spaces requiring insulation have less render. The bathroom wall is tiled in glass mosaic. The lockers dividing the changing rooms from the fitness centre are in steel and stainless steel respectively on either side. A gilded wall tilts outwards at the end of the fitness centre.

Lighting

All the lighting is fully integrated with the architecture, and is based on a line rather than point concept. These lines are inserted into surfaces to form slits from which light emanates, rather than units that protrude in space. Light lines also facilitate movement in the fire station, which has to be fast and accurate. For example, the garage is lit by floor slits which also mark out lanes for the fire trucks.

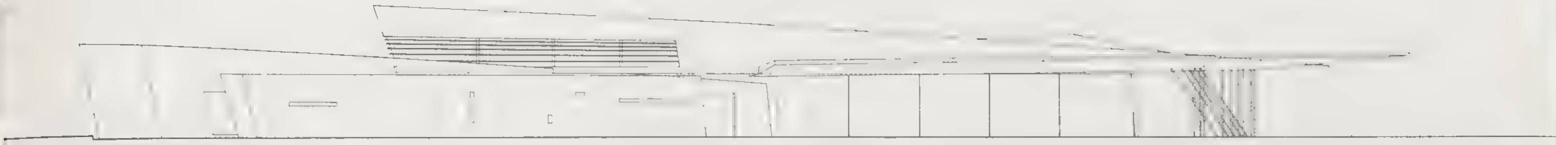




Piante dei piani terreno e primo.
Prospetti.
Sezioni trasversali e longitudinali.

Plans of ground and first floors.
Elevations.
Longitudinal and cross sections.

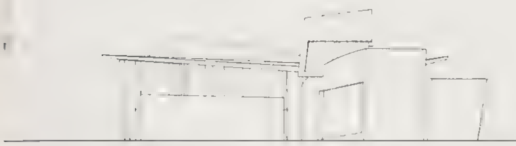
FIRST FLOOR PLAN
PROJECT FIRE STATION VITRA



STREETSIDE ELEVATION



REAR ELEVATION



WEST ELEVATION



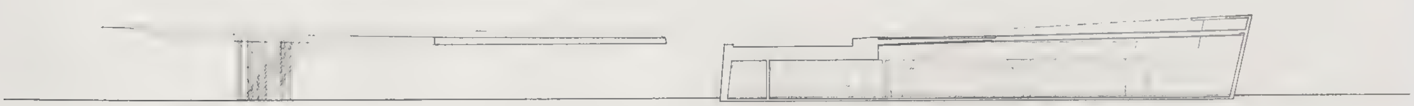
EAST ELEVATION



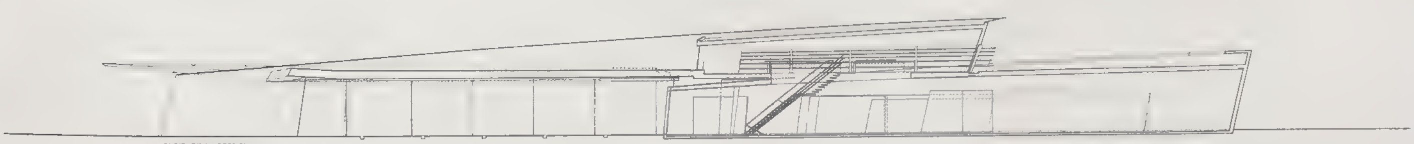
CROSS SECTION



CROSS SECTION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION



Composizione di studio.

Study composition.



Composizione di studio.

Study composition.

Viste da est, da nord e da nordest dell'autorimessa.
Foto C. Richters.

Views of the garage from the east, north and northeast.
Photos C. Richters.









Viste dell'ingresso. *Views of the entrance.*
Foto C. Richters. *Photos C. Richters.*



Vista da sudovest e vista interna sugli spogliatoi e la palestra.
Foto C. Richters.

View from the southwest and interior view of the changing rooms and gym.
Photos C. Richters.







Vista dell'autorimessa.
Foto C. Richters.

View of the garage.
Photo C. Richters.



Vista dell'autorimessa.
Foto C. Richter.

View of the garage.
Photo C. Richter.



The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

1989–1993

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Principal-in-charge: Robert Venturi
Associate-in-charge: [illegible]

Project Manager: [illegible]
[illegible]

Structural Consultant: Keast & Hood, Inc.
Mechanical, electrical, plumbing Consultant: Marvin Waxman Consulting Engineers
Civil Consultant: Morris Associates
Lighting Consultant: Jules Fisher & Paul Marantz, Inc.
Security Consultant: Chapman Ducibella Associates, Inc.
Cost Consultant: International Consultants, Inc.
[illegible]

Vista da sudest delle biblioteche Stevenson (a sinistra) e Hoffman (a destra).
Foto M. Wurts

View from the southeast of the Stevenson (left) and Hoffman (right) Libraries.
Photo M. Wurts



The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

Structural Consultant: Keast & Hood, Inc.
Mechanical, electrical, plumbing Consultant: Marvin Waxman [illegible]
Civil Consultant: Morris Associates
Lighting Consultant: Jules Fisher & Paul Marantz, Inc.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Vista da sudovest delle biblioteche Stevenson (a sinistra) e Hoffman (a [illegible]

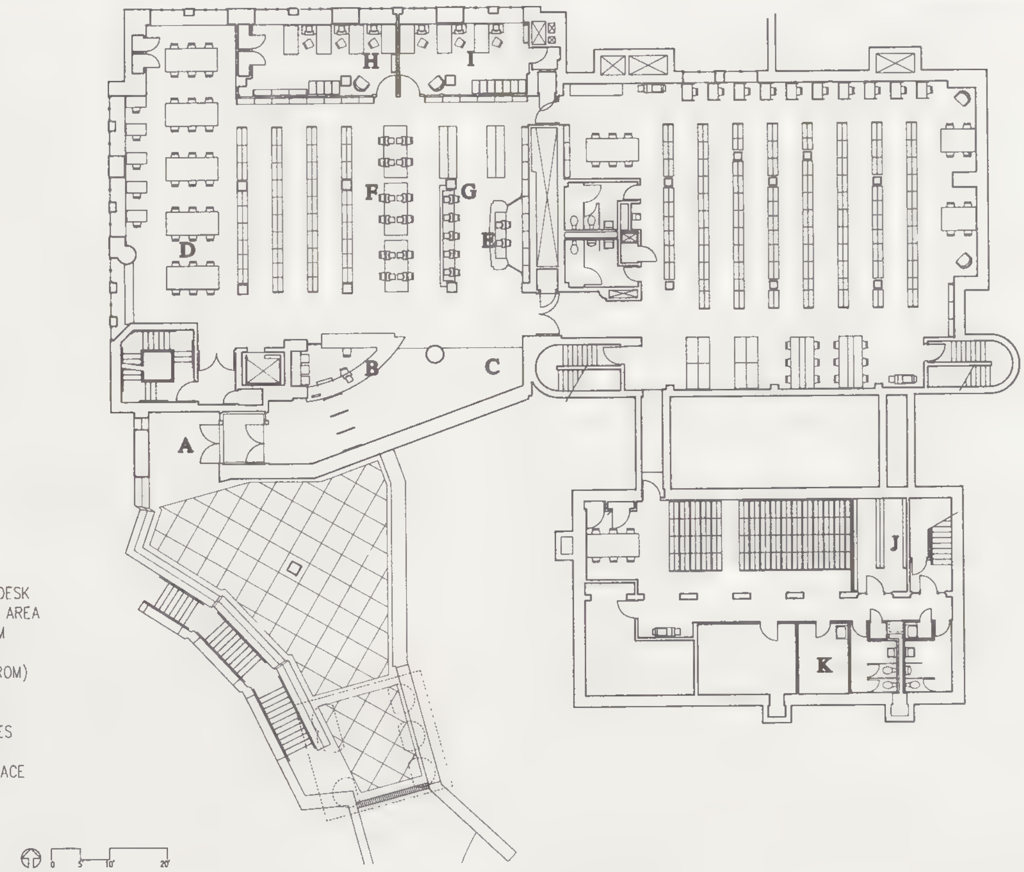
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La Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library del Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

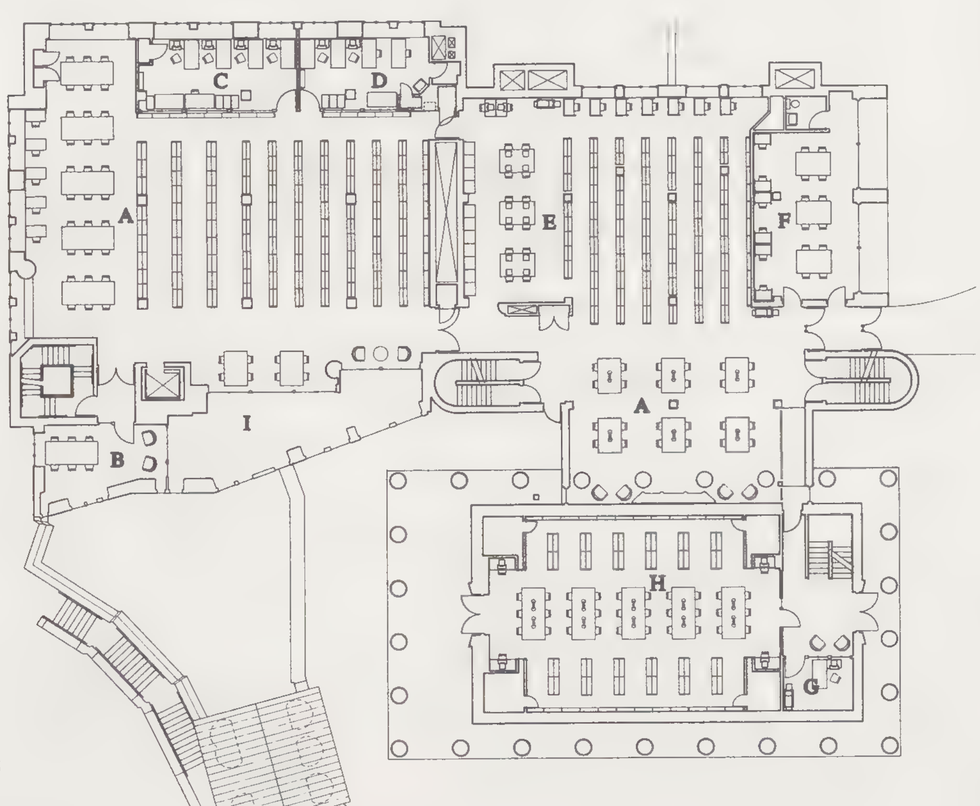
Il Bard College ha incaricato lo studio VSBA di ampliare e ristrutturare le biblioteche esistenti trasformandole in un complesso d'avanguardia in grado di porsi come punto di riferimento intellettuale e simbolico di tutto il *campus*. Il programma prevedeva il raddoppio delle dimensioni attuali fino ad arrivare ad una capacità di 230.000 volumi e di 400 posti a sedere, l'ampliamento dei servizi computerizzati, la creazione di appositi locali di studio e per seminari, il miglioramento dell'acustica e l'introduzione di nuovi sistemi meccanici. Si chiedeva, infine, l'integrazione della nuova addizione con il tempio in stile *Greek Revival* del 1893 e con il suo ampliamento (addizione Kellogg) del 1974. Nel complesso, il programma comportava nuove opere per circa mq. 2600 e lavori di ristrutturazione per circa mq. 2400.
Il principale accesso al nuovo complesso bibliotecario dal viale settentrionale del *campus* (North Mall), pur con la realizzazione di un nuovo padiglione di ingresso a se stante, preserva la vista attuale sull'originale Hoffman Library, con il suo colonnato e il tetto di rame. Tale padiglione, con la vivacità dei suoi colori, annuncia la presenza del complesso e contribuisce a creare una nuova piazza d'accesso esterna. Posta sul singolare sperone roccioso dove, come su un'acropoli, sorge il tempio della Hoffman Library, la piazza si affaccia sul suggestivo panorama del campo sportivo e dei monti Catskill verso occidente e funge, inoltre, da soleggiato luogo d'incontro e di studio all'aria aperta.
Visti accanto al tempio della Hoffman Library, il vetro e l'alluminio variopinti del *curtain wall* della nuova ala fanno, al contempo, da complemento e da contrappunto all'eroico classicismo dell'esistente colonnato *Greek Revival* grazie alla loro scansione verticale e al ricorso a colori complementari e contrastanti.
Il progetto dell'esterno del nuovo intervento ha voluto entrare in sintonia con il contesto ricorrendo all'analogia, ma anche al contrasto: analogia data dalla scansione della facciata meridionale dell'ala nuova che riprende ritmo e composizione del colonnato del tempio; contrasto ottenuto con il vivace cromatismo della nuova facciata che si prefigge di costituire un polo d'attrazione di questa zona del *College* segnando l'ingresso al complesso bibliotecario. Le facciate della nuova ala rivolte a nord e ad ovest, e quindi non verso la Hoffman Library, richiamano i classici fabbricati industriali del Diciannovesimo secolo dai finestroni di generose proporzioni e regolarmente distanziati. Questo riferimento storico si addice al collocamento dell'edificio sulla china di un pendio e indica la precisa volontà di non competere con il modello classico del tempio. Il fronte meridionale, come una moderna facciata *curtain wall*, è l'elemento più adatto per creare uno sfondo congruente al tempio, consentendo di vedere dall'interno la sua facciata e di percepire dall'esterno la vita interna della Biblioteca, facendone risaltare il fervore di attività soprattutto di sera. Questo concetto di biblioteca come spazio conviviale è essenziale nella concezione progettuale della nuova addizione.
La struttura interna di quest'ala della Biblioteca rispecchia quella tipica del *loft*, la cui tradizione va dagli edifici industriali del New England degli ultimi due secoli, ai nuclei originari della tipologia del *College* americano del Diciottesimo secolo — come la Nassau Hall di Princeton e edifici simili delle Università William and Mary o di Dartmouth — al Palazzo italiano del Quindicesimo secolo. Tutti questi edifici racchiudono ambienti vasti e generici adatti ad utilizzi molteplici e adattabili all'evolversi delle esigenze nel tempo.
All'interno della nuova ala della Biblioteca del Bard College gli spazi individuali, destinati a uffici e attività accademiche specifiche, sono alloggiati lungo le pareti esterne dove penetra la luce naturale, mentre il cuore dell'edificio è riservato principalmente agli scaffali dei libri.
Lungo la parete meridionale un singolo ambiente di altezza quadrupla, costituendo un'eccezione alla tipica disposizione, a *loft*, conferisce allo spazio un senso di globalità e offre una vista unica e suggestiva sul *campus* in basso e sul tempio in alto.

The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

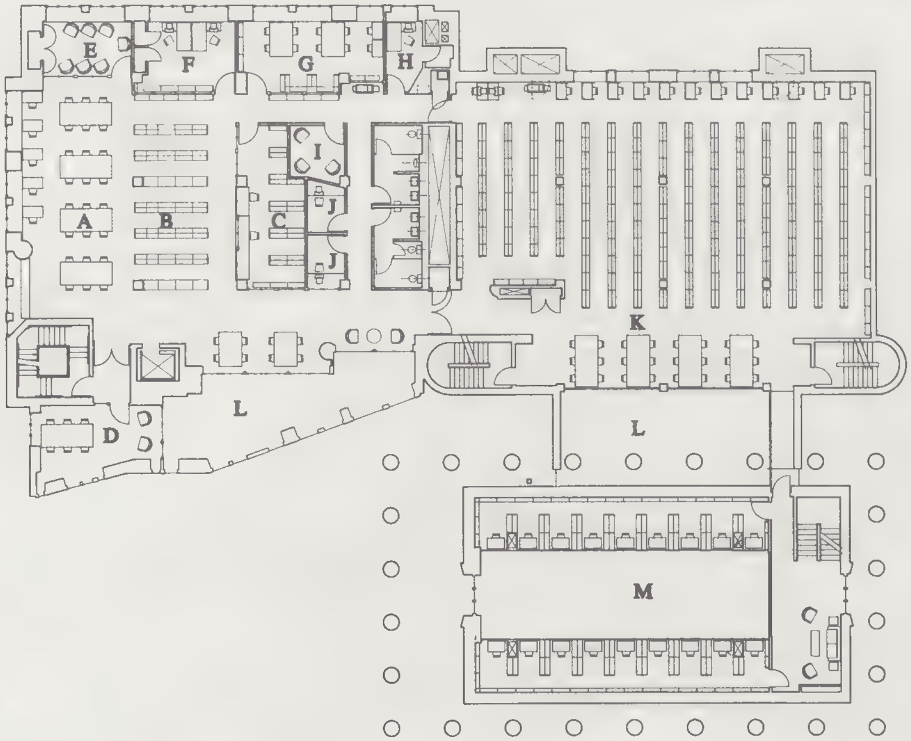
Bard College has retained VSBA to expand and renovate its existing buildings into a state-of-the-art library complex capable of serving as the intellectual and symbolic focal point of the campus. Design requirements include doubling the size of the library to ultimately accommodate 230,000 volumes and seating for 400 users, expanding its computer capabilities, providing specialized study and seminar rooms, improving acoustics, introducing new mechanical systems and integrating the new addition with the original 1893 Greek Revival temple and its 1974 addition. The new addition encompasses 28,000 sf and the renovation updates 26,000 sf.
The principal approach to the new library complex from the North Mall of the campus preserves the existing view of the original colonnaded and copper-roofed Hoffman Library while featuring a new freestanding entrance pavilion.
The pavilion, with its lively coloration, announces the library complex and helps to form a new outdoor entrance plaza. The plaza, poised along the original Acropolis-like rock plateau siting of the Hoffman temple provides a dramatic overlook to the athletic field and Catskill mountains to the west as well as serving as a sunny outdoor meeting and study space.
As seen adjacent to the Hoffman temple, the multi-colored aluminum and glass of the new entrance atrium curtain wall, simultaneously complements and provides a counterpoint to the heroic classicism of the existing Greek colonnade through its vertical rhythms and use of related and contrasting colors.
The design for the exterior of the library complex chose to create contextual harmony by means of analogy and *contrast — analogy via the rhythmic quality of the south facade of the new wing taking off from the rhythm of the composition of columns of the temple — and contrast via the vivid chromatic quality of the new facade as it works to create an accent in this part of the campus signifying entrance to the library complex. The facades of the addition facing north and west, and thus away from the Hoffman library, recall those of generic 19th century mill buildings with generously scaled and regularly rhythmic windows. This historical reference fits with the positioning of the building into the side of an incline, and acts not to compete with the classical model of the temple. The south elevation as a faceted modern glass curtain wall, acts as an appropriate element for creating a large scale backdrop for the temple, while allowing views out to the temple-front from inside, and into the library from the outside, and exposing liveliness and activity within, especially at night. This idea of the library as "friendly" space is important to the design of the new addition.*
The interior layout of this library wing is that of the generic loft building — whose tradition includes the New England factory building of the last two centuries, the original 18th-century American college building like Nassau Hall at Princeton or similar buildings at William and Mary or Dartmouth, and the Italian palazzo of the 15th century. All of these buildings enclose generalized and generous interior spaces for varieties of uses flexibly accommodating evolutionary change over time.
The interiors of the wing at Bard generally accommodate individual uses toward the edges where natural light penetrates — uses including carels and offices. The interior of the interior is for book stacks mostly.
An exception to the generic loft order occurs along the south wall where a single space penetrates four stories and promotes a sense of a whole and exploits the unique and engaging view out toward the campus below and the temple above.



A. ENTRANCE
B. MAIN CIRCULATION DESK
C. NEW BOOK DISPLAY AREA
D. MAIN READING ROOM
E. REFERENCE DESK
F. OPTICAL DISC (CD ROM)
G. ON-LINE CATALOG
H. READERS SERVICES
I. DATA BASE SERVICES
J. CLOSED ARCHIVE
K. ARCHIVAL WORK SPACE



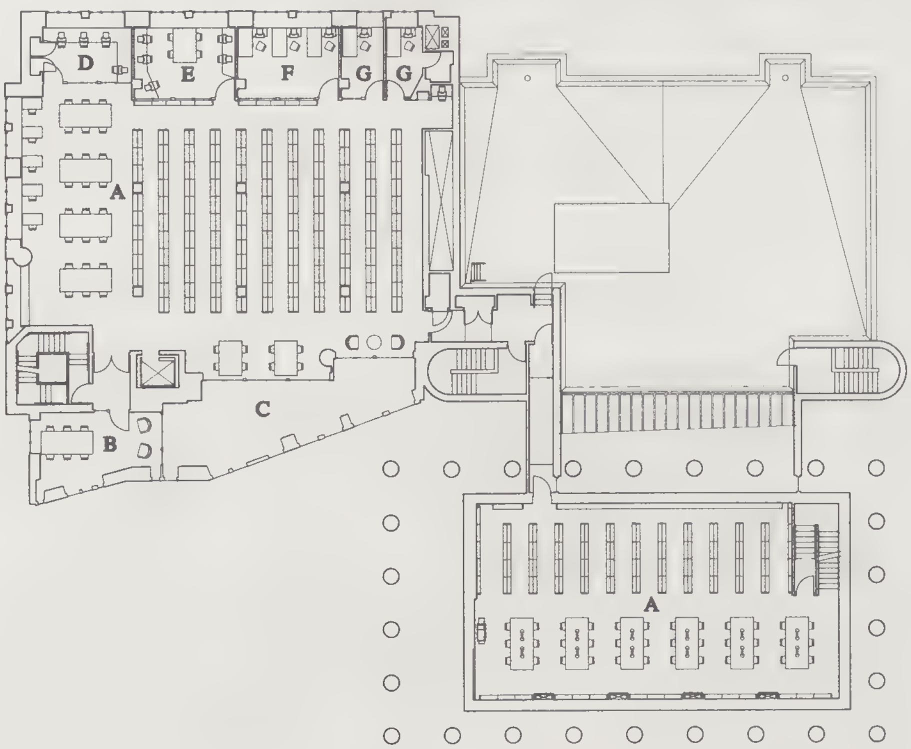
A. READING ROOM
B. SEMINAR / GROUP STUDY ROOM
C. INTERLIBRARY LOAN OFFICE
D. PERIODICALS OFFICE
E. MICROFILM READERS
F. ALL-NIGHT READING ROOM
G. ARCHIVIST'S OFFICE
H. ARCHIVES / SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
I. OPEN TO BELOW



A. RESERVE READING ROOM
B OPEN RESERVE
C. CLOSED RESERVE
D. SEMINAR / GROUP STUDY ROOM
E. AUDIO VISUAL ROOM
F. RESERVE OFFICE
G. MUSIC ROOM
H. FACULTY STUDY
I. MUSIC LISTENING ROOM
J. FACULTY STUDY / SUPER-CARREL
K. READING ROOM
L. OPEN TO BELOW
M. SPECIAL COLLECTION

Piante dei piani terreno, primo, secondo e terzo.

Plans of levels one, two, three, four.



A. READING ROOM
B. SEMINAR / GROUP STUDY ROOM
C. OPEN TO BELOW
D. WORD PROCESSING AREA
E. COMPUTER RESOURCE ROOM
F. GROUP FACULTY STUDY
G FACULTY STUDY



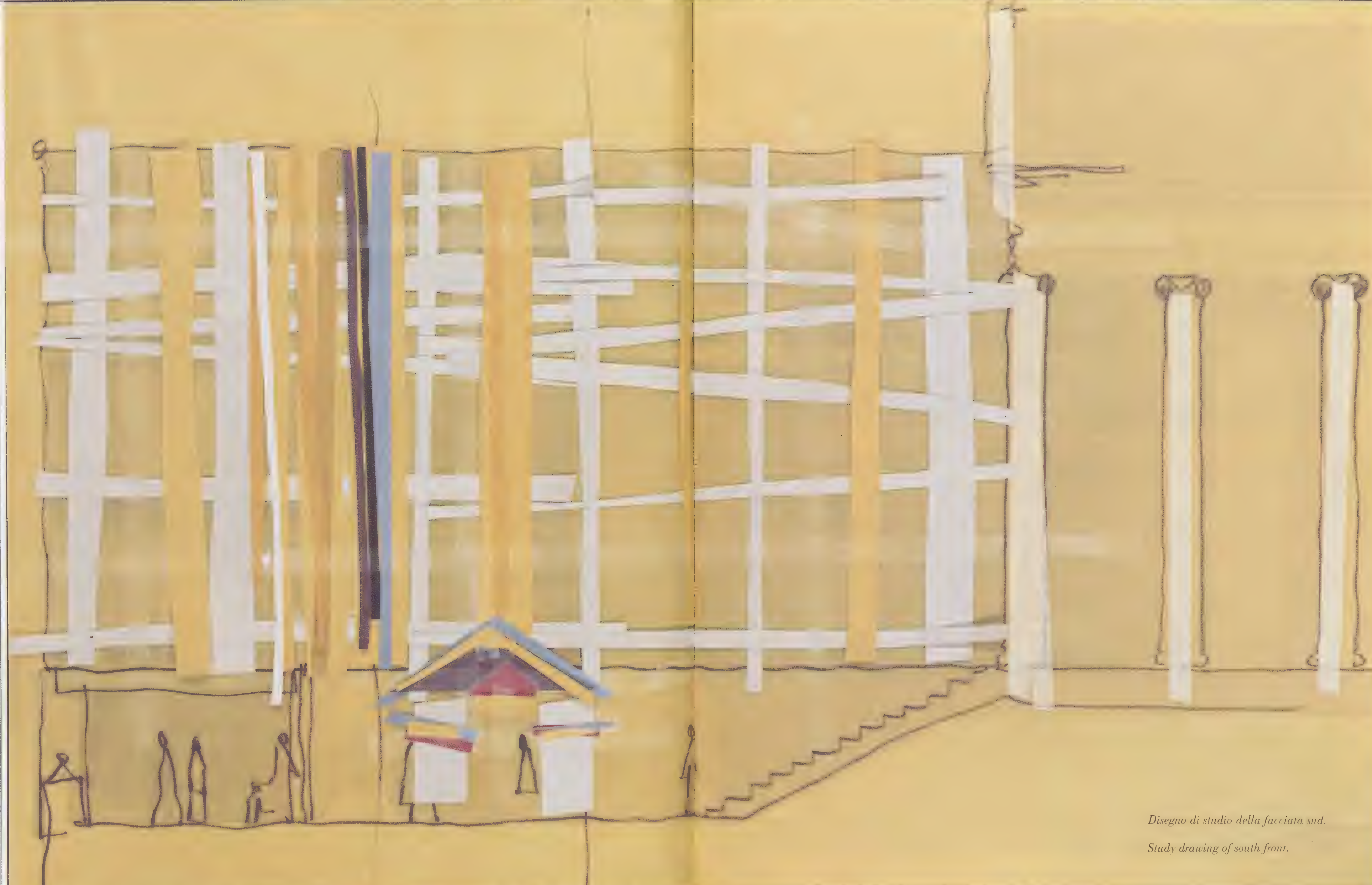
Vista da sud con il padiglione d'ingresso.
Foto M. Wurts.

View from the south of the main entrance.
Photo M. Wurts.



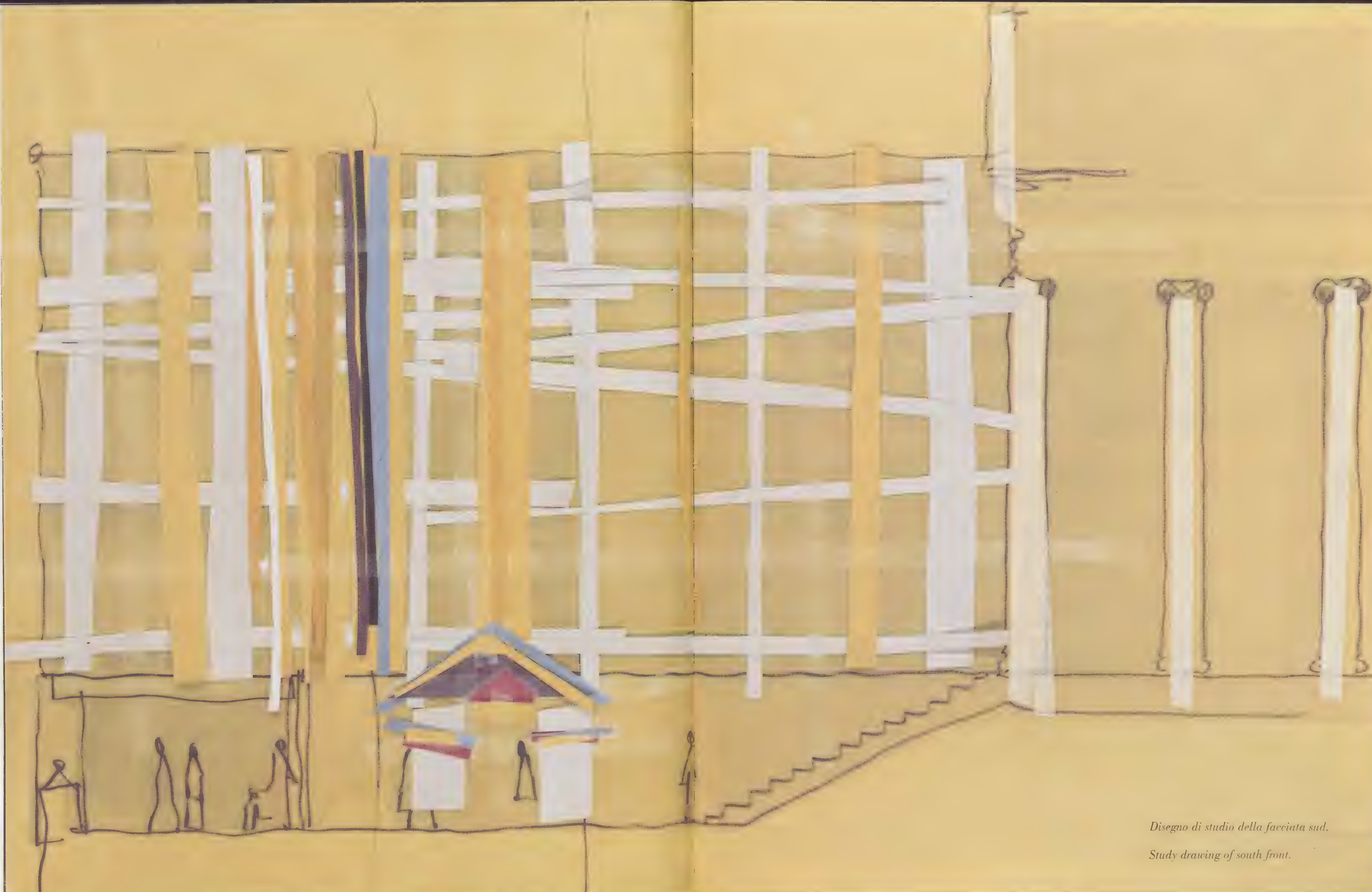
Vista da sud con il padiglione d'ingresso.
Foto M. Wargo.

View from the south of the main entrance.
Photo M. Wargo.



Disegno di studio della facciata sud.

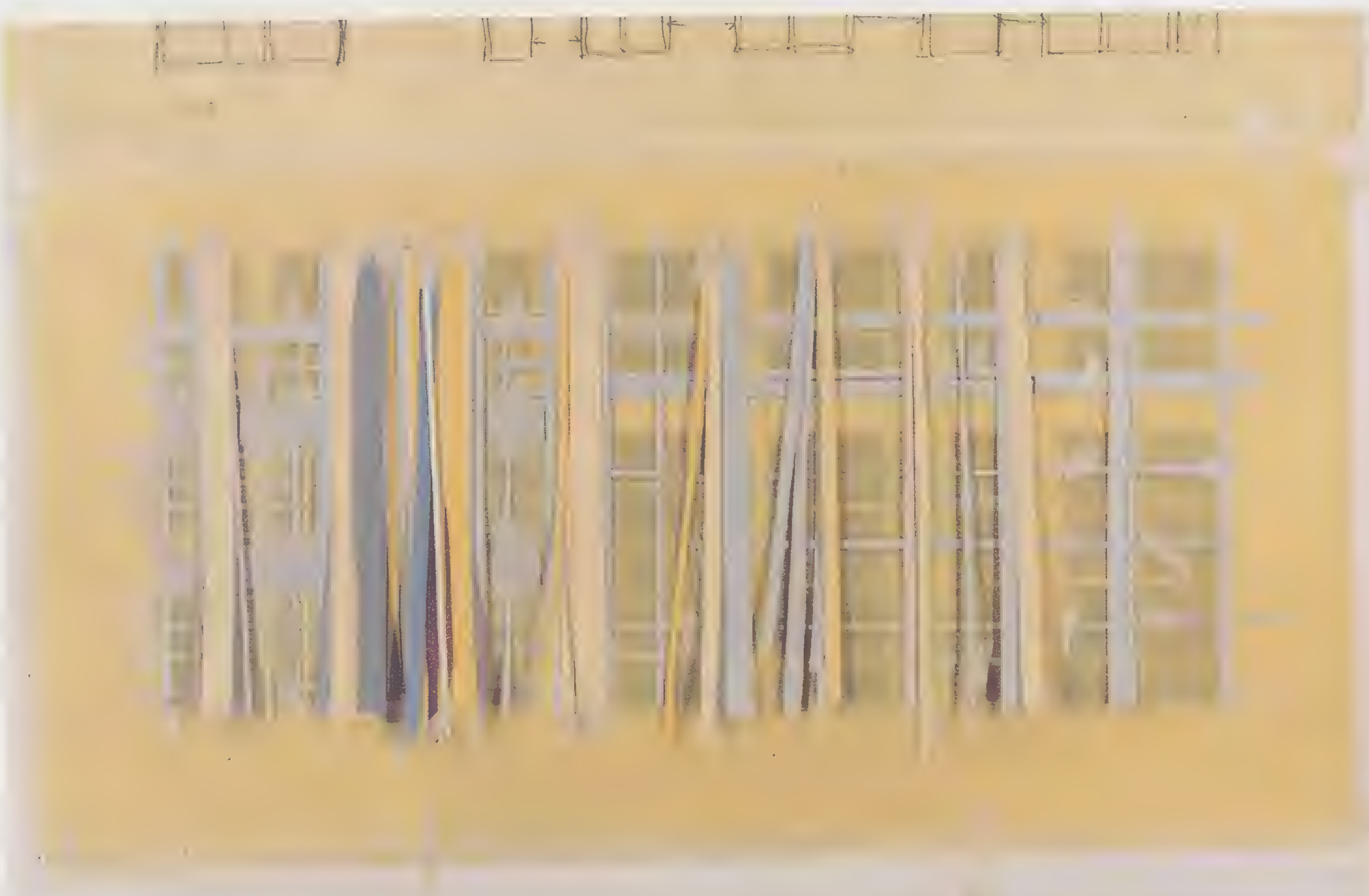
Study drawing of south front.



Disegno di studio della facciata sud.

Study drawing of south front.


See
RV



Disegni di studio della facciata sud. *Study drawing of south front.*





Viste da sudovest.
Foto M. Wargo.

Views from the southwest.
Photos M. Wargo.







Vista dalla biblioteca Hoffman e vista da sud.
Foto M. Wargo.

View from the Hoffman Library and view from the south.
Photos M. Wargo.



Viste interne.
Foto M. Wargo.

Interior views.
Photos M. Wargo.





Ampliacion del Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona

1991

Emilio Donato



Veduta del nuovo complesso cimiteriale (fotomontaggio).

View of the new cemetery complex (photomontage).

Ampliacion del Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona

1991

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Veduta del nuovo complesso cimiteriale (fotomontaggio).

View of the new cemetery complex (photomontage).

Progetto di ampliamento del Cimitero municipale di Gavá, Barcellona
Emilio Donato, Miguel Jiménez

Il nuovo cimitero presenta un carattere essenzialmente urbano, in forza della sua ubicazione molto vicino alla città di Gavá, ma anche della ridotta superficie di terreno disponibile. Infatti sarebbero occorsi almeno 10 ettari per realizzare un modello estensivo-paesaggistico, anziché i 3 realmente disponibili. Ciò ha imposto un sistema intensivo, del resto tradizionale nella nostra cultura latina o mediterranea. Sia il voluminoso programma progettuale — 1.000 tombe, 8.000 loculi e 400 ossari —, sia la volontà di conferire carattere e forza all'intervento, ci hanno portato ad "inventare" una nuova tipologia che, senza che ce lo fossimo proposti, va oltre i semplici e conosciuti recinti di loculi dei nostri cimiteri tradizionali. La soluzione proposta deriva sostanzialmente dall'intento di sfruttare al massimo le opportunità strutturali offerte dai pannelli laterali del sistema *multitunnel* per la realizzazione di loculi prefabbricati in cemento armato, e dall'aver sovrapposto in altezza diverse piattaforme sulla verticale di tali pannelli. Dentro tale scelta si intuisce il vantaggio di ridurre progressivamente queste piattaforme per consentire ampi ingressi di luce e aria; contemporaneamente l'andamento scalare attenua l'effetto paesaggistico di una volumetria eccessivamente cubica. Di fatto, la sezione piramidale si impone dal momento in cui si abbandona la tipologia a blocchi lineari — a uno o più piani —, così logicamente legata alla tradizione produttivistica moderna. È chiaro che la tipologia a blocco in linea — di origine residenziale — ha un suo corrispondente, e persino un precedente, nella composizione seriale di blocchi di loculi, usuale nella maggior parte dei cimiteri "latini" più diffusi dell'architettura tardomoderna. Indipendentemente da altre ragioni, il tipo lineare traduce la nozione di frammento indifferenziato di una successione indefinita e persino dilazionata nel tempo di chiara ispirazione industriale, intrinseca ai concetti di taylorizzazione e meccanizzazione dell'ideologia moderna. Così, un cimitero non è altro che un "campo" santo, con ordini seriali diversi, sempre aperti e mai conclusi, protetto da un muro perimetrale che separa e isola dal mondo dei vivi. Il problema funzionale della crescita o dell'ampliamento — che il modello lineare pretende di risolvere praticamente e simbolicamente — non si pone nei cimiteri attuali, nei quali l'uso del loculo è già chiaramente a rotazione, posto che il "luogo" di riposo dei morti non è né eterno né inamovibile nella cultura attuale. Per questa ragione una struttura formale, chiusa e conclusa, con una capienza finale predeterminata, non esaurisce la propria funzionalità in tale esigenza quantitativa, giacché opera come contenitore nel quale i residenti sono in transito. Potremmo dire che il cimitero — campo santo occultato dietro un muro — scompare in quanto tale, e che al suo posto sorge un tempio dei morti e dei lari familiari, in cui essi risiedono temporaneamente e che ha il compito di accogliere nel modo più gradevole la visita dei vivi.
Dunque questa piramide di "piattaforme" di loculi, che può crescere a partire dal proprio nucleo fino al perimetro esterno e verso l'alto fino al proprio coronamento, non risulterebbe una soluzione attraente — dal punto di vista spaziale e dei percorsi interni — se la sua struttura tipologica non presentasse alcune modifiche sostanziali rispetto al modello virtuale al quale sembra ispirarsi. Queste trasformazioni sono connaturate al carattere plurale e dinamico della destinazione d'uso e al funzionamento di una "piramide" che non è pensata per un unico uomo, ma per una pluralità di uomini.
Perciò, in primo luogo, in mezzo non si nasconde un labirinto oscuro ma un grande spazio centrale, vuoto e privo di copertura, che illumina e regolamenta i percorsi, oltre ad orientare i visitatori. Si ascende così dal basso a ciascuna piattaforma attraverso un'ampia rampa a spirale, che accentua il carattere dinamico, quasi viabilistico, di sentiero da percorrere fino al loculo di destinazione. In secondo luogo, l'accesso a questo profondo cilindro interno — di diametro pari all'altezza — avviene attraverso un tunnel o galleria basilicale relativamente scura, che collega lo spazio esterno — giardino di tombe — con il cratere interno, dalla cui base si stacca la rampa a spirale. La galleria, che prosegue attraversando interamente la piramide, mette in collegamento con un blocco verticale di scale e montacarichi e raggiunge infine un patio posteriore di tombe. In terzo luogo, la disposizione dei blocchi di loculi — sistemati lungo il perimetro di ciascuna piattaforma e chiusi verso l'esterno — permette di percepire la piramide come una successione gradonata di grandi terrazze cieche, facili da attrezzare in giardini pensili e pergolati e perciò agibili come passaggi esterni lungo tutto il percorso. La piramide — montagna sacra — aperta al colmo verso il cielo attraverso un cratere vivo e dinamico, si offre, nella successione scalare di pergolati e giardini, come una collina vegetale che pare sintetizzare la marcata concentrazione "urbana" dei nostri cimiteri mediterranei con le correnti e il gusto paesaggistico di influenza nordica.
La proposta di questo modello tipologico — una piramide svuotata alla sommità — è il carattere più importante del progetto. Essa è ubicata nella parte più alta del terreno, lasciando un'ampia fascia di m. 85.00 tra l'accesso al cimitero e la base della piramide stessa, entro la quale sono disposte in sequenza bande di terreno a terrazza per le sepolture in tombe. Viene così attenuata la cascata di terrazze della piramide e del suo coronamento cilindrico. Tutti i servizi complementari, compresa la cappella che emergerà come figura cubica di contrappunto al cilindro, sono raggruppati entro una fascia di terreno di m. 30.00 che precede il campo di tombe. I terrazzamenti di tombe formano così un giardino ai piedi della piramide, di modo che il percorso tra l'accesso e il nucleo interno risulterà un sentiero leggermente ascendente attraverso una successione di ambienti diversi, esprimendo una relazione simbolica con il carattere di transito proprio di questo luogo.

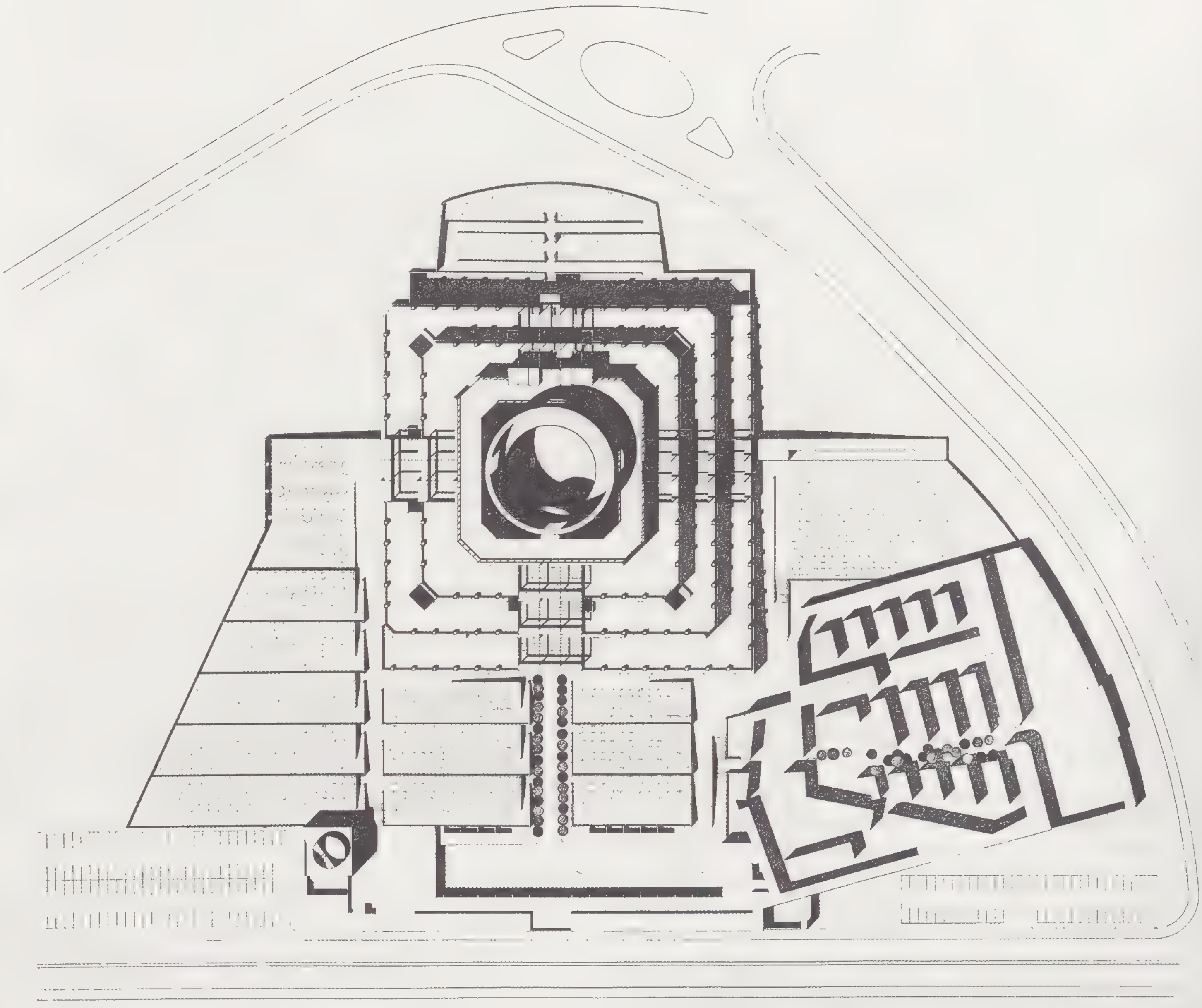
Municipal Cemetery Extension Project in Gavá, Barcelona

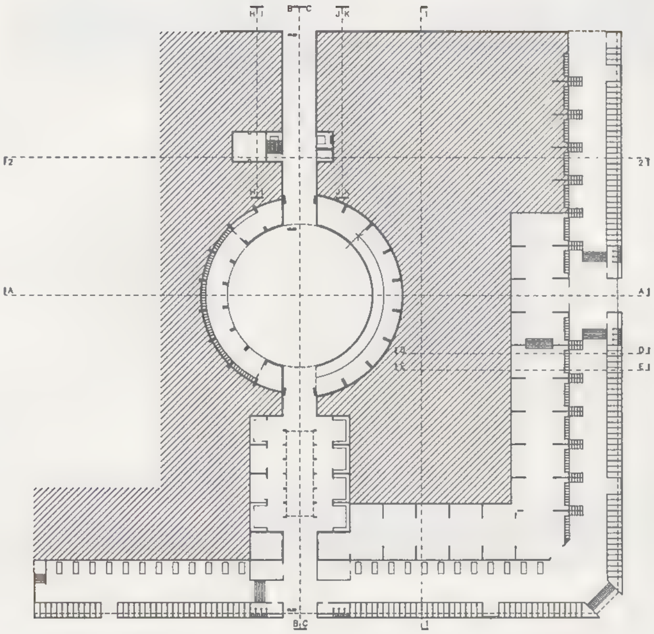
Èmilio Donato, Miguel Jiménez

The new cemetery is essentially urban in character because of its siting immediately outside the municipality of Gavá near Barcellona, although lack of space was also a factor: ten hectares would have been needed for an extended landscape design, but only three were actually available. This had produced the kind of "high-density" cemetery layout traditional in Latin and Mediterranean cultures. Given the sheer dimensions of the project — 1,000 graves, 8,000 burial niches and 400 ossuaries had to be accommodated — and the need to give the new cemetery a distinctive identity, we decided to "invent" a new typology which, although we never consciously intended it to, supercedes the simple traditional concept of rows of burial niches. Our principal aim was to exploit the structural potential of multitunnel *side panels to produce prefabricated reinforced concrete niches roofed with platforms at various heights mounted on the panel uprights. The advantage of staggering the heights of the platforms to let in plenty of light and air is obvious, and the step structure also avoids the monotonous visual effect of boxes piled on top of each other. Thus, pyramidal section results from abandoning the linear multi-storey block typology logically associated with conventional mass production methods. Obviously, this linear typology (originally used for housing) has its counterpart, and perhaps even precedent, in the rows of burial niches found in most of the "Latin" cemeteries designed by late-modern architects. Other considerations apart, linear typology creates the impression of a production-line unit identical to countless others, the sort of infinite, endlessly repeated sequence implied by modern industrial mechanisation and taylorisation. This means that a cemetery is merely a holy place with unfinished open rows of burial niches enclosed by a perimeter wall separating it from the world of the living.*
The functional problem of expanding or extending cemeteries, which linear typology claims to solve both practically and symbolically, doesn't arise with conventional cemeteries because use of burial niches is strictly rationed and rotated, one result at least of modern culture's view that man's last resting-place should be neither eternal nor permanent. Thus, a closed finished structure of theoretically predetermined capacity always works because in practice it provides a container for residents who are only in transit. We might almost say that the cemetery as such — the holy place hidden behind a wall — has been replaced by a temple to the dead and their family gods where souls reside only temporarily and living visitors have to be welcomed and accommodated with a certain decorum.
Thus, our pyramidal structure of burial niche "platforms" which can grow horizontally from the nucleus to the perimeter walls and upwards to the apex is no real solution in terms of space and internal circulation unless the typological structure makes radical departures from the virtual model it seems to be inspired by. These changes reflect both the pluralistic, dynamic concept of use that "burial by rotation" implies, and the concept of the pyramid as a structure designed for many people, not just one.
Most importantly, then, our pyramid contains not a dark labyrinth but a large, unroofed, empty space that marks and illuminates circulation routes and helps visitors to get their bearings. All the platforms can be reached from below by a broad spiral ramp that enhances the almost road-like dynamism of the structure. Secondly, access to this deep internal cylinder (its diameter is the same as its height) is through a relatively dark tunnel, or basilica gallery perhaps, that links the external space (a graveyard) to the internal crater from whose bottom the spiral ramp climbs upwards. The gallery continues right through the pyramid to connect with a vertical staircase and lift block and, finally, a patio area of graves behind. Thirdly, the burial niches are laid around the perimeter of each platform and are closed to the outside, so the pyramid seems a staggered step structure of large blind terraces that can easily be converted into hanging gardens and given pergolas to make them stopping-off places along the circulation route. The pyramid, or sacred mountain, is open to sky at its apex through the vital, dynamic crater. With its sequences of pergolas and gardens, it seems a verdant hill that combines the highly urban "density" of our Mediterranean cemeteries with Nordic landscape concepts and taste.
The open-topped pyramid, the key feature of the project, is sited on the higher ground with a broad 85 m. belt of land between the cemetery entrance and its base where strips of terraced land can be used for grave burial. This enhances the sweep of the terraces leading up the sides of the pyramid to its cylindrical crown. All the cemetery's amenities, including the cube-like chapel that contrasts with the rounded cylinder, are grouped in a 30 m. strip of land in front of the graveyard, with the result that the terraces form a garden at the foot of the pyramid, and the pathway from the entrance to the internal nucleus rises gently through a variety of environments that symbolise the transitory nature of this last resting-place.

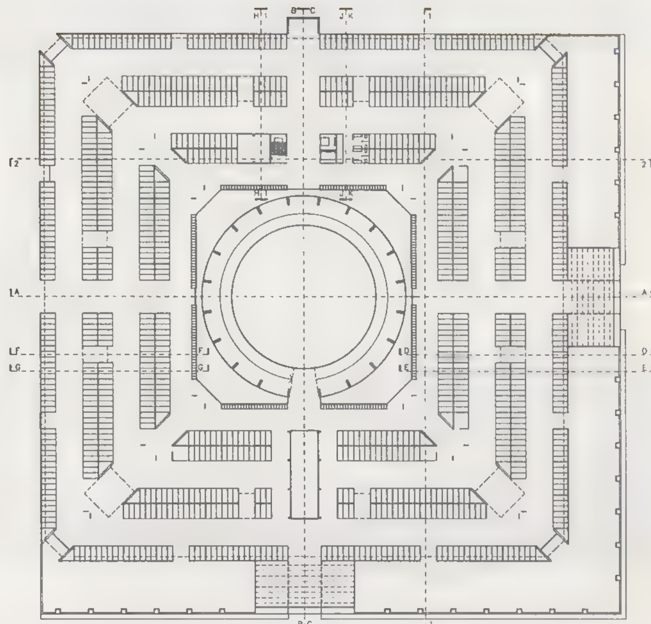
Planimetria generale e piante dei piani terreno, primo, secondo, terzo.

General plan and plans of ground, first, second and third floors.

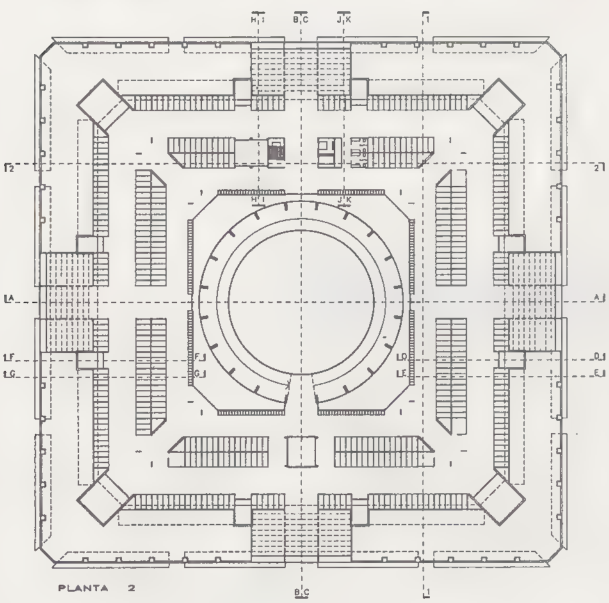




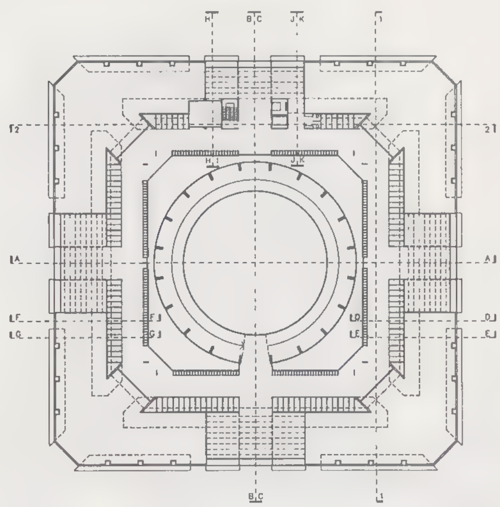
PLANTA BAIXA



PLANTA 1



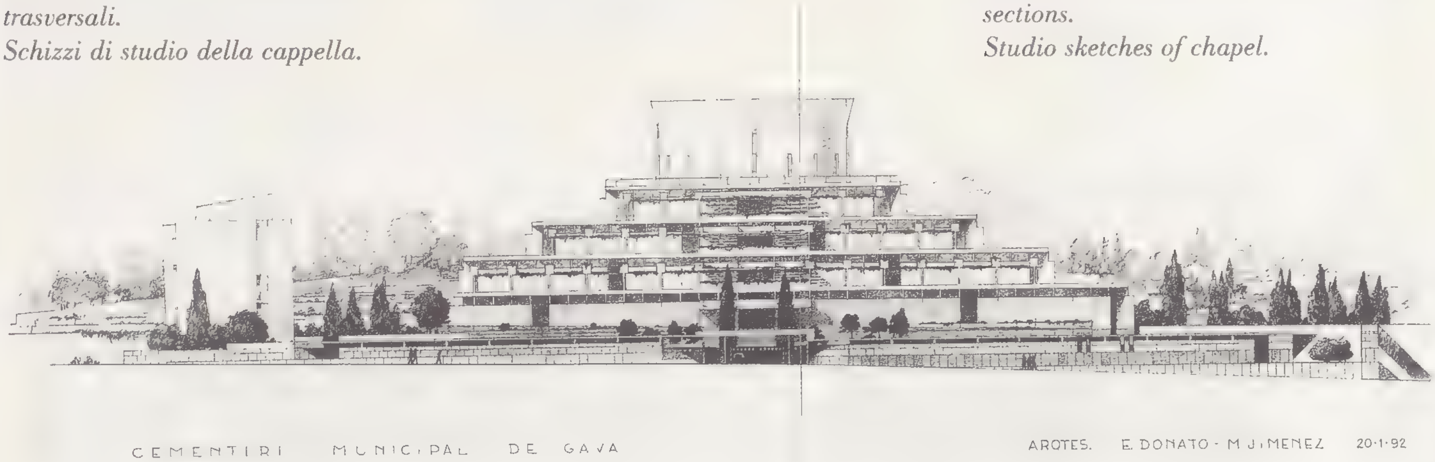
PLANTA 2

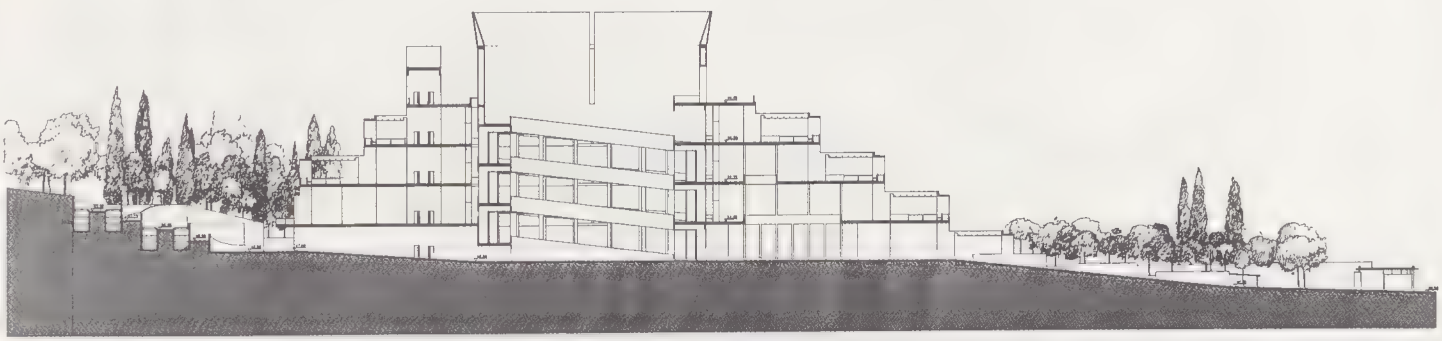


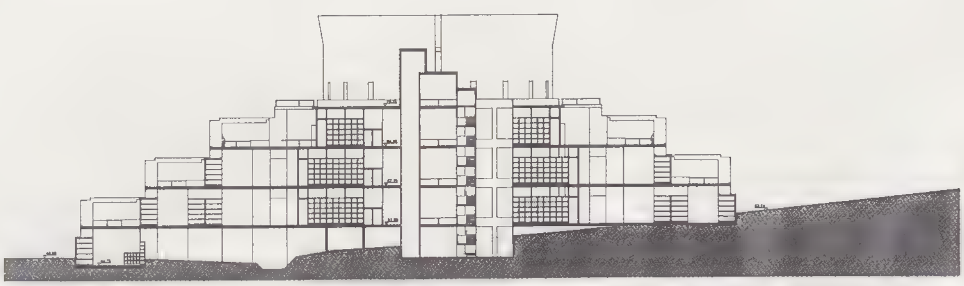
PLANTA 3

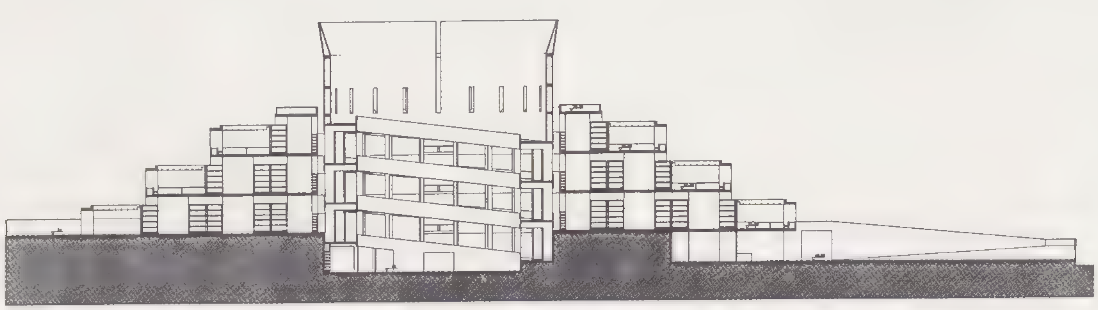
Prospetto e sezioni longitudinale e trasversali.
Schizzi di studio della cappella.

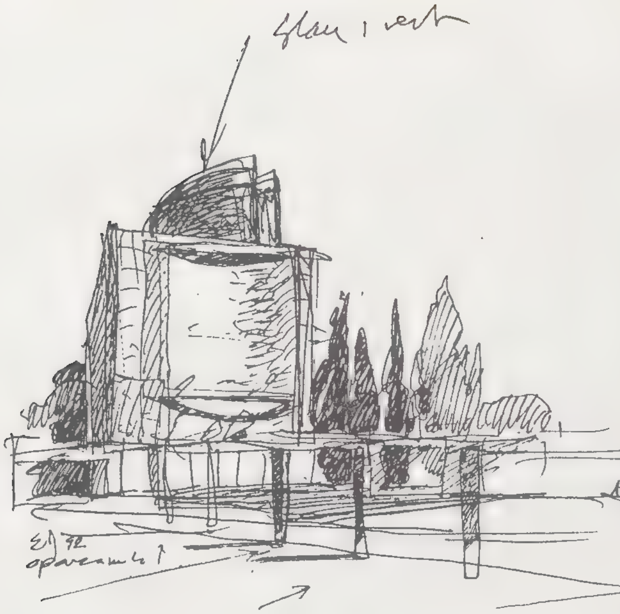
Elevation and longitudinal and cross sections.
Studio sketches of chapel.

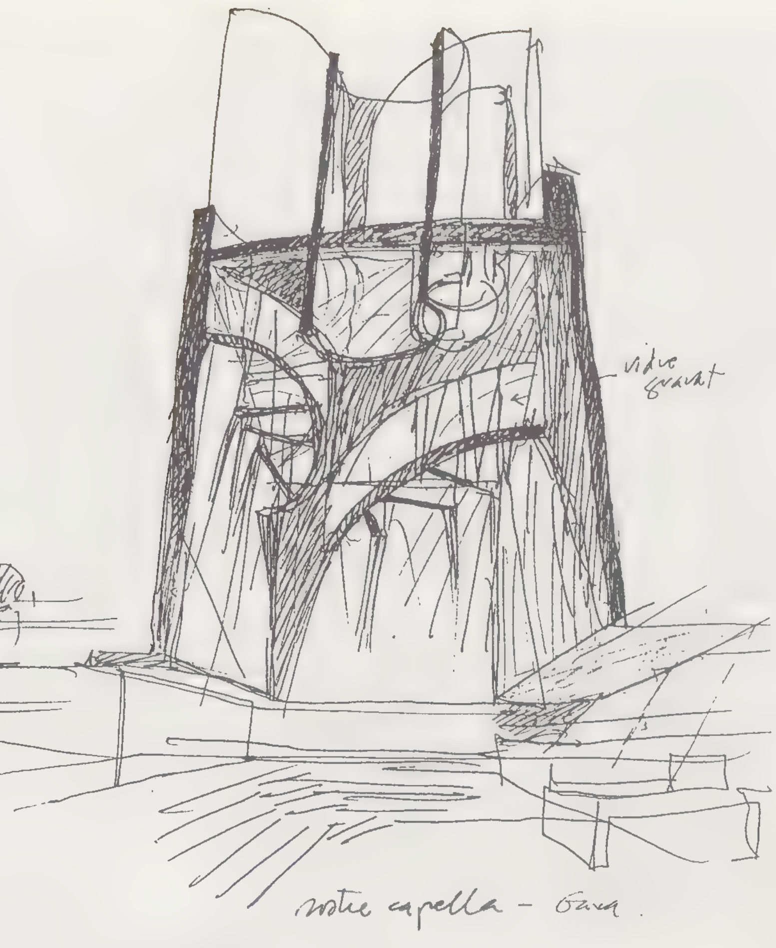


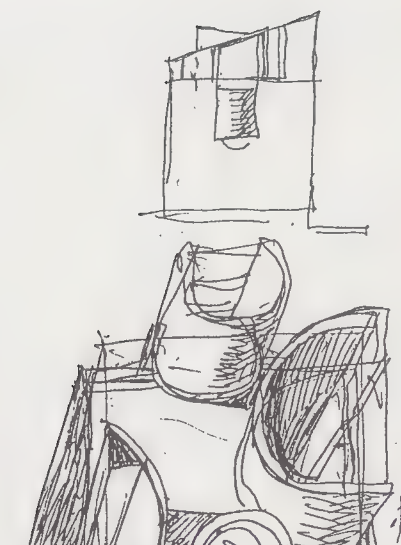


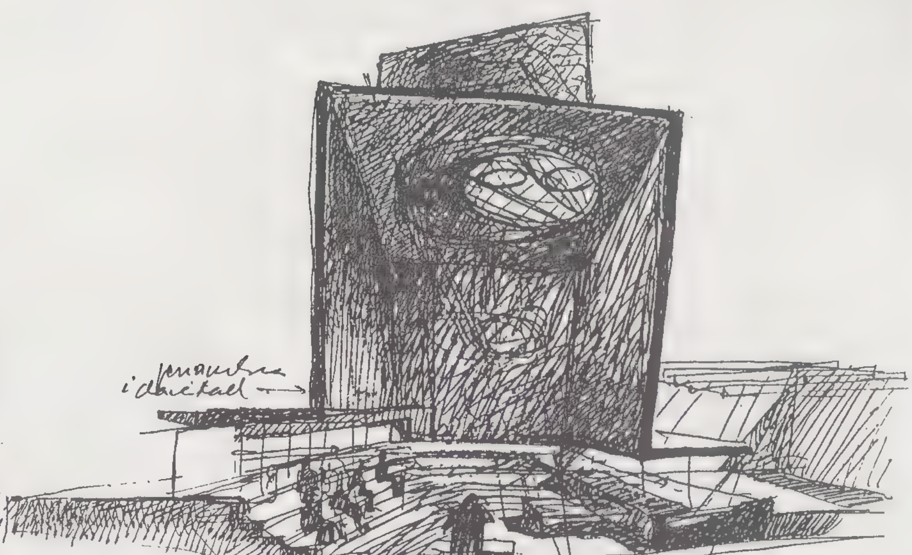


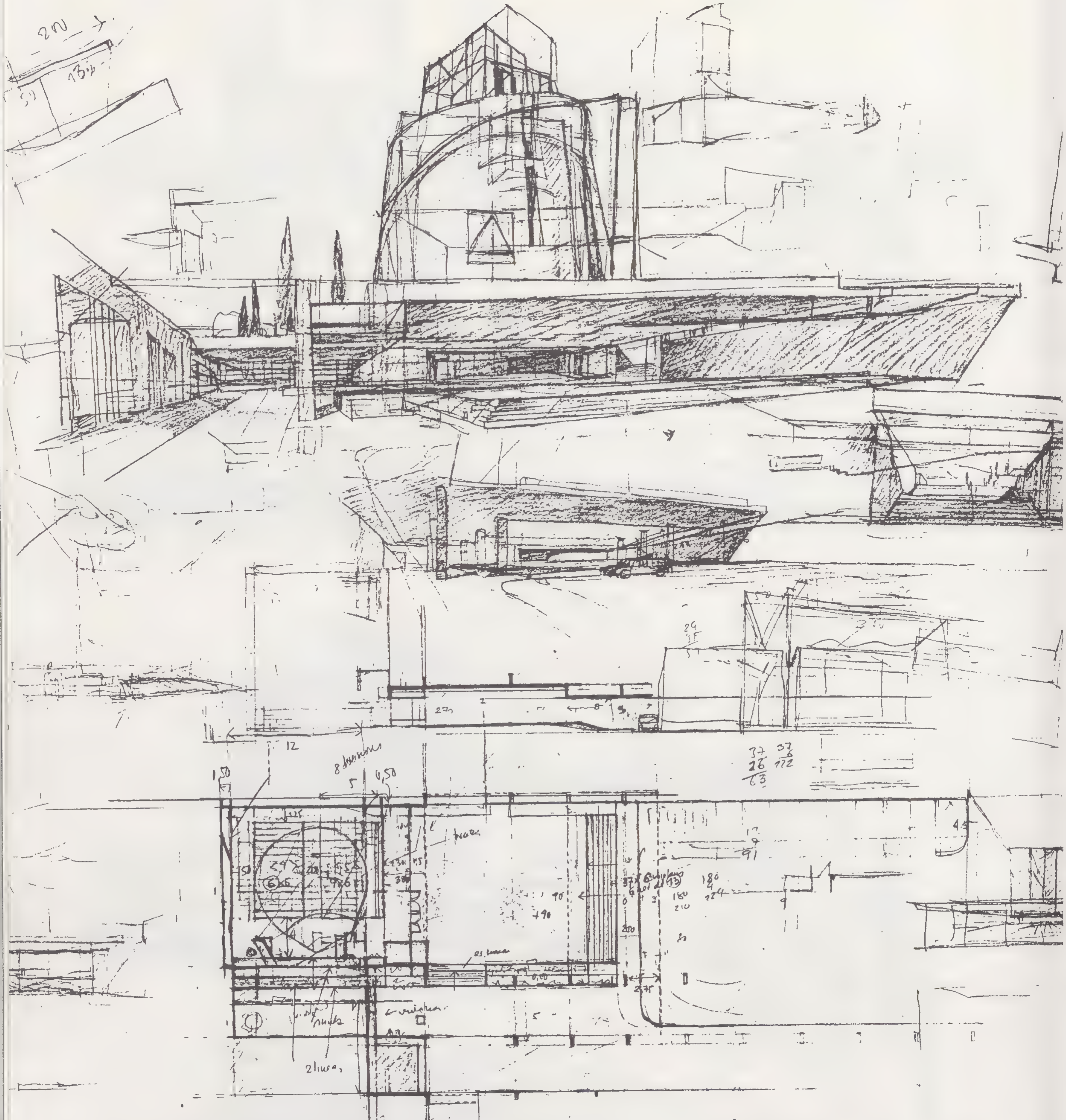





vidre gravat

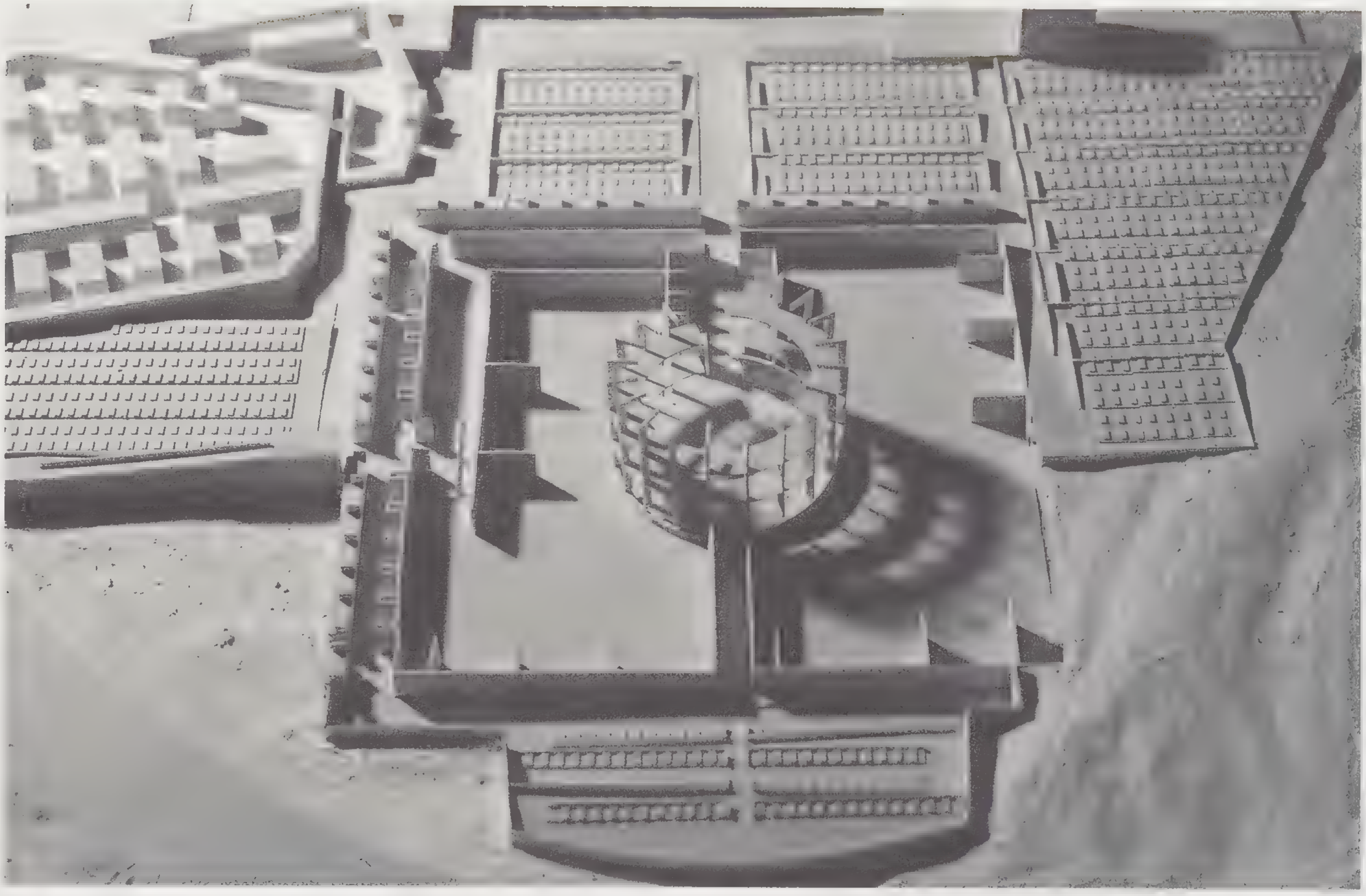


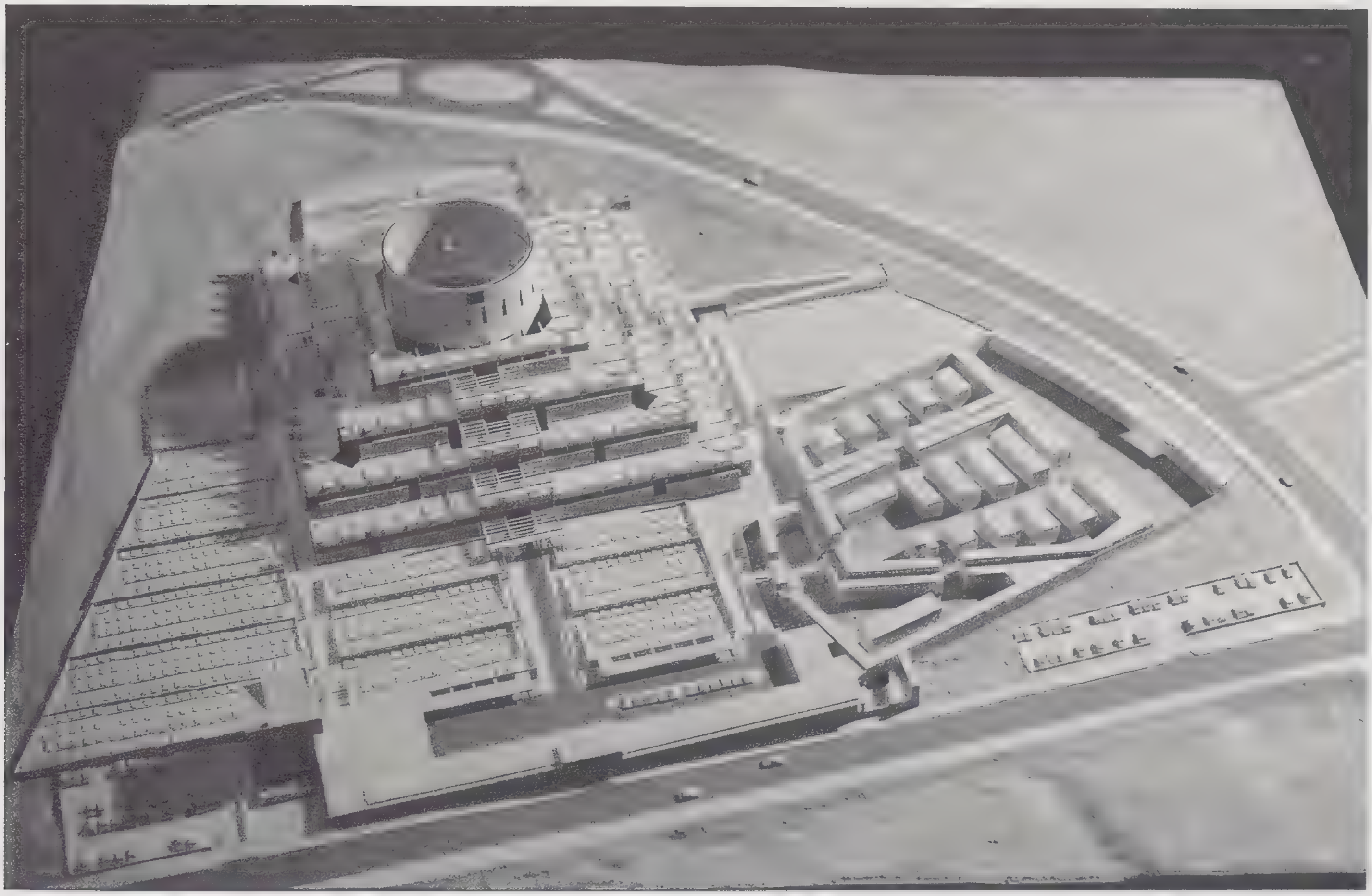

aigua.



Schizzi di studio della cappella e della piattaforma coperta di ingresso. Viste del modello spaccato.

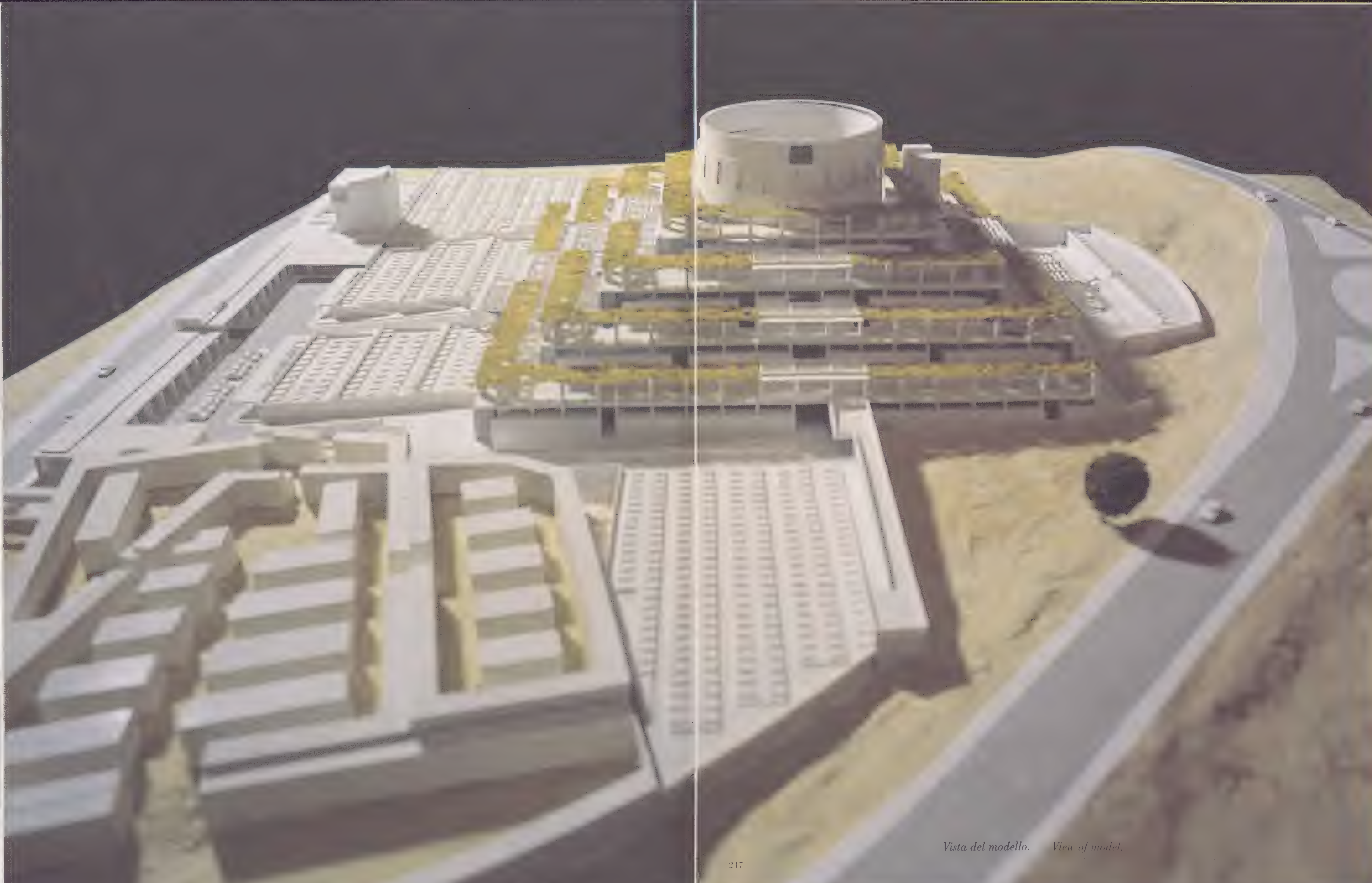
Studio sketches of chapel and covered entrance platform. Views of split model.







Vista del modello. *View of model.*



Vista del modello.   *View of model.*

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

__Renzo Zorzi__ The Rebirth of Zodiac; __Guido Canella__ The Foundation and Return of a Magazine; __Manfredo Tafuri__ Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy; __Carlo Aymonino__ Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice; __Gottfried Böhm__ The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; __Richard Meier__ Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut; __Gustav Peichl__ Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main; __Aldo Rossi__ Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan; __Claudio Dini__ Building Sites of the Milan Subway System; __Ignazio Gardella__ The Duomo Station; __Aldo Rossi__ The Croce Rossa Station; __Guido Canella__ The Crocetta Station.

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefano Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

__Theatre History and Design; Julius Posener__ Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Pœlzig; __Daniel Rabreau__The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French" Typology, 1750-1850; __Guido Canella__ Theatres and Pseudotheatres; __Theo Crosby__ The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London; __Gottfried Böhm and Stefan Böhm__ Concert Hall in Essen; __Aldo Rossi and Morris Adjmi__ Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto; __Guido Canella__ Plans for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto; __Carol McMichael Reese and Thomas Ford Reese__ Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles; __Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling__ Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall; __Kurt W. Forster__ The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n. 1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

__Guido Canella__ Beyond Legitimate Preservation; __Ernesto N. Rogers__ The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning: a Cultural Assessment; __Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi__ Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death; __Christof Thoenes__ St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas; __James Stirling and Michael Wilford__ Poultry n. 1 in London; __Colin St. John Wilson__ Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project; __Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola__ The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese; __Ignazio Gardella__ Department of Architecture in Genoa; __Gottfried Böhm__ Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven; __Aldo Rossi and Morris Adjmi__ School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida; __Drexel Turner__ Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America; __Gianugo Polesello__ University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; Il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal + Parigi.

__Guido Canella__ Authenticity and Falsification, Today; __Dieter Leistner__ Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918; __Ignazio Gardella and Aldo Rossi__ The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa; __Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates__ Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; __Carlo Aymonino__ The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House; __Hans Hollein, James Stirling and Michael Wilford__ Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition; __Peter Eisenman__ Cooper Union Student Housing in New York; __Richard Meier__ The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la città? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

__Who designs the city?__ Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella; __Christof Thoenes__ Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning; __Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek__ 60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism; __Bruno Flierl__ Stalinallee in Berlin; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium; __Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi__ Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London; __Micha Bandini__ Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate; __Gian Franco Di Pietro__ Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence; __Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini__ A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence; __Giovanni Klaus Koenig__ About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence; __Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers__ Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

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In copertina: Joseph Esherick, Sea Ranch, sei case-tipo con grande magazzino e ristorante, Sonoma County, California, 1965: disegno di studio.

Front cover: Joseph Esherick, Sea Ranch, Six Demonstration Houses and General Store/Restaurant, Sonoma County, California 1965: study drawing.

Zodiac 11

Sommario/Contents

Struttura urbana e destrutturazione dell'architettura: la competenza del critico e quella del comune fruitore
Guido Canella

Los Angeles, prototipo di un voluto distacco dalla tradizione urbana, dagli anni Settanta ha cominciato ad essere oggetto di attenzioni sempre più frequenti. E non solo come scenario di interpretazioni letterarie e cinematografiche, ma anche come caso-studio di coloro che guardano alla città con pretesa scientifica.
Infatti, da estremo patologico di non-città, così era stata additata da molti teorici di scuole anche diverse d'Europa e della Costa Orientale, è venuta via via riscattandosi come paradigma e paesaggio di una specie di metropoli da doversi scontare, prima o dopo, un po' dovunque. Quasi fosse la mancanza stessa di un'ossatura urbana sufficientemente rigida e gerarchica a consentirle di assorbire contraddizioni ed eventi (fisici, sociali) che vanno riproducendosi con forte accelerazione.
Nell'introdurre l'ottavo numero di "Zodiac" concludevamo con un interrogativo: "[...] *poiché il crescere della città* [...] *si può meglio raffigurare proprio a partire dai momenti di crisi, viene da chiedersi se quello dell' America Latina non possa essere il laboratorio dove si è cominciato a sperimentare una diversa, nuova ragione anche per l'architettura occidentale*".
Ma, anche se nelle sequenze della metropoli californiana l'estraniamento dalla "via maestra" d'Occidente risulta imporsi con ricchezza e versatilità d'immagini pari a quelle latinoamericane, è pur vero che vi si è prodotto con minore inclinazione alla nostalgia, a più bassa temperatura ideologica e, non di rado, con qualche concessione alla caricatura. Se là potrebbero esser stati i cento fiori sbocciati tra la flora del sottosviluppo a corrodere i muri di una tradizione importata, qui potrebbe esser stato un eccesso di terapia energetica a fare esplodere struttura e cristalli del trapianto razionalista. Tuttavia è indubbio che una faglia etnica e culturale attraversa la regione meridionale della California.
Altrove in questo numero si tratta delle diverse poetiche che hanno convissuto, e tuttora con nuovo orgoglio convivono, nel panorama di quell'architettura. Noi qui vogliamo soltanto provare a interrogarci sulle possibili ragioni "morali" di consenso che una sua ultima particolare versione è venuta ottenendo presso la critica e la comune fruizione.
Sarebbe semplice ricorrere all'ipotesi di un nuovo regionalismo in architettura, tendente a trascrivere allegoricamente i caratteri genetici e le modalità di sviluppo di ogni città. Senonché i termini di quel trasgredire dal reticolo ortogonale (per convenzione moderno, ma in prima fase anche postmoderno) hanno superato ormai gli oceani, attecchendo in differenti paesaggi. E da qui molteplici incoraggiamenti di critici e apprezzamenti di fruitori al mirabolante imprevisto di un'ultima avanguardia, al fine ritrovato in una sorta di affastellamento da padiglione d'esposizione, virtualmente indifferente alla legge di gravità e alla destinazione d'uso, dove l'architettura, museo di se stessa, avrebbe finalmente conquistato la libertà della pura *performance*.

* * *

Potremmo chiederci, per esempio, come due critici famosi, Bruno Zevi e Reyner Banham, pur rivolti all'architettura da punti di vista distanti, in passato entrambi difensori della razionalità moderna dal contagio postmoderno, più di recente si siano trovati concordi nel considerare il

Urban Structure and Architectural Deconstruction: the Competence of the Critic, and That of the Man on the Street

Guido Canella

Los Angeles, prototype of a willful break with the urban tradition, has become the object of increasingly frequent scrutiny since the 1970s. Not only as a setting for interpretations in film and literature, but also as a case study for those who observe the city with some pretence of scientific method.

From the pathological extreme of the non-city, as many theorists of different European and East Coast schools have defined it, LA has made a comeback as a paradigm, landscape of a metropolitan genre which, sooner or later, we will all have to deal with, wherever we are. It would almost appear that the city's very lack of a sufficiently rigid, hierarchical urban structure has permitted it to absorb the contradictions and events (both physical and social) which have proliferated, in recent years, with increasing rapidity.

*The introduction to "Zodiac 8" concluded with a question: "[...]*and since *[...]* cities seem to grow better as a result of crises, one wonders whether Latin America has not become, today, a laboratory capable of eventually revitalising Western architecture".

But while the panorama of the Californian metropolis illustrates a deviation from the occidental urban model, with a wealth and versatility of images equal to that of Latin America, it is also true that this city is not the product of an analogous nostalgia; it has developed at a lower ideological temperature and, in many instances, with certain concessions to caricature. If in Latin America we can imagine that the hundreds of flowers which bloom in the midst of the flora of underdevelopment have eroded the walls of an imported tradition, in Los Angeles perhaps an excess of therapeutic energy has caused an explosion of the structure, of the crystals of a transplanted rationalism. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that an ethnic and cultural fault lies dormant beneath Southern California.

In other parts of this issue the different poetics which have coexisted, and continue to do so with renewed confidence, on the architectural scene, are discussed. Our aim is simply to attempt an investigation of the possible "moral" reasons for the consensus which the latest version of this coexistence has been able to achieve among both critics and the general public.

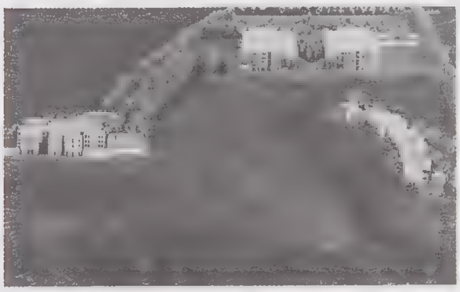
It would be simple, at this point, to evoke the hypothesis of a new architectural regionalism which tends to allegorically transcribe the genetic traits and development patterns of each individual city. Simple, if not for the fact that the terms of this violation of the orthogonal grid (by modernist, but also early postmodernist standards) have, today, crossed oceans, sprouting up in different landscapes. The result has consisted in multiple instigations, on the part of the critics, and widespread appreciation, among the general public, of the marvelously unexpected appearance of an ultimate avant-garde discovered, finally, in a sort of exposition pavilion-style jumble, virtually indifferent to the laws of gravity and function, in which architecture, as a self-styled museum, can at last attain the liberty of pure performance art.

* * *

We might well ask, for example, just how two renowned critics – Bruno







decostruzionismo, e in particolare la poetica di Frank O. Gehry, tra le più interessanti – o addirittura la più interessante – tra le espressioni di architettura in questa fine di millennio[1].
Per Zevi, formatosi all'estetica di Benedetto Croce, il presupposto di una radicale dissimmetria nella composizione – in aggiunta al riproponimento di un concetto di organicità, sintesi di spazio e luce – starebbe a significare quella forzatura anticonformista su cui occorra misurare una poetica d'avanguardia; una forzatura analoga a quella consumatasi nell'esperienza neoplastica di De Stijl, ma che ha trovato anche nei maestri autoctoni dell'architettura nordamericana (Wright, Kahn, Wurster) quel traslato da "nuova frontiera" che li sottrae alle tentazioni del localismo e dello storicismo.
Per cui l'appellativo di "*architetto delle baracche*", con cui Frank Lloyd Wright gratificò William Wilson Wurster, per Zevi potrebbe forse significare volontà di regressione allo stato ancestrale della tettonica: il connettivo che presumibilmente attorniava i monumenti rituali precolombiani (pur presenti questi all'ispirazione del maestro di Taliesin) era mero insediamento o era anch'esso già primordiale architettura? Dunque un'evocazione, il "baracchismo" di Wurster, da potersi riprendere per rifondarvi una visione non-storicista, laica e anti-ististuzionale della modernità.
Mentre all'empirismo di Banham il nesso tra architettura e tecnica appariva l'evento decisivo che diede origine al Movimento Moderno propriamente detto: un nesso che a partire dagli anni Trenta anche gli stessi maestri del Razionalismo (Gropius, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe) non sarebbero riusciti a rendere operante, ma soltanto riflesso per allusioni simboliche[2]. Caduta la presunzione delle megastrutture neobrutaliste e *high-tech*, anche nel successivo esprimersi dell'architettura, sarebbe stato proprio il progredire della tecnologia a rendere sempre più flebili le esigenze del processo produttivo rispetto a quelle della persuasione al consumo.
Così che Banham, facendo di necessità virtù e con atteggiamento analogo a quello del *flaneur* baudelairiano, sembrò scoprire nella commistione fantasmagorica del paesaggio angeleno l'allegoria di un passaggio di consegne ideologiche tra questo nostro millennio e quello successivo. Quasi che, dopo le provocanti parodie di Robert Venturi e del tardo Charles Moore, un'ulteriore, più violenta scossa avesse restituito, in esploso, l'ortografia *hard-boiled* degli Schindler, Neutra, Eames e che, attraverso questa destrutturazione tipologica, l'opera di architettura, beffardo relitto tra relitti, avesse finalmente preso atto del proprio orizzonte di competenza, solo linguistico, nella consunzione del mito razionalistico che ha percorso l'Occidente nelle diverse stagioni del disegno urbano.

* * *

Passando ora alla comune fruizione, è possibile che la valutazione ecologica dell'ambiente segua un corso per certi versi parallelo a quello della linguistica? In questa, infatti, da un'interpretazione strutturale, che privilegiava l'autore e l'opera nel contesto di formazione e applicazione, si è passati a un'interpretazione decostruttiva e

Frank Lloyd Wright, Hollyhock House, Los Angeles, California, 1920.
William W. Wurster, A.G. Reynolds House, Gilroy, California, 1946.
Louis Kahn, Salk Institute for Biological Studies, La Jolla, California, 1959-65.

Frank Lloyd Wright, Hollyhock House, Los Angeles, California, 1920.
William W. Wurster, A.G. Reynolds House, Gilroy, California, 1946.
Louis Kahn, Salk Institute for Biological Studies, La Jolla, California, 1959-65.

Zevi and Reyner Banham – in spite of their highly diverse points of view regarding architecture, but both champions in the past of modernist rationality as opposed to the contagion of postmodernism, could recently find themselves in such agreement in considering deconstructionism, and in particular the poetics of Frank O. Gehry, as one of the most interesting, or even the most interesting, phenomenon of architectural expression of this end of the millennium[1].

For Zevi, with his training focussed on the aesthetics of Benedetto Croce, the premise of a radical compositional dissymmetry – alongside the revisitation of a concept of the organic, a synthesis of space and light – represents that anti-conformist stretching of sense which is the measure of an avant-garde poetic; a stretching similar to the neo-plastic experience of De Stijl, but which has also met with indigenous exponents in North American architecture (Wright, Kahn, Wurster), whose "new frontier" freshness of approach enabled them to avoid the pitfalls of regionalism and historicism.

Thus the label of "shanty architect", *with which Frank Lloyd Wright gratified William Wilson Wurster, for Zevi might signify a desire to regress to the primordial state of the tectonic: the settlement which presumably existed around the ritual Pre-Columbian monuments (also present among the inspirations of the mentor of Taliesin): was it just building, settlement, or was it already primordial architecture? We are supplied with an indication, in the "shanty-ism" of Wurster, which may serve today for the development of a non-historicist, profane, anti-institutional vision of modernism.*

Meanwhile in the empiricism of Banham the connection between architecture and technique appeared to be the decisive factor behind the Modern Movement, in its strict definition (from the 1920s): a connection which, from the 1930s on, the masters of Rationalism themselves (Gropius, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe) were never able to really put into practice, but were only able to reflect, by means of symbolic allusions[2].

Once beyond the pretences of neo-brutalist, high-tech megastructures, it has been precisely the progress of technology which has weakened the reasoning based on the exigencies of the production process, in favour of those of the persuasion of the consumer.

And so Banham, making the best of a real situation, assuming the role of the Beaudelairian flaneur *discovers, in the phantasmagorical intermingling of signs in the Angelino landscape, an allegory for a passage of ideological messages from this millennium to the next. Almost as if, in the wake of the provocative parodies of Robert Venturi and the later works of Charles Moore, yet another, more violent tremor had revived, from the fragments, the "hard-boiled" orthography of Schindler, Neutra, Eames; as if, by means of this typological destructuring, the work of architecture, leering survivor in the midst of the wreckage, had finally understood its role, its solely linguistic sphere of influence, in the consumption of the myth of rationalism which has afflicted the western world across the passing seasons of urban design.*

* * *

To move on to the view of the man in the street, is it possible that the







neoermeneutica che privilegia il lettore. Motivo decisivo di tale passaggio sarebbe la consapevolezza del modificarsi della lingua nel tempo, per cui significati intenzionali affidati dall'autore al testo risulterebbero, parzialmente o in tutto, alterati o dispersi al mutare di senso in una nuova circostanza discorsiva.
Se ora, a puro titolo d'esempio, attribuissimo al concetto di *funzione destinata* quel valore strutturale che ha sostenuto gran parte dell'impianto tipologico dell'architettura moderna e la sua stessa fortuna figurativa, dove era ben presente il rapporto tra una società virtualmente pianificante e l'autore-interprete dell'opera architettonica, non è difficile constatare come di recente sia venuto via via affermandosi un comune *gusto ecologico* che privilegia invece il fruitore, dacché la distanza-attesa tra l'intenzione del piano e la sua realizzazione ha comportato tempi e viscosità sempre meno sopportabili che ne offuscano e vanificano i presupposti.
Nelle rivendicazioni della cosiddetta *pianificazione democratica* è andata ormai persa la cognizione per la quale la città, e ancor più la metropoli, si regge in equilibrio, contemperandoli, su interessi e provvedimenti della sfera privata e individuale comunque condizionati dagli interessi e dai provvedimenti della sfera pubblica e collettiva.
Superata la fase che scontava le conseguenze di un faticoso insediamento e di una difficile sopravvivenza nella metropoli come contropartita di vantaggi derivanti dalla numerosità e dalla flessibilità delle occasioni di occupazione e di scambio, è venuto progressivamente ad imporsi un nuovo gusto ecologico che pone al centro di ogni progetto urbano la tutela del circuito di fruizione dell'individuo nella sua subcomunità, dove l'alloggio e la sua proiezione nell'ambiente immediatamente circostante diventa il parametro dal quale articolare le rivendicazioni e misurare una sorta di nuovo *Existenzminimum*.
Può stupirci, allora, che il regime privatistico che a lungo e in profondità ha inciso sulla configurazione urbana di Los Angeles sia divenuto emblema di questo nuovo gusto ecologico e che gli stessi motivi di critica radicale al suo sviluppo si siano in seguito trasformati in riprove di attualità?

* * *

Ma in questi ultimi decenni, proprio a Los Angeles, è accaduto qualcosa d'importante che non può non farci riflettere.
Non è forse vero che gli stanziamenti già destinati alle autostrade urbane stanno ora confluendo su una nuova rete di ferrovie metropolitane? Che le abitazioni unifamiliari tendono a consolidarsi in blocchi condominiali per essere meglio protette e servite dal trasporto pubblico? Che il suburbio va riorganizzandosi in quartieri di più elevata densità e con autosufficienza di servizi? Tanto che si dice che nella capitale mondiale dell'espansione suburbana, l'urbanistica sarebbe tornata al comando.
A questo, per un confronto, si aggiunga il suadente saggio *La città di quarzo*[3], dove l'urbanista Mike Davis fornisce un'interpretazione di Los Angeles anni Novanta assai diversa da quella vista da Reyner Banham negli anni Settanta.
Così che lo stato – o patologia – della destrutturazione urbana

Rudolph Schindler, Lovell Beach House, Newport Beach, California, 1926.
Foto G. Brino.
Richard Neutra, Lovell House, Los Angeles, California, 1927-29.
Ray e Charles Eames, Eames House, Santa Monica, California, 1949.

Rudolph Schindler, Lovell Beach House, Newport Beach, California, 1926.
Photo G. Brino.
Richard Neutra, Lovell House, Los Angeles, California, 1927-29.
Ray e Charles Eames, Eames House, Santa Monica, California, 1949.

ecological evaluation of the environment follows paths which are, in some ways, parallel to those of linguistics? In linguistics a passage has taken place from a structural interpretation, focussed on the author and the work in the context of development and application, to a deconstructive, neo-hermeneutic interpretation which focusses on the reader. The decisive motive behind this shift is said to be an awareness of the modifications which take place, over time, in language; meanings intended and placed by the author in the text are, completely or in part, altered or lost within a new context of discourse.
If, at this point, just as an example, we attribute to the concept of oriented function the structural value which has sustained the better part of the typological apparatus of modern architecture, and its fortune as a figurative language, in which the relationship between a virtual society of planning and the author-interpreter of an architectural work was vividly evident, it is not difficult to understand how, recently, a collective ecological taste has emerged which favours, instead, the user, because the gap between the intentions of such planning and their realisation has become so great that it cancels out the very premises of the operation, creating an unsustainable situation.
In the claims of so-called democratic planning an understanding of the way in which the city, and even more so the metropolis, achieves an equilibrium based on an intermediation among coexisting interests of private, individual spheres, in any case conditioned by the interests and initiatives of the public, collective sphere, has been lost.
Once beyond the phase in which the difficulties of city life could be said to be compensated by its concentration of opportunities for employment and commerce, a new "ecological" taste emerges which focusses, in any urban project, on the safeguarding of the quality of life of the individual within his own neighbourhood, an attitude in which the dwelling, and the protection of its immediate, surrounding environment, becomes the main parameter for the demands and evaluation of a sort of new Existenzminimum.
Therefore it is not surprising that the private enterprise system which has so long, and so deeply, influenced the urban configuration of Los Angeles, has become an emblem of this new ecological taste, and that the very motives behind the radical critique of Angelino-style urban development have been transformed into demonstrations of renewed modernity.

* * *

But during the last few years – and, again, in Los Angeles – important things are happening which cannot help but prompt reflection.
Funding originally destined for new expressways has been detoured in the direction of new metropolitan rail lines. Single-family housing is tending to be concentrated in condominial blocks, for greater security and improved access to public transport. The suburbs are gradually reorganising themselves into quarters of greater population density, with autonomous services and facilities. So much so that in the world capital of urban expansion, city planning would seem to have taken control.
As material for comparison, we urge readers to examine the persuasive study City of Quartz[3], in which urban scholar Mike Davis provides an

sembrerebbe rimanere purtroppo endemico soltanto ove non sussistano le risorse e i mezzi per quella reazione che spontaneamente, fisiologicamente tenda a ricomporre l'insediamento secondo un più articolato regime di accessibilità e, conseguentemente, secondo una polarizzata gerarchia tra dominio pubblico e dominio privato e, in definitiva, secondo una propria contestualizzata struttura.
D'altra parte le cronache linguistiche di recente ci informano che dalla analisi decostruttiva e neoermeneutica, dove al lettore era attribuita l'unica interpretazione autentica, una vera e propria riscrittura del testo, si sta tornando a rivalutarne la struttura e le intenzioni originali.
Resterebbe da accertare se l'architettura debba e – se sì – come possa tenerne conto.

Note

1) Cfr.: per B. ZEVI, anche la recente riedizione del suo *Zevi su Zevi. Architettura come profezia*, Venezia 1993; e, per R . BANHAM, *Los Angeles. The Architecture of Four Ecologies*, Harmondswort, Middlesex 1971, trad. it. *Los Angeles. L'architettura di quattro ecologie*, Milano 1983, ove è aggiunto un *Epilogo, 1982*.
2) Cfr. R. BANHAM, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, London 1960, trad. it. *Architettura della prima età della macchina*, Bologna 1970.
3) Cfr. M. DAVIS, *City of Quartz*, Los Angeles 1990, trad. it. *La città di quarzo. Indagine sul futuro di Los Angeles*, Roma 1993.

interpretation of Los Angeles in the 1990s which is very different from that of Reyner Banham in the 1970s.
The state – or the pathology – of urban destructuring would appear, unfortunately, to remain endemic only where the resources are lacking for the kind of reaction which spontaneously, physiologically tends to reorganise the urban fabric according to a more detailed regime of accessibility and, as a consequence, according to a polarised hierarchy between the public and private realms; and, definitively, according to a specific, contextualised structure.
Recent developments in linguistics inform us that after the phase of deconstructive, neo-hermeneutic analysis, in which the reader was seen as the sole repository of an authentic interpretation, an actual rewriting of the text, there has been a return, a re-evaluation of the original structure and intentions of the author as keys for critical interpretation.
What remains to be seen is whether architecture should – and if so, can – take all this into account.

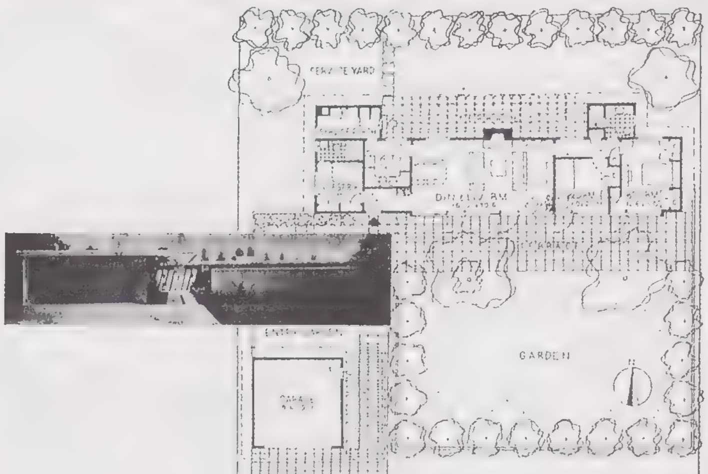
Notes
Translated by Steve Piccolo.
1) Vid. for B. ZEVI, the recent reprinting of his Zevi su Zevi. Architettura come profezia, *Venezia 1993; for R. BANHAM,* Los Angeles. The Architecture of Four Ecologies, *Harmondswort, Middlesex 1971.*
2) Vid. R. BANHAM, Theory and Design in the First Machine Age, *London 1960.*
3) Vid. M. DAVIS, City of Quartz , *Los Angeles 1990.*

1. 2. John Funk, Heckendorf House, Modesto, California, 1939: viste e pianta.

1. 2. John Funk, Heckendorf House, Modesto, California, 1939: views and plan.



1



2

"La cosa più vicina a un vernacolo contemporaneo": la tradizione architettonica della Bay Area vista in prospettiva
*Paolo Polledri**

"*Le nostre case siano anzitutto tappezzate di bellezza là dove sono a contatto con le nostre vite, come l'interno di una conchiglia, e non sovraccariche di abbellimenti.*"
H.D. Thoreau, *Walden, o la vita nei boschi,* 1854, Firenze 1928

Come ci ha ricordato Harold Rosenberg, tradizione non è sinonimo di storia, anzi ne è l' antitesi. Mentre la storia districa i fili dei mutamenti passati, la tradizione implica una continuità – di cui facciamo parte anche noi – e appiattisce il passato sulla lente di una visione unificata e comprensibile. A prima vista, quindi, una "*tradizione vista in prospettiva*" può sembrare un ossimoro: ma lo è davvero?

Chiedersi se esiste una tradizione architettonica della Bay Area è una domanda che suscita perplessità, a cui parecchi storici hanno cercato di rispondere senza riuscirvi, come essi stessi ammettono: la difficoltà sta nel fatto che non vi è una scuola o una maniera a cui fare riferimento. Gli architetti della Bay Area hanno negato l'esistenza di uno stile, e talvolta si sono preoccupati di stabilire una distinzione rispetto ai loro colleghi; ma al tempo stesso si sono resi conto di avere un'identità collettiva debole, e nel corso di quattro o cinque generazioni hanno cercato di nascondere questa debolezza con manifesti programmatici, costituiti per lo più da mostre e da cataloghi, in cui si proclamava un'unità di intenzioni, se non di forme. Tre mostre di questo genere si sono tenute fra il 1940 e il 1976 nel San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (o Museum of Art, com'era più semplicemente denominato prima degli anni Settanta).

Un'ulteriore difficoltà è data dalla diversità dei motivi che hanno portato le successive generazioni a intessere una tradizione. Inizialmente, nell'ultimo decennio dell'Ottocento, gli architetti di San Francisco idearono un'architettura adatta a un ambiente urbano emergente; tra il 1920 e il 1960 circa, la seconda generazione, pur apprezzando gli edifici esistenti, cercò un nuovo punto di partenza, un'architettura che fosse espressione dei tempi moderni e rispondesse ai mutamenti dell'ambiente sociale ed economico; infine, a partire dagli anni Sessanta gli architetti hanno acquistato una maggiore coscienza storica e cominciato a citare intenzionalmente i precedenti nelle proprie opere. La loro è stata una reazione contro un ambiente che sembrava opporsi ai valori in cui essi credevano, e la tradizione, sebbene non necessariamente

"The Nearest Thing to a Contemporary Vernacular": the Bay Area Architectural Tradition in Perspective
Paolo Polledri*

"Let our houses first be lined with beauty, where they come in contact with our lives, like the tenement of the shellfish, and not overlaid with it."
H.D. Thoreau, Walden, or Life in the Woods, *1854*

Tradition, Harold Rosenberg has reminded us, is not synonymous with history and indeed is almost antithetical to it. History unravels the particles of change of the past. Tradition, on the other hand, implies continuity – but a continuity of which we are also a part – and flattens the past onto the lens of a unified, comprehensible view. A "perspective on tradition," *therefore, at first may seem like an oxymoron. But is it?*

Whether there is an architectural tradition in the Bay Area at all is a perplexing question, one which various historians have attempted to answer – unsatisfactorily, as they are the first to admit. The problem is that there is no school or manner on which they can depend. Bay Area architects have denied that there is a style, and sometimes they have gone to great lengths to establish a distinction with their colleagues. But they also have been aware of their weak collective identity, and successive generations (four or five, so far) have attempted to disguise this weakness with manifestos – usually exhibitions and catalogues – proclaiming unity in intention if not in form. Between 1940 and 1976, there have been three such exhibitions at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (or the Museum of Art, as it was more simply called up to the 1970s).

The problem is also that successive generations have woven a tradition for different reasons. Initially, in the 1890s, San Francisco architects invented an architecture that was appropriate for an emerging urban environment. From the 1920s to the 1950s, the second generation, although appreciative of existing buildings, sought a fresh start with an expression for modern times, an architecture that could respond to the changing social and economic environment. But beginning in the 1960s, architects became more conscious of history and deliberately quoted precedents in their work. Theirs was a reaction against an environment that seemed set against the values in which they believed, and tradition, although not necessarily tinged with nostalgia, became a valid weapon of defense. Thus, tradition turns out to be a moving target in the history of Bay Area architecture, but it is this series of transformations that makes it possible to see it in perspective.



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venata di nostalgia, fu vista come una valida arma di difesa. In tal modo, nella storia architettonica della Bay Area la tradizione finisce con l'essere un obiettivo mobile; ma è appunto questa serie di trasformazioni che consente di vederla in prospettiva.

1. "Una tempesta in un bicchiere d'acqua", fu definita da Lewis Mumford la controversia che lo oppose ad alcuni membri dei circoli architettonici della costa orientale: questo giudizio figura nel saggio introduttivo al catalogo della mostra *Domestic Architecture of the Bay Region*, inaugurata il 16 settembre 1949 nel San Francisco Museum of Art. La controversia era nata due anni prima, quando Mumford, in un articolo della serie *The Sky Line* da lui pubblicato nel "New Yorker", aveva messo in risalto la *"libera ma non invadente espressione del terreno, del clima e del modo di vivere"* propria dell'architettura della Bay Area (espressione che egli chiamava *"lo stile della Bay Region"*), in contrasto con *"il meccanicismo, l'impersonalità e il puritanesimo estetico"* del cosiddetto *International Style*[1]. Per Mumford si trattava di contrapporre il nuovo stile al vecchio, quello americano a quello internazionale, e di attaccare frontalmente la mostra *The International Style*, organizzata nel 1932 da Henry-Russell Hitchcock e Philip Johnson nel Museum of Modern Art di New York. L'articolo di Mumford sul "New Yorker" provocò subito la reazione del MOMA: Alfred H. Barr jr., Hitchcock, Johnson, Gropius, Breuer, George Nelson, Eero Saarinen, insieme ad altri importanti architetti e allo stesso Mumford, s'incontrarono nell'auditorium del MOMA la sera dell'11 febbraio 1948 per un pubblico dibattito sulla caratterizzazione e sulle critiche avanzate da Mumford[2]. Dalla discussione risultò che il gruppo degli internazionalisti era tutt'altro che monolitico. Barr e Hitchcock parlarono dell'architettura moderna e ne difesero l'internazionalismo sotto l'aspetto dell'espressione formale. Hitchcock sostenne che il merito maggiore dell'espressione regionale consisteva nel correggere le deviazioni dell'*International Style*; l'eccezione a questa e ad altre regole era rappresentata da Frank Lloyd Wright, il "*Michelangelo*" del Ventesimo secolo. Gropius ricordò agli astanti che "*il cosiddetto International Style ha un carattere regionale, in quanto nasce dalle condizioni dell'ambiente*".
Ad ogni modo, come Mumford osservò nelle sue conclusioni, non vi era nessun accordo sulla definizione di

1. "A storm in a tea cup", Lewis Mumford called the argument he had with some members of East Coast architectural circles. He made this remark in an introductory essay for Domestic Architecture of the Bay Region, *an exhibition that opened at the San Francisco Museum of Art on September 16, 1949. The argument had started two years earlier, when Mumford, in one of his* "Sky Line" *articles in the* New Yorker *magazine, had pitched the* "free yet unobtrusive expression of the terrain, the climate, and the way of life" *of Bay Area architecture, what he named the* "Bay Region style," *against the* "mechanical and the impersonal and the aesthetically puritanic" *International Style.*[1] *For Mumford, it was the new style vs. the old style, the American Style vs. the International Style; it was also a direct attack against the homonymous exhibition organized by Henry Russell-Hitchcock and Philip Johnson at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1932. The* New Yorker *article provoked a quick response from the museum. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Russell-Hitchcock, Johnson, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, George Nelson, Eero Saarinen, Mumford himself, and several other prominent architects convened in its auditorium on the evening of February 11, 1948, to debate Mumford's criticism and characterization in public*[2]. *The resulting discussion exposed a far from monolithic camp of internationalists. Barr and Russell-Hitchcock discussed modern architecture and defended its internationalism in terms of formal expression. Russell-Hitchcock argued that the main value of regional expression was to rectify the wrong turns of the International Style. The exception to this and other rules was Frank Lloyd Wright, the* "Michelangelo" *of the twentieth century. Gropius reminded the audience that* "the so-called International Style was regional in character, developing out of the surrounding conditions."
But, as Mumford said in his concluding remarks for the evening, there was no agreement over the definition of modern architecture; the speakers disagreed about everything, from the significance of the 1932 exhibition and the appropriateness of the word style *in modern architecture, to the existence of a* "Bay Region style." *Beyond dissension within the ranks of East Coast architects, this discussion also revealed a disparity of agendas and opinions between the museum and the European architects. This disagreement had been long in the making. In the years following* The International Style,

3. John Funk, Kirby House, Belvedere, California, anni '40. Foto R. Sturtevant.
4. Fred Langhorst, Ley House, Lafayette, California, anni '40. Foto R. Partridge.
5. Henry Hill, Hirshfield House, Berkeley, California, anni '40. Foto R. Sturtevant.

3. John Funk, Kirby House, Belvedere, California, 1940s. Photo R. Sturtevant.
4. Fred Langhorst, Ley House, Lafayette, California, 1940s. Photo R. Partridge.
5. Henry Hill, Hirshfield House, Berkeley, California, 1940s. Photo R. Sturtevant.



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6. William W. Wurster, Theodore Bernardi, Don Emmons, Nowell House, Carmel, California, anni '40. Foto R. Sturtevant.
7. Joseph Esherick, Walker House, Tahoe City, Lake Tahoe, California, 1949. Foto R. Sturtevant.

8. Gardner Dailey, David House, Ross, California, anni '40. Foto R. Sturtevant.

6. William W. Wurster, Theodore Bernardi, Don Emmons, Nowell House, Carmel, California, 1940s. Photo R. Sturtevant.
7. Joseph Esherick, Walker House, Tahoe City, Lake Tahoe, California, 1949. Photo R. Sturtevant.



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8. Gardner Dailey, David House, Ross, California, 1940s. Photo R. Sturtevant.

architettura moderna, anzi gli intervenuti dissentivano su tutto, dal significato della mostra del 1932 alla proprietà dell'uso del termine *stile* nell'architettura moderna e all'esistenza di uno *"stile della Bay Region"*.
Al di là del disaccordo fra gli architetti della costa orientale, il dibattito rivelò una disparità di opinioni e di programmi tra il MOMA e gli architetti europei, disparità che si era andata profilando già da lungo tempo. Negli anni successivi alla mostra *The International Style* il Museum of Modern Art aveva organizzato altre esposizioni sull'architettura contemporanea, con idee a volte divergenti da quelle che avevano ispirato la prima manifestazione; nel 1935 una di queste mostre era stata dedicata all'architettura californiana contemporanea e da New York era passata successivamente in altre venti sedi. Anche nell'esposizione *Built in USA, 1932-1944*, tenutasi sempre a New York nel 1944, e nel relativo catalogo si era dato particolare risalto alla California e alla sua tradizione. *"Una tradizione che stranamente è poco conosciuta"*, ebbe a scrivere Elizabeth Mock, direttrice *ad interim* dell'Architecture Department del MOMA, aggiungendo che *"già parecchi anni prima del 1932 Wurster aveva realizzato case sobrie ed essenzialmente moderne"*[3].
La copertina del catalogo recava una fotografia di un'opera di John Funk, la Heckendorf House a Modesto (California) (figg. 1, 2). In questa mostra sull'architettura moderna americana, come in quella del 1932 sull'*International Style*, si prendevano in esame, oltre all'edilizia residenziale, anche opere pubbliche e sedi di istituzioni. Come osservò Philip Goodwin, autore della sede del MOMA, la mostra non intendeva *"imporre agli Stati Uniti uno stile straniero"*, ma documentare *"la formazione di un autentico stile americano"*[4]: rispetto al 1932, si trattava di un programma meno dogmatico, più disponibile alle esigenze degli utenti e tale da poter essere sostanzialmente accolto da Mumford.
Nel 1949 l'esposizione *Domestic Architecture of the Bay Region* a San Francisco dimostrò l'inevitabilità storica del processo annunziato due anni prima da Mumford, che ne fu per così dire il patrono *in absentia*. Le sue tesi non avevano fatto che accelerare la morte, già imminente, dell'*International Style*.

2. Fra l'altro, la mostra offrì agli architetti della Bay Area una piattaforma per prendere posizione nella polemica. Per quanto autorevole, Mumford era sentito ancora come

the Museum of Modern Art organized several other exhibitions about contemporary architecture, with views often diverging from those of the earlier show. In 1935, one such show focused on contemporary California architecture and subsequently travelled to twenty other venues. Built in the USA, 1932-1944, *a 1944 exhibition and catalogue, once again placed special emphasis on California with what Elizabeth Mock, acting curator of the Architecture Department, called its* "curiously unpublicized tradition." "Wurster," *she added,* "was producing straightforward, essentially modern houses well before 1932"[3].
A photograph of John Funk's Heckendorf House in Modesto, California (fig. 1), graced the cover. The show placed emphasis on American modern architecture, not only residential but also institutional projects and public works, a range similar to that of the 1932 International Style exhibition. As Philip Goodwin, architect of the Museum of Modern Art building, wrote, the museum was not "trying to impose a foreign style on the United States," *but was documenting* "the growth of an authentic American Style"[4]. *This was a less dogmatic and more user-friendly manifesto than the 1932 version, and one with which Mumford could substantially agree.*
When it opened in San Francisco, Domestic Architecture of the Bay Region *conveyed the vindication of historical inevitability for Mumford, and he presided over it* in absentia. *His argument only added a few more nails to the already well-studded coffin of the International Style.*

2. Domestic Architecture *also represented a platform for Bay Area architects to establish their positions in the debate. However prominent, Mumford was still an outsider in the Bay Area, and local architects lost little time in correcting his views. A group of them published a response to Mumford's* New Yorker *article in* Architectural Record, *May, 1949, taking issue with the notion of a prevailing style while acknowledging common attributes in their own work.* "If there is a 'regional quality'," *William W. Wurster wrote,* "it rests mainly on the fact that building which still looks fresh and interesting today has been erected in the Bay Area every year since 1895"*– the year, incidentally, of his own birth.*[5]
Ernest Born and Robert M. Church, the exhibition curators, selected examples illustrating the modernity of the regional architecture. The houses, they stated, satisfied the special needs of climate, site, and plan with imaginative

un estraneo nella regione, e gli architetti locali non tardarono a rettificare le sue opinioni. Alcuni di essi pubblicarono su "Architectural Record" del maggio 1949 una risposta collettiva all'articolo di Mumford sul "New Yorker", negando l'esistenza di uno stile dominante ma riconoscendo nelle proprie opere certi caratteri comuni. *"Posto che vi sia un carattere regionale"*, scrisse William W. Wurster, *"esso consiste soprattutto nel fatto che a cominciare dal 1895 sono sempre sorti nella Bay Area edifici che appaiono tuttora nuovi e interessanti"* (detto per inciso, il 1895 era l'anno di nascita dello stesso Wurster)[5]. I curatori della mostra, Ernest Born e Robert M. Church, scelsero esempi che illustravano la modernità dell'architettura regionale: a loro giudizio, queste abitazioni rispondevano bene alle particolari esigenze poste dal clima, dal sito e dall'impianto distributivo, con soluzioni che erano sperimentali e ricche di immaginazione, piuttosto che conformi ai canoni modernisti. Tutte le case unifamiliari presentate nell'esposizione si articolavano in una pianta abbastanza aperta che non prevedeva alloggi per la servitù, adeguandosi così alla realtà della classe media americana del secondo dopoguerra. Come riferiva nel catalogo Gardner Dailey, *"la «piccola-grande casa» ha una sola stanza molto ampia, e tutto il resto è stato reso il più compatto possibile per evitare ogni spreco di spazio"*[6]. Molte delle case presentate erano a un solo piano, e con ciò si esaurivano le affinità di stile. Non tutte le coperture erano piane; poche erano le finestre continue e le pareti vetrate; il materiale predominante era il legno naturale (per lo più la sequoia rossa), anche se vi era qualche finestra metallica a ghigliottina. In alcuni edifici era evidente l'influsso formale dell'*International Style*, ma vi erano anche tracce visibili delle concezioni e delle forme presenti nel dibattito architettonico dell'epoca: echi del Nuovo Empirismo svedese, dell'accogliente comodità degli *chalet* svizzeri e, quasi sempre, del linguaggio e del mito di Frank Lloyd Wright. Henry Hill (fig. 5), Fred Langhorst (fig. 4) e John Funk (fig. 3) preferivano le lunghe linee di gronda continue e le composizioni di superfici murarie piene o vetrate; altri autori, come Joseph Esherick (fig. 7), Gardner Dailey (fig. 8) e il gruppo Wurster, Bernardi ed Emmons (fig. 6), puntavano su forme apparentemente più tradizionali. La sensazione più netta fornita dalla mostra era la mancanza di un'unità stilistica, di un'entità definibile come stile della Bay Area.

Se però intendiamo per *stile* qualcosa di meno formale e di più evocativo (un approccio, più che un complesso di regole), questo qualcosa c'era. Gli edifici avevano parecchi caratteri in comune: la preferenza per i materiali caldi e le ambientazioni confortevoli; l'uso espressivo della luce naturale per definire e quasi modellare lo spazio e per esaltare la grana e il colore dei materiali; la convinzione che un impiego appropriato degli elementi architettonici rendesse superflua ogni aggiunta decorativa; il dare per scontato che si trattasse di abitazioni destinate a piccoli nuclei familiari; e il principio che gli spazi esterni fossero una naturale estensione della casa.
In tutti i progetti l'architettura del paesaggio era un elemento importante, e molti architetti si erano valsi della collaborazione di uno specialista paesaggista (per lo più di Thomas D. Church o del gruppo Eckbo, Royston e Williams). Poiché in California, e in particolare nella Bay Area, la mitezza del clima permette di vivere all'aperto quasi per altrettanto tempo che in casa, il paesaggio era visto come un complemento necessario dell'architettura. La sua sistemazione non poteva ridursi alla progettazione di giardini tradizionali: non vi erano filari di alberi, ma solo piccoli prati e piante, per lo più autoctone. Per Wurster *"l'architettura è tutt'uno con l'architettura del paesaggio"*[7], e nella mostra questa identificazione era evidente nella varietà degli elementi usati per mettere in rapporto con gli spazi aperti le diverse parti dell'abitazione: cortili interni, terrazze protette da alberi, inquadrature di particolari vedute, posizione e forma delle piscine, alberature destinate a creare zone ombrose intorno alla casa e talvolta al di sopra di essa.
Nel complesso la mostra metteva l'accento su una continuità di atteggiamenti, più che di stili; Francis Joseph McCarthy sottolineava *"le analogie nei metodi costruttivi e nell'uso dei materiali"*[8]. Non si trattava solo di una continuità di forme, ma anche di generazioni, nel senso che agli architetti già affermati si affiancavano numerosi giovani: secondo Elisabeth Kendall Thompson, redattrice di "Architectural Record" per gli Stati dell'Ovest, gli architetti della Bay Area rappresentati nella mostra si richiamavano a un cinquantennio di esperienze nate da una comune sensibilità. I nomi dei predecessori — Bernard Maybeck, Willis Polk, Ernest Coxhead, Albert Cicero Schweinfurth, John Galen Howard, Julia Morgan, ecc. — erano abbastanza noti, ma le loro opere lo erano di meno, e lo stesso Mumford

and experimental rather than canonically modern solutions. All the single-family houses included in the exhibition articulated a fairly open plan without servants' quarters–a reality of middle-class life in America after World War II. "The Large-Small House," *Gardner Dailey said in the catalogue,* "has one very large room, and the balance of the house has been compressed wherever possible to eliminate waste space."[6]

Many of the houses shown in the exhibition were simple one-storey buildings, but this was where stylistic similarities ended. Not all the roofs were flat; there were only some continuous windows and a few glazed walls; unpainted wood, redwood mostly, was the predominant material, but there were a few metal sashes. A few buildings showed the formal influence of the International Style, but there were also visible traces of the concepts and forms discussed in the architectural press of the time, such as the New Empiricism from Sweden or the coziness of Swiss chalets, and the imagery and myth of Frank Lloyd Wright could be found in almost all. Henry Hill (fig. 5), Fred Langhorst (fig. 4), and John Funk (fig. 3) emphasized long, uninterrupted eave lines and the composition of entire solid or glazed sections of walls. Others such as Joseph Esherick (fig. 7), Gardner Dailey (fig. 8), and Wurster Bernardi and Emmons (fig. 6) relied on seemingly more traditional forms. The strongest inference one could draw from the exhibition was that there was no stylistic unity and no such a thing as a Bay Area style.

But if style *could indicate something less formal and more evocative – an approach rather than a set of rules – then there was a case for it. The buildings had a number of common traits: a preference for warm materials and comfortable homes; natural light as a definer, almost a molder, of space and enhancer of the texture and colors of the building materials; the belief that if architectural elements were employed properly there was no need for additional decoration; the unquestioned assumption that these buildings were designed for small families; and the postulate that the outdoors was a natural extension of the house.*

Landscape architecture was an important element in all these projects, and when many architects listed the collaboration of a landscape architect, it was frequently Thomas D. Church or Eckbo, Royston, and Williams. In California, and the Bay Area especially, where the mild climate encouraged people to live almost as much outdoors as in, landscape was seen as a necessary complement to architecture. Here, landscape architecture did not mean the design of traditional gardens; there were no rows of trees, only small lawns, and a few transported, but mostly native plants. "Architecture and landscape architecture," *Wurster wrote,* "are one thing"[7]. *This relationship was evident in the exhibition in the variety of outdoor spaces created to match different areas of the buildings – internal courtyards, decks protected by trees, the framing of particular views, the siting and configuration of swimming pools, the use of trees to form areas of shade around, and sometimes above, the structures.*

On the whole, the exhibition accentuated a continuity of attitudes rather than of styles. Francis Joseph McCarthy stressed "similarity in methods of construction and use of materials."[8] *Continuity was not only formal but also generational, and a number of younger architects accompanied the more established names. Elizabeth Kendall Thompson, western editor of* Architectural Record, *confirmed that it was a legacy of fifty years of shared sensibilities that inspired the Bay Area architects shown in the exhibition. The names of their predecessors were well enough known – Bernard Maybeck, Willis Polk, Ernest Coxhead, Albert Cicero Schweinfurth, John Galen Howard, Julia Morgan, and so forth–but their buildings less so. Even Mumford described how he learned to appreciate Maybeck's First Church of Christ Scientist in Berkeley only through Wurster's eyes.*[9]

3. It was Wurster who was especially able to describe in plain language – but lyrically and with intensity of feeling – one of Coxhead's houses, and distill from the memory of a visit he had made in 1913 what was attractive in this first generation of Bay Area architecture:

"It was a big room with four-foot-wide boards in panel form on the walls and ceiling. The redwood was left unfinished as it came from the tree, which takes on a pink-brown color with the years. A natural pine floor, no carpets or rugs and a fireplace with a raised hearth for a seat the twenty-four feet of the width of the room, with a flat continuous cushion on the hearth directly in front of the fire. There was a long window seat with a similar cushion. There was a piano in one corner and a gnarled oak trunk with brown leaves standing from floor to ceiling in back of the piano. I can't recall any pictures, and there was no

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9. Ernest Coxhead, Waybur House, San Francisco, 1902.
Foto M. Baer.
10. 11. Willis Polk, Polk-Williams House, San Francisco, 1892: viste del retro e del fronte.
Foto M. Baer.

9. Ernest Coxhead, Waybur House, San Francisco, 1902.
Photo M. Baer.
10. 11. Willis Polk, Polk-Williams House, San Francisco, 1892: rear and front views.
Photos M. Baer.



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12. Bernard Maybeck, First Church of Christ Scientist, Berkeley, California, 1910.
Foto M. Baer.
13. Bernard Maybeck, Faculty Club, University of California, Berkeley, California 1902-03.
Foto R. Barnes.

12. Bernard Maybeck, First Church of Christ Scientist, Berkeley, 1910.
Photo M. Baer.
13. Bernard Maybeck, Faculty Club, University of California, Berkeley, California 1902-03.
Photo R. Barnes.



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raccontava di aver imparato ad apprezzare la First Church of Christ Scientist costruita da Maybeck a Berkeley solo indirettamente, attraverso Wurster[9].

3. Era stato proprio Wurster a descrivere, in un linguaggio semplice ma con lirica intensità di sentimento, una delle case costruite da Coxhead, distillando dai ricordi di una visita fatta nel 1913 ciò che vi era di più attraente nella prima generazione di architetti della Bay Area:

"C'era una grande stanza con le pareti e il soffitto rivestiti di pannelli in sequoia rossa larghi quattro piedi. Il legno, lasciato grezzo così come viene tagliato, assume col tempo un colore bruno-rosato. Nessun genere di tappeti sul pavimento di pino naturale; un camino con un focolare rialzato a costituire un sedile lungo 24 piedi (l'intera larghezza della stanza), con un basso cuscino continuo direttamente di fronte al fuoco; sotto la finestra, un sedile continuo con cuscino simile. In un angolo un pianoforte e dietro di esso, da pavimento a soffitto, un tronco di quercia nodoso con foglie marrone. Non ricordo nessun quadro e nessun altro oggetto di arredamento, né decorazioni, né tende; giù in lontananza erano disseminate le luci della città"[10].

La città al di là della baia era ovviamente San Francisco. In questa visione s'incarnava l'ideale di serietà e di schiettezza a cui si ispiravano Wurster e i suoi colleghi della Bay Area: un'architettura priva di fronzoli, che non celava la struttura dietro le pareti e non ingombrava lo spazio con arredi non necessari. Un'architettura che si richiamava alla loro estetica puritana, formatasi nella scia della grande crisi degli anni Trenta e nello spirito efficientista degli anni della seconda guerra mondiale; un'architettura concentrata sulla specificità, in cui ogni elemento edilizio, per insignificante che potesse apparire all'osservatore profano, era visto come parte di un tutto, meritevole della massima cura. Infine (e forse era questo il fatto più importante), quegli architetti condividevano coi loro predecessori una viva sensibilità per l'interazione fra architettura e paesaggio.
Pure, nonostante tutte queste affinità, gli scopi e le aspirazioni della prima generazione di architetti della Bay Area erano stati diversi da quelli dei loro discendenti. Ciò che Wurster vedeva come il carattere dimesso e minimale dei primi edifici era in realtà, quasi all'opposto, un segno

other furniture–no ornaments, no curtains–and spread out far below were the lights of the city".[10]

Of course, the city across the Bay was San Francisco. This was the visual trope that embodied the straightforward, no-nonsense ideal to which Wurster and his contemporary Bay Area colleagues aspired – an architecture without frills that neither hid construction within the walls nor cluttered the room with unnecessary furnishings. It appealed to their puritanical aesthetics, formed in the wake of the Depression of the 1930s and the efficiency-driven years of World War II. It focused on the specific, for no matter how insignificant a building element looked to a lay observer, they saw it as a part of the whole requiring much attention. Perhaps most importantly, they shared with their predecessors the sense of a strong reciprocity between architecture and the landscape.
Yet for all these similarities, the goals and aspirations of that first generation of Bay Area architects were not the same as those of their descendants. What Wurster saw as the minimal, self-effacing quality of earlier buildings was in fact quite the opposite–a sign of rebellion. It typified the outrageous posturing, the proud worn-out look of the Bohemians that was intended to shock the bourgeois out of their smugness. Their architecture had the mark of an uncompromising manifesto, but also the freshness of a reconquered innocence. It was the visible reminder of the adventurousness and rakishness of the frontier days, although there was no longer a frontier in the 1890s.
San Francisco was an "instant city" *by the middle of the nineteenth century and grew so rapidly that it could aspire to become the Pacific capital by the century's end. The crucial event in the history of its origins was the discovery of gold in the Sierras. When the Gold Rush arrived, people came in tens of thousands, and with them arrived a social order, but an order measured by newly accumulated wealth.[11] By the 1880s, wealth polarized San Francisco both socially and architecturally, and foreign visitors such as Rudyard Kipling thought that its citizens were pursuing* "aggressive luxury."[12] *This society provided a much-needed target for its budding community of intellectuals.*
As an outlandish manifestation of wealth, builders added gingerbread decorations, often derived from a pattern book, to the exteriors of often hastily built Queen Anne *houses:* "restless, turreted, gabled, loaded with meaningless detail, defaced with fantastic windows and hideous chimneys,"

di ribellione: era il tipico atteggiamento con cui il *bohémien*, fiero del suo aspetto trascurato, vuole scandalizzare il borghese soddisfatto di sé.
Quest'architettura aveva l'impronta ostinata di un manifesto e al tempo stesso la freschezza di una riconquistata innocenza: era il residuo visibile dell'avventurosa baldanza dei tempi della frontiera, anche se negli anni Novanta quei tempi erano ormai finiti.
San Francisco, che verso la metà dell'Ottocento era una "*instant-city*", crebbe così rapidamente da poter aspirare sul finire del secolo al ruolo di capitale del Pacifico. L'evento decisivo nella storia delle sue origini fu la scoperta dell'oro nelle Sierras. La febbre dell'oro attirò i cercatori a decine di migliaia, e con loro arrivò un ordine sociale fondato sulla ricchezza accumulata di recente[11].
Negli anni Ottanta la ricchezza creò a San Francisco una polarizzazione sociale e architettonica, inducendo visitatori come Rudyard Kipling ad affermare che i suoi abitanti inseguivano un "*lusso aggressivo*"[12]. Questa società fornì il necessario bersaglio alla comunità di intellettuali che in essa si andava formando.
Come eccentrica ostentazione di ricchezza, i costruttori applicavano decorazioni vistose, di solito riprese da campionari commerciali, all'esterno delle case in stile *Queen Anne*, spesso innalzate alla svelta, "*sovraccariche di torrette, di frontoni e di particolari inutili, deturpate da finestre stravaganti e da orrendi comignoli*", e soprattutto, come osservava l'architetto Arthur Page Brown, "*nuove e alla moda*"[13]. Un periodico di vita locale, "The Wave", pubblicò il 20 marzo 1887 un articolo su queste "*mostruosità*", e in un editoriale Willis Polk si scagliò contro "*gli speculatori immobiliari, gli imprenditori senza scrupoli e i carpentieri frustrati che a quanto pare hanno trovato a San Francisco il loro ultimo rifugio*"[14].
Nelle sue invettive Polk fu spesso sostenuto da un gruppetto di colleghi solidali, formato da Schweinfurth, Coxhead, Maybeck e Howard. Costoro erano mossi dal desiderio di evitare le piatte imitazioni di un'architettura male assimilata ("*le case pretenziose dei ricchi, quasi sempre modelli di cattivo gusto*")[15], e di inventare nuove forme, rispondenti alle esigenze di una popolazione in crescita, alle limitate disponibilità dei committenti, a un ambiente urbano in rapida trasformazione e alle caratteristiche topografiche e climatiche di San Francisco.
Era stato Page Brown, nel cui studio molti di questi architetti lavoravano, a importare dalla costa orientale qualcosa della raffinatezza degli edifici di McKim, Mead e White. Ma la pura e semplice importazione di moduli formali, fatta senza tener conto dei mezzi e delle tecniche disponibili, non era sufficiente, e sembrava anzi accentuare la dipendenza di San Francisco dall'Est, riducendola a tutti gli effetti a una colonia. Questi architetti si dedicarono invece a un'assidua sperimentazione su forme e materiali, attingendo con spregiudicato eclettismo a una grande varietà di fonti, dall'architettura delle missioni spagnole a quella vernacola messicana e a quella di McKim, Mead e White, oltre a subire fortemente l'influsso delle *Arts and Crafts*.
L'elaborazione di un linguaggio vernacolo tratto da tutti questi elementi e il suo adattamento alla scala propria di San Francisco fu peraltro esclusivamente opera loro.
In Coxhead la rivolta contro l'architettura dominante del suo tempo si concretò in composizioni magistrali, disinibite e sottilmente ironiche, che smentivano la loro apparenza di rustica semplicità. La sua ironia è più che mai evidente nella facciata della Waybur House (1902; fig. 9), in cui egli applicò a una semplice superficie di scandole scure degli elementi classici, alterandoli però fino a renderli incongrui[16].
Alla base dei sarcasmi di Polk e dei suoi frequenti attacchi verbali e scritti non vi era invece l'ironia, ma un'incorreggibile sincerità. Egli andò ad abitare in una casa bifamiliare che gli era stata commissionata da un artista sulla Russian Hill, e la sommità della collina divenne la sede della comunità artistica di San Francisco. Nel progettare la casa (figg. 10, 11) Polk rifiutò ogni forma prestabilita per adeguarsi alle esigenze degli abitanti e soprattutto alle caratteristiche del sito: la facciata non dà l'impressione che la casa sia situata sull'orlo di un dirupo, ma il retro segue la pendice fino al piede. Da questo lato l'edificio appare tutt'altro che unitario, e in effetti è un insieme di successive addizioni, ciascuna delle quali corrisponde quasi indipendentemente dalle altre alle richieste di luce, di aria e di visuale. Queste corrispondenze sono così dirette e così intese a esprimere una funzione, anziché una pura forma, che l'edificio non sembra progettato, ma sembra piuttosto far parte del linguaggio vernacolo della zona.
Bernard Maybeck andò avanti nella sperimentazione più di chiunque altro, mescolando e armonizzando instancabilmente particolari, tipi edilizi e materiali. Tuttavia, nonostante le eclettiche combinazioni di motivi

and, worst of all, the architect Arthur Page Brown remarked, "new and fashionable"[13]. *The* Wave, *a journal devoted to the local scene, published a report on these* "monstrosities" *(March 20, 1887), and Willis Polk editorialized against* "the real estate speculators, speculative contractors, and disappointed carpenters who ... seem to have found their last refuge in San Francisco"[14]. *Polk's tirades were often supported by a small, sympathetic group of colleagues – Schweinfurth, Coxhead, Maybeck, and Howard. They were motivated by the desire to avoid crass imitations of badly assimilated architecture –* "the pretentious houses of men of wealth, of which few are the models of anything but poor taste"[15] *– and the challenge of finding a new form to satisfy the demands of a growing population, the limited budgets of their clients, the rapidly changing urban environment, and the topographical characteristics and climate of San Francisco. Page Brown, in whose office many of them worked, had been responsible for importing from the East Coast some of the elegance of McKim Mead and White's buildings. Simply importing styles that took no account of available means and techniques was an unsatisfactory goal and seemed to reinforce San Francisco's subservience to the East – a colony, for all practical purposes. They experimented incessantly with forms and materials, quoted liberally and eclectically from a variety of sources – Spanish missions, vernacular Mexican buildings, McKim Mead and White – and were strongly influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement. But the construction of a vernacular from all these elements and its adaptation to the intimate scale of San Francisco was exclusively theirs.*

For Coxhead, rebellion against the prevailing architecture took the form of debonair, subtly ironical designs and masterful compositions that belied their appearance of rustic simplicity. Nowhere is his irony more evident than on the facade of the Waybur House (1902; fig. 9), where he applied classical elements to a plain brown shingle surface but made them distorted and incongruous.[16]

It was unreformed sincerity, not irony, that motivated Polk's sarcasm and frequent verbal and written attacks. A double residence commissioned by an artist also became his house on Russian Hill, and the top of the Hill became the enclave of San Francisco's artistic community. In designing the house (fig. 10, fig. 11), Polk rejected all preconceived forms in accommodating the needs of the inhabitants and, especially, the characteristics of the site. The facade gives little idea that the house is situated on the edge of a cliff, but the rear of the building follows the incline to the bottom. From this side, the building seems less than unified, a series of additions made over a period of time, with each part responding to the needs of light, air, and views almost independently from the rest. These responses are so direct, so concerned with expressing function rather than mere form, that the building does not seem designed but, rather, a part of the vernacular of the hill.

Bernard Maybeck pushed experimentation further than anybody else. He constantly mixed and matched details, building types, and materials. Yet for all their eclectic combinations of medieval motifs with up-to-date construction techniques, his buildings show the tactile integrity and discipline of a master craftsman. He would assemble unusual components, such as asbestos shingles and industrial glazing in the First Church of Christ Scientist in Berkeley (fig. 12), but would articulate them in innovative compositions so that they would seem a natural part of the building. A sense of the character and quality of place was one of Maybeck's most enduring traits. His plans are strongly articulated to allow diverse views of the outdoors. In the Faculty Club (fig. 13) of the University of California at Berkeley, different wings of the building overlook different landscapes, sometimes through entire glazed sections of wall, and provide intimate exterior rooms that are a natural extension of the indoors.

These architects and those who followed them along this road, such as Julia Morgan, were at their best when dealing with small buildings, the constraints of sites and limited budgets. Their earliest San Francisco buildings were their most radical and innovative designs. But what was innovative in the 1890s became increasingly commonplace after 1906, the year in which the big earthquake and subsequent fire devastated San Francisco. Daniel H. Burnham's plan for the city, although it remained on paper, introduced a vision of buildings on a different, grander urban scale, and the modest designs and experiments of the earlier period were out of step with civic leaders' ambitions to transform San Francisco into an imperial city to rival those of the East Coast. It was the large civic and commercial projects and private monuments to prominent patrons, with their Beaux Arts eclectic classicism – Maybeck's Palace of Fine Arts for the Panama Pacific International Exposition (1915, fig. 16), Polk's Hallidie Building (1918, fig. 14), Julia Morgan's San Simeon

medievali e di tecniche costruttive aggiornate, i suoi edifici presentano l'integrità tattile e il rigore tipici di un artigiano provetto. Maybeck associò tra loro anche componenti insolite – si vedano ad esempio le scandole di amianto e le vetrate industriali della First Church of Christ Scientist a Berkeley (fig. 12) – ma le organizzò in composizioni innovative, facendole apparire come parti naturali dell'edificio. Uno dei tratti distintivi di Maybeck fu la sua costante sensibilità per il carattere e la qualità dei luoghi. Le sue piante sono vigorosamente articolate per fornire una pluralità di vedute verso l'esterno: nel Faculty Club della University of California a Berkeley (fig. 13) le varie ali dell'edificio si affacciano su paesaggi differenti, talvolta con interi tratti di parete vetrata, creando spazi esterni accoglienti che sono naturali estensioni di quelli interni.
Questi architetti e quelli che li seguirono sulla stessa strada, come Julia Morgan, operavano nel modo migliore quando erano chiamati a costruire piccoli edifici in siti difficili e con disponibilità limitate. Le prime opere da essi realizzate a San Francisco furono anche le loro creazioni più radicalmente innovatrici. Ma ciò che era nuovo negli anni Novanta divenne sempre più consueto dopo il 1906, anno in cui il famoso terremoto e il successivo incendio devastarono San Francisco. Il piano urbanistico della città redatto da Daniel H. Burnham, sebbene sia rimasto sulla carta, è il primo in cui gli edifici siano visti in una diversa e più grandiosa scala urbana; i modesti progetti ed esperimenti del periodo precedente non erano più adeguati alle ambizioni dei *leader* politici locali, che intendevano trasformare San Francisco in una metropoli capace di competere con quelle della costa orientale. Le aspirazioni professionali degli architetti di quel periodo si riflettono soprattutto nei grandi edifici civici e commerciali e nei monumenti al prestigio dei grandi committenti privati, innalzati nello stile classicistico-eclettico *Beaux Arts*: il Palace of Fine Arts costruito da Maybeck per la Panama Pacific International Exposition del 1915 (fig. 16), l' Hallidie Building di Polk (1918; fig. 14), il Hearst Castle a San Simeon di Julia Morgan (1919-42; fig. 15) e il nuovo *campus* della University of California a Berkeley[17].

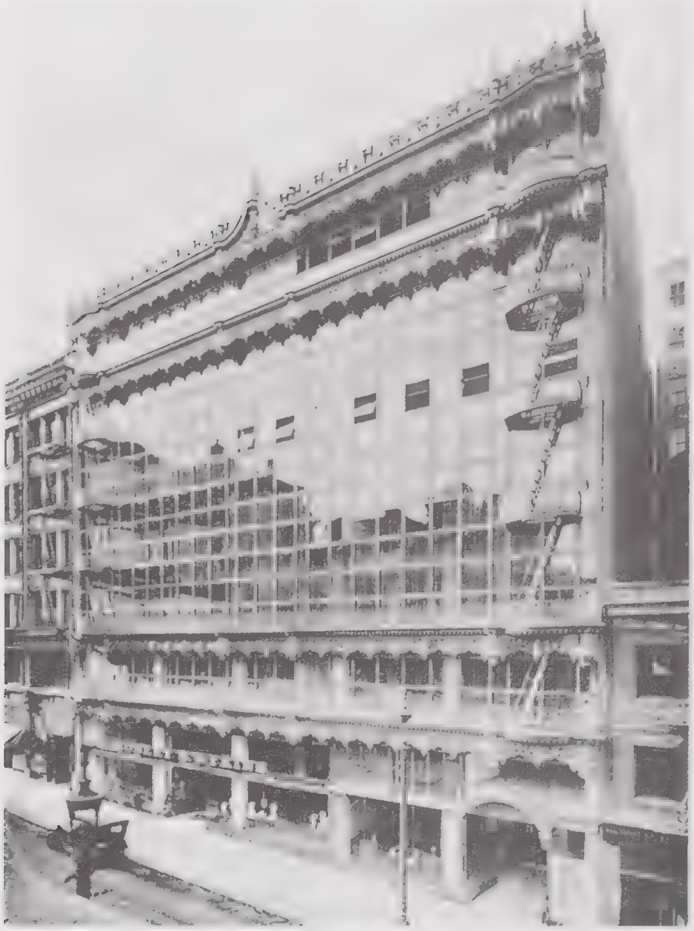
4. Il rinnovato interesse per il vernacolo risale al 1928, quando William W. Wurster completò la Gregory Farmhouse (fig. 18). La casa sorge a sud di San Francisco, in un'ampia valle soleggiata della catena costiera che

(1919-1942, fig. 15), and the planning of the new campus for the University of California at Berkeley – that best illustrated their professional ambitions in those years.[17]

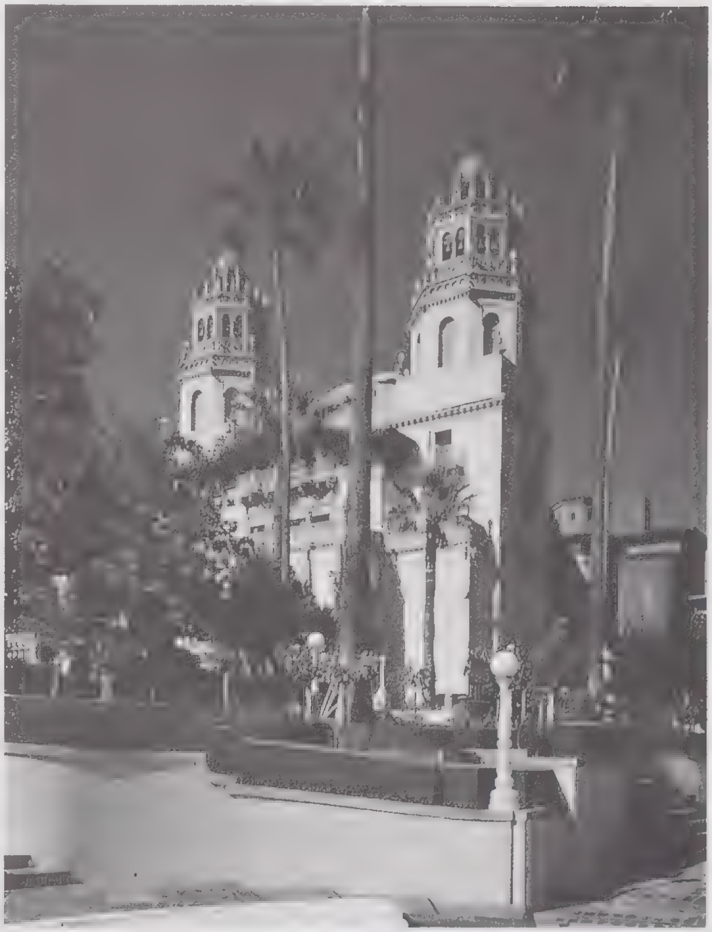
4. The renewed interest in the vernacular dates from 1928, with the completion of the Gregory Farmhouse by William W. Wurster (fig. 18). It is situated in a large, sunny valley in the coastal range of mountains overlooking Santa Cruz, south of San Francisco. A water tower, like a short campanile, signals its approach, and the house looks like a hacienda – a complex of low buildings surrounding a courtyard, a typology derived from the myths of Hispanic California long before the Gold Rush and the Anglo-American civilization. It sits on a large terrace surrounded by native trees, bushes, and low grasses. The buildings are made of wide whitewashed and weathered wood planks. The L-shaped main body of the house accommodates a row of rooms connected on the outside by a low porch. The building has overlapping roof lines, hinting at a composition of several buildings. It looks different from each side, responds to the site and natural light, and suggests varied areas of activity inside and outside the house (fig. 17; fig. 19). The interior is just as straightforward–whitewashed walls and unpolished fir tile floors. The pools of sunlight from the windows evoke the rhythms of a domestic life repeated for generations (fig. 20). To the casual observer, the house must have seemed old from the very beginning, built with skill and good materials but for very practical, hard-working reasons. On the surface, there are no tell-tale signs indicating that it was designed by an architect – no visually aligned elements, hidden symmetries, carefully positioned windows, no evidence of recent additions or conversions, no updating to the comforts of contemporary life. There is a certain timelessness to it, the vestiges of a faith in unchanging nature and its kindness to the house.
Wurster intended the Farmhouse to be this way. He simplified considerably a previous design by John Galen Howard for the same site, in keeping with the client's wish to avoid "conspicuous consumption." "In general," *Wurster wrote,* "there was a definite attempt to keep the building free from so-called decoration, relying for interest on the proportioning of the necessary elements"[18].
Proportions emerge in the balance of the plan and massing of the complex, with the tall tower and attached small building serving as a counterweight for the remaining

14. Willis Polk, Hallidie Building, San Francisco, 1918.
15. Julia Morgan, Hearst Castle, San Simeon, California, 1919-1942. Foto R. Barnes.
16. Bernard Maybeck, Palace of Fine Arts, San Francisco, 1915. Foto R. Barnes.

14. Willis Polk, Hallidie Building, San Francisco, 1918.
15. Julia Morgan, Hearst Castle, San Simeon, California, 1919-1942. Photos R. Barnes.
16. Bernard Maybeck, Palace of Fine Arts, San Francisco, 1915. Photo R. Barnes.



14



15



16

17\. 18. 19. 20. William W. Wurster, Gregory Farmhouse, Santa Cruz, California, 1928: pianta, viste esterne e vista interna del soggiorno. Foto R. Sturtevant.

17\. 18. 19. 20. William W. Wurster, Gregory Farmhouse, Santa Cruz, California, 1928: plan, external views and internal view of living-room. Photos R. Sturtevant.



17



18



19



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sovrasta Santa Cruz; la sua presenza è segnalata da una specie di breve campanile contenente un serbatoio d'acqua. L'aspetto è quello di una fattoria: un complesso di bassi edifici intorno a un cortile, secondo un tipo ereditato dal leggendario periodo spagnolo, precedente alla corsa all'oro e all'avvento della civiltà angloamericana. Il complesso è situato su una vasta terrazza circondata da alberi autoctoni, arbusti e zone erbose; gli edifici sono costruiti con larghe tavole di legno stagionato e imbiancato. Il corpo di fabbrica principale, a forma di L, comprende una fila di stanze collegate sull'esterno da un basso porticato; le coperture si sovrappongono in parte, dando l'impressione che si tratti di più edifici; i prospetti sono tutti differenti, in relazione al sito e all'illuminazione naturale, e denunciano l'esistenza di diverse aree di attività all'interno e all'esterno (figg. 17, 19). Altrettanto semplice è l'interno, anch'esso imbiancato e pavimentato con tavole di abete naturale; le zone di luce che i raggi del sole disegnano attraverso le finestre evocano i ritmi di una vita domestica ripetuta per più generazioni (fig. 20).

A un osservatore occasionale la Gregory Farmhouse dev'essere sembrata fin dall'inizio costruita con abilità artigiana e con buoni materiali, ma per motivi molto pratici, per gente che lavora sodo. Esteriormente non vi sono indizi dell'intervento di un architetto: non vi sono allineamenti visuali, simmetrie nascoste, finestre disposte con cura, segni recenti di aggiunte, trasformazioni o adeguamenti alle comodità della vita contemporanea. C'è piuttosto un senso di atemporalità, l'impronta della fede in una natura immobile, benevola verso la casa.

Wurster volle così la Farmhouse, e semplificò alquanto, in armonia col desiderio del committente di evitare ogni "*consumo opulento*", un progetto già redatto per lo stesso sito da John Galen Howard. "*In generale*", scrisse Wurster, "*vi fu un tentativo ben preciso di evitare la cosiddetta decorazione e di rendere attraente la casa col solo proporzionamento degli elementi necessari*"[18]. Questo criterio emerge nell'equilibrio della pianta e nella distribuzione delle masse, in cui la torre-serbatoio e gli edifici minori adiacenti fanno da contrappeso agli altri corpi di fabbrica; ma le proporzioni risultano particolarmente evidenti perché Wurster non aggiunse nulla che allettasse l'occhio e continuò invece a togliere fino a quando la spoglia eleganza della casa restò affidata ai materiali e alla tecnica costruttiva. In effetti, la bellezza

structures. But they are especially visible because Wurster added nothing to deceive the eye, removing elements until the skin and bones alone – the materials and the technique of construction – sustained the bare elegance of the house. Indeed, the art of the building lies in this directness, urgency almost, with no room to spare for the superfluous.

The Gregory Farmhouse won recognition for Wurster. But if it put him on the map, it was a regional, not an international map. Its simplicity was widely praised in the press at the time; it was seen as a refreshing antidote to opulence, which was no longer an option during the Depression of the 1930s. In time, it became an essential point of reference for all Bay Area architects. But popularity was also accompanied by critical skepticism: "Oh yes," *Frank Lloyd Wright told him,* "you are the shanty architect"[19].

For Wurster, modernity was neither a question of style nor a particularly self-conscious approach to architecture: "'Modern'," *he dryly told an editor from* House and Garden *magazine,* "means 'of today'."[20] *This had the ring of a classic Wurster answer, one which allowed him to shun characterization and implied more than it revealed. There was no rhetorical obsession with the purity and heroism of forms in Wurster, nothing utopian or ascetic in his buildings – a strikingly different attitude from that of European and most American architects of his time. Instead, he seemed to delight in contamination with the ordinary; his buildings do not challenge their surroundings but negotiate an agreement between reality and ideals. They are designed to fill the gap between the imagination of the client and that of the architect. In one of his sporadic theoretical statements (his writing more often has the effect of advice than of theory), he made it clear that modern architecture was not a question of choice: for the architect it was not a question of designing a modern or a traditional building, if the building has to meet the needs of the community. It was necessary* "to base design," *as he put it,* "on the kind of life people wanted and not on the basis of theoretical modernism"[21] *(Wurster's italics).*

The architectural critics of the time were uncomfortable with his populist immunity to trends. Slightly more than a decade after the completion of the Gregory Farmhouse, Henry Russell-Hitchcock defined Wurster's buildings as "not exactly disappointing," *but* "duller than one expects, and the gradual development toward more overtly modern, or at least original forms, seems ... to have arrested" *– in*

dell'edificio è fondata su questa volontà esplicita, quasi pressante di non lasciare spazio al superfluo.
La Gregory Farmhouse procurò apprezzamenti al suo autore, anche se a livello regionale anziché internazionale. La sua semplicità, largamente lodata dalla stampa dell'epoca, fu vista come un gradevole antidoto contro l'opulenza, resa ormai impraticabile dalla grande crisi degli anni Trenta. Con l'andar del tempo quest'opera divenne un punto di riferimento fondamentale per tutti gli architetti della Bay Area; ma alla popolarità si accompagnò anche un atteggiamento di critica e di scetticismo che trovò riscontro nell'appellativo *"architetto delle baracche"* con cui Frank Lloyd Wright si rivolse una volta a Wurster[19].
Per quest'ultimo la modernità non era un fatto di stile, né un approccio particolarmente consapevole all'architettura: *"Moderno"*, disse seccamente a un redattore della rivista "House and Garden", *"significa odierno"*[20]. Questa definizione ha il tono tipico delle frasi di Wurster, un tono che gli permetteva di evitare le caratterizzazioni e che sottintendeva più di quanto non rivelasse. Non vi era in lui nessuna insistenza retorica sulla purezza e la nobiltà delle forme, non vi era niente di utopistico o di ascetico nei suoi edifici: il suo era un atteggiamento profondamente diverso da quello degli architetti europei e della maggior parte degli architetti americani del suo tempo. Diversamente da loro, Wurster sembrava compiacersi del contatto con ciò che è comune e ordinario: i suoi edifici non rappresentano una sfida all'ambiente che li circonda, ma un tentativo di accordare la realtà agli ideali, di colmare il divario fra l'immaginazione del committente e quella dell'architetto.
In una delle sue rare enunciazioni teoriche (i suoi scritti danno più spesso l'impressione di fornire consigli che di costruire teorie) Wurster dichiara che nell'architettura moderna non vi è un problema di scelta: per l'architetto si tratta di progettare un edificio che corrisponda ai bisogni della comunità, non un edificio moderno o uno tradizionale. Si tratta cioè, come egli si esprime, *"di fondare il progetto sul genere di vita che la gente desidera condurre* e non *su un modernismo teorico"*[21]
(la sottolineatura è di Wurster).
I critici di architettura dell'epoca si sentivano a disagio di fronte a questa populistica insensibilità alle mode. Poco più di un decennio dopo l'ultimazione della Gregory Farmhouse, Henry-Russell Hitchcok definì gli edifici di Wurster *"non del tutto deludenti"*, ma *"meno stimolanti di quanto ci si sarebbe aspettato; la graduale evoluzione verso forme più decisamente moderne, o almeno originali, sembra* [...] *essersi fermata"*[22]; in altri termini, Wurster era fuori dell'*International Style*.
Certo egli non era un teorico d'avanguardia; ma il suo pragmatismo prendeva forza dalla fede nella funzione etica dell'architettura nella società: *"L'architettura"*, amava ripetere, *"è un'arte sociale"*. Per lui, cogliere il complesso intreccio dei fattori sociali, economici, politici, fisici ed estetici che danno forma all'ambiente costruito dall'uomo era molto più importante che apparire moderno. Dopo la seconda guerra mondiale la professione dell'architetto cambiò rapidamente e richiese una gamma di conoscenze che andava al di là delle tradizionali capacità artistiche e tecniche. Lo sforzo bellico aveva causato una forte richiesta di alloggi; il suolo, che nell'anteguerra era disponibile in abbondanza, divenne sempre più prezioso; i costi di costruzione aumentarono rapidamente. Queste nuove e complesse circostanze collocarono l'architettura in un contesto di discipline comprendente anche l'urbanistica e l'architettura del paesaggio.
L'espressione *"ambiente costruito dall'uomo"* finì col rappresentare l'approccio di Wurster all'architettura e il nucleo della sua attività didattica, svolta dapprima come preside della School of Architecture del Massachusetts Institute of Technology e poi, nel secondo dopoguerra, come rettore del College of Environmental Design della University of California a Berkeley. Un simile approccio richiedeva dall'architetto una nuova presa di coscienza, capace di liberare da ogni nozione tradizionale il rapporto d'interazione fra architettura e società:
"Tutto ciò che non è essenziale dev'essere eliminato", scrisse Wurster; *"è necessario ripartire da zero, con materiali e forme vergini"*[23].
L'impostazione di Wurster non aveva nulla di elementaristico, di minimalistico: la sua attenzione non era concentrata né sulle tecniche costruttive, né tanto meno sulle forme architettoniche. Agli inizi della sua carriera aveva elaborato delle regole empiriche a cui si attenne, insieme con gli altri membri del suo studio, in varie circostanze: i particolari dovevano essere poco appariscenti ma accurati, gli interruttori e le maniglie delle porte dovevano avere una collocazione uniforme, i montanti delle finestre a doppio battente non dovevano ostruire la visuale, i soffitti dovevano essere alti (*"la superficie coperta costa"*, usava dire, *"ma l'altezza delle stanze no"*), e nelle case di città i ripostigli ai vari piani

other words, not exactly the International Style.[22]
Wurster may have been no avant-garde theorist, but his pragmatism was motivated by a belief in the moral role of architecture in society: "Architecture," *he would constantly repeat,* "is a social art." *For him grasping the complex web of social, economic, political, physical, and aesthetic impulses that form the man-made environment was far more important than looking modern. After World War II, the architectural profession changed rapidly and required a broader knowledge base than traditional artistic and technical skills. The war effort had created an urgent need for housing. Space, a readily available commodity in pre-war times, became increasingly precious, and construction costs rose sharply. These new, complex conditions placed architecture within a matrix of disciplines that included planning and landscape architecture.*
This phrase, the "man-made environment," *came to represent Wurster's approach to architecture. The system it implied became the core of his teaching activity, first as dean of the School of Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and after World War II, as dean of the College of Environmental Design at the University of California at Berkeley. It required a new understanding by the architect, one which divested the interaction between architecture and society of all inherited notions:*
"All nonessentials must be melted out,"
Wurster wrote, "and we must start
from the bottom with pure materials and form"[23].
Wurster's basic approach was not of the minimal, prim kind. Building technique was not its focus, nor indeed were architectural forms. Early in his career, Wurster had developed practical rules of thumb which he and the other members of his office repeatedly applied in various circumstances – details should look unpretentious but precise, light switches and doorknobs should be positioned consistently, mullions of double-hung windows should not obstruct the view, ceilings should be high ("floor area is expensive," *he used to say,* "but room height isn't"*), storage space should be stacked on the different floors of town houses to allow the installation of an elevator at a later time.*[24] *But these rules were not a program and did not amount to a style. They were neither dictated nor even openly discussed. New staff were expected to absorb them in the first few osmotic months at the office.*
Rules did not prevent experimentation, although it seemed to Esther McCoy that it came about "only in the subtlest ways."[25] *But Wurster's experiments with prefabrication during the war years left a permanent trace on the rest of his career. The Saxton Pope House in Orinda (1943, demolished; fig. 21) displayed an intense interest in new combinations of materials – corrugated metal sheeting and concrete blocks, for example – chosen to offer the same comfort as wood and requiring virtually no maintenance. Large sliding doors substituted glazing and corrugated metal became the California equivalent of* shoji *screens. Far more important than any rule was the notion that the house should be only a background to the lives of its inhabitants, and in Wurster's houses the inhabitants did not live a formal life. Wurster had an innate aversion to the ritualized interiors that were the norm in the average family house: small rooms that mirrored the pace of domestic life – eating, sleeping, and communal living. His work in the early 1930s already displays characteristic interior arrangements that remained constant throughout his career. The Voss House in Big Sur (1931; fig. 22) and the Benner House in Berkeley (1934; fig. 27) placed unusual emphasis on communal areas – light-filled rooms with no specific purpose sufficiently large for family members to carve out areas of privacy. Frequently, large sliding doors could open these rooms completely to the outside, or deep porticos extended the area of the house, producing a new kind of transitional space that was neither indoors nor outdoors.*[24] *This informal arrangement of domestic activities could also result in informal plan configurations especially responsive to landscape, as in the Donald Gregory House near Santa Cruz (1933; fig. 23, fig. 24), a rambling construction around an enclosed courtyard that allowed each of the several wings of the complex to have a particular view. In the Case Study House no. 3 in Los Angeles (1945-49; fig. 25, fig. 26), the project Wurster contributed with his partner Bernardi to the program sponsored by* California Arts and Architecture *magazine, the H-plan of the house was divided into two areas of quiet and activity with a connecting living room overlooking the garden on both sides.*[27]
Wurster's compositional skill could also serve to compress the functions of the house into smaller plans, as was needed during the war, when he worked for the Federal Works Agency on the design of prefabricated workers' housing in Vallejo and Sacramento. During the postwar years, when building materials were scarce, this skill was especially useful in producing detached single-family dwellings of

21. William W. Wurster, Saxton-Pope House, Orinda, California, 1943. Foto R. Sturtevant.
22. William W. Wurster, Voss House, Big Sur, California, 1931. Foto R. Sturtevant.
23. 24. William W. Wurster, Donald Gregory House, Santa Cruz, California, 1933: pianta e vista.
25. 26. William W. Wurster, Case Study House n. 3, Los Angeles, 1945-49: pianta e vista.
27. William W. Wurster, Benner House, Berkeley, California, 1934. Foto R. Sturtevant.



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21. William W. Wurster, Saxton-Pope House, Orinda, California, 1943. Photo R. Sturtevant.
22. William W. Wurster, Voss House, Big Sur, California, 1931. Photo R. Sturtevant.
23. 24. William W. Wurster, Donald Gregory House, Santa Cruz, California, 1933: plan and view.
25. 26. William W. Wurster, Case Study House no. 3, Los Angeles, 1945-49: plan and view.
27. William W. Wurster, Benner House, Berkeley, California, 1934. Photos R. Sturtevant.



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dovevano essere situati sulla stessa verticale per consentire in seguito l'installazione di un ascensore[24]. Ma queste regole non costituivano un programma, né bastavano a definire uno stile: esse non venivano imposte, e nemmeno discusse esplicitamente, ma si supponeva che i nuovi venuti le assorbissero per osmosi nei primi mesi di pratica presso lo studio.
Queste regole non impedivano la sperimentazione, anche se essa avveniva, secondo Esther McCoy, *"solo nei modi più impercettibili"*[25]. In ogni caso, le esperienze di prefabbricazione condotte da Wurster negli anni di guerra lasciarono una traccia durevole sul resto della sua attività. La Saxton Pope House a Orinda (1943, poi demolita; fig. 21) mostrava un vivo interesse per le nuove combinazioni di materiali come la lamiera ondulata e i blocchi di calcestruzzo, adottati per ottenere le stesse comodità del legno con una manutenzione praticamente nulla. Le grandi porte scorrevoli sostituirono le vetrate e la lamiera ondulata divenne l'equivalente californiano dei pannelli di carta *shoji*.
Molto più importante di qualsiasi regola era l'idea che la casa fosse solo lo sfondo su cui si svolgevano le vite dei suoi abitanti, e nelle case di Wurster non si viveva in maniera convenzionale. Wurster manifestava un'avversione innata per gli interni ritualizzati dell'abitazione familiare *standard*, per le piccole stanze in cui si rispecchiava il ritmo della vita domestica: mangiare, dormire, vivere in comune. Le sue opere dei primi anni Trenta presentano già le tipiche disposizioni interne che rimarranno costanti attraverso tutta la sua carriera. Nella Voss House a Big Sur (1931; fig. 22) e nella Benner House a Berkeley (1934; fig. 27) egli dà un insolito risalto alle zone comunitarie: stanze piene di luce, senza una destinazione specifica, abbastanza grandi perché i singoli membri della famiglia si ritaglino in esse un angolo per sé. Spesso queste stanze potevano essere messe interamente in comunicazione con l'esterno mediante l'apertura di grandi porte scorrevoli, oppure la casa si ampliava in profondi porticati che attuavano un nuovo genere di spazio intermedio, né interno né esterno[26]. Talvolta questa sistemazione non convenzionale delle attività domestiche dava origine a configurazioni planimetriche informali particolarmente sensibili al paesaggio, come nella Donald Gregory House presso Santa Cruz (1933; figg. 23, 24), che si estende irregolarmente intorno a un cortile chiuso, in modo che a ciascuna ala del complesso corrisponda una diversa veduta. Nella *Case Study House* n. 3 a Los Angeles (1945-49; figg. 25, 26), con cui Wurster e il suo associato Bernardi parteciparono al programma promosso dalla rivista "California Arts and Architecture", la pianta a forma di H della casa comprendeva due zone, l'una di riposo e l'altra di attività, collegate da un soggiorno che si apriva da entrambi i lati sul giardino[27].
L'abilità compositiva di Wurster gli permise anche di condensare le funzioni abitative in piante più piccole, come occorreva fare durante la guerra, quando egli lavorava per conto della Federal Works Agency alla progettazione di alloggi prefabbricati per i lavoratori a Vallejo e a Sacramento. Nel secondo dopoguerra, quando i materiali edilizi scarseggiavano, questa sua capacità fu particolarmente utile per produrre abitazioni unifamiliari isolate, di piccole dimensioni ma dotate della spazialità e delle attrattive delle case più grandi. Egli consigliava ai primi proprietari di badare *"più allo spazio che alla finitura delle pareti: questa si può sempre fare in seguito, e le superfici grezze non richiedono subito un mobilio elegante"*[28].
Le affermazioni di Mumford sullo stile della Bay Region e l'apertura della mostra *Domestic Architecture of the Bay Region* devono essere sembrate una forma di riconoscimento a Wurster, che fin allora era stato visto dalla stampa come un architetto importante a livello regionale, ma non era stato preso abbastanza sul serio dai critici della costa orientale. Ma probabilmente egli vide in esse una convalida tardiva e piuttosto irrilevante, in quanto non si considerava né l'iniziatore, né il seguace di una tradizione.
Parafrasando il titolo di uno degli articoli di Wurster, si potrebbe riassumere nel motto *"costruire qui e ora"* la sua concezione dell'architettura, nella quale non vi era posto per la tradizione: *"Copiare pedissequamente il vecchio"*, scrive, *"è cosa priva di senso"*[29]. Ciò non significa affatto che egli avesse un atteggiamento di antipatia verso il passato: sostenne anzi lo studio della storia dell'architettura nelle scuole, purché non si trattasse della solita storia degli stili architettonici, ma della storia di un'architettura vista nel suo contesto sociale[30]. Egli rifiutava l'idea che l'architettura della costa occidentale fosse una mistura di vecchio e di nuovo, sostenendo con forza che l'architettura era il risultato delle condizioni del momento, e che l'architettura moderna in California era frutto di uno sviluppo

small size, but with a sense of space and the amenities of larger houses. He recommended that first-time home owners give importance to "space rather than wall finishes (they can always be applied, and rough surfaces do not immediately demand elegant furnishings)"[28].
Mumford's pronouncements on the Bay Region style and the opening of Domestic Architecture of the Bay Region *must have seemed a form of recognition to Wurster, after being granted prominence as a regional architect by the press and neglected as a serious architect by East-Coast critics. Still, this must also have seemed a tardy and somewhat irrelevant acknowledgment, since he did not consider himself either the beginner or a follower of a tradition.*
"Building here and now," *a paraphrase from a title of one of the articles he wrote, could easily be the motto of his architectural philosophy. Tradition played no part in it:* "a slavish copy of the old," *he wrote,* "is a hollow affair"[29]. *Not that his attitude toward the past was hostile – far from it. He advocated the study of architectural history in schools, but an architecture immersed in society, not the conventional history of architectural styles.*[30] *He rejected the notion that West-Coast architecture was a blend of the old and the new. Architecture was the result of current conditions, he insisted, and modern architecture in California was the result of a gradual development rather than a revolution. This architecture seemed closer to Frank Lloyd Wright, he wrote, rather than to the leading European figures, but it would not have been very different even without these influences.*[31] *It was the persistence of certain conditions, such as the mildness of the climate, a lush landscape and unpretentious clients, that produced enduring architectural features in the Bay Area,* "the closest thing to a contemporary vernacular that this country has yet produced"[32].

5. Wurster's cautious attitude towards precedents and tradition went mostly unheeded. Others would have been needed to share his view of the interaction between architecture and the environment, and arrive at each design using his own passionate, commonsense approach.
A View of California Architecture, 1960-1976 *opened at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art on December 18, 1976. This exhibition and its companion catalogue were far more ambitious than their 1949 predecessor: their purpose was to illustrate the whole scene of contemporary architecture in California rather than in the Bay Area alone. David Gebhard and Susan King, the exhibition curators, perceived the absence of overall unity but the presence of several strong coexisting styles. Southern California and Los Angeles in particular had captured the public's imagination, and King admitted that there was* "more activity in Southern California: more schools of architecture, more dialogue and exchange of ideas"[33].
Cesar Pelli's silvery-bluish Pacific Design Center (nicknamed the "Blue Whale"*) was on the cover of the catalogue, and the sensuous, rolling structures of glass and steel by Anthony J. Lumsden of the Daniel, Mann, Johnson, and Mendenhall (DMJM) practice, were given prominence in both the exhibition and catalogue. Gebhard thought Craig Ellwood's and James Tyler's Art Center in Pasadena more a fanciful repackaging of Mies van der Rohe's buildings than a serious effort to extend the modernist impulse of the Case Study Houses program to larger institutional buildings. Yet, for Gebhard, all these architects displayed intellectual shallowness, a criticism from which only Frank Gehry, with his wood and metal structures, was spared.*
For Gebhard, "complete and unequivocal lack of intellectual intent" *seemed to be a constant in California architecture. Its principal merit was the skilful and charming manipulation of various building types and images from the past, such as the California Bungalow, the Spanish Colonial Revival, the California Ranch House, or the Corporate International Style.*[34] *Only when architects such as Frank Gehry or Daniel Solomon attempted to be taken seriously* "did their work tend to be compromised"[35]. *The same principle was true for architects such as Joseph Esherick, Charles Moore, and William Turnbull, who, according to Gebhard, were at their best when disregarding intellectual rigor and confining themselves to delightful buildings. According to Gebhard's premise, the future of California architecture looked at its bleakest when* "planning, environmentalism, and energy conservation can create a stifling and deadening effect." *Yet, he added, there are positive signs of* "historical imagery and technology ... once again reunited," *as in the Pea Soup Andersen's Restaurant by Kruger, Bensen, and Ziemer.*[36]
Perhaps. Still, it now seems excessive to characterize Wurster's anti-theoretical approach to architecture, participatory design process and concern for interaction between architecture and the environment as a lack of

28. 29. Joseph Esherick, Esherick House, Kentfield, California, 1950: pianta e vista interna del soggiorno. Foto M.Baer.
30. 33. Joseph Esherick, Cary House, 1960: pianta e vista interna. Foto R. Flamm.
31. William Turnbull, Tatum House, Santa Cruz, California, 1971. Foto M.Baer.
32. Joseph Esherick, George Homsey, Peter Dodge, Davis, Adlai E. Stevenson College Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, California, 1968. Foto J. O. Bragstad.

28. 29. Joseph Esherick, Esherick House, Kentfield, California, 1950: plan and internal view of living-room. Photos M.Baer.
30. 33. Joseph Esherick, Cary House, 1960: plan and internal view. Photos R. Flamm.
31. William Turnbull, Tatum House,

graduale, più che di una rivoluzione. A suo parere quest'architettura era più vicina a Frank Lloyd Wright che ai grandi maestri europei, ma non sarebbe stata molto diversa se non avesse subìto nessuno di questi influssi[31]. Era stato il persistere di alcune condizioni, come la mitezza del clima, il paesaggio lussureggiante e la presenza di committenti non pretenziosi, a dare origine a certi caratteri costanti dell'architettura della Bay Area, *"la cosa più vicina a un vernacolo contemporaneo che questo paese abbia prodotto finora"*[32].

5. La posizione ammonitoria di Wurster nei riguardi dei precedenti e della tradizione fu però in gran parte ignorata. Per accoglierla sarebbe stato necessario condividere il suo modo di concepire l'interazione tra architettura e ambiente e affrontare ogni progetto col suo atteggiamento appassionato ma intriso di buon senso.
Il 18 dicembre 1976 si aprì al Museum of Modern Art di San Francisco la mostra *A View of California Architecture, 1960-1976*. Mostra e catalogo avevano ambizioni molto maggiori che nel 1949: il loro scopo era di dare un quadro completo dell'architettura contemporanea nella California e non soltanto nella Bay Area. I curatori dell'esposizione, David Gebhard e Susan King, riconoscevano la mancanza di un'unità stilistica ma avvertivano la coesistenza di più stili vitali. La California meridionale, e in primo luogo Los Angeles, avevano conquistato l'immaginazione del pubblico, e la King notava la presenza nel Sud di *"un'attività più intensa, con un maggior numero di scuole di architettura e di scambi di idee"*[33]. La copertina del catalogo riproduceva il Pacific Design Center (soprannominato *"la balena azzurra"* per il suo colore blu argento) di Cesar Pelli, mentre particolare risalto era dato, sia nell'esposizione che nel catalogo, alle sensuali, ondulate strutture di acciaio e vetro di Anthony J. Lumsden, dello studio di architettura DMJM (Daniel, Mann, Johnson e Mendenhall). A giudizio di Gebhard, nello Art Center di Pasadena Craig Ellwood e James Tyler avevano compiuto più un fantasioso ricupero degli edifici di Mies che un serio sforzo per estendere a sedi di istituzioni di maggior mole l'impulso modernista del programma *Case Study Houses*. Del resto, secondo questo critico tutti gli architetti rappresentati nella mostra palesavano una certa superficialità intellettuale, ad eccezione di Frank Gehry, con le sue strutture di legno e metallo.

intellectual intent – even taking into account the difference in thinking that nearly twenty years may have brought. Moreover, with everything neatly pigeonholed in the appropriate style, individual characteristics seemed to fade – the difference between the buildings by Esherick, Homsey, Dodge, and Davis (EHDD) for the University of California at Santa Cruz (fig. 27), and Condominium no. 1 by Moore, Lyndon, Turnbull, and Whitaker (MLTW) at Sea Ranch would have simply been one of imagery.
However, the 1976 exhibition had the merit of demonstrating a marked diversity, rather than continuity, in the architecture of the 1960s and early 1970s. It showed a new kind of environment, dominated not by single-family dwellings, but by office and institutional buildings. Undoubtedly, post-modernism in its most acute historicist phase had profoundly influenced California architects. Many buildings nostalgically evoked the past. Yet not all was imagery, as the Santa Cruz buildings by EHDD or the Sea Ranch buildings by MLTW mentioned above showed. William Turnbull's Tatum House (1971; fig. 31) revealed that the principles Wurster had popularized still held strong. On the surface, Kresge College by MLTW at the University of California at Santa Cruz (1973) may seem whimsical, yet behind graceful facades its buildings addressed technical and social concerns.
As Gebhard indicated, the degree of diversity in the buildings shown in A View of California Architecture *concealed a loss of direction among architects. It was not just that modernity seemed to have lost its appeal to many of them but also that the conditions to which they had responded at the beginning of their career had changed dramatically by the mid-1970s. World War II had a dramatic impact on California, equal if not superior to that of the Gold Rush in the nineteenth century. The building congestion and related social problems the war brought to the Bay Area had been anticipated in an exhibition entitled* Telesis, *mounted in 1940 at the San Francisco Museum of Art and organized by a group of young Bay Area architects who were influenced both by images of the Radiant City and by Wurster's notion of the man-made environment. An intelligently planned environment could improve communications, services, built and unbuilt areas, and, of course, cities.*[37]
World War II brought to the Bay Area the conditions they feared. Millions of new residents arrived in California to participate in the war effort. Between 1940 and 1947, the

Santa Cruz, California, 1971.
Photo M. Baer.
32. Joseph Esherick, George Homsey, Peter Dodge, Davis, Adlai E. Stevenson College Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, California, 1968.
Photo J. O. Bragstad.



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Per Gebhard *"la totale ed evidente mancanza d'impegno intellettuale"* era un carattere costante dell'architettura californiana, il cui principale pregio consisteva nell'abile e attraente manipolazione di tipi edilizi locali e di modelli formali del passato, dal *bungalow* alla *ranch house*, dal *revival* coloniale spagnolo all' *International Style* delle grandi multinazionali[34]. Solo quando architetti come Frank Gehry o Daniel Solomon cercano di farsi prendere sul serio *"la loro opera tende a essere compromessa"*[35]. Lo stesso poteva dirsi di architetti come Joseph Esherick, Charles Moore e William Turnbull, che riuscivano meglio quando lasciavano da parte il rigore intellettuale e si limitavano a costruire edifici deliziosi.
Partendo da questo presupposto, il futuro dell'architettura californiana sarebbe apparso più che mai fosco nel caso che *"la programmazione, l'ambientalismo e il risparmio energetico"* provocassero *"un effetto frenante"*. Gebhard scorgeva peraltro segni positivi nella *"ritrovata associazione* [...] *di modelli formali storici e di tecnologia"*, ad esempio nel Pea Sup Andersen's Restaurant di Kruger, Bensen e Ziemer[36]. Può darsi che le cose stessero così; ci sembra tuttavia esagerato – anche mettendo in conto la differenza nel modo di pensare che può esservi tra quasi vent'anni fa e oggi – caratterizzare come *"mancanza d'impegno intellettuale"* l'approccio antiteorico di Wurster, il suo metodo di progettazione partecipativo e il suo interesse per l'interazione tra architettura e ambiente. Inoltre, quando ogni opera viene esattamente incasellata nello stile che le è proprio le caratteristiche individuali tendono ad attenuarsi: la differenza tra gli edifici costruiti dal gruppo EHDD (Esherick, Homsey, Dodge e Davis) per la University of California a Santa Cruz (fig. 32) e il Condominium n.1 realizzato dal gruppo MLTW (Moore, Lyndon, Turnbull e Whitaker) a Sea Ranch si ridurrebbe a una diversità di modelli formali.
L'esposizione del 1976 ebbe comunque il merito di dimostrare che nell'architettura degli anni Sessanta e dei primi anni Settanta non vi era stata una continuità, ma una notevole diversità rispetto al passato, e che si era formato un nuovo ambiente, dominato non più dalle abitazioni unifamiliari, ma dagli edifici per uffici e dalle sedi di istituzioni. Certamente il Postmodernismo, nella sua fase storicistica più acuta, aveva lasciato tracce profonde negli architetti californiani, e in numerosi edifici era nostalgicamente evocato il passato. Ma non tutto si riduceva a questioni formali, come dimostravano i già citati edifici del gruppo EHDD a Santa Cruz e del gruppo MLTW a Sea Ranch. La Tatum House di William Turnbull (1971; fig. 31) stava a provare che i princìpi divulgati da Wurster conservavano il loro vigore; e se a prima vista il Kresge College costruito dal gruppo MLTW per la University of California a Santa Cruz (1973) poteva apparire bizzarro, dietro le graziose facciate i suoi edifici testimoniavano la presenza di un forte impegno tecnico e sociale.
Come osservava Gebhard, la grande diversità degli edifici presentati nella mostra celava una perdita di orientamento degli architetti. A parte il fatto che per molti di loro la modernità sembrava aver perso la sua attrattiva, a metà degli anni Settanta le condizioni in cui essi si erano trovati all'inizio della carriera erano profondamente cambiate. La seconda guerra mondiale aveva avuto per la California conseguenze sconvolgenti, altrettanto e forse anche più gravi di quelle prodotte nel Diciannovesimo secolo dalla corsa all'oro. La congestione edilizia e i connessi problemi sociali provocati dalla guerra nella Bay Area erano già stati presagiti in un'esposizione intitolata *Telesis*, organizzata nel 1940 al Museum of Art di San Francisco da un gruppo di giovani architetti della regione, influenzati sia dalle immagini della *Ville Radieuse* che dall'idea wursteriana di ambiente costruito dall'uomo: secondo loro, in un ambiente pianificato con intelligenza sarebbe stato possibile migliorare le comunicazioni, i servizi, le aree edificate e non edificate, e naturalmente le città[37].
La guerra creò nella Bay Area le condizioni che quegli architetti avevano paventato. Milioni di persone si trasferirono in California per partecipare allo sforzo bellico: tra il 1940 e il 1947 la popolazione complessiva della costa occidentale aumentò del 38,9 per cento, e già nel 1941 la sola Bay Area aveva subìto un incremento di 500.000 abitanti, di cui più di 125.000 a San Francisco. Questi immigrati non richiedevano solamente nuovi alloggi, ma anche infrastrutture, servizi sociali e civici, attrezzature sanitarie. La Baia di San Francisco divenne un enorme cantiere navale, e spesso la possibilità di alloggiare i lavoratori temporaneamente o stabilmente adibiti a quest'attività costituì il fattore più importante per il successo di un programma. L'arrivo di immigrati da altri Stati dell'Unione e dal vicino Messico produsse inoltre una molteplicità etnica e razziale ed ebbe sulla società dell'epoca, ancora stabile e abbastanza omogenea, un

population of the entire Pacific Coast increased by 38.9 percent. By 1941, the Bay Area alone acquired 500,000 new residents, with San Francisco absorbing more than 125,000 of them. The added population did not simply require more dwellings, but also infrastructures, social and civic services, and health facilities. The San Francisco Bay became a large shipyard, and housing for its workers, temporary or permanent, was often the single most important factor in establishing the success of a war program. From other parts of the country and from neighboring Mexico, the new population also brought ethnic and racial diversity and had an impact on the stable, fairly homogeneous society of the time that we may fail to appreciate in our contemporary multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society.[38]

Most of the building growth in the postwar period occurred in the suburban areas. During those years, California cities lost their attraction. They became part of a much larger and more anonymous entity, the metropolitan area. Mumford described this movement from the inner city to the suburbs in The City in History*:*

"In the mass movement into suburban areas a new kind of community was produced, which caricatured both the historic city and the archetypal suburban refuge: a multitude of uniform, unidentifiable houses, lined up inflexibly, at uniform distances, on uniform roads, in a treeless communal waste, inhabited by people of the same class, the same income, the same age group, witnessing the same television performances, eating the same tasteless prefabricated foods, from the same freezers, conforming in every outward and inward respect to a common mold, manufactured in the central metropolis. Thus the ultimate effect of the suburban escape in our time is, ironically, a low-grade uniform environment from which escape is impossible"[39].

A strong movement toward the suburbs also meant that every accessible parcel of land not earmarked for other uses became a potential target for residential development. People's expectations about their housing needs became more ambitious than the 1,500 square-foot ideal home Wurster had described during the immediate postwar years. But with its larger floor area, the interior returned to the layout in specialized spaces that had been fashionable from Victorian times until the 1920s, which architectural historian Sally Woodbridge described as the transformation from the "Large-Small House" *into the* "Large-Large House"*. Overbuilding and the increase in floor area irrevocably changed the lyrical, but tenuous interaction between buildings and land. Higher construction costs also made potential home buyers more conservative and less inclined to experiment.*[40]

Nevertheless, as Charles Moore recognized and the 1976 exhibition showed, the post war generation of architects such as Robert Marquis, Claude Stoller, Henrick Bull, Daniel Solomon, and many others was still capable of pursuing an Arcadian vision of architecture.[41] *Perhaps more than any of his contemporaries, Joseph Esherick has paid particular attention to this vision. Many of his early houses, such as the Walker House in Tahoe (1940s), the Esherick House in Kentfield (1950; fig. 28, fig. 29), the house in Kentwoodlands (1957), and the Cary House in Mill Valley (1960; fig. 30, fig. 33) recall similar traditional images – a Swiss* chalet *or a California barn. The architecture of the house, however, is not predicated on style, but on the natural light that each opening captures in a particular, and particularly sensual way. Light enhances the quality of the materials, reflects the texture of the wall, provides the interior of each house with a unique character, and dematerializes the barrier between exterior and interior. Because of this manipulation of natural light, as Moore has suggested, Esherick interiors may even appear Baroque. But, unlike the interiors of Baroque churches, light is here to construct immanence, the connection between the building and its site.*

Yet it was the Condominium no. 1 at Sea Ranch (1968) by Moore, Lyndon, Turnbull, and Whitaker that came to represent modern California architecture in the eyes of the world. From a distance, on the road from San Francisco, the building appears to be part of the coastline, a promontory on the Pacific Ocean. This is a transient illusion, partly due to the graying, weathering effect of the elements on the unfinished redwood exterior, and partly to the appearance of the building that makes it dissolve into the background of the rugged coast and the vernacular, like so many other barns along the Coast. In fact, the condominium is not a building but a complex clustering around open courts. It recalls a Tuscan hill-town, with a tower announcing its presence, crooked streets, a small piazza, and a surprising view around each corner. But the real surprise is to enter one of the dwellings, with their single open space expanding

effetto che riesce difficile valutare appieno a noi che viviamo in una società multietnica e multiculturale[38].
Lo sviluppo edilizio del dopoguerra si ebbe soprattutto nelle zone suburbane, e in quegli anni le città californiane persero la loro attrattiva, diventando parti di un'entità molto più vasta e anonima, l'area metropolitana. Questo spostamento della popolazione dal centro cittadino ai suburbi è stato così descritto da Mumford in *The City in History*:

"Lo spostamento di intere folle nelle aree suburbane determinò un tipo di vita che era una caricatura sia della città storica sia del rifugio suburbano archetipo: una moltitudine di case uniformi, inflessibilmente allineate a distanze uniformi su strade uniformi, in uno spazio sterminato e privo di vegetazione, e abitate da persone della stessa classe, dello stesso reddito e più o meno della stessa età, che assistono agli stessi spettacoli televisivi, mangiano gli stessi insipidi cibi prefabbricati, tratti dalle stesse celle frigorifere e si uniformano del tutto, interiormente ed esteriormente, a un comune modello imposto dalla metropoli centrale. Nella nostra epoca dunque il punto d'arrivo dell'evasione suburbana è paradossalmente un ambiente monotono e degradato dal quale è impossibile evadere"[39].

Questo spostamento di massa verso i suburbi implicava inoltre che ogni lotto di terreno accessibile e non adibito ad altri usi fosse potenzialmente destinato all'espansione residenziale. La gente cominciò a desiderare per la propria abitazione qualcosa di più dei 140 metri quadrati che Wurster aveva ritenuto ottimali nei primissimi anni del dopoguerra; ma con l'aumento della superficie coperta si tornò a quella distribuzione degli spazi per funzioni specializzate che era stata in voga dall'età vittoriana fino agli anni Venti (la storica dell'architettura Sally Woodbridge ha descritto questo fenomeno come trasformazione della *"piccola-grande casa"* in *"grande-grande casa"*). La proliferazione edilizia e l'aumento della superficie degli alloggi cambiarono irreparabilmente la lirica ma fragile interazione fra architettura e ambiente. Oltre tutto, la crescita dei costi di costruzione rese i potenziali acquirenti di case più cauti e meno propensi agli esperimenti[40].
Ciò nonostante, come notò Charles Moore e come fu dimostrato dall'esposizione del 1976, gli architetti della generazione del dopoguerra, come Robert Marquis, Ezra Stoller, Henrick Bull, Daniel Solomon e molti altri, erano ancora in grado di seguire una visione arcadica dell'architettura[41]; e ad essa si è attenuto, forse più di ogni altro contemporaneo, Joseph Esherick. A prima vista molte delle sue prime case – la Walker House a Tahoe (anni '40), la Esherick House a Kentfield (1950; figg. 28, 29), la casa a Kentwoodlands (1957) e la Cary House a Mill Valley (1960; figg. 30, 33) – ricordano modelli tradizionali come lo *chalet* svizzero o la grande casa-granaio californiana. Tuttavia l'architettura di queste case non è fondata su uno stile, ma sulla luce naturale che ogni apertura capta con un effetto particolare e particolarmente sensuoso: la luce esalta la qualità dei materiali, denunzia la grana delle pareti, conferisce all'interno di ciascuna casa un carattere peculiare e smaterializza le barriere fra esterno e interno. Come ha osservato Charles Moore, grazie a questa manipolazione della luce naturale gli interni di Esherick possono sembrare addirittura barocchi; ma a differenza che nelle chiese barocche la luce serve qui a produrre immanenza, a creare una connessione tra l'edificio e il sito in cui sorge.
Fu peraltro il Condominium n.1 costruito da Moore, Lyndon, Turnbull e Whitaker a Sea Ranch (1968) a diventare agli occhi del mondo il simbolo dell'architettura californiana moderna. Visto in lontananza dalla strada che viene da San Francisco, l'edificio sembra far parte del profilo costiero, come un promontorio affacciato sul Pacifico; ma si tratta di un'illusione passeggera, dovuta in parte all'effetto di ingrigimento e deterioramento atmosferico delle superfici esterne di sequoia rossa naturale e in parte all'aspetto dell'edificio, che gli permette di dissolversi, come tante altre case-granaio della costa, nello scenario formato dal litorale scosceso e dall'architettura vernacola. In effetti il Condominium non è un edificio, ma un complesso di alloggi disposti intorno a spazi aperti: esso richiama alla mente una cittadina collinare toscana, con una torre che annunzia la sua presenza, passaggi tortuosi, una piccola piazza e sorprendenti vedute a ogni svolta. Ma la vera sorpresa si ha quando si entra in uno degli alloggi: un unico spazio continuo su due o tre piani, interrotto da soppalchi per i letti, scale e baldacchini, che evoca un mondo visto da occhi infantili. Questo pittoresco insieme di elementi viene ricomposto in combinazioni diverse in ciascun alloggio. Anche la struttura portante esterna, somigliante a un

from the floor to the ceiling two or three storeys above. Fragmented by sleeping platforms, ladders, and canopies, this space evokes the world seen through the eyes of a child. This colorful kit of parts is reassembled in different compositions inside each unit of the complex. The structure supporting the barn-like exterior is also surprising – not the traditional frame but thick timbers, as one would expect in a barn, combined in unusual, almost haphazard configurations. One has the sense that the structure was decided on site, not designed on the drawing board, to support the pitch of the roof, overcome the difficult terrain, and counterbalance the strength of the wind.
When visiting Sea Ranch, it is hard not to recall the Gregory Farmhouse of forty years before. In form, these two buildings have little in common beyond being made of wood, yet there is no style or construction technique to trigger this association. There seems to be no shared tradition beyond their presence in California. Both buildings, however, suggest a primitive, Arcadian relationship between architecture and the land, a relationship unmediated by theory and guided by reason and passion. It would be easy to view this ideal as a nostalgic call for a return to the land, at a time when unspoiled land is scarce and the horizon is crowded. Yet this ideal is rooted too deeply in American experience to be casually dismissed. As Mumford wrote,

"Bay Region architecture both belongs to the region and transcends the region: it embraces the machine and transcends the machine. It does not ignore particular needs, customs, conditions, but translates them into the common form of our civilization. These qualities are what makes the work of the Bay Region architects so significant – both as achievement and as promise."[42]

This is the idea that not raw but improved nature – the "middle landscape" *of Leo Marx – has captured the imagination of this nation in the course of centuries. This is the* "man-made environment".

Notes
(*) Paolo Polledri is the founding curator of the Department of Architecture and Design at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.
1) L. MUMFORD, "Status quo", from "The Sky Line", in The New Yorker, *November 11, 1947, pp. 94-97. A modified version of this debate has been discussed by Bruno ZEVI,* Storia dell'architettura moderna, *Turin 1950, pp. 347-53; by D. GEBHARD, "Introduction: The Bay Area Tradition", in* Bay Area Houses, *pp. 3-10; and by S. WOODBRIDGE, "From the Large-Small House to the Large-Large House", ibid., pp.155-227.*
2) "What is Happening to the Modern Architecture? A Symposium at the Museum of Modern Art", The Museum of Modern Art Bullettin, *XV, no 3 (Spring 1948), pp. 2-21.*
3) E. MOCK, "Built in the USA – since 1932", in Built in the USA, 1932-1944, *exh. cat., The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1944, p.14.*
4) P. GOODWIN, "Preface", in Built in the Usa, *p. 5.*
5) Architectural Record, *no 105 (May 1949), p. 92.*
6) G. DAILEY, "The Post-War House", in Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region, *exh. cat., San Francisco Museum of Art, September 16 – October 30, 1949.*
7) W. W. WURSTER, "The Unity of Architecture and Landscape Architecture", in Landscape Design 1948, *San Francisco Museum of Art, 1948, p. 6.*
8) F. J. McCARTHY, "The Contribution of the Client", in Domestic Architecture, *op. cit.*
9) L. MUMFORD, "The Architectural of the Bay Region", in Domestic Architecture, *op. cit.*
10) W. W. WURSTER, "A personal view", in Domestic Architecture, *op. cit.*
11) G. BARTH, Instant Cities: Urbanization and the rise of San Francisco and Denver, *Albuquerque, New Mexico Press, 1988 (first published in 1975), p. 169.*
12) K. STARR, Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915, *New York-Oxford 1973, p. 240.*
13) R. LONGSTRETH, On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century, *New York, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London 1983, p. 78. However Brown's and Polk's comments are also motivated by intesifying competition between architects and builders; see G. WRIGHT,* Moralism and the Model Home. Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913, *Chicago and London 1988.*
14) R. LONGSTRETH, On the Edge of the World, *op. cit., p. 78; regarding the* Wave, *see STARR,* Americans and the California Dream, *op. cit., pp. 259-60.*
15) R. LONGSTRETH, On the Edge of the World, *op. cit., p. 108.*
16) R. LONGSTRETH, On the Edge of the World, *op. cit.; see especially ch. 5, "Coxhead and Polk: The Rustic City House", pp. 107-41; J. BEACH, "The Bay Area Tradition, 1890-1918", in* Bay Area Houses, *op. cit., pp. 33-98.*
17) G. A. BRECHIN, "San Francisco: The City Beautiful", in Visionary San Francisco, *ed. P. Polledri, San Francisco and München 1990, pp. 40-61.*
18) D. P. GREGORY, "An Indigenous Thing: The Story of William Wurster and the Gregory Farmhouse", in Places 7, *no 1 (Fall 1990), p. 87.*
19) D. P. GREGORY, "An Indigenous Thing", op. cit., p. 91.
20) "Tell me, What is Modern Architecture?", in House and Garden 77, *no.5 (May 1940), p. 50.*
21) W. W. WURSTER, "The Twentieth Century Architect", in Architect – A Profession and a Career, *Washington D.C. 1945, pp. 8-11.*
22) H.-R. HITCHCOCK, "An Eastern Critic Looks at Western Architecture", in California Arts and Architecture, *no 57 (December 1940), p. 22.*
23) W. W. WURSTER, "Architecture Broadens its Base", in A.I.A. Journal, *10, no 1 (July 1948), p. 34.*
24) Interview with D. Emmons, October 5, 1993.
25) E. McCOY, "West Coast Architects II: William Wilson Wurster", in Arts and Architecture *no 81 (July 1964), p. 20.*
26) For a survey of Wurster's buildings see R. C. PETERS, "William Wilson Wurster: an Architect of House", in Bay Area Houses, *op. cit., pp. 121-53. Several architectural periodicals of the time published Wurster's work of the early 1930s. In particular see "William Wilson Wurster: Four Houses in California", in*

granaio, è singolare: invece della tradizionale intelaiatura, spessi tavoloni (come appunto ci si aspetterebbe in un granaio) sono associati in forme insolite e quasi casuali. Si ha la sensazione che la struttura, anziché essere progettata al tavolo da disegno, sia stata decisa sul posto per sorreggere la falda del tetto, superare le asperità del suolo e contrastare la forza del vento.
Visitando questo complesso è difficile non ripensare alla Gregory Farmhouse di quarant'anni prima. Dal punto di vista formale i due edifici hanno poco in comune, a parte il fatto di essere costruiti in legno; non vi è uno stile o una tecnica costruttiva che possano giustificare la loro associazione, né sembra esservi una tradizione comune dietro la loro compresenza in California. Entrambi gli edifici evocano però l'idea di un originario rapporto arcadico fra architettura e ambiente: un rapporto non mediato dalla teoria, ma suggerito dalla ragione e dalla passione. Sarebbe facile considerare quest'ideale come un nostalgico appello a tornare alla natura, in un tempo in cui gli ambienti inalterati e i liberi orizzonti scarseggiano; ma si tratta di un ideale troppo profondamente radicato nell'esperienza americana per poter essere messo da parte con disinvoltura. Come ha scritto Mumford:

"L'architettura della Bay Region appartiene all'ambito regionale e al tempo stesso lo trascende, così come include e trascende la macchina. Essa non ignora le esigenze, le consuetudini e le condizioni particolari, ma le traduce nella forma comune della nostra civiltà. Sono queste qualità a rendere l'opera degli architetti della Bay Region così importante, sia come realizzazione che come promessa"[42].

Ciò significa che non la natura selvaggia, ma quella messa in valore – il *"paesaggio intermedio"* di Leo Marx – ha attirato nel corso dei secoli l'immaginazione del popolo americano: è questo l'*"ambiente costruito dall'uomo"*.

Note

(*) Paolo Polledri è il *founding curator* del Department of Architecture and Design del Museum of Modern Art di San Francisco.
Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

1) L. MUMFORD, *Status quo* (nella serie *The Sky Line*), in "The New Yorker", 11 novembre 1947, pp. 94-97. Una versione modificata di questo dibattito è stata esaminata da: B. ZEVI, *Storia dell'architettura moderna*, Torino 1950, pp. 347-53; D. GEBHARD, *Introduction: The Bay Area Tradition*, in *Bay Area Houses*, a cura di S. Woodbridge, Layton(Utah) 1988 (1° ed. 1976), pp. 3-10; e da S. WOODBRIDGE, *From the Large-Small House to the Large-Large House*, *ibid.*, pp.155-227.
2) *What is happening to the Modern Architecture? A Symposium at the Museum of Modern Art*, in "The Museum of Modern Art Bullettin", vol. 15, n. 3 (primavera 1948), pp. 2-21.
3) E. MOCK, *Built in the USA-since 1932*, in *Built in the USA, 1932-1944*, Catalogo della mostra, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1944, p.14.
4) P. GOODWIN, *Preface*, in *Built in the Usa*, cit., p. 5.
5) "Architectural Record", vol. 105 (maggio 1949), p. 92.
6) G. DAILEY, *The Post-War House*, in *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region*, Catalogo della mostra, San Francisco Museum of Art, 16 settembre-30 ottobre 1949.
7) W. W. WURSTER, *The Unity of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, in *Landscape Design 1948*, San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco 1948, p. 6.
8) F. J. McCARTHY, *The Contribution of the Client*, in *Domestic Architecture*, cit.
9) L. MUMFORD, *The Architectural of the Bay Region*, in *Domestic Architecture*, cit.
10) W. W. WURSTER, *A personal view*, in *Domestic Architecture*, cit.
11) G. BARTH, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the rise of San Francisco and Denver*, Albuquerque (N. Mex) 1988 (1° ed. 1975), p. 169.
12) K. STARR, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915*, New York-Oxford 1973, p. 240.
13) R. LONGSTRETH, *On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century*, New York - Cambridge (Mass.) - London 1983, p. 78. Le critiche di Brown e di Polk erano dovute anche all'intensificarsi della competizione fra architetti e costruttori: cfr. G. WRIGHT, *Moralism and the Model Home. Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*, Chicago - London 1988.
14) R. LONGSTRETH, *On the Edge of the World*, cit., p. 78; su " The Wave" cfr. K. STARR, *Americans and the California Dream*, cit., pp. 259-60.
15) R. LONGSTRETH, *On the Edge of the World*, cit., p. 108.
16) R. LONGSTRETH, *On the Edge of the World*, cit.; cfr. specialmente il cap. 5, *Coxhead and Polk: The Rustic City House*, pp. 107-41; J. BEACH, *The Bay Area Tradition, 1890-1918*, in *Bay Area Houses*, cit., pp. 33-98.
17) G. A. BRECHIN, *San Francisco: The City Beautiful*, in *Visionary San Francisco*, a cura di P. Polledri, San Francisco - München 1990, pp. 40-61.
18) D. P. GREGORY, *An Indigenous Thing: The Story of William Wurster and the Gregory Farmhouse*, in " Places", vol. 7, n. 1 (autunno 1990), p. 87.
19) D. P. GREGORY, *An Indigenous Thing*, cit., p. 91.
20) *Tell me, What is Modern Architecture?*, in "House and Garden", vol. 77, n. 5 (maggio 1940), p. 50.
21) W. W. WURSTER, *The Twentieth Century Architect*, in *Architect - A Profession and a Career*, Washington (D.C.) 1945, pp. 8-11.
22) H.-R. HITCHCOCK, *An Eastern Critic Looks at Western Architecture*, in "California Arts and Architecture", n. 57 (dicembre 1940), p. 22.
23) W. W. WURSTER, *Architecture Broadens its Base*, in "A.I.A. Journal", vol. 10, n. 1 (luglio 1948), p. 34.
24) Intervista di D. Emmons, 5 ottobre 1993.
25) E. McCOY, *West Coast Architects II: William Wilson Wurster*, in "Arts and Architecture", vol. 81 (luglio 1964), p. 20.
26) Per una rassegna degli edifici di Wurster cfr. R. C. PETERS, *William Wilson Wurster: an Architect of House*, in *Bay Area Houses*, cit., pp. 121-53. Le opere di Wurster dei primi anni Trenta furono pubblicate in varie riviste di architettura

dell'epoca: cfr. in particolare *William Wilson Wurster: Four Houses in California*, in "Architectural Forum", vol. 64, n. 5 (maggio 1963), pp. 377-402.
27) Cfr.: E. McCOY, *Case Study Houses, 1945-1962*, Los Angeles 1977 (1° ed. col titolo *Modern California Houses*, 1962), pp. 50-51; A. JONES, E.A.T. SMITH, *Blueprints for Modern Living: History and Legacy of the Case Study Program*, Catalogo della mostra al The Temporary Contemporary of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles 17 ottobre 1989 - 18 febbraio 1990, Los Angeles - Cambridge (Mass.) 1989, pp. 44-45.
28) W. W. WURSTER, *Building Now*, in "House and Garden", vol. 89, n. 5 (maggio 1946), p. 76; cfr. anche *When is a Small House Large?*, in "House and Garden", vol. 92, n. 2 (agosto 1947), pp. 72-75.
29) W. W. WURSTER, *California architecture for Living*, in "California Monthly", vol. 44, n. 8 (aprile 1954), p. 15.
30) W. W. WURSTER, *The Architectural Life*, in "Architectural Record", vol. 109, n. 1 (gennaio 1951), p. 92.
31) W. W. WURSTER, *L'architettura moderna in California*, in Casabella Continuità", n. 238 (aprile 1960), p. 12.
32) W. W. WURSTER, *The Twentieth Century Architect*, cit., p. 9.
33) S. KING, *A View*, in *A View of California Architecture, 1960-1976*, Catalogo della mostra, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 18 dicembre 1976 - 6 febbraio 1977, p. 6.
34 D. GEBHARD, *A View*, in *A View of California Architecture*, cit., p. 9.
35) D. GEBHARD, *A View*, cit., p. 11.
36) D. GEBHARD, *A View*, cit., p. 12
37) *Telesis: Space for Living*, Catalogo della mostra, San Francisco Museum of Art, luglio-agosto 1940.
38) Per uno studio particolareggiato degli effetti della guerra sulla California cfr. G. D. NASH, *The American West Transformed. The Impact of the Second World War*, Lincoln (Neb.) - London 1990 (1° ed. 1985); cfr. anche R. W. LOTCHIN, *Fortress California, 1910-1961. From Warfare to Welfare*, New York - Oxford 1992. Si veda inoltre J. M. FINDLAY, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford 1992.
39) L. MUMFORD, *The City in History*, Harmondsworth 1961, p. 553 (trad. it., *La città nella storia*, Milano 1963, p. 605).
40) S. WOODBRIDGE, *From the Large-Small House to the Large-Large House*, in *Bay Area Houses*, cit., pp. 155-227.
41) C. MOORE, *The End of Arcadia*, in *Bay Area Houses*, cit., pp. 265-311.
42) L. MUMFORD, *The Architecture of the Bay Region*, in *Domestic architecture*, cit.

Architectural Forum *64, no 5 (May 1963), pp. 377-402.*
27) Cfr.: E. McCOY, Case Study Houses, *1945-1962, Los Angeles 1977 (first published as* Modern California Houses, *1962), pp. 50-51; A. JONES, E.A.T. SMITH,* Blueprints for Modern Living: History and Legacy of the Case Study Program, The Temporary Contemporary of the Museum of Contemporary Art, *exh. cat., Los Angeles 1989 pp. 44-45.*
28) W. W. WURSTER, "Building Now", in House and Garden *89, no 5 (May 1946), p. 76; see also "When is a Small House Large?", in* House and Garden *92, no 2 (August 1947), pp. 72-75.*
29) W. W. WURSTER, "California architecture for Living", in California Monthly *44, no 8 (April 1954), p. 15.*
30) W. W. WURSTER, "The Architectural Life", in Architectural Record *109, no 1 (January 1951), p. 92.*
31) W. W. WURSTER, "L'architettura moderna California", in Casabella Continuità *238 (April 1960), p. 12.*
32) W. W. WURSTER, "The Twentieth Century Architect", op. cit., p. 9.
33) S. KING, "A View", A View of California Architecture, 1960-1976, *exh. cat., San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1976*
34 D. GEBHARD, "A View", in A View of California Architecture, *op. cit., p. 9.*
35) D. GEBHARD, "A View", op. cit., p. 11.
36) D. GEBHARD, "A View", op. cit., p. 12
37) Telesis: Space for Living, *exh. cat., San Francisco Museum of Art, 1940.*
38) For a detailed study of the impact of the war on California, see G. D. NASH, The American West Transformed. The Impact of the Second World War, *Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1990; (first published in 1985); see also R. W. LOTCHIN,* Fortress California, 1910-1961. From Warfare to Welfare, *New York and Oxford 1992. Additionally see J. M. FINDLAY,* Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940, *Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford 1992.*
39) L. MUMFORD, The City in History, *Harmondsworth 1961, p. 553.*
40) S. WOODBRIDGE, "From the Large-Small House to the Large-Large House", in Bay Area Houses, *op. cit., pp. 155-227.*
41) C. MOORE, "The End of Arcadia", in Bay Area Houses, *op. cit., pp. 265-311.*
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Wilshire Boulevard all'altezza di Century City. Foto G. Brino.

Wilshire Boulevard at Century City. Photo G. Brino.



Radici dell'architettura moderna nella California meridionale

*Giovanni Brino**

Roots of Modern Architecture in Southern California

Giovanni Brino*

Il contesto

L'architettura moderna nella California meridionale ed a Los Angeles in particolare è sfuggita per molto tempo alla critica internazionale, di marca razionalista, salvo alcune opere di Frank Lloyd Wright, Richard Neutra, Charles Eames e Craig Ellwood, peraltro in parte fraintese perché lette fuori dal contesto in cui si collocavano. Per la cultura urbanistica europea, poi, si può dire che Los Angeles, una conurbazione formata da una sessantina di città, non sia mai esistita.

Solo dopo gli anni Settanta, a seguito della pubblicazione della guida di Los Angeles di Reyner Banham[1], nutrita della memoria storica di Esther Mc Coy[2] e David Gebhard[3], i due fondatori della storia dell'architettura moderna californiana, venivano presentate per la prima volta o rivalutate dalla critica internazionale le diverse generazioni di architetti che avevano creato e sviluppato in quest'area di pionieri un'architettura moderna originale. Diventava finalmente chiaro che le opere di Bernard Maybeck e dei fratelli Charles ed Henry Greene, contemporanee a quelle realizzate da Frank Lloyd Wright nello stesso periodo nella California meridionale, erano molto più innovative e affini all'architettura organica del grande maestro del Movimento Moderno che non all'*Arts and Crafts Movement* da cui certamente derivavano; che le opere realizzate da Irving Gill nello stesso periodo erano da porre in diretto confronto con la Casa Steiner di Adolf Loos; che la Lovell House, progettata da Rudolph M. Schindler nel 1923 era solo paragonabile con l'opera più matura di Le Corbusier dello stesso periodo; che, infine, le opere di Lloyd Wright, Raphael Soriano, Gregory Ain, Harwell Harris, J.R. Davidson, John Lautner, A. Quincy Jones, Pierre Koenig, Ray Kappe e di tanti altri architetti della Seconda e della Terza generazione, oltre a quelle citate di Wright, Neutra, Eames ed Ellwood, imponevano una riscrittura almeno parziale della storia dell'architettura moderna.

Lo stesso modello di città di Los Angeles, la cui immagine complessa ed apparentemente indecifrabile aveva intrigato fin dagli anni Sessanta studiosi come Kevin Lynch[4], negli anni Settanta veniva riconosciuto come il prototipo più lucido della nuova cultura posturbana[5]. I "settanta villaggi in cerca di una città", per usare una parafrasi pirandelliana, peraltro ricorrente fin dagli anni di Hollywood, questa "città" l'avevano finalmente trovata, non solo a causa delle comuni esigenze di approvvigionamento d'acqua e di

The context

The modern architecture of Southern California, and Los Angeles especially, has long been ignored by international rationalist critics, except for a few works by Frank Lloyd Wright, Richard Neutra, Charles Eames and Craig Ellwood, which to an extent have been misunderstood by being read out of context. And Los Angeles itself, a conurbation of around sixty towns and villages, has never figured in European urban culture.

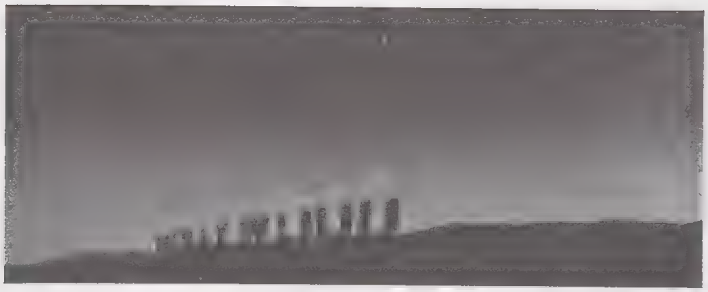
Only after the 1970s, following publication of Reyner Banham's guide to Los Angeles[1] with historical contributions from Esther McCoy[2] and David Gebhard[3], the two founders of modern Californian architectural history, were the generations of architects who had created and developed an original modern architecture in this land of pioneers, actually presented for the first time or revaluated by international critics. At last it became clear that the works of Bernard Maybeck and the brothers Charles and Henry Greene, which date from the same period as Frank Lloyd Wright's better known buildings, were much more innovative and had more affinities with the organic architecture of the grand master of the Modern Movement than with the Arts and Crafts Movement from which they certainly derived; that Irving Gill's works of the same period merited direct comparison with Adolf Loos' Steiner House; that the Lovell House Rudolph Schindler designed in 1923 was comparable only with Le Corbusier's mature work of the same period; and that, finally, the works of Lloyd Wright, Raphael Soriano, Gregory Ain, Harwell Harris, J.R. Davidson, John Lautner, A. Quincy Jones, Pierre Koenig, Ray Kappe and many other Second and Third generation architects made necessary at least a partial revision of modern architectural history.

Los Angeles itself, whose complex and seemingly indecipherable image had intrigued scholars like Kevin Lynch[4] since the 1960s, was acknowledged in the 1970s as the most coherent prototype of the new posturban culture[5]. Its "seventy villages in search of a city", to use a Pirandellian paraphrase actually in use since the Hollywood era, had at last found their "city", not only because of their common need of water and electricity, but also because of the Hollywood cultural matrix they shared, and the wars in the Pacific, from Pearl Harbour to Vietnam, that had transformed Southern California into the mightiest military arsenal the world had ever since, making Los Angeles a "War City" with all that implied in economic

La scritta di Hollywood sui monti omonimi. Foto E. Ruscha.

The Hollywood sign in the Hollywood hills. Photo E. Ruscha.

energia elettrica, ma grazie anche alla comune matrice culturale hollywoodiana ed alle guerre sviluppate sul fronte del Pacifico, da Pearl Harbour al Vietnam, che avevano trasformato la California meridionale nel più potente arsenale militare della storia dell'umanità, conferendo a Los Angeles la funzione di *War City*, con tutte le implicazioni economiche e tecnologiche che da questa funzione discendevano.
Prima degli anni Settanta, l'architettura moderna della California meridionale, di cui Los Angeles sussumeva tutti i caratteri peculiari, era ancora in larga parte circoscritta alla sfera della preziosa rivista "Arts and Architecture" (1915-1967)[6], diretta nel secondo dopoguerra da John Entenza, promotore dello stimolante *Case Study House Program*[7].
Sino allora, i testimoni più autentici di Los Angeles e della sua architettura sono stati per lungo tempo gli scrittori che vi hanno soggiornato per qualche tempo. Negli anni Venti-Quaranta, Nathanael West[8], Henry Miller[9], Henry James[10], Francis Scott Fitzgerald[11], Evelyn Waugh[12], James Cain[13], Bertolt Brecht[14], solo per citarne alcuni, hanno descritto la Los Angeles dell'epoca d'oro di Hollywood. Negli anni Cinquanta, Ray Bradbury ha trasposto in chiave fantascientifica, nelle sue "cronache marziane", le cronache quotidiane della Los Angeles di quegli anni[15], e così hanno fatto sulla sua scia Robert Heinlein[16] e Horace Mc Coy[17] e tanti altri autori di *science fiction*. Raymond Chandler, attraverso i suoi romanzi polizieschi, ha descritto con la precisione di una guida architettonica gli ambienti di Los Angeles percorsi per ragioni professionali dall' investigatore Marlowe[18]; Gore Vidal[19], Ian Fleming[20] e Tom Wolfe (con la sua scoppiettante prosa *pop*)[21], hanno esplorato gli aspetti più singolari del triangolo Los Angeles-Hollywood-Las Vegas tra gli anni Sessanta e Settanta. Negli anni Settanta-Ottanta, Charles Bukowsky ha raccontato le "storie di ordinaria follia" della Los Angeles degli emarginati, con un linguaggio in sintonia con quello della nuova generazione di artisti-architetti cresciuti nell'ambiente controculturale di Venice[22].
Come gli scrittori, anche i fotografi più sensibili, che sono vissuti a Los Angeles dall'epoca di Hollywood in poi, ne hanno registrato fedelmente l'immagine più autentica. Il primo fra tutti è stato Julius Shulman, testimone partecipe dell'architettura del Movimento Moderno nella California meridionale dagli anni Venti fino agli anni Sessanta[23]. Dopo di lui, il fotografo-artista Ed Ruscha ha saputo interpretare, forse come nessun altro, tra gli anni Sessanta e Settanta la nuova immagine di Los Angeles[24].
Più recentemente Environmental Communications, fondata da David Greenberg alla fine degli anni Sessanta e purtroppo scomparsa negli anni Ottanta, ha promosso e distribuito in tutto il mondo le serie di diapositive più stimolanti della Los Angeles dell'epoca, scattate dai suoi *associates*[25]. Le oltre 10.000 diapositive prodotte e accompagnate da puntuali *brochure* esplicative formano la guida più attenta dell'architettura moderna nella California meridionale. Greenberg aveva scelto come sede Venice, in uno degli edifici porticati della Windward Avenue, rimasto immutato dal 1905, quando la città, costruita sul modello di Venezia (Italia)[26], aveva ancora i canali originari, ricostruiti negli anni Venti a Hollywood dalla Paramount Picture per il film *Luna di Miele* con Florence Vidor[27]. Da questo osservatorio privilegiato, Environmental Communications si sintonizzava perfettamente con i *murals*, le supergrafiche ed i graffiti che stavano in quegli anni riplasmando visualmente l'ambiente costruito della stessa Venice, di Watts e di East Los Angeles, attingendo da un lato dalla tradizione del movimento muralista messicano e, dall'altro, dalla più autentica tradizione hollywoodiana. In quegli anni, le fantasiose *nomadic truchitecture*, i *custom car* e gli *skate board* personalizzati della nuova controcultura angelena scorrazzavano allegramente per le strade di Venice, mentre i *surf* decorati come tavole d'artisti pullulavano sulle sue spiaggie, attirando i giovani architetti-artisti che vedevano nel permissivo ambiente "veneziano" un'alternativa rispetto all'esclusivo Wilshire Boulevard in cui erano localizzati gli studi degli architetti *superstar* come Cesar Pelli o Tony Lumsden, imperanti in quegli anni a Los Angeles[28].
In modo ancora più fedele e continuativo, il cinema stesso, dagli anni d'oro di Hollywood ad oggi, ha fornito la cronaca illustrata delle diverse Los Angeles – idealizzate o mostrate nel loro crudo realismo – da *Intolerance*, girato da Griffith nel 1915, fino a *Diamonds are Forever, Earthquake*, *Chinatown* ed agli altri film che hanno reso l'immagine della città e della sua architettura familiare in tutto il mondo.
Allo stesso modo, Walt Disney, altra creatura di Hollywood, ha disegnato nei minimi dettagli, attraverso i *cartoon* ed i fumetti, gli ambienti di *Paperopoli*, versione idealizzata (ma neanche poi troppo) di Los Angeles[29], ed ha creato



and technological terms.
Before the 1970s, Southern Californian modern architecture, as epitomised by Los Angeles, was still largely circumscribed by the "Arts and Architecture" magazine (1915-67)[6] *edited in the postwar period by John Entenza, sponsor of the stimulating* Case Study House Program.[7]
Until then, the most insightful observers of Los Angeles and its architecture had long been the writers who had actually lived there for some time. From the 1920s to the 1940s, Nathanael West[8]*, Henry Miller*[9]*, Henry James*[10]*, F. Scott Fitzgerald*[11]*, Evelyn Waugh*[12]*, James Cain*[13] *and Bertolt Brecht*[14]*, to name only a few, described Los Angeles in its golden Hollywood years. In the 1950s, Ray Bradbury transposed the everyday life of Los Angeles at that time*[15] *into science fiction, followed by R. Heinelin*[16] *and H. McCoy*[17] *and many other SF writers. Raymond Chandler's detective novels described the places visited by private eye Philip Marlowe with the accuracy of an architecture guide*[18]*; Gore Vidal*[19]*, Ian Fleming*[20] *and Tom Wolfe (with his crackling pop prose)*[21] *explored more unusual aspects of the Los Angeles-Hollywood-Las Vegas triangle in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1970s and 1980s, Charles Bukowsky told his "stories of ordinary madness" in a Los Angeles of misfits and outcasts using a language that reflected the speech of the new generation of artist-architects that had grown up in Venice's counterculture environment*[22].
Like the writers, the more sensitive photographers who lived in Los Angeles from the Hollywood years onwards faithfully strove to record accurate images of the city.
The first was Julius Shulman, who eagerly charted the development of Southern California's modern architecture from the 1920s to the 1960s[23]*. After him came artist-photographer Ed Ruscha, who conveyed perhaps better than any other the new image of Los Angeles in the 1960s and 1970s*[24]*. More recently, Environmental Communications founded by David Greenberg in the late 1960s (regrettably, it ceased activity in the 1980s) sponsored and then distributed worldwide the most interesting slides of contemporary Los Angeles taken by his associates*[25]*. These slides – there are over 10,000 of them – and their well-made companion brochures are the most accurate guide to modern architecture in Southern California we have. Greenberg chose as his headquarters one of the porticoed buildings in Venice's Windward Avenue that had remained unchanged since 1905 when the city, which had been modelled on Venice, Italy*[26]*, still had the original canals that were reconstructed in 1920s Hollywood by Paramount Pictures for Florence Vidor's film* The Honeymoon[27]*. With this privileged vantage-point, Environmental Communications was in perfect accord with the murals, supergraphics and graffiti that were visually reshaping the built environment of Venice itself as well as Watts and East Los Angeles, drawing on both the Mexican mural movement and the most authentic Hollywood traditions. In that period, the weird nomadic truchitectures, custom cars and personalised skate boards of the new Angeleno counterculture cheerfully roamed the streets of Venice, while surfboards decorated like artists' palettes graced the beaches, attracting the young artist-architects who saw the permissive "Venetian" scene as an alternative to exclusive Wilshire Boulevard where the studios of superstar architects like Cesar Pelli and Tony Lumsden, who reigned supreme in Los Angeles at that time*[28]*, were situated.*
More faithfully and constantly still, the cinema industry from the golden Hollywood years to the present day has chronicled Los Angeles' many faces – idealised or crudely realistic by turns – in films like Intolerance *(which Griffith shot in 1915),* Diamonds Are Forever, Earthquake, Chinatown *and other productions that have made the city and its architecture familiar worldwide.*
Similarly, Walt Disney, another creature of Hollywood, has given us, in his detailed cartoon renderings of Donald Duck land, an idealised (though not excessively so) version of Los Angeles itself[29]*. He later created Disneyland south of Los Angeles to celebrate the myths of the West from pioneer days to a simulated voyage to the moon.*
This same self-celebratory process literally came into play from the 1970s on when Mattel (again in Los Angeles) created the Barbie doll, whose ad-inspired social behaviour and physical and cultural environments are idealised replicas of the L.A. lifestyle. Barbie has gradually come to represent the lifestyle of our entire age[30].
This essay attempts to explore modern architecture in Southern California from its origins in the Victorian era and golden years of Hollywood to the 1970s, when the Vietnam War ended, the film industry started to decline, Los Angeles' urban development peaked and the period of "zero growth" – which coincided with the most recent work of Frank O. Gehry, Charles Moore and the other fourth-generation L.A. architects (discussed elsewhere in this issue) – began. Their work belongs to the new Los Angeles,

Disneyland, a sud di Los Angeles, per celebrare i miti del *Far West*, dai pionieri al viaggio simulato dalla terra alla luna. La stessa operazione autocelebrativa è stata effettuata, a partire dagli anni Settanta, a livello di giocattolo, attraverso *Barbie*, la bambola prodotta da Mattel, sempre di Los Angeles, i cui comportamenti sociali ed ambienti culturali e fisici suggeriti dalle *brochure* pubblicitarie, riproducono in modo idealizzato il genere di vita angeleno, che è diventato a poco a poco il modello di vita della nostra epoca[30].
Questo scritto ha per oggetto l'architettura moderna nella California meridionale, a partire dalle sue origini, che affondano nell'epoca vittoriana e nel periodo d'oro di Hollywood, fino agli anni Settanta, che coincidono con la fine della guerra in Vietnam e con il declino dell'industria cinematografica, chiudendo il periodo del massimo sviluppo urbanistico di Los Angeles e inaugurando il periodo di "crescita-zero": il periodo in cui si situano le opere più recenti di Frank O. Gehry, di Charles W. Moore e degli altri architetti angeleni della Quarta generazione (illustrate in altre parti di questa rivista). Queste opere si collocano nel nuovo scenario di Los Angeles, città nata e sviluppatasi sulle quattro ruote, che sta cercando di darsi una prima linea metropolitana, dopo il tentativo fallito di costituire negli anni Settanta un *rapid transit system* lungo il Wilshire Boulevard con una monorotaia di gusto vagamente disneyano. L'idea di creare una *subway* a Los Angeles può sembrare paradossale e contradditoria in una città dove, per oltre mezzo secolo, "*la casa è un'appendice del garage*", per dirla con Bertolt Brecht. In realtà, quest'idea è la sola coerente con il modello posturbano già abbozzato sin dai tempi di Hollywood[31], il cui "centrocittà lineare", materializzato dal Wilshire Boulevard[32], collegava e collega Santa Monica e le sue spiagge con *Downtown*. Questa specie di serpentone, lungo quanto Manhattan e ormai ben visibile dall'aereo grazie alla costellazione di grattacieli che ne sottolineano il tracciato, attraversa o lambisce le comunità più prestigiose di Los Angeles come Brentwood, Westwood, Century City, Beverly Hills, Miracle Mile e Westklake, alcune puntinate dalle piscine azzurre fotografate da Ed Ruscha. All'epoca di Hollywood, oltre che dalle *limousine* esibite come *status symbol* dai divi del cinema, questo serpentone era percorso da *tramway* sferraglianti che sono stati soppressi negli anni Cinquanta. In fondo, questi tram ora vengono semplicemente sostituiti dalla prevista *subway*, ridando nuovamente alla città una verginità perduta con l'auto e facendo illusoriamente di Los Angeles un *objet retrouvé*.
La mappa dell'architettura moderna nella California meridionale, che qui si propone, non si limita all'architettura colta, ma comprende due vernacoli con cui l'architettura moderna si è continuamente confrontata: il vernacolo dell' edilizia residenziale più speculativa e quello dell' edilizia commerciale più sfrontata, ma anche più innovativa. Questi due vernacoli sono importanti, perché in essi si trovano immerse le opere più autentiche delle quattro generazioni di architetti moderni della California meridionale, fuori dei quali risulterebbero astratte e prive di spessore culturale.

Dingbat

La casa ordinaria a Los Angeles ha generato da sempre tutta una serie di vernacoli, che hanno variamente influenzato l'architettura locale, dal *pueblo* originario di Nuestra Señora Reina de Los Angeles Porciuncola ai *California Bungalow* e allo *Spanish Colonial Revival*. Negli anni Sessanta-Settanta, a questi vernacoli storici, che trovano soprattutto applicazione nella casa unifamiliare ordinaria, sintomatica della bassa densità originaria di Los Angeles, se ne aggiunge un altro particolare, che prende il soprannome di *dingbat* o *ding-bat*. Bahnam, nella sua guida di Los Angeles, ricorda che il termine *dingbat* fu applicato la prima volta da Francis Ventre durante l'anno in cui insegnò all' UCLA[33], ma purtroppo non ho trovato traccia alcuna di scritti di Ventre, quando sono venuto nel 1972-73 a Los Angeles. In compenso, in un articolo sulla *Studio House* di Milton Caughey su "Arts and Architecture" del novembre 1947, ho però successivamente trovato il termine *dingbat* inteso come sinonimo di *wood and stucco costruction*, anche se attualmente il termine si è caricato di significati più complessi di quello originario, meramente riferito alla tecnica costruttiva con cui sono state da sempre costruite tutte le case unifamiliari di Los Angeles, comprese quelle di Neutra e di molti altri esponenti del Movimento Moderno angeleno.
Nella sua forma classica, il *dingbat* è normalmente costituito da un *two-storey walk-up apartment block*, che sostituisce una preesistente casetta unifamiliare, di solito costituita da un *California Bungalow*. Sintomatico dell'inevitabile aumento di densità dovuto al rarefarsi dei terreni disponibili nelle aree residenziali, il *dingbat* copre

a city born on four wheels that is now trying to give itself its first subway line after failure to construct a rapid transit system (a monorail of vaguely Disneyan inspiration) along Wilshire Boulevard in the 1970s. The idea of building a subway may seem paradoxical and contradictory in Los Angeles where, as Bertolt Brecht put it, "the home has been an appendix to the garage" *for over half a century, but in fact it is the only solution fully consistent with the post-urban model that had already been sketched out as far back as the Hollywood years*[31] *whose "linear downtown", which materialises in Wilshire Boulevard*[32], *connected and still connects Santa Monica and its beaches to Downtown. This huge snaking thoroughfare as long as Manhattan (now clearly visible from the air thanks to the constellation of skyscrapers that mark its route) either crosses or touches Los Angeles' most exclusive districts like Brentwood, Westwood, Century City, Beverly Hills, Miracle Mile and Westlake, some dotted with the light-blue swimming-pools Ed Ruscha faithfully recorded in his photographs. During the Hollywood era, the thoroughfare was plied by the clattering trams that were taken out of service in the 1950s, as well as the status-symbol limos of the screen stars. Basically, the earlier trams will now be replaced by the planned subway, restoring to the city a virginity it has lost to the automobile and creating an illusion of Los Angeles as* object retrouvé.

The map of modern architecture in Southern California I propose here is not limited to highbrow architecture; it includes two vernaculars modern architecture has continually had dealings with: the city's more speculative residential building, and its more brazen, though also more innovative commercial building. These two vernaculars are important because they feature the most authentic works of Southern California's four generations of modern architects, without which they would seem abstract and devoid of cultural depth.

Dingbats

The ordinary Los Angeles home has always generated a whole series of vernaculars that have variously influenced local architecture, from the original pueblo *of* Nuestra Señora Reina de Los Angeles Porciuncola *to California Bungalows and the Spanish-Colonial Revival. In the 1960s and 1970s, these historical vernaculars, mainly applied in ordinary single-family homes typical of Angeleno original low density housing, were supplemented by another rather special one that acquired the nickname of "dingbat" or "ding-bat". In his Los Angeles guide, Banham reminds us that the term was used for the first time by Francis Ventre during the year he taught at UCLA*[33], *although regrettably I found no trace of his writings when I visited Los Angeles in 1972-73. In recompense, I later came across the term in a Milton Caughey article on the* Studio House *in "Arts and Architecture", November 1947. Although its range of meanings is more complex now, it was synonymous then with "wood and stucco construction" and merely referred to the way all Los Angeles single-family homes (including those of Neutra and many other modern architects) had always been built.*

In its classic form, the dingbat is a two-storey walk-up apartment block that replaces an existing single-family house, usually a California Bungalow. Symptomatic of the inevitable rise in housing density brought on by increasing scarcity of land in residential areas, the dingbat covers almost the entire lot, leaving just a strip of sidewalk along the two sides that links the road, which the house normally faces, to the alley behind giving access to open garages separated by slender metal pillars supporting the first floor above which juts out to form the garage roof[34]. *In this purely functional rear area, volumes are juxtaposed with cubist rigour, which endows the dingbat with features of primitive modern architecture. As with any genuine vernacular, the dingbat presents an infinite range of variations on the characteristic typology of the Los Angeles plain area I have just described. In hilly areas like the San Fernando valley or North Hollywood, or along the coast at Malibu or Newport, the dingbat varies according to way buildings had to be adapted to site. Sometimes they have daring pilotis on their valley or seaward sides braced with diagonal stays, while on the upper street sides they retain the typical features of the plains version.*

When you look at their plain cubic sides and rears, you are inevitably reminded of the work of the pioneering modernist architects in Los Angeles. These simple stuccoed cubes – usually white but sometimes pastel coloured – represent Los Angeles vernacular architecture at its best, along with the pueblos *Neutra described in 1927 in* Wie baut Amerika?[35], *where he presented Schindler's early work that harmonises perfectly with Frank O. Gehry's later Danziger Studio (1968) in Southern Hollywood. On its street front the dingbat reveals itself for what it actually is,*



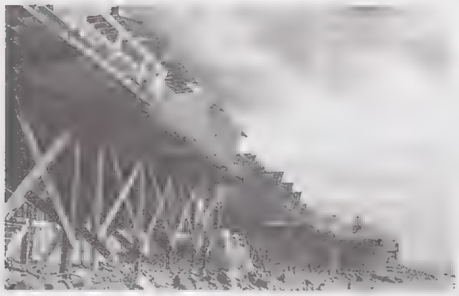
quasi per intero il lotto disponibile, lasciando giusto una striscia di stretto marciapiede lungo i due fianchi, che congiunge la strada, su cui normalmente prospetta, con la *alley*, la strada di servizio sul retro della casa, su cui prospettano i *garage*, per lo più all'aperto, sotto lo sbalzo del primo piano sorretto da esili colonnine metalliche o da pilastri in legno, che separano un posto macchina dall'altro[34]. In questa sua parte puramente funzionale, i volumi si giustappongono con rigore cubista, conferendo al *dingbat* i caratteri di un'architettura moderna primitiva. Come ogni autentico vernacolo, il *dingbat*, a partire dallo schema appena descritto, tipico della pianura, si manifesta in una infinità di varianti. Nella parte collinare di Los Angeles, a San Fernando Valley come a North Hollywood, o lungo la costa, a Malibu come a Newport, il *dingbat* varia a causa del diverso sistema di adattamento del manufatto al sito, a volte esibendo arditi *pilotis* nella parte verso valle o verso il mare, controventati con tiranti diagonali, mentre nella parte superiore, che prospetta verso strada, esso mantiene le caratteristiche peculiari del *dingbat* della pianura. Guardando i retri ed i fianchi cubiformi e spogli dei *dingbat*, non si può fare a meno di pensare alle opere dei pionieri dell'architettura moderna a Los Angeles. Questi semplici cubi intonacati, bianchi, ma talvolta anche colorati con tonalità pastello, costituiscono la più splendida forma di architettura vernacolare, dopo i *pueblo* evocati nel 1927 da Neutra in *Wie baut Amerika?*[35] in occasione della presentazione delle prime opere di Schindler, con cui si sintonizza perfettamente il Danziger Studio realizzato da Frank O. Gehry nel 1968 a Southern Hollywood. Sul fronte, il *dingbat* si manifesta invece per quello che è, vale a dire un oggetto commerciale da offrire al *newcomer* che passa in auto, in *drive-thru*, alla ricerca di un appartamento, alle condizioni brutalmente pubblicizzate nell'insegna incorporata immancabilmente nella facciata (*no kids!*, *kids Ok!*, *no pets!*, *pets Ok!*, ecc.), come ho potuto sperimentare personalmente nella ricerca condotta per trovare un appartamento a Santa Monica. Verso strada, il *dingbat* è lo specchio dello *status* sociale e della cultura dei suoi virtuali abitanti. Da questo punto di vista, i *dingbat* rappresentano la variante moderna di quella tipologia di case esistenti a Los Angeles fin dall'epoca di Hollywood, descritta con ironia da Nathanael West nel *Giorno della Locusta*: "*Solo la dinamite sarebbe stata di qualche utilità contro i ranch messicani, le capanne polinesiane, le ville mediterranee, i templi egiziani e giapponesi, gli chalets svizzeri, i cottages scozzesi, e tutte le possibili combinazioni di questi stili che si allineano lungo le pendici del canyon. Notando che erano tutte di stucco, graticcio e cartone, Tod si fece indulgente e diede la colpa della loro forma ai materiali impiegati*"[36].

Mobile Home

Quasi contemporaneamente al diffondersi dei *dingbat* a Los Angeles, negli anni Sessanta e Settanta si assiste alla nascita ed alla diffusione di una nuova tipologia abitativa nella California meridionale, costituita dalle *mobile home*[37], una via di mezzo tra la casa unifamiliare, ormai in declino, ed il *trailer*[38]. Localizzate normalmente lungo le autostrade, in siti non edificabili e caratterizzati da una qualità ambientale paragonabile con quella di un quartiere collinare o balneare, le case mobili possono essere "parcheggiate" come un normale *trailer*, nascondendo le ruote dietro a pudichi "gonnellini".
L'aspetto veicolare e nomadico delle *mobile home*, che evoca a volte il carro tradizionale dei pionieri all'epoca della "febbre" dell'oro o le *roulotte* che affluivano in California durante il periodo della depressione economica negli anni Venti, si perde a mano a mano che i modelli salgono di prezzo e di dimensioni, grazie anche ai mezzi di persuasione impiegati per creare l'illusione di possedere una casa unifamiliare tradizionale. Con qualche abile tocco di *adornment*, la casa mobile (come del resto la casa unifamiliare tradizionale o il *dingbat*) può essere personalizzata e diventare, all'occorrenza, *Early American*, *Spanish*, *Mediterranean*, *Oriental*, solo per citare gli stili più ricorrenti offerti a pari prezzo in ogni catalogo che si rispetti. Per i più esigenti, possono essere offerti dei modelli disegnati da architetti ("*a California exclusive*") e non deve stupire se la *National Mobile Homes* negli anni Settanta offriva una serie di case mobili disegnate dalla Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, del tutto simili ai modelli ordinari di serie, salvo le testate esagonali e lo *styling* tipico delle costruzioni wrightiane più stereotipate.

Pop Architecture

L'architettura *pop* costituisce una delle tipologie più eccentriche ma al tempo stesso più sintomatiche dell'ambiente costruito angeleno. L'architettura *pop* di Los Angeles nasce e si diffonde contemporaneamente alla stessa Hollywood. Già negli anni Trenta Frederick Simpich



Dingbat a El Segundo e a Malibu. Foto G. Brino.

Dingbats in El Segundo and Malibu. Photos G. Brino.

*a commercial object on offer to newcomers cruising past in their automobiles in search of an apartment. Rental conditions are posted with brutal frankness on the notice-boards built permanently into their façades (*No kids! Kids OK! Pets OK! *etc.), as I know from personal experience when I was looking for an apartment in Santa Monica. On the street front, the dingbat mirrors the social status of its virtual inhabitants. In this sense, they are a modern variant of the housing typology that has existed in Los Angeles since the Hollywood era, which Nathaniel West ironically described in* The Day of the Locust*:* "Only dynamite would be of any use against the Mexican ranch houses, Samoan huts, Mediterranean villas, Egyptian and Japanese temples, Swiss chalets, Tudor cottages, and every possible combination of these styles that lined the slopes of the canyon. When he noticed that they were all of plaster, lath and paper, he was charitable and blamed their shape on the materials used"[36].

Mobile Homes

In the 1960s and 1970s, virtually in parallel with the Los Angeles dingbat, another Southern Californian housing typology was born and gradually took hold. This was the mobile home[37], a cross between the single-family home (now in decline) and the trailer[38]. Normally situated along freeways on non-buildable sites with environmental features resembling those of hill or beach districts, mobile homes can be "parked" *like an ordinary trailer and their wheels coyly concealed beneath skirt-like flaps. Their original vehicular, nomadic appearance that sometimes reminds you of the covered wagons of the Gold Rush pioneers and the caravans that flocked to California during the Great Depression of the 1920s, has gradually been lost as prices have risen and the homes themselves have got larger, partly owing to the ads that try to foster the illusion that you own a traditional single-family home. With shrewd adornment, mobile homes (like traditional single-family homes or dingbats) can be personalised at will to become Early American, Spanish, Mediterranean or Oriental, to name only the commonest equally-priced options listed in the catalogues that count. For the more demanding there are also architect-designed versions (*"a California exclusive"*), so it should come as no surprise to learn that, in the 1970s,* National Mobile Homes *offered a range of mobile homes designed by the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation that were virtually identical to the standard models apart from the hexagonal heads and styling typical of Wright's more stereotyped dwellings.*

Pop Architecture

Pop architecture is one of the most eccentric, but also most representative typologies of the Angeleno built environment. It both originated and became popular during the Hollywood era. In the 1930s, Frederick Simpich described "buildings wherein food and drink are sold. Some are shaped and painted to represent giant owls, derby hats, shoes, airships, dogs, teakettles, windmills, mosques, wienerwursts, zeppelins, and igloos. One café is built like a roundhouse, with a life-sized locomotive emerging from its front door. Another, the last word in realism, is a replica of a jail, bars and all the rest!"[39].

In its most classic form, pop architecture is iconic and symbolic. Thus, it includes the Camera Shop (1938) shaped like a camera, the Big Red Piano (1930) in Venice designed by architect F.H. Gaw as a red grand piano, the Milk Bottle (1930s) in the San Fernando Valley, the Fruit Basket dating from the same period, the Coca Cola factory (1941) with a Coke bottle as high as the building itself set into a corner specially hollowed out to form a niche. This "architecture of persuasion"*, to use the term invented by Morris Lapidus (whose works, presented by Philip Johnson, were popularised by* Environmental Communications *in the 1970s), has stood the test of time, adapting itself to new typologies and updating its own language, as in the Coin-Op Laundry (1960s), a low, insignificant building with two huge wooden clothes pegs at either end of the façade in full view or motorists hurrying along Pico Boulevard. In Los Angeles this principles has also been applied to non-commercial buildings. For example, a giant rocket around thirty metres tall adorns the austere USAF headquarters in El Segundo Boulevard; another rocket in front of the Museum of Science signals the presence of another equally unremarkable building to motorists looking for the museum; finally, an Atlas Pioneer rocket adorns the tomb of a dead graphic arts "pioneer" in Hollywood cemetery. However, this last example already partly belongs to another "analogical" category that includes the Mayan Theater in Downtown Los Angeles, built by architect Doheny in 1941, and the improbable Aztec Hotel in Monrovia designed by architect Robert Stacy-Judd in 1925, both characterised by their respective pre-Columbian styles. Similarly, the Brown Derby Restaurant*

Mobile home park a Santa Monica. Case mobili della F.L. Wright Foundation esposte al Dodger Stadium, Los Angeles. Foto G. Brino.

Mobile home park in Santa Monica. Mobile homes designed by the F.L. Wright Foundation on show at Dodger Stadium, Los Angeles. Photos G. Brino.



descriveva infatti "*alcuni ristoranti e caffé a forma di gufo, di cappello, di scarpa, di aereo, di cane, di tazza da the, di mulino a vento, di moschea, di dirigibile, di igloo, di carrozza ferroviaria e, ultimo grido in fatto di realismo, di carcere con sbarre e tutto il resto*"[39].
Nella sua definizione più classica, l'architettura *pop* è iconica e simbolica. Appartengono a questa tipologia il Camera Shop del 1938, a forma di macchina fotografica; il Big Red Piano del 1930 a Venice, a forma di pianoforte a coda colorato di rosso, progettato dall'architetto F.H. Gaw; il Milk Bottle, a forma di gigantesca bottiglia bianca di latte, degli anni Trenta in San Fernando Valley; la Fruit Basket House, a forma di cestino da frutta, dello stesso periodo; la fabbrica della Coca Cola del 1941, con la bottiglia omonima alta quanto l'edificio, piazzata nel punto più visibile, nell'angolo opportunamente svuotato a forma di nicchia. Questa "*architettura della persuasione*", per impiegare un termine inventato da Morris Lapidus (le cui opere, presentate da Philip Johnson, venivano fatte conoscere proprio negli anni Settanta dalla Environmental Communications), si è perpetuata nel tempo adeguandosi alle nuove tipologie e aggiornando il proprio linguaggio, come ad esempio nella Coin-op Laundry degli anni Sessanta, un basso ed insignificante edificio destinato a lavanderia, dotato di due gigantesche mollette di legno per stendere la biancheria, poste alle due estremità della facciata, ben visibili da parte dell'automobilista che percorre frettolosamente il Pico Boulevard. A Los Angeles, questo principio non è solo applicato alle strutture commerciali: un enorme razzo, alto una trentina di metri, costituisce ad esempio l'insegna dei severi quartieri generali della Air Force in El Segundo Boulevard; un altro razzo, davanti al Museum of Science, segnala un edificio altrimenti sfuggente per chi cerchi il museo in auto; un razzo *Atlas Pioneer*, infine, adorna, per analogia, la tomba di un defunto "pioniere" delle arti grafiche nel cimitero di Hollywood.
Ma questo esempio appartiene già in parte ad un'altra categoria, quella analogica, secondo cui il Mayan Theater in *Downtown* Los Angeles, costruito nel 1941 dall'architetto Doheny, e l'improbabile Aztec Hotel di Monrovia, progettato dall'architetto Robert Stacy-Judd nel 1925, sono formalizzati nei rispettivi stili precolombiani. Per la stessa ragione, il Brown Derby Restaurant, situato nel Wilshire Boulevard e progettato dall'architetto Carl Jules nel 1926, è a forma di cappello marrone come la bombetta di Charlot; il Boat Bar, del 1939, a pochi passi dalla casa di Charles Eames a Pacific Palisades, è a forma di nave; l'Ugly Dog Store (ora demolito) in Pico Boulevard, degli anni Trenta, è a forma di cane. Come la categoria precedente, anche questa non ha limiti temporali: il Dinosaur Restaurant & Gift Shop, a forma di dinosauro, degli inizi degli anni Settanta(a metà strada fra i dinosauri circolanti nella California meridionale in epoca preistorica, i cui resti sono conservati nel Los Angeles County Museum, e quelli resuscitati nel recente *Jurassic Park* di Spielberg), emergeva surrealisticamente dal deserto lungo l'autostrada per andare a Palm Springs.
La forma dell'edificio, nell'architettura *pop* di Los Angeles può essere dedotta persino dai nomi propri dei loro proprietari. Un esempio di questa categoria è costituito dalla catena dei ristoranti Van de Kamp, progettati da Nyberg e Bissner verso la fine degli anni Sessanta a forma di mulino a vento olandese, bianco e azzurro, con pale gigantesche che ruotano giorno e notte. Un altro esempio è rappresentato dalla catena dei ristoranti Burns, edifici di giorno praticamente irrilevanti, dai cui tetti a due falde di notte si elevano fiammate che "bruciano" (*burn, baby burn!*) in una sorta di incendio permanente, trasformandosi in un'insegna pubblicitaria visibile a grandi distanze. Altre volte, infine, la forma dell'edificio è desunta in base agli stessi criteri psicologici con cui l'eclettismo adottava lo stile gotico per l'edificio religioso, la severità del neoclassico per il tribunale, il *Regency* o il *Queen Anne* per gli edifici balneari o ricreativi e così via. Seguendo questa logica, la Scientific Data Systems è stata progettata nel 1966 da Craig Ellwood con una immagine squisitamente *high tech*. Questo criterio psicologico sembrerebbe in contraddizione con il fatto che la Bank of America nel centro del Westwood Village abbia la forma di una chiesa; che il fabbricato principale dell'UCLA, nel vicino *campus*, sia la riproduzione fedele del Sant' Ambrogio di Milano o che, al contrario, una chiesa, come la *drive-in church* di Neutra a Garden Grove del 1962 abbia la forma di un cinema all'aperto o di un *drive-in restaurant*. Sembrerebbe ugualmente inspiegabile come mai la Uniroyal Tire, una fabbrica progettata da Morgan, Walls e Clemens nel 1929, sita lungo la Santa Ana Freeway, sia nel più impeccabile stile assirobabilonese, interpretato in chiave *moderne*. In realtà, lo stile era stato scelto in base ad un criterio analogico per la verità un po' tortuoso: i materiali, le decorazioni a zigzag e la



on Wilshire Boulevard, designed by architect Carl Jules in 1926, is shaped like Charlie Chaplin's brown bowler hat; the Boat Bar (1939) only a short distance from Charles Eames' house in Pacific Palisades is shaped like a boat; the Ugly Dog Store (1930s, now demolished) in Pico Boulevard is shaped like a dog. This category, like the preceding one, has also stood the test of time: the Dinosaur Restaurant & Gift Shop (early 1970s, a cross between the Southern California dinosaurs of prehistoric times whose remains are preserved in the Los Angeles County Museum, and the ones Steven Spielberg recently brought back to life in Jurassic Park*) rises surrealistically in the desert along the freeway to Palm Springs.*

In Los Angeles pop architecture, the shapes of buildings can even be deduced from the names of their owners. One example is the Van de Kamp restaurant chain designed by Nyberg and Bissner in the late 1970s to look like a white and blue Dutch windmill with huge sails that turn day and night. Another is the Burns restaurant chain whose buildings seem virtually insignificant by day but by night sport two permanently burning roof slopes ("Burn baby, burn!"*) that transform them into huge advertising signs visible for miles around. In other cases, the shapes derive from the eclectic psychological logic that finds it appropriate to use a Gothic style for religious buildings, neo-classical severity for courthouses, Regency or Queen Anne for beach or recreational buildings, and so on. Developing this logic, Craig Ellwood gave the Scientific Data Systems Factory he designed in 1966 an exquisitely high-tech image, although this psychological logic would seem to conflict with fact that the Bank of America building in central Westwood Village is shaped like a church; that the main UCLA building on the nearby campus is a replica of the Basilica of St. Ambrose in Milan; that, on the contrary, Neutra's drive-in church in Garden Grove looks like an open-air cinema or drive-in restaurant.*

Equally inexplicable is the fact that the Uniroyal Tire factory designed by Morgan, Walls and Clemens in 1929 on the Santa Ana Freeway is in faultless Assyrian-Babylonian style with a modern slant. In fact, the style was arrived at by applying the admittedly rather tortuous logic that the materials and zig-zag decoration of the "ancient" building (it looks like something from Intolerance*) would suggest the "durability" and "compactness" of the tyres the factory produces. The Richfield Building (now demolished), headquarters of the homonymous oil company and designed by the same architects in the same period, has black brick cladding and gold yellow stripes that were meant to suggest the "black gold" of the oil fields.*

On closer inspection, eccentric buildings like John Lautner's Silvertop House or Chemosphere House, Frank Lloyd Wright's Ennis House or his son Lloyd's Sowden House, the houses Schindler built virtually by hand towards the end of his life, Ed Stone and Minoru Yamasaky's eclectic postwar buildings, the crystalline 1960s and 1970s buildings by superstars Cesar Pelli and Tony Lumsden, and works by Frank O. Gehry, Charles Moore and the Fourth generation Venice architects, all have something in common with the pop architecture we have been looking at. In the fragmented, all-permissive Los Angeles setting, everything (from architecture to autos) has to be customised in some way to convey an aspect of city's individualistic culture (which can't be transmitted by traditional architectural or planning means) to Angelenos hammering past on the freeways[40].

Modern architecture in Southern California

Los Angeles' truly authentic architecture has relatively recent origins, but its traditions are ancient and predate recorded history. Over 40,000 years ago, the earliest Indian inhabitants of the region introduced distinctive nomadic typologies based on pole and canvas tents and wattle and daub huts – virtually "instant buildings" particularly suited to a warm climate and a highly mobile open-air lifestyle, as well as totally resistant to earthquakes. Since they lacked the warlike traits of the plains and eastern Indians, the artistic talents of the Aztecs, the building skills of the Mayas and the hunting instincts of the Alaskan Indians, the Southern Californian Indians quietly hunted, gathered the fruits of the earth and lived peaceably together, enjoying the advantages of a mild climate and fertile soil. This tradition of temporary construction – there are no traces of it now apart from archaeological reconstructions and vestigial remains preserved in the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles – seems to reappear (with appropriate technological updating) in the city's speculative "sluburbia" whose houses in the most improbable styles have been familiarly described as "ticky-tacky" or nicknamed "mud-covered cardboard cartons" because of their flimsy plasterboard-covered wooden frames[41].

When Spain conquered America, California became a military outpost and a new building tradition began

George H. Wyman, Bradbury Building, Los Angeles, 1893.
Lloyd Wright, Wayfarers Chapel, Palos Verdes, 1949.
Foto G. Brino.
Cesar Pelli, Pacific Design Center, ("the Blue Whale"), West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1975.
Foto Envinronmental Communications.
San Fernando Mission, 1818.
Foto G. Brino.
Architettura vittoriana a East Los Angeles.
Foto Envinronmental Communications.

George H. Wyman, Bradbury Building, Los Angeles, 1893.
Lloyd Wright, Wayfarers Chapel, Palos Verdes, 1949.
Photos G. Brino.
Cesar Pelli, Pacific Design Center, ("The Blue Whale"), West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1975.

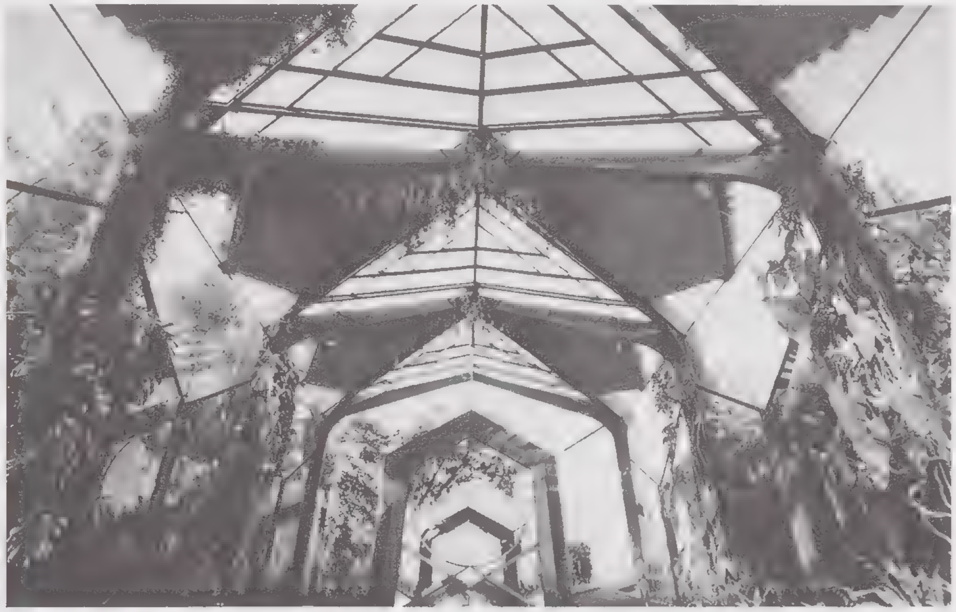






Photo Environmental Communications.
San Fernando Mission, 1818.
Photo G. Brino.
Victorian architecture
in East Los Angeles.
Photo Environmental Communications.

compattezza dell'edificio assirobabilonese, che sembrava uscito direttamente dal film *Intolerance*, dovevano suggerire l'idea della "durata" e "compattezza" dei copertoni prodotti da questa fabbrica. Il Richfield Building, ora demolito, sede della compagnia petrolifera omonima, progettato nello stesso periodo dagli stessi architetti, con il suo rivestimento di terracotta nera e strisce color giallo oro, doveva invece suggerire l'idea dell'"oro nero" dei campi petroliferi.
A ben vedere, architetture eccentriche come il Silvertop o la Chemosphere House di John Lautner; la stessa Ennis House di Frank Lloyd Wright o la Sowden House del figlio Lloyd; le case realizzate quasi manualmente da Schindler negli ultimi anni della sua vita; le opere dell'eclettismo postbellico di Ed Stone e Minoru Yamasaki; le architetture cristalline degli architetti *superstar* come Cesar Pelli o Tony Lumsden, degli anni Sessanta e Settanta; le opere di Frank O. Gehry, di Charles W. Moore o degli architetti della Quarta generazione a Venice hanno qualcosa che le associa alle architetture *pop* descritte precedentemente. Nel panorama frammentato e permissivo di Los Angeles, tutto (dall'architettura all'auto) deve essere forse più o meno *customizzato* per poter trasmettere in qualche modo all'angeleno che sfreccia in auto sulla *freeway* la cultura di un individualismo che non può essere trasmessa con i mezzi della cultura architettonica e urbanistica tradizionale[40].

Architettura moderna nella California meridionale
L'architettura "firmata" a Los Angeles ha origini relativamente recenti, ma le sue tradizioni sono in realtà antichissime e si perdono nel tempo. Oltre 40.000 anni fa, gli indiani, i primi abitanti di questa regione, avevano introdotto tipologie abitative nomadiche particolari, costituite da tende in tessuto ed aste di legno e da capanne formate da rami e fango, dalla costruzione pressoché istantanea, particolarmente adatte al clima e ad un modo di vita all'aria aperta, caratterizzato da una forte mobilità, oltre ad essere perfettamente resistenti ai terremoti. Privi delle caratteristiche guerriere degli indiani delle pianure e dell'est, delle doti artistiche degli Aztechi, delle capacità costruttive dei Maya e degli istinti di caccia degli indiani d'Alaska, gli indiani della California meridionale cacciavano, raccoglievano i frutti della terra e vivevano assieme pacificamente, sfruttando i vantaggi di un clima mite e di una terra generosa. Questa tradizione costruttiva

based on Mediterranean limewashed plaster walls. This tradition was especially strong in the Franciscan missions and Spanish and Mexican ranches scattered throughout Southern California. Regrettably, we have only a few nineteenth-century prints to tell us about the ancient pueblos *– low, whitish box houses around patios shaded by groups of trees – that seem to anticipate so much of Los Angeles' modern domestic architecture. However, the lifestyle of that period is vividly described by Spanish author J. de Montalvo who, in a story published in 1510, referred to California as an* "earthly paradise"*, thus engendering a myth that would survive right down to modern times.*
From the mid nineteenth century, when gold was discovered, these two building traditions would be joined by another, the wooden balloon frame of the pioneers. Remains of this original pioneer habitat can still be found in the mid nineteenth-century ghost towns scattered around the gold mines, some of which became popular Disney-style recreational facilities in the 1960s and 1970s, and in the fine Victorian wooden houses dating from the second half of the nineteenth century[42]*. An emigré guide to the Californian gold mines dated 1848 says that* "no more beautiful land ever offered itself to the human eye, with meadows carpeted in flowers extending on either side"[43], *re-echoing the myth of the* "earthly paradise" *initiated by Montalvo three centuries earlier. Los Angeles' loftier Victorian tradition includes the Bradbury Building, Southern California's first modern brick, iron and glass Downtown building designed by George H. Wyman in 1893. Its well-lit internal courtyard covered with an iron and glass skylight and ringed with balconies connected vertically by lifts that lend dynamism to the space, was the remotest symptom of the "Crystal Palace fever" triggered off by the Great Exhibition of 1851*[44]*. This tradition – later revived in Lord & Burnham's "Garden of Eden" (1913) in Los Angeles, an iron and glass conservatory and swimming-pool*[45] *– is in a sense perpetuated in Lloyd Wright's Wayfarers Chapel in Palos Verdes (1949), a glazed, conservatory-like chapel that anticipates Philip Johnson's Crystal Cathedral; in Charles Eames' iron and glass studio-home of the same year and Craig Ellwood and Pierre Koenig's high-tech idiom; in the internal courtyard of the UCLA Geography School; in the Pacific Design Center which Cesar Pelli designed for the Victor Gruen practice in 1975; and in other similar structures.*

William Wurdeman,
William O. Becket, Pan Pacific Auditorium, Los Angeles, 1935-38.
Albert C. Martin, St. Vincent de Paul Roman Catholic Church, Los Angeles, 1923-25.
John e Donald Parkinson, Bullocks Wilshire

precaria, di cui non esistono altre tracce se non le ricostruzioni archeologiche e le vestigia conservate nel Southwest Museum di Los Angeles, sembra riprodursi, con i dovuti aggiornamenti tecnologici, nell'edilizia speculativa dei *sluburbia* di Los Angeles, le cui casette, formalizzate negli stili più improbabili, sono state soprannominate familiarmente *ticky-tack* o "cartoni coperti di fango", per la precarietà della loro leggera struttura in legno rivestita di cartongesso[41].
Con la conquista dell'America da parte degli Spagnoli, la California diventa un avamposto militare e si instaura una nuova tradizione costruttiva, in muratura intonacata e tinteggiata a calce, di tipo mediterraneo. Questa tradizione è testimoniata dalle *mission* dei padri francescani e dai *rancho* spagnoli e messicani disseminati in tutta la California meridionale. Dell'antico *pueblo* di Los Angeles, costituito da basse casette cubiformi biancheggianti, prospettanti su *patio* ombreggiati da gruppi di alberi, che sembrano anticipare tanta parte dell' architettura residenziale del Movimento Moderno angeleno, purtroppo restano solo alcune stampe ottocentesche. Del modo di vita di quel tempo si ha però la viva testimonianza dell'autore spagnolo J. de Montalvo che, in un racconto pubblicato nel 1510, parla della California come di un "*paradiso terrestre*", creando un mito destinato a perpetuarsi fino ai nostri giorni.
A queste due tradizioni costruttive, a partire dalla metà dell'Ottocento, con la scoperta dell'oro, se ne aggiunge un'altra, quella del *balloon frame* di legno dei pionieri. Di questo *habitat* pionieristico originario, sono rimaste le *ghost towns* della metà dell'Ottocento, disseminate nelle aree dove sorgevano le miniere d'oro, alcune delle quali diventate negli anni Sessanta e Settanta famose *recreational facilities* di gusto disneyano, e le belle case vittoriane in legno della seconda metà dell'Ottocento[42]. In una guida dell'emigrante alle miniere d'oro della California del 1848, si legge che "*mai terra più bella si offerse allo sguardo umano, da una parte e dall'altra praterie tappezzate da fiori*"[43], confermando il mito di "*paradiso terrestre*" lanciato dal Montalvo trecento anni prima. Alla più alta tradizione costruttiva vittoriana a Los Angeles appartiene il Bradbury Building, la prima architettura moderna della California meridionale, realizzata in mattoni, ferro e vetro in *Downtown* nel 1893 dall' architetto George H. Wyman. Il suo luminoso cortile interno, coperto da un lucernario in ferro e vetro, su cui

Towards the beginning of the century, as I have said, Bernard Maybeck (who accidentally achieved fame with his Palace of Fine Arts project for the San Francisco Exhibition of 1915) and Charles and Henry Greene especially, brought highly innovative modern architecture to Los Angeles. In three Pasadena houses (the Irwin House and Blacker House of 1906, and the Gamble House of 1908), the Greene brothers used plain wood in a rather Japanese way that harmonised with the California Bungalow vernacular popular during the first two decades of the century in Pasadena, Santa Monica and Echo Park. By contrast, in his Bolton Town Hall in Tujunga (1913) and the Bingham House in Montecito (1917), Maybeck mainly used unfaced natural stone in unadorned façades that draw attention to texture alone.
During the same period marked by the San Diego International Exhibition of 1915-16, another vernacular that developed in parallel with California Bungalow became popular in Southern California: the Spanish-Colonial Revival. As well as generating the prolific domestic typology Charles Moore has recently nicknamed "Ramonaland", this revival would also influence much modern Los Angeles architecture from Irving Gill to the white Bell Telephone Company skyscraper in Santa Monica designed by Cesar Pelli for DMJM. Gill made his debut almost simultaneously with the Greene brothers in a series of houses designed between 1907 and 1916 in La Jolla (the Bailey House, the Women's Club and the Gilman Hall), San Diego (Lee House no. 4, the Klauber House) and Hollywood (the Dodge House). Their plain style was inspired by the unadorned Spanish missions, and their modernity is comparable with Europe's most advanced modern architecture of the same period.
Meanwhile, two concomitant events – the birth of cinema and the advent of the automobile – would radically transform a Los Angeles that up to then had been a sleepy, predominantly agricultural city. These events would lead to the creation of districts, infrastructures and building typologies to match a lifestyle that would characterise the city for more than half a century.
The San Diego Exhibition had launched the earlier Spanish-Colonial Revival; in turn, the later Paris Exhibition of 1925 (leaving aside Le Corbusier's rationalist Esprit Nouveau *pavilion, which was nonetheless displayed there) triggered off the Art Déco movement that would eventually reach Southern California and inspire a whole*

Department Store Building, Los Angeles, 1928.
Simon Rodia, Torri a Watts, 1921-54.
Foto G. Brino.

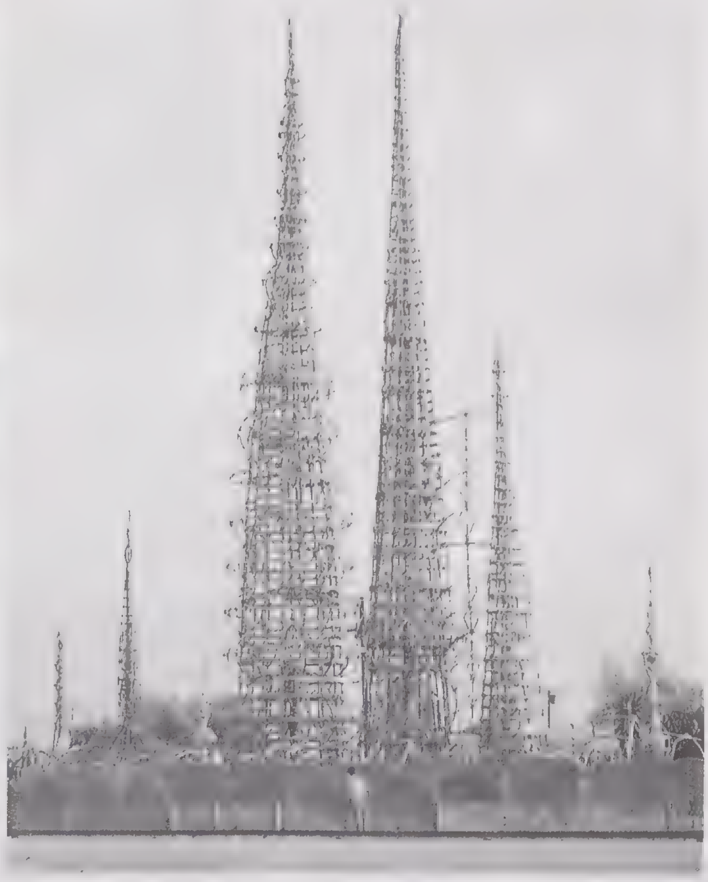
William Wurdeman, William O. Becket, Pan Pacific Auditorium, Los Angeles, 1935-38.
Albert C. Martin, St. Vincent de Paul Roman Catholic Church, Los Angeles, 1923-25.
John and Donald Parkinson, Bullocks Wilshire

Department Store Building, Los Angeles, 1928.
Simon Rodia, Watts Towers, 1921-54.
Photos G. Brino.









Charles e Henry Greene,
Gamble House, Pasadena, 1908.
Irving Gill, Horatio Court,
Santa Monica, 1919-21.
Charles e Henry Greene,
Irwin House, Pasadena 1903-08.
Irving Gill, Women's Club,
La Jolla, 1913.
Foto G. Brino.

Charles and Henry Greene,
Gamble House, Pasadena, 1908.
Irving Gill, Horatio Court,
Santa Monica, 1919-21.
Charles and Henry Greene,
Irwin House, Pasadena 1903-08.
Irving Gill, Women's Club,
La Jolla, 1913.
Photos G. Brino.









prospettano ballatoi in ferro collegati verticalmente da ascensori a vista che ne percorrono dinamicamente lo spazio, rappresenta l'estrema propaggine della *crystal palace fever* scatenata dall'Esposizione di Londra del 1851[44]. Questa tradizione, ripresa nel "Giardino dell'Eden", una serra e piscina in ferro e vetro costruita nel 1913 a Los Angeles da Lord & Burnham[45], si è perpetuata in un certo senso nella Wayfarers Chapel progettata nel 1949 da Lloyd Wright a Palos Verdes, una cappella vetrata come una serra, che anticipa la Crystal Cathedral di Philip Johnson; nella casa-studio in ferro e vetro di Charles Eames dello stesso anno e nel filone *high tech* di Craig Ellwood e di Pierre Koenig; nel cortile interno della Scuola di Geografia dell'UCLA; nel Pacific Design Center, disegnato nel 1975 da Cesar Pelli per lo studio di Victor Gruen, ed in altre strutture analoghe.
Come si è già detto, verso l'inizio di questo secolo, Bernard Maybeck (diventato casualmente famoso con il progetto del Palace of Fine Arts per l'Esposizione di San Francisco del 1915) e soprattutto i fratelli Charles e Henry Greene, introducono a Los Angeles un'architettura moderna fortemente innovativa. I fratelli Greene, in tre case realizzate a Pasadena (la Irwin House e la Blacker House, del 1906, e la Gamble House, del 1908) fanno un uso "giapponesizzante" del legno a vista, sintonizzandosi col filone vernacolare dei *California Bungalow*, diffuso tra l'inizio del secolo e gli anni Venti a Pasadena, Santa Monica ed Echo Park. Maybeck, nella Bolton Hall di Tujunga del 1913 e nella Bingham House di Montecito del 1917, oltre al legno impiega la pietra naturale a vista in facciate totalmente prive di ornamenti, giocando solo sulla *texture*.
Proprio in quegli stessi anni, con l'Esposizione Internazionale di San Diego del 1915-16, si diffonde in tutta la California meridionale un altro vernacolo costruttivo, parallelo a quello dei *California Bungalow*: lo *Spanish-Colonial Revival*[46]. Questo *revival*, oltre a generare il prolifico filone di edilizia residenziale che Charles W. Moore ha rivalutato recentemente con il soprannome di *Ramonaland*, influenzerà tanta parte dell'architettura del Movimento Moderno, da Irving Gill fino al biancheggiante grattacielo della Telephon Bell Company a Santa Monica, disegnato da Cesar Pelli per DMJM. Gill esordisce quasi contemporaneamente con i fratelli Greene, con una serie di case progettate tra il 1907 ed il 1916 a La Jolla (la Bailey House, lo Woman's

series of masterpieces, including Parkinson and Parkinson's Bullocks Wilshire (1928). Onto Art Déco was then grafted a local variant – moderne *– which added Hollywood touches to curved Mendelsohnian architecture, producing interesting results like Wurdeman and Becket's Pan Pacific Auditorium (1935), Albert C. Martin's May Company Building in Miracle Mile (1935), the Coca Cola Factory we looked at earlier, and several others. With its coloured neon lights, Art Déco immediately seemed just what was needed to extol the glories of a Hollywood pervaded by new wealth and the exotic aura the cinema industry had bestowed on it. More than any other style, Art Déco related the needs of modernity (a California must) to the psychological and symbolic needs of the new consumer society, even if during the same period, as we have seen, Hollywood simultaneously encouraged the creation and spread of pop architecture at its most fantastic, and not in commercial architecture alone – the Spadena House in Beverly Hills (1925) and the Hearst Castle at San Simeon (1919) are just two examples of domestic pop architecture. This tradition eventually reached its apotheosis in the prestigious Getty Museum (1970s) in Malibu, a replica of a Pompeian villa. The cinema industry itself, with studios scattered all over Los Angeles, became the ideal workshop for this "architecture of persuasion" that would influence the work of the various generations of Southern Californian architects.*
In 1921, when Hollywood was in the process of being born, an Italian immigrant named Rodia patiently began work on the extraordinary Watts towers that he would complete over thirty years later in 1954, giving Los Angeles its most poetic architectural and artistic achievement ever[47]. Its daring reinforced concrete structure over thirty metres high (which has survived all the earthquakes since it was erected) is studded with over 75,000 bits of salvaged materials ranging from Seven-Up bottles to Mexican-style polychrome tile fragments, shards of Chinese plates (salvaged from the city's refuse tips) and shells collected on the ocean beaches. Rodia's towers symbolise the city itself – its love of eccentricity and technology, its ethnic variety, its dynamic individualism. In this sense, the towers are not unlike certain Pop buildings and some of the Venice houses built by Fourth-generation artist-architects using salvaged materials. Between the wars, with the impetus of Frank Lloyd Wright and Rudolph M. Schindler (who brought his friend Richard

Frank Lloyd Wright, Sturges House, Brentwood Heights, Los Angeles, 1939. Foto Environmental Communications.
Rudolph M. Schindler, Lovell Beach House, Newport Beach, 1926.
Rudolph M. Schindler, Pueblo Ribera, La Jolla, 1923.

Club e la Gilman Hall), San Diego (la Lee House n.4, la Klauber House), e Hollywood (la Dodge House), caratterizzate da uno stile spoglio, ispirato alle missioni francescane più disadorne, di una modernità paragonabile alle opere più avanzate dell'architettura moderna dello stesso periodo in Europa.
Nel frattempo, due grandi avvenimenti concomitanti marcano in modo determinante Los Angeles, fino allora una cittadina sonnecchiante, la cui economia era basata sull'agricoltura: la nascita del cinema a Hollywood e l'avvento dell'automobile. Questa doppia circostanza determina la creazione di quartieri, infrastrutture e tipologie edilizie adeguate ad uno stile di vita che segnerà per oltre mezzo secolo la città.
Se l'Esposizione di San Diego aveva lanciato lo *Spanish Colonial Revival*, l'Esposizione di Parigi del 1925 (ignorando il padiglione razionalista dell'*Esprit Nouveau* di Le Corbusier, pure ivi esposto) scatena e diffonde anche nella California meridionale il movimento *Art Déco*, che genera tutta una serie di capolavori, fra cui il Bullocks Wilshire, di Parkinson and Parkinson del 1928. Sull'*Art Déco* si innesta poi una variante locale – il *moderne* – uno stile che arricchisce l'architettura curvilinea alla Mendelsohn con qualche preziosità tutta hollywoodiana, e che genera opere interessanti come il Pan Pacific Auditorium di Wurdeman e Becket del 1935, la May Company, a Miracle Mile, di Albert C. Martin del 1939, la fabbrica della Coca Cola citata precedentemente, ecc.
L' *Art Déco*, con i suoi neon colorati, appare immediatamente come lo stile più adatto per celebrare i fasti di Hollywood, la nuova ricchezza ed il carattere esotico che emana dal cinema. Meglio di qualunque altro stile, l'*art déco* media le esigenze di modernità, irrinunciabili per i Californiani, con quelle psicologiche e simboliche della nuova società dei consumi, anche se, come si è visto, negli stessi anni, Hollywood stimola parallelamente la creazione ed il diffondersi dell'architettura *pop* più fantasiosa, non solo nel campo delle strutture commerciali, ma anche di quelle residenziali (basti pensare, ad esempio, alla Spadena House di Beverly Hills del 1925 o al Castello Hearst a San Simeon del 1919), creando una tradizione che trova i suoi epigoni nel prestigioso Getty's Museum creato a Malibu negli anni Settanta sul modello di una villa pompeiana. Lo stesso cinema, poi, con i suoi *studio* disseminati in ogni parte di Los Angeles, rappresenta il laboratorio ideale di quell'"architettura della persuasione" che influenzerà le

Neutra over from Vienna in 1925), Southern California developed a modern architecture totally different from the more abstract, doctrinal versions that Walter Gropius, Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier were producing in Europe during the same period. In the space of just ten years, Frank Lloyd Wright endowed Southern California in general, and Los Angeles in particular, with a whole series of masterpieces, including the Millard House (the "Miniature") in Pasadena (1923) and the Ennis House in Los Angeles (1924). Soon after, his son Lloyd would build another set of houses in Los Angeles stylistically midway between pre-Columbian styles and the organic styles of his father (one example is the Sowden House, 1926).
More or less during the same period, and after working with Frank Lloyd Wright who had now been commissioned to reconstruct the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, Schindler built his own house in Hollywood (1921) and the Pueblo Ribera Courts in La Jolla (1923), which blended features of Wright's idiom with the small adobe houses of the original Los Angeles pueblo. *In 1923, Schindler designed the Lovell Beach House, a masterpiece whose modernity can only justly be compared with Le Corbusier's more successful works of the same period.*
Richard Neutra made his debut – and won immediate fame – in Southern California with his Garden Apartments (1925). Then, in 1929, he completed Griffith Park for the same doctor client who had commissioned the Lovell Beach House on Newport Beach from Schindler, an act of "treachery" that would sadden both men for the rest of their lives[48].
The 1930s saw the rise of a new group of modern architects whom McCoy christened the Second Generation *in the book of the same name that followed his* Five California Architects *on the first generation[49]. The most important were Albert Frey, Harwell Hamilton Harris, Thornton M. Abell, Raphael S. Soriano, Gregory Ain and Rodney Walker, whose work was influenced by the rigorous modernism of the previous generation. Wright's last Los Angeles house, the Sturges House in Brentwood (1939), brought the 1930s to a close.*
Schindler and Neutra went on working throughout the 1930s and 1940s, though their paths increasingly diverged. Schindler was losing professional status and increasingly becoming a social outcast, although his consistent architectural approach would produce brilliantly individualistic results like the Tischler House in Bel Air and

Lloyd Wright, Sowden House, East Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1926. Foto G. Brino.

Frank Lloyd Wright, Sturges House, Brentwood Heights, Los Angeles, 1939. Photo Environmental Communications.
Rudolph M. Schindler, Lovell Beach House, Newport Beach, 1926.
Rudolph M. Schindler, Pueblo Ribera, La Jolla, 1923.

Lloyd Wright, Sowden House, East Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1926. Photos G. Brino.









opere delle diverse generazioni di architetti nella California meridionale.
Contemporaneamente alla nascita di Hollywood, nel 1921 hanno origine a Watts le straordinarie torri che Rodia, un emigrato di origine italiana, realizza con un *tricotage* paziente durato oltre trent'anni fino al 1954, creando l'opera artistica e architettonica più poetica di Los Angeles[47]. Incastonando, su una arditissima struttura in cemento armato, alta oltre trenta metri, che ha sfidato tutti i terremoti, oltre 75.000 frammenti dei materiali di recupero più diversi, dalle bottigliette di *seven-up* ai frammenti di piastrelle policrome di gusto messicano o di cocci di piatti cinesi, recuperati nelle discariche cittadine, o alle conchiglie raccolte lungo le spiagge dell'oceano, le torri di Rodia rappresentano simbolicamente la città stessa, con il suo gusto per l'eccentrico e per la tecnologia, con le sue varie etnie e con la cultura dell'individualismo più spinto. Da questo punto di vista, le torri di Rodia non sono dissimili dalle architetture *pop* o da certe case realizzate a Venice con materiali di recupero dagli architetti-artisti della Quarta generazione.
Tra le due guerre, sotto la spinta di Frank Lloyd Wright e di Rudolph M. Schindler, che fa venire da Vienna l'amico Richard Neutra nel 1925, nella California meridionale si sviluppa un'architettura moderna dotata di un carattere assolutamente originale rispetto a quella più astratta e dottrinaria creata da Walter Gropius, Adolf Loos e Le Corbusier in Europa negli stessi anni. Nell'arco di dieci anni, Frank Lloyd Wright lascia nella California meridionale ed a Los Angeles in particolare una serie impressionante di capolavori, fra cui la Millard House (la "Miniatura"), a Pasadena, del 1923, e la Ennis House, a Los Angeles, del 1924. Sulla sua scia, nel periodo immediatamente successivo, il figlio Lloyd realizza a Los Angeles un'altra serie di case a metà strada tra le architetture precolombiane e quelle organiche del padre, come la Sowden House, del 1926.
Più o meno nello stesso periodo, dopo aver collaborato con Frank Lloyd Wright, all'epoca impegnato nella ricostruzione dell'Imperial Hotel di Tokyo, Schindler realizza la propria casa a Hollywood nel 1921 e le Pueblo Ribera Courts a La Jolla nel 1923, un'esperienza che media la lezione wrightiana con quella delle casette in adobe del *pueblo* originario di Los Angeles. Nel 1923, Schindler progetta la Lovell Beach House, un capolavoro solo confrontabile, per modernità di concezione, con le opere più felici realizzate da Le Corbusier nello stesso periodo.
Nel 1925, con i Garden Apartments di Hollywood, ha inizio il debutto e l'immediata affermazione nella California meridionale dell'architettura di Richard J. Neutra. Nel 1929, Neutra realizza nel Griffith Park, per lo stesso cliente medico-igienista per cui Schindler aveva realizzato nel 1925 la casa sulla spiaggia di Newport, la Lovell House, rompendo un sodalizio che marcherà tristemente per tutta la vita i due architetti[48].
Negli anni Trenta, cominciano ad emergere i nuovi esponenti dell'architettura modernista angelena, che la Mc Coy identifica come la *Second Generation*, nel libro omonimo che segue i *Five California Architects*, dedicato alla Prima generazione[49]. Fra gli architetti della Seconda generazione, spiccano Albert Frey, Harwell Hamilton Harris, Thornton M. Abell, Raphael S. Soriano, Gregory Ain e Rodney Walker, le cui opere sono tutte improntate al modernismo più rigoroso dei maestri della generazione precedente. Gli anni Trenta si chiudono con l'ultima casa progettata a Los Angeles da F.L. Wright nel 1939, la Sturges House di Brentwood.
Negli anni Trenta e Quaranta continua l'attività sia di Schindler e che di Neutra, ormai avviati su strade sempre più divergenti. Il primo si incammina, infatti, da un lato verso un progressivo declino professionale e una emarginazione sociale sempre più spinta, ma, dall'altro, conduce coerentemente la sua ricerca architettonica alle massime conseguenze, dominate dalle forme più esasperate di individualismo, che trovano riscontro solo nell'architettura più matura della Quarta generazione negli anni Ottanta e Novanta (basti pensare alla Tischler House di Bel Air o alla casa per Ellen Janson a Hollywood, entrambe del 1949-50). Il secondo, al contrario, si avvia verso un successo professionale e di critica sempre più consolidato, con una produzione costante come qualità, come la Von Strenberg House in San Fernando Valley del 1937, purtroppo andata distrutta, e gli Strathmore Apartments dell'anno successivo, a Westwood, dove vanno ad abitare gli Eames, Entenza e tanti personaggi del mondo del cinema.
Negli anni Quaranta e Cinquanta prosegue l'opera degli architetti della Prima e della Seconda generazione. Neutra, dopo la propria esperienza di edilizia pubblica di Channel Heights a San Pedro del 1942, nel 1949-59, realizza assieme a Robert Alexander (autore nel 1937-42, con

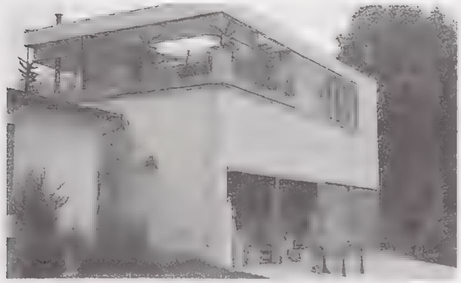
the Ellen Janson House in Hollywood (both 1949-50), matched only by the mature achievements of the Fourth generation in the 1980s and 1990s. By contrast, Neutra was winning ever greater professional and critical acclaim with buildings of a consistently high quality like the Von Strenberg House in the San Fernando Valley (1937, later destroyed) and the Strathmore Apartments in Westwood (1938), where the Eames brothers, John Entenza and many cinema figures went to live.
The First and Second generation architects continued their work throughout the 1940s and 1950s. After his first experience of public building (Channel Heights in San Pedro, 1942), Neutra joined forces with Robert Alexander (who had designed the Baldwin Hills Village with Reginald Johnson and Clarence Stein in 1937-42) to produce the plan for Elysian Park Heights[50]. He later worked on a whole series of public commissions in which he kept faith with the architectural credo he had developed in his private work. The same period also saw the rise of the Third generation architects, whose work (which lasted on the whole up to the 1960s and 1970s) in some ways already marked a tentative "break" with the previous generations. The most important were Charles Eames, Craig Ellwood, John Lautner and Pierre Koenig. In 1949, Eames designed his Pacific Palisades studio-home that would profoundly influence Ellwood and Koenig's later high-tech idiom. In 1950, with Eero Saarinen, he designed a house for John Entenza, editor of "Arts and Architecture", in Pacific Palisades near the Eames studio-home, in an enclave more like a museum of modern architecture than a conventional residential precinct. In the same year, Soriano designed a house for photographer Julius Shulman in Beverly Hills. Ellwood, who had made his debut that year with the Hale House in Hollywood, produced a whole series of buildings consistent with his Miesian poetics (the Courtyard Apartments in Hollywood, 1952; the Smith House in West Los Angeles, 1955; South Bay Bank in Manhattan Beach, 1956; Case Study House no. 18 in Beverly Hills, 1956-58; etc.). Koenig designed Case Study House no. 17 in Hollywood Hills. Lautner, who had made his debut with the Foster House in the San Fernando Valley (1950), produced the Silvertop House in the Silver Lake District (1957) and the Chemosphere House in Hollywood (1960).
In 1959, after a fierce conflict of public and private interests, Neutra and Alexander's plan for Elysian Park Heights was ousted by the Dodger Stadium, an impressive drive-in structure documented in Ed Ruscha's masterly helicopter photographs.
With the appearance of new languages, crisis overwhelmed Los Angeles modern architecture in the 1960s. On the one hand, Frank O. Gehry made his debut with the Danziger Studio in Hollywood, a cube structure seemingly inspired by the dingbat, whose construction techniques he utilised. On the other, architects were appearing of the calibre of Cesar Pelli and Tony Lumsden, who designed for big architectural firms like DMJM and Victor Gruen, with results that include the Teledyne Systems Building in Northridge, the DMJM Building and the Century Bank on Wilshire Boulevard with its large curved glass walls. In the same period, Ed Stone built two eclectic office buildings for Perpetual Savings, again on Wilshire Boulevard, and Welton Becket designed the pop-inspired restaurant at Los Angeles airport.
There were also other interesting commercial buildings like the Ships Restaurant in Westwood Village (1963, now demolished), the Norwalk Square shopping center, Johnies Wilshire in Miracle Mile and a whole series of pop buildings for hamburger chains like McDonald's and Jack-in-the-Box, and for carwash chains.
These works were important because their vitality helped to rejuvenate an architectural language on the verge of exhaustion, and seemed to prefigure the uninhibited language which a new generation of architects would use to try to interpret Los Angeles changing cultural climate.

Southern California's freeway network was completed in the 1970s, while Los Angeles itself was overwhelmed by two events that would permanently undermine the myth of the "earthly paradise" *– the riots in Watts, the black ghetto Angela Davis had been born in, and the Charles Manson killings in the home of Roman Polansky and Sharon Tate. After virtually a century of uninterrupted growth, in which the Los Angeles population had climbed to almost ten million, Angelenos were left open-mouthed by an announcement on 25 November 1973 that the city's population had now achieved* "zero growth"*. In the same period, the end of the Vietnam War suddenly deprived Los Angeles of its status as a "War City", with all the economic implications this would entail. However, there were significant architectural and planning development in this period of readjustment, if not actual decline. Towards mid*

Julius R. Davidson, Druckers Apartments, Brentwood, Los Angeles, 1940.
Richard Neutra, Lovell House, East Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1929.
John Lautner, Wolff House, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1963.
Craig Ellwood, Scientific Data System Factory, El Segundo, 1966-68.
Craig Ellwood, Hunt House, Malibu, 1957.
Foto G. Brino.

Reginald Johnson e Clarence Stein, del Baldwin Hills Village) il piano di Elysian Park Heights[50] e tutta un'altra serie di esperienze nel campo dell'edilizia pubblica, in cui Neutra rimane fedele al proprio credo architettonico, messo a punto nell'edilizia privata. Nello stesso periodo cominciano ad affermarsi gli architetti della Terza generazione, la cui opera, proseguita in genere fino agli anni Sessanta-Settanta, rappresenta già in un certo senso un primo tentativo di "strappo" rispetto a quella delle generazioni precedenti. Tra gli architetti della Terza generazione, emergono in particolare Charles Eames, Craig Ellwood, John Lautner e Pierre Koenig. Eames progetta nel 1949 la sua casa-studio a Pacific Palisades, destinata ad avere tanta influenza sul filone *high tech* portato avanti da Ellwood e da Koenig degli anni successivi. Nel 1950, Charles Eames ed Eero Saarinen progettano la casa di Entenza, il direttore di "Arts and Architecture", a Pacific Palisades, vicino alla casa-studio di Eames, in un *enclave* più simile ad un museo di architettura moderna che non ad un quartiere tradizionale. Nello stesso anno, Soriano progetta la casa del fotografo Julius Shulman a Beverly Hills. Ellwood, che aveva esordito nello stesso anno con la Hale House a Hollywood, realizza tutta una serie di edifici coerenti con la sua poetica miesiana (i Courtyard Apartments di Hollywood nel 1952; la Smith House a West Los Angeles nel 1955; la South Bay Bank a Manhattan Beach nel 1956; la *Case Study House* n.18 a Beverly Hills nel 1956-58; ecc.). Koenig progetta la *Case Study House* n.17 a Hollywood Hills. Lautner, che aveva debuttato nel 1950 con la Foster House in San Fernando Valley, nel 1957 realizza la Silvertop House nel Silver Lake District, e, nel 1960, la Chemosphere House a Hollywood.
Nel 1959, al posto dell' Elysian Park Heights di Neutra ed Alexander, dopo una drammatica battaglia fra interessi pubblici e interessi privati, viene realizzato il Dodger Stadium, una impressionante struttura in *drive-in*, fotografata magistralmente dall'elicottero da Ed Ruscha. Con gli anni Sessanta si assiste alla crisi del Movimento Moderno a Los Angeles, dovuta al sorgere di nuovi linguaggi. Da un lato esordisce Frank O. Gehry, che progetta il Danziger Studio a Hollywood, una costruzione cubiforme che sembra ispirarsi direttamente ai *dingbat*, di cui utilizza la tecnica costruttiva. Dall'altro, emergono architetti come Cesar Pelli e Tony Lumsden che progettano per grandi studi come DMJM o Victor Gruen

1964, Calvin Hamilton was commissioned to draw up a general development plan for Los Angeles. With the aid of Kevin Lynch, the result was a modern loose-leaf plan that realistically ratified the city's existing situation and drew logical conclusions from it.
In spring 1972, Ray Kappe, along with another seven teachers and around seventy students of Cal Poly (California State Polytechnic University) in Pomona founded SCI-Arc (Southern California Institute of Architecture) in Santa Monica, a new architecture school inspired by the more authentic claims of the 1960s student revolution. Ray Kappe – both a brilliant architect (in 1973 he won the American Institute of Architects in Southern California award for the project for his own home) and a sensitive advocacy planner very much open the implications of the city's new urban situation – is the key to understanding the difficult shift from the Third generation, to which he objectively belonged, and the Fourth generation that Frank O. Gehry's early work had been prefiguring since the 1960s. SCI-Arc, whose development I have charted since its opening in 1972-73, was an "instant" building created from a disused industrial shed. Its mezzanines suspended in mid air under the shed skylights (they were made with materials salvaged by the teachers and students themselves) contrast starkly with the more reassuring images of architecture schools on prestigious campuses like UCLA in Westwood and USC in Downtown. SCI-Arc openly defied them and soon became a much-feared rival. Kappe and his staff had pushed the new school down a road that would separate it forever from the "progressive" architecture of the previous generations.



Julius R. Davidson, Druckers Apartments, Brentwood, Los Angeles, 1940.
Richard Neutra, Lovell House, East Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1929.
John Lautner, Wolff House, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1963.

Craig Ellwood, Scientific Data System Factory, El Segundo, 1966-68.
Craig Ellwood, Hunt House, Malibu, 1957.
Photos G. Brino.



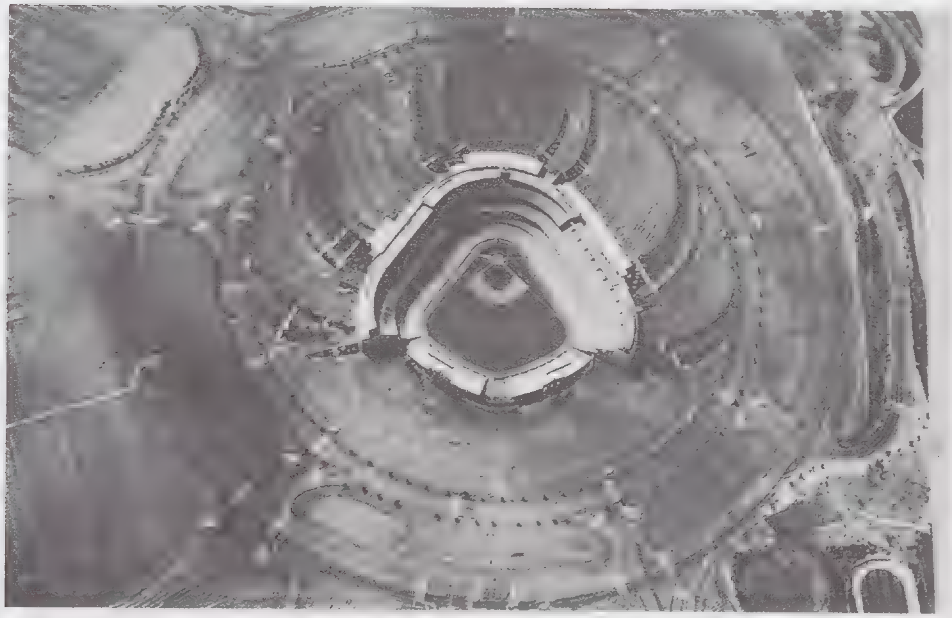






Dodger Stadium.
Foto E. Ruscha.
William L. Pereira and Ass.,
Studio Pereira and Ass.,
Los Angeles, anni '60.
Foto G. Brino.

Dodger Stadium.
Photo E. Ruscha.
William L. Pereira and Ass.,
Studio Pereira and Ass.,
Los Angeles, 1960s.
Photo G. Brino.





opere come il Teledyne Systems a Northridge, la sede del DMJM e della Century Bank, lungo il Wilshire Boulevard, caratterizzate da grandi pareti vetrate curvilinee. Negli stessi anni Ed Stone realizza le due eclettiche sedi della Perpetual Savings, sempre lungo lo stesso corso, e Welton Becket progetta il ristorante dell'aeroporto di Los Angeles, ispirandosi all'architettura *pop*.
Accanto a queste opere, negli stessi anni sorgono strutture commerciali interessanti come lo Ships Restaurant in Westwood Village del 1963, ora demolito; il Norwalk Square shopping center, il Johnies Wilshire a Miracle Mile, e tutta una serie di architetture *pop* legate alle catene di *hamburger stands* come *McDonald*, *Jack-in-the-Box* ecc., o alle catene di autolavaggi.
Queste opere sono importanti perché contribuiscono, con la loro vitalità, a rinnovare un linguaggio architettonico ormai in fase di esaurimento e sembrano preannunciare il linguaggio disinibito con cui la nuova generazione di architetti cerca di interpretare le istanze dettate dal mutato contesto culturale angeleno.

Negli anni Sessanta viene completata la rete autostradale nella California meridionale, mentre due avvenimenti tragici sconvolgono Los Angeles, minandone in modo irreversibile il mito di "*paradiso terrestre*": i tumulti di Watts, il quartiere nero di Angela Davis, e l'eccidio perpetrato da Charles Manson nella casa di Roman Polansky e Sharon Tate. Dopo quasi un secolo di crescita ininterrotta, in cui la popolazione di Los Angeles raggiunge quasi i 10 milioni di abitanti, il 25 novembre 1973 gli angeleni apprendono sbigottiti che la popolazione di Los Angeles ha raggiunto la "*crescita zero*". Nello stesso periodo termina la guerra del Vietnam, togliendo bruscamente a Los Angeles la funzione di *War City*, con tutte le implicazioni economiche relative. In questo quadro, di assestamento, se non di declino generale della città, si verificano alcuni avvenimenti significativi anche nel campo dell'urbanistica e dell'architettura. Verso la metà del 1964, Calvin Hamilton viene incaricato di redigere il nuovo Piano regolatore di Los Angeles, a cui collabora lo stesso Kevin Lynch, concepito modernamente sotto la forma di un *loose-leaf plan*, che ratifica realisticamente la nuova situazione della città, traendone le logiche conseguenze.
Nella primavera del 1972, Ray Kappe, con altri sette docenti ed una settantina di studenti del Cal Poly (California State Polytechnic University) di Pomona, fonda a Santa Monica lo SCI-Arc, Southern California Institute of Architecture, una nuova scuola di architettura che fa proprie le istanze più autentiche della rivoluzione studentesca degli anni Sessanta. Ray Kappe, brillante architetto modernista (nel 1973, per il progetto della propria casa a Pacific Palisades, ottiene il premio dell'American Institute of Architects della California meridionale), ma anche sensibile *advocacy planner*, aperto alle istanze imposte dalla nuova situazione in cui viene a trovarsi la città, rappresenta il personaggio chiave per comprendere il passaggio sofferto tra la Terza generazione, a cui obiettivamente egli appartiene, e la Quarta generazione, già preannunciata fin dagli anni Sessanta dalle prime opere di Frank O. Gehry. Lo SCI-Arc, che ho seguito dalla sua apertura nel 1972-73, era stato creato in modo *instant* in un capannone industriale abbandonato. I mezzanini sospesi a mezz'aria, sotto i lucernari degli *shed*, realizzati con materiali di recupero dagli stessi studenti e docenti, erano in aperto contrasto con l'immagine più rassicurante delle scuole d'architettura nei *campus* prestigiosi dell'UCLA a Westwood o di USC in *Downtown*, con cui lo SCI-Arc si confrontava, diventandone presto un temibile concorrente. Kappe ed il suo staff avevano però spinto la Scuola verso una strada senza possibilità di ritorno rispetto all'architettura "progressista" delle generazioni precedenti.

Note

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1) R. BANHAM, *Los Angeles, The Architecture of Four Ecologies*, Harmondsworth 1971, trad. it. *Los Angeles. L'architettura di quattro ecologie*, Genova 1983. Alla guida di Banham faceva eco immediatamente dopo il numero monografico di "Architectural Design" dedicato alla California meridionale (*AD goes West*, "Architectural Design", n. 9, 1973) e l'esposizione internazionale sui *Tre mondi di Los Angeles (The Three Worlds of Los Angeles. Architectural Exhibit*, Los Angeles 1974).

2) E. MC COY, *Five California Architects*, New York 1960; IDEM, *Modern California Houses*, New York 1960; IDEM, *Craig Ellwood*, New York 1968; IDEM, *The Second Generation*, 1984.

3) D. GEBHARD, R. WINTER, *A Guide to Architecture in Southern California*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1965; IDEM, *A Guide to Architecture in Los Angeles & Southern California*, Santa Barbara 1977; D. GEBHARD, *Schindler*, New York 1972.

4) K. LYNCH, *The Image of the City*, 1960, trad. it. *L'immagine della città*, Padova 1964.

5) G. BRINO, *Culture post-urbaine à Los Angelès*, "Cahiers Nantais", n. 8, 1974; IDEM, *Verso la metropoli post-urbana: Los Angeles*, "Comunità", n. 172, 1974; IDEM, *Los Angeles. La città capitalista*, Firenze 1977.

6) Recentemente la University Microfilm ha pubblicato una versione microfilmata dell' intera rivista, a cui si rimanda.

7) Sul *Case Study House Program*, cfr. E. MC COY, *Modern California Houses*, New York 1963.

8) N. WEST, *The Day of the Locust*, New York 1939, trad. it. *Il giorno della Locusta*, Torino 1952.

9) H. MILLER, *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, New York 1945, trad. it. *L'incubo ad aria condizionata*, Torino 1962.

10) H. JAMES, *The American Scene*, New York 1907.

11) F.S. FITZGERALD, *The Great Gatsby*, New York 1925, trad. it. *Il grande Gatsby*, Milano 1936.

12) E. WAUGH, *The loved One: an Anglo-American tragedy*, New York 1948, trad. it. *Il caro estinto*, Milano 1949.

13) J. CAIN, *Serenade*, New York 1937, trad. it. *Serenata*, Milano, Roma 1945.

14) B. BRECHT, *Arbeitsjournal 1938-1955*, Frankfuhrt am Mein 1973, trad. it. *Diario di lavoro*, Torino 1976.

15) R.D. BRADBURY, *The Silver Locust*, in *The Martian Chronicles, 1951*, trad. it. *Le locuste*, in *Cronache marziane*, Milano 1954; IDEM, *Fahrenheit 451*, 1953, trad. it. *Gli anni della fenice*, Milano 1956.

16) R.A. HEINLEIN, *... and He built a Crooked House*, 1941, trad. it. *La casa nuova*, in *Le meraviglie del possibile, antologia di fantascienza*, Torino 1959, pp. 441-46.

17) H. MC COY, *I should have stayed Home*, 1938, trad. it. *Avrei dovuto restare a casa*, Torino 1956.

18) R. CHANDLER, *The Big Sleep*, New York 1939, trad. it. *Il grande sonno*, Milano 1948.

19) G. VIDAL, *Myra Breckinridge*, London 1968, trad. it. *Myra Breckinridge*, Milano 1969.

20) I. FLEMING, *Diamonds are Forever*, 1956, trad. it. *Una cascata di diamanti*, Milano 1962.

21) T. WOLFE, *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine Flake Streamline Baby*, New York 1965, trad. it. *La baby aerodinamica kolor karamella*, Milano 1969; IDEM, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, New York 1968, trad. it. *L'acid test al rinfresko elettriko*, Milano 1970.

22) C. BUKOWSKY, *Erections, Ejaculations, Exhibitions and General Tales of Ordinary Madness*, San Francisco 1967, trad. it. *Storie di ordinaria follia*, Milano 1975.

23) J. SHULMAN, *Photographing Architecture and Interiors*, New York 1962. Shulman commissiona nel 1950 a R. Soriano la propria casa a Hollywood Hills.

24) E. RUSCHA, *Twentysix Gasoline Stations*, 1962; *Los Angeles Apartment*, 1965; *The Sunset Strip*, 1966; *Thirtyfour Parking Lots*, 1967; *Nine Swimming Pools*, 1968; *Real Estate Opportunities*, 1970; *A Few Palm Trees*, 1971.

25) ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS, *Catalogue of 35mm Color Slides*, Venice 1974.

26) *A History of Venice Area*, Los Angeles Department of City Planning, ottobre 1969.

27) A. FRACCAROLI, *Hollywood. Paese d'avventura*, Milano 1929, p. 17.

28) Sugli studi d'architettura a Los Angeles negli anni Settanta, cfr. G. BRINO, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 132-155 ("*Architetti superstars*"); IDEM, *La professione dell'architetto a Los Angeles*, "Atti e Rassegna della Società degli Ingegneri e Architetti in Torino", n. 7-8, 1977.

29) Su Paperopoli intesa come modello ideale di Los Angeles, cfr. G. BRINO, *La città a fumetti*, "Gala International", n. 70, 1975; IDEM, *Learning from Walt Disney*, "Werk", n. 8, 1975; IDEM, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 254-263 ("*Paperopoli*").

30) Su *Barbie* intesa come modello culturale, cfr. G. BRINO, *Barbie, tra design e ideologia*, "Gala International", n. 76, 1976; IDEM, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 264-270 ("*Barbieland*").

31) G. BRINO, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 173-179 ("*Hollywood*").

32) Sul Wilshire Boulevard inteso come centro città lineare, cfr. R. DE ROOS, *Los Angeles. City of the Angels*, "National Geographic Magazine", ottobre 1962, p. 484; G. BRINO, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 173-179 ("*Linear Downtown*").

33) R. BANHAM, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 175 ss. Nella seconda metà degli anni Settanta, i *dingbat* sono stati sostituiti progressivamente dalle "casa a corte", una tipologia a metà strada tra le case per appartamenti e le case unifamiliari (cfr. J. TICE, S. POLYZOIDES, *Los Angeles Courts*, "Casabella", n. 412, 1976).

34) Per un'analisi più approfondita dei *dingbat* a Los Angeles, cfr. G. BRINO, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 73-90 ("*Dingbats*"); per una iconografia sui *dingbat*, cfr. ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS, *Hardcore L.A. (Dingbats etc.)*, *Venice*; IDEM, *Los Angeles*, Venice; E. RUSCHA, *Real Estate Opportunities*, Los Angeles 1970.

35) R. NEUTRA, *Wie Baut Amerika?*, Stuttgart 1927.

36) N. WEST, *Il giorno della locusta*, cit., p. 6.

37) Per un'analisi più approfondita sulle *mobile home* nella California meridionale, cfr. G. BRINO, *Il mito della casa mobile*, "Casabella", n. 403, 1975; IDEM, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 91-103 ("*Mobile Homes*").

38) Sui *trailers* cfr. G. BRINO, *Nomadic truchitectures*, "Casabella", n. 412, 1976; IDEM, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 104-115 ("*Recreational Vehicles*").

39) F. SIMPICH, *Southern California at Work*, "The National Geographic Magazine", novembre 1934, p. 554.

40) Per un' analisi più approfondita dell'architettura *pop* a Los Angeles, cfr. G. BRINO, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. 200-205 ("*Pop Architecture*"). Per una iconografia sulla *pop architecture* nella California meridionale, cfr. le seguenti serie di diapositive della ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS: *The Diner, from Boston to L.A.*; *Universal Commercial Architecture*; *Los Angeles Coffee Shops; Lure of the Sea*; *Madonna Inn*.

41) F. CASE, Introduzione in G. BRINO, *Los Angeles*, cit., pp. VII-XXVI.

42) ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS, *Victorian Houses of East Los Angeles*, Catalogo 1974-75, Venice 1975.

43) *The Emigrants Guide to the Gold Mines of California*, New York 1848, trad. it. *Guida dell'emigrante alle miniere d'oro della California*, Palermo 1993.

44) G. BRINO, *Il Palazzo di Cristallo*, Genova, in preparazione.

45) J. HIX, *The Glass House*, London 1974, p. 95.

46) J. ALLWOOD, *The Great Exhibitions*, London 1977, p. 124. Sullo *Spanish Colonial Revival*, cfr. D. GEBHARD, *The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895-1930)*, "Journal of the Society of American Historians", 2 maggio 1967.

47) G. BRINO, *Los Angeles*, cit. pp. 217-213 ("*Watts Towers*").

48) Sul rapporto Neutra-Schindler, cfr. T.S. HINES, *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture. A Biography and History*, Oxford, New York 1982; E. MC COY, *Vienna to Los Angeles: Two Journeys*, Santa Monica 1979.

49) E. MC COY, *The Second Generation*, 1984.

50) Sul piano di *Elysian Park Heights*, cfr. articolo di Hines su questa stessa rivista.

Notes

(*) Giovanni Brino teaches "Environmental Design" in the School of Architecture, Turin Polytechnic, and has published numerous essays on Los Angeles post-urban culture.

1) R. BANHAM, Los Angeles, The Architecture of Four Ecologies, *Harmondsworth 1971. Banham's guide was immediately followed by a monograph issue of "Architectural Design" devoted to Southern California (*AD goes West, *"Architectural Design", no.9, 1973) and the international exhibition* The Three Worlds of Los Angeles, *Los Angeles 1974.*

2) E. MC COY, Five California Architects, *New York 1960; IDEM,* Modern California Houses, *New York 1960; IDEM,* Craig Ellwood, *New York 1968; IDEM,* The Second Generation, *1984.*

3) D. GEBHARD, R. WINTER, A Guide to Architecture in Southern California, *Los Angeles County Museum of Art 1965; IDEM,* A Guide to Architecture in Los Angeles & Southern California, *Santa Barbara 1977; D. GEBHARD,* Schindler, *New York 1972.*

4) K. LYNCH, The Image of the City, *1960.*

5)G. BRINO, Culture post-urbaine à Los Angelès, *"Cahiers Nantais", no.8, 1974; IDEM,* Verso la metropoli post-urbana: Los Angeles, *"Comunità", no.172, 1974; IDEM,* Los Angeles. La città capitalista, *Firenze 1977.*

6) University Microfilm recently published a microfilm version of the entire review.

7) On the Case Study House Program, *see E. MC COY,* Modern California Houses, *New York 1963.*

8) N. WEST, The Day of the Locust, *New York 1939.*

9) H. MILLER, The Air-Conditioned Nightmare, *New York 1945.*

10) H. JAMES, The American Scene, *New York 1907.*

11) F.S. FITZGERALD, The Great Gatsby, *New York 1925.*

12) E. WAUGH, The loved One: An Anglo-American tragedy, *New York 1948.*

13) J. CAIN , Serenade, *New York 1937.*

14) B. BRECHT, Arbeitsjournal 1935-1955, *Frankfuhrt am Mein 1973.*

15) R.D. BRADBURY, The Silver Locust, *in* The Martian Chronicles, *1951; IDEM,* Fahrenheit 451, *1953.*

16) R.A. HEINLEIN, ...and He built a Crooked House, *1941, in I. ASIMOV ed.,* Where do we go from here?, *New York 1971.*

17) H. MC COY, I should have stayed Home, *1938.*

18) R. CHANDLER, The Big Sleep, *New York 1939.*

19) G. VIDAL, Myra Breckinridge, *London 1968.*

20) I. FLEMING, Diamonds Are Forever, *1956.*

21) T. WOLFE, The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine Flake Stramline Baby, *New York 1965; IDEM,* The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test, *New York 1968.*

22) C. BUKOWSKY, Erections, Ejaculations, Exhibitions and General Tales of Ordinary Madness, *San Francisco 1967.*

23) J. SHULMAN, Photographing Architecture and Interiors, *New York 1962. Shulman commissioned his own Hollywood Hills house from R. Soriano in 1950.*

24) E. RUSCHA, Twentysix Gasoline Stations, *1962;* Los Angeles Apartment, *1965;* The Sunset Strip, *1966;* Thirtyfour Parking Lots, *1967*; Nine Swimming Pools *1968;* Real Estate Opportunities, *1970;* A Few Palm Trees, *1971.*

25) ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS, Catalogue of 35mm Color Slides, *Venice, Los Angeles 1974.*

26) A History of Venice Area, *Los Angeles Department of City Planning, October 1969.*

27) A. FRACCAROLI, Hollywood. Paese d'avventura, *Milano 1929, p. 17.*

28) On architecture professional practice in seventies Los Angeles, see G. BRINO, Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 132-155 (*"Architetti superstars"*); IDEM,* La professione dell'architetto a Los Angeles, *"Atti e Rassegna della Società degli Ingegneri e Architetti in Torino", no. 7-8, 1977.*

29) On Donald Duck land as an ideal rendering of Los Angeles, see G. BRINO, La città a fumetti, *"Gala International", no. 70, 1975; IDEM,* Learning from Walt Disney, *"Werk", no. 8, 1975; IDEM,* Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 254-263 (*"Paperopoli"*).*

30) On Barbie *as a cultural model, see G. BRINO,* Barbie, tra design e ideologia, *"Gala International", no. 76, 1976; IDEM,* Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 264-270 (*"Barbieland"*).*

31) G. BRINO, Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 173-179 (*"Hollywood"*).*

32) On Wilshire Boulevard as a linear downtown, see R. DE ROOS, Los Angeles. City of the Angels, *"National Geographic Magazine", October 1962, p. 484; G. BRINO,* Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 173-179 (*"Linear Downtown"*).*

33) R. BANHAM, Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 175 ff. In the late 1970s, dingbats were gradually replaced by "court houses" (see J. TICE, S. POLYZOIDES,* Los Angeles Courts, *"Casabella", no. 412, 1976).*

34) For a more detailed analysis of Los Angeles dingbats, see G. BRINO, Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 73-90 (*"Dingbats"*). For illustrations of dingbats, see ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS,* Hardcore L.A. (Dingbats etc.) *Venice, Los Angeles; E. RUSCHA,* Real Estate Opportunities, *Los Angeles 1970.*

35) R. NEUTRA, Wie Baut Amerika?, *Stuttgart 1927.*

36) N. WEST, The day of the Locust, *London 1951, p. 8.*

37) For a more detailed analysis of the mobile home in Southern California, see G. BRINO, Il mito della casa mobile, *"Casabella", no. 403, 1975; IDEM,* Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 91-103 (*"Mobile Homes"*).*

38) On trailers see G. BRINO, Nomadic truchitectures, *"Casabella", no. 412, 1976; IDEM,* Los Angeles, *op. cit. , pp. 104-115 (*"Recreational Vehicles"*).*

39) F. SIMPICH, Southern California at Work, *"The National Geographic Magazine", November 1934, p. 554.*

40) For a more detailed analysis of pop architecture in Los Angeles, see G. BRINO, Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. 200-205 (*"Pop Architecture"*). For illustrations of pop architecture in Southern California, see the following sets of slides by ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS:* The Diner, from Boston to L.A.; Universal Commercial Architecture; Los Angeles Coffee Shops; Madonna Inn.

41) F. CASE, Introduction to G. BRINO, Los Angeles, *op. cit., pp. VII-XXVI.*

42)ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS, Victorian Houses of East Los Angeles, *1974-75 Catalogue, Venice, Los Angeles 1975.*

43) The Emigrants Guide to the Gold Mines of California, *New York 1848.*

44) G. BRINO, Il Palazzo di Cristallo, *Genoa, in press.*

45) J. HIX, The Glass House, *London 1974, p. 95.*

46) J. ALLWOOD, The Great Exhibitions, *London 1977, p. 124. On the* Spanish Colonial Revival, *see D. GEBHARD,* The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895-1930), *"Journal of the Society of American Historians", 2 May 1967.*

47) G. BRINO, Los Angeles, *op. cit. pp. 217-213 (*"Watts Towers"*).*

48) On relation between Neutra-Schindler, see T.S. HINES, Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture. A Biography and History, *Oxford, New York 1982; E. MC COY,* Vienna to Los Angeles: Two Journeys, *Santa Monica 1979.*

49) E. MC COY, The Second Generation, *1984.*

50) On the Elysian Park Heights *plan, see the essay by T. S. Hines in this issue.*

1. Frank O. Gehry, Gehry Residence, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, 1978.

1. Frank O. Gehry, Gehry Residence, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, 1978.



1

L.A. Trouvée

*Joseph Giovannini**

A partire dal 1920 fino a metà degli anni Settanta, il Modernismo ha imperato a Los Angeles. In questo arco di tempo due geniali quanto radicali architetti viennesi, Rudolph M. Schindler e Richard Neutra, hanno nobilitato la professione sia stabilendo canoni estetici e critici per tre o quattro generazioni di architetti, sia esaltando una figura di libero professionista incurante del tornaconto commerciale. Esther McCoy, la storiografa che ha raccolto la fiamma modernista in un ciclo balzachiano di storie dell'architettura ambientate nella California meridionale, ha collocato architetti ed opere in un contesto culturale assai circostanziato per quanto riguarda caratteri artistici, connotazioni politiche, propensioni avanguardistiche. In *Five California Architects* l'autrice ha approfondito la figura di Schindler; in una monografia successiva quella di Neutra; nel 1984 ha pubblicato *The Second Generation*, che tratta di Gregory Ain, Harwell Harris, Raphael Soriano e J.R. Davidson; ma morì prima di riuscire a delineare il contributo della terza generazione in un volume che avrebbe probabilmente incluso A. Quincy Jones, John Lautner, Craig Ellwood, Pierre Koenig, Charles e Ray Eames.

La genealogia architettonica che era venuta a crearsi, all'interno della quale, in una struttura quasi dinastica, ogni generazione era più folta della precedente, si ampliò ancora più nel secondo dopoguerra, crescendo in tutta la regione grazie al sostegno attivo della rivista "Arts & Architecture" e al suo programma di studio delle casistiche abitative (*Case Study House Program*). Gli architetti si cimentavano con l'acciaio e il compensato, modificavano le piante secondo i nuovi schemi del vivere contemporaneo, annullavano il confine tra interno ed esterno, concepivano forme astratte realizzandole materialmente, ma sempre adattando i loro edifici alla forte e tagliente luce californiana e alla mitezza del clima, affermando così con l'architettura i diritti inalienabili dei loro clienti al perseguimento di una salubrità ideale. Puntello di questa concezione era l'ambizione di applicare all'edilizia i criteri dell'industrializzazione per mezzo del *design*. *"Noi sentivamo che progettare una finestra a ghigliottina ideale e produrne a migliaia avrebbe reso la vita più semplice a tutti"*, ricordava Ray Eames seduta nella casa d'acciaio prefabbricata progettata da Charles in un prato sul limitare di Pacific Palisades. La casa era una delle tante costruite in un'*enclave* modernista da Eames, Eero Saarinen e Neutra

L.A. Trouvée

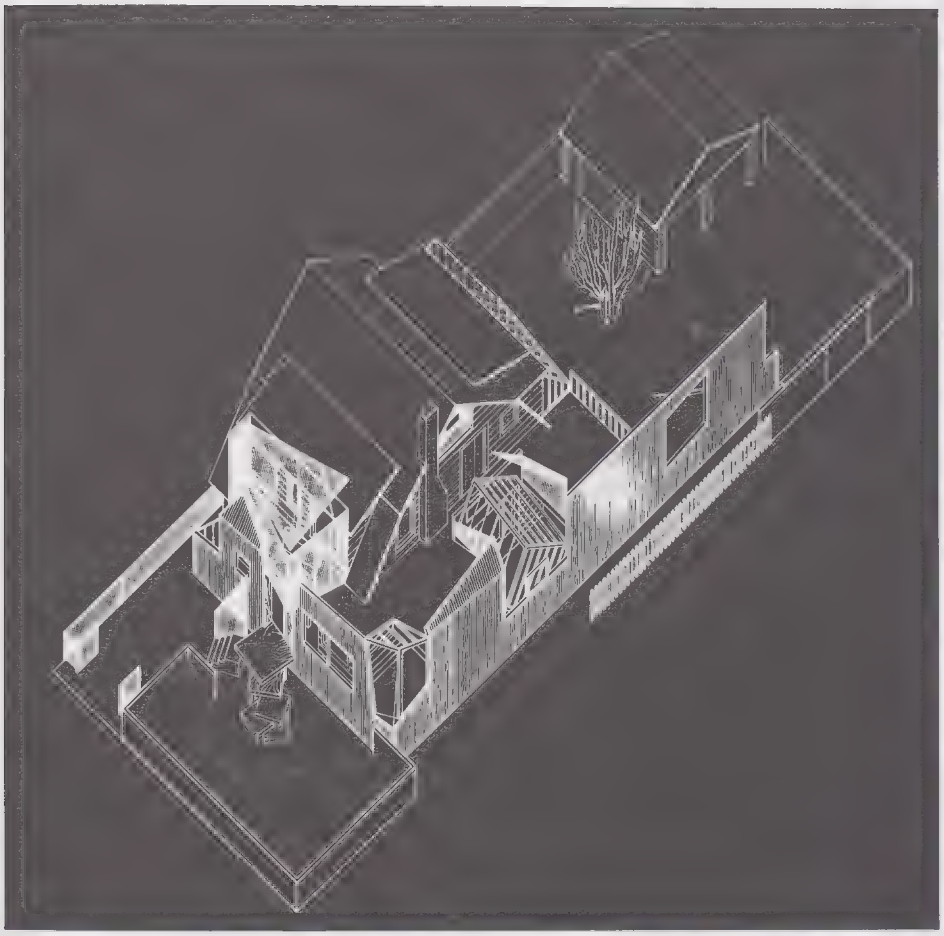
Joseph Giovannini*

From the 1920s through the mid-1970s, Los Angeles belonged to the Modernists. R. M. Schindler and Richard Neutra illuminated the profession, Viennese radicals and eminences who established both an imaginative and critical standard for three going on four generations of architects and *the romance of the single practitioner working against the commercial grain. Esther McCoy, the historian who stoked the Modernist flame in a Balzacian cycle of architectural histories set in Southern California, related the architects and their designs to a cultural milieu serious about its art, politics and avant-gardism. In* Five California Architects, *she identified Schindler, and then in a monograph, Neutra, and in 1984 published* The Second Generation, *about Gregory Ain, Harwell Harris, Raphael Soriano and J. R. Davidson. McCoy died before she could get to a volume on the third generation, which might have included A. Quincy Jones, John Lautner, Craig Ellwood, Pierre Koenig, Charles and Ray Eames.*

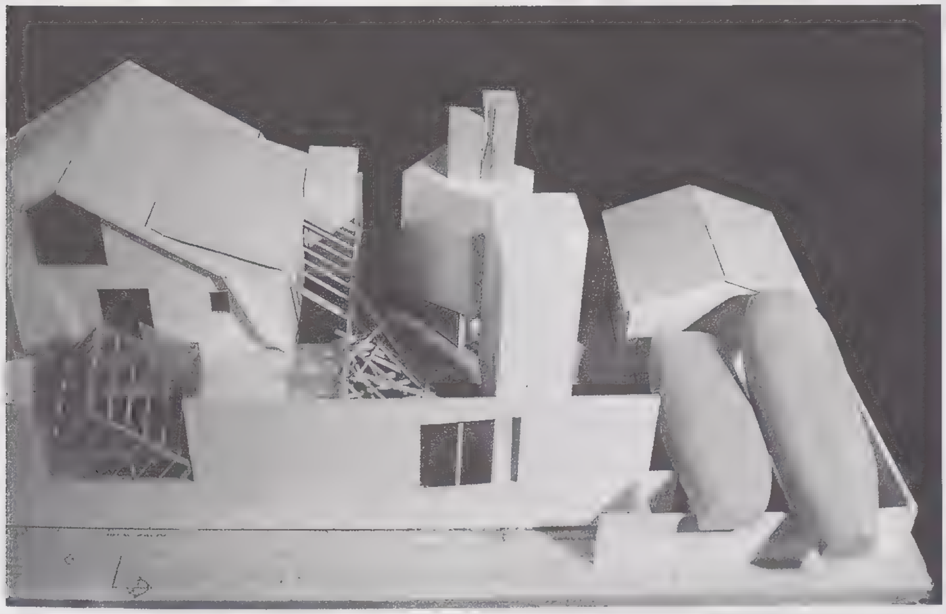
Each successive generation was larger than the last, and collectively they were dynastic. The tradition expanded after the Second World War, with regional growth, prosperity and the focused support of Arts & Architecture *magazine and its Case Study House program. The architects experimented in steel and plywood, adapted the floor plan to new patterns of contemporary living, dissolved the boundary between outside and in, and abstracted form while concretizing its materiality. Always, they played their buildings to the strong, defining Southern California light and benign climate, and promoted the inalienable architectural rights of their clients to the pursuit of health. Underpinning the vision was the impulse to industrialize construction through design.* "We felt that if you designed an ideal sash window and produced thousands, then things would become better for everyone", *recalled Ray Eames, sitting in the off-the-shelf steel house Charles designed on a meadow at the edge of the Pacific Palisades. The house was one of several in a Modernist enclave built by Eames, Eero Saarinen and Neutra. There was great optimism that such prefabricated buildings were templates for a better future. Modernism in Southern California led in at least two directions. The first was the serial Modernism meant to be replicated across the basin – Ain built tract houses in Mar Vista, and Jones and Emmons designed Eichler homes. The factory virtually came to the site, with teams of tradesmen moving from parcel to parcel, as though on a conveyor belt in an outdoor factory. The second direction was "hillside"*

i quali, con grande ottimismo, vedevano in tale edilizia prefabbricata i presupposti di un futuro migliore.
Nella California meridionale il Modernismo imboccò almeno due direzioni diverse: la prima consisteva in un Modernismo seriale, replicato in tutta la regione, come le case monofamiliari a schiera realizzate da Ain a Mar Vista o quelle progettate da Jones e Emmons per l'impreditore immobiliare Eichler, dove la fabbrica si era praticamente installata sul sito e squadre di operai si spostavano di lotto in lotto come su una catena di montaggio all'aperto. La seconda consisteva in un Modernismo "collinare", dove gli architetti scomponevano in singoli pezzi le case e ne rimaneggiavano i vari elementi per adattarli alle specifiche condizioni dei siti, inevitabilmente in pendenza. Solitamente strutture a un solo piano, tipo *ranch*, in collina diventavano costruzioni a vari livelli che rivoluzionavano le tipologie abitative consolidate. Poiché, nonostante l'estetica macchinistica e le implicazioni della serialità, ogni progetto era unico e richiedeva perizia artigianale, in collina i modernisti potevano fare sfoggio del loro virtuosismo progettuale.
Nel 1965, quando divenne direttore del Dipartimento di Architettura di Yale, Charles Moore realizzò una pirotecnica edicola in resina sintetica riflettente *mylar* nella grande *hall* della Giuria e delle Esposizioni all'interno della Facoltà di Arte e Architettura di Paul Rudolph, chiamando in causa così l'eroica grandiosità dell'edificio stesso. Nel 1975, quando si trasferì nella California meridionale per insegnare alla UCLA (University of California Los Angeles), Moore intraprese una riconsiderazione dei caratteri originali della regione e riportò in auge i nostalgici edifici locali che erano stati trascurati da molte generazioni di modernisti. Pur riconoscendo l'autorevolezza di Schindler e Neutra, il cuore iconoclasta di Moore in realtà batteva a Pasadena e a San Marino, fra le *haciende* del più recente stile coloniale spagnoleggiante che per decenni erano state oggetto della noncuranza e dello scherno dei modernisti. Si trattava di edifici pensati appositamente per Los Angeles da architetti che si sforzavano di creare un'immagine confacente all'aura romantica della California, così come evocata nel dramma sentimentale sul suo passato spagnolo, *Ramona.* Le spesse mura di queste case aggraziate e revivalistiche erano in stretta relazione con le bianche e nude pareti protomoderne progettate dall'architetto di San Diego, Irving Gill, ma in più erano intrise del profumo di una

Modernism, where architects took apart the house, reconfiguring the pieces to adapt them to always unique and verticalizing site conditions. Usually flat one-story structures like the ranch house became, in the hillsides, a construction of many levels that transformed established house types. Despite their machine esthetic and implications of seriality, each was unique and required handcrafted attention. In the hills, the Modernist could indulge his design virtuosity.
In 1965, when Charles Moore became chairman of Yale's architecture department, he built a pyrotechnic aedicula in reflective mylar *in the great jury and exhibition hall of Paul Rudolph's Art and Architecture building, questioning the building's heroic grandeur. When Moore moved to Southern California to teach at UCLA in 1975, he initiated a reinterpretation of Southern California, and popularized local revival buildings that had been overlooked by several generations of Modernists. Though Moore acknowledged the stature of Schindler and Neutra, his iconoclasitc heart really resided in Pasadena and San Marino, among the latter-day Spanish Colonial haciendas that for decades had been an object of Modernist neglect and ridicule. These were the buildings invented for Los Angeles by architects trying to fabricate an image befitting the Romance of California, as evoked in the sentimental play about its Spanish past,* Ramona. *The thick walls of these graceful revival houses were closely related to the plain white, proto-Modern walls designed by San Diego architect Irving Gill, but they were steeped in the perfume of a romanticized history suitable for filming (never mind the genocide of the Indians). Moore dared challenge the dominant architectural interpretation of Los Angeles as significant only because of its Modernist tradition by looking at the sweet, utterly livable architectural props of what he called Ramonaland.*
In The City Observed: Los Angeles, *published in 1984, Moore expanded on buildings imbued with a theme:* "It does not stretch credulity very far to see Southern California's rather ephemeral public realm as a concentration of theme parks." *Capitulating to the popular East Coast notion that Los Angeles is really a suburb of Hollywood, he proposed that Los Angeles is a themed environment typified by parks like Disneyland, Knott's Berry Farm and the historicized downtown of the City of Orange. Edging into a smugness tinged with decadence, he quoted Noël Coward about Los Angeles:*



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2.3. Frank O. Gehry, Gehry Residence, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, 1978: assonometria della prima fase e vista del modello con l'ultima fase di ampliamento.

2.3. Frank O. Gehry, Gehry Residence, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, 1978: axonometric of first phase and view of model with final extension phase.

4.5. Frank O. Gehry, Spiller Residence, Venice, Los Angeles, 1980: viste esterna e interna.
6. Michele Saee, Studio dentistico, Beverly Hills, Los Angeles, 1993.

4.5. Frank O. Gehry, Spiller Residence, Venice, Los Angeles, 1980: exterior and interior views.
6. Michele Saee, dentist's surgery, Beverly Hills, Los Angeles, 1993.



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storia romanzata degna di un film (nella piena dimenticanza del genocidio degli indiani). Moore osava sfidare l'imperante interpretazione architettonica secondo cui Los Angeles sarebbe stata significativa unicamente in forza della sua tradizione modernista, volgendo piuttosto lo sguardo agli amabili e vivibilissimi fondali di quella che egli chiamava *Ramonaland*.
In *The City Observed: Los Angeles*, pubblicato nel 1984, Moore allarga il proprio orizzonte ad edifici più fortemente caratterizzati dal punto di vista architettonico, affermando: "*Non occorre fare troppi sforzi di immaginazione per vedere nell'effimera sfera pubblica della California meridionale una concentrazione di parchi a tema*". Allineandosi all'opinione diffusa nella costa orientale secondo cui Los Angeles non sarebbe altro che un sobborgo di Hollywood, egli suggerisce che Los Angeles sia interpretabile come uno di quegli insediamenti a tema esemplificati da luoghi tipo Disneyland, Knott's Berry Farm, un altro parco, o il centro artefatto storicisticamente della Città delle Arance (Los Angeles, *N.d.T.*). Sconfinando in un autocompiacimento decadente, Moore cita le parole di Noël Coward che, a proposito di Los Angeles, sosteneva: *"C'è sempre qualcosa di incantevolmente reale in ciò che ha di falso, e qualcosa di artefatto in ciò che ha di reale"*. Con un tocco di cinismo, Moore aggiunge: *"Nella California del sud (...) esiste pochissimo di antico e pressoché niente di originale"*.
Può darsi che sia effettivamente così.
Moore preferiva vedere in questa cultura dell'immagine un'eclettica architettura della rappresentazione. Gli aneliti della città verso altri tempi e altri luoghi si rincorrono in tutta la sua opera, fino a culminare nel 1982 con la presentazione del progetto vincitore per il Municipio di Beverly Hills, una riesumazione originale, sfrontata e provocatoriamente nostalgica dello stile coloniale spagnolo e delle scenografie hollywoodiane. La sua posizione gli consentiva di cogliere le "preziosità" architettoniche ignorate dai modernisti, per combinare il "ventre molle" dell'architettura della Californiana meridionale con il "brivido" del tabù.
Proprio nello stesso periodo, Frank Gehry studiava la stessa città traendo conclusioni piuttosto diverse sia da quelle dei modernisti che da quelle dei postmoderni. Già a partire dagli anni Sessanta egli si era allontanato dalle correnti architettoniche dominanti per frequentare Venice, la *bohème* di Los Angeles. Ignorando il *gotha* degli

"There is always something so delightfully real about what is phony here. And something so phony about what is real." *In a lapse into cynicism, Moore adds,* "In Southern California (. . .) just remember that very little is old, and almost nothing is original."
Perhaps.
Moore preferred to see in this image-driven culture its eclectic architecture of representation. The city's invocation of other times and places rebounded on his own work and culminated in 1982 in his winning competition entry for the Beverly Hills City Hall, a brilliantly planned, brazenly and provocatively nostalgic reprise of Spanish Colonial design and Hollywood scenography. Moore's position allowed him to pick at the architectural "candies" Modernists ignored: he mixed the "soft-underbelly" of architecture in Southern California with the "frisson" *of the taboo.*
About the same time, Frank Gehry was looking at the same city and reaching conclusions quite different from those of both Modernists and Post-Modernists. From the 1960s, Gehry turned away from the architectural mainstream and frequented Los Angeles' Bohemia – Venice. Ignoring the corporate architects on Wilshire Boulevard, then producing chrome, mirrored-glass and stainless-steel non-entities, Gehry found artists on motorbikes who lived in studios they ad-hocked. Artists here saw space and form differently, not as an expression of a drawn ideal, but as architecture trouvée *to be sculpted by hand. Painter Ed Moses sandwiched wood studs with plate glass, and proposed a building sheathed in corrugated metal. At one exhibition he carved a hole in the gallery's roof and left the amputated members exposed as light poured through the oculus. Billy Al Bengston, handy with a hammer, constantly built, destroyed and rebuilt his studio, using aerospace scraps and other found industrial materials in an environment that was a perpetual work in progress. Bob Irwin discovered that the same painting produced different effects in different lights, and decided to work with light and atmosphere rather than the object. All the artists strived for a raw, unfinished look, which generated an energy that escaped slick, commercial design. The city itself was their art supply store, providing materials for their bravado studios as well as images for their art.*
What Gehry understood from their attitude was not to look to the city for its coherence and unity. Despite what designers of the Modernist utopia might wish, Los Angeles was not a finished whole but a never-to-be-finished canvas

architetti di Wilshire Boulevard, prolifici all'epoca di banalità scintillanti di cromature, vetri a specchio e acciaio inossidabile, Gehry scovava gli artisti che giravano in motorino e vivevano in studi da loro stessi allestiti, artisti che concepivano lo spazio e le forme in maniera diversa, non come espressione di un ideale concretizzato, ma come un' "architettura trovata" da scolpire a mano. Il pittore Ed Moses aveva imbottito delle lastre di cristallo con montanti di legno e aveva proposto un edificio avvolto in una guaina di lamiera ondulata; successivamente, ad una mostra, aveva forato il tetto della galleria lasciandone le travi amputate scoperte ed esposte alla luce che penetrava dall'alto. Billy Al Bengstone, abile con il martello, costruiva, demoliva e ricostruiva continuamente il suo studio servendosi di rottami aerospaziali e di altri materiali industriali di recupero, trasformandolo in un cantiere come un perenne *work in progress*. Bob Irwin scoprì che lo stesso quadro produceva effetti diversi a seconda della luce, e decise di plasmare la luce e l'atmosfera piuttosto che l'oggetto. Tutti costoro aspiravano ad un risultato grezzo, incompiuto, carico di un'energia scevra da ogni tentazione commerciale; la loro fonte artistica era la città stessa, dalla quale attingevano materiali per i loro studi provocatori oltre che ispirazione per le loro opere.

Dal loro atteggiamento Gehry apprese a non cercare nella città coerenza e unitarietà. Nonostante i desideri utopistici degli architetti modernisti, Los Angeles non era un insieme definito ma un canovaccio discontinuo, destinato a rimanere sempre inconcluso. Nel 1979 Gehry riassunse il suo punto di vista nella costruzione della propria abitazione, un *objet trouvé* di due piani in stile coloniale olandese, che egli rimodellò con materiali raccolti nelle strade di Los Angeles: reti metalliche, lamiera ondulata, asfalto, vetro retinato (figg. 1, 2, 3). Egli si affermò nella professione dichiarando che la bellezza architettonica risiede da qualche parte fra l'occhio e la mente, e non è di appartenenza esclusiva dei materiali nobili e lussuosi. Inoltre, progettò lucernari attraverso i quali la luce investiva obliquamente le pareti scolpendovi mutevoli giochi chiaroscurali. Se i modernisti inondavano le pareti di quella nuova luce che era stata la loro scoperta, Gehry, influenzato dai locali artisti della luce, dipingeva con una luce giroscopica, venendo così tacciato dagli architetti di Wilshire Boulevard come pseudoartista dilettante.

Se, come disse F. Scott Fitzgerald, Los Angeles è incomprensibile e si può cogliere "*solo confusamente e a sprazzi*", la casa di Gehry evocava un *collage* di bagliori che avviluppavano nella composizione la luce californiana. Al concorso per il Municipio di Beverly Hills, concorso poi vinto da Moore, Gehry progettò un eterogeneo assortimento di edifici che, invece di formare un contesto figurativo armonico, era un assemblaggio fortemente differenziato di colori, superfici e forme. Sia nella propria abitazione che nel progetto del Municipio, Gehry riconosceva, con Yeats, che il centro non obbliga, che nessun concetto potrebbe o dovrebbe imporsi e costringere la condizione frammentaria della città. Per Gehry si potevano cogliere soltanto frammenti, che diventavano gli elementi basilari delle sue strutture.

Ray Kappe, che aveva combattuto dalla parte dei ribelli quando aveva disertato la California State Polytechnic University a Pomona, per fondare il nuovo e audace Southern California Institute of Architecture a Santa Monica, venne colto alla sprovvista da Gehry e dall'*ethos* destrutturato che questi rappresentava. Charles Moore aveva importato il Postmodernismo architettonico in una città che aveva poco di realmente storico da storicizzare; ma tale corrente non vi aveva attecchito, perché i Californiani del sud sono sempre stati più interessati al futuro che al passato. Ciò che stimolava il puro e idealistico Modernismo della quarta generazione di Kappe, erano la tensione artistica e la visione d'avanguardia di Gehry, maturate nei vicoli di Venice e nell'eterotopia di Los Angeles: una visione che l'aveva portato a rinunciare al concetto di un futuro utopistico per accontentarsi di un presente così come esso è, con tutte le contraddizioni e le imperfezioni che lo rendono autentico, contestuale e calato nel suo tempo. La costruzione non rappresentava, quindi, né un altro tempo, né un altro luogo, né aspirava alla perfezione di un ideale: era un pezzo della Los Angeles oltre la soglia di casa. Nel frattempo, emergeva una Los Angeles cinematografica dove film come *Shampoo*, *Chinatown* e *Il laureato* esprimevano una realtà che fino allora era stata considerata inesistente, di cui i registi, finalmente usciti in strada dagli studi, filmavano l'autenticità.

Gehry ribadiva l'immediatezza delle sue opere nobilitando, come facevano gli artisti, la matericità dell'oggetto, lasciando nudi compensato, montanti, lamiera ondulata. Sebbene per formazione provenisse dalla più conservatrice delle Scuole di architettura, quella della University of South California, a Venice egli aveva svoltato a sinistra su

of discontinuous pieces. In 1979 Gehry summarized the observations in his own house, a two-story Dutch Colonial objet trouvé *which he remodelled with materials culled from the LA streetscape – chain link fence, corrugated metal, asphalt, wire glass. Gehry bucked the profession by proposing that architectural beauty resides somewhere between the mind and eye, and not in the grains and veins of noble and luxurious materials (fig.1, fig.2, fig.3). He also designed skylights so that sunlight slanted onto walls that registered moving light-and-shadow paintings. If Modernists washed walls in the new light that was their discovery, Gehry – inspired by the area's light artists – painted with gyroscopic light. The architects of Wilshire Boulevard dismissed it as artsy and unprofessional.*
If, as F. Scott Fitzgerald said, Los Angeles is incomprehensible, to be understood "only dimly and in flashes," *Gehry's house suggested a collage of flashes that folded California light into the composition. For* his *entry in the Beverly Hills City Hall competition that Moore won, Gehry designed a motley assortment of buildings, highly differentiated in color, texture and shape rather than unified in its imagery. In both the house and the city hall proposal, Gehry acknowledged – with Yeats – that the center does not hold, that no concept could or should centralize and bind the fragmentary condition of the city. For Gehry, there were only fragments to understand, which became basic building blocks.*
Ray Kappe, who had fought on the side of the angels when he left California State Polytechnic University, Pomona to found the brave, new Southern California Institute of Architecture in Santa Monica, was caught unprepared for Gehry and the unstructured ethos he represented. Charles Moore imported architectural Post-Modernism to a city with little "real" history to historicize, but Post-Modernism did not root: Southern Californians were always more interested in the future than the past. What did challenge Kappe's pure, fourth-generation, idealizing Modernism was Gehry's art-driven avant-garde vision, which evolved out of Venice's alleys and the Los Angeles heterotopia: a vision that traded the notion of a utopian future for an acceptance of the present as it actually is, including all the knots and imperfections that make things specific, local and of their time. The building neither represented another time and place nor strived for the perfection of an ideal; it was the L.A. just outside the door. Meanwhile, Los Angeles in film was emerging as a place in its own right: Shampoo, Chinatown, *and* The Graduate *all acknowledged the "there" that was always thought absent in "there-less" L.A. Directors went out of the studio into the streets and filmed character.*
Gehry underscored the immediacy of what he was building by heightening, as the artists did, the materiality of the object, leaving plywood, studs, corrugated metal unpainted. Gehry might have been schooled at the most conservative of architecture schools, the University of Southern California, but he turned left at Venice into uncharted, non-architectural territory. He was not looking to architecture as a generator of form, but to art: he looked beyond his discipline to another. The turn dislocated his practice, and it would subsequently trouble the profession across the U.S. The new avant-garde rocked the position of the older bien-pensant *avant-garde, and Kappe, dean of the school he started, found himself presiding over a seismic faculty that included Michael Rotondi and Thom Mayne, the two principals of Morphosis, who were preparing to push architecture beyond the boundaries of canonical Modernism. Gehry was not a self-appointed leader or even mentor, and what younger Angeleno architects looked for in him was what he took from the artists: the notion of following their instincts outside a structured and closed discipline. Gehry was not breaking from history as Modernists did, but breaking from architecture as a codified profession and mind-set. Gehry acknowledges simply,* "I may have been what broke the line of the enemy".
At SCI-Arc a confrontation inevitably ensued. Kappe, architect of "correctly Modernist" buildings – clean, abstract, beautifully scaled, warm, humanistic, pedigreed – withdrew from an active involvement with the school and focused on his practice, leaving Rotondi to officiate over a school that, without a university structure, allowed teachers to follow their own head. The changing of the guards marked a more general breach in Southern California practice between the Modernist dynasty started by Schindler and Neutra, and the avant-gardists who designed to a different drummer. SCI-Arc since has emerged as the guardian angel, mother figure and incubation chamber for scores of artistically inclined architects and hundreds of architecture students (roles especially important in a recession capable of decimating the profession and eliminating the entry level generation.) More than UCLA, with several old-guard Modernists and Charles Moore still nominally on the faculty, SCI-Arc represented an open

un territorio inesplorato, non direttamente architettonico. Egli non guardava all'architettura come generatrice di forma, ma all'arte: egli guardava al di là dell'architettura verso un'altra disciplina, e in questo modo aveva reinventato il suo lavoro, ma conseguentemente avrebbe anche sconvolto tutto l'ambito professionale da un capo all'altro degli Stati Uniti.

La nuova avanguardia aveva minato la posizione della vecchia avanguardia benpensante al punto che Kappe, rettore dell'Istituto che aveva fondato, si era ritrovato a presiedere una Facoltà rivoluzionaria in cui figuravano Michael Rotondi e Thom Mayne, i due titolari di Morphosis, che si apprestavano a spingere l'architettura oltre i confini del Modernismo canonico. Poiché Gehry non si era autonominato condottiero e tantomeno guida, ciò che i giovani architetti di Los Angeles cercavano in lui era il concetto che egli stesso aveva appreso dagli artisti: seguire il proprio istinto al di fuori di ogni disciplina definita e convenzionale. Senza tagliare i ponti con la storia, come avevano fatto i modernisti, bensì ripudiando l'architettura come una professione rigida e codificata, egli dichiarava candidamente: "*Forse sono stato ciò che ha sfondato le linee del nemico*".

Inevitabile fu la contestazione allo SCI-Arc (Southern California Institute of Architecture) dove Kappe, autore di edifici "correttamente modernisti" – puliti, astratti, armoniosamente proporzionati, caldi, umanistici e nobili – ritirò il proprio impegno attivo dall'Istituto per dedicarsi alla libera professione, lasciando a Rotondi le cure di una Facoltà che, essendo priva di una struttura accademica, consentiva ai docenti di seguire nell'insegnamento un percorso fortemente personale. Il cambio della guardia segnò una frattura più generale nell'esercizio della professione in California meridionale fra la dinastia dei modernisti iniziata con Schindler e Neutra e l'avanguardia che progettava secondo altri principi. Lo SCI-Arc si affermò così come angelo custode, madre e incubatrice di dozzine di architetti con spiccata vocazione artistica e di centinaia di studenti (ruolo fondamentale in un periodo di recessione capace di decimare i professionisti e cancellare la generazione di coloro che aspiravano a diventarlo). Più della UCLA, dove, almeno formalmente, resistevano ancora parecchi modernisti della vecchia guardia oltre a Charles Moore, lo SCI-Arc ha rappresentato un orizzonte aperto in una società californiana aperta, un Istituto che proteggeva e ufficializzava i dissidenti. Quando, sul finire degli anni Ottanta, il Postmodernismo architettonico tese a sgretolarsi, Los Angeles, a differenza di New York, aveva una possibile alternativa a disposizione, già avviata e in pieno slancio, con abbondanza di talenti in posizione di attesa.

Il laboratorio comune di tutto ciò era stata, dalla fine degli anni Settanta e per tutti gli anni Ottanta, Venice, la SoHo di Los Angeles, l'ambiente sperimentale che Silverlake era stato negli anni Venti e Trenta, dove gli artisti a cui Gehry si era ispirato erano diventati, a loro volta, clienti suoi e di altri architetti. Così come i modernisti descritti dalla McCoy avevano costruito per una società che viveva l'architettura come parte di un sistema condiviso, abitare a Venice in una casa progettata da un architetto dimostrava l'appartenenza a un mondo fatto di ristoranti con annessa galleria d'arte, di rivendite di alimenti naturali, di cinema d'*essai* e di una vivace mondanità intelligente che faceva proseliti in tutta Los Angeles.

Scoperta dagli artisti, Venice fu nobilitata da professionisti laureati nei *college*, con tendenze artistiche e gusti raffinati, che ne ampliarono la clientela. "*Costruire immobili è una forma d'arte*", dichiarò una volta Roger Webster, un giovane, brillante e benestante costruttore, all'allibito agente immobiliare che gli stava davanti. Appena dietro Main Street, i Caplin – lui compositore, lei scultrice – incaricarono Fred Fisher, un discepolo di Frank Gehry, di progettare una casa il cui aspetto brutalmente tecnologico e il cui equilibrio asimmetrico catturavano lo spirito del tempo. A due isolati di distanza, il regista Tony Bill affidò a Michael Lipson il progetto della sua abitazione, mentre, nei pressi, il gallerista Larry Gagosian chiese a Robert Mangurian e a Craig Hodgetts di Studioworks di ideargli casa e galleria. Nelle vicinanze di Lincoln Boulevard, Ann Bergen, una classicista poi diventata teorica dell'architettura, commissionò a Morphosis il progetto di uno dei numerosi e importanti ampliamenti realizzati da tale gruppo a Venice.

Morphosis è stato anche il progettista di "72, Market Street" per Tony Bill e Dudley Moore, un ristorante dove l'arte era l'architettura e quest'ultima era un cartellone pubblicitario che annunciava giorno e notte agli eventuali avventori che un nuovo movimento progettuale era all'opera nella zona. Grazie a questi progetti sorprendenti gli architetti emersero come categoria culturale degna di attenzione e Venice si impose come una sorta di museo dell'architettura contemporanea. Stabilitosi a Venice –

mind in an open California society. The school protected and institutionalized the margin. When architectural Post-Modernism virtually collapsed in the late 1980s, Los Angeles – unlike New York – had a viable alternative in place, already running and gathering momentum, with a depth of talent on the bench.

The laboratory for all this was Venice, from the late 1970s through the 1980s. The artists who were Gehry's inspiration also became his clients and those of other architects. Venice was the experimental terrain that Silverlake had been in the 1920s and 30s; it was the SoHo of Los Angeles. Just as McCoy's Modernists built for a society which lived architecture as part of a belief system, living in Venice in an architect-designed house proved part of an ecology that included restaurants cum *art galleries, health food stores, movie screenings, and a lively café society that drew from all of Los Angeles.*

Discovered by artists, Venice was gentrified by college-educated, art-driven, style-prone professionals, who broadened the client base. "I'm into real estate as an art form", *said Roger Webster, a wealthy and creative young developer, while talking to a surprised realtor. Just off Main Street, the Caplins – he, a composer; she, a sculptor – hired Fred Fisher, an acolyte of Frank Gehry, to design a house, whose rough-tech look and off-center balance captured the ethos of the times. Two blocks away director Tony Bill engaged Michael Lipson to design his house. Nearby, gallerist Larry Gagosian asked Robert Mangurian and Craig Hodgetts of Studioworks to design a house and gallery. Near Lincoln Boulevard, Ann Bergren, a classicist and later an architectural theorist, hired Morphosis to design one of several influential additions the team did in Venice.*

Morphosis also designed "72 Market Street" for Tony Bill and Dudley Moore, a restaurant where the art was the architecture, and the architecture was a daily and nightly public advertisement to potential patrons that a new design movement was afoot in the area. With these high-visibility projects, architects emerged as widely known cultural figures and Venice, as a kind of contemporary architectural museum. Gehry was located in Venice, as were Studioworks, Fred Fisher, Brian Murphy, and others. Back in conservative Dowtown Los Angeles, Gehry's design for the Temporary Museum of Contemporary Art, and Arata Isozaki's for the permanent museum, helped spread the reputation of small architectural studios. Restaurants might be the petri dish where the public encountered the new architectural sensibility, but MoCA and the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art became the official interpreters which conferred a legitimacy on the work. Several years ago Gehry was awarded the commission for the Walt Disney Concert Hall on Bunker Hill, on the Downtown arts acropolis, a commission that confirms his position in the city, and helps legitimate the entire avant-garde.

With clients, a school, a vision , a milieu and new single-family houses and restaurants as the locus of experiment, architects found themselves in the midst of a growing architecture culture – one that perhaps started in the local art culture but was taking on a life of its own.

Beyond the micro-environment, there was the macro-environment. As McCoy might say, the Rockies scrambled the European message, releasing Angelenos from old-world imperatives. Architects found themselves in a different zone of influence. Gehry relates the reigning ethos in Los Angeles to the Asian sense of order, to Ryoan-ji rather than the Parthenon – to the episodic and accidental, which allows for intuition, rather than the axialities of western thought that structure logic. "You ask, did they just throw the rocks there at Ryoan-ji, and spread the sand around it?"

Gehry believes he could not have become Gehry in his native city, Toronto, or in Eurocentric San Francisco, which was settled directly by boat, and not by people traversing the continent. He relates this openness to American democracy. "Even though our American cities look awful, they are a manifestation of our political system, which is not authoritarian". *Awful-looking Los Angeles, with its* laissez-faire *urbanism, exemplified an open political system and an accidentalism that encouraged and allowed Gehry to make unexpected connections. The freedoms bred an open-endedness without rules, without a sense of right or wrong.*

If the emerging avant-gardist architecture was in a way Modern, it was because the art that inspired it was Modern. Gehry, Morphosis, Studioworks and their colleagues were not designing silver "bullets" like the Eameses – mass-produced wonders intended for wide audiences. Artistic copyright was the issue, not patents, in a kind of design Modernism where individuality and uniqueness implied signature and a high level of artistic intention. The industrial paradigm was no longer the template for architecture production.

7. Frank 0. Gehry, Prototipo di studio per una poltrona Knoll, 1992. Foto J. White.
8. Eric Owen Moss, Uffici Gary Group, Culver City, Los Angeles, 1988-90. Foto T. Bonner.
9. Morphosis (Tom Mayne, Michael Rotondi), Ristorante Kate Mantilini, Beverly Hills, Los Angeles,1989. Foto T. Bonner.
10. Eric Owen Moss, Lawson-Westen House, Brentwood, Los Angeles, 1993.
11. Michael Rotondi, Ristorante Nicola, Los Angeles, 1993.

come Studioworks, Fred Fisher, Brian Murphy e altri – Gehry progettò per il centro della reazionaria Los Angeles il Temporary Museum of Contemporary Art che, con la sede permanente del Museo di Arata Isozaki, contribuì a diffondere la fama dei piccoli studi di architetti. Se i ristoranti erano il terreno di coltura dove il pubblico veniva educato alla nuova sensibilità architettonica, il MoCA e il Los Angeles County Museum of Art divennero i simboli ufficiali che ne legittimavano l'opera. Parecchi anni fa, Gehry si aggiudicò il concorso per la Walt Disney Concert Hall a Bunker Hill, nella roccaforte artistica del centro, un incarico che confermò la sua posizione nella città e contribuì a consacrare tutta l'avanguardia.
Con i committenti, una Scuola, una concezione artistica, un ambiente culturale, nuove abitazioni monofamigliari e ristoranti come centri sperimentali, gli architetti si ritrovarono circondati da una cultura architettonica in pieno sviluppo che, sebbene fosse scaturita dalla locale corrente artistica, ormai viveva di vita propria.
Al di là di questo microcosmo esisteva il macrocosmo: come si potrebbe dire parafrasando la McCoy, le Montagne Rocciose avevano distorto il messaggio europeo, liberando gli Angeleni dalla dittatura del Vecchio Continente, ponendo così gli architetti in una diversa sfera d'influenza. Gehry mette in relazione la filosofia dominante di Los Angeles con il senso dell'ordine asiatico, con il Ryoan-ji piuttosto che con il Partenone, con il frammentario e l'accidentale che lascia spazio più all'intuizione che agli assiomi del pensiero occidentale sui quali è strutturata la logica. "*C'è da chiedersi: al Ryoan-ji hanno semplicemente gettato lì delle pietre e poi le hanno circondate di sabbia?*"
Gehry è convinto che non sarebbe diventato Gehry nella sua città natale, Toronto, e nemmeno nell'eurocentrica San Francisco, fondata da genti arrivate direttamente dal mare e non da gente che aveva attraversato il continente. Egli connette questa apertura mentale alla democrazia americana: *"Anche se le nostre città hanno un aspetto orribile, sono un'espressione del nostro regime politico, che non è autoritario"*. Los Angeles stessa, con la sua bruttezza e la sua urbanistica del *laissez-faire*, esemplificava un sistema politico tollerante e un'accidentalità che consentivano a Gehry di operare collegamenti inaspettati, di godere di una libertà illimitata, priva di regole e sgombra da ogni pregiudizio.
Se l'emergente architettura dell'avanguardia era, in un

The intensity that patrons savored at "72 Market Street" – steel rods tied the structure seismically to a bronze shaft topped by a sculpture by Robert Graham – was not possible within an industrial paradigm geared to standardization and the tastes of a wide market. Serial production in architecture that simplified forms for the sake of fabrication cooled buildings. Befitting Los Angeles, designs like Gehry's Spiller House (fig.4, fig.5) and Morphosis' "72 Market Street" were really intellectual properties, predicated on artistic originality rather than efficiency or the preciousness of materials. How things are put together – even cheap things – determined the value. "Property in Los Angeles is intellectual property", *says Hodgetts, one of Los Angeles' most talented architects, a denizen of Venice who also worked in the film industry. Architects were leaving behind Modernist notions of a common universal language. The drive for originality (and a fear of image theft) became cornerstones of careers. The ultimate criticism was to be "derivative," to use forms already "occupied" by others. In 1982 Fisher said he wouldn't touch Zolotone paint (which he had used before), and he wouldn't specify glass block –* "too loaded", *he said.* "I'm still willing to use concrete block, in my own signature way." *Still, Mangurian argued with Fisher when he saw a house in which Fisher used a spiral galvanized pipe to form a Baldacchino column. Mangurian, who had used the column before, felt it was his, and he stalked out of the house, indignant.*
LA's off-beat colors and cheap building materials are often attributed simply to the inventiveness of an energetic city with a shallow culture and neglible architectural history. But beyond the freedoms in which architects worked, there was, from an artistic point of view, the necessity – perhaps even the tyranny – of invention.
That buildings were effectively being signed as artworks meant that function and square footage were no longer the building's sole and dominant determinants. That the object was effectively being transformed from a utiliarian building into an object of desire meant of course that architecture entered the realm of consumerism, and that design had always to reinvent itself anew. Architects had stepped onto a treadmill. But in Southern California, where real estate is itself a major industry, one-off design resisted the notion that architecture is the handservant of real estate, the greatest local consumerism – it resisted the bottom-line requisites of resaleability and profit maximization. The



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7. Frank O. Gehry, study prototype for a Knoll armchair, 1992. Photo J. White.
8. Eric Owen Moss, Gary Group Building, Culver City, Los Angeles, 1988-90. Photo T. Bonner.
9. Morphosis (Tom Mayne, Michael Rotondi), Kate Mantilini Restaurant, Beverly Hills, Los Angeles, 1989. Photo T. Bonner.
10. Eric Owen Moss, Lawson-Westen House, Brentwood, Los Angeles, 1993.
11. Michael Rotondi, Nicola Restaurant, Los Angeles, 1993.



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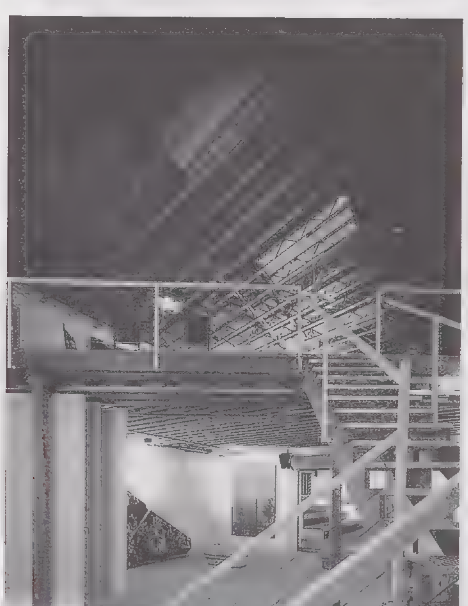


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12. Franklin D. Israel, Hollywood Hills House, Los Angeles, 1992.
13. Brian Murphy, Hopper House, Venice, Los Angeles, 1987.
14. Franklin D. Israel, Uffici della casa cinematografica Limelight Productions, Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1991.

12. Franklin D. Israel, Hollywood Hills House, Los Angeles, 1992.
13. Brian Murphy, Hopper House, Venice, Los Angeles, 1987.
14. Franklin D. Israel, Limelight Productions Building, Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1991.


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certo senso, moderna, lo si doveva al fatto che l'arte che ispirava era, a sua volta, moderna. Gehry, Morphosis, Studioworks e i loro colleghi, a differenza degli Eames, non progettavano "proiettili" d'argento, prodigi realizzati in serie e progettati per un vasto pubblico. La questione centrale erano i diritti d'autore artistici, non i brevetti, in una sorta di modernismo del progetto la cui individualità e originalità erano garantiti dalla firma del singolo progettista e da una tensione artistica di alto livello, dove il paradigma industriale non era più il fondamento della produzione architettonica.
La palpabile tensione artistica che i clienti di "72, Market Street" potevano assaporare – fatta di tiranti in acciaio che vincolavano la struttura antisismica ad un fusto in bronzo sormontato da una scultura di Robert Graham – non sarebbe stata possibile nella cornice di un'industrializzazione finalizzata alla standardizzazione e ritagliata sui gusti di un vasto mercato: in architettura la produzione in serie, che semplificava le forme per le esigenze produttive, impoveriva gli edifici. Conformi a Los Angeles, progetti come quello di Gehry per Casa Spiller (figg. 4, 5) o quello di Morphosis per "72, Market Street" erano in realtà opere intellettuali, frutto di un'originalità artistica piuttosto che della razionalità funzionale o della ricercatezza dei materiali, dove il valore dell'opera era determinato dal modo in cui i vari elementi, anche i più umili, venivano accostati. Secondo le parole di Hodgetts, uno dei migliori architetti di Los Angeles, un oriundo di Venice che ha lavorato anche nell'industria cinematografica, *"la proprietà a Los Angeles, è proprietà intellettuale"*.
Accantonato il concetto modernista di un linguaggio comune universale, gli architetti impostavano la loro carriera sul culto dell'originalità, e anche sulla paura del furto d'immagine: la peggiore stroncatura era quella di essere accusati di "imitazione", di utilizzare forme di cui altri si erano già impossessati. Nel 1982, Fisher disse che non avrebbe impiegato la vernice Zolotone, che pure aveva usato altre volte, e che non avrebbe fatto ricorso al vetrocemento in quanto "*troppo caratterizzati*", come affermò. "*Sono ancora intenzionato ad utilizzare il calcestruzzo nella mia tipica maniera*". Ciò nonostante, Mangurian polemizzò con Fisher quando vide la casa in cui quest'ultimo si era servito di una conduttura zincata avvolta a spirale come colonna di un baldacchino perché, essendosene già servito lui stesso, la riteneva di sua esclusiva proprietà, e se ne uscì dalla casa indignato.

new design coming out of Venice was difficult to build, always more expensive than conventional builder construction, and financially risky. The buildings might be "over" designed, even "difficult," but they were the antithesis of slick Teflon design integral to consumer culture. The buildings might be fetishized objects of desire – the newest luxury item in a city of conspicuous consumption – but they were unknown quantities from a real estate point of view, outside the commercial loop.
Architecture of the exception that, in Los Angeles, traditionally resided in difficult, marginal hillside sites was migrating into the basin, where architecture appeared in a more public domain, especially because of the restaurants. After "72 Market Street", Morphosis went on to do "Kate Mantilini" on Wilshire in Beverly Hills (fig.9). Gehry did "Rebecca's" in ever-hot Venice. A protegee of Morphosis, Michele Saee, designed "Angeli I, II and III", each more sophisticated than the last. The challenge did not come from the topographic demands of hillsides, but from the forces of an architecture culture now focused on individual creativity, internal questions of architecture practiced as an art, and the issues of theory that were beginning to mark emerging post-formalist work.
The shift did not represent an equivalent to the ur-practice of Modernism, in which architects tried to design universal solutions for wide social problems through industrial means. The scope of the endeavor was much more modest. The fundamental insight that put architecture on a different footing was an art insight, which became architecture's strength and weakness. Architects could drink at the trough of LA's urban banality, transforming cheap materials into vision, sense and even wonder.
Centripetal and centrifugal forces worked simultaneously on architects who formed, largely on the Westside, a loose, highly differentiated architectural community bound as much by their disagreement as their agreement.
If discontinuity was understood as the salient characteristic of Los Angeles, and one that energized it, discontinuity also characterized and energized the new climate of thought. Like Los Angeles, this architectural group did not look for unity and a center in the form of a single leader. Gehry hardly wanted to play Frank Lloyd Wright to younger architects who, indeed, were not looking for Taliesin anyway.
The city this group of architects found was neither the tabula rasa *Schindler and Neutra built on nor the "themed"*

I colori non convenzionali e i materiali edili poveri di Los Angeles sono spesso attribuiti semplicemente all'inventiva di una città vitale, ma di cultura superficiale e di storia architettonica trascurabile. In realtà, oltre alla libertà di cui godevano gli architetti, c'era, dal punto di vista artistico, l'esigenza, e forse anche l'obbligo di essere a tutti i costi originali.
Il fatto che gli edifici fossero firmati come si conviene ad un'autentica opera d'arte significava che l'organizzazione funzionale e la dimensione non erano più gli unici ed essenziali fattori determinanti la qualità di una costruzione. Che l'edificio stesse effettivamente perdendo la propria connotazione utilitaria per assumere il carattere di un oggetto di desiderio implicava, ovviamente, che l'architettura entrava nel campo del consumismo, e che la progettazione doveva reinventarsi continuamente da capo. Gli architetti si erano dati la zappa sui piedi. In California meridionale, tuttavia, dove pure l'attività immobiliare è un'industria vera e propria, il progetto individuale resisteva ancora al concetto secondo cui l'architettura sarebbe al servizio degli interessi immobiliari, sfuggiva ancora allo sfrenato consumismo locale, sfidando i requisiti commerciali della vendibilità e della massimizzazione del profitto. I nuovi progetti scaturiti da Venice erano di difficile realizzazione, sempre più costosi rispetto all'edilizia convenzionale e finanziariamente rischiosi; quegli edifici erano a volte troppo "progettati", addirittura "problematici", ma erano l'antitesi del levigato *design* commerciale ormai radicato nella cultura consumistica. Forse erano diventati feticistici oggetti del desiderio, l'ultimo simbolo di lusso in una città fortemente consumista, ma per lo meno erano un'entità non quantificabile dal punto di vista immobiliare, estranei ai circuiti commerciali.
L'architettura dell'eccentrico, che a Los Angeles, per tradizione, era relegata in siti periferici, sui difficili pendii collinari, stava migrando verso la conurbazione dove si esprimeva più nella sfera pubblica che in quella privata, soprattutto grazie ai ristoranti. Dopo "72, Market Street", Morphosis proseguì con "Kate Mantilini" a Wilshire, Beverly Hills (fig. 9); Gehry realizzò "Rebecca" in una Venice sempre in fermento; un pupillo di Morphosis, Michele Saee progettò "Angeli I, II e III", ognuno più raffinato del precedente. Lo stimolo non proveniva più dalle asperità topografiche delle colline, ma dalle energie di una cultura architettonica che ora puntava tutto sulla creatività individuale, sui problemi interni di una disciplina vissuta come arte e sulle questioni teoriche che stavano cominciando a segnare le opere postformalistiche. Tale cambiamento non ripercorse la medesima prassi originaria del Modernismo, i cui architetti cercavano di configurare soluzioni universali a una serie di problemi sociali tramite una metodologia industriale. Si trattava di uno sforzo di portata molto più modesta. L'intuizione fondamentale che poneva l'architettura su un piano diverso era un'intuizione artistica, che diveniva, al contempo, la forza e la debolezza della stessa architettura: gli architetti attingevano al serbatoio della banalità urbana di Los Angeles, per trasformare materiali poveri in visioni, sensazioni e persino miracoli.
Forze centripete e centrifughe agivano simultaneamente sugli architetti i quali costituivano, soprattutto nella zona di Westwood e dei quartieri occidentali di Los Angeles, una comunità variegata, non compatta, che si reggeva più sul disaccordo che sull'accordo. Se la discontinuità era considerata come la caratteristica saliente di Los Angeles, un elemento di forza, la stessa discontinuità caratterizzava e corroborava il nuovo clima di pensiero. Come la città di Los Angeles, questo gruppo di architetti non cercava un centro e un'unità nella figura di una singola guida, Gehry si guardava bene dall'impersonare il ruolo di Frank Lloyd Wright rispetto ad architetti più giovani che, per altro, non erano per nulla interessati a una nuova Taliesin. La città che costoro si trovavano davanti non era né la *tabula rasa* su cui avevano operato Schindler e Neutra, né il territorio "a tema" dei postmoderni: il paesaggio urbano si era trasformato in un agglomerato affollato di edifici della prima e seconda generazione, un tessuto di basse palazzine casuale e disordinato, ma in rapida urbanizzazione.
Il contesto esistente ha avuto per gli architetti di Los Angeles un significato diverso rispetto a quello di città più tradizionali, perché qui lo spazio, che separa gli edifici invece di raggrupparli dando luogo ad un tessuto edificato dispersivo e sfuggente, è l' "ovest" dei pionieri, permeato di un senso di vastità degli orizzonti.
Nonostante l'alto grado di urbanizzazione, fin dalla fondazione Los Angeles è sempre stata concepita come città di giardini, un'idea che resiste persino in aree di densità simile a quella delle città tradizionali, e che viene tramandata, ormai solo simbolicamente, dai cespugli *bonsai* delle fioriere davanti ai condomini di media altezza. Inoltre, le esigenze di parcheggio separano

landscape of the Post-Modernists: the landscape had changed into a cityscape occupied by first and second generation buildings – a happenstantial low-rise, but rapidly urbanizing fabric.

The existing context has meant something different for architects in Los Angeles than in more traditional cities. Because space in Los Angeles separates rather than collects buildings, the built context is diffuse and elusive. Space is Western, penetrated with the sense of open fields. And despite the city's urbanization, Los Angeles' founding principle is the city in the garden, and the notion persists even in areas with densities that rival traditional cities: little bonsai bushes in planters outside mid-rise apartments perpetuate the idea of the garden, however vestigial. Furthermore, parking requirements separate buildings, and the everyday experience of Los Angeles is more about motion than place, which alters how context is perceived. Detached, free-standing houses and commercial buildings, surrounded by gardens and parking lots – and seen at 40 mph – do not frequently address public space and do not need to communicate with the public as much as buildings that, for example, form a street wall in a pedestrian city. With a built context weakened by dispersion, Los Angeles represents a terrain of suggestive possibilities rather than constraints, and architects have come to practice in Los Angeles for the promise of this architectural freedom.

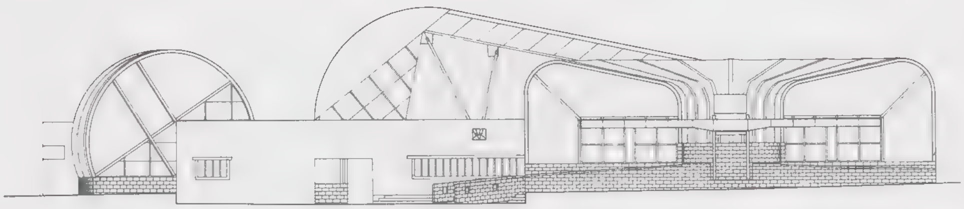
"Architects came here earlier *[than to S.F.]* because of oil, free money, and people not too bothered by what they'd seen in other places", *says McCoy. In a city where the dingbat, tract house, car wash and the pavilion in the garden represent important typologies, there has been room to move, and more than one way to interpret context.*

Los Angeles "trouvée" *was not only Gehry's insight. Eric Moss also "found" Los Angeles, but in a different way. In a series of commissions for the adaptive reuse of loft spaces in light industrial buildings in Culver City, Moss questioned the structure, roofs and walls by inserting incongruent geometries that produce an eccentricity bordering on wildness: this was not a well-behaved whole. What distinguishes his work from others in Southern California is the consequent spatial complexity inside, a result of independent building systems intersecting. Unlike Gehry, who sculpts spaces from the outside, Moss creates his designs with spatial eruptions in plan-generated schemes. His buildings, unlike Gehry's object-oriented pieces, are more about space than form. The soaring three-story volume he created in a house in Brentwood is Piranesian, the result of off-centered, partially intersecting geometries. With associate architect Jay Vannos, Moss has resurrected techniques of descriptive geometry to work out geometries not normal to the page, and therefore not measurable.*

The artistic handling of a building's materials is one of the few notions common to the architects of the Westside. Gehry used raw plywood and raw lumber and standard ceramic tiles, and most recently developed the wood strap from fruit bushels into the furniture collection introduced by Knoll (fig.7). Gehry is the prince who charms trash-can materials into Cinderella transformations. The emphasis on materiality has been a way for architects to resist the paper-thin images of Post-Modernism, and it has endured as a principal concern. And if Modernists took the notion of mass out of volume, these architects were restoring weight that conferred a sense of seriousness.

Morphosis, before Rotondi and Mayne founded their separate offices, established their own way of heightening the material presence of their buildings. They made conspicuous use of heavy steel – in lamps, chairs, mechanical apparatus – and the material fact of the steel often substantiates designs that, like the firm's name, otherwise focused on form. Matter became content if not meaning in an architecture of presentation rather than representation. The steel of the sundial sculpture spinning in the skylight at "Kate Mantilini" (fig.9) gives the piece an irrefutable seriousness that derives from the sheer sense of crafted material presence.

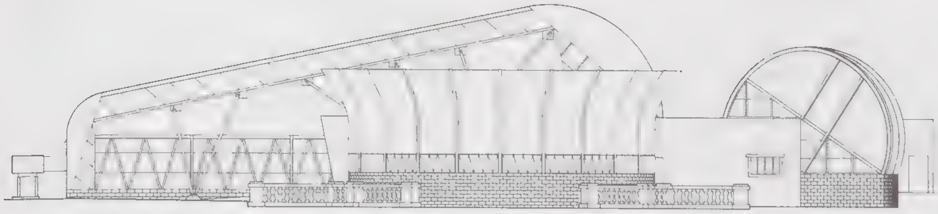
The subtext in the Morphosis text of materiality is detail. The architects hold materials together with fasteners and joints so elaborately detailed and estheticized that construction and structure assume a decorative character. Whereas Gehry leaves the gas meter exposed in the illusionistic Davis house in Malibu, Morphosis took inspiration for the system of weights and counterweights for the operable guillotine window in "72 Market Street" from old illustrations of clock mechanisms. Gehry reveals what is there; Morphosis proliferates parts beyond necessity to generate complexities that are the basis of their esthetic. More recently Michael Rotondi, practicing on his own, completed "Nicola", a restaurant in Downtown Los Angeles that is a dreamscape of curving rib-like walls. The evocative, almost otherworldly interior distinguishes Rotondi's sensibility from Mayne's, which is more material and architectonic (fig.11).



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ulteriormente gli edifici, cosicché l'esperienza quotidiana di Los Angeles avviene durante gli spostamenti più che da fermi, alterando le condizioni di percezione del contesto. Edifici residenziali e immobili commerciali isolati e liberi su quattro fronti circondati da giardini e parcheggi e visti alla velocità di 60 km/h, non producono un'idea di spazio pubblico e non comunicano agli utenti tanto quanto gli edifici che, per fare un esempio, definiscono la cortina stradale di una zona pedonale centrale.
Con un tessuto urbano indebolito dalla dispersione, Los Angeles rappresenta un terreno che offre possibilità suggestive piuttosto che imporre vincoli, attirando gli architetti con la promessa di questa grande libertà progettuale. Ad opinione della McCoy, *"gli architetti vennero prima a Los Angeles* [che a San Francisco] *per via del petrolio, del benessere e della gente non troppo condizionata da ciò che aveva visto altrove"*. In una città dove i *ding-bat* (piccoli blocchi residenziali generalmente a due piani caratteristici delle aree vicine alle *freeway*, N.d.T.), le villette a schiera, gli autolavaggi e i padiglioni da giardino rappresentano tipologie importanti, c'era spazio di manovra e possibilità di interpretare il contesto in tanti modi diversi.
La Los Angeles "*trouvée*" non è soltanto un'intuizione di Gehry; anche Eric Moss, sebbene sotto un altro profilo, ha "trovato" una sua Los Angeles. Incaricato di riadattare i depositi di una serie di fabbricati industriali leggeri a Culver City, Moss ne rivoluzionò struttura, tetti e pareti inserendovi geometrie incongruenti che producevano una eccentricità ai limiti dell'anarchia, ottenendo un effetto globale sconcertante. Ciò che distingue il suo lavoro da quello di altri architetti della California meridionale è una forte complessità spaziale interna, risultato dell'intersezione di metodi costruttivi autonomi tra loro.
A differenza di Gehry, che scolpisce gli spazi dall'esterno, Moss crea i suoi progetti lasciando erompere lo spazio direttamente dagli schemi planimetrici e i suoi edifici, al contrario delle opere-oggetto di Gehry, mirano più allo spazio che alla forma. Il volume di tre piani creato per una casa a Brentwood si libra in alto con impronta piranesiana, prodotta da geometrie asimmetriche che si intersecano parzialmente tra loro. Assieme al suo socio, l'architetto Jay Vannos, Moss ha riesumato le tecniche della geometria descrittiva per elaborare forme non rappresentabili su carta e, di conseguenza, non misurabili.
L'approccio artistico ai materiali costruttivi è uno dei pochi

Brian Murphy, the black sheep of the Westside avant-garde, a designer/artist/contractor, is perhaps the most spirited in his use of materials, fluent in using the unexpected – whether grass skirts, cracked glass, asphalt shingles or corrugated fiber glass. Cumulatively, the materials he uses strike a Duchampian attitude – a wise-cracking, anti-establishment posture that he has cultivated since he first threw the I Ching *to design his own Venice studio. The attitude is malodorous among the more "serious" theory-driven architects at SCI-Arc, but the approach has a surprising integrity, consistent atonality, and offers an unexpected Pop sensibility and humor that is accessible rather than hermetic. Buildings like his house for Dennis Hopper in Venice, with its waved roof made from off-the-shelf trusses (fig.13), are counter-manifestoes.*
Frank Israel and Craig Hodgetts also quote from the palette of the cityscape in materially collaged compositions, but they design with a sensibility influenced by film. In what is an equivalent to Gehry's exposure to the art community of the 1960s, both worked as art directors, making a connection to a discipline with potentially rich implications for architecture. Israel has also designed offices for several film companies in the cavernous interiors of the city's old light-industrial buildings, making the Hollywood point in these commissions that architecture is, at one level, entertainment and an oneiric cue into fantasy (fig.14). Israel's architecture is scenographic, a backdrop that sets off the action on stage. All parts are composed for a moving rather than static eye, as though meant to be filmed rather than photographed. One walks through houses and interiors as though through a perceptual procession of architectural pieces framing views of other pieces framing the landscape. Forms, materials, hues, juxtapositions are part of a colorized reality that intensifies the character of the building and heightens experience. The designs are tonic.
Israel, a former Rome Prize fellow, is one of the most literate of architects practicing in Southern California, and his receptive eye makes him a repository of many other influences besides film. Blending his literacies into highly complex and resonant works, he also imports references from Case Study houses and more distant moments of architectural history, creating an interpretative environment about Los Angeles that shifts in and out of conceptual forcus. Citing such details as corner windows from older Modernist buildings facilitates the opening of the





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*15. 16. 17. Craig Hodgetts e Ming Fung, Towell Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1992: prospetti est e ovest e vista aerea.
Foto L.A. Aereal.
Vista.
Foto C. Hodgetts.*

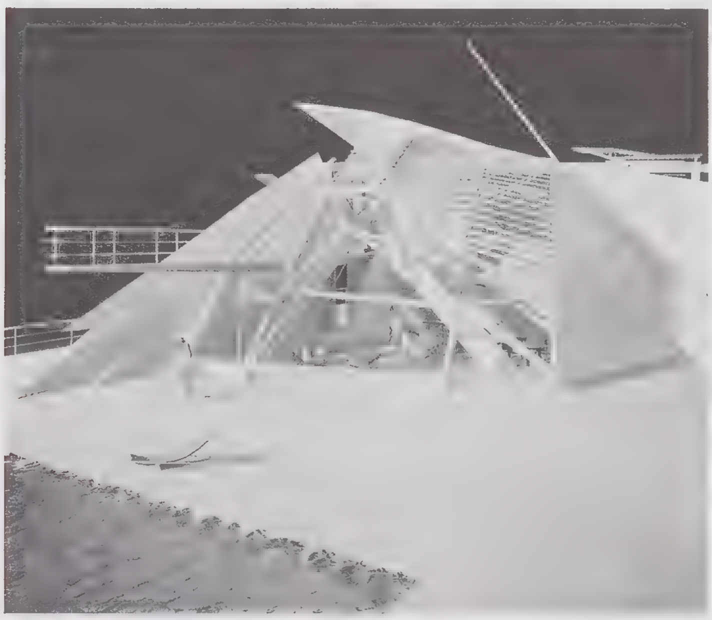
*15. 16. 17. Craig Hodgetts and Ming Fung, Towell Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1992: east and west elevations and aerial view.
Photo L.A. Aereal.
View.
Photo C. Hodgetts.*

18. 19. 22. Barton Phelps, Scuola Elementare Corinne A. Seeds, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1993: viste esterna e interna e modello.
20. Coop Himmelblau, Open House, Malibu, Los Angeles, 1983.
Foto T. Bonner.

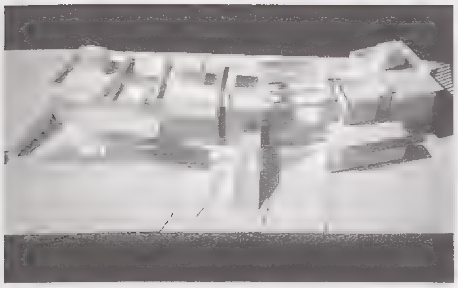
21. Coop Himmelblau, Allestimento della mostra Expressionist Utopias, *Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1993.*
Foto T. Bonner.


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18. 19. 22. Barton Phelps, Corinne A. Seeds University Elementary School, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1993: exterior and interior views and model.
20. Coop Himmelblau, Open House, Malibu, Los Angeles, 1983. Photo T. Bonner.

21. Coop Himmelblau, design for Expressionist Utopias *exhibition, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1993. Photo T. Bonner.*

concetti che accomunano gli architetti del Westside. Come la fata di Cenerentola che trasformava materiali di scarto in oggetti scintillanti, Gehry usava compensato, legname grezzo, normali piastrelle in ceramica; più recentemente, ha introdotto la maniglia di legno dei contenitori per la frutta nella collezione di mobili presentata da Knoll (fig. 7). L'enfatizzazione della matericità è stata un mezzo per opporsi alle immagini patinate del Postmodernismo, e ancora oggi permane come uno dei principali caratteri di questa architettura. Se i modernisti hanno ricavato il concetto di massa derivandolo dal volume, questi architetti hanno ripristinato la componente del peso, che conferisce alle loro opere un senso di serietà.
Morphosis, prima che Rotondi e Mayne aprissero studi separati, ha specificatamente elaborato una linea espressiva dove la presenza dei materiali risultasse esaltata. Essi hanno fatto uso cospicuo dell'acciaio pesante – in lampade, sedie, apparecchiature meccaniche – e l'uso stesso di questo materiale sostanziava spesso il progetto che altrimenti, così come indica il nome dello studio, sarebbe stato concentrato sulla definizione formale. La materia diventava contenuto, se non addirittura il significato stesso di un'architettura di presenza piuttosto che di rappresentazione. Basta pensare all'acciaio della scultorea meridiana che ruota nel lucernario del "Kate Mantilini" (fig. 9), il quale conferisce all'opera un'inconfutabile gravità derivata dalla chiara sensazione della materia lavorata artisticamente.
Il significato recondito del messaggio materico di Morphosis risiede nel dettaglio, nella raffinata minuzia dei giunti e dei raccordi con cui gli architetti uniscono i materiali in una ricerca estetica così esasperata da conferire all'edificio e alla sua struttura un carattere decorativo. Laddove Gehry lascia scoperto il contatore del gas nell'illusionistica Casa David di Malibu, Morphosis trae ispirazione, nel sistema di pesi e contrappesi della finestra a ghigliottina azionabile di "72 Market Street", da vecchie illustrazioni di meccanismi per orologi. Gehry rivela ciò che esiste, Morphosis moltiplica le componenti oltre misura per generare una complessità che è il fondamento della sua estetica. Più di recente, Michael Rotondi, messosi in proprio, ha ultimato "Nicola", un ristorante del centro di Los Angeles che è un trionfo di pareti ricurve a costoloni e il cui suggestivo interno, quasi trascendentale, distingue la sua sensibilità da quella più materica e architettonica di Mayne (fig. 11).

building to the landscape, but his references are not simplistic: his ground plane, barely interrupted by panels of sliding glass, establishes the continuities between indoors and outdoors that long interested the Modernists. In one Hollywood Hills house he features an open-air fireplace, a reference to Schindler's own house nearby and to traditions of the Western campfire.
If, through the influence of films, Israel's buildings unfold in time in an architectural narrative of changing form, Hodgett's buildings have the impact of plot and character. With their temporary library on the UCLA campus, a yellow-and-white tent structure, Hodgetts and his partner Ming Fung created a structure that is more filmic than scenographic, more a recently landed extra-architectural presence than a plausibly elaborated backdrop (fig.15, fig.16, fig.17). First suggested to Hodgetts by the campus architect Charles Oakley after seeing the tent pitched for Cirque du Soleil in Santa Monica, the library is a surpringly fresh Tinker Toy assembly of wood and metal parts mechanically connected and sheathed in a colorful carnival material. Like the circus tents that inspired it, and like the best of Los Angeles buildings, which must act urbanistically by charisma rather than as shapers of space, the building exercises a radiant power of attraction over the campus. Buildings have temperaments, like people, and the temperament of this structure is joyful, with rolling barrel-vaulted roofs and structural members inside spraying up like fountains to form toadstool roofs. The building is one of the most unexpected buildings in Los Angeles of the past decade, by one of the most talented, thoughtful and provocative firms in the area. The structure transcends the mechanical paradigm by establishing a spirit far greater than the sum of its standardized, off-the-shelf parts. Hodgetts and Fung demonstrate their versatility, and the fact they are not style-bound, with their design at the front of the campus for a serene gateway of brick walls that slide horizontally across lawns and gardens
Under Oakley's direction, UCLA has become an active and intelligent, if conservative, patron supporting the architecture culture in the city. UCLA commissioned LA-based architects Barton Myers, Antoine Predock, and Anshen & Allen, and out-of-town architects like Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, and Aldo Giurgola. Although the bureaucratic and institutional attitudes of UCLA resist the Westside avant-garde, Hodgetts and

Brian Murphy, progettista-artista-costruttore, la pecora nera dell'avanguardia del Westside, è forse il più audace e disinibito per il suo impiego dei materiali più impensati, dai gonnellini di paglia al vetro a spacco, dai coppi in asfalto alla fibra di vetro ondulata che, cumulativamente, rappresentano un atteggiamento alla Duchamp, una presa di posizione sarcastica, dissacratoria, che egli coltiva fin da quando si affidò all'*I King* per progettare il suo studio di Venice. Pur essendo un atteggiamento malvisto dagli architetti più "seri" e più ligi alle teorie dello SCI-Arc, è comunque un approccio di sorprendente coerenza, di intensa atonalità, i cui inaspettati risvolti *pop* e ironici sono accessibili più che ermetici. Edifici come l'abitazione progettata per Dennis Hopper a Venice col suo tetto ondulato a capriate prefabbricate (fig. 13) sono dei contromanifesti.
Anche Frank Israel e Craig Hodgetts traggono dalla tavolozza del paesaggio urbano materiali per *collage* e composizioni, ma la loro progettazione attinge soprattutto al patrimonio cinematografico. Entrambi, infatti, hanno lavorato come registi entrando in contatto con una disciplina ricca di potenziali implicazioni per l'architettura, nello stesso modo in cui Gehry, negli anni Sessanta, si era alimentato alla fonte della comunità artistica. Israel, inoltre, ha progettato gli uffici di parecchie case cinematografiche nei cavernosi interni dei vecchi fabbricati dell'industria leggera della città, assumendo in tali incarichi un atteggiamento hollywoodiano secondo cui l'architettura sarebbe, in un certo senso, intrattenimento, incursione onirica nell'illusione (fig. 14).
L'architettura di Israel è scenografica, il fondale che determina l'azione rappresentata sul palcoscenico, in cui tutte le parti configurano una composizione da percepire con l'occhio in movimento piuttosto che staticamente, come se dovesse essere filmata più che fotografata. Attraversando le sue case e i suoi interni si ha la sensazione di veder sfilare una processione sensoriale di elementi architettonici che inquadrano la vista di altri elementi architettonici i quali, a loro volta, inquadrano il paesaggio. Forme, materiali, sfumature, accostamenti fanno parte di una realtà colorata, che rafforza il carattere dell'edificio e ne intensifica la conoscenza facendone un'esperienza tonificante.
Israel, ex borsista del Rome Prize, è uno dei più colti fra gli architetti che esercitano nella California meridionale e ciò ne fa il depositario di molte altre influenze oltre a quella cinematografica. Dosando il suo sapere in opere complesse e dense di richiami, egli coglie spunti anche dall'esperienza delle *Case Study Houses* e da episodi più distanti della storia dell'architettura, creando un universo interpretativo di Los Angeles di non sempre facile comprensione. Citando dettagli quali le finestre d'angolo dei primi edifici modernisti, egli ricerca l'aprirsi della composizione verso il paesaggio, eppure i suoi riferimenti non sono semplicistici: i suoi piani terreni suddivisi da esili pannelli scorrevoli in vetro stabiliscono, ad esempio, quella continuità fra interno ed esterno tanto apprezzata dai modernisti; mentre il caminetto all'aperto che caratterizza una delle sue case sulle colline di Hollywood si richiama alla vicina abitazione dello stesso Schindler, ma anche alla tradizione dei falò dei pionieri.
Se, per via dell'influenza cinematografica, gli edifici di Israel si snodano nel tempo in una narrazione architettonica di forme in continuo mutamento, quelli di Hodgetts hanno l'impatto delle trame ricche di personaggi. Con la Biblioteca provvisoria della UCLA, una tensostruttura bianca e gialla, Hodgetts e il suo socio, Ming Fung, hanno creato un oggetto più filmico che scenografico, una presenza extrarchitettonica atterrata lì or ora più che un fondale plausibilmente elaborato (figg. 15, 16, 17). Inizialmente proposta a Hodgetts dall'architetto del *campus*, Charles Oakley, che aveva visto la tenda del Cirque du Soleil allestita a Santa Monica, la Biblioteca ha la vivacità di un giocattolo di latta le cui componenti, in legno e metallo, sono collegate meccanicamente e rivestite da una pittoresca stoffa carnevalesca. Come il tendone da circo che ne era stato l'ispirazione e come le migliori architetture di Los Angeles, che devono svolgere un ruolo urbano più per forza carismatica che per la virtù di plasmare lo spazio, la Biblioteca esercita su tutto il *campus* una straordinaria forza di attrazione.
Come le persone, anche gli edifici hanno un loro carattere e questa struttura con la sua avvolgente volta a botte e gli elementi strutturali interni zampillanti come fontane a formare una copertura a fungo, ha un carattere allegro. Parto di uno degli studi architettonici più inventivi, intellettuali e provocatori della regione, l'opera, che trascende il puro paradigma meccanico evocando uno spirito che supera la semplice sommatoria dei suoi elementi standardizzati e modulari, è una delle più sorprendenti che si siano viste nell'ultimo decennio a Los Angeles. D'altro canto Hodgetts e Fung dimostrano la

Fung have done their largest work on campus, and others have worked on substantial commissions in its margins. Barton Phelps, the rare architect who studied and taught with Charles Moore and worked with Frank Gehry, designed an episodic addition to the University Elementary School on the UCLA campus that respects the originals by Neutra and Alexander (fig.18, fig.19, fig.22): Phelps' addition, down a gentle hillside slope, relaxes Neutra's machined style, and hybridizes Los Angeles' complex "hillside" Modernism and "industrial" Modernism. On the other end of the campus, Wes Jones, working with the San Francisco firm Holt Hinshaw Pfau Jones, has designed a mechanically magnificent, almost Futuristic power plant that takes the stacks and turbines into a Futuristic utopia worthy of Sant' Elia. Jones and the SCI-Arc professor Neil Denari have revived the mechanical paradigm with a vengeance, even as the cog is giving way to the chip. Jones's oil-refinery building is remarkably spatial and orchestral.

Most architects practising in Los Angeles were in fact born elsewhere, but traditionally they were educated in Los Angeles, maturing in a climate that encouraged their experimental growth. Los Angeles' architectural "biodiversity" breeds hybrid vigor, which has in turn generated one of the architecture world's great design exports. The viability of its architectural milieu *was made obvious during the building boom in Japan when nearly a score of Los Angeles' best and brightest were invited to design there.*

Recently, Los Angeles has become a destination city for architects already formed. The most surprising "formed" talents to invite themselves into the scene certainly is Coop Himmelblau, the Austrian Deconstructivists who were immediately embraced by Rotondi, Mayne, Moss, and others into a confraternity that might instead have considered Coop Himmelblau a threatening interloper. Instead the architects wage bonding FAX wars between each other. Wolf Prix teaches at SCI-Arc.

Coop Himmelblau is perhaps the most serious challenge to Frank Gehry's pre-eminence in Los Angeles, despite the surprising similarities in their basic design impulse. Prix takes his students at SCI-Arc into the parking lot to literally ignite their designs with small fires, to start off their projects with open, undesigned, uncontrolled and uncontrolling forms. Much as Gehry does in his intuitive, gestural sketches, Prix and his partner Helmut Swiczinsky design with unpremediated drawings, tapping into the subconscious, channeling from intuition, allowing undirected behavior to generate design. In the firm's ability to expand the rational with the irrational, Coop Himmelblau relates strongly to Gehry, reinforcing his particular position – as well as the stature of the avant-garde in Los Angeles.

Coop Himmelblau came to Los Angeles to build the famous Open House in the hills of Malibu (fig.20), a house conceived according to their ideas about Open Architecture. It was not coincidental that the client who recognized its freedoms and openness was a psychiatrist. Unfortuantely, he died, and the project will not be realized, but the models and drawings of the stream-of-consciousness house have been so marking on the profession's retina that the house seems almost built. Coop Himmelblau brilliantly announced its presence as a studio to the public in the design of two installations this winter at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art , one of them on German Expressionism (fig.21). The accidental landscape of tilted, broken and curved walls, some of it built in transparent materials that recall the Expressionists' fascination with crystals and light, establishes what Prix might call "spirit lines" between his work and Expressionism. Coop Himmelblau broke open the usual white box of museums with a controlled chaos for which the architects made no apologies.

It has been about fifteen years since Kappe's Modernism confronted Gehry's Avant Gardism, and in that time, Los Angeles architecture has not only redefined itself but generated a critical mass of unexpected, convincing and sometimes inspired work. Benefiting from the hard-won acceptance of Frank Gehry, many young avant-garde offices following vastly different muses have captured the curiosity if not the confidence of an increasingly attentive audience. These architects have not designed down to their clients, and the designs, though at first hermetic, have changed public taste and perception, reshaping expectations about the nature of architecture. The success of the work has also caused a convergence in the city's offices. The gap between corporate offices and ateliers has decreased, with several large firms headed by artist architects rather than manager architects. The avant-garde culture may not be central, but it is no longer marginal. Success, of course, breeds critique and iconoclasm, and within this architectural culture, voices criticize the work for

loro versatilità e la loro libertà stilistica con il progetto dell'ingresso al *campus*, una semplice entrata fatta di pareti in mattoni che si prolungano orizzontalmente attraverso prati e giardini.
Sotto la direzione di Oakley l'UCLA è diventata un mecenate illuminato, anche se moderato, della cultura architettonica cittadina, assegnando incarichi sia a professionisti di Los Angeles, come Barton Myers, Antoine Predock e Anshen & Allen, che ad architetti di fuori come Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown e Aldo Giurgola. Sebbene, per orientamento istituzionale e burocratico, l'Università sia diffidente rispetto all'avanguardia del Westside, paradossalmente Hodgetts e Fung hanno realizzato proprio qui le loro opere maggiori, mentre anche altri architetti, dello stesso ambiente, hanno ottenuto incarichi rilevanti nell'ambito dell'Università. Barton Phelps, uno dei pochissimi architetti che abbiano studiato e insegnato con Charles Moore e lavorato con Frank Gehry, ha progettato un ampliamento della University Elementary School (annessa alla Graduate School of Education della UCLA), un nuovo corpo che rispetta il carattere degli edifici originari di Neutra e Alexander (figg. 18, 19, 22): l'addizione di Phelps, su un dolce pendio, attenua l'impronta macchinistica degli edifici di Neutra, combinando elementi del complesso Modernismo "collinare" ed elementi del Modernismo "industriale" di Los Angeles. All'altra estremità del *campus*, Wes Jones, che lavora con lo studio di San Francisco, Holt-Hinshaw-Pfau-Jones, ha progettato una centrale energetica, un gioiello meccanico di impronta futurista, con ciminiere e turbine degne di un'utopia alla Sant'Elia. Jones e il professore dello SCI-Arc, Neil Denari, hanno riproposto prepotentemente il meraviglioso macchinistico e, sebbene l'ingranaggio meccanico sia stato soppiantato dal circuito integrato, l'impianto di raffinazione petrolifera di Jones è un ragguardevole esempio di maestria spaziale e compositiva.
Molti architetti che esercitano a Los Angeles sono nati per lo più altrove, ma in genere si sono formati in questa città, il cui clima incentiva una maturazione sperimentale e la cui "biodiversità" architettonica produce un'energia ibrida, col risultato di fare di Los Angeles uno dei massimi centri esportatori di progetti nel mondo. La fecondità del suo *milieu* architettonico ha trovato l'occasione più eclatante durante il *boom* edilizio giapponese, quando una dozzina fra i più capaci e brillanti professionisti di Los Angeles venne invitata a lavorare in quel paese.
Recentemente, Los Angeles è diventata il punto di approdo di architetti già formatisi altrove e di talenti "autoinvitatisi" sulla scena, fra i più originali dei quali figura, indubbiamente, il gruppo decostruttivista austriaco Coop Himmelblau, immediatamente accolto da Rotondi, Mayne, Moss e altri in una confraternita che avrebbe potuto considerare lo stesso gruppo come un pericoloso intruso. Gli architetti, invece, competono comunicando tra loro tramite *fax* , e Wolf Prix è stato chiamato a insegnare allo SCI-Arc.
I membri di Coop Himmelblau sono forse coloro che competono più seriamente con la preminenza culturale di Frank Gehry a Los Angeles nonostante la sorprendente affinità tra i loro fondamenti creativi. Prix porta nel parcheggio della Scuola i suoi allievi dello SCI-Arc per accendere letteralmente con piccoli fuochi i loro progetti, per avviarli a un'architettura di forme aperte, fuori dagli schemi, incontrollate e incontrollabili. Ciò che Gehry compie con schizzi istintivi e gestuali, Prix e il suo socio, Helmut Swiczinsky, progettano con disegni di getto, attingendo al subconscio, incanalando le intuizioni, agguantando l'idea mediante gesti irrazionali. Per la sua capacità di integrare il razionale con l'irrazionale, Coop Himmelblau si richiama fortemente a Gehry rinsaldandone la posizione e consolidando l'autorevolezza dell'avanguardia di Los Angeles.
Coop Himmelblau è approdato a Los Angeles per realizzare la famosa Open House sulle colline di Malibu (fig. 20), concepita conformemente alla propria filosofia per un'architettura aperta e destinata a un committente che ne riconosceva lo spirito di libertà e di tolleranza. Sfortunatamente il cliente, che non a caso era uno psichiatra, morì senza che l'opera venisse realizzata, ma i disegni e i plastici relativi sono rimasti talmente impressi nella mente degli addetti ai lavori che, praticamente, è come se quella casa da monologo interiore fosse stata costruita. L'occasione per segnalare al pubblico la propria presenza come studio, Coop Himmelblau l'ha avuta grazie al progetto di due esposizioni in programma quest'inverno al Los Angeles County Museum of Art, una delle quali sull'Espressionismo tedesco (fig..21). Il paesaggio accidentale, fatto di pareti oblique, spezzate e ricurve, fra cui alcune realizzate in materiali trasparenti che richiamano la predilizione degli espressionisti per il cristallo e la luce, instaura quella che Prix potrebbe

its formal self-preoccupation and limited social vision, especially problematic in a city undergoing such profound demographic change. Some architects, such as the Santa Monica firm Koning Eizenberg, have in fact pursued a social concern with low-income housing projects by reinterpreting the builder's vernacular, crossing it with allusions to local Modernist history. A few have addressed Los Angeles' transformation from a city in the garden to a more dense metropolis requiring different building types. But these architects are the exception. Critic Mike Davis has singled out Gehry's work for not acknowledging and cultivating the public realm.

Perhaps the criticisms are accurate; perhaps they are narrow. But in the case of this episode in American architectural history, it is probably fortunate that Los Angeles' emerging architecture has not been subject to a stern and insistent critical voice, because in the absence of blandishments, chastisement and the call to discipline, a hundred wildflowers have bloomed. Certainly the flowers need pruning and tending, but it is unwise to severely criticize a movement in its fragile formative stages, as did one short-lived Los Angeles Times *critic who wrote a decade ago of* "the unconventional, if not outrageous and pretentious new architecture in Venice." *Reactionary and clichéd criticisms are seldom helpful, especially in analyzing original work inventing a direction.*

It is probably true that most avant gardists of Southern California are not trying to pursue epic social agendas with their designs. They are expanding the capacity of their field in a different way, on a smaller canvas, addressing a more confined set of issues that promises to produce points of intensity in an otherwise lax, intractibly fragmented cityscape. Satisfactions may be more personal than collective. Still, this is not politically spineless work: that many of Los Angeles' architects are creating non-hierarchical spaces qualifies the buildings as non-authoritarian architecture, and a form of social and political commentary.

To a certain extent, the strength of Post-Modernism and the historic preservation movement, with which it is associated, resulted from championing virtuoso moments of architectural history that dominant Modernist theory seldom encouraged. Those people who retreated into the architectural past may now have a reason, at least in Los Angeles, to return to contemporary culture, to find an architecture that interprets and intensifies the character of the present.

This is not panacea architecture promising to cure all ills, but architecture that attempts to define and explore a few (rich) issues well. As it comes out of the protective, supportive enclaves of the Westside and lands in such venues as UCLA, LACMA and Downtown Los Angeles, the architecture is not only gaining momentum but expanding from the private to a more public realm. Here, again, Gehry is forging the way with a brilliant scheme for Disney Hall, one with the promise of capturing the heart of the city, offering a new kind of public symbolism.

Sam Francis, the noted Los Angeles Abstract Expressionist, once said it is always the individual who is the bearer of the idea. In architecture, in Los Angeles, the urban and cultural fragmentation of the city do much to clear the space for the exercise of architectural individualism. What architecture has lost in the universalizing macrocosm of Modernism, it has gained in the microcosm. The buildings by the Los Angeles avant garde may not be excerpts from a larger system, but each is a world.

(*) Joseph Giovannini, architect, has written on architecture for "The New York Times", "The Los Angeles Times" and "The Los Angeles Herald Examiner".

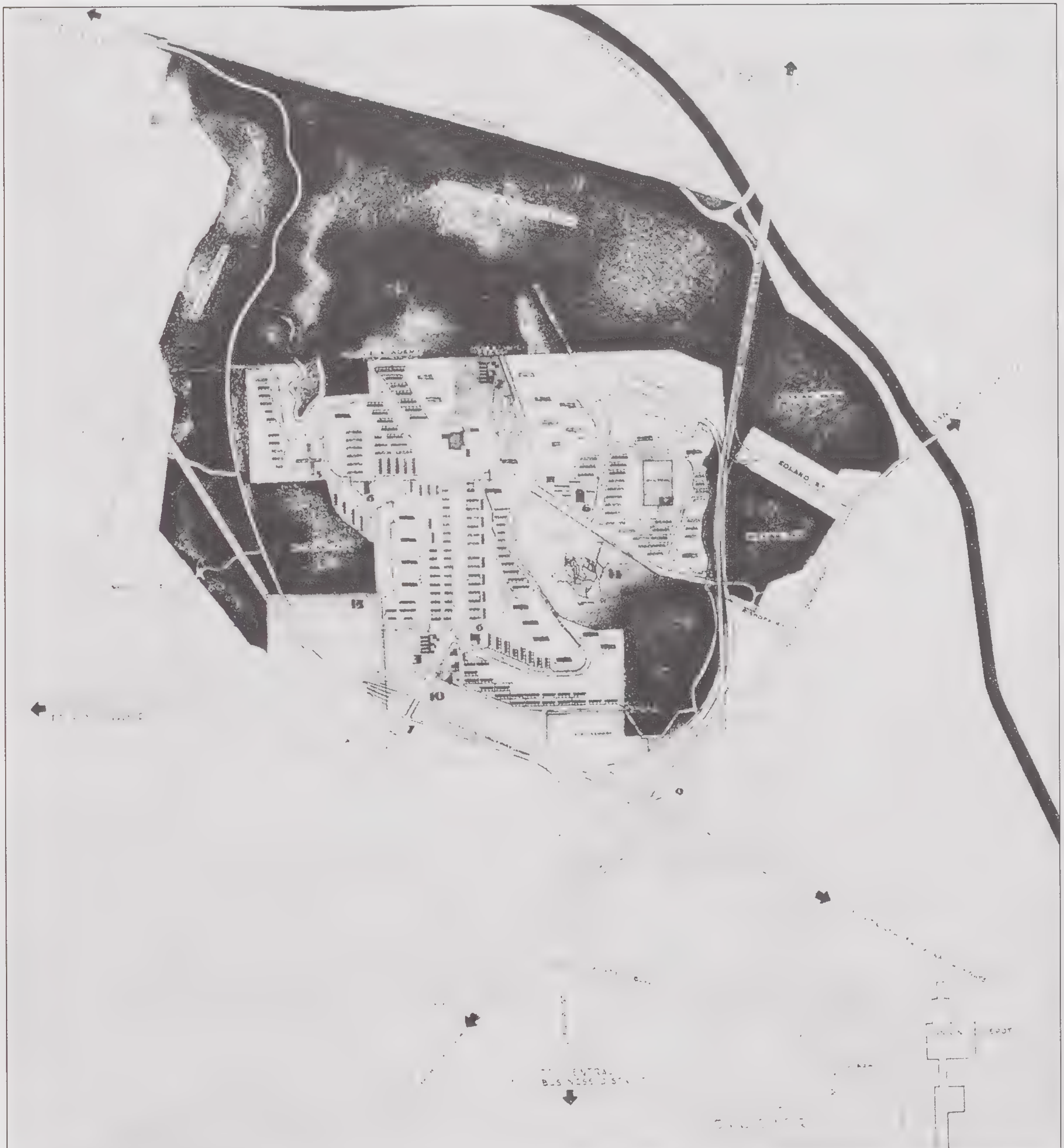
definire una "osmosi spirituale" fra la sua opera e l'Espressionismo e frantuma la consueta scatola bianca museale con un caos misurato del quale gli architetti non si dolgono affatto.
Sono ormai passati quindici anni da quando il modernismo di Kappe si è scontrato con l'avanguardismo di Gehry e, nel frattempo, Los Angeles non si è soltanto rigenerata architettonicamente, ma ha anche prodotto un insieme cruciale di opere sorprendenti, convincenti e a volte ispirate. Beneficiando del credito faticosamente conquistato da Gehry, molti giovani architetti dell'avanguardia, ispirati da muse radicalmente diverse, hanno catturato la curiosità, se non la fiducia, di un pubblico sempre più sensibile, ma non assecondando gusti ed esigenze dei loro clienti, bensì forgiandoli sulla base di progetti inizialmente ermetici, che hanno modificato le aspettative sulla natura dell'architettura. Il successo delle opere ha originato anche una convergenza degli studi professionali operanti in città, con una graduale riduzione del distacco fra piccoli studi artigianali e grandi società di progettazione, alcune delle quali sempre più spesso guidate da architetti artisti invece che da architetti *manager*. Se non è ancora dominante, la cultura dell'avanguardia almeno non è più marginale.
Il successo, ovviamente, genera dissenso e contestazione e, all'interno di questa cultura architettonica, non mancano le critiche all'autocompiacimento formale e allo scarso interesse per le problematiche sociali, che sono di particolare attualità in una città che sta subendo un'autentica rivoluzione demografica. In realtà qualche architetto impegnato su temi sociali c'è, come lo studio di Koning Eizenberg di Santa Monica, i cui progetti di edilizia residenziale a basso costo reinterpretano il vernacolare dell'impresario edilizio combinandolo con allusioni al locale passato modernista. Altri hanno affrontato i problemi della trasformazione di Los Angeles da città di giardini a metropoli più densamente popolata, che richiede tipologie edilizie diverse. Tuttavia si tratta di eccezioni, confermate dal giudizio del critico Mike David, che ha indicato nell'opera di Gehry un esempio di disinteresse e di astrazione rispetto alle esigenze collettive della cittadinanza.
Tali critiche possono essere giustificate, così come possono anche essere ritenute grette; ma nel caso di questo episodio della storia dell'architettura americana, probabilmente è una fortuna che la corrente emergente a Los Angeles non sia stata oggetto di accuse pesanti e ripetute, visto che, in mancanza di blandizie, riprovazione o richiami all'ordine, gli arbusti selvatici sono spuntati a centinaia. Arbusti che devono essere potati e curati, certo, ma sarebbe incauto criticare aspramente un movimento ancora nella delicata fase embrionale, come ha fatto un critico passeggero del "Los Angeles Times" parlando una decina d'anni fa della "*anticonformista, se non oltraggiosa e pretenziosa architettura di Venice*". I giudizi reazionari e scontati sono raramente utili, in special modo se si tratta di valutare opere originali che tracciano nuove direzioni.
E' probabilmente vero che buona parte degli architetti d'avanguardia della California meridionale non aspira ad assumersi epici impegni sociali; essi esprimono le proprie capacità professionali in modo diverso, su scala minore, affrontando questioni di portata più limitata ma più promettenti dal punto di vista della tensione che possono produrre in un paesaggio urbano altrimenti grigio e irrimediabilmente frammentario. Può darsi che le soddisfazioni siano più personali che collettive, eppure non si tratta di opere prive di spessore politico: il fatto stesso che molti architetti di Los Angeles creino spazi non gerarchicamente ordinati qualifica le loro opere come architettura antiautoritaria, una forma di presa di posizione sociale e politica.
Entro certi limiti, la forza del Postmodernismo e del movimento per la salvaguardia dei monumenti storici a cui esso si ricollega deriva dalla loro disponibilità verso momenti notevoli della storia dell'architettura che la teoria modernista dominante raramente valorizzava. Coloro che si sono rifugiati nel passato architettonico, oggi potrebbero avere una ragione, almeno a Los Angeles, per rivolgersi nuovamente alla cultura contemporanea, per ricercare un'architettura che interpreti e dia spessore all'identità del presente.
Non stiamo parlando di una panacea capace di guarire tutti i mali, bensì di un'architettura che si prefigge di definire e di esaminare attentamente alcune questioni pregne di significato. Uscendo dall'*enclave* protettiva e incoraggiante del Westside e da altre sedi privilegiate quali la UCLA, il Los Angeles County Museum of Art o il *Downtown* di Los Angeles, questa architettura non sta solo prendendo slancio, ma sta anche allargandosi da una destinazione privata a un ambito più pubblico. Ancora una volta, è Gehry a fare da battistrada con il suo originale progetto per la Disney Hall, che promette di toccare il

cuore della cittadinanza proponendo un nuovo genere di simbologia pubblica.
Sam Francis, il celebre espressionista astratto di Los Angeles, una volta disse che è sempre l'individuo a produrre le idee. In effetti in architettura, a Los Angeles, la frammentazione urbana e culturale della città sono il terreno di coltura dell'individualismo architettonico. Quello che ha perso nel macrocosmo universalizzante del Modernismo, l'architettura lo ha guadagnato nel microcosmo degli edifici dell'avanguardia di Los Angeles, che forse non sono brani di un sistema più generale, ma costituiscono, ciascuno, un mondo a sé.

(*) Joseph Giovannini, architetto, ha scritto di architettura per "The New York Times", "The Los Angeles Times" e "The Los Angeles Herald Examiner".

Richard Neutra, Robert Alexander, Elysian Park Heights, Urban reconstruction and Housing, Los Angeles, 1949: planimetria generale.

Richard Neutra, Robert Alexander, Elysian Park Heights, Urban reconstruction and Housing, Los Angeles, 1949: general plan.



Edilizia pubblica, socialismo strisciante e baseball: la battaglia di Chavez Ravine a Los Angeles, 1949-1959

*Thomas S. Hines**

Gli abitanti di Los Angeles hanno chiamato "battaglia di Chavez Ravine" la lotta decennale tra due opposte fazioni sulla ristrutturazione di un'area situata nelle immediate vicinanze del centro di Los Angeles e costituita da 130 ettari di terreno collinare, ricco di vegetazione e pittorescamente "rurale". Verso il 1950 Chavez Ravine era uno dei singolari sottoprodotti storici della rapida e irregolare crescita estensiva di Los Angeles: popolato soprattutto da oriundi messicani, con una minoranza di cinesi, arrivava a confondersi a nord e ad ovest con le colline boscose dell'Elysian Park, mentre a est e a sud era delimitato dalle due più antiche autostrade della California meridionale: l'Arroyo Seco o Pasadena Freeway a est e la Hollywood Freeway a sud. Quando nel 1949 fu approvato il National Housing Act, la zona fu destinata, com'era logico, all'edilizia pubblica e costituì il più vasto e importante comprensorio degli undici previsti dallo Housing Act nella California meridionale. Il Consiglio comunale di Los Angeles, con l'energico appoggio del sindaco Fletcher Bowron, approvò all'unanimità il programma e nell'ottobre 1950 sottoscrisse con la Housing Authority un contratto per la costruzione di 10.000 alloggi, con un costo complessivo di 110 milioni di dollari. Degli undici progetti inclusi nel programma per la "grande Los Angeles" quello di Chavez Ravine, che per comune riconoscimento era il più interessante, fu assegnato a due architetti che già nell'anteguerra si erano affermati localmente per la loro attività nel campo dell'edilizia abitativa: Richard Neutra e Robert Alexander.

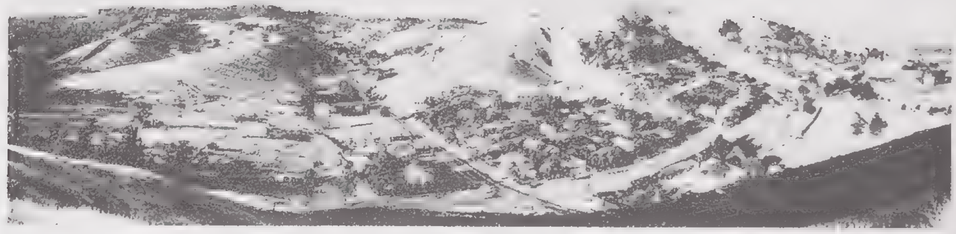
Nel 1949 il cinquantasettenne Neutra risiedeva da 24 anni a Los Angeles, dov'era arrivato all'inizio del 1925. Formatosi nella Vienna del primo Novecento, nel 1921-23 aveva lavorato a Berlino con Erich Mendelsohn, aveva poi fatto tirocinio come progettista di grattacieli presso Holabird e Roche a Chicago ed era stato per tre mesi da Wright a Taliesin; stabilitosi a Hollywood, aveva preso in affitto in Kings Road uno studio nella casa di Rudolph Schindler, già suo compagno di scuola a Vienna. Con lui Neutra intrattenne fino al 1930 un rapporto di libera collaborazione nell'Architectural Group for Industry and Commerce (AGIC): operando singolarmente o insieme sotto questa sigla, i due elaborarono progetti affascinanti, che furono però attuati solo in minima parte. In quegli anni Schindler svolse un'attività piuttosto intensa nell'edilizia residenziale, mentre il nuovo arrivato Neutra, non ricevendo molti incarichi da clienti, continuò a dedicarsi

Housing, Baseball, and Creeping Socialism: the Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, 1949-1959

Thomas S. Hines*

Angelenos called it the "Battle of Chavez Ravine" the long, ten-year argument and struggle of warring factions over the development of a 315-acre parcel of hilly, wooded, and picturesquely "rural" land very near the center of downtown Los Angeles. At the century's midpoint, Chavez Ravine was one of those curious byproducts of the historic, sprawling, low-density, crazy-quilt, rapid growth of Los Angeles. Settled chiefly by Mexican-Americans and a smaller number of Chinese, it merged rather vaguely into the wooded hills of Elysian Park on the north and west, but was bordered on the east and south by the oldest freeways of southern California – the Arroyo Seco or Pasadena Freeway on the east, and what came to be known as the Hollywood Freeway to the south. Following the National Housing Act of 1949, it was logically targeted as the largest and most prominent of eleven southern California sites to be filled with public housing under the terms of the Act. With the strong backing of Los Angeles Mayor Fletcher Bowron, the city council voted unanimously to approve the program and in October 1950, signed a contract between the city and the housing authority for eleven projects of 10,000 dwelling units to cost $ 110,000,000. As the acknowledged "plum" of all the eleven projects in the greater Los Angeles program, Chavez Ravine went to two architects already well recognized for their achievements in local prewar housing Richard Neutra and Robert Alexander.

In 1949, the 57-year-old Neutra had been in Los Angeles 24 years, having arrived in early 1925 after a youth and education in turn-of-the century Vienna, a postwar sojourn with Erich Mendelsohn in Berlin, a skyscraper apprenticeship with Holabird and Roche in Chicago, and a three-month idyll with Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesin. Renting a studio-apartment on Kings Road in Hollywood in the home of his old Viennese school friend Rudolph Schindler, Neutra worked with Schindler until 1930 in a loosely organized partnership called the Architectural Group for Industry and Commerce (AGIC). Separately and together, they designed fascinating projects under the AGIC rubric, but very few of their schemes were ever actually realized. And though Schindler had a fairly active residential practice during these years, Neutra, newly arrived and with fewer client contracts, continued to plan the urban utopia upon which he had already been working for years. He called it Rush City Reformed, *after the fast pace of American life and the boom towns of legend. Housing played a part in these grand schemes, in the stark, tall, awesome slabs of the*



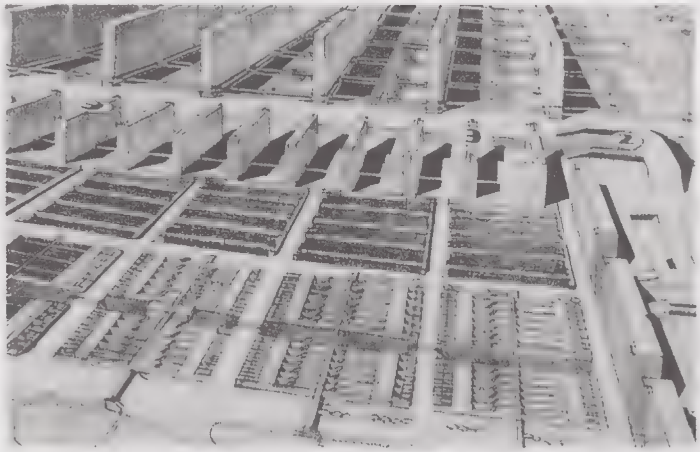
all'utopia urbanistica alla quale stava lavorando da anni. Nei grandiosi progetti di questa *Rush City Reformed* (così l'aveva chiamata, in omaggio al ritmo accelerato della vita americana e alle leggendarie città dal rapidissimo sviluppo) gli alloggi erano situati sia negli spogli e imponenti edifici lamellari conformi al credo della *Ville Radieuse*, sia nelle più tradizionali case ad appartamenti con giardino, a due o tre piani, disposte ai loro piedi. Ad ogni modo, nell'America in crisi degli anni Trenta Neutra aveva scarse possibilità di costruire edifici alti, e la sua fama di pioniere del Movimento Moderno negli Stati Uniti fu fondata soprattutto sulla realizzazione di residenze signorili, scuole, piccoli edifici commerciali e case ad appartamenti.
Quando negli ultimi anni Trenta e nei primi anni Quaranta Neutra arrivò a costruire i suoi primi complessi di edilizia pubblica, le esigenze dell'epoca e la sua stessa impostazione teorica si erano modificate a favore dell'estetica e dell'etica dei bassi edifici ad appartamenti con giardino interconnessi tra loro. In una lettera del 1940 all'amico Neutra, l'urbanista inglese Edwin Maxwell Fry identificava come stato d'animo allora prevalente un atteggiamento critico verso Le Corbusier, che a suo parere lanciava "*programmi per mondi completamente nuovi, in molti dei quali, nonostante l'umanesimo del loro creatore, solo una razza di automi potrebbe adattarsi a vivere. Mi pare di ricordare*", continuava Fry, rilevando un analogo punto debole di Neutra, "*una certa Rush City, e non posso credere che tu nutra ancora per essa un grande entusiasmo*"[1].
Fra le opere di Neutra degli anni Quaranta, quella in cui risultò più evidente l'evoluzione del suo pensiero fu l'insediamento di Channel Heights, costruito a San Pedro, in posizione dominante sul porto di Los Angeles, per dare alloggio agli immigrati addetti ai cantieri navali della Difesa. Con il suo centro commerciale, le scuole, gli edifici comunitari e soprattutto i 600 alloggi costruiti in legno rosso e stucco, aventi un costo unitario minore di 3000 dollari, il complesso rappresentava tutto sommato la soluzione ideale di un problema di emergenza abitativa e si adattava felicemente all'andamento accidentato della zona collinare costiera. Il principale motivo per cui il progetto Elysian Park-Chavez Ravine fu affidato a Neutra fu il desiderio di vedere all'opera nel centro di Los Angeles lo stesso spirito che aveva guidato la sistemazione di Channel Heights.
Il partner di Neutra a Chavez Ravine, Robert Alexander, era più giovane di lui di quindici anni: nativo del New Jersey, aveva studiato architettura presso la Cornell

Corbusian Radiant City *persuasion, as well as in the lower, more traditional two-and three-story "garden apartment" units at their base. In depression America of the 1930s, however, Neutra had little chance to build highrise towers, and he established his reputation as a modernist pioneer chiefly on the basis of residences, schools, small commercial structures, and apartments.*
By the late 1930s and early 1940s, when Neutra actually got to build his first public housing projects, the imperatives of the day and his own design theory had changed to favor the ethic and esthetic of lowrise, interconnected "garden apartments". A letter to Neutra from his friend, the English planner Maxwell Fry, in 1940 identified the prevailing mood in a castigation of Le Corbusier, who issued, according to Fry, "blueprints for entirely new worlds, many of which, despite the humanism of the creator, could be lived in only by a race of robots. I seem to remember," *Fry then observed, pointing to Neutra's similar vulnerabilities,* "a certain Rush City, which I can't imagine you now believe in with much fervor"[1]. *Neutra's work of the 1940s that best demonstrated his evolving philosophy was the community of Channel Heights, which was built overlooking the Los Angeles harbor at San Pedro to house the influx of shipyard defense workers. Its shopping center, schools, and community buildings, and especially its 600* redwood and stucco *apartment units, each costing less than $ 3000, comprised all in all, an ideal solution to a housing emergency and a fine response to the hilly site of coastal ravines.*
Much of the rationale in getting Neutra for the Elysian Park-Chavez Ravine project was to have him bring the spirit of Channel Heights to the center of Los Angeles. Neutra's partner in the project, Robert Alexander, was fifteen years his junior. A native of New Jersey, who had studied architecture at Cornell, Alexander had migrated to California in the early 1930s. By 1936 he had become a partner in the Pasadena office of Wilson, Merrill, and Alexander. His and his firm's most notable achievement in the late 1930s was Baldwin Hills Village, or Thousand Gardens as it was known originally, done in collaboration with the established Los Angeles architect Reginald Johnson and with the noted east coast planner Clarence Stein, whom Johnson engaged as a planning consultant. Built as a residential community for a private developer on a 64-acre tract of land in south-central Los Angeles, the formerly open fields had been recently used as a temporary housing site for the visiting athletes of the 1932 Olympics. The most

Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, tardi anni '40: viste.
Richard Neutra, Rush City Reformed, 1923-35: prospettiva.
Richard Neutra, Federal Public Housing, Channel Heights, San Pedro, Los Angeles, 1942: vista delle case a due piani e vista del modello.

Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, late 1940s: views.
Richard Neutra, Rush City Reformed, 1923-35: perspective.
Richard Neutra, Federal Public Housing, Channel Heights, San Pedro, Los Angeles, 1942: view of the two-storey homes and view of model.









University e si era trasferito in California all'inizio degli anni Trenta, associandosi nel 1936 con Wilson e Merrill in uno studio professionale a Pasadena. L'opera più notevole eseguita da lui e dai sui soci nei tardi anni Trenta fu il Baldwin Hills Village (noto in origine col nome di Thousand Gardens), realizzato in collaborazione con un affermato architetto di Los Angeles, Reginald Johnson, e con un noto urbanista della costa orientale, Clarence Stein, chiamato come consulente da Johnson.

Il Village fu edificato a scopo residenziale, per conto di un imprenditore privato, su un'area di 26 ettari situata nella parte centromeridionale di Los Angeles, dove nel 1932 erano stati temporaneamente alloggiati gli atleti stranieri partecipanti ai giochi olimpici. La caratteristica peculiare del Village, progettato nel 1937 e ultimato nel 1942, consisteva nell'essere concepito urbanisticamente e architettonicamente in funzione dell'automobile, in aderenza sia ai tempi che al luogo, data la presenza ossessiva di questo mezzo di trasporto nella metropoli californiana. Secondo un successivo riconoscimento pubblico dell'American Institute of Architects, il complesso di Baldwin Hills "*assicura a tutti i suoi 627 alloggi un comodo accesso veicolare con possibilità di parcheggio, senza peraltro essere interrotto da strade di attraversamento. La rete di percorsi pedonali integrati così attuata è abilmente disposta in modo da offrire ai residenti una notevole varietà di spazi aperti di diversa ampiezza: dai patii e dai terrazzi privati ai cortili-giardino posti al sevizio di un gruppo di appartamenti e all'area verde centrale, che conferisce unità e identità all'intero complesso. Gli edifici sono semplici, funzionali e senza pretese* (...). *Tutto questo, insieme con la magistrale sistemazione planimetrica della zona* (...), *dà al Village un carattere unitario di nitida e serena armonia che è raro trovare nei nuovi quartieri urbani del nostro secolo*"[2]. Per il suo contributo alla progettazione di Baldwin Hills e per le altre sue realizzazioni urbanistiche in California e altrove, Alexander fu nominato nel 1945 membro della Commissione urbanistica comunale di Los Angeles, diventandone presidente nel 1948. In tale veste ebbe stretti e frequenti rapporti con Howard Holtzendorf, il potente direttore della City Housing Authority (la sezione locale della Federal Housing Authority) incaricato di scegliere siti e architetti per attuare a Los Angeles il vasto programma edilizio reso possibile dal Housing Act del 1949. Inizialmente Alexander aveva sperato nell'assegnazione di uno degli incarichi minori, che egli avrebbe potuto gestire interamente da solo; ma Holtzendorf lo persuase che il progetto più interessante, quello che egli stesso prediligeva, era il grande progetto per Chavez Ravine. Per ottenere quest'incarico prestigioso era però necessario, secondo Holtzendorf, che Alexander collaborasse con un architetto più affermato, con una personalità di livello internazionale che si potesse far accettare per chiara fama al Comitato della Housing Authority. Scorrendo la lista degli altri aspiranti, Holtzendorf e Alexander si trovarono d'accordo sul nome di Neutra. Nei tardi anni Trenta e negli anni Quaranta Neutra aveva avuto rapporti occasionali con Alexander, e verso la metà degli anni Quaranta, colpito dalla sua sistemazione di Baldwin Hills, lo aveva invitato a collaborare a un piano urbanistico per Sacramento; ora Alexander gli ricambiava la cortesia chiedendogli di lavorare con lui al programma per Chavez Ravine, ribattezzato Elysian Park Heights[3].

Tra i molti paradossi che rendono affascinante questa vicenda, il primo è costituito dall'ambiguità dei due progettisti nei riguardi del mutamento di carattere del sito. Quasi tutti i sostenitori di una ristrutturazione integrale, compresi Neutra e Alexander, non potevano non riconoscere che la zona era "*attraente*" e che i suoi abitanti sembravano "*felici*", ben adattati, piuttosto orgogliosi della propria comunità e capaci di identificarsi con essa. In questo villaggio "*messicano*", fortemente cattolico, la chiesa e la scuola elementare pubblica erano centri vitali di un ricco contesto etnico e le festività erano vivamente sentite. In genere i visitatori erano colpiti dall'animazione delle strade, dalla bellezza della vegetazione, dei cortili e dei davanzali fioriti e dall'atmosfera indolente, quasi di innocente permissività che facevano della zona una specie di *Brigadoon* messicano, un villaggio incantato nel cuore di Los Angeles. Il carattere "antico" dell'ambiente era accentuato dal fatto che in una villa in stile spagnolo situata su una delle colline più alte, in posizione dominante sulle circostanti casette abitava il famoso attore messicano Crispin Martin, l'amato e indimenticabile Cisco Kid, che usava andare in giro per le strade del villaggio e parlare con orgoglio della "*mia gente*". Sebbene tutti concordassero nel giudicare Chavez Ravine uno *slum*, ci si sentiva alquanto a disagio all'idea di far piazza pulita del suo presunto "*degrado*". Molti edifici erano classificabili come "*non idonei*", specialmente per quanto riguardava gli impianti idraulici e l'isolamento; ma in un clima

distinctive trait of Baldwin Hills Village, designed in 1937 and finished in 1942, was its planning and design for the automobile, an acknowledgment not only of "*the times*" *but of* "*the place*", *the auto-possessed metropolis of Los Angeles. Baldwin Hills provided, according to a later American Institute of Architects (AIA) citation,* "convenient vehicular access and parking for all its 627 dwelling units, yet is not penetrated by a single through street. The integrated pedestrian street thus created is skillfully laid out to offer its residents a remarkable variety of open spaces, ranging in scale from private patios and balconies through garden courts serving groups of apartments to the central village green, which gives unity and identity to the entire development. The buildings themselves are straightforward, unpretentious, serviceable *(...)* This, combined with a masterful site plan *(...)* gives the project a clarity, a serenity, a harmonious unity rarely found in the 20th century urban development"[2].

In recognition of his contributions to the design of Baldwin Hills and his other planning achievements in California and elsewhere, Alexander was appointed in 1945 to the Los Angeles City Planning Commission, and in 1948 he became its president.

As such, he was in close and frequent contact with the powerful Howard Holtzendorf who, as director of the Los Angeles Housing Authority – the local arm of the Federal Housing Authority – was responsible for choosing sites and architects for the vast Los Angeles housing program made possible by the Act of 1949.

Initially, Alexander had hoped to get one of the smaller housing project which he could handle completely by himself. But Holtzendorf convinced him that his own favorite project, and the plum of the lot, was the large project for Chavez Ravine. To land this large and most prestigious commission, however, Alexander would, Holtzendorf insisted, have to collaborate with a more established architect, a national figure with a name and reputation he could "sell" to the board. And going through the list of other applicants for appointments, Holtzendorf and Alexander agreed upon Neutra. Neutra and Alexander had known each other slightly in the late 1930s and 1940s, and Neutra, impressed with Alexander's Work on Baldwin Hills, had invited him in the mid-1940s to collaborate on a planning project for Sacramento.

In 1949, Alexander returned the compliment by soliciting Neutra's partnership on the new plan for Chavez Ravine, already renamed Elysian Park Heights[3].

The first of several of the story's fascinating paradoxes was the planners' great ambivalence about changing the character of Chavez Ravine at all. Almost everyone among the hardcore redevelopers – including Neutra and Alexander – had to admit that the area was "charming", *and that its people seemed to be* "happy" *and well-adjusted, with a rather intense feeling of pride in, and identity with, their community. Indeed, as a* "Mexican-village" *it was strongly Roman Catholic, and the church and the public elementary school were vital centers of a rich ethnic fabric. Festivals and holidays were celebrated with great esprit. Most observers commented on the lovely street life, the exquisite plantings and yards and window boxes, and the mañana ambience of rather harmless abandon – a Mexican* "Brigadoon" *in the heart of Los Angeles. To heighten the antique quality of the scene, high above the shacks on one of the highest peaks, in a Spanish revival villa surveying it all, lived the noted Mexican actor, Crispin Martin, the beloved and immortal Cisco Kid. Observers remembered his walking the streets and referring proudly to* "my people". *Though everyone agreed that Chavez Ravine was a slum, they felt noticeably uneasy about clearing the alleged* "blight". *Many of the buildings were by definition* "substandard", *especially the plumbing and insulation; but cracks and crevices, in the relatively benign climate of Los Angeles, were a less serious problem than they would have been elsewhere*[4].

Chavez Ravine was precisely the kind of paradox later explicated and criticized so trenchantly in the early 1960s by Jane Jacobs in The Death and Life of Great American Cities, *in which she presented case after case of planners, architects, and reforming politicians who looked closer at certain so-called* "blighted" *slums and found there much of the esprit, vitality, and neighborhood identity that good planning was ideally supposed to accomplish. Yet these planners, Jacobs asserted, lacked the wit or the courage to overcome the biases they had formed in graduate school of the nature, definition, and deserved fate of slums.*

Neutra typified this trapped ambivalence in his early assessments of the area – unpublished memoranda of great verve and insight. It appealed quite obviously to the nineteenth-century European pastoral romanticism that pervaded so much of his modernist world view. But in his descriptions, he obviously felt compelled to keep repeating the word "slum" to counter his otherwise euphoric approval. He described the inhabitants not as Mexicans but as

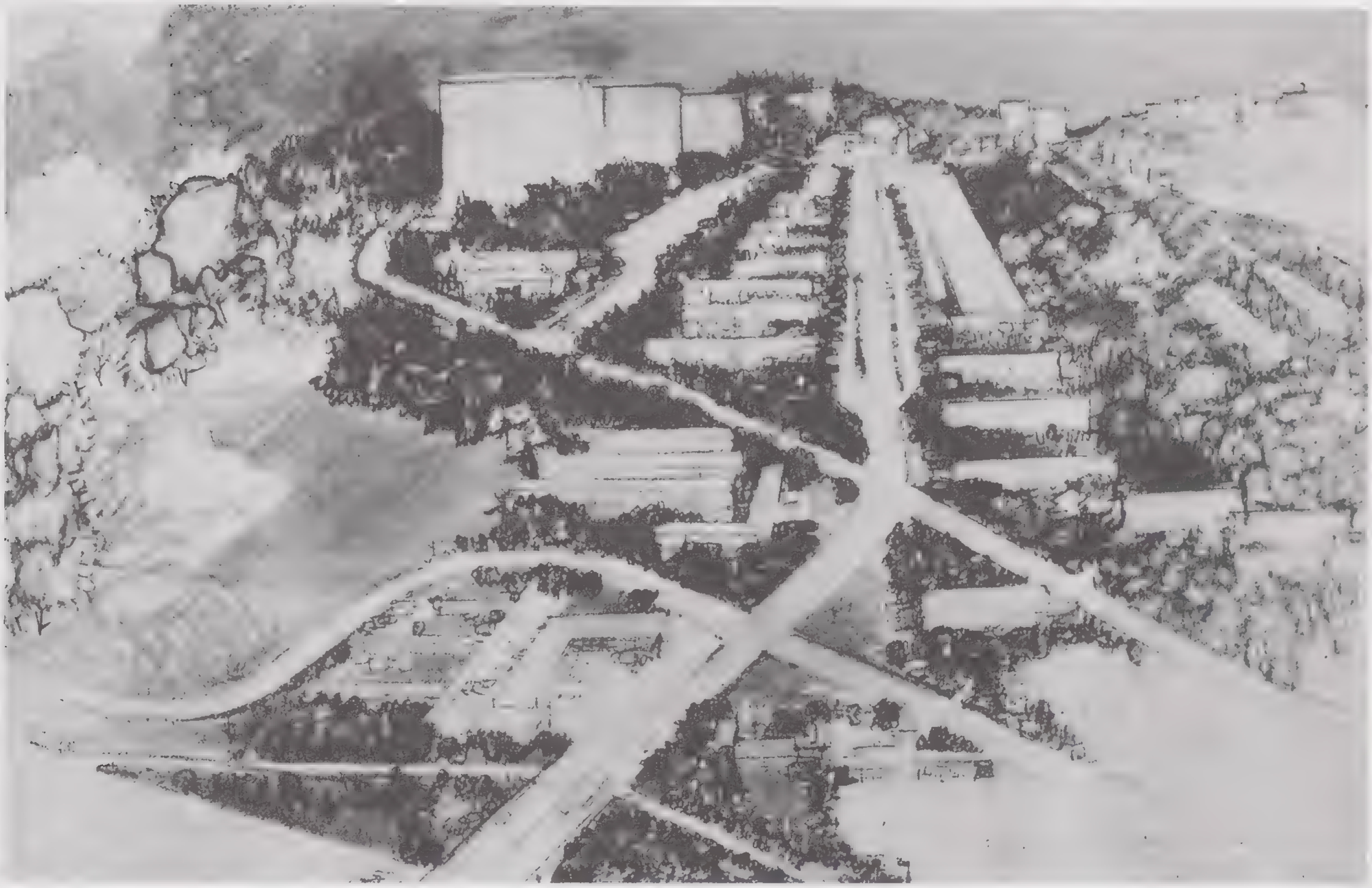


relativamente mite come quello di Los Angeles le fessure e le crepe avevano conseguenze meno gravi che altrove[4].
La situazione di Chavez Ravine rifletteva esattamente quel paradosso che nei primi anni Sessanta sarebbe stato illustrato in modo così penetrante da Jane Jacobs nel suo libro *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. In esso sono esaminati fra l'altro numerosi casi in cui urbanisti, architetti e politici riformatori, considerando più attentamente alcuni *slum* "*degradati*", vi hanno trovato gran parte di quella vitalità e di quel senso di appartenenza a un vicinato che in teoria avrebbe dovuto essere il risultato di una corretta pianificazione urbanistica. Questi pianificatori, sosteneva la Jacobs, mancavano però dell'intelligenza o del coraggio necessari per superare i pregiudizi circa la natura, la definizione e il destino dei cosiddetti *slum*, instillati in loro dall'insegnamento postuniversitario.
Un tipico esempio di quest'ambigua posizione senza vie d'uscita è dato dalle prime valutazioni della zona fatte da Neutra in alcuni promemoria inediti di grande perspicacia è vigore. Ovviamente egli si richiamava al romanticismo bucolico, ereditato dall'Ottocento europeo, che permeava tanta parte della sua mentalità modernista; ma nelle sue descrizioni si sentiva in obbligo di ripetere continuamente, in contrapposto alle entusiastiche notazioni positive, la parola *slum*. Per lui gli abitanti di Chavez Ravine non erano messicani ma "*aztechi*"; e in particolare gli piaceva, nonostante l'indubbio stato di abbandono, il vicino Elysian Park, che nel tardo XIX secolo era stato piantato ad eucalipti a cura della comunità. "*Vi sono in questo slum*", egli osservava, "*un certo calore umano, un'amenità, un rapporto con la natura che sarebbe impossibile trovare a Harlem o lungo South Halsted Street a Chicago. Gli alberi del delizioso parco collinare sono cresciuti intorno alla più singolare zona urbana «degradata» di tutta l'America*"[5].
"*Per cinquant'anni*", concludeva ambiguamente Neutra, indicando i motivi che spingevano lui e Alexander a progettare i loro interventi di miglioria, "*non è stato possibile in questa zona nessuno sviluppo edilizio, soprattutto perché la sua conformazione topografica rende molto costose la costruzione di strade e di attrezzature e la creazione di un insediamento avente una densità di tipo urbano*". Quest'ultimo era in effetti il principale motivo per ristrutturare Chavez Ravine. Perché, si chiedeva Neutra, una zona come questa, così vicina al centro di una città che come tante altre aveva bisogno di nuovi alloggi, non avrebbe dovuto accogliere un maggior numero di

"Aztecs". He was especially fond of the neighboring, though admittedly neglected, Elysian Park, planted with eucalyptus trees as a community project in the late nineteenth century. "There is a certain human warmth and pleasantness," *he remarked,* "a certain contact with nature in this slum which cannot be found in Harlem, New York or along South Halsted Street, Chicago. The trees of the lovely mountain park have grown high around the strangest 'blightlocked' area that can be found in any city of America"[5].
"For fifty years," *Neutra concluded, ambivalently, suggesting the rationale for his and Alexander's own planned improvements, the area had* "resisted any development, largely due to the configuration of the grounds, which entails quite an expense in road building, utility construction, and the creation of a community of urban density." *Urban density was, in fact, the chief rationale for redeveloping Chavez Ravine. Why should such an area, the argument ran, so close to the center of a city that, like most cities, needed more housing, not be available to more people? Why not utilize the provisions of the Housing Act to* "develop" *Chavez Ravine, without it was bravely hoped destroying its rich assets? Neutra took this firm, if somewhat naive tack, about which he actually had personally confessed doubts. He was able, in any case, to convince and persuade the church, school, community, and civic leaders that the richness could and would return and would be reintegrated within the new plan*[6].
Chavez Ravine presented, Neutra believed, "the very opportunity which community planners have written and talked about since Ebenezer Howard published *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* more than two generations ago. The situation would be fine for any group of urban people to live in, but for low income families it is ideal *(...)* In order to bring this rejuvenated community the benefits of transportation, shopping, and cultural facilities which it has never been able to support, numbers will count."
Neutra thought it essential "that the site should be fully developed with housing for over three thousand families *(...)* In fitting a new community of 17,000 souls into the greater community, housing is only a part of the task, although it will settle 3,360 families *(...)* Apart from this, the planners must relate intricate new and old streets and utility networks, weave traffic onto the two major freeways at the very boundary of the area, create sites through design, not independent of it, for a series of *(...)* projects: three schools, kindergartens, and day nurseries, three

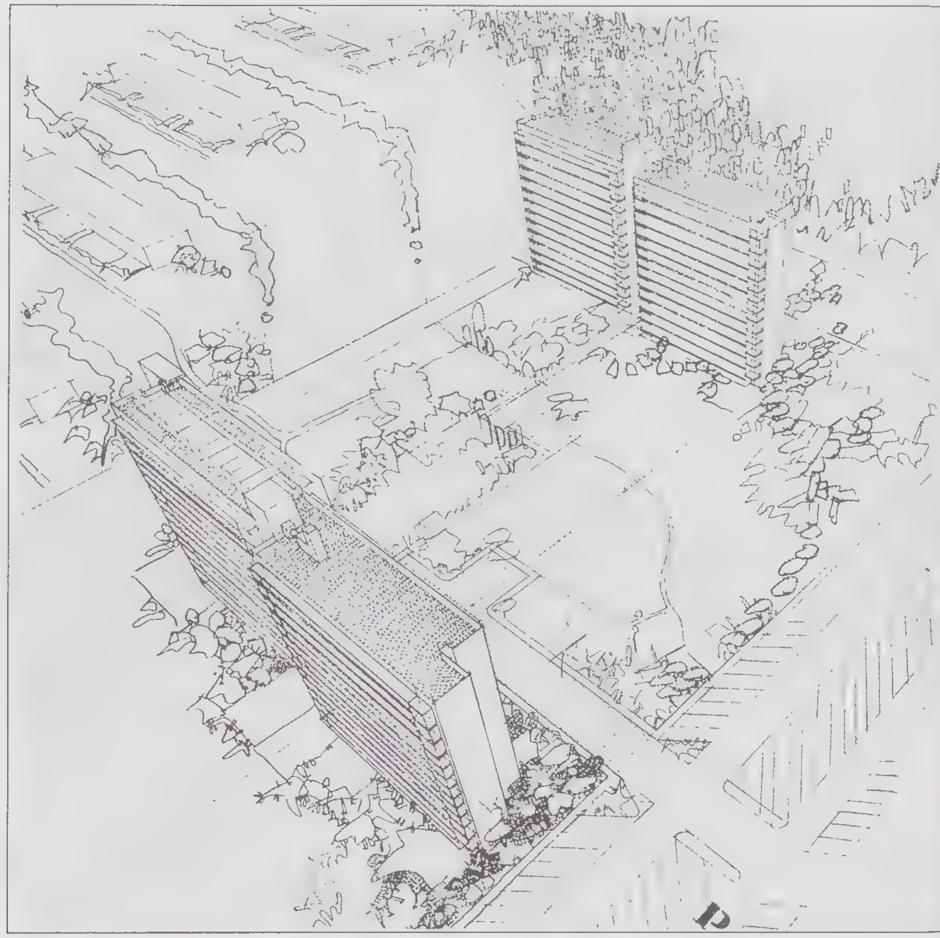
Richard Neutra, Robert Alexander, Elysian Park Heights, Urban reconstruction and Housing, Los Angeles, 1949: prospettive del complesso.

Richard Neutra, Robert Alexander, Elysian Park Heights, Urban reconstruction and Housing, Los Angeles, 1949: perspectives of complex.



Richard Neutra, Robert Alexander, Elysian Park Heights, Urban reconstruction and Housing, Los Angeles, 1949: prospettiva degli edifici residenziali alti.

Richard Neutra, Robert Alexander, Elysian Park Heights, Urban reconstruction and Housing, Los Angeles, 1949: perspective of the tall residential buildings.



persone? Perché non utilizzare le disposizioni del Housing Act per "*sviluppare*" Chavez Ravine, senza peraltro distruggere – così animosamente si sperava – i suoi molti pregi? Pur confessando in privato di avere dei dubbi in proposito, Neutra seguì questa linea d'azione, decisa anche se un po' ingenua; e riuscì a convincere i rappresentanti della chiesa e della scuola, la comunità e i leader cittadini che la qualità della zona poteva essere conservata e diventare parte integrante del progetto[6].
Secondo Neutra, Chavez Ravine "*offriva proprio quell'occasione favorevole, di cui gli urbanisti hanno continuato a parlare fin da quando, più di due generazioni fa, Ebenezer Howard pubblicò* Garden Cities of Tomorrow. *Il sito è tale da attirare qualsiasi categoria di abitanti della città, ma è addirittura ideale per le famiglie con basso reddito* (...). *Perché quest'insediamento, così rinnovato, possa fruire dei vantaggi di quelle attrezzature di trasporto, commerciali e culturali che finora non è mai riuscito a impiantare e sostentare, è importante che esso diventi più popoloso*".
Neutra riteneva dunque essenziale che la zona fosse "*pienamente sviluppata fino ad accogliere più di 3000 famiglie* (...). *Il compito di inserire nella più vasta collettività urbana questa nuova comunità di 17.000 persone va al di là della fornitura di alloggi a 3360 famiglie* (...). *Oltre a questo, bisognerà integrare fra loro reti complesse di vecchie e nuove strade e di condutture per i servizi, connettere il traffico interno con le due grandi autostrade che costeggiano la zona, ubicare opportunamente, in relazione ai loro caratteri architettonici, una serie di edifici: tre scuole, alcuni asili infantili, tre chiese, un centro comunitario dotato di mensa, locali per varie attività, un auditorio al chiuso e all'aperto per 1500 persone, una zona o un centro di negozi e gli edifici amministrativi*". Si sarebbe fatto il possibile perché le strade principali fiancheggiassero il villaggio anziché attraversarlo, le strade secondarie fossero cieche e le abitazioni affacciassero su giardini interni o su aree verdi strette e lunghe[7].
L'aumento della densità appariva indispensabile, dal punto di vista economico e da quello logistico, alle autorità nazionali e locali preposte all'edilizia pubblica e forse allo stesso Neutra, che se non altro era in grado di organizzare tale aumento in modo razionale. Per alloggiare le 3360 famiglie previste in luogo delle 1100 attuali si sarebbero dovuti costruire 24 edifici a 13 piani e 163 a due piani, contenenti in tutto 3364 unità abitative (più di un terzo del totale programmato per gli undici comprensori di Los

churches, a Community Hall with kitchen, activity rooms, indoor and outdoor auditorium for 1,500, a commercial section or trading center and managerial building". *As much as possible, major roads would skirt rather than bisect the area, interior streets would be cul de sacs, and housing would face inward toward garden plots or finger parks[7]. Economically and logistically the new density seemed imperative, certainly to the national and local housing authorities and maybe even to Neutra who was at least able to rationalize it. To house the estimated 3360 families, as opposed to 1100 at the time, there would have to be 24 thirteen-story towers and 163 two-story structures, furnishing a total of 3364 units – over a third of the projected total for all of the Los Angeles sites. At Elysian Park Heights, 481 units would contain one bedroom, 1922 two bedrooms, 742 three bedrooms, 202 four bedrooms, and 18 units would have five bedrooms for the more procreatively inclined[8].*
Critics argued that the density was unreasonable high, especially for Los Angeles where it challenged too radically the historic fabric and established demographic patterns however it might compare to older eastern cities. Among others, Clarence Stein, William Wurster, and Catharine Bauer, old friends and colleagues of Alexander's and Neutra's, suggested that the planners were guilty of malfeasance in not fighting the requirements and urging lower density. The towers, they argued, would become disastrous for housing poor people – semirural or urban/suburban – who had not been prepared for such shifts. Later, the local chapter of the AIA would oppose it on the same grounds. Neutra's wife Dione recalled that privately he shared much of this pessimism. Still, in public, he replied obliquely, and to a certain extent accurately, that the needs and imperatives of Los Angeles in the 1950s were not identical with Stein's Radburn of the 1920s, and that the densities were "givens" *within which they must work. Their job was to balance these with saving amenities[9].*
For example, Neutra believed that the socially vulnerable towers could, if properly and imaginatively designed and sited, become beautiful elements in the new Elysian landscape. Simon Eisner, the site planner of the team, recalled Neutra spending long Sunday morning on the site, sitting and walking with his sketch pad and imagining, placing and rearranging the towers on the landscape.
"However romantic it may be to dream of retaining the present charm of rural backwardness," *Neutra argued in*

Angeles): 481 unità avrebbero avuto una sola camera da letto, 1922 due camere, 742 tre camere, 202 quattro camere, e infine alle famiglie più prolifiche sarebbero state destinate 18 unità con cinque camere da letto[8].
I critici sostennero che la densità fissata era eccessivamente alta, anche a volerla comparare con le più antiche città dell'est, ma soprattutto a Los Angeles, dove avrebbe rappresentato una sfida troppo radicale al tessuto storico e al modello demografico consolidato.
Anche vecchi amici e colleghi di Alexander e di Neutra come Clarence Stein, William Wurster e Catherine Bauer affermarono che col rinunziare a ridurre le alte densità stabilite i progettisti si rendevano responsabili di abuso di potere, e che gli edifici alti non erano assolutamente adatti ad accogliere famiglie povere semirurali o suburbane, impreparate a un simile cambiamento; le stesse obiezioni sarebbero state mosse più tardi dalla sezione locale dell'American Institute of Architects. La moglie di Neutra, Dione, ha ricordato che in privato egli condivideva in gran parte questo pessimismo; in pubblico invece replicò – poco lealmente, ma in parte a ragione – che le esigenze di Los Angeles negli anni Cinquanta erano diverse da quelle che Stein aveva dovuto soddisfare a Radburn negli anni Venti, e che le densità erano "*dati di partenza*" ai quali gli urbanisti dovevano attenersi: il loro compito consisteva nel contemperarli con la necessità di salvare gli aspetti gradevoli della zona[9].
Ad esempio Neutra riteneva che gli edifici alti, criticabili dal punto di vista sociale, potessero diventare elementi di bellezza nel nuovo paesaggio di Elysian Heights se fossero stati progettati e situati in modo opportuno e inventivo. Il membro dell'equipe incaricato dell'organizzazione planimetrica del sito, Simon Eisner, ha riferito che Neutra trascorreva sul posto intere mattinate domenicali, andando in giro col suo blocco da disegno e fermandosi a immaginare, definire e cambiare la posizione degli edifici alti nel paesaggio. "*Per quanto possa essere romantico sognare di conservare nella zona l'incanto dell'attuale condizione di arretratezza rurale*", dichiarò Neutra col tono deciso del riformatore modernista, "*non è possibile ristrutturarla con bungalow di tipo suburbano. Un'utilizzazione realistica del sito da parte di chiunque richiederà una soluzione abitativa urbana, adeguata ai luoghi e tale da sfruttare le caratteristiche della zona, amena ma molto scoscesa. Per poter disporre di ampi spazi tra gli edifici a due piani, con giardini privati per le famiglie numerose, bisognerà alloggiare le famiglie più piccole in appartamenti con una o due camere da letto situati in edifici a molti piani. Da uno studio esauriente del sito è risultato che una simile soluzione è ragionevole ed è atta a creare in questo specifico ambiente le migliori condizioni di vita*".
Neutra intendeva evitare l'addensamento degli edifici alti, frequente in altre città americane, che non avrebbe dovuto "*assolutamente costituire un precedente per il progetto in questione. In esso gli edifici a torre saranno situati a grande distanza l'uno dall'altro, in gruppi separati da più avvallamenti del terreno*". Gli appartamenti con uguale pianta sarebbero stati sovrapposti e avrebbero avuto in comune le tubature degli impianti idraulici.
In questo modo, affermava Neutra "*un'area relativamente piccola posta sulla sommità di un'altura potrà accogliere un numero di alloggi sufficiente a giustificare i movimenti di terra e i lavori stradali necessari per renderla utilizzabile; gli appartamenti piccoli godranno di una posizione eccezionale, con ampia vista sulle circostanti colline ricche di vegetazione, sulle catene della Sierra Madre che s'innalzano a nord e su un'attraente scenario urbano digradante verso il Pacifico a sud. Ogni alloggio sarà dotato di finestre panoramiche che avranno il tono di una terrazza privata, e ad ogni piano vi sarà uno spazio ricreativo aperto accessibile dagli appartamenti. Ciò posto, è facile immaginare che fra tutti gli alloggi previsti dal programma questi saranno i più apprezzati*"[10].
Purtroppo, su queste basi, Elysian Park cominciava a somigliare, più che a Channel Heights o al Baldwin Hills Village, a una versione aggiornata, verde e collinare di *Rush City Reformed*. I suoi edifici, sia alti che bassi, erano nel bene e nel male decisamente modernisti, per le proporzioni e per i particolari: come tali, promettevano di esibire la consueta eleganza e nitidezza del minimalismo di Neutra, capace di attirare a livello cosciente un occhio moderno ben addestrato e magari, a un livello più inconscio, anche un pubblico esteticamente più ingenuo. Ciò valeva specialmente per gli edifici più piccoli, che ricordavano i successi riportati in precedenza da Neutra con le sue forme basse, modulari e astrattamente asimmetriche; dal canto loro gli edifici alti preannunziavano con un aspetto piuttosto scialbo le difficoltà che il loro autore avrebbe incontrato più tardi in questo campo. Ad ogni modo, era tipico di Neutra e dei suoi coetanei il fatto che nel cercare di ricuperare la tradizionale ricchezza "ispanica" della zona essi non facessero alcun ricorso esplicito all'architettura

the tougher tones of the modernist reformer, "The area cannot be redeveloped with suburban bungalows. A realistic use of the site by any developer will require an urban housing solution to suit the location and must be designed to take advantage of the beautiful but very hilly terrain. In order to provide ample space between two-story buildings, with private gardens for large families, it will prove necessary to house the smaller families in need of one and two bedroom apartments in multi-storied buildings. An exhaustive study of the site reveals that this is a soundly conceived solution, and one which will produce the best living conditions for this particular situation". *He wanted to avoid the routinely crowded siting of tall buildings in other American cities, which should be* "in no way a precedent for the present project. The tall buildings here will be spaced great distances apart and in spacious groups, separated by several valleys". *Identical apartments would be arranged one above the other with common plumbing stacks.*

In this way, Neutra argued, "a relatively small hilltop can be made to accommodate sufficient dwellings to justify the grading and road building necessary to make it available. This will automatically elevate the smaller apartments of the community to positions of unusual beauty overlooking the surrounding farflung hills of verdure, with the ridges of the Sierra Madre rising to the north and the interesting urban scene receding to the Pacific toward the south. Every apartment will have view windows with the quality of a private balcony and access to an open recreation area on each floor. It is not hard to imagine that under such conditions these apartments will be easily the most popular in the entire program"[10].

Elysian Park, alas, was beginning to resemble not so much Channel Heights or Baldwin Hills Village but a green, hilly update of Rush City Reformed. *Its buildings, high and low, for good and for ill, were resolutely modernist in scale and detail. As such, they promised to exhibit the frequent elegance and crispness of Neutra's minimalist esthetic so consciously appealing to the trained eye of the day, while touching it was hoped, even if less consciously, more esthetically innocent observers as well. This was particularly true of the project's smaller compositions, reminiscent of Neutra's earlier successes with small, modular, low-slung, abstractly assymetrical buildings. The tower designs, on the other hand, predicted in their relative blandness the problems he would have later with tall buildings. In all cases, however, it was typical and significant of Neutra and his generation that, except occasionally in the most abstract ways, their attempts to recapture the area's traditional "Hispanic" richness included no allusions to Spanish colonial architecture in any explicitly communicable ways, at least not as practiced by Neutra's transplanted fellow Californians, Irving Gill at the beginning of the century, or Charles Moore at the end. Accommodating the towers on the more solid higher ground would require considerable grading and filling, which demanded in turn that virtually the entire population of the Ravine be* "temporarily" *relocated and that most of their structures and the fabric of their village be demolished. The* "substandard" *housing was condemned and allegedly purchased for the* "fair price", *but those residents of the area who had owned their own homes faced the typical difficulty of matching the sale price of their old property with the purchase price of the new. The church, whose property was less easily "condemned", held out longer and for considerably higher prices and managed to have some of its parishioners transfer to it their property for the same results. For owners and renters, the City Housing Authority (CHA) provided relocation assistance[11].*

The social and architectural merits and demerits of Neutra's and Alexander's Elysian Park housing would remain a fascinating and instructive subject of discussion – but of speculative discussion only – since it was never actually built. As the Ravine's original tenants were being relocated and their village demolished, and just before the newly approved redevelopment plans were to be opened to bid, there exploded on the scene another counterforce, a long-smoldering counterforce not connected directly to questions of architecture or of ethnic identity – that ominous spectre of the early 1950s that would come to be known as McCarthyism.

A cluster of groups, institutions, and individuals including the powerful California real estate lobby, the Home Builders Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and most critically, the Los Angeles Times, *began to wage with increasing intensity an attack on the housing program as* "creeping socialism" *if not rampant communism subverting from within the American values that were supposedly being defended on the hills of Korea. Though they had endorsed the program unanimously in 1949, the politically vulnerable members of the city council began to soften and to change their positions.*

Mayor Bowron continued to defend the program and was

Dodger Stadium, Elysian Park, Los Angeles, 1959. Foto G. Brino

Dodger Stadium, Elysian Park, Los Angeles, 1959. Photo G. Brino

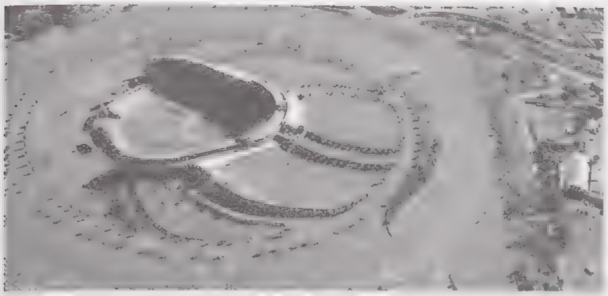
coloniale spagnola, a differenza di altri architetti trapiantati in California, come Irving Gill all'inizio del secolo o Charles Moore ai giorni nostri.

Il disporre gli edifici a torre sulla sommità delle alture, dove il suolo è più resistente, richiedeva notevoli movimenti di terra, e ciò a sua volta imponeva il "*temporaneo*" trasferimento di quasi tutta la popolazione di Chavez Ravine, la demolizione della maggior parte degli edifici esistenti e la distruzione del tessuto del villaggio. Le abitazioni "*non idonee*", destinate a scomparire, furono acquistate a un prezzo cosiddetto "*equo*"; ma i residenti proprietari dovettero affrontare il solito problema del divario tra il prezzo di vendita della loro vecchia casa e il prezzo d'acquisto del nuovo alloggio. La chiesa, i cui possessi erano meno facili da espropriare, resisté più a lungo e ottenne prezzi notevolmente più alti, riuscendo inoltre a farsi intestare, con le stesse finalità, le proprietà di alcuni parrocchiani. La City Housing Authority provvide all'assistenza richiesta dai trasferimenti[11].

I meriti e i demeriti sociali e architettonici del progetto di Neutra e Alexander per Elysian Park rimarranno un tema di discussione istruttivo e affascinante, ma solo sul piano speculativo, perché il progetto stesso non fu mai realizzato. Mentre gli abitanti di Chavez Ravine venivano trasferiti altrove e il loro villaggio era in demolizione, quando già stavano per essere indette le gare d'appalto sui progetti di ristrutturazione recentemente approvati, entrò in scena con effetti devastanti una forza d'opposizione latente da lungo tempo e non direttamente connessa a questioni di architettura o di identità etnica: quel sinistro spettro dei primi anni Cinquanta che sarebbe diventato famoso col nome di Maccartismo.

Un complesso di istituzioni, gruppi e individui comprendente la potente *lobby* immobiliare californiana, la Home Builders Association, la Camera di Commercio e soprattutto il "Los Angeles Times", intraprese una lotta destinata a diventare sempre più violenta contro il programma di edilizia pubblica, visto come manifestazione di un "*socialismo strisciante*" (se non di un comunismo dilagante) che tendeva a sovvertire dall'interno quegli stessi valori americani per cui si presumeva che si stesse combattendo sulle colline della Corea. Benché nel 1949 avessero approvato all'unanimità il programma, i consiglieri comunali, politicamente vulnerabili, cominciarono ad attenuare e a modificare le loro posizioni. Da parte sua il sindaco Bowron continuò a difendere il programma, sostenuto dai sindacati locali aderenti all'AFL e alla CIO, dalla National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, dalla League of Women Voters, da varie altre associazioni religiose e di ex combattenti e da gruppi di cittadini appositamente costituiti. Ma queste organizzazioni furono semplicemente sopraffatte, sulla stampa e nelle trasmissioni radiotelevisive, dalle forze contrarie al programma, che investirono ingenti somme in una campagna di propaganda e di "*formazione*". Ad esempio il presidente dell'associazione Citizens Against Socialist Housing, Frederick Dockweiler, sostenne che vi era "*in questa campagna una questione di fondo: il programma è di tipo socialista o no?*" A suo parere, nessuno degli argomenti addotti dal sindaco "*ha eliminato dal programma di edilizia pubblica l'impronta socialista, e anzi ne ha messo in evidenza il carattere collettivistico*". Uno dei consiglieri comunali convertiti, F.H. Henry, dichiarò che "*se avessimo bisogno di una prova che è giunto il momento di fermare la marcia verso il collettivismo, questa prova la troveremmo nella nostra attuale esperienza con la cosiddetta City Housing Authority*"[12].

Il culmine (o il fondo) della persecuzione maccartista contro i "*rossi*" fu toccato nel 1952, quando gli investigatori del Comitato sulle attività antiamericane del Senato della California rivolsero la loro attenzione alla Housing Authority di Los Angeles. Alla fatidica domanda "*Lei è attualmente, o è stato in passato, membro del Partito comunista?*" tre alti funzionari della City Housing Authority si avvalsero della facoltà di non rispondere sancita dal quinto emendamento della Costituzione; tutti e tre furono subito licenziati dal direttore Holtzendorf. Uno di essi era Frank Wilkinson, un idealista, figlio di un illustre medico ed esponente metodista di Los Angeles, cliente e amico di Neutra e politicamente molto vicino a Pauline Schindler. Sia Neutra che la Schindler rimasero fedeli a Wilkinson durante la controversa vicenda, ma il fatto che egli si fosse rifiutato di rispondere convinse il consigliere comunale John Holland che "*l'edilizia pubblica è caratterizzata in senso comunista. Questa gente sta cercando di mandare in rovina l'America, e coloro che ci hanno messi in guardia sui gravi pericoli che minacciano la libertà nel nostro paese hanno ragione*". Una mozione del Consiglio comunale accusò il direttore Holtzendorf di "*aver trascurato i suoi doveri (...) permettendo a Frank Wilkinson di lavorare per dieci anni a un'evidente macchinazione per introdurre i comunisti nella Housing Authority*"[13].



supported by the Los Angeles unions of the AFL and the CIO, the NAACP, the League of Women Voters, and various other church, veterans' and ad hoc citizen groups. But these organizations were simply out-shouted in the press and on the air by the antihousing forces who pumped huge sums of money into their advertising and "educational" *campaign. Frederick Dockweiler, chairman of Citizens Against Socialist Housing (CASH), argued, for example, that there was* "one basic issue in this campaign. That issue is, is this program socialistic, or is it not?" *Nothing in the mayor's arguments, he believed,* "had removed the stamp of socialism from the public housing program, but on the contrary has emphasized its collectivist pattern." *And one of the converted councilmen, F.H. Henry agreed that* "if we need any evidence that now is the time to stop the march on the road to collectivism, we have it in our present experience with the so-called City Housing Authority"[12].

The high or low point of the McCarthyite "red" *baiting was reached in 1952 when an ongoing investigation by the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities turned its attention to the Los Angeles Housing Authority. When asked the fatal question:* "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?", *three highly placed members of the CHA took the Fifth Amendment. All three were promptly fired by CHA Director Holtzendorf. CHA Director of Information Frank Wilkinson, the idealistic son of a prominent Los Angeles physician and Methodist layman, was one of these. Wilkinson was a close political ally of Pauline Schindler's and a client and friend of Neutra's. Both remained loyal to him throughout the controversial proceedings, but Wilkinson's Fifth Amendment plea convinced city councilman, John Holland,* "that public housing follows the Communist pattern. These are the people who are trying to wreck America. Those who have been warning us that liberty is in grave danger in this country are right." *A resolution of the city council accused Director Holtzendorf of* "derelictions of duty *(...)* in permitting Frank Wilkinson to operate for ten years in his obvious plot to infiltrate Communists into the Housing Authority"[13].

The antisocialist, anticommunist crusade was the focus, symbol, and ideological umbrella of a highly complex cluster of antihousing sentiments, but it was without doubt the crucial factor in the rapid shift of sentiment from the balmy pro-housing aura of August 1949 when the city council had voted unanimously to approve the program. Up until the end of 1951, it had continued its support of the whole enterprise by approving the sites and the necessary zoning changes and by authorizing the sale of tax-free lands to the Housing Authority. But by the end of 1951, the hammering campaign of the antihousing forces, and the coverage and support of the Los Angeles Times, *had captured a majority of the Los Angeles City Council. On December 26, 1951, by an 8-7 vote, the council adopted a resolution purporting to cancel the city's contract with the City Housing Authority*[14].

The CHA filed suit to have the action declared null and void and to force the council to honor its commitment, and the council in a countermove ordered a referendum election to be held on June 3, 1952. Pending settlement of the issue, the CHA called a halt to all building operations except for two small projects already under construction. On April 28, 1952 the California Supreme Court held by a unanimous decision that the city council could not cancel its cooperation agreement and ruled that the pending referendum would have no legal effect. This did not daunt the antihousing forces, however, who spared no efforts to convince the electorate that the vote would have a moral if not a legal effect. And at the highest fever pitch of the anticommunist purge, the small percentage of citizens sufficiently motivated to participate voted against the program 378,000 to 258,000[15].

The apparently growing sentiment in Los Angeles against low rent housing, court decisions not withstanding, prompted California's politically attuned congressional leaders, including Senators Knowland and Nixon, to campaign and push through national legislation which said, in effect, "that, if pursuant to an adverse referendum or council vote the [Public Housing Authority] was tendered full repayment of all sums advanced by it, and if the local authority agreed to a release of the Federal Government, the contract *(...)* should forthwith be cancelled." *Yet, on October 13, 1952 the contract between the city and the housing authority was further confirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court, to which the city council had appealed the California decision. Cheered by this development, Mayor Bowron and the CHA proceeded with construction of 2153 dwelling units in six more project locations electing to hold until the very end, the beginning of construction on Elysian Park Heights, the largest, most visible, and most sensitive of the projects. The obvious determination of the mayor and the CHA to press on with the program and not take advantage of the new escape*

La crociata anticomunista e antisocialista fu il centro di convergenza, il simbolo e lo scudo ideologico di tutto un complesso di posizioni contrarie all'edilizia pubblica; e fu senza dubbio la causa prima del rapido voltafaccia del Consiglio comunale, che nell'agosto 1949 aveva votato all'unanimità a favore del programma e che fino a tutto il 1951 aveva continuato a sostenere l'iniziativa, approvando la scelta delle aree e i necessari cambiamenti di destinazione e autorizzando la vendita alla Housing Authority di suoli esenti da imposte. Ma sul finire del 1951 la martellante campagna delle forze ostili all'edilizia pubblica, appoggiata dal "Times", conquistò la maggioranza del Consiglio comunale, che il 26 dicembre approvò con 8 voti contro 7 una deliberazione intesa ad annullare il contratto con la City Housing Authority[14].
Questa presentò una istanza legale affinché la deliberazione fosse dichiarata inefficace e il Consiglio comunale fosse costretto a mantenere i suoi impegni; come contromossa, il Consiglio indisse per il 3 giugno 1952 un referendum sulla questione. In attesa degli eventi la City Housing Authority sospese tutti i lavori, tranne che in due piccoli complessi già in costruzione. Il 28 aprile la Corte Suprema della California decise all'unanimità che il Consiglio comunale non aveva il diritto di annullare l'accordo di cooperazione e che il previsto referendum non avrebbe avuto alcun effetto giuridico. Ma ciò non scoraggiò gli oppositori del programma, che non lesinarono sforzi per convincere gli elettori che il voto avrebbe avuto se non altro un effetto morale. In un momento in cui l'epurazione anticomunista toccava il culmine, la modesta percentuale di cittadini interessata al referendum si dichiarò contraria al programma con 378.000 voti contro 258.000[15].
La crescente ostilità verso la costruzione di alloggi ad affitto contenuto che si andava manifestando a Los Angeles, nonostante la decisione della Corte, indusse i membri più influenti del Congresso della California politicamente sintonizzati su tali posizioni, tra i quali i senatori Knowland e Nixon, a scendere in campo per far approvare una legge federale per cui "*se, in seguito a un referendum o a un voto del Consiglio comunale, viene offerto alla Public Housing Authority il rimborso integrale delle somme da essa anticipate, e se l'autorità locale acconsente a una rinunzia del Governo federale, il contratto (...) dovrà essere annullato*". Tuttavia il 13 ottobre 1952 la validità del contratto fra l'Amministrazione cittadina e la Housing Authority fu nuovamente confermata dalla Corte Suprema degli Stati Uniti, alla quale il Consiglio comunale si era appellato contro la deliberazione della Corte Suprema della California.
Incoraggiati da questo fatto nuovo, il sindaco Bowron e la City Housing Authority decisero di proseguire la costruzione di 2153 alloggi in altre sei zone e di resistere a oltranza fino all'inizio dei lavori per Elysian Park Heights, che costituiva l'intervento più esteso, più appariscente e più delicato. Quest'atteggiamento del sindaco e della City Housing Autority di continuare a spingere per la realizzazione del programma e di non avvantaggiarsi dalle nuove vie d'uscita che si erano profilate, spinse gli oppositori a compiere uno sforzo disperato per cancellare gli altri progetti sbarazzandosi del sindaco.
Nel giugno 1953 il membro del Congresso Norris Poulson, dopo una campagna elettorale basata soprattutto sull'opposizione al programma e sulla promessa di affrancare la città dal "*dominio federale*", sconfisse Bowron, che per quattro magistrature era stato il paladino dell'edilizia pubblica[16].
Il nuovo sindaco, valendosi dei suoi poteri di nomina nella Housing Authority, negoziò con questa una serie di complicati accordi per cui i complessi già in costruzione sarebbero stati ultimati come da progetto sotto la direzione della Housing Authority, mentre i due complessi più vasti, quelli di Rose Hill e di Elysian Park Heights, comprendenti più della metà dei 10.000 alloggi originari, non sarebbero stati realizzati.
Il Governo federale avrebbe quindi rivenduto alla città i suoli acquistati e non utilizzati, che sarebbero stati destinati a opere d'interesse pubblico. La zona di Chavez Ravine fu così venduta per 1.279.000 dollari, con una perdita per il governo federale di 4 milioni di dollari[17].
Sgombrato dai suoi abitanti, ad accezione di pochi ostinati, Chavez Ravine attendeva passivamente che il suo destino si compisse; e già prima della fine del 1953 questo destino cominciò a delinearsi, come conseguenza di eventi in corso all'altro estremo degli Stati Uniti.
Walter O'Malley, proprietario della squadra di baseball dei Brooklyn Dodgers, aveva avviato una trattativa con la Municipalità di New York per costruire un nuovo stadio che sostituisse l'angusto e fatiscente Ebbets Fields; ma il potente commissario ai parchi di New York, Robert Moses, si opponeva alla concessione delle aree richieste da O'Malley e questi, altrettanto caparbio, rifiutava le

hatches once again energized the antihousing forces in a last-ditch effort to cancel the remaining project by simply getting rid of the mayor. In June 1953, running chiefly on an antihousing platform which promised to rid the city of "federal domination", *Congressman Norris Poulson defeated Mayor Bowron, the four-term champion of Los Angeles public housing*[16].
The new mayor Poulson, with the leverage of his Housing Authority appointive powers, negotiated a series of complicated compromises between the city and the housing authority, wherein the projects already begun would go forward as planned under housing authority direction and the two largest projects – Rose Hill and Elysian Park Heights, comprising more than half of the original 10,000 units – would be cancelled. The federal government then would resell to the city the unused property it had acquired, to be used, it was agreed, for appropriate public projects. In selling Chavez Ravine for $ 1,279,000, the federal government took a $ 4,000,000 loss[17].
Cleared now of its population, with the exception of a few persistent holdouts, Chavez Ravine lay idle awaiting its destiny. Yet even before the end of 1953, events were transpiring clear across the country that would ultimately seal its fate as Walter O'Malley, owner of the Brooklyn Dodgers, began negotiating with the City of New York for a new site for a stadium to replace the decrepit and too small Ebbets Field. O'Malley wanted to own his own stadium, but Robert Moses, New York's powerful parks commissioner, opposed the sites O'Malley wanted, and O'Malley, equally stubborn, refused the sites Moses proposed, including Flushing Meadows, the future home of the New York Mets. "The jig's up Walter," *Moses told O'Malley, and the outraged O'Malley decided to move west. To keep him company, he persuaded the equally disaffected Horace Stoneham to move his New York Giants to San Francisco. And to welcome the Dodgers, the City of Los Angeles offered O'Malley the one thing New York had somehow not delivered a site on which to build his own private stadium*[18].
In effect, the city gave him the land "exchanging" 315-acre Chavez Ravine for a 9-acre stadium site of the old, minor league Los Angeles Angels, which O'Malley had earlier acquired from Philip Wrigley. The contract of October 7, 1957 also provided that the city would spend $2,000,000 on site improvement, an ironic contrast to the earlier hue and cry over the city's commitments to provide sewage for the housing project. Opponents of the Dodger deal argued that O'Malley's private ownership of the land violated the city's agreement to keep it public, and a law suit to challenge that prompted once again a supposedly "democratic" referendum to legitimize the "sale" of the land to O'Malley. A tiny margin of just over 25,000 votes confirmed the city's contract which was shortly sanctioned by court approval as well. The court upheld the contract largerly on the grounds that O'Malley's agreement to provide a public recreational area in conjunction with the stadium satisfied the "public" stipulations of the sale contract. This recreational area, however, was ultimately never developed[19].
Now O'Malley had only to clear some twenty remaining families, doggedly holding on to their small bits of property. The last of these, Manuel Arechiga, was finally evicted by bulldozers and sheriff's deputies on May 8, 1959. The Los Angeles Times, *which had poignantly publicized the earlier evictions by the Housing Authority, remained silent in the later removals. To Los Angeles, in the McCarthyite 1950s, public housing seemed un-American, but baseball did not. And on September 17, 1959, ten years after it all began, O'Malley broke ground for his Dodger Stadium*[20].
The ten-year battle of Chavez Ravine – from the early debate over changing it all, to the Neutra and Alexander designs for redevelopment, to its tragic involvement in Cold War politics, to its final apple pie American resolution – indeed framed an era in American history in which public housing was only one of the casualities.

aree proposte da Moses (tra cui i Flushing Meadows, futura sede dei New York Mets). "*Hai chiuso, Walter*", disse a un certo punto Moses, e O'Malley, indignato, decise di emigrare all'Ovest; per stare in compagnia, persuase un altro scontento, il proprietario dei New York Giants Horace Stoneham, a trasferire la sua squadra a San Francisco. La città di Los Angeles diede il benvenuto ai Dodgers offrendo a O'Malley ciò che New York non aveva voluto consegnargli: un'area su cui edificare il suo stadio privato[18].
In effetti la città gli "regalò" quest'area, permutando i 130 ettari di Chavez Ravine con i 4 ettari scarsi dell'area occupata dallo stadio dei Los Angeles Angels, un'antica squadra minore, che in precedenza O'Malley aveva acquistato da Philiph Wrigley. Il contratto del 7 ottobre 1957 prevedeva inoltre che la città spendesse due milioni di dollari per migliorare la zona: il che contrastava in modo stridente con le clamorose proteste che si erano levate quando la Municipalità si era impegnata a costruire le fognature per il complesso edilizio pubblico.
Gli oppositori della transazione coi Dodgers sostennero che l'acquisizione dell'area da parte di un privato era in contrasto con la sua destinazione a usi pubblici e avviarono un'azione legale per contestare l'accordo; in seguito a ciò fu indetto un altro referendum "democratico" per legittimare la "vendita" dell'area, e con una ristretta maggioranza (poco più di 25.000 voti) il contratto fu approvato, per essere poco dopo sanzionato anche dalla Corte Suprema della California. Quest'ultima decisione fu motivata soprattutto dal fatto che l'accettazione da parte di O'Malley dell'obbligo di creare una zona ricreativa pubblica in connessione con lo stadio soddisfaceva le clausole "pubbliche" del contratto di vendita; ma di fatto questa zona non fu mai realizzata[19].
A questo punto O'Malley non aveva che da sbarazzarsi di una ventina di famiglie, rimaste tenacemente ancorate alle loro piccole proprietà; l'ultimo di questi proprietari, Manuel Arechiga, fu sloggiato dalle ruspe e dai delegati dello sceriffo l'8 maggio 1959. Il "Times", che a suo tempo aveva pubblicizzato con caustici commenti gli sfratti eseguiti dalla Housing Authority, rimase silenzioso. Nella Los Angeles degli anni Cinquanta, dominati dal Maccartismo, l'edilizia pubblica poteva sembrare antiamericana, ma il baseball no: e il 17 settembre 1959, a dieci anni dall'inizio della vicenda, O'Malley cominciò gli scavi per il suo Dodger Stadium[20].

La decennale battaglia di Chavez Ravine – dai primi dibattiti sulla completa trasformazione della zona ai progetti di ristrutturazione di Neutra e Alexander, dal drammatico coinvolgimento nel clima politico della guerra fredda alla soluzione finale, tipicamente americana – rappresenta bene un periodo della nostra storia, di cui l'edilizia pubblica non fu certo la sola vittima.

Note

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Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

1) Lettera di Maxwell Fry a Richard Neutra del 9 settembre 1940, in possesso dell'autore.
2) Quest'apprezzamento del 1972 è citato nelle memorie inedite di Robert Alexander, possedute in copia dall'autore e depositate tra le carte Alexander presso la Cornell University.
3) T. HINES, *Intervista a Robert Alexander*, Los Angeles, 11 dicembre 1978.
4) T. HINES, *Intervista a Simon Eisner*, Los Angeles, 4 novembre 1976.
5) R. NEUTRA, *History and the setting for a Project of Rehabilitation*, pp. 4-5 (promemoria inedito in possesso dell'autore).
6) *Ibid.*
7) R. NEUTRA, *Elysian Park Heights, a project of Urban Reconstruction*, pp. 1-2; e *Elysian Park Heights. Urban Reconstruction and Housing*, p. 1 (promemoria inediti in possesso dell'autore).
8) R. NEUTRA, R. ALEXANDER, *Submission to the City Planning Commission of the City of Los Angeles. Site Statistics* (promemoria inedito).
9) Cfr.: T. HINES, *Intervista a Simon Eisner*, cit; "Los Angeles Times", 2 giugno 1952.
10) T. HINES, *Intervista a Simon Eisner*, cit.; R. NEUTRA, *Elysian Park Heights, a Project of Urban Reconstruction*, cit., pp. 2-4.
11) T. HINES, *Intervista a Simon Eisner*, cit.
12) *Ibid*; "Los Angeles Times", 22 e 23 maggio 1952. Ringrazio Patricia Tuttle per avermi indicato questi riferimenti nell'acuta ricerca sulla vicenda di Chavez Ravine da lei svolta presso la University of California, Los Angeles.
13) Cfr.: "Los Angeles Times", 30 agosto, 3 settembre, 28 e 29 ottobre 1952; T. HINES, *Colloquio con Wilkinson*, Los Angeles, 5 ottobre 1981. Wilkinson, impegnato difensore delle libertà civili, continuò per principio a rifiutarsi di dichiarare se aveva fatto o no parte del Partito comunista.
14) *Chronological Facts Regarding Low Rent Program of Los Angeles Housing Authority*, osservazioni del deputato della California Chet Hohfield alla Camera dei Rappresentanti, 22 aprile 1953, in "Congressional Record", 85th Congress, First Session.
15) *Ibid.*
16) *Ibid.*
17) "Los Angeles Times", 16 giugno e 30 luglio 1953, 4 giugno 1978.
18) "Los Angeles Times", 4 giugno 1978.
19) *Ibid.*
20) *Ibid.* Per maggiori dettagli sul trasferimento dei Dodgers a Los Angeles, cfr. C.S. HENDERSON, *Los Angeles and the Dodgers War, 1957-62*, in "Southern California Quarterly", 1980, pp. 261-289. Ho avuto notizia di questo articolo solo dopo aver ultimato il presente scritto.

Notes

(*) Thomas S. Hines is professor of History and Architecture at UCLA. This essay was published in the "Journal of Urban History", vol. 8, no 2, february 1982, pp. 121-141.
1) Maxwell Fry in a letter to Richard Neutra, September 9, 1940, in possession of author.
2) This 1972 citation was quoted in Robert Alexander's unpublished memoirs, copy in possession of author and on file with the Alexander papers at Cornell University.
3) T. HINES, Interview with Robert Alexander, *Los Angeles, December 11, 1978.*
4) T. HINES, Interview with Simon Eisner, *Los Angeles, November 4, 1976.*
5) R. NEUTRA, History and the Setting for a Project of Rehabilitation, *pp. 4-5, in possession of author (unpublished memorandum).*
6) Ibid.
7) R. NEUTRA, Elysian Park Heights, a Project of Urban Reconstruction, *pp. 1-2, and* Elysian Park Heights, Urban Reconstruction and Housing, *p. 1, in possession of author (unpublished memoranda).*
8) R. NEUTRA and R. ALEXANDER, Submission to the City Planning Commission of the City of Los Angeles. Site Statistics *(unpublished memorandum).*
9) T. HINES, Interview with Simon Eisner, *cit.; "Los Angeles* Times", *June 2, 1952.*
10) T. HINES, Interview with Simon Eisner, *cit.; R. NEUTRA,* Elysian Park Heights, a Project of Urban Reconstruction, *cit., pp. 2-4.*
11) T. HINES, Interview with Simon Eisner, *cit.*
12) Ibid., *"Los Angeles Times", May 22, 23, 1952. I am grateful to Patricia Tuttle, for calling these references to my attention in her insightful UCLA student paper on the Chavez Ravine controversy.*
13) See "Los Angeles Times", August 30, September 3, October 28, 29, 1952. T. HINES, Conversation with Wilkinson, *Los Angeles, October 5, 1981. Wilkinson, a committed civil libertarian, would continue, on principle, to refuse to state whether or not he had actually been a member of the Communist party.*
14) Chronological Facts Regarding Low Rent Program of Los Angeles Housing Authority, *remarks of Hon. Chet Hohfield of California, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, April 22, 1953, "Congressional Record", 85th Congress, First Session.*
15) Ibid.
16) Ibid.
17) "Los Angeles Times", June 16, July 30, 1953, June 4, 1978.
18) "Los Angeles Times", June 4, 1978.
19) Ibid.
20) Ibid. *For more details on the Dodger move to Los Angeles, see C. S. HENDERSON,* Los Angeles and the Dodger War, 1957-1962, *"Southern California Quarterly", Fall 1980, pp. 261 289. This article came to my attention after the completion of my own article.*

Eero Saarinen and Associates, Charles Eames, Padiglione IBM, Fiera Mondiale di New York, 1964-65. Vista interna del teatro durante la proiezione della multivisione "Think" di Charles Eames.

Eero Saarinen and Associates, Charles Eames, IBM Pavilion, New York Trade Fair, 1964-65. Interior view of the theatre during a screening of Charles Eames' "Think" multivision.

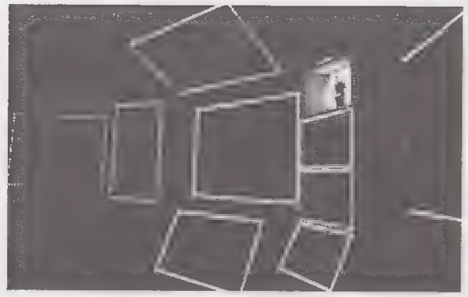


Charles Eames
Kevin Roche

Un'intera generazione di architetti e *designer* avrebbe voluto essere Charles Eames. Egli rappresentò ai loro occhi l'equivalente moderno dell'uomo rinascimentale. A una conoscenza superficiale appariva mite e reagiva a ogni genere di elogio con un ingenuo imbarazzo alla Jimmy Stewart. Tuttavia, a chi ebbe l'occasione di conoscerlo meglio, magari facendone le spese, egli si rivelò un perfezionista tenace, irriducibile e implacabile, impaziente di fronte alla minima dimostrazione di incompetenza o di negligenza nell'esecuzione di un compito. Egli mascherava spesso questa insofferenza con un discorso elaborato e circonlocutorio che illudeva la vittima sulla possibilità di essere lodata mentre le lasciava scoprire soltanto alla fine, come il colpo di coda di uno scorpione, che si trattava di una critica feroce. Eppure il suo fascino bastava a lenire presto qualsiasi ferita e la sua raffinata sagacia a renderlo un compagno piacevolissimo.
Charles Eames è stato senza dubbio il *designer* più creativo e originale del Ventesimo secolo, capace di combinare doti di inventore, artigiano, *designer*, architetto, cineasta a quelle di scienziato, ricercatore, creatore visionario, in grado di effettuare quegli scarti improvvisi e quelle connessioni improbabili che caratterizzano il genio.
La prima volta che incontrai Charles fu a una festa che si teneva a Cranbrook. Era circa la metà degli anni Cinquanta ed egli aveva appena proiettato alcuni suoi film a un pubblico in contemplazione. Già allora era un'icona che gli studenti adulavano.
Faceva spesso visita allo studio di Eero Saarinen, di cui era grande amico, ma la prima volta che ebbi occasione di lavorare con lui fu quando Eero decise di commissionargli un film che spiegasse la concezione radicale dell'Aeroporto Dulles. Mi affidarono di svolgere la ricerca in collaborazione con Charles, e il compito di procurare le informazioni necessarie alla stesura della sceneggiatura. Lavorare con Charles fu una vera emozione. Egli dimostrò un interesse profondo per l'intero processo del movimento dell'aereo, delle esigenze dei passeggeri e del trasporto dei bagagli. Il film si avvalse della meravigliosa animazione di Glen Fleck e, dopo la sua realizzazione, si rivelò un valido strumento per persuadere la F.A.A. e le linee aeree sulla possibilità di realizzare l'idea di Eero.
In seguito Charles girò un film per il Padiglione americano alla Fiera di Mosca e, in quell'occasione, mi chiese di scattare alcune fotografie di centri commerciali. Eero era d'accordo, e così in cinque dello studio ci sparpagliammo

Charles Eames
Kevin Roche

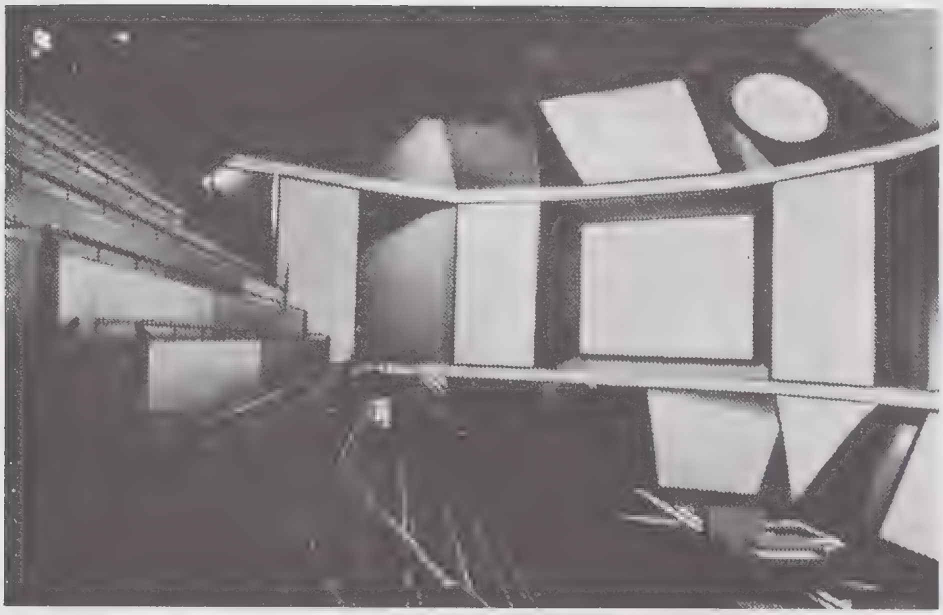
A whole generation of architects and designers wished they were Charles Eames. He epitomized for them that modern equivalent of the Renaissance man. To the casual acquaintance he was humble in demeanor. He had a kind of Jimmy Stewart "Aw schucks" reaction to any praise.
As those who knew him a little better found out, sometimes to their chagrin, he was a tough, hard-driving, unforgiving perfectionist who had absolutely no patience with even the slightest show of incompetence or carelessness in executing any task. His lack of patience, however, was usually clothed in an elaborate and circumlocutory story which left the victim unsure for some time if praise was in the offing only to find a devastating chastisement like a scorpion's tail tacked at the end of the story.
His considerable charm repaired all wounds in short time, however, and his penetrating intellect made him a fascinating companion.
He was without a doubt the most creative and original designer of the twentieth century, combining as he did the skills of inventor, tinkerer, designer, architect and film maker with those of scientist, researcher, visionary, and creator - one who could make the great leaps and improbable connections of the true genius.
I first met Charles at a party in Cranbrook sometime in the mid-fifties after he had shown several of his films to an adoring audience. Even then he was an icon enjoying the adulation of the students. He was a very close friend of Eero's and visited the office every now and then, but the first opportunity I had to work with him was when Eero decided to commission a film to explain the radical concept of the Dulles Airport. I was assigned to work with Charles in research and to provide the information he needed to write the script. Working with him was a great thrill. He really became intensely interested in the whole process of airplane movement, passenger convenience and baggage handling. After the film was made using Glen Fleck's wonderful animation, it proved a great success in persuading the FAA and the airlines of the feasibility of Eero's concept.
Later, when Charles was preparing a film for the American Pavilion at the Moscow Fair, he asked me if I would take some photographs of shopping malls. Eero agreed and five of us from the office fanned out over greater Detroit photographing everything we could at all the new malls. We shot over three hundred rolls of film and for a long time after that Charles would refer to our "smoking lenses".

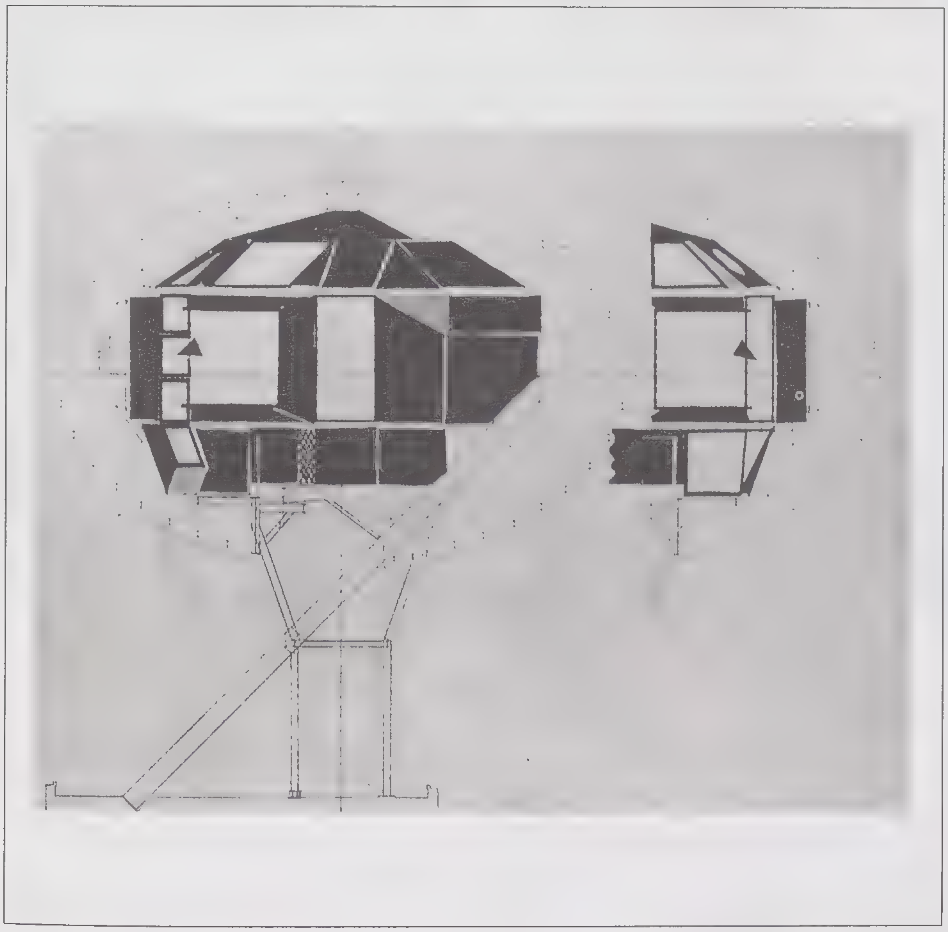




per la grande Detroit dove fotografammo tutto il possibile dei nuovi centri. Scattammo più di trecento rullini, tanto che Charles parlò a lungo dei nostri "*obiettivi fumanti*". Di quelle immagini ne utilizzò forse soltanto alcune, ma eravamo comunque molto fieri di aver contribuito in qualche modo a un'opera del Maestro.
Verso la fine degli anni Cinquanta, quando la progettazione del St. Louis Arch era alla fase finale, ci fu proposto di realizzare un Museo che raccontasse la storia della scoperta del West che era alla base del progetto. Eero desiderava coinvolgere Charles e gli chiese di preparare una presentazione per Conrad L. Wirth, direttore del National Parks Service. Sul retro dello studio avevamo preparato un modello a grandezza naturale dei gradini che salivano all'Arco oltre a dettagli, piante e modelli dell'Arco stesso, della galleria panoramica per il pubblico nella parte superiore dell'Arco e del Museo. Eero invitò Mr. Wirth nel suo studio, in Michigan, per presentargli il progetto.
Il materiale di Charles, tuttavia, non arrivò che all'ultimo minuto. Si trattava di un film sugli anni Cinquanta che egli aveva appena ultimato per la CBS. Mentre Eero finiva la sua presentazione, ci affrettammo a inserire la pellicola nel proiettore e dopo che Eero ebbe concluso un'elaborata presentazione di Charles sostenendo l'importanza del suo apporto al progetto, accendemmo il proiettore pieni di curiosità. Le riprese di Charles terminavano con una lunga sezione in cui Ethyl Merman cantava, con quanta più voce aveva in gola, il brano *Everything's coming up roses*! tratto dal musical *Gypsy*. Si accesero le luci e calò un silenzio mortale. Eero era davvero sconcertato e Mr. Wirth sembrava sbalordito. Per un bel po' non disse niente, proprio niente. Poi si alzò lentamente in piedi : "*C'è qualcos'altro che volete mostrarmi?*", chiese, e la cosa si concluse così.
Quando Eero ci lasciò, il 1 settembre 1961, lui e Charles avevano ricevuto l'incarico per il Padiglione dell'IBM alla Fiera Mondiale di New York. Ne avevano parlato insieme un paio di volte ma Eero non aveva ancora iniziato a lavorare sul progetto. C'era bisogno di un nuovo architetto e Charles non era affatto sicuro di voler lavorare con lo studio del nostro successore. Tuttavia, quando vincemmo, in competizione con molti altri architetti, il concorso per il Museo di Oakland, decise di convincere l'IBM a continuare la collaborazione con noi. Per iniziare il progetto trascorsi qualche tempo nello studio di Charles, a Venice. Sviluppammo alcune delle prime idee elaborate

Probably only a few of the images we had taken were used, but we were very proud to feel we had contributed something to the Master.
Towards the end of the fifties, when the St. Louis Arch was in final design, a museum which would tell the story of the opening up of the West was proposed at the base of the Arch. Eero was anxious that Charles be involved in telling that story, so he asked him to prepare a presentation for Conrad L. Wirth who was Director of the National Parks Service. We had prepared a full-size mockup of the steps leading up to the Arch at the back of the office, in addition to details and plans and models of the Arch, the visitors' viewing gallery at the top of the Arch, and the museum itself. Eero invited Mr. Wirth to come to the office in Michigan for the presentation.
The material from Charles did not, however, arrive until the very last minute, and it came in the form of a film Charles had just completed for CBS covering the decade of the fifties. With Eero's presentation coming to a close, we hastily threaded this film into the projector, Eero completed an elaborate introduction of Charles and how much he could bring to the project, and with great anticipation we turned on the projector. The film had a long closing section with Ethyl Merman singing from the musical "Gypsy" *at the top of her voice,* "Everything's coming up roses!" *over and over again. The lights came on and there was deathly silence in the room. Eero was really at a loss and Charles Wirth seemed stunned. He didn't say anything – anything at all – for a long time. Then he slowly got to his feet and said,* "Is there anything else you wish to show me?". *And that was the end of that.*
When Eero died on September 1, 1961, he and Charles had received the commission for the IBM Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. They had had one or two conversations about it but Eero hadn't started any work on the project. A new architect was needed and Charles was not at all sure he wanted to continue with our successor firm. However, after we had secured the Oakland Museum in competition with many other architects, he decided to recommend to IBM that we be retained. To start the project I spent some time in Charles's office in Venice. Some of the early ideas for the exhibit were being developed, and Charles's concept was a structural plane above which a theater would float, the audience being drawn up into the theater by means of a "people wall". *I proposed a steel forest to support the plane, and in our office the theater became enclosed in the ovoid*





Eero Saarinen and Associates, Charles Eames, Padiglione IBM, Fiera di New York, 1964-65.
Viste interne del teatro durante la proiezione della multivisione "Think" di Charles Eames.
Vista interna della sala e sezioni.

Eero Saarinen and Associates, Charles Eames, IBM Pavilion, New York Trade Fair, 1964-65.
Interior views of the theatre. Details of the tiering and screens and stills from Charles Eames' "Think" multivision.
Interior view of theatre and cross sections.

Eero Saarinen and Associates, Charles Eames, Padiglione IBM, Fiera Mondiale di New York, 1964-65. Vista esterna del padiglione in costruzione e vista generale.

Eero Saarinen and Associates, Charles Eames, IBM Pavilion, New York Trade Fair, 1964-65. Exterior view of the pavilion under construction and general view.





per l'esposizione e Charles pensava a un piastra strutturale sopra la quale avrebbe sospeso un teatro, mentre gli spettatori avrebbero fatto la fila per entrare formando una "*parete umana*". Io proposi una foresta d'acciaio a sostegno della piastra e in seguito il teatro risultò racchiuso da un ovoide coperto dalle tre grandi lettere IBM. Mentre sviluppavamo il progetto si era creato un rapporto di lavoro davvero proficuo, nonostante i tempi ridotti e le difficoltà incontrate con il nuovo gruppo di comando della IBM. Naturalmente l'intervento di Charles fu vitale al progetto. Egli concepì gli allestimenti interni, sviluppò la trama delle sceneggiature e girò i film per la produzione teatrale.
Ci ritrovammo ad affrontare insieme una nuova avventura nel 1966, quando ci diedero l'incarico di progettare il National Fisheries Center and Aquarium a Washington D.C., dopo che la Fine Arts Commission aveva rifiutato ripetutamente i disegni di progetto presentati da un altro architetto. Ritenni che dovesse essere Charles a occuparsi degli allestimenti interni ed egli, infatti, sviluppò il programma e girò un film straordinario che illustrava lo scopo dell'Acquario. Si immerse nel progetto, come faceva sempre. Cercò un biologo marino con il quale poteva intendersi e con lui studiò a fondo quella scienza al punto che, al termine delle riprese, era diventato un esperto di biologia marina. La nostra collaborazione fu ancora una volta intensa e appagante ma, sfortunatamente, il progetto non venne mai portato a termine per le restrizioni di *budget* che il presidente Nixon impose a tutte le costruzioni federali.
Quando iniziammo a lavorare al progetto di sistemazione complessiva del Metropolitan Museum of Art, una delle prime intenzioni era di ricostruire l'ambiente del Musical Instrument Department. Grazie all'intervento di Arthur Rosenblatt, che era allora vicepresidente per l'architettura e la progettazione, Charles fu invitato a elaborare un proposta per lo spazio espositivo. Per un po' di tempo sembrò che non volesse affrontare la questione ma, alla fine, presentò una serie di fogli cm. 21x29.7 con dei deliziosi disegnini di Glen Fleck. Io e Arthur la trovammo un'idea brillante ma il curatore, che aveva idee molto precise e in un certo senso antiquate rispetto all'allestimento di una esposizione, non parve rendersene conto e, alla fine, si decise di abbandonare il progetto. In ogni caso, credo che Charles avesse grandi difficoltà ad assumere il ruolo di allestitore di esposizioni soprattutto se

covered with large IBM letters. As it developed we had a very successful working relationship in spite of the enormous pressure of time and the difficulty of working with IBM's newly formed real estate group. Charles of course brought life to the whole project, conceiving the exhibits, developing the story lines and making the films for the multiple-image theater production.
Our next adventure together was in 1966 when we were asked to undertake the design of the National Fisheries Center and Aquarium in Washington, D.C.. Designs for the project by another architect had been rejected repeatedly by the Fine Arts Commission. I suggested that Charles be retained as the exhibits designer, and he developed the program and made an extraordinary film which illustrated the purpose of the Aquarium. Once again Charles immersed himself in the project. He found a marine biologist who understood what he wanted and together they delved deeply into the whole science so that by the time the film was completed Charles was something of an authority on marine biology. Our collaboration was again a very intense and rewarding experience, but unfortunately the project never went ahead because of a budget freeze on all federal construction by President Nixon.
When we started work on the master plan for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, one of the early projects was to rehouse the Musical Instruments Department. Through the good offices of Arthur Rosenblatt, who was then Vice President for Architecture and Planning, Charles was invited to prepare an exhibits design proposal. He seemed to resist tackling this for some time but finally came to a presentation with a series of 8,5" x 11" sheets of paper with exquisite little drawings by Glen Fleck. Although Arthur and I thought the concept was brilliant, the curator, who had very fixed and somewhat old-fashioned ideas about exhibitions, did not seem to grasp it so it was decided not to pursue the project any further. In any case, I think Charles had great difficulty seeing himself in the role of an exhibits designer particularly in dealing with objects with which he was not entirely in sympathy. While many of the instruments were of course exquisite examples of craftsmanship and reflected a directness of design which he appreciated, part of the collection included highly decorative baroque instruments which simply appalled Charles, and he did not wish to have anything to do with them.
Our final collaboration was in 1969 on a computer

non nutriva grande simpatia per gli oggetti esposti. Mentre molti degli strumenti erano squisiti esempi di artigianato e riflettevano una chiarezza progettuale che egli apprezzava, parte della collezione comprendeva strumenti barocchi ricchi di decorazioni che gli facevano così orrore da non volerne avere a che fare.
L'ultima volta che collaborammo fu nel 1969. Si trattava di progettare un Museo di tecnologia informatica per l'IBM. Charles aveva già elaborato il programma e girato un film sugli scopi del Museo mentre, insieme, sviluppammo l'edificio che l'avrebbe ospitato. Lo studio accurato del progetto durò almeno un anno e la presentazione finale a Thomas J. Watson Jr., il presidente di allora dell'IBM, doveva svolgersi nel nostro studio. Io e Charles, insieme a un folto gruppo di dipendenti IBM, aspettammo tutto il giorno il suo arrivo, fiduciosi di impressionare Mr. Watson con la nostra elaborata presentazione di film e modelli. Mr. Watson, invece, non era affatto pronto a una simile sorpresa. Arrivò di sera, tardi, con la sua *limousine*, dettando lettere alla sua segretaria, e alla fine della presentazione si rivolse al vicepresidente e gli chiese: "*Mi dica, perché vogliamo costruire un museo?*". E così andò in fumo un anno di duro lavoro. Sembra che nessuno avesse ritenuto opportuno avvertire il presidente di quello che stava accadendo e il progetto, che effettivamente era iniziato in modo molto dimesso, aveva poi assunto dimensioni assai più consistenti nel corso del nostro lavoro.
Credo che Charles venisse spesso frainteso. Era considerato un *designer* di mobili o un cineasta, un architetto o un allestitore di interni; invece era tutte queste cose insieme. Ma, e soprattutto, era un filosofo della visione, una persona che coglieva con chiarezza straordinaria la ragione o la mancanza di razionalità celata dietro tutti gli oggetti di cui ci si circonda nella vita quotidiana. Egli voleva sensibilizzare le persone perché fosse la logica e la razionalità a dominare la vita quotidiana. Fu, in un certo senso, la coscienza di un'epoca, e chi lo conobbe lo ricorda proprio così.
Non trovo espressione migliore di quello che provavo per lui del necrologio che ebbi il privilegio di scrivere nel 1978, in occasione della sua morte, per l'American Academy of Arts and Letters:

"Charles Eames fu una figura davvero unica nel mondo del progetto del Ventesimo secolo. Insieme alla moglie, Ray, lo dominò a tal punto che si potrebbe attribuirgliene l'invenzione. La sua unicità stava nel fatto che egli non era un designer *nel senso che si attribuisce normalmente al termine, ma una persona dedita alla costante ricerca dell'ordine che sottosta alle cose, dei principi primi.*
Le sue opere, troppo conosciute per essere elencate qui, investirono i campi di interesse più diversi: arredamento, cinema, esposizioni, giocattoli, grafica, design *industriale, comunicazione, architettura. E in ognuna di esse, infallibilmente, si rivelò un maestro indiscusso. Considerato da tutti un genio, era comunque una persona modestissima, amabile e cordiale, insofferente soltanto di fronte all'incompetenza e alla disonestà. Non era a suo agio nel mondo ampolloso dell'arte e rifiutava il titolo di* artista *in ogni sua forma, rivendicando per sé solo quello di operaio qualificato, di chi fa al meglio quello di cui è capace.*
Nel riepilogare la sua vita non è necessario citare Orazio, ma è vero che «egli non si sentiva di giurare fedeltà ad alcun maestro, se non alla ragione stessa». Del suo lavoro non amava parlare e tanto meno scrivere, ma in una rara intervista rilasciata a Parigi nel 1970 egli diede alcune risposte significative.
Alla domanda «Qual'è la sua definizione di design*?», egli rispose: «Un progetto per disporre elementi in modo da assolvere al meglio un determinato fine». Quando gli chiesero se era mai stato costretto ad accettare un compromesso, egli rispose: «Non sono mai stato costretto ad accettare compromessi, ma ho accettato di buon grado dei vincoli».*
E alla domanda finale «Qual'è il futuro del design*?» egli rispose col silenzio. Un silenzio che rivelava forse un certo imbarazzo, perché qualsivoglia futuro del* design*, nella sua espressione migliore, sarebbe stato certamente quello che Charles Eames era andato facendo in tutta la sua vita creativa".*

Hamden, Connecticut, 21 dicembre 1993

technology museum for IBM. Charles had already developed the program and had made a film of the scope of the museum, and we developed the building to house it. The project was studied in great detail over a period of at least a year and the final presentation was to be made in our offices to Thomas J. Watson, Jr. who was the chairman of IBM at that time. Charles and I, together with a phalanx of IBM officers, waited all day for the chairman to arrive. We had prepared a very elaborate presentation of film and models which we had every confidence would overwhelm Mr. Watson. Mr. Watson, however, was not prepared to be overwhelmed. He arrived late in the evening in his limousine still dictating letters to his secretary, and when we had completed our presentation he turned to the vice president in charge and said, "Now tell me why are we proposing to build a museum?" *That effectively sank a year's worth of work and effort. Apparently no one had seen fit to advise the chairman what was afoot, and the project which may have had a very modest beginning through our efforts had assumed a life of its own.*
I believe Charles was often misunderstood. People assumed that he was a furniture designer or a film maker or an architect or an exhibits designer, and of course he was all of those things. But, over and above that, he was a visual philosopher - someone who saw with extraordinary clarity the reason or the lack of reason behind all of those objects with which we surround ourselves in daily life. He wanted to raise the awareness of people so that they would live by reason and logic in their daily lives. He was, in a way the conscience of his age, and those who knew him will remember him as that.
When Charles died in 1978, I was privileged to write his obituary for the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and it sums up better than anything else I can think of my feelings about him:

"Charles Eames was a truly unique figure in the world of twentieth-century design. So completely did he and his wife, Ray, dominate it that they almost might be credited with its invention. His uniqueness was that he was not a designer in the sense that we ordinarily understand the term, but rather one who searched unerringly for the underlying order of things - for the first principles.
His achievements, too well known to be catalogued here, ranged over a very wide field of interests — furniture, films, exhibitions, toys, graphics, industrial design, communications, architecture. In each and every one of his endeavors, he became an acknowledged master. By any standard, he was a genius, yet he was a very modest, warm and friendly person, impatient only with incompetence and dishonesty. He was uncomfortable in the pompous world of art, and he rejected any form of the title "Artist", claiming for himself only the trade of journeyman - doing the best he knew how.
The summation of his life needs no quotation from Horace, but indeed "he was not bound over to swear allegiance to any master, save reason itself". Although he talked little about his work and wrote less, a rare interview given in Paris in 1970 has some revealing answers.
To the question, "What is your definition of design?" he answered, " a plan for arranging elements to best accomplish a particular purpose". When asked if he had ever been forced to accept a compromise, he responded "I have never been forced to accept compromises, but I have willingly accepted constraints."
And the final question, "What is the future of design?" he answered with silence. One can imagine that it was a bemused silence, for whatever the future of design, in its best form it will surely be what Charles Eames had been doing all his creative life".

Hamden, Connecticut, December 21th, 1993



Richard Neutra sul tetto della VDL Research House II (Richard e Dion Neutra, 1966), Los Angeles, in una foto del 1967. Foto J. Shulman.

Richard Neutra on the roof of the VDL Research House II (Richard and Dion Neutra, 1966), Los Angeles, in a 1967 photo. Photo J. Shulman.

Neutra sulla terrazza
Kurt W. Forster

Fra tutte le fotografie delle opere di Neutra, me n'è rimasta sempre in mente una, scattata nel 1967 da Julius Shulman (le immagini architettoniche di Shulman non hanno ancora avuto il riconoscimento che meritano per aver esercitato un influsso formativo sulla comprensione e, aggiungerei, sull'odierno ricupero del Modernismo californiano). La fotografia in questione è precisamente quella della casa di Neutra su Silverlake Boulevard a Los Angeles, costruita nel 1932 ma rifatta dopo essere stata distrutta da un incendio nel 1963. La nuova VDL House sorge sullo stesso impianto della precedente, ma il figlio di Neutra, Dion, che ne ha curato i particolari e l'esecuzione, vi ha aggiunto al terzo piano un corpo arretrato, contornato su due lati di un basso specchio d'acqua.
Le dimore degli architetti, o quelle costruite per clienti che si atteggiano a tali, finiscono spesso con l'essere degli ibridi, in cui la ricerca dell'ostentazione si mescola a quella della privatezza; nel caso in esame, il nuovo edificio accenna ad una discendenza stilistica da padre a figlio. Comunque sia (e può essere così), la nostra fotografia rappresenta una versione aggiornata dell'architettura di Neutra, dal tempo del grande successo iniziale – quando aveva completato la Lovell House e lavorava saltuariamente nel Bauhaus di Weimar e a Vienna – all'ultimo periodo, definito da Thomas Hines quello dell' "*eclissi*" dell'architetto. Quando le case sono raffigurate in dipinti o in fotografie, non solo riflettono le idee professionali dei loro progettisti, ma includono talvolta anche l'immagine di loro stessi.
Nel 1820 Karl Friedrich Schinkel riprodusse eccezionalmente in un quadro a olio la villa da lui progettata a Berlino per una coppia di amici, protettori e clienti, i Gabain. In questo dipinto il severo edificio cubico appare idillicamente soffuso della calda luce del crepuscolo, forse perché il progetto non era destinato a essere eseguito e quindi la sua memoria sarebbe rimasta affidata solo al quadro. Nell'angolo in basso a destra, appena fuori della recinzione di ghisa, l'architetto è seduto per terra in atteggiamento pensoso, mentre si regge il mento col braccio destro e con la mano sinistra dispiega la pianta della villa. Può darsi che il dipinto sia stato eseguito in segno di amicizia, ma esso suggerisce anche un'interpretazione più malinconica. L'opera dell'architetto, concepita e realizzata per entrare nel mondo degli oggetti come la riproduzione fedele di un'idea, si separa inevitabilmente dalla mente che l'ha creata. Vivendo di

Neutra on the Roof
Kurt W. Forster

Among all photographs that document the compendium of Neutra's work, one has always stuck in my mind. It was taken in 1967 by Julius Shulman whose architectural photography has yet to be fully appreciated for the formative power it exercised on the reception and, I might add, today's recollection of California modernism. The photograph I have in mind is appropriately one of Neutra's own house on Silverlake Boulevard, recorded not in its original state of 1932, but as it was rebuilt after fire had gutted it in 1963. The second VDL House rests on the same platform as the original one, but the architect's son, Dion Neutra, who detailed and oversaw its construction, added a third story, framing its recessed volume with an L-shaped, shallow reflecting pool.
Architect's houses, or those built for clients who play surrogate for them, often turn out to be hybrids, mixing the purpose of display and privacy, or, in the case of the rebuilt Neutra house, suggesting a lineage of design from father to son. Be that as it may (and it may be so), the photograph before us represents an updated version of Neutra's architecture from the time of his great initial success, when he had completed the Lovell House and put in stints at the Bauhaus in Weimar and in Vienna, in the last period of his life, characterized by Thomas Hines as Neutra's "eclipse"*.*
When houses are pictured – rendered, painted ,or photographed – they don't only reflect the professional ideas of their designers but sometimes also include the architects themselves.
In 1820, when Karl Friedrich Schinkel planned a summer house for a couple of friends, patrons, and clients, the Gabains, in Berlin, he exceptionally rendered the project in an oil painting. This idyllic image suffuses the cubic, tautly designed house in a twilight glow, perhaps because the design was not to be built so picture would be its only record. In the lower right corner, just outside the cast-iron fence, the architect rests on the ground, his right arm pensively supporting his chin, while his left hand unfurls the plan of the Gabain villa The picture may have been intended as a gesture of friendship, but it also conveys a more melancholy recognition. The architect's work, ideally conceived and constructed to enter the world of objects as a truthful simile of ideas, inevitably detaches itself from its mastermind. Standing by itself, and only speculatively for the architect, a building is a thing before anything else. As soon as it is finished, the owners occupy it, displacing its progenitor. Like Lazarus, the architect becomes a beggar on

vita propria, e solo speculativamente per l'architetto, un edificio è anzitutto un oggetto. Non appena è ultimato, i proprietari lo occupano, allontanando il suo ideatore: come Lazzaro, l'architetto diventa un mendicante sui gradini d'ingresso della propria opera. Chiunque abbia visitato un'opera di un architetto, là per là e in sua compagnia, può aver fatto la stessa esperienza: dopo essersi umiliato a chiedere il permesso di entrare, l'architetto umilia il cliente, lamentandosi dell'arredamento, criticando gli accoppiamenti di colori, ripudiando il giardino, i tendaggi e il cane. Schinkel si raffigura nel quadro che riproduce la villa da lui progettata, tenendone in mano la pianta, chiave per accedere alla sua creazione, ma si tiene a distanza dall'edificio e si lascia andare a un atteggiamento di malinconica fantasticheria.
Un'immagine intensa e spontanea di un altro personaggio solitario, immerso in un gelido paesaggio invernale, ci è offerta da un'istantanea del 1950 in cui Mies van der Rohe contempla la Farnsworth House. L'architetto, immobile in piedi davanti al nudo scheletro metallico di una casa che di solito è rappresentata come un intatto posto d'osservazione del paesaggio circostante, appare ancorato al suolo, più solido e stabile della sua opera, vestito di scuro, come si conviene all'uomo di città che egli fu sempre, ed è rivolto non verso l'obiettivo, ma verso la propria opera incompiuta. La lieve asimmetria della sua *silhouette* è dovuta all'atto di sollevare un po' una spalla nel portare alle labbra con la destra il sigaro di marca. Sembra che ne stia tirando una lunga e soddisfatta boccata, meditando forse sul fatto che un casa è una casa ma un sigaro è una fumata; o, più probabilmente, sul fatto che un cliente è solo un cliente (in effetti, più tardi avrebbe rimproverato a Miss Farnsworth di "*essersi aspettata che l'architetto facesse tutt'uno con la casa*").
Ma una casa è una casa, e l'architetto, pur partecipando necessariamente alla sua costruzione, non fa mai veramente parte di essa.
In termini più seri, la presenza di Mies presso l'edificio richiama la ben nota illustrazione nel trattato dell'abate Laugier in cui l'architettura, indicando le proprie origini nella capanna naturale fatta di alberi, sembra proporre di ancorare l'arte del costruire a un ordine la cui gravità è al tempo stesso naturale e storica. In Neutra la natura è meno distante che in Mies, ma è ugualmente un'immagine; e questa "natura distanziata" si riflette chiaramente nella

the doorstep of his own work. Whoever visits an architect's work, on the spur of the moment and in his company, may have been treated to the same experience: humbling himself to gain entry, the architect promptly humbles the client, grumbling about the furniture, criticizing the color scheme, or disowning the garden, the drapes, and the dog. Schinkel placed himself in the picture of the house he had designed, holding the key to its idea, the plan, in his hand, but he also removed himself from the house and allowed himself to slip into the melancholy posture of a wandering intellect.
The snapshot of Mies van der Rohe contemplating the Farnsworth House in the winter of 1950 offers an unintentionally poignant image of another solitary figure in a frosty landscape. Standing erect and immobile before the empty steelframe of a house which is customarily pictured as a pristine viewing stand for the surrounding landscape, the architect appears bolted to the ground, more solid and staid than his work, wrapped in the black attire of the inveterate city dweller that he was, turning away from the viewer and toward his unfinished work. The faint asymmetry of his silhouette is due to a slightly raised shoulder, no doubt the result of his right hand bringing the trademark cigar to his lips. He may have been taking a slow and satisfying draw, musing, perhaps, that a house is a house but a cigar is a smoke. Or, more likely, that a client is only a client - as a matter of fact, he was later to reproach Miss Farnsworth for having "expected the architect to go along with the house". *But a house is a house, and the architect, while necessarily a party to its making, is never really a part of it.*
In more earnest terms, the presence of Mies on the building site recalls Abbé Laugier's famous image of architecture pointing to her own origins in the natural carpentry of trees, and proposing to anchor the art of building in an order whose gravity is both natural and historic. Neutra desired his nature less distant than Mies, but as no less an image. This "distanced nature" of Neutra's finds its clear reflection in Shulman's photograph of the architect seated on the roof of his house. Fully and formally attired, Neutra holds a journal in his hand, his head turned and his eyes lifted from the page toward the horizon. Schinkel seated himself at the edge of the Gabain property, locked out, but holding the key to the house in the form of its plan; Neutra picked a humble spot on the roof terrace to wield his *instrument of influence over the destiny of his work:* a publication. *It is perhaps no accident, or, if fortuitous, surely fateful, that the first VDL*





Ludwig Mies van der Rohe davanti alla Farnsworth House in costruzione, Plano, Illinois, in una foto del 1950. Foto Archivio Mies van der Rohe, Museum of Modern Art, New York. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Villa Gabain a Charlottenburg, Berlino, 1820, olio su carta, (in basso a destra autoritratto dell'autore).

Ludwig Mies Van der Rohe in front of the Farnsworth House under construction, Plano, Illinois, in a 1950 photo. Photo Mies van der Rohe Archives, Museum of Modern Art, New York. Karl Friedrick Schinkel, Villa Gabain, Charlottenburg, Berlin, 1820, oil on paper, (bottom right, self-portrait of the architect).

fotografia di Shulman che mostra l'architetto seduto sulla terrazza della sua casa. Neutra, correttamente vestito, tiene in mano una rivista e alza gli occhi dalle pagine per guardare di lato verso l'orizzonte. Schinkel si rappresenta seduto per terra ai margini della proprietà dei Gabain, fuori della recinzione ma con in mano la chiave per accedere alla casa: la pianta.

Neutra, in posizione appartata sulla terrazza, tiene in mano un *altro* strumento con cui influire sul destino della sua opera: una *pubblicazione*. Forse non è un caso (o, se lo è, è certamente un caso fatidico) che la VDL House del 1932 abbia prestato la sua aria di modernità a un annuncio pubblicitario della Oldsmobile che prometteva un prodotto "*ultramoderno...per stile... comfort... prestazioni... e caratteristiche*". Lungi dal travisare o dall'avvilire l'opera di Neutra, l'annuncio esprimeva concisamente la sostanza ideologica, se non l'idea architettonica, della sua missione. Le fotografie della prima VDL House, largamente note, la riducono tutte a un'elegante struttura permeata di aria e di luce – elementi tipici della modernità e della salubrità – e predisposta per il *comfort* e per il godimento estetico del paesaggio circostante; anche se in esso la principale presenza, altrettanto moderna della villa, è costituita da un serbatoio idrico, ossia da un elemento artificiale nel clima arido della regione.

Se il contributo di Neutra alla celebrata continuità fra interno ed esterno della nuova architettura ha potuto essere identificato da Thomas Hines nelle porte scorrevoli di cristallo brevettate, ciò significa che tale continuità può essere rappresentata da un oggetto materiale, più che costituire una nuova condizione dell'architettura. Nella fotografia di Shulman le vetrate scorrevoli sono ovviamente del dopoguerra, e la notevole lunghezza della trave d'acciaio che delimita il tetto (aiutando il fotografo a prolungare la prospettiva verso il punto di fuga) ci fa pensare più alle case del movimento *Case Study Houses* che alla concezione originaria di Neutra. Ma ciò che rende così straordinaria l'immagine è il fatto che essa ci mostra una casa con un paesaggio *in* essa e il suo architetto *fuori* di essa. La figura curva di Neutra ci rammenta subito Schinkel, ma il suo sguardo verso il paesaggio non fa che controbilanciare l'entrata di quest'ultimo nella casa. Il rapporto fra casa e paesaggio è essenzialmente pittorico, fatto di riflessi e di continuità virtuali: come il cielo scende nella casa attraverso lo specchio d'acqua disposto sulla terrazza, così il lago ondeggia come una bolla di mercurio attraverso le lastre di cristallo. L'architetto sta sul limitare della casa e, come un mago, costruisce il palazzo di specchi in cui esterno e interno possono piegarsi uno sull'altro. Colto al margine dopo che il gioco ha operato il suo incantesimo, egli guarda stancamente "*l'edificio senza fondamento della* [sua] *visione*", ancora fiducioso, ma col timore che essa "*non lasci dietro di sé nemmeno uno strascico di nuvola*" (Shakespeare, *La tempesta*, atto IV).

Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone

house of 1932 lent its air of modernity to advertising for Oldsmobile, promising a product "modern to the minute ... in styling ... comfort ... performance ... and features". *Far from distorting or debasing his work, the ad may well have put the ideology, if not the architectural idea, of Neutra's mission in a nutshell. The widely published photographs of the early house all reduce it to an elegant frame, pervaded by air and light – the very elements of modernity and health – and equipped for comfort and aesthetic enjoyment of landscape views, although the principal feature of its surroundings at Silverlake was equally modern, namely, a reservoir, and, as such, an artificial element in the arid climate of its region.*

If modern architecture's vaunted continuity between inside and outside prompted Thomas Hines to identify Neutra's contribution to it with the trademark sliding glass doors, then this continuity may itself be more an artifact than a new condition of architecture The sliding glass doors in Schulman's photograph are, to be sure, of postwar vintage, and the great length of the steel girder, framing the roof and helping the photographer rush his perspective to the vanishing point, remind us more forcefully of the Case Study Houses than of Neutra's original concept. What renders the picture so memorable, however, is that it makes us sees a house with a landscape in *it and its architect* out *of it.*

Neutra's hunched frame reminds us at once of Schinkel, but his gaze into the landscape only counterbalances the landscape's entrance into the house. Their relationship is essentially pictorial, made of reflections and virtual continuities: as the sky falls into the house through a reflecting pool on the roof, so the lake floats like a blob of quicksilver through the plateglass. The architect occupies the threshold, he acts as magician and constructs the hall of mirrors within which inside and outside can be made to collapse. Caught on the verge after the game has wrought its magic, he watches wearily, still trusting the "baseless fabric of [*his*] vision", *but fearful that it will* "leave not a rack behind." *(Shakespeare,* The Tempest, *Act IV).*

Charles Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, Richard Whitaker (MLTW), Sea Ranch Condominium n.1, Sonoma County, California, 1964-68.
Vista da ovest.
Foto M. Baer.

Charles Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, Richard Whitaker (MLTW), Sea Ranch Condominium no. 1, Sonoma County, California, 1964-68.
View from the west.
Photo M. Baer.



Oh California!
Charles W. Moore

La California è divisa in tre parti. O quanto meno, così dovrebbe essere secondo il sogno di alcuni esponenti politici. Le cui capitali sarebbero, rispettivamente, San Diego, Los Angeles e San Francisco o, alternativamente, Sacramento. Se per costoro, come lamentano, la California è troppo grande e troppo complessa per essere governata, per altri, meno influenzati da considerazioni politiche, lo Stato si dividerebbe ugualmente in tre parti ma lungo assi longitudinali e in base alle caratteristiche geografiche: le montagne ad est, le colline e le vallate al centro, la costa del Pacifico ad ovest. Si potrebbero anche separare i deserti meridionali dalle grandi foreste di sequoie a settentrione, ma questo confine sembra diventare ogni giorno più labile per via del manto d'asfalto che divora rapidamente i deserti e dei sobborghi in perenne dilatazione che fagocitano le foreste.
Questa California, "*epica nella sua diversità geografica*", come esordiscono le guide, conserva ancora un posto eminente fra i miti planetari e permane salda nell'immaginario collettivo. La California è uno dei motori della cultura popolare americana, la frangia culturale occidentale dell'America. Al pari della sua controparte orientale, New York, insieme emettono ondate culturali che spazzano l'intero continente e si spingono nell'entroterra fino ad incontrarsi in qualche posto dello Iowa, tanto per fare un esempio, dopo aver perso buona parte del loro vigore e della loro carica nel processo di adattamento alla mentalità del *midwest*. E' il luogo del tramonto del sole d'America, un posto di gioventù e di bellezza; di energia che prende la forma dei muscoli sfoggiati a Venice Beach o dello sfavillante orizzonte della Los Angeles notturna. Ondate successive di immigranti, carichi di speranze e di buona volontà, hanno fatto prosperare la California e i suoi simboli: la dorata Hollywood, il Golden Gate, l'Orange County, Big Sur, Berkeley, Beverly Hills, l'Università di Stanford, Disneyland, il Parco dello Yosemite, le Vallate di Death e di Napa, Silicon Valley. Coloro che non vi approdarono nel corso degli anni Quaranta del secolo scorso in preda alla febbre dell'oro, vi giunsero con le generazioni successive sedotti dalle occupazioni remunerative offerte da industrie fiorenti. La ricchezza della California è, in larga misura, figlia della generosità della sua terra e del suo clima invidiabile, che ne fanno l'agognato orizzonte "*latte e miele*" della famiglia Joad che, in *Furore* di Steinbeck, si batte con la forza della disperazione per raggiungere il

O' California!
Charles W. Moore

California is divided into three parts. Or so some politicians dream. One part, they say, would have as its capital San Diego, the other Los Angeles, and the third, presumably San Francisco or Sacramento. California, they cry, is too big, too complex to be governable. Other less politically motivated observers might see California as divided into three parts along North-South lines, roughly in terms of geographical features: mountains in the east, hills and valleys in the central part, and the Pacific coast in the west. There is also the distinction between deserts in the south and redwood forests in the north, but these days, it seems, those distinctions are dwindling as the deserts are being rapidly paved over with asphalt and the forests cut down to absorb swelling suburbia.
This California, extolled by the guidebooks as "epic in its geographical diversity", *still figures prominently in the international psyche and endures in the public mind. California is an engine of American Popular Culture – the western cultural edge of America. Both California and its eastern counterpart – the New York edge – send out cultural tidal waves that sweep inland, and meet, one might guess, somewhere in Iowa, by that time having become considerably tamer and weaker to accommodate mid-western sensibilities. It is the place at the sunset end of America, a place of youth and beauty, and energy that is proudly displayed in the muscles of Venice Beach and the sparkling horizon of nighttime Los Angeles. Waves of anxious and energetic immigrants made California and its places flourish: gilded Hollywood, the Golden Gate, Orange County, Big Sur, Berkeley, Beverly Hills, Stanford University, Disneyland; Yosemite, Death, Napa and Silicon Valley. At one time the immigrants poured in to claim gold in the rushes of the 1840's; later, they came for lucrative jobs generated by thriving industries. California's richness in large part stems from its agricultural bounty and enviable climate: a place that Steinbeck's Joads poignantly dreamed of in* The Grapes of Wrath *as the* "milk and honey" *end to their desperate struggle to reach the end of Route 66. Indeed, we were once assured that if the state seceded from the Union, it would rank fifth in the roster of the world's richest and most powerful nations, somewhere behind Japan but possibly ahead of Britain. California is a land of mythical places filled with mythical people who struggle for mythical fame. Claiming to be larger than life, California is a land of appealing, rosy-cheeked facades of opportunity, optimism, and sunny*

termine della Statale 66. In effetti, una volta ci è stato assicurato che se si staccasse dal resto dell'Unione, lo Stato si classificherebbe al quinto posto fra i paesi più ricchi e più potenti del mondo, poco dopo il Giappone, ma forse prima della Gran Bretagna. Terra di luoghi mitici, abitata da gente mitica che si batte per un destino mitico, patria di allettanti e ammiccanti parvenze di opportunità, di aspettative radiose, di luminosi ottimismi che spesso celano le nubi plumbee che vi aleggiano dietro, la California, con le sue esagerate manie di grandezza, ha dato i natali a Ronald Reagan.

L'architettura californiana è varia come la sua geografia e tutti gli stili, dal vernacolare al coloniale, dal neogotico al neoclassico al neovittoriano, dalle tendenze *Bay Region* al moderno, hanno lasciato la loro impronta su città e campagne. E se l'aneddotica romanzata di un'idilliaca California primordiale è stata largamente screditata, la romantica architettura spagnoleggiante che essa ha ispirato è sopravvissuta pressoché intatta. Questo stile pervasivo ha conferito a edifici e paesaggi della California meridionale e, in particolare di Santa Barbara, una precisa connotazione che richiama alla mente un passato immaginario con allusioni all'architettura spagnola che persino il più intrepido dei viaggiatori farebbe fatica a scovare in Spagna. Tra i luminari della California troviamo Bernard Maybeck, il folletto da cui sono sgorgate case e chiese di stupefacente bellezza al nord; i fratelli Greene che incantavano il sud con la magia del loro linguaggio *Arts and Crafts*; Julia Morgan che esprimeva la sua personale interpretazione progressista del linguaggio *Beaux Arts* sia a Berkeley che per gli Heart a San Simeon; i modernisti viennesi, Rudolph Schindler e Richard Neutra, che hanno ricamato le loro visioni di cemento, acciaio e vetro in tutta Los Angeles. Ma oltre a questi architetti che hanno esercitato la professione quasi esclusivamente in California, ce ne sono molti altri che, pur avendo esercitato altrove, vi hanno ugualmente lasciato un segno: i bostoniani formatisi alla scuola di H.H. Richardson che hanno realizzato la parte centrale dell'Università di Stanford; Frank Lloyd Wright che ha contribuito con il Centro civico di Marin County oltre che con numerose case d'ispirazione Maya a Los Angeles; e Louis Kahn, architetto del Salk Institute.
Questo vigoroso apporto di energie architettoniche ha lasciato alla California un multiforme patrimonio di capolavori, ma, come succede spesso in America, gli architetti degli ultimi cinquant'anni si sono sforzati di appiattire tali differenze rendendo le città sempre più simili fra loro e sommergendole in una moltitudine di case *balloon-frame* trattate a stucco. Oggi, l'estesissima rete autostradale collega tutti questi luoghi in modo tale che la maggior parte dei Californiani si diletta in una continua celebrazione dell'automobile e, nello stesso tempo, maledice il traffico senza precedenti, lo *smog* e le sparatorie al volante. Intanto, le auto si moltiplicano incessantemente al punto che le targhe della California sono ormai a sette cifre, mentre in Stati meno popolati come il Montana ne bastano cinque. E poiché buona parte dei Californiani spreca la propria vita spostandosi da un punto all'altro in macchina, praticamente ogni aspetto fisico dell'ambiente che li circonda è percepito attraverso un parabrezza alla velocità di 100 km orari. Per rendersi la vita ancora più comoda, essi hanno escogitato mille espedienti per trascorrere buona parte della loro esistenza senza aver bisogno di scendere dall'auto e, come se la possibilità di comprare un *hamburger* dal finestrino non bastasse, hanno inventato anche chiese, come la Crystal Cathedral di Philip Johnson, e cappelle nuziali dove non solo si può pregare ma addirittura pronunciare il fatidico "sì" senza bisogno di slacciarsi la cintura di sicurezza.
E, principalmente grazie all'elezione di William Jefferson Clinton nel 1992, le autostrade non saranno più soltanto sinonimo di automobile: adesso aspettiamo con impazienza l'arrivo dell'autostrada telematica che promette di collegare con prontezza elettronica persino i punti più remoti dell'Unione, per non parlare del pianeta, allargando ulteriormente il nostro già fin troppo globale villaggio.
In molte città, ma in particolare a Los Angeles, i vari nuclei sono collegati da un coacervo disordinato di centri commerciali, tavole calde, quartieri residenziali, stazioni di benzina e, naturalmente, autostrade che, senza soluzione di continuità, danno luogo ad una smisurata e informe terra di nessuno alla Houston. Accumulatasi strato su strato, coi confini che sfumano fra nubi di *smog*, Los Angeles è ridotta ad un'accozzaglia di attrattive da cui si salvano solo poche oasi intatte, relitti sopravvissuti in un paradiso alla deriva. E sebbene i Californiani siano forse la popolazione più sensibile ai temi ecologici dell'intero pianeta, spesso ci dimentichiamo che solo l'ambiente costruito dall'uomo, la città, una volta reso gradevole, umano, allettante, confortevole e soprattutto vivibile può

smiles that often cover darker clouds lurking underneath. It is the land of Ronald Reagan.

Architecture in California is as varied as its geography. Arts and Crafts, The Mission, Gothic, Classical, and Victorian revivals, Bay Region persuasions and the Moderne have all had an impact on its cities and countryside. While the sentimental literature of an idyllic early California has been largely discredited, the romantic "Spanish" architecture it inspired has survived somewhat intact. This persuasive style has given the buildings and landscapes of Southern California, and particularly Santa Barbara, a special character, recalling an imaginary past with allusions to Spanish buildings that even the most hardy of travelers would be hard-pressed to find in Spain. Among California's luminaries were elfin Bernard Maybeck divining his astonishingly beautiful homes and churches in the north, the Greene brothers weaving their Arts and Crafts magic in the south, Julia Morgan building in her own progressive Beaux-Arts idiom in Berkeley and for the Hearsts in Simeon, and the Viennese modernists, Rudolph Schindler and Richard Neutra, detailing concrete, steel, and glass visions throughout Los Angeles. Beside these architects who spent most of their professional lives working in California, many important architects who spent their professional lives outside California built here as well. The Bostoners of H.H. Richardson's office-legacy built the central part of Stanford's campus, Frank Lloyd Wright contributed the Marin County Civic Center, as well as several Mayan-inspired houses in Los Angeles, and Louis Kahn, the Salk Institute.

This vigorous wealth of architectural expression made for California a collection of wonderfully diverse things. But, as in most other places in America, architects in the last fifty years have endeavoured to erase these distinctions, so that cities and towns begin to look more and more alike as they are engulfed by multitudes of balloon-framed, stuccoed tract houses. Today, the highly developed network of Californian freeways links all these places, so that most Californians revel in a continuing celebration of the automobile while, at the same time, bemoaning unparalleled traffic, smog, and drive-by shootings. And the cars proliferate uncontrollably – California needs seven digits on the license plates, compared with five in less populous Montana. Since most Californians spend great amounts of their lives in cars traveling between Point A and Point B, almost everything in the physical environment is perceived through the windshield and at speeds of sixty-five miles per hour. To make life more effortless, Californians pioneered drive-thrus, drive-ups, and drive-ins, so that one can largely exist in one's own car, without ever needing to get out. Not only can Big Macs be gotten, but also a prayer at Philip Johnson's drive-in Crystal Cathedral, and even a marriage in a drive-thru wedding chapel, where couples can exchange their "I do's" without having to unbuckle their belts.

Thanks in large part to William Jefferson Clinton and the election of 1992, freeways will no longer be only for cars. These days we anxiously await the arrival of the "information highway" which promises to link with electronic instantaneity even the remotest points in the Republic (not to mention the planet), further extending our already vastly over-extended society.

In many cities, especially in Los Angeles, all the separate parts have been joined by a vague sea of shopping centers, fast food restaurants, residential communities, gasoline stations and, of course, freeways, so that the whole seems to have melted together into a confusing and vast Houston sort-of-placelessness. Filed layer on layer, cloud on cloud, the shape of Los Angeles is soft at the edges, but is composed of a hazy pattern of amenity that leaves only a few special places unengulfed, survivors in a paradise awash. And while Californians are just about the most environmentally sensitive people on the planet, we often forget that the built environment – our cities – once made beautiful, moving, astonishing, comforting, and habitable, will help to restrain the rapid destruction of countryside and forest by those seeking to escape the urban nightmares we have created.

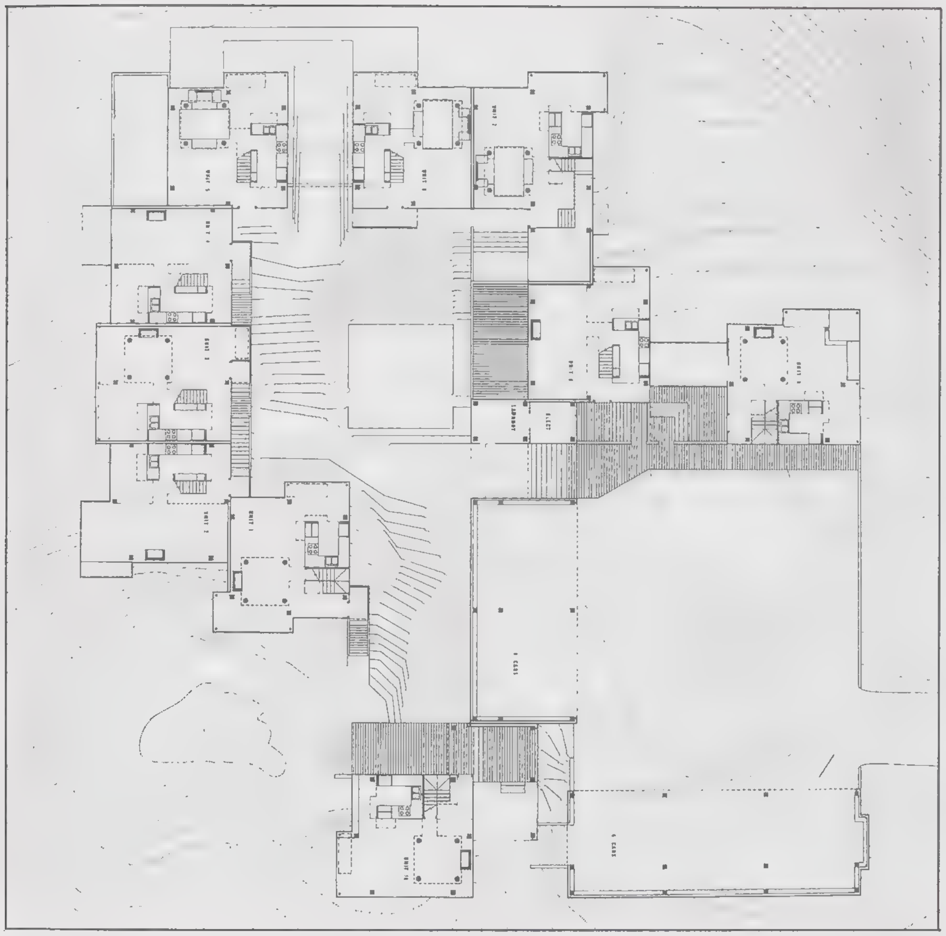
The geography of Southern California has accelerated the rate of homogenization. Vast, flat valleys and non-threatening hills (many of which could be effortlessly bulldozed) did little to constrain the far-reaching gazes of developers' eyes. Periods of economic undertow were just about the only resistance to tidal surges of urban sprawl: when the economy was down, the building halted; when the economy rebounded, the expansion extended the perimeters even more, despite the constant specter of earthquakes and "The Next Big One." However, in the North, say San Francisco, very formidable geographic realities helped to slow and limit the kind of glazing over that so confounds and exasperates urban planners. Steep and immobile hills in San Francisco help to foster pockets of neighbourhoods

contribuire a frenare la rapida distruzione di campagne e foreste da parte di coloro che si ostinano a sfuggire agli incubi urbani che abbiamo creato.
La natura stessa della California meridionale, con le sue ampie e pianeggianti vallate, i rilievi appena pronunciati che si potrebbero agevolmente spianare con un *bulldozer* e che costituivano un ostacolo irrisorio agli sguardi famelici dei costruttori, ha accelerato il ritmo di omologazione. I periodi di crisi economica sono stati praticamente l'unico baluardo contro i marosi dell'urbanizzazione incontrollata: con le recessioni i cantieri chiudevano; ma ai primi segnali di ripresa l'edificazione allargava ancora di più il tiro nonostante l'onnipresente spettro dei terremoti e della "grande scossa". A settentrione, invece, per esempio a San Francisco, è stata proprio l'impervia natura del suolo a frenare e a limitare quel processo di costruzione che tanto offende ed esaspera la sensibilità degli urbanisti. Le colline ripide e massicce di San Francisco hanno incoraggiato un'articolazione ad isole di quartieri e sobborghi, sebbene spesso essi siano caratterizzati, più che da un'identità architettonica, dalla cordialità della gente, come a Chinatown, a North Beach, a Castro o a Haight. Se vi si aggiungono le grandi distese d'acqua, superabili unicamente da colonne di Toyota su ponti irrimediabilmente congestionati visto che ormai i traghetti non li usa più nessuno, si capisce perché, nel complesso, San Francisco è ancora San Francisco, Berkeley è ancora Berkeley e Sausalito è ancora Sausalito.

Perciò, in California, dove la celebrità effimera e le tradizioni popolari, l'omologazione e l'individualità si mescolano in un turbinio vorticoso, la prospettiva di fare architettura - di *creare dei luoghi* - appare come un'impresa formidabile. Vorrei sperare che il mio lavoro in California sia stato all'insegna di una ricerca di identità, che abbia lasciato opere in qualche modo consone ai luoghi, ai villaggi o alle città cui sono state destinate. Tentare di prefigurare un'identità nel calderone in perenne ebollizione della cultura americana è, come minimo, problematico. Ciò che può aiutare è un tema ricorrente in tutte le mie opere: intrattenere rapporti di buon vicinato con tutto ciò che le circonda, che sia la natura o gli edifici esistenti, la memoria della gente o, soprattutto, le loro energie.
L'idea di fare un'architettura che suscitasse attivamente e dinamicamente l'interesse della gente è stato uno degli entusiasmi che ho condiviso con Donlyn Lyndon, William

and districts, though often their most defining characteristic is that they are filled not with unique architecture, but with sympathetic people, such as Chinatown, North Beach, the Castro or the Haight. Moreover, vast bodies of water, negotiable to enfilades of Toyotas only on the hopelessly congested bridges (few use ferries anymore), by and large allow San Francisco to be San Francisco, Berkeley to be Berkeley, and Sausalito to be Sausalito.

So in California, where fame and popular culture, homogenization and individuality swirl in a paradoxical haze, the prospect of making architecture – making place – *is a formidable operation. I like to think that my work in California has been in the realm of trying to elicit notions of identity and making places that in some way are linked to their sites and the towns or cities where they happen to exist. To try to divine identity from the simmering soup of American culture is problematic at best. But it helps that a continuing theme in all our works involves being a good neighbor to what lies around, whether it be the natural world or existing buildings or peoples' memories or (especially) peoples' energies.*
The idea of making architecture that actively and energetically appealed to people was one of the enthusiasms I shared with Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, and Richard Whitaker back in 1964 when we founded "MLTW". The tiny office, which hailed from a Berkeley basement studio, began, I always like to say, "on one client and four ideas". *After completing several houses, we were apparently regarded as experienced enough to be approached by a real estate developer to design a ten-unit condominium on a former sheep ranch three hours north of San Francisco.*
The compelling beauty of the place made development an awesome proposition. The Sea Ranch is a fifteen mile stretch of rugged coast line where the sea crashes against high cliffs. Seaward of Highway 1, ranchers long ago cleared meadows for sheep grazing and planted hedgerows of Monterey cypress, (laid out in lines perpendicular to the coast) establishing a strong pattern on the landscape. Moving inland, stands of redwood begin at the top of grassy hills. Our concern in designing the condominium was to harmonize with the magnificent landscape, not to dominate it or hide it, but to appear as a congenial partner. Because we could assemble ten condominiums in one mass, we were able to match the scale of the building with the heroic scale





Charles Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, Richard Whitaker (MLTW), Sea Ranch Condominium n.1, Sonoma County, California, 1964-68.
Pianta e planivolumetria.

Charles Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, Richard Whitaker (MLTW), Sea Ranch Condominium no 1, Sonoma County, California, 1964-68.
Plan and volumetric layout.









Charles Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, Richard Whitaker (MLTW), Sea Ranch Condominium n.1, Sonoma County, California, 1964-68.
Vista da nordovest.
Foto M. Baer.
Vista da sudest.
Vista interna e vista da est.
Foto C. Noll.

Charles Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, Richard Whitaker (MLTW), Sea Ranch Condominium no 1, Sonoma County, California, 1964-68.
View from the northwest.
Photo M. Baer.
View from the southeast.
Internal view and view from the east.
Photos C. Noll.

Turnbull e Richard Whitaker quando, all'alba del 1964, fondammo "MLTW". Il minuscolo studio che faceva capolino da un seminterrato di Berkeley iniziò, come sempre mi piace raccontare, con "*un cliente e quattro idee*", ma, dopo aver ultimato diverse case, fummo apparentemente considerati abbastanza esperti da essere degni di progettare per un'impresa immobiliare un condominio di dieci unità da realizzare su un ex allevamento ovino, tre ore a nord di San Francisco.
La straordinaria bellezza del luogo incuteva soggezione al nostro progetto. Il Sea Ranch è un tratto di costa frastagliata dove il mare, per oltre venti chilometri, si frange contro alte scogliere e dove, anni or sono, gli allevatori convertirono i terreni delimitati dall'Oceano e dalla Statale 1 in pascoli per le pecore e piantarono, perpendicolarmente alla costa, filari di cipressi di Monterey che conferiscono al paesaggio una forte geometria. Verso l'entroterra, distese di sequoie si stagliano sulla sommità delle colline. Nel progettare il complesso ci prefiggemmo di entrare in sintonia con la maestosità del paesaggio evitando di dominarlo o di nasconderlo, ma proponendoci di colloquiare con esso. La possibilità di coordinare le dieci unità in un'unica articolazione volumetrica ci consentiva di armonizzare la scala dell'edificato con la grandiosità del sito e, in effetti, a costruzione ultimata, ci lusingò il commento di chi paragonò l'opera a un'enorme roccia lignea placidamente appollaiata sulla scogliera.
Il clima del Sea Ranch è capriccioso: forti venti soffiano quasi senza posa e la luminosità varia da una limpidezza autunnale e invernale esaltata dal mare spumeggiante al grigiore opprimente della fitta e apparentemente impenetrabile cortina di afa estiva. Poiché era cruciale che l'interno e l'esterno fossero nettamente distinti, disponemmo le unità residenziali attorno a un cortile centrale che costituisse uno spazio all'aperto e, nel contempo, riparato dal vento. I dettagli furono ridotti al minimo: niente pluviali per evitare le vibrazioni causate dai venti persistenti, nessuno stipite alle finestre, apparecchi di illuminazione e condutture di ventilazione rigorosamente semplici e bande di rame ossidabile come scossaline. Ogni unità si basava su un cubo di m. 7, strutturato internamente da travi in legno rozzamente squadrate che richiamassero alla mente la struttura delle fattorie locali a cui tutti eravamo affezionati. Letti, bagni e cucine erano risolti in blocchi di "arredo", a volte su tre livelli, sempre in legno, ma questa volta perfettamente rifinito, per sottolineare ulteriormente il contrasto tra interno ed esterno.

La piccola casa che realizzai qualche anno prima ad Orinda non richiedeva una distinzione così precisa tra interno ed esterno, dato che venti implacabili, fitte coltri di nebbia e folate di salsedine non erano di ordinaria amministrazione nel clima locale. Il pomeriggio in cui feci la prima ricognizione rimasi immediatamente affascinato dal minuscolo lotto di terreno, appena oltre le colline di Berkeley, che costituiva il sito: una radura erbosa con al centro una spianata circolare del diametro di circa m. 24 e dai confini ormai sfumati per effetto del tempo. Di colpo, la mia mente volò alla casetta quadrata in un prato rotondo di cui un antico poeta cinese, Li Po, aveva un tempo celebrato le virtù e che, unita al ricordo ancora fresco delle opere di Louis Kahn, in particolar modo della Casa Trenton Bath, mi ispirò un volume aperto a pianta quadrata con il tetto sormontato da un'edicola interna sorretta da colonne di recupero e ripresa nel bagno, sebbene in tono minore, per incastonare la vasca. Le colonne a sostegno strutturale del tetto mi lasciavano libero di aprire le pareti per mezzo di grandi finestre e grandi porte scorrevoli su guide tipo granaio, che permettevano di spalancare metà di ogni parete sul prato. L'esperienza di Orinda mi insegnò che anche la più semplice delle strutture, realizzata coi materiali più umili, era in grado di conferire una precisa identità al sito, di evocare un'eccitante sensazione di centralità e di unicità sull'intero pianeta.

Il Sea Ranch e la Casa di Orinda si collocano soprattutto nella sfera del privato in quanto provvedevano alle esigenze abitative di quella esigua frangia del *corpo politico* per certi versi allergica agli agglomerati urbani. In effetti, i committenti del Sea Ranch avevano meditato a lungo prima di scegliere il tipo di luogo capace di attirare la gente a tre ore di strade tortuose da San Francisco. Tuttavia, la maggior parte del mio lavoro in California rientra, in larga misura, nell'ambito ristretto degli spazi pubblici. Nel 1964 scrissi sulla rivista di architettura di Yale *You have to pay for the Public Life*, dove ebbi l'occasione di lamentare la stupefacente scomparsa della vita pubblica nella cultura americana. L'unico luogo in cui sembrava esistesse ancora una qualche partecipazione collettiva era Disneyland, fuori Los Angeles presso Anaheim, dove, ovviamente, si paga

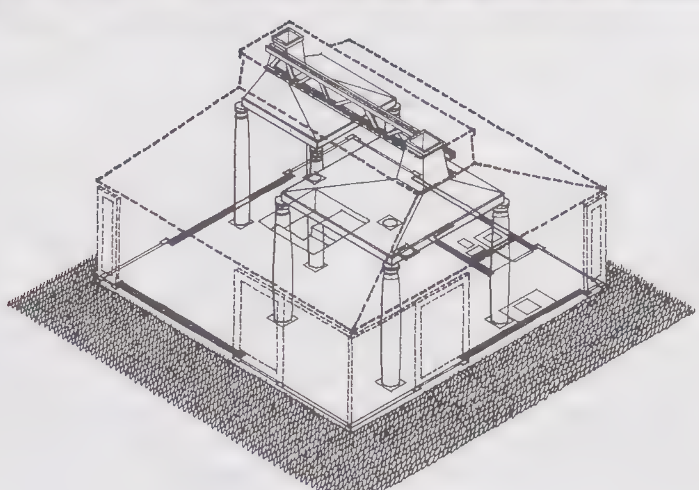
of the site. Once the condominiums were built, we were delighted when someone remarked that it looked like a large wooden rock at home on its bluff.
The climate of the Sea Ranch is moody: strong winds are almost always blowing, sunshine varies between autumnal and winter brilliance when the sea sparkles to summertime periods of thick, seemingly impenetrable fog. A clear distinction, then, between inside and outside was critical. We arranged the condominium around a central court so that we could have an outdoor space and a sanctuary from the wind. Details were kept simple: no eaves to preclude flutter from the persistent winds, no window reveals, simple light fixtures, venting pipes, and stripes of tarnishing copper for flashing. We based each unit on a 24-foot cube, framed inside with rough-hewn timber members to elicit notions of the local farm structures that we were all fond of. Beds, bathrooms, and kitchens were arranged in "furniture", sometimes three levels high, and made of smooth-finished wood to achieve further contrast between inside and outside.

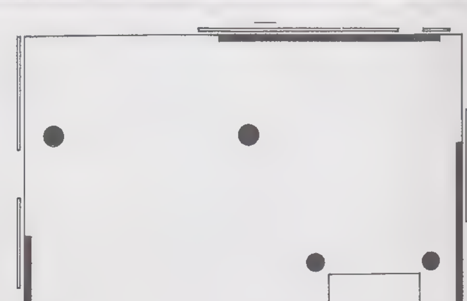
When I built a small house in Orinda a few years before, I needed less a distinction between inside and out, since relentless winds, thick fog, and salt spray were not regular factors in the local, inland climate. When I came across the little piece of land one afternoon, (just over the hills from Berkeley) I was immediately smitten. The site consisted of an open, grassy meadow, where a circular pad, about eighty feet in diameter had been bulldozed long ago, and had since grown soft around the edges. At once I began dreaming about a square house in a round meadow that ancient Chinese poet, Li Po, had once praised the virtues of. Louis Kahn's architecture was also fresh in my mind (in particular his Trenton Bath House), and so I designed an open volume, square in plan, with a roof supported by an interior aedicula made from salvaged architectural columns. I made a second, less monumental aedicula to shelter the bathtub. With the columns providing structural support for the roof, I was free to break open the walls, so I made them with large windows and barn doors, which could slide on tracks and open half of each wall to the meadow. Orinda proved that even the simplest of structures, built of humble materials, could still establish a potent sense of place; a place where I could feel I was at a comforting center, and in a particular spot on the planet.

The Sea Ranch and the Orinda House lay largely in the private sphere, having to do with dwelling for a tiny portion of the body politic, *somewhat removed from towns and cities. Indeed, the developers of the Sea Ranch spent a great deal of time worryng about the kind of place that would lure people three hours (on windy roads) from San Francisco. However, my work in California has for the most part been within the tenuous realm of the public space. In 1964 I wrote for Yale's architecture journal* You have to pay for the public life *which gave me the opportunity to lament the astonishing evaporation of public life in American culture. One of the only places, it seemed, where a kind of public interaction still existed was in Disneyland, outside of Los Angeles in Anaheim where, of course, you had to pay to be admitted. Disneyland's triumph was that it created the kind of public life Americans know in their imaginations, yet have failed so utterly to develop in their cities beyond the turnstiles of the Magic Kingdom.*

When William Turnbull and I were commissioned in 1965 to design a new college on the University of California's campus in Santa Cruz, we thought earnestly about making a place that would foster an academic community with architectural and spatial components. Our other major concern was the site: we had to arrange the building within a grove of much loved redwoods, chopping down as few of the venerable trees as possible. Success within the realm of architecture often has to do with spinning gold from hay, so Turnbull and I realized that we would have to use the restrictions of the site to our advantage. Since the spaces amongst the inviolable trees where we could place the buildings followed a long but narrow winding path, we were able to fashion a kind of street, lined with economical wooden and stucco facades.
We avoided forceful zoning: dormitories, classrooms, faculty offices, and service spaces were mixed and equally distributed throughout the entire college. To encourage lively interaction among the people inhabiting and working in the college, we scattered the public amenities. We placed the laundromat, the post office, the telephones, and the café at opposite ends of the campus, so that people could meet each other and mingle in the street on their daily comings and goings.
We hoped to make there, self-consciously, a metaphor of a village, a set, if you like for an operetta in a village, where for four especially critical years of a young life a set of











Charles Moore, Moore House, Orinda, California, 1962.
Viste esterna e interne.
Foto M. Baer.
Spaccato assonometrico e pianta.

Charles Moore, Moore Residence, Orinda, 1962.
External and internal views.
Photos M. Baer.
Axonometric section and plan.

l'ingresso. Disneyland ha ottenuto un successo trionfale perché soddisfa quell'esigenza di partecipazione a cui gli americani anelano con la fantasia, e che assurdamente non riescono a ricreare nelle loro città se non oltre le cancellate del Regno Incantato.

Nel 1965, quando William Turnbull ed io fummo incaricati di progettare un nuovo *college* nel *campus* di Santa Cruz dell'Università della California, ci impegnammo fortemente ad ideare un luogo che, per le sue peculiarità architettoniche e spaziali, si addicesse all'ambito accademico. Altra nostra primaria cura era il sito: un boschetto delle nostre amatissime sequoie entro il quale dovevamo collocare il fabbricato evitando il più possibile di abbattere quei venerandi alberi. Poiché spesso, in campo architettonico, il successo dipende dalla capacità di trasformare i bruchi in farfalle, Turnbull ed io ci rendemmo conto che dovevamo volgere le restrizioni del sito a nostro vantaggio. Poiché l'unico spazio libero in mezzo alle inviolabili sequoie dove avremmo potuto sistemare gli edifici si sviluppava intorno a un sentiero lungo, stretto e tortuoso, ne approfittammo per definire una specie di strada, scandita da discrete facciate in legno e stucco. Abbiamo cercato di evitare ogni forzata zonizzazione: per favorire le relazioni sociali fra coloro che avrebbero abitato e lavorato nel *college*, distribuimmo uniformemente e in modo promiscuo su tutta l'area del complesso dormitori, aule, istituti, servizi pubblici e spazi ausiliari. Collocammo la lavanderia, l'ufficio postale, i telefoni e la caffetteria alle estremità opposte del *campus* per far sì che la gente si incontrasse e si mischiasse per strada durante il quotidiano andirivieni.
La nostra speranza era di ricreare, consapevolmente, in quel luogo la metafora di un borgo, un palcoscenico da operetta, se vogliamo, dove quei quattro cruciali anni della vita di un giovane sarebbero stati scanditi da una precisa serie di eventi. Ci piaceva l'idea di un posto simile a un palcoscenico, delimitato da molteplici piani bidimensionali di proporzioni giganti, tra i quali potersi aggirare costantemente consci del proprio essere e dei movimenti del proprio corpo. Nei limiti del possibile, trattammo gli spazi palesemente ordinari come punti di riferimento monumentali, mentre gli alloggi degli studenti e gli uffici furono posti al margine e realizzati in una dimensione più umana e privata. Gli elementi monumentali di quello pseudovillaggio non erano, né

actions could take place. We liked the notion of the place as a stage set, full of two dimensional layers of giant props where one could be continuously aware of self, of one's own body moving through the sets. When we had the chance, we used the admittedly ordinary places for the monumental landmarks while the student rooms and offices were pushed to the sides, and kept private and human-scaled. The major monuments in this metaphoric village were not – could not – be connected with the life force of the institution, which could not be known then, so they were self-consciously giddily trivial, from the gate painted with gingham checks to the laundromat as village well, to a rostrum on top of the garbage collector, to a lop-sided triumphal arch at the "library" which had no books at the time. The campus was really a celebration of anti-monumentality or civic irony in that our most important village components were places that in a city would have been relegated to the least desirable places. The dwellings, too, in this metaphoric village, were different from those in a real one; nobody, theoretically, was more important than anyone else, so the nuance-laden hierarchies which would form a village were absent, and the long street had to exhibit changes of identity while eschewing changes of status. The student rooms and apartments faced a street that turned out to be a much more intensely public and social scheme than many students were accustomed to, so that a minority (a small one, but vocal) who expected the relative anonymity of rooms along a double-loaded corridor were desperately unhappy, though the majority reveled both in their share in the design of the place and in the casual and joyous mood of it.

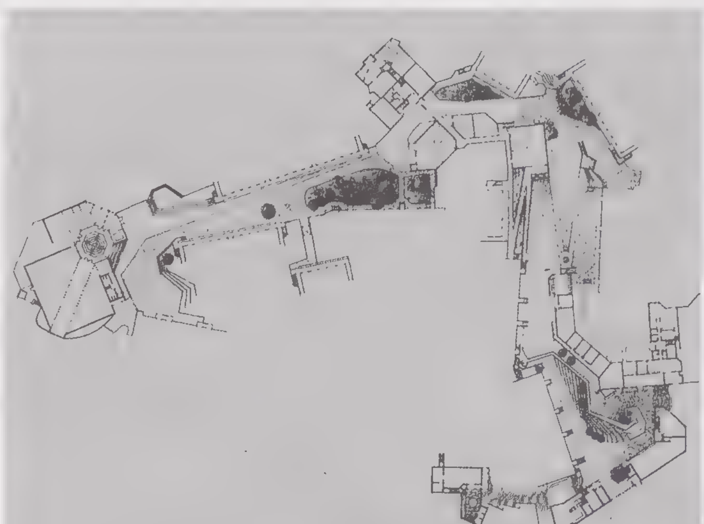
When Urban Innovations Group, (a non-profit office with the University of California Los Angeles, which I was associated with) was invited to participate in a competition for a new civic center for Beverly Hills, we had to deal with issues and scales more monumental than Kresge College. Moreover, we had a chance to devise new systems of ornament and extensions of arrangements already essayed. The competition required a new civic center to be built around a 1932 city hall which is an endearing tower of Depression Churrigueresgue. The program consisted of squeezing police and fire stations, city offices and courts, a public library, and parking into a small urban area. We won the competition, I think, because our scheme was fondest of the old building – we tried in the extensive new work to maintain the height, the bay

Charles Moore, William Turnbull, MLTW, Kresge College, University of California, Santa Cruz, California, 1965-72.
Viste.
Foto T. Hursley.
Pianta.

Charles Moore, William Turnbull, MLTW, Kresge College, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1965-72.
Views.
Photos T. Hursley.
Plan.







potevano essere, le incarnazioni delle energie creative, ancora ignote, dell'istituzione, ma erano elementi banali, volutamente frivoli, come il portale d'ingresso dipinto a scacchi, la lavanderia in foggia di pozzo, il podio sopra il cassone dell'immondizia, lo sbilenco arco trionfale della biblioteca, allora ancora priva di libri. Il *campus* era, quindi, la celebrazione dell'antimonumentalità, una ironia civica espressa tramite l'enfatizzazione di componenti che, in una città, verrebbero relegati nei posti meno ambiti. Anche le abitazioni in quel villaggio metaforico si scostavano dalla realtà dato che, in teoria, nessuno era socialmente superiore agli altri. Erano cioè assenti le sottili distinzioni gerarchiche che caratterizzano i villaggi veri, e la lunga strada doveva adattarsi alle varie funzioni rifuggendo da qualunque discriminazione sociale. Gli alloggi studenteschi si affacciavano su una via che si rivelò molto più trafficata e vissuta di quanto si aspettassero gli studenti, una minoranza dei quali, esigua ma rumorosa, rimase terribilmente delusa non ritrovando la relativa anonimità delle duplici infilate di porte lungo i corridoi, sebbene la maggioranza si compiacesse sia del ruolo a cui la progettazione l'aveva destinata, sia dell'aura informale e gioiosa del posto.

L'invito rivolto all'Urban Innovations Group, uno studio senza scopo di lucro presso l'Università della California di Los Angeles del quale ero socio, di partecipare al concorso per il nuovo Municipio di Beverly Hills, oltre a porci di fronte a questioni e proporzioni ancora più monumentali di quelle del Kresge College, ci offrì l'occasione di concepire nuovi sistemi ornamentali e di estendere soluzioni già tentate precedentemente. Il concorso prevedeva la costruzione del nuovo Municipio attorno al Municipio del 1932, un'aggraziata torre nello stile spagnolo churrigueresco del periodo della Depressione, comprimendo in un esiguo spazio urbano commissariato di polizia, caserma dei vigili del fuoco, uffici comunali, tribunale, biblioteca pubblica, parcheggi. Se vincemmo il concorso, forse fu perché il nostro progetto era il più rispettoso del vecchio edificio e si prefiggeva di conservare, nella grande dimensione del nuovo ampliamento, altezza, articolazione spaziale, impostazione generale dell'antico intervento che sta alla base della torre esistente. L'unica libertà che ci prendemmo è stata la sostituzione con piastrelle colorate della decorazione del coronamento, che sembrava uscita dalla siringa di un pasticciere (solo in quanto non sapevamo come imitarla). Tina Beebe, la nostra consulente per i colori, scelse con occhio rivolto a creare accostamenti e motivi che, pur essendo specifici di ciascun fabbricato a sottolinearne l'individualità, si richiamassero, per affinità di colori, a tutti gli altri elementi del complesso. Ricercando un grande effetto urbano, adottammo la soluzione di disporre il Centro civico su un asse composto da una serie di piazzette ellittiche a loro volta circondate da portici e corredate da una serie di fontane e di canali (tuttora a secco per l'ostinazione di alcuni burocrati), per arricchire ulteriormente l'atmosfera del luogo nella speranza che la definizione "Centro civico" si caricasse nuovamente di significato.

Attorno al 1982, Buzz Yudell, John Ruble ed io fummo incaricati da una Congregazione episcopale di progettare una nuova chiesa per Pacific Palisades, un agiato sobborgo occidentale di Los Angeles nei pressi di Malibu, da dedicare a San Matteo, come la precedente andata distrutta in un incendio. Durante la fase preliminare della pianificazione della nuova chiesa, la Congregazione decise di inserire nel contratto degli architetti la clausola secondo cui qualsiasi progetto avrebbe dovuto essere approvato dai due terzi del consesso prima dell'avviamento dei lavori. Ci rendemmo subito conto che l'unico modo per garantirci il consenso era coinvolgere la Congregazione nel processo di progettazione, un impegno che affrontammo con la consulenza di Jim Burns che, negli anni della sua collaborazione con Lawrence Halprin, era stato all'avanguardia nella progettazione partecipativa.
La prima fase fu quella che i Californiani chiamano "la presa di coscienza", un giro di ricognizione del sito della nuova chiesa con taccuino al seguito, dopo di che, durante il pranzo nel giardino della canonica, i partecipanti al sopralluogo schizzarono su grandi rotoli di carta da macelleria le loro aspirazioni e i loro dubbi nei confronti dell'edificio che auspicavano. Successivamente ci recammo nella chiesa provvisoria alla ricerca di materiali per realizzare un plastico: scatole di cereali per la prima colazione, fogli di plastica, forbici, carta e prezzemolo (quest'ultimo è l'ideale per i modellini perché appassisce rapidamente evitando che qualcuno si affezioni troppo a quanto ha realizzato). Infine, ciascuno, individualmente o in gruppo, costruì il suo modello di chiesa ideale, di cui molti si rivelarono assai belli.
A quel punto, ci venne l'idea di sottoporre le proposte a

spacing, the general demeanor of the old work that is the base of the existing tower. Our one charge was to replace the pastry tube ornament at the top with colored tiles (since we did not know how to do the pastry tube ornament). Tina Beebe, our color consultant, chose with an eye toward making specific combinations and patterns for each building in the group in colors that would relate them, but maintain their separate indentities. We made a grand urban gesture by arranging the Civic Center on an axis composed of a series of elliptical courts in turn ringed by arcades. We then designed fountains and canals to further energize the potency of place (although bureaucrats still refuse to fill them with water) hoping to make the words "Civic Center" mean something again.

Around 1982, Buzz Yudell, John Ruble and I were approached by an Episcopal congregation to design a new church in Pacific palisades, a wealthy western suburb of Los Angeles near Malibu. When the congregation started planning for the new church, (to be named St. Matthews' after their old one which had burned down) they decided to include in the architect's contract a clause that any design would have to get a two-thirds vote of approval before construction could begin. We thought that the only way to achieve consensus would be to involve the congregation in the design charettes. Facing such a task, we called on the services of Jim Burns, who pioneered participatory design in his years with Lawrence Malprin.
The first session involved what Californians call an "awareness walk" – hiking around the site and filling notebooks with observations for the site of their new church. Then we came back to lunch in the garden of the parish house and people sketched on big rolls of butcher paper, putting down their dreams and strictures about the place they wanted. Next we went into the temporary church and brought out materials for model construction; Fruit Loops, (a saccharine brand of American breakfast cereal) cellophane, school scissors, paper, and parsley. (Parsley is great for models because it wilts quickly and nobody can get infatuated for long with what has been produced). Each person or group made a model of how the church should be, and many of them turned out to be quite beautiful.
Next, we thought it might be interesting to have a kind of Rorschach test of slides. We selected eighty slides of churches from around the world and asked everyone to answer two questions in response to each image: "Do you like this?" *And:* "Would like this for St. Matthew's?" *It turned out that although they had all kept saying that they wanted a dark wood church (their former church had been that), the three slides of Alvar Aalto's white church in Vuoksenniska were the leading vote getters. The church that received the fewest and most negative votes – emphatically* "We do not want this for St. Matthew's" *– was St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Too Catholic, too expensive. So we at least knew something about what they did not want.*
When the design charettes ended, we presented the drawings, made a model, and left it all for the parishioners to ponder. After proposing some slight changes, they put the design to vote, and we got an 87% positive response where we had needed 67%, and there was enough invested enthusiasm to propel the money raising even a little past its goals, that there were funds for the bell tower. The church was built and even won an AIA award. I'm often asked if we haven't felt a diminution of our creative satisfactions in sharing all these design decisions, and I have to admit that part of the province left to us involved putting a Latin cross roof over a half-elliptical floor plan, which seemed like a task Alberti would have responded to enthusiastically. For me personally, the reward of being involved at St. Matthew's was having the opportunity to work towards an architecture filled with the energies not only of architects but of inhabitants as well, and helping people to find something to which they could belong – a place in California that really meant something to those people.

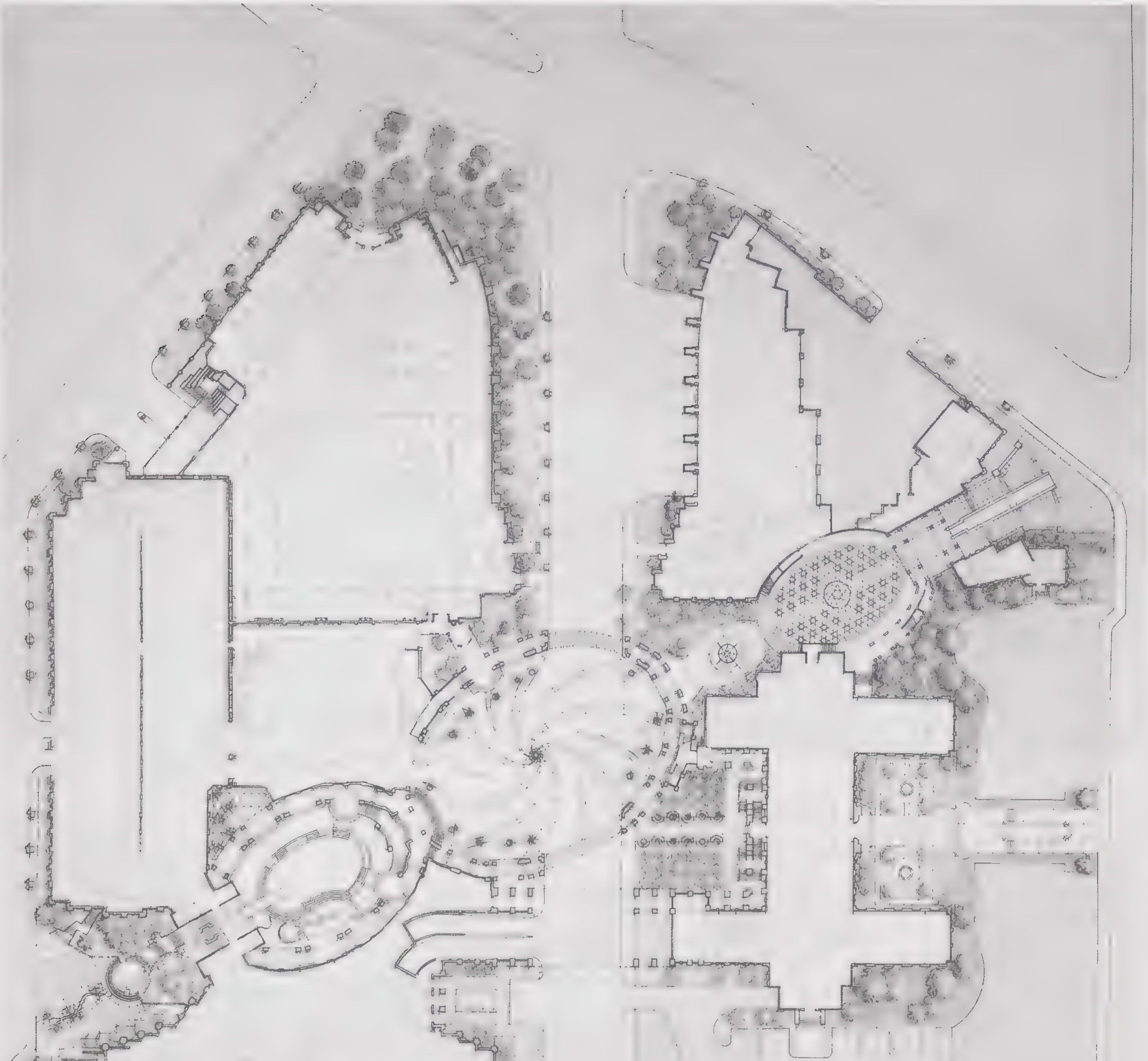
Now, according to California karma, things must come full circle. Twenty-five years after finishing the Sea Ranch condominium, I am again thinking about building a tiny studio at the Ranch in a grove of redwoods I recently purchased. In imagining the kind of place I want my studio to be, I think of the Greek tale of Antaeus and Hercules, which serves as a kind of metaphor for my life at the Sea Ranch. The story goes that Antaeus, an athletic son of Mother Earth, had the insatiable urge to challenge strangers to wresting matches. If Antaeus won, (which he always did) then the victim would be put to death. The secret was that Antaeus' wrestling supremacy was the result of his strength being constantly recharged as long as he was in contact with nutritive Mother Earth. It wasn't long before Hercules came along, and not being able to resist a challenge himself, agreed to wrestle Antaeus. Hercules, always alert, soon realized that his opponent's strength was



Charles Moore e The Urban Intervention Group, Beverly Hills Civic Center, Los Angeles, 1980.
Viste.
Foto T. Hursley.
Pianta.

Charles Moore e The Urban Intervention Group, Beverly Hills Civic Center, Los Angeles, 1980.
Views.
Photos T. Hursley.
Plan.





Charles Moore, John Ruble, Buzz Yudell, St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Pacific Palisades, Los Angeles, 1982.
Vista esterna e vista interna.
Foto T. Hursley.

Charles Moore, John Ruble, Buzz Yudell, St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Pacific Palisades, Los Angeles, 1982.
External and internal views.
Photos T. Hursley.





una specie di *test* psicologico alla Rorschach, quello delle macchie d'inchiostro per intenderci, mostrando ottanta diapositive di chiese di tutto il mondo e chiedendo a ciascuno di rispondere a due domande in riferimento ad ogni immagine. La prima era: "*Questa le piace?*" e la seconda: "*Le piacerebbe se San Matteo fosse così?*". Il *test* rivelò che, sebbene tutti avessero dichiarato ripetutamente che volevano una chiesa in legno scuro come la precedente, le tre diapositive della chiesa bianca di Alvar Aalto a Vuoksenniska furono quelle che riscossero i maggiori consensi. Invece, la chiesa meno votata, quella che ricevette i dinieghi più categorici (enfaticamente "*Non vogliamo una chiesa così per San Matteo*"), fu la Basilica di San Pietro a Roma. Troppo cattolica e troppo dispendiosa, fu la giustificazione, il che ci permise di farci almeno un'idea di ciò che dovevamo evitare.
A progettazione conclusa, sottoponemmo disegni e plastico al vaglio dei parrocchiani i quali, dopo aver proposto qualche lieve modifica, passarono ai voti. Ottenemmo l'87% dei voti, mentre sarebbe bastato il 67%; non solo, ma il progetto riscosse un tale entusiasmo da assicurarci donazioni ben più generose del previsto e sufficienti a finanziare persino il campanile. Il risultato finale fu la realizzazione dell'opera, che venne anche insignita di un riconoscimento A.I.A. Spesso, quando mi chiedono se non ci fossimo sentiti sminuiti nella nostra creatività dovendo condividere tutte quelle decisioni progettuali, sono costretto ad ammettere che alcune delle indicazioni forniteci implicavano la costruzione di una copertura a croce latina su una pianta semiellittica, una sfida che l'Alberti avrebbe raccolto con entusiasmo. Dal punto di vista personale, mi sentii abbondantemente ricompensato dall'opportunità di poter fare un'architettura che non fosse solo frutto della creatività dell'architetto, ma anche dell'entusiasmo di chi ne avrebbe fruito, di contribuire alla realizzazione collettiva di un'opera in cui la gente potesse riconoscersi, un luogo, in California, che avesse realmente un significato per quella gente.

E ora, nel più puro misticismo californiano, sono tornato alle mie radici: venticinque anni dopo aver ultimato il complesso del Sea Ranch, sto nuovamente meditando di costruirmi un minuscolo studio in un boschetto di sequoie da me recentemente acquistato da quelle parti. Fantasticando sul tipo di studio che vorrei farmi, mi viene in mente il mito greco di Anteo ed Ercole che è un po' la metafora della mia vita al Sea Ranch. La storia dice che Anteo era un atletico figlio di Madre Terra la cui smania insaziabile di menare le mani lo portava a sfidare in combattimento chiunque alla condizione che, se avesse vinto lui (un fatto che si verificava puntualmente), l'avversario sarebbe stato messo a morte. Il segreto della superiorità fisica di Anteo risiedeva nel contatto costante con la Madre Terra dalla quale egli attingeva le proprie energie. Non passò molto tempo prima che gli capitasse a tiro Ercole stesso, altro attaccabrighe, il quale accettò di misurarsi con Anteo. Vigile come sempre, Ercole non tardò ad accorgersi che le energie del suo avversario si rigeneravano ogni volta che i suoi piedi toccavano il suolo, così lo sollevo da terra, lontano da sua Madre, e lo strangolò a mezz'aria.
Nel corso degli ultimi venticinque e più anni, il Sea Ranch è stato un po' come la mia Madre Terra, il luogo in cui mi recavo e dove continuo a recarmi per trarre nuove energie e per rinnovare il mio spirito; un rifugio sicuro nel quale trascorro abitualmente due mesi all'anno. È raro che queste parentesi siano tranquille perché il più delle volte mi ritrovo sommerso dai telefoni che squillano senza posa, dalla moltitudine di disegni su carta da lucido, dallo stridio dei fax. Lo studio e la stanzetta sotto alle sequoie dovrebbe diventare il luogo da cui spero di delegare gli incontri, di lavorare lontano dal mio ufficio, di riordinare i miei cumuli di carta da lucido, di mettere al bando il fax. Tuttavia, una cosa è certa: il mio studio resterà vincolato alla terra, all'opposto delle torreggianti sequoie, perché sarà quell'angolo della California dove l'Anteo che c'è in me potrà andare a rigenerarsi.

Austin, Texas, 3 ottobre 1993

rekindled every time his feet touched the soil, so he lifted Antaeus up off the ground (away from Mother) and strangled him in mid-air.

For the past twenty-five odd years, the Sea Ranch has been my kind of Mother Earth; a place where I have gone, and continue to go, to have my energy and spirit renewed. The Sea Ranch has been an appreciated sanctuary in which I usually have spent two months of each year. Sometimes these interludes would be tranquil, but most of the time they were made chaotic by the ringing phone, heaps of tracing paper drawings and screeching fax machines. The studio and guest room in the redwoods is where I hope to be able to delegate the meetings and work away from my condominium, collect the mountains of tracing paper, and banish the fax machine. One thing is sure, though the studio will stay close to the earth, in contrast to the the towering redwoods; a place in California where an Antaeus might come to be renewed.

Austin, Texas, October 3rd, 1993

Frank O. Gehry: modelli di progetti californiani, 1981-1993

I progetti qui presentati riguardano alcune opere già note, principalmente californiane, eseguite da Frank O. Gehry in un arco di tempo dal 1981 al 1993, fino all'ultima variante della Walt Disney Concert Hall.
In occasione di questo numero monografico dedicato alla California, Kurt W. Forster ha suggerito a "Zodiac" di illustrare la sua opera (ampiamente trattata in altre sezioni della rivista) privilegiando una selezione dei numerosi modelli di studio che l'architetto è solito realizzare a continua verifica del lavoro di progettazione.
Tale ricorso ai modelli come strumento di controllo, in un progressivo provare e riprovare di differenti soluzioni compositive, trova riscontro nella recente osservazione di Bruno Zevi:
"*Povera, trasandata, avventurosa, imprevedibile, frammentata è l'architettura di Frank Owen Gehry* (...). *La sua poetica è diversa da quella di qualsiasi altro architetto contemporaneo, soprattutto perchè è differente il contesto. Gehry non agisce sul paesaggio, e neppure sul paesaggio urbano. Il suo interesse si rivolge a ciò che chiama «cheapscape», paesaggio derelitto, di rifiuti, in cui si può intervenire con controversi, transitori «collages» di spazi e materiali. I suoi edifici non tentano nemmeno di compensare ciò che è «cheap», dimesso e volgare. Anzi, intendono appartenere al «cheapscape» senza alcuna idiota ambizione di abbellirlo*" (Bruno Zevi, *La luce come forma architettonica*, in *Zevi su Zevi, architettura come profezia*, Venezia 1993, p. 205).
D'altra parte questo uso dei modelli rende conto anche di un altro carattere dell'architettura di Gehry, quella matrice artistica e scultorea da molti messa in evidenza e da ultimo ricordata nella presentazione veneziana di Philip Johnson:
"*Gehry è convinto che l'architettura sia essenzialmente uno sforzo estetico, una questione legata alle qualità di forma e materia. I suoi azzardi riguardano perciò le possibilità architettoniche di forme inesplorate e di materiali non ancora sperimentati, e la sua musa è l'Arte*".
(Philip Johnson, *Introduction* a *Peter Eisenman & Frank Gehry*, Catalogo del Padiglione degli Stati Uniti, V Mostra Internazionale di Architettura della Biennale di Venezia, New York 1991).

Frank O. Gehry: Californian Project Models, 1981-1993

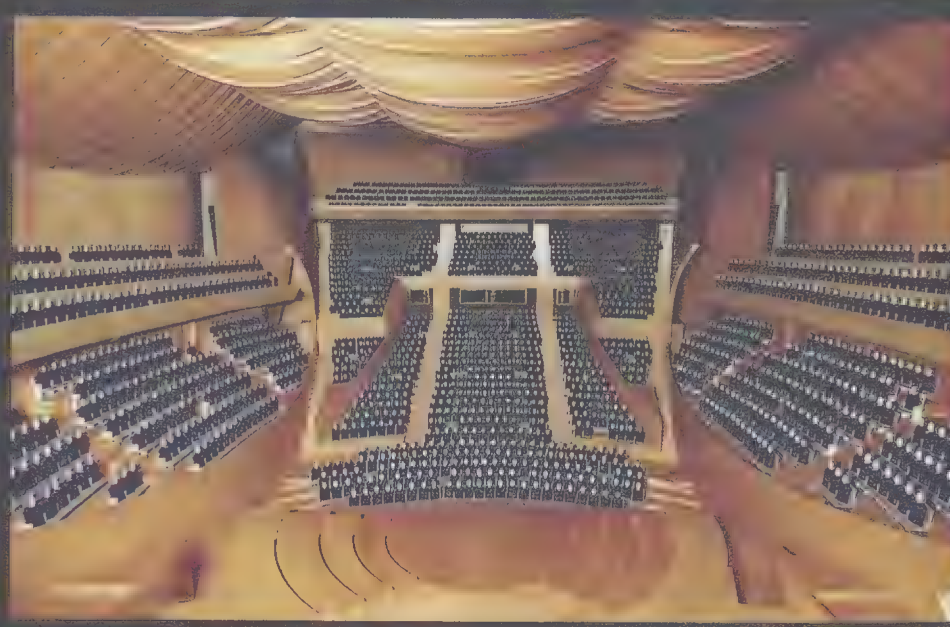
The projects we present are for well known buildings, mainly in California, which Frank O. Gehry produced in the period from 1981 to 1993 up to the latest version of the Walt Disney Concert Hall.
For this monographic California issue of Zodiac, *Kurt W. Forster suggested that it would be interesting to illustrate Gehry's work (fully discussed in other sections of the review) with a selection of the numerous study models he usually builds to check his ongoing design work.*
Bruno Zevi has commented on this use of models as monitoring instruments for testing and re-testing compositional solutions:
"Frank O. Gehry's architecture is shabby, spare, adventurous, unpredictable, fragmented *(...)*. His poetics are different from those of any other contemporary architect, mainly because the context is different. Gehry doesn't act on landscape, or even on urban landscape. He is interested in what he calls «cheapscape», a derelict wasteland that makes possible transitory, controversial «collages» of spaces and materials. His buildings don't attempt to offset what is «cheap», derelict or ordinary. On the contrary, the intention is that they should belong to the «cheapscape», with no idiotic attempt to beautify it".
(Bruno Zevi, La luce come forma architettonica, *in* Zevi su Zevi, architettura come profezia, *Venice 1993, p. 205).*
This use of models also points to another feature of Gehry's architecture, the artistic and sculptural orientation many have pointed to which Philip Johnson mentions in a recent Venice Biennial catalogue:
"Gehry believes architecture is primarily an aesthetic endeavor, a question of the qualities of material and form. His risks, therefore, revolve around the architectural possibilities of unexplored shapes and untried materials, and his muse is Art".
(Philip Johnson, Introduction to Peter Eisenman & Frank Gehry, *Catalogue for the Pavilion of the United States, Fifth International Exhibition of Architecture of the Venice Biennale, New York 1991).*

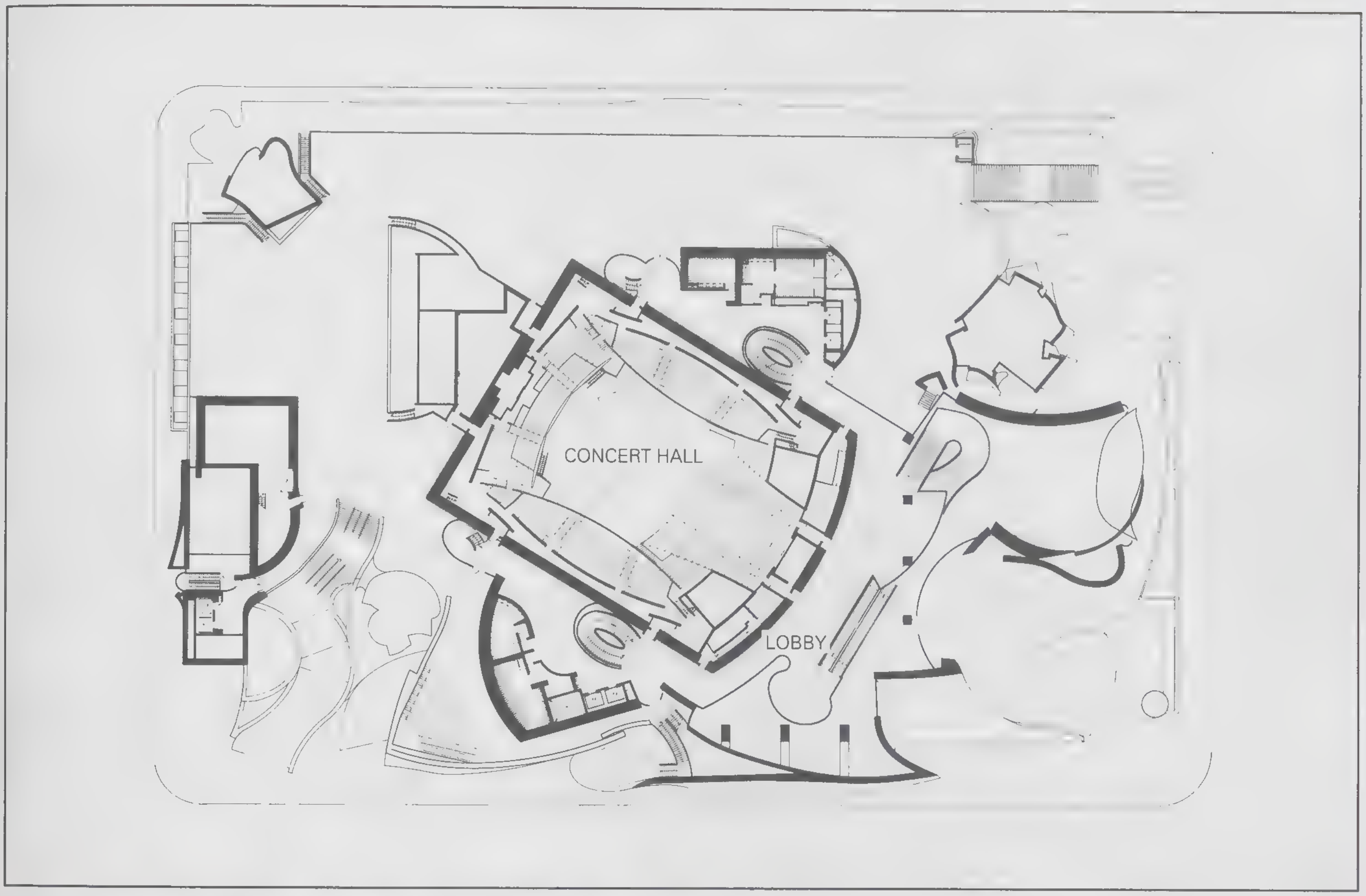


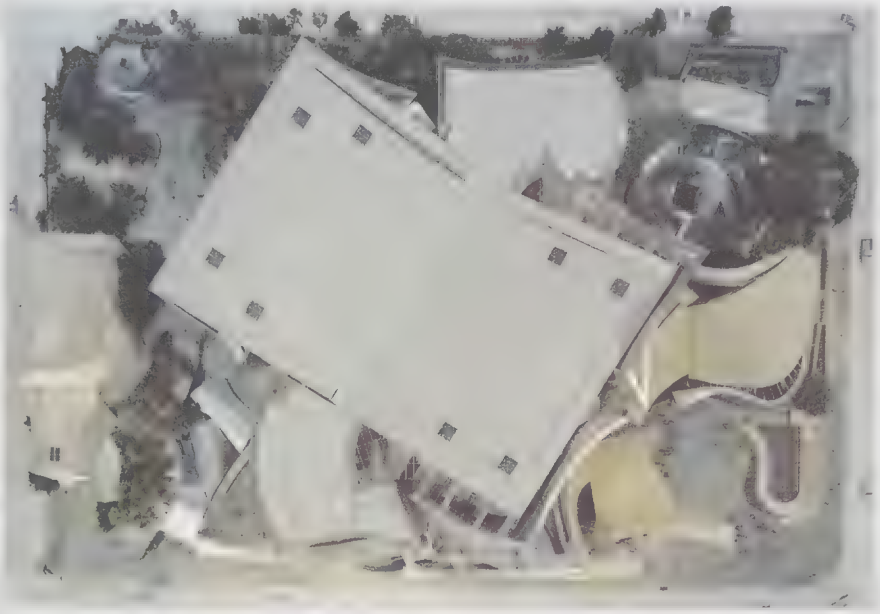
Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, 1988-1994. Vista del modello, 1993. Foto J. White.

Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, 1988-1994. View of model, 1993. Photo J. White.









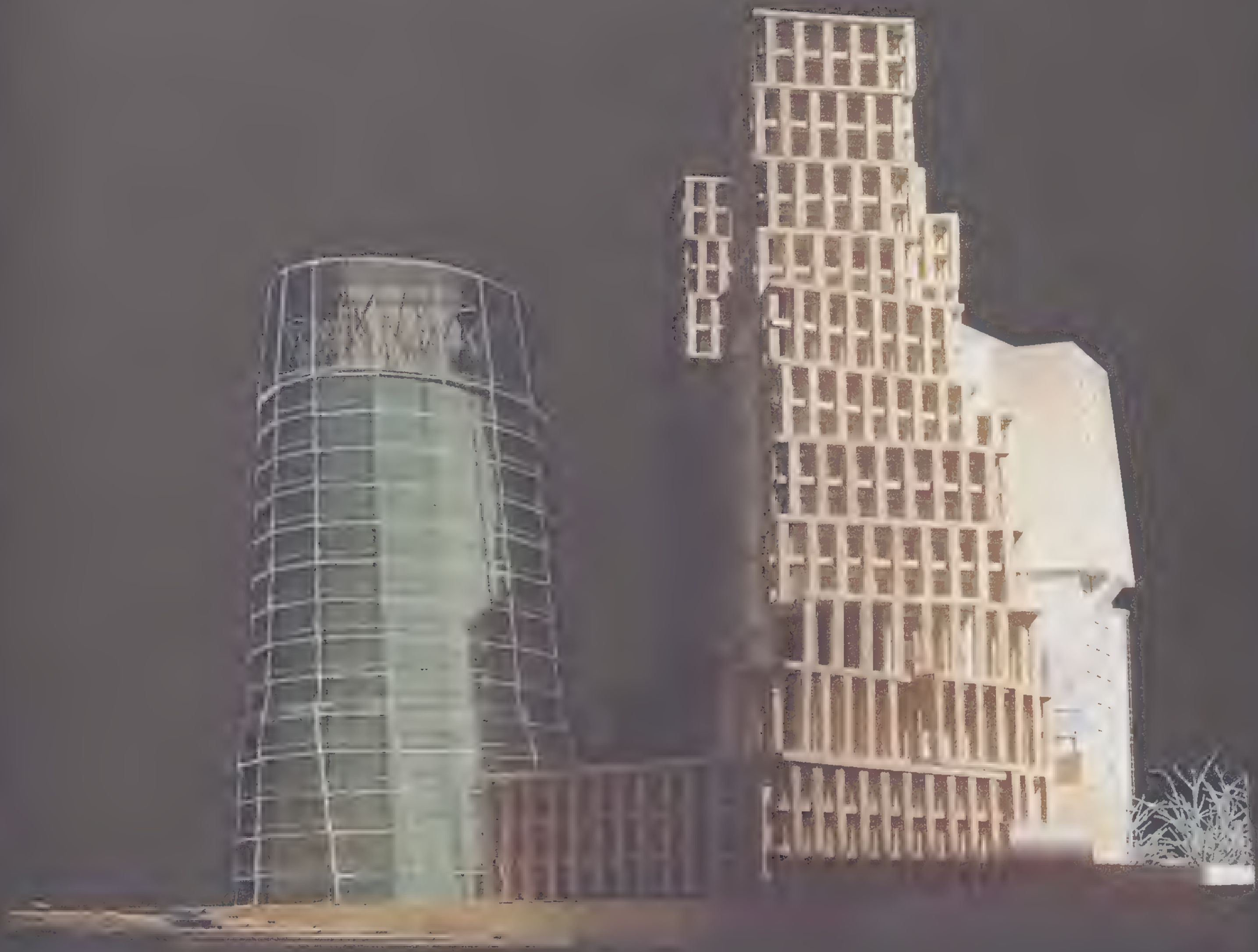
Walt Disney Concert Hall,
Los Angeles, 1988-1994.
Vista esterna e vista zenitale
del modello, 1992.
Foto J. White.
Vista interna dell'auditorium, 1993.
Foto J. White.
Pianta, 1992.

Walt Disney Concert Hall,
Los Angeles, 1988-1994.
Exterior and overhead views
of model, 1992.
Photos J. White.
Interior view of the auditorium, 1993.
Photo J. White.
Plan, 1992.



Turtle Creek Development, Dallas, Texas, 1989-1990. Planivolumetria. Viste del modello da Cedar Springs Road e da Turtle Creek Boulevard, 1990. Foto E. O'Mahoney.

Turtle Creek Development, Dallas, Texas, 1989-1990. Volumetric plan. Views of model from Cedar Springs Road and Turtle Creek Boulevard, 1990. Photos E. O'Mahoney.





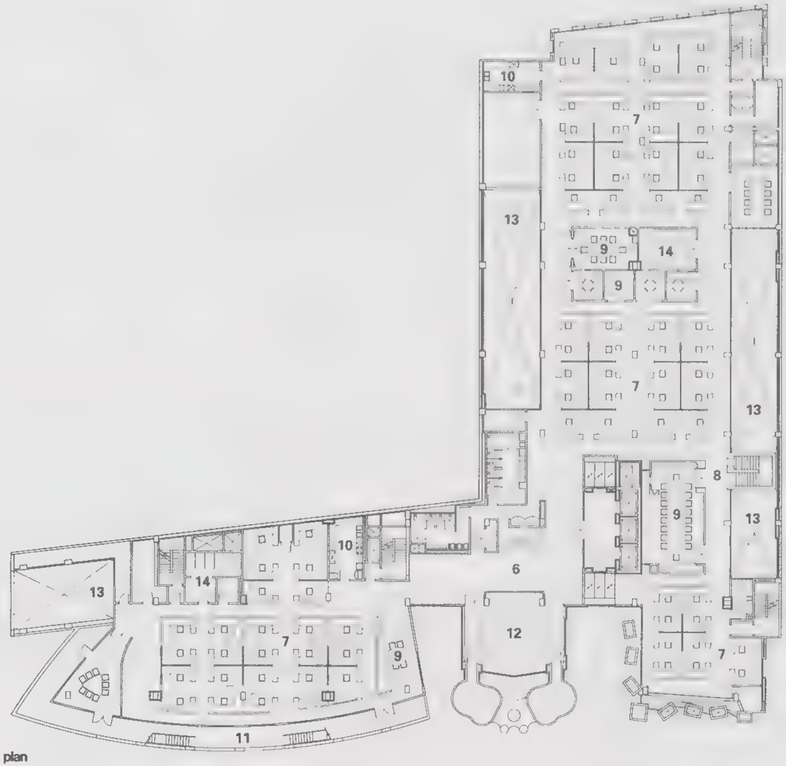
Chiat Day, Main Street Building, Venice, Los Angeles, 1986-1991. Vista frontale del modello, 1986. Foto M. Moran. Vista del modello, 1985. Foto F. O. Gehry & Ass. Pianta dei piani terreno e primo, 1991: 1) ingresso; 2) spazio da affittare; 3) sala computer; 4) [illegible]; 5) campo; 6) reception; 7) stazioni di lavoro; 8) scala di servizio; 9) sale conferenza; 10) cucina; 11) balconata; 12) sala conferenze principale; 13) vuoto; 14) stanza riproduzioni.



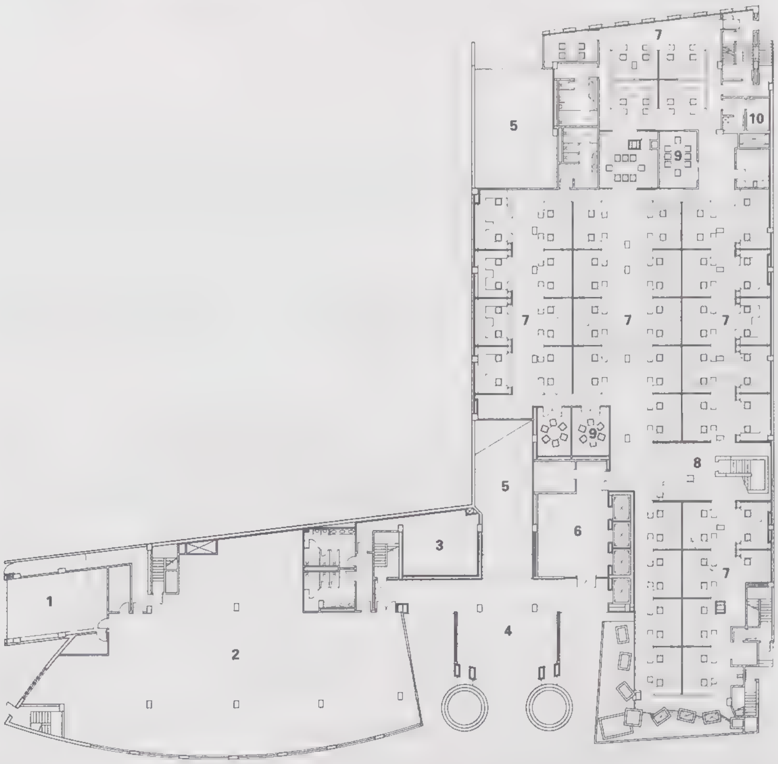


Chiat Day, Main Street Building, Venice, Los Angeles, 1986-1991. Front view of model, 1986. Photo M. Moran. View of model, 1985. Photo F. O. Gehry & Ass. Plans of ground and first floor plans, 1991:

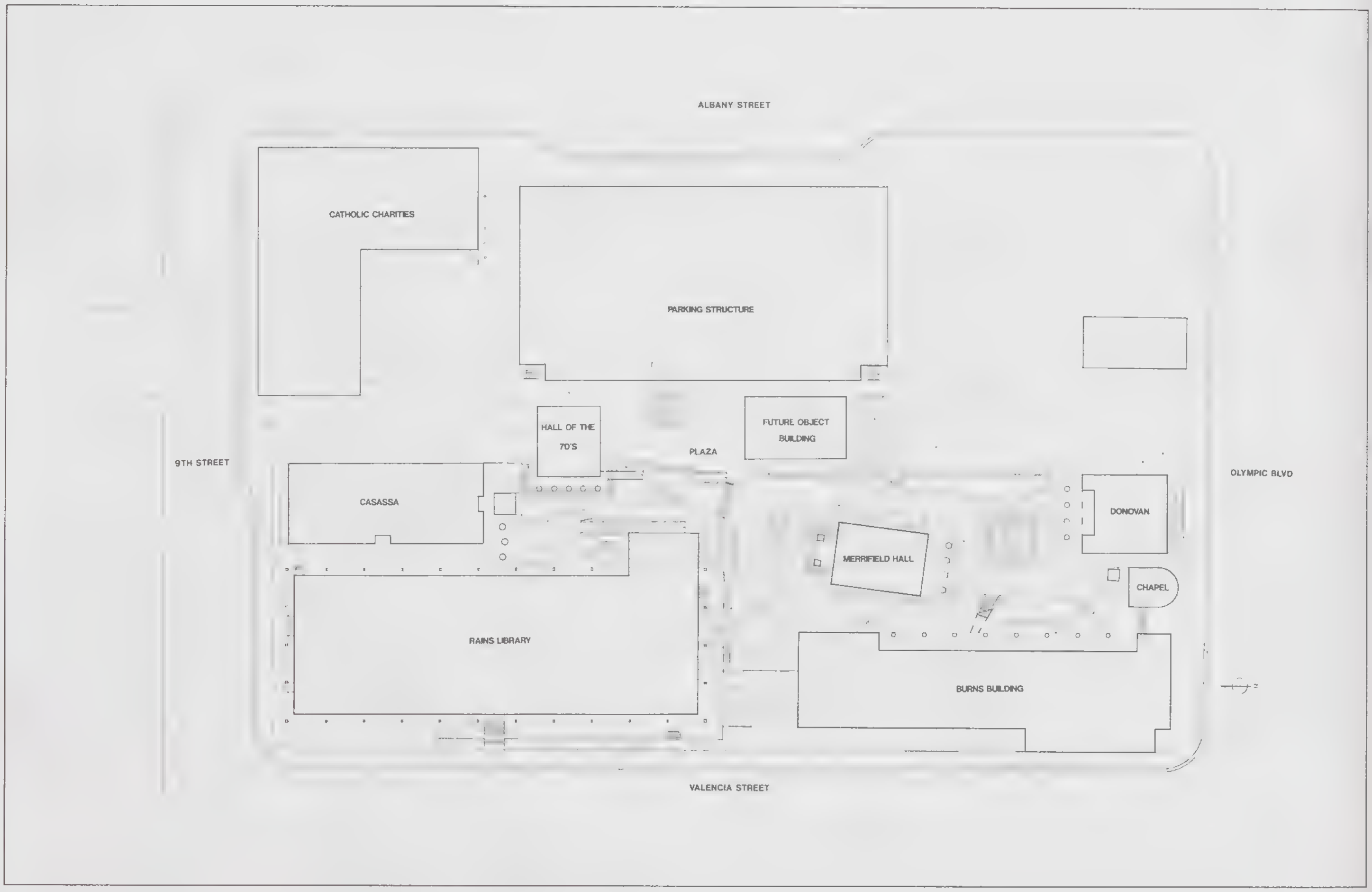
1) entrance; 2) rental space; 3) computer room; 4) automobile entrance; 5) ramp; 6) reception; 7) work stations; 8) service stairs; 9) lecture rooms; 10) kitchen; 11) balcony; 12) main lecture room; 13) void; 14) copying room.



Second floor plan



First floor plan



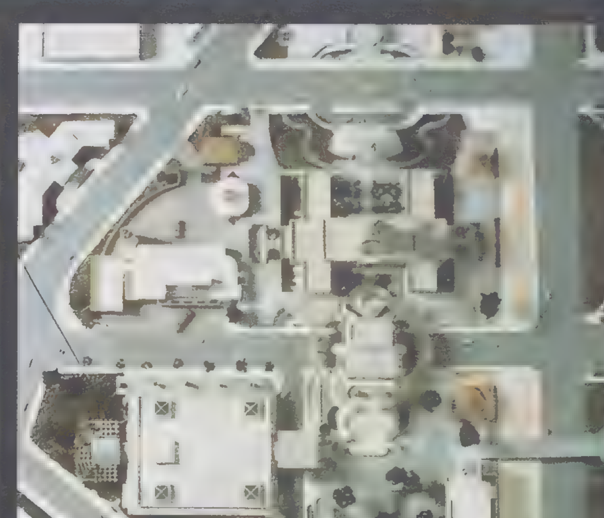
Loyola Law School, Los Angeles, 1981-1992.
Pianta, 1992.
Vista del modello da 9th Street, 1980.
Foto F. O. Gehry & Ass.
Vista del modello da Olympic Boulevard, 1992.
Foto J. White.

Loyola Law School, Los Angeles, 1981-1992.
Plan, 1992.
View of model from 9th Street, 1980.
Photo F. O. Gehry & Ass.
View of model from Olympic Boulevard, 1992.
Photo J. White.













Concorso per il Municipio di Beverly Hills, Los Angeles, 1982.
Viste del modello, 1982.
Foto F. O. Gehry & Ass.

Competition for the Beverly Hills City Hall, Los Angeles, 1982.
Views of model, 1982.
Photos F. O. Gehry & Ass.



LOS ANGELES
SANTA MONICA
Pasadena
Santa Monica Mountains
Beverly Hills
Hollywood
Glendale
Monrovia
Sierra Madre
Whittier
Puente Hills
El Segundo
Manhattan Beach
Hermosa Beach
Redondo Beach
Torrance
LONG BEACH
San Pedro Bay
1 : 500 000
Crescent City
Eureka
Red Bluff
Redding
Orland
Willits
Ukiah
Healdsburg
Sebastopol
Petaluma
Novato
San Rafael
SANFRANCISCO
South San Francisco
Burlingame
San Mateo
Redwood City
Palo Alto
San Jose
Fremont
Pleasanton
Stockton
Modesto
Turlock
Merced
Los Banos
Hollister
Santa Cruz
Watsonville
Monterey Bay
Pacific Grove
Carmel
Salinas
Soledad
Madera
FRESNO
Clovis
Sanger
Kingsburg
Hanford
Visalia
Tulare
Porterville
Coalinga
Paso Robles
Bakersfield
S. Luis Obispo
Tehachapi
Mojave
Lancaster
Palmdale
Victorville
Barstow
San Bernardino
Redlands
Riverside
Santa Barbara
Ventura
Oxnard
Santa Barbara Channel
Gulf of Sta Catalina
Oceanside
La Jolla
San Diego
Coronado
Imperial Beach
Tijuana
El Centro
Calexico
Mexicali
Yuma
BAJA CALIFORNIA
Ensenada
Tonopah
Goldfield
Las Vegas
Needles
Blythe
Chocolate Mount
Providence Mount
Bullion Mts
Colorado Desert
Mojave Desert
Death Valley
Panamint Mount
Amargosa Range
Silver Peak Range
White Mountains
Sierra Nevada
Bishop
Mt Whitney
Cerro Gordo
Salton Sea
Sacramento
Carson City
Reno
Truckee
Virginia City
PACIFIC OCEAN
San Rafael
San Pablo Bay
San Quentin
Point Richmond
Mill Valley
Tiburon
Belvedere
Sausalito
Angel Island
Albany
BERKELEY
Emeryville
Treasure I.
Yerba Buena
OAKLAND
ALAMEDA
SAN FRANCISCO
San Leandro
Bay Farm Island
Golden Gate
San Bruno Mount
Daly City
1 : 250 000

Charles W. Moore (1925-1993)
Frank O. Gehry (1929), Los Angeles
Joseph Esherick (1914), San Francisco
Paul Holt (1952), Marc Hinshaw (1955),
Wes Jones (1958), San Francisco
Jim Jennings (1940), San Francisco
Mark Mack (1949), San Francisco
Stanley Saitowitz (1949), San Francisco
Daniel Solomon (1939), San Francisco
Wolf D. Prix (1942), Helmut Swiczinsky (1944),
Coop Himmelblau, Los Angeles
Craig Hodgetts (1937), Ming Fung (1953),
Los Angeles
Franklin D. Israel (1945), Los Angeles
Panos Koulermos (1933), Los Angeles
Thom Mayne (1944), Morphosis, Los Angeles
Eric Owen Moss (1943), Los Angeles
Dagmar Richter (1955), Los Angeles
Michael Rotondi (1949), Los Angeles



Joseph Esherick

Sea Ranch, Six Demonstration Houses and General Store/Restaurant, Sonoma County, California, 1965
Joseph Esherick and Associates
Joseph Esherick, Executive Architect

Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey, California, 1984
Esherick, Homsey, Dodge and Davis
Charles M. Davis, Executive Architect

Sea Ranch, sei case-tipo con grande magazzino e ristorante, Sonoma County, California, 1965. Viste.

Sea Ranch. Six demonstration houses with general store and restaurant, Sonoma County, California, 1965. Views.

Sea Ranch, Sonoma County, California
Joseph Esherick and Associates

Il sito era un vecchio *ranch* in cui si allevavano pecore sulla costa di Mendocino, nella California settentrionale a nord di San Francisco, una zona brulla e spazzata dai venti che si era resa disponibile nei primi anni Sessanta. Lo studio EHDD, dopo aver collaborato alla pianificazione e al programma di sviluppo generale, ricevette l'incarico specifico di progettare un gruppo di case tipo e un edificio commerciale. Con l'intenzione di creare un prototipo per questo insediamento, le case tipo sono raggruppate intorno a una corte centrale e hanno un semplice tetto spiovente per contrastare i venti freddi e impetuosi tipici della zona. La sequenza di questi tetti da casa a casa crea un effetto che garantisce una buona protezione sul lato sottovento di ogni edificio, dove si trovano gli spazi abitabili esterni che, riparati e confortevoli, sono parte integrante delle case. Sull'alta parete a sud di ogni casa si aprono molte finestre in modo che il sole possa contribuire a riscaldare gli interni.
La qualità del progetto risiede nella sensibilità che esso dimostra nei confronti della storia, del clima e della geologia di questo territorio e del sito in particolare. Queste prime case tipo e l'edificio commerciale si adattano perfettamente al paesaggio e hanno ottenuto un largo riconoscimento grazie a un'architettura fortemente integrata all'ambiente.

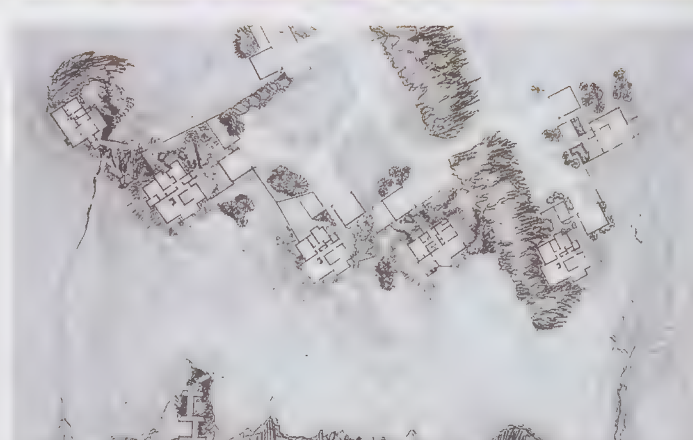


The Sea Ranch, Sonoma County, California
Joseph Esherick and Associates

The site was an old sheep ranch on the barren and windswept Mendocino coast of Northern California which had been obtained in the early 1960's. EHDD collaborated in overall planning and design of the development, and was given the specific task of designing a cluster of demonstration houses and a general store.
Intended to set a precedent for the development of this community, the demonstration houses are designed as cluster houses, with a simple shed roof shape adapted to the strong cool prevailing winds of the area. The reception of these roofs from house to house creates a "wind wave" effect that provides reasonable comfort in the lee of each building. The outdoor living spaces - an integral part of the houses - were placed in these lees, providing comfortable, sheltered spaces. The tall south walls of each house have many windows to help capture the sun and warm the interior. What has made the Sea Ranch so successful architecturally is the sensitivity to the history, climate and landforms of the place.
These first demonstration houses and the store were designed to fit seamlessly with the landscape and have been widely acclaimed for their ecologically sound architecture.











Sea Ranch, sei case-tipo con grande magazzino e ristorante, Sonoma County, California, 1965. Disegni di studio, planimetria e viste esterne.

Sea Ranch. Six demonstration houses with general store and restaurant, Sonoma County, California, 1965. Study drawings, exterior views and general plan.





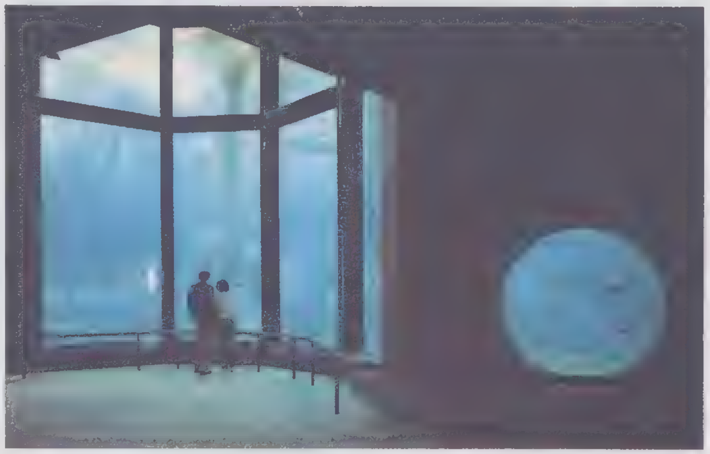
Acquario della Baia di Monterey, Monterey, California, 1984.
Vista esterna.
Foto Monterey Bay Aquarium.
Vista interna della hall d'ingresso.
Foto P. Aaron.
Vista interna della Kelp Forest.
Foto J. Lidz.

Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey, California, 1984.
Exterior view.
Photo Monterey Bay Aquarium.
Interior view of entrance hall.
Photo P. Aaron.
Interior view of Kelp Forest.
Photo J. Lidz.

Acquario della Baia di Monterey, Monterey, California
Esherick, Homsey, Dodge, Davis

Sulla spettacolare costa della California settentrionale, lo studio EHDD ha progettato uno degli acquari più famosi e interessanti del mondo, il Monterey Bay Aquarium. Concepito come un servizio pubblico ed educativo senza fini di lucro, esso è il risultato di una proficua collaborazione professionale tra i biologi marini dell'Acquario e i progettisti incaricati. Il Monterey Bay Aquarium, a differenza di altre costruzioni dello stesso tipo, è focalizzato sul singolare ecosistema marino di un solo *habitat*, la baia di Monterey e il suo litorale.
L' Acquario è dotato di significative innovazioni tecniche: una grande vasca (circa 1.300.000 litri) consente a una particolare vegetazione marina locale (*kelp forest*) di crescere per la prima volta in un ambiente ostile e artificiale; monitor computerizzati controllano le funzioni vitali all'interno di ogni vasca; un sistema combinato di acqua marina naturale e filtrata consente di immetere nell'Acquario acqua ricca di proprietà nutritive oppure di aumentarne il grado di trasparenza per una migliore esposizione. Una delle attrazioni più famose dell'Acquario è la vasca di circa 200.000 litri che ospita le lontre marine. Nelle foreste marine al largo della costa di Monterey vivono molte lontre in via di estinzione, che qui trovano non solo un luogo in cui vivere ma ricercatori che si occupano della loro salvaguardia e sopravvivenza.

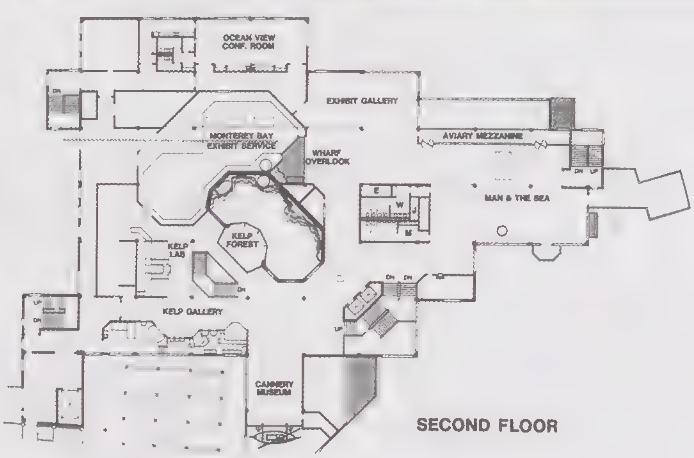




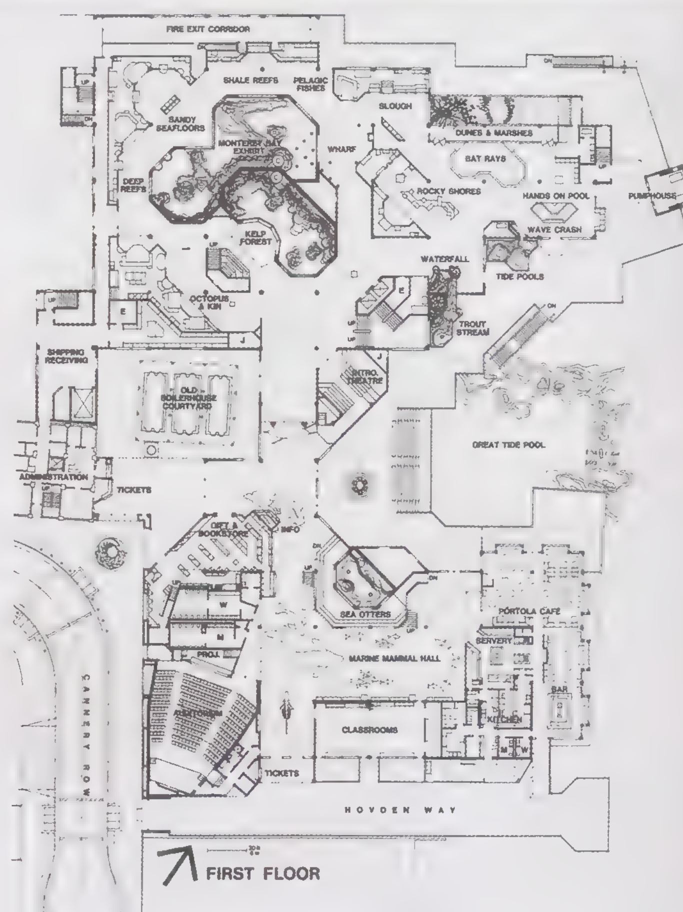
Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey, California
Esherick, Homsey, Dodge, Davies

On the spectacular Northern California coast, EHDD has designed one of the most successfull and widely acknowledged aquariums in the world, the Monterey Bay Aquarium. Conceived as a public, non-profit educational facility, the completed aquarium is the result of an ongoing collaborative effort between the aquarium marine biologists and the consultant team. In an important departure from traditional aquarium design, MBA's focus is on the unique marine ecology of one habitat – the Monterey bay and its shoreline.
Significant technical innovations have been achieved in the design of MBA, including the 335,000 gallon kelp tank, where for the first time kelp is grown in a captive, artificial environment. Computer sensors monitor the life-support functions of each tank. The combined raw and filtered seawater system allows open-mode functioning to bring nutrient rich seawater into the system or closed-mode functioning to increase water clarity for viewing the exhibits. One of the aquarium's most popular attractions is its 55,000 gallon sea-otter exhibit. Many of the endangered sea otters come from the kelp forests off the coast of Monterey, and the aquarium not only serves as a home for several of them but also provides vital research and rescue facilities for the otters.



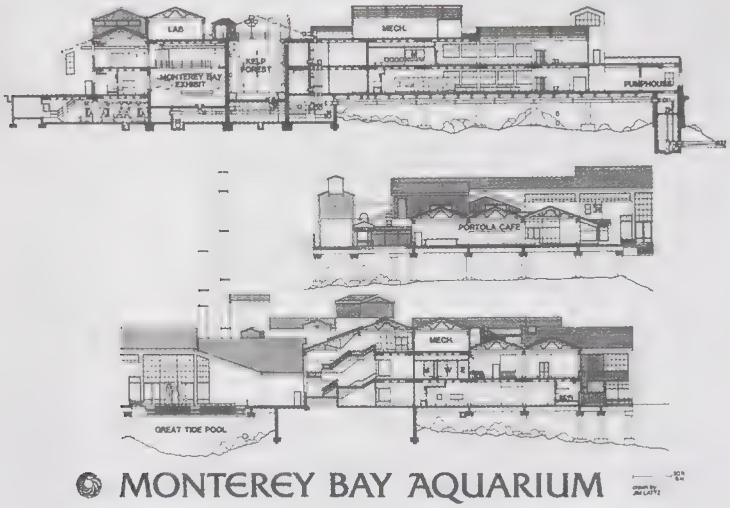


SECOND FLOOR



FIRST FLOOR





Acquario della Baia di Monterey, Monterey, California, 1984.
Vista esterna da est.
Foto P. Aaron.
Vista esterna da sud.
Foto J. Lidz.
Piante dei piani primo e secondo, sezioni trasversale e longitudinali.

Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey, California, 1984.
Exterior view from the east.
Photo P. Aaron.
Exterior view from the south.
Photo J. Lidz.
Plans of first and second-floors, cross and longitudinal sections.



Holt Hinshaw Jones

Central Cogeneration Plant, UCLA, Los Angeles, California, 1992-1994
Marc Hinshaw (Principal)
con/with: Wes Jones (Project Design)

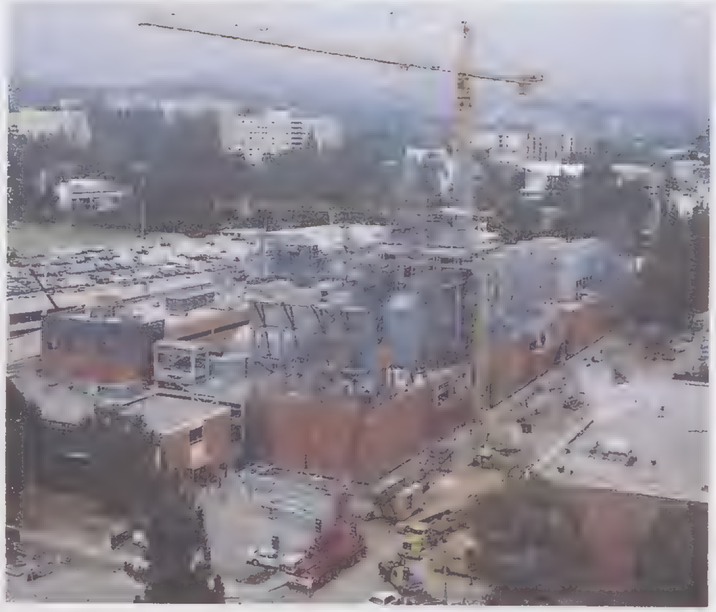
San Jose Repertory Theater, San Jose, California, 1993
Paul Holt (Principal)
con/with: Wes Jones (Project Design)

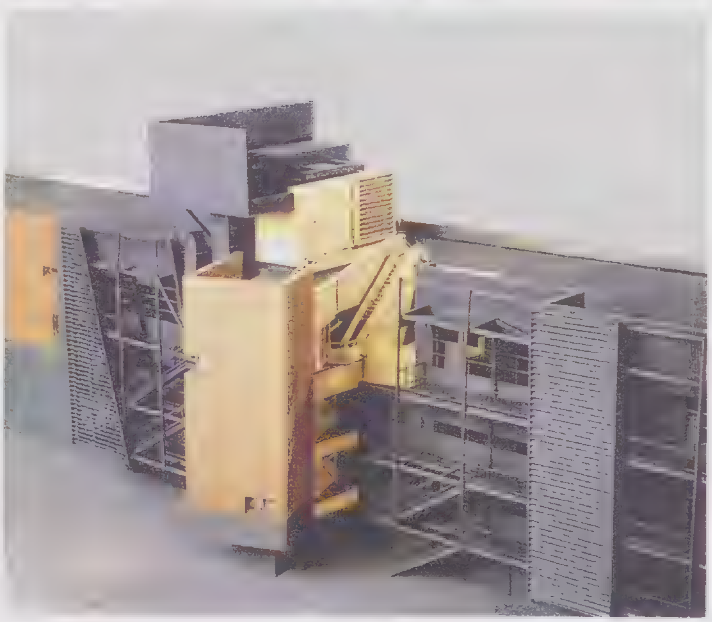
Centrale energetica, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1992-94. Vista dell'edificio in costruzione.

Central Cogeneration Plant, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1992-94. View of the building under construction.

Impianto centrale di pluriproduzione energetica, UCLA, Los Angeles, California
Holt, Hinshaw, Jones

L'impianto centrale di raffreddamento e di pluriproduzione energetica della UCLA con ricollocamento del Centro amministrativo dei servizi è ubicato nel settore sudoccidentale del *campus* a Circle Drive South, appena oltre Westwood Plaza Drive, l'arteria principale del complesso, di fronte al Centro clinico della UCLA. L'area è un sito di difficile utilizzo di 3 ettari delimitato su tre lati da edifici universitari, con una zona residenziale a una sessantina di metri verso ovest. Precedentemente vi sorgevano gli uffici centrali dell'Amministrazione dei servizi universitari e le botteghe artigianali il cui spostamento ha costituito la prima fase del progetto, che comportava anche la ristrutturazione di un capannone di mq. 4600 ad un'estremità del sito per alloggiare le suddette botteghe.
Il progetto è articolato in due parti principali. Il lato settentrionale del complesso è costituito da un piano terreno che ospita le rivendite della produzione artigianale dell'Università e, sopra, due piani di uffici per il personale addetto all'Amministrazione dei servizi. Il lato meridionale, invece, è costituito da una struttura con un intero piano seminterrato dove sono collocati tutti i macchinari dell'impianto centrale di pluriproduzione energetica. La fase finale del progetto prevede, approssimativamente, una superficie di mq. 8800 per esercizi commerciali e uffici e di mq. 8300 per gli impianti che comprendono due turbine a gas, una turbina a vapore, raffreddatori a centrifuga e ad assorbimento azionati dalle turbine a vapore, pompe, macchinari per la demineralizzazione dell'acqua, sistemi per la distribuzione dell'elettricità, attrezzature ausiliarie di vario genere, oltre ad una sofisticatissima sala controllo, un centro interventi per la manutenzione, magazzini e uffici. L'area racchiude, inoltre, un edificio a se stante per gli impianti di emergenza progettato secondo le norme OSHPD, che eroga energia, vapore e acqua di raffreddamento per le prestazioni sanitarie essenziali del Centro clinico dell'UCLA.
L'impianto, oltre ad erogare energia e acqua di raffreddamento per tutte le necessità attuali e preventivate del *campus*, consente al Centro energetico della UCLA un continuo recupero degli investimenti e compensa i costi correnti del servizio mediante i risparmi ottenuti sui costi di gestione.
Pur integrandosi con le strutture circostanti, l'edificio non è un contenitore anonimo. Invece di nascondere macchinari e impianti della centrale, esso mette in evidenza le seducenti e intrinseche qualità della tecnologia come parte integrante e accuratamente studiata della composizione. L' "onestà" architettonica è espressa dalla complessa interazione fra la ricchezza dei riferimenti contestuali e l'eloquenza degli impianti.



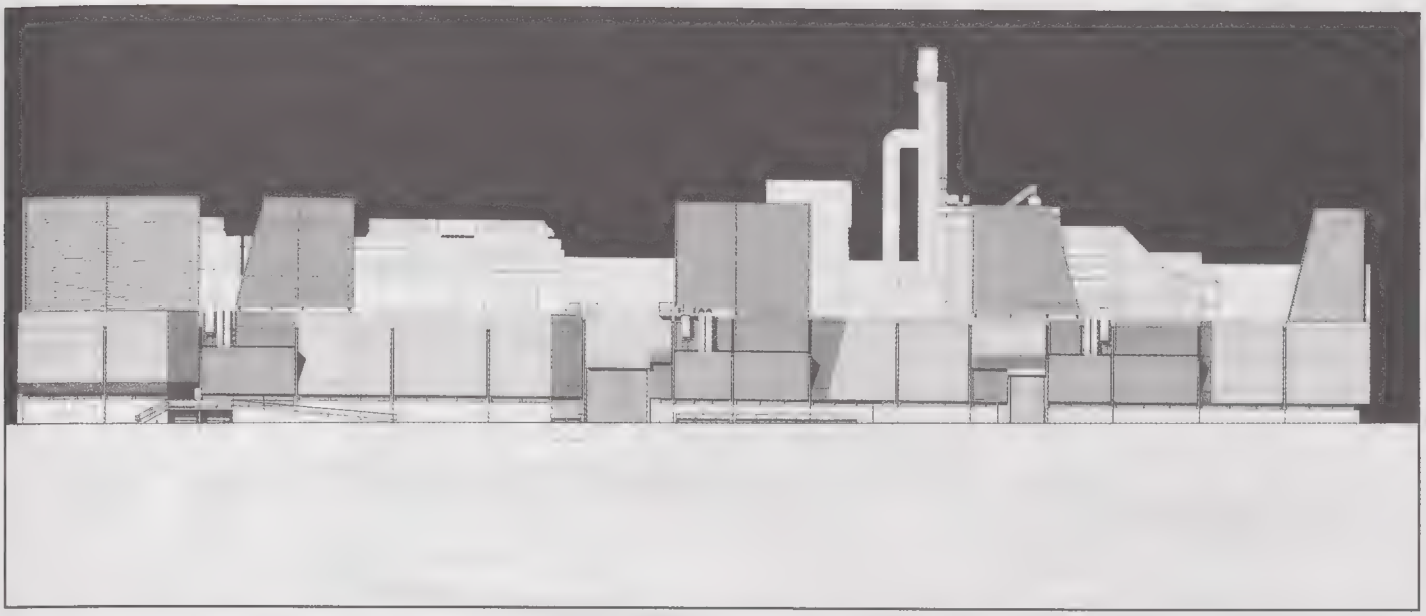


Centrale energetica, UCLA,
Los Angeles, 1992-94.
Viste dell'edificio in costruzione e del modello di studio.
Prospetti longitudinali e prospettiva.

Central Cogeneration Plant, UCLA,
Los Angeles, 1992-94.
Views of the building under construction and of the study model.
Longitudinal elevations and perspective.

Central Cogeneration Plant, UCLA, Los Angeles, California
Holt, Hinshaw, Jones

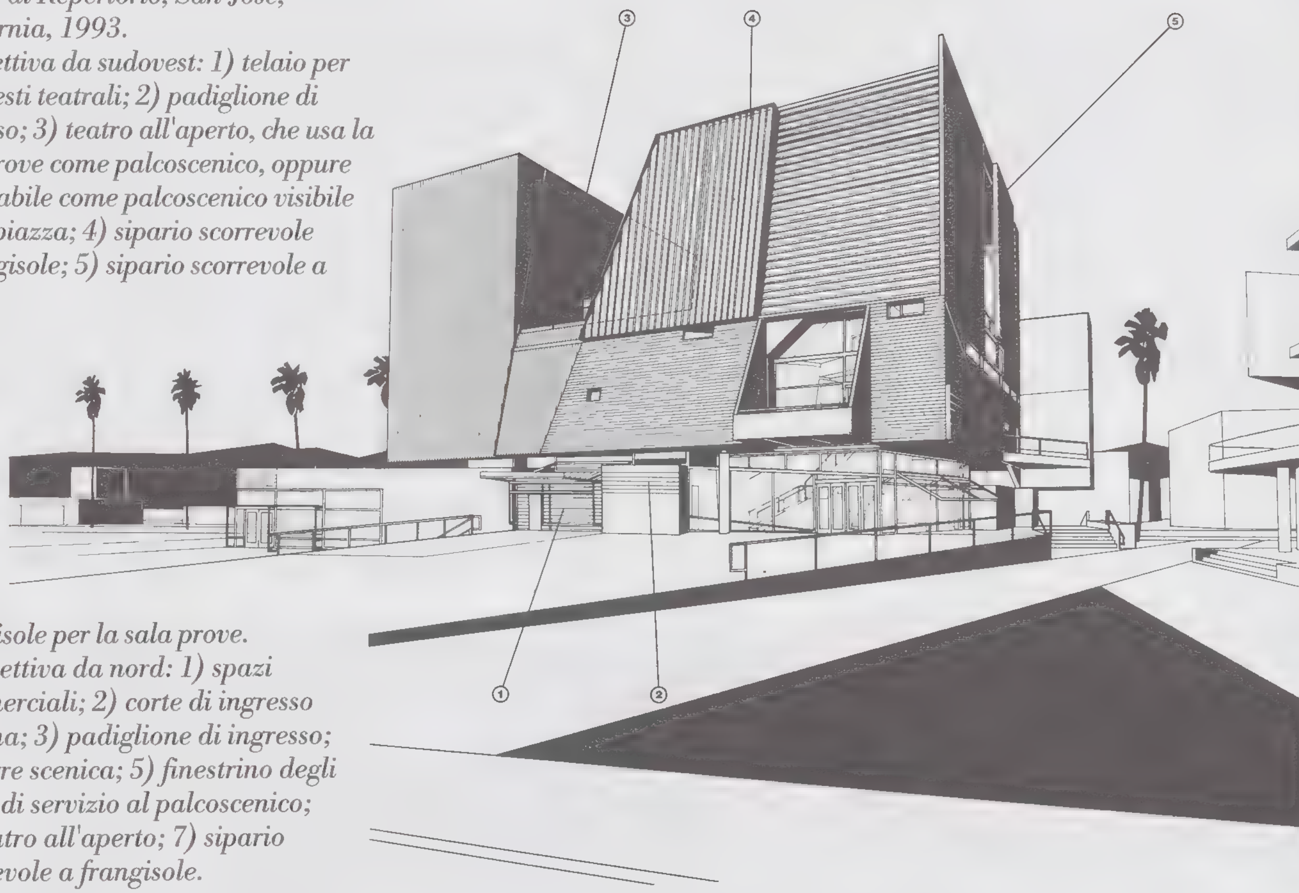
The UCLA "Central Chiller-Cogeneration Plant with Facilities Management Replacement Space" is located in the southwest part of the campus on Circle Drive South just off the campus' primary thoroughfare, Westwood Plaza Drive, across from the UCLA Med Center. The difficult eight acre site is bounded closely on three sides by existing campus buildings and is within 200 ft. of a residential neighbourhood to the west. The site was previously occupied by Facilities Management's central offices and craft shops which were relocated as Phase I of the project which entailed the renovation of an existing 50,000 sq. ft. warehouse building at one end of the site to house the campus shops being displaced by the new plant. The project is divided into two general parts. The north side of the complex is composed of high-bay ground-level space for Campus Craft with two storeys of office space above for facilities Management administrative staff. The south side of the complex is a high bay structure with a full basement housing all the Central Cogeneration Plant functions. The final phase of the project consists of approximately 95,000 sq. ft. of shops and offices and 90,000 sq. ft. of plant space. The plant space includes two gas-fired turbines, one steam turbine, steam turbine driven centrifugal and absorption chillers, pumps, water demineralization equipment, electrical distribution systems and miscellaneous support equipment, as well as a state-of-the-art control room and supporting maintenance, storage and office spaces. In addition, the plant space encloses a stand-alone Emergency Service Equipment Building designed to OSHPD specifications providing power, steam and chilled water to the critical care facilities at UCLA Med Center.
The plant provides power and chilled water for all current as well as forecast campus needs, gives UCLA Energy Systems continual pay-back revenue and offsets current utility costs, creating enough revenue through savings in operating costs. While sensitive to its surroundings, the use of familiar materials and architectural treatments is critical in application, rather than imitative. The building is not a mute box. It does not insist on hiding plant machinery, but proudly displays the inherently engaging qualities of technology as an integrated and carefully considered part of the composition. Architectural "honesty" is projected through the sophisticated interplay of its rich contextual palette and carefully expressed mechanical and electrical systems.

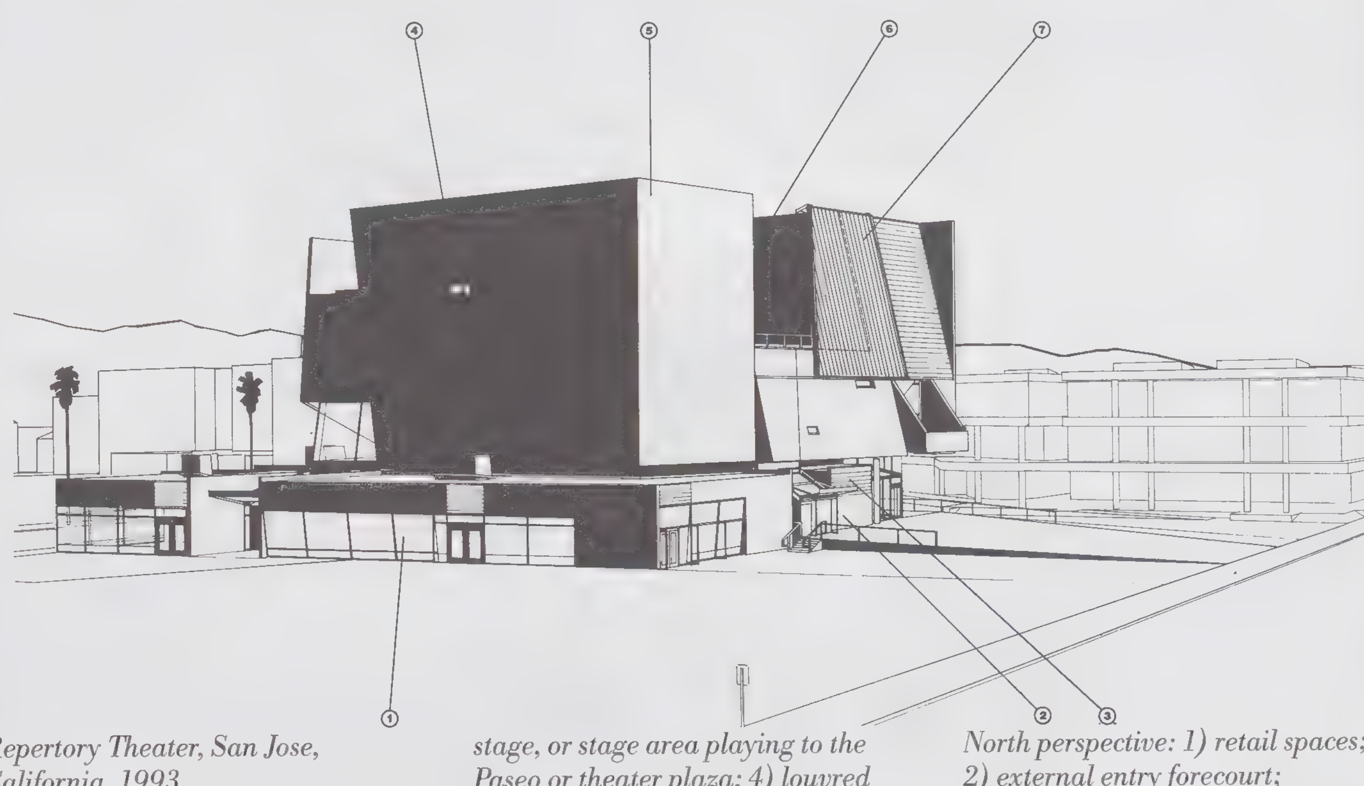






Teatro di Repertorio, San Jose, California, 1993.
Prospettiva da sudovest: 1) telaio per manifesti teatrali; 2) padiglione di ingresso; 3) teatro all'aperto, che usa la sala prove come palcoscenico, oppure utilizzabile come palcoscenico visibile dalla piazza; 4) sipario scorrevole a frangisole; 5) sipario scorrevole a frangisole per la sala prove.
Prospettiva da nord: 1) spazi commerciali; 2) corte di ingresso esterna; 3) padiglione di ingresso; 4) torre scenica; 5) finestrino degli spazi di servizio al palcoscenico; 6) teatro all'aperto; 7) sipario scorrevole a frangisole.





Repertory Theater, San Jose, California, 1993.
Southwest perspective: 1) theatrical poster frame; 2) marquee; 3) outdoor performance terrace – audience seating with the rehearsal hall as stage, or stage area playing to the Paseo or theater plaza; 4) louvred sliding door/stage "curtain"; 5) louvred sliding door/stage "curtain" also acts as sunshade for rehearsal space behind.
North perspective: 1) retail spaces; 2) external entry forecourt; 3) marquee; 4) flyover volume; 5) phantom window in the poche of the flytower; 6) outdoor performance space; 7) louvred sliding door/stage

Teatro di Repertorio, San Jose, California
Holt, Hinshaw, Jones

Caratteristiche del sito. Quattro decenni di sviluppo periferico e di annessioni hanno fatto di San Jose la terza città della California e l'undicesima del paese quanto ad estensione. Trasformatasi in un informe agglomerato urbano, la città è tutta un proliferare di arterie e megacentri commerciali, che hanno ridotto il vecchio nucleo a spazi di risulta stretti fra le grandi direttrici del pendolarismo.
Il cuore, sia fisico che simbolico, degli interventi di risanamento della città è costituito dal piano riguardante gli otto isolati della San Antonio Plaza che, attualmente, si presenta come un'opera incompiuta, un relitto dell'era del grande *renewal* urbano. Nella frenesia ristrutturatrice degli anni Sessanta l'area venne spianata per far posto a una megastruttura formata da piattaforme pedonali collegate fra loro e sospese su parcheggi ordinati. Di quella iniziale spinta rinnovatrice è stato realizzato un solo isolato, mentre la mastodontica fontana halprinesca, che sorgeva sul sito dell'attuale progetto, testimonia, con la sua storia tumultuosa, dei sogni di un'epoca crollati di fronte all'attuale congiuntura. La fontana, un tempo simbolo cittadino riprodotto sulle guide telefoniche e trasmesso per televisione, è stata transennata nel 1990 per interdirla ai senzatetto ed è stata demolita di recente per far posto al nuovo Teatro.
Con il mercato degli uffici in stagnazione, il Comune decise di destinare parte di uno degli isolati, che in origine avrebbe dovuto ospitare una serie di sedi aziendali, a nuova sede della Compagnia di Repertorio di San Jose. Come San Jose stessa, il sito del progetto si trova al bivio, sia fisico che temporale, tra civiltà urbana e grigiore dei sobborghi, al punto di collisione o di confluenza fra il sogno di un'ideale città futura e l'incubo dell'attuale periferia. Soffocato da distese di parcheggi asfaltati, da una circonvallazione a quattro corsie ingorgata di pendolari, da montagne di materiali ecologici coperti da teli di plastica per futuri condomini di lusso, oltre che da un immobile per uffici statali ad energia rinnovabile (vincitore di un riconoscimento architettonico) e da un centro commerciale della fine dello scorso decennio, il Teatro deve risaltare su questo terreno amorfo come un voluto e consapevole oggetto culturale, integrandosi in quel centro cittadino che un giorno sorgerà attorno ad esso. Il successo del progetto dipenderà, in larga misura, dal grado di inserimento in tale conflittuale contesto, dalla sua capacità di permanere fisso, conservando la propria statura, esattamente nel punto d'impatto.
Il progetto. Situato nel cuore dell'area centrale in fase di risanamento di San Jose, l'edificio fungerà da casa di lavoro per gli artisti, gli artigiani, i tecnici, i responsabili e il personale della Compagnia del Teatro di Repertorio di San Jose. Con una capacità di 625 posti a sedere distribuiti su due livelli, il Teatro ha una configurazione con il palcoscenico ad un'estremità reso flessibile mediante avanscena mobile. Tale flessibilità nella disposizione sia della scena che del pubblico ne consente l'uso anche per altre rappresentazioni non di repertorio. Il *foyer* sarà contiguo a un nuovo bar ristorante, funzione complementare di supporto alle emozioni e all'entusiasmo dell'evento teatrale e utile a incrementare, contemporaneamente, l'afflusso agli attigui esercizi commerciali.
Concepito come una "scatola magica" contenente l'esperienza scenica, l'edificio si presenta come un cubo che si alza sopra la sua base da cui si differenzia per una torsione assiale. Per ottenere l'effetto cubico la torre scenica è abbinata con la sala prove, determinando un ulteriore spazio di rappresentazione che viene a crearsi sulla restante area del tetto. Il cubo è suddiviso in tre corpi distinti, ciascuno destinato ad un preciso utilizzo: teatro vero e proprio, percorsi, spazi ausiliari.
Fonte d'orgoglio civico per la cittadinanza di San Jose, l'edificio si propone come un'immagine, un simbolo pubblico adeguato al contesto contemporaneo a cui è destinato, il cuore di Silicon Valley.

San Jose Repertory Theater, San Jose, California
Holt, Hinshaw, Jones

Site characterics. *Four decades of suburban development and annexation propelled San Jose toward the title of most extensive city in the realm. The resulting sprawl, with its proliferation of mega malls and commercial strips, reduced the old downtown to the spaces between commuter corridors.*
The heart of the redevelopment effort, physically and symbolically, is the eight-block San Antonio Plaza Redevelopment Area. In its present unfinished state, it stands as a relic of the urban renewal era, but this area once housed a vital immigrant Chinese population. During the urban renewal craze of the 60's it was bulldozed to create a superblock of pedestrian-oriented linked plinths over structured parking that would stretch across the entire downtown. A single block's worth of that initial wave of planning has been realized. Another artifact of that particular renewal effort, a Halprenesque fountain of epic proportions located on the project site, encapsulates in its own tumultuous history the dreams of that period and its foundering on the contemporary situation.
The fountain, once a symbol for downtown that adorned phonebooks and nightly newscasts, was fenced off in 1990 to keep out the homeless population. It was demolished recently to prepare for the construction of the new theater. With the office market at a standstill, the city decided to dedicate a portion of one of the blocks, originally slated for a corporate headquarters complex, to a site for the new home of the San Jose Repertory Company. Like San Jose itself, the site for this project, both physically and

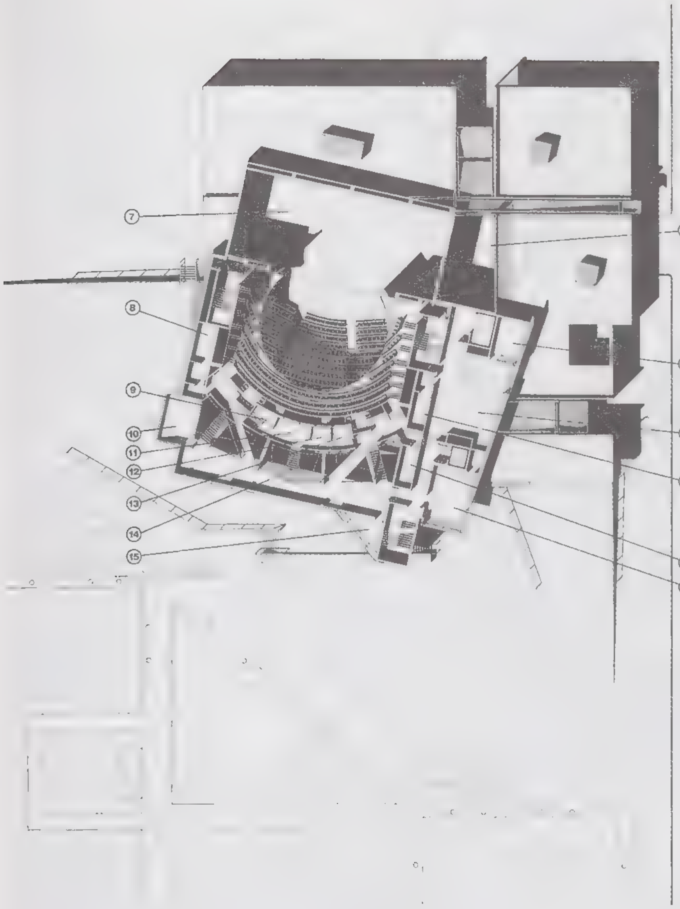
temporally, lies at the cusp between urban and suburban sensibilities – at the collision or confluence of the dream of an inspired urban future, and a nightmare suburban present. Surrounded by an expanse of asphalt parking lots, four lane commuter-hour backups and plastic covered piles of toxic remediation for future luxury condominiums – as well as an award-winning, energy-conscious state building and late 80's retail mall – the project must operate within an amorphous field as an emphatic, wilful cultural object, but it must ultimately fit into the downtown that will one day grow around it. The success of the design must be judged in large part by the degree to which it successfully responds to these conflicting contexts and attitudes, by its ability to remain standing right at the point of impact.

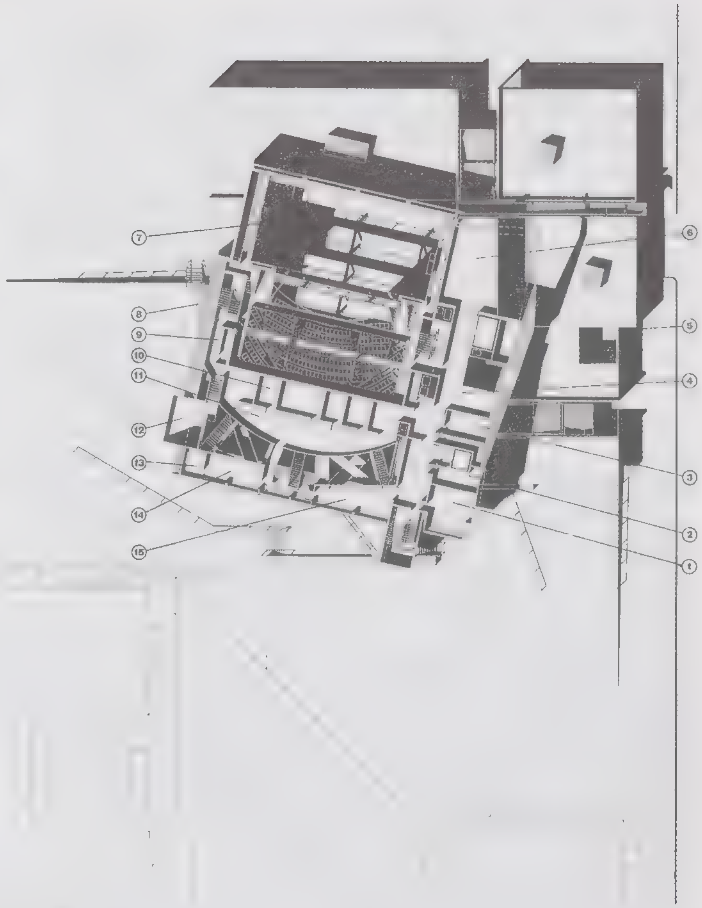
Project. *Located in the heart of San Jose's redeveloping core, this building will serve as a working home for the artists, craftspeople, technicians, management and staff of the San Jose Repertory Theater company. The 625-seat, two-level theater is designed in a flexible end-stage format with a modified thrust capability. Flexibility in staging and audience formats will allow for use by others outside the Repertory's season. The lobby will adjoin a new cafe and restaurant, uses that support the energy and excitement of the theater experience and add critical mass to the adjacent retail.*

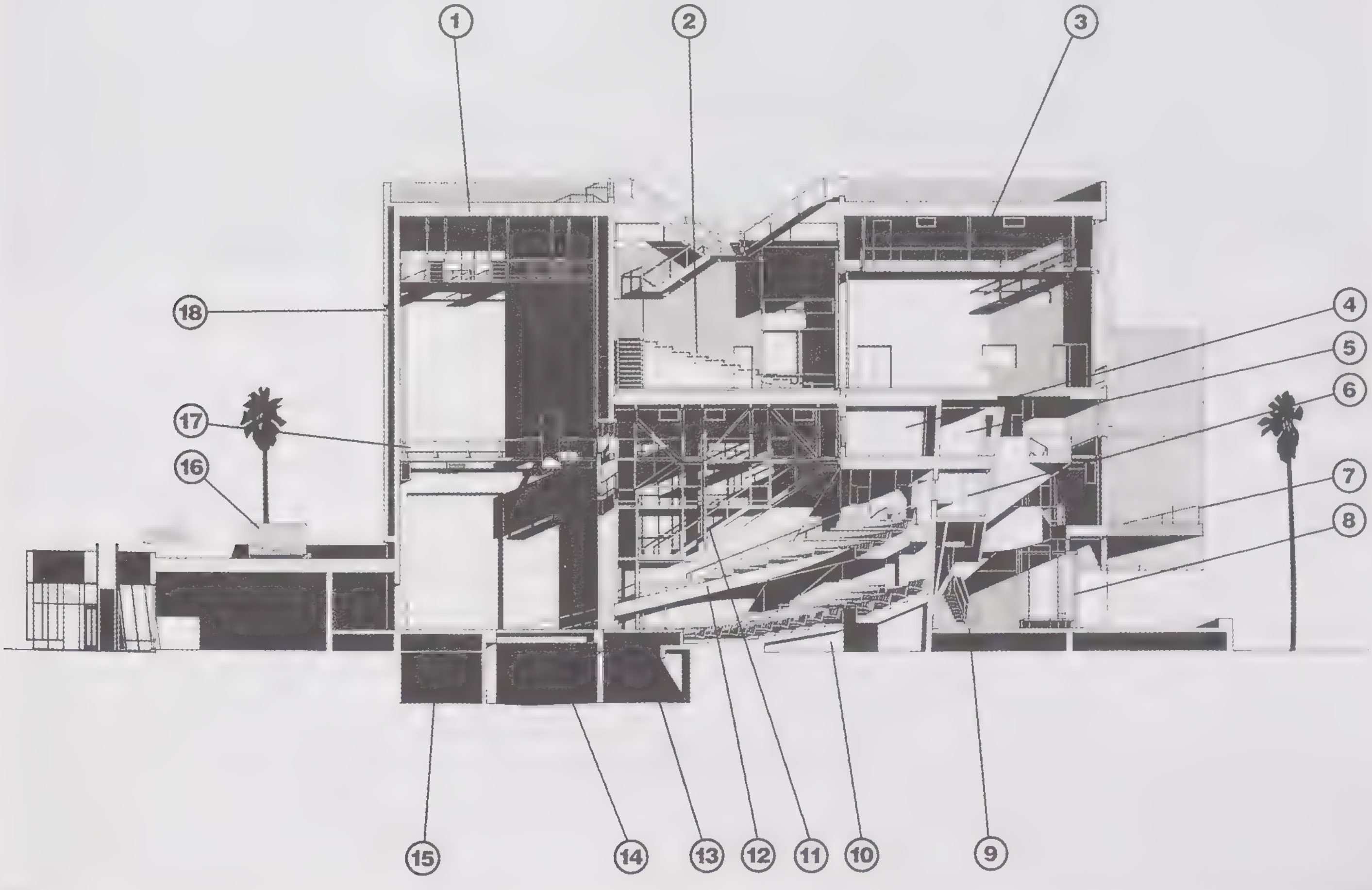
Conceived of as a "magic box" containing the theatrical experience, the building mass is developed as a cube hovering over its base but rotated from it to reinforce its differentiation. To create the cubic volume, the fly tower is paired with the rehearsal hall, providing the additional benefit of an extra performance space on the remaining roof area. The cube is broken down into three distinct volumes, each expressive of its distinct use – theater proper, circulation and support. The building will engender civic pride in the community of San Jose with an image and public perception that is both welcoming and appropriate to its contemporary context – the heart of the Silicon Valley.

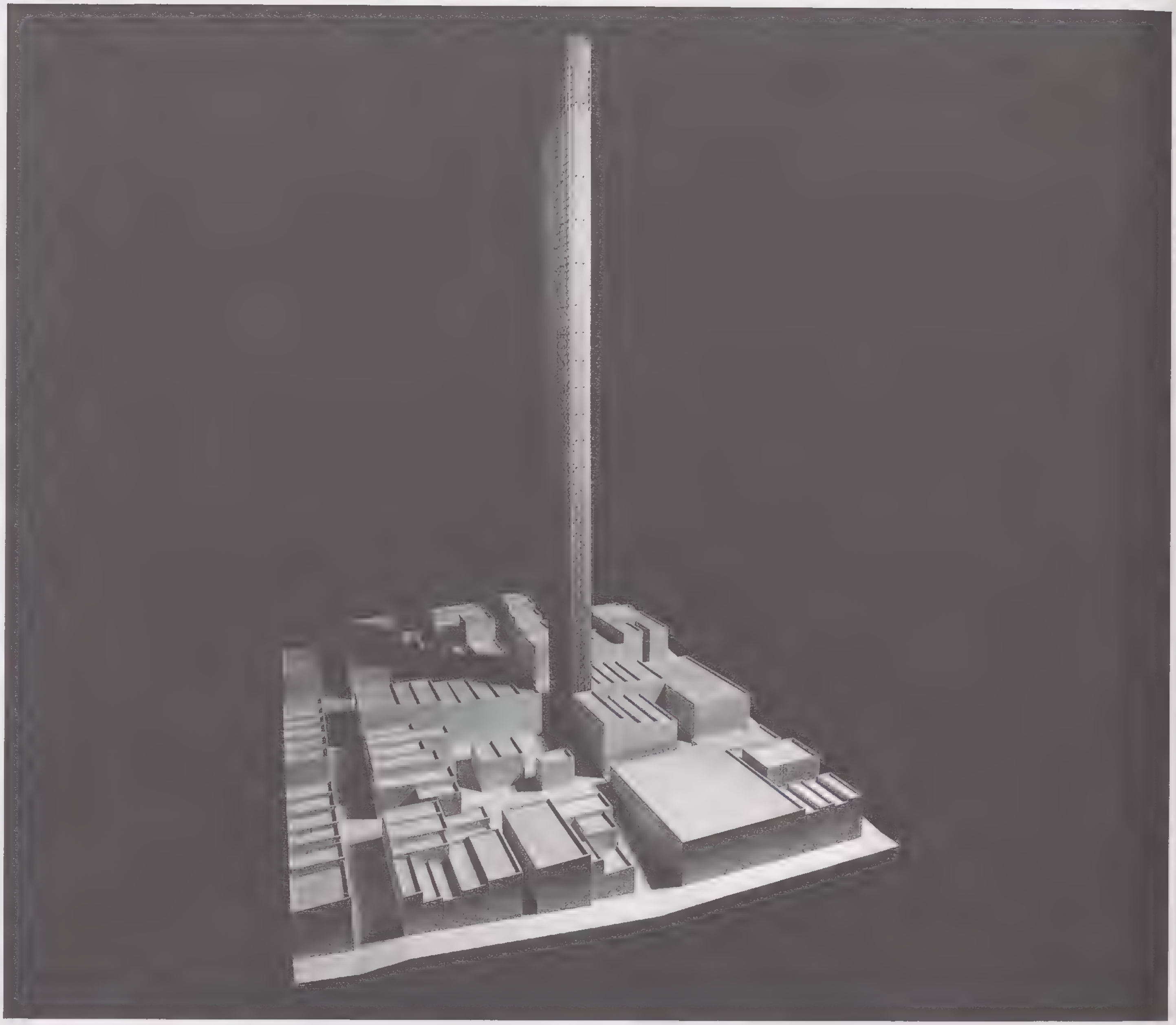
Teatro di Repertorio, San Jose, California, 1993.
Piante del primo e secondo piano: 1) saletta vip; 2-3) servizi; 4-5) costumi; 6) vuoto sul palcoscenico di servizio; 7) palcoscenico; 8) servizio; 9) attrezzeria; 10) saletta del foyer della balconata; 11) cabina di regia; 12) cabina suono; 13) cabina luci; 14) foyer della balconata; 15) terrazza.
Sezione: 1) graticcio; 2) teatro all'aperto; 3) sala prove, palcoscenico del teatro all'aperto; 4) cabine di regia; 5) ufficio; 6) cabina di controllo; 7) terrazza; 8) parete mobile; 9) ingresso alla quota del parterre; 10) cassa acustica; 11) zona attrezzata; 12) balconata estensibile; 13) fossa dell'orchestra; 14) sottopalco; 15) camerini; 16) attrezzature meccaniche; 17) passerella; 18) finestrino degli spazi di servizio al palcoscenico.

Repertory Theater, San Jose, California, 1993.
Second-floor plan: 1) VIP lounge; 2-3) restrooms; 4) costume shop; 5) costume office; 6) open to scene dock below; 7) open to stage below; 8) restroom; 9) rack room; 10) balcony terrace oratory; 11) director's booth; 12) sound control; 13) lighting control; 14) balcony; 15) balcony terrace.
Section: 1) rigging grid; 2) outdoor performance terrace; 3) rehearsal/outdoor performance lighting/rigging; 4) stage manager; 5) open office; 6) control booth; 7) balcony terrace; 8) operable curtain wall; 9) parterre level entrance; 10) return air acoustical plenum; 11) flex zone; 12) extendable balcony lighting hoop; 13) orchestra pit; 14) trap room; 15) dressing rooms; 16) roof-top mechanical; 17) catwalk; 18) phantom window.









Jim Jennings

Tall Buildings on Small Lots, San Francisco, California, 1991
Jim Jennings (Project Principal)
Project Team: Les Taylor, Andy Jennings (model), Jay Kammen (collage photography), Lina Levan (model), Thomas Meuller (model), May Sung
Contributors: Envision Design Center (laser cutting model parts); View by View (computer generated modelling); Ove Arup & Parteners / San Francisco, Peter Lassetter (structural consulting), Alistair McGregor (environmental system consulting)

Visiting Artists Suites, Oliver Ranch, Geyserville, California, 1990
Jim Jennings (Principal)
Project Team: Vincent Chew (model), Cheri Fraser, May Sung (model), Tim Perks, Les Taylor (model)

Edifici alti su lotti piccoli, San Francisco, 1991. Vista del modello. Foto D. DeDomenico

Tall buildings on small lots, San Francisco, 1991. View of model. Photo D. DeDomenico.

Ottimizzazione urbana. Edifici alti su lotti piccoli, San Francisco, California

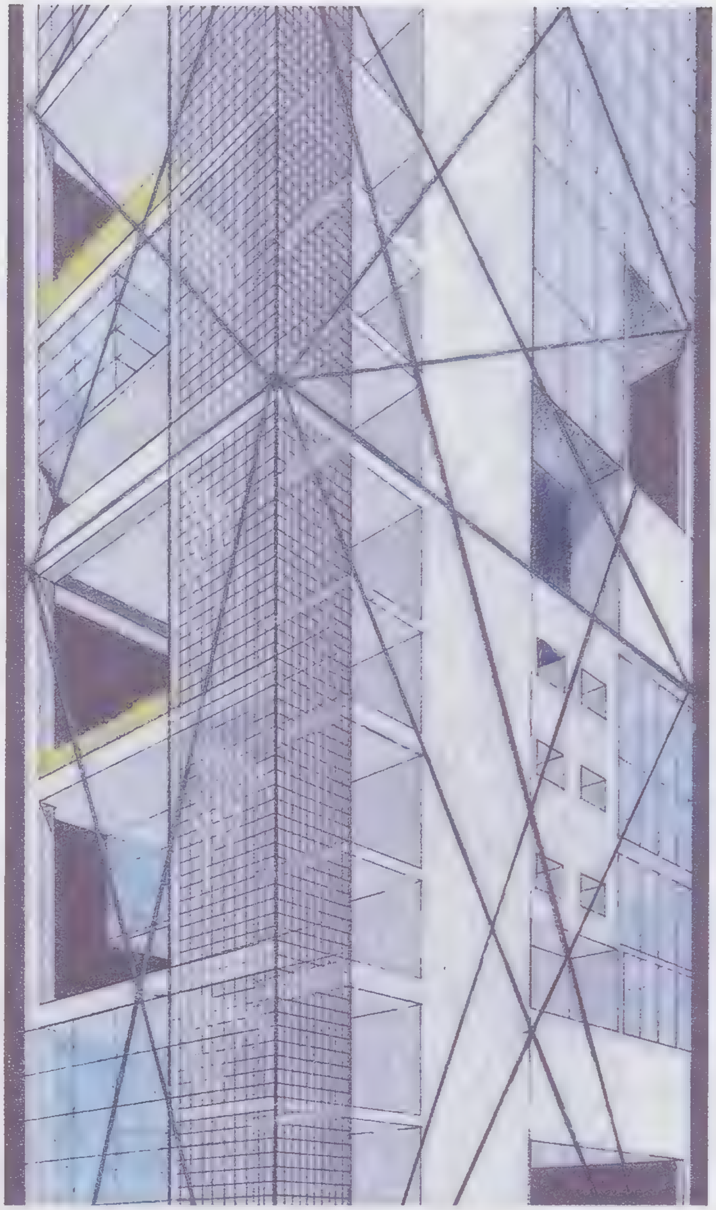
Jim Jennings

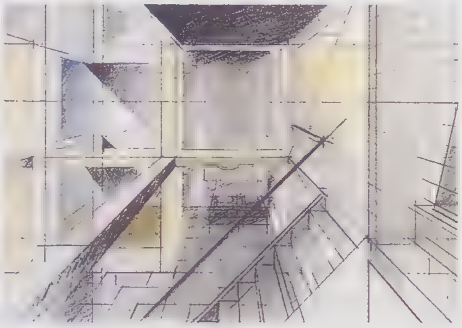
L'edificio alto è una struttura che gli architetti del Ventesimo secolo hanno usato per esplorare nuovi concetti di forma urbana e abitativa. Un modo nuovo di considerare la tipologia dell'edificio alto, importante per contrastare il sentimento antiurbano e di crescita zero di San Francisco. La maggior parte delle città, infatti, e in particolare San Francisco, si scontra con il problema della vivibilità di un ambiente in condizioni di estrema densità.
Confronti tra diversi schemi di insediamento urbano sono stati tradizionalmente condotti da pianificatori e teorici per considerare la relazione che intercorre tra densità e vivibilità di base delle città (Rasmussen, per esempio). In questi studi, sviluppati sull'evoluzione delle configurazioni planimetriche, non viene dato particolare peso alla qualità della città *in sezione*, cioè alla verticalità. Le componenti verticali (cruciali nell'esperienza, nella comprensione e nello sviluppo delle città) sono presenti a San Francisco in due delle sue più tipiche espressioni: l'orografia e l'edificio alto.
Questo progetto teorico riguarda l'ipotesi di un condominio di 100 piani, alto circa m. 330 su un lotto di m.10 x 33, ed assume come presupposto la praticabilità di numerose nuove tecnologie.
1. Ascensori elettromagnetici in grado di alloggiare più cabine funzionanti contemporaneamente nello stesso pozzo in entrambe le direzioni.
2. Parcheggi a ogni piano, per l'uso di piccole automobili da città ricaricabili. Gli abitanti possono essere trasportati in ascensore nelle loro automobili fino alla porta di casa.
3. Una struttura completamente organica di cemento polimerorinforzato ad altissima resistenza, con capacità elastica totalmente integrata. Il composto non contiene né pietre (aggregato) né acciaio (barre di rinforzo). Un sistema di pistoni ad alta sensibilità riempiti con un gel polielettrolitico (un "muscolo" sintetico attivato elettricamente) e collegato a una rete di fili metallici molto resistenti risponderà automaticamente a ogni movimento dell'edificio, assicurandone la stabilità in caso di vento o scosse sismiche. Inoltre, azionatori a massa dinamica collocati ogni 10 piani sono in grado di spostare forti pesi in modo da ammortizzare i periodici movimenti dell'edificio in caso di terremoto.
4. Materiali speciali per pareti e pavimenti in grado di emanare o assorbire calore congelando o liquefacendosi. Con un punto di congelamento di 70 gradi Fahrenheit, il calore verrebbe generato o assorbito quando la temperatura scende o sale sotto o sopra questo punto.
5. Pareti esterne realizzate in vetro elettrocromato regolabili in modo da diventare completamente trasparenti o opache.
6. Altri sistemi incorporati nell'edificio producono energia (moduli a vento e a biomassa), trasformano i rifiuti ed erogano l'acqua in molti "quartieri" ecologici. Ciò consente un'autosufficienza che permette maggiori densità di popolazione senza gravare eccessivamente sui servizi esistenti.
7. Aerazione, purificazione, distribuzione e controllo della temperatura sono effettuati attraverso un sistema di tubi che salgono lungo la struttura. Questi condotti distribuiscono l'aria da una centrale, dove avviene la purificazione, verso le zone in cui possono essere collegati ai singoli appartamenti. La superficie verticale dei condotti è ricoperta con materiali speciali che stabilizzano la temperatura dell'aria. Un collegamento con generatori elettrici a ventola nella parte alta dell'edificio servirà a incanalare l'aria lungo il suo percorso (movimenti naturali dovuti alla convezione).
8. L'energia elettrica è generata da turbine a vento e da pannelli fotogalvanici.
Queste case nel cielo, a cui si arriva con macchine da città, sono organizzate in modo che gli inquilini possano abitare, dividere o ristrutturare uno spazio su due piani di mq. 280 circa. La superficie e la forma dell'appartamento può variare con il variare delle necessità.

Urban Infill. Tall Buildings on Small Lots, San Francisco, California

Jim Jennings

The tall building is a structure that 20th-century architects have used to explore new concepts of urban form and habitation. A new look at the tall building type is important in the face of anti-urban and anti-growth sentiment in San Francisco. The question of how we can make liveable environments in extremely dense conditions is an important one facing most cities, and especially San Francisco.
Comparisons between patterns of urban settlement have traditionally been used by planners and urban theorists to look at the relationship between density and the basic liveability of cities. (Rasmussen, et.al..). What is not given as much weight in these studies of evolving plan configurations is the quality of the city in section*; that is, the element of verticality. The vertical component (which is so crucial to the experience, understanding, and development of cities) is present in San Francisco in two of its most obvious manifestations: topography, and the tall building.*
This conceptual project is a 100-storey residential building, approximately 1,000 feet tall, on a 30x100 ft. lot. It assumes several new technologies:
1. Electromagnetic elevators, allowing numerous elevators to share the same shaft while moving in both up and down directions.
2. Auto parking on each floor, with the use of small, rechargeable city cars. Residents may be lifted in their cars to their front door.
3. A truly organic structure of superhigh strength polymer-enhanced concrete with a completely integrated tensile capacity: no stones (aggregate) and no steel (rebar) are





contained in the mix. An actively responsive network of plungers filled with poly-electrolyte gel (an electrically activated synthetic "muscle") connected to a web of high strength wires will automatically respond to any movements in the building, ensuring stability under wind or seismic loading. Additional dynamic mass actuators located every 10 floors will shift large weights to dampen the periodic movement of the building in an earthquake.

4. Phase-change materials in walls and floors will release or absorb heat when they freeze or melt. With the freezing point at 70° F, heat would be generated as the temperature dips below this point. Likewise, heat is absorbed when temperatures rise above 70°.

5. Exterior walls made of electrochromatic glass may be infinitely adjusted from complete transparency to total opacity. The amount of light and view passing through openings may be precisely controlled.

6. Other systems incorporated in the building produce energy (wind and bio-mass modules), process waste and distribute water in several environmental "neighborhoods". This move toward self-sufficiency will allow greater densities to occur without placing excessive demand on existing utilities.

7. Air flow, purification, distribution and temperature control are achieved through a system of tubes which rise through the structure. These tubes, or ducts, circulate air from an arboretum, where purification takes place, up to areas where it can be tapped for use by individual dwellings. The vertical surface of the duct is lined with phase-change material which stabilizes the temperature of the air. Connections to power-generating fans high in the building will help pull the air along its normal path (natural movement due to convection).

8. Electrical energy is generated by wind-driven turbines as well as photovoltaic panels.

These homes in the sky accessible by city cars are organized so that residents may inhabit, divide or reconfigure a 3,000 square foot volume two stories high. As needs change, so may the size and form of dwelling.

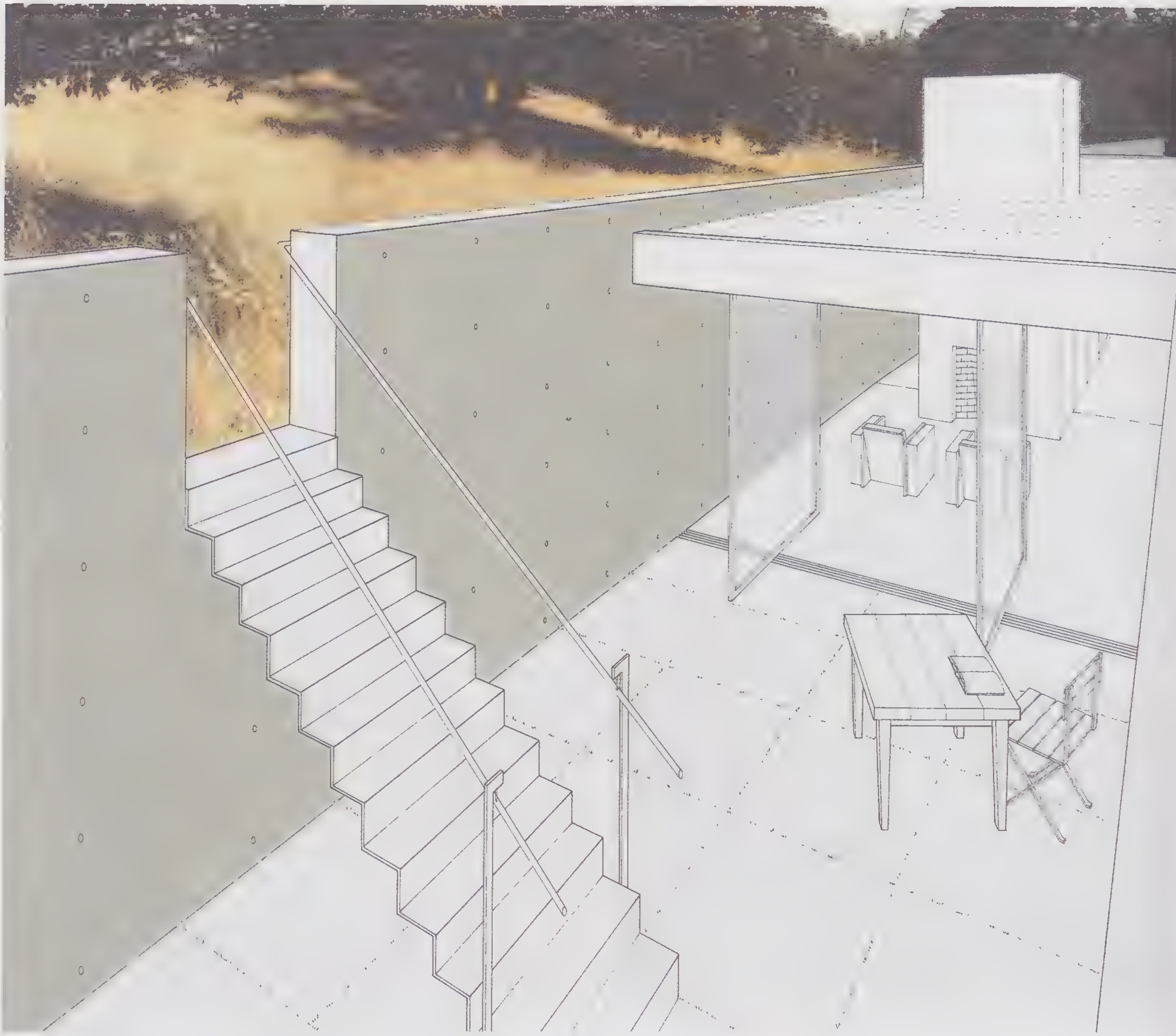






Edifici alti su lotti piccoli,
San Francisco, 1991.
Prospettiva di studio, fotomontaggio,
prospetti schematici.
Prospettiva interna e montaggio
sul profilo urbano.

Tall buildings on small lots,
San Francisco, 1991.
Study perspective, photomontage,
elevation diagrams, internal
perspective and montage
on urban profile.



Residenze temporanee per artisti, Oliver Ranch, Geyserville, California, 1990. Prospettiva di una residenza.

Visiting Artists Suites, Oliver Ranch, Geyserville, California, 1990. Perspective of a suite.

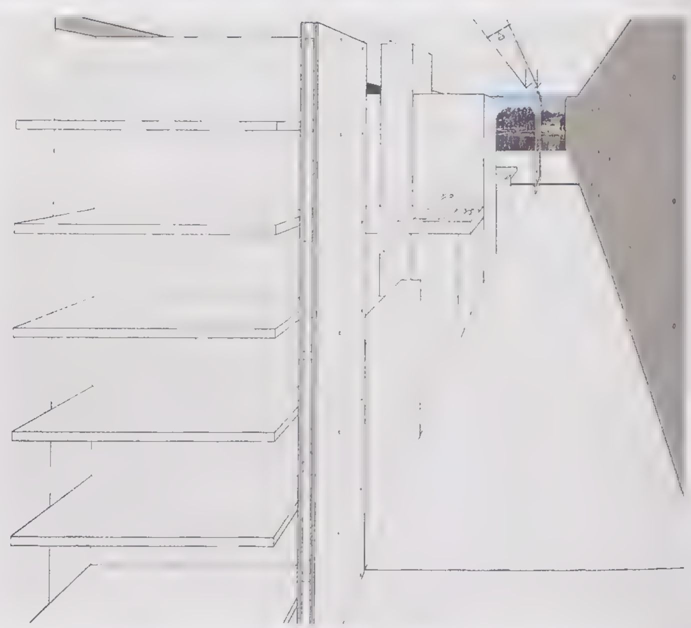
Residenze temporanee per artisti, Oliver Ranch, Geyserville, California
Jim Jennings

Sito. La sommità di un terreno leggermente collinoso con querce e piante locali. L'area fa parte di un grande appezzamento destinato ad accogliere sculture all'aperto.
Programma. Due *suite* per artisti durante il loro *stage* di lavoro al *ranch*. Gli alloggi devono essere semplici e isolati, ma facilmente raggiungibili dagli studi e dagli altri servizi della proprietà.
Soluzione. L'edificio è costruito dal semplice atto di collegare le due parti di una collina tagliata a metà. Nella fenditura viene posta l'armatura di un telescopio percettivo, definito dalle caratteristiche della sua stessa sezione.
Il luogo è tagliato da due pareti apparentemente parallele, la cui convergenza punta su una scultura lontana, mentre la divergenza si apre verso un piccolo lago. Il terreno tra le pareti sale verso il punto di convergenza e scende verso quello divergente. Allo stesso modo, i dislivelli dei piani di pavimento creano differenti dimensioni e proporzioni spaziali in ogni parte della pianta. Queste opposte variazioni di piani verticali e orizzontali lungo tutta la sezione accentuano i fenomeni prospettici di allungamento e accorciamento dello spazio.
Diversamente dal rifrattore, attraverso il quale guardando nella direzione divergente dello strumento gli oggetti lontani appaiono più grandi e più vicini, lo strumento percettivo agisce in maniera contraria. L'allungamento percettivo dello spazio convergente distorce visivamente gli oggetti lontani facendoli apparire più grandi e più vicini. In questo modo, l'architettura può tacitamente contribuire a un dialogo tra arte, artista e luogo.
Materiali. Pareti, pavimenti e lastre delle coperture sono in cemento gettato in opera. Gli elementi interni che contengono ripostigli, bagni e zona notte sono di compensato trattato con resina epossidica. Le porte sono di vetro con telai di acciaio a perno centrale. Quando le porte sono aperte lo spazio tra le pareti laterali risulta continuo per tutta la sua lunghezza. Una scala in lamiera piegata conduce direttamente al cortile comune.

Visiting Artists Suites, Oliver Ranch, Geyserville, California
Jim Jennings

Site. *The crest of an open, rolling hillside of oak trees and native grasses. The site is part of a large tract of land devoted to commissioned outdoor sculpture.*
Program. *Two suites for visiting artists to stay while working at the ranch. Accommodations are to be simple and reclusive, yet accessible to studios and other facilities located on the property.*
Solution. *The building results from the simple act of connecting two sides of a hill by cutting through it. Into this cut is placed the armature of a perceptual telescope, which is defined by its properties in section.*
The site is sliced by two seemingly parallel walls whose convergence focuses on a distant sculpture, and divergence opens in the direction of a small lake. The ground between the walls slopes up towards the point of convergence and downwards in the diverging direction. Likewise, shifts in floor planes create different dimensions and spatial proportions in each portion of the plan. This opposite shifting of horizontal and vertical planes throughout the section of the building accentuates the perspectival phenomena of elongation and foreshortening of space.
Unlike the refracting telescope, in which viewing toward the divergent direction of the instrument causes distant objects to appear larger and closer, the perceptual instrument acts in reverse. The perceived elongation of the converging space causes the distant object to appear larger and closer. In this way, architecture may make a mute contribution to the dialogue between art, artist and site.
Materials. *Poured-in-place concrete walls, floor and roof slabs. Interior elements containing storage, bath and sleeping functions are made of epoxy-resin impregnated plywood. Doors are glass, held in center-pivot steel frames. When doors are opened, the space between the walls is open along its entire length. A folded steel plate stair leads directly to the shared courtyard.*







Residenze temporanee per artisti, Oliver Ranch, Geyserville, California, 1990.
Sezione, prospetto, pianta, planivolumetria e prospettiva interna.
Vista del modello.
Foto A. Weintraub.

Visiting Artists Suites, Oliver Ranch, Geyserville, California, 1990.
Section, elevation, plan, volumetric plan and internal perspective.
View of model.
Photo A. Weintraub.



Mark Mack



Baum Residence, Berkeley, San Francisco, California, 1987
Mark Mack (Principal)
con/with: Leigh Sata (Project Architect); Shaun Weston, Christine Macy (Project Team); Eric Carlson, Janet Cross, Wooi Cheng Choong (presentation drawings); Janer Cross (model making)

Candlestick Point Park and Cultural Center, San Francisco, California, 1991
Mark Mack (Principal)
con/with: Christine Macy, Marck Jensen (Project Architects); Eric Carlson, Wooi Cheng Choong, Mark Donohue, Franz Landl, Marianne Crivelli-Looser, Stanley Teng, Susan Scovell, Russel Thompsen (Project Team); Charles Ehrlich (3D computer modelling and lighting analysis); Hargreaves Associates (landscape); Douglas Hollis (artist)

Casa Baum, Berkeley, California
Mark Mack

L'intervento di ampliamento di questa casa unifamiliare ne raddoppia il volume e chiarisce le relazioni tra: luogo e contesto; vecchio e nuovo; pubblico e privato.
La struttura preesistente di questo edificio di cemento e grandi travi di legno si staglia in cima alla panoramica collina di Berkeley, in asse con il mistico Monte Tamalpais della Baia di San Francisco. L'originale costruttore di questo essenziale ma possente edificio ha progettato il locale di soggiorno principale con un angolo visuale scenografico, piegando profondamente la copertura e prolungando il pavimento oltre le grandi vetrate in direzione della vista panoramica sull'oceano e i tre ponti della Baia.
L'addizione ridimensiona la casa originaria sulle esigenze di un nucleo familiare. Due corpi laterali alla struttura preesistente delimitano un cortile erboso interno, mentre sul lato verso la Baia terrazze e patii segnano l'asse della preesistente parete di cemento su cui poggiano pesanti travi di legno.
Le funzioni sono organizzate in base all'uso e raggruppate in unità differenti. La rimessa, con la sovrastante zona ospiti, serve come divisorio tra la parte pubblica e quella privata. La cucina, in posizione centrale, e la *family room* zona pranzo, nella parte sud, sono unificate con un'unica copertura e sono separate dalla rimessa-zona ospiti da un'entrata che è l'estensione del percorso di distribuzione interna della casa. La zona notte e il bagno, con ampia vista sulla Baia, sono collocate a nord del cortile interno. La zona bagno è costruita contro il preesistente muro di sostegno di cemento, cercando di recuperare gli elementi primitivi del luogo.
La costruzione evidenzia il rapporto tra nuovo e vecchio, riutilizzando i materiali originari –cemento e travi di legno– e sottolineando le parti nuove in legno con un forte colore giallo. Le nuove pareti in cemento riprendono il disegno delle casseformi delle murature originarie per proseguire la tradizione della casa quale luogo di rifugio e di stimolo di emozioni tattili e visive.

Baum Residence, Berkeley, California
Mark Mack

This addition to an existing residence doubles its size and explains the relationship between site and context, old and new, public and private.
The existing concrete and heavy timber structure perches on the top of the panoramic hill of Berkeley and is in alignment with the Bay Area's spiritual Mount Tamalpais. The maverick builder of this primitive yet powerful construction created a main room with a dramatic view angle by sloping the roof towards the view and cantilevering the floor beyond the picture windows to achieve a significant view towards the ocean overlooking the three bridges of the Bay.
The addition makes the house a family environment. Two wings on either side of the existing structure create an interior court with a private lawn for family play. Towards the view, terraces and patios emphasize the axis of the existing concrete wall on which heavy timber beams are suspended.
The functions of the house are grouped by use and are expressed as different masses. The garage with guest quarters above serves as the barrier between the public and private realms. The centrally-located kitchen and family room on the south side are under one roof, separated from the garage/guest building through the entry which is an extension of the flow through the house. The private sleeping areas and the bathrooms are on the northern part of the interior courtyard opening to extensive views over the Bay. The bath area is built against the existing concrete retaining wall in a conscious attempt to recapture the primitive elements of the site.
The construction emphasizes the new and the old, again working with the existing concrete and heavy timbers, while the new wood constructions are exaggerated in their yellowness. For the new concrete walls, similar board forms are used to continue the tradition of the house as a primeval place of shelter and the emotional pleasure of tactile and visual stimulation.

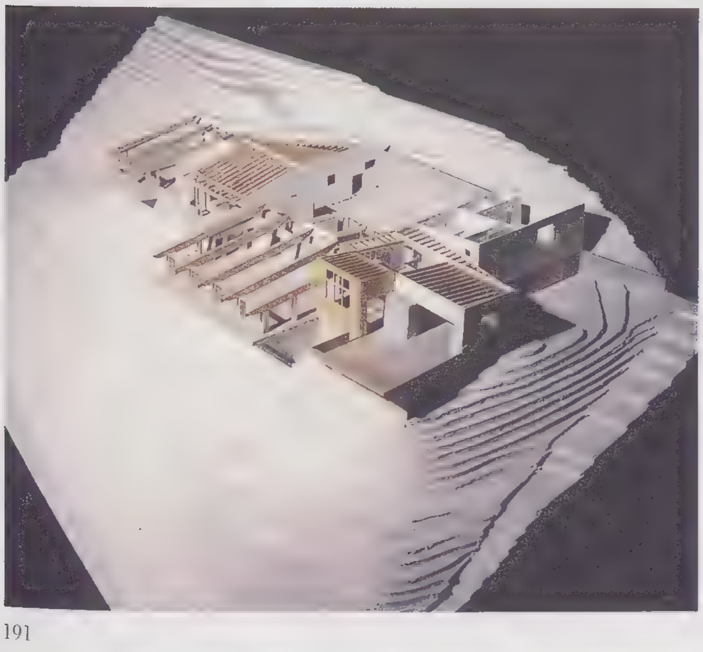
Casa Baum, Berkeley,
San Francisco, 1987.
Vista esterna dell'ingresso.
Foto R. Barnes.
Piante dei piani terreno,
primo e secondo.

Baum House, Berkeley,
San Francisco, 1987.
External view of entrance.
Photo R. Barnes.
Ground, first
and second-floor plans.









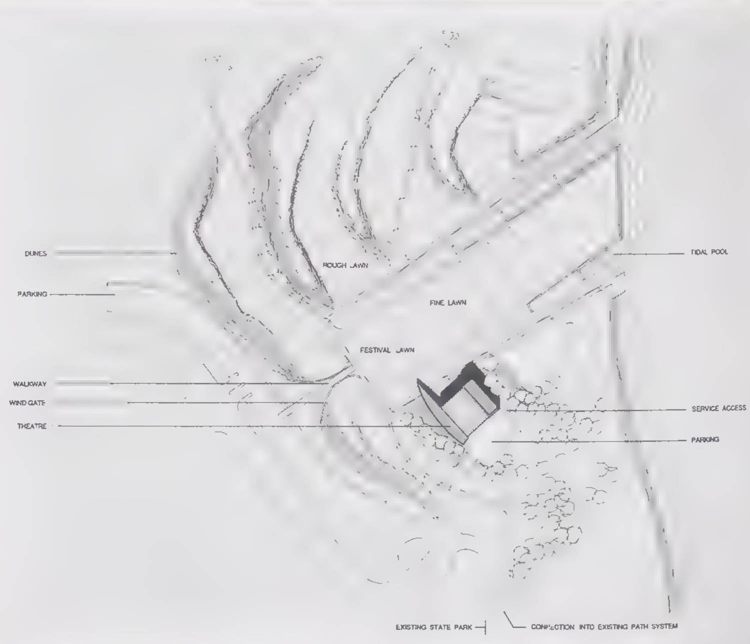
Casa Baum, Berkeley,
San Francisco, 1987.
Vista esterna e viste interne del soggiorno
e dello spogliatoio.
Foto R. Barnes.
Vista dello spaccato del modello.

Baum House, Berkeley,
San Francisco, 1987.
External view and internal views
of the living-room and dressing room.
Photos R. Barnes.
View of cutaway model.



Parco e Centro Culturale, Candlestick Point, San Francisco, 1991.
Vista del modello e planimetria generale.
Foto M. Mack.

Candlestick Point Park and Cultural Center, San Francisco, 1991.
View of model and general plan.
Photos M. Mack.



Parco e Centro Culturale, Candlestick Point, San Francisco, California
Mark Mack

Il progetto per il Parco di Candlestick Point con il relativo Centro Culturale è stato affidato dal Office of the State Architect, dal Department of Parks and Recreation e dal Arts Council della California a un gruppo di lavoro formato da un architetto, un architetto paesaggista e un artista. I promotori di questa iniziativa hanno insistito sull'interdisciplinarità dei progettisti, gettando in tal modo le basi per un insolito parco urbano. Alla periferia della città, in un terreno bonificato prospiciente la Baia di San Francisco, si trova un'area industriale ventosa. Intervenendo al margine di questo ambiente, si è fatto ricorso a un linguaggio diversificato, contestualizzato alla dettagliata articolazione del luogo: le dune, il pendio, l'acqua e il Centro Culturale.

Il Centro Culturale, realizzato con materiali semplici – blocchi di cemento, legno e metallo per la copertura–, è stato sviluppato con un vocabolario conforme alla sua ubicazione. L'edificio è diviso in tre volumi, ciascuno con propri elementi distintivi: l'imponente blocco di cemento del palcoscenico; la struttura in legno e metallo con volta a botte che copre l'intero edificio, compresi camerini degli attori e *foyer*; l'ufficio e l'ala di ingresso, un traliccio in legno che si estende verso il pendio formando un'area di accesso. Questa ala ha i servizi igienici all'aperto, utilizzabili dai visitatori del Parco. La biglietteria, al di là dell'area di accesso, àncora al terreno il tetto sospeso.

L'atrio di ingresso funge anche da palcoscenico verso l'esterno: un arco di proscenio sovrastante delle porte vetrate fronteggia un'area a prato adibita a rappresentazioni teatrali; in questo Parco, infatti, le rappresentazioni possono essere allestite ovunque. Verso la Baia si apre una grande porta che permette al palcoscenico di continuare visivamente all'aperto. All'interno il Centro Culturale è uno spazio raccolto, con l'ultima fila dei 400 posti seduti a sole 17 file dal palcoscenico. Unendo lo spirito comunitario di un teatro georgiano con la versatilità di un sistema di costruzione flessibile –l'area del proscenio tradizionale trasformabile in grande sala da ballo–, il Centro Culturale soddisfa il complesso programma del Department of Parks and Recreation.

Con la sua forte presenza nel parco urbano industriale e il raccolto e flessibile spazio teatrale interno, il Centro Culturale offre un ambiente ricco e vario per spettacoli multiculturali in un punto spettacolare della Baia di San Francisco.

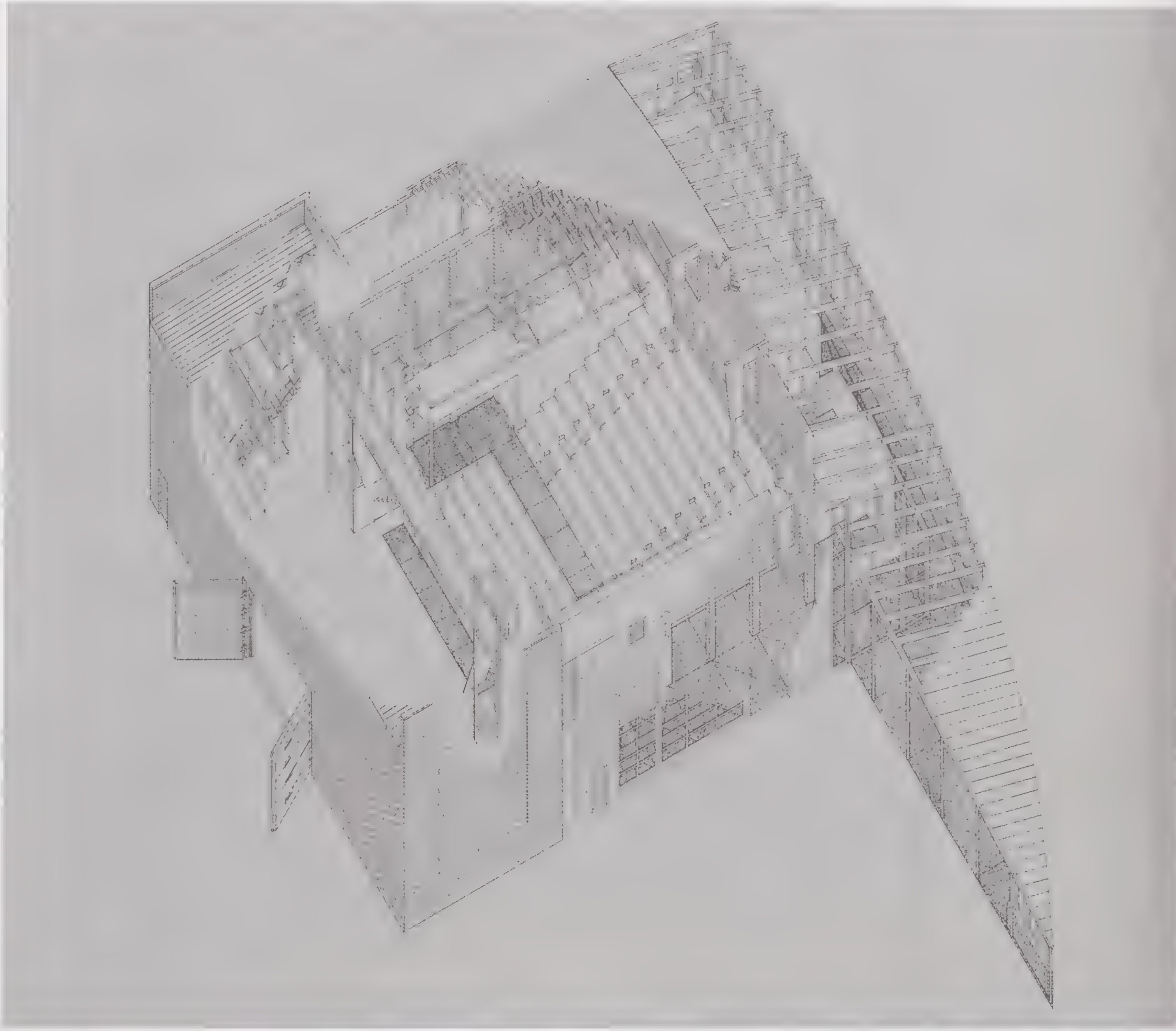
Candlestick Point Park and Cultural Center, San Francisco, California
Mark Mack

Candlestick Point Park and Cultural Center was awarded by the Office of the State Architect, the Department of Parks and Recreation and the California Arts Council to a collaborative design team of architect, landscape architect and artist. In setting up this collaboration, the sponsors required the integration rather than separation of related disciplines and set the stage for an uncharacteristic urban park. Located at the edge of the City on landfill facing the San Francisco Bay, it is a windswept and industrial site. From this environment, a language of location was constructed which is used in the detailed articulation of the place: the dunes, the inclined plain, the water and the Cultural Center.

The Cultural Center is built of simple materials – concrete block, wood and metal roofing – and has evolved within the vocabulary of its location. The building is divided into three volumes, each with a distinct vocabulary of elements: the massive concrete block stage; the metal and wood house whose barrel-vault reaches to each side, embracing actors' facilities and the public lobby; and the office and entry "wing", a wood trellis which extends out to the inclined plane forming an entrance. This wing has unisex outdoor public toilets for day use of the park. The ticket booth across the entry walk anchors the soaring roof.

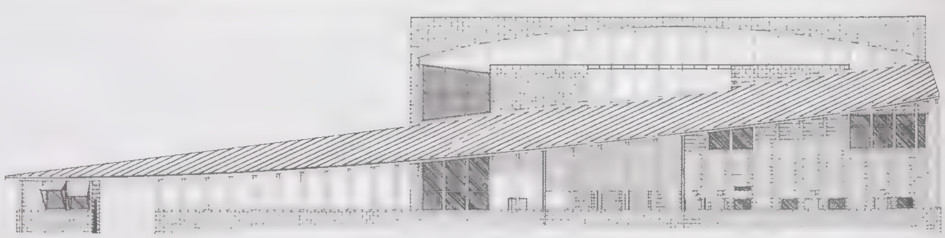
The building lobby is also a stage to the outdoors – a proscenium arch over sectional glass doors faces an outdoor seating area on the festival lawn. In this Park, theater can be everywhere. Towards the Bay, oversized doors open up to extend the visible stage out into the landscape. Inside, the Cultural Center is an intimate space, with the rear of the 400-seat house 17 rows from the stage. Combining the community feeling of a Georgian box theater with the versatility of a collapsible building system – the traditional proscenium house converts into a large dance hall – the Cultural Center satisfies the Department of Park and Recreation's complex agenda for the space.

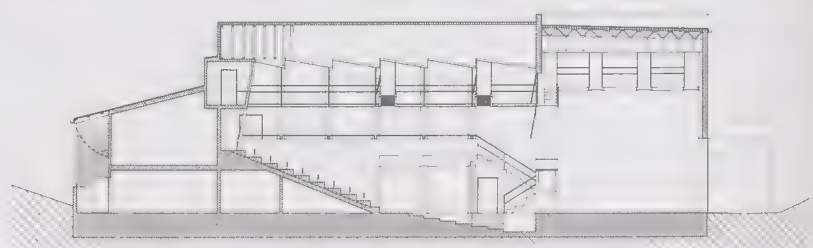
With its strong outdoor presence in the industrial urban park and its intimate flexible theater space inside, the Cultural Center provides a richly-layered environment for multi-cultural performance in a spectacular setting on the edge of the San Francisco Bay.



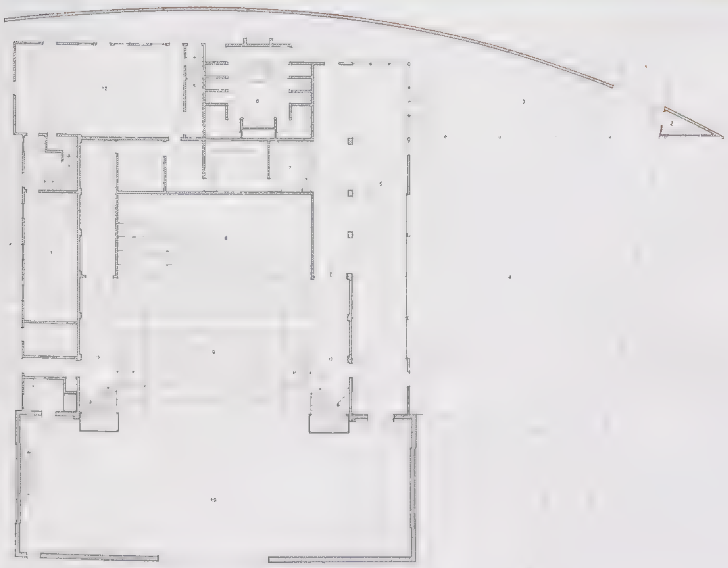
Parco e Centro Culturale, Candlestick Point, San Francisco, 1991.
Spaccato assonometrico e prospettiva interna del teatro.
Prospetto ovest, sezione longitudinale e pianta del piano terreno.

Candlestick Point Park and Cultural Center, San Francisco, 1991.
Cutaway axonometric and internal perspective of theater.
West elevation, longitudinal section and ground-floor plan.











Stanley Saitowitz

McDonald House, Seadrift, Stinson Beach, San Francisco, California, 1990
Stanley Saitowitz

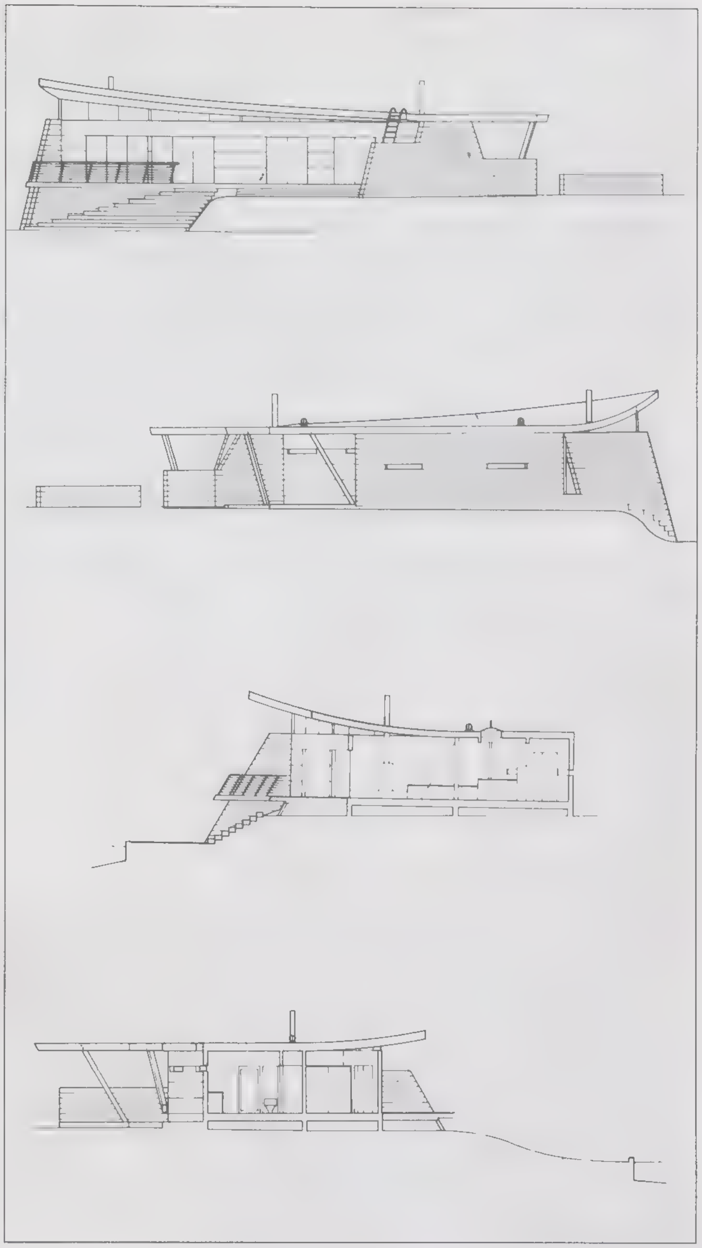
1022 Natoma Live/Work Building, San Francisco, California, 1993
Stanley Saitowitz

Casa McDonald, Seadrift, Stinson Beach, San Francisco, 1990. Vista. Foto R. Barnes. Prospetti e sezioni.

McDonald House, Seadrift, Stinson Beach, San Francisco, 1990. View. Photo R. Barnes. Elevations and sections.

Casa McDonald, Seadrift, Stinson Beach, San Francisco, California
Stanley Saitowitz

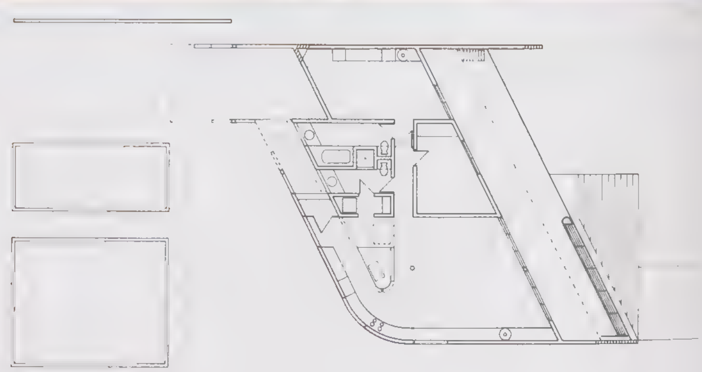
Il sito è un lotto adiacente alla spiaggia di Stinson presso la laguna di Seadrift, una stretta insenatura parallela alla spiaggia fiancheggiata da edifici su ambo i lati.
La casa è in perfetta sintonia con l'ambiente: il tetto, un'onda che riflette l'oceano vicino, ma assente; lo spazio interno, una grotta erosa dall'acqua; l'esterno, come una conchiglia, un'incrostazione di detriti che cela un interno iridescente saturo di luce solare.
Casa per il fine settimana, il tragitto dalla città si compie su una strada tortuosa che termina ad una pensilina per auto fatta di colonne apparentemente instabili, la cui uscita è un piatto molo aggettante sull'acqua.
La casa stabilisce una continuità fra le montagne retrostanti e il mare che si contempla dalla veranda. Dalla finestra triangolare della camera da letto si può osservare il sole che spunta dietro la vetta del monte, mentre un'altra finestra triangolare, quella del soggiorno, inquadra le barche che veleggiano al tramonto.
Richiamandosi a navi e imbarcazioni, una prua ripara la veranda dai venti alludendo al mare aperto.



McDonald House, Seadrift, Stinson Beach, San Francisco, California
Stanley Saitowitz

The site is a tract on the Seadrift Lagoon adjacent to Stinson Beach. Seadrift is a narrow slice of water parallel to the beach lined with buildings on both sides.
The house is an amplification of its setting. The roof, a wave, reflecting the nearby but absent ocean. The space, a cave carved by water. Shell-like, the outside is a driftwood crust protecting an iridescent interior charged with sunlight.
It is a weekend house; the journey from the city is a winding trip by road to a carport of shifting columns.
Escape is from a flat projecting jetty by boat.The house connects the mountains behind with the water it surveys from the deck. A triangular window in the bedroom watches the sun rise over a mountain peak. A triangular window in the living space frames sails gliding by at sunset.
Remembering ships and boats, a prowl protects the deck from the winds and alludes to the open sea.







Casa McDonald, Seadrift,
Stinson Beach, San Francisco, 1990.
Viste interna ed esterna.
Foto R. Barnes.
Pianta.

McDonald House, Seadrift,
Stinson Beach, San Francisco, 1990.
Internal and external views.
Photos R. Barnes.
Plan.



Edificio per abitazione e studio, 1022 Natoma Street, San Francisco, 1993. Vista, sezione, piante dei piani terreno, primo/secondo, terzo/quarto, spaccato assonometrico.

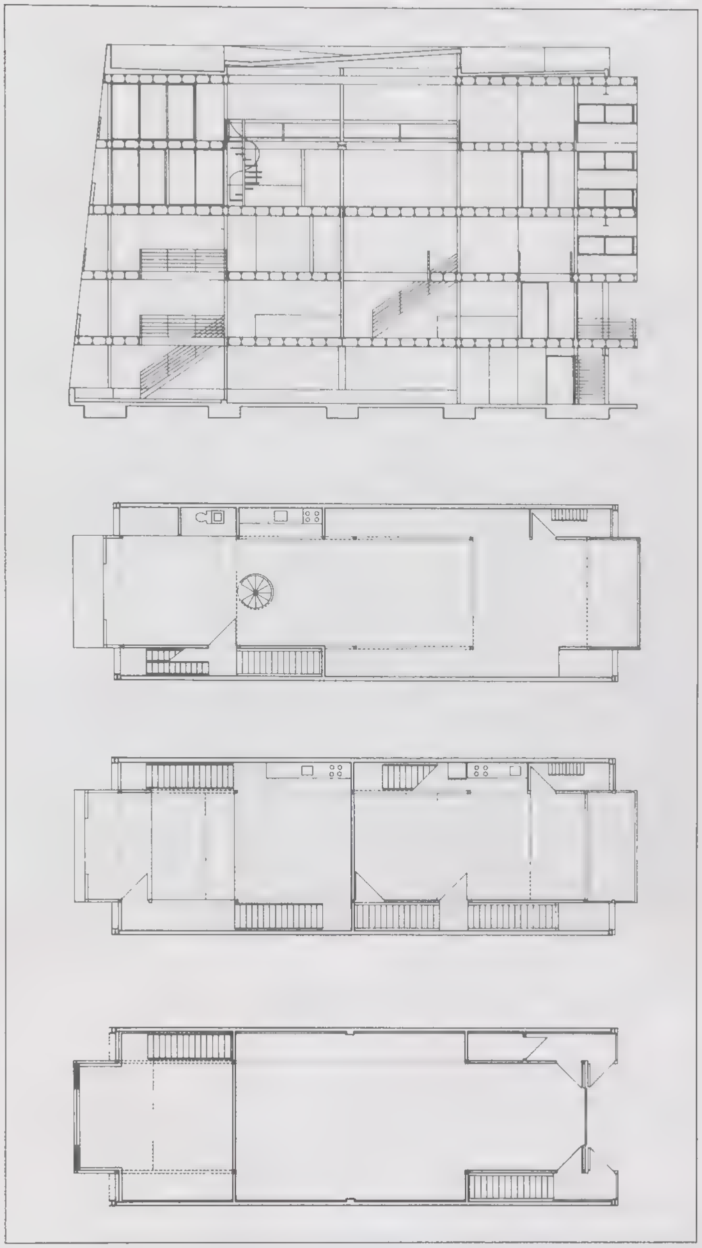
Live/Work Building, 1022 Natoma Street, San Francisco, 1993. View, section and ground, first/second, third/fourth floor plans, cutaway axonometric.

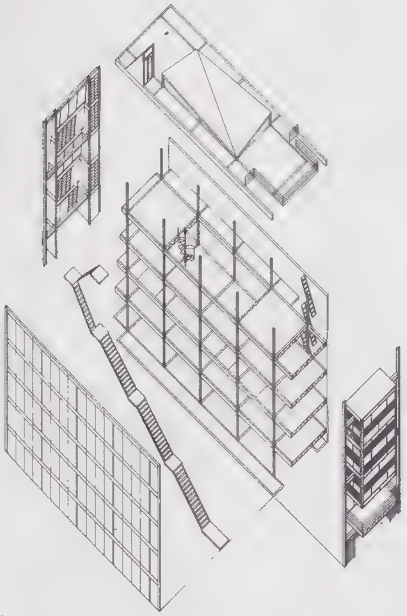
Edificio per abitazione e studio, 1022 Natoma Street, San Francisco, California
Stanley Saitowitz

Il sito è un lotto di m. 7.60 x 24.30 nella zona di South of Market. L'edificio consiste in un'impalcatura di magazzino, la cui struttura in legno lamellare definisce due zone di servizio di m. 1.50 lungo i muri ciechi laterali, che contengono scale d'accesso, cucine, bagni e ripostigli, lasciando al centro uno spazio libero di m. 4.60 in cui possono essere inseriti dei mezzanini ancorati alla struttura in legno. L'edificio è costruito su una griglia di m. 1.20 x 2.40 di legno lamellare standard; la scala principale dà accesso al tetto; la facciata anteriore, in alluminio, riprende caratteri tipici dell'architettura della Baia di San Francisco; la facciata posteriore è arretrata obliquamente rispetto al confine di proprietà per consentire alla luce di penetrare. I due piani superiori ospitano lo studio di Stanley Saitowitz.

Live-Work Building, 1022 Natoma Street, San Francisco, California
Stanley Saitowitz

The site is a 25x80 ft lot South of Market. The building, a warehouse scaffold with a glulam timber frame which establishes two service zones of 5 ft along the blind walls of the site. These contain access stairs, kitchens, bathrooms and storage and provides a 15 ft free zone in the center. In this zone mezzanines can be added to the glulam frame. The building is modulated on a 4x8 ft grid of standard sheet material. The main stair allows access to the roof. The front façade is a revitalized San Francisco Bay made of aluminum. The rear façade slopes away from the property line to allow light to penetrate. The two upper levels are for Stanley Saitowitz Office.







Daniel Solomon

Gleeson Residence, San Francisco, California, 1989
Daniel Solomon (Project Principal)
con/with: Vladimir Frank, Stuart Wright (Project Architects)

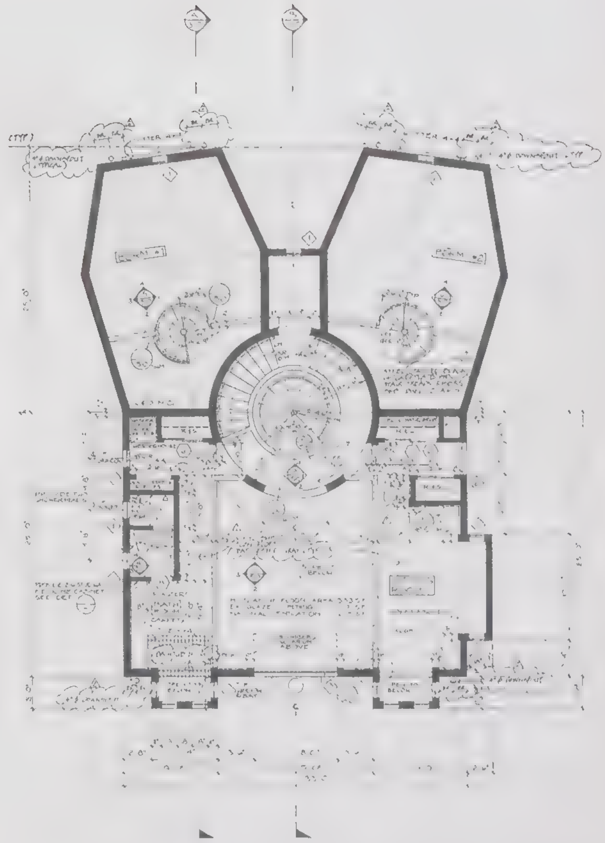
Fulton Grove Townhouses, San Francisco, California, 1991
Solomon Architecture and Planning, Daniel Solomon and Susan Haviland with Robert Heckel, AIA (Project Principals)
con/with: Lev Weisbach (Project Architect); Philip Rossington, Bradley Skaggs (Project Team)

Casa Gleeson, San Francisco, 1989.
Vista dal giardino.
Foto C. Irion.
Piante dei piani primo e secondo.

Gleeson Residence, San Francisco, 1989.
View from the garden.
Photo C. Irion.
First and second floor plans.

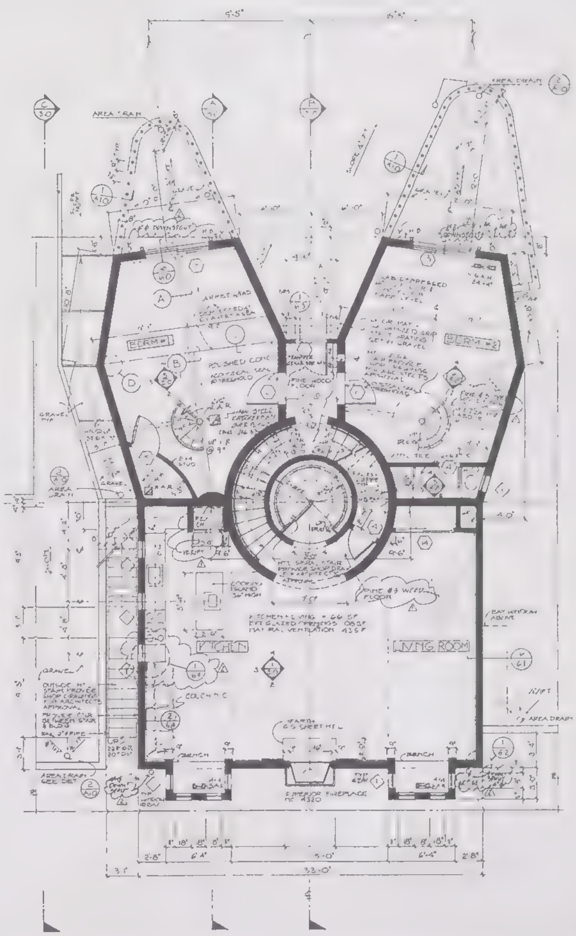
Gleeson Residence, San Francisco, California
Daniel Solomon

La costruzione, che ospita la casa e lo studio di due affermati musicisti, occupa un lotto edificabile di Potrero Hill. Dall'esterno essa appare come un oggetto nero e compatto di scala ambigua, rivestito di scandole nere. La forma della casa è dettata dalla ricerca di soluzioni acustiche e dai vincoli urbanistici. All'interno si presenta come un *loft* aperto con finiture in stucco lucido, lamiera forata e zinco. Al centro, un lucernaio cilindrico e una doppia scala a chiocciola consentono alla luce di raggiungere dall'alto il blocco vetrato d'ingresso in corrispondenza della rimessa a livello stradale. Sul retro della casa vi sono due spazi adibiti a studio: in uno di essi Pat Gleeson elabora composizioni elettroniche e colonne sonore di film, l'altro serve da studio di prova al Kronos Quartet. I due spazi presentano le stesse caratteristiche acustiche così come è uguale la loro forma, che rende la pianta simmetrica.
Il progetto non è così misurato, pulito e rispettoso degli edifici circostanti come altre nostre costruzioni a San Francisco, poiché sorge in un quartiere in parte residenziale e in parte industriale abitato da artisti, *bohémien*, e altri originali personaggi. E la città ha bisogno di luoghi per ospitarli.

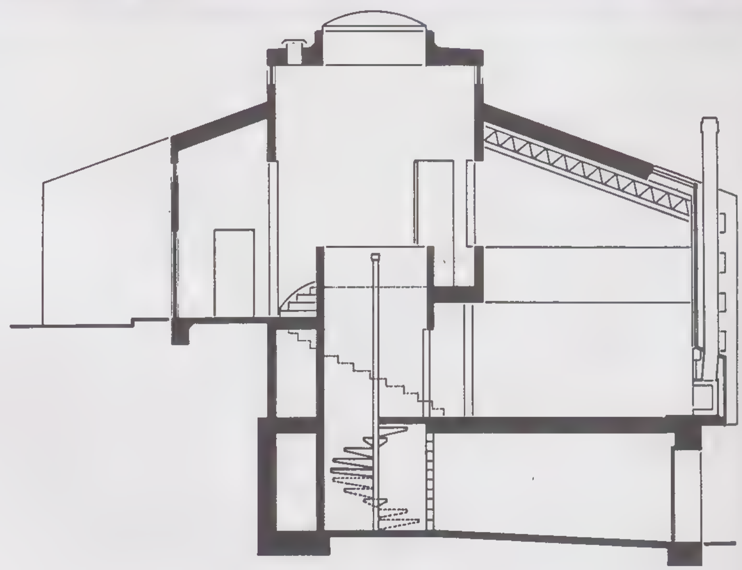


Gleeson Residence, San Francisco, California
Daniel Solomon

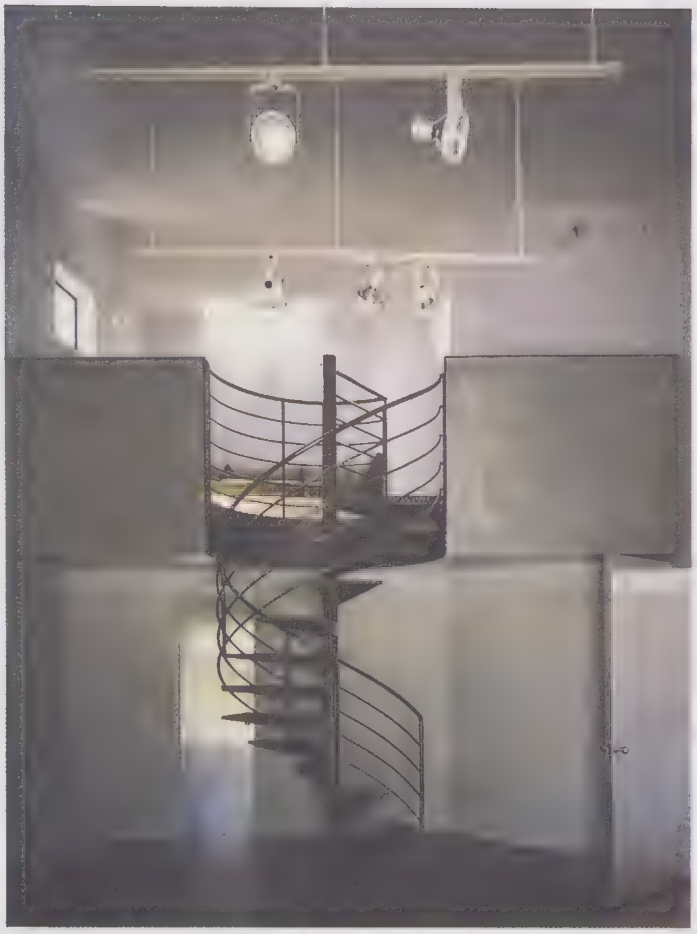
This house and studio space for two distinguished modern musicians occupies an infill lot on Potrero Hill. From the outside it is a seamless black object of ambiguous scale, clad in black composition shingles. Its shape is a result of acoustic requirements and planning restrictions. The interior is an open loft finished in stucco lustro, perforated steel, and zinc. At the center of the house are a skylit rotunda and a double spiral stair which allow daylight to penetrate down to a glass block entry at the street-level garage. There are two studio spaces at the back of the house one, for composer Pat Gleeson, is used for electronic composition and the creation of musical scores for films. The same geometry that serves the composer's studio is suitable acoustically for the other studio, a rehearsal space for the Kronos Quartet. The identical studio shapes establish the symmetry of the plan.
The design is far less prim, polite and deferential to surrounding buildings than our other San Francisco work. This is because it occupies a partly residential and partly industrial neighbourhood where artists, bohémiens *and other mischievous people live. Cities need places for mischief.*











Casa Gleeson, San Francisco, 1989.
Vista del fronte sulla strada e viste interne del soggiorno e di uno studio di musica.
Foto C. Irion.
Sezione longitudinale.

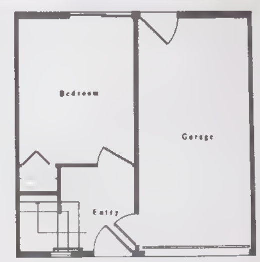
Gleeson Residence,
San Francisco, 1989.
View of streetfront and internal views of the living-room and a music studio.
Photos C. Irion.
Longitudinal section.

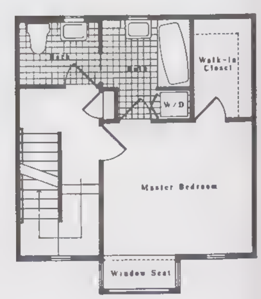


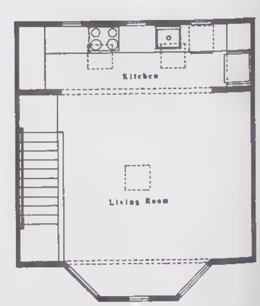


Residenze urbane a Fulton Grove,
San Francisco, 1991.
Viste del passaggio interno e del fronte
su Fulton Grove.
Foto C. Irion.
Piante del piano terreno, primo e
secondo di una unità abitativa.

Fulton Grove Townhouses,
San Francisco, 1991.
Views of lane and front
on Fulton Grove.
Photos C. Irion.
Ground, first and second-floor plans
of a house.







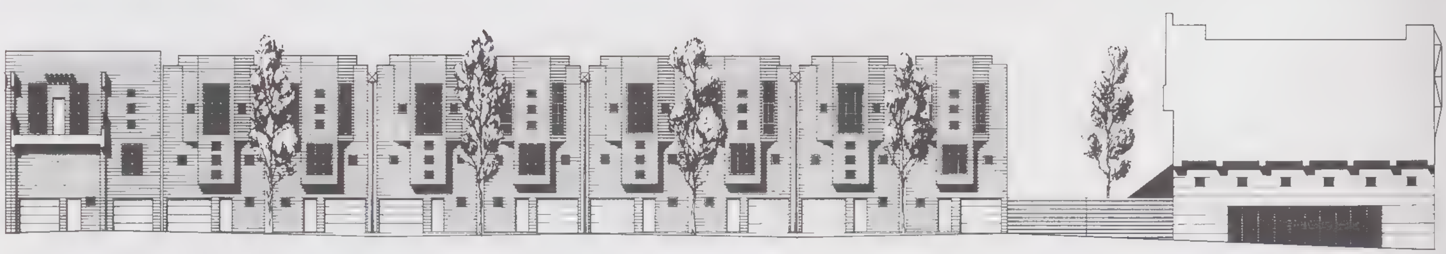
Residenze urbane a Fulton Grove, San Francisco, California
Daniel Solomon

Le zone più antiche di San Francisco sono intersecate da passaggi di attraversamento nei punti mediani degli isolati, introdotti negli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta del secolo scorso dagli speculatori immobiliari per aumentare il perimetro dell'isolato e quindi la densità. Il senso di familiarità e la facilità di orientamento di questi passaggi li rendono tra i luoghi più piacevoli della città. Il progetto di Fulton Grove abbina due lotti adiacenti per reinterpretare questa tipologia.
Fulton Grove comprende dodici unità edilizie, con venti abitazioni urbane e due appartamenti, disposte in modo da formare tra esse un passaggio, che garantisce un'ottima sistemazione per le automobili e resta separato dalla strada, pur essendo ad essa collegato. L'accesso è possibile attraverso grandi aperture nelle facciate degli edifici prospicienti le strade. Su Fulton Street si affacciano quattro abitazioni, collegate a ponte da un sovrappasso che costituisce sia il portale d'ingresso sia uno spazio esterno per le case adiacenti. Su Grove Street due appartamenti affacciano su un largo spiazzo che permette l'accesso dei pedoni, dei veicoli, degli automezzi dei pompieri e consente di vedere la vita che si svolge nel passaggio. Bordato con alberi di eucaliptus e pavimentato con un acciottolato di conglomerato, il passaggio non è chiuso da cancellate ed è utilizzato anche come scorciatoia urbana, frequentato dagli abitanti dei dintorni e soprattutto dai bambini. Il progetto è tuttora indenne da atti criminosi e vandalici, il che dimostra che ci possono essere abitazioni sicure all'interno della città anche senza ricorrere a misure protettive.
Le sedici abitazioni di m. 6.00 x 6.00 a tre piani disposte una di fronte all'altra all'interno del passaggio sono sobrie, moderne versioni di un modello residenziale tipico di San Francisco. Ogni unità, rivestita di cedro e con *bow-window*, dispone di propria entrata, autorimessa e spazio esterno.
Fulton Grove è situata in una zona della città caratterizzata da commistione razziale, con livelli di reddito non omogenei e tipi assai diversi di costruzioni: residenziali, pubbliche e commerciali. E' un nuovo insediamento nel centro storico di San Francisco, che conferma la complessità, l'accessibilità e la scala umana di questa città, tradizionalmente ricca di articolazioni e particolarmente vivibile.

Fulton Grove Townhouses, San Francisco, California
Daniel Solomon

The older parts of San Francisco are crisscrossed with mid-block lanes. In the 1850s and 1860s speculative builders introduced these lanes to increase block perimeters and add density. The intimacy and pedestrian orientation of these lanes now make them many of the city's most desirable places to live. Fulton Grove, a new project, combines two back-to-back parcels of land to reinterpret this model.
Fulton Grove comprises twelve buildings. They consist of twenty townhouses and two flats, and are organized to create a new lane. The lane, which accommodates cars discreetly and is separate yet connected to the street, is accessible through large apertures in the building façade on each streetfront. Four townhouses face Fulton Street and are connected by a bridge which spans the lane. The bridge functions both to define a gateway and as outdoor space for adjacent townhouses. On Grove Street two flats span a large opening that provides vehicle, fire truck and pedestrian access, as well as views of the life of the lane. The lane is paved with concrete cobblestones and lined with eucalyptus trees. The lane has no security fences, functions as a shortcut and is used frequently by neighbours, particularly children. The project has been free of crime and vandalism and shows that safe inner city housing need not take the form of walled enclaves.
Sixteen 20x20 ft three-storey townhouses face each other along the interior of the lane. These townhouses are spare, modern versions of a traditional San Francisco residential type. They are clad in cedar shingles and have projecting bays. Every unit in the project has its own entry, garage and private outdoor space.
Fulton Grove is located in a part of town that is mixed racially, economically and with respect to building type – residential, civic and commercial. Fulton Grove is a new insertion in the historic civic center of San Francisco. It perpetuates the complexity, intimacy of scale and public accessibility that make San Francisco a specially liveable city.









Residenze urbane a Fulton Grove,
San Francisco, 1991.
Piante dei piani terreno, primo
e secondo dell'intero complesso.
Sezione longitudinale lungo
il passaggio interno.
Vista del modello e vista interna
di una abitazione.

Fulton Grove Townhouses,
San Francisco, 1991.
Ground, first and second-floor plans
of the entire complex.
Longitudinal section along the lane.
View of model and internal view
of a house.



Coop Himmelblau

Rehak House, Malibu, Los Angeles, California, 1990
Wolf D. Prix, Helmut Swiczinsky (Principals),
Frank Stepper (Partner)
con/with: Jennifer Rakow, Michael Volk, Hitoshi Abe (Project Team); Dimitri Vergun (Structural Engineer)

Competition for the UFA Theater Center, Pragerstrasse Nord, Dresden, Germany, 1993
Wolf D. Prix, Helmut Swiczinsky (Principals),
Frank Stepper (Partner)
con/with: Jennifer Rakow (Project Architect);
Fanée Aaron, Miro Krawczynski, Eric Otto, Stephanie Reich, Karolin Schmidbaur, Michael Volk (Project Team)

Casa Rehak, Malibu, Los Angeles, California
Coop Himmelblau

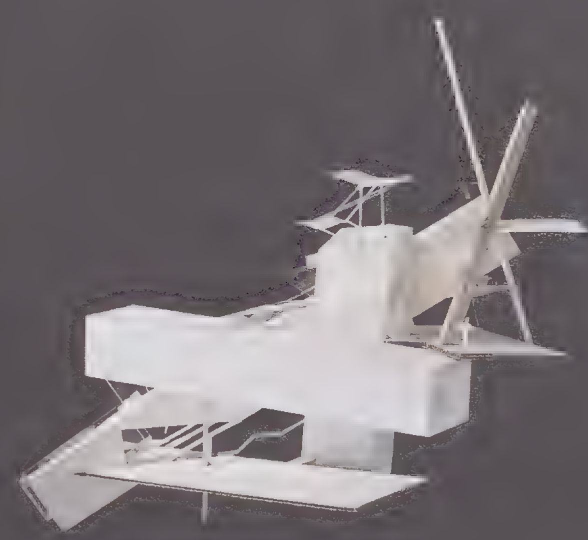
Il sito nel canyon di Topanga, a Malibu, è diviso da un istmo che crea una parte pianeggiante a nord e un ripido pendio a sud, sul quale verrà costruito l'edificio.
Il concetto del progetto emerge già dai primi schizzi e modelli. Al pendio sono ancorate due braccia a forma di X, che abbiamo chiamato una della vista sulla città, l'altra della vista sull'oceano. Questa forma a X crea un edificio di sette piani con piattaforme "volanti" fortemente aggettanti, coperture praticabili e una torre che unifica tutti i diversi volumi.

Rehak House, Malibu, Los Angeles, California
Coop Himmelblau

The site at Topanga Canyon in Malibu is very inconveniently divided. An isthmus juts through it, creating a northern plateau and a southern slope.
We decided to design the building in relation to the precipitous southern slope. The first sketch and the first model depict the concept. Two arms – we call them the city-view arm and the ocean-view arm – are affixed to a slope in the shape of an "X". This x shape creates a seven storey building with "flying" platforms, accessible roof tops and a tower, which ties all the volumes together.

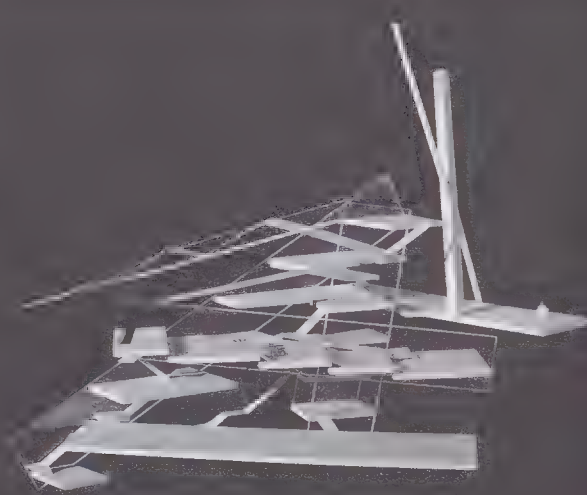
Casa Rehak, Malibu,
Los Angeles, 1990.
Vista del modello.
Foto T. Bonner.

Rehak House, Malibu,
Los Angeles, 1990.
View of model.
Photo T. Bonner.











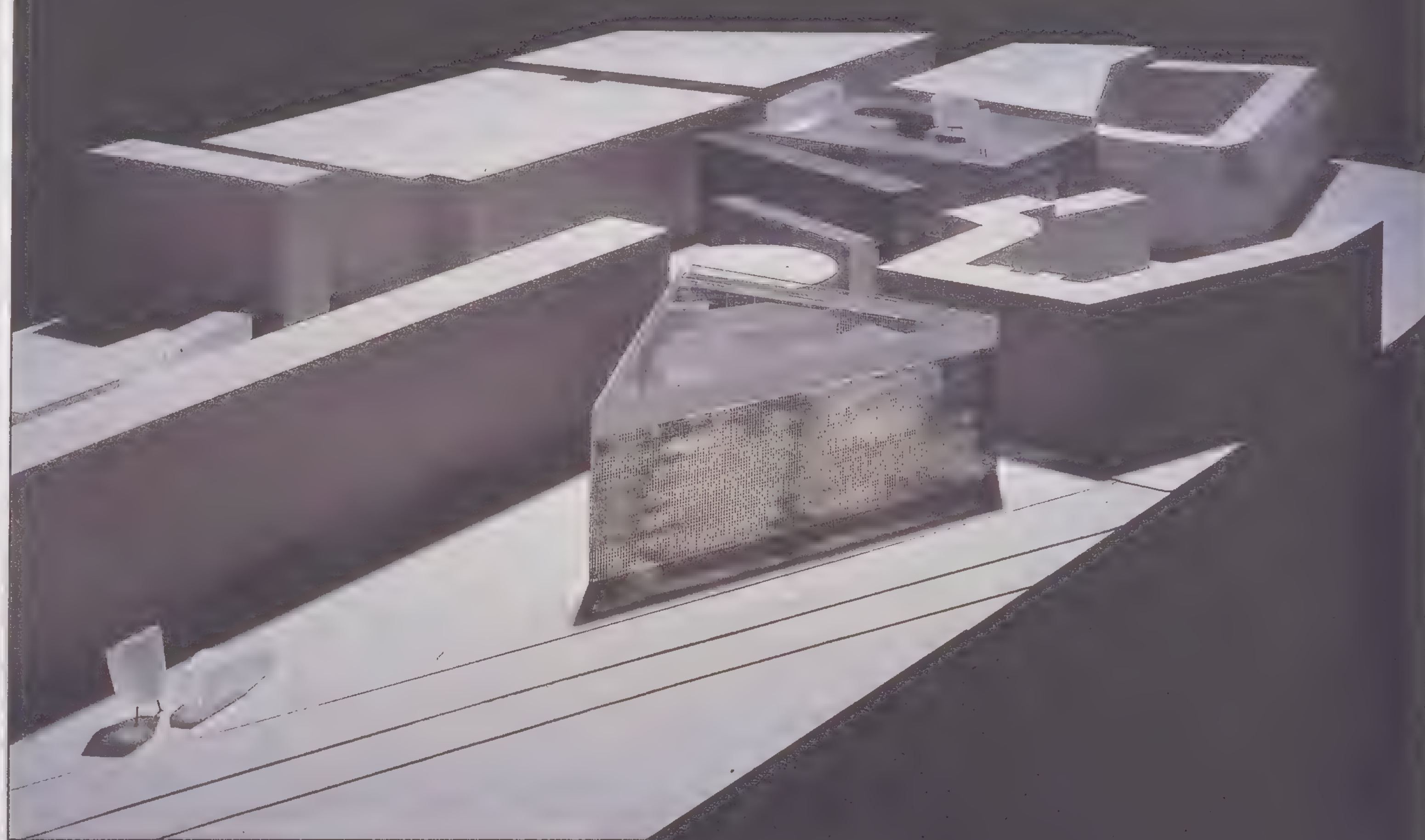
Casa Rehak, Malibu, Los Angeles, 1990. Viste dei modelli di studio e del modello finale. Foto T. Bonner.

Rehak House, Malibu, Los Angeles, 1990. Views of study models and final model. Photos T. Bonner.



Concorso per il Centro teatrale UFA, Dresda, Germania, 1993. Vista del modello. Foto J. S. Smith.

Competition for the UFA Theater Center, Dresden, Germany, 1993. View of model. Photo J. S. Smith.



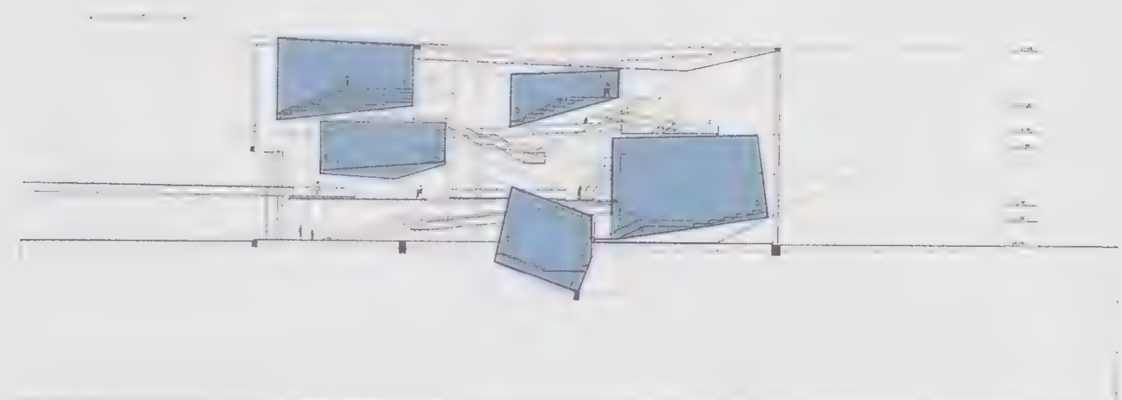
Concorso per il Centro teatrale UFA,
Prager Strasse Nord, Dresda, Germania
Coop Himmelblau

La concezione urbanistica. Tematica del progetto è la definizione dello spazio urbano come sequenza dinamica nella quale si rispecchiano sfera pubblica e sfera privata. In contrapposizione allo spazio assiale che definisce un sistema chiuso e quindi immobile, vettori, tangenti e diagonali sono linee di forza che appartengono a sistemi aperti. Gli spazi aperti qui non vengono considerati come semplici spazi commerciali neutrali, bensì come punti di intersezione delle attività urbane. Obiettivo del concorso era quello di strutturare tre spazi urbani (Prager Platz, Prager Strasse, St. Petersburger Dreieck, il triangolo di San Pietroburgo) mediante una differenziazione che al tempo stesso sapesse creare tra loro una connessione.
Il progetto urbanistico prevede di trasformare l'asse di Prager Strasse in una tangente, introducendo delle diagonali nello spazio urbano, così da ottenere una sequenza dinamica da un lato operando con un accostamento frammentario degli edifici, dall'altro componendo differenti tipologie architettoniche. La sistemazione uniforme del suolo collega e racchiude i tre spazi in diagonale e in modo tangenziale. Simile ai disegni sul terreno a Nazca in Perù, essa può essere percepita solo a distanza: in linea di principio si tratta di una strutturazione della superficie con pietra arenaria chiara e asfalto scuro. Parti di questi disegni "evanescenti" vanno visti come linee d'acqua e superfici verdi. Nel punto d'incrocio dell'asse Prager Strasse con la nuova diagonale viene a crearsi un avvallamento che apre in modo multiforme l'edificio Wöhrl verso Prager Strasse richiamando l'idea di un anfiteatro.
La tipologia degli edifici. La tipologia degli edifici segue una sequenza spaziale che dalla forma triangolare (Kino Center) passa a una forma cilindrica (Palazzo UFA) e a corpi lamellari (Wöhrl) per finire con un rettangolo (Hackel/Hertie) scavato in modo pseudoellittico. Il volume previsto è distribuito nei tre punti in forma di padiglioni, in parte su Prager Strasse, in parte accostati a edifici esistenti, a volte come dipendenze aggiunte sul tetto degli edifici stessi. Questa tipologia sottolinea il passaggio dal privato al pubblico. Gli spazi intermedi, configurati come portici e passaggi, sottolineano il carattere urbano di questo quartiere di Dresda. Padiglioni mobili, intesi come *statement* architettonici o artistici, dinamizzano in diagonale la zona di Prager Platz; come clessidre orizzontali, infatti, uno si muove sulla piazza una volta all'ora, un secondo una volta al giorno.
Le facciate, che proiettano la vita interna verso l'esterno, sono delle pareti di comunicazione polistratificate che rendono visibili i movimenti della gente mediante cambiamenti di luce e colore. Come membrane interattive esse connettono spazialmente le tre zone pur articolandole da un punto di vista funzionale.

Competition for the UFA-Theater Center,
Prager Strasse Nord, Dresden, Germany
Coop Himmelblau

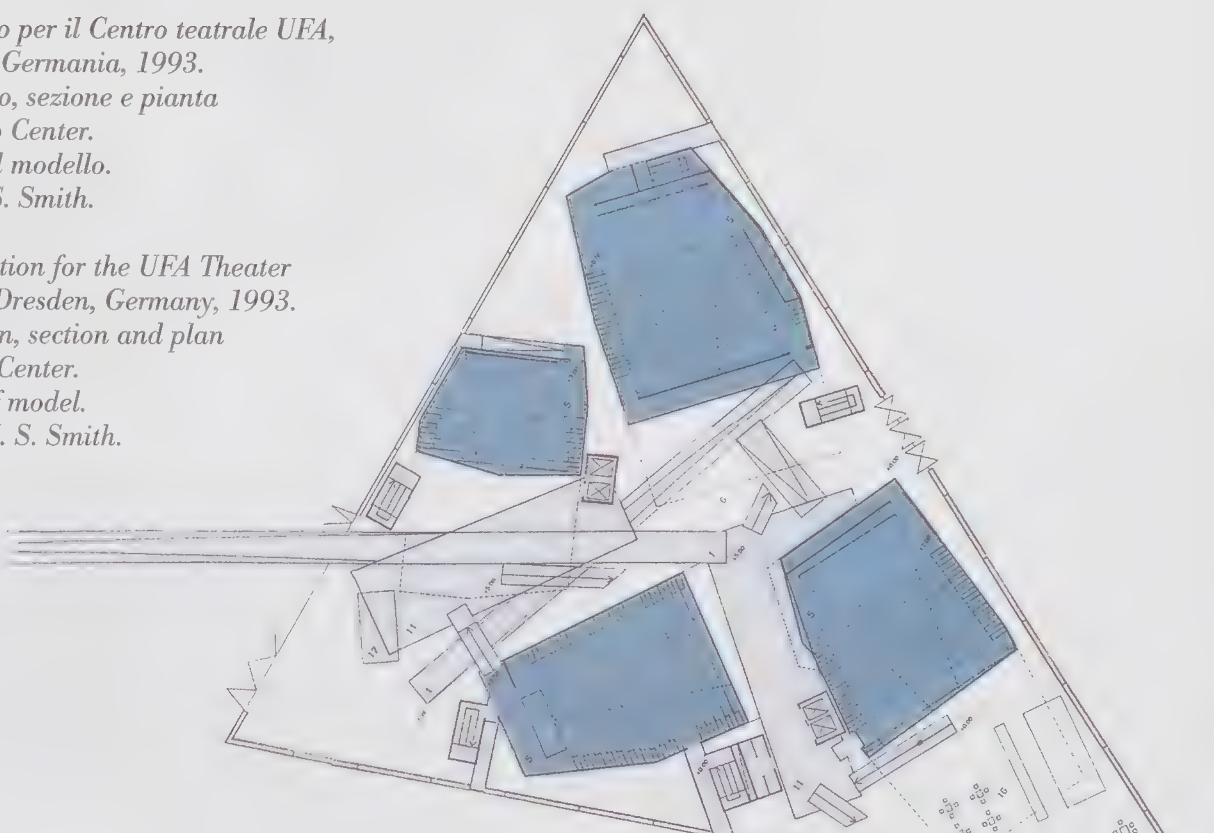
Sequence of space. *Urban space is defined as a dynamic sequence integrating the public and private. In contrast to axial space which is a closed and static system, vectors, tangents and diagonals are energy lines of open systems. Public spaces are intersections of urban activity and not solely commercial spaces. The competition brief was to structure three urban spaces (Prager Platz, Prager Strasse and St Petersburger Dreieck, the St. Petersburg triangle) by both differentiating them clearly and establishing links between them. The planning project sought to transform the Prager Strasse into a tangent by introducing diagonals into the urban space. These produce a dynamic sequence that both juxtaposes individual buildings and assembles their different typologies in a unified composition.*
The uniform layout of the terrain links and encloses the three spaces diagonally and tangentially. As with the land designs at Nazca in Peru, this is apparent only from a distance. The general concept is based on surface structuring using light-coloured sandstone and black asphalt. Some of these "evanescent" designs should be seen as water lines and green surfaces. The Prager Strasse axis meets the new diagonal to create a hollow that opens up the Wöhrl building towards Prager Strasse like a sort of multi-purpose amphitheatre.
Building typology. *The buiding typology forms a spatial sequence leading from a triangle (Kino Center) to a cylinder (UFA-Palast) to a slab (Wöhrl) to an elliptically sliced rectangle (Hackel/Hertie). Volume is distributed in three points as pavilions, some on Prager Strasse, some next to buildings or, finally, as penthouses on the roofs of the buildings themselves. This typology emphasises the transition from public to private. The in-between spaces are used as arcades and passages emphasising the urban character of this part of Dresden. The movable pavilions are intended as architectural or artistic statements that bring diagonal dynamism to the Prager Strasse area; the first pavilion is an hour-glass that moves in the plaza once a day.*
The façades transforming inside into outside are multi-layer media screens visualising the movement of people within by changing patterns of light and colour.
As interactive membranes, they connect spatially but separate the three different spaces functionally, expressing the lively, transitory character of the building.

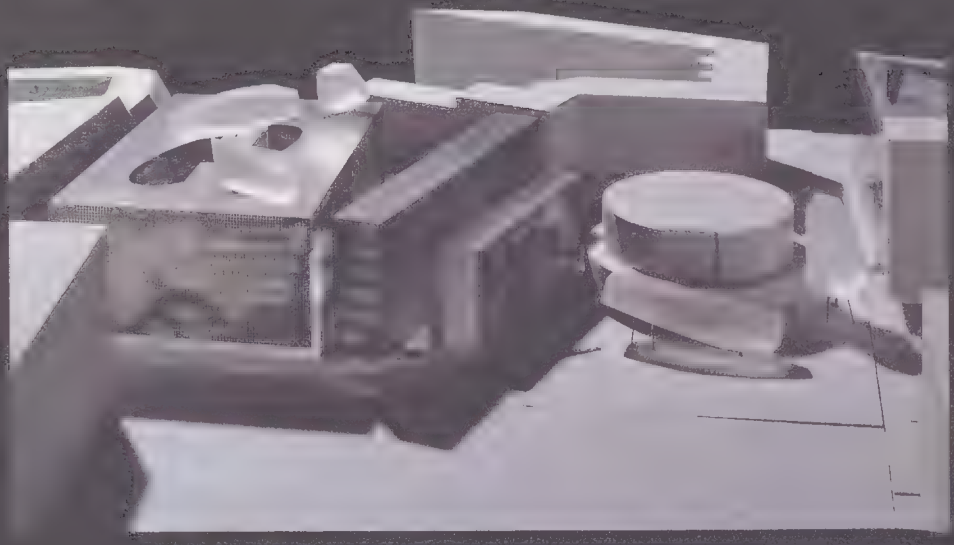


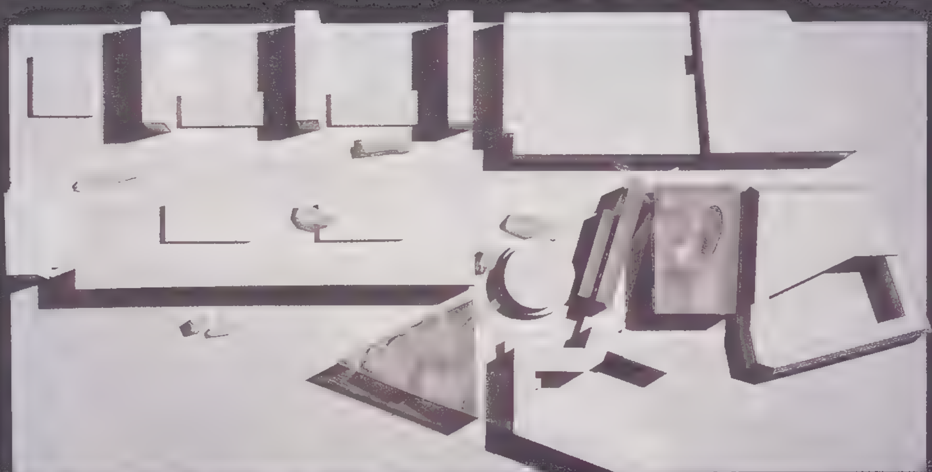


Concorso per il Centro teatrale UFA,
Dresda, Germania, 1993.
Prospetto, sezione e pianta
del Kino Center.
Viste del modello.
Foto J. S. Smith.

Competition for the UFA Theater
Center, Dresden, Germany, 1993.
Elevation, section and plan
of Kino Center.
Views of model.
Photos J. S. Smith.









Hodgetts + Fung

Click Model Management Office Building, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, California, 1990
Craig Hodgetts, Ming Fung
coll.: Lynn Batsch, Sardjono Sani

Franklin-La Brea Housing Proposal, Los Angeles, California, 1989
Craig Hodgetts, Ming Fung
coll.: Aaron Betsky, Frank Clementi, Michael Gruber, Julie Smith, John Trauman

Edificio per uffici Click Model Management, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1990.
Vista da nordest.

Click Model Management Office Building, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1990.
View from the northeast.

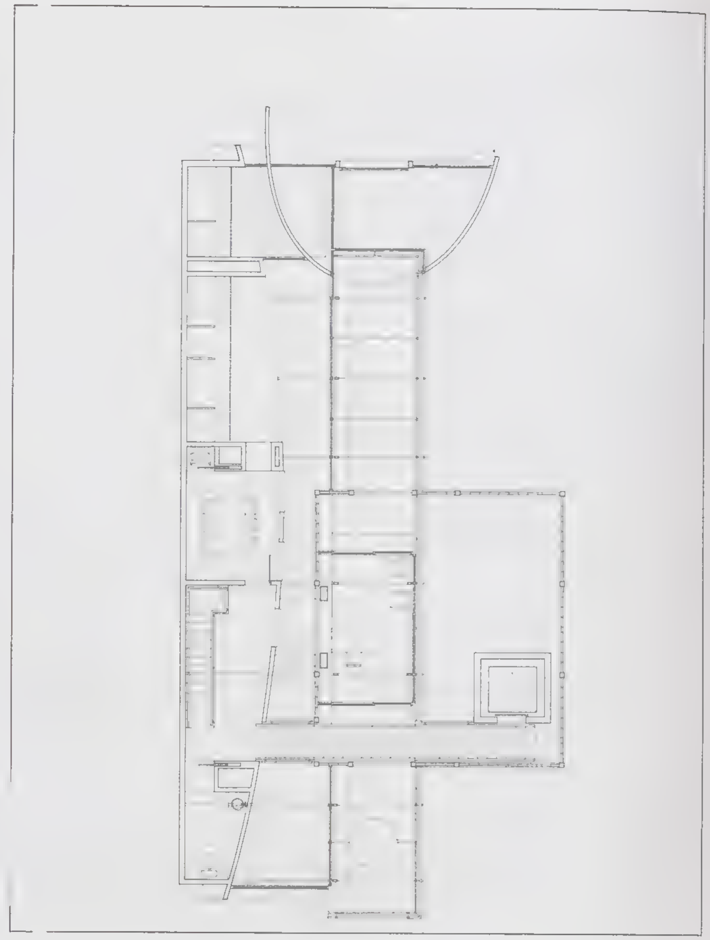
Edificio per uffici Click Model Management, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, California
Craig Hodgetts, Ming Fung

L'edificio per uffici Click and Flick, un progetto commissionato al nostro studio per alloggiare la filiale di Los Angeles di un'agenzia di *talent-scout* newyorchese, doveva essere realizzato su un sito molto angusto all'interno di un isolato compatto, densissimo di fabbricati di dimensioni, destinazione e forme assai differenziate. Dunque un programma di intervento complicato in un contesto caotico. Per corrispondere a un quartiere eclettico e densamente popolato, siamo ricorsi all'impiego di una varietà di materiali esterni, fra cui stucco, acciaio, cemento, vetro e legno. Inoltre, per dare un carattere unitario alla frammentazione funzionale dell'edificio, abbiamo pensato a uno schema concepito come una serie di edifici dentro un edificio.
L'insieme poggia su un basamento che funge da autorimessa da cui emergono i tre volumi di forme dissimili del "piano nobile", ricomposti da una semplice struttura rettangolare a pareti vetrate e collegati fra loro da una struttura a ponte. Il primo corpo, cubico, ospita l'atrio, gli uffici e un cortile interno scoperto; il secondo, un volume parabolico, ospita la sala riunioni; il terzo, infine, a forma di fiancata di uno scafo, racchiude in una muratura compatta tutti i servizi: impianti, cucine, bagni e altri locali riservati.
Il ponte, che collega la sala riunioni agli uffici e che fa parte integrante della struttura, attraversa gli spazi interni di questi due volumi creando, così, il mezzanino dell'area curva delle riunioni e il piano degli uffici all'interno del cubo. Contemporaneamente, il ponte fa da terrazza all'aperto che, oltre a valorizzare gli adiacenti spazi esterni, in pratica incrementa notevolmente la globale superficie calpestabile dell'edificio. Infine il corpo rettangolare vetrato che collega i tre singoli volumi costituisce una connessione pratica ed esteticamente espressiva fra i tre distinti elementi architettonici.

Click Management Office Building, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, California
Craig Hodgetts, Ming Fung

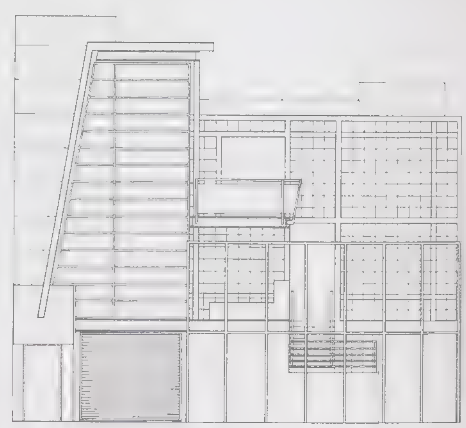
With the Click and Flick Office Building, our practice was asked to design Los Angeles offices for a New York-based talent agency. The building was to be constructed on a very tight site within a compact block crammed with buildings that varied in scale, use and appearance.
It posed an intricate program in a frenetic setting.
In order to complement the eclectic, densely populated neighbourhood, the solution utilized a variety of exterior building materials including stucco, steel concrete block, glass and wood. To address the split usage of the facility itself, a scheme was created that featured buildings within a building.
The grouping itself rests on a plinth that functions as a garage. Forming the "piano nobile" *are three volumes with contrasting shapes that rest on the top of the ground floor parking. These volumes are collectively enclosed by a simple rectangle composed of glass curtain wall, and are connected to each other by a bridge-like structure. The first volume is a cube containing the lobby, offices and an indoor/outdoor courtyard. The second is a parabolic conference space. Finally, a hull-like shape forms the solid service wall which contains the building's mechanical features as well as a kitchen, restrooms and other non-public spaces.*
The bridge functions as a connection between the conference area and offices. It is an integration element of the structure, piercing the interior spaces of these two volumes, creating the mezzanine in the conference parabola and the office floor in the cube. The bridge is also an outdoor terrace which maximizes the use of adjacent outdoor "rooms", ultimately increasing the functional area of the overall building significantly. Finally, the glass rectangle that fits over all the individual volumes provides a practical and aesthetic connection between the distinct architectural elements.

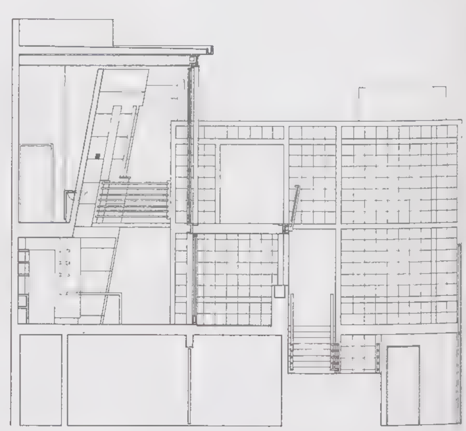


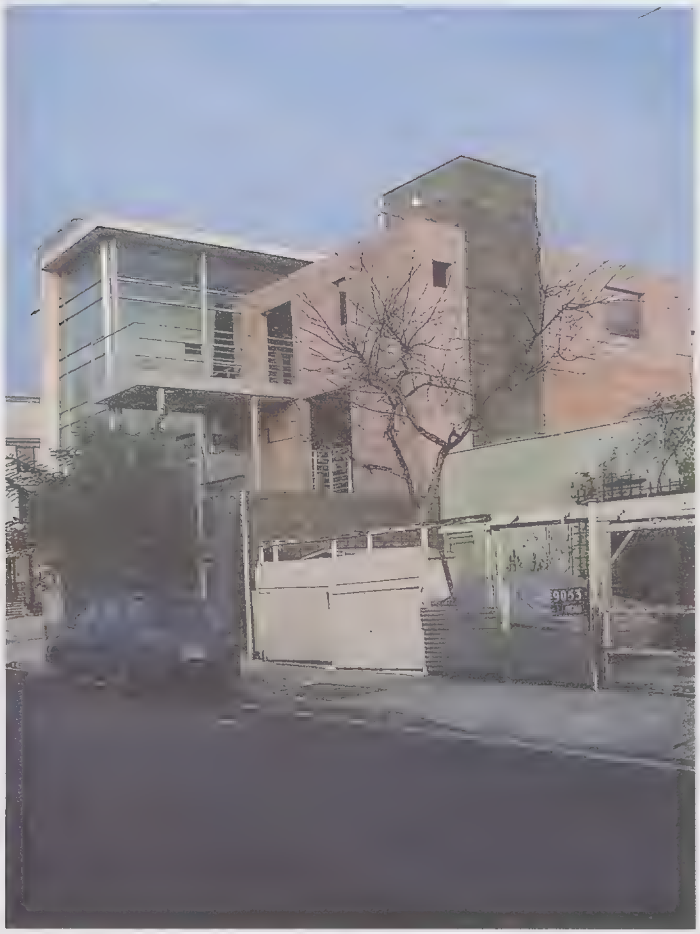


Edificio per uffici Click Model Management, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1990.
Piante del primo piano e del mezzanino.
Vista da sudest e vista interna.
Prospetto sud su strada, sezione trasversale ed esploso assonometrico.

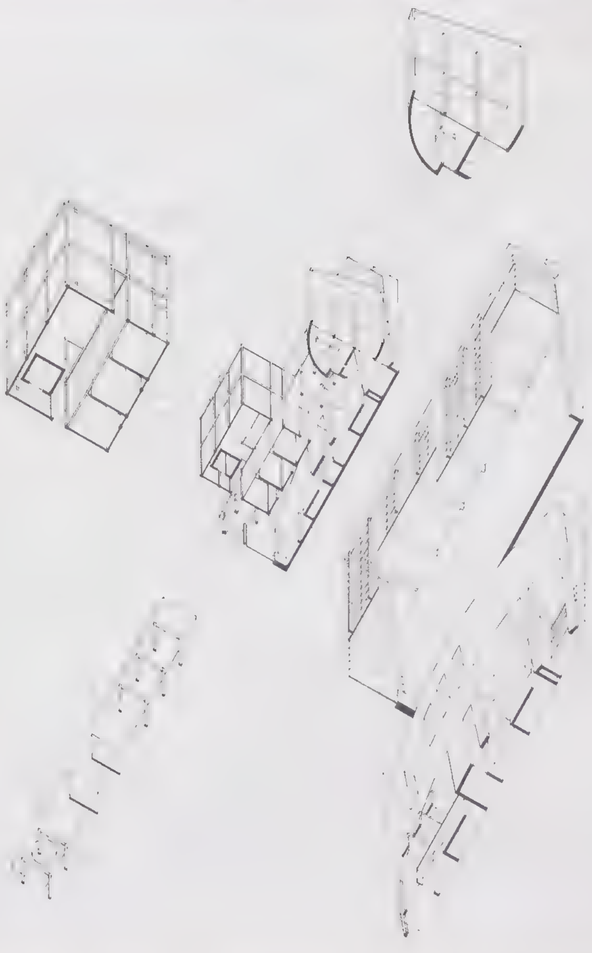
Click Model Management Office Building, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1990.
Plans of first floor and mezzanine.
View from the southeast and interior view.
South streetfront, cross-section and exploded axonometric.






9063


EXIT





Quartiere sperimentale
Franklin-La Brea, Los Angeles, 1989.
Vista del modello e planimetria.

Franklin-La Brea Housing Proposal,
Los Angeles, 1989.
View of model and general plan.



Concorso per il quartiere sperimentale Franklin-La Brea, Los Angeles, California
Craig Hodgetts, Ming Fung

Nel 1989 il Museo d'Arte Contemporanea di Los Angeles (MOCA) ha bandito un concorso di edilizia residenziale in concomitanza con la mostra intitolata *Progetti per un moderno abitare*, che voleva essere un tributo al movimento *Case Study*, un programma di ricerca architettonica sulle tipologie residenziali nato nel secondo dopoguerra e finanziato dall'influente, sebbene ormai defunta, rivista "Arts & Architecture" quando alla sua guida era ancora l'editore utopista John Entenza. Quest'ultimo aveva commissionato e pubblicato i progetti di numerose abitazioni monofamiliari, molte delle quali poi costruite nella conurbazione di Los Angeles. Gli architetti di questo programma erano stati scelti da Entenza principalmente per il loro interesse a combinare una specifica sensibilità progettuale umanistica e progressista con gli avanzamenti tecnologici propri del secondo dopoguerra.
Il MOCA, in collaborazione con l'Ente per il Risanamento urbano della regione di Los Angeles (CRA, Community Redevelopment Agency), ha finanziato un concorso per la progettazione di unità abitative multifamiliari destinate alla fascia di reddito mediobassa, da realizzare su un sito all'incrocio fra Franklin Avenue e La Brea Avenue a Hollywood, in California. Oltre a fornire il sito e l'impresa costruttrice, il CRA ha assistito il MOCA nell'organizzazione del concorso e, in accordo con il Museo e con il Comitato consultivo del movimento *Case Study*, ha scelto fra i candidati cinque studi chiedendo una proposta esauriente corredata di plastico.
Con questo progetto per quaranta alloggi abbiamo riesumato il programma di John Entenza di perfezionare un prototipo di alloggio "*che fosse reiterabile e non rappresentasse in alcun modo una soluzione univoca e irrepetibile*". A differenza di Entenza, che aveva un debole per la famiglia nucleare del sogno americano, noi abbiamo optato per una soluzione applicabile ai problemi di una popolazione urbana diversificata e ad alta densità.
Ragionando in termini più globali e proponendoci, in particolare, di soddisfare le esigenze di coloro che hanno portato proprie usanze, consuetudini famigliari e filosofie di vita in una delle città etnicamente più variegate degli Stati Uniti, abbiamo assegnato un ruolo centrale al concetto di sfera personale, alle abitudini individuali e agli aspetti tecnologici. Libera dai vincoli dei tradizionali canoni architettonici, l'adattabilità, interna ed esterna, in pianta e in prospetto, è stata considerata essenziale per la progettazione di un prototipo che fosse realmente tale.
Lo studio per il quartiere Franklin-La Brea è scaturito da alcuni semplicissimi concetti il primo dei quali è la *strada*, ovvero uno spazio esterno adiacente ad ogni settore del complesso, che non solo provvede a fornire un indirizzo a ciascun blocco di ogni singola sottocomunità, ma assume

Franklin-La Brea Housing Proposal, Los Angeles, California
Craig Hodgetts, Ming Fung

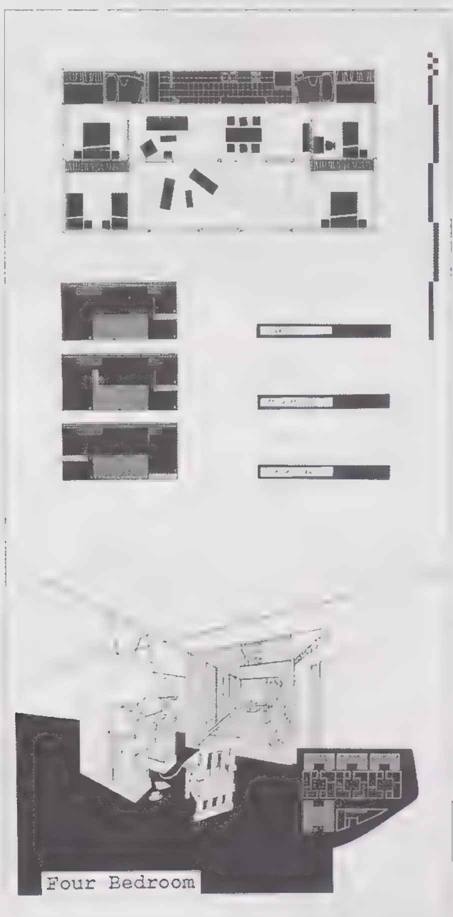
In 1989, the Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) initiated a housing competition in conjunction with its exhibition, Blueprints for Modern Living. *This exhibition was a tribute to the Case Study movement – a Post World War II architectural research effort sponsored by the influential but now defunct* "Arts + Architecture" *magazine when visionary publisher John Entenza was at its helm. Mr. Entenza commissioned and published plans for numerous single-family dwellings, many of which were ultimately constructed in the greater Los Angeles area. Architects for this program were primarily selected by Mr. Entenza because they had demonstrated an interest in combining the technological advances of a post World War II industrial era with a humanistic, progressive design sensibility.*
MOCA and the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) collaborated to sponsor a limited competition for a low-to-moderate income multi-family housing unit on a site at the intersection of Franklin and La Brea Avenues in Hollywood, California. The CRA, MOCA and a Case Study Advisory Committee short-listed five architectural firms, commissioning an elaborate proposal complete with models from each.
In Hodgetts + Fung's design of this forty-unit apartment building, we sought to echo John Entenza's intention of defining a housing prototype that could be "capable of duplication and in no sense an individual performance". *But where Mr. Entenza's concern was for the nucleus family of the American Dream, our solution addressed the issue of a fragmented and congested urban population.*
We tried to think in more global terms, especially in response to the needs of those who brought their customs, families and lifestyles to one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the U.S. The concepts of personal domain, individual lifestyle and technological opportunities were emphasized. Free from the limitations of traditional architectural order, flexibility – inside and out, both plan and elevation – was considered essential if the project was to provide a genuine prototype.
The Franklin/La Brea Case Study Community was derived from some very simple conceptual elements. The first was the Street, *an outdoor space adjacent to each section of the complex. This street provided an address for each building block within its own miniaturized community and was intended to function as the main outdoor public gathering place. From this street, smaller* paseos *derived from California's increasing Latin heritage lead to courtyards specific to each building block. Every individual building had a series of courtyards, which could be either private or common and could also be combined to make shared elements. Each unit featured a prefabricated technical core which incorporated circulation, kitchen and bath, as well as*

anche la funzione di principale ritrovo pubblico all'aperto. Dalla strada *paseos* minori, omaggio al peso crescente della componente ispanica in California, conducono ai cortili dei singoli blocchi edilizi. Ogni edificio, a sua volta, dispone di una serie di corti che possono essere private o comuni, o anche essere unite a formare aree in condivisione. Ogni unità è imperniata su un nucleo attrezzato prefabbricato che racchiude circolazione, cucina, bagno e impianti. L'ultimo elemento fondamentale è costituito dai materiali edilizi che, per garantire il massimo di adattabilità, possono essere tratti da un nutrito capitolato in cui figurano stucco, calcestruzzo, armature in metallo leggero con la clausola che siano le condizioni del mercato il fattore di scelta.
Il bando di concorso imponeva un complesso composto da 40 unità abitative che noi abbiamo distribuito in otto isolati variamente suddivisi in tagli di alloggio di una, due, tre o quattro camere da letto. Ogni "comunità" è disposta in maniera conforme a dimensioni e configurazione della propria porzione di sito, nello sforzo di garantire a tutti gli abitanti, attraverso complesse soluzioni geometriche, il massimo di varietà, di vista e di intimità. Ai fini della più ampia flessibilità e per collegare gli isolati alle reti tecnologiche comunali (idrica, elettrica, fognaria e del gas), abbiamo allineato tutti i nuclei attrezzati lungo un unico asse che attraversa longitudinalmente ogni struttura. Bagni, cucine, scale e ripostigli sono raggruppati in questi nuclei, prefabbricati e messi in opera in cantiere, che consentono la massima flessibilità nella costruzione dei locali di soggiorno di ciascun appartamento. Tali strutture preassemblate, collocate su basi contenenti gli impianti autonomi di riscaldamento, condizionamento e dell'acqua calda, nonché gli impianti per l'energia elettrica, l'acqua, il gas e gli scarichi fognari di ogni appartamento, costituiscono la struttura portante dell'alloggio. Al riscaldamento dell'acqua provvedono pannelli solari sul tetto, che determinano anche l'orientamento complessivo degli alloggi verso le fonti energetiche. Sebbene di carattere neutro, i locali di soggiorno consentono un ampio ventaglio di possibili adattamenti pur mantenendo l'impianto unitario complessivo. Se i più si limiteranno a intervenire sulle soluzioni d'arredo, qualcuno potrà creare un ingresso separato per un ufficio domestico, o ideare un'area di soggiorno a pianta libera o addirittura annettere gli spazi esterni trasformandoli in verande.
Noi consideriamo il progetto per il quartiere Franklin-La Brea come uno studio dimostrativo di un'impostazione urbanistica più generale, in quanto i vari isolati possono essere collocati anche in altre aree della città e sono concepiti per valorizzare la dimensione comunitaria specifica di ogni contesto. Con questo progetto abbiamo voluto dimostrare che un'edilizia residenziale efficiente, umana, di scala minore, è perfettamente integrabile in una metropoli contribuendo a creare nelle nostre città una trama abitativa più conforme.

utilities. The final integral element was construction materials which, in order to be as adaptable as possible, could be chosen from a varied roster including stucco, concrete block or light metal framing, the determining factor ultimately dictated being market conditions.
The building program dictated that the complete complex consist of forty units. We broke this program up into eight building blocks with varying mixtures of four, three, two and one bedroom apartments. Each "community" was placed in a manner that responded to the scale and configuration of its placement on the site, and had a sophisticated geometry which maximized variety, views and privacy for all inhabitants. In order to make them as flexible as possible and to tie blocks to the water, electric, gas and sewage services of the city, H + F condensed all the core elements into a strip that ran he length of each structure. All the toilets, kitchens, stairs and fixed storage were contained in these cores, which were pre-fabricated and placed on site, allowing for maximum flexibility in the standard construction for the living spaces of each of the apartments. These pre-assembled cores are placed on top of base cores that provided the units with individualized heating, cooling and hot water. All electricity, water, gas and sewage was to be routed through this core, connecting the unit into city systems and forming the backbone of the apartment. Roof-mounted solar collectors were used for passive hot water heating and to contain storage in the panel. They also oriented the apartments to the large scale and sources of energy. The living spaces were to be neutral in character, with each unit featuring a wide variety of amenities to encourage tenants to devise their own living patterns. For many, that may have meant being no more inventive than arranging the furniture, but some may have created a separate entrance for an office at home, or devised an open plan living space, or possibly annexed outdoor areas with lightweight structures. As each tenant expressed their individuality, the fabric of the whole was to be defined for the entire apartment community.
Hodgetts + Fung saw the Franklin/La Brea Case Study Building Project as a microcosm for urban planning in general. Building blocks could be placed on varying sites throughout a city, and were designed to enhance community context within the influences of a specific site. We hoped to demonstrate with this project that humane, smaller-scaled, efficient housing can be successfully integrated into a community and create a more responsive residential texture for our cities.

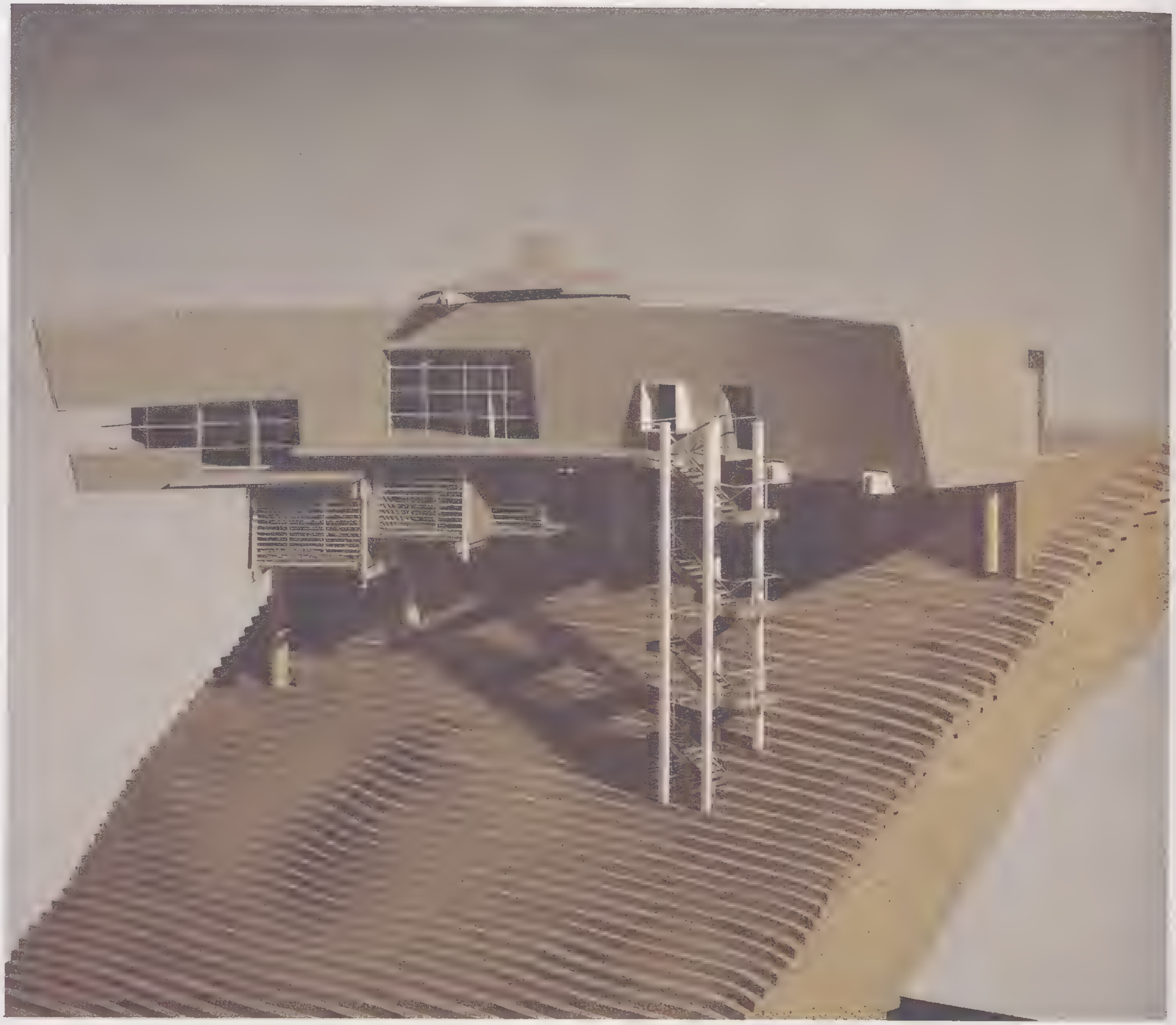






Quartiere sperimentale
Franklin-La Brea, Los Angeles, 1989.
Prospetto e sezione longitudinale.
Varianti distributive degli alloggi
con una e quattro camere.

Franklin-La Brea Housing Proposal,
Los Angeles, 1989.
Elevation and longitudinal section.
Varying layouts of the dwellings with
one and four bedrooms.



Franklin D. Israel

Raznick House, Hollywood Hills, Los Angeles, California, 1991
Franklin D. Israel Design Associates

Southern Regional Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, California, 1991
Franklin D. Israel Design Associates



Casa Raznick, Hollywood Hills, Los Angeles, 1991.
Vista del modello da nord.
Foto T. Bonner.
Planimetria generale.

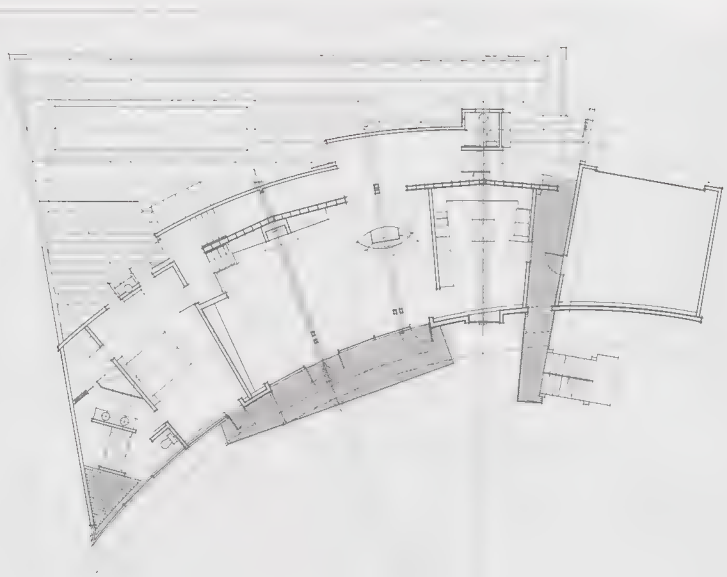
Raznick House, Hollywood Hills, Los Angeles, 1991.
View of model from the north.
Photo T. Bonner.
General plan.

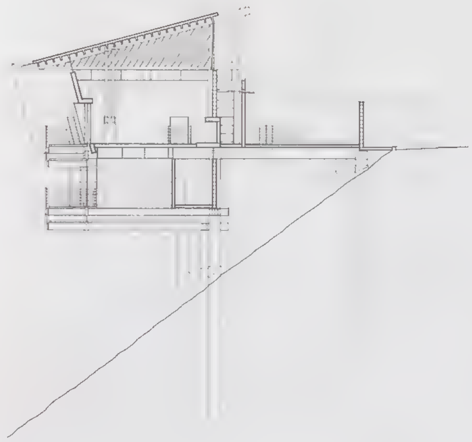
Casa Raznick, Hollywood Hills, Los Angeles, California
Franklin D. Israel

Los Angeles è una città tuttora ampiamente definita dalla sua topografia e dal carattere vernacolare che distingue i diversi quartieri. La Raznick House si propone di rafforzare questa evidente identità del contesto, modellandosi in coerenza al sito scenografico che la ospita e richiamandosi con il suo vocabolario architettonico all'entusiasmante storia dell'architettura collinare di cui è parte, da Neutra a Lautner.
La struttura curva della casa, il cui punto centrale è ubicato nello spazio formato del *canyon* selvaggio in cui essa si trova, è protesa ad abbracciare il vuoto, non la collina. In questo modo il terreno naturale e la vegetazione restano liberi lungo il pendio e tra i piloni che sostengono l'edificio. Si crea così, e si enfatizza, una quinta facciata, la parte sottostante. La fronte curva, infatti, non solo riecheggia le forme straordinarie del *canyon* (anche se in modo rigoroso, così da renderne chiara l'artificialità), ma rende omaggio all'industria cinematografica trasformandosi in uno schermo gigantesco da cui traspaiono le forme in ombra della vita al suo interno.
Lungo la strada, la forma concava della casa crea una specie di piazza tra il muro di recinzione, così diffuso sulle colline di Hollywood, e l'edificio curvo. Entrato in questo spazio, il visitatore incontra una cascata artificiale, un gesto tradizionale di benvenuto nell'arida Los Angeles, situata presso l'ingresso principale e allineata all'indispensabile piscina.
L'andamento curvo non domina ovunque: il profilo del tetto appare frammentato in forme distinte in corrispondenza del soggiorno, della sala da pranzo e del bagno principale. Sopra la rimessa si trova l'appartamento per gli ospiti a cui si accede dalla torre delle scale, principale elemento verticale del progetto che, visivamente, àncora l'edificio al fianco della collina.
La serie di piloni di cemento inframmezzati da travi, che tengono letteralmente insieme il sito, si protendono verso l'alto a formare la struttura portante della casa.
Le facciate curve sono rivestite di gesso spatolato e vetro; le coperture sono di metallo e le camere degli ospiti, sospese sotto la struttura curva, sono costruite con telai di legno, vetro e acciaio. All'interno dell'edificio, una campitura di pareti curve si estende parallela alla direzione longitudinale della casa. Perpendicolari a questa, gli elementi della struttura, il camino e le forme sul tetto si raggruppano intorno ad assi trasversali dando vita a luoghi distinti nel *continuum* dello spazio.

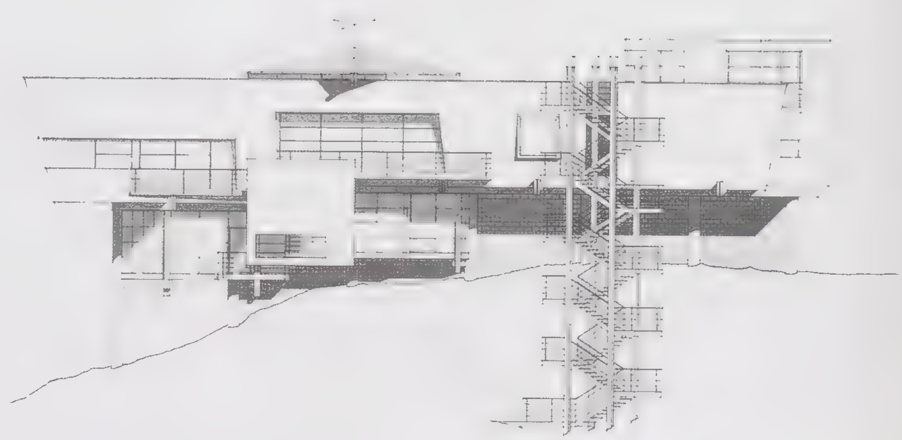
Raznick House, Hollywood Hills, Los Angeles, California
Franklin D. Israel

Los Angeles is still largely defined by its topography and the distinctive vernacular of its various neighbourhoods. The Raznick House seeks to reinforce this strong sense of context by shaping itself to its dramatic site as well as recalling through its architectonic vocabulary the exciting history of hillside architecture, from Neutra to Lautner, of which it is a part.
The centerpoint of the arc which forms the house is located in the space formed by the wild canyon in which the house sits. The curved structure reaches out to engage the void rather than the hillside. The result allows terrain and vegetation to move freely up the slope and among the piers which lift the residence.
In addition, a fifth façade, the underside, is created and celebrated. In fact, the curve both echoes the dramatic landforms of the canyon (albeit rigorously so as to emphasise its artificiality), and pays homage to the movie industry by becoming a giant cinema screen portraying the shadowed forms of the life within.
Along the street, the concave form of the house creates a plaza between the street wall (a common feature in the Hollywood Hills) and the curved building. Upon entering this space, the visitor encounters a cistern waterfall – a traditional gesture of greeting in arid Los Angeles – immediately adjacent to the front door and aligned in composition with the requisite swimming pool.
The curve is not dominant in all realms: the roofscape is fragmented into separate forms over the living-room, dining-room, and master bathroom. A guest apartment above the garage is entered via the stair tower. This tower, the major vertical feature in the design, also anchors the building visually to the hillside.
The row of concrete piles which literally holds the site together is continued upwards to become the basic structure for the house. Glu-lam beams span between. The curved elevations are screens of troweled plaster and glass, the roofs are metal and the guest bedrooms which hang below the curve are constructed of wood frame, glass, and steel. Inside the building, a field of curved walls parallels the direction of movement lengthwise through the house. Perpendicular to these, elements of structure, the fireplace and the roof forms all group around cross axes to develop distinct places within the continuum *of space.*



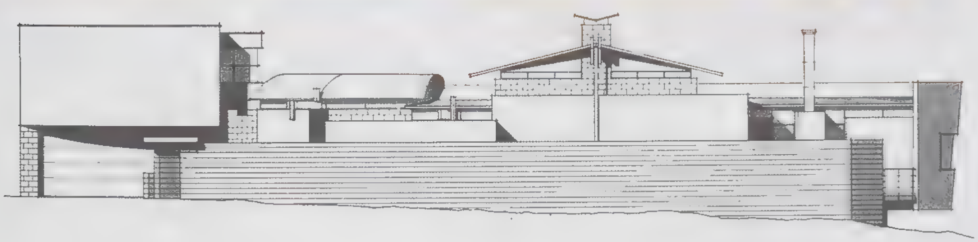












*Casa Raznick, Hollywood Hills, Los Angeles, 1991.
Sezione trasversale, piante alle quote dell'appartamento padronale e delle camere per ospiti, prospetti nordest e sudovest.
Viste del modello da nordovest e da est.
Foto T. Bonner.*

*Raznick House, Hollywood Hills, Los Angeles, 1991.
Cross-section, plans of master apartment and guest room levels, northeast and southwest elevations. Views of model from the northwest and east.
Photos T. Bonner.*

Southern Regional Library, UCLA,
Los Angeles, 1991.
Modello di insieme con
planivolumetria, fronti e sezione.
Foto J. Pottle.

Southern Regional Library, UCLA,
Los Angeles, 1991.
General model with volumetric
layout, fronts and section.
Photo J. Pottle.



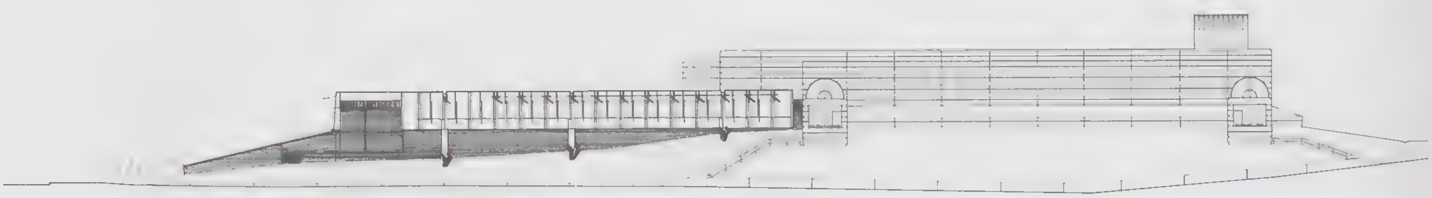
Southern Regional Library, UCLA,
Los Angeles, California
Franklin D. Israel

Il progetto prevede l'ubicazione della Southern Regional Library della UCLA al margine occidentale del *campus*, in prossimità dei quartieri residenziali di Veteran e Gayley Avenue.
In parte interrato, l'ampliamento costituisce una specie di basamento alla struttura originaria. Il volume dell'edificio risulta inoltre nascosto da un riporto di terra che sale gradualmente da Veteran Avenue e che, insieme all'edificio stesso, forma un terrapieno sul quale poggia la Biblioteca originaria. Il gioco creato dall'impiego di mattoni, cemento e metallo dà forma a un edificio che si confonde con il paesaggio.
Il mattone rappresenta il materiale di coesione: è complementare agli edifici più caratteristici del *campus* centrale, è utilizzato negli elementi di raccordo tra la Biblioteca originaria e l'ampliamento e delimita i confini del sito. Il volume dell'edificio si presenta come un basamento sviluppato su un unico piano, rivestito di pannelli di cemento prefabbricato. I pannelli, progettati come una serie di scansioni verticali, contrastano con l'orizzontalità della struttura originaria.
Le pareti verticali del terrapieno sono contrappuntate da doccioni di acciaio, ripresi nei canali di cemento che solcano il riporto di terra sottostante. Un reticolato di acciaio, ricoperto di vegetazione, maschera discretamente il fronte su Gayley Avenue, attenuando l'impatto del fronte meridionale dell'ampliamento e riportandolo alla scala pedonale.
Si tratta di un progetto che considera l'edificio come paesaggio. Il tempo rappresenta un fattore importante: crescendo, la vegetazione coprirà l'ampliamento enfatizzando la distinzione tra un elemento e l'altro. Inoltre, risulterà rafforzata la percezione del basamento come elemento di raccordo lungo il confine ovest del *campus*.

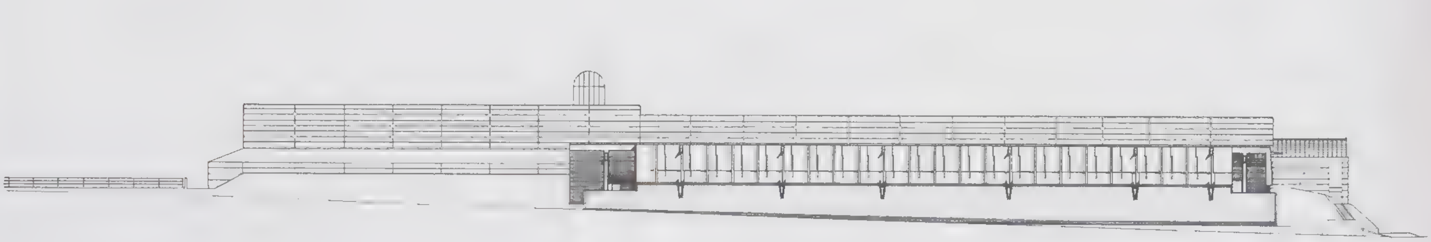
Southern Regional Library, UCLA,
Los Angeles, California
Franklin D. Israel

The Southern Regional Library Project at UCLA is situated on the western edge of the UCLA campus adjacent to the residential community of Veteran and Gayley Avenues.
Sunk into the earth, our addition forms a base block to the original structure. The building volume is further concealed by an earth berm sloping up from Veteran Avenue. Together, the berm and the building create a terrace on which the original Library rests. Brick, concrete and metal are combined to create a building which blends into the landscape.
Brick is the linking material. It complements the more formal buildings of center campus, articulates the joints between the original Library and our addition and outlines the edges of the site. The building mass presents itself as a one-storey plinth clad in precast concrete panels. Designed as a series of vertical subdivisions, these panels contrast with the horizontality of the original structure.
Steel scuppers scribed in the vertical walls of the terrace are echoed by concrete channels which cut into the earth berm below. A steel trellis covered with foliage softly veils the Gayley Avenue elevation, breaking the mass of the addition's southern edge and giving it a pedestrian scale.
This project is a building as landscape. Time is an important factor: as the foliage grows and covers the addition, the delineation of individual elements will be emphasized and the sense of the base block as a buffer for the western edge of the campus will be augmented.





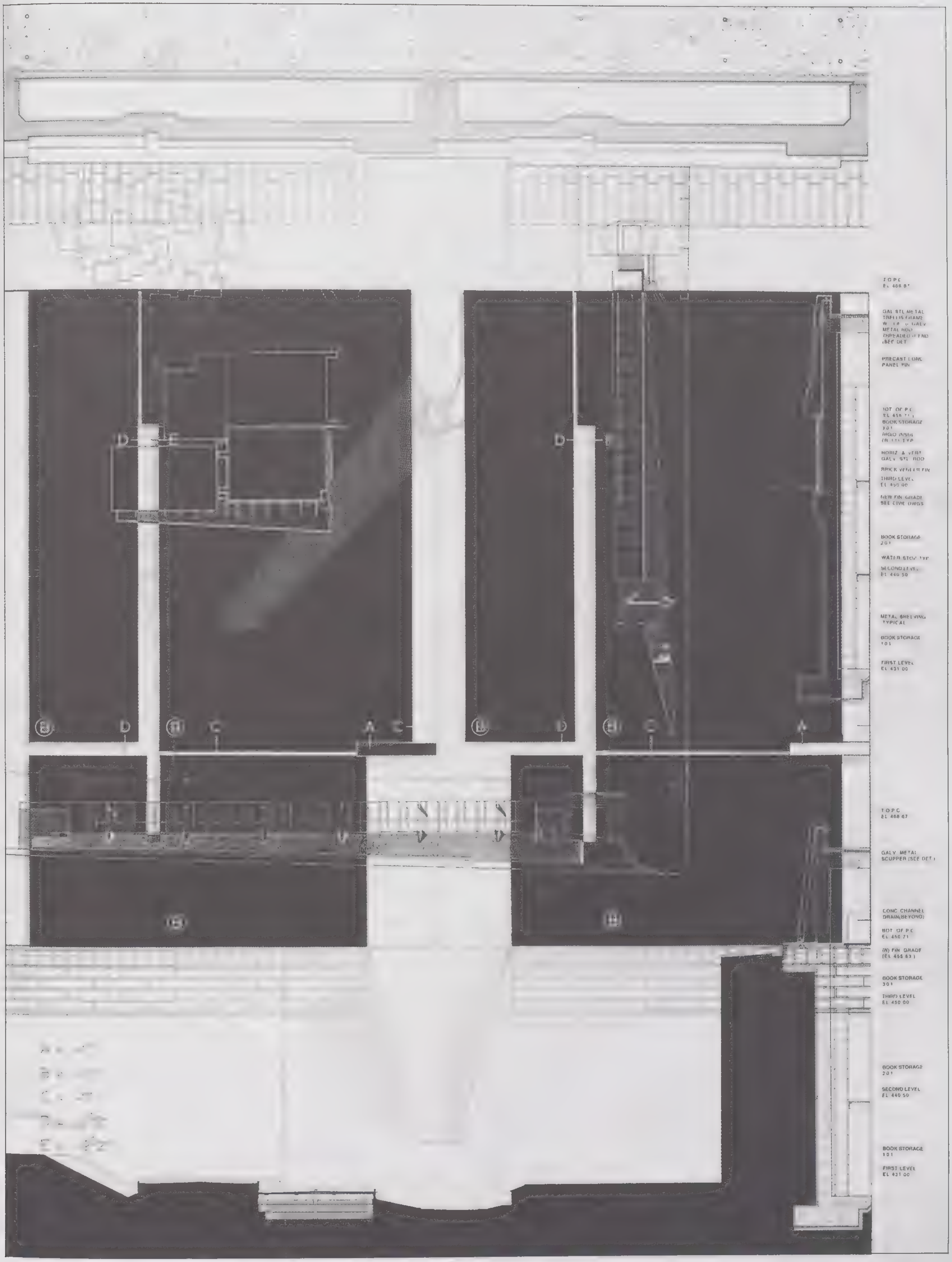
SOUTH ELEVATION



WEST ELEVATION

Southern Regional Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1991.
Assonometria da sudovest, prospetti sud e ovest.
Tavola d'insieme con planimetria generale, prospetti, sezioni e dettagli costruttivi.

Southern Regional Library, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1991.
Axonometric from the southwest, south and west elevations.
General table with general plan, elevations, sections and construction details.



PRECAST CONC
PANEL FIN
BOOK STORAGE
HORIZ & VERT
THIRD LEVEL
EL 450 00
BOOK STORAGE
201
SECOND LEVEL
EL 440 50
METAL SHELVING
TYPICAL
BOOK STORAGE
101
FIRST LEVEL
EL 431 00
TOPC
EL 468 67
GALV METAL
CONC CHANNEL
DRAIN(BEYOND)
BOOK STORAGE
301
THIRD LEVEL
EL 450 00
BOOK STORAGE
201
SECOND LEVEL
EL 440 50
BOOK STORAGE
101
FIRST LEVEL
EL 431 00



Asilo infantile, Los Angeles, 1987-88.
Vista del modello e planivolumetria.

Nursey School, Los Angeles, 1987-88.
View of model and volumetric plan.

Panos Koulermos

Nursery School, Los Angeles, California, 1987-88
Panos Koulermos
coll.: Douglas Sung; Douglas Sung and John Tong Cheng (model); Marcella Aquilar (computer drawing)

Competition for the West Hollywood City Hall, Los Angeles, California, 1987
Panos Koulermos
coll.: Maria Warner; Alec Zarifian (model)



Asilo infantile, Los Angeles, California
Panos Koulermos

Spesso gli asili sono costruiti in base a tipologie normalmente destinate a scuole per ragazzi di età superiore o adulti. Per questo il nostro progetto si propone di soddisfare le esigenze comportamentali del bambino, fondandosi sull'idea di una minicittà all'interno di un muro perimetrale permeabile che racchiude edifici tra loro simili ma diversificati, dove il bambino riconosca il proprio territorio e si senta al sicuro. Un concetto spaziale elementare nel quale le strutture si prestano a un uso creativo per attività individuali o di gruppo. Il passaggio tra i diversi livelli è facilitato da rampe e ponti che collegano le rotonde alla quota alta del muro perimetrale: i bambini possono così guardare "il mondo esterno" da una postazione sicura e privilegiata. Le coperture delle tre rotonde sono in relazione con gli elementi naturali: il vento, il cielo, il sole. La rotonda del vento è sormontata da un traliccio cubico di metallo nel quale due piani circolari intersecantesi a 90 gradi ruotano su un perno come un gigantesco *mobile*. Il tetto di metallo della seconda rotonda si può aprire come le ali di un uccello per guardare il cielo e lasciare entrare il sole, mentre la terza ha una copertura vetrata sulla quale una meridiana consente ai bambini di osservare il movimento del sole e il trascorrere del tempo.

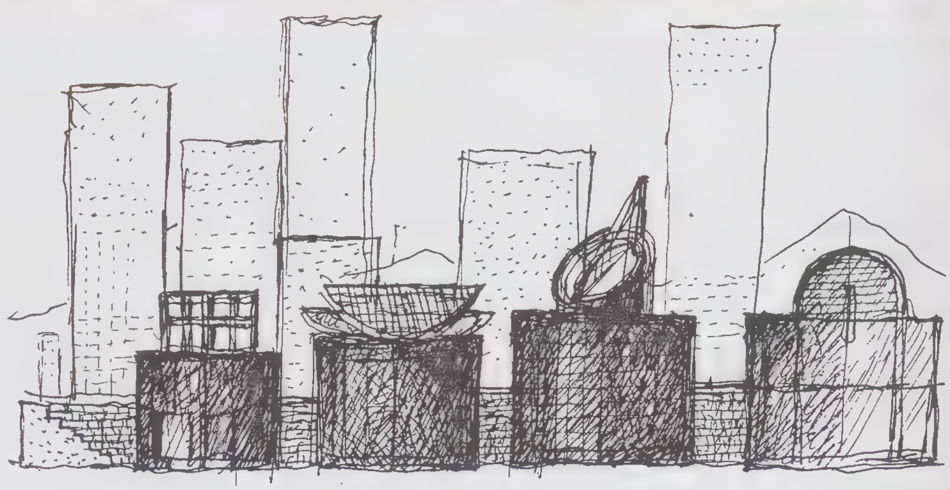
Nursery School, Los Angeles, California
Panos Koulermos

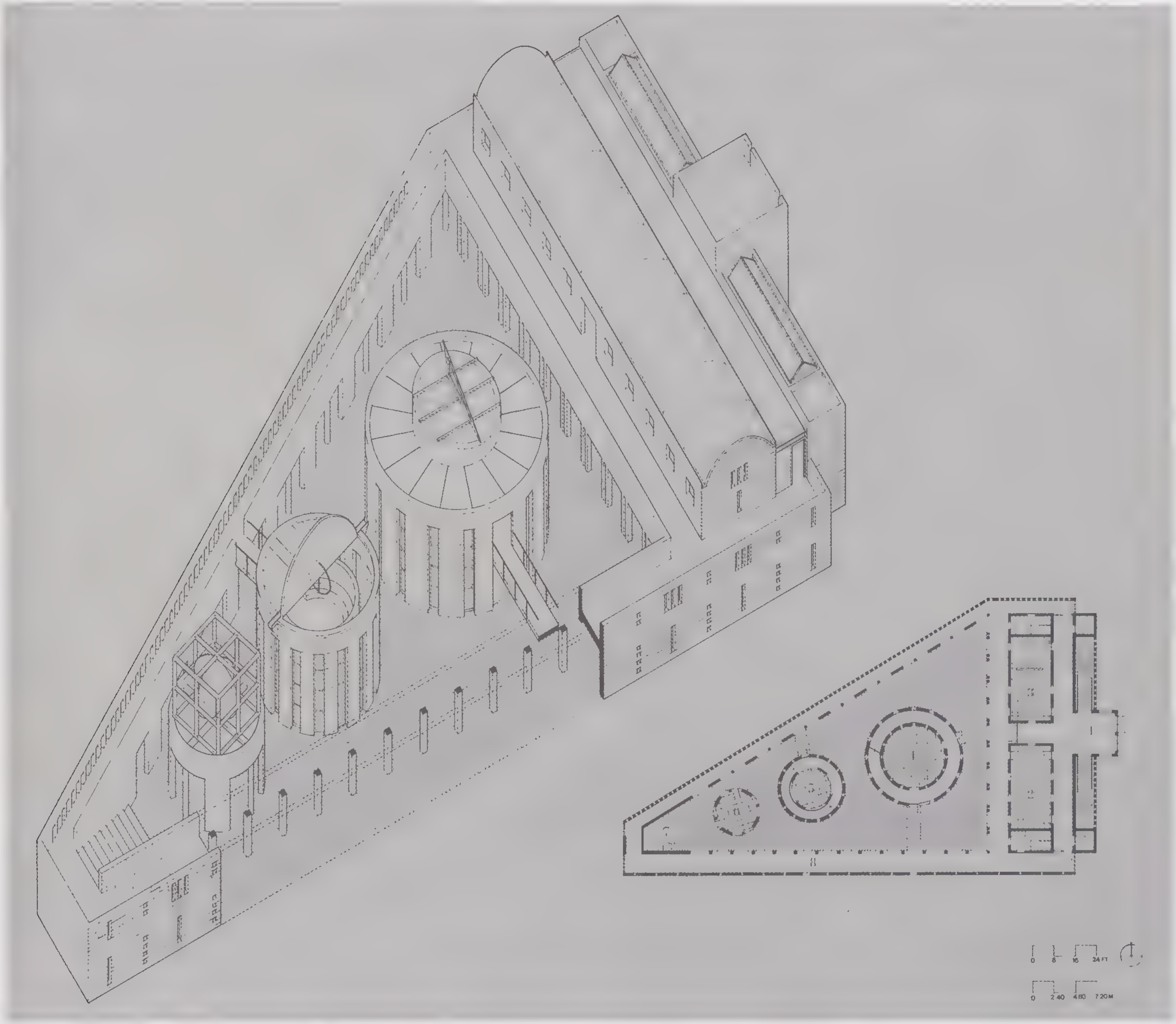
Nursery schools are often based on building typologies for schools for older children and often adults. This approach to nursery buildings seems rather inappropriate and insensitive. For this reason our proposal suggests an alternative idea which tries to address the needs and behavioral demands of the child. The overall concept is based on the idea of a mini city within a perforated perimeter wall where the buildings are similar though diversified to establish the child's territory and safety – in other words, they supply an elemental spatial concept easily understood and identified by children. In addition, the use of these structures generates joyful group and individual activities. The movement from one level to the next is facilitated by ramps – the second level of the rotundas is connected by bridges to the roof of the perimeter wall, allowing the child to view the "outside world" from a safe and privileged position all around.
The roofs of the three towers relate to the natural elements: the wind, the sky and the sun. The wind tower has been provided with a metal cube case into which two circular, vertically pivoted planes intersected at 90°, will rotate in the wind like a giant mobile. The metal roof of the second cylinder can open like the wings of a bird to reveal the sky and let the sun in. The third with its glass roof will allow children to view the sundial placed above it, observe the movement of the sun and experience the passing of time.

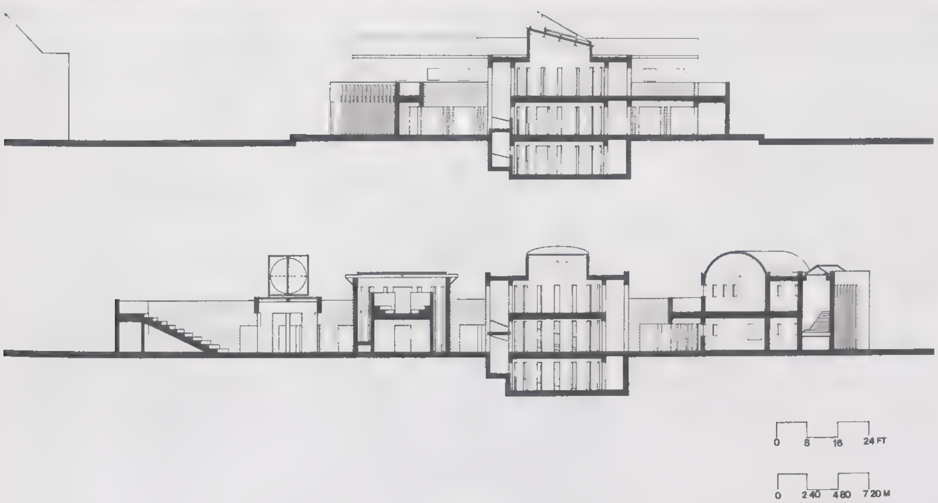




Asilo infantile, Los Angeles, 1987-88.
Viste del modello, assonometria e pianta del piano terreno: 1) ingresso; 2) amministrazione; 3) cucina e refettorio; 4) rotonda della meridiana (attività di gruppo e di gioco); 5) rotonda del cielo (attività di gruppo e di gioco); 6) rotonda del vento (riunione); 7) teatro; 8) portico perimetrale.
Schizzo di studio, sezione trasversale sulla rotonda della meridiana e sezione longitudinale.

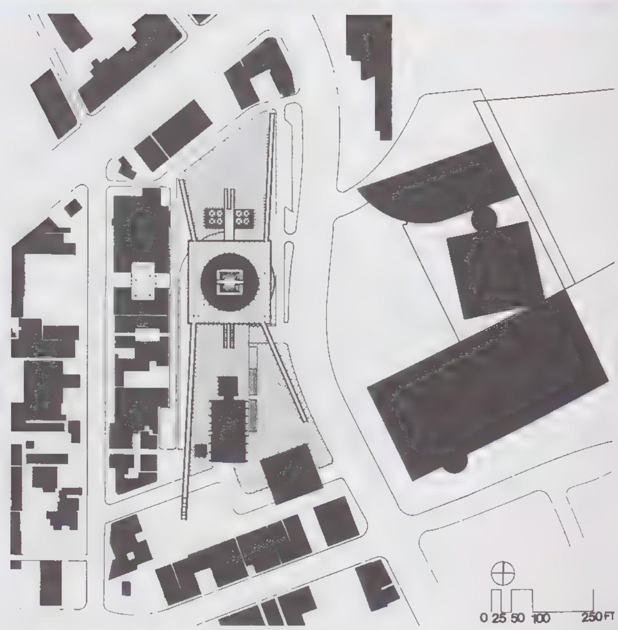






Nursery School, Los Angeles, 1987-88. Views of model, axonometric and ground-floor plan: 1) main entry; 2) administration/teachers' lounge; 3) kitchen and dining area; 4) sun-dial rotunda (group activities and play area); 5) sky rotunda (group activities and play area); 6) wind-mobile rotunda (gathering); 7) amphitheater; 8) perimeter portico.
Study sketch, cross-section on sun-dial rotunda and longitudinal section.




0 25 50 100 250 FT

Concorso per il Municipio di West Hollywood, Los Angeles, California
Panos Koulermos

Il complesso è informato all'idea di una città che aspira a generare un senso di luogo, e si propone di divenire un ambiente di lavoro piacevole e un simbolo per la regione. Rapportandosi al contesto generale e alle colline di Hollywood, l'intervento si distribuisce lungo l'asse nord-sud del sito perpendicolarmente alle colline, formando piazze a livelli diversi, giardini, zone di sosta, scalinate e rampe con negozi e studi sottostanti. Gli uffici del Municipio sono in un edificio a pianta circolare con un atrio vuoto a tutta altezza, che domina la piazza sopraelevata. La Sala del Consiglio è un cubo alla sommità del grande atrio centrale, sulla cui copertura è previsto un anfiteatro all'aperto destinato a incontri del Consiglio e della comunità. Questi luoghi, spazi e forme, che richiamano diverse culture (americana, europea, messicana, centroamericana), nascono dall'intenzione di generare un'esperienza insolita e piacevole, un vero e proprio spazio civico capace di agire da catalizzatore in un'area con grande necessità di simili interventi. L'edificio è in cemento armato, mentre le pareti della rotonda centrale sono una combinazione di pannelli di marmo e vetro. I principali rivestimenti di piazze e terrazze sopraelevate sono di pietra e marmo.

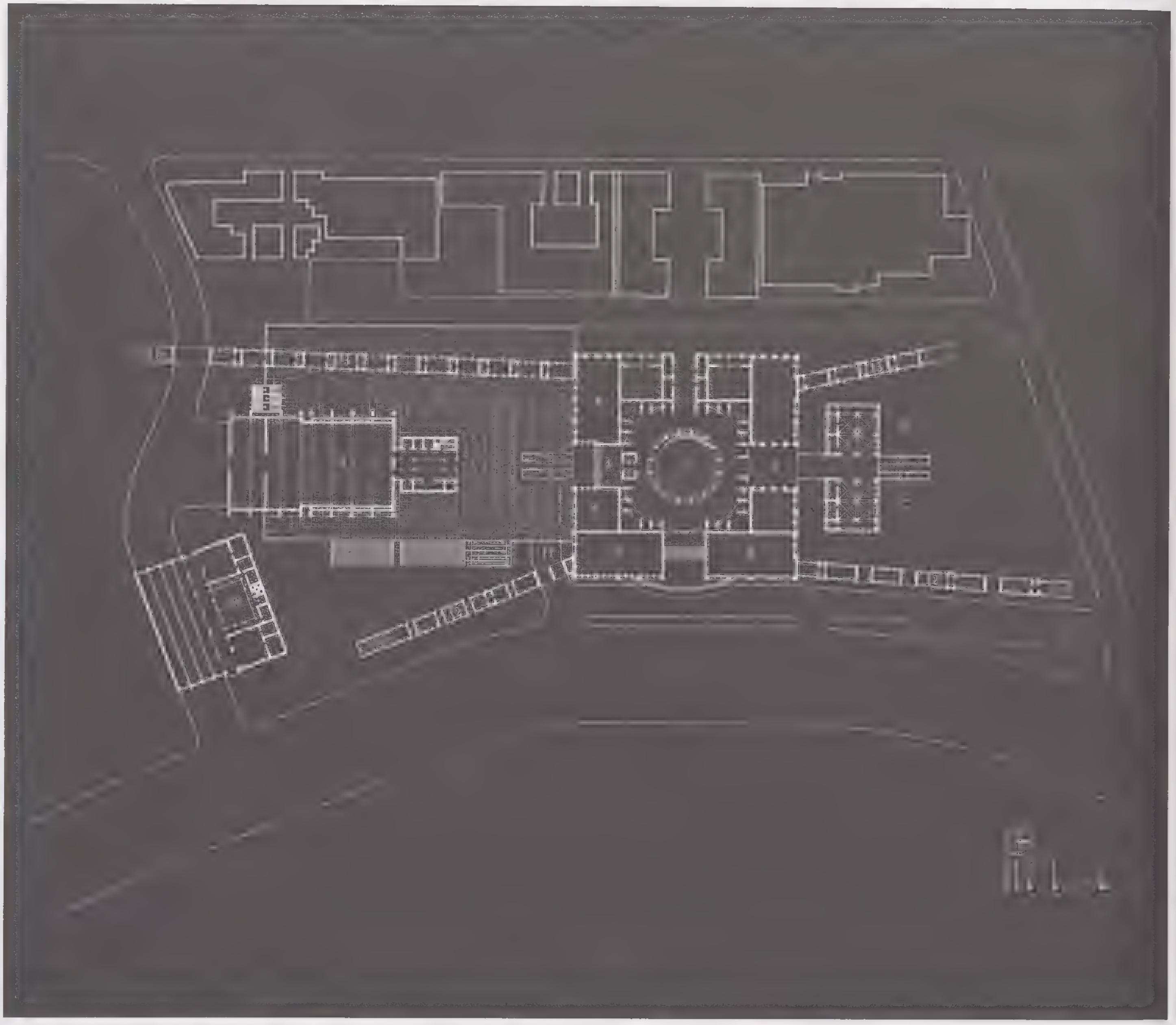
Competition for the West Hollywood City Hall, Los Angeles, California
Panos Koulermos

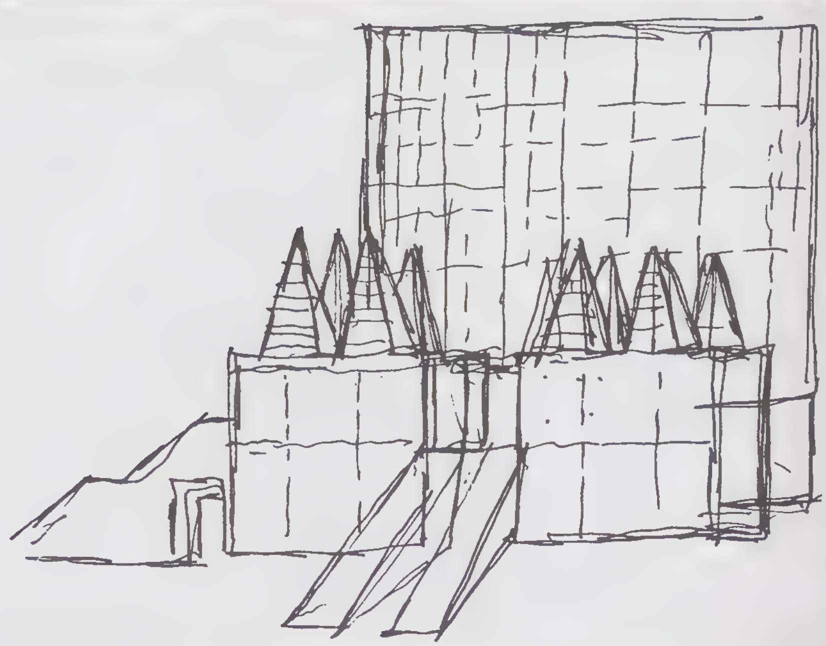
The complex is based on the idea of a city that seeks to generate a sense of place, create a pleasant working environment and become a symbol for the region. Relating to the general context and the Hollywood Hills, with their strong forms, the center is organized along the north-south axis of the site and perpendicular to the hills, providing plazas at different levels, gardens, recreation areas, steps and ramps with shops and studios underneath. The offices of the City Hall are organized in an atrium rotunda building rising above the elevated plaza. The Council Chamber is a cube over the atrium of the rotunda – an open-air amphitheater has been placed on the roof to be used for meetings by the Council and the community. These places, spaces and forms with their cross-cultural references (American – European – Mexican – Central American) were provided to make the civic center a pleasant, varied place to be in – a really civic place – that also acts as a catalyst in an area in great need of such public interventions. The building is in reinforced concrete throughout. The rotunda walls will be a combination of marble panels and glass. The primary cladding of the plazas and podium walls will be in stone and marble.

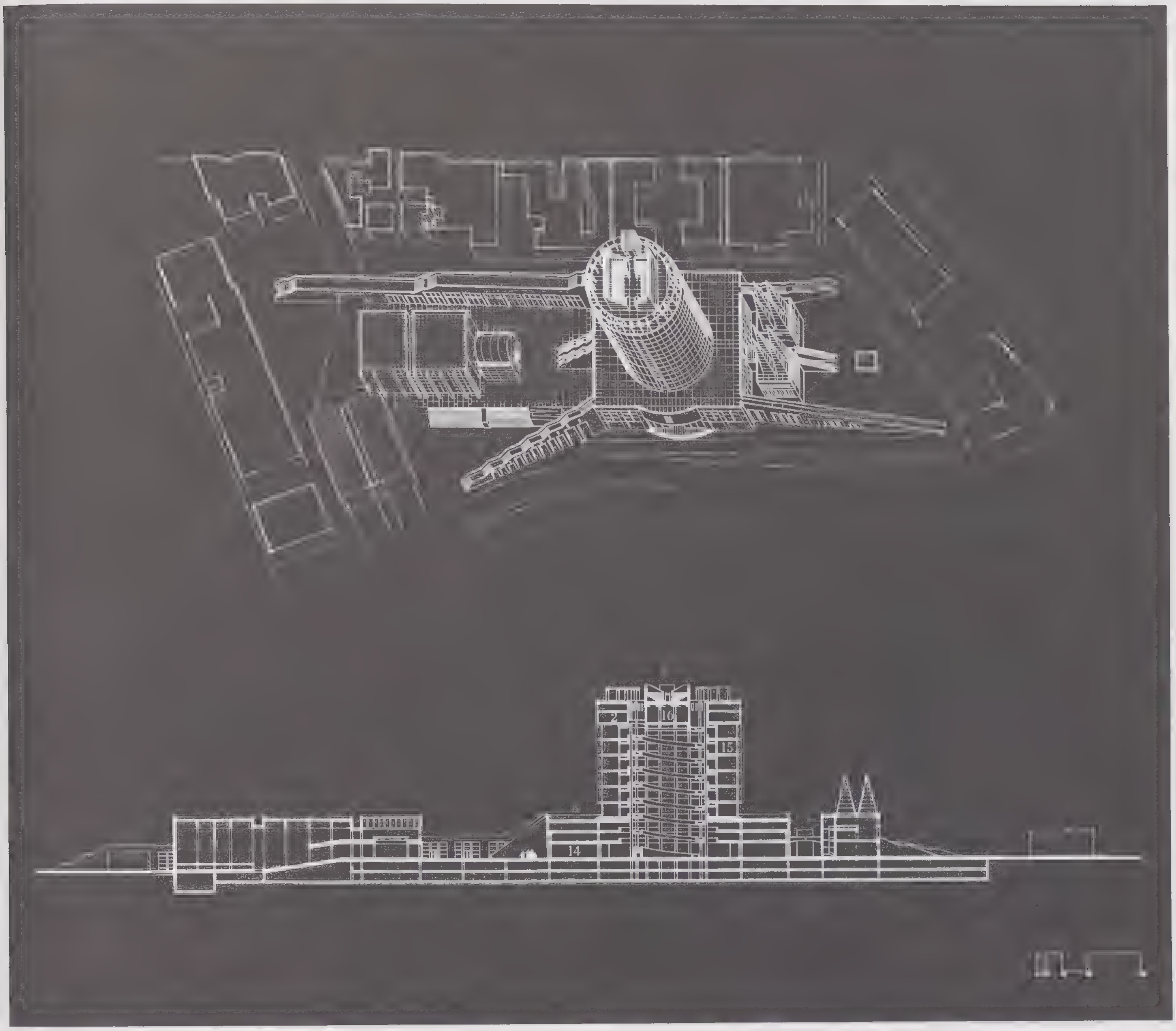


Concorso per il Municipio di West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1987. Viste del modello. Foto M. Warner. Planimetria.

Competition for the West Hollywood City Hall, Los Angeles, 1987. Views of model. Photos M. Warner. General plan.







Concorso per il Municipio di West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1987. Pianta del piano terreno, assonometria e sezione longitudinale: 1) anfiteatro all'aperto sul tetto; 2) terrazza sul tetto; 3) terrazza del basamento; 4) ingresso al municipio; 5) atrio di ingresso e spazio espositivo; 6) caffé, negozi e ristorante; 7) biblioteca per bambini; 8) biblioteca; 9) auditorium; 10) stazione dei pompieri; 11) ingresso al parcheggio; 12) piccoli negozi sotto alle scalinate; 13) studi per artisti sotto alle scalinate; 14) parcheggio; 15) uffici; 16) sala del consiglio. Schizzo di studio.

Competition for the West Hollywood City Hall, Los Angeles, 1987. Ground-floor plan, axonometric and longitudinal section: 1) roof amphitheater; 2) roof terrace; 3) podium terrace; 4) entrance to City Hall and offices; 5) main entrance, lobby and exhibition space under the rotunda; 6) coffee shops and restaurant; 7) children's library; 8) adults' library; 9) auditorium; 10) fire station; 11) entrance to parking; 12) small shops under stairs; 13) artists' studios; 14) parking; 15) rotunda City Hall office; 16) council chamber. Study sketch.



Thom Mayne, Morphosis

Yuzen Vintage Car Museum, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, California, 1992
Thom Mayne (Principal)
con/with: John Enright (Project Architect)

Science Museum School , Los Angeles, California, 1992
Thom Mayne (Principal)
con/with: John Enright (Project Architect)

Museo Yuzen d'auto d'epoca,
West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1992.
Vista del modello.
Foto T. Bonner.

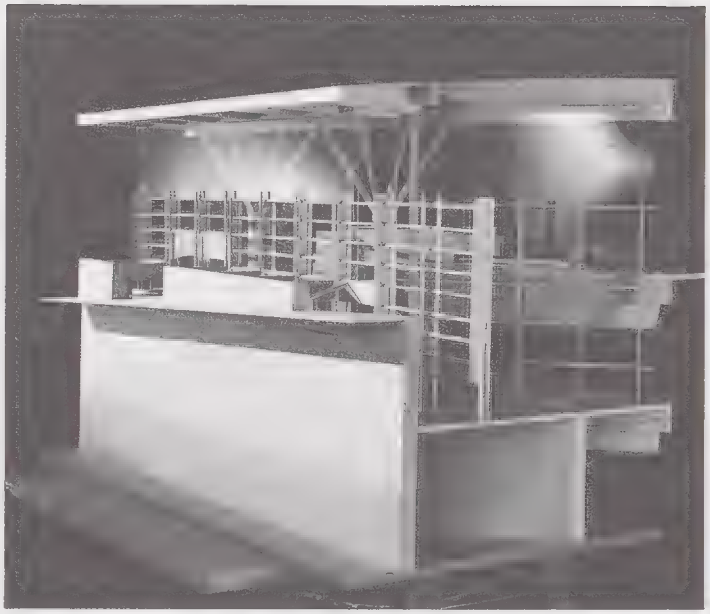
Yuzen Vintage Car Museum,
West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1992.
View of model.
Photo T. Bonner.

Museo Yuzen di auto d'epoca, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, California
Thom Mayne, Morphosis

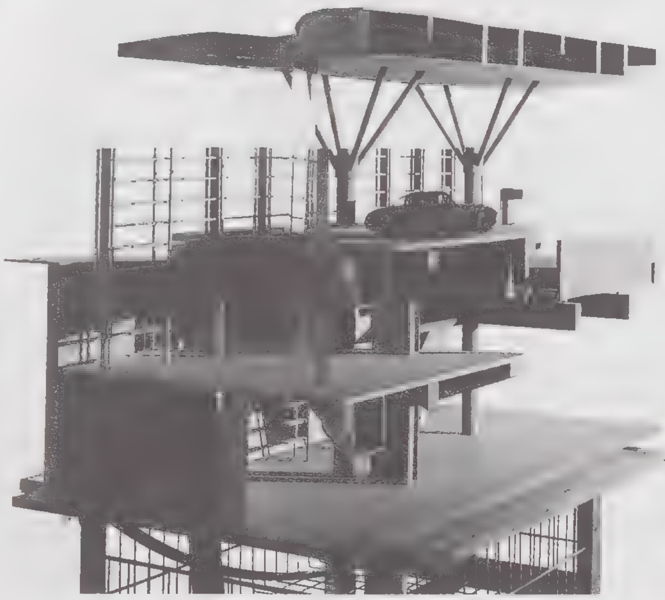
Il sito del progetto, a Hollywood in California, confina a nord con Sunset Boulevard, a est e a ovest con due strade residenziali minori e a sud con un lotto limitrofo su cui sorgono due condomini. Tra l'angolo nordovest e quello sudest esiste un dislivello di m. 10. Il progetto concerne l'esposizione della collezione del Museo composta da circa 60 automobili d'epoca per un totale di mq. 10.000 di superficie. Sono inoltre previsti un ristorante di mq. 2000 al terzo piano, un bar di mq. 1500 al primo piano, mq. 7000 di spazi vendita, mq. 2800 di uffici, mq. 55.000 di parcheggio sotterraneo e tre corpi residenziali di mq. 1650.
L'accesso dei veicoli al sito è previsto tramite una strada a senso unico che parte da Hilldale Avenue a est della proprietà. Superato il Museo, i veicoli scendono al parcheggio e durante questa discesa, attraverso le aperture della parete curva, possono cogliere alcuni scorci degli interni del Museo. L'uscita avviene attraverso la stessa rampa. Automobili d'epoca e persone sono servite da un ascensore formato da due cabine collegate da una trave di circa m. 20. La cabina inferiore è destinata sia al trasporto delle auto dal deposito ai piani del Museo che a quello dei visitatori internamente al Museo. La cabina superiore viene invece utilizzata come spazio espositivo temporaneo per le auto d'epoca. Questa cabina, dato l'uso quotidiano dell'altra, diventa una specie di segnale cinetico dell'edificio, muovendosi sopra il tetto in sincronia con la cabina inferiore.
Al primo piano del Museo una piattaforma mobile laterale permette alle auto di venire qui collocate contemporaneamente alla esposizione di auto speciali. L'accesso principale al sito è da nord su Sunset Boulevard. L'ingresso pedonale al Museo e agli spazi vendita è direttamente al livello della strada. Un cortile su Sunset Boulevard serve come spazio pubblico all'aperto e come via di accesso al primo e al secondo piano tramite delle scale e una coppia di ascensori. Questi due ascensori collegano i piani del parcheggio sotterraneo e permettono l'accesso al piano d'ingresso, al primo e al secondo piano direttamente dall'esterno.
L'ingresso da Sunset Boulevard conduce i pedoni a un piano intermedio del Museo da dove una mezza rampa di scale porta al secondo piano e un'altra conduce al sottostante bar e al piano d'ingresso, situato circa m. 7 sotto il livello della strada. L'ascensore per auto e passeggeri serve anche come piano d'ingresso permettendo l'accesso da nord e da sud della cabina. Pareti di sostegno di c.a. in opera, pilastri, pavimenti e pareti con una copertura a volta con travatura di acciaio costituiscono la struttura principale. Esternamente i materiali principali sono rame piombato in copertura, acciaio e alluminio per le finestre e pietra per i pavimenti.

Yuzen Vintage Car Museum, West Hollywood, Los Angeles, California
Thom Mayne, Morphosis

The site in Hollywood, California is bounded by Sunset Boulevard to the north, two smaller residential streets to the east and west, and an adjoining property to the south with two apartment buildings. The site slopes thirty feet from the northwest corner down to the southeast corner.
The project focuses the Yuzen Vintage Car Museum which displays around 60 automobiles over approximately 30,00 sq. ft. Other functions include a 6,000 sq. ft. restaurant on the third floor, a 4,500 sq. ft. indoor cafe on the first floor, 20,600 sq. ft. of retail space, 8,600 sq. ft. of office space, 163,000 sq. ft. of subterranean parking and three housing units totalling 5,000 sq. ft.
Vehicle access is by a one-way driveway from Hilldale Avenue on the east side of the property. Vehicles travel past the museum, getting glimpses through openings in the curved wall while descending to the parking levels. The same ramp serves as the exit. Vintage automobiles are serviced by the auto/passenger elevator split into two cabs connected by a 60 ft. high truss. The lower cab carries automobiles from the storage areas to the museum floors as well as passengers internally to the museum floors. The upper cab is used as an interchangeable display for vintage cars. With the daily use of the passenger elevator, the display cab becomes a kind of kinetic sign for the building, moving above the roof line in sync with the lower cab.
A laterally moving platform allows automobiles to be positioned along the second level of the museum while displaying special automobiles. Primary access to the site is from the north along Sunset Boulevard. Pedestrians have access to the museum and retail areas directly from street level. A court off the boulevard serves as open public space and gives access to the second and third floors by stairs and a pair of elevators. These two passenger and auto elevators serve the parking levels and allow direct exterior access to the first, second and third floors.
Entry from Sunset Boulevard brings pedestrians to the mid-level of the museum. Stairs lead patrons a half level up to the second floor and a half level down to the cafe, and subsequently down to the main level at the sub-grade floor twenty feet below grade. The auto/passenger elevator also serves the entry level and allows access from the north and south of the cab.
Cast-in-place concrete retaining walls, columns, floors and sheer walls with a steel trussed vaulted roof constitute the main structure. Lead-coated copper roofing, aluminium and steel glazing systems and stone flooring comprise the major exterior materials.



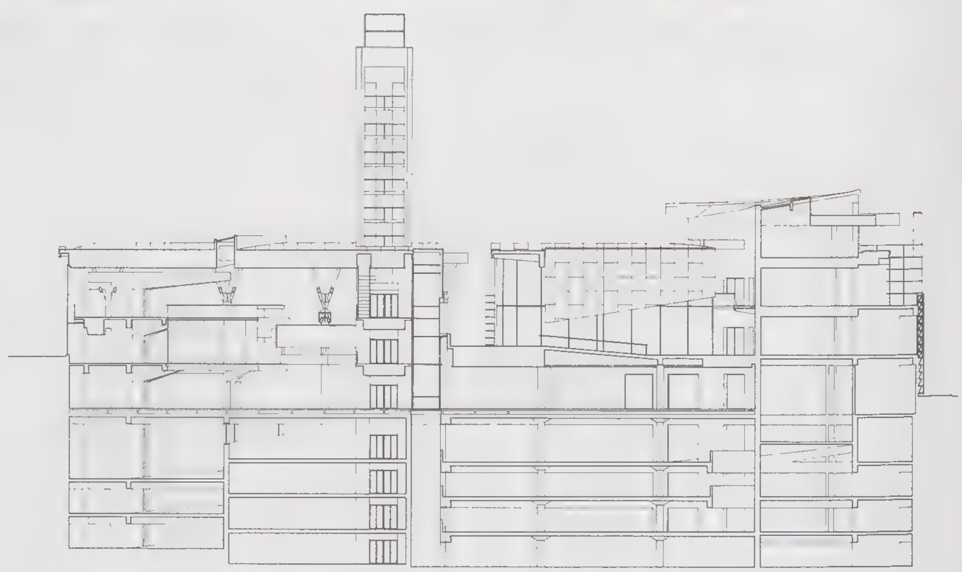


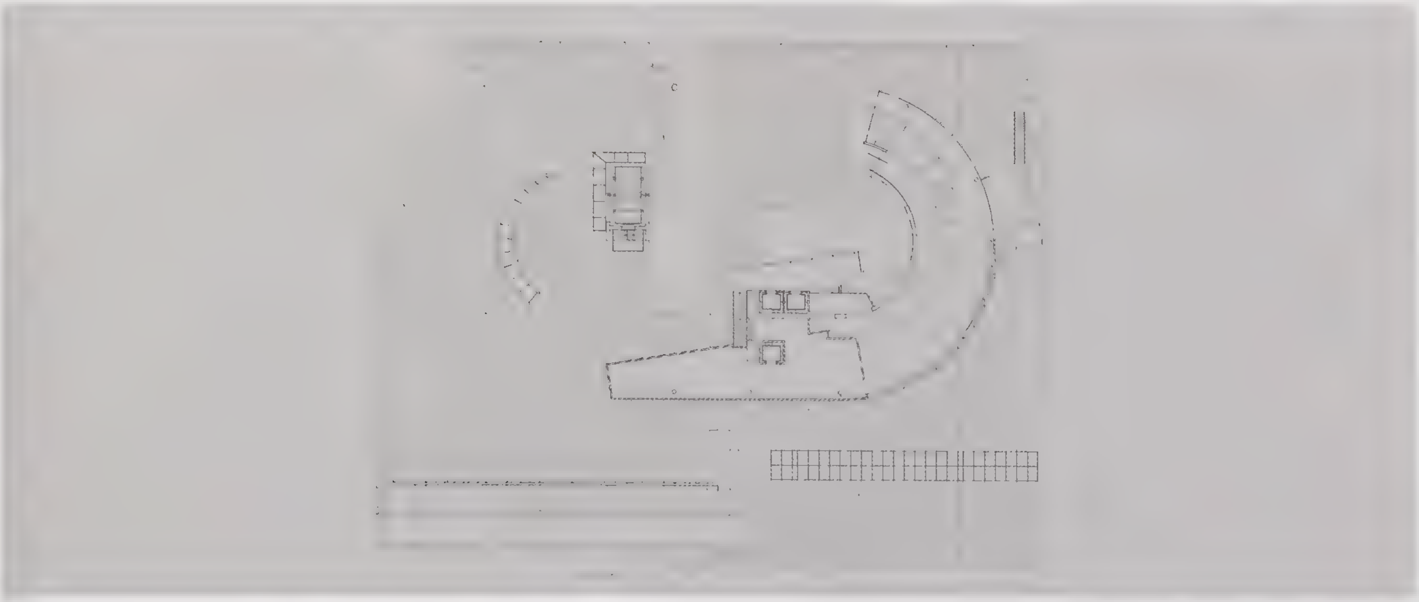


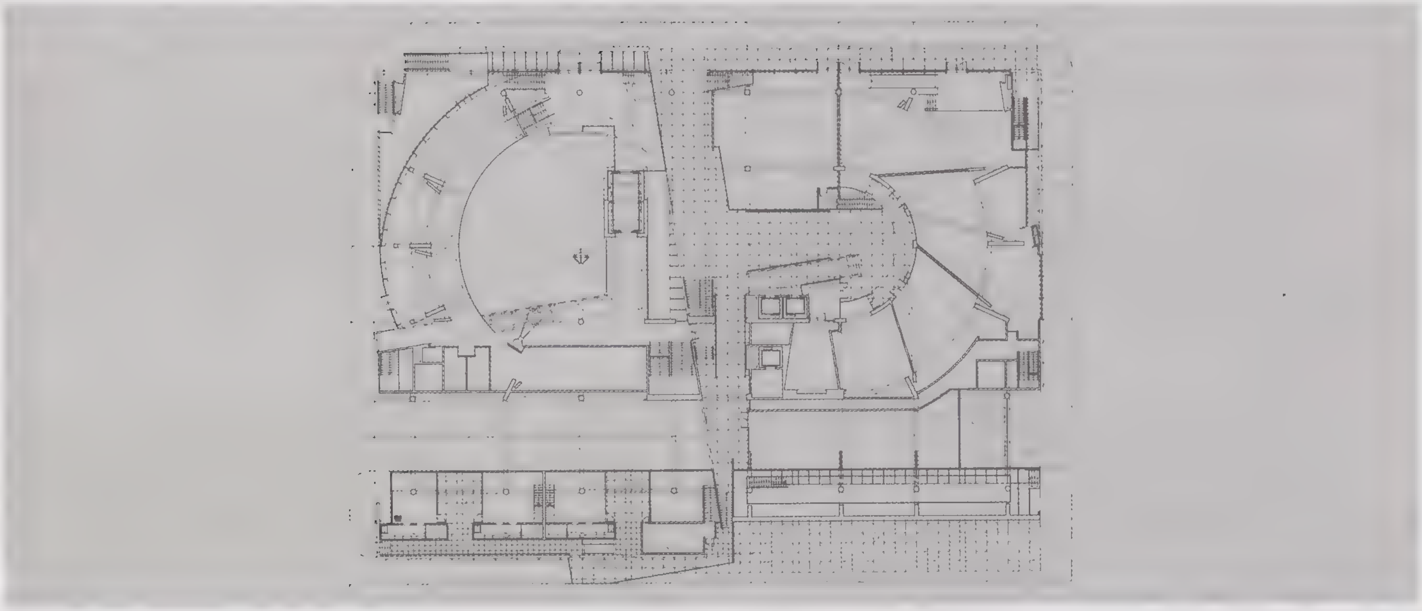


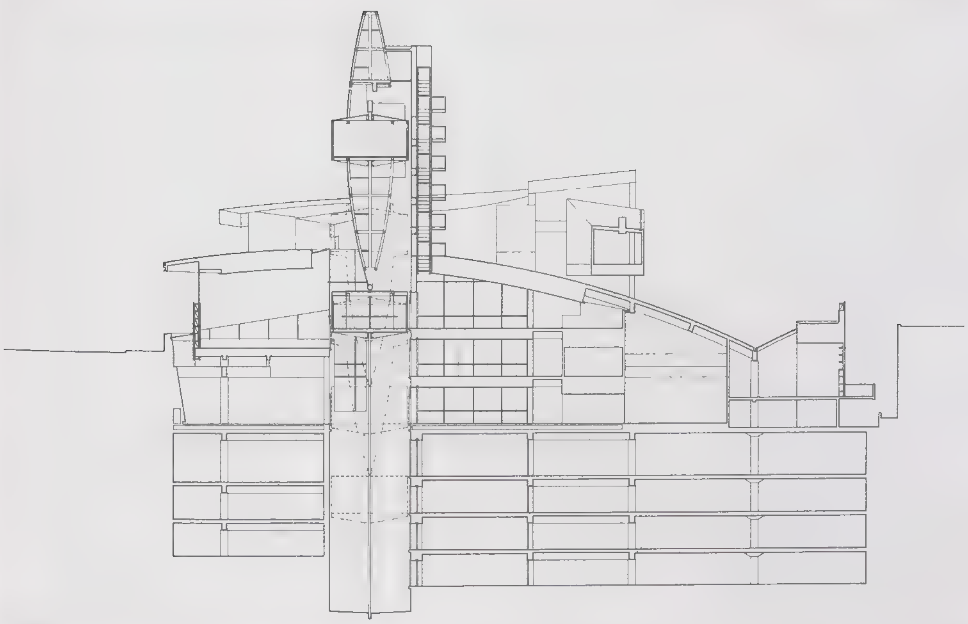
Museo Yuzen d'auto d'epoca,
West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1992.
Viste del modello di dettaglio
e del modello d'insieme.
Foto T. Bonner.
Piante dei piani primo e terzo.
Sezioni longitudinale e trasversale.

Yuzen Vintage Car Museum,
West Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1992.
Views of detailed model
and general model.
Photos T. Bonner.
Plans of first and third floors.
Longitudinal and cross sections.







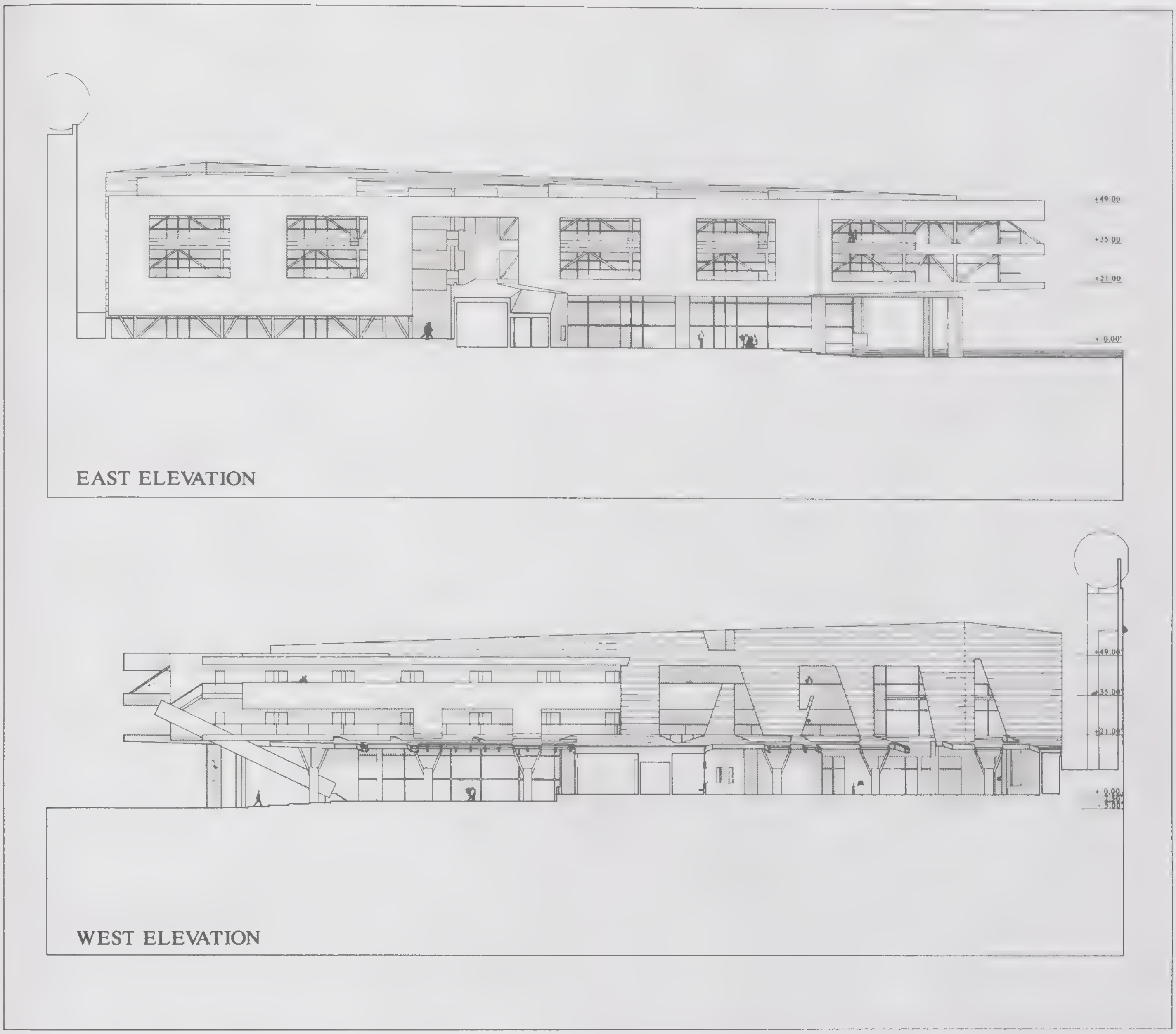


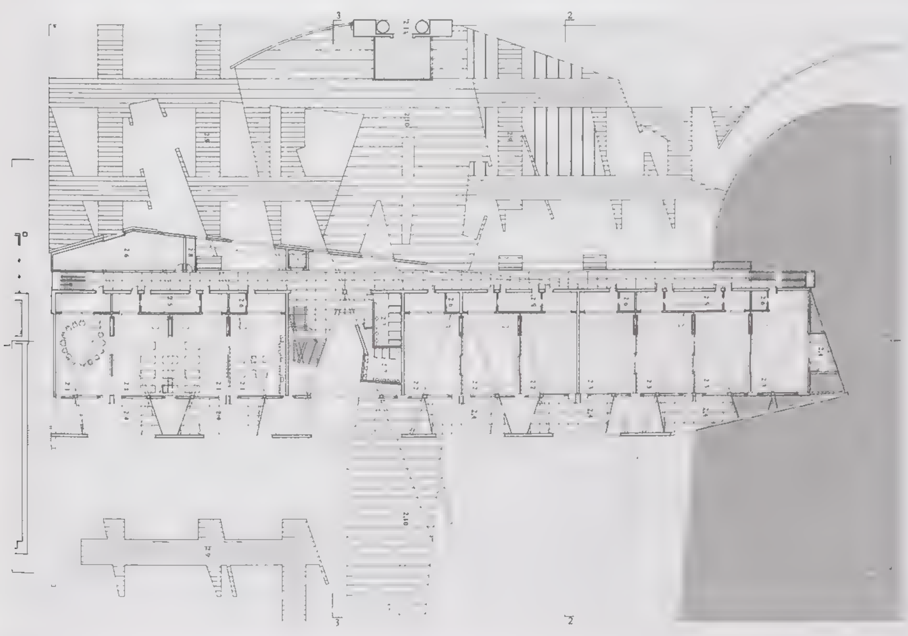
Scuola del Museo Scientifico, Los Angeles, California
Thom Mayne, Morphosis

Il progetto della Scuola del Museo Scientifico al Parco delle Esposizioni offre l'opportunità di caratterizzare il progetto di un'istituzione didattica con un'architettura capace di comunicare particolari idee che diventano interattive con il processo educativo. Partendo da questa considerazione, abbiamo cercato di integrare un'idea tecnologica alle relazioni che essa stabilisce con l'edificio, la natura, la storia in un contesto unitario. Il preesistente terreno del Parco delle Esposizioni (il Giardino delle Rose) nel *campus* dell'University of Southern California offre l'opportunità di integrare direttamente questo paesaggio all'idea organizzativa di base dell'edificio. Dato il difficile ambiente dell'area del *downtown* di Los Angeles, l'edificio è stato deliberatamente organizzato in modo che la scuola si senta realmente collegata al Giardino delle Rose. Gli studenti arrivano in una "scuola in giardino" e non in una "scuola in città". Passando da una classe all'altra l'attenzione cade sul Giardino delle Rose creando un'atmosfera contemplativa.
Il lungo edificio principale è parallelo a Figueroa Street e perpendicolare al Museo Aerospaziale, formando a est e a ovest due facciate differenti e a nord un'area ricreativa di forma romboidale. Sul lato est è stato realizzato un fronte di maggior rappresentanza, mentre un'estensione concettuale del Giardino delle Rose, composta da un pergolato e da una copertura, si estende attraverso il sito e verso l'edificio, creando un'area verde più informale tra il *campus* e la scuola. L'area con il pergolato copre il prato, progettato come luogo dove gli studenti possono pranzare all'aperto, e il campo giochi dell'asilo.
Al piano terreno si trovano l'asilo e tutte le aree pubbliche collegate con la *hall* centrale di ingresso. Tutte le classi tranne quelle dell'asilo sono situate al primo e al secondo piano dell'edificio. L'aula multifunzionale si protende verso est nel campo giochi e si apre verso ovest sulla zona pranzo all'aperto degli studenti. Questa configurazione prosegue nell'area giochi principale, che si duplica come un anfiteatro per accogliere attività programmate e non. Amministrazione e segreteria sono collocate al centro dell'edificio principale. Il centro dei *media*, collegato con la zona dell'Amministrazione, occupa l'area direttamente dietro il preesistente Armory Portico, edificio conservato e incorporato in quello nuovo per ribadire agli studenti l'importanza di costruire sul nostro passato. La biblioteca ha un cortile di lettura privato che consentirà in futuro un migliore collegamento con il Joint Shared Resources Center. Le aree di insegnamento all'aperto, previste sui balconi a est, creano uno schermo frangisole per le classi. Le aule di tècnologia si trovano al secondo piano come la sala di osservazione e lo spazio teatrale, con un palcoscenico che serve tanto l'interno che l'esterno.

Science Museum School, Los Angeles, California
Thom Mayne, Morphosis

The design for the Science Museum School at Exposition Park provides us with the opportunity to make a connection between the project as an educational institution and an architecture which can communicate specific ideas that become interactive with the process of education. Given this point of view, we were interested in integrating concepts of technology relating to building, nature and history in one cohesive environment. The existing landscape of Exposition Park (the Rose Garden) on the USC campus provides us with an opportunity to integrate this landscape directly into the basic organizational idea of the building. Given the tough environment of the downtown L.A. area, we deliberately organized the building so that the school actually feels like an adjunct to the Rose Garden. Students come to a "school in the garden", not a "school in the city". As you move from classroom to classroom your focus is on the Rose Garden. Visually and mentally this helps to create a contemplative atmosphere for the school population.
The main building is laid out in a linear manner parallel to Figueroa St., perpendicular to the existing Aerospace Museum, creating two different facades to the East and West while enabling a lozenge-shaped recreational field to occupy the north of the site. A more formal "front" is created to the East, while a conceptual extension of the Rose Garden made of trellis and roof extends through the site and up the building, creating a more informal "green" area between the campus and the school. The trellis areas hover over the student lunch garden and kindergarten play area.
The kindergarten and all public areas are on the first floor connected to a central lobby. All classrooms other than the kindergarten are located on the second and third floors. The multipurpose room extends into the play yard to the East and opens to the West into the student lunch area. This configuration then extends into the primary recreational field which doubles as an amphitheater to accommodate various programmed and unprogrammed activities. The Administration is placed centrally in the main building for maximum control, while the Media Center links with the Administration and occupies the area directly behind the existing Armory Portico. We chose to retain the Portico of the Armory building and incorporate it into the new building to drive home to students that we build on the foundation of our past. The Library has a private reading court which will also facilitate the future connection to the joint Shared Resources Center.
The outdoor teaching areas are on balconies to the East, creating a sun screen for the glazed areas of the classrooms. The technology module is located on the third floor with the observation room and the Performing Arts Module where a possible outdoor/indoor stage is located.

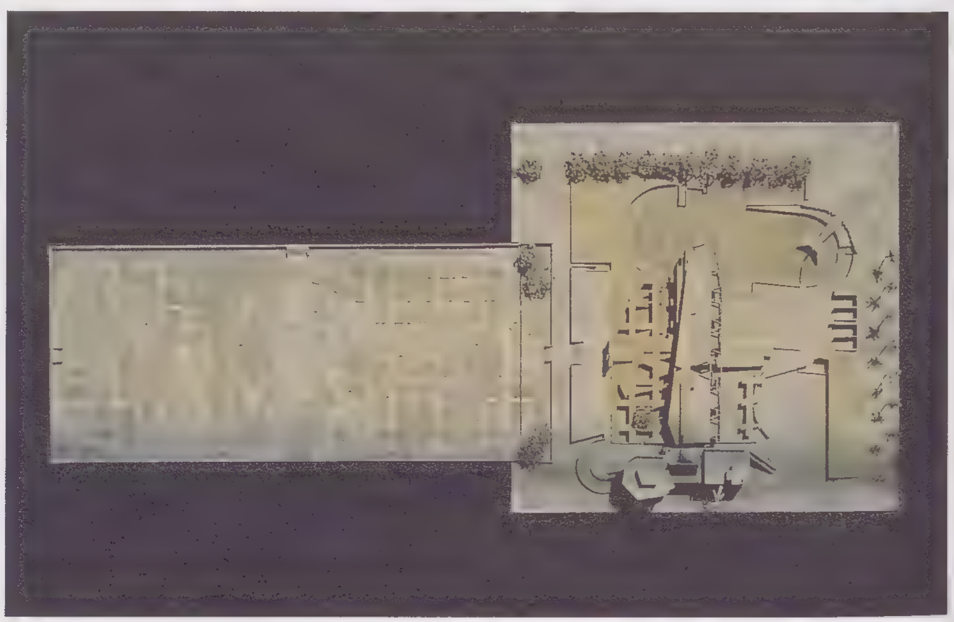




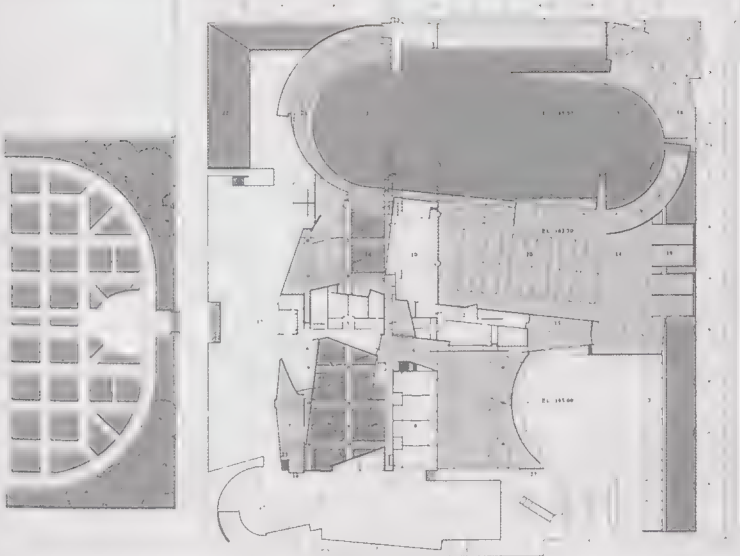
Scuola del Museo Scientifico, Los Angeles, 1992. Prospetti est e ovest e pianta del secondo piano.

Science Museum School, Los Angeles, 1992. East and west elevations and second-floor plan.









Scuola del Museo Scientifico,
Los Angeles, 1992.
Viste del modello da sudest,
da nordovest e zenitale.
Foto T. Bonner.
Planimetria.

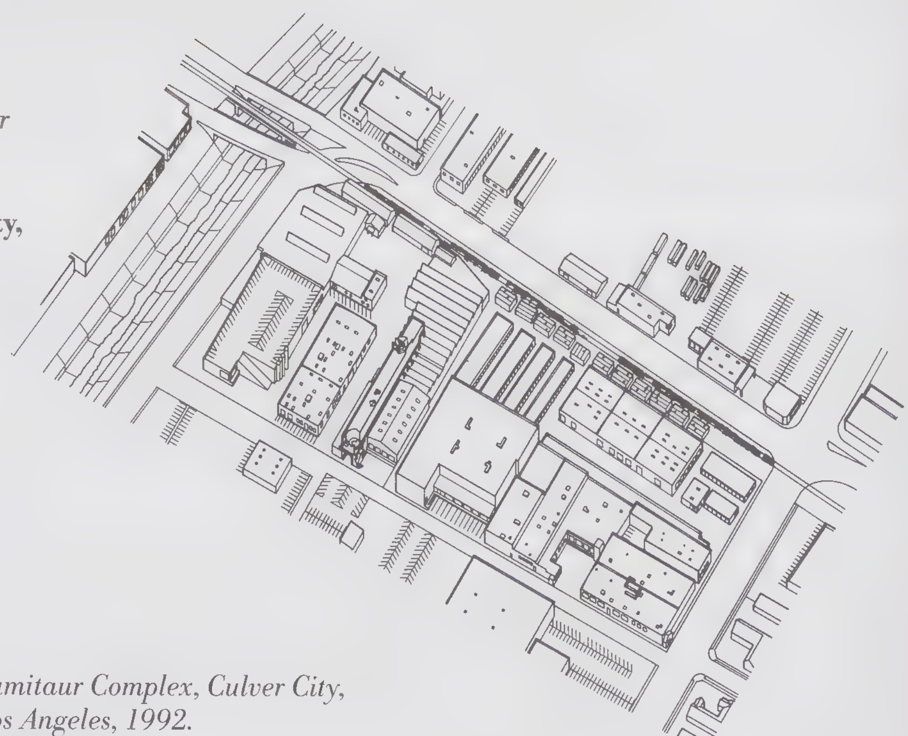
Science Museum School,
Los Angeles, 1992.
Views of model from the southeast,
northwest and above.
Photos T. Bonner.
General plan.



Eric Owen Moss

Samitaur Complex, Culver City,
Los Angeles, California, 1992
Eric Owen Moss (Principal)
con/with: Jay Vanos, Dennis Ige, Greg Baker
(Project Architects)

Hercules Theater and Offices, Culver City,
Los Angeles, California, 1993
Eric Owen Moss (Principal)
con/with: Nick Seierup, Scott M. Nakao
(Project Associates)



Edificio per uffici Samitaur,
Culver City, Los Angeles, 1992.
Vista del modello.
Foto T. Conversano.
Assonometria generale.

Samitaur Complex, Culver City,
Los Angeles, 1992.
View of model.
Photo T. Conversano.
General axonometric.

Edificio per uffici Samitaur, Culver City, Los Angeles, California
Eric Owen Moss

Il Samitaur è una costruzione per uffici su una strada del settore sudovest di Los Angeles, caratterizzata da una commistione di industrie e capannoni artigianali a uno o due piani degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta. Il sito è una strada privata che termina con un complesso di edifici a un piano con copertura a *shed* che ospitano uffici, locali per la preparazione alimentare, depositi e magazzini. Il nuovo blocco di uffici è sospeso su colonne circolari di acciaio per consentire l'accesso continuo di auto e autocarri ai magazzini al piano terreno e sarà collegato tramite scale e ascensore alle zone di produzione del vecchio capannone sottostante. Le colonne che sostengono il blocco degli uffici sono posizionate in modo da evitare porte di carico e scarico adiacenti alla strada di accesso. Al livello stradale, un rinforzo diagonale e cinque controventature rigide risolvono i problemi di spinta laterale. Le colonne sono connesse da travi in acciaio rastremate. Il nuovo primo piano è sollevato sopra la copertura dell'edificio esistente in modo che la luce naturale possa illuminare la strada coperta da est a ovest. In futuro è prevista la sostituzione delle attività industriali con esercizi commerciali e la trasformazione dell'area in zona pedonale. Un'altezza massima consentita di m. 14.60 limita l'edificio degli uffici a due piani oltre il piano terreno libero per il carico e lo scarico delle merci, mentre in larghezza le norme antincendio limitano la dimensione dell'edificio a quella della strada privata. L'accesso al tetto è solamente di servizio anche se la copertura, offrendo un panorama aperto in ogni direzione, diverrà probabilmente un luogo per riunioni d'ufficio informali.
L'essenzialità del blocco uffici presenta tre eccezioni. La prima è rappresentata da una sezione pseudoconica tagliata nel blocco lineare all'ingresso del traffico in arrivo all'imbocco della strada, formando un ponte esterno in corrispondenza di una scala all'aperto. La seconda, sulla facciata ovest del blocco, è rappresentata da un cortile irregolarmente pentagonale sviluppato su due piani e collocato sopra un passo carraio secondario, sul quale cresce un tappeto d'erba irrigato dalla maglia di colonne sovrastanti. Infine, all'estremità nord adiacente al corpo scala, il blocco del nuovo edificio scivola gradualmente sopra la copertura a *shed* sottostante sostenendosi nuovamente su colonne di acciaio che penetrano nella costruzione esistente. Le norme antincendio prevedono una quota maggiore per il primo piano per lasciare libero il tetto sottostante, così lo spazio risultante, di un piano e mezzo, ospita la sala del consiglio di amministrazione.
Il passaggio di carico e scarico nella zona sottostante e i limiti normativi di altezza e larghezza in quella soprastante definiscono la conformazione essenziale del blocco edilizio.

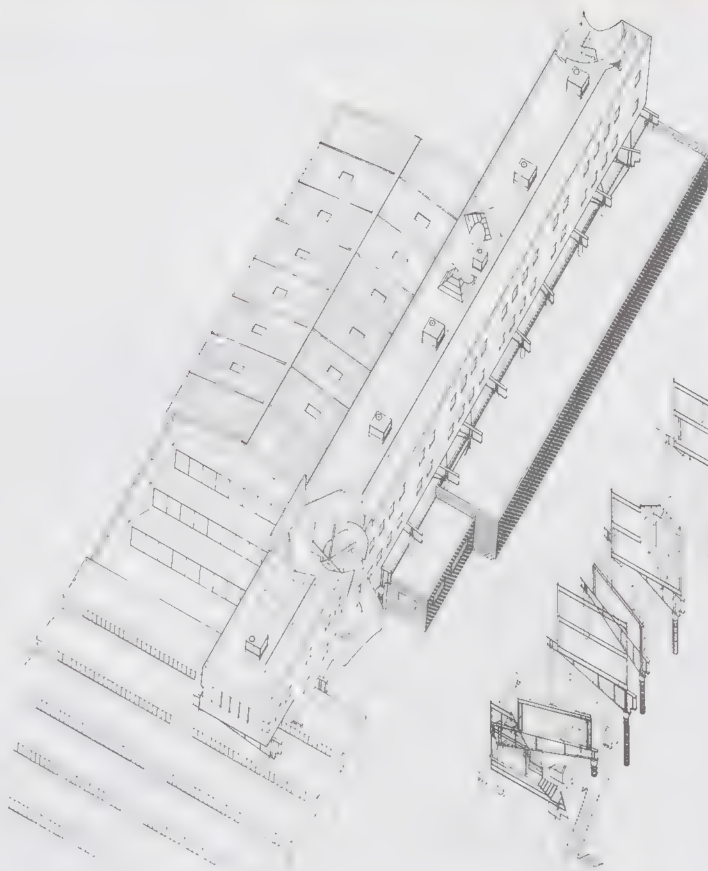
Samitaur Complex, Culver City, Los Angeles, California
Eric Owen Moss

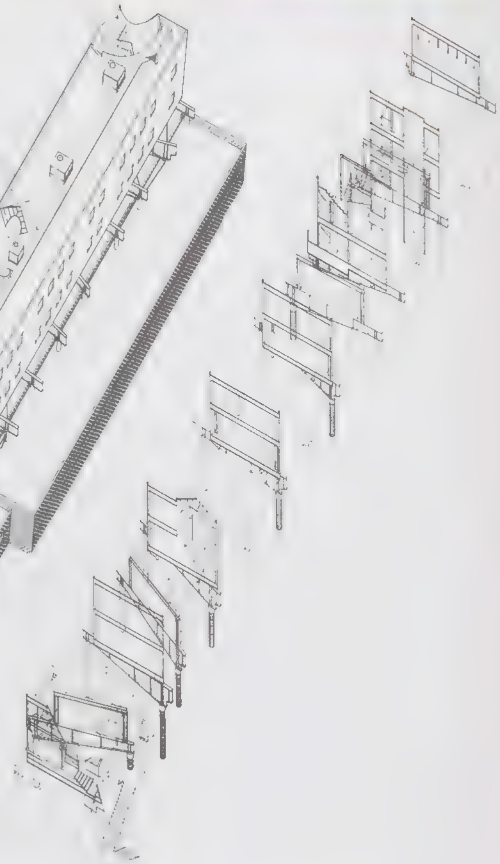
Samitaur is an office building built over a road in the southwestern section of Los Angeles. The area is a mixture of one and two storey industrial and manufacturing building constructed in the 50's and 60's. The project site is a privately owned road terminated by a complex of one-storey, saw-tooth roofed buildings that house offices, food preparation, and storage facilities. The new office block is lifted on circular steel columns, allowing trucks and autos continued access to the facilities at grade, and will be linked by elevator and stairs to production facilities in the old shed. Columns supporting the office block are positioned to avoid loading doors adjacent to the access road. Diagonal bracing at street level and five rigid frames address lateral problems. Tapered steel beams span between the columns. The new first floor is lifted above existing one-storey roofs allowing natural light into the covered street from east and west. In time it is anticipated that the industrial tenants will be replaced by commercial tenants and the road will become a commercial walking street. A height limit of 48 feet confines the office to two floors over required truck clearances. Fire regulations limit the building width to the width of the private road. Roof access is for service only, although the roof is likely to become the locale for informal office gatherings offering unrestricted views in all directions.
Three circumstantial conditions require exceptions to the essential office block. First, positioned to address approaching traffic at the street entry, a modified conical section is carved from the orthogonal block, providing exterior deck space and an open stair to the street. Second, on the west face of the office block is a five-sided, two-storey courtyard, planted with grass, irrigated from the beam network above. The modified pentagon is located above a secondary truck/auto access point. Third, at the north end of the building adjoining the elevator-stair core, the building block slides over the saw-tooth shed below, supported again on steel columns which penetrate the existing building. Fire codes require a raised first floor height to clear the roof below. The resulting one-and-a- half storey space is the corporate board room. Truck clearance below and zoned height and width limits above define the essential building block.



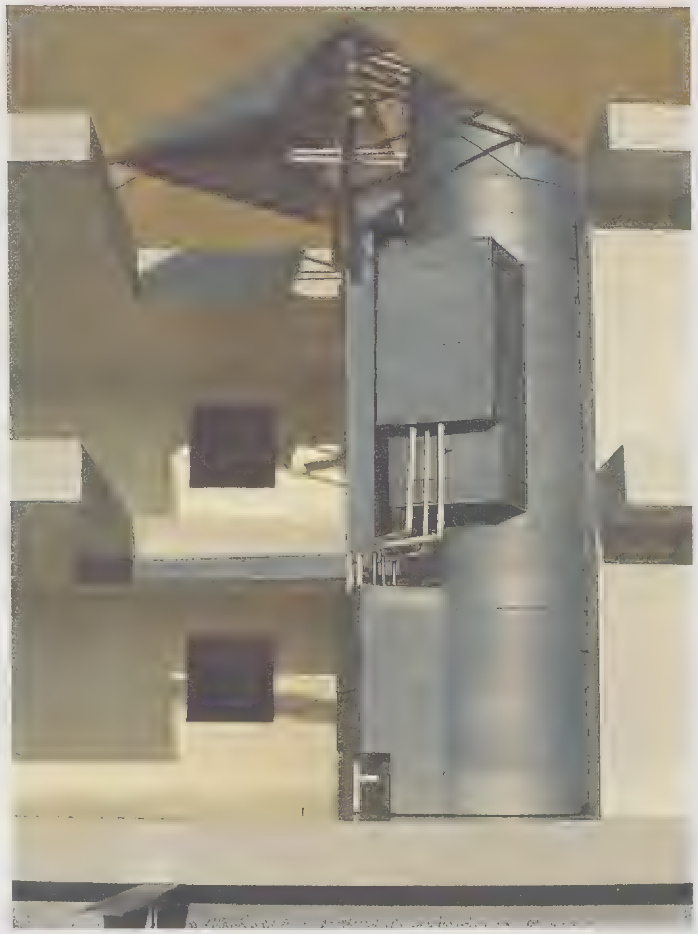
Edificio per uffici Samitaur, Culver City, Los Angeles, 1992. Vista del modello e viste di dettaglio del modello sui corpi scala. Foto T. Conversano. Assonometria e spaccato assonometrico. Piante ai piani terreno e secondo.

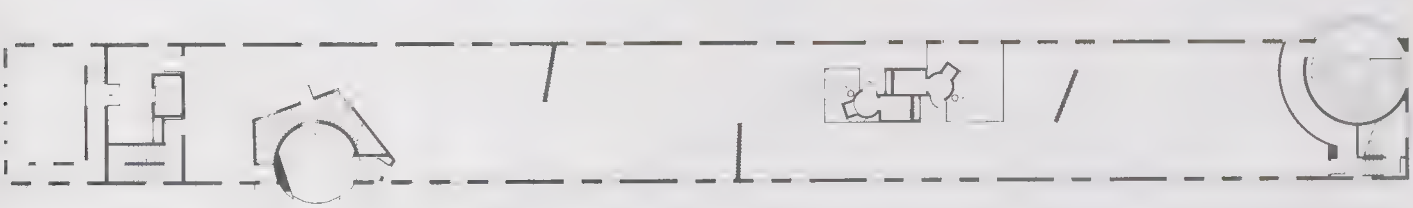
Samitaur Complex, Culver City, Los Angeles, 1992. View of model and detailed views of model on the stairwells. Photos T. Conversano. Axonometric and cutaway axonometric. Ground and second-floor plans.

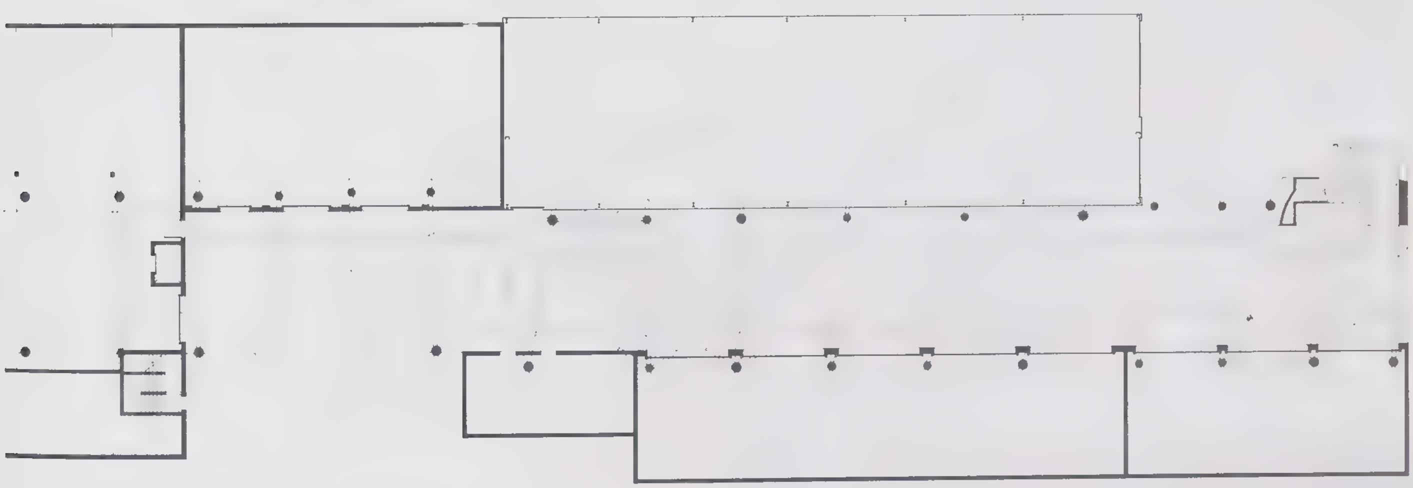


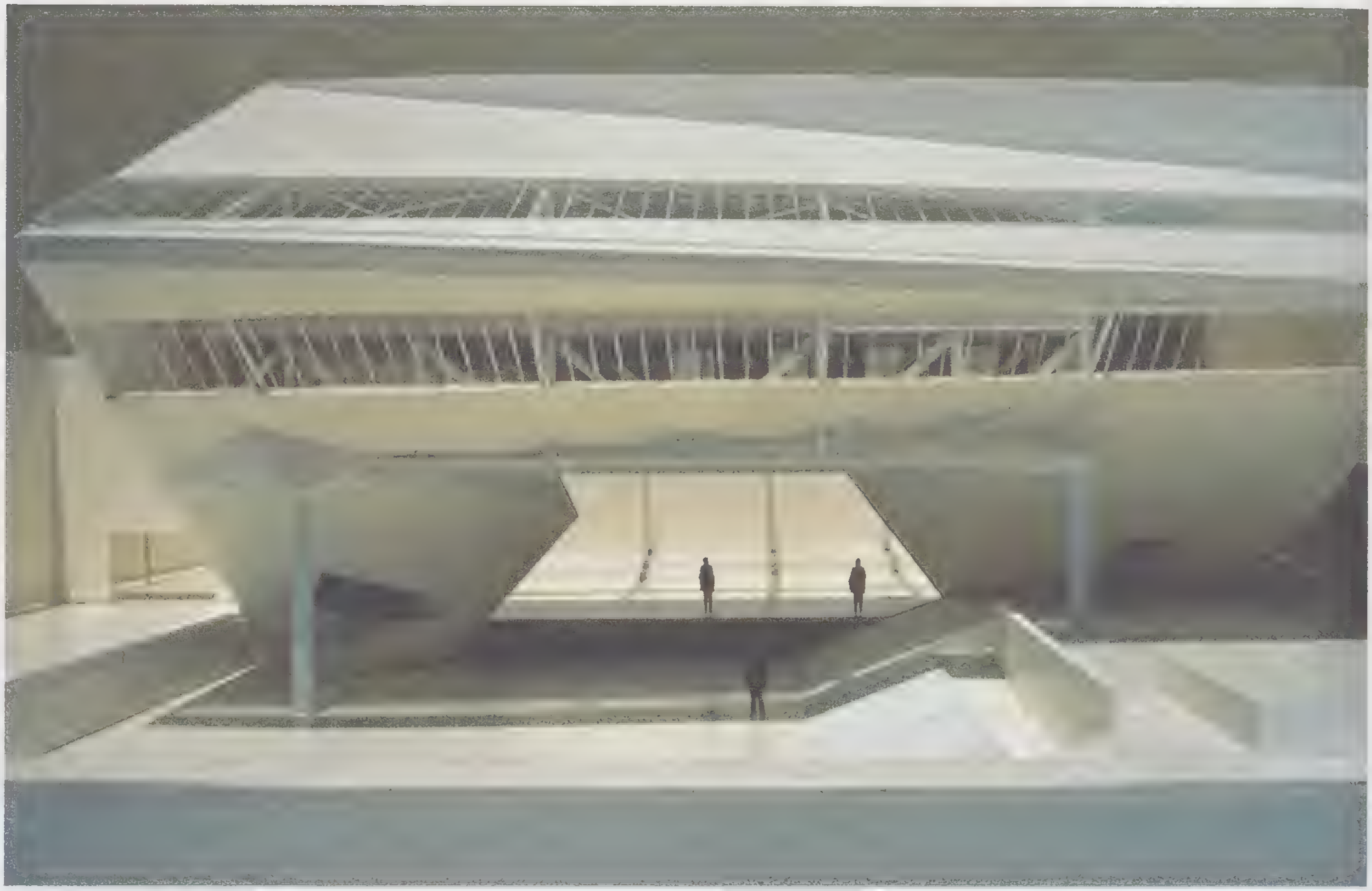






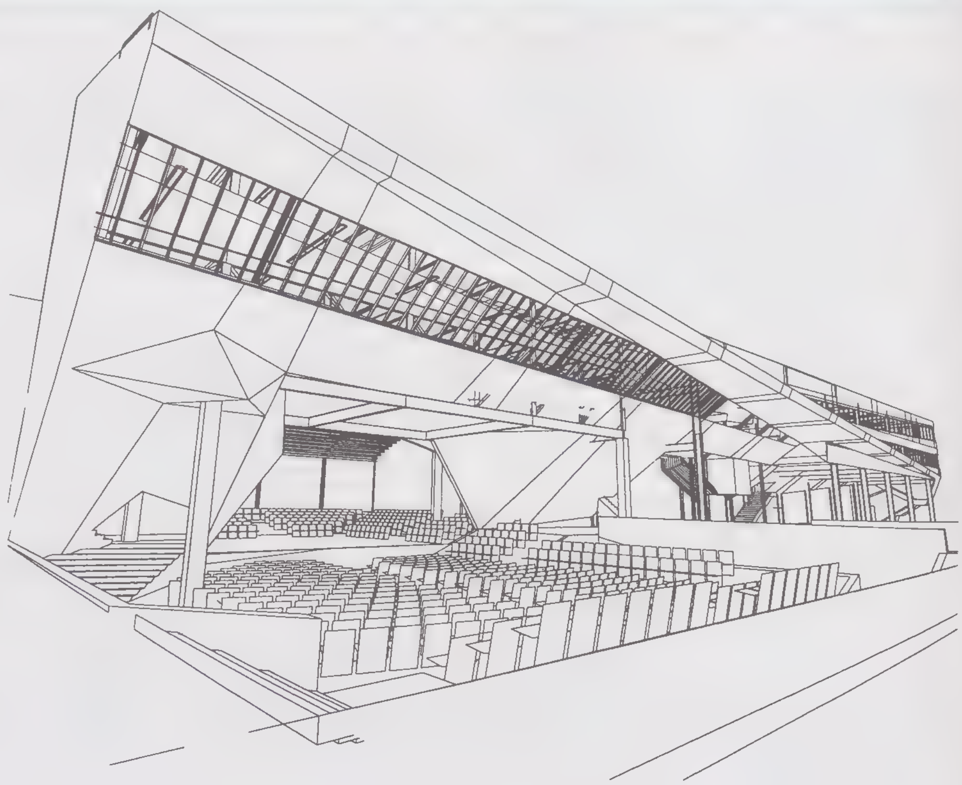






Teatro Hercules e Uffici, Culver City, Los Angeles, 1993.
Vista del modello.
Foto T. Conversano.
Prospettiva del teatro all'aperto.

Hercules Theater and Offices, Culver City, Los Angeles, 1993.
View of model.
Photo T. Conversano.
Perspective of open-air theater.



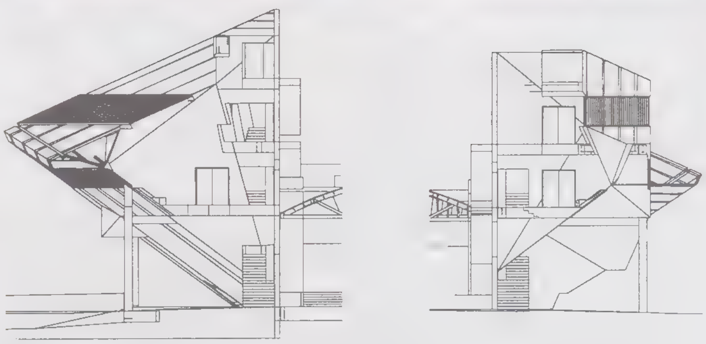
Teatro e uffici a Culver City,
Los Angeles, California
Eric Owen Moss

Il progetto, ubicato a Culver City, a ovest dell'area centromeridionale di Los Angeles, trae origine da un grande scavo per l'eliminazione di scorie petrolchimiche. L'area di mq. 32.500 comprende edifici industriali costruiti prima della seconda guerra mondiale, sviluppati principalmente a lunghe campate di un unico piano. L'area interessata dal progetto (progetto Hercules) è costituita da tre campate contigue coperte da un tetto con travature metalliche ad arco e tiranti, ciascuna di mq. 1860 di superficie e di m. 76.00 di lunghezza. La campata ad ovest, adiacente alla strada, è stata demolita per agevolare l'estrazione delle scorie tossiche mentre sono rimaste le due campate contigue, chiuse da una nuova parete in muratura lunga m. 99.00. A ovest di tale parete verranno aggiunti due nuovi piani da adibire ad uffici per un totale di mq. 1860. Il sito scavato diventerà un prato ipogeo con posti a sedere mobili all'aria aperta, di fronte a un nuovo teatro-palcoscenico nero, da costruirsi con una struttura di travature metalliche e tiranti.
Committente. Il cliente è Samitaur Management/Frederick Norton Smith (Los Angeles, California), proprietario dell'area, in società con l'affittuario, la Hercules Powdered Plastics (Delaware). Lo spazio del teatro verrà utilizzato dalla IRS Multi-Media/CRS e da un corpo di ballo associato al Teatro Kirov (affittuari contigui) per manifestazioni di danza, cinema, concerti, teatro, teatro per bambini e conferenze.
Dati di progetto. Teatro: all'interno sala coperta, palcoscenico e zone di servizio per un totale di mq. 930 e 300 posti a sedere mobili; allo scoperto, 600 posti a sedere mobili nel prato ipogeo (zona di scavo).
Uffici: mq. 1860 in due sezioni equivalenti a due piani (nord e sud) destinate a due affittuari; al centro, un nucleo aperto ospita scale, ascensore e servizi.
Parcheggi: 62 posti auto.
Costruzione e materiali. La nuova parete che chiude la seconda campata (dopo la rimozione della terza) è in blocchi di cemento cm. 20 x 30 x 40. Il corpo uffici è una struttura metallica rigida lasciata a vista così composta: colonne e travi a banda larga a sud; colonne e travi a sezione tubolare nell'area centrale; colonne a sezione tubolare e travi reticolari sopra il prato adibito a teatro (luce di m. 23.00). Il materiale esterno di finitura è stucco spatolato nero.
Progetto. All'interno della vecchia struttura con travature metalliche ad arco, la scatola nera del teatro (posti a sedere e/o palcoscenico) fronteggia i posti a sedere nel giardino scavato in modo che sia possibile disporsi su entrambi i lati formando un teatro con palcoscenico centrale.
Il progetto dell'edificio a uffici ricalca Eraclito: non ci si imbatte mai nella stessa forma. L'estremità nord dell'edificio lungo m. 99.00 ha tre lati, mentre l'estremità sud ne ha quattro. Entrambe sono semplici, geometriche, riconoscibili, ma tra di esse, impiegando piani orizzontali, la sezione dell'edificio varia costantemente sulla lunghezza. I tre lati diventano quattro, i quattro diventano tre. Le testate sono riconoscibili, ciò che è intercluso no. Simultaneamente qualcosa di noto e sconosciuto.
Nel mezzo un nucleo aperto interrompe la superficie esterna con scale, ascensore e servizi.
Per gran parte del fronte le vetrate vanno da pavimento a soffitto (quasi a creare una parete finestrata continua), ma variano di profilo secondo il variare della sezione lungo il fronte ovest. Dai piani di facciata che connettono le due semplici testate geometriche parte una serie costante di linee che avvolgono la sezione dell'edificio. Queste linee servono da giunti di dilatazione per le superfici esterne a stucco e a blocchi, oltre a organizzare tagli, penetrazioni e protuberanze nella parete centrale a blocchi di cemento, nell'apertura del palcoscenico del teatro e nell'involucro dell'edificio in corrispondenza di scale e atrio. Si determina così una logica secondaria che poggia sulla non-logica della concezione dell'edificio.
Il fine è di costruire un edificio stabile e in costante movimento, che si evolve come il sito risanato e gli edifici industriali riutilizzati.

Hercules Theater and Offices, Culver City,
Los Angeles, California
Eric Owen Moss

The project in Culver City, just west of South Central Los Angeles, originates in a major excavation to remove petro-chemical waste. The site area contains 350,000 square feet of industrial structures, mostly one-storey, long-span space built before the Second World War. The site area that involves the Hercules project contains three contiguous bow-string truss-roofed bays, each 250 feet long and 20,000 square feet in area. The west bay adjoining the street has been demolished to facilitate the excavation of toxic waste. The two adjoining bays remain, closed by a new masonry wall, 325 feet in length. Two floors of new office space totaling 20,000 square feet will be added west of the wall. The excavated site will become a sunken grass court with flexible open-air seating facing a new black box theater/stage to be built in the reused bow-string space.
Client. *The client is Samitaur Management/Frederick Norton Smith (Los Angeles, California), the owner of the property, in association with the tenant, Hercules Powdered Plastics (Delaware). Theater space will be used by IRS Multi-Media/CRS and a Kirov associated ballet studio (adjacent tenants) for dance, cinema, concerts, legitimate theater, children's theater, and conferences.*
Program. *Theater: interior seating, staging and support areas: 10,000 square feet and 300 movable seats inside; 600 movable seats outside in the sunken grass court (area of excavation). Offices: 20,000 square feet in two-storey*

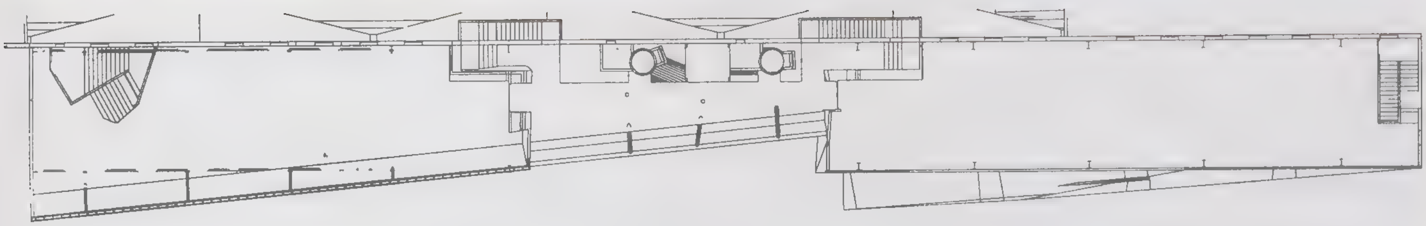


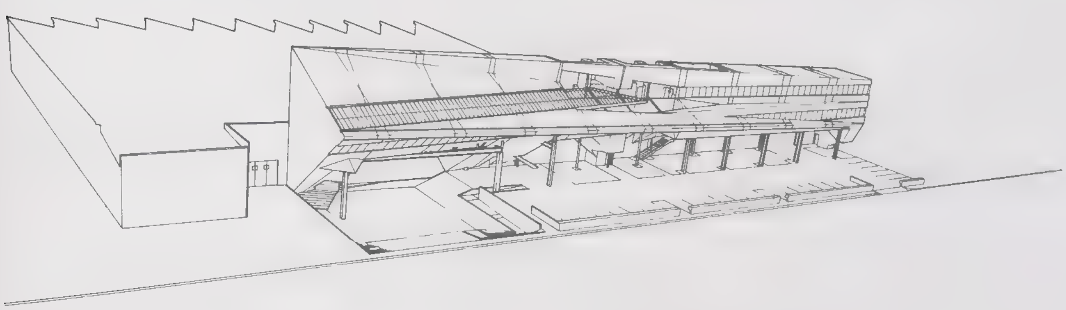


sections (north and south) for two equal office tenants; midway, an open core with stairs, elevator, bathrooms. Parking lots: 62 cars.
Construction and materials. *The new wall enclosing the second bow-string bay (following the removal of the third) is a 8"x12"x16" concrete block. The office is an exposed, rigid steel frame as follows: wide flange columns and beams at the south end; pipe columns and beams in the central area; tube columns with trusses spanning the garden court in the garden theater area (75 foot clear span). The exterior finish material is steel troweled black plaster.*
Design. *Inside the old bow-string structure, the "black box" theater (seats and/or stage) faces the sunken garden seating, with the option of seating on both sides of the stage forming a "theater in the round".*
The design of the office building re-uses Heraclitus: you never step into the same form twice. The north end of the 325 foot long building is three sided. The south end, four sided. The ends are simple, geometric, recognizable. Between the ends, using flat plains, the building section varies constantly over its length. Three becomes four: four becomes three. The ends are known; in-between is not. Known and unknown simultaneously.
Mid-way an open core interrupts the skin with stairs, elevator, and bathrooms.
Glazing follows a consistent sill/head line in elevation (as if it were a continuous window wall) but varies in profile as the section varies across the west building face.
A methodical series of organizational lines derives from the surface plains connecting the two simple geometric ends, wrapping around the building section. These lines serve as expansion joints in the exterior plaster and block surfaces, and organize the cuts, penetrations, and protrusions in the block wall at core and theater stage opening and the building envelope at stairs and lobby.
So a secondary logic is invented, resting on the alogic of the building concept.
The aspiration is to make a building which is constant and constantly moving, evolving like the cleaned-up site and the re-used industrial buildings.

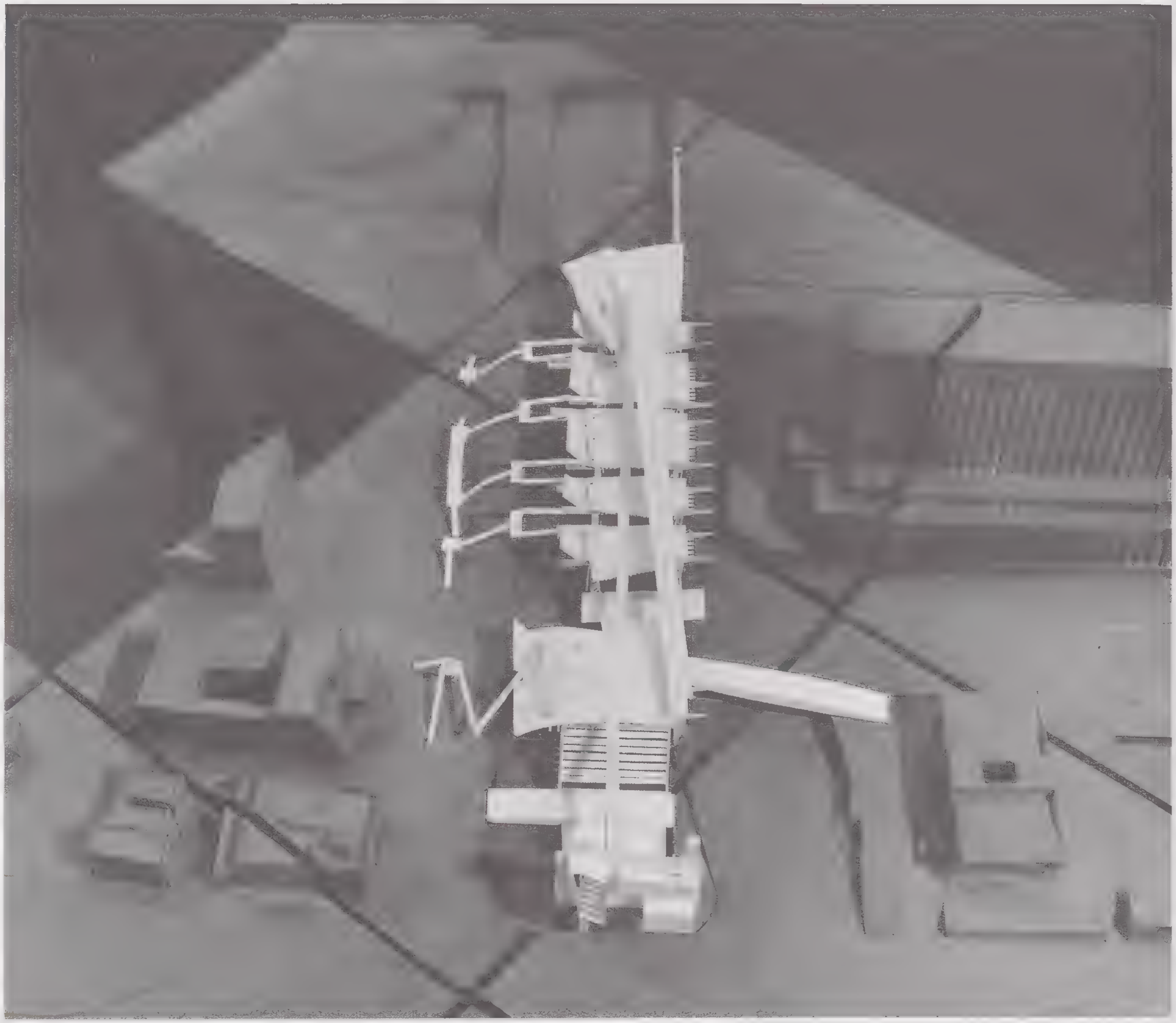
Teatro Hercules e Uffici, Culver City, Los Angeles, 1993.
Viste del modello.
Foto T. Conversano.
Sezioni trasversali, pianta del secondo piano e prospettiva d'insieme.







Hercules Theater and Offices, Culver City, Los Angeles, 1993. Views of model. Photo T. Conversano. Cross-sections, second-floor plan and general perspective.



Dagmar Richter

West Coast Gateway Competition, Los Angeles, California, 1988
Dagmar Richter, Shayne O'Neil
con/with: Thomas Robertson, David Adler, Rodger Fairey, Eric Lum, Anthony Poon

Competition for the Royal Library on the Waterfront,
Copenhagen, Denmark, 1993
Dagmar Richter
con/with: Nick Capelli, Mercedes De La Garza, Lisa Hansen, Carl Hampson,
Marc Kim, Scott Oliver, Keith Sidley
Peter Baldwin (Library Consultant)

Concorso West Coast Gateway,
Los Angeles, 1988.
Vista del modello.

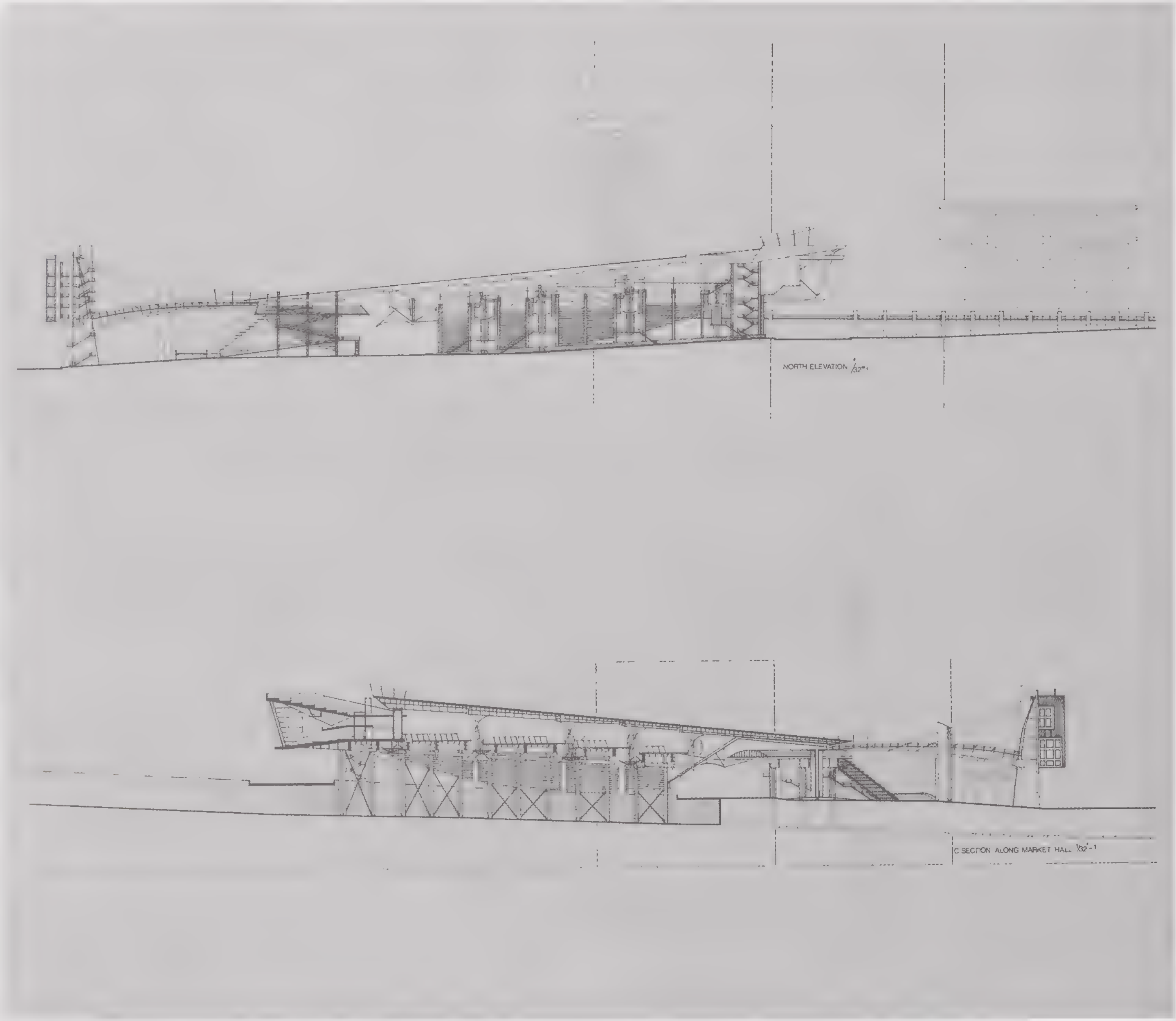
West Coast Gateway Competition,
Los Angeles, 1988.
View of model.

Concorso West Coast Gateway, Los Angeles, California
Dagmar Richter

Il bando di concorso West Coast Gateway chiedeva proposte per il recupero di uno spazio pubblico sopra un'autostrada a otto corsie che rappresenta una cicatrice profonda nella struttura urbana del centro di Los Angeles. Il programma è stato affrontato sviluppando un sistema di rappresentazione spaziale basato su un'indagine archeologica del sito e della zona del centro città. Il processo di sedimentazione ha rivelato diverse stratificazioni, ognuna legata a diversi momenti storici che hanno caratterizzato la formazione del sito. Sono state prodotte mappe dei percorsi, dei canali di irrigazione, dei confini fondiari e dei volumi edificati, raccolte poi in una rappresentazione cartografica che consentiva la lettura simultanea di tutti i livelli spaziali. Questo ha generato a sua volta una serie di interpretazioni che hanno determinato la stesura di nuove mappe rappresentanti fenditure, volumi e campi. Le diverse tracce dei paesaggi astratti così ottenuti sono state poi sovrapposte all'autostrada esistente con un ponteggio ripetitivo, struttura e infrastruttura al tempo stesso. Lo strato superiore, che rappresenta le crude superfici asfaltate della città incise dai volumi edilizi, è stato munito di cardini come un ponte levatoio, in modo da introdurre i problemi, e le possibilità, inerenti alla trasformazione reiterata di una struttura orizzontale in struttura verticale. Il movimento ripetuto delle parti incernierate ha inoltre consentito di sperimentare diversi sistemi di pareti per proteggere le aree più disturbate dall'autostrada.
Si è così ottenuta un'architettura "rivestita". Il rivestimento in architettura esiste dai tempi di Roma antica, ma recentemente ha raggiunto una sua esistenza indipendente con gli architetti postmoderni, che l'hanno usato per sovrapporre artificiosamente l'immagine pseudoculturale dell'epoca reaganiana a strutture determinate da fattori funzionali ed economici. In sé il concetto di rivestimento, indicando un'indipendenza assoluta tra "pelle" esterna e struttura, prefigura una nuova epoca architettonica. Impiegando consapevolmente il concetto di rivestimento, la cicatrice rappresentata dall'autostrada è stata "coperta" con piattaforme stratificate distinte; in questi spazi, l'attività umana rivendica all'uso pubblico uno spazio ceduto all'automobile. Agli oltre un milione di automobilisti che percorrono ogni giorno l'autostrada, il fronte inferiore di questa città Potemkin rivela un'intensità di paesaggi astratti colti in un continuo gioco di luce.
Nella prima fase del concorso il progetto è stato scelto tra i finalisti consentendo di approfondire l'indagine rispetto ai vincoli tecnologici e finanziari. Nella seconda fase l'indagine è stata rivolta alle possibilità costruttive. Articolando struttura, superficie e volume, a ogni strato è stato assegnato un ruolo costruttivo specifico e una posizione distinta all'interno della sezione.

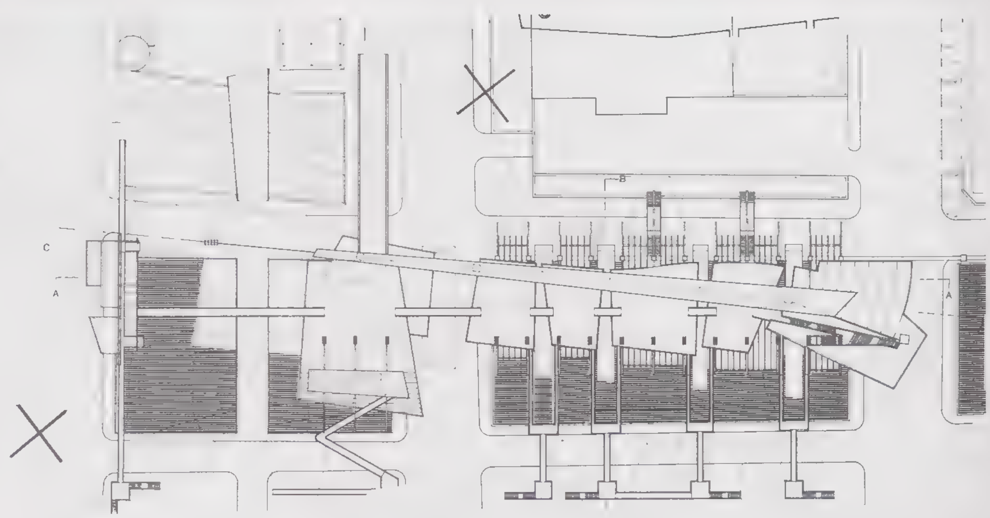
West Coast Gateway Competition, Los Angeles, California
Dagmar Richter

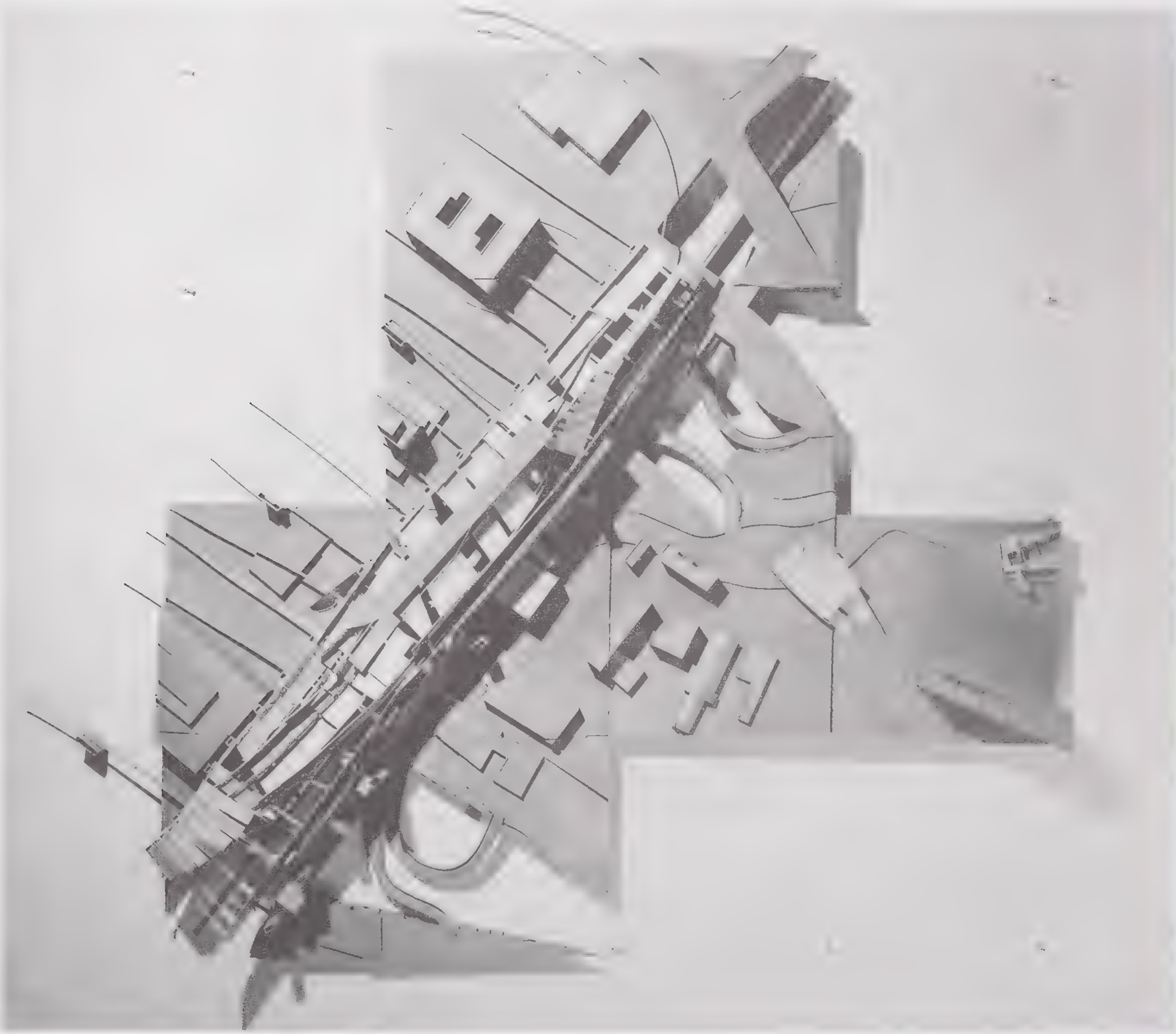
The West Coast Gateway competition brief requested proposals for reclaiming public space above an eight-lane freeway that cuts a deep scar in the urban structure of downtown Los Angeles.
We used this program to develop spatial representation based on an archaeological investigation of the site and the downtown area. The process of sedimentation suggested various layers, each linked to different historical moments in the formation of the site. We produced maps of paths, irrigation channels, field boundaries and building volumes which we then integrated into a cartographic representation that enabled all spatial layers to be read simultaneously. This, in turn, engendered an array of interpretations from which we produced a new map representing crevices, volumes and fields. We positioned the different layers of these abstracted landscapes above the existing freeway on a repetitive scaffolding, at once structure and infrastructure. The uppermost layer, which represents the city's hard asphalt surfaces penetrated by building volumes, we hinged like a drawbridge, introducing the problems, and possibilities inherent in recurring transformation from a horizontal to a vertical structure. The repeated movement of the hinged layer also allowed us to experiment with various wall systems to protect sensitive areas from the hazards of the freeway.
We arrived at what may be described as a veneer or skin architecture. Veneer has played a role in architecture since Roman antiquity but has recently acquired a rather special independence in the hands of postmodern architects who have used it to paste the pseudocultural imagery of the Reagan era onto structures determined by functional and economic need.
The concept of veneer – utter independence of skin and structure, – suggests a new era of architecture. Consciously employing veneer architecture, we "covered" the scar of the freeway with distinct layered platforms; in these spaces human activity reclaims as public domain a terrain formerly surrendered to the automobile. For the over one million drivers on the freeway each day, the underside of this Potemkin city reveals a depth of abstracted landscapes caught in a play of light. Selected as finalists in the first phase of the competition, we were able to broaden our investigation in response to technological as well as financial constraints. In the second phase, the emphasis shifted to the construction potential of the relationships between the different layers. Articulating structure, surface and volume, we assigned each layer a specific construction role and gave it a distinct position within the section.

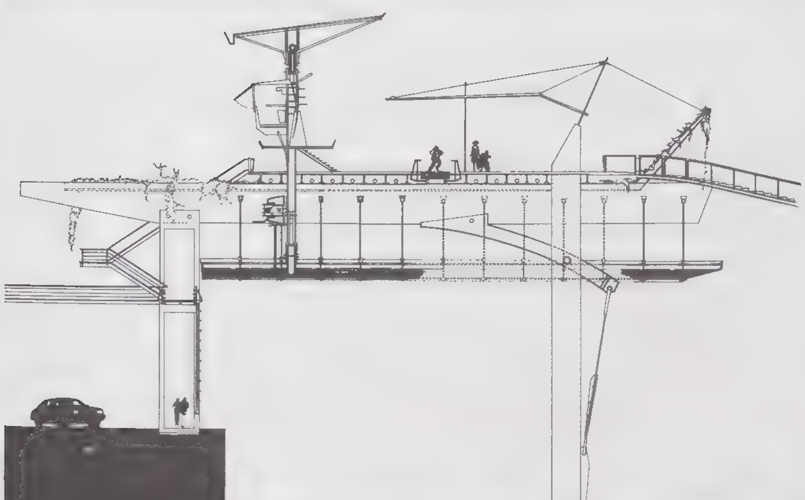


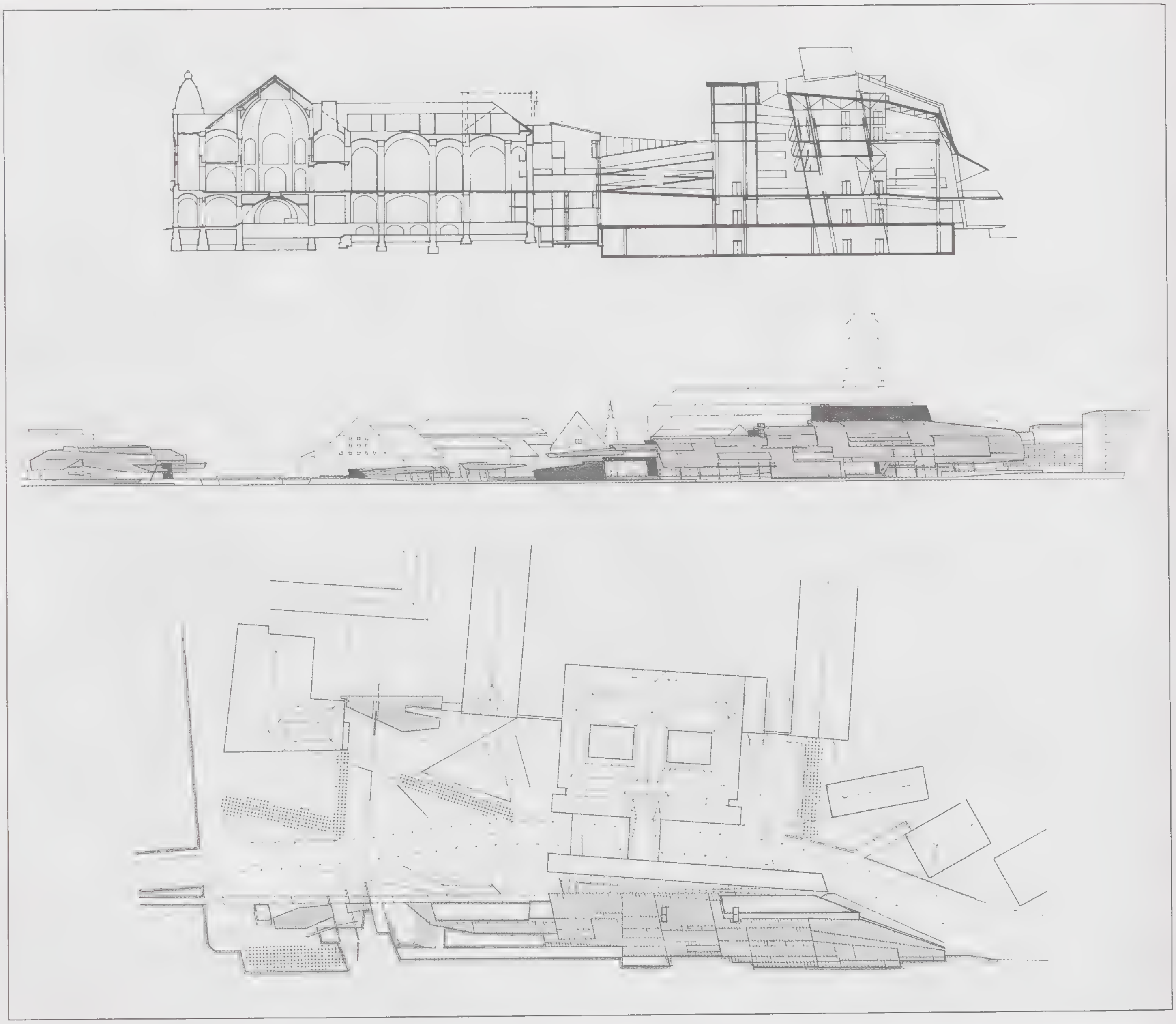
Concorso, West Coast Gateway,
Los Angeles, 1988.
Prospetto nord, sezioni longitudinale e trasversale, planimetria generale.
Vista zenitale del modello della prima fase di concorso.

West Coast Gateway Competition,
Los Angeles, 1988.
North elevation, longitudinal and cross-sections, general plan.
View from above of the model for the first phase of the competition.









Concorso per la Biblioteca Reale, Copenhagen, Danimarca, 1993. Sezione trasversale, prospetto, pianta delle coperture e planimetria generale.

Competition for the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1993. Cross-section, elevation, roof plan and general plan.



Concorso per la Biblioteca Reale, Copenhagen, Danimarca
Dagmar Richter

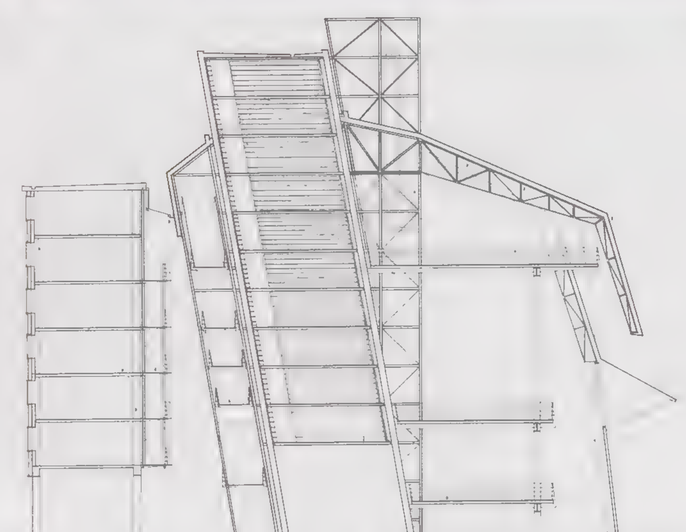
La Biblioteca esistente. Progettata nel 1897 sul modello della Biblioteca nazionale di Monaco, nelle intenzioni del suo architetto la Biblioteca attuale avrebbe dovuto realizzare un progetto ideale fortemente influenzato dalla tradizione Beaux Arts. In tale operazione di traslazione culturale egli cercò di dare espressione alla componente nazionale danese, principalmente nell'elaborazione della facciata. Tuttavia non conoscendo, al momento della progettazione, il luogo in cui sarebbe sorto, l'architetto dovette adattare il suo prototipo ideale ad un'area scelta successivamente e sulla quale insisteva un fabbricato di notevoli dimensioni, il Galejbuilding, che, per forza di cose, venne inglobato nella nuova Biblioteca, vanificando il progetto ideale Beaux Arts. Tale operazione di imitazione, adattamento e trasformazione di un modello preesistente venne allora effettuata senza alcuna consapevolezza, dando luogo ad un progetto tutt'altro che ideale. Nel 1906, infatti, anno in cui fu inaugurata, la nuova Biblioteca venne considerata come la realizzazione di un mezzo fabbricato a pianta cruciforme a simmetria bilaterale che, se necessario, si sarebbe successivamente completato specularmente nel giardino. Il quale tuttavia, col passare degli anni, divenne un frequentatissimo spazio pubblico, oggi intoccabile.
Il concorso per la nuova Biblioteca Reale prevedeva il raddoppio dello spazio disponibile mediante la creazione di un volume speculare suscettibile di ulteriori interventi. In luogo di un approccio analogico tramite consultazione di testi e banche dati, abbiamo sfruttato l'autonomo metodo di lavoro del *computer* per un'architettura nuova che andasse oltre il tradizionale pensiero dicotomico.
La soluzione architettonica. Dopo averla digitalizzata, abbiamo adattato la planimetria della Biblioteca attuale alle dimensioni del nuovo sito: invece di basare le nuove trasformazioni sull'esempio della Biblioteca di Monaco, abbiamo utilizzato quella esistente come modello ideale. L'idea di specularità rispetto all'acqua ha sostituito quella, del progetto originale, di una specularità rispetto al giardino.
Nuove realtà, quali il mutato panorama cittadino e le relazioni visive della Biblioteca con il tessuto urbano, hanno costituito il punto di partenza per stabilire nuove regole secondo cui abbiamo riprodotto, ruotato e eliminato alcune parti del nuovo progetto ideale.
Il risultato ottenuto ci ha fornito abbondanza di materiali per passare alle interpretazioni progettuali, poi tradotte in piante e sezioni. Per il prospetto della nuova Biblioteca abbiamo analizzato lo *skyline* esistente così come appare dall'acqua, manipolando le superfici segmentate così ottenute secondo le esigenze progettuali. Prendendo spunto dall'adiacente Museo Toejhus, una copertura in rame a falde inclinate fungerà da schermo e da avanscena al Palazzo del Parlamento e al tetto della Biblioteca esistente che, a sua volta, ne sarà lo sfondo.
Il progetto della nuova Biblioteca prevede una serie di volumi allungati disposti parallelamente all'acqua. Il programma funzionale riflette specularmente le destinazioni dell'edificio esistente. Partendo dalla riva, si incontrano progressivamente quattro aree, denominate A, B, C, e D, che conterranno, rispettivamente, sale di lettura, una "parete informativa", atrio d'accesso, amministrazione. Con vista sull'acqua, le sale di lettura (A) uniranno alla versatilità il rapporto con la città, in contrasto con la connotazione di chiusura del concetto classico di biblioteca delle sale esistenti. Rumori e distrazioni saranno limitati al massimo dalla parete informativa (B), vero cervello del complesso che orienterà l'utente nelle sue ricerche, zona di filtro e nucleo pulsante dell'edificio riconoscibile anche dall'esterno. L'atrio (C) è un grande spazio vuoto dal quale si accede da un lato alla biblioteca vera e propria, dal lato est alla sala concerti e ai vari istituti. Parallela alla parete informativa, a cui la collegano ponti e passerelle, e alle sale di lettura, la zona D ospita l'amministrazione.

Competition for the Royal Library on the Waterfront, Copenhagen, Denmark
Dagmar Richter

The existing Library. *When the library was planned in 1897 it was copied from a foreign ideal – the national library in Munich. The architect made a copy of the found library to create an ideal library plan heavily influenced by the Beaux Arts tradition. His transformation of the ideal into a new national library in Copenhagen went through a phase of cultural translation in which he tried to inject a Danish component mainly by manipulating the façade. Since the actual site of the future library was unknown when planning began, the architect had to adjust the ideal library to a later found site already occupied by a rather prominent building, the Galejbuilding. This had to be entirely integrated into the new library, which visibly destroyed the ideal Beaux Arts plan.*
This methodology of copying, translation and transformation was unconscious at the time and resulted in a rather "unideal" plan. The new library was opened in 1906. The original plan was regarded as a partially executed bilateral crossplan which could later be mirrored in the library garden should the need arise. However, this library garden became a very important and much loved public space in inner Copenhagen and had to be left intact. The program for the new Royal Library called for a new space that could contain double the amount. We interpreted this doubling as a kind of mirroring that could generate new project ideas. Instead of using analogues from books or computer, we employed the computer's neutral working method to envision a new architecture that goes beyond ingrained thinking in dichotomies.



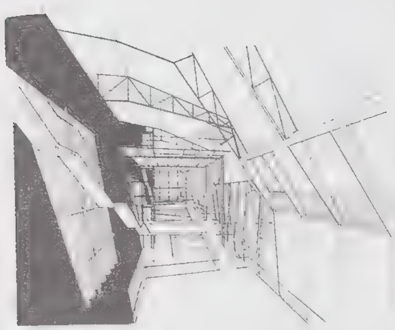


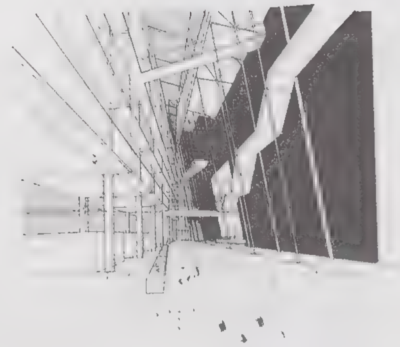


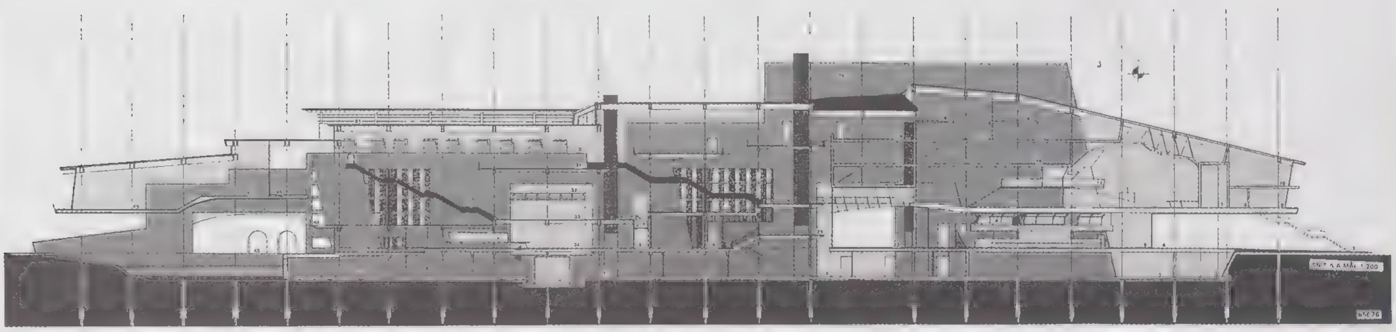
The architectural solution. *We put the found plan of the existing library on computer and stretched it to the size of the new site. Instead of using the ideal of the Munich Library, we used the existing library as an "ideal", as a basis for transformations. The concept of mirroring the new library plan towards the water enabled the initial plan to mirror the library towards the garden. New realities – views from the surrounding city as well as from the library towards the city – were used to establish new rules which we then used to copy, rotate and cut parts of the new ideal plan.*

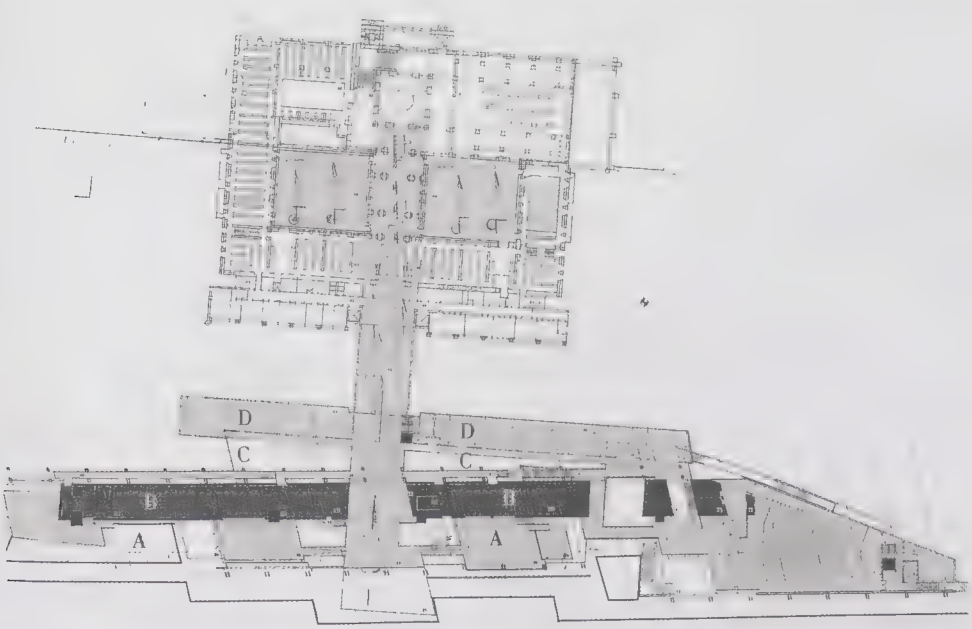
The new plan gave plenty of material for programmatic and spatial interpretation which was then further translated into plan and section. For the elevation of the new library we scanned the existing roof landscape as seen from the water edge and manipulated the resulting folded surfaces to meet the requirements of the brief. The resulting folded plane will be in copper acting as a screen and foreground to the Parliament building and the existing library roof which will act as a background. The roof of the Toejhus Museum next to the library extension also has large folded surfaces.

The new stretched library plan is built in stripes layered parallel to the water. The brief mirrors what actually happens in the existing library. From the waterfront, the first A zone contains the reading rooms, the second B zone a book storage wall, the third C zone all the entrance and circulation activities, and the final D zone the administrative offices. With a lake view, the reading rooms (A) will achieve flexibility through a direct link with the city, in contrast to the classic library concept of the existing rooms. Noise and disturbance will be virtually excluded by the information wall (B), the real brain of the complex that helps users to learn how to obtain information. The wall is both a filter and the vibrant core of the building, and can be read in the elevation towards the city. The entrance hall is a large void leading on one side to the library and eastwards to the concert hall and various institutes. Administration (D) sits parallel to the information wall (to which it is joined by bridges and catwalks) and the reading rooms.



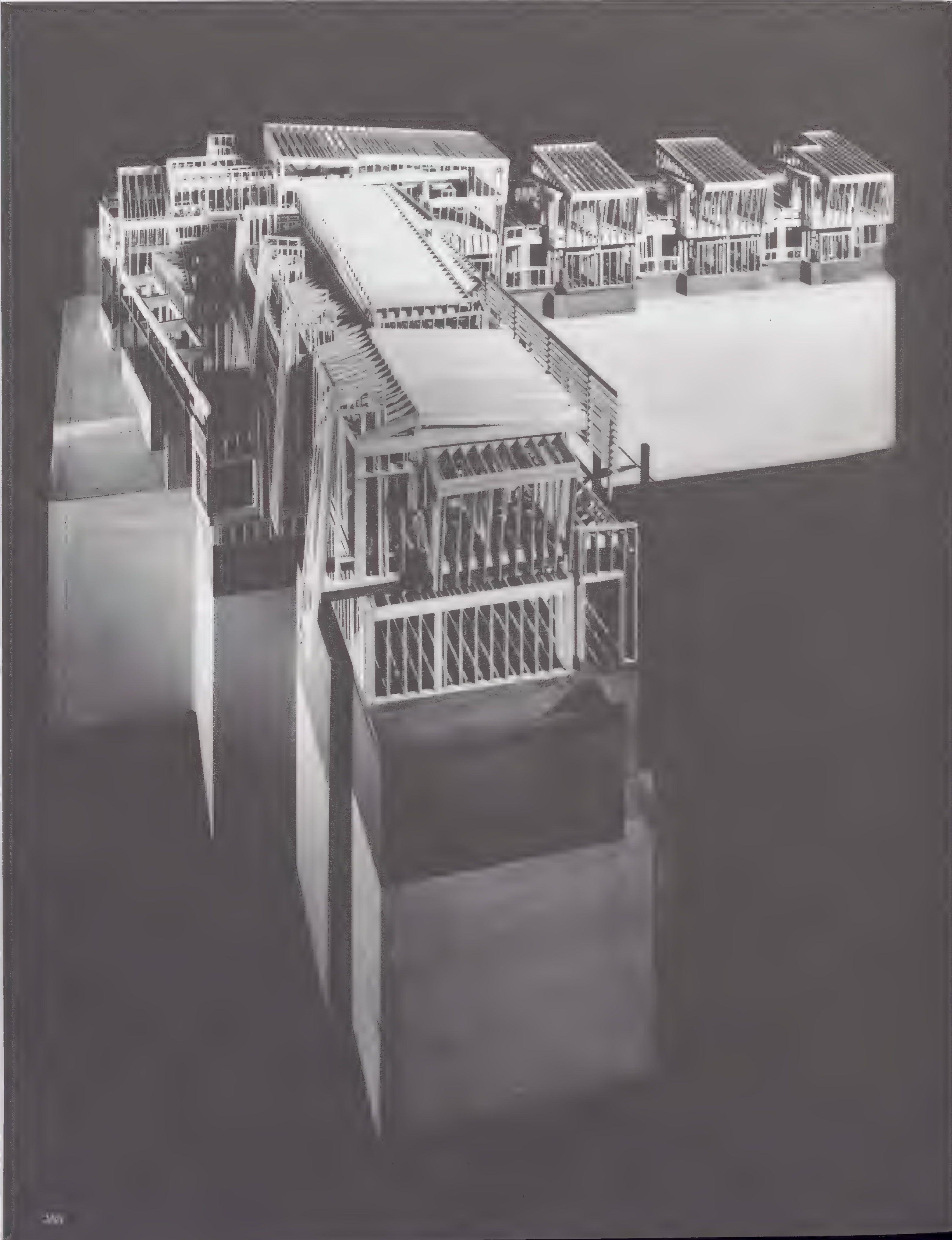






Concorso per la Biblioteca Reale, Copenhagen, Danimarca, 1993. Viste del modello, prospettive della hall d'ingresso e della sala di lettura e sezione longitudinale. Sezione trasversale e pianta del secondo piano: A) sale di lettura; B) "parete informativa"; C) hall di ingresso; D) amministrazione.

Competition for the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1993. Views of model, perspectives of entrance hall and reading room, longitudinal section. Cross-section and second-floor plan: A) reading rooms; B) "information wall"; C) entrance hall; D) administration.



Rotondi

Qwfk House, U.S.A., 1989-94
Michael Rotondi, Clark Stevens (Principals)
con/with: Michael Brandes (Site Supervisor), Brian Reiff, Craig Scott (Collaborators); Rebecca Bearss, Wendy Borg, Francisco Gutierrez, Lisa Iwamoto, Richard Kasensarm, Tracy Loeffler, Geoff Lynch, Raul Moreno, Yusuke Obuchi, Stuart Spafford, David Teiger (Assistants)

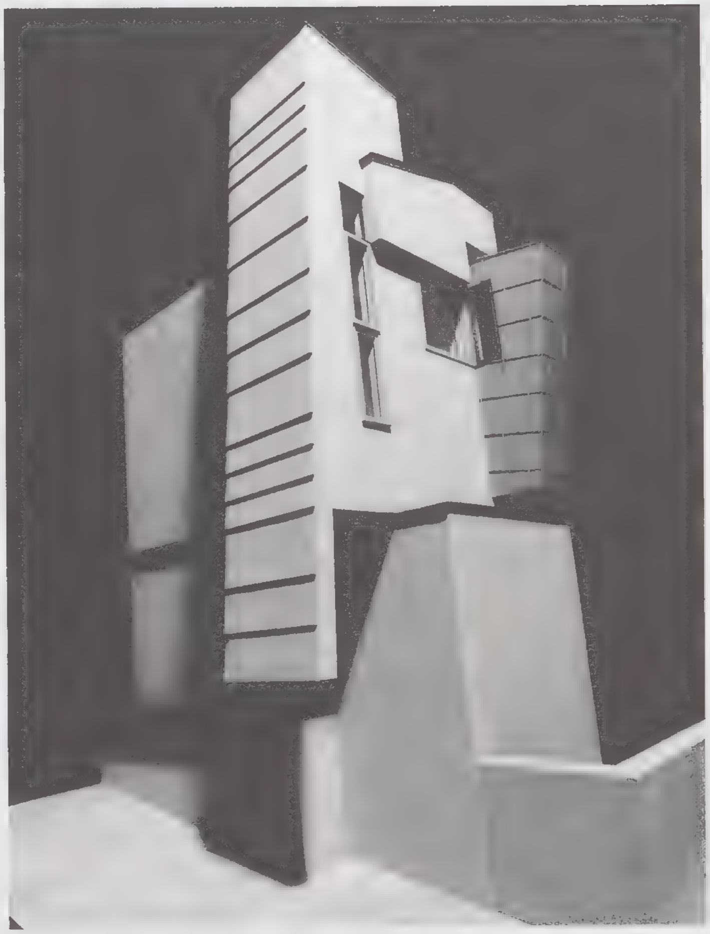
Carlson-Reges Residence, Los Angeles, California, 1992-94
Michael Rotondi, Clark Stevens (Principals)
con/with: Angela Hiltz, Yusuke Obuchi, Craig Scott (Collaborators); Michael Brandes, Gregory Kight, Tracy Loeffler (Assistants)

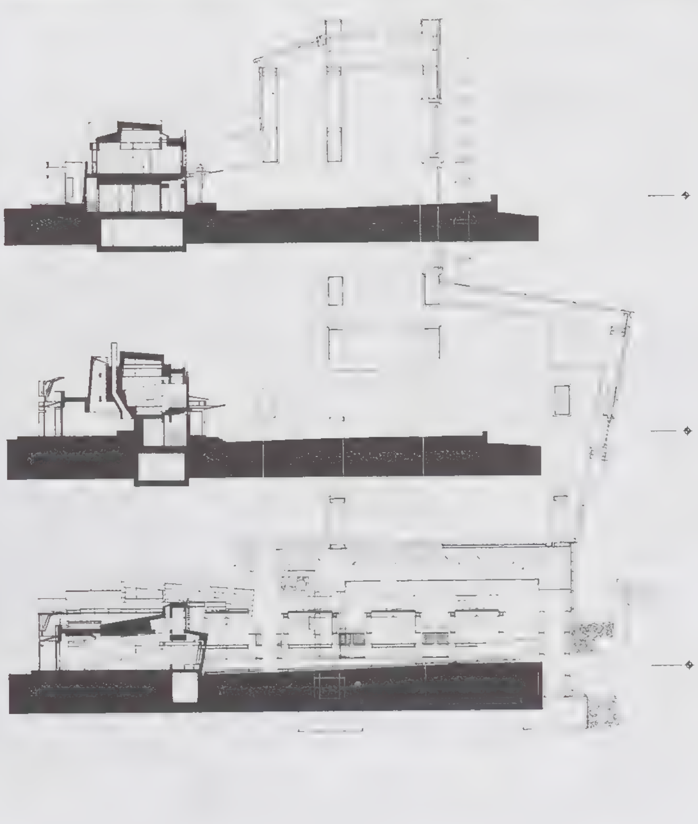
Casa Qwfk, U.S.A., 1989-94.
Vista del modello della struttura.

Qwfk House, U.S.A., 1989-94.
View of structural model.

Casa Qwfk, U.S.A.
Michael Rotondi, Clark Stevens

Il progetto di questa casa si propone di trovare ordine in un caos apparente, chiedendosi che cosa ha senso quando ci si trova in un luogo dove le cose sono prive di senso. Dal nucleo centrale della casa, il suo DNA, si diramano due ali perpendicolari: una destinata alle camere dei bambini e alla piscina; l'altra (sopra la zona di servizio che ospita rimessa e cantina) destinata alla zona notte degli adulti. Entrambe confluiscono nella parte centrale dove sono soggiorno, sala da pranzo, palestra e biblioteca e dove convergono le attività collettive della famiglia.
L'ala riservata ai bambini emerge come una serie di isole in un mare d'erba. L'andamento lineare della zona degli adulti deriva dalla forma a penisola di un appezzamento di terreno libero in un angolo della foresta, senza la necessità di abbattere alberi. In sezione, le due ali della casa risultano parallele alla inclinazione del sito verso occidente, mentre ricevono la luce del mattino. I materiali sono stati suggeriti dalle caratteristiche del sito. Le coperture di rame rivestito di piombo rimandano ai cieli grigio-blu che dominano spesso il luogo. Alcune pareti sono in pietra spaccata color ocra scoperta durante lo scavo, e la stessa tonalità viene ripresa nel colore dell'intonaco di altre pareti, mentre nella zona centrale i rivestimenti in legno si rifanno ai boschi circostanti.
Tutte le informazioni provenienti da ognuna delle due ali attraversano la zona centrale (collettiva) che, concettualmente separata in fase di progetto, è divenuta un'entità a se stante, un universo chiuso. Ogni soluzione decisa al suo interno era quindi autoreferenziale pur conservando le tracce delle due altre zone della casa. Per questa sua funzione di DNA, di veicolo di informazione per l'intero edificio, la zona centrale è origine e al tempo stesso risultato dei due sistemi da cui deriva. La sovrapposizione di quest'ultimi ha formato, nella zona centrale, una matrice volumetrica tridimensionale dalla quale sono stati trasmessi gli ordini geometrici: uno lineare (proveniente dall'ala degli adulti) e uno "incrementale" (proveniente dall'ala dei bambini).
Il concetto di strutture dinamiche è stato impiegato per descrivere le relazioni tra le attività all'interno dello spazio e la forma. Il tracciato ordinatore dell'edificio nasce dall'interesse per i caratteri specifici delle strutture e dei sistemi gerarchicamente complessi, in quanto ogni particolare struttura è formata da un numero determinato di componenti i cui rapporti sono sempre mutevoli. La coerenza sorge dall'azione congiunta di tutti gli elementi dinamici e dal mutamento costante dei rapporti reciproci tra le singole parti. Questa casa esplora la complessità come guida a una diversa leggibilità, basata su spazi e materiali non convenzionali. Invece di ricercare la coerenza nell'angolo a 90 gradi e in forme geometriche facilmente leggibili, si è sottolineata la capacità di decifrare le regole che sottendono un sistema globale.

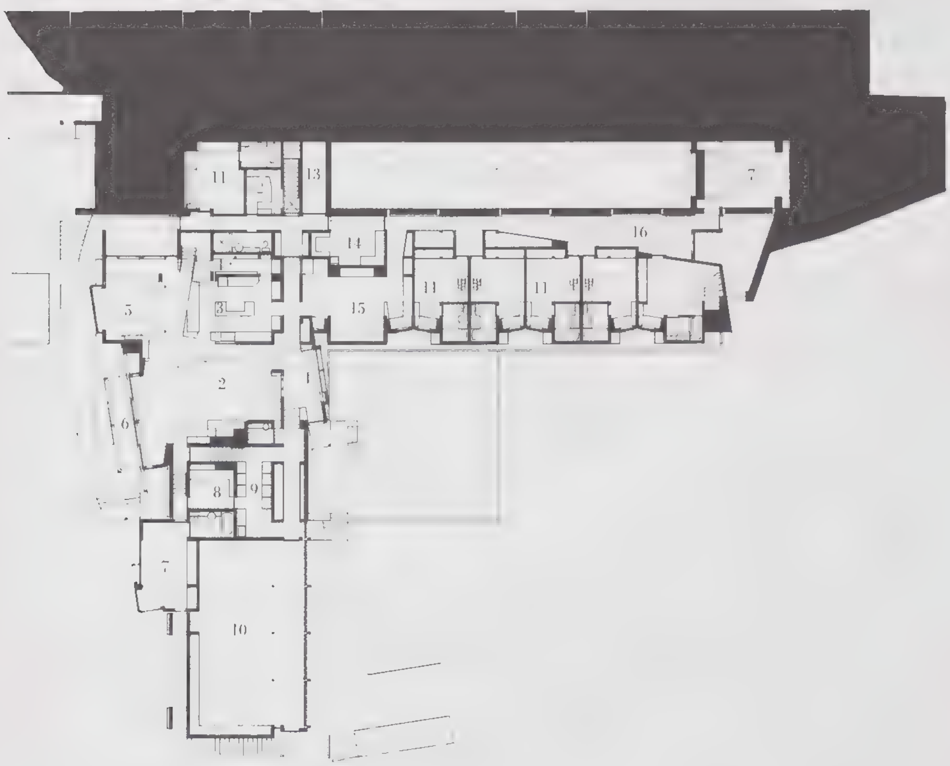




Qwfk House, U.S.A.
Michael Rotondi, Clark Stevens

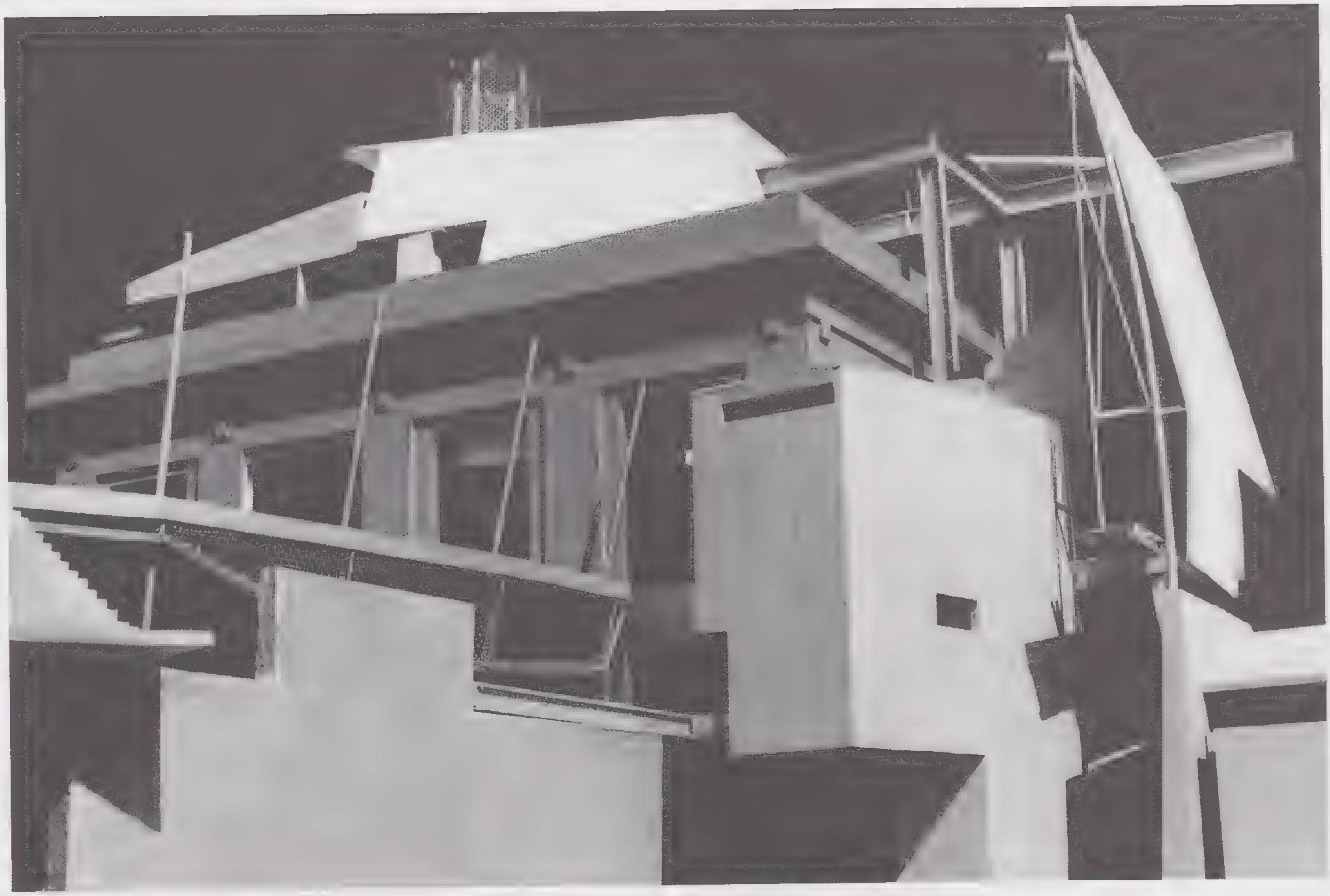
This house attempted to find order among apparent chaos by asking what makes sense when you're in a place where things don't make sense. The central part of the house, its DNA, consists of itself and two perpendicular wings of the house. The bedroom area for the children and the pool comprise one zone and the sleeping area for adults (above the service area for garages and storage) comprises the other, and these feed into the central zone which encompasses the living-room, dining-room, gym and library where all communal family activities converge and overlap. The children's wing became islands in a sea of meadow. The linear quality of the adult sleeping area was drawn from a peninsular land form and open corner of the forest, and was achieved without having to remove any trees from the site. In section the children's and adults' wings of the house parallel the gradations in the westerly slope of the site and gather morning sunlight. The materials for the house were suggested by the site. Lead-coated copper roofing parallels the gray blue skies most often found above the site. Some walls are from fractured ochre bedrock displaced in the excavation, additional walls are plaster tinted in this hue and, in the central zone, walls are surfaced in wood to express the exposed boundaries of this area. All the information from the children's and adults' wings passed through the central (communal) zone of the house which was severed conceptually during design and became its own entity, a closed universe. All the decisions made within it were self-referential but retained traces of the other two zones of the house. In its function as DNA carrying all information about the whole building, the central zone is both the parent and progeny of the two systems from which it was derived.
The overlap of the two systems formed a 3-D volumetric matrix in the central zone and geometric orders were passed through it; one was linear (from the adults' wing), the other "incremental" (from the children's wing).
The concept of dynamic structures was used to describe the relationship between the activity within the space and its shape. The rule base for this building emerges from an appreciation of the nature of complex hierarchical systems and dynamic structure: any particular structure is made up of a number of component parts that each have a shifting relationship with one another. Coherence emerges from all the dynamic elements working together, with the relationship between one piece and another piece, and multiple pieces together, subject to constant change. This house explores complexity as a guide to a different kind of legibility not based on conventional ordering of spaces and positioning of materials. Instead of always having to mean right angles and clear geometrical readings, coherence can be the ability to decipher the rules of the total system.





Casa Qwfk, U.S.A., 1989-94.
Viste del modello di dettaglio
e del modello d'insieme.
Sezioni e pianta del piano terreno:
1) ingresso; 2) soggiorno/assemblea;
3) cucina; 4) dispensa; 5) pranzo;
6) portico; 7) riunioni; 8) punto
di vendita; 9) armadietti; 10) garage;
11) camere; 12) cabina
telecomunicazioni; 13) macchinari
piscina; 14) lavanderia; 15) media
e teleconferenze; 16) galleria.

Qwfk House, U.S.A., 1989-94.
Views of detailed model
and general model.
Ground-floor plan and sections:
1) entry; 2) family/assembly;
3) kitchen; 4) pantry; 5) dining area;
6) screen porch; 7) meeting room;
8) shop; 9) lockers; 10) garage;
11) bedrooms; 12) telecom control;
13) pool equipment; 14) laundry;
15) media/teleconferencing; 16) gallery.



Casa Carlson-Reges,
Los Angeles, 1992-94.
Vista del modello.

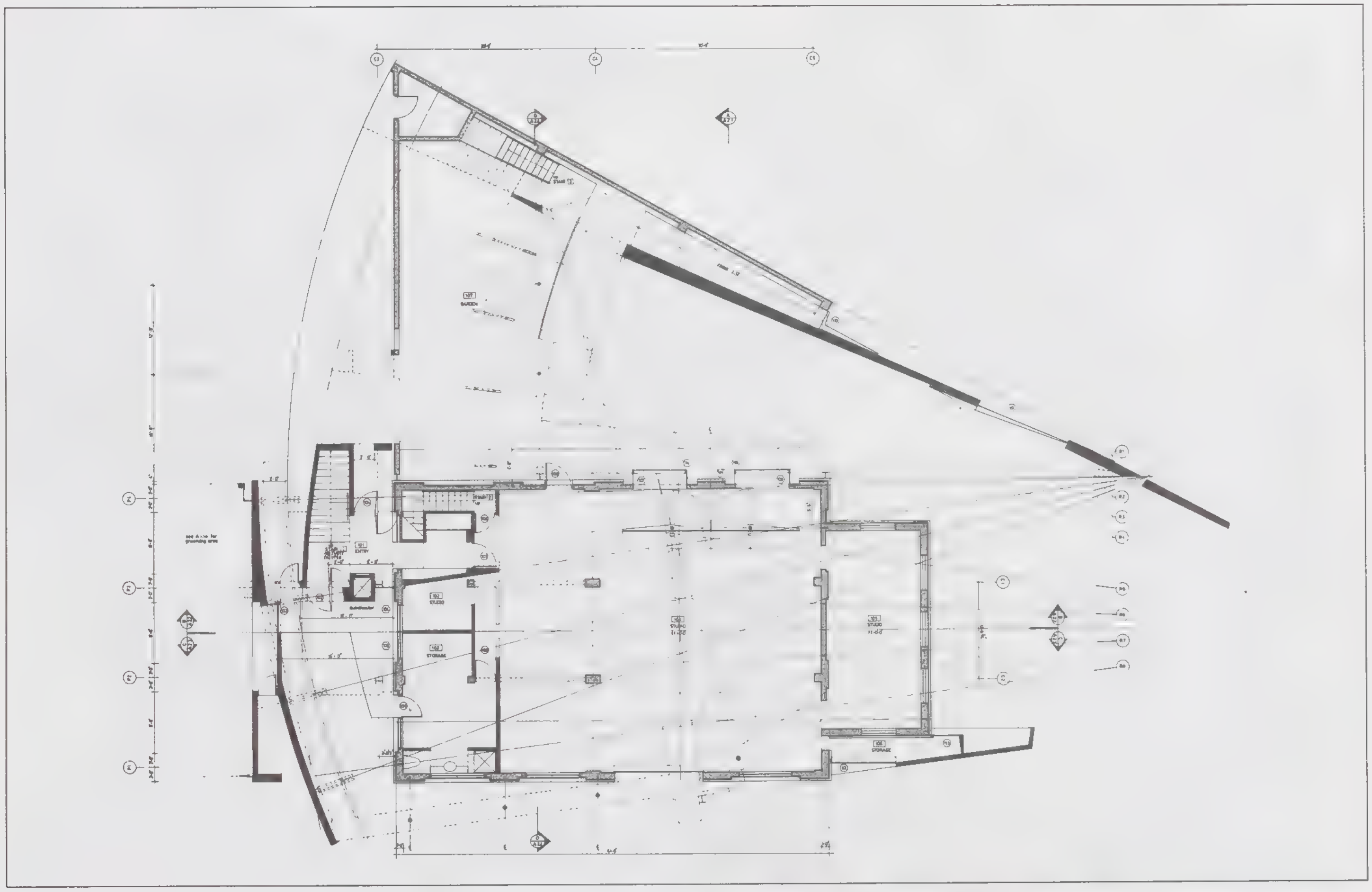
Carlson-Reges Residence,
Los Angeles, 1992-94.
View of model.

Residenza e galleria espositiva Carlson-Reges, Los Angeles, California
Michael Rotondi, Clark Stevens

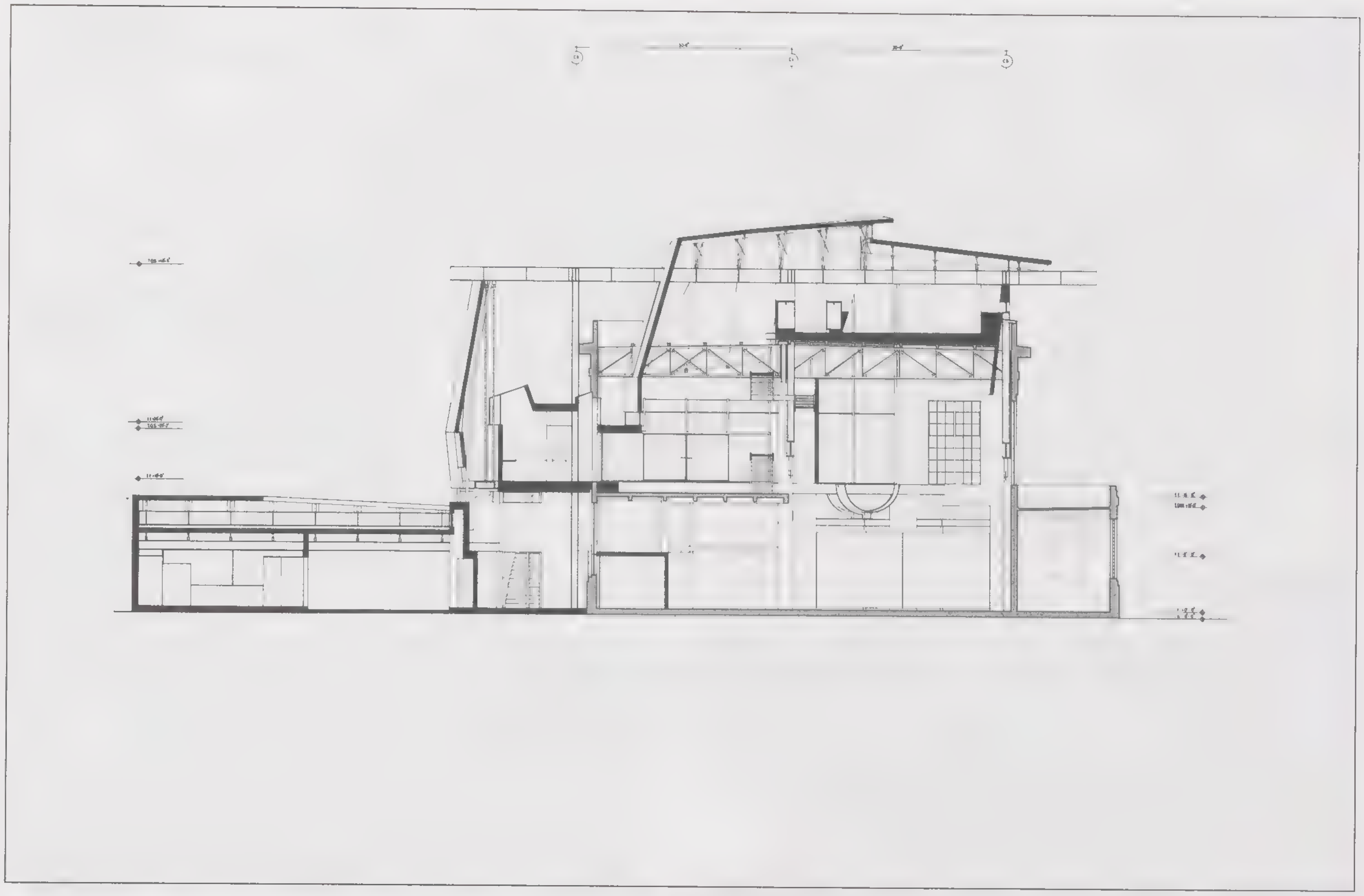
Il progetto Carlson-Reges è il risultato della singolare collaborazione tra un cliente-costruttore e l'architetto. I committenti vivevano nella zona settentrionale di Los Angeles, in un edificio un tempo cabina elettrica, una struttura tradizionale di acciaio e cemento con un cortile occupato dai più diversi materiali e manufatti da costruzione. Il cliente, con una qualificata esperienza nella ristrutturazione di grandi edifici industriali per studi di artisti, voleva allestire la propria collezione di quadri e sculture per esporla periodicamente al pubblico senza compromettere la *privacy* dell'abitazione, chiedendo inoltre di poter riutilizzare i materiali accatastati nel cortile. Nel contempo era necessario affrontare anche problemi acustici e ambientali, derivanti dal contesto urbano-industriale circostante.
Il progetto iniziò con uno studio, espresso in disegni e modelli, riguardante due aspetti distinti ma simultanei. Il primo analizzava le risposte fisiche ed emotive alle potenzialità e ai problemi del sito e della struttura esistente. Il risultato è stata una serie di elementi volumetrici. Uno *scudo* protegge la cucina luminosa e l'interno dal sole più forte a sud, riparando dal rumore e dallo sporco del vicino scalo ferroviario e formando un giardino verticale protetto intorno a un chiosco di bambù esistente di m. 12.00. Il piano terreno è stato disposto al di sopra di un giardino semipubblico e degli spazi della galleria, in modo da creare un *nuovo piano terreno esterno* a una quota di m. 5.00 sopra il livello attuale. Le parti dell'edificio esistente, che prima della realizzazione del nuovo piano terreno non erano abitabili, sono ora collegate da ponti. Le cisterne del cortile sono state trasformate in una *piscina* che riflette lo *skyline* della città e in una *torre* che ha la funzione di *light monitor*, punto panoramico e canna fumaria, coronata da un piccolo verde irrigato.
Parallelamente all'indagine "empirica" sui modelli, è stata condotta un'analisi geometrica tridimensionale, i cui risultati si sono sommati alle informazioni ricavate dal corpo dell'edificio con l'intenzione di creare un volume complesso ma unitario. Questo volume complesso e "traslato" è sorretto da un sistema reticolare "a onda" che si dirama da una semplice cornice strutturale la quale, a sua volta, resta esterna al guscio dell'edificio per appoggiarsi su tralicci di acciaio esistenti e sul terreno m. 15.00 più sotto. Strutturalmente, il nuovo volume è completamente indipendente dall'involucro esistente.
L'edificio è attualmente in costruzione. La maggior parte dei dettagli in acciaio viene definita in sito di volta in volta, poiché la certificazione in possesso del cliente non richiede un'apposita autorizzazione. I disegni costruttivi sono pochissimi e molte delle informazioni necessarie derivano da modelli tridimensionali.

Carlson-Reges Residence, Los Angeles, California
Michael Rotondi, Clark Stevens

The Carlson-Reges Project is the result of a unique client/builder and architect collaboration. The clients have lived for some time in what once was an electric company cabling structure north of downtown Los Angeles. The stripped classical concrete and steel structure is surrounded by a yard that contains an inventory of various building materials and industrial artifacts. The client and his family have acquired considerable skill and experience in the renovation of massively scaled industrial structures for use as artist work space. They requested that we accommodate their expanding collection of paintings and sculptures to allow for periodic public showings without compromising the privacy of their living space. In addition, the client asked that, whenever possible, we take advantage of the materials he had stockpiled in the nearby yard. We were also asked to address the acoustic and environmental problems associated with living in a large open space in the midst of an urban/industrial landscape. Our process began with a modelling and drawing analysis that addressed two separate but simultaneous areas of concern. The first modeling depicted body and emotional responses to the possibilities and problems of the site and existing structure. The result of this exploration was a series of volumetric elements: the Shield *protects the translucent kitchen and the interior from the strongest southern sun, blocks the noise and dirt of the adjacent train switching yard and forms a protected vertical garden around an existing 40 foot stand of bamboo. The ground floor was given over to semi-public garden and gallery spaces, so that a* new exterior ground plane *was created sixteen feet above actual grade. Bridges connect portions of the existing building that were uninhabitable before the establishment of the new ground plane. Tankers from the client's materials yard were modified to make a lap* pool *that reflects the downtown skyline and a* Tower *that acts as a light monitor, viewing instruments and hot-air exhaust, topped by a small humidified garden. A three-dimensional geometric analysis was carried out concurrently with the "experiential" modelling. Information from this analysis of existing conditions was layered with body input to create a complex but single volume. This complex "translational" volume is supported by a wave-like truss system that springs from a simple structural frame bypassing the building shell to bear on existing steel crane rails and the ground fifty feet below. Structurally, the new volume is completely independent of the existing shell.*
The project is currently under construction. Most of the steel detailing is being improvised on site because the client has welding certification that eliminates the requirement for prior approval. The construction documents are minimal, with most of the required information coming from three-dimensional models.









Casa Carlson-Reges,
Los Angeles, 1992-94.
Pianta del piano terreno e sezione longitudinale.
Vista zenitale del modello e vista dell'edificio in costruzione.

Carlson-Reges Residence,
Los Angeles, 1992-94.
Ground-floor plan and longitudinal section.
View of model from above and view of the building under construction.

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *and* ***Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese*** *and* ***Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;* ***Kurt W. Forster*** *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

Guido Canella *Beyond Legitimate Preservation;* ***Ernesto N. Rogers*** *The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi*** *Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas;* ***James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Poultry n. 1 in London;* ***Colin St. John Wilson*** *Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola*** *The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *Department of Architecture in Genoa;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida;* ***Drexel Turner*** *Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America;* ***Gianugo Polesello*** *University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.*

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *and* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown*** *and* ***Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la citta? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

Who designs the city? *Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning;* ***Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek*** *60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism;* ***Bruno Flierl*** *Stalinallee in Berlin;* ***Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli*** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium;* ***Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi*** *Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London;* ***Micha Bandini*** *Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate;* ***Gian Franco Di Pietro*** *Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini*** *A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence;* ***Giovanni Klaus Koenig*** *About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers*** *Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino** II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epoché"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al desco. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil),** Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

Guido Canella Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo; **Derek A.R. Moore** Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti; **Giovanni Testori, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Luciano Semerani,** Progetti per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona; **Philip Johnson** Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut; **Peter Eisenman** Interview with Philip Johnson; **Oscar Niemeyer** Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil; **Oscar Niemeyer** De Pampulha ao Memorial da América Latina; **Lionello Puppi** Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo; **Richard Meier** Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany; **Carlo Aymonino** Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien; **Gottfried Böhm** Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland; **Gottfried Böhm** Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland; **Aldo Rossi** Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

Zodiac 10

Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

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Via Martelli 14/R - Firenze

Libreria Feltrinelli
Corso Italia 50 - Pisa

Libreria Feltrinelli
Via Banchi di Sopra 117 - Siena

Trentino Alto Adige
La Rivisteria
Via S. Vigilio 23 - Trento

Veneto
Libreria Feltrinelli
Via S. Francesco 14 - Padova

Libreria Clup
Tolentini S. Croce 197 - Venezia

Libreria Cluva
Tolentini S. Croce 197 - Venezia

Libreria Rinascita
Corte Farina 4 - Verona

Zodiac 11

Rivista internazionale di architettura
International Review of Architecture

ISSN 0394-9230



A.I.A./Los Angeles Centennial Celebration Edition

1994 AIA Convention Issue

AIA THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS



UNA QUALITÀ UMANA

Catalogazione scientifica - e quindi difesa -, reperimento e confronti computerizzati di opere, analisi non distruttive, restauro del patrimonio artistico non possono più prescindere dalle tecnologie informatiche, che stanno ormai creando nuove condizioni conoscitive e di intervento sui beni culturali e in particolare artistici.
Da quindici anni, attraverso ricerche specializzate, indagini riflettoscopiche, applicazioni multimediali, promozione di memorabili interventi conservativi, pubblicazioni documentarie, studi storici, ricorso a competenze internazionali, Olivetti è attivamente presente nella salvaguardia dell'eredità culturale del Paese, della sua identità morale, del suo futuro.

tà umana.

Zodiac 12

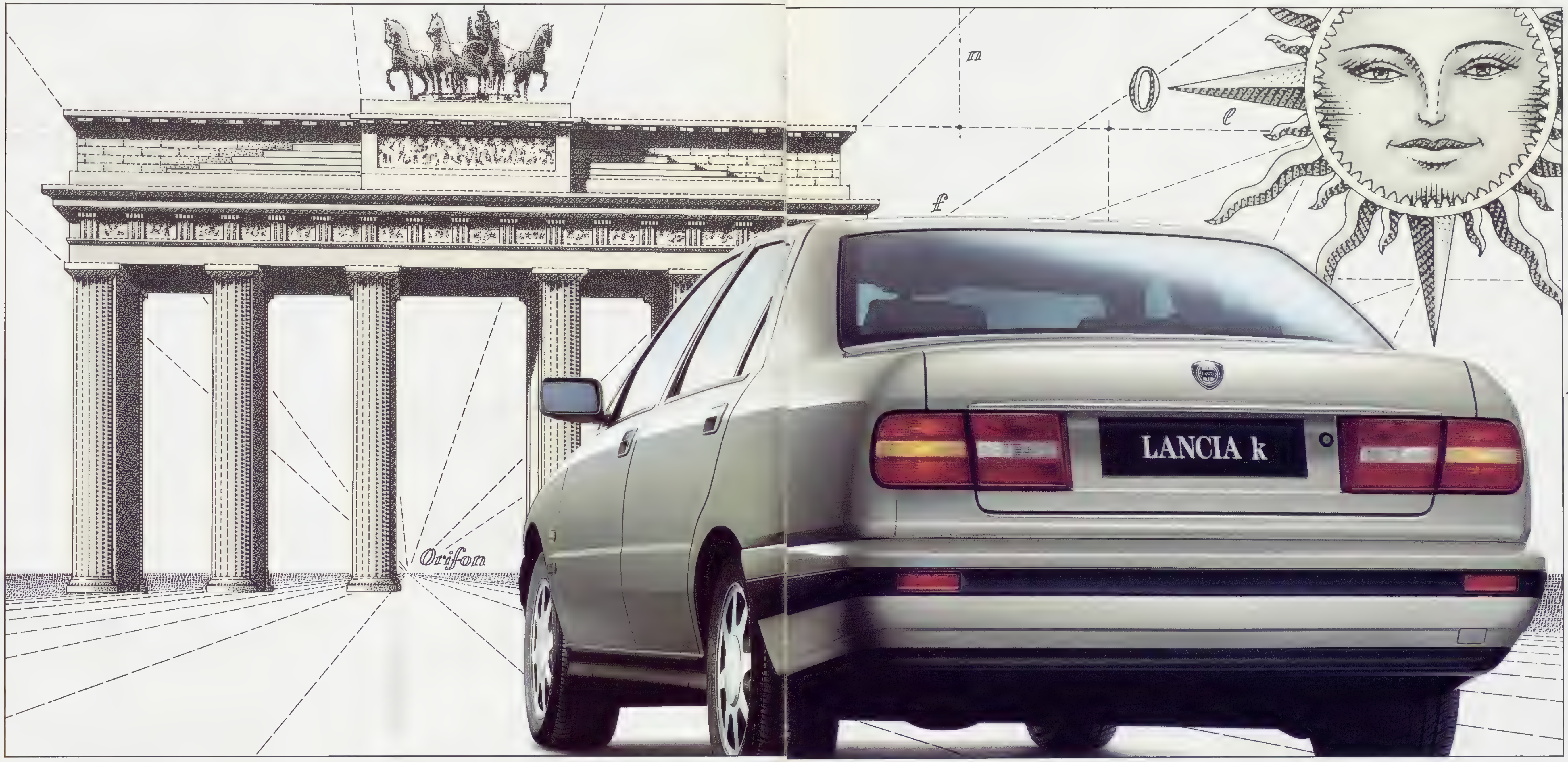
Rivista internazionale di architettura
International Review of Architecture



Periodico culturale semestrale ... bitare Segesta s.p.a. Settembre 94/Febbraio 95 Spedizione in abbonamento postale 50% - Milano



Il traguardo della sicurezza.



Un anno gratuito di Servizi Speciali con Lancia Assistenza. Lubrificazione specializzata Fiat Lubrificanti SELÈNIA MOTOR OIL. Le vetture Lancia si acquistano anche con proposte finanziarie Sava e Savaleasing.
*Escluse A.R.I.E.T. e I.S.E.

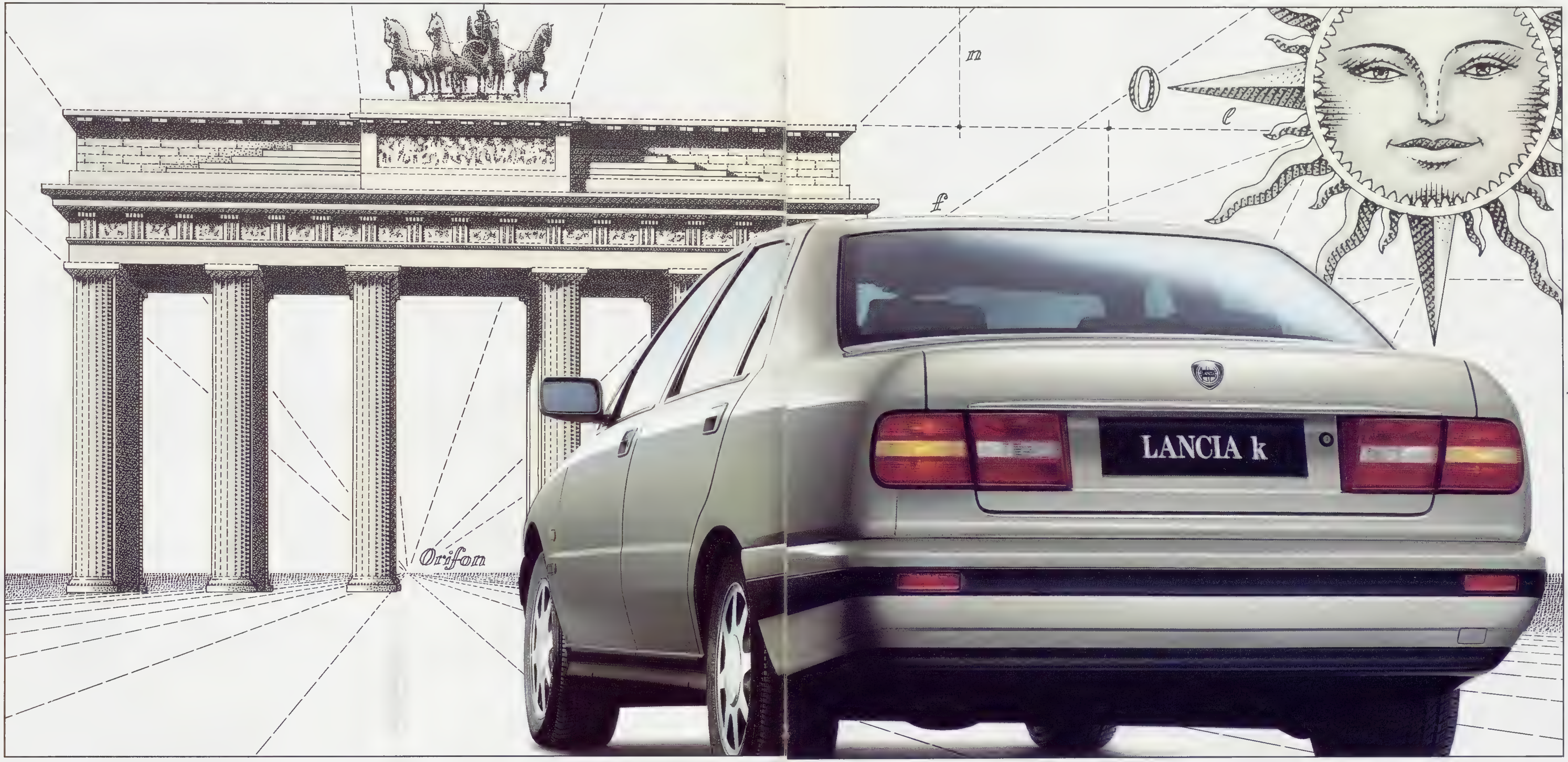
Lancia k

Una nuova ammiraglia. Lancia k nasce da un pensiero che offre nuove certezze e stabilisce nuovi parametri. Anche nella sicurezza. L'assenza totale di vibrazioni a bordo, nota di comfort e di pregio, è dovuta alla elevatissima rigidezza torsionale della struttura, la più alta della categoria. Un risultato inattaccabile da ogni punto di vista, che garantisce maggiore sicurezza, affidabilità, maneggevolezza. Ma non è tutto. Lancia k può naturalmente contare sulla sicurezza di air-bag lato guida, ABS, Fire Prevention System di serie, e sugli indispensabili pretensionatori delle cinture. Lancia k: il traguardo più sereno, da oggi, è guidarla.

Lancia k	*2.0*	*2.0 turbo*	*2.4*	*2.4 turbo ds*	*3.0*
CV CEE	*145*	*205*	*175*	*124*	*204*
*Prezzo base**	*44.800.000*	*—*	*47.300.000*	*46.100.000*	*68.000.000*
Di serie: air-bag lato guida, ABS, cinture con pretensionatori, FPS, Lancia Code.					

Lancia Il Granturismo

Il traguardo della sicurezza.



Lancia k

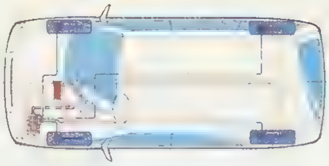
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* Escluse A.R.I.E.T. e I.S.E.

(anche in altezza!) e sono disponibili con il sedile riscaldato, con l'appoggiabraccia o con i rivestimenti in pelle. Ma Ulysse è comodo soprattutto perché è facilissimo da guidare. Spazioso ma compatto, è molto maneggevole, grazie anche al servosterzo di serie.

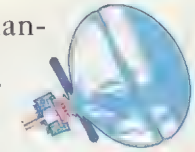


Inoltre con le porte laterali scorrevoli scendere dall'auto è più semplice. La sua straordinaria tenuta di strada è merito delle innovative sospensioni posteriori. Ulysse è disponibile in tre livelli d'allestimento, con due motori a benzina due litri, aspirato e turbo, che consentono prestazioni ai vertici della categoria, sempre nella più assoluta sicurezza e con grande rispetto per l'ambiente.

ULYSSE	POTENZA MAX CV-CEE	VELOCITA' MAX (Km/h)
2.0 S	121	177
2.0 EL	121	177
2.0 Turbo ELS	147	195
2.0 Turbo HL	147	195



Provate a salire a bordo: scoprirete mille cose, piccole o grandi, che vi metteranno a vostro agio. La rivoluzionaria posizione della leva del cambio, per esempio. Ma anche i portabottiglie e i portabicchieri estraibili, i ganci appendiabiti a scomparsa, l'antifurto codificato, l'autoradio e CD con comandi al volante e con ben otto altoparlanti.





Ogni occasione è buona per guidare l'Ulysse: una serata elegante, un lungo weekend, una puntata in centro, un trasporto ingombrante, un viaggio lunghissimo con figli e amici. Provate l'Ulysse: e proverete l'inedita sensazione di guidare cinque belle auto contemporaneamente.



ULYSSE. GUIDARE ALLA GRANDE. FIAT

Stet - Società finanziaria telefonica per azioni

Via Bertola n. 28 - 10122 Torino

Adempimenti ai sensi dell'art. 2, 3º comma del Decreto Legge 30 giugno 1994, n. 421 ed avviso di rettifica pubblicato sulla Gazzetta Ufficiale del 4 luglio 1994

Elenco delle testate delle quali esisteva l'esclusiva della pubblicità nell'esercizio 1993

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Presenza
Notizie Viaggio
50 e Più
Vita e Pensiero
Riviste Consorzio Consis

Conto economico

		1993		1992
VALORE DELLA PRODUZIONE				
Ricavi delle vendite e delle prestazioni		1.919.062.517.910		1.880.406.813.851
Variazioni delle rimanenze di prodotti in corso di lavorazione, semilavorati e finiti		673.743.623		399.804.156
Altri ricavi e proventi:				
• *contributi in conto esercizio*	11.321.908			
• *altri*	60.896.611.640	60.907.933.548	77.819.669.317	77.819.669.317
		1.980.644.195.081		1.958.626.287.324
COSTI DELLA PRODUZIONE				
per materie prime, sussidiarie, di consumo e merci		140.950.051.526		133.118.517.322
per servizi		945.440.953.073		922.053.805.381
per godimento di beni di terzi		21.565.966.510		19.896.743.046
per il personale:				
• *salari e stipendi*	186.972.857.763		186.100.904.246	
• *oneri sociali*	67.810.208.616		67.179.424.778	
• *trattamento di fine rapporto*	15.292.463.747		15.600.880.424	
• *altri costi*	4.221.834.360	274.297.364.486	3.654.866.073	272.536.075.521
Ammortamenti e svalutazioni:				
• *ammortamento delle immobilizzazioni immateriali*	10.598.301.016		8.568.450.503	
• *ammortamento delle immobilizzazioni materiali*	34.861.300.563		33.925.414.627	
• *svalutazioni crediti compresi nell'attivo circolante e delle disponibilità liquide*	57.501.717.803	102.961.319.382	25.856.253.447	68.350.118.577
Variazioni delle rimanenze di materie prime, sussidiarie, di consumo e merci		4.093.938.004		4.766.685.463
Accantonamenti per rischi		24.682.116.374		17.588.385.638
Altri accantonamenti		4.199.520.466		4.117.763.410
Oneri diversi di gestione		19.617.568.007		17.990.298.117
		(1.537.808.797.828)		(1.450.885.021.549)
DIFFERENZA TRA VALORE E COSTI DELLA PRODUZIONE		**442.835.397.253**		**507.741.265.775**
PROVENTI E ONERI FINANZIARI				
Proventi da partecipazioni				
• *dividendi da imprese controllate*	419.061.732.285		403.641.478.118	
• *dividendi da imprese collegate*	8.300.291.744		2.681.923.324	
• *dividendi da altre imprese*	41.750.000		109.250.000	
• *altri proventi da partecipazioni*	433.721.224.046	861.124.998.075	257.571.952.664	664.004.604.106
Altri proventi finanziari				
• *da crediti iscritti nelle immobilizzazioni*				
• *imprese controllate*	150.142.614.210		185.798.098.812	
• *imprese collegate*	173.749.314		215.124.898	
• *altri*	790.378.411		659.093.031	
	151.106.741.935		186.672.316.741	
da titoli iscritti nelle immobilizzazioni che non costituiscono partecipazioni	39.157.386.124		39.207.220.388	
da titoli iscritti nell'attivo circolante che non costituiscono partecipazioni	49.344.709.156		49.584.943.972	
Proventi diversi dai precedenti				
• *interessi e commissioni da imprese controllate*	375.269.725.590		329.186.869.952	
• *interessi e commissioni da imprese collegate*	6.295.280.994		9.043.238.588	
• *interessi e commissioni da altri e proventi vari*	154.543.846.457		25.752.482.690	
	536.108.853.041	775.717.690.256	363.982.591.230	639.447.072.331
Interessi e altri oneri finanziari				
• *interessi e commissioni a imprese controllate*	39.581.108.179		52.979.477.022	
• *interessi e commissioni a imprese collegate*	324.021.795		609.952.207	
• *interessi e commissioni a controllanti*	54.130.116.322		56.240.903.490	
• *interessi e commissioni ad altri ed oneri vari*	558.504.610.993	(652.539.857.289)	378.922.400.135	(488.752.732.854)
Totale proventi e oneri finanziari		**984.302.831.042**		**814.698.943.583**
RETTIFICHE DI VALORE DI ATTIVITÀ FINANZIARIE				
Svalutazioni				
• *di partecipazioni*	28.256.104.630		13.117.963.407	
• *di titoli iscritti nell'attivo circolante che non costituiscono partecipazioni*		(28.256.104.630)	7.543.427.837	(20.661.391.244)
Totale delle rettifiche		**(28.256.104.630)**		**(20.661.391.244)**
PROVENTI E ONERI STRAORDINARI				
Proventi		23.072.739.822		6.088.779.403
Oneri				
• *imposte relative a esercizi precedenti*	48.290.698		25.520.407	
• *altri*	1.871.352.094	(1.919.642.792)	2.744.626.073	(2.770.146.480)
Totale delle partite straordinarie		**21.153.097.030**		**3.318.632.923**
Risultato prima delle imposte		1.420.035.220.695		1.305.097.451.037
Imposte sul reddito dell'esercizio		(632.752.153.040)		(530.099.355.491)
Risultato dell'esercizio		787.283.067.655		774.998.095.546
Rettifiche di valore operate esclusivamente in applicazione di norme tributarie				
Accantonamenti operati esclusivamente in applicazione di norme tributarie				
UTILE DELL'ESERCIZIO		**787.283.067.655**		**774.998.095.546**

Stato patrimoniale - Attivo

	31-12-93		31-12-92	
CREDITI VERSO SOCI PER VERSAMENTI ANCORA DOVUTI				
IMMOBILIZZAZIONI				
Immobilizzazioni immateriali				
Costi di impianto e di ampliamento	2.086.200.200		2.706.986.400	
Diritti di brevetto industriale e diritti di utilizzazione delle opere dell'ingegno	942.471.452		1.133.652.562	
Concessioni, licenze, marchi e diritti simili	1.080.000.000		2.160.000.000	
Immobilizzazioni in corso e acconti	3.823.973.267		1.700.000.000	
Altre	237.398.703.136	245.331.348.055	7.189.982.530	14.890.621.492
Immobilizzazioni materiali				
Terreni e fabbricati	398.871.671.684		351.317.775.018	
Impianti e macchinario	41.145.169.178		36.749.304.349	
Altri beni	23.472.092.967		19.969.079.461	
Immobilizzazioni in corso e acconti	21.148.100.668	484.637.034.497	58.371.225.676	466.407.384.504

		31-12-93			31-12-92	
Immobilizzazioni finanziarie						
Partecipazioni in:						
• *imprese controllate*		5.735.031.413.440			5.211.611.220.880	
• *imprese collegate*		161.128.471.955			241.202.826.176	
• *altre imprese*		67.030.062.706			18.633.712.189	
		5.963.189.948.101			5.471.447.759.245	
Versamenti in c/partecipazioni		9.452.303.996			78.900.000.000	
Crediti:	(*)			(*)		
• *verso imprese controllate*	32.622.953.464	1.143.960.705.576		70.000.000.000	1.236.417.082.640	
• *verso imprese collegate*		1.530.000.000			1.530.000.000	
• *verso altri*	2.319.837.993	14.332.654.803		1.438.683.383	11.407.562.739	
	34.942.791.457	1.159.823.360.379		71.438.683.383	1.249.354.645.379	
Altri titoli		319.405.906.929			319.405.906.929	
			7.451.871.519.405			7.119.108.311.553
Totale immobilizzazioni			**8.181.839.901.957**			**7.600.406.317.549**
ATTIVO CIRCOLANTE						
Rimanenze						
Materie prime, sussidiarie e di consumo		25.382.730.300			30.150.085.928	
Prodotti in corso di lavorazione e semilavorati		2.446.201.732			3.111.884.681	
Prodotti finiti e merci						
• *prodotti finiti*		2.764.233.645			1.424.807.073	
• *merci*		673.417.624				
		3.437.651.269	31.266.583.301		1.424.807.073	34.686.777.682
Crediti	(**)			(**)		
verso clienti	1.674.971.300	800.931.138.310		895.672.300	817.449.186.876	
verso imprese controllate		84.281.200.158			62.541.525.346	
verso imprese collegate		2.396.993.820			1.772.582.579	
verso controllanti		21.020.362			18.318.126	
verso altri:						
• *imprese partecipate c/accertamento dividendi*		419.061.732.285			404.277.890.998	
• *diversi*	2.347.502.150	121.382.723.059		3.705.571.020	193.352.830.821	
		540.444.455.344			597.630.721.819	
	4.022.473.450		1.428.074.807.994	4.601.243.320		1.479.412.334.746
Attività finanziarie che non costituiscono immobilizzazioni						
Altri titoli		291.045.266.667			284.489.095.365	
Crediti finanziari		2.986.223.708.508	3.277.268.975.175		4.740.920.166.888	5.025.409.262.253
Disponibilità liquide						
Depositi bancari e postali		21.880.062.835			14.020.730.491	
Assegni		1.500.000				
Denaro e valori in cassa		285.961.397	22.167.524.232		347.643.439	14.368.373.930
Totale attivo circolante			**4.758.777.890.702**			**6.553.876.748.611**
RATEI E RISCONTI						
• *disaggi di emissioni ed altri oneri similari su prestiti*		71.741.790.632			4.113.615.428	
• *ratei e altri risconti*		20.879.900.312	**92.621.690.944**		20.994.005.368	**25.107.620.796**
TOTALE ATTIVO			**13.033.239.483.603**			**14.179.390.686.956**

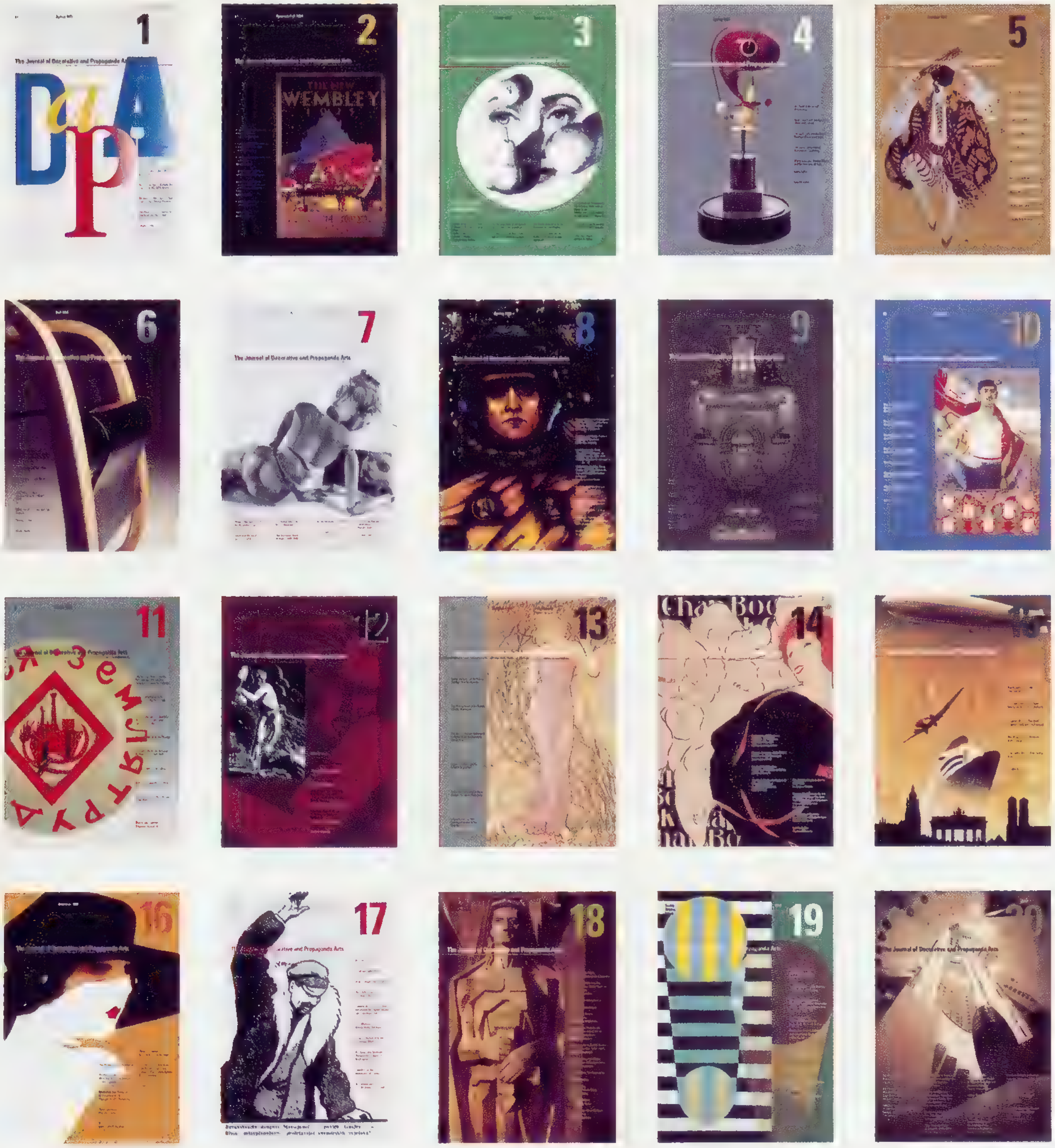
Stato patrimoniale - Passivo

		31-12-93			31-12-92	
PATRIMONIO NETTO						
Capitale			4.600.000.000.000			4.600.000.000.000
Riserva da sovrapprezzo delle azioni			169.272.526.830			169.272.526.830
Riserve di rivalutazione						
Riserva legge 30/12/1991, n. 413			61.111.197.070			61.111.197.070
Riserva legale			312.479.251.941			273.419.156.395
Altre riserve						
Riserva straordinaria		484.567.890.574			281.090.620.801	
Fondo plusvalenze legge 4/5/1983, n. 169					2.615.863.773	
Fondo reinvestimento utili nel Mezzogiorno		702.000.000.000	1.186.567.890.574		665.000.000.000	948.706.484.574
Utile dell'esercizio			787.283.067.655			774.998.095.546
			7.116.713.934.070			**6.827.507.460.415**
Fondi per rischi e oneri						
per imposte		23.208.432.427			20.568.761.024	
altri		247.865.796.468	**271.074.228.895**		232.550.651.538	**253.119.412.562**
Trattamento di fine rapporto di lavoro subordinato			**84.527.291.456**			**83.150.949.446**
DEBITI	(**)			(**)		
Debiti verso banche	1.765.685.312.411	3.423.492.326.525		1.200.823.130.661	4.948.247.566.766	
Debiti verso altri finanziatori		169.009.574.222			83.904.457.863	
Debiti verso fornitori		133.116.865.694			128.071.496.290	
Debiti verso imprese controllate	453.406.590	521.187.256.048		97.500.000	584.701.354.863	
Debiti verso imprese collegate		11.162.925.289			1.425.800.109	
Debiti verso controllanti	550.363.141.000	557.217.459.924		477.201.828.000	478.399.045.627	
Debiti tributari		116.702.577.162		122.198.000	86.145.901.987	
Debiti verso istituti di previdenza e di sicurezza sociale		27.083.224.831			24.068.318.131	
Altri debiti:						
• *prestazioni da eseguire*		436.421.555.104			503.191.302.762	
• *diversi*	6.940.088.476	118.075.520.466		216.951.600	125.964.889.065	
		554.497.075.570			629.156.191.827	
	2.323.441.948.477		**5.513.469.285.265**	**1.678.461.608.261**		**6.964.120.133.463**
RATEI E RISCONTI			**47.454.743.917**			**51.492.731.070**
TOTALE PASSIVO			**13.033.239.483.603**			**14.179.390.686.956**

(*) importi esigibili entro l'esercizio successivo (**) importi esigibili oltre l'esercizio successivo

Conti d'ordine

		31-12-93			31-12-92	
Garanzie personali prestate						
fideiussioni						
• *a favore di imprese controllate*	17.731.066.693.471			17.315.723.182.879		
• *a favore di imprese collegate*	46.094.594.608			43.302.349.754		
• *a favore di imprese controllate*	447.141.625.556			377.394.680.355		
• *da dette controllanti a favore di altri*	5.880.085.734	18.230.182.999.369		20.337.971.426	17.756.758.194.414	
• *altre, diverse da avalli, a favore di imprese controllate*		292.210.000	18.230.475.209.369			17.756.758.194.414
Garanzie reali prestate						
• *per obbligazioni proprie, diverse da debiti*		72.222.333			72.222.333	
• *per debiti iscritti in bilancio*		823.130.661	895.352.994		950.039.558	1.022.261.891
Impegni di acquisto e di vendita			1.217.950.775.000			1.090.553.000.000
Altri			3.708.941.971.872			1.956.484.754.907
TOTALE CONTI D'ORDINE			**23.158.263.309.235**			**20.804.818.211.212**



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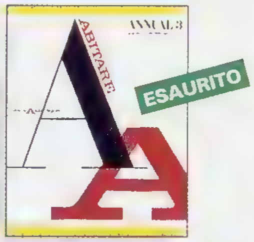
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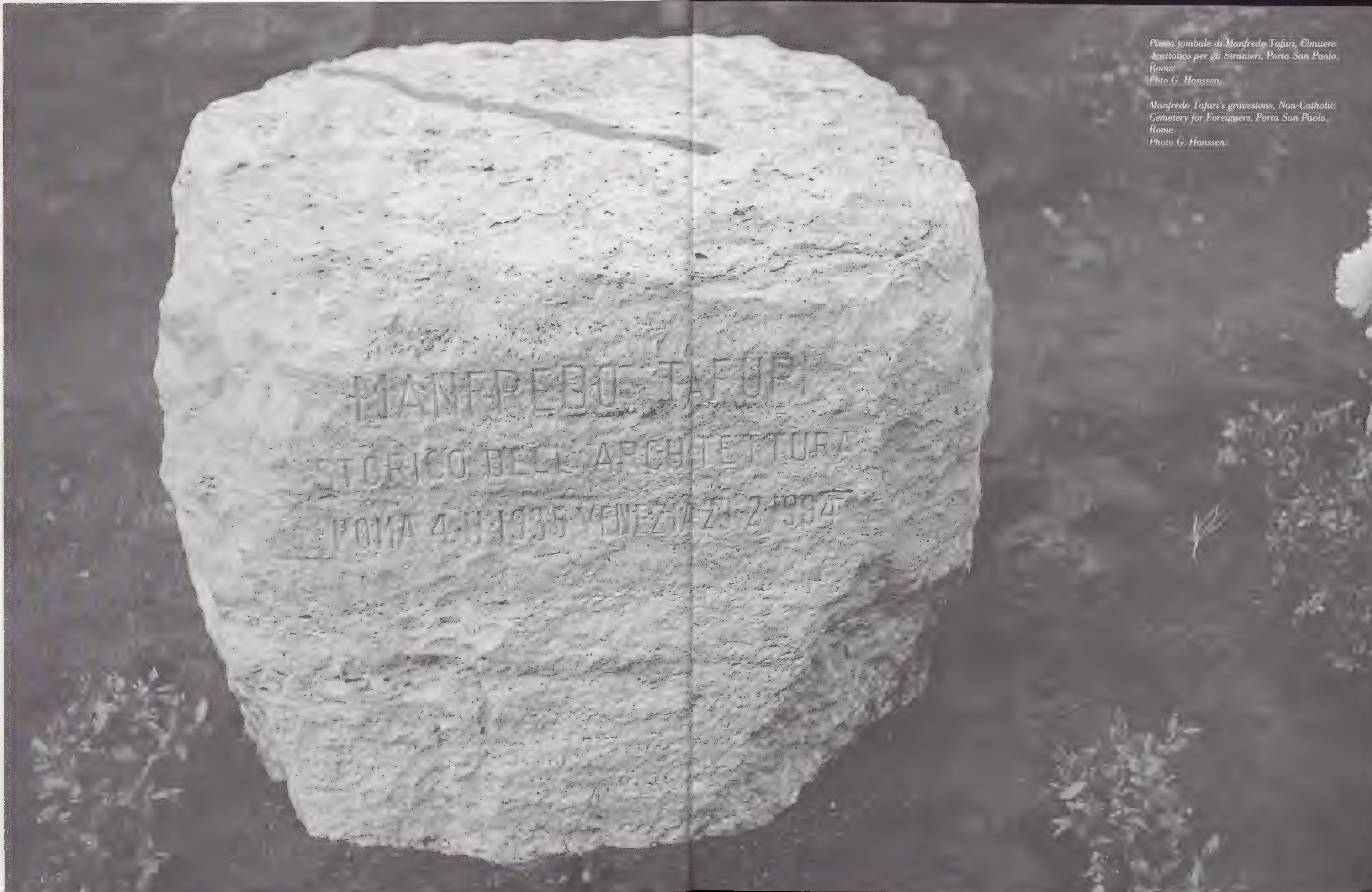
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In copertina: Medaglia in bronzo del Pritzker Prize, disegnata da Bill Lacy, donata dal 1987 agli architetti laureati, di cui sul fronte viene inciso il nome.

Front cover: the bronze Pritzker Prize Medal by Bill Lacy awarded to laureates since 1987. Laureates' names are engraved on the front.

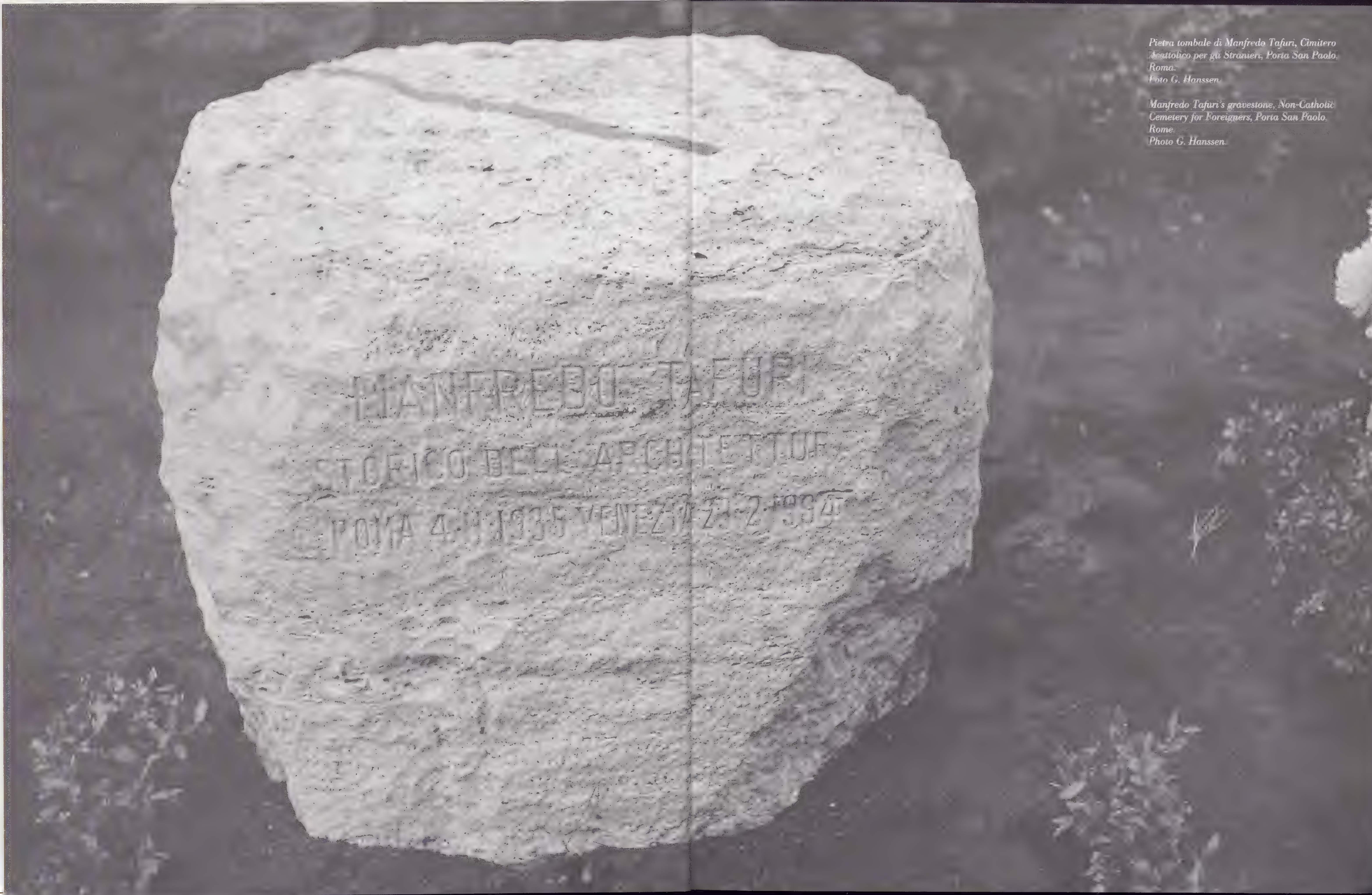
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Pietra tombale di Manfredo Tafuri, Cimitero Acattolico per gli Stranieri, Porta San Paolo, Roma
Foto G. Hanssen

Manfredo Tafuri's gravestone, Non-Catholic Cemetery for Foreigners, Porta San Paolo, Rome
Photo G. Hanssen



Pietra tombale di Manfredo Tafuri, Cimitero Acattolico per gli Stranieri, Porta San Paolo, Roma.
Foto G. Hanssen.

Manfredo Tafuri's gravestone, Non-Catholic Cemetery for Foreigners, Porta San Paolo, Rome.
Photo G. Hanssen.

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994)

Sono già trascorsi sei mesi dalla morte di Manfredo Tafuri. Troppi per dirne nello struggente ricordo dell'amico, pochi per riandare al come, in particolare, fu con noi nella ripresa di "Zodiac" e nell'orientamento dei primi tre numeri. Per poi lasciarci con intatta amicizia, come testimonia ("*... Hai letto il mio libro? Ci terrei ...*") fino all'ultima riga una corrispondenza durata oltre un quarto di secolo. Ancora troppo poco soprattutto il tempo utile a rimeditare una memoria di lui, nelle contraddizioni dell'architettura contemporanea, degna del suo contributo di storico e di appassionato militante.
Tra le tante commemorazioni vogliamo riportare qui un passo, che ci pare particolarmente significativo, nell'orazione funebre che Massimo Cacciari tenne nel cortile dei Tolentini, la Scuola di architettura di Venezia dove egli ha insegnato per ventisei anni: "*Ma ancor più aspra è stata la sua polemica contro i dogmatismi attuali, contro quell'odioso dogmatismo che si ammanta di relativismo e convenzionalismo, che chiacchiera ad ogni pie' sospinto di 'morte dell'ideologia', e per il quale, in realtà, tutto è relativo fuorché appunto il Relativo, tutto è scambiabile fuorché appunto che* tutto *sia scambiabile, merce, prodotto, moda*".
A noi infatti non pare capzioso supporre che il modo di far storia di Manfredo Tafuri, di affrontare il passato, di interpretare opere, fatti, artefici nel contrasto d'idee del loro tempo, si trovi comunque sollecitato dal rapporto col presente, da un certo modo di delineare, per differenza o "per via di togliere", una via etica all'architetto di oggi (e di domani); si trovi cioè sospinto da un suo modo di intendere e progettare architettura sia pure attraverso metafore scritte. Sicché, scontata l'ovvia diversità dei casi, vorremmo parafrasare quanto Cesare Garboli ha notato a proposito di Roberto Longhi e della critica pittorica intesa come traslitterazione letteraria: non si sa che cosa nella scrittura di Tafuri appartenga a Tafuri, e che cosa all'architettura; e, se si vuol parlare di Tafuri scrittore, questo reciproco non si può tacerlo.
Si è supposto che l'ultimo Tafuri fosse oppresso dallo scrupolo filologico. Eppure anche quel perlustrarla, quella storia, quello scavarle tutt'attorno a noi sembra mosso dallo sforzo di connettere l'architettura all'idea di città, che non è stata – e non può essere – prerogativa della sua sola apparenza fisica.
In tal senso possiamo spiegarci perché dall'olimpo degli storici egli sia ripetutamente disceso alla critica esercitata nella contemporaneità: una tensione morale che, non disdegnando di addentrarsi tra le insidie di un panorama tanto frammentario e complicato – senza anteporvi predilezioni personali e discriminanti di semplificazione –, lo impegnava a motivare, almeno fin dove riteneva desistessero esibizionismo e falsificazione, le ragioni autentiche del coesistere di poetiche tanto fra loro distanti, addirittura incomunicabili.
E soprattutto questo a noi pare il "valore aggiunto" dalla sua interpretazione alla restituzione storica.

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994)

Six months have already passed since the death of Manfredo Tafuri. A long time for all those friends who vividly miss him; but only an instant, it seems, since the days when he was here with us, involved from the outset in the new series of Zodiac and in the orientation of the first three issues. When our paths separated our friendship continued, as can be seen in a correspondence ("Have you read my new book? I want to know your opinion...") *which spans over a quarter of a century. Six months cannot suffice for a complete meditation on his works, for a memoir, in the contradictory context of contemporary architecture, such as that deserved by his contribution as a historian and a passionate militant.*
From among the many commemorative words written and spoken during these six months, we would like to cite a passage which we feel is particularly significant, from the funeral oration delivered by Massimo Cacciari in the courtyard of the Tolentini, at the School of architecture in Venice where Tafuri taught for twenty-six years: "Even harsher was his opposition to today's dogmatisms, against that hateful dogmatism which clothes itself in relativism and conventionalism, with its constant prattle about the 'death of ideology', and for which, in reality, everything is relative except the Relative, everything is interchangeable except for the very notion that *everything* can be traded as merchandise, product, fashion."
It does not appear captious, to us, to suppose that Manfredo Tafuri's way of approaching history, of confronting the past, of interpreting works, facts, artefacts within the conflict of ideas of their time, was in some way inspired by a relationship with the present, by a certain way of delineating, by difference or by a process of elimination, an ethical path for the architect of today (and of tomorrow); driven, as it were, by Tafuri's way of understanding and designing, although in written metaphor, architecture. Aware of the obvious differences between the cases involved, we might paraphrase Cesare Garboli's observation regarding Roberto Longhi and art criticism as literary transliteration: we do not know, in the writings of Tafuri, what belongs to Tafuri and what belongs to architecture; and if we are to discuss Tafuri the writer, this reciprocity cannot be ignored.
Some assume that Tafuri's later works are somehow encumbered by philological scruples. Yet even this minute examination of history, this excavation of facts around the edges of the argument appears, to us, to be motivated by an effort to connect architecture to the idea of the city, which was not – and could never be – the prerogative of its mere physical appearance.
In this sense perhaps we can more easily understand why Tafuri was willing to repeatedly come down from the ivory tower of the historians to take part in the contemporary critical debate: he was driven by a moral impulse which without disdain for the fray, in spite of the snares of such a fragmentary, complex panorama – without preferences for personal predilections or exonerating simplifications – drove him to encourage, at least as far as he considered them free of exhibitionism and falsification, the authentic coexistence of truly diverse poetics, remote one from the other, or even precluded from possible intercommunication.
In our opinion this, above all, constitutes the contribution made by his interpretation of the legacy of history.

Premiata Architettura Contemporanea

Guido Canella

Alla proposta di Francesco Dal Co di dedicare un numero di questa rivista al Premio Pritzker, abbiamo tutti risposto favorevolmente, ma senza discussione: in quella circostanza, che ci trovava riuniti proprio a Venezia, non poteva però non prevalere il ricordo dell'amico da poco scomparso. Sicché della proposta non si disse altro, mentre sarebbe stato interessante che ognuno dei presenti avesse subito esternato i motivi, consci o inconsci, di tale opzione.
A noi tocca ora l'occasione editoriale.
È scontato che un premio internazionale, da attribuirsi periodicamente a un intellettuale o a un artista per una data disciplina, costituisca sempre un'alea: vuoi perché il meccanismo di segnalazione dei candidati e i criteri di composizione della commissione giudicatrice riservano stretti margini all'effettiva competenza; vuoi perché, trattandosi di viventi, una valutazione prospettica risulta spesso troppo scorciata; vuoi perché a influenzarne l'esito subentra spesso la ricerca di equilibri fatalmente inclini al compromesso.
Eppure, rispetto al Nobel per la letteratura (dal 1901) e agli Oscar per il cinema (dal 1929), il Pritzker per l'architettura gode di un indiscutibile vantaggio: quello di non essere direttamente pressato da ragioni di mercato, così da fornire dal 1979, con i 17 premiati, uno spaccato discutibile quanto si voglia, ma comunque emblematico dell'architettura contemporanea.
Si potrà obiettare: che lo spaccato si apre dal lato più mondano piuttosto che da quello più pregnante; che per ogni insignito esistono altrettanti e forse più meritevoli epperò ingiustamente trascurati; eccetera. Ma allora si può rispondere: che all'architettura è meglio un riconoscimento che nessuno; che, almeno virtualmente, i criteri son pur migliorabili e che a riparare un torto si è sempre a tempo; eccetera.
Va dunque dato merito al Pritzker di obbligarci a riflettere, sia pure sul *coté* più appariscente dell'architettura di questi anni, e da lì a farci presagire una tendenza del gusto corrente estrapolabile per il prossimo futuro. Per esempio:
1. L'architettura contemporanea di qualità, dismessa ufficialmente la fase ideologica e profetica, appare intenta a rispecchiare lo "spirito dei tempi" nell'ostensiva apoteosi dell'efficienza e del benessere, anche entro alcuni temi più domestici, che risultano voler essere esercizi di messa a punto piuttosto che alternative tipologiche (restando per sempre fuori gioco il progetto dell'abitazione economica, del quartiere suburbano e dei servizi elementari?).
2. Così che sembra ormai sanata la separazione tra poetica e gradimento dacché, con l'inesorabile penetrazione dei *mass media*, anche il distacco tra *élite* e massa si è fortemente ridotto.
3. Anzi, si può constatare come gli architetti siano sempre più portati ad invadere il campo della teoria, della critica, perfino della storia dell'architettura e come proprio di lì si sforzino di proporre sotto specie "filosofica" i problemi del loro presunto disadattamento morale: l'istruttoria forse per un compromesso da scontarsi come irrinunciabile nel passaggio dall'impegno d'avanguardia alla preoccupazione professionale, nel passaggio dal confronto ideale alla monografia promozionale.
4. Si tratta allora di un premio "sotto vuoto" c[illegible]co? Almeno noi, che

Prize-winning Contemporary Architecture
Guido Canella

When Francesco Dal Co suggested that we dedicate an issue of Zodiac to the Pritzker Prize, we were all in favour; but the idea was not subjected to much discussion. We were in Venice, and our thoughts were occupied by memories of our recently deceased friend. Therefore little was said, although it would have been interesting to hear the views of all those present, to know why they were in agreement about this choice.
Now it is up to us the chance to write the editorial.
It is taken for granted that an international prize, to be periodically awarded to an intellectual or an artist in a given discipline, always constitutes a risk: because the mechanism of the nomination of the candidates and the criteria of the composition of the jury leave only narrow margins for action; or because the fact that such prizes are awarded to persons during and not after their lifetime leads to an excessively foreshortened perspective for objective judgement; or because the results are often influenced by a pursuit of equilibrium which inevitably leads to compromises.
And yet, with respect to the Nobel Prize for Literature (since 1901) or the Academy Awards for film (since 1929), the Pritzker for architecture enjoys one decisive advantage: that of not being directly pressured by considerations of marketing, meaning that since 1979, with its 17 recipients, it has produced an emblematic list which is, of course, open to discussion, but undeniably somehow represents a representative portrait of contemporary architecture.
One might object that this portrait is skewed in favour of worldly success rather than intrinsic significance; that for each of the winners we can name an equal number of equally if not more deserving, unjustly overlooked, possible choices; and so on. But one might also respond: for architecture one such prize is better than none; and that the criteria for its assignment can always, at least in theory, be improved; that there is still time to correct the errors or exclusions of the past, and so on.
In any case the Pritzker is useful because it obliges us to reflect, if only on the most conspicuous coté *of the architecture of our time, prompting a kind of overview of tastes and trends, which can be extrapolated to produce a forecast for the near future. For example:*
1. Quality contemporary architecture, after having officially discarded the phase of ideology and prophecy, seems to be intent upon reflecting the Zeitgeist, *in the ostensive apotheosis of efficiency and affluence, even within certain more domestic themes, which would appear to be seen more as exercises of refinement than as proposals of typological alternatives (excluding, for always, the design of low-cost housing, suburban developments and elementary services?).*
2. Thus the separation between poetics and audience approval would seem to have been re-established as, with the inexorable spread of the mass media, the gap between the elite and the masses has been greatly reduced.
3. In fact we can observe how architects are increasingly tempted to invade the field of theory, of criticism, or even of architectural history, using precisely these areas as a starting point for their efforts to propose, in "philosophical" terms, the problems of their presumed moral maladjustment: a preliminary inquest, perhaps, for a compromise assumed to be necessary in the passage from the commitment of the avant-

non essendo storici né critici possiamo derogare allo scrupolo di apparire obiettivi, su nomi (e opere) che lo interpretano lungo 15 anni, potremmo dichiararci in disaccordo per non più di tre o quattro volte e in dubbio su un altro paio: il che non è molto, trattandosi pur sempre di pareri e dispareri soggettivi.

5. Perfino la disomogeneità, che alterna la sequenza degli insigniti, non restituisce forse appieno l'ispirazione variabile da cui viene sospinto oggi anche il progetto di architettura? Per cui tra loro, piacciano o non piacciano, con un po' di schematismo potremmo distinguere: dopo un autorevole Stregone, uno specialista in assemblaggi direzionali, almeno tre alchimisti, quattro stilizzatori, non meno di sette autentici creatori di linguaggio. Restando salvo comunque un certo prestigio, se è vero che il Pritzker non si è ancora concesso ad architetti in prima fila nel propalarsi attraverso i correnti mezzi di informazione.

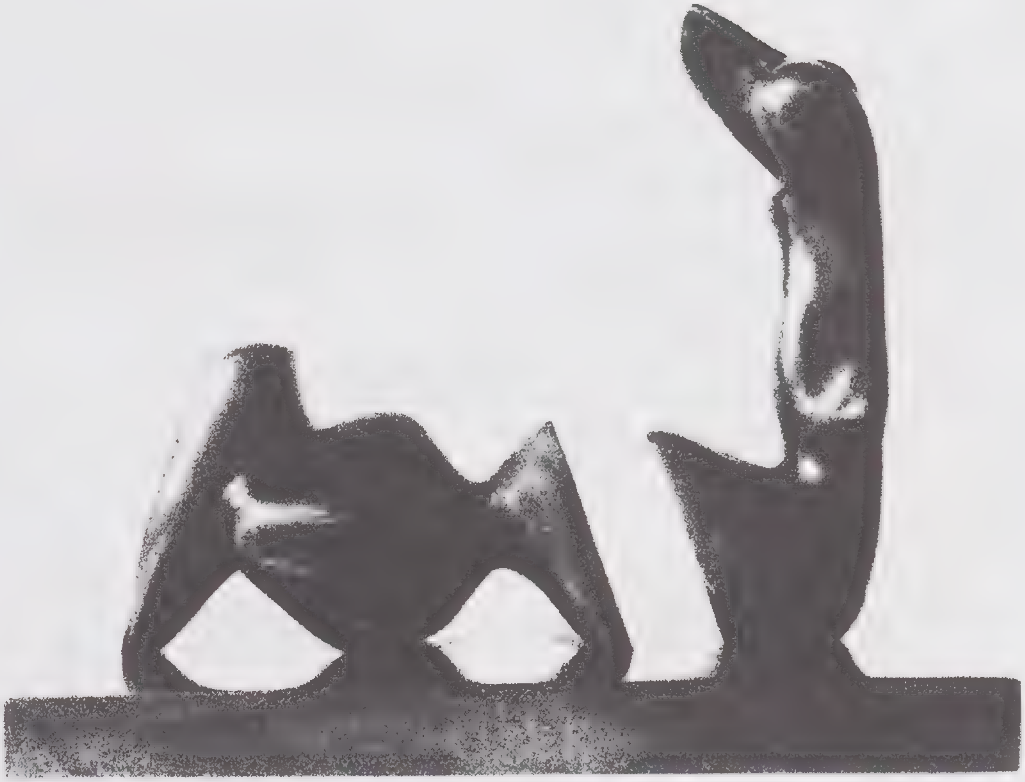
6. Da ultimo, però, non può trascurarsi la precarietà del sostegno offertogli in generale dalla critica specializzata, dacché essa, oltre alla propria, vive di riflesso anche la crisi istituzionale attraversata da tutta la critica e, in primo luogo, da quella letteraria (alla quale tenta pur di approssimarsi quella architettonica): sommersa dall'universo delle immagini e così aggirata nel compito di mediare tra lettore e testo (tra fruitore e opera), resa incerta se privilegiare l'uno o l'altro, è ridotta perloppiù al servile ruolo di commentario.

garde to more "professional" concerns, from the confrontation of ideals to the promotional monograph.

4. So is this a sort of prize awarded in a critical vacuum? Being neither historians nor critics we, at least, can pass over the scruples of objectivity, to declare that we disagree in only three or four instances – and reserve doubts in a couple of others – when reviewing the list of names (and their works) rewarded by the Prize over the last 15 years: not bad, given the fact that we are dealing with subjective opinions.

5. Might not the dishomogeneity evident in the alternation of the winners over the years be simply a clear representation of the variable motivations behind any work of architecture today? Scanning the names, apart from any personal likes or dislikes, we can somewhat schematically come up with the following characterisation: after an authoritative Sorcerer come a specialist in business district assemblages, at least three alchemists, four stylists, and no fewer than seven authentic inventors of language. And a certain prestige does remain intact, given the fact that the Pritzker has not yet stooped to commerce with architects on the front line of media self-promotion.

6. Finally, however, we mustn't overlook the flimsy quality of the support offered, in general, by architectural criticism, which is experiencing both its own crisis, and the more generalised crisis of criticism as an institution – especially in the area of literary criticism (which, nevertheless, continues to represent a model for much of architectural criticism): swamped by the universe of images, and thus cheated of its role of mediation between the reader and the text (the user and the work), uncertain whether to pander to the one or the other, architectural criticism has, for the most part, been reduced to the subservient role of commentary.



Henry Moore, Scultura, replicata in serie limitata, donata dal 1976 al 1989 agli architetti laureati del Premio Pritzker.

Henry Moore, Sculpture reproduced in limited series, given from 1976 to 1989 to Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureates.

The Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureates, 1979-94

1979, Philip Johnson (1906), United States
1980, Luis Barragán (1902-88), Mexico
1981, James Stirling (1926-92), Great Britain
1982, Kevin Roche (1922), United States
1983, Ieoh Ming Pei (1917), United States
1984, Richard Meier (1934), United States
1985, Hans Hollein (1934), Austria
1986, Gottfried Böhm (1920), Germany
1987, Kenzo Tange (1913), Japan
1988, Gordon Bunshaft (1909-90), United States
1988, Oscar Niemeyer (1907), Brazil
1989, Frank O. Gehry (1929), United States
1990, Aldo Rossi (1931), Italia
1991, Robert Venturi (1925), United States
1992, Alvaro Siza (1933), Portugal
1993, Fumihiko Maki (1928), Japan
1994, Christian de Portzamparc (1944), France

Per ciascun architetto premiato si riportano la composizione e la risoluzione della Giuria, nonché il testo del discorso di accettazione pronunciato alla cerimonia di consegna del Premio. Fanno eccezione Philip Johnson, Richard Meier, Oscar Niemeyer e Kevin Roche, dei quali si pubblicano, su indicazione degli stessi autori, o considerazioni più recenti sul proprio lavoro o uno scritto redatto appositamente per questo numero di "Zodiac", e James Stirling, di cui si è preferito pubblicare uno dei primi saggi critici. L'opera di ogni architetto laureato è documentata attraverso una o più realizzazioni antecedenti l'assegnazione del Premio e un progetto/realizzazione recente, scelti da Francesco Dal Co consultati gli autori stessi. L'assegnazione del Premio 1994 a Christian de Portzamparc è avvenuta mentre questo numero era redazionalmente ormai chiuso, per cui non è stato possibile inserirne la monografia.

For each Pritzker laureate we give the composition and deliberation of the Jury as well as the Laureate's acceptance speech delivered at the award ceremony. The exceptions are Philip Johnson, Richard Meier, Oscar Niemeyer and Kevin Roche, for whom we publish more recent descriptions of their work, as indicated by the architects themselves, or a text specially written for this issue of "Zodiac", and James Stirling, where we thought it more appropriate to publish one of his early critical essays. We document the work of each architect with one or more projects built before the awarding of the prize, and a recent project/finished building chosen by Francesco Dal Co in consultation with the architects themselves. The 1994 Prize was awarded to Christian de Portzamparc as this issue of "Zodiac" was going to press, so we were unable to include him in the survey.

Origine ed evoluzione del Premio Pritzker

Jay A. Pritzker, Presidente della Fondazione Hyatt

L'invito rivoltomi dal direttore di "Zodiac" di illustrare le origini del Premio Pritzker mi lusinga, non essendo io né uno scrittore né un architetto; sono però interessato da molto tempo alla materia, e già quando studiavo legge all'Università uno dei miei idoli era un cultore di architettura e di urbanistica come Lewis Mumford. "*Il fine principale dell'uomo*", egli scriveva, "(...) *consiste nella creazione e nella tutela di valori: è questo a dare un senso alla nostra civiltà, ed è la partecipazione a quest'attività a dare in fondo un senso alla vita del singolo*". Mi è caro pensare che con il Premio Pritzker noi facciamo proprio questo – creare e tutelare dei valori – o almeno diamo un valido contributo al conseguimento di questo scopo: continuiamo a premiare ogni anno i migliori architetti del mondo, e il nostro messaggio raggiunge un pubblico sempre più vasto.

Quando nel 1979 fu istituito il Premio, già da un decennio stavamo costruendo dappertutto i nostri Hyatt Hotel, il che implicava numerosi problemi architettonici. Ci accorgemmo così che la maggior parte delle persone ignorava l'ambiente edificato in cui viveva: la "madre di tutte le arti", com'è stata chiamata l'architettura, era anche un' "orfanella" di cui nessuno sembrava curarsi.

In che modo potevamo rendere il pubblico più consapevole di ciò che si costruisce intorno a noi? Che cosa potevamo fare per richiamare l'attenzione su ciò che consideriamo ovvio perché quotidianamente vi abitiamo, vi lavoriamo o vi passiamo davanti in automobile?

Ci sembrò che si sarebbe fatto un passo importante istituendo un premio che mettesse in evidenza i migliori architetti, non per un singolo edificio, ma per l'insieme delle realizzazioni di un'intera carriera professionale.

Passando in rassegna i premi esistenti, notammo che – a parte quelli assegnati da alcune associazioni e pubblicazioni di architettura – non vi era un riconoscimento di livello paragonabile al Nobel. La Fondazione Hyatt decise quindi di istituire un premio per quella che nel corso dei tempi è stata variamente definita un mestiere, una tecnica, una scienza e anche un'arte: l'architettura. Oltre a stimolare la creatività degli architetti, intendevamo suscitare nel grande pubblico una maggiore consapevolezza nel percepire l'ambiente e nell'interagire con esso.

Per ottenere questi scopi, il Premio doveva rimanere al di sopra delle tendenze, della moda o del capriccio. E poiché un premio si caratterizza sia per le persone che lo ricevono, sia – cosa altrettanto importante – per le persone che lo assegnano, il primo dei nostri compiti fu la formazione di una Giuria.

Avemmo la fortuna di radunare un gruppo di apprezzati selezionatori che offrivano le massime garanzie di scelta dei migliori architetti. Il primo presidente della Giuria (che per buona sorte assolve tuttora questa funzione) fu J. Carter Brown, allora direttore della National Gallery of Art di Washington e oggi suo direttore emerito. Gli altri giurati americani furono l'illustre architetto Cesar Pelli, a quel tempo direttore della School of Architecture della Yale University, e J. Irwin Miller, presidente del Comitato esecutivo e finanziario della Cummins Engine Company, con sede a Columbus (Indiana). Grazie alla preveggenza di Miller, nel 1957 era stata istituita a Columbus la Cummins Foundation, con lo scopo di sovvenzionare la progettazione architettonica di opere pubbliche, assicurandosi così le prestazioni di eminenti professionisti: risultato di questa iniziativa fu la nascita nel cuore degli Stati Uniti di una mecca dell'architettura.

Perché il Premio fosse davvero internazionale era necessario che la Giuria avesse una visione completa dell'architettura mondiale; furono quindi chiamati a farne parte fin dall'inizio un famoso scrittore e storico dell'arte inglese, il compianto Lord Kenneth Clark of Saltwood, e

Origins and Evolution of the Pritzker Architecture Prize

Jay A. Pritzker, President of the The Hyatt Foundation

When the editor of "Zodiac" invited me to write about the origin of the Pritzker Architecture Prize, I was flattered because I am neither a writer nor an architect. I have long been interested in architecture, however, and Lewis Mumford, much of whose writings focused on architecture and urban planning, became one of my idols while I was in law school.

He wrote, "Man's chief purpose (...) is the creation and preservation of values: that is what gives meaning to our civilization, and the participation in this is what gives significance, ultimately, to the individual human life."

I like to think that with the Pritzker Architecture Prize, we are doing that – creating and preserving values – at least making a valuable contribution toward that end. With each passing year of honoring excellence around the world, the message reaches an ever widening audience. When the prize program was started in 1979, we had been building Hyatt Hotels throughout the world for a decade and architectural issues abounded. It became obvious to us that most people ignored their structural surroundings. This "mother of all the arts," as architecture has been called, was also an "orphan" that no one seemed to care about. How could we increase public awareness of what is being built around us? What could we do to call attention to what we take for granted because we live in, drive past, or work in it every day of our lives?

We felt an important step would be the establishment of a prize to call attention to architects for their lifetime achievements in the profession, not for just one building, but for a career's collective efforts. In surveying the field of awards, with the exception of some architectural societies and publications, there was no prize for architecture of the stature of the Nobel. With that in mind, The Hyatt Foundation set out to establish a prize for what has been described throughout history as – variously – a craft, a technology, a science, and yes, even an art – architecture. But in addition to stimulating creativity within the field, we wanted to create a greater awareness among all people of how we perceive and interact with our surroundings.

In order to accomplish these goals, we realized the prize must be above mere fashion, fad or trend. One measure of a prize is the people it honors, and equally important – the people who select the honorees. The Jury to select the Laureates would be our first task.

We were fortunate to assemble a group of respected jurors whose dedication to singling out excellence is beyond reproach. The first chairman, and happily he is still serving in that capacity, was J. Carter Brown, then director of the National Gallery of Art, and now director emeritus. Two other jurors were from the United States: Cesar Pelli, distinguished architect and at the time, dean of the Yale University School of Architecture; and J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the executive and finance committee of Cummins Engine Company headquartered in Columbus, Indiana. It was the latter juror's foresight that established the Cummins Foundation in that community in 1957 to fund architectural fees for public buildings, making it possible to hire outstanding architects. The result has been an architectural mecca in America's heartland.

Because the Jury had to have a world-wide view of architecture if it was to be truly an international prize, the late Lord Kenneth Clark of Saltwood, the noted English author and art historian became a founding juror, as did a rising young architect from Japan, Arata Isozaki.

It was Lord Clark, perhaps best known for his television series and book, Civilisation, *who wrote on the occasion of the first prize ceremony:* "A great historical episode can exist in our imaginations almost entirely in the form of architecture. Very few of us have read the texts of early Egyptian literature. Yet we feel we know those infinitely

un giovane architetto giapponese che si andava affermando, Arata Isozaki.
Fu appunto Lord Clark (forse più largamente noto per il suo libro e la sua serie televisiva *Civilisation*) a scrivere, in occasione della prima cerimonia di consegna del Premio: "*La forma architettonica è sufficiente a far vivere quasi integralmente nella nostra immaginazione una grande vicenda storica. Pochissimi fra noi hanno letto i testi letterari dell'antico Egitto; eppure abbiamo la sensazione, grazie soprattutto alla scultura e all'architettura egizie, di conoscere quel mondo così remoto quasi altrettanto bene di quello dei nostri diretti antenati*".
Secondo Clark, il Premio era destinato ad "*attirare l'attenzione del pubblico su una branca dell'attività umana attraverso la quale i posteri giudicheranno la nostra civiltà*".
La finalità del Premio fu così precisata ufficialmente dalla Giuria: "*Rendere onore ogni anno a un architetto vivente nella cui opera costruita siano associate doti di talento, di visione e d'impegno tali da dare, mediante l'*arte dell'architettura, *un contributo coerente e importante alla vita dell'uomo e all'ambiente edificato*".
Il lavoro della Giuria ha avuto un'importanza determinante: sebbene la sua composizione sia variata negli anni, la selezione da essa compiuta è rimasta sempre di alto livello e non è stata mai prevedibile. Una delle qualità che la critica architettonica ha riconosciuto alla Giuria è il fatto che essa non ha mai puntato su ciò che è ovvio.
Oggi la Giuria comprende, accanto al già ricordato presidente J. Carter Brown, il presidente della Fiat Giovanni Agnelli, Ada Louise Huxtable, scrittrice e già critica di architettura del "New York Times", Toshio Nakamura, direttore della rivista "A + U" di Tokyo, l'architetto di Los Angeles Frank Gehry, premiato nel 1989, e Charles Correa, un apprezzatissimo architetto di Bombay. Membro emerito della Giuria è diventato quest'anno, dopo averne fatto parte per un lungo periodo, Lord Rothschild, presidente del Comitato di amministrazione della National Gallery di Londra; fra gli altri ex membri della Giuria ricorderò il compianto Thomas J. Watson jr., già presidente dell'IBM, l'architetto messicano Ricardo Legorreta, gli statunitensi Philip Johnson e Kevin Roche e il giapponese Fumihiko Maki. Nei primi anni ci siamo anche giovati della consulenza del compianto Arthur Drexler, direttore del Dipartimento di architettura e *design* del Museo d'Arte Moderna di New York.
Dal 1979 al 1986 offrimmo ai premiati una scultura di Henry Moore, replicata in un numero limitato di esemplari; una volta esaurita la serie, fu donata una medaglia di bronzo appositamente disegnata dall'architetto Bill Lacy, presidente della State University di New York e segretario della Giuria. La medaglia è ispirata ai progetti di Louis Sullivan, il famoso architetto di Chicago generalmente considerato come il padre del grattacielo; sul dritto sono iscritti il nome del Premio e quello dell'assegnatario, mentre il rovescio reca le parole "*Firmness, commodity and delight*". Sono questi i tre requisiti indicati da Henry Wotton in un passo del trattato *Elements of Architecture* (1624), che è una versione piuttosto libera del *De architectura libri decem* di Vitruvio, composto quasi duemila anni fa e dedicato ad Augusto.
Il passo in questione dice: "*Lo scopo è costruire bene, e per questo devono essere soddisfatte tre condizioni: solidità, funzionalità e bellezza*". Mentre eravamo in Italia, in occasione della cerimonia di assegnazione del Premio per il 1990, venni a sapere che Wotton aveva tradotto Vitruvio quando era a Venezia come primo ambasciatore d'Inghilterra.
Vorrei svelare una ragione segreta e importante dell'efficienza dimostrata dal Premio nel perseguire i suoi scopi. Il segreto di questa efficienza è Cindy Pritzker, mia moglie, che si è assunta la maggior parte delle responsabilità della nostra famiglia nei riguardi del Premio: responsabilità che implicano per tutti noi un notevole impegno. Molti sono a conoscenza dell'attività da

remote people almost as well as our immediate ancestors, chiefly because of their sculpture and architecture." *He continued that this prize* "will focus public attention on a branch of human endeavor by which our civilization will be judged in the future."

The Jury adopted a formal statement of the purpose of the prize: "To honor annually a living architect whose built work demonstrates a combination of those qualities of talent, vision and commitment, which has produced consistent and significant contributions to humanity and the built environment through the *art of architecture.*"

I cannot overemphasize the importance of the Jury. Although its members have changed over the years, the quality of their selections has never wavered, nor have they ever been predictable. One of the things that the architectual media seem to praise the Jury for is the fact that they never go for the obvious.

Today, in addition to the already mentioned chairman, J. Carter Brown, the Jury comprises Giovanni Agnelli, chairman of Fiat of Turin, Italy; Ada Louise Huxtable, author and former architectural critic of the "New York Times"; Toshio Nakamura, editor-in-chief of "A+U", of Tokyo, Japan; Frank Gehry, Los Angeles architect and 1989 Laureate; and Charles Correa, much honored architect of Bombay, India. Lord Rothschild, chairman of the board of trustees of the National Gallery of London who has served on the Jury for several years, became a juror emeritus this year. Others who have served as jurors include the late Thomas J. Watson, Jr. former chairman of IBM; and architects Ricardo Legorreta of Mexico, Philip Johnson and Kevin Roche of the United States, and Japanese architect Fumihiko Maki. In the early years, we also had guidance from the director of architecture and design for the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the late Arthur Drexler.

From 1979 through 1986, we presented the Laureates with a limited edition sculpture by Henry Moore, but by the nature of its being "limited," we exhausted the supply. Bill Lacy, an architect and president of the State University of New York in Purchase, who also serves as secretary to the Jury, designed a bronze medallion which we have been using since 1987. He used the designs of Louis Sullivan, famed Chicago architect generally acknowledged as the father of the skyscraper, as the basis for the medal. On one side is the name of the prize and its recipient. On the reverse, three words are inscribed, "firmness, commodity and delight." *These are the three conditions referred to by Henry Wotton in his 1624 treatise,* The Elements of Architecture, *which was itself a translation of thoughts originally set down nearly 2000 years ago by Marcus Vitruvius in his* Ten Books on Architecture *dedicated to the Roman Emperor Augustus.*

Wotton used the complete quote as: "The end is to build well. Well building hath three conditions – commodity, firmness and delight." *It was while we were in Italy for the ceremony in 1990 that I became aware that Wotton had done the translation while he was England's first ambassador to Venice.*

I would like to reveal a secret, but important aspect of "how and why" this prize is working so well in accomplishing its goals. The secret is Cindy Pritzker, my wife, who bears most of our family's responsibility (and it is very much an activity for our whole family) for the prize. Many people are aware of her activities with the Art Institute of Chicago, and Chicago's Public Library (CPL), the new building formally called the Harold Washington Public Library. Most Chicagoans agree CPL should stand for Cindy Pritzker's Library because she was so involved in its accomplishment.

As I said, another measure of an award is its recipients. By recalling each of the Laureates, and how the Jury perceived them, we can briefly survey the history of the Pritzker Prize. Philip Johnson of the United States was the first. The Jury called him a champion of the cause of modern architecture. I recall Johnson's words at the time, that "architecture

lei svolta nell'Art Institute di Chicago e nella Chicago's Public Library (CPL), la nuova Biblioteca intitolata a Harold Washington; e moltissimi cittadini di Chicago ritengono che la sigla di quest'ultima istituzione, per la quale mia moglie si è tanto adoperata, potrebbe a ragione essere letta "Cindy Pritzker Library".
Come ho già detto, un altro metro di giudizio di un premio è dato dalle personalità dei premiati: passando in rassegna queste personalità e il modo in cui ciascuna di esse è stata vista dalla Giuria è possibile tracciare una breve storia del Pritzker. Il primo vincitore fu lo statunitense Philip Johnson, che la Giuria definì un paladino della causa dell'architettura moderna; ricordo che in quella occasione egli affermò che "*l'architettura può essere l'arte che dà la salvezza*" ed espresse la speranza che potessimo utilizzare la volontà di ricostruire il mondo.
L'anno dopo fu premiato il messicano Luis Barragán, "*per il suo impegno verso un'architettura come atto sublime di immaginazione poetica*", come si espresse la Giuria. Durante la premiazione J. Irwin Miller citò le parole di Winston Churchill: "*Dapprima siamo noi a dar forma ai nostri edifici, e poi sono loro a dar forma a noi* ", aggiungendo che il Premio intende stimolare verso livelli di qualità sempre più elevati coloro che configurano il nostro ambiente costruito.
Nel 1981 il Premio fu assegnato al compianto architetto inglese James Stirling, definito dalla Giuria un "*leader del grande moto di transizione dal Movimento Moderno all'architettura del Nuovo*". Stirling rispose parlando del suo scopo primario, quello di mantenere viva l'*arte* nell'architettura; e Cesar Pelli, membro della Giuria, riecheggiò quest'intento affermando che "*il Premio esalta il trasformarsi dell'edilizia in arte*".
Nei tre anni seguenti furono selezionati altrettanti architetti statunitensi. Nel 1982 fu premiato Kevin Roche, per quello che la Giuria chiamò un formidabile complesso di opere, che talvolta intersecano il cammino della moda, talvolta lo ritardano, ma più spesso creano la moda. Nel discorso d'accettazione Roche dichiarò che "*la storia ci dimostra che l'architettura è un'arte ma noi non siamo in grado di giudicare se lo sia ancora nel nostro tempo: possiamo solo aspirare a renderla tale*".
Ieoh Ming Pei, premiato nel 1983, fu lodato dalla Giuria per aver realizzato "*alcuni dei più begli spazi interni e alcune delle più belle forme esterne*" del nostro secolo. Nella sua risposta Pei affermò che per diventare arte l'architettura dev'essere fondata sulla necessità, esortando tutti noi a ricordare il detto di Leonardo: "*La forza (...) vive per violenza e more per libertà*".
Nel 1984 Richard Meier fu premiato "*per la sua rigorosa ricerca dell'essenza dell'architettura moderna. Egli ha ampliato il repertorio formale di quest'architettura per renderla rispondente alle aspettative del nostro tempo*". Poco dopo aver ricevuto il Premio, Meier fu incaricato di progettare uno dei più importanti edifici di questo secolo destinato all'arte, il Getty Center di Los Angeles.
L'austriaco Hans Hollein, premiato nel 1985, affermò di sentirsi responsabile, in quanto architetto, di fronte alle esigenze dell'uomo e della società, ma di dover rispondere solo a se stesso in quanto artista. La Giuria lo elogiò per la sua capacità di "*associare all'audacia delle forme e dei colori una squisita raffinatezza di particolari, senza mai temere di accostare ai più sontuosi marmi antichi i più recenti materiali plastici*".
Nel 1986 il Premio fu assegnato al tedesco Gottfried Böhm, il quale dichiarò che, pur senza sopravvalutare l'influsso dell'architettura sull'uomo, bisognava curare che i nuovi edifici si adattassero con naturalezza al loro ambiente, sia storico che architettonico. La Giuria concordò con lui nel riconoscere "*il nutrimento che i modi e i metodi tradizionali offrono all'architettura, come a tutte le arti*".
Il giapponese Kenzo Tange, premiato nel 1987, fu lodato dalla Giuria per essere pervenuto "*a forme che innalzano i*

could be the art that saves," *and he expressed hope that we could harness the will to rebuild the world.*
The next year, when we honored Luis Barragan of Mexico, it was, as the Jury put it, "for architecture as a sublime act of poetic imagination." *It was at that ceremony that J. Irwin Miller quoted Sir Winston Churchill's words,* "First we shape our buildings and then our buildings shape us." *Miller added that the prize is meant to inspire those who shape our buildings to even higher standards.*
The late James Stirling of England, who won the prize in 1981, was described by the Jury as "a leader of the great transition from the Modern Movement to the architecture of the new." *He responded speaking of his priority to keep the* art *in architecture. And juror Cesar Pelli echoed the sentiment, saying,* "The prize celebrates the transformation of building into art."
For the next three years, architects from the United States were Laureates. In 1982, Kevin Roche was honored for what the Jury described as a formidable body of work that sometimes intersects fashion, sometimes lags it, but most often makes it. Roche, in accepting, said, "We have the evidence of history that architecture is an art, but whether it is art in our time, we cannot judge, we can only desire to make it so." *Ieoh Ming Pei, honored in 1983, was praised by the Jury for some of this century's* "most beautiful interior spaces and exterior forms." *In his response, he declared that to become art, architecture must be built on a foundation of necessity, urging us all that we remember Leonardo da Vinci's counsel that* "strength is born of constraint and dies in freedom."
Richard Meier, the 1984 Laureate, was honored for "his single-minded pursuit of the essence of modern architecture. He has broadened its range of forms to make it responsive to the expectations of our time." *Shortly after being named Pritzker Laureate, he was awarded the commission to design what must be one of the most important art landmarks to be built in this century, the Getty Center in Los Angeles.*
Austrian Hans Hollein, honored in 1985, spoke of his responsibility to the needs of man and society as an architect, but to himself as an artist. The Jury spoke of him as mingling "bold shapes and colors with an exquisite refinement of detail, and never fearing to bring together the richest of ancient marbles and the latest in plastics."
German architect Gottfried Böhm, the 1986 Laureate did not want to overestimate the influence of architecture on people, but urged that new buildings fit naturally into their surroundings, both architecturally and historically. The Jury praised him for recognizing "the nourishment that traditional ways and means provide in architecture, as in all the arts."
1987 Laureate Kenzo Tange of Japan was lauded by the Jury for arriving "at shapes that lift our hearts because they seem to emerge from some ancient and dimly remembered past, and yet are breathtakingly of today."
In 1988, we celebrated the tenth anniversary of the prize with two Laureates – one from Brazil, Oscar Niemeyer, and the other from the United States, the late Gordon Bunshaft. The Jury cited Niemeyer for being one of the "first to pioneer new concepts in architecture in this (the Western) hemisphere, his designs are artistic gesture with underlying logic and substance." *Of Mr. Bunshaft, the Jury said* "Perhaps no other architect has set such a timeless standard in the urban/corporate world, a standard by which future generations will judge this era, no doubt with acclaim, thanks to his abilities."
Frank Gehry of the United States accepted the prize in 1989, with the Jury citing his work as "refreshingly original and totally American...variously described as iconoclastic, rambunctious and impermanent...but commending his restless spirit."
In 1990, the Italian architect Aldo Rossi was named Pritzker Laureate. Kurt Forster, then Director of the Getty Center, wrote of his work for the annual Pritzker

nostri cuori perché sembrano emergere dal vago ricordo di un lontano passato e al tempo stesso sono di palpitante attualità".
Nel 1988 il decennale del Premio fu celebrato con una duplice assegnazione: a un brasiliano, Oscar Niemeyer, e ad uno statunitense, il compianto Gordon Bunshaft. La Giuria dichiarò che Niemeyer era stato "*uno fra i primi a introdurre nuove concezioni architettoniche nel nostro emisfero*" e che "*nei suoi progetti il gesto d'arte ha un fondamento logico e sostanziale*"; per quanto riguardava Bunshaft, la Giuria ritenne che "*forse nessun altro architetto ha stabilito nella realizzazione di grandi edifici terziari urbani un livello di qualità così resistente al tempo; in base ad esso le future generazioni giudicheranno la nostra epoca senza dubbio positivamente, grazie alle capacità di questo professionista*".
Premiando nel 1989 lo statunitense Frank Gehry, la Giuria ne definì l'opera "*simpaticamente originale e interamente americana (...), vista da alcuni come iconoclasta, eccessiva e transuente (...), ma animata da uno spirito di perenne irrequietezza*".
Nel 1990 il Premio fu assegnato all'italiano Aldo Rossi. Nella monografia annuale del Pritzker Kurt Forster, allora direttore del Getty Center, parlò così dell'architettura di Rossi: "*In essa si manifesta la sua professione, una professione che non è niente senza la padronanza del mestiere, ma che non è mai magistrale senza l'arte*". La Giuria definì quest'architettura "*ardita e familiare al tempo stesso, originale senza essere stravagante, semplice e leggibile nell'aspetto esteriore ma estremamente complessa per contenuto e significato*".
Premiando nel 1991 Robert Venturi, la Giuria vide associati nella sua opera due aspetti dell'architettura, quello dei materiali – il legno, il vetro, i mattoni, l'acciaio – e quello della forma artistica fondata sulle parole, le idee, i concetti; e affermò che Venturi aveva "*ampliato e ridisegnato i confini dell'architettura del nostro secolo*".
L'opera del portoghese Alvaro Siza, premiato nel 1992, fu giudicata una gioia dei sensi e un'elevazione dello spirito: in essa ogni linea e ogni curva è definita con abilità e sicurezza.
Nel 1993 il Premio andò per la seconda volta a un giapponese, Fumihiko Maki; nella sua relazione la Giuria lo definiva "*un architetto le cui opere sono intelligentemente concepite, artisticamente espresse ed eseguite con scrupolosa cura*", e "*un modernista che ha saputo fondere il meglio della cultura orientale col meglio di quella occidentale* (...)".
Quest'anno il Premio è stato assegnato per la prima volta a un architetto francese, Christian de Portzamparc, descritto dalla Giuria come "*un vigoroso poeta delle forme, creatore di spazi eloquenti, memore del passato ma fedele a se stesso e al suo tempo* ".
La cerimonia di assegnazione si è svolta a Columbus, nell'Indiana, in netto contrasto con la scelta tradizionale di una grande città. Tutte le sedi della premiazione hanno avuto peraltro una caratteristica in comune, e cioè l'importanza che in qualche modo esse hanno per l'architettura, mentre la loro varietà è servita ad ampliare la risonanza del Premio. Pur avendo solo 30.000 abitanti, Columbus vanta un gran numero di edifici progettati da architetti di rinomanza mondiale, più di quanti non ne posseggano molte città di dimensioni enormemente maggiori. La sua rilevanza architettonica è dunque adeguata a quella delle altre località degli Stati Uniti che hanno ospitato la premiazione: la National Gallery of Art, il National Building Museum e il Dumbarton Oaks a Washington, il Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York, l'Art Institute di Chicago, la Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens di San Marino (California) e il Kimbell Art Museum di Fort Worth (Texas). Altrettanto significative sono state le sedi estere: il famoso Palazzo Grassi a Venezia, la Goldsmiths' Hall a Londra, il tempio buddista Todai-Ji a Nara (Giappone), il Castello di

monograph: "He manifests his profession, a profession that is nothing without mastery of the crafts, but never masterly without the arts." *The Jury praised Rossi's work as* "at once, bold and ordinary, original without being novel, refreshingly simple in appearance but extremely complex in content and meaning."

The Jury spoke of Robert Venturi combining two aspects of architecture, the one being the physical elements of wood, glass, bricks and steel, the other, the art form based on words, ideas and concepts. They said, "He has expanded and redefined the limits of architecture in this century."

In 1992, Alvaro Siza of Portugal was the Laureate whose work was described as being a joy to the senses and an uplifting of the spirit, with each line and curve placed with skill and sureness.

The 1993 Laureate, Fumihiko Maki, became the second Japanese architect to win the prize. The Jury citation described him as "an architect whose work is intelligent and artistic in concept and expression, meticulously achieved," *and further,* "a modernist who has fused the best of both eastern and western cultures (...)".

This year, 1994, with the awarding of the prize to a French architect for the first time, the Jury spoke of Christian de Portzamparc as a "powerful poet of forms and creator of eloquent spaces, who is aware of the past, but true to himself and his time."

By holding the 1994 presentation ceremony in Columbus, we were in sharp contrast to the usual metropolitan locations of previous years. But the unifying factor to all the sites is that each has some architectural significance, thus broadening the awareness spectrum. Although Columbus has a population of only 30,000, it boasts more buildings designed by architects of world renown than most cities many, many times its size. This venue's architectural importance fits right in with such other ceremonial sites in the United States as the National Gallery of Art, the National Building Museum and Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C.; the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; the Art Institute of Chicago; the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens in San Marino, California; the Kimbell Art Museum in Ft. Worth, Texas. Internationally, the locations have been equally impressive: Italy's famed Palazzo Grassi in Venice hosted the award one year, as did London's Goldsmiths Hall, Japan's Todaiji Buddhist Temple in Nara, Prague Castle in the Czech Republic, and Mexico City's Palacio de Iturbide. All of these locations were salutes either to individual architects throughout history, or periods of architecture.

This year was a marvelous confluence of people and activities – an exhibition of previous Laureates' works, a seminar on the importance of good architecture to small communities – bringing together architects, patrons, and journalists from around the world.

Thus, the prize becomes a catalyst to stimulate other activities that work toward the same goal of encouraging greater architecture. For example, the Indianapolis Museum of Art's Columbus Gallery was hosting the traveling exhibition, The Art of Architecture, Works by Laureates of the Pritzker Architecture Prize, *a collection of photo murals, enlargements, sketches and models. When it opened in Chicago at the new Harold Washington Public Library where we had the 1992 award presentation,* Progressive Architecture *magazine wrote of the exhibit,* "This is an exhibition about achievements, and there are great ones here." *The editor also spoke of the importance of having supplementary activities related to prize-giving, if the awards are to mean anything to the general public. This exhibit is scheduled to tour the world for ten years, and hopefully will influence the awareness of many thousands of people. On the day following the ceremony in Columbus, a group of architectural cognoscenti conducted a seminar led by the distinguished television journalist Bill Kurtis on what good architecture means to a small town. With this seminar, and another held 1988 in Chicago, the purpose of*

Praga, il Palacio de Iturbide a Città di Messico. Ognuna di queste località ha rappresentato per noi un omaggio a un singolo architetto o a un periodo della storia dell'architettura.

Quest'anno l'assegnazione del Premio è stata accompagnata da un'intensa partecipazione e da varie attività: la mostra delle opere degli autori premiati nelle precedenti edizioni e il convegno sull'importanza della buona architettura per i centri abitati minori hanno attirato architetti, committenti e giornalisti da tutto il mondo.

Il Premio diventa così un catalizzatore di altre attività tendenti allo stesso scopo: incoraggiare un'architettura di più alto livello. Ad esempio, la Columbus Gallery del Museum of Art di Indianapolis ha ospitato la mostra itinerante *L' Arte dell'architettura: le opere dei vincitori del Premio Pritzker*, comprendente pannelli fotografici, ingrandimenti, schizzi e modelli. Quando nella nuova Harold Washington Public Library di Chicago, dove si era svolta la presentazione del Premio per il 1992, fu inaugurata questa esposizione, la rivista "Progressive Architecture" scrisse: "*Si tratta di una mostra di realizzazioni e ve ne sono di grandi*". Il direttore della rivista sottolineò inoltre l'importanza di queste attività collaterali all'assegnazione del Premio, se si voleva che questo genere di riconoscimento avesse un significato per il grande pubblico. Abbiamo previsto che la mostra vada in giro in tutto il mondo per dieci anni e contiamo che possa influire positivamente sul livello d'informazione di molte migliaia di persone.

Il giorno dopo la cerimonia di premiazione a Columbus un gruppo di esperti di architettura partecipò a un incontro, guidato dal noto giornalista televisivo Bill Kurtis, sul ruolo della buona architettura nelle piccole città. Con questo convegno, come con quello che si era tenuto nel 1988 a Chicago, si è inteso assecondare le finalità del Premio, richiamando l'attenzione sui problemi che le comunità locali devono affrontare quotidianamente nel prendere decisioni riguardanti l'architettura. L'incontro del 1988, diretto da un altro giornalista televisivo, Edwin Newman, aveva come tema *Architettura e città: amiche o nemiche?* e prendeva in esame fattori di crescita, estetici, economici e di abitabilità, e in genere tutte le forze che danno vita alle nostre città e modellano la nostra esistenza.

John Ruskin ha scritto che "*l'architettura è la macchina da stampa delle varie epoche, e fornisce una storia della società in cui è sorta. Quando si costruisce, bisogna pensare di costruire per l'eternità* (...) *e far sì che la vista degli edifici contribuisca alla salute mentale, alle possibilità e alla gioia dell'uomo*". Tutte le sedi di assegnazione del Premio rappresentano una tacita riprova di queste parole.

Solo il futuro potrà dirci se la stessa sorte toccherà ai nostri premiati; da parte nostra nutriamo la fervida speranza che il Premio Pritzker stimoli gli architetti a progettare e a costruire come se le loro opere dovessero durare in eterno.

the prize is being furthered by focusing on issues facing communities every day in relation to architectural decisions. The 1988 conclave, moderated by another television journalist Edwin Newman, was called Architecture and the City: Friends or Foes? *calling attention to factors of growth, esthetics, economics, habitability and all the forces that create our cities and shape our lives. Our recent 1994 seminar was, in contrast, focused on the problems of small towns.*

John Ruskin, the English essayist of the 19th century, wrote that, "Architecture is the printing press of all ages, and gives a history of the state of society in which it was erected. When we build, let us think that we build forever (...) let the sight of buildings contribute to man's mental health, power and pleasure." *Each of the ceremonial locations is mute evidence of his words.*

Only the future can tell if the Laureates will be equally validated. It is our fervent hope that the Pritzker Architecture Prize will inspire architects to design and build as if their work will last forever.

Il migliore architetto del mondo*
Francesco Dal Co

JohnsonBarragánStirlingRochePeiMeierHolleinBöhmTange BunshaftNiemeyerGehryRossiVenturiSizaMakidePortzamparc: pronunciando la filastrocca senza prender fiato e, quindi, con un certo sforzo, si avvertono variazioni fonetiche, salti di ritmo, cacofonie e, come si può notare, alla fine anche un inciampo tipografico. Un hapax difficile da pronunciare quasi quanto lo è, per un latino, "Pritzker", la cui grafia suscita sempre qualche apprensione. La catena onomastica è formata dall'unione dei nomi che appartengono a quanti, dal 1979, hanno ricevuto il Pritzker Prize, il riconoscimento che l'omonima famiglia, fortunata depositaria delle fortune derivanti da una delle maggiori catene alberghiere del mondo, ha istituito per premiare, ogni anno, "i migliori architetti del mondo". Come si vede l'universalità del Premio è garantita sin dalle premesse: il "mondo" ne è lo sfondo. Altrettanto dichiarato è il modello imitato: si tratta del Nobel e il "Pritzker" ama definirsi, con peraltro scusabile mancanza di *understatement*, "il Nobel dell'architettura", anche se non risulta che la famiglia Pritzker debba farsi perdonare sconvolgenti invenzioni come accadde invece al famoso chimico svedese, se non probabilmente e più prosaicamente sporadici inconvenienti procurati in qualche Hyatt Hotel in giro per il mondo a clienti particolarmente sfortunati. In verità il servizio fornito dagli Hyatt è in genere di buon livello, anche se si deve qui notare che non molti degli alberghi che fanno parte di questa catena sono stati oggetto delle attenzioni dei celebrati vincitori del "Nobel dell'architettura".
L'obiettivo che il "Pritzker" persegue è meritorio. Lascia unicamente perplessi l'ostinazione con cui viene perseguito. È meritorio aver istituito un premio di simile importanza – così almeno assicurano i fondatori – per gli architetti, risarcendo in tal modo la categoria per le scarse attenzioni ad essa riservate dai promotori dei più ambiti riconoscimenti artistici. Ma che dire dello sforzo cui si sottopone ogni anno, vale a dire ogni dodici mesi, la Giuria del Premio per selezionare "il migliore architetto del mondo"? Certo, anche il Nobel ha cadenze serrate, ma le finalità sono diverse. Obiettivo dell'Accademia Reale Svedese non è individuare "il miglior chimico del mondo", "il miglior economista del mondo" ecc., o perlomeno non è questo lo scopo principale. Diverso il caso del "Pritzker". Da questo punto di vista il Premio è privo di malizia; ha un piglio, per così dire, molto americano, una franca e disponibile ingenuità *yankee*. Pare quasi modellata, questa generosa iniziativa, su quanto avviene anche nel campo dello sport. È una gloria simile a quella cui assurgono gli eroi di Olimpia, infatti, quella di cui godono i vincitori del Premio. I loro nomi vengono trascritti in una successione priva di vuoti anno dopo anno, come nei registri dei *record*, peraltro anno dopo anno migliorati, Olimpiade dopo Olimpiade perfezionati – proprio come accade ai vincitori del "Pritzker". Chi ottiene il Premio, di solito un buon architetto, viene insignito del titolo di campione per l'anno in corso. Come sostenne Gordon Bunshaft, il "Pritzker" è un *capstone*: il Premio, in un certo senso, chiude la carriera di ciascuno dei vincitori e ne consacra il nome, piuttosto che l'opera, accogliendolo in una popolare *Hall of Fame*, come avviene negli Stati Uniti per i più famosi campioni del basketball o del tennis.
Il lavoro che la Giuria del Premio compie ogni anno merita rispetto. Un rispetto analogo a quello che si riserva alle giurie che, di solito a fine d'anno, decidono il nome del miglior agonista degli ultimi dodici mesi. Per questi giudici non deve essere semplice scegliere tra il rapido interprete dei cento metri piani e l'agile saltatore con l'asta, tra il formidabile lanciatore e il potente decatleta: ciascuno ha i propri meriti, per ognuno valgono regole particolari; non per nulla ogni disciplina ha il suo albo d'oro. Per la Giuria del "Pritzker" le cose sono più semplici. È ovvio, si



Philip Johnson, John Burgee,
Edificio per uffici AT&T, New York, U.S.A.,
1979.
Luis Barragán, Mathias Goeritz,
Giardini El Pedregal, San Angel,
Città del Messico, 1945-50.
Foto A. Salas Portugal.
James Stirling con Leon Krier,
Centro civico di Derby, Gran Bretagna, 1970.

Philip Johnson, John Burgee, AT&T Corporate Headquarters, U.S.A., New York, 1979.
Luis Barragán, Mathias Goeritz, El Pedregal Gardens, San Angel, Mexico City, 1945-50.
Photos A. Salas Portugal.
James Stirling with Leon Krier, Derby Civic Center, Great Britain, 1970.

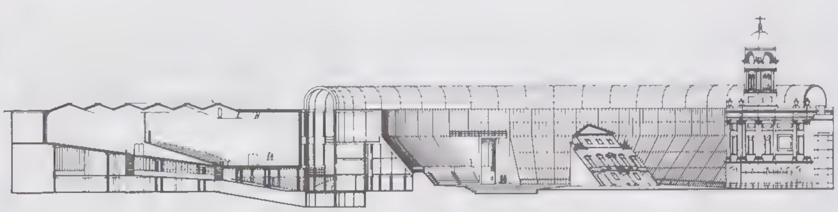
The world's greatest architect*
Francesco Dal Co

JohnsonBarraganStirlingRochePeiMeierHolleinBöhmTangeBunshaftNie-meyerGehryRossiVenturiSizaMakiDe Portzanparc: pronouncing this nursery rhyme without taking a breath, therefore making a certain effort, one notices phonetic variations, syncopations, cacophonic combinations and, in the end, a slip of the typographical tongue. A hapax *nearly as difficult to pronounce as is the name Pritzker for those of Latinate origin. The spelling of such monickers always involves a certain amount of hesitation and checking. This chain of surnames is composed by joining the names of all those, since 1979, who have received the Pritzker Prize, an award instituted by the family of the same name – fortunate heirs to the earthly fruits of one of the world's largest hotel chains – for the purpose of rewarding, each year, "excellence in architecture". As one can easily observe, the international character of the prize has been guaranteed from the outset: the world is its playground. And the model imitated is also quite explicit: the Pritzker likes to define itself, with an understandable lack of understatement, as "the Nobel of architecture", although it would not appear that the Pritzker family, as yet, has any need to atone for explosive inventions, as in the case of the renowned Swedish chemist; at most they may feel an impulse to apologize for those rare cases of customer dissatisfaction which take place in their Hyatt Hotels. To be honest the service in Hyatt Hotels around the world is generally more than acceptable; but we might also point out that very few of the hotels of this multinational chain have been the fortunate objects of the attentions of the famed winners of the "Nobel of architecture".*

The objective of the Pritzker Prize is certainly laudable. But perplexities do arise concerning the obstinacy with which it is pursued. The institution of such an important award is undoubtedly praiseworthy – as its founders are ever-willing to remind us – an award for architects, in a world in which their efforts are seldom recognised by those who concentrate kudos and grants on most of the other arts. But just what are we to make of the no less than annual efforts of the Jury to select "the world's most excellent architect"? The Nobel Prize also operates on a tight schedule, but its aims are somewhat different. The Swedish Royal Academy does not set out to identify "the world's greatest chemist", "the world's best economist", etc. Or at least this is not their principal objective. In this sense the Pritzker differs from the Nobel, with neither malice nor guile; very American, so to speak, in its frank, open Yankee ingenuity. This generous initiative would almost appear to be styled in the image of the rewards offered in the world of sports, a kind of architectural Olympics. And the winners of the Prize, in fact, achieve a sort of Olympian heroic status. Their names are engraved in a list, year after year, without gaps, as in the record books. The spirit of the world's record, improving upon the performance of one's predecessors, is almost tangible in the Pritzker award process. The winner, usually a good architect, is granted the title of champion of the year in progress. As Gordon Bunshaft remarks, the Pritzker is a capstone: the Prize, in a certain sense, concludes the career of each of its beneficiaries, consacrating their names rather than their works, granting them access to a sort of Hall of Fame, similar to those so famous in the United States for professional athletes in baseball or other spectator sports.

The yearly deliberations of the Pritzker jury are deserving of respect, the same sort of respect we feel for those responsible for deciding just who was the "athlete of the year". It mustn't be a simple task to choose between the latest Mercury of the 100-metre dash and a recordman pole vaulter, between a legendary putter of the shot and a decathlon marvel: each has his own merits, each is conditioned by particular rules; it is no coincidence that





osserverà: si tratta pur sempre solo di architetti. Ma anche ammesso che l'architettura sia un'arte che non implica specializzazione come invece accade nell'atletica, chi può negare che tra gli architetti vi siano differenze altrettanto marcate di quelle che si possono notare osservando i gesti di un velocista e quelli di un saltatore? Ecco perché in realtà non si può ritenere solo piacevole il lavoro che i giurati del "Pritzker" sono chiamati a svolgere con puntualità sotto l'attenta regia, come ci informa il signor Jay Pritzker, della signora Cindy Pritzker. Anche per questo, è evidente, i giurati sono accuratamente selezionati e, fatto salvo un bel nocciolo duro, vengono spesso sostituiti. Sono, i giurati, soprattutto uomini e donne di mondo. Una Giuria bacchettona, formata da esperti troppo attenti, avrebbe certo qualche difficoltà ad accettare il compito di selezionare, ogni dodici mesi, "il miglior architetto del mondo". Qualcuno in una Giuria prevenuta, potrebbe persino chiedersi che senso ha compiere una simile scelta e potrebbe essere tentato di virgolettare, per pudore e non per rispetto della citazione, l'espressione: *il migliore architetto del mondo*. Altri, ancora più malevoli, potrebbero poi domandarsi se è davvero un bene per l'architettura attribuire un simile titolo e che vantaggio ne possa mai derivare alla disciplina, per non dire alla cultura, e che senso abbia ribadire in maniera tanto banale la credenza nel mito un po' infantile e altrimenti vacillante dell'Architetto, a dispetto delle molte metamorfosi subite da questa vecchia e per certi versi rispettabile figura professionale.
Ma stando alla storia del Premio si tratta di pure e per di più oziose supposizioni. Il "Pritzker" è una creatura unica: trae dalla propria cristallina banalità imprevedibili energie. Apparentemente si tratta del più selettivo dei premi. Come si è visto, chi lo riceve ha il diritto di ritenersi "il miglior architetto" per l'anno in corso – come accade per lo yogurt, la data di scadenza deve essere ben leggibile sulla confezione. Un simile potere di decretazione implicherebbe un rigore assoluto, ma a differenza di quanto avviene per le forniture alimentari, nel caso del nostro Premio ciò rappresenterebbe una evidente contraddizione in termini: chi potrebbe poi vantare il proprio rigore dopo aver partecipato all'assegnazione di un simile riconoscimento? La Giuria, difatti, non deve porsi troppi problemi. O meglio: è lì apposta per non porsi e non porre problemi. È formata per lo più da *amateurs*, da persone di larghe vedute, conscie, probabilmente – e se così non è questa è l'impressione che se ne ricava – dell'effimera responsabilità del loro ruolo, persone che non si prendono troppo sul serio, graziosamente inclini a lasciare agli architetti premiati l'onere di prendersi seriamente. La Giuria è la vera garante della liberalità del Premio. Ma non è comune ai premi o ai concorsi più garantiti sul piano democratico la caratteristica di venir giudicati o assegnati da non prevenuti dilettanti? Anche per questo il "Pritzker" è intrinsecamente democratico e animato – come dire? – da spirito olimpico.
Sebbene si possa immaginare che in passato un certo sconcerto si sia diffuso tra la comunità degli architetti in occasione dell'annuncio di qualche nome di vincitore e che sia stato difficile resistere alla tentazione di chiedersi: "quali gli esclusi di quest'anno? chi sarà allora il prossimo?", bisogna però notare che il meccanismo ben oliato del Premio è rassicurante. Sino ad oggi il "Pritzker" non ha fallito. Intanto, ogni anno, con puntualità, è stato assegnato. Un merito non da poco che suggerisce un calcolo molto semplice, per l'appunto tranquillizzante; ammesso che un architetto di buone capacità goda in media di una vita lavorativa di cinquanta anni, è lapalissiano notare che in tale lasso di tempo il Premio verrà assegnato cinquanta volte. Ora, e tanto più visto che i debiti con le generazioni più anziane sono stati in gran parte onorati dal "Pritzker" nel corso delle prime dieci edizioni circa, tra il 1979 e il 1987, è chiaro che chi oggi debutta nel campo della professione ed è dotato di medie

Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Edifici per uffici College Life Insurance Company of America, Indianapolis, Indiana, U.S.A., 1974.
Ieoh Ming Pei, Edificio per uffici Bank of China, Hong Kong, 1982-90. Foto P. Warchol.
Richard Meier, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A., 1980-83. Foto E. Stoller/Esto.
Hans Hollein, Gioielleria Schullin 1, Vienna, Austria, 1972-74. Foto J. Surwillo.





each discipline has its own roll of honour. For the Pritzker jury things are somewhat simpler. Obviously, one might observe, they are only dealing with architects. But even if we concede that architecture is an art which does not involve the kind of specialisation found in athletics, who can deny that among architects there exist marked differences, comparable to those which distinguish a speed runner from a marathoner? This is why we cannot help but suspect that the work which the Pritzker jury is called upon to perform each year, under the watchful guidance, as Jay Pritzker informs us, of Mrs. Cindy Pritzker, is not such a simple nor amusing matter. And this is also why the jurors are so carefully selected and, with the exception of a resistant core group, so often replaced. The jurors are, above all, men and women of the world. A more pious, severe group of arbiters, composed of excessively attentive experts, would certainly have problems in accepting the task of selecting, every twelve months, "the world's greatest architect". Jurors burdened with an excess of ideological or scientific baggage might even be tempted to ask themselves if such a task makes any sense at all; tempted, as we are, to place the expression "the world's greatest architect" between quotation marks, but without our justification of having to cite an already formulated verbal construct. Other, even more malevolent potential jurors might even ask themselves if the attribution of such a title, year after year, is good for architecture, if any possible profit can be gained by the discipline as a whole as a result of this isolation of it's purportedly "most excellent" exponent. They might well wonder about the sense of such a banal confirmation of the rather infantile, and otherwise precarious, myth of the Architect, ignoring the many metamorphoses to which this venerable and, in some ways, respectable professional figure has been subjected.

But if we limit the discussion to the history of the Prize itself we find that these are merely vain suppositions. The Pritzker is a unique institution: its crystalline banality somehow endows it with unpredictable energies. It is apparent that this is the most "selective" of all prizes. Its recipient is granted the right to consider himself "the architect" of the year in progress – like a yogurt container with its "consume by" date clearly printed on the lid. Such power of decree would seem to imply an exceptional level of rigour; but in this case, unlike that of supermarket foodstuffs, such rigour would represent an evident contradiction in terms: who could ever claim to be rigorous after having participated in such an unreal selective exercise? The jury, in fact, must refrain from worrying about such contradictions. Its task is to avoid such problems. It is composed, for the most part, of amateurs, *open-minded individuals who are probably well-aware – or at least this is the impression one gets – of the ephemeral nature of their responsibilities; they do not take themselves too seriously, graciously conceding such privileges to the architects they are empowered to exalt. The jury functions as the true guarantee of the liberal character of the Prize. After all, are not the most democratic awards and competitions usually judged by a jury of disinterested outsiders, free from the burdens of unsharpened axes? Here again, the Pritzker is intrinsically democratic, animated by what we might call an "Olympian" spirit.*

Although one can easily imagine that in the past the announcement of the winners of the prize may have provoked controversy in the architectural community, and speculation on who had been passed over, who would be primed for the prize of the following year, by now we must admit that the well-oiled mechanism of the Pritzker Prize has achieved a reassuring level of functional consistency. There have been no breakdowns, no blatant errors. Each year, right on schedule, the Prize is assigned to a winner. And this is no simple matter; it would appear to indicate that behind the deliberations there is a very simple, reassuring type of calculation: if we agree that the career of an important or talented architect lasts for an average of





Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, College Life Insurance Company of America Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana, U.S.A., 1974.
Ieoh Ming Pei, Bank of China Tower, Hong Kong, 1982-90.
Photos P. Warchol.
Richard Meier, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A., 1980-83.
Photo E. Stoller/Esto.
Hans Hollein, Schullin 1 Jewellery Shop, Vienna, Austria, 1972-74.
Photo J. Surwillo.

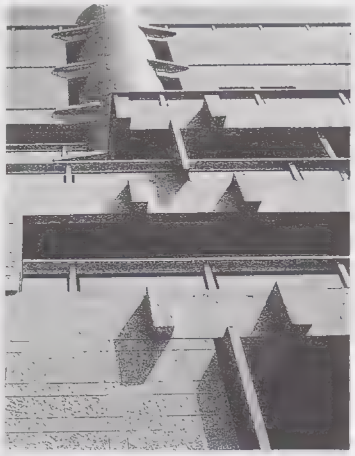
qualità ha ottime probabilità di concludere la propria carriera, così come è capitato ai diciassette architetti che lo hanno a tutt'oggi preceduto, avendo avuto la possibilità di fregiarsi del titolo di "migliore architetto del mondo". Non bisogna lasciarsi trasportare, ma a questo punto verrebbe proprio da domandarsi come Adolf Loos, ad esempio, in tempi non sospetti per l'architettura, avrebbe commentato la notizia qualora fosse venuto a sapere dell'istituzione in qualche parte del globo di un premio ufficiale riservato al miglior progettista del mondo – ma di acqua ne è passata troppa sotto i ponti della professione per concedersi il lusso di simili nostalgie.

È opportuno, piuttosto, stare al gioco del Premio, peraltro condotto con *bon ton* e dai piacevoli risvolti mondani. Seguendone le regole si potrà meglio capirne lo spirito e si noterà subito, traendone un effetto tranquillizzante per ognuno, che tra non molto, stando ai calcoli fatti in precedenza, sarà assai semplice prevedere con un certo anticipo i futuri vincitori del "Pritzker", andando per esclusione, senza nutrire quindi alcuna ansiosa aspettativa per gli annuali annunci della Giuria. I pochi esclusi poi, non è difficile immaginarlo, potranno presto puntare su altrettanto prestigiosi *Goodwill Games* di consolazione. Ma il "Pritzker" è equilibrato, al punto che questa buona inclinazine pare vada influenzando i comportamenti dello stesso pubblico privilegiato del Premio, la comunità dei progettisti, dall'interno della quale si avverte una caduta della tensione e del *pathos* che in passato si accompagnavano ai regolari annunci dei nomi dei vincitori. Ciò potrebbe indurre qualcuno a meditare sullo stato presente dell'architettura internazionale tetragona di fronte ad ogni emozione, ma anche questo risulterebbe un atteggiamento impertinente nei confronti del Premio, che si comporta sempre come persona bene educata e, soprattutto, che vuol essere consolante per gli architetti e quanto più rassicurante con il pubblico. Oddio, può ancora accadere di provare una certa sorpresa per un annuncio apparentemente intempestivo, ma se poi ci si pensa bene, se si osservano le cose con calma, ci si rende facilmente conto che nulla è casuale nelle decisioni del "Pritzker", nulla vi é di avventato e di veramente sorprendente. Il rischio e l'azzardo sono esclusi dal salotto ben frequentato che si è formato intorno al Premio, espressione di sapienti bilanciamenti, di oculate preoccupazioni geopolitiche, al punto che non vale neppure la pena di domandarsi come sia potuto accadere che il vincitore dell'edizione 1994 abbia ricevuto il medesimo Premio assegnato solo quattordici anni fa a Barragán; ma per tutto vi è una spiegazione.

Il fatto è che all'inizio fu Philip Johnson. Correva l'anno 1979. Quale scelta migliore per iniziare? Bene o male il "Pritzker" è un premio americano e Johnson è non solo americano, ma dell'architettura del suo paese è anche il nume tutelare. Con lui si chiude un'epoca; assegnandogli il Premio si è reso omaggio a quell'epoca. Si sono così celebrati uno spirito distruttivo e il lucido cinismo di una intelligenza non comune, compiendo un gesto coraggioso, almeno all'apparenza, ma non certo tra i più originali. Si è fatta ammenda l'anno successivo. Il messaggio lanciato dalla Giuria nel 1980 è di segno diverso rispetto a quello dell'anno precedente: il Premio viene infatti assegnato a Luis Barragán. 1979-80: gli opposti si osservano e non si toccano ma in realtà risultano mescolati, e un nome è funzionale alla gloria dell'altro. La poesia più rarefatta accanto al cinismo esibito, dunque, a dimostrazione di come il "Pritzker" non abbia prevenzioni, sia in grado di pacificare ogni differenza e privilegi l'uniformità. Un architetto americano e uno messicano, inoltre, prova dell'attenzione per gli equilibri geopolitici che l'intelligenza dei giurati rispetta e di un atteggiamento di fondo limpidamente democratico. Di lì a poco, nel 1981, vincitore del Premio è un geniale e irsuto architetto inglese, al culmine – e lui ne è cosciente – della carriera. Si procede quindi in corrispondenza antistrofica, ma è solo

Gottfried Böhm, Edificio per uffici Zublin, Stoccarda, Germania, 1983-84. Foto K.H. Schmölz.
Kenzo Tange, Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Giappone, 1961-66.
Gordon Bunshaft, Lever House, New York, U.S.A., 1951-52. Foto J. Schulman.
Oscar Niemeyer, Sede del Partito Comunista Francese, Parigi, Francia, 1965-67. Foto M. Moch.





about 50 years, it is obvious that during that time the Prize will be awarded to an equal number of architects. At this point, especially as the debts to past generations have been honoured, for the most part, during the course of the approximately the first decade of the Prize's existence – 1979-1987 – it is clear than an architect embarking upon a career today has a rather good chance of concluding it, as has been the case for the seventeen precedent winners, with the possibility of enjoying the title of "the world's greatest architect". We needn't get carried away, but at this point the question springs to mind, for example, of what Adolf Loos, in less suspect times for architecture, would have had to say had he been informed of the institution of a prize for the world's greatest architect. But perhaps too much water has passed under the profession's bridge since then to permit us the luxury of similar nostalgic reveries.

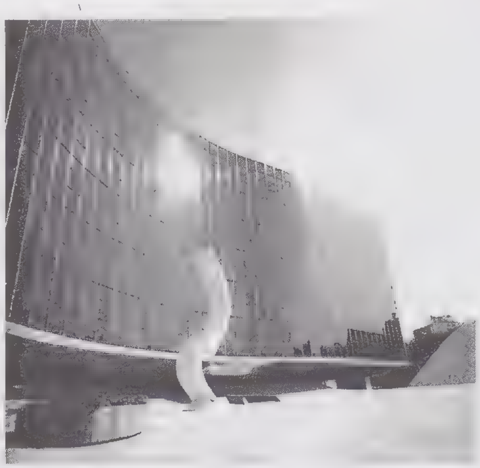
Instead, it might be opportune to play along with the idea of the Prize, an event orchestrated with bon ton and pleasant worldly accoutrements. By analyzing its rules we can better understand its spirit; one immediately notes that shortly, based on the calculations made above, it will be relatively simple to predict the future winners of the Pritzker, proceding by exclusion, without the excitement and anticipation prompted by the annual announcement of the results of the Jury's deliberations. Those who are excluded can be reassured by the fact that soon they will probably be able to count on some sort of equally prestigious Goodwill Games as a consolation for having missed the Olympics.

The Pritzker is well-balanced; so much so that this praiseworthy attitude seems to have influenced the very group most closely interested in the Prize, the design community itself, within which there has been a diminishing of the tension and pathos previously associated with the annual announcement of the winner. This might induce some to meditate on the present state of international architecture, steadfast in the face of all emotion, but this again becomes an impertinent attitude with respect to the Prize; the Prize always behaves like a well-mannered person, seeking above all to comfort architects and to reassure the public. Of course there are still cases of perplexity regarding apparently untimely choices for the award, but if one calmly considers them in the overall context, it becomes apparent that nothing is left to chance in the decisions of the Pritzker juries, nothing is risked, nothing is truly surprising. Risk and games of chance are forbidden in the genteel circles of the Prize, this expression of skilful balancings, perceptive geopolitical considerations. There is really very little point in asking how the winner of the 1994 edition could have received the same award assigned, only fourteen years earlier, to Barragan. There is an explanation for everything.

The fact of the matter is that in the beginning there was Philip Johnson. The year was 1979. What was the best choice with which to begin? For better or worse, the Pritzker is an American prize; not only is Johnson American, he is also a tutelary deity of his country's architecture. With Johnson comes the end of an era, and by awarding him the Prize homage is paid to that era. This was a celebration of a destructive spirit, a lucid cynicism, of uncommon intelligence, an apparently courageous gesture, but certainly not one of the most original.

The following year amends were made. The message transmitted by the Jury, in 1980, was quite different, somehow compensating for that of the preceding year: the Prize was assigned to Luis Barragan. 1979-1980: the opposites observe one another, without touching, but are actually mingled, each name contributing to the glory of the other. The most rarefied poetry alongside the most explicit cynicism, demonstrating that the Pritzker is a highly pragmatic affair, without preconceived notions, prepared to pacify all differences and reward uniformity. An American architect and a Mexican architect, proof of the Jury's respect for geopolitical equilibria, and of a candidly democratic





Gottfried Böhm, Zublin-Haus, Stuttgart, Germany, 1983-84.
Photo K.H. Schmölz.
Kenzo Tange, Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Japan, 1961-66.
Gordon Bunshaft, Lever House, New York, U.S.A., 1951-52.
Photo J. Schulman.
Oscar Niemeyer, French Communist Party Headquarters, Paris, France, 1965-67.
Photo M. Moch.

un artificio retorico: al progettista dei laboratori di Leicester segue un irlandese che ha imparato ogni cosa in Nordamerica e che ha fatto tesoro della lezione di Eero Saarinen. In tal modo il "Pritzker" ritorna a casa, ma gli opposti che si fronteggiano nell'accoppiata 1981-1982 sono più sfumati: James Stirling e Kevin Roche, ora che con i maestri del passato il Premio ritiene di aver saldato i conti, sono meno lontani di Johnson e Barragán. Ma è Johnson che consegna materialmente il Premio a Roche, dando così l'avvio a una storia più comune.
Infatti segue la coppia statunitense Ieoh Ming Pei e Richard Meier, ambedue al colmo del successo. Si potrebbe fare retroattivamente il gioco della torre: "chi è stato scartato nel 1983-1984 tra gli architetti americani che avrebbe potuto aspirare al Premio con altrettanto diritto dei due predestinati?". Ciascuno può compilare un elenco, ma anche in questo caso se non si è prevenuti ci si rende conto che quelle di Pei e Meier, facce di un'unica medaglia, erano le scelte più logiche, scontate, banali. Al punto ponderate da suggerire alla Giuria per l'anno successivo, il 1985, un piccolo azzardo: Hans Hollein. Un po' più giovane di Pei, meno prolifico di Meier, un po' eccentrico, soprattutto europeo, per di più viennese. Ma, appunto, viennese; e poichè l'Austria tra i paesi di lingua tedesca non è certo il più importante, l'equilibrio di cui il "Pritzker" può menar vanto suggerisce alla Giuria, nel 1986, l'opportunità di scegliere il tedesco Gottfried Böhm. In tal modo si rende omaggio a una solida tradizione familiare e due piccioni vengono catturati con un'unica esca, dato che la scelta riconosce i meriti culturali di una grande nazione e dimostra di saper nutrire rispetto per la tradizione – un riconoscimento opportuno, dunque, ai valori della famiglia.
La Giuria, nel frattempo, si modifica e si è modificata; cambiano protagonisti e suggeritori, ma non il clima che lì si respira né lo stile. Come nei migliori *club* è la tradizione che conta e il "Pritzker" continua ad essere il più assennato dei premi. Nel 1987 si ripete l'operazione della nomina che permette con un gesto unico di cogliere diversi risultati. Il Premio va, obbiettivamente, alla memoria; assegnandolo a Kenzo Tange la Giuria compie apparentemente un passo indietro. Ma Tange è giapponese e dio solo sa con quanta forza il Giappone si è ormai imposto all'attenzione del mondo, e non solo in campo architettonico. L'anno seguente, siamo arrivati al 1988, si celebra la più riuscita dimostrazione di liberalità e democraticità *sub specie* "Pritzker". Risultano vincitori a pari merito Gordon Bunshaft e Oscar Niemeyer. Il Premio non ha pregiudizi ideologici, così, nuovamente, gli opposti vengono stretti insieme e Lever House e la sede del Partito Comunista Francese sembrano riflettersi metaforicamente nelle rispettive, diverse, pareti vetrate. Sono premi, per così dire, coniugati al passato prossimo, come riconosce lo scontroso Bunshaft il cui discorso di accettazione si legge però con piacere: si segnala tra tutti quelli pronunciati dai diversi vincitori, *absit iniuria* Barragán, in occasione del conferimento del Premio – una raccolta, questa, che potrebbe interessare oltre agli storici dell'architettura anche attenti psicanalisti – per l'elegante concisione e il distacco.
Celebrato il decennale della fondazione con l'*ex-aequo* a Niemeyer e Bunshaft, nel 1989 le scelte del "Pritzker" divengono chiare e di ampio respiro. Non si procede più per coppie, ma si dipana un disegno più vasto. Il mito che ora viene accreditato è di quelli destinati al successo, poiché ciò che il Premio dimostra è che ogni paese ha, o ha diritto a, un grande architetto. È una prospettiva che conforta ed è un buon servizio reso alla democrazia, al punto che sembra rivivere in questa fioritura di architetti decretata dal "Pritzker" l'epopea dei "medici a piedi scalzi", quelli che, sommariamente preparati, portavano conforto e assistenza in ogni angolo sperduto della Cina ai tempi di Mao Tse Tung. Un pugno di cinquanta-sessantenni o giù di lì riceve dal Premio l'incarico di



Frank O. Gehry, Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A., 1989.
Foto T. Bonner.
Aldo Rossi, Ignazio Gardella, Teatro Carlo Felice, Genova, Italia, 1983-90.
Foto S. Topuntoli.
Robert Venturi, Ala Sainsbury della National Gallery of Art, Londra, Gran Bretagna, 1986-91.
Foto M. Wargo.

Frank O. Gehry, Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A., 1989.
Photo T. Bonner.
Aldo Rossi, Ignazio Gardella, Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa, Italy, 1983-90.
Photo S. Topuntoli.
Robert Venturi, The Sainsbury Wing, National Gallery of Art, London, Great Britain, 1986-91.
Photo M. Wargo.

basic approach. One year later, in 1981, the winner of the Prize is a brilliant, hirsute British architect, at the conscious culmination of his career. After this the nursery rhyme continues antistrophic correspondences, but this is merely rhetorical artifice: the designer of the Leicester laboratories is followed by an Irishman who learned his trade in America, fully absorbing the teachings of Eero Saarinen. The Pritzker comes back to the States, but the opposites confronting each other in the 1981-1982 face-off are less extreme, with more subtle shadings: James Stirling and Kevin Roche, after the Prize's payment of due homage to the masters of the past, represent less extremely different poles than those embodied in the choices of Johnson and Barragan. Nevertheless, the physical act of handing over the Prize to Roche is entrusted to Johnson. From here on, the story becomes more banal still.

The next two winners, in fact, are the US architects Ieoh Ming Pei and Richard Meier, both at the height of their success. One gets a sense of the possibility for retroactive speculation: who, among the American architects, was left set aside, although equally deserving, in 1983-84? Each observer can compile his own list; but in the end he must also admit that the choices of Pei and Meier, two sides of the same coin, were logical, predictable, banal. So much so that in 1985 the Jury was moved to take a minor risk: Hans Hollein. A little bit younger than Pei, somewhat less prolific than Meier, rather eccentric, European, even Viennese. Ah yes, Vienna: and since Austria, among the German-speaking countries, is certainly not the most important, the Pritzkerian sense of equilibrium cannot help but prompt, in 1986, the selection of the German architect Gottfried Böhm. In this way homage is rendered to a solid family tradition, killing two birds with one stone, as the choice recognises the cultural merits of a major nation, while demonstrating respect for tradition – a decision oriented toward family values.

*The Jury, in the meantime, has changed and been changed; new faces take the places of the leading players and their prompters, but the basic script and style of the recital remain the same. As in the best of clubs, tradition is what counts, and the Pritzker continues to be the most reasonable of all awards. In 1987 the operation of a single choice for the achievement of multiple results is repeated. The Prize, objectively speaking, is a sort of memorial: by bestowing the award upon Kenzo Tange, the Jury would appear to have returned to its original approach. But Tange is also Japanese, and nowadays Japan mustn't be overlooked for too long, in architecture or in other fields of endeavour. The following year, 1988, the liberal, democratic character of the Prize finds its fullest expression: the award is assigned, in a photo finish, to two winners, Gordon Bunshaft and Oscar Niemeyer. The Prize eschews all ideological prejudices; thus, once again, opposites are embraced, Lever House and the headquarters of the French Communist Party seem to metaphorically reflect one another in their glazed facades. These are awards apparently conjugated in the past tense, as the feisty Bunshaft noted in his acceptance speech (which makes enjoyable reading today): Bunshaft's approach stands out in the midst of the acceptance speeches of the other winners (Barragan*absit iniuria*); the collection will provide interesting material for study for architectural historians and psychoanalysts alike, due to its common traits of concise elegance and detachment.*

After this tenth anniversary celebration with the dual Niemeyer-Bunshaft award, from 1989 onward the choices of the Pritzker become clear and wide-ranging. The oppositions and pairings vanish, and a more vast design begins to take form. The myth which is now promulgated by the pattern of the selections is one which is destined to be successful, because it aims to demonstrate that every country possesses, or has the right to claim, one great architect. This is a comforting outlook, in the service of democratic ideals, so much so that the flourishing ranks of





rassicurare il mondo che anche la fine del millennio sarà illuminata dall'architettura. Gehry, Rossi, Venturi, Siza: dal 1989 quattro scelte felici, difficilmente discutibili, al punto che sarebbe ozioso chiedersi se siano state anche tempestive. Non si pensi a quanto accadeva in quegli anni in altri paesi o anche solo, per essere realisti, in Italia. Non vale la pena di ricordare Michelucci, Gardella o nomi più esotici, oppure Eladio Dieste, perchè ne verrebbe scompigliata la bella geometria con gli angoli smussati rispondenti ai nomi di Gehry, Rossi, Venturi e Siza, che il Premio ha disegnato. È un quadrato ecumenico e chi se la sentirebbe di chiedere al "Pritzker" di scegliere? Molto più appropriato e per bene, *politically correct*, dire semplicemente: "queste sono le vie da battere; tra di esse non vi sono vere differenze; ciascuna porta al regno del signore, ovvero al Pritzker Prize". Così si chiudono gli anni Ottanta e gli anni Novanta si aprono nel segno della continuità della speranza per tutti: innumerevoli le strade che gli architetti a piedi scalzi possono percorrere e ognuna porta al bene.

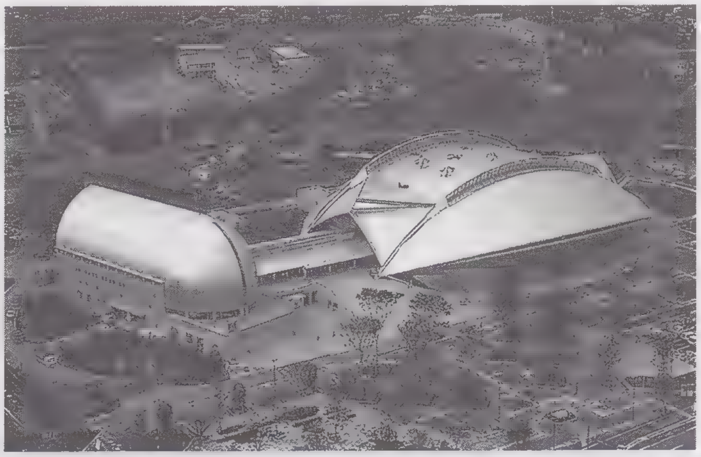
1993: Fumiko Maki. È bravo e ha molte *atouts*. È inequivocabilmente giapponese e altrettanto inequivocabilmente ha contribuito a portare nella professione del suo paese lo spirito pragmatico dell'architettura americana, assorbito durante l'apprendistato compiuto negli Stati Uniti. È una considerazione forse maliziosa, ma può spiegare una scelta che per quanto ineccepibile potrebbe sorprendere qualcuno – in fondo il Giappone è terra fertile per gli architetti.

Reso così omaggio alla potenza del Giappone – il "Pritzker" si ritiene ormai talmente importante che il Premio assegnato ad un architetto è considerato come un riconoscimento implicito al paese tutto di cui il medesimo architetto è originario – è tempo di ritornare in Europa.

1994: come potevano pensare, in quest'anno fortunato, architetti norvegesi, spagnoli, svizzeri, danesi, ecc. che, dopo gli omaggi già tributati a Inghilterra, Austria, Germania, Italia e Portogallo, un riconoscimento ormai dovuto non andasse al paese più generoso tra le nazioni europee nel riconoscere il genio dell'architettura moderna? Per questo nessuno può davvero sorprendersi se il "Pritzker-94" è stato assegnato al francese Christian de Portzamparc. Questa scelta è un segno di speranza per tutti, una dimostrazione inequivocabile dell'ottimismo e della magnanimità da cui il Premio è animato. È un nuovo ritorno alle origini: modellato come un concorso ginnico e come una giornata olimpica, il Premio ha in questo modo riaffermato la sua vocazione ecumenica e confermato il messaggio di speranza che annualmente rivolge alla comunità degli architetti: "Ecco la prova! Tutti possono partecipare, nessuno escluso!". Ognuno, dopo il 1994, ha la dimostrazione che i calcoli elementari che prima abbiamo fatto non sono sbagliati e ciascuno in cuor suo sa che prima o poi gli toccherà l'onere e l'onore di venir proclamato "il migliore architetto del mondo". Anche i più giovani possono ora confidare tranquillamente in un attestato che, sul far della maturità, consentirà loro, dopo aver pronunciato un bel discorso di ringraziamento rivolto ai magnanimi promotori del Pritzker Prize, di aggiungere una nuova strofa alla filastrocca che abbiamo trascritto all'inizio. E con essa si rinnoverà, ingigantita da tutti gli organi di informazione, la certezza che l'architettura saprà sempre rinnovarsi nel culto del mito del grande architetto, dell'artefice bravo e buono che come i dottori di Mao può non solo guarirci dalle miserie della nostra epoca, ma dischiudere al mondo radiose prospettive.

(*) Le informazioni che in questo testo sono oggetto di semplici allusioni vengono più puntualmente fornite da J. Pritzker nel contributo che ha offerto per questo numero di "Zodiac". Per non cadere in noiose ripetizioni ad esse si rimanda.



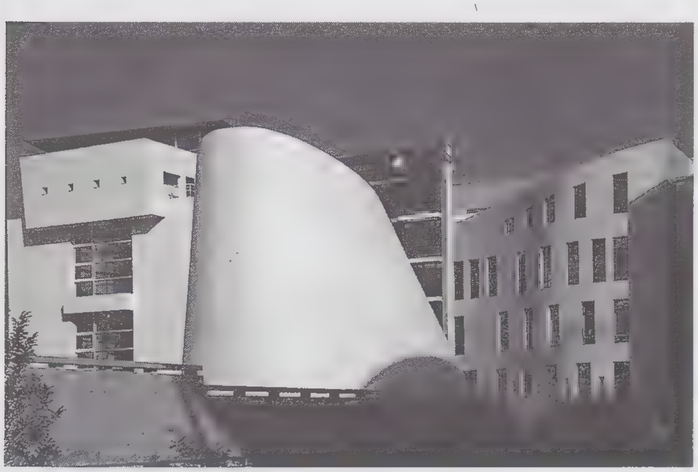


the architects declared worthy of a Pritzker reminds us of the epopea of the "barefoot doctors", who brought the comforts of medical care to the most remote corners of China under Mao. A grouping of architects in their fifties or sixties, more or less, are entrusted with the Prize in order to reassure the world that even the end of this millenium will be illuminated by architecture. Gehry, Rossi, Venturi, Siza: since 1989 four serendipitous choices, so difficult to challenge that it would truly be superfluous to split hairs regarding their timing. There is no need to consider what was happening, in those years, in other countries; no need, more realistically, even to consider what was happening in Italy. We can be excused if we fail to recall Michelucci, Gardella or other, more exotic, names, pardoned for not even mentioning Eladio Dieste, because in doing so we would only upset the admirable geometry, with its bevelled corners, established by the Prize's selection of Gehry, Rossi, Venturi, Siza. Who could possibly have the heart to expect the Pritzker to upset this overtly ecumenical framework? It is much more appropriate, much more mannerly, above all much more politically correct, to simply say: "these are the paths to be trodden; among them there are no true differences; each leads to the kingdom of the Lord, to the Pritzker Prize". Thus the 1980s conclude, and the 1990s begin, under the sign of the continuity of the notion of "hope for all": many are the roads followed by the barefoot architects; all those roads lead to a better world.

1993: Fumihiko Maki, a fine architect, with lots of hatu. *He is unequivocally Japanese, but in an equally unmistakable manner he has contributed to bring the pragmatic spirit of American architecture, which he absorbed during his experiences in the United States, to his homeland. This may be a slightly malicious consideration, but it may also help to explain a choice which, although fully merited, might surprise some – after all, Japan is a land of opportunity for architects.*

Having thus again paid homage to the power of Japan, the Pritzker begins to feel so important that the award granted to an architect is considered a sort of implicit recognition of the nation of his origins: so the time has come to return to Europe. 1994: Spanish, Swiss, Norwegian, Danish and other architects could not hope, after the tributes already paid to England, Austria, Germany, Italy and Portugal, to be placed before the pressing (and justified) need to acknowledge the efforts of the most generous of the European nations in terms of largesse and recognition of the merits of modern architecture. Therefore no one should be surprised by the fact that the Pritzker '94 was awarded to Christian de Portzanparc. This choice is a sign of hope for all, a clear demonstration of the optimism and the magnanimity of the Prize. This is yet another return to the origins: modelled after an athletic contest or a day at the Olympics, with this selection the Prize reaffirms its ecumenical vocation, reiterating the message of hope it seeks to transmit, each year, to the community of architects: "Here's the proof! All may participate, none will be excluded!". The award of 1994 provides decisive evidence that our strategic calculations were justified; deep in their hearts, all architects can be sure that sooner or later they will be granted the honour, and the responsibility, of the title "the world's greatest architect". Even the most youthful can now confidently expect, upon maturity, after having delivered a decorous speech of thanks to the generous sponsors of the Pritzker Prize, to add a new name to the nursery rhyme with which we began this article. In so doing, they will also take part in the renewal, magnified by all the information media, of the certainty that architecture will always be capable of reviving the cult, the myth of the Great Architect, the virtuous genius who, like Mao's barefoot doctors, can not only cure the evils of our time, but also point the way toward glorious new horizons.

(*) Much of the information alluded to in this text is discussed more fully by J. Pritzker in his essay specially written for this issue of "Zodiac". To avoid unnecessary repetition, readers are asked to refer to his essay throughout.



Alvaro Siza, Banca Borges & Irmão, Vila do Conde, Portogallo, 1969-82. Foto T. Siza.
Fumihiko Maki, Fujisawa Municipal Gymnasium, Fujisawa, Giappone, 1984.
Christian de Portzamparc, Cité de la Musique, Parigi, Francia, 1984-94. Foto N. Borel.

Alvaro Siza, Banca Borges & Irmão, Vila do Conde, Portugal, 1969-82. Photo T. Siza.
Fumihiko Maki, Fujisawa Municipal Gymnasium, Fujisawa, Japan, 1984.
Christian de Portzamparc, Cité de la Musique, Paris, France, 1984-94. Photo N. Borel.

Philip Johnson, 1979. *The Pritzker Architecture Prize was established in 1979 for the purpose of encouraging greater awareness of the way people perceive and interact with their surroundings.*

The first award is being given to Philip Johnson, whose work demonstrates a combination of the qualities of talent, vision and commitment that has produced consistent and significant contributions to humanity and the environment. As a critic and historian, he championed the cause of modern architecture and then went on to design some of his greatest buildings. Philip Johnson is being honored for fifty years of imagination and vitality embodied in a myriad of museums, theaters, libraries, houses, gardens and corporate structures.

The Jury

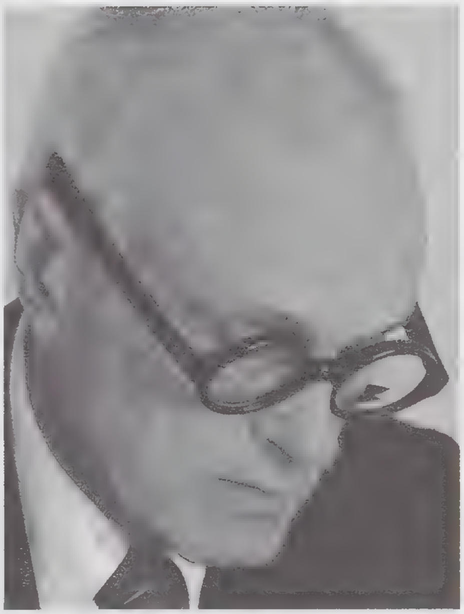
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The Jury

Philip Johnson, 1979
Il Premio di Architettura Pritzker è stato istituito nel 1979 allo scopo di incoraggiare una maggiore consapevolezza del modo in cui le persone percepiscono e interagiscono con l'ambiente in cui vivono.
Il primo di questi premi viene assegnato a Philip Johnson, la cui opera rivela una combinazione di talento, immaginazione e impegno, qualità che gli hanno consentito di realizzare consistenti e significativi contributi all'umanità e all'ambiente. Come critico e storico si è battuto per la causa dell'architettura moderna, giungendo a progettare alcuni dei suoi più grandi edifici. Philip Johnson è premiato per cinquant'anni di immaginazione e vitalità incarnate in una miriade di musei, teatri, biblioteche, case, giardini ed edifici commerciali.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Lord Clark of Saltwood, Arata Isozaki, J. Irwin Miller, Cesar Pelli, Carleton Smith (Secretary to the Jury), Arthur Drexler (Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., U.S.A., June 12, 1979

"Diario di un architetto eccentrico" *
Philip Johnson

La mia residenza di New Canaan è una specie di "diario di un architetto eccentrico". Ho tenuto questo diario per quasi cinquant'anni a cominciare dal 1946, quando acquistai il terreno. Appena giunto sul lotto originario di 2 ettari (oggi la proprietà copre circa 16 ettari), situai la Casa di vetro nella posizione attuale: ho descritto altrove i contorcimenti attraverso i quali sono arrivato a realizzare la casa nel 1949, ma la sua ubicazione su un'altura fu decisa nei primi cinque minuti.
Nel corso degli ultimi quarant'anni ho costruito a poco a poco, un pezzo alla volta, un paesaggio punteggiato di piccoli edifici, accostati senza un programma in una distesa erbosa segnata da muretti rustici di pietre, ornata da gruppi o filari di alberi e da folte macchie e ben irrigata da un ruscello e da uno stagno. Fino a che punto questo paesaggio sia nato da un uso fortuito dei campi e dei boschi preesistenti, o sia invece frutto del mio amore per le sistemazioni a parco del Settecento inglese, non saprei dirlo.
Dal 1950 in poi il diario ha rispecchiato la rapidità – talvolta camaleontica – con cui è cambiato il mio modo di concepire l'architettura come arte. La prima ribellione al "moderno" fu rappresentata nel 1953 dall'interposizione nella Casa per gli ospiti di una struttura a doppia cupola formante una stanza dentro un'altra: lo scopo era di disporre le sorgenti di luce esterne come aveva fatto Soane nella saletta per la prima colazione della sua casa londinese.
Questo intervento non incideva peraltro sul paesaggio. Più radicale fu il Padiglione – la *folie* – "galleggiante" sullo stagno ricavato nel 1962 in un avvallamento sottostante alla Casa di vetro. È un padiglione a scala falsata (si rischia di sbattere la testa contro gli archi), formato da quadrati di m 2.50 di lato disposti più o meno come in un dipinto di Mondrian: la forma del piede delle colonne è ripresa da un famoso quadro di Delaunay raffigurante la chiesa gotica di St. Severin, in cui la parte inferiore delle colonne è allargata. In seguito ho utilizzato questo motivo in altri edifici nel Nebraska e a New York; ma allora m'interessava soprattutto creare una colonna d'angolo che rimanesse fedele al modulo senza cadere nella difficoltà, tipica del Rinascimento, della colonna che "scompare" negli angoli interni di un portico.
Il terzo edificio, la Galleria della pittura, fu aggiunto nel 1965 su un'ampliamento della proprietà a nord del lotto originario. Non volevo costruire nuovi edifici troppo vicino alla Casa di vetro, e la circondai con una banchina. La forma a trifoglio della Galleria è legata alla soluzione di un problema funzionale: in ciascuno dei tre lobi c'è una colonna centrale con uno schermo per appendervi i quadri, come un rolodex o una rastrelliera per cartoline illustrate, e al diverso diametro dei lobi corrisponde una diversa dimensione delle "pareti" destinate ad accogliere i

***"Diary of an eccentric architect" ***
Philip Johnson

My place in New Canaan is a kind of "diary of an eccentric architect." I have kept this diary for almost fifty years starting with the purchase of the land in 1946. When I first walked over the original five-acre section (the property today is around forty acres) I sited The Glass House where it is today. The contortions I went through before I actually built the house in 1949 are recorded elsewhere, but the setting on the hill I picked in the first five minutes.
For the last forty years I have gradually, in bits and pieces, made a landscape punctuated by little buildings grouped casually in mown fields marked by farmers' stone walls and decorated by trees in rows, in clumps, in leafy copses conveniently watered by a brook and a pond. How much of this landscaping is the fortuitous use of the existing fields and forests and how much is inspired by my love of English eighteenth-century landscape gardening, I have no idea.
Since 1950 the diary continues with the sometimes chameleonlike quickness of my changes of approach to the art of architecture. The first revolt from "modern" was the 1953 intervention in the Guest House of a double-domed skeleton of a room within a room. The aim of the design was to arrange the light sources from outside the "room" as in the breakfast room in Sir John Soane's house in London. That change did not affect the landscape. More radical was the Pavilion – the folly – "floating" in a pond I excavated in the valley below the house in 1962. The design is a false scale pavilion (you might hit your head in the arches) made up of 8-foot squares arranged more or less like a Mondrian. I derived the "toe-ing" of the columns from Delaunay's famous painting of the Gothic church of St. Severin. He spread the lower part of the columns, a motif that I utilized in later buildings in Nebraska and New York. My main concern, however, was to create a corner column that would keep the module without the Renaissance problem of "disappearing" columns in the interior corners of the arcades.
The third addition is the Painting Gallery, added in 1965, on land north of the original five acres. Since I did not intend to add new buildings too close to The Glass House, I made a berm around it. The cloverleaf shape of the gallery was a result of the functional solution: a central column in each "leaf" carrying a screen for pictures, like a Rolodex or a postcard rack. Different-sized circles provided three differently scaled picture-hanging "walls." The entrance to the almost underground "Kunstbunker," as it was called by critics, is similar to the "Tomb of Atreus" in the Peloponnesus, Greece: solemn and important .
Down the path from the Painting Gallery came the Sculpture Gallery of 1970. Even farther from The Glass House, its white painted brick stands out in the bucolic surroundings. This time I played with interlocking volumes, the roof being 45 degrees offset from the floor. The gabled roof is diagonal to the floor layout. This building is

dipinti. L'ingresso a questo "bunker dell'arte" (così lo battezzarono i critici, perché è quasi sotterraneo) è solenne e importante come quello alla cosiddetta Tomba di Atreo a Micene.
In fondo al sentiero che porta alla Galleria della pittura fu costruita nel 1970, ancora più lontano dalla Casa di vetro, la Galleria della scultura, le cui mura di mattoni dipinte di bianco risaltano nel bucolico ambiente. Questa volta ho giocato sull'interconnessione dei volumi, ruotando di 45 gradi il tetto a due falde rispetto alla pianta alla quota del pavimento. Può darsi che l'edificio sia "moderno", ma l'impostazione planimetrica – un cortile al centro e quattro vani sporgenti a raggiera – è certamente classica; tuttavia in ciascun vano il pavimento è situato a una quota diversa, in relazione al tipo di scultura da esporre.
Nel 1980 è stato aggiunto a sud uno Studio rivestito di stucco bianco. Concepito come una cella monastica, lo studio ha un aspetto vagamente islamico a causa di un tronco di cono disposto come una cupola al di sopra del tavolo di lavoro e di un caminetto simile a un minareto in un angolo. Un'unica piccola finestra consente di vedere che tempo fa e di osservare la Natura (Frank Lloyd Wright scriveva sempre questa parola con la maiuscola).
A valle dello Studio ho costruito nel 1984 un padiglione di m 4.50x4.50 in onore del mio amico Frank Gehry, usando un materiale galvanizzato per recinzioni di cui egli promuove l'uso; all'interno crescono i gigli, e viene impedito l'ingresso agli onnivori daini.
Architettonicamente l'edificio è un capriccio: è simmetrico, ha un tetto a due falde inclinate di 45 gradi, come le case disegnate dai bambini, e poggia romanticamente sul basamento ottocentesco di una stalla da lungo tempo demolita (il gusto delle rovine!).
Nel 1985 ho innalzato una specie di torre dedicata a Lincoln Kirstein, inserita nel paesaggio in modo da costituire un punto d'interesse e da sottolineare il panorama visibile dalla casa; in realtà si tratta piuttosto di una scala, molto ripida e malsicura.
In tutte le mie opere recenti ho cercato di esprimere la nostalgia, la precarietà, il desiderio sessuale. Non so se Freud si divertirebbe a indagare questi strani impulsi, ma continuo a sperare che qualcuno di questi sentimenti possa tradursi nella pietra o nell'acciaio.
Ad esempio, nel Padiglione sul lago l'esiguità delle dimensioni dà al visitatore una sensazione d'importanza e di superiorità rispetto all'ambiente, e il fatto che si tratti di un'isola genera un senso romantico di solitudine inespugnabile; la passerella che porta alle Gallerie d'arte è troppo stretta e flessibile, e si teme di cadere; nella Casa di vetro il vento potrebbe mandare in frantumi le pareti; e anche dalla torre dedicata a Kirstein si rischia di precipitare, perché la scala è priva di ringhiera.
Naturalmente tutti questi timori devono rimanere vaghi: una situazione di reale pericolo avrebbe un effetto scostante e antiarchitettonico.
La torre è costruita con blocchi di calcestruzzo, un materiale non bello ma economico e perfettamente rispondente alla mia esigenza di un modulo piccolo, capace di creare il giusto effetto dimensionale e di rendere poco sicura la scala.
Mentre scrivo (marzo 1993) ho sul tavolo da disegno quello che sarà forse l'ultimo progetto per questo complesso: un piccolo parcheggio e un annesso edificio alto, in vista della creazione di un Centro per i visitatori, quando il complesso passerà al suo proprietario, il National Trust for Historic Preservation. Ho cominciato questo lavoro nel 1989, un anno dopo aver organizzato per il Museum of Modern Art di New York la Mostra del decostruttivismo, e sono stato molto stimolato dalle opere di quei giovani artisti (giovani rispetto a me): il risultato è l'attuale progetto, in cui ho accolto alcuni influssi provenienti da quei "ragazzi", com'ero abituato a chiamarli.
Probabilmente il diario di cui parlavo all'inizio è concluso: alcune idee nuove vagano nei recessi della mia mente, ma forse mancherà l'occasione di attuarle qui.
Ad ogni modo, non ho bisogno di altre architetture in questo luogo, che mi piace così com'è.

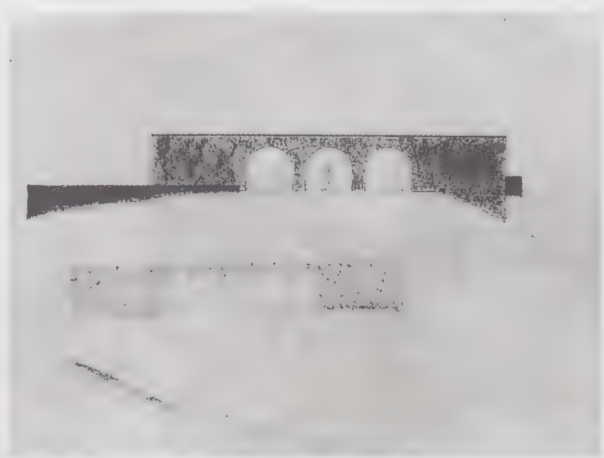
* Questo testo è la prefazione del libro *Philip Johnson. The Glass House*, a cura di David Whitney e Jeffrey Kipnis, Pantheon Books, New York 1993.

"modern," perhaps, but there is the idea of the plan – a central court with four bays opening out – which is surely classical. The floors of these bays are on five different levels, however, depending on the type of sculpture to be displayed.
Then comes the later addition to the south, a white stucco studio of 1980. A monk's cell by intent, it has a vaguely Islamic look due to a domelike truncated cone over the worktable and a minaretlike chimney in one corner. A single small window allows one to observe the weather and Nature (Frank Lloyd Wright always capitalized Nature).
In 1984 I built below the Studio a 15 foot by 15-foot construction of galvanized chain-link fencing in honor of my friend Frank Gehry. who favors using this material. Lilies grow inside, while the omnivorous deer are kept out. The building is architecturally a fantasy, symmetrical with a 45-degree pitched gable, as a child would sketch a house. It sits romantically on a nineteenth-century footing of a cow barn now long gone (the pleasures of ruins!).
In 1985 I designed a tower dedicated to Lincoln Kirstein. Placed in the landscape to make a point of interest, it punctuates the panorama from the house. The tower is in actuality a very steep and precarious stairway.
In all my recent work I strive for nostalgia, precariousness, sexual yearning. I am not sure whether or not Freud could have fun with these peculiar impulses, but I always hope some of these feelings can be transferred to stone and steel. In the lake pavilion, for example, the small scale gives the visitor a feeling of all-importance, superiority over the environment. The fact that the Pavilion is an island gives a romantic feeling of impregnable solitariness. My footbridge to the art galleries is quite scary: too narrow and springy. You might fall off? The Glass House: the glass might shatter in the wind! In the Lincoln Kirstein Tower there are no railings on the stairs. Again, you might fall off! All these feelings must be, of course, faint. A truly dangerous situation would be counter-attractive and counter-architectural.
The tower is built of concrete block, a not beautiful but cheap and, for my purposes, perfect material since I needed a small module that could give scale and make my staircase precarious.
As I write in the winter of 1993, on the drafting board is what may be the last building on my property. I am planning a small parking lot with an attendant tower building to create a Visitors' Center when the owner of the property, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, takes over. The design was begun a year after my Deconstructivist Exhibit of 1988 at The Museum of Modern Art. I was much influenced by the work of these young (to me) men and women. The result is the present design, my appreciation of some of influences of these "kids," as I have been calling them.
The diary is probably complete. There are some new ideas floating in the peculiar recesses of my mind but there may not be the opportunity to build them here.
Anyhow, I do not need any new architecture here. I like it the way it is.

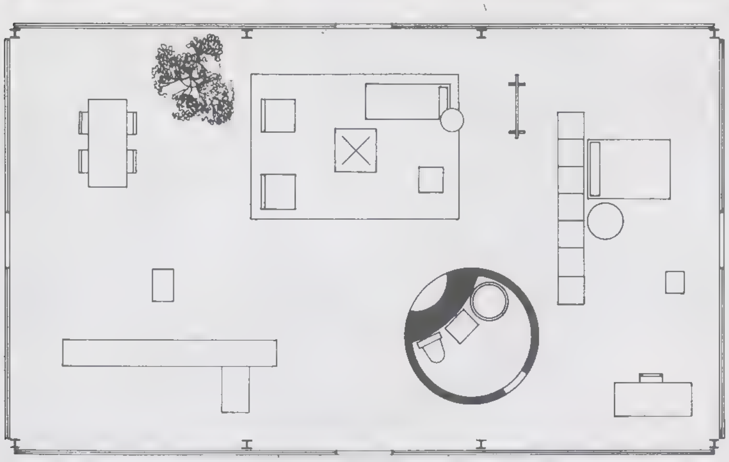
**Preface to* Philip Johnson. The Glass House, *edited by David Whitney and Jeffrey Kipnis, Pantheon Books, New York 1993.*











Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93.
Assonometria generale.
Pianta e prospetto di studio, Schema XX ("Syrian arch").
Museum of Modern Art, New York.
Vista esterna e pianta della soluzione definitiva.

Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93.
General axonometric.
Study plan and elevation, Scheme XX ("Syrian arch").
Museum of Modern Art, New York.
External view and plan of final version.

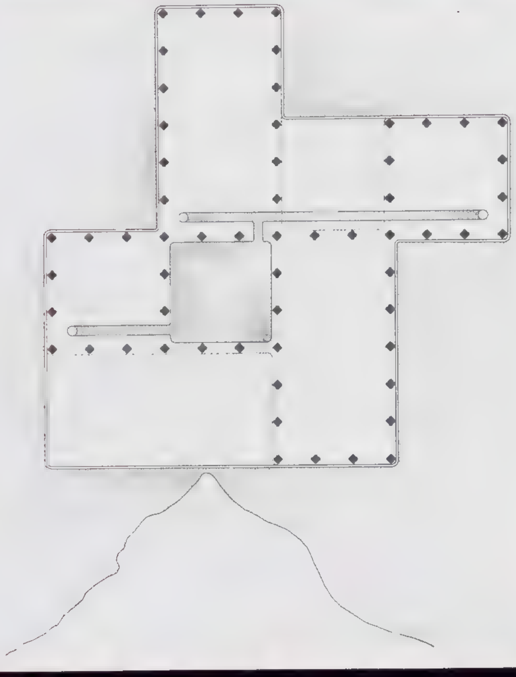


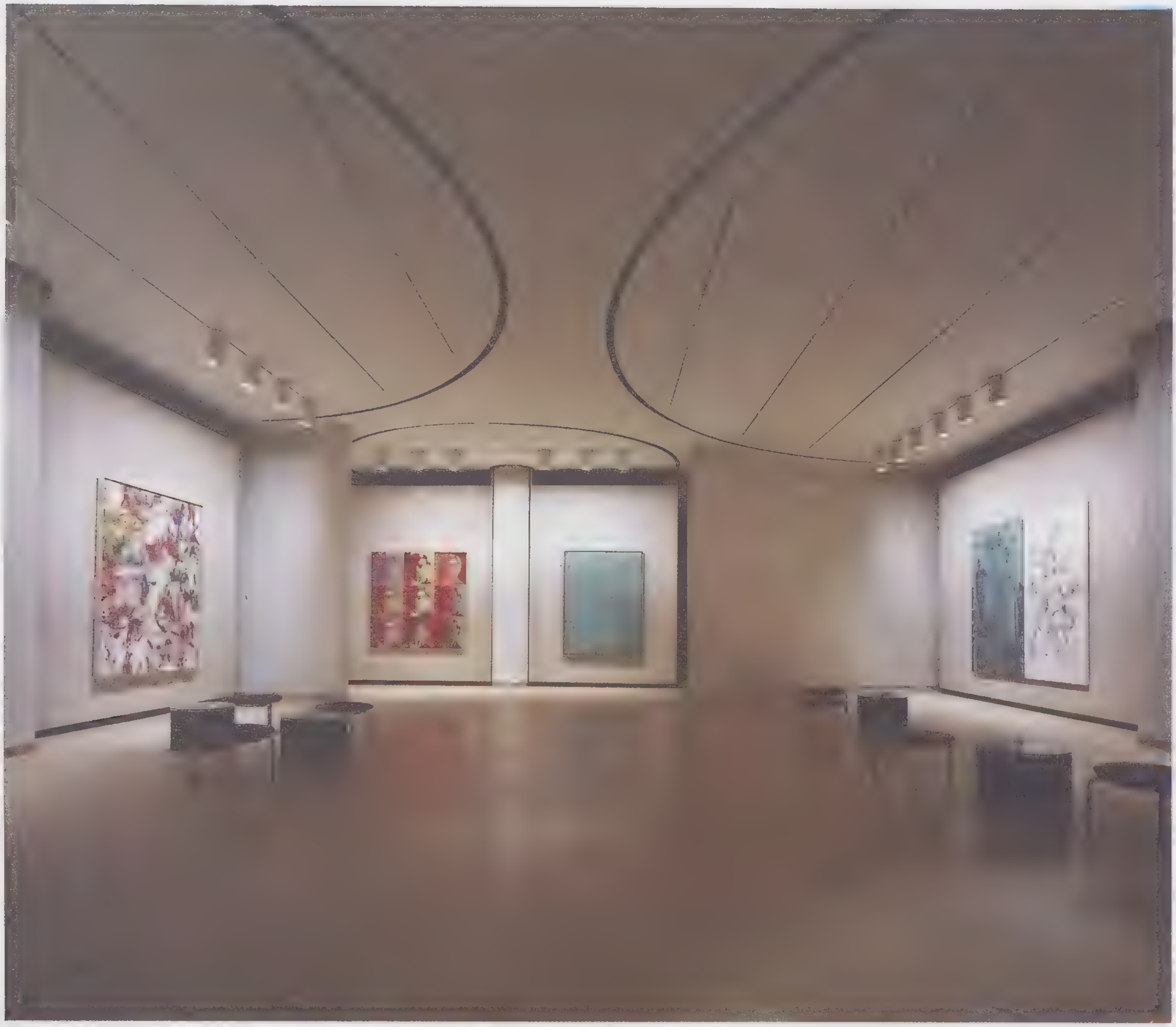




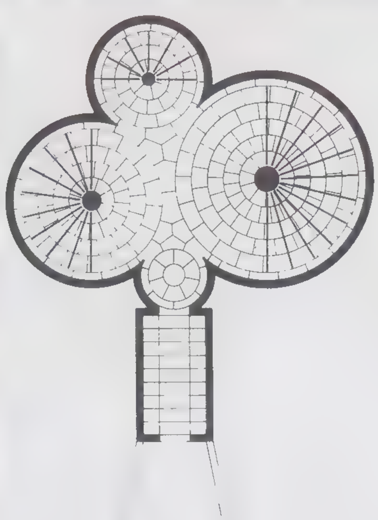
Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93.
Torre Lincoln Kirstein, 1985.
Casa dei fantasmi, 1984.
Padiglione sull'acqua, 1962: vista e pianta.
Foto N. McGrath.

Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93.
Lincoln Kirstein tower, 1985.
Ghost house, 1984.
Lake pavilion, 1962: view and plan.
Photos N. McGrath.









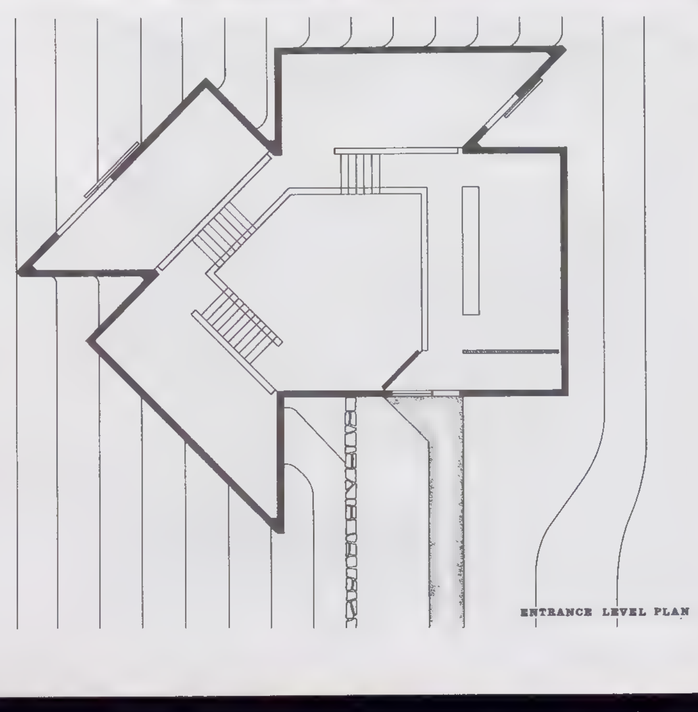
Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93. Galleria della pittura, 1965: vista interna, esterna e pianta. Foto N. McGrath. Foto E. Stoller/Esto.

Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93. Painting gallery, 1965: internal view, external view and plan. Photo N. McGrath. Photo E. Stoller/Esto.

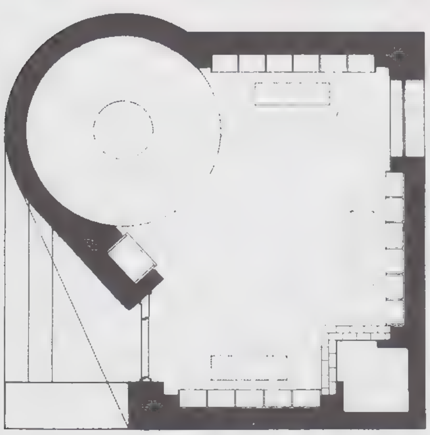


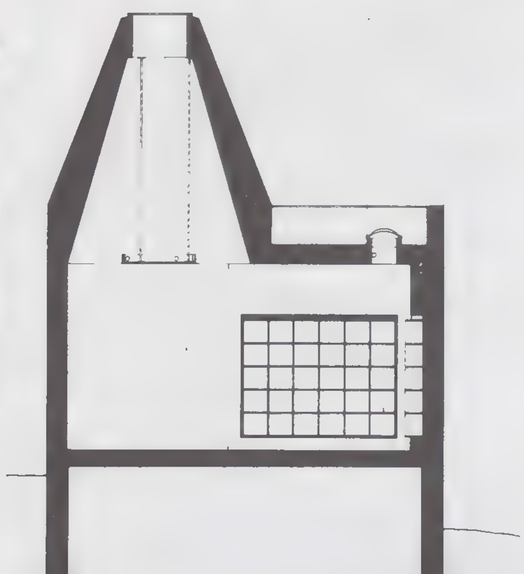
Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93.
Galleria della scultura, 1970: vista interna e pianta.
Foto N. McGrath.
Studio, 1980: vista esterna, pianta e sezione.
Foto R. Payne.

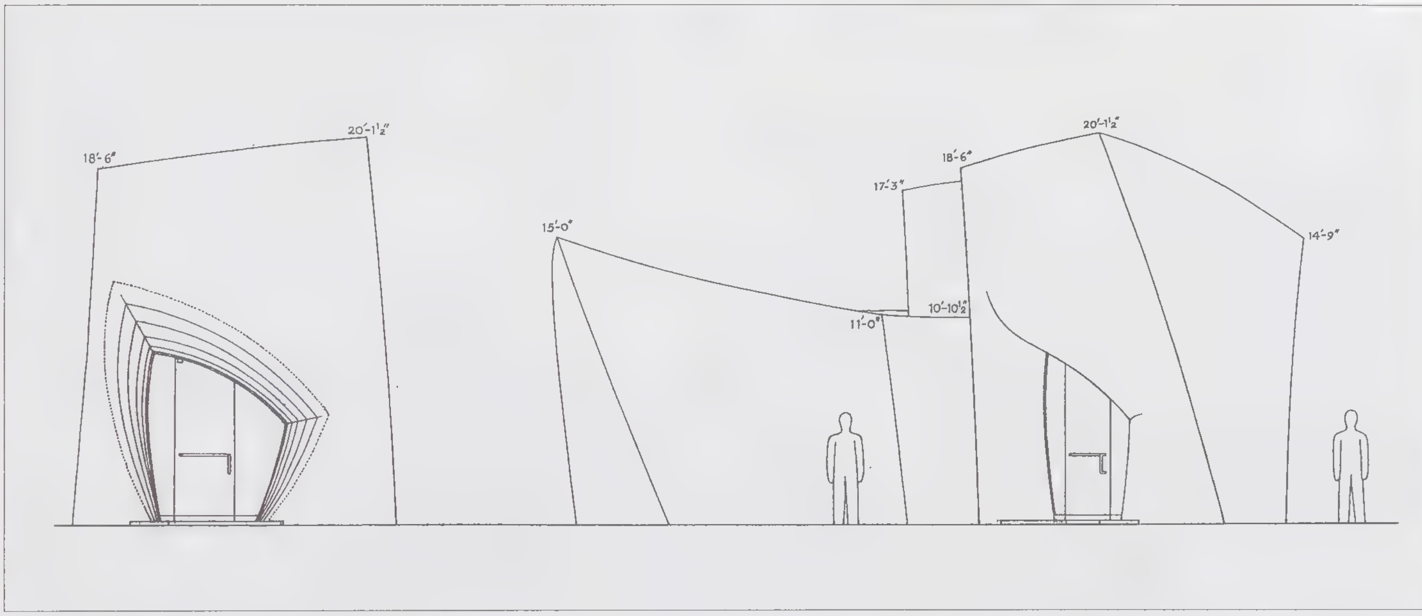
Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93.
Sculpture gallery, 1970: internal view and plan.
Photo N. McGrath.
Study, 1980: external view, plan and section.
Photo R. Payne.

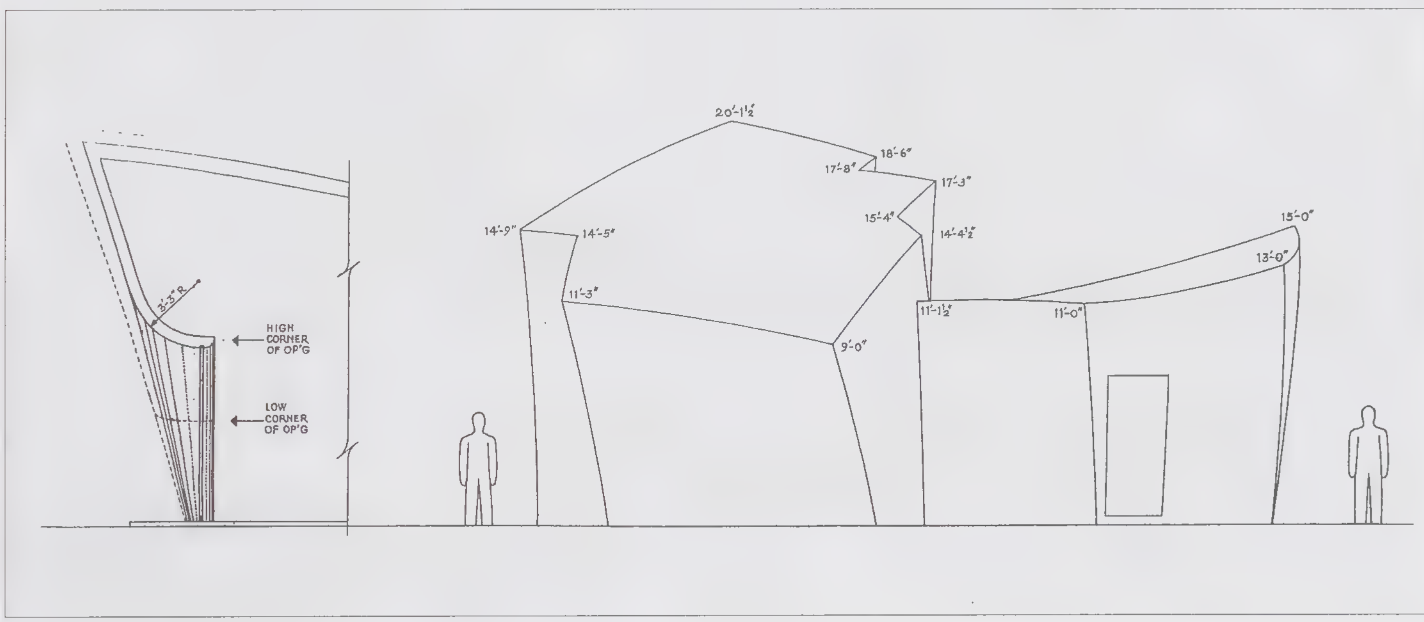


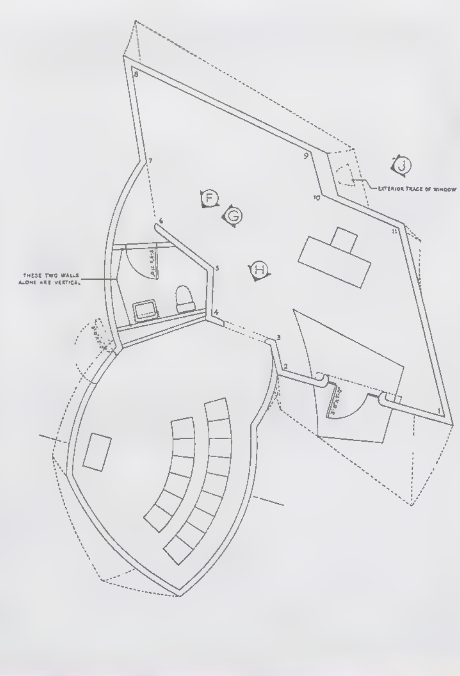






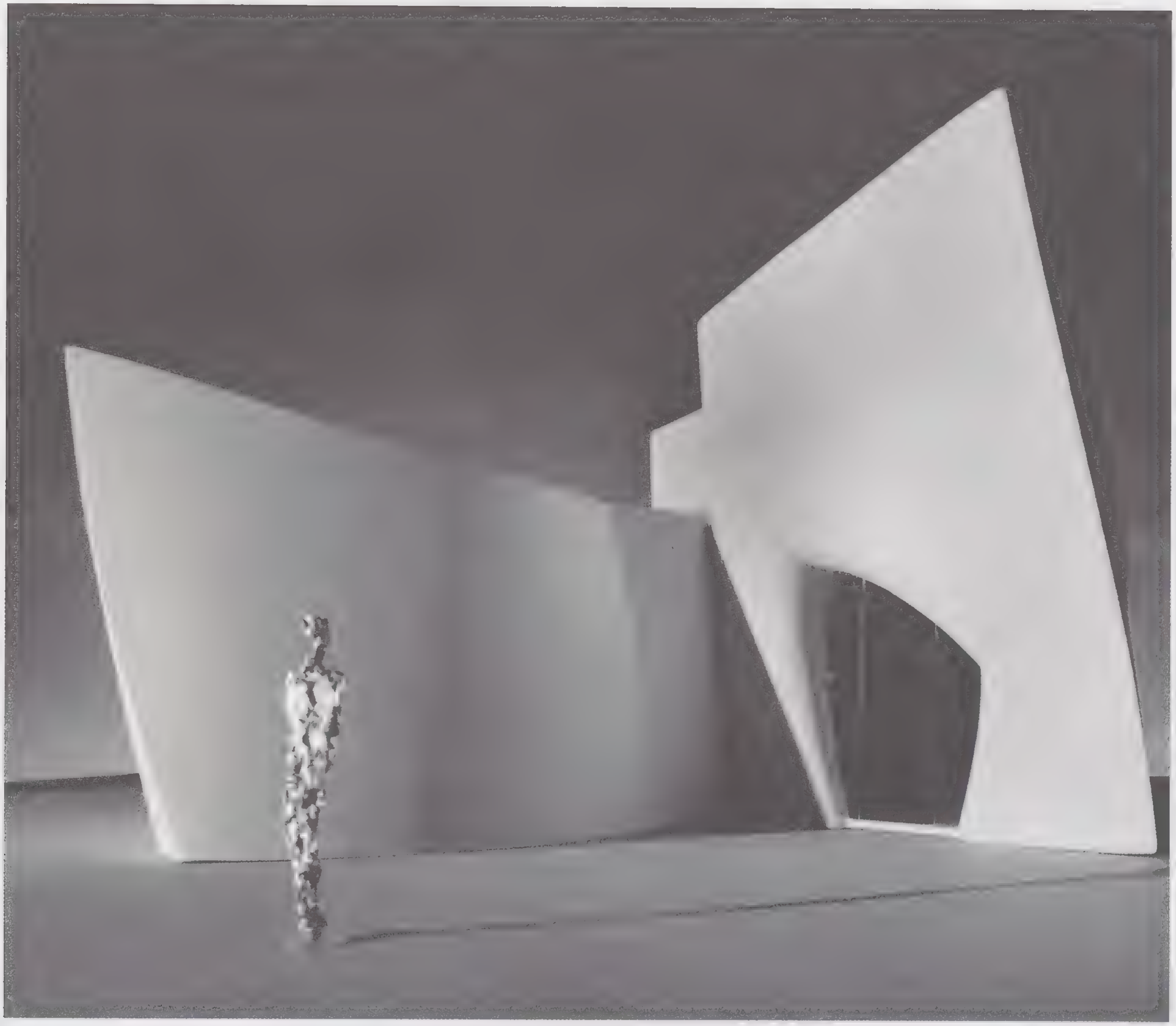


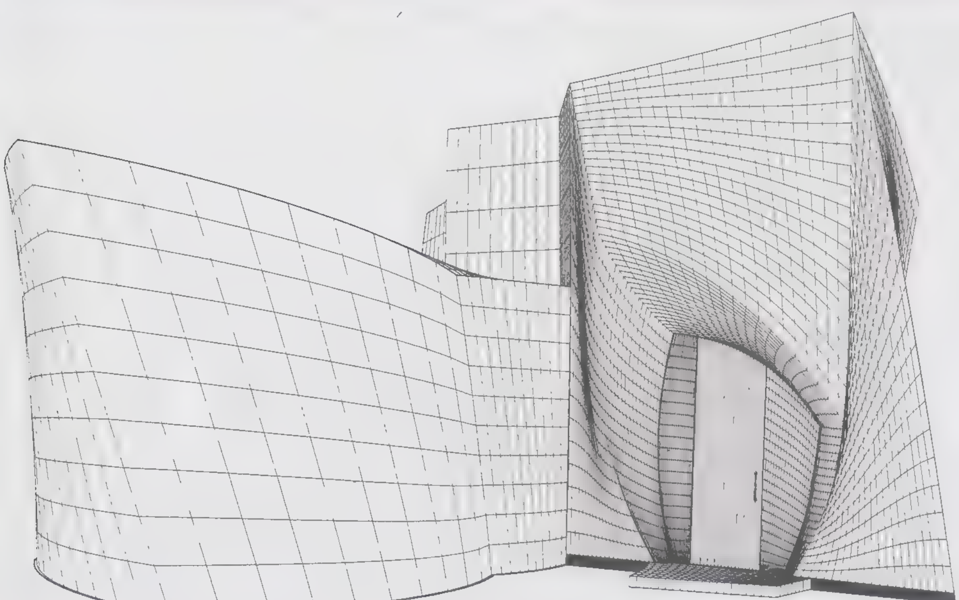




Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93.
Padiglione dei visitatori, 1993: prospetti, pianta, vista del modello e prospettiva.
Foto R. Walker.

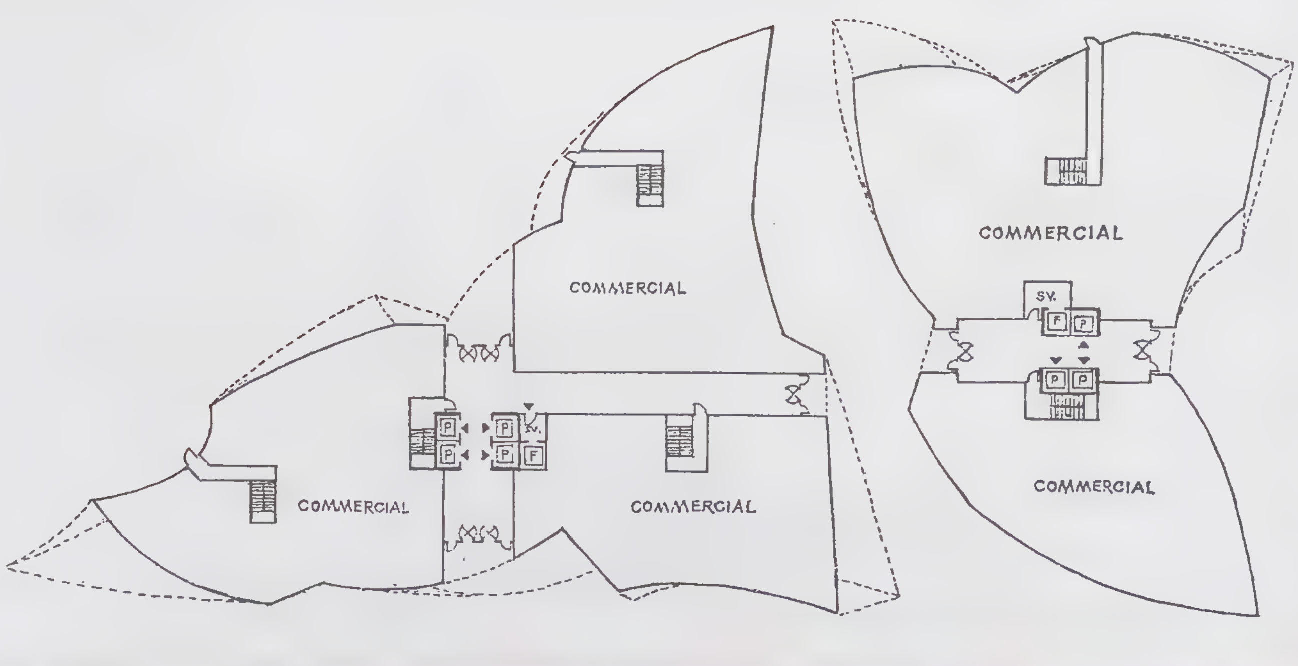
Philip Johnson, Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1946-93.
Visitors' pavilion, 1993: elevations, plan, view of model and perspective.
Photo R. Walker.





Complesso per uffici, Shenzen, Cina, 1994
Nonostante questo complesso per uffici da costruire a Shenzen, in Cina, sia nelle fasi preliminari di progettazione, il suo linguaggio formale riprende una serie recente di edifici progettati da Philip Johnson (tra gli altri, un palazzo per uffici a Berlino e un padiglione di ingresso a New Canaan, Connecticut). Il complesso di Shenzen sviluppa ulteriormente questa ricerca formale esplorando il rapporto tra due grandi masse edificate concepite come forme espressioniste all'interno di un denso contesto urbano.
Il sistema di costruzione prevede un utilizzo di cemento armato a vista con una combinazione di travi di cemento su pilastri e muri esterni portanti. Philip Johnson sfrutta la flessibilità costruttiva del cemento armato per scolpire plasticamente gli edifici.
I volumi presentano all'esterno drammatiche superfici curve punteggiate da finestre di forma ellittica. Le superfici si incontrano ad angolo acuto creando una tensione o, in altri casi, una massa compressa. Queste superfici sono apparentemente ancorate al terreno tramite grandi aperture al piano terreno la cui forma riprende quella delle finestre sovrastanti.

Office Development, Shenzen, China, 1994
This office complex to be built in Shenzen, China is in the preliminary stages of design, but its formal language follows a recent series of buildings Philip Johnson has designed (including a study for an office building in Berlin and the Visitors' Pavilion in New Canaan). The Shenzen building develops this formal language further, exploring the relationship between two large building masses as expressionist shapes within a dense urban context.
The construction system will be straightforward use of concrete, with a combination of concrete joists on columns as well as exterior bearing walls. Yet Philip Johnson takes advantage of the flexibility of concrete construction in order to sculpt the buildings into an expressive form. The building's volumes are shaped by dramatic, billowing planes punctuated by elliptically shaped windows. The planes meet at sharp folds, and so give the impression of a surface in tension, or at other instances, of mass in contraction. These planes are seemingly tethered to the ground over large street level openings (their forms restating the windows above).







Philip Johnson, Complesso per uffici a Shenzen, Cina, 1993.
Pianta del piano terra e prospetti.

Philip Johnson, Office Development, Shenzen, China, 1993.
Ground-floor plan and elevations.

Luis Barragán, 1980. *We are honoring Luis Barragán for his commitment to architecture as a sublime act of the poetic imagination. He has created gardens, plazas, and fountains of haunting beauty – metaphysical landscapes for meditation and companionship.*
A stoical acceptance of solitude as man's fate permeates Barragán's work. His solitude is cosmic, with Mexico as the temporal abode he lovingly accepts. It is to the greater glory of this earthly house that he has erected gardens where man can make peace with himself, and a chapel where his passions and desires may be forgiven and his faith proclaimed. The garden is the myth of the Beginning and the chapel that of the End. For Barragán, architecture is the form man gives to his life between both extremes.
The Jury

Luis Barragán, 1980. *We are honoring Luis Barragán for his commitment to architecture as a sublime act of the poetic imagination. He has created gardens, plazas, and fountains of haunting beauty – metaphysical landscapes for meditation and companionship.*
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The Jury

Luis Barragán, 1980
Premiamo Luis Barragán per il suo impegno verso un'architettura come atto sublime di immaginazione poetica. Egli ha creato giardini, piazze e fontane di sublime bellezza – paesaggi metafisici per la meditazione e il ritrovo.
Una stoica accettazione della solitudine dell'uomo pervade l'opera di Barragán. Alla sua solitudine cosmica fa da sfondo il Messico, dimora temporale che egli accetta con amore. Ed è per onorare questa sua dimora terrena che egli ha creato giardini dove l'uomo può ritrovare se stesso e una cappella dove le sue passioni e i suoi desideri vengono perdonati e la sua fede proclamata. Il giardino è il mito della Creazione e la cappella quello della Fine. Per Barragán l'architettura è la forma che l'uomo dà alla propria vita compresa tra questi estremi.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Lord Clark of Saltwood, Arata Isozaki, Philip Johnson, J. Irwin Miller, Cesar Pelli, Carleton Smith (Secretary to the Jury), Arthur Drexler (Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., U.S.A., June 3, 1980

Discorso di accettazione
Luis Barragán

Colgo l'occasione per esprimere la mia ammirazione agli Stati Uniti d'America, patrono generoso delle arti e delle scienze, che – come in altre occasioni – ha trasceso i propri confini e interessi strettamente nazionali per assegnare un premio così importante a un figlio del Messico riconoscendo l'universalità dei valori culturali e, in particolare, dei valori della mia terra.
Ma poiché nessuno deve tutto a uno sforzo prettamente individuale, sarei ingiusto se non ricordassi tutti coloro che hanno contribuito al mio lavoro con il loro talento, collaborazione e incoraggiamento: architetti e designer, fotografi, scrittori, giornalisti che, insieme ai miei amici più cari, hanno onorato il mio lavoro rendendosi sempre partecipi.
In questa occasione voglio esprimere alcune impressioni e ricordi che, in qualche modo, riassumono l'ideologia che accompagna il mio lavoro.
Il signor Jay A. Pritzker ha dichiarato alla stampa che il premio mi è stato assegnato per la mia dedizione all'architettura "*come atto sublime di immaginazione poetica*". Si è voluto quindi premiare tutto quello che rivela il fascino della bellezza.
È sorprendente come le parole bellezza, ispirazione, fascino, magia, sortilegio, incanto, così come serenità, silenzio, intimità e stupore, siano pressoché scomparse dalle pubblicazioni dedicate all'architettura. Sono tutte parole che ho sempre custodito amorosamente nel cuore e che mi hanno sempre guidato anche quando il mio lavoro non rendeva loro piena giustizia.
Religione e mito. Come si può comprendere l'arte e la grandezza della sua storia ignorando lo spirito religioso e lo sfondo mitico che costituiscono l'essenza stessa del fenomeno artistico? Senza l'uno o l'altro non ci sarebbero le piramidi di Egitto né quelle messicane; non ci sarebbero i templi greci, le cattedrali gotiche o gli edifici meravigliosi lasciatici dal Rinascimento e dall'Età barocca; né le danze rituali dei popoli impropriamente chiamati primitivi, né l'inesauribile tesoro artistico della sensibilità popolare di tutte le nazioni della terra.
Senza il travaglio creativo di Dio il nostro pianeta sarebbe una landa desolata.
"*L'arte di tutti i tempi e di tutti i popoli è dominata dalla logica irrazionale del mito*", mi ha detto un giorno un amico, Edmundo O'Gorman, e senza chiedergli il permesso, mi sono appropriato delle sue parole.
Bellezza. La difficoltà insormontabile che i filosofi hanno sempre incontrato nel definire la bellezza è la prova inequivocabile del suo ineffabile mistero. La bellezza parla come un oracolo e l'uomo le ha sempre reso culto: nei tatuaggi e nei manufatti più umili, nei templi e nei palazzi sontuosi e, infine, nei prodotti industriali della tecnologia contemporanea più avanzata. La vita privata della bellezza non merita di essere definita umana.
Silenzio. Nei miei giardini, nelle mie case, ha sempre regnato il placido mormorio del silenzio, il silenzio che canta nelle mie fontane.
Solitudine. Soltanto in comunione intima con la solitudine l'uomo può trovare se stesso. È un'ottima compagna e la mia architettura non è per chi la teme e la rifugge.
Serenità. È un grande e autentico antidoto contro l'angoscia e la paura e oggi più che mai la casa dell'uomo deve favorirla. Nei miei progetti e nelle mie opere è stata soltanto questa la mia preoccupazione costante, sempre minacciata da un uso indiscriminato dei colori. Il compito dell'architetto è di annunciare con la sua opera il vangelo della serenità.
Allegria. Come dimenticarla! Penso che un'opera raggiunga la perfezione quando non esclude il sentimento dell'allegria, un' allegria silenziosa e serena goduta in solitudine.
La morte. La certezza della morte è fonte di vita e nella religiosità insita nell'opera d'arte la vita trionfa sulla morte.
Giardini. In un giardino l'architetto chiede la collaborazione del mondo vegetale. Un bel giardino è espressione immanente della natura, una natura ridotta a dimensione umana e posta a servizio dell'uomo, ed il rifugio più sicuro contro l'aggressività del mondo contemporaneo. "*L'anima dei giardini*", diceva Ferdinand Bac, "*ospita il maggior grado di serenità di cui può disporre l'uomo*". E fu Bac che risvegliò in me l'ardente desiderio di interessarmi all'architettura dei giardini. Mi diceva: "*In questo piccolo dominio (i suoi giardini di Les Colombiers) non ho fatto nient'altro che unirmi alla solidarietà millenaria a cui siamo tutti soggetti: l'ambizione di esprimere con la materia un sentimento comune a tutti coloro che cercano un legame con la natura creando un luogo di riposo e di rassicurante piacere*".
In un giardino, quindi, la poesia e il mistero si uniscono alla serenità e all'allegria. Un giardino volgare è l'espressione migliore della volgarità.
In una vasta distesa di lava a sud di Città del Messico, rapito dalla bellezza di quell'antico paesaggio vulcanico, mi proposi di realizzare alcuni giardini che umanizzassero, senza distruggerlo, quell'incantevole spettacolo.
Passeggiando tra i solchi scavati dalla lava, protetto dall'ombra di imponenti pareti di roccia viva, scoprii d'un tratto, e con incantata sorpresa, piccoli anfratti e verdi vallate circondate e racchiuse dalle formazioni di pietra più bizzarre, affascinanti e fantastiche mai scolpite nella roccia dalle poderose folate dei venti preistorici.
L'inaspettata scoperta di quelle vallate suscitò in me una sensazione affatto dissimile da quella che provai quando, percorrendo un corridoio buio e angusto dell'antico palazzo dell'Alhambra, mi ritrovai nel bellissimo Patio dei mirti, luogo sereno, pacato e solitario. Racchiudeva quello che deve racchiudere un giardino ben riuscito; nientemeno che l'universo intero.
Il ricordo di un'epifania così straordinaria non mi ha mai abbandonato e non è un caso che al mio primo giardino

realizzato nel 1941 ne siano seguiti altri che pretendono umilmente di raccogliere l'eco della grande lezione di saggezza dei mori di Spagna.
Fontane. Una fontana trasmette pace, allegria e sensualità rasserenante e raggiunge la perfezione della sua ragion d'essere quando, per incantesimo, ci trasporta, così per dire, fuori da questo mondo.
Il dolce ricordo di fontane meravigliose accompagna sempre la mia veglia e il mio sonno: le fontane che segnarono per sempre la mia infanzia; l'acqua che scende dalle dighe; le cisterne delle fattorie; le sponde dei pozzi nei cortili dei conventi; i canali in cui scorre allegramente l'acqua; le piccole sorgenti che riflettono le chiome degli alberi millenari e i vecchi acquedotti che da orizzonti lontani conducono premurosi l'acqua alle fattorie con il fragore di una cascata.
Architettura. La mia opera è autobiografica, come ha dichiarato Emilio Ambasz nel libro dedicato alla mia architettura pubblicato dal Museum of Modern Art di New York. Il mio lavoro è ispirato dai ricordi della fattoria di mio padre dove trascorsi gli anni della mia infanzia e dell'adolescenza e la mia opera è sempre animata dall'intento di trasporre nel mondo contemporaneo la magia di quei momenti lontani tanto colmi di rimpianto e di nostalgia.
Mi sono sempre ispirato alle lezioni che l'architettura popolare messicana ci impartisce: alle sue pareti bianche di calce; alla tranquillità dei suoi cortili e dei suoi orti; al colore dei suoi vicoli e all'umile signorilità delle sue piazze circondate da portali ombrosi. E poiché esiste un legame profondo tra questi insegnamenti e quelli dei popoli dell'Africa settentrionale e del Marocco, anche questi hanno lasciato un segno nel mio lavoro.
In quanto cattolico, ho visitato spesso e con rispetto i conventi monumentali che abbiamo ereditato dalla cultura e dalla religiosità dei nostri avi, gli uomini della Colonia, e mi ha sempre commosso il sentimento di benessere e pace che mi invade lo spirito quando percorro questi chiostri oggi disabitati, quelle celle e quei cortili solitari. Come vorrei che in alcune mie opere si riconoscesse il segno di quelle esperienze, quale ho cercato di realizzare nella Cappella delle monache cappuccine sacramentarie di Tlalpán, a Città del Messico.
L'arte di vedere. È molto importante che l'architetto sappia vedere; intendo dire vedere in modo da non essere sopraffatto da una analisi puramente razionale. E a questo proposito rendo qui omaggio a un grande amico che con il suo infallibile gusto estetico fu maestro in questa difficile arte di vedere con occhi innocenti. Mi riferisco al pittore Jesús (Chucho) Reyes Ferreira e sono felice di poter riconoscere pubblicamente il mio grande debito nei confronti dei suoi saggi insegnamenti.
E a questo proposito mi sembra opportuno ricordare alcuni versi di un altro mio grande e carissimo amico, il poeta messicano Carlos Pellicer:
"*Dalla vista e il bene e il male*
ci giungono.
Occhi che nulla vedono,
anime che nulla sperano".
La nostalgia. La nostalgia è coscienza del passato elevata a potenza poetica e come il passato personale dell'artista è la fonte da cui scaturiscono le sue possibilità creative, la nostalgia è il cammino attraverso il quale il passato rende i frutti di cui è gravido. L'architetto, quindi, non deve essere sordo al richiamo delle rivelazioni nostalgiche perché solo con esse è davvero capace di colmare con la bellezza il vuoto che rimane in ogni opera architettonica una volta soddisfatte le esigenze utilitaristiche del programma. In caso contrario l'architettura non può aspirare ad essere annoverata tra le belle arti.
Abbiamo lavorato e continueremo a farlo animati dalla fede nella verità estetica di questa ideologia e con la speranza che la nostra fatica, all'interno dei suoi modesti limiti, assolva al grande compito di elevare la vita umana attraverso i sentieri della bellezza e contribuisca a erigere una barriera contro le ondate di disumanizzazione e volgarità.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., U.S.A., 3 giugno 1980

Acceptance
Luis Barragán

I welcome the opportunity to express my admiration for the United States of America, generous patron of the arts and sciences, which – as in so many instances – has transcended its geographical frontiers and purely national interests to confer this high distinction on a son of Mexico, thus recognizing the universality of cultural values and, in particular, those of my native country.
But as no one ever owes all to his own individual effort, it would be ungrateful not to remember all those who throughout my lifetime have contributed to my work with their talents, assistance and encouragement: fellow architects, designers, photographers, writers, journalists, as well as personal friends who have honored me by taking an active interest in my work.
I take this occasion to present some impressions and recollections that, to some extent, sum up the ideology behind my work. In this regard, Mr.Jay Pritzker stated in an announcement to the press – with excessive generosity – what I consider essential to that ideology: that I had been chosen as the recipient of this prize for having devoted myself to architecture "as a sublime act of poetic imagination" *Consequently, I am only a symbol for all those who have been touched by Beauty.*
It is alarming that publications devoted to architecture have banished from their pages the words Beauty, Inspiration, Magic, Spellbound, Enchantment, as well as the concepts of Serenity, Silence, Intimacy and Amazement. All these have nestled in my soul, and though I am fully aware that I have not done them complete justice in my work, they have never ceased to be my guiding lights.
Religion and Myth. *It is impossible to understand Art and the glory of its history without avowing religious spirituality and the mythical roots that lead us to the very reason of being of the artistic phenomenon. Without the one or the other there would be no Egyptian pyramids nor those of ancient Mexico. Would the Greek temples and Gothic cathedrals have existed? Would the amazing marvels of the Renaissance and the Baroque have come about?*
And in another field, would the ritual dances of the so-called primitive cultures have developed? Would we now be the heirs of the inexhaustible artistic treasure of worldwide popular sensitivity? Without the desire for God, our planet would be a sorry wasteland of ugliness. "The irrational logic harboured in the myths and in all true religious experience has been the fountainhead of the artistic process at all times and in all places" *These are words of my good friend, Edmundo O'Gorman, and, with or without his permission, I have made them mine.*
Beauty. *The invincible difficulty that the philosophers have in defining the meaning of this word is unequivocal proof of its ineffable mystery. Beauty speaks like an oracle, and ever since man has heeded its message in an infinite number of ways: it may be in the use of tatoos, in the choice of a seashell necklace by which the bride enhances the promise of her surrender, or, again, in the apparently superfluous ornamentation of everyday tools and domestic utensils, not to speak of temples and palaces and even, in our day, in the industrialized products of modern technology. Human life deprived of beauty is not worthy of being called so.*
Silence. *In the gardens and homes designed by me I have always endeavored to allow for the interior placid murmur of silence, and in my fountains, silence sings.*
Solitude. *Only in intimate communion with solitude may man find himself. Solitude is good company and my architecture is not for those who fear or shun it.*
Serenity. *Serenity is the great and true antidote against anguish and fear, and today, more than ever, it is the architect's duty to make of it a permanent guest in the home, no matter how sumptuous or how humble. Throughout my work I have always strived to achieve serenity, but one must be on guard not to destroy it by the use of an indiscriminate palette.*
Joy. *How can one forget joy? I believe that a work of art reaches perfection when it conveys silent joy and serenity.*
Death. *The certainty of death is the spring of action and therefore of life, and in the implicit religious element in the work of art, life triumphs over death.*
Gardens. *In the creation of a garden, the architect invites the partnership of the Kingdom of Nature. In a beautiful garden, the majesty of Nature is ever present, but Nature reduced to human proportions and thus transformed into the most efficient haven against the aggressiveness of contemporary life.*
Ferdinand Bac taught us that "the soul of gardens shelters the greatest sum of serenity at man's disposal," *and it is to him that I am indebted for my longing to create a perfect garden. He said, speaking of his gardens at les Colombiers,* "in this small domain, I have done nothing else but joined the millenary solidarity to which we are all subject: the ambition of expressing materially a sentiment, common to many men in search of a link with nature, by creating a place of repose of peaceable pleasure". *It will appear obvious, then, that a garden must combine the poetic and the mysterious with a feeling of serenity and joy. There is no fuller expression of vulgarity than a vulgar garden.*
To the south of Mexico City lies a vast extension of volcanic rock, and, overwhelmed by the beauty of this landscape, I decided to create a series of gardens to humanize, without destroying, its magic. While walking along the lava crevices, under the shadow of imposing ramparts of live rock, I suddenly discovered, to my astonishment, small secret green valleys – the shepherds call them "jewels"*– surrounded and enclosed by the most fantastic, capricious rock formations wrought on soft, melted rock by the onslaught of powerful prehistoric winds. The unexpected discovery of these* "jewels" *gave me a sensation similar to the one experienced when, having walked through a dark and narrow tunnel of the Alhambra, I suddenly emerged into the serene, silent and solitary patio of the Myrtles*

hidden in the entrails of that ancient palace. Somehow I had the feeling that it enclosed what a perfect garden – no matter its size – should enclose: nothing less then the entire Universe.

This memorable epiphany has always been with me, and it is not by mere chance that, from the first garden for which I am responsible, all those following are attempts to capture the echo of the immense lesson to be derived from the aesthetic wisdom of the Spanish Moors.

Fountains. *A fountain brings us peace, joy and restful sensuality and reaches the epitomy of its very essence when by its power to bewitch it will stir dreams of distant worlds. While awake or when sleeping, the sweet memories of marvelous fountains have accompanied me throughout my life. I recall the fountains of my childhood; the drains for excess water of the dam; the dark ponds in the recesses of abandoned orchards; the curbstone of shallow wells in the convent patios; the small country springs, quivering mirrors of ancient giant water-loving trees, and then, of course, the old aqueducts – perennial reminders of Imperial Rome – which from lost horizons hurry their liquid treasure to deliver it with the rainbow ribbons of a waterfall.*

Architecture. *My architecture is autobiographical, as Emilio Ambasz pointed out in his book on my work published by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Underlying all that I have achieved – such as it is – are the memories of my father's ranch where I spent my childhood and adolescence. In my work I have always strived to adapt to the needs of modern living the magic of those remote nostalgic years.*

The lessons to be learned from the unassuming architecture of the village and provincial towns of my country have been a permanent source of inspiration. Such as, for instance, the whitewashed walls; the peace to be found in patios and orchards; the colorful streets; the humble majesty of the village squares surrounded by shady open corridors. And as there is a deep historical link between these teachings and those of the North African and Moroccan Villages, they too have enriched my perception of beauty in architectural simplicity.

Being a Catholic, I have frequently visited with reverence the now empty monumental monastic buildings that we inherited from the powerful religious faith and architectural gènius of our colonial ancestors, and I have always been deeply moved by the peace and well-being to be experienced in those uninhabited cloisters and solitary courts. How I have wished that these feelings may leave their mark on my work, as I tried to do with the chapel of the Sacramentaian Capuchin nuns of Tlalpán, in Mexico City.

The Art of Seeing. *It is essential to an architect to know how to see: I mean, to see in such a way that the vision is not overpowered by rational analysis. And in this respect I will take advantage of this opportunity to pay homage to a very dear friend who, through his infallible aesthetic taste, taught us the difficult art of seeing with innocence. I refer to the Mexican painter Jesús (Chucho) Reyes Ferreira, for whose wise teachings I publicly acknowledge my indebtedness.*

And it may not be out of place to quote another great friend of mine and of the Arts, the poet Carlos Pellicer:

"Through sight the good and the bad
we do perceive.
Unseeing eyes,
Souls deprived of hope."

Nostalgia. *Nostalgia is the poetic awareness of our personal past, and since the artist's own past is the mainspring of his creative potential, the architect must listen and heed his nostalgic revelations.*

My associate and friend, the young architect Raul Ferrera, as well as our small staff, share with me the ideology which I have tried to present. We have worked and hope to continue to work inspired by the faith that the aesthetic truth of those ideas will in some measure contribute toward dignifying human existence.

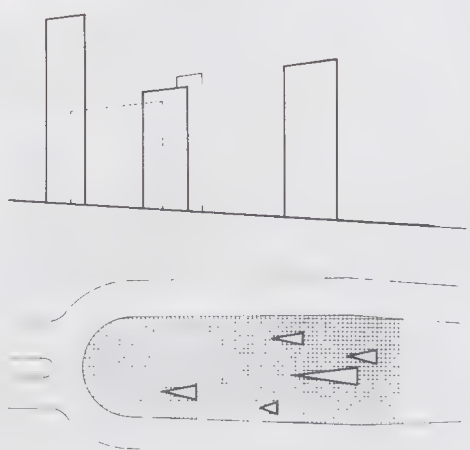
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., U.S.A., June 3, 1980





Torri della Città Satellite, Queretaro Highway, Città del Messico, 1957
Le cinque torri progettate da Barragán in collaborazione con l'artista Mathias Goeritz, rappresentano l'unico suo progetto puramente scultoreo pienamente realizzato. Le torri, che raggiungono altezze tra i trenta e i cinquanta metri, sono il simbolo della *Ciudad Satélite*, una zona residenziale alla periferia di Città del Messico.
Le cinque torri, di cinque colori diversi, si innalzano dritte dalla piazza leggermente inclinata e la loro base risulta così talmente obliqua che sembrano sbucare dal terreno.
Le striature tracciate dalle casseforme sul cemento armato usato per la costruzione contrastano con l'imponente verticalità e accentuano l'effetto dinamico in direzione orizzontale.

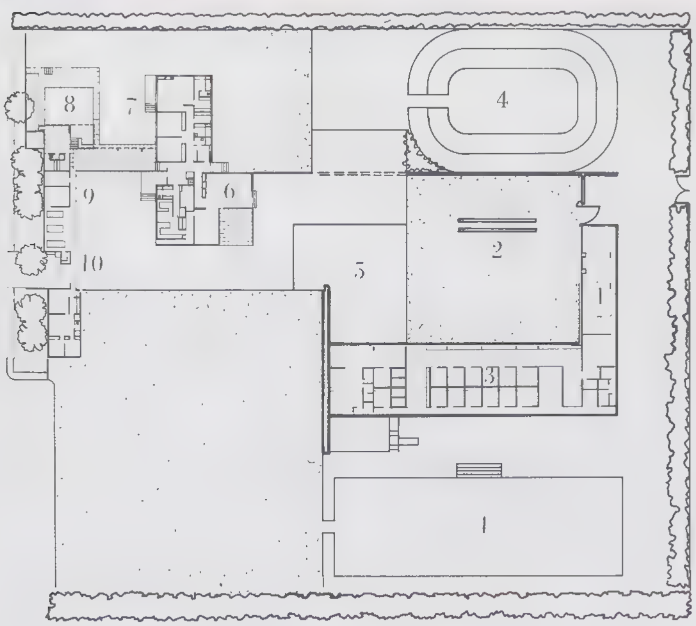
Satellite City Towers, Queretaro Highway, Mexico City, 1957
The five towers, which Barragán designed in collaboration with artist Mathias Goeritz, were his only fully realized, purely sculptural project. The towers, between 100 and 165 feet tall, are the symbol for Ciudad Satélite, *a residential development on the outskirts of Mexico City.*
The five towers, in five different colors, rise absolutely straight from the slightly sloping plaza; thus, the bases of the towers are slanted, making them appear to rise from the ground, pierce the plaza, and extend upward.
The towers' striation (from the concrete forms used to make them) opposes their overwhelming verticality and contributes to the dynamic horizontal effect.



Luis Barragán con Mathias Goeritz,
Torri della Città Satellite, Queretaro Highway,
Città del Messico, 1957.
Vista da nord, prospetto e pianta.
Foto A. Salas Portugal.
Nella pagina precedente:
Vista da nord.
Foto A. Salas Portugal.

Luis Barragán with Mathias Goeritz,
Satellite City Towers, Queretaro Highway,
Mexico City, 1957.
View from the north, elevation and plan.
Photo A. Salas Portugal.
Previous page:
View from the north.
Photo A. Salas Portugal.





Luis Barragán con Andrés Casillas, Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Città del Messico, 1967-68.
Vista del guazzatoio dalle scuderie e planimetria generale: 1) fienile; 2) patio; 3) scuderia; 4) maneggio; 5) guazzatoio; 6) casa padronale; 7) giardino; 8) piscina; 9) autorimessa e locali di servizio; 10) ingresso.
Foto A. Salas Portugal.

Luis Barragán with Andrés Casillas, Egerstrom House, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Mexico City, 1967-68.
View of horse pool from the stables and general plan: 1) granary; 2) patio; 3) stables; 4) training area; 5) horse pool; 6) main house; 7) garden; 8) swimming pool; 9) garage and utility rooms; 10) entrance.
Photo A. Salas Portugal.









Luis Barragán con Andrés Casillas,
Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal,
Los Clubes, Città del Messico, 1967-68.
Viste delle scuderie e dettaglio della casa padronale verso la fontana del guazzatoio.
Foto A. Salas Portugal.
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Vista del patio dalla casa padronale con il guazzatoio e il fienile sul fondo.
Foto A. Salas Portugal.

Luis Barragán with Andrés Casillas, Egerstrom House, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Mexico City, 1967-68.
Views of stables and detail of house towards the horse pool fountain.
Photos A. Salas Portugal.
Previous pages:
View of patio from the main house with the horse pool and granary in the background.
Photo A. Salas Portugal.

Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Città del Messico, 1967-68

Questa casa, tra le più grandi realizzate da Barragán, si trova nell'insediamento di Los Clubes da lui stesso progettato ed è stata eseguita in collaborazione con l'architetto Andrés Casillas per la famiglia Egerstrom, che alleva cavalli di razza. Anche questa casa, come molte altre di Barragán, presenta sulla strada un muro che nasconde l'autorimessa e altri servizi, sul quale si aprono soltanto alte porte di legno. All'interno, grazie alle dimensioni del lotto, Barragán ha potuto rarefare le diverse parti del progetto, distribuendole in zone appropriate del sito. La casa è circondata da giardini e patii e, lato per lato, guarda viste differenti: la piscina; i giardini; le stalle e il guazzatoio dei cavalli; la pista di allenamento. Per contro, il muro che si stende tra casa e scuderie si caratterizza per un disegno unitario, ma differenziato secondo le funzioni che assolve: di protezione degli spazi di soggiorno all'aperto; di passaggio tra gli edifici e gli spazi esterni; di recinzione della zona dei cavalli.

Tutta la zona delle scuderie è racchiusa da luminosi muri colorati – rosa, viola intenso, ruggine – ciascuno dei quali contraddistingue funzioni differenti. Di fianco alle scuderie, una doppia parete rossiccia contiene una fontana che si getta nel guazzatoio dei cavalli e separa la zona ad essi destinata dalla casa.

Egerstrom House, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Mexico City, 1967-68

This house, one of Barragan's largest, is in his Los Clubes subdivision, and was designed in collaboration with architect Andres Casillas for the Egerstrom family, who trained thoroughbred horses. Like many of his other houses, this one presents to the street a blank wall, hiding the garage and other services, its only features tall, wooden doors. Inside, because of the plot's size, Barragan was able to pull the various parts of the project away from each other, defining and placing each on its own area of the site. The house is surrounded by gardens and patios, and each side faces a different view – the swimming pool, the gardens, the stable and horse pool, and the exercise ring. Conversely, the wall spanning the house and stables retains one form but modulates from function to function: shelter for the outdoor living spaces, passage between buildings and open areas, enclosure of the areas for horses.

Surrounding the entire stable area are brightly colored walls – rose, deep violet, rust – each of which functions differently. Past the stable building is a reddish double-walled fountain which shoots water into the horse pool and acts as a barrier between house and horse areas.





Luis Barragán con Andrés Casillas,
Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal,
Los Clubes, Città del Messico, 1967–68.
Vista della casa padronale.
Foto A. Salas Portugal.

Luis Barragán with Andrés Casillas, Egerstrom
House, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes,
Mexico City, 1967–68
View of the main house.
Photo A. Salas Portugal



Luis Barragán con Andrés Casillas,
Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal,
Los Clubes, Città del Messico, 1967-68.
Vista della casa padronale.
Foto A. Salas Portugal.

Luis Barragán with Andrés Casillas, Egerstrom
House, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes.
Mexico City, 1967-68.
View of the main house.
Photo A. Salas Portugal.

James Stirling, 1981. *We honor James Stirling – a prodigy for so many years – as a leader of the great transition from the Modern Movement to the architecture of the New – an architecture that once more has recognized historical roots, once more has close connections with the buildings surrounding it, once more can be called a new tradition.*
Originality within this tradition is Stirling's distinction: in the old "modern times," 45 degree angles in plan and section; today, startling juxtapositions and transpositions of clearly classical and 19th century references.
In three countries – England, Germany, and the United States – he is influencing the development of architecture through the quality of his work.
The Jury

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James Stirling, 1981
Assegnamo questo Premio a James Stirling – un precursore per molti anni – come *leader* del grande moto di transizione dal Movimento Moderno all'architettura del Nuovo, un'architettura che ancora una volta ha riconosciuto le radici storiche, ancora una volta ha stretti legami con gli edifici che la circondano, ancora una volta può essere definita come una nuova tradizione.
L'originalità all'interno di questa tradizione è il carattere distintivo di Stirling: negli antichi "tempi moderni", angoli di 45 gradi in pianta e sezione; oggi, sorprendenti giustapposizioni e trasposizioni di chiara ispirazione classica e ottocentesca.
La qualità della sua opera influenza l'architettura di tre grandi paesi come Gran Bretagna, Germania e Stati Uniti.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Lord Clark of Saltwood, Arata Isozaki, Philip Johnson, J. Irwin Miller, Cesar Pelli, Carleton Smith (Secretary to the Jury), Arthur Drexler (Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: National Building Museum, Washington D.C., U.S.A., May 19, 1981

Ronchamp: la cappella di Le Corbusier e la crisi del Razionalismo*
James Stirling

Con l'apparizione simultanea della Lever House a New York e dell'Unité a Marsiglia, divenne subito chiaro che lo scisma stilistico tra Europa e Nuovo Mondo era entrato in una fase decisiva. La disputa tra arte e tecnologia aveva scomposto i fondamenti ideologici del Movimento Moderno, e gli stili divergenti sorti dal Costruttivismo in poi hanno forse origine nel tentativo di stabilire un innesto tra l'Art Nouveau e l'ingegneria del tardo Ottocento. Oggi, negli Stati Uniti, il termine funzionalismo indica l'adattamento dell'edilizia ai processi e alla produzione industriale mentre in Europa esso designa ancora il metodo essenzialmente umanista in base al quale il progetto obbedisce a destinazioni specifiche. Agli occhi degli europei l'architettura americana del dopoguerra può apparire precaria e anonima in quanto ignora la disposizione gerarchica degli elementi, benché si tratti di un metodo di critica accademico, inadeguato alla valutazione dei prodotti tecnologici del Ventesimo secolo. Tuttavia questo metodo sembra conservare ancora una sua validità nella critica dell'architettura europea più recente, dove l'elaborazione di spazio e forma continua senza mostrare cedimenti: e la cappella progettata da Le Corbusier è forse la costruzione più plastica mai edificata in nome dell'architettura moderna.
Avvicinandosi al confine svizzero, la torre meridionale della cappella, che emerge dal paesaggio come un candido ovolo, è visibile da una distanza di molte miglia. Il paesaggio collinare e i boschi dell'Alta Savoia ricordano molte regioni dell'Inghilterra e del Galles mentre il paese di Ronchamp si incontra lungo la via che da Digione porta a Basilea. Salendo lungo un sentiero ripido e tortuoso che dal paese si inoltra nei boschi, si giunge alla brulla sommità della collina dove si trova la cappella. Il profilo arcuato del tetto opposto alla curva del terreno e un unico segno complessivamente dinamico conferiscono alla composizione un'espressione di drammatica inevitabilità. L'impressione immediata è quella di un incontro improvviso con una configurazione innaturale di elementi naturali come il circolo di pietre granitiche a Stonehenge o i dolmen in Bretagna.
Tutt'altro che monumentale, l'edificio ha una qualità notevolmente eterea dovuta soprattutto al carattere equivoco delle pareti dove l'intonaco bianco è stato frattazzato a mano ed ha uno spessore di circa cinque centimetri. La struttura appare così estremamente leggera e le pareti sembrano quasi di cartapesta.
Nonostante il tetto e le pareti si incurvino e siano strombate in diverse direzioni, la differenza sostanziale tra le pareti intonacate e il tetto di cemento conserva la distinzione convenzionale tra i due elementi. Un'ulteriore distinzione è rappresentata da una fascia vetrata continua di circa ventitre centimetri lungo le facciate sud ed est

Ronchamp: Le Corbusier's chapel and the crisis of rationalism*
James Stirling

With the simultaneous appearance of Lever House in New York and the Unité in Marseilles, it had become obvious that the stylistic schism between Europe and the New World had entered a decisive phase. The issue of art or technology had divided the ideological basis of the Modern Movement, and the diverging styles apparent since Constructivism probably have their origin in the attempt to fuse Art Nouveau and late 19th century engineering. In the U.S.A., functionalism now means the adaptation to building of industrial processes and products, but in Europe it remains the essentially humanist method of designing to a specific use. The post-war architecture of America may appear brittle to Europeans and, by obviating the hierarchical disposition of elements, anonymous; however, this academic method of criticism may no longer be adequate in considering technological products of the 20th century. Yet this method would still appear valid in criticizing recent European architecture where the elaboration of space and form has continued without abatement; and the chapel by Le Corbusier may possibly be the most plastic building ever erected in the name of modern architecture.
The south tower of the chapel, emerging as a white thumb above the landscape, can be seen for many miles as one approaches the Swiss border. The rolling hills and green woodlands of the Haute-Saône are reminiscent of many parts of England and Wales, and the village of Ronchamp spreads along either side of the Dijon-Basle road. After climbing a steep and winding dirt-track, leading from the village through dense woodland one reaches the bald crown of the hill on which the chapel is situated. The sweep of the roof, inverting the curve of the ground, and a single dynamic gesture give the composition an expression of dramatic inevitability. The immediate impression is of a sudden encounter with an unnatural configuration of natural elements such as the granite rings at Stonehenge or the dolmens in Brittany.
Far from being monumental, the building has a considerable ethereal quality, principally as a result of the equivocal nature of the walls. The rendering, which is whitewashed over, has been hand thrown and has an impasto of about 2 inches. This veneer suggests a quality of weightlessness and gives the walls something of the appearance of papier-mâché.
Notwithstanding that both roof and walls curve and splay in several directions, the material difference of rendered walls and natural concrete roof maintains the conventional distinction between them. They are further distinguished on the south and east sides by a continuous 9-inch glazed strip, and though the roof is not visible on the north and west sides its contours are suggested by the outline of the parapet.
There is a similarity between the chapel and the Einstein

mentre da nord e ovest il tetto non risulta visibile ma il profilo del parapetto ne definisce i contorni. C'è un'affinità tra la cappella e la Torre Einstein, che è ancor meno convenzionale ma soltanto nella misura in cui pareti e copertura si fondono in un'unica espressione.
Le pareti sono intonacate all'interno e all'esterno e le aperture che sembrano distribuite casualmente sulle facciate sud e nord sono strombate verso l'interno o verso l'esterno in modo simile a quanto avveniva nelle feritoie delle fortificazioni costiere. I vani delle finestre sulla facciata ovest sono strombati verso l'interno in modo tale che l'intera parete dall'interno sembra una grata che filtra nella cappella la luce naturale. L'effetto generale è comunque di luce diffusa in modo che da qualsiasi punto nessun dettaglio appaia in particolare rilievo come avviene nelle chiese barocche.
Nel punto più basso raggiunto dal tetto un doccione doppio si proietta all'esterno per convogliare l'acqua piovana in una vasca di cemento a vista decorato a rilievo. Si tratta di un elemento che ricorda in modo sorprendente i *festivalia* di South Bank, e Le Corbusier vuole evocare qualcosa dello stesso spirito con le pitture murali a smalto essicato che rivestono entrambi i lati della porta processionale d'ingresso e con le iscrizioni sugli inserti di vetro colorato alle finestre. Queste applicazioni lineari sembrano mirare a un decoro finale che appare superfluo e persino dilettantesco se confrontato con il sorprendente virtuosismo nel modellare i contorni delle masse solide.
La procedura che accompagna generalmente la visita a un edificio – un esame esterno seguito da una visita all'interno – viene qui ribaltata, e raggiunta la sommità della collina i visitatori procedono camminando in senso orario attorno all'edificio, descrivono un semicerchio prima di entrare nella cappella e qui tendono a diventare statici ruotando sul loro stesso asse per osservarne l'interno.
Riecheggiando la depressione del tetto, il pavimento di cemento si abbassa verso la balaustra dell'altare, che si presenta come una lastra di piombo piegata. I numerosi altari sono costruiti con blocchi di cemento prefabbricato e levigato (probabilmente impastato con granulato di marmo) modellati con precisione straordinaria. Il tetto, insieme alle cassette dell'elemosina e alla porta girevole, pure in cemento, rivela un'incredibile ingenuità francese nell'uso di questo materiale.
La parete adiacente alle scale che salgono alla galleria del coro è dipinta di rosso liturgico e l'intonaco dei vani strombati ritorna sulla parete rossa per una larghezza di circa otto centimetri, un particolare che ricorda le cornici delle finestre dipinte sulle facciate delle case della costa mediterranea. L'intonaco su entrambi i lati dell'ingresso principale così come sul vano della nicchia che racchiude la statua girevole della Madonna presenta piccole aree dipinte di verde e giallo. L'unica ampia zona di colore è limitata alla cappella e alla torre di nordest; quest'ultima è dipinta di rosso a tutta altezza in modo che la luce dall'alto avvolga la superficie in una luminosità naturale. Le tre torri illuminate dal sole in diverse ore del giorno diffondono la luce sugli altari e sono, di fatto, estensioni verticali di ciascuna delle cappelle laterali.
Accolta senza alcuna riserva, la cappella assolve pienamente la sua funzione di edificio religioso. Grazie a un'acustica perfetta, anche una piccola comunità può godere della risonanza degna di una cattedrale e le persone che frequentano questo luogo non rivelano mai alcun imbarazzo.
È un fatto che l'architettura di Le Corbusier del dopoguerra riscuota un notevole fascino popolare. La popolazione locale, a Marsiglia non meno che a Ronchamp, è orgogliosa di questi edifici. Considerati i conflitti del periodo prebellico, è difficile stabilire se questo mutamento sia di carattere sociale o se possa essere attribuito al pubblico o allo stesso Le Corbusier. Garches è tuttora guardata con sospetto dal pubblico per lo stile che la caratterizza e per il modo di vita di chi la abita.
Essendo una "pura espressione di poesia" e il simbolo di un antico rituale, si può ritenere che la cappella di Ronchamp non possa essere criticata dal punto di vista della ragione del Movimento Moderno. Considerando tuttavia che si tratta di un prodotto del più grande architetto europeo è importante stabilire se l'edificio possa influenzare o meno il corso dell'architettura moderna. È significativo che l'impatto straordinario esercitato sul visitatore non sia affatto durevole, e che una volta esauritasi la prima reazione emotiva non ci sia molto che stimoli l'intelletto e nulla che susciti interesse di analisi o curiosità. Il grande fascino visuale e l'assenza di partecipazione intellettuale richieste al pubblico possono spiegare in parte la facile accoglienza da parte degli abitanti del luogo.
Nonostante abbia tutto l'aspetto di un oggetto che si solidifica, la cappella sostanzialmente non è una costruzione in cemento armato. Le pareti, tuttavia, sono in solida muratura e l'iniziale idea strutturale di realizzare la forma con una struttura tubolare di metallo rivestita da una rete metallica su cui doveva essere spruzzato del cemento non venne più realizzata. Seguendo il medesimo concetto, si è fatto ricorso a un riempimento di muratura, rinzaffato e intonacato in base all'idea iniziale. L'interno della parete ovest risultò così denso di aperture da rendere necessario l'inserimento di cornici di cemento intorno alle finestre. Questa infrazione alla norma dell'uso corretto e della corretta espressione dei materiali, ricorrente in altre architetture europee del dopoguerra, ha scarsa corrispondenza nel Nuovo Mondo dove l'uso dei materiali e lo sviluppo di nuove tecniche arricchisce continuamente il vocabolario architettonico.
Quando la pittura moderna abbandonò una direzione precisa, gli architetti europei si rivolsero all'arte e all'architettura popolari, soprattutto di carattere indigeno, per alimentare il loro vocabolario. Nei suoi libri Le Corbusier esprime spesso un apprezzamento per

tower which is even less conventional, but only inasmuch as the walls and roof are fused into one expression.

The whitewashed rendering is applied to the interior as well as to the exterior and the openings scattered apparently at random over the south and north walls splay either inwards or outwards, similar to the reveals of gun-openings in coastal fortifications. On the inside of the west wall these openings splay inwards to such a degree that from the interior the surface takes on the appearance of a grille. It is through this grille that most of the daylight percolates to the interiors, yet the overall effect is one of diffuse light so that, from a place in the congregation, no particular feature is spotlighted as in the manner of a Baroque church.

Where the roof dips to its lowest point, a double-barrelled gargoyle projects outwards to shoot rainwater into a shutter-patterned concrete tub. This element is surprisingly reminiscent of South Bank festivalia and something of the same spirit is conveyed by Le Corbusier in his stove-enamelled murals covering both sides of the processional entrance door. The same applies to the inscriptions on the coloured glass insets to the window-openings. These linear applications suggest a final flourish and appear superfluous and even amateurish in comparison with the overpowering virtuosity in moulding the contours of the solid masses.

The usual procedure in examining buildings – an inspection of the exterior followed by a tour of the interior – is reversed, and sightseers emerging on to the crown of the hill proceed to walk around the building clockwise, completing one and a half circles before entering the chapel where they tend to become static, turning on their own axis to examine the interior.

Echoing the sag of the roof, the concrete floor dips down to the altar-rail which appears to be a length of folded lead. The various altars are built up of blocks of polished pre-cast concrete (probably with a marble aggregate) which are cast to a marvellous precision. The roof, together with the concrete alms-boxes and swivel-door, represents and incredible French ingenuity in using this material.

The wall adjacent to the choir gallery stairs is painted a liturgical purple and the whitewash on the splayed reveals of the openings returns on to the purple wall to a width of 3 inches, thus resembling the painted window surrounds on houses around the Mediterranean coast. Small areas of green and yellow are painted over the rendering on either side of the main entrance and also on the reveals to the opening which contains the pivoting statue of the Madonna. The only large area of colour is confined to the north-east chapel and tower; this has been painted red for its entire height so that light pouring down from the top gives this surface the luminosity of "Dayglow". The three towers which catch the sun at different times of the day and pour light down on to the altars are in fact vertical extensions of each of the side chapels.

Even with a small congregation, the superb acoustics give a resonance suggesting a cathedral space and the people using the chapel do so naturally and without any sign of embarrassment. As a religious building it functions extremely well and appears to be completely accepted. It is a fact that Le Corbusier's post-war architecture has considerable popular appeal. The local population, both at Marseilles and at Ronchamp, appear to be intensely proud of their buildings. Remembering the pre-war conflicts, it is difficult to ascertain whether the change is a social one, or whether it lies in the public or Le Corbusier. Garches is still regarded with suspicion by the public, either on account of its style or the manner of living of its inhabitants.

It may be considered that the Ronchamp chapel, being a "pure expression of poetry" *and the symbol of an ancient ritual, should not therefore be criticised by the rationale of the modern movement.*

Remembering, however, that this is a product of Europe's greatest architect, it is important to consider whether this building should influence the course of modern architecture. The sensational impact of the chapel on the visitor is significantly not sustained for any great length of time and when the emotions subside there is little to appeal to the intellect, and nothing to analyse or stimulate curiosity. This entirely visual appeal and the lack of intellectual participation demanded from the public may partly account for its easy acceptance by the local population.

Basically it is not a concrete building, although it has all the appearance of a solidifying object; the walls, however, are constructed in weight-bearing masonry. The initial structural idea of outlining the form by a tubular metal frame wrapped over with wire-meshing on to which concrete was to be sprayed, for some reason was not carried out. With no change in the conception, this outline was filled in with masonry, rendered over and whitewashed to the appearance of the initial idea. The interior of the west wall became so interrupted with openings that it was found necessary to imbed in the masonry a concrete frame to form around the window openings. This freedom from the precept of the correct use and expression of materials, apparent in other post-war European architecture, has little parallel in the new World where the exploitation of materials and the development of new techniques continues to expand the architectural vocabulary.

With the loss of direction in modern painting, European architects have been looking to popular art and folk architecture, mainly of an indigenous character, from which to extend their vocabulary. An appreciation of regional building, particularly of the Mediterranean, has frequently appeared in Le Corbusier's books, principally as examples of integrated social units expressing themselves through form, but only recently has regional building become a primary source of plastic incident. There seems to be no doubt that Le Corbusier's incredible powers of observation are lessening the necessity for invention, and his travels round the world have stockpiled his vocabulary with plastic elements and objets trouvés *of considerable picturesqueness. If folk architecture is to re-vitalise the movement, it will first be necessary to determine what it is that is modern in modern*

l'architettura regionale, soprattutto Mediterranea, richiamata principalmente come esempio di espressione formale di comunità organiche, ma essa è divenuta fonte primaria di ricerca plastica solo recentemente. Appare indubbio che lo straordinario spirito di osservazione di Le Corbusier riduca la necessità di invenzione e che i suoi viaggi intorno al mondo abbiano arricchito il suo vocabolario di elementi plastici e *objets trouvés* di grande originalità. Se il compito di infondere nuova vita al Movimento deve essere affidato all'architettura popolare, diventa subito necessario stabilire che cosa è moderno nell'architettura moderna. Le aperture distribuite sulle facciate della cappella possono essere un richiamo a De Stijl, ma un'espressione affine è frequente anche negli edifici di campagna della Provenza. L'influenza dell'arte popolare risulta inoltre evidente negli edifici della canonica e dell'ostello. Le parti esterne in legno sono dipinte di azzurro cielo e le facciate sono decorate da zone intonacate e dipinte con diversi motivi; il loro aspetto e la loro concezione non esprimono alcun principio formale, strutturale o estetico. Tutte le pareti di queste *dépendance* sono di cemento armato e nella mescola sono state inseriti grossi sassi nei casseri in modo da farli apparire in superficie una volta rimosso l'assito.
Dal periodo della Bauhaus, la fusione di arte e tecnologia ha rappresentato per Gropius una vera e propria missione, e tuttavia è proprio questo aspetto che denota le sue opere di minor interesse. Lo stesso edificio di Dessau presenta una serie di prospetti ognuno dei quali rivela una tensione specifica verso l'arte o verso la tecnologia. L'idea che l'architettura è divenuta tanto complessa da dover essere concepita da un gruppo di progettisti rappresentante un pensiero composito, potrebbe spiegare in parte l'ambiguità che si avverte negli edifici concepiti in questo modo. D'altro canto Maillart, che ha sviluppato la propria estetica come risultato di una ricerca teorica per sfruttare al meglio le strutture in cemento armato, realizzò con i suoi ponti un'integrazione di tecnica ed espressione raramente superata. La supremazia esagerata dell' "Arte" nell'architettura europea denota probabilmente un atteggiamento esitante nei confronti della tecnologia, il cui stesso sviluppo è stato forse frenato dal nostro atteggiamento derisorio nei confronti del mito del progresso – la convinzione recente che il vero progresso risieda nella carità, nel benessere e nella felicità personale, che ha sostituito l'idea vittoriana di progresso come invenzione e perfezione degli strumenti dell'uomo –.
Se l'applicazione della tecnologia non esercita in Le Corbusier una grande influenza, la presenza di elementi industriali ha ancora una certa importanza, come dimostrano i corrimano sulle scale della cappella. Questi corrimano, che sembrano ricavati dalla sezione estrusa di un profilato di acciaio tubolare, sono infatti modellati *ad hoc* e la flangia superiore è disposta ad angolo acuto rispetto alla scala. Il lucernario mobile è un elemento logico per proteggere dalla luce solare più intensa, ed è

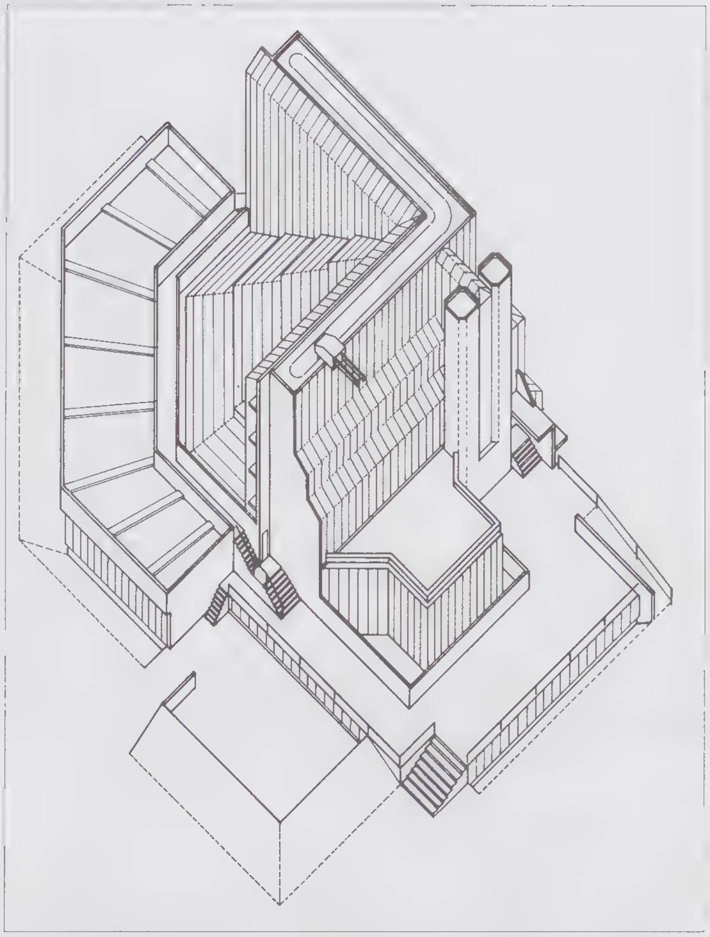
architecture. The scattered openings on the chapel walls may recall de Stijl but a similar expression is also commonplace in the farm buildings of Provence. The influence of popular art is also apparent in the priest's house and the hostel buildings. The external woodwork is painted sky blue and areas of smooth rendering painted over in patterns are decoratively applied to the outside walls; their situation and appearance do not express any formal, structural or aesthetic principle. All the walls of these outbuildings are in concrete, and large stones have been placed in the mix close against the shuttering, so that, when the boarding is removed, the surface of these stones is exposed.
Since the Bauhaus, the fusion of art and technology has been the lifelong mission of Gropius, and yet it is this aspect which denotes his least achievement. The Dessau building itself presents a series of elevations each of which is biased towards either art or technology. The suggestion that architecture has become so complex that it needs be conceived by a team representing the composite mind may partly account for the ambiguity which is felt with buildings generated in this manner. On the other hand, Maillart, who evolved his aesthetic as the result of inventing theories of reinforcing to exploit the concrete ribbon, achieved in his bridges an integration of technique and expression which has rarely been surpassed. The exaggerated supremacy of "Art" in European Architecture probably denotes a hesitant attitude towards technology, which itself has possibly been retarded by our derisive attitude towards the myth of progess, the recent belief that true progress lies in charity, welfare, and personal happiness, having replaced the Victorian idea of progress as the invention and perfection of man's tools and equipment.
If the application of technology is of little consequence, nevertheless the appearance of industrial products still has some importance for Le Corbusier, as shown by the handrails to the stairs on the chapel. These handrails, which appear to be cut-offs from an extruded section of rolled steel joist, are in fact specially cast and the top flange is set at an acute angle to the web. The movable louvre is a logical development in resisting intense sunlight and it is surprising to find them above two of the entrances to the chapel; however, a closer inspection reveals that they are 4-inch static concrete fins set at arbitrary angles, suggesting movability.
The desire to deride the schematic basis of modern architecture and the ability to turn a design upside down and make it architecture, are symptomatic of a state when the vocabulary is not being extended, and a parallel can be drawn with the Mannerist period of the Renaissance. Certainly, the forms which have developed from the rationale and the initial ideology of the Modern Movement are being mannerized and changed into a conscious imperfectionism. Le Corbusier, proceeding from the general to the particular, has produced a masterpiece of a unique but most personal order.

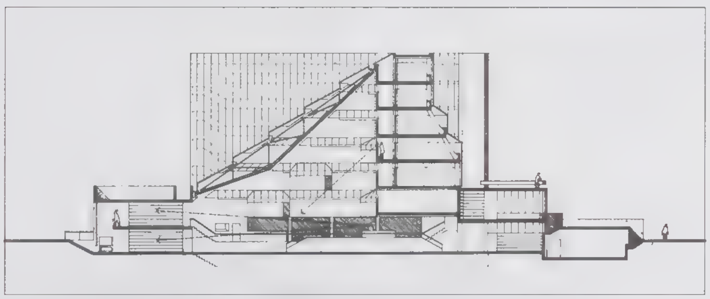
** The text was published in "The Architectural Review" no. 711, March 1956.*



sorprendente ritrovarne due sopra a due delle entrate alla cappella; a un esame più attento si scopre tuttavia che si tratta di alette fisse di cemento di circa dieci centimetri che, inclinate ad angoli arbitrari, ne suggeriscono la mobilità.
Il desiderio di prendersi gioco dei fondamenti essenziali dell'architettura moderna e la capacità di manipolare esasperatamente un progetto e farne un'architettura sono sintomi di una condizione in cui il vocabolario non si arricchisce, una condizione che può essere paragonata al periodo Manierista del Rinascimento. Ed è certo che le forme sviluppatesi dalla ragione e dall'ideologia iniziale del Movimento Moderno stanno subendo un processo di manierizzazione, modificandosi in un consapevole imperfezionismo.
Le Corbusier, procedendo dal generale al particolare, ha prodotto un capolavoro di ordine unico ma sorprendentemente personale.

*Questo saggio è stato pubblicato su "The Architectural Review", n. 711, marzo 1956.





James Stirling, Facoltà di Storia, Università di Cambridge, Gran Bretagna,1964.
Assonometria, sezione e vista interna.
Foto R. Einzig/Arcaid.
Nella pagina precedente:
Vista esterna.
Foto R. Einzig/Arcaid.

James Stirling, Faculty of History, Cambridge University, Great Britain,1964.
Axonometric, section and internal view.
Photo R. Einzig/Arcaid.
Previous page:
External view.
Photo R. Einzig/Arcaid.

Facoltà di Storia, Università di Cambridge, Gran Bretagna, 1964
L'edificio presenta una sezione inclinata.
La sala di lettura della biblioteca è la più frequentata (300 lettori) e si trova quindi a piano terreno. Gli spazi destinati a studenti e personale sono al primo e al secondo livello con, sopra, aule seminariali, mentre gli uffici del personale meno frequentati sono ai piani superiori.
I corridoi sono progettati come gallerie, sviluppati attorno agli spazi superiori della biblioteca; essi sono vetrati per esigenze acustiche (e antincendio) lasciando sempre in vista a chi li percorre la biblioteca, l'elemento principale della Facoltà.
Un tetto di acciaio reticolare (vetrato sopra e sotto) copre la biblioteca e diffonde la luce diurna nella sala di lettura oltre a illuminare le gallerie di distribuzione ai livelli superiori.

Faculty of History, Cambridge University, Great Britain, 1964
The building has a tapering section. The library reading room has the greatest density of occupation (300 readers) and therefore is at ground level. Student and staff lounges are at first-and second-floor levels with seminar rooms above; staff offices which have low occupation density are located on the top floors.
The corridors are designed as galleries running around the upper space of the library; they are glazed for acoustic (and fire) requirements and thus people moving through the building are visually in contact with the library – the most important element of the Faculty.
A steel truss roof (glazed above and below) spans the library and allows translucent (shadowless) daylight into the reading area, and at the upper levels also lights the circulation galleries.









James Stirling, James Gowan, Facoltà di Ingegneria, Università di Leicester, Gran Bretagna, 1959-63.
Viste di dettaglio.
Foto J. Cockayne/Arcaid.
Vista d'insieme.
Foto R. Einzig/Arcaid.

James Stirling, James Gowan, Engineering Building, Leicester University, Great Britain, 1959-63.
Detailed views.
Photos J. Cockayne/Arcaid.
General view.
Photo R. Einzig/Arcaid.

Facoltà di Ingegneria, Università di Leicester, Gran Bretagna, 1959-63

La Facoltà di Ingegneria consiste di ampi laboratori a pianterreno (macchinari pesanti), che occupano gran parte del sito disponibile, e di un insieme verticale di torri adibite a uffici e altri laboratori, sale conferenze, pozzi scale e ascensori. Nelle torri la forma dei volumi degli ambienti e dei vani di circolazione è articolata a causa della natura definita di questi spazi. Il corpo dei laboratori è realizzato invece con una copertura a *shed* non trasparenti, in modo da consentire adattamenti interni senza modificare l'esterno.

I laboratori di aerodinamica e elettricità si trovano sopra il locale caldaia e il reparto manutenzione, e scavalcano parzialmente una strada di servizio in modo da poter sollevare i macchinari più pesanti attraverso il pavimento. Un sistema simile attraverso aperture a pavimento consente lo spostamento dei macchinari tra i laboratori situati all'interno della torre.

Una copertura di tipo industriale è ruotata diagonalmente rispetto alla pianta dei laboratori per catturare la luce da nord, e il disegno di molti dettagli discende da questa rotazione di 45 gradi.

Le sale conferenze si trovano ai livelli più bassi della torre, e la parte inferiore e inclinata di quella più grande forma un portico sottostante dove è situato l'ingresso principale all'edificio.

Engineering Building, Leicester University, Great Britain, 1959-63

The Engineering Building consists of large ground-level workshops (heavy machinery) covering most of the available site and a vertical ensemble of office and laboratory towers, lecture theatres and lift and staircase shafts. In the tower the form of room volumes and circulation shafts is articulated because of the unchanging nature of these spaces. The workshop is a non-transparent shed within which change can take place without external repercussion.

The aerodynamics and electrical workshops, are raised above the boiler house and maintenance department and partially overhang a service road; this permits vertical lifting of heavy machinery through the floor of these workshops. A similar arrangement permits the exchange of machinery through floor openings in the laboratories in the tower.

An industrial roof is turned diagonally across the plan to bring north light into the workshops and much of the detail design derives from this use of 45° angles.

The lecture theatres are positioned in the lower levels of the tower and the main entrance to the building is beneath the sloping underside of the large lecture theatre, which forms a portico.



Kyoto Center, Kyoto, Giappone, 1991
James Stirling, Michael Wilford

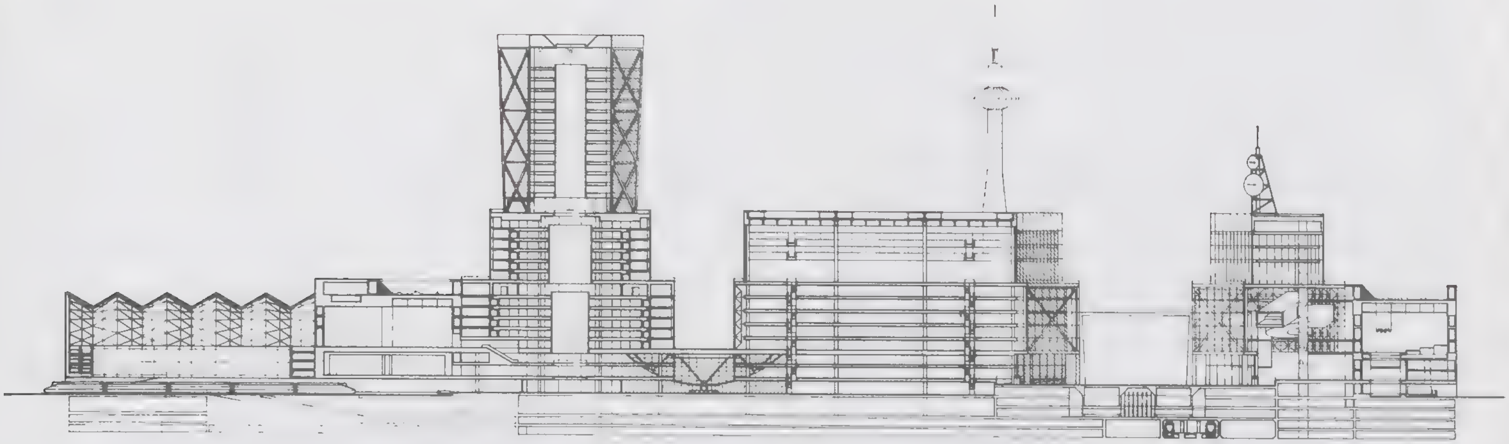
Il progetto di sviluppo della Stazione di Kyoto e dei siti limitrofi riflette le implicazioni simboliche e urbanistiche che sorgono collocando un grande complesso lungo l'intero lato della piazza principale nel centro commerciale della città. Abbiamo considerato il sito una sorta di spartiacque tra la città tradizionale a nord, limitata dalle colline a est e a ovest, e la futura città tecnologica che verrà costruita a sud. Proponiamo una serie di "porte" d'accesso simboliche e funzionali, che conducono ad attraversamenti pedonali sopra la barriera dei binari ferroviari che attualmente divide in due il centro della città.
Il progetto prevede una nuova piazza pubblica lungo l'asse nord-sud di Karasuma Avenue, una piazza ovale chiusa solo in parte e collegata a un nuovo ponte civico (fiancheggiato da negozi) che attraversa i binari collegando così le zone nord e sud della città. In questo modo Karasuma Avenue diviene l'asse principale in relazione a un futuro sviluppo di Kyoto verso sud.
Caratteristica principale del progetto sono i due attraversamenti ferroviari in direzione nord-sud. Il ponte civico che connette la piazza ovale all'area commerciale della Stazione di Shinkansen rappresenta il "percorso pubblico" principale, mentre il ponte coperto che parte dall'atrio della Stazione è riservato ai passeggeri.
Sul lato occidentale della piazza il nuovo albergo si presenta come una torre di forme geometriche. Con la torre televisiva esistente, la nuova piazza ovale e l'albergo formano così una triangolazione di costruzioni pubbliche. Se osservato dai templi e dai giardini sulle colline circostanti, il profilo dell'albergo indica il centro della città.
L'atrio della stazione si trova tra la torre dell'albergo e l'edificio commerciale. Questo, sviluppato su dieci piani, e il centro culturale, le cui dimensioni sono superiori rispetto alle richieste del concorso, si trovano su entrambi i lati della piazza ovale. Il volume destinato agli spazi di rappresentanza è progettato come una serra, con un'ampia zona destinata a manifestazioni pubbliche, dove le strutture e le attività previste si presentano come oggetti mobili.
I quattro piani interrati sono divisi verticalmente in due zone che delimitano una "strada" commerciale a doppia altezza, un collegamento lineare tra la stazione della metropolitana esistente e l'atrio della stazione JR. Essa costituisce la spina dorsale di un nuovo centro commerciale sotterraneo collegato alle zone commerciali interrate già esistenti. Un nastro trasportatore ad alta velocità sospeso sulla "strada" offre un rapido accesso ai passeggeri della metropolitana e della ferrovia che debbano percorrere l'intero complesso.

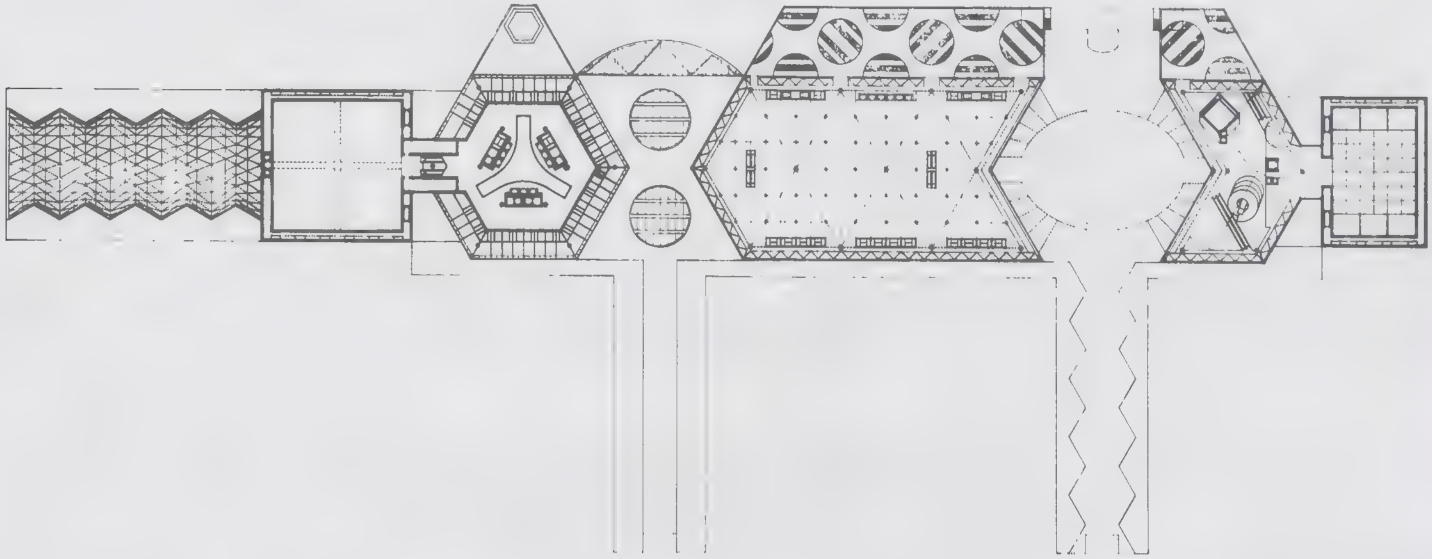
Kyoto Center, Kyoto, Japan, 1991
James Stirling, Michael Wilford

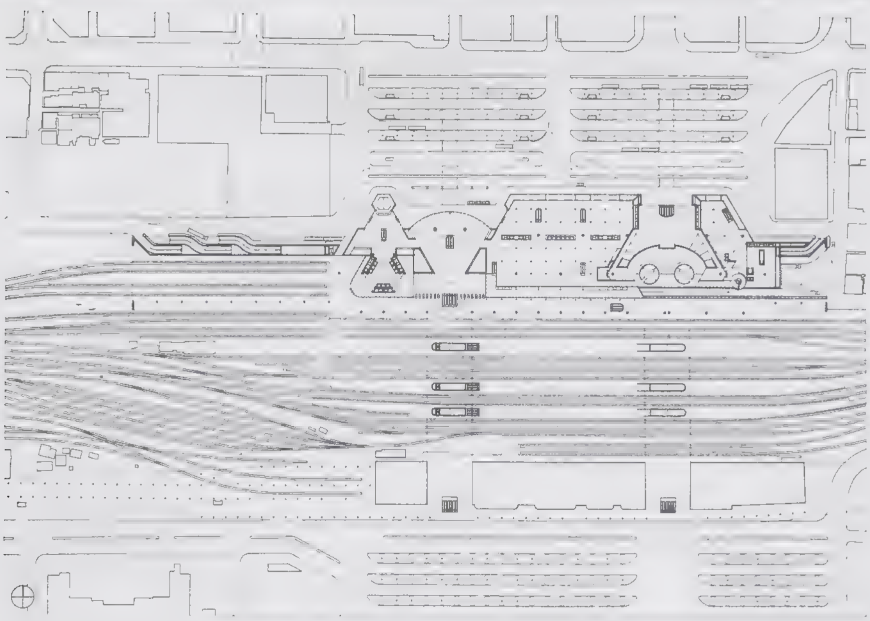
Our design for the redevelopment of Kyoto Station and its flanking sites relates to the symbolic and urbanistic implications of placing a large complex along one whole side of the city square in the commercial downtown. We view the site as a threshold between the traditional city to the north enclosed by hills to the east and west and the future technological city to be built in the south. We propose symbolic and functional gateways leading to public crossings over the barrier of the railway tracks which presently divides the city center in two halves.
The design includes a new public plaza on the north-south axis of Rarasuma Avenue. This oval plaza is a semi-contained space connecting with a new citizens bridge (lined with shops) which spans the tracks connecting the north and south sides of the city and continuing Rarasuma Avenue as a major axis related to future planning of Kyoto to the south.
A feature of the design is the two north/south crossings over the railway tracks. The citizens bridge spanning from the oval plaza to the Shinkansen Station shopping area is the primary free pathway. The enclosed bridge which extends from the station concourse is exclusively for passengers.
At the western end of the square the new hotel is arranged as a tower of geometric forms. Together with the existing T.Y. tower and the new oval plaza, a triangle of civic elements is established around the square. The hotel silhouette locates the city center as viewed from the temples and gardens in the surrounding hills.
The station concourse is positioned between the hotel tower and the department store.
The department store and cultural center flank both sides of the oval plaza. The size of the cultural center is greater than required in the competition. The volume containing the image facilities is planned as a winter garden with a large floor area for exhibitions and public events. The facilities are planned as free objects and their floor areas are consistent with the competition requirements.
Four levels of basement are vertically divided in two zones including a double height shopping "street" providing linear connection between the existing subway station and the JR station concourse. This acts as a spine for a new underground shopping center with connections to existing basement shopping areas. A high-speed people mover suspended in the "street" provides quick access for subway and station passengers travelling the length of the development.

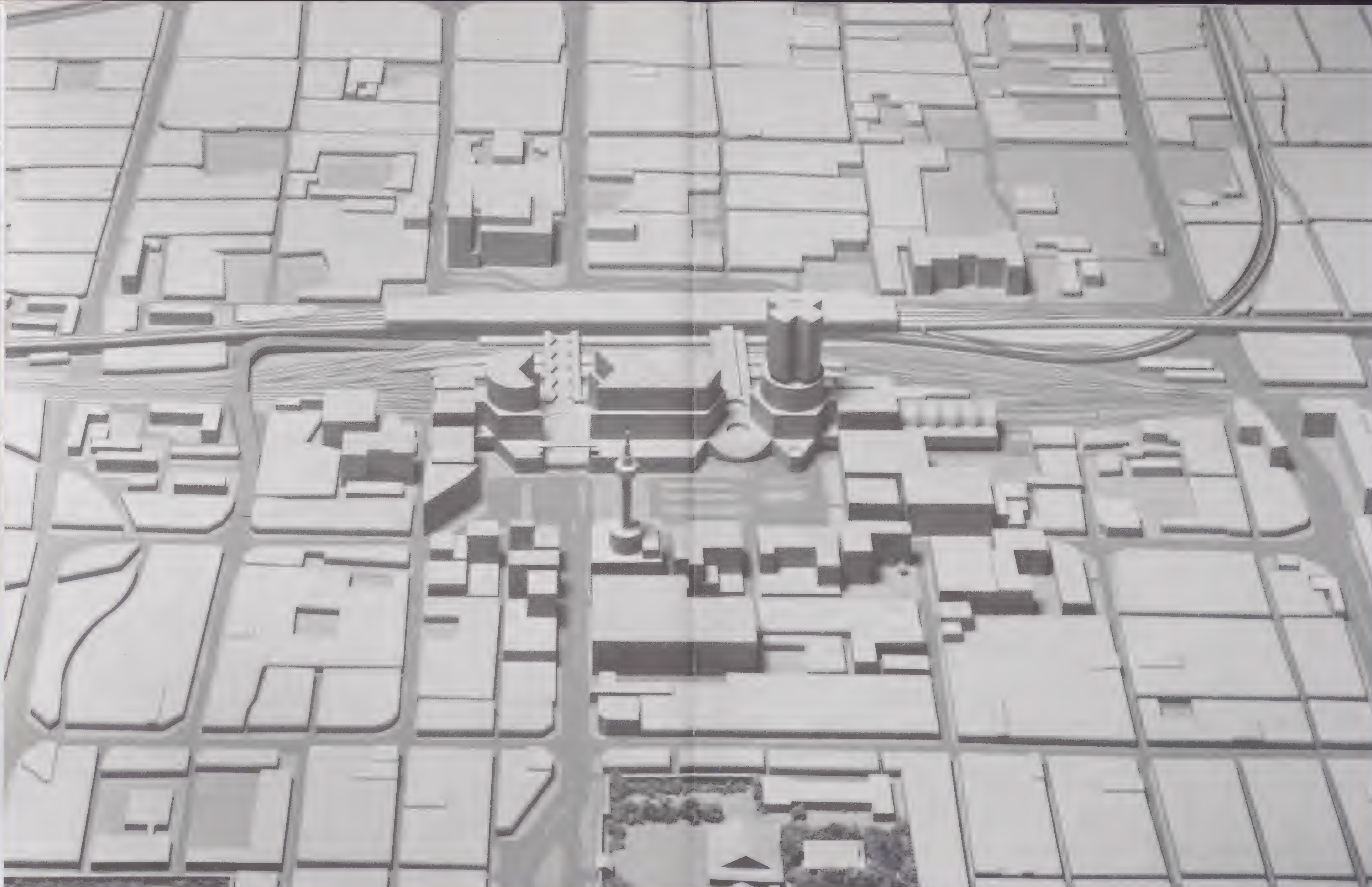
James Stirling, Michael Wilford,
Kyoto Center, Kyoto, Giappone, 1991.
Sezione longitudinale, pianta e planimetria generale.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Vista del modello.

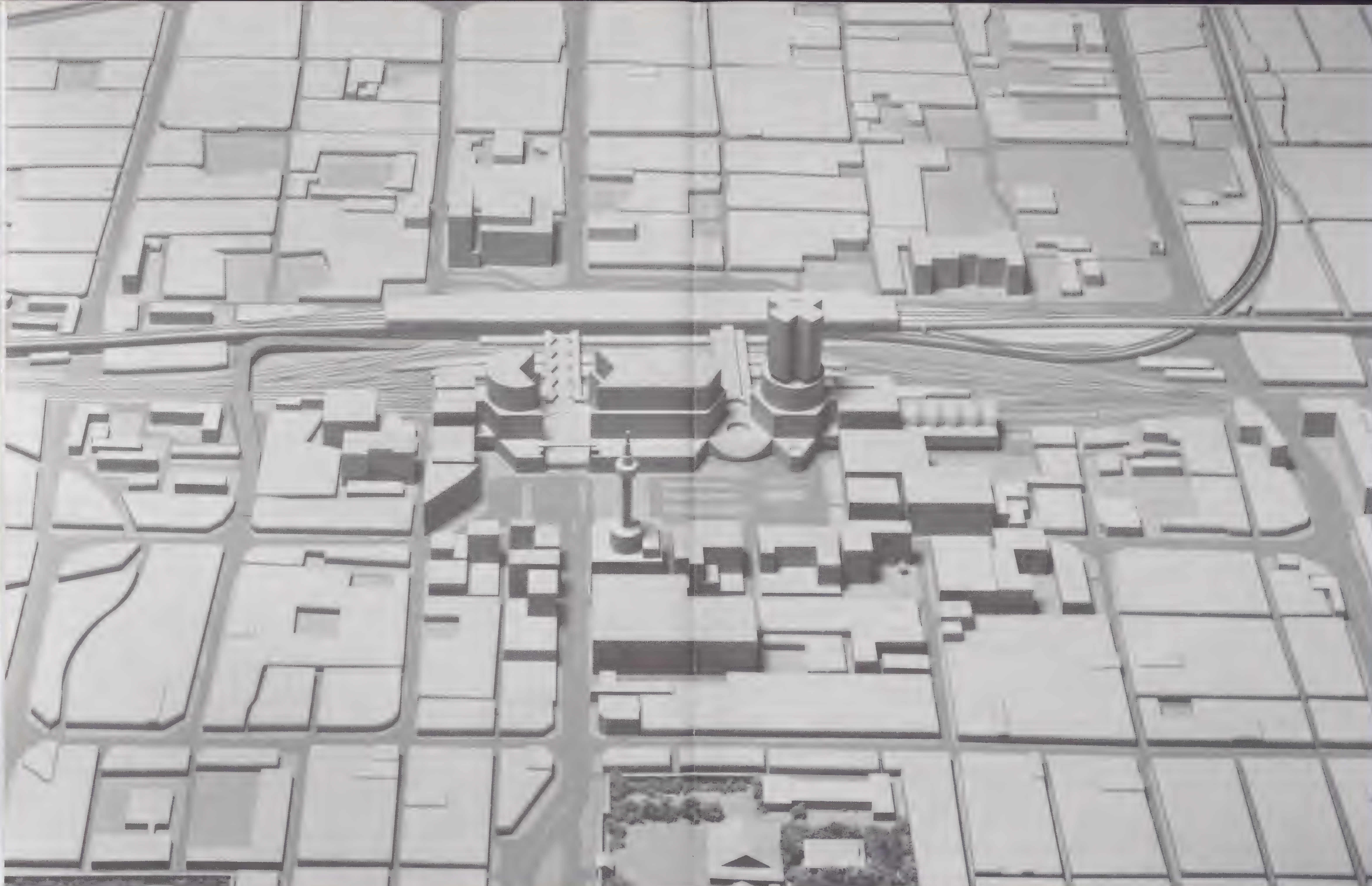
James Stirling, Michael Wilford,
Kyoto Center, Kyoto, Japan, 1991.
Longitudinal section, plan and general site plan.
Following pages:
View of model.











Kevin Roche, 1982. *In this mercurial age, when our fashions swing overnight from the severe to the ornate, from contempt for the past to nostalgia for imagined times that never were, Kevin Roche's formidable body of work sometimes intersects fashion, sometimes lags fashion, and more often makes fashion.*

He is no easy man to describe: an innovator who does not worship innovation for itself, a professional unconcerned with trends, a quiet humble man who conceives and executes great works, a generous man of strictest standards for his own work.

In this award to Kevin Roche we recognize and honor an architect who persists in being an individual, and has for all of us, through his work and his person, made a difference for the better.

The Jury

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The Jury

Kevin Roche, 1982
In un'epoca così mutevole, in cui le mode cambiano d'un tratto dal sobrio all'ornato, dal disprezzo per il passato alla nostalgia per tempi immaginati e mai esistiti, la formidabile opera di Kevin Roche a volte interseca la moda, a volte la rifugge, ma più spesso la crea. Non è uomo facile da descrivere: un innovatore che non persegue l'innovazione di per sé, un professionista incurante delle tendenze, un uomo pacato che concepisce e realizza grandi opere, un uomo generoso di percisione verso le proprie opere.
Assegnando questo premio a Kevin Roche riconosciamo e onoriamo un architetto che persiste nella propria individualità, e che per tutti noi, con il suo lavoro e la sua persona, ha realizzato la differenza delle cose migliori.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Lord Clark of Saltwood, Arata Isozaki, Philip Johnson, J. Irwin Miller, Cesar Pelli, Thomas J. Watson Jr., Carleton Smith (Secretary to the Jury), Arthur Drexler (Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: The Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., May 19, 1982

Considerazioni di architettura
Kevin Roche

I modi di percepire l'architettura ricordano un po' i modi in cui i tre ciechi della storiella percepiscono l'elefante. L'osservatore occasionale vede un'opera di architettura come parte dell'ambiente, del patrimonio culturale, del contesto utilitario della vita quotidiana, come un luogo in cui si abita, si pranza, si lavora, si prega; per lui la valutazione dell'opera è secondaria rispetto alla sua utilizzazione. Il committente la vede invece come il soddisfacimento di un'esigenza, come un'espressione di prestigio, un monumento, un'occasione per immortalare chi abbia investito le sue energie nel creare ricchezza, nell'organizzare le masse o nell'imporre il proprio volere. Lo storico, infine, può vedere l'opera come il prodotto di alcune delle forze che in realtà la plasmano; ma in fondo la considera come un'opera d'arte e quindi tiene conto solo delle forze che la determinano esteticamente.
L'architetto responsabile deve vedere in un'opera di architettura tutto questo, e in più l'espressione di un impulso artistico e un impegno a rendersi utile. È importante per noi architetti sentire che siamo utili alla società, che realizziamo l'ambiente e talvolta l'elemento essenziale per quasi tutte le attività umane. Anche il committente dovrebbe capire che in fondo la funzione implicita nel suo ruolo è di rendersi utile. Nella nostra società sempre più partecipativa ogni individuo, in quanto particella di un insieme più vasto, finisce con l'avere un qualche influsso su ciò che viene costruito; e perciò ad ogni componente della società dev'essere data un'educazione artistica all'architettura, così da elevare il livello delle aspettative. Sotto questo riguardo assume grande importanza il ruolo dei critici: spetta a loro valutare le proposte, avanzarne di proprie e riferire sui progressi e sugli sviluppi in atto, così che tutti possano apprendere e continuare a cercare i modi per realizzare gli ambienti più idonei e più stimolanti. Quando si attuano queste condizioni, diventa possibile un'architettura significativa.
In questo contesto, le battaglie stilistiche hanno per noi scarso interesse: ciò che conta è un metodo di progettazione che cerchi di cogliere le forze in gioco e di dar ricetto nel miglior modo possibile alle attività richieste. A ciò possiamo contribuire con la nostra visione umanistica e con la nostra conoscenza delle tecnologie più aggiornate e delle circostanze economiche in cui sorgono gli edifici: da armonizzare sempre, naturalmente, con l'impulso artistico e col rispetto per il buonsenso.
Questo processo si alimenta quasi da sé: la sua organizzazione può essere rigida, ma può anche essere così elaborata da farlo apparire quasi disorganizzato. Talvolta il processo stesso diviene preminente e ci accorgiamo di lavorare a qualcosa che in effetti si sta realizzando da sé. Non sempre si va avanti perseguendo inflessibilmente un'idea progettuale fino al suo compimento: spesso si lascia che quell'idea cresca e si sviluppi, in continuo ricambio con una pluralità di ricerche, idee, reazioni e atteggiamenti differenti. In questo processo, di volta in volta guidiamo gli eventi o siamo guidati da essi, elaboriamo una soluzione o assistiamo alla sua rielaborazione sotto l'azione di forze e di circostanze nuove, sempre però evitando di rifugiarsi sbrigativamente in facili risposte.
Vi sono in questo metodo molti vantaggi, non ultimo quello di essere liberati dall'assillo iniziale di dover "creare". Anziché essere concepito o imposto a priori, il progetto prende forma come un'esperienza *in fieri*: siamo divertiti e al tempo stesso stimolati dal trovarci a ogni passo in un nuovo territorio di scoperta. È un metodo di progettazione più elastico, che non ci porta mai a sforzarci di adattare qualcosa ai "dati", per la semplice ragione che non c'è alcun "dato".
Per molti l'architettura consiste negli edifici che si vedono nelle cartoline illustrate: ma c'è molto di più di questo nella città abitata e vissuta, che può presentarsi sotto gli aspetti più vari, da quello più "disciplinato" per una rigida regolamentazione o per la scarsità delle risorse fino a quello più "esuberante" prodotto dalla libera innovazione artistica o da una ripresa di prosperità. Indipendentemente da questi fattori, le successive generazioni si adattano al loro ambiente e lo modificano in modo da riflettere i nuovi valori. L'architetto sensibile cerca di cogliere la contestualità che sottende il mutamento storico e di accrescerla, così da arricchire il tessuto esistente; al tempo stesso egli soddisfa gli scopi immediati del singolo committente, per il quale un'iniziativa edilizia rappresenta quasi sempre un enorme sforzo e un evento importante. Da parte nostra, noi architetti ci auguriamo fervidamente che rappresenti anche una grande gioia.

Hamden, Connecticut, U.S.A., 15 giugno 1994

Statements on architecture
Kevin Roche

The perception of architecture might be compared to the fable of the perception of an elephant by three blind men. The casual viewer sees architecture as part of the background, part of the cultural heritage, part of the usable context of day-to-day life, a place to live, a place to eat, a place to work, a place to worship and the appreciation of it is only incidental to the use. The patron sees it as a need fulfilled, an expression of importance, a monument, an opportunity for immortality for one whose abilities have been channeled into the creation of wealth or the organizing of armies or the imposition of will. The historian may see it as the product of some of the forces which actually form it but really considers it as an art and in doing so allows only for those forces which form art.
The responsible architect must see it as all of these things, as well as a release of artistic energies and a commitment to

serve. It is important for us as architects to realize that we serve society and that we provide the background and sometimes the central feature for almost all human activities. The patron should likewise recognize that the responsibility that is implicit in the role of patron is ultimately that of serving. In our gradually emerging, participatory society, everyone as a small unit in a greater whole finally has some influence over what is built. Recognizing this, each individual in society needs to become educated in the art of architecture to heighten expectations. In that regard, the role of the critic becomes very important; it becomes one of monitoring and contributing ideas and reporting on progress and growth so that all can learn and continue to seek ways to build the most appropriate and stimulating environments. When these conditions are realized, there is then the possibility for significant architecture.

In this context the battle of styles is of less interest to us. What is more important is a method of design which tries to understand the forces at work and to accommodate the needed activity in the very best way, and we bring to that a humanist point of view and an understanding of the state of technology and the economic circumstances under which buildings are built, always tempered of course by an artistic impulse ... and a respect for reason.

The process is almost self-sustaining, while it can be rigidly organized, it can also be organized in such a sophisticated way as to appear almost disorganized. The process sometimes takes over and we find that we are working alongside something that in fact is working itself out. One moves forward, not always just relentlessly pursuing a design idea to its end, but often allowing it to grow and develop and exchange back and forth between a multitude of different probes, other ideas, responses and attitudes. In this process we are sometimes guiding, sometimes being guided by events, sometimes forming, sometimes watching the solution being formed again by various pressures and circumstances that emerge, but never taking quick refuge in easy answers.

There are many advantages to this procedure, not the least of which is that we are relieved of those initial pressures of over-anxiety "to create". A concept becomes an evolving experience, rather than a pre-imagined or pre-imposed vision; and we are both entertained and stimulated to find ourselves in the land of new discovery with each step. This method of design is a relaxed and more accommodating approach so that the end result is never one of trying to fit in something after the fact because there is no "after the fact".

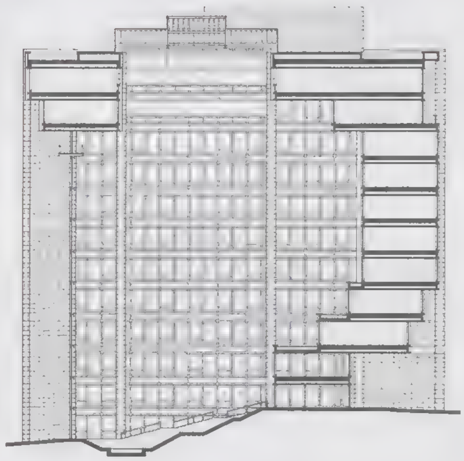
Architecture is often considered to be the kind of building that is on the postcard sent home, but there is more than that in the lived-in city, a city that can vary from being disciplined, either by fiat or by modesty of means, or can display an exuberance inspired by a new freedom in the arts or a resurgence of prosperity. Regardless of the originating forces, successive generations fit into and adapt neighborhoods to reflect their emerging values. The sensitive architect tries to understand this feeling of context within an historical process of change and seeks to add to it in a way which enriches the existing, as well as fulfills the immediate purpose of each patron, for whom building is almost always an undertaking of immense effort and importance and which we, as architects, fervently hope is also an undertaking of great joy.

Hamden, Connecticut, U.S.A., June 15, 1994









Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Fondazione Ford, New York, U.S.A., 1968.
Viste della corte coperta, pianta e sezione.
Nella pagina precedente:
Vista esterna lungo la 42ma Strada est.

Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A., 1968.
Views of covered courtyard, plan and section.
Previous page:
External view on 42nd Street East.

Fondazione Ford, New York, U.S.A., 1968
Contrariamente ai convenzionali edifici per uffici di New York in cui chi lavora si trova isolato in un "box" che ostacola il rapporto con la comunità lavorativa e limita l'ambiente fisico alla percezione di altri box occupati da altri impiegati, questo edificio crea un ambiente armonioso per i suoi occupanti, uno spazio che consente ai lavoratori della Fondazione di essere consapevoli uno dell'altro, di condividere scopi e aspirazioni, e che facilita la costituzione di una comunità di lavoro.
Lo scopo è stato raggiunto evitando il più possibile lo sviluppo dell'edificio in altezza e rispettando coscienziosamente le linee e i piani creati da altri edifici circostanti.
La struttura è formata da travi di acciaio e da un conglomerato per sostenere le membrature.
La pianta a forma di "C" favorisce la vista verso i parchi e, più lontano, il fiume, creando al tempo stesso un senso di protezione verso l'interno. Chiudendo con una vetrata il tetto e la corte della "C", è stato creato un ampio giardino, un parco destinato sia al personale della Fondazione sia ai visitatori. Ogni ufficio dispone di una porta scorrevole sul patio, che abbellisce l'ambiente di lavoro e crea un senso di benessere.

Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A., 1968
Unlike conventional New York office buildings which isolate the occupants and store them in cubicles, depriving them of a sense of their working community and limiting their physical environment to views of other similarly-stored inhabitants, this building creates an appropriate environment for its occupants.
To achieve this, a high-rise solution was deliberately avoided. The building is as low as possible and conscientiously observes the lines and planes created by other buildings on the surrounding streets.
The structure is a composite of concrete for bearing members and steel for spanning.
The plan is C-shaped, which serves both to shelter and to provide a view out – a view to the parks and the river beyond. By enclosing the roof and the open portion of the "C" with glass, a large garden court was created – a park for staff and public alike.
Each office has a sliding door opening onto this park, which further enhances the atmosphere of the offices and creates a sense of well-being.



Ampliamento del Museo Ebraico, New York, U.S.A., 1993
Kevin Roche

Il Museo Ebraico occupava due edifici tra loro collegati sull'angolo nordest tra Fifth Avenue e 92nd Street: la famosa Warburg Mansion del 1908, in stile gotico, e il List Building, un'addizione al Museo in stile moderno costruita nel 1962. La Warburg Mansion è stata conservata nei sei piani originari mentre il List Building è stato ampliato verso Fifth Avenue ed elevato da tre a sette piani. L'intervento ha richiesto l'approvazione del *Community Board*, della *Landmarks Preservation Commission*, della *City Planning Commission*, del *Board of Estimate* e del *Board of Standards and Appeals*.
Il nuovo progetto obbedisce alla necessità di offrire uno spazio funzionale e flessibile per ospitare questo Museo, l'istituzione più spaziosa e più importante nel suo genere dell'emisfero occidentale. Essa conserva più di 14.000 opere d'arte e di artigianato eseguite in 4.000 anni di storia ebraica.
L'addizione lungo Fifth Avenue conserva l'altezza e lo stile dell'esistente Warburg Mansion (m 32 circa). L'edificio risultante, un Museo di sette piani, è un imponente unitario castello gotico francese, ottenuto grazie alla continuità di materiali e forme che riprendono espressamente il progetto di C.P.H. Gilbert del 1908. L'ingresso della Warburg Mansion è stato restaurato e viene usato come entrata principale al Museo.
Gli interni della Warburg Mansion sono stati rinnovati e ospitano oggi spazi espositivi, una libreria, la *hall* d'ingresso e gli uffici amministrativi. I piani superiori sono destinati a sale conferenze e di studio, biblioteche e uffici del personale.

Extension to the Jewish Museum, New York, U.S.A., 1993
Kevin Roche

The Jewish Museum occupied two linked buildings on the northeast corner of Fifth Avenue and 92nd Street – the historic landmark, Gothic-style 1908 Warburg Mansion and the List Building, a 1962 Modern-style museum addition. The six-storey Warburg Mansion was preserved. The three-storey List Building was expanded towards Fifth Avenue and increased to seven storeys. The expansion required approval of the Community Board, Landmarks Preservation Commission, City Planning Commission, Board of Estimate, and Board of Standards and Appeals.
The new layout achieves the Museum's goals of providing efficient, flexible space for this, the largest and most important institution of its kind in the western hemisphere. Its treasures include more than 14,000 works of art and artifacts covering 4,000 years of Jewish history. The addition along Fifth Avenue is the same height, approximately 105 feet, as the existing Warburg Mansion and is designed in the same style. The resulting expanded, seven-storey Museum is an impressive French Gothic chateau, its unified appearance achieved by the continuity of materials and features that distinguish the C.P.H. Gilbert 1908 design. The formal entrance to the Mansion has been restored and is used as the Museum's main entrance.
The Mansion's interiors have been renovated and are used for galleries, bookshop and reception hall, curatorial and administrative offices. Meeting rooms, study areas, libraries and staff offices are located on the upper floors.



Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Ampliamento del Museo Ebraico, New York, U.S.A., 1993. Piante dei piani terreno e primo e prospetto sulla Fifth Avenue.

Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Extension to the Jewish Museum, New York, U.S.A., 1993. Ground and first floor plans and elevation on Fifth Avenue.







Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Ampliamento del Museo Ebraico, New York, U.S.A., 1993. Viste esterne e vista interna dell'auditorium.

Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Extension to the Jewish Museum, New York, U.S.A., 1993. External views and internal view of auditorium.



Ieoh Ming Pei, 1983. *Ieoh Ming Pei has given this century some of its most beautiful interior spaces and exterior forms. Yet the significance of his work goes far beyond that. His concern has always been the surroundings in which his buildings rise.*
He has refused to limit himself to a narrow range of architectural problems. His work over the past forty years includes not only palaces of industry, government, and culture, but also moderate and low income housing.
His versatility and skill in the use of materials approach the level of poetry. His tact and patience have enabled him to draw together peoples of disparate interests and disciplines to create an harmonious environment.
The Jury

Ieoh Ming Pei, 1983. *Ieoh Ming Pei has given this century some of its most beautiful interior spaces and exterior forms. Yet the significance of his work goes far beyond that. His concern has always been the surroundings in which his buildings rise.*
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The Jury

Ieoh Ming Pei, 1983
Ieoh Ming Pei ha realizzato alcuni dei più begli spazi interni e alcune delle più belle forme esterne di questo secolo. Eppure l'importanza del suo lavoro non si limita a questo. Egli ha sempre rivolto la sua attenzione all'intorno in cui i suoi edifici sorgono e si è sempre rifiutato di limitarsi a un arco ristretto di problemi architettonici. Il suo lavoro negli ultimi quarant'anni include non solo edifici per l'industria, il governo, la cultura, ma anche complessi di abitazioni per medio e basso reddito. La sua versatilità e abilità nell'uso dei materiali raggiunge livelli di poesia. Il suo garbo e la sua pazienza gli hanno consentito di collaborare con persone dagli interessi e dalle discipline più diverse, creando ambienti di grande armonia.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Arata Isozaki, Philip Johnson, J. Irwin Miller, Kevin Roche, Thomas J. Watson Jr., Carleton Smith (Secretary to the Jury), Arthur Drexler (Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A., June 2, 1983

Discorso di accettazione
Ieoh Ming Pei

Sono davvero onorato di essere qui questa sera per ricevere il Premio Internazionale di Architettura Pritzker e sono particolarmente lieto di ringraziare coloro che hanno istituito questo premio e la distinta Giuria che ha ritenuto opportuno assegnarlo a me.
Durante la preparazione dell'esposizione, era rassicurante osservare che un buon numero di progetti riguardavano edifici poi realizzati. Penso in particolar modo ai numerosi vincoli sociali, economici, politici ed estetici, che gli architetti devono considerare nel dare forma al loro lavoro.
Dovete sapere che all'inizio degli anni Quaranta un mio amico si sentì negare un prestito per la casa che gli avevo progettato a Cambridge perché sembrava moderna.
Un fatto che oggi può farci sorridere ma che al tempo non fu per nulla divertente. È in questo senso che io appartengo alla generazione di architetti americani che costruivano in base alla percezioni pionieristiche del Movimento Moderno, con una fede incrollabile in quelle che furono conquiste importanti in campo artistico, tecnologico e progettuale. Sono perfettamente consapevole delle molte banalità assecondate in suo nome nel corso degli anni. Eppure credo nella continuità di questa tradizione in quanto essa non è in alcun modo un ricordo del passato ma una forza vitale che anima e informa il presente. Soltanto in questo modo noi possiamo sviluppare e affinare un linguaggio architettonico che risponda ai valori di oggi e consenta una varietà di espressioni stilistiche e sostanziali. In quale altro modo possiamo sperare di costruire un ambiente fisico coerente per i nostri paesi, le nostre città, i nostri quartieri? La Siena italiana, la Savannah americana, la Londra georgiana e la Parigi neoclassica non sono che alcuni dei numerosissimi esempi. Io credo che l'architettura sia un'arte *pragmatica*. Per diventare arte deve essere costruita su un fondamento di necessità. La libertà di espressione significa, a mio parere, agire in un ambito delimitato, come io sono solito assegnare a ogni specifica occasione di lavoro. Quale migliore insegnamento del consiglio di Leonardo da Vinci per il quale "*la forza* (...) *vive per violenza e more per libertà*"?
La ricerca del nuovo, dalla prospettiva esclusiva dello stile, ha condotto troppo spesso all'arbitrarietà della fantasia, al disordine del capriccio. È facile affermare che l'arte dell'architettura comprende ogni cosa ma è molto difficile introdurre l'intervento consapevole dell'immaginazione artistica senza deviare dal contesto della vita.
È questa fragilità, questa preziosità, che innalza e distingue l'architettura come forma d'arte. È questo contesto più complesso e comprensivo che ci sfida a trasformare possibilità progettuali e costruttive in grandi opere architettoniche. Progettando, gli architetti indagano il gioco dei volumi nella luce, esplorano i misteri del movimento nello spazio, analizzano la misura espressa

in scale e proporzioni e, soprattutto, cercano quella qualità speciale che è lo spirito del luogo, poiché nessun edificio esiste di per sé.
La pratica dell'architettura è un'impresa collettiva alla quale lavorano molti individui di diverse discipline e capacità. E nell'arco di tempo che intercorre dall'incarico alla realizzazione del progetto sono coinvolte anche tutte quelle persone per le quali l'architetto lavora e il cui contributo alla qualità è spesso altrettanto essenziale. Accolgo così questo premio per tutti coloro che hanno lavorato con me in quest'impresa singolare. Cerchiamo di prestare sempre attenzione alle idee più nuove, ai mezzi più avanzati, all'insorgere dei bisogni, agli stimoli del mutamento in modo che si possa raggiungere, oltre l'originalità architettonica, un'armonia dello spirito a servizio dell'uomo.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A., 2 giugno 1983

Acceptance
Ieoh Ming Pei

It is a great honor to be here tonight to receive the 1983 International Pritzker Architecture Prize. I take particular pleasure in thanking those who conceived the prize, those who have administered it and the distinguished jurors who have seen fit to select me as this year's recipient. During the preparation of the exhibits here, it was reassuring to observe that quite a number of our projects actually led to finished buildings. Especially vivid in my mind were the many social, economic, political as well as esthetic constraints that architects have had to consider in the shaping of their work. You may be amused to know, although it was not amusing to me at the time, that a house I designed for a friend in Cambridge in the early forties was denied a mortgage because it looked moden. In this sense I belong to that generation of American architects who built upon the pioneering perceptions of the Modern Movement, with an unwavering conviction in its significant achievements in the fields of art, technology and design. I am keenly aware of the many banalities built in its name over the years. Nevertheless, I believe in the continuity of this tradition, for it is by no means a relic of the past but a living force that animates and informs the present. Only in this way can we develop and refine an architectural language, responsive to today's values and allow for a variety of expressions in both style and substance. How else can we hope to build a coherent physical environment for our cities, towns and neighborhoods? Italy's Siena and America's Savannah, Georgian London and Neoclassical Paris, are but a few of the more conspicuous examples. I believe that architecture is a pragmatic *art. To become art it must be built on a foundation of necessity. Freedom of expression, for me, consists in moving within a measured range that I assign to each of my undertakings. How instructive it is to remember Leonardo da Vinci's counsel that* "strength is born of constraint and dies in freedom." *The chase for the new, from the singular perspective of style, has too often resulted in only the arbitrariness of whim, the disorder of caprice. It is easy to say that the art of architecture is everything, but how difficult it is to introduce the conscious intervention of an artistic imagination without straying from the context of life. It is this fragility, this preciousness, that elevates and distinguishes this art form. It is this enfolding context that challenges us to transform planning and building opportunities into the exalted realm of architecture. Architects by design investigate the play of volumes in light, explore the mysteries of movement in space, examine the measure that is scale and proportion, and, above all, they search for that special quality that is the spirit of the place, as no building exists alone.
The practice of architecture is a collective enterprise, with many individuals of various disciplines and talents working closely together. And from the commissioning to the completion of a project, there are also the many individuals for whom architects work, whose contribution to quality is frequently as crucial as that of the architect. So I accept this prize for all who have worked with me in this unique undertaking. Let us all be attentive to new ideas, to advancing means, to dawning needs, to impetuses of change so that we may achieve, beyond architectural originality, a harmony of spirit in the service of man.*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A., June 2, 1983

National Gallery of Art, Ala Est, Washington D.C., U.S.A., 1968-78
In un isolato trapezoidale del piano di L'Enfant, la committenza aveva richiesto un ampliamento del Museo a complemento della struttura esistente in stile *Beaux Arts*.
Il programma richiedeva due diversi edifici con funzioni distinte: un'addizione al Museo e un edificio per uffici e centro studi. Per soddisfare entrambe le esigenze in un luogo così difficile, l'Ala Est, eseguita in marmo rosa del Tennessee come il Museo originario, assume la forma di un trapezio diviso nettamente in due triangoli, uno per ciascuna delle due funzioni. In pianta, sezione e prospetto, i due volumi collegati instaurano un dialogo spaziale e geometrico, rendendo l'edificio un tutt'uno con l'arte che ospita.

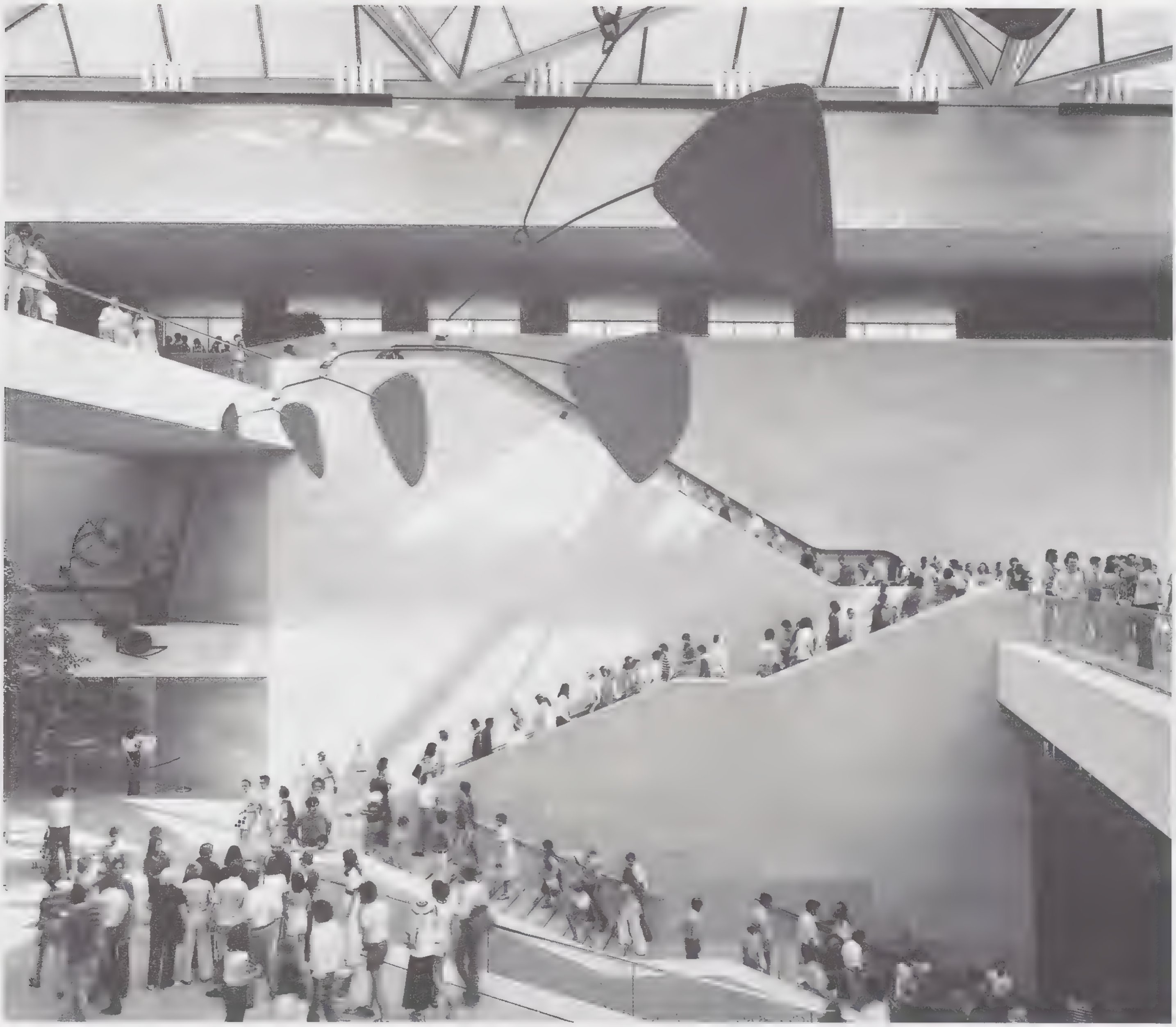
National Gallery of Art, East Wing, Washington D.C., U.S.A., 1968-78
On a trapezoidal site designated in L'Enfant's original plan for Washington D.C., the client requested a museum expansion facility that would complement the existing Beaux Arts *structure in both character and axis. The program essentially called for two different buildings with distinct functions: a museum component and an office building and study-center. To accomodate both requirements on the difficult site, the East Wing, executed like the original museum in pink Tennessee marble, takes the form of trapezoid sliced sharply into two triangles – one for each building function. In plan, section and elevation, the two interlocking volumes engage in an inseparable spatial and geometric dialogue, much as the building itself becomes one with the art it houses.*

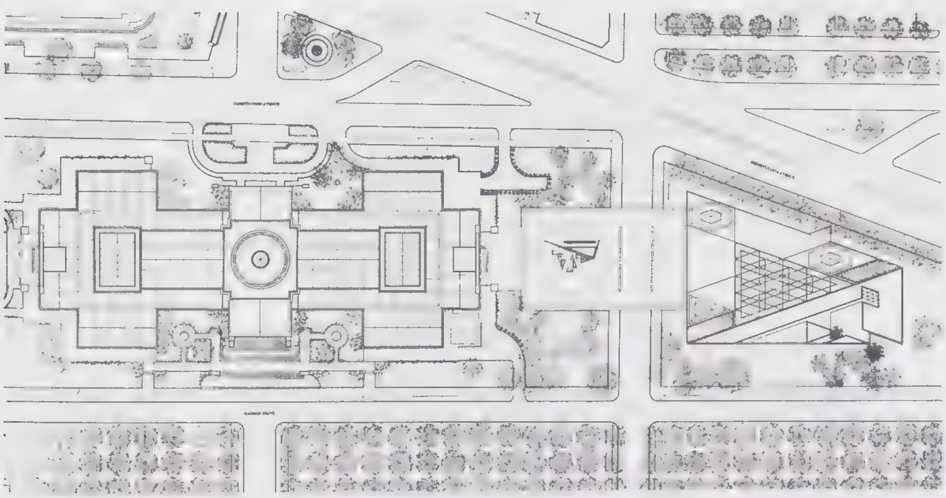




Ieoh Ming Pei, National Gallery of Art, Ala Est, Washington D.C., U.S.A., 1968-78. Vista esterna del prospetto principale, vista generale dal viale e vista interna dell'atrio. Foto E. Stoller/Esto. Planimetria generale.

Ieoh Ming Pei, National Gallery of Art, East Wing, Washington D.C., U.S.A., 1968-78. External view of main elevation, general view from the avenue and internal view of the atrium. Photos E. Stoller/Esto. General plan.



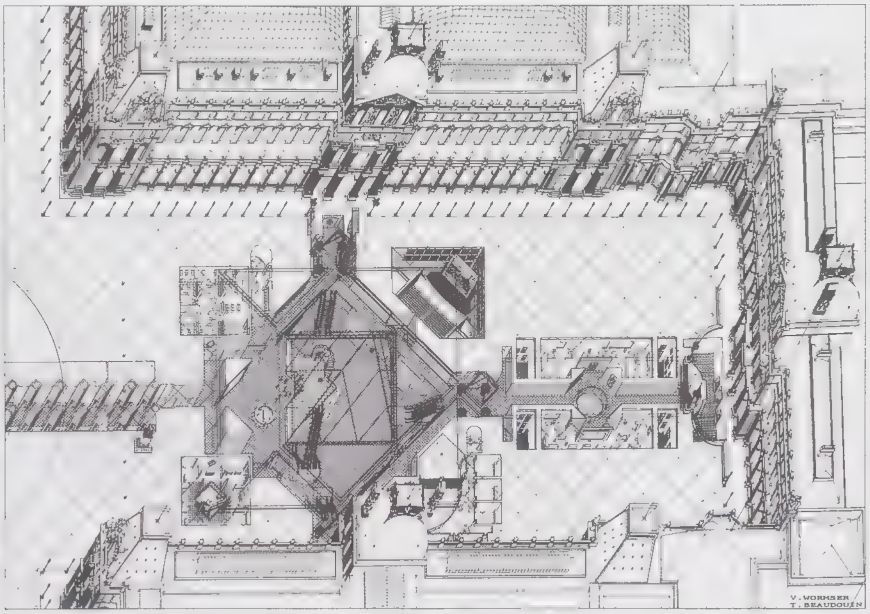


Grand Louvre, Parigi, Francia, 1983-93
Ieoh Ming Pei

Il Louvre rappresenta un simbolo del popolo e della cultura francesi da quasi otto secoli. Nel 1981 il presidente François Mitterand volle che questo grande monumento nazionale venisse modernizzato, ampliato e maggiormente integrato alla città, senza comprometterne l'integrità e la valenza storica. Il fatto che il Louvre fosse stato concepito e utilizzato a lungo come Palazzo reale rendeva l'operazione estremamente complessa; l'edificio non era adeguato ad ospitare un museo.
Il progetto ha implicato due tipi di intervento: la riorganizzazione dell'edificio a "U" intorno alla grande corte e, al centro, la costruzione di una piramide di vetro alta m 21. La piramide è il nuovo ingresso principale al Museo. Essa consente di accedere direttamente alle gallerie poste nelle tre ali e in precedenza scollegate. La piramide serve inoltre da lucernario per l'amplissima addizione (più di mq 46.000) costruita sotto la grande corte, che ospita indispensabili supporti tecnici e servizi al pubblico: un ingresso centrale, servizi per i visitatori e il personale, banchi informazioni, negozi, ristoranti, un auditorium con 450 posti oltre a due gallerie per esposizioni temporanee, depositi, laboratori di restauro e i resti da poco rinvenuti del Palazzo medievale di Filippo Augusto. Una balconata sulla quale affacciano due caffè circonda la Sala Napoleonica in corrispondenza del mezzanino e consente di accedere direttamente alle collezioni collocate nelle ali storiche.
La seconda fase del progetto, ultimata in occasione del bicentenario del Museo nel novembre del 1993, ha visto la conversione dell'Ala Richelieu da sede per gli uffici del Ministero delle Finanze a spazio espositivo di circa mq 36.000, rendendo il Louvre il più esteso museo del mondo.

Grand Louvre, Paris, France, 1983-93
Ieoh Ming Pei

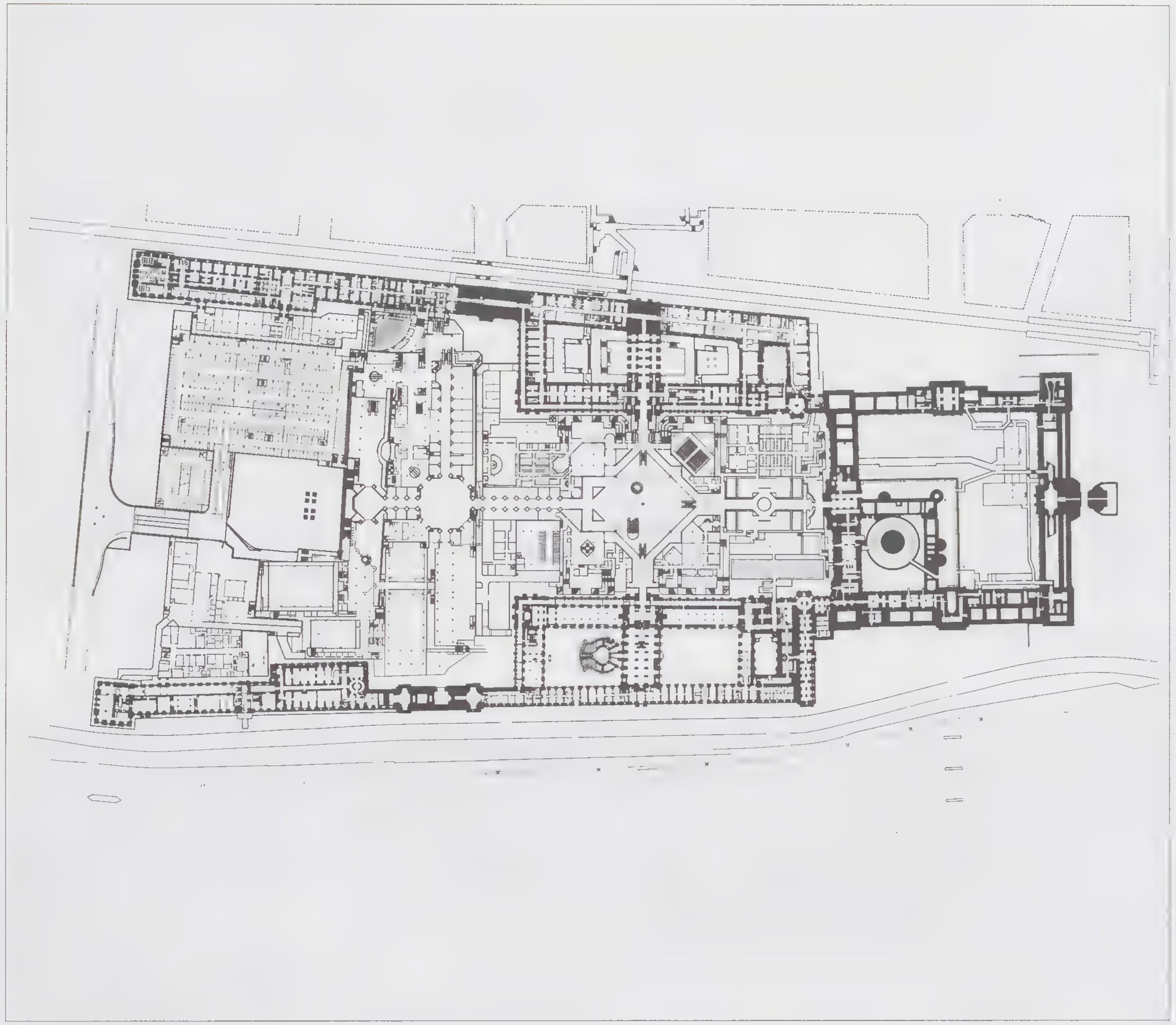
For nearly eight centuries the Louvre has been central to the French people and nation. In 1981, President François Mitterand requested that this unique national monument be modernized, expanded and better integrated with the city – all without compromising the integrity of the historic building. The challenge was magnified by the fact that the Louvre was originally constructed and utilized for most of its life as a royal palace; the building was fundamentally ill-suited to serve as a museum.
The 2-phase solution involved the reorganization of the U-shaped building around a focal courtyard and the construction of a 70-foot high glass pyramid at center. The pyramid serves as the new main entrance to the entire museum, providing direct access to previously dispersed galleries in each of its three wings. Critically, the pyramid also serves as a skylight for the very large expansion building (well over a half-million square feet) that has been constructed under the courtyard to provide the museum with greatly needed technical support and public amenities: central reception, tourist and staff facilities, information desks, shops, restaurants, and a 45-seat auditorium, as well as two temporary exhibition galleries, storage rooms, restoration studios and the newly excavated remains of Philippe Auguste's medieval palace. An open balcony with two cafés rings the Hall Napoleon at mezzanine level, also providing direct access to art collections in the existing wings.
Phase II of the project, completed on the bicentennial of the museum in November 1993, involved the conversion of the Richelieu Wing from offices of the Ministry of Finance into 387,000 square feet of exhibition space, rendering the Louvre the largest museum in the world.

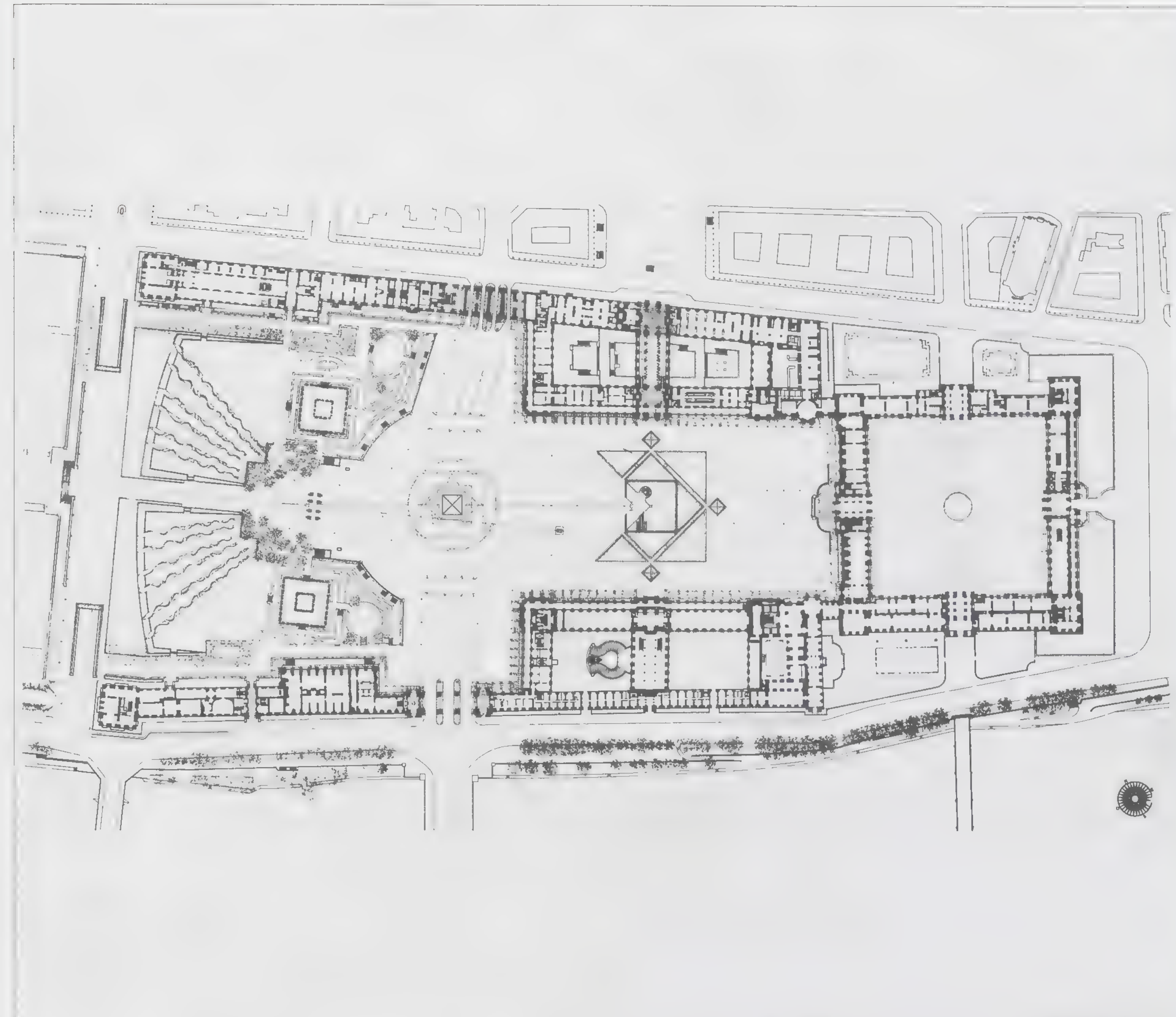




Ieoh Ming Pei, Grand Louvre, Parigi,
Francia, 1983-93.
Vista da ovest della Corte Napoleone.
Foto S. Hambourg.
Spaccato assonometrico.

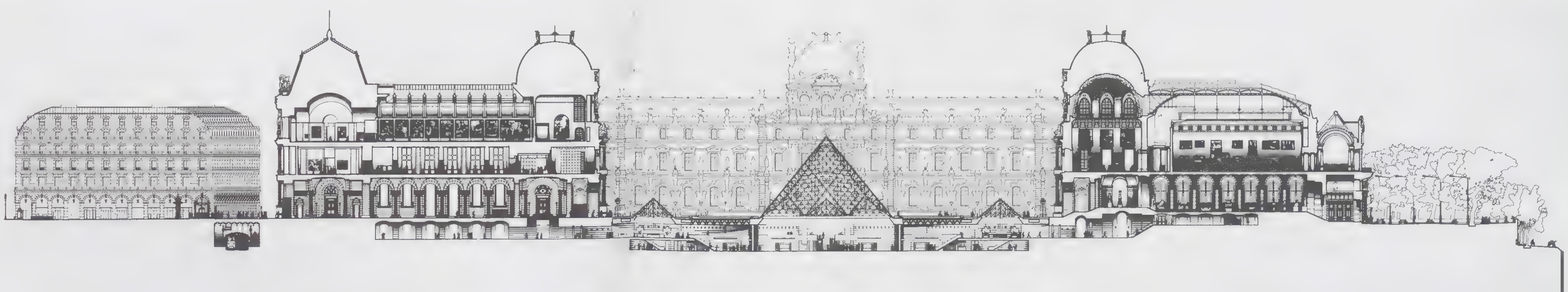
Ieoh Ming Pei, Grand Louvre, Paris,
France, 1983-93.
View of the Napoleon Courtyard from the west.
Photo S. Hambourg.
Cutaway axonometric.

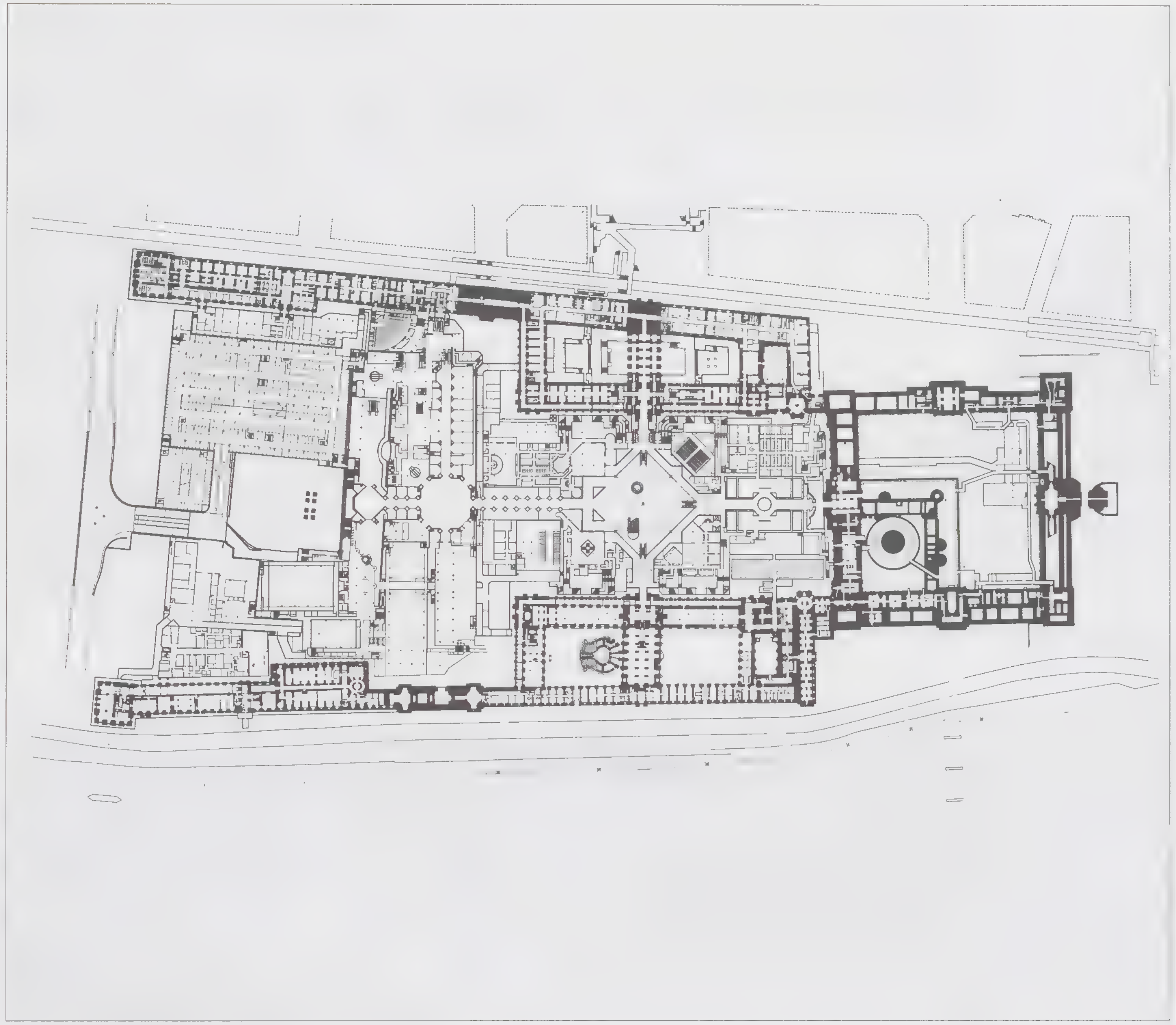


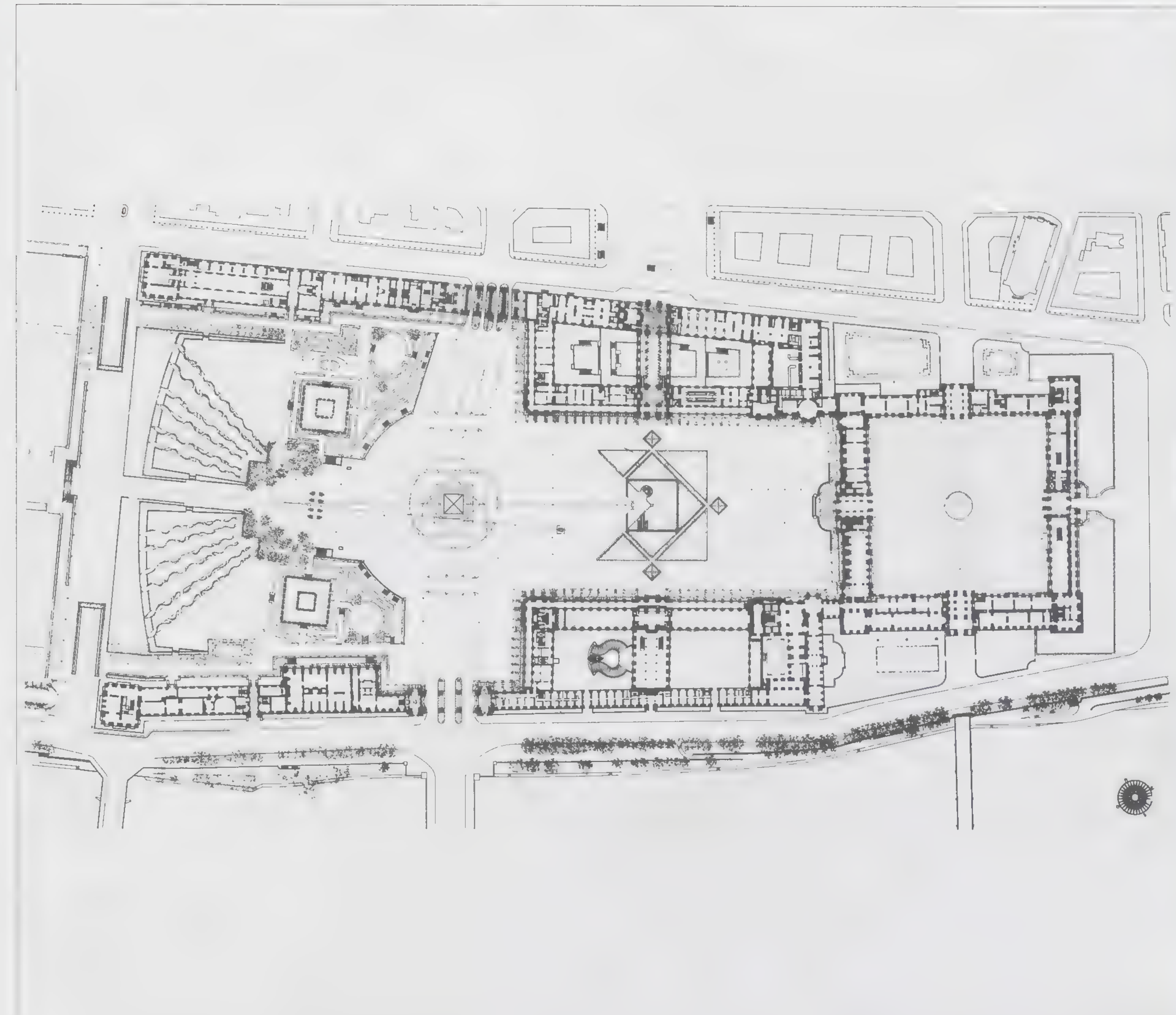


Ieoh Ming Pei, Grand Louvre, Parigi, Francia, 1983-93.
Piante dei piani ipogeo e terreno, sezione longitudinale.

Ieoh Ming Pei, Grand Louvre, Paris, France, 1983-93.
Plans of basement and ground floors, longitudinal section.

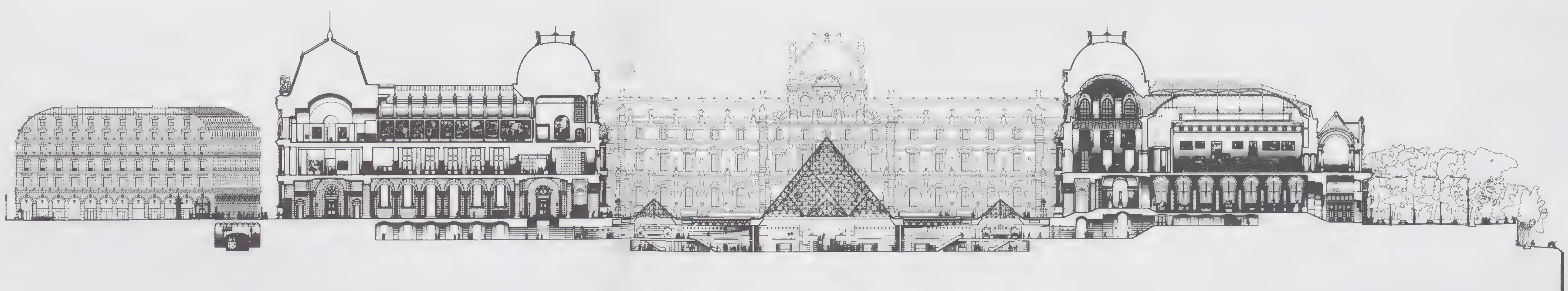






Ieoh Ming Pei, Grand Louvre, Parigi, Francia, 1983-93.
Piante dei piani ipogeo e terreno, sezione longitudinale.

Ieoh Ming Pei, Grand Louvre, Paris, France, 1983-93.
Plans of basement and ground floors, longitudinal section.





Ieoh Ming Pei, Grand Louvre, Parigi, Francia, 1983-93.
Vista interna della piramide d'ingresso. Foto S. Hambourg.
Vista interna della piramide d'ingresso. Foto K. Horiuchi, per gentile concessione di Pei, Cobb, Freed and Partners.

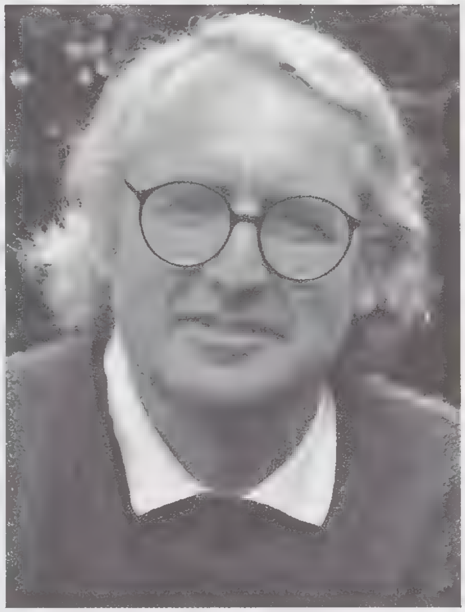
Ieoh Ming Pei, Grand Louvre, Paris, France, 1983-93.
Internal view of entrance pyramid. Photo S. Hambourg.
Internal view of entrance pyramid. Photo K. Horiuchi, courtesy of Pei, Cobb, Freed and Partners.



Richard Meier, 1984. *We honor Richard Meier for his single-minded pursuit of the essence of modern architecture. He has broadened its range of forms to make it responsive to the expectations of our time.*
In his search for clarity and his experiments in balancing light and space, he has created structures which are personal, vigorous, original.
What he has achieved is only prologue to the compelling new experiences we anticipate from his drawing board.
The Jury

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The Jury

Richard Meier, 1984
Premiamo Richard Meier per la sua rigorosa ricerca dell'essenza dell'architettura moderna. Egli ha ampliato il repertorio formale di quest'architettura per renderla rispondente alle aspettative del nostro tempo.
Ricercando la chiarezza e sperimentando un equilibrio di luce e spazio, egli ha creato strutture personali, vigorose, originali.
Ciò a cui è pervenuto finora non è che un prologo alle esperienze sempre seducenti anticipate sul suo tavolo da disegno.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Arata Isozaki, Philip Johnson, J. Irwin Miller, Kevin Roche, Thomas J. Watson Jr., Carleton Smith (Secretary to the Jury), Arthur Drexler (Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., U.S.A., May 15, 1984

Considerazioni di architettura
Richard Meier

Il Movimento Moderno mise in questione la tendenza allora predominante a riprodurre servilmente il passato, e sottrasse bruscamente l'architettura alla schiavitù dorata dell'opinione corrente e a una confortevole banalità senza speranza. Esso ha cambiato il nostro modo di vedere e di pensare l'architettura, mettendo in relazione le idee circa forma, proporzioni, luce, scala con quelle di sito, funzione, materiali, tecnologie. Ma in questo tentativo di ampliare il campo morfogenetico la tecnologia divenne preminente, quasi che, nel loro rapporto d'amore con la macchina e con la fredda luce della pura ragione, gli architetti moderni avessero smarrito quella sensualità che è alla base del nostro essere estetico. La mentalità eroica sopraffece la sua stessa visione spirituale; quando all'immaginazione e alla mano dell'architetto si sostituisce l'idea della macchina, il risultato è una profonda alienazione dell'uomo dal suo ambiente. Ai nostri occhi i maestri del Movimento Moderno si sono identificati troppo rigidamente con l'idea e con le potenzialità della produzione di massa e dell'uomo industriale, che per noi sono diventate un semplice dato di fatto, una delle tante risorse a disposizione dell'architetto. Oggi noi diamo per scontata la validità strutturale e spaziale del Movimento Moderno, e ogni nuovo miracolo costruttivo ci affascina solo fino a un certo punto. Per me la tecnologia non è più la sostanza dell'architettura, ma solo un suo strumento; la sostanza della mia architettura è l'architettura stessa.

L'astrazione rappresenta ancora uno dei retaggi più attivi del periodo eroico, e continua a stimolarci a ideare e ad elaborare nuovi modi di organizzare e interpretare secondo geometria le attività umane. Vari sistemi formali compiutamente sviluppati, come De Stijl, il Purismo o il Costruttivismo, hanno saputo esprimere l'importanza dell'architettura e i suoi rapporti col mondo delle macchine e con la poesia dello spazio.

Ciò che io cerco di fare è di superare i limiti formali dell'architettura moderna per includere in essa l'idea di una bellezza modellata dalla luce. Il mio intento è creare una specie di lirismo spaziale entro i canoni della forma pura.

Nelle mie opere vado ampliando ed elaborando quella che a me sembra la base formale del Movimento Moderno: la capacità di aprire una frattura nell'equilibrio classico della pianta. Attraverso questa frattura lo spirito del Ventesimo secolo può muoversi liberamente, così che il trovarsi in un edificio non è più un'esperienza statica, ma un'esperienza continuamente mutevole.

La frattura resa possibile nel Novecento dalla pianta libera, dalla facciata libera, dalla separazione fra struttura e involucro – fondamenti formali del Movimento Moderno – ha promosso un nuovo genere di ricerca volumetrica, che sembra contenere tuttora molte possibilità.

La grande promessa, la ricchezza di alcuni principi formali

Statements on Architecture
Richard Meier

The Modern Movement questioned the prevailing attitude of slavishly recreating the past. It yanked architecture out of the padded yoke of popular opinion, out of the comfortable despair of the banal. It changed the way we look and think about architecture so that ideas about place, use, materials and technology are related to ideas about form, proportion, light, and scale. In striving to broaden the morphogenetic field, technology became paramount. But, it is as if in their love affair with the machine, with the cool light of the purely rational, they lost touch with the sensual, the ground of our aesthetic being. The heroic mind overwhelmed its own spiritual vision, for when the idea of the machine replaces the idea of the mind's eye and the architect's hand, there comes that deep alienation of man from his environment. Whereas the Modern masters seemed to our eyes to be too rigidly identified with the idea and potential of mass production, of industrial man, this is now a fact of life, simply one of a number of resources at the architect's disposal. We now assume the tectonic and spatial authority of the Modern Movement, each new miracle of building holds only limited fascination. For me, technology is no longer the subject of architecture, but simply the means.

Architecture is subject of my architecture.

Abstraction in architecture continues to be one of the most powerful legacies of the Heroic Period. It continues to provoke us to invent and to elaborate on ways to geometrically organize and interpret human activities. Distinct and completely evolved plastic systems such as De Stijl, Purism and Constructivism each embodied the thought that architecture was important and dealt with aspects of the machine and the poetry of space.

What I seek to do is to pursue the plastic limits of Modern Architecture to include a notion of beauty molded by light. My wish is to create a kind of spatial lyricism within the canon of pure form.

In my work, I am expanding and elaborating on what I consider to be the formal basis of the Modern Movement – the ability to crack open an otherwise classically balanced plan. The spirit of the twentieth century is allowed to go in and out through that crack, so that the experience of being in a building is not static, but ever-changing.

This twentieth century fissure made possible by the free plan, the free facade, the separation of structure and skin, the whole formal basis of the modern movement, fostered a new kind of volumetric exploration, one that still seems to hold many possibilities.

The great promise and richness of some of the formal tenets of modernism have almost unlimited areas for investigation. I am still taken with the poetics of modernism, the beauty and utility of technology. I reject the representational and embrace the abstract. Mine is a preoccupation with space, not scaleless space, but space

del Moderno offrono spazi pressoché illimitati all'indagine. Sono ancora attratto dalla poetica moderna, dalla bellezza e dall'utilità della tecnologia. Rifiuto la raffigurazione e mi dedico all'astrazione: ciò che m'interessa è lo spazio, non uno spazio indipendente dalla scala, ma uno spazio ordinato e definito in relazione alla luce, alla scala umana e alla cultura architettonica.
L'architettura è vitale e durevole in quanto ci contiene, in quanto delinea lo spazio di cui facciamo uso, in cui viviamo e ci muoviamo. Lavoro utilizzando volumi e superfici, manipolando le forme nella luce, i mutamenti di scala e di punto di vista, la stasi e il movimento.
Molte delle mie fonti appartengono alla storia dell'architettura, ma le mie citazioni e allusioni non sono mai letterali: l'eloquio è sempre interiorizzato, le metafore sono puramente architettoniche. I miei principi compositivi fondamentali sono ispirati a una purezza che deriva in parte dalla distinzione fra ciò che è naturale e ciò che è opera dell'uomo: distinzione che serve ad associare i due termini in un rapporto di complementarità. Vedo l'intervento dell'uomo come un'organizzazione estetica dell'ambiente, e cerco di stabilire un sistema coerente di valori interdipendenti, un'armonica correlazione tra le parti, intesa come risoluzione di tutto l'intreccio di problemi riguardanti la forma e la funzionalità.
Soprattutto, è necessario che vi sia un mutuo coinvolgimento tra la concezione di un edificio e la sua manifestazione materiale.
Il mio rigore è una ricerca di chiarezza, che per me comincia dalla pianta: a quanto pare negli ultimi tempi essa è stata trascurata, ma in realtà è l'elemento chiave. In quest'immagine bidimensionale sono contenute le istruzioni necessarie per realizzare quell'oggetto tridimensionale che è l'edificio: insieme con le sezioni, essa genera l'edificio. Mentre i prospetti tendono a dare una visione pittorica, le piante e le sezioni parlano all'architetto di idee spaziali. La pianta è l'espressione più convincente ed essenziale dell'idea architettonica.
Credo fermamente che gli edifici debbano avere un linguaggio. Nelle mie opere l'uso costante di uno specifico lessico di elementi e di temi, avente una sua coerenza interna, mi ha fornito uno strumento di espressione unitario e capace di evolversi. Col tempo il processo di manipolazione e di montaggio di questo lessico nel contesto urbano e storico si è fatto più complesso e generalizzato, secondo un'evoluzione intellettuale parallela all'aumentare della portata e della complessità degli incarichi ricevuti.
Inizialmente la progettazione di un certo numero di abitazioni private mi ha offerto l'occasione di sviluppare le mie idee sull'architettura, inventando e mettendo alla prova il mio vocabolario e il mio insieme di valori. I progetti dell'ultimo decennio hanno riguardato invece un'ampia gamma di contesti, che va da edifici praticamente isolati e autonomi ad altri inseriti in un tessuto urbano.
In tutte queste opere, nonostante la disparità di scala e destinazione, è emersa un'interrelazione dialettica di fondo tra spazio pubblico e spazio privato e tra edificio e contesto. In particolare, nelle mie opere è stata sempre presente l'idea, anch'essa essenzialmente urbana, di percorso architettonico e di sequenza spaziale.
L'architettura è un'arte fatta di realtà, di idee spaziali materializzate. In mezzo alle esigenze poste dalla destinazione, dal sito, dall'ambiente e dalle tecnologie edilizie, l'architetto deve far sì che l'edificio si esprima nel linguaggio dei materiali e delle articolazioni superficiali.
L'architettura è fatta per essere guardata con gli occhi e con la mente, ma è altrettanto importante che sia vissuta e gustata con tutti i sensi.
Non può esistere una forma architettonica che non sia riferita all'esperienza umana, così come non è possibile accostarsi a un'esperienza architettonica senza essere predisposti a cogliere i valori sensuali e tattili della forma e dello spazio. D'altra parte, il sito stimola l'architetto a trovare un preciso rapporto di stretta reciprocità fra opera costruita e ambiente naturale.
Ciò implica l'armonia delle parti, un metodo razionale, l'attenzione ai valori proporzionali, l'esattezza dei particolari, l'onestà strutturale, l'aderenza alla destinazione e, non ultimo, il rispetto per la scala umana.
Oltre che alla tendenza tipicamente americana all'apertura, alla cordialità, alla flessibilità e all'invenzione, la mia concezione dell'edificio è legata agli ideali – di provenienza soprattutto europea – di continuità, specificità e storicità.
La migliore architettura è quella in cui si attua un'integrazione tra scala umana e grandiosità civica, tra semplicità decorativa e ricchezza di materiali, tra l'interesse per l'innovazione tecnica e il rispetto per i precedenti storici.
La dialettica urbana si svolge essenzialmente, a tutti i livelli, fra il tipico e l'episodico, il pubblico e il privato, il tessuto e la discontinuità, la storia e il presente.
Credo che la mia opera possa essere vista come una serie di indagini sull'interscambio spaziale tra la sfera pubblica e quella privata: interscambio che si esprime in varie forme, ma che è sempre riferito in qualche modo all'idea di percorso architettonico, di passaggio.
La mia opera è un tentativo di trovare e ridefinire un senso dell'ordine, di cogliere un rapporto fra ciò che è stato e ciò che può essere; è un tentativo di far emergere dalla nostra cultura sia l'attualità, sia ciò che è fuori del tempo. È questo per me il fondamento dello stile: la decisione di includere o escludere, la scelta, l'ultima istanza della volontà e dell'intelletto individuali.
Sostanzialmente le mie riflessioni riguardano lo spazio, la forma, la luce e il modo di realizzarli. Il fine non è l'illusione, ma l'essere; e io perseguo instancabilmente questo fine, convinto che sia il cuore e l'anima dell'architettura.

New York, 8 giugno 1994

whose order and definition are related to light, to human scale and to the culture of architecture.
Architecture is vital and enduring because it contains us; it describes space, space we move through, exist in and use. I work with volume and surface; I manipulate forms in light, changes of scale and view, movement and stasis.
My sources include many from the history of architecture, but my quotes and allusions are never literal; my meanings are always internalized, my metaphors purely architectural. My primary ordering principles have to do with a kind of purity that derives in part from the inherent distinction between the man-made and the natural. This distinction serves to reunite the two in a complementary relationship. I see man's intervention as an aesthetic organization of the environment. I seek to impose a coherent system of mutually dependent values, a harmonious relationship of parts. By this, I mean a resolution of all the interlocking issues of form, function and fitness. Above all, there has to be a reciprocal involvement between the concept for a building and its physical manifestation.
My rigor is a search for clarity. This search, for me, begins with the plan. The plan which seems to have been neglected of late, is in fact the key. This two-dimensional image contains within it the instructions for the three-dimensional object that is the building. Together with the section, it generates the building. While the elevation tends to pictorialize, the plan and section speak to the architect about spatial ideas. But the plan is the most convincing and fundamental expression of the architectural idea.
I do believe that buildings should speak. In my work, the use of a specific and internally consistent vocabulary of elements and themes over the years has allowed me a coherent, evolutionary means of expression. The process by which I manipulate and assemble this vocabulary within the urban and historical context has become more complex and comprehensive, an intellectual progression which has coincided with the growing scope and complexity of our recent commissions.
At the beginning, the design of a number of private houses provided me with a fine opportunity to develop my ideas about architecture. With them, I found and tested my vocabulary and set of values. In my more recent projects of the past ten years, the contexts have varied greatly, ranging from virtually freestanding and autonomous buildings to ones that existed within an urban fabric.
Despite the disparity of scale and program, however, interrelated ideas about the basic dialogues between public and private space and between building and context have emerged in all of these. In particular, the notion of architectural promenade, spatial sequence – also a fundamentally urban conception – has been a constant in my work.
Architecture is an art of substance, of materialized ideas about space. Between the demands of program, site, locale, and building technology the architect has to find a means of making buildings communicate in the language of materials and textures. Buildings are for the contemplation of the eyes and mind, but also, no less importantly, to be experienced and savored by all the human senses.
You cannot have form in architecture which is unrelated to human experience; and you cannot approach an understanding of experience, in terms of architecture, without a strongly sensuous and tactile attitude toward form and space. The site invites the architect to search out a precise and exquisitely reciprocal relationship between built architecture and natural topography.
This implies a harmony of parts; a rational procedure; a concern for qualities of proportion, a precision of detail, constructional integrity, programmatic appropriateness, and, not least, a respect for human scale. Beside this American attitude of openness, warmth, flexibility, and invention, my vision of the building also has to do with a more European-delivered ideal of permanence, specificity, and history.
Architecture at its best is an integration of human scale with civic grandeur, decorative simplicity with material richness, an interest in technical innovation with a respect for historical precedent. The essential urban dialogue takes place between type and incident, between history and the present moment. It is a dialogue that exists at every scale.
I believe it is possible to see my work as a sequence of investigations into the spatial interchange between public and private realms. This interchange expresses itself in varying conceptions but is always related in some way to a notion of architectural promenade, to an idea of passage.
My work is an attempt to find and redefine a sense of order, to understand, then, a relationship between what has been and what can be. To extract from our culture both the timeless and the topical. This, to me, is the basis of style, the decision to include or exclude, choice, the final exercise of the individual will and intellect.
Fundamentally, my meditations are on space, form, light and how to make them. The goal is presence, not illusion. I pursue it with unrelenting vigor and believe that it is the heart and soul of architecture.

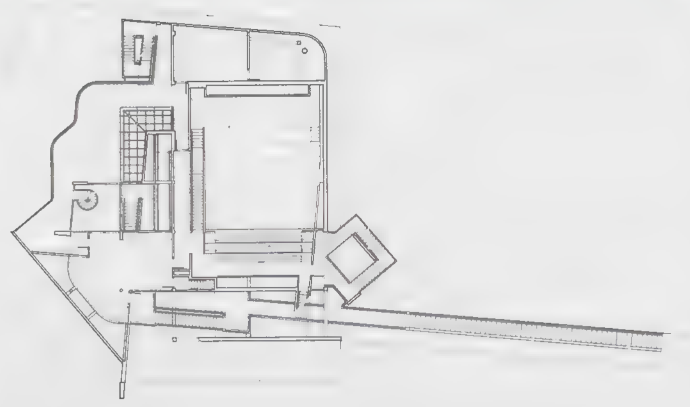
New York, June 8, 1994





Richard Meier, The Atheneum, New Harmony, Indiana, U.S.A., 1975-79.
Viste esterne e viste di dettaglio.
Foto E. Stoller/Esto.
Pianta del piano terzo e prospettiva di studio.

Richard Meier, The Atheneum, New Harmony, Indiana, U.S.A., 1975-79.
External and detail views.
Photos E. Stoller/Esto.
Third-floor plan and perspective study.

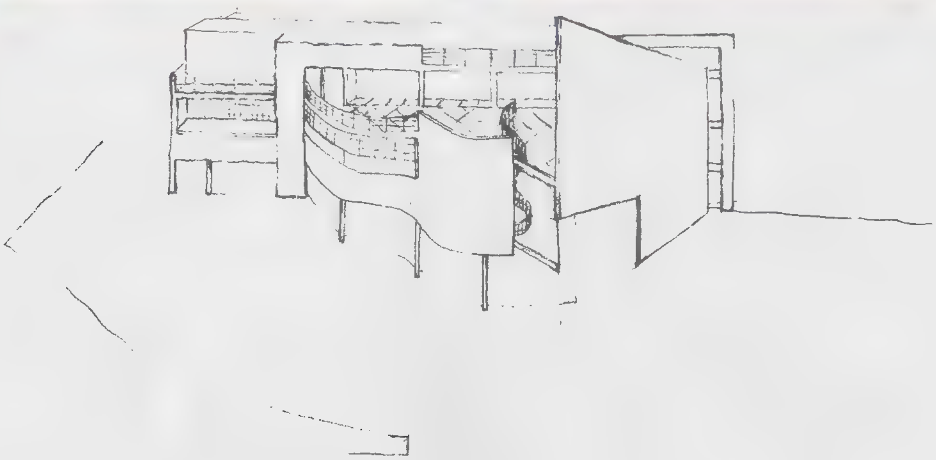












The Atheneum, New Harmony, Indiana, U.S.A., 1975-79
L'Atheneum, situato presso le rive del fiume Wabash al margine di New Harmony, è il punto di partenza per le visite alla città storica e vuole essere un centro d'orientamento per i visitatori e una sede per gli eventi culturali della comunità. La sua architettura è concepita al tempo stesso come *promenade* architettonica e come itinerario storico, essendo stata New Harmony una delle più significative comunità utopistiche d'America. I visitatori che arrivano dal fiume sbarcano su un sentiero che attraverso il prato porta all'edificio. Oltrepassata la soglia, il vano d'ingresso guida il visitatore ai piedi di una rampa di circolazione che disegna un percorso continuo all'interno dell'edificio, del quale rappresenta l'armatura principale. Con la rampa, che si innalza dalla griglia ortogonale e riprende l'inclinazione di cinque gradi del sentiero proveniente dal fiume, l'intero edificio acquista movimento, dato che la geometria sovrapposta delle griglie induce un senso spaziale in alcuni punti di compressione, in altri di tensione e quasi di collisione. Collisione che si ripercuote in tutto l'interno, grazie alla rampa che, illuminata dall'alto, assorbe entrambe le griglie tanto in pianta che in sezione.

The Atheneum, New Harmony, Indiana, U.S.A., 1975-79
The Atheneum, located near the banks of the Wabash River at the edge of New Harmony, is the starting point for the tour of the historic town, and is intended to serve as a center for visitor orientation and community cultural events. Its architecture is conceived in terms of the linked ideas of architectural promenade and historical journey. Historically New Harmony was one of the most significant utopian communities in America.
A visitor arriving by boat is deposited on the path that leads up through the field to the building. Once the visitor has crossed the threshold, the entry box propels him to the foot of the internal circulation ramp. From here, the entire movement system through the building is a continuous experience, in which the interior ramp is chief mediator and armature. As the ramp winds upward from the orthogonal grid and regains the five-degree offset orientation of the path from the river, the entire building is set in motion, the geometry of overlaid grids inducing a sense of spatial compression at certain points, tension at others, of grids almost colliding. This collision resonates throughout the complex interior as the ramp, illuminated by light from above, resolves the two grids in plan and section.

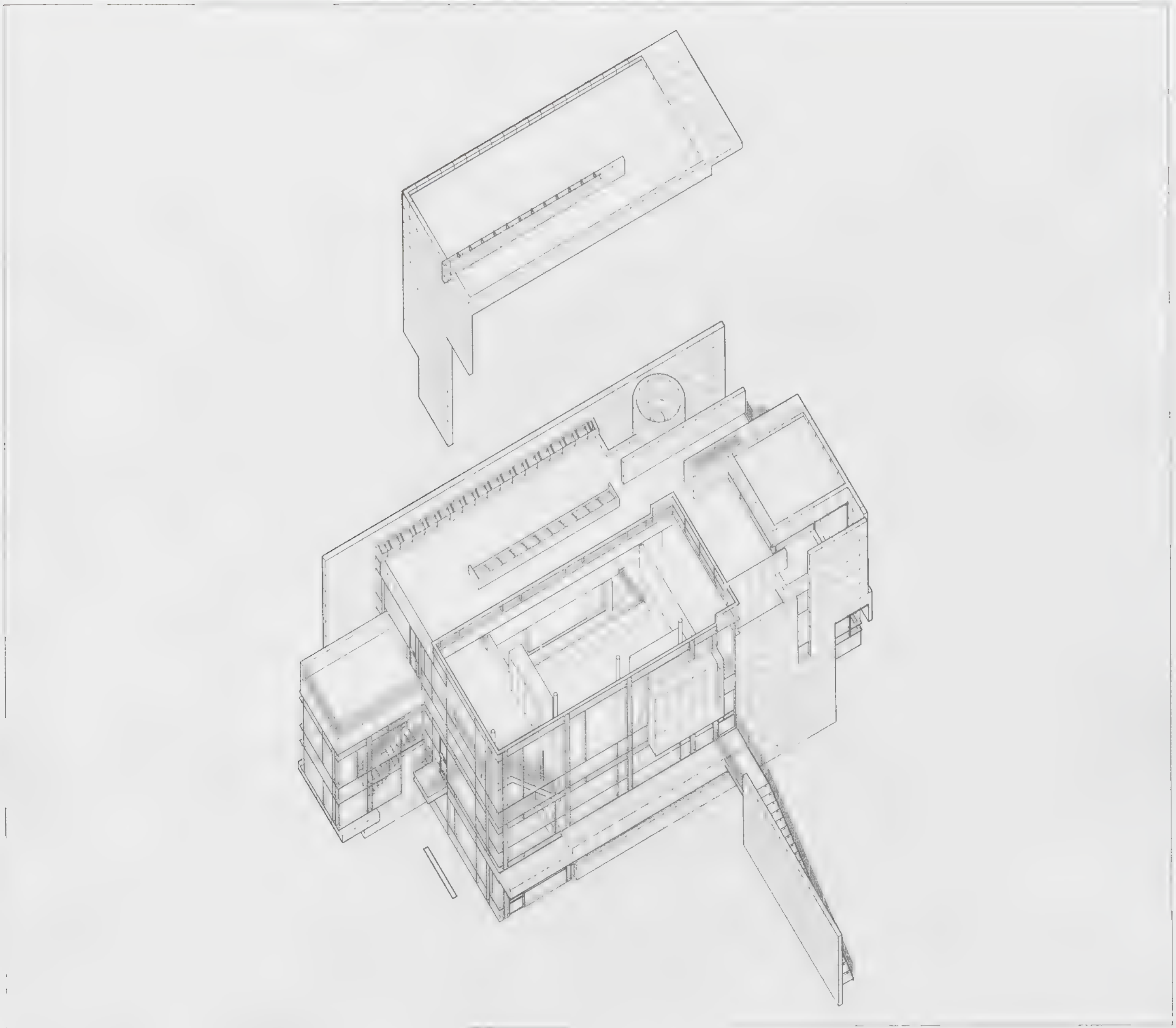
Casa Rachofsky II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., 1991-94
Richard Meier and Partners

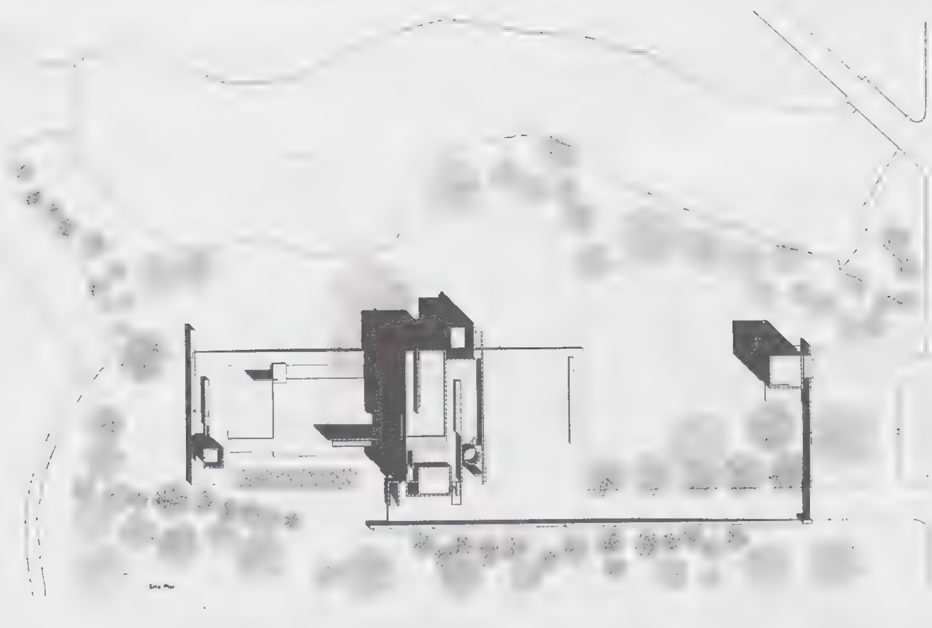
Casa Rachofsky è un "aggregato" di edifici distribuiti lungo un sito di tre acri, stretto e parzialmente boschivo, alla periferia di Dallas. Essa crea una serie di zone allineate trasversalmente lungo un asse che percorre il sito in tutta la sua lunghezza. A nord il confine è marcato longitudinalmente da un piccolo lago che costituisce il principale panorama visibile dalla casa. A est, sul fronte di accesso al sito, un muro e la casa del custode proteggono lo spazio che fronteggia la struttura principale, una residenza di tre piani che rappresenta il nucleo della composizione. Essa divide il sito in due zone distinte, una pubblica e l'altra privata. Sul retro della casa un podio ospita spazi ricreativi privati quali una piscina, un prato, un bar e un padiglione. In assenza di panorami spettacolari nei dintorni del sito, la casa poggia su una base di granito nero che rappresenta un "luogo" di attività pubblica e privata. Ricalcando la forma della pianta in corrispondenza del piano terreno, il basamento nella sua continuità di superficie serve da elemento formale che allude all'evidente separazione tra interno e esterno.
Tralasciando questo elemento dominante che rappresenta sia il dato essenziale sia un confine formale, la casa in se stessa è suddivisa in tre parti: due di esse racchiudono le funzioni interne della residenza, un volume cubico destinato alle funzioni private per le quali sono necessari spazi chiusi e, accanto a questo, uno spazio vuoto definito da un piano ripiegato a formare il tetto e da un piano verticale a nord. Questo grande spazio ospita le zone di soggiorno. La principale si trova al secondo livello e domina il paesaggio circostante e il giardino. L'altro elemento essenziale assume la forma di un piano verticale sospeso e vuole essere sia una facciata frontale sia un diaframma tra il fronte pubblico e il retro privato. Mantenendosi fedele a un repertorio "purista" di forme plastiche, la composizione di facciata crea un *collage* di elementi come avviene in una "natura morta" architettonica, infondendo all'intero sito una qualità pittoresca.

Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., 1991-94
Richard Meier and Partners

The Rachofsky House situates a "grand ensemble" of buildings along a narrow, partially wooded, three acre suburban site in Dallas forming a series of zones aligned transversely along an axis running the entire length of the site. To the north, the site is bounded longitudinally by a small pond which provides the primary view from the resident spaces. To the east, at the entry, a wall and gate house stand as a protective layer to the subsequent space which fronts the main structure. This main three-storey resident structure constitutes the primary mass and focus of the composition and divides the site into its two spatial precincts; one public, one private. To the back of the house proper lies the rear podium containing the private elements of activity such as a lap pool, lawn, bar, and pool pavilion.
In the absence of any grand vistas on or near the site, the house is placed on a black granite podium, which provides a precinct or "place" of public and private activity. Denoting the realm of the plan at the ground plane, the podium in its continuity of surface serves as a formal device alluding to the ostensible division of inside and outside.
Apart from this major podium element establishing both the primary datum and a formal boundary, the main resident structure itself is comprised of three elemental parts. Two of these elements contain the internal programmatic functions of the residence, including a cubic solid housing the private functions accommodated by enclosure, and second, directly adjacent, a contained void defined by a folded plane forming the roof and vertical plane to the north. This large void contains the major living space including the main living room area on the second level commanding a view of the landscape and podium garden. The other primary element takes the form of a vertical plane suspended and constitutes a devisive frontal face while at the same time serving as a buffer between public front and private back. In keeping with a "purist" repertory of plastic form, the resultant frontalized composition creates a collage of elements in the manner of an architectural "still-life", rendering an overall picturesque quality to the entire ensemble.

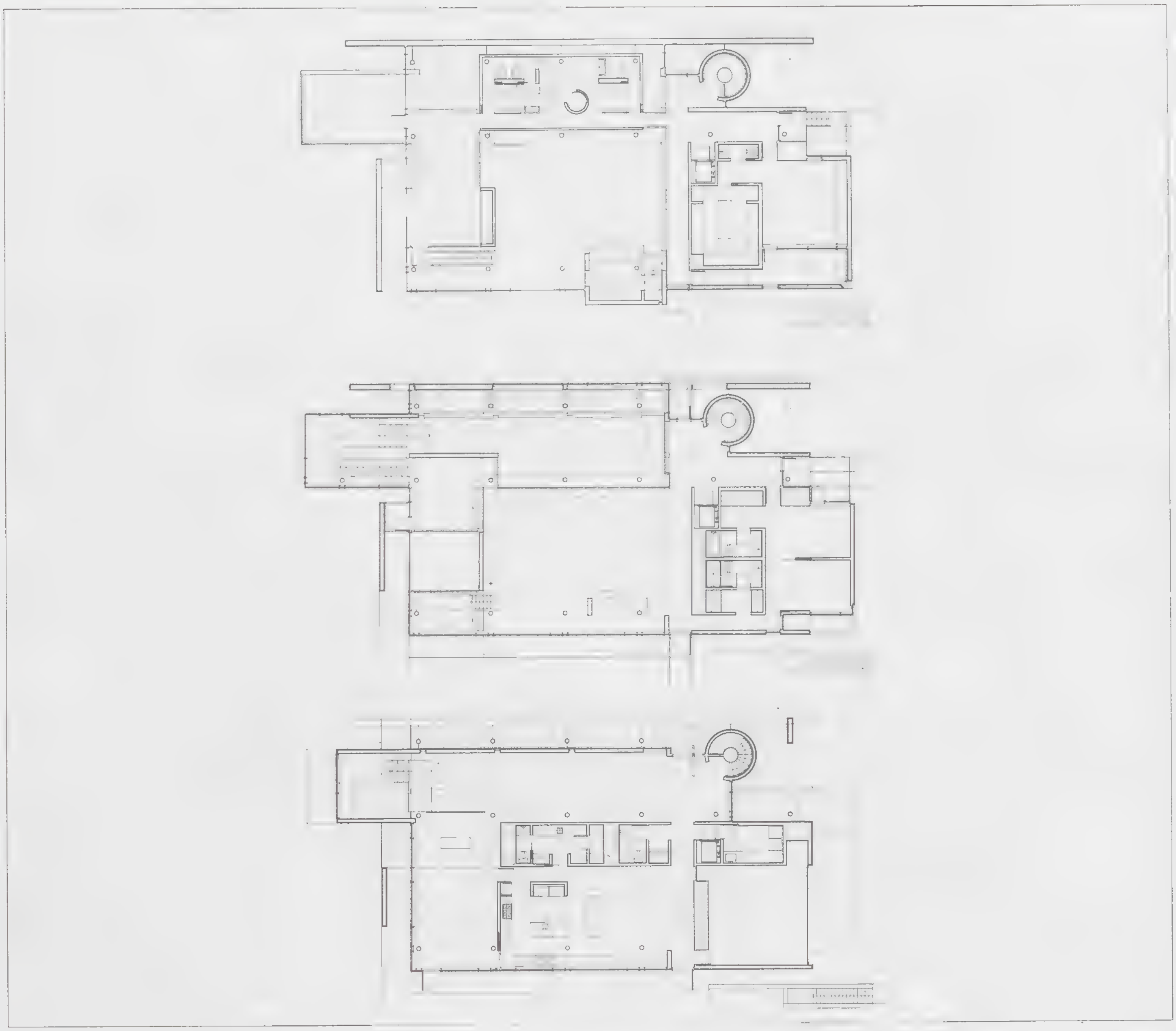


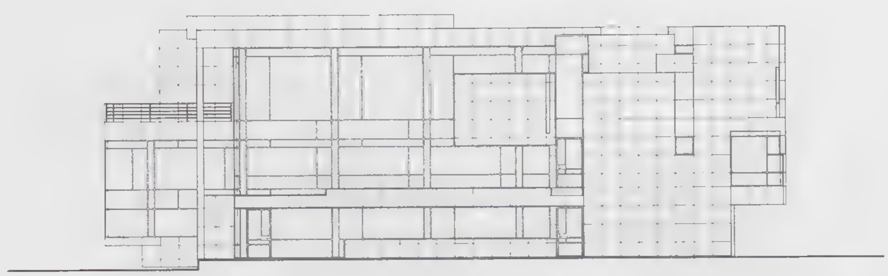




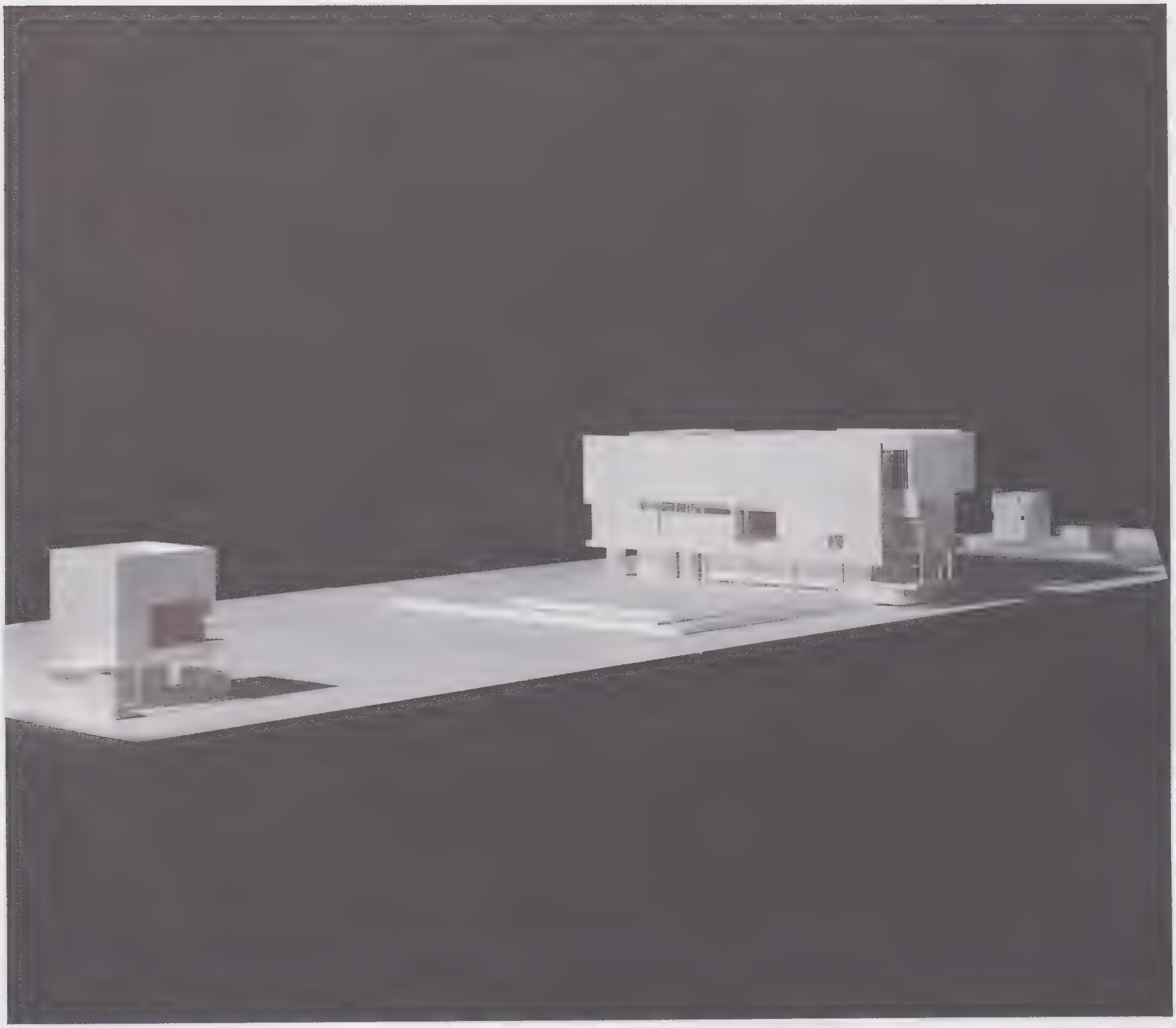
Richard Meier, Casa Rachofsky II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., 1991-94. Assonometria, figura compositiva del piano terreno e planivolumetria.

Richard Meier, Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., 1991-94. Axonometric, Site/Figure ground and volumetric plan.



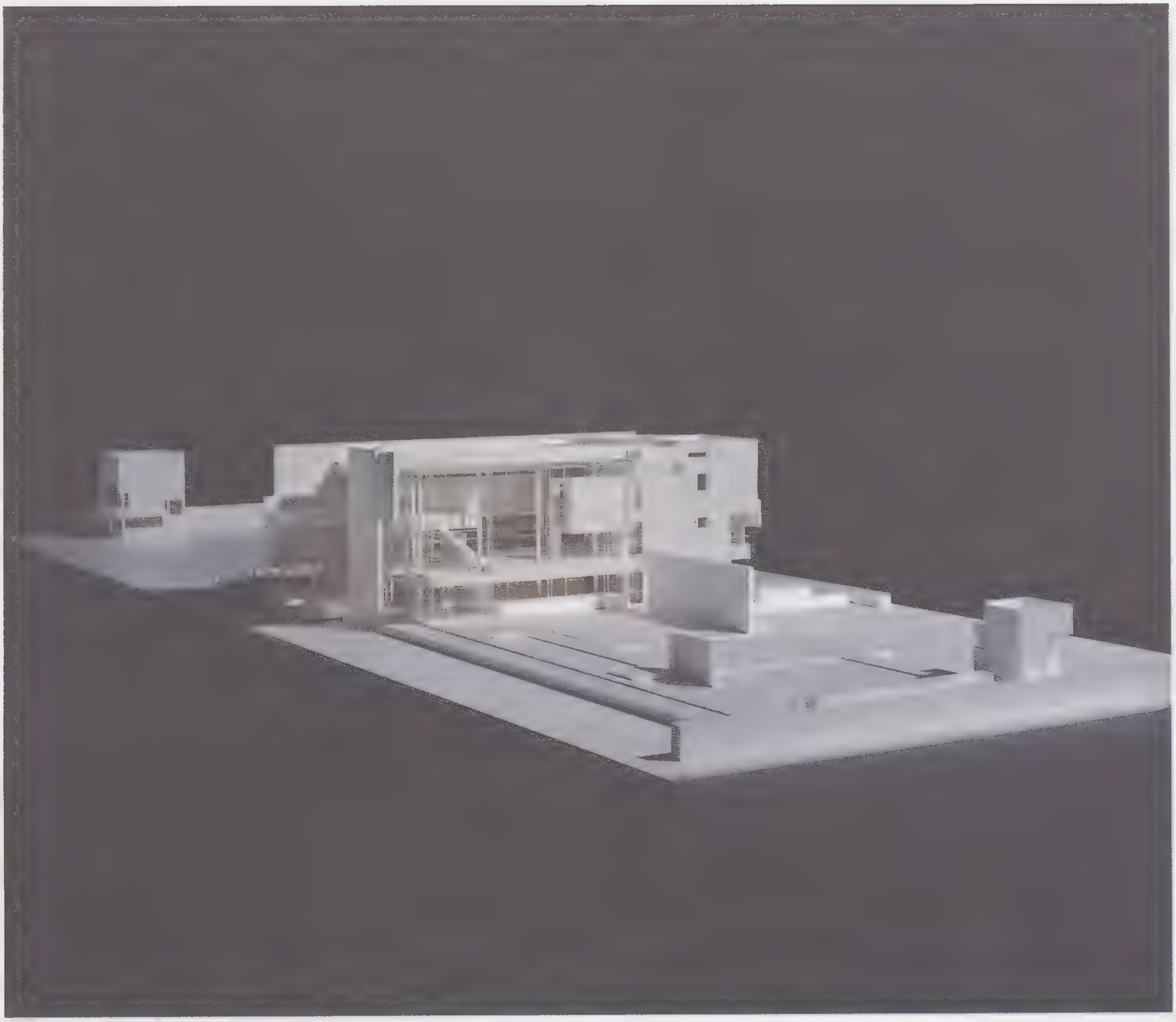






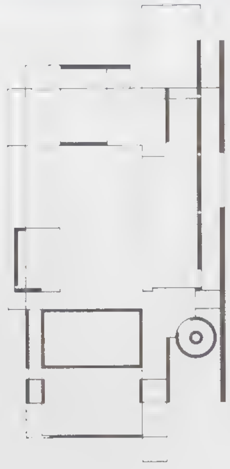
Richard Meier, Casa Rachofsky II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., 1991-94.
Piante dei piani terreno, secondo, terzo e prospetto ovest.
Vista del modello da nordest.
Foto J. Pottle/Esto.

Richard Meier, Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., 1991-94.
Ground, second and third floor plans and west elevation.
View of model from the northeast.
Photo J. Pottle/Esto.





Structure

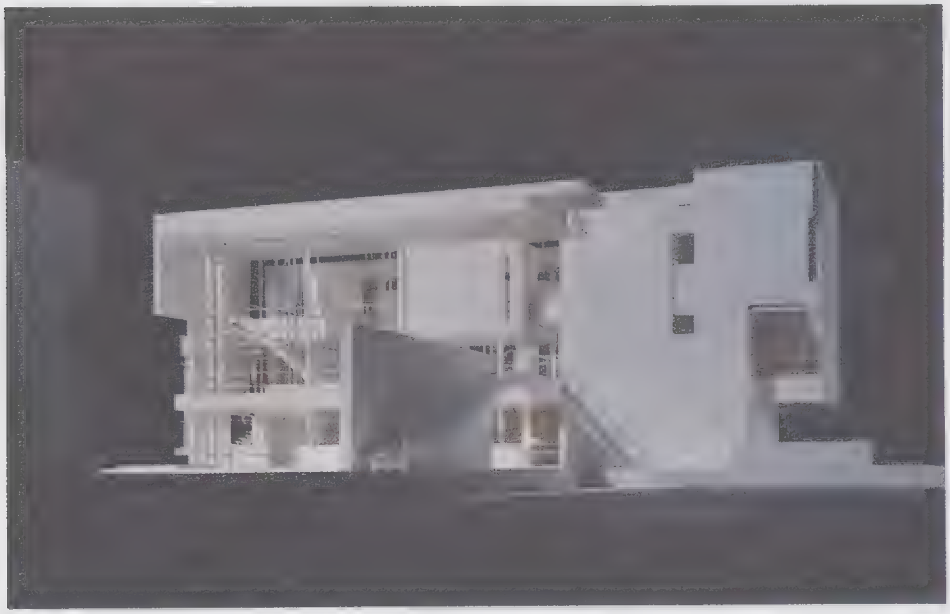


Enclosure



Elements





Richard Meier, Casa Rachofsky II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., 1991-94.
Viste d'insieme del modello da nordovest.
Viste del modello sul fronte interno da nordest e da ovest.
Foto J. Pottle/Esto.
Diagrammi compositivi.

Richard Meier, Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., 1991-94.
General view of model from the northwest.
Views of interior front of model from the northeast and west.
Photos J. Pottle/Esto.
Diagrams.

Hans Hollein, 1985. *The Pritzker Prize Jury honors Hans Hollein as a master of his profession – one who with wit and eclectic gusto draws upon the traditions of the New World as readily as upon those of the Old. An architect who is also an artist, he has the good fortune to design museums that are then eager to place within their walls works of art from his hand, whether in the form of drawings, collages, or sculpture. In the design of museums, schools, shops, and public housing, he mingles bold shapes and colors with an exquisite refinement of detail and never fears to bring together the richest of ancient marbles and the latest in plastics. The Jury salutes him as a superb teacher, who urges the young by his example to take big chances and yet make sure that not the designer but the thing designed remains of paramount importance. Unflaggingly, he continues to practice what he proclaimed upon behalf of his fellow architects a quarter of a century ago, at the beginning of his distinguished career:* "We give back to man the joy of building."
The Jury

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The Jury

Hans Hollein, 1985

La Giuria assegna il Premio Pritzker a Hans Hollein, un grande architetto che con sagacia e gusto eclettico si avvale della tradizione del Nuovo Mondo così come degli insegnamenti del Vecchio Continente. Architetto e allo stesso tempo artista, ha la fortuna di progettare musei subito pronti ad ospitare le sue stesse opere d'arte, siano esse disegni, *collage* o sculture. Nei progetti di musei, scuole, negozi, abitazioni pubbliche, egli è capace di associare all'audacia delle forme e dei colori una squisita raffinatezza di particolari, senza mai temere di accostare ai più sontuosi marmi antichi i più recenti materiali plastici. La Giuria gli rende onore come a un grande maestro il cui esempio stimola i giovani a osare con coraggio ma a ricordare sempre che l'aspetto più importante non è il progettista ma il suo progetto. Con dedizione incessante egli rimane fedele a quanto dichiarato a nome dei suoi colleghi architetti un quarto di secolo fa, all'inizio della sua ammirevole carriera: "*Noi restituiamo all'uomo il piacere della costruzione*".
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Philip Johnson, Ricardo Legorreta, Fumihiko Maki, J. Irwin Miller, Kevin Roche, Thomas J. Watson Jr., Brendan Gill (Secretary to the Jury), Arthur Drexler (Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California, U.S.A., May 10, 1985

Discorso di accettazione
Hans Hollein

È per me un grande onore essere stato prescelto da una Giuria così qualificata come vincitore del settimo Premio Pritzker. Ne sono orgoglioso, e sono profondamente emozionato dal fatto che i miei intenti e il mio impegno nel campo dell'arte e dell'architettura sono stati così ben compresi e così generosamente apprezzati in questo momento della mia vita e della mia carriera.
Questo è per me un grande avvenimento, e sono particolarmente lieto che esso si compia qui a Los Angeles, negli Stati Uniti – il grande paese al quale sono strettamente legato fin dai tardi anni Cinquanta – e che tanti miei amici siano presenti alla cerimonia.
Vorrei ringraziare la famiglia Pritzker non solo per l'istituzione di un Premio di architettura che nella sua ancor breve esistenza si è affermato come il più importante del mondo, ma anche per la cura con cui ha saputo fare di questa solenne assegnazione un evento per tutti noi indimenticabile. L'intenso lavoro di molti anni trova qui riconoscimento in una cornice che non potrebbe essere più appropriata.
Vorrei naturalmente ringraziare la Giuria per la sua decisione, ma anche gli organizzatori del Premio per aver invitato a far parte di questo eminente collegio persone operanti in sfere così disparate. Il fatto che il verdetto non venga formulato soltanto da altri architetti e da illustri storici dell'arte, ma anche da dirigenti d'azienda di livello internazionale ne accresce il valore e l'importanza agli occhi di un pubblico più vasto.
Un ringraziamento e un elogio ai responsabili del conferimento del Premio, in particolare a Brendan Gill, la cui prosa elegante e la cui urbanità aggiungono splendore a questa manifestazione, e a Arthur Drexler, che fin dagli inizi ha gratificato della sua attenzione il mio lavoro e mi ha offerto il suo amichevole sostegno.
Mi sento anche molto in obbligo verso tutti coloro che hanno contribuito in modo determinante alla mia formazione, e specialmente verso i miei maestri – istituzionali e informali, europei e americani –, parecchi dei quali sono oggi qui con noi. Ci tengo inoltre a ringraziare i miei committenti, che mi hanno consentito di attuare le opere oggetto del Premio; mi commuove il fatto che alcuni di essi abbiano valicato appositamente l'Atlantico per vedermi attribuito un onore che appartiene anche a loro.
Mi rende particolarmente felice e orgoglioso la presenza di numerosi amici insieme ai quali ho percorso un lungo cammino. Il riconoscimento da me ottenuto dimostra che essi hanno avuto ragione a concedermi un così largo appoggio e incoraggiamento e a procurarmi delle straordinarie opportunità.
Il mio lavoro non si sarebbe potuto realizzare senza l'aiuto dei miei stretti collaboratori e dei miei assistenti: a essi vada oggi il mio più sincero ringraziamento.

Il Premio Pritzker è un premio di livello mondiale, che io ricevo come austriaco e come viennese; ma è anche un premio americano, e vorrei cogliere quest'occasione per attestare il profondo influsso che l'incontro con questo Paese ha esercitato su di me e sul mio lavoro. In questo Paese ho anche studiato, ma soprattutto sono stati per me importanti il suo popolo e lo spirito che lo anima. Gli immensi spazi dell'America e il suo affascinante paesaggio hanno avuto una parte decisiva nella formazione delle mie idee e dei miei atteggiamenti in materia di architettura.
È stato un caso fortunato che dopo la mia decisione di non eclissarmi nelle torri d'avorio delle grandi Università dell'Est, ma di andare piuttosto a scoprire un'altra America (forse quella autentica), le mie prime tappe in questo Paese siano state Chicago e la California. A Chicago ho imparato parecchie cose sulla città, sui suoi abitanti e sulla grande architettura. Nella California sono stato attirato dal vivo desiderio di uno stile di vita – e delle conseguenti formulazioni architettoniche e urbanistiche – che mi sembrava così diverso da quello della mia Europa e che rappresentava inconfondibilmente la quintessenza del nostro secolo, anzi della seconda metà di esso. Los Angeles è stata per me un'esperienza affascinante, la messa in atto di una nuova mentalità, di uno spirito nuovo. Del resto questa città è legata a Vienna da stretti legami invisibili, ed è anche per questo che fui indotto a trasferirmi in essa quando intrapresi il mio lavoro di ricerca su Rudolf Schindler.
Altrettanto importante è stato per me l'influsso del paesaggio americano: le sue distese sconfinate mi hanno incantato e mi hanno fatto capire che cosa significhi collocare degli edifici in uno spazio, in un ambiente manipolato dall'uomo, che non è solo una continuazione e una trasformazione dell'esistente, ma è anche una nuova creazione, qualcosa di innaturale in rapporto dialettico con la natura.
Ho sempre considerato l'architettura come un'arte. Per me essa non consiste essenzialmente nel risolvere un problema assegnato, ma nel rendere visibile un certo messaggio. Tra i due poli dell'attività architettonica – l'architettura come rituale e l'architettura come mezzo per mantenere inalterata la temperatura ambiente – la mia ricerca è orientata verso l'assoluto, oltre che verso le esigenze e le limitazioni, anch'esse evocatrici di forme. Analogamente, ho cercato di estendere la portata dell'intervento artistico e architettonico. I miei interessi sono quindi rivolti non solo ai grandi edifici abitativi o commerciali, ma anche alla possibilità di manifestazioni a una scala più piccola, soprattutto in relazione ai nostri bisogni quotidiani: la stanza, i semplici oggetti che siamo abituati a maneggiare. Mi occupo di ciò che è destinato a durare, ma anche di ciò che è temporaneo ed effimero.
Come artista sono responsabile solo di fronte a me stesso e mi sento in diritto di esprimermi nel modo più individualistico, ma come architetto devo attenermi alle esigenze dell'uomo e della società.
L'uomo progetta sempre per continuare a vivere, per la sua sopravvivenza immediata e per quella dopo la morte: la vita e l'opera dell'artista e dell'architetto non possono fare a meno di riflettere questa profonda aspirazione alla permanenza.
Può darsi che si tratti di un modo di vedere molto europeo, anzi molto viennese: ma questa posizione dualistica, quest'atteggiamento manicheo sono in consonanza con la mia condizione abituale di stare con un piede nel Vecchio Mondo, nella tradizione, e con un altro nel Nuovo Mondo, nel futuro.
È appunto in questo senso che vorrei accettare il Premio Pritzker, in parte come ricompensa per il passato e in parte come incentivo per il futuro. Grazie.

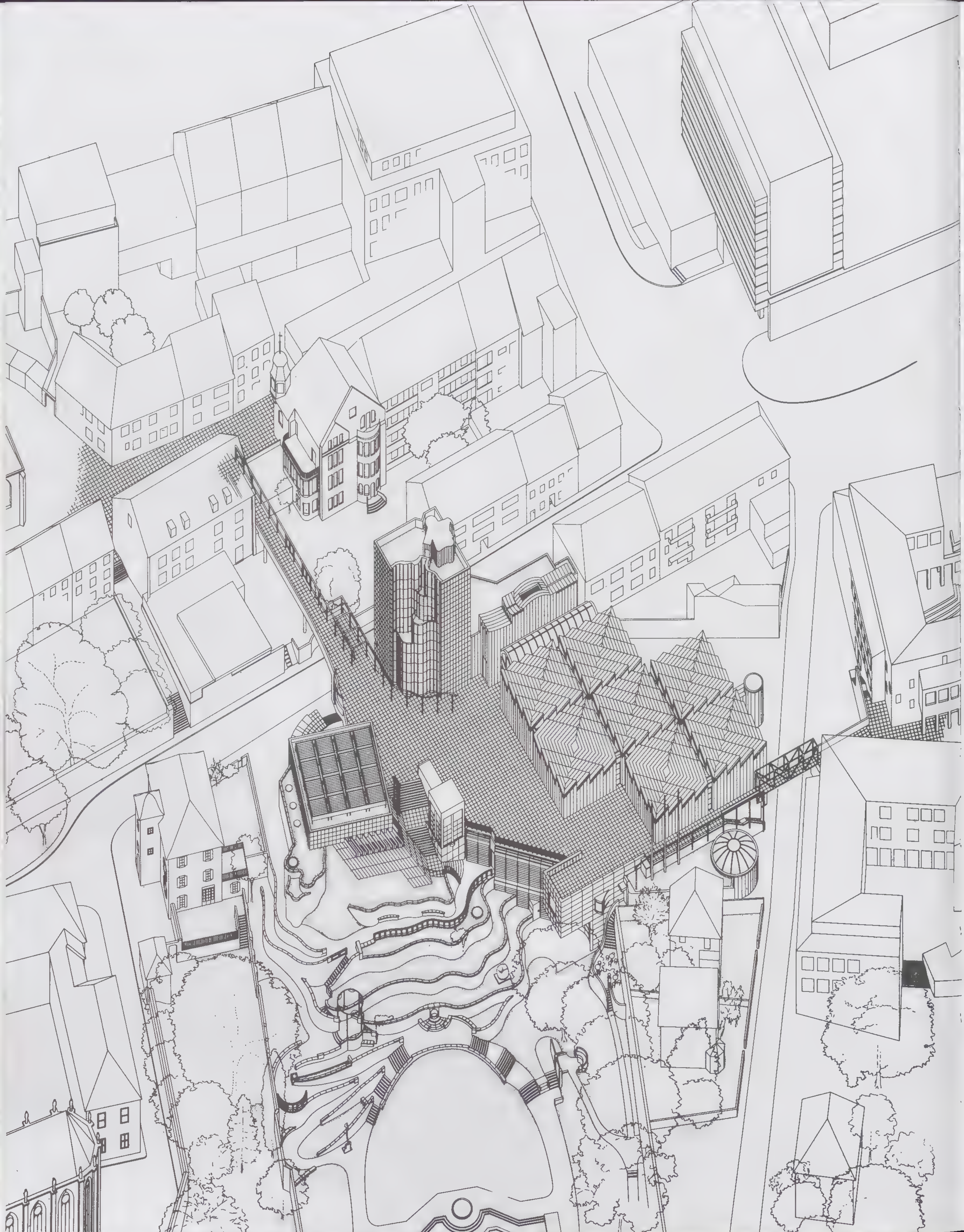
Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California, U.S.A., 10 maggio 1985

Acceptance
Hans Hollein

I am deeply honored to have been elected by a distinguished jury to be the seventh recipient of the Pritzker Prize. I feel both proud and moved that my endeavors and intentions in art and architecture have been understood and appreciated in such a wonderful way – at this point in my life and career.
This is a great moment and I am particularly happy that it happens here, in Los Angeles, in the United States, this great country with which I have had close ties since the late fifties – witnessed also today by the many friends who are here to join in the celebration.
I want to thank the Pritzker family, not only for instituting this prize – a prize which in its short run has come to be considered the world's major architecture award –, but also for the detailed care they have taken to make the formal presentation a real celebration and an event that will be imbued in our memories. Years of intensive work receive joyful recognition in a setting that could not be more appropriate.
I – naturally – want to thank the jury for their choice and also the officers of the award for selecting such a prominent and diversified panel. That architects and eminent art-historians as well as international business leaders make the judgment together, makes their verdict so valuable and impressive vis-a-vis a wider public.
Thanks and praise also go to the persons who administer the award – in particular to Brendan Gill whose impeccable prose and demeanour embellishes this event – and Arthur Drexler, who since my early beginnings has shown interest in my work and given encouragement.
I also want to thank all those people who have been instrumental in my development, above all the teachers – both formal and informal ones, both abroad and in this country – some of whom are here today. And also very importantly, I want to thank the clients who have given me the opportunity to carry out the work which is now lauded. I am particularly moved that some of those clients came over the Atlantic especially to be here today for this event, an event which is also their day.
I am happy and proud that so many friends are here today who have gone a long way beside me. The recognition I receive today is proving them right, proving them right in giving me support, encouragement and opportunity. The work I have done could not have been realized without the help of my close collaborators and staff members. To them, I offer my sincere thanks on this occasion.
Even though the Pritzker Prize is an award of the world, and I accept it as an Austrian, and a Viennese, it is also an American prize, and I want to make use of this occasion to acknowledge the profound effect the encounter with this country has had on me and my work. Not only have I studied in this country; more important, to me, were the people and the spirit of this country, its wide expanses, and its persuasive landscape that have played a major role in the formulation of my thoughts and attitudes about architecture.
It is a fitting coincidence that my first two stations in this country, after deciding not to disappear in the ivory towers of Ivy League universities, but to confront myself with another – maybe the real – America, have been Chicago and California. Chicago has taught me lessons about the city, the people and great architecture. To California I came out of a longing for its lifestyle and its architectural and urban formulation, which to me was unlike Europe and very much of the second half of our century. Los Angeles to me was a fascinating phenomenon, a realization of a new approach, of a new spirit. Of course it also has close invisible ties to Vienna, and one of the reasons to come here in the first place had to do with these ties, when I first advanced my research on Rudolph M. Schindler here.
Equally important to me has been the impact of the American landscape. The vast expanses of this country gave me the impetus and the idea of what it means to make man-made structures in space, a manmade environment that is not only a continuation and a transformation of something already existing, but also the creation of something new, the artificial in a dialectic with nature.
I have always considered architecture as an art. To me architecture is not primarily the solution of a problem, but the making of a statement. Within the two poles of architectural activity –, architecture as ritual, and architecture as a means of preservation of body-temperature –, my search is for the absolute, as well as for the needs and constraints which also generate form.
Similarly, I have tried to expand the scope and the range of artistic and architectural intervention. Therefore my interests dwell not only on the sizeable building proper, but on the utterances you can make on a small scale as well, especially in relation to the needs daily life carries with it – the room, the object you feel and touch. Not only do I deal with eternity, with the permanent, but also with the ephemeral and the temporary.
As an artist, I am only responsible to myself and can make highly individualistic manifestations. As an architect, I am responsible to the needs of man and society.
Man continuously designs for survival, for immediate survival and for survival after death. The life and work of an artist and architect mirrors this fundamental human situation.
Maybe this is a very European, very Viennese way of looking at things. This dualistic approach, this Manichaean view, has its correspondence in the position of standing with one leg in the old world, in tradition, and with the other in the new world, in the future.
In this spirit, I want to accept the Pritzker Prize, as a reward for the past, and an incentive for the future.

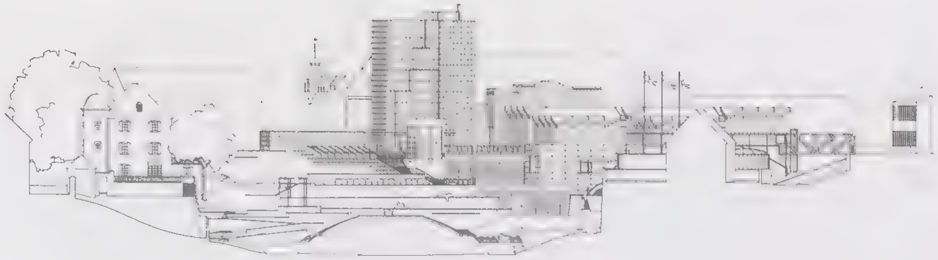
Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California, U.S.A., May 10, 1985

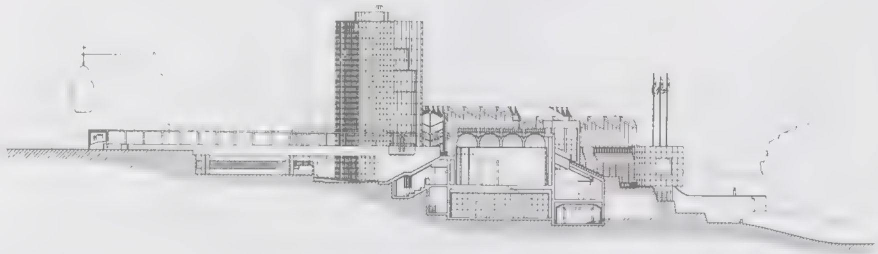


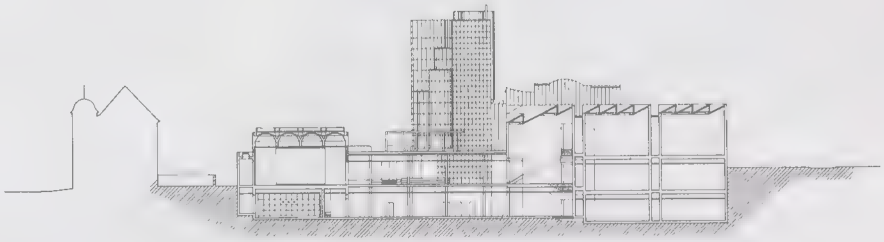


Museo Civico Abteiberg,
Mönchengladbach, Germania, 1971-82
Questo Museo di Arte Contemporanea si trova nel centro storico della città di Mönchengladbach, in Germania, nei pressi della Cattedrale e di un'abbazia barocca, ed è costruito davanti a un prominente pendio.
Il progetto prevedeva la realizzazione di spazi per la collezione permanente, per esposizioni temporanee e per attività didattiche. Tra i compiti primari si è rivolta particolare attenzione all'integrazione col contesto circostante e la topografia del luogo. L'edificio presenta percorsi esterni sulle coperture destinati a uso pubblico e spazi all'aperto per l'esposizione di sculture.
Se il complesso risulta esternamente come un insieme di edifici, internamente lo spazio si svolge attraverso una sequenza e varietà di ambienti, di colore bianco neutro, ma tuttavia ben caratterizzati per configurazione e luminosità. Al fine di non insistere in un forzato itinerario lineare, è la matrice tridimensionale dei percorsi che rende l'attraversamento del museo un'esperienza dialettica e spaziale. Le opere d'arte hanno bisogno di spazi distinti, essenziali e stabili. Si è fatto uso sia di luce naturale (proveniente prevalentemente dall'alto) che artificiale.
Sono state previste modalità di carico e scarico agevolate per le mostre temporanee che si svolgono in parallelo all'attività museale permanente.
Conseguentemente sono anche stati progettati gli arredi interni e la grafica segnaletica.

Abteiberg Municipal Museum,
Mönchengladbach, Germany, 1971-82
In the historic center – adjacent to the cathedral and a baroque abbey – of the City of Mönchengladbach, Germany, a Museum of Contemporary Art built into the face of a prominent hillside.
Areas for a permanent collection, temporary exhibitions and teaching had to be provided. Contextual integration into the neighborhood and topography were prime concerns. The complex is a "walk-on" building, its surface is for public use (and for open air sculptures). Outside a complex architectural ensamble, it is inside a succession of white, neutral, yet characteristic spaces in different configurations and light situations. Rather than following a forced linear arrangement it is a 3-dimensional matrix, making a walk through the museum a dialectic and spatial experience. Works of art need clear, basic, stabile situations. Daylight (mostly top-lit) as well as artificial light has been employed. Ease of organisation and delivery for temporary events parallel to permanent ones was also taken into account. The architect also designed the interiors and the graphics.







Hans Hollein, Museo Civico Abteiberg, Mönchengladbach, Germania, 1971-82. Veduta assonometrica del complesso. Prospetto dal vecchio giardino, sezioni longitudinale e trasversale. Nella pagina precedente: Vista esterna.

Hans Hollein, Abteiberg Municipal Museum, Mönchengladbach, Germany, 1971-82. Axonometric view of complex, view from old garden, longitudinal and cross sections. Previous page: External view.

Museo e Centro Europeo di Vulcanismo, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, Francia, 1993-94
Hans Hollein

Completamente isolato in un paesaggio naturale, a un'altitudine di quasi 1.000 metri, nel quale sono visibili le forme caratteristiche di vulcani ormai spenti, l'edificio destinato a ospitare un Museo demanda la sua localizzazione a un rapporto integrale tra costruzione e natura. Le caratteristiche del luogo suggeriscono inoltre uno sviluppo sotterraneo della costruzione.
Il tema del Museo è di difficile esposizione, con implicazioni sia scientifiche che emotive.
Il concetto architettonico si sviluppa su tre dimensioni. Agendo al tempo stesso in forza di levare e in forza di aggiungere, viene consentito uno sviluppo assolutamente libero degli spazi in senso orizzontale, verticale e diagonale.
Il sistema prevede un tracciato lineare combinato a una rete di collegamenti che prevedono percorsi alternativi e più diretti. Gli ingressi al Museo sono distribuiti in punti diversi e su molti livelli. L'edificio è percorribile dentro e fuori.
La scelta dei materiali si è ispirata alla natura del sito: pietra, erba e acqua. La pietra vulcanica locale è stata usata a blocchi, in scavo o come rivestimento per le facciate e le pavimentazioni. Un manto erboso riveste le coperture.
Il Museo è un oggetto scolpito nel terreno, senza più soglia tra costruzione e paesaggio.

Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, France, 1993-94
Hans Hollein

The location of the site, completely solitary in a natural landscape at almost 1000 m. altitude within an area of visually present extinct volcanoes in their characteristic shapes, demands an integral relationship of building and nature. In addition, the topic strongly suggests subterranean development.
The theme of the museum is difficult to exhibit. It has both scientific and emotional implications.
Architecturally, this concept is truly three-dimensional. Being both subtractive and additive, it allows for free development of spaces and movements in any direction: horizontally, vertically and diagonally.
Organsationally, this system combines a linear path with a matrix-like network. Alternative routes, short-cuts and variable connections are possible. Direct outside-inside access is given at different points on many levels. It is a walk-on building you can conquer inside and outside.
Materials derive from the nature of the site – stone, grass, water. Local vulcanic stone is used for outside and inside – as monolithic cut-out or facade and floor surfaces – and grass covers the roofs.
This museum is an object sculptured into the ground. There is no border between building and landscape.



Hans Hollein, Museo e Centro Europeo di Vulcanismo, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, Francia,1993-94. Disegno prospettico.

Hans Hollein, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, France, 1993-94. Perspective drawing.

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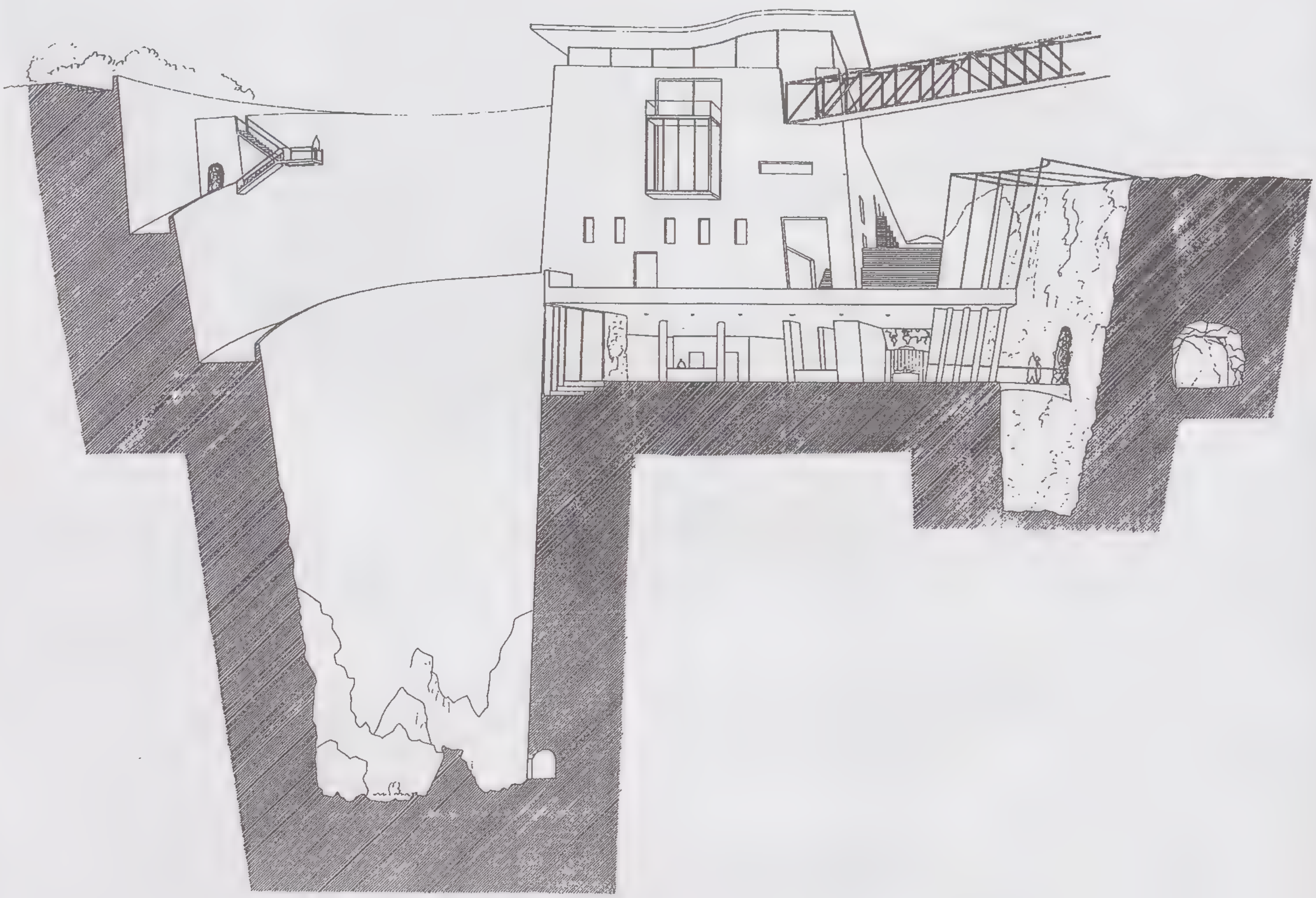


Hans Hollein, Museo e Centro Europeo di Vulcanismo, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, Francia,1993-94. Disegno prospettico.

Hans Hollein, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, France, 1993-94. Perspective drawing.

Hans Hollein, Museo e Centro Europeo di Vulcanismo, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, Francia, 1993-94.
Sezione del giardino vivente e della hall d'ingresso.
Disegno prospettico interno del giardino dormiente.
Viste del modello.

Hans Hollein, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, France, 1993-94.
Section of active garden and entrance hall.
Internal perspective drawing of dormant garden.
Views of model.



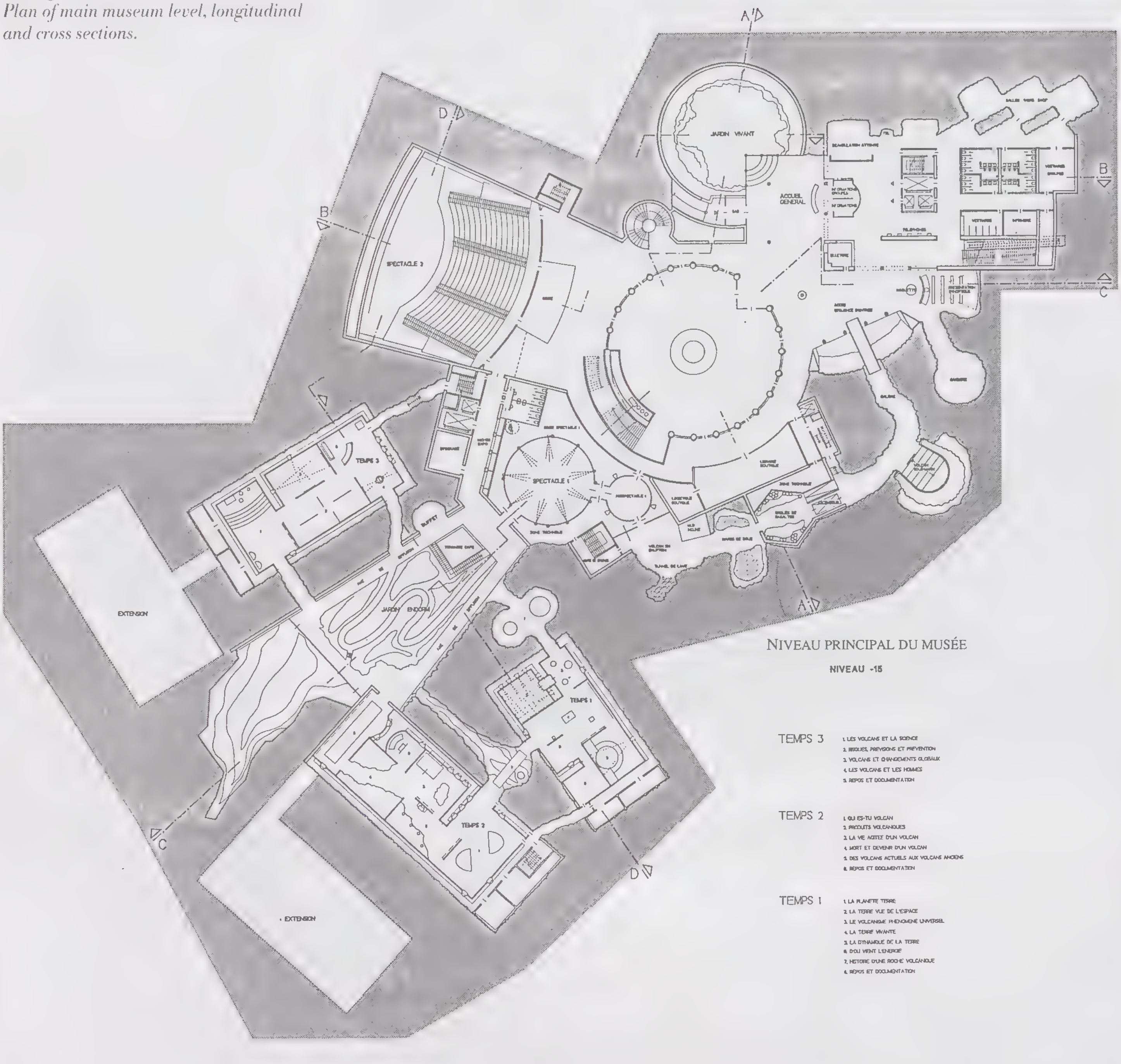






Hans Hollein, Museo e Centro Europeo di Vulcanismo, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, Francia, 1993-94.
Pianta del livello principale del museo, sezioni longitudinali e trasversali.

Hans Hollein, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Saint-Ours-les-Roches, Auvergne, France, 1993-94.
Plan of main museum level, longitudinal and cross sections.



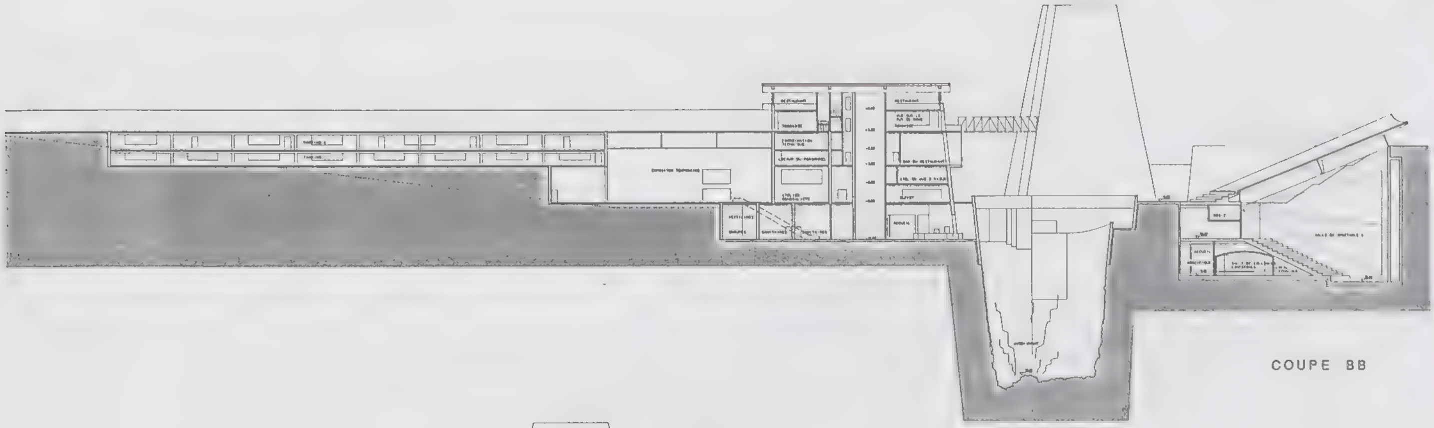
NIVEAU PRINCIPAL DU MUSÉE

NIVEAU -15

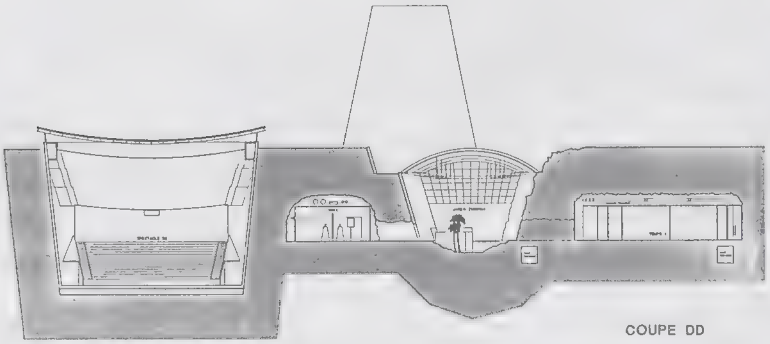
TEMPS 3
1. LES VOLCANS ET LA SCIENCE
2. RISQUES, PREVISIONS ET PREVENTION
3. VOLCANS ET CHANGEMENTS GLOBAUX
4. LES VOLCANS ET LES HOMMES
5. REPOS ET DOCUMENTATION

TEMPS 2
1. QUI ES-TU VOLCAN
2. PRODUITS VOLCANIQUES
3. LA VIE AGITEE D'UN VOLCAN
4. MORT ET DEVENIR D'UN VOLCAN
5. DES VOLCANS ACTUELS AUX VOLCANS ANCIENS
6. REPOS ET DOCUMENTATION

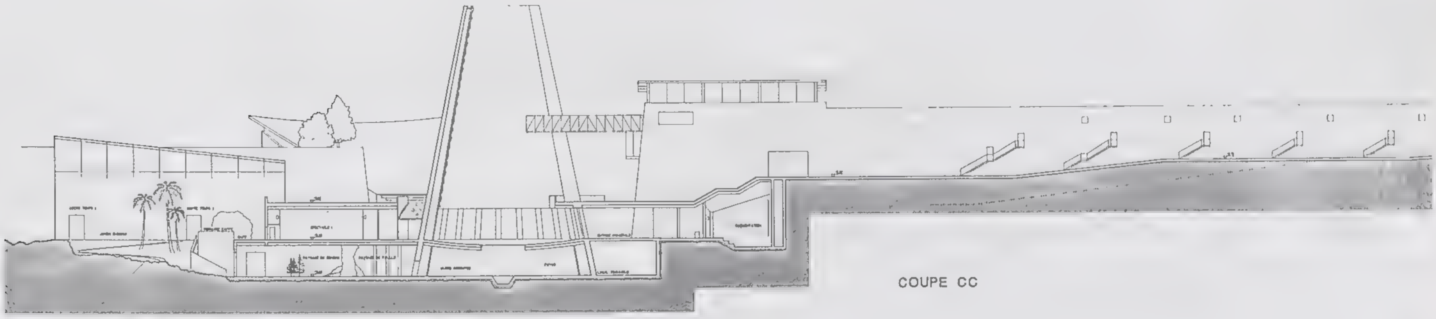
TEMPS 1
1. LA PLANETE TERRE
2. LA TERRE VUE DE L'ESPACE
3. LE VOLCANISME PHENOMENE UNIVERSEL
4. LA TERRE VIVANTE
5. LA DYNAMIQUE DE LA TERRE
6. D'OU VIENT L'ENERGIE
7. HISTOIRE D'UNE ROCHE VOLCANIQUE
8. REPOS ET DOCUMENTATION



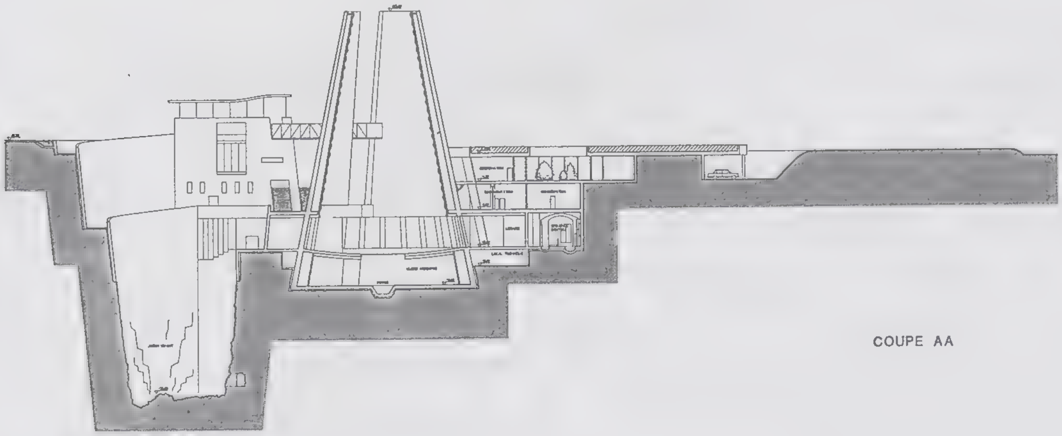
COUPE BB



COUPE DD



COUPE CC

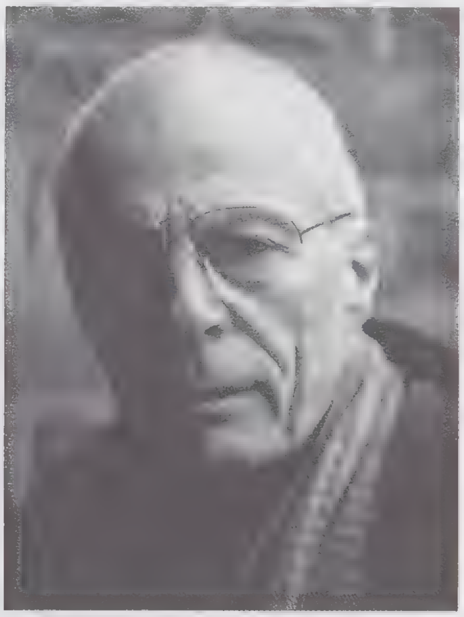


COUPE AA

Gottfried Böhm, 1986. *Son, grandson, husband, and father of architects, Gottfried Böhm has reason to recognize the nourishment that traditional ways and means provide in architecture, as in all the arts. In the course of a career of over forty years, he has taken care to see that the elements in his work which suggest the past also bear witness to his ready acceptance, whether in the design of churches, town halls, public housing, or office buildings, of the latest and best in our contemporary technology. His highly evocative handiwork combines much that we have inherited from our ancestors with much that we have but newly acquired – an uncanny and exhilarating marriage, to which the Pritzker Architecture Prize is happy to pay honor.*
The Jury

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Gottfried Böhm, 1986
Figlio, nipote, marito e padre di architetti, Gottfried Böhm riconosce saggiamente il nutrimento che i modi e i metodi tradizionali offrono all'architettura, come a tutte le arti. Nel corso di una carriera che dura da più di quarant'anni egli si è sempre impegnato affinché gli elementi della sua opera che richiamano il passato siano al tempo stesso testimonianza dell'importanza che egli assegna alla migliore e più aggiornata tecnologia contemporanea nei suoi progetti, siano essi chiese, municipi, abitazioni o uffici. L'intensità evocativa delle sue opere combina l'eredità che abbiamo acquisito dai nostri antenati con i risultati delle ricerche più recenti – un connubio prodigioso e sorprendente che il Premio Pritzker è lieto di onorare.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Ricardo Legorreta, Fumihiko Maki, Kevin Roche, Thomas J. Watson Jr., Brendan Gill (Secretary to the Jury), Arthur Drexler (Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: Goldsmiths' Hall, London, Great Britain, May 7, 1986

Discorso di accettazione
Gottfried Böhm

L'anno scorso ho costruito con mio figlio Paul una piccola cappella di m 1.20x1.20x3.30 di altezza. Cito quest'edificio perché di rado qualcosa mi è riuscito così naturale: credo che ciò sia dipeso proprio dalle sue dimensioni minime, oltre che dal contributo decisivo di mio figlio.
La cappella custodisce una statua di Cristo a cui fa da cornice e da ambiente: il rapporto fra l'una e l'altra è così stretto che la statua è per così dire il cuore dell'insieme. Un'eco del dramma d'amore racchiuso all'interno della cappella viene trasmesso anche all'esterno.
L'edificio ha una forma pura, non nel senso in cui oggi si suole equiparare la purezza alla geometria (anche una forma molto complessa può essere pura), ma piuttosto nel senso che ad esso non sarebbe possibile aggiungere né togliere nulla.
Credo che in questa piccola opera si possa riconoscere anche la mano di mio padre Dominikus, che è stato sempre una specie di pietra di paragone per il mio lavoro. Mi sembra giustissimo, del resto, che il progetto di un edificio non nasca solo dal presente.
Pur appartenendo visibilmente al nostro tempo, la cappella è in stretta relazione con gli edifici preesistenti nelle vicinanze, come se fosse stata lì da sempre, e con essi forma, nonostante le sue piccole dimensioni, un "luogo".
I particolari non sono troppo raffinati, ma sono proposti con amorevole cura. Nel nostro tempo così levigato e perfetto è importante che i particolari siano trattati in modo che a una veduta ravvicinata lascino ancora scoprire qualcosa di nuovo, rimangano impressi e vengano memorizzati contestualmente all'edificio.
Se Dio vuole ho progettato anche su scala più ampia, compresa la scala urbana: ma in ogni caso i problemi da affrontare sono stati simili a quelli posti dalla piccolissima cappella.
Ogni contenitore delle attività umane fa da cornice e da ambiente alla dignità dell'uomo e dovrebbe manifestare all'esterno il proprio contenuto e la propria funzione.
I nuovi edifici dovrebbero inserirsi con naturalezza nel loro ambiente architettonico e storico, senza peraltro rinnegare o sminuire la realtà odierna. La storia non può essere oggetto di facili citazioni, né di spiritosi stravolgimenti: va invece proseguita in modo tale che il rispetto per essa risulti spontaneo.
Dappertutto, specialmente dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, abbiamo inferto vaste ferite alle nostre città, aprendovi piste per il traffico e innalzandovi edifici che per destinazione, forma, scala, materiale e colore appaiono del tutto estranei alla preesistente struttura urbana.
Occorre oggi, pur salvando gli aspetti positivi degli interventi compiuti, guarire queste ferite mediante connessioni capaci di ricostituire la continuità del tessuto urbano e di ricreare quel naturale senso della comunità

che ammiriamo nel percorrere i vecchi centri.
Con la sua straordinaria onestà intellettuale, che è stata così preziosa anche per la mia professione, mia moglie ha detto una volta ai nostri figli, tre dei quali sono architetti: "*La nostra generazione ha costruito molto, ma la vostra dovrà lavorare sodo a risanare*".
Non vorrei sopravvalutare l'influsso dell'architettura sull'uomo, ma sono certo che la lacerazione delle nostre città favorisce in noi l'assuefazione a trascurare i rapporti umani.
Senza dubbio nel progettare un edificio è essenziale aver presente il suo significato specifico; oggi però mi sembra ancora più necessario tener conto dell'ambiente e cercare di mettere l'edificio in sintonia con esso.
L'assegnazione di questo Premio mi fa sentire che i miei intenti sono stati da voi compresi e condivisi.
È una sensazione meravigliosa: grazie di cuore.

Goldsmiths' Hall, Londra, Gran Bretagna, 7 maggio 1986

Acceptance
Gottfried Böhm

*Last year I built a small chapel with my son Paul.
It is almost four feet square and not quite eleven feet high (47' 1/4" by 47' 1/4" by 10' 9 3/4" to be precise). I mention this building because rarely did anything come so naturally.
I think I may say this because the chapel is so small and because of my son's contribution.
The chapel shelters a figure of Christ for which it is both frame and habitat. Figure and chapel have become one; indeed the figure is the heart of the whole. And a little of the drama and love contained within the chapel is expressed on the exterior.
The chapel has clean lines, not in the sense in which such lines today are often equated with geometry – even a complex shape can have clean lines – but in the sense that you cannot add to it, and you would not want to take anything away, either.
I think the influence of my father Dominikus, who was my guide, can be discerned in this small building. It seems to me a good thing when a building has not been designed entirely on a moment's inspiration.
Although the chapel is clearly new and of our time, it has formed a bond with the other buildings in the neighborhood – it seems to have been there all the time. Despite its small size, it and the others form a living space.
Its details are not very complicated, but they were applied with great feeling. In this too perfect, streamlined time details are especially important, because by having to take a close look, we discover new things. Because of this, details will remain part of the building in the mind's eye.
Fortunately, I have been entrusted with larger projects, including city planning, yet all have presented me with the same problems as the little chapel.*

*A building is a human being's space and the background for his dignity, and its exterior should reflect its contents and function. New buildings should fit naturally into their surroundings, both architecturally and historically, without denying or prettifying the concerns of our time. You cannot just quote from history, and above all you cannot take it out of context, in however humorous a fashion. On the contrary, history has a natural continuity which must be respected.
Especially after World War II, we have cut wide gashes into the fabric of our cities the world over – we put great traffic arteries through them and erected buildings whose function, shape, size, materials, and colors had no bearing on the existing urban environment.
It is therefore important today to heal these wounds, retaining the positive aspects, and re-establishing the necessary cohesion of the urban environment, so that we can once more experience the natural sense of community which we so admire when strolling through old cities.
With her extraordinary straightforwardness my wife – to whom I owe much professional gratitude – once said to our sons (three of whom are architects):* "Our generation has built a lot, but your generation will have to work hard to heal all that."
*I don't overestimate the influence of architecture on people, but I am sure that the physical alienation of our cities contributes to our inability to live together harmoniously.
It is clearly important to keep its integrity in mind when designing a building, but it is especially necessary today to consider its neighbors and to find out what they might have in common.
To be given this prize must mean that you have understood and accepted my principles. That is a wonderful feeling.
I thank you very much!*

Goldsmith's Hall, London, Great Britain, May 7, 1986











Gottfried Böhm, Chiesa della Resurrezione, Melaten, Colonia, Germania, 1970.
Vista esterna, sezione longitudinale e pianta.
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Vista del fronte dal sagrato.

Gottfried Böhm, Church of the Resurrection, Melaten, Cologne, Germany, 1970.
External view, longitudinal section and plan.
Previous pages:
View of elevation from the churchyard.

Chiesa della Resurrezione, Melaten, Colonia, Germania, 1970
Gottfried Böhm

La Chiesa della Resurrezione di Melaten, Colonia, rappresenta forse il culmine di una linea di ricerca personale in cui predomina l'espressione dell'elemento scultoreo. Un lungo canale d'acqua conduce allo spazio aperto di fronte alla chiesa. L'acqua e gli alberi altissimi fanno da cornice al portale della chiesa creando un'atmosfera bellissima. All'interno colonne di cemento armato si diramano nella parte superiore come alberi facendosi sempre più fitte per poi unirsi al soffitto. Per le finestre è stato creato un disegno ottenuto con chiodi disposti su fogli di materiale plastico e vi abbiamo poi versato altra plastica di diversi colori ottenendo così una serie di lastre molto spesse, che lasciano filtrare una luce molto particolare.

Church of the Resurrection, Melaten, Cologne, Germany, 1970
Gottfried Böhm

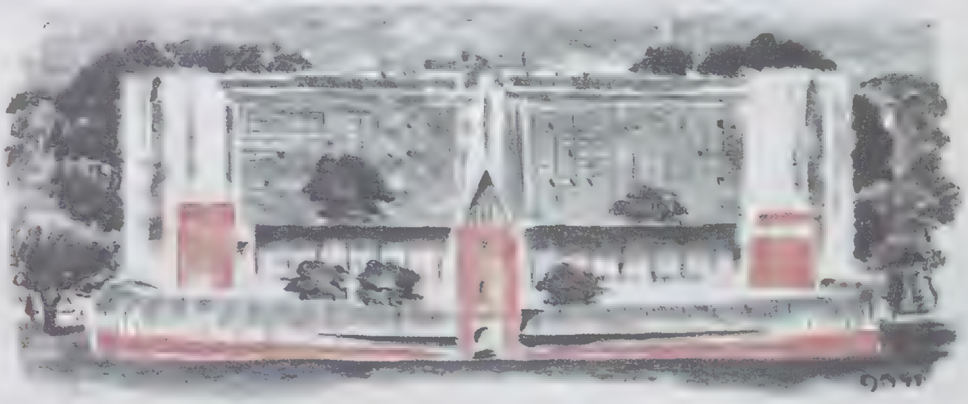
The Church of the Resurrection in Melaten, Cologne, probably represents the culmination of that line of development in my building in which the expression of the sculptural element in architecture predominates. A long strip of water leads up to the open space in front of the church. It is a very beautiful situation, with the water and the tall trees to both sides framing the entrance to the church.
Inside, load-bearing concrete columns branch out like trees at the top, growing denser and denser until they merge with the ceiling. The intermediate spaces are closed with masonry filling. For the windows we laid out nails in pattern form on plastic sheets and then poured plastic of various colours on to them. The resulting thick plastic slabs were used for fenestration, and the light admitted through them is of a quite remarkable quality.

Edificio per uffici Arbed-Saarsthal, Esch-Alzette, Lussemburgo, 1994
Gottfried Böhm

Programma: edificio a uso amministrativo destinato a ospitare 400 dipendenti con sistemi integrati di ufficio, centro di calcolo, caffetteria (attualmente non realizzata); integrazione con l'edificio per laboratori esistente; costruzione in acciaio per economizzare i costi.
Sito: parco tra la città e la zona industriale (acciaierie), collegamenti pedonali ai mezzi pubblici di trasporto.
Edifici esistenti: vecchia torre di un antico castello e edificio per laboratori di tre piani.
Progetto: costruzione di due ali di otto piani ciascuna, destinate a ospitare ventiquattro uffici integrati e i corrispondenti spazi lavorativi centrali. Le ali sono reciprocamente disposte a un angolo di 20°. Gli atri sono aperti su tutti i piani. Le scale di emergenza e le unità dei servizi igienici sono situate in testa all'edificio. Al centro trovano posto le sale riunioni e una scala di servizio. Ciascun piano delle due ali può funzionare autonomamente ed essere affittato. L'ingresso principale e quello per i visitatori si trovano nella vecchia torre. Da qui una galleria circolare porta all'edificio principale e all'edificio per laboratori esistente. In testa all'edificio principale si trovano altri ingressi per i dipendenti.
Facciata: strutture di alluminio e vetro per le zone adibite a uffici e alle sale riunioni. Combinazione di vetro riflettente e vetro con lamelle frangisole incorporate. Possibile azionamento manuale dell'impianto di aereazione. Parapetto e zona di base con vetro smaltato e stampato. Scala, torre dei servizi igienici e copertura della galleria in pannelli di acciaio ad alta temperatura (pannelli di acciaio inossidabile corrugato prodotti appositamente).
Finiture interne: pareti divisorie variabili tra gli uffici e pareti vetrate per gli spazi di lavoro centrali.
Passo della griglia interna: m 2.40.
Pavimentazione: gomma e cemento di colore rosso.
Soffitto: elementi acustici (pannelli di acciaio perforato) sospesi agli elementi di finitura visibili di cemento rosso. Installazione a vista dei dispositivi meccanici.
Costruzione: in base alle richieste della committenza la costruzione è in acciaio con travi integrate a soffitto. Griglia di costruzione m. 6 x 7.20. Soffitto in lastre di cemento prefabbricato (rapidità di installazione). Una capriata laterale nel mezzo dell'edificio (longitudinale) e due capriate strutturali in corrispondenza dell'atrio di ciascuna ala (diagonale). Plinti di fondazione.

Arbed-Saarsthal Office Building, Esch-Alzette, Luxembourg, 1994
Gottfried Böhm

Program : administration building for 400 employees with combined office systems, computer centre, cafeteria (at present not executed); integration of existing laboratory building; economically effective steel construction.
Site: park between city and industrial area (steel plant), pedestrian connections to public transportation.
Existing buildings: old tower of a former castle, as well as a 3-floor laboratory.
Design: two 8-floor building wings with 24 combined offices per floor, as well as corresponding central work spaces. The wings are arranged at an angle of 20° to each other. Open atriums over all floors. Emergency stairs and wc-units are located at the heads of the building. Conference rooms and an additional stair tower in the middle. Each floor of the two wings can be seperately operated and rented. Main entrance and visitors' entrance are at the existing old tower. From here, a circular gallery leads to the main building and the existing laboratory. Further staff entrances at the head of the main building.
Facade: aluminium and glass constructions for the office areas and conference rooms. Combination of solar reflective glass and glass with integrated daylight lamellas. It is possible to handle the ventilation wing individually. Parapet sector and base zone with enameled and printed glass. Stair and wc-tower, as well as the roof of the gallery in high-grade steel sheets (specially produced corrugated stainless-steel panels.)
Interior finishing: variable surface partition wall with fanlight. Between the offices, and full glass walls to the central work spaces.
Grid of interior finishing: 2.40 m
Flooring: red coloured rubber, red coloured concrete.
Ceiling: acoustic elements (perforated steel sheets) are hung on the visible, red-painted concrete finished elements. Exposed installation of mechanical services (workshop character).
Construction: following the client's wishes, execution of the construction in steel with integrated ceiling beams. Construction grid 6 m x 7.20 m. Ceiling elements made of pre-cast concrete slabs (quick installation). A lateral truss in the middle of the building (longitudinal), and two structural trusses per building wing in the atrium (diagonal). Pile foundations .

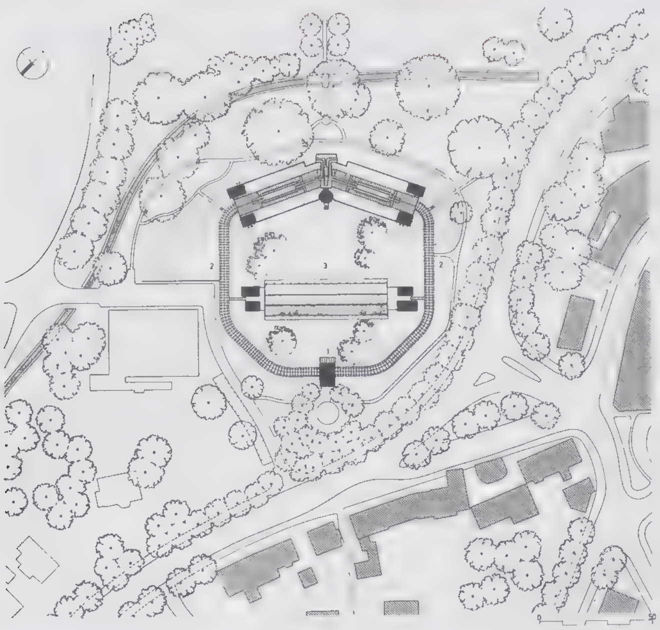


Gottfried Böhm, Edificio per uffici Arbed-Saarstahl, Esch-Alzette, Lussemburgo, 1994.
Disegno di studio.
Vista esterna e vista interna della galleria.
Foto D. Leistner.
Planimetria generale: 1) vecchia torre; 2) galleria; 3) edificio per uffici esistente.

Gottfried Böhm, Arbed-Saarstahl Office Building, Esch-Alzette, Luxembourg, 1994.
Study drawing.
External view and view of the gallery.
Photos D. Leistner.
General plan: 1) old tower; 2) gallery; 3)existing office building.







Gottfried Böhm, Edificio per uffici Arbed-Saarstahl, Esch-Alzette, Lussemburgo, 1994.
Viste interna ed esterna del corpo uffici.
Foto D. Leistner.
Sezione trasversale.

Gottfried Böhm, Arbed-Saarstahl Office Building, Esch-Alzette, Luxembourg, 1994.
Internal and external views of the office block.
Photos D. Leistner.
Cross section.







Kenzo Tange, 1987. *Given talent energy, and a sufficiently long carreer, one may pass from being a breaker of new ground to becoming a classic. This has been the happy fate of Kenzo Tange who in his eighth decade is celebrated as an architect of international reputation. Along with his practice he has been a leading theoretician of architecture and an inspiring teacher; among the well-known architects who have studied under him are Fumihiko Maki and Arata Isozaki. His stadiums for the Olympic Games held in Tokyo in 1964 are often described as among the most beautiful structures built in the twentieth century. In preparing a design, Tange arrives at shapes that lift our hearts because they seem to emerge from some ancient and dimly remembered past and yet are breathtakingly of today.*
The Jury

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The Jury

Kenzo Tange, 1987
Il talento, l'energia e una carriera abbastanza lunga possono fare del pioniere un classico, un modello da seguire. Questo è il felice destino di Kenzo Tange che a ottant'anni compiuti viene celebrato come architetto di fama internazionale. Grande teorico e maestro, è stato insegnante di architetti ormai famosi come Fumihiko Maki e Arata Isozaki. Gli stadi progettati per i Giochi Olimpici di Tokyo del 1964 vengono spesso menzionati tra le strutture più belle costruite nel Ventesimo secolo. Nei suoi progetti Tange è pervenuto a forme che innalzano i nostri cuori perché sembrano emergere dal vago ricordo di un lontano passato e al tempo stesso sono di palpitante attualità.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Ada Louise Huxtable, Ricardo Legorreta, Fumihiko Maki, Kevin Roche, Jacob Rothschild, Brendan Gill (Secretary to the Jury), Stuart Wrede (Acting Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: Kimbell Art Museum, Foth Worth, Texas, U.S.A., May 2, 1987

Discorso di accettazione
Kenzo Tange

È trascorso più di un quarto di secolo da quando cominciai a parlare dell'importanza della comunicazione e dell'informazione nella società moderna. Dissi allora che avrebbe trasceso l'importanza che attribuiamo alla produzione. Negli anni Settanta, a causa della crisi energetica, i nostri valori – per lo meno in Giappone – si allontanarono dalle cose materiali in favore di considerazioni immateriali e, persino, spirituali.
Questo mutamento non investì soltanto l'architettura ma anche la vita quotidiana, poiché le persone tendevano a preferire l'immateriale al materiale. Attutito l'interesse per l'industrializzazione in favore di una "società dell'informazione", la filosofia razionale e funzionale che aveva informato il periodo precedente mutò e la gente andò alla ricerca di cose che facessero appello alle emozioni e ai sentimenti.
All'architettura non vennero più richieste forme lineari e geometriche ma edifici che facessero appello alle emozioni umane. Questa nuova esigenza ha influenzato la progettazione di ogni cosa, dai più piccoli ambienti espositivi, all'arredo urbano, agli edifici.
Questa tendenza viene genericamente descritta con il termine Postmodernismo. Ho tuttavia l'impressione che nelle sue manifestazioni attuali il Postmodernismo non sia nient'altro che un'eclettica commistione di elementi estetici – moderni e antichi, orientali e occidentali – che ha imboccato un vicolo cieco.
Io credo che, attualmente, il Postmodernismo non abbia ancora trovato, ma debba trovare, una via d'uscita.
E poiché io stesso sto cercando un indizio, se pur minimo, che possa preludere a una risposta, posso dire che non si tratta di un compito facile.
So che questo genere di riflessioni apporta mutamenti graduali al mio lavoro. La Sede centrale dell'Università delle Nazioni Unite a Tokyo e il nuovo Complesso del Municipio di Tokyo riflettono questo processo.
In entrambi i casi il forte impulso simbolista testimonia come l'architettura debba avere qualcosa che faccia appello al cuore umano. Tuttavia, le forme di base, gli spazi e l'espressione degli edifici devono seguire una logica.
Un'architettura di natura puramente arbitraria non può durare a lungo.
Nella società dell'informazione le considerazioni tecnologiche sono di grande importanza per l'architettura e le città. Lo sviluppo dei cosiddetti "edifici intelligenti" non è che una logica conseguenza e la società contemporanea vorrà che interi quartieri e città siano "intelligenti", allo stesso modo dei singoli edifici.
A quel punto ci serviranno, e ci aspetteremo di avere, strumenti tecnologici avanzati che invece di ricercare l'espressione nella veste esterna degli edifici, si realizzino come parte delle funzioni nascoste, interne.
Un aspetto ulteriore dell'architettura e delle città

in una società dell'informazione è rappresentato dai rapporti interarchitettonici. Nella società industriale il forte accento posto sui costi e sulla forte domanda di adeguatezza funzionale dei singoli edifici allontanava l'attenzione dalle dimensioni complessive dell'intervento, dalle strutture architettoniche circostanti e dai caratteri del contesto.
Credo sia difficile stabilire quale delle due sia più importante, ma in una società che pone grande enfasi sulla comunicazione, i rapporti con l'ambiente circostante meritano forse tutta la considerazione rivolta all'adeguatezza funzionale del singolo edificio.
Credo che si possa giungere allo sviluppo di un nuovo stile architettonico studiando ed elaborando i tre elementi di cui ho parlato: gli elementi umani, emotivi e sensuali; gli elementi tecnologicamente intelligenti; la struttura sociocomunicazionale dello spazio.
Ritengo che dallo studio ulteriore di questi aspetti si possa trovare una via d'uscita che ci riveli il tipo di edifici e di città richiesti dalla società dell'informazione.
Se vogliamo vincere l'eclettismo transitorio delle espressioni architettoniche attuali, dobbiamo scoprire un nuovo stile adeguato al nostro tempo, uno stile che esprima un sistema coerente di elementi estetici ricavati dai tre fattori che ho menzionato.
Accetto con umiltà questo riconoscimento perché, in qualche modo, non ho ancora scoperto quali edifici possano meglio servire in una società dell'informazione o della comunicazione. E sono contento di ricevere il riconoscimento da una Giuria così illustre in questo bellissimo spazio progettato da Louis Kahn, un architetto che ho sempre ammirato e del quale, fino alla sua morte, sono stato grande amico.

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A., 2 maggio 1987

Acceptance
Kenzo Tange

It was more than a quarter century ago that I started talking about the importance of communication and information in modern society. I said that they would transcend the importance we place on production.
In the 1970's, because of the energy crisis, our values – at least in Japan – shifted from material things to the non-physical, and even spiritual considerations.
That shift took place not just in architecture, but in daily life, as people tended to prefer the immaterial to the material. With de-emphasis on industrialization and the advent of the "information-communication society", *the fundamentally rational and functional philosophy of the preceding period changed, and people sought things that appeal to the emotions and the senses.*
In architecture, the demand was no longer for box-like forms, but for buildings that have something to say to the human emotions. That new demand has had an effect on the designs of everything, from small window displays to streetscapes to buildings.
The term Post-Modernism is used to describe this trend in general. I feel, however, that in its actual presentation, Post-Modernism is no more than a mere eclectic mixture of aesthetic elements – modern and ancient, or Eastern and Western – that have already reached an impasse.
My belief is that at present, Post-Modernism has not found, but must find a way out of that impasse. And since I myself am seeking a clue, even a very small one, that will shed a little light on an answer, I know the task is not easy.
I am aware of changes gradually taking place in my own designs as part of my thinking on this matter. The Tokyo Headquarters of the United Nations University and the new Tokyo Metropolitan Office Complex reflect that process.
In both instances, there is a powerful need for symbolism and that means the architecture must have something that appeals to the human heart.
Nevertheless, the basic forms, spaces, and appearances must be logical. Designs of a purely arbitrary nature cannot be expected to last long.
Technological considerations are of great importance to architecture and cities in the information society.
The development of so-called "intelligent buildings" *is a natural consequence and today society will demand that whole districts and cities themselves become "intelligent" in the same way as individual buildings.*
We then will require, and expect, advanced technological equipment that, instead of finding expression in building exteriors, will be realized as part of concealed, interior functions.
Still another aspect of architecture and cities in our information/communication society is interarchitectural relations. In the industrial society, strong emphasis on costs and intense demand for functional sufficiency of individual buildings meant that less thought was given to large functional units, including the building's neighboring structures and surroundings.
I think it is difficult to determine which of the two is more important, but in a society that places great stress on communications, relationships with the surroundings probably deserve as much consideration as the functional sufficiency of the individual building.
I believe the development of a new architectural style will result from further study and work on the three elements that I have discussed – human, emotional and sensual elements; technologically intelligent elements; and social-communication structure of the space.
In my opinion, further consideration of those views will help us find a way out of the current impasse, and reveal to us the kinds of buildings and cities required by the information society. We must attempt to discover a new style suitable for our time to express a system of consistent aesthetic elements from the three that I have mentioned,

if we are to overcome the eclecticism of present transitional architectural expressions.
I accept this award with humility because in some ways I am still searching for an answer to what buildings will best serve in what I call the information or communications society. And it is truly satisfying to receive this acknowledgement from a distinguished jury panel, especially in this excellent architectural space, I mean in this space
by Louis Kahn, whose work I admire, and who, until his death, was one of my close friends.

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A., May 2, 1987



Kenzo Tange, Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Giappone, 1949-52.
Planimetria generale: 1) Cupola monumentale; 2) Memoriale; 3) Peace Center; 4) Museo; 5) Auditorium.
Vista esterna da nord.
Kenzo Tange, Piano Regolatore per Hiroshima, Giappone, 1946.
Planimetria generale.

Kenzo Tange, Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Japan, 1949-52.
General plan: 1) Monumental dome; 2) Memorial; 3) Peace Center; 4) Museum; 5) Auditorium.
External view from the north.
Kenzo Tange, Urban plan for Hiroshima, Japan, 1946.
General plan.





Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Giappone, 1949-1952
Il progetto del Centro intendeva esprimere gli ideali dell'Umanità e segnare Hiroshima come città-memoriale della pace. Dal punto di vista urbanistico, il Centro è formato da quattro strutture principali: gli spazi commemorativi (sala principale, sala di esposizione, auditorium), una piazza, un luogo di preghiera e la Cupola, ciò che rimane della bomba atomica. Le quattro strutture sono distribuite ordinatamente all'interno dell'asse principale che caratterizza il piano urbanistico della zona. Esse costituiscono inoltre il nucleo della città di Hiroshima. La sala espositiva all'interno del Centro, costruita lungo l'asse della Cupola e del luogo di preghiera, rappresenta il punto di accesso per i milioni di visitatori di tutto il mondo che ogni anno, il 6 agosto, assistono alla commemorazione delle vittime della bomba atomica.

Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Japan, 1949-52
This Center was to symbolize the ideals of humanity as well as to mark Hiroshima as peace memorial city. From the point of view of urban design, the Peace center consists of four major structures – the Memorial Hall (Main Hall, Exhibition Hall, Auditorium), a plaza, a place of prayer, and the Dome, the remnant of the atomic bomb. These four structures are arranged orderly within the basic trunk which characterizes the urban planning of the area. Furthermore, they form the core of the Hiroshima City. The Exhibition Hall, within the Peace Center, constructed on the trunk of the Dome and the place of worship works as a gate for the millions of people from all over the world, who gather every August 6th to attend the memorial service for the victims of the atomic bomb.

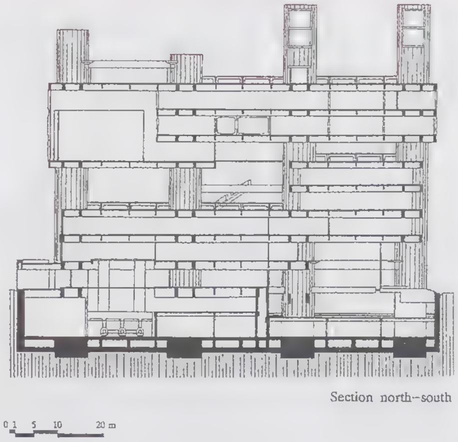


Agenzia giornalistica e radiotelevisiva Yamanashi, Yamanashi, Giappone, 1961-66
Kenzo Tange

Questo centro è un edificio molto complesso che ospita, organicamente integrate, tre compagnie: un'agenzia giornalistica, un centro di radiodiffusione e un'agenzia di stampa di fondazione recente. Per incentivare lo sviluppo dell'area a nord della stazione ferroviaria, sono stati inclusi alcuni spazi commerciali. Al fine di organizzare le diverse funzioni sono stati costruiti vani di collegamento verticale tra i quali ogni singola attività occupa il suo spazio. Questa organizzazione spaziale a griglia di comunicazione su tre dimensioni consente inoltre di adattare l'edificio a eventuali mutamenti e sviluppi futuri.

Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Japan, 1961-66
Kenzo Tange

This center is a highly complex building in which three companies, the press company, the broadcasting company – and a newly formed printing company – are integrated organically. Some retail functions are also included to enhance the development of the area north of the railway station. In order to organize these different functions, a number of communication shafts are built vertically and each function occupies its appropriate space between these shafts. This spatial organization with three-dimensional communication grid will also adapt to change and growth in future.



Section north–south

Sede dell'American Medical Association, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 1983-90
Kenzo Tange

Il cliente chiese di progettare un edificio destinato a ospitare il quartier generale dell'American Medical Association e un adiacente edificio per uffici di quaranta piani in un isolato di dimensioni contenute, m 65x90. In questo sito abbiamo collocato due torri trapezoidali per massimizzare il senso di spazio minimizzando la reciproca servitù di vista. La nitidezza formale dei volumi e dei particolari delle facciate *curtain wall* sottolineano l'austerità dell'edificio, mentre un basamento di pietra e le finiture della *lobby* gli conferiscono ulteriore dignità. L'originale profilo di coronamento delle torri renderà questo complesso una costruzione facilmente riconoscibile nello *skyline* della città.

American Medical Association Headquarters Building, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 1983–90
Kenzo Tange

We were asked by the client to design the headquarters building of the American Medical Association and an adjoining office building of 40 storeys on a relatively small city block. Within the 65m x 90m site, we placed two trapezoidal towers to maximize the sense of space and yet minimize the visual exposure to each other. The sharpness of the volumetric form and precise curtain wall detailing enhance the boldness of the complex's image, while a stonebase wall and lobby finishings add to the dignity of the buildings. The unique cutout at the top of the towers will make the complex an easily recognizable landmark on the Chicago skyline.



Kenzo Tange, Agenzia giornalistica e radiotelevisiva Yamanashi, Yamanashi, Giappone, 1961-66.
Vista esterna e sezione trasversale.
Kenzo Tange, Sede dell'American Medical Association, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 1983-90.
Vista esterna.

Kenzo Tange, Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Japan, 1961-66.
External view and cross section.
Kenzo Tange, American Medical Association Headquarters Building, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 1983-90.
External view.



Kenzo Tange, Piazza d'Italia, Parigi, Francia, 1984-91.
Vista esterna.
Kenzo Tange, Nuovo Municipio, Tokyo, Giappone, 1986-91.
Vista esterna della Citizen's Plaza.

Kenzo Tange, Place d'Italie, Paris, France, 1984-91.
External view.
Kenzo Tange, New City Hall Complex, Tokyo, Japan, 1986-91.
External view of Citizen's Plaza.



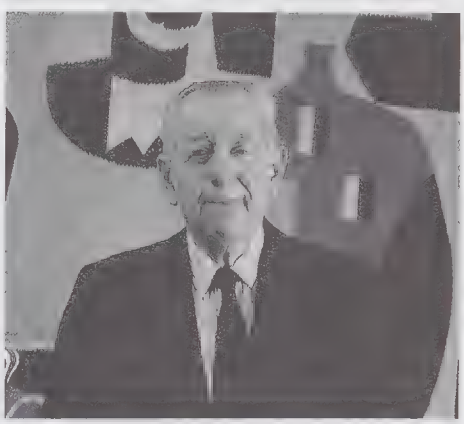
Gordon Bunshaft, 1988. *Gordon Bunshaft is an architect of modest claims and significant deeds. When he states that he prefers that his buildings speak for him, he has chosen eloquent spokesmen. From the landmark Lever House in New York City to his crowning achievement in Saudi Arabia, his forty years of designing masterpieces of modern architecture demonstrate an understanding of contemporary technology and materials that is unsurpassed. His astute perception that architecture is a joint venture between client and designer has generated mutual respect, and creative collaborations producing great buildings with an appropriate fusion of humanity and functionality for the people who inhabit and use his structures. Perhaps no other architect has set such a timeless standard in the urban/corporate world, a standard by which future generations will judge this era, no doubt with acclaim, thanks to his abilities. Already acknowledged by peers and critics of his own era, the bestowing of the Pritzker Architecture Prize reaffirms his place in history for a lifetime of creativity in beautifying and uplifting the environment.*

The Jury

Gordon Bunshaft, 1988. *Gordon Bunshaft is an architect of modest claims and significant deeds. When he states that he prefers that his buildings speak for him, he has chosen eloquent spokesmen. From the landmark Lever House in New York City to his crowning achievement in Saudi Arabia, his forty years of designing masterpieces of modern architecture demonstrate an understanding of contemporary technology and materials that is unsurpassed. His astute perception that architecture is a joint venture between client and designer has generated mutual respect, and creative collaborations producing great buildings with an appropriate fusion of humanity and functionality for the people who inhabit and use his structures. Perhaps no other architect has set such a timeless standard in the urban/corporate world, a standard by which future generations will judge this era, no doubt with acclaim, thanks to his abilities. Already acknowledged by peers and critics of his own era, the bestowing of the Pritzker Architecture Prize reaffirms his place in history for a lifetime of creativity in beautifying and uplifting the environment.*

The Jury

Gordon Bunshaft, 1988
Gordon Bunshaft è un architetto di modesti proclami e di risultati importanti. Quando sostiene di preferire che siano gli edifici a parlare per lui, sceglie portavoci di grande eloquenza. Dalla fondamentale pietra miliare della Lever House a New York alle conclusive realizzazioni in Arabia Saudita, i suoi capolavori di architettura moderna realizzati in quarant'anni dimostrano una conoscenza della tecnologia e dei materiali contemporanei tuttora insuperata.
La sua convinzione che l'architettura sia una *joint venture* tra il cliente e il progettista ha generato un rispetto reciproco e collaborazioni creative tali da produrre grandi edifici, strutture in cui, per utenti e abitanti, la dimensione umana si fonde con quella funzionale.
Forse nessun altro architetto ha stabilito nella realizzazione di grandi edifici terziari urbani un livello di qualità così resistente al tempo; in base ad esso le generazioni future giudicheranno la nostra epoca senza dubbio positivamente, grazie alle capacità di questo professionista. Già riconosciuto da colleghi e critici suoi contemporanei, l'assegnazione del Premio Pritzker riconferma il suo posto nella storia per l'impegno instancabile con il quale ha abbellito e nobilitato l'ambiente che ci circonda.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Ada Louise Huxtable, Ricardo Legorreta, Fumihiko Maki, Kevin Roche, Jacob Rothschild, Bill Lacy (Secretary to the Jury), Stuart Wrede (Acting Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: The Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., May 23, 1988

Gordon Bunshaft, Edificio per uffici Lever Brothers Company, New York, U.S.A., 1951-52. Vista da sudest.
Foto E. Stoller/Esto.

Gordon Bunshaft, Lever Brothers Company Office Building, New York, U.S.A., 1951-52. View from the southeast.
Photo E. Stoller/Esto.

Discorso di accettazione
Gordon Bunshaft

Nel 1928 mi iscrissi alla Scuola di Architettura del MIT e cominciai il mio viaggio nell'architettura. Oggi, dopo sessant'anni, mi viene assegnato il Premio Pritzker. Ringrazio la famiglia Pritzker e i distinti membri della Giuria per avermi onorato con un riconoscimento così prestigioso. È il coronamento della mia vita di architetto. Questo è tutto.

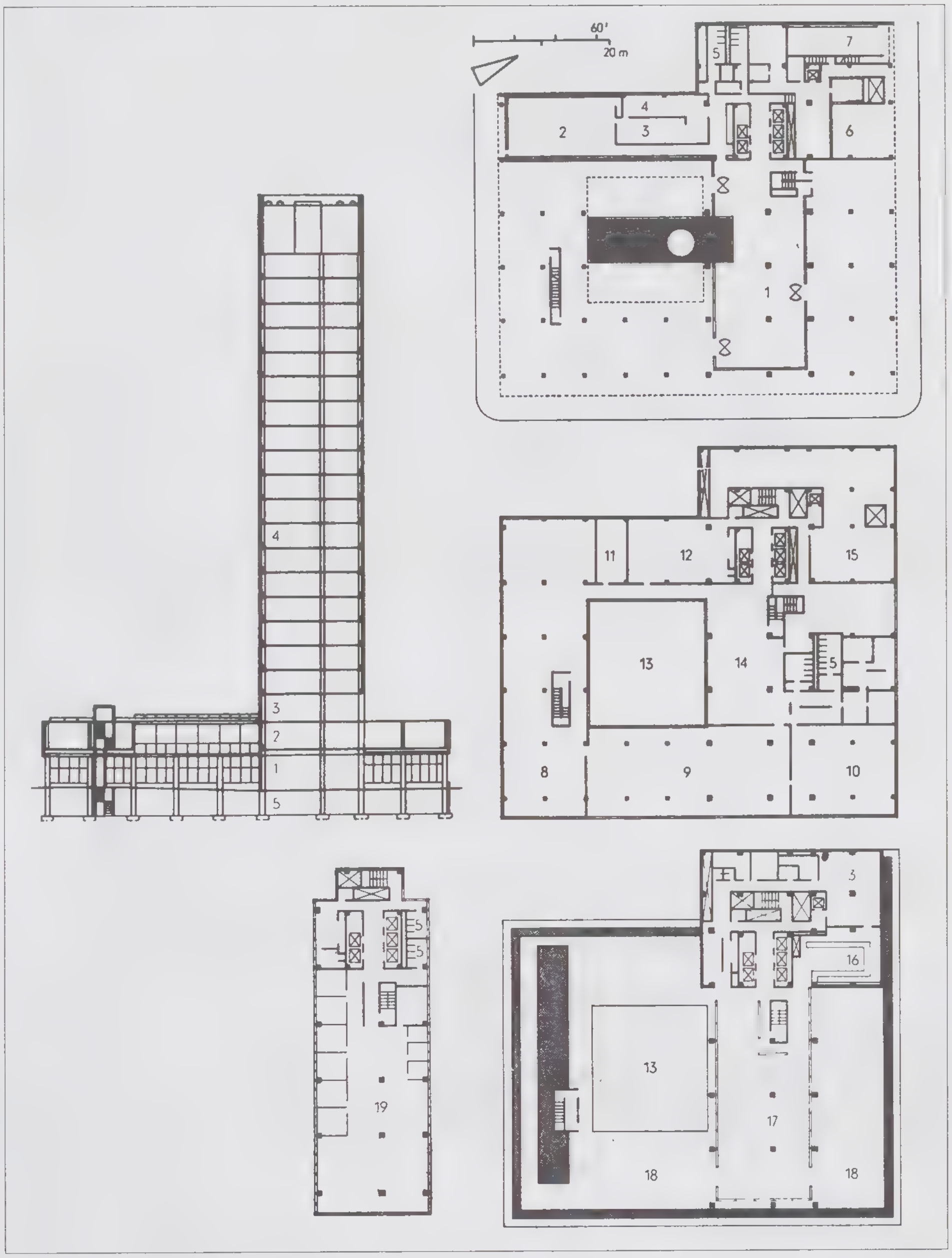
The Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 23 maggio 1988

Acceptance
Gordon Bunshaft

In 1928, I entered the MIT School of Architecture and started my architectural trip. Today, 60 years later, I've been given the Pritzker Architecture Prize for which I thank the Pritzker family and the distinguished members of the selection committee for honoring me with this prestigious award. It is the capstone of my life in architecture. That's it.

The Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., May 23, 1988





Gordon Bunshaft, Edificio per uffici Lever Brothers Company, New York, U.S.A., 1951-52. Piante dei piani terreno, primo, secondo e del piano tipo: 1) ingresso; 2) sala assemblee; 3) cucina; 4) sala esposizioni; 5) servizi; 6) locale di carico; 7) rampa; 8) elaboratori; 9) uffici; 10) locale dattilografe; 11) sala telex; 12) ufficio postale; 13) corte aperta; 14) sala d'attesa; 15) impianto di climatizzazione; 16) cafeteria; 17) mensa; 18) giardino pensile; 19) uffici open space e individuali. Sezione trasversale: 1) ingresso; 2) primo livello; 3) secondo livello; 4) livello uffici; 5) sotterraneo.

Gordon Bunshaft, Lever Brothers Company Office Building, New York, U.S.A., 1951-52. Ground floor, first and second level and typical floor plans: 1) entrance hall; 2) assembly room; 3) kitchen; 4) showroom; 5) lavatories; 6) loading bay; 7) ramp down; 8) data processing machines; 9) offices; 10) typing room; 11) teleprinter; 12) postal department; 13) open court; 14) lounge room; 15) air-conditioning plant; 16) cafeteria; 17) dining room; 18) roof garden; 19) large open office area and individual offices. Cross section: 1) entrance; 2) first level; 3) second level; 4) office floors; 5) basement floor.

Edificio per uffici Lever Brothers Company, New York, U.S.A., 1951-52
Questo grattacielo in Park Avenue venne costruito nel 1951-52 per la nuova sede della Lever Brothers Company, una grande industria americana di prodotti per la casa. Il rivestimento vetrato della facciata e il modo in cui venne concepito il progetto diedero il via a una nuova tendenza di costruire edifici per uffici, ripresa in molte realizzazioni successive e consolidatasi in molta architettura contemporanea.
La struttura è formata da due masse intersecantesi di proporzioni equilibrate ma di forme contrastanti. Un blocco orizzontale a due piani che racchiude una corte aperta occupa l'intero lotto, disponendo la torre a nord. Le colonne e la corte a piano terreno creano un'ampia piazza aperta che consente di accedere alla *lobby* tramite ingressi situati lontano dal flusso pedonale. Il primo piano ospita principalmente uffici per elaborazione dati. Il primo dei ventuno piani della torre, posizionata dietro le colonne, ospita la sala da pranzo e la caffetteria. Il piano-tipo è caratterizzato da zone ampie e aperte con accessi agevoli ai singoli uffici e nuclei di servizio all'estremità ovest. La parete esterna è formata da una vetrata di colore verde scuro, differente dal tradizionale vetro da finestre, e da un'intelaiatura di acciaio inossidabile.

Lever Brothers Company Office Building, New York, U.S.A., 1951-52
This Park Avenue skyscraper was built in 1951-52 as a new home for the Lever Brothers Company, a leading American manufacturer of household products. Its glass-sheathed facade and new design concept set trends in office building construction that were to be reflected in many later projects and become dominant elements of contemporary architecture.
The structure consists of two intersecting masses, balanced in their proportions but contrasting in shape. A two-storey horizontal block containing an open court occupies the entire site with the tower located on the north. The columns and the ground floor court create a large open plaza allowing entrances to the lobby to be located away from pedestrian traffic. The first level contains office spaces, chiefly for data processing. The first floor of the 21-storey tower, set back behind the columns, contains the dining room and cafeteria. The typical floor is characterized by large, open office areas with easy access to individual offices, and service cores at the western end. The curtain wall consists of dark green spandrel glass, contrasting window glass, and stainless steel framing.

Addizione alla Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A., 1962
Il disegno della nuova ala ha voluto conservare e sottolineare lo stile neoclassico di questo edificio di marmo progettato da Edward B. Green nel 1905. Lo scopo è stato raggiunto contenendo tutti gli spazi di nuova costruzione – tranne i cubi di vetro trasparente dell'auditorium e del vestibolo – all'interno di pareti di marmo che si prolungano dal basamento dell'edificio originale.
Il centro della nuova ala è una grande corte all'aperto per le sculture, in asse con l'ingresso e racchiusa da due spazi espositivi, da un'ala che ospita gli uffici e da una caffetteria. Sul lato sud, a una quota ribassata di diversi gradini rispetto alla corte, si trova una grande galleria espositiva che può essere suddivisa a piacere da pannelli mobili. Sopra la galleria si trova un auditorium con 350 posti a sedere e pareti vetrate di colore grigio scuro per consentire l'uso anche diurno del proiettore senza bisogno di tende.
L'ingresso al Museo è stato portato nella nuova ala e si trova così al piano terreno.
Nel punto di sovrapposizione, l'edificio esistente e la nuova ala sono stati collegati con un'ampia scala che sale in un vano a doppia altezza.

Extension to Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A., 1962
The intention in designing the new wing was to enhance and preserve the appearance of the earlier neoclassical marble building designed by Edward B. Green in 1905. This has been achieved by containing all the new spaces – except the transparent glass cubes of auditorium and vestibule – within marble walls which extend from the base of the original building.
The center of the new wing is a large outdoor sculpture courtyard which is on axis with the entrance and enclosed by two exhibition galleries, an office wing and a cafeteria. On its south side, placed several steps lower than the courtyard, is a large exhibition gallery which can be partitioned at will by movable screens. Above the gallery is the auditorium which has a seating capacity of 350. The glass walls of the auditorium are dark grey glass permitting the use of the projector even in daytime without having to draw the curtains.
The entrance to the museum was moved to the new wing so that it could be at ground level. The existing building and the new wing are connected where they overlap by a large stairway ascending in a two-storey well.





Gordon Bunshaft, Addizione alla Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A., 1962.
Vista da sudovest.
Foto E. Stoller/Esto.
Piante del primo e secondo livello:
1) ingresso; 2) galleria; 3) scale; 4) guardaroba; 5) uffici; 6) corte aperta delle sculture; 7) ristorante; 8) cucina; 9) scale per auditorio; 10) spazio per mostre; 11) auditorio.
Nelle pagine seguenti:
Vista della corte delle sculture.
Foto E. Stoller/Esto.

Gordon Bunshaft, Extension to Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A., 1962.
View from the southwest.
Photo E. Stoller/Esto.
Plans of first and second levels:
1) vestibule; 2) gallery; 3) stairs; 4) cloakroom; 5) offices; 6) sculpture courtyard; 7) dining room; 8) kitchen; 9) stairs to auditorium; 10) exhibition gallery; 11) auditorium.
Following pages:
View of sculpture courtyard.
Photo E. Stoller/Esto.





Oscar Niemeyer, 1988. *There is a moment in a nation's history when one individual captures the essence of that culture and gives it form. It is sometimes in music, painting, sculpture, or literature. In Brazil, Oscar Niemeyer has captured that essence with his architecture. His building designs are the distillation of colors, light and sensual imagery of his native land. Although associated primarily with his major masterpiece, Brasilia, the capital city of Brazil, he had achieved early recognition from one of his mentors, Le Corbusier, going on to collaborate with him on one of the most important symbolic structures in the world, the United Nations Headquarters. Recognized as one of the first to pioneer new concepts in architecture in this hemisphere, his designs are artistic gesture with underlying logic and substance. His pursuit of great architecture linked to roots of his native land has resulted in new plastic forms and a lyricism in buildings, not only in Brazil, but around the world. For his lifetime achievements, the Pritzker Architecture Prize is bestowed.*

The Jury

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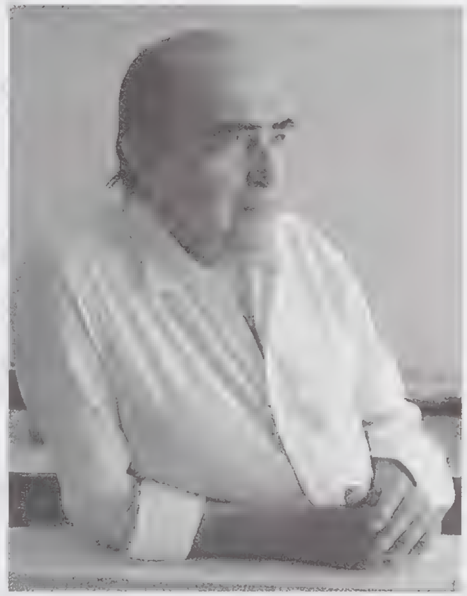
Nella storia di una nazione accade sempre che un individuo catturi l'essenza della sua cultura e le dia forma. Avviene nella musica, nella pittura, nella scultura o nella letteratura. In Brasile Oscar Niemeyer ha catturato quell'essenza con la sua architettura, un distillato di colori, luce e immagini sensuali della terra in cui è nato.

Nonostante sia principalmente identificato con il suo grande capolavoro, Brasilia, la capitale del Brasile, l'opera di Niemeyer era già stata riconosciuta da uno dei suoi mentori, Le Corbusier, con il quale collaborò alla progettazione di una delle strutture simboliche più importanti nel mondo, la Sede delle Nazioni Unite.

Riconosciuto come uno fra i primi a introdurre nuove concezioni architettoniche nel nostro emisfero, nei suoi progetti il gesto d'arte ha un fondamento logico e sostanziale. La ricerca di grandi architetture legate alle radici della sua terra nativa si è realizzata in nuove forme plastiche e nel lirismo dei suoi edifici, non solo in Brasile ma in tutto il mondo.

Ed è per questa infaticabile dedizione che gli viene conferito il Premio Pritzker.

La Giuria



Giuria/Jury

J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Ada Louise Huxtable, Ricardo Legorreta, Fumihiko Maki, Kevin Roche, Jacob Rothschild, Bill Lacy (Secretary to the Jury), Stuart Wrede (Acting Consultant to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: The Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., May 23, 1988

Testimonianza
Oscar Niemeyer

La mia attività di architetto è iniziata nel 1940 a Pampulha, nello Stato brasiliano di Minhas Gerais. Come tutti gli architetti della mia generazione, lavoravo sotto l'influenza dell'opera magistrale di Le Corbusier, ma anche con l'obbiettivo di fare cose diverse, di sfuggire al Razionalismo che limitava tutti con i suoi principi di purezza architettonica.
Sentivo che il cemento armato esigeva soluzioni più libere e offriva molto di più all'immaginazione degli architetti. Così riempii di curve la Chiesa di São Francisco a Pampulha e progettai, piena di curve, la pensilina della Casa do Baile.
Del vecchio maestro non avevo dimenticato la frase categorica: "*L'architettura è invenzione*", e più tardi, e con ancor più allegria, lessi Heidegger che diceva: "*La ragione è nemica dell'immaginazione*".
Proseguii per la mia strada, fiducioso nella verità che queste affermazioni rappresentavano, rafforzate da Baudelaire che dichiarava: "*L'inaspettato, la sorpresa, l'irregolarità sono caratteristiche della bellezza*".
Così l'idea di trovare soluzioni diverse e scoprire la bellezza è stata la preoccupazione di tutta la mia vita.
E' chiaro che i progetti di Pampulha mal impressionarono i vecchi razionalisti, che si accorgevano che qualcosa di nuovo cominciava a nascere, e ciò si accentuò con la pubblicazione di queste opere nel libro *Brazil Builds*, edito negli Stati Uniti nel 1940; e si moltiplicarono le critiche in difesa dell'architettura a riga e squadra che essi professavano.
Fortunatamente Le Corbusier non partecipò a questa campagna, e mi disse un giorno a New York: "*Tu fai il barocco egregiamente*". E nel dirlo, il mio amico non aveva nessuna intonazione critica. Al contrario. Me lo ricordo nel suo studio di Parigi, molti anni dopo, che mi diceva: "*Oscar, guarda quella fotografia della pensilina del Palazzo dell'Assemblea di Chandigarh. Dicono che faccio il barocco, ma non può essere uno qualunque a farlo così*".
E mi ricordava che ancora giovane, ai tempi di Pampulha, 1940, molti anni prima, diceva agli studenti di architettura una cosa simile: "*È chiaro che l'architettura che facciamo è molto più difficile da elaborare di quella architettura monotona e ripetitiva che va in questo momento*". Sorrisi soddisfatto pensando a quello che avevo sentito dire da Le Corbusier, ormai libero dai vecchi preconcetti che prima lo preoccupavano.
Venne Brasilia e là io andai, in capo al mondo, per progettare tutti gli edifici della Nuova Capitale. L'unione tra architettura e tecnica mi attraeva, perché mi portava a strutture più audaci, dando al lavoro degli ingegneri più valore e creatività. In questo lavoro ho fatto ricorso al principio dell'invenzione, cioè fare cose diverse, disposto a disprezzare il rigore tecnico se a volte la ricerca della bellezza lo consigliava.
Come una delle opzioni possibili, invasi il campo della leggerezza e mi dedicai particolarmente agli appoggi, facendoli sottili, sottilissimi in modo che i palazzi di Brasilia sembrassero appena toccare il suolo. Ricordavo un ingegnere che in America Latina costruì un ponte tanto fine, tanto delicato nei suoi incastri, che si sarebbe potuto armare in una notte. In verità, la leggerezza è conseguenza della perfezione tecnica e anche negli oggetti più semplici della tecnologia la possiamo ritrovare.
Il problema dell'invenzione diventò così importante per me che se qualcuno, prima di visitare Brasilia, me la chiede, dico subito la mia opinione: "*Ti potranno non piacere gli edifici di Brasilia, ma mai potrai dire di aver visto qualcosa di simile*".
Un giorno, durante la dittatura, le mie idee politiche mi obbligarono a lasciare il Brasile. Di passaggio per il Vecchio Mondo, non ho aspirato a mostrare solo la mia architettura, ma anche il progresso dell'ingegneria nel mio

Paese, e principalmente che noi dei Paesi sottosviluppati o in via di sviluppo avevamo già una competenza sufficiente per imporre i nostri punti di vista professionali.
Con questi principi, ho progettato e sono stati costruiti in Algeria, nel blocco delle aule dell'Università di Costantine, appoggi ogni m 50 e sbalzi di m 25, e con tale scelta la parete che sorreggevano misurava appena cm 30 di spessore al posto di m 1.5 come pretendeva lo studio tecnico responsabile dell'approvazione dei progetti.
In Italia, nella sede Mondadori, ho rifiutato l'idea di prevedere nel grande colonnato luci uguali di m.8, mantenendo variazioni previste tra m 15 e m 3 come indicato nel progetto originale. Era il colonnato che preferivo, con un ritmo quasi musicale. In Francia, al centro culturale di Le Havre, ho abbassato il livello della piazza di m 4 rispetto a quello dei viali. Volevo proteggerla dai venti e dare a quelli che passavano una visione dall'alto più ampia del complesso, e ciò ha garantito al mio progetto caratteristiche proprie, poiché mai ho visto una piazza ribassata come questa in tutt'Europa.
Mi fa piacere sapere che i miei progetti erano bene accolti, che aiutavano la tecnica a evolversi. Mi ricordo del grande ingegnere Riccardo Morandi che dichiarò, dopo aver calcolato il mio progetto per il Gruppo Fata di Torino: "*Per la prima volta un progetto di architettura mi ha permesso di mostrare tutto quello che conosco sul cemento armato*".
Guardo indietro e sento che ho lavorato molto, che ho passato la vita chino sul tavolo da disegno, ma mi tranquillizzo ricordando che comunque ho riservato del tempo per coltivare gli amici e partecipare alla lotta contro la miseria, per me molto più importante dell'architettura. E' proprio perché i problemi materiali mai mi hanno condizionato, che oggi posso ripetere ciò che dissi ai giornali molti anni fa: "*Avrei vergogna se fossi un uomo ricco*".

Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 20 luglio 1994

Statements on architecture
Oscar Niemeyer

My career as an architect began in 1940 in Pampulha, in the Brazilian state of Minhas Gerais. Like all architects of my generation, I was influenced by the masterly achievements of Le Corbusier, although I also wanted to do something different, to avoid the rationalism whose principles of architectural purity were placing constraints on everyone.
I felt that reinforced concrete called for greater freedom and offered architects much more imaginative solutions. So I filled the Church of St Francis in Pampulha with curves and designed a curved cantilever porch for the Casa do Baile. However, I never forgot the old master's categorical statement that "architecture is invention", *and much later I read with even greater pleasure in Heidegger that* "reason is the enemy of imagination".
I went my own way, confident of the truth of these statements and encouraged by Baudelaire who said that "unexpectedness, surprise and irregularity are the features of beauty".
Thus, my whole life has been an attempt to find alternative solutions and reveal beauty.
Obviously, the old rationalists were not impressed by the Pampulha projects. They realised that something new was beginning to happen, and their fears were only confirmed when the projects appeared in Brazil Builds, *published in the States in 1940. Critiques defending their ruler and set-square architecture appeared with increasing frequency. Fortunately, Le Corbusier himself took no part in the campaign. One day in New York, he said to me,* "You do Baroque very well", *and there were no critical overtones in what my friend said. On the contrary. I remember him saying to me, years later in his Paris studio,* "Oscar, you see that photo of the porch of the Assembly Building in Chandigarh? They say I'm doing Baroque, but not

everyone can do it like this".

This reminded me that years before, in 1940, when I was still young and working on Pampulha, I used to say something similar to architecture students: "Obviously, the architecture we do is much harder to bring off than the fashionable, repetitive architecture people are doing at the moment".

I smiled contentedly when I thought about what Le Corbusier had said, now that he was free of the old preconceptions that once worried him so much.

Then Brasilia came along and I went there, to the ends of the earth, to design all the buildings for the new capital.

The union of architecture and technology attracted me because it encouraged me to design more daring structures that made the engineering contribution more creative and important.

I applied the principle of invention in the work I did there; in other words, I tried to do things that were different, and was willingly disdainful of technological rigour on occasions when the search for beauty seemed to call for it.

As one of many possible options, I set my sights on lightness and lavished special care on supports, making them so slender and thin that the buildings of Brasilia hardly seem to touch the ground. I remember an architect who built in Latin America a bridge so slender, so delicate in its jointing that it could have been erected in a single night. In reality, lightness is the result of technological perfection, and you can find that in even the simplest technological objects.

The question of invention has become so important to me that if someone asks me for my opinion before going to Brasilia, I say: "You may not like the buildings in Brasilia, but you'll have to admit that you've never seen anything like them before".

Then the dictatorship forced me to leave Brazil because of my political views.

During my stay in the Old World, I tried to show people not just my own architecture, but also the standard of engineering Brazil had achieved. Most importantly, I wanted people to realise that we in the underdeveloped or developing countries already had the expertise to insist on our own professional viewpoints.

Applying these principles to the classroom block of the University of Constantine in Algiers, I designed – and eventually saw built – uprights 50 metres apart with 25 metre spans supporting a wall only 30 cm thick instead of the 1.5 metres insisted on by the engineering office responsible for approving the projects.

In the Mondadori Building in Italy, I rejected the idea that the big colonnade should have 8 metre windows, and stuck to the original project specification of sizes from 13 to 15 metres. With its almost musical rhythm, this was the colonnade I preferred.

At the Le Havre Cultural Centre in France, I lowered the plaza 4 metres below street level to shelter it from the wind and give passersby a broader aerial view of the complex. This became the unique feature of the project: I have never seen a lowered plaza like this anywhere in Europe.

I am pleased to know that my projects have been well received, that they have been a spur to technological progress. I remember what the great engineer Riccardo Morandi said when he had finished calculating my project for the Fata Group in Turin: "For the first time, an architecture project has allowed me to show everything I know about reinforced concrete".

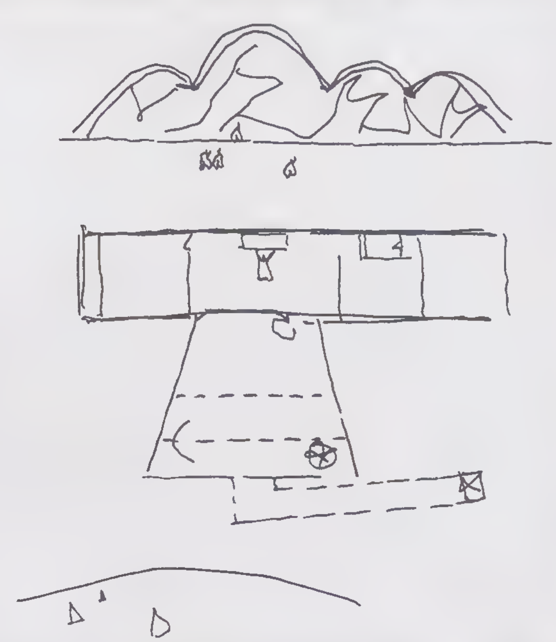
Looking back, I think I 've worked a lot, that I've spent a lifetime bent over a drawing board, but I comfort myself with the thought that I've also found time to cultivate friendships and help fight poverty, which to me is much more important than architecture. It's precisely because material problems have never concerned me overmuch that I can repeat now what I once said many years ago: "I'd be ashamed if I were a rich man".

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, July 20, 1994

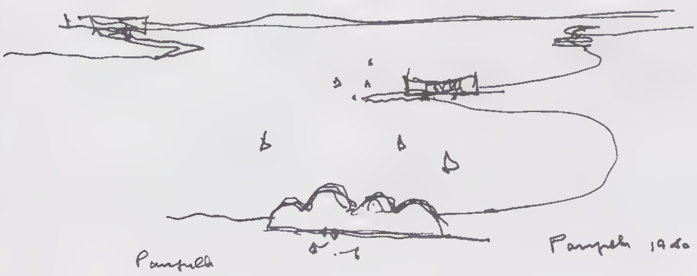


Oscar Niemeyer, Chiesa di Saō Francisco, Pampulha, Minas Gerais, Brasile, 1939-42. Vista e schizzi di studio.
Oscar Niemeyer, Casa do Baile, Pampulha, Minas Gerais, Brasile, 1939-42. Vista e schizzi di studio.

Oscar Niemeyer, Church of St. Francis, Pampulha, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1939-42. View and study sketches.
Oscar Niemeyer, Casa do Baile, Pampulha, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1939-42. View and study sketches.





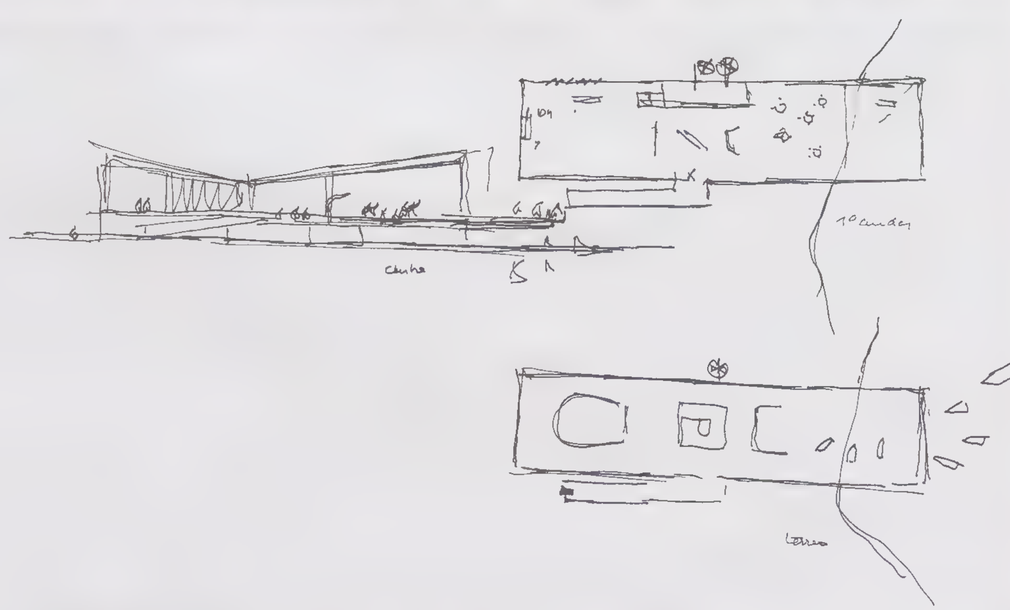

Pampulha


casa do Baile

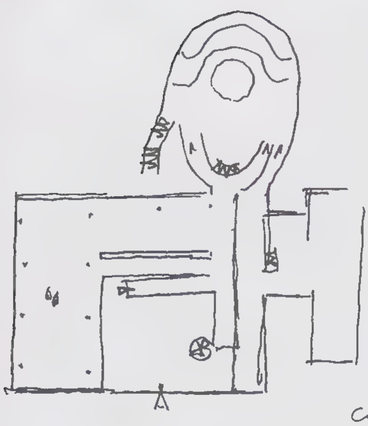


Oscar Niemeyer, Yacth Club, Pampulha, Minas Gerais, Brasile, 1939-42. Vista interna e schizzi di studio. Oscar Niemeyer, Casinó, Pampulha, Minas Gerais, Brasile, 1939-42. Vista e schizzi di studio.

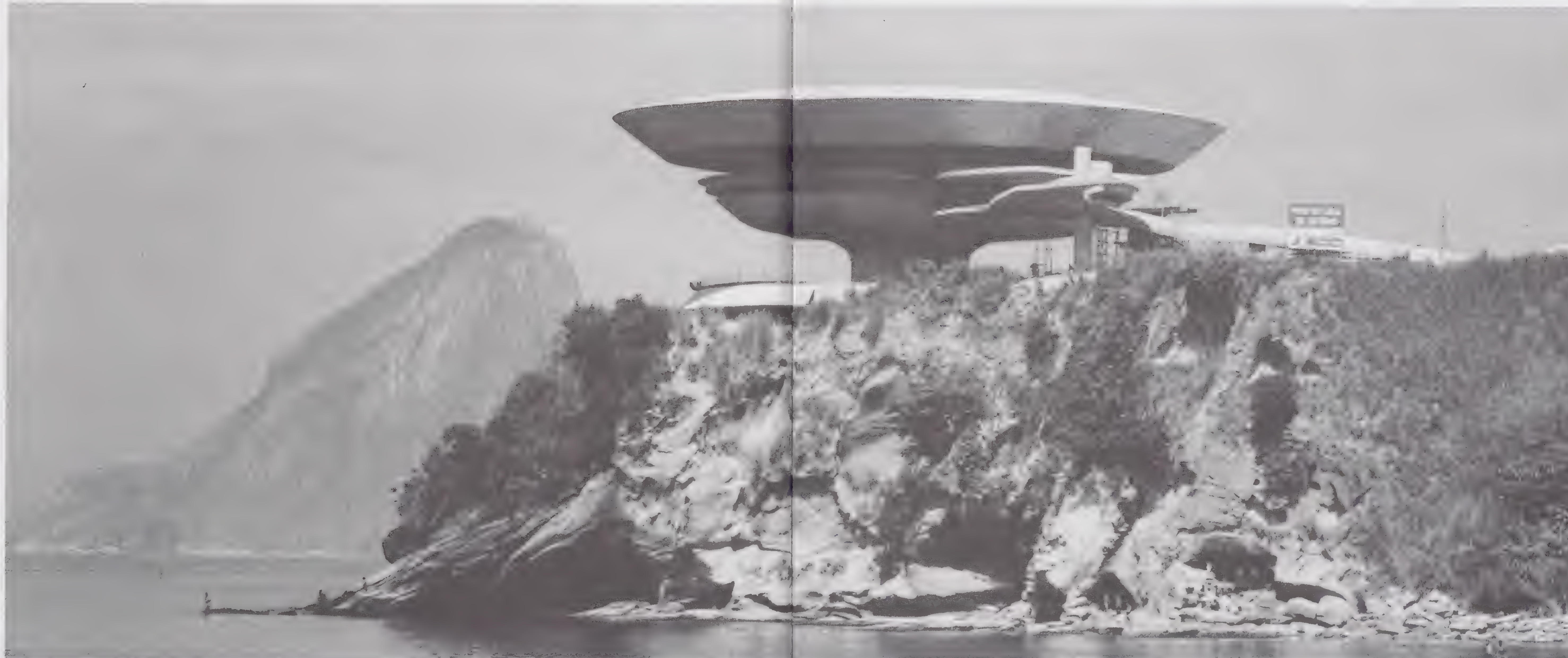
Oscar Niemeyer, Yacht Club, Pampulha, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1939-42. Internal view and study sketches. Oscar Niemeyer, Casino, Pampulha, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1939-42. View and study sketches.






casino





Oscar Niemeyer, Museo di Arte Contemporanea di Niterõi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1994.
Vista e schizzi di studio.

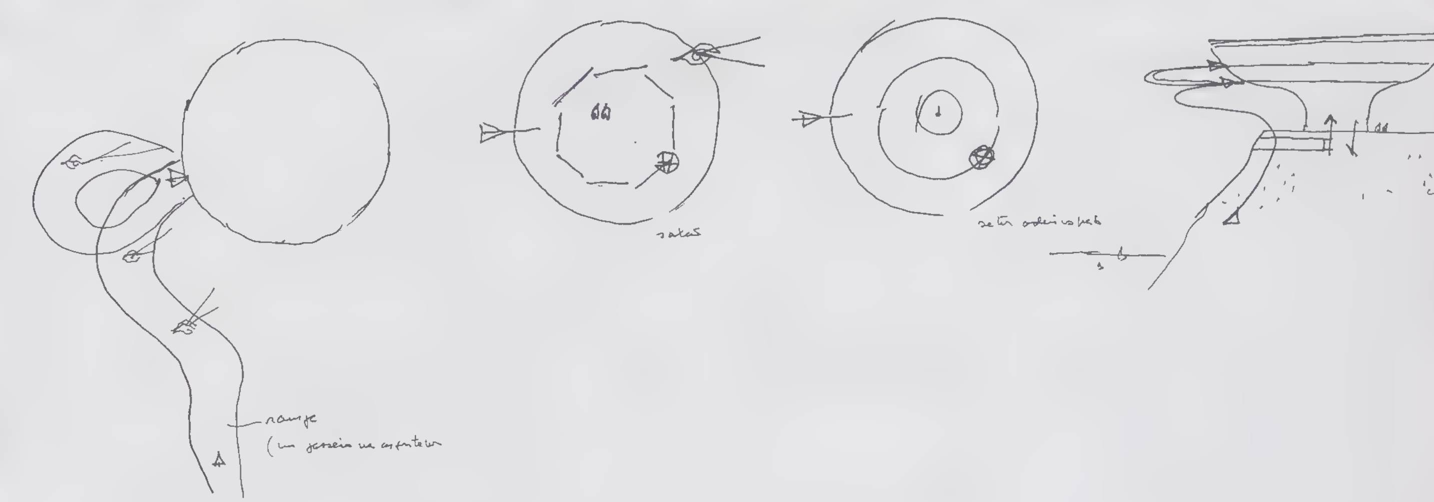
Oscar Niemeyer, Niterõi Museum of Contemporary Art, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1994.
View and study sketches.

Museo di Arte Contemporanea di Niterõi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1994
Oscar Niemeyer

Il progetto del Museo è in via di realizzazione in un luogo stupendo, con la vista che si apre su Rio de Janeiro.
A causa delle condizioni del terreno, ho adottato un appoggio centrale che ha permesso la soluzione più leggera che io desiderassi, librata sopra al paesaggio.
Un rampa accompagna il Museo, ora avvicinandosi a esso, ora allontanandosi. "*È una passeggiata nell'architettura*", come ha commentato un amico architetto.
Intorno al salone c'è una galleria così come esigeva l'ambiente panoramico, e nel sottosuolo un ristorante.
Dal punto di vista strutturale, il Museo dimostra quello che è possibile fare con il cemento armato.

Niterõi Museum of Contemporary Art, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1994
Oscar Niemeyer

The Museum project is now being built on a stunning site with views over Rio de Janeiro. Given the features of the site, I decided to use a central support permitting the kind of really lightweight design I wanted, which hovers over the passageway.
There is also a ramp that alternately moves towards and away from the Museum – "a stroll through architecture" *as an architect friend of mine described it – and a gallery round the main hall, as the panoramic setting required.*
The basement contains a restaurant.
Structurally, the Museum demonstrates what can be done with reinforced concrete.





Oscar Niemeyer, Museo di Arte Contemporanea di Niterõi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1994.
Vista e schizzi di studio.

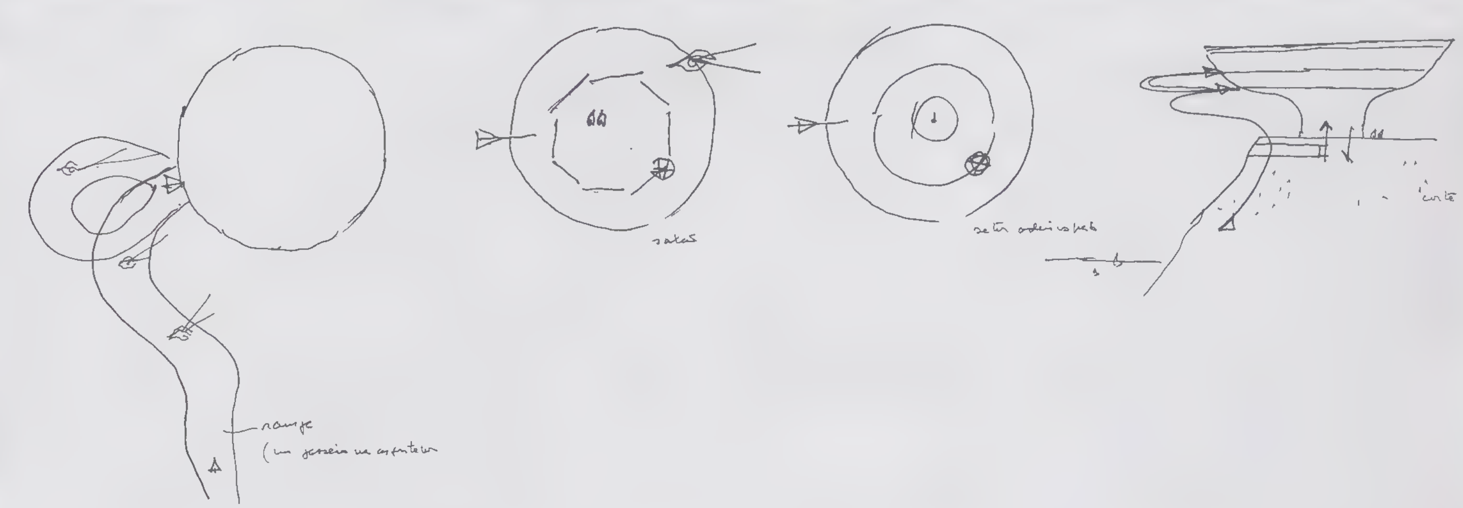
Oscar Niemeyer, Niterõi Museum of Contemporary Art, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1994.
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Museo di Arte Contemporanea di Niterõi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasile, 1994
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Frank O. Gehry, 1989. *In an artistic climate that too often looks backward rather than toward the future, where retrospectives are more prevalent than risk-taking, it is important to honor the architecture of Frank O. Gehry. Refreshingly original and totally American, proceeding as it does from his populist Southern California perspective, Gehry's work is a highly refined, sophisticated and adventurous aesthetic that emphasizes the art of architecture.*

His sometimes controversial, but always arresting body of work, has been variously described as iconoclastic, rambunctious and impermanent, but the jury, in making this award, commends this restless spirit that has made his buildings a unique expression of contemporary society and its ambivalent values.

Gehry's architecture reflects his keen appreciation for the same social forces that have informed the work of outstanding artists through history, including many contemporaries with whom he often collaborates. His designs, if compared to American music, could best be likened to Jazz, replete with improvisation and a lively unpredictable spirit.

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Always open to experimentation, he has as well a sureness and maturity that resists, in the same way that Picasso did, being bound either by critical acceptance or his succcsses. His buildings are juxtaposed collages of spaces and materials that make users appreciative of both the theatre and the back-stage, simultaneously revealed.
Although the prize is for a lifetime of achievement, the jury hopes Mr. Gehry will view it as encouragement for continuing an extraordinarv "work in progress," as well as for his significant contributions thus far to the architecture of the twentieth century.
The Jury

Frank O. Gehry, 1989
In un clima artistico che troppo spesso preferisce guardare indietro piuttosto che verso il futuro, in cui la nostalgia prevale spesso sul prendere rischi, è molto importante onorare l'architettura di Frank O. Gehry. Simpaticamente originale e interamente americano, radicato alla visione populista della California meridionale, l'opera di Gehry esprime un'estetica altamente raffinata, sofisticata e spregiudicata che enfatizza l'arte dell'architettura. Il suo a volte controverso ma sempre avvincente *corpus* di opere è stato descritto da alcuni come iconoclasta, eccessivo e transeunte, ma la Giuria, nel conferire a Gehry questo riconoscimento, premia questo spirito perennemente irrequieto che ha fatto dei suoi edifici un'espressione singolare della società contemporanea e dei suoi ambigui valori.
L'architettura di Gehry riflette un profondo apprezzamento per quelle stesse forze sociali che hanno ispirato il lavoro di grandi artisti nella storia, compresi molti suoi contemporanei con i quali spesso collabora. Le sue architetture, se paragonate alla musica americana, potrebbero essere equiparate al *jazz*, ricco di improvvisazioni e prodotto da uno spirito vitale e imprevedibile.
Sempre aperto alla sperimentazione egli ha tuttavia una sicurezza e una maturità che, come avveniva per Picasso, resiste ai condizionamenti dell'accettazione critica o della ricerca del successo. I suoi edifici sono *collage* giustapposti di spazi e materiali che svelano contemporaneamente a un pubblico ammirato il teatro e l'apparato del retroscena. Nonostante il premio gli venga conferito per quanto realizzato finora e per l'importante contributo dato all'architettura del Ventesimo secolo, la Giuria spera che Mr. Gehry lo interpreti anche come un incoraggiamento a continuare il suo straordinario "*work in progress*".
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Ada Louise Huxtable, Ricardo Legorreta, Kevin Roche, Jacob Rothschild, Bill Lacy (Secretary to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: Todai-ji Buddhist Temple, Nara, Japan, May 18, 1989

Discorso di accettazione
Frank O. Gehry

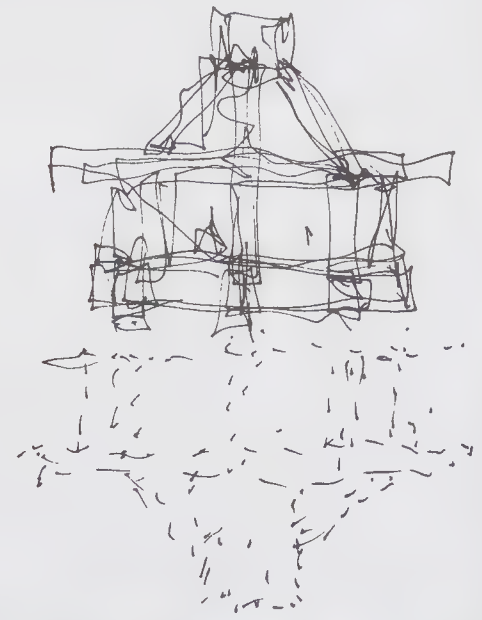
Colleghi e amici, sono molto contento … sono davvero contento … sono felice di essere qui in Giappone … soprattutto qui al tempio di Todai-ji. È davvero un grande onore ricevere un premio così importante.
Sono ossessionato dall'architettura. Sono un inquieto, è vero, nello sforzo incessante di non abbandonare mai la mia strada, di intervenire nel migliore dei modi in un mondo pieno di contraddizioni, disparità e ineguaglianze, ma anche di passioni e di opportunità. È un mondo che minaccia costantemente i nostri valori e le nostre priorità. Sarebbe semplicistico credere che esista un'unica e valida risposta. L'architettura non è che un frammento di questa equazione umana ma noi, coloro che la praticano, crediamo nella sua possibilità di stabilire una differenza, di illuminare e arricchire l'esperienza umana, di penetrare le barriere del malinteso e di offrire un bellissimo contesto al teatro della vita.
Agli albori della mia esperienza un maestro viennese mi insegnò a cercare la perfezione, ma nei miei primi progetti non riuscii a trovare l'abilità necessaria. A quel tempo i miei amici, artisti quali Jasper Johns, Bob Rauschenberg, Ed Kienholz, Claes Oldenburg, usavano materiali poverissimi come pezzi di legno o di carta, e lavoravano con il bello. Le loro opere non erano superficiali ma dirette, immediate, e sollevavano la questione di che cosa fosse la bellezza. Scelsi così di usare questa disciplina e di lavorare con gli artisti e trarre insegnamento dai loro campi specifici.
La pittura aveva un'immediatezza che perseguivo con tenacia nell'architettura. Indagai i processi dei materiali da costruzione grezzi nel tentativo di infondere sentimento e spirito alla forma. Per trovare l'essenza della mia stessa espressione mi immaginavo artista di fronte a una tela bianca, indeciso su quella che sarebbe stata la prima mossa. Lo chiamai il momento della verità.
L'architettura deve risolvere problemi complessi. Dobbiamo capire e usare la tecnologia, dobbiamo creare edifici solidi e sicuri, rispettosi del contesto e dell'ambiente, e soddisfare le molteplici esigenze di responsabilità sociale. Dobbiamo anche soddisfare il cliente.
E allora? Il momento della verità, la composizione degli elementi, la scelta di forme, proporzioni, materiali, colori, sono gli stessi elementi in gioco nel lavoro del pittore e dello scultore. L'architettura è certamente un'arte, e coloro che praticano l'arte dell'architettura sono certamente architetti.
I problemi degli architetti si complicano con il trascorrere del tempo. Incontriamo difficoltà con l'arte della costruzione urbana. Noi cerchiamo il modo di lavorare insieme, artisti e architetti, architetti e architetti, clienti e architetti. E sogniamo che ogni mattone, ogni finestra, ogni muro, ogni strada, ogni albero venga collocato amorevolmente dall'artista, dall'architetto e dalla gente per creare città bellissime. Ma è anche essenziale calcolare inizialmente il tempo e il denaro necessari. Questo stesso tempio, il Todai-ji, è il simbolo di un grande sforzo collettivo che un tempo ha riunito migliaia di persone e di talenti per creare un edificio di bellezza straordinaria e durevole.
Non è del tutto casuale che io riceva il Premio Pritzker in Giappone. Ho studiato nella California Meridionale, in presenza di molte opere ispirate all'architettura giapponese, opere di Green and Green, Harwell Hamilton Harris, Gordon Drake e molti altri. Alcuni sono stati anche miei insegnanti e da loro ho imparato a guardare l'architettura giapponese e a comprenderla. L'ordine di Ryoanji mi ha sedotto molto prima del Partenone e credo tuttora che il mio lavoro porti le tracce di quegli antichi principi.
Oggi ci sono architetti americani che lavorano in

Giappone, architetti giapponesi che lavorano in America e tutti noi lavoriamo un po' ovunque nella comprensione reciproca e nel rispetto dei diversi valori e culture.
È per me un grande onore ricevere il Premio Pritzker. Sono contento che una Giuria così importante abbia riconosciuto il mio lavoro ma so di non potermene compiacere. Conosco i membri della Giuria, sono persone esigenti, si aspettano molto … non è certo il caso di dormire sugli allori.
Coloro che hanno già ricevuto questo premio hanno continuato a realizzare bellissimi progetti ed è questa la sfida, migliorare sempre per onorare sempre una così grande occasione. È questo che intendo fare.
Ringrazio la famiglia Pritzker e il contributo che offre all'architettura. E tutte le persone che partecipano alla mia vita … e hanno reso possibile questo riconoscimento, gli artisti e le culture che mi hanno ispirato e la famiglia che mi ha amorevolmente sostenuto.
Da quando mi è stato annunciato il conferimento del Premio, i giornalisti mi hanno chiesto spesso che cosa intendo fare con il denaro. Voglio finire la mia casa e abbattere finalmente la recinzione del cantiere.

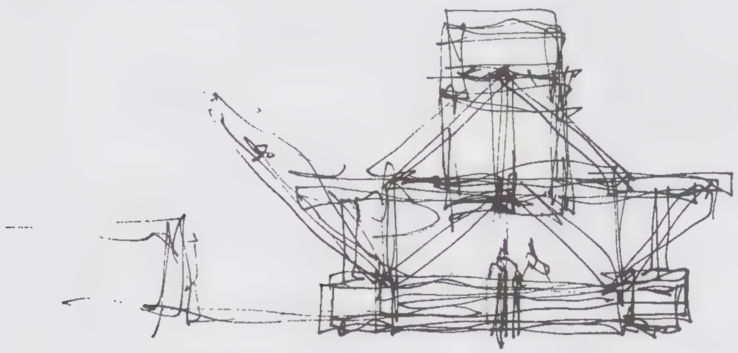
Tempio Buddista Todai-ji, Nara, Giappone, 18 maggio 1989

Acceptance
Frank O. Gehry

Colleagues and friends, I am very happy ... I am unbelievable happy ... I love being here in Japan ... especially today at Todai-ji Temple. Today is a special honour for me, to receive this important prize.
I am obsessed with architecture. It is true, I am restless, trying to find myself as an architect, and how best to contribute in this world filled with contradiction, disparity, and inequality, even passion and opportunity. It is a world in which our values and priorities are constantly being challenged. It is simplicistic to expect a single right answer. Architecture is a small piece of this human equation, but for those of us who practise it, we believe in its potential to make a difference, to enlighten and to enrich the human experience, to penetrate the barriers of misunderstanding and provide a beautiful context for life's drama.
I was trained early in my career by a Viennese master to make perfection , but in my first projects, I was not able to find the craft to achieve that perfection. My artist friends, people like Jasper Johns, Bob Rauschenberg, Ed Kienholz, Claes Oldenburg, were working with very inexpensive materials – broken wood and paper, and they were making beauty. These were not superficial details, they were direct, it raised the question of what was beautiful. I chose to use the craft available, and to work with the craftsmen and make virtue out of their limitations.
Painting had an immediacy which I craved for architecture. I explored the processes of raw construction materials to try giving feeling and spirit to form. In trying to find the essence of my own expression, I fantasized the artist standing before the white canvas deciding what was the first move. I called it the moment of truth.
Architecture must solve complex problems. We must understand and use technology, we must create buildings which are safe and dry, respectful of context and neighbors,

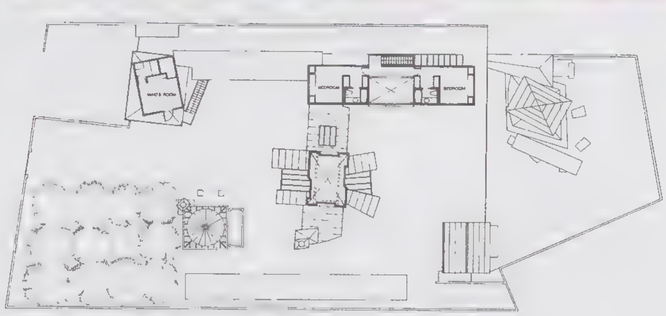


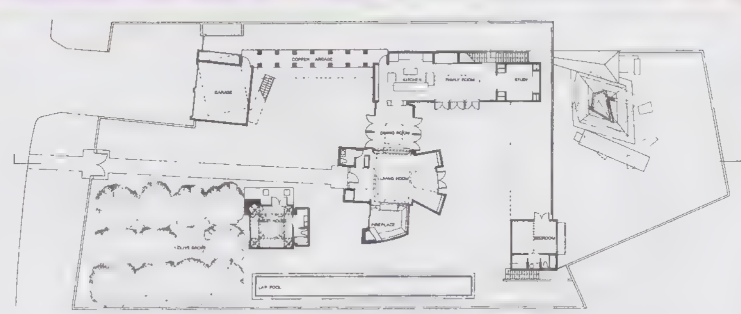
and face all the myriad of issues of social responsibility, and even please the client.
But then what? The moment of truth, the composition of elements, the selection of forms, scales, materials, colour, finally, all the same issues facing the painter and the sculptor. Architecture is surely an art, and those who practice the art-of -architecture are surely architects.
Our problems as architects increase in complexity as time goes on. We have difficulty with the art of city building.
We are finding ways of working together, artists and architects, architects and architects, clients and architects.
The dream is that each brick, each window, each wall, each road, each tree will be placed lovingly by craftsmen, client, architect, and people to create beautiful cities. Adding the extra time and the money at the beginning is essential.
This very temple, Todai-ji, is a symbol of a great collaborative effort in its time, bringing together many thousands of people and talents to create incredible and lasting beauty.
It is coincidental but fitting for me to receive the Pritzker Award in Japan. Trained in Southern California in the presence of many works inspired by Japanese architecture – Green and Green, Harwell Hamilton Harris, Gordon Drake, many others. Some of these were my teachers and they trained us to look at Japanese architecture and understand it. I was seduced by the order of Ryoanji long before the Parthenon, and to this day, I believe those early foundations are in my work.
Today, American architects are working in Japan, Japanese architects are working in America, and all of us are working everywhere around the world.
We are understanding and respecting each other and our values and cultures.
Today, the Pritzker Prize brings me great honour. Acknowledgment by an important jury for the work I have been doing is gratifying, but does not engender complacency. I know these people, the jury that is, they have expectations… don't rest on your laurels, get to work. Former laureates have gone on to do magnificent projects, and that is the challenge, to do better and finally bring greater honour to this prize, and that is what I intend to do. I thank the Pritzker family for supporting architecture with this prize. And to all the people who have contributed in my life ... to making this honour possible, the artists and the cultures that inspired me and to my family whose loving attention and support has been extraordinary.
Since the announcement of this award, I have been asked many times by reporters what I intend to do with the money. I have said that, of course, I'm going to finish my house and tear down the construction fence.



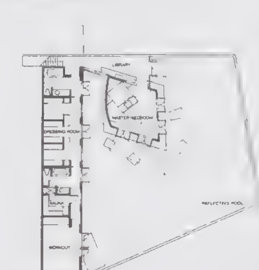
Todai-ji Buddhist Temple, Nara, Japan, May 18, 1989













Residenza Schnabel, Brentwood, California, U.S.A., 1986-89
Situato lungo una via tranquilla sulle colline di Brentwood, a Los Angeles, questo aggregato di forme simile a un villaggio rappresenta la risposta immediata a un elaborato programma di costruzione e al desiderio di creare una varietà di spazi all'aperto per ampliare la percezione delle dimensioni del lotto. Questo obiettivo ha indotto a caratterizzare i diversi elementi del progetto come oggetti distinti, differenziati per forma e superficie. Oggetti che risultano così avere ciascuno uno specifico carattere architettonico, in un gioco reciproco di contrappunto spaziale e plastico.

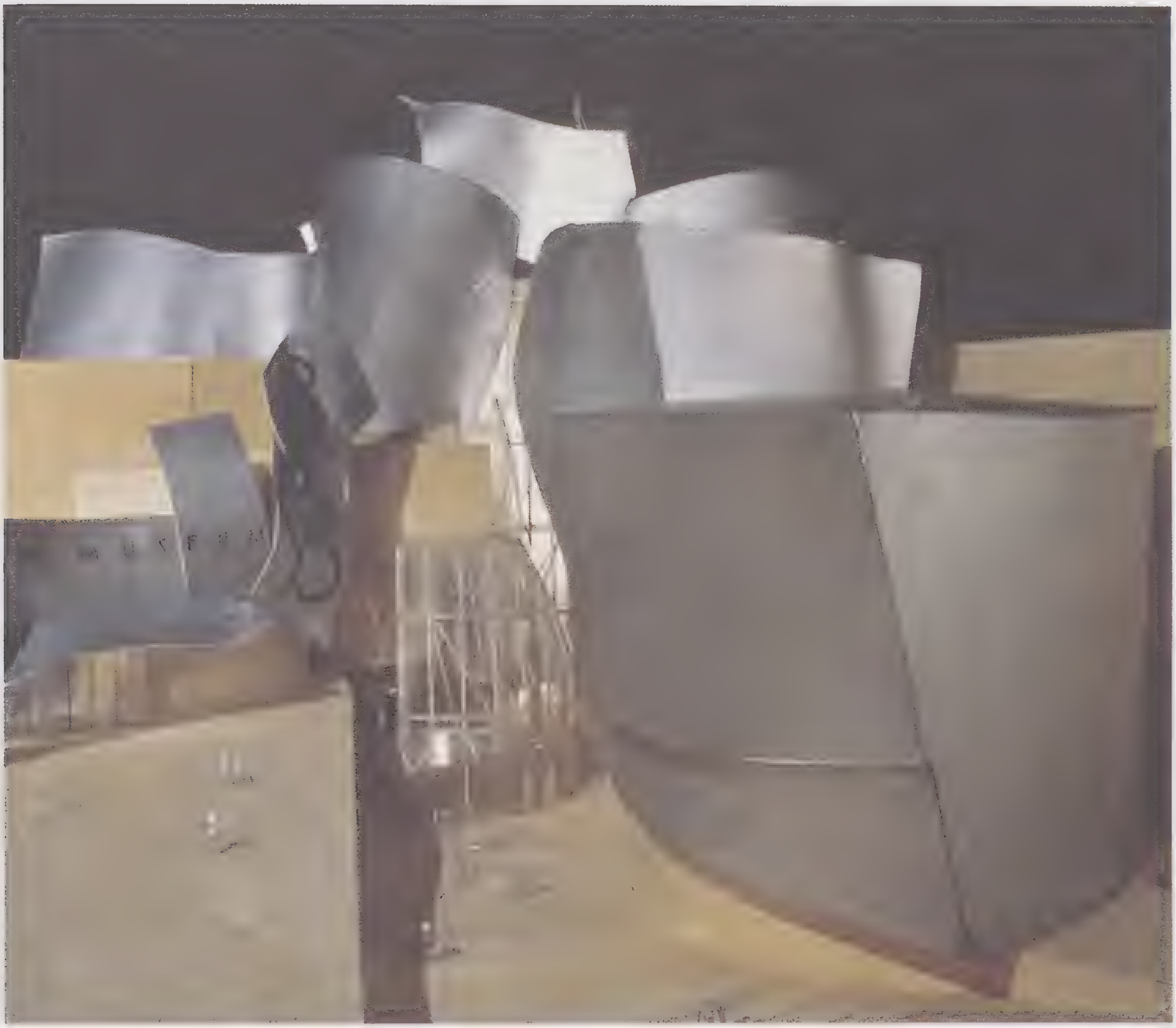
Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, California, U.S.A., 1986-89
Located on a quiet street in the Brentwood hills, Los Angeles, this village-like arrangement of forms is a direct response to the elaborate building program and the desire to create a variety of outdoor spaces to extend the perception of the size of the lot.
This strategy suggested that different program elements be represented as distinct objects. By varying both shape and surface, these objects have each been given a specific architectural character and are played against each other both spacially and sculpturally. The owner, trained in architecture, was an active participant in the design process.

Frank O. Gehry, Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, California, U.S.A., 1986-89.
Viste da ovest e da est.
Foto G. Mudford.
Piante dei piani primo, terreno e seminterrato e sezione longitudinale.
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Schizzi di studio.

Frank O. Gehry, Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, California, U.S.A., 1986-89.
Views from the west and east.
Photos G. Mudford.
Plans of first, ground and basement floors, longitudinal section.
Previous pages:
Study sketches.

Museo Guggenheim, Bilbao, Spagna, 1993
Il sito occupa un'area privilegiata lungo la riva del fiume, in corrispondenza del ponte carrabile tra il Museo di Belle Arti e il Municipio. È inoltre molto vicino al principale centro direzionale della città, costruito su un reticolo stradale del diciannovesimo secolo.
Lo schema prevede una serie di collegamenti con la città rappresentati da viali alberati e spazi pubblici, piazze e passeggiate lungo il fiume che si intravede dalla città attraverso gli edifici. La scala delle singole parti dell'intervento è proporzionata a quella degli edifici esterni sul lato opposto della strada e del fiume, mentre l'altezza dell'ingresso è conforme a quella degli edifici adiacenti.
L'alta torre all'estremità est del progetto "cattura" il ponte inglobandolo nella composizione. Il fiume di Bilbao ha svolto un ruolo molto importante nella storia della città e per questa ragione il progetto presenta molte zone d'acqua.
Il programma prevede la realizzazione di un importante museo d'arte moderna e contemporanea su un'area di mq 30.000, comprendente tre diverse tipologie di spazi espositivi: collezione permanente, particolari installazioni sempre permanenti e esposizioni temporanee. Il progetto comprende inoltre altri spazi pubblici quali auditorium per 400 posti, ristorante, caffetteria, spazio di vendita e grande *hall* centrale che, come la piazza di una città, rappresenta un punto di incontro e di orientamento. Ma il carattere della collezione è così unico che la proporzione tra il fronte e il retro dell'edificio è di 2:1 contrariamente al più comune 1:2.
Gli spazi del museo sono distribuiti nel sito in una serie di edifici tra loro collegati. Una grande *hall* centrale con tetto scultoreo unifica l'intera composizione.
La piazza d'ingresso conduce in uno spazio centrale circondato da gallerie su tutti e quattro i livelli e dotato di una parete vetrata che si affaccia sul fiume. Gli edifici della galleria sono progettati in modo che il pubblico sia incoraggiato a salire rampe e scale che conducono alle terrazze che si affacciano sul fiume e sulla città. Anche il sistema di circolazione esterna consente di regolare il flusso di visitatori in occasione di manifestazioni di grande richiamo, allontanandolo dal flusso normale di circolazione.
Gli spazi della galleria sono articolati come grandi volumi rettangolari disposti uno sull'altro, alcuni dei quali presentano spazi liberi da colonne con anche m 30 di luce libera. L'illuminazione dall'alto è garantita da lucernari ricavati tra le forme scultoree del tetto sopra la galleria per le esposizioni temporanee e da un cavedio che attraversa la galleria ovest. L' altezza minima delle gallerie è di circa m 6. L'auditorium è situato nella piazza d'ingresso in modo che possa essere usato indipendentemente o come parte del Museo. Nell'angolo nordovest del sito un ristorante si affaccia sul fiume lungo il quale, all'estremità est e sotto l'alta torre, è situata una caffetteria. Sul tetto dell'auditorium, e possibilmente all'interno della forma scolpita del tetto dell'ingresso, può trovare posto un altro caffè o ristorante. Si può inoltre creare una piattaforma "panoramica" sopra la torre a est.
I materiali impiegati per le gallerie sono essenzialmente pietra calcarea e acciaio inossidabile sabbiato, entrambi reperibili in luogo. La struttura sarà una combinazione di cemento armato e telai di acciaio con un anello in tensione per tenere insieme il tetto dell'atrio. Gli spazi saranno illuminati da una combinazione di luce ambientale indiretta: luce orientata sulle opere esposte attraverso un sistema di punti luce a luce radente e luce naturale filtrata da lucernari e finestre.

The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 1993
The site is in a prominent location at the edge of the river bank where the main vehicular bridge crosses it, between the Museo de Bellas Artes and City Hall. It is very close to the major business district of the city which was created on a 19th century street grid. Connections to the city via tree lined walkways and public spaces, plazas and the river front promenade are stressed in the scheme. Vistas from the city have been created so that the river is visible through the buildings. The scale of the expressed building parts relates to the existing buildings across the road and river while the height of the atrium roof relates to the adjacent roof tops. The tall tower at the east end of the scheme "captures" the bridge and makes it part of the building composition. Bilbao's river has been very important in its history and this is reflected in the introduction of the large areas of water in the project.
The program for this design was for a 30,000 square meter world class modern and contemporary art museum including three different types of exhibition space: permanent collection; permanent site specific installations; and temporary exhibition galleries. Additionally, the design includes other public facilities such as a 400 seat auditorium, a restaurant, a cafe, retail space, and a large central atrium/orientation space which was envisioned to function almost as a public town square. Because of the unique nature of the collection, the proportion of front-of-house to back-of-house space is about 2:1 as opposed to a more normal ratio of 1:2.
The program of the museum is distributed on the site in several interconnected buildings, and a large central atrium space with its figural roof unifies the composition.
The entry plaza leads into the central space which is surrounded on all four levels by galleries and has a large glass wall facing out



Frank O. Gehry, Museo Guggenheim, Bilbao, Spagna, 1993.
Vista del modello.
Foto J. White.

Frank O. Gehry, The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 1993.
View of model.
Photo J. White.

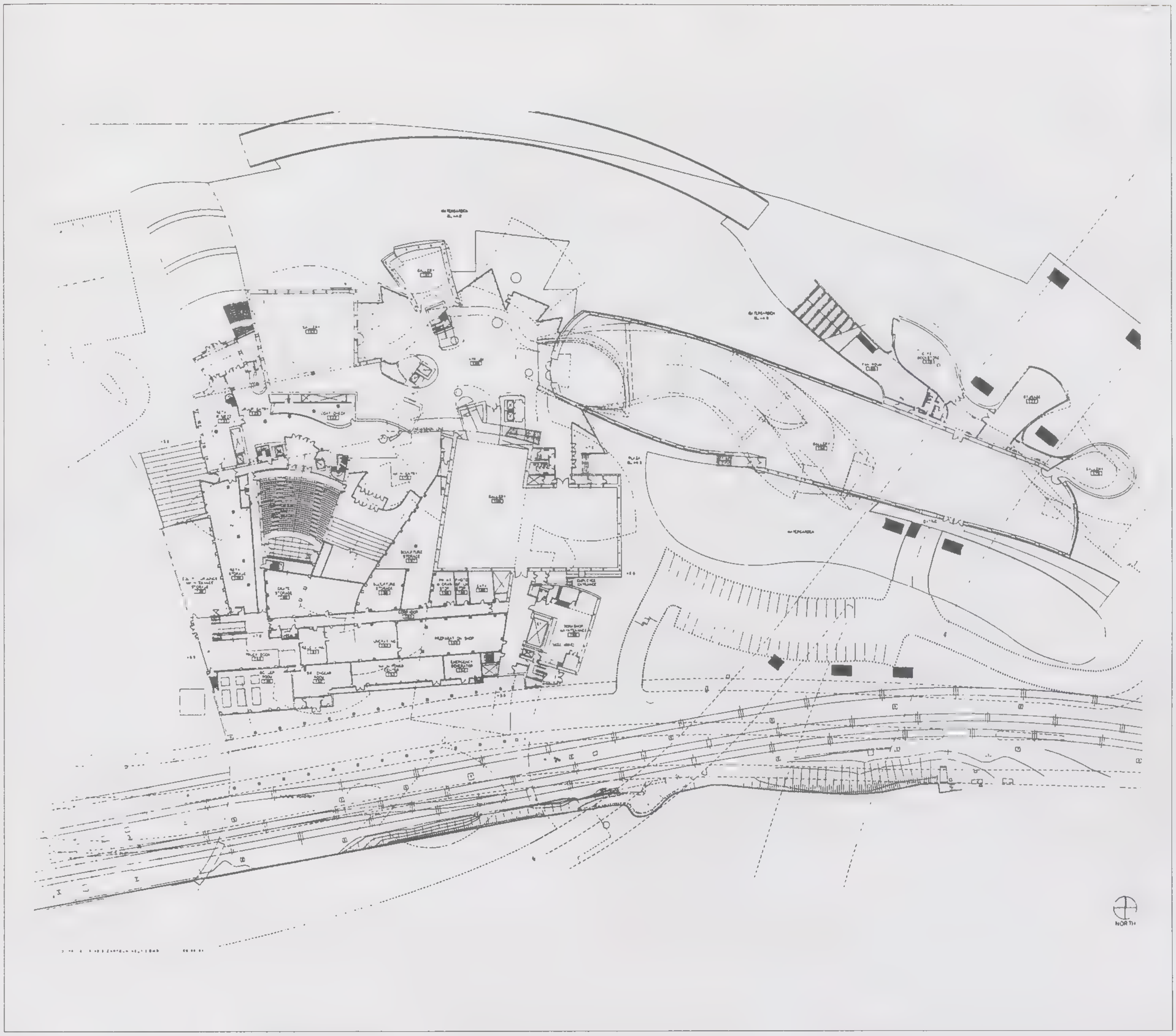
over the river. The gallery buildings are designed to encourage the public up ramps and stairs and onto the roof terraces which provide views out over the river and city. The external circulation also provides opportunities for routing large crowds during "blockbuster" shows outside of the flow of normal circulation. Gallery spaces are articulated as large rectangular volumes stacked upon each other, some with up to 30m wide column free space. Skylights are provided via the sculptural roof forms above the temporary exhibition gallery building and a shaft through the west gallery. Gallery ceiling heights are generally maintained at 6m. or more. The auditorium is located on the entry plaza so that it can be used independently or as part of the museum. A restaurant is located at the northwest corner of the site overlooking the river and a cafe is located at the east end under the tall tower and facing on the river walk. Another cafe or restaurant could be located on the roof of the auditorium and possibly within the sculpted form of the atrium roof. A "look out" or view platform could be created at the top of the east tower.
The major materials for the gallery buildings are limestone and sandblasted stainless steel both locally available. The structure will be a composite of concrete and steel frame with a tensile ring created to hold the atrium roof together. Lighting will be a combination of indirect ambient light; directed exhibition light from a flush flat monopoint system; and filtered daylight from skylights and windows.

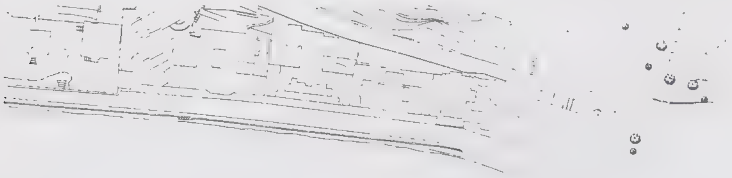


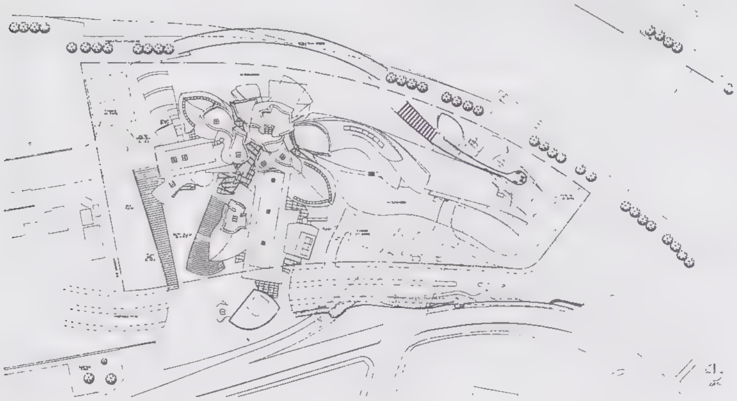


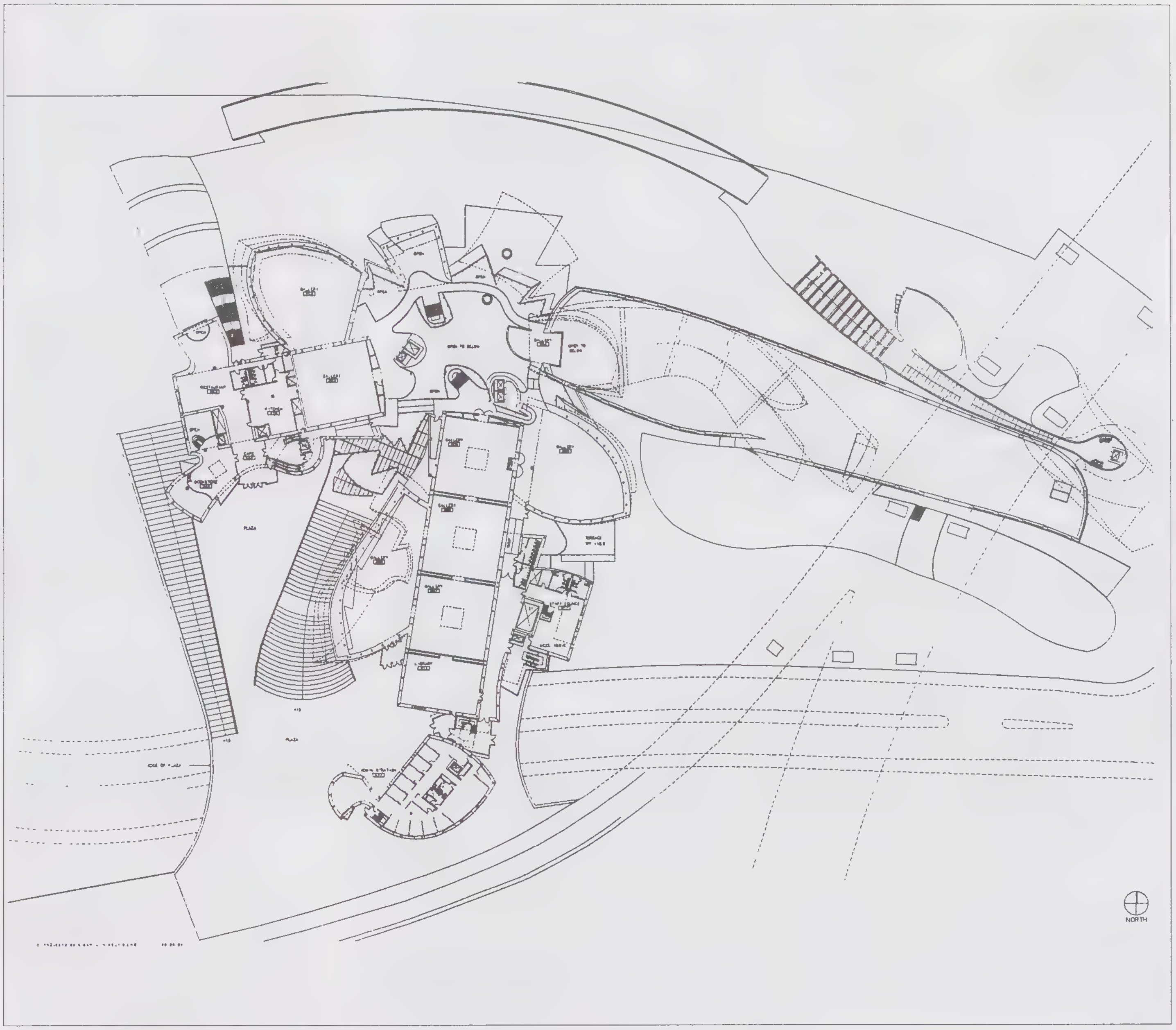
Frank O. Gehry, Museo Guggenheim, Bilbao, Spagna, 1993.
Viste del modello da nordest e da sudovest.
Foto J. White.
Pianta del piano primo e planimetria generale.

Frank O. Gehry, The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 1993.
Views of model from the northeast and southwest.
Photos J. White.
First-floor plan and general plan.



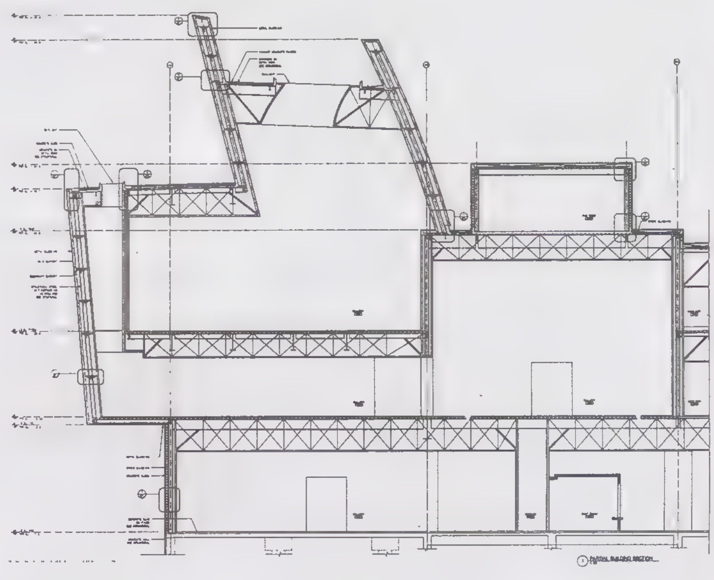


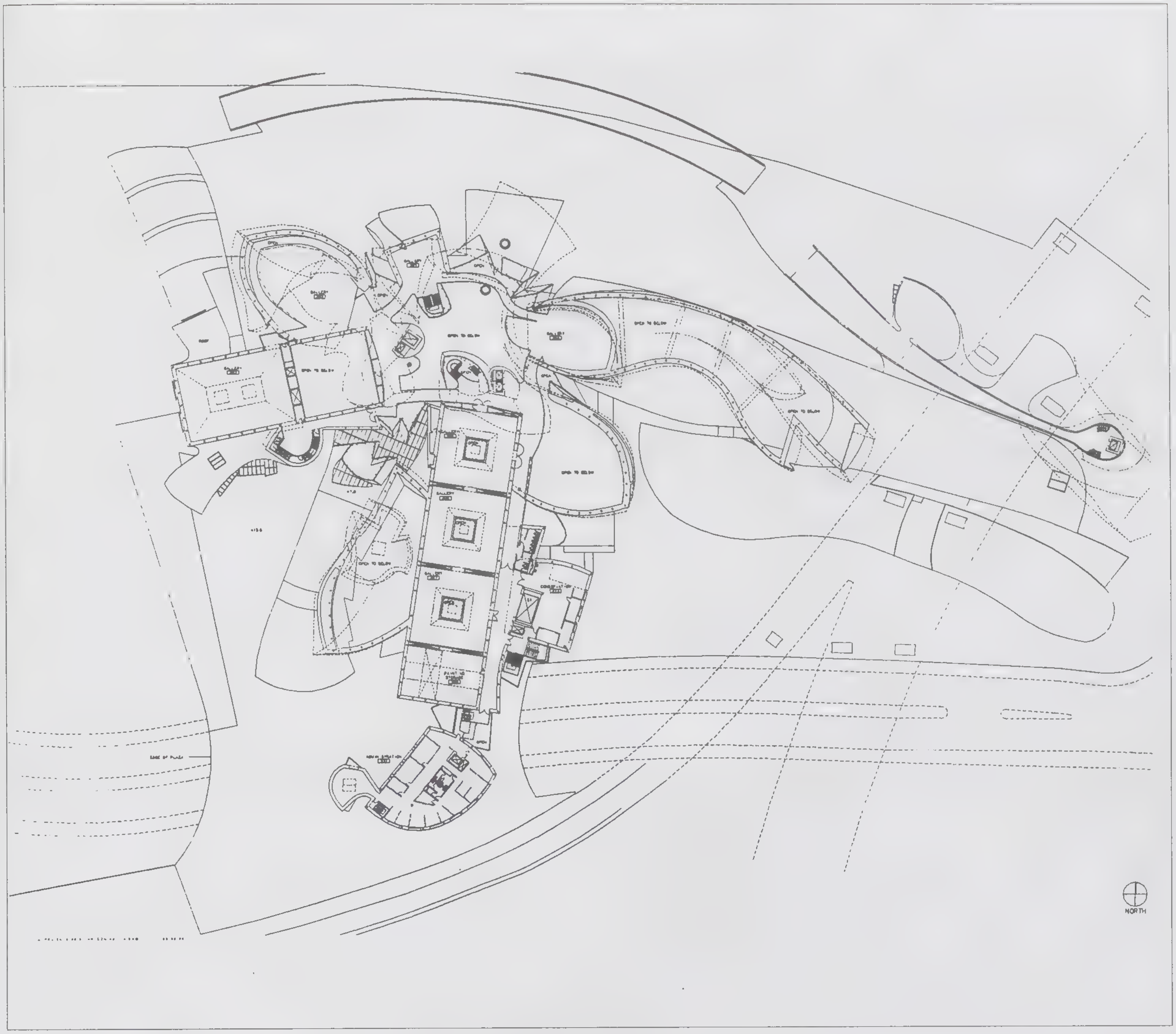


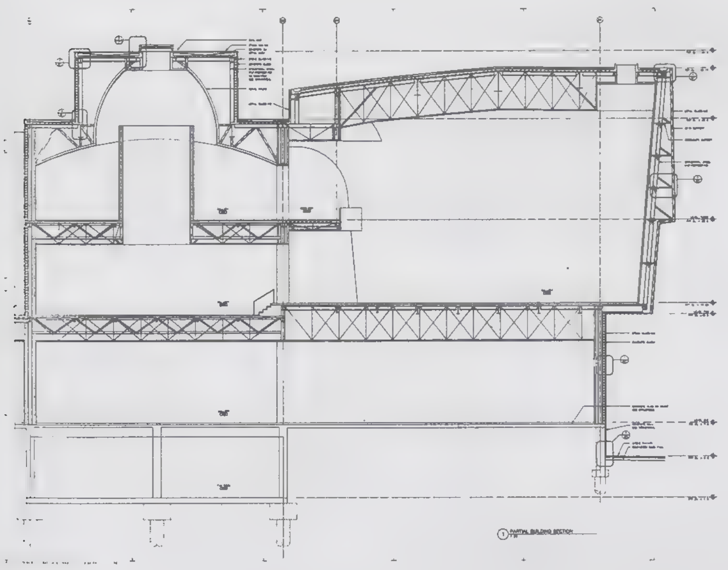


Frank O. Gehry, Museo Guggenheim, Bilbao, Spagna, 1993.
Piante dei piani secondo e terzo e sezioni di dettaglio.

Frank O. Gehry, The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 1993.
Second and third floor plans, detail sections.




NORTH



Aldo Rossi, 1990. *Architecture is a profession in which talent matures slowly. It is a discipline which requires many years of thoughtful observation, of testing principles, of sensing space, and experiencing the many moods necessary for seasoning and nurturing.* Wunderkind *in architecture are extremely rare. The array of abilities that permit an architect to work with a sure hand and achieve the intended result allows for no shortcuts. An architect who would be the best he can be must serve a lifetime apprenticeship, well beyond that required for official licensing. He must know human behavior, understand structures and materials, and how to shape forms and spaces to serve intended purposes in inspired and original ways.*

The Pritzker Architecture Prize Jury has found these qualities and more in Aldo Rossi, and has selected him as the 1990 Laureate.

Known for many years as a theorist, philosopher, artist and teacher, Rossi has spent time developing his architectural voice, and pen. Words as well as drawings and buildings have distinguished him as one of the great architects. As a master draftsman, steeped in the tradition of Italian art and architecture,

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Rossi's sketches and renderings of buildings have often achieved international recognition long before being built.
His book, Architecture and the City, *published in 1966, is a text of significance in the study of urban design and thinking. Out of this theoretical base came designs that seem always to be a part of the city fabric, rather than an intrusion.*
Each of Rossi's designs, whether an office complex, hotel, cemetery, a floating theatre, an exquisite coffee pot, or even toys, captures the essence of purpose.
Rossi has been able to follow the lessons of classical architecture without copying them; his buildings carry echoes from the past in their use of forms that have a universal, haunting quality. His work is at once bold and ordinary, original without being novel, refreshingly simple in appearance but extremely complex in content and meaning. In a period of diverse styles and influences, Aldo Rossi has eschewed the fashionable and popular to create an architecture singularly his own.
On a solid foundation of theory, he uses his talents and ability to solve design problems in memorable and imaginative ways. His influence is extensive and expands with every new commission. With this honor, Aldo Rossi joins a dozen architects already singled out for their contributions to humanity and the built environment through the art of architecture.
The Jury

Aldo Rossi, 1990
L'architettura è una professione nella quale il talento matura lentamente. È una disciplina che richiede molti anni di osservazione attenta, di studio dei principi, di sentimento dello spazio, di sperimentazione dei diversi atteggiamenti necessari a correggersi e a crescere. Il fanciullo prodigio è una figura estremamente rara in architettura.
Le competenze che consentono a un architetto di lavorare con mano sicura e ottenere i risultati voluti non si acquisiscono facilmente. Per esprimere il meglio di sé l'architetto deve esercitare un apprendistato che dura tutta una vita, assai più del tempo necessario per essere laureato formalmente architetto. Egli deve conoscere il comportamento umano, le strutture, i materiali e saper configurare forme e spazi in modo brillante e originale e conforme a determinati scopi.
Queste non sono che alcune delle qualità che la Giuria riconosce ad Aldo Rossi, assegnandogli il Premio Pritzker 1990.
Teorico, filosofo, artista e maestro ormai riconosciuto, Rossi si è impegnato a lungo per dare voce ed espressione scritta alla sua architettura. Il suo pensiero, così come i disegni e gli edifici, hanno fatto di Rossi uno dei più grandi architetti del nostro tempo.
Profondamente influenzati dalla migliore tradizione dell'arte e dell'architettura italiane, gli schizzi e i disegni dei suoi progetti hanno spesso goduto di fama internazionale molto prima della loro realizzazione.
Il suo libro *L'architettura della città*, pubblicato nel 1966, è un testo molto importante per lo studio della teoria e dei fatti urbani. I fondamenti teorici espressi in questo libro hanno dato vita a progetti che appaiono sempre integrati, e mai estranei, al tessuto della città.
Ogni progetto di Rossi, sia esso un complesso per uffici, un albergo, un cimitero, un teatro sull'acqua, una deliziosa caffettiera o perfino un giocattolo, esprime un'intenzione precisa ed essenziale.
Rossi è stato capace di ascoltare la lezione dell'architettura classica senza copiarla; i suoi edifici riecheggiano il passato nella capacità di usare forme di qualità universale, autentica. Le sue opere appaiono ardite e familiari al tempo stesso, originali senza essere stravaganti, semplici e leggibili nell'aspetto esteriore ma estremamente complesse per contenuto e significato. In un periodo in cui dominano le influenze e gli stili più diversi, Aldo Rossi evita le mode e la popolarità per creare un'architettura che appartiene soltanto a lui.
Sulla base di solidi fondamenti teorici, egli usa il suo talento e la sua capacità per affrontare le singole occasioni progettuali con soluzioni creative e memorabili. L'influenza esercitata dalle sue opere è sempre più ampia e crescente ad ogni nuovo lavoro. Con questo riconoscimento Aldo Rossi si unisce a una dozzina di altri architetti già premiati per il contributo che la loro arte presta all'umanità e all'ambiente in cui viviamo.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Ada Louise Huxtable, Ricardo Legorreta, Kevin Roche, Jacob Rothschild, Bill Lacy (Secretary to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: Palazzo Grassi, Venezia, Italia, June 16, 1990

Discorso di accettazione
Aldo Rossi

Oggi è per me un giorno davvero speciale e accolgo questo premio con grande gioia anche se, devo ammettere, con una certo disagio. Mi sento, in qualche modo, uno scolaro che sta per sostenere un esame. Un attimo di concentrazione, un senso di colpa e, subito, la resa dei conti.
Colgo inoltre l'occasione per riflettere sulla mia architettura. Non ho intenzione di annoiarvi con un'analisi puntuale; sarò breve.
Ho sempre avuto la sensazione che la mia architettura fosse atemporale e spero che questo riconoscimento lo possa attestare. Non mi sono mai lasciato coinvolgere da chiacchiere relative a gruppi, scuole, riviste, giornali, architetti e così via e, soprattutto, ho sempre rifiutato stili e tendenze.
Non sono ossessionato dall'architettura ma ho sempre cercato di fare architettura in modo onesto, come tutti coloro che praticano onestamente una professione. Come i tagliapietre o i muratori che costruirono le cattedrali, le fabbriche, i grandi ponti, i grandi edifici del nostro tempo. La ricerca costante della verità mi ha portato ad amare l'architettura. Forse è un piacere semplice ma insolito che fa amare a qualcuno la propria professione. Lasciatemi quindi parlare di "cara architettura". "Cara" è forse una parola intraducibile.
Non ho mai creduto che una professione possa essere disgiunta dalla cultura e per questa ragione, quando ero giovane, ho avuto il privilegio di studiare il rapporto tra teoria e architettura ed è stata una gioia trovare un significato in quegli studi.
Eppure oggi preferisco progettare e costruire e sono affascinato dalla possibilità di costruire in luoghi e paesi diversi. È come se tutte le culture di questi paesi differenti partecipassero alla mia architettura e contribuissero a formare un tutto, un'unità capace di ricomporre i frammenti di cose originariamente perdute. Oggi, come molti altri architetti, lavoro in tutto il mondo – in Italia, in Germania, in Inghilterra, in America, in Giappone. È il segno di una nuova architettura che va oltre gli stili e il carattere personale, un'architettura universale.
Si potrebbe parlare di una sorta di contaminazione tra diverse culture. Viviamo in un'epoca simile a quella di Palladio, un'epoca in cui l'architettura di questa città, di questo paese, esercita un'influenza speciale in Russia, in Inghilterra e in America. Gli edifici sono tra loro uguali e, allo stesso tempo, molto diversi. Per questa ragione io credo in una grande architettura civica che possa ricomporre le nostre città e rendere la nostra vita più libera, più autentica, più bella.
Molti amici mi hanno aiutato nello sviluppo del mio lavoro e per questo vorrei ringraziare i signori Pritzker che mi hanno onorato con questo premio e la Giuria che svolge un ruolo nella cultura moderna. E vorrei ringraziare soprattutto l'America – il primo paese che ha riconosciuto il mio lavoro – e tutti i giovani studenti che hanno assistito alle mie lezioni, la stampa americana, il *New York Times* e il *Time*, che hanno pubblicato molti articoli bellissimi.
Ringrazio particolarmente il signor Agnelli per avere ospitato la cerimonia qui, a Palazzo Grassi, in questo edificio restaurato con maestria dalla mia amica, Gae Aulenti. E infine la città di Venezia dove ho lavorato come assistente universitario, professore, direttore della Biennale e architetto. La città dove ho costruito il fausto e infausto Teatro del Mondo. La città dove ho trascorso gran parte della mia vita, senza mai decidermi ad amarla. D'altra parte quest'opera rappresenta l'ambiguità di Venezia.
Per finire, ringrazio tutti voi e spero di poter continuare il mio lavoro con la stessa dedizione e tenacia. E onorare il premio che oggi mi è stato conferito.
Grazie.

Palazzo Grassi, Venezia, Italia, 16 giugno 1990

Acceptance
Aldo Rossi

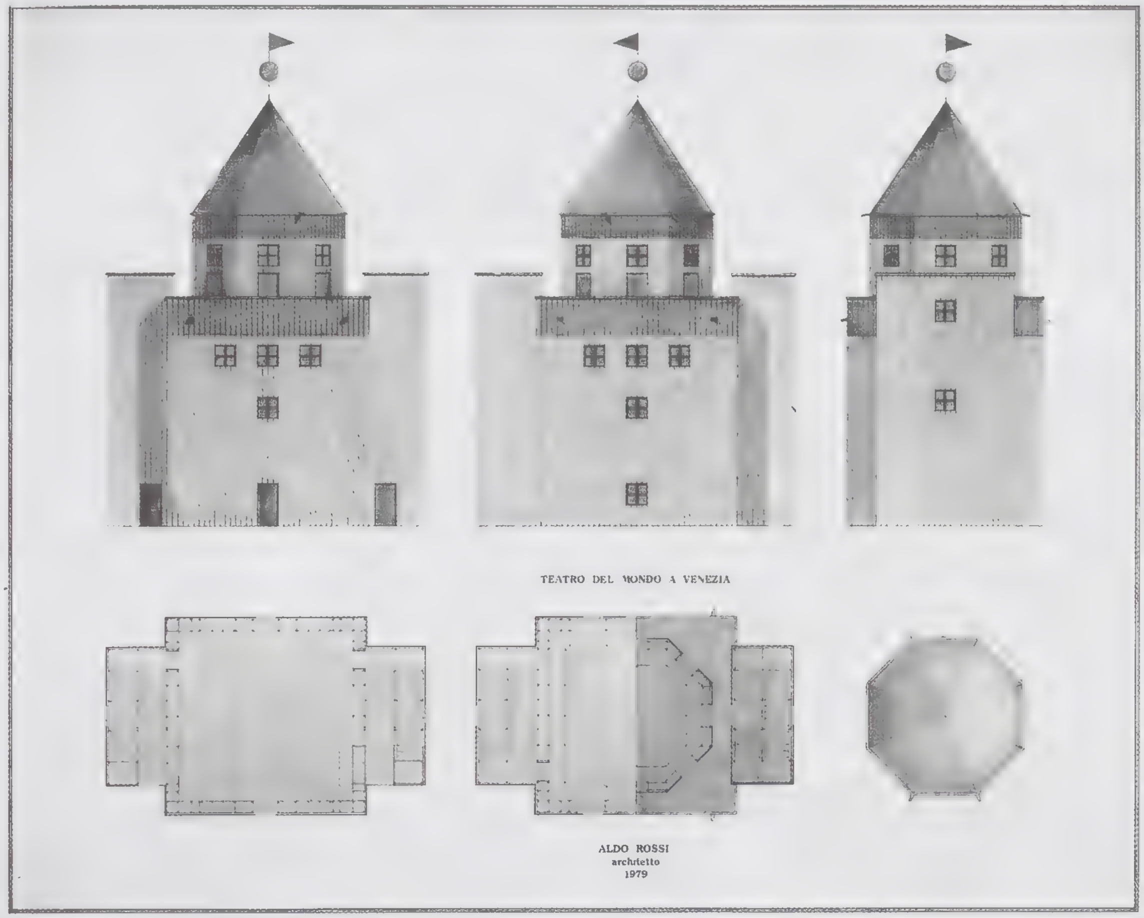
Today is a very special day, and it is with a great pride and joy that I accept this prize. However, in some way it is also difficult to receive this prize. In a way, I feel like a school boy who is about to take an exam. A moment to recollect. A moment of guilt. A moment of truth.
I also take this opportunity to meditate on my architecture. I will not bore you with a minute analysis; just a few words. I have always felt that my architecture is timeless. I hope that this prize bears witness to that thought. I have always stayed away from the gossip that surrounds groups, schools, magazines, newspapers, architects, and so on. But above all, I have always rejected styles and fashions.
I am not obsessed with architecture, but I have always tried to make architecture in an honest way, like all those that honestly practices their profession. Like the stone masons or workmen who build the cathedrals, the factories, the big bridges, the big works of our time. Searching for truth in my profession, I have ended up loving architecture. Maybe it is a simple but strange satisfaction that makes one love his own profession. So let me call it "cara architettura," or in English, "dear architecture," or with your permission, "darling architecture."
I have never believed that any profession could be disjointed from culture, and, for this reason, during my youth I had the privilege of studying the relationship between theory and architecture, and I was happy to find significance in those studies.
But today I prefer to design and build, and I am fascinated by the possibility of building in different places and countries. It is as if all the cultures of these diverse countries make up my architecture and come together to form a whole. A unity that has the capacity to recompose the fragments of those things that were originally lost. Like many architects today, I am working in many places around the world in Italy, Germany, England, America, and Japan. This is a sign of a new architecture that supersedes style and personal character, a universal architecture.
I'd like to speak about something like a contamination between different cultures. We live in a time similar to the period of Palladio, when the architecture of this city, of this country, made a special contamination in Russia, in England, and in America. Every building is the same, but at the same time, it is very different. For this reason, I believe in a great civic architecture that has the capacity to recompose our cities, making our lives more free, more visible, more beautiful.
During the development of my work I have been helped by many friends. As friends, I would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Pritzker who have honored me with their prize, and the members of the jury, who represent a part of our modern culture. And I'd like to say a special thank you to America – the first country to recognize my work – and all the young students who filled the American universities during my lectures, and the American press, like the New York Times *and* Time, *which published a lot of fine articles.*
Also, special thanks to Signore Agnelli for the opportunity to enjoy the ceremony here at the Palazzo Grassi, in this fine building with the beautiful restoration done by my friend Gae Aulenti, and in this city of Venice, where I have worked as assistant professor, professor, director of the Biennale, and architect. The city where I built the happy and unhappy Teatro del Mondo. The city where I have lived a great part of my life.
In conclusion, I thank all of you and I hope to be able to continue in my work with the same dedication and persistence. And honor it, this prize, which I have received today.
Thank you.

Palazzo Grassi, Venice, Italy, June 16, 1990

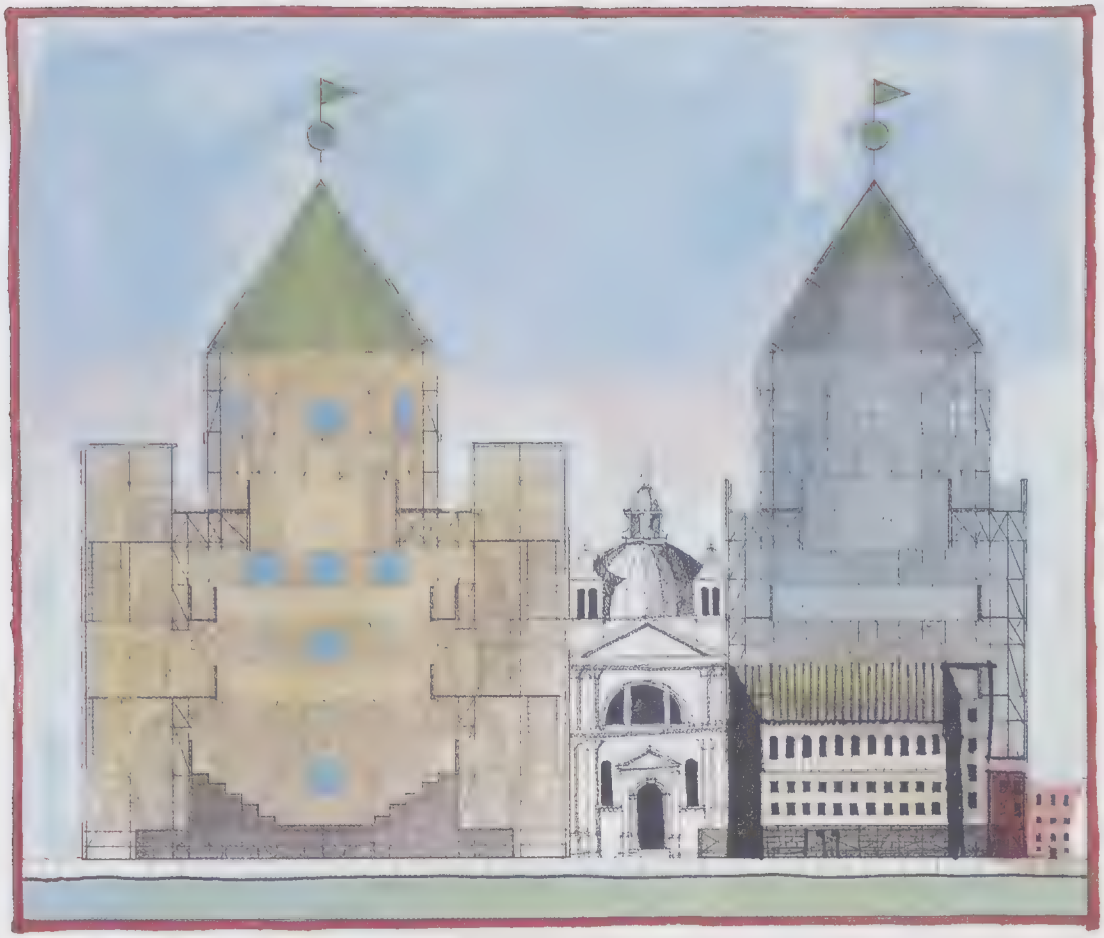
Aldo Rossi, Teatro del Mondo, Venezia, Italia, 1979-80.
Foto M.I. Biggi.

Aldo Rossi, Teatro del Mondo, Venice, Italy, 1979-80.
Photo M.I. Biggi.





Aldo Rossi, Teatro del Mondo, Venezia, Italia, 1979-80.
Piante e prospetti.
Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale con la Chiesa delle Zitelle di Andrea Palladio.



Aldo Rossi, Teatro del Mondo, Venice, Italy, 1979-80.
Plans and views.
Cross and longitudinal sections with the Church of the Zitelle by Andrea Palladio.

Porta di ingresso e Recinzione, Centro residenziale Barialto, Casamassima, Bari, Italia, 1991-94
Aldo Rossi

L'architettura alla quale ci siamo riferiti è quella antica, quasi preistorica, delle strutture a semivolta conica come quelle dei Trulli, ma anche dei Nuraghi e delle Tolòs.
Forme semplici, severe e possenti che si integrano o meglio sembrano essere generate dalla terra stessa così in Puglia come in tutto quel mondo che si affaccia al Mediterraneo. Qui, nel mezzo della campagna pugliese aspra e soleggiata l'architettura prende vita dai materiali: dal tufo, dalla pietra bianca di Trani, dall'intonaco di calce e dalla terra con le sue essenze di ulivo.
Il nostro progetto si affida alle relazioni tra quelle forme e questi materiali. L'ingresso è segnato da una composizione di tre edifici disposti ad "U" aperta: al centro, un cono alto m 16 costruito in pietra bianca di Trani costituisce l'entrata vera e propria, l'elemento eccezionale di riferimento al quale sono stati aggiunti due corpi simmetrici in tufo per gli accessi carrai controllati. Il cono è la porta del Centro Barialto, internamente è in intonaco di calce e il soffitto aperto permette al visitatore di misurarsi con l'azzurro cielo di Puglia.
Altri due corpi laterali in tufo completano la composizione creando una piazza rivolta verso l'esterno. Entrambi gli edifici sono costruiti in tufo e con serramenti in legno d'ulivo, e le loro facciate sono caratterizzate da lesene centrali a pianta quadrata sormontate da sfere in pietra bianca di Trani mentre agli angoli le paraste sono a pianta ottagonale.
L'elemento ottagonale in tufo si riporta all'architettura normanna, quella dei castelli pugliesi e viene usato come punto fisso nella costruzione della recinzione fatta da un'alta e fitta siepe di arbusti mediterranei.
A completare la composizione sono state erette quattro torri monumentali che segnano l'asse principale.
Le torri alte m 20 sono a pianta rettangolare disposte in allineamento ravvicinato e sono pensate in intonaco di calce colorato in pasta, coronate alla sommità da un mosaico veneziano recante le insegne del Centro Barialto a testimoniare la contemporanea appartenenza al mondo Adriatico oltre che a quello Mediterraneo.
Così come nei tempi antichi le città, mediante le cinzioni, difendevano se stesse e limitavano la propria espansione, allo stesso modo si è voluto dare una forma stabile al nuovo insediamento partendo proprio dal concetto delle mura. In tal senso il progetto si lega al modello della città murata di cui la terra di Puglia è ricca di testimonianze ma anche a quelle architetture chiuse ed appartenenti al territorio come i castelli, le fortificazioni e le stesse masserie con i loro chiari perimetri definiti dai muri a secco.

Entrance Gate and Boundary Enclosure, Barialto Residential Centre, Casamassima, Bari, Italia, 1991-94
Aldo Rossi

My architectural inspiration was ancient, almost prehistoric: conical, half-vaulted structures like the trulli *in Puglia, but also* nuraghes *and* tolòs.
Austere, simple, powerful forms that blend with, or rather, seem to have been produced by the land itself, in Puglia as in the rest of the Mediterranean world. Here, in the harsh, sun-drenched Puglian countryside, architecture draws life from materials: tufa and white Trani stone, lime plaster and olive-scented earth.
My project exploits the relationships between these forms and these materials. The entrance complex is a composition of three buildings arranged in an open "U". At its centre, the entrance proper – the major reference point flanked by two symmetrical tufa buildings to control vehicle traffic – is a white Trani stone cone 16 metres high which is the gate to the Barialto Centre. The inside is plastered, and the open ceiling draws the eye upwards to the deep blue of the Puglian sky.
The two side buildings complete the composition by creating an outward-facing piazza. Both are built from tufa and have olive-wood window and door frames. The façades have square-section pilaster strips in the centre surmounted by white Trani stone spheres. At the corners the pilaster strips have octagonal sections.
The octagonal tufa element is a reference to the Norman architecture of Puglian castles, and is used as a fixed point in the boundary enclosure, a thick, high hedge of Mediterranean shrubs. Four 20-metre monumental towers marking the main road axis complete the composition. The tightly-aligned, square towers faced with coloured plaster are crowned with Venetian mosaics portraying the emblems of the Barialto Centre, a visual reminder that it belongs to both the Adriatic and the Mediterranean worlds.
Just as the walls of ancient cities both protected and limited the expansion of human settlements, so the concept of walls is what gives the new settlement near Bari its permanent form. In this sense, the project reproduces the type of walled city found throughout Puglia, as well as other closed, land-based buildings like castles, fortifications and farmhouses with their clearly-defined dry-stone perimeter walls.

Aldo Rossi, Porta di ingresso e Recinzione, Centro residenziale Barialto, Casamassima, Bari, Italia, 1991-94.
Vista dall'esterno.

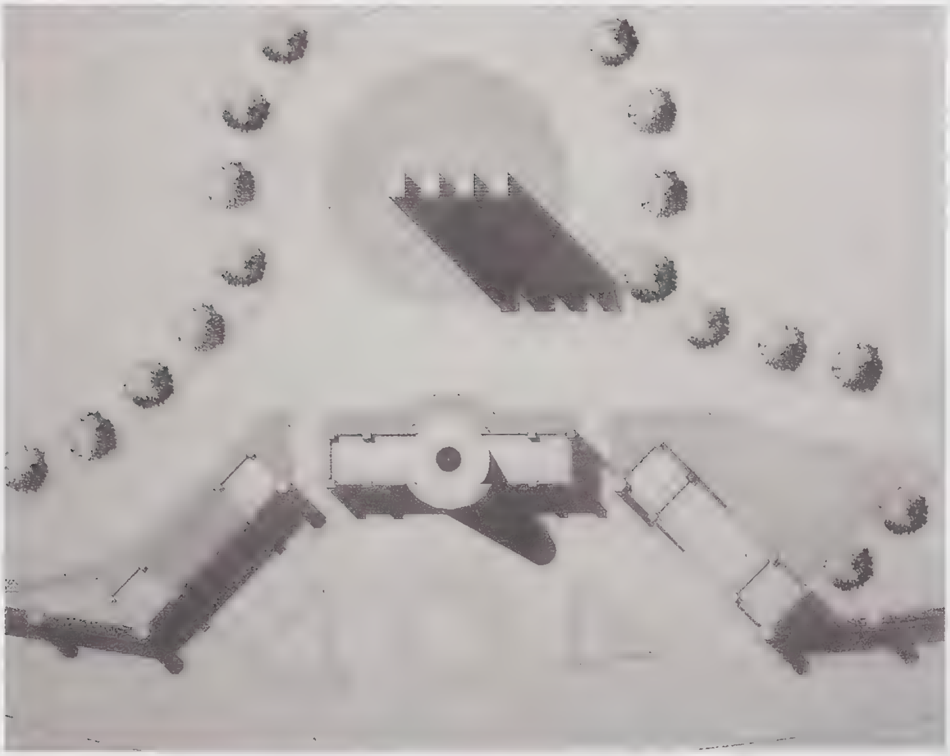
Aldo Rossi, Entrance Gate and Boundary Enclosure, Barialto Residential Centre, Casamassima, Bari, Italy, 1991-94.
View from the outside.







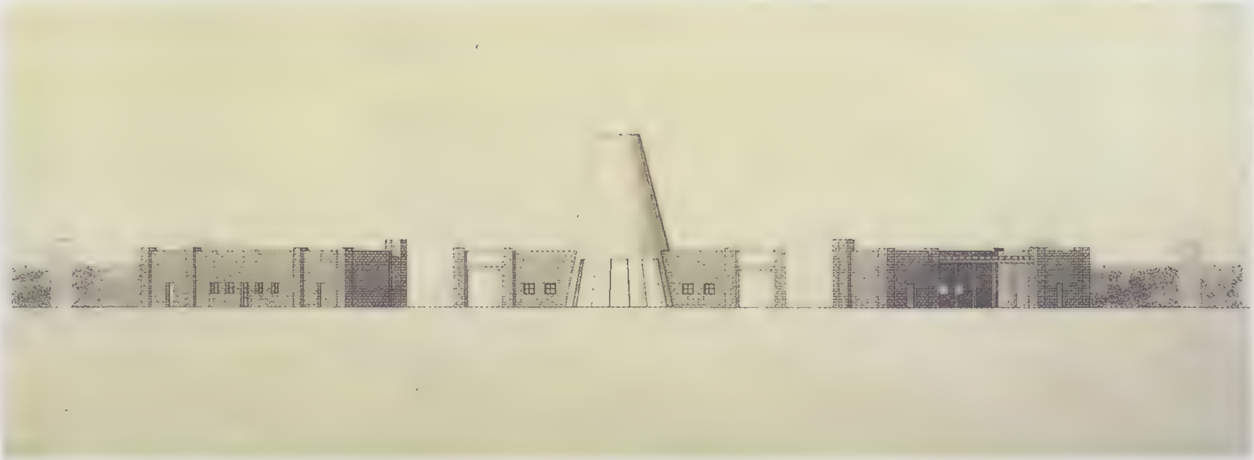
*Aldo Rossi, Porta di ingresso e Recinzione,
Centro residenziale Barialto, Casamassima,
Bari, Italia, 1991-94.
Viste dall'esterno e dall'interno.
Planivolumetria e pianta del piano terreno.*





Aldo Rossi, Entrance Gate and Boundary Enclosure, Barialto Residential Centre, Casamassima, Bari, Italy, 1991-94. Views from the outside and the inside. Volumetric plan and ground-floor plan.





Aldo Rossi, Porta di ingresso e Recinzione, Centro residenziale Barialto, Casamassima, Bari, Italia, 1991-94.
Prospetto interno ed esterno.
Schizzo di studio per la "Torre Olimpia", albergo e centro servizi per i Giochi del Mediterraneo (poi tenuti in altra sede) nel Centro residenziale Barialto, 1992.



Aldo Rossi, Entrance Gate and Boundary Enclosure, Barialto Residential Centre, Casamassima, Bari, Italy, 1991-94.
Internal and external elevation.
Study sketch for the "Olympic Tower", hotel and amenities centre for the Mediterranean Games (subsequently held elsewhere), Barialto Residential Centre, 1992.

Robert Venturi, 1991. *Architecture is a profession about wood, bricks, stones, steel and glass. It is also an art form that is based on words, ideas and conceptual frameworks. Few architects of the twentieth century have been able to combine both aspects of the profession, and none have done so more successfully than Robert Venturi.*
He has expanded and redefined the limits of the art of architecture in this century, as perhaps no other has through his theories and built works.
Of the former, his thin but potent volume, Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture, *published in 1966, is generally acknowledged to have diverted the mainstream of architecture away from modernism.*
The extent of the influence which this treatise has had on everyone practicing or teaching architecture is impossible to measure, but readily apparent.
In this landmark book, Venturi looked with fresh eyes at the architectural landscape of America and described the inherent honesty and beauty of ordinary buildings. From this simple observation he wove a manifesto that challenged prevailing thinking on the subject of American functionalist

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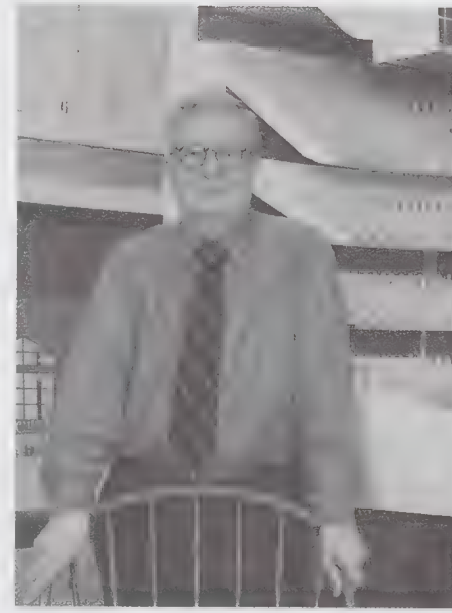
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architecture, and the minimalism of the International School.
Not content with just theory, Venturi began to implement his convictions. He provided full scale illustrations of his ideas through his pioneering early buildings. His first houses, including one for his mother in 1961, gave form to his beliefs, confounding the critics and angering many of his peers. Over the intervening years he methodically forged a career that established him not only as a theorist of exceptional insight, but also as a master practitioner of the arts.
His understanding of the urban context of architecture, complemented by his talented partner, Denise Scott Brown, with whom he has collaborated on both more writings and built works, has resulted in changing the course of architecture in this century, allowing architects and consumers the freedom to accept inconsistencies in form and pattern, to enjoy popular taste.
As an architect, planner, scholar, author and teacher, Robert Venturi has distinguished himself as an architect with vision and purpose. His vision and purpose are in accord with the tenets of the Pritzker Architecture Prize, qualifying him to take his place among those who are producing significant contributions to humanity through the art of architecture.
The Jury

Robert Venturi, 1991
L'architettura è una professione che riguarda il legno, i mattoni, la pietra, l'acciaio, il vetro, ma è anche una forma d'arte basata su parole, idee e concetti. Sono pochi gli architetti di questo secolo che hanno saputo considerare entrambi questi aspetti della professione e nessuno l'ha fatto con maggior successo di Robert Venturi. Con la sua attività di teorico e di progettista egli ha ampliato e ridisegnato i confini dell'architettura del nostro secolo forse più di chiunque altro. Sul piano teorico il suo libro *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, pubblicato nel 1966, un piccolo volume denso di contenuti, è universalmente riconosciuto per aver deviato il corso prevalente dell'architettura dal filone modernista.
Il grado di influenza esercitato da questo saggio su coloro che praticano o insegnano architettura appare subito evidente. In questo libro importantissimo Venturi ha guardato con occhi nuovi il paesaggio architettonico americano e descritto l'autenticità e la bellezza insite nelle costruzioni più comuni. Partendo da questa semplice osservazione egli ha tessuto un manifesto che ha sfidato il pensiero dominante sul tema dell'architettura funzionalista americana e del minimalismo dell'International School.
Insoddisfatto della sola teoria, Venturi ha voluto metterla in atto esprimendola pienamente nelle sue prime costruzioni. Le sue prime case, compresa quella progettata per la madre nel 1961, hanno dato forma alle sue convinzioni provocando confusione nei critici e irritazione in molti suoi colleghi. Negli anni successivi egli ha costruito con metodo una carriera che l'ha reso non solo un teorico di eccezionale intuito ma anche un professionista di indubbio valore.
La sua interpretazione del contesto urbano dell'architettura, arricchita dal prezioso contributo di Denise Scott Brown, con la quale ha collaborato alla stesura di saggi e di progetti, ha modificato il corso dell'architettura di questo secolo concedendo ad architetti e fruitori la libertà di accettare incongruenze formali e strutturali, di apprezzare il gusto popolare.
Architetto, urbanista, studioso, scrittore e docente, Robert Venturi si è distinto come professionista sagace e determinato. E per questa sua sagacia e determinazione, in accordo con i principi del Premio Pritzker, egli merita un posto tra coloro che tramite l'architettura danno un contributo significativo all'umanità.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Ada Louise Huxtable, Ricardo Legorreta, Toshio Nakamura, Kevin Roche, Lord Rothschild, Bill Lacy (Secretary to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: Palacio de Iturbide, Mexico City, May 16, 1991

Discorso di accettazione
Robert Venturi

Ringrazio Jay Pritzker per la sua presentazione di questa sera, così benevola e generosa.
Ringrazio inoltre il presidente Salinas de Gortari e i giovani e brillanti funzionari del Governo messicano che ci hanno gentilmente ospitato oggi; a Ricardo Legorreta va la mia personale gratitudine per la sua cortesia e quella di tutti noi per il restauro di questo Palacio de Iturbide, di una bellezza rara, ardita e delicata insieme.
Frank Lloyd Wright affermò che l'architetto deve progettare dall'interno verso l'esterno. Ma la nostra visione è più complessa e oggi noi, riconoscendo nel contesto un fattore importante, progettiamo anche dall'esterno verso l'interno: come ho osservato molto tempo fa, ciò può creare valide tensioni quando si accetta che la parete – luogo di passaggio tra l'interno e l'esterno – diventi una testimonianza spaziale, ossia un evento architettonico d'importanza decisiva.
Come la progettazione di un edificio avviene dall'interno verso l'esterno e viceversa, così anche la formazione artistica di un architetto può avvenire sia attraverso uno sviluppo dall'interno, in cui la sua capacità d'intuizione viene organizzata dall'analisi e dalla disciplina, sia attraverso uno sviluppo dall'esterno, sollecitato da persone e da luoghi.
L'espressione "persone e luoghi" è ripresa dal titolo di un volume di saggi biografici di George Santayana; per completare la descrizione della formazione dall'esterno di un architetto occorre però aggiungere un terzo termine, le istituzioni.
In questo momento mi sento particolarmente in dovere di ammettere che nella formazione di un artista il bisogno (psicologico e materiale) di essere sostenuto, apprezzato e incoraggiato è altrettanto importante che nello sviluppo del bambino. Per quanto elevata possa essere la capacità d'intuizione di un artista, per quanto disciplinata e intensa possa essere la sua coltivazione interiore di quella capacità, il bisogno di apprezzamento e di riconoscimento dall'esterno rimane essenziale.
Come al bambino che cresce sono necessari dei genitori amorevoli e un ambiente domestico e scolastico capace di aiutarlo, così agli artisti sono necessari dei sostenitori: mecenati che abbiano fiducia in loro e guide che li incoraggino, queste ultime impersonate talvolta dai grandi artisti del passato.
E' giusto quindi che in questo momento io esprima la mia sincera gratitudine ai promotori del Premio Pritzker e alla Fondazione Hyatt per l'apprezzamento e il sostegno dati alla buona architettura attraverso i suoi autori; come pure alla Giuria del Premio, che ha voluto oggi onorarmi singolarmente. Ma vorrei anche, come ho detto, ringraziare in questa sede le persone, i luoghi e le istituzioni che hanno avuto un'importanza rilevante per la mia formazione artistica.

Acceptance
Robert Venturi

My thanks to Jay Pritzker for his most gracious and generous introduction this evening.
My thanks also to President Salinas de Gortari and those officials of the government of Mexico, young and creative, who were our gracious hosts today, and to Ricardo Legorreta for his kindness to me, and from all of us here our gratitude to him for the restoration of this Palacio de Iturbide with its exquisite aesthetic, bold and delicate at once.
Frank Lloyd Wright said architects should design from the inside out. But we now accept within our more complex view of things, as we acknowledge context as an important determinant of design, that we design from the inside out and the outside in, and – as I said a long time ago – this act can create valid tensions where the wall, the line of change between inside and out, is acknowledged to become a spatial record – in the end, an essential architectural event.
And as a building is designed from the inside out and the outside in, so, one can say, is an architect designed in that way – that is, his own development as an artist can work through his development inside – through his intuition, ordered by means of analysis and discipline, but also through his development outside, via the influence of persons and places. As I refer to persons and places I borrow from George Santayana's title of his biographical essays, but I shall include as well in this description of an architect's development from without, persons, places and institutions.
At this moment I feel a special obligation to acknowledge the need – the need, psychological and material – for support, for appreciation and encouragement – this need, as significant for artists as for children in their development.
No matter how sublime your intuition as an artist might be, and how disciplined and acute your own cultivation of that intuition inside, your need for appreciation and recognition from the outside is crucial: as growing children need loving parents and supportive home and school environments, so do artists need their supporters – trusting patrons and encouraging mentors, the latter sometimes in the historical form of the work of artists of the past.
And so I appropriately and sincerely express at this moment my gratitude to the sponsors of the Pritzker Prize as persons, and to The Hyatt Foundation as institution, for their acknowledgement of good design in architecture and their support, via recognition of architects – and then to the selection committee of the Pritzker Prize that is particularly and signally honoring me today. But I'd like to acknowledge here as well, as I've said, those persons, places, and institutions who and which, very simply, have meant much to me as a growing artist – and I shall focus on them as well at this moment.
I trust, as I satisfy this need to enumerate particular persons, places, and institutions, that I shall appear not

Nel soddisfare questo desiderio mi auguro di non apparire egocentrico: dovrebbe anzi essere vero il contrario, visto che intendo dar risalto al mio debito verso gli influssi esterni. Spero inoltre di poter illuminare con la mia specifica esperienza gli architetti più giovani nel momento in cui scelgono la propria strada nella professione.

Per primi – cronologicamente e forse anche quantitativamente – vengono i miei genitori: senza la loro intelligenza e integrità, senza il loro senso estetico e il loro affetto non sarei diventato me stesso.

Con i miei genitori, che quand'ero bambino mi rifornivano largamente di legnetti da costruzione, sono vissuto tra cose belle e buoni libri e con loro ho condiviso la passione per l'architettura. Ho un vivo ricordo di quando, in una delle mie prime visite a New York (avrò avuto una decina d'anni), mio padre ordinò improvvisamente al tassista di accostare e fermarsi quando fummo nei pressi della vecchia Pennsylvania Station, sulla Settima Avenue, per poi condurmi nella galleria che si affacciava sul grande atrio ispirato alle Terme di Caracalla. Non dimenticherò mai l'emozionante rivelazione di quel monumentale spazio civico, inondato dalla luce proveniente dai finestroni in alto.

Le convinzioni socialiste e pacifiste di mia madre, poco ortodosse anche se ben fondate, mi hanno allenato a sentirmi abbastanza a mio agio come *outsider*; e la laboriosità di mio padre mi ha assicurato una modesta eredità con cui ho potuto, quand'ero un giovane architetto, sostenere con maggiore coraggio e indipendenza le mie idee.

Da studente universitario, nel bell'ambiente di Princeton, ebbi la gioia di scoprire un'infinità di cose in molte discipline di cui fin allora non avevo avuto la minima idea. Le brillanti e originali analogie storiche proposte da Jean Labatut contribuirono ad ampliare e ad arricchire le mie vedute; Donald Drew Egbert, divenuto poi la mia guida più assidua, ci parlò delle glorie dell'architettura moderna, sempre però in un contesto storico, usando la storia per scoprire e spiegare, non per giustificare o favorire. In quest'ottica il Modernismo architettonico era implicitamente riconosciuto come una tendenza valida per quell'epoca, ma era visto come suscettibile di evoluzione e non come la fine della storia, come un'ideologia. A Princeton ero un vero studente, non un seminarista che riceve un Verbo da propagare; tutti noi studenti di architettura eravamo incoraggiati ad andare oltre.

Ho un grato ricordo dei miei colleghi di Università, e in particolare del mio compagno di stanza Everett de Golyer, che mi rivelò con l'esempio i valori della gentilezza, dell'umorismo e della comprensione: mi commuove sapere che la sua vedova, la mia amica Helen de Golyer, è qui fra noi stasera.

Una domenica d'agosto del 1948 vidi per la prima volta Roma – cito stavolta un luogo, anziché un'istituzione – e fui felice di scoprire i suoi impensati spazi pedonali e la ricchezza delle sue forme, immerse in un'inconfondibile atmosfera dorata.

Come ricercatore presso l'Accademia Americana, in una comunità guidata da una coppia cordiale e disponibile, il direttore Laurance Roberts e sua moglie Isabel, potei trascorrere le mie giornate in un paradiso dell'architettura e imparare da Michelangelo, Borromini, Brasini e altri maestri, dai borghi medievali arroccati sulle colline circostanti e da altri luoghi storici; scoprii allora la validità del manierismo per l'arte del nostro tempo e potei comprendere meglio, dal punto di vista dell'espatriato, il mio paese e la peculiarità dei suoi fenomeni quotidiani, guardando contemporaneamente a Piazza Navona e a Main Street.

Louis Kahn è stato per me un vero maestro, per diventare infine in qualche modo, come avviene a tutti i maestri, un mio allievo: mi accorgo ora di quante cose possa insegnarmi mio figlio, con la sua sensibilità, mentre gli faccio da guida.

Philip Finkelpearl, carissimo fra i colleghi di Università, studioso entusiasta e docente nato, mi stimò fin dall'inizio e m'introdusse al manierismo nelle sue manifestazioni artistiche diverse dall'architettura e nella sua dimensione critica.

Altre rivelazioni mi sono venute dall'enigmatica architettura di Frank Furness, da cui ho appreso, fra l'altro, che in materia di gusto è sempre possibile cambiare opinione.

L'amico Vincent Scully, studioso, critico e artista, apprezzò il mio primo libro e il nostro lavoro quando altri rappresentanti della cultura ufficiale mi consideravano superato o eccentrico.

Ho imparato anche dai miei studenti delle Università di Pennsylvania e di Yale, per i quali scrissi *Complexity and Contradiction*, una specie di parafrasi sovversiva del mio corso sulle teorie dell'architettura.

Agli architetti, eccezionalmente dotati e impegnati, che lavorano nel nostro studio si deve se il nostro lavoro si svolge in autentica collaborazione, con risultati che appartengono anche a loro.

Molto significativo è stato certamente l'apporto dei nostri committenti, in particolare di quei clienti privati, così comprensivi, che nei primi tempi ci diedero lavoro incaricandoci di progettare le loro abitazioni: ricordo tra essi Peter e Sandy Brant, per i quali realizzammo tre case. Altrettanto comprensivi e coraggiosi furono i nostri primi committenti istituzionali, come Richard Spear ed Ellen Johnson dell'Oberlin College, o Sydney e Frances Lewis della Best Products: grazie al loro fattivo e affabile mecenatismo abbiamo potuto mettere alla prova le nostre idee sugli ambienti commerciali in rapida espansione.

Dopo aver favorito la mia formazione e la mia liberazione durante un entusiastico apprendistato artistico, l'Università di Princeton mi ha offerto attraverso i suoi Amministratori fiduciari – committenti e sostenitori ideali – splendide possibilità di lavorare in vari modi e per parecchi anni in un luogo a me molto caro, il suo *campus*.

In tempi recenti William Bowen e Neil Rudenstine, rispettivamente Presidente e Rettore di Princeton, sono

egotistical, but rather the opposite in emphasizing my indebtedness to outside influences; also as I speak I might enlighten younger architects via the example of my particular experiences as these younger architects choose paths of their own as they work.

First – chronologically and perhaps substantively – come my parents without whose intellect, integrity, aesthetic sense, and love I would not have become me, my parents who supplied me with lots of blocks to build with when I was little, and with whom I lived among beautiful objects and good books. And with whom I could share their love of architecture. I remember vividly on one of my first trips to New York City – maybe I was 10 years old – my father's impulsively instructing the cab driver to pull over and wait as we approached the old Penn station on Seventh Avenue, and then conducting me down the gallery that overlooked the great hall based on the Baths of Caracalla. I shall never forget the breath-taking revelation of that monumental civic space bathed in ambient light from the clerestories above. And then my mother whose sound but unorthodox positions, socialist and pacifist, worked to prepare me to feel almost all right as an outsider. And again my father through whose hard work I was left a modest inheritance that allowed me to be braver and more independent as a young thinking architect.

Princeton University where as an undergraduate in a beautiful environment I walked on air as I could discover multitudes of things within many disciplines hitherto not dreamt of in my philosophy; where Jean Labatut whose vivid and creative historical analogies in his drafting room critiques worked to enrich and expand my outlook; where Donald Drew Egbert, who later became my closest mentor, described the glories of Modern architecture, but always within the context of history, history employed to discover and enlighten, never to justify or promote – history that implicitly acknowledged architectural Modernism as a valid direction for that time, but a Modernism we students could evolve out of – not a Modernism as an end of history, as an ideology: at Princeton I was truly a student and not a seminarian – one who receives the word that was to be universally disseminated. At Princeton we students of architecture were encouraged to go beyond.

Fellow students in that college community, especially my room-mate Everett de Golyer who revealed to me by his example the attributes of grace, wit, and understanding – and whose widow, my friend Helen de Golyer, it moves me to say is here tonight.

Rome, as I first saw that city that Sunday in August, 1948, as I walked on air – this time in a place rather than an institution – discovering unimagined pedestrian spaces and richness of forms bathed in the "golden air of Rome."

The American Academy in Rome, as a Fellow where within its community, headed by its easy and supportive hosts, the director and his spouse, Laurance and Isabel Roberts, and by means of its location, I might exist every day in architectural heaven, and learn new lessons via Michelangelo, Borromini, Brasini, hilltowns, and other historical mentors and places, and where I discovered the validity of Mannerism in art for our time, and from whose perspective as an expatriate I could better perceive my own country and the genius of its everyday phenomena, to see the Piazza Navona and Main Street.

Louis Kahn, profound teacher of mine, and ultimately, in some ways, as all teachers become, a student of mine – I trust now I can acknowledge how my son informs me through his sensibility as I simultaneously guide him.

Philip Finkelpearl, college friend and best friend, who as dedicated scholar and born teacher appreciated me all along and instructed me in Mannerism as a quality in arts other than architecture and as a dimension of criticism.

Revelations via the enigmatic architecture of Frank Furness, where I learned among other things the vivid lesson that you can change your mind in matters of taste.

Vincent Scully, friend, scholar, critic, and ultimately artist who appreciated that first book and our work when to others in the establishment I was either out or outré.

My students over the years at Penn and Yale, who I learned from, and for whom I wrote Complexity and Contradiction, *somewhat as a subversive version of my course in theories of architecture.*

Our office, composed of the most committed and gifted architects in the world who make our architecture truly collaborative and what it is.

Very significantly, our clients, of course, especially our understanding house clients in the early days who allowed us to work and therefore to be, including Peter and Sandy Brant for whom we designed three houses that were built, and our early institutional clients who were understanding and brave, like Richard Spear and Ellen Johnson at Oberlin College, and Sydney and Frances Lewis of Best Products who combined support and grace in their patronage and allowed us to test our ideas about the environment of commercial sprawl.

Princeton again, this time not as incubator for and liberator of an eager artist-student, but via the trustees of that institution as ideal client-patrons who have awarded us grand opportunities to work in many ways over many years at another beloved place for me, the Princeton campus.

And William Bowen and Neil Rudenstine, as, respectively, recent President and recent Provost of Princeton, who have been the Lorenzo de Medicis of our office as patrons who are full of grace – discerning and appreciative.

Those professional critics and editors who understand us rather than exploit us and thereby encourage us; and even those British critics who have amused us over the years with their literate venom – calling the facade of the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, "Corinthian rash," *or* "picturesque mediocre slime," *or* "another vulgar American piece of Postmodern Mannerist *pastiche*" *– the latter admirable for its rhythmic alliteration.*

And those younger architects and critics who have learned from us and then gone beyond: what greater satisfaction

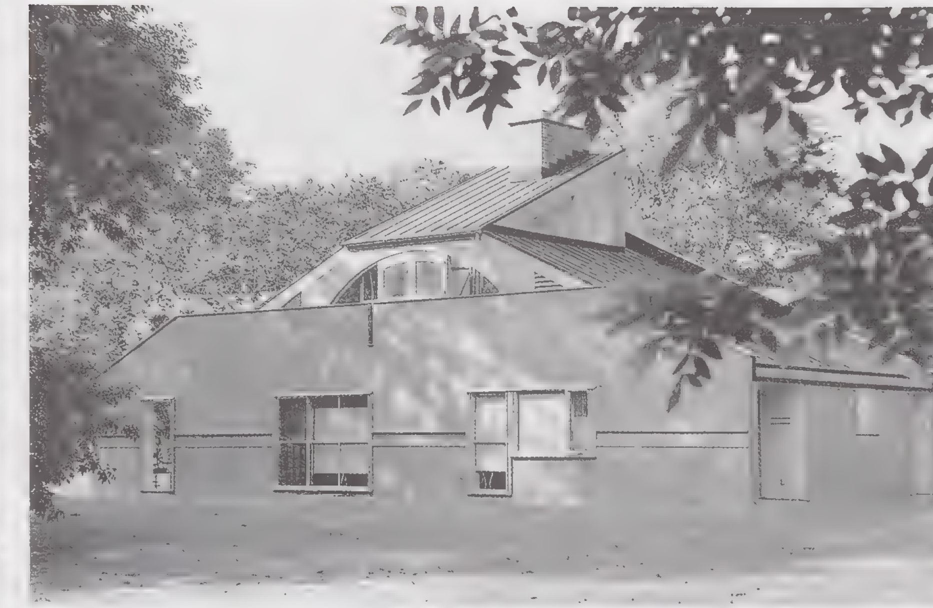
stati il Lorenzo il Magnifico del nostro studio di architettura, mecenati di grande cortesia e capaci di discernere e di apprezzare.
Sono grato a quei critici di professione e a quei direttori di riviste che ci comprendono e quindi ci incoraggiano, anziché servirsi di noi; e perfino a quei critici inglesi che per anni ci hanno esilarato con il loro dotto livore, definendo ad esempio la facciata della Sainsbury Wing della National Gallery "*un esantema corinzio*", "*una mediocre sbavatura pittorica*" o "*un altro rozzo esempio americano di* pastiche *manieristico postmoderno*" – espressione, quest'ultima, di mirabile euritmia.
Alcuni architetti e critici più giovani hanno imparato da noi per poi andare oltre: quale soddisfazione più grande di quella di non essere diventati ai loro occhi dei "matusa"? Due di essi, l'architetto Frederic Schwartz e la storica e critica Sylvia Lavin, sono qui fra noi stasera.
Molto devo all'architettura inglese, e specialmente alla sua tradizione classica, la cui autorità non chiede di essere servilmente seguita e uniformemente applicata in quanto manifestazione di un'universalità fuori del tempo, ma piuttosto esprime la sua forza in modo evolutivo e innovativo, associando ciò che è fuori del tempo a ciò che è attuale.
Così accade nelle opere esemplari di Smithson, Jones, Wren, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, Adam, Soane, Thomson "il Greco", Mackintosh, Webb, Lutyens.
A Las Vegas, di cui ho potuto cogliere la lezione attraverso la prospettiva di Roma e con gli occhi di Denise Scott Brown, ho scoperto e apprezzato la validità e la vitalità delle strade commerciali, della caotica espansione urbana, delle insegne pubblicitarie aventi una scala adeguata alla velocità dell'automobile e un simbolismo che esprime un'iconografia del nostro tempo. A Las Vegas abbiamo riconosciuto il genio della quotidianità e abbiamo imparato che i simboli e la cultura di massa sono componenti essenziali dell'architettura e che il vernacolo commerciale può essere una fonte d'ispirazione altrettanto ricca del vernacolo industriale del primo Modernismo.
Ricordo Beethoven diretto da Toscanini "con autorità e naturalezza" (un'altra espressione ripresa da Santayana, che la riferiva a un abile ballerino): un classicista non interpretato a posteriori in chiave romantica, un Beethoven la cui espressività non era creata dal direttore d'orchestra ma dalla musica, e la cui tensione nasceva da un rapporto equilibrato tra liricità e dissonanza.
L'edilizia tradizionale di Kyoto mi ha rivelato il naturale carattere, inerente a ogni architettura, di ricovero, di sublime scenario per la complessità e la ricchezza della vita, implicanti un'attrezzatura che a sua volta dà origine a una ricca varietà di forme e di scale. Mentre Tokyo, la metropoli contemporanea, mi sembra una valida manifestazione di decostruzionismo, ma soprattutto la trovo capace di accettare la giustapposizione di culture e di gusti differenti, riflettendo ambiguamente su varia scala le configurazioni urbane del passato e promovendo arditamente i *tour de force* del presente: il suo è un clima che potrebbe essere ben caratterizzato dai termini francesi *élan, joie de vivre, jeu d'esprit, incroyable panache.*
Un grazie ad Akio Izutsu, amico ospitale e guida discreta, che ci ha introdotto all'architettura e alla civiltà di Kyoto in modo tale da fare della nostra prima giornata in quella città una rivelazione paragonabile al primo incontro con Roma.
Avrete notato che nel corso di questa descrizione, grosso modo cronologica, ho usato sempre più spesso il "noi", intendendo con ciò riferirmi a Denise Scott Brown e a me. Tutte le volte che ho avuto occasione d'imparare o di essere apprezzato e sostenuto da qualcuno, la mia esperienza sarebbe stata assai meno ricca se non l'avessi condivisa con un' artista come Denise. Senza di lei la portata e la qualità dell'opera che oggi viene qui premiata sarebbero risultate molto minori: minori per quanto riguarda la dimensione teorica e filosofica e quella percettiva, l'aspetto sociale e urbanistico, il rapporto col vernacolo e con la cultura di massa, con la decorazione e con le forme regionali. Alla qualità della nostra architettura Denise ha dato un apporto creativo e critico determinante.
Entrando ancor più nei particolari potrei citare altri amici e committenti che mi hanno dato il loro appoggio, ma non lo farò per non dilungarmi troppo. Vorrei solo esprimere la fiducia che anche questo paese, il Messico, con la sua stratificazione di splendori architettonici e le sue attuali prospettive di progresso sociale ed economico, possa diventare un luogo importante per la mia evoluzione come architetto.
Al termine di questa celebrazione della schiera di coloro che mi hanno e ci hanno sostenuto, sento il dovere di ringraziare ancora una volta chi ha voluto attribuirci un riconoscimento importante come il Premio Pritzker, e insieme quelle persone e quei luoghi senza di cui non avrei e non avremmo potuto diventare veri artisti: artisti la cui innata sensibilità aveva bisogno di essere apprezzata ed esercitata in un contesto civile e stimolante. Un applauso ai sostenitori e a chi ha fiducia in se stesso!
Spero che questa elencazione autobiografica non sia risultata egocentrica o troppo disinvolta: non mi è parso di aver pontificato sull'architettura (o di aver rischiato di farlo), bensì di aver espresso la mia gratitudine. La gratitudine di un artista che interiormente controlla le sue intuizioni, valuta con fiducia la sua sensibilità e le sue impressioni, i suoi impulsi e i suoi sentimenti, e non sempre pensa come si ritiene che debba pensare; ma che al tempo stesso riconosce gli influssi esercitati su di lui da persone, luoghi e istituzioni.
Bernard Shaw fa dire alla sua Eliza Doolittle: "*Per essere una signora, bisogna che sia trattata come tale.*" Da tutto ciò che ho detto risulta che la stessa cosa vale per ogni artista: e io vi ringrazio di avermi trattato come tale.

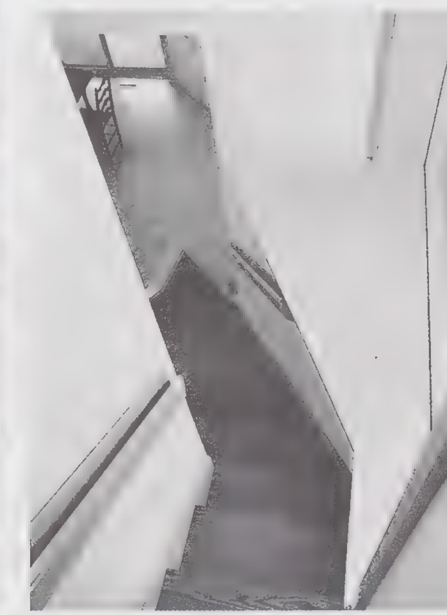
Palacio de Iturbide, Città del Messico, 16 maggio 1991

can we attain than not becoming old fogies in their eyes? I mention the architect, Frederic Schwartz, and the historian and critic, Sylvia Lavin, who are here tonight.
British architecture, especially within its classical tradition, where the power and significance of its order exist not to be slavishly obeyed and consistently reapplied as manifestation of universality and timelessness, but rather works to evolve, to distort, as manifestations of its strength, for combining the timeless and the timely – as in the inspiring works of Smithson, Jones, Wren, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, Adam, Soane, Greek Thomson, Mackintosh, Webb, Lutyens.
Las Vegas, which I learned from via the perspective of Rome and through the eyes of Denise Scott Brown, where we could discover the validity and appreciate the vitality of the commercial strip and of urban sprawl, of the commercial sign whose scale accommodates to the moving car and whose symbolism illuminates an iconography of our time. And where we thereby could acknowledge the elements of symbol and mass culture as vital to architecture, and the genius of the everyday, and the commercial vernacular as inspirational as was the industrial vernacular in the early days of Modernism.
Beethoven as conducted by Toscanini, with ease and control – another phrase of Santayana's which he attributed to an able dancer – a Beethoven, the classicist, interpreted not through hindsight as a Romantic composer, whose expression derives not from the conductor but from the music, and whose tension derives from the balance between the lyrical and the dissonant.
The traditional architecture of Kyoto as it reveals the elemental quality of architecture as shelter, as sublime background for the complexity and richness of life and its paraphernalia, which themselves evolve rich varieties of scales and patterns. And Tokyo, the city of today, as perhaps a valid manifestation of Deconstructionism, certainly of accepting juxtapositions of diverse cultures and taste cultures of varying scales ambiguously reflecting past urban configurations and boldly promoting present-day tours de force – *with* élan, joie de vivre, jeu d'espirit, *with a* panache, *that is* incroyable. *(French words seem appropriate for some reason.)*
Akio Izutsu, as our hospitable friend and reticent instructor, introducing us to the architecture and civilization of Kyoto in a way that made our first day there the equivalent of that in Rome in its revelations.
And last, you will notice that during this loosely chronological description I have used more and more the first person plural, that is, "we" – meaning Denise and I. All my experience representing appreciation, support, and learning from, would have been less than half as rich without my partnership with my fellow artist, Denise Scott Brown. There would be significantly less dimension within the scope and quality of the work this award is acknowledging today – including dimensions theoretical, philosophical and perceptive, especially social and urban, pertaining to the vernacular, to mass culture, room decorative to regional design – and in the quality of our design where Denise's input, creative and critical, is crucial. At another level of detail, I could include other friends and clients who have been supportive, but in the interest of not going on and on, I shall cease. But also, I trust, this country, Mexico, with its layers of architectural splendor and its promise of social and economic progress today, will become a place significant for me in my growth as an architect.
I must end this celebration of an artist's, or of these artists' range of supporters, with my thanks again for this grand token of appreciation, the Pritzker Prize, and for these persons and places without which I, or we, could not have been real artists – artists whose innate sensibility inside has had to be heeded and exercised – within a context, stimulating and civilized: Hurrah for support and self-reliance.
Now I trust this biographical enumeration has not turned out egocentric – or folksy – but I have not felt like pontificating about architecture on this occasion – or risking doing that – but rather like expressing gratitude – as an artist who monitors his own intuitions, who trusts and evaluates his own sensibility, hunches, impulses, feelings, and thinks not necessarily the way he is supposed to, on the inside – while acknowledging at the same time the significance of these persons, places and institutions, on the outside.
Bernard Shaw's Eliza Doolittle said: "To be a lady I must be treated like a lady." *All I've been saying is that the same goes for artists, and thank you for treating me like an artist.*

Palacio de Iturbide, Mexico City, May 16, 1991









Robert Venturi, Casa Vanna Venturi, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1963.
Vista del fronte principale.
Foto Rollin R. La France.
Vista del fronte posteriore.
Foto G. Pohl.
Vista di dettaglio della scala interna.
Foto Rollin R. La France.
Vista di dettaglio del fronte principale.
Foto G. Pohl.

Robert Venturi, Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1963.
View of main front.
Photo Rollin R. La France.
View of rear front.
Photo G. Pohl.
Detail view of internal stairs.
Photo Rollin R. La France.
Detail view of main front.
Photo G. Pohl.

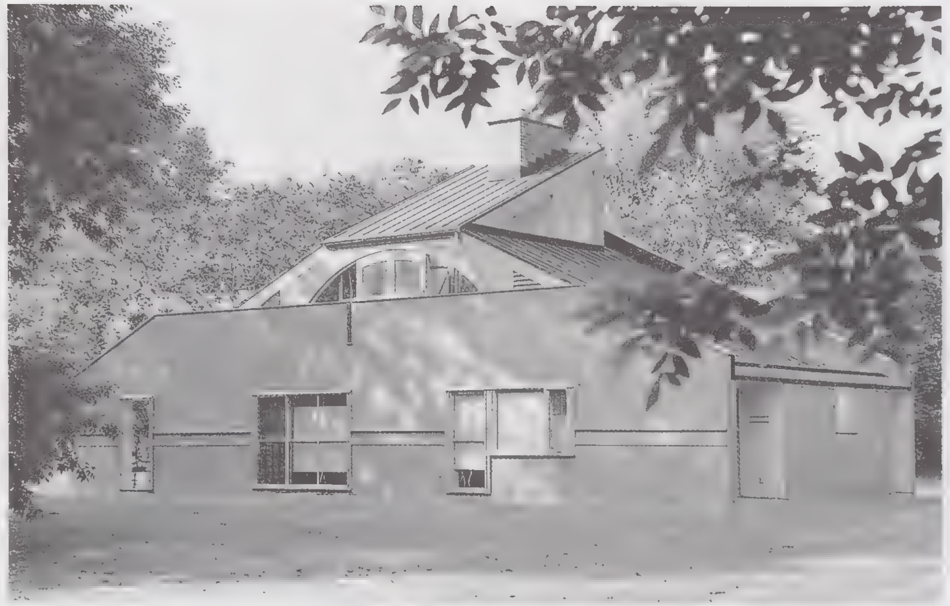
Casa Vanna Venturi, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1963
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Questo edificio è semplice e complesso, aperto e chiuso, grande e piccolo. All'interno come all'esterno è una piccola casa che ricorre alla grande scala per controbilanciare la sua complessità. La complessità rende le cose difficili se combinata alla piccola scala in un piccolo edificio, mentre la grande scala in questo piccolo edificio consente una giusta tensione architettonica.
Gli spazi interni presentano forme e interrelazioni complesse. La pianta è simmetrica, ma la simmetria a volte si interrompe per soddisfare le particolari necessità degli spazi. Ad esempio, due elementi verticali – il camino e la scala – si contendono la posizione centrale.
Per contrasto, la forma esterna è semplice e coerente e il fronte sembra suggerire un'immagine simbolica della casa. Esso riflette inoltre le complessità interne attraverso le diverse posizioni, forme e dimensioni delle finestre, le aperture nei muri esterni e la collocazione decentrata del camino.

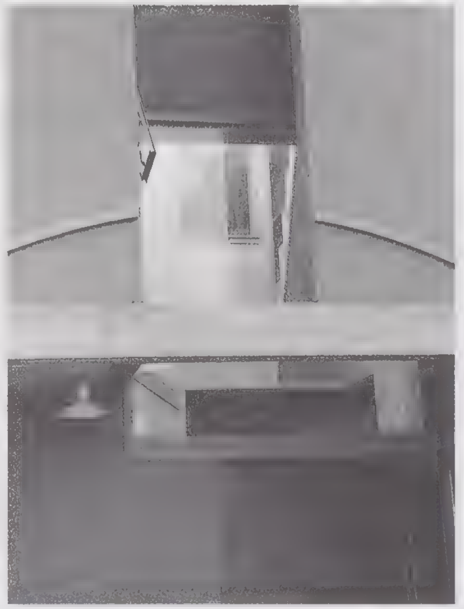
Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1963
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

This building is complex and simple, open and closed, big and little. Inside and out, it is a little house that uses big scale to counterbalance the complexity. Complexity in combination with small scale in small buildings creates a nervous business – whereas big scale in this small building achieves an appropriate architectural tension.
The inside spaces are complex both in shapes and interrelationships. The plan is symmetrical, but the symmetry is distorted at times to accommodate the particular needs of the spaces. For instance, two vertical elements – the fireplace-chimney and the stair – compete, as it were, for central position.
In contrast, the outside form is simple and consistent, the front creates an almost symbolic image of a house. However, it also reflects the inside complexities through the varying locations and sizes and shapes of the windows, perforations in the outside walls, and the off-center location of the chimney.









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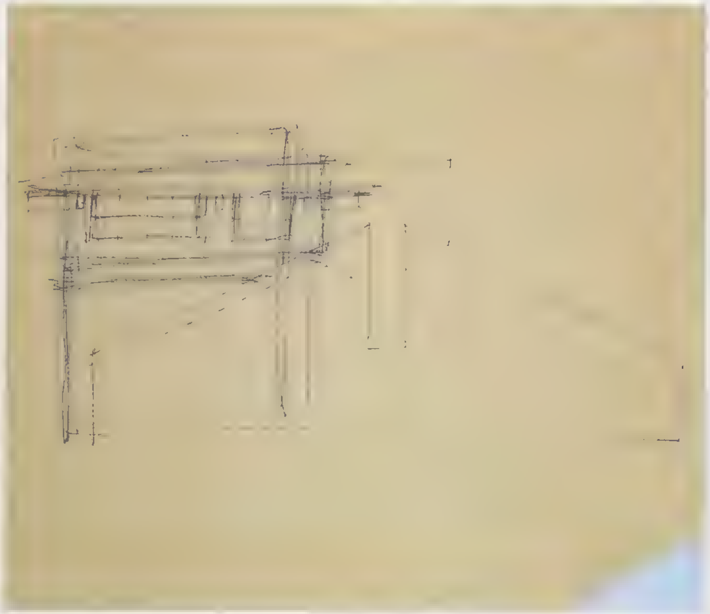
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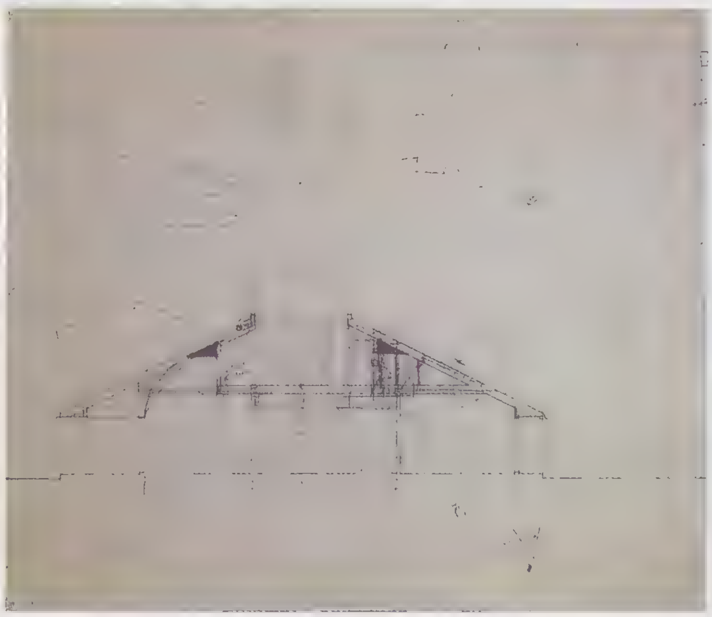
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The inside spaces are complex both in shapes and interrelationships. The plan is symmetrical, but the symmetry is distorted at times to accommodate the particular needs of the spaces. For instance, two vertical elements – the fireplace-chimney and the stair – compete, as it were, for central position.
In contrast, the outside form is simple and consistent, the front creates an almost symbolic image of a house. However, it also reflects the inside complexities through the varying locations and sizes and shapes of the windows, perforations in the outside walls, and the off-center location of the chimney.



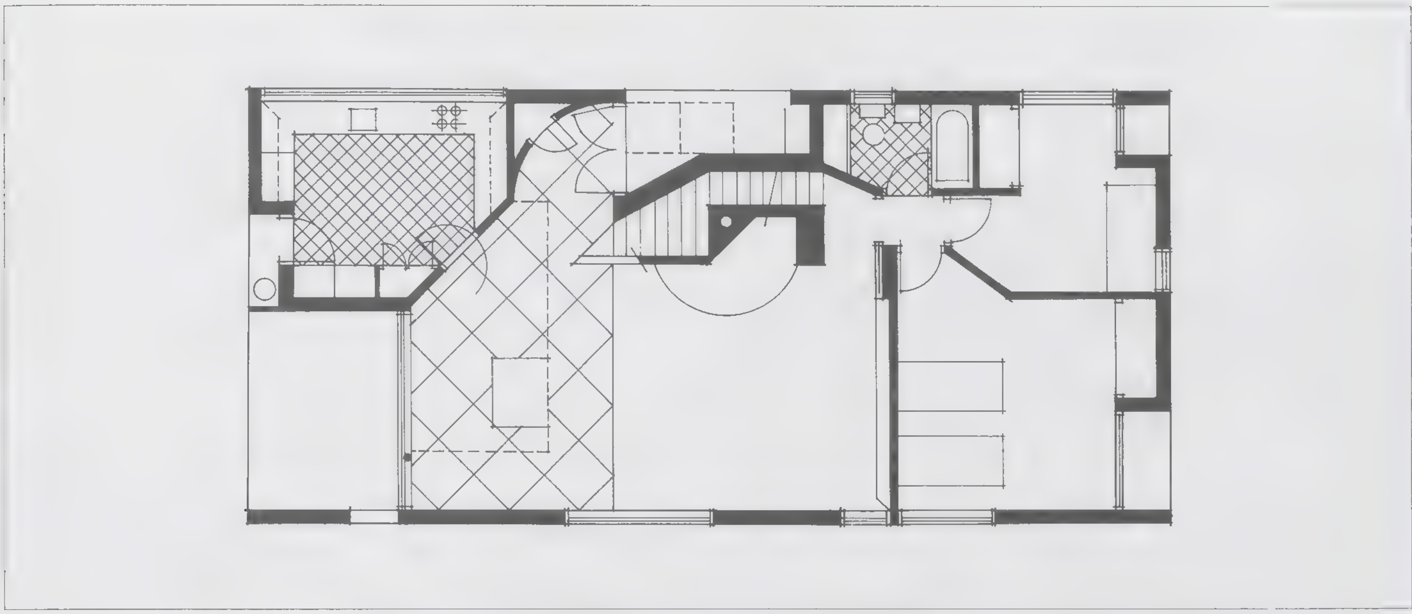


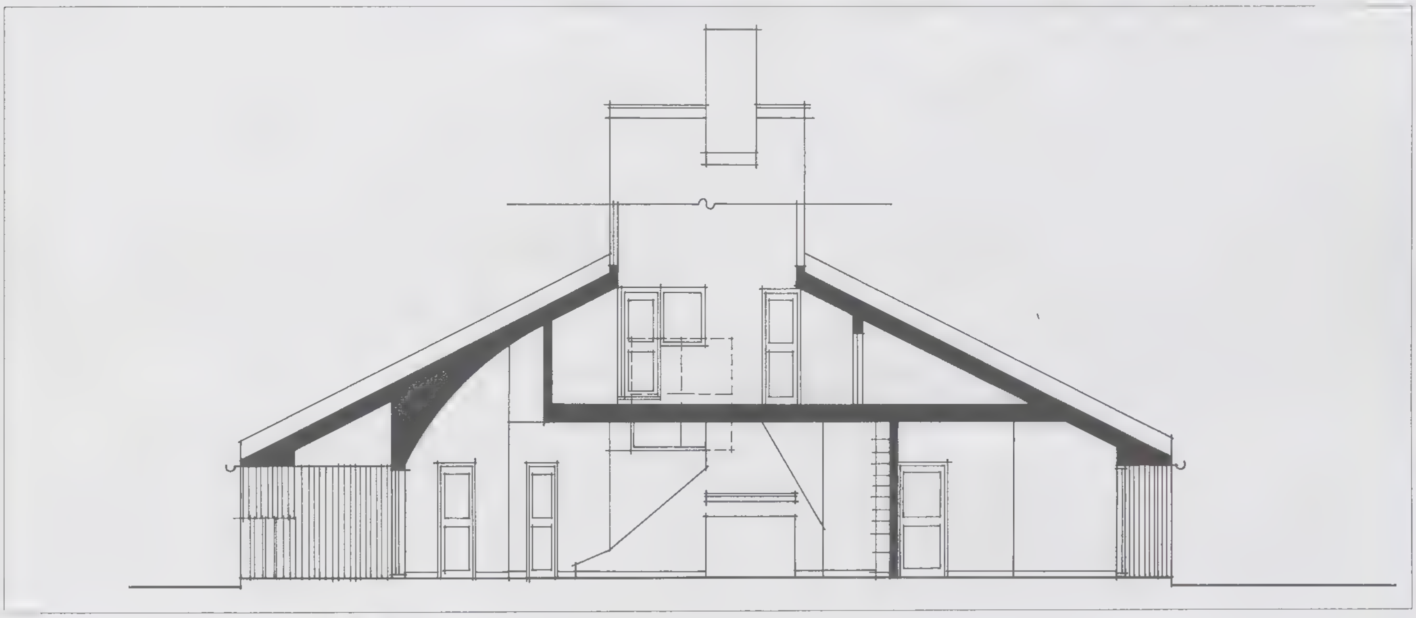


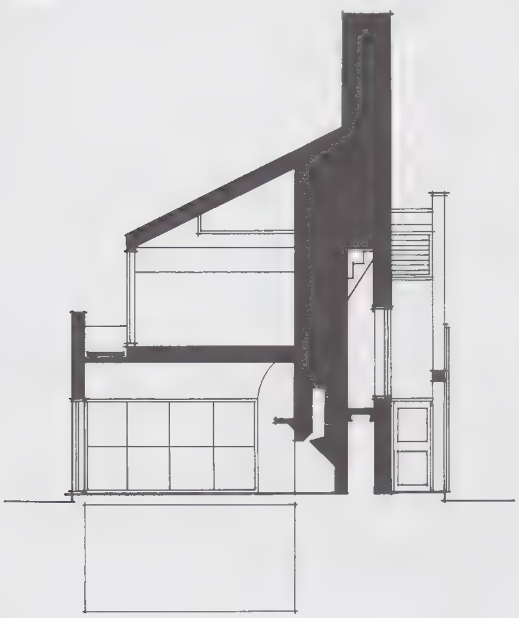


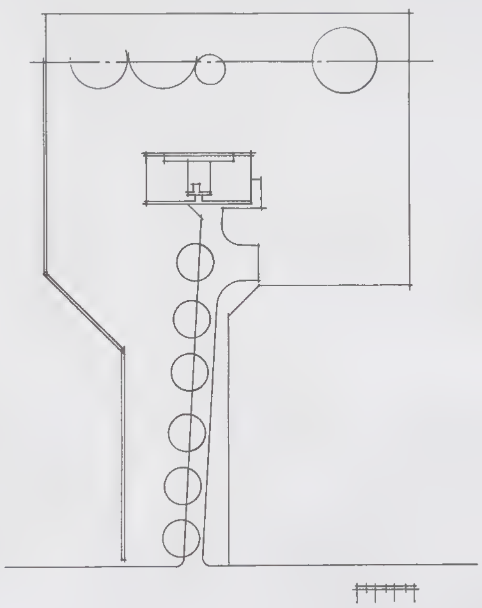
Robert Venturi, Casa Vanna Venturi, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1963. Disegni di studio, modello, pianta e sezioni. Vista interna.

Robert Venturi, Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1963. Study drawings, model, plan and sections. Internal view.









Sede dei Servizi di Emergenza RCID, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A., 1993
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Il quartier generale per il servizio centrale antincendi sarà il primo centro di servizi visibile ai visitatori di Disney World. Esso è progettato per accogliere un servizio antincendi in piena regola, con annessi spazi abitativi, uffici amministrativi e un centro di comunicazioni, oltre a scolaresche e pompieri in visita. L'edificio è stato progettato in modo da evocare l'immagine tradizionale delle caserme dei pompieri americane: la facciata rivestita di pannelli di smalto porcellanato è decorata a mattoni rossi e macchie come quelle dei cani dalmati in scala ingigantita. La curva estesa della facciata principale asseconda quella del viale lungo il quale i veicoli si allontanano a tutta velocità.

Reedy Creek Improvement District Emergency Services Headquarters, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A., 1993
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

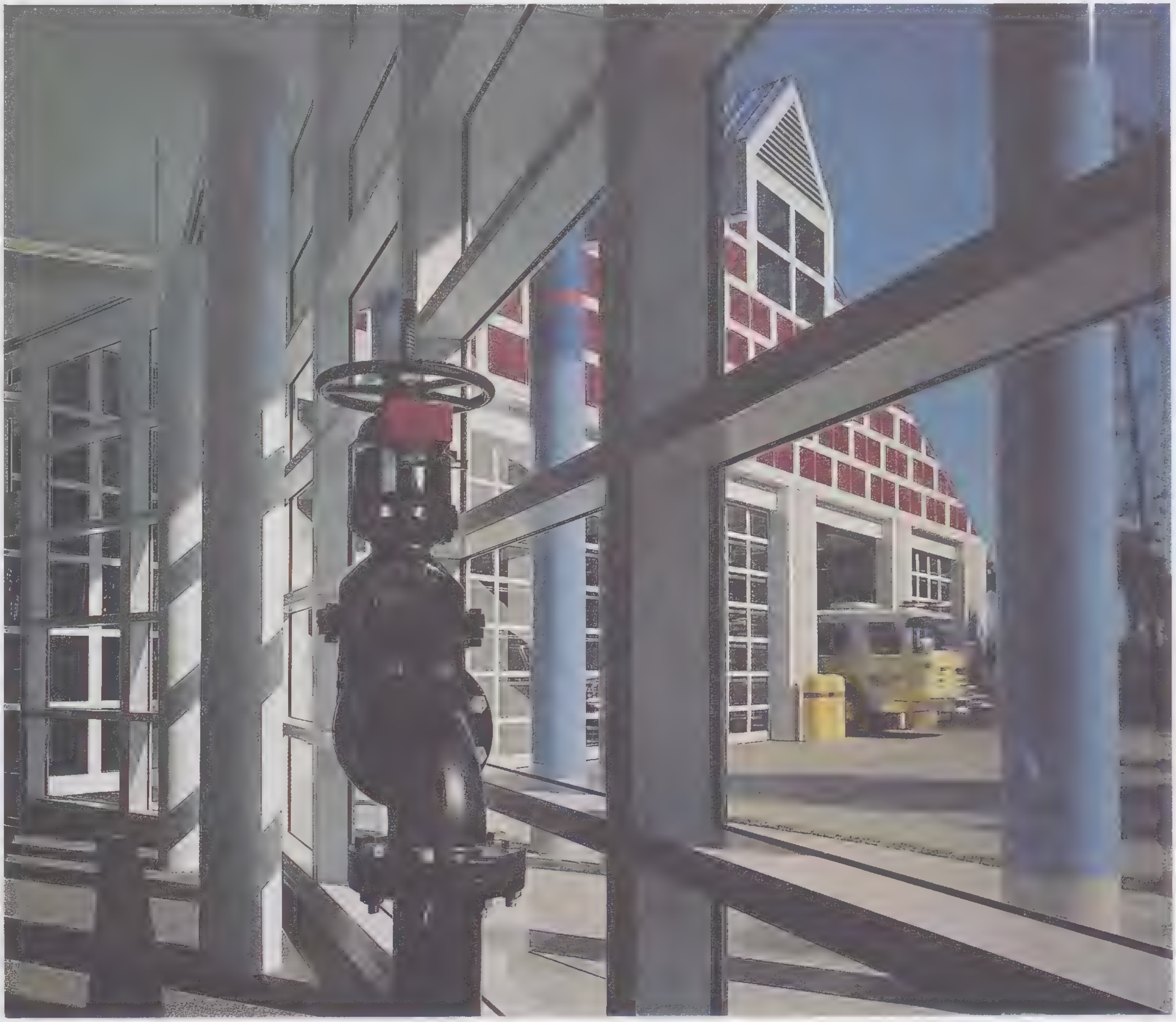
The central fire rescue headquarters will be the first back-of-house support facility visible to park visitors at Disney World. It is planned to accommodate a state-of-the-art fire rescue center, complete with living quarters, administrative offices and a 911 communications center, as well as school groups and visiting firefighters. The image of the building has been carefully designed to represent a traditional imagery of the American firehouse: patterns and colors of red bricks and Dalmation dogs exaggerated in scale adorn the exterior-front in porcelain enamel panels. The sweeping curve of the front facade acknowledges and accommodates the curve of the drive where the fire trucks exit from the complex expeditiously.





Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown con Schenkel Schultz Architecture/Interior Design, Sede dei Servizi di Emergenza RCID, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A., 1993. Pianta e vista da nordest. Foto M. Wargo.

Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown with Schenkel Schultz Architecture/Interior Design, RCID Emergency Services Headquarters, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A., 1993. Plan and view from the northeast. Photo M. Wargo.



Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Sede dei Servizi di Emergenza RCID, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A., 1993. Vista interna di dettaglio e vista da est. Foto M. Wargo.

Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown with Schenkel Schultz Architecture/Interior Design, RCID Emergency Services Headquarters, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A., 1993. Detail internal view and view from the east. Photos M. Wargo.



Alvaro Siza, 1992. *The architecture of Alvaro Siza is a joy to the senses and uplifts the spirit. Each line and curve is placed with skill and sureness. Like the early Modernists, his shapes, molded by light, have a deceptive simplicity about them; they are honest. They solve design problems directly. If shade is needed, an overhanging plane is placed to provide it. If a view is desired, a window is made. Stairs, ramps and walls all appear to be foreordained in a Siza building. That simplicity, upon closer examination however, is revealed as great complexity. To paraphrase Siza's own words, his is a response to a problem, a situation in transformation, in which he participates. If Post Modernism had not claimed the term, and distorted its meaning, Alvaro Siza's buildings might legitimately have been called by that name. His architecture proceeds directly from Modernist influences that dominated the field from 1920 to 1970.*

While Siza himself would reject categorization, his architecture, as an extension of Modernist principles and aesthetic sensibility, is also an architecture of various respects: respect for the traditions of his native Portugal,

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While Siza himself would reject categorization, his architecture, as an extension of Modernist principles and aesthetic sensibility, is also an architecture of various respects: respect for the traditions of his native Portugal,

a country of time worn materials and shapes; respect for context, whether it is an older building or neighborhood such as the Chiado Quarter in Lisbon, or the rocky edge of the ocean in his swimming club in Porto; and finally, respect for the times in which today's architect practices with all its constraints and challenges.
Siza's characteristic attention to spatial relationships and appropriateness of form are as germane to a single family residence as they are to a much larger social housing complex or office building. The essence and quality of his work is not effected by scale.
Four decades of patient and innovative form-making by Siza have provided unique and credible architectural statements, while at the same time surprising the profession with its freshness.
Siza is a teacher, not only at the university where he obtained his education, but also a guest lecturer throughout the world, fanning the intense interest his designs generate, particularly in the younger generation.
Siza maintains that architects invent *nothing, rather they* transform *in response to the problems they encounter. His enrichment of the world's architectural vocabulary and inventory, over the past four decades, provides ample justification to present him with the 1992 Pritzker Architecture Prize, as well as the good wishes of the jury that he continue his* transformations.
The Jury

Alvaro Siza, 1992
L'architettura di Alvaro Siza è una gioia dei sensi e un'elevazione dello spirito. In essa ogni linea e ogni curva è definita con abilità e sicurezza.
Come nei primi architetti moderni, le sue forme, plasmate dalla luce, esprimono una semplicità apparente, ingannevole: sono oneste. Risolvono i problemi di progetto in modo diretto: un piano a sbalzo assolverà alla necessità d'ombra, una finestra al bisogno di una veduta. In un edificio di Siza scale, rampe e muri sembrano preordinati. Una semplicità, tuttavia, che a un esame più attento si rivela invece di estrema complessità. Queste creazioni apparentemente naturali nascondono una sottile maestria. Parafrasando le parole stesse di Siza, la sua è una risposta a un problema, a una situazione che si trasforma, in cui è coinvolto.
Se il Postmodernismo non si fosse dato questo nome e non ne avesse distorto il significato, gli edifici di Alvaro Siza avrebbero ogni diritto di essere definiti postmoderni. La sua architettura affonda direttamente le radici nella tradizione moderna che ha dominato dal 1920 al 1970.
Nonostante Siza rifiuti qualsiasi categorizzazione, possiamo dire che la sua architettura, oltre a un' estensione della sensibilità estetica e dei principi moderni, è un'architettura del rispetto: rispetto per le tradizioni della sua patria, il Portogallo, un paese di materiali e forme segnati dal tempo; rispetto per il contesto, sia esso un edificio antico, un quartiere come il Chiado a Lisbona o le coste rocciose dell'oceano, a Porto, dove ha progettato un centro balneare; e infine, rispetto per le condizioni difficili e vincolanti in cui l'architetto di oggi esercita la sua professione.
Siza presta la stessa attenzione per i rapporti spaziali e l'appropriatezza formale sia in una semplice casa unifamiliare sia in complessi abitativi o commerciali di maggiori dimensioni. L'essenza della sua opera prescinde dalla scala degli edifici.
Quattro decenni di paziente e innovativa ricerca formale hanno prodotto enunciati di architettura originali e attendibili, sorprendenti per la loro freschezza.
Siza è un maestro, e non solo nell'Università che l'ha avuto come allievo, ma nelle scuole di tutto il mondo dove viene invitato per alimentare il vivo interesse suscitato dal suo lavoro soprattutto nelle generazioni più giovani.
Siza sostiene che l'architetto non *inventa* nulla, ma *trasforma* in risposta ai problemi che incontra. L'arricchimento che negli ultimi quarant'anni egli ha apportato al vocabolario architettonico giustifica ampiamente l'assegnazione del Premio Pritzker 1992 e l'augurio della Giuria affinché egli non abbandoni mai le sue *trasformazioni.*
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Ada Louise Huxtable, Ricardo Legorreta, Toshio Nakamura, Lord Rothschild, Bill Lacy (Secretary to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: The Harold Washington Library Center, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., May 14, 1992

Discorso di accettazione
Alvaro Siza

Mi è ancora difficile credere che quest'anno la Fondazione Hyatt abbia assegnato proprio a me il Premio Pritzker, un riconoscimento prestigioso già attribuito ad alcuni degli architetti che più stimo.
Un premio di architettura dovrebbe proporsi, innanzitutto, di incoraggiare e celebrare la perfezione, una perfezione che io non ho ancora raggiunto.
Ricordo che molti anni fa, conversando con il mio amico Fernando Tavora, mio professore alla scuola di Porto, egli mi parlò della perplessità che aveva provato di fronte alle imperfezioni della cupola del Brunelleschi osservandola da una certa angolazione. Ma a quel suo disappunto era subito seguito un sentimento di comprensione, di rivelazione, di pienezza.
Non mi riferisco certo all'insoddisfazione dell'artista, un sentimento che mi accompagna spesso. Mi riferisco a imperfezioni tangibili, materiali: a crepe sui muri, a stucchi irregolari, a legni sfibrati. A un rigore mancato, in sostanza.
D'altro canto, mi riferisco alla mancanza di sensibilità che ostacola o rifugge la ricerca della bellezza, sia essa la bellezza dell'armonia o del contrasto.
Al giorno d'oggi, la vita professionale degli architetti non è minata soltanto da queste imperfezioni ma anche dalle difficoltà o dalle impossibilità che si incontrano nel fare architettura.
Professionalmente sono sempre stato combattuto tra l'arduo compito di rispondere alle necessità del maggior numero di persone e il fascino delle singole opportunità (che sembrano rendere l'architettura più attuabile).
Queste due ipotesi, alla fine, si rivelano complementari, indispensabili l'una all'altra.
Le diverse circostanze in cui viene commissionata un'opera di architettura, con la specificità relativa ad ognuna, mi hanno portato a progettare soprattutto – e in modo frammentario – il tessuto urbano composto da elementi apparentemente banali, che però danno forma a gran parte di ogni città o del territorio.
Non si tratta certo di un compito facile: esso mira a riscoprire la spontaneità perduta, la gioia della spontaneità e della differenza; la capacità disinibita e collettiva di trovare o di modellare il luogo per episodi urbani eccezionali.
Sogno il momento in cui questa necessità intima e collettiva non dipenderà più, in un certo grado, dall'architettura.
Per ora, e non soltanto nel mio Paese, la necessità e il modo di infondere qualità alle cose banali e ripetitive – come condizione per accrescere la bellezza della città e dei suoi monumenti – subiscono trasformazioni profonde e, anche se forse soltanto temporaneamente, alquanto dolorose. Trasformazioni indispensabili, più che promettenti, affascinanti e creative nonostante i limiti apparenti:
– né la tecnologia più avanzata né la profonda conoscenza artigianale – l'antico sostegno alla creazione architettonica – ma una situazione intermedia in cui dobbiamo essere coinvolti;
– una situazione di morte e di rinascita in una forma che sfruttiamo nervosamente, interrogando e investigando la realtà.
Devo ammettere che il Premio Pritzker mi ha un po' rasserenato. Il messaggio mi è chiaro: si riconosce che la nostra condizione è transitoria, diversa da ambiente ad ambiente, e tuttavia universale; una condizione liberatasi gradualmente dal concetto limitato di centro e di periferia.
Voglio esprimere tutta la mia riconoscenza alla famiglia Pritzker che ama l'architettura come arte e la celebra in quanto tale; che ne apprezza l'integrità e non gli aspetti collaterali.
Ringrazio i membri della Giuria che – sempre e senza riserva – ricercano quell'integrità.
Ringrazio la mia famiglia e i miei amici – i miei colleghi, i miei collaboratori, i clienti, quelli che non sono qui e chi mi onora con la sua presenza.
In fondo credo di sapere perché mi è stato assegnato questo premio.
Ne sono felice e orgoglioso. Grazie.

The Harold Washington Library Center, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 14 maggio 1992

Acceptance
Alvaro Siza

It is still hard for me to believe that I have been this year's recipient of the Pritzker Prize, the prestigious award from The Hyatt Foundation already given to some of the architects I admire most.
The aim of an architectural prize is supposed to be, above all, that of supporting and celebrating perfection. I have not yet been able to reach perfection.
I remember a talk which took place many years ago with my friend Fernando Tavora, my teacher at the school of Porto. In it he mentioned his perplexity at the imperfections in the Brunelleschi cupola when seen from a certain angle. He expressed first a certain disappointment, which was followed by a feeling of understanding, of discovery, of plenitude.
I am not, however, referring to the dissatisfaction of an artist, which is a feeling that is often with me. I am referring to concrete and material imperfections: cracks in walls, a certain discomfort, irregular stuccoes, or bent wood, in sum, the rigour that has not been attained.
On the other hand, I am referring to the lack of sensitivity which either hampers or despises the search for beauty, be it the beauty of harmony or contrast.

The professional life of architects is nowadays affected not only by those imperfections, but also by difficulties or impossibilities in the making of architecture.
I always felt professionally divided between the hard and difficult challenge of answering the needs of the greatest number of persons on the one hand; and, on the other, the attraction for single opportunities (which are apparently closer to the viability of architecture).
In the end both hypotheses complement each other, being indispensable to one another.
The various circumstances that surround architectural commissions, with their stigmas of specialization, led me until recently to design above all – in a fragmentary way – the urban tissue made of apparently banal elements that shape the majority of the area of any city or territory.
This is far from being a modest task: it aims at re-encountering the lost spontaneity, the joy of spontaneity and of difference; the disinhibited and collective competence to find or model the place for exceptional urban episodes.
I dream of the moment in which such an intimate and collective need will not be dependent on a degree in architecture.
At the moment, and not only in my country, the need and the way to add quality to things that are banal and repetitive – as a condition to enhance the beauty of the city and of its monuments – is facing profound transformations, that, perhaps at the moment, are quite painful, but which are essentially more than promising, fascinating and creative transformation beyond apparent frontiers:
- neither high technology nor the sound knowledge of craftsmen – the old support to architectural creation – but an in-between situation in which we must be involved; a situation of death and rebirth in a form which we nervously exploit, questioning and dipping into the real.
I want to say that the Pritzker Prize gives my heart some serenity. The message is clear to me: it is acknowledged that our condition is transitional, different from environment to environment, yet universal; gradually freed from the narrow concept of centre and periphery.
All my gratitude to the Pritzker family, who love architecture as Art, celebrating it in that condition; who appreciate it by its integrity and not by its lateral views.
I express my thanks to the members of the jury who – constantly and without reserve – search for that integrity.
My thanks to my family and to my friends – colleagues, collaborators in the studio, clients and others here present or not, to all those that honour me with their presence in this room.
After all I dare to understand the reason this prize has been granted to me. I feel happy and proud. Thank you very much.

The Harold Washington Library Center, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., May 14, 1992



Casa da tè Boa Nova, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portogallo, 1958-63
Dopo trent'anni di attività, la Casa da Tè Boa Nova rimane un'oasi tranquilla in una zona costiera che ha subito considerevoli trasformazioni. Dalla strada costiera, e da una certa distanza, questo luogo appare come un minuzioso studio *in-situ* del promontorio roccioso su cui è costruito. La geometria dei piani riflette questa strategia di adattamento alla struttura geologica e articola le due sale principali. La sala da tè e la sala da pranzo, collegate da un atrio, si affacciano su una baia rocciosa. Numerose aperture accentuano questa comunione con il paesaggio: le finestre orizzontali della sala da tè si aprono scendendo sotto il livello del pavimento e dal ristorante si accede a un terrazzo di pietra. Lo spesso profilo di gronda continua la soffittatura di mogano e mitiga la forte luce dell'Atlantico. (*Peter Testa)*

Boa Nova Tea House, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portugal, 1958-63
The Boa Nova Tea House remains after thirty years of continuous use a point of tranquillity within a coastal area that has undergone significant transformations. At some distance from the coastal road the work results from a careful in-situ *study of the rocky promontory into which it is built. The plan geometry reflects this strategy of accommodation to the geological structure and articulates the two primary rooms. The tea room slides down below floor level and the restaurant opens to a stone terrace. Deep eaves continue the mahogany ceilings and modulate the strong Atlantic light. The interior mahogany floors are complimented with mahogany and leather furnishings. (*Peter Testa)

Alvaro Siza, Casa da Tè Boa Nova, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portogallo, 1958-63.
Vista.
Foto L.S. Fereira Alves.

Alvaro Siza, Boa Nova Tea House, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portugal, 1958-63.
View.
Photo L.S. Fereira Alves.







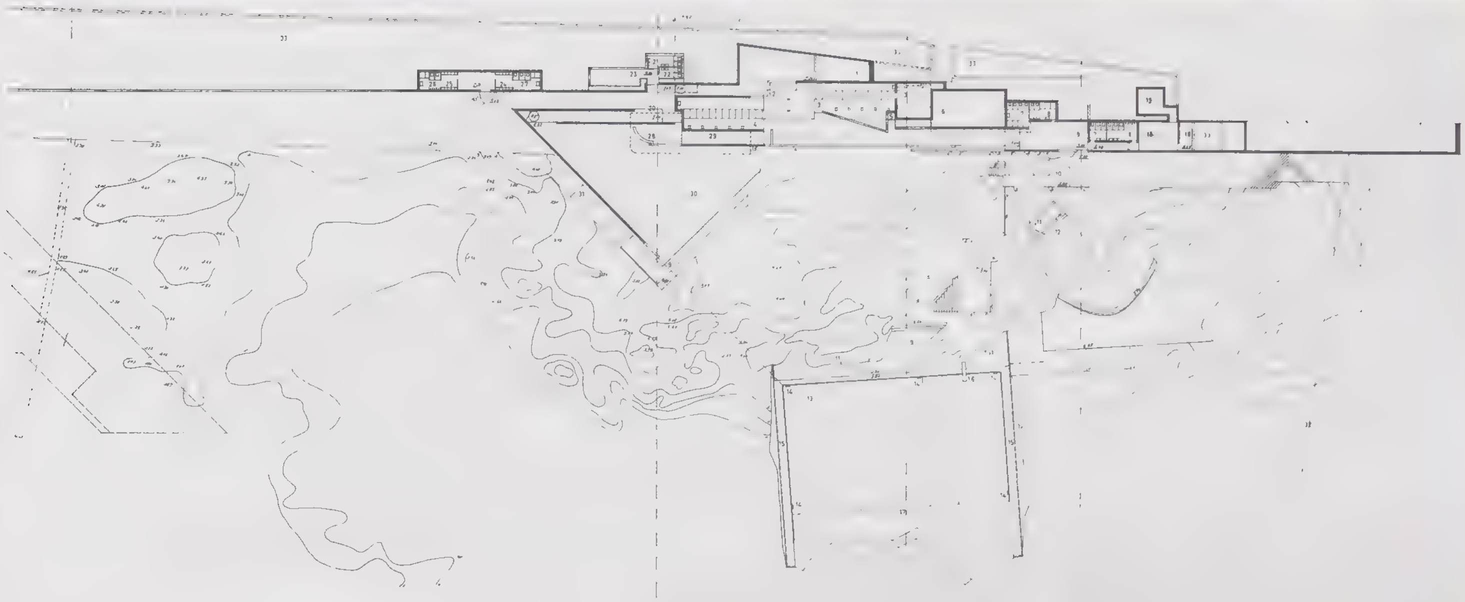


Alvaro Siza, Casa da Tè Boa Nova, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portogallo, 1958-63.
Viste esterne e interne e pianta.
Foto L.S. Fereira Alves.
Alvaro Siza, Piscina sull'Oceano, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portogallo, 1961-66.
Vista e pianta d'insieme.
Foto L.S. Fereira Alves.

Alvaro Siza, Boa Nova Tea House, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portugal, 1958-63.
External and internal views and plan.
Photos L.S. Fereira Alves.
Alvaro Siza, Ocean Swimming Pool, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portugal, 1961-66.
View and general plan.
Photo L.S. Fereira Alves.












Alvaro Siza, Piscina sull'Oceano, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portogallo, 1961-66. Viste.
Foto L.S. Fereira Alves.

Alvaro Siza, Ocean Swimming Pool, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portugal, 1961-66. Views.
Photos L.S. Fereira Alves.

Piscina sull'Oceano, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portogallo, 1961-66
Questa piscina progettata per la municipalità di Matosinhos si trova lungo la costa atlantica nei pressi della Casa da Tè Boa Nova, dalla quale si distingue, nonostante la vicinanza, per il diverso approccio all'ambiente naturale. In questo caso l'architettura è più autonoma e aperta agli ampi orizzonti del paesaggio. Sono stati eliminati i riferimenti all'architettura tradizionale in favore di forme piane di cemento armato a vista.
La vasca che ospita questa piscina di acqua salata è stata progettata considerando le condizioni naturali imposte dal massiccio affioramento roccioso su cui poggia. I pochi interventi che integrano il progetto (piattaforme, scale, muri, sentieri e aree di sosta) sono costruiti in questo paesaggio irregolare. Gli spogliatoi, accessibili tramite una rampa, sono disposti parallelamente a una diga foranea esistente lunga un chilometro e sotto il livello della strada costiera. L'uso dei materiali è stato limitato al cemento armato a vista, pietra da pavimentazione, legno di Riga trattato e rame per la copertura. *(Peter Testa)*



Ocean Swimming Pool, Leça da Palmeira, Matosinhos, Portugal, 1961-66
The Ocean Swimming Pool for the municipality of Matosinhos is sited along the Atlantic coast near the Boa Nova Tea House. Despite this proximity the pool represents a different approach to the natural setting as the architecture is more autonomous and open to the large lines of the landscape. References to traditional architecture are eliminated in favour of planar forms in exposed reinforced concrete.
The enclosure of the salt water pool is organized on the basis of natural accidents in the massive rock outcropping that serves as its support. The limited interventions that make up the project (platforms, stairs, walls, paths, and zones of stasis) are constructed within this irregular landscape. Entered by a ramp, the changing rooms are parallel to an existing one kilometre sea wall and below the level of the coastal road. The materials are restricted to exposed reinforced concrete, stone paving, treated Riga wood, and copper roofing.
(Peter Testa)

Centro Gallego di Arte Contemporanea, Santiago de Compostela, Spagna, 1988-94
Alvaro Siza

1. Per un portoghese di Minho, un viaggio in Galizia rappresenta un'esperienza singolare. Si sente a casa propria. Eppure ogni cosa può essere un po', o addirittura molto, diversa. È un'esplosione di estuari che interrompono la lunga e stretta linea di sabbia della costa portoghese.
Ci sono i crostacei più diversi, le ostriche, le *tapas* e il *paseo*; e molta gente nelle strade.
Il linguaggio ha origini comuni e usa perfino le stesse parole ma ha un suono ed espressioni inconfondibili. Più dura e al tempo stesso più dolce, la conversazione è spesso costellata di diminutivi: *adeusinho, Alvariño, Carmoniña*...
Poi c'è la presenza del granito, che sembra eterna, e le sue venature, il suo colore, anch'esso leggermente diverso: a volte più dorato, più verdastro o più nerastro. Lasciando la strada principale ci si imbatte in una successione di luoghi magici: letti di ruscelli, antichi canali di pietra, tratti del Cammino di Santiago ai quattro venti, cortili di fattorie, cave di granito forse più imponenti e più solenni di quelle di Minho, o forse no.
Dai muri austeri della città sporgono terrazze di legno e di cristallo. A Coruña quei muri sembrano gli antenati del *curtain wall*, ininterrotti, dipinti di bianco, luccicanti al sole quando la pioggia concede una piccola tregua.
Dai giardini del XVIII o XIX secolo o dalle facciate delle chiese, trapela l'ossessione e la nostalgia del viaggio: fitti palmeti interrompono la scala del paesaggio, rilievi esotici di significato indecifrabile, pavimenti di legno lisciati a mano in verande coloniali.
Sulle facciate delle chiese il decoro si allontana raramente da motivi geometrici di una sensualità rigidamente controllata. C'è sempre qualcosa di sudamericano, ma di un Sudamerica delle geometrie delle pietre precolombiane, dai contorni taglienti, in un mosaico di superfici piatte, in bassorilievo.
Là dove lo si incontra, l'elemento organico appare naturale: foglie e muschio che crescono dal granito avvolgendolo dolcemente, come il sudario di Cristo, o alti steli che sbucano da qualche stemma di pietra dove l'ornato testimonia la storia.
2. Quando il mio sguardo si soffermò sulle scalinate misteriose e le rigide facciate del Convento di Santo Domingo, accanto al quale avrei dovuto costruire il Museo di Santiago, quando salii su terrazze invase dalla vegetazione e rette da mura semidistrutte, o quando entrai nel cimitero e vidi dall'alto del bosco di querce i tetti e le migliaia di torri di Santiago, provai subito un grande disagio. Le mie scarpe, i miei vestiti, il mio corpo erano fradici. L'acqua scorreva in ogni direzione. Mi mostrarono documenti preziosi e vecchie fotografie. Uno scultore traeva dal granito figure religiose, come nel Medioevo.
Andammo a cercare e a dissotterrare canali di granito, resti di condotti ormai arrugginiti, corsi d'acqua, sorgenti, fontane e scalinate sepolte dal tempo, tesori di qualche convento scomparso; andammo alla ricerca del luogo dove scavare le nostre fondamenta e innalzare le nostra mura, dove costruire un tetto per proteggere dalla pioggia e aprire finestre per fare entrare la luce.

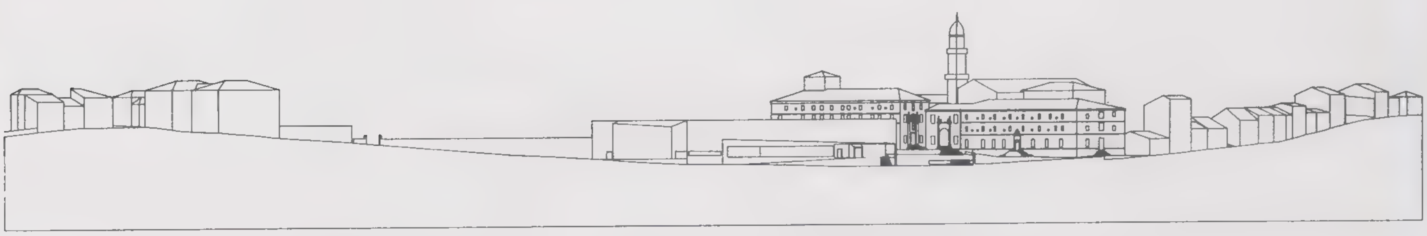
Galician Centre of Contemporary Art, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 1988-94
Alvaro Siza

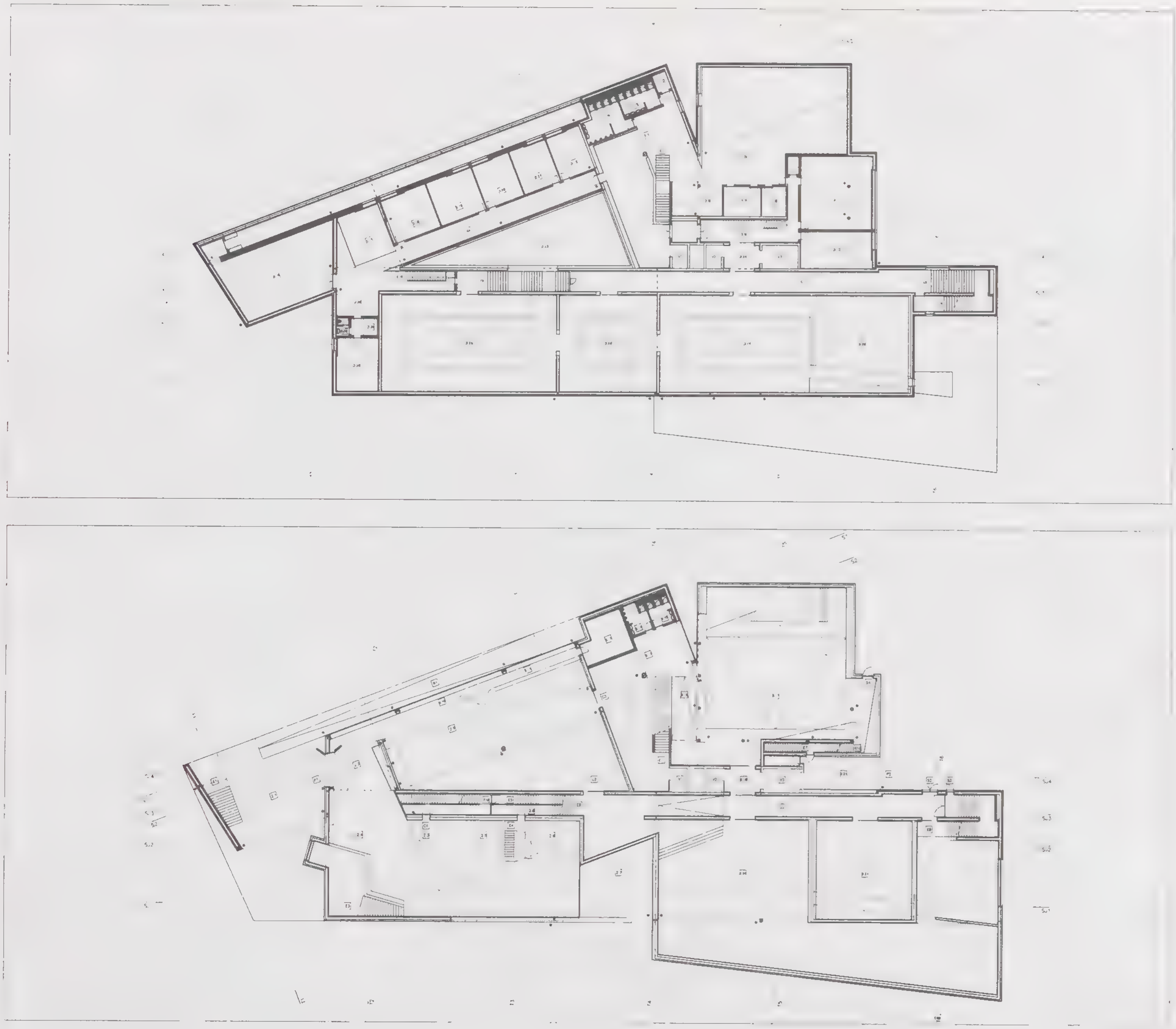
1. For a Portuguese from the Minho a journey to Galicia constitutes a singular experience. One feels at home. Nevertheless, everything is slightly or even very different. There is that geographic explosion of the estuaries, following upon the long narrow strip of sand that is the Portuguese coast.
The shellfish are different, the oysters survive, there are tapas and the paseo; many people in the streets.
The language has common origins and even the same words, but its music and expressions are unmistakeable; simultaneously harder and more tender, the discourse is frequently filled with diminutives – adeusinho, Alvariño, Carmoniña...
Then there is the presence of granite, that appears eternal, and its textures, or colour, are also slightly different: more golden or more greenish, or blacker. When we leave the main roads magical sites succeed one another: stream beds, ancient stone channels, branches of the Pilgrimage Roads of Santiago to the four winds, threshing floors, granite granaries, of greater dimensions and more severe in their carving than those of the Minho, or maybe not.
From the austere walls of the city leap balconies in wood and crystal. In Coruña they appear as ancestors of the "curtain wall", continuous, painted white, glistening in the sun when for an instant the rain stops.
In the gardens of the 18th or 19th centuries, or on the facades of the churches, the obsession and nostalgia of the journey is revealed – deeply entrenched palms breaking the scale of the landscape, exotic reliefs whose meaning is difficult to decipher, wooden floors of colonial verandahs scrubbed by hand.
The writing on the facades of the churches rarely abandons geometric forms of a severely controlled sensuality. There is always something of South America, but the South America of the geometric pre-Colombian stones, of sharp edges, in a mosaic of flat surfaces, in low relief.
When it appears, the organic is natural: leaves and moss that grow from the granite, finely wrapping it, like a shroud of Christo, or shooting stems from some stone coat of arms, there where decoration communicates history.
2. When I laid sight upon the mysterious stairs and the angular facades of the Convent of Santo Domingo, next to which I had been asked to build the Museum of Santiago, when I climbed the platforms invaded by vegetation and contained by semi-destroyed walls, or when I entered the cemetery and saw from the height of the grove of oak trees the roofs and thousand towers of Santiago, I felt above all inhibited. My shoes, clothes, and body were soaking wet. Water ran in disorder in every direction.
I was shown precious documents and old photographs. A sculptor pulled out of granite religious figures as in the Middle Ages. We went finding and unearthing granite channels, the remains of rusted out tubes, waterways, springs, fountains and steps long covered over, capitals of some disappeared convent; we went finding the site to locate foundations and where to raise walls, where to cover, waterproof and open spans, letting the light enter.

Alvaro Siza, Centro Gallego di Arte Contemporanea, Santiago de Compostela, Spagna, 1988-94.
Planimetria generale e sezione longitudinale.

Alvaro Siza, Galician Centre of Contemporary Art, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 1988-94.
General plan and longitudinal section.

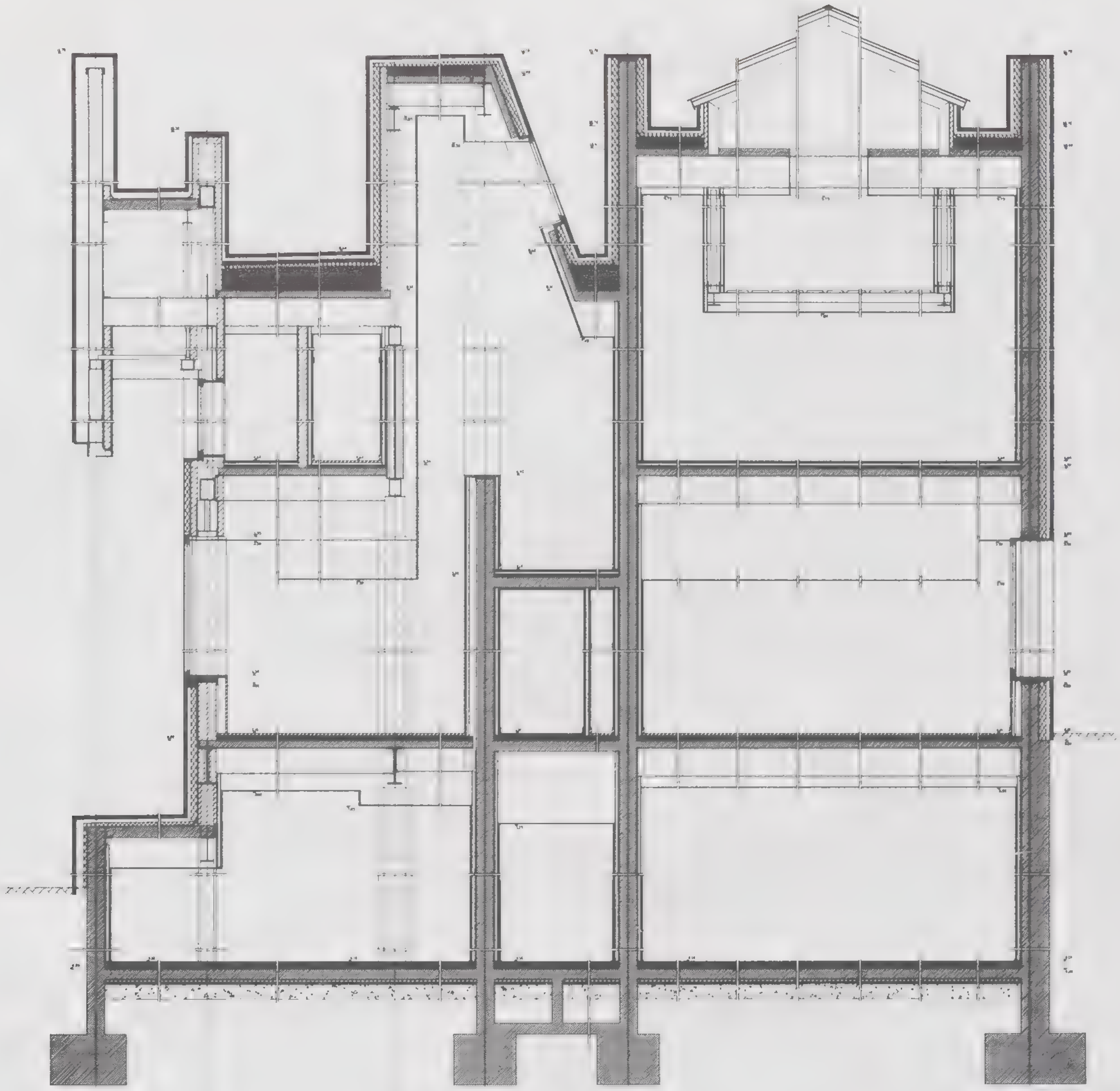

ÁLVARO SIZA
RUA
DE
BONAVAL
RUA DO ROSAPIO
PORTA DO CAMINO





Alvaro Siza, Centro Gallego di Arte Contemporanea, Santiago de Compostela, Spagna, 1988-94.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo e sezione trasversale.

Alvaro Siza, Galician Centre of Contemporary Art, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 1988-94.
Ground and first floors plans and cross section.





Alvaro Siza, Centro Gallego di Arte Contemporanea, Santiago de Compostela, Spagna, 1988-94.
Viste esterne e interne.
Foto J. Rodriguez.

Alvaro Siza, Galician Centre of Contemporary Art, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 1988-94.
External and internal views.
Photos J. Rodriguez.






Fumihiko Maki, 1993. *Fumihiko Maki of Japan is an architect whose work is intelligent and artistic in concept and expression, meticulously achieved. He is a modernist who has fused the best of both eastern and western cultures to create an architecture representing the age-old qualities of his native country while at the same time juxtaposing contemporary construction methods and materials.*

His first exposure to modern architecture was in 1930s Tokyo where a few pioneering architects departed from traditional and European styles. Following his graduation from the University of Tokyo, he came to the United States for further study at Cranbrook Academy of Art and at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design under José Luis Sert. He later taught at Washington University, where as a young professor, he designed his first built work. These early experiences helped build the foundation for his own unique style that would reflect his cosmopolitan view of the world.

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derived from the Greek with various meanings – alteration, variation, revolution – changeability and flexibility being key elements of their view. One aim was never to design in isolation from the city structure as a whole. Maki has expressed his constant concern for the "parts" and the "whole – describing one of his goals as achieving a dynamic equilibrium that includes sometimes conflicting masses, volumes, and materials.
He uses light in a masterful way, making it as tangible a part of every design as are the walls and roof. In each building, he searches for a way to make transparency, translucency and opacity exist in total harmony. To echo his own words, "Detailing is what gives architecture its rhythm and scale."
There is amazing diversity in his work – from the awesome Nippon Convention Center near Tokyo with its man-made mountain range of stainless steel roofs to his earlier and smaller YKK Guest House or a planned orphan village in Poland.
The dimensions of his work measure a career that has greatly enriched architecture. As a prolific author as well as architect and teacher, Maki contributes significantly to the understanding of the profession.
Maki has described creation in architecture as "discovery, not invention (...) a cultural act in response to the common imagination or vision of the time." *Further, he believes,* "it is the responsibility of the architect to leave behind buildings that are assets to culture."
For building works that are not only expressions of his time, but also destined to survive mere fashion, the 1993 Pritzker Architecture Prize is presented to Fumihiko Maki.
The Jury

Fumihiko Maki, 1993
Il giapponese Fumihiko Maki è un architetto le cui opere sono intelligentemente concepite, artisticamente espresse ed eseguite con scrupolosa cura.
È un modernista che ha saputo fondere il meglio della cultura orientale con il meglio di quella occidentale per creare un'architettura che rappresenta le qualità secolari della sua patria pur avvalendosi di metodi costruttivi contemporanei.
Egli ha mosso i primi passi nell'architettura moderna a Tokyo, negli anni Trenta, quando alcuni architetti si allontanarono dagli stili tradizionali ed europei. Laureatosi all'Università di Tokyo, egli giunse negli Stati Uniti per approfondire gli studi alla Cranbrook Academy of Art e alla Graduate School of Design dell'Università di Harvard, con José Luis Sert. È stato poi un giovane professore alla Washington University dove ha progettato il suo primo edificio costruito. Queste giovanili esperienze contribuirono a costruire i fondamenti del suo singolare stile personale, espressione di una visione cosmopolita del mondo.
All'inizio della carriera egli fu tra i membri fondatori di un gruppo d'avanguardia formato da brillanti giovani architetti giapponesi, i cosiddetti Metabolisti, un termine di derivazione greca e con diversi significati – alterazione, variazione, rivoluzione –, dato che gli elementi chiave del loro pensiero erano la mutevolezza e la flessibilità. Uno dei punti caratteristici era quello di non progettare mai senza considerare la struttura urbana come un tutto.
Maki ha sempre manifestato interesse per la questione delle "parti" e del "tutto" sostenendo che uno dei suoi obbiettivi è di ottenere un equilibrio dinamico che a volte comprende masse, volumi e materiali contrastanti.
Egli è un maestro nell'uso della luce che diventa parte tangibile di ogni suo edificio allo stesso modo dei muri e della copertura. In ogni progetto egli si adopera sempre affinché la trasparenza, la lucentezza e l'opacità convivano in assoluta armonia. Riprendendo le sue stesse parole, "*è il dettaglio che conferisce ritmo e proporzione all'architettura*".
Le sue opere presentano elementi sorprendentemente diversi, dall'imponente Nippon Convention Center vicino a Tokyo, dove le coperture di acciaio inossidabile si succedono come in una artificiale catena montuosa, alla più giovanile e piccola YKK Guest House, al progetto di un Centro per orfani in Polonia.
L'entità delle sue opere traccia una carriera che ha profondamente arricchito l'architettura. Scrittore prolifico, architetto e maestro, Maki contribuisce in modo significativo alla comprensione di questa professione.
Egli ha descritto la creazione in architettura come "*scoperta, non invenzione* (...), *un atto culturale in risposta alla comune immaginazione o alla visione del tempo*". Egli crede inoltre che "*sia responsabilità dell'architetto lasciarsi alle spalle edifici che diventano parte del patrimonio culturale*".
Per opere architettoniche che non sono soltanto espressione di un'epoca, ma che sono destinate a sopravvivere alle semplici mode, assegnamo a Fumihiko Maki il Premio Pritzker 1993.
La Giuria



Giuria/Jury
J. Carter Brown (Chairman of the Jury), Giovanni Agnelli, Charles Correa, Frank O. Gehry, Ada Louise Huxtable, Ricardo Legorreta, Toshio Nakamura, Lord Rothschild, Bill Lacy (Secretary to the Jury)

Formal Presentation: The Spanish Hall, Prague Castle, Czech Republic, June 10, 1993

Discorso di accettazione
Fumihiko Maki

Vorrei anzitutto esprimere il mio vivo ringraziamento a Jay Pritzker, ai membri della Fondazione Hyatt e ai membri della Giuria del Premio, senza la cui scelta non sarei qui. Sono profondamente grato per l'onore che stasera mi fate convalidando e incoraggiando l'attività da me svolta in quasi quarant'anni di professione. Mi rendo conto che molti altri candidati avrebbero meritato questo riconoscimento, e l'essere stato prescelto entro una schiera di colleghi così apprezzati ha rappresentato per me una vera sorpresa. Nel ricevere questo premio desidero ricordare con gratitudine il reciproco aiuto e la comunione di ideali che mi lega a questo gruppo sempre più numeroso di amici: con la loro collaborazione, le loro critiche e il loro cameratismo essi hanno reso personalmente molto gratificante il mio lavoro di architetto.
Desidero estendere la mia sincera riconoscenza a tutti coloro – amici, familiari, colleghi e sostenitori – che sono convenuti qui nel Castello di Praga per partecipare con me a questa cerimonia; in particolare, sono molto onorato che il presidente Havel abbia trovato nella sua laboriosa agenda il tempo per stare qui con noi.
Il fatto che quest'avvenimento si svolga nella città europea che più mi è cara è per me motivo di viva emozione; e il pensiero che siamo arrivati qui da varie parti del mondo, da tante città diverse, mi spinge a dire qualcosa sulle città e sulla loro funzione ispiratrice rispetto non solo all'architettura, ma anche alla cultura e alla vita in generale. Volgendomi a considerare la mia vicenda, sia privata che professionale, vedo che essa è stata ed è tuttora continuamente intrecciata con la vita di varie città, ognuna portatrice di un suo insegnamento e di un suo messaggio. Nel mio discorso di accettazione di stasera vorrei parlare brevemente di tre città che hanno avuto un profondo influsso sul mio pensiero architettonico: si tratterà dunque – per parafrasare un famoso titolo dickensiano – di un "racconto di tre città".
In primo luogo vorrei parlarvi di Tokyo, dove sono nato e cresciuto e dove tuttora vivo con la mia famiglia esercitando la professione. Nei primi anni Trenta, quand'ero bambino, l'aspetto fisico e l'ambiente di Tokyo erano ancora in gran parte quelli ereditati dall'Ottocento. Nella "città alta" in cui abitavo, Yamanote, molte strade erano ombreggiate da grandi alberi e di sera non erano illuminate. Le strade minori e i vicoli non erano pavimentati, e dopo una pioggia l'aria era pervasa dagli odori della terra e della vegetazione; le strade che oggi sono percorse da un intenso traffico veicolare erano popolate di pedoni e di biciclette. D'estate la gente usciva dalle case e dalle botteghe a prendere una boccata d'aria fresca e a guardare i bambini giocare con i fuochi d'artificio, le cui esplosioni si udivano anche da lontano. In queste scene si perpetuava il ricordo di una città che già

due secoli prima era stata la metropoli più popolosa del mondo e che negli anni di cui parlo era probabilmente la più vasta città giardino esistente.
Negli anni Trenta gli edifici di Tokyo erano per lo più bassi e poco appariscenti nel colore e nell'articolazione esterna. La maggior parte delle abitazioni avevano tetti di laterizi e finiture di legno sulle pareti, talvolta rivestite di cemento sulla fronte verso la strada; gli edifici pubblici, le banche e alcuni edifici commerciali importanti, come i grandi magazzini, riprendevano invece le forme neoclassiche dell'architettura occidentale.
Tuttavia negli stessi anni cominciarono a sorgere qua e là delle costruzioni moderne. Ho ancora un vivo ricordo di quando andavo coi miei genitori in casa di amici o in piccoli edifici – sedi di esposizioni o sale da tè – situati nei parchi pubblici. Le loro forme cubiche molto articolate, le pareti bianche, gli spazi interni variamente mossi, le sottili ringhiere metalliche mi introdussero all'architettura moderna e mi fecero una grande impressione, anche se a quel tempo non pensavo affatto di diventare un architetto. In seguito, a queste immagini si andarono gradualmente sovrapponendo quelle di navi e di aeroplani, che per noi ragazzi di allora rappresentavano tipicamente la modernità.
Nel frattempo molte cose sono cambiate. Oggi Tokyo può essere considerata come il più vasto complesso mondiale di manufatti prodotti industrialmente con materiali metallici, vetro, calcestruzzo, ecc. Ai miei occhi, sotto i quali è avvenuta nel giro di soli cinquant'anni questa trasformazione di una città giardino in una città industrializzata, Tokyo si configura come un ricco paesaggio mentale, a un livello quasi surrealista.
Con la sua capacità di venire incontro a ogni richiesta e pressione innovatrice proveniente dall'esterno, Tokyo rimane un luogo seducente ed eccitante per chi voglia creare qualcosa di nuovo: è una città che stimola continuamente architetti e artisti. Ma al tempo stesso costituisce un serio monito nei riguardi di ciò che non si dovrebbe fare: troppi cambiamenti sono stati operati in nome del progresso ma a spese del patrimonio culturale della città. Sotto quest'aspetto Tokyo continua a essere per me un esempio e un insegnamento per il futuro.
Passerò ora a parlare della "mia" seconda città, Chicago. Dopo essermi laureato a Tokyo nei primi anni Cinquanta, decisi di proseguire gli studi negli Stati Uniti. Sebbene negli anni trascorsi in America non sia mai vissuto a Chicago, questa città ha sempre rappresentato per me un luogo in cui sognare l'architettura. Nessun'altra metropoli e così riccamente dotata di quello che può dirsi il genuino retaggio della Scuola americana: le grandi opere di Richardson, Sullivan, Burnham e Root, Wright offrono un ampio panorama del Modernismo statunitense di quel periodo.
Anche a uno straniero come me le vigorose, maschie facciate degli edifici di Chicago apparvero subito come lo specchio del rude e orgoglioso individualismo profondamente radicato nella tradizione americana.
Negli anni Cinquanta erano arrivati a Chicago dall'Europa due nuovi protagonisti, Mies van der Rohe e Moholy-Nagy, e nella regione era andata emergendo una nuova generazione di architetti locali. A quel tempo ero un convinto seguace di Mies, e fui subito affascinato in modo indimenticabile dai Lake Shore Drive Apartments, visti per la prima volta sullo sfondo di un cielo pieno di nuvole in fuga verso il Lago Michigan. Ai miei studenti della Washington University prescrissi una visita di almeno tre giorni a Chicago come prerequisito per superare gli esami del corso di progettazione; e ogni volta che vi andavo con loro assaporavo le visite a quei capolavori di architettura, che considero come una perfetta espressione di individualismo collettivo.
Forse non è casuale che in questa fervida città siano nate due delle maggiori istituzioni di architettura del nostro tempo, la Fondazione Graham e la Fondazione Hyatt: per una fortunata combinazione, entrambe hanno esercitato un benefico influsso sulla mia vita professionale.
Nel 1958 mi fu assegnata dalla Fondazione Graham una borsa di studio per giovani architetti e artisti: il suo importo era cosi cospicuo da permettermi di trascorrere quasi tutti i due anni seguenti viaggiando attraverso il Giappone, l'Asia sudorientale, l'India, il Medio Oriente e l'Europa, sia settentrionale che meridionale. Fu questa un'esperienza straordinaria per un giovane desideroso di ampliare la sua conoscenza delle varie culture, città e architetture e di scoprire delle relazioni tra di esse. In quel periodo conobbi anche un gran numero di persone che mi sono tuttora care: fra loro vi è la mia compagna più che trentennale, mia moglie Misao, qui presente stasera.
L'onore concessomi dalla Fondazione Hyatt mi appare come un rinnovato incoraggiamento a intraprendere un altro viaggio di esplorazione e di ricerca architettonica, con lo stesso entusiasmo e la stessa emozione di trentacinque anni fa. Posso dirmi davvero fortunato!
La terza delle "mie" città è Praga. Ci sono venuto per la prima volta nel 1972, e i pochi giorni allora trascorsi in questa città sono bastati a farmi sentire sopraffatto dalla sua bellezza. Ma l'impressione più viva che ne ho ricevuto non riguarda l'armonia o la grandiosità dello scenario, bensì la molteplice stratificazione di storia e di cultura, la presenza di epoche e di civiltà diverse, che si manifesta a livello di città e di quartiere: è una condizione che si approssima a quell'ideale che lo storico dell'architettura Christian Norberg-Schultz ha chiamato "*cultura della complessità riccamente stratificata*". A parte gli splendidi esempi di edifici di vari periodi, ciò che definisce il carattere della città e della sua civiltà architettonica è la giustapposizione – o la costellazione – di Città Vecchia, Città Nuova, Piccola Città, Hradcany (zona del Castello) e quartieri contemporanei. La condizione di Praga è agli antipodi di quella dell'odierna Tokyo. Se è vero che una delle funzioni più importanti della città e quella di fare da apparato memorizzatore per chi la abita e per chi la visita,

Praga è certamente una città ideale: nella sua memoria è possibile leggere una riflessione sulla propria cultura e al tempo stesso un programma per il futuro della città.
Una delle osservazioni più acute e interessanti in cui mi sia imbattuto di recente è contenuta in un'intervista concessa l'anno scorso dal presidente Havel alla rivista "Time", recante il sottotitolo *Cattivo gusto e cattiva politica.* Il presidente raccontava che entrando nel Castello di Praga, già sede del regime comunista cecoslovacco, era rimasto sbalordito dall'incredibile cattivo gusto del mobilio e dei dipinti alle pareti, e di colpo gli era parso di capire perché quel regime era stato così iniquo. Dicendo ciò non intendeva riferirsi al cattivo gusto – ad esempio quello di chi, vestendosi al mattino, non sa intonare la cravatta alla camicia – ma all'incapacità di comprendere ciò che gli altri possono pensare o sentire; ed è appunto questa mancanza di sensibilità per il modo di essere degli altri che porta alla cattiva politica.
Sono stato così colpito da quest'osservazione che ho continuato a citarla ogni volta che ne ho avuto l'occasione. Come architetti potremmo essere indotti a dire che il cattivo gusto porta alla cattiva architettura; ma naturalmente il buon gusto di per sè non è sufficiente a definire la forma degli edifici o delle città, che tanti altri fattori concorrono a determinare. Nel senso in cui lo uso qui, il termine "gusto" non ha niente a che vedere con gli stili o le ideologie, né con la scelta fra due strategie progettuali ugualmente valide. Ma la sensibilità o l'insensibilità per gli altri esseri umani e per le situazioni in cui si trovano appaiono evidenti nei risultati architettonici e influenzano certamente il nostro giudizio su di essi.
Ho così descritto il mio personale rapporto con le tre città di Tokyo, Chicago e Praga: con la mia piccola sfera di cristallo ho scoperto in esse tre messaggi importanti, formulabili rispettivamente nei termini di fantasia fanciullesca, individualismo collettivo e considerazione per l'umanità e per la storia. Mi chiedo se non siano proprio questi i caratteri essenziali della modernità: e il continuare a riflettere su questa domanda costituisce appunto il mio programma per il futuro.

Sala Spagnola, Castello di Praga, Repubblica Ceca,
10 giugno 1993

Acceptance
Fumihiko Maki

First, I would like to express my many thanks to Mr. Jay Pritzker, the members of The Hyatt Foundation, and the jury members of the Award Committee, without whose support I would not have been here in the first place. I am truly grateful for the honor that you are bestowing on me tonight, which seems to validate and encourage the kind of interests and endeavors I have been pursuing over nearly 40 years of work in architecture. I am also acutely aware that there are many other deserving candidates for this prize, and therefore it truly came as a surprise to be picked from among such esteemed peers and colleagues. In receiving this award, I want to acknowledge the mutual support and shared ideals amongst this expanding group of friends, whose collaboration, criticism, and cameraderie have made my work in architecture so personally rewarding.
I want to extend my deepest appreciation to all of you – friends, family, peers and supporters – who have come to Prague Castle to share with me in the award celebration this evening, and in particular I want to say how honored I am that President Havel has taken time out from his busy schedule to be here with us.
The opportunity to hold this ceremony in the city that to me is most beloved in Europe is really quite a moving experience. And as I think about the fact that we are gathered here from various parts of the world, representing so many different cities, I am moved to say something about cities and their role in inspiring not only architecture but also life and culture in general. In retrospect, my whole life, both privately and professionally, has been and still is continuously interwoven with the lives of various cities, each with its own lessons or messages. In my acceptance speech tonight I would like to talk briefly about three cities which have made a profound impact on my thinking about architecture. In other words, this is a "tale of three cities."
The first city I would like to speak of is Tokyo where I was born and raised, and where I still live with my family and practise architecture today. In the early 1930s, the time of my childhood years, Tokyo had much of the ambience and the physical appearance that it had inherited from the previous century. In the Yamanote, or "upper town", where I lived, streets were often shadowed by big trees and were dark
in evenings. Small streets and narrow alleys were unpaved. After it rained, the smell of the earth and vegetation permeated the air. Those streets where today we find heavy vehicular traffic in those days were for people strolling and bicycling. In the summer, the people came out of their houses and stores to get a bit of the cool air and watched children playing with fireworks, whose sound could be heard even from quite a distance away. These scenes were still reminiscent of the city which nearly two hundred years earlier had already become the biggest metropolis

in the world and was also at that time arguably the world's greatest garden city.
The buildings of Tokyo in the 1930s were mostly small-scale and subdued in color and texture. Most residential houses had clay-tile roofs and wooden finishes on the walls, sometimes cemented over on the street front. Public buildings, banks and some important commercial structures such as department stores were styled according to Western Neo-Classicism.
However, the 1930s also witnessed the emergence of the first modern architecture here and there. I still remember vividly those occasions when I visited my parents' houses and small exhibition places and tea parlors in public parks. Their very articulated cubic forms, whiteness, floating interior spaces and thin metal railings were my first introduction to modern architecture, and they made a strong impression on me, although I'd never thought of becoming an architect at that time. Later, these fantastic visual images gradually began to overlap with images of boats and airplanes, the very symbols of modernity for children like myself at that time.
Much has been changed since then. Today the city of Tokyo may be called the world's largest assemblage of industrially produced artifacts (in materials such as metal, glass, concrete, etc.). Having witnessed personally this transformation from a garden city to an industrialized city within the span of a mere fifty years, Tokyo presents for me a rich mental landscape at an almost surrealistic level. Tokyo, because of its capacity to meet all kinds of external demands and pressures for change, is continuously a seductive and exciting place for the creation of something new. The city simply excites the minds of architects and artists. At the same time, however, Tokyo stands as a sober reminder of what one would not and should not do. So many changes have been enacted in the name of progress but at the expense of the city's rich cultural legacy. Tokyo, in this respect, continues to serve me as an example and teacher for the navigation of a future course.
Next, I would like to move on to my second city, Chicago. Following my graduation from the University of Tokyo in the early 1950s, I decided to pursue further graduate study in the U.S. Although I have never lived in Chicago, throughout those years I spent in the United States, the city always symbolized for me a city of architectural dreams. No city possessed a richer collection of what one might call the genuine heritage of American architecture. The great works of Richardson, Sullivan, Burnham and Root, and Wright offer a rich panoramic view of American Modernism of that period. Even to the eyes of a foreigner like myself, the sturdy, masculine facades of Chicago architecture instantly seemed a mirror of the fierce, proud individualism that is deeply rooted in American tradition.
In the 1950s, Chicago had also welcomed its new heroes from Europe – Mies van der Rohe and Moholy-Nagy – and a new generation of native architects had emerged in the region. Since I was definitely a Miesian at that time, I was unforgettably enthralled by my first glimpse of the Lake Shore Drive Apartments (of Mies), seen against the fast-moving sky of clouds racing out over Lake Michigan.
For my students at Washington University, I made a visit to Chicago for (at least) three days a prerequisite for passing my design course. Every time I went to Chicago with them, I savored the moments of visiting those architectural masterpieces. They are in my opinion the very expression of collective individualism.
It may be no coincidence that the same spirited city has given birth to the two greatest architectural foundations of our time: the Graham Foundation and The Hyatt Foundation. And by sheer luck, my architectural career has been blessed by both these foundations.
1958 was the year when I was selected by the Graham Foundation to be the recipient of a grant for young architects and artists. The grant was so generous that I was able to spend the next two years mostly traveling through Japan, Southeast Asia, India, the Middle East and both northern and southern Europe. These were fantastic experiences for a young architect who wished to broaden his understanding of different cultures, cities and architectures, and to discover certain relationships between them. There were also a number of people I met during this time whose friendship I still cherish today. Among them is my companion of over thirty years, my wife Misao, here this evening.
The honor given to me by The Hyatt Foundation this time again seems to me an encouragement to undertake another voyage to explore and investigate architecture, and I cannot help feeling the same excitement I felt 35 years ago. How lucky I have been.
Lastly, I would like to talk about Prague as my third city. I visited the city in 1972, for the first time in my life. Spending a few days here was enough to be overwhelmed by the beauty of the city. But the strongest impression I received from the city was, however, not just one of beauty or powerful scenery; instead it was an impression of the rich layering of the city's history and culture, the presence of different times and civilizations manifest on the scale of towns and districts, approaching the ideal which the architectural historian Christian Norberg-Schultz has called "the culture of rich multi-layered complexity." *Besides magnificent examples of architecture associated with different periods, the remarkable juxtaposing (or constellation) of Old Town, New Town, Small Town, and Hradcany – as well as contemporary districts – constitutes the whole city and its architectural culture. It is the very opposite of what Tokyo is today. If one of the most important roles of the city is to function as a memory apparatus for the people who inhabit and visit it, Prague would certainly represent an ideal city. This memory apparatus generates in people's minds both reflection on their culture and aspiration for its future.*
One of the most remarkable reflective remarks I have come across recently was in an interview with President Havel in

Time *magazine last year. It was subtitled* Bad Taste and Bad Politics. *According to him, when he entered Prague Castle, the former seat of Czechoslovakia's Communist regime, he was astounded by the incredibly bad taste of their paintings on the walls and furnishings in the rooms. He immediately realized why their government had been so bad. There he does not talk about bad or good taste as, let's say, one's ability to choose neck-ties to match one's shirts in the morning. Instead, he calls good taste one's capacity to understand what other people may think or feel – in other words, sensitivity to others' feelings. Bad taste is the opposite; the lack of this sensitivity leads to bad politics. I was so moved by his remarks that since then I have been quoting this passage whenever I have had the opportunity. As an architect, you may be able to say that bad taste leads to bad architecture. Of course, good taste in itself is not sufficient to determine the design of buildings and cities; so many other factors are involved, really. In the sense we are using here, taste has nothing to do with style or ideology, or even with choosing between two equivalent design strategies, for example. But as an ever-present guide to the thoughts of the designer, sensitivity to other human beings and human situations – or its lack – it will be evident in the resulting architecture and will certainly influence whether it will be deemed good or bad. I have now described my own involvement with these three cities; Tokyo, Chicago and Prague. I have found through my own small crystal ball three important messages behind them, which I repeat: child fantasy, collective individualism, and concern for humanity and history, respectively. And I wonder: aren't these also the very essences of modernity? The further pursuit of this question is precisely my agenda.*

The Spanish Hall, Prague Castle, Czech Republic, June 10, 1993



Spiral Building, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Giappone, 1985
Lo Spiral Building non è soltanto un centro d'arte, ma un'opera d'arte di per sé. Esso è concepito come un *collage* di parti semiautonome al fine di richiamare la frammentarietà del paesaggio urbano.
Il primo piano, compresa la hall d'ingresso, è progettato per ospitare mostre temporanee. Gli spazi espositivi circondano un caffè situato nel mezzo del primo piano, mentre sul retro dell'edificio un vestibolo semicilindrico e illuminato da un lucernario ospita la galleria principale. Una scala a spirale lungo la parete curva del vestibolo porta a un negozio al secondo piano.
I visitatori possono accedere al secondo piano anche tramite una scala panoramica che offre un'ampia vista di Aoyama Boulevard, che porta anche al *foyer* del teatro situato al terzo piano.

Spiral Building, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan, 1985
The Spiral Building is an active arts center and is intended to be itself a work of art. The building is conceived as a collage of semi-autonomous parts, which would actually mimic the fragmentary cityscape.
The first floor, including the entrance lobby, is designed for the display of changing art exhibitions. Gallery spaces surround a cafe located in the middle of the first-floor space, and at the very back of the building is a semi-cylindrical, skylit atrium, which acts as the main gallery space for these installations. A spiral ramp along the curving wall of the atrium leads to a shop of designers' crafts on the second floor. Visitors may also reach the second floor from the Esplanade stair, which provides a generous, informal "gallery" view of Aoyama Boulevard. The Esplanade continues up to the third floor foyer of a theater.





Fumihiko Maki, Spiral Building, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Giappone, 1985.
Vista del fronte principale e vista interna della scala panoramica.
Foto T. Kitajima.
Vista interna dell'atrio con la rampa a spirale.
Foto Shinkenchiku-sha.

Fumihiko Maki, Spiral Building, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan, 1985.
View of main front and internal view of panoramic staircase.
Photos T. Kitajima.
Internal view of the atrium with the spiral ramp.
Photo Shinkenchiku-sha.







Fumihiko Maki + Maki and Associates con Robinson Mills + Williams, Centro per le Arti, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A., 1985-93.
Viste esterne, vista interna dell'atrio e pianta.
Foto R. Barnes.

Fumihiko Maki + Maki and Associates with Robinson Mills + Williams, Center for the Arts, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A., 1985-93.
External views, internal view of lobby and plan.
Photos R. Barnes.

Centro per le Arti, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A., 1985-93
Nella prima metà degli anni Ottanta, grazie a investimenti privati si è assistito a un lento ma nuovo sviluppo delle zone adiacenti al centro Yerba Buena. Al progetto di sviluppo hanno partecipato progettisti di fama internazionale: Fumihiko Maki per il *Center for the Arts Galleries and Forum*, James Stewart Polshek per il *Center for the Arts Theater* e Romaldo Giurgola per gli *Esplanade Gardens.* Dopo che nel 1988 l'architetto Mario Botta ricevette l'incarico di ricollocare qui il *Museum of Modern Art* di San Francisco, il Centro Yerba Buena è divenuto un insieme unico di edifici culturali.
All'interno di questo contesto il *Center for the Arts Galleries and Forum* vuole "esporre" i risultati più recenti delle diverse discipline artistiche e offrire un contesto semplice e informale a eventi e attività collettive di carattere artistico. Per questo motivo il Centro non presenta, e non presenterà mai, una collezione d'arte permanente ma vuole essere uno spazio aperto a forme d'arte e ad attività progressiste e sperimentali.
Esso presenta infatti tre gallerie, un *forum* (per conferenze, concerti, *performances* teatrali, feste, banchetti, ecc.), un centro multimediale, un negozio di articoli da regalo e un caffè.

Center for the Arts, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A., 1985-1993
In the first half of the 1980s, the neighboring blocks at YBC slowly began to redevelop through private means. The Redevelopment Agency commissioned a range of international design consultants: Fumihiko Maki for the Center for the Arts Galleries and Forum, James Stewart Polshek for the Center for the Arts Theater, and Romaldo Giurgola for the Esplanade Gardens. The decision to relocate the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art away from the Civic Center and the appointment of architect Mario Botta in 1988 have made the unique ensemble of cultural buildings now at YBC.
Within their context, the Center for the Arts Galleries and Forum have been established around the theme of "showcasing" recent achievements in a variety of art disciplines, and provide a low-key informal setting for participatory events and activities in the arts. For this reason, the Center does not possess a permanent collection of artwork, nor will it allow itself to, the aim being to provide an open opportunity for progressive and experimental forms of art and activities. It has three galleries, a forum and a media center, complemented with a gift shop and cafe.



Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

__Renzo Zorzi__ The Rebirth of Zodiac; __Guido Canella__ The Foundation and Return of a Magazine; __Manfredo Tafuri__ Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy; __Carlo Aymonino__ Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice; __Gottfried Böhm__ The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; __Richard Meier__ Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut; __Gustav Peichl__ Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main; __Aldo Rossi__ Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan; __Claudio Dini__ Building Sites of the Milan Subway System; __Ignazio Gardella__ The Duomo Station; __Aldo Rossi__ The Croce Rossa Station; __Guido Canella__ The Crocetta Station.

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; __Julius Posener__ Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig; __Daniel Rabreau__ The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850; __Guido Canella__ Theatres and Pseudotheatres; __Theo Crosby__ The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London; __Gottfried Böhm__ and __Stefan Böhm__ Concert Hall in Essen; __Aldo Rossi__ and __Morris Adjmi__ Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto; __Guido Canella__ Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto; __Carol McMichael Reese__ and __Thomas Ford Reese__ Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles; __Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling__ Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall; __Kurt W. Forster__ The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

__Guido Canella__ Beyond Legitimate Preservation; __Ernesto N. Rogers__ The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment; __Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi__ Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death; __Christof Thoenes__ St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas; __James Stirling__ and __Michael Wilford__ Poultry n. 1 in London; __Colin St. John Wilson__ Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project; __Roberto Gabetti__ and __Aimaro Isola__ The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese; __Ignazio Gardella__ Department of Architecture in Genoa; __Gottfried Böhm__ Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven; __Aldo Rossi__ and __Morris Adjmi__ School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida; __Drexel Turner__ Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America; __Gianugo Polesello__ University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

__Guido Canella__ Authenticity and Falsification, Today; __Dieter Leistner__ Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918; __Ignazio Gardella__ and __Aldo Rossi__ The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa; __Venturi, Scott Brown__ and __Associates__ Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; __Carlo Aymonino__ The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House; __Hans Hollein, James Stirling__ and __Michael Wilford__ Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition; __Peter Eisenman__ Cooper Union Student Housing in New York; __Richard Meier__ The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la città? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

__Who designs the city?__ Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella; __Christof Thoenes__ Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning; __Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek__ 60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism; __Bruno Flierl__ Stalinallee in Berlin; __Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli__ Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium; __Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi__ Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London; __Micha Bandini__ Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate; __Gian Franco Di Pietro__ Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence; __Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini__ A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence; __Giovanni Klaus Koenig__ About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence; __Roberto Gabetti__ and __Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers__ Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino** II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epoché"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al desco. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil)**, Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

Guido Canella Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo; **Derek A.R. Moore** Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti; **Giovanni Testori, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Luciano Semerani,** Progetti per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona; **Philip Johnson** Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut; **Peter Eisenman** Interview with Philip Johnson; **Oscar Niemeyer** Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil; **Oscar Niemeyer** De Pampulha ao Memorial da América Latina; **Lionello Puppi** Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo; **Richard Meier** Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany; **Carlo Aymonino** Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien; **Gottfried Böhm** Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland; **Gottfried Böhm** Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland; **Aldo Rossi** Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

Zodiac 10

Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

Zodiac 11

Guido Canella Struttura urbana e destrutturazione dell'architettura: la competenza del critico e quella del comune fruitore; **Paolo Polledri** "The nearest thing to a contemporary vernacular": the Bay Area Architectural Tradition in Perspective; **Giovanni Brino** Radici dell'architettura moderna nella California meridionale; **Joseph Giovannini** L.A. Trouvée: **Thomas S. Hines** Housing, Baseball and Creeping Socialism: the Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, 1949-1959; **Kevin Roche** Charles Eames; **Kurt W. Forster** Neutra on the roof; **Charles W. Moore** O' California!; **Frank O. Gehry** Modelli di progetti californiani, 1981-1993; **Joseph Esherick, San Francisco** Sea Ranch, Sonoma County and Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey; **Holt, Hinshaw, Jones, San Francisco** Tall Buildings on Small Lots, S.F. and Visiting Artists Suite, Geyserville; **Marck Mack, San Francisco** Baum House, Berkeley, S.F. and Park and Cultural Center, Candlestick Point, S.F.; **Stanley Saitowitz, San Francisco** McDonald House, Stinson Beach and Live/Work Building, S.F.; **Daniel Solomon, San Francisco** Gleeson Residence, S.F. and Fulton Grove Townhouses, S.F.; **Coop Himmelblau, Los Angeles** Rehak House, L.A. and UFA Theater Center, Pragerstrasse Nord, Dresden, Germany; **Hodgetts+Fung, Los Angeles** Click Model Management Building, L.A. and Franklin-La Brea Proposal, L.A.; **Franklin D. Israel, Los Angeles** Raznick House, L.A. and Southern Regional Library, UCLA; **Panos Koulermos, Los Angeles** Nursery School, L.A. and West Hollywood City Hall, L.A.; **Thom Mayne, Morphosis, Los Angeles** Yuzen Vintage Car Museum, L.A. and Science Museum School, L.A.; **Eric Owen Moss, Los Angeles** Samitaur Complex, L.A. and Hercules Theater and Offices, L.A.; **Dagmar Richter, Los Angeles** West Coast Gateway, L.A. and The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark; **Michael Rotondi, Los Angeles** QWFK House, U.S.A. and Carlson-Reges Residence, L.A.

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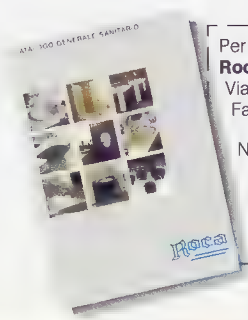
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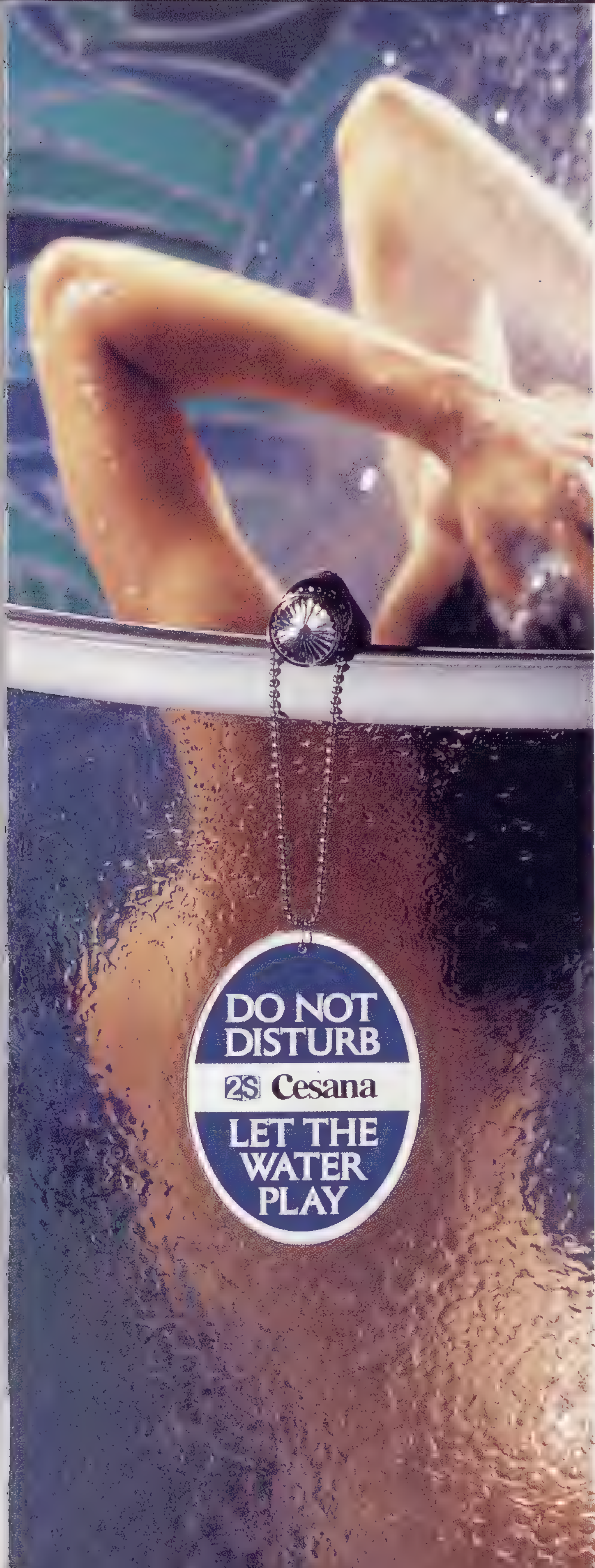
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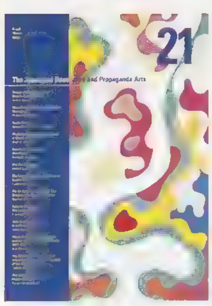
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Sommario/*Contents*

La diffusione del centro
Guido Canella

Che cosa significa applicarsi al problema della periferia?
Per noi significa intendere prioritariamente l'essenza singolare della città che l'ha prodotta. Essenza che non è riducibile alla generica categorizzazione di un paesaggio storico da salvaguardare e di un restante da modificare secondo una classificazione morfologica.
Significa dunque considerare – secondo una tradizione di pensiero protrattasi con ostinazione per oltre un secolo – ogni città *corpo vivente*, nel connaturato respiro emanato per dotazione genetica, fisiologica sul territorio; e pertanto che essa, al di là di ogni apparenza, possiede una struttura nascosta – *struttura e soprastruttura*, come già usava dire –: una vera e propria ossatura resistente nel tempo a sostegno, fin quando vi riesca, di cartilagini e connettivi; e che soltanto a partire da questa ossatura essa può essere regolata per restare coerente al proprio ruolo nello sviluppo e nella contrazione, nella trasformazione e nella conservazione della sua compagine.
L'occasione di questa riflessione ci viene anche da una pubblicistica urbanistica di recente prodotta in Italia, dove si tratta dei differenziati approcci adottati da tre generazioni di piani regolatori destinati alle città dopo la Legge urbanistica del 1942. Eppure, al di là di intese e riscontri generazionali (dove la terza generazione, oltre a storicizzare le precedenti, ha in corso la propria autobiografia), a noi – forse perchè urbanisti togati non siamo – tutti quanti quei piani sembrano sostanzialmente accomunabili nell'essersi applicati alla città come fosse un insieme scomposto da riequilibrare per logica esterna; secondo modelli di analisi e terapia prescritti al raggiungimento di un assetto conforme: contenimento della sua espansione, centro storico da salvaguardare, equipaggiamento funzionale da riproporzionare per zoning e standard, pressione delle periferie e delle tracimazioni suburbane da temperare per aggiustamenti morfologici.
Ora è provato che il riequilibrio della città previsto in quei piani regolatori è stato in larghissima parte disatteso. E il *cahier de doléances* degli urbanisti italiani ne ha attribuito il sostanziale fallimento dei presupposti ad una fenomenica generale imprevedibile e incontrollabile (industrializzazione, immigrazione di massa, rendita fondiaria, motorizzazione indiscriminata, abusivismo, ricerca di consenso elettorale da parte di politici e amministratori, eccetera) e alla carenza o all'ambiguità degli strumenti legislativi approntati per contenerla. Mai – che almeno noi si sappia – il sospetto, da parte loro, che vi abbia agito, sia pure come concausa, l'aver trascurato di considerare e valorizzare i fenomeni insediativi proprio a partire dagli squilibri interni ed esterni, cioè da certe apparenti contraddizioni che sovente sono risultate effetto stesso della dislocazione, sopravvivenza e diramazione sul territorio.
Dunque le città hanno continuato a svilupparsi, troppo spesso caricate anche di falsi equilibri che hanno finito per incrinarne l'ossatura, nel frattempo sciaguratamente trascurata e lasciata indebolire. E gli urbanisti della terza generazione, pur dichiarandosi avversari del "*modello quantitativo dominante*" (ripreso dallo spagnolo *desarrollismo*), sembrano ormai ritenere le articolate incursioni del capitale finanziario, orientato a rigenerarsi soprattutto nelle aree

The spread of the centre
Guido Canella

What does it mean to deal with the problem of the periphery? For us, it means first of all understanding the singular essence of the city which has generated it. An essence which cannot be reduced to the generic categorization of a historical landscape to be protected, or a residual space to be modified in keeping with a morphological classification.
It means, therefore, considering – in keeping with a tradition of thought which has stubbornly survived for over a century – each city as a living organism, *with an innate respiration, emanated by genetic, physiological heritage across the territory; and this implies that, beyond all appearances, each city possesses a hidden structure –* structure and superstructure, *as it was once put – a veritable, durable skeleton which supports, as long as it can, a system of cartilage and ligaments; and that only by beginning with this skeleton is it possible to regulate the city, while keeping faith with its true role, in expansion and contraction, in the transformation or conservation of its unity.*
The occasion for these considerations is, in part, offered by the recent proliferation in Italy of published contributions on urban planning, discussing the different approaches of three generations of master plans developed after the enactment of the town planning legislation of 1942. And yet, beyond any inter-generational accords or contrasts (where the third generation, while historicizing its predecessors, is also busy writing its own autobiography), from our point of view – perhaps because we are not bona fide urbanists – all these plans appear to be substantially comparable, inasmuch as they are applied to the city as if it were a disjointed whole, to be reunited by means of an externally imposed logic, in keeping with models of analysis and prescribed therapy aimed at achieving a kind of conformity: limitation of expansion, safeguarding of the historical centre, reproportionizing of functional facilities according to the rules of zoning and standards, pressure from the peripheries and from suburban overflow, to be channeled into morphological adjustments.
Today we can confidently declare that the correction of urban imbalances envisioned in those master plans has not, for the most part, become a reality. And the cahier de doléances *of the Italian urbanists has attributed this failure to a generalized, unpredictable, uncontrollable series of phenomena (industrialization, mass immigration, property values, indiscriminate use of motor vehicles, illegal speculation, election campaign exploitation of issues on the part of politicians and administrators, etc.), and to the lack, or the ambiguity, of the necessary legislative instruments. There is never – at least as far as we know – the minimum suspicion on their part that they may have acted, if only unwittingly, to contribute to the situation, by overlooking the settlement phenomena themselves, beginning with the internal and external imbalances, with certain apparent contradictions which have often been the result of the distancing, the survival and the branching out of the territory.*
So the cities have continued to grow, all too often laden with false equilibria, which have ended up breaking the skeleton which, in the meantime, had been scandalously neglected and allowed to weaken. And the urbanists of the third generation, although they profess to be

1. Sul tessuto di Milano moderna è sovraimpressa la città romana e paleocristiana con le basiliche extramurane dislocate sulle strade per Como, Lodi, Piacenza, Novara (da Mario Mirabella Roberti, Forma Urbis Mediolani, *1963).*
2. Il sistema dei tre Navigli che, a partire dal XII secolo, ha collegato Milano ai bacini dei laghi Maggiore e di Como e dei fiumi Ticino, Adda e Po (da G. De Finetti, Milano risorge, *1942-1951).*
3. Schizzo topografico di Leonardo (c. 1490, Codice Atlantico*), dove* "sono segnati la crocera ed il Foro della Milano romana ed il tracciato della 'carovaniera' che gira a monte, raccogliendo la radiale nord-est (Via Veneta), il decumano della Porta Nova, la radiale del nord (Via Comasina) e la radiale sud-ovest (via Vigevanasca)*", nonché la proposta, conseguente alla peste del 1484–1485, per dieci unità insediative decentrate e collegate anche via acqua (da De Finetti, cit.).*
4. Un "dualismo" (che ricorda quello poleogenetico pirenniano tra nucleo storico e borgo mercantile) è quello invano postulato da Carlo Cattaneo in difesa dell'autonomia amministrativa del Comune dei Corpi Santi (posto a corona del territorio comunale di Milano prima dell'annessione del 1873, in scuro nell'illustrazione), quando nel 1863 vi confermava la ragione di "un proprio capitolo in ogni trattato di pubblica economia"*, con ruolo di porto franco, facoltà di libera circolazione e promozione produttiva e insediativa tra città e campagna (da* Corpi Santi della Città di Milano, *Antonio Vallardi editore, Milano, c. 1870).*

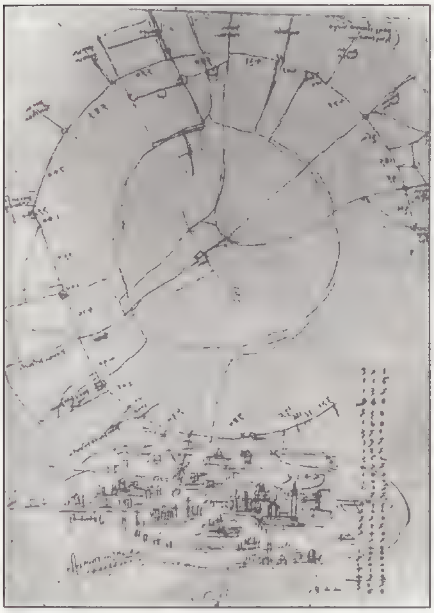
periferiche dismesse dall'attività industriale, al di sopra di un controllo della ragione e dell'attuale operatività disciplinare.
Confortata dalla convinzione che lo sviluppo abbia definitivamente alterato la natura della città, omologandone la tipicità strutturale e riducendo le differenze a pure questioni di dimensione e paesaggio, all'urbanistica non resterebbe così che cimentarsi sulla qualità della tessitura urbana rapportata a un modello di città ormai onnivalente.
Infatti, proprio in coda alla terza generazione, tale qualità appare perseguita con nuovi slogan del tipo "architettura del piano", "interventi di cauta modificazione", "progettazione dei vuoti urbani", quasi ad arrogarsi quell'approccio analitico–descrittivo da tempo coltivato in talune scuole di architettura italiane e a sottrarre definitivamente alla competenza degli architetti il terreno del disegno urbano.
Comunque, nell'insieme, la cultura urbanistica di tutte e tre le generazioni sembra aver assunto volta a volta le contraddizioni attraversate dalle società più evolute per tappe di uno sviluppo inevitabile, adeguandosi a quella *histoire événementielle* (con recente neologismo "avvenimentale") confutata dalla tradizione "globalista" della storiografia, dove invece si estende a concomitanti permanenze e insorgenze strutturali il differenziato farsi di ogni contesto.
Cosa avrebbero potuto insegnare, per esempio e magari per analogia, il *dualismo poleogenetico* e il *lungo corso* di Henri Pirenne e la *lunga durata* di Fernand Braudel, proposizioni di due tra gli antesignani di quella *storia globale*?
In primo luogo, che l'essenza della città non si arresta ai confini amministrativi né alla conurbazione, ma si prolunga sul territorio coinvolgendo quelle altre città e quei centri coi quali essa instaura un diretto e costante regime di scambio e di gravitazione polare. L'aver trascurato la priorità di un trasporto regionale di *lungo corso*, con frequenze, tempi, approdi effettivamente urbani, non ha forse contribuito a scatenare i fenomeni di accentramento, speculazione sui suoli, tracimazione incontrollata, obsolescenza dei servizi? Tanto che ancor oggi una manovra decisiva di contenimento, diradamento e riqualificazione della periferia dovrebbe stimolare un'inversione della tendenza insediativa con l'offerta di condizioni alternative di vita, occupazione, mobilità proprio là dove una corona storica di autentiche città avrebbe garantito ecologicamente e culturalmente. E il cosiddetto *dualismo poleogenetico* non incorpora forse, proprio nel regime urbano bipolare della discontinuità fisica e della portualità di terra, quel nuovo assetto insediativo necessario a rendere fisiologica la transizione della città in ogni congiuntura strutturale: oggi verso il terziario e il quaternario, come in passato tra società feudale e società mercantile, tra società agraria e società industriale?
Del resto, senza ricorrere alla storiografia di scuola franco-belga, si sarebbe potuto trarre esperienza direttamente da una certa cultura urbanistica "politecnica", così come s'è coltivata nel tempo proprio a Milano (dove, per altro, s'è coniata la formula delle tre generazioni), dacché nei tratti di tale cultura è pur rinvenibile una tradizione di ricerca che, nell'approccio alla città, ha ritenuto prioritario estrarvi retrospettivamente, nella *lunga durata* appunto, la genealogia di costituzione, crescita strutturale e diramazione sul territorio;



1



2



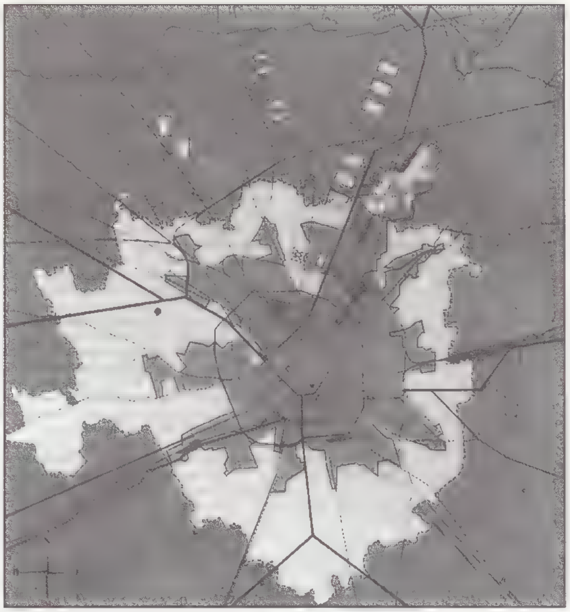
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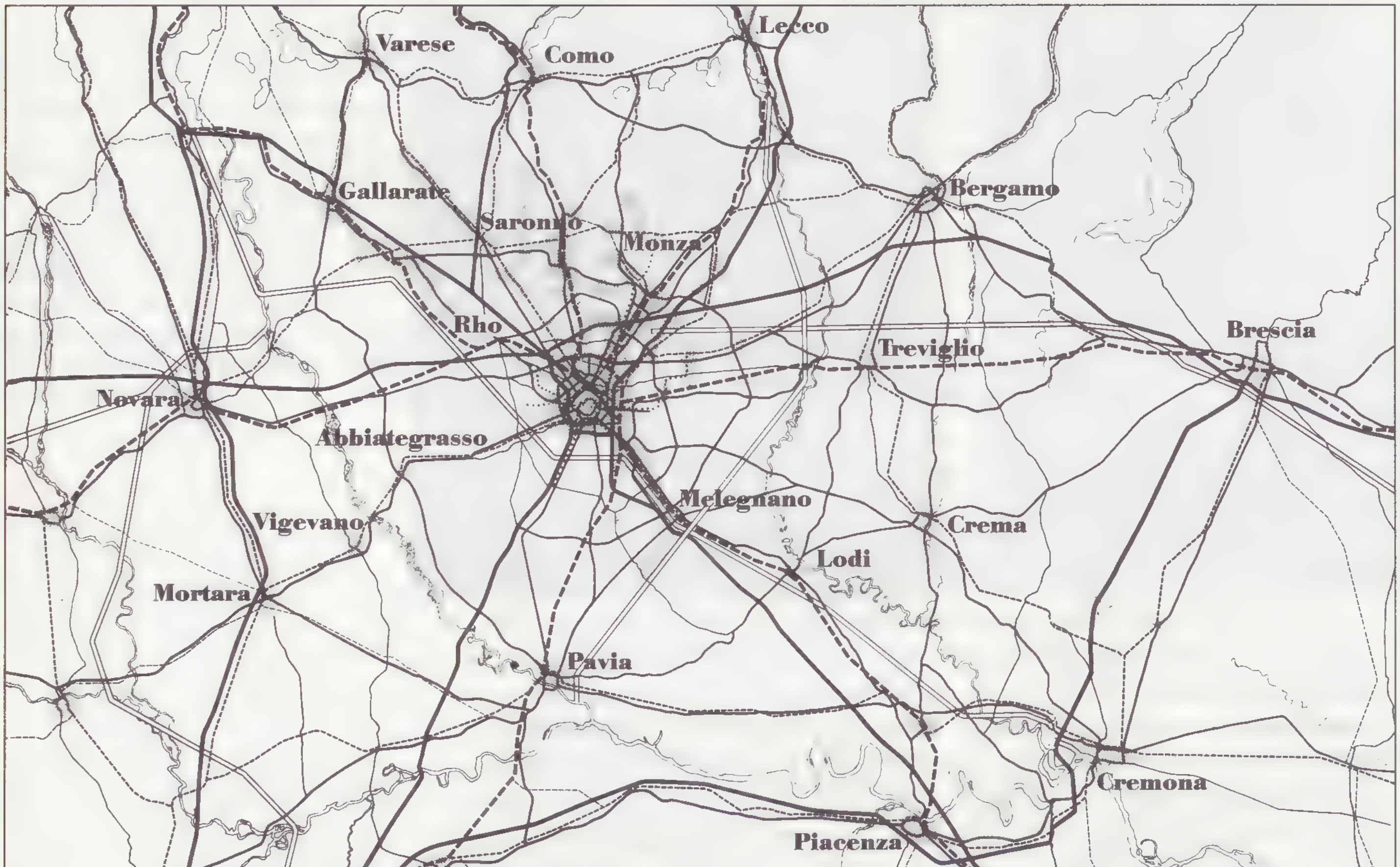
4

1. Over the fabric of modern Milan the Roman and Paleochristian city is superimposed, with the external basilicas on the roads to Como, Lodi, Piacenza, Novara (from Mario Mirabella Roberti, Forma Urbis Mediolani, *1963).*
2. The system of the three canals which, since the 12th century, has connected Milan to Lago Maggiore and Lake Como, and to the Ticino, Adda and Po rivers (from G. De Finetti, Milano risorge, *1942-1951).*
3. Topographical sketch by Leonardo (ca. 1490, Codice Atlantico*), in which* "are indicated the crocera and the Forum of Roman Milan and the tracing of the 'caravan route' joining the northeastern radial (Via Veneta), the decumano of Porta Nova, the northern radial (Via Comasina) and the southwestern radial (Via Vigevanasca)", *as well as the proposal, following the plague of 1484–1485, for ten decentralised settlements connected by waterways (from De Finetti, cit.).*

4. A "dualism" (reminiscent of the Pirennian urban genesis dualism between historical nucleus and mercatile settlement) postulated, in vain, by Carlo Cattaneo in defense of the administrative autonomy of the Comune dei Corpi Santi (positioned surrounding the municipal territory of Milan before the annexing of 1873, shaded dark in the illustration), when in 1863 he asserted its right to have "its own chapter in every treatise of public economics", *functioning as a free port, for free circulation and promotion of production and settlement between the city and the countryside (from* Corpi Santi della Città di Milano, *Antonio Vallardi editore, Milano, c. 1870).*



5


Lecco
Varese
Como
Gallarate
Bergamo
Saronno
Monza
Rho
Brescia
Treviglio
Novara
Abbiategrasso
Melegnano
Vigevano
Crema
Lodi
Mortara
Pavia
Cremona
Piacenza
Alessandria
Voghera

6

adversaries of the "dominating quantitative model" *(derived from the Spanish* desarrollismo*), now seem to consider the strategic incursions of financial capital, oriented above all toward the abandoned industrial areas of the periphery, above and beyond the control of reason or of present-day disciplinary intervention. Encouraged by the conviction that growth has definitively altered the nature of the city, standardizing its structural peculiarities and reducing differences to pure questions of scale and landscape, the role of urban planning would thus be relegated to the monitoring of the quality of the urban fabric in relation to a presumedly universal model of the city.*
In fact, precisely toward the end of the third generation, this quality appears to be pursued with new slogans like "the architecture in planning", "interventions of cautious modification", "designing of the urban voids", almost in order to appropriate that analytical-descriptive approach long cultivated in certain schools of Italian architecture, and to definitively exclude architects from the field of urban design.
In any case, as a whole, the urban planning culture of all three generations seems to have embodied the contradictions inherent in the most advanced societies, in phases of an inevitable development, adapting to that histoire événementielle *confuted by the "globalist" tradition of historiography where, instead, the differentiated development of each context is extended to include concomitant permanencies and structural beginnings.*
What could have been taught, for example and perhaps for analogy, by the urban genesis dualism *and the* long distance *of Henri Pirenne and the* long term *of Fernand Braudel, propositions of two of the forerunners of that* global history*?*
First, that the essence of the city doesn't stop at its administrative confines, nor at its conurbations, but is extended out into the territory, effecting those other cities and centres with which it establishes a direct and constant relationship of exchange and polarized gravitation.
Hasn't the neglect of the priority of a long distance *regional transport system, with effectively "urban" frequency of service, travel times, locations, contributed to the phenomena of concentration, land speculation, uncontrolled overflow, obsolescence of services? So much so that even today a decisive manoeuvre of limitation, thinning and requalification of the periphery would have to stimulate an inversion of the settlement trend, with the supply of alternative conditions of living, of employment, of mobility, precisely there where a historical ring of authentic cities could have provided ecological and cultural guarantees. And does not the so-called* urban genesis dualism *embody, precisely in the bipolar urban regimen of physical discontinuity and "earthport" character, that new settlement order necessary to make the transition of the city, in each structural situation, physiological: in today's structural passage toward the service industries, as in the passage in the past from a feudal to a mercantile society, or from an agrarian to an industrial society?*
Without resorting to the historiography of the Franco-Belgian school, direct experience was offered by a certain "polytechnic" urbanistic culture which has developed over time precisely here in Milan (where, moreover, the formula of the three generations was invented), a culture

5. In contraddittorio al Centro Direzionale di Milano, proposto (e poi realizzato dal P.R. del 1953) all'incrocio di due previsti assi attrezzati, De Finetti contrappone il nuovo centro come proseguimento di quello cittadino, in tangenza alla Fiera e alla penetrazione regionale di maggior traffico da nord–ovest, potenziando l'accessibilità su rotaia e su gomma (da De Finetti, La città sulla via delle genti, *1950, cit.).*
6. In contraddittorio alle proposte formulate dagli urbanisti del Piano Intercomunale Milanese (sviluppo a turbina, lineare, ecc.), nel 1962 Lucio D'Angiolini sostiene la priorità di una rete regionale di trasporti su rotaia per invertire la tendenza insediativa di congestione metropolitana e strutturare così, con proiezione al 1985, la città policentrica lombarda tra Milano e i capoluoghi di provincia: Como, Lecco, Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Lodi, Piacenza, Pavia, Novara (da L. S. D'Angiolini, Struttura dei trasporti e tendenza insediativa, *1966).*

5. As an alternative to the Milan Administrative Centre proposed (and then built under the Plan of 1953) at the intersection of two future artery axes, De Finetti proposed treating the new centre as an extension of the city centre, in tangency to the Fair and to the regional penetration of greater traffic to the northwest, improving rail and road access (from De Finetti, La città sulla via delle genti, *1950, cit.).*
6. In contradiction to the proposals formulated by the planners of the Piano Intercomunale Milanese (linear development, turbine development, etc.), in 1962 Lucio D'Angiolini urged the importance of a regional rail transport network, to invert the pattern of metropolitan congestion and thus to structure, by 1985, the polycentric Lombard city including Milan and the provincial centres of Como, Lecco, Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Lodi, Piacenza, Pavia, Novara (from L. S. D'Angiolini, Struttura dei trasporti e tendenza insediativa, *1966).*

genealogia rispetto alla quale valutare, proprio nella discontinuità, la congruità propulsiva di ogni nuovo progetto.
Dalla metà del secolo scorso con Carlo Cattaneo, agli anni Quaranta e Cinquanta con Giuseppe De Finetti, dall'ultimo dopoguerra a tutt'oggi con Lucio D'Angiolini, in tale direzione ritornano puntuali a certe scadenze preventive, e in forma di contraddittorio alle decisioni in corso: la necessità di avvalorare l'identità e il ruolo della città nel rispettivo contesto di appartenenza, la facilitazione delle attività produttive motrici di benessere per l'intera collettività, l'interdipendenza tra capoluogo, corona e concentrico, lo scambio a distanza attraverso un efficiente regime di mobilità.
Concezione che fa anche giustizia di una angusta contesa tra norma urbanistica ed eccezione architettonica, spostando la misura delle contraddizioni reali alla dinamica della scala macroeconomica e macrourbanistica, e incorporando così certi apparenti squilibri, pur verificabili nel necessario trasformarsi e dotarsi della periferia, a quel ruolo di risalto funzionale e figurativo che la rendano riconoscibile come autentica città.

in which there are traces of a tradition of research which, in its approach to the city, has concentrated on extracting, in retrospect, or over the long term, *the geneology of the constitution, structural growth and branching of the territory; a geneology against which to measure, precisely in terms of discontinuity, the propulsive consistency of each new project.*

From the middle of the last century, with Carlo Cattaneo, to the 1940s and 1950s, with Giuseppe De Finetti, from the post-war period to the present, with Lucio D'Angiolini, there is a timely, cyclical return in this direction, in the form of a debate regarding the decisions in progress: the need to strengthen the identity and the role of the city in its respective context of belonging, the facilitation of productive activities capable of generating well-being for the entire community, the interdependency among the regional capital, the surrounding cities and the concentric bands of expansion, and long-distance trade, using an efficient system of transport and mobility.

A conception which also does justice to a petty dispute between planning norm and architectural exception, shifting the measure of the real contradictions to the dynamic of the macro-economic and macro-urbanistic scale, and thus incorporating certain apparent imbalances nonetheless evident in the necessary transformation of the periphery for that role of functional and figurative importance which can make it recognisable as genuine city.

La città che ha perduto il centro

*Marina Waisman**

Città europea e città americana

Prima di affrontare il tema enunziato nel titolo, mi sembra indispensabile, in un incontro in cui europei e americani parlano della città, indicare alcune differenze sostanziali tra le città dei due continenti. Si tratta naturalmente di notazioni approssimative, che colgono solo certe distinzioni essenziali, lasciando da parte gli aspetti secondari e le diversità indubbiamente esistenti all'interno dei continenti.

Nella città europea di origine medievale il centro si è formato a partire da alcuni nuclei concettualmente fondamentali – la cattedrale, il palazzo comunale, il mercato – che hanno generato spazi (le piazze) divenuti luoghi di attività pubbliche specializzate. In questi edifici e negli spazi a essi correlati si condensano in poli vitali i significati della città.

Il centro originario, il punto di partenza della città americana è invece un vuoto urbano, intorno al quale si raccolgono alcuni edifici emblematici: il vuoto (la piazza) è uno spazio pubblico non specializzato, in cui convergono tutte le attività cittadine.

Nelle città europee l'elemento creativo è dunque l'edificio, in quelle americane è il vuoto. Le prime occupano il territorio a partire da nuclei ben definiti; le seconde, sorte da un tracciato sovrapposto a un territorio vergine (o che il nuovo occupante considera tale), si limitano a suddividere una parte di quel territorio, lasciando uno spazio vuoto destinato a costituirsi come centro.

La città europea viene "tessuta" a partire dagli edifici emblematici – chiesa, castello, palazzo comunale, mercato – e dagli spazi relativi; quella americana si costruisce collocando "oggetti" su una trama astratta e cercando di conferirle con essi una certa consistenza. Alla stabilità del tessuto dell'una si contrappone la trama libera e aperta dell'altra, in cui in definitiva gli "oggetti" potrebbero arrivare a essere intercambiabili.

Queste diversità originarie emergeranno nel successivo sviluppo urbano: nel primo caso la città apparirà "ancorata" a elementi permanenti, carichi di valenze simboliche, mentre nel secondo sarà libera da vincoli e potrà cambiare facilmente il suo baricentro. Ad esempio a Córdoba (Argentina) la piazza che costituiva il primitivo baricentro è diventata da lungo tempo un elemento marginale della vita urbana.

Un altro fattore differenziante è dato dall'originaria delimitazione della città europea, fortemente segnata dalla presenza di barriere rigide, che inducono per lo più una crescita per anelli concentrici; per contro la città americana è illimitata, nel senso che la suddivisione del territorio urbano non prevede contorni fisici, e la città si espande secondo le esigenze della popolazione, lungo direzioni preferenziali definite da tracciati stradali, dalla configurazione del terreno o semplicemente da moventi speculativi.

Ancora una differenza importante tra i due tipi di città è data dai rispettivi "tempi". Nella città europea le

The city that lost its centre

Marina Waisman*

The European city and the Latin American city

Before addressing the theme of my talk, I think it's essential, on an occasion like this when Europeans and Latin Americans have come together to talk about the city, to review some of the major differences between cities on the two continents. Obviously, what follows is a general list of only some of the more important differences; it doesn't extend to secondary features or the internal differences that certainly exist within each continent.

In European cities founded in the Middle Ages, the centre grew around a set of basic conceptual nuclei – the cathedral, the town hall, the market – which generated spaces (squares) that became venues for specialised public activities. These buildings and the spaces around them focused the civic life of the city and symbolised its meaning.

By contrast, the original centre – or starting point – of the Latin American city was an open urban space around which a number of symbolic buildings were erected: the empty area (square) was a non-specialised public space that served for all the civic and social activities of the city.

So, in European cities the creative principle was the building; in Latin American cities, the open space. In Europe, cities spread outwards across the land from well-defined nuclei; in America they were a sort of grid imposed on virgin territory (or what the new occupants thought was virgin territory) that simply divided off a part of the land, leaving an open space that would eventually become the city centre.

The European city was "woven" around its symbolic buildings – church, castle, town hall, market – and their related spaces; the Latin American city grew as "objects" were placed on an abstract grid and people tried to create meaning for them. On the one hand, a tightly-woven stable fabric; on the other, an open, unrestricted grid in which "objects" could eventually become interchangeable.

These differing origins are evident in subsequent urban development. In Europe, the city would be "anchored" to its permanent features with their accumulations of symbolic value, while in America it would be unfettered and able to change its centre of gravity easily. For example, in Córdoba (Argentina) the square that was the city's original centre of gravity has long been of only marginal significance to the life of the city.

Another difference between cities on the two continents is their original delimitation. The development of the European city was strongly influenced by rigid physical barriers that led to growth in concentric circles. By contrast, the Latin American city had no limits, in the sense that the division of urban space presupposed no surrounding physical constraints; the city grew according to the needs of its population in directions determined by the lines of roads, the lie of the land or, simply, the activities of property speculators.

Time-scale is another important difference. Changes happened very slowly in the European city: building typologies lasted a long time, the original lineaments of the

trasformazioni sono lente: le tipologie persistono a lungo, i tracciati originari si conservano senza mutamenti notevoli, gli abitanti tendono ad avere una collocazione stabile e in molti casi risiedono nello stesso luogo per più generazioni. Nella città americana, invece, le trasformazioni sono estremamente dinamiche: i tipi edilizi si rinnovano spesso, i tracciati subiscono sovrapposizioni, mutilazioni e alterazioni che a volte li rendono irriconoscibili, e gli abitanti rimangono di rado nello stesso luogo per la durata di una generazione. Il carattere fisico e sociale di interi quartieri può cambiare in pochi anni, com'è avvenuto ad esempio a Nueva Córdoba. Anche la toponomastica è instabile: le strade e perfino i quartieri e alcuni edifici storici cambiano nome, seguendo le alterne vicende della politica o gli impulsi "modernizzatori". Citerò due esempi offerti dalla città di Córdoba in cui ci troviamo. Al tempo della mia adolescenza la strada su cui sorge l'edificio che ci ospita si chiamava ancora "Calle Ancha" [Via Larga] (già "Calle Ancha de Santo Domingo"), conservando così la memoria del fatto che era stata la prima strada larga della città: questo nome è andato perduto, e con esso il significato che la strada aveva per la storia urbana. Analogamente si è perso il nome del teatro principale della città, già intitolato a un oscuro personaggio locale, il che valeva però a caratterizzare il teatro stesso come cordovano: nella frenesia delle celebrazioni per l'anniversario dell'eroe nazionale argentino San Martín fu imposto anche al teatro il suo nome, che oggi lo accomuna a innumerevoli altre istituzioni del paese.
Talvolta la memoria collettiva dei luoghi è più forte della loro distruzione fisica, come nel caso della piazza Vélez Sarsfield: ma prima o poi tale memoria, privata del suo supporto, finisce ugualmente col perdersi.
Se insieme a Braudel volessimo ragionare in termini di "durata", troveremmo certamente che nelle città americane non vi sono molti aspetti inquadrabili nella categoria della "lunga durata", fatta eccezione per la topografia, che pure subisce spesso evidenti alterazioni, e forse per alcuni caratteri fondamentali del tracciato viario, anche se i suoi lineamenti originari vengono spesso alterati, come abbiamo detto, da sovrapposizioni e mutilazioni. Gli studiosi europei, invece, parlano sempre di persistenza dei tracciati e dei lotti in relazione ad altri caratteri urbani, e ciò significa che li avvertono come elementi di lunga durata.
Per tutti questi motivi la città europea ha in una certa misura un'*identità stabile*, mentre l'identità di quella americana è incerta e mutevole. Si spiega così un'idea spesso enunziata nella teoria dell'architettura latino-americana, e cioè che *l'identità non consiste esclusivamente nel passato, ma si costruisce giorno per giorno*: essa è costituita sia da ciò che già esiste, sia dai *progetti per il futuro*. Noi americani pensiamo, con Ortega, di "*vivere in funzione del nostro ambiente, che a sua volta dipende dalla nostra sensibilità. Man mano che si evolve l'essere vivente, si modifica anche il suo ambiente, e soprattutto cambia la prospettiva delle cose in esso* (...)".
Traducendo questa tesi nei termini della scienza odierna, si può dire che tra la comunità umana e l'ambiente esiste un continuo flusso di energia, così che entrambi si costruiscono e si distruggono reciprocamente senza sosta. Di conseguenza, l'identità di un gruppo umano si va costituendo man mano che si va qualificando il suo ambiente, sia attraverso le trasformazioni storiche che esso subisce, sia attraverso lo *sguardo* che determina in noi la sua immagine; questo sguardo è a sua volta mutevole, perché la nostra identità si va formando essa stessa giorno per giorno. Nasce così una situazione doppiamente dinamica, in cui l'ambiente è soggetto al divenire storico e la nostra vita è ugualmente immersa nella storia: un divenire e una storia caratterizzati dalle discontinuità e dalla grande rapidità delle trasformazioni.
È vero che le città europee stanno cambiando profondamente la loro struttura etnica e che le migrazioni provocate dalle guerre, dalle persecuzioni politiche e dalla povertà – per non parlare di altre invasioni, quelle turistiche – modificano continuamente gli usi e il destino sociale dei luoghi; tuttavia l'ambiente fisico sembra godere di una condizione di permanenza, dovuta forse in molti casi al suo valore turistico e in altri casi al fatto che le difficoltà che insorgono vengono trasferite nelle nuove periferie.
Ad ogni modo, gli europei sembrano riconoscere nelle loro città forti elementi di stabilità, che a noi americani – del Nord come del Sud – riesce difficile trovare nelle nostre.

La perdita del centro delle città
Un tema che torna con insistenza nel pensiero contemporaneo e nei prodotti della cultura del presente è quello della perdita di un centro di riferimento e della frammentarietà dei prodotti culturali. Il processo di "svuotamento" del centro sembra essere in atto da lungo tempo: gia Nietzsche definiva il nichilismo come "*la situazione in cui l'uomo abbandona il centro per dirigersi verso la x*", ossia verso un destino incognito, con una perdita di centralità dell'Io che è stata studiata da più di un pensatore contemporaneo. La scomparsa o l'indebolimento del centro provoca una disgregazione di ciò che prima formava una unità coerente intorno ad esso. Anche nel campo delle *attività creative* e delle *credenze* siamo di fronte a un processo più antico, che ha avuto inizio quando il vecchio trinomio "scienza, morale e arte" (strettamente unite sotto l'egida della religione) cominciò a dissolversi sotto il crescente influsso della razionalità, finché si è giunti al mondo estremamente specializzato in cui viviamo. Questa parcellizzazione all'infinito della *conoscenza*, che va a detrimento del *sapere*, è stata senza dubbio il principale incentivo agli attuali mutamenti del paradigma scientifico in direzione di un approccio olistico. Le trasformazioni dei *modelli di società* tendono anch'esse a sostituire la frammentazione alla struttura, la dispersione ai centri, l'emarginazione ai margini. I sociologi hanno osservato che di recente le classi sociali hanno perso

city were preserved more or less intact, inhabitants tended to settle and, in many cases, live in the same place for several generations. In Latin American cities, change happened very quickly: there was rapid turnover in building typologies, original features were overlaid, mutilated or altered, sometimes beyond recognition, and inhabitants seldom lived in the same place even for one generation. The physical appearance and social make-up of entire districts could change in only a few years, as happened, for example, in Nueva Córdoba. Toponymy is also unstable in Latin American cities: streets and even districts and historical buildings change name in response to political events and the whims of "modernisers". I can give you two examples in Córdoba, where we are in now. When I was a teenager the street this building is in was still called Calle Ancha (Broad Street) – its full name was originally Calle Ancha de Santo Domingo – preserving the memory of the fact that it was the city's first truly broad street. This name has now disappeared, and with it the street's significance in the history of the city. Similarly, the city's main theatre, once named after an obscure local dignitary, has lost its original name. The dignitary may have been obscure, but the local significance of his name meant that the theatre could only be in Córdoba and no where else. Then it was renamed during the anniversary furore commemorating Argentina's national hero San Martín, and now bears the same name as countless other buildings and institutions in the country.
Sometimes popular memory can survive the physical destruction of a place, as with Piazza Vélez Sarsfield, but sooner or later memories also fade and die when they no longer have physical anchorage.
If we look at cities in terms of "duration", like Braudel, we would certainly find that Latin American cities have few "long-term" features except for topography (although even that often undergoes evident alteration) and basic road layout (even though, as I have said, its original features are often altered by superimposition and mutilation). By contrast, European scholars are accustomed to speaking of a permanent relationship between road layout, lots and other urban features, which means that they perceive them as long-term features of the city in their own right.
For all these reasons, the European city has, to a certain extent, a stable identity, *while the identity of the Latin American city is uncertain and changeable. This explains an idea often raised in theoretical studies of Latin American architecture, namely that* identity does not consist solely of the past, but is built day by day, *i.e., it consists both of things that exist already and of projects for the future.*
Like Ortega, we Latin Americans feel that we "live in relation to our environment, which in turn depends on our sensibility. As human beings gradually evolve, their environment also changes, especially the way the things in it are seen [...]". *Translating this into modern scientific discourse, we could say that there is a continuous flow of*

d'importanza come contenitori e come sostegni dell'individuo, costretto oggi a lottare da solo, senza un quadro di riferimento formato da gruppi strutturati, per trovare una collocazione nel sistema (o nell'apparato, come diceva già alcuni decenni fa Karl Jaspers).
Il passaggio dalle società pluralistiche, in cui vari strati sociali sono legati fra loro da interessi o da vincoli di solidarietà, alle società dualistiche, sempre più nettamente divise dalle differenze economiche (che a loro volta implicano profonde differenze nelle opportunità, negli stili di vita, nei valori), ha prodotto non solo una divisione in seno alla società formale, ma anche il fenomeno dell'*emarginazione*, ossia dell'esistenza di popolazioni (assai numerose in molti paesi latinoamericani) che vivono in seno a una società diversa da quella legalmente costituita. Nelle loro attività – dall'esercizio di quella che viene eufemisticamente chiamata "economia sommersa" fino all'occupazione delle terre – queste popolazioni seguono procedure proprie, che non hanno niente in comune con quelle fissate dalle leggi dello Stato. Esse non vivono dunque ai margini di una società, ma costituiscono per così dire una società "diversa", la cui connessione col centro urbano è molto labile.
La tendenza alla perdita del centro e alla frammentazione del corpo sociale non poteva fare a meno di manifestarsi nelle forme di occupazione del territorio. In molti paesi si vedono oggi, alla periferia delle città, complessi "recintati" in cui si barricano gruppi di abitanti in cerca di sicurezza o anche soltanto di *privacy*: non si tratta di vere e proprie comunità (il che darebbe una certa legittimità a questa autoemarginazione), ma di proprietari di alloggi senza alcun rapporto tra loro, che si segregano volontariamente dal resto degli abitanti per fruire in comune di alcuni servizi e soprattutto di un certo grado di sicurezza, in una società sempre più violenta e pericolosa. Quello che inizialmente poteva essere un privilegio o un modo di esibire un determinato *status* sociale si è tradotto in molte città in un modo di vivere relativamente tranquillo, ricercato da persone delle più diverse classi sociali.
Nei paesi sviluppati vi è stato per varie ragioni un esodo dalle grandi città da parte delle industrie e di altre attività produttive. A ciò ha contribuito senza dubbio la crescente inefficienza e l'alto costo dei servizi nei centri urbani che hanno superato una dimensione governabile; ma ciò che ha reso possibile questo fenomeno è stato l'enorme sviluppo dell'informatica, che rende non necessaria la contiguità fisica fra entità produttive in relazione tra loro. È nata così una città "a-geografica" in cui lo spazio fisico concreto ha perso significato.
I centri di acquisto separati dal corpo urbano, sorti dapprima negli Stati Uniti, corrispondevano a una struttura urbana già scissa in un centro di negozi e in più suburbi residenziali, nonché alla cultura dell'automobile (una versione degenerata di Broadacre City). Questi centri si sono poi rapidamente diffusi anche in paesi che non avevano le stesse condizioni ed esigenze, per un effetto

energy between human beings and the environment, which ensures that both ceaselessly build and destroyed in turn. As a result, the identity of a human group gradually emerges as the group's environment achieves definition, through both the historical transformations it undergoes, and its image, the wayits perceive it. This image in turn undergoes alteration because human identity itself develops and changes day by day. The resulting situation is doubly dynamic because the environment is subject to historical change and human lives are equally immersed in history, so both are discontinuous and change very quickly indeed.
It is true that European cities are undergoing profound ethnic changes, and that migrations caused by wars, political persecution and poverty – not to mention tourism, that other form of invasion – are constantly altering the use and social function of their places. But the physical environments themselves seem permanent, perhaps in many cases precisely because they are tourist attractions, in others because social problems tend to be pushed out into the suburbs.
For whatever reason, Europeans find a stability in their cities that we Americans – whether of the North or of the South – are unlikely to experience.

The loss of the city centre

One recurrent theme in contemporary philosophy and culture is the loss of social centre and the fragmentation of culture.
The "emptying" of the centre seems to have been happening for quite some time. Nietzsche had already defined nihilism as "the situation in which man abandons the centre and makes for X", *i.e. an unknown destination, with a corresponding loss in the centrality of the Ego that has been much studied by modern thinkers. The disappearance or weakening of the centre causes the disgregation of what once formed a coherent unity around it.*
In creativity and belief also, an even older process is still at work that began when the ancient trinomial of "science, morality and art" (which was bound together by religion) started to crumble under the growing impact of reason, eventually resulting in the highly specialised world we know today. This infinite compartmentalisation of knowledge, which is detrimental to learning in the broader sense, is unquestionably the major cause of the current shift towards a holistic approach in our scientific paradigm.
Changes in our models of society are also an increasing response to structural fragmentation, dispersion at the centre and exile in the suburbs (which is also alienation, the denial of possibility and opportunity). Sociologists have observed that social classes have recently lost their importance as containers and supports for individuals. Deprived of the support of reference framework of structured groups, people now have to struggle alone to find a place in the system (or apparatus, *as Karl Jaspers said several decades ago).*
The shift from pluralistic societies, in which several social strata are linked by shared interests and loyalties, to dualistic societies increasingly divided by economic differences (which in turn imply profound differences in opportunity, lifestyle and values), has produced not only a structural rift in society, but also alienation. *Whole populations (especially numerous in many Latin American countries) now live in societies quite different from the legally constituted ones other citizens know. In their activities – which range from what is euphemistically known as the "submerged economy" to occupation of the land – these populations are governed by forces that lie beyond shared laws of state. Collectively, these people don't live at the margins of society; they are an "alternative" society in their own right, and their links with the city centre are very tenuous indeed.*
This social fragmentation and increasing loss of centre could hardly fail to reveal itself in forms of settlement. Many countries now have fenced-off suburban compounds in which inhabitants barricade themselves in the hope of achieving security, or even just privacy. These are not real communities – if they were, this form of self-imposed alienation would to an extent be justified – but simply colonies of home-owners who have nothing in common except the desire to segregate themselves, share a range of amenities and, above all, enjoy a certain level of security in an increasingly violent and dangerous society. What at first might have seemed privilege or social ostentation has become in many cities simply an opportunity for people from widely differing social classes to lead relatively peaceful lives.
For variety of reasons, factories and other manufacturing enterprises have moved out of city centres in the industrialised nations. The increasing inefficiency and prohibitive cost of services in city centres that are too large to be administered effectively have certainly been instrumental in this, but what has really made the move possible is the staggerring development of information technology which renders unnecessary the physical proximity of manufacturers who work with each other. The result is a "non-geographical" city in which physical distance is meaningless.
The building of suburban shopping malls (they first appeared in the USA) reflected an urban structure already split into a centre entirely composed of shops surrounded by numerous residential suburbs, and automobile culture in general (a degenerate version of Broadacre City). Thanks to mass marketing and communications, these shopping malls have rapidly spread to countries that have neither the same urban structures nor the same social needs. Their presence is having a decisive effect on the physical, spiritual and social emptying of city centres.
At a recent conference, Alfonso Corona Martínez commented on the elimination of space (the experience of space) and its replacement by time (the time needed to travel between the "islands" created by the disgregation of the city).

d'imitazione stimolato dalle comunicazioni e dai mezzi di commercializzazione di massa; la loro presenza sta contribuendo decisamente allo svuotamento dei centri cittadini in quanto luoghi di condensazione della vita urbana.
In un recente convegno Alfonso Corona Martínez notava la scomparsa dello spazio, inteso come esperienza spaziale, e la sua sostituzione col tempo, inteso come tempo impiegato per trasferirsi dall'uno all'altro degli "isolotti" nati dalla disgregazione della città.
Anni fa un gruppo di studiosi, tra cui Umberto Eco, definirono questo tipo di occupazione del territorio "un nuovo medioevo" e tracciarono un parallelo fra la situazione attuale e quella di quel periodo.
Nella città latinoamericana è possibile distinguere, oltre a questi isolotti abitativi formatisi in tempi relativamente recenti, vari tipi d'insediamento separati dal centro tradizionale: i sobborghi residenziali destinati alle classi media e alta, con caratteri urbanistici propri, generalmente importati da altre culture; i grandi complessi della cosiddetta "edilizia sociale", con forme variabili secondo le tendenze internazionali in voga, ma caratterizzati per lo più dall'anonimato e dal distacco dai modelli abitativi tradizionali; e infine le grandi distese di insediamenti abusivi, aventi caratteristiche e dimensioni molto diverse da una nazione e da una città all'altra, ma privi di solito dei servizi più elementari e di modelli formali ben definiti.
Da parte sua, l'architettura in quanto disciplina non contribuisce a dare una qualche apparenza di unità all'immagine urbana: la moltiplicazione delle tendenze, la perdita di valori e di modelli condivisi, la cultura dell'immagine per l'immagine introducono nella situazione sopra descritta un nuovo fattore di confusione.

Perdita del centro e decentramento

Di fronte a questo processo di perdita del centro, quale può essere la maniera di procedere più appropriata? Si potrebbe tentare una riunificazione di ciò che si è disunito? E sarebbe ciò fattibile e auspicabile?
Tentare una simile riunificazione sembra corrispondere a un atteggiamento antistorico: la perdita del centro è infatti la conseguenza fisica, l'aspetto materiale della frammentazione della società, e non certo un fenomeno puramente formale, che si possa invertire cercando di ridare unità all'aspetto materiale della città.
Il processo di perdita del centro è assimilabile alla crescita dell'entropia, ossia alla tendenza alla disorganizzazione e al caos. A questa tendenza bisognerà contrapporre un processo di riorganizzazione capace di porre un limite all'entropia, così da stabilire un equilibrio che permetta la conservazione della vita.
Un simile processo di *decentramento* farebbe da contrappeso a quello di *perdita del centro*: se infatti la *perdita del centro* implica una disorganizzazione, il *decentramento* è un modo di riorganizzare la città disgregata.
La possibile strategia di accettare la disgregazione urbana per cercare di trasformarla in una nuova forma di organizzazione – il decentramento – costituisce una scelta di campo analoga a quella riguardante il nostro rapporto con la natura: o si cerca di dominarla costringendola a obbedire a leggi imposte, come si è fatto negli ultimi secoli, o si trae profitto dalle leggi della natura stessa e si opera in accordo con esse. Si tratta, in definitiva, di ridisegnare i nostri obiettivi in armonia con quelli della natura.
Nel caso della città che ha subìto la perdita del centro, si tratterebbe ugualmente di ridisegnare i nostri obiettivi in armonia con le tendenze dell'organismo urbano, che a loro volta sono governate da quelle del complicato insieme di fattori – sociali, economici, politici, tecnologici, culturali, ecc. – che incidono sulla vita della società.
Naturalmente queste considerazioni meriterebbero un'analisi ben più approfondita di quella attuabile in questa sede. È evidente che non esiste una soluzione unica: proseguendo l'analisi le differenze tra città europea e città americana indicate all'inizio si moltiplicherebbero subito, ed emergerebbero altre differenze tra metropoli e città di media grandezza, tra città di paesi sovrappopolati e sottopopolati o di paesi sviluppati e appartenenti al Terzo Mondo, ma anche tra città situate in regioni diverse dello stesso paese, là dove vi siano acuti contrasti fra zone sviluppate, zone in via di sviluppo e zone con tendenza al sottosviluppo.
Come mi accade sempre più spesso, anziché proporre soluzioni ho finito col porre dei problemi: me ne scuso con gli ascoltatori.

Córdoba, settembre 1994

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Intervento tenuto al seminario italo-latinoamericano *Idea de ciudad: historia, cultura, ambiente*, organizzato da Franco Avicolli per l'Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Córdoba in collaborazione con le Facoltà di Architettura dell'Università Nazionale e dell'Università Cattolica di Córdoba, Córdoba, 25 settembre - 2 ottobre 1994.
Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

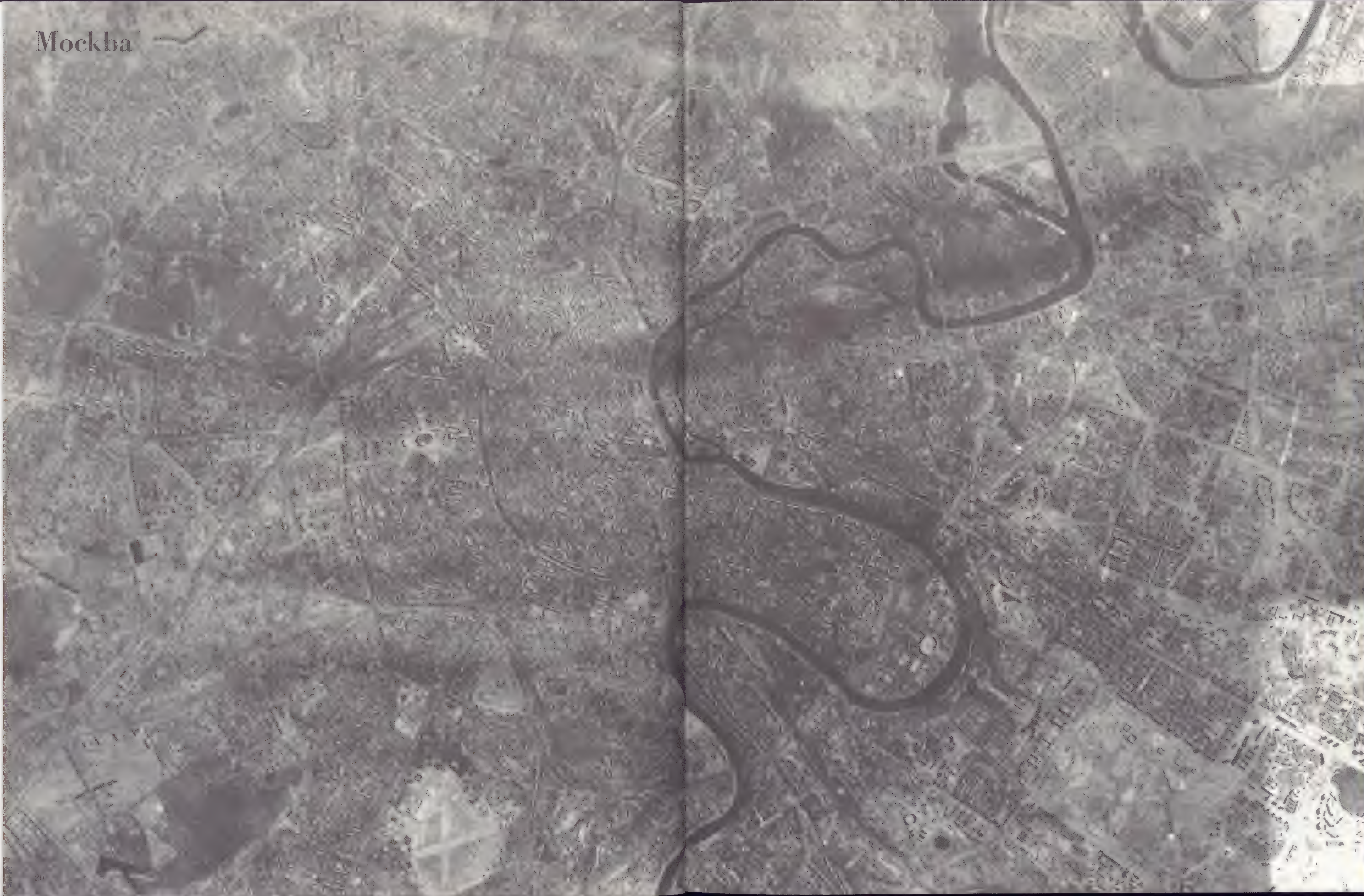
Many years ago, a group of scholars (including Umberto Eco) defined this type of settlement as a "new Middle Ages" and drew parallels between the situation now and centuries ago.
In addition to these relatively recent residential islands, Latin American cities have developed other forms of settlement outside the traditional centre: middle or upper class residential suburbs with urban features usually imported from other cultures; large "social housing" complexes with features determined by whichever international trend in architecture happens to be fashionable when they are built, but in any case anonymous and far removed from traditional housing typologies; and finally, vast expanses of illegal housing varying enormously in appearance and size from city to city and country to country, but in any case usually lacking basic services and amenities and any sort of clear structure.
For its part, architecture as a discipline has done little to give our cities some semblance of unity. Multiplication of trends, loss of shared values and models, and the pursuit of image for image's sake are all helping to make the situation even more chaotic.

Loss of centre and decentralisation
How can we best deal with this gradual loss of centre? Should we try reunite something that has lost its unity? Is this feasible or even desirable?
Any attempt at reunification seems anti-historical: loss of centre is the physical consequence, the material manifestation of social fragmentation. It is certainly not a purely formal trend we can reverse by physically reuniting the city.
Loss of centre reflects growing entropy, a trend towards disorganisation and chaos. This trend has to be countered by reorganisation that can contain entropy and establish a balance that will enable life to continue.
Thus, decentralisation *could counteract* loss of centre*: if loss of centre implied disorganisation: decentralisation is one way of reorganising the disgregated city.*
Strategic acceptance of urban disgregation as a step towards creating a new form of organisation – decentralisation – is another example of the choices societies have always had to make in deciding how to relate to nature: either we try to dominate nature and force it to obey the rules we impose on it (as in recent centuries) or we capitalise on nature's own laws by working in harmony with them (i.e., we adapt our objectives to those of nature herself).
Similarly, with cities that have lost their centres, we have to adapt our objectives to broader trends in the urban organism, which are governed in turn by trends in the complex set of social, economic, political, technological, cultural and other factors that determines the life of a society.
Naturally, these issues deserves a much more detailed analysis than I have been able to give them here. It goes without saying that there is no single solution to the problem: if we took this present analysis a step further, the differences between European and Latin American cities we looked at earlier would multiply immediately, and further differences would emerge between metropolises and medium-sized cities; between cities in over-populated and under-populated countries; between cities in developed and Third World nations; between cities in different regions of the same country, where contrasts between developed areas, developing areas and underdeveloped areas are immediately evident.
As happens to me increasingly often these days, I have ended up raising problems rather than suggesting solutions: for which I ask the forgiveness of my audience.

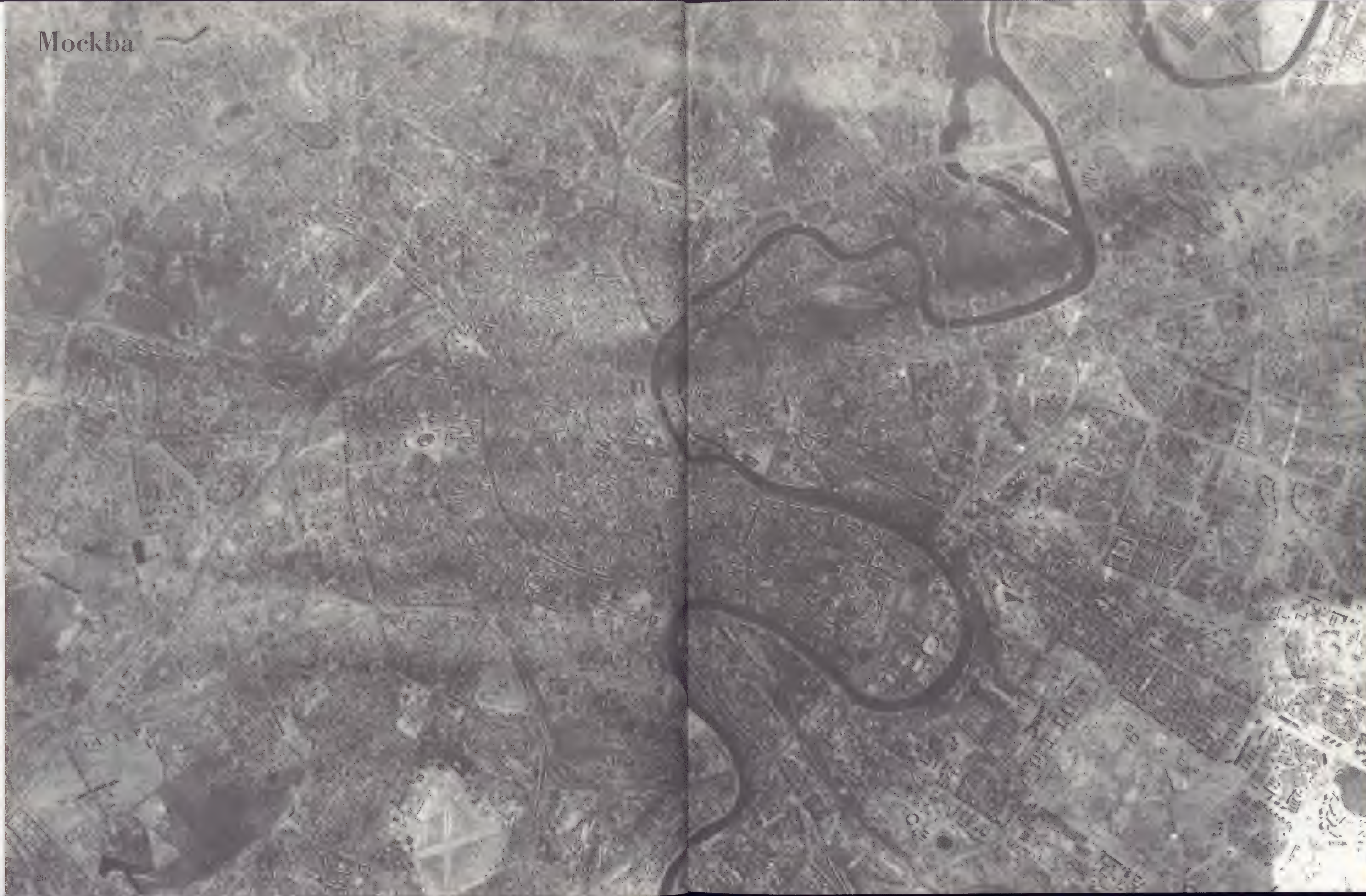
Córdoba, September 1994

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Москва



Москва



Mosca. Dialettica centro e periferia

*Andrej Ikonnikov**

La storia delle idee della "nuova architettura" del Ventesimo secolo potrebbe essere scritta nel suo complesso come un capitolo di una storia delle forme del pensiero utopistico.

In Russia dopo il 1917 la realtà nel suo insieme è stata costruita sulla base di modelli utopistici e l'architettura si è sviluppata sui paradigmi offerti dall'utopia. A partire da quello platonico di Atlantide, alla base di tutti i modelli utopistici sta l'idea di un ordine unico che compenetra ogni aspetto della realtà garantendo ogni bene possibile. Nella Russia sovietica la proiezione di questa idea nello spazio urbano si è tradotta in un progetto di città che si configura come "entità unitaria" entro cui ricomporre la "contrapposizione tra centro e periferia", espressione spaziale dell'opposizione delle forze sociali (il centro aristocratico-borghese contrapposto alla periferia operaia).

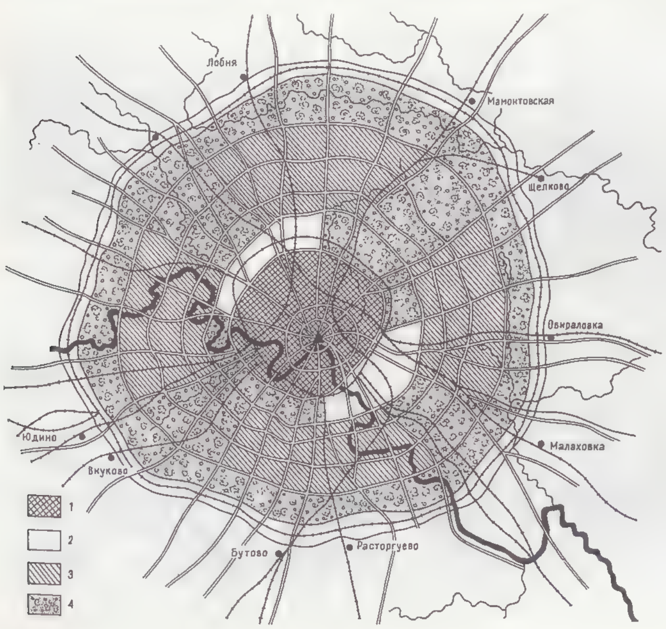
Il primo passo concreto mosso verso il raggiungimento di questo obbiettivo fu, alla fine del 1918, la "ridistribuzione delle abitazioni" a favore della classe che aveva trionfato nella rivoluzione. Le famiglie degli operai provenienti dalle periferie residenziali meno urbanizzate e più sovrappopolate si riversarono in massa nelle zone interne, espropriando e "addensandosi" nelle case prima appartenute alla borghesia e all'aristocrazia. Il fondamento giuridico di questo processo fu sancito dalla legge del 28 agosto 1918 che decretava "*L'abolizione della proprietà privata dell'edificato nelle città*".

I caratteri dell'edilizia residenziale – la cui attività si interruppe durante gli anni della guerra civile – non mutarono, tuttavia l'eliminazione della disomogeneità sociale che aveva sino allora caratterizzato le parti della città fu vista come fattore fondamentale all'affermazione di una organicità unitaria della città stessa. Gli operai, riversatisi in un nuovo ambiente a loro estraneo, si organizzarono in comuni di abitazione basate sulla collettivizzazione della vita quotidiana, sull'autogestione e sull'autorganizzazione dei servizi (a Mosca nel 1921

Moscow. A dialectic of centre and suburbs

Andrej Ikonnikov*

On the whole, the conceptual history of "new architecture" in the twentieth century could be written as a chapter in the history of utopian thought.
In post-1917 Russia, reality in the round was constructed from utopian models, and architecture developed from the paradigms made available by utopian thought. Ever since Plato's Atlantis, the underlying concept of all utopian models has been that of a single order that penetrates every aspect of reality and makes possible all physical and mental benefits. In Soviet Russia, the projection of this concept into urban space became a project for the city as a "unified entity" that would enable planners to eliminate the "opposition between centre and suburbs" that was itself a spatial expression of opposed social forces (an aristocratic/bourgeois centre v. proletarian suburbs).
The first practical step towards achieving this was the "redistribution of dwellings" in late 1918 to the benefit of the social class that had emerged triumphant in the Revolution. Worker families from the less urbanised, more overpopulated suburbs poured into the centre, first expropriating and then crowding into homes that had once belonged to the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. The legal sanctioning for the move was the law of 28 August 1918 which decreed "the abolition of privately owned buildings in the city".
The residential building industry, which ceased activity during the Civil War, did not change, although levelling the social differences that had characterised the city's various areas until then was seen as fundamental to creating a unified, organically organised city. Finding themselves crowded into a strange new environment, the workers organised themselves into housing communes based on the collectivisation of daily life, self-management and self-organisation of services and amenities (there were no fewer than 865 of these communes in 1021).
Building activity resumed only in 1923, and in Moscow new industries got under way, in addition to the reactivation of the existing pre-Revolutionary textile

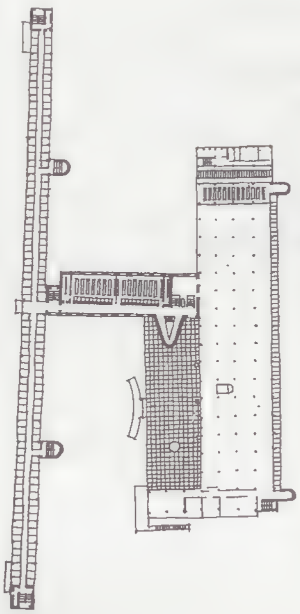


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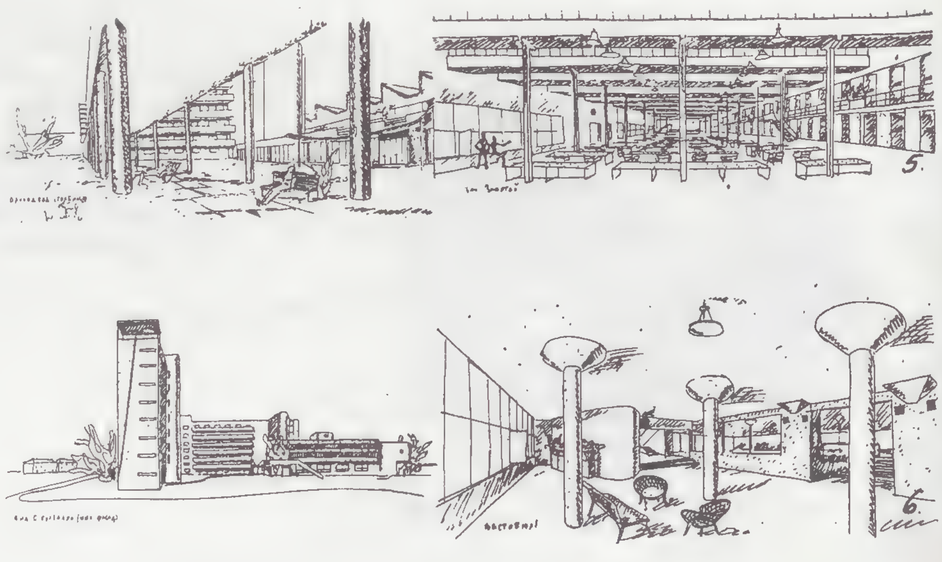
La città di Mosca nelle rappresentazioni della prima metà degli anni Venti:
1. S. Šestakov, Piano per la Grande Mosca, 1921-24: 1) Zona centrale; 2) Zone industriali; 3) Nuovi quartieri; 4) Aree a verde.

Moscow as seen in the first half of the 1920s:
1. S. Šestakov, Plan for Greater Moscow, 1921-24: 1) Central zone; 2) Industrial zone; 3) New quarters; 4) Green areas.

esistevano ben 865 di queste comuni).
L'attività edilizia riprese solamente nel 1923 ed a Mosca non solo fu ripristinata la già sviluppata industria tessile prerivoluzionaria, ma furono anche avviate nuove produzioni. La "Mosca cotoniera" si riconvertì nella "Mosca metallurgica", centro dell'industria meccanica. Gigantesche fabbriche cominciarono a moltiplicarsi nella cintura esterna delle zone industriali, soprattutto nei settori nordorientale, orientale e sudoccidentale, quelli meglio collegati ai circuiti di rifornimento delle materie prime necessarie all'industria pesante, e nei pressi delle fabbriche si formarono i complessi residenziali (fig. 1).
Gli architetti inizialmente si orientarono verso quello che solo pochi anni prima rappresentava il sogno della nuova città, la "città giardino", e così la periferia moscovita cominciò a popolarsi di villaggi giardino che riprendevano i modelli di E. Howard e di R. Unwin: "Sokol" a nordovest nel 1923, "Krasnyj Bogatyr" ("Combattente rosso") a nordest nel 1925, AMO a sudest nel 1923-25 ed altri ancora.
Tuttavia da subito, il modello, gli architetti e la loro attività furono oggetto di violente critiche non solo per la questione del criterio di ripartizione del terreno, una minuta lottizzazione destinata ai *cottage*, ma soprattutto perché l'adozione di questa tipologia risultava in contraddizione con gli obbiettivi politici di estensione della dimensione collettiva dall'organizzazione del lavoro a quella della vita quotidiana.
I teorici radicali avevano infatti assunto a paradigma dell'organizzazione della vita quotidiana quello delle comuni di abitazione che spontaneamente era sorte al principio degli anni Venti e sul piano del pensiero politico L. Trockij suggeriva la costituzione di enti di iniziativa pubblica "*a supporto della famiglia odierna, destinati alla sua alimentazione e alla sua educazione*"[1].
L'economista L. Sabsovič riteneva che tutto l'insediamento avrebbe dovuto essere riorganizzato in una rete di *kombinat* "*produttivi-residenziali-culturali*" in ciascuno dei quali la popolazione si sarebbe distribuita in due decine di "*case comuni*" di 15 piani[2]. Le idee di Sabsovič furono traslate nella forma razionale dei progetti costruttivisti di A. e L. Vesnin e di I. Golosov elaborati durante il 1930 in occasione dei concorsi per le nuove città industriali.
Gli architetti insieme agli attivisti del movimento per la cooperazione abitativa elaborarono nel 1928 un *Ordinamento tipo della casa comune* estremamente rigido e rigoroso che richiamava gli statuti monasteriali. Tale era il fascino del radicalismo da generare estremismi sino al punto di far balenare l'idea di un'"*organizzazione scientifica dei comportamenti quotidiani*", che fu pubblicata nel 1929 dall'architetto N. Kuz'min[3]. Secondo questo modello la vita dell'individuo risultava scomposta in una serie di consequenziali processi *standard*, la durata dei quali era calcolata così minuziosamente da condizionare all'"organizzazione scientifica" anche la sfera emozionale. Riflesso di queste idee radicali fu la "casa comune dello studente" realizzata nel quartiere sudoccidentale di Mosca nel 1929-30 da I. Nikolaev, costituita da una sottile lama di otto piani ospitante mille "cabine-letto" collegata al blocco diurno attraverso un ulteriore blocco destinato ai servizi igienici dove gli studenti si lavavano e cambiavano (figg. 2, 3).
La collettivizzazione della vita quotidiana rimase tuttavia un'aspirazione dei soli intellettuali-utopisti, mentre nel mondo operaio le comuni di abitazione si dissolsero non appena migliorarono quelle condizioni di vita limite che avevano in qualche modo determinato l'esigenza di collettivizzare la vita quotidiana durante il periodo della guerra civile. Le case operaie cooperative della seconda metà degli anni Venti si limitavano ad unire alla sezione degli appartamenti individuali, destinati alle famiglie, un pensionato per i singoli e una serie di locali per i servizi collettivi, come nella "Casa comunale" nel quartiere

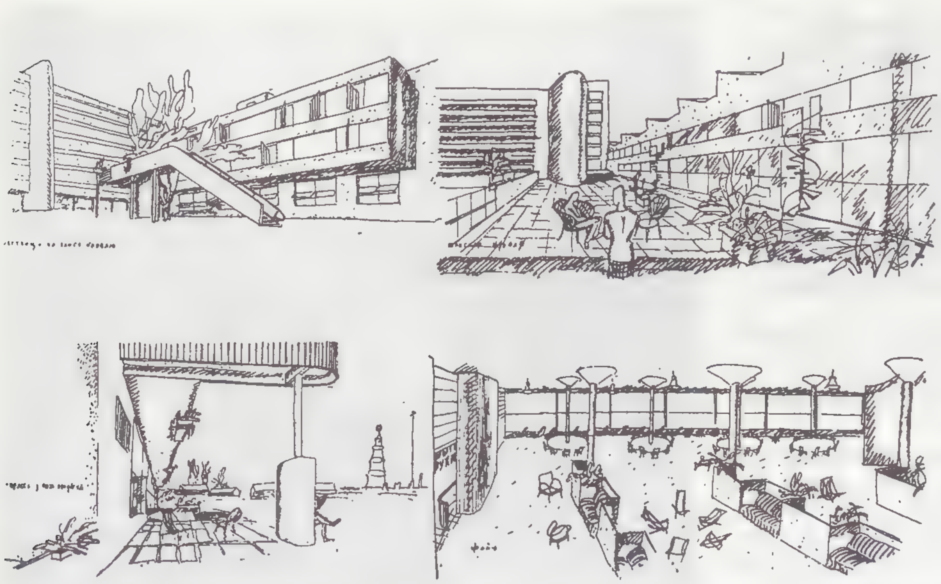


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industry. Moscow the cotton city became Moscow the metallurgical city. Huge factories began to appear in the city's outer industrial belt, especially in the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern suburbs that had better links with the communications network that supplied the raw materials needed for heavy industry. Inevitably, residential complexes sprang up around the factories (fig. 1).
At first, the architects pursued what only a few years earlier had been thought of as a dream of a new garden city, with the result that the Moscow suburbs began to fill with garden villages based on the models of Howard and Unwin: "Sokol" to the north-west in 1923, "Krasnyj Bogatyr" (Red Combatant) to the north-east in 1925, AMO to the south-east in 1923-25, and several others. Right from the start, however, the housing model, the architects and their activities were subjected to violent criticism not only over the way land was being apportioned (tiny lots for individual cottages), but also, and mainly, because this type of housing ran counter to the political objective of extending collectivity from the organisation of labour to the organisation of daily life.
The radical theorists had taken the housing communes that had appeared spontaneously in the early 1920s as their paradigm for the organisation of daily life. On the political front, Trotsky suggested the founding of public enterprise bodies "to support today's families, supply their needs and provide for their education".[1] *The economist Sabsovič maintained that all human settlements should be reorganised into a network of* "cultural-residential-productive" *kombinats, each of whose population would be accommodated in two dozen 15-storey "commune homes".*[2] *Sabsovič's ideas were translated into rational constructivist projects by the Vesnin brothers and Golosov in their entries for the 1930 new industrial cities competition.*
In 1928, the architects and housing cooperative activists drew up Standard Rules for the Commune Home *that were as rigorous and unbending as monastery statutes.*
Radicalism proved so attractive that it could easily veer to extremes, as in Kuz'min's Problemy naucnoj organizacii byta *(Problems in the Scientific Organisation of Daily Life) published in 1929*[3]*, which broke down individual lives into a sequence of standard processes whose duration was calculated so minutely that even the emotional sphere fell prey to "scientific organisation". One result was Nikolaev's "student commune home" in south-western Moscow (1929-30), a slender, eight-storey slab containing a thousand "cabin berths" linked to a day block via another services block where the students washed and dressed (figs. 2, 3). However, the collectivisation of daily life remained exclusively the dream of intellectuals and utopians; in the real world of the workers, the housing communes disbanded as soon as improvements were achieved in the basic living conditions that had made necessary the collectivisation of daily life in the first place during the Civil War. In the cooperative homes of the late 1920s, a single persons' hostel and rooms for collective amenities were simply added to the section containing family apartments. Examples were Vol'fenson's "Commune Home" in the Chavski-Šabolovskij district (1925-28), and Fufaev's "Duks" on the Leningradskij Prospekt (1928).*
Socio-functional collectivisation was also extended to residential conglomerations in the industrial belt. 1925 saw a shift from low-rise, two-storey, single-family cottages to large four/five-storey condominiums of large residential blocks gathered around internal courtyards. Between the blocks, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, were inserted local service buildings containing nursery schools, outpatient clinics, shops laundries and the like. These services, usually located on the ground floors of residential buildings, were designed at the same time as the dwellings themselves. One of the first of these settlements was Meskov's conglomerate in Usačevka Street in 1925-31, comprising symmetrical groups of closed four/five-storey buildings, ascetic constructions in unfaced brick whose



La condizione di vita ideale nelle rappresentazioni degli anni Venti:
2. 3. I. Nikolaev, Casa comune per studenti dell'Istituto tessile sulla Donskaja ulica, Mosca, 1929-30: pianta (ridisegno di A. Ikonnikov); schizzi di I. Nikolaev.

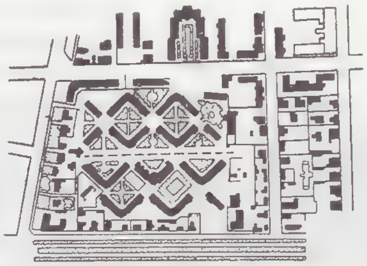
Ideal living conditions in the 1920s:
2. 3. I. Nikolaev, student residence for the Textiles Institute on the Donskaja Ulica, Moscow, 1929-30: plan (redrawn by A. Ikonnikov); sketches by I. Nikolaev.

Chavski-Šabolovskij del 1925-28 realizzata da L. Vol'fenson e in quella della cooperativa "Duks" sul Leningradskij prospekt del 1928 su progetto di A. Fufaev. Questo principio di organizzazione sociofunzionale fu esteso anche all'organizzazione degli agglomerati residenziali della cintura industriale.

L'anno 1925 segna il passaggio dall'edilizia bassa dei *cottage* individuali bipiano a quella di condomini di 4-5 piani, ordinati in grandi isolati a gruppi di edifici residenziali raccolti intorno a cortili. Tra questi erano inseriti, in proporzione al numero degli abitanti, varie istituzioni di servizio al quartiere come asili infantili, poliambulatori, negozi, lavanderie. La progettazione dei servizi, di solito localizzati al piano terreno degli edifici residenziali, era condotta unitariamente a quella della residenza. Uno dei primi di questi insediamenti fu l'agglomerato in via Usačevka del 1925-31, di A. Meškov, distribuito in gruppi simmetrici chiusi di edifici di 4-5 piani, costituiti da ascetiche costruzioni in mattoni non intonacate definite dal puro delineo del volume. Il complesso residenziale sulla Šabolovskaja ulica del 1927-29, di A. Travin, si distingueva per una più originale articolazione spaziale dei corpi, alti 5-6 piani, inclinati di 45 gradi rispetto all'isolato e ai percorsi principali. I cortili quadrati erano collegati da percorsi secanti coincidenti con le diagonali, dando l'effetto di una sequenza prospettica di spazi che pulsano aprendosi e chiudendosi.

I collegamenti d'angolo dei corpi di fabbrica, rimarcati da un ingrossamento di volume e accentuati dalla cadenza del ritmo della spezzata generatrice dell'impianto planimetrico, conferivano al sistema spaziale un notevole dinamismo (figg. 4, 5).

Nella seconda metà degli anni Venti furono finanziate dai sindacati presenti in ogni grande impresa (con un fondo pari al 10% del totale dei fondi sindacali) nuove realizzazioni, di non grandi dimensioni ma più decisamente individualizzate, destinate a divenire centri della vita culturale ed elementi di orientamento all'interno del tessuto residenziale. Il carattere della destinazione di questi edifici richiedeva composizioni vivaci, insolite ed il complesso programma funzionale, presupponendo l'associazione di volumi piccoli e grandi, dava la possibilità di costruire strutture di forma articolata ed in molti casi la ricerca architettonica assunse sul piano formale figure e toni del simbolismo romantico. I punti principali del programma steso dal sindacato dei lavoratori comunali indicavano che "(...) *Il club non è un austero tempio. Deve essere costruito in modo tale da garantire divertimento e riposo al contempo. Il club deve dimostrare come si deve costruire la nuova vita quotidiana* (...) *l'industrializzazione è la base del socialismo. Pertanto alcuni momenti della creazione architettonica dovrebbero combinarsi con l'industrializzazione*"[4]. Il *club* accoglieva al proprio interno le attività collettive del complesso residenziale, introducendolo in questo modo nel sistema ideale dell'unità utopistica. La rete dei *club* diffondeva la cultura e rappresentava il centro della città nella cintura periferica. L'obiettivo, così delineato, fu conseguito nel modo più compiuto nella serie dei *club* operai progettati da K. Mel'nikov, cinque a Mosca e uno nel vicino sobborgo di Dulevo, tra il 1927 e il 1930. Questi *club*, pur presentando programmi molto diversi, furono risolti impiegando un sistema spaziale che non solo organizzava razionalmente le attività ma simbolizzava l'"individualità" di quel mondo austero che si costruiva intorno. Nell'assolvimento di compiti di natura funzionale e di natura simbolica Mel'nikov ritenne indispensabile l'adozione di un sistema che desse la possibilità di trasformare le dimensioni degli ambienti – facendoli confluire in un unico spazio oppure separandoli in parti funzionalmente autonome. Così è concepito il *club* dei lavoratori comunali sulla via Strominka, dove in una sala divisa in settori si affacciano delle aule che possono costituirne la galleria piuttosto che funzionare autonomamente una volta isolate attraverso la

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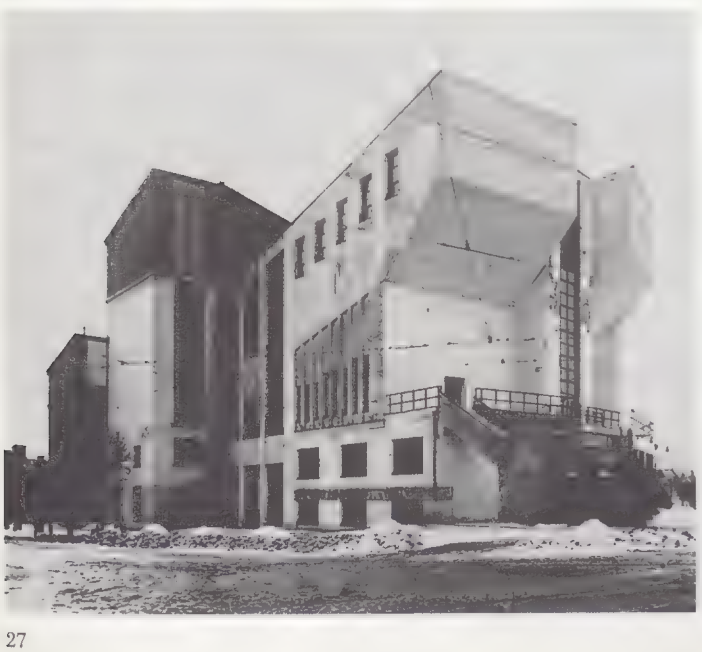
La costruzione dei quartieri della periferia di Mosca negli anni Venti:
4. 5. N. Travin e altri, Quartiere residenziale sulla Šabolovskaja ulica, Mosca, 1927-28: planimetria (ridisegno di A. Ikonnikov); vista degli anni Venti.
Il Club. Centro delle unità di vicinato della periferia tra gli anni Venti e Trenta:
6. 7. K. Mel'nikov, Club dei lavoratori comunali "Rusakov" sulla Stromynka ulica, Mosca, 1927-29: pianta e sezione (ridisegno di A. Ikonnikov); vista degli anni Venti.

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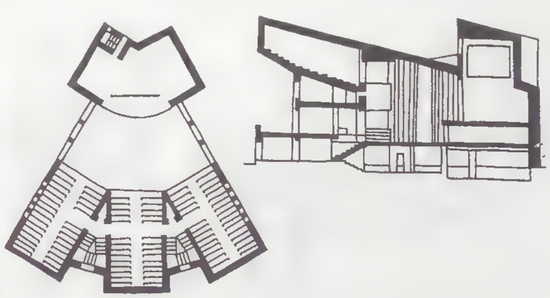

shapes were simply the total of the volumes they contained. The five/six-storey buildings of Travin's residential complex on Šabolovskaja Ulica (1927-29) had a more unusual arrangement, in that they were tilted 45° to the block itself and main thoroughfares. The square courtyards were connected by paths running along their diagonals, creating a vibrant perspective sequence of opening and closing spaces. These corner links between the buildings were marked by an enlargement of volume and accentuated by the rhythm of the cross-section that generated the general plan, and produced an extraordinarily dynamic layout (figs. 4, 5).

In the late 1920s, the trade unions in all the large industries (their collective fund amounted to 10% of all union funds) financed the construction of new buildings that were smaller but much more individualistic, and would eventually become cultural centres and social focuses in the city's residential fabric. The use envisaged for these buildings called for lively, unusual design, and the complex functions they would have to perform, which required a mix of large and small volumes, led to the construction of articulated structures and, in many cases, designs that made implicit and explicit use of Romantic symbolism. The gist of the building programme drawn up by the communal workers' unions was that "[...] The club is not an austere temple. It should be built in such a way that it simultaneously assures both rest and amusement. The club must show how a new daily life can be constructed [...] industrialisation is the basis of socialism. Thus, certain features of the architecture should combine with industrialisation".[1] *Since the club was the focus for the collective activities of the residential complex, it found a place within the ideal system of the utopian social unit. The network of clubs disseminated culture and gave the city centre a voice in the outlying industrial belt.*

Thus defined, the objective was most fully achieved in the series of clubs – five in Moscow, one in the nearby suburb of Dulevo – designed by Mel'nikov from 1927 to 1930. Although their social and cultural programmes differed widely, these clubs both benefited from spatial design that rationalised the organisation of activities, and also symbolised the "identity" of the austere world that was being built around them. In facilitating these functional and symbolic tasks, Mel'nikov believed it was essential to build interiors that could convert into either large single spaces or sets of smaller, functionally autonomous rooms as and when need arose. The club in Strominka Street was designed in just this way, with a large hall divided into sections and flanked by rooms that could either form a gallery round the hall or function independently when movable partitions were lowered into place. These rooms, which on the outside looked like curiously shaped projections along the radial axes of the main volume, gave the building a sculptural feel, like a prototype for the symbolic high tech structures that would appear half a century later. The steeply raked theatre in the "Kaučuk" factory club was designed to divide into three sections using horizontal partitions (figs. 6, 7), while the second-floor entertainment hall of the "Burevestnik" club communicated with the gymnasium lying on the same axis and, by removing the central part of the floor, could be opened up to the foyer below, which could in turn be converted into a swimming pool if required. In its original design, the hall of the "Svoboda" factory club would have been cistern-shaped – an elliptical cylinder laid horizontally – with a partition wall that could be lowered to divide it into two. However, the conversion systems in all these clubs were either removed soon after construction or never installed in the first place. This wasn't simply the fault of the clubs' poorly educated users who had been asked to accept sudden and unnatural changes in their forms of social association; efforts to encourage the spread of high-brow, city-centre culture were beginning to run counter to the city's new development programme that had now taken on board the paradigm of "centralisation". On losing their political support, the suburban clubs were gradually divested of their



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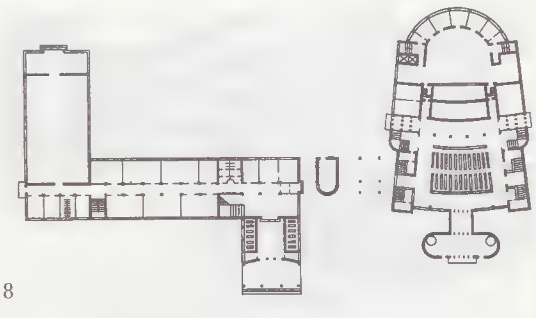


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Building Moscow's peripheral quarters in the 1920s:
4. 5. N. Travin et al., residential quarter on the Šabolovskaja Ulica, Moscow, 1927-28: general plan (redrawn by A. Ikonnikov); view in the 1920s.
The Club. The centre of the neighbourhood units in the periphery in the 1920s and 1930s:
6. 7. K. Mel'nikov, "Rusakov" Communal Workers Club on the Stromynka Ulica, Moscow, 1927-29: plan and section (redrawn by A. Ikonnikov); view in the 1920s.

discesa di pareti mobili. Queste aule conferiscono all'edificio un carattere scultoreo configurandosi all'esterno come mensole deformi in aggetto disposte lungo gli assi radiali del volume – quasi un prototipo di quelle simboliche strutture *high tech* che sarebbero apparse mezzo secolo dopo. Il ripido anfiteatro della sala del *club* della fabbrica "Kaučuk" avrebbe dovuto potersi smembrare in tre attraverso dei diaframmi orizzontali (figg. 6, 7). Nel *club* "Burevestnik" la sala spettacoli, che si trova al secondo piano, poteva connettersi alla palestra posta sullo stesso asse e la trasformabilità dei solai rendeva possibile una temporanea rimozione della parte centrale del pavimento, aprendo così la sala sul sottostante *foyer*, che all'occasione poteva essere trasformato in piscina natatoria. La sala del *club* della fabbrica "Svoboda" doveva assumere secondo il progetto originario la forma di una cisterna – un cilindro di sezione ellittica messo in orizzontale – e una parete abbassabile avrebbe potuto dividere in due la sala. I meccanismi di trasformazione in tutti questi *club* o furono eliminati dopo un breve periodo di tempo o addirittura non furono realizzati sin dal principio.
Queste omissioni non sono da imputarsi solo al basso livello culturale degli utenti, ai quali si richiedeva un innaturale e brusco cambiamento di forme associative; infatti l'idea di una diffusione della cultura di livello superiore, le cui sedi erano concentrate nel centro, cominciò ad entrare in contraddizione anche con il nuovo piano di sviluppo della città che assumeva ora il paradigma della "centralizzazione". I *club* della periferia, non più sostenuti da un appoggio politico, videro spegnersi progressivamente le attività più interessanti perdendo di conseguenza di attrattiva e di ruolo nonostante tra questi vi fossero, oltre ai capolavori di Mel'nikov, altri edifici, meno insoliti, ma tuttavia razionali ed espressivi, opera di architetti come V. Vladimirov, I. Golosov, I. Milinis, S. Pen, ecc.

Non cambiò la situazione il nuovo orientamento generale del settore edilizio proiettato verso la realizzazione di complessi culturali di maggiori dimensioni – i Palazzi della cultura – destinati a servire l'utenza di interi quartieri della cintura industriale. Tra il 1929 ed il 1938 furono realizzati il Palazzo della cultura di Fili nella periferia sudoccidentale su progetto di Ja. Kornfel'd (figg. 8, 9), ed in quella sudorientale il Palazzo della cultura della fabbrica di automobili ZIL progettato dai fratelli Vesnin. Nel progetto di questi edifici fu assunto un impianto costituito da una complessa ed articolata struttura che raccoglieva grandi sale polifunzionali di notevole capienza – di 1500 posti nel primo e di 1200 nel secondo – ed ampi e numerosi ambienti destinati alle attività di *club*. I Vesnin progettarono insieme al Palazzo della cultura anche un enorme teatro per 4000 posti ed un complesso sportivo che tuttavia rimasero entrambi solo sulla carta.
All'inizio degli anni Trenta il modello utopistico di costruzione del socialismo assunse nuovi caratteri. La principale contraddizione stava proprio nella natura stessa dell'utopia, la quale fondandosi sull'assunto prioritario del bene collettivo presupponeva uguaglianza e uniformità. Tuttavia anche la società utopistica deve ammettere la presenza di un elemento o di un soggetto che formuli le norme di comportamento e provveda ad un'equa distribuzione del bene – nell'utopia di Platone questa è la filosofia, in quella di Campanella sono i "saggi governanti", nell'utopia socialista degli anni Trenta questo posto era occupato dalla direzione del partito che costruiva nella vita reale la piramide della gerarchia burocratica. La sua proiezione sulla struttura spaziale della città fu il Piano generale di Mosca del 1935 steso da V. Semenov e S. Černyšev. La trama dello schema stradale per anelli e radiali, divenuto nel corso del tempo sempre più complesso, corrispondeva adeguatamente alla struttura gerarchica del Piano, che a sua volta rifletteva il nuovo ideale estetico-razionale di costruzione del mondo (fig. 10).



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more interesting activities and became less attractive and important as a result, despite the fact that, Mel'nikov's masterpieces apart, they numbered other less unusual buildings of adequately rational and expressive design by architects like Vladimirov, Golosov, Milinis, Pen and others. The situation changed little when the building industry was geared to the construction of larger cultural complexes – Palaces of Culture – designed to meet the needs of entire districts in the outlying industrial belt. The period from 1929 to 1938 saw the building of Kornfel'd's Palace of Culture in the south-western suburb of Fili (figs. 8, 9), and the Vesnin brothers' Palace of Culture for the ZIL car factory in the south-eastern suburbs. These Palaces were complex structures with huge, multi-purpose halls of extraordinary seating capacity – 1500 in Fili, 1200 at the ZIL factory – and numerous largish rooms for club activities. In addition to the Palace of Culture, the Vesnin brothers designed an enormous 4000-seat theatre and a sports centre, but both projects never left the drawing-board.

In the early 1930s, the utopian model of socialist construction acquired new features. The major contradiction still lay in the utopian concept itself, which necessitated equality and uniformity because society was bound to give priority to the collective good. However, even utopian societies required a social body or subject to determine behaviour and see to the equal distribution of wealth. In Plato's Republic *this was achieved by philosophers, in Campanella's* City of the Sun *by "governing sages", and in the socialist utopia of the 1930s by the party leadership which in reality constituted the hieratical pyramid of the nation's bureaucracy. The spatial projection of the concept was codified in Semenov and Černyšev's General Plan of 1935. The circular layout of ring and radial roads, which would become increasingly complex over the years, was an appropriate reflection of the hierarchically conceived Plan, which was itself a reflection of the new aesthetic and rational ideal for the building of a Socialist world (fig. 10).*

Il "Palazzo della cultura". Centro dei quartieri della periferia tra gli anni Venti e Trenta: 8. 9. Ja. Kornfel'd, Palazzo della cultura "Gorbunov" a Fili, 1929-38: pianta; vista. Foto A. Ikonnikov.

The "Palace of Culture". The centre of peripheral quarters in the 1920s and 1930s: 8. 9. Ja. Kornfel'd, "Gorbunov" Palace of Culture in Fili, 1929-38: plan; view. Photo A. Ikonnikov.

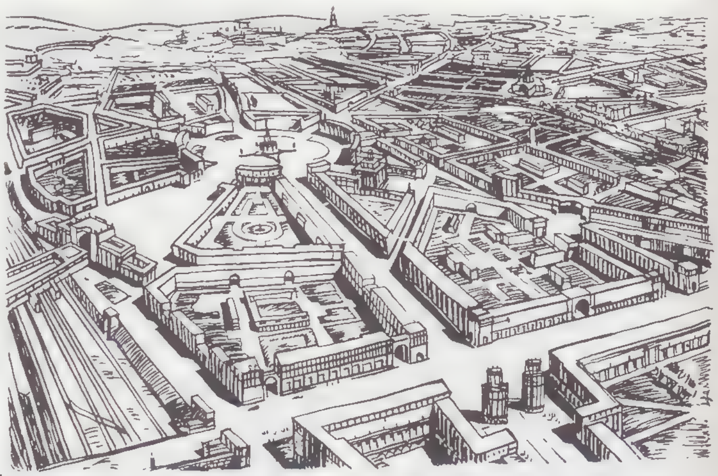
In the 1935 Plan, the centre of Moscow was marked by Iofan, Ščuko and Gel'frejch's 400 metre high Palace of Soviets (1934), a symbol of the authoritarian state surmounted by an image of The Guide. Like the "tree of the world" in ancient myth, the future Palace of the Soviets was the axle of the world in the Socialist utopian consciousness, and Moscow was the centre of the world. Moreover, the qualitative difference between the city's centre and suburbs would disappear when the unifying concept of "centre" and "capital" came into operation. The spatial expression of this concept was a star-shaped layout of arterial roads radiating outwards from the hub formed by the Kremlin and the Palace of Soviets. Moscow's "monumentality" and "identity as a capital" would be carried from the centre to the outer limits of the city along the arms of the star, flanked by continuous, six/nine-storey building façades. The originality of the structure was underwritten in expressive terms by the originality of a stylistic paradigm inspired by the neo-classical tradition. The decision to use this particular style was an attempt to suggest the timelessness of utopia, its projection into a future that was also conceived of as eternal. The concrete realisation of the concept began in 1937 with the rebuilding of the north-western radial comprising Tverskaja Ulica (then Ulica Gor'kij) and its continuation in the Leningradskij Prospekt and Leningradskij šosse – major roads 40 and 60 to 100 metres in width – that joined up to form a triumphal route for mass processions. To produce as quickly as possible the impression of a completed project, reconstruction was restricted to the façades of the buildings only. The actual substance of the route was the condominiums with their ground-floor service facilities: by comparison with these multi-storey residential edifices, public buildings like schools, sports centres and hotels seemed relatively modest. The only autonomous complex of any size was around the river station, then on the edge of the city, where the main or "magisterial" road met the River Moskva. During the pre-war years only a

Marcava il centro di Mosca, secondo il Piano del 1935, il volume verticale di 400 metri di altezza del Palazzo dei Soviet, simbolo dello Stato autoritario sopra il quale stava l'immagine della Guida, progettato nel 1934 da B. Iofan, V. Sčuko, V. Gel'frejch. Come l'"albero del mondo" nel mito arcaico, il futuro Palazzo rappresentava nella coscienza utopistica l'asse del mondo, e Mosca era concepita quale centro del mondo. Nel concetto unificante di "centro", di "capitale", avrebbe dovuto dissolversi la differenza qualitativa fra zone centrali e periferia. L'espressione spaziale di questa idea era una struttura stellare costituita da larghe strade maestre (o "magistrali") che si dipanavano dal nocciolo costituito dal Cremlino e dal Palazzo dei Soviet. Questa struttura avrebbe dovuto propagare quel carattere di "monumentalità" e "identità di capitale", che caratterizzava il centro, fino ai confini esterni della città. La trasmissione di questo carattere era affidata ai raggi della "stella" costituiti da un fronte continuo di edificato dell'altezza di 6-9 piani disposto lungo tutta l'estensione di ciascun raggio. L'espressione di unicità della struttura era garantita dall'unicità del paradigma stilistico improntato alla tradizione neoclassica. Il ricorso a questo trattamento stilistico in specifico tendeva ad affermare l'idea di una sospensione dell'utopia dal tempo, della sua tensione verso il futuro, ugualmente immaginato come eterno.
La realizzazione concreta dell'idea cominciò nel 1937 con la ricostruzione del raggio in direzione nordoccidentale costituito dalla Tverskaja ulica (allora Gor'kij ulica) e dai suoi prolungamenti nel Leningradskij prospekt e Leningradskij šosse – larghe strade di un calibro variabile tra i 40, i 60 e i 100 metri – che si univano in un percorso trionfale destinato alle grandi manifestazioni di massa. Al fine di ottenere al più presto l'impressione di un oggetto compiuto la ricostruzione fu limitata ai soli fronti dell'edificato. La sostanza che faceva da cornice al percorso era costituita da condomini al cui piano terreno si trovavano le istituzioni di servizio. Gli edifici pubblici

section about one kilometre long was completed in the direction of the Kremlin, but even just the presence of the "magisterial" buildings (which conveyed the monumental identity of the centre) dotted along the route was enough to reinstate the continuity of the radial road (figs. 11, 12, 13). The same principle was applied to other radials heading south (Kutusovskij), north (Mira Prospekt) and north-east (Mjasnickaja Ulica and its continuation). The Agricultural Exhibition Park (fig. 14) was built along the outlying southern radial from 1939 to 1940. Later, from 1950 to 1954, the original lightweight pavilions were replaced by a monumental complex that had all the distinctive features of the city's utopian manifestations at that time: regular design, much enlarged spaces, parade-ground monumentality, abundant historical reference. Architecturally, and because of the very nature of the exhibition area, the complex was prosaic in the extreme, the prototype of a city permanently celebrating a good life projected backwards into the present from a radiant and distant future. However, people at the time regarded this empty display with incredulity, and it remained no more than a myth of hope for the future.
The construction of the south-west radial was already under way in the first decade after the war. Unlike in the pre-war era, this radial was not given the uniform dimensions of a "magisterial" parade because it was already a part of the south-western district of the city, a large "protuberance" of the urban conglomerate with a population of around half a million and a grid by Vlasov. Its main axis consisted of the Bol'šaja Kalužkaja Ulica (fig. 19) and part of the Borovskij šosse, which joined the Leninskij Prospekt, doubled by the Vernadskij Prospekt, and it was dominated by the outline of the Moscow State University building (built from 1949 to 1953 by Rudnev, Cernyšev, Ambrosimov and Chrjakov) standing on the highest ground in the city (fig. 20). The masses of the huge building on the central vertical axis reflected the



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La struttura stellare del centro di Mosca proposta negli anni Trenta:
10. V. Semenov, S. Černyšev, Piano regolatore di Mosca, 1935.
Residenze delle "strade magistrali" quali segni della centralità:
11. G. Barchin, Disegno della "Strada Magistrale" del quartiere Dzeržinskij, Mosca, 1936.
12. G. Gol'c, Edificio residenziale sulla Bol'šaja Kalužskaja ulica, Mosca, fine anni Trenta: vista.
Foto A. Ikonnikov.
13. I. Žoltovskij, Edificio residenziale sul Prospekt Mira, Mosca, 1955: vista.
Foto A. Ikonnikov.
Modello della città ideale all'inizio degli anni Cinquanta:
14. Complesso della Mostra dell'Agricoltura, Mosca, 1950-54.

The star-shaped layout of central Moscow proposed in the 1930s:
10. V. Semenov, S. Černyšev, General Plan for Moscow, 1935.
Residences on the "master roads" symbolising centrality:
11. G. Barchin, drawing of the "Master Road" in the Dzeržinskij quarter, Moscow, 1936.
12. G. Gol'c, residential building on the Bol'šaja Kalužskaja Ulica, Moscow, late 1930s: view.
Photo A. Ikonnikov.
13. I. Žoltovskij, residential building on the Prospekt Mira, Moscow, 1955: view.
Foto A. Ikonnikov.
Model of the ideal city in the early 1950s:
14. Agriculture Exhibition Complex, Moscow, 1950-54.



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16

La "Cintura dei pannelli pesanti" di Mosca dalla fine degli anni Cinquanta sino agli anni Settanta:
15. Quartiere Davykovo, nel perimetro esterno di Mosca: vista.
Foto A. Ikonnikov.
16. 17. A. Meerson e altri, Isolato n. 19 nel quartiere Chimki, Mosca, fine anni '50: vista.
Foto A. Ikonnikov.
Planimetria (ridisegno di A. Ikonnikov).
18. Ja. Belopol'skij, F. Gazevskij, A. Rocegov, Quartiere Jasenevo, Mosca, 1975: vista.



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– scolastici, sportivi, alberghieri – in confronto alle masse multipiano delle residenze avevano un aspetto modesto. Soltanto intorno alla stazione fluviale, che si trovava in quel momento ai confini della città, nel punto in cui la strada magistrale incontrava la Moscova, si articolava uno esteso complesso autonomo. Durante gli anni prebellici fu portato a termine solo un tratto di circa un chilometro, in direzione del Cremlino, tuttavia la sola presenza anche discontinua, per punti, delle case "magistrali" (sulle strade magistrali), che portavano seco i segni della centralità, restituiva l'estensione del raggio (figg. 11, 12, 13).
Con lo stesso principio si cominciò ad intervenire nella formazione di altre radiali – a sud (Kutusovskij prospekt), a nord (prospekt Mira), a nordest (Mjasnickaja ulica e sua prosecuzione). Nella zona periferica del raggio settentrionale fu realizzato tra il 1939 e il 1940 il parco per l'Esposizione dell'Agricoltura (fig. 14), nel quale fu edificato alcuni anni anni più tardi, tra 1950 il 1954, in luogo dei padiglioni leggeri inizialmente costruiti, un complesso monumentale che riportava tutti i segni distintivi delle rappresentazioni utopiche della città di quel periodo: la regolarità, la dilatazione degli spazi, la monumentalità da parata, l'abbondanza di allusioni storicistiche. Questo complesso di edifici era, per il carattere e la natura stessa del territorio espositivo, permeato di prosaicità: era nato il modello della città della festa perenne, della vita felice, ricondotta nel presente da un lontano futuro radioso. Tuttavia rispetto a questa vana dimostratività la gente di quel periodo rimase incredula e questo modello rimase semplicemente un mito portatore di speranza.
Già nel primo decennio del dopoguerra fu cominciata la costruzione del raggio sudoccidentale. A differenza della pratica prebellica, questo non fu concepito secondo un'unica dimensione, quella di un strada maestra da parata, in quanto insieme ad esso crebbe il quartiere sudoccidentale, una imponente "protuberanza"

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topological model of Moscow as ideally conceived in that period. The district consisted of nine or ten storey residential perimeter buildings whose terse neatness, variable fenestration accentuated by loggias in a variety of orders, and minimal historical reference were an appropriate match for the widespread dislocation of space in the district. Scattered among the residential blocks along the Leninskij Prospekt were large buildings that would become the research institutes of the Academy of Science. The building fabric underwent no change as the radial moved out from the city towards the suburbs (figs. 21, 22). The commencement of work on the south-western district marked the high point in the building of the architectural utopia during the Stalinist period, although the utopia soon ran into difficulties after Stalin's death when cracks began to appear in the totalitarian system that had developed under his rule. When the mirages vanished, the true extent of the housing crisis (now verging on a genuine social catastrophe) and the social chaos that lay behind the parade-ground façades of the "magisterial" radial roads, was revealed. The moral shock this engendered led to a rejection of the traditional forms on which the utopia had been modelled. Utopia is dead. Long live utopia! New utopian ideals were hastily elaborated. Unable to eradicate well-entrenched ways of thinking and behaving without assistance, though firmly convinced nonetheless that "the boss knows best", Nikita Kruščev, having dispelled the illusions of Stalinism, initiated a hasty though decisive series of measures in 1954-55 to liberate architecture from the need to create myths. The key to the new concept was the belief that production should take precedence over consumption, which also meant that how buildings were made would take precedence over how they were used. Though standardisation was carried to absurd extremes by bureaucratic enthusiasm for industrial building technology, it did at least provide a feasible, practical objective, an incarnation of Kruščev's utopian ideal of "Communism by

Moscow's "Panel Belt" from the late 1950s to the 1970s:
15. Davykovo quarter on Moscow's outer perimeter: view. Photo A. Ikonnikov.
16. 17. A. Meerson et al., Block 19 in the Chimki quarter, Moscow, late 1950s: view. Photo A. Ikonnikov. General plan (redrawn by A. Ikonnikov).
18. Ja. Belopol'skij, F. Gazevskij, A. Rocegov, Jasenevo quarter, Moscow, 1975: view.

dell'agglomerato urbano, con una popolazione di circa 500.000 abitanti il cui piano generale è opera di A.B. Vlasov. L'asse del quartiere era costituito dalla Bol'šaja Kalužkaja ulica (fig. 19) e da parte del Borovskij šosse, che si univa al Leninskij prospekt, raddoppiato dal Vernadskij prospekt. Orientato in direzione sudoccidentale era dominato dalla *silhuette* dell'edificio dell'Università Statale di Mosca – realizzata nel 1949-53 da L. Rudnev, S. Černyšev, P. Abrosimov, A. Chrjakov – che si trova sul punto più alto del territorio urbano (fig. 20). Le masse dell'edificio crescendo sull'asse verticale centrale, entravano in risonanza con il modello topologico di Mosca, per come questa era stata idealmente immaginata in quel periodo. La costruzione del quartiere si componeva di edifici perimetrali residenziali di 9-10 piani. Al grande smembramento dello spazio faceva riscontro la laconica nettezza delle abitazioni, nelle quali tra i reticoli variabili delle finestrature risaltavano forti accenti costituiti da logge disposte su diversi ordini, con allusioni storicistiche ridotte al minimo. Tra gli isolati residenziali lungo il Leninskij prospekt erano disposti grandi edifici destinati agli Istituti di ricerca dell'Accademia delle Scienze. Il tessuto dell'edificato non cambiava procedendo verso la periferia (figg. 21, 22).
L'inizio dello sviluppo del quartiere sudoccidentale rappresentò l'apice della realizzazione dell'utopia architettonica del periodo staliniano. Questa utopia, tuttavia, andò in crisi quando, dopo la morte di Stalin, il sistema totalitario realizzatosi sotto la sua guida cominciò a manifestare delle crepe. Svaniti i miraggi si scoprirono la dura realtà del deficit abitativo, ormai quasi giunto al punto di provocare una vera e propria catastrofe sociale, ed il caos che stava dietro i paraventi da parata delle costruzioni delle principali strade maestre radiali. Lo *shock* etico suscitò una reazione di rigetto nei confronti delle forme tradizionali, sulle quali si era sagomata l'utopia. L'utopia è morta. Viva l'utopia! Fu cominciata una

the 1980s" *based on the rigid egalitarianism of wartime Communism.*
This residential building was subjected to the tyranny of standard, five-storey box designs with heavy concrete panel walls. Such a degree of standardisation called for considerable technological efficiency on the one hand, and made building possible only on undeveloped public land on the other. This marked a new turning point in the relationship between the centre and the suburbs. Around Moscow's increasingly complex urban conglomerate, a residential belt of heavy, panel-walled buildings in districts like Čeremuskij, Izmajlovo, Chorоševo-Mnevniki, Fili-Mazilovo, Bogorodskoe, Novye Kuz'minki and others (figs. 15, 16, 17, 18) was beginning to take shape. Each of these districts consisted of large, separate units that were miniature districts in their own right, spatially focused on tiny entrance buildings. In the early 1960s, when the building kombinats introduced components that enabled tower blocks up to twelve storeys high to be built, slab constructions began to alternate with vertical prisms, as in the dot-dash pattern of the Morse code. Most state investment went directly towards solving the housing crisis, so that the new residential quarters were built without corresponding public buildings (apart from schools) and ended up becoming dormitory suburbs.
Once again, the discrepancy, if not contradiction, between centre and suburbs became apparent. The other parts of the city had their own complex histories, but the monotonous suburban districts with their rigid, mechanical layouts not only lacked the fourth dimension of time – the feeling of having been built in stages in different historical periods; they were also monofunctional, which imposed strict patterns of behaviour on their residents, who didn't even feel they were Muscovite: "I'm going to Moscow" (i.e., to the centre) really meant going to another city where social needs could be satisfied and most job opportunities were concentrated. The outer perimeter of the "panel belt" was



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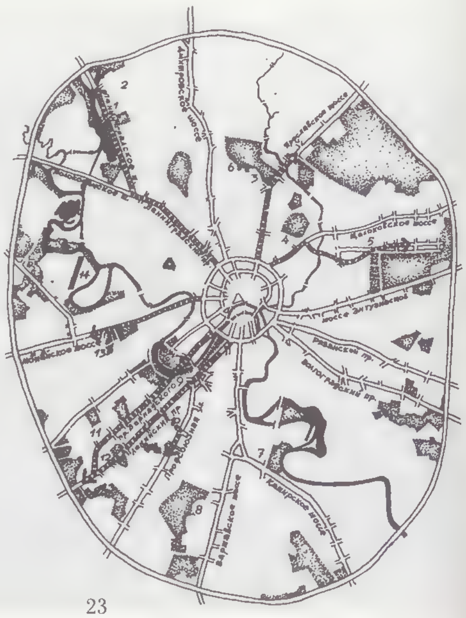
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Capisaldi di orientamento nella periferia della Mosca a struttura stellare. Principale raggio di espansione lungo la direttrice sudoccidentale.
19. Mosca, Sviluppo delle funzioni centrali nel quartiere sudoccidentale: 1) Complesso sportivo "Lužnik"; 2) Praesidium dell'Accademia delle Scienze della Federazione russa; 3) Piazza Gagarin; 4) Palazzo dei Pionieri; 5) Università Statale di Mosca; 6) Teatro musicale dei Bambini; 7) Circo; 8) Torri terziarie del Vernadskij prospekt; 9) Istituto delle Relazioni internazionali; 10) Villaggio Olimpico; 11) Accademia dell'Economia Nazionale; 12) Accademia di Scienze Sociali; 13) Laboratori di Tecnologia di Chimica leggera; 14) "Ottagono"; 15) Parco-plesso; 16) Casa del turista.
20. L. Rudnev, S. Černyšev, P. Abrosimov, A. Chrjakov, Università Statale di Mosca "Lomonosov" sulle Colline Lenin, Mosca, 1949-53: vista.
Foto A. Ikonnikov.
21. 22. Leninskij Prospekt, Mosca: viste dalla Piazza Gagarin verso il centro e verso la periferia.

Orientation points in the periphery of star-shaped Moscow. Main expansion radius towards the south-west.
19. Moscow, development of central functions in the south-west quarter: 1) "Lužnik" sports complex; 2) Praesidium of Academy of Sciences; 3) Gagarin Square; 4) Palace of Pioneers; 5) Moscow State University; 6) Children's Music Theatre; 7) Circus; 8) Tertiary towers in Vernadskij Prospeky; 9) Institute of International Relations; 10) Olympic Village; 11) Academy of National Economy; 12) Academy of Social Sciences; 13) Chemical Light Engineering Laboratories; 14) "The Octagon"; 15) Plexus Park; 16) House of Tourists.
20. L. Rudnev, S. Černyšev, P. Abrosimov, A. Chrjakov, "Lomonosov" State University of Moscow on the Lenin Hills, Moscow, 1949-53: view.
Photos A. Ikonnikov.
21. 22. Leninskij Prospekt, Moscow: views of Gagarin Square towards the centre and towards the outskirts.

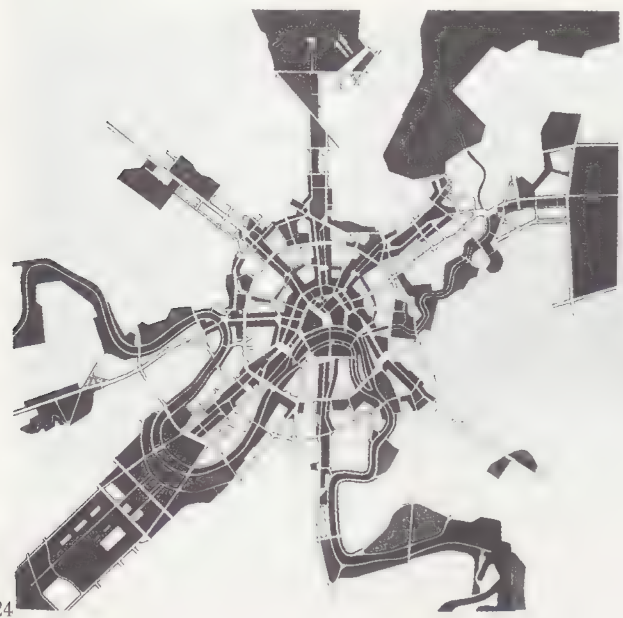
frettolosa elaborazione di nuovi rappresentazioni ideali. N. Kruščev, che aveva dissipato il miraggio dello stalinismo, non potendo da solo avere la meglio su consolidate forme di pensiero e di condotta, ma fermamente convinto che "*il capo ha una maggiore conoscenza*" avviò nel 1954-55 una serie di misure decisive ma affrettate, tese a liberare l'architettura dalla creazione di miti. Il perno della nuova concezione stava nell'affermazione della priorità della produzione sui consumi e, di conseguenza, della tecnologia edilizia sulla destinazione dell'edificio. La standardizzazione, spinta sino all'assurdo nella cornice di questo tecnologismo burocraticamente affermato, si rivelò, tuttavia, piuttosto che un obiettivo pratico, l'incarnazione degli ideali dell'utopia di Kruščev – "*il comunismo entro gli anni '80*". Il suo modello si ispirava al rigido egualitarismo degli anni del comunismo di guerra.
All'edilizia residenziale fu imposta la tirannia di tipi unici costituiti da corpi scatolari di cinque piani realizzati con pannelli pesanti cementizi. Il grado di unificazione da una parte richiedeva una notevole efficienza tecnologica e dall'altra consentiva la realizzazione solo in terreni pubblici liberi. Su questo presupposto si compì una nuova svolta nel rapporto tra il centro della città e la sua periferia. Intorno al sempre più complesso agglomerato urbano di Mosca si andava formando una cintura di quartieri residenziali, costituiti di case in pannelli pesanti – Čeremuškij, Izmajlovo, Chorošević-Mnevniki, Fili-Mazilovo, Bogorodskoe, Novye Kuz`minki e altri (figg. 15, 16, 17, 18). Ciascuno di questi si scomponeva in corrispondenti grandi isolati e microquartieri.
Nell'organizzazione dello spazio di questi predominava un edificio di ingresso di minuscole dimensioni. All'inizio degli anni Sessanta, quando i *kombinat* delle costruzioni edilizie introdussero elementi per la costruzione di case-torre fino a 12 piani di altezza, agli edifici a lama cominciarono ad alternarsi prismi verticali – come dei punto/linea dell'alfabeto Morse. La maggior parte degli investimenti statali fu destinata alla soluzione del problema delle abitazioni così che i nuovi quartieri residenziali si svilupparono senza la contemporanea realizzazione di edifici pubblici – con l'unica eccezione delle scuole – e finirono col diventare dei quartieri dormitorio.
Di nuovo si affermava, se non proprio la contrapposizione, almeno la differenza qualitativa tra centro e periferia. Rispetto allo storico assetto complesso delle altri parti della città, il monotono ambiente della periferia, costruita con una meccanica rigidità di disposizione dell'edificato, si distingueva non solo per la mancanza della "quarta dimensione", il tempo, cioè la costruzione progressiva dell'insediamento in diversi periodi, ma soprattutto per la monofunzionalità, che escludeva la possibilità di scelta delle forme di comportamento. Gli abitanti degli agglomerati periferici delle "case dei pannelli pesanti" non si sentivano affatto moscoviti ed il solo recarsi in centro significava per essi andare in un'altra città tanto da dire "vado a Mosca", dove venivano soddisfatte tutte le esigenze relative al soddisfacimento dei consumi sociali e si trovava la maggior parte delle opportunità di occupazione. Il perimetro esterno della "cintura dei pannelli" di Mosca era fissato dall'anello autostradale realizzato nel 1960-62, che ne delimitava anche i confini amministrativi.
Nel periodo postkruščeviano il rigido potere della rappresentazione utopistica cominciò a indebolirsi, tuttavia il Piano generale di Mosca redatto da M. Posochin, N. Ullas, S. Matveev, A. Mišarin ed altri tra il 1966 e il 1971, che ne indirizzava lo sviluppo e ne fissava il rapporto tra interno della città e periferia, manteneva ancora un'impostazione utopistica questa volta per il fatto che la sua realizzazione non era assicurata da meccanismi economici e di governo (figg. 23, 24). Veniva proposta una suddivisione del colossale agglomerato moscovita in otto zone di piano, ciascuna con una popolazione di un milione

23. Mosca, Principali assi viari radiali e direzioni di sviluppo delle funzioni centrali nell'anello periferico: 1) Stazione fluviale settentrionale; 2) Quartiere Chimki-Chovrino; 3) Centro espositivo delle Russie; 4) Parco di Sokol'niki; 5) Complesso alberghiero di Izmajlovo; 6) Centro televisivo di Ostankino; 7) Centro oncologico; 8) Parco di Bitca; 9) Piazza Gagarin; 10) Complesso degli Istituti di ricerca scientifici; 11) Complesso socio-culturale della stazione del metrò "Jugo-Zapadnaja"; 12) Parco-plesso e Casa del turista; 13) Complesso memoriale celebrativo della fine della seconda guerra mondiale; 14) Complesso sportivo di Krylatskoe.
24. M. Posochin e altri, Struttura del centro di Mosca secondo il Piano regolatore, 1971, come sviluppo della struttura stellare.



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the orbital motorway built in 1960-62, which also marked the administrative boundaries of the city.
The tyranny of utopian representation began to weaken in the post-Kruščev era, although Mosochin, Ullas, Matveev, Mišarin et al.'s General Plan (1966-1971, which oriented development and determined the relationship between centre and suburbs, was still utopian to the extent that its actual implementation did not reflect current economic and governmental realities (figs. 23, 24). The Plan proposed that the huge conglomerate of Moscow should be divided into eight planning zones, each with a population of a million inhabitants. In each zone, steps would be taken to ensure that the right balance was achieved between population needs, services, available work and job opportunities. Also, the star-shaped layout of the centre, whose arms had now reached the outer orbital motorway, would be developed, and the infill between the radial roads, the inner ring roads and the high-speed bypass roads would be completed. The radials would thus link the central core to seven suburban planning zones – the eighth was central historical Moscow itself, with its high concentration of urban functions.
The starting point of the 1971 Plan was stabilisation of the city's population, which implied putting a brake on job opportunities and a shift in the city's economy from extensive to intensive development. This was never achieved, however. In the 1970s the birth rate actually accelerated, with an annual population increase of 200,000, the forecast population of eight million by the year 2000 was reached in 1980, and the weighty influx of population into the city called for more intensive residential development than had been planned for. Since there was no more undeveloped land inside the circumference of the orbital motorway, the city over-spilled its boundaries in the mid 1980s and invaded the parkland green belt. Suburban residential buildings also grew taller, from 9-12 storeys in the 1970s to 16-25 storeys in the 1980s. Money that had been earmarked for transport infrastructure development and public service buildings for the dormitory suburbs was spent instead on making residential buildings larger.
The projects for the centres of the suburban zones outlined in the General Plan were little more than architectural fantasies. The centre of the north-eastern zone consisted of Burdin, Klimov and Pabaev's Izmajlovo dormitory complex (1980) comprising five 30-storey slabs housing 10,000 people around a public nucleus with large communal rooms. Here was also built the extensive Ostankino Television Centre with a transmitter mast half a kilometre high and, to the west, Poljanskij's monumental complex commemorating the Second World War, with a public park, a domed museum and a winding gallery in front of the main entrance (1989-1994). However, these important new buildings did not blend in as they were supposed to with the cultural, commercial and recreational structures of the zones they were constructed in, and local authorities were unable to influence the siting of shopping facilities. It is true that theatres, cinemas, new museums and big department stores were built in the city, but sites around the edge of the historical centre were chosen that were already well endowed with infrastructures and were certain to attract people. Developing the suburban centres proved difficult and risky. More concretely, the south-western and north-western radials of the centre were developed, although no compact building complexes were erected. Towards the south-west, a linear centre was actively developed along the Vernadskij Prospekt. Early achievements at Mount Sparrow opposite the University of Moscow park included Belopol'skij's Circus (1971) with a wrinkled dome roof, and Krasil'nikov and Velikanov's neo-baroque Children's Music Theatre (1979) (figs 30, 31). Further out, opposite the residential buildings on the eastern side of the Vernadskij Prospekt, Rozanov and Davidenko's large-scale vertical sequence of three sculptural office towers (1993) alternated with a series of

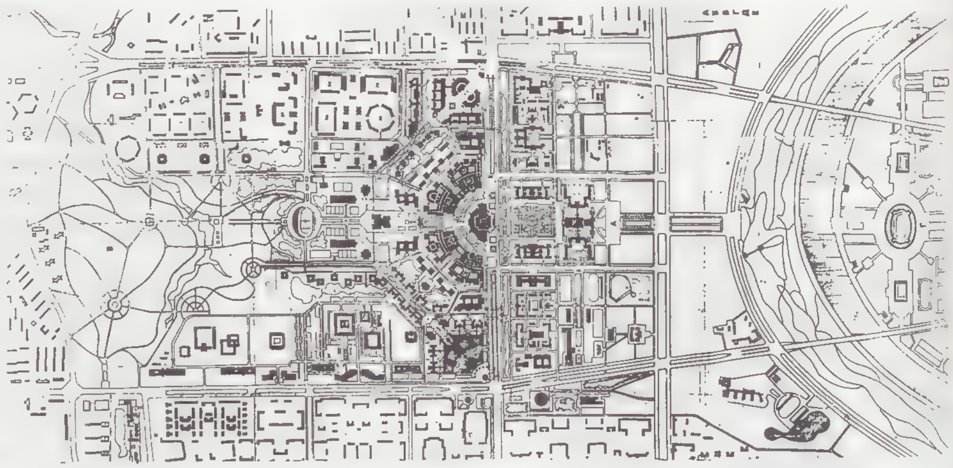


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23. Moscow, main radial roads and development vectors for central functions in the peripheral ring: 1) southern river station; 2) Chimki-Chovrino quarter; 3) Exhibition Centre of the Russias; 4) Sokol'niki Park; 5) Izmajlovo hotel complex; 6) Ostankino Television Centre; 7) Oncological Centre; 8) Bitca Park; 9) Gagarin Square; 10) Institutes of Scientific Research complex; 11) Socio-cultural complex of "Jugo-Zapadnaja" underground station; 12) Plexus Park and House of Tourists; 13) complex commemorating the end of the Second World War; 14) Krylatskoe sports complex.
24. M. Posochin et al., layout of central Moscow in General Plan, 1971, as a development of the original star-shaped layout.

di abitanti. Si proponeva di assicurare a ciascuna di queste un bilanciamento interno tra necessità e sistemi di servizio, risorse lavorative e occupazionali. Con il Piano si proponeva di perfezionare la rete stellare del centro, i cui raggi raggiungevano l'autostrada anulare esterna, completando il sistema delle relazioni tra le radiali, le anulari interne e le tangenziali a percorrenza veloce. Attraverso le radiali si doveva collegare il nocciolo centrale con 7 zone periferiche pianificate – un'ulteriore zona pianificata era costituita dallo stesso nocciolo storico centrale di Mosca con un alta concentrazione di funzioni urbane.
Il punto di partenza del Piano del 1971 era la stabilizzazione del numero degli abitanti, che presupponeva un arresto della crescita occupazionale e un passaggio dell'economia della città da uno sviluppo estensivo ad uno sviluppo intensivo. La condizione non fu mantenuta. Durante gli anni Settanta la crescita della popolazione addirittura accelerò, registrando un incremento di 200.000 persone all'anno. La popolazione di otto milioni di abitanti prevista per l'anno 2000 fu raggiunta già nel 1980. La poderosa affluenza di popolazione reclamava la necessità di un'edilizia residenziale più intensiva rispetto a quanto già proposto. Le riserve di territorio libero all'interno dell'autostrada anulare furono esaurite e alla metà degli anni Ottanta l'agglomerato urbano uscì dai suoi confini, inghiottendo la cintura dei parchi boschivi. Crebbe anche l'altezza degli edifici residenziali nella cintura periferica – dai 9-12 piani degli anni Settanta ai 16-25 piani degli anni Ottanta. Nell'ingrandimento dei volumi dell'edilizia residenziale furono spese risorse che erano state destinate allo sviluppo delle infrastrutture di trasporto e agli edifici pubblici di servizio dei quartieri dormitorio.
I progetti per i centri delle zone periferiche pianificate, previsti dal Piano generale, rimasero delle mere fantasie architettoniche. Il centro della zona nordorientale è costituito dal complesso alberghiero urbano di Izmajlovo

compact school buildings, and on the edge of the conglomeration, near the Jugo-Zapadnaja underground station, a group of university and research institute buildings was erected. The academic neo-functionalism of the Academy of Social Sciences – a low, square teaching block and residential towers for students – was flanked by the deconstructivism of the irregularly shaped glass tower of Perlini's Academy of National Economy (1994) (figs. 33, 34, 35). Just north of the Academy were three eight-storey slabs housing the Chemical Technology Laboratories, joined at the base by a two-storey core that reduced the height of the slabs towards the centre of the complex (figs. 36, 37). The view along the Prospekt was completed, with a change of direction, by the Military Academy built from 1978 to 1988 by a team of architects working under Posochin. The square exterior of the building with cutaway corners contains an imposing octagonal inner structure, and the symmetrical composition is reminiscent of postmodern classicism (figs. 38, 39).
All these buildings are interesting in their own right, but each exists only for itself as an isolated, autonomous object that fails to integrate with the others in terms of function and composition. As a group, they represent the final period of Socialist utopianism, when much was said about planning and control, but the real situation in which the new complexes were being built was ignored. As a result, proper coordination of the building effort was sacrificed to the ambition of individual architects, and chaotic juxtaposing of dissimilar buildings produced a cluttered, untidy cityscape. The nearby Troparevo residential district (fig. 46), separated from the new group by the main road, only increased the functional saturation of the area. Sociological studies have shown that inhabitants much appreciated this, and that the urbanisation of the south-western radial reflected Muscovites' idea of what the ideal city centre should be like.
However, sociological studies have also shown that most

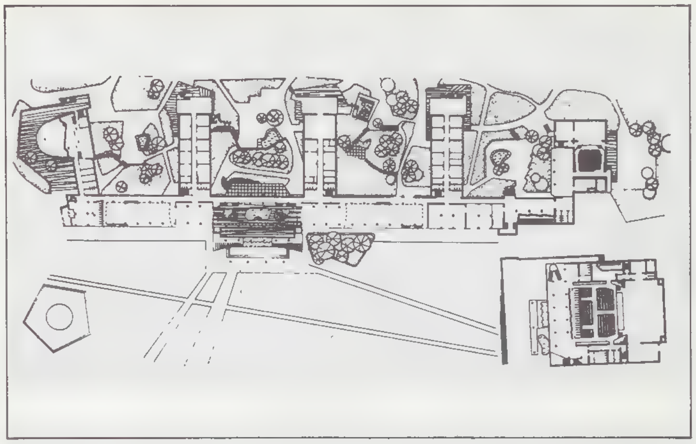


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25. G. Cytovic e altri, Progetto di sistemazione del complesso dell'Università Statale di Mosca "Lomonosov" sulle Colline Lenin, Mosca, 1990-93: planimetria generale.
Complessi ricreativi lungo il raggio sudoccidentale:
26. 27. V. Egerev, V. Kubasov, F. Novikov, B. Paluj, I. Pokrovskij, M. Chazakijan, Palazzo dei Pionieri, Mosca, 1959-1962: vista esterna e pianta del piano terreno.
28. 29. Ja. Belopol'skij, E. Vulych, S. Feoktistov, V. Chavin, Circo sulle Colline Lenin, Mosca, 1971: vista, pianta e sezione.
30. 31. V. Krasil'nikov, A. Velikanov, V. Orlov, Teatro musicale dei Bambini, Mosca, 1979: vista e pianta.



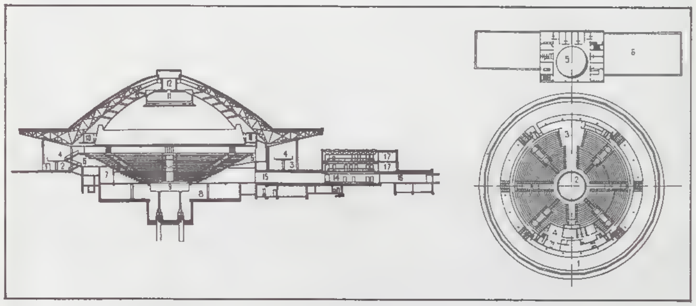
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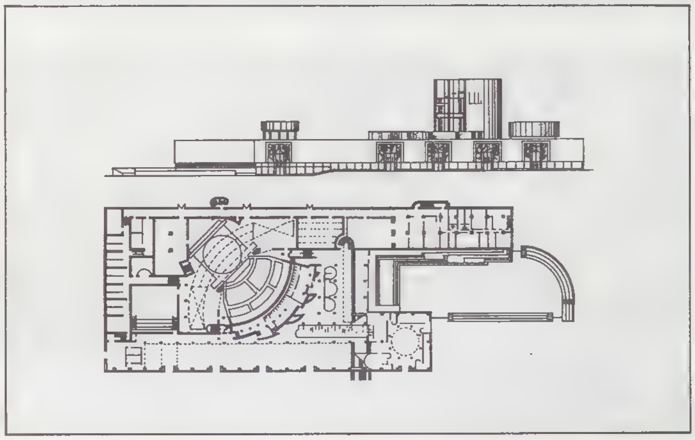
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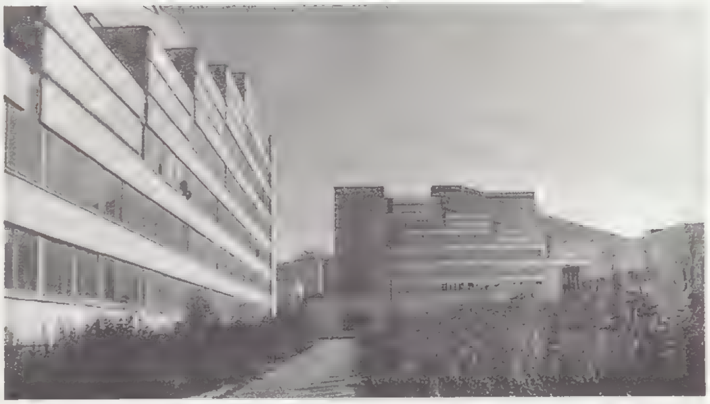
25. G. Cytovic et al., Refurbishment project for the "Lomonosov" State University of Moscow on the Lenin Hills, Moscow, 1990-93: general plan.
Recreational complex on the south-western radius:
26. 27. V. Egerev, V. Kubasov, F. Novikov, B. Paluj, I. Pokrovskij, M. Chazakijan, Palace of Pioneers, Moscow, 1959-62: external view and ground-floor plan.
28. 29. Ja. Belopol'skij, E. Vulych, S. Feoktistov, V. Chavin, Circus on Lenin Hills, Moscow, 1971: view, plan and section.
30. 31. V. Krasil'nikov, A. Velikanov, V. Orlov, Children's Music Theatre, Moscow, 1979: view and plan.


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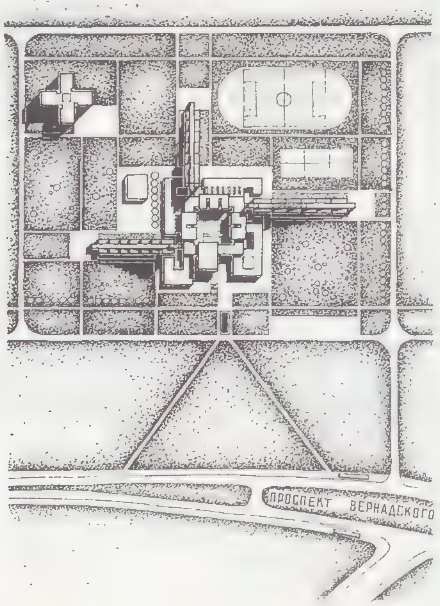

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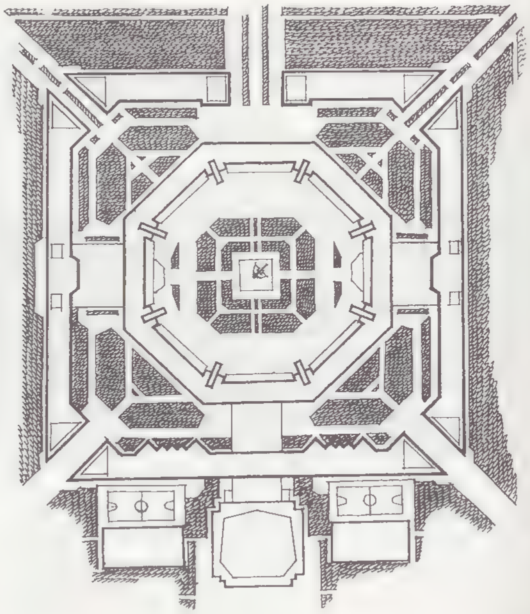

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– realizzato nel 1980 dagli architetti D. Burdin, V. Klimov, Ju. Pabaev – che si compone di cinque edifici a lama di 30 piani dove alloggiano 10.000 persone, raggruppati intorno ad un nucleo pubblico con saloni universali. Al centro della zona nordorientale fu realizzato il gruppo dei grandi edifici del centro televisivo di Ostankino con la torre-antenna di mezzo chilometro di altezza. In direzione ovest è stato realizzato tra il 1989 e il 1994 da A. Poljanskij il complesso monumentale commemorativo della seconda guerra mondiale con un parco pubblico, un museo coperto da una cupola ed una galleria dalla forma tortuosa che si trova di fronte all'ingresso. Tuttavia la supposta combinazione di questi significativi edifici con i complessi culturali, commerciali e le istituzioni di ricreazione non ha funzionato. Le autorità cittadine non hanno trovato la possibilità di condizionare la localizzazione delle costruzioni destinate al commercio. Nella città sono stati costruiti teatri e cineteatri, nuovi musei e grandi magazzini universali, ma per questi furono preferite localizzazioni ai limiti del centro storico, già dotato di una sviluppata rete infrastrutturale che garantiva l'affluenza del pubblico. Valorizzare i centri periferici risultò oneroso e rischioso. Più concretamente si sono sviluppati i raggi sudoccidentale e nordoccidentale del centro dove, tuttavia, non si sono realizzati complessi compatti. In direzione sudovest si è attivamente sviluppato lungo il Vernadskij prospekt un centro dalla struttura lineare. Al suo inizio, presso il Monte dei Passeri, di fronte al parco dell'Università di Mosca, furono realizzati nel 1971 il Circo con la cupola di copertura a crespe di Ja. Belopol'skij (figg. 28, 29) e nel 1979 l'edificio neobarocco del Teatro musicale dei Bambini, opera di V. Krasil'nikov, A. Velikanov (figg. 30, 31).
Più avanti, di fronte agli edifici residenziali perimetrali sul lato orientale del Vernadskij prospekt, si contrappongono sull'altro lato della strada una serie di interventi di notevole volumetria, costituiti dall'alternarsi delle plastiche composizioni verticali delle tre torri di uffici,

citizens prefer a historical city centre that attracts people because of its high cultural potential, wide assortment of products and services, the aesthetically pleasing "naturalness" of a more complex environment, and greater opportunities for social contact.[5] Practically speaking, the only people who still accept the validity of the star-shaped centre that has been taking shape over half a century are the architects themselves. Only the "intermediate belt" joining up the radials between the centre and the suburbs has been properly developed, and many Muscovites now regard this as the ideal area to live in. The utopian star-shaped structure of the public city centre has never become a real fact of urban life in the outlying areas, despite the considerable effort that has gone into trying to make this happen. The huge expanse of innumerable radial arms has prevented the kind of concentration centrality depends on, and poor communications have failed to provide adequate transport links within the system. The city's internal division into centre and suburbs – a characteristic feature of utopian thought that tends to reduce social possibilities – seems unlikely to meet the real expectations of citizens, who instead want properly developed centres – the result of decisive environmental planning – that are a genuine structural part of their suburban areas and determine both the quality of social life and the freedom of the city to develop as it wishes.
The changes that began in Russian society in 1991 have blocked any further attempts to mortgage Moscow's planning development to earlier forms of utopian thinking. Today's situation is conditioned by temporary factors resulting from differentiated social development and a general economic situation in which inflation is reducing building investment and causing capital to circulate quickly. The construction of cultural, recreational and educational buildings has been drastically reduced, and has proved possible only in areas that already have well developed infrastructures, i.e., mainly on State-expropriated land in the historical centre that escaped development in the 1970s and 1980s because industrialised

Complessi terziari della ricerca e istruzione lungo il raggio sudoccidentale:
32. E. Rozanov, V. Davidenko, P. Mudrov, Torri terziarie sul Vernadskij prospekt, Mosca, 1981-90: vista esterna.
33. M. Posochin e altri, Istituto delle Relazioni internazionali, Mosca, 1991: vista.
34. L. Perlini, Accademia dell'Economia Nazionale, 1994: vista.
35. M. Posochin e altri, Accademia di Scienze Sociali, Mosca, 1988: vista.
36. 37 I. Klescko, I. Bujanov e altri, Laboratori di Tecnologia di Chimica leggera, Mosca, 1980: planivolumetria e vista.
38. 39. M. Posochin e altri, Accademia militare "Ottagono", Mosca, 1990: vista e pianta.
Foto M. Meriggi.

Tertiary research and teaching complexes on the south-western radius:
32. E. Rozanov, V. Davidenko, P. Mudrov, tertiary towers on Vernadskij Prospekt, Moscow, 1981-90: external view.
33. M. Posochin et al., Institute of International Relations, Moscow, 1991: view.
34. L. Perlini, Academy of National Economy, 1994: view.
35. M. Posochin et al., Academy of Social Sciences, Moscow, 1988: view.
36. 37. I. Klescko, I. Bujanov et al., Chemical Light Engineering Laboratories, Moscow, 1980: volumetric plan and view.
38. 39. M. Posochin et al., "The Octagon" Military Academy, Moscow, 1990: view and plan.
Photos M. Meriggi.

realizzate nel 1993 da E. Rozanov e V. Davidenko, a compatti edifici scolastici (fig. 32). Nei pressi del confine urbano, all'altezza della stazione della metropolitana "Jugo-Zapadnaja" è stato realizzato un gruppo di edifici destinati all'Università e agli Istituti di ricerca. Al neofunzionalismo accademico degli edifici dell'Accademia delle Scienze Sociali – un basso corpo a base quadrata che ospita le aule e torri che ospitano il pensionato – si affianca il decostruttivismo della torre di cristallo dal disegno irregolare dell'Accademia dell'Economia Nazionale del 1994, di L. Perlini (figg. 33, 34, 35). Poco più a nord dell'Accademia si trovano tre edifici a lama di otto piani che ospitano i Laboratori di Tecnologia di Chimica leggera collegati alla base da un nocciolo centrale, che riduce nel centro l'altezza delle lame occupandone i primi due piani (figg. 36, 37). Chiude la prospettiva del *prospekt*, che cambia direzione svoltando, il volume dell'edificio dell'Accademia militare, realizzato tra il 1978 e il 1988 da un gruppo di architetti sotto la direzione di M. Posochin. In questo edificio sul corpo quadrato esterno, tagliato agli angoli, si inscrive all'interno un imponente corpo ottagonale. La composizione simmetrica è vicina al classicismo postmoderno (figg. 38, 39).
Ciascuno degli edifici qui ricordati è di per sé interessante, ma ciascuno risulta come a se stante, un oggetto isolato e autonomo, che non interagisce né funzionalmente né compositivamente con gli altri. Questo gruppo di edifici ci restituisce il quadro degli ultimi anni dell'utopia socialista, quando si discuteva molto della pianificabilità e della regolamentabilità, ignorando tuttavia la situazione reale dei progetti in atto di nuovi complessi edilizi, sacrificando in questo modo il loro coordinamento all'ambizione dei singoli progettisti. Dalla caotica giustapposizione di dissimiglianze è risultato così un paesaggio disordinato.
La vicinanza del quartiere residenziale di Troparevo (fig. 46), separato da questo gruppo di edifici dalla strada magistrale, si limita a saturare dal punto di vista funzionale quest'area della città. Come hanno dimostrato le ricerche sociologiche, questa qualità è apprezzata positivamente dagli abitanti e l'opera di urbanizzazione del raggio sudoccidentale corrisponde alle aspettative dei moscoviti circa la configurazione ideale del centro della città.
Le ricerche sociologiche hanno tuttavia pure dimostrato che tra le preferenze del cittadino sul genere di "centro" predominano quelle rivolte al nocciolo del centro storico, che attrae per l'alta concentrazione di potenziale culturale, il largo assortimento di prodotti e servizi, la qualità estetica che risulta dalla "naturalità" di un ambiente più articolato, la maggior possibilità di contatti sociali[5]. Praticamente solo gli architetti riconoscono la configurazione stellare del centro, il cui disegno conta già di una sedimentazione di mezzo secolo; infatti, il grado di sviluppo dei raggi ha caratterizzato solo la "zona intermedia" interposta tra centro e periferia, zona da molti giudicata ottimale per risiedervi.
La struttura stellare del centro pubblico della città, generata dal pensiero utopistico, portando la sua qualità nella periferia non è divenuta un fatto reale nella vita urbana, nonostante gli sforzi consistenti che sono stati fatti per la realizzazione di questa idea. L'enorme estensione degli innumerevoli raggi ha escluso quel grado di concentrazione che richiede la centralità, e le possibilità di spostamento non hanno assicurato un'effettiva connessione all'interno del sistema. La sua divisione interna fondata su due distinte qualità ambientali – "centralità" e "perifericità" – caratterizzanti il pensiero utopistico e tendenti a ridurre il numero delle alternative possibili, riescono difficilmente a soddisfare le reali preferenze del cittadino, che richiederebbe invece un adeguato sviluppo, fondato sulla realizzazione di centri che in maniera strutturale caratterizzino concretamente le zone periferiche sia sul piano sociale sia su quello della libertà di orientamento nella città, da garantirsi con una notevole strutturazione dell'ambiente.



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building techniques were too inflexible for such sites. The tendency of business and commerce to settle in the central area has been an even more important influence.
In the suburbs only isolated blocks appear, connected in some way to the arms of the "star" but with functions that do not extend to the immediate surroundings, which are never properly organised as infill. This is clear from our earlier example of the Academy of National Economy, or Belpol'skij's "Plexus Park" (1933) on the Leninskij Prospekt (the axis of the south-western suburb) comprising a closed complex of hotels, apartments, offices, shopping galleries, restaurants and huge auditoriums for the employees of international firms, which has nothing to do with the surrounding blocks of buildings. In the last analysis, it is impossible to speak of the centre of Moscow extending into the suburbs, whether now or in the immediate future.
In the suburbs – both inside the city's administrative boundaries and beyond them to a distance of 50 kilometres – a process of urbanisation is now under way based on low-rise, cottage-type buildings. This process is mainly the outcome of the desire of "new Russians" – families that have successfully consolidated their economic position during the change of regime – to move out of a densely populated, ecologically wretched and also rather dangerous environment. This new, aggressive social class of private clients is successfully imposing its will on architects and promoting the spread of a pretentiously kitsch style that reflects its basically low cultural level. However, the names of a few, relatively young architects who are managing to combine the confused wishes of their clients with higher levels of professional expertise, are beginning to emerge from the chaos. The new Russians are bringing into being a different and original suburban Muscovite style, a variation on postmodernism that makes liberal use of "modern" quotations from the golden era of Russian architecture in the first decade of the century. The galaxy of young architectural talent includes Aleksej Voronzov, who has successfully built or rebuilt large buildings in the centre of the city, as well as wittily (and shrewdly) grotesque houses for rich inhabitants in the new suburbs that are developing around existing infrastructures in some suburban villages and isolated blocks. With economic support from the Municipality and the State, some complexes of more modest, low-rise buildings are being constructed which, despite their unobtrusiveness, are being brought into line with the stereotypes now being used for suburban villas and smaller houses. They include Vavakin, Narbaev and Chavin's "Citadel of Science" for employees of the Russian Academy of Science, a complex of 1000 cottages in the Butovo district. Other groups of cottages are being built in Mar'ino, Ivlevo and Mostki-Zelenino.
The latest stage in this process, now fully under way, was the approval in December 1994 of the "Interbau-Moscow" project: a kvartal' in the Krylatskoj quarter in the southern periphery, consisting of seventy-seven cottages each designed by a memeber of an international team of architects comprising A. Achmedov, A. Van Eyck, B. Zevi, R. Inglend, V. Kwasil'nikov, K. Kurokawa, I. Pokrovskij, E. Rozanov, A. Rocegov, G. Stoilov, J. Torosjan and J. Utzon. The picturesqueness of the lot itself makes possible a variety of typologies appropriate to an exhibition of buildings entitled "From the Bauhuas to the Postmodern".
It may be that this exhibition will give Russian architecture the same stimulus that the Weissenhof exhibition in Stuttgart gave to modern architecture.

Notes

(*) Andrej Vladimirovic Ikonnikov is Vice President and Professor of the International Academy of Architecture, Moscow Branch and Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Arts.

1) *L. TROCKIJ,* Literatura i revoljuzija *(Literature and Revolution), Moscow, 1923, p. 195.*
2) *See L. SABSOVIČ,* Goroda buduscego i organizacija socialisticeskogo byta *(The City of the Future and the Socialist Organisation of Daily Life), Moscow, 1929.*
3) *N. KUZ'MIN,* Problemy naučnoj organizacii byta *(Problems in the Scientific Organisation of Daily Life), in "S.A.", 3, 1930, p. 14.*
4) *N. LUCHMANOV,* Architektura kluba *(The Architecture of the Club), Moscow, 1930, p. 18.*
5) *See L. KOGAN,* Byt' gorozanikom *(Daily Life According to the Citizen), Moscow, 1990.*

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40. Ja. Belopol'skij, N. Ljutomskij, Parco-plesso sul Leninskij Prospekt, Mosca, 1990-93: vista.
41. MOSPROEKT, Ministero dell'Industria sul Sebastopolskij Prospekt, Mosca, 1992-93: vista.

40. Ja. Belopol'skij, N. Ljutomskij, Plexus Park on Leninskij Prospekt, Moscow, 1990-93: view.
41. MOSPROEKT, Ministry of Industry on Sebastopolskij Prospekt, Moscow, 1992-93: view.

I cambiamenti, cominciati nella società russa con il 1991, hanno escluso ulteriori tentativi di ipotecare lo sviluppo della conformazione della città alle idee pregresse di carattere utopico. La situazione odierna è condizionata da fattori temporanei, determinati dallo sviluppo della differenziazione della società e dalla congiuntura economica, nella quale l'inflazione comporta una contrazione degli investimenti nell'edilizia e induce una rapida circolazione del capitale. La realizzazione di edifici di funzioni culturali e di ricreazione formativa è stata bruscamente ridotta ed è stata possibile solo nelle zone con una sviluppata infrastruttura e cioè principalmente nei terreni del centro storico espropriati dallo Stato, precedentemente non utilizzati per la prevalenza tra gli anni Sessanta e gli anni Ottanta dei metodi di costruzione dell'edilizia industrializzata troppo rigidi rispetto all'estrema flessibilità richiesta dalle caratteristiche di questi terreni. Ancora più determinante risulta poi la tendenza delle agenzie commerciali e degli uffici ad insediarsi nella zona centrale.

Nella periferia della città nascono soltanto oggetti isolati, in qualche modo connessi con i raggi della "stella", ma le cui funzioni non si estendono all'immediato ambiente circostante, non lo organizzano intorno a sé, come chiaramente è avvenuto nel caso prima ricordato dell'edificio dell'Accademia dell'Economia Nazionale piuttosto che in quello del "Parco plesso" realizzato nel 1993 da Ja. Belopol'skij sul Leninskij prospekt, asse del quartiere sudoccidentale, costituito da un complesso chiuso con alberghi, appartamenti, uffici, gallerie commerciali, ristoranti, vasti auditori, destinati ai dipendenti delle ditte internazionali e all'organizzazione della loro attività, di fatto estraneo agli isolati circostanti (fig. 40).

In ultima analisi non è possibile per oggi e per il prossimo futuro parlare di una qualsiasi forma di diffusione del centro nella periferia di Mosca.

Nella periferia della città – dentro e fuori i limiti dei suoi confini amministrativi per una distanza di 50 chilometri – è invece in atto un processo di suburbanizzazione, costituito da edifici residenziali di pochi piani sul tipo del *cottage*. Questo processo è legato innanzi tutto al desiderio da parte di coloro che si chiamano "nuovi russi" – cioè di quelle famiglie che con successo hanno consolidato la propria posizione economica durante il cambiamento di regime – di uscire da un ambiente ecologicamente disgraziato e non privo di pericoli con un'alta densità di popolazione. Questo nuovo aggressivo strato sociale di committenti privati riesce a sottomettere al proprio volere l'architetto, promuovendo un pretenzioso *kitsch*, dovuto al basso livello culturale della nuova classe. Sullo sfondo di questi fenomeni tuttavia si sono già distinti alcuni nomi di architetti relativamente giovani, che riescono a combinare le confuse tendenze della committenza con un più alto livello di cultura professionale. Dai loro sforzi sta nascendo un originale nuovo stile della periferia moscovita, una variazione del postmodernismo che liberamente si avvale di citazioni desunte dallo "stile moderno" del secolo d'oro dell'architettura russa – il primo decennio del Novecento. In mezzo a questa pleiade di giovani si distingue Aleksej Voronzov, che con successo ha realizzato e ricostruito grandi oggetti architettonici nelle zone centrali e nello stesso tempo case argutamente grottesche per i ricchi abitanti di quei nuovi sobborghi che si stanno sviluppando in corrispondenza delle infrastrutture già presenti in alcuni villaggi suburbani e negli isolati della periferia (fig. 42). Sono in corso di realizzazione, con il sostegno economico della Municipalità e dello Stato, anche alcuni complessi di edifici di pochi piani contraddistinti da un'edilizia più modesta ma che, malgrado tutta la reticenza, si adeguano agli stereotipi utilizzati nelle ville e nelle villette. Si tratta della "Cittadella della scienza" per i dipendenti dell'Accademia Russa delle Scienze, un complesso di 1000 *cottage* nel quartiere di Butovo (fig. 43) progettato da L.Vavakin, B. Narbaev, V. Chavin. Altri gruppi di *cottage*



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sono in costruzione a Mar'ino, Ivlevo, Mostki-Zelenino. Ultima tappa di questo processo, ormai pienamente avviato, è l'approvazione del dicembre 1994 del progetto "Interbau-Mosca": un *kvartal'* nel quartiere di Krylatskoj nella periferia meridionale della città, costituito da settantasette *cottage* ciascuno dei quali verrà progettato da un membro di una brigata internazionale di progettisti, tra cui A. Achmedov, A. Van Eyck, B. Zevi, R. Inglend, V. Krasil'nikov, K. Kurokawa, I. Pokrovskij, E. Rozanov, A. Rocegov, G. Stoilov, J. Torosjan, J. Utzon. Il carattere pittoresco dell'area stessa ammette una variegazione di tipi propria di questa idea di una esposizione edifici di abitazione dal titolo "Dal Bauhaus al postmodern".
È possibile pensare che questa esposizione darà all'architettura della Russia un impulso come quello che l'esposizione del Weissenhof di Stoccarda diede all'architettura moderna.



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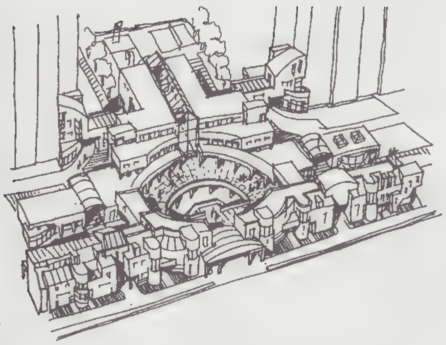


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Note

(*) Andrej Vladimirovic Ikonnikov è vice presidente e professore presso l'Accademia Internazionale di Architettura, Sezione di Mosca e Membro corrispondente dell'Accademia Russa delle Arti.
Traduzione di Maurizio Meriggi.

1) L. TROCKIJ, *Literatura i revoljuzija*, Moskva, 1923, pag. 195 (trad. it. IDEM, *Letteratura e rivoluzione*, Einaudi, Torino 1973, pag. 224).
2) Cfr. L. SABSOVIČ, *Goroda buduscego i organizacija socialisticeskogo byta (La città del futuro e l'organizzazione socialista della vita quotidiana)*, Moskva, 1929.
3) *N. KUZ'MIN, Problemy naučnoj organizacii byta (Problemi di organizzazione scientifica della vita quotidiana)*, in "S.A.", n. 3, 1930, pag.14.
4) N. LUCHMANOV, *Architektura kluba (Architettura del club)*, Moskva 1930, pag. 18.
5) Cfr. L. KOGAN, *Byt' gorozanikom (La vita quotidiana del cittadino)*, Moskva, 1990.



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La nuova periferia di Mosca:
42. A. Voroncov, "Casa per ricchi", Mosca, 1994: disegno di studio.
43. L. Vavakin, B. Narbaev, V. Chavin, Piano per il villaggio degli scienziati nel quartiere Butovo, Mosca, 1993: planimetria.
44. A. Asadov, Progetto di ristrutturazione di un complesso residenziale a pannelli pesanti dell'inizio degli anni '60 nel quartiere periferico Kon'kovo, Mosca, 1993: disegno prospettico.
45. Vista della periferia sudoccidentale di Mosca. Sul fondo, l'Accademia dell'Economia Nazionale, L'Accademia di Scienze Sociali, i Laboratori di Tecnologia di Chimica leggera; in primo piano residenze universitarie e la Chiesa di San Michele Arcangelo.
Foto M. Meriggi.
46. A. Bergel'son, G. Gavrilov, V. Kortina, M. Posochin, A. Samsonov, Quartiere residenziale sperimentale Troparevo, tra il Leninskij Prospekt e il Vernadskij Prospekt, Mosca, 1970-80: vista.

The new periphery of Moscow:
42. A. Voroncov, "House for the Rich", Moscow, 1994: design drawing.
43. L. Vavakin, B. Narbaev, V. Chavin, Plan for scientists' village in the Butovo quarter, Moscow, 1993: general plan.
44. A. Asadov, Renovation project for prefabricated panel residential complex dating from the 1960s in the Kon'kovo suburban quarter, Moscow, 1993: perspective drawing.
45. View of the south-western periphery of Moscow. In the background, the Academy of National Economy, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Chemical Light Engineering Laboratories; in the foreground, university residences and the Church of St. Michael Archangel. Photos M. Meriggi.
46. A. Bergel'son, G. Gavrilov, V. Kortina, M. Posochin, A. Samsonov, Troparevo experimental residential quarter between the Leninskij Prospekt and the Vernadskij Prospekt, Moscow, 1970-80: view.


Berlin
Havelkanal
Reinickendorf
Tegeler See
Spandau
Spree
Wedding
Pankow
Weissensee
Prenzlauerberg
Mitte
Charlottenburg
Friedrichshain
Lichtenberg
Kreuzberg
Schöneberg
Havel
Wilmersdorf
Steglitz
Tempelhof
Neukölln
Treptow
Köpenick
Gr. Wannsee
Zehlendorf
Teltow-Kanal
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Berlin
Havelkanal
Reinickendorf
Tegeler See
Spandau
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Havel
Gr. Wannsee
Zehlendorf
Charlottenburg
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Pankow
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Prenzlauerberg
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Friedrichshain
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Kreuzberg
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Problemi di sviluppo urbano nei nuovi Länder della Germania Orientale: relazioni tra lo sviluppo in periferia e quello nelle zone centrali

*Werner Rietdorf**

Nelle pagine precedenti:
Foto dal satellite della città di Berlino con la localizzazione degli interventi documentati nelle pagine successive:
1) Helge Sypereck, Città giardino Falkenhöh, Falkensee, 1991-95.
2) Charles Moore, John Ruble, Buzz Yudell, Complesso per abitazioni, servizi e biblioteca, Tegel Hafen, 1980-87.
3) Peter Eisenman, Concorso per l'area della Stazione Friedrichstrasse, 1992.
4) Charles Moore, John Ruble, Buzz Yudell, Quartiere residenziale Karow Nord, Weissensee, Karow, 1992-95.
5) Frank Dörken, Volker Heise, Complesso residenziale Joachim-Ringelnatz, Marzahn, 1993-95.
6-12) Klaus Theo Brenner, Heterotope, 1994:
6) Stadtpalais Falkenberger Chaussee;
7) Stadttor Hellersdorf; 8) Biesdorfer Boulevard; 9) Forum Marzahn;
10) Industriepark am Bahnhof;
11) Gartenstadt am Seelgraben; 12) Orangerie Hellersdorferberg.

Previous pages:
Satellite photos of Berlin showing the location of the projects illustrated in this issue:
1) Helge Sypereck, Falkenhöh garden city, Falkensee, 1991-95.
2) Charles Moore, John Ruble, Buzz Yudell, Housing, Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, 1980-87.
3) Peter Eisenman, Concourse of Banhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse, 1992.
4) Charles Moore, John Ruble, Buzz Yudell, Residential Quarter Karow Nord , Weissensee, Karow, 1992-95.
5) Frank Dörken, Volker Heise, Joachim-Ringelnatz residential complex, Marzahn, 1993-95.
6-12) Klaus Theo Brenner, Heterotope, 1994.
6) Stadtpalais Falkenberger Chaussee;
7) Stadttor Hellersdorf; 8) Biesdorfer Boulevard; 9) Forum Marzahn; 10) Industriepark am Bahnhof; 11) Gartenstadt am Seelgraben; 12) Orangerie Hellersdorferberg.

Le città, specialmente le più grandi, si trovano da sempre di fronte al problema di mantenere un equilibrio fra centro e periferia. Sviluppo all'interno e sviluppo verso l'esterno sono per così dire le due facce di una medaglia; fra queste due direttrici vi sono peraltro conflitti e contraddizioni che spesso possono risolversi solo dopo molto tempo o in seguito a mutamenti sociali di proporzioni storiche. Esamineremo ora questo problema con riferimento ai nuovi *Länder* orientali nati il 3 ottobre 1990 sul territorio dell'ex Repubblica Democratica Tedesca.

La crescita delle città

Nella storia dell'umanità non vi era mai stato fino ad oggi un aumento così rapido della popolazione mondiale. Esso è dovuto in gran parte alla crescita delle città: mentre intorno al 1800 solo il 3% circa della popolazione mondiale viveva nelle città, la percentuale è salita al 14% circa intorno al 1900, al 46% circa nel 1980 e si prevede che nel 2000 supererà il 50%. La quota di popolazione urbana in Europa, nell'America del Nord e in altre regioni altamente sviluppate raggiungerà allora addirittura l'80%[1].
Già da molto tempo la Germania presenta un grado di urbanizzazione elevato, superiore al 75%. Negli anni Sessanta e Settanta il tasso di incremento medio annuo della popolazione urbana è stato dell'1% circa nella RFT e dello 0,2% nella RDT[2]; poiché l'incremento naturale della popolazione era pressappoco lo stesso nella Germania occidentale e in quella orientale, il maggior aumento della popolazione urbana nella RFT prima del 1989 va attribuito soprattutto all'immigrazione dall'estero, in particolare dalla Turchia. Dopo la riunificazione del 1990 si è avuta anche un'intensa migrazione verso ovest dai territori dell'ex RDT (più di un milione di persone fino al 1991). Nei nuovi *Länder* orientali i profondi mutamenti nelle strutture economiche e sociali hanno portato già in pochi anni a una notevole diminuzione del tasso di natalità (da 12,6 nati per 1000 abitanti nel 1988 a 7,2 nel 1991)[3,4].
Le attuali tendenze dello sviluppo demografico si possono così riassumere[4]: negli anni che ci separano dal 2000 vi saranno un aumento della popolazione totale (soprattutto per effetto della prevista immigrazione di circa 5 milioni di persone), un aumento più che proporzionale della popolazione dei *Länder* occidentali e, specialmente in essi, un aumento della popolazione urbana. Molte città tedesche sperimenteranno così un fenomeno che solo pochi anni fa sembrava decisamente da escludersi, e cioè una crescita (almeno a medio termine) del numero di abitanti. Tra i centri focali di questo sviluppo vi saranno con molta probabilità le fiorenti grandi città e aree metropolitane della Germania sudoccidentale (Monaco, Stoccarda, Francoforte sul Meno, ecc.), ma anche la nuova capitale federale Berlino, il cui numero di abitanti dovrebbe salire dagli attuali 3,4 milioni circa a 3,7 milioni circa nel 2010[5].
La crescita delle città non è peraltro rappresentata solo

Urban development problems in the new East German Länder: relations between peripheral and central development

Werner Rietdorf*

Cities, especially larger ones, are always faced with the problem of how to maintain a balance between their centres and peripheries. Internal and outward-moving development are two sides of the same coin, and create conflicts and contradictions that often can only be resolved after much time has passed, or in the wake of social changes of historic proportions. This essay looks at these problems in the context of the new eastern Länder *that came into being on 3 October 1990 in what used to be the German Democratic Republic (GDR).*

The growth of cities

The present growth rate in world population is unprecedented in the history of mankind, and is largely due to the growth of cities. Around 1800, only about 3% of the world's population lived in cities; by around 1900 the percentage had risen to about 14%, by 1980 to about 46%, and by 2000 is expected to exceed 50%. The percentage of the population living in cities in Europe, North America and other highly developed regions may then even be as high as 80%.[1]

Germany has long been highly urbanised (in excess of 75%). In the 1960s and 1970s the average annual growth rate of population was around 1% in the German Federal Republic (GFR) and 0.2% in the GDR[2]. Since the natural population growth rate was about the same in both, we can only conclude that the higher urban population growth rate in the GFR was mainly the result of foreign immigration, especially from Turkey. After reunification in 1990 there was heavy migration westwards from the former GDR (over a million people by 1991). In the new eastern Länder, profound economic and social changes have brought about a marked drop in the birth rate in just a few years (from 12.6 births per 1000 inhabitants in 1988 to 7.2 in 1991).[3,4]

The present demographic trend seems to be[4] that in the years up to 2000 there will be an increase in total population (mainly owing to immigration estimated at around 5 million people), a more than proportional increase in the western Länder and, in them especially, an increase in urban population. Thus, many German cities will experience something that even just a few years ago seemed most unlikely, namely an increase in inhabitants (in the short term, at least). The increase will probably be concentrated in the large thriving cities and urban areas of south-west Germany (Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, etc.), but even Berlin, the new Federal capital, will not be immune, with its present population of 3.4 million forecast to rise to about 3.7 million by around 2000.[5]

Moreover, the growth of the cities is not just a matter of population growth. Even when populations decrease or remain stable, the urban and built-up areas continue to expand nonetheless. This means that even cities that are contracting demographically are expanding geographically, as examples in East Germany clearly show. Over the GDR's forty years of development, many large

1. Zona residenziale periferica di Lankow, Schwerin, realizzata in prevalenza col sistema di prefabbricazione industriale a pannelli pesanti negli anni 1959-72 per circa 20.000 abitanti, in una vista del 1977.
2. Zona periferica di Schönwalde, Greifswald, realizzata dal 1960 per circa 35.000 abitanti, in una vista del 1974.
3. Zona residenziale Hansa-Nord situata alla periferia settentrionale di Francoforte sull'Oder, in una vista fine anni '70.
4. Grande insediamento di Lütten Klein, a nordovest di Rostock, iniziato nel 1965, 10.300 alloggi per più di 30.000 abitanti, in una vista del 1976.
5. Sobborgo con edifici multipiani ai margini della città di Jena, in una vista fine anni '70. Foto L. Willmann.

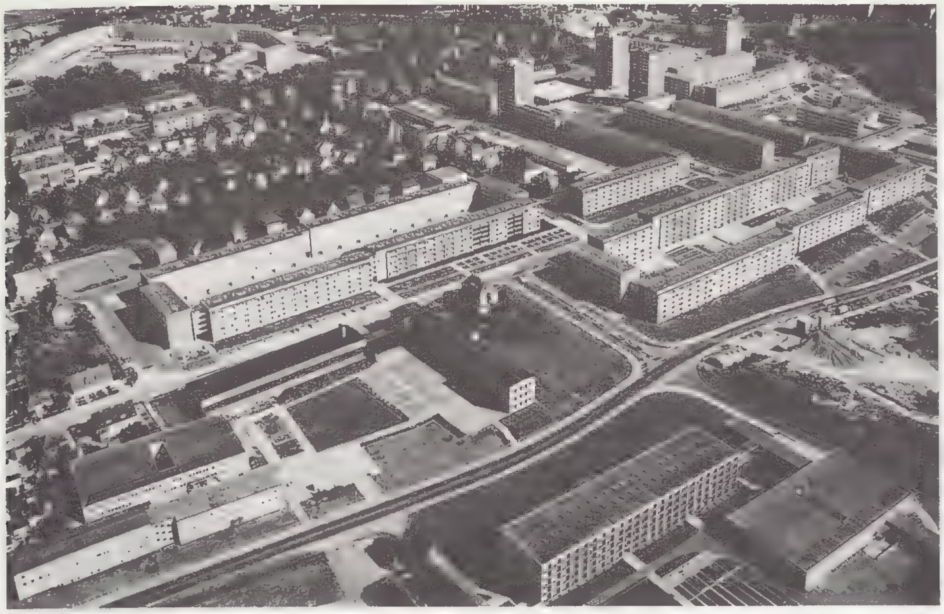


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1. Lankow peripheral residential area, Schwerin, consisting mainly of prefabricated heavy panel buildings erected between 1959 and 1972, for around 20,000 inhabitants: a view in 1977.
2. Schönwalde peripheral area, Greifswald, built from1960 for around 35,000 inhabitants: a view in 1974.
3. Hansa-Nord residential area in the southern outskirts of Frankfurt am Oder: a view in the late 1970s.
4. Lütten Klein, a large settlement north-west of Rostock built from 1965 to provide10,300 homes for more than 30,000 inhabitants: a view in 1976.
5. A suburb with multi-storey buildings on the edge of Jena: a view in the late 1970s.
Photos L. Willmann.



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dall'aumento della popolazione: anche nel caso che il numero di abitanti diminuisca o rimanga stabile si ha infatti un aumento della superficie urbana e di quella edificata. Ciò significa che anche le città soggette a una contrazione demografica si espandono, e di questo fenomeno vi sono chiari esempi proprio nella Germania orientale.
In un quarantennio di sviluppo della RDT tutto un gruppo di grandi città, pur essendo rimaste al disotto del numero di abitanti del 1939, sono cresciute notevolmente per quanto riguarda la superficie destinata all'edificazione e quella edificata. Ciò è avvenuto ad esempio a Berlino Est, Lipsia, Erfurt, Dresda, Magdeburgo e Chemnitz: nel solo periodo 1975-1990 la superficie edificabile per abitante (zone abitative e miste, zone industriali e altre zone edificabili) è aumentata a Lipsia da 84,9 a 98,9 mq/ab. e ad Erfurt da 108,4 a 127,8 mq/ab.[6].
La destinazione all'edificazione di nuove aree alla periferia delle suddette città è dipesa soprattutto dai seguenti fenomeni:
– dopo le distruzioni causate dalla seconda guerra mondiale, particolarmente gravi nelle città in questione, le vecchie zone centrali non sono state riedificate con la stessa densità, ma in modo molto più estensivo, con una maggiore percentuale di aree verdi o destinate al traffico; un ugual numero di abitanti ha richiesto quindi un'area molto più estesa, talvolta addirittura quadrupla;
– le nuove attività industriali e terziarie non si sono insediate nelle zone centrali, mescolandosi con altre funzioni urbane, ma hanno per lo più occupato con edifici bassi aree molto più estese situate alla periferia delle città;
– ulteriori vaste aree urbane sono state destinate al traffico, ad attrezzature sportive e per il tempo libero e ad altre attrezzature a servizio dell'intera città o del suo circondario.
Esempi tipici di espansione urbana periferica nella RDT degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta sono le zone residenziali di Reutershagen e Lütten Klein a Rostock, il nuovo sobborgo Halle-West/Halle-Neustadt a Halle e le nuove zone residenziali sorte a Lipsia (Leipzig-Nordost), Brandenburg-Havel, Wismar, Stralsund e Francoforte sull'Oder.

"Edificare la città all'interno"

Una prima inversione di rotta rispetto al prevalente orientamento dello sviluppo urbano verso la periferia si ebbe, in conformità della parola d'ordine "*Riorganizzazione socialista dei centri cittadini*", nella seconda metà degli anni Sessanta, quando divenne evidente che in parecchie città la struttura e la forma urbana avevano subìto notevoli cambiamenti a svantaggio delle zone centrali. Nel quadro di un programma d'investimento della durata di pochi anni (fino al 1970 circa) sorsero così al centro di alcune importanti città della RDT, di grandi e medie dimensioni, ambiziosi e talvolta smisurati complessi edilizi destinati a ospitare attività direzionali, di ricerca e sviluppo, culturali, alberghiere, commerciali e terziarie e comprendenti anche – con esplicita finalità politica – un certo numero di alloggi, che risultavano peraltro molto più costosi che in periferia. Esempi di questi interventi, attuati nelle zone centrali delle città fra il 1966 circa e i primi anni Settanta, sono i complessi Rathausstrasse/Liebknechtstrasse, Leninplatz (oggi Platz der Vereinten Nationen) e Fischerinsel a Berlino Est, la Prager Strasse a Dresda, l'Università di Lipsia, il grattacielo di Jena[7].
L'effetto "contrassegnante" (nel vero senso della parola) di questi complessi sorti nel cuore delle città non va sottovalutato; tuttavia essi non valsero ad arrestare l'edificazione estensiva in periferia, col suo consumo di aree e di risorse. Al contrario, il costo elevato degli edifici costruiti al centro provocò un ingorgo nella richiesta di alloggi, e quindi all'inizio degli anni Settanta – mentre nella Germania occidentale cominciava già a manifestarsi un declino dell'edilizia residenziale – si ebbe nella RDT un sensibile aumento della costruzione di complessi abitativi periferici, con conseguente ampliamento dell'area urbana[8].

Il programma di edilizia abitativa periferica

Nel quadro del programma statale per la costruzione di alloggi furono realizzati tra il 1971 e il 1989 a Berlino Est, nelle 14 città capoluogo di distretto e in altre importanti città industriali numerosi nuovi insediamenti di grandi o grandissime dimensioni, alcuni dei quali comprendenti un numero di alloggi ben maggiore di 25.000: Berlin-Marzahn (circa 60.000 unità abitative), Berlin-Hellersdorf (circa 42.000), Berlin-Hohenschönhausen (circa 37.000) e il complesso d'abitazione "Fritz Heckert" a Chemnitz (circa 32.000)[9].
Questa politica edilizia a una dimensione, diretta essenzialmente verso una crescita di tipo estensivo, aveva le sue radici nella pianificazione centralizzata e in un rigido sistema di condizionamenti economici e di macchinosi *kombinat* edilizi; essa creò gravi problemi di sviluppo urbanistico e di forma urbana in molte città, specialmente se di medie o piccole dimensioni. Quanto più sorgevano nuove abitazioni in periferia, tanto più veniva in genere trascurato il patrimonio edilizio esistente nelle zone centrali. In tal modo queste aree, che erano le più importanti e preziose per la struttura urbana, costituirono soprattutto negli anni Ottanta dei veri e propri "maggesi urbani", non edificabili (o edificabili solo in misura assai ridotta, e quindi con costi molto elevati) con le possibilità tecniche offerte dall'industria edilizia di allora, fondata esclusivamente sul sistema di prefabbricazione pesante a grandi pannelli. Al tempo della svolta politica del 1989 questa infelice condizione dei centri cittadini (ad esempio di Lipsia, Halle, Dresda, Schwerin, Erfurt, Halberstadt) fu appassionatamente affrontata e stigmatizzata per iniziativa degli abitanti, molti dei quali, soprattutto i più giovani, posero con decisione un'esigenza che non era possibile fingere d'ignorare: "*Salvate le nostre vecchie città!*"[10].

cities have expanded quite noticeably in actual and potential development area, even though their populations have remained below 1939 levels. This has happened, for example, in East Berlin, Leipzig, Erfurt, Dresden, Magdeburg and Chemnitz. In the just the period from 1975 to 1990, Leipzig's buildable surface per inhabitant (residential and mixed zones, industrial zones and other buildable zones) increased from 84.9 to 98.9 sq.m./inhabitant, and Erfurt's from 108.4 to 127.8.[6]
The reasons why the new peripheries of these cities have been given over to building are:
– after the destruction of the Second World War, which was especially heavy in these cities, the old central areas were not rebuilt to the same density as before, but more extensively with a higher percentage of green space, roads and parking, with the result that the same number of habitants required much more space, sometimes even four times as much;
– the new factories and service industries were sited not in central areas, where they would have blended with other urban functions, but in sprawling, low-rise buildings in the outskirts of the cities;
– other huge urban areas were given over to traffic, sports facilities, leisure pursuits and other amenities for the entire city and its hinterland.
Typical examples of peripheral expansion in the GDR in the 1950s and 1960s are the Reutershagen and Lütten Kelin residential areas in Rostock, the new Halle-West/Halle-Neustadt suburb in Halle, and the new residential areas in Leipzig (Leipzig-Nordost), Brandenburg-Havel, Wismar Stralsund and Frankfurt.

"Building the city inside"

One early reversal of the trend towards suburban development came in the mid 1960s as a response to the slogan "Socialist reorganisation of the city centres", *when it became clear that, in many cities, urban structure and form had undergone profound changes to the detriment of the central areas. A short-term investment scheme lasting a few years (until around 1970) led to the building in large and medium-sized GDR cities of certainly ambitious, and sometimes over-sized complexes for managerial offices, R & D facilities, cultural activities, hotels, shops and service industries, including (as an explicitly political move) a certain number of homes that were also much more expensive than those in the outskirts. Examples built in the central areas of cities between 1966 and the early 1970s are the Rathausstrasse/Liebknechtstrasse, Leninplatz (now Platz der Vereinten Nationen) and Fischerinsel complexes in East Berlin, the Prager Strasse in Dresden, the University of Leipzig and the Jena skyscraper.*[7]
The "distinguishing" effect (in the true sense of the word) of these city-centre complexes should not be underestimated, although they did little to halt extensive building in the outskirts, with its corresponding consumption of land and resources. Indeed, the high cost of city-centre buildings produced a bottle-neck in housing applications and, in the early 1970s, an appreciable increase in suburban housing complexes and corresponding urban growth in the GDR (unlike in the GFR, where residential building was already declining).[8]

The suburban housing scheme

From 1971 to 1989, the implementation of a government housing scheme in East Berlin, fourteen regional capitals and other important industrial cities resulted in many new housing complexes that were always large and sometimes even huge, including several that contained well over 25,000 homes: Berlin- Hellersdorf (42,000 approx.), Berlin-Hohenschönhausen (37,000 approx.) and the "Fritz Heckert" complex in Chemnitz (32,000 approx.).[9]
This one-dimensional housing policy aimed essentially at extensive rather than intensive urban growth, and was a product of centralised planning, a rigid system of economic parameters and complicated building kombinat. *procedures It created serious planning and development problems in many cities, especially the smaller ones. As more and more housing went up in the suburbs, existing buildings in the central areas were increasingly ignored. As a result, areas which were the most important and valuable in terms of urban structure became to all intents and purposes "urban fallow land", especially in the 1980s, which could not be developed (or at least, only to a very limited extent, and so at very high cost) with the technical resources of the building industry of the time, based exclusively on heavy, large-panel prefabrication. When the political situation changed in 1989, the sorry state of East Germany's historical centres (e.g. Leipzig, Halle, Dresden, Schwerin, Erfurt, Halberstadt) was passionately denounced by the inhabitants themselves, many of whom (especially the younger ones) voiced a demand that no one could pretend to ignore:* "Save our old cities!"[10].

Saving the central areas

With the Modellstädte incentive scheme[11] *of 1990, cautious urban renovation based on positive results achieved in the West, and limited at first to just a small group of especially fine historical centres, also got under way in the new eastern* Länder *Thanks to this scheme, now being implemented in eleven cities*[12]*, and an urban conservation incentive scheme involving over a hundred East German cities since 1992*[13]*, in the space of just a few years things are already looking decidedly better for the historical centres, which are beginning to have a positive effect on the image, tourist appeal and civic pride of many cities.*

Vitalising the large suburban settlements

In parallel with all this, increasingly active steps have been taken (commensurate with available funding) to renovate and redevelop the so-called Plattensiedlungen *(huge new prefabricated settlements) built in the 1970s and 1980s especially in the outskirts of large and medium-sized cities.*

Il salvataggio delle zone centrali

Col programma d'incentivazione *Modellstädte*[11], avviato nel 1990, fu intrapreso anche nei nuovi *Länder* orientali , in base alle esperienze positive compiute in quelli occidentali, un cauto rinnovo urbano, limitato in una prima fase a un piccolo gruppo di centri storici di particolare valore. Mediante questo programma, che interessa ormai 11 città[12], e mediante il programma d'incentivazione per la salvaguardia urbanistica, nel quale a partire dal 1992 sono state inserite più di 100 città della Germania orientale[13], si è ottenuto già in pochi anni un notevole mutamento d'impostazione a favore dei centri storici, che comincia a influire positivamente sull'immagine di molte città, sulla loro capacità di attrazione turistica e sull'orgoglio civico dei loro abitanti.

La vitalizzazione dei grandi insediamenti periferici

Contemporaneamente si è proceduto sempre più attivamente, nel quadro delle attuali disponibilità finanziarie, a risanare in modo graduale e a sviluppare urbanisticamente le cosiddette *Plattensiedlungen*, ossia i nuovi vasti insediamenti, realizzati col sistema di prefabbricazione pesante, sorti specialmente negli anni Settanta e Ottanta alla periferia delle grandi e medie città. Gli interventi hanno riguardato sia le migliorie materiali (impianti di riscaldamento più efficienti, migliore isolamento termico, ammodernamento delle attrezzature tecniche, ecc.), sia il miglioramento dell'ambiente abitativo (sistemazioni a verde, impianti sportivi e per il tempo libero), con inserimento di attrezzature per i servizi e per il commercio al minuto, di piccoli esercizi e di nuove forme abitative differenziate. A tale scopo viene elaborato – con l'aiuto di uno speciale *Programma di ricerca sperimentale sull'edilizia abitativa e sull'urbanistica*, fondato su una selezione di 11 progetti-tipo[14] – un insieme di conoscenze e di conclusioni generalizzabili. L'adozione nei nuovi *Länder* di questa strategia di conservazione, ammodernamento e sviluppo urbanistico dei grandi insediamenti, in cui attualmente abita più di un quarto della popolazione della Germania orientale, è dovuta al fatto che essi rimarranno ancora per molto tempo indispensabili per far fronte al problema degli alloggi. Dovranno pertanto sopravvivere più o meno a lungo anche le attuali strutture urbane: ciò implica che in molte città continuerà a esserci una periferia con costruzioni relativamente alte, con una cintura di edifici d'abitazione a 5-6 piani e spesso, specialmente nelle città più grandi, anche a 10-20 piani (come a Berlin-Marzahn, a Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, a Erfurt-Südost e altrove), e che gli allacciamenti funzionali e di traffico di questi nuovi quartieri e insediamenti potranno risultare ancora per parecchio tempo problematici.

La suburbanizzazione: fine dell'insediamento periferico nella città?

Una caratteristica di queste nuove zone residenziali

6. Vista di Berlino dalla Torre della Televisione presso Alexander Platz, in direzione est, verso gli edifici residenziali di Strausberger Platz e Karl Marx Allee, realizzati nel 1952-58, in una foto del marzo 1993. Foto S. Topuntoli.

6. View of Berlin from the Alexander Platz Television Tower looking east towards the residential buildings in Strausberger Platz and Karl Marx Allee dating from 1952-58. The picture was taken in March 1993. Photo S. Topuntoli.

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7. Vista di Berlino dalla Torre della Televisione presso Alexander Platz, in direzione sudest, lungo il fiume Sprea, in una foto del marzo 1993. In primo piano le rovine della Chiesa Francescana; sul fondo la stazione U-Bahn e un complesso residenziale fine anni '60. Foto S. Topuntoli.

7. View of Berlin from the Alexander Platz Television Tower looking south-east along the River Sprea. The picture was taken in march 1993. In the foreground, the ruins of the Franciscan Church; in the distance, the U-Bahn station and a late 1960s residential complex. Photo S. Topuntoli.

Intervention so far has brought both material improvements (better heating and insulation, more modern technical installations, etc.) and improvements to the habitat in general (green space, sports and leisure facilities), with amenities, small shops and businesses and a variety of new housing typologies. With the aid of a special Building and Urban Planning Experimental Research Project based on a selection of eleven standard projects[14], a factual survey and discussion document applicable to all contexts was drawn up. The reason why the new Länder *eventually adopted its conservation, modernisation and redevelopment policies for large settlements (in which more than quarter of East Germany's population currently lives) is that these settlements will remain an essential element in coping with the country's housing problem for a long time to come. So present urban structures will have to remain standing for the foreseeable future, meaning that many cities will continue to have relatively high-rise suburbs – 5-6 storey and often, in the larger cities, 10-20 storey dwellings (as in Berlin Marzahn, Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, Erfurt-Südost and elsewhere) – and that functional and traffic links in the new quarters and settlements will be insufficient for a long time yet.*

Suburbanisation: an end to outlying settlement in the city?

One feature of these new outlying residential settlements put up by the GDR as part of komplexe Wohnungs bau *– a clear separation of the city from adjacent unbuilt land – is often already evident in East German cities. In the current economic situation, which is fundamentally different because everything is now based on a market economy, people are looking with ever greater interest at the kind of sixties and seventies suburban settlement (*Stadtkante*) which ecologically oriented planners and landscape designers are increasingly finding advantageous. The outlying areas of the cities – especially in Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden and the other large centres – are now the most attractive for new housing, industrial or business development. Old and new companies either driven out or deterred from entering central areas by a sudden increase in rents and land prices are now increasingly settling in green areas outside the city, especially supermarkets and large shopping centres, which find that the green peripheries offer truly ideal conditions: cheap land, easy access, no "awkward" planning or design constraints and the possibility of building huge surface car parks.*

The exodus from the city begins with the big shopping centres

It is remarkable that, after just two years, so many of these new shopping centres with enormous retail areas have appeared in the suburbs of many large and medium-sized cities in the new Länder *and are now seriously threatening the operability of central areas.*

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periferiche realizzate al tempo della RDT nel quadro della cosiddetta *komplexe Wohnungsbau*, e cioè la netta separazione rispetto all'adiacente spazio paesistico non edificato, è già oggi spesso disponibile. Ciò significa che nell'attuale contesto economico, sostanzialmente diverso perché fondato ormai sull'economia di mercato, viene messo sempre più in discussione l'insediamento periferico nella città (*Stadtkante*), che si era affermato negli anni Settanta e Ottanta e che gli urbanisti e gli architetti paesaggisti ecologicamente orientati vedono oggi più come un fatto positivo che come uno svantaggio. È il territorio esterno alle città – specialmente a Berlino, Lipsia, Dresda e negli altri grandi centri urbani – a essere diventato appetibile per l'insediamento di nuove abitazioni e attività imprenditoriali.
Vecchie e nuove imprese, estromesse o tenute lontane dalle zone centrali dal repentino aumento degli affitti e del prezzo dei terreni, si vanno insediando in misura crescente fuori città, nel verde. Ciò vale soprattutto per i supermercati e per i centri commerciali di maggior estensione, che trovano qui condizioni veramente ideali: terreni a basso prezzo, facilità d'accesso, mancanza di "scomodi" vincoli urbanistici d'inserimento e di progettazione, possibilità di realizzare agevolmente immensi parcheggi in superficie.

L'esodo dalla città comincia con i grandi centri commerciali

E' un fatto assolutamente singolare che in un paio d'anni siano già sorti alla periferia di molte grandi e medie città dei nuovi *Länder* tanti di questi centri d'acquisto, che con le loro enormi superfici di vendita costituiscono una grave minaccia per la funzionalità delle zone centrali.
Prima della svolta del 1989, a causa della ristrettissima offerta di merci e di prestazioni, la disponibilità di esercizi commerciali e di servizi nei centri cittadini della Germania orientale non era assolutamente paragonabile a quella esistente nella RFT e in altri paesi dell'Europa occidentale; oggi però l'"esile pianticella" dell'armonica commistione di piccole, medie e grandi attrezzature commerciali e di servizio nei centri cittadini è già di nuovo minacciata, questa volta dai supermercati "nel verde" che nascono come funghi in periferia.
Mentre nella Germania occidentale l'80% circa dei grandi magazzini di ogni tipo sono situati nelle zone centrali delle città o dei nuovi quartieri, nella Germania orientale ciò avviene solo per il 20 %[15]. Il rapporto tra la superficie occupata dai centri commerciali estensivi situati fuori del centro cittadino e la superficie totale di vendita è solo del 22% nella Germania occidentale, mentre raggiunge il 55% nei nuovi *Länder* orientali [15], dove manca quindi un'efficiente divisione del lavoro tra le zone centrali e le zone "nel verde", ossia fra centro cittadino e territorio esterno.
I grandi magazzini *self-service* e i supermercati dell'edilizia, dell'arredamento, del giardinaggio, di apparecchi elettrici ed elettronici vanno tutti a insediarsi nel territorio esterno alle città, non solo perché qui è possibile edificare con costi notevolmente minori, ma soprattutto perché la clientela può arrivare direttamente in automobile negli immensi parcheggi riservati senza dover affrontare snervanti intasamenti del traffico.
Diamo qui alcuni esempi delle dimensioni di questi centri commerciali estensivi, già sorti o ancora in allestimento alla periferia delle grandi città o nelle aree metropolitane dei nuovi *Länder* orientali.
Nel territorio rurale adiacente a un villaggio che contava allora solo 670 abitanti, situato fra Lipsia e Halle, presso l'incrocio tra l'autostrada A9 (Berlino-Norimberga) e il tratto Lipsia-Merseburg della strada federale 181, ha avuto inizio nell'ottobre 1991 la costruzione del cosiddetto Saalepark, un complesso che prende nome dal vicino fiume Saale e che è oggi, con circa 105.000 mq di superficie di vendita e 3500 addetti, il più grande centro d'acquisto di tutta la Germania. Gli acquirenti che affluiscono (per più del 90% in automobile) dalla regione Lipsia-Halle trovano qui disponibili circa 6500 posti macchina; nelle immediate vicinanze stanno sorgendo un centro logistico, un secondo deposito di mobili e un altro supermercato dell'arredamento, mentre è in progetto la costruzione di un complesso alberghiero[16].
Nel territorio circostante Berlino – il cosiddetto Speckgürtel – sono state autorizzate negli ultimi anni nuove superfici di vendita per un totale di 435.000 mq, 282.000 dei quali già utilizzati. I maggiori complessi posti nelle immediate adiacenze della periferia berlinese sorgono sul territorio dei comuni viciniori: Waltersdorf (superficie di vendita 85.000 mq), Eiche (45.000), Dallgow (43.000), Wildau (38.000), Vogelsdorf (35.999), Drewitz (35.000), Grossmachnow (34.000) e Gosen (21.000)[17].
Gli effetti negativi di questa migrazione quasi senza ostacoli del commercio al minuto verso la periferia delle città si vanno manifestando sempre più chiaramente. I maggiori gruppi di distribuzione rinunziano a insediarsi nei grandi magazzini già progettati nei nuovi sobborghi di Berlino-Marzahn e Berlino-Hellersdorf, e anche in altre città vengono "cancellati" molti dei grandi magazzini che solo poco tempo fa erano stati previsti nelle zone centrali. Se non si riuscirà ad arrestare e ad invertire questa recente tendenza, i centri delle città e dei nuovi quartieri, già gravemente trascurati al tempo della RDT, rischieranno di "rimanere per strada" anche in futuro.

L'esodo prosegue con le abitazioni

La tendenza delle imprese commerciali e di servizio a insediarsi in periferia è peraltro solo un aspetto dell'attuale suburbanizzazione delle grandi città e delle aree metropolitane della Germania orientale. Un altro fenomeno, che a lungo termine risulterà probabilmente ancora più importante, è quello della crescente pressione del mercato delle abitazioni sulle zone extraurbane.
A differenza di quanto a accaduto nella Germania

Before the events of 1989, there were many fewer shops and services in East German city centres than in West Germany ones, or those in other European countries, mainly because the choice and supply of goods and services was so limited. But now the "delicate plant" of harmoniously blended small, medium-sized and large shopping and service facilities in city centres is once again threatened, this time by the supermarkets proliferating in the "green" peripheries.

In East Germany, only 20% of the country's large stores (of all kinds) are situated in the centres of cities or new quarters, compared with around 80% in West Germany[15]*. Also, the ratio in West Germany between the area occupied by large shopping centres outside city centres and total national retail area is only 22%, while in the new eastern* Länder[16] *it has reached 55%, meaning that there is no efficient division of labour between central and "green" areas (centre and periphery) in cities.*

The big self-service stores and supermarkets selling building materials, furniture, gardening supplies and electrical and electronic goods are all being built outside the cities, not only because building costs are so much lower, but also and mainly because customers can get to them directly by car without having to cope with traffic jams and can use their huge private car parks .

Let us look at some examples of shopping centres that have already been built, or are in the process of being built, in the outskirts of large cities or in the metropolitan areas of the new eastern Länder.

In the countryside around a village (which at the time had only 670 inhabitants) between Leipzig and Halle, near the intersection of the A9 (Berlin-Nuremberg) motorway and the Leipzig-Merseberg stretch of the 181 federal highway, work began in early October 1991 on the Saalepark *– a complex named after the nearby River Saale – which now, with a retail area of around 105,000 square metres and 3,500 employees, is Germany's largest shopping centre. Customers who go there (over 90% by car) from the Leipzig-Halle region find a car park that accommodates around 6,500 vehicles. In the immediate vicinity, a service centre, a second car park and another furniture supermarket are being built, and a hotel complex is under construction.*

In the area around Berlin – the Speckgürtel *– planning permission has been given in recent years for new retail space totalling 435,000 square metres, 282,000 square metres of which have already been taken up. The larger complexes just outside the Berlin suburbs are in neighbouring municipalities: Waltersdorf (retail area 85,000 square metres), Eiche (45,000), Dallgow (43,000), Wildau (38,000), Vogelsdorf (35,999), Drewitz, (35,000), Grossmachnow (34,000) and Gosen (21,000).*[17]

The negative effects of this virtually unhindered migration of retail outlets from the centre to the periphery are becoming increasingly evident. The larger distribution chains have decided not to use the large stores already planned for the new Berlin-Marzahn and Berlin-Hellersdorf suburbs, and in other cities too many of the large stores planned only recently for the central areas are being "cancelled". If this trend is not halted and reversed, the city centres and new districts already seriously neglected under former Democratic government will again fall by the wayside in the future.

The exodus continues with housing

The tendency of retail and service businesses to settle in the peripheries of cities is just one aspect of the suburbanisation of the large cities and metropolitan areas in East Germany. Another phenomenon, and probably one which will prove even more important in the long run, is the growing pressure exerted by the housing market in the suburbs. Unlike in West Germany, where the initial phase of suburbanisation involved a shift of housing into the areas around the large cities, followed only later by services and business[18]*, the sequence in the new eastern* Länder *has been the opposite, as we have seen, mainly because the East's basic housing situation in 1989-90 was totally different from the West's in the 1960s and 1970s.*

Before the upheavals of 1989, East Germany's metropolitan areas were still on the whole being urbanised rather than suburbanised[19] *owing to the huge hosing settlements under construction in the large and medium-sized cities, and the country's comparatively low percentage of owner-occupation*[20]*: in the 1980s only around 10% of all the new homes built annually in the GDR were owner-occupied*[21]*, compared with around 57% in the GFR in 1989*[22]*.*

Apart from Leipzig, whose population has been falling virtually uninterruptedly since 1950, all the major East German cities experienced appreciable population growth in the 1970s and 1980s, due in many cases (as in Berlin) to substantial migration that caused population to fall in smaller urban centres around the large cities. In Saxony, for example, Chemnitz and Dresden increased their populations by 3.7% and 6.4% respectively from 1971 to 1981, whereas population in the surrounding areas fell by 10-15%, tailing off to 6-8% in the period from 1981 to 1988[20]*.*

Despite the general migratory trend, early signs of suburbanisation began to appear in the areas surrounding all the large Saxon cities in the second half of the 1980s, with a significant percentage of families with parents aged 30-50 and children aged 5-15 moving out into the peripheries to built their own single-family houses[20]*.*

The new trend strengthened after 1989, with the shift from Socialist state-controlled housing to a free market increasingly based on supply and demand. For higher-income groups, an attractive home in pleasant suburban surroundings was no longer the impossible dream it had been in GDR days, when building your own house almost always involved sacrifices – incredible amounts of time wasted and a desperate search for suitable building



8

8. Localizzazione dei grandi insediamenti residenziali realizzati negli anni '50-'80 a Berlino Ovest e Est. Gli insediamenti più vasti sono sorti nel settore orientale e sono stati gradualmente ampliati a partire dai primi anni '90.

8. The siting of the large residential settlements built in East and West Berlin from the 1950s to the 1980s. The larger settlements were built in the eastern sector and have gradually been extended since the early 1990s.

occidentale, dove la prima fase della suburbanizzazione è stata caratterizzata dallo spostamento della funzione abitativa verso il territorio circostante alle grandi città, e solo in seguito si sono trasferiti i servizi e le attività imprenditoriali[18], nei nuovi *Länder* orientali si verifica, come abbiamo visto, la sequenza inversa, soprattutto perché all'Est la situazione di partenza dell'edilizia abitativa nel 1989-90 era completamente diversa da quella esistente all'Ovest negli anni Sessanta e Settanta.
Prima del rivolgimento politico del 1989 le aree metropolitane della Germania orientale si trovavano ancora sostanzialmente in una fase di urbanizzazione e non di suburbanizzazione[19], a causa della già descritta costruzione di vasti insediamenti nelle grandi e medie città e della percentuale comparativamente molto bassa di abitazioni occupate dal proprietario[20]: nella RDT degli anni Ottanta solo il 10% circa dei nuovi alloggi costruiti annualmente apparteneva a questa categoria[21], mentre nella RFT la quota relativa all'anno 1989 è stata del 57% circa[22].
Tranne che a Lipsia, dove dal 1950 in poi vi è stato un regresso demografico praticamente continuo, in tutte le grandi città della Germania orientale si è avuto negli anni Settanta e Ottanta un sensibile aumento della popolazione, dovuto in molti casi (come a Berlino) al notevole saldo migratorio positivo; a ciò ha fatto riscontro una diminuzione del numero di abitanti nei centri urbani minori situati nei dintorni delle grandi città. Ad esempio, nella Sassonia Chemnitz e Dresda hanno registrato tra il 1971 e il 1981 un aumento di popolazione del 3,7 e del 6,4% rispettivamente, mentre nelle aree circostanti si sono avute per lo più diminuzioni del 10-15 per cento, ridottesi poi al 6-8% nel periodo 1981-1988[20].
Nonostante questa tendenza generale della mobilità migratoria, nella seconda metà degli anni Ottanta si sono manifestati in tutti i circondari delle grandi città sassoni i primi accenni di suburbanizzazione del territorio: una parte delle famiglie con genitori di età fra i 30 e i 50 anni e figli di età fra i 5 e i 15 anni si sono trasferite dalla grande città in periferia, costruendovi case unifamiliari[20].
Dopo la svolta del 1989, col passaggio dal regime socialista di controllo statale degli alloggi a un mercato delle abitazioni sempre più orientato verso il gioco della domanda e dell'offerta, quei primi accenni si sono notevolmente rafforzati. Per le categorie con maggior reddito un alloggio di buon livello in periferia, in un ambiente paesisticamente qualificato, non è più un sogno irrealizzabile come lo era al tempo della RDT, quando la costruzione di una casa di proprietà implicava quasi sempre un incredibile spreco di tempo e un'affannosa ricerca di materiali da costruzione adeguati, e non tutti erano in grado di affrontare per anni un simile sacrificio.
Nei nuovi *Länder* orientali è possibile già constatare fenomeni di migrazione verso la periferia tra le classi di età più giovani (fino a 45 anni) e – in relazione allo *status* socioeconomico – tra i lavoratori autonomi, i liberi

materials – that not everyone could afford to make for years on end. In the new eastern Länder *there is already appreciable migratory drift towards the suburbs on the part of younger groups (aged up to 45) and, for socio-economic reasons, self-employed workers, free-lance professionals, company managers, civil servants, white-collar workers, teachers, etc., even without taking into account the understandable tendency, after forced residence lasting 28 years, of well-off West Berlin families to move out into the aesthetically and ecologically more attractive suburbs.*
Widespread planning, urbanisation and construction activity is now under way in many peripheral areas of the large cities. Around Leipzig alone, the Regional Plan has earmarked over 1,000 hectares for housing development, and local government plans for almost half of these areas have already been approved. If to this we add areas in satellite municipalities bordering on the city, the total development area expands to around 1,400 hectares. Assuming that migration to the Leipzig suburbs happens at the rate of 28 housing units per hectare with an average of 2.5 people per unit, it is theoretically possible that this new development will settle around 100,000 people[20].
Berlin's General Plan until 2010 provides for a maximum of 400,000 new dwellings[5], 57% resulting from refurbishment of central areas, completion of urban infill and utilisation of attic space, 28% from densification of open-build housing districts, 5% from the integration of post-war settlement and 10% (i.e. 40,000 homes) from urban expansion in the periphery. Preliminary plans and projects have already been drafted for the redevelopment of recomposed areas in the north-eastern periphery (Karow, Blankenburg, Buch) and work progresses in the south-eastern (Rudow, Altglienicke) and western (Staaken) areas. One interesting feature of new planning in these areas is an official policy designed to prevent the new suburbs from deteriorating into purely dormitory areas. The aim is that they should gradually develop into independent communities that contain workplaces, shops and cultural amenities as well as houses.
Significant new housing is also appearing outside Berlin's present administrative boundaries around Potsdam and the eight municipal districts adjacent to the capital, including the Kirchsteigfeld housing estate south of Potsdam with over 2,500 dwellings, currently East Germany's largest new housing settlement, and the residential districts of Gross-Glienicke (Sacrower Allee), Falkensee (Falkenhöh), Kelinmachnow, Malchow and Grossbeeren.
*According to 1992-93 estimates[23], more than 26,000 new dwellings will be built in the areas around Berlin by 1997, and these estimates do not take account of possible densification in the municipalities concerned, conversion and reutiisation of military zones (*Konversionsgebiete*) and the conversion of weekend and holiday-home estates into permanent residential suburbs.*

professionisti, i dirigenti e i funzionari, gli impiegati, i professori, ecc.; senza contare la comprensibile tendenza di molte famiglie agiate di Berlino Ovest a trasferirsi, dopo 28 anni di soggiorno obbligato, nelle zone circostanti la città, così attraenti sotto il profilo paesistico ed ecologico. In molti settori della periferia delle grandi città è in corso un'intensa attività di progettazione, urbanizzazione e costruzione. Nel solo distretto di Lipsia sono stati già destinati all'edilizia abitativa più di 1000 ettari, inseriti nel piano di assetto territoriale; per quasi metà di tali aree sono stati approvati i piani regolatori comunali. Se alla superficie del distretto si aggiunge quella dei comuni limitrofi, situati anch'essi nelle immediate adiacenze della città, l'area complessiva da edificare sale a circa 1400 ettari. In una potenziale migrazione da Lipsia verso il territorio circostante, con una densità di edificazione media di 28 unità abitative per ettaro e con un numero di persone per unità abitativa pari a 2,5 vi sarebbe dunque in teoria la possibilità di insediare circa 100.000 persone[20].
Nel quadro del Piano regolatore generale di Berlino fino al 2010 è prevista la costruzione di un massimo di 400.000 nuovi alloggi[5]. Il 57% di essi sono riferibili alla ristrutturazione delle zone centrali, all'edificazione dei vuoti edilizi e all'utilizzazione dei sottotetti, il 28% all'addensamento delle zone ad edilizia aperta, il 5% all'integrazione degli insediamenti realizzati nel dopoguerra e il 10% (ossia 40.000 alloggi) agli ampliamenti urbani in periferia. Sono già pronti i primi piani e progetti per l'edificazione delle zone di ricomposizione alla periferia nordorientale della città (Karow, Blankenburg, Buch), mentre si lavora alle zone sudorientali (Rudow, Altglienicke) e occidentali (Staaken). Una delle caratteristiche dell'impostazione progettuale in queste località è l'obiettivo fissato per l'area nordorientale: i nuovi sobborghi non dovranno essere degradati a insediamenti puramente abitativi, ma dovranno diventare gradualmente quartieri autonomi ("luoghi") comprendenti, oltre alle abitazioni, luoghi di lavoro e attrezzature per il commercio al minuto e per la cultura[5].
Nuovi centri d'insediamento periferici stanno sorgendo in notevole quantità anche fuori degli attuali confini di Berlino, sul territorio della città di Potsdam e nelle zone viciniori degli otto distretti adiacenti alla capitale: tra essi citiamo il centro residenziale di Kirchsteigfeld, a sud di Potsdam, che conta più di 2500 abitazioni ed è attualmente il più vasto tra i nuovi insediamenti della Germania orientale, e i centri residenziali di Gross-Glienicke (Sacrower Allee), Falkensee (Falkenhöh), Kleinmachnow, Malchow e Grossbeeren.
Secondo una stima elaborata nel 1992-93[23], fino al 1997 sono complessivamente in programma nelle zone viciniori dei distretti che circondano Berlino più di 26.000 nuovi alloggi; in questa valutazione non si è tenuto conto delle notevoli possibilità di addensamento edilizio esistenti nei comuni interessati, del cambiamento di destinazione delle zone già militari (*Konversionsgebiete*) e della

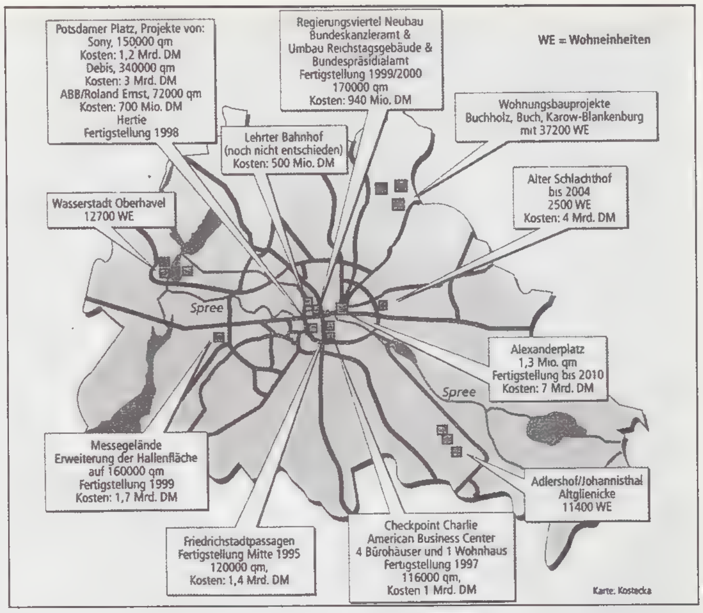
Connections and social infrastructures
As is already evident today, the allocation of ever more extensive peripheral areas for low-rise housing development (garden city, suburbs, Wohnpark*) will make two problems increasingly urgent: how to provide adequate connections and public transport for these areas, which are all relatively small, and how to give them the social infrastructures they will eventually need (infant schools, healthcare facilities, social services and old people's care). Existing amenities around the new settlements are often too far away, inadequate to need, or of a poor standard. With the development of recomposed areas based on small lots, and the kind of densification and expansion mentioned earlier, integrated planning providing adequate overall functions that can, with the cooperation of present and future inhabitants, produce excellent urban results, is becoming increasingly necessary.*

Architectural trends
*It is becoming increasingly clear that the new suburbs will offer a wide variety of architectural and landscape features. Enclosed building typologies will be preferred (terrace, linear, block, courtyard) if only because they allow available land, which is relatively costly, to be exploited to the full. This is evident in the Wasserstadt Oberhavel project in Berlin-Spandau, in other Berlin locations (Karow-Blankenburg, Altglienicke, Zehlendorf-Berliner Strasse), in Potsdam-Kirchsteigfeld and elsewhere. 3-5 storey multi-family housing (*Stadthäuser *or* Stadtvillen*), increasingly popular after the Internationale Bauaustellung in West Berlin in 19897, will become more numerous; examples are already to be found in Falkenhöh near Berlin and Taucha near Leipzig. Finally, it will be impossible – unfortunately – to avoid conglomerations of two-storey, single-family houses (with or without steeply pitched roofs) variously sited with eaves at right angles to or parallel with the street, offering ever more numerous variations on traditional or regional domestic typologies.*

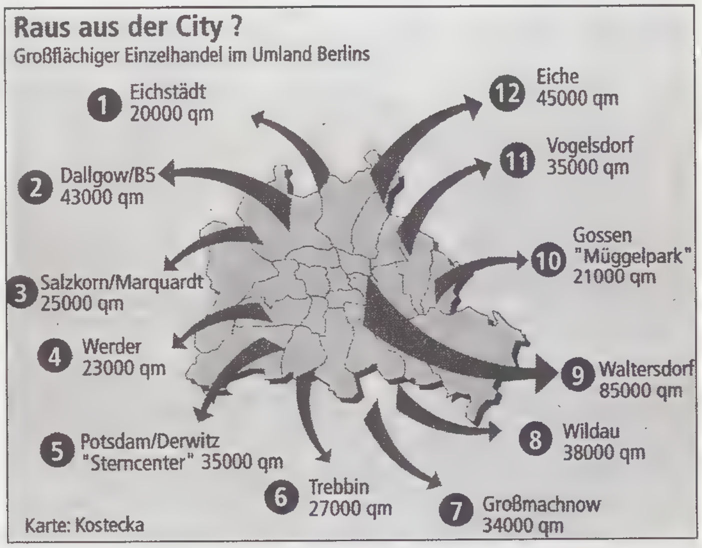
Future prospects
In the suburbs of the large cities and metropolitan areas in the new eastern Länder*, and around Berlin especially, architectural contrasts and transformations will be numerous in coming decades. To an extent, the suburbanisation that has already taken place in the western* Länder *will be repeated, but in the eastern* Länder *the process may be much faster and less controllable unless local planners and administrators succeed in imposing necessary limits – physically and in principle – on the "free play of market forces".*
In the meantime, the problems often met with nowadays in developing the inner cities (apart from Berlin) show how difficult it is in a present situation of complex and often unclear ownership, slow reconveyancing and a financially weak middle class, to make lasting improvements to East Germany city centres that have been ignored for decades. In

9. Diagramma dei grandi programmi di investimento localizzati soprattutto nelle zone centrali di Berlino, con indicati: dimensione, numero di alloggi (WE), costo in marchi, data prevista di realizzazione.
10. Diagramma delle realizzazioni di grandi centri commerciali nelle adiacenze di Berlino, con indicata la dimensione.
11. Diagramma dei grandi nuclei di edilizia residenziale a Berlino, con indicato il numero di alloggi (WE).

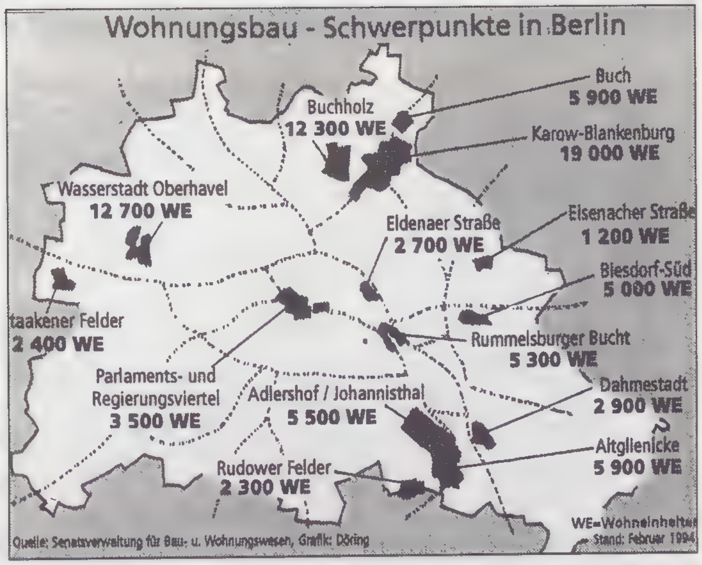
9. Diagram of large investment schemes, mainly in central Berlin, giving size, number of dwellings (WE), cost in marks and scheduled completion date.
10. Diagram of large shopping centres built around Berlin, giving size.
11. Diagram of important residential building in Berlin, giving number of dwellings (WE).



9



10



11



12



BEBAUUNG

13



FALKENSEE
FALKENHAGEN
STADTRANDSIEDL.
SPEKTE
Neustaaken
Staaken

14

Helge Sypereck (capogruppo) e altri, Città giardino Falkenhöh, Falkensee, Berlino, 1991-95.
12. Vista aerea del complesso.
Foto Luftbild Heye.
13. 14. Planivolumetria e planimetria generale.
15. Vista di un corpo in linea a sud (architetti U. Müller, T. Rhode + partners).
Foto C. Gahl.
16. 17. Vista e pianta del secondo piano dell'edificio circolare (arch. H. Sypereck).
Foto H. Sypereck.

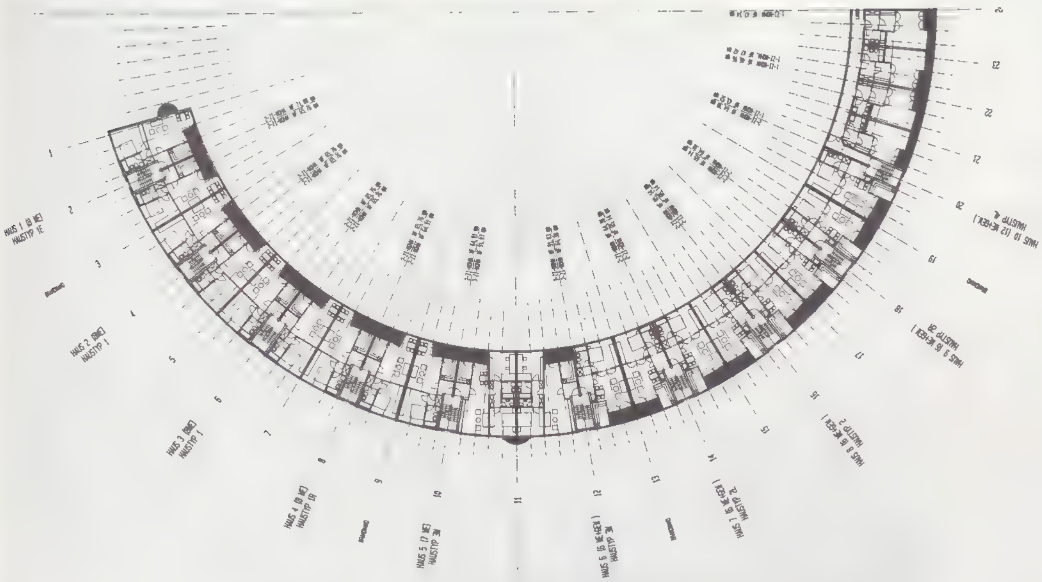
Helge Sypereck (team leader) et al., Gartenstadt Falkenhöh, Falkensee, Berlin, 1991-95.
12. Aerial view of complex.
Photo Luftbild Heye.
13. 14. Volumetric plan and general plan.
15. View of south-aligned building (architects U. Müller, T. Rhode and partners).
Photo C. Gahl.
16. 17. View and plan of second floor of the circular building (architect H. Sypereck).
Photo H. Sypereck.



15



16



17



18

F. Dörken, V. Heise, Joachim-Ringelnatz-Siedlung, Marzahn, Berlino, 1993-95.
18. 19. Fotomontaggio verso nord e planimetria generale.

F. Dörken, V. Heise, Joachim-Ringelnatz-Siedlung, Marzahn, Berlin, 1993-95.
18. 19. Photomontage looking north and general plan.



19

trasformazione in zone residenziali degli attuali insediamenti di fine settimana.

Collegamenti e infrastrutture sociali

Come già oggi si può vedere, con la crescente riserva di aree situate alla periferia delle città o nel territorio circostante, da destinare a nuovi insediamenti abitativi con edifici bassi (città giardino, sobborghi, *Wohnpark*), assumeranno una rilevanza sempre maggiore due problemi: quello di attuare un buon collegamento tra queste zone, per lo più relativamente piccole, e il sistema dei trasporti pubblici, e quello di dotarle delle necessarie infrastrutture sociali (asili infantili, scuole, attrezzature sanitarie, per l'assistenza sociale e per l'assistenza agli anziani).
Le attrezzature già esistenti nei dintorni dei nuovi insediamenti risulteranno spesso troppo distanti, di dimensioni insufficienti o qualitativamente inadeguate. Con la nascita di zone di ricomposizione a piccoli lotti e con l'avvio degli interventi di densificazione o di ampliamento sopra accennati si renderà sempre più necessaria una programmazione integrale, fondata su un'adeguata globalità di funzioni e in grado di arrivare, in stretta cooperazione con gli abitanti attuali e futuri, a soluzioni urbanisticamente ottimali.

Direttive architettoniche

Appare sempre più evidente che le caratteristiche architettoniche e paesaggistiche di questi nuovi insediamenti periferici saranno senz'altro molto differenziate. Le forme di edificazione concluse (a schiera, in linea, a blocchi, a corte) saranno preferite perché consentono se non altro la massima utilizzazione delle aree edificabili, il cui costo è relativamente elevato: lo si può vedere nel progetto della Wasserstadt Oberhavel a Berlino-Spandau, in altre località presso Berlino (Karow-Blankenburg, Altglienicke, Zehlendorf-Berliner Strasse), a Potsdam-Kirchsteigfeld e altrove. Un ruolo non trascurabile avranno le case plurifamiliari a 3-5 piani (le cosiddette *Stadthäuser* o *Stadtvillen*), che si sono diffuse specialmente dopo l'Internationale Bauaustellung del 1987 a Berlino Ovest: così ad esempio a Falkenhöh presso Berlino o a Taucha presso Lipsia. Infine, non sarà possibile – purtroppo – evitare gli agglomerati di case unifamiliari isolate a due piani, con o senza tetto a falde ripide, variamente disposte con linee di gronda ortogonali o parallele alla strada, in sempre nuove varianti che si richiamano alle più diverse forme edilizie tradizionali o regionali.

Prospettive future

Anche nei nuovi *Länder* orientali, e in particolare nell'area berlinese, la periferia delle grandi città e delle aree metropolitane sarà teatro nei prossimi decenni di molteplici contrasti e trasformazioni. Si riprodurranno in parte i fenomeni di suburbanizzazione già verificatisi nei

many cases, then, building in the suburbs, and the consequent further expansion of cities, will be an inescapable necessity – and a formidable challenge – for a long time to come in situations where population has levelled out or is even beginning to fall.
To conclude with the view expressed by Gerrit Confurius, editor of Daidalos – Architektur, Kunst, Kultur *magazine*[24]*:*
"The periphery may be seen as the unfinished part of the city and a physical expression of the need to create a different order in which there will be a place for the whole city."

Länder occidentali; ma qui essi potranno avvenire in modo molto più rapido e privo di remore se gli amministratori locali e i pianificatori non riusciranno a pilotare il "libero gioco delle forze di mercato" entro i necessari confini e in relazione alle possibilità di principio.
Nel frattempo, le difficoltà che spesso oggi s'incontrano nello sviluppare all'interno le città (fatta eccezione per Berlino) dimostrano quanto sia faticoso nell'attuale situazione – caratterizzata da rapporti di proprietà complessi e spesso poco chiari, da procedure di retrocessione lente e da un ceto medio finanziariamente piuttosto debole – valorizzare in modo irreversibile le zone centrali, trascurate per decenni, delle città della Germania orientale. In molti casi, quindi, l'edificazione nelle aree extraurbane e la conseguente ulteriore espansione delle città costituiranno ancora per lungo tempo una necessità ineludibile e una sfida impegnativa, talvolta anche in presenza di un ristagno o addirittura di un regresso demografico.
Concludiamo con una frase di Gerrit Confurius, direttore della rivista "Daidalos-Architektur, Kunst, Kultur"[24]: "*La periferia può essere vista come la parte incompiuta della città e come l'espressione concreta dell'esigenza di creare un ordine diverso, in cui tutta la città trovi posto*".

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Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

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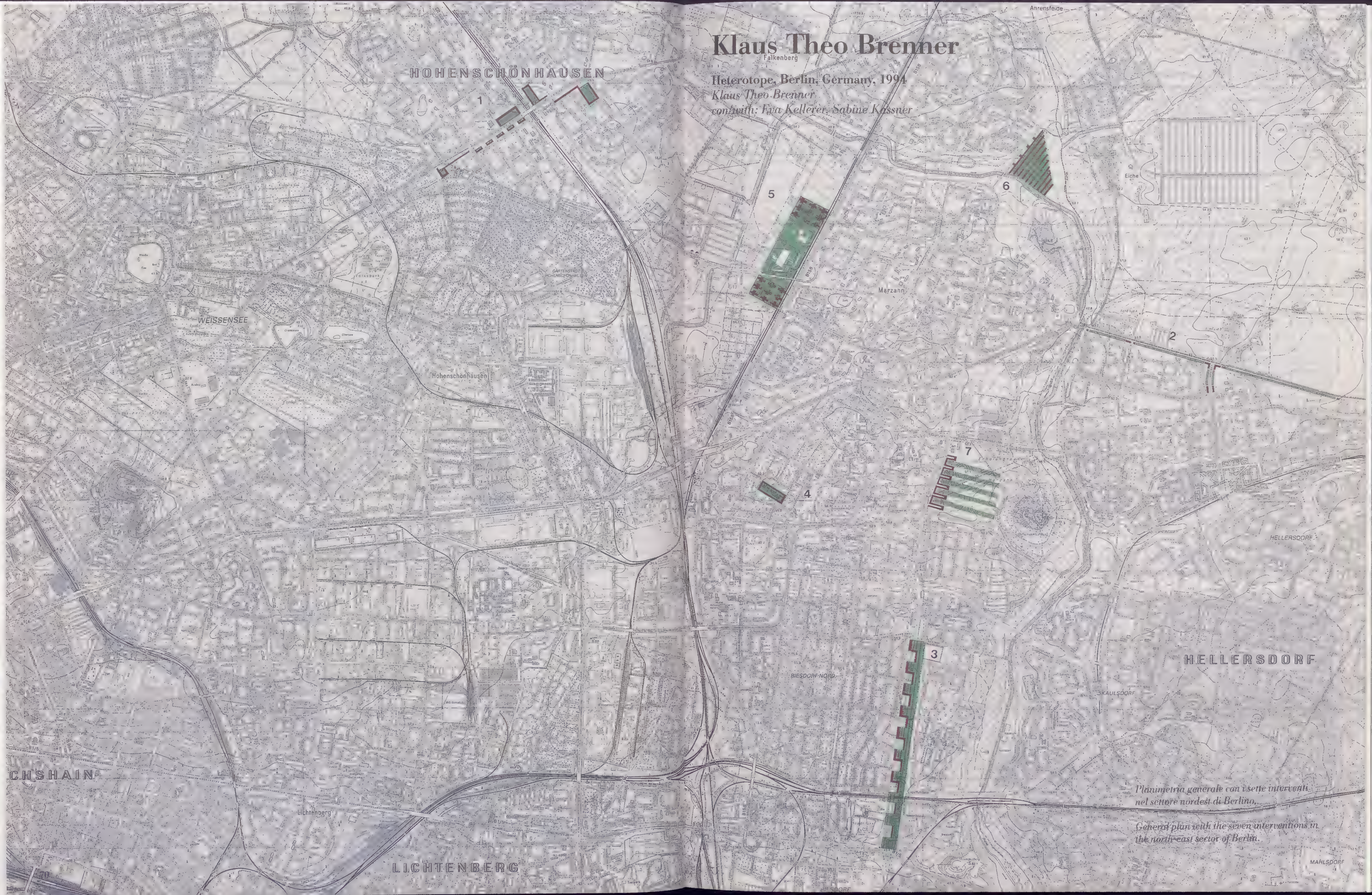
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Klaus Theo Brenner

Heterotope, Berlin, Germany, 1994
Klaus Theo Brenner
con/with: Eva Kellerer, Sabine Kassner

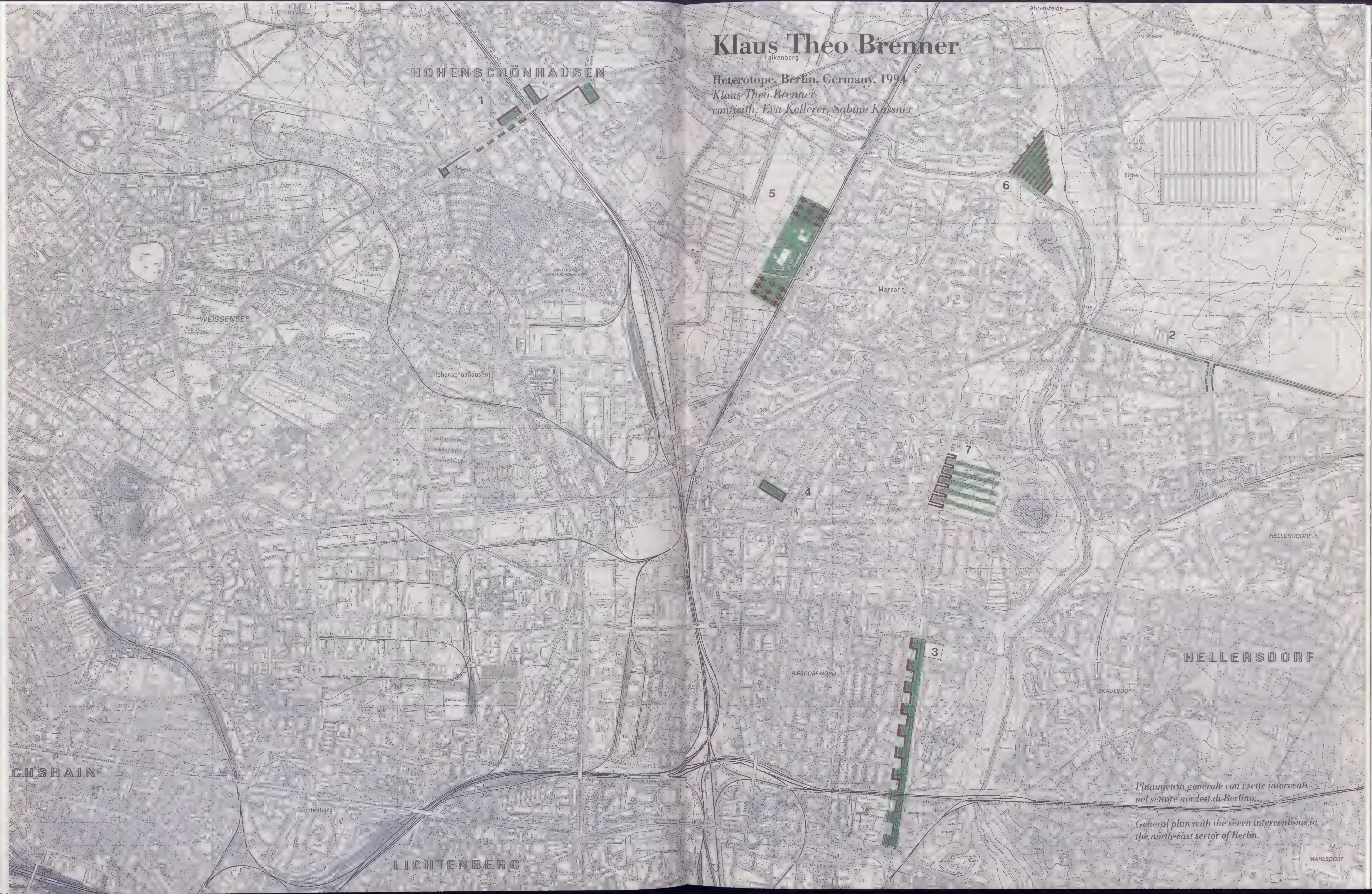


Planimetria generale con i sette interventi nel settore nordest di Berlino.

General plan with the seven interventions in the north-east sector of Berlin.

Klaus Theo Brenner

Heterotope, Berlin, Germany, 1994
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Planimetria generale con i sette interventi nel settore nordest di Berlino.

General plan with the seven interventions in the north-east sector of Berlin.

Eterotopi

Klaus Theo Brenner

La desolazione è la prima sensazione che ci assale percorrendo in automobile le vaste periferie delle grandi città; poi c'è la rabbia davanti allo spreco immane: la perdita di paesaggio e di spazio urbano. Quello stesso spazio che, ridefinito, potrebbe riacquistare *identità*, tramutarsi nella città di ciascuno di noi. Saremmo portati a ritenere che per la perdita di paesaggio debba essere corrisposto un giusto prezzo in termini di spazio urbano civilizzato, la cui forma assecondi la nostra rappresentazione di città. Mentre tendenze positiviste nell'ambito dell'architettura contemporanea si dimostrano disposte ad accettare il disfacimento degli spazi urbani in una sorta di frenesia del cambiamento. Ma anche l'estetizzazione del caos, la sua eccessiva esaltazione artistica devono affrontare la ricerca di figure spaziali identificabili.

L'opinione di molti intellettuali – per lo più cittadini, secondo la migliore tradizione borghese, oppure moderni cosmopoliti con appartamenti nelle migliori zone centrali di Roma o di Londra – è che la periferia delle nostre capitali sia più che altro fenomeno esotico, scommessa artistica astratta.

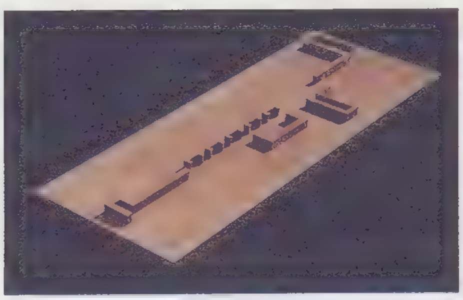
L'aspirazione architettonica si riduce, nel caso migliore, a decorati templi del consumo, circondati da distese di parcheggi e reticoli autostradali. Il resto è agglomerato funzionale, disfacimento, assenza di orientamento.

Ma il vero argomento sono le periferie esistenti delle grandi città, che già occupano una superficie più ampia del nucleo storico: le città-dormitorio, il tessuto industriale, l'intermezzo di campi incolti e di distributori di benzina come "coronamento della città e punti di luce perenne". Si potrebbe considerare la cosa in altri termini (e giustificarla): il grazioso appartamento con vista ampia, il parcheggio davanti a casa, il comodo supermercato e soprattutto l'assoluta assenza di condizionamenti. Sono queste le argomentazioni addotte per salvare la dignità della propria vita di cittadino, oppure perché ci si è realmente abituati. Perché, invece, non viene reclamato il diritto alla vita cittadina, che preveda le necessità funzionali del singolo e della quotidianità? Dov'è finito il sogno di uno spazio pubblico, che ha formato secoli di storia urbana europea e l'immagine architettonica delle nostre città? Perché non si crea un dibattito architettonico sulle periferie prima che sia troppo tardi, prima che – anche a Berlino – esse si trasformino in *slums*, con l'unico elemento aggregante fatto della necessità di occupare lo spazio esistente? Molti architetti trovano interessanti le condizioni suburbane per il fatto che questi conglomerati sono soprattutto frammenti di uno spazio virtuale nella realtà, in cui i fasci nervosi della vita quotidiana non scorrono nei luoghi architettonici, ma nei programmi di *computer*, nei televisori, nelle autostrade. Dietro la generale accettazione della periferia così com'è, si nasconde ancora oggi, per molti intellettuali, la bandiera di un'era moderna incatenata al progresso tecnologico: non esiste spirito del tempo a cui non ci si possa adeguare. Le Corbusier pensava che, essendo stata inventata l'automobile, si dovesse demolire Parigi e costruire edifici nel mezzo di una sorta di autodromo di Monza. Gli inventori della "piastra" come meccanismo regolatore dell'urbanistica vedevano la città e i suoi edifici unicamente nell'ottica di un problema produttivo, comparabile agli pneumatici, agli spazzolini da denti, ai frigoriferi.

Nel 1954 nella DDR la situazione era ancora differente. Nello scritto *Il complesso abitativo* della Deutsche Bauakademie, nell'ultimo capitolo dedicato alla "forma artistico-urbanistica", veniva auspicato in maniera esplicita: "*La pianificazione del complesso abitativo non può prescindere dalla sua forma artistica*". Proprio questa configurazione artistica veniva intesa come elemento di distinzione, poiché "*l'assoluta assenza di regole e casualità di agglomerazione sono elementi caratterizzanti l'ordinamento sociale proprio del capitalismo*". Oggi, purtroppo, anche nei grandi insediamenti di Berlino Est, centinaia di migliaia di persone vivono circondate dall'assoluta mancanza di regole, per non menzionare le qualità artistico-urbanistiche.

Ci troviamo a dover affrontare sia un concreto risanamento, sia la zavorra ideologica dell'urbanistica positivista. Ma a questo punto che cosa succede? Spunta una nuova parola magica: *sprawl*, la periferia è *sprawl*. Siamo circondati dallo *sprawl*, siamo affascinati dallo *sprawl*, facciamo dello *sprawl*. Sono in molti a lasciarsi ancora sedurre dai concetti anziché vedere la realtà ed esporsi a essa, e contrapporre l'idea di vita umana e urbana, che per tutti noi, non soltanto per gli architetti, si ricollega ancora ai concetti tradizionali di *spazio*, *misura* e *forma*.

Anche nelle periferie delle grandi città devono esserci luoghi architettonici che si differenzino dai dintorni, siano articolati in maniera sensata ed evidente, permettano di riunire le varie funzioni e, in quanto luoghi pubblici, pervadano il tessuto frammentario della periferia. Gli *eterotopi* sono questi luoghi che si oppongono al disfacimento: che creano oasi di tranquillità, punti di riferimento e di orientamento; architettura nel senso classico – ordinata, in scala, monumentale e costruita attorno a un *tema spaziale*. Che restituisce *identità*, sia verso l'interno sia verso l'esterno. Questi eterotopi dovrebbero essere impiantati nel cuore della periferia odierna: *agopuntura architettonica*. Essi non rappresentano il "mondo perfetto", quell'immagine *kitsch* che compare nei sogni sentimentali dell'era postmoderna, e la periferia attorno non figura come un uomo in mutande accanto a un altro in frac e cilindro. Gli eterotopi non affermano

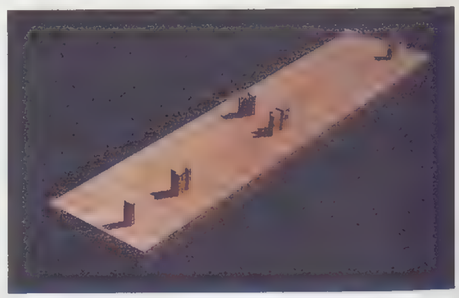


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Heterotope 1, Stadtpalais Falkenberger Chaussee.
Vista del modello e prospettiva.

Heterotope 1, Stadtpalais Falkenberger Chaussee.
View of model and perspective.





2

Heterotope 2, Stadttor Hellersdorf.
Vista del modello e prospettiva.

Heterotope 2, Stadttor Hellersdorf.
View of model and perspective.

un ordine armonico e completo coinvolgendo i dintorni. Essi incarnano i principi classici dell'ordine architettonico rimanendo confinati entro la propria estensione (la *strategia dei campi limitati*). Rappresentano una moderna progettazione che rifiuta qualsiasi sentimentalismo storicizzante; interpretano esigenze funzionali concrete e attuali nell'ambito dell'oggetto urbanistico, il quale, collocato nell'ambiente reale, fornisce una chiara rappresentazione di spazio architettonico. I difetti nell'immagine della città, attraverso gli eterotopi non vengono esaltati, vengono dichiarati principio estetico. La strategia di urbanizzazione degli eterotopi viene sviluppata qui sotto forma di modello. Nella cosiddetta periferia, con la sua eclatante mancanza di cultura urbanistica, la verifica e l'impiego di questa strategia appare, com'è naturale, particolarmente evidente. Gli eterotopi rappresentano strategicamente un grande ostacolo alla continua costruzione di grandi insediamenti con l'accumularsi insensato di nuovi edifici. Ma, in molti altri settori della città, gli eterotopi sarebbero un valido motivo di riflessione; inoltre il senso di questa strategia è di riequilibrare centro e periferia attraverso segnali visibili di un'esigenza urbanistico-architettonica, che possono manifestarsi in linea di principio in qualsiasi parte del tessuto urbanistico.

Il caso dei grandi insediamenti residenziali: Hohenschönhausen, Marzahn, Hellersdorf a Berlino

Questa zona nel settore nord di Berlino, costruita con la tecnica dell'edilizia industrializzata, abitata da oltre 200.000 persone, si presenta oggi come un agglomerato di edifici collocato in un grande spazio aperto privo di un ordine spaziale percettibile. Un tale ordine sarebbe già potuto scaturire in rapporto agli elementi caratteristici della zona (la S-Bahn, il paesaggio del Wuhletal oppure le arterie di circolazione). In nessun modo invece si è reagito al contesto e ai suoi elementi strutturali primari. La struttura dell'insediamento è sorda proprio in relazione ai suoi margini e alle arterie di scorrimento; non lascia intravedere traccia di ordine architettonico. Una tale eclatante mancanza di pregnanza urbanistica e di forma dello spazio pubblico, la sensazione, nonostante l'imponente massa del costruito, di perdersi nello spazio, relegano questo settore, in rapporto alla città totale, alla condizione di periferia, con tutte le caratteristiche negative che si accompagnano a questo concetto.

Dovremmo soltanto ricordare quei settori di Berlino che possiedono questa pregnanza: il distretto di Wilmersdorf verso il Grunewald, la città giardino di Frohnau che si estende in maniera organica dalla S-Bahn alla Berliner Forst; la Friedrichstadt meridionale con il collegamento assiale attraverso la Belle Alliance Platz fino al Landwehrkanal, l'agglomerato a ferro di cavallo di Bruno Taut con l'elemento centrale della piazza, la Siemensstadt con il collegamento tra città industriale e città residenziale. Sicuramente questi settori urbani mostrano caratteristiche che non possono essere comparabili a quelle dell'area nordorientale. Ma non importa, poiché l'urbanistica è anche trasporto di immagini e proiezione di rappresentazioni e desideri su una realtà ritenuta insoddisfacente.

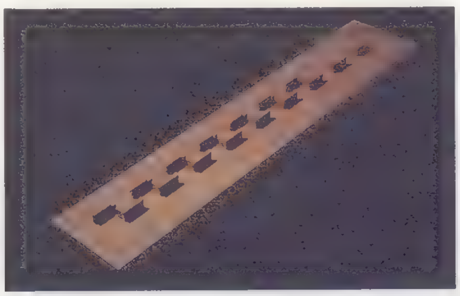
La totale assenza di pregnanza urbanistico-spaziale da un lato, la forte caratterizzazione strutturale degli elementi spaziali vivibili dall'altro, rafforzano certamente la determinazione dell'aspetto complessivo dei singoli settori rispetto all'intero corpo urbano, e la loro forza di attrazione per la nostra immaginazione. Quando, in rapporto alla periferia nordorientale di Berlino, si parla di eterotopi, lo scopo è sempre quello di creare identità attraverso la pregnanza architettonica, sia all'interno del settore urbano, sia oltre i suoi confini.

La struttura interna dei grandi insediamenti sopra menzionati è suddivisa tra le parti e il tutto secondo punti di vista funzionali, senza drammaturgia spaziale, in modo che sorgano mondi interni (tra l'appartamento e l'edificio) all'apparenza autarchici, la cui esistenza è legittimata solamente dalla soddisfazione di esigenze abitative. Il risultato sono mondi interni paralleli in un insieme labirintico, a cui, oltre tutto, fa difetto una caratteristica essenziale propria del labirinto: lo spazio limitato, raccolto, misterioso. All'assenza di condizionamenti del grande insediamento rispetto all'esterno, corrisponde l'assenza di condizionamenti all'interno dello stesso, che oggi spinge l'uomo, essendo venuti meno anche i vincoli relativi all'organizzazione sociale, verso l'estrema identificazione con la propria situazione abitativa – il rinchiudersi nel privato. Per il momento i residenti sembrano soddisfatti di questo.

La valutazione dall'esterno appare del tutto differente. Da una posizione di osservazione esterna permane l'impressione di confusione e di vuoto; di spazio sciupato, di settore urbano senza caratterizzazione e dimensione pubblica. La mia opinione è che l'urbanizzazione della periferia e il miglioramento della qualità della vita in questi settori urbani possano essere attuati essenzialmente in due modi tra loro complementari:

1. *Migliorie nella struttura esistente.* Gli immediati dintorni dell'insediamento, gli edifici stessi, le parti comuni, i cortili, i collegamenti tra gli isolati devono essere migliorati. Questi provvedimenti sono stati messi in opera attraverso molteplici attività e concordati di volta in volta con i residenti. Non provocano fratture strutturali; possono essere considerate operazioni di restauro.
2. *Eterotopi.* Nei punti strategici devono essere creati luoghi di grande significato, soprattutto ai margini e nelle fratture dell'insediamento,





3

Heterotope 3, Biesdorfer Boulevard. Vista del modello e prospettiva.

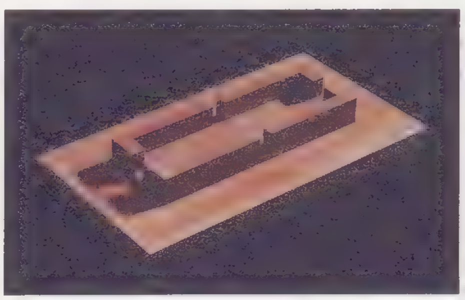
Heterotope 3, Biesdorfer Boulevard. View of model and perspective.



luoghi che risaltino nella coscienza dell'opinione pubblica urbana, che illuminino lo spazio circostante. Devono restituire identità e contrastare con ciò che li circonda. Con questa differenziazione e questo senso architettonico devono restituire una *forma*, innescare la trasformazione da *agglomerato* a *città*. Questi "*altri luoghi*" o eterotopi possono così diventare l'elemento base della strategia di risanamento.
Sono questi i due aspetti essenziali della strategia globale: la componente pragmatica (miglioramento delle strutture esistenti esterne e interne) e la componente idealistica: l'impianto di elementi architettonici primari come fattori di identificazione. In questo modo si potrà evitare che i grandi conglomerati, così come si presentano oggi, vengano sopraffatti da una fiumana di regole di urbanizzazione che prendono spunto da una concezione di "totalità perfetta" nel senso di un modello urbano con ambizioni di universalità, in realtà mai programmato né auspicabile. Al contrario si tratterebbe di preservare l'integrità di questi settori urbani, di portarne a dispiegamento le qualità migliorandone il patrimonio edilizio esistente e operando con precisione essenziali modifiche e aggiunte urbanistico-architettoniche.
Un reale miglioramento delle condizioni di vita della popolazione residente e una maggiore forza di attrazione di questi settori urbani grazie al miglioramento estetico e al ruolo acquisito rispetto all'intera città potrebbero essere il risultato di questa operazione di risanamento. Ciascun eterotopo realizzato sarebbe la prova tangibile che il dibattito sui temi dell'architettura e dell'urbanistica non si svolge soltanto nel centro città o nel quartiere del potere, ma anche qui. Il settore dei grandi insediamenti potrebbe acquisire il valore di luogo sperimentale, in contrasto con gli altri ambiti del rinnovamento urbanistico a Berlino.

Heterotopes
Klaus Theo Brenner

The thing that depresses me first when I drive through the broad peripheries of cities is a feeling of desolation, followed by anger at the tremendous loss of space. The loss of countryside and of urban space; urban space which can become home through its compactness and its shape which creates identity. Our expectations are, after all, still such that we expect loss of countryside to be recompensed in the form of a cultured cityscape that will underpin our representation of the city. And yet positivistic tendencies in contemporary architecture aim at its self-disintegration in a frenzy of change. But even those who would create aesthetic value out of chaos by glorifying excessively its artistic merits, still have to design recognisable spatial markers for cities. The view of many intellectuals – who, in the best bourgeois tradition, are also citizens, or modern cosmopolitans with apartments in the smartest downtown areas of Rome or London – is that the peripheries of our capital cities are, more than anything, instances of the exotic, abstract artistic wagers. In the end, architecture degenerates into decorated temples of consumption, surrounded by giant carpets of parked cars and spaghetti junctions. Everything else is functional conglomeration, disintegration, lack of orientation.
I am talking about the existing peripheries of the large cities which constitute an area many times greater than the historical core of the city: the dormitory towns, the ugly industrial complexes, the wasteland in between and filling stations as the "crowning glory" or "Sanctuary lamp". I am aware that all this can be seen (and justified) from the inside: the practical apartment and the superb view, the parking space just outside the door, the handy supermarket and, above all, total lack of responsibility are cited to salvage respect for one's own existence or because such things have simply become part of life. But why don't people insist on the right to a real life in the city which provides for the functional needs of individual people and ordinary existence? What has happened to the dream of public space that has shaped centuries of urban history in Europe and the architectural image of our cities? Why won't people start talking about the peripheries now, before it's too late, before (as may happen in Berlin) everything becomes a slum whose only integrating feature is the need to occupy existing space? Many architects find these peripheral conditions exciting because these conglomerations are anyway only fragments of what in reality is virtual, in which the nerve fibres of daily life no longer run through architectonic places but through computer programs, TV sets and motorways. For many intellectuals, the notion of a modern architecture still bound up with technological progress is behind the general acceptance of the periphery as it is. No Zeitgeist is so awful that people can't get used to it for the sake of belonging to the artistic avant-garde. At the time, Le Corbusier expressed the opinion that the invention of the automobile was reason enough to flatten Paris and build houses which looked as if they had been put up in the middle of the Monza autodrome. The inventors of the "slab" as the mechanism which regulates town planning, saw the city and its houses as no more than a production problem, comparable with car tyres, tooth-brushes or refrigerators.
In the German Democratic Republic of 1954 the situation was different again. In the final chapter on "artistic and planning form" in The Housing Complex *by the Deutsche Bauakademie, the hope was expressed that* "artistic form should not be forgotten in planning the housing complex ". *The artistic dimension was regarded as a feature of*

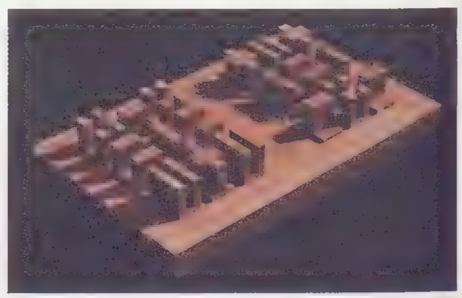


4

Heterotope 4, Forum Marzahn.
Vista del modello e prospettiva.

Heterotope 4, Forum Marzahn.
View of model and perspective.





5

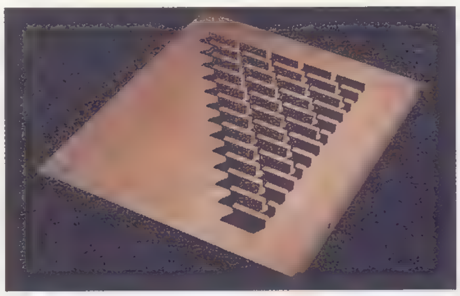
Heterotope 5, Industriepark am Bahnhof.
Vista del modello e prospettiva.

Heterotope 5, Industriepark am Bahnhof.
View of model and perspective.

distinction because "a total absence of rules and causality in conglomerations are typical features of the capitalist social order". *Today, unfortunately, even in East Berlin's enormous housing settlements, hundreds of thousands of people live with a total absence of rules, not to mention artistic forms and planning principles. We should be giving serious consideration to this both as a concrete case of urban renewal and as ideological ballast for positivistic town planning. A new magic word emerges:* sprawl. *The periphery is* sprawl. *We are surrounded by sprawl, we love sprawl, we are fascinated by sprawl, we create sprawl. Once again, many have let concepts take over instead of looking at reality, exposing themselves to it, countering this reality with the idea of a humane urban environment; which for all of us, not just for us architects, has something to do with traditional concepts of* space, scale *and* form.
Even the peripheries of our large cities should contain architectonic places which differ from their surroundings, places which are structured meaningfully and intelligibly, which allow intricate mixtures of functions and which as public places penetrate the crumbling fabric of the periphery. Heterotopes *are just such places which resist disintegration, creating points of tranquillity, reference and orientation. They are architecture in the classical sense – well-ordered, proportioned, monumental and built around a* spatial theme. *They restore* identity, *both in and outside the periphery. These heterotopes should be implanted in the middle of the present-day periphery, as* architectonic acupuncture. *They do not represent a kind of perfect world, that kitsch image found in the sentimental dreams of postmodernism, alongside which the periphery seems like a man in underpants next to one wearing a top hat and tails. Heterotopes do not lay claim to harmonious or perfect order, which they superimpose on their surroundings. They stand for what are actually classical principles of architectonic order, but they remain strictly limited in their expansion (*strategy of limited fields*). They constitute modern projects that reject any kind of historicising sentimentality. They interpret the concrete functional requirements of real existence in terms of the planning object which, since it is located in the real environment, supplies a clear representation of architectonic space. Defects of cityscape are not glorified, but converted into an aesthetic principle.*
The urbanisation strategy of heterotopes is developed here in the form of a model. In the so-called periphery, with its striking lack of planning principle, the validation and utilisation of this strategy is particularly evident – it could hardly be otherwise. Strategically, heterotopes place a significant obstacle in the way of those who would go on building enormous housing settlements and senselessly accumulating new buildings, though they would provide valid food for thought in many other areas of the city also. Moreover, the aim of the strategy is to restore balance between the centre and the periphery through visible indications of an architectural and planning need that could, in principle, manifest itself anywhere in the urban fabric.

Large-scale housing settlements: Model, Hohenschönhausen, Marzahn and Hellersdorf
This area in the northern sector of Berlin was built to provide prefabricated housing for over 200,000 people. Today it is a conglomeration of buildings in a large open space that lacks any discernible order. This order could already have been created through reference to the typical features of the site (the S-Bahn, the Wuhletal landscape, the major roads) but the architecture in fact makes no response whatever to the context and its primary structural features. The structure of the settlement turns its back on the surrounding roads and landscape: there is no trace of architectonic order. Such a striking lack of resonance and form, and the persistent feeling, despite the huge mass of the buildings, of being lost in space, relegate this sector to the status of a periphery in the city as a whole, with all the negative features that this concept entails. To realise what this means, you need only think of those sectors of Berlin that do *have this resonance: the Wilmersdort district towards Grunewald, the garden city of Frohnau extending organically from the S-Bahn to the Berliner Forst; southern Friedrichstadt with a connecting axis running across Belle Alliance Platz to the Landwerhrkanal; Bruno Taut's horse-shoe complex with the central square; Siemensstadt linking the industrial city to the residential city. Certainly, these sectors have features that compare with nothing in the north-eastern area. But it doesn't matter, because urban planning also means transporting images and projecting representations and desires on a reality considered unsatisfactory. A total lack of urban and spatial resonance on the one hand, and the powerful structural identity of the inhabitable spaces on the other, certainly render distinctive the identities of individual sectors within the general urban mass, and make them even more powerful magnets for the imagination. When I speak of heterotopes for the north-eastern periphery of Berlin, my aim is to create identity through architectonic resonance both in and outside the urban sector.*
In the internal structure of the large housing settlements I mentioned earlier, parts relate to the whole in functional terms only, creating internal worlds (between apartment and building) that seem autarchic but in reality are legitimated only by the need to live somewhere rather than nowhere. The result is a set of parallel internal worlds within a labyrinth that has the defect of all labyrinths: limited, hushed, mysterious space. The lack of any relationship with the exterior is matched by a lack of





6

Heterotope 6, Gartenstadt am Seelgraben. Vista del modello e prospettiva.

Heterotope 6, Gartenstadt am Seelgraben. View of model and perspective.

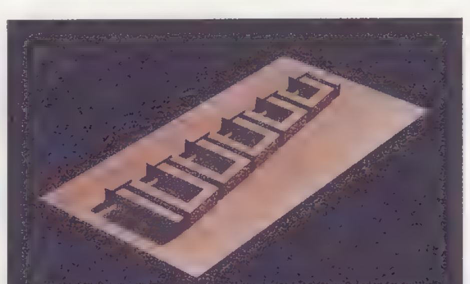


interior relationships which, with social bonding weaker than it used to be, now forces people to identify totally with habitat, i.e. retreat into their private worlds. The residents seem happy with this for the time being.
From the outside things look very different indeed. The prevailing impression is of chaos and emptiness: wasted space, and an urban sector with no recognisable identity or public dimension.
I think that the urbanisation of the periphery and improvements to living standards in these urban sectors can be achieved in two principal ways:
1. Improvements to existing structure. *The immediate surroundings, the buildings themselves, the communal areas, the courtyards and the links between blocks must all be improved. A start has been made with a wide variety of modifications, each one approved by the residents. No structural ruptures have been caused: the interventions can be seen as a form of restoration.*
2. Heterotopes. *Meaningful places have to be created at strategic points, especially along the edges of and at fracture points within the structures of the settlements. These places will attract public notice and irradiate their surrounding space. Their purpose is to restore identity and provide contrast with what lies around them. Through differentiation and the creation of architectonic meaning, they will* restore form *and* trigger off the conversion from conglomeration to city. *These* "other places", *or heterotopes, may thus lay the basis for general recovery.*
To me these seem two essential aspects of an overall strategy: a pragmatic component (improvement of existing internal and external structures) and an intellectual component (primary architectural features as a way to establish identity). This will avoid in future what happens today, namely that large conglomerations such as these are overwhelmed by a flood of planning legislation based on a concept of the "perfect whole", an urban model with pretensions to universality that has never actually been programmed and is in any case undesirable.
On the contrary, the aim here is to preserve the integrity of these urban sectors, to bring out their best features by improving their existing buildings and carefully making essential architectural and planning additions and modifications.
The result of this kind of redevelopment may be real improvements in living standards and greater attractiveness and attraction thanks to aesthetic improvements and an enhanced role in the city as a whole. Every heterotope we build will be tangible proof that architectural and urban planning themes are being debated not only in the centre of the city and the districts where the rich and powerful live, but also here in the periphery. This sector of large housing settlements may offer a valuable opportunity to experiment and create a complementary contrast to other sectors involved in the redevelopment of Berlin.



Tavola collage "Berlin, die Stadt der Heterotope".

Collage panel "Berlin, die Stadt der Heterotope".





7

Heterotope 7, Orangerie Hellersdorfer Berg. Vista del modello e prospettiva.

Heterotope 7, Orangerie Hellersdorfer Berg. View of model and perspective.

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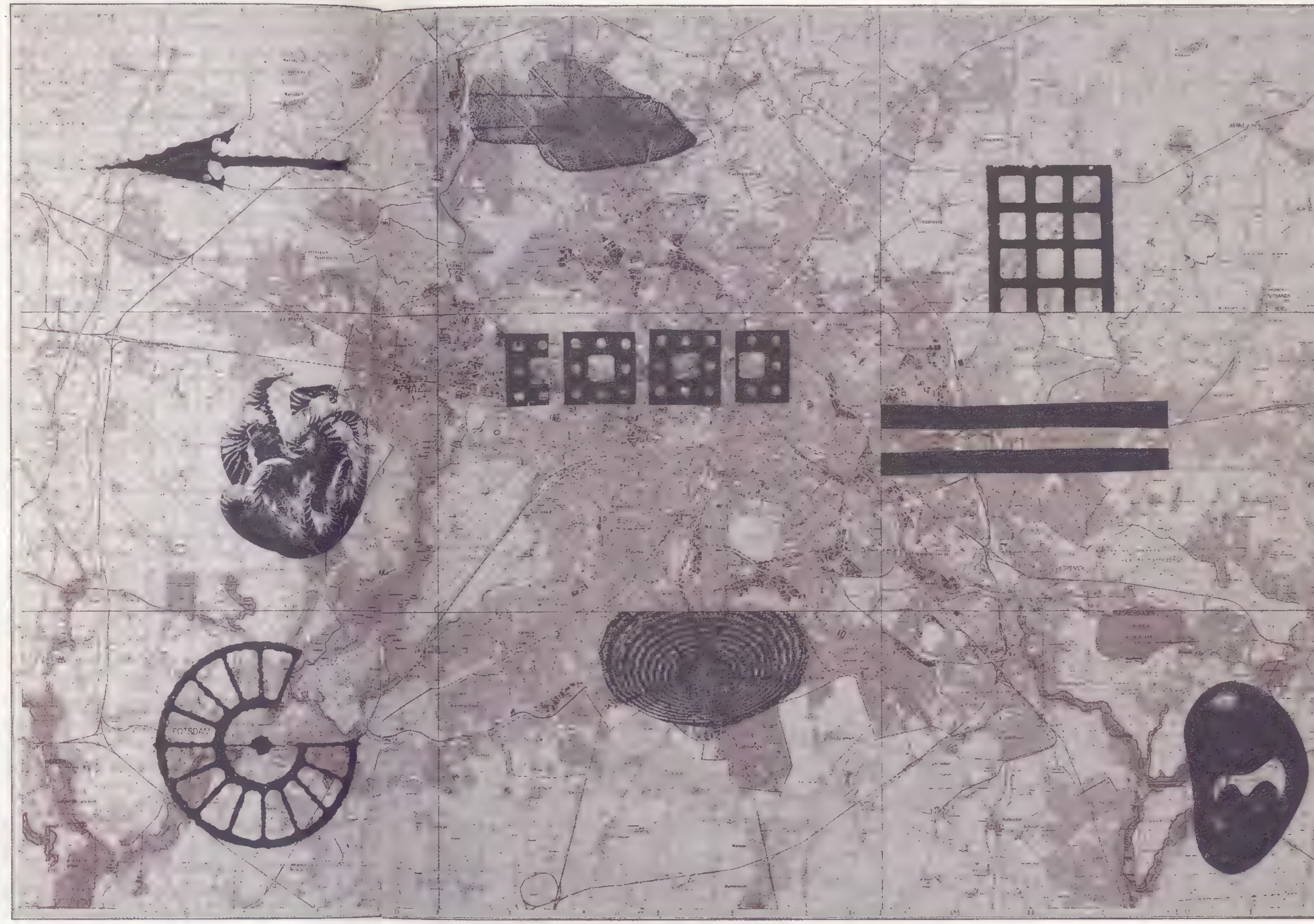
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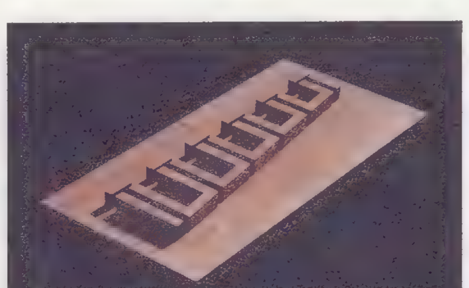
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Heterotope 7, Orangerie Hellersdorfer Berg. View of model and perspective.

Tavola collage "Berlin, die Stadt der Heterotope".

Collage panel "Berlin, die Stadt der Heterotope".



Moore, Ruble and Yudell

Housing, Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin, Germany, 1980-87
Charles Moore (Principal-in-Charge), John Ruble, (Project Manager), Buzz Yudell
Project Team: Thomas Nagel, Leon Glodt, Regina Pizzinini, Renzo Zecchetto, Peter Zingg;
Landscape: Müller Knippschild Wehberg; Structural Engineer: Mannleitner Engineering Office;
Colors/Interiors: Tina Beebe

Karow Nord Master Plan and Housing, Weissensee, Karow, Berlin, Germany, 1991-94
Buzz Yudell (Principal-in-Charge), John Ruble, Daniel Garness (Project Manager)
Project Coordinator: Miller Stevens; Project Team: Suhuji Kurokawa, Adrian J. Koffka, Adam Padua, Robert Anderson, Etchika Badzies, Mark Peacor, Gearge Venini, Mary Beth Elliott, Curtis Woodhouse, Mario Violich, John Johnson, Wing Hon Ng, Craig Currie, Louis Bretana, Marc Grand, Niels Turnball, Eric Hammerlund, Celina Welch; Landscape Planner: Müller Knippschild Wehberg

Foto/Photos: T. Hursley

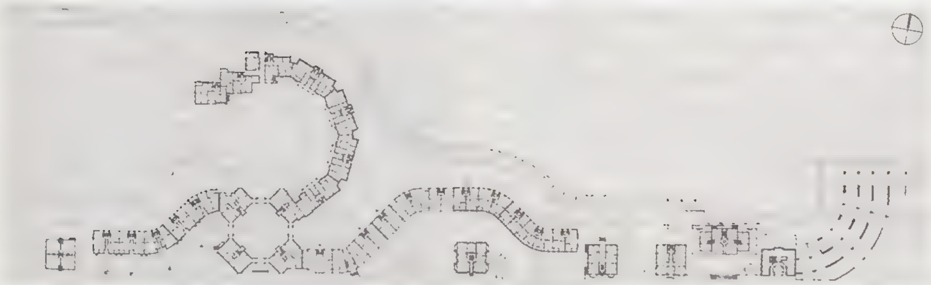
Complesso per abitazioni, servizi e biblioteca, Tegel Hafen, Berlino
Moore, Ruble, Yudell

La darsena di Tegel collega un delizioso sobborgo di periferia a una sistema di laghi, canali e distese di boschi, dove i berlinesi possono trascorrere piacevoli giornate apparentemente lontani dal centro della città. Il programma di questo concorso internazionale, che abbiamo vinto nel 1980, prevedeva il progetto di abitazioni e di servizi culturali e sportivi. Per soddisfare queste richieste il progetto di disegno urbano propone una serie di edifici inseriti con grande discrezione nel sito di oltre 16 ettari. Con il proposito di rendere il piccolo porto l'elemento principale del progetto, abbiamo esteso notevolmente la zona d'acqua lungo la quale è stato tracciato un viale pedonale che collega i tre complessi al Lago Tegel.
Le residenze iniziano con una serie di ville luminose, cui segue un fronte continuo leggermente ondulato di case a schiera, all'interno del quale è prevista una corte con quattro "case" e quattro "porte". L'asse della corte attraversa due delle porte, prosegue nel parco e termina con una vista sulla darsena. L'asse visivo verso l'acqua è assecondato da un sentiero serpeggiante fiancheggiato da alti pioppi. Nel grande parco le case si elevano da cinque a otto piani più un alto tetto rivestito in zinco. Il tetto stesso è come un villaggio abitato da logge e abbaini, posto su un basamento più ordinato di muri intonacati con lesene e modanature in elementi prefabbricati. L'intenzione del progetto è ottenere una straordinaria varietà pur ricorrendo a un sistema di costruzione in cemento armato prefabbricato, in modo da rendere questo quartiere di edilizia popolare ad alta densità un luogo al tempo stesso piacevole e con caratteri urbani.
L'edificio della Villa fa parte della serie di sei progettate ognuna da un diverso architetto (J. Hejduk, S. Tigerman, P. Portoghesi, A. Grumbach, R. Stern), come previsto dal nostro piano generale. Tutte si rifanno al concetto formale della villa urbana isolata e ciascuna è influenzata dalla particolare collocazione all'interno del piano d'insieme. Infine, tutte presentano caratteri articolati distintivi, che contrastano con la serie più modesta di case a schiera sul retro. La nostra è adiacente alla piazza d'ingresso, rappresentando così una sorta di preambolo all'intero progetto. Essa ha una destinazione diversa dalle altre: non ospita appartamenti ma ambulatori medici e studi professionali.
La biblioteca Humboldt, con la sua lunga sala, continua l'asse del porto lungo il confine settentrionale del sito. La sala di lettura principale si affaccia sui boschi. Nelle altre vicinanze di Tegel la presenza di strutture industriali contrasta con edifici ottocenteschi ben conservati. Prototipo della nostra biblioteca è il *loft* industriale, di proporzioni opportunamente ridimensionate. La sua facciata classicheggiante è interrotta da un pronao di ingresso vetrato incorniciato da una coppia di portali isolati. Dall'ingresso si accede a una rotonda centrale circondata da un ballatoio a portico. Dalla rotonda, un grande muro di libri si insinua lungo un lato della sala di lettura principale con gli scaffali direttamente accessibili e con piccole nicchie di lettura. Per tutta la lunghezza il soffitto a doppia volta è illuminato da un lucernario che diffonde la luce intorno e attraverso la volta inferiore. Sul lato nord la luce è regolata da una serie di bovindi e di porte alternate a nicchie per i libri. La struttura di cemento e acciaio appare visibile all'interno con una severità da edificio industriale elaborata in un gioco di dettagli quasi barocchi nelle arcate e nel soffitto.

Housing, Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin
Moore, Ruble, Yudell

Tegel Harbour connects a delightful suburban village with a chain of lakes and canals, as well as forested open space, which provides Berliners with weekend outings seemingly far from the city centre. The programme of this international competition, which we won in 1980, called for residential, cultural and sports recreation uses. In response to planning guidelines, we were happy to make the three major components of the programme appear as discrete complexes on the forty-acre site. We wanted to make the harbour itself a major feature of the plan, so we extended the water dramatically into the site. Along the water's edge, a promenade connects all three complexes with the lake beyond.
The housing begins with a series of bright villas embraced by a second layer of gently undulating terraced houses. Within this sequence our project established a courtyard with four "houses" and four gates. The axis of this court proceeds directly through two of these gates to the landscaped common beyond, ending with a view of the harbour. This visual axis to the water is seconded by a meandering path lined with tall poplars. On the large common, the houses step up from five storeys to eight, topped by a high zinc-covered roof. The roof is itself a lively village of dormer windows and loggias set upon a more ordered base of stucco walls with precast pilasters and mouldings. The design seeks to achieve an extraordinary degree of variety within a precast concrete construction system, making this high-density social "townhousing" at once urbane and playful.
This multi-unit building is one of six, each designed by a different architect (J. Hejduk, S. Tigerman, P. Portoghesi, A. Grumbach, R. Stern) to meet the requirements of our master





Complesso per abitazioni, servizi e biblioteca, Tegel Hafen, Berlino, 1980-87.
Vista da nordest del complesso residenziale.
Planimetria generale, 1980.
Planimetria del complesso residenziale e delle "ville".

Housing, Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin, 1980-87.
View from north-east of residential complex.
Master plan, 1980.
Plan of the housing complex and "villas".





plan and the design guidelines for the Tegel Harbour site. They all share the formal notion of a free-standing urban villa each influenced by its particular location within the plan, and they all contrast colourfully as signature works with the more restrained base line of terraced houses behind. Ours is adjacent to the entry plaza and is thus a kind of prelude to the rest of the project.
Our villa differs from the others in use: its serves as professional offices and a doctor's surgery rather than as apartments.
The Humboldt Library with its long hall continues the axis of the harbour along the north boundary of the site. The main reading room offers the view of a forested landscape. Elsewhere around Tegel, industrial structures contrast with well-preserved buildings in a range of nineteenth-century styles, which is why the carefully proportioned industrial loft became the prototype for our library. Its classical façade is broken by a glazed entrance bay framed by a pair of free-standing portals. This leads to a central rotunda encircled by an arcaded balcony at second-floor level. From the rotunda, a large wall of books meanders along one side of the main reading room and gives access to the open stacks and smaller reading alcoves beyond. Passing continuously above the various areas of the loft is a double-layer, vaulted ceiling lighted by a clerestory window which throws light around and through the lower vault. On the north side, the light is balanced by a series of bay windows and doors that alternate with alcoves for books.
The steel and concrete frame is inside the building, adding a touch of industrial austerity that develops into a playful, almost baroque set of arch and ceiling details.





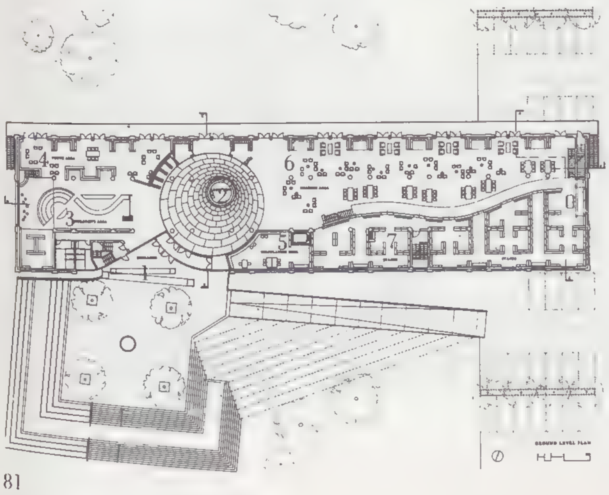
Complesso per abitazioni, servizi e biblioteca, Tegel Hafen, Berlino, 1980-87.
Vista da sud e vista da nord del fronte sull'acqua con le diverse "ville" (oltre a Moore, Ruble and Yudell, progetti di A. Grumbach, J. Hejduk, P. Portoghesi, R. Stern, S. Tigerman).
Sviluppo del prospetto sul giardino interno del complesso residenziale.

Housing, Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin, 1980-87.
View from the south and from the north of the waterfront with its various "villas" (in additon to Moore, Ruble and Yudell, projects by A. Grumbach, J. Hejduk, P. Portoghesi, R.Stern and S. Tigerman).
Development of internal garden elevation of residential complex.









Complesso per abitazioni, servizi e biblioteca, Tegel Hafen, Berlino, 1980-87.
Vista da sudovest e vista interna (pagina a fianco) della Biblioteca Humboldt.
Prospetto nord, sezione trasversale e pianta del piano terreno della Biblioteca Humboldt: 1) ingresso; 2) reception; 3) spazio per bambini; 4) biblioteca per ragazzi; 5) banco di distribuzione; 6) sala lettura; 7) deposito libri.

Housing, Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin, 1980-87.
View from south-west and internal view (facing page) of the Humboldt Library.
North elevation, cross section and ground-floor plan of Humboldt Library: 1) entrance; 2) reception; 3) children's area; 4) youth area; 5) circulation desk; 6) reading area; 7) stacks.

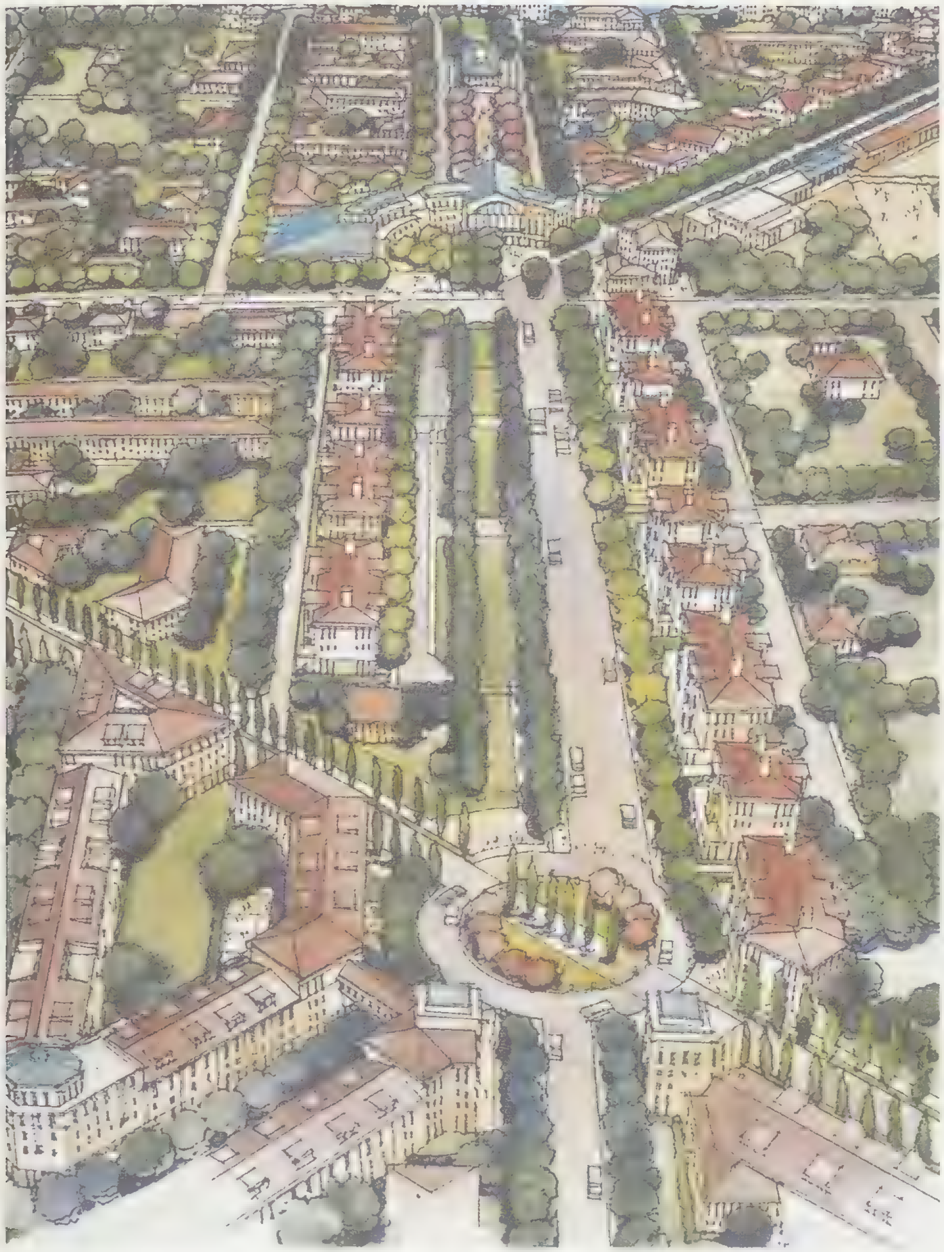
Quartiere residenziale Karow Nord, Weissensee, Karow, Berlino
Moore, Ruble, Yudell

L'improvvisa decisione di costruire 5000 nuovi alloggi nell'antico sobborgo di Karow ha rappresentato un'opportunità importante.
L'urgenza del problema delle abitazioni nella nuova Berlino unificata e le nuove possibilità per la pianificazione della città e della regione stanno creando occasioni per riesaminare la tradizione tedesca delle *siedlung*, insediamenti residenziali a grande scala. Uno di questi progetti è il nostro piano per una consistente espansione del piccolo centro esistente di Karow-Weissensee, al margine nordest di Berlino. Il villaggio fa parte di una serie di comunità, connesse centralmente al cuore di Berlino tramite strade esistenti e S-Bahn, che si estendono tra il centro della vecchia Berlino Est e il più recente anello autostradale esterno nella campagna coltivata. Al centro di Karow, come in molti di questi luoghi, si trova un piccolo villaggio storico, con un'unica strada centrale composta da semplici edifici rurali racchiusi a corte. Strade alberate escono dal *Dorfkern* da entrambi i lati, verso modesti quartieri.
Il nuovo progetto rispetta la rete stradale esistente ampliandola e integrandola con nuovi parchi e strutture pubbliche.
Una serie di parchi lineari e di viali alberati introducono profondamente il paesaggio agrario circostante nella nuova zona residenziale, dove le scuole, i centri giovanili e gli asili occupano una posizione significativa in prossimità dei parchi pubblici.
Le abitazioni presentano cinque tipologie differenti: blocchi edificati sul perimetro del lotto, *terraces* con diverse destinazioni d'uso , ville, edifici a corte tradizionali di Karow e case a schiera di tipo rurale, offrendo elementi di distinzione e di identità sia ai luoghi pubblici che alle abitazioni private. Le diverse tipologie stradali, dal piccolo viale al sentiero di campagna, si presentano le più strette possibili, in modo che le auto possano transitare senza risultare invadenti. Un'ampia sequenza spaziale di strade assiali e diagonali collega visivamente con un ordine chiaramente leggibile i principali spazi pubblici.
Nell'affrontare un progetto a scala urbana di questo tipo è indispensabile seguire linee guida che possano garantire un disegno coerente di spazi ed edifici. Le nostre si basano sull'articolazione tipologica, per garantire un assetto coerente all'interno di ciascun distretto residenziale, e una differenziazione complessiva. Il piano del colore, basato sulla tipologia, crea armonie e contrasti su ampia scala.
Il vero interesse di Karow o di simili interventi urbani è rappresentato dall'opportunità di ricercare caratteri di identità e di distinzione nel campo della residenza su grande scala. Ora diventa indispensabile che i futuri e necessari interventi urbani nella cintura di Berlino mantengano gli *standard* elevati dei complessi residenziali della tradizione tedesca senza sacrificare i caratteri del luogo o le complessità dell'esperienza urbana. Speriamo che Karow Nord offra un contributo entusiasta in questa direzione.

Residential Quarter Karow Nord, Weissensee, Karow, Berlin
Moore, Ruble, Yudell

The sudden addition of 5,000 new housing units to the historic village of Karow is both an important opportunity and an imposing challenge.
The urgent need for housing in newly unified Berlin and the challenging new opportunities for city-wide and regional planning are occasioning a re-think of the German tradition of Siedlungen *or large scale housing developments. One such project is our plan for substantial expansion of the existing village of Karow in Weissensee, at the northeast edge of Berlin proper. The village is one of a string of communities connected umbilically by existing roads and the S-Bahn to central Berlin. They extend from the old East Berlin core to the newer Autobahn ring on the outskirts, surrounded by agricultural fields. At the centre of Karow, as in many of these places, is a small old village, a single street of simple country buildings clustered around intimate courtyards. Tree-lined streets lead out of the* Dorfkern *to the modest neighbourhoods on either side.*
The existing street system is organically continued in the new project, and integrated with a hierarchic set of new parks and public facilities.
Schools, youth centres, and nurseries are given significant positions in the urban plan and are directly connected to green spaces.
A series of linear parks and green boulevards draws the surrounding rural landscape right into the new residential area.
The housing consists of five different building types – perimeter blocks, mixed-use terraces, villas, Karow Courts, and rural terraced houses – providing diversity and identity for both public places and private dwellings.
The various types of street, from small



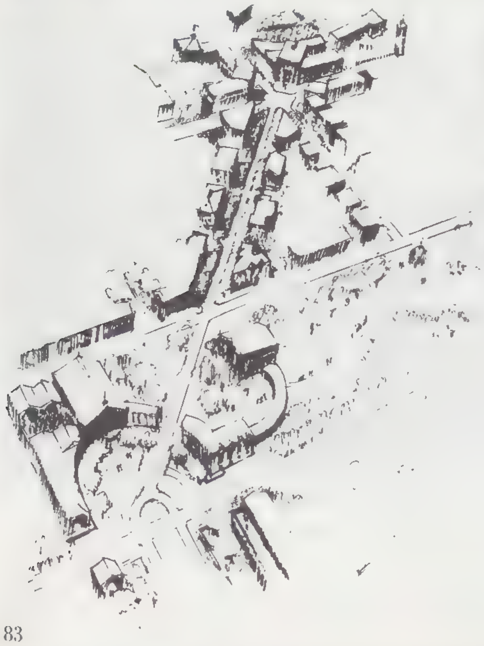


boulevard to country lane, are kept as narrow as possible to allow automobiles to circulate but not dominate.

A grand spatial sequence of axial streets and diagonals visually connects Karow Nord's main public places and makes them easy to find.

Urban design guidelines are crucial if simultaneously designed buildings and spaces are to speak coherently. These guidelines are based on building types to encourage coherence within each residential district and enhance contrast between districts. Colour guidelines based on building type create large-scale harmonies and syncopations.

The opportunity to provide identity and choice in housing is the real reward in designing Karow and towns like it. It is now more urgent than ever that the new, and necessarily large-scale development of Berlin's outskirts maintains the high standards of German housing without sacrificing particulars of place or complexities of urban experience. We hope Karow Nord will be seen as an enthusiastic attempt to achieve this.



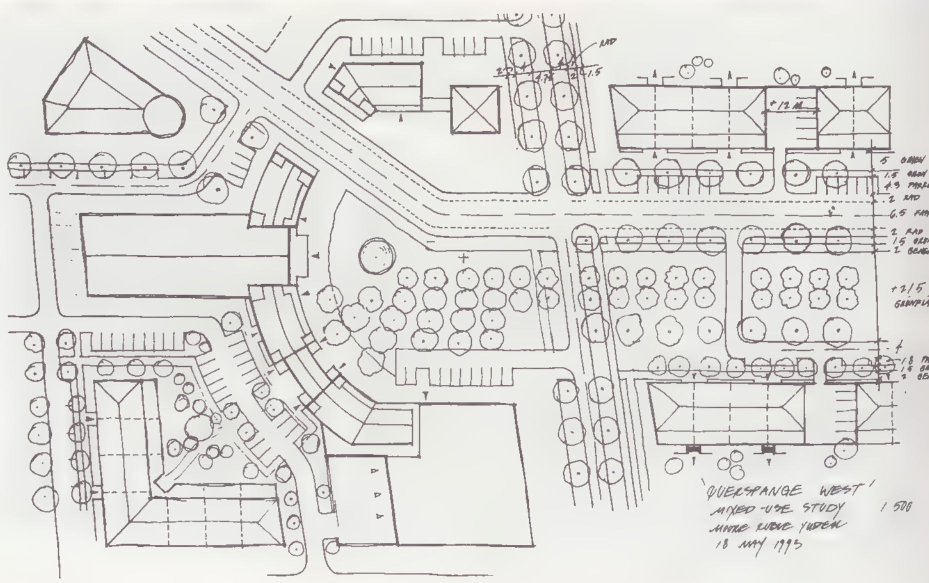
Quartiere residenziale Karow Nord, Weissensee, Karow, Berlino, 1992-95. Schema dell'impianto generale e prospettive da sudest e da sud.

Residential Quarter Karow Nord, Weissensee, Karow, Berlin, 1992-95. Diagram of layout and views from south-east and south.

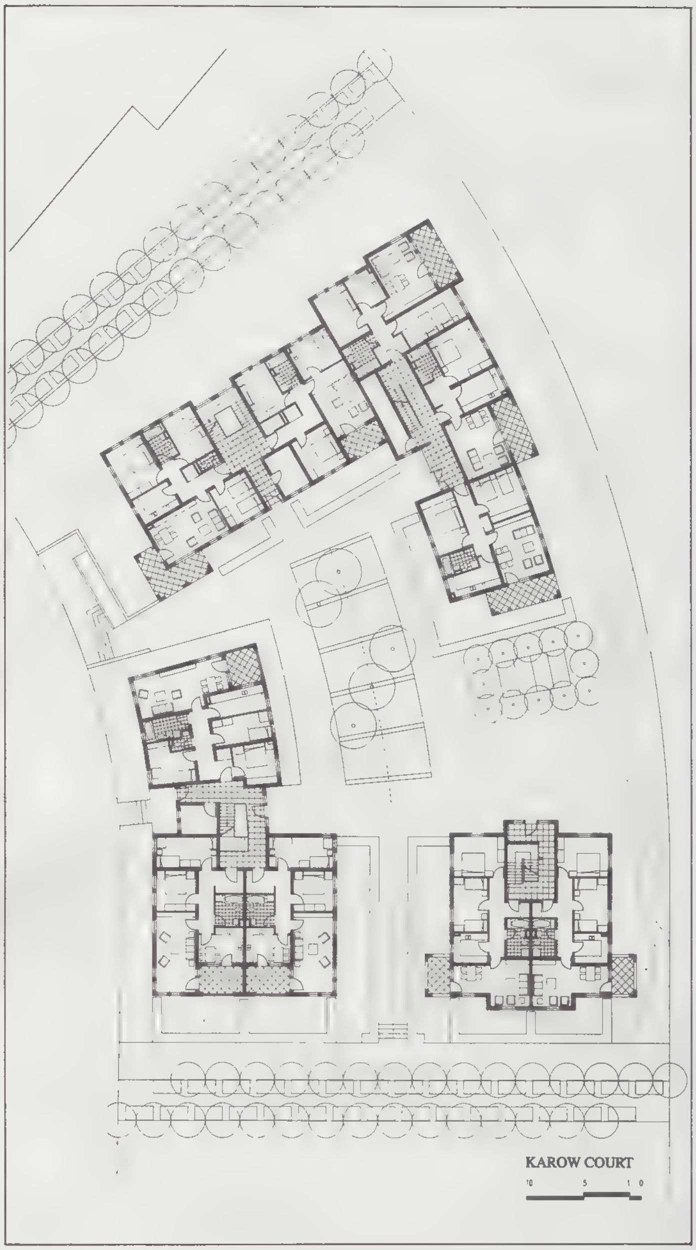
Quartiere residenziale Karow Nord, Weissensee, Karow, Berlino, 1992-95. Planimetrie generali e planimetria della piazza centrale. Piante e modelli di alcune tipologie residenziali.

Residential Quarter Karow Nord, Weissensee, Karow, Berlin, 1992-95. General plans and plan of central plaza. Plans and models of some residential typologies.








KAROW COURT



Peter Eisenman

Bahnhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse Competition, Berlin, Germany, 1992
Principals-in-Charge: Peter Eisenman, Laurie Olin, George Kewin (Associate)
Project Architects: Edward Mitchell, James Gettinger, [illegible]
Project Team: [illegible]
Project Assistants: Donna Barry, Andy Burmeister, John Peter Hartman, Patrick [illegible], Gregory Luhan, Julian [illegible], [illegible] David Schatzle
Landscape Architect: Hanna/Olin Ltd., Shirley Kressel, Matthew W. White
Traffic Consultants: Walter Durth, Ralf Roos
Color Consultants: Taffy Dahl, Donald Kaufman
Other Consultants: Dr. Kurt W. [illegible]

Foto dei modelli/Photos of models: [illegible]



[illegible]

Peter Eisenman

Bahnhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse Competition, Berlin, Germany, 1992

Principal-in-Charge: Peter Eisenman, [illegible], George [illegible] (Associate)
Project Architects: Edward Mitchell, James Gettinger, Frederic Levrat
Project Team: James [illegible], Fabian [illegible], [illegible]
Project Assistants: Donna Barry, Andy Burmeister, John Peter Hartmann, [illegible] [illegible], Gregory Luhan, Julian Mueller, Simone [illegible], Emily Ray, David Schnitzle
Landscape Architects: Hanna/Olin Ltd., Shirley Kressel, Matthew W. White
Traffic Consultants: Walter [illegible], Ralf [illegible]
Color Consultants: [illegible], Donald Kaufman
Other Consultants: Dr. Kurt W. Forster, [illegible], Dr. Fritz Neumeyer

[illegible]



[illegible]

View of model from above.

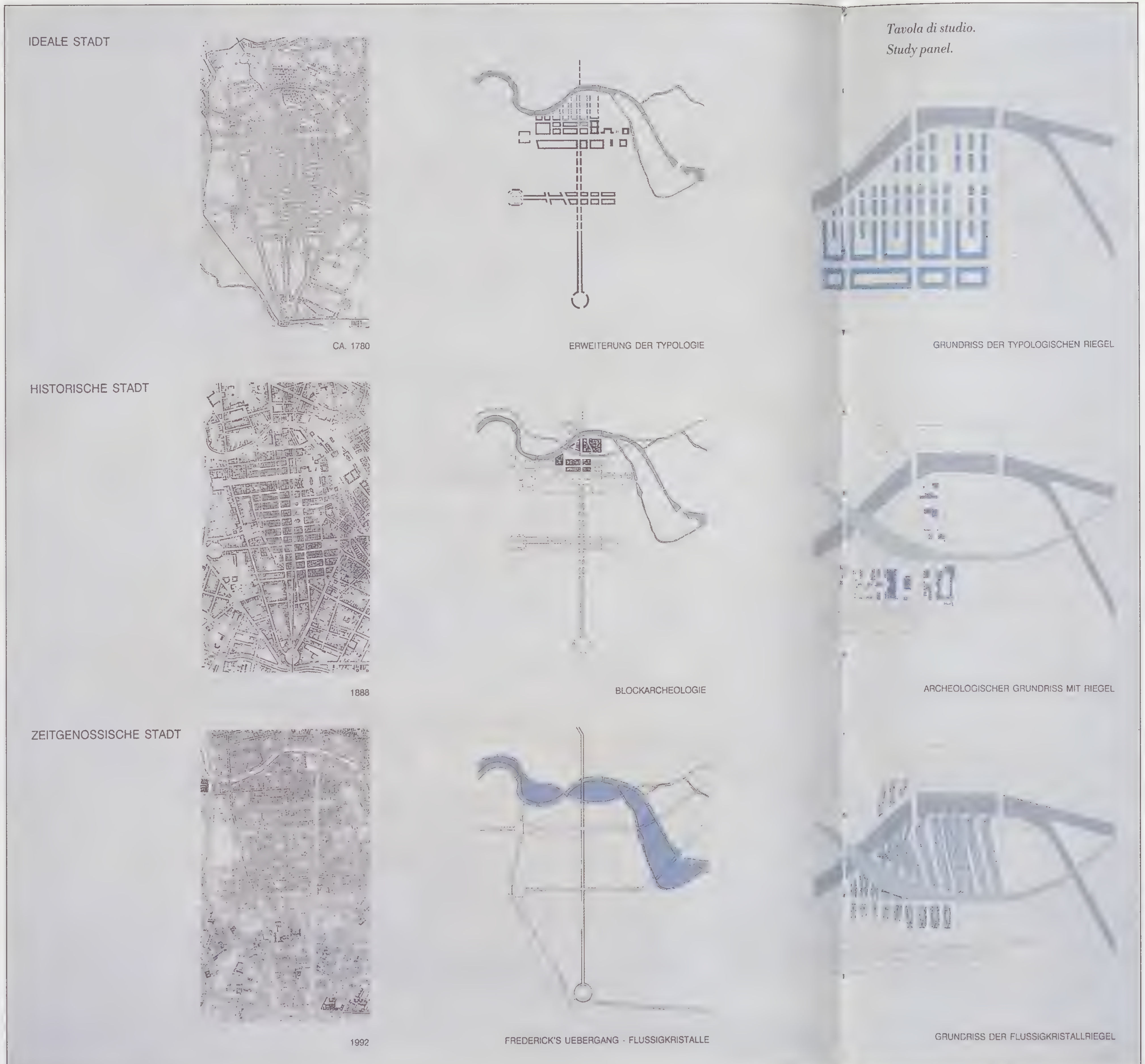


Tavola di studio.
Study panel.

Concorso per l'area della Stazione Friedrichstrasse, Berlino
Peter Eisenman

Dalla prima formazione di Berlino come città medievale murata, il fiume Sprea ha sempre svolto un ruolo importante nello sviluppo urbano, senza tuttavia trasformarsi in una presenza simbolica come la Senna o il Tamigi. Eppure la Sprea ha sempre rispecchiato la crescita e il mutamento della città, che si è estesa al di là del suo corso in epoca medievale e che nei secoli XVIII e XIX subì un ulteriore cambiamento: da città di isolati definiti nella loro figura perimetrale dove le strade facevano da sfondo, a città di viali dove i singoli edifici erano visti con un ruolo secondario.
Il progetto prende spunto dalle principali figure del sito: l'incrocio tra cardo e decumano dell'Unter den Linden con la Friedrichstrasse da un lato, l'intreccio sinuoso tra Sprea e S-Bahn dall'altro. Esso richiama la stratificazione delle diverse epoche storiche di Berlino, sovrapponendole e trasformandole in un modello dinamico per l'urbanistica del Ventunesimo secolo, usando come struttura analoga la metamorfosi dei cristalli liquidi detta "Transizione di Frederick".
I cristalli liquidi hanno proprietà simili a quelle dei cristalli naturali ma strutture interne flessibili che favoriscono deformazioni locali. Un cristallo naturale ha una matrice strutturale omogenea lungo i tre assi cartesiani e rigida nel tempo, mentre i cristalli liquidi si dispongono in modo casuale a un mutamento di temperatura o ad altre forze esterne. La Transizione di Frederick è un mutamento della struttura molecolare per l'influenza di un campo magnetico che può essere considerato analogo all'area di congiunzione tra fiume e ferrovia. In tal modo le strutture rigide dell'urbanistica occidentale si trasformano in strutture flessibili con deformazioni locali.
A sud il progetto propone un isolato perimetrale tradizionale, una forma ideale alla quale sono state sovrapposte le tracce degli edifici distrutti dai bombardamenti del 1945. La loro forma originaria a corte ora diventa parte dei nuovi isolati di progetto. Si tratta di un esempio contemporaneo di capovolgimento del rapporto figura-sfondo (*figure-ground*). La forma ideale della *siedlung* lineare di Hilberseimer diventa matrice strutturale che trasforma gli isolati a corte in grandi blocchi a "U". E come avviene al cristallo liquido, questa matrice lineare si trasforma attraversando la struttura sinuosa dell'incontro tra fiume e ferrovia, riorientandosi così nella struttura ortogonale di una nuova Berlino a nord della Sprea. In questo modo il progetto propone una cornice concettuale che risulta trasformata dalle storie specifiche del sito e dal suo particolare contesto formale in una mappatura dinamica – un gioco di scambio tra paesaggio ed edifici, passato e futuro, concetto e realtà –, in un nuovo schema "contestuale" per la zona di intervento.

Bahnhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse Competition, Berlin
Peter Eisenman

From Berlin's earliest formation as a medieval walled city, the River Spree played an important role in the city's development, although oddly enough this role was not translated into the symbolic presence of the Seine or the Thames. But the Spree was always an index of growth and change when the medieval city twinned itself across its flow. In the 18th and 19th centuries Berlin again changed, this time from a city of figural perimeter blocks where the streets were seen as ground, to a city of figural avenues where the building blocks were seen as residual. The design intention of the project begins from the major figural networks of the particular site, one being the cardo and decumanus of the Unter den Linden-Friedrichstrasse crossing, the other the twining interlace of the River Spree and the S-Bahn. The project attempts to produce a multi-layered superposition of the histories of Berlin, transforming them into a dynamic model for 21st-century urbanism. The project uses as its analogous structure the metamorphosis of the liquid crystal called the "Frederick's Transition." Liquid crystals have properties similar to natural crystals, but have flexible internal structures that allow for local deformation. A natural crystal will have a uniform structural matrix in all three coordinate dimensions and is rigid over time. Liquid crystals exhibit random orientation when exposed to temperature change or other outside forces. Frederick's Transition is a change in molecular structure due to the influence of a magnetic field. This magnetic field can be seen as analogous to the twining area of the river and the railroad. This analogue allows the formerly rigid structures of Western urbanism to be transformed into flexible structures allowing for local deformation.
To the south, the project begins as a traditional perimeter block. Superimposed onto this ideal form are the traces of the buildings of this area as they were when destroyed in 1945. Their former courtyard outlines now become part of the new building blocks of our project. This is a contemporary example of the figure-ground reversal. Then the ideal form of the linear Hilberseimer siedlung *is laid down as a matrix structure which transforms the courtyards of the perimeter blocks into extended U-shapes. This linear matrix is then transformed like the liquid crystal as it passes through the twining structure of river and railroad, becoming reoriented towards the orthogonal structure of a new Berlin on the north side of the Spree. Thus, the project proposes a conceptual framework that is transformed by the specific histories of the site, and its particular formal context, into a dynamic mapping, an interplay of landscape and building, the past and the future, concept and reality – into a new "contextual" scheme for the area.*

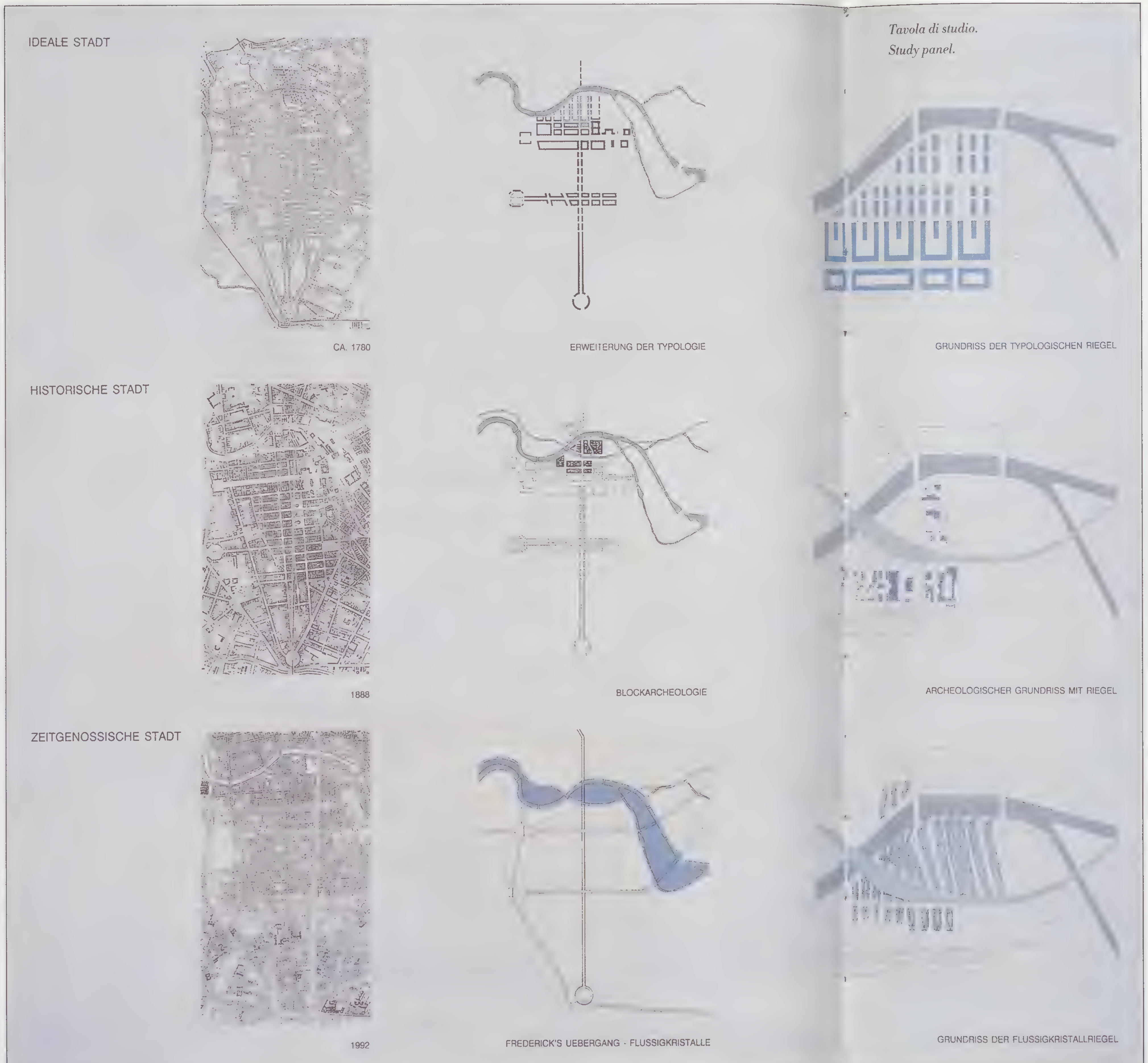


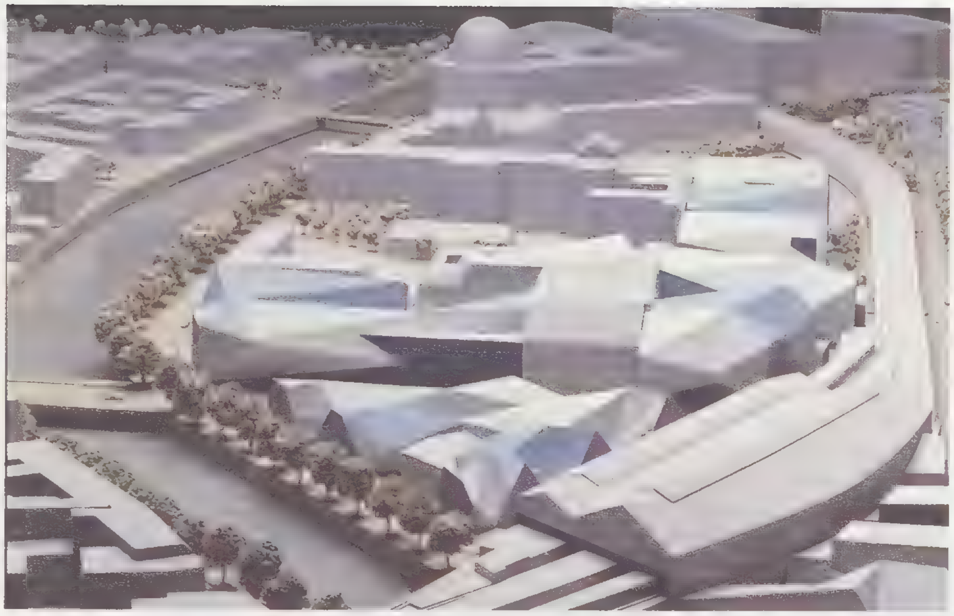
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Study panel.

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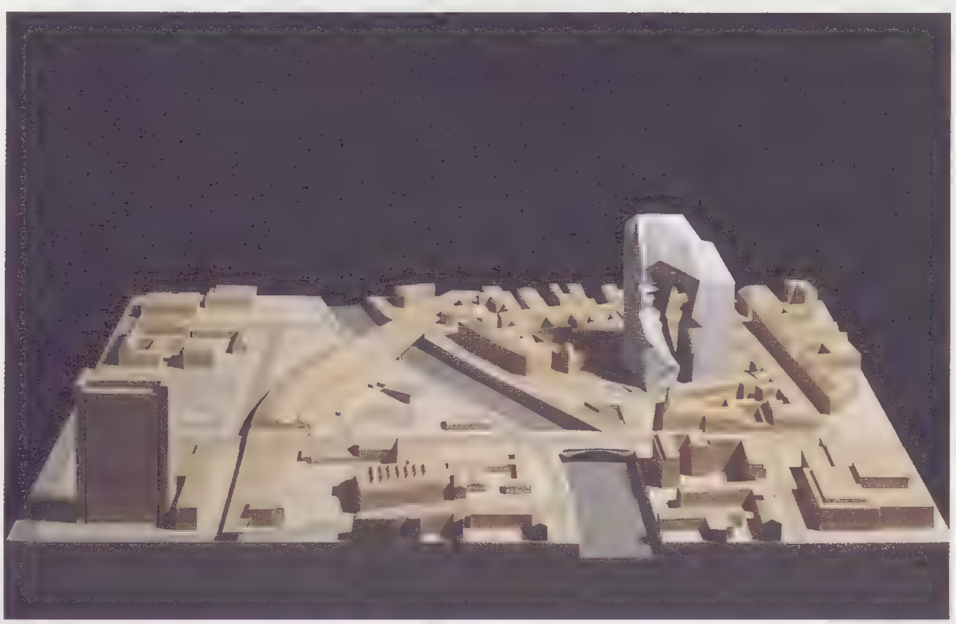
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Bahnhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse Competition, Berlin
Peter Eisenman

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Vista del modello da ovest e dettaglio da sudest.
Pianta dei piani tipo.
Progetto per la Max Reinhardt Haus (sulla riva opposta della Sprea), 1993.
Vista del modello .

View of model from the west, and detail from the south-east.
Plan of standard floor.
Project for the Max Reinhardt Haus (on the opposite bank of the River Sprea), 1993.
View of model.




Paris

Paris



Sulla periferia di Parigi
*Roland Castro**

Nelle pagine precedenti: foto dal satellite di Parigi e della banlieue, con la localizzazione degli interventi documentati nelle pagine successive:
1) Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof, Grande progetto urbano per il grand ensemble Val d'Argent, Argenteuil, 1993.
2) Henri Ciriani, Complesso residenziale, Colombes, 1992-95.
3) Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof, Progetto per il grand ensemble "La Caravelle", Villeneuve-la-Garenne, 1994.
4) Catherine Furet, Quartiere l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve, 1985-89.
5) Catherine Furet, Complesso residenziale, Rue Piat 41-49, Paris XXème, 1989-94.
6) Henri Ciriani, Complesso di edilizia pubblica Noisy II, Marne-la-Vallée, 1975-80.
Foto Science Image editore, 1992, Annemasse, France.

Previous pages: satellite photos of Paris and outskirts showing the location of the projects illustrated in this issue:
1) Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof, urban project for the grand ensemble Val d'Argent, Argenteuil, 1993.
2) Henri Ciriani, residential complex, Colombes, 1992-95.
3) Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof, project for "La Caravelle" grand ensemble *", Villeneuve-la-Garenne, 1994.*
4) Catherine Furet, l'Orme Seul quarter, La Courneuve, 1985-89.
5) Catherine Furet, residential complex, Rue Piat 41-49, XX° Arrondisement, 1989-94.
6) Henri Ciriani, Noisy II residential complex, Marne-la-Vallée, 1975-80.
Photo by Science Image, 1992, Annemasse, France.

Senza risalire troppo in là, all'inizio c'è la città di Haussmann, e soprattutto il mirabile lavoro del suo collaboratore ai giardini Alphand, che ha disegnato tutto il nuovo spazio pubblico del Grand Paris dell'epoca. Perché a quel tempo Parigi s'ingrandisce. E dobbiamo constatare che ciò che è stato realizzato con i criteri di Alphand – a prescindere da ciò che tradizionalmente viene attribuito a Haussmann, e cioè la lotta contro le sommosse, l'igiene e tutta l'opera di controllo sociale – compone un disegno che oggi può essere visto come il piano regolatore generale di una specie di uguaglianza urbana. Vero è che osservando più da vicino questo disegno si nota una maggiore sontuosità a ovest, specialmente nell'Avenue de l'Impératrice (oggi Avenue Foch), che è uno splendido viale urbano di m 120 di larghezza; ma se per esempio mettiamo a confronto la Place de l'Etoile e la Place de la Nation, troviamo in entrambe la stessa elaborazione dello spazio pubblico. E tutti i grandi *boulevard*, tutto l'arredo urbano, il disegno della città, l'edilizia pubblica, tutti i giardini, grandi e piccoli, sono trattati con estrema cura. C'è un lavoro di grande finezza, costantemente guidato dal concetto di uguaglianza urbana; il tutto entro i limiti stabiliti dalle nuove fortificazioni e in base a un rapporto strettissimo fra i tracciati e il costruito, fra l'architettura e l'urbano, in una concezione che non ha niente a che fare con la spaventosa idea modernista del progetto volumetrico.
Possiamo anche notare che nel centro storico il Piano Haussmann ha eseguito tagli di grande sagacia: per esempio, l'apertura del Boulevard Sébastopol – che pure non è il migliore dei *boulevard* e va a sbattere contro la Gare de l'Est – ha risparmiato due meravigliose stradine storiche, la rue Saint Denis (oggi rue du Faubourg Saint Denis) e la rue Saint Martin (oggi rue du Faubourg Saint Martin): due tracciati sinuosi che danno un'idea dell'infinito nella città.
La storia di Parigi si legge chiaramente attraverso alcuni episodi fondamentali: le piazze reali, le grandi decisioni dei vari sovrani fino all'epoca di Haussmann, e la sedimentazione. C'è stata una sapiente giustapposizione fra i grandi spazi e la densità degli isolati. Questa storia è proseguita fino ai nostri giorni: a parte un intermezzo fra gli anni Trenta e gli anni Settanta, le cose si sono svolte con tutta naturalezza, in una storia urbana fine, intelligente e in contrasto con l'idea eversiva e stupida dei grandi blocchi sviluppati in lunghezza o in altezza, delle *barres* e delle torri.
L'impronta di una concezione ordinatrice di tipo haussmanniano permane fino a quando si smantellano le fortificazioni e si costruiscono le abitazioni economiche (HBM, Habitations à Bon Marché). Queste definiscono un nuovo limite di Parigi, di estrema precisione, per cui ancora oggi quando si rientra a Parigi si ha veramente la sensazione di rientrare in città: un senso di tranquillità che si prova non appena si esce dal mondo lacerato e "koolhaasiano" della periferia. Si sono ideate a quel tempo

On the suburbs of Paris

Roland Castro*

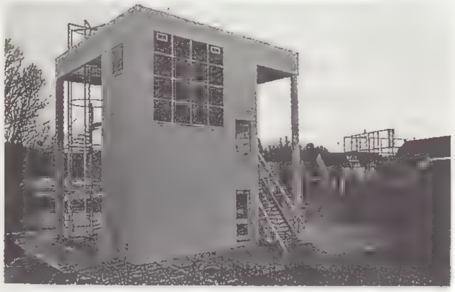
To avoid going too far back in time, let's say it all started with Haussmann's city, and above all the wonderful garden and park designs by his colleague Alphand, who designed all the new public space in the Grand Paris of his day. Paris was expanding then, and there can be no doubt that the result of applying Alphand's criteria – quite apart from what is traditionally attributed to Haussmann, i.e. the fight against rebellion, the hygiene, the whole attempt at social control – is a design we can see today as a blueprint for a sort of urban egalitarianism. Admittedly, if you look a little more closely, you realise that the west is rather more sumptuous, especially in Avenue de l'Impératrice (now Avenue Foch), that splendid avenue 120 metres wide; but if you compare, say, Place de l'Etoile and Place de la Nation, you find in both the same treatment of public space. And all the boulevards, all the street furnishings, the layout of the city, the public works, all the gardens, whether large or small, were designed and executed with the same care. This is an achievement of considerable finesse, informed throughout by a concept of urban egalitarianism and contained within boundaries established by the new fortifications. Building and layout, the architectural and the urban, are intimately related in a way that has absolutely nothing to do with the horrendous modernist concept of the volumetric plan.
On looking more closely, we would also see that, in the historical centre, Haussmann's design opened up the city in a really intelligent way. For example, opening up Boulevard Sébastopol (which isn't even one of the better boulevards and eventually runs up against the Gare de l'Est) saved two wonderful historical streets, Rue Saint Denis (now Rue du Faubourg Saint Denis) and Rue Saint Martin (now Rue du Faubourg Saint Martin) whose weaving trajectories bring a sense of the infinite to the city. The history of Paris is clearly legible in the major phases of its construction: the royal squares, the great schemes of its monarchs up to the time of Haussmann, the sedimentation. This history has encouraged a most subtle blending of two urban principles – opening up urban fabric and restitching urban fabric – has continued right down to the present day. Leaving aside the break from the 1930s to 1970s, things have progressed with a total naturalness as if in a sophisticated, intelligently written urban narrative that opposes the stupid, subversive concept of large blocks – barres *and towers – that run along or rise upwards from our streets.*
Haussmann's notion of order lasted until the fortifications were demolished and low-cost housing areas (HBM, Habitations à Bon Marché) were built. These gave Paris new, extremely clear-cut boundaries, so that even now, when you re-enter Paris, you really do feel you are re-entering a city: a sense of peace and serenity descends as soon as you leave the lacerated, Koolhasian world of the outskirts. A wide variety of street, courtyard and garden typologies was invented at this time, resulting in a highly successful integration of green space and built-up areas.

le più diverse tipologie di stradine, di cortili, di giardini, stabilendo un felice rapporto tra aree verdi e aree edificate. In questo tipo di insediamento, che comunque risolveva la questione dell'alloggio di massa, si realizza un'edificazione di grande consistenza e importanza, con caratteri particolarmente raffinati e intelligenti.
Questa concezione urbana fine, in cui gli edifici hanno un basamento e una linea di cielo, dei rapporti definiti fra loro, viene ad essere esaltata nelle grandi città giardino. Le più belle sono quelle di Châtenay-Malabry e di Suresnes, che presentano uno straordinario, sapientissimo nesso tra le cose e i luoghi, tra i tracciati e gli oggetti architettonici, e una grande finezza nei particolari che caratterizzano come tali una piazza, una strada, una strada che si prolunga: ciò che oggi Christian de Portzamparc chiamerebbe "Age 3". Una strada che continua, che prende luce, che dà aria e che al tempo stesso è una strada, ossia un *continuum* urbano.
A un certo punto tutto questo lavoro viene interrotto.
La frattura avviene dapprima a livello di immagini con il famoso Plan Voisin di Le Corbusier, finanziato da un costruttore di aerei, nell'ideologia ultramodernista della conquista dei cieli. Un progetto mostruoso, che tutti conoscono, di sradicamento integrale del centro di Parigi, sostituito da grattacieli cartesiani che sono il culmine del pensiero antiurbano: la guerra alla memoria, la *tabula rasa* completa, un inno alla modernità più dilaniata. D'ora in poi gli *outsider* intelligenti, che lavorano anch'essi sulle idee di igiene, di sole, di luce, vengono ideologicamente annientati e sono destinati a scomparire. Così ad esempio Sauvage, che ha cercato di concepire una città moderna, piena di luce, di verde e di sole e al tempo stesso fatta di strade: la sua idea è stata distrutta sulla base del pensiero radicale di Le Corbusier. Tutto ciò sullo sfondo veramente tragico della bellezza dei suoi edifici, perché ovviamente Le Corbusier è stato un grandissimo artista, e questo fatto ha dato alle sue follie urbanistiche un grande potere sugli architetti, ha dato molta autorità al suo discorso: un discorso che se fosse stato applicato integralmente avrebbe portato al puro e semplice massacro della città.
Da questo momento in poi, sotto l'influsso anche del Bauhaus, all'insegna di ciò che in Adolf Loos era stata una questione di stile ("l'ornamento è un crimine") e che ora suscita l'entusiasmo degli imprenditori ("se l'ornamento è un crimine, vorrà dire che gli edifici ci costeranno meno"), si compie nel modo di pensare una vera e propria devastazione, che proseguirà anche dopo la seconda guerra mondiale.
Le città distrutte dalla guerra, soprattutto in Francia, vivono essenzialmente un cattivo rapporto fra memoria e modernità: si riprende l'antico tracciato della città, ma si allargano le strade e quindi si perde l'incanto originario; o si ricostruisce in modo identico, ma ovviamente il risultato non può essere identico; o si ricostruisce alla maniera moderna, ma allora vengono ignorati il tessuto, la traccia e la storia della città.

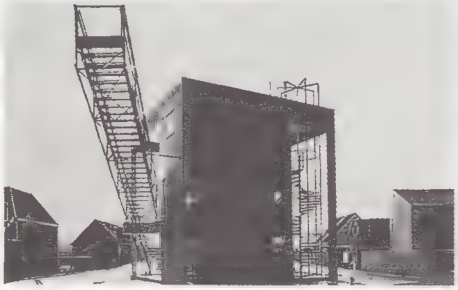
This type of development, which also solved the housing problems of its day, produced coherent, well-designed sets of buldings with design features of unusual intelligence and sophistication.
This refined concept of urban design – buildings that have plinths and relate to each other in well-defined ways – would reach its peak in the large garden cities. The most beautiful are Châtenay-Malabry and Suresnes with their extraordinarily skilful blending of architectural objects and places, road grids and buildings. Subtle design details also that tell you that what you are looking at is indeed a square, a street, a street that extends *the city (what Christian de Portzamparc would now call "Age 3"), receiving light and giving air but remaining all the while, and indisputably, a* street, *an urban* continuum.
But then all this came to an end.
The rupture was at first one of image, with the advent of Le Corbusier's celebrated Plan Voisin *financed by an aircraft builder, and inspired (perhaps understandably) by the ultra-modernist ideology of the conquest of the skies. As everyone knows, this monstrous plan systematically uprooted the centre of Paris, replacing its buildings with Cartesian skyscrapers that epitomised anti-urban thinking, i.e. the struggle to obliterate memory, complete* tabula rasa, *the exaltation of the most destructive form of modernity.*
Thereafter, intelligent outsiders who continued to see urban design also in terms of hygiene, sunshine and daylight were ideologically emerginated and eventually disappeared from the scene. Thus, for example, Sauvage, who tried to design a modern city filled with light, sunshine and greenery, but a city also made of real streets, saw his ideas neutralised and obliterated by Le Corbusier's more radical thinking. And all this, tragically enough, against the backdrop of Le Corbusier's beautiful buildings. Yes, Le Corbusier was, obviously, an artist: how else can you explain the remarkable influence his special brand planning madness had on architects, and the superficial plausibility of his ideas (which would simply have wiped out the city if they had ever been applied systematically).
From this moment on – with the additional influence of the Bauhaus and the success of a concept which Adolf Loos had simply intended to be stylistic ("ornament is a crime") but was soon enthusiastically given another interpretation by constructors ("If ornament is a crime, this means that buildings will cost less") – architectural and urban planning were truly devastated, and the havoc continued even after the Second World War.
When rebuilt, the cities (especially in France) that were destroyed in the war failed to re-integrate past and present, tradition and modernity. Either the old layout was kept, but the streets were widened, so that they lost their original charm; or an identical city was built, except that, of course, it could never really be identical; or the city was rebuilt in the modern manner, meaning that its fabric, layout and history were ignored.
Except in Royan, Le Havre and Saint Malo, post-war



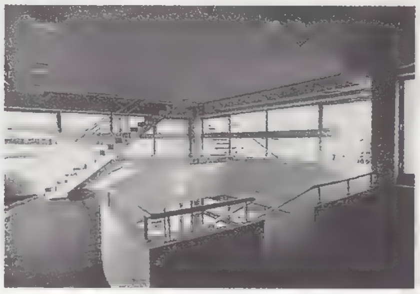
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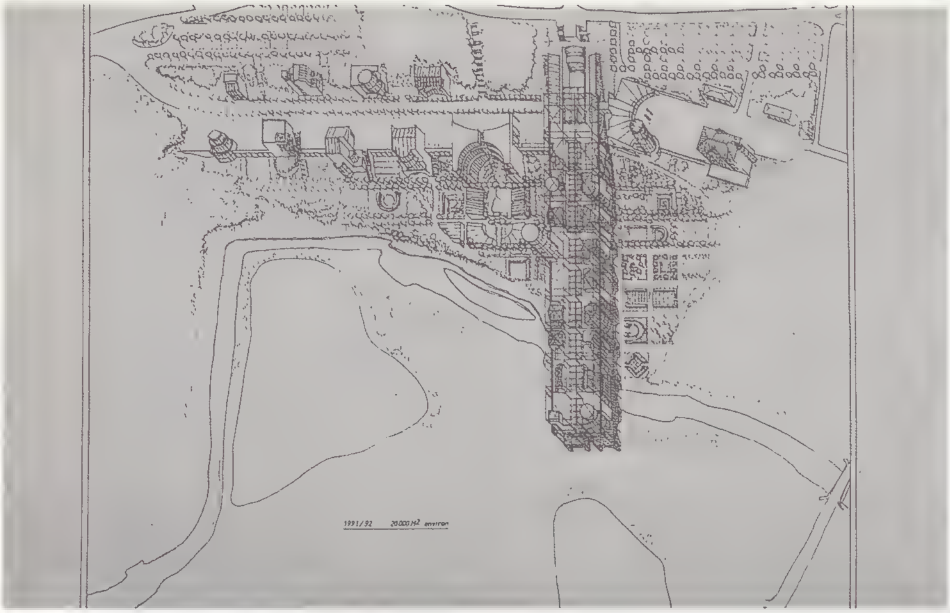
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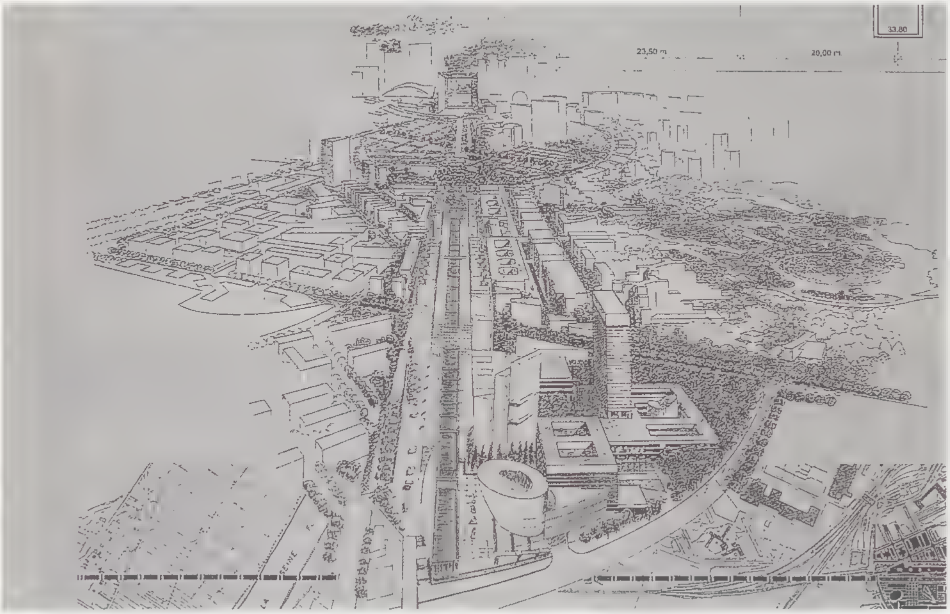
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1. Roland Castro, con M. Cantal-Dupart, Progetto Banlieue '89, "Le Grand Paris", 1983.
Planimetria generale.
A conclusione di un lungo lavoro d'indagine e di analisi sull'intorno di Parigi, sono stati identificati alcuni grandi temi: la messa in luce del Dipartimento della Senna, territorio coerente, ma anche sintomo delle difficoltà amministrative; l'integrazione delle autostrade e del péripherique *in una nuova arte urbana; l'incontro con la geografia, il rilievo, il ruolo unificatore della Senna e dei canali; la necessità delle tangenti che riequilibrano il rapporto con il centro; il potenziale dei* grands ensembles *e la loro povertà culturale; la riconquista delle aree libere e dei loro spazi interstiziali; la ricchezza sconosciuta delle banlieues.*
Questa constatazione richiama l'idea di un "barocco moderno" dove ciascun progetto diventa creatore di situazioni e di scenari urbani, a partire da una ricerca dei luoghi magici.
2.-4. Roland Castro, Villaggio solare del Nandy, Edificio per attrezzature comuni, 1981.
Viste interna e esterne.
Foto D. Sucheyre.
Un piccolo edificio inutile e feticistico.

1. Roland Castro with M. Cantal-Dupart, Banlieue '89 project, "Le Grand Paris", 1983.
General plan.
A thorough survey and analysis of the Paris outskirts revealed a number of major themes: focus on the Department of the Seine, a coherent area with typical administrative problems; the integration of the motorways and the péripherique*; a new urban art; encounter with geography and relief; the unifying role of the Seine and the canals; the need for orbital roads to redress the balance with the centre; the potential of the* grands ensembles *and their cultural poverty; the reclamation of undeveloped areas and their interstitial spaces; the unknown riches of the outskirts.*
All this suggests a "modern Baroque" in which each project creates urban situations and scenarios, beginning with the search for magic places.
2.-4. Roland Castro, Nandy solar village, communal amenities building, 1981.
Internal and external views.
Photos D. Sucheyre.
A small, fetishistic, useless building.



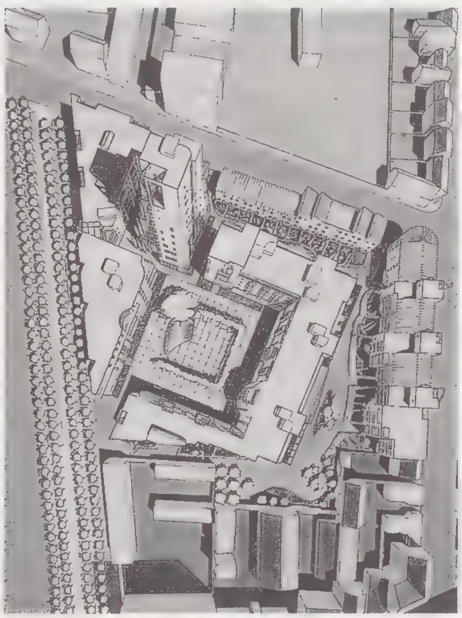
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5. Roland Castro, con M.L. Schneider e S. Rundstadler, Istituto Politecnico di Sevenans, Belfort, Francia, 1988, in costruzione.
Veduta assonometrica.
Foto N. Borel.
L'università è ubicata su un terreno a morfologia complessa: una terrazza naturale domina una forte pendenza che si apre su una pianura attraversata da un torrente, la Savoureuse. Sulla parte alta della pendenza sono "incastonati" una serie di laboratori di ricerca; una galleria li distribuisce e li lega all'edificio-ponte. Quest'ultimo accoglie spazi per la ricerca e la didattica, si sviluppa partendo dalla terrazza e perpendicolarmente alla pendenza; è concepito come uno spazio esterno fatto di strade e piazze. All'estremità opposta della terrazza, l'edificio-ponte scavalca la Savoureuse. L'edificio d'ingresso include una torre inclinata; questo elemento, segnale e simbolo fondatore si propone come unificatore e generatore del sistema.

6. Roland Castro, con N. Normier, Sistemazione della Piazza del Consiglio Generale di Hauts de Seine, 1995.
Prospettiva del grande asse della Défense.
Foto N. Borel.
La scelta di proseguire l'asse della Défense oltre la "Grande Arche" è giustificata dalla necessità di mettere in scena quest'ultima; la presenza di un corso d'acqua longitudinale accompagna il simbolo dell'Arche e figura la continuità visuale dell'asse. Inserito in una concezione unitaria, la costruzione dell'asse dovrà farsi per sequenze, ogni volta in risonanza con la storia urbana dell'intorno.

7. Roland Castro, con S.C.P. Morand, Z.A.C. (zone d'amenagement concertè) a Aguesseau, Clermont Ferrand, France, 1992.
Assonomteria.
Foto N. Borel.
Segnalato da un "campanile vegetalizzato", torre sottile di piccoli alloggi, questo quartiere di abitazioni sociali (PLA) disegna una piazza che permette un collage *di diversi linguaggi e che riqualifica le strade moltiplicando i modi di abitare. Molto contestuale, questo progetto ricostruisce un* faubourg.

8. Roland Castro, con J. Rémond, Centro nazionale del fumetto e dell'immagine, Angoulême, France, 1989.
Vista.
Foto A. Wolf.
È una delle "Grandi Opere" promosse dal Presidente della Repubblica. Questo edificio si articola attorno a un grande vuoto centrale ricavato all'interno di una vecchia fabbrica. E per Angoulême, sede del Festival del Fumetto, uno spazio didattico ed espositivo permanente. Ci dice: collage, strappo, spazialità.

5. Roland Castro with M.L. Schneider and S. Rundstadler, Sevenans Polytechnic, Belfort, France, 1988, under construction.
Axonometric view.
Photo N. Borel.
The university is sited on morphologically complex terrain: a natural terrace dominates a steep slope that opens onto a plain traversed by a small river called the Savoureuse.
A set of research laboratories is "set" into the upper slope, and a gallery distributes and links them to the bridge building. This teaching and research building develops perpendicularly to the slope from the terrace, and is designed as an outside space of roads and plazas. The bridge building spans the Savoureuse at the opposite end of the terrace. The entrance building includes a leaning tower, a landmark and symbol that both unifies and generates the system.
6. Roland Castro with N. Normier, redevelopment of Place du Conseil Général de Hauts de Seine, 1995.
Perspective of the large axis of the Défense.
Photo N. Borel.
The decision to carry the axis of the Défense beyond the "Grande Arche" is justified by the need to draw attention to the Arche.
A longitudinal water course strengthens the symbolic appeal of the Arche and enhances the visual continuity of the axis. Once part of a unified scheme, the axis must be built in stages, each reflecting the urban history of its surroundings.
7. Roland Castro with S.C.P. Morand, Z.A.C. (zone d'amenagement concerté) *in Aguesseau, Clermont Ferrand, France, 1992.*
Axonometric.
Photo N. Borel.
This low-cost housing quarter (PLA) marked by a "vegetal" campanile, a slender tower of small homes, forms a plaza that makes possible a collage of different languages and upgrade streets by multiplying the number of possible lifestyles. This highly contextual project in effect reconstructs a suburb.
8. Roland Castro with J. Rémond, National Comic Strip and Image Centre, Angoulême, France, 1989.
View.
Photo A. Wolf.
This is one of the grands oeuvres *sponsored by the President of the Republic. The building is laid out around a large central void inside a former factory. For Angoulême, which hosts the Comic Strip Festival, it provides permanent teaching and exhibition space. It says to us: collage, split design, awareness of space.*

Così nel dopoguerra ci si ritrova con un'edilizia sostanzialmente fallita, tranne che a Royan, Le Havre e Saint Malo; ci si ritrova con un'ondata di funzionalismo assolutamente folle, che produce ciò che ora vediamo, ossia dei luoghi antiurbani, esasperatamente antiurbani. Ci troviamo oggi a gestire intere zone di territorio che sono escluse dalla città, nate da una concezione di tipo carcerario in cui la stessa forma urbana porta all'esclusione: zone in cui abita o va ad abitare solo chi non ha altra scelta.
È questa la grande sfida di fine secolo in Francia. Se la mobilità residenziale fa sì che in quei luoghi si ritrovino tutti coloro che non hanno un altro posto in cui andare, allora finalmente ci si rende conto di ciò che è stato fatto.
A ciò si aggiunge un rilancio dell'ideologia *pavillonnaire*, della casetta di periferia con giardino di tipo assolutamente *naïf*, con una perdita di sapere altrettanto grave, perché tra un'insignificante lottizzazione odierna e la campagna intono a Parigi (per esempio le piccole lottizzazioni presso la Porte de Montreuil) c'è un mondo urbano, un mondo di degradazione dell'idea urbana.
Occorre inoltre mettere in conto l'esplosione delle grandi reti di viabilità, che si comportano ognuna secondo logiche autonome: così la SNCF (le Ferrovie dello Stato) , così le autostrade. La strada divorzia dalla città, i grandi promotori di reti di mobilità tendono a distruggere tutto. Il rapporto con la geografia è completamente smarrito, si fanno dovunque le stesse cose, e a questo punto non è affatto impensabile che un architetto costruisca un edificio senza nemmeno andare a vedere il sito.
Questo modo di fare invade il mondo fino al 1968.
Si ha allora in Francia, in Italia, un po' dappertutto un "ritorno alla città", che diventerà l'elemento motore del modo di pensare in tutto il periodo seguente e sarà un punto di riferimento necessario per tutto ciò che si costruisce oggi.
Benché ancora oggi le reti infrastrutturali si costruiscano in completa autonomia, e si costruiscano ancora zone industriali, ossia luoghi del lavoro separati dai luoghi d'abitazione e dagli spazi per il tempo libero, benché gli effetti perversi della Carta d'Atene non siano stati del tutto eliminati dalla legislazione, dal costume e dalla mentalità (anche delle Amministrazioni locali), pure il 1968 ha avuto un primo effetto, se non altro sul modo di pensare: il salvataggio dei centri storici ("Tutti al riparo nei centri storici"). Si è diventati addirittura ultrafeticisti nel voler salvare qualsiasi frammento del vecchio centro, qualsiasi sassetto storico.
Il secondo effetto è stato la costruzione delle *villes nouvelles* in base a una concezione urbana dell'autonomia delle singole reti infrastrutturali; e quindi su un tracciato originario strutturalmente mediocre e il cui impianto è probabilmente troppo eccentrico rispetto al nucleo storico.
Le *villes nouvelles* si costruiscono su una tipologia di urbanizzazione "*potagère*", vale a dire che i grandi effetti dell'età razionalista scompaiono a favore dei piccoli

aggregati di case più o meno riusciti e confortevoli, in un rapporto più o meno piacevole con la natura, in forme di *habitat* abbastanza gradevoli, grazie anche all'inserimento di episodi poetici come laghetti, boschi, natura idealizzata, ecc. In una struttura urbana assai frammentaria ma con caratteri architettonici abbastanza felici e con alcune soluzioni veramente riuscite. C'è oggi tutto un lavoro di sedimentazione che dovrebbe tendere a dare sempre più alle *villes nouvelles* uno statuto urbano.
A questi due effetti si aggiunge un'attività di riabilitazione degli edifici degli anni Cinquanta- Sessanta. Riabilitazione che, per lo più, consiste nel ridipingere in rosa ciò che era stato fatto con i pannelli della prefabbricazione pesante, che qualche volta è abbastanza riuscita ed abbastanza apprezzata dagli abitanti, che vedono ridursi le spese di riscaldamento a causa di ristrutturazioni interne degli alloggi, ma spesso è condotta in modo mediocre, cosicché interi quartieri continuano a essere caratterizzati negativamente come riserve di indiani. Si fanno in essi esperimenti di ogni genere, da parte di architetti specializzati in ricerche plastiche che dipingono a colori vivaci, che fanno credere con materiali aggiunti che vi sia una copertura, che fanno innesti, che vanno a cercare in tutta la storia degli stili ogni sorta di episodi pittorici *naïf* da sovrapporre agli edifici.
È un'ideologia che in sostanza non dà grandi apporti alla città e non cambia affatto la condizione d'isolamento dei quartieri: talvolta restituisce ad essi una certa dignità, talvolta ne accentua l'indegnità, fra l'altro con ricerche architettoniche di tipo futurista-fumettistico molto sgradevoli per la sensibilità media.
Ho detto più volte che bisognerebbe utilizzare più spesso gli architetti delle Soprintendenze ai Monumenti nelle *villes nouvelles* e gli architetti ultramoderni nei centri storici: si otterrebbe l'opposto di ciò che di regola accade in questo Paese.
Oggi dunque ci ritroviamo in periferia con un paesaggio architettonico che è sempre estremamente disarticolato, che richiede tempi assurdi per essere ricucito e in cui è tornata in vita l'architettura-oggetto, spesso di buona qualità, ma ignara del rapporto con l'altro, in una condizione di solitudine esaltata dal singolo architetto ripiegato sulla sua sola opera.
Dieci anni fa una nuova ondata, che possiamo chiamare dell'architettura mediatica, ha invaso il panorama architettonico francese. In nome della facciata, dell'orpello, della bella foto, dell'immagine, sono riemerse nell'edilizia abitudini che sembravano scomparse, specialmente a livello di utilizzazione. C'è una gran quantità di velette applicate sugli edifici senza motivo né ordine, così come sessant'anni fa gli architetti coprivano di frangisole anche facciate esposte a nord. Si vedono arrivare il grafico, gli effetti del *computer* sulle cose, e quindi c'è una situazione in un certo senso estranea all'attività di ricucitura, di abbellimento, di liberazione dall'isolamento, di armonizzazione necessaria per la riconquista della centralità nelle periferie.
Naturalmente sono stati compiuti a questo riguardo tentativi di ogni genere; ma c'è oggi una tendenza che occorre denunziare, ed è la sinistra teoria cosiddetta "del caos", nata per influsso della *jet-society* architettonica affascinata da Tokyo, secondo cui la disgregazione e l'antiurbano sarebbero il massimo dello *chic*.
Testimonianza di questa teoria in Francia dovrebbe essere Euralille.
Vi sono però altri tentativi molto più seri e schietti, del genere di quelli dei fratelli Krier, dell'IBA di Berlino, di Bohigas: ricerche di armonia urbana, di riallaccio alla tradizione, di recupero di tutta una storia urbana.
Dopo questa serie di constatazioni vorrei presentare alcuni miei lavori, alcuni progetti che concorrono alla ricostruzione di un pensiero focalizzato sui luoghi piuttosto che sull'oggetto, sui rapporti del luogo con altri luoghi piuttosto che sugli oggetti, sulle idee di *collage*, di frammento, di mosaico, di *patchwork* ricucito.
Un'unica geometria e una molteplicità di scritture, di disposizioni, di emozioni offerte da un insieme di singolarità.
Dopo la frattura del 1968 ho fatto, da solo o con altri, alcuni tentativi per ricostruire una qualità urbana.
Il progetto "Le Grand Paris" di cui Michel Cantal-Dupart e io siamo stati incaricati nel 1983 dal Presidente della Repubblica ha costituito, con tutto il lavoro di riflessione sui rapporti fra centro e periferia a Parigi, una componente essenziale del ritorno a un pensiero urbano su scala metropolitana; e in quest'occasione abbiamo introdotto alcuni concetti nuovi.
Il concetto di *luogo magico* corrisponde a un modo di pensare il luogo nel territorio a partire dalla particolare poesia di un punto singolare, dalla presenza di un elemento fecondabile. Si tratta di un fatto di denominazione più che di tecnica, di un'idea di luogo e di località in opposizione a tutto quel ciarpame ("i 3000", "i 4000", "i 727") che equivale ad ammettere una triste realtà: lo stoccaggio nei *grandes ensembles*. È un'idea di rapporto fra strada e città fondato sulla congruenza anziché sulla lacerazione. È un'idea anti-zonizzazione, un'idea della piega, del ripiegamento, della geografia. È la certezza che nella storia urbana non vi è nessuna perdita irrimediabile della speranza: anche quello che è stato il più grande disastro urbanistico della storia umana – il fenomeno di tipo totalitario che ha prodotto le periferie che conosciamo – non rappresenta un destino inesorabile. È possibile recuperare le periferie, punto per punto, in una logica poetica sovraimpressa; è possibile, in lotta con la logica tecnocratica, reinventare l'attrattiva, il pittoresco, i luoghi, i rapporti, la qualità urbana.
Il progetto "Le Grand Paris" esprime inoltre l'idea del policentrismo. Dalla riflessione sul territorio della regione parigina e sul rapporto fra il centro storico della capitale, così esattamente disegnato, e la sua immediata periferia, così disgregata, emerge la proposta di moltiplicare i centri,

building was a catalogue of failure, a wave of insane functionalism that produced what we see now: a regrettable array of profoundly, exaggeratedly anti-urban places. We now have to try to manage entire districts that have been totally excluded from the wider life of the city by a prison-house mentality which used urban layout deliberately to create this exclusion. The districts where people already live, or go to live, only if they have no other choice.

This is France's great end-of-century disgrace and challenge. If housing mobility means that these places are full of people who have no where else to go to, we may eventually realise what has been done.

Another feature of post-war development was a revival of pavillonnaire *ideology – the suburban cottage with garden – that was totally naive and pointed to an equally serious lack of awareness. In reality, between this banal land-apportionment concept and the countryside around Paris (e.g. the small lots at Porte de Montreuil) there lay an entire urban world in which the urban concept itself had been degraded.*

These trends were only encouraged by the spread of the great communications networks – the railways (SNCF) and the motorways – that obey their own independent logic. The road divorced itself from the city; those who supported major transport schemes and mass mobility in effect destroyed everything. People lost all geographical awareness; the same things were built everywhere; it was no longer beyond the bounds of possibility that an architect might erect a building without even visiting its site.

This way of doing things lasted until 1968, when in France, Italy and most other countries there was a "return to the city" that would become an ideological force in the period immediately after, as well as a necessary benchmark for everything that is being done now.

Although even today roads are still being built seemingly without reference to anything else, and although industrial estates (i.e. places of work separated from the places where people live and spend their free time) are still being built, and although the perverse effects of the Athens Charter still linger on in human legislation, customs and mentality (including those of local government), the fact that 1968 actually happened *had one immediate effect, if only on people's way of thinking; namely the belief that our historical centres must be protected ("Everyone take shelter in the historical centres"). Some people have even become ultra-fetishistic in their desire to preserve* any *fragment of the old centre,* any *piece of stone with a history.*

The second effect of 1968 was the building of the villes nouvelles *based on an urban concept of individually autonomous infrastructure networks (meaning that the original grids were mediocre) whose layouts were probably too eccentric compared with those of historical nuclei. The* villes nouvelles *typology was essentially garden or orchard inspired. The grand sweep of functionalist design disappeared in favour of small groups of houses (of varingly attractive design and comfort) in on the whole pleasant natural surroundings and habitats rendered even more attractive by "poetic" features like ponds, woods, imitation natural elements, etc. The result was a highly fragmented urban structure combined with fairly attractive architecture, and one or two admittedly successful solutions. Sedimentation now has to take place; as and when it does, the* villes nouvelles *will increasingly acquire true urban status.*

The third effect has been the rehabilitation of buildings dating from the functionalist period – rehabilitation, moreover, which involved repainting prefabricated panel buildings pink. Sometimes it worked, and the inhabitants of the buildings quite liked the result (as well as their smaller heating bills), but more often the outcome was mediocre: to this day, entire quarters of the city still look like Indian reservations. All manner of experiments were tried out by architects specialising in the plastic arts who painted everything with bright colours, convinced people that their added-on materials really were roofs, grafted bits on to existing buildings, ransacked the history of style for any sort of naive pictorial feature they could superimpose on buildings. None of this made any great contribution ot the city, and did nothing to remedy the isolation of the districts themselves. Sometimes it restored a certain dignity to them, but equally often it drew attention to or even created a lack *of dignity, thanks to futurist comic-strip architectural experiments that ordinary people found revolting.*

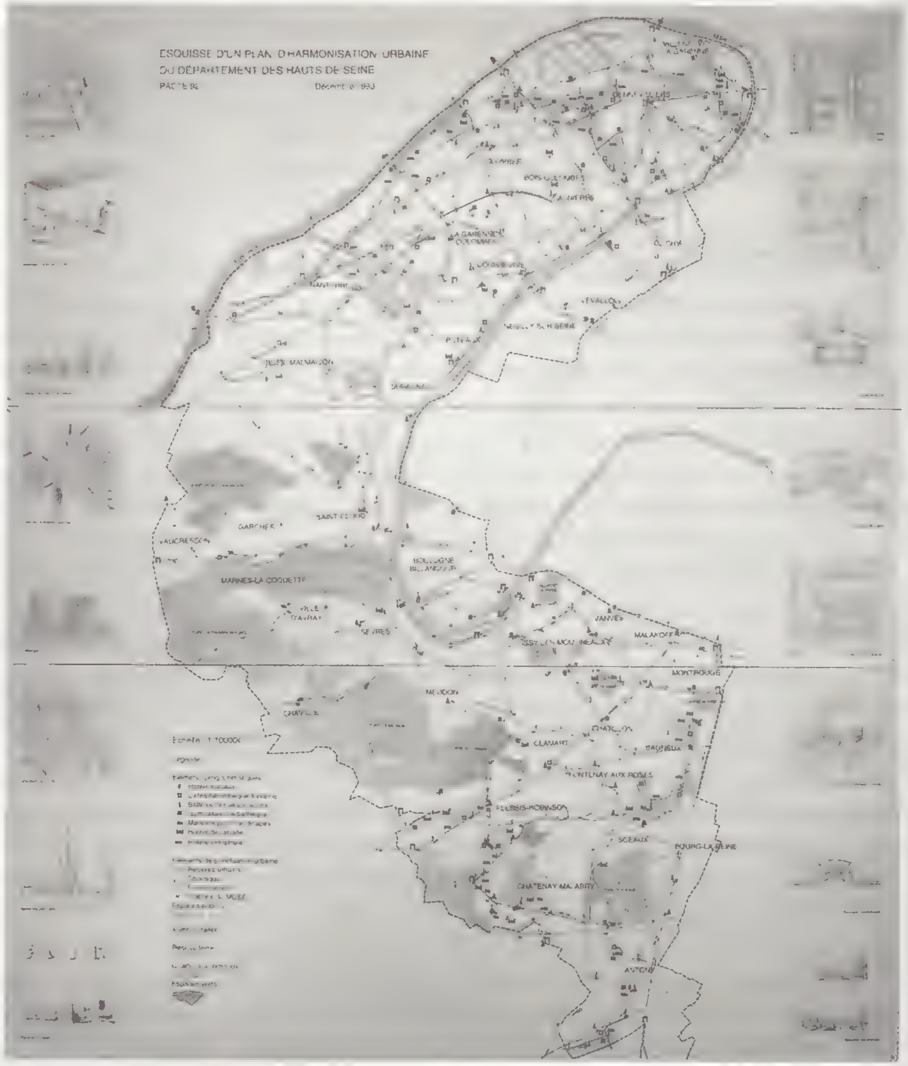
I have repeatedly said that architectural heritage architects should be employed more often in the villes nouvelles, *and that ultra-modern architects should be employed in the historical centres: the result would be the opposite of what usually happens in France.*

In the suburbs we have extremely discontinuous architectural landscapes whose restitching requires a disproportionate amount of time, and isolated buildings – architectural objects – that fail to relate to each other and exist in a solitude exacerbated by the efforts of individual architects totally involved in their own work and blind to everyone else's.

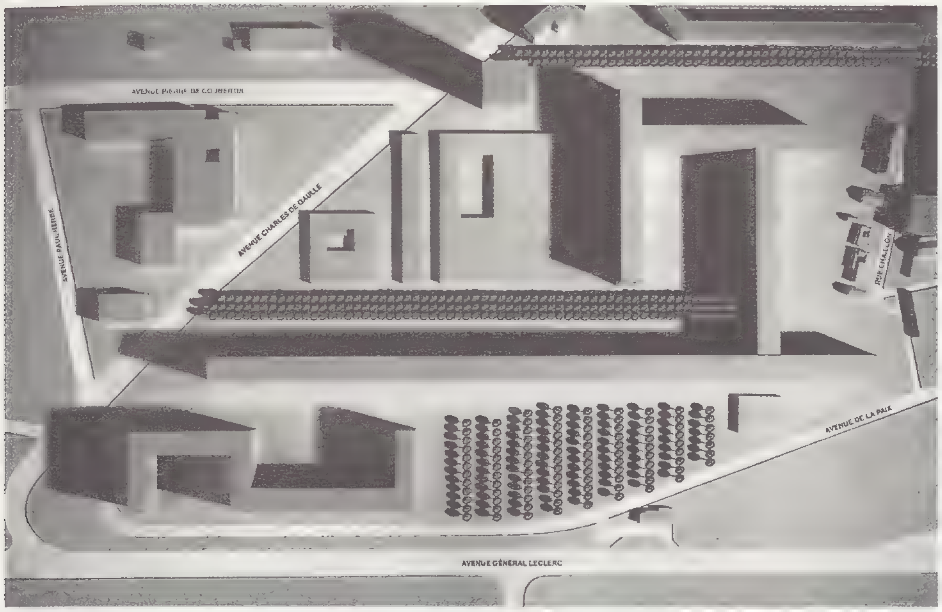
Ten years ago, a new kind of what we could call "media" architecture arrived on the French architectural scene. A new interest in façade, appearance, the fine photograph, the telling image, brought about a revival in architectural usages and (especially) use that seemed to have disappeared for good. Veils and screens were added to buildings without rhyme or reason, much as sun-blinds were installed even on north-facing walls sixty years earlier, graphic and computer designs appeared as decoration on buildings and objects. It all seemed to have little to do with sewing the suburbs back together again, or with embellishment, or with release from isolation, or with harmonisation – all the things that would make the peripheries truly part of the city again.

Naturally, all sorts of attempts have made to try to make this happen. One that calls for immediate condemnation is

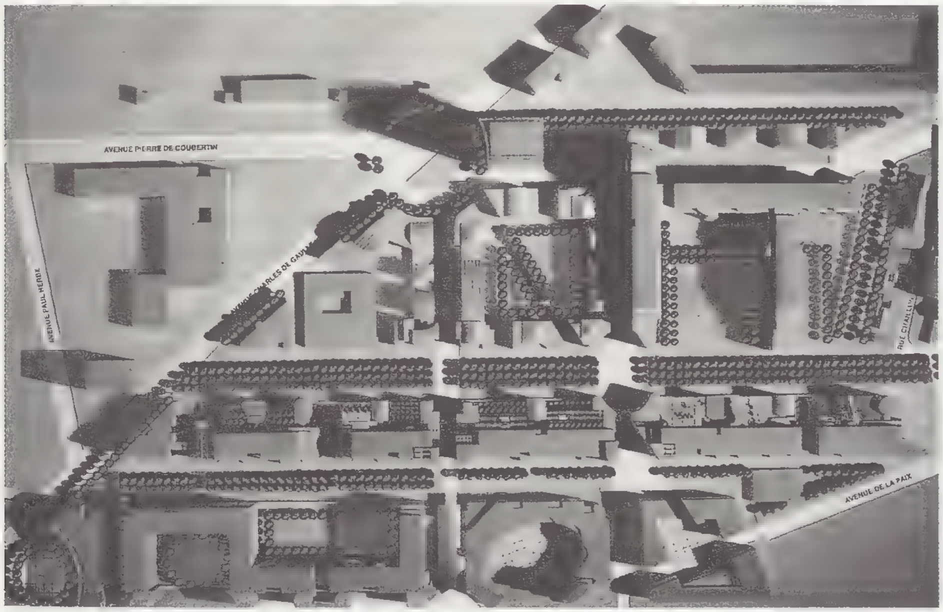
9. Roland Castro, con B. Lamy, "Piano generale di lotta contro la segregazione urbana", Diparimento Hauts de Seine, 1993. Planimetria generale.
Foto N. Borel.
Questo piano propone: apertura dei quartieri; sistemazione delle piazze, dei viali, dei caposaldi; riconquista delle aree libere, soppresione di alcune fratture; riorganizzazione delle attrezzature pubbliche in direzione di un progetto urbano generale; indispensabile rimodellamento di certi luoghi.
Questo piano suppone: di recuperare luoghi, anziché accumulare oggetti; di rendere concava la città, dimenticare le aggressioni plastiche respingenti; di reintrodurre il fascino e il pittoresco.
Nel quadro di questo piano cinque luoghi prioritari sono stati scelti per dare inizio alla applicazione di queste misure; tra questi cinque, il Quartiere "La Caravelle" a Villeneuve-la-Garenne.
10.-13. Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof, Progetto urbano di desenclavement *del* grand ensemble *"La Caravelle", Villeneuve-la-Garenne, Parigi, 1994.*
Vista del modello dello stato di fatto e di progetto, assonometria del fronte est, schizzo della piazza ovale.
Foto N. Borel
In questo progetto di rimodellamento di un grand ensemble *ci sono diverse scale di intervento: reintegrare il quartiere nella città; effettuare un rimodellamento interno creando strade e piazze; lavorare sugli edifici esistenti, creare nuove tipologie di abitazione con l'aiuto di* maisonnées, bow windows, *balconi, ecc.*
Tutto questo lavoro modifica la scala del quartiere, marca la distinzione tra gli spazi pubblici, semi-pubblici e privati e permette di ritrovare anche un nuovo piacere dell'abitare.



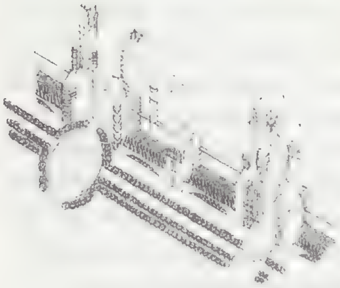
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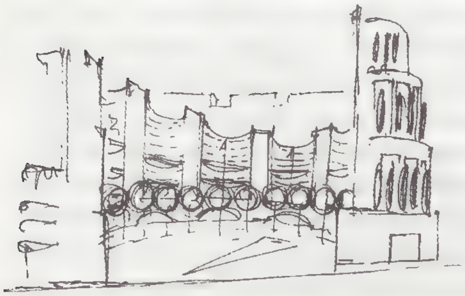
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9. Roland Castro with B. Lamy, "General Plan for the Fight Against Urban Segregation", Department of Hauts de Seine, 1993.
General plan.
Photo N. Borel.
This plan includes: the opening up of the quarters; redevelopment of squares, avenues and points of attraction; reclamation of undeveloped areas, elimination of discontinuities; reorganisation of public amenities with a view to developing a general urban project; essential remodelling of some places.
The plan aims to: salvage places rather than accumulate objects; make the town concave and abolish aggressive, alienating building design; reinstate charm and picturesqueness.
Five priority locations were chosen for the implementation of these measures. One is the "La Caravelle" quarter in Villeneuve-la-Garenne.
10.-13. Roland Castro and Sophie Denissof, urban project to open up the "La Caravelle" grand ensemble, Villeneuve-La-Garenne, Paris, 1994.
View of the model showing the current situation and what the finished project will look like; axonometric of the east front; sketch of the oval plaza.
Photo N. Borel
This grand ensemble remodelling project works on a variety of scales: reintegration of the quarter in the town; internal remodelling to create streets and plazas; work on existing buildings and the creation of new housing typologies with the aid of bow windows, maisonnées, balconies, etc.
All this modifies the scale of the quarter, creates a distinction between public, semi-public and private spaces and gives people a new pleasure in living where they do.

realizzando alcuni luoghi di particolare intensità sulle rive della Senna a sud, nella pianura a nord, nel sito delle officine Renault a ovest e nell'ansa di Gennevilliers a nordovest. Quest'idea della pluralità dei centri è stata tradotta in gergo tecnocratico, ed inserita nel documento ufficiale destinato a definire il futuro di Parigi e della sua prima cintura periferica: il Piano regolatore generale dell'area metropolitana.

Negli Hauts de Seine, il settore occidentale della prima cintura parigina, sto facendo da due anni in maniera molto più fine ciò che avevo cominciato a fare nel "Grand Paris". Per questa regione ho redatto un piano, esteso dal Nord al Sud, in cui viene esaminata, sviluppata e proposta l'idea di attuare in questo territorio degradato un sistema di riammagliatura spaziale, di ricucitura, di liberazione dall'isolamento e di abbellimento. Da un vasto lavoro d'indagine e di analisi sono emerse alcune proposte strategiche, che richiederebbero ovviamente una ventina d'anni per concretizzarsi: creazione di almeno 200 piazze pubbliche, ristrutturazione di circa 60 *grands ensembles* degli anni Cinquanta-Sessanta, integrazione nel tessuto urbano di un gran numero di strade che avevano provocato violente lacerazioni, sistemazione di tutte le discontinuità prodotte dalle linee ferroviarie, valorizzazione e inserimento di luoghi ricchi di poesia come giardini, ecc. Si tratta di un enorme lavoro di riassetto del *patchwork* di questa regione. In quest'occasione è stata anche avanzata l'idea di creare nelle nuove piazze pubbliche attrezzature di tipo diverso, associando tra loro palestra e mediateca, caffè e biblioteca, e di eseguire un lavoro di ripunteggiatura del territorio.

Ho indicato tutto ciò col nome di strategia della linea, del punto d'intensità e del rimodellamento. A partire dall'intervento sulle linee, ossia sulle connessioni di lunga distanza situate su determinate direttrici, si può pensare di ricomporre il tessuto lacerato ricostruendo, là dove c'è una via di scorrimento veloce, un vero *boulevard* urbano, un viale con piazze, raccordi, punti singolari. A partire dal concetto di punto d'intensità è possibile costruire, dovunque sia necessario, dei "luoghi", dei nodi intensamente urbani, che rappresentino dei fari, dei segnali a grande scala urbana, installati in un territorio privo di punti di riferimento. Infine, per completare questo dispositivo, si può realizzare una totalità fondata su una nuova elaborazione, dei collegamenti e degli elementi di articolazione tra le varie parti del *patchwork*, finalizzata all'idea di rimodellamento.

Questo grande progetto presuppone naturalmente accordi su scala regionale con i singoli Comuni: la maggior parte degli interventi da fare sono infatti a scala intercomunale, essendo in gioco proprio le zone più trascurate dei singoli Comuni. Presuppone inoltre una volontà indomita di dare forma visibile all'esigenza che ogni angolo della periferia sia frequentato e accettato dagli altri, sia un luogo accogliente e non soltanto l'unico luogo praticabile per coloro che vi abitano. Quest'impresa ha quindi bisogno di un grande progetto, che oggi esiste, e al tempo stesso di grandi risoluzioni, che implicano un concorso di volontà da parte dello Stato, del Consiglio Generale degli Hauts de Seine – committente del progetto – e di tutti i Comuni della regione. Ma è molto interessante sottolineare che disponiamo di un documento intitolato *Piano per la lotta contro la segregazione urbana*, che è sostenuto dalla volontà del presidente del Consiglio Generale degli Hauts de Seine. Il progetto richiede l'incontro con le volontà dei vari Comuni e la conduzione di trattative con essi sull'intero contenuto del Piano. La preoccupazione di attuare il Piano induce a non pubblicarlo ancora, come sarebbe possibile, come il gran libro della riconciliazione negli Hauts de Seine: verrà pubblicato solo quando avranno preso il via in un certo numero di località i primi progetti, a cominciare dal progetto-guida, quello di ristrutturazione del *grand ensemble* di 1700 alloggi "La Caravelle" a Villeneuve-la-Garenne, nella parte settentrionale della regione.

Alcuni anni fa, in occasione del programma "Banlieues 89" – comprendente un gran numero di progetti, nell'ottica generale della liberazione dall'isolamento e dell'abbellimento – ho costruito il centro di una cittadina di periferia dell'agglomerato lionese, Oullins: una specie di piccola San Gimignano con quattro campaniletti e pochissime "quantità", 80 alloggi in accessione o in affitto. Sono riuscito a realizzare un sistema con piazza pubblica e luoghi emergenti che dà un'identità a un centro cittadino che ne era privo. È un progetto piccolo, ma molto importante come simbolo, un progetto che è stato attuato e che funziona, dando un nuovo orgoglio civico agli abitanti e un nuovo vigore al centro, e che è la metonimia di ciò che bisognerebbe fare in tutti quei luoghi d'intensità di cui parlavo a proposito degli Hauts de Seine. L'idea di far emergere dei luoghi "forti", identificabili, attraenti, pittoreschi in territori indifferenziati, sprovvisti di queste presenze singolari, è un'idea che funziona: è un fatto dimostrato.

A Lorient, sulla costa atlantica della Bretagna, si sta ultimando l'opera di cui sono più orgoglioso e che rappresenterà probabilmente un episodio guida nella lotta contro la mentalità funzionalista. Si tratta di tre enormi *barres*, sulle quali eseguo un'operazione radicale di *judo* urbano. Apro un viale verso il mare, riduco – parzialmente – di due o quattro piani l'altezza degli edifici, aggiungo degli elementi plastici che ridanno un carattere a quegli spaventosi corpi lineari, eseguo riabilitazioni pesanti mediante un sistema di grandi *bow-window* che raddoppiano la dimensione dei soggiorni, passando da mq 14 a 28, e progetto grandi spazi semicilindrici vetrati di m 5,50 di diametro, che danno alle abitazioni un aspetto completamente diverso. Inoltre metto in opera un enorme lavoro per mettere fine all'"impilamento", un lavoro svolto con mezzi plastici, ad esempio con dei sistemi di cornici. E soprattutto non sistematizzare gli elementi aggiunti: si può introdurre talvolta una colonna di *bow-window* nei

the sinister "chaos" theory the Tokyo-enamoured architectural jet-set is so keen on, which sees disgregation and anti-urban design as the ultimate in chic. Eurolille is the supreme concrete expression of this theory in France. However, other more genuine and serious efforts have been made, most impressively by the Kriers, the IBA in Berlin and Bohigas in Barcelona, all of whom have sought to re-establish harmony, salvage links with tradition, reinstate an entire urban history.

After this brief survey I would now like to describe some of my own projects in which I have attempted to draw attention away from things and back to places and the relationships between places; back to concepts of collage, fragment, mosaic and patchwork. The notion of single geometry but a multiplicity of styles and layouts; a multiplicity of responses to a set of individually unique experiences.

After the rupture of 1968 I made efforts, either alone or with others, to restore some notion of urban design to the city. "Le Grand Paris" project which Michel Cantal-Dupart and I were asked to develop in 1983 by the President of France involved a far-reaching analysis of the relationship between centre and periphery in Paris. This analysis made an essential contribution to the development of our urban design philosophy on a metropolitan scale, and we used it to introduce a number of new concepts.

One of these, the concept of magic place, *sees places in terms of their unique poetic features, their "fertilisable" elements. This is more a matter of naming than of technique, of a real notion of place and site as opposed to all the modish twaddle we hear so often ("the 3000s", "the 4000s", "the 727s") that in effect is an admission of the sad truth that France's* grandes ensembles *are human stockpiles. Our concept of the relationship between street and city stresses consistency and continuity rather than laceration and discontinuity. It is a concept of anti-zoning, of geographical folding, unfolding and refolding, based on the certainty that, in the history of cities, there is never any irretrievable loss of hope. Even the grim effects of what must be considered the greatest urban planning disaster in the history of mankind – the totalitarianism that has produced the suburbs we know now – are not irreversible. We can recuperate our suburbs in stages by making them poetic; in the fight against technocracy we can reinstate attractiveness, charm, picturesqueness, sense of place, relationships between places, urban quality.*

"Le Grand Paris" project is also polycentric. Our analysis of the Paris region, and how the historical centre of the capital (designed with such exactitude) relates to its immediate periphery (so thoroughly disgregated), convinced us that we should create more centres, new focuses on the banks of the Seine to the south, on the plain to the north, on the Renault factory site to the west and in the Gennevilliers bight to the north-west. Once translated into technocratic jargon, this concept of a multiplicity of centres at last found its way into the official General Plan for the Metropolitan Area that would determine the future of Paris and its first peripheral belt.

Over the past two years, I have been doing with much greater subtlety in the Hauts de Seine region what I started doing in the "Grand Paris" project. The first step was to draw up a north-south plan that analyses, develops and presents the possibility of sewing the area back together again, releasing it from isolation, rendering it more beautiful. This wide-ranging analysis eventually led to planning strategies that will obviously take around twenty years to implement: the creation of at least 200 public squares, the rehabilitation of around 60 large complexes built during the functionalist era, re-integration into the urban fabric of the railway lines and numerous roads that have destroyed continuity, and the enhancement or creation of poetic features like gardens, etc.

This involves a huge amount of work in repairing the patchwork of the region. We also suggest the creation of new public square typologies that bring together gyms and media centres, cafés and libraries and so help to remesh the urban fabric.

I have christened these ideas as strategies of line, node *and* remodelling. *Through intervention on* lines, *i.e. long-distance connections in given directions, we can re-weave the torn urban fabric by building a genuine urban boulevard – an aveneue with squares, intersections and points of interest – wherever there is already a fast road. By working on* nodes, *or points of urban intensity, we can create, wherever necessary, places that act as beacons, lightbuoys on an urban scale, in landscapes without landmarks. Finally, to achieve all this the whole area needs* remodelling, *i.e. the connections and links between the various parts of the patchwork have to be redesigned.*

This ambitious project naturally calls for negotiation on a regional scale with individual municipalities. Most of the things that have to be done affect more than one municipality because they seek to remedy the defects of precisely those areas that individual municipalities have neglected. It also calls for an iron determination to give visible form to the philosophy that every inch of the outskirts should be visited and accepted as a welcoming place by other people, as opposed to places lived in by people who have no other choice. Hence the need for an ambitious project – which we already have – and real determination on the part of national government, the Conseil Général of the Hauts de Seine region (the client) and all the municipalities in the region. It's interesting to know that even now there exists a document called Plan for the Fight Against Urban Segregation *sponsored by a chairman of the Conseil Général. The aim is now to meet the wishes of the various municipalities and discuss the entire content of the plan with them, but worries over the actual implementation of the plan are preventing the document from being published now (as it could be) as the great book of municipal reconciliation in the Hauts de Seine. It will be published only when a handful of preliminary projects have*



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14.-19. Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof, con J.L. Pellerin (A.U.R.A.) e C. Gautier (A.U.L.), Rimodellamento urbano di Quai de Rohan, Lorient, Bretagna, Francia, 1989.
Vista a volo d'uccello dell'area prima dell'intervento.
Foto S. Cuisset.
Vista a volo d'uccello dell'area dopo l'intervento.
Foto Renders.
Viste esterne.
Foto N. Borel.
Planimetria generale prima e dopo l'intervento.
All'origine di questo intervento due barre di m 80 e m 160 di lunghezza. Ciascuna di una larghezza di m 10, alta una decina di piani. Costruite all'inizio degli anni Sessanta, hanno fatto di Quai de Rohan a Lorient una zona di emarginazione, sociale e urbana.
L'obiettivo di partenza: non demolire per ricostruire, né limitarsi ad un restauro di superficie, una sorta di intonacatura di lusso. La sfida è allora di partire da queste barre monolitiche, dalle loro mancanze e dai loro vincoli.
La personalità degli edifici è tale da dover integrare le loro debolezze per giungere a ridisegnare un luogo. Fare di questo luogo un quartiere, un pezzo di città senza sconvolgere il tessuto sociale, senza che l'aumento degli affitti penalizzi i locatari d'origine.
Questa operazione ha reso necessarie più collaborazioni: una equipe per lo "Sviluppo sociale del quartiere" (D.S.Q.), installata in sito, che ha instaurato un dialogo sistematico con la popolazione, giocando un ruolo intermediario tra i diversi protagonisti, assicurando quindi la più completa comprensione del progetto; una impresa che, oltre a trovare soluzioni pertinenti a problemi tecnici come lo smantellamento o la demolizione di un intero corpo scala, ha mantenuto il proprio ruolo nei confronti dell'obiettivo sociale dell'operazione; un ufficio HLM che ha inventato il finanziamento per una operazione come questa, coinvolgendo il più ampio ventaglio di collaboratori; una volontà politica e municipale schierata a sostegno del progetto, che rende la sua realizzazione voluta e quindi possibile.
Questa operazione ha avuto bisogno di un progetto architettonico propriamente detto: rimodellare, smantellare, costruire, disegnare; fare di questo spazio un luogo, un quartiere di città. Demolire integralmente uno dei corpi scala della barra più grande, aprire così un grande viale verso il mare e ritrovare all'intorno le tracce della città. Creare strade inserendo piccoli edifici di quattro piani tra le barre, trasformando grandi spazi vuoti non qualificati in piazze. Rompere la monotonia, lavorare sulla linea di cielo e sul rapporto con le costruzioni all'intorno, smantellando, abbassando la barra in direzione della città per riportarla a proporzioni più simili ai vicini edifici a padiglione, e conservando in direzione

della darsena undici, dodici piani, in armonia con gli edifici più alti che si affacciano sulle banchine.
Costruire alloggi per studenti in un edificio adatto a persone che necessitano assistenza.
Praticare tutti i tipi di modifiche: dalle semplici messe a norma, a lavori più importanti sulle superfici delle facciate con l'aggiunta dei bow window, *a modifiche dei corpi scala trasformando tutta la distribuzione di un piano, così come la costruzione di edifici nuovi.*
Commuovere e addolcire. Introdurre questo luogo nella città, riqualificarlo; farne una componente della città.

14.-19. Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof with J.L. Pellerin (A.U.R.A.) and C. Gautier (A.U.L.), urban remodelling of Quai de Rohan, Lorient, Brittany, France, 1989.
Bird's-eye view of the area before intervention.
Photo S. Cuisset.
Bird's-eye view of the area after intervention.
Photo Renders.
External views.
Photo N. Borel.
General plan before and after intervention.
The original situation consisted of two barres *80 and 160 metres long and 10 metres wide, built in the early 1960s, which had made Quai de Rohan in Lorient an alienated area in social and urban terms.*
The prime objective: don't demolish but reconstruct, and don't limit this to surface restoration, a kind of luxury face-lift. Thus, the challenge was the monolithic barres *themselves, with all their shortcomings and constraints.*
The personality of the buildings entailed assimilating shortcomings to create a real place, a genuine quarter, a piece of the town, without disturbing the social fabric or penalising its original inhabitants with unaffordable rent increases.
All this called for a whole range of collaborators: a team for the "Social Development of the Quarter" (D.S.Q.) permanently on site which systematically contacted the entire population and acted as an intermediary between all concerned, thus ensuring that everyone understood what the project was about; a contractor committed to the social aims of the project, as well as to finding appropriate technical solutions to problems like the dismantling or demolition of an entire stair block; an HLM office to arrange the financing of a project like this one involving the broadest possible spectrum of collaborators; a political and municipal lobby in favour of the project, making its implementation desirable and so feasible.
All this called for an architectural project in the true sense of the term: remodelling, dismantling, building, designing; in short, making the area into a real place, a genuine quarter of the town. Thus: one of the stairs blocks was totally demolished to open up a broad avenue to the seas and reveal the



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surrounding town; streets were created by inserting small four-storey buildings between the barres, *transforming large undeveloped spaces into attractive plazas; monotony was broken, the skyline was altered and the relationship with other buildings was improved by lowering the* barres *in the direction of the town to bring it into scale with neighbouring pavilion-style buildings, and keeping to eleven and twelve storeys in the direction of the harbour basin, in scale with the taller buildings flanking the quays.*
Also: student accommodation was provided in a building appropriate for this purpose, and all necessary modifications to the quarter were made, ranging from straightforward conformity to legal standards to more important intervention on façades with the addition of bow windows, changes to stair blocks that altered the layout of entire floors, and the construction of new buildings.
The aim was to involve people emotionally and win them over to the project; put the area back on the map, refurbish it, make it a part of the town.

soggiorni, ma non aggiungere un *bow-window* sistematicamente davanti ogni soggiorno, per non replicare semplicemente l'effetto di stoccaggio del complesso originario. Esteticamente riprendo molte cose dall'edilizia balneare e dall'architettura delle navi, sia su grande scala, sia per inscrivere la piccola scala in quella grande. Con piccoli edifici bassi trasformo luoghi non qualificati e non conclusi in luoghi che improvvisamente diventano appropriabili.
Con questo progetto da un sistema monomaniacale di grandi *barres* rettilinee e di 11 piani, lunghe m 200 e 100, si è passati a un sistema estremamente complesso. È un grande successo sociale, oltre che architettonico, perché in quest'occasione è stato svolto anche un grande lavoro sociale di sensibilizzazione, condotto con la massima serietà, famiglia per famiglia. Oggi nel quartiere c'è una ripresa di orgoglio civico e le forze vive della città, la Camera di commercio, tutti coloro che vogliono ridare dinamismo a Lorient, conducono i loro ospiti a visitare questa zona, per mostrare loro come un quartiere che era il più malvisto e il meno vivibile di tutta Lorient è considerato oggi uno dei più belli della città.
Un progetto del genere, di 500 alloggi, richiede almeno 5-6 anni di lavoro tra studio, pubblicizzazione, trattative con gli abitanti e costruzione. C'è inoltre il vincolo che nessuno dei residenti debba abbandonare il quartiere: per consentire loro di affrontare nel modo migliore i disagi connessi con un programma urbanistico e architettonico così impegnativo si sono adottati vari provvedimenti, tra cui un sistema d'alloggio temporaneo. A mio parere questo progetto è un prototipo di ciò che bisogna fare: non vi è semplice spreco di denaro; non si tratta di una riabilitazione, ma di una vero e proprio rimodellamento.
I principi del rimodellamento sono i seguenti:
1. Dal punto di vista architettonico, occorre reimpostare *ex novo* il problema dell'abitazione economica HLM (*Habitations à Loyer Moderèe*). Non dovrà esserci più nessuna manifestazione visibile del lessico architettonico delle "case popolari": occorre bandire tutto ciò che possa far pensare a un'innovazione architettonica condotta a scapito degli utenti, e dare invece a questi luoghi, mediante l'architettura, una dignità che li renda omogenei al resto della città.
2. Bisogna eliminare con mezzi architettonici l'effetto caserma. Per questo c'è da fare tutta una ricerca di modulazioni, di articolazione delle superfici, di cornici, un lavoro d'architettura terribilmente complesso, che esige certezze d'ordine plastico sulla necessità di evitare la ripetitività; un lavoro di miscelazione tra grande e piccola scala, senza formule precostituite fondate su ciò che esiste, ma al contrario come apporto generato da un'immaginazione creativa che si sovrappone all'esistente.
3. Niente è "troppo bello". Per esempio a Lorient vi sono elementi che hanno una funzione essenzialmente estetica, come l'immensa facciata ultramodernista – che potrebbe appartenere a un progetto di Jean Nouvel –, il cui costo è

been tried out in selected municipalities, starting with the pilot project for the refurbishment of the "La Caravelle" grand ensemble of 1700 dwellings at Villeneuve-la-Garenne in the south of the region.

Some years ago, as part of the "Banlieues 89" scheme including numerous projects intended to relieve the isolation and ugliness of existing buildings, I designed and built the centre of a small satellite town called Oullins just outside the Lyon conurbation. It's a kind of small San Gimignano with four campanili, very little "quantity" and 80 dwellings for sale or rent. I succeeded in producing a system of public squares and places of interest that has given the small town a real identity, something it had never had before. The project is a small one, but symbolically it's very important as proof that such projects can be built, and do actually work in practice, encouraging new civic pride in inhabitants and bringing new vitality to town centres. As such, it is a model for what should be done in all the "nodes" in the Hautes de Seine region I mentioned earlier. The idea of creating "strong", identifiable, attractive, picturesque places in totally featureless areas is an idea that works, and has been shown to work.

In Lorient on the Atlantic coast of Brittany, the piece of work I am probably most proud of to date in my career is now nearing completion, and may well come to be seen as an object lesson in how best to combat the evil effects of functionalism. The starting point was a group of three huge barres, on which I'm performing a sort of urban judo by opening up an avenue on the seafront, chopping up the two- and four-storey buildings, adding new saw-tooth volumes to give some character to the awful original blocks, refurbishing on a substantial scale with large bow-windows that double the size of living-rooms (from 14 to 28 square metres), and designing large glass half-cylinders 5.5 metres in diameter to transform the appearance of the dwellings. All this is, in effect, a major attempt to counteract the "stacking" effect using plastic techniques like the additon of frame systems. The most important point about the project is that it doesn't duplicate what already exists: a column of bow-wondows can be added, but not where there are living-rooms, which would simply duplicate the stacked effect of the original complex. I have also borrowed many stylistic features from seaside and naval architecture, both on a large scale and as a way of inserting a smaller scale inside a larger one. Using small buildings, I am transforming unfinished, uninteresting places into places that people suddenly want to live in and make their own.

Thus, this project has converted a monomaniacal system of huge, four-square, 11-storey barres 100 or 200 metres long into a much more complicated system that people can enjoy living in. It has been a great social as well as architectural success because a huge job of social sensitisation has been carried out with the utmost seriousness, family by family, throughout the entire complex. Civic pride has blossomed again in the quarter, and the towns' opinion-leaders, Chamber of Commerce and anyone who wants Lorient to be a vital place again, all bring visitors to see this quarter, to show them how what was once the most unpopular and uninhabitable district in the whole of Lorient is now one of its most successful residential areas.

A project like this involving 500 dwellings takes at least 5-6 years to take from design, publicity and negotiations with inhabitants, to construction and final completion. There is also the social proviso that none of the present inhabitants must leave the quarter, so various measures, including the provision of temporary accommodation, were taken to help them cope better with the inconvenience of urban and architectural redesign on such a scale. I think this project is a prototype for what should be done everywhere: no money wasted, and genuine remodelling rather than simple refurbishment.

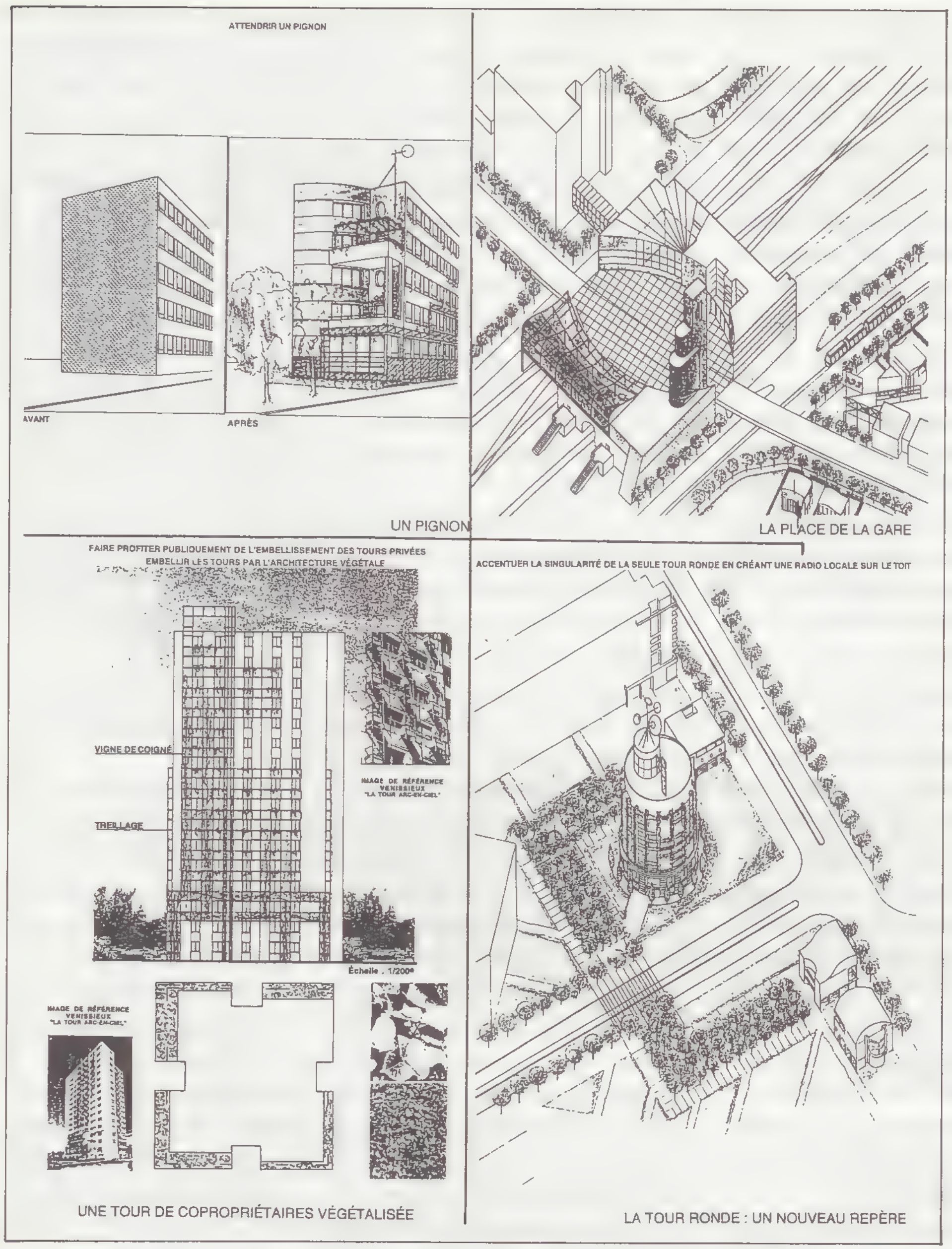
The four major principles of remodelling are:

1. Architecturally, a complete rethink of low-cost housing (HLM). There should no longer be any visible evidence that less money has been spent, so anything suggesting that architects have been experimenting at the expense of inhabitants must be abolished, and architecture should be used to bestow a dignity that puts low-cost quarters on the same footing as the rest of the city.
2. Architectural devices should be used to eliminate the "barracks" effect: variable framing and cornicing, textural variety of surface, etc. This is a terribly complex job requiring plastic and sculptural expertise to avoid the effect of stacking, and a blend of large and small scales based not on formulas deriving from what already exists, but on creative solutions incorporating what already exists.
3. Nothing can be "too beautiful". For example, Lorient ha features that are essentially aesthetic in function, like the huge, ultra-modern glass balcony (it could be straight from a design by Jean Nouvel) which the local authorities agreed to finance over and above the cost of an ordinary façade so that the building would, as it were, explode into modernity.
4. Great care should be taken over use. In Lorient I extended the original four home typologies to fifty-two (round, square, cubic, segmented) not just for aesthetic reasons but also to make them more habitable with a variety of features like terraces, annexes, interesting corners and alcoves, etc.

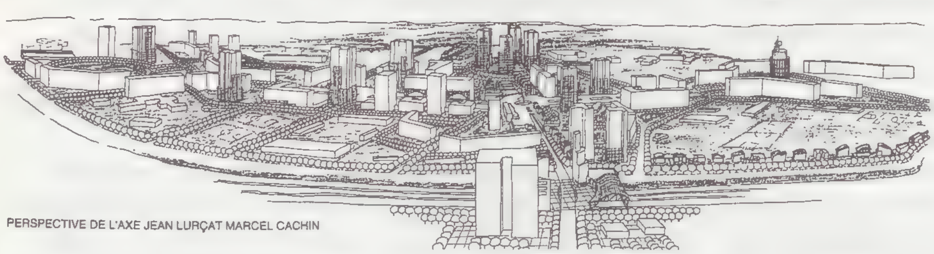
Thus, "doing the minimum" has been totally rejected in favour of the search for a harmonious relationship between interior and exterior. Now, instead of uniformity, we have all the possibilities of difference and diversification that cancel out the pseudo-egalitarianism of the old gran ensembles.

In architectural terms, this implies totally rethinking our approach to urban and building design.

In Villeneuve-la-Garenne the concept is developed on a different scale. Buildings have been remodelled, new buildings and places have been added, creating a poetic dynamic that transforms the urban fabric. For example, there is an exuberant, almost baroque oval square with a "vegetal" campanile; there is a feeling of release from



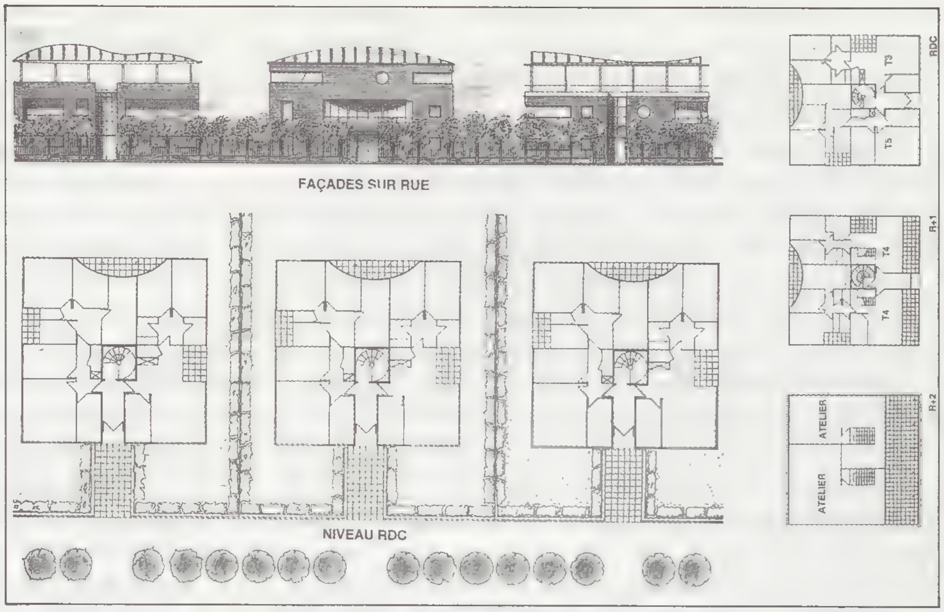
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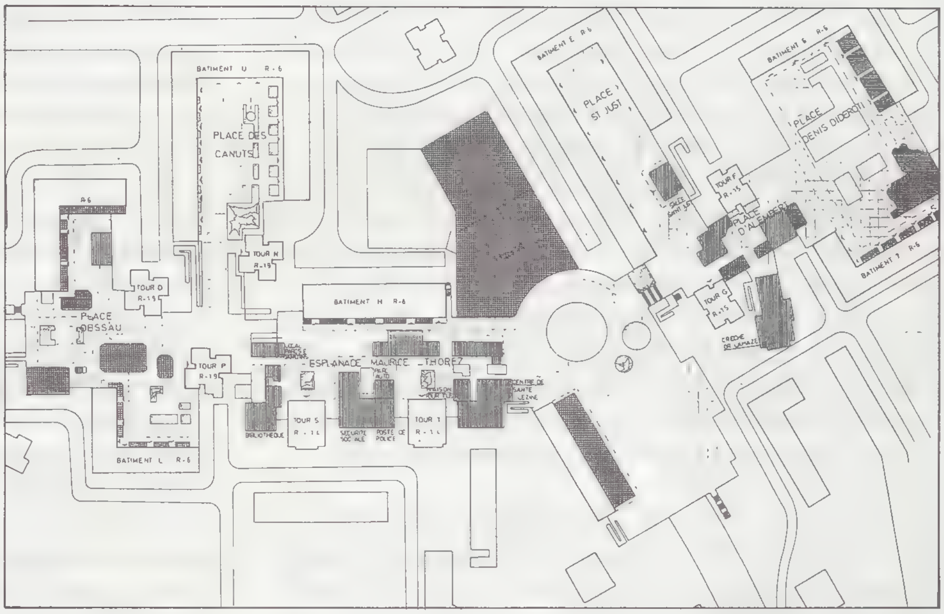
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20.-24. Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof, con L. Charré (Ville Ouverte) e B. Lebesnerai (G.E.R.A.U.), Grande progetto urbano per il grand ensemble Val D'Argent, Argenteuil, 1993. Esemplificazione dei tipi di intervento; prospettiva generale; piante e prospetti del tipo maisonnée*; planimetrie dello stato di fatto e di progetto del settore centrale.*
Nel sistema dei grands ensembles *della regione parigina il "Val d'Argent" ha una caratteristica: è una utopia realizzata. Pedoni e automobili sono separati da una* dalle *(piastra pedonale artificiale soprelevata di separazione del traffico automobilistico sottostante dalla vita attiva del quartiere), concetto famoso, largamente applicato qui. Gli abitanti d'origine hanno amato questo luogo, sono dispiaciuti per coloro che se ne sono andati; la* dalle *ha dato identità al luogo. Ma questo luogo resta mal vissuto e mal visto.*
Perciò il nostro progetto non demolisce la dalle *ma si propone di: rendere l'utopia più realista, più commestibile; aprire verso la città e banalizzare il luogo; riallacciarlo al centro della città; trovare relazioni con il vicinato; sottolineare il rapporto con la natura; abbellirlo e renderlo più complesso; renderlo leggibile, chiaro, accessibile, sicuro; inventarvi una centralità alla scala parigina.*
Per raggiungere questi obiettivi: rendere la dalle *più accessibile attraverso un insieme di strade e viali; rendere la* dalle *commestibile e più sicura attraverso un sistema di illuminazione dei viali attualmente sotterranei; valorizzare il luogo attraverso la decodifica sistematica del linguaggio delle abitazioni ad affitto controllato (HLM); creare giardini privati, semi pubblici e pubblici; ritrovare un ordine attraverso la geometria; creare residenza: la scala idonea di appartenenza al quartiere, la scala idonea di appartenenza alla comunità; abbellire, ridare scala umana, rimodellare le barre per ucciderne la sistematicità.*
Infine, creare delle maisonnée *sui bordi e negli interstizi delle barre, per cucire il luogo al suo intorno. Le* maisonnée *sono costruzioni intermedie tra la piccola scala del* pavillonaire *e la grande scala dell'edificio classico. È un piccolo condominio di tre piani, composto di sei alloggi; le tipologie presenti sono grandi appartamenti o atelier d'artisti che permettono una certa mescolanza sociale a piccola scala. A partire da uno schema base comune, ciascuna* maisonnée *permette grandi variazioni tipologiche e architettoniche permettendo di ricreare continuità urbane.*
È stato fatto un lavoro puntiforme, impressionista, caso per caso sull'area di progetto. Un lavoro lento e fine – come risolvere un angolo di strada lottando contro l'angolo retto così austero, mettere un basamento ad un edificio, ridisegnare la linea di cielo attraverso una copertura o delle terrazze, ridisegnare i parapetti sulla dalle.

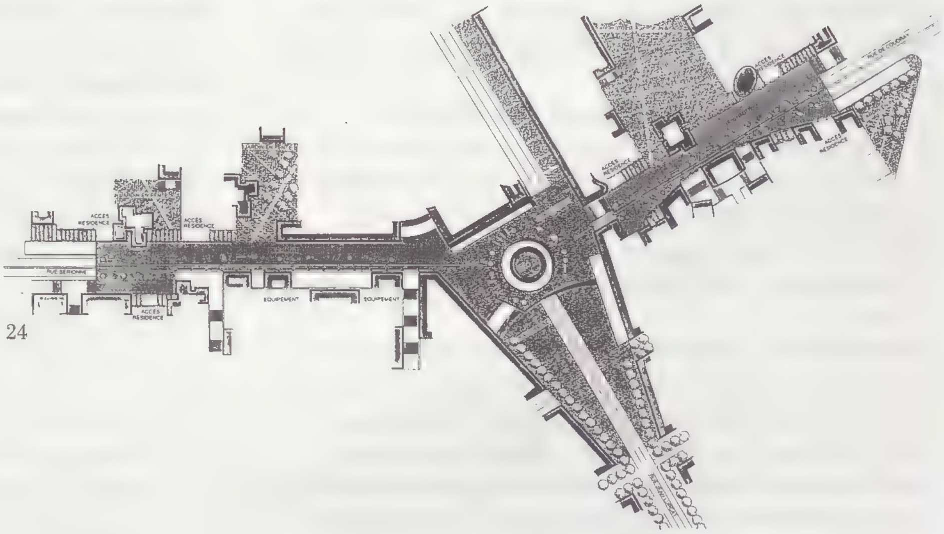
20.-24. Roland Castro, Sophie Denissof with L. Charré (Ville Ouverte) and B. Lebesnerai (G.E.R.A.U.), large-scale urban project for Val D'Argent, Argenteuil, 1993.
Examples of buildings: general perspective; plans and elevations of a maisonnée*; plans of current situation and the finished project of the central area.*
The Val d'Argent has one unusual feature in the system of grand ensembles *in the region around Paris: it is a utopia that has actually been built. Pedestrians and vehicles are separated by a* dalle *(a raised platform separating the traffic below from the bustling life of the quarter), a well-known idea that has been extensively used here. The original inhabitants loved this place, were sorry about the people who left; the* dalle *has given the place an identity, but people don't like it and don't enjoy living there.*
So our project doesn't demolish the dalle*. Instead it attempts to make the utopia more realistic, easier to swallow by opening the quarter up to the town and making it more "ordinary"; establishing relationships with the neighbourhood; drawing attention to nature; embellishing it and making it more complex; making it intelligible, clear, accessible and safe; creating a feeling of centrality on a Parisian scale.*
To achieve this it was necessary to make the quarter more accessible with a system of streets and avenues; make the dalle *safer and more acceptable with new lighting for streets at present underground; enhance the ambience by systematically decoding the language of the controlled rent dwellings (HLM); create private, semi-public and public gardens; restore order through geometry; create dwellings: the right scale on which to belong to the quarter, and the right scale on which to belong to the community; embellish, restore human scale, remodel the* barres *so they are no longer systematic.*
Finally, create maisonnées *around and between the* barres *to restitch the urban fabric of the quarter and its neighbourhood.*
Maisonnées *are half way between small-scale* pavillonaire *dwellings and large-scale residential buildings: small, three-storey condominiums of six dwellings which are either large apartments or artists' studios. These* maisonnées *make possible social mixing on a small scale, and the basic unit allows for a wide range of typological and architectural variation. Using them enables us to restore urban continuity.*
Our intervention in the area has been pointiliste*, impressionistic, piecemeal. We have worked slowly and subtley – redesigning a street corner to draw attention away from its austere right angle; adding a plinth to a building; remodelling the skyline with a roof or terrafces; redesigning the parapets of the* dalle*.*



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stato sostenuto in parte dalla municipalità in aggiunta a quello di una normale facciata, perché nell'edificio vi fosse una specie di grande esplosione di modernità.

4. Occorre dedicare un'estrema cura alla funzione d'uso. A Lorient si è passati da 4 tipologie di alloggio a 52, di forma rotonda, quadrata, cubica, segmentata: non certo per ragioni puramente formali, ma per accrescerne la vivibilità dotandoli di volta in volta di terrazze, spazi complementari, di dispositivi particolari.

Si è ripudiata completamente l'ideologia funzionalista, ricercando invece gli elementi di un rapporto armonioso fra esterno e interno. Si è abbandonata l'ideologia dell'uniformità per ritrovare tutte le possibilità di diversificazione, per cancellare l'immagine pseudoegualitaria del vecchio *grand ensemble*.

Si tratta, sul piano architettonico, di una vero e proprio rimodellamento del modo di pensare.

A Villeneuve-la-Garenne quest'idea viene sviluppata su un'altra scala: si tratta qui di un grande lavoro di ritaglio, di aggiunta di edifici e di luoghi, in una particolare poetica che si inscrive in una nuova trama urbana. C'è ad esempio una piazza ovale "barocca" qualificata da un campanile "vegetale"; c'è l'idea della liberazione dall'isolamento, dell'abbellimento e dell'apporto di nuovi elementi di *comfort* abitativo, con l'uso di nuove tipologie di modulazione degli spazi e col recupero di tipologie urbane proprie dei beghinaggi olandesi. Ciò allo scopo di ricreare tutto un sistema di luoghi estremamente complesso, partendo da un assetto ultrarazionalista impostato su una grande *barre*, stavolta di ben m 400 di lunghezza: il che pone un problema di scrittura architettonica quanto mai complicato, perché la base formale del progetto è una specie d'immenso circuito elettronico integrato, una ingenuità d'architetto.

La stessa idea si ritrova ad Argenteuil, dove il problema è di far "digerire" dalla città una piastra, di avere la meglio su questo sistema di piastre che isola completamente gli edifici dal resto della città, di reinserire questi edifici nella totalità del territorio urbano, cominciando col ricucirli mediante sistemi di *maisonnette* capaci di dare agli spazi una nuova scansione.

Sono progetti che è molto difficile descrivere, che presuppongono una particolare sensibilità, aderente a tutte le specifiche sollecitazioni del luogo e a tutti gli episodi architettonici. I progetti di Lorient, di Villeneuve-la-Garenne e di Argenteuil sono quanto mai indicativi dell'importanza delle ricuciture, dei raccordi, dei rapporti, dei luoghi.

Ad Argenteuil il problema di base è talmente grave dal punto di vista geometrico da indurre Laurent Charre e me a enunziare un altro concetto, quello di "consistenza particolare puntuale". Mi spiego: l'idea-guida nella trasformazione di questo quartiere è che sia indispensabile operare "rosicchiando" gradualmente, luogo per luogo. Non è possibile trasformare il quartiere procedendo linearmente, ma bisogna che le operazioni compiute punto per punto siano identificabili integralmente. Se occorre collocare in un dato punto una piazza, non è possibile farlo nel tempo, ma occorre realizzare i tre lati (a una piazza triangolare) contemporaneamente, cosi che sia immessa subito nell'intero sistema un'intensità del tutto nuova. La proposta esecutiva del progetto è di inserire in alcuni punti del vecchio involucro dei pezzi di grande pregio, ottenendo così un effetto di propagazione sull'insieme dell'involucro.

La difficoltà di un progetto come quello di Argenteuil è doppia di quella di un qualsiasi progetto del tipo Lorient. Ci siamo trovati di fronte a una propaggine della peggiore architettura funzionalista, che si percepisce come una scultura planivolumerica veduta dall'aereo, con angoli impossibili da gestire dal punto di vista spaziale e con effetti di chiusura spaventosi. Occorrono grandi tagli in un tessuto urbano come questo, fondato sull'orrenda idea dell'architettura-scultura, alla quale dobbiamo opporci.

I tre progetti di Lorient, Villeneuve-la-Garenne e Argenteuil indicano un nuovo metodo di riappropriazione dei luoghi più problematici delle periferie urbane. Qui è veramente impossibile pensare in termini di architettura mediatica o di architettura-oggetto, ma si è obbligati a pensare in termini di luoghi: ciò che può essere giustificato altrove, l'eccezionale particolarità di un oggetto, qui non ha più senso.

Ciò non significa che non ci si debba impegnare a fondo su ciascun oggetto architettonico. Le *maisonnette* che costruiamo, come elementi di raccordo tra sistemi urbani molto più rigidi, da un punto all'altro della ZUP (*Zone à Urbanization Prioritaire*) di Argenteuil devono avere la stessa qualità delle prime case ticinesi di Botta (il che rappresenta il loro "minimo sindacale"), ma al tempo stesso devono avere doti di singolarità e anche di serenità.

L'idea fondamentale che occorre tener presente nel rimodellamento delle periferie è quella del rasserenamento mediante la bellezza e la grazia, in contrapposto all'esaltazione del disordine e del caos.

Attraverso questo discorso mi dichiaro dunque a favore di una soluzione "barocca". Intendo dire che dovunque ha infierito il funzionalismo è necessario fornire sensuosità e generosità, mettendo fine alla dittatura del pannello pesante e dell'angolo retto.

(*) Roland Castro, architetto e urbanista, è professore alla Facoltà di Architettura Paris-Villette.
Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

isolation, of embellishment, of new home comfort and civic ease based on new ways of modulating space and Dutch beguine urban typlogies. The aim is to create an extremely complex system of places using the ultra-functionalist layout of the large barres *(some are as long as 400 metres) as the starting point. This raises the problem of how to produce an equally complex range of architectural styles and devices, given that the formal basis of the project is a sort of huge integrated electronic circuit, a sort of fundamental architectural naivety.*
You find the same ideas in Argenteuil, where the problem is how to get the town to "digest" a slab; how to overcome the drawbacks of a system of slabs that totally isolates the buildings from the rest of the city, and how to reinstate these buildings in the urban landscape, starting with maisonettes that join them up by articulating intervening spaces in a different way.
It is difficult to describe these projects because you have to know the particularities of the sites and the buildings to understand them properly, but the Lorient, Villeneuve-le-Garenne and Argenteuil projects are certainly important as object lessons in how to sew the urban fabric back together again, establish links, connections and relations, create places and a sense of place.
In Argenteuil the basic geometrical problem was so serious that Laurent Charré and I devised another concept which we call "particle point consistency". This means, essentially, that in transforming a quarter like this one you have to "nibble" or "erode" the problem away, building by building, place by place, so that people become aware of change (however small) happening quickly everywhere at the same time, rather than work in a slow linear fashion from the A to the Z of the project, where one job is done after another, the project never seems to finish and change never seems to happen. For example, if you want to put a square in a certain place, you can't do it in stages over time; you have to build the three sides (our example is, architecturally, a three-sided square!) at the same time so that the "node" it creates becomes immediately operational within the entire system. The executive phase of the project requires the insertion of new important pieces ("particles") into the existing urban shell so that the thing as a whole seems to propagate. We were faced here with a proliferation of the worst kind of functionalist architecture – it looks like a sculptural volumetric plan when seen from the air – with corners that couldn't be coped with in spatial terms, and an awful feeling of enclosure and isolation. In urban fabrics like this one, based on the horrendous concept of architecture as sculpture (which we must oppose at all costs), you simply have to start cutting.
These three projects – Lorient, Villeneuve-le-Garenne and Argenteuil – point to a new way of rehabilitating some of the worst places the peripheries of our large cities have to offer. Here you really can't think in terms of media architecture or object architecture; you have to think in terms of place. Something that may well make sense elsewhere – the exceptionally particularised architectural object – makes no sense at all here.
*This doesn't mean that we shouldn't lavish care on individual buildings. The maisonnettes we are building to link much more rigid urban systems from one end to the other of the Argenteuil ZUP (*Zone à Urbanisation Prioritaire*) have to be not only of the same quality as Mario Botta's early houses in the Canton Ticino (their "minimum audit value"), but also distinctive and even serene. The basic point to grasp in remodelling the outskirts is that you have to bestow serenity through beauty and gracefulness, rather than encourage disorder and chaos.*
So I'm all in favour of a "baroque" solution to the problem of our suburbs. Wherever functionalism has raged unchecked, we have to restore sensuousness and abundance and put an end to the dictatorship of heavy prefabricated panels and right angles.

(*) Roland Castro is professor and town-planner at the Faculty of Architecture Paris-Villette.



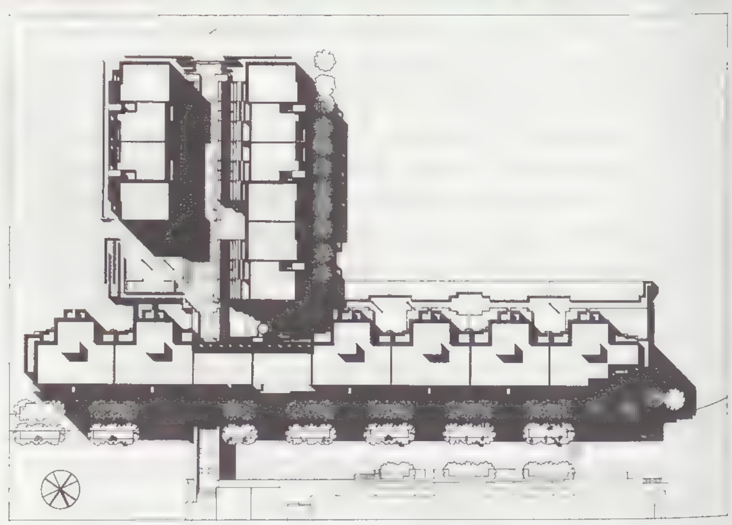
Henri Ciriani

Noisy II à Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, France, 1975-80
Henri Ciriani

Foto/Photos: P. Chair

Logements à Colombes, France, 1992-95
Henri Ciriani

Foto/Photos: J. -M. Monthiers









Complesso di edilizia pubblica Noisy II, Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée
Henri Ciriani

Il progetto proponeva la realizzazione di un pezzo di città in grado di integrare i caratteri urbanistici della *ville nouvelle*. Il collegamento organico di una strada pedonale taglia in senso ortogonale la via principale ai margini del terreno, procede rettilinea attraverso l'isolato sul lato opposto e termina alla stazione della metropolitana e al centro commerciale della zona. Questi dati geometrici semplici sono alla base della scelta dell'impianto planivolumetrico: una figura a 'T', che rappresenta al tempo stesso la struttura e la delimitazione dello spazio costruito. Tale figura è costituita da:
– un corpo anteriore che occupa per tutta la lunghezza il bordo del terreno. Questo primo edificio rettilineo ha due funzioni: rappresenta il "fronte di urbanizzazione" del quartiere che delimita, e, in quanto limite di bordo della parte di città, determina con gli edifici di fronte la formazione di un *boulevard*;
– una seconda edificazione divisa in due corpi rettilinei perpendicolari al primo, che racchiude uno spazio centrale ubicato sopra le strade di servizio interne e corrispondente alla strada soprelevata di collegamento pedonale. Un ampio portico nel punto di intersezione indica l'ingresso allo spazio "domestico" dell'insieme. Tra questi corpi lineari si creano eventi spaziali semplici, che creano una tensione determinata dalla profondità delle facciate e dalle molteplici prospettive che esse producono, mentre un'unica linea dominante, quella dell'altezza di colmo, conferisce unità al complesso. Il corpo anteriore, lungo m 180, sfruttando l'inclinazione del terreno verso un'ampia spianata, costituisce il fronte rappresentativo di tutto il quartiere. Ai margini del complesso, le facciate delle barre parallele riacquistano una scala simile a quella del corpo anteriore, per accentuare l'unità dell'insieme.

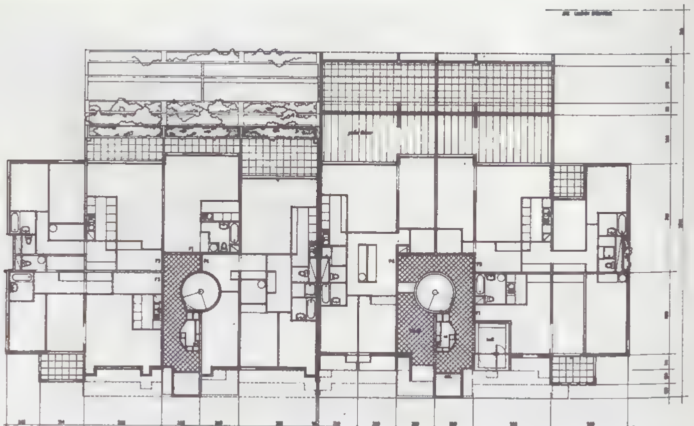
Complesso di edilizia pubblica Noisy II, Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, 1975-80.
Viste della strada interna da sud, del fronte nord e del fronte sud della piazza.
Planivolumetria e planimetria generale.

Noisy II public buildings complex, Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, 1975-80.
View of the internal road from the south, the north front and the south front of the plaza.
Volumetric plan and general plan.



Complesso di edilizia pubblica Noisy II, Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, 1975-80. Viste da ovest e da sud. Piante tipo del corpo a gradoni e del corpo longitudinale.

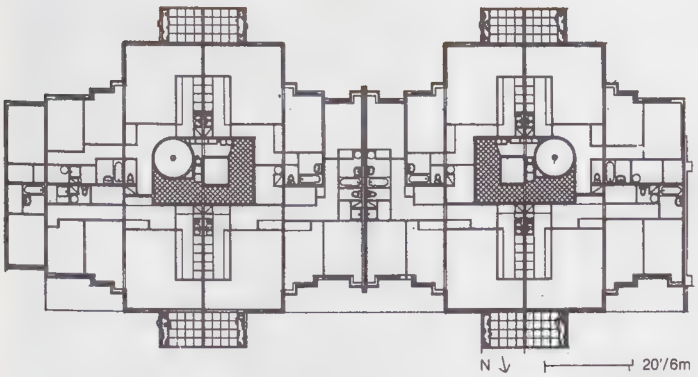
Noisy II public buildings complex, Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, 1975-80. Views from the west and south. Standard plan for stepped block and longitudinal block.





Noisy II public buildings complex, Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée
Henri Ciriani

Our intention was to create an urban place which would integrate the urbanistic requirements of a ville nouvelle. *The organic link line orthogonally crosses the trunk road on the boundary of the site, proceeds in a straight line across the small block of houses opposite and finishes at the regional metro station and the local shopping centre. These simple geometric planes gave rise to the plan of the mass: a T-shaped figure which forms both the structure and the boundary of the space, it consists of:*
– a fore-part whose length acts as border for the site. This is the first linear building which has two functions; as 'urban front' in relation to the area it demarcates; as boundary of the place it also forms a boulevard *with the building opposite;*
– a second linear building which is split and perpendicular to the first building. It contains a central space superimposed on the internal servic network and corresponding to the raised organic link line. A large portico at the intersection of the two buildings marks the entrance to the "domestic" element of the ensamble.
These linear buildings between them create simple spatial events which have a tension established by their deep facades and multiple perspectives. The single governing line of the parapet which regulates the vertical dimension gives the ensamble its unity. The fore-part, 180 metres long, represents the whole area by virtue of the disposition of the land which slopes towards a wide plain.
At the edge of the ensamble the facades of the parallel slabs are again of a similar scale to that of the fore-part. This accentuates the unity of the ensamble.





Complesso residenziale a Colombes, 1992-95.
Viste sulla corte e sulla strada.

Residential complex, Colombes, 1992-95.
Views towards the courtyard and the street.



Complesso residenziale a Colombes
Henri Ciriani

Situata a nordest di Parigi, non lontano dall'anello periferico autostradale A86, la città di Colombes comprendeva un quartiere composito il cui tessuto urbano lacerato reclamava un intervento di ricomposizione. In questo quartiere, all'angolo di due strade importanti, si trova un terreno a forma triangolare che si insinua fra un'area densamente costruita a villette e un ampio terreno incolto su cui sorgono alcune alte e tristi torri di abitazione degli anni Sessanta. Nella sua parte più larga il terreno comprende un edificio di abitazioni di otto piani – l'altezza standard dei vecchi edifici della zona – che il regolamento ZAC (*zone d'amenagement concerté*) imponeva di conservare. Nella parte più stretta si avverte invece un conflitto fra la scala delle villette e la massa di un edificio di cinque piani in mattone rosso, affacciato con andamento obliquo sull'Avenue de Stalingrad.
L'obbiettivo di base del progetto fu subito identificato: dare unità, attraverso le costruzioni, a questo pezzo di città, creando una sorta di progressione dolce fra tutti gli edifici eterogenei esistenti – una sorta di "pacificazione" urbana. Traduzione spaziale di questa decisione fu la definizione di tre sagome.
La sagoma bassa, comprendente la tipologia delle *maisons* di città, ovvero case unifamiliari urbane costituite da un soggiorno alto un piano e mezzo più un piano superiore. Questa volumetria ha la funzione di risolvere il rapporto con la preesistente zona *pavillonnaire*: disposte in linea, le nuove costruzioni bordano con un segno forte la strada e danno inizio alla progressione volumetrica che aumenta di altezza via via che il terreno si allarga.
La sagoma media, comprendente la tipologia degli *hôtels particuliers* o *plots*, edifici d'abitazione per poche famiglie. Si tratta di una tipologia al limite della fruizione senza ascensore, formata da edifici di cinque piani comprendenti appartamenti semplici a piano terreno e due appartamenti duplex ai piani superiori. I corpi di fabbrica sono collegati fra loro da terrazzi laterali, che permettono di creare le trasparenze necessarie a dare respiro al cuore dell'isolato e costituiscono una dilatazione spaziale che si congiunge coerentemente con i giardini contigui delle case unifamiliari sul retro. Oltre a creare un'articolazione fra le diverse parti del progetto e l'ambiente preesistente, questa permeabilità dei volumi dà leggerezza al costruito nella parte più stretta dell'area e permette di contrastare l'intensità del traffico dell'Avenue de Stalingrad con la calma residenziale del giardino interno.
La sagoma alta, che comprende tipologie sperimentate altrove, con piccoli appartamenti passanti di tre o quattro locali esposti su due lati, oppure esposti su un lato solo quando l'affaccio sia sul giardino, e con duplex egualmente passanti a doppia esposizione. Questo corpo riprende l'altezza di colmo del tetto del vicino edificio preesistente, su una trama che continua in una lunga costruzione più bassa di un piano; tale costruzione prende all'estremità una forma avvolgente che accoglie nel suo slancio i cinque piani dei *plots*. Approfittando della posizione d'angolo sull'incrocio, il corpo verticale si stacca, come un campanile, per segnare "l'entrata in città", e anche per permettere di costituire una tipologia di piccole *maisons* ad andamento verticale, aperte su tre lati.
Nella parte che risvolta su Boulevard Marceau, una tipologia ad appartamenti di due o tre locali permetterà di risolvere con i seguenti accorgimenti i vincoli contestuali originati dalla grande disparità di forme esistenti su questo *boulevard*, che vanno dalla villetta all'edificio di quattro-cinque piani:
– lavorando per strati orizzontali, si diminuisce la massa e si qualifica l'angolo come sola verticale;
– con l'arretramento di una forma parallela al muro di confine, utilizzata per coprire con un tetto-giardino l'accesso al parcheggio, si sviluppa un edificio a squadra: il braccio perpendicolare alla strada si inoltra verso l'interno del terreno per dar luogo a una sorta di piccolo grattacielo (molto verticale e dunque stretto) il quale, svelto e sottile com'è, per contrasto fa apparire le villette vicine come fossero volumi importanti.

Residential complex, Colombes
Henri Ciriani

Situated north-west of Paris not far from the A86 orbital motorway, the town of Colombes once had a composite quarter whose torn urban fabric cried out for repair. One part of this quarter was a triangular site on the corner of two major roads, inserted between a densely constructed area of small detached houses and an expanse of undeveloped terrain dotted with depressing high-rise apartment blocks erected in the 1960s. At its broadest point, the site included an eight-storey apartment building – the standard height of the older buildings in the area – which ZAC (zone d'amenagement concerté) *regulations had protected with a compulsory preservation order. At its narrowest point, however, there was an evident clash of scale between the small detached houses and a solid, five-storey red brick building set obliquely to Avenue de Stalingrad.*
The basic aim of the project was easily stated: use new build to bring unity to this part of the city by creating a gentle progression of scale between the widely differing original buildings – a sort of urban "pacification". When translated into spatial language, this meant defining three levels in the area.

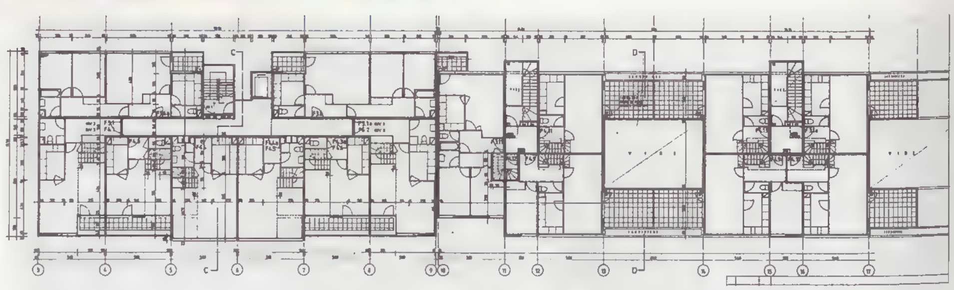


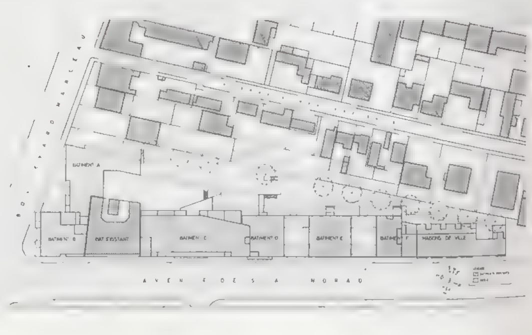


The lowest comprises maisons *– small detached family homes with a one-and-a-half-storey living room and an upper floor – designed to blend with existing* pavillonnaire *development: the new houses built in straight lines give the street a distinctive identity and mark the start of a volumetric progression that increases in height as the triangular sites gradually broadens.*
The intermediate level comprises hôtels particuliers *or* plots *– residential buildings for just a few families – of the maximum feasible height for constructions without lifts. The five-storey buildings contain ordinary apartments on the ground floor and two duplex apartments on the upper floors. The blocks are joined by lateral terraces which create the transparency needed to bring light and air to the interior of the block, and extend space coherently towards the adjacent gardens of the detached houses to the rear. As well as blending the avrious elements of the new project to the existing context, this permeability of space lightens density of build in the narrowest area of the site and establishes a contrast between the busy traffic on Avenue de Stalingrad and the suburban peace of the internal garden.*
The highest level comprises typologies already tried and tested elsewhere – small three or four room linear apartments windowed down both sides, or windowed down only one side when facing the garden, plus duplex apartments again windowed down both sides. This building rises to the maximum roof height of the nearby existing building, and develops into a long building one story lower than the others which wraps round at the end to envelop the five storeys of the plots. The vertical building exploits the corner site by being detached like a campanile marking the "entrance" to the town. This also made it possible to build small vertical maisons *open on three sides.*
In the area facing Boulevard Marceau, a mix

Complesso residenziale a Colombes, 1992-95.
Viste sulla corte e sulla strada e vista interna di un alloggio.
Pianta del secondo piano degli edifici C, D, E, planimetria generale.

Residential complex, Colombes, 1992-95.
Views towards the courtyard and the street and internal view of a dwelling.
Second-floor plan of buildings C, D, and E, general plan.







of two and three room apartments will cement together the wide variety of forms on the boulvard, ranging from small detached houses to the four/five-storey building. This will be achieved by:

– proceeding in horizontal layers to reduce mass and contrast with the exclusively vertical corner building;

– locating back from the road a form running parallel to the boundary wall which will serve as a garden roof to the parking access; this configuration develops into a cross-shaped building whose arm perpendicular to the road penetrates the interior of the site, developing into a sort of small skyscraper (very high and therefore narrow also) whose slender form makes the nearby houses seem larger and more substantial.





Catherine Furet

Quartier de l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve, France, 1985-89
Catherine Furet
con/with: Didier Manchon

41/49 Rue Piat, Paris XXème, France, 1989-94
Catherine Furet
con/with: Franck Sabatier

Foto/Photos: G. Bergeret

Quartiere l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve
Catherine Furet

La scala di questo progetto ha voluto essere sufficientemente piccola per conservare una misura umana, creare luoghi per incontri sociali, preservare una intimità di quartiere che permetta rapporti di vicinato, dare l'impressione di vivere in una "grande casa" (8 alloggi al massimo per corpo scala) piuttosto che in un immobile anonimo. Tuttavia tale scala dell'intervento doveva essere abbastanza importante per poter dialogare con i dati urbani del sito.
L'intento del Comune di La Courneuve era quello di creare un collegamento fra il *grand ensemble* dei "4000" e la stazione. Bisognava dunque costruire sia da un lato che dall'altro della strada progettata per farne una vera via cittadina abitata e raccordare le facciate della nuova piazza del Chateau d'Eau al boulevard Pasteur.
Questa strada alberata divide l'area in due parti autonome in dialogo fra loro.
Nella parte più larga, confinante con le costruzioni che danno su rue Beaufils, la composizione è più complessa e comprende un "interno" d'isolato trattato con una piccola strada e un giardino. L'insieme degli edifici più alti assicura la continuità del fronte su strada e tuttavia non dà al passante l'impressione di una barriera impermeabile, liscia e monotona: si è cercato al contrario di creare una varietà di sequenze, una successione di pieni e di vuoti che offra scorci sull'interno. Un edificio piccolo costituisce poi l'elemento di transizione alla scala delle case singole.
La composizione termina con un elemento sporgente che prolunga l'insieme e segna il passaggio che conduce al giardino interno, infossato e piantumato con alberi e canne.
All'interno dell'isolato alcune piccole costruzioni a uno o due piani con giardini





Quartiere l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve, 1985-89.
Vista della strada centrale verso il grand ensemble *dei "4000" e vista del percorso interno.*
Planimetria generale.

L'Orme Seul Quarter, La Courneuve, 1985-89.
View of the central road towards the "4000" grand ensemble, *and view of the internal road.*
General plan.

individuali riprendono la scala delle case a padiglione esistenti su rue Beaufils per armonizzare l'accostamento fra vecchio e nuovo. Esse hanno inoltre lo scopo di stabilire un faccia a faccia con l'edificio alto ancorandolo al terreno e creando una sorta di stradina interna.
Nella parte posta sull'altro lato della strada alberata l'organizzazione è più semplice, data la strettezza del lotto. Un edificio assicura il raccordo con il muro esistente su rue Parmentier. Esso si curva per dar luogo a un passaggio discreto in fondo al giardino. La facciata su rue de l'Orme Seul, relativamente liscia perché orientata a nord, è animata da un ballatoio con doppia scala che serve gli appartamenti *duplex* dei piani alti e costituisce una sorta di passeggiata che sfiora le chiome degli alberi.



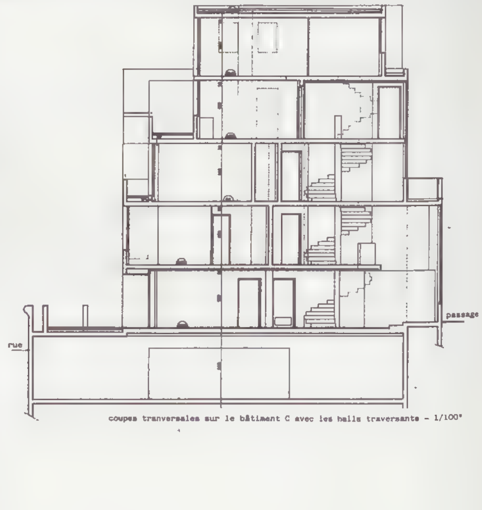


L'Orme Seul Quarter, La Courneuve
Catherine Furet

The scale of this project had to be sufficiently small to preserve the human dimension, provide places for socialising, retain the neighbourly intimacy of the quarter, and create the impression of living in a big house (a maximum of 8 dwellings per staircase) rather than an anonymous block. On the other hand, the scale also had to be large enough to relate convincingly to the urban characteristics of the site.
The aim of the municipality of La Courneuve was to create a link between the "4000 grand ensemble" and the station, which meant building on both sides of the road to make a genuine inhabited village and join the façades of the new Place du Chateau d'Eau to Boulevard Pasteur. This tree-lined street divides the area into two inter-related parts. In the larger of the two, bordered by the buildings on Rue Beaufils, the composition is

Quartiere l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve, 1985-89.
Vista della testata a sudest e viste dei fronti interni.
Sezione trasversale del corpo principale e pianta generale.

L'Orme Seul Quarter, La Courneuve, 1985-89.
View of south-east end block and views of internal fronts.
Cross section of the main block and general plan.

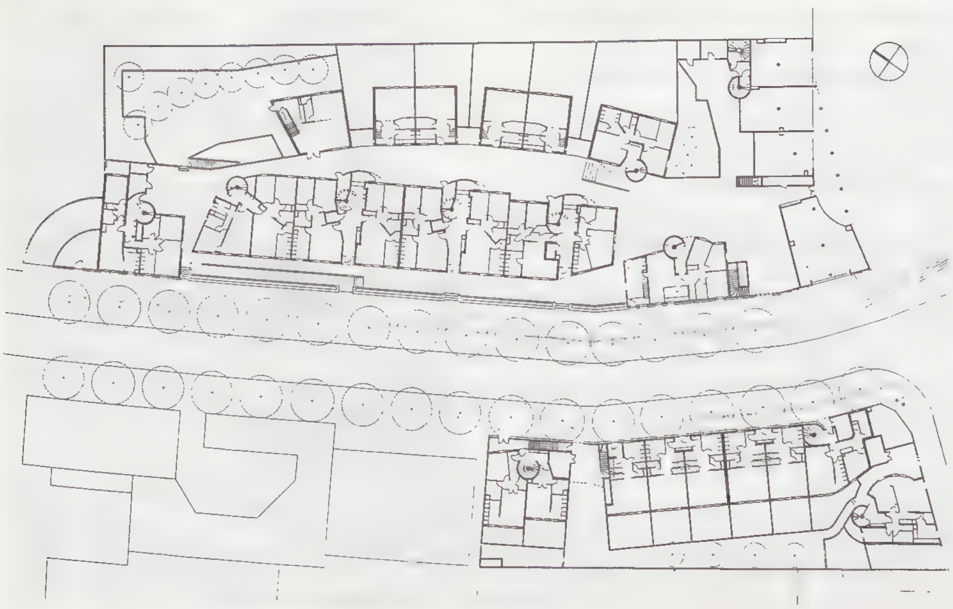




more complex and includes a block "interior" designed as a small street with garden. The set of higher buildings maintains the continuity of the street fronts and ensures that passers-by never get the impression of a plain, monotonous, impenetrable barrier. On the contrary, the aim was to create a variety of sequences, a succession of solids and voids offering glimpses of the interior. A small building provides the element that scales the complex down to the houses.

The composition ends with a jutting feature that serves as a visual extension and marks the passageway leading to the internal sunken garden planted with trees and reeds. Inside the block, small one or two storey buildings with separate gardens re-establish the scale of the pavilions on Rue Beaufils, bringing harmony to the juxtaposing of old and new. They also create a face-to-face with the high building by anchoring it to the ground and making a sort of internal street.

In the other part on the far side of the tree-lined street, the layout is simpler because the lot is much narrower. A building providing the link with the wall on Rue Parmentier curves to create an unobtrusive passageway at the end of the garden. The façade on Rue de l'Orme Seul, relatively plain because facing north, is enlivened by a balcony with double staircase serving the upper-floor duplex apartments, as well as providing a sort of walkway at tree-top height.



Complesso residenziale 41/49 Rue Piat, Parigi XXème
Catherine Furet

Questo intervento si situa nel quartiere di Belleville, nell'area est di Parigi, annesso alla capitale alla fine del secolo scorso, quando presentava uno sviluppo sotto due forme: edifici d'affitto a basso reddito; abitazioni unifamiliari con giardino. Dalla fine della seconda Guerra Mondiale il quartiere si è andato depauperando presentando oggi numerosi isolati "insalubri" e una forte immigrazione extracomunitaria. Da una ventina d'anni alcuni brutali interventi di rinnovamento hanno tentato di "riassorbire" questo *habitat* insalubre con vari complessi di 300-500 alloggi (torri e *barres*) di edilizia popolare che hanno destrutturato il tessuto urbano rendendolo qua e là simile a quello della *banlieue*. Uno di questi complessi si trova di fronte all'edificio progettato. Il progetto – alloggi di edilizia pubblica, studi per musicisti ad affitto controllato, centro di accoglienza giovanile – si inscrive nella recente politica del Comune di Parigi che mira a suturare il tessuto urbano, a ricreare un legame fra i brani del vecchio tessuto e le brutali costruzioni più recenti, mantenendo la "miscelà" sociale attuale. Il complesso è ubicato su due parcelle di terreno che costeggiano l'ampliamento del Parco di Belleville e il suo futuro accesso da rue Piat. La sua missione urbana è quella di concludere il parco stesso raccordando le scale disparate del costruito e coprendo i muri ciechi scoperti. La nostra proposta si sforza di agganciarsi il più possibile ai muri di confine esistenti, e di ricomporre il fronte su strada per valorizzare l'ingresso al parco. Si è tentato pertanto di far convivere le due scale del vecchio tessuto urbano: quella più alta degli edifici d'affitto e quella più minuta di alcune piccole abitazioni isolate ancora presenti nel quartiere.



Complesso residenziale 41/49 Rue Piat, Parigi XXème, 1989-94.
Viste da sud e lungo il percorso pedonale interno.
Vedute del modello da ovest e dall'alto.
Planimetria generale, sezione trasversale e pianta del secondo piano.

Housing development in 41/49 Rue Piat, Paris XXème, 1989-94.
View from the south and along the internal pedestrian road.
Views of model from the west and above.
General plan, cross section and second-floor plan.









Housing Development in 41/49 Rue Piat, Paris XXème

Catherine Furet

This intervention is in the Belleville quarter in eastern Paris that became part of the capital at the end of the last century. At that time, the old village of Belleville was developing in two principal ways: low-rent buildings, and detached houses with gardens.
Since the end of the Second World War the quarter has gradually become impoverished and run down. It now has numerous "insalubrious" blocks and a high non-EC immigrant population.
Over the past twenty years there have been numerous brutal attempts to "reassimilate" this less than ideal habitat by building social housing complexes of 300-500 dwellings (towers and barres*) that have destroyed the existing urban fabric, sometimes creating a* banlieue *fabric. One of these complexes stands opposite the building that is part of a larger project for public housing, controlled-rent musician's studios and a youth centre resulting from Paris' recent policy to stitch up the torn urban fabric and re-establish links between pieces of the old fabric and the brutal, more recent buildings, while preserving the social mix that has gradually formed. The complex is sited on two lots flanking the extension to Belleville Park and its future entrance in Rue Piat. Its purpose in planning terms is to terminate the park, reconcile the widely varying scales of build in the area, and mask ugly windowless walls. My intervention tries to do as much as possible with the boundary walls of the existing construction, and to redesign the street front to enhance the park entrance. Essentially, an attempt has made to reconcile the two scales of the old urban fabric: the larger one of the rented buildings, and the smaller one of some of the detached houses that still survive in the quarter.*





Bernard Tschumi

Jardin d'entreprises, Chartres, France. 1991
Bernard Tschumi
mit/with: Véronique Descharrières, Karen Dugay, Therese Empaurd, François Gillet, Mark Haukos, Tom Kowalski, Robert Young



"Jardin d'entreprises" a Chartres
Bernard Tschumi

Può una nuova strategia urbana incoraggiare un nuovo tipo di architettura?
Reciprocamente, è possibile inventare un'architettura capace di dare vita a un nuovo stile di vita urbano?
Il progetto per un ampliamento di 450 acri (180 ettari) della città francese di Chartres, destinato a ospitare un distretto terziario, servizi ricreativi al coperto, campi sportivi e un complesso abitativo, propone un nuovo rapporto tra lavoro e tempo libero basato sullo scambio e la promiscuità piuttosto che sulla segregazione. Abbiamo cercato di sviluppare questa strategia per un luogo adiacente alla città e alla sua cattedrale, un'area agricola (il *Beauce*) che costeggia un'autostrada nazionale.
Innanzitutto abbiamo stabilito un forte legame con la città attraverso un elemento fortemente "attrattivo": il *long cours*, una direttrice che emana direttamente dal centro di Chartres e dalla cattedrale. Il *long cours* accoglie insieme, in edifici ricurvi (*curved halls*), servizi ricreativi, una *club house*, sale conferenze, negozi e così via. Ogni costruzione è parzialmente sospesa ed è stata progettata in modo da poter offrire riparo a manifestazioni pubbliche all'aperto. Il *long-cours* può ospitare anche altri servizi quali un cinema all'aperto, un piscina e campi da tennis. Verso ovest scavalca l'autostrada (funzionando da ponte per Chartres) e verso est raggiunge la campagna.
Successivamente abbiamo proposto una seconda direttrice, parallela all'autostrada e impostata su un sistema a griglia per ospitare numerosi lotti di terreno ognuno definito da file di alberi che continuano nella campagna. All'interno di questi lotti si possono costruire liberamente edifici destinati a industrie leggere o a uffici. Spazi a uffici trovano sede anche in edifici rettilinei (*straight halls*, costruzioni simili a navi sparse nella campagna). Il reticolo a maglia rettangolare separa le strade per le auto da quelle destinate ai veicoli pesanti, ed è dotato di un sistema segnaletico al neon.
Infine, perpendicolarmente alla direttrice a maglie reticolari degli uffici abbiamo piantato lunghe file di alberi che articolano un nuovo paesaggio, dove trovano posto impianti ricreativi e sportivi insieme a numerosi centri di divertimento.
L'intero schema è concepito come una strategia, una partita, in modo tale che concetto e realizzazione, funzione e mezzi finanziari interagiscano al fine di far coincidere la complessità di programmazione con la chiarezza concettuale dell'immagine costruita.

"Jardin d'entreprises", Chartres
Bernard Tschumi

Can a new urban strategy encourage a new type of architecture? Reciprocally, can one invent an architecture capable of generating a new urban lifestyle?
The project for a 450-acre extension of the city of Chartres, France, with an office park, indoor leisure facilities, sport fields and a housing complex proposes a new type of relationship between work and leisure, based on intersection and superimposition rather than on segregation. We tried to develop such a strategy for a site facing the city and its cathedral, on agricultural land (the Beauce*) along a national highway.*
We first established a strong link with the city through an "attractive" element: the long cours, *a vector leading from the center of Chartres and the cathedral. The* long cours *gathers together leisure facilities, a clubhouse, meeting halls, shops and so forth, in curved halls. Each construction is partially suspended and acts as a shelter for diverse public events. The* long cours *can accommodate other facilities such as an open-air cinema, a swimming pool and tennis courts. It extends west over the highway (acting as a bridge to Chartres) and east towards the countryside.*
We then proposed a second vector, parallel to the highway and gridded to accommodate numerous plots of land, each defined by lines of trees extending into the countryside. Inside these plots light factories and office buildings can be built freely. Office spaces are also located in straight halls (shiplike buildings scattered across the countryside). The rectangular grid also divides cars from heavy industrial vehicles. Neon signs are proposed.
Finally, perpendicular to the gridded office vector, we planted long parallel rows of trees that articulate a new landscape. Between these lines we placed sports facilities and playgrounds, as well as various entertainment centers.
The whole scheme is conceived as a strategy, a game, so that concept and realization, function and finance interact in such a way that the complex programmatic mechanisms coincide with the conceptual clarity of the built image.

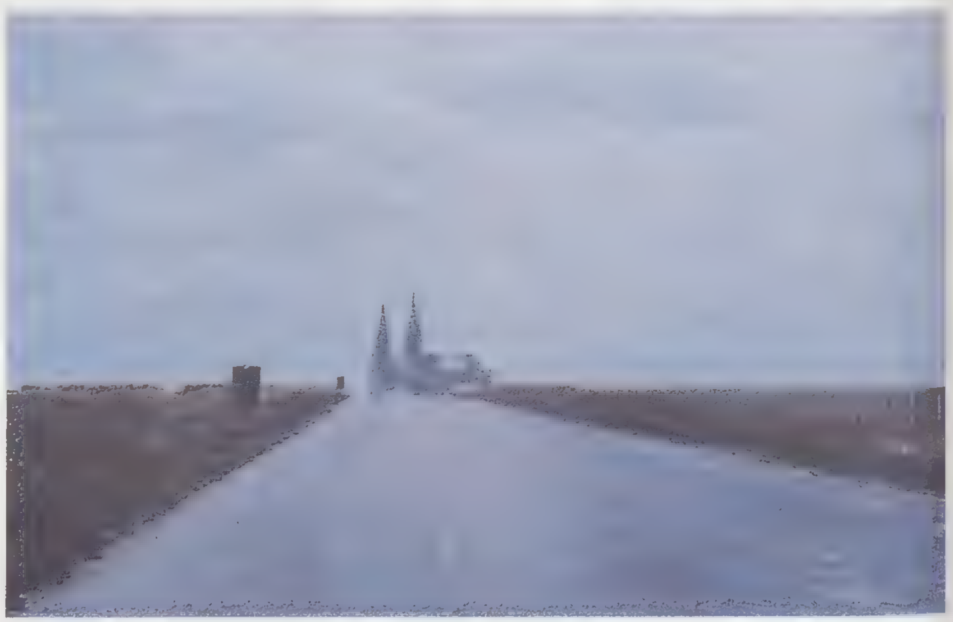
Veduta zenitale del modello.
Foto D. Cornish.

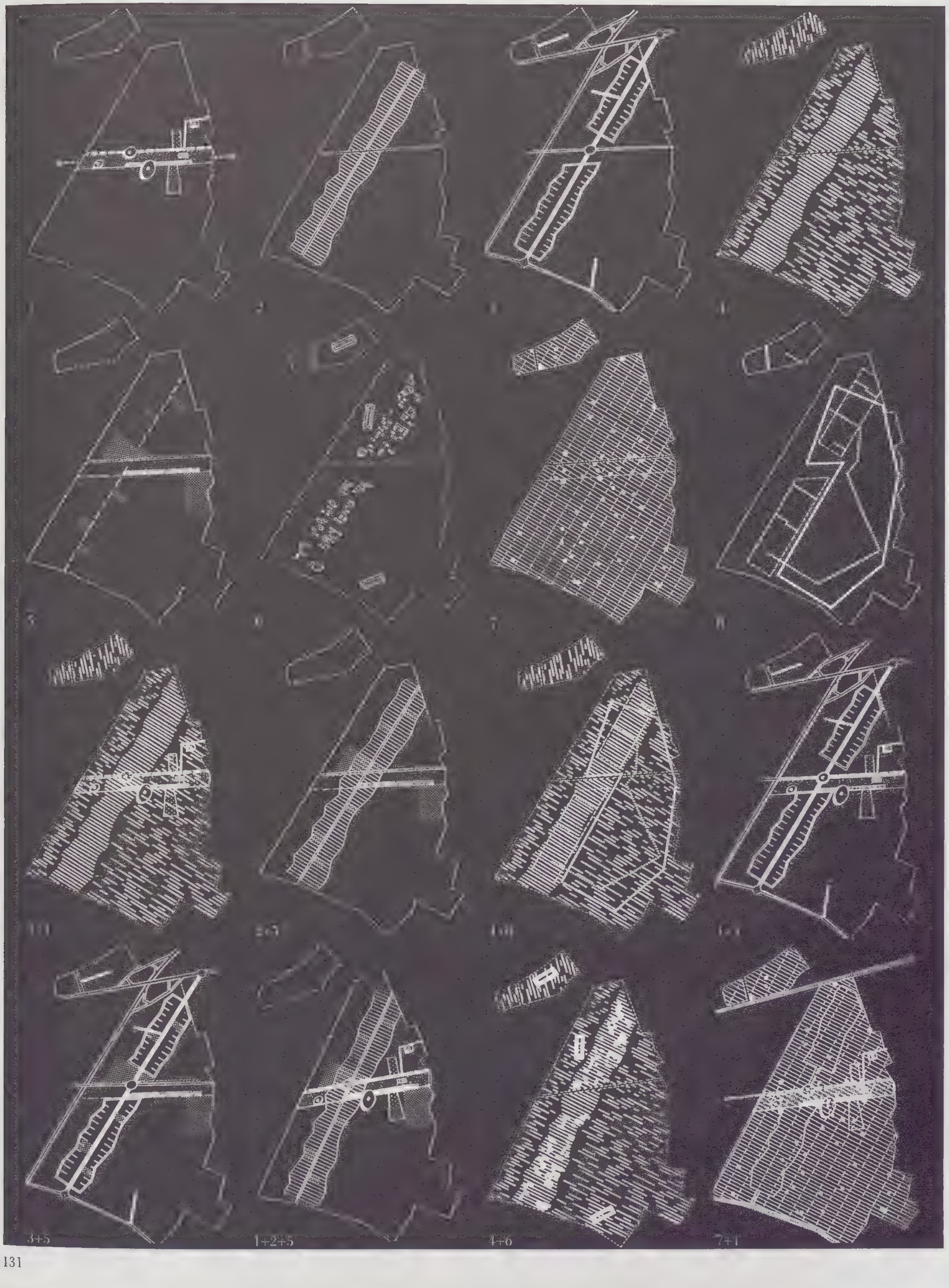
Overhead view of model.
Photo D. Cornish.

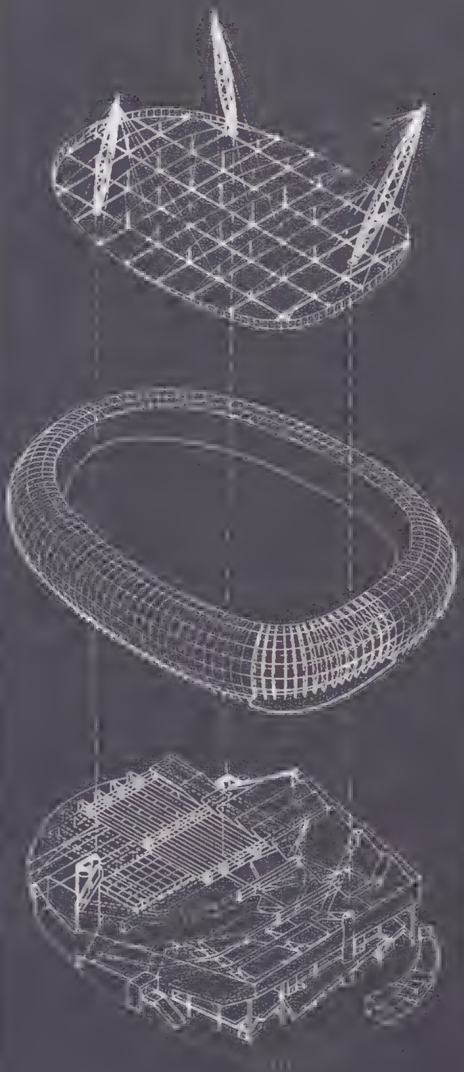
Planimetria generale e vista attuale dell'area, con il viale che conduce alla cattedrale di Chartres.
Diagrammi compositivi sovrapposti: 1) Long-Cours; 2) griglia per gli edifici ad uffici; 3) accessi; 4) piantumazioni; 5) parcheggi; 6) edifici per uffici; 7) griglia e punti di attrazione; 8) percorsi pedonali e ciclabili.

General plan and view of the area as it is now, with the avenue leading to Chartres Cathedral. Overlaid composite diagrams: 1) Long-Cours; 2) grid for office buildings; 3) access routes; 4) planted vegetation; 5) parking; 6) office buildings; 7) grid and attraction points; 8) pedestrian and cycle roads.






3+5
1+2+5
4+6
7+1



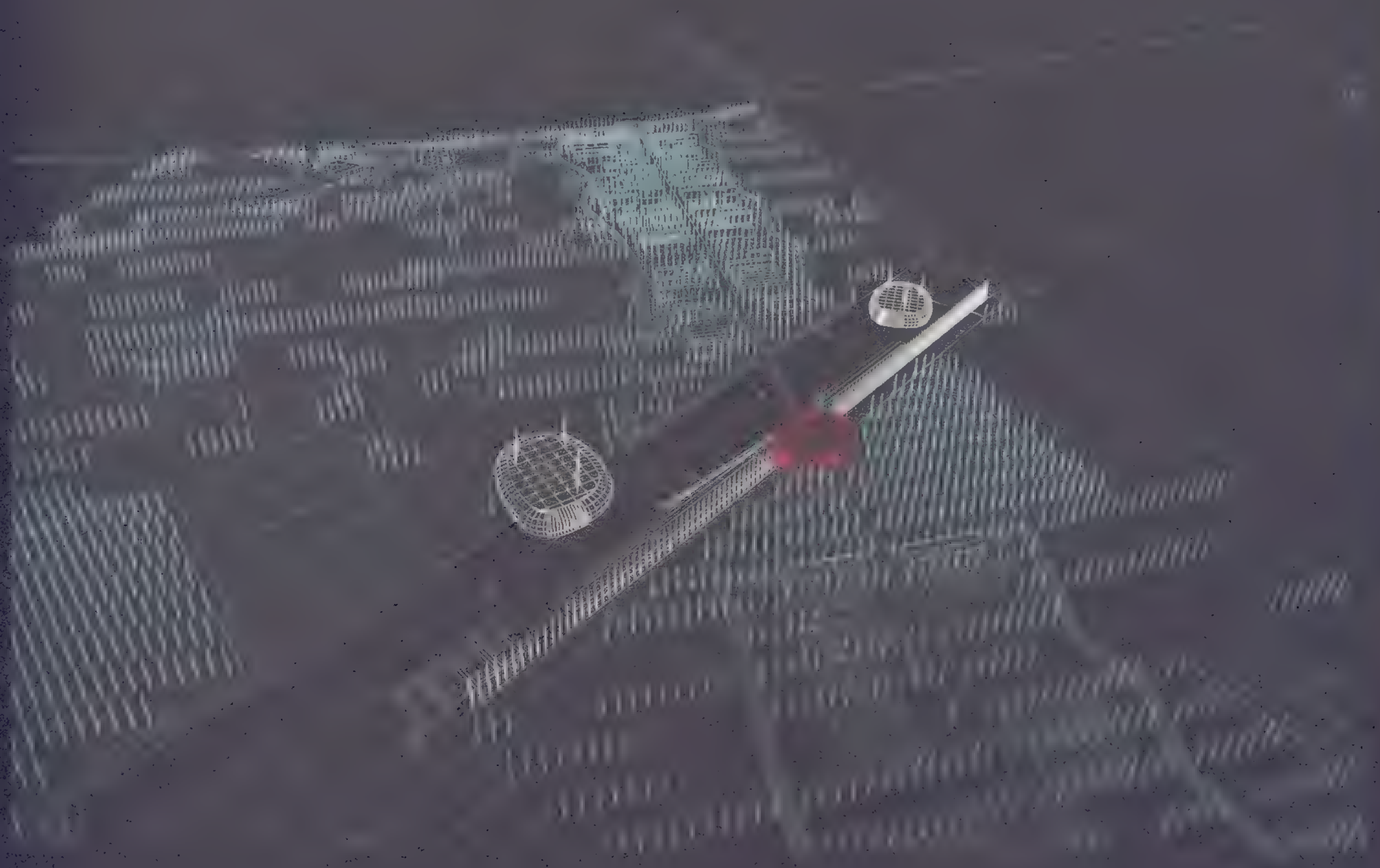




Esploso assonometrico e prospettiva dell'edificio coperto (Curved Hall).
Vedute del modello e prospettiva d'insieme.

Exploded axonometric and perspective of the Curved Hall.
View of model and overall perspective.





Barcelona



Vista zenitale della città di Barcellona con la localizzazione degli interventi documentati nelle pagine successive:
1) Eduard Calafell, Edificio industriale modulare, Poligono industriale di Pedrosa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, 1993.
2) Emilio Donato, Miguel Jiménez, Quartiere residenziale "Baró de Viver", 1985-92.
3) Roberto Ferreira, Scuola secondaria "La Llagosta", 1993 (fuori tavola).
Servicio de Cartografía de la Mancomunidad de Municipios de Barcelona.

Overhead aerial view of Barcelona showing the location of the projects illustrated in this issue:
1) Eduard Calafell, modular industrial building, Pedrosa industrial estate, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, 1993.
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3) Roberto Ferreira, "La Llagosta" secondary school, 1993 (visible only in part).
Photo by Servicio de Cartografía de la Mancomunidad de Municipios de Barcelona.

Barcelona



Vista zenitale della città di Barcellona con la localizzazione degli interventi [illegible]
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Photo by Servicio de Cartografia d[illegible] Mancomunidad de Municipios de Barcelona.

Barcellona: struttura e formazione di una periferia metropolitana

*Emilio Donato, Jesús de la Torre**

Origini ed evoluzione nell'età preindustriale

Tutta la storia moderna di Barcellona potrebbe essere narrata dal punto di vista della sua lotta per sopravvivere e per neutralizzare la propria condizione periferica nell'ambito geografico come in quello politico.
È ben noto il suo conflitto ormai secolare con il Governo e con la capitale dello Stato unitario, l'uno e l'altra geograficamente centrali e non meno centralisti e napoleonici nella sfera amministrativa. La diffidenza da parte del potere politico spagnolo verso un possibile primato economico e civile di Barcellona ha posto costantemente un freno – non soltanto nei quarant'anni di dittatura franchista – alle ambizioni della città di dirigere i propri affari sulla base della sua centralità politica e di partecipare col suo peso economico alle attività di uno Stato moderno. Consiste in ciò quello che dall'inizio del nostro secolo viene chiamato "problema catalano": Barcellona è la capitale di una nazione senza Stato, ma soprattutto è una metropoli segnata negativamente dalla sua condizione periferica, in campo culturale come in campo politico, rispetto all'egemonia della cultura castigliana, insediata a Madrid fin dal Cinquecento.
Del resto, anche all'interno del triangolo catalano Barcellona sorse nella più piccola, povera e insalubre delle tre pianure che scandiscono la costa, in un'area la cui estensione non arriva a 200 kmq; a sud, invece, la Tarraco romana dominò un'area di più di 650 kmq e a nord la grecoromana Emporion sorse al centro di una fertile regione ai piedi dei Pirenei, l'attuale Ampurdán, avente una superficie che supera gli 800 kmq (fig. 1).
Il comprensorio barcellonese si estende sui terreni (in parte paludosi) di due delta fluviali, separati dal loro entroterra naturale – le valli del Llobregat e del Besós – mediante un arco montuoso quasi continuo, interrotto solo da due stretti passi, che costituiranno le vie attive e reattive delle più importanti trasformazioni del territorio e le cause indirette del tenace sforzo compiuto modernamente da Barcellona per superarli (fig. 2).
Per di più, la città sorge in posizione decentrata e periferica rispetto alla depressione prelitorale, ossia a quella lunga e stretta pianura parallela alla costa che rappresenta il naturale collettore delle comunicazioni di tutta la fronte marittima catalana e la via di transito fra l'Europa e la parte orientale della Penisola iberica.
Si noti che sebbene l'ubicazione di Barcellona al centro del litorale catalano abbia favorito la sua condizione di capitale marittima e commerciale della Catalogna, essa è ben lontana, ad esempio, dalla promettente e perfetta centralità della Mediolanum romana, che farà di Milano l'altra capitale dell'Italia moderna.
Occorre insistere sulla qualità periferica e decentrata – nella dimensione catalana come in quella iberica – derivante da queste condizioni primarie della realtà geografica e politica di Barcellona, se si vuole inquadrare correttamente un qualsiasi tentativo d'interpretazione della sua storia urbana recente e dei suoi possibili sviluppi futuri.

Barcelona: the structure and formation of a metropolitan periphery

Emilio Donato, Jesús de la Torre*

Pre-industrial origins and development

The entire history of modern Barcelona could be told as the story of its struggle to overcome and neutralise peripheral status that has been both geographical and political.
The city's centuries-old conflict with the government and capital of the unified Spanish state – geographically situated at the centre of the country, and administratively no less centralist and Napoleonic – is well known. Spanish political reluctance to recognise Barcelona's economic and civic pre-eminence has always put a brake – and not just during the forty years of Franco's dictatorship – on the city's ambition to manage its own affairs, establish its own political centrality and use its economic strength as a passport to full participation in the activities of a modern state. This has been the essence of the "Catalan problem" since the beginning of the century: Barcelona is the capital of a nation without a state, but is also, and more importantly, a metropolis suffering the negative effects of peripheral status, both cultural and political, in relation to Castilian cultural hegemony that has been securely entrenched in Madrid since the sixteenth century.
Moreover, Barcelona occupies an area of not even 200 square kilometres on the smallest, poorest and least healthy of the three coastal plains in the Catalan triangle, whereas to the south the Roman city of Tarraco occupies more than 650 square kilometres and, to the north, the Greco-Roman Emporion, now Ampurdán, developed at the centre of a fertile region at the foot of the Pyrenees and now occupies over 800 square kilometres (fig.1)
The conurbation of Barcelona extends over land (some of it marsh) on and around two river deltas separated from their natural hinterland – the Llobregat and Besós valleys – by an almost continuous mountain chain broken only by two narrow passes that have channelled proactive and reactive change in the region and indirectly been cause of Barcelona's dogged attempts in modern times to overcome its geographical isolation (fig.2).
Barcelona also lies at the edge rather than the centre of the pre-coastal depression, the long, narrow plain running parallel to the coast that is the natural conduit for communications from the entire Catalan coast and the routeway linking Europe to the eastern Iberian peninsula. Thus, although Barcelona's central position on the Catalan coast has favoured its status as the maritime and trading capital of Catalonia, the city never enjoyed anything like the real centrality and communications potential of the Roman city of Mediolanum, for example, which would eventually make Milan the "other capital" of modern Italy.
It really is necessary to stress Barcelona's peripheral, decentralised geographical position and political status in both Catalonia and Spain as a whole, if any plausible attempt to describe and interpret its recent urban history and possible future development is to be made.
Its first local governing body, represented in the General States of Aragon, was the Consell de Cent, founded in the late twelfth century and abolished by the Bourbon Nueva

Il primo organo di governo locale, rappresentato negli Stati Generali d'Aragona, fu il Consell de Cent, istituito verso la fine del Dodicesimo secolo e soppresso nel 1715 dal decreto borbonico della Nueva Planta. La giurisdizione territoriale del Consiglio comprendeva già all'inizio del Tredicesimo secolo l'intero "pla de Barcelona", da Sant Feliu de Llobregat e Castelldefels a ovest fino a Montgat e a San Andrés de Palomars a nordest. Si noti la coincidenza quasi perfetta fra il territorio soggetto al Consell de Cent e quello che oggi, otto secoli dopo, fa capo all'organismo di amministrazione urbanistica del distretto metropolitano (Comarca metropolitana) di Barcellona.
Questa corrispondenza tra i confini di origine geografica dell'antica giurisdizione medievale e quelli dell'attuale struttura urbana della metropoli barcellonese evidenzia sia il carattere invalicabile di quei confini, la loro natura di frontiera o di *limes* naturale, sia il fatto che essi costituiscono una nuova cinta muraria che sarà necessario eliminare o attraversare fisicamente o virtualmente.
Questa constatazione porta a quella inversa che nell'ultimo cinquantennio i distretti adiacenti al "pla de Barcelona" hanno visto attenuarsi la loro dipendenza e degradazione suburbana proprio grazie all'esistenza di quei confini geografici, che a loro volta spiegano l'eccezionale addensamento industriale e residenziale del *continuum* urbano barcellonese rispetto ad ogni altro *continuum* europeo di pari importanza.
Tornando al basso medioevo, ricordiamo che l'egemonia di Barcellona sulla Catalogna e la sua indiscutibile qualità di centro economico e militare, capitale di un impero commerciale mediterraneo, sono all'origine di una crescita accelerata della città, che nel corso del Dodicesimo secolo raddoppiò la sua popolazione. Verso il 1260, al tempo di Jaime I, fu innalzata una prima cinta muraria avente lo scopo di proteggere una serie di "città nuove" (*villas nuevas*) formatesi intorno a chiese e monasteri all'esterno dell'antico nucleo di origine romana, come Santa Ana, Santa María del Pí, Sant Pere de las Puellas, ecc. Alcuni di questi centri di vita religiosa erano sorti lungo le strade che dalla città si dirigono verso gli estremi del suo territorio geografico e giurisdizionale, i passi di Finestrelles e di Montcada, mentre altri erano sorti nei suoi sobborghi marinari, come Santa María de las Arenas (oggi del Mar), che diede origine al quartiere di Ribera.
È significativo che da questo primo recinto sia rimasto fuori il nuovo Hospital de la Santa Cruz, edificato sulla Via Augusta e nettamente isolato da alcune *villas nuevas*, già allora densamente popolate.

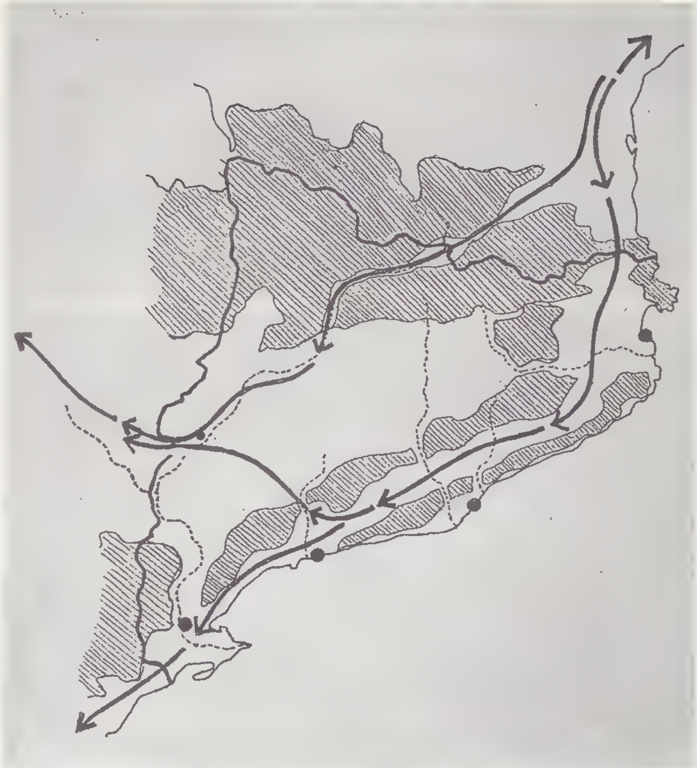
Un precedente: El Raval

Sarà anzitutto il caso di precisare la differenza tra periferia e sobborgo nella terminologia urbanistica attuale. Il sobborgo, come il *faubourg* francese, è una formazione urbana omogenea ma minore, parziale e dipendente da quella principale; la periferia corrisponde invece alla *banlieue*, ossia al territorio in cui era in vigore il bando (*ban*) emanato dall'autorità. Mentre il sobborgo sorge intorno a un'attività o a un dato topografico del territorio immediatamente circostante alla città (*hors-* o *fors-bourg*), la periferia ha un carattere instabile e confini spaziali indeterminati. Probabilmente per questo suo contenuto concettuale più astratto, ampio e vago il termine periferia si presta meglio del termine sobborgo a indicare la natura urbana aspecifica delle vaste strutture metropolitane attuali, e soprattutto l'aleatoria discontinuità dei loro sviluppi spaziali.
Il primo episodio moderno (o, se si vuole, protomoderno) del processo di occupazione della periferia barcellonese si può far corrispondere alla costruzione, avvenuta nel 1371 sotto Pedro III, di una seconda cinta muraria a ovest della precedente, destinata a racchiudere e a inglobare direttamente nella città un territorio quasi altrettanto esteso di quello principale e praticamente vuoto rispetto all'area urbanizzata delimitata dalla prima cinta. Vasti orti e frutteti, un paio di conventi e un sobborgo in formazione presso la Porta de la Boquería rimasero così all'interno di un grande spazio di riserva, messo a disposizione di un prevedibile sviluppo urbano nella fase culminante dell'espansione mediterranea del Regno aragonese.
Il nome di Raval, tuttora conservato da questa parte della città medievale, deriva dalla parola araba *rabat* ("sobborgo", in castigliano *arrabal*), che rimanda alla sua originaria condizione periferica rispetto alla città consolidata o centrale. Per tre secoli il Raval rimase separato da essa mediante un tratto della cinta muraria innalzata nel 1260, la cui demolizione alla fine del Diciottesimo secolo avrebbe dato origine alle attuali Ramblas: un viale equivalente in termini ottocenteschi a un primo Ring nell'evoluzione urbana dalla vecchia alla nuova Barcellona. Per quasi due secoli, dal 1600 alla fine del Settecento, quasi tutta la cartografia militare registra questa divisione della città in due parti, costantemente designate come *ville neuve* e *ville vieille*. Va osservato a questo proposito che già nella prima veduta prospettica di Barcellona di cui si ha notizia, quella dell'atlante di Ortelius pubblicato nel 1570, si distingue chiaramente, dietro la cinta esterna che racchiude la *ville neuve*, l'altra cinta interna, e si apprezza la netta differenza di densità edilizia esistente tra il vecchio e il nuovo recinto ancora due secoli dopo la costruzione di quest'ultimo. La separazione tra le due città e la differenza di densità rimangono visibili in tutta la cartografia successiva al 1570, fino alla fine del Diciottesimo secolo, quando l'incipiente industria manifatturiera comincia a edificare e ad attirare abitanti in questa prima periferia barcellonese, la *ville neuve* nota col nome di Raval (figg. 3, 4).
Le aspettative di crescita denunziate dalla cinta muraria del 1371 non ebbero seguito per tutta una serie di crisi interne (epidemie, guerre civili, ecc.) e di eventi esterni determinanti, tra cui l'esclusione della Catalogna e della sua flotta dalla colonizzazione dell'America e dal commercio con essa, rimasto nelle mani dell'egemonica

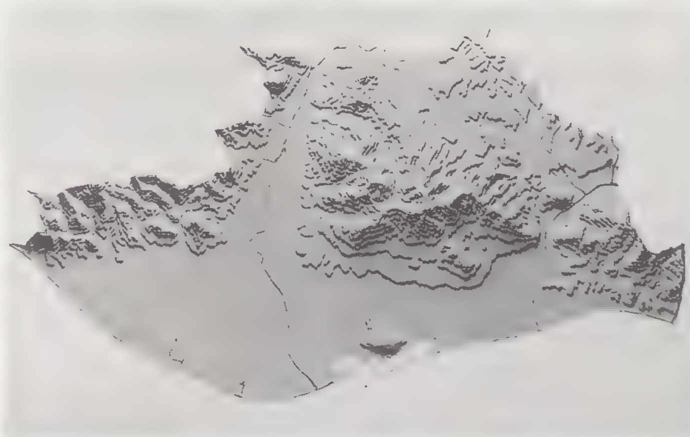
Planta decree of 1715. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the territorial jurisdiction of the Consell already included the whole pla de Barcelona from Sant Feliu de Llobregat and Castelldefels in the west, to Montgat and Sant Andreu de Palomars in the north-east. Note how the territory under the jurisdiction of the Consell de Cent still corresponds eight centuries later to what is now the administrative and planning core of the Barcelona metropolitan area (Comarca metropolitana).
This correspondence between the geographical boundaries of Barcelona's ancient medieval jurisdiction and the modern urban metropolis shows not only how enduring those boundaries have been as both a frontier and a natural geographical threshold, but also that they now constitute a new boundary wall that will have to be removed or breached, whether physically or virtually. Conversely, the very existence of these boundaries has brought considerable benefits over the past fifty years. Districts around the pla de Barcelona have been rehabilitated and are less dependent on the centres, and the presence of the boundaries explains why the industrial and residential density of the modern conurbation is so much greater than that of any other comparable European city.
Returning to the early Middle Ages, it should be remembered that Barcelona's hegemony over Catalonia, and its unquestionable status as an economic and military centre and capital of a Mediterranean trading empire, are what led to its rapid growth and the doubling of its population in the twelfth century. Around 1260, in the reign of Jaime I, the city's first defensive wall was built to protect the "new towns" (villas nuevas) like Santa Ana, Santa María del Pí, Sant Pere de las Puellas and others that had grown up around churches and monasteries outside the ancient Roman nucleus. Some of these religious centres had developed along the roads leading from the city to the Finistrelles and Montcada passes, the outposts of its geographical and jurisdictional territory; others had grown up in maritime suburbs like Santa María de las Arenas (now Santa María del Mar) from which the modern Ribera district developed.
It is significant that the new Hospital de la Santa Cruz, built on the Via Augusta and markedly isolated from a number of villas nuevas that were already densely populated, lay outside the city's first defensive walls.

A precedent: El Raval

Before we go any further, it is important to distinguish between periphery and suburb in current urban planning jargon. Like the French faubourg, a suburb is homogeneous with the central urban core, though smaller, less important, and dependent on it; the periphery corresponds to the French banlieu, historically the outlying territory over which the ban (roughly, power of interdict) of the central authorities extended. While suburbs grow around an activity or a topographical feature immediately outside the city (hors- or fors-bourg), the periphery is essentially



1



2

1. Struttura del territorio catalano: i canali di comunicazione storici e la disposizione lungo la fronte marittima degli insediamenti di Emporion, Barcino e Tarraco.
2. Rilievo delle adiacenze della piana barcellonese.

1. The geography of Catalonia: the old navigable canals and the Emporion, Barcino e Tarraco settlements along the coast.
2. A relief view of areas bordering on the Barcelona plain.



3



4



5

Corona di Castiglia.
Si spiega così come la popolazione di Barcellona, che nel 1390 era di 30.000 abitanti, sia passata dopo più di tre secoli, nel 1715, ad appena 37.000 abitanti; questo periodo di ristagno quasi totale coincide in gran parte con la concentrazione del potere militare ed economico nella Corte madrilena della Casa d'Austria e nel porto privilegiato di Siviglia. Per tre secoli Barcellona fu dunque una città periferica e appartata, in cui né il Rinascimento né il Barocco lasciarono tracce importanti.
Va sottolineato che il nome di Raval, di chiaro significato urbano, non appare nella toponomastica di Barcellona fino a un punto abbastanza avanzato del secolo Diciannovesimo: solo allora, in seguito alla demolizione dell'antico muro di separazione avvenuta, come si è detto, alla fine del Settecento, quell'area ancora rurale, originariamente periferica e aspecifica, finì col trasformarsi in un vero quartiere interno, notevolmente addensato (fig. 5).
L'abbattimento del muro tra la nuova e la vecchia città coincise con l'avvio dell'industria tessile, che nella prima metà dell'Ottocento provocò un riempimento sempre più rapido degli ultimi vuoti dell'antico sobborgo. Questo processo di saturazione industriale e residenziale fu di dimensioni tali da preparare – attraverso una serie di disordini e di proteste popolari – la definitiva demolizione dell'intera cinta muraria (1854) e la decisione statale di indire un concorso per programmare l'occupazione del territorio compreso tra la città e una seconda generazione di "città nuove" sorte, a 3-5 km di distanza, lungo quelle stesse strade radiali che nell'alto medioevo avevano visto nascere la prima generazione (fig. 6).

Tra il piano Cerdà e la città metropolitana: centro e periferie nella Barcellona del Ventesimo secolo

Tra il piano Cerdà (1855-59) e il primo piano urbanistico del dopoguerra, quello intercomunale del 1953 (Plan Comarcal), la nozione stessa di periferia urbana, i suoi effettivi contenuti fisici e sociali e il suo ruolo nel sistema urbano barcellonese si sono evoluti parallelamente a un vasto processo di sviluppo urbano e territoriale.
Semplificando alquanto, si può dire che con questa evoluzione si è passati dalla città dell'ampliamento borghese (il cosiddetto *Ensanche*) e dell'industrializzazione degli anni tra Ottocento e Novecento al virtuale costituirsi di un'area metropolitana negli anni Sessanta e Settanta del nostro secolo.
Più precisamente, si può affermare che lo specifico sistema urbano di Barcellona – al quale in ultima istanza va riferito in ciascun periodo il concetto di periferia – ha conosciuto, soprattutto a partire dal 1900, una profonda trasformazione, le cui fasi successive sono: 1) un tessuto urbano relativamente compatto, che si va espandendo sullo scenario spaziale programmato da Cerdà (Montjuic-Collserola-Besós-fronte sul mare); 2) una fase intermedia, in cui prende forma definita un primo *continuum* urbano,

impermanent and has shifting boundaries. Probably because of it broader, vaguer, more abstract content, the term periphery *serves better than* suburb *to describe the amorphous urban nature of the sprawling modern metropolis and, above all, the random discontinuity of its spatial development.*

The first modern (or, if you prefer, proto-modern) settlement in the periphery of Barcelona dates from 1371, during the reign of Pedro III, when a second set of defensive walls was built west of the existing ones to enclose the city and bring within its physical confines an area of land almost as large as the original city itself, and practically empty compared with urbanised area inside the first ring of walls. As a result, extensive orchard and market gardens, a pair of convents and a suburb rapidly growing up around Porta de la Boquería were included in a large walled area which, predictably enough, would undergo urban development during the final phase of Aragonese expansion in the Mediterranean.

The name Raval, by which this area of the medieval city is still known, comes from the Arabic word rabat *("suburb", in Castilian* arrabal*) and was used to describe its peripheral status in relation to the established city centre. For three centuries, Raval was separated from main city by a section of wall built in 1260. The demolition of this wall in the late eighteenth century produced the modern Ramblas, the nineteenth-century equivalent of a ring road in the urban transition from old to new Barcelona. For virtually two centuries, from 1600 to the late 1700s, almost all military maps record this division of the city into two parts, the* ville neuve *and the* ville vieille*. In Ortelius' atlas of 1570, the first perspective view of Barcelona we know of shows that the old inner walls were already clearly separate from the outer walls enclosing the* ville neuve*, and there is a marked difference between density of build in the old and new enclosures even two centuries after the new outer walls had been built. The separateness and differing densities of the two cities are evident in all maps from 1570 to the end of the nineteenth century, when the early growth of manufacturing industry led to the construction of new buildings and attracted more and more people to Barcelona's first periphery, the* ville neuve *known as Raval (figs 3,4).*

The hopes of expansion raised by the building of the first walls in 1371 were eventually dashed by internal crises (epidemics, civil wars, etc.) and crucial external events like the exclusion of Catalonia and its fleet from American colonisation and trade, which remained within the hegemony of the Crown of Castille.

This explains why Barcelona' population of 30,000 inhabitants in 1390 had grown to barely 37,000 in 1715. This period of almost total stagnation largely coincided with the concentration of military and economic power in the Madrid Court of the House of Austria and the privileged port of Seville. For three centuries, Barcelona was an isolated, peripheral city in which neither the Renaissance nor the Baroque left any significant architectural traces. It should be stressed that the name Raval, which is obviously important in the city now, did not figure among Barcelona's place-names until quite late in the nineteenth century. Only then, following the demolition of the section of old wall in late eighteenth century, did this still rural area, originally peripheral and amorphous, become a genuine part of the city with appreciably denser buildings and population (fig.5).

The demolition of the wall between the old and new cities also coincided with the growth of the textile industry, which in the first half of the nineteenth century led to increasingly rapid infill of remaining empty spaces in the old suburb. This industrial and residential saturation happened on such a scale that it eventually led, through public protests and rioting, to the total demolition of the entire boundary wall in 1854 and a state decision to sponsor a planning competition for the area lying between the city and a second generation of "new towns" some 3-5 kilometres out of the city on the same radial roads along which the first generation of "new towns" had sprung up in medieval times (fig.6).

The Cerdà plan and the metropolitan city: centre and periphery in twentieth-century Barcelona

*In the period from the Cerdà plan (1855-59) to Barcelona's first post-war planning document, the inter-municipal Plan Comercal of 1953, the very concept of urban periphery in Barcelona – its real physical and social content and its role in the urban system – changed in parallel with urban and regional development on a vast scale. Simplifying a great deal, we could say that this development marked a corresponding shift from a city expanding to accommodate middle-class and industrial overspill (*Ensanche*) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to the virtual construction of a metropolitan area in the 1960s and 1970s. More specifically, Barcelona's urban system – to which, in the last analysis, the concept of periphery must be related no matter which historical period we are dealing with – underwent profound transformation, mainly from 1900 on, which generated: 1) an initial phase in which the relatively compact urban fabric expanded into the areas specified in the Cerdà plan (Montjuic, Collserola, Besós, the sea front); 2) an intermediate phase in which the city's first urban continuum – the conurbation including the adjacent nuclei of Santa Colomba-Badalona to the north-east and Hospitalet-Cornellà to the south-west – acquired a definite shape; 3) a later phase (partly overlapping the previous one) spanning the gradual development of an open, complex and highly interconnected urban system which assimilated nuclei and districts that are now usually described as the first and second metropolitan belts, i.e., the municipalities strung out along the Llobregat and Besós valleys and around the Vallés communications corridor behind the Sierra Collserola.*

Demographically, this development increased Barcelona's

un'agglomerazione che incorpora i nuclei contigui di Santa Coloma-Badalona a nordest e di Hospitalet-Cornellà a sudovest; 3) una fase successiva (anche se in parte accavallantesi con la precedente) in cui si forma progressivamente un sistema urbano aperto, complesso e fortemente interconnesso, nel quale trovano articolazione quei nuclei e quei territori che vengono chiamati convenzionalmente "prima e seconda cintura metropolitana", ossia l'insieme dei comuni che si organizzano spazialmente lungo le valli del Llobregat e del Besós e intorno al corridoio strategico del Vallés, retrostante al massiccio di Collserola.
In termini demografici, a questo processo di sviluppo urbano e territoriale corrisponde il passaggio dalla Barcellona di mezzo milione di abitanti intorno al 1900 a quella di un milione nel 1930 e a quella di un milione e mezzo nel 1950-60; da parte loro, i comuni della prima cintura, che nel 1930 contano 200.000 abitanti, nel 1960 ne hanno già 400.000 e nel 1975 1.200.000, a fronte di 1.700.000 abitanti del nucleo centrale.
Per quanto riguarda l'economia, la città – in parallelo con le sue immediate adiacenze – consolida attraverso successive ondate d'immigrazione e di industrializzazione il suo rango di capitale industriale della Catalogna e della Spagna ("Barcellona, opificio di Spagna"). L'ondata del primo terzo del secolo implica la diversificazione dei settori produttivi, con la rottura del tradizionale predominio dell'industria tessile, mentre quella degli anni 1950-70 segna l'entrata a pieno titolo, nel panorama industriale dell'area barcellonese, dei comuni della prima cintura e, quasi di seguito, di quelli della seconda, comprendente fin dallo scorcio del Diciannovesimo secolo poli industriali di prim'ordine come Sabadell, Terrassa, Mataró e Granollers.
Ai fini di una spiegazione sommaria di questo complicato processo, delineato qui nel suo insieme, aggiungiamo una scelta di planimetrie e di immagini che permettono di commentare i vari stadi o modelli di città che si sono andati formando, con le relative periferie, negli ultimi 140 anni della storia urbana di Barcellona.

1. (figg. 8, 9)
Per cominciare, osserviamo la carta topografica rilevata da Cerdà nel 1855: la periferia della città murata comprende l'intera piana che si estende dal promontorio di Montjuic al fiume Besós e termina a nordovest con le prime pendici montane di Collserola. Questo vasto territorio non è peraltro uno spazio omogeneo e isotropo, scandito com'è dai vecchi nuclei suburbani di Sants-Hostafrancs, Sarrià-Gracia e San Andrés-San Martín e solcato da antiche e nuove linee di forza: i torrenti e i rii lungo cui defluiscono le acque montane, e soprattutto le strade d'accesso alla vecchia città murata e le prime ferrovie. Quei nuclei e quelle linee di forza condizioneranno i ritmi e le forme secondo cui il reticolo dell'*Ensanche* di Cerdà si espanderà sulla piana, e al tempo stesso consolideranno la

population from around half a million in 1900 to a million in 1930 and a million and a half in 1950-60. The municipalities in the first urban belt, which had a population of 200,000 in 1930, had already raised this to 400,000 in 1960 and to 1,200,000 in 1975, compared with 1,700,000 in the city's main nucleus.
Economically, Barcelona and its immediate neighbours consolidated their status as the industrial capital of Catalonia and Spain ("Barcelona, the workshop of Spain") through successive waves of immigration and industrialisation. The wave in the first three decades of the century brought about diversification in manufacturing and the collapse of the textile industry's traditional supremacy, while the second in the two decades from 1950 to 1970 saw the emergence of the municipalities in the first urban belt as major players in their own right on Barcelona's broader industrial scene, followed almost immediately by the municipalities in the second belt, including industrial complexes like Sabadell, Terrassa, Mataró and Granollers that had been important since the end of the last century.
We have only had space to outline this complex process here. To understand better how it occurred, let now us look at a selection of plans and images illustrating various stages or models (and their relative peripheries) in Barcelona's urban development over the past 140 years.

***1.** (figs 8, 9)*
We begin with Cerdà's topographical map of 1855, in which the periphery of the walled city includes the entire plain extending from the promontory of Montjuic to the River Besós, terminating to the north-west in the foothills of the Sierra Collserola. This enormous area is by no means homogeneous or evenly developed, punctuated as it is by the old suburban nuclei of Sants-Hostafrancs, Sarrià-Gracia and San Andrés-San Martín and furrowed by old and new force lines like the streams and torrents that carry mountain water down to the river and, most importantly, the roads to the old city and the first railway lines. These nuclei and force lines would determine how and at what speed Cerdà's Ensanche *grid would expand across the plain, and at the same time consolidate the development of a section of the* Ensanche *periphery into an industrial area with worker housing.*

***2.** (fig.10)*
Barcelona's 1903 street plan shows the first phase in the city's urban development brought on by the demolition of the walls and the adoption of the Cerdà plan as a model for expansion. Note that the Cerdà grid has already consolidated into what is now called the Ensanche Central.
Equally evident, and in the long run probably more significant, is the parallel urbanisation taking place almost independently in the peripheries of the Ensanche.
The historic nuclei of the plain already or about to be annexed to Barcelona are continuing to develop and grow. Rapid industrialisation is spilling over onto land adjacent

6. Mappa del 1829 delle manifatture tessili esistenti all'interno dell'antico recinto ancora murato, concentrate nel Raval e al margine della Cittadella (non rappresentata).
7. Pianta rilevata dall'architetto municipale José Mas y Vila, 1842. Dopo quasi cinquecento anni dalla sua inclusione nelle mura urbiche, la saturazione del Raval è pressoché ultimata.
8. Rilievo del circondario barcellonese eseguito per incarico del Governo dall'ingegner Idelfonso Cerdà allo scopo di predisporre il progetto di ampliamento (Ensanche) della città, 1855.

6. An 1829 map of textile factories inside the ancient boundary (still walled), concentrated in the Raval and on the edge of the Citadel (not shown).
7. Relief plan by municipal architect José Mas y Vila, 1842. Almost fifty years after its inclusion within the city walls, the Raval is now virtually saturated.
*8. Relief of the Barcelona environs commissioned by the government from engineer Idelfonso Cerdà to assist in planning the expansion (*Ensanche*) of the city, 1855.*

Nelle pagine precedenti:
3. Veduta di Barcellona, dal Civitatis orbis terrarum *di Hogenberg e Braun, 1560. Il muro in secondo piano è quello interno della Rambla, appartenente alla cerchia muraria della "vieille ville", eretta nel 1260.*
4. Pianta di Barcellona e dintorni di Nicolaas Visscher, 1709: sono accentuati i rilievi del Montjuich e di Collserola, come fondali della piana solcata da strade e rii.
5. Pianta di Barcellona incisa da Laborde, 1806. Il muro interno è scomparso, e la Rambla è ormai urbanizzata. Nel Raval, "città nuova", comincia un processo di apertura di nuove strade e di progressiva rapida saturazione.

Previous pages:
3. View of Barcelona, from Hogenberg and Braun's Civitatis orbis terrarum, *1560. The wall in the middle ground is the inner Rambla belonging to the fortified walls of the* vieille ville, *built in 1260.*
4. Plan of Barcelona and its hinterland, Nicolaas Visscher, 1709, clearly showing the Montjuich and Collserola Sierras that form a backdrop to the plain criss-crossed with roads and streams.
5. Plan of Barcelona engraved by Laborde in 1806. The inner wall has vanished and the Rambla is now urbanised. The opening up of new roads and the gradual, though rapid urban saturation of the Raval "città nuova" has already begun.



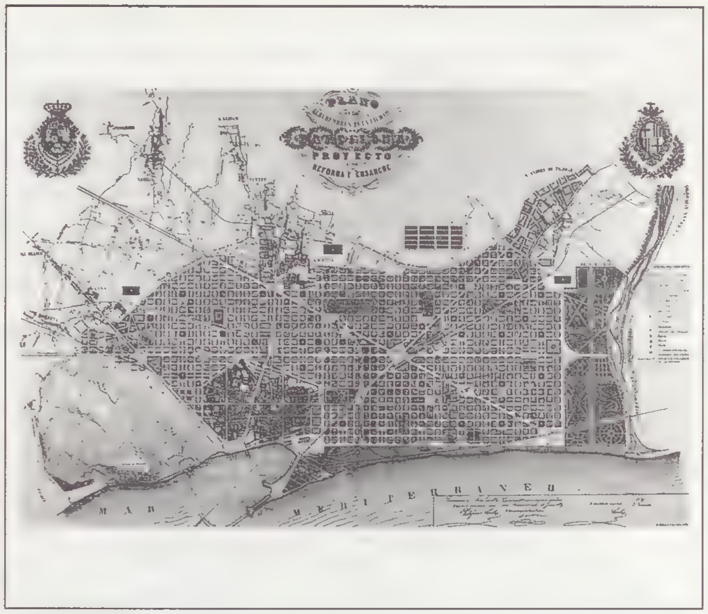
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9. Progetto di rinnovo e ampliamento di Idelfonso Cerdà, 1859.
10. Pianta di Barcellona e dei comuni annessi, posta a base del concorso per il piano di massima dei collegamenti tra l'Ensanche e i comuni limitrofi, 1903.
11. Progetto di Léon Jaussely, vincitore del concorso del 1905 per il piano di massima dei collegamenti tra l'Ensanche e i comuni limitrofi.
12. Prima proposta di un comprensorio "distrettuale" esteso al territorio di effettiva influenza della città e avente come grande parco centrale della conurbazione la Sierra de Collserola. Il Piano fu elaborato da Nicolás Rubió y Tudurí in occasione dell'Esposizione Internazionale di Barcellona del 1929.

destinazione a zone industriali e di abitazione operaia di una parte della periferia del nucleo centrale dell'*Ensanche*.

2. (fig. 10)
Vediamo ora su una pianta di Barcellona del 1903 come si è svolta la prima fase dello sviluppo urbano, favorito dalla demolizione delle mura e dall'adozione del Piano Cerdà come modello dell'espansione cittadina. Si nota già il consolidamento del reticolo Cerdà in quello che chiamiamo oggi *Ensanche Central*; ma altrettanto significativo, e forse a lungo andare più determinante, è il processo di urbanizzazione, parallelo e quasi autonomo, che si va svolgendo nelle zone periferiche dell'*Ensanche*. Proseguono infatti l'evoluzione e la crescita dei nuclei storici della piana già annessi a Barcellona o che stanno per esserlo: in particolare, l'intenso processo di industrializzazione della capitale catalana porta all'occupazione di suoli contigui a quei nuclei e comincia a monopolizzare specialmente l'ampia fascia tra il parco dell'antica cittadella e le rive del fiume Besós. Questa fascia, il cosiddetto Poble Nou, costituirà da ora in poi una zona periferica d'importanza decisiva per lo sviluppo della città.
Si andranno così formando, sulla base delle antiche trame suburbane, situazioni di stretta commistione tra industria e abitazione operaia che caratterizzeranno per lungo tempo (e in parte caratterizzano tuttora) queste prime periferie barcellonesi, anche in quelle zone dell'*Ensanche* che occupano una posizione intermedia tra l'*Ensanche Central* e i nuclei aggregati.
Tuttavia non è questa l'unica periferia a consolidarsi all'inizio del secolo. Ricevono un forte impulso anche altre zone periferiche, preferite dalle classi agiate per le loro seconde residenze: località come Bonanova, San Gervasio, Horta, Guinardó, disposte lungo un arco ai piedi dei primi pendii che preannunziano la zona montuosa di Collserola.

3. (figg. 11, 12)
Ai primi del Novecento si apre un periodo (1905-17) in cui vengono elaborati dei piani urbanistici che si sovrappongono a quello di Cerdà e in buona parte lo riformulano. Tra essi il più notevole è quello di León Jaussely, che avanza nuove proposte per una sistemazione viaria globale della città (specialmente nella sua parte nordorientale), lasciando già intravedere l'idea di una circonvallazione. Inoltre Jaussely include nel suo piano l'area retrostante al Montjuic, e soprattutto formula la prima proposta moderna di distribuzione delle funzioni sul territorio urbano. Nel suo schema di zonizzazione – comprendente zone residenziali di varia tipologia, zone industriali e zone miste – sono definite le componenti di una specializzazione-segregazione dello spazio urbano che già cominciava a manifestarsi nella realtà edilizia e che caratterizzerà, attraverso varie trasformazioni successive, la Barcellona moderna, la Barcellona metropolitana.

to those nuclei and is beginning to monopolise especially the broad strip between the park of the ancient citadel and the River Besós. This peripheral strip, known as the Poble Nou, would henceforth be crucially important to the development of the city.
The ancient suburban layout is growing into the tightly packed weave of factories and worker dwellings that would (and to an extent still does) characterise these early peripheries, even in those parts of the Ensanche *midway between the* Ensanche Central *and the aggregated nuclei. However, this was not the only periphery to establish itself at the start of the century. Other districts chosen by the well-to-do as sites for second homes – Bonanova, San Gervasio, Horta and Guinardó in a curve in the Collserola foothills – underwent rapid development.*

3. *(figs 11, 12)*
The early years of the century (1905-17) produced new plans that were superimposed on Cerdà's earlier grid and for the most past replaced it. The most important was drafted by León Jausseley, who proposed a new road layout for the city (especially in the north-east) that already suggested the possibility of a major ring road. Moreover, Jausseley included in his plan the area behind Montjuic and, most importantly, gave the suburbans their first ever modern functional layout. His zoning scheme, which included a variety of residential, industrial and mixed areas, made explicit a specialisation and segregation of urban space that was already happening anyway and would lead, through later transformations, to the creation of modern, metropolitan Barcelona.

4. *(figs 13, 14)*
*Barcelona in the 1930s, on the eve of the Civil War (1936-39), is trying to perform the difficult task of joining Cerdà's original grid to the suburbs of Sants Hostafrancs, Gracia, Clot-Sagrera and San Martín-Poble Nou to the west and east of the centre. On the other hand, this virtual urban context only draws attention to an immense periphery – from Val d'Hebron to the edge of the Collserola, the right bank of the Besós and the coast – that would have to wait a further 25 years for urbanisation. However, the urban fragments that would undergo patchy development in the 1950s – for example, the garden city of El Carmeí and Horta beginning to extend along the slopes of the Turons, or the modest linear settlements of single-family homes in the large Sant Andreu nucleus – are already clearly visible in certain areas of the variegated periphery. This distribution of grids and lots anticipates a characteristic feature of Barcelona's post-war development, i.e., the gradual dilution of main grids into a fragmented urban layout. This process, already clearly under way here, would result in a new urban landscape markedly different from the neat, well-ordered centre which, with the mushrooming development of the years of expansion (*desarrollismo*), would produce another periphery typical of the 1960s that*



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9. Idelfonso Cerdà, renovation and expansion project, 1859.
10. Plan of Barcelona and annexed municipalities produced for entrants in the competition for a general plan for new links between the Ensanche *and the outlying municipalities, 1903.*
11. Project by Léon Jaussely, winner of the 1905 competition for the general plan for urban links between the Ensanche *and the outlying municipalities.*
12. Initial proposal for a "district" covering the city's entire effective area of influence, with the Sierra de Collserola as a large park at the centre of the conurbation. The plan was drawn up by Nicolás Rubió y Tudurí for the Barcelona International Exhibition in 1929.

4. (figg. 13, 14)
La Barcellona degli anni Trenta, alla vigilia della Guerra civile (1936-39), ha attuato in pratica la difficile saldatura fra il reticolo Cerdà e le strutture suburbane a ovest e ad est del centro urbano: Sants, Hostafrancs, Gracia, Clot-Sagrera e San Martín-Poble Nou. D'altra parte, questo virtuale contesto urbano non fa che mettere in risalto l'immensa distesa periferica – dal Vall d'Hebron, ai margini di Collserola, fino alla riva destra del Besós e al fronte marittimo – che rimarrà in attesa di uno sviluppo urbano destinato ad arrivare quasi 25 anni dopo. Tuttavia già ora sono ben visibili in varie località di questa multiforme periferia tracce e frammenti urbani che avranno negli anni Cinquanta sviluppi disuguali, come le città giardino di El Carmelo e di Horta, che cominciano a estendersi sulle pendici dei Turons, o i modesti insediamenti lineari con case individuali presso il grosso nucleo di San Andrés.
Viene così anticipato, con specifiche modalità di organizzazione dei tracciati e dei lotti, quello che sarà un carattere fondamentale dell'evoluzione urbanistica del dopoguerra, e cioè la progressiva diluizione dei tracciati centrali a favore di una struttura urbana per frammenti. L'esito che già si va delineando e la formazione di un altro paesaggio urbano, nettamente distinto da quello ordinato e regolare del centro, che con l'esasperarsi dei suoi caratteri negli anni della grande espansione (*desarrollismo*) finirà col produrre un'altra periferia, addensata al limite anche se formalmente aperta, tipica degli anni Sessanta.

5. (fig. 15)
Il Piano intercomunale (Plan Comarcal) del 1953 segna la fine dell'oscuro periodo di crisi e di ristagno urbano successivo alla Guerra civile e preannunzia il netto cambiamento di scala che la città si accinge ad attuare nei primi anni Cinquanta, per proseguirlo con crescente intensità dopo il 1960.
Col Piano del 1953 l'urbanistica moderna di Barcellona include per la prima volta nella pianificazione della città centrale 25 Comuni distribuiti entro un raggio di 15-20 Km intorno ad essa, avanzando una proposta integrale di zonizzazione e di destinazione dei suoli, al servizio di una visione organica e multinucleare del territorio soggetto all'influenza diretta della capitale. Non si insisterà mai troppo sulla fondamentale importanza del periodo di sviluppo urbano che ha fatto seguito alla formulazione e all'approvazione di questo Piano. Tra il 1955 e il 1975 Barcellona e l'intera area metropolitana hanno conosciuto una vera e propria fioritura demografica, economica ed edilizia, che ha portato non solo a un decisivo mutamento di scala nella dinamica urbana, ma anche e soprattutto alla formazione di nuove periferie urbane intorno agli altri centri e nuclei dell'area.
Mentre fino a questo periodo l'idea di periferia aveva riguardato essenzialmente le zone e i quartieri del territorio barcellonese vero e proprio, "da fiume a fiume", nel 1955 ha inizio un processo ininterrotto di "periferizzazione" che si estende lungo le valli del Llobregat e del Besós per arrivare, con minore continuità fisica, fino ai nuclei situati alle spalle del massiccio montuoso di Collserola.
In questo processo saranno coinvolti sia i Comuni appartenenti alla prima cintura metropolitana, inclusi nel Piano del 1953, sia quelli del la seconda cintura; e sarà quest'ultima a definire sempre più l'ambito reale e funzionale del dispositivo metropolitano che comincia a formarsi entro un raggio di 30-35 km intorno alla città centrale.

6. (fig. 16)
Quali sono i contenuti e le forme di questo processo quasi continuo di crescita urbana e di formazione di nuove periferie? In tutto il territorio urbano, a cominciare dalla stessa Barcellona, l'abitazione di massa e l'installazione di nuove industrie hanno un ruolo predominante sia nell'occupazione delle aree disponibili adiacenti ai nuclei forti, sia nella colonizzazione delle aree con minori preesistenze urbane.
In soli 15 anni (1960-75) si realizza a Barcellona, con ritmi e in forme senza precedenti, l'occupazione e la quasi saturazione dei territori a est e a nord della città. Le forme prevalenti sono il poligono residenziale ad alta densità, con disposizione architettonica formalmente aperta, e la zona industriale; caratteri comuni a Barcellona e alle rimanenti aree sono l'eccessivo addensamento, la scarsità di servizi e di attrezzature, l'autonomia dei componenti e la destrutturazione dell'insieme.
Nasce inoltre, o si accentua, una periferia apertamente marginale con lottizzazioni spontanee ("abusive"), come maniera degradata di risolvere i problemi dell'alloggio operaio e dell'immigrazione: ciò avviene sia nella stessa Barcellona, sia sulle pendici dei Turons (le colline situate tra la piana dell'*Ensanche* e la Sierra de Collserola) e sui contrafforti di quest'ultima. Per molti anni è questa la periferia tipica: alloggi precari autocostruiti, tracciati viari improvvisati su topografie scoscese, mancanza di servizi, difficoltà di comunicazioni con la città consolidata e con le sue periferie "ortodosse".

7. (fig. 17)
Parallelamente – soprattutto dal 1965 in poi, con l'avvento della motorizzazione di massa e con l'ascesa dei livelli di reddito – cominciano a formarsi periferie diverse da quelle già descritte, che erano in qualche modo urbane o pretendevano di esserlo.
Queste nuove periferie nascono anzitutto dalle lottizzazioni ("urbanizzazioni") destinate ad accogliere seconde residenze, che si estendono indiscriminatamente sulle zone rurali e montane delle *sierras* metropolitane (Garraf, Collserola, Marina). Nascono inoltre dalla proliferazione di insediamenti industriali dissociati dall'ambiente urbano, che spesso sono semplici

was totally over-crowded, though formally open in layout.

5. (fig. 15)
The Inter-Municipal Plan (Plan Comarcal) of 1953 came at the end of a gloomy period of crisis and urban stagnation after the Civil War, and heralded the marked change of scale in urban development the city was bracing itself for in the early 1950s and would pursue with even greater determination after 1960.
The 1953 plan was Barcelona's first modern planning document to include 25 municipalities within a 15-20 kilometre radius of the centre, together with full zoning details and proposals for land use that formed an organic, multi-nuclear vision of the territory subject to the direct influence of the capital. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the period of development ushered in by the approval of the Plan Comarcal. From 1955 to 1975, Barcelona and the entire metropolitan area underwent explosive demographic, economic and construction growth that led not only to a decisive change of scale in the city's urban dynamic, but also, and most importantly, to the formation of a new periphery around other centres and nuclei in the area.
Until this period, the periphery had been seen essentially as districts and areas belonging to Barcelona proper, the city that extended "from river to river"; but in 1955 an uninterrupted process of "peripheralisation" began that extended along the valleys of the Llobregat and the Besós to peter out in the foothill nuclei along the Sierra Collserola.
Municipalities in the second belt were involved as well as those in the first belt that had been included in the 1953 plan, and it was the second belt that would increasingly determine the real functional nature of the metropolitan environment that was beginning to form within a 30-35 kilometre radius of the city centre.

6. (fig.16)
What were the architectural typologies and content of this almost continuous process of urban growth and peripheral formation?
Throughout the whole urban area, starting with central Barcelona itself, mass housing and new factories played a key role in both the development of available land adjacent to well-established nuclei, and the colonisation of less well-established areas.
In just 15 years (1960-75), the areas to the east and north of Barcelona were developed almost to saturation point with new typologies – prevalent among them were the open-layout, high-density residential polygon, and the industrial estate – at an unprecedented rate. In terms of content, Barcelona and the other areas were alike in being over-crowded and lacking amenities and services, and composed of autonomous component structures that were leading to destructuring of the environment as a whole. Moreover, there appeared – or became more noticeable – a self-declaredly "marginal" periphery that used "spontaneous" (illegal) land apportionment as a makeshift solution to the problems of worker housing and immigration. This happened in Barcelona itself, as well as on the slopes of the Turons, the hills between the Ensanche *plain and the Sierra de Collserola, and the buttresses of the Sierra itself. For many years, the typical periphery would consist of makeshift, owner-built dwellings, improvised roads on steeply sloping terrain, non-existent services, and poor communications with the established city and its "orthodox" peripheries.*

7. (fig.17)
From 1965 especially, with the advent of mass automobile transport and higher earnings, new types of periphery also began to develop that to an extent were – or claimed to be – urban.
They were created both by land apportionment ("urbanisation") for second homes that spread unchecked throughout the rural and mountain areas of the urban sierras *(Garraf, Collserola, Marina), and by the proliferation of industrial estates divorced from their urban context that were often simply sites for new businesses, or for existing ones that were beginning to move out of the centre and the adjacent urban continuum around 1965.*
These areas of second homes and "metropolitan" industrial estates were similar in that their siting – determined mainly by the developing road and urban motorway network – had created the spatial discontinuity so evident in the map of the Barcelona area.
By 1970, the whole of the metropolitan area had taken charge of its own destiny and had become a breeding ground for new peripheries ("urban" or otherwise) noticeably different from the 1950s suburbs that had developed essentially as physical extensions of existing built-up areas.
Architectural metastasis and formal differentiation would be inevitable consequences of this uncontrollable sprawl into areas that were very different from each other in terms of geography, urban configuration, siting and socio-economic mission.

8. (figs 18, 19)
In many ways 1975 marked a turning point in Barcelona's metropolitan development, as political change in Spain was added to existing problems like the economic crisis and the drying up of the immigration that had begun in 1955-60. From 1970, population growth in Barcelona proper began to tail off, and from 1975 the first metropolitan belt saw a down-turn in growth that had lasted uninterruptedly since 1960, to the benefit of the second belt that continued to attract businesses from the central districts and was at the same building new homes and factories.
Inevitably, industrial decentralisation was matched by rapid service industry development in the centre, a basic trend that would last from 1975 to 1992 and, until 1985,

alloggiamenti per le nuove industrie, o per quelle preesistenti che verso il 1965 cominciano a emigrare dalle zone centrali della città e dall'adiacente *continuum* urbano. Queste seconde residenze e queste aree industriali "metropolitane" hanno in comune il fatto di essere localizzate soprattutto in funzione della rete di strade e di autostrade metropolitane che si va formando, e la discontinuità spaziale che le loro modalità di localizzazione e di occupazione del suolo introducono nella mappa del territorio.
Verso il 1970 è ormai la totalità del comprensorio metropolitano a prendere il comando e a diventare lo scenario in cui si formano le nuove periferie, più o meno urbane: ben diverse, le une e le altre, dai sobborghi degli anni Cinquanta, che crescevano sostanzialmente in continuità fisica con i preesistenti centri abitati.
La metastasi e la differenziazione delle forme saranno infine le necessarie conseguenze di questo inarrestabile processo di diffusione "urbana" in ambiti estremamente diversi tra loro per carattere geografico-urbanistico, per posizione nel sistema metropolitano e per vocazione sociale ed economica.

8. (figg. 18 e 19)
Sotto molti aspetti il 1975 è un punto di flesso importante nel processo di sviluppo dell'area metropolitana barcellonese: alla crisi economica e all'esaurimento della fase d'immigrazione cominciata nel 1955-60, si aggiunge l'inizio del mutamento politico in Spagna. A partire dal 1970 la Barcellona propriamente detta subisce un ristagno demografico, e dal 1975 la prima cintura metropolitana vede a sua volta rallentare una crescita che durava ininterrottamente dal 1960, a beneficio della seconda cintura, che continua con ritmo sostenuto ad attirare le industrie provenienti dalle zone centrali e a produrre parallelamente nuovi alloggi.
Alla deconcentrazione industriale fa riscontro inevitabilmente un rapido sviluppo del terziario nelle zone centrali: questa tendenza di fondo, che fino al 1985 interessa soprattutto il nucleo centrale della città, permane per tutto il periodo 1975-92. Con la ripresa economica del 1985-92 compaiono nelle periferie più favorite – quelle dotate di buona accessibilità, di comunicazioni efficienti e di condizioni ambientali di qualità più elevata – nuove forme d'insediamento di svariate attività terziarie (complessi per uffici direzionali delle industrie, attrezzature speciali, grandi centri commerciali, di deposito e di distribuzione). Sono questi i nuovi componenti delle periferie metropolitane (o di alcune di esse) agli inizi degli anni Novanta; e contribuiranno a portare a termine il processo di diversificazione delle forme e dei paesaggi urbani periferici.

9. (figg. 20, 21)
Apriamo ora una parentesi, tornando all'inizio di quest'ultimo periodo della nostra storia urbana. Nel 1976 è stato approvato il Piano generale metropolitano, come revisione del Piano del 1953, o meglio di ciò che il Piano stesso e l'area barcellonese erano diventati in quel periodo cruciale di sviluppo urbano, che abbiamo cercato di spiegare come la cristallizzazione (per certi aspetti compiuta, per altri provvisoria) di un nuovo sistema di centri e di periferie.
Contenimento, ristrutturazione su scala locale e globale, riqualificazione e riabilitazione delle periferie urbane: potrebbero essere questi i punti caratterizzanti del Piano, che si proponeva esplicitamente il risanamento del precedente processo urbano e della sua sequela di malformazioni e di carenze.
A quasi vent'anni di distanza dall'approvazione effettiva di questo Piano, considerato sotto vari aspetti come esemplare nel panorama dell'urbanistica spagnola del dopoguerra, è importante esaminare che cosa sia accaduto nelle periferie consolidatesi negli anni 1960-70 e nelle nuove zone di sviluppo urbano proposte dal Piano nelle diverse aree del territorio, ossia nei 26 comuni della prima cintura già inclusi nel piano del 1953.
Si è parlato talvolta di attuazione "riparatrice", per indicare sia i provvedimenti previsti dal Piano per far fronte alla realtà degradata delle periferie urbane, sia gli specifici interventi d'urgenza predisposti a partire dal 1979, dopo le elezioni delle prime amministrazioni locali democratiche. Un bilancio più accurato di tali interventi – quanto mai eterogenei per la varietà delle aree e delle situazioni, per l'evolversi della cultura tecnologica e per il diverso ritmo di svolgimento nel tempo – richiederebbe un ampliamento e un approfondimento della trattazione non attuabili in questa sede.
Agli effetti di ciò che qui interessa va tuttavia ricordato che parallelamente a questo ventaglio di interventi urbanistici sulle "vecchie periferie" si è avuta, specialmente con la ripresa economica del 1985-92, un'intensa attività di sviluppo urbano nelle aree destinate a tal fine dal Piano del 1976, aree che in genere costituiscono, per la loro ubicazione, nuovi margini o limiti delle trame urbane.

10. (fig. 22)
Queste nuove zone residenziali e industriali sono state concepite nel Piano e attuate dall'Amministrazione comunale come contrappesi ai difetti della precedente crescita urbana; esse sono caratterizzate da basse densità, da un'elevata quota di aree per usi pubblici e collettivi e dall'attenzione rivolta alla qualità dell'insediamento e delle forme architettoniche e urbanistiche. In tal modo esse avrebbero dovuto contribuire al "riscatto" di alcuni paesaggi suburbani o periferici, che nel 1975-80 minacciavano d'imprimere alla fisionomia della "città metropolitana" i loro caratteri di diffusione e di disgregazione.
Da un primo esame dei nuovi paesaggi urbani sorti nel periodo 1980-92 non sembra che i criteri suesposti siano stati applicati compiutamente nei termini in cui furono

affect mainly the central nucleus of the city. As the economy gradually recovered from 1985 to 1992, new service industry typologies (business and office centres, special amenities, big shopping malls, warehouse and distribution complexes) appeared in the better-endowed peripheries (i.e., those that had good access and communications and offered a higher environmental standard). These were the new components of the metropolitan peripheries (or some of them) in the early 1990s that would help bring to an end the diversification in suburban typologies and landscapes that had started years earlier.

9. (figs 20, 21)

By way of parenthesis, let us return for a moment to the beginning of this final period in Barcelona's urban history. 1976 saw the approval of the General Metropolitan Plan, which was a revision of the 1953 plan, or rather, of what the plan itself and the Barcelona area had become in that crucial period of development. We have explained this process as the crystallisation (in some ways permanent, in others only temporary) of a new system of centres and peripheries. The containment, local and general renovation, refurbishment and rehabilitation of the urban peripheries were major features of the plan, which explicitly attempted to remedy the defects of preceding intervention and the malformations and shortcomings it had generated. Almost twenty years after official approval of this plan – in most ways typical of post-war Spanish urban planning – it is time to see what actually happened in the decade from 1960 to 1970 not only in the peripheries, but also in the new development areas the plan envisaged in the 26 first-belt municipalities that had already been included in the 1953 plan.

Both the plan's general measures to deal with the widespread deterioration of the peripheries, and the specific emergency measures implemented from 1979 after the appointment of the first democratically elected local administrations, have been described as "reparative". Certainly, they varied as widely as the areas and situations they were applied to, and were affected by both developing technological awareness and the actual speed at which they were implemented. Adequate evaluation of their effectiveness would require analysis of a length and depth that is impossible here. However, for the purposes of this essay, it is interesting to note that, in parallel with this planning intervention in the "old peripheries", intensive development also got under way (especially in the period of economic recovery from 1985 to 1992) in the areas earmarked in the 1976 plan, which generally establish the new borders of the urban fabric.

10. (fig.22)

As conceived in the plan itself and later implemented by municipal government, these new residential and industrial areas were intended to remedy the defects of previous urban expansion. They are low-density areas with a high proportion of public and collective sites, and much care has been taken over the quality of architectural, urban and environmental design. The intention was that they would "redeem" suburban and peripheral landscapes whose ugly, disjointed sprawl threatened to leave a permanent mark on the "metropolitan city" in the period from 1975 to 1980.

A preliminary survey of the landscapes that emerged in the period from 1980 to 1992 shows that, on the whole, these criteria were not been applied in the way envisaged by the plan. This was probably due to a variety of factors like the proliferation of large residential estates of single-family houses (an idealisation of social and architectural rejection of condominium housing); the often random or enforced siting of amenities that should have make good the glaring shortcomings of previous development; and finally, ongoing "autistic" industrial build in new monofunctional areas. It seems undeniable, then, that Barcelona's peripheries, though less alienated and better furbished than they were in the decades from 1950 to 1970, are again generating in the early 1990s fragmentary or even chaotic morphologies far removed from the ideal of integration that inspired urban planning in the 1970s and the 1976 plan itself.

Certainly, the proliferation of service industries in the metropolitan areas, and the new forms of organisation they have brought with them has been an important influence. It is now commonplace to speak of structures like shopping centres, warehouse and distribution complexes, business and technology parks, office estates, road infrastructures, metropolitan or regional-scale amenities, and the like, all in continuous interaction with peripheral development areas, as integral *features of the suburban landscapes that will eventually determine the new metropolitan geography.*

11.

It is hardly surprising that the problem of the periphery has featured widely in recent planning literature, or that planners and architects have come to realise that certain ways of approaching the problem simply will not do. One is uncritical, non-committal acceptance of the new peripheries as isolated, fragmentary events that stimulate the new architectural poetics "of our time". Another is over-attachment to the principles of rehabilitation and integration, which see the problem mainly (if not exclusively) as one of deciding which methods will serve best to tidy up peripheral areas, bring them to completion and integrate them in the central or semi-central urban fabric, i.e., redeem them from their infra- or suburban status and make them fully urban (although this begs the question of what architects and planners mean by "urban" nowadays).

The fact is that the context of the debate has changed radically since 1980, in both socially and economically as well as technically and culturally. As regards architectural and planning ideology and practice, in Barcelona this change of context has led to an equally complex and contradictory shift in the theoretical (and practical)

formulati. Ciò è dipeso probabilmente dal concorso di vari fattori: la proliferazione di zone residenziali di grande estensione con abitazioni unifamiliari aggruppate, come idealizzazione del rifiuto sociale (e tecnico) dell'abitazione collettiva; la localizzazione spesso improvvisata, o semplicemente forzata, di attrezzature che avrebbero dovuto compensare le vistose carenze del precedente sviluppo urbano; e infine la prosecuzione dell'insediamento industriale "autistico", sotto forma di nuove zone monofunzionali. Appare quindi innegabile che all'inizio degli anni Novanta la realtà delle periferie barcellonesi, sebbene non sia più caratterizzata dalla marginalità e dalla scarsa qualificazione del periodo 1950-70, stia generando a sua volta nuove morfologie urbane frammentate o addirittura caotiche, ben diverse dagli ideali d'integrazione che erano alla base dell'urbanistica degli anni Settanta e del Piano del 1976.
A questo processo non è certamente estranea la proliferazione dei dispositivi che caratterizzano le nuove modalità di organizzazione delle attività terziarie nelle aree metropolitane. È ormai un luogo comune far riferimento ai centri estensivi di vendita, deposito e distribuzione, ai complessi aziendali, tecnologici e per uffici, alle grandi infrastrutture viarie e alle attrezzature speciali su scala metropolitana o regionale come a parti integranti, in interazione con le zone di sviluppo periferiche, dei paesaggi suburbani in cui dovrebbe espandersi la nuova geografia metropolitana.

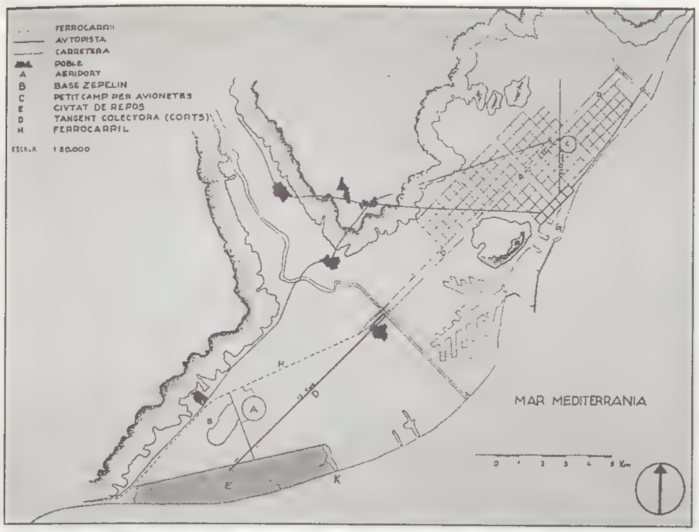
11.

Non può quindi sembrare strano che la recente letteratura urbanistica abbia trovato nel problema della periferia un tema da mettere al centro di un gran numero di dibattiti e di prese di posizione, e si sia resa conto dell'insufficienza di certi modi di accostarsi al problema stesso. Uno di essi consiste nell'accettazione disinvolta e acritica di queste nuove realtà periferiche, in quanto eventi isolati e frammentari capaci di favorire le nuove poetiche dell'architettura "del nostro tempo". Un altro modo è quello di rimanere ancorati ai principi del recupero e dell'integrazione, secondo i quali la problematica delle periferie riguarderebbe soprattutto (se non esclusivamente) i metodi da seguire per ordinarle, completarle e coinvolgerle nelle trame urbane centrali o semicentrali, ossia per redimerle dal loro *status* infra- o suburbano e farle accedere a una condizione pienamente urbana: salvo a definire che cosa s'intende o si postula oggi quando si parla di condizione o di qualità urbana.
Accade infatti che questo genere di dibattito si svolga in un contesto che è notevolmente cambiato rispetto al 1980, sia sotto l'aspetto sociale ed economico che sotto quello tecnico e culturale. Per quanto riguarda l'ideologia e la prassi dell'architettura e dell'urbanistica, nell'area barcellonese questo cambiamento si è tradotto in una mutazione, alquanto complessa e contraddittoria, del *corpus* teorico (e pratico) che aveva caratterizzato il

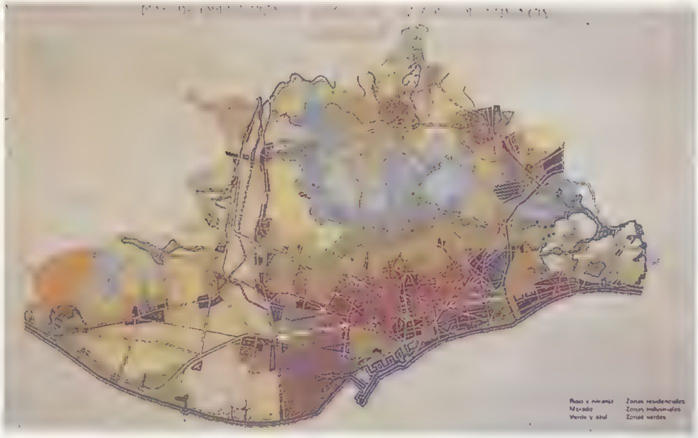
thinking that applied from 1975 to 1985.
It now seems widely accepted that the "sciences of the city" – and more specifically, the methodological and planning models of urban design – are of dubious efficacy or relevance to the proactive management of cities; i.e., to any model or image of the city, or any theory or practical procedure, relevant to the creation of new configurations (and not just physical or formal) for urban centres and peripheries in the age of "city marketing". Barcelona's most recent urban transformations belong fully to this new age.

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Jesús de la Torre is a town-planner by profession and is a member of the Servicios de Planeamiento of the Municipality of Barcelona.

13. Uno degli schemi del cosiddetto Plan Macià elaborato nel 1933-35 dal Gruppo di Architetti GATCPAC in collaborazione con Le Coubusier. Alla vigilia della guerra civile lo sviluppo della città viene ripensato, in opposizione al Piano di Rubió , secondo una direttrice parallela alla costa. Nonostante le divergenze, i due piani coincidono nella valutazione della scala intercomunale che va assumendo la dinamica sociale ed economica di Barcellona.
14. Veduta aerea della zona nordorientale di Barcellona nel 1947. Accanto all'antico nucleo di San Andrés (in basso a sinistra) e alla trama dell'incipiente espansione del comune di Santa Coloma (in alto a destra, sull'altra riva del Besós) spicca la vasta distesa di aree libere esistenti tra queste due zone urbane.
15. Schema di zonizzazione del Piano di Barcellona e del suo Distretto, approvato nel 1953. E' questa la prima formulazione



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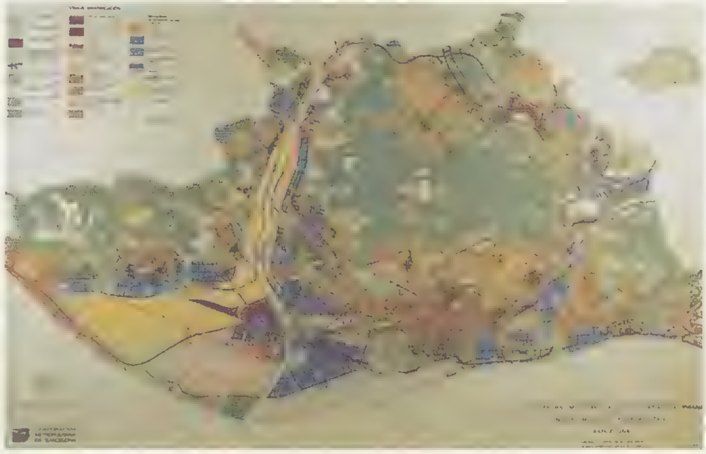


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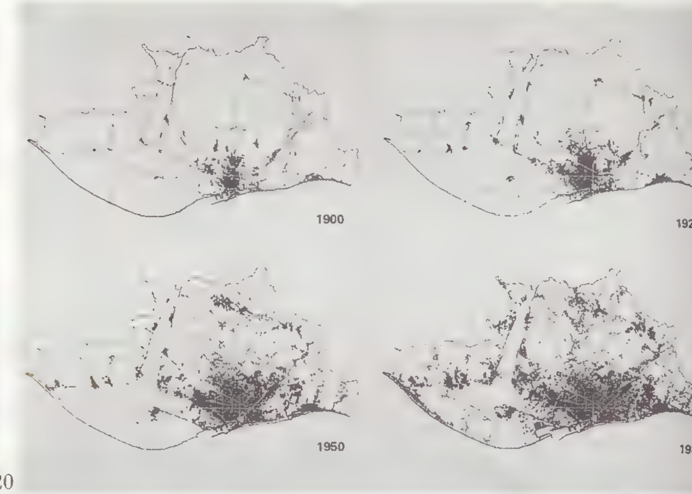
amministrativa ufficiale del comprensorio intercomunale della "Grande Barcellona", formato da 27 comuni.
16. Schema di massima del Piano dell'area metropolitana di Barcellona, in cui viene definita una macroregione urbana della superifice di circa kmq 3000, con una popolazione potenziale di 3 milioni e mezzo di abitanti. Il piano fu bloccato dall'Amministrazione franchista, che impose invece una revisione del Piano del 1953, limitata ai 27 comuni in esso compresi, anche se recante la denominazione di Piano metropolitano.
17. Mappa della occupazione e della edificazione nella parte centrale dell'Area metropolitana di Barcellona, su cartografia eseguita nel 1972.

13. A scheme from the so-called Plan Macià drawn up in 1933-35 by the GATCPAC group of architects in collaboration with Le Coubusier. On the eve of the Civil War, the development of the city was relocated in a strip parallel to the coast, thus conflicting with the Rubió plan. Despite discrepancies, the two plans agreed that Barcelona's economic and social dynamic was now developing on an inter-municipal scale.
14. Aerial view of north-eastern Barcelona in 1947. Note the huge expanse of undeveloped land between the ancient nucleus of San Andrés (bottom left) and the creeping line of expansion from Santa Coloma (top right, on the other bank of the Besós).
15. The zoning scheme of the Barcelona and District Plan approved in 1953. This was the first official formulation of inter-municipal "Greater Barcelona" comprising 27 municipalities.

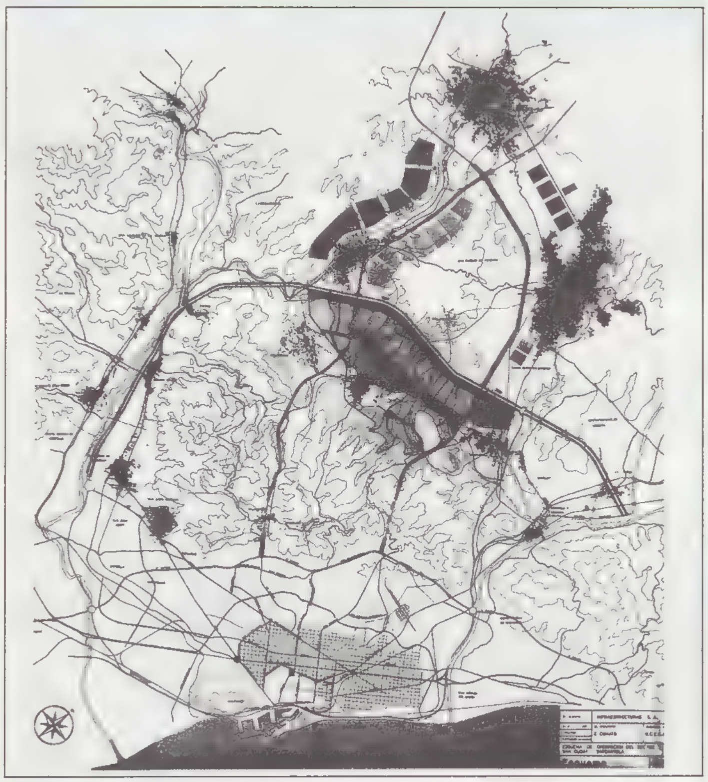
16. General Scheme from the plan for the Barcelona metropolitan area, defining an urban macro-region of around 3000 sq. km. with a potential population of 3 million. The plan was blocked by the Franco government, which insisted on a revised version in 1953 based on the 27 municipalities it contained, even though it was still called a Metropolitan Plan.
17. Map of land settlement and building in the central area of metropolitan Barcelona, from surveys carried out in 1972.



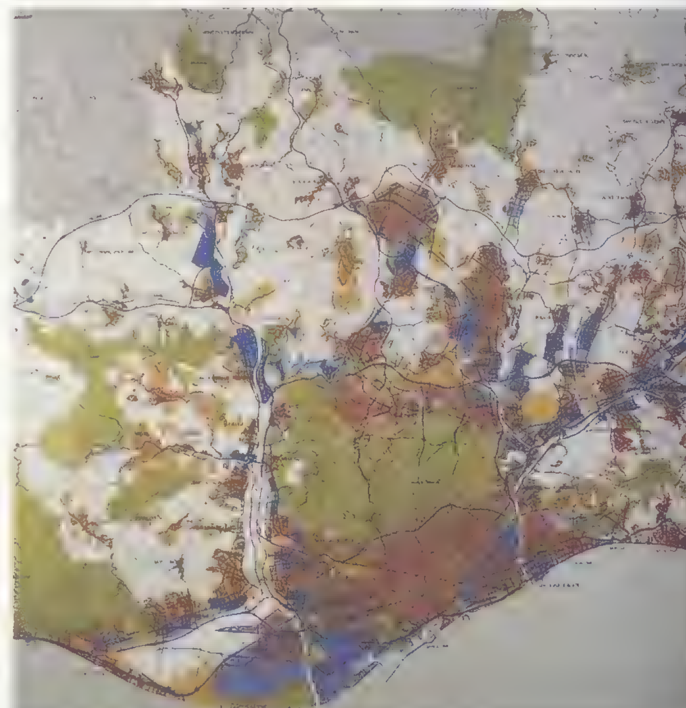
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18. Schema di zonizzazione del Piano generale metropolitano di Barcellona, approvato nel 1976 come revisione del Piano intercomunale del 1953 e tuttora in vigore con successive modifiche.
19. Progetto per un'area metropolitana del Vallés, un distretto situato sull'altro versante della Sierra de Collserola, nel punto di mezzo della depressione prelitorale catalana. L'area é concepita come zona di sviluppo a forma di città anulare, destinata a fungere da metropoli intermedia tra la città centrale e il territorio della seconda cintura metropolitana, utilizzando l'anello ferroviario, i caratteri geomorfologici del territorio stesso e le strutture urbane esistenti. Il Piano è stato formulato nel 1967 e poi di nuovo nel 1981 da Emilio Donato.
20. Schema delle grandi tappe della crescita urbana di Barcellona (1900, 1925, 1950, 1980), letta attraverso l'estensione progressiva della macchia di territorio occupato.
21. Mappa del sistema metropolitano dell'intera area di Barcellona al 1990, secondo i diversi piani urbanistici intercomunali e comunali. In bianco le aree rurali non urbanizzabili; in verde i parchi e le aree naturali, in marrone più o meno scuro le zone residenziali, distinte per densità; in azzurro le zone industriali.
22. Studi per il recupero delle aree fluviali metropolitane, 1993, come esempio di una nuova sensibilità verso le aree naturali dimenticate dalla periferia "intrametropolitana". Progetto di sistemazione della Valle del rio Llobregat, redatto sotto la direzione di Jaime Vendrell presso il Consorzio dei Comuni dell'area metropolitana di Barcellona.

18. Zoning scheme of the General Plan for metropolitan Barcelona, approved in 1976 as a revision of the Inter-Municipal Plan of 1953 and still in force, with subsequent modifications.
19. Project for a metropolitan area in the Vallés, a district on the other side of the Sierra de Collserola in the middle of the pre-litoral Catalan plain. Development is envisaged in the form of a ring, based on the existing railway loop, the geomorphic features of the terrain itself and existing urban layout, linking the city centre to the second metropolitan belt. The plan was drawn up in 1967, and again in 1981 by Emilio Donato.
20. Diagram of Barcelona's major growth stages (1900, 1925, 1950, 1980), showing the gradual spread of urban sprawl.
21. Map of the entire Barcelona metropolitan area in 1990, based on all the various inter-municipal and municipal plans. In white, non-

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urbanised rural areas; in green, parks and natural areas; in various shades of brown, residential areas (shades indicate density); in blue, industrial areas.
22. Studies for the redevelopment of metropolitan river areas, 1993, reflecting a new awareness of forgotten natural areas within the "intra-metropolitan" boundary. Redevelopment project for the Llobregat valley drawn up under Jaime Vendrell at the Consortium of Municipalities in the Barcelona metropolitan area.

decennio 1975-85.
Sembra quindi abbastanza diffusa una visione della contemporaneità fondata sul fatto che le "scienze della città" – e più specificamente i modelli metodologici e propositivi a cui si ispirano i piani e i progetti urbanistici – sono oggetto di forti dubbi circa la loro pertinenza e la loro efficacia ai fini di una gestione positiva della città: di qualsiasi modello o immagine di città e di qualsiasi tipo di ragionamento e di prassi avente per oggetto le nuove configurazioni (non soltanto fisiche e non soltanto formali) dei centri e delle periferie nell'epoca del *city marketing*. In quest'epoca si inscrivono anche a Barcellona gli ultimi episodi di trasformazione urbana.

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Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.



Emilio Donato

Viviendas "Baró de Viver", Barcelona, España, 1985-89
Emilio Donato
con/with: Miguel Jiménez, Ramon Martì
coll.: Joan Ramón Soldevila, Salvador Arisa

Foto/Photos: E. Donato

Quartiere residenziale "Baró de Viver", Barcellona
Emilio Donato, Miguel Jiménez

Il complesso fa parte di un progetto più ampio che costituisce la prima fase di ricostruzione del quartiere "Casas Baratas" del 1929; curiosamente, lo stesso quartiere aspramente criticato dal GATCPAC nel 1933 come premessa per il progetto razionalista di "Casa Bloc" nel quartiere di San Andrés a Barcellona. Come quello, anche il nostro progetto era concepito come totalità architettonica e al tempo stesso urbana, sia per la complessità morfologica che per le dimensioni. L'intero progetto prevedeva 420 abitazioni, 40 spazi commerciali e piccoli laboratori a piano terreno, due parcheggi sotterranei per novanta automobili e due locali destinati a servizi sociali di quartiere. Il modello morfologico era quello di un grande isolato (*supermanzana*) composto di tre vuoti concavi, due dei quali piuttosto profondi orientati sulla stessa direttrice assiale e un terzo più corto e aperto trasversalmente su quella direttrice.
Il progetto definitivo si configura essenzialmente come spazio urbano unidirezionale nel quale si aprono grandi "porte" e "finestre" situate alle quattro estremità dei due assi di simmetria. Il lato di questa corte, addossato al Paseo de Santa Coloma, risolve il dislivello di m 5 esistente tra questo e il "salone urbano" interno, interponendo una galleria a livello intermedio aperta verso il "salone", sopra la quale si aprono i corpi-scala e una serie di locali commerciali con possibilità di doppio orientamento. In questo modo si evita che questa galleria interna rimanga deserta e senza vita.
La corte interna, che misura m 250x50, mantiene un profilo simmetrico nella sezione longitudinale e risulta leggermente gradonata mediante piattaforme successive, dalla quota centrale più bassa fino al livello di m 2.50 delle terrazze praticabili che coprono i parcheggi. Queste due piattaforme si chiudono a forma di esedra che incrementa la profondità assiale della corte. La sezione trasversale, invece, perde la sua simmetria formando un ampio marciapiede addossato al lato più lungo e soleggiato innalzandosi di m 1.50 sul livello centrale più basso, assumendo così il carattere di una terrazza-balcone.
Dal marciapiede si staccano 8 gruppi di 4 pilastri a doppia altezza, che sostengono ciascuno i corpi soprastanti, risolvendo il perimetro di questo "salone urbano" il cui riferimento storico più immediato potrebbe essere Piazza Navona a Roma.
Lo spessore degli edifici paralleli è determinato da una serie di torri che ospitano tre alloggi per piano, disposte in modo tale da offrire una fronte esterna piana e relativamente uniforme contrastante con il ritmo frastagliato all'interno. Tutte le abitazioni godono di riscontro d'aria e i soggiorni affacciano sul "salone" interno.
La soluzione proposta indaga una tematica implicita tanto nelle *höfe* viennesi quanto nei *patios* e nei *corral* o *aduares* andalusi, che a Barcellona potrebbe essere utilizzata per un recupero e attualizzazione dell'isolato a doppio patio ideato dall'ingegnere Ildefonso Cerdà, proposto – ma mai realizzato – in numerosi punti della versione del 1863 del suo famoso progetto di ampliamento di Barcellona ideato nel 1859. Tutti questi modelli e riferimenti, a prescindere dalla loro genesi tecnica o culturale, esprimono sempre l'istinto primigenio a recuperare una parte dello spazio vuoto naturale, stabilendo alcuni confini che proteggano dall'esterno e rappresentino a loro volta un'affermazione materiale e simbolica di un tipo di appropriazione sociale del territorio e dello spazio. Un'appropriazione che l'attuale dispersione metropolitana e gli eccessi del *plan libre* ostacolano sempre più; essi inoltre impediscono il consolidarsi di modelli alternativi di insediamento residenziale considerate le nuove condizioni della periferia metropolitana.
Nel nostro caso è stata questa la ragione di un lungo processo di ricerca morfologica, con tracciati e strutture reticolari più o meno aperti e a maglie di grandi dimensioni; i quali, qualunque ne sia il disegno, costituiranno senza dubbio la nuova scala delle future espansioni residenziali, nel contesto di una periferia metropolitana ostile, apparentemente vuota e priva di referenti o modelli immediati. È probabile che al recupero acritico della tradizionale disposizione a *manzane* o a isolati chiusi, in opposizione alle classiche planimetrie hilberseimeriane, non consegua il superamento di entambi tali modelli se prima non si chiarisce il carattere e la sequenza di usi e proprietà che, associati storicamente a ciascun modello, dovranno integrarsi e ridefinirsi in un nuovo contesto. Non è possibile passare meccanicisticamente da una "città senza qualità" e senz'anima a una città altrettanto senz'anima e con i *patios* interni come unico ornamento e decoro, come unica qualità recuperata.



Vista della corte interna.
Planimetria urbana:
1) GATCPAC, Casa di alloggi operai "Casa Bloc", 1934-36; 2) Quartiere residenziale "Baró de Viver".

View of internal courtyard and general layout: 1) GATCPAC, "Casa Bloc" popular housing block, 1934-36; 2) "Baró de Viver" residential quarter.



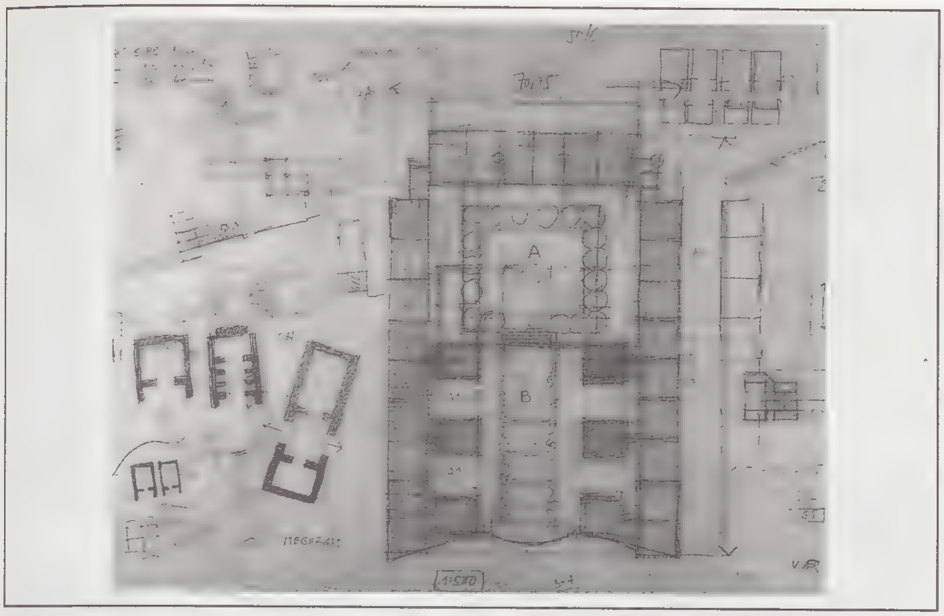


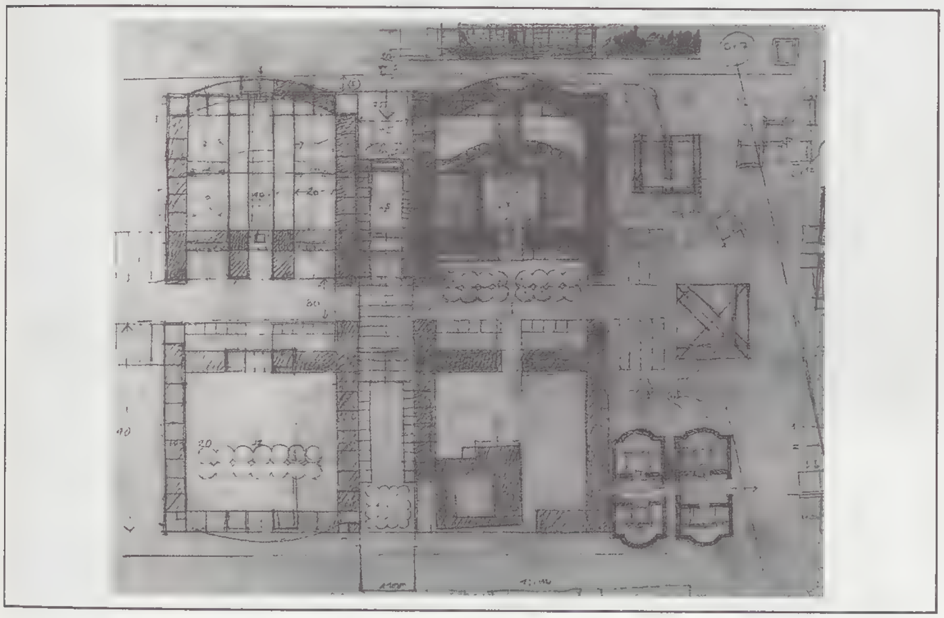
Vista interna della corte e vista esterna.
Disegni di studio e prospettiva generale.

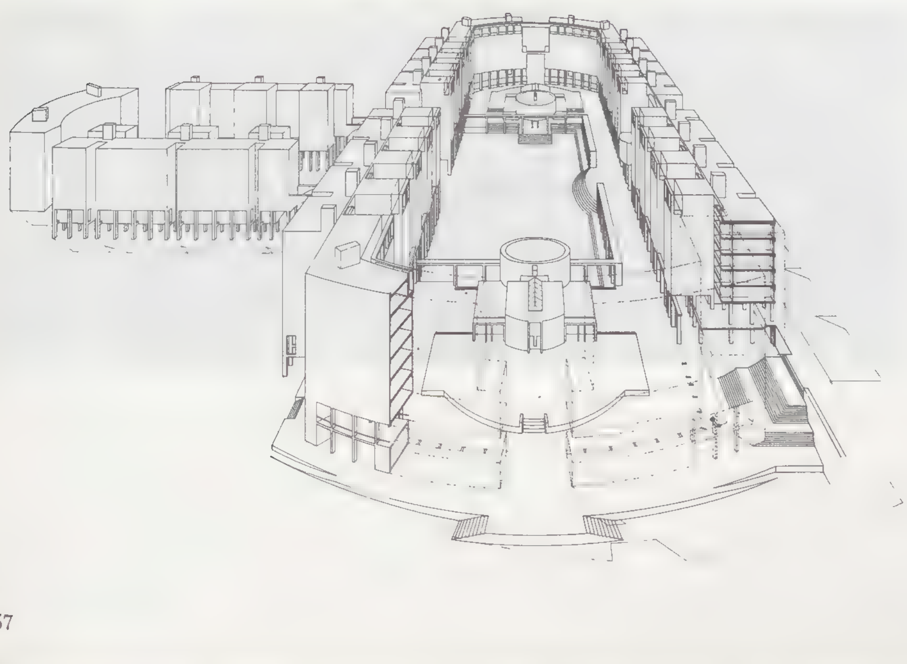
Internal view of courtyard and external view.
Study drawings and general perspective.

"Baró de Viver" residential quarter, Barcelona
Emilio Donato, Miguel Jiménez

The complex is part of a larger project constituting the initial phase of the reconstruction of the "Casa Baratas" quarter built 1929. Curiously enough, this quarter was bitterly criticised by GATCPAC in 1933 as a prelude to the functionalist "Casa Bloc" project in the San Andrés quarter in Barcelona.
Like that earlier project, mine was conceived as both an architectural and an urban entity, in both size and morphological complexity. The project as a whole envisages 420 dwellings, 40 ground-floor shops and small workshops, two underground car parks for ninety vehicles and two social service centres. The morphological model is that of a large block (supermanzana) *composed of three concave voids: two rather deep ones oriented on the same axis, and one shallower opening crosswise onto the same axis.*
The final project creates essentially a unidirectional urban space with large "doors" and "windows" situated at the four extremities of two symmetrical axes. The side of this courtyard flanking Paseo de Santa Coloma handles the difference in level of 5 metres between the Paseo and the internal "urban living-room" by interposing a gallery at intermediate height that opens onto the "living-room". Above the gallery are stair blocks and a set of shops that can face either way, thus ensuring that the internal gallery doesn't end up lifeless and empty.
The 250x50 m internal courtyard has a symmetrical profile in longitudinal section, and is gently stepped in platforms from the lowest level in the centre up to the accessible terraces (2.50 m higher) covering the car parks. These two platforms close like exedras, which increases the axial depth of the courtyard. By contrast, the cross-section abandons symmetry





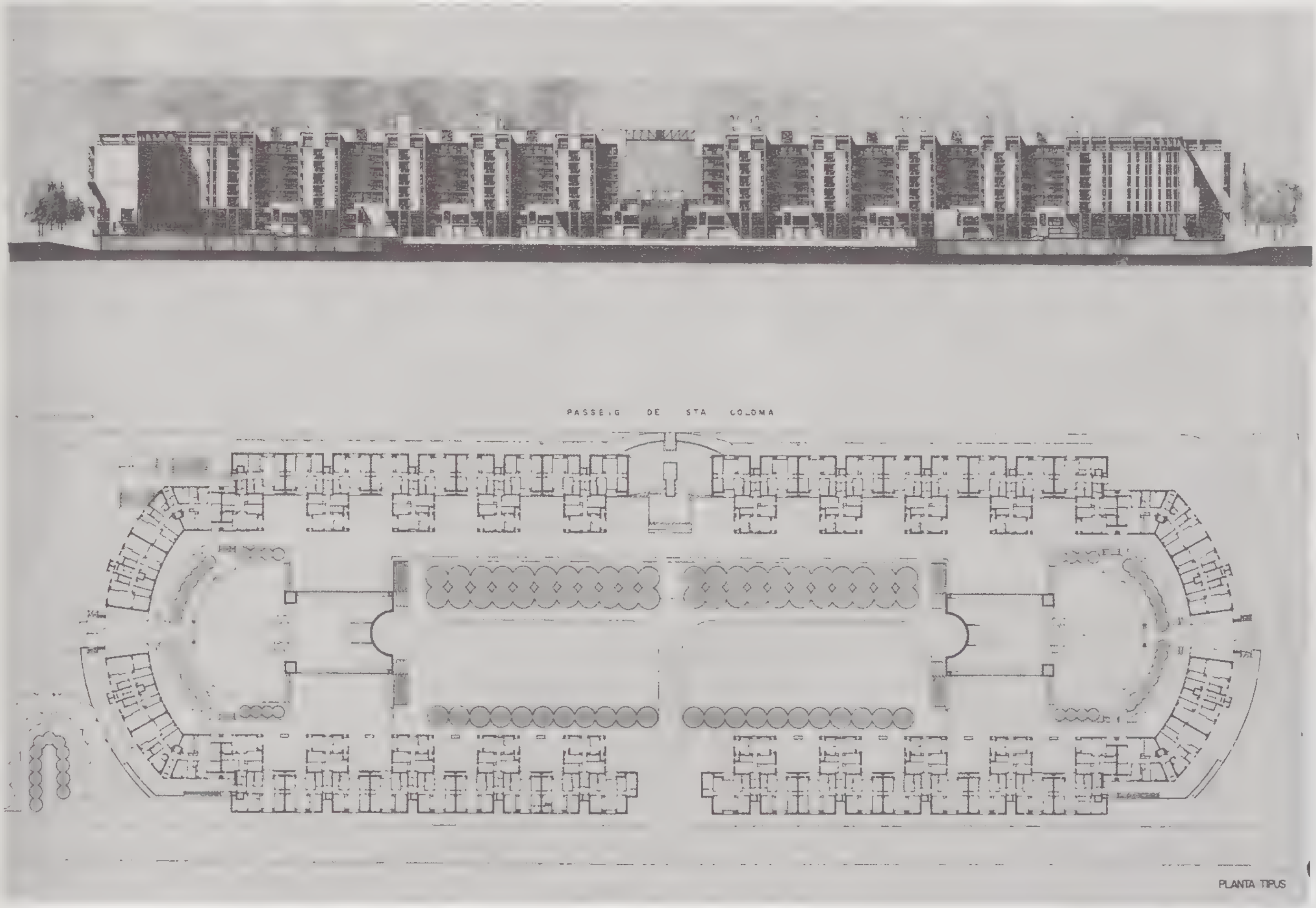


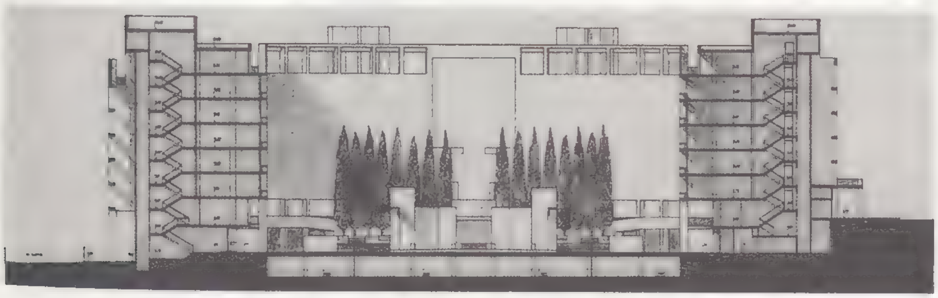
to form a wide pavement on the long side which gets more sun by being raised 1.5 m above the lowest central area like a terrace or balcony.
Along the pavement, 8 groups of 4 double-height pillars, each supporting the buildings above, form the perimeter of the "urban living-room", whose closest historical counterpart might be Piazza Navona in Rome. The thickness of the parallel buildings is determined by a row of towers (three dwellings on each floor) arranged to form a flat, relatively homogeneous external front contrasting with the jagged internal one. Since they face both ways, the dwellings benefit from through-ventilation and their living-rooms face the internal "urban living-room".
This design incorporates a theme found in both the Viennese höfe *and Andalusian* patios *and* corrall *or* aduares, *and it could be used in Barcelona to reinstate and update the double-patio block designed (though never built) by Ildefonso Cerdà which is scattered throughout the 1983 version of his 1859 famous project for the expansion of Barcelona. Irrespective of technical or cultural origin, all these typologies and quotations represent a basic instinctual urge to assimilate empty natural space by establishing boundaries to protect it against the outside world, which in turn make a physical and symbolic statement about the appropriation of territory and space for social purposes.*
Metropolitan sprawl and the excesses of plan libre *increasingly place obstacles in the way of this kind of appropriation, and also prevent the consolidation of alternative residential typologies, given the conditions that now prevail in the metropolitan periphery.*
In my case, this led to wide-ranging morphological experimentation with large-scale grid layouts and structures that communicate directly with the outside world to varying degrees. Whatever the final design,

these structures undoubtedly indicate the new scale of future residential expansion in an empty, hostile metropolitan periphery seemingly devoid of recognisable architectural typologies or referents.
Probably we shall never get beyond non-critical reinstatement of either traditional manzane *(closed block) layout or classic Hilberseimer grids unless we first clarify the nature and sequence of use and ownership historically associated with each model, and decide how they can be integrated and redefined in a new context. We can't simply pass mechanically from one featureless, soulless city to another equally soulless city that boasts the internal* patio *as its only decorative and/or reinstated feature.*









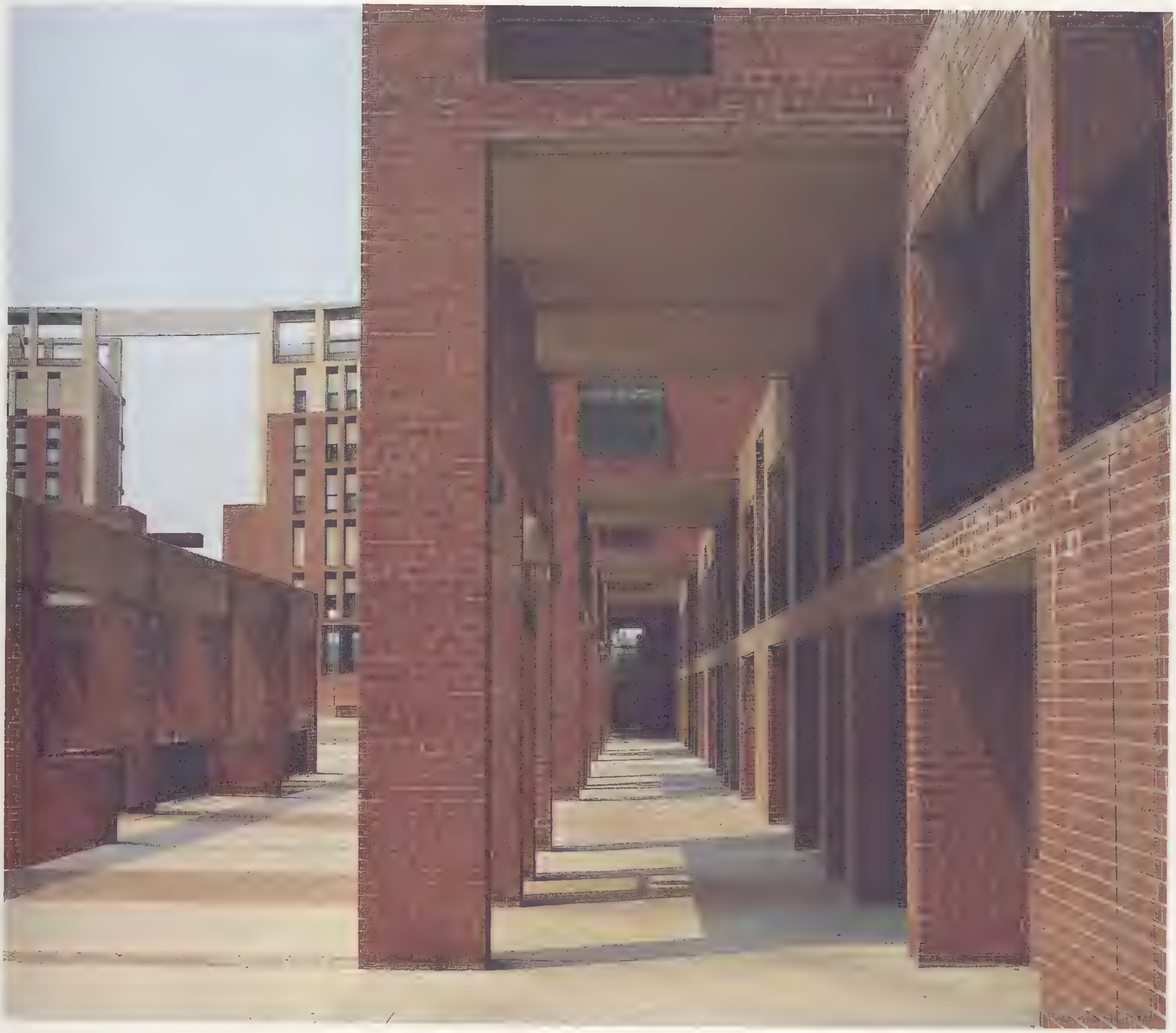
Vista esterna.
Pianta generale del piano tipo, prospetti e sezione trasversale.

External view.
General plan of standard floor, elevations and cross section.



Viste di dettaglio.

Detailed views.





Roberto Ferreira

Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria "La Llagosta", Barcelona, España, 1993
Roberto Ferreira
con/with: Elsa Lopez, Eliana Crubellati

Foto/Photos: L. Jansana

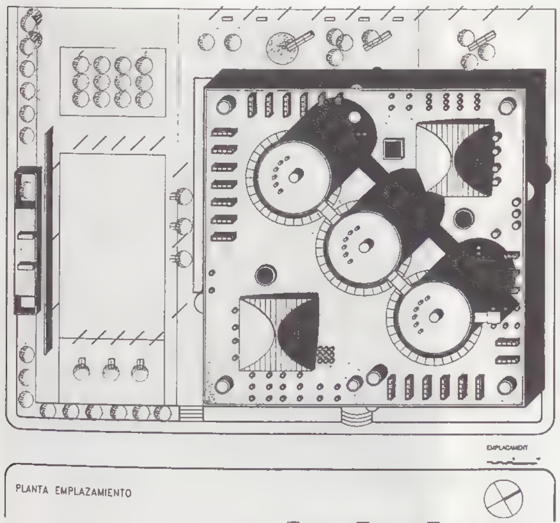


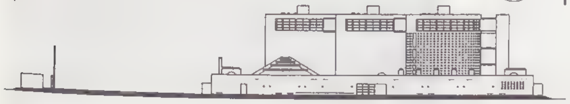
Scuola secondaria “La Llagosta”, Barcellona
Roberto Ferreira

La scuola è situata nella “periferia di una periferia”, in un agglomerato urbano che agisce da perno tra una zona industriale, gli alti edifici di un quartiere popolare costruito negli anni Sessanta e i solchi tracciati nel terreno dalla ferrovia e dall’autostrada.
L’edificio che ospita la scuola è chiuso, ermetico, con una configurazione geometrica circolare e schematica: tre torri cilindriche perforano il tetto ed emergono sopra una base quadrata di m 68 di lato costruita con mattoni opachi e gelosie che lasciano filtrare la luce.
Si potrebbe dire che l’edificio riprende la disposizione chiusa e orizzontale delle fabbriche vicine e quella verticale del quartiere popolare. In ogni caso, esso manifesta una chiara volontà referenziale, proponendosi di stabilire dei limiti e di dare forma alla zona della città in cui è collocato.
Il progetto indaga gli elementi e le funzioni che solitamente caratterizzano un edificio scolastico: la forma dell’aula e il suo sistema di aggregazione; i rapporti tra gli spazi di lavoro, aule, *atelier*, laboratori e gli spazi dell’attività collettiva; tra il momento dell’apprendimento e il momento della sua socializzazione.
Gli spazi delle attività di apprendimento sono tutti nelle tre torri che poggiano sul basamento del piano terreno, dove sono ubicati gli spazi comuni e di attività collettiva (sala multifunzionale, palestra, caffetteria, ecc.).
Al piano terreno di ognuna delle torri si trovano gli *atelier* che fungono da base o “supporto” alle aule per l’insegnamento teorico ai piani superiori. Quest’ultime emergono dall’edificio e negli spazi superiori ospitano le attività di carattere scientifico e artistico: laboratori e aule di arti plastiche. Da qui si recupera ampiamente il rapporto con l’esterno: l’edificio è visibile nel suo insieme e lo sguardo spazia sul paesaggio circostante.
L’aula ha forma di settore circolare e gli alunni si dispongono quindi in circolo: un richiamo all’immagine mitica del maestro riunito con i suoi discepoli in un rapporto di maggiore vicinanza e intimità, meno gerarchico. Una griglia esterna di mattoni chiusa all’interno da un rivestimento di materiale traslucido filtra una luce diffusa, senza ombre, risolvendo la contraddizione della luce alle spalle in posizione di lavoro. In ogni aula, una finestra più ampia si apre sul paesaggio. Al piano terreno i diversi spazi destinati alle attività collettive hanno disposizione perimetrale e si aprono su uno spazio coperto che funge da patio e luogo di incontro, dal quale si innalzano in successione diagonale le tre torri. Questo spazio interno non ha più alcuna relazione con l’esterno, ma si configura ugualmente come spazio esterno grazie ai numerosi lucernari e aperture che filtrano la luce del sole e proteggono dalla pioggia.
La palestra, collegata agli spogliatoi e alla caffetteria, e la sala multifunzionale, collegata alla biblioteca e alle sale di proiezione, si distinguono per le loro dimensioni e le caratteristiche della copertura. La disposizione degli ingressi consente di accedere a queste sale fuori dall’orario scolastico, funzionando come servizi della città.
In tal modo un insieme complesso di aule, *atelier* e laboratori è stato risolto con la progettazione di tre elementi verticali che poggiano su una base, con una geometria semplice e circolare, chiusa verso l’esterno come lo sono le fabbriche vicine, e aperta verso un spazio interno che per contraddizione si configura come lo spazio esterno della scuola. Contraddizione che le aperture sul tetto e i diversi sistemi di luce zenitale tradiscono nella sua vera importanza: sole, ombra, pioggia, natura penetrano nel cuore dell’edificio e partecipano all’attività scolastica.

“La Llagosta” Secondary School, Barcelona
Roberto Ferreira

The school is situated in the “suburb of a suburb”, an urban conglomeration that serves as a hinge between an industrial estate, a high-rise social housing quarter dating from the 1960s, and the railway and motorway.
The school building is a closed, hermetic construction with a round, schematic geometrical configuration. Three cylindrical towers pierce the roof and rise above a square, 68x68 m matt brick base with shuttered windows to let in light.
Some would say that the building repeats the closed, horizontal layout of the nearby factories and the vertical configuration of the social housing quarter. At any rate, it clearly has a referential purpose in that it seeks to shape and establish the boundaries of the urban area it is located in.
The project explores the features and functions that usually characterise school buildings: the shape of classrooms and how they fit together; relationships between working space, classrooms, workshops, laboratories and communal spaces, and between learning and socialisation.
All the learning spaces are in the three towers resting on the broad ground-level base containing communal spaces like the multipurpose hall, gym, caffeteria, etc. The workshops on the ground floor of each tower serve as bases or “supports” for the classrooms for theoretical teaching on the upper floors. These laboratories and plastic arts classrooms rising above the building serve for artistic and scientific study. The views from the tower rooms more than reinstate the relationship with the outside world: the building is visible in its entirety and the eye is drawn to the surrounding cityscape and the landscape beyond. The classrooms are circular, so the pupils sit in a circle, a reference to the mythical





Vista esterna da sudest, planimetria di inquadramento urbanistico, planivolumetria e prospetto sudest.

External view from south-east, plan of urban siting, volumetric plan and south-east elevation.

image of the teacher surrounded by disciples that creates greater intimacy and a less hierarchical situation. An external brick grid with translucent inner cladding provides indirect, shadowless lighting that solves the problem of light coming from over the pupils' shoulders while they are working. Each classroom also has a larger window opening onto the landscape.

On the ground floor the communal spaces are arranged around the perimeter, and open onto a covered space that serves as a patio and meeting place from which the three towers rise in diagonal sequence. This internal space no longer has any relationship with the outside world, but it still seems an external space because of its numerous skylights and windows that filter the sunlight and keep the rain out. The gym connected to the changing rooms and the caffeteria, and the multipurpose hall connected to the library and the screening rooms, are noticeable because they are larger and have different roof features. The siting of their entrances means that they can be used by local inhabitants outside school hours.

Thus, a complex set of classrooms, workshops and laboratories has been given architectural point by three towers resting on a simple, circular, geometrical base that is closed to the outside world like the nearby factories, but opens onto an internal space that paradoxically functions as the school's external space. A contradiction whose true significance is revealed by the roof openings and various forms of overhead lighting: sun, shadow, rain and nature penetrate the heart of the building and become a part of the school's activities.



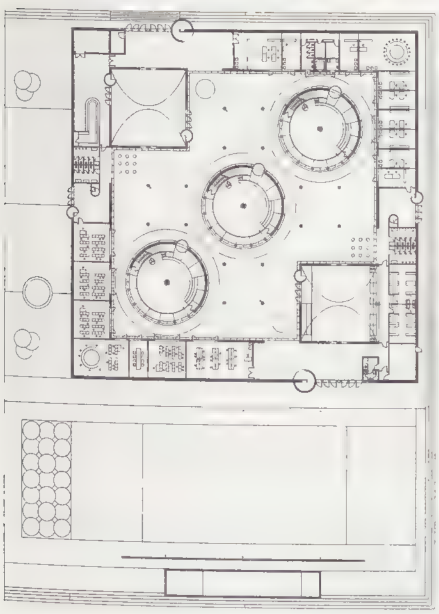


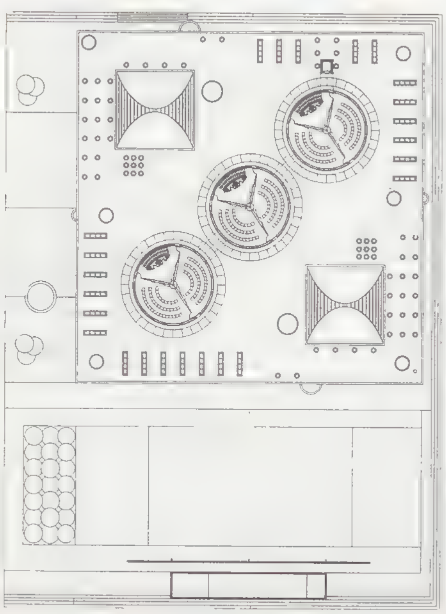
Vista interna e viste esterne generale e di dettaglio.
Pianta del piano terreno e del piano tipo dei corpi cilindrici (aule).

Internal view and external general and detailed views.
Ground-floor plan and plan of standard floors in the cylindrical volume (classrooms).







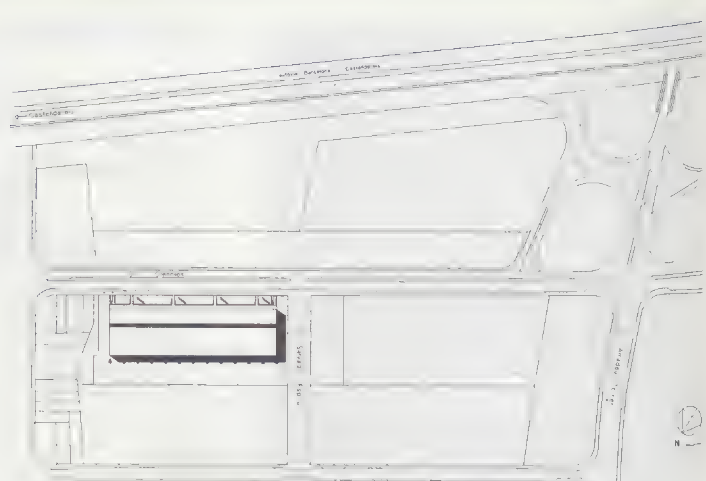




Eduard Calafell

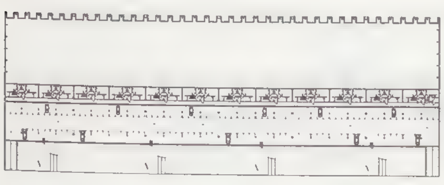
Nave Industrial, Poligono Pedrosa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcelona, España, 1993
Eduard Calafell
coll.: Eulalia Aran, Enric Castellò, Andreu Criado, Pere Espuga, Ramón Garriga, Carlos Roche, Xavier Serena, Joan Solà

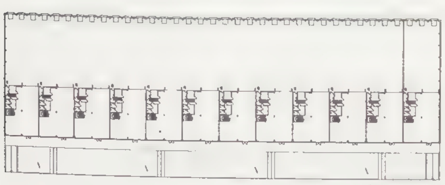
Foto/Photos: L. Jansana

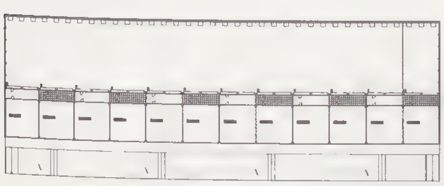


Edificio industriale modulare nel Poligono industriale di Pedrosa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcellona
Eduard Calafell

La prossimità visuale dell'edificio alla rete ferroviaria principale, sull'asse di collegamento tra città e aeroporto, favorisce la proposta di nuove tipologie di scambio commerciale. In questo senso, la struttura modulare è stata progettata appositamente per accogliere locali destinati alla distribuzione e alla vendita di merci ad alto valore aggiunto, al montaggio di manufatti e accessori, a laboratori professionali e all'esposizione. Inoltre, la struttura è stata progettata soprattutto per lo sviluppo di formule commerciali come il *cash and carry*.
Delimitando a nord il complesso industriale di Pedrosa, l'autostrada di Castelldefels rappresenta un punto di riferimento visuale stabile per gli edifici che occupano e occuperanno quest'area, nonostante il regolamento urbanistico preveda un'ampia zona libera tra l'autostrada e i lotti di terreno edificabile. La soluzione volumetrica che accentua la visibilità delle nuove costruzioni dall'autostrada esprime la volontà di segnalare le potenzialità commerciali del sito. Gli edifici industriali sono concepiti come grandi plinti orizzontali sopra i quali sono disposti pannelli luminosi che attraggono l'attenzione da grande distanza.
Grazie alla distanza che separa gli edifici dall'autostrada, la leggera divergenza tra l'asse dell'autostrada e l'asse longitudinale degli edifici industriali non costituisce un elemento di disturbo e non ha quindi richiesto alcun particolare intervento.
La serie di lotti industriali è dominata da un grande spazio sul quale sorgono due edifici di notevole altezza, uno per uffici e l'altro per albergo, che, a una distanza di duecento metri dall'autostrada, fanno da sfondo all'intero complesso, basso ed esteso. Il progetto considera quindi l'insieme dei nuovi edifici come un grande basamento sul quale poggiano le insegne luminose delle diverse compagnie, esprimendo così la chiara volontà di mettere in luce la semplicità dei volumi considerando il ruolo neutro che dovranno svolgere.
Lo spazio esterno si estende dal fronte del complesso all'autostrada. È stato quindi necessario stabilire un primo confine, un elemento di riferimento soprattutto per le persone che percorrono la strada di accesso. A questo scopo sono stati progettati lampioni stradali che si presentano come pareti verticali che misurano m 9x3 e che, con la loro presenza, definiscono uno spazio leggermente marcato tra di essi e la facciata del nuovo edificio. Dall'autostrada e dal confine del lotto, questi elementi scandiscono inoltre un ritmo verticale che si impone sulla linea orizzontale tracciata dalla facciata della costruzione. La facciata si presenta infatti come un elemento neutro in modo che nulla possa interferire con il ruolo più globale che deve assumere la sua presenza: per questa ragione le due fasce orizzontali e sovrapposte, ognuna di colore diverso, sottolineano la disposizione longitudinale che deve risultare dominante.
L'edificio è costituito, in realtà, da una serie di dodici moduli indipendenti predisposti per esser collegati smontando gli elementi di cortina in metallo che li separano. Questi moduli presentano alcuni elementi comuni: le zone di carico e scarico per i mezzi pesanti sul retro, il parcheggio, le zone libere e gli accessi al piano terra. Ogni modulo ha il proprio garage al piano interrato collegato al piano terreno da una scala. Al piano terreno l'edificio è diviso in due zone che comunicano attraverso grandi porte a libro e sono separate da un blocco di servizi e da un piccolo ufficio. Il piano superiore ospita invece gli uffici per l'amministrazione.







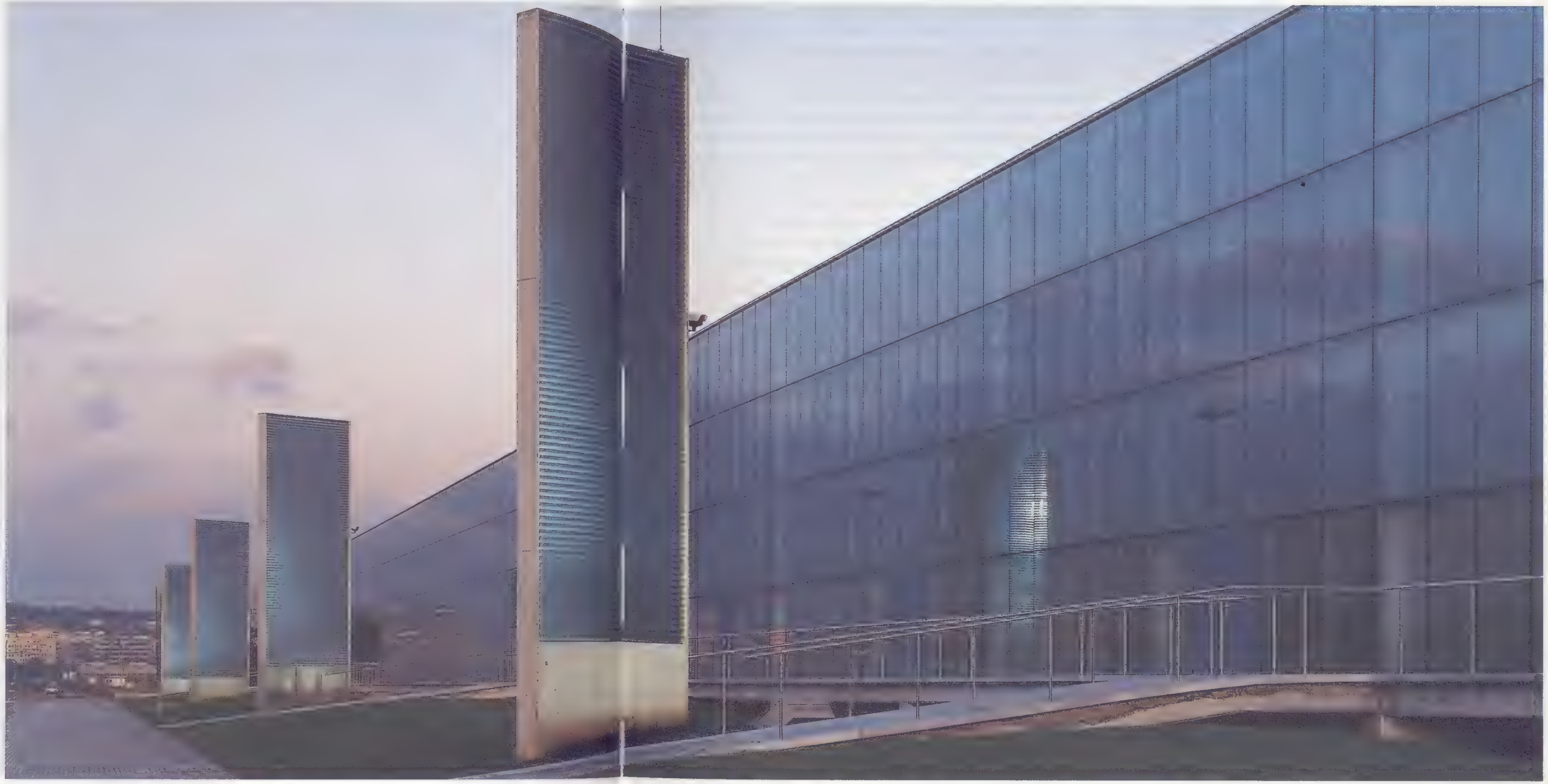
Vista esterna.
Planivolumetria e pianta dei piani seminterrato (parcheggi e spogliatoi), terreno (esposizione e magazzino), primo (uffici).

External view.
Volumetric plan and plan of basement levels (parking and changing-rooms), ground floor (display space and stores) and first floor (offices).

Nave Industrial, Poligono Pedrosa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcelona
Eduard Calafell

The visual proximity of the building to the main rail network in the communications corridor between the city and the airport suggested that new commercial and trading typologies would be appropriate features of the project. The modular structure was specifically designed for high value-added consumer goods warehouses and retail outlets, products and parts factories, professional workshops and display facilities. It was also designed to facilitate the development of retail formulas like cash and carry.
The Castelldefels motorway defines the northern limit of the Pedrosa industrial estate and provides stable visual reference for the buildings that will occupy the site, although local planning regulations have imposed a broad unbuilt strip between the motorway and the development site. The volumetric design which enhances the visibility of the new buildings from the motorway, tries to draw attention to the commercial potential of the site. The industrial buildings are designed as large horizontal plinths surmounted by illuminated sign panels that attract the eye from a great distance.
The unbuilt strip between the buildings and the motorway is broad enough to conceal the fact that the motorway axis does not quite correspond to the longitudinal axis of the buildings. No visual awkwardness is created, and no special remedies were needed.
The estate's series of industrial lots is dominated by a large landscaped space with two unusually tall buildings, one an office block, the other a hotel. Standing two hundred metres from the nearby motorway, they provide a backdrop to the long, low complex of buildings. Thus, the project sees the new buildings as a large plinth on which to mount

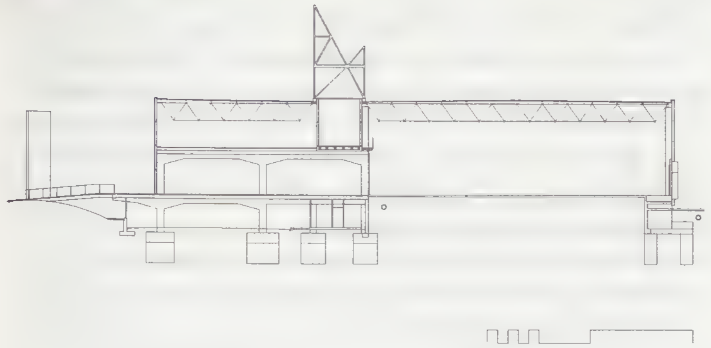
the illuminated signs of resident companies. This highlights the simplicity of the volumes, and the essentially neutral role they are intended to play.
The external space extends from the front of the buildings to the motorway, so some sort of boundary line was needed, mainly as a landmark for people using the access road. This is provided by street lamps resembling vertical 9x3 metre walls which draw discreet attention to the space separating them from the fronts of the new buildings. When seen from the motorway and the edge of the lot, the lamps also create a vertical rhythm that breaks the horizontal line of the building fronts. The fronts are deliberately neutral so as not to interfere with the more general role they are designed to play on the estate: the two overlapping horizontal strips, each a different colour, enhance the oblong arrangement of volumes. In reality, each building consists of a set of twelve independent modules that can be joined by dismantling the metal partition walls between them. They have certain standard features: truck loading bays at the back, a car park, landscaped areas and ground-floor access. Each module has its own underground garage with stairs to the ground floor, where the building is divided into two communicating areas with large folding door partitions, separated by a services block and a small office. The offices and other administrative areas are on the upper floor.



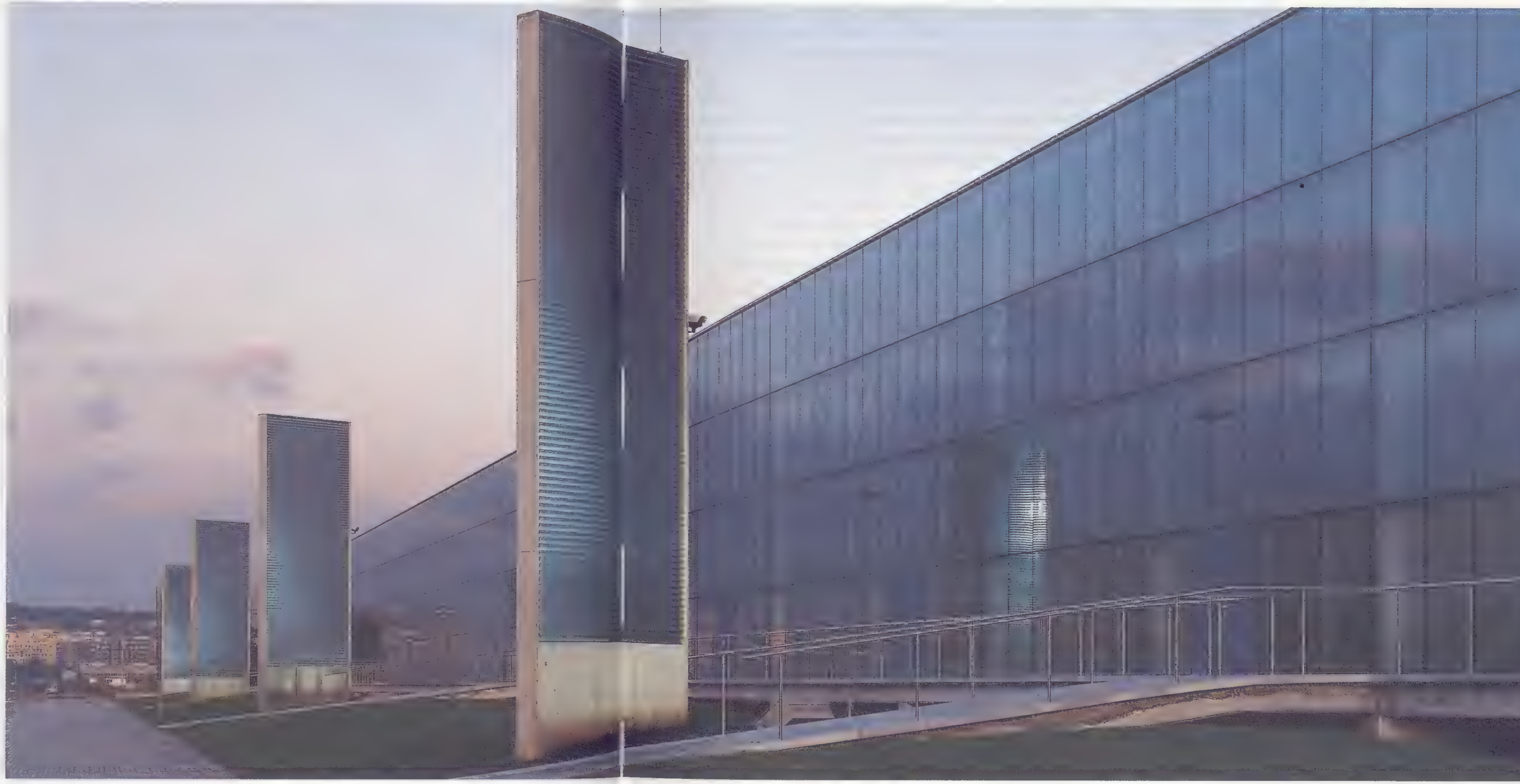


Viste esterna e interna e sezione trasversale.

External and internal views, and transversal section.



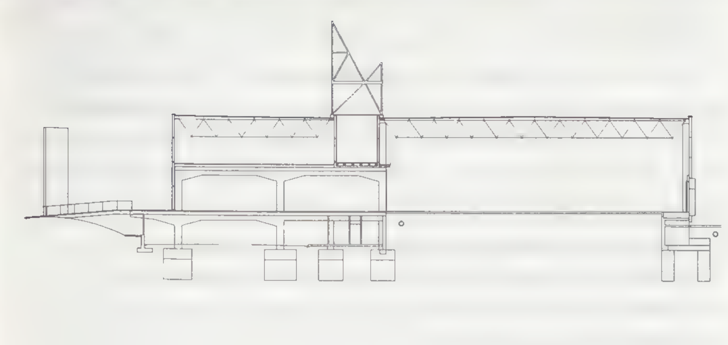
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Viste esterna e interna e sezione trasversale.

External and internal views, and transversal section.



Periferia, piano o gestione?
Enrico Bordogna

La periferia, dopo alcuni anni di disinteresse, è tornata di attualità – per lo meno in Italia, dove nel corso degli anni Ottanta è stata soppiantata dall'esaltazione delle aree e delle funzioni del centro, in sintonia con un più generale, e più o meno strumentale, sentimento di ottimismo verso i problemi dello sviluppo –. Ma, tornando di attualità, forse anche per la sopravvenuta crisi degli apparati ideologici tradizionali, ha assunto le sembianze mitologiche di un'idra dalle cento teste.
Per alcuni, che ancora ritengono non del tutto inservibili gli strumenti dell'analisi marxista, essa è sinonimo di dipendenza e di esclusione, frutto di quello "scambio ineguale" (non ancora sufficientemente risarcito dalla pervasività televisiva) che regola i rapporti sociali e territoriali capitalistici a tutte le scale, centro-periferia, città-campagna, nord-sud del mondo. Per altri essa è il luogo di un vuoto della memoria, dove la *tabula rasa* del Movimento Moderno ha obnubilato la matrice storica della città, lasciando ai suoi bordi spezzoni incompiuti, relitti che solo il ricorso alle figure della storia e della tradizione potrebbe reimmettere in un circuito di continuità. Per altri ancora la periferia metropolitana è il luogo tipico della complessità contemporanea, teatro di differenze e di contraddizioni non facili da intendere e persino descrivere, e dunque ancor più da governare, ma anche della ricchezza e della libertà irrinunciabili della realtà metropolitana contemporanea[1].
Anche il cinema, che pure è riuscito talvolta a cogliere una realtà per la quale agli architetti e agli urbanisti sembrano addirittura mancare le parole, non sfugge a questa impressione di ambiguità pirandelliana: varrà la periferia pasoliniana, serbatoio vitale di autenticità contrapposta al potere corruttore del centro? o quella, per certi aspetti simile, del Fassbinder di *La paura mangia l'anima* (*Angst Essen Seele Auf*, 1973), dove due emarginazioni, la periferia e l'emigrazione, si salvano nell'incontro reciproco? o quella disincantata e scevra da autocommiserazione dell'Almodovar di *Cosa ho fatto io per meritarmi tutto questo?* (*Que he echo yo para merecer esto!!!*, 1984)? o quella del "diario cinematografico" *Tokio-ga*, 1985, dove l'indagine wendersiana, a confronto con la difficile realtà giapponese, assai più che in altre sue opere rivela autentica originalità di interpretazione? o quella un po' consolatoria di molti film di Rohmer, normale al punto da far sorgere il sospetto che non si tratti più di periferia, ma di una frangia ormai addomesticata e integrata?
In altri termini sembra che la periferia soffra sul piano concettuale della medesima frammentazione e labilità che vive nella sua identità fisica.
D'altra parte anche le terapie seguono strade altrettanto divaricate. Semplificando per chiarezza di esposizione, si possono riconoscere tre posizioni fondamentalmente contrapposte.
Da una parte sta chi, reputando la periferia il luogo della patologia della metropoli contemporanea, ne propugna una ricostruzione fondata sulla continuità con la città storica, attingendo in vari modi alle regole morfologiche e

Periphery: plan or management?
Enrico Bordogna

The periphery, after years of neglect, is back in the spotlight, at least in Italy, where during the 1980s it had been shouldered aside by the focus on the areas and the functions of the centre, in tune with a more general – and more or less calculated – optimism regarding the problems of development. But as it returns to the centre of attention, it also assumes a mythical resemblance to a hundred-headed hydra, perhaps in part due to the intervening crisis of the traditional ideological apparati.
For some, who still believe that the tools of Marxist analysis have not become utterly obsolete, the periphery is a synonym for dependency and exclusion, the result of that "unequal exchange" (not yet sufficiently remedied by the omnipresence of television) which regulates capitalistic social and territorial relations on all scales: centre-periphery, city-country, north-south of the world. For others, the periphery is the site of a memory vacuum, where the tabula rasa *of the Modern Movement has obscured the historical matrix of the city, leaving unfinished fragments at its borders, wreckage which only recourse to the figures of history and tradition can bring back into a circuit of continuity. For others still, the metropolitan periphery is the emblematic place of contemporary complexity, theatre of differences and contradictions difficult to understand, even to describe, and thus even more difficult to control; but it is also the site of the unrelinquishable wealth and freedom of contemporary metropolitan reality*[1].
Cinema, in spite of its occasional ability to grasp aspects of reality which elude even the linguistic capacities of architects and planners, is not free of this impression of Pirandellian ambiguity: which will prevail, the Pasolinian periphery, vital reservoir of authenticity, in opposition to the corrupting power of the centre? Or that periphery, in some ways similar, of Fassbinder in Angst Essen Seele Auf *(1973), where two forms of alienation – the periphery and emigration – redeem one another in their encounter? Or that disenchanted view of the periphery, free of self-pity, of Almodovar in* What did I do to deserve this? (Que he echo yo para merecer esto!!!, *1984)? Or again, that of the "film diary"* Tokyo-ga, *1985, in which the explorations of Wenders, grappling with the difficulties of the realities of Japan, lead to an authentic originality of interpretation, far beyond that of his other films? Not to mention the rather consoling version seen in many of the films of Rohmer, normal to the point of raising the suspicion that this is no longer the periphery, but instead a fringe which has, by now, been absorbed.*
In other words, it would appear that the periphery suffers, on the conceptual plane, from the same fragmentation and volatility which characterises its physical identity.
The same divergences can be observed in the therapies prescribed. Simplifying, for the sake of argument, we can identify three fundamentally opposing positions.
One is that of those who view the periphery as the site of the pathology of the contemporary metropolis, and thus urge a reconstruction based on the notion of continuity with

tipologiche della sua formazione: l'isolato, la strada, la piazza, la cortina stradale, la prospettiva monumentale, il verde, eccetera. Se non si può parlare di nostalgia (se non in casi estremi, in cui anche il linguaggio evoca apertamente le forme di una presunta "età dell'oro" della città del passato, caso per caso medievaleggiante, rinascimentale, barocca, eccetera), questa posizione, anche quando ricorre al linguaggio più o meno aggiornato dell'architettura moderna, mostra di avere come modello di riferimento la città tradizionale, muovendo da una critica radicale alle proposte urbane del Movimento Moderno, lette come programma velleitario di dissoluzione della città ereditata dalla storia.
Sul fronte opposto sta chi, riconoscendo nella periferia, con le sue contraddizioni e i suoi conflitti, l'espressione insopprimibile della contemporaneità, propugna una linea d'intervento tesa a costruirvi un paesaggio "altro" dalla città tradizionale, giocato sulla dissonanza, sul frammento, sul contrasto, sui grandi spazi aperti, sulla espressività cruda delle infrastrutture quanto quello della città storica perseguiva canoni di omogeneità, conclusione, armonia, organicità.
Va subito detto che queste due posizioni, nel contrasto apparentemente inconciliabile, si mantengono entrambe su un terreno prevalentemente morfologico-estetizzante, volto all'indietro della città "compatta" in un caso, proiettato verso la metropoli di "fine millennio" nell'altro, ma entrambe evitando di affrontare la questione della periferia in termini di ingegneria della città, nelle sue componenti e virtualità funzionali e strutturali.
Proprio a partire da questa esigenza è invece individuabile una terza posizione, che affronta il problema della periferia (in certa misura smitizzandolo) indagando le ragioni strutturali che hanno trasformato un momento fisiologico di crescita della città nella espressione patologica attuale.
Per tutto un lungo periodo, infatti (*grosso modo* fino al secondo dopoguerra), la questione della periferia tende a coincidere con l'espansione della città, rientrando nel dibattito sui diversi provvedimenti per regolare lo sviluppo urbano, dalla formazione della disciplina urbanistica nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento alle proposte della città giardino, della città lineare, delle *siedlung*, eccetera. Solo recentemente, negli ultimi tre-quattro decenni, l'incremento straordinario delle dimensioni quantitative, non governate in una politica territoriale strategicamente adeguata, ha fatto sì che la periferia assumesse lo stato patologico attuale, con i caratteri noti di separatezza, isolamento, carenza di servizi, eccetera.
Nel caso milanese e lombardo, per esempio (che nel panorama italiano è certamente il più paradigmatico), negli anni Cinquanta, quando il capoluogo metropolitano attraeva grandemente attività produttive e popolazione (dalle valli e dalle campagne lombarde, dal Veneto, dal Mezzogiorno: erano gli anni del *boom* economico), non venne presa in alcuna considerazione la possibilità di distribuire su tutto il policentrismo regionale l'eccezionale pressione immigratoria. Distribuzione che si poteva ottenere solo con l'inversione della tendenza insediativa da Milano verso i capoluoghi di provincia della regione, attraverso la costruzione di una rete regionale di trasporto su rotaia con tempi di percorrenza da polo a polo e con il centro metropolitano dell'ordine di grandezza di quelli urbani, tale da contenere la formazione di nuove periferie entro dimensioni "relativamente" fisiologiche.
Relativamente in quanto i capoluoghi provinciali (Bergamo, Como, Lecco, Pavia, Cremona, eccetera), garantiti da siffatti livelli di accessibilità di massa tra loro e con Milano, avrebbero da un lato drenato rispetto a Milano, e dall'altro agito come poli di primo arroccamento di un'immigrazione che in parte muoveva anche dai rispettivi contadi, e che pertanto, attestandosi in prima istanza al proprio capoluogo di provincia, avrebbe certamente presentato caratteri "relativamente" meno patologici.
Errore grave, dunque, e denso di conseguenze; e tale da essere, allora, vero punto discriminante tra due concezioni opposte del mandato urbanistico. Da una parte quella, per così dire, dei "pianificatori", appagati del disegno del piano urbanistico in una visione essenzialmente correttiva, quando non semplicemente formale o stilistica, senza preoccuparsi del fatto che il controllo limitato al solo livello comunale (fosse pure quello di Milano) sarebbe stato fatalmente fallimentare rispetto all'esondazione immigratoria nei comuni contermini; e dall'altra parte quella di chi era impegnato nella gestione urbanistica dei comuni di corona intorno a Milano, che viceversa era consapevole dell'obbligo di costruire un sistema urbano policentrico in una coerenza macrourbanistica a livello regionale, fondata in primo luogo sull'uso del mezzo ferroviario come metropolitana regionale per il trasporto di massa, al fine di organizzare gerarchicamente la pressione insediativa sul policentrismo dei capoluoghi di provincia[2].
Secondo questa interpretazione, dunque, né la ricomposizione morfologica né l'accettazione dello stato di fatto quale è, giustificato o addirittura assunto in positivo in quanto espressione del libero gioco delle forze di mercato, sono una soluzione. Al contrario, solo la costruzione di un sistema insediativo policentrico, integrato territorialmente e funzionalmente da un adeguato regime di accessibilità di massa, sarebbe in grado di riportare la patologia della periferia alle sue naturali dimensioni fisiologiche. All'interno delle quali anche interventi puntuali nel campo della residenza e delle attività di vita associata, attraverso invenzione tipologica e carica rappresentativa, potrebbero farsi motrici di urbanità, instaurando nuove condizioni di centralità anche nelle diverse situazioni periferiche esistenti.
Ma più che una disamina astratta, vale forse lo sforzo di una pur sintetica rassegna dei principali progetti e realizzazioni, ormai sufficientemente numerosi per chiarire le diverse politiche di intervento che oggi si confrontano sul tema della periferia.

the historical city, invoking the morphological and typological rules of its formation: the block, the street, the square, street frontage, monumental perspectives, green areas, etc. Although not always a question of nostalgia (except in some extreme cases, in which the language openly evokes the forms of a supposed "golden age" of the city of the past, albeit medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, etc.), this position, even when couched in a more or less updated version of the language of modern architecture, uses the traditional city as its model of reference, and is motivated by a radical critique of the urban proposals of the Modern Movement, which are viewed as a reckless programme of dis-integration of the city inherited from the past.

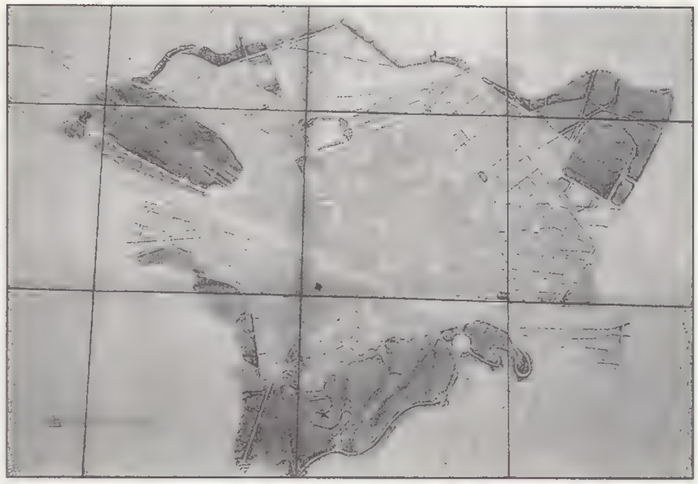
On the opposite front are those who view the periphery, with its contradictions and conflicts, as the irrepressible expression of the contemporary condition, and urge a line of intervention designed to construct a landscape which is "other" than the traditional city, based on dissonance, on the fragment, on contrast, on large open spaces, on the crude expressive quality of infrastructures, just as the historical city was based on canons of homogeneity, conclusion, harmony, organicity.

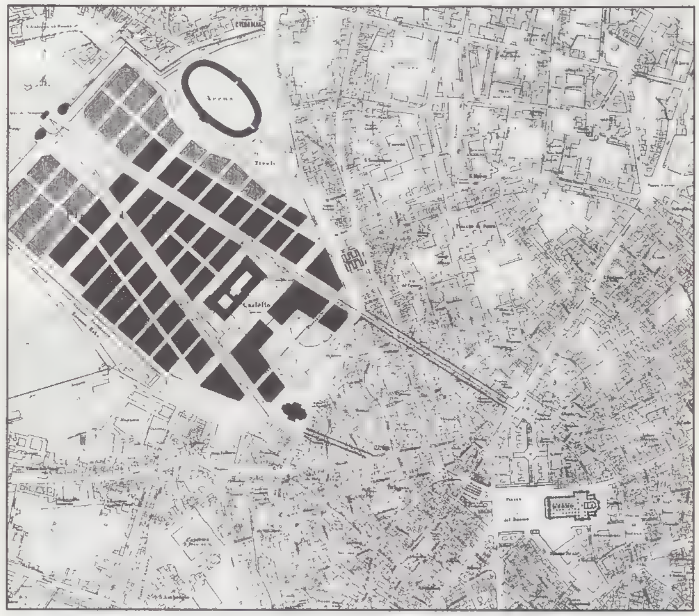
It should immediately be noted that these two apparently irreconcilable positions are both limited to a prevalently morphological-aesthetic terrain, looking back toward the "compact" city, in the first case, and forward toward the metropolis of the "end of the millenium" in the second. But both avoid dealing with the question of the periphery in terms of the engineering of the city, of its components and its functional and structural virtuality.

It is in this gap that it is possible to identify a third position, that which addresses the problems of the periphery (de-dramatizing them, to a certain extent) by examining the structural factors which have transformed one physiological moment in the growth of the city into the present pathological situation.

For an entire, long period, in fact (roughly until after the second world war), the question of the periphery tended to coincide with that of the expansion of the city, as an issue in the debate on how to regulate urban growth, from the foundation of town planning as a discipline in the second half of the 1800s to the proposals for garden cities, linear cities, siedlungen, etc. Only recently, in the last three to four decades, has the extraordinary increment of the quantitative dimensions, not controlled by a strategically adequate territorial policy, caused the periphery to assume its present pathological status, with its often-cited characteristics of separation, isolation, lack of services, etc.

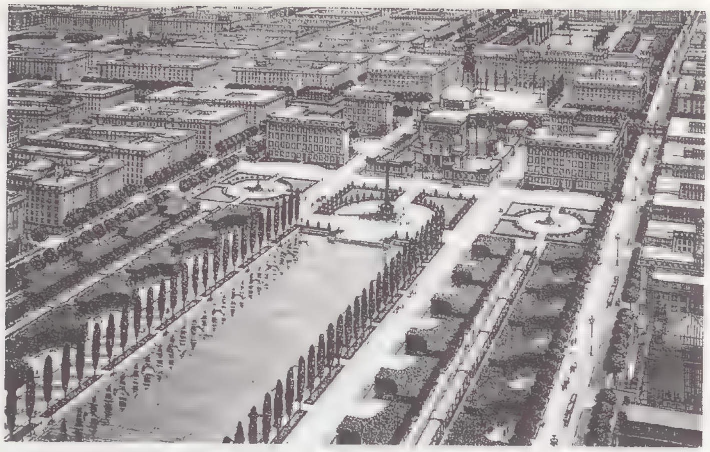
In the case of Milan and the Lombardy region, for example (which in Italy is certainly the most paradigmatic), in the 1950s, during the years of the economic boom, when the metropolis was attracting industry and population (from the valleys and countryside of Lombardy, the Veneto, and southern Italy), the idea that this exceptional influx of immigration could be distributed across the entire

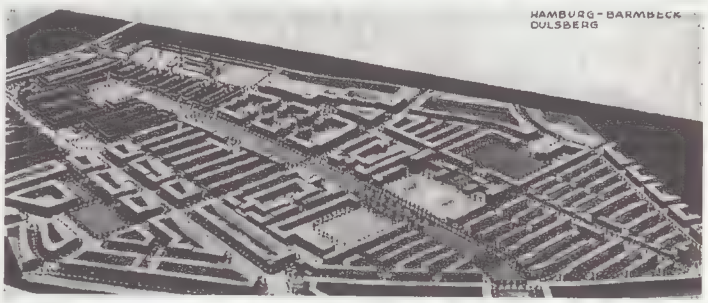




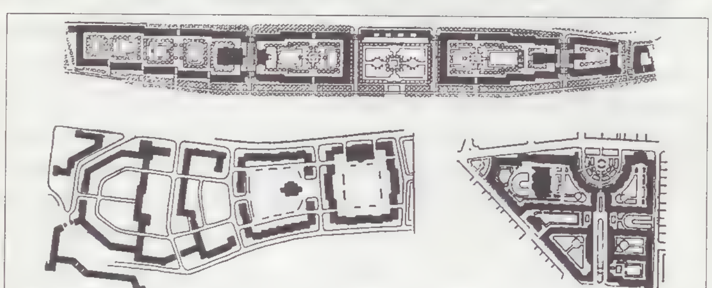
Giuseppe Poggi, Pianta indicativa per il Piano di Ampliamento di Firenze Capitale, Firenze, 1865.
Luigi Broggi, Progetto di nuovo quartiere al Castello Sforzesco, Milano, 1880.

Giuseppe Poggi, Outline map for the Expansion Plan of Florence as Capital, Florence, 1865.
Luigi Broggi, Project for a new quarter at Castello Sforzesco, Milan, 1880.









1. Un caso emblematico è quello francese, ricco di una lunga tradizione sulla pratica del progetto urbano (che si può far risalire agli anni Venti e Trenta, al confronto tra architetti di formazione Beaux Arts e architetti moderni sul disegno della città), dove da circa un ventennio la sperimentazione degli architetti e la parallela (anzi spesso anticipatoria) riflessione teorica condotta da riviste come "AMC", "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", "Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale", "Le Moniteur Architecture", si misura coi temi dell'isolato urbano, la riabilitazione dei *grands ensembles*, gli interventi nella *banlieue* e nelle *villes nouvelles*.
Nell'esperienza francese infatti, pur nell'articolazione delle posizioni e dei casi progettuali (intervenire a Parigi è altra cosa dall'intervenire in una *ville nouvelle*), sembra dominare un indirizzo che ancora assume la città storica e le sue regole di formazione come riferimento discriminante, nel cui ambito si muove la stessa critica alle proposte urbane del Movimento Moderno. Scorrendo una lunga sequenza di progetti, la maggior parte dei quali ormai avvalorati dalla realizzazione, emergono alcune costanti: una critica alle proposte del Movimento Moderno, fondata sul giudizio concorde che, se il Moderno ha raggiunto grandi risultati nel campo dell'oggetto architettonico, ha invece fallito in quello dello spazio urbano; la conseguente convinzione della necessità di una *architettura della riabilitazione*, che in Francia trova un terreno fertile proprio perchè lì più che altrove, nelle fasi successive della ricostruzione, dei *grands ensembles*, delle *villes nouvelles*, si misura lo scarto tra utopia moderna e realtà del paesaggio costruito; da cui una petizione di "urbanità", il ricorrere quasi ossessivo di una terminologia (quasi una procedura) di intervento assai significativa: *reparer*, *identifier le centre*, *reconcilier la route et la ville*, *recréer des paysages*, *retrouver la géographie*, *feconder les sites*, eccetera[3].
Su questa linea, pur nelle specifiche differenze di scala, destinazione, contesto di intervento, molti sono gli esempi che si potrebbero portare, ma l'orizzonte di riferimento sembra comune: il richiamo alla città tradizionale, alle sue morfologie e alla sua vita di relazione, che viene ricostruita nei contesti storici e si cerca di reinnestare nel "campo nemico" della *banlieue* e delle *villes nouvelles*, al fine di espugnare una situazione di separatezza, un paesaggio di solitudini[4]. Se il Movimento Moderno, in nome dell'eguaglianza di esposizione al sole e alla luce, ha prodotto la dissoluzione della città e, con la morte della strada e della piazza, la fine della continuità urbana, la strategia di questi progetti si autodescrive con una molteplicità di termini assai eloquente: *projets de formes urbaines*, *retrouver le centre*, *morceaux de ville*, *fragments de ville*, *un urbanisme d'ilots*, *pièces urbaines*, fino a dire: "*Facciamo la strada e l'isolato* (...) *la città arriverà di seguito*"[5].
Anche gli interventi, più recenti, sui *grands ensembles* si muovono su una linea simile: di fronte all'alternativa tra sostituzione o riabilitazione, sorgano essi in un contesto

polycentric regional system was not even considered. Such a distribution could only have been achieved by inverting the flow of settlement, detouring it away from Milan toward the outlying provincial capitals of the region, through the construction of a regional rail transport network with node-to-node transport times similar to those of the eventual urban logistics, limiting the formation of new peripheries within "relatively" physiological dimensions. "Relatively", because by ensuring such levels of access among the provincial centres (Bergamo, Como, Lecco, Pavia, Cremona, etc.) and Milan, the pressures of immigration would have been eased for Milan itself, both in terms of the regional distribution of the extra-regional population influx, and in terms of an encouragement for the immigrants from the Lombardy countryside to move, initially, to the closest city, rather than all setting off for Milan. All this, together with the accompanying distribution of industrial resources, might have avoided the pathological character of the growth resulting from this demographic upheaval.

This grave error had many grave consequences; so much so that at the time it was the true point of discrimination between two opposing conceptions of the mandate of the "urbanist". On the one hand there was that, so to speak, of the "planners", satisfied with the outlining of town plans based on an essential corrective, if not merely formal or stylistic, vision, without considering the fact that any control which is limited only to the municipal level (even in the case of Milan itself) was inevitably destined to fail, in the face of the migratory influx from the surrounding areas; on the other, there was the conception of those who were working on the urban planning of the municipalities surrounding Milan, aware of the need to construct a polycentric urban system at a regional level, based above all on the use of rail transport as a sort of regional mass transit system, in order to hierarchically organise the demographic pressures in a polycentrism of the provincial centres[2].

Based on this interpretation, therefore, neither the morphological reconstruction nor the acceptance of the state of things, justified or even interpreted in a positive manner as an expression of the free play of market forces, represents a solution. Only the construction of a polycentric settlement system, based on territorial integration and an adequate mass transit system, could have limited the pathology of the periphery to its natural, physiological dimensions. Within which point-by-point intervention in the fields of housing and collective activities, through typological invention and representational content, could become a force for urban quality, establishing new conditions of centrality even in the different, existing peripheral situations.

But beyond such abstract scrutiny, perhaps it is worthwhile to make a necessarily succinct review of the most important projects and realizations, by now numerous enough to clarify the different policies of intervention involved, today, in the issue of the periphery.

1. An emblematic case is that of France, a country with a long tradition of urban design (which can be dated to the 1920s and 1930s, to the confrontation between the Beaux Arts architects and the moderns on the design of the city), where for about twenty years now experimentation by architects, and the parallel (or often precedent) theoretical reflection published in reviews such as "AMC", "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", "Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale", "Le Moniteur Architecture", deal with the themes of the urban block, the rehabilitation of the grands ensembles, *and projects in the* banlieue *and the* villes nouvelles.

In the French experience, in fact, although within a wide range of positions and circumstances (intervening in Paris is quite different from intervention in a ville nouvelle*), the dominant approach would appear to be one which still views the historical city and its rules of formation as the discriminating reference, the same as that of the critique of the urban proposals of the Modern Movement. Looking through a long sequence of projects, most of which have by now been constructed, certain constants emerge: a critique of the proposals of the Modern Movement, based on an agreement that while the Modern achieved great results in the field of the architectural object, it failed in that of the urban space; the consequence is a conviction that it is necessary to implement an* architecture of rehabilitation, *which finds fertile ground in France precisely because there, more than elsewhere, in the phases following the reconstruction, in the* grands ensembles, *in the* villes nouvelles, *one senses the gap between the modern utopia and the reality of the constructed landscape; thus there is the cry for "urban-ness", and the almost obsessive use of a telling terminology (nearly a procedure):* reparer, identifier le centre, reconcilier la route et la ville, recréer des paysages, retrouver la géographie, feconder les sites, *etc.*[3].

Along this line, although with specific differences of scale, function, context, there are many examples which could be cited, but the framework of references seems to be the same: the appeal of the traditional city, its morphologies and its life of relations, which is reconstructed in historical contexts, and brought into "enemy territory", in attempts to graft it onto the banlieue *and the* villes nouvelles, *to overcome a situation of separateness, a landscape of solitudes*[4]. *If the Modern Movement, in the name of equal sunlight for all, produced the breakdown of the city, with the death of the street and the square, the end of urban continuity, the strategy of these projects is described, by their makers, in a series of very eloquent terms:* projets de formes urbaines, retrouver le centre, morceaux de ville, fragments de ville, un urbanisme d'ilots, pièces urbaines, *to the point of declaring:* "Let's make the street and the block *(...)* the city will come of its own accord"[5].

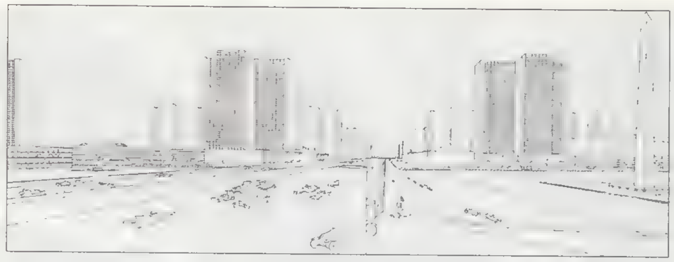
The more recent interventions, on the grands ensembles, *also move along the same lines: faced with the alternative of substitution or rehabilitation, whether in a markedly urban context (in which the* grand ensemble *represents a violent alteration of the traditional dense fabric) or in the vague terrain of the* banlieue, *here the choice cannot be that of*

fortemente urbano (nel quale rappresentano una violenta alterazione del tessuto denso tradizionale) o nel terreno vago della *banlieue*, la scelta non è qui, né potrebbe esserlo, quella di realizzare un *urbanisme d'ilots*, dei *fragments de ville*, bensì di ricostruire dei coaguli di urbanità attraverso una molteplicità di interventi "chirurgici": densificare, *désenclaver*, reintrodurre una strategia di *mixité* sociale e funzionale, demolendo e ricostruendo parzialmente là dove serve, spezzando e ripiegando le *barres* a delimitare spazi conclusi, riducendo i grandi assi di viabilità a *boulevards* urbani, intervenendo sul verde, eccetera. Non si tratta, nel caso dei *grands ensembles*, di tornare a quell'isolato a suo tempo abolito dall'urbanizzazione a *barres* del Movimento Moderno, ma di ripristinare quel regime di urbanità di cui la lottizzazione razionale ha fatto *tabula rasa*.
Cambiano cioè gli strumenti ma permane identico l'obbiettivo: "*Se molti* grands ensembles *sono autentiche zone di segregazione sociale e di esclusione, è perché spesso sono segregati dalla città. Oggi dunque si pone la questione di sapere come reinserirli nel tessuto della città, questione che può essere formulata anche così: sono possibili progetti urbani per i* grands ensembles*?*"[6].
Opportunamente Bernard Huet, in un breve scritto dal sapore programmatico del 1986, che può essere considerato un bilancio provvisorio di un arco quasi ventennale di sperimentazioni urbane, sottolinea i caratteri e i limiti di quella che può essere identificata come la linea francese di intervento sulla città: la pratica delle *pièces urbaines*, fortemente influenzata, secondo Huet, dagli studi urbani condotti negli anni Sessanta in Italia nelle scuole di Milano e Venezia e in particolare dalla nozione di città costruita per parti formalmente compiute, rappresenta un tentativo efficace di riconciliazione tra architettura e città, estremamente fertile in contesti urbani storici o comunque consolidati; ma essa appare invece disarmata per gli interventi sulla periferia, dove un "contesto" è di difficile identificazione o addirittura inesistente. Qui accettare la frammentazione, assumerla come condizione di fatto o anche come caratteristica positiva, equivarrebbe alla rinuncia a un'idea di città come progetto e come destino, a un'idea di metropoli che secondo questa interpretazione cresce per allargamento costante del suo centro, anche se strumenti e modalità per riportare condizioni di centralità nelle frange periferiche e nelle espansioni metropolitane sono tutti da individuare e mettere alla prova[7].

2. Proprio da questo punto tuttavia si stacca un'interpretazione di segno diametralmente opposto. Il carattere frammentario, incongruente, "sporco" della periferia, per questa posizione antitetica, non è solo un dato di fatto, un "non finito" urbano da subire e riabilitare, ma una connotazione intrinseca della modernità, da consolidare e perseguire nella costruzione del nuovo paesaggio della metropoli contemporanea. Una posizione, questa, in cui allignano punti di vista eterogenei, contributi prevalentemente speculativi e sperimentazioni progettuali anche dagli esiti assai differenti, che tuttavia trovano un punto di convergenza nell'assumere il suburbio, la periferia, i territori instabili delle nuove grandi infrastrutturazioni come il terreno specifico della città contemporanea, il luogo di un nuovo sentimento metropolitano che va oltre, o comunque è "altro" dai canoni tradizionali della città storica, soprattutto di quella europea[8].
Nella città contemporanea il suburbio è la norma, è il luogo della libertà, semmai è il centro che sta diventando l'ultimo suburbio, sostiene per esempio Paul Virilio, che aggiunge come i riferimenti concettuali della pianificazione tradizionale (riequilibrio centro-periferia, pari opportunità insediative agli abitanti, standard di perequazione sociale, eccetera) siano ormai inservibili[9].
Per altri tentare di riportare la periferia ai canoni di urbanità del centro costituirebbe un'operazione assai simile a un atto di repressione (estetica oltre che sociale), anche se occorre poi ammettere che la rappresentazione di questa nuova qualità periferica è affidata più che agli architetti a una cinematografia come quella di Rohmer, che nei suoi film racconta di una situazione sociale di periferia che semplicemente funziona, un "non luogo" ormai trasformatosi in regione stabile della vita minima metropolitana[10].
Per altri ancora nella periferia il "senso del luogo" è esattamente l'assenza di luogo, una mancanza di storia che fa sì che gli edifici e i manufatti non siano indifferenti in sé, ma nei rapporti che tra loro si instaurano. Ciò che secondo criteri di giudizio tradizionali è carenza – carenza di ordine, continuità, coesione, organicità – sarebbe viceversa la sostanza della periferia, il suo *genius loci*[11]. Un punto di vista che se per un verso può apparire consolatorio, rinunciatario (ciò che è reale è razionale), per altro verso ribalta radicalmente l'angolo di osservazione, aprendo nuove prospettive.
Alcuni progetti o realizzazioni – per esempio il centro internazionale d'affari progettato da Rem Koolhaas intorno alla nuova stazione TGV-nord a Lille, con realizzazioni dello stesso Koolhaas e altri[12] – indicano una linea d'intervento in cui gli elementi spuri della periferia metropolitana (edifici industriali, nuclei residenziali, infrastrutture per la mobilità, complessi terziari e commerciali, spazi aperti residuali, pezzi di campagna più o meno abbandonata) diventano le componenti di un nuovo paesaggio aperto, discontinuo, composito, dove la rinuncia a una conclusione unitaria ne costituisce una qualità essenziale. Una "architettura della congestione", per parafrasare uno *slogan* di Koolhaas, che si fa carico "retroattivamente" dell'esistente, anche il più frammentario e compromesso, per immetterlo in una nuova costruzione consapevolmente dissonante, secondo un gusto vagamente futurista per "*l'asfalto, il traffico, il neon, le folle* (...)"[13] (l'esatto opposto, per confrontarlo con l'estremo simmetrico, delle nostalgie "socialclassiciste" di Bofill nelle periferie francesi)[14].

creating an urbanisme d'ilots, *of* fragments de ville; *it must be that of reconstructing clusters of urbanity through a multiplicity of "surgical" interventions: to densify,* désenclaver, *to reintroduce a strategy of social and functional* mixité, *partially demolishing and reconstructing where necessary, breaking or bending the* barres *which make limited spaces, reducing the large traffic arteries to urban* boulevards, *working with green areas, etc. In the case of the* grands ensembles *the issue is not to return to the block which was abolished by the urban development in* barres *of the Modern Movement, but rather to restore that pattern of urbanity which rational allotment schemes had discarded. The instruments change, but the objective remains identical:* "If many *grands ensembles* are authentic zones of social segregation and exclusion, it is because they are separated from the city. Thus today there is the question of knowing how to reinsert them in the fabric of the city, a question which can also be formulated as follows: are urban projects possible for the *grands ensembles*?"[6].
Bernard Huet, in a brief text with a programmatic flavour written in 1986, which can be considered a provisional assessment of nearly two decades of urban experimentation, aptly underlines the characters and the limits of what can be identified as the French policy of intervention in the city: the practice of the pièces urbaines, *strongly influenced, according to Huet, by the urban studies conducted in the 1960s in Italy at the schools of Milan and Venice, and in particular by the notion of the city constructed in formally complete parts, represents an effective attempt to achieve a reconciliation between architecture and city, very fertile in historical or consolidated urban contexts; but it does not appear to be as useful for intervention in the periphery, where a "context" is difficult to identify, or just doesn't exist. Here to accept fragmentation, to acknowledge it as a given condition, or even as a positive characteristic, would mean giving up the idea of the city as project and destiny, giving up the idea of the metropolis which, in this interpretation, grows in a constant expansion from the centre, although the instruments and methods with which to restore conditions of centrality to the peripheral fringes, and in metropolitan sprawl, have yet to be defined and tested*[7].

2. Nevertheless, it is precisely on this point that another, diametrically opposed interpretation arises. The fragmentary, incongruent, "untidy" character of the periphery, for this opposing position, is not only a given condition, an urban "incompletion" to be dealt with or rehabilitated; it is an intrinsic connotation of modernity, to consolidate and pursue in the construction of the new landscape of the contemporary metropolis. This is a position in which heterogeneous points of view are aligned, prevalently speculative contributions and design experiments with very different results and conclusions, which nevertheless share the assumption that the suburb, the periphery, the unstable territories of the new major infrastructurings are the specific terrain of the contemporary

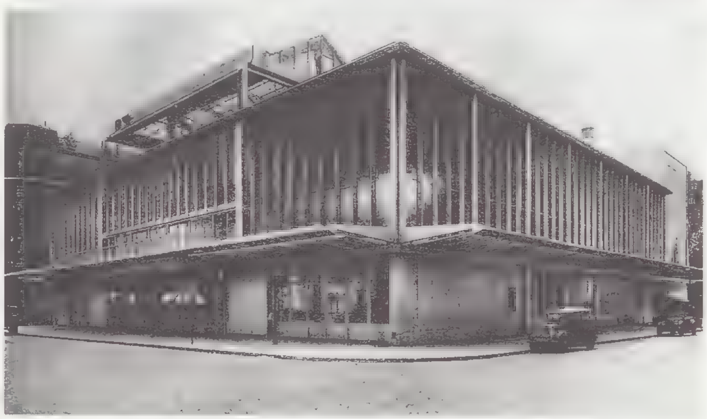




Le Corbusier, Piano per una città contemporanea di tre milioni di abitanti, 1922.
Ludwig Hilberseimer, Piano per la città verticale, 1924.
Nelle pagine precedenti:
Otto Wagner, XXII Distretto di Vienna, disegno per Die Grossstadt, 1911.
Fritz Schumacher, Piano del Quartiere Dulsberg a Hamburg-Barmbeck, Amburgo, 1919.
Ernst May, La valle del Nidda con le Siedlung Römerstadt e Praunheim, Francoforte sul Meno, 1927-28.
Confronto tra alcuni superblocchi della Municipalità di Vienna: in senso orario, Karl Ehn, Karl Marx-Hof, 1927-30; Hubert Gessner, Karl Seitz-Hof, 1926; Karl Krist, Robert Oerley, George Washington-Hof, 1927-32.

Le Corbusier, Plan for a contemporary city of three million inhabitants, 1922.
Ludwig Hilberseimer, Plan for the vertical city, 1924.
Previous pages:
Otto Wagner, XXII District of Vienna, design for Die Grossstadt, 1911.
Fritz Schumacher, Plan for the Dulsberg quarter in Hamburg-Barmbeck, Hamburg, 1919.
Ernst May, The Nidda valley with the Römerstadt and Praunheim Siedlungen, Frankfurt am Main, 1927-28.
Comparison of several super-blocks of the city of Vienna: clockwise, Karl Ehn, Karl Marx-Hof, 1927-30; Hubert Gessner, Karl Seitz-Hof, 1926; Karl Krist, Robert Oerley, George Washington-Hof, 1927-32.







Tony Garnier, Municipio, Boulogne Billancourt, 1931-35.
Eugène Beaudouin, Marcel Lods, Jean Prouvé, Maison du Peuple, Clichy, 1939.
Franco Marescotti, Centro sociale cooperativo "Grandi e Bertacchi", Milano, 1948.

Tony Garnier, City hall, Boulogne Billancourt, 1931-35.
Eugène Beaudouin, Marcel Lods, Jean Prouvé, Maison du Peuple, Clichy, 1939.
Franco Marescotti, Cooperative community centre "Grandi e Bertacchi", Milan, 1948.

Altri progetti (valga per tutti il *Jardin d'entreprises* di Bernard Tschumi a Chartres) tendono a regolamentare l'urbanizzazione di grandi spazi aperti attraverso tracciati ordinatori a larghe maglie (che possono coincidere con trame viarie, ripartizioni fondiarie, filari di alberature, eccetera), predisposti per ospitare attività e tipologie diversificate (residenza, produzione, terziario, servizi pubblici e collettivi), in cui complessità funzionale, di paesaggio, architettonica, e unitarietà a grande scala tendono ad essere assolte contemporaneamente[15].
Dietro questi schemi – tanto quello della "congestione" quanto quello della "trama" – si possono scorgere come antecedenti, benchè approdino poi a conclusioni e indicazioni operative di segno assai diverso, le teorizzazioni di Colin Rowe, il suo rifiuto della dimensione totalizzante della città del Movimento Moderno e, viceversa, l'adesione a un'idea composita di città, fatta per frammenti, per *collage*. Il rifiuto del "modello Versailles", della progettazione totalizzante ad essa sottesa, e l'adozione del "modello Villa Adriana", amalgama apparentemente scoordinato di discreti, privati entusiasmi[16].
Per l'espansione della città contemporanea, dunque, più che far leva sulle utopie urbanistiche di Le Corbusier, di Hilberseimer, dei CIAM, intrise insieme di scientismo e millenarismo, sarebbe utile rivolgersi alle tecniche del *bricolage* e del *collage*, all'attitudine della "volpe" di amalgamare utopie parziali, differenziate, magari tra loro in collisione, piuttosto che alla predisposizione del "riccio" di voler tutto centralisticamente disporre in un disegno globale, dogmaticamente esclusivo e risolutivo[17].
Questa posizione, inoltre, è anche interessante per le sue implicazioni più direttamente architettoniche. Ricerche espressive anche molto distanti tra loro, che tuttavia hanno in comune l'attenzione privilegiata alla componente artistica del progetto rispetto alle sue potenzialità di trasformazione, trovano in questo rovesciamento del rapporto centro-periferia un campo di lavoro particolarmente consentaneo. Il reimpiego in funzione espressiva di materiali poveri e di rifiuto nelle opere di Gehry, soprattutto in quelle meno recenti, le trascrizioni da linguaggi popolari da parte di Moore e Venturi, anche le manipolazioni elettronicamente esoteriche di tracciati e volumi di Eisenman, sembrano porsi oltre il rammarico per una ormai avvenuta "perdita del centro", costruendo una poetica (e ormai anche una strategia) fondata sulle nuove libertà derivanti da una realtà accettata nella sua essenza frammentaria e conflittuale. Senza parlare del *cheapscape* californiano di Gehry, o dell'estremo dell'"estetica del caos", si tratta di un paesaggio composito, fatto di pezzi singoli e di "subunità" parziali, alla cui ricerca di eccellenza artistica corrisponde l'autoesclusione da un orizzonte di trasformazione complessiva.

3. L'alternativa tra queste due posizioni sembra netta e difficilmente componibile, pur lasciando entrambe irrisolte questioni specifiche della metropoli

city, the site of a new metropolitan sentiment which goes beyond, or is in any case "other" than, the traditional canons of the historical city, especially the European city[8]*.*
In the contemporary city the suburb is the norm, it is the place of freedom, if anything it is the centre which is becoming the last suburb, Paul Virilio asserts, for example, adding that the conceptual references of traditional planning (centre-periphery rebalancing, equal settlement opportunities for the inhabitants, standards of social equalization) are no longer utilisable[9]*.*
For others, any attempt to make the periphery conform to the standards of urbanity of the centre would represent an operation very similar to an act of aesthetic as well as social repression, although it must be admitted that the portrayal of this new peripheral quality is left up less to architects than to filmmakers like Rohmer, whose films narrate a social situation in the periphery which simply functions, a "non-place" which has evolved, by now, into a stable region of minimal metropolitan life[10]*.*
For others still, in the periphery the "sense of place" is precisely the absence of place, a lack of history which means that buildings and other man-made features are not indifferent in themselves, but in the relations they establish with one another. That which according to traditional criteria of judgement is a lack – lack of order, continuity, cohesion, organicity – is seen, instead, as the very substance of the periphery, its genius loci[11]*. A point of view that, while in some ways consoling and unambitious (that which is real is rational), in other ways radically reverses the angle of observation, revealing new perspectives.*
Some projects or constructed interventions – such as the international business centre designed by Rem Koolhaas around the new TGV-nord station in Lille, with buildings by Koolhaas and others[12] *– indicate a line of intervention in which the spurious elements of the metropolitan periphery (industrial buildings, residential nuclei, transport infrastructures, office complexes and shopping centres, residual open spaces, pieces of more or less abandoned countryside) become the components of a new open, discontinuous, composite landscape, where the renunciation of a unitary conclusion constitutes an essential quality. An "architecture of congestion", to paraphrase one of Koolhaas' slogans, which "retroactively" embraces the extant, no matter how fragmentary and compromised, inserting it within a new, intentionally dissonant construction, in keeping with a vaguely Futuristic taste for* "the asphalt, the traffic, the neon, the crowds"[13]*, (the exact opposite of the "socio-classicistic" nostalgias of Bofill in the French peripheries)*[14]*.*
Other projects (one example suffices, the Jardin d'entreprises *by Bernard Tschumi in Chartres) tend to regulate the urbanisation of large open spaces by means of wide grids (which may coincide with road patterns, property lines, rows of trees, etc.), designed to host diversified activities and typologies (housing, production, offices, public and collective services), in which functional, architectural and landscape complexity, and unity on a large scale, tend to be simultaneously accomplished*[15]*.*
Behind these schemes – whether that of "congestion" or that of the "pattern" – we can identify as precedents, although taken to very different conclusions, the theorizings of Colin Rowe, his rejection of the all-pervasive dimension of the city of the Modern Movement and, vice versa, his belief in a composite idea of the city, composed of fragments, a collage. The rejection of the "Versailles model", of the all-pervasive design it implied, and the adoption of the "Villa Adriana model", an apparently disjointed collection of discrete, private enthusiasms[16]*.*
For the expansion of the contemporary city, therefore, rather than turning to the urbanistic utopias of Le Corbusier, of Hilberseimer, of the CIAM, steeped in scientificism and millenialism, it might be useful to consider the techniques of bricolage *and* collage*, to the talent of the "fox" to amalgamate partial, differentiated, even contrasting utopias, rather than the predisposition of the "hedgehog" to want to arrange everything round a centre, in a global, dogmatically exclusive and determinative design*[17]*.*
This position is also interesting for its more directly architectural implications. Types of expressive research which are very different from one another, but share a focus on the artistic component of the design rather than on its potential for transformation, find this reversal of the centre-periphery relation offers a particularly well-suited field of work. The reutilisation of humble and scrap materials in the works, especially the less recent ones, of Gehry, the transcription of popular languages by Moore and Venturi, even the electronically esoteric manipulations of tracings and volumes by Eisenmann, seem to place themselves beyond regrets about the "loss of the centre" which has already, in any case, happened, constructing a poetics (and, by now, a strategy) based on the new freedoms which emerge from an acceptance of reality in all its fragmentary, conflicting essence. Without going so far as Gehry's Californian "cheapscape", or the extreme of the "aesthetic of chaos", the idea is that of a composite landscape, made of single pieces and partial "sub-units", whose pursuit of artistic excellence corresponds to a self-exclusion from a horizon of overall transformation.

3. The alternative between these two positions would appear to be clear, and difficult to reconcile, although both do leave specific questions of the contemporary metropolis unresolved. If the criterion of continuity – of the block, the street, the square – finds itself poorly suited as a terrain of conquest for expansions determined by economic factors (large transport nodes, service stations, hypermarkets, warehousing areas, etc.), the antithetical approach of the landscape which is "other" than the historical centre runs the risk of overlooking the segragated condition of a large part of the residential expansions of the last few decades. And both positions overlook the structural factors which lie behind the problem of the periphery, limiting themselves to a

contemporanea. Se il criterio della continuità – dell'isolato, della strada, della piazza – si scopre disarmato offrendosi come terra di conquista alle espansioni più economicamente determinate (grandi nodi di trasporto, stazioni di servizio, ipermercati, aree di deposito, eccetera), quello, antitetico, della periferia come paesaggio "altro" dalla città storica, rischia di risultare rinunciatario di fronte alla condizione segregata di gran parte delle espansioni residenziali degli ultimi decenni. Entrambe, inoltre, trascurano le determinanti strutturali che stanno alla base del problema della periferia, mantenendosi su un terreno prettamente morfologico. Viceversa, una rilettura delle sue vicende storiche, tesa a individuare le ragioni strutturali che sono alla base della attuale situazione patologica e che sono condizione imprescindibile per qualsivoglia intervento di trasformazione, è precisamente ciò che caratterizza un'interpretazione del problema della periferia che si può identificare con una tradizione di studi precipuamente italiana.

Giacché la nozione di periferia non sempre è stata associata ad una accezione negativa. Senza riandare alla teoria pirenniana della nascita della città moderna – in cui è proprio la periferia, il borgo *foris portas*, l'elemento poleogenetico –, nella fase della prima industrializzazione la periferia coincide con l'espansione fisiologica della città. Gli studi, i dibattiti, i progetti, che nella seconda metà del secolo scorso e nei primi anni di questo accompagnano la "costruzione dell'urbanistica", collocano la questione della periferia all'interno di un quadro di riferimento che è quello dell'arte urbana, della città come opera d'arte in cui i tracciati di espansione prolungano l'impianto storico rispondendo a esigenze di funzionalità e bellezza (e dentro cui si colloca la stessa idea della città-giardino come soluzione radicale, sul piano formale e strutturale, del problema dell'espansione della città).

Sull'esempio di realizzazioni generalmente ammirate – la Parigi haussmanniana, il Ring di Vienna –, e nel riferimento più o meno critico alle teorizzazioni di Camillo Sitte (per una certa indulgenza al pittoresco urbano), progetti come quello per Amsterdam Sud di Berlage (1900-1917), per il XXII distretto di Vienna di Otto Wagner (1910), per il settore Dulsberg a Amburgo di Fritz Schumacher (1919), ne sono una esemplificazione. Ma in questo senso valgono anche, nell'esperienza italiana, un progetto di alcuni anni prima come quello per un nuovo quartiere di caseggiati e villini sui terreni intorno al Castello a Milano di Luigi Broggi (1880), le espansioni previste da Giuseppe Poggi nel Piano di Firenze capitale (1865), certi settori (Boccaccio, Monforte) del Piano di Cesare Beruto per Milano (1884-89), fino alle considerazioni di Gustavo Giovannoni sull'"*innesto della nuova fabbricazione sui vecchi tronchi*" della città esistente[18].

Anche nel dopoguerra, negli anni Venti e Trenta, laddove gli architetti razionalisti, al di là della pubblicistica del Movimento Moderno, si misurano con la realtà concreta della città e delle sue espansioni, i loro interventi non possono essere letti come negazione della città storica. Di questa, al contrario, costituiscono una precisa scelta formale per il suo sviluppo, in una concezione di arricchimento delle alternative tipologiche che si offrono alla sua crescita.

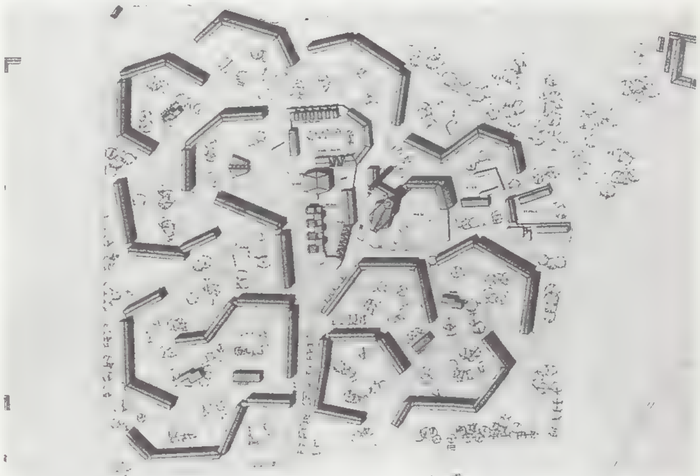
Tra l'edificazione perimetrale a blocchi residenziali più o meno chiusi e intensivi delle *hofe* di Vienna, o delle espansioni di Amsterdam e Amburgo ma anche, sia pure su scala assai più ridotta, dei quartieri dell'Istituto Case Popolari di Milano legati all'opera di Giovanni Broglio da una parte, e l'edificazione aperta delle *siedlung* razionaliste dall'altra, articolata per successive aggregazioni dalla cellula abitativa secondo rapporti ottimali di aerazione, esposizione, densità, eccetera, passa certo una diversa idea formale di città: la prima legata al confronto continuo con la città esistente e con gli elementi costitutivi della sua formazione (la strada, la piazza, il viale, la cortina edificata, il lotto, l'isolato, il verde, eccetera), rappresentando di fatto "*una razionalizzazione eccellente della città dell'Ottocento*"[19], ottenuta con gli strumenti tradizionali della composizione urbana (prospettiva stradale, sequenza, contrappunto volumetrico, disegno del verde e degli spazi pubblici, eccetera); la seconda liberamente slegata dall'allineamento stradale, identificato come la causa prima della deprecata strada-corridoio, volendo al contrario rappresentare una alternativa all'espansione della città di pietra ottocentesca. Ma la concezione nucleare della città, cui le *siedlung* si riferiscono, rappresenta ancora una risposta fisiologica alla domanda di sviluppo della città moderna, come dimostra il caso berlinese e, soprattutto, la Nuova Francoforte di Ernst May e collaboratori, dove la ricchezza delle soluzioni tipologiche adottate (nel rapporto con il verde, con il fiume, con la stessa morfologia storica della città) smentisce ogni interpretazione meccanica della precettistica razionalista dell'orientamento secondo l'asse eliotermico, configurando una crescita della città che si pone al tempo stesso in un rapporto di continuità e di autentica innovazione formale (considerazioni analoghe varrebbero, nel caso milanese, per un progetto come quello di "Milano Verde")[20].

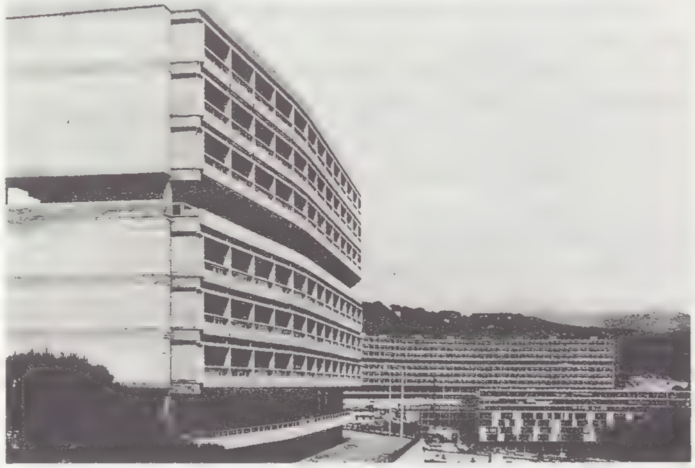
In un contesto diverso dall'area tedesca, nella *banlieue* parigina, il Movimento Moderno sembra invece avere individuato una linea d'intervento differente sul tema della periferia, di grande originalità e ricca di indicazioni anche per l'evoluzione successiva.

Di fronte al dilagare del *pavillonnaire* – "*vera catastrofe economica e sociale*" dirà Le Corbusier, ma che comunque costituisce la risposta quantitativamente decisiva al fabbisogno di abitazioni – e parallelamente agli architetti-urbanisti di formazione tradizionalista – che intrattengono rapporti privilegiati con l'Ufficio Pubblico per le Abitazioni della città di Parigi e del Dipartimento della Senna, passando progressivamente dal pittoresco delle prime *cité-jardin* (Cachan, Drancy) a interventi più compatti come

strictly morphological terrain.
In like manner, a reinterpretation of historical processes aimed at identifying the structural causes behind the present pathological situation, and which are an indispensable condition for any project of transformation, is the precise characteristic of the approach to the periphery which can be identified with a chiefly Italian tradition of study.
Because the notion of the periphery has not always had a negative connotation. Without going back to the Pirennian theory of the birth of the modern city – in which it is precisely the periphery, to settlement foris portas, *the element of urban genesis – in the early phase of industrialisation the periphery coincided with the physiological expansion of the city. The studies, debates, projects which in the second half of the 1800s and the first years of the 1900s accompanied the "construction of town planning", place the question of the periphery within a frame of reference which is that of the urban art, of the city as a work of art in which the tracings of expansion extend the historical order, responding to requirements of function and beauty (and within which we find the idea of the garden-city as a radical solution, on a formal and structural level, to the problem of urban expansion).*
Following the example of widely admired projects – the Paris of Haussmann, the Ring of Vienna – and in more or less critical reference to the theories of Camillo Sitte (for a certain indulgence regarding the urban picturesque), projects such as that for Amsterdam South by Berlage (1900-1917), for the 22nd district of Vienna by Otto Wagner (1910), for the Dulsberg sector in Hamburg by Fritz Schumacher (1919), illustrate this approach. But in this sense, in the Italian experience there are also works such as a somewhat earlier project for a new quarter of apartment houses and small villas on the lands around the Castle in Milan, by Luigi Broggi (1880), the expansions envisioned for the Plan of Florence as capital by Giuseppe Poggi (1865), certain sectors (Boccaccio, Monforte) of the Plan by Cesare Beruto for Milan (1884-89), down to the considerations of Gustavo Giovannoni on the "grafting of new development onto old trunks" of the existing city[18].
Again in the post-war period of the 1920s and 1930s, when the rationalist architects, beyond the journalism of the Modern Movement, were working with the concrete reality of the city and its expansions, in projects which cannot be viewed as negations of the historical city. On the contrary, these works often represented a precise formal choice for its development, in a conception of enrichment of the typological alternatives available for growth.
Between the external edification in more or less closed, intensive residential blocks in the Hofe *of Vienna, or the expansions of Amsterdam and Hamburg, but also, although on a much smaller scale, of the quarters of the Istituto Case Popolari in Milan, connected with the work of Giovanni Broglio, on the one hand, and the open edification of the rationalist* Siedlungen *, arranged in terms of successive aggregations from the residential cell, according to optimum*







Ludovico Quaroni, Mario Ridolfi e altri, Quartiere Tiburtino, Roma, 1949-54.
Giovanni Astengo e altri, Quartiere Falchera, Torino, 1951.
Luigi Carlo Daneri e altri, Quartiere INA-Casa Forte Quezzi, Genova, 1956-58.

Ludovico Quaroni, Mario Ridolfi et al, Tiburtino quarter, Rome, 1949-54.
Giovanni Astengo et al, Falchera quarter, Turin, 1951.
Luigi Carlo Daneri et al, INA-Casa Forte Quezzi quarter, Genoa, 1956-58.





Saverio Muratori, Studio di Quartiere INA-Casa alla Magliana, Roma, 1957. Ludovico Quaroni e altri, Concorso per il Quartiere Cep alle Barene di San Giuliano, Venezia-Mestre, 1959.

Saverio Muratori, Study for the INA-Casa alla Magliana quarter, Rome, 1957. Ludovico Quaroni et al, Competition for the Cep quarter at the Barene di San Giuliano, Venice-Mestre, 1959.

quelli sulla cintura delle fortificazioni o alcuni complessi di organico disegno urbano (Chatenay Malabry, Plessis Robinson) –, gli architetti moderni, incontrandosi col "socialismo municipale" delle diverse amministrazioni progressiste dei comuni della *banlieue*, più che sul tema dell'espansione residenziale si concentrano nella progettazione delle attrezzature collettive (scuole, municipi, mercati coperti, case del popolo, complessi sportivi, eccetera), trattate come condensatori sociali, caposaldi collettivi che affidano all'innovazione tipologica e alla ricerca espressiva il compito di portare condizioni di centralità nel brulicante paesaggio delle lottizzazioni unifamiliari (si pensi ai casi di Villejuif, Suresnes, Boulogne Billancourt, Clichy, eccetera, con gli interventi di Lurçat, Beaudouin e Lods, Garnier, eccetera).
Dove si verifica una effettiva frattura con la città tradizionale è sul terreno dell'elaborazione teorica, dai congressi CIAM alle proposizioni di Le Corbusier e di Hilberseimer. Tuttavia, anche in questo caso, occorre distinguere tra modelli ideali, teorici, e interventi concreti sulla città, che viceversa traggono la propria forza di convinzione proprio dal misurarsi con le condizioni reali del contesto, "deformando" e "corrompendo" il modello ideale.
Se è vero che gli schemi teorici della città funzionalista, dal Plan Voisin alla Ville Radieuse di Le Corbusier, alla Città verticale di Hilberseimer, rimuovono radicalmente la città della storia e le regole consolidate della sua formazione; è altrettanto vero che progetti puntuali, "chirurgici" come i *redent* per l'*Ilot insalubre n.6*, 1937, l'unità residenziale di 4000 abitanti per il Bastione Kellermann sulla cintura delle fortificazioni, 1934, la sistemazione della Porte Maillot, 1930, di Le Corbusier, o come quelli di Hilberseimer per la Hallesches Tor a Berlino, 1927, o per un settore della Friedriechstadt, 1927, non hanno niente di astratto, lasciando anzi intravvedere una nuova forma di città realmente possibile, una figurazione radicalmente rinnovata ma non recisa dalla città storica.
Suona dunque solo una mezza verità il giudizio, oggi apparentemente unanime, secondo cui il fallimento della periferia coinciderebbe con il fallimento del progetto moderno stesso. Paradossalmente, anzi, si potrebbe affermare che la vera frattura rispetto a una composizione della città cresciuta nel corso del tempo attraverso l'arricchimento di alcune, poche, scelte fondamentali, le ultime delle quali messe a punto proprio dagli architetti moderni, si produce solo nel secondo dopoguerra.
Quando cioè i dettati del Movimento Moderno, nel trovare un'inaspettata affermazione di maggioranza, subiscono un sostanziale travisamento di segno, equamente ripartito tra le superfici patinate dell'*International Style*, la riduzione economicistica dei canoni espressivi razionalisti operata tanto dalla speculazione immobiliare quanto dall'edilizia pubblica, l'applicazione indiscriminata e burocratica dello *zoning*.

relationships of ventilation, exposure to sunlight, density, etc., on the other, there is certainly a difference in the formal idea of the city: the first involves a continuous comparison with the existing city, and with the constituent elements of its formation (the street, the square, the avenue, the streetfront, the lot, the block, green areas, etc.), representing "an excellent rationalisation of the city of the 1800s"[19], *obtained by means of the traditional tools of urban composition (street perspective, sequence, volumetric counterpoint, design of green areas and public spaces, etc.); the second is freely detached from the street alignments, viewing them as the primary cause of the deprecated corridor-street, with the aim of representing an alternative to the 19th-century city of stone. But the nuclear conception of the city, to which the* Siedlungen *make reference, still represents a physiological response to the demand for development of the modern city, as is demonstrated in the case of Berlin and, above all, in the New Frankfurt of Ernst May and his collaborators, where the wealth of typological solutions employed (in the relationship to green areas, with the river and with the historical morphology itself of the city) avoids any mechanical interpretation of rationalist precepts of orientation according to the helio-thermal axis, configuring a growth of the city which is simultaneously in a rapport of continuity and of authentic formal innovation (analogous considerations could be made, in the case of Milan, for a project like that of "Milano Verde")*[20].

In a context different from that of Germany, the Parisian banlieue, *the Modern Movement, on the other hand, seems to have identified a different line of intervention for the issue of the periphery, of great originality, full of indications for later evolution.*

Faced with the spread of the pavillonnaire – "a true economic and social catastrophe", *according to Le Corbusier, but which in any case represented a quantitatively decisive response to the need for housing – and in parallel to the traditionalist architect-planners – with their favoured relations with the Public Housing Office of the city of Paris and the Department of the Seine, passing gradually from the picturesque of the first garden cities (Cachan, Drancy) to more compact interventions such as those on the belt of fortifications, or some complexes of organic urban design (Chatenay Malabry, Plessis Robinson) – the modern architects, encountering the "municipal socialism" of many of the progressive administrations of the municipalities of the* banlieue, *concentrated less on the theme of residential expansion than on the design of collective facilities (schools, town halls, indoor markets, community centres, sports complexes, etc.), treated as magnets for social condensation, collective strongholds which rely on typological innovation and expressive research to bring conditions of centrality to the seething landscape of single-family lots (consider the cases of Villejuif, Suresnes, Bologne Billancourt, Clichy, etc., with the projects by Lurçat, Beaudouin and Lods, Garnier, et al). Where an effective break with the traditional city takes place is in the area of theory, from the CIAM congresses to the proposals of Le Corbusier and Hilberseimer. Nevertheless, even in this case, it is important to distinguish between ideal, theoretical models, and concrete interventions in the city, whose force of conviction is derived precisely from their confrontation with the real conditions of the context, "deforming" and "corrupting" the ideal model. While it is true that the theoretical schemes of the functionalist city, from Plan Voisin to the Ville Radieuse of Le Corbusier, to the vertical city of Hilberseimer, radically excluding the historical city and the consolidated rules of its formation, it is equally true that point-by-point, "surgical" projects such as the* redents *for the* Ilot insalubre n. 6, *1937, the residential unit for 4000 inhabitants for the Kellerman Bastion of the belt of fortifications, 1934, the reordering of Porte Maillot in 1930, by Le Corbusier, or those of Hilberseimer for the Hallesches Tor in Berlin, 1927, or for a segment of the Friedrichstadt, 1927, contain nothing abstract, offering a glimpse of a new, truly possible urban form, a radically renewed figuration which is not cut off from the historical city.*

Therefore the opinion, apparently unanimous today, that the failure of the periphery corresponds to the failure of the modern project itself, sounds like only a half-truth. Paradoxically, in fact, we can state that the true break with a composition of the city which grows over time by the addition of a few fundamental choices, the last of which were developed precisely by the modern architects, did not take place until after the second world war. When, that is, the dictates of the Modern Movement, meeting with an unexpected majority approval, underwent a substantial modification of meaning, divided in equal parts among the patinated surfaces of the International Style, the economistic reduction of rationalist canons of expression both in speculative real estate and public building, and the indiscriminate, bureaucratic application of zoning.

4. From the point of view the Italian experience of the post-war period can furnish meaningful insight. Until the end of the 1950s, in fact, in the period of the Reconstruction and during the subsequent economic boom, the question of the periphery is identified with the policy of the housing project or estate (from the UNRRA-Casas plan, to the Fanfani plan, to the GESCAL projects, etc.); and this policy, in turn, is grafted onto the city with projects which are not always equally coherent: at times remaining in step with the physiological rhythm of growth, but at other ossifying it to the point of utter alienation.

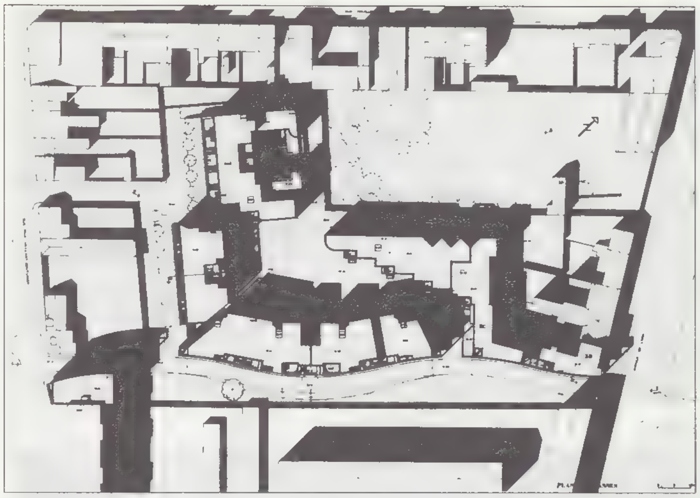
Without attempting a systematic overview, we can shed light on this theme by turning to a recent text by Roberto Gabetti, in which, for example, in noting "the alienation, in the urban fabric of Turin, of the Falchera housing, clearly inspired by Scandinavian models", he observes "the absurdity of proposals based on cultural postulates external to Italy *(...)*, of the increased difficulty which each formal transposition creates for the design of new parts of the

4. Da questo punto di vista l'esperienza italiana del dopoguerra può essere significativa.
Fino a tutti gli anni Cinquanta, infatti, nel periodo della Ricostruzione e, poi, del primo *boom* economico, la questione della periferia si identifica con la politica del quartiere (dal piano UNRRA-Casas, al piano Fanfani, agli interventi GESCAL, eccetera); e questa a sua volta si innesta sulla città con interventi non sempre ugualmente coerenti: talvolta assecondandone il ritmo fisiologico di crescita, talaltra calcificandolo fino ad estraniarsene.
Senza fare una rassegna sistematica, è illuminante su questo tema un recente scritto di Roberto Gabetti, laddove, per esempio, nel rilevare "*lo spaesamento, nel tessuto urbano di Torino, delle case della Falchera, chiaramente ispirate a modelli scandinavi*" egli osserva "*l'assurdità di proposte tratte da postulati culturali esterni all'Italia* (...), *dell'ulteriore difficoltà che ogni trasposizione formale pone alla progettazione di nuove parti di città*"[21]. Trasposizione di modelli importati, ricorda ancora Gabetti, che allora vedeva convergere un clima di antiurbanesimo, di "Strapaese", che pure caratterizzava i primi anni della Ricostruzione, e suggestioni sociologiche di provenienza nordamericana (i concetti di comunità, di unità di vicinato), col risultato di interventi solo apparentemente rigorosi. Ad essi Gabetti, a riprova della necessità di aderire "*alla assoluta specificità di ogni luogo*"[22], contrappone alcuni *exempla* particolarmente amati: il Tiburtino e le case di Viale Etiopia di Ridolfi a Roma, ma anche Forte Quezzi a Genova di Luigi Daneri, "*inventore, là, di un irripetibile rapporto architettura-paesaggio*"[23]. L'esemplificazione potrebbe continuare (per esempio, a Milano sarebbe forse da ricordare il QT8, quanto a capacità di integrarsi allo sviluppo della città); ma i confronti ripresi da Gabetti sono sufficienti a illustrare la necessità di un criterio di legame autentico tra nuove espansioni e città esistente, e la diversa consapevolezza con cui tale criterio è stato osservato dall'architettura italiana di quegli anni.
Dello stesso periodo è importante ricordare anche un altro modo di intervenire sulla periferia, non solo con la residenza, ma per gangli vitali, attraverso congegni tipologico-funzionali messi a presidio (un po' come nella *banlieue* parigina degli anni Trenta) dell'identità culturale di una periferia ancora popolare, progressivamente scalzata dall' imminente sostituzione piccolo-borghese: è il caso dei Centri sociali-cooperativi di Franco Marescotti per la periferia di Milano, dove l'autore, con un'iniziativa di mobilitazione dal basso che rappresentava un'interpretazione originale di certe istanze del neorealismo, "*costruiva, insieme al tema* (...), *la stessa committenza*", realizzando un incremento quantitativo e qualitativo dei servizi collettivi e degli spazi di socializzazione come la migliore difesa contro gli incipienti fenomeni di emarginazione e degrado[24].
Negli gli anni Sessanta, col crescere della pressione quantitativa, la questione della periferia registra un sostanziale salto di scala, tracimando dai confini municipali per investire, nelle principali aree metropolitane in formazione, anelli via via più esterni di comuni dell'*hinterland*. E' questa forse l'ultima stagione, ricorda Gabetti, in cui l'architettura italiana nel suo insieme cerca di pronunciare una parola risolutiva sul tema della periferia: in primo luogo con il concorso per le Barene di San Giuliano a Mestre, 1959, in cui tanto il gesto territoriale di Quaroni, quanto la riproposizione analitica di tessuti e tipologie della Venezia storica di Muratori risultano anticipatori di successive esperienze. All'influsso di quel concorso infatti Gabetti riferisce alcuni progetti di pochi anni più tardi: il Corviale di Fiorentino a Roma, 1972-82, Sorgane di Ricci e Savioli a Firenze, 1963-66, ma anche il Gallaratese di Aymonino a Milano, 1968, lo Zen di Gregotti a Palermo, 1969, e altri ancora: progetti tutti in cui l'architettura si poneva "*in ruolo di piano*", tesa a risolvere in un disegno unitario a scala urbana la crescente domanda insediativa, portando "*al limite la compatibilità fra fenomeni quantitativi e qualitativi*"[25].
Ma al volgere degli anni Settanta la questione della periferia raggiunge un confine senza ritorno, oltre il quale perde i connotati di relativa controllabilità che l'avevano caratterizzata fino ad allora. Al paesaggio composito della *periferia storica*, infatti, che nella promiscuità fisiologica di produzione, residenza, servizi e nella corrispondenza strutturale con i poli dell'*hinterland* aveva giocato un ruolo decisivo nella costruzione metropolitana[26], è ormai subentrato il paesaggio "esploso" dello *sprawl* contemporaneo, affastellamento caotico di *residence*, ipermercati, prefabbricati industriali, microcentri direzionali, quartieri popolari, *enclave* residenziali di lusso, eccetera. Sicchè, se non si accetta l'esistente qual è – ancorché rivestito dei panni ideologici della città diffusa o di quelli, più accattivanti e apparentemente moderni, dell'"estetica del caos" –, occorrerebbe domandarsi quale ruolo dovrebbe svolgere il progetto di architettura nella situazione attuale, quali strade possa praticare per riportare condizioni di centralità in una periferia che si presenta con i caratteri stravolti di un'omologazione ormai avvenuta.
Anche in questo caso, più che una rassegna sistematica vale riferirsi ad alcune esperienze degli anni Settanta e Ottanta, che, in modi diversi e complementari, testimoniano della possibilità di costruire una strategia di riscatto, di nuove centralità.
Per esempio, un intervento, già citato da Gabetti, come il complesso residenziale Monte Amiata, a Milano, di Carlo Aymonino, cui concorre "per contrasto" in modo importante l'edificio di Aldo Rossi, sembrerebbe mostrare quanto gli strumenti progettuali dell'analisi urbana e della definizione tipologica siano suscettibili di conferire caratteri di vere parti di città anche alle nuove edificazioni periferiche: un pezzo di periferia, l'intervento di Aymonino, il cui coefficiente di urbanità risulta tanto più probante se confrontato con l'effetto di dissoluzione prodotto dal contiguo paesaggio di torri e case in linea del quartiere Gallaratese, corriva variazione di modelli insediativi razionalisti. Ma, pur in un contesto e in modi del tutto diversi, anche un intervento

city"[21]. A transposition of imported models, Gabetti remarks, which at the time was accompanied by a combination of a climate of anti-urbanism, of "Strapaese" localistic sentiment, characteristic of the early years of the Reconstruction, and sociological suggestions of North American origin (the concepts of community, of neighborhood); the resulting projects were only rigorous in appearance. Gabetti, in advocating the need to adhere "to the absolute specificity of each place"[22], cites several favorite examples: the Tiburtino and the housing on Viale Etiopia of Ridolfi in Rome, as well as the Forte Quezzi in Genoa by Luigi Daneri, "the creator, there, of an inimitable architecture-landscape relationship"[23].

The list of examples could go on (in Milan perhaps we could mention the QT8, for its capacity to fit in to the development of the city); but the examples cited by Gabetti suffice to illustrate the need for an authentic connection between new expansions and the existing city, and the varying degree of awareness of this criterion which characterised Italian architecture in those years. From the same period, it is important to recall another type of intervention in the periphery, that of the vital ganglia, through typological-functional devices created to safeguard (as in the Parisian banlieue of the 1930s) the cultural identity of a periphery still inhabited by the working class, gradually edged out by a petit-bourgeois influx: this is the case of the community centre-cooperatives of Franco Marescotti for the periphery of Milan, in which the architect, in a grassroots mobilization initiative which represented an original interpretation of certain aspects of neo-realism, "constructed, together with the project (...) the commissioning entity itself", leading to a quantitative and qualitative increase in social services and collective facilities, seen as the best defense against the threatening phenomena of marginalization and decay[24].

In the 1970s, with the increase of quantitative pressures, the question of the periphery underwent a substantial upgrading in terms of scale, bursting out of the municipal confines to impact, in the principal metropolitan areas in formation, successive external rings of municipalities of the hinterland. This is perhaps the last period, Gabetti notes, in which Italian architecture, as a whole, attempted to resolve, once and for all, the problems of the periphery: first with the competition for the San Giuliano shoals in Mestre, in 1959, in which both the territorial gesture of Quaroni and the analytical reproposition of the fabrics and typologies of historical Venice, by Muratori, turned out to be harbingers of future endeavours. The results of that competition, according to Gabetti, can be seen in several projects in the years to follow: the Corviale of Fiorentino in Rome (1972-82), the Sorgane of Ricci and Savioli in Florence (1963-66), but also the Gallaratese of Aymonino in Milan (1968), the Zen project by Gregotti in Palermo (1969), and others still: all projects in which architecture assumes "a planning role", aimed at resolving, in a unitary design on an urban scale, the growing demand for housing and edification, reaching "the limits of compatibility between quantitative and











Ricardo Bofill, Complessi residenziali Les Arcades du Lac, Le Viaduc, Les temples du Lac, Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, 1972-86.
Rem Koolhaas, Centro Affari Euralille, Lille, 1988-95: da sinistra a destra, Stazione TGV, Viadotto Le Corbusier, Torre Crédit Lyonnais, World Trade Center, Centro Commerciale Euralille, Stazione Lille-Fiandre; fuori campo sulla destra, Centro Congressi Grand Palais.
Nella pagina precedente:
Edith Girard, Byron Mouzas, Quartiere Ilot Carnot, Stains, Seine-Saint-Denis, 1981.
Olivier Girard, Laurent Israël, Quartiere Porte de Laon, Reims, Marne, 1981-83.
Antoine Grumbach, Operazione "Cascades-industries" per residenze, artigianato e servizi, Parigi XXe, 1983.

Ricardo Bofill, Les Arcades du Lac, Le Viaduc, Les temples du Lac residential complexes, Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, 1972-86.
Rem Koolhaas, Euralille Business Centre, Lille, 1988-95: left to right, TGV station, Le Corbusier viaduct, Crédit Lyonnais tower, World Trade Center, Euralille shopping centre, Lille-Flanders station; out of frame, to the right, the Grand Palais convention centre .
Previous page:
Edith Girard, Byron Mouzas, Ilot Carnot quarter, Stains, Seine-Saint-Denis, 1981.
Olivier Girard, Laurent Israël, Porte de Laon quarter, Reims, Marne, 1981-83.
Antoine Grumbach, "Cascades-industries" operation for housing, crafts and services, Paris XXe, 1983.

come il sistema di piazze realizzato da Franco Purini a Gibellina sembrerebbe testimoniare di come la strada della chiarezza tipologica riesca a produrre spazi di centralità capaci di contrapporsi alla perdita di qualità del paesaggio periferico, tanto da rendere poco credibile il recente appello del loro autore per "*un'estetica del degradato, del disperso, del residuale, dello scarto*", apparente concessione a una linea di ricerca lontana dalla semplice austerità di queste piazze[27].
Un'altra strada è invece quella che sembra privilegiare Guido Canella coi numerosi interventi nei comuni di cintura dell'*hinterland* milanese, dove le attività di vita associata si trovano sollecitate all'estremo limite per verificarne la suscettibilità ad agire come solvente di segregazione, come fattore di centralità. "*Autore di periferia*"[28], come dice Gabetti, nelle sue molte realizzazioni Canella costruisce "*tipologie pubbliche di radicamento sociale*"[29], dove le strutture per l'equipaggiamento (scuole, palestre, centri sociali, chiese, municipi) si integrano e si consolidano in veri *centri civici*, caposaldi funzionali e rappresentativi tesi a riscattare e rifondare in autentica città i suburbi del territorio metropolitano.
Strade simili a queste sono quelle di cui i progetti presentati nelle pagine che seguono vorrebbero essere parziale documentazione: oscillando tra una linea, per così dire, di posizione, tesa al consolidamento morfologico, e una più di movimento, fondata sul ruolo attivo delle funzioni collettive di vita associata, insieme sembrano documentare la praticabilità e le articolazioni necessarie di un'unica, graduata strategia di riconquista della periferia alla città.

5. Ma per concludere queste note occorre riprendere alcune considerazioni introdotte sinteticamente in apertura.
E' necessario infatti domandarsi se alla base del problema contemporaneo della periferia non stia la mancata capacità di collocare in una visione macrourbanistica i problemi dello sviluppo metropolitano, senza la quale anche interventi su singoli punti della periferia, come quelli citati poco sopra, benché incisivi, rischiano di rimanere isolati. Se cioè la strategia per affrontare alla radice le cause della degenerazione della periferia contemporanea non consista nella realizzazione di un'inversione della tendenza insediativa, attuata con l'uso del mezzo ferroviario per il trasporto di massa, che permetta di spostare il problema dalla scala, ingestibile, del controllo urbanistico della singola città e delle sue periferie, alla scala strutturalmente conforme, che è quella della dimensione regionale.
A ben vedere si tratta ancora dell'antinomia, cui si è fatto cenno nell'introduzione, tra *gestione* e *piano*: tra un modo di affrontare i problemi urbanistici per le questioni strutturali che li determinano; e un modo, opposto, che si affida agli strumenti tradizionali e rassicuranti della pianificazione, della norma, del disegno, pervenendo magari a soluzioni anche coerenti "disciplinarmente", ma inefficaci rispetto ai problemi, in quanto non affrontano le cause che ne stanno all'origine.
Nel caso milanese e lombardo, per esempio, solo la

qualitative phenomena"[25].
But at the beginning of the 1970s the question of the periphery reached a point of no return, beyond which it loses its semblance of relative controllability. In the place of the composite landscape of the historical periphery, *which in its physiological promiscuity of production, housing and services, and in its structural correspondence with the poles of the* hinterland, *had played a decisive role in the construction of the metropolis*[26], *there appears the "exploded" landscape of contemporary "sprawl", a chaotic combination of motels, hypermarkets, prefabricated industrial buildings, small office complexes, low-cost housing, enclaves of luxury dwellings, etc. Thus if we do not accept the extant for what it is – even while dressing it in the ideological garb of the diffused city, or in that of the more exciting and apparently modern "aesthetic of chaos" – we will have to ask what role architectural design can play in the present situation, what directions it can take to restore conditions of centrality in a periphery which presents itself with the distorted characters of what is by now a sort of normalcy or standard.*
Again in this case rather than a systematic overview, we can focus on certain experiences of the 1970s and 1980s, which in differing complementary ways illustrate the possibility of constructing a strategy of redemption, of new centralities. For example, a project, already cited by Gabetti, such as the Monte Amiata residential complex in Milan by Carlo Aymonino, with which the edifice of Aldo Rossi competes "by contrast", in an important way, would appear to demonstrate the extent to which the design tools of urban analysis and of typological definition are capable of conferring character as true parts of the city even in new development in the periphery: a piece of periphery, in the case of Aymonino's project, whose coefficient of urban-ness appears even more convincing when compared to the effect of dissolution produced by the contiguous landscape of towers and row houses of the Gallaratese project, an extreme *variation of rationalist settlement models. But, although in a completely different context and different way, even an intervention like the system of squares built by Franco Purini in Gibellina would seem to prove how the path of typological clarity is able to produce spaces of centrality which can counterbalance the loss of quality in the landscape of the periphery, so much so that the recent appeal by their author for* "an aesthetic of deterioration, of the dispersed, the residuous, of scrap" *appears scarcely credible, an apparent concession to a line of research quite different from the simple austerity of these squares*[27].
Another path is that which Guido Canella seems to favour in his many projects in the belt of outlying towns around Milan, in which the activities of collective life are encouraged to an extreme, in order to test the possibility of acting as a solvent of segregation, as a factor of centrality. "An architect of the periphery"[28], *as Gabetti writes, in his many works Canella constructs* "public typologies with social roots"[29], *where the structures for facilities (schools, gymnasia, community centres, churches, town halls) are integrated and consolidated in true* civic centres, *functional and representative strongholds aimed at ransoming and restoring, as authentic "city", the suburbs of the metropolitan area.*
Paths similar to this are for those which the projects presented in the following pages provide a partial documentation: oscillating between a line of, so to speak, position, aimed at morphological consolidation, and one more of movement, based on the active role of the collective functions of community life, together these works seem to document the possibility of practice, and the necessary articulations, of a unified, gradual strategy for the reappropriation of the periphery of the city.

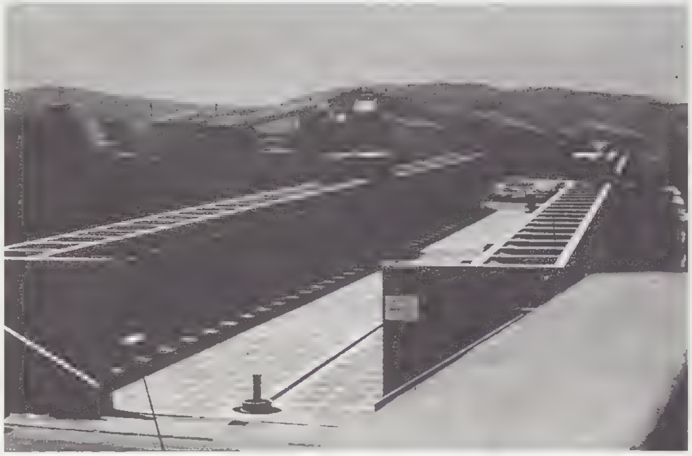
5. To conclude these notes it is necessary to return to certain considerations introduced synthetically at their outset. It is necessary, in fact, to ask whether the basis of the contemporary problem of the periphery might not be the failure to focus, in a macro-urbanistic vision, on the problems of metropolitan growth; without such a vision, intervention in single points of the periphery, such as those described here above, although incisive, run the risk of remaining isolated. If, that is, the strategy for dealing, at their roots, with the causes of the deterioration of the contemporary periphery might not consist in the creation of an inversion of the settlement trend, produced by means of mass transport systems, permitting a shift of the problem from the unmanageable scale of urbanistic control of the single city and its peripheries, to a structurally more suitable scale, that of the regional dimension.
Once again we are faced with the antinomy mentioned in the introduction between management *and* plan, *between a way of confronting urban problems by addressing the structural questions that determine them, and an opposite way which makes use of the traditional, reassuring instruments of planning, norms, design, leading perhaps to solutions which are coherent in disciplinary terms, but ineffective with respect to the problems, because they do not deal with their original causes.*
In the case of Milan and Lombardy, for example, only the construction of a polycentric arrangement at a regional level, supported by an integrated programme of mass transit, can guarantee an inversion of the settlement trend from Milan to the provincial centres, permitting the reabsorbtion of the present pathologies of the diffused city. Here we are talking about interventions of urban engineering, which are difficult to document in the pages of an architectural review, but are decisive for the governing of the territory. Interventions which, in Milan, have illustrious precedents, from the equipped axes of regional connection of the A.R. Plan, 1945 (which correctly identified the regional scale of the relations to Milan, but made the error of entrusting transit to the automobile), to many studies, before and after the war, by Giuseppe de Finetti. Interventions which an anomalous urbanist like Lucio S. d'Angiolini supported since

costruzione di un assetto policentrico a livello regionale, sorretto da un regime integrato di accessibilità di massa che garantisca l'inversione della tendenza insediativa da Milano ai comuni capoluoghi di provincia, consentirebbe il riassorbimento delle attuali patologie della "città diffusa".
Si tratta di interventi di ingegneria della città, non facili da documentare sulle pagine di una rivista di architettura, ma determinanti per il governo del territorio. Interventi che a Milano godono di precedenti illustri, dagli assi attrezzati di connessione regionale del Piano A.R., 1945 (che individuava correttamente la scala regionale delle relazioni su Milano, pur errando poi nell'affidarle al mezzo su gomma), ai molti studi, prima e dopo la guerra, di Giuseppe de Finetti. E che un urbanista anomalo come Lucio S. d'Angiolini sostiene dalla fine degli anni Cinquanta, quando Milano visse forse l'ultimo decisivo confronto sul suo sviluppo futuro in rapporto all'area metropolitana e all'intero territorio regionale.
Erano gli anni in cui, già lo si è ricordato introducendo, i comuni contermini a Milano pativano le distorsioni di un'immigrazione massiccia, che da una parte veniva attratta dal ruolo centripeto di Milano, e dall'altra veniva respinta sui comuni dell'immediato concentrico dall'urbanistica "regolamentare" del capoluogo. Il confronto verteva dunque sulle strategie per controllare l'incipiente congestione di quella prima periferia metropolitana; e le contrapposte posizioni si misurarono in due importanti convegni tenutisi all'inizio del 1962, a poche settimane di distanza l'uno dall'altro.
Nella relazione finale del convegno di Stresa, organizzato dall'ILSES (Istituto Lombardo di Studi Economici e Sociali) nel gennaio 1962 sul tema *La nuova dimensione della città. La città regione*, Giancarlo De Carlo, promotore e relatore del convegno stesso, riprendendo la relazione introduttiva di uno degli studiosi invitati, il geografo francese François Gravier, sosteneva che l'accessibilità diffusa per merci e persone, in epoca neotecnica garantita dal trasporto con mezzo proprio su gomma, e la diffusione capillare dell'energia elettrica, per le allocazioni residenziali e produttive, avrebbero consentito una corrispondente, generale diffusione insediativa, la "città regione" appunto; prospettando una modellistica pianificatoria che verrà sostanzialmente recepita l'anno successivo dal "modello a turbina" proposto dal Comitato tecnico del PIM per il Piano intercomunale milanese[30].
Sul fronte opposto, la Lega dei Comuni Democratici della Provincia di Milano organizzò un analogo convegno, tenutosi nel marzo 1962 presso la Società Umanitaria a Milano, sui *Problemi urbanistici dell'ambito regionale e intercomunale*, dove l'argomentazione principale, sostenuta da d'Angiolini, era quella di "*collegare l'espansione di Milano con l'espansione di altri poli che già si evidenziano al perimetro della regione (non quelli individuati dall'ILSES nell'area metropolitana, si badi bene), invertendo la tendenza insediativa attuale centripeta* (...)". Per Milano si trattava di pensare, continuava d'Angiolini, "*ad una soluzione urbanistica di città policentrica attraverso la costruzione di una rete regionale di trasporti su rotaia*"[31].
La contrapposizione in sostanza era tra una pianificazione alla scala dell'area metropolitana milanese, e una gestione polarizzante, che agisse sul policentrismo regionale (che in Lombardia è un fatto storico specifico, non casuale), da attuarsi, più che con le norme di un piano, con strumenti che incidessero direttamente sui comportamenti, come il sistema di trasporto su ferro, finalizzato a garantire tra Milano e i capoluoghi di provincia della regione relazioni di effettivo uso urbano.
E' importante riferirsi a questo dibattito in quanto, per lo meno per la parte sostenuta allora dalla Lega dei Comuni Democratici, è relativamente poco noto, e con pochi riscontri persino nella letteratura "colta" specializzata[32]. Eppure di grande importanza, giacché si può ritenere che l'inizio di una questione della periferia milanese, per come la si intende oggi, data proprio da allora; e perché, inoltre, le posizioni che ancora oggi si fronteggiano su questo problema non sono mutate di molto.
Infatti, se l'urbanistica "ufficiale", nel dettato della Legge 8 giugno 1990, numero142, *Ordinamento delle autonomie locali* (che istituisce nelle aree più congestionate il nuovo livello amministrativo della *città metropolitana*), reitera l'errore di allora compiendo l'automatica identificazione area metropolitana milanese-città metropolitana milanese (coincidente sostanzialmente con il perimetro ex PIM); la risposta è ancora, come sostiene d'Angiolini – oggi membro del Comitato scientifico dell'IReR (Istituto Regionale di Ricerca) – quella di una città policentrica regionale tra Milano e i capoluoghi di provincia. In altri termini si tratta di contrapporre allo spontaneismo della conurbazione diffusa dei 4.000.000 di abitanti (2.000.000 di Milano più 2.000.000 dei comuni contermini) dell'area metropolitana milanese, promossa "nominalisticamente" sul campo a "città metropolitana", una gestione dirigistica (termine oggi poco di moda) per la costruzione di un sistema urbano policentrico a livello regionale di 7.000.000 di abitanti; "*città policentrica lombarda, tuttavia, non compatta, non allargata a macchia d'olio come invece Parigi o Londra*"[33], ma dove il trasporto di massa su ferro (Servizio Ferroviario Regionale, nel caso specifico) garantisca frequenze e tempi di percorrenza da polo a polo e con il centro metropolitano di affidabilità confrontabile a quella della metropolitana urbana. Tale strategia consentirebbe una riorganizzazione polarizzante dei grandi sistemi funzionali territoriali (produzione, scambi, direzionalità, università, eccetera), dislocati in corrispondenza dei poli di accessibilità dell'armatura urbana regionale, selezionando e gerarchizzando attività e insediamenti, così da diradare (quasi per processo spontaneo) e progressivamente ristrutturare l'urbanizzazione incontrollata, quella appunto generatrice di periferia (i tempi dell'urbanistica si misurano a decenni: se la periferia milanese per formarsi ha impiegato due-tre decenni, in due-tre decenni può tornare a una dimensione fisiologica).
E' forse utile, a questo punto, ricordare come ogni realtà metropolitana faccia caso a sé; come Roma o Torino, per

the end of the 1950s, when Milan experienced perhaps its last decisive confrontation with its future development in relation to the metropolitan area and the entire regional territory.
Those were the years in which, as we recalled in introduction, the municipalities around Milan were suffering from the distortions of mass immigration, which was attracted by the centripetal role of Milan, but was then pushed off into the surrounding towns by the "regulation" urban policy of the metropolis. The confrontation focused on the strategies regarding how to control the congestion of the municipalities adjacent to Milan; and the opposing positions were expressed in two important conferences held at the beginning of 1962, only a few weeks apart from one another.
In the final report of the Stresa conference, organised by the ILSES (Istituto Lombardo di Studi Economici e Sociali) in January 1962 on the theme "The new dimension of the city: the city-region", Giancarlo De Carlo, promotor of the conference and speaker, referring to the introductory paper delivered by one of the many invited experts, the French geographer François Gravier, sustained that widespread accessibility for goods and persons, guaranteed in the neo-technical era by transport with private vehicles on roads, and the capillary diffusion of electrical energy, for residential and productive uses, would permit a corresponding, generalised settlement spread, the "city-region"; and he suggested a planning model which was to be substantially utilised, one year later, in the "turbine model" proposed by the technical committee of the PIM for the Milanese inter-municipal plan[30].
On the opposing front, the Lega dei Comuni Democratici of the province of Milan organised a similar conference, held in March 1962 at the Humanitarian Society in Milan, on "Urbanistic problems at the regional and inter-municipal level". Here the main reasoning, urged by d'Angiolini, was that of "linking the expansion of Milan with the expansion of other poles which are already evident at the perimeter of the region (not those identified by ILSES in the metropolitan area, we should note), inverting the present centripetal settlement trend *(...)". For Milan it was necessary to think, d'Angiolini went on,* "of an urbanistic solution of a polycentric city, through the construction of a regional rail transport network"[31].
In substance, the opposition was between a planning at the scale of the Milanese metropolitan area, and a polarising management which would effect regional polycentrism (which in Lombardy is a specific historical fact, not a random formulation), to be implemented, more than with the norms of a plan, with instruments which would directly effect patterns of behaviour, such as the rail transport system, aimed at guaranteeing relations of effective urban use among Milan and the surrounding provincial centres.
It is important to refer to this debate because, at least where the position of the Lega dei Comuni Democratici is concerned, it is relatively unknown, only rarely discussed







Carlo Aymonino, Complesso residenziale nel Quartiere Gallaratese, Milano, 1967-70.
Guido Canella, Centro Civico con municipio, scuola media e campo sportivo, Pieve Emanuele, Milano, 1971-78.
Franco Purini, Laura Thermes, Cinque piazze a Gibellina, 1982-93.

Carlo Aymonino, residential complex in the Gallaratese quarter, Milan, 1967-70.
Guido Canella, Civic Centre with town hall, middle school and sports facilities, Pieve Emanuele, Milan, 1971-78.
Franco Purini, Laura Thermes, Five squares in Gibellina, 1982-93.





Albini, Belgiojoso, Bottoni, Cerutti, Gardella, Mucchi, Peressutti, Pucci, Putelli, Rogers, Piano A.R., Milano, 1944-45.
Lucio S. D'Angiolini, Vincenzo Donato, Schema dell'assetto dei servizi ferroviari nel nodo di Milano: il Servizio Ferroviario Regionale privilegia le polarità urbane imposte da Città policentrica lombarda, Milano, 1987.

Albini, Belgiojoso, Bottoni, Cerutti, Gardella, Mucchi, Peressutti, Pucci, Putelli, Rogers, A.R. Plan, Milan, 1944-45.
Lucio S. D'Angiolini, Vincenzo Donato, Organisational scheme for rail services at the Milan junction; the Regional Rail service favours the urban polarities imposed by the "Città policentrica lombarda", Milan, 1987.

esempio, non godano di un policentrismo territoriale radicato storicamente come quello lombardo. Dunque non si tratta certo di proporre, per affrontare la questione della periferia, un "modello milanese" applicabile ovunque. Tuttavia, quello che si vorrebbe porre come interrogativo, a conclusione di queste note (e utilizzando dimostrativamente il caso milanese), è se un intervento strutturale di effettiva riforma delle attuali periferie non debba necessariamente riferirsi a scelte di coerenza macrourbanistica, fondate sul sistema dell'accessibilità di massa e la corrispondente riorganizzazione territoriale delle funzioni "forti": solo dentro tale quadro, infatti, anche gli interventi a scala minore, destinati a punti specifici della periferia o dell'*hinterland*, sarebbero in grado di svolgere un ruolo meno episodico o di semplice ristrutturazione ambientale, concorrendo decisivamente col progetto di architettura alla costruzione di una strategia complessiva di nuove centralità.

Note

1) Cfr. *Costruire la periferia*, Atti del convegno tenuto al Palazzo dell'Arte a Milano, 11 ottobre 1985, in occasione della mostra dei progetti della *Mission Banlieues 89*, Editrice Abitare Segesta, Milano 1986; in particolare gli interventi di Roland Castro e Michel Cantal-Dupart (nominati responsabili nell'estate 1983 dal presidente Mitterand della *Mission Banlieues 89*), Jean-Patrick Fortin, Ignazio Gardella, Giuseppe Campos Venuti, Pierluigi Nicolin, Paolo Portoghesi, Bernardo Secchi. Un bilancio di *Banlieues 89* è in R. CASTRO, *Dix ans après*, "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n.280, marzo-aprile 1992.

2) Su queste vicende, che verranno riprese più ampiamente nella parte finale di questo scritto, cfr. L. S. D'ANGIOLINI, *Sugli effetti di una non coerente attuazione del nuovo Piano regolatore generale di Milano*, memoria presentata al V Convegno dell'Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, Firenze, 4-6 novembre 1955, come relazione di minoranza della Sezione lombarda dell'INU a integrazione di quella ufficiale di Ezio Cerutti; *Per un accordo fra i Comuni e fra tutti gli Enti interessati alla pianificazione intercomunale milanese*, proposta presentata dalla Lega dei Comuni Democratici della Provincia di Milano al Sindaco di Milano, febbraio 1960; e *Atti del Convegno organizzato dalla Lega dei Comuni democratici della provincia di Milano sui problemi urbanistici dell'ambito regionale e intercomunale*, Milano, marzo 1962, in L. S. D'ANGIOLINI, *Alcune questioni della prassi urbanistica*, Edizioni l'Aretina, Milano 1967, rispettivamente pp.3-10, 19-24 e 25-76. D'Angiolini era allora l'urbanista più attivo della Commissione Tecnica della Lega dei Comuni Democratici della Provincia di Milano, che negli anni Cinquanta e primi anni Sessanta raccoglieva i Comuni di corona intorno a Milano governati da Amministrazioni di sinistra.

3) Questi termini, quasi delle parole d'ordine, coincidono con alcuni dei temi progettuali proposti da *Banlieues 89*; ma l'interesse particolarmente approfondito dell'architettura francese degli ultimi decenni per la dimensione urbana del progetto è testimoniato da numerosissimi articoli, interventi, note redazionali, che in questa sede non possono essere citati neppure in una selezione sintetica, alcuni dei quali sono tuttavia richiamati nelle pagine che seguono. Per una trattazione organica di grande chiarezza del periodo si veda J. LUCAN, *Francia. Architettura 1965-1988*, Electa, Milano 1989.

4) I progetti e le realizzazioni che testimoniano il "ritorno alla città" dell'architettura francese di questo periodo, dopo la stagione "Ciam" dei *grands ensembles* e quella delle megastrutture delle *villes nouvelles*, sono anch'essi numerosissimi e documentati sistematicamente sulle principali riviste francesi di architettura contemporanee; alcuni esempi, tra i più significativi, compaiono su queste stesse pagine di "Zodiac", mentre un'ampia documentazione critica è in J. LUCAN, *Francia. Architettura 1965-1988*, cit.

5) P. NOVIANT, *Projets des formes urbaines*, "AMC", n.47, dicembre 1978.

6) J. LUCAN, *Destination ville. Projets urbains pour les grands ensembles*, "Le Moniteur Architecture", n.41, maggio 1993. Lo scritto introduce e commenta un ampio servizio su alcuni importanti progetti di riabilitazione di *grands ensembles*.

7) Cfr. B. HUET, *L'architecture contre la ville*, "AMC", n.s., n.14, dicembre 1986. Al termine di lunghe considerazioni sul divorzio tra città storica e modello di città funzionale del Movimento Moderno, Huet osserva: "*Riconoscere la frammmentazione di certe parti della città, e in particolare della periferia, come un fatto, una base dalla quale far partire il progetto, significa essere realisti e accettare i limiti della propria capacità d'intervento. Ma teorizzare la frammentazione come uno stato permanente e come unità di progetto, significa andare contro l'idea stessa di città. Significa accettare come un dato la negatività di una situazione congiunturale, rinunciare alla città come progetto e come destino* (...). *La storia insegna che la crescita di una metropoli si fa per allargamento costante del suo centro* (...)".

even in the most specialised, scholarly literature[32]. *And yet it is of great importance, because we can date the beginning of the question of the Milanese periphery, as it is understood today, back to this moment; and because the positions which are still in conflict, even today, have changed very little. In fact while the "official" urban policy, as formulated in Law n. 8 of June 1990, point 142, "Ordering of local autonomies" (which institutes, in the more congested areas, the new administrative level of the* metropolitan city*), reiterates the error of the past, automatically identifying the Milanese metropolitan area with the Milanese metropolitan city (substantially coinciding with the former PIM perimeter), the response is still, as d'Angiolini sustained – today he is a member of the Scientific Board of IReR (Istituto Regionale di Ricerca) – that of a polycentric city involving Milan and the provincial centres. In other terms, rather than the spontaneous character of the diffused conurbation of 4 million inhabitants (2 million in Milan, 2 million in the surrounding municipalities) of the Milanese metropolitan area, which has been promoted "by name" to the level of "metropolitan city", a dirigistic policy of governmental control (terms not in fashion these days) for the construction of a polycentric urban system at a regional level, for 7 million inhabitants;* "a Lombard polycentric city, not compact, not spreading like an oil slick, like Paris or London"[33]*, but where the rail mass transit system would guarantee frequent, rapid service like that of an urban underground system. This strategy would permit the polarising reorganisation of the large territorial functional systems (production, trade, administration, services, university, etc.), located in correspondence to the poles of accessibility of the regional network, distributing (almost spontaneously) and progressively restructuring uncontrolled urbanisation, that which has generated the periphery (if we measure urban phenomena in decades, we can say that the Milanese periphery required from 2 to 3 decades to take form; thus in the same time frame it can return to its physiological dimension).*

Perhaps it is useful, at this point, to recall that each metropolitan reality is a case in itself; Rome and Turin, for example, do not have the benefit of a historically rooted territorial polycentrism like that of Lombardy. So the idea is not to propose, for the issue of the periphery, a "Milanese model" for application elsewhere. Nevertheless, that which should be posed as a question, in concluding these notes (and utilising the case of Milan as a demonstration), is if a structural intervention of effective reform of the present peripheries must not necessarily involve choices which are coherent at a macro-urban level, based on the system of mass accessibility and the corresponding territorial reorganisation of the "strong" functions: only within such a framework, in fact, will the inteventions on a smaller scale, designed for specific points of the periphery or the suburbs, be able to play a less episodical role, of mere environmental restructuring, beginning to make a decisive contribution, through architectural design, to the construction of an overall strategy of new centralities.

Notes

1) See Costruire la periferia, *Minutes of the conference held at the Palazzo dell'Arte in Milan, 11 October 1985, for the exhibition of the projects of* Mission Banlieues 89, *Editrice Abitare Segesta, Milan 1986; in particular; the contributions of Roland Castro and Michel Cantal-Dupart (nominated directors, in Summer 1983 by Pres. Mitterand of the* Mission Banlieues 89*), Jean-Patrick Fortin, Ignazio Gardella, Giuseppe Campos Venuti, Pierluigi Nicolin, Paolo Portoghesi, Bernardo Secchi. An assessment of* Banlieues 89 *is in R. CASTRO,* Dix ans après, *"L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n.280, March-April 1992.*

2) On these situations, which will be discussed in greater detail toward the end of the article, see L. S. D'ANGIOLINI, Sugli effetti di una non coerente attuazione del nuovo Piano regolatore generale di Milano, *a paper presented at the 5th Conference of the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, Florence, 4-6 November 1955, as a minority report of the Lombardy section of INU, apart from the official report of Ezio Cerutti;* Per un accordo fra i Comuni e fra tutti gli Enti interessati alla pianificazione intercomunale milanese, *proposal presented by the Lega dei Comuni Democratici of the Province of Milan to the Mayor of Milan, February 1960; and* Atti del Convegno organizzato dalla Lega dei Comuni democratici della provincia di Milano sui problemi urbanistici dell'ambito regionale e intercomunale, *Milan, March 1962, in L. S. D'ANGIOLINI,* Alcune questioni della prassi urbanistica, *Edizioni l'Aretina, Milan 1967, respectively p.3-10, 19-24 and 25-76. D'Angiolini at the time was the most active planner on the Technical Commission of the Lega dei Comuni Democratici of the Province of Milan, which in the 1960s and 1970s combined the municipalities surrounding Milan governed by left-wing administrations.*

3) These terms, almost bywords, coincide with some of the design themes proposed by Banlieues 89*; but the particular depth of French architecture's interest in recent decades for the urban dimension of design can also be seen in many articles, papers, etc. too numerous to be cited here. For a particularly clear overview of the period see J. LUCAN,* Francia. Architettura 1965-1988, *Electa, Milan 1989.*

4) The designs and projects which bear witness to the "return to the city" of the French architecture of this period, after the "Ciam" period of the grands ensembles *and that of the megastructures of the* villes nouvelles, *are also very numerous, annd systematically documented in the main French reviews of contemporary architecture; some particularly significant projects have appeared in the pages of "Zodiac", and ample critical documentation is furnished in J. LUCAN,* Francia. Architettura 1965-1988, *cit.*

5) P. NOVIANT, Projets des formes urbaines, *"AMC", n.47, December1978.*

6) J. LUCAN, Destination ville. Projets urbains pour les grands ensembles, *"Le Moniteur Architecture", n.41, May 1993. Introduction and comment for an extensive feature on some important rehabilitation projects for* grands ensembles.

7) See B. HUET, L'architecture contre la ville, *"AMC", n.s., n.14, December 1986. After considering at length the divorce between the historical city and the model of functional city of the Modern Movement, Huet observes:* "To recognize the fragmentation of certain parts of the city, and in particular of the periphery, as a fact, a starting point for the project, means being realists, accepting the limits of our capacity to intervene. But to theorize that this fragmentation is a permanent state, and a form of design unity, is to go against the very idea of the city. It means accepting the negativity of a situation, giving up on the city as a project and a destiny *(...)* History teaches that the growth of a metropolis occurs through the constant expansion of its centre *(...)*".

8) A documentation of this point of view, which is also highly diversified, can be seen in certain issues of magazines recently dedicated to this theme: Postmodern Urbanism, *monograph of "Design Book Review", n.17, winter1987;* Projectar la perifèria, *monograph of "UR-Urbanisme Revista", n.9-10, 1992;* Stadt-Landschaft, Paysage urbanisé, City-Landscape, *monograph of "Werk, Bauen+Wohnen", n.10, October 1992;* Grossprojekte: Leitbilder fur Stadtbilder, *monograph of "Architese", n.6, November-December 1992;* An der Peripherie, On the Periphery, *monograph of "Daidalos", n.50, December 1993;* The Periphery, *"Architectural Design Profile", n.108, "Architectural Design", vol.64, n.3-4, March-April 1994.*

9) See P. VIRILIO, Randgruppen, Marginal Groups, *intervista di M. Brausch, "Daidalos", n.50, cit.*

10) See D. STEINER, Vielleicht eine Biographie der Peripherie, Perhaps a Biography of the Periphery, *"Daidalos", n.50, cit.*

11) See: M. DE SOLA-MORALES, Projectar la perifèria, *and P. NICOLIN,* Periferia. Metropoli. Erranza, *both in "UR-Urbanisme Revista", n.9-10, cit.*

12) The Euralille project, by now almost completed, has recently been covered in: "Werk, Bauen+Wohnen", n.4, April 1993; "Le Moniteur Architecture", n.54, September 1994; "The Architectural Review", n.1174, December 1994; "Abitare", n.336, January 1995. The project, for which the competition for the general plan was won by R. Koolhaas in 1988, includes the participation of many architects including: R.Koolhaas, Master Plan and Convention Centre; Ch. de Portzamparc, Crédit Lyonnais tower; J.Nouvel, M.Paindavoine, Euralille

8) Una documentazione di tale punto di vista, per altro assai diversificato al proprio interno, è in alcuni numeri di riviste recentemente dedicati a questo tema: *Postmodern Urbanism*, monografico di "Design Book Review", n.17, inverno 1987; *Projectar la periferia*, monografico di "UR-Urbanisme Revista", n.9-10, 1992; *Stadt-Landschaft, Paysage urbanisé, City-Landscape*, monografico di "Werk, Bauen+Wohnen", n.10, ottobre 1992; *Grossprojekte: Leitbilder fur Stadtbilder*, monografico di "Architese", n.6, novembre-dicembre 1992; *An der Peripherie, On the Periphery*, monografico di "Daidalos", n.50, dicembre 1993; *The Periphery*, "Architectural Design Profile", n.108, "Architectural Design", vol.64, n.3-4, marzo-aprile 1994.
9) Cfr. P. VIRILIO, *Randgruppen, Marginal Groups*, intervista di M. Brausch, "Daidalos", n.50, cit.
10) Cfr. D. STEINER, *Vielleicht eine Biographie der Peripherie, Perhaps a Biography of the Periphery*, "Daidalos", n.50, cit.
11) Cfr.: M. DE SOLA-MORALES, *Projectar la periferia*, e P. NICOLIN, *Periferia. Metropoli. Erranza*, entrambi in "UR-Urbanisme Revista", n.9-10, cit.
12) Il progetto di Euralille, ormai pressoché completato, è stato recentemente pubblicato tra l'altro in: "Werk, Bauen+Wohnen", n.4, aprile 1993; "Le Moniteur Architecture", n.54, settembre 1994; "The Architectural Review", n.1174, dicembre 1994; "Abitare", n.336, gennaio1995. L'intervento, il cui concorso per il piano generale venne vinto da R. Koolhaas nel 1988, vede la partecipazione di numerosi architetti tra i quali: R.Koolhaas, Piano urbanistico generale e Centro congressi; Ch. de Portzamparc, Torre del Crédit Lyonnais; J.Nouvel, M.Paindavoine, Centro commerciale Euralille; C.Vasconi, J.C.Bourdèse, World Trade Center; F.Deslaugier, A. Béal, L. Blanckaert, Viadotto Le Corbusier; J.M.Duthilleul, Stazione TGV.
13) R. KOOLHAAS, *La splendeur terrifiante du XXe siècle*, "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n.238, aprile 1985. Le posizioni e l'architettura di Koolhaas sono note e ampiamente pubblicate. Per quanto riguarda il tema qui trattato può essere interessante ricordare l'intonazione macchinista, visionaria e pragmatica al tempo stesso, dell'appello per una "*Cultura della Congestione*", nel suo libro programmatico *Delirious New York. A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, Thames and Hudson, London 1978. Altrove egli sostiene la necessità di una "*idealizzazione sistematica dell'esistente*", la considerazione che "*non vi è alcuna situazione così degradata nella quale non si possa trovare un concetto retroattivo*", (in *La deuxième chance de l'architecture moderne*, intervista a P.Goulet, "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n.238, cit.). Convinzioni che stanno alla base tanto di un progetto come quello, del 1986-87, per il recupero del complesso residenziale di Bijlmermeer, il più grande e criticato *grand ensemble* olandese di cui molti reclamavano viceversa la demolizione, quanto della critica radicale a tutta l'impostazione dell'IBA berlinese, che volendo "*dimostrare la riuscita definitiva dell'urbanistica dell'isolato e dei blocchi chiusi*" propone per Berlino "*in nome della storia, di cancellare le prove stesse della sua distruzione, che è forse il fatto più significativo della sua storia (per non ricordare la sua estetica)*" (in *La splendeur terrifiante du XXe siècle*, "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n.238, cit.).
14) La definizione è di D. STEINER, *Vielleicht eine Biographie der Peripherie, Perhaps a Biography of the Periphery*, "Daidalos", n.50, cit., dove egli sottolinea come la protagonista del film di Rohmer *L'ami de mon amie* viva in uno dei diversi complessi realizzati da Bofill nelle *villes nouvelles* francesi. Su tali interventi di Bofill, nel caso specifico il quartiere Antigone a Montpellier, è interessante il giudizio critico, ma non aprioristicamente negativo, di C. ROWE in un'intervista in "Design Book Review", n.17, inverno 1989, cit., dove ne rileva la dimensione fuori scala e il carattere *kitsch*, ma soprattutto il fatto di voler realizzare un luogo centrale quando invece "*non ci può mai essere un centro fino a che l'edificato circostante non prema su uno spazio tanto da renderlo centrale*".
15) Improntati a esigenze simili al progetto di Tschumi per Chartres si possono ricordare il progetto di concorso per la *ville nouvelle* di Melun-Sénart di Koolhaas, 1987, il progetto di Y. Lion per la Plaine Saint Denis alla periferia nord di Parigi, 1991, quello di N. Foster per l'espansione di Nimes, 1991. Cfr. J. LUCAN, *Qu'est-ce qu'un projet urbain?*, "Le Moniteur Architecture", n.27, dicembre 1991-gennaio 1992, e, sempre di LUCAN, *Lo spazio urbano nell'era dell'individualismo*, "Casabella", n.597-98, monografico dedicato al disegno degli spazi aperti, gennaio-febbraio 1993.
16) Cfr. C. ROWE, F. KOETTER, *Collage City*, MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.)-London 1978, pp.90-91.
17) Cfr. C. ROWE, F. KOETTER, cit., pp.91 ss. Con la metafora del riccio e della volpe, che riprende da Isaiah Berlin, Rowe intende distinguere tra un'anima monocentrica, dogmatica e una pragmatica, possibilista del Movimento Moderno (ma anche dell'architettura del passato). Così se Palladio è un riccio, Giulio Romano una volpe; se Hawksmoore, Soane, Philip Webb sono probabilmente ricci, Wren, Nash e Norman Shaw quasi certamente volpi; e, più vicino a noi, se Wright è inequivocabilmente riccio, Lutyens altrettanto chiaramente volpe. Ma, essendo Gropius, Mies, Hannes Meyer, Buckminster Fuller eminenti ricci, come classificare Le Corbusier? La risposta di Rowe, che riprende analoghe considerazioni di Berlin su Tolstoi, è che Le Corbusier sarebbe una volpe travestita da riccio; più precisamente il Le Corbusier architetto sarebbe volpe, il Le Corbusier urbanista riccio, anche se, aggiunge Rowe, "*è strana questa situazione di* casa complessa-città semplice (...)" quando sarebbe più logico il contrario.
18) G. GIOVANNONI, *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova. Il quartiere del Rinascimento in Roma*, "Nuova Antologia", 1913; considerazioni sviluppate sistematicamente in IDEM, *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*, UTET, Torino 1931, nel capitolo *L'innesto dei nuovi quartieri sul vecchio tronco*, pp.184-97.
19) G. GRASSI, *Das Neue Frankfurt e l'architettura della nuova Francoforte*, introduzione a IDEM (a cura di), *Das Neue Frankfurt 1926-31*, Dedalo libri, Bari 1975, p.40.
20) Osserva al riguardo C. ROWE: "*Quando si guarda all'opera di Bruno Taut a Berlino, o a un luogo come Siemenstadt di Gropius e Scharoun, o ai quartieri pubblici magnificamente pianificati da Ernst May a Francoforte, che presentano tracciati estremamente accurati, è molto difficile dire che l'architettura moderna ha sbagliato tutto, se ha prodotto cose di questa qualità*", "Design Book Review", n.17, inverno 1989, cit.
21) R. GABETTI, *Sui margini di attese deluse*, in C. GIAMMARCO, A. ISOLA, *Disegnare le periferie*, La Nuova Italia Scientifica, Roma 1993, pp. 205-22; la citazione è a p.206. In questo scritto Gabetti afferma di riprendere due lezioni universitarie di Guido Canella del 1980, pubblicate in: G. CANELLA, *Figura e funzione nella architettura italiana dal dopoguerra agli anni Sessanta*, "Hinterland", n. 13-14, gennaio-giugno 1980.
22) *Ibidem*, p. 207.
23) *Ibidem*, p. 217.
24) G. CANELLA, *Figura e funzione nella architettura italiana dal dopoguerra agli anni Sessanta*, cit.
25) R. GABETTI, *Sui margini di attese deluse*, cit., p. 222.
26) Cfr. G. CANELLA, A. ACUTO ET AL., *La periferia storica nella costruzione metropolitana*, Edizioni di "Edilizia Popolare", Milano 1978.
27) F. PURINI, *Un nuovo statuto dell'esistente*, "Piano, Progetto, Città", semestrale del Dipartimento di Architettura e Urbanistica, Università "G. D'Annunzio" di Chieti, n.14, 1994.
28) R.GABETTI, *Sui margini di attese deluse*, cit., p.222.
29) G. CANELLA, *Elogio della periferia*, in F. Rossi Prodi (a cura di), *Costruire-Decostruire*, Officina, Roma 1992, p. 131.
30) Cfr. AA. VV., *La nuova dimensione della città. La città regione*, Relazioni del seminario tenuto a Stresa, 19-21 gennaio 1962, ILSES, Milano 1962. Per il "modello a turbina" del Piano intercomunale milanese cfr. P.I.M., *Relazione illustrativa dello schema di Piano Intercomunale*, Milano, 25 luglio 1963, e anche G. DE CARLO, *Il P.I.M., realtà e prospettive del primo schema*, "Casabella Continuità", n. 282, dicembre 1963.
31) L. S. D'ANGIOLINI, *Atti del Convegno organizzato dalla Lega dei Comuni democratici della provincia di Milano sui problemi urbanistici dell'ambito regionale e intercomunale*, Milano, marzo 1962, in IDEM, *Alcune questioni della prassi urbanistica*, cit., p. 47. Nello stesso intervento D'Angiolini aggiungeva: "*E' opportuno che gli investimenti determinanti siano destinati a una rete regionale di trasporto piuttosto che a una rete di metropolitana urbana. Credo che di fronte a questo compito sia da trascurarsi oggi ogni particolare problema di 'congestione' ('congestione' nel senso di Astengo e di De Carlo) perché l'inversione della tendenza insediativa basta a contrastare gli aspetti più preoccupanti della 'congestione' metropolitana*".
32) Per esempio non se ne trova traccia in due pur ponderosi studi pubblicati recentemente: P. DI BIAGI, P. GABELLINI (a cura di), *Urbanisti italiani*, Laterza, Bari 1992; G. CAMPOS VENUTI, F. OLIVA (a cura di), *Cinquant'anni di urbanistica italiana 1942-92*, Laterza, Bari 1993.
33) L. S. D'ANGIOLINI, *Relazione introduttiva* al recente convegno organizzato dall'IReR, *Possibili scelte per i trasporti in Lombardia*, Bergamo, 7 aprile 1995, dattiloscritto.

shopping centre; C.Vasconi, J.C.Bourdèse, World Trade Center; F.Deslaugier, A. Béal, L. Blanckaert, Le Corbusier viaduct; J.M.Duthilleul, TGV station.
13) *R. KOOLHAAS,* La splendeur terrifiante du XXe siècle, *"L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n.238, April 1985. The positions and the architecture of Koolhaas are well-known and widely documented. For the specific theme discussed here, it is interesting to recall the mechanistic, visionary but also pragmatic tone of his appeal for a "Culture of Congestion" in his programmatic* Delirious New York. A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan, *Thames and Hudson, London 1978. Elsewhere he sustains the need for an* "systematic idealization of the extant", *with the consideration that* "no situation is so degraded that a retroactive concept cannot be found", *(in* La deuxième chance de l'architecture moderne, *interview with P.Goulet, "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n.238, cit.). Convictions which lie behind a project like that, in 1986-87, for the rehabilitation of the Bijlmermeer residential complex, the largest and most criticized Dutch* grand ensemble, for *which many urged demolition, and behind the radical critique of the entire Berlin IBA approach, which in seeking* "to demonstrate the definitive success of the urban policy of closed blocks" *proposes for Berlin* "in the name of history, to erase all proof of its destruction, which is perhaps the most significant fact of its history (not to mention its aesthetic)" *(in* La splendeur terrifiante du XXe siècle, *"L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n.238, cit.).*
14) *The definition is that of D. STEINER,* Vielleicht eine Biographie der Peripherie, Perhaps a Biography of the Periphery, *"Daidalos", n.50, cit., where he underlines the way in which the protagonist of the film by Rohmer* L'ami de mon amie *lives in one of the various complexes designed by Bofill in the* villes nouvelles *of France. On these projects by Bofill, specifically the Antigone quarter in Montpellier, an interesting but not a priori negative critique is that of C. ROWE in an interview in "Design Book Review", n.17, winter 1989, cit., where he discusses the out- scale and kitsch character of the project; but also mentions the effort to create a central place:* "there can never be a center until the surroundings put enough pressure on the space to make it central".
15) *Focused on needs similar to those of the project by Tschumi for Chartres, see the competition design for the* ville nouvelle *of Melun-Sénart by Koolhaas, 1987, the project by Y. Lion for Plaine Saint Denis on the northern outskirts of Paris, 1991, that of N. Foster for the expansion of Nîmes, 1991. See J. LUCAN,* Qu'est-ce qu'un projet urbain?, *"Le Moniteur Architecture", n.27, December 1991-January 1992, and, again by LUCAN,* Lo spazio urbano nell'era dell'individualismo, *"Casabella", n.597-98, monographic issue on the design of open spaces, January-February 1993.*
16) *See C. ROWE, F. KOETTER,* Collage City, *MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.)-London 1978, p.90-91.*
17) *See C. ROWE, F. KOETTER, cit., p.91. With the metaphor of the hedgehog and the fox, borrowed from Isaiah Berlin, Rowe describes the distinction between the monocentric, dogmatic tendencies and the pragmatic, open approach of the Modern Movement (but also of the architecture of the past). Thus if Palladio is a hedgehog, Giulio Romano is a fox; if Hawksmoore, Soane, Philip Webb are probably hedgehogs, Wren, Nash and Norman Shaw are almost certainly foxes; and, in our time, if Wright is unequivocally hedgehog, Lutyens is clearly a fox. But while Gropius, Mies, Hannes Meyer, Buckminster Fuller are eminent hedgehogs, how should we classify Le Corbusier? Rowe's answer, which harks back to analogous considerations of Berlin regarding Tolstoy, is that Le Corbusier would be a fox disguised as a hedgehog; or, more precisely, as an architect he is a fox, and as an urbanist he is a hedgehog, although, as Rowe adds,* "the situation of complex house - simple city seems strange *(...)" when the reverse would appear more logical.*
18) *G. GIOVANNONI,* Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova. Il quartiere del Rinascimento in Roma, *"Nuova Antologia", 1913; considerations developed systematically in IDEM,* Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova, *UTET, Turin 1931, in the chapter* L'innesto dei nuovi quartieri sul vecchio tronco, *p.184-97.*
19) *G. GRASSI,* Das Neue Frankfurt e l'architettura della nuova Francoforte, *introduction to IDEM (ed.),* Das Neue Frankfurt 1926-31, *Dedalo libri, Bari 1975, p.40.*
20) *C. ROWE observes:* "When you look at Bruno Taut in Berlin, or a place like Siemenstadt by Gropius and Scharoun, or Ernst May's beautifully planned public housing estates in Frankfurt, these are very distinguished layouts –you cannot say that modern architecture was all that bad if it produced things of this quality", *"Design Book Review", n.17, winter1989, cit.*
21) *R. GABETTI,* Sui margini di attese deluse, *in C. GIAMMARCO, A. ISOLA,* Disegnare le periferie, *La Nuova Italia Scientifica, Rome 1993, p. 205-22; the citation is on p.206. In this essay Gabetti states that he is referring to two university lectures by Guido Canella of 1980, published in: G. CANELLA,* Figura e funzione nella architettura italiana dal dopoguerra agli anni Sessanta, *"Hinterland", n. 13-14, January-June1980.*
22) Ibidem, *p. 207.*
23) Ibidem, *p. 217.*
24) *G. CANELLA,* Figura e funzione nella architettura italiana dal dopoguerra agli anni Sessanta, *cit.*
25) *R. GABETTI,* Sui margini di attese deluse, *cit., p. 222.*
26) *See G. CANELLA, A. ACUTO ET AL.,* La periferia storica nella costruzione metropolitana, *Edizioni di "Edilizia Popolare", Milan 1978.*
27) *F. PURINI,* Un nuovo statuto dell'esistente, *"Piano, Progetto, Città", bi-annual publication of the Department of Architecture and Urbanism, Università "G. D'Annunzio" of Chieti, n.14, 1994.*
28) *R.GABETTI,* Sui margini di attese deluse, *cit., p.222.*
29) *G. CANELLA,* Elogio della periferia, *in F. Rossi Prodi (ed.),* Costruire-Decostruire, *Officina, Rome 1992, p. 131.*
30) *See Anth.,* La nuova dimensione della città. La città regione, *Papers delivered at the seminar held in Stresa, 19-21 January 1962, ILSES, Milan 1962. On the "turbine model" of the Milanese Intermunicipal Plan, see P.I.M.,* Relazione illustrativa dello schema di Piano Intercomunale, *Milan, 25 July 1963, and also G. DE CARLO,* Il P.I.M., realtà e prospettive del primo schema, *"Casabella Continuità", n. 282, December 1963.*
31) *L. S. D'ANGIOLINI,* Atti del Convegno organizzato dalla Lega dei Comuni democratici della provincia di Milano sui problemi urbanistici dell'ambito regionale e intercomunale, *Milan, March 1962, in IDEM,* Alcune questioni della prassi urbanistica, *cit., p. 47. In the same contribution D'Angiolini added:* "It would be useful if the determinant investments were devoted to the creation of a regional transport network rather than an urban rail network. In my opinion, faced with this task today each particular problem of 'congestion' should be overlooked ('congestion' as defined by Astengo and De Carlo) because the inversion of the settlement trend is sufficient to counter the most disturbing aspects of metropolitan 'congestion'.
32) *For example, no trace is found in two otherwise exhaustive studies published recently: P. DI BIAGI, P. GABELLINI (ed.),* Urbanisti italiani, *Laterza, Bari 1992; G. CAMPOS VENUTI, F. OLIVA (ed.),* Cinquant'anni di urbanistica italiana 1942-92, *Laterza, Bari 1993.*
33) *L. S. D'ANGIOLINI,* Relazione introduttiva *at the recent conference organized by IReR,* Possibili scelte per i trasporti in Lombardia, *Bergamo, 7 April 1995, typewritten manuscript.*

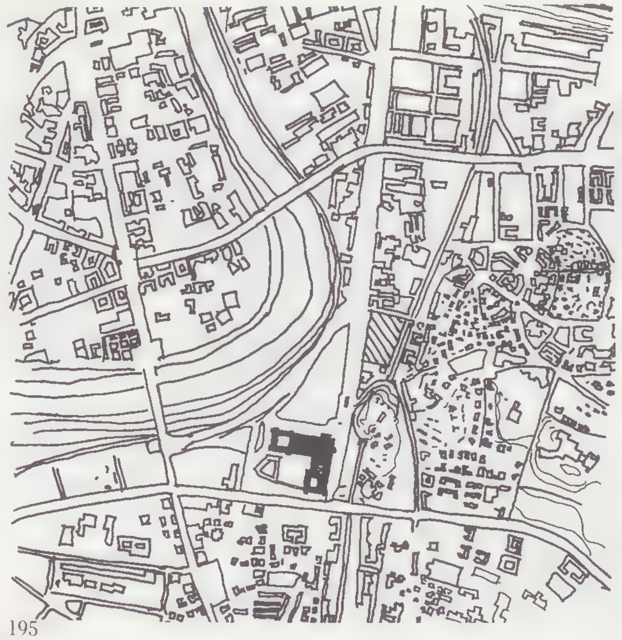


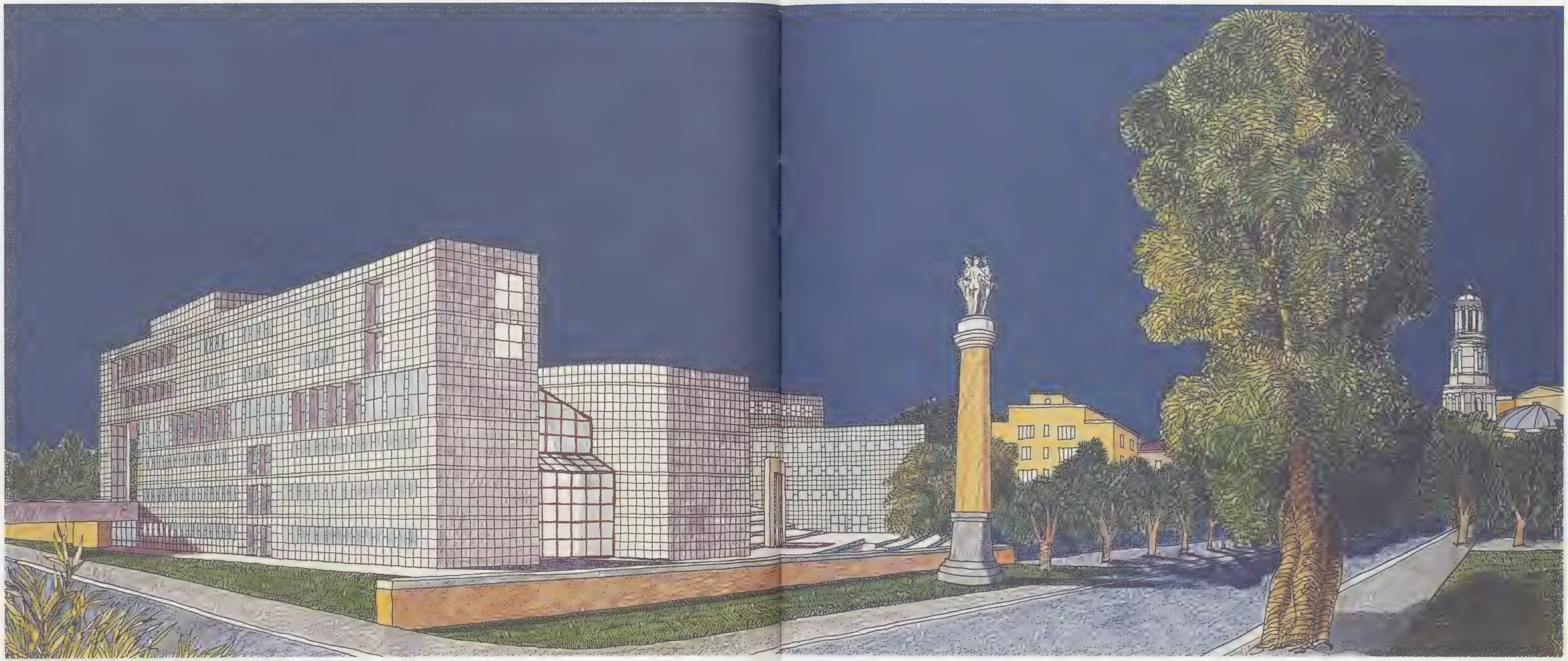
Carlo Aymonino

Complesso terziario sulla via Ostiense, Roma, Italia, 1991
Carlo Aymonino
con/with: Alessandro Iazzetti

Prospettiva da nord lungo la via Ostiense con, sul fondo, la Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura.
Localizzazione dell'area di intervento (a tratteggio) e della Basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura (in nero), sulla via Ostiense.

Perspective from the north along the Via Ostiense with, at the end, the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls.
Site of intervention (dotted line) and the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls on the Via Ostiense.



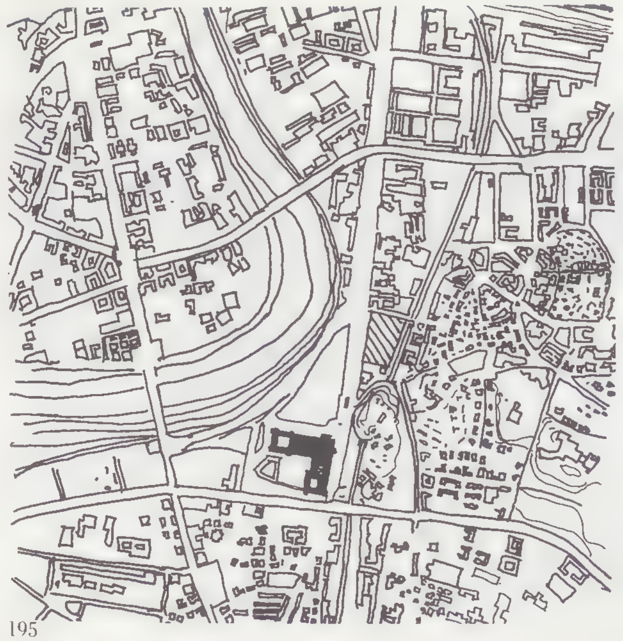


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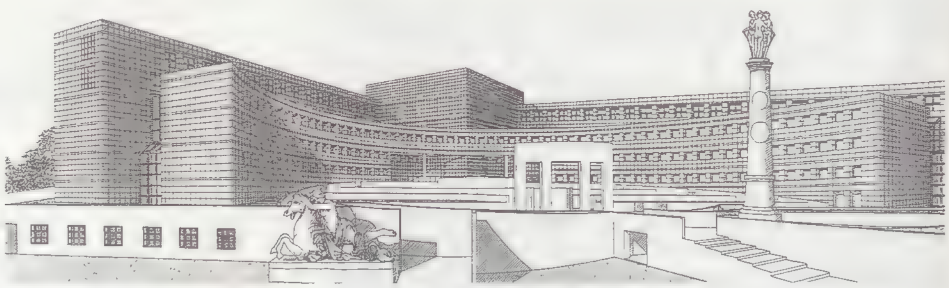


Complesso terziario sulla via Ostiense, Roma
Carlo Aymonino

La localizzazione del progetto è una tipica area di trasformabilità urbana dovuta al fenomeno delle attività produttive dismesse – in questo caso le Vetrerie Riunite Angelo Bordoni di San Paolo – e all'espandersi di destinazioni d'uso terziarie nelle zone intermedie della città.
Una caratteristica questa che, con differenti dimensioni quantitative e qualitative, sta investendo tutto il primo tratto della via Ostiense: dalla costruzione del nuovo Air Terminal alla proposta di insediamenti universitari specializzati nell'area dell'Italgas; dalla conversione di alcuni edifici dell'ACEA (azienda comunale energia e ambiente) per attività culturali o di rappresentanza, al problema importantissimo del trasferimento dei Mercati Generali.
In questo quadro tre sono state le decisioni progettuali che hanno condizionato la soluzione architettonica: 1) il mantenimento della palazzina uffici lungo la via Ostiense, sia per confermare la continuità degli allineamenti stradali sia come "testimonianza" architettonica della presenza urbana; 2) gli allineamenti del nuovo fabbricato lungo la via Rocco e lungo la ferrovia Roma-Ostia come confini edificati dell'area stessa e come accesso principale agli uffici; 3) la destinazione a giardino dell'ampia zona non edificata che si affaccia sulla via Ostiense che ha determinato l'andamento a esedra del fabbricato che vi si affaccia con gli ulteriori ingressi di rappresentanza; andamento che garantisce al maggior numero di stanze e di sale una buona esposizione, la vista degli alberi e dei prati e, nei piani superiori, il panorama della Basilica di San Paolo e del fiume Tevere.
Il progetto è pertanto riconoscibile nelle sue parti componenti – i due corpi lineari, quello in curva, il blocco centrale dei percorsi verticali e delle sale, le gallerie interne vetrate – e nello stesso tempo risulta unitario per l'uso delle coperture piane, di uno stesso materiale di rivestimento (la pietra di Assisi), di solo tre tipi di infissi esterni in acciaio brunito, le pavimentazioni esterne in cubetti di porfido.
Le due zone degli ingressi – su strada e su giardino – sono scavate nell'involucro d'insieme a sottolineare con grandi zone d'ombra il passaggio tra esterno e interno, mentre i percorsi interni delle due gallerie sono chiaramente definiti ai loro estremi da ampie vetrate. Si è avuta infine particolare cura nella progettazione del giardino per il ruolo architettonico che gli è stato attribuito: sia nelle sistemazioni artificiali – percorsi, scale, illuminazione, ecc. – sia in quelle naturali caratterizzate dalla concentrazione di pochi alberi ad alto fusto nell'insieme di prato, cespugli e fiori.

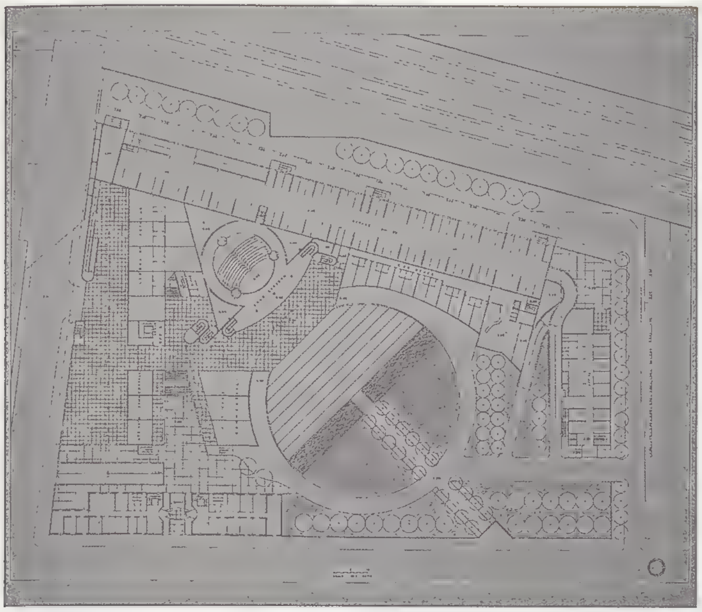
Private Services Building, Via Ostiense, Rome
Carlo Aymonino

The project is sited in an area of typical urban transformation brought about by the closure of factories (in this case) and the expansion of service industries in intermediate areas of the city. To varying degrees and in a variety of ways, this process is now affecting the whole initial stretch of the Via Ostiense: the building of the new Air Terminal, the proposal for specialised university buildings in the Italgas area, the conversion of a number of ACEA buildings for cultural and ceremonial use, and the crucial issue of where to resite the general markets.
In these circumstances, three major project decisions were responsible for the final architectural design:
1) the small office building flanking Via Ostiense was kept to maintain the continuity of the street fronts, and as an architectural "statement" of urban presence;
2) the fronts of the new building on Via Rocco and along the Rome-Ostia railway line were designed to mark the construction boundaries of the area itself and to accommodate the main staff entrances to the offices.
3) conversion into garden of the large unbuilt area along the Via Ostiense, which generated the curve of the other new building that faces it with further visitor entrances; this layout ensures that as many rooms as possible are exposed to the sun, and provides views of the trees and lawns and, from the upper floors, the Basilica of St. Paul and the River Tiber.
Thus, the project consists of recognisable component parts – the two linear buildings, the curved building, the central block of lifts, stairs and rooms, the glazed internal galleries – but is also unified by flat roofs, uniform cladding (Assisi stone), only three types of burnished steel outside window frame, and small porphyry cube outdoor paving. The two entrance areas (from the road and the garden) are carved from the overall shell, creating large expanses of shadow to highlight the shift from exterior to interior, and the internal corridors of the two galleries are clearly marked at either end by large windows. Special care was taken over the design of the garden, in view of the architectural role it would have to perform. The result is a mixture of artificial furnishings – paths, steps, lighting, etc. – and natural features like clumps of tall trees and lawns with bushes and flowers.

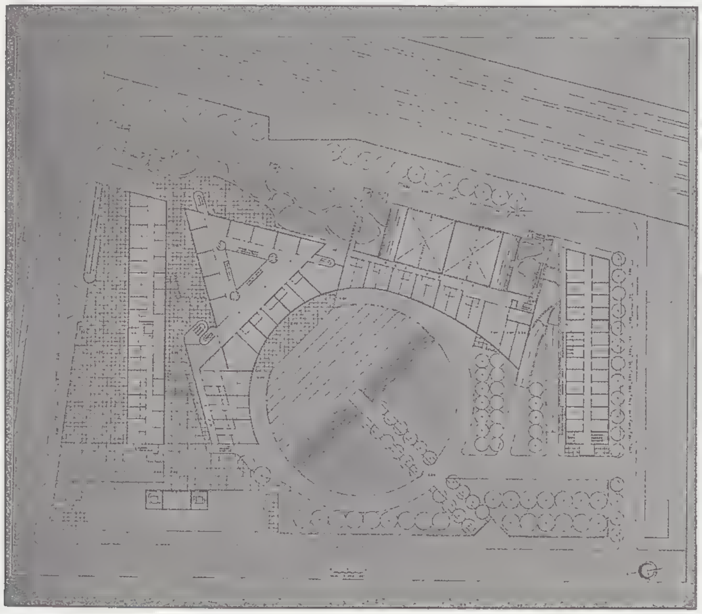


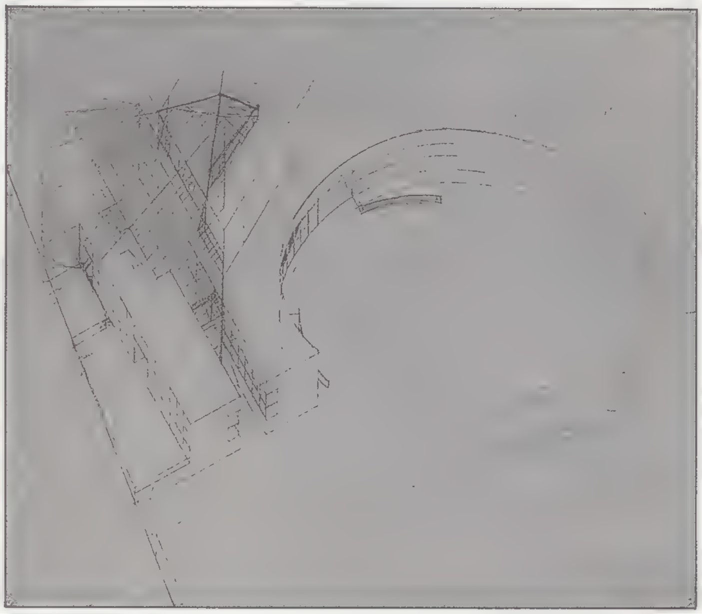
Piante dei piani terreno, primo (ingressi), tipo e assonometria di studio della prima soluzione. Prospettiva da sudovest della soluzione definitiva e disegni di studio del fronte interno e della sezione sulla galleria.

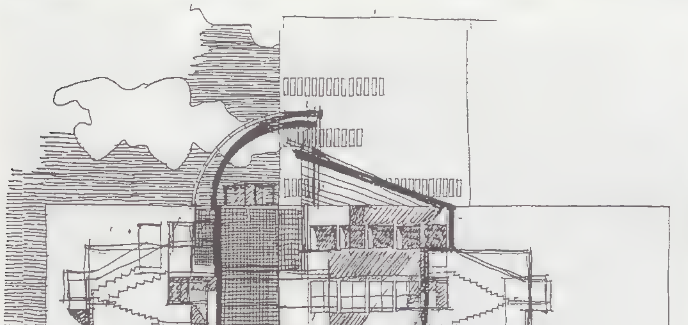
Plans of ground floor, first floor (entrances), standard plan and study axonometric of initial design.
Perspective from the south-west of the final design and study drawings of the internal front and the section on the gallery.



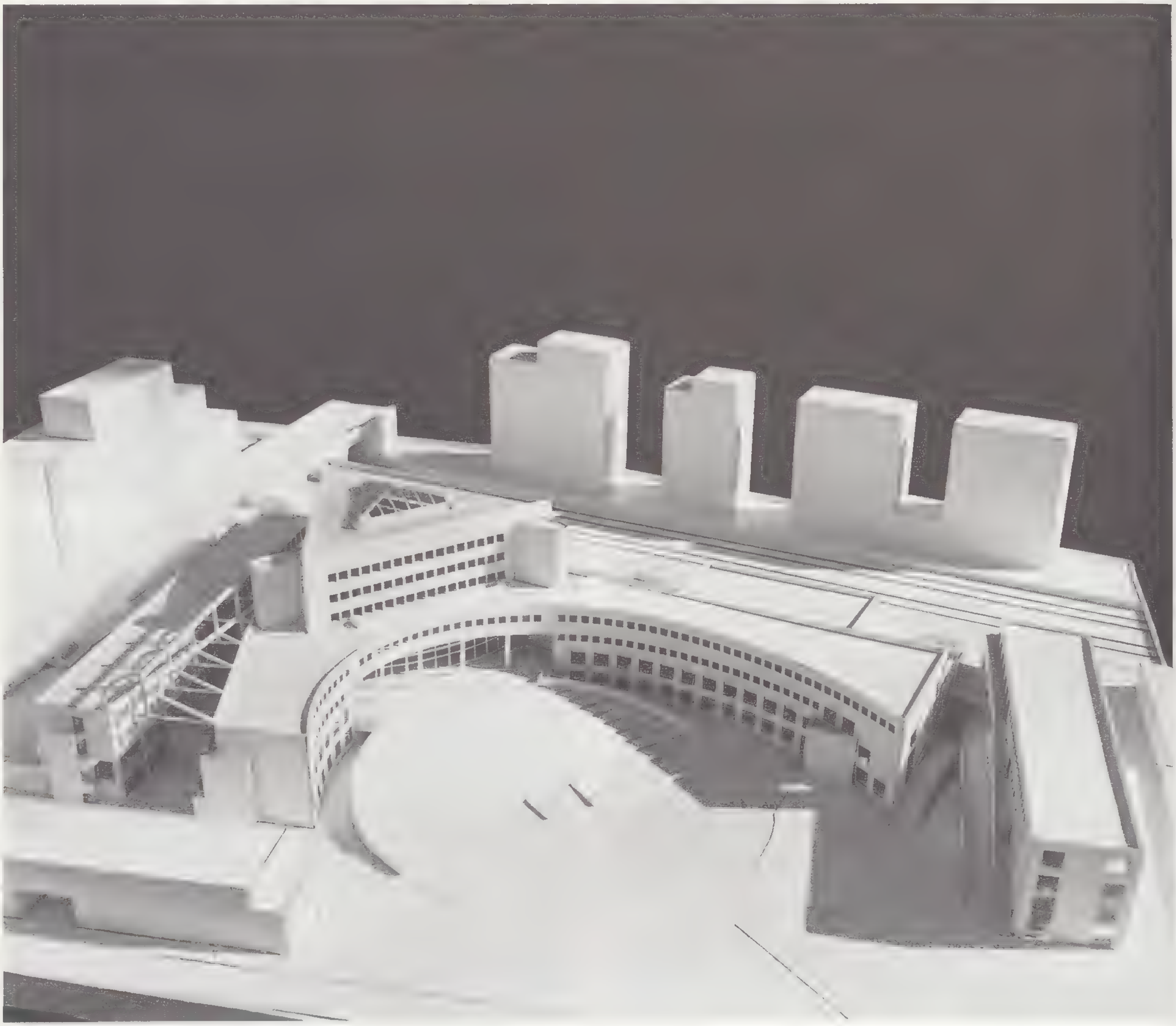






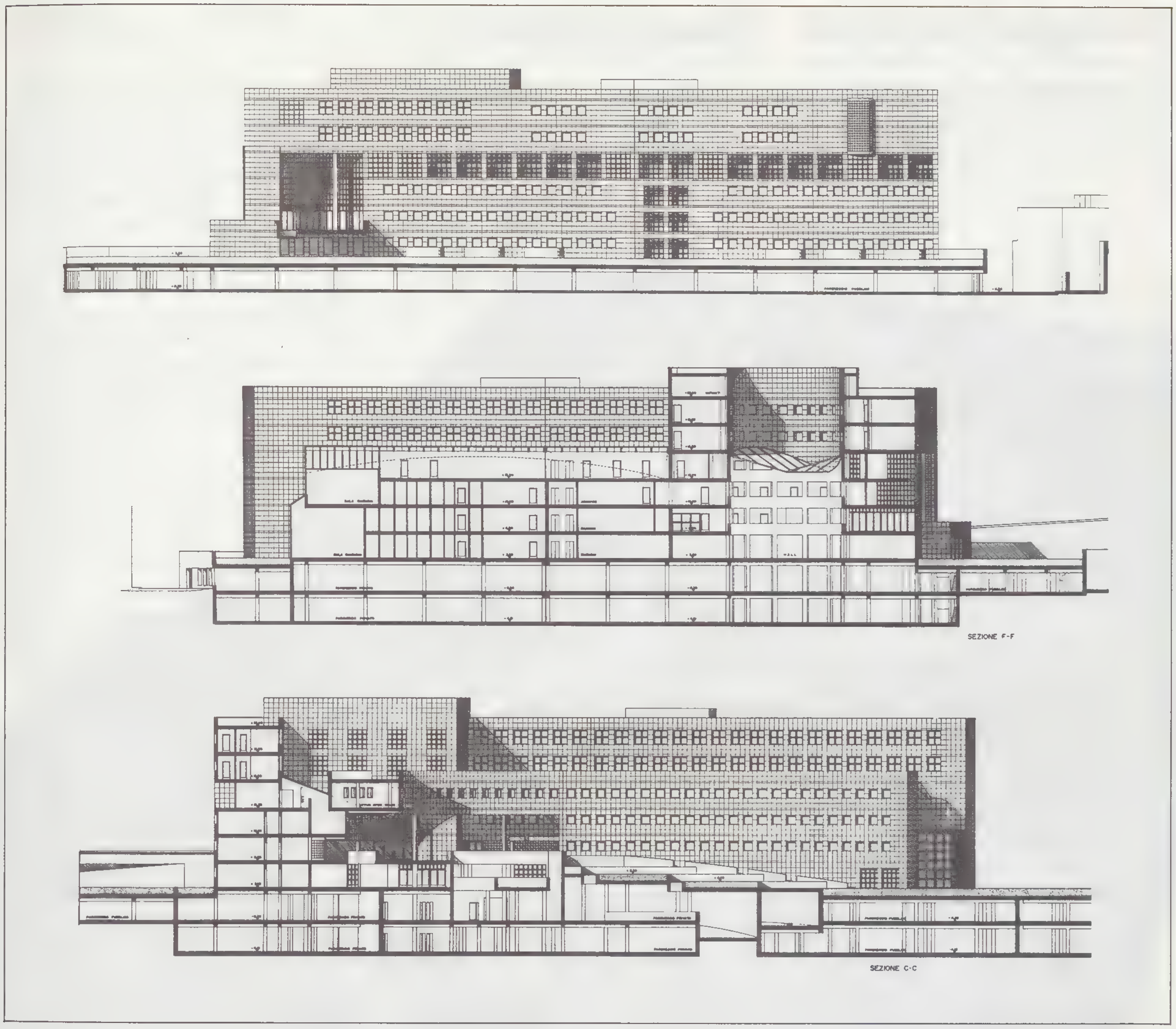

S. Paolo / Galleria 5/XII/89

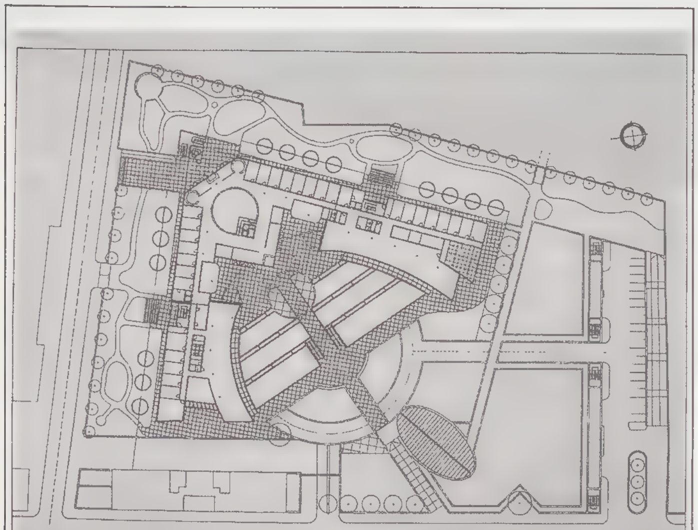

galleria
albergo/?
buchi del parking
travertino
peperino
colori



Viste del modello della prima soluzione da sudovest e da sudest.
Prospetto est, sezioni verso nord e verso est e pianta del primo piano della soluzione definitiva.



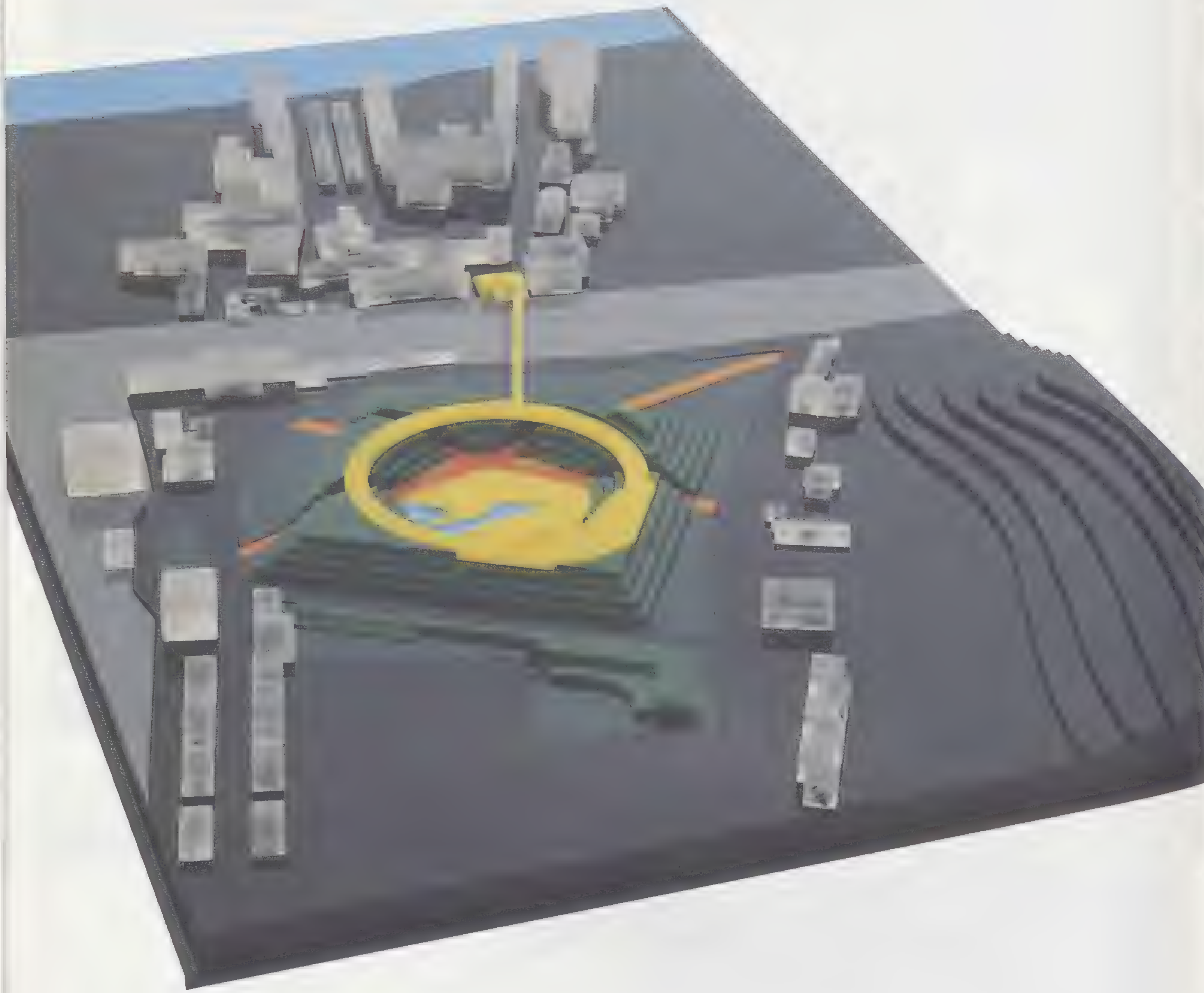




Views of the model of the initial design from the south-west and south-east.
East elevation, sections to the north and east and first-floor plan in the final design.

Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

Piazza-giardino a Catanzaro Lido, Italia, 1992
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola



Vista del modello.

View of model.

Piazza-giardino a Catanzaro-Lido
Roberto Gabetti e Aimaro Isola

L'idea del giardino come "episodio" urbano ha avuto un ruolo fondamentale nell'impostazione di questo progetto. Si è pensato infatti di creare con questa piazza-giardino un polo focale della città, capace di riunire in sé nuove strutture turistico-culturali e di promuovere occasioni di comunicazione tra la piazza, il nodo ferroviario e il Lido. Una passerella pedonale, soprastante i binari della ferrovia, permetterà l'"allacciamento" della piastra-giardino con il quartiere del lungomare; questa passerella costituisce infatti una sorta di asse visuale, di "cannocchiale visivo", diretto verso il mare, quale prolungamento della strada che dalla chiesa porta al mare.
L'intervento prevede una piastra quadrata, sopraelevata formata da terrazzamenti che degradano, all'esterno, fino al livello della strada; mentre all'interno seguono un andamento circolare che segna una grande piazza, un'arena. Intagliato nei gradoni, in un angolo della piazza che guarda verso il mare, è disposto un teatro all'aperto, per spettacoli e manifestazioni; posto lì per evidenziare la vocazione culturale di quest'area, riprendendo forma e proporzioni del vicino teatro romano di Scolacium. Dentro la piastra, scavati all'interno dei gradoni, si collocano le altre attività previste: al piano terreno la sala "multimediale", le salette, il laboratorio di restauro, l'acquario, la sala da thé, l'agenzia turistica, ecc., al piano superiore l'accademia musicale ed altre attività terziarie.
Scale, rampe ed ascensori collegano i diversi livelli secondo i quali è articolato il progetto, segnato del resto da caratteri di grande flessibilità. Le specifiche destinazioni così come l'organizzazione delle infrastrutture da "scavare" nella piazza, dovranno soprattutto renderla luogo vivo, movimentato, allegro e, di conseguenza, "bello".
I percorsi sono costituiti all'interno da una sorta di "galleria" sui cui lati si affacciano le diverse attività; in superficie invece sono affidati ad un anello sopraelevato, una passeggiata che segue in alto l'andamento circolare della piazza. Quest'ultima è "tagliata" da due viali alberati pedonali che permettono percorsi diretti di attraversamento: l'uno focalizzato in direzione della stazione ferroviaria, l'altro delle autolinee e dei parcheggi.
Dall'esterno così come dall'interno si accede alla piastra superiore attraverso rampe che si adagiano sui terrazzamenti di questa grande "motta" verde, di questo giardino a gradoni, che con il suo "belvedere", il laghetto, i viali alberati, riporta memorie antiche: quando il giardino era luogo privilegiato, dove l'uomo cercava un più stretto ed intimo legame con la natura.
Prosegue il "segno" forte di questa architettura verde, di questo giardino costruito, la lunga "ripa" a nord, separata dalla piazza dalla Strada Nuova, su cui si affaccia l'ostello della gioventù: questo insediamento sembra adatto a valorizzarne la vocazione turistico-culturale e ad utilizzare le infrastrutture presenti. La sua forma segna l'andamento dei gradoni esterni della piazza antistante, verso sud. Potremmo dunque parlare del complesso come architettura verde, di giardino inteso come "*topos*" urbano, o meglio ancora come "*locus amoenus*", riportandoci così alla stessa tradizione classica greco-romana in cui questa zona affonda le sue più autentiche radici culturali.

Piazza-garden in Catanzaro-Lido
Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola

The notion of the garden as an urban "episode" was fundamental to the development of this project. Our idea was to make this garden piazza a focal point in the town that would attract new tourist and cultural amenities and improve communication between the piazza, the railway station and the Lido. A pedestrian walkway spanning the tracks will link the garden piazza to the seafront, creating a sort of virtual axis or "visual telescope" pointed towards the sea as a continuation of the road that leads to the sea from the church.
The square, raised piazza consists of tiers that on the outside descend in steps to the road, and on the inside form a large, circular, tiered arena. Cut into the tiers in a corner of the piazza facing the sea is an open-air theatre for entertainments and shows, situated here to emphasise the cultural vocation of the area in its repetitions of the proportions and shape of the nearby Roman theatre of Scolacium.
The other amenities specified by the brief are housed in the tiers inside the square: at ground level, the multimedia hall, small meeting rooms, restoration laboratories, aquarium, tea-room, tour agency, etc.; on the upper level, the musical academy and other services.
Stairs, ramps and a lift link the various levels of the design, which is a highly flexible one. The specific uses as well as organisation of the infrastructures that will be "dug" out of the piazza should make it a bussling, lively, cheerful place, and so bello.
The circulation routes are a sort of "gallery" flanked by the various amenities inside the piazza, and a raised circular walkway running round the rim, "cut" by two tree-lined pedestrian avenues providing direct routes across the piazza towards the railway station, and the bus station and car parks respectively.
From both the inside and the outside, access to the raised piazza is by ramps laid across the tiers of the large grass "mound" of the stepped garden, whose belevedere, pool and avenues evoke earlier ages when gardens were privileged places and people went to them to be alone with, and closer to nature.
The distinctive green architecture of this constructed garden continues in the long "bank" to the north separated from the piazza by the Strada Nuova, where the youth hostel is sited. The hostel enhances the tourist and cultural vocation of the place and provides users for the amenities in the piazza. Its shape repeats the rhythm of the outer tiers of the piazza behind it to the south.
So the complex as a whole could be regarded as green architecture, as a garden designed to be an urban topos, *or rather,* locus amœnus *taking us back to the classical Greek and Roman tradition in which this area has its most authentic cultural roots.*





Assonometria, sezioni, pianta delle coperture e pianta del piano terreno.

Axonometric, sections, plans of the roofs and plan of the ground-floor.


PLANIMETRIA - SEZIONI


PIANTA PIANO TERRA

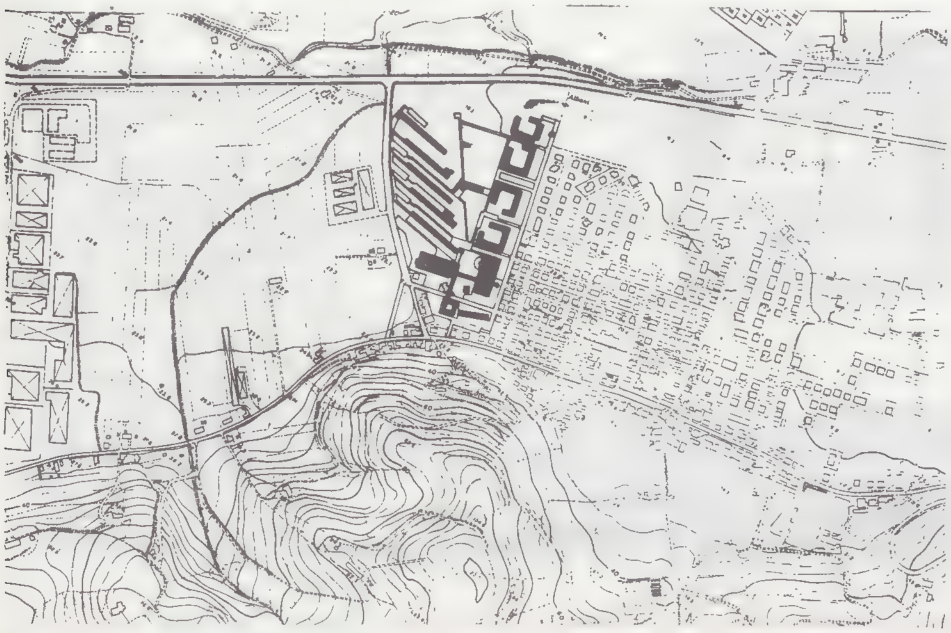


Raffaele Panella

Nuovo Centro Polifunzionale di Villa Fastiggi, Pesaro, Italia, 1984-90
Raffaele Panella
con/with: Franco Ruggeri, Giuseppe Indovina

Il nuovo centro di Villa Fastiggi a Pesaro
Raffaele Panella

Il nuovo centro di Villa Fastiggi rientra in una strategia di riqualificazione delle periferie moderne della città di Pesaro, messa a punto nella seconda metà degli anni Settanta dalla Amministrazione comunale nel contesto di una riflessione critica sui caratteri e le distorsioni del tumultuoso sviluppo urbanistico degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta. È un momento magico, forse irripetibile, nel quale la sinistra guidata da uomini nuovi aperti ai fermenti della società, primo fra tutti Marcello Stefanini, il grande Sindaco di Pesaro recentemente scomparso, parla il linguaggio della qualità e della progettualità nella gestione urbanistica, nella gestione dei beni culturali e dell'ambiente, nella comunicazione. Il nuovo centro di Villa Fastiggi nasce in questo contesto. Esso a quindici anni di distanza è ancora incompleto, segno evidente di un rallentamento in questi anni del disegno di riequilibrio e del dirottamento su altre opere di più forte "immagine" dell'interesse locale.
La strategia della riqualificazione alla quale ci riferiamo poggia, oltre che su una robusta rete di trasporti, sulla formazione di nuove centralità in grado di bilanciare la forte polarizzazione esercitata dal centro-città. Tale strategia viene ulteriormente rafforzata da un programma di edilizia residenziale pubblica (i quattro blocchi edilizi a corte orientati come i piccoli lotti delle case operaie, verso il centro di Pesaro; sul lato opposto, le cinque case in linea orientate sull'asse nord-sud per consentire l'uso di dispositivi per il risparmio energetico) con compiti anche di ricucitura di un insediamento estremamente rarefatto di casette operaie, posto ai margini di una grande area industriale artigianale. I nuovi edifici delimitano al loro interno un'area triangolare che viene riservata ad un parco e al nuovo centro.
Sul piano funzionale il programma iniziale prevede l'insediamento di un complesso scolastico (scuola elementare di 10 e scuola media di 18 aule), di attrezzature per lo sport all'aperto e al coperto (una grande palestra aperta alla città), della "casa della città", che sarà integrata da un edificio destinato ad attrezzature civiche e al distretto sanitario del settore occidentale di Pesaro. Completa il programma funzionale una schiera di otto laboratori artigiani. Il tutto ruoterà attorno alla nuova Piazza Civica.
Il progetto generale del nuovo centro viene approvato nel 1983. Quattro anni dopo incominciano i lavori della scuola media (l'attuale Scuola Galileo Galilei) e della palestra, che saranno completati nel 1990.
In questo stesso anno va in appalto, ma con esiti negativi, la "casa della città" e il resto delle attrezzature civiche. Sul finire degli anni Ottanta, vengono annullati la scuola elementare e il distretto sanitario per ragioni demografiche e normative; ma le strutture residue sono in grado di riprodurre le linee fondamentali della morfologia del progetto originario.
L'architettura del nuovo centro di Villa Fastiggi si costruisce sulla metafora della fondazione/rifondazione della città. La scelta del punto sul quale nasceranno la Piazza Civica e la "casa della città' (che poi è il vertice del triangolo del parco), e le due direttrici virtuali ortogonali che lo situano nello spazio, rinviano ad un atto fondativo di una città nuova. La metafora si spinge anche più in là, nel senso che è come se avessero visto la luce nel corso di un ipotetico scavo le tracce di un antico decumano, e avessero suggerito di allinearvi gli edifici principali: la scuola e la palestra sul decumano, le attrezzature civiche sul cardo.
Rivelata la metafora fondativa, non sorprenderà che il corpo della scuola sia in realtà una vera e propria strada fatta di case (le case come metafora dei vari ambienti che compongono la scuola: sul fronte nord le aule per la didattica ordinaria, sul fronte sud quelle per la didattica speciale). Disciplinati come da un Regolamento Edilizio, tutti i fronti delle aule per la didattica ordinaria hanno grandi finestre di vetrocemento ai lati dell'ingresso che "guardano" sullo spazio collettivo. Sul fronte opposto i fronti sono segnati da grandi volumi sospesi su cilindri di vetrocemento. Colonne d'acciaio verniciate di blu, da un lato, e grandi finestroni sull'altro, caratterizzano i fronti opposti al primo piano.
Insomma, la scrittura architettonica inizia proprio dal disegno dei fronti degli ambienti modulari che si affacciano sulla strada interna. Essi sono i veri e propri "prospetti" del nuovo centro. La ripetizione del modulo-casa viene interrotta solo a metà del corpo edilizio con l'interposizione di un ambiente absidato gradonato, l'aula magna, la cui eccezionalità e unicità viene sottolineata dalla rotazione dell'asse di 45° rispetto all'asse della strada interna. E rafforzata dai colori giallo, blu e nero, in un contesto assolutamente bianco nel quale solo il colore degli infissi ha cittadinanza (gialli sono gli infissi delle aule per la didattica ordinaria, verdi quelli delle aule speciali).
Il ballatoio che serve il secondo livello delle aule fuoriesce dal corpo della scuola e raggiunge la palestra. I due corpi vengono unificati al colmo da una copertura a tetto a sezione triangolare (a falda unica), lunga m 150 e rivolta a sud. Essa è costituita da un grande traliccio in acciaio che sostiene una vela blu, in lamierino, che rimane in vista sul portico e sul fronte della palestra. Dalla Piazza Civica, oltre alle capriate coloratissime della vela messe a nudo, si scopre anche che le finestrine del ballatoio non corrispondono ad un vano chiuso, come se il nuovo quartiere fosse un'unica grande "stanza" che si affaccia sulla scena del vecchio quartiere dalla parete del ballatoio.



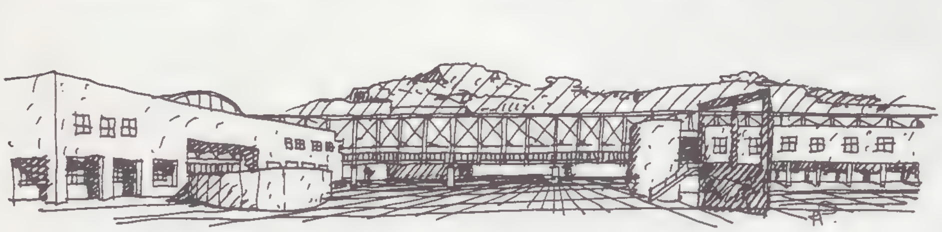
Vista del corpo di collegamento tra la palestra (in primo piano) e la scuola media (sul fondo). Planimetria generale.

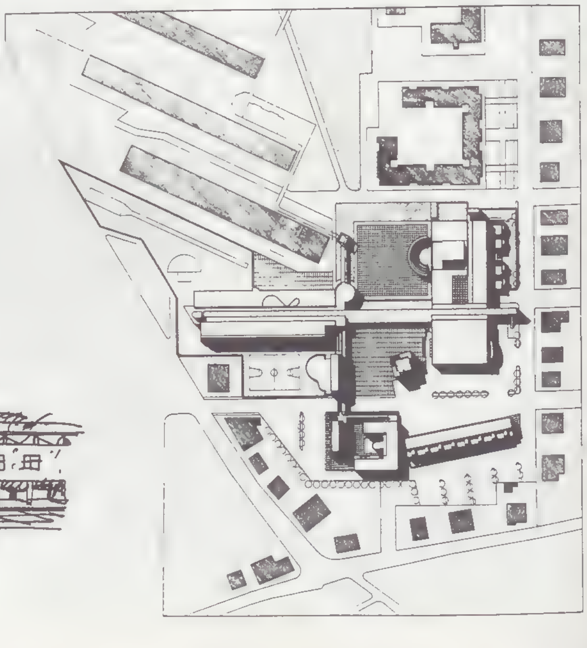
View of link building between the gym (foreground) and junior high school (background). General plan.

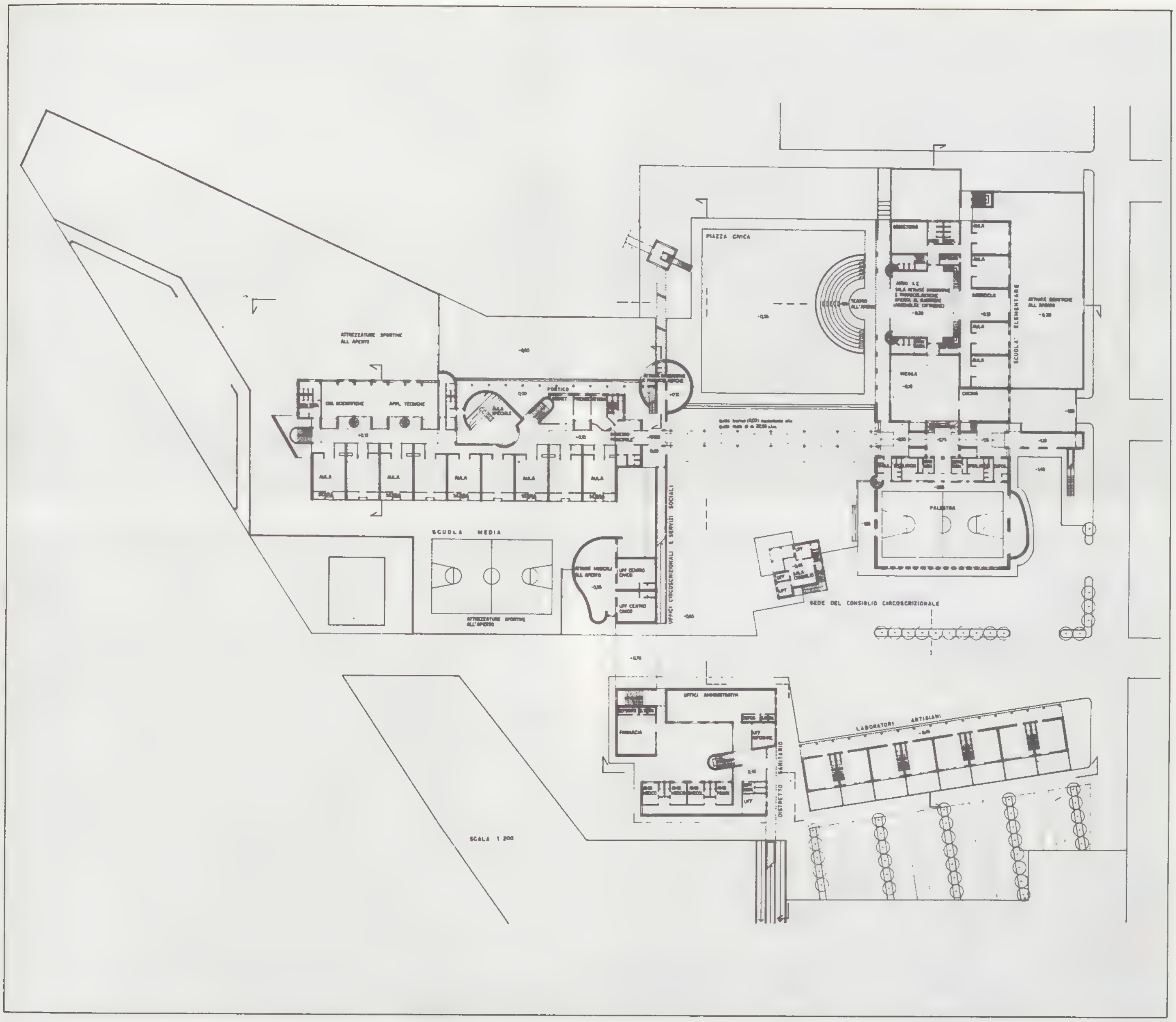
New Villa Fastiggi Centre, Pesaro
Raffaele Panella

The new Villa Fastiggi Centre is a part of a scheme to rehabilitate the modern suburbs of Pesaro. The scheme dates from the 1970s, when local government began to take stock of the consequences (not always positive) of the city's mushrooming urban development in the 1950s and 1960s. This was a magic, perhaps unique political moment when the Left – led by new men sensitive to social issues, including first and foremost Marcello Stefanini, Pesaro's remarkable mayor, who died only recently – talked the language of quality and serious planning in the political management of town planning, heritage and the arts, the environment and communications. The new centre was conceived in this period. Fifteen years on it is still unfinished, an obvious sign that the process of urban rehabilitation is slowing down, and that funds are being diverted to public works likely to promote a more newsworthy local image.
The rehabilitation scheme is based on a solid transport network and the creation of new suburban centres to offset the powerful attraction of the city centre. The process of decentralisation is further reinforced by a public residential building programme (towards the centre, four courtyard blocks oriented like the small lots of worker cottages; on the opposite side, a line of five buildings oriented along the north-south axis to permit the use of energy-saving technology) that also serves to stitch together an extremely low-density build of worker houses bordering on a large area of artisan workshops and factories. The new buildings delimit a triangular internal area to accommodate a park and the new centre.
In functional terms, the initial programme includes a school complex (a 10-classroom primary school and 18-classroom secondary school), indoor and outdoor sports facilities (a large gym open to the city) and "City House", which will be supplemented by a civic services building and the health centre for west Pesaro. There will also be a row of eight artisan workshops. The whole design will revolve around the new Piazza Civica.
The general project for the new centre was approved in 1983, and work began four years later on the secondary school (now the Galileo Galilei School) and the gymnasium, which were completed in 1990. In the same year the "City House" and other civic services were put up for contract, but nothing came of the move. By the late 1980s the primary school and health centre had been discontinued for demographic and legislative reasons, although the residual structures give a basic idea of what the original project morphology was like.
The architecture of the new Villa Fastiggi Centre is based on the metaphor of founding/refounding the city. The choice of site where the Piazza Civica and "City House" will be built (the apex of the park triangle), and the two virtual orthogonal lines that pinpoint it, evoke the founding of a new city. However, the metaphor goes further than this, in the sense that it is as if the traces of an ancient decumanus have come to light during an imaginary dig, suggesting how the main buildings should be aligned: the school and gymnasium on the decumanus, the civic services on the cardo.
In terms of this metaphor, it is not surprising that the school building is in fact a street of houses (houses as a metaphor of the various environments that make up the school: on the north front, the classrooms for ordinary teaching; on the south front, those for special teaching). Uniform as if in some General Development Plan, all the fronts of the ordinary classrooms have large glass block windows, on either side of the entrance, that "watch over" the collective space. On the opposite fronts there are large volumes suspended on glass block cylinders. The opposing first-floor fronts have blue painted steel columns on one side, and large windows on the other.
So the architectural design begins with the fronts of the house modules flanking the internal street, the true "elevations" of the new centre.
The repetition of house modules is interrupted only half way up the building by an interposed main hall with apse and tiers, rendered unique and unusual (in context) by the fact that it is rotated 45° to the internal street axis.
Another visual emphasiser is colour: yellow, blue and black in an all-white context where only the colour of the fixtures (yellow in the ordinary classrooms, green in the special classrooms) make the buildings recognisably a part of the city.
The first-floor classroom balcony extends from the school building to reach the gymnasium, where it provides direct access to the spectator tiers. The two buildings are also joined by a triangular-section (single pitch) south-facing roof 150 metres long consisting of a large steel trellis supporting a blue sheet-metal sail structure that remains visible on the porch and front of the gymnasium. Inside the school it is covered with polycarbonate panels. In Piazza Civica, an observer discovers not only the brightly-coloured exposed tie-beams of the sail, but also the fact that the balcony windows do not correspond to an empty room, as if the new quarter were one big "room" looking towards the old quarter from the balcony wall.

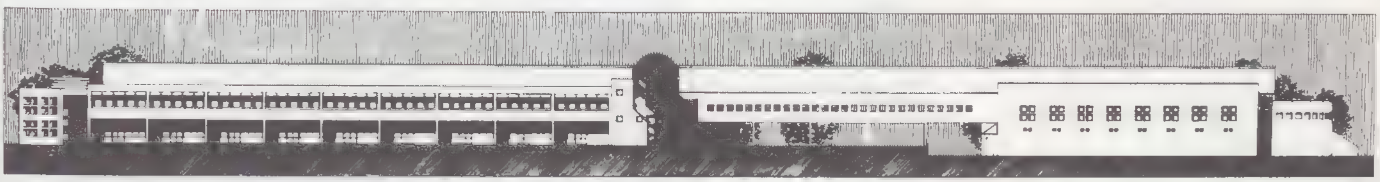








PIAZZA CIVICA
TEATRO ALL'APERTO
SCUOLA ELEMENTARE
AULA
MENSA
CUCINA
PALESTRA
PORTICO
AULA SPECIALE
APPL. TECNICHE
SCUOLA MEDIA
ATTREZZATURE SPORTIVE ALL'APERTO
UFF CENTRO CIVICO
UFFICI CIRCOSCRIZIONALI E SERVIZI SOCIALI
SEDE DEL CONSIGLIO CIRCOSCRIZIONALE
SALA CONSIGLIO
UFFICI AMMINISTRATIVI
FARMACIA
DISTRETTO SANITARIO
LABORATORI ARTIGIANI
SCALA 1:200













Viste esterne e vista interna della scuola media.

Nelle pagine precedenti:
disegno di studio della sede del consiglio circoscrizionale ("casa della città") e della palestra visti dal portico dei laboratori artigiani; disegno di studio della piazza civica.
Planivolumetria generale.
Pianta generale del piano terreno.
Prospetti longitudinali degli edifici realizzati (palestra e scuola media).

External views and internal view of the junior high school.

Previous pages:
study drawing of the local council headquarters ("city house") and of the gymnasium seen from the balcony of the artisans' workshops; study drawing of the civic square.
General volumetric plan.
General plan of ground floor.
Longitudinal elevations of constructed buildings (gym and junior high school).







Gian Franco Di Pietro

Quartiere cooperativo a Compiobbi, Fiesole, Firenze, Italia, 1989-91
Gian Franco Di Pietro
con/with: Danilo Dei e Paolo Vannini (Studio di progettazione cooperativo UTCOP-Firenze)

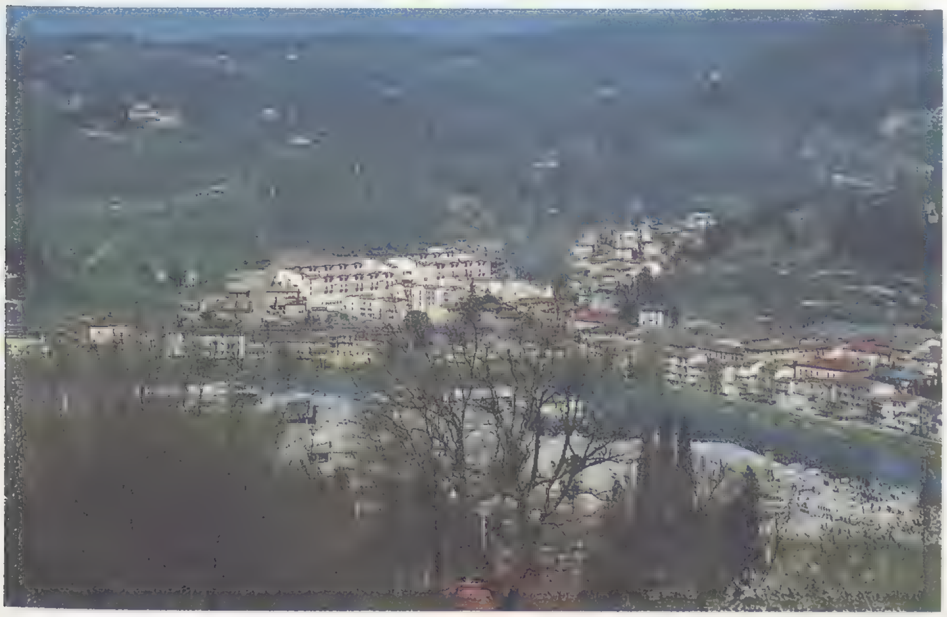


Quartiere cooperativo a Compiobbi, Fiesole, Firenze
Gian Franco Di Pietro

Gli esiti positivi e le potenzialità dell'operazione Compiobbi prendono le mosse da tre scelte intelligenti dell'amministrazione comunale di Fiesole: la riduzione dell'area per l'edilizia economica e popolare di Compiobbi, lo spostamento a valle delle quantità residue, fino a occupare una piccola area piana di fondovalle lungo il Sambre, la decisione di affidare, per mezzo di un concorso e attraverso la redazione di un piano-progetto unitario, a una sola cooperativa di abitazione la realizzazione complessiva del quartiere.
La decisione di ridurre il Peep (Piano di edilizia economica popolare) attiene al diverso orizzonte culturale che si è venuto a creare intorno all'opposizione tra piani di sviluppo e piani di contenimento e trasformazione, così come all'opportunità di risparmiare il territorio agricolo e di salvaguardare la qualità ambientale; la seconda decisione, lo spostamento a valle, riguarda la nuova e maggiore attenzione intorno ai nessi morfologici che devono intercorrere tra il tessuto esistente e le quote necessarie di sviluppo edilizio, e nasce dal riconoscimento dei limiti dei Peep realizzati, intesi come entità autonome di carattere periferico, talora coerenti al proprio interno ma segnate negativamente dalla presenza di cesure fisiche e sociali, come realtà separate rispetto al contesto urbano; la terza decisione, di costituire un unico interlocutore e di promuovere un progetto unitario, nasce dai bilanci fallimentari, ormai inevitabili, intorno alle qualità urbane e ambientali realizzate concretamente dai Peep. Così che si può ormai affermare che i Peep, attesi nei primi anni Sessanta ed elaborati da urbanisti e amministrazioni comunali come grande strumento innovativo per la costruzione della città e come operazione antagonista ai modi della produzione periferica propri della speculazione edilizia, si differenziano da questi solo per aspetti quantitativi (i costi di accesso alla casa e, talvolta, la dotazione di servizi), il che non è poco, certamente, ma non può più essere considerato sufficiente.
L'unitarietà del quartiere è stata perseguita rinunciando all'uso degli spazi aperti e del verde, puntando a costituire un insieme coerente integralmente costruito: l'idea base è stata quella di realizzare come un piccolo centro storico compatto che, in quanto tale, si rapporta, nei modi della città tradizionale, al paesaggio agrario collinare circostante.
I dispositivi di aggregazione sono costituiti da una piazza e da una strada pedonali, orientati ortogonalmente e secondo un asse di simmetria sul quale si dispongono altri elementi collettivi a formare un sistema di centralità di carattere lineare dal fiume alla collina.

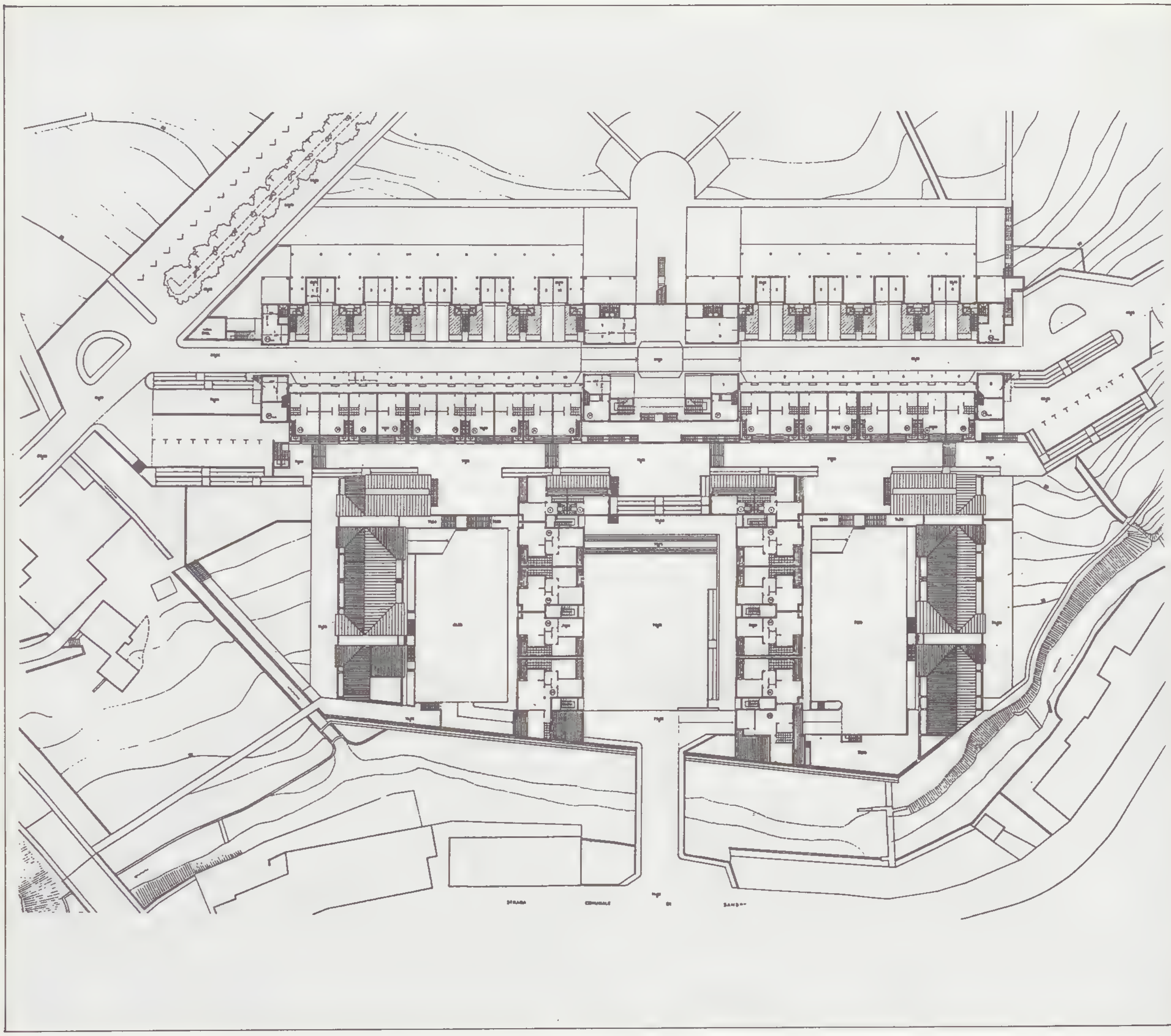
Compiobbi Housing Cooperative Quarter, Fiesole, Florence
Gian Franco Di Pietro

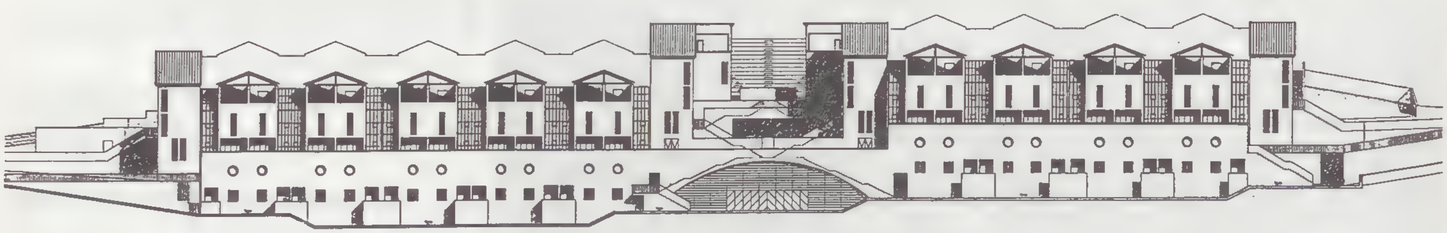
The positive outcome and suggestive potential of the Compiobbi project are the result of three intelligent decisions taken by the municipality of Fiesole. The first was to reduce the size of the Compiobbi social housing quarter; the second was to site excluded buildings downhill on a small flat site in the bottom of the Sambre Valley; and the third was to hold a competition and draw up a unified development plan so that the building of the new quarter could be made the responsibility of a single housing cooperative.
The decision to reduce the size of the quarter reflected cultural changes generated by the opposition between development planning on the one hand, and containment and conversion planning on the other, and the need to preserve agricultural land and safeguard the environment. The decision to move some buildings downhill reflects new and increased concern for the morphological links that should connect the existing fabric to the necessary amount of new build, and was motivated by recognition of the limitations of social housing complexes that have already been built. These complexes are autonomous suburban entities in their own right, sometimes coherent internally but socially and physically cut off from the rest of the town like communities apart. The decision to create a single cooperative and draw up a unified plan was motivated by the inevitably poor environmental and urban standard of social housing complexes built to date. It now seems clear that these complexes, heralded in the early 1960s and developed by town-planners and municipal councils as a new and significant way to build towns and counteract the negative effects of suburban land and property speculation, are different from "traditional" suburban build only in certain quantitative ways (rent or purchase cost, installations and specifications, etc.), which is already something, but unfortunately not enough to justify going on building them.
Some features of the project are worth mentioning here. First, the quarter forms a single, unified entity. This was achieved by eliminating open and green space and opting instead for coherent, fully constructed design. The basic concept was that of a small historical centre that relates like traditional towns to the hilly agricultural landscape all around.
Social aggregation is provided by a piazza and a pedestrian street on a straight symmetrical axis, flanked by other communal amenities and buildings, running from the river to the hill.

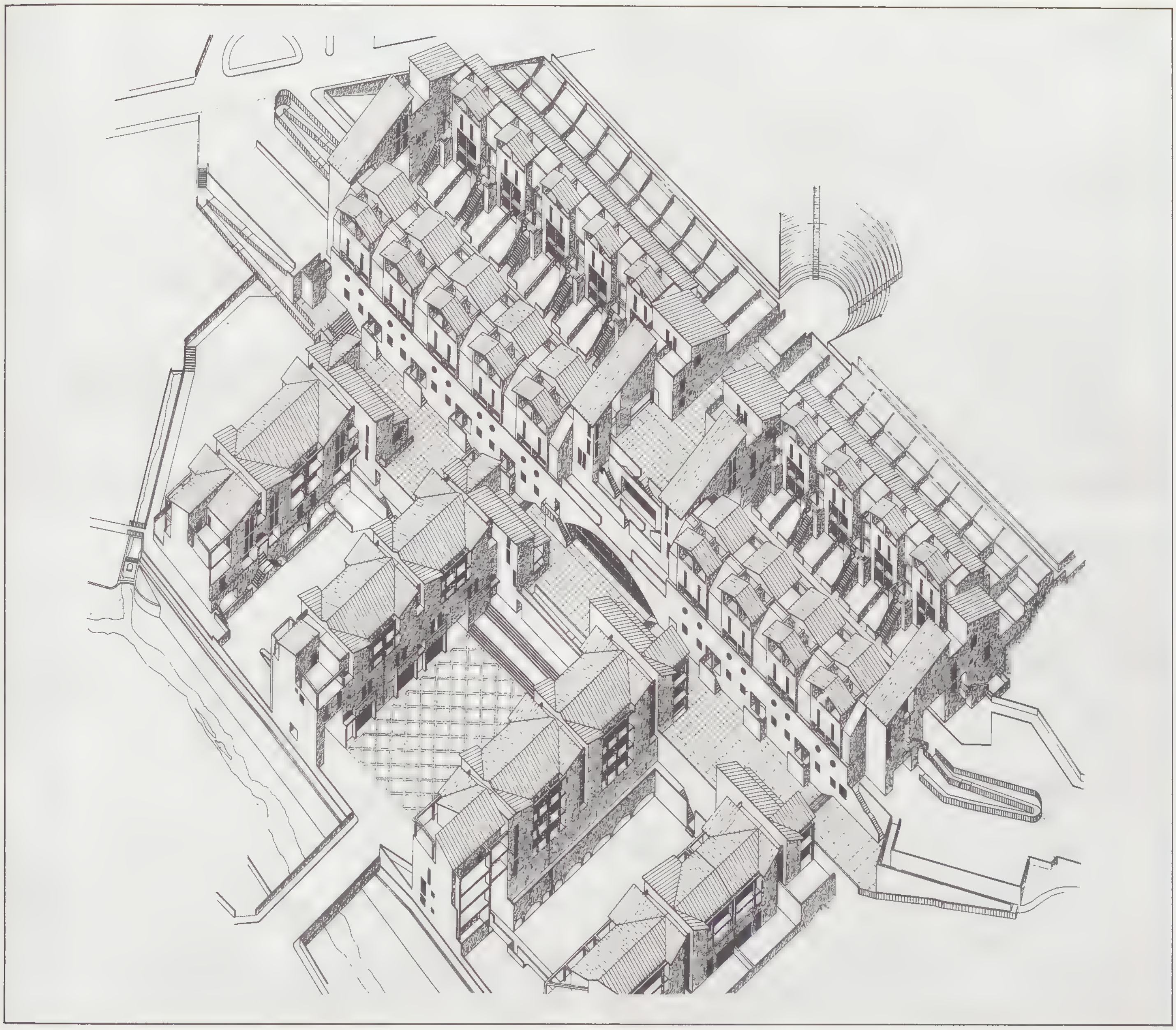


Viste e planimetria generale.

General views and general plan.







Pianta del terzo livello, alla quota di ingresso delle case a schiera a monte.
Prospetto est sul percorso pedonale alla quota intermedia.
Assonometria generale.

Plan of third level corresponding to the entrance to the terraced houses higher up.
East elevation on the pedestrian road at middle level.
General axonometric.








Viste della strada alta, della piazza centrale con il padiglione della "casa del popolo" (attuale distretto sanitario) e vista del fronte di un corpo trasversale.
Vista del percorso pedonale alla quota intermedia.

Views of the upper road, the central piazza with the "People's House" pavilion (at present the healthcare unit) and view of the front of a side building.
View of pedestrian road at middle level.





Guido Canella

Centro civico con municipio, residenze, attività terziarie e sportive, Pioltello, Milano, Italia, 1976-90
Guido Canella, Michele Achilli
coll.: Antonio Ferré

Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano, Italia, 1982-94
Guido Canella, Michele Achilli
coll.: Alessandro Colombo, Maurizio Ferrari, Innocent Okpanum

Foto/Photos: S. Topuntoli

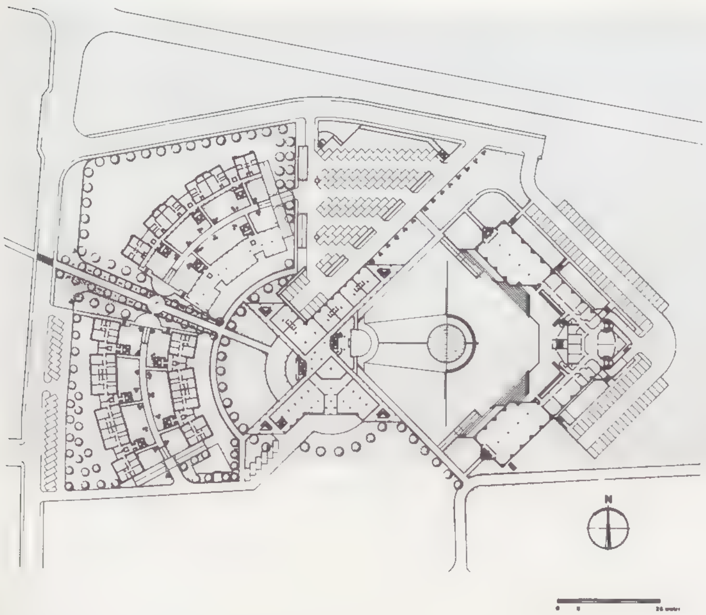


Centro civico con municipio, residenze, attività terziarie e sportive, Pioltello, Milano
Guido Canella

Il comune di Pioltello (30.000 abitanti a 13 chilometri da Milano in direzione nordest, tra le strade statale Padana superiore e provinciale Rivoltana) è frazionato negli aggregati di Pioltello, Limito e Seggiano. Perciò l'Amministrazione ha affidato al nuovo municipio, situato in tangenza alla strada Cassanese, il ruolo di nucleo promotore per la costruzione del nuovo centro civico baricentrico all'intero territorio comunale.
Il nuovo centro civico, connesso pedonalmente, a sud, con una scuola secondaria inferiore e, a ovest, con un centro commerciale preesistenti, comprende l'edificio municipale e 14 corpi residenziali, disposti lungo due semicirconferenze concentriche, con tutti gli alloggi dotati di riscontro d'aria e terrazze passanti in est-ovest e con accessi e torri di disimpegno verticale affacciati sul percorso interno.
Il progetto prevede inoltre un complesso edilizio destinato ad attività terziarie, commerciali e culturali, impiantato a croce con galleria interna lungo tutto il piano terreno, che si apre a est ad angolo retto, formando con le due maniche del municipio una piazza quadrata, di 72 m di lato, al centro della quale è prevista una fontana con vasca d'acqua a forma cicolare.
Ultimato nel 1981 secondo un impianto a V aperta, il municipio prospetta verso la piazza con due scalee simmetriche e una terrazza sormontata dal grande corpo cilindrico, al colmo del quale si trova l'aula consiliare configurata a gradoni; mentre verso est a sostenere l'aula consiliare concorrono i due cilindri dei disimpegni verticali che serrano l'incontro ad angolo retto delle due ali degli uffici.

Civic centre with town hall, residential buildings, service industries and sports facilities, Pioltello, Milan
Guido Canella

The municipality of Pioltello (pop. 30,000, 13 km north-east of Milan between the upper Padana national road and Rivoltana provincial road) comprises Pioltello itself, Limito and Seggiano. The local council decided to make the new town hall on the Cassanese road the focal point and nucleus for the construction of a new civic centre that would become the centre of gravity of the entire municipality.
The new civic centre, linked by footpaths with a lower secondary school to the south and an existing shopping centre to the west, comprises the town hall building and 14 residential blocks laid out along two concentric semi-circumferences. All the dwellings have east-west aligned terraces and through-ventilation, with access paths and towers on the internal road.
The project also includes a cross-shaped services, shopping and arts complex with an internal gallery along the entire ground floor that opens as a right angle to the east, forming, with the two wings of the town hall, a 72-m-sided square piazza with a circular central fountain.
Completed in 1981, the V-shaped town hall faces the piazza with two symmetrical flights of steps and a terrace surmounted by a large cylindrical volume. The tiered council chamber is at the top of the cyclinder. To the east, supporting the council chamber, are two lifts and stair cylinders at the right-angle join of the two office wings.



Centro civico con municipio, residenze, attività terziarie e sportive, Pioltello, Milano, 1976-90.
Vista aerea da est e vista da sud.
Aut. S. M. A. n. 247, 26.5.1995.
Modello e planimetria generale con, da sinistra, le residenze, l'edificio per attività terziarie (non ancora realizzato) e il municipio.

Civic Centre with town hall, residential buildings, service industries and sports facilities, Pioltello, Milan, 1976-90.
Aerial view from the east and view from the south.
Model and general plan with, from left to right, the residences, the service industry building (not yet built) and the town hall.

Centro civico con municipio, residenze, attività terziarie e sportive, Pioltello, Milano, 1976-90.
Vista delle residenze da nordest e vista del municipio da sudest.
Foto S. Topuntoli.
Viste del municipio da ovest e da est.
Foto L. Ghirri.





Civic centre with town hall, residential buildings, service industries and sports facilities, Pioltello, Milan, 1976-90.
View of residences from the north-east and view of the town hall from the south-east. Photos S. Topuntoli.
Views of the town hall from the west and east. Photos L. Ghirri.







Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano
Guido Canella

Il quartiere, sulla strada provinciale Paullese Nuova in località Zeloforomagno, ha impianto per 1160 abitanti articolato su percorsi pedonali interni che si incrociano al centro secondo due tridenti contrapposti, così che lungo le diagonali si allineano a risega quattro nuclei residenziali, con i servizi attestati secondo una croce orientata sui punti cardinali. Dei quattro nuclei, soltanto quello realizzato dall'Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari e dislocato a nordest è stato progettato dagli autori del piano, mentre i restanti sono stati progettati e realizzati da cooperative. Ogni corpo del nucleo nordovest comprende: un piano seminterrato adibito ad autorimessa; un piano porticato con alloggi mono e bilocali destinati ad anziani, dotati di loggia e piccolo giardino; 5 piani-tipo a 4 alloggi; un piano sottotetto a solai e loggie-stenditoio. Tutti gli alloggi godono di riscontro d'aria in est-ovest, nonché di soggiorno passante dall'ingresso a una loggia profonda. La dotazione di servizi, oltre a un preesistente centro commerciale situato all'estremo est del quartiere, comprende: a ovest il complesso parrocchiale e al centro l'auditorium affiancato, a nord, dal centro sanitario di base e, a sud, dalla scuola materna non ancora realizzata.

L'auditorium, con fuzione anche di cinema e teatro per 510 spettatori, con annessi e spazi per altre attività culturali, ha impianto pentagonale e si trova sollevato sopra una piazza coperta, leggermente affondata nel terreno, dove convergono i percorsi pedonali del quartiere. Gli ambulatori del centro sanitario, tra i quali alcuni dotati di un prolungamento esterno a portico per l'accesso diretto, sono dislocati attorno a una *hall* illuminati a *shed*.
La chiesa ha impianto quadrato, serrato da quattro torri angolari di superficie variabile secondo destinazioni e disimpegni orizzontali e verticali (fonte battesimale, canonica, uffici opere parrocchiali, cella campanaria).
La luce filtrata dal padiglione centrale, in legno lamellare, distingue virtualmente l'aula feriale dall'aula festiva, che risulta dagli incrementi, ribassati su tre lati, compresi tra le torri angolari. Queste sono connesse da travate reticolari, pure in legno lamellare, sulle quali si imposta il padiglione di copertura. Il sistema di matronei, che così si determina in quota, funge da occasionale espansione per le diverse attività e, in particolare, disimpegna il salone parrocchiale dislocato sulla fronte ovest. Coperto a doppia falda, il salone aggetta dal perimetro, dando luogo al segmento di portico che segnala l'accesso assiale all'aula liturgica.

Residential quarter with community centre, auditorium and parish church, Peschiera Borromeo, Milan
Guido Canella

The quarter at Zeloforomagno on the Paullese Nuova main provincial road, provides homes for 1160 inhabitants along internal pedestrian roads that meet in the centre in two opposed forks to give four residential nuclei along the diagonals, with amenities forming a cross on the four cardinal points. Of the four residential nuclei, only the one to the north-east built by IACP (Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari) was designed by the architects of the scheme; the others were designed and built by cooperatives. Each building in the north-east nucleus includes a basement car park; a porticoed level with one- and two-room senior citizens' apartments with loggias and small gardens; five standard floors each with four apartments; and an attic and loggia/drying room level. All the dwellings have east-west through-ventilation and living-rooms linking the entrance to a wide loggia.
Amenities, apart from an existing shopping centre at the eastern end of the quarter, include to the west, the parish church; in the centre, the auditorium; flanking it to the north, the health centre; and to the south, the primary school (not yet built).
The auditorium, providing cinema and theatre entertainment for an audience of 510, plus

Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano, 1982-94.
Modello e planimetria generale: nel quadrante nordest le residenze realizzate dagli autori; a ovest il complesso parrocchiale; in mezzo il centro servizi con auditorium, centro sanitario e scuola materna (non ancora realizzata).
Vista delle residenze da sud e vista aerea da ovest (nel quadrante nordest, in alto a sinistra, le residenze realizzate dagli autori).
Aut. S.M.A. n. 247, 26. 5. 1995.

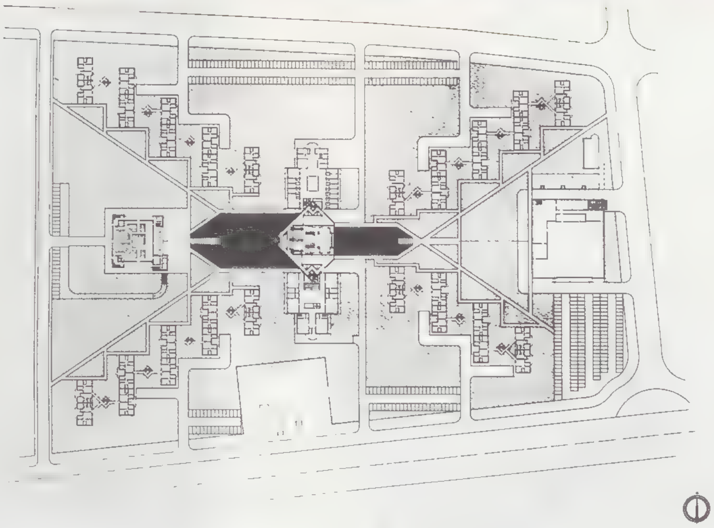




annexes and spaces for other cultural activities, is pentagonal and rises over a slightly sunken piazza where the pedestrian roads meet.
The treatment rooms in the health centre, some with external portico extensions for direct access, are laid out around a hall with shed lighting.
The square church has four corner towers of various sizes (appropriate to use) with horizontal and vertical access (font, parsonage, parish offices, bell room).
Light filtering from the central lamellar wood pavilion makes a virtual distinction between the ferial and Sunday hall, produced by the increments (lowered on three sides) between the corner towers. These are joined by reticular beams, also in lamellar wood, on which the roof pavilion rests. The raised system of women's galleries this produces provides additional space when required, as well as (most importantly) access to the parish hall on the west front. This hall with a double-pitch roof juts out from the perimeter, producing a section of portico that marks the axial access to the liturgical hall.



Residential quarter with community centre, auditorium and parish church, Peschiera Borromeo, Milan, 1982-94.
Model and general plan: in the north-east quadrant, the residential blocks designed by the architects of the scheme; to the west, the parish church complex; in the centre, the community centre with auditorium, health centre and nursery school (not yet built).
View of the residential blocks from the west (the residential blocks designed by the architects of the scheme are in the north-east quadrant, top left).



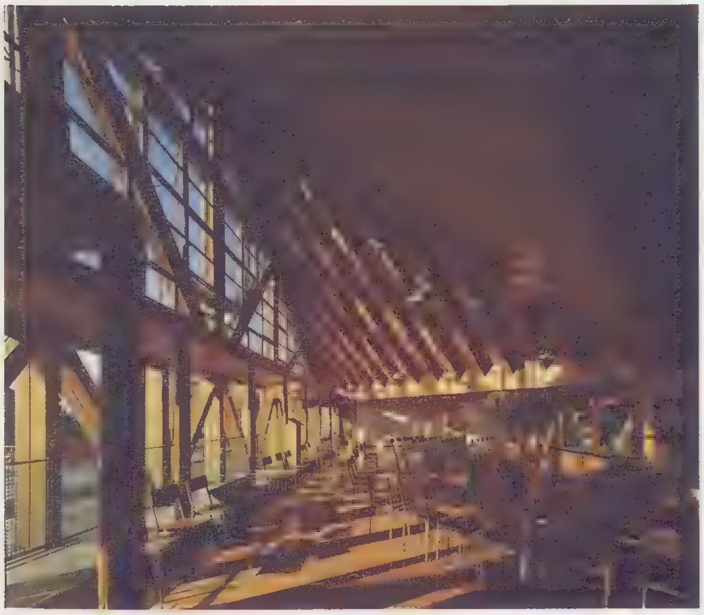
Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano, 1982-94.
Viste esterne della chiesa (in fondo l'auditorium) e viste interne dell'aula liturgica e del salone parrocchiale.
Spaccato assonometrico.

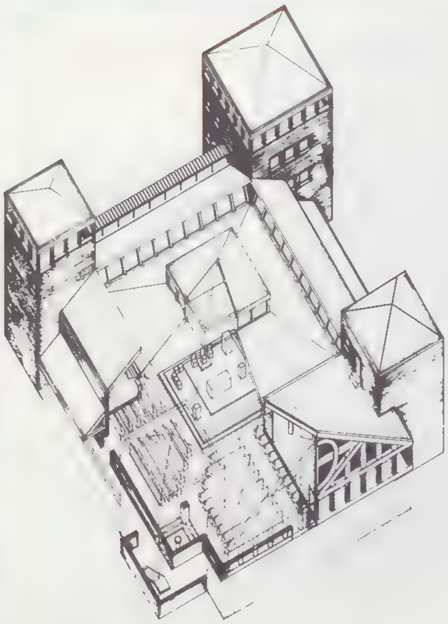


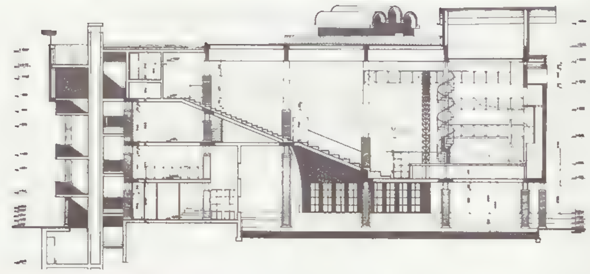


Residential quarter with community centre, auditorium and parish church, Peschiera Borromeo, Milan, 1982-94.
External views of the church (at the end, the auditorium) and internal views of the liturgical hall and the parish hall.
Cutaway axonometric.













Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano, 1982-94.
Viste interne ed esterne dell'auditorium.
Sezione e spaccato assonometrico.

Nelle pagine seguenti:
Vista da ovest dell'auditorium e del centro sanitario (in fondo i corpi residenziali).

Residential quarter with community centre, auditorium and parish church, Peschiera Borromeo, Milan, 1982-94.
Internal and external views of auditorium.
Section and cutaway axonometric.

Following pages:
View from the west of the auditorium and health centre (in the background, the residential buildings).











Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *and* ***Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese*** *and* ***Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;* ***Kurt W. Forster*** *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

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Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *and* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown*** *and* ***Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la citta? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

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Zodiac 6

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Zodiac 7

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Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al desco. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil),** Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

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Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

Zodiac 11

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Zodiac 12

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994); Guido Canella Premiata Architettura Contemporanea; **The Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureates, 1979-94; Jay A. Pritzker** Origins and Evolution of the Pritzker Architecture Prize; **Francesco Dal Co** Il migliore architetto del mondo; **Philip Johnson, 1979** Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., Office Development, Shenzen, China; **Luis Barragán, 1980** Torres de la Ciudad Satélite, Queretaro Highway, Mexico City, Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Mexico City; **James Stirling, 1981** Faculty of History, Cambridge University, Great Britain, Engineering Building, Leicester University, Great Britain, Kyoto Centre, Kyoto, Japan; **Kevin Roche, 1982** Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A. and Extension to the Jewish Museum, New York, U.S.A.; **Ieoh Ming Pei, 1983** National Gallery of Art, East Wing, Washington D.C., U.S.A., Grand Louvre, Paris, France; **Richard Meier, 1984** The Atheneum, New Harmony, U.S.A., Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.; **Hans Hollein, 1985** Abteiberg Municipal Museum, Mönchengladbach, Germany, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Auvergne, France; **Gottfried Böhm, 1986** Church of the Resurrection, Cologne, Germany, Arbed-Saarstahl Office Building, Esch-Alzette, Luxembourg; **Kenzo Tange, 1987** Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Japan, Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Japan, American Medical Association Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.; **Gordon Bunshaft, 1988** The Lever House, New York, U.S.A., Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.; **Oscar Niemeyer, 1988** Pampuhla, Minas Gerais, Brasil, Museu de Arte Contemporânea de Niterôi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil; **Frank O. Gehry, 1989** Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, California, U.S.A. , The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain; **Aldo Rossi, 1990** Teatro del Mondo, Venezia, Italia, Porta di Ingresso e Recinzione, Centro residenziale Barialto, Bari, Italia; **Robert Venturi, 1991** Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. , RCID Emergency Services Headquarters, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A.; **Alvaro Siza, 1992** Restaurante Casa de Chá Bóa Nóva, Leça de Palmeira, Portugal, Centro de Arte Contemporanea de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, España; **Fumihiko Maki, 1993** Spiral Building, Tokyo, Japan, Center for the Arts, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A..

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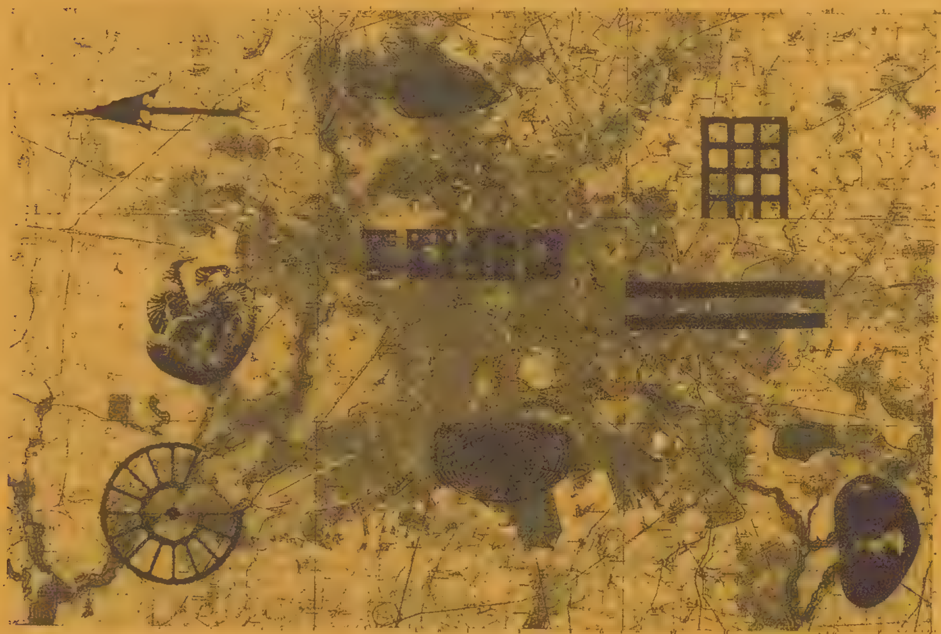
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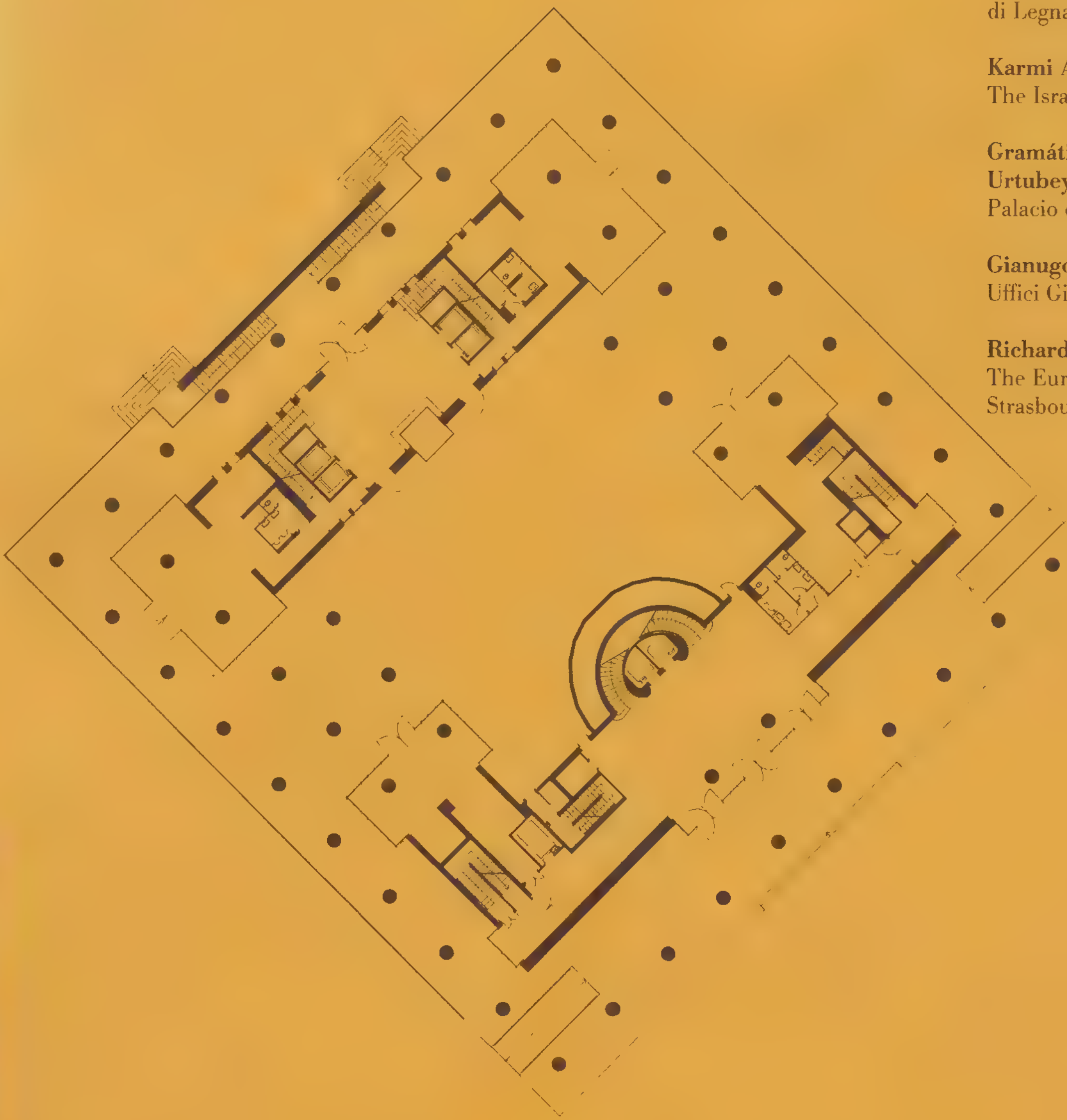
Catalogazione scientifica - e quindi difesa -, reperimento e confronti computerizzati di opere, analisi non distruttive, restauro del patrimonio artistico non possono più prescindere dalle tecnologie informatiche, che stanno ormai creando nuove condizioni conoscitive e di intervento sui beni culturali e in particolare artistici.
Da quindici anni, attraverso ricerche specializzate, indagini riflettoscopiche, applicazioni multimediali, promozione di memorabili interventi conservativi, pubblicazioni documentarie, studi storici, ricorso a competenze internazionali, Olivetti è attivamente presente nella salvaguardia dell'eredità culturale del Paese, della sua identità morale, del suo futuro.

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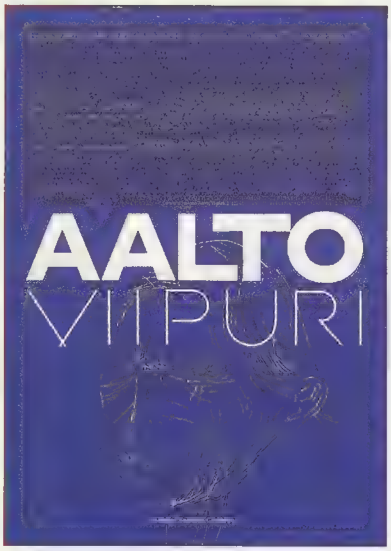
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AALTO VIIPURI
per salvare la biblioteca di Viipuri:
la cultura italiana con Alvar Aalto
(a cura di Enrico Baleri)

La Biblioteca di Viipuri, progettata e costruita negli anni Trenta nell'omonima cittadina di confine tra Finlandia e Russia, documento architettonico di primaria importanza tra le opere del Movimento Moderno e dato per distrutto nel 1943, seguì in realtà il curioso destino di ritrovarsi nel dopoguerra, per effetto dello spostamento dei confini di Stato, sotto la giurisdizione sovietica. Il corpo di fabbrica ha sofferto decenni di incuria e di cattiva manutenzione che l'hanno portato a una lenta morte architettonica. Negli anni Novanta, grazie al disgelo diplomatico tra i due Paesi, è stato possibile concordare un adeguato progetto di recupero funzionale. La Fondazione Alvar Aalto di Helsinki e il Comitato Russo-Finlandese hanno rivolto un appello e una richiesta di aiuto alla comunità internazionale degli architetti, dei designer, degli studiosi e degli imprenditori di settore.
La prima parte di questo volume raccoglie materiale di documentazione relativo al manufatto, schizzi autografi a volte inediti del Maestro finlandese e una sezione di interventi narrativi scritti da amici, allievi, intellettuali che "raccontano" Alvar Aalto e la sua opera.
La seconda parte illustra la mostra collettiva "Cento Architetti con Alvar Aalto" organizzata dal Comitato Italiano Aalto/Viipuri, in collaborazione con Finarte, a Milano nel settembre 1995.
Questo documento curato e diretto da Enrico Baleri vuole essere un contributo che testimonia l'attualità della lezione aaltiana. Progetto grafico: Roberto Sambonet e Laura Ruggeri.

LA CITTA' DEL TEATRO
Per una scuola d'architettura
(a cura di Carlo Quintelli)

Il volume raccoglie i progetti d'architettura, i materiali di istruttoria, le lezioni, i dibattiti della terza edizione della scuola estiva di composizione architettonica tenutasi a Parma nel settembre 1994.
La grande tradizione teatrale e la qualità urbana del contesto parmigiano diventano l'occasione per un laboratorio di ricerca del progetto d'architettura che ha come tema la tipologia teatrale e più in generale la reinterpretazione della scena della città.
100 allievi e 12 docenti tutori, ricercatori e dottori di ricerca, provenienti dalle principali facoltà d'architettura italiane, 26 docenti relatori tra cui Antonio Acuto, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Aurelio Cortesi, Roberto Gabetti, Ignazio Gardella, Aimaro Isola, Giorgio Grassi, Enrico Mantero, Antonio Monestiroli, Gianugo Polesello, Franco Purini, Luciano Semerani, Daniele Vitale, oltre a numerosi altri personaggi partecipanti alle tavole rotonde e alle revisioni del lavoro progettuale, costituiscono la trama complessa di contributi che identifica la scuola di Parma.
Un'iniziativa ormai consolidata e conosciuta a livello internazionale (è iscritta tra i Corsi di Istruzione Permanente del Politecnico) che tende a rappresentare e rilanciare, con il contributo delle diverse generazioni, la riconoscibilità di un articolata area di confronto tra alcune principali metodologie della progettazione, ma anche una testimonianza che sollecita la riflessione sulle problematiche dell'insegnamento dell'architettura nell'università italiana.



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Altri ricavi e proventi:				
• *contributi in conto esercizio*			11.321.908	
• *altri*	82.829.536.855	82.829.536.855	60.896.611.640	60.907.933.548
		2.054.895.243.141		**1.980.644.195.081**
COSTI DELLA PRODUZIONE				
per materie prime, sussidiarie, di consumo e merci		108.729.202.509		140.950.051.526
per servizi		1.023.879.789.149		945.440.953.073
per godimento di beni di terzi		25.053.201.181		21.565.966.510
per il personale:				
• *salari e stipendi*	200.903.215.284		186.972.857.763	
• *oneri sociali*	73.699.513.031		67.810.208.616	
• *trattamento di fine rapporto*	16.479.469.374		15.292.463.747	
• *altri costi*	4.009.421.717	295.091.619.406	4.221.834.360	274.297.364.486
Ammortamenti e svalutazioni:				
• *ammortamento delle immobilizzazioni immateriali*	13.990.031.617		10.598.301.016	
• *ammortamento delle immobilizzazioni materiali*	36.965.261.836		34.861.300.563	
• *svalutazioni dei crediti compresi nell'attivo circolante e delle disponibilità liquide*	39.281.287.901	90.236.581.354	57.501.717.803	102.961.319.382
Variazioni delle rimanenze di materie prime, sussidiarie, di consumo e merci		10.472.672.167		4.093.938.004
Accantonamenti per rischi		34.450.607.639		24.682.116.374
Altri accantonamenti		4.583.850.893		4.199.520.466
Oneri diversi di gestione		17.932.746.222		19.617.568.007
		(1.610.430.270.520)		**(1.537.808.797.828)**
DIFFERENZA TRA VALORE E COSTI DELLA PRODUZIONE		**444.464.972.621**		**442.835.397.253**
PROVENTI E ONERI FINANZIARI				
Proventi da partecipazioni				
• *dividendi da imprese controllate*	586.298.266.380		419.061.732.285	
• *dividendi da imprese collegate*	9.625.784.575		8.300.291.744	
• *dividendi da altre imprese*	134.300.000		41.750.000	
• *altri proventi da partecipazioni*	384.340.148.413	980.398.499.368	433.721.224.046	861.124.998.075
Altri proventi finanziari				
• *da crediti iscritti nelle immobilizzazioni*				
• *imprese controllate*	108.146.821.995		150.142.614.210	
• *imprese collegate*	135.876.575		173.749.314	
• *altri*	1.261.163.233		790.378.411	
	109.543.861.803		151.106.741.935	
da titoli iscritti nelle immobilizzazioni che non costituiscono partecipazioni	50.198.555.355		39.157.386.124	
da titoli iscritti nell'attivo circolante che non costituiscono partecipazioni	31.685.831.941		49.344.709.156	
Proventi diversi dai precedenti				
• *interessi e commissioni da imprese controllate*	179.892.506.041		375.269.725.590	
• *interessi e commissioni da imprese collegate*	5.367.423.906		6.295.282.188	
• *interessi e commissioni da altri e proventi vari*	83.453.705.140		154.543.845.263	
	268.713.635.087	460.141.884.186	536.108.853.041	775.717.690.256
Interessi e altri oneri finanziari				
• *interessi e commissioni a imprese controllate*	58.369.139.906		39.581.108.179	
• *interessi e commissioni a imprese collegate*	572.771.422		581.574.119	
• *interessi e commissioni a controllanti*	27.723.417.070		54.130.116.322	
• *interessi e commissioni ad altri e oneri vari*	227.606.144.628	(314.271.473.026)	558.247.058.669	(652.539.857.289)
Totale proventi e oneri finanziari		**1.126.268.910.528**		**984.302.831.042**
RETTIFICHE DI VALORE DI ATTIVITÀ FINANZIARIE				
Rivalutazioni di partecipazioni		167.945.511		
Svalutazioni				
• *di partecipazioni*	50.860.086.830		28.256.104.630	
• *di titoli iscritti nell'attivo circolante che non costituiscono partecipazioni*	423.901.389	(51.283.988.219)		(28.256.104.630)
Totale rettifiche		**(51.116.042.708)**		**(28.256.104.630)**
PROVENTI E ONERI STRAORDINARI				
Proventi		5.829.981.223		23.072.739.822
Oneri				
• *imposte relative a esercizi precedenti*	41.342.252		48.290.698	
• *altri*	7.168.738.492	(7.210.080.744)	1.871.352.094	(1.919.642.792)
Totale delle partite straordinarie		**(1.380.099.521)**		**21.153.097.030**
Risultato prima delle imposte		**1.518.237.740.920**		**1.420.035.220.695**
Imposte sul reddito dell'esercizio		(624.325.906.929)		(632.752.153.040)
UTILE DELL'ESERCIZIO		**893.911.833.991**		**787.283.067.655**

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Concessioni, licenze, marchi e diritti simili	726.106.403		1.081.636.666	
Immobilizzazioni in corso e acconti	3.114.990.526		3.823.973.267	
Altre	10.330.616.268	18.238.716.122	234.409.804.311	245.331.348.055
immobilizzazioni materiali				
Terreni e fabbricati	431.604.810.910		398.871.671.684	
Impianti e macchinario	41.348.308.313		41.145.169.178	
Altri beni	18.156.536.861		23.472.092.967	
Immobilizzazioni in corso e acconti	3.910.795.609	495.020.451.693	21.148.100.668	484.637.034.497

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		10.883.492.264.310			**5.963.189.948.101**	
Versamenti in c/partecipazioni					9.452.303.996	
Crediti:	(*)			(*)		
• verso imprese controllate	337.779.896.036	1.129.835.111.483		32.622.953.464	1.143.960.705.576	
• verso imprese collegate		1.530.000.000			1.530.000.000	
• verso altri	2.474.597.484	17.174.722.673		2.319.837.993	14.332.654.803	
	340.254.493.520	1.148.539.834.156		34.942.791.457	1.159.823.360.379	
Altri titoli		390.934.754.207			319.405.906.929	
			12.422.966.852.673			7.451.871.519.405
Totale immobilizzazioni			**12.936.226.020.488**			**8.181.839.901.957**
ATTIVO CIRCOLANTE						
Rimanenze						
Materie prime, sussidiarie e di consumo		14.198.224.934			25.382.730.300	
Prodotti in corso di lavorazione e semilavorati		2.599.124.058			2.446.201.732	
Prodotti finiti e merci						
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• merci		1.385.250.823			673.417.624	
		8.486.263.226	25.283.612.218		3.437.651.269	31.266.583.301
Crediti	(*)			(**)		
verso clienti	3.708.982.656	844.967.441.498		1.674.971.300	784.282.493.046	
verso imprese controllate		100.313.985.431			84.281.200.158	
verso imprese collegate		18.241.315.823			19.061.637.084	
verso controllanti		464.765.235			21.020.362	
verso altri:						
• imprese controllate c/accertamento dividendi		582.063.933.140			419.061.732.285	
• diversi	334.466.780	150.291.830.370		2.347.502.150	121.366.725.059	
		732.355.763.510			540.428.457.344	
	4.043.449.436		1.696.343.271.497	4.022.473.450		1.428.074.807.994
Attività finanziarie che non costituiscono immobilizzazioni						
Altri titoli		292.515.890.735			291.045.266.667	
Crediti finanziari	(**)			(**)		
• verso imprese controllate		1.635.333.791.882			2.929.525.114.998	
• verso imprese collegate		62.256.158.105			56.698.593.510	
• verso altri		5.281.071.395				
		1.702.871.021.382	1.995.386.912.117		2.986.223.708.508	3.277.268.975.175
Disponibilità liquide						
Depositi bancari e postali		164.347.253.543			21.880.062.835	
Assegni					1.500.000	
Denaro e valori in cassa		293.621.292	164.640.874.835		285.961.397	22.167.524.232
Totale attivo circolante			**3.881.654.670.667**			**4.758.777.890.702**
RATEI E RISCONTI						
• disaggi di emissione e altri oneri similari su prestiti		54.432.780.393			71.741.790.632	
• ratei e altri risconti		19.914.659.900	**74.347.440.293**		20.879.900.312	**92.621.690.944**
TOTALE ATTIVO			**16.892.228.131.448**			**13.033.239.483.603**

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Riserve di rivalutazione						
Riserva l. 30/12/91, n. 413			61.111.197.070			61.111.197.070
Riserva legale			351.843.405.324			312.479.251.941
Altre riserve						
Riserva straordinaria		953.425.028.846			484.567.890.574	
Fondo reinvestimento utili nel Mezzogiorno		481.000.000.000	1.434.425.028.846		702.000.000.000	1.186.567.890.574
Utile dell'esercizio			893.911.833.991			787.283.067.655
			12.006.563.992.061			**7.116.713.934.070**
Fondi per rischi e oneri						
per imposte		71.949.707.619			23.208.432.427	
altri		204.840.143.922	**276.789.851.541**		247.865.796.468	**271.074.228.895**
Trattamento di fine rapporto di lavoro subordinato		**92.149.351.131**			**84.527.291.456**	
DEBITI		(**)			(**)	
Debiti verso banche	1.433.910.252.362	2.909.680.024.669		1.765.685.312.411	3.423.492.326.525	
Debiti verso altri finanziatori		30.000.000.000			150.873.289.691	
Debiti verso fornitori		154.534.343.247			132.886.972.284	
Debiti verso imprese controllate	1.702.330.590	716.090.835.172		453.406.590	521.187.256.048	
Debiti verso imprese collegate	41.250.000	12.453.366.331		41.250.000	14.899.567.037	
Debiti verso controllanti		8.883.535.893		550.363.141.000	557.217.459.924	
Debiti tributari		70.525.516.599			116.702.577.162	
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In copertina: Ignazio Gardella, Palazzo di Giustizia di La Spezia, Italia, pianta del piano terreno, 1963-94.

Front cover: Ignazio Gardella, Law Courts, La Spezia, Italy, ground floor plan, 1963-94.

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La retorica della Giustizia
Guido Canella

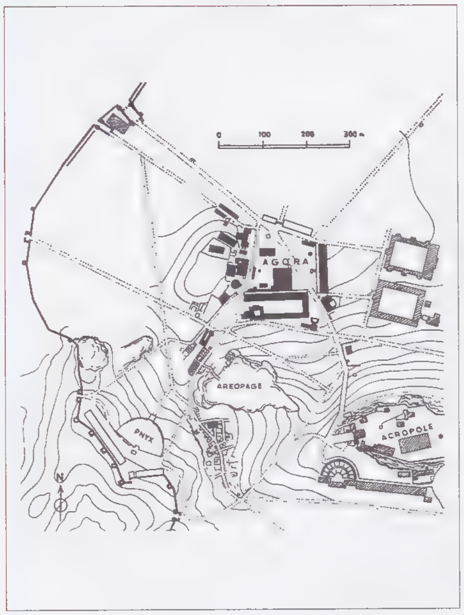
La leçon grecque, en urbanisme, est d'une haute importance. Elle consiste d'abord dans une leçon d'étroite adaptation de la ville à son site. Quelle harmonie que celle que réalise à cet égard Athènes! Les hauteurs se présentent avec leur destination spéciale: ainsi l'acropole est devenue le séjour des dieux, l'Aréopage s'identifie au tribunal le plus vénéré et la Pnyx est le siège des délibérations du peuple.
M. Poëte, *Introduction à l'Urbanisme*, 1929

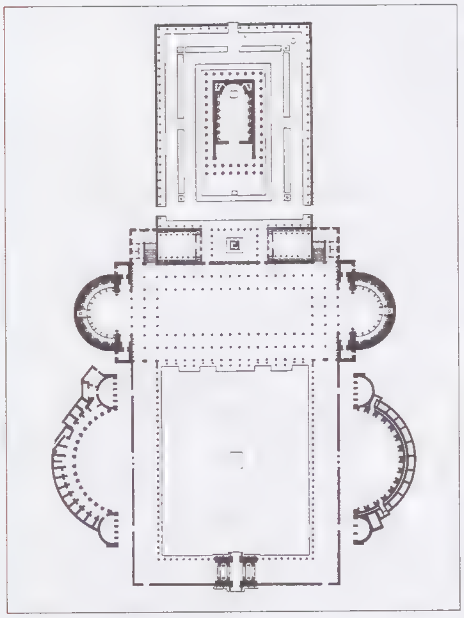
Presumibilmente la cosiddetta città 'postmoderna' riuscirà in quello che neppure la città 'funzionalista' era riuscita: lo svuotamento del centro storico, dacché ormai si propone di privarlo delle funzioni più rappresentative, e tra esse quelle inerenti l'amministrazione della giustizia.
Questa considerazione ci induce ad alcune riflessioni.
In primo luogo quella generale sul destino del centro storico, che abbiamo già affrontato da queste pagine, quando ci chiedevamo se una indiscriminata e falsificante imbalsamazione non sortisse di fatto la sua omologazione al primato del consumo.
In secondo luogo quella sul valore d'uso, e quindi sull'accessibilità e sulla praticabilità del Tribunale, poiché si può constatare come nel lungo periodo la relazione topografica tra il luogo di amministrazione della giustizia, quelli delle attività pubbliche più praticate dalla cittadinanza e quello degli altri poteri tenda a riconfigurarsi (per coincidenza, tangenza, prossimità, distacco) al mutare del regime della città.
Tendenza che in Atene erode l'aristocrazia dell'Areopago fino a ramificarne le funzioni nell'*agorà*; che nel pragmatismo di epoca romana si palesa con l'attestarsi dell'attività giudiziaria nella basilica, dove si concentra l'attività di scambio; che in epoca comunale connette il luogo della giustizia al Palazzo della Ragione e alla Loggia dei Mercanti; che nella ideale cittadella del Rinascimento lo integra nel tipo del palazzo.
Tendenza che in epoca moderna, per articolazione e incombenza fisica dovute al rigonfiarsi della burocrazia, inserisce il Tribunale tra le presenze autonome sulla scena urbana: vera e propria città nella città.
La terza riflessione, quella che qui più preme, riguarda il tenore significativo di alcune funzioni istituzionali nella costruzione dell'identità urbana, poiché il Palazzo di Giustizia entra con particolare sollennità nella triangolazione dei luoghi rappresentativi, anche come simbolo dissuasivo che necessariamente ne incrementa la caratura monumentale (da *moneo* e *memini*).
Se si escludono casi limite, come per esempio il Chicago Federal Center realizzato tra il 1959 e il 1973 da Mies van der Rohe (dove gli spazi destinati all'amministrazione giudiziaria sono assorbiti nella tipologia del blocco per uffici, sostituendo alla retorica del palazzo quella essenziale e rutilante del grattacielo cartesiano), anche i saggi d'avanguardia hanno inteso rispettare nella singolarità la particolare ragione istituzionale dell'opera.
Nella sede della Corte del Cantone di Lister, costruita da Gunnar Asplund tra il 1919 e il 1921 a Sölvesborg, sono l'organicità ma anche

The Rhetoric of Justice
Guido Canella

La leçon grecque, en urbanisme, est d'une haute importance. Elle consiste d'abord dans une leçon d'étroite adaptation de la ville à son site. Quelle harmonie que celle que réalise à cet égard Athènes! Les hauteurs se présentent avec leur destination spéciale: ainsi l'acropole est devenue le séjour des dieux, l'Aréopage s'identifie au tribunal le plus vénéré et la Pnyx est le siège des délibérations du peuple.
M. Poëte, *Introduction à l'Urbanisme*, 1929

Presumably the so-called 'postmodern' city will succeed there where even the 'functionalist' city has failed: in emptying the historical centre, as by now the idea seems to be to deprive it of its most representative functions, including those related to the administration of justice.
This consideration leads us to several reflections.
First, a general reflection on the fate of the historical centre, which we have already discussed in this magazine, when we wondered if an indiscriminate, falsifying taxidermy might not have the effect of enshrining the historical centre as an emblem of consumption.
Second, a reflection on the usage value, and therefore on the ease of access and utilisation of the Courthouse, in the light of the observation that over the long term the topographical relation among the site of the administration of justice, those of the public activities most practiced by the citizenry, and that of the other powers, tends to reconfigure itself (in terms of proximity or distance) in keeping with the changes in the regime of the city.
This tendency, in Athens, eroded the aristocracy of the Areopagus, to the point of the branching out of its functions in the agorà*; in the pragmatism of the Roman era, it can be seen in the positioning of judicial activities in the basilica, where activities of trade were also concentrated; in the communal era it associated the place of justice with the Palazzo della Ragione and the Loggia dei Mercanti; in the ideal citadel of the Renaissance it was integrated in the typology of the palazzo. This tendency, which in the modern era, due to the complexity and physical bulk of bureaucracy, has placed the courthouse among the autonomous elements of the urban scene: a true city in the city.*
The third reflection, and the most pressing, has to do with the signifying substance of certain institutional functions in the construction of urban identity, inasmuch as the law courts play a particularly solemn role in the interplay of representative places, also as a deterrent symbol, which necessarily augments the monumental character (of moneo *and* memini*).*
If we exclude the extreme cases, such as the Chicago Federal Center constructed from 1959 to 1973 by Mies van der Rohe (where the spaces for the judicial administration are absorbed by the typology of the office block, replacing the rhetoric of the palazzo with the essential, glowing image of the Cartesian skyscraper), even the sages of the avant-garde have paid concrete homage to the unique institutional function of the work.
In the courthouse of the canton of Lister, built by Gunnar Asplund in 1919-21, in Sölvesborg, it is the organicity, but also the equilibrium





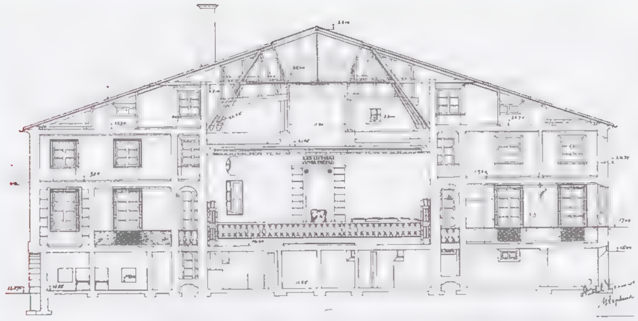
l'equilibrio resi simbolicamente nella figura del cerchio (motivo ricorrente sulle fronti, nell'impianto, negli arredi e nel lucernario dell'aula di udienza) a permeare di moderata potestà il tono domestico della palazzina dove si amministra la giustizia di una comunità patriarcale e a indicare la radice naturalistica che ispira tanto originalmente la via nordica alla modernità. Mentre nel Palazzo di Giustizia di Göteborg, dopo una precedente ipotesi di estensione in stile che avrebbe avvilito la perentorietà della fronte impostata sulla simmetria, nell'ampliamento realizzato nel 1935 Asplund conferma il ruolo referente all'ordine classico e alle proporzioni originali del preesistente edificio, risolvendo l'addizione per distacco e attraverso conformi semplificazioni e allineamenti in pianta e nel partito di facciata.
Nell'ampliamento del Palazzo di Giustizia di Istanbul, progettato e soltanto in parte realizzato tra il 1948 e il 1971 sul Corno d'Oro di fronte alla Moschea Blu, il modernismo di Sedad Eldem recupera l'impianto 'a palo telefonico' (il congegno che ha improntato la fase razionalizzante della tipologia ospedaliera e carceraria), ma sul corpo della Grande Corte, che il progetto prevedeva a conclusione della sequenza *à redents*, imprime il suggello gerarchico di un pronao stilizzato per metonimia nel puro scheletro di cemento armato.
Per la particolare esposizione rappresentativa che rende il Palazzo di Giustizia vocazionalmente deuteragonista sulla scena urbana, nelle città di fondazione esso si rende indispensabile alla concertazione di un nuovo campidoglio reso per allegoria dalla evocazione di schemi ancestrali.
Sul fronte principale dell'Alta Corte di Chandigarh (1956), con un risalto titanico di registro michelangiolesco, Le Corbusier chiude in un telaio di proporzioni classiche la sintesi di quei contrasti di forma, materia, trama, colore, luce, che hanno segnato la relatività critica dell'arte moderna.
A Brasilia Oscar Niemeyer estende al Tribunale Federale Supremo (1958) la forma trasparente e alata che rende epicamente trascendente l'autorità conferita alla Piazza dei Tre Poteri.
Analogamente sarebbe accaduto ad Islamabad (1965) e a Dacca (1973), dove Louis Kahn, almeno per quanto è desumibile dalle intenzioni, pare voler estendere alla sede della Corte Suprema il carisma cercato nella regressione allo stato primordiale di pura forma e materia.
D'altra parte si può constatare come, là dove il paesaggio del centro urbano risulta modellato da una sedimentazione secolare, le istituzioni pubbliche si trovino a recitare in un ormai armonizzato contrappunto di voci soliste, nel quale tuttavia l'inserimento di un'architettura di nuova e significante qualità viene convenzionalmente considerato discordante.
La teorizzazione dei criteri estetici attribuiti all'architettura del Movimento Moderno è sovente ricorsa all'assenza di retorica, presupposta dalla *Sachlichkeit*, come carattere distintivo della sua poetica. Eppure il Palazzo di Giustizia, come del resto altre destinazioni (per esempio, la chiesa), ha continuato a trasmettere un valore allusivo trascendente. E la retorica di tale valore si può trovare sia nell'intenzionale riduzione dei termini di significazione sia nel grado di deformazione criticamente cercato nel rapporto continuità–discontinuità di un presupposto modello canonico.
Ma, a ben guardare, non esiste dunque una retorica di cui è comunque

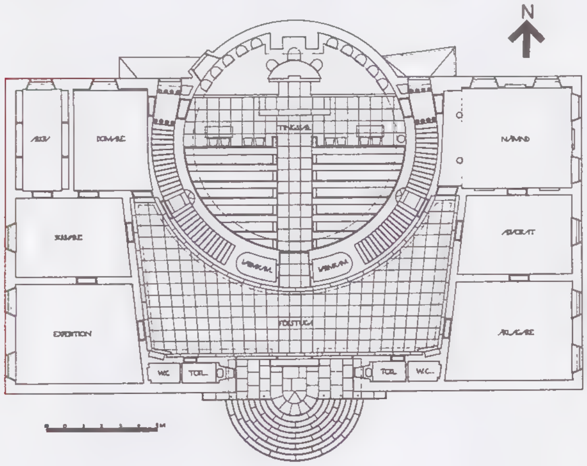


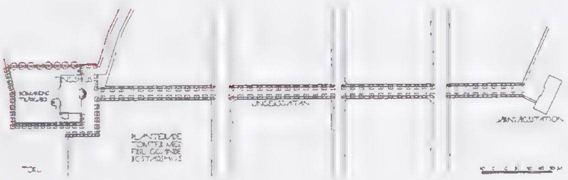
Atene. Planimetria della regione nordovest, VII-VI sec. a.C.
Roma. Pianta della Basilica Ulpia e del Foro di Traiano, sec. II.
Bormio (Italia). Il Cuerc *(coperto), luogo di riunione del Maggior Consiglio e dell'amministrazione della giustizia in epoca comunale, con la Torre civica, XIII sec.*

Athens. Planimetry of the northwest region, 7th-6th c. BC
Rome. Plan of the Ulpian Basilica and the Trajan Forum, 2nd c.
Bormio (Italy). The Cuerc *(shelter), meeting place of the Major Council and place of the administration of justice in the communal era, with the town clocktower, 13th c.*

symbolically represented in the figure of the circle (a recurring motif on the facades, in the layout, in the furnishings and the chandeliers in the courtroom) which permeate, with moderate authority, the domestic tone of the edifice where the justice of a patriarchal community is meted out, indicating the naturalistic roots that so originally inspire the Nordic path toward modernity. While in the Courthouse of Göteborg, after an earlier hypothesis of a stylized extension which would have compromised the forceful image of the symmetrical facade, in the addition built in 1935 Asplund confirms the role as reference of the classical order and the original proportions of the existing edifice, resolving the situation by means of detachment, and through simplifications and alignments in the plan and in the design of the facade.
In the expansion of the Courthouse of Istanbul, designed and only partially built between 1948 and 1971 on the Golden Crescent in front of the Blue Mosque, the modernism of Sedad Eldem revives the 'telephone pole' arrangement (the device which characterised the phase of the rationalisation of hospitals and penitentiaries), but on the volume of the Great Court, which the design had placed at the conclusion of the à redents *sequence, there is the hierarchical seal of a pronaos, metonymically stylized, in the pure skeleton of reinforced concrete.*
Due to the particularly representational positioning, which makes the Courthouse, by vocation, a deuteragonist of the urban setting, in the foundation cities it became an indispensable key for the formation of a new Capitol, allegorically depicted by evoking ancestral schemes.
On the main facade of the High Court of Chandigarh (1956), with a gigantic projection of Michelangelo-like proportions, Le Corbusier captures, in a classical framework, the synthesis of those contrasts of form, material, weave, colour, light which have marked the critical relativity of modern art.
In Brazil Oscar Niemeyer gives the Federal Supreme Court (1958) the transparent, winged form which bestows epic transcendence on the authority of the Plaza of the Three Powers.
In like manner, at Islamabad (1965) and in Dacca (1973), Louis Kahn, as far as we can judge from intentions, appears to have wanted to give the headquarters of the Supreme Court the charisma of a regression to the primordial state of pure form and matter.
We can notice how, where the landscape of the urban centre is modelled by centuries of sedimentation, the public institutions wind up playing what is by now a harmonized counterpoint, as soloists, but one in which the insertion of a new work of architecture of real quality is conventionally considered dissonant.
Theory on the aesthetic criteria attributed to the architecture of the Modern Movement often falls back on absence of rhetoric, premise of the Sachlichkeit, *as the distinctive character of its poetics. And yet the Courthouse, like other institutional edifices (the church, for example), has continued to transmit a transcendent allusive value. And the rhetoric of this value can be heard both in the intentional reduction of signifying terms and in the degree of critical deformation sought in the continuity-discontinuity ratio of a given canonical model.*
Upon closer examination, doesn't a rhetoric exist, a rhetoric conveyed by the display of modern architecture, or modern art in general, a rhetoric















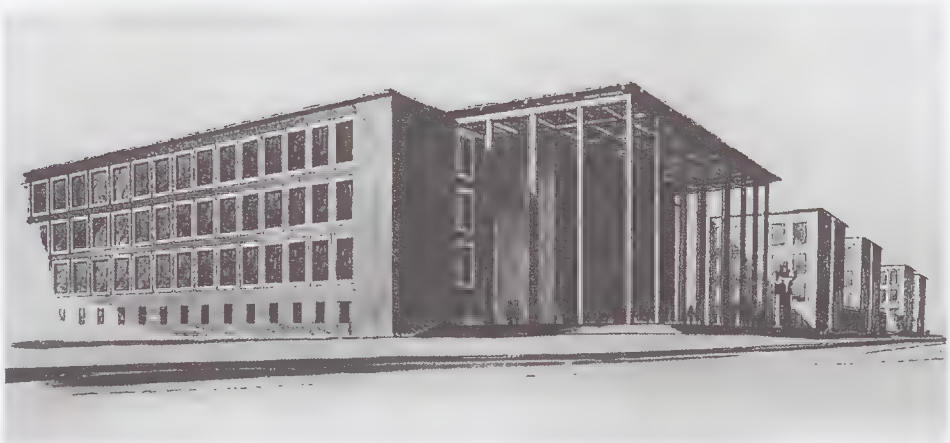


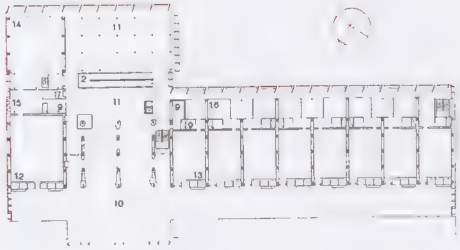
Erik Gunnar Asplund, Palazzo di Giustizia del Cantone di Lister, Sölvesborg (Svezia), 1919-21: planimetria, pianta del piano terreno, sezione, fronte principale, fronte posteriore, interno dell'aula di udienza.
Erik Gunnar Asplund, Addizione del Palazzo di Giustizia, Göteborg (Svezia), 1935.
Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Chicago Federal Center, 1959-73.

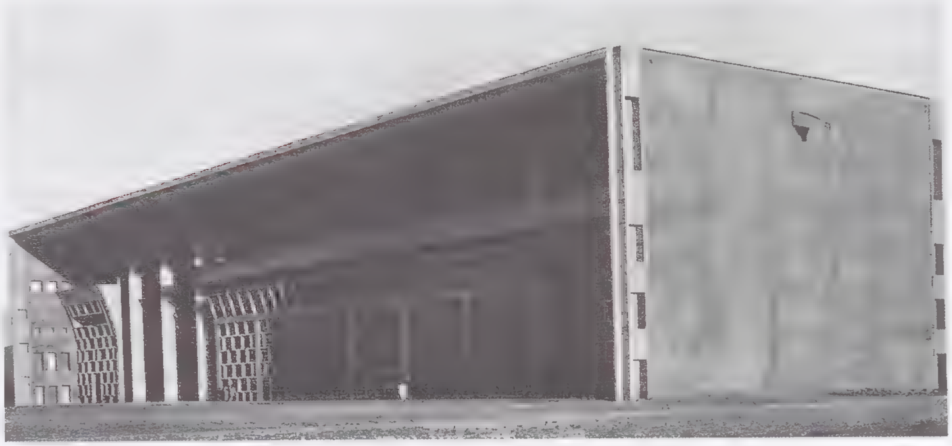
Erik Gunnar Asplund, Courthouse of the canton of Lister, Sölvesborg (Sweden), 1919-21: planimetry, plan of the ground floor, section, main facade, rear facade, interior of the courtroom.
Erik Gunnar Asplund, Addition to the courthouse, Göteborg (Sweden), 1935.
Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Chicago Federal Center, 1959-73.

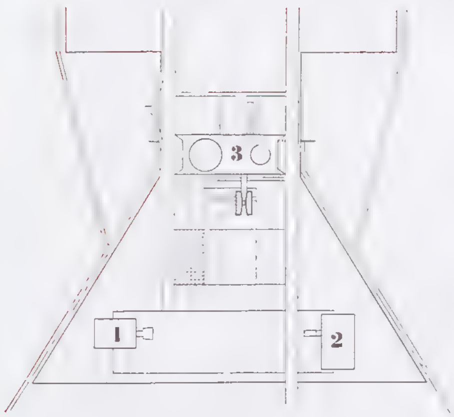
portatrice l'esposizione dell'architettura, e in generale dell'arte moderna, l'essenza e l'intensità della quale cominciano dalla stessa pregiudiziale e ambigua rinuncia a significare?
In Italia, mentre vigeva tra le due guerre il primato dello storicismo idealista, l'interpretazione dell'arte moderna ha richiesto uno sforzo assai impegnativo. Anche nella critica applicata all'architettura una lunga e prestigiosa tradizione, da Lionello Venturi a Edoardo Persico, da Giulio Carlo Argan a Bruno Zevi, dovendo spesso scontare un abbrivio di impronta crociana, si è trovata costretta a ricorrere a una sorta di algoritmo per superare i pregiudizi e storicizzare l'apporto problematico delle avanguardie.
Spetta ad Antonio Banfi il merito di avere introdotto per primo nel dibattito estetico italiano quanto Edmund Husserl aveva sviluppato dalla proposizione di Hegel circa la 'fatale morte dell'arte', incorporando il concetto di crisi dei valori attraversata dalla società e rendendolo criticamente attivo nella fenomenica deformante dell'arte moderna.
Resta inconcepibile, allora, che l'architettura (già nel 1654 definita 'metafora di pietra' da Emanuele Tesauro), nell'incorporare e rappresentare la giustizia, possa raffigurare la problematicità morale con cui l'ha resa per iscritto una tradizione moderna da Dostoevskij a Kafka?
Non è forse da qui che si distacca una angolazione 'postmoderna' della critica, quando essa dietro un atteggiamento ecumenico, che pretende di allargare le basi e i presupposti creativi per una più larga comprensione del fare artistico, in realtà teorizza la retorica tautologica dell'opera, cioè la sua inesistente o debole transitività, la sua neutralità etica, il suo valore ornamentale, come se questa sua pura astanza nel paesaggio non significasse di per sé sostegno consolatorio, funzionale e morale, agli istituti della società quali essi siano?
Bruno Zevi non si stanca di ripetere che "*l'architettura della modernità (...) è quella che fa della crisi un valore e suscita continuamente un'estetica di rottura*". E, a differenza di Argan, egli coerentemente non si è lasciato attrarre dall'ipotesi che il destino dell'arte moderna stia nel suo progressivo annullarsi nella tecnica.
Da questo punto di vista allora non potremo non dirci 'moderni'.
Semmai il motivo del contendere sta nel chiedersi se quella 'rottura' debba direttamente riscontrarsi in una categoria stilistica (classicismo/anticlassicismo, simmetria/dissimmetria, eccetera), oppure essere ogni volta da capo trovata per via retorica, dove (pensando, per esempio, al progetto di Adolf Loos per la Chicago Tribune o al Salone d'Onore per la Sesta Triennale di Edoardo Persico) l'evocazione del classico e la simmetria possono assumere contestualmente, soltanto *lì e allora*, il valore di 'maschera', analogamente allo straniamento assunto dagli oggetti nella Pop Art o nelle architetture di Gehry; un valore di trasfigurazione che comunque andrebbe perso in una stilizzazione canonizzata e ripetitiva, nel caso appunto 'postmoderna'.
D'altra parte proviamo a seguire Zevi in un testo del 1987, dal titolo pertinente *Giustizia è fatta*, dove commenta il Palazzo di Giustizia di Savona realizzato tra 1981 e 1987 dal comune amico Leonardo Ricci, che qui ricordiamo con rimpianto.
In primo luogo egli ne rileva il valore stilistico: " (...) *Su via Corsi l'edificio appare quasi come un'abside, mentre a nord-ovest esibisce le*





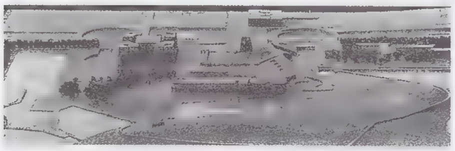





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Sedad Hakki Eldem, Palazzo di Giustizia, Istanbul, 1948-71: pianta e disegno prospettico del fronte principale con il pronao non realizzato.
Le Corbusier, Alta Corte di Giustizia, Chandigarh, 1957: pianta del piano terreno e fronte principale.
Oscar Niemeyer, Tribunale Federale Supremo, Brasilia, 1958: planimetria della Piazza dei Tre Poteri e fronte sulla piazza: 1) Tribunale Federale Supremo; 2) Palazzo del Governo; 3) Parlamento.
Louis Kahn, Sher-e-Bangla Nagar, Dacca (Bangladesh), 1962-83: modello della versione finale, 1973: 1) settore dell'Assemblea; 2) settore governativo, con indicato l'edificio della Corte Suprema (non realizzato).
Louis Kahn, Progetto del Quartiere presidenziale, Islamabad (Pakistan), 1963-66: modello con, sul fondo, l'edificio della Corte Suprema.

Sedad Hakki Eldem, Courthouse, Istanbul, 1948-71: plan and perspective drawing of the main facade, with the unbuilt pronaos.
Le Corbusier, High Court of Justice, Chandigarh, 1957: plan of the ground floor and main facade.
Oscar Niemeyer, Federal Supreme Court, Brasilia, 1958: planimetry of the Plaza of the Three Powers, and frontage on the plaza: 1) Federal Supreme Court; 2) Government Building; 3) Parliament.
Louis Kahn, Sher-e-Bangla Nagar, Dacca (Bangladesh), 1962-83: model of the final version, 1973: 1) sector of the Assembly; 2) the government sector, with indication of the Supreme Court building (never constructed).
Louis Kahn, design for the Presidential Quarter, Islamabad (Pakistan), 1963-66: model with, in the background, the Supreme Court building.

whose essence and intensity are precisely the result of this preconceived, ambiguous renunciation of meaning and symbolism?
In Italy, when idealist historicism held sway between the two world wars, the interpretation of modern art required real effort. In the criticism applied to architecture a long, prestigious tradition, from Lionello Venturi to Edoardo Persico, from Giulio Carlo Argan to Bruno Zevi, often faced with the problem of getting beyond the formulations of Croce, found itself forced to apply a sort of algorithm in order to overcome prejudices and to place in historical context the problematic contributions of the avant-garde.
Antonio Banfi was the first to introduce, in the Italian debate on aesthetics, what Edmund Husserl had developed from the proposition of Hegel with regard to the 'inevitable death of art', incorporating the concept of the crisis of values impacting the society, and rendering it critically active in the deforming phenomenal world of modern art.
Is it, therefore, any wonder that architecture (which already, in 1654, had been defined as 'metaphor in stone' by Emanuele Tesauro), in giving physical form and representing the Justice, should attempt to depict the moral issues raised in written form in a modern tradition, from Dostoevskij to Kafka?
Is it not, perhaps, at this point that a 'postmodern' angle of criticism breaks off? Behind an ecumenical stance, claiming to widen the creative bases and premises for a wider comprehension of artistic activity, it actually theorizes the tautological rhetoric of the work, i.e. its inexistent or weak transitiveness, its ethical neutrality, its ornamental value, as if its mere presence in the landscape did not constitute, in itself, a functional and moral support for the institutions of the society, whatever they may be.
Bruno Zevi never tires of repeating that "the architecture of modernity *(...)* is that which assumes crisis as a value, and continuously invokes an aesthetic break with the past". *And, in contrast to Argan, coherently, he has never allowed himself to be attracted by the hypothesis that the destiny of modern art lies in its progressive elimination of technique. From this point of view, therefore, we cannot deny that we are 'modern'. If anything, the bone of contention lies in the issue of whether the 'break' must necessarily, directly involve a stylistic category (classicism/anticlassicism, symmetry/asymmetry, etc.), or whether it must be found, by rhetorical means, case by case, where (considering, for example, the design by Adolf Loos for the Chicago Tribune, or the Salone d'Onore of the 6th Triennale by Edoardo Persico) the evocation of the classic and of symmetry can, in context, only* there and then, *take on the value of a 'mask', analogous to the intentional estrangement of the objects of Pop Art or of the works of architecture of Frank Gehry; a value of transfiguration which, in any case, would be lost in a canonized, repetitive, 'postmodern' stylization.*
Let us try to follow Zevi's reasoning in a text from 1987, with the pertinent title Giustizia è fatta, *where he comments on the Courthouse of Savona, built in 1981-87 by our mutual friend Leonardo Ricci, whose memory remains dear to us.*
First Zevi explains the stylistic value of the work: "(...) On Via Corsi the edifice appears almost like an apse, while to the northwest it displays its

funzioni più rappresentative con l'innesto di una piastra triangolare che definisce l'ingresso. Il masso straripa in alto, a destra e a sinistra, rifiutando artificiose simbologie e optando per forti segni. Sospeso su una piazza coperta, gli ambienti interni sono trivellati da una cavità continua, in cui la danza di oblique travi cementizie e di scale a spirale articola ai vari livelli la sezione civile e penale, la procura e la pretura, le cancellerie, le aule, i servizi di polizia, gli archivi. Congegno vertiginoso: i percorsi a loggia si affacciano costantemente su un 'diaframma osmotico', immenso elemento cardine della dinamica partecipazione di ogni contenuto all'interezza del discorso spaziale".
In secondo luogo egli ne rileva il valore contestuale, allorché riconosce all'opera il merito di incorporare dalla tradizione il ruolo del palazzo come fondale prospettico nel paesaggio urbano ("*Molto elaborato il fronte su via XX Settembre, che si profila in senso 'rinascimentale' come uno spalto verso la città*") e quindi, estraniando il moderno dall'antico, di intervenire con recitazione epica nella rappresentazione di quel virtuale ideogramma monumentale che contrassegna l'identità della città.
Infine Zevi, citando l'autore, segnala il valore retorico del giudizio morale sull'istituzione incorporata nell'opera, là dove l'architetto "*ha scelto di configurare uno spazio 'sacrale', dove si svolga «un dramma in cui una parte sacrifica e una parte è sacrificata»; ma allo stesso tempo uno spazio 'specifico' in cui deve avere luogo serenamente «il dibattito fra giusto e ingiusto, accusa e difesa, orrore e comprensione umana»*".





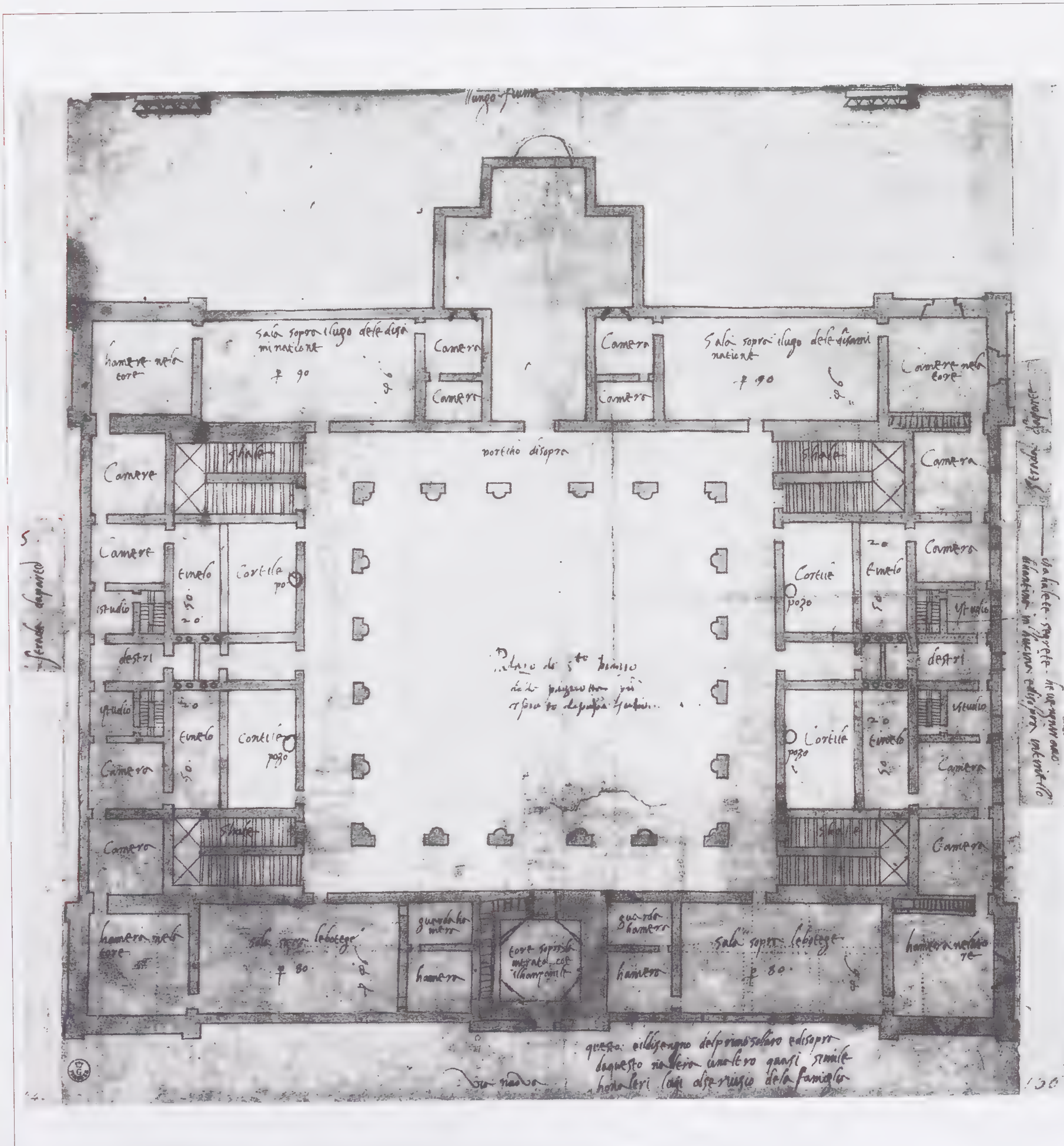
Leonardo Ricci, Palazzo di Giustizia, Savona (Italia), 1981-87: vista da Piazza del Popolo e vista interna.

Leonardo Ricci, Courthouse, Savona (Italy), 1981-87: view from Piazza del Popolo, and interior view.

most representative function with the grafting of a triangular slab defining the entrance. The mass overflows upward, right and left, rejecting artful symbolism, opting for strong signs. Suspended over a covered square, the interiors are pierced by a continuous cavity, in which the dance of oblique concrete beams and spiral staircases indicates, at different levels, the criminal and civil courts, the office of the prosecuting attorneys, the magistrate's court, the registries, the courtrooms, the police services, the archives. A vertiginous device: the balcony walkways constantly overlook an 'osmotic diaphragm', the immense cardinal element of the dynamic participation of each part of the content in the whole of the spatial discourse".
Second, he discusses the contextual value, noting that the work has incorporated, from the tradition, the role of the edifice as a perspective backdrop in the urban landscape ("The facade on Via XX Settembre is very elaborate, standing out, in a 'Renaissance' manner, as a bastion toward the city"*) and that, separating the modern from the antique, it has intervened, with an epic portrayal, in the representation of that virtual monumental ideogram which indicates the identity of the city.*
Finally Zevi, quoting the undersigned, points out the rhetorical value of moral judgement of the institution contained in the work, where the architect has "chosen to configure a 'holy' space, where 'a drama in which one party sacrifices and the other is sacrificed' is enacted; but at the same time it is also a 'specific' space, for the serene unfolding of 'the debate between just and injust, prosecution and defense, horror and human comprehension'".

1. Antonio del Pellegrino (?) per Bramante, Pianta del progetto per il Palazzo dei Tribunali. Firenze, Uffizi, A136r.

1. Antonio del Pellegrino (?) for Bramante, Plan of design for Palazzo dei Tribunali. Florence, Uffizi, A136r.



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Il Palazzo dei Tribunali e via Giulia a Roma

*Suzanne B. Butters, Pier Nicola Pagliara**

I trattati di politica, nel XV secolo come nel Medio Evo, ponevano alla base del Buon Governo una corretta amministrazione della giustizia, poiché l'ingiustizia, provocando scontento nel popolo, minava il potere dei regnanti. Bartolo, nel trattato *De regimine civitatis*, contrappone al tiranno il *iudex*, simbolo di regnante legittimo ed espressione di un governo più vicino al divino che all'umano, richiamando anche il biblico governo dei giudici[1], e Giulio II doveva conoscere il passo di Sant'Agostino secondo cui i regni privi di giustizia non erano altro che grandi ladrocinii[2].

Giulio II, che aveva avuto un'educazione giuridica essendosi laureato in *utroque iure* a Perugia[3], era ben conscio delle condizioni insoddisfacenti in cui si faceva giustizia a Roma, dove la presenza di un gran numero di curiali, laici ed ecclesiastici, non romani e non soggetti ai Tribunali del Comune, aveva portato da secoli a creare diversi Tribunali ecclesiastici, che competevano con quelli capitolini, per categorie di persone soggette alla loro giurisdizione, per materie trattate e per i diversi gradi di giudizio[4]. Nel XV secolo diversi papi avevano tentato di ridefinire i poteri dei vari Tribunali[5], favorendo il più delle volte quelli ecclesiastici[6], senza riuscire a modificare in modo permanente la grande confusione, che comportava tempi lunghi, alti costi per le cause e sopraffazione sui più deboli, ed in più permetteva estorsioni e frodi tanto da far dire che la Giustizia aveva un naso di cera, che si poteva torcere di qua e di là secondo l'interesse privato[7]. Anche Giulio II provvide, con bolle in tema di notai (1507)[8] e di tribunali (1512)[9] a riorganizzare l'ordinamento giudiziario, ma attribuì pari importanza al concentrare in un'unica sede la maggior parte dei tribunali. Il trasferimento avrebbe consolidato la situazione raggiunta con vari atti dai suoi predecessori ma non comportava necessariamente un aumento del potere papale.

Provvedimenti analoghi non erano insoliti in città in cui si presentassero problemi equivalenti. A Napoli un decennio prima si era ideato un progetto simile, che Giulio II doveva conoscere bene dati i suoi stretti rapporti con gli Aragonesi[10]. Secondo la testimonianza di Summonte, Alfonso II (1494-1495) "*volea anchora edificare...un palazzo grande vicino al Castello Novo nella piazza della Coronata, nella quale volea per diverse stanzie collocare tutti li tribunali, ad tal che non bisognasse alli negozianti andare in diversi lochi, ma che qua potessero expedire qualsivoglia loro negozio, senza patire pioggia o sole e senza faticare troppo lo corpo in qua e in là*"[11]. Solo nel

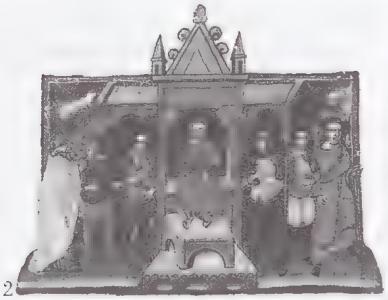
The Palazzo dei Tribunali and Via Giulia in Rome

Suzanne B. Butters, Pier Nicola Pagliara*

Political treatises of the 15th century, like those of the Middle Ages, considered a correct administration of justice as the basis for good government, because injustice, by causing discontent in the populace, eroded the power of rulers. Bartolus, in his treatise De regimine civitatis, *contrasts the figure of the tyrant with that of the* iudex, *symbol of the legitimate ruler, expression of a government closer to the divine than the human, and a reminder of the biblical government of the judges[1]; Julius II was certainly familiar with the lines of St. Augustine in which kingdoms without justice are characterised as great thefts[2].*

Julius II, who studied law, taking a degree in utroque iure *in Perugia[3] was well-aware of the unsatisfactory conditions of the justice system in Rome, where the presence of a great number of officials attached to the papal court, both ecclesiastical and lay, and who were neither Roman nor subject to the courts of the municipality, had led over the centuries to the creation of a variety of ecclesiastical courts, which competed with the Capitoline courts regarding the categories of persons under their jurisdiction, the matters treated and the various levels of legal authority[4]. In the 15th century a number of popes had attempted to redefine the powers of the various tribunals[5], usually in favour of the ecclesiastical courts[6], but without actually managing to permanently modify the state of confusion, which led to long, costly trials, penalizing the weak and leaving so much space for corruption and extorsion that it was said that Justice had a wax nose, that could be twisted this way and that, in keeping with private interests[7]. Julius II also took steps, issuing bulls regarding notaries (1507)[8] and courts (1512)[9] to reorganise the judicial system, but he also considered it very important to concentrate the better part of the courts in one place. This move would have consolidated the situation achieved by the various acts of his predecessors, but it did not necessarily imply a further increase in the papal power.*

Similar programs were not uncommon in cities with similar problems. In Naples, ten years earlier, a similar project had been conceived, of which Julius II was undoubtedly well aware, given his close relations with the Aragonese[10]. According to Summonte, Alphonse II (1494-1495), "also wanted to build... a large palace near Castello Novo on Piazza della Coronata, in which to place all the courts, in different chambers, so that those with business at the lawcourts would not have to go to many different places, but could expedite here whatever matters were to hand, without suffering from rain or sun, and without tiring their bodies in going to and



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1537 Don Pietro da Toledo, Vice Re di Napoli, inizierà ad attuare il progetto, unendo in Castel Capuano cinque Tribunali, gli alloggi per i loro presidenti e le carceri[12], con una riforma che Francesco De Marchi considera esemplare tanto da descriverla nel suo trattato sull'architettura, accostandola al progetto irrealizzato di Giulio II[13].
Nel settembre 1502, a Cesena, Cesare Borgia, anche lui educato in *utroque iure* e spinto dal padre Alessandro VI, un colto giurista entusiasta per la riforma giudiziaria, ne avviò una altrettanto importante[14]. Quando aveva al suo servizio Leonardo, diede ordine "*di costruire un palazzo della rota*", sede di un nuovo Tribunale d'appello che avrebbe servito sette città della Romagna, da Fano ad Imola, per migliorarvi l'amministrazione della giustizia[15]. Il progetto doveva essere noto a Giulio II, perché aveva poi posto a capo di uno dei propri Tribunali, come Auditore di Camera, Antonio del Monte, un giurista esperto che aveva collaborato al progetto del Borgia in qualità di presidente della nuova Rota[16].
Nonostante i suoi pessimi rapporti con i Borgia, Giuliano della Rovere, di cui Machiavelli mette in rilievo una risolutezza nel decidere e nell'agire vicina a quella che giudicava esemplare nel Valentino, doveva aver colto il lato positivo di questa figura ed averne apprezzato l'iniziativa. Del resto vi era una tradizione secolare di unificazione dei Tribunali. Luisa Giordano, nel dicembre 1994, ha illustrato in una conferenza alla Bibliotheca Hertziana il caso di Milano, dove nel momento di maggior splendore del Comune diverse magistrature erano state riunite intorno alla piazza del Broletto, al centro della quale era la sede del potere comunale[17]. E la tradizione proseguirà nel XVI secolo, tanto che lo stesso De Marchi accosterà all'esempio di Napoli quello per lui contemporaneo di Anversa[18], illustrato più ampiamente da Lodovico Guicciardini nella sua descrizione dei Paesi Bassi.
La nuova sede romana doveva essere centrale, sicura e ben collegata ai luoghi esistenti connessi alla giustizia (carceri, luoghi di esecuzioni capitali e di sepoltura) ed alle sedi dei principali poteri ed interessi coinvolti (palazzo papale, quartiere degli affari in Banchi), e non doveva urtare troppo, nei significati simbolici della scelta del sito, le sensibilità del Campidoglio. Il carcere di Tor di Nona, dove si riuniva il Tribunale del Governatore[19], era vicino al Tevere nel tratto a nord dell'ansa; Corte Savella, sede della Curia omonima oltreché di carceri[20], era sulla via Florida, oggi di Monserrato. Gli arrestati erano destinati all'uno o

fro..."[11]. *It was only in 1537 that Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, began to implement the plan, bringing together five courts in Castel Capuano, along with lodgings for their presidents and prisons[12], in a reform which Francesco De Marchi considered exemplary, describing it in his treatise on architecture alongside the unbuilt project of Julius II[13].*
In September 1502, in Cesena, Cesare Borgia, also educated in utroque iure *, urged by his father Alexander VI, a learned jurist and advocate of reform, began another equally important project[14]. When Leonardo Da Vinci was in his service, he ordered him to* "costruire un palazzo della rota"*, an edifice for a new appeal court which was to serve seven cities in the Romagna, from Fano to Imola, to improve their administration of justice[15]. This project must also have been known to Julius II, because he appointed, for one of his courts, as Auditor of the Camera, Antonio del Monte, an expert jurist who had collaborated on Borgia's project as president of the new Rota[16].*
In spite of the fact that he was on appalling terms with the Borgia, Giuliano della Rovere, whose resolution and deciveness in taking action was compared, by Machiavelli, to that of the exemplary Valentino, must have noticed the positive aspects of this individual, and appreciated his undertaking. After all, there was a centuries-old tradition of the consolidation of courts. Luisa Giordano, in December 1994, illustrated the case of Milan in a lecture at the Biblioteca Hertziana; in the moment of Milan's greatest splendour various magistracies were concentrated around the piazza of Broletto, at the centre of which was located the seat of comunal power[17]. The tradition continued into the 16th century, so much so that De Marchi discusses the example of Naples with that of his day in Antwerp[18], more thoroughly illustrated by Lodovico Guicciardini in his description of the Low Countries.
The new Roman complex had to be central, secure, well-connected to the existing facilities (prisons, places of execution and burial) and to the seats of the principal powers and interests involved (the papal palace, the business district), and had to avoid offending the lay government in the symbolic connotations of the chosen site. The Tor di Nona prison, where the tribunal of the Governor held session[19], was near the Tiber, to the north of the bend in the river; Corte Savella, the location of the "Curia" of the same name and also of prisons[20], was on Via Florida, today's Via di Monserrato. Arrested persons awaiting trial were assigned to one or the other of these jails, according to the zone where the arrest was made[21]. The use of Castel Sant'Angelo was less orderly: summary executions, the most rapid phase of the whole judicial process, also took place



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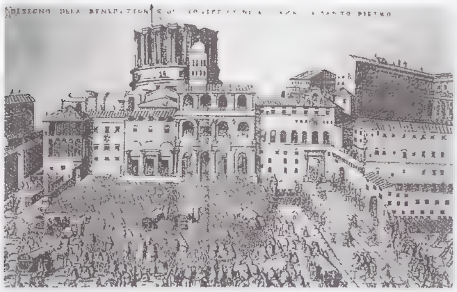
2. La Giustizia, in un manoscritto del XIV secolo delle Istituzioni di Giustiniano, con nota di possesso di Giuliano della Rovere, che l'acquistò nel 1468 quando studiava diritto a Perugia. Bibl. Ap. Vaticana, Vat. 1432, c.1r.
3. Il carcere di Tor di Nona, la piazza di Ponte (luogo di esecuzioni, in alto a sinistra), Corte Savella e San Nicola degli Incoronati (luogo di esecuzioni, in basso a destra), nella pianta di Roma di Bufalini, 1551.
4. I Palazzi Vaticani (in basso a sinistra), via Giulia (in basso, sopra il Tevere) e i luoghi legati all'amministrazione della Giustizia nella pianta di Roma di Bufalini, 1551.

2. Justice, in a 14th century manuscript from the Justinian Institutions, with the ownership note of Giuliano della Rovere, who purchased it in 1468 when studying law in Perugia. Bibl. Ap. Vaticana, Vatican 1432, c.lr.
3. Tor di Nona prison, Piazza di Ponte (execution site, top left), Corte Savella e San Nicola degli Incoronati (execution site, bottom right), in Bufalini's 1551 plan of Rome.
4. The Palazzi Vaticani (bottom left), Via Giulia (bottom, above the Tiber) and the places where the seats of justice were located in Bufalini's 1551 plan of Rome.



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all'altro carcere a seconda della zona dove avveniva l'arresto[21]. Meno regolare era l'uso di Castel Sant'Angelo, dove si facevano anche esecuzioni sommarie, fase più rapida di tutta la procedura. Scrive un testimone durante il papato di Giulio: "*Venerdì N.S. con le spalle de Silvio Savello mando el barigello a pigliare uno gentile homo romano, richissimo, nipote di Ludovico Matheo: quale preso, emenato in castello, la nocte subito li fece tagliare la testa: et fo posto im ponte alle Capelle; con iiii torcie: dove stecte tucto il sabbato. Non se ne intende bene la cagione, salvo se dice teneva una mogliera de un altro romano; per femina per forza: questi signori Colonnesi: la matina venivano per adimandarlo in gratia et trovorono stava senza testa: tucti ne stanno admiratj de tanta furia*"[22].
Le esecuzioni avvenivano solitamente nella stessa Torre di Nona[23], nella piazza di Ponte[24], e, ancora a fine '400, in Campo dei Fiori[25]; accanto alla chiesa di San Nicola degli Incoronati, a quanto sembra, quelle decise dal Tribunale del Maresciallo[26], ed eccezionalmente anche in altri luoghi. I condannati consegnati al braccio secolare erano giustiziati in Campidoglio, da secoli luogo di esecuzioni della Curia capitolina[27].
Se anche tutte le funzioni di Corte Savella e Tor di Nona fossero passate alla nuova sede, come attesterebbe solo una delle quattro fonti che danno notizie in proposito, nella scelta del luogo si doveva considerare la loro posizione, perché servivano precise zone della città e perché in un periodo transitorio potevano restare parzialmente in uso.
Quanto alla aree inedificate disponibili, quelle in direzione di Porta del Popolo erano troppo decentrate, mentre le zone della Lungara e dei Prati di Castello erano fuori delle mura ed al Comune sarebbero apparse troppo prossime al Vaticano. La scelta compiuta appare quindi quasi obbligata, perché "dietro i Banchi"[28] vi era l'unica grande area inedificata che rispondesse a tutte le necessità. Lì era sorto da secoli, in un'area appartata a ridosso delle mura che costeggiavano il Tevere, il monastero di San Biagio che Eugenio IV aveva assegnato, insieme alla chiesa ed a tutte le sue proprietà, al Capitolo di San Pietro[29].Da questa parte l'abitato terminava con una linea di case prospettanti su via dei Banchi, in massima parte di proprietà dello stesso Capitolo, dietro le quali si estendevano verso il fiume due orti, pure del Capitolo[30]. Il minore andava dalla sede della Compagnia dei Fiorentini fino ad un vicolo che, in corrispondenza del vicolo Sugarelli, raggiungeva il Tevere[31] (in prossimità sorgeva la chiesa, demolita all'inizio dell'apertura di via Giulia[32]); quello maggiore arrivava dallo stesso vicolo a Santa Lucia della Chiavica, dalla quale un'altra stradina raggiungeva una via lungo il fiume che sarà interrotta dal volume, sporgente dal perimetro dei Tribunali, del nuovo San Biagio[33].
L'area era insieme centrale, vicino ai Banchi, e periferica, al margine del fiume (in questi termini si apprezzerà la posizione ai tempi di Pio V, quando il Cardinale Ricci da Montepulciano, allora proprietario dell'attiguo palazzo Sacchetti[34], cercherà di convincere il Cardinale Ferdinando de' Medici a costruirvi la propria residenza)[35]. Il Tevere garantiva una via supplementare di accesso e di fuga in caso di tumulti ed un rapido collegamento con Castel Sant'Angelo e Tor di Nona. Perdipiù la Camera Apostolica si impossessò dell'area senza riconoscere alcun indennizzo al Capitolo, considerandolo compensato a sufficienza dalle rendite triplicate o quadruplicate che in seguito all'urbanizzazione poté ottenere dai terreni circostanti. Questa prassi, sostanzialmente equa ma alquanto sbrigativa, risulta dagli atti di una causa intentata a metà secolo dal Capitolo contro la stessa Camera per rivendicare la proprietà dell'area dei Tribunali, che comunque aveva in parte conservato[36].
La scelta di un luogo idoneo per i Tribunali dovette essere all'origine del progetto dell'intera via Giulia. Le prime notizie sull'esecuzione riguardano la demolizione della Compagnia dei Fiorentini, posta all'inizio della strada, nell'agosto 1508[37]. Seguono, nell'ottobre dello stesso anno, le relazioni di un fiorentino e dell'ambasciatore estense[38]. Il primo, che era perito in legge, scrive il 7 di quel mese: "*...ho trovato Roma meza disfacta che non credo haverlo più scripto: il papa fa una via che va dietro a banchi a chapita a quel ponte rotto che e a Sancto Spirito: et questi gorni manda a terra la chiesa di Sancto Biagio che e di rinchontro alla cancelleria e in quello loco che apunto e in sulla via che epso fa: ha ordinato fare un palazzo grandissimo ben 40 canne...*"[39]
Un documento del 1551 della Camera Apostolica secondo cui il Papa "*ad perfectionem ipsius operis* (i Tribunali) *intendens procedere viam amplam et latam fieri fecit*" conferma che il progetto della strada ha origine da quello del palazzo[40]. Solo in un secondo momento sarebbe seguito il vantaggio ausiliario di popolare una zona centrale disabitata mediante la costruzione di nuove case, come sarebbe avvenuto poco dopo a Napoli[41].
Vediamo quali Tribunali dovessero trasferirsi nella nuova



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5. Corte Savella, nella pianta di Roma di Antonio Tempesta, 1593.
6. Il palazzo di Innocenzo VIII nel 1570-80 (a destra della loggia delle Benedizioni), sede dei Tribunali dell'Auditore di Camera e della Rota, da Lafréry, Speculum.

5. Corte Savella, in Antonio Tempesta's 1593 plan of Rome.
6. The palace of Innocent VIII in 1570-80 (to the right of the Loggia delle Benedizioni), seat of the tribunals of the Auditor of the Camera and Rota, from Lafréry, Speculum.

there. An eyewitness during the papacy of Julius wrote: "On Friday Our Lord, with the men of Silvio Savello, sent the head of police to arrest a very wealthy Roman gentleman, the nephew of Ludovico Matheo: he was brought to the castle, and that very night his head was cut off, and was placed on the bridge, with four torches, where it remained all day Saturday. No one really knows why this was done; some say that the culprit had taken another Roman's wife*(...)* the following morning, when the Colonna lords came for him, they found him headless; all were amazed by such haste"[22].
The executions usually took place in the Torre di Nona[23], in Piazza di Ponte[24] and, until the late 1400s, in the Campo dei Fiori[25]; those ordered by the tribunal of the Maresciallo[26] seem to have been carried out next to the church of San Nicola degli Incoronati, while others were occasionally performed at other sites. The condemned who were consigned to the secular arm were executed at the Campidoglio, which had been the site of the executions of the Capitoline court for centuries[27].
If all the functions of Corte Savella and Tor di Nona were to be moved to the new complex, as only one of the four sources of information on this matter suggests, then their locations would have to be considered in the choice of the site, because they served precise zones of the city, and would have to remain in partially use during a period of transition.
Where the areas available for building were concerned, those in the direction of Porta del Popolo were not sufficiently central, while the zones of the Lungara and the Prati di Castello were outside the walls, and would have appeared too close to the Vatican in the eyes of the municipal authorities. Thus the choice made appears almost an obligatory one, because "dietro i Banchi"[28] there was a large, undeveloped area which met all the requirements. Centuries ago in this secluded area next to the walls that ran along the river the monastery of San Biagio had been built, which Eugene IV had assigned, together with its church and properties, to the Chapter of St. Peter's[29]. In this part the inhabited part of the city terminated in a line of houses on Via dei Banchi, most of which were owned by the Chapter, behind which two vegetable gardens, also of the Chapter, extended toward the river[30]. The smaller one extended from the seat of the Compagnia dei Fiorentini down to a small road which, corresponding to the position of Vicolo Sugarelli, reached the Tiber[31] (nearby stood the church, which was demolished at the beginning of the construction of Via Giulia)[32]; the larger garden extended from the same small street to Santa Lucia della Chiavica, from which another small street led to a road along the river which was to be interrupted by the volume, protruding from the courthouse, of the new San Biagio[33].
The area was both central, near the "Banchi", and peripheral, along the river (these were the terms of the appreciation of its position at the time of Pius V, when Cardinal Ricci of Montepulciano, the proprietor, at the time, of the adjacent Palazzo Sacchetti[34], attempted to convince Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici to construct his residence there)[35]. The Tiber guaranteed an additional route for access or flight in the case of uprisings or disorder, as well as rapid access to and from Castel Sant'Angelo and Tor di Nona. Moreover, the Apostolic Camera had appropriated the area from the Chapter without any compensation, considering the three to four-fold increase in the potential financial productivity of the surrounding properties as a sufficient return. This substantially fair but very brusque practice is described in the proceedings of a suit filed halfway through the century by the Chapter against the Camera, claiming the full property rights for the area[36].
The choice of a suitable site for the courthouse complex must have lain at the origin of the entire Via Giulia project. The first documentation of the implementation of the plan regards the demolition of the Compagnia dei Fiorentini, at the beginning of the street, in August 1508[37]. Later, in October of that same year, we find the reports of a Florentine and of an ambassador from the house of Este[38]. The former, a legal expert, wrote on October 7: "...I found Rome in a shambles, and I don't believe I have written any more about it: the pope is building a street that runs behind the "Banchi" and ends up at that ruined bridge at Santo Spirito: at present he is demolishing the church of San Biagio in front of the Chancery; in its place, and on this street, the pope has ordered the construction of a huge palace, measuring a full 40 «canne»..."[39].
In a document of the Apostolic Camera dated 1551, it is stated that the pope "ad perfectionem ipsius operis *(the court complex)* intendens procedere viam amplam et latam fieri fecit" *(*"meaning to procede to the completion of that work [the Tribunal] has had a large and broad street constructed"*), confirming that the project for the street was a result of that for the palazzo[40]. Only in a subsequently was the additional advantage of populating an uninhabited area in the centre through the construction of new housing, as occurred shortly afterwards in Naples, included in the planning[41].*
Which of the courts were to be transferred to the new complex? All the sources (the two cited above, from 1508, a Portuguese in 1511-12, and a document of the Camera in 1551) are in agreement regarding three: the courts of the Auditor of the

sede. Su tre Tribunali concordano tutte le fonti (le due sopra citate del 1508, una portoghese del 1511-1512 ed un documento camerale del 1551): si tratta di quelli dell'Auditore di Camera, del Vicario del Papa e del Governatore, che quindi si possono considerare sicuri[42]. Il primo, con sede nel palazzo di Innocenzo VIII, aveva in origine giurisdizione su curiali ecclesiastici[43]; il secondo, che resterà privo di sede fissa fino al 1692, sul clero romano[44]. Il terzo, quello del Governatore, si riuniva a Tor di Nona[45], mentre il Governatore stesso, finché nel 1626 non otterrà una sede propria in palazzo Nardini, aveva sede in case prese in affitto ogni volta che si rinnovava l'incarico, e quindi spesso si dovevano trasferire archivi e registri[46].
A questi tre Tribunali, dell'Auditore di Camera, del Vicario del Papa e del Governatore, la fonte fiorentina aggiunge Torre Savella e Torre di Nona[47]. Con quest'ultima, avendo già menzionato il Tribunale del Governatore, deve riferirsi alle relative carceri; con corte Savella intende invece il Tribunale del Maresciallo, che avrebbe potuto occupare il quarto ufficio, col suo appartamento previsto nel progetto che esamineremo più avanti[48].
Corte Savella aveva una sede propria ma poco sicura, dal momento che al tempo di Innocenzo VIII era stata invasa e saccheggiata ed erano stati distrutti gli archivi[49]. Deve essere rimasta incerta e soggetta a ripensamenti, invece, la sorte del Tribunale della Rota, con sede nel palazzo di Innocenzo VIII[50], destinato ad essere demolito con il progredire della costruzione di San Pietro[51]: la fonte portoghese lo elenca tra quelli da trasferire in via Giulia, mentre le altre non lo citano[52]. La fonte ferrarese però, sempre il 5 ottobre 1508, afferma anche: "*il papa fa mille mutatione: fra x zorni redure la cancelleria a palazo nella (au?)la nova di papa Innocentio che vuol dire quel disagio più*"[53], un progetto che dirà abbandonato nel settembre dell'anno seguente[54]. Si può concludere che Giulio avesse pensato di trasferire la Cancelleria dal palazzo Sforza Cesarini nell'ala del palazzo Apostolico dove si trovava la Rota, spostando questa , o nei nuovi tribunali, o accanto ad essi nella Cancelleria vecchia. La Cancelleria[55], non strettamente legata ai Tribunali, si sarebbe trasferita quindi vicino alla sede papale, mentre la Rota, a cui sempre più spesso gli stranieri, come i fiorentini, si rivolgevano in appello evitando così le svantaggiose sentenze che si presume si aspettassero dai loro Tribunali locali, avrebbe raggiunto gli altri Tribunali. Questa parte del progetto, presto abbandonata, è forse legata ai cambiamenti di

Camera, the Vicar of the Pope, and the Governor; these findings can thus be considered as certain[42]. The first, with its seat in the palace of Innocent VIII, originally had jurisdiction over officials of the papal court[43]; the second, which was to remain without a fixed headquarters until 1692, had jurisdiction over the Roman clergy[44]. The third, that of the Governor, held session at Tor di Nona[45], while the Governor himself, until the assignment of a specific headquarters at Palazzo Nardini in 1626, resided in houses rented for the purpose for each new term of office, leading to frequent movements of archives and registers[46].
The Florentine source also mentions, alongside these three tribunals, Corte Savella and Torre di Nona[47]. The latter, as the court of the Governor has already been mentioned, must refer to the prisons; the former, instead, was the court of the Maresciallo, which could have occupied the fourth office, with his apartment, as indicated in the project we will examine below[48].
Corte Savella had its own seat, but it was not a very secure one; at the time of Innocent VIII it had been invaded and looted, and its archives had been destroyed[49]. The fate of the Tribunal of the Rota, located in the palazzo *of Innocent VIII[50], later demolished during the progress of the construction of St. Peter's[51], on the other hand, must have remained more uncertain: the Portuguese source lists it as one of the institutions to be transferred to Via Giulia, but the others make no mention of it[52]. The source from Ferrara, however, of October 5 1508, also states: "the pope makes thousands of changes: in ten days to move the Chancery to the new hall of Pope Innocent, which means further disruption"[53]; this project can be said to have been abandoned by September of the following year[54]. We can conclude that Julius considered tranferring the Chancery from the Palazzo Sforza Cesarini to the wing of the Palazzo Apostolico where the Rota was located, moving the latter either to the new justice complex or to the old Chancery. The Chancery[55], not closely connected to the courts, would therefore have been moved closer to the pope, while the Rota, which was, with increasing frequency, the court to which foreigners, such as the Florentines, made their appeals, avoiding the unfavourable sentences they expected from local courts, would have been placed together with the other courts. This part of the project, quickly abandoned, was perhaps connected to the changes of residence of Galeotto della Rovere, nephew of the pope, who when he became Vice-Chancellor in 1505 lived in Palazzo Sforza Cesarini, and who was later called by Julius II, on June 21, 1507, to live at the Vatican in the Borgia apartment.*

7



7. *Bramante, Pianta della sistemazione urbana della zona dei Tribunali. Dall'alto: il Tevere, il Palazzo dei Tribunali, via Giulia con sopra una via ad essa parallela verso il Tevere, la piazza con la Cancelleria e la via dei Banchi.*
Firenze, Uffizi, A136v.

7. *Bramante, plan of the urban development for the Law Courts. Top to bottom: the Tiber, the Palazzo dei Tribunali, Via Giulia with a street parallel to the Tiber above it, the square with the Chancery and Via dei Banchi.*
Florence, Uffizi, A136v.

abitazione di Galeotto della Rovere, nipote del papa, che quando nel 1505 divenne vicecancelliere abitava nel palazzo Sforza Cesarini e che poi Giulio II il 21 giugno 1507 aveva chiamato a risiedere in Vaticano nell'appartamento Borgia. Morto Galeotto l'11 settembre 1508[56], il fratello Sisto, suo successore, abiterà in Vaticano dopo una breve residenza nel palazzo della Cancelleria, di cui prende possesso il 12 ottobre 1508[57] e che userà in seguito solo come ufficio. La proposta di alcuni autori che la Cancelleria si dovesse identificare strettamente con la famiglia roveresca[58] sarebbe da scartare anche considerando quanto questa identificazione dovesse apparire poco opportuna a Giulio II, ben consapevole di quanto fosse importante per l'efficacia della giustizia che essa non si potesse identificare con alcun individuo[59].
Nessuno menziona il Tribunale Capitolino del Senatore, che, possiamo darlo per certo, sarebbe rimasto sul Campidoglio. Giulio II, anziché scontrarsi direttamente con il popolo romano intervenendo pesantemente sulla Curia del Comune, come hanno suggerito alcuni studiosi[60], doveva preferire indebolirla, esponendola al confronto colla propria nuova organizzazione – comoda, veloce ed efficiente – e in particolare con il principale concorrente, il Tribunale del Governatore, che nel secolo seguente l'avrebbe soppiantato quasi del tutto, riuscendo ad essere più tempestivo perché dotato di numerosa polizia ed informatori[61].
Due delle fonti già citate menzionano una piazza su cui avrebbero prospettato il nuovo palazzo e la Cancelleria, confermando il sommario disegno di Bramante UA 136v pubblicato da Frommel 25 anni orsono[62]. Scrive quella fiorentina: "*intra detto palazo e la Cancelleria manda gu tutte le botteghe e case, e favi una grande piaza, la quale da una banda harà la via della Cancelleria e da l'altra la via nuova. E ita gu una parte della Compagnia de Fiorentini e chosi qua si attende più a ruinare che a murare...*"[63]; e quella ferrarese: "*Nostro Signore vole fare una piaza avanti el palazo de la Cancellaria, et buctare in terra case et bocteghe che vagliono più de XL (mila) ducati; bucta anche una chiesia*"[64]. L'insieme sarebbe stato paragonabile a quello antico di Curia, o Basilica, e Foro[65]. Le dimensioni e proporzioni della piazza, legate a quelle del palazzo, insieme al tracciato esistente della via dei Banchi che ne doveva delimitare il lato nordest, hanno concorso a fissare la posizione della nuova via[66]. Per il sito dei Tribunali e della piazza si è scelto il tratto antistante la Cancelleria della via dei Banchi grosso modo parallelo alla nuova via, in corrispondenza del quale tra questa ed il Tevere restava un'area sufficiente per il palazzo; poi, in funzione delle dimensioni di questo da una parte e della piazza da interporre tra il palazzo e la via dei Banchi, si è stabilito il tracciato della strada. Questo potrebbe spiegare perché all'estremità vicina ai resti del ponte trionfale, che Giulio voleva ricostruire, la strada appaia più prossima al Tevere di quanto sarebbe stato opportuno per ben collegarla al ponte, anche accettando l'ipotesi recentemente riproposta da Arnaldo Bruschi che via e ponte fossero raccordati da una piazza, simile alla vicina piazza di Ponte[67].
La ricostruzione del ponte trionfale avrebbe collegato più direttamente il Vaticano coi Tribunali[68] evitando il ponte Sant'Angelo colle sue mostre di teste e corpi squartati .A Firenze motivi di decoro, alla fine del secolo, spingeranno il Gran Duca Ferdinando de' Medici a sostituire i macellai ed altre professioni basse sul Ponte Vecchio con orefici[69]; così questo ponte roveresco, un contrappeso a quello di Sisto IV, zio di Giulio, avrebbe assicurato un percorso decoroso ai giudici ecclesiastici diretti ai Tribunali, le cui sensibilità pastorali e dignità officiali rischiavano di essere compromesse dalle scene di macello umano fra piazza di Ponte e Castel Sant'Angelo[70].
Il progetto del palazzo, noto ed analizzato da tempo soprattutto attraverso una pianta del primo piano, elaborata e particolareggiata ma non necessariamente definitiva, soddisfaceva a pieno le esigenze funzionali e simboliche esposte sul tema nei trattati del XV-XVI secolo[71]. Di recente Arnaldo Bruschi ne ha analizzato a fondo soprattutto le qualità funzionali[72]. Nel progetto il palazzo isolato ha un'ampia corte a cui, per tre ingressi, può accedere un vasto pubblico, come consiglia Alberti[73]; è rafforzato e reso sicuro dal poderoso basamento bugnato e dalle torri angolari come nel Palazzo di Giustizia di Filarete[74] e come indicherà Serlio – per il quale dal modo di fare giustizia al suo tempo spesso nascevano tumulti[75] – e, come la Curia capitolina, ha una campana sulla torre centrale per chiamare alle udienze[76].
All'interno vi è, come raccomanda Alberti, una chiesa ad uso dei magistrati – tutti ecclesiastici[77] –, chiesa che poteva servire anche per funzioni legate all'amministrazione della giustizia: i due carceri di Tor di Nona e di Corte Savella erano muniti di cappelle[78]. Al primo piano vi sono quattro appartamenti ben distinti per i presidenti dei tre Tribunali sopra elencati a cui va aggiunto, come abbiamo visto, secondo una delle fonti quello del Maresciallo (Corte Savella) o, secondo il documento camerale del 1551, il

When Galeotto died on September 11, 1508[56]*, his brother and successor Sisto would live in the Vatican after a brief stay at the Chancery, where he took over on October 12, 1508*[57]*; after his move to the Vatican, he used the seat of the Chancery only as his office. The suggestion advanced by some authors that the Chancery can be closely identified with the Della Rovere family*[58] *can be discarded, especially in consideration of the fact that any such identification would have appeared as a disadvantage to Julius II, aware as he was of the importance, for the effective execution of justice, of avoiding such an identification of institutions with individuals*[59]*.*

No mention is made of the Capitoline court of the Senator which, we can safely assert, would remain at the Campidoglio. Julius II, rather than directly confronting the people of Rome with a heavy-handed modification of the municipal court, as some scholars have suggested[60]*, would have preferred to weaken it, exposing it to comparison with the new organisation – more convenient, rapid and efficient – and, in particular, with its main competitor, the court of the Governor, which in the century to follow almost completely replaced the municipal court, because of its greater efficiency due to a larger network of police and informers*[61]*.*

Two of the sources cited mention a piazza which was to have been constructed in front of the new edifice and the Chancery, confirming the sketchy design of Bramante UA 136v published by Frommel twenty-five years ago[62]*. The Florentine source writes:* "between this edifice and the Chancery he is destroying all the workshops and houses and creating a large square, with the street of the Chancery on one side and the new street on the other. A large part of the Compagnia dei Fiorentini has already been destroyed, so here more effort is being spent on demolition than on building..."[63]*; and the source from Ferrara:* "Our Lord wants to make a square in front of the Chancery, and to demolish houses and shops with a value of over XL (thousand) ducats; a church is also to be demolished"[64]*. The overall situation would have been comparable to the historical arrangement of the Curia, or Basilica, and the Forum*[65]*. The scale and proportions of the piazza, linked to those of the new palace, together with the existing axis of Via dei Banchi, which would have formed its northeastern border, helped to determine the position of the new street*[66]*. For the site of the court complex and the piazza the part of Via dei Banchi in front of the Chancellery was selected, roughly parallel to the new street; between the street and the Tiber there remained a sufficient empty space for the* palazzo; *then, in keeping with the dimensions of the building and those of the piazza to be placed between the edifice and Via dei Banchi, the position of the street was fixed. This may explain why, at the extremity near the remains of the triumphal bridge, which Julius wanted to reconstruct, the street appears to be closer to the Tiber than would have been convenient to connect it properly to the bridge, even if we accept the hypothesis recently revived by Arnaldo Bruschi that the street and the bridge were to be connected by a piazza, similar to the nearly Piazza di Ponte*[67]*.*

The reconstruction of the triumphal bridge would have more directly linked the Vatican to the courts[68]*, avoiding Ponte Sant'Angelo, with its display of severed heads and quartered corpses. In Florence motives of decorum, toward the end of the century, prompted the Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici to replace the butchers and other lowly professions on Ponte Vecchio with goldsmiths*[69]*; in like manner this bridge of the Della Rovere, counterpart of that of Sixtus IV, Julius's uncle, would have ensured a decorous route for the ecclesiastical judges on their way to the courts, without running the risk of compromising their pastoral sensibilities and official dignity with the scenes of human butchery on display between Piazza di Ponte and Castel Sant'Angelo*[70]*.*

The design of the courthouse, known and analyzed for some time by means of a plan of the first floor which was quite detailed but not necessarily definitive, fully responded to the functional and symbolic requirements laid put on this theme in the treatises of the 15th and 16th centuries[71]*. Recently Arnaldo Bruschi has made an in-depth analysis of its functional qualities*[72]*. In the design the isolated edifice has a spacious courtyard with three entrances providing access for the general public, as recommended by Alberti*[73]*; it is reinforced and made secure by the heavy rusticated base, and by the corner towers, like those on the courthouse of Filarete*[74]*, and as indicated by Serlio – in whose opinion the way of dispensing justice in his time was often a cause of disorder*[75] *– and, as at the Capitoline court, the edifice has a bell on the central tower, to announce the beginning of the proceedings*[76]*. Inside, again in keeping with Alberti's recommendations, there is a church for the magistrates – all ecclesiastics*[77] *– which could also serve for functions connected to the administration of justice: the two prisons of Tor di Nona and Corte Savella also had chapels*[78]*. On the first floor there are four separate apartments for the presidents of the three courts mentioned above and, as we have seen, according to one of the sources, for the court of the Maresciallo (Corte Savella), or, according to the document of the Camera of 1551, for the*

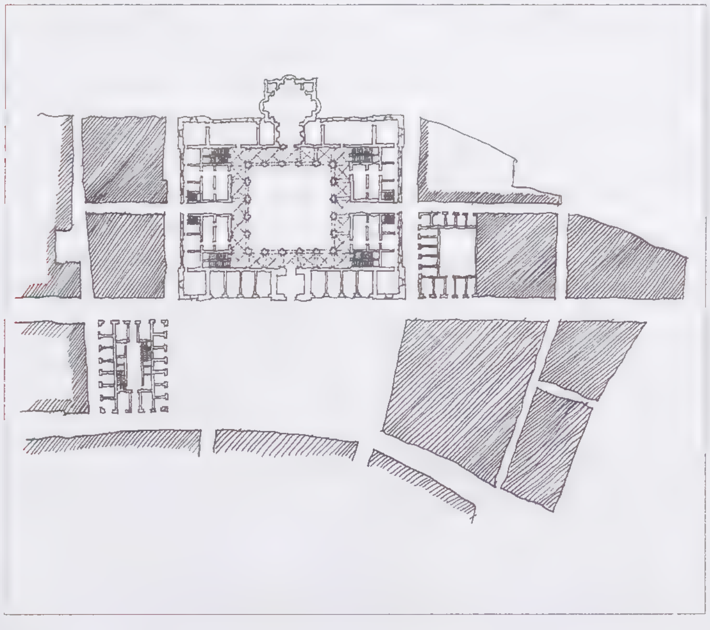
8. Via Giulia e l'area dei Tribunali, nella pianta di Roma di Giovan Battista Nolli, 1748.
9. Via Giulia ed i resti del ponte trionfale, in una mappa del catasto Gregoriano, con indicazione delle proprietà del Capitolo di San Pietro nel XIX sec. (Bibl. Ap. Vaticana).
10. Ricostruzione della piazza dei Tribunali con il palazzo di Giuliano Leno (poi Sacchetti, in alto a destra) ed il palazzo Cesi (del vescovo di Cervia, in basso a sinistra). Il lato destro, raffigurato come è di fatto, probabilmente sarebbe stato rettificato realizzando la piazza.
11. L'area del Palazzo dei Tribunali, con la chiesa di San Biagio non finita, visti dal Tevere, nella pianta di Roma di Antonio Tempesta, 1593.

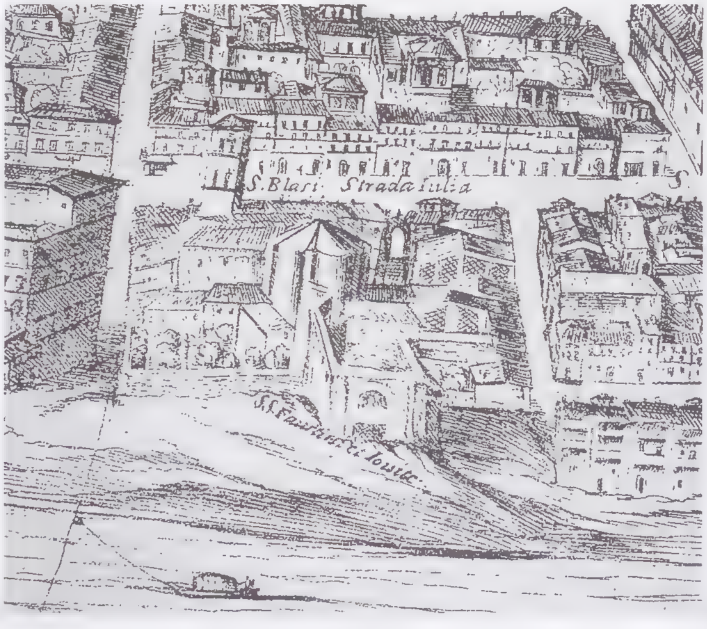
8. Via Giulia and the area of the Law Courts, in Giovan Battista Nolli's 1748 plan of Rome.
9. Via Giulia and the remains of the triumphal bridge, in a Gregorian land register map, with indications of the Chapter of Saint Peter's ownership in the nineteenth century (Bibl. Ap. Vaticana).
10. Reconstruction of Piazza dei Tribunali with the Palazzo di Giuliano Leno (later Sacchetti, top right) and Palazzo Cesi



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(property of the bishop of Cervia, bottom left). The right flank, shown here as it is now, would probably have been rectified if the piazza had been built.
11. The area of Palazzo dei Tribunali, with the unfinished church of San Biagio, seen from the river in Antonio Tempesta's 1593 plan of Rome.

presidente della Camera Apostolica[79]. Tutti i maggiori giudici erano così facilmente reperibili, ma difesi dall'invadenza del pubblico e da tentativi di corruzione. Il piano superiore era destinato agli alloggi delle "famiglie" e/o dei Chierici di Camera[80]. Giulio II deve essersi ricordato anche di Sisto IV, che, nel rinnovare la cappella palatina, aveva provveduto a fornire, sotto la cappella stessa, comodi alloggi ed uffici per i ministri del culto.
Al piano terra, in botteghe accessibili dall'esterno, avrebbero trovato posto i notai con i loro archivi, come si farà negli anni '70 nel Palazzo de' Giudici a Firenze[81] e due secoli dopo nella Curia Innocenziana[82], e nei sotterranei le carceri, sempre unite alle sedi della Corte nei Tribunali romani (Tor di Nona, Corte Savella, Curia Capitolina)[83]. Mentre i notai capitolini erano stati riorganizzati nel XIV e XV secolo, non si era ancora provveduto per i notai che rogavano per conto di privati appartenenti alla Curia. Spesso notai non romani lasciavano la città portando con sé i registri, creando così gravi inconvenienti a cui il Papa voleva porre rimedio con vari provvedimenti[84]. Fra questi spicca una bolla del 1507 colla quale istituì un collegio di notai al servizio di tutti i giudici dei Tribunali pontifici, riforma che può essere stata suggerita in parte dalla conoscenza che Giulio II aveva della ben ordinata sistemazione amministrativa-urbanistica di Bologna, dove i notai avevano dal Trecento un palazzo sulla piazza Maggiore[85].
I lavori, in corso nell'ottobre 1508, furono affidati a Giuliano Leno, il quale si sarebbe impegnato a concluderli in due anni[86]. Il Leno per oltre un ventennio, secondo un'efficace espressione di Labaco, "maneggiò" le principali fabbriche pontificie: dal Belvedere a San Pietro, a Villa Madama[87]. Gentiluomo romano, non era propriamente né un architetto né, tantomeno, un mastro costruttore. Era una singolare figura di imprenditore edile che forniva materiali, mezzi per trasportarli, strumenti di lavorazione ma, soprattutto, organizzazione e anticipazione di mezzi finanziari necessari per realizzare opere di grande impegno[88]. L'ottimismo di Leno, di Bramante e di Giulio II si dimostrerà infondato. I lavori, proceduti alacremente nei primi due-tre anni, incontrarono forse difficoltà nelle fondazioni su un terreno vicino al Tevere, fondazioni che dovettero risultare onerose dal momento che, nonostante la costruzione quando si interruppe alla morte del Papa fosse arrivata solo 2-3 metri al disopra del terreno, secondo il solito documento camerale sarebbe costata ben 200.000 scudi[89].

president of the Apostolic Camera[79]. This meant that all the judges would have been easy to contact, but would also have been protected from the public, and from attempts at corruption. The upper level was set aside for the lodgings of the "familiars" and/or of the Clerks of the Camera[80]. Julius II must also have born in mind Sixtus IV who, in the renovation of the palatine chapel, had provided, beneath the chapel itself, comfortable lodgings and offices for the functionaries.
At ground level, in shops with external access, notaries would have been placed, with their archives, as was the case in the 1570s at Palazzo de' Giudici in Florence[81], and two centuries later in the Curia Innocenziana[82], and in the basements the prisons, always united to the seats of the court in the major Roman tribunals (Tor di Nona, Corte Savella, the Capitoline court)[83]. While the Roman notaries had been reorganised in the 14th and 15th centuries, the same could not be said for those who offered their services to private individuals of the Curia. Often non-Roman notaries left the city, taking the registers with them, and thus creating serious inconveniences which the pope attempted to eliminate through a variety of measures[84]. Among these was the bull of 1507, in which a college of notaries was set up to serve all the judges of the pontifical courts, a reform which may have been prompted, in part, by the awareness of Julius II of the well-ordered administrative and urbanistic arrangements of Bologna, where since the 1300s the notaries had been located in their own palace, on Piazza Maggiore[85].
The construction, already underway in October, 1508, was entrusted to Giuliano Leno, who had made a commitment to complete the work in two years[86]. For more than two decades Leno, to use an apt expression of Labaco, "handled" the major works of the pope: from the Belvedere to St. Peter's and the Villa Madama[87]. Of the Roman gentry, he was neither an architect nor a master builder, but rather a singular entrepreneurial figure, furnishing materials, transport, tools and, above all, organisation and financing for large works[88]. The optimism of Leno, Bramante and Julius II was misplaced. The works proceeded rapidly for two to three years, but then flagged, perhaps due to the difficulty of constructing solid foundations on land so close to the Tiber; when construction was interrupted due to the death of the pope, the actual structure had only reached a height of 2-3 metres above ground, although the document of the Camera (cited above) reports expenditures of 200,000 scudi[89]. Even if we take into account the possible exaggeration of this figure, and reduce it by half, the cost is still disproportionate to the results.

12. Medaglia di Giulio II, con il fronte del Palazzo dei Tribunali.

12. Julius II Medal, with the facade of Palazzo dei Tribunali.

La cifra è sicuramente esagerata, ma anche se la si riducesse alla metà sembra comunque sproporzionata a quanto si vede fuori terra.

Dopo il '13 il progetto, però, non è ufficialmente abbandonato. Nel 1549, parecchi anni dopo la morte di Giulio II, una casa che potrebbe essere confiscata dalla Camera apostolica nel caso che si riprendano i lavori è data in enfiteusi con clausole cautelative[90], e lo stesso Giuliano Leno, in un isolato attiguo ai Tribunali, inizierà, su un terreno ottenuto nel '14, un palazzo con 14 botteghe, poco giustificabili se l'aspettativa di un completamento non fosse rimasta viva[91]. Del pari Angelo Cesi, avvocato concistoriale ben introdotto nell'ambiente di Giulio II ed in quello giudiziario, con quattro figli avviati alla carriera curiale, su un terreno ottenuto nell'agosto 1505 inizia, difficilmente prima dei tempi di Leone X, un palazzo con botteghe che avrebbero prospettato su uno dei lati corti della piazza[92]. Ancora Pio IV, laureato in *utroque iure* e costruttore a Milano del Palazzo dei Giureconsulti, penserà di riprendere l'iniziativa di Giulio II[93]. Bisogna arrivare ad Innocento XII perché il progetto di riordinare gli uffici dei Tribunali, ripreso anche da Alessandro VII, si realizzi in un'altra sede: soppressa da tempo Corte Savella[94], gli uffici giudiziari e dei notai e le loro abitazioni trovano posto nel palazzo di Montecitorio[95], completato per tale uso, ed in edifici confinanti, mentre il Tribunale del Vicario si insedia in un palazzo attiguo[96]. Intanto via Giulia, persa la sua principale ragion d'essere originaria, aveva assunto una funzione residenziale, mentre la funzione mercantile era rimasta alla vicina vecchia via dei Banchi. Il mancato insediamento dei Tribunali si era ripercosso sull'edilizia circostante: il palazzo Cesi (del Vescovo di Cervia) rimase allo stato di frammento[97] (un caso quasi unico a Roma), mentre le botteghe del palazzo di Giuliano Leno, ormai inutili, furono chiuse entro la fine del '500[98] al pari di quelle della poco lontana casa Sangallo[99].

Su un carro simbolico in occasione di festeggiamenti nel 1507, Giulio II è indicato come *"justitiae propugnaculum"*[100], un'immagine che suggerisce la forma che avrebbe assunto il suo palazzo dei Tribunali stando a come la raffigura la medaglia di fondazione. Effimero fu il carro, ed effimero anche il palazzo; l'idea ispiratrice del progetto, invece, in quanto nata non solo dalla situazione politica e fisica tutta particolare di Roma ma anche dai modi di amministrare la giustizia in tanti centri d'Italia e d'Europa, poté rinascere e realizzarsi.

Note

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Il presente articolo è la sintesi di una relazione su *Il palazzo dei Tribunali e via Giulia*, presentata da chi scrive al convegno su *Il palazzo Falconieri e il palazzo barocco a Roma* organizzato dal prof. Gabor Hajnòczi e svoltasi il 25-26 maggio 1995 presso l'Accademia d'Ungheria a Roma. Il testo completo, corredato di tutti i documenti citati e da apparati più estesi sarà pubblicato negli atti del convegno, curati da G. Hajnòczi.

1) D. QUAGLIONI, *Politica e diritto nel Trecento Italiano – Il "De Tyranno" di Bartolus da Sassoferrato (1314-1357)*. Con l'edizione critica dei trattati *"De Guelfis et Gebellinis", "De regimine civitatis" et "De Tyranno"*, Firenze 1983, pp. 19-20.

2) *"(Inquit) Remota itaque...Iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?". Civitate Dei*, citato da M. SALAMONII, *De Principatu Libros septem*, Roma MDXLIIII, p. 26.

3) F. PATETTA, *Contributi alla storia del diritto romano, II, Nota sopra alcuni mss delle istituzioni di Giustiniano*, in "Bollettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano", IV, 1891, p. 19.

4) Su questo complicato argomento: N. DEL RE, *La curia capitolina*, Roma 1993, pp. 19, 20, 39-55.

5) Paolo II, 16.9.1464, *Iurisdictio et facultates vicarii Papae in urbe eiusque districtu* (*Bullarium Romanum*, V, pp. 182-183); Innocenzo VIII, 18.8.1485, *Iurisdictio clericorum Rev. Cam. Apostolicae...*(*Ibidem*, V, pp. 315-316); IDEM, 22.2.1485, *Iurisdictio et facultates auditorum Rotae Romanae in causis per eos cognoscendis*.

6) Bolle cit. a nota 5: Paolo II, 16.9.1464; Innocenzo VIII, 18.8.1485, p. 316; IDEM, 22.12.1485, pp. 321-322.

7) B. FIERA, *De Iusticia Pingenda. On the Painting of Justice. A dialogue between Mantegna and Momus. The Latin text of 1515 reprinted, with trans. intro. and notes by J. Wandrop*, London 1957, p. 30 e p. 49, nota 30. Il dialogo fra Mantegna e Momus si svolge a Roma, probabilmente nel 1489 e verosimilmente si riferisce ad una figura di Giustizia (distrutta) che era dipinta nella cappella del Belvedere di Innocenzo VIII (pp. 10-11).

8) Giulio II, 1.12.1507, *Institutio collegii scriptorum archivii Romanae Curiae notariorum in causis commissariis in Urbe apud iudices proprios notarios non habentes...*(*Bullarium Rom.*, V, pp. 458-466).

9) Giulio II, 28.3.1512, *Declaratio iurisdictionum Vicarii Papae Gubernatoris, Auditoris Camerae, Senatoris aliorumque iudicum Curiae Capitolii ac Marescalli urbis* (*Ibidem*, V, pp. 511-514); DEL RE, 1993, pp. 45-46.

10) L. VON PASTOR, *Storia di papi dalla fine del medioevo*, trad. a cura di A. Mercati, Roma 1959, III, pp. 356-360, 754.

11) Lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel (20.3.1524) citata in R. PANE, *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, I, Milano 1975, p. 70.

12) P. GIANNONE, *Istoria Civile del regno di Napoli*, Haia MDCCLIII, IV, pp. 49, 54-55.

13) Atti convegno Falconieri.

14) P. DE ROO, *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI his relatives and his time*, Bruges 1924, p. 438; Alessandro VI annunciò la fondazione del tribunale romagnolo il 29.7.1502 senza il consenso del Collegio dei Cardinali, preoccupato che diminuissero le entrate della Sacra Rota di Roma.

15) A. BERNARDI, *Cronache Forlivesi*, a cura di G. Mazzatinti, Bologna 1967, II, pp. 43-44.

16) Su Antonio del Monte, G. DE CANO, *D.B.I.*, 38, 1990, p. 147.

17) L. GIORDANO, *Le Piazze di Milano*, Roma, Bib. Hertziana 7.12.1994.

18) Atti convegno Falconieri.

19) A. CAMETTI, *La torre di Nona e la contrada circostante dal Medioevo al secolo XVII*, in "Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria", 39, 1916, pp. 422-450; N. DEL RE, *Monsignor Governatore di Roma*, Roma 1972, p. 23.

20) IDEM, *La curia Savella*, in DEL RE, 1993, pp. 101-129, in specie 119-126 sulle carceri; M. TAFURI, *Le Carceri Nuove*...in L. SALERNO, L. SPEZZAFERRO, M. TAFURI, *Via Giulia*, Roma 1973, pp.359-369, in specie 361.



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Nevertheless, after 1513 the project was not yet officially dropped. In 1549, many years after the death of Julius II, a house which could have been confiscated by the Apostolic Camera in the case of a resumption of construction was ceded in perpetual lease with protection clauses[90]*, and Giuliano Leno himself, in a lot adjacent to the unfinished complex, began to build, on land acquired in 1514, a building with fourteen shops, which would not have been justified had the project for the completion of the court complex not remained alive*[91]*. In the same manner Angelo Cesi, a consistorial lawyer well-established in the circle of Julius II and with the judiciary, with four sons launched on curial careers, on a lot purchased in August 1505 began to build, probably not before the time of Leo X, a palace with shops that would have faced onto one of the short sides of the piazza*[92]*. Pius IV, another pontiff with a law degree, builder of Palazzo dei Giuresconsulti in Milan, later decided to revive the initiative of Julius II*[93]*. But it was not until the pontificate of Innocent XII that the project for the reorganisation of the offices of the courts, also pursued by Alexander VII, was completed at another site: Corte Savella had been suppressed for some time*[94]*, and the offices of the magistrates and the notaries, as well as their dwellings, were located in the palazzo of Montecitorio*[95]*, built for this purpose, and in nearby buildings, while the court of the Vicar was located in an adjacent edifice*[96]*. In the meantime Via Giulia, deprived of its original reason for being, took on the character of a residential street, leaving commercial functions up to the nearby Via dei Banchi. The failure to build the court complex had repercussions for the surrounding buildings: the Palazzo Cesi (of the Bishop of Cervia) remained a fragment*[97] *(an almost unique example in Rome), while the shops of Giuliano Leno's palace, having lost their usefulness, were closed before the end of the century*[98]*, like those of the nearby Sangallo house*[99]*.*
On a symbolic chariot for the celebrations of 1507, Julius II is described as "justitiae propugnaculum"[100]*, an image which suggests the form which his palace for the lawcourts would have had, as depicted on its foundation medal. The chariot was ephemeral, as was the palace; but the idea behind the project, because it concerned not only the particular political and physical situation of Rome, but also of the ways of administering justice in many centres in Italy and Europe, survived and developed.*

Notes

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This article is a synthesis of a paper presented by the authors at the conference Il palazzo Falconieri e il palazzo barocco a Roma *organised by Prof. Gabor Hajnòczi and held on May 25-26, 1995 at the Accademia d'Ungheria in Rome. The complete text, together with all the documents cited and more extensive materials, will be published in the proceedings of the conference, edited by G. Hajnòczi.*
1) *D. QUAGLIONI,* Politica e diritto nel Trecento Italiano – Il "De Tyranno" di Bartolus da Sassoferrato (1314-1357). *With the critical edition of the treatises* "De Guelfis et Gebellinis", "De regimine civitatis" et "De Tyranno", *Firenze 1983, p. 19-20.*
2) "(Inquit) Remota itaque...Iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?". Civitate Dei, *cited in M. SALAMONII,* De Principatu, Libros septem, *Roma MDXLIIII, p. 26.*
3) *F. PATETTA,* Contributi alla storia del diritto romano, II, Nota sopra alcuni mss delle istituzioni di Giustiniano, *in "Bollettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano", IV, 1891, p. 19.*
4) *On this complicated subject: N. DEL RE,* La curia capitolina, *Roma 1993, p. 19, 20, 39-55.*
5) *Paul II, 16-9-1464,* Iurisdictio et facultates vicarii Papae in urbe eiusque districtu (Bullarium Romanum, *V, p. 182-183); Innocent VIII, 18-8-1485,* Iurisdictio clericorum Rev. Cam. Apostolicae...*(Ibid., V, p. 315-316); IDEM, 22-12-1485,* Iurisdictio et facultates auditorum Rotae Romanae in causis per eos cognoscendis.
6) *Bulls cit. note 5: Paul II, 16-9-1464; Innocent VIII, 18-8-1485, p. 316; IDEM 22-12-1485, p. 321-322.*
7) *B. FIERA,* De Iusticia Pingenda. On the Painting of Justice. A dialogue between Mantegna and Momus. The Latin text of 1515 reprinted, with trans. intro. and notes by J. Wandrop, *London 1957, p. 30 and p. 49, note 30. The dialogue between Mantegna and Momus took place in Rome, probably in 1489, and it is likely that it referred to a figure of Justice (since destroyed) painted in the chapel of the Belvedere of Innocent VIII (p. 10-11).*
8) *Julius II, 1-12-1507,* Institutio collegii scriptorum archivii Romanae Curiae notariorum in causis commissariis in Urbe apud iudices proprios notarios non habentes...*(Bullarium Rom., V, p. 458-466).*
9) *Julius II, 28-3-1512,* Declaratio iurisdictionum Vicarii Papae Gubernatoris, Auditoris Camerae, Senatoris aliorumque iudicum Curiae Capitolii ac Marescalli urbis *(Ibid, V, p. 511-514); DEL RE, 1993, p. 45-46.*
10) *L. VON PASTOR,* Storia di papi dalla fine del medioevo, *translation, edited by A. Mercati, Roma 1959, III, p. 356-360, 754.*
11) *Letter by Pietro Summonte to Marcantonio Michiel (20-3-1524) cited in R. PANE,* Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale, *I, Milano 1975, p. 70.*
12) *P. GIANNONE,* Istoria Civile del regno di Napoli, *Haia MDCCLIII, IV, p. 49, 54-55.*
13) *Falconieri conference proceedings.*
14) *P. DE ROO,* Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI his relatives and his time, *Bruges 1924, p. 438; Alexander VI announced the foundation of the court in Romagna on 29-7-1502, without the consent of the College of Cardinals, as he was concerned about the possible decrease in the income produced by the Sacra Rota of Rome.*
15) *A. BERNARDI,* Cronache Forlivesi, *ed. G. Mazzatinti, Bologna 1967, II, p. 43-44.*
16) *On Antonio del Monte, G. DE CANO,* D.B.I., *38, 1990, p. 147.*
17) *L. GIORDANO,* Le piazze di Milano, *Rome, Bib. Hertziana 7-12-1994.*
18) *Falconieri conference proceedings.*

21) DEL RE, 1972, p. 23, e 1993, p. 110 e nota 24.
22) Atti convegno Falconieri.
23) CAMETTI, pp. 445, 447, 448.
24) IDEM, pp. 449, 450, nella piazza di Ponte dal 1488.
25) IDEM, p. 440: a Campo de' Fiori il 19.10.1489 sono arsi vivi due falsificatori di bolle Pontificie e il 7.4.1498 un moro travestito da donna che era alloggiato presso una cortigiana.
26) DEL RE, 1993, p. 11, nota 28.
27) IDEM, 1972, p. 17, e 1993, pp. 37-38 e tav. II; CAMETTI, p. 446.
28) Questo toponimo era d'uso corrente per indicare la zona tra via dei Banchi ed il Tevere.
29) G. FERRARI, O.S.B., *Early Roman Monasteries*, Città del Vaticano 1957, p. 75; M. TAFURI, *S. Biagio della Pagnotta*, in *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 323.
30) P.N. PAGLIARA, *Documenti sul palazzo del vescovo di Cervia*, in "Bollettino del Centro Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura" 25, 1979, p. 37.
31) Atti convegno Falconieri.
32) *Ibidem.*
33) *Ibidem.*
34) C.L. FROMMEL, *Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, Tübingen 1973, II, pp. 293, 300.
35) Atti convegno Falconieri.
36) *Ibidem.*
37) *Ibidem* e FROMMEL, 1973, II, p. 327.
38) *Ibidem.*
39) *Ibidem.*
40) *Ibidem.*
41) GIANNONE, IV, pp. 54-55.
42) Sull'argomento: FROMMEL, 1973, II, pp. 331, 332; A. BRUSCHI, *Bramante e la funzionalità. Il palazzo dei Tribunali 'Turres et loca fortissima pro commoditate ed utilitate publica'*, in "Palladio", n.s.VII, 1994, pp. 145-156, in specie 147-148, e atti convegno Falconieri.
43) H. EGGER, *Das päpstliche Kanzleigebäude im 15 Jahrundert*, in "Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv", 1951, Ergänzungsband III, pp. 487-500; C.L. FROMMEL, *Francesco del Borgo: Architekt Pius' II und Pauls II*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte" 20, 1983, p. 127 e figg. 20, 21, 22, 26,30; DEL RE, 1993, p. 39.
44) N. DEL RE, *Il Viceregente del Vicariato di Roma*, Roma 1976, per la sede cfr. anche più avanti nota 96.
45) IDEM, 1972, p. 23.
46) IDEM, *Ibidem*, p. 38. Nel 1508 il Governatore abitava in una casa di proprietà di un Ciampolini, verosimilmente parente del celebre collezionista di antichità (*ibid.*)
47) Atti convegno Falconieri.
48) Sul Maresciallo e la Corte Savella cfr. nota 20.
49) Atti convegno Falconieri.
50) Cfr. nota 43.
51) Sui contemporanei progetti per S. Pietro C.L. FROMMEL, *San Pietro*, in *Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Michelangelo*, a cura di H. Millon e V. Magnago Lampugnani, Milano 1994, pp. 399-423.
52) Atti convegno Falconieri.
53) *Ibidem.*
54) *Ibidem.*
55) Sulla Cancelleria: P.M. BAUMGARTEN, *Aus Kanzlei und Kammer*, Freiburg im Breisgan 1907; EGGER, pp. 487-500.
56) Bibl. Naz. Firenze, II. III.144, P. DE GRASSIS, *Diarium*, c.308r.
57) IDEM, *Ibidem*, cc326r-327v.
58) SPEZZAFERRO, in *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 58; TAFURI, *Ibidem*, p. 69.
59) A Napoli, ad esempio, Don Pietro di Toledo voleva trasferire il tribunale della Camera Sommaria dalla casa del Gran Camerario, il Marchese del Vasto (GIANNONE, IV, p. 49).
60) SPEZZAFERRO, in *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 60 e TAFURI, *Ibidem*, p. 72.
61) DEL RE, 1993, pp. 69-70.
62) C.L. FROMMEL, *Il palazzo dei Tribunali in Via Giulia*, in *Studi Bramanteschi*, Roma 1974, pp. 523-534 e IDEM, 1973, II, pp. 330, 335.
63) Atti convegno Falconieri.
64) *Ibidem.*
65) A. BRUSCHI, *Bramante architetto*, Bari 1969, pp. 598 e sgg. (sul cortile del palazzo come Foro); TAFURI, 1973, p. 58; IDEM, *Roma instaurata: Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo '500*, in C.L. FROMMEL, S. RAY, M. TAFURI, *Raffaello architetto*, Milano 1984, pp. 68-70; BRUSCHI, 1995, pp. 149, 150.
66) Sui rapporti tra il progetto del palazzo e quello della via: FROMMEL, 1974, p. 523.
67) Su una piazza di raccordo tra via Giulia ed il ponte neroniano: TAFURI, 1973, p. 70 e fig. a p. 71; IDEM, 1984, fig. a p. 69 e BRUSCHI, 1995, p. 146 e fig. 2.
68) Cfr. BRUSCHI, 1995, fig. 2.
69) Atti convegno Falconieri.
70) SALAMONII, edizione consultata Parisiis 1579, pp.77-78; CAMETTI, pp. 445, 449, 450.
71) BRUSCHI, 1969, pp. 598 e sgg. e 946-959; FROMMEL, 1973, I, pp. 96, 143, II, pp. 334-335. IDEM, 1974, pp. 525-526.
72) BRUSCHI, 1995, pp. 148-155.
73) L.B. ALBERTI, *L'architettura*, a cura di G. Orlandi e P. Portoghesi, Milano 1966, p. 370.
74) *Ibidem;* A. AVERLINO detto il FILARETE, *Trattato di Architettura*, a cura di A.M. Finoli e L. Grassi, Milano 1972, pp. 166, 271-278.
75) S. SERLIO, *Architettura civile, libri sesto settimo e ottavo nei manoscritti di Monaco e di Vienna*, a cura di F.P. Fiore. Premesse e note di T. Carunchio e F. P. Fiore, Milano 1994, p. 150.
76) DEL RE, 1993, p. 35.
77) ALBERTI, 1966, p. 370.
78) DEL RE, 1993, p. 120 per corte Savella e Tor di Nona.
79) Per l'organizzazione degli appartamenti: BRUSCHI, 1995, p. 152; per i presidenti dei Tribunali: atti convegno Falconieri.
80) FROMMEL, 1973, II, p. 330; BRUSCHI, 1995, p. 152, e atti convegno Falconieri.
81) Atti convegno Falconieri.
82) Per gli uffici dei notai nel complesso innocenziano: G. CURCIO, *Convento e Case delle Filippine*, in *Le immagini del SS. Salvatore*, Roma 1989, pp. 172-181.
83) DEL RE, 1993, p. 36 per le carceri capitoline situate nello stesso palazzo del Comune; pp. 108-109 per quelle di corte Savella e Tor di Nona unite ai rispettivi tribunali.
84) *Bullarium romanum*, V, p. 459.
85) N. MILLER, *Renaissance Bologna. A study in Architectural Form and Content*, New York-Bern-Frankfurt am Main-Paris 1989, pp. 93-98.
86) Atti convegno Falconieri.
87) *Ibidem.*
88) Voce su Giuliano Leno in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. MacMillan Publishers Limited, in stampa.
89) Atti convegno Falconieri.
90) Bibl. Ap. Vaticana, Capitolo di S. Pietro, Privilegi e Atti 25, cc.379v-381v.
91) FROMMEL, 1973, II, pp. 292, 300 e Schede sui disegni relativi a palazzo Sacchetti in C.L. FROMMEL, General Editor, N. ADAMS, Editor,*The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo The Younger and his Circle*, III vol. (in preparazione).
92) FROMMEL, 1973, I, pp. 126, 130; PAGLIARA, 1979, pp. 35-41.
93) PASTOR, VII, pp. 56-58.
94) DEL RE, 1993, pp. 124-129.
95) G. CURCIO, *Palazzo della Curia a Montecitorio*, in *Immagini... SS.mo Salvatore*, pp. 144-167.
96) EADEM, *Ibidem*, *Palazzo del Viceregente*, pp. 168-171.
97) Cfr. nota 92.
98) Cfr. nota 91.
99) FROMMEL, 1973, III, fig. 135 d.
100) Atti convegno Falconieri.

19) A. CAMETTI, La torre di Nona e la contrada circostante dal Medioevo al secolo XVII, in "Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria", 39, 1916, p. 422-450; N. DEL RE, Monsignor Governatore di Roma, Roma 1972, p. 23.
20) IDEM, La curia Savella, in DEL RE, 1993, p. 101-129, in particular 119-126 on the prisons; M. TAFURI, Le Carceri Nuove... in L. SALERNO, L. SPEZZAFERRO, M. TAFURI, Via Giulia, Rome 1973, p.359-369, in particular 361.
21) DEL RE, 1972, p. 23, and 1993, p. 110 and note 24.
22) Falconieri conference proceedings.
23) A. CAMETTI, p. 445, 447, 448.
24) IDEM p. 449, 450, in Piazza di Ponte since 1488.
25) IDEM, p. 440: at Campo de' Fiori on 19-10-1489 two falsifiers of papal bulls were burnt alive, and on 7-4-1498 a Moor dressed as a woman was offered hospitality by a courtesan.
26) DEL RE 1993, p. 11, note 28.
27) IDEM, 1972, p. 17, and 1993, p. 37-38 and tab. II; CAMETTI, La Tor di Nona, cit., p. 446.
28) This place name was commonly used to indicate the zone between Via dei Banchi and the Tiber.
29) G. FERRARI, O.S.B., Early Roman Monasteries, Vatican City 1957, p. 75; M. TAFURI, S. Biagio della Pagnotta in Via Giulia, p. 323.
30) P.N. PAGLIARA, Documenti sul palazzo del vescovo di Cervia, in "Bollettino del Centro Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura" 25, 1979, p. 37.
31) Falconieri conference proceedings.
32) Ibidem
33) Ibidem
34) C.L. FROMMEL, Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance, Tübingen 1973, II, p. 293, 300.
35) Falconieri conference proceedings.
36) Ibidem.
37) Ibidem and FROMMEL 1973, II, p. 327.
38) Ibidem.
39) Ibidem.
40) Ibidem.
41) GIANNONE, cit., IV, p. 54-55.
42) On this topic: FROMMEL 1973, II, p. 331, 332; A. BRUSCHI, Bramante e la funzionalità. Il palazzo dei Tribunali 'Turres et loca fortissima pro commoditate ed utilitate publica', in "Palladio", n.s.VII, 1994, p. 145-156, in particular147-148, and Falconieri conference proceedings.
43) H. EGGER, Das päpstliche Kanzleigebäude im 15 Jahrundert, in "Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv", 1951, Ergänzungsband III, p. 487-500; C.L. FROMMEL, Francesco del Borgo: Architekt Pius' II und Pauls II, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte" 20, 1983, p. 127 and figs 20, 21, 22, 26,30; DEL RE, 1993, p. 39.
44) N. DEL RE, Il Viceregente del Vicariato di Roma, Roma 1976; also see note 96.
45) IDEM, 1972, p. 23.
46) IDEM, Ibidem, p. 38. In1508 the Governor lived in a house owned by a certain Ciampolini, possibly a relative of the famous collector of antiquities (ibid.)
47) Falconieri conference proceedings.
48) On the Maresciallo and the Corte Savella see note 20.
49) Falconieri conference proceedings.
50) See note 43.
51) On the contemporary projects for St. Peter's see C. L. FROMMEL, San Pietro, in Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Michelangelo, ed. H. Millon and V. Magnago Lampugnani, Milan 1994, p. 399-423.
52) Falconieri conference proceedings.
53) Ibidem
54) Ibidem
55) On the Chancery: P. M. BAUMGARTEN, Aus Kanzlei und Kammer, Freiburg im Breisgan 1907; EGGER, p. 487-500.
56) Bibl. Naz. Firenze, II. III.144, P. DE GRASSIS, Diarium c.308r.
57) IDEM, Ibid, cc326r-327v.
58) SPEZZAFERRO in Via Giulia, p. 58; TAFURI, ibid., p. 69.
59) In Naples, for example, Pedro de Toledo wanted to transfer the court of the Summary Chamber away from the house of the Grand Chamberlain, the Marchese del Vasto (GIANNONE, IV, p. 49).
60) SPEZZAFERRO in Via Giulia, p. 60 and TAFURI, ibid., p. 72.
61) DEL RE 1993, p. 69-70.
62) C.L. FROMMEL, Il palazzo dei Tribunali in Via Giulia, in Studi Bramanteschi, (Roma) 1974, p. 523-534 and IDEM 1973, II, p. 330, 335.
63) Falconieri conference proceedings.
64) Ibidem
65) A. BRUSCHI, Bramante architetto, Bari 1969, p. 598 onward (on the courtyard of the palazzo as a Forum); TAFURI 1973, p. 58; IDEM, Roma instaurata: Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo '500, in C.L. FROMMEL, S. RAY, M. TAFURI, Raffaello architetto, Milan 1984, p. 68-70; BRUSCHI 1995, p. 149, 150.
66) On the relation between the design of the edifice and that of the street: FROMMEL 1974, p. 523.
67) On a piazza connecting Via Giulia and the bridge of Nero: TAFURI 1973, p. 70 and fig. on p. 71; IDEM 1984, fig. on p. 69 and BRUSCHI 1995, p. 146 and fig. 2.
68) See BRUSCHI 1995, fig. 2.
69) Falconieri conference proceedings.
70) SALAMONII, consulted ed. Parisiis 1579, p. 77-78; CAMETTI, p. 445, 449, 450.
71) BRUSCHI 1969, p. 598 onward and 946-959; FROMMEL 1973, I, p. 96, 143, II, p. 334-335. IDEM 1974, p. 525-526.
72) BRUSCHI 1995, p. 148-155.
73) L.B. ALBERTI, L'architettura, ed. G. Orlandi and P. Portoghesi, Milan 1966, p. 370.
74) Ibidem; A. AVERLINO detto il FILARETE, Trattato di Architettura, ed. A.M. Finoli and L. Grassi, Milan 1972, p. 166, 271-278.
75) S. SERLIO, Architettura civile, libri sesto settimo e ottavo nei manoscritti di Monaco e di Vienna, ed. F.P. Fiore. Prefaces and notes by T. Carunchio and F. P. Fiore, Milan 1994, p. 150.
76) DEL RE, 1993, p. 35.
77) ALBERTI, 1966, p. 370.
78) DEL RE, 1993, p. 120 for Corte Savella and Tor di Nona.
79) For the organisation of the apartments: BRUSCHI 1995, p. 152; for the presidents of the courts: Falconieri conference proceedings.
80) FROMMEL 1973, II, p. 330; BRUSCHI 1995, p. 152, and Falconieri conference proceedings.
81) Falconieri conference proceedings.
82) For the offices of the notaries in the complex of Innocent: G. CURCIO, Convento e Case delle Filippine, in Le immagini del SS. Salvatore, Rome 1989, p. 172-181.
83) DEL RE 1993, p. 36 for the Capitoline prisons situated in the municipal building; p. 108-109 for the prisons of Corte Savella and Tor di Nona, connected to their respective courts.
84) Bullarium romanum, V, p. 459.
85) N. MILLER, Renaissance Bologna. A study in Architectural Form and Content, New York-Bern-Frankfurt am Main-Paris 1989, p. 93-98.
86) Falconieri conference proceedings.
87) Ibidem.
88) Entry on Giuliano Leno in The Dictionary of Art, ed. MacMillan Publishers Limited.
89) Falconieri conference proceedings.
90) Bibl. Ap. Vaticana, Capitolo di S. Pietro, Privilegi e Atti 25, cc.379v-381v.
91) FROMMEL 1973, II, p. 292, 300 and tables on drawings related to Palazzo Sacchetti in C. L. FROMMEL, General Editor, NICHOLAS ADAMS, Editor, The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo The Younger and his Circle, Vol. III (in preparation)
92) FROMMEL 1973, I, p. 126, 130; PAGLIARA 1979, p. 35-41.
93) PASTOR, VII, p. 56-58.
94) DEL RE, 1993, p. 124-129.
95) G. CURCIO, Palazzo della Curia a Montecitorio, in Immagini SS.mo Salvatore, p. 144-167.
96) EADEM, Ibidem, Palazzo del Viceregente, p. 168-171.
97) See note 92.
98) See note 91.
99) FROMMEL, 1973, III, fig. 135 d.
100) Falconieri conference proceedings.

1. Hieronymus Bosch, I sette peccati capitali*: l'Avarizia (particolare), fine XV sec., Museo del Prado, Madrid. Foto Lauros-Giraudon.*
L'albero della giustizia e il recinto: nel dipinto dei sette peccati capitali Bosch, per evocare l'avarizia, rappresenta la corruzione del giudice. Il magistrato, che regge il bastone della giustizia, è seduto sotto un olmo. Ai piedi dell'albero, le panche di legno delimitano un recinto, il "parco" o spazio giudiziario.

1. Hieronymus Bosch, The Seven Deadly Sins*: Avarice (detail), late 15th century, Prado, Madrid. Photo by Lauros-Giraudon.*
The Tree of Justice and the enclosure.
In his portrayal of the seven deadly sins, Bosch evokes Avarice by depicting the corruption of a judge who is seated beneath an elm tree with a rod of justice in his hand. At the foot of the tree, wooden benches mark out an enclosure, the judicial "park" or space.



La formazione storica dell'architettura giudiziaria

*Robert Jacob**

Esiste un'architettura specificamente adatta all'amministrazione della giustizia? Fino a poco fa era ancora il caso di porre questa domanda, tanto è fitto il silenzio mantenuto in proposito dai più autorevoli manuali di storia dell'arte e dell'architettura. Mentre la progettazione e la costruzione delle prigioni sono state oggetto da alcuni decenni di continue ricerche, nessuno ha preso in esame gli edifici destinati ai dibattimenti giudiziari. Si è dovuto attendere fino a questi ultimi tempi perché cominciasse lentamente a prendere corpo in Germania, in Francia e nei Paesi Bassi una storia dei Tribunali e dei Palazzi di Giustizia[1] . C'è da aspettarsi che presto l'architettura giudiziaria diventi, accanto a quella religiosa, a quella militare, eccetera, uno dei temi obbligati della storia dell'arte nell'Europa occidentale.
La storia di quest'architettura risale molto in là nel tempo. Certamente nel passato più recente – nel secolo scorso e all'inizio del nostro – si nota a primo sguardo la preminenza del modello francese del "Tempio della Giustizia". Questo monumento caratteristico, dalla facciata rigorosamente simmetrica, dominata da un ingresso maestoso inserito in un portico a colonne con frontone, appare nelle città francesi sul finire del XVIII secolo; il modello si generalizza nell'Ottocento, diffondendosi poi in tutta l'Europa occidentale (con la notevole eccezione dell'Inghilterra) e influenzando anche la costruzione dei Palazzi di Giustizia negli Stati Uniti, nell'America Latina e nell'Africa settentrionale.
Ma da dove proviene questo modello, e come si spiega il suo successo? Gli scritti lasciatici dagli stessi architetti progettisti sono poco soddisfacenti: in genere costoro si richiamano alla basilica vitruviana, in cui cercano l'archetipo dell'architettura giudiziaria e al tempo stesso la propria ispirazione. Ma il modello basilicale non è sufficiente a spiegare tutti i caratteri degli edifici giudiziari, e inoltre è ben lontano dall'essere stato seguito fedelmente. Ad esempio, in Francia come all'estero i progetti che privilegiavano le strutture a volta erano regolarmente scartati a vantaggio di quelli con strutture a solaio, e le piante con emicicli erano rifiutate o modificate in ossequio a una netta preferenza per la forma quadrilatera prossima al quadrato. Ma le ragioni che determinavano queste scelte non sono state per così dire esplicitate e rimangono per lo più misteriose. Gli archivi del Conseil des bâtiments civils, che da Parigi dirigeva nell'Ottocento i programmi edilizi francesi, mostrano che il Consiglio era poco incline a proporre agli architetti dei modelli per i Palazzi di Giustizia, mentre non esitava a

The historical development of courthouse architecture

Robert Jacob*

Is there such a thing as architecture specifically designed for the administration of justice? Until only recently the question was still a fair one, given the deafening silence of even the most authoritative art and architecture histories on the matter. The design and construction of prisons has been studied for decades, but no one has thought it necessary to study the buildings in which the legal questions that send prisoners to them are decided. Only very recently have researchers in Germany, France and the Netherlands slowly started putting together a history of courthouses and Palais de Justice[1]. It seems probable that courthouse architecture, like military, religious and other genres of architecture before it, will eventually take its rightful and necessary place in the history of art in Western Europe.
The history of courthouse architecture goes back a long way. Certainly, in the more recent past – during the last century and the early years of this one – the French model of the Palais de Justice seems at first sight to have been the most popular one. This characteristic French monument with a rigorously symmetrical façade dominated by an imposing entrance with columns and pediment, appeared in French towns and cities towards the end of the eighteenth century and became widespread in the nineteenth, extending to the whole of Western Europe (with the notable exception of Great Britain), even influencing courthouse design in the United States, Latin America and North Africa.
But where did this model come from, and why was it so successful? The writings of the courthouse architects themselves are not particularly enlightening. They usually identify the Vitruvian basilica as the source of courthouse architecture in general and their own inspiration in particular, yet the basilica model alone cannot explain all the features of courthouse architecture, and was by no means faithfully copied in any case. In France as elsewhere, for example, vaulted designs were regularly rejected in favour of structures with floors, and semicircular plans were rejected or modified in favour of four-sided, virtually square plans. But the reasons for these preferences were never openly stated, and still remain largely mysterious. The archives of the Conseils des Bâtiments civils (Civil Buildings Commission) which directed public building throughout France in the nineteenth century, show that the Conseil was reluctant to recommend models for courthouse buildings to architects, but did not hesitate to do so in the case of other public buildings[2].

2. Sistemazione di un auditoire *di giustizia all'interno di una dimora signorile di Châteaudun, Eure-et-Loire, Francia. Foto Arch. Phot. Paris/S.P.A.D.E.M. Al di sopra dello scanno del giudice, la raffigurazione del Cristo è stata sostituita da alcuni simboli della Rivoluzione. "Parco" giudiziario e rivestimento ligneo del XVII secolo.*

2. A court auditoire *created inside an aristocratic dwelling in Châteaudun, Eure-et-Loire, France. Photo by Arch. Phot. Paris/S.P.A.D.E.M. The figure of Christ that once hung above the judge's bench has been replaced by symbols of the Revolution. The wood panelling and the judicial park date from the 17th century.*

procedere in tal modo quando si trattava di altri edifici pubblici[2].

In realtà, se l'estetica dell'architettura giudiziaria è rimasta in gran parte implicita ciò si deve al fatto che essa è legata al simbolismo della giustizia come istituzione sociale: un simbolismo tanto più potente in quanto non rivela tutte le sue chiavi di lettura. Come l'architettura chiesastica rispondeva ai dettami della liturgia, così quella dei Palazzi di Giustizia è stata determinata, nel corso dei secoli, dalle esigenze del rituale e della procedura giudiziari, come pure dalle immagini che la giustizia intendeva dare di se stessa. Questo complicato processo può essere colto solo in una storia di lunghissimo periodo su cui s'incrocino continuamente lo sguardo dello storico dell'arte e quello dello storico del diritto e della giustizia.

Parecchi elementi dell'architettura giudiziaria classica sono molto più antichi dell'età contemporanea. Si può dimostrare che già sul finire del Medioevo esistevano dei punti di riferimento simbolici intorno ai quali si organizzava lo spettacolo dell'udienza; nasceva intanto una prima architettura specificamente giudiziaria. A cominciare dal XVI e soprattutto dal XVII secolo essa subì una serie di modifiche che determinarono l'affermarsi di un nuovo paradigma architettonico, su cui si fondò in ultima analisi la concezione dei Palazzi di Giustizia del secolo scorso. Sono queste le fasi che illustreremo qui sommariamente, nei limiti concessi al presente contributo[3].

L'albero della giustizia, il recinto e la croce

Toccò al Medioevo gettare le prime basi dell'organizzazione dello spazio giudiziario, quando ancora la giustizia era amministrata all'aperto, fuori da ogni architettura propriamente detta. Il luogo della giustizia è indicato da due elementi, presenti quasi sempre: l'albero della giustizia e il recinto di rami di nocciolo. L'albero – olmo, frassino o tiglio – s'innalza sulla piazza del villaggio o sull'altura dove ha sede il Tribunale, e all'ombra del suo fogliame si svolgono le udienze. Esso evoca il "pilastro del mondo" delle antiche mitologie pagane: è un sostegno universale, un segno di stabilità, un simbolo della rigenerazione periodica che ci si attende dagli atti di giustizia.

Ai piedi dell'albero un recinto circolare, formato per lo più da rami, delimita lo spazio riservato al dibattimento. Il recinto ha una duplice funzione: sul piano giuridico definisce l'ambito della pace giudiziaria, in cui è rigorosamente proibita ogni violenza; sul piano simbolico integra l'inserimento degli atti di giustizia nella sfera dei rituali di fertilità. La giustizia si circonda di rami di nocciolo – il legno di cui sono fatte le bacchette delle fate e dei rabdomanti – per proclamare che con la sua opera di ristabilimento dei legami sociali infranti essa contribuisce alla prosperità generale.

L'albero e l'anello di rami sono fra gli elementi presenti con maggiore continuità nell'ambiente giudiziario: sono riusciti a passare attraverso le epoche e il loro simbolismo è andato arricchendosi di sempre nuovi significati. Il recinto di legno si è conservato anche all'interno degli edifici costruiti in muratura, e lo troviamo ancora oggi nelle nostre sale di udienza, dove separa l'area riservata agli attori – Tribunale e parti in causa – da uno spazio periferico pavimentato, lasciato agli spettatori e alle parti in attesa. Quanto all'albero, esso è rimasto a lungo l'unico contrassegno dei piccoli Tribunali di campagna.

Il giudice prende posto di solito ai piedi dell'albero, vi si appoggia, ne trae forza e gliene trasmette. Il tronco che lo sovrasta assume così l'aspetto di un'asse di discriminazione tra il bene e il male, e al tempo stesso diventa l'asse di simmetria intorno al quale si struttura ogni ambiente giudiziario. Ben presto su questa colonna primordiale si fissa l'immagine del Dio giudice, eclissando gradualmente quella dell'albero. Inizialmente è il Cristo dell'Apocalisse, nel momento del Giudizio universale, a prendere posto al disopra del tribunale; allo spettatore si palesa così l'immagine della giustizia divina e di quella umana operanti simultaneamente. In Germania questa disposizione rimane prevalente almeno fino alla Riforma; in Francia, sul finire del Medioevo il Cristo del Giudizio finale cede il posto al crocifisso. All'albero della giustizia subentra allora la croce, in armonia con un insieme di leggende largamente diffuse che tendono a identificarla con l'albero del bene e del male e con l'albero della vita. Il crocifisso sovrastante il seggio del presidente rimarrà il principale ornamento delle aule di tribunale francesi fino alla separazione tra Chiesa e Stato (1904).

Per secoli l'immagine di sé offerta dalla giustizia s'identifica così con quella di un pilastro dell'ordine sociale, in cui l'uomo e Dio sono uniti in quanto giudici in un'opera comune. Quest'asse domina lo svolgimento dei riti giudiziari: ad esempio, colloca l'attore o l'accusatore alla destra del giudice e il convenuto o l'accusato alla sua sinistra, stabilisce l'ordine delle precedenze, determina le posizioni e gli spostamenti nell'aula. Soprattutto, costituisce la migliore



2

In reality, if the rationale of courthouse architecture has in large part been implied rather than openly stated, we owe this to the fact that the model itself was closely related to the symbolism of justice as a social institution, and that this symbolism was rendered all the more potent by its refusal to reveal all the ways in which it could be interpreted. Just as church architecture responded to the dictates of the Liturgy, so courthouse architecture over the centuries was determined by the requirements of judicial ritual and procedure, as well as by the image justice wanted to present of itself. This complex process can only be understood in a historical perspective that spans an enormous period of time and continuously draws on the combined points of view of the art historian and the legal historian.

Many features of what we regard as classic courthouse architecture are much older than the modern age. It can be shown that even by the close of the Middle Ages the symbolic referents underlying the spectacle of legal trials were already in place, and that a specifically judicial form of architecture was coming into being. From the sixteenth century on, and especially in the seventeenth, this architecture underwent modifications that produced a new architectural paradigm on which the nineteenth-century concept of the courthouse was ultimately based.

The rest of this paper will look briefly at each of these phases in turn[3].

The tree of justice, the enclosure and the cross

It was in the Middle Ages, when justice was dispensed in the open air far from buildings in the strict sense, that a specifically judicial concept of space began to take shape. The Place of Justice was almost always signosted by two fundamental elements: the Tree of Justice and the enlosure of hazel branches. The tree – elm, ash or lime – stood in the village square or on the high ground where the court sat, and sessions were held in the shade provided by its foliage. It symbolised the "pillar of the world" of ancient pagan mythologies; it was a universal support, a sign of stability, a symbol of the periodic social regeneration that acts of justice were expected to ensure.

At the foot of the tree was a circular fence of branches that marked out the debating enclosure. It had a dual function: juridically speaking, it established the jurisdiction of the court, in which all acts of violence were strictly forbidden; symbolically, as a wooden structure – the wood of which fairys' and diviners' wands were made – it pointed to the link between acts of justice and fertility rituals, and affirmed that, in mending the social ties ruptured by crime, justice contributed directly to the general well-being of society.

The tree and ring of branches were perhaps the most permanent features of these early Places of Justice: they were handed down across the ages and their symbolism was constantly being enriched with new meanings. The wood enclosure was retained even inside buildings with masonry walls, and is still found in modern courtrooms where it separates trial protagonists – the members of the court and the opposing parties – from a paved outer area for spectators and witneses waiting to give evidence. The tree itself long remained the only identifying feature of small rural courts. Judges usually sat at the foot of the tree, drawing support and strength from the tree and transmitting strength back to it in turn. The trunk towering above the judge thus became both a judicial axis separating good from evil, and a quasi-architectural axis of symmetry around which all Places of Justice were structured. The image of God the Judge very quickly attached itself to this primordial column of justice, gradually eclipsing the image of the tree itself. Initially it was the Christ of the Apocalypse on the Day of Judgement who took His place above the court assembled below, making plain to onlookers the fact that divine judgement and human judgement worked simultaneously in the terrestrial sphere.

In Germany, this layout remained unchanged at least until the Reformation; in France, the Christ of the Last Judgement finally gave way to the Crucifixion at the close of the Middle Ages, when the Tree of Justice was absorbed by the Holy Cross, in harmony with widely popular legends that tended to identify the Tree of Good and Evil with the Tree of Life. The Crucifixion above the judge's bench remained the principal ornament of French courtrooms until the Church and State were formally separated in 1904.

Thus, for centuries, justice's image of itself was that of the pillar of a social order in which man and God were united as judges in a common undertaking. This vertical physical axis dominated trial procedure. For example, it placed the plaintiff or prosecutor on the judge's right and the defendant or accused on his left, established order of precedence in trials and determed the position and movements of protagonists in the courtroom. Most importantly, it was the ideal plastic expression of both the legitimacy of the court and the responsibility of the judge, who received his power from God by entering into a contract with Him of the utmost seriousness. Only by putting his own salvation rather than

3. Edificio giudiziario del XII sec.: la sede delle "piccole udienze" di Dol-de-Bretagne, Ille-et-Vilaine, Francia.
Al piano superiore le finestre, oggi chiuse, illuminavano l'aula di udienza.
4. Antico baliato, oggi municipio, di Rochefort-en-Yvelines, Francia, XVII sec., riadattato alla fine del XVIII sec.
Foto Cl. Inventaire Général/S.P.A.D.E.M.
Esempio di adattamento di un piccolo edificio al modello classico: pianta tendente al quadrato, volume cubico, scala esterna monumentale, piano basso riservato alle prigioni.
5. 6. 7. Salomon de Brosse, Palazzo del Parlamento di Bretagna, Rennes, Francia, 1618 (dal frontespizio di un testo del 1690 dedicato al Parlamento, conservato al Museo di Bretagna, in cui Luigi XIV restituisce alla Giustizia il Palazzo del Parlamento).
Piante del piano terreno (gendarmeria e prigione) e del piano nobile (aule giudiziarie): 1) galleria bassa; 2) guardiola; 3) portico; 4) sala comune per prigionieri e visitatori; 5) sala degli interrogatori; 6) cappella; 7) stanza dei giudici; 8) prigione; 9) stanza degli addetti; 10) stanza dei prigionieri; 11) spogliatoio; 12) sala di "trattamento" dei prigionieri; 13) cucina; 14) ufficio per le firme dei gendarmi; 15) stanza del gendarme.

espressione plastica della legittimità della funzione giurisdizionale e al tempo stesso della responsabilità del giudice. Questi riceve il suo potere da Dio, e lo riceve mediante un vincolo che lo impegna al massimo: solo in quanto mette a rischio la sua salvezza più degli altri mortali egli può osare, trasgredendo il divieto evangelico, di esercitare un potere che Dio si è riservato. "*Non giudicate, affinché non siate giudicati con lo stesso metro*" (Matt. 7, 1-2): è questa la formula ripetuta sia nelle prescrizioni di tipo deontologico rivolte al giudice, sia nelle iscrizioni presenti nell'aula. Ed è anche questa la morale espressa a prima vista dall'immagine di una giustizia divina che sorregge quella umana, ma è anche pronta a sanzionarne tutti gli errori.

Gli edifici giudiziari tradizionali

Ben presto la giustizia, chiusa nel suo "parco" giudiziario e dominata dal suo asse principale di simmetria, s'insedia in edifici adeguati. Si può ritenere oggi che una vera e propria architettura giudiziaria sia sorta a cominciare dal XII e XIII secolo (epoca a cui risalgono gli edifici più antichi che si conoscano in Francia e in Germania) e si sia sviluppata negli ultimi secoli del Medioevo. Certamente l'attività giudiziaria fu ospitata molto spesso in edifici di cui non costituiva la principale destinazione: nei portici delle chiese, al piano superiore delle porte di città e dei mercati coperti, nelle sale dei castelli. Ma assai per tempo furono innalzati appositi edifici per la giustizia ecclesiastica, in prossimità delle cattedrali, e per le piccole giurisdizioni signorili (questi ultimi chiamati comunemente in Francia *auditoires*). L'analisi di questi edifici, conservati in buon numero, mostra al primo sguardo, nonostante la varietà dei tipi, una grande omogeneità di concezione.

Di regola l'edificio è di forma oblunga, ha un tetto a due spioventi ed è a due piani, in corrispondenza delle due funzioni principali: il piano inferiore è sempre destinato a carcere e quello superiore a tribunale. Il primo è rischiarato solo da strette e rade aperture e consta essenzialmente di un certo numero di celle. A quel tempo la prigione non era punitiva, ma serviva solo alla detenzione di imputati in attesa del giudizio o dell'esecuzione della condanna: lo spazio carcerario non è quindi molto grande, e ai suoi lati fa posto a varie attività produttive o commerciali. Il piano inferiore ospita anche piccoli allevamenti o attività artigiane e spesso, nelle città, un certo numero di piccole botteghe. Talvolta questi traffici si estendono anche alle scale e ai corridoi del piano superiore, dando origine a una galleria commerciale;

other mortals at risk could the judge dare to disobey evangelical prohibition and exercise a power which God had reserved to Himself. "Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again" *(Mathew 7, 1-2): this was the formula repeated in both the ethical prescriptions given to judges and the inscriptions found in courtrooms, and it would also seem to have been the moral message of a divine justice that not only underlay human justice, but was also prepared to sanction all its errors.*

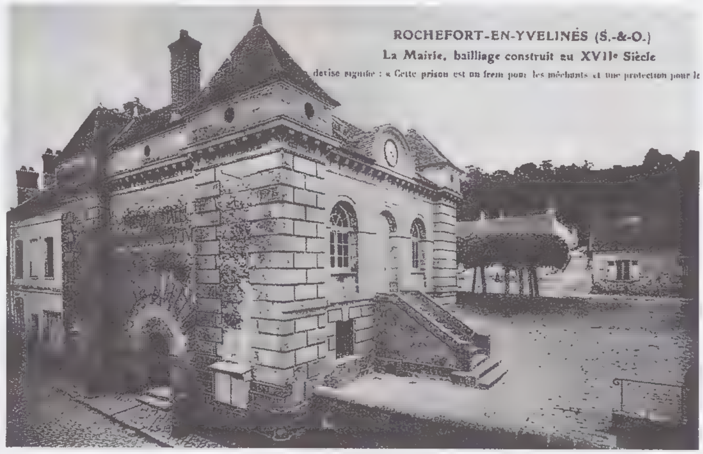
Traditional courthouses

Once enclosed in its park and dominated by its main symmetrical axis of the tree, justice quickly moved indoors into appropriate buildings. The view now is that courthouse architecture proper appeared in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (the period in which the oldest surviving French and German courthouses were built) and developed throughout the closing centuries of the Middle Ages. Certainly, trials often took place in parts of buildings not principally intended for that function: church porches, the upper floors of gatehouses and covered markets, rooms in castles. But purpose-designed buildings appeared very quickly to dispense either ecclesiastical justice (in which case they were sited near cathedrals) or to serve the needs of small baronial jurisdictions (in which case they were usually called auditoires *in France). Analysis of these buildings, many of which have been preserved, suggests that they were conceptually very similar, despite the wide range of types.*

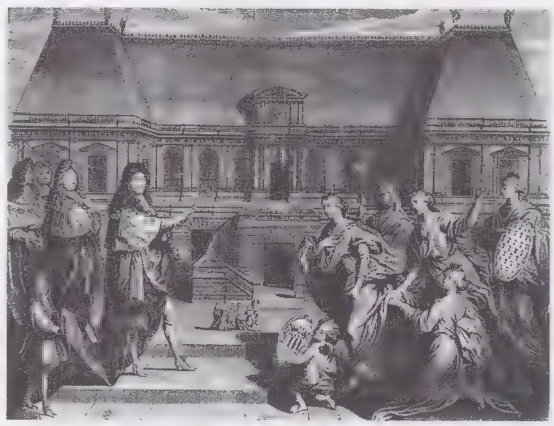
The building was usually oblong with a double sloping roof, and had two floors corresponding to its two principal functions: the lower floor was always the prison, while the upper floor was always the court. The prison had only a few narrow windows and was basically a collection of cells. At that time prisons were not punitive in function – they served as holding areas for defendants awaiting trial, or as places of execution for condemned prisoners – so they were never very big and were flanked by workshops and shops. The lower floor also contained areas for craft activities and the rearing of small animals, and often, in towns, a certain number of small craftsmen's studios. Sometimes these activities extended to the stairs and corridors on the upper floor, producing a sort of trader's gallery, while a broad main staircase gave official access to the courtrooms above.

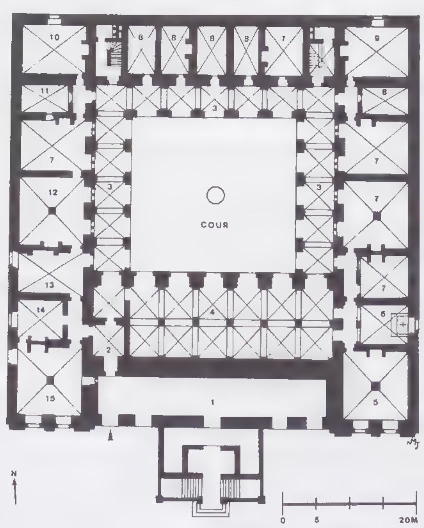
3. A 12th-century courthouse: the venue for "small hearings" in Dol-de-Bretagne, Ille-et-Vilaine, France.
The upper-floor windows, now blocked in, once lighted the courtroom.
4. The old town hall in Rochefort-en-Yvelines, France, 17th century, redesigned at the end of the 18th century.
Photo by Cl. Inventaire Général/S.P.A.D.E.M.
An example of a small building redesigned along classical lines: a virtually square plan, cubic volume, monumental outside stairway and lower floor used exclusively for prison cells.
5. 6. 7. Salomon de Brosse, Breton Parliament, Rennes, France, 1618 (from the frontispiece of a text dated 1690 dedicated to the Parliament, preserved in the Museum of Britanny, in which Louis XIV gives the Breton Parliament back to Justice).
Plans of ground floor (gendarmerie and prison) and piano nobile *(courtrooms):*
1) lower gallery; 2) guardroom; 3) portico; 4) common room for prisoners and visitors; 5) interrogation room; 6) chapel; 7) judges' chamber; 8) prison; 9) staff room; 10) prisoners' room; 11) robing room; 12) prisoners' "entertainment" room; 13) kitchen; 14) gendarme signatory office; 15) gendarme room.


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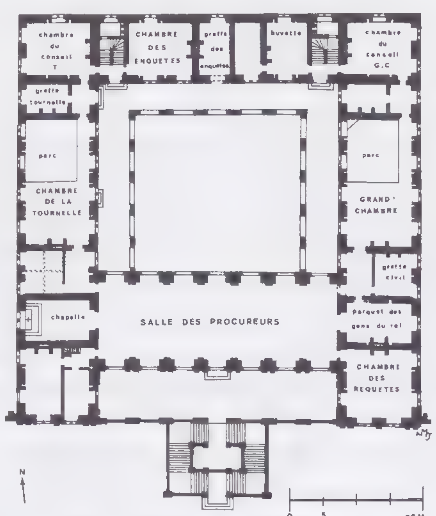


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8. François Pagot, Palazzo di Giustizia di Orléans, Francia, 1821, in una cartolina postale d'inizio secolo.
9. Palazzo di Giustizia di Alençon, Francia, 1828 (sorto sull'area del maschio a base quadrata crollato nel 1780), in una cartolina postale d'inizio secolo.

8. François Pagot, Palais de Justice, Orléans, France, 1821, in an early-century postcard.
9. Palais de Justice, Alençon, France, 1828 (built on the site of the old square keep which collapsed in 1780), in an early-century postcard.


8

un'ampia scala tra i due piani dà accesso ai locali per le udienze. Il piano superiore, a differenza di quello inferiore, si apre verso l'esterno con larghe finestre, perché l'amministrazione della giustizia, attività diurna e preferibilmente mattutina, non è concepibile senza una gran luce: la sede delle udienze, delimitata da una balaustrata e caratterizzata dal prevalere del legno nell'arredo, è situata sotto le finestre, nella zona più illuminata dell'edificio.
Il simbolismo di questi primi edifici per la giustizia configura un microcosmo. Il piano inferiore, che associa prigioni e scambi di denaro, evoca l'inferno (il termine *géhenne* indica in francese antico sia l'inferno che la tortura); quello superiore, con i suoi contrasti di pietra e legno (che nel Medioevo denotano l'opposizione tra caldo e freddo e quella tra morte e vita) implica una dominante tellurica; entrambi sono collegati col mondo superno mediante la colonna simbolica che unisce la giustizia terrena al suo modello celeste. Intorno ad essa si organizza, al di là dell'aula delle udienze, l'intero edificio.
Cosi com'è, questa prima architettura giudiziaria ispira certamente timore e riverenza, ma conserva un aspetto familiare e non crea una distanza sensibile rispetto al mondo esterno: col suo modesto volume l'edificio s'inserisce senza fratture nell'ambiente costruito, e il piano inferiore rimane di norma accessibile al pubblico. La comunicazione tra i luoghi destinati alla giustizia e il mondo della vita ordinaria rimane fluida, grazie a una specie di transizione naturale operata dal commercio e dall'artigianato.

Verso l'architettura giudiziaria moderna: la fondazione del Tempio

La tipologia tradizionale della prima architettura giudiziaria non rimase peraltro invariata fino alla fine dell'*ancien régime*. A partire dal XVI secolo il sistema simbolico di immagini che costituiva il prodotto e al tempo stesso lo scenario dell'attività giudiziaria subisce una profonda ricomposizione, che si riflette soprattutto nella moda sempre più diffusa delle figurazioni allegoriche. Essa altera la semplice concordanza tra giustizia umana e giustizia divina su cui poggiava il simbolismo medievale: vanno così lievitando una nuova sensibilità e una nuova estetica. Nel campo dell'architettura il cambiamento comincia a manifestarsi, a quanto pare, verso la fine del XVI secolo, per palesare poi tutti i suoi effetti nella prima metà del secolo seguente. Si colloca in questo momento il punto decisivo di rottura nella storia dell'architettura giudiziaria in Europa (se non altro in quella continentale, dato che l'Inghilterra rimane estranea al movimento). Appare un modello nuovo, interpretato da edifici come il Parlamento di Bretagna a Rennes o il Gravensteen di Leyda (Paesi Bassi), che finirà col cambiare radicalmente l'immagine della giustizia e i suoi rapporti con la città.
Schematicamente si può rappresentare l'architettura giudiziaria formatasi nell'età classica come organizzata intorno ad alcuni punti fondamentali: il prevalere della funzionalità, l'abbandono dell'edificio oblungo a favore di un impianto quadrilatero tendente al quadrato, l'assegnazione all'edificio di una missione pedagogica e infine lo stabilirsi di una considerevole distanza simbolica tra la giustizia e il soggetto giudicabile.
E' necessario ormai che il Palazzo di Giustizia sia funzionale, rispondente cioè alle necessità di un grande servizio pubblico. La distinzione tra un piano inferiore carcerario e un piano superiore giudiziario si conserva ancora a lungo; ma si cerca d'impedire ogni contatto fra prigione e traffici, in modo da far fronte alle esigenze di sicurezza e di salubrità dei luoghi di detenzione, scarsamente soddisfatte dagli edifici medievali. Il piano inferiore diviene un mondo chiuso, destinato principalmente alle aree di detenzione, ai locali per gli interrogatori e, in via secondaria, all'amministrazione del palazzo; il piano superiore viene invece ripartito opportunamente tra sale di udienza, atrii, cappelle, uffici, cancellerie, locali assegnati alla Procura, ecc.
L'insieme è sistemato in un edificio a pianta quadrata o quasi. Più esattamente, la nuova estetica si manifesta in un gusto spiccato per la simmetria, presente dappertutto nella composizione. Gli assi di simmetria si moltiplicano sia in pianta che nelle facciate principali e laterali, cosicché l'edificio, da qualsiasi parte lo si osservi, dà l'impressione di un gioco rigoroso di corrispondenze, in cui si rischia talvolta la monotonia. Un cubo posato nella città: è questo il modello a cui tende il Palazzo di Giustizia dell'età classica, sull'esempio del Parlamento di Bretagna di Rennes, dove le forme quadrate o rettangolari delle varie sale e stanze si commettono in un quadrilatero disposto intorno al cortile centrale, un vano quasi esattamente cubico che comunica la propria struttura all'edificio. E' come se la simmetria della sala di udienza si proiettasse verso l'esterno per dominare tutte le forme visibili dell'edificio giudiziario. Inoltre, la sede della giustizia non è vista più come un luogo adibito unicamente alla risoluzione delle controversie, ma come un luogo in cui si contribuisce a prevenirle. Ci si attende che



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Unlike the one below, the upper floor had large windows because the adminstration of justice – a day-time and preferably morning activity – was inconceivable without strong, clear light. The trial area, marked off by a balustrade and furnished mainly in wood, was located under the windows in the best lighted part of the building. Symbolically, these early courthouses were microcosms. The lower floors, where people were imprisoned and money changed hands, symbolised hell (the Old French word géhenne *meant both imprisonment and torture), while the upper floor, with its contrasting wood and stone (which in the Middle Ages denoted the opposition between warmth and cold, life and death) implied earthly dominance. The two floors were joined to the celestial world by the symbolic column that united terrestrial and celestial justice, and around which the entire building beyond the courtrooms themselves was laid out.*

As it has been handed down to us, this early form of courthouse certainly seems to have inspired fear and reverence while retaining a reassuringly familiar appearance and without distancing itself significantly from the outside world. The modestly sized courthouse sat comfortably among its neighbouring buildings, and the lower floor was usually accessible to the public. Communication between Places of Justice and the ordinary world remained fluid thanks to the natural transition provided by craft activities and trade.

Towards modern courthouse architecture: the founding of the Temple

The traditional typology of the early courthouses did not remain unchanged as the ancien régime *ran its course. From the sixteenth century on, the system of symbolic images that was both the product and context of judicial proceedings underwent profound restructuring that is mainly evident to us now in the increasing popularity of allegorical representation. The simple correspondence between human and divine justice that underlay medieval symbolism was leavened by a new sensibility and a new aesthetics. In architecture, the change first became evident towards the end of the sixteenth century, and revealed its full effect in the first half of the next century. This period saw a crucial break in the continuity of courthouse architecture in Europe (though not on a fully continental scale: Britain was unaffected by the change), and the appearance of a new model – examples are the Breton Parliament in Rennes and the Gravensteen in Leyden – that would radically alter the image of justice and how it related to the life of the city.*

Essentially, the courthouse that came into being during the neo-classical age was based on a set of key principles: a preference for practical rather than symbolic design, the rejection of the oblong plan in favour of a quadrilateral, virtually square plan, the allocation of a didactic function to the building and, finally, the creation of a symbolic gulf between justice and the people subject to it.

That courthouses had to be practical buildings able to meet the requirements of a large public service was by then a necessity rather than merely a preference. The distinction between the lower prison floor and the upper courtroom floor would survive for many years to come, but efforts were made to prevent contact between the prison and the commercial world outside, in an effort to impose standards of prison security and hygiene which the medieval buildings had hardly been in a position to meet. The lower floor became a world apart given over mainly to detention cells, interrogation rooms and, only secondarily, the building's administrative offices, while the upper floor was divided up, according to need, into courtrooms, lobbies, chapels, offices, chancelleries, prosecutors' chambers, etc. All these functions were housed in a building with a square, or virtually square plan. More precisely, what really characterised the new aesthetics was a marked taste for symmetry, *rather than mere squareness, that was evident throughout the composition. Axes of symmetry multiplied in both the plan and the main and lateral façades, so that the building, no matter which direction it was viewed from, seemed the outcome of a strict game of correspondences whose penalty was the ever-present risk of monotony. Following the example of the Breton Parliament in Rennes – square or rectanguar rooms forming a quadrilateral around a central courtyard, an almost geometrically precise cubical space that imparted its form to the entire building – the neo-classical courthouse became, in effect, a cube deposited in the middle of the city. It was as if the symmetry of the courtroom had been projected outwards to dominate all the visible shapes of the courthouse.*

Moreover, the seat of justice was no longer seen as a place exclusively reserved for the settling of disputes, but as a place where it would also be possible to predict and prevent them. The courthouse was expected to propagate the idea of a social order whose maintenance was also its prime

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esso diffonda intorno a sé la nozione di un ordine sociale il cui mantenimento è lo scopo più importante. Il palazzo si fregia allora di un gran numero di raffigurazioni moralizzanti: ancora oggi le aule giudiziarie di Rennes, Douai, Grenoble, Digione, Lione, Besançon testimoniano questa fioritura di dipinti allegorici nel Settecento e nell'Ottocento, e sulla facciata del palazzo sculture e iscrizioni trasmettono all'esterno lo stesso programma pedagogico. A poco a poco, nell'immagine della giustizia l'idea di un'istituzione al servizio dell'intangibilità dell'ordine sociale prevale su quella di una necessaria rigenerazione periodica di tale ordine.
Questi mutamenti creano tra la giustizia e il mondo esterno una distanza ignota all'architettura giudiziaria tradizionale. Il volume del palazzo non si fonde più con l'ambiente costruito, ma risalta su di esso e lo sovrasta. L'edificio, circondato e isolato da piazze pubbliche, evita per quanto è possibile la vicinanza delle attività commerciali e si chiude verso l'esterno. Il piano inferiore è reso inaccessibile, per garantire la sicurezza e la salubrità delle prigioni, mentre al piano superiore si accede da un'unica porta, inquadrata da colonne e spesso sormontata da motivi allegorici, che comunica con la piazza pubblica per mezzo di un'ampia scalinata. L'ingresso monumentale del palazzo diventa l'immagine più tipica che il mondo esterno custodisce della giustizia, e tale rimarrà a lungo; entrare nel palazzo non è più un atto abituale, ma un gesto eccezionale, la cui gravità è sottolineata dallo scenario in cui si svolge. La giustizia prende dunque le distanze e si sublima, moltiplicando intorno a sé le difese simboliche.
Ricerche approfondite mostrano che nessuno di questi caratteri della nuova architettura giudiziaria è casuale. Nel loro insieme le innovazioni derivano da principi imposti agli architetti dai magistrati: esse sono state preparate e in qualche modo teorizzate in un certo numero di testi (alcuni dei quali appartenenti al genere della retorica giudiziaria), in cui si è delineato già sul finire del XVI secolo il programma del futuro Palazzo di Giustizia[4]. Questi testi hanno come ideale la fondazione di un "Tempio della Giustizia", luogo di culto di una divinità familiare che la pittura allegorica provvede a rappresentare dappertutto e che l'eredità del Rinascimento porta ad associare all'immagine del tempio antico. Prevale il quadrilatero e si moltiplicano gli assi di simmetria perché la giustizia, uguale per tutti, deve mostrare su ogni lato lo stesso volto; l'ordine corinzio è indicato come il più consono perché il suo carattere femminile fa di ogni colonna un'incarnazione della Giustizia; infine, viene diffusamente affermata la necessità della distanza. Il Tempio monumentale fa della giustizia una potenza altera ed estranea alla città, atta a ispirare timore e a tenere a distanza. La giustizia non è più disposta a mostrarsi facilmente accessibile a chiunque, così come non accetta più, al contrario di quella medievale, di svelare la propria fragilità e le proprie incertezze; non lega più l'idea della sua legittimità a quella della responsabilità dei giudici e, pur riaffermando la propria missione di indagare senza posa la società, non tollera più che questo suo controllo venga ricambiato.
Intorno al Tempio si moltiplicano gli scudi di Perseo con la testa di Medusa, che aveva fama di impietrire chiunque la guardasse. E' un simbolo rivelatore: la giustizia pretende ormai di immobilizzare il soggetto giudicabile.

Il trionfo del Tempio, l'architettura neoclassica e le sfide attuali

Verso la metà del XVII secolo il Tempio diventa dunque il modello prevalente dell'architettura giudiziaria. Tuttavia il suo successo non si generalizza subito: accanto a numerosi Palazzi di Giustizia, talvolta di piccole dimensioni, che si attengono ai nuovi canoni continuiamo a trovare nel XVII e nel XVIII secolo molti edifici che rimangono fedeli alle forme tradizionali .
La svolta decisiva si ha verso la fine dell'*ancien régime*. Si tende ora a separare il palazzo dalla prigione, pur mantenendo i due edifici l'uno in prossimità dell'altro: l'architettura giudiziaria si svincola così da quella penitenziaria. Inoltre l'affermarsi delle forme neoclassiche assimila definitivamente il Palazzo di Giustizia al tempio antico e gli conferisce la sua struttura caratteristica. In Francia la nuova era s'inaugura con l'ingresso monumentale del Palazzo di Giustizia di Parigi (1776) e con il *présidial* (oggi Palazzo di Giustizia) di Caen (1779). Nella loro scia, la Rivoluzione vede nascere molti progetti ma poche realizzazioni, e solo dopo il 1810 ha inizio un vasto movimento di edilizia giudiziaria. Nel corso dell'Ottocento vengono impiantate nel cuore delle grandi città, a ondate successive, quelle tipiche facciate con colonnato e frontone alle quali rimarrà a lungo associata l'immagine della giustizia. Dappertutto si fa a gara nell'innalzare palazzi maestosi; questo periodo è di gran lunga il più fecondo di edifici giudiziari, e in Francia più della metà dei Palazzi di Giustizia oggi esistenti sono stati costruiti allora. Com'è noto, il modello neoclassico si è largamente irradiato fuori della



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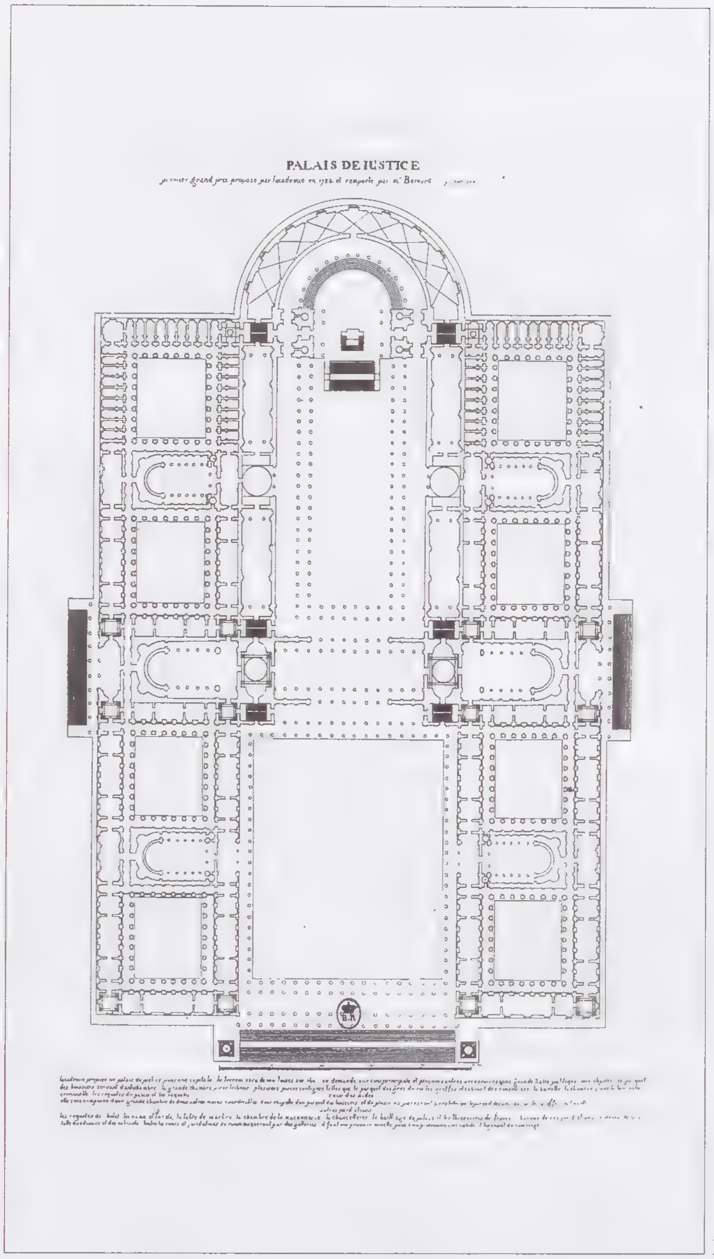
10. Pierre-Louis Baltard, Palazzo di Giustizia di Lione, Francia, 1835, in una cartolina postale d'inizio secolo.
11. Jacques Hittorff, Palazzo di Giustizia di Amiens, Francia, 1876, in una cartolina postale d'inizio secolo. Con i Palazzi di Giustizia di Algeri e Le Havre (1873), è uno degli ultimi in cui si utilizza l'ordine classico.

10. Pierre-Louis Baltard, Palais de Justice, Lyon, France, 1835, in an early-century postcard.
11. Jacques Hittorff, Palais de Justice, Amiens, France, 1876, in an early-century postcard. With those in Algiers and Le Havre (1873), one of the last Palais de Justice based on the classical order.

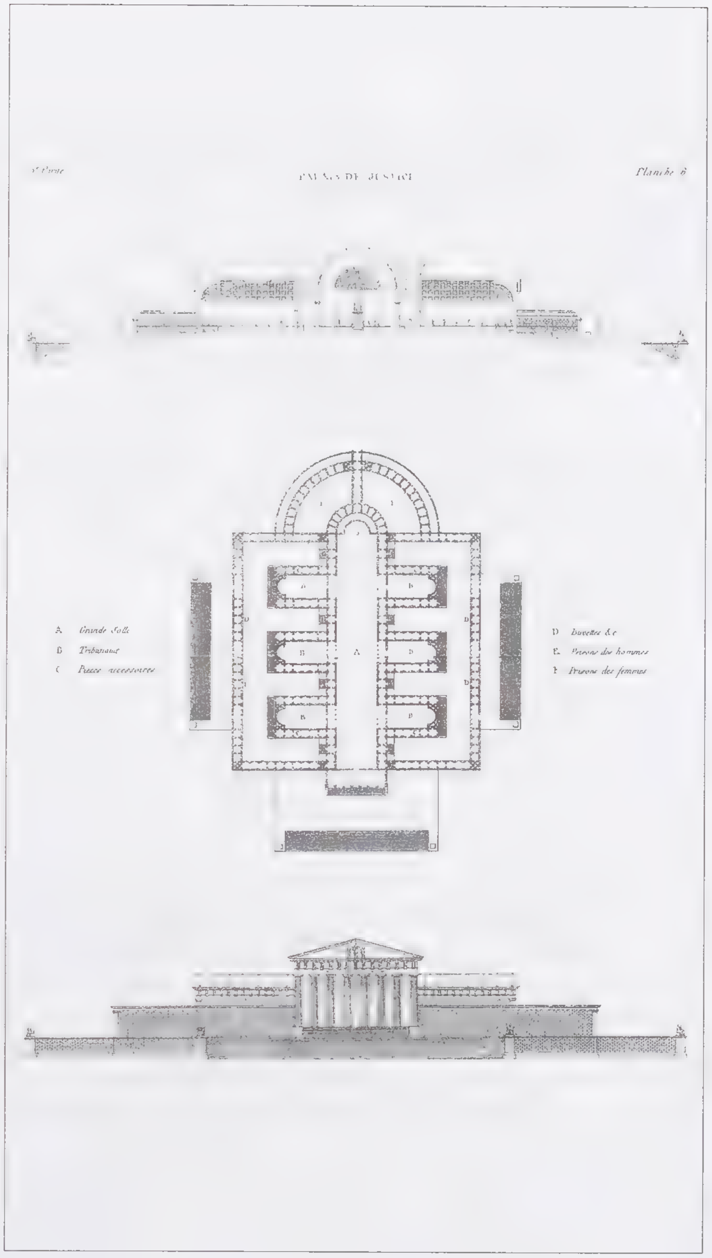
function. Thus, the building was filled with moralistic art: even today, the courtrooms in Rennes, Douai, Grenoble, Dijon, Lyon and Besançon have walls covered in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century allegorical paintings and frescoes, with sculptures and inscriptions performing the same didactic function on the exterior façades.
Little by little, in the imagery of justice, the idea of an institution serving an intangible social order triumphed over the idea of the periodic and necessary regeneration *of that order. These changes created a distance between justice and the outside world unknown in earlier courthouse architecture. The building itself no longer blended with its neighbours: it stood out from and dominated its context. Surrounded and isolated by public squares, it shunned as much as possible the contagion of commerce and closed itself to the outside world. The lower floor was no longer accessible to the public (as a measure to promote prison security and hygiene) while access to the upper floor was through a single portal, framed by columns and often surmounted by allegorical motifs, which communicated with the public square outside via a wide stairway. The building's monumental entrance thus became the outside world's most typical image of justice, and would remain so for centuries to come. Entering the courthouse – going to law – no longer seemed a natural thing to do; it was an extraordinary act whose seriousness was underlined by the judicial setting in which it took place. Thus, justice distanced and sublimated itself, multiplying its symbolic defences from within.*
Detailed research shows that none of these features of the new courthouse architecture was accidental. On the whole, the innovations derived from principles, imposed on architects by magistrates, that had been anticipated and to an extent theorised in a group of texts (some dealing with courtroom rhetoric) which by the end of the sixteenth century had already laid the basis for the courthouse of the future[4]*.*
The ideal they enshrined was the founding of a "Temple of Justice", a place of worship consecrated to a familiar deity (whose image had been popularised by allegorical painting) which the Renaissance architectural inheritance would render as an ancient Greek or Roman temple. The quadrilateral predominated and axes of symmetry proliferated because justice, which was equal for all, had to show the same face on all sides. The Corinthian order was deemed the most appropriate because its "feminine" character tranformed every column into an incarnation of Justice, who was usually personified as a woman. Finally, it was widely held that justice had to be distanced from ordinary life, meaning that the courthouse wasn't only a place where disputes could be settled; it also had to anticipate them and fight against legal quibbling.
Thus, the monumental Temple transformed justice into a power remote from and alien to the city that was to be feared and kept at a distance. The new justice was no longer disposed to seem readily accessible to anyone and, unlike medieval justice, was no longer prepared to reveal its own fragilities and uncertainties. It no longer linked the concept of its own legitimacy to the concept of judicial responsibility and, while reaffirming its mission ceaselessly to investigate the affairs of society, would no longer tolerate public investigation of its own affairs. Images of the shield of Perseus and the head of Medusa (which turned anyone who looked directly at it to stone), proliferated around the Temple. The symbol was a revealing one: Justice now claimed the right to immobilise the people who fell within her jurisdiction.

The triumph of the Temple, neo-classical architecture and modern challenges

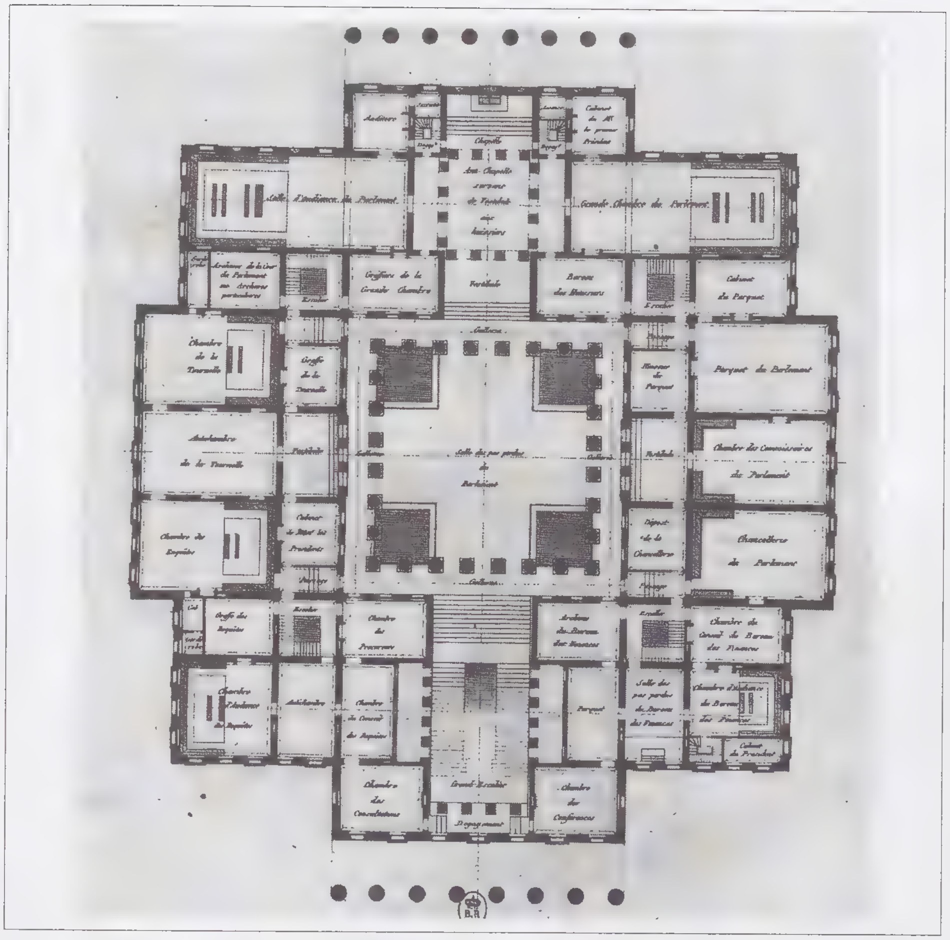
The Temple became the most widely accepted form of courthouse architecture around the middle of the seventeenth century, but it was by no means an instant success. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we continue to find many buildings designed in traditional ways alongside numerous, often small courthouses modelled on the new principles.
The turning point came when the ancien régime *was about to end. The prison now tended to be a separate building, though still near the courthouse, which meant that courthouse and prison architecture could also go their separate ways. Moreover, the triumph of neo-classical forms permanently transformed the courthouse into a temple and gave it its characteristic structure. In France, the new era began with the monuental entrance to the Palais de Justice in Paris (1776) and the* présidial *(now the Law Courts) in Caen (1779). Subsequently, the Revolution gave birth to numerous projects but few realisations: the construction of Palais de Justice on a vast scale began only after 1810. The imposing façades with colonnade and pediment that would long epitomise the popular image of justice were implanted in successive waves in the very heart of Europe's major cities*


PALAIS DE IUSTICE

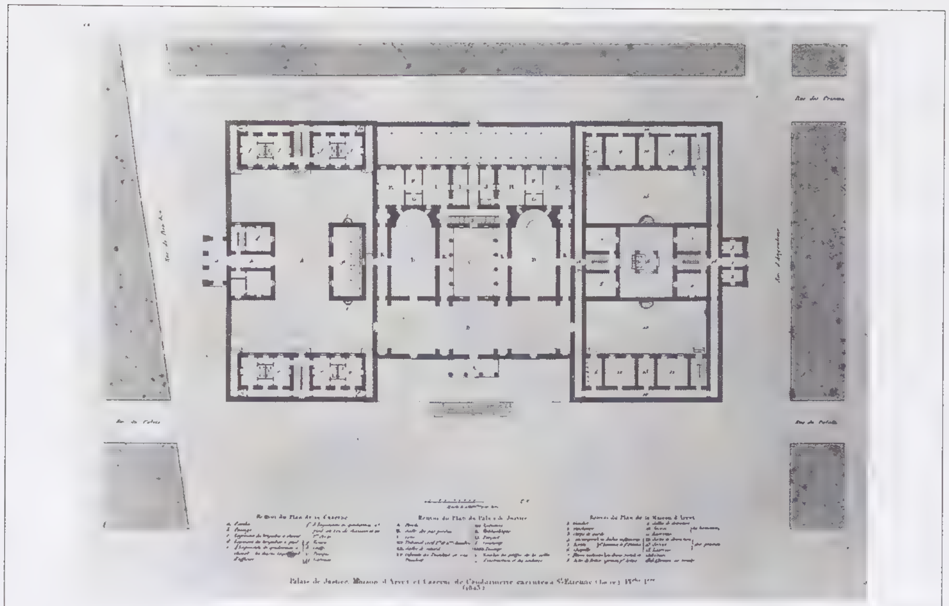
12


A Grande Salle
B Tribunaux
C Pieces accessoires
D Buvettes &c
E Prisons des hommes
F Prisons des femmes

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12. Pierre Bernard, Progetto di Palazzo di Giustizia, 1782, primo premio. Da: A.-P. Prieur, P.-L. Van Cleemputte, Collection des prix que la ci-devant Académie d'Architecture proposait et couronnait tous les ans… (1779-1789), *Paris, s.d.*
13. Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, Jean-Thomas Thibaut, Progetto di Palazzo di Giustizia, 1794. Da: J.-N.-L. Durand, Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'École Royale Polytechnique, *t. II, 1805, pl. 6: 1) grande salle; 2) aule di udienza; 3) locali accessori; 4) buvette; 5) prigione maschile; 6) prigione femminile.*
14. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Palazzo di Giustizia di Aix-en-Provence, 1785: pianta del piano primo.
15. Palazzo di Giustizia, carcere e gendarmeria, Saint-Etienne, Loire, Francia, 1823. Da: L.-H.-D. Biet, E.J.L. Grillon, Ch. Gourlier, J.-J. Tardieu, Choix d'édifices publics projetés et construits en France depuis le commencement du XIXéme siècle, *Paris, 1825-50. Pianta del piano terreno.*

12. Pierre Bernard, design for a Palais de Justice, 1782, first prize. From A.-P. Prieur, P.-L. Van Cleemputte, Collection des prix que la ci-devant Académie d'Architecture proposait et couronnait tous les ans…*(1779-1789), Paris, no date.*
13. Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, Jean-Thomas Thibaut, design for a Palais de Justice, 1794. From J.-N.-L. Durand, Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'École Royale Polytechnique, *plate II, 1805, pl. 6: 1) main hall; 2) courtrooms; 3) ancillary rooms; 4) buvette; 5) men's prison; 6) women's prison.*
14. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, Palais de Justice, Aix-en-Provence, 1785: first-floor plan.
15. Palais de Justice, prison and gendarmerie, Saint-Etienne, Loire, France, 1823. From L.-H.-D. Biet, E.J.L. Grillon, Ch. Gourlier, J.-J. Tardieu, Choix d'édifices publics projetés et construits en France depuis le commencement du XIXéme siècle, *Paris, 1825-50. Ground-floor plan.*

Francia, anche se mancano ancora ricerche sistematiche che permettano di misurare esattamente la sua diffusione. Questo periodo sembra essere, più che un momento di rottura rispetto alle forme antiche, il punto d'arrivo di un'evoluzione: con un proprio repertorio architettonico e un proprio stile l'architettura neoclassica realizza l'ideale del Tempio della Giustizia vagheggiato dai teorici tra la fine del XVI e l'inizio del XVII secolo.
Ma quest'epoca si è ormai conclusa. In Francia la demolizione del Palazzo di Giustizia di Lille, costruito da Lepus nel 1835, e la sua sostituzione con l'attuale edificio di Willerval e Spender, cominciato a costruire nel 1963-64, segnano simbolicamente l'inizio di un periodo nuovo. Da allora ristrutturazioni e declassamenti di antichi Palazzi di Giustizia si sono moltiplicati, insieme con nuove costruzioni. E' ancora difficile discernere le grandi tendenze delle ricomposizioni in corso, valutarne la portata e prevederne l'esito. In effetti, l'architettura contemporanea si trova di fronte a una sfida: esprimersi con i propri mezzi tecnici e la propria sensibilità, conservando al tempo stesso un forte simbolismo giudiziario, rispondente alle aspettative della società odierna riguardo alla "sua" giustizia.
L'utilità dell'approccio storico può consistere nel chiarire le scelte del presente. Schematicamente, tale approccio porta a distinguere nel simbolismo dispiegato dall'architettura giudiziaria tre specie di componenti.
Alcune di esse sono costanti e sembrano essere connaturate nello *status* che la nostra cultura assegna alla giustizia: così è per l'esigenza di evocare senza ambiguità un luogo di discriminazione tra il bene e il male, esigenza a cui rispondeva tradizionalmente la rappresentazione della giustizia divina. Qualsiasi espressione si preferisca oggi dare a tale esigenza, è chiaro che essa rimane indissolubilmente legata all'idea che i cittadini si fanno della giustizia e alle richieste che ad essa rivolgono.
Al contrario le scalinate monumentali, le colonne, i frontoni, le dimensioni imponenti e il volume dell'edificio, tutto ciò che concorre a creare l'immagine di una giustizia maestosa, corrisponde a preoccupazioni vive in una certa fase storica, ma divenute evidentemente inattuali. Più che a tenere a distanza il soggetto giudicabile impressionandolo, si tende oggi a riconciliarlo con la "sua" giustizia avvicinandolo ad essa; l'abolizione della distanza e la creazione o il ricupero di un simbolismo caldo e accogliente sono d'attualità.
Potrebbero infine essere riscoperte con vantaggio alcune componenti tradizionali dell'ambiente giudiziario trascurate nel recente passato. L'apertura del palazzo al mondo esterno e la rappresentazione differenziata degli spazi "caldi" e "freddi", "vivi" e "morti" non sono necessariamente estranee all'idea di giustizia; e l'ideale largamente condiviso di una democrazia moderna induce a cercare di nuovo il fondamento della legittimità e della responsabilità della giustizia nel controllo della società su di essa.
Naturalmente lo storico non potrà sostituirsi ai protagonisti – architetti, soggetti giudicabili, professionisti del diritto – ai quali spettano in ultima istanza le scelte decisive; potrà tutt'al più contribuire a informare i futuri costruttori sulle realtà alle quali si trovano oggi di fronte.

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1) Cfr. la nota bibliografica.
2) Cfr. F. BOUDON, *Le palais de justice sous influence: l'architecture judiciaire de la première moitié du XIXe siècle au crible des principes du Conseil des Bâtiments civils*, comunicazione inedita al Convegno internazionale *Palais de Justice: héritage et projets*, Parigi 1994.
3) Il presente articolo riproduce in parte un testo pubblicato in "Archicréé", n. 265, maggio-giugno 1995; esso riprende nella sostanza le conclusioni di due studi precedenti, ai quali rinviamo il lettore: R. JACOB, N. MARCHAL, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'architecture judiciaire*, in *La Justice en ses Temples. Regards sur l'architecture judiciaire en France*, Paris, 1992, pp. 23-68; R. JACOB, *Images de la justice. Essai sur l'iconographie judiciaire du Moyen Age à l'âge classique*, cit.
4) Su questo punto rimandiamo al nostro *Images de la justice*, cit., pp. 195 sg.

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Werner Szambien, Direttore di ricerca del C.N.R.S. (Parigi), che vivamente ringrazio, mi ha gentilmente concesso la sua documentazione su progetti, piante e disegni di Palazzi di Giustizia del XIX° secolo.
Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

throughout the last century. People competed everywhere to erect the most imposing buildings, and the period in general was by far the most productive of courthouses Europe has ever seen. More than half of France's surviving Palais de Justice were built then; and, as is well known, the neo-classical model became widely popular outside France, although systematic studies of its exact distribution have yet to be made.
More than a rupture with older forms, the period seemed to mark the completion of an evolutionary process: with its own repertoire of forms and its own architectural style, it realised the ideal of the Temple of Justice that theorists had been dreaming of around the turn of the seventeenth century.
But this period has now come to an end. In France, the demolition of the Palais de Justice in Lille (built by Lepus in 1835) and its replacement with the present Willerval and Spender building (begun in 1963-64) symbolised the start of a new era. Since then the old Palais de Justice have been redesigned and down-graded in ever larger numbers, and many new courthouses have been built. It is difficult to see what the dominant trend is, still less its true scope and likely outcome.
The reality is that contemporary architecture now faces the challenge of using its own technical resources and means of expression to provide modern society with an image of the justice it wants, while preserving in some way the symbolic potency which justice has always enjoyed.
The usefulness of historical approaches like the one I have adopted in this essay is that they can clarify the choices available to us now. *Basically, they enable us to distinguish three types of legal symbolism, some of which are constant and seem inextricably linked to the cultural status of justice in our society. Thus, there is a universal need (which representations of divine justice were once able to satisfy) for a clearly marked place where good can be distinguished from evil. However architects choose to do this nowadays, it is surely obvious that the need itself remains inextricably linked to the idea citizens have of justice, and their expectations of it. By contrast, monumental stairways, columns, pediments, imposing size and volume – in short, everything that once combined to produce a majestic image of justice – reflected the preoccupations of a given historical period that are irrelevant to the society we live in now. Rather than keeping people at a distance from justice by overawing them with legal pomp, the modern tendency is to persuade them to accept their "own" type of justice by bringing it nearer to them. The abolition of distance and the creation, or revival, of "warm", welcoming symbols are now the really relevant concerns.*
Finally, it may be advantageous to revive some courthouse features that have been overlooked in the recent past. Concepts like making courthouses accessible to the outside world, and distinguishing between spaces that are "warm" and "cold" ("alive" and "dead"), are not necessarily alien to the modern image of justice; and the widely shared ideal of a truly modern democracy is again making answerability to society the basis of judicial legitimacy and responsibility. Naturally, historians can never take the place of the architects, trial protagonists and legal professionals who ultimately have to make the important decisions. But it is precisely this that qualifies them to advise future builders on the realities they face today.

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For other countries, see M. CARTER, Early Canadian Court Houses, *Ottawa 1983; K. KLEMMER, R. WASSERMANN, T.M. WESSEL,* Deutsche Gerichtsgebäude. Von der Dorflinde über den Justizpalast zum Haus des Rechts, *Munich 1993. For the relationship between judicial symbolism and architecture, see A. GARAPON,* L'âne portant des reliques. Essai sur le rituel judiciaire, *Paris 1985; K. FISHER-TAYLOR,* In the Theater of Criminal Justice. The Palais de Justice of Second Empire, *Paris, Priceton (N.J.) 1993; R. JACOB,* Images de la Justice. Essai sur l'iconographie judiciaire du Moyen Age à l'âge classique, *introduction by P. Truche and M. Ezratty, Paris 1994.*

1) See bibliographical note.
2) See F. BOUDON, Le palais de justice sous influence: l'architecture judiciaire de la première moitié du XIXe siècle au crible des principes du Conseil des Bâtiments civils, *unpublished paper delivered at the international conference* Palais de Justice: héritage et projets, *Paris 1994.*
3) This essay partly reproduces an article published in Archicrée, 265, 1995 and repeats the conclusions of two previous studies of mine: R. JACOB, N. MARCHAL, Jalons pour une histoire de l'architecture judiciaire, *in* La Justice en ses Temples. Regards sur l'architecture judiciaire en France, *Paris 1992, pp. 23-68; R. JACOB,* Images de la justice. Essai sur l'iconographie judiciaire du Moyen Age à l'âge classique, *Paris 1994.*
4) For this point, see my Images de la justice, *op.cit., p. 195.*

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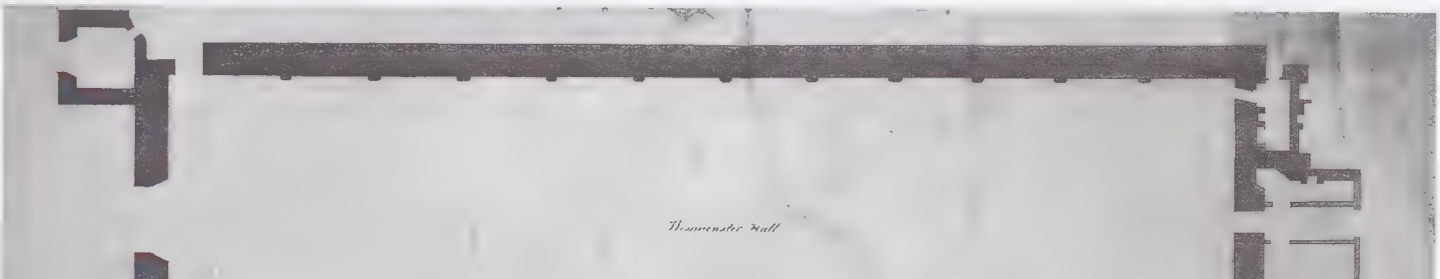
I would like to express my gratitude to Werner Szambien, Director of Research at C.N.R.S. (Paris), who allowed me to consult his documentation of projects, plans and drawings of nineteenth-century Law Courts.

1. 2. John Soane, New Law Courts, addizione alla Westminster Hall, Londra, Gran Bretagna, 1821-25: primo progetto, pianta del piano terreno e prospettiva.

1. 2. John Soane, New Law Courts, addition to Westminster Hall, London, Great Britain, 1821-25: first design, ground-floor plan and perspective.



1



2

Il Palazzo di Giustizia nella città moderna

*Giorgio Muratore**

L'evoluzione della specifica architettura del "Palazzo" per la giustizia rappresenta, nel contesto della cultura contemporanea, un elemento di notevole interesse sia per la complessità tipologica del tema che per i significati dei diversi argomenti coinvolti.
Innanzitutto, si tratta di un edificio, il Palazzo di Giustizia, che raccoglie in sé tradizionalmente valenze assai importanti nel contesto dell'architettura della città moderna. Luogo per eccellenza ricchissimo di riferimenti e di postulati rappresentativi, diventa, in epoca contemporanea, punto focale nella costruzione del panorama simbolico e funzionale della città laica.
Rappresentando insieme il punto di espressione di una nuova sacralità della funzione giudiziaria e la continuità con gli antichi significati attribuiti ai luoghi ove la giustizia tradizionalmente era stata amministrata e somministrata, il nuovo Palazzo di Giustizia o meglio la nuova idea di giustizia che prende forma architettonica attraverso i nuovi disseminati Palazzi progettati e costruiti un po' in tutto il mondo divengono uno dei punti di aggregazione fondamentale della nuova fenomenologia urbana.
Assieme ai nuovi "monumenti" della modernità, le stazioni ferroviarie, i nuovi grandi teatri, ecc., e soprattutto insieme ai nuovi contenitori destinati alle assemblee parlamentari, i Palazzi per la giustizia assumono così il ruolo di nuovo perno attorno ai quali ruota il meccanismo di autorappresentazione dei diversi, moderni, Stati di diritto.
La costruzione di un nuovo "ordine" giudiziario va così di pari passo con la costruzione di una nuova immagine per la giustizia intesa come più alto obiettivo della civile convivenza metropolitana. Il nuovo ideale di giustizia che ogni Stato moderno porta con sé quale asse portante delle nuove garanzie giuridiche assicurate dai nuovi assetti costituzionali impone perciò alle architetture di questi Palazzi di assumere un ruolo decisivo nella costruzione di quell'immagine moderna dello Stato, convincente e comunicativa, di cui la grande architettura pubblica delle nuove città-capitale e delle grandi metropoli contemporanee va assumendo dalla seconda metà del secolo Diciottesimo in poi.
Due soprattutto i luoghi ove meglio che altrove è possibile cogliere l'evoluzione del senso di questa specifica tipologia, da un lato l'Inghilterra della seconda metà del Diciottesimo secolo e, dall'altra, la Francia degli anni a cavallo della Rivoluzione. Culture e tradizioni diverse che si confrontano sul medesimo tema con strumenti differenti e che ci danno

Law Courts in the modern city

Giorgio Muratore*

The evolution of law-court architecture in the context of contemporary culture is particularly interesting both for its typological complexity and because of the various significant questions it raises.
A law court is above all a building that stands for a number of traditionally very important values in modern city architecture. Although it has always played an extremely representative role throughout history, in the modern era it became a focal point for the shaping of the secular city's symbolic and functional institutions. The expression both of the judiciary's new sacral character and of continuity with the ancient associations attached to traditional seats of justice, the new law-court building or rather the new idea of justice that took architectural shape through the new buildings appearing in various cities were fundamental to the new urban phenomenology. Along with other new "monuments" to modernity, like railway stations, grand theatres, and more particularly the new parliament buildings, law courts became the new fulcrum around which the mechanism of self-representation in the various modern states pivoted. Parallel to the construction of a new judicial "order" came the creation of a new image of justice as the highest level of civil co-existence to which a city could strive. The new ideal of justice that formed the cornerstone of new judicial guarantees provided for by new constitutions in all modern states therefore demanded that law-court building architecture should take on a decisive role in the construction of that forceful, communicative modern state image which large-scale public architecture in the new capital cities and modern metropolises began to project from the mid eighteenth century onwards.
The clearest manifestations of this underlying significance were in late eighteenth-century England and pre- and post-revolutionary France. These two countries, whose very different cultures and traditions led to quite distinct approaches to the same theme, are the starting point for this brief review of what could be described as the most representative cases from the last two centuries.
Starting with England, there were particularly noteworthy major works of architecture, which alas no longer exist: George Dance the Younger's Newgate Prison, completed in the 1780s and demolished just over a century later in 1902, and John Soane's Law Courts addition to Westminster Hall (figs 1, 2), which was begun in the 1820s but, after surviving the disastrous fire of 1834, was demolished as early as 1883 following the completion of the new Law



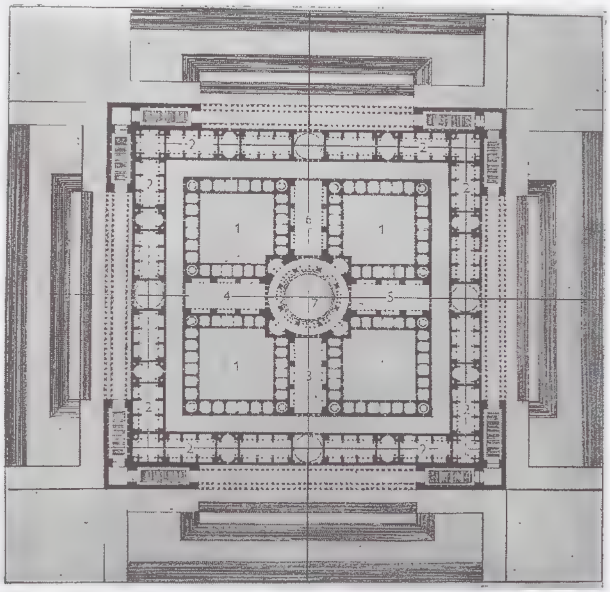
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lo spunto per avviare questa breve riflessione, quasi una carrellata di casi esemplari, raccolti lungo l'arco degli ultimi due secoli.
Per quanto attiene all'Inghilterra ci sembrano essere due le occasioni, gli edifici di riferimento obbligato, e in ambedue i casi si tratta di architetture importanti, ma purtroppo distrutte: da un lato la Prigione di Newgate di George Dance il Giovane, terminata verso gli anni Ottanta e demolita dopo poco più di un secolo nel 1902 e, dall'altro, l'addizione di John Soane alla Westminster Hall per ricavarne la sede delle Law Courts (figg. 1, 2), realizzata a partire dagli anni Venti del secolo successivo, sopravvissuta al rovinoso incendio del 1834 e demolita già nel 1883 quando fu portato a termine il nuovo complesso giudiziario sullo Strand, sul quale torneremo più avanti a proposito dello storico concorso.
Si tratta, come è noto, di due edifici di notevole pregio dove la matura e disinvolta acquisizione degli etimi classici consentì ai rispettivi autori di manovrare con destrezza, da un lato, nella straordinaria elaborazione del famoso prospetto cieco, piranesiano e bugnato della prigione e, dall'altro, nella altrettanto straordinaria fenomenologia degli spazi interni dell'addizione di Westminster capaci di dialogare alla pari con quegli altrettali capolavori che furono gli spazi della Banca d'Inghilterra e della Dulwich Gallery.
Ma sarà con Etienne-Louis Boullée che l'idea di un tipo di Palazzo per l'amministrazione della giustizia prenderà corpo assumendo le vere e proprie caratteristiche di un prototipo ideale (figg. 3, 4). Unendo, non a caso, insieme le due funzioni, quella carceraria e quella giudiziaria, in un unico gigantesco edificio, Boullée evidenzia la dimensione sociale, didascalica e pedagogica, esaltando la funzionalità e la qualità simbolica della costruzione, la cui marcata orizzontalità e l'esibita mancanza di gerarchie vitruviane sottolinea l'oggettività delle funzioni espresse e l'auspicata uguaglianza dei cittadini di fronte ad una legge che si offre anche attraverso lo spettacolo di tutta la sua terribilità.
Scrive Boullée: "*La decorazione di questo Palazzo deve essere maestosa e imponente. Questo progetto appartiene all'architettura.* (...) *Ho pensato che per introdurre in quest'opera la Poesia dell'architettura, era bene disporre, sotto il Palazzo, l'ingresso delle prigioni. Mi è parso che, presentando questo augusto edificio costruito sopra l'antro tenebroso del crimine, io potevo non soltanto mettere in luce la nobiltà dell'architettura per le opposizioni che ne risultavano, ma anche presentare, in modo metaforico, il*

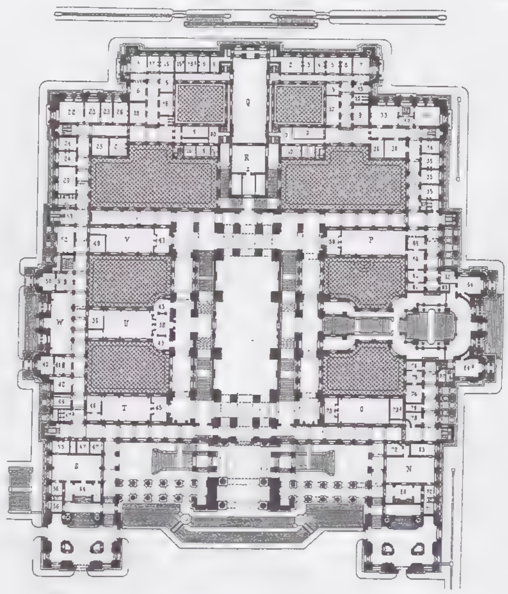
Courts, on the Strand, to which we will return in a moment. These two prestigious buildings, whose architects had acquired a maturity and ease in handling classical themes that enabled them to skilfully create on the one hand the famous Piranesi-style rusticated blind perspective of the prison and on the other the no less extraordinary phenomenon of the Westminster addition's interior spaces, which were on a par with masterpieces like the Bank of England and Dulwich Gallery.
But it was Etienne-Louis Boullée in France who really established the idea of a building designed for the administration of justice, with all the characteristics of an ideal protoytype (figs 3, 4). By deliberately combining the prison and judicial functions in one huge building, Boullée threw into relief the social and didactic dimension, highlighting the functionality and symbolic quality of the construction, whose accentuated horizontality and blatant lack of Vitruvian hierarchy underscored the objectivity of the functions being expressed and the hoped-for equality of citizens before a legal system that also expressed itself through the awesome spectacularity of the building. As Boullée writes: "The decoration of this building has to be majestic and imposing. This project is about architecture *(...)* I felt that in order to introduce the poetry of architecture to this work, it was right to position the entrance to the prisons under the building. It seemed to me that in placing this august building over the dark cavern of crime I would not only be highlighting the nobility of architecture through the resulting contrast but also metaphorically representing the menacing spectre of Vice being overwhelmed by the weight of Justice. To give the building its due grandeur, I located it in a position from which it would dominate its surroundings. I erected it in a way that would make it seem to disappear into the sky, totally enveloped in light and shining with light. I made the ground floor the entrance to the prisons; the perilous sepulchre of criminals. As the noble majesty of the architecture derived from the simplicity of its volumes, I did not allow myself any division in the facade of the building. I attempted to give this monument its essential dignity through an immense order. *(...)* I treated the subject with as much grandeur as possible because the site of the Throne of Justice must be imposing"
For all its abstract quality, this huge secular temple became a reference point for what was to come in the following century. And while the relative unfeasiblity of Boullée's

3. 4. Etienne-Louis Boullée, Progetto per un Palazzo di Giustizia, s.d.: pianta e prospettiva.
5. 6. Joseph Poelaert, Palazzo di Giustizia di Bruxelles, Belgio, 1860-84: pianta del piano terreno e prospettiva.

3.4. Etienne-Louis Boullée, design for a Law Court, no date: plan and perspective.
5.6. Joseph Poelaert, Law Courts, Brussels, Belgium. 1860-84: ground-floor plan and perspective.



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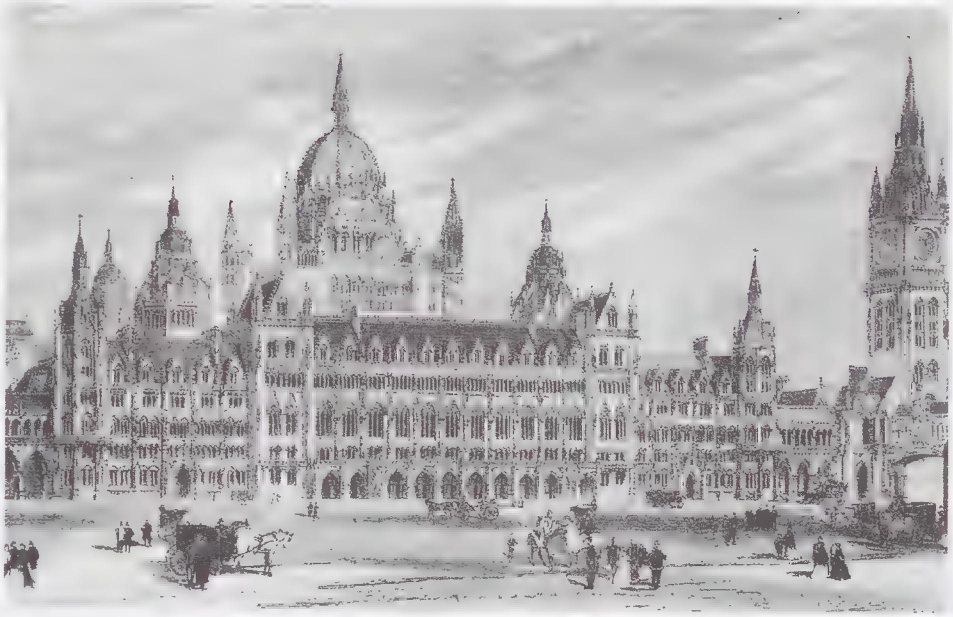
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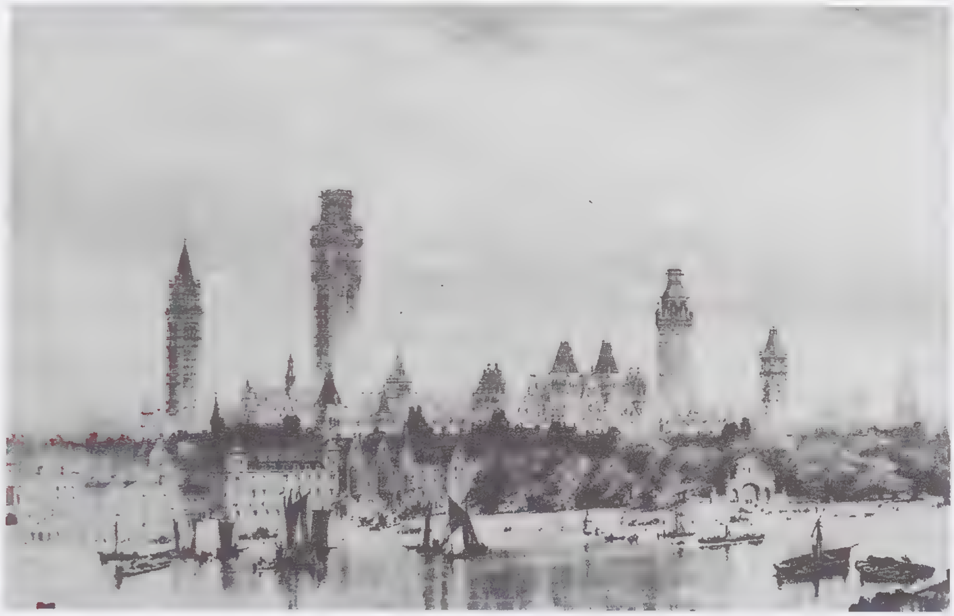
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7. Edward M. Barry, Progetto di concorso per le nuove Royal Courts of Justice da erigersi sullo Strand, Londra, Gran Bretagna, 1866.
8. Alfred Waterhouse, Progetto di concorso per le nuove Royal Courts of Justice da erigersi sullo Strand, Londra, Gran Bretagna, 1866: prospettiva dal Tamigi.
9. George Edmund Street, Royal Court of Justice sullo Strand realizzato nel1874-82 a modifica del progetto vincitore del concorso.

7. Edward M. Barry, Competition entry for the new Royal Courts of Justice on the Strand, London, Great Britain, 1866.
8. Alfred Waterhouse, Competition entry for the new Royal Courts of Justice on the Strand, London, Great Britain, 1866: perspective from the Thames.
9. George Edmund Street, Royal Court of Justice on the Strand, built in 1874-82, a modification of the winning competition design.



7



8



9

quadro imponente del Vizio oppresso dal peso della Giustizia. Per dare a questo Palazzo la maestà conveniente, l'ho posto in posizione dominante sull'ambiente circostante. L'ho innalzato in modo che sembra perdersi nel cielo, e che, circondato completamente dalla luce, ne risplenda. Ho destinato il piano terra all'ingresso delle prigioni; sepolcro precario dei criminali. Poiché la nobile maestà dell'architettura deriva dalla semplicità delle masse, non mi sono permesso alcuna divisione nella facciata del Palazzo. È con un ordine gigante che ho cercato di dare a questo monumento tutta la dignità che deve caratterizzarlo. (...) Ho trattato questo soggetto con tutta la grandezza che mi è stata possibile perché il luogo, dove risiede il Trono della Giustizia, deve essere imponente".

Questo gigantesco tempio laico si impone così pur nella sua astrazione come vero e proprio punto di riferimento per le riflessioni che si svilupperanno nel secolo successivo. E se resta pur vero che la relativa ineffettualità dell'opera di Boullée lo ha fatto classificare tra i grandi sognatori di un'utopia lontana dalle contingenze reali della città contemporanea, è d'altro canto evidente e prepotente la presenza della sua straordinaria lezione, portata a compimento dai suoi allievi migliori. Tra questi Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand. Sua è infatti l'elaborazione semplificata e più pragmatica di tante idee del maestro e che specificamente, riprendendo una prova accademica di Bernard con la quale questi si era aggiudicato il Grand Prix del 1782 proprio con un progetto per un Palazzo di Giustizia, ripropone insieme a Thibault un'idea di "Palazzo" e una di "Prigione" i cui tipi, poi ulteriormente semplificati nella tavole didattiche dei *Précis*, faranno scuola ancora per decenni a venire.

L'idea di Durand di un'architettura tipologicamente coerente e connessa con la struttura dei corpi basilicali classici e dell'articolazione d'insieme alla maniera di un moderno "Foro", si sposa così nel suo progetto di Palazzo di Giustizia con quell'idea che sarà alla base della sua futura azione di trattatista e di didatta e che era già ben sintetizzata nelle parole che accompagnavano come motto quel progetto: "*Aprés le bonheur d'ètre utile à sa patrie, le plus grand est de vivre ignoré*".

Ma se questa era l'idea ancora illuministica di Durand rispecchiata nella sobrietà delle sue indicazioni architettoniche, non v'è chi non veda quanta distanza separi questa visione del mondo da quella che andrà affermandosi nei decenni appena successivi.

work led to him being ranked as one of the great visionaries of a utopia that had little bearing on the real needs of the modern city, his extraordinary teachings were clearly and irrepressibly brought to completion by his best pupils. These included Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand, who simplified and rationalised many of his master's ideas and who, retrieving an academic exercise with which Bernard had won the 1782 Grand Prix with a law-court design, put forward, with Thibault, an idea for a "Law Court" and a "Prison", whose styles, further simplified in the didactic plates of the Précis, *would set the trend for decades to come.*

Envisaging an architecture that was typologically consistent with the classical basilica structure and the overall layout of a modern "Forum", Durand espoused in his law-court design an idea that would form the basis of his future work as a treatise writer and teacher and which was well summed up in the words that formed a kind of motto for the project: "Aprés le bonheur d'ètre utile à sa patrie, le plus grand est de vivre ignoré."

But while Durand's enlightened idea was reflected in the sobriety of his architectural indications, his world vision was clearly quite far removed from that which gradually began to establish itself in the decades immediately following. The case that most clearly demonstrates how far architectural culture, particularly law-court architecture, had come in little more than half a century is surely that of the Palais de Justice in Brussels (figs 5, 6). Following an ill-fated and inconclusive 1860 international competition, the building was eventually designed by Joseph Poelaert, chief municipal architect and former pupil of Jean-Nicholas Huyot and Louis Visconti in Paris, but was not finished unti 1884, ten years after its creator's death. This Belgian example is the most emblematic case of how far a variation on this specific theme could go, although it featured so many elements of public self-representation and stylistic contamination that it stands as an isolated case at international level. Likened by Hitchcock in its dreamlike complexity and exotic decoration to the romantic visions of John Martin and to the Glaswegian architecture of Alexander Thompson "The Greek", Poelaert's work had the power to undermine once and for all the logic and syntax of late neoclassicist-influenced academicism and assert itself as a bench mark for the then highly successful international eclecticism.

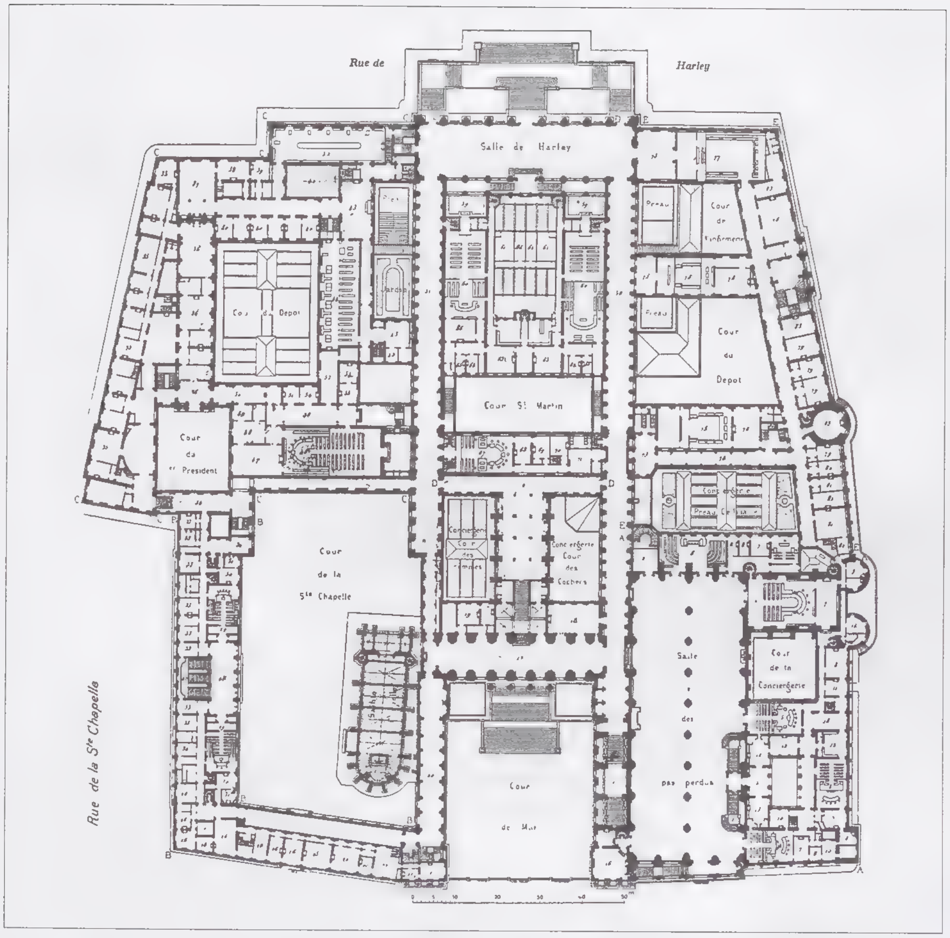
It is no coincidence that the 1866 competition for Britain's new Royal Courts of Justice on London's Strand,



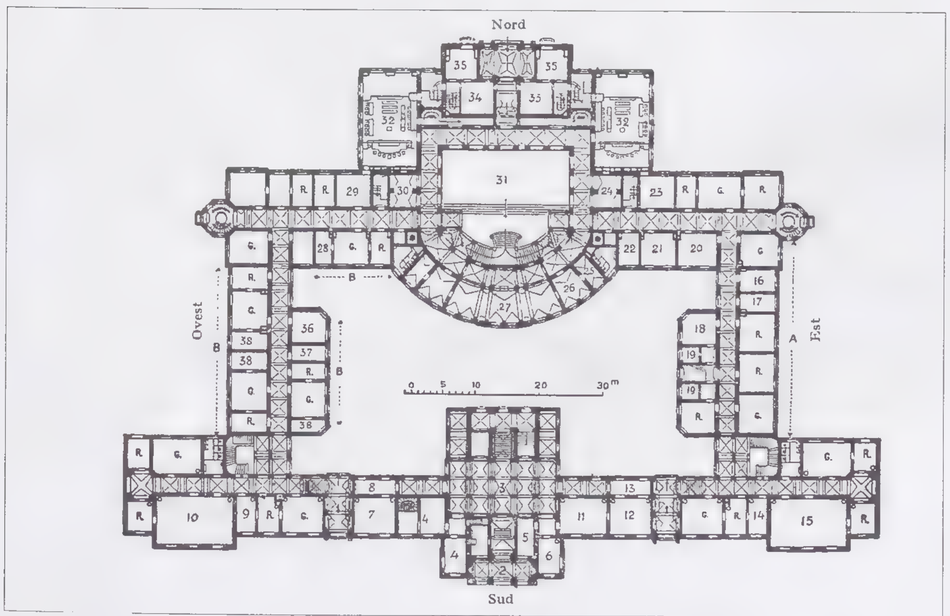
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Il caso più emblematico, per misurare il tragitto che in poco più di mezzo secolo fu compiuto dalla cultura architettonica, segnatamente sul tema del Palazzo di Giustizia, è senz'altro quello di Bruxelles (figg. 5, 6). Frutto di una sfortunata gara internazionale espletata nel 1860 e rimasta senza esito, l'edificio si deve a Joseph Poelaert, architetto capo dell'amministrazione comunale, già allievo di Jean-Nicolas Huyot e di Louis Visconti a Parigi, e sarà terminato solo nell'84, dieci anni dopo la morte del suo ideatore. Il caso belga rappresenta assai bene, nel coacervo delle sue complessità, il più emblematico punto di arrivo di un'elaborazione sul tema specifico cui però vanno affiancandosi tanti e tali elementi di autorappresentatività pubblica e di contaminazione stilistica da costituirsi come un vero e proprio *unicum* a livello internazionale.
Affiancato da Hitchcock, per complessità onirica e decorativismo esotico, alle romantiche visioni di John Martin e alle architetture glasgowiane di Alexander Thompsom "The Greek", l'opera di Poelaert ha la forza di scardinare definitivamente la logica e la sintassi del tardo accademismo di matrice neoclassica e si impone come punto di riferimento centrale per l'eclettismo internazionale in quel momento trionfante.
Non è infatti un caso che nel concorso bandito nel 1866 per le nuove Royal Courts of Justice britanniche, da erigersi sullo Strand londinese a seguito delle necessità di ampliamento delle ormai obsolete Law Courts di Westminster, si assista alla più straordinaria fioritura eclettica che il secolo abbia mai registrato. Punto di incontro e di scontro tra la cultura neoclassica e quella neogotica, banco di prova dei nuovi miti della modernità è infatti la Londra del dopo '51 quella ove meglio che altrove si riescono a catalizzare gli umori e gli itinerari diversi della sperimentazione linguistica contemporanea.
Sono di questi anni i noti contrasti tra i fautori delle opposte tendenze, e tra tutti l'episodio dello scontro tra Palmerston e Scott sullo "stile" da conferire agli edifici governativi della *Britannia Triumphans* resta senz'altro esemplare. È in questo contesto che la vicenda del concorso per le Royal Courts prende corpo offrendosi quale occasione straordinaria di riflessione sui destini della modernità contemporanea.
Punto di arrivo del dibattito e della sperimentazione neogotica, questa gara tra i migliori architetti inglesi del tempo rappresenta infatti, e paradossalmente insieme, il trionfo e la caduta di quella preponderante "tendenza".

occasioned by the need to expand the now obsolete Law Courts in Westminster, came during the most extraordinary flourishing of eclecticism the century had ever witnessed. Post-1851 London saw the convergence and clash of neoclassical and neogothic culture and became the testing ground for the new symbols of modernity; it was the place where the various moods and trends of modern experimentation with idiom were given the greatest boost. These were the years of the well-known disputes between supporters of opposing trends, the most exemplary being the clash between Palmerston and Scott over the "style" of the government buildings of the Britannia Triumphans. *It was in this context that the competition for the Royal Courts took place; it became an extraordinary opportunity for reflection on the fate of contemporary modernity.*
This contest between the best British architects of the day marked the culmination of neogothic experimentation and debate, and paradoxically represented both the triumph and demise of that prevailing "trend". Of the eleven designs submitted to the jury, all were in a traditional, chiefly Tudor style. Many of them also were tempted to dabble in extreme modernism either through the use of iron and glass ogival structures or by resorting to the tower-style building that was medieval in origin but now symbolised above all a new American idea of progress.
There were many prominent names, including Barry, Burges, Lockwood, Mawson, Seddon, Waterhouse, Brandon, Scott and George Edmond Street, who won with a design which in a modified form became the basis for the construction of the entire building that was begun in 1874 and not completed until 1882 (figs 7, 8, 9).
The winning design involved a group of connected buildings and spaces with highly varied fronts: monochrome on the Strand and two-colour on Carey Street, organised around the large vaulted space of the great ogival nave. Other interesting proposals from Pollard Seddon, Waterhouse and Burges demonstrated great innovative power, landmarks whose complex skylines would have characterised one of the historically richest stretches of the left bank of the Thames.
Elsewhere in Europe, the second half of the nineteenth century saw the construction of a considerable number of law-court buildings, which became landmarks of their own cities. The typology flourished most impressively in Second Empire France and Bismarck's Germany.
Law-courts appeared in many provincial capitals in



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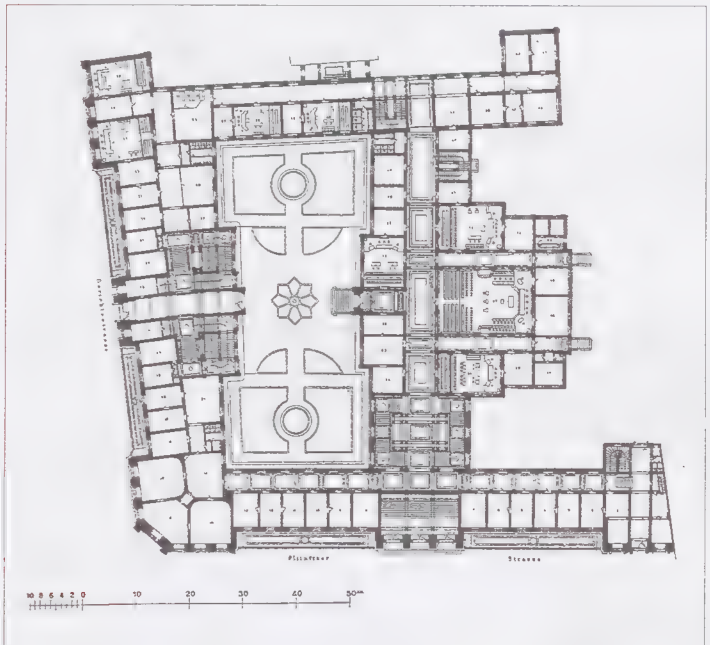
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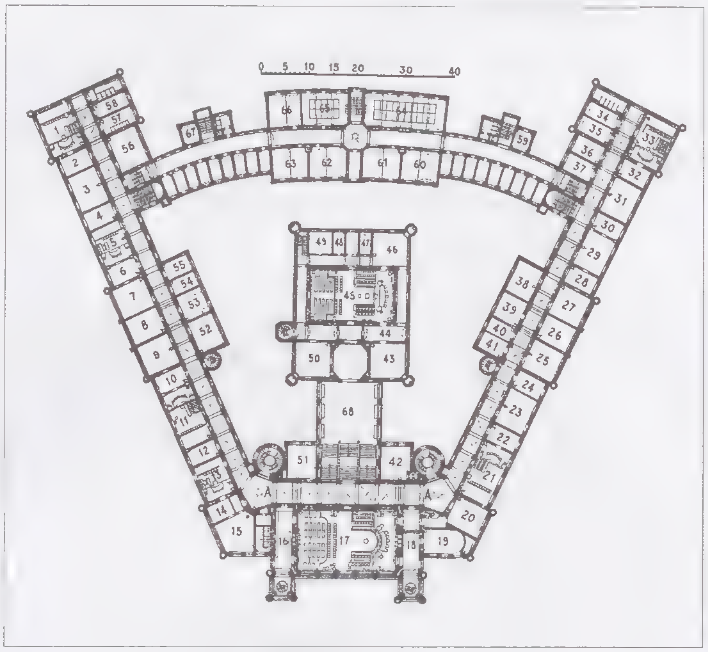
10. 11. Louis-Joseph Duc, Pierre-Jérome-Honoré Daumet, Ernest-George Coquart, Palazzo di Giustizia di Parigi, Francia, 1853-90: pianta del piano primo e fronte su rue de Harlay della Corte di Assise (Louis-Joseph Duc, 1875).
12. Karl Friedrich Endell, Palazzo di Giustizia di Colonia, Germania, 1883-93: pianta del piano terreno.

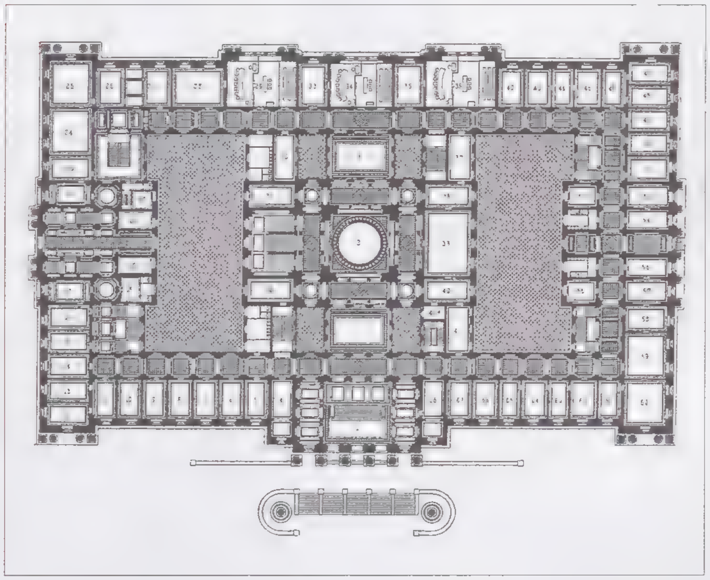
10.11. Louis-Joseph Duc, Pierre-Jérome-Honoré Daumet, Ernest-George Coquart, Law Courts, Paris, France, 1853-90: first-floor plan and Rue de Harlay front of the Court of Assizes (Louis-Joseph Duc, 1875).
12. Karl Friedrich Endell, Law Courts, Cologne, Germany, 1883-93: ground-floor plan.

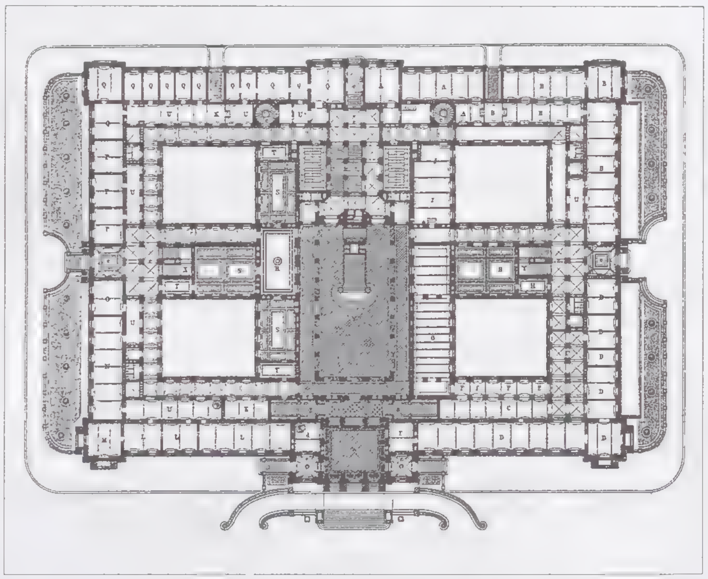
13. 16. Busse e Herrmann, Tribunale criminale di Berlino-Moabit, Germania, 1877-82: planimetria generale del complesso e pianta del piano primo del Palazzo di Giustizia.
14. Canzler, Palazzo di Giustizia di Dresda, Germania, 1876-79: pianta del piano terreno.
15. Ludwig Hoffmann, Peter Dybwad, Palazzo di Giustizia di Lipsia, Germania, 1888-95: pianta del piano terreno.
17. Alexander Wielemans, Palazzo di Giustizia di Vienna, Austria, 1875-81: pianta del piano terreno.
18. Theodor Landauer, Palazzo di Giustizia di Stoccarda, Germania, 1875-79: pianta del piano terreno.

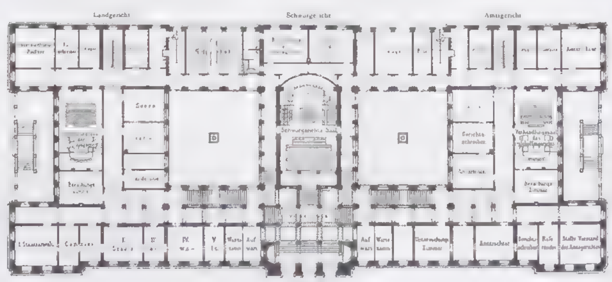

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13. 16. Busse and Herrmann, Criminal Tribunal, Berlin-Moabit, Germany, 1877-82: site plan and first-floor plan of Law Courts.
14. Canzler, Dresden Law Courts, Germany, 1876-79: ground-floor plan.
15. Ludwig Hoffmann, Peter Dybwad, Law Courts, Leipzig Germany, 1888-95: ground-floor plan.
17. Alexander Wielemans, Law Courts, Vienna, Austria, 1875-81: ground-floor plan.

18. Theodor Landauer, Law Courts, Stuttgart, Germany, 1875-79: ground-floor plan.

Degli undici progetti sottoposti alla giuria tutti risultarono composti nello "stile" della tradizione, segnatamente in quello Tudor, e allo stesso tempo in molti attinsero alle tentazioni di un modernismo esasperato, vuoi attraverso l'uso di strutture ogivali in ferro e vetro, vuoi facendo ricorso all'edificio a torre di derivazione medievale, ma soprattutto ormai referente simbolico di una nuova idea americana di progresso.
Molti i nomi di spicco da Barry a Burges, da Lockwood e Mawson a Seddon, da Waterhouse a Brandon, allo stesso Scott, a George Edmond Street risultato vincitore con un progetto che, poi modificato, fu alla base della costruzione dell'intero complesso iniziato nel '74 e completato solo nell'82 (figg. 7, 8, 9).
Tra le proposte più interessanti, oltre al progetto vincitore, che si articola in un insieme di edifici e di spazi concatenati, ma anche molto differenziati sui diversi prospetti, da quello monocromo sullo Strand a quello a ricorsi bicromi su Carey Street e organizzati attorno al grande spazio voltato della grande navata ogivale, vanno ricordate quelle di Pollard Seddon, di Waterhouse e di Burges per la loro grande forza innovativa e l'importante presenza alla scala urbana, andando tutti a segnare nel loro articolato *skyline* uno dei tratti più ricchi di memoria storica dell'intera riva sinistra del Tamigi.
La restante metà del secolo Diciannovesimo vede ancora, nel resto d'Europa, la realizzazione di un nuovo cospicuo numero di edifici destinati alla giustizia che vanno a segnare il volto rinnovato dei centri più importanti; la Francia del Secondo Impero e la Germania bismarckiana rappresentano in tal senso i luoghi privilegiati di coltura di questa nuova tipologia.
In Francia molti capoluoghi di distretto si dotano così di nuovi Palazzi di Giustizia e nella stessa Parigi, a cavallo degli anni Sessanta, si porta a termine il cospicuo ampliamento che coinvolge spazi importanti dell'Ile maggiore, nell'area che va dalla Sainte Chapelle a Place Dauphine, e che vide impegnati architetti come Duc, Daumet e Coquart a ricreare un sistema di connessione tra i vecchi edifici e le nuove addizioni giudiziarie (figg. 10, 11).
Ma sarà la Germania degli ultimi trent'anni del secolo a realizzare un'altra cospicua serie di Palazzi destinati all'amministrazione giudiziaria: da Colonia con l'opera di Endell (fig. 12), a Stoccarda con quella di Landauer (fig. 18), da Lipsia (fig. 15) a Dresda con quella di Canzler (fig. 14) fino a Berlino dove il grande penitenziario di

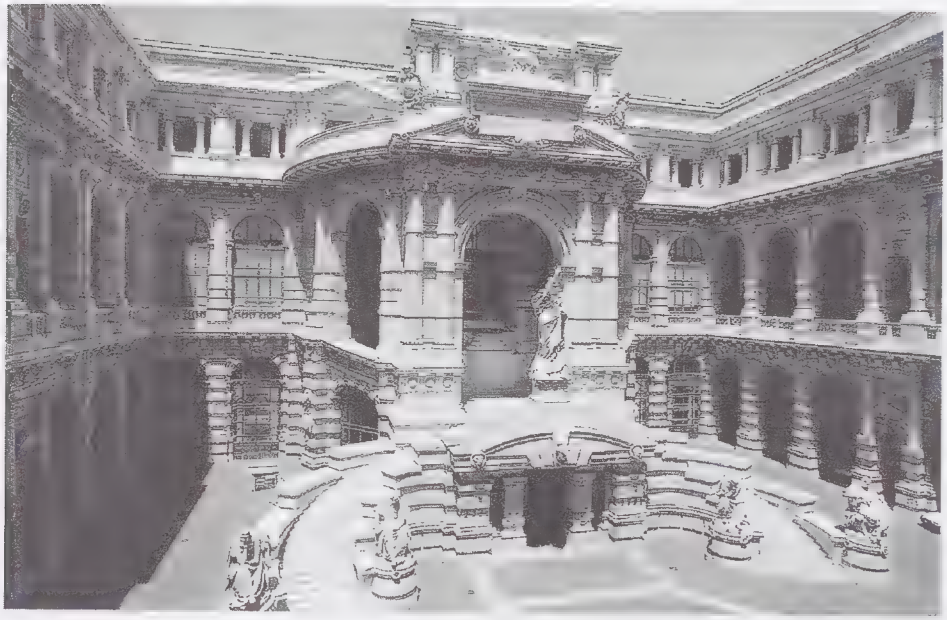
France, and around the 1860s in Paris the major extension project on the Ile de la Cité between the Sainte Chapelle and Place Dauphine was completed. Architects such as Duc, Daumet and Coquart created a system of communications between the old buildings and the new law-court additions (figs 10-11).
Another substantial series of law-court buildings was created in Germany in the last thirty years of the century: the work of Endell in Cologne (fig. 12), of Landauer in Stuttgart (fig. 18), of Canzler in Dresden (fig. 14) and Leipzig (fig. 15) and the great Moabit prison in Berlin, completed by Herrmann and Busse's monumental addition in 1877 (figs 13, 16).
In Vienna too the many new, imposing buildings constructed around the Ring included a new Palace of Justice, designed by Wielemans (fig. 17) in French Renaissance style, the winner of an 1874 competition in which the young Otto Wagner (little more than thirty years old at the time) took part with a rather insipid, scholarly idea, far removed from the great architectural inventions he produced just a few years later.
It was in this international context that the issue arose of building a large Palace of Justice in the recently unified Italy. This building would be the headquarters of the local courts but also represent one of the highest levels of the legal system's hierarchy. Unlike other European countries, except Belgium, which in many ways it most closely resembled, the situation in Italy (especially in Rome) provided an opportunity to create not only a true monument to the judiciary but also a major large-scale work, a symbol almost of the recently-acquired national identity. It was the idea of a Palace of Justice representing the very concept of the state rather than any other contemporary monument (such as the monument to Victor Emmanuel II in Rome) that gathered steam.
This was not merely the creation of a building exceptional in terms of size and the functions it housed; it was the need to ensure that such a creation would bring together and represent all those national values to which a recently-formed state naturally tended to aspire (figs 19, 20, 21).
Its urban location close to buildings of extreme historical importance not only for the city itself necessitated in the case of Rome a highly overt representative quality typical of such architecture, in a way that made Calderini's work the main symbol of the new-found unity. The secular nature of the justice institution, the main garrison of the new



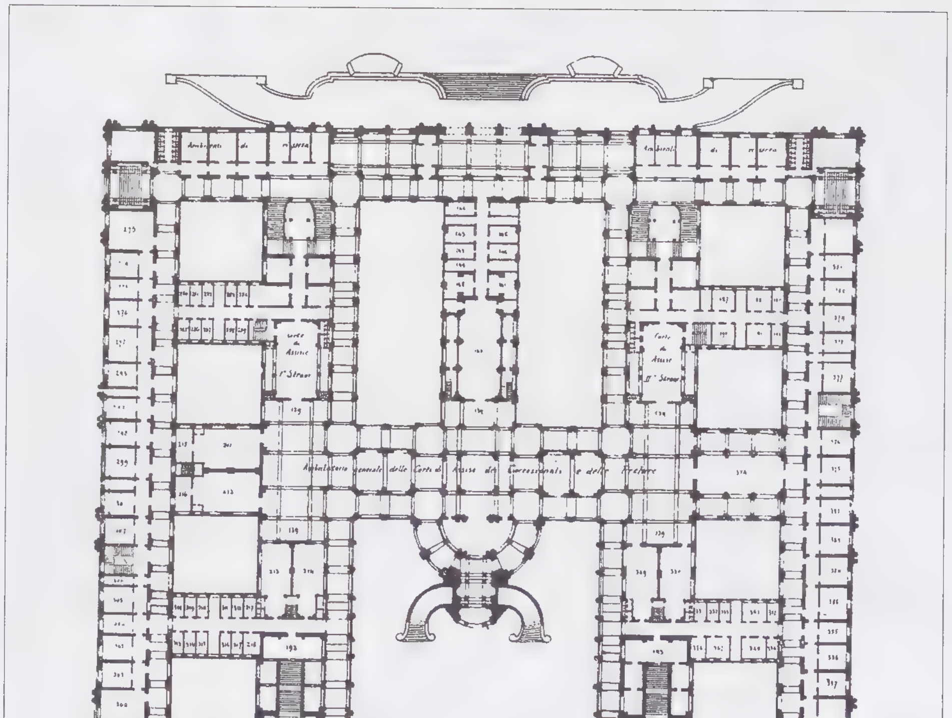
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Moabit troverà la sua conclusione architettonica nella monumentale addizione portata e termine da Herrmann e Busse nel '77 (figg. 13, 16).
Anche Vienna ospiterà lungo il perimetro del Ring, insieme alle tante altre nuove e imponenti costruzioni, il suo Palazzo di Giustizia realizzato da Wielemans (fig. 17) in stile rinascenza francese a seguito di un concorso espletato nel '74 cui partecipò l'ancor giovane Otto Wagner, allora poco più che trentenne, con una proposta piuttosto anodina e scolastica, ben lontana dalle sue grandi invenzioni architettoniche di qualche anno più tardi.
È in questo contesto internazionale che, anche nell'Italia appena unificata, si affaccia il tema della costruzione di un grande Palazzo di Giustizia, sede centrale, oltre che dei tribunali locali, anche e soprattutto dei più alti gradi delle gerarchie giudiziarie. A differenza di altre situazioni europee, quella italiana e romana in particolare si offriva, al pari di quella belga (per certi versi a questa la più affine), come l'occasione per realizzare oltre che un vero e proprio monumento all'ordine giudiziario, anche e soprattutto una grande opera di respiro più ampio, quasi il simbolo globale di quell'identità nazionale allora appena conquistata.
È infatti, più e meglio di altri monumenti coevi (per Roma quello a Vittorio Emanuele II), l'idea di un Palazzo capace di interpretare il senso stesso di una nuova idea dello Stato che prende corpo e si fa strada con sempre maggiore energia. Non si tratta infatti, nel caso specifico, della mera realizzazione di un edificio già di per sé eccezionale per dimensione e funzioni ospitate, ma della necessità di riuscire a far sì che tale realizzazione assommi ancora al suo interno tutti quei valori di rappresentatività nazionale cui uno Stato di recentissima formazione naturalmente tende ad aspirare.
La localizzazione urbanistica in prossimità di edifici storicamente rilevantissimi per la città, e non solo, impone, nel caso romano, un'enfasi rappresentativa tutt'affatto particolare a quell'architettura e altresì tale da fare dell'opera calderiniana il simbolo massimo della ritrovata unità (figg. 19, 20, 21). La laicità dell'istituzione giudiziaria, massimo presidio del nuovo Stato di diritto, viene poi naturalmente esasperata anche in contrapposizione alla tradizione, ancora recente, del dominio pontificio. Tutte queste intenzionalità unite alla formazione culturale dell'architetto fanno poi sì che l'intera opera assuma i toni di una vera e propria epopea laica pietrificata nelle dimensioni colossali e monumentali che Calderini sa

constitution-based state, was taken to the extreme, among other things as a way of marking a clear break with the still recent pontifical rule. All these aims, together with the architect's cultural background, resulted in a work that came across as a veritable secular epic, fossilised in the colossal, monumental dimensions Calderini created.
Quoting his masters, in particular Bramante's Palazzo dei Tribunali in Via Giulia, fellow Italian Alessi, Piranesi's Prisons *and the more modern architects Semper and Poelaert, the Perugian-born architect achieved his aim of creating a work that went way beyond the highly prosaic dimensions of other "ministerial" creations and which, for all its limitations and lapses, represented the sense of an architecture genuinely worthy of the state it served.*
The result of the competition which was controversially won by Guglielmo Calderini over Basile, offers a highly eloquent glimpse of an Italian situation that kept in step with the rest of European culture with some difficulty and at the same time was burdened down by an imposing local tradition that profoundly conditioned the way in which Italian architecture at the end of the last century approached the themes of modernity.
Together with the Vittoriano, the Calderini fabbrica in Rome achieved the extraordinary and unique feat of acquiring an authentically international dimension.
The design, which was the result of elaborate typological and idiomatic developments, demonstrated the fledgling nation's real capacity to match the achievements of its international counterparts in technical and cultural terms.
After the problem-fraught development of this awe-inspiring fabbrica, a pupil of Calderini later made a name for himself in the creation of important works for the judiciary: Marcello Piacentini.
Piacentini built a further three important law-court buildings, all of them of great significance to Italian culture between the wars: the 1922 Palazzo di Giustizia in Bergamo, the 1928 Palazzo in Messina and the 1940 Law Courts in Milan. These were three important events in the career of one of twentieth-century Europe's leading architects, three exemplary stages in the development of the architect and contemporary Italian architecture.
The Bergamo building (fig. 23) was the final stage in the redevelopment of the new city centre, where from 1916 onwards the Roman architect had developed the theme of the Italian piazza. Piacentini's new Palazzo di Giustizia, which marked the end of his urban development work,



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19. 20. 21. Guglielmo Calderini, Palazzo di Giustizia di Roma, Italia, 1888-1911: fronte principale sul Lungotevere, cortile d'onore e pianta del piano terreno.

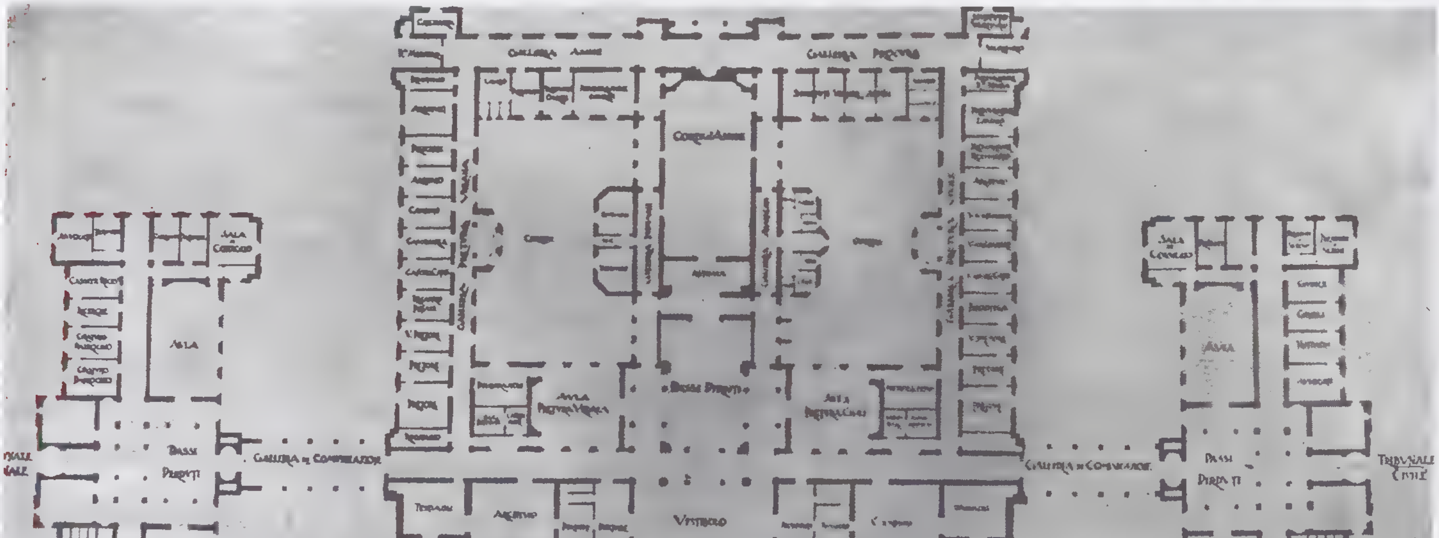
19. 20. 21. Guglielmo Calderini, Law Courts, Rome, Italy, 1888-1911: main front on the Lungotevere, court of honour and ground-floor plan.

22. 23. 24. Marcello Piacentini, Palazzo di Giustizia di Messina, Italia, 1923-28: fronte principale, cortile interno (con il viale d'ingresso dei detenuti al sotterraneo) e pianta del piano terreno.
25. Marcello Piacentini, Palazzo di Giustizia di Bergamo, Italia, 1916-22: fronte principale su piazza Dante.

22. 23. 24. Marcello Piacentini, Law Courts, Messina, Italy, 1923-28: main front, inner courtyard (with detainees' entrance road to the underground) and ground-floor plan.
25. Marcello Piacentini, Law Courts, Bergamo, Italy, 1916-22: main front on Piazza Dante.


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imprimerle. Citando i suoi maestri e in particolare il Bramante del Palazzo dei Tribunali di via Giulia, e ancora il conterraneo Alessi, il Piranesi delle *Carceri* e, tra i moderni, Semper e Poelaert, l'architetto perugino raggiunge così lo scopo di realizzare finalmente un'opera che si eleva ben oltre la dimensione assai prosaica della restante produzione "ministeriale", per attingere ad un'opera che ben rappresenta, anche nei suoi limiti e nelle sue cadute, il senso di un'architettura realmente al servizio e a misura dello Stato.
L'esito del concorso, che vide la contrastata affermazione di Guglielmo Calderini soprattutto in contrapposizione al Basile, ci offre quindi uno spaccato assai eloquente di una situazione italiana in dialogo difficile ma sincronico con il resto della cultura europea e, al contempo, conscia del peso di una tradizione locale imponente, capace di condizionare in profondità le prospettive attraverso cui la nostra architettura di fine secolo si affaccerà sulle tematiche della modernità.
Risultato a suo modo affatto straordinario, la fabbrica calderiniana riesce comunque ad attingere, unica architettura di Roma Capitale insieme al Vittoriano, ad una dimensione autenticamente internazionale.
Il progetto, frutto di elaborate evoluzioni tipologiche e linguistiche, dimostra così della concreta capacità della giovane nazione italiana di porsi con capacità tecniche e culturali al cospetto di una situazione internazionale sicuramente confrontabile.
Sulla scia del difficile percorso di quella fastosa fabbrica romana, in anni successivi sarà ancora un allievo di scuola calderiniana ad affermarsi nella realizzazione di importanti opere per l'amministrazione giudiziaria: Marcello Piacentini.
Suoi sono infatti altri tre importanti Palazzi di Giustizia, e tutti e tre opere di grande rilievo e significato per la cultura italiana tra le due guerre: il Palazzo di Giustizia di Bergamo del 1922, quello di Messina del 1928 e quello di Milano del 1940. Tre momenti importanti nella carriera di uno dei maggiori architetti europei del Novecento, tre tappe esemplari nell'itinerario evolutivo dell'autore e della stessa architettura contemporanea italiana.
A Bergamo (fig. 25) siamo di fronte all'edificio che conclude la sistemazione del nuovo centro urbano che, a partire dal '16, aveva visto l'architetto romano elaborare sul tema della piazza italiana. Con la realizzazione del nuovo Palazzo di Giustizia Piacentini conclude il suo percorso

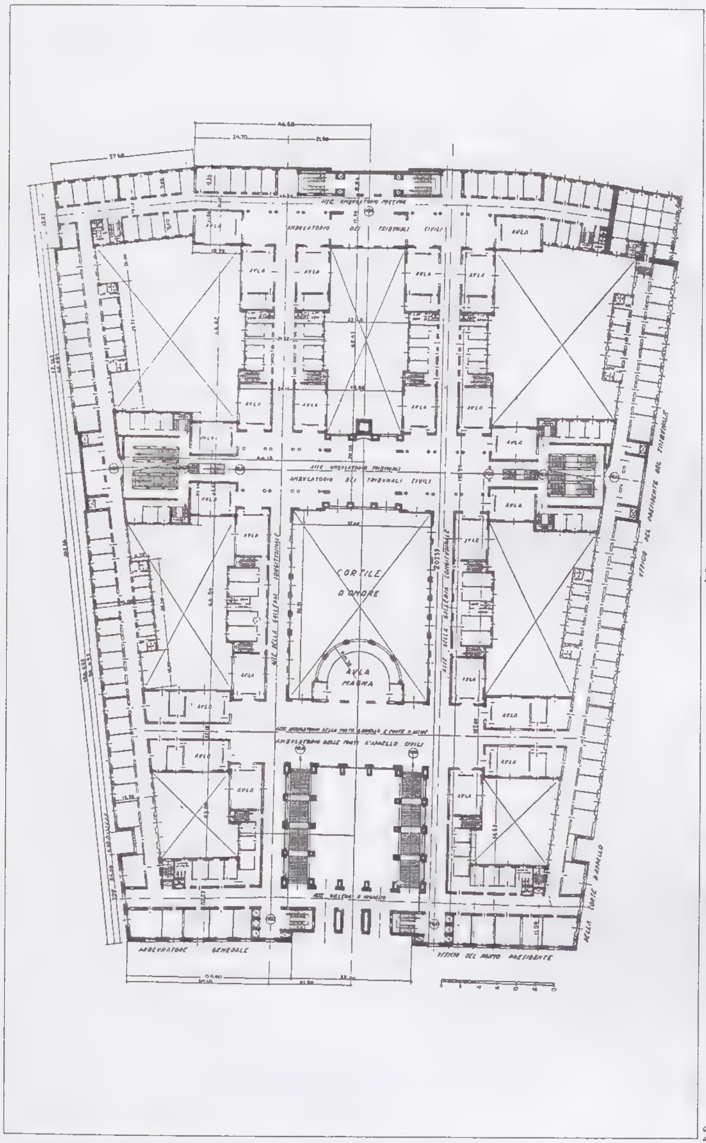
embodied his entire town-planning career with its architectural style midway between secession and classicism.
In Messina (figs 22, 23, 24), the idiom and typological organisation blended into a less rigorous relationship with the Vitruvian past, evoked and interpreted with masterful clarity, and combining Mediterranean composure with a highly sophisticated use of stone and decoration.
The Milan law-court building (figs 26-29) was Marcello Piacentini's most important architectural work, and well sums up Fascism's aspirations to the creation of an architectural culture. The city concept the architect had built up over the decades was crucial in the definition of the building's structural and representational aspects.
One of the ultimate aims of this work was that it should measure up to the great architecture of the past and also sustain comparison with more recent works, especially its contemporary in Geneva, the Palais des Nations, and not least of all Calderini's prototype. The architecture of Milan's Palazzo di Giustizia was culturally ostracised for decades and has only recently been rediscovered by critics. As well as being the law court most frequently seen on television in recent years, Marcello Piacentini's major creation should also be reassessed as one of the most considerable collections of Italian twentieth-century art. Its spaces house an impressive number of works financed by the famous 2% law by artists who represent that important period of Italian art: Bazzoni, Biagini, Bortolotti, Broggini, Bucci, Cadorin, Campigli, Carpanetti, Carrà, Colacicchi, Conti, Dazzi, Drei, Ferrazzi, Fontana, Funi, Galizzi, Griselli, Innocenti, Lodi, Manzù, Maraini, Marchini, Martini, Marussig, Maselli, Melotti, Morelli, Oppo, Pellini, Penagini, Pini, Prini, Romanelli, Romiti, Rosso, Salietti, Santagata, Saroldi, Selva, Semeghini, Severini, Sironi, Soli, Stefenini, Taiuti, Tolleri, Tozzi, Usellini, Vagnetti, Vigni and Zaniboni. Organised around a trapezoid area with seven ancillary courtyards and a main court of honour, the building develops along a main axis onto which the monumental space of the grand arcaded hall overlooking Corso di Porta Vittoria is grafted, and ends on the side facing Via San Barnaba with the protruding volume of the "archive tower".
The Milan Palazzo di Giustizia marks the end of a cycle displaying clear links with tradition whose debt to modern culture comes across in the complex forms of an intriguingly contradictory dialogue through the definition of a more or

elaborato attorno al tema dell'edilizia cittadina e trova il modo di definire, con quell'architettura a cavallo tra secessione e classicità, il punto di coagulo della sua intera operazione urbanistica.
A Messina (figg. 22, 23, 24) il linguaggio e l'assetto tipologico si stemperano in un più disteso rapporto con le memorie vitruviane, evocate e interpretate con magistrale chiarezza, ove gli etimi di una composta mediterraneità si stemperano in un uso assai sofisticato dei materiali lapidei e dell'apparato decorativo.
A Milano (figg. 26-29) siamo di fronte alla più importante opera architettonica realizzata da Marcello Piacentini. Un'opera che ben sintetizza le aspirazioni della cultura architettonica più legata al Fascismo e rispetto alla quale anche l'idea di città elaborata per decenni dall'architetto risulta determinante sia per la definizione della sua struttura distributiva che di quella rappresentativa. Un'opera che ha come obiettivo ultimo anche quello di confrontarsi con le grandi architetture del passato e che non disdegna il confronto con realizzazioni più recenti, soprattutto con il coevo "Palazzo delle Nazioni" ginevrino e dove è comunque d'obbligo il riferimento con il prototipo calderiniano. Un'architettura, quella del Palazzo Giustizia di Milano, condannata da decenni di ostracismo culturale e che solo recentemente sembra essere stata riscoperta dalla critica e dalla cronaca. Sicuramente il Palazzo italiano più presente sulle pagine dei giornali e sugli schermi televisivi in questi ultimi anni, l'opera massima di Marcello Piacentini andrebbe anche riconsiderata come una delle più cospicue collezioni di arte italiana del Novecento. I suoi spazi raccolgono, infatti, un'impressionante quantità di opere finanziate con la famosa legge del 2% e dovute ad artisti significativi e tipici di quella stagione importante dell'arte italiana: Bazzoni, Biagini, Bortolotti, Broggini, Bucci, Cadorin, Campligli, Carpanetti, Carrà, Colacicchi, Conti, Dazzi, Drei, Ferrazzi, Fontana, Funi, Galizzi, Griselli, Innocenti, Lodi, Manzù, Maraini, Marchini, Martini, Marussig, Maselli, Melotti, Morelli, Oppo, Pellini, Penagini, Pini, Prini, Romanelli, Romiti, Rosso, Salietti, Santagata, Saroldi, Selva, Semeghini, Severini, Sironi, Soli, Stefenini, Taiuti, Tolleri, Tozzi, Usellini, Vagnetti, Vigni, Zaniboni.
Organizzato su un'area trapezoidale attorno ai sette cortili di servizio e al grande cortile d'onore, l'edificio si svolge lungo un asse principale sul quale si innesta lo spazio monumentale del grande vestibolo porticato affacciante sul corso di Porta Vittoria, concludendosi sul prospetto

less radical "loss of order" that becomes the stylistic and cultural cypher of an entire generation. Significant contributions on the law-court building theme come from other exponents of contemporary architectural culture like Asplund, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Niemeyer, Kahn and Eldem. Asplund's work in Gothenburg is a kind of highly sophisticated addition to and comparison with a classical past; Mies van der Rohe's work for the Illinois Federal Center skyscraper in Chicago features the indifferent, monolithic and monumental verticality of the skyscraper and as such is an example of total typological aphasia. But it is Le Corbusier's High Court of Justice in Chandigarh, Kahn's Supreme Courts in Dacca and Oscar Niemeyer's Supreme Federal Tribunal in Brasilia that dramatically refocused attention on the symbolism of the Law Court.
This is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of these celebrated works, which stand as milestones in modern architectural culture. But it is worth dwelling for a moment on the admittedly diverse ways in which they attempted to approach the symbolically rich world of the contemporary metropolis in a highly formalised way. They offered a variety of approaches to a new world of imagery, shunning that silence of form which so much integralist functionalism had introduced for decades before and which, in the case in question of the iconography and symbolism of the high, inaccessible ideals of justice, seemed in their various ways to condition these great exponents of modernity. But they also marked the end of the dialectical comparison with history, with tradition and with the establishment of architectural values other than iconographical ones. In a nutshell they were as many extraordinary historic "monuments" to the doubts of the modern movement.
Sedad Hakki Eldem's work on the Istanbul Law Courts deserves a chapter of its own. Here the links with local culture and German architectural tradition come together in culturally extraordinary forms many of which have still to be explored. It is once again the complex blend of European and Ottoman culture that give this work such highly meaningful results. It is a work that marks an element of continuity and further maturity of experimentation and the same kind of cultural cross-breeding already developed by the same architect in the new university buildings of a few years before. Here the lesson of a Nordic stylisation, on which the lessons of Asplund, Tessenow, Schwarz, of Schinkel before them, and

26. 27. 28. 29. Marcello Piacentini, Palazzo di Giustizia, Milano, Italia, 1931-41: pianta del piano primo, fronte anteriore, fronte posteriore con la "torre degli archivi" e cortile d'onore.

26. 27. 28. 29. Marcello Piacentini, Law Courts, Milan, Italy, 1931-41: first-floor plan, main front, rear front with "archive tower" and court of honour.



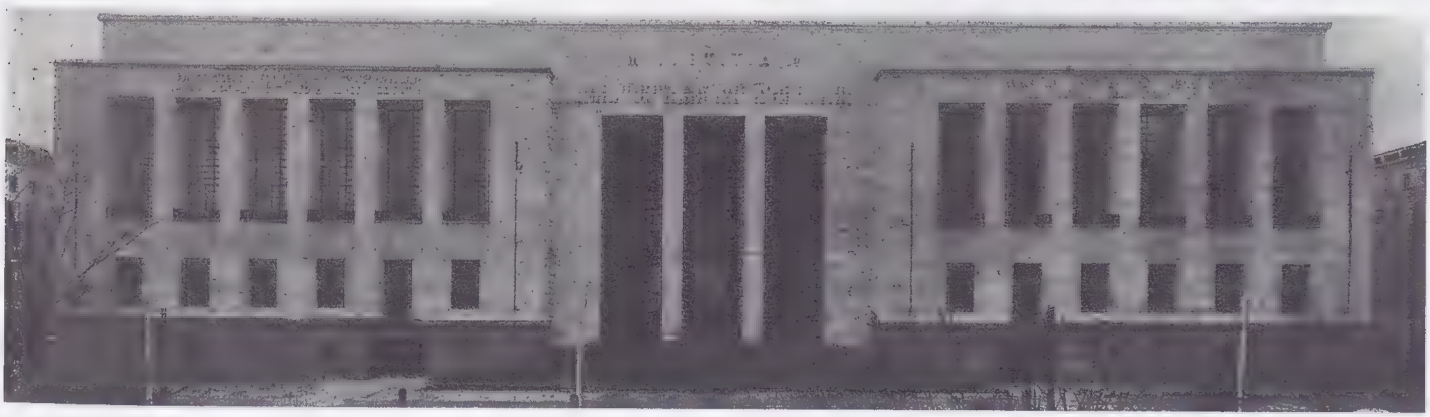
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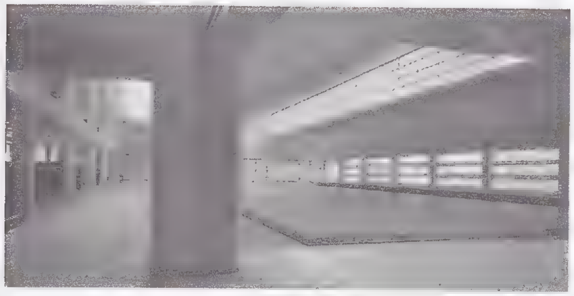
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30. Luigi Moretti, Casa delle Armi al Foro Italico, Roma, Italia, 1934-36: vista interna della sala di scherma.

30. Luigi Moretti, Casa delle Armi at the Foro Italico, Rome, Italy, 1934-36: interior view of the fencing-room.

prospiciente via San Barnaba con lo straordinario volume emergente della "torre degli archivi".
Con il Palazzo di Giustizia di Milano si conclude così un ciclo ove il raccordo con la tradizione risulta ancora chiaramente leggibile e il debito con la cultura della modernità si stempera nelle forme complesse di un dialogo suggestivo e contraddittorio attraverso la definizione di una più e meno radicale "perdita dell'ordine" che diventa la cifra stilistica e culturale di un'intera generazione.
Importanti contributi sul tema del Palazzo di Giustizia ci vengono ancora da altri protagonisti della cultura architettonica contemporanea, da Asplund a Le Corbusier, da Mies van der Rohe a Niemeyer, da Kahn a Eldem.
Ma se nel caso di Asplund a Göteborg siamo di fronte ad una, sia pur sofisticatissima, forma di addizione e di confronto con una preesistenza classica e in quello di Mies per l'Illinois Federal Center di Chicago siamo, dal canto opposto, di fronte alla totale afasia tipologica nella scelta della indifferente, monolitica e monumentale verticalità del grattacielo, è con la lecorbusieriana Alta Corte di Giustizia di Chandigarh e con le kahniane Corti Supreme di Islamabad e di Dacca e con il Palazzo del Supremo Tribunale Federale di Brasilia di Oscar Niemeyer che il discorso sul significato, anche e soprattutto simbolico, del Palazzo di Giustizia torna a farsi prepotentemente presente.
Non è certo questa la sede per dilungarci su queste opere famosissime, su queste pietre miliari della cultura architettonica moderna; ci basterà qui solo un accenno alla loro sia pur divaricata ricerca di una via di accesso per modi altamente formalizzati al mondo dei significati della metropoli contemporanea. Strade diverse di approccio ad un nuovo universo di immagini e di fuga da quel silenzio della forma cui tanto integralismo funzionalista ci ha pur avviato per decenni e che nel caso specifico dell'iconografia e della simbologia degli alti e inattingibili ideali della giustizia sembra, per vie diverse e diversamente indirizzate, condizionare questi grandi interpreti della modernità, ma anche, in qualche caso, perdita definitiva di un confronto dialettico con la storia, con la tradizione e con la sedimentazione dei valori non solo iconografici dell'architettura. In una parola: altrettanti storici, straordinari "monumenti" alle aporie del moderno.
Discorso a parte merita invece l'opera di Sedad Hakki Eldem per il Palazzo di Giustizia di Istanbul, dove il rapporto tra la cultura locale e il grande filone della ricerca architettonica tedesca si proietta in forme culturalmente straordinarie e, in gran parte, ancora tutte da scoprire.
È infatti dalla sintesi complessa tra la cultura europea e quella ottomana che scaturiscono, ancora una volta, i risultati altamente significanti e significativi cui quest'opera sicuramente attinge, ponendosi come elemento di continuità e di ulteriore maturazione delle sperimentazioni e delle ibridazioni culturali già elaborate dallo stesso architetto nei nuovi edifici universitari di appena qualche anno precedenti.
Qui la lezione di uno stilismo nordico, cui non sono estranee né la lezione di Asplund, né quella di Tessenow e di Schwartz ma neppure quella più remota di Schinkel, di Persius e di Klenze, ci offrono lo spunto per apprezzare una riflessione di larghissimo respiro, sia sul piano della sperimentazione dei tipi, che su quello dei linguaggi.
Per concludere, uno sguardo sulla situazione italiana più recente, segnata in questo dopoguerra da alcune tappe di valore anche assai diversificato.
Da un lato, l'episodio importante, anche se spesso misconosciuto, della nuova città giudiziaria romana, caratterizzata da un'architettura polimorfa e assai espressiva dovuta essenzialmente alla creatività del compianto Giuseppe Perugini, figura tra le più sensibili dell'opaco panorama professionale romano, che tentò di rinserrare negli spazi "parlanti" delle nuove preture un'idea di continuità urbana e di significanza estetica in diretta, antinomica connessione con il prototipo calderiniano, anch'esso giocato tutto sulla permeabilità dei flussi (quasi un moderno foro) e sulla incombente monumentalità dei partiti architettonici "incatenati" simbolicamente dai ricorsi finestrati.
Dall'altro la massa infinita dei piccoli e dei grandi interventi, senza volto e senza anima, che hanno caratterizzato buona parte dell'edilizia pubblica italiana di questo dopoguerra in cui vanno annoverati, di diritto, anche i tanti luoghi destinati ad attività giudiziarie, spesso ricavati in edifici di nessun pregio se non, talvolta, realizzati, come nel caso della famosa aula *bunker* del Foro Italico a Roma, in aperto spregio di qualsiasi norma, civile e culturale insieme, e che ha condotto, nel caso specifico e in anni ancora recenti, alla sostanziale distruzione di un "monumento moderno" tra i più insigni come la "Casa delle Armi" di Luigi Moretti (fig. 30).

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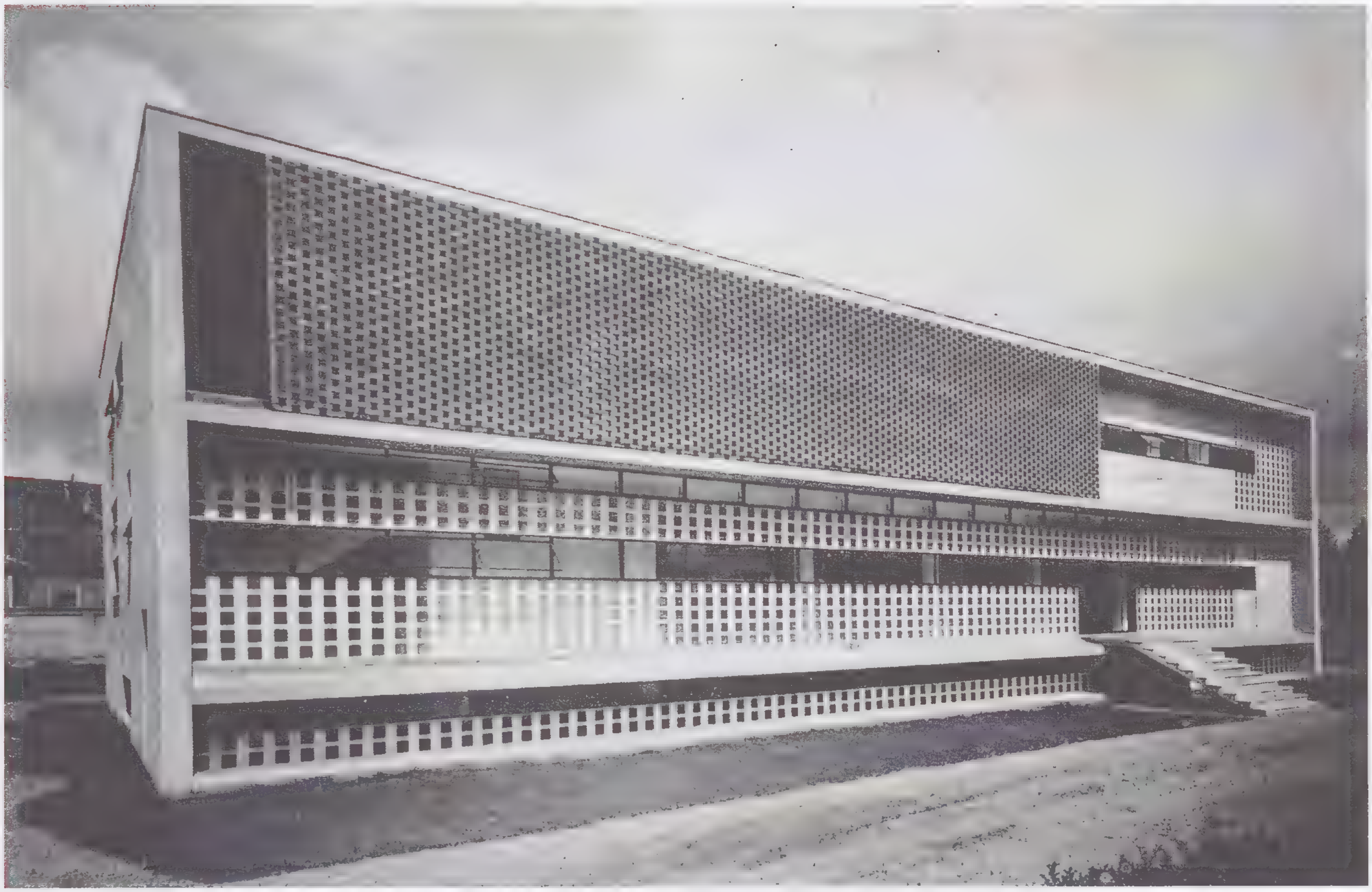
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of Persius and Klenze have some bearing, can occasion a much more wide-ranging reflection on experimentation both with types and with idiom.
To end with, a brief look at the more recent situation in Italy, marked in the postwar years by various examples of widely differing merits.
On the one hand the important if often unappreciated episode of Rome's new law district, characterised by a polymorphous, highly expressive architecture, which is due essentially to the creativity of the late Giuseppe Perugini, one of the more sensitive figures on Rome's rather dull professional scene. He set out to seal an idea of urban continuity and aesthetic significance within the "communicating" spaces of the new pretura, or Magistrate's Court, in direct contrast with Calderini's prototype. This pretura also depended entirely on the concept of permeability of movement (a modern forum almost) and on the imminent monumentality of the architectural sections, symbolically "reinforced" by the windowed elements.
On the other hand, there is the infinite array of anonymous, soulless small-and large-scale constructions that have characterised much of Italy's public building work since the war. These include the many buildings designated for judicial activities, which are often of no architectural merit whatsoever, or worse, openly flout all civil and cultural standards – the aula bunker, *or armoured courtroom, at Foro Italico in Rome being a notorious example. This has led in recent years to the virtual destruction of a "modern monument" of great distinction like Luigi Moretti's "Casa delle Armi" (fig. 30).*

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Ignazio Gardella, Dispensario Antitubercolare, Alessandria, 1933-38.

Ignazio Gardella, Antituberculosis Dispensary, Alessandria, 1933-38.



Lezioni di architettura di Ignazio Gardella
*Manuela Morresi**

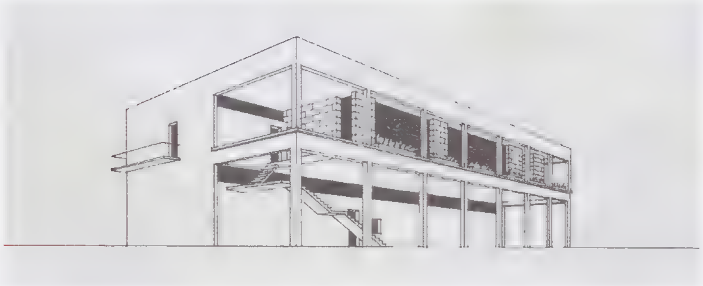
Tematiche costanti, coerentemente sviluppate e approfondite come è proprio del professionismo di qualità, tracciano i fili del percorso architettonico di Ignazio Gardella. Allo stesso tempo tuttavia, dagli esordi sino alle opere della maturità, la sua personalità di progettista non si presenta univocamente definita. Ambiguità, prese di posizione sfuggenti e talvolta contraddittorie, hanno indotto a riconoscere nella sua opera polarità antitetiche, tra le quali Gardella sembra muoversi alla ricerca di un inedito, e difficilmente raggiungibile, equilibrio[1]. Nel tentare di delineare la sostanza della lezione di un *maestro* – e ora patriarca dell'architettura italiana – sarà dunque necessario utilizzare un doppio registro analitico, che sappia far risaltare gli elementi di continuità e metta ugualmente in evidenza la consistenza delle oscillazioni linguistiche e delle deviazioni, i percorsi parzialmente contraddetti o lasciati interrotti .

La straordinaria estensione temporale della sua attività fa transitare Gardella attraverso un arco lungo della vicenda architettonica nazionale, dagli anni del fascismo sino all'esaurimento del cosiddetto postmoderno; ma è necessario avvertire come la sua figura si presenti eccentrica rispetto al panorama architettonico nazionale, "*segno di un quasi secessionistico individualismo*", secondo la felice espressione di Giulio Carlo Argan[2]. Di transito, dunque, nel senso di passaggio privo di radicamenti, sarà necessario parlare. Defilato, ma silenziosamente determinato nella sua critica alle interferenze di regime sull'attività degli architetti negli anni che precedono la guerra, Gardella sembra mantenersi volontariamente isolato anche nel dopoguerra: e non s'intende negare, con tale affermazione, la consistenza dei suoi rapporti con gli intellettuali milanesi, né la fecondità della collaborazione progettuale con altri protagonisti. Quanto, piuttosto, mettere in rilievo la scelta di un coinvolgimento solo parziale all'interno del dibattito che si accende tra scuola milanese e scuola romana sulla valutazione del ruolo dell'architetto e dell'intellettuale nell'Italia liberata. La scarsa propensione di Gardella per astratte affermazioni teoriche, e la preferenza accordata al *testo* architettonico come parola propria dell'architetto è stata opportunamente messa in rilievo da Giorgio Ciucci, che riconosce nelle sue relazioni di progetto "*veri scritti architettonici*"[3]. Anche le tematiche proprie della ricostruzione, dalle quali si lasciano travolgere sia gli aderenti all'APAO (Associazione per l'Architettura

Ignazio Gardella: lessons of architecture
Manuela Morresi*

Ignazio Gardella's career is a story of themes coherently and consistently developed and explored, as befits an architect working to the highest professional standards. And yet, a survey from the earliest works through to those of his maturity shows that his architectural identity has been far from uniform. The ambiguities and temporary, sometimes contradictory reactions that are evident throughout his work represent the antithetical poles of a search for balance that was both original to him, and difficult to achieve[1]. To assess the achievement of a master architect also now regarded as a patriarch of modern Italian architecture, we need a dual critical approach that stresses the continuity of his work while also doing justice both to his range of stylistic fluctuation, and to the numerous alternative paths he explored, which were either partially contradicted in subsequent work or never followed through to the end.

Gardella's extraordinarily long career spans Italian architecture from the birth of Fascism to the twilight of postmodernism, yet it should be remembered that he was never a mainstream figure; his attitudes and achievements always bore the "hallmarks of an almost secessionistic individualism", as Giulio Carlo Argan aptly put it[2]. If "transitory" is taken to mean rootless, always on the way to somewhere else, it must be admitted that Gardella has indeed been a transitory figure in Italian architecture. He was obliged to toe the official line during the Fascist era, though he remained privately critical of political interference in architecture in the years up to the Second World War. And yet, even in the postwar era, he remained deliberately isolated from mainstream Italian architecture . To say this is in no way to deny the strength of his links with the Milanese intellectuals of his day, or the successful outcome of his collaboration with other architects. It means, rather, that he never really participated in the debate between the Milan and Rome schools over the role of architects and intellectuals in liberated Italy. His dislike of theorising, and preference for architectural text *as the only reliable evidence of an architect's* parole, *are well described by Giorgio Ciucci, who suggests that his project presentations are* "authentic architectural treatises"[3]. *Even the issues raised by postwar reconstruction, which were widely discussed by members of both APAO (Associazione per l'Architettura Organica) and MSA (Movimento per gli Studi di Architettura) – Gardella was himself a member of the latter – seemed only indirectly relevant to the*



Ignazio Gardella, Dispensario Antitubercolare, Alessandria, 1933-38: prospettiva del primo progetto, febbraio 1935 (Centro Studi e Archivio della Comunicazione – CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, s.n.).

Organica) che i membri del MSA (Movimento per gli Studi di Architettura) – a cui Gardella, peraltro, si associa – sembrano sfiorare solo tangenzialmente l'evoluzione di un linguaggio che individua nella *misura* il fine della sua ricerca: una rinuncia all'eccesso che può essere interpretata quale elegante soluzione di garanzia per la proprie intrinseche ambiguità.
Tentando di precisare i confini degli ondeggiamenti linguistici di Gardella può essere utile tornare a riflettere su alcuni tra i suoi esiti più noti e discussi, e ripartire dai progetti per il Dispensario antitubercolare di Alessandria, assumibili come una sorta di prologo nel quale si trovano depositate cifre che diverranno ricorrenti[4]. Lo stesso percorso progettuale, in questo caso, non si sviluppa in una unica direzione, e può essere ritenuto prodromico: dopo aver esplorato con rigore le conseguenze estreme del *tema* inizialmente individuato, Gardella sembra infatti ritornare sui propri passi, piuttosto che introdurre *variazioni*. La versione del progetto pubblicata su "Casabella" nel 1935, con un giudizio positivo sull'opera prima del giovane ingegnere[5], fa emergere come soggetto la dialettica tra pieni e vuoti. In un volume stereometricamente definito da una copertura piana, la struttura su piloni, esibita sul fronte di accesso, consente un consistente arretramento della parete e provoca, allo stesso tempo, una notevole riduzione della superficie interna disponibile. Lo spazio svuotato del portico è solcato dall'elegante *silhouette* della scala sospesa, che si staglia sul segno continuo della lunga finestra a nastro: si anticipano, con ciò, i segni rarefatti che riappariranno costantemente nelle realizzazioni successive. Con il primo progetto per il Dispensario, Gardella sembra in sostanza riflettere sui "cinque punti" annunciati da Le Corbusier soltanto da un decennio: e su di essi tornerà – ancora, e con più matura e critica rielaborazione – nei progetti per la Casa al Parco (1947-48), per il condominio in via Marchiondi a Milano (1949-54) e per la Mensa Olivetti a Ivrea (1953-59)[6].
Modifiche distributive, e principalmente l'esigenza di recuperare spazio coperto quando viene inserita al primo piano una vasta terrazza adibita a solarium, conducono all'elaborazione del secondo e definitivo elaborato progettuale per il Dispensario; ma la svolta formale che consegue alle mutate ragioni funzionali appare significativa. Il volume si ripresenta integro e compatto: non più svuotato, ma piuttosto reso diafano dalle ampie superfici in vetrocemento della sala di aspetto del piano terreno, dietro le quali arretra la struttura portante dei piloni; anche la traforatura di mattoni della terrazza-solarium è schermo solo apparentemente penetrabile. Abbandonato il tema del primo progetto – la dialettica tra i volumi – l'attenzione è rivolta ora alla manipolazione dei materiali: banali e quotidiani in sé, essi vengono nobilitati dalle raffinate modalità del loro impiego e dagli esiti del loro "montaggio". Della prima ipotesi di prospetto resta la finestra a nastro, posta in continuità con il varco di accesso, e la fuoriuscita delle solette del primo piano e del seminterrato rispetto al filo della parete vetrata; infine, la vistosa asimmetria dell'ingresso, resa ancora più evidente dalla presenza della scala.
La mancata osservanza delle norme stabilite dal regime per la progettazione dei dispensari, e lo scandaloso – per gli ispettori ministeriali – uso dei mattoni a griglia, evocatori dei tipici fabbricati agricoli padani, provocherà, com'è noto, l'allontanamento di Gardella dal cantiere e la trasformazione parziale dell'edificio[7]. Ma è dal confronto tra le due versioni del progetto che emergono elementi utili all'analisi delle opere successive. L'opzione finale sembra infatti leggibile, da un lato, nel senso della riduzione del rigorismo compositivo: lo scheletro strutturale viene riassorbito all'interno. Allo stesso tempo, il permanere della composizione modulare ribadisce l'identità del sistema linguistico al quale Gardella intende riferirsi; non senza, tuttavia, introdurvi la valenza del confronto – o piuttosto contaminazione? – con l'elemento "padano", radicato nella *langue* collettiva, della parete laterizia traforata. La sintesi che ne consegue è inedita e ambigua insieme. E viene riproposta, negli stessi anni, nel monumento ai Caduti di Varinella di Arquata Scrivia: un'opera "minore", eppure esemplare per la misura con cui si compongono – senza contrapporsi e senza tuttavia risolversi in arbitraria mescolanza – materiali provenienti dalla tradizione rurale e superfici in cemento[8]. Processi progettuali quali quello relativo al Dispensario di Alessandria si ripresenteranno nelle opere successive; per ora, basti rilevare come in questa opera di esordio siano già preannunciati i poli di uno dei tipici dualismi di Gardella.
I termini dell'assunto iniziale si chiariscono sottoponendo a esame comparativo due realizzazioni dei primi anni Cinquanta, analoghe per destinazione d'uso ma indirizzate a differenti tipi di utenza: si tratta del condominio in via Marchiondi a Milano (1949-1954, con Anna Castelli Ferrieri e R.Menghi) e dell'edificio residenziale per gli

Ignazio Gardella, Antituberculosis Dispensary, Alessandria, 1933-38: perspective of initial design, February 1935 (Centro Studi e Archivio della Comunicazione – CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, s.n.).

development of a architectural language such as his, based on moderation, *a rejection of excess that would also neatly preserved the ambiguities implicit in his work.*

To asses his range of stylistic fluctuation, it may be useful to look first at some of his most celebrated and controversial achievements, starting with the Antituberculosis Dispensary in Alessandria which serves as a sort of prologue to themes he would return to in later works[4]*. The fact that its design went through so many different stages – having rigorously carried his initial* theme *to its logical conclusion, he then seemed to backtrack rather than embark on a series of* variations *– is already symptomatic. The version which "Casabella" published in 1935, with positive comments on the debut work of the young engineer*[5]*, shows that Gardella's theme had been a dialectic of solids and voids. In a volume stereometrically defined by a flat roof, the pier-mounted frame visible on the front entrance façade allows the wall to be set well back while also considerably reducing usable interior space. The empty portico space is traversed by the stylish silhouette of the hanging staircase outlined again the long strip window, anticipating features of similar sophistication that would reappear throughout his later work. In this initial design, Gardella seems to have been exploring the implications of the "five points" Le Corbusier had drawn up only a decade earlier. He would return to them with maturer critical insight in his designs for the Casa al Parco (1947-48), the apartment block in Via Marchiondi, Milan (1949-54) and the Olivetti factory canteen in Ivrea (1953-59)*[6]*.*

Changes in layout and, most importantly, the need to increase indoor space when a huge solarium terrace was added to the first floor, produced the second, definitive design for the Dispensary, but the formal changes Gardella made in response to the new functions seem significant in their own right. The volume is now a compact whole: rather than hollow, as before, it has been rendered diaphanous by the broad glass block walls of the ground-floor waiting room, behind which the load-bearing pier structure has been staggered. Similarly, the perforated brickwork of the solarium terrace gives only the appearance of being permeable. The theme of the first design – a dialectic of volumes – has been rejected in favour of a new interest in materials which, though perfectly ordinary in themselves, are ennobled by the way they are used and "assembled". Of the original elevation there remains the strip window continuous with the entrance, the first-floor and basement levels protruding beyond the vertical line of the glass wall, and the strikingly asymmetrical entrance signposted by stairs.

As is well known, Gardella's marked failure to obey official Fascist design rules for dispensaries, and his scandalous (according to the ministry inspectors) use of grid brickwork borrowed from farm buildings on the Po Plain, resulted in his expulsion from the site and the partial modification of the building[7]*. And yet, comparison of the two versions of the design offers much insight into his later work. In one sense, the final version could be seen as a softening of compositional rigour because the frame has been absorbed by the interior and is no longer visible; in another sense, the fact that the second building was still modular is a clear indication of the architectural* parole *that really interested Gardella, notwithstanding the addition of the perforated brick wall as a contrasting – or contaminating? – feature of Po Plain rural architecture deeply rooted in the collective* langue *of the region. The resulting synthesis, which is both original and ambiguous, was repeated during the same period in the Varinella War Memorial in Arquata Scrivia, an admittedly "minor" work that nonetheless epitomises well-proportioned use of rural vernacular materials and modern concrete surfaces that avoids any feeling of deliberate contrast or arbitrary juxtaposing*[8]*. The design process that produced the Dispensary in Alessandria would be repeated in later projects. For the moment, we should note only that this debut work already embodies the poles of a dualism that runs throughout Gardella's work.*

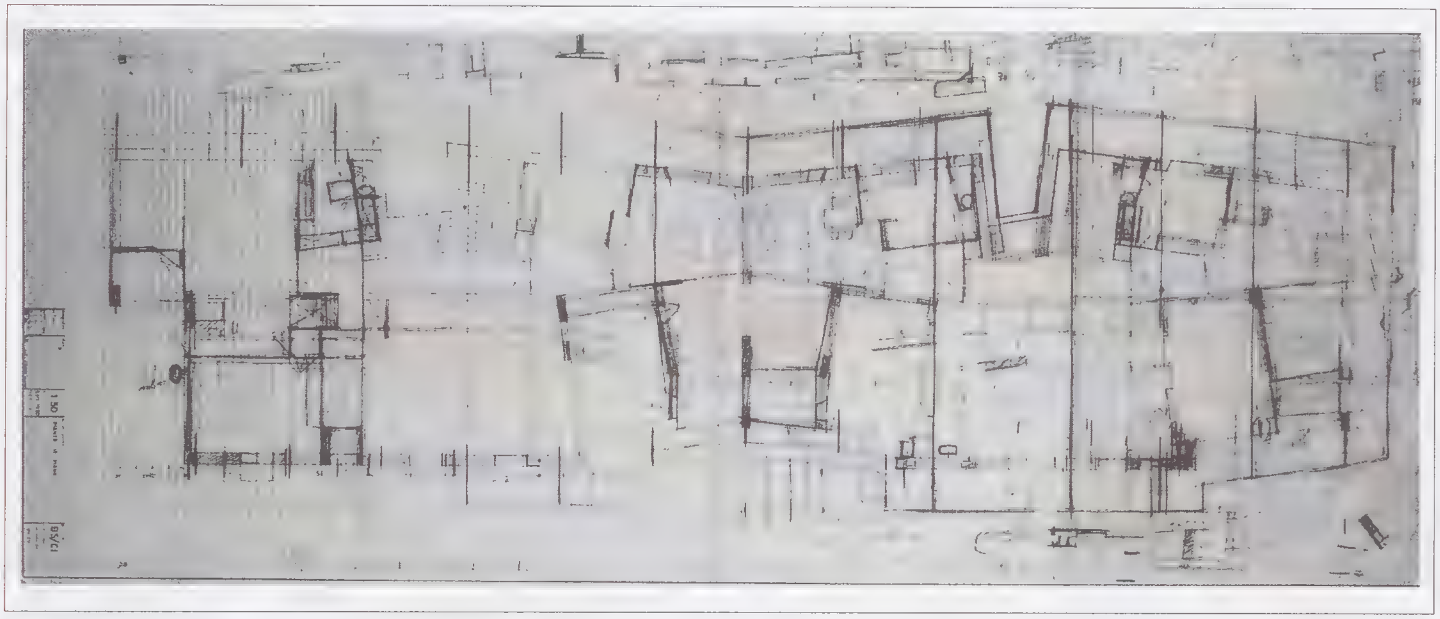
This will be clearer if we compare two of his 1950s buildings that were designed for similar purposes but for different users, the apartment block in Via Marchiondi, Milan (1949-54, with Anna Castelli Ferrieri and R. Menghi), and the workers apartment building for the Borsalino company in Alessandria (1950-52). The Milanese apartment block was designed for wealthy middle-class residents: Gardella himself lived and worked there for many years and installed his own professional practice in the building. And yet, the real issue this raises is certainly not whether Gardella put less effort into the building in Alessandria, which would be occupied by much less wealthy tenants. In designing the Borsalino dwellings, he was careful to calculate the optimum orientation of each unit, and actually broke up the regular volume of the building into a sort of twisted blade shape to ensure that each living-room would face in two directions. This resulted

impiegati della ditta Borsalino a Alessandria (1950-52). La casa milanese è destinata all'alta borghesia: in essa, a lungo, abiterà e lavorerà lo stesso Gardella, stabilendovi il proprio studio professionale. Eppure, il problema che si pone non è certamente quello di un minore impegno progettuale per la definizione del complesso di Alessandria, destinato a un ceto sociale meno abbiente. Al contrario: nelle case Borsalino, Gardella studia l'orientamento ottimale per ciascun alloggio, giungendo – al fine di garantire ai soggiorni un doppio affaccio – a frangere il volume dell'edificio, trasformato in una lama sottoposta a molteplici torsioni. Si origina, in tal modo, una struttura priva di simmetria, che viene interpretata da Argan come esito dell'azione disgregatrice dello spazio reale su un oggetto architettonico ideale[9], e da Alberto Samonà – al contrario – come espressione della volontà di agire sul tessuto urbano circostante[10]. In realtà, l'edificio, affacciato sull'asse di circonvallazione, è quasi isolato al momento della costruzione in un'area dominata da vuoti. Esso sembra esplorare il tema di una architettura della soglia urbana, tale da determinare il luogo della transizione suburbana[11]: i due fronti, l'uno rivolto alle montagne e l'altro prospiciente la strada, sono ugualmente disponibili a essere penetrati da natura e artificio[12]. La medesima attenzione riservata allo studio planimetrico si manifesta senza incertezze anche nella perizia con cui si utilizzano i materiali e nella raffinatezza delle soluzioni di dettaglio: dal rivestimento dell'intera superficie esterna in klinker, ai serramenti a scorrimento che diventeranno "cifra" gardelliana, alle esili e eleganti pensiline che si protendono verso la strada in corrispondenza degli accessi.
Alcuni dei motivi sviluppati a Alessandria ritornano nel condominio milanese. La parete nord è rivestita in klinker e i fronti principali, quasi interamente vetrati, si presentano del tutto asimmetrici. Ma non si tratta soltanto di analogie formali. Entrambi gli edifici sono caratterizzati da un esplicito e programmatico rifiuto della serialità compositiva diffusamente applicata ai fabbricati destinati alla residenza: in questo senso, dunque, va intesa la rinnovata riflessione sulla libertà planimetrica lecorbuseriana. E si noti la distanza che si instaura tra un simile atteggiamento e lo spirito che aveva guidato i due gruppi di architetti milanesi – tra i quali lo stesso Gardella – nell'elaborazione del piano "Milano Verde", del 1938, e nel successivo piano "A.R." del 1944[13]. Nei due casi in esame – gli appartamenti Borsalino e il condominio in via Marchiondi – la rinuncia alla composizione di tipo seriale viene applicata a complessi destinati a diverse tipologie di utenti; ma motivazioni e processi progettuali di natura opposta sembrano animare tale comune orientamento.
Ciascuna delle unità abitative della casa milanese è diversa dalle altre, sia da un punto di vista planimetrico sia nelle soluzioni di prospetto. Il telaio di pilastri portanti assicura infatti totale assenza di vincoli nella disposizione dei setti murari, consentendo di interpretare, in ciascun alloggio, le particolari esigenze abitative e di lavoro dei suoi futuri abitanti[14]. Una simile, dominante scelta progettuale sembra apertamente denunciata all'esterno attraverso la superficie di facciata, resa fluttuante dallo spostamento, su ogni piano, della posizione dei *bow-window*. Tuttavia, proprio sull'elemento-chiave della composizione del fronte è depositato un raffinato artificio che lo rende ingannevole: un muro divisorio, posto a filo con il serramento, dichiara a uno sguardo attento che il medesimo *bow-window* serve due diversi appartamenti. E ciò contrasta con l'effetto di insieme della facciata, cui il gioco delle sporgenze e delle rientranze impone il tema della continuità.
La robinia che penetra attraverso i solai di alcune delle terrazze – memore dell'analogo e più estraniante artificio proposto da Albini nel soggiorno di villa per la VII Triennale di Milano del 1940 – costituisce il suggello dell'operazione. Se ciascun appartamento è interpretabile come una sorta di abito tagliato su misura per i suoi abitanti, l'immissione nell'architettura costruita di un elemento arboreo – sotto specie della proposizione di un rapporto tra natura e architettura nuovamente possibile – denuncia il limite dell'esito progettuale. In nessun modo la casa in via Marchiondi costituisce un modello: le scelte compositive che la informano sono infatti irripetibili, come non riconducibile a un *tipo* è la sorte cui è destinato l'albero, preesistente all'apertura del cantiere. Appare dunque chiara la divaricazione del tema: nella case di Alessandria, il rifiuto della composizione seriale è finalizzato a stabilire un precedente, che mostri come si possa garantire una alta qualità di vita a un ceto sociale medio; e si vedano, al proposito, gli esiti raggiunti, negli stessi anni e in collaborazione con Albini, nel quartiere IACP Mangiagalli, a Milano[15]. Nell'edificio di via Marchiondi, al contrario, l'apparente *undestatement* del condominio assicura discrezione nei confronti dello *status* dei suoi abitanti, senza rinunciare, tuttavia, a un – forse– ironico segno di distinzione: ma è la disincantata

in an asymmetrical building which Argan interpreted as the disintegrating effect of real space on an imaginary architectural structure[9]*, and Alberto Samonà, by contrast, as an attempt to make the building interact with the surrounding urban fabric*[10]*.*
In reality, the building on the ring-road of the town was at first almost totally isolated in an area of unconstructed lots, more like an essay in architecture as urban design, marking the boundary between the urban fringes and the town proper[11]*. Its two fronts, one facing the mountains, the other the street, are equally permeable to country and town, nature and artifice*[12]*. The care Gardella lavished on the layout and plan of the building is equally evident in his skilful use of materials and sophistication of detail: a clinker-clad exterior; the sliding doors and windows that would become one of Gardella's hallmarks; stylish, slender porches jutting into the street over the entrances.*
Some features of the Alessandria residence are also found in the Milan apartment block. The north wall has clinker cladding and the main fronts, almost entirely of glass, are asymmetrical in the extreme. But the similarities are not only formal. Both buildings explicitly and systematically reject the repetitive series composition of much contemporary housing design, perhaps one outcome of Gardella's renewed interest in Le Corbusier's free-style ground plans, and also some indication of how different his approach was from that of the Milanese architects – including Gardella himself – who worked on the "Milano Verde" plan of 1938 and the "A.F." plan of 1944[13]*. The Borsalino residence and the Via Marchiondi apartment block are similar in that series composition was rejected in buildings designed for different types of inhabitants. However, the reasons for this similarity seemed different in either case.*
In the Milan building, each apartment was different both in plan and elevation. The grid frame abolished all constraints on wall layout so that each apartment could be designed around the living and working requirements of its future inhabitants[14]*. The same overriding design choice is evident outside on the façade which achieves fluency through bow windows that are positioned differently on each floor. However, this key compositional element subtly conceals something that renders the whole façade totally deceptive: on closer inspection, you notice that the partition wall ends flush with the window frame, meaning that the bow window in fact lights* two *apartments, in complete contrast with the overall effect of continuity created by the interplay of projecting and recessed façade elements.*
The robinia growing onto the floors of some of the terraces – reminiscent of the similar though rather stranger artifice Albini incorporated in his villa living-room project for the seventh Milan Triennale in 1940 – sets the seal on Gardella's design. If each apartment is as a dwelling tailor-made to the requirements of is inhabitants, the incorporation of vegetation in constructed architecture – suggesting that some relationship between architecture and nature may again be possible – establishes the limitations of the Via Marchiondi design itself. In no way can it be seen as a model: as a composition it can never be repeated, just as the tree which happened to be growing on the site before building commenced can never be consolidated in a type*.*
The difference between the two buildings is clear, then. In Alessandria, the rejection of series composition was meant to set a precedent, demonstrating how less wealthy tenants could be given decent homes to live in. The Mangiagalli social housing project in Milan, which Gardella worked on with Albini, dates from the same period and is some indication of what could be achieved with the model. By contrast, the apparent understatement of the middle-class condominium in Milan points discreetly – if perhaps ironically – to the social status of its inhabitants, but it is the disenchanted view of the architect's role in upper middle-class housing design – among other things, Gardella was his own client in this particular case – that makes typological generalisation impossible.
The programmatic content of the Alessandria building – in effect, Gardella's contribution to the national debate on reconstruction housing – was immediately apparent to more aware critics. By publishing Gardella's project with another by Mario Ridolfi (for houses in Viale Etiopia, Rome) in the inaugural issue of "Casabella-Continuità" edited by Ernesto Nathan Rogers, Giancarlo De Carlo did much to lessen the ideological differences between the divergent philosophies the two architects represented. Even the title – Architetture Italiane *– was an explicit attempt to reconstruct an imaginary architectural* koiné[16]*.*
The juxtaposing of two so radically different projects – unheard of in its time – was a successful demonstration of how divergent approaches could be expressions of a common desire both to learn and to move on from the lessons of Functionalism, and a corresponding need for internal coherence of design, which was seen as a form of

Ignazio Gardella, Casa per impiegati della Borsalino, Alessandria, 1950-52: studio planimetrico, settembre 1950 (CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, BS/C1) e vista da nordest.
Ignazio Gardella, Anna Castelli Ferrieri, Roberto Menghi, Condominio in via Marchiondi, Milano, 1949-54: viste esterna da sudest e di dettaglio delle terrazze attraversate dalla robinia.

Ignazio Gardella, apartment block for Borsalino employees, Alessandria, 1950-52: planimetric study, September 1950 (CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, BS/C1) and view from the north-east.
Ignazio Gardella, Anna Castelli Ferrieri, Roberto Menghi, condominium in Via Marchiondi, Milan, 1949-54: external views from the south-east and detail of the terraces overgrown with robinia.









interpretazione del ruolo dell'architetto di fronte al tema della residenza alto borghese – in cui Gardella si trova a essere, tra gli altri, committente di se stesso – che conduce all'astensione da istanze tipologiche.
Il contenuto programmatico dell'edificio di Alessandria, nel quale si condensa il contributo di Gardella al dibattito nazionale sull'edilizia residenziale della ricostruzione, è immediatamente colto dalla critica più avvertita. Pubblicandone il progetto insieme a quello di Mario Ridolfi per le case di viale Etiopia a Roma – nel primo numero di "Casabella-Continuità" diretto da Rogers – Giancarlo De Carlo riconduce entro binari meno polemici l'appartenenza a diversi schieramenti architettonici: già nella scelta del titolo, *Architetture Italiane*, è esplicita la volontà di ricostituire una ideale *koiné*[16]. L'inedito – per l'epoca – accostamento, giunge infatti a riconoscere in due approcci linguistici radicalmente differenti una comune volontà di superamento e di contaminazione del dettato razionalista, e una analoga necessità di coerenza interna, interpretata come lezione di moralità progettuale. Allo stesso tempo, l'intuizione di De Carlo sembra essere – e probabilmente senza intenzione – profetica. Trent'anni più tardi, in un contesto culturale che assumerà come programma la negazione del teso e inquieto dibattito avviato a partire dagli anni Cinquanta, sarà infatti Paolo Portoghesi a associare, di nuovo, i due architetti, ma con finalità del tutto diverse.
Le case Borsalino di Alessandria, in ogni caso, rappresentano soltanto *una* delle risposte che Gardella fornisce al problema dell'edilizia residenziale. Ugualmente plurali, e segnati da profonde divaricazioni sono i modi di reazione al problema del rapporto con il contesto del tessuto architettonico preesistente. Affrontando nel 1950 la ristrutturazione del complessso termale ottocentesco Regina Isabella, a Lacco Ameno di Ischia, è la definizione del "valore" dell'edificio storico che viene a porsi come elemento determinante del progetto: in base ad esso si studia infatti il calibro dell'intervento.
Il mantenimento del colonnato anteposto all'edificio preesistente, opera di Nicola Cianello, è condizione gradita ma non imposta dalla locale Sopraintendenza. In ciascuna delle versioni del progetto – da quella di minima, quando la committenza è costituita da un gruppo di medici milanesi, a quella maggiormente estesa, quando interviene nell'operazione Angelo Rizzoli, a quella definitiva, dopo l'uscita di Rizzoli dall'affare, nel 1954[17] – Gardella sembra

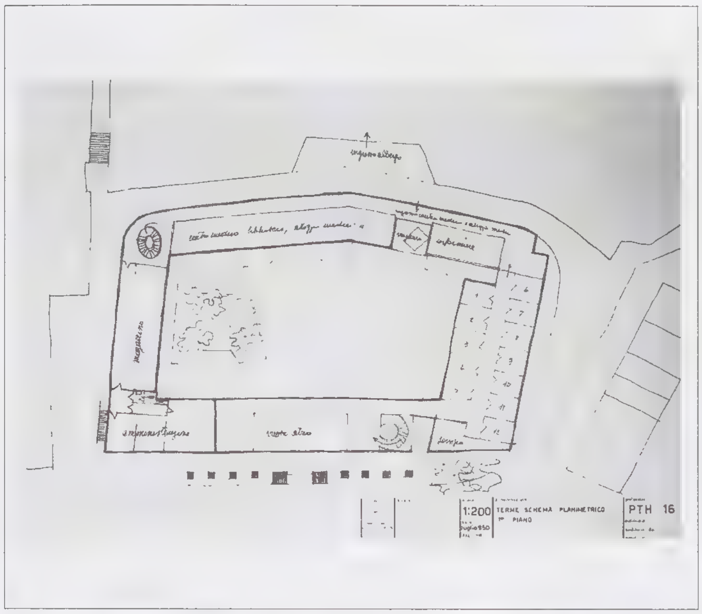
architectural morality. Probably unintentionally, De Carlo's insight seems to have been prophetic. Thirty years later, in a cultural climate that would see as its mission the systematic elimination of the doubts and tensions that were so much a part of Italian architectural debate from the 1950s on, Paolo Portoghesi would again link the two names, although for very different reasons.
Be all this as it may, the Alessandria building was only one *of Gardella's solutions to the problem of housing design, and his responses to the problem of how to relate new buildings to existing urban fabric were equally diverse and ambiguous. When commissioned in 1950 to renovate the nineteenth-century Regina Isabella spa in Lacco Ameno on the island of Ischia, it was the "value" of the historic building that determined the nature and scope of the redesign project.*
The local authorities had let it known that retaining the colonnade in front of the existing building (by Nicola Cianello), while not a specific requirement of the brief, would nonetheless be welcomed. In each successive version of the project – from the least ambitious one drawn up when the client was a group of Milanese medics, to the more extended one reflecting Angelo Rizzoli's arrival on the scene, and the final one produced when Rizzoli withdrew from the scheme in 1954[17] – Gardella seemed to distance himself ever more decisively from the awkward nineteenth-century buildings he had to work with. His design contradicted the orientation of Cianello's plan right from the start. By adding an irregular trapezoidal patio, Gardella produced a biaxial organism hinging around the patio itself, meaning that the colonnade would be orthogonal only to the entrance façade. However, this was no uncritical affirmation of the superiority of the present over a "past" represented by the colonnade: Gardella was very careful to preserve the truly antique features he found – a Greek wall and a Roman mosaic towards the rear of the site. A note in his own handwriting on one of his sketches is suggestive here, in that it describes as an impluvium *the break in the curtain wall marking the end of the block where the classical remains are sited. Gardella seemed to be asserting the right to develop his own, independent form of classicism which was distinct and separate from the rather tawdry classical quotation of the colonnade[18]. In the final design, the colonnade is physically separated from the new building, which is set further back and connected to it – with barely concealed irony – by a visible system of stays.*

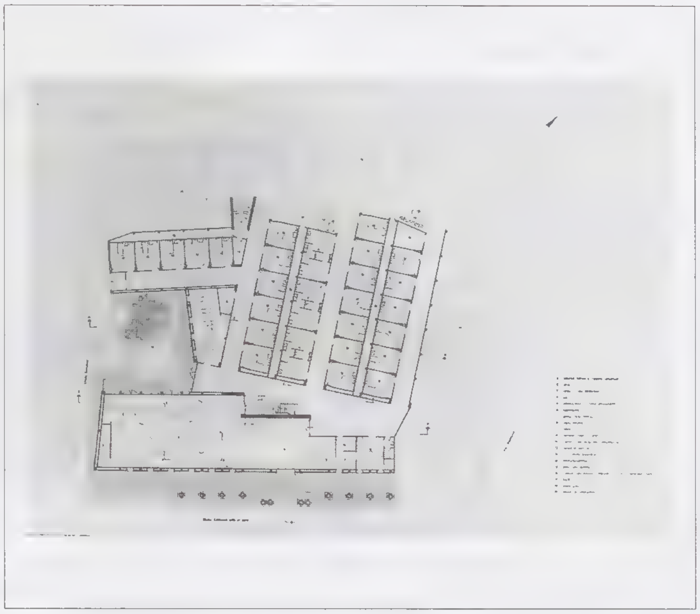
prendere con sempre maggior determinazione le distanze dall'ingombrante lacerto ottocentesco. Sin dalle prime ipotesi progettuali vengono contraddette le direttrici planimetriche dell'edificio di Cianello. L'introduzione di un *patio* dall'irregolare forma trapezia genera infatti un organismo biassiale rispetto al quale esso assume la funzione di cerniera; e con ciò, il colonnato risulta ortogonale al solo fronte di accesso. Ma non si tratta di una acritica affermazione di superiorità rispetto alla presenza del passato: le preesistenze antiche, costituite da un muro greco e da un mosaico romano attestati sul retro del lotto, sono rigorosamente rispettate. Una nota autografa, depositata su uno schizzo, può fornire un'utile chiave interpretativa. Definendo "impluvio" l'interruzione della cortina continua che delimita il settore terminale del blocco, in corrispondenza dei reperti antichi, Gardella sembra infatti rivendicare il diritto a una propria, autonoma classicità; la quale si dichiara *altra*, e separata rispetto all'estenuata citazione evocata dalle forme del colonnato[18]. Quest'ultimo, nel progetto finale, è fisicamente allontanato dal nuovo edificio, arretrato e ad esso collegato – con ironia appena contenuta – attraverso tiranti a vista. E si ripropone, nel distacco tra antico e nuovo, la contrapposizione tra i vuoti dei varchi del portico e la muratura continua restrostante. Il ritmo imposto al fronte si presenta infine del tutto alternativo: il fuori asse dell'accesso, l'indipendenza dagli intercolumni delle lunghe finestre con serramenti a scorrimento, le sottili, enigmatiche aperture a T disposte alla sommità del blocco che si protende a sudest, al di là delle colonne, sono, insieme alla rinuncia alla copertura cupolata imposta all'atrio nelle prime versioni del progetto, gli strumenti di tale presa di distanza. Con essa, è l'architetto a stabilire il "valore" delle testimonianze del passato, ad ammettere o negare la loro possibilità di colloquio con il nuovo.
La rivendicazione dell'assoluta autonomia del fare architettonico si congiunge dunque, nelle terme Regina Isabella, con una riflessione sul rapporto con la storia, e sul ruolo attribuito al progettista nella determinazione dei *limiti* di tale rapporto. Posti sotto il medesimo segno sono i risultati raggiunti, tra il 1948 e il 1951, con i progetti per la Galleria d'Arte moderna, sull'area delle distrutte scuderie della Villa Reale di Milano. Il dibattito accesosi in fase istruttoria, sull'opportunità o meno di ripristinare quanto era stato danneggiato dai bombardamenti, viene semplicemente dichiarato – con la soluzione proposta da

This separation of ancient and modern repeats the existing contrast between the voids of the portico and the solid continuous wall behind it. In the end, the façade is given a totally different rhythm: the unaligned entrance, the independence of the long strip windows (with sliding panes) from the intercolumniation, the slender, enigmatic T-shaped windows at the top of the block extending to the south-east beyond the colonnade, and the rejection of the dome roof added to the lobby in the early versions of the project, all point to Gardella desire to distance himself from the original building. Now it is the architect who establishes the "value" of the past, who allows or denies the possibility of dialogue between the past and the present.
Thus, the assertion of the architect's right to design as he or she sees fit is yoked, in the Regina Isabella spa, to awareness of the relationship between new architecture and history, and the architect's role in determining the extent *of this relationship.*
Gardella's approach was very similar in his designs (1948-51) for the Modern Art Gallery (Padiglione d'Arte Contemporanea - PAC) on the site of the former stables of the Villa Reale in Milan. The debate, early on in the scheme, over whether to rebuild the bomb-damaged stables, was dismissed as "irrelevant" [19] *in Gardella's project presentation. Significantly, Alberto Samonà stresses the "European" nature of Gardella's proposal in his account of the welcome it received in the reviews and architecture faculties. By "European" he means not something that is blandly international, but a sort of laconic understatement in the optimum architectural and technical solutions it proposes to the problem in hand*[20]*. It is curious that Gardella's pavilion has now acquired popular symbolic status as "historical" architecture. As a result of its destruction by terrorist bombs in the summer of 1993 and, even more so, the subsequent efforts to decipher whatever messages those bombs were intended to convey, the PAC has, despite its own best intentions, been redesignated an emblem of the city. As for the issues raised by the city's avowed intention to reconstruct it exactly as it was, Pierluigi Nicolin's stimulating discussion of the distinction between an original and a simulacrum is all the more relevant*[21]*. Even when it had just been built, the PAC had already shown that there was a (seemingly simple) way, based on the adaptation to context that was so dear to Ernesto Roger, of getting beyond the limitations of the current Italian architectural debate.*

Ignazio Gardella, Terme "Regina Isabella", Lacco Ameno, Ischia, 1950-54: studio planimetrico, luglio 1950 (CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, PTH 16), pianta del piano terreno e vista esterna dell'ingresso da sud.

Ignazio Gardella, Regina Isabella Spa, Lacco Ameno, Ischia, 1950-54: planimetric study, July 1950 (CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, PTH 16), ground-floor plan and external view of south entrance.



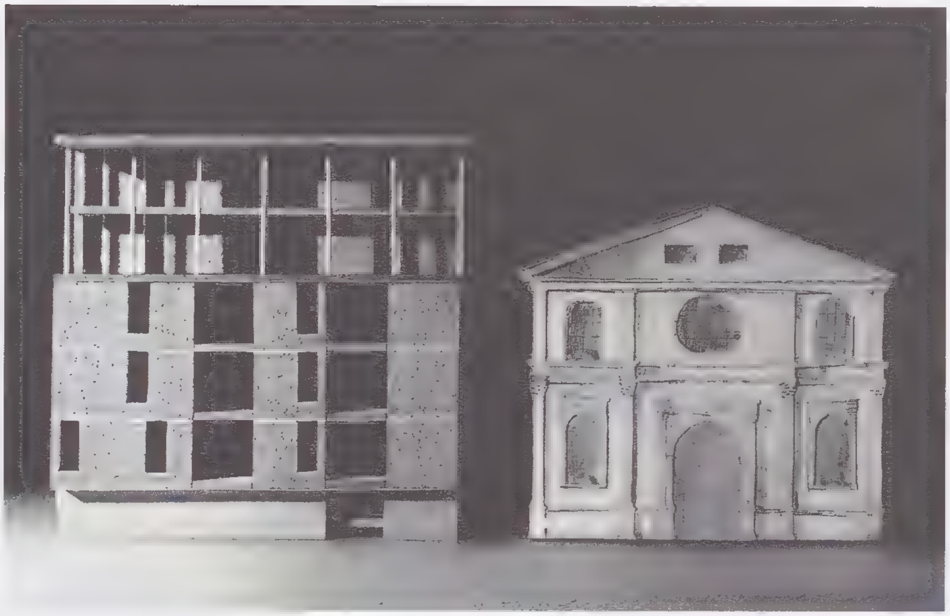


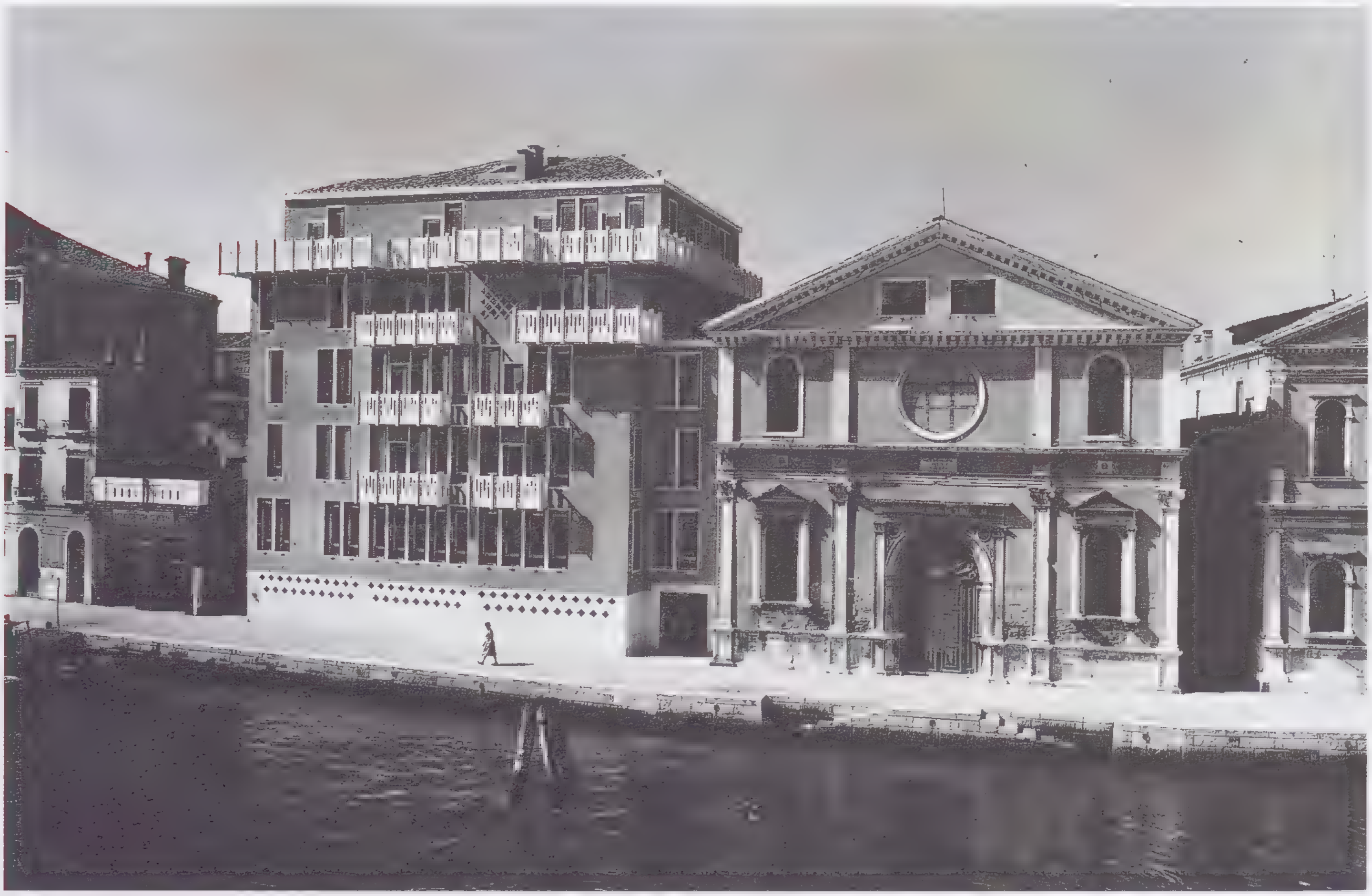


Ignazio Gardella, Casa di abitazione alle Zattere, Venezia, 1954-58: vista del modello del primo progetto,1954, pianta del piano tipo e vista esterna da sud.

Ignazio Gardella, Zattere Building, Venice, 1954-58: view of model of initial design, 1954, plan of standard floor and external view from the south.







Gardella – "inattuale"[19]. Non a caso Alberto Samonà, che racconta della ricezione del progetto sulle riviste e all'interno delle facoltà di architettura, mette in rilievo il suo carattere "europeo"; da non intendersi nel senso di declinazione in chiave banalmente internazionalista, quanto piuttosto come asciutta, laconica ricerca delle soluzioni tecnicamente e architettonicamente ottimali per i problemi espositivi posti dal tema[20]. Si può riflettere sulla recente circostanza con la quale, attraverso un'azione distruttiva, il padiglione di Gardella è stato in qualche modo reso prossimo a testimonianze architettoniche del passato, radicate nella memoria e nella simbologia collettiva. Con le bombe dell'estate 1993, e principalmente con i tentativi di interpretazione dei messaggi in esse depositati, il PAC, divenuto suo malgrado protagonista, è stato risignificato come emblema cittadino: e per i temi sollevati dal dichiarato intento della sua ricostruzione valgono le stimolanti considerazioni di Pierluigi Nicolin sulla contrapposizione tra "originale" e "simulacro" in architettura[21]. Già al momento della sua prima costruzione, la Galleria aveva indicato come, intorno alle strategie dell'*ambientamento* – il tema caro a Rogers – si potesse individuare una strada solo apparentemente semplice, con la quale superare i limiti del dibattito architettonico nazionale.
Ma anche questo assunto, non sembra essere, per Gardella, definitivo. Gli esiti conseguiti a Milano con il PAC, e a Ischia con il complesso termale sembrano capovolgersi quando è il "contesto" a imporre la propria legge, quando valore e significati son già stati, irrevocabilmente, stabiliti.
Il doppio approdo professionale di Gardella a Venezia – chiamato da Giuseppe Samonà a insegnare all'Istituto Universitario di Architettura nel 1949, e successivamente responsabile della progettazione della "casa alle Zattere", nel 1954 – lascia un segno profondo sugli sviluppi successivi della sua attività di docente e di architetto. Vero e proprio punto di svolta, la città lagunare sembra imporsi, con il proprio "incanto", attraverso un processo graduale[22]. Con il primo progetto per la casa alle Zattere – su incarico della società immobiliare Spirito Santo, che si rivolge all'alta borghesia veneziana e milanese – Gardella reagisce violentemente, con un rigore quasi imbarazzante, alla sottomissione alle leggi dettate dal "contesto". Ed è opportuno ricordare che questo atteggiamento si manifesta quando non si era ancora spenta in Venezia l'eco delle polemiche suscitate dal progetto di Frank Lloyd Wright per

However, this was by no means the end of the story for Gardella. What he had achieved in Milan with the PAC, and on Ischia with the Regina Isabella spa, suddenly seemed to be undermined when "context" asserted itself, when architectural meaning and value were already unalterably fixed.
Gardella's dual debut in Venice – he was invited by Giuseppe Samonà to teach architecture at the university in 1949, and was commissioned to design the Zattere Building in 1954 – left a profound mark on his future development as both an architect and teacher. Venice proved the true turning-point in his career as he gradually fell under its spell[22]. In his initial project for the Zattere Building, commissioned from him by the Vatican property development agency, he reacted with almost embarrassingly uncompromising rigour to the constraints imposed by "context". It is worth recalling that this violent reaction came at a time when the row caused by Frank Lloyd Wright's unbuilt project (1953) for the Masieri Memorial in Venice was still rumbling on[23].
Essentially, the residential building that was to be constructed on the Giudecca canal opposite the Palladian Church of the Redeemer spoke the same rough-and-ready architectural language as the competition project for the Lictor's Tower in Milan (1934) and the earliest of the Antituberculosis Dispensary designs in Alessandria. The theme was again a dialectic of solids and voids: the first three floors with only a few windows, rising directly from a high continuous base guarding against Venice's periodic flooding, would be offset by the top two floors, set back from the vertical line of the façade, whose visible structure, pared down to an absolute minimum, would join the new floors to the existing ones below[24]. The building's impact on the urban environment could hardly have been greater. The ashlar base so often found in Venice's historical canal buildings is transformed into a completely smooth surface that seems a merely whimsical evocation of the city's traditional bulwark against flood disaster, while abundant fenestration on the canal front – historically a symbol of the city's long-established immunity to attack – has become a skeletal structure achieved simply by emptying the volume on the upper floors. Language like this essentially denied any possibility of dialogue with the rich Venetian dialects that were already spoken in the city. Gardella's initial design seemed to speak of a failure to engage, a gesture that could never be made. However, later versions would pass

il Masieri's Memorial del 1953, rimasto irrealizzato[23]. L'edificio residenziale che si sarebbe elevato sul canale della Giudecca, di fronte alla chiesa palladiana del Redentore, parla infatti lo stesso scabro linguaggio del progetto di concorso per la torre littoria a Milano del 1934 e del primo progetto per il Dispensario di Alessandria. Il tema è di nuovo quello della dialettica tra i pieni e i vuoti: sul basamento continuo, concepito in funzione del fenomeno lagunare delle acque alte, si innestano i primi tre piani solcati da limitate aperture. Ad essi si contrappongono gli ultimi due livelli, arretrati rispetto al filo di facciata, nei quali si rende visibile il sistema strutturale, denudato e ridotto al minimo della consistenza, a ricucire lo strappo con l'apparato sottostante[24]. L'impatto con l'intorno urbano non avrebbe potuto essere meno mediato. La zoccolatura bugnata che spesso compare negli edifici storici veneziani affacciati sui canali, è trasfigurata in una superficie completamente liscia, in cui il ricordo della soluzione tradizionale diviene rievocazione fantasmatica; la pluralità delle aperture sul fronte d'acqua – simbolo, nelle case lagunari, di una consolidata sicurezza urbana – si traduce nella riduzione a scheletro della struttura portante attraverso lo svuotamento del volume ai livelli più alti. Con l'adozione di un simile linguaggio si nega nella sostanza la possibilità di un confronto con le cordiali espressioni del "dialetto" lagunare: il primo studio per la casa alle Zattere sembra dunque parlare di un incontro mancato, di un atto cui non è dato di compiersi. Ma basterà attendere, per un giudizio meno severo nei confronti delle forme tradizionali dell'edilizia veneziana, i successivi sviluppi progettuali, nei quali la distanza tra antico e moderno si ridurrà progressivamente sino a divenire spazio colloquiale tra due realtà che si compenetrano l'una nell'altra.

Il primo passo verso il progressivo cedimento alle leggi costruttive e stilistiche della Venezia storica è determinato da ragioni di carattere strutturale. Necessitato a costruire sulle fondazioni preesistenti già consolidate – com'è regola secolare, in laguna – Gardella è indotto a flettere il fronte d'acqua e a posizionare i muri di spina secondo le direttrici oblique appartenenti ai due edifici precedentemente insediati sull'area. A partire da tale gesto, necessario e quasi impercettibile, le superfici destinate a specchiarsi in laguna fioriscono, popolandosi di "figure": dalla decorazione a rombi del basamento, alla danza dei parapetti traforati delle terrazze, al ritmo spettinato delle aperture. Il contatto è stato stabilito, e la ricerca del dialogo, tenacemente perseguita negli elaborati progettuali intermedi, si traduce nell'esplicita tensione verso una sempre maggiore aderenza al "contesto". Affidata alle acque, la casa alle Zattere, così come le fabbriche storiche, sarà da quelle resa evanescente; i suoi limiti fisici – violentemente affermati nel primo progetto – sottoposti alla loro opera corrosiva. Della precedente soluzione si mantiene l'arretramento della "campata" estrema, addossata alla chiesa rinascimentale dello Spirito Santo: ma è solo alla profonda ombra che con ciò si crea, che viene affidato il compito di separare nuovo e antico. Anche la scelta dei materiali, poveri e ampiamente utilizzati nelle architetture lagunari, parla di un'avvenuta assimilazione; in essi, oltre che nei giochi formali che animano le superfici, è forse possibile riconoscere l'influenza dei modi di Carlo Scarpa, il quale inaugura il suo negozio Olivetti in piazza
San Marco nello stesso anno in cui si chiude il cantiere della casa alle Zattere.

E' lo stesso Gardella a dichiarare il proprio programma di continuità con i modelli veneziani[25]. La diminuzione della superficie finestrata dal basso verso l'alto vuole infatti replicare l'inversione dei rapporti tra pieni e vuoti che caratterizza il palazzo Ducale: e con ciò, si contraddice anche teoricamente l'assunto proposto con il primo progetto. Dal medesimo modello proviene inoltre la riproposizione di un elemento terminale traforato – il parapetto della terrazza continua che circonda il volume anteriore del blocco – evocatore delle fiorite merlature tardogotiche dei palazzi pubblici veneziani: e rendendo labile il limite superiore dell'edificio, è anche il carattere non rigidamente stereometrico dell'edilizia veneziana ad essere rivisitato. Eppure, nonostante la dichiarata volontà di assimilazione, la Sopraintendenza veneziana impone modifiche al progetto, tali da far gridare allo scandalo Bruno Zevi dalle pagine di "L'architettura. Cronache e storia"[26]. Ritenuta troppo incombente sulla fondamenta delle Zattere, la balconata del primo piano sarà eliminata dagli esecutivi; ciò comporterà la revisione della disposizione delle aperture angolari, che perderanno la configurazione binaria per acquistare un ritmo apparentemente privo di ordine. Ma non si tratta della rinuncia a una citazione, quanto, piuttosto, di uno spostamento di soggetto. Anziché riproporre la formula tipicamente veneziana della bifora, la disposizione delle

less severe judgement on Venice's traditional architectural forms, as the gap between ancient and modern gradually closed in a colloquial exchange between two interpenetrating realities.
Gardella's initial acceptance of the architectural and technical laws of "historical" Venice came in response to structural requirements. Since he was obliged – as has been the case in Venice for centuries – to built on existing foundations, he decided to bend the canal front and position the main walls along the oblique axes of the two buildings that had once occupied the site. The result of this necessary though almost imperceptible adaptation was that the façades reflected in the lagoon suddenly came to life, peopled by the "figures" of the diamond-shaped base decoration, the perforated terrace parapets and the rippling reflections of windows. Contact had thus been made, and the dogged search for dialogue in the intermediate versions of the design became an increasingly explicit desire to adapt to "context"*. Once entrusted to the waters, the Zattere Building, like its historical neighbours, would be rendered evanescent as its physical boundaries – uncompromisingly insisted upon in the initial project – were eroded by the effect (visual and physical) of the water itself. The recessed top two floors adjacent to the Renaissance Church of the Holy Spirit were retained, but it is only the deep shadow of the join that bridges the gap between old and new. The choice of commonplace materials widely used in Venetian buildings indicates that assimilation is complete: these materials, and the patterns on the façades, perhaps point to the influence of Carlo Scarpa, whose Olivetti shop in St. Mark's Square opened in the same year that work on the Zattere Building was completed.*
Gardella himself stated that his intention had been to maintain continuity with Venetian typologies[25]. The decrease in fenestration from bottom to top – a deliberate inversion of the relationships between solids and voids in the Doges' Palace – contradicted, theoretically as well as practically the basic assumptions of the initial design. He also borrowed from the Doges' Palace the perforated crowning element – the unbroken terrace parapet that encloses the anterior volume of the block – that suggests the elaborate late Gothic crenellations of Venetian public buildings. By blurring the definition of the building's upper edge, it also reproduces the flexible stereometries of the typical Venetian building. And yet, despite Gardella's declared desire to assimilate old and new, the city's architectural office insisted on modifications to the design that drew outraged comment from Bruno Zevi in "L'architettura. Cronache e storia"[26]. The building was considered too ponderous for the Zattere, so it was proposed that the first-floor balcony should be eliminated from the working drawings, meaning that the corner windows would have to be altered, losing their dual outlook as well as any seeming regularity of order. However, this implied less the rejection of a quotation, and more a shift in subject. As well as repeating the typically Venetian double lancet window, the arrangement of the corner windows was further justified by the asymmetrical façades found in many minor Venetian buildings, though only rarely in those of the status of the Cà d'Oro. As is well known, Argan based his politely ironic critique of Gardella's work on a comparison with the eloquent fifteenth-century creation. Labelling the Zattere Building "the Cà d'Oro of modern architecture"*, he drew attention to how untypical it was of Italian architecture in the 1950s[27], while Giuseppe Samonà praised its use of Gothic forms mediated* "by profound catharsis *(...)* in a vigorously personal form"[28]*. It can hardly be accidental that now, forty years after it was built, the Zattere Building remains an unfailingly ambiguous achievement. Even within the covers of a single publication – the catalogue of the recent Gardella exhibition mounted by the Comune of Milan in collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture at Venice University – it is interpreted in totally opposed ways. For example, Giorgio Ciucci reports Gardella's desire "to be understood by people who speak the language of Venice", highlighting details of composition and construction that were deliberate adaptations to historical Venetian practice[29]. Daniele Vitale, on the other hand, says that neither the plan nor the façades of the building are especially Venetian[30].*
The outcome of the Venetian project was prophetic of Gardella's future linguistic development, which would veer towards assimilation of a variety of local "idioms" and a preference for more marked formalism. The canteen and recreation complex for the Olivetti factory in Ivrea, which he began in 1953 and finished in summer 1959, may be taken as the termination of this process. Here, Gardella placed his unfailingly sophisticated expressive resources at the disposal of an enlightened patron and paternalist, Adriano Olivetti, but as work progressed the design of the complex became an increasingly determined search for an appropriate architectural "gesture" based on the

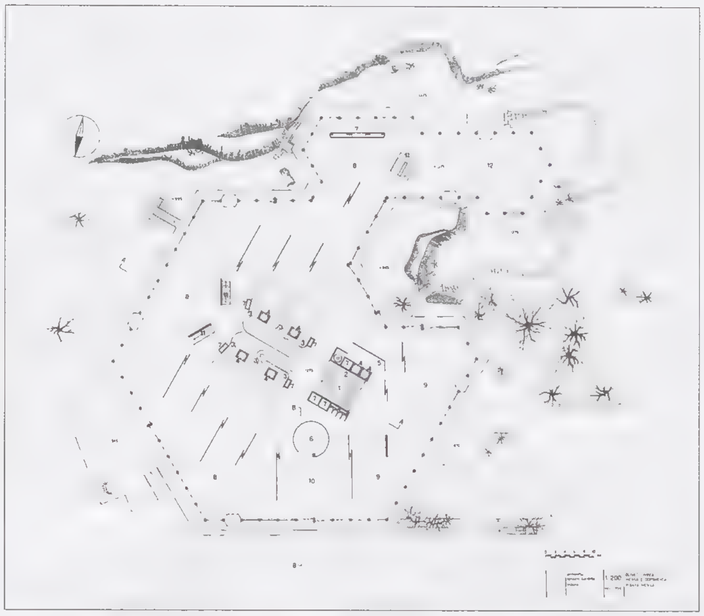
aperture in prossimità dell'angolo appare ugualmente legittimata dall'evocazione della mancanza di simmetria ricorrente nei fronti dell'edilizia minore, ma non rara in edifici di alta rappresentatività come la Cà d'Oro. E sarà proprio ricorrendo al confronto con l'eloquente edificio quattrocentesco che Argan – com'è noto – esprimerà una garbata e ironica critica all'operato di Gardella. Definendo la casa alle Zattere "*la Cà d'Oro dell'architettura moderna*", questi sottolinea la sua estraneità ai percorsi dell'architettura italiana degli anni Cinquanta[27], mentre Giuseppe Samonà plaude alla rivisitazione delle forme gotiche, filtrate "*da una profonda catarsi* (...) *in una forma gagliardamente personale*"[28]. E non può apparire casuale, a distanza di quasi quarant'anni dalla sua realizzazione, che la casa alle Zattere non abbia cessato di esercitare la sua contraddittoria funzione. Nella medesima sede – il catalogo della recente mostra dedicata a Gardella dal Comune di Milano in collaborazione con l'Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia – essa viene infatti interpretata con chiavi di lettura tra loro opposte. Giorgio Ciucci rileva la volontà di Gardella di "*farsi capire da chi parla la lingua veneziana*", mettendo in evidenza dettagli compositivi e costruttivi direttamente mutuati dalla prassi architettonica lagunare[29]. Daniele Vitale, al contrario, nega la venezianità del progetto, sia da un punto di vista planimetrico come nell'articolazione dei fronti[30].
L'esito del progetto veneziano può essere ritenuto profetico per il successivo sviluppo linguistico di Gardella, che sembra virare nel senso dell'assimilazione di differenti "idiomi" locali, rivolgendosi a un gusto che scivola nell'opzione verso un più accentuato formalismo; lungo questo percorso, il complesso di servizi mensa e dopomensa Olivetti a Ivrea – iniziato nel 1953 e compiuto per l'estate del 1959 – può essere assunto come opera di confine. Le consuete raffinatezze espressive di Gardella sono messe a disposizione del mecenatismo illuminato e paternalista di Adriano Olivetti; allo stesso tempo, ripercorrendo l'*iter* progettuale, una crescente ricerca del "gesto" architettonico sembra guidare il processo di disgregazione planimetrica della geometria esagonale inizialmente impostata. L'originario blocco regolare, nel quale, sin dai primi schizzi, si trovano collocati su due livelli i servizi di mensa e dopomensa, si infrange progressivamente fino a acquisire una sorta di braccio sporgente che avvolge una escrescenza rocciosa del giardino: e attraverso le ampie superfici vetrate solcate da

disgregation of the hexagonal geometrical plan specified by the brief. The original regular block in which the canteen and recreational functions had been distributed on two levels right from the earliest design sketches, was gradually broken down until it acquired a sort of protruding arm that enveloped a rocky outcrop in the park. The park itself was incorporated into the architecture by large glass walls with extremely slender framing reminiscent of the "glass factory" which Figini and Pollini also designed for Adriano Olivetti. Thus, opportunites to experiment with form were presented by the site itself, whose irregularities were eventually incorporated in the design itself. Essentially, Gardella adopted the same procedure as in the Via Marchiondi building: after assimilating an existing tree as an architectural feature, in Ivrea he asserted the legitimacy of a "naturalistic" version of architecture.
Inside the building, the dominant theme is the "humanising of technology". By leaving visible the air-conditioning ducts that branch out across the ceiling from the centre, Gardella transformed the uninterrupted sweep of the two large halls placed on top of the other into a sequence of distinctively different places. This variety of interior vistas harmonises beautifully with ever-changing views of the park outside, enhanced by the fleeting glimpses offered of it made possible by the hexagonal perimeter. The counterpart to this technological display was the rejection of standardised furnishings and an insistence on craft techniques in producing the detailed fittings and finishes. The skirting board of slate slabs with white marble join covers that follows the line of the stairs repeats the theme of continuous variation that encouraged knowing and deliberate use by users of the space the building made available to them. Olivetti wanted more just a set of essential services supplied to his factory and office workers in a functional container; he wanted to explore with Gardella the "philosophy of the canteen" as a place for recreation in the true sense that would relate meaningfully to the lives of his workers[31].
The Olivetti complex was discussed at the final CIAM conference in Otterlo in 1959, when the contradictions inherent in international architecture finally brought the event to a bitterly argumentative close. In April 1959, Banham accused all Italian architects virtually indiscriminately of being "historicist", that most heinous betrayal of the principles which all members of the conference were committed to upholding[32]. *The Ivrea canteen did not come in for direct critical fire: its over-*

Ignazio Gardella, Mensa-dopomensa-cinema-teatro Olivetti, Ivrea, 1953-59: studio planimetrico di massima del complesso, 1953 (CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, OL/M10), pianta del piano primo della mensa e vista esterna da nordovest.

Ignazio Gardella, Olivetti canteen, recreation, cinema and theatre complex, Ivrea, 1953-59: preliminary planimetric study of the complex, 1953 (CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, OL/M10), first-floor plan of canteen and external view from north-west.







elementi strutturali estremamente ridotti – memori della "fabbrica di vetro" realizzata per lo stesso Olivetti da Figini e Pollini – il parco circostante è reso partecipe dell'artificio architettonico. L'occasione per sperimentare le potenzialità della ricerca formale è offerta dunque dalla natura stessa del sito, alla quale l'architettura si adatta assumendone le irregolarità come componenti progettuali. Gardella procede in sostanza nella medesima direzione inaugurata con il condominio in via Marchiondi: dopo aver sperimentato l'interpretazione di un albero come elemento architettonico, a Ivrea afferma la legittimità della declinazione naturalistica dell'architettura.
All'interno, il tema dominante è quello dell' "umanizzazione della tecnica". Rendendo visibili i tracciati degli impianti di condizionamento, che a partire dal centro percorrono il soffitto disegnando su di esso una articolata ramificazione, lo spazio continuo delle due grandi sale sovrapposte si trasforma in una successione di luoghi identificabili e differenziati. La variabilità del panorama interno, del resto, si pone in perfetta sintonia con il variare incessante della visuale esterna sul parco, accentuato dalle prospettive brevi e sfuggenti imposte dal perimetro esagonale. All'esibizione tecnologica fa da controcanto il rifiuto di elementi standardizzati e il ricorso a sistemi artigianali nella realizzazione dei dettagli: la zoccolatura in lastre di ardesia con coprigiunti in marmo bianco che accompagna i movimenti ascensionali delle scale, proseguendoli lungo le pareti, insiste sul tema della variazione continua, rivolta alla fruizione consapevole dello spazio da parte degli utenti. Per Olivetti, del resto, non si trattava semplicemente di fornire a operai e impiegati un insieme di servizi essenziali in un contenitore concepito funzionalmente, ma di esplorare, con Gardella, la "filosofia della mensa" come luogo di relazioni e di cultura destinato a integrarsi con la vita dei lavoratori[31].
Del complesso Olivetti si discute all'ultimo congresso CIAM di Otterlo nel 1959, con il quale la contraddittoria esperienza internazionalista si chiude sotto il segno della polemica. Banham, nell'aprile del '59, accusa pressoché indistintamente gli architetti italiani di "storicismo", peccato capitale di tradimento nei confronti di fondamenti che si volevano ritenere comuni[32]. La mensa di Ivrea non è direttamente investita da tali giudizi; se ne critica l'eccessiva decorazione interna, ma si esprime un giudizio sostanzialmente positivo sull'impianto nel suo insieme, riconoscendo in esso il recupero di scelte formali più vicine al linguaggio del "Movimento Moderno", rispetto alla deviazione veneziana della casa alle Zattere[33]. Né la chiave di lettura adottata a Otterlo, né la posizione assunta da Banham sembrano tuttavia strumenti interpretativi ancora efficaci. La collocazione del complesso Olivetti su una sorta di crinale, all'interno della produzione di Gardella, appare motivata dal suo appartenere, contemporaneamente, a due diverse polarità progettuali, tra le quali non si impone una artificiosa risoluzione. La stessa scelta di una geometria esagonale, naturalistica per eccellenza, sembra avvicinarla alle ricerche wrightiane, rivolte, all'inizio degli anni Cinquanta, verso il medesimo tema; e si noti che il progetto a impianto esagonale che Wright elabora nel 1953 per la sinagoga di Beth Sholom a Elkins Park (Pennsylvania) viene diffuso in Italia nel 1956 dalle pagine di "Casabella"[34]. Ma, insieme, nel complesso di Ivrea è chiaramente riconoscibile l'elemento di continuità, la costante nuovamente espressa, depositata nella *misura* dell'esito progettuale; la sua cifra può essere colta – tra il resto – nella battuta "debole" dell'ultima balconata di coronamento; con essa si accentua infatti il carattere di oggetto in movimento per un'architettura interamente giocata sulla trasparenza e la permeabilità, sulla rinuncia a una forma che si imponga con la propria compiutezza. La mensa Olivetti sembra in sostanza chiudere un ciclo, lasciando sospesa l'opzione tra il rigore del Dispensario di Alessandria e l'ambiguità della casa alle Zattere. Sulla strada aperta dalla casa veneziana, si incontreranno, nell'ulteriore percorso di Gardella, esiti non dotati di altrettanta proporzione.
E' il caso del complesso turistico della pineta di Arenzano, della fine degli anni Cinquanta, in cui la *qualità* architettonica è posta al servizio della rievocazione di una improbabile atmosfera di paese raccolto intorno ad una piccola piazza: in esso, la riproposizione di forme quotidiane e familiari per un luogo programmaticamente destinato all'evasione dalla quotidianità si risolve in soluzioni che non nascondono la loro artificiosità[35]. O, ancora, del poco distante complesso di edifici per abitazione e negozi in prossimità della stazione ferroviaria di Arenzano, compiuto per il 1985[36]. Il tema sembra essere quello della reinterpretazione degli elementi propri dell'architettura tradizionale ligure, quali la coloritura delle facciate a fasce bianche e rosa e l'uso della lavagna per tetti e davanzali. Ma appare coniugato con esplorazioni formali sin troppo espressive, che danno origine alle

abundant interior decorations were criticised, but the general concept was favourably received as a reinstatement of formal criteria that seem more consistent with the language of the Modern Movement after the "deviation" of the Zattere Building in Venice[33]. *However, neither the view expressed at the Otterlo conference nor Banham's personal stance seem particularly enlightening now. That the Olivetti canteen occupies, in a sense, a place of honour in Gardella's output can be explained by the fact that it is the outcome of two simultaneously applied design approaches that cannot be reconciled in a merely artful or unnatural way. The choice of a hexagonal plan – naturalistic* par excellence *– identifies Gardella with Wright, who was also interested in the same theme in the early 1950s. Indeed, the hexagonal plan of Wright's Beth Sholom synagogue in Elkins Park (Penn.) became widely known in Italy in 1956 through "Casabella"*[34]. *At the same time, the* moderation *of the Ivrea design conveys a sense of continuity, of a constant expressed in a new way. This is evident, among other things, in the "weak" beat of the crowning balcony: it helps to create the impression of a moving object, resulting in a design based entirely on transparency and permeability which rejects the idea that a pre-established form can be imposed on a new building. The Olivetti canteen seems to bring a cycle to an end, but without indicating whether the rigour of the Antituberculosis Dispensary in Alessandria, or the ambiguity of the Zattere Building in Venice, would be Gardella's most characteristic mode.*

The way forward indicated by the Zattere Building would produce less "moderate" results in Gardella's subsequent work. One example is the tourist complex in the pinewood of Arenzano, dating from the late 1950s, where architectural quality *is used to evoke an improbably village-type atmosphere around a small piazza: the repetition of familiar everyday forms in a place systematically designed as an escape from everyday concerns produces undeniably artificial solutions*[35]. *Similarly, in the housing and shop complex (finished in 1985*[36]*) at nearby Arenzano Station, Gardella's intention seems to have been to reprocess features of traditional Ligurian architecture like white and pink striped façades and slate roofs and windowsills, yet here they are linked to over-expressive formal experiments like the curved balcony parapets and the redundant door frames. Equally extravagant formal experiment is also a feature of the Agorà multipurpose centre in Alessandria (1987, with Jacopo Gardella, collaborator Fabio Nonis) whose pinkish façades stand opposite the rigorously designed Borsalino apartments that seem of almost monk-like austerity by comparison. And yet, alongside these less than successful essays, Gardella has given convincing proof of his ability to restore continuity in difficult contexts. One example is his design for the new Faculty of Architecture (1975) in the historical centre of Genoa, where the problems of an awkward site rendered even more difficult by ruggedly sloping terrain were compounded by important adjacent monuments partly destroyed by bombing in the last war. Gardella's new complex successfully mends the torn urban fabric without succumbing to the temptation of camouflage or mimicry. The tight, regular rhythms of fronts traversed by pillars alternating with slender recessed windows is especially noticeable in the upper building set back against the hill. Gardella himself says that he saw* "the pillars as buttresses and my building as a Gothic edifice"[37]. *However, the final building avoids quotation; it is, rather, a reworking of themes that demonstrates how modern architectural forms can speak of the past without nostalgia, drawing on memories as if on material for analysis. The details of the building also suggest the idea of a gap between past and present that can never be bridged programmatically. For example, the old carved slate portal that has been re-used to join the roof garden of the trapezoidal base block to the end of the higher block, does not seem part of the terrace. Raised so that it touches the lowest of the horizontal floor strips, it is accessed by a hanging staircase whose hand-rail quotes the stairways designed by Franco Albini for Milan underground. This rejection of contact, which renders the precious fragment entirely visible from below, is not so much a "failed act" as an assertion of otherness that can be resolved only through the creation of a palimpsest.*

The turning-point in Gardella's work came with the 1980 Venice Biennale – the "Strada Novissima" – organised by Paolo Portughesi. As is well known, the personal exhibitions by Philip Johnson, Mario Ridolfi and Ignazio Gardella lumbered the three architects with the rather unwelcome paternity of postmodern architecture. Once again, the "abstemious" Gardella of the early years, the smooth professional who had always rejected any form of excess, found himself yoked with the eloquently "barbaric" Ridolfi who had done his best work in transferring the drama of Italy's postwar reconstruction to the architectural stage. And yet, Portughesi's intention here was very different from

incurvature dei parapetti dei balconi e alla ridondante inquadratura dei portali. Eccessi formali di analoga natura ricorrono anche nel centro polifunzionale Agorà a Alessandria – firmato anche da Jacopo Gardella, collaboratore Fabio Nonis – che dal 1987 fronteggia, con le sue superfici rosate le rigorose case per gli impiegati Borsalino, cui era stato imposto negli anni Cinquanta un serioso abito quasi talare.

Eppure, accanto a esiti non del tutto felici, Gardella fornisce convincenti esercizi di interpretazione delle necessità di luoghi di difficile ricucitura: si veda, al proposito, il progetto per la nuova Facoltà di Architettura nel centro storico di Genova del 1975. Su un sito di per sé problematico per la natura scoscesa del terreno, a diretto contatto con rilevanti emergenze monumentali che i bombardamenti dell'ultima guerra avevano in parte ridotto a frammento, il nuovo complesso di edifici si pone come elemento di sutura senza cedere alla tentazione del mimetismo. Il ritmo serrato imposto ai fronti attraverso pilastri alternati a sottili finestre arretrate è particolarmente esaltato nel corpo alto, addossato alla collina. Lo stesso Gardella afferma di aver pensato "*ai pilastri come a contrafforti e al mio edificio come a un edificio gotico*"[37]. L'esito evita tuttavia di cadere nella citazione: si tratta, piuttosto, di una rielaborazione che dimostra come sia dato, alle forme del moderno, di parlare del passato senza nostalgia, attingendo alle sollecitazioni della memoria come a materiali da sottoporre ad analisi.

Anche nelle soluzioni di dettaglio viene ribadito il concetto di una *distanza*, che non si vuole, programmaticamente, colmare. Un antico portale scolpito in pietra di lavagna viene riutilizzato per collegare il tetto-giardino del blocco trapezoidale di basamento con la testata del corpo alto; ma non aderisce alla superficie della terrazza. Sollevato fino a tagliare la più bassa delle fasce che scandiscono orizzontalmente i livelli dei piani, è reso accessibile attraverso una scala sospesa, che cita, nel mancorrente, le scale della metropolitana di Milano di Franco Albini. La rinuncia al contatto, che pone il prezioso lacerto in una posizione tale da renderlo interamente visibile dal basso, non è interpretabile come "atto mancato"; quanto, piuttosto, come constatazione di alterità risolvibile attraverso la creazione di un palinsesto.

Il momento di svolta nell'interpretazione dell'opera di Gardella si può far risalire alla Biennale di Venezia del 1980 – la "Strada Novissima" – realizzata sotto la direzione di Paolo Portoghesi. Con le mostre personali dedicate a Philip Johnson, a Mario Ridolfi e a Ignazio Gardella, ai tre viene attribuita, com'è noto, l'ingombrante paternità della cosiddetta architettura postomoderna. In quella occasione, il Gardella "astinente" dei primi anni di attività, il garbato professionista che aveva sempre respinto ogni eccesso, viene nuovamente fatto incontrare con l'eloquente e "barbarico" Ridolfi, che nella teatralizzazione del dramma della ricostruzione aveva offerto le sue migliori interpretazioni. Ma l'intento non è il medesimo che aveva consentito a De Carlo, nel 1953, di cogliere in due espressioni differenti una comune tensione alla ridefinizione delle valenze etiche – e politiche – del mestiere dell'architetto[38]. Ascrivendo loro il merito di avere aperto la strada alla conquista della libertà architettonica – la "*fine del proibizionismo*" è il celebre slogan della mostra – Portoghesi cala una pietra tombale su vent'anni di problematica e talvolta dolorosa riflessione sui rapporti tra architettura, storia e tradizione, che aveva coinvolto gli architetti, italiani e non, a partire dall'immediato dopoguerra: primo fra tutti, e principalmente dagli editoriali di "Casabella-Continuità", Ernesto Nathan Rogers. Con la "Strada Novissima" appare – provvisoriamente – vincente la tendenza contro la quale si era scagliato il congresso CIAM di Otterlo del 1959: le accuse agli italiani lanciate in quel contesto da Reyner Banham sembrano risuonanare, vent'anni dopo, come sinistra profezia.

Con l'ingombrante assunzione di paternità attribuita a Gardella e Ridolfi dalla Biennale del 1980 – da entrambi, com'è noto, scherzosamente, ma non senza imbarazzo, commentata – Gardella esce da quel ricercato isolamento nel quale si era mantenuto sin dall'inizio della sua attività. Un isolamento aristocratico, che gli aveva consentito tuttavia di dipanare il filo del proprio discorso senza cedere alle lusinghe del "pettegolezzo architettonico". E l'uscita da tale isolamento non sembra essere una scelta volontaria. Piuttosto, una sorta di riappropriazione, da parte degli "stilisti" della moda architettonica, di un personaggio sino allora apparso sfuggente alle troppo facili classificazioni di tendenza[39].

L'omaggio reso a un maestro con la personale del 1980 appare dunque finalizzato a un'azione interpretativa intesa come legittimazione a posteriori di esiti architettonici erratici; con essa si cercano radici per ciò che si proclama essere il tanto atteso superamento dei modelli, i quali, con

De Carlo's insistence in 1953 that Gardella and Ridolfi were complementary expressions of a common urge to redefine the ethical and political status of the architect[38]. By crediting them with having opened the way to architectural freedom – the exhibition's celebrated motto was "end of prohibition" – Portoghesi abruptly brought the lid down on twenty years of problematic and sometimes painful debate over the relationship between architecture, history and tradition in which Italian and non-Italian architects alike – though perhaps most significantly Ernesto Nathan Rogers in his "Casabella-Continuità" editorials – had been involved since the end of the war. With "Strada Novissima", the very tendency which the 1959 CIAM conference in Otterlo had railed against seemed, at least temporarily, to have got the upper hand: Reyner Banham's condemnation of Italian architects had a rather sinister prophetic ring twenty years later.
Having been lumbered with paternity of postmodern architecture at the 1980 Biennale – both Gardella and Ridolfi commented on it jokingly at the time, though not without some embarrassment also – Gardella abandoned the deliberate aloofness he had maintained since the start of his career. This had been an aristocratic aloofness that had enabled him nonetheless to develop his own idiom without having to pay too much attention to the flattery of "architectural gossips". He seems to have abandoned this aloofness neither willingly nor deliberately; it was more a matter of architectural fashion "stylists" discovering that they could now classify a figure who up to then had been difficult to pigeonhole[39].
The tribute of a personal exhibition at the 1980 Biennale seems in reality to have been attempt to legitimise Gardella's erratic architectural output with benefit of hindsight, and seek out the roots of what the Biennale proclaimed as a long-awaited overthrow of styles which, with quite blatant inconsistency, could now also be conveniently re-labelled. An yet, this seemed to have no obvious impact on Gardella's output. the internal inconsistencies evident earlier on in his career are still present in his more recent output. Once again, in drawing comparisons between his latest projects for Milan – Lambrate Station and the Piazza Duomo monument – we shall have to make use of these by now familiar contradictions.
In Lambrate Station the keynote seems to be "lightness", plus his customary, though always freshly argued concern for functionality. The large concourse that empties virtually the entire length of the elongated platform has two functionally distinct sections on different levels and is fully accessible thanks to a dual system of doorways on both the track and town sides. Its walls seem a temporary shell which, together with the void housing the stairs to the platforms, seems to spurn direct contact with the embankment that resolves the difference in level between the elevated tracks and the street below. The large vaulted canopy added to the second version of the design to replace a more ordinary sloping roof, playfully suggests similarities between the station itself and railway carriages (which also have curving barrel roofs), ironically restoring to its rightful place what Loos, with no trace of irony whatever, had removed.
The "waterfall monument" standing directly in front of Milan Cathedral – the Duomo that is the city's architectural symbol par excellence – is part of a larger redevelopment scheme for the western end of Piazza Duomo that also involves the underground station (1989, with Jacopo Gardella, collaborator Fabio Nonis). A pale marble base bears a sequence of dark stone arches with hidden barrel vaulting; in each bay, a veil of water streams down to the pools below. Above, a gallery with stone-clad metal pillars and gilt capitals is reached by two symmetrical stairways on either side of the monument. The continuity of the sloping roof (which will have copper panelling) is broken in the middle by a small transverse vault that houses a clock. The project presentation lists the functions of the monument: "the stairways and loggia are an architectural promenade allowing visitors to view the piazza from various angles. The loggia also serves as a platform for public speakers during civic events"[40]. These are the same functions which the Lictor's Tower, designed by Gardella for the same site in a 1934 competition sponsored by the Comune of Milan, would eventually have performed. The earlier project – an open grid structure with a fully visible dual-ramp staircase inside – was unclassified in the competition, though its uncompromising rigour – it seemed a closed sentence that permitted no reply – was to an extent ameliorated by the project presentation, which made reference to classical archetypes: "the external load-bearing frame is not a straightforward structural mass but a peripteral order of pillars and architraves"[41]. The use of such terminology in the specific context of the 1934 competition now seems a sort of excusatio non petita, an instrument of merely verbal rhetoric used to justify an architectural operation that was explicitly non-rhetorical

evidente incoerenza, vengono in tal modo risignificati. E tuttavia, tale interpretazione non sembra avere ripercussioni palesi sulla produzione di Gardella. Le divaricazioni interne, individuabili nel suo precedente percorso professionale, non scompaiono dalla sua produzione più recente: di nuovo, tentando di confrontare due tra i suoi ultimi esiti milanesi – la stazione ferroviaria di Lambrate e il monumento in piazza Duomo – sarà necessario ricorrere alle categorie della contraddittorietà. A Lambrate, la cifra che informa il progetto per la nuova stazione sembra essere quella della "leggerezza", coniugata con la consueta, e sempre rinnovata, attenzione alle valenze funzionali. Il grande atrio che svuota quasi interamente il parallelepipedo allungato, con i due settori funzionalmente separati e differenziati in altezza, è interamente penetrabile attraverso il doppio sistema di aperture, sul fronte verso i binari e su quello rivolto alla città. Intorno a esso, le superfici murarie sono interpretabili come provvisorio involucro, che – con la creazione di un vuoto destinato a ospitare le scale di collegamento ai binari – rinuncia anche all'adesione diretta al terrapieno che colma il divario tra questi ultimi e il livello della sede stradale. La grande copertura voltata, inserita nel secondo progetto in sostituzione di un più comune tetto a falde, conferma l'intenzione giocosa di suggerire una possibile identità tra stazione e vagone, restituendo ironicamente al suo luogo deputato ciò che Loos, senza alcuna ironia, vi aveva sottratto.

Il "monumento a cascata d'acqua", disposto frontalmente al simbolo architettonico milanese per eccellenza, si colloca all'interno di un più vasto piano di ridefinizione del settore ovest di Piazza Duomo, che coinvolge anche la stazione della metropolitana (1989, con Jacopo Gardella, collaboratore Fabio Nonis). Un basamento in marmo chiaro è solcato da una teoria di archi in pietra scura che nascondono volte a botte; in ciascuna campata, l'acqua scorre a velo fino alle sottostanti vasche. Al di sopra, una galleria scandita da pilastrini in metallo rivestiti in lastre di pietra e con terminale dorato è raggiungibile attraverso le due scale simmetriche che solcano i lati del monumento; la continuità della copertura a falde, prevista in lastre di rame, è interrotta al centro da una piccola volta trasversale che ospita un orologio. La relazione di progetto rende note le funzioni del monumento: "*le scalinate e il loggiato costituiscono una* promenade architecturale *che permette di osservare la piazza da diversi punti di vista. Il loggiato è*

and in no way "innocent". Basically, his proposal undermined the competition brief, which had called for a monumental building representing the dignity and elevated status of Fascist institutions[42]*. The rejection of masonry walls, the total prevalence of voids rather solids and the ironically slender metal bell support seemed deliberately un- or even anti-monumental. Moreover – again as stated in the project presentation – the broader view of the cityscape that could be obtained by ascending the tower made ithe structure a* "place of understanding and awareness"[43]*. Gardella seemed to be saying that "awareness" was a civic duty, for the performance of which he was supplying an appropriate instrument using the professional means at his disposal.*

So the 1934 tower was by no means a "neutral" structure. On the contrary, it made its statement using the never shrill, though always clearly articulated language that was already typical of Gardella's early output. There is an obvious link between this work and the initial projects for both the Dispensary in Alessandria and the Zattere Building in Venice. And yet, the structural skeleton of the tower, placed on view with no comment, seems more like the utterance of an aphasic intellectual simultaneously disturbed by yet distanced from the political events of his time. The "empty word" of the tower was an alternative response which, made on its own professional terms, stood some chance of opposing Fascist rhetoric while conceding nothing to mere exhibitionism. Gardella seems to anticipate here the "dialectic of knowledge and action"[44] *that would be the major concern of Italian architects in the period immediately after liberation. His stubborn aloofness already points to the reasons that would lead him, unlike, others, to fight shy of direct political involvement when the war was over.*

Gardella's rejection of monumentalism in the 1934 competition entry seems to be contradicted by his 1989 project for a waterfall ensemble specifically described as a monument. The exaggerated affectation of the proposed monuments forms and materials makes it seem an object with no obviously useful purpose, an over-charming bibelot. However, it may prove useful as an architectural expression of the social and political crisis in Milan that had become irreversible by the end of the 1980s (described with hindsight as "terrible") when power-hungry Socialist administrations were clearly finding it difficult to pump solid substance into empty rhetoric. The weakness of the reasoning behind the choice of site – the fact that Giuseppe

Ignazio Gardella, Facoltà di Architettura, Genova, 1975-89: prospetto est e vista.

Ignazio Gardella, Faculty of Architecture, Genoa, 1975-89: east elevation and external view.





anche tribuna civica in caso di manifestazioni popolari"[40]. Si tratta delle medesime funzioni cui avrebbe dovuto assolvere, nel 1934, la torre littoria progettata da Gardella per il medesimo luogo, nell'ambito di un concorso bandito dal Comune di Milano. Il progetto, che consisteva in una griglia strutturale svuotata degli elementi di tamponamento, e in una scala a vista a doppia rampa contenuta al suo interno, risultò, com'è noto, non classificato. La durezza espressiva della proposta di Gardella – come una frase chiusa, che non ammetta repliche – trova una sorta di correttivo nella relazione di progetto, nella quale si fa riferimento agli archetipi classici: "*l'ossatura portante esterna non è semplice massa strutturale ma piuttosto un ordine periptero di pilastri e architravi*"[41]. Il ricorso a tale terminologia, nel contesto specifico del concorso del '34, può apparire – ora – leggibile come una sorta di *excusatio non petita*, strumento solo verbalmente retorico, per giustificare un'operazione architettonica dichiaratamente antiretorica e per nulla "innocente". La soluzione proposta per la torre capovolge nella sostanza i dettami del bando che richiedeva esplicitamente un edificio monumentale, tale da interpretare la dignità e l'elevatezza delle istituzioni di regime[42]. La rinuncia alla massa muraria, l'assoluta prevalenza dei vuoti sui pieni, l'ironia dell'esile sostegno metallico previsto per la campana, sembrano andare, invece, nella direzione di un consapevole antimonumentalismo. Ed inoltre, ancora dalla relazione di progetto: la visione sempre più vasta del paesaggio urbano che si ottiene salendo rende la torre "*luogo della comprensione e della conoscenza*"[43]. Gardella, con tale dichiarazione, sembra voler attribuire all'atto della presa di coscienza il senso di un dovere civico, per il quale fornisce, con i propri strumenti professionali, un mezzo adatto.
La torre littoria del '34 non è, dunque, architettura "neutrale". Al contrario: essa prende posizione attraverso l'uso di quel linguaggio mai sovratono, ma coerentemente definito, che caratterizza già la prima produzione di Gardella. Un evidente filo rosso lega infatti quest'opera al primo progetto per il dispensario di Alessandria, e, ancora, al primo progetto per la casa alle Zattere a Venezia. Ma insieme, nell'esibizione dello scheletro strutturale della Torre, privo di alcun commento, sembra trovare espressione l'afasia dell'intellettuale, turbato e distante – allo stesso tempo – di fronte al dipanarsi degli accadimenti politici. La "parola vuota" della torre è la risposta alternativa che, restando all'interno del proprio ambito professionale, si può opporre alla retorica di regime, senza con ciò nulla concedere all'esibizione. La "*dialettica tra conoscere e agire*"[44], che costituirà il campo delle riflessioni degli architetti italiani all'indomani della liberazione, appare dunque preannunciata: e nel determinato riserbo di Gardella si intuiscono le ragioni che lo condurranno a non essere protagonista, al contrario di altri, nell'impegno politico diretto nell'immediato dopoguerra.
La negazione del monumentalismo con cui Gardella risponde al concorso milanese del 1934 appare contraddetta nel progetto per il *monumento* a cascate d'acqua del 1989: con il ricorso a forme e a materiali evocatori di un preziosismo eccessivo, esso si presenta come un oggetto del quale non si avverte la necessità, un troppo grazioso soprammobile. Utile forse a rileggere, in termini architettonici, le conseguenze della crisi sociale e politica milanese già irreversibile alla fine degli anni Ottanta – definiti, a posteriori, "terribili" – quando la volontà di potenza dei governi a guida socialista mostra ormai una evidente difficoltà a rivestire di contenuti le proprie forme. E non si può ignorare la debolezza della motivazione addotta per l'individuazione del sito: il progetto per un palazzo, elaborato per il medesimo luogo da Giuseppe Mengoni e rimasto irrealizzato. Il monumento di Gardella viene in realtà concepito in funzione dell'adeguamento delle strutture della metropolitana sulla piazza, anche a seguito delle polemiche relative alla posizione degli attuali accessi alla rete: la sua collocazione, di fatto, è determinata da tali esigenze. Ma nella presentazione del progetto, ciò che appare è l'assunzione acritica della tendenza tipicamente ottocentesca al "completamento" come principio progettuale ancora utilizzabile, sotto forma di ambigue e abusate parole d'ordine quali "ricucitura" e "ricomposizione". Non si riconosce coerenza tra una simile posizione e gli esiti raggiunti, ad esempio, con le Terme di Lacco Ameno a Ischia.
Né, probabilmente, essa va richiesta: la definizione di "*equilibrio instabile*", estesa al complesso dell'opera di Gardella, sembra ancora efficace[45]. La sua parabola professionale, utilizzabile come cartina di tornasole per una più complessiva riconsiderazione della vicenda architettonica italiana degli ultimi sessant'anni, dimostra come, nonostante una posizione costantemente defilata, tale opera non possa essere interpretata isolatamente. La si

Mengoni had designed a building for it that had never been constructed – also needs little comment. In reality, Gardella designed his monument to draw attention away from the underground stairways and signs in the piazza, partly in response to criticism of the positioning of the stairways: in fact, the siting of the monument is determined by the siting of the stairways. And yet, the most evident feature of the project presentation is the uncritical, typically nineteenth-century assumption that "completion" – here referred to using ambiguous, misused terms like "restitching" and "recomposition" – is still a valid architectural principle. There seems little consistency between this approach and, for example, Gardella's earlier achievement on Ischia, but then, it would probably be wiser not to expect there to be any: "unstable equilibrium" *still seems as good a way as any of describing Gardella's work as a whole*[45]*. As a kind of litmus paper for a more comprehensive reappraisal of Italian architecture over the last sixty years, Gardella's parabolic career demonstrates that, although his personal stance has always been consistent, his work cannot be understood in isolation. This is clearly the case if we contextualise it within the opposing stances and styles of Milanese architecture over the years – on the one hand, the rarefied elegance of Franco Albini; on the other, the eclectic, "regionalist" revisionism of Luigi Caccia Dominioni. Gardella was also interested in the work of the BPR group; his long dialogue (direct and indirect) with Ernesto Rogers, in which he attempted, following the example of Persico before him, to forge a new continuity between history, architecture and social commitment*[46]*, was also important; and he acknowledged similarities between his own early work and that of the young Giancarlo De Carlo. Finally, there was his design for the Italian Pavilion at the 1958 Brussels Expo. BPR, De Carlo, Quaroni, Perugini and Gardella himself had proposed that they should work together on a joint design that would be a temporary synthesis – soon contradicted when their separate designs went their separate ways – of approaches to traditional architecture. The controversy over the design that eventually went to Brussels was itself an indication of both the value and ambiguity inherent in distancing oneself intellectually – even if in the name of architectural integrity – from the ineffectual "internationalism" that dominated the Expo*[47]*.*

Gardella's architectural landscape has been crowded with personalities and movements. His own preference has been to take what is "already given" and use it to create individual, unique buildings, rather than as a springboard for ideological or programmatic statement. His antipathy for programmatic architecture enabled him to avoid creating a school – Portughesi's tendentious simplifications apart, there seem to have been no "Gardellian" architects – and to insist instead on the kind of professionalism that rejects superficiality and imprecision while teaching the valuable lesson of being open to influence and change. Despite the digressions, stylistic fluctuations and lyrical realism of some of his works, a preference for understatement has been a constant feature of the various "phases" in his career. That is as useful a lesson for us as any when the teacher in question is a master architect in his own right.

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Notes

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1) M. TAFURI, Storia dell'architettura italiana 1944-85, *Turin 1986, p.71.*

2) G.C. ARGAN, Ignazio Gardella, *Milan 1959, now in IDEM,* Progetto e destino, *Milan 1965, p. 356.*

3) G. CIUCCI, Da Milano a Venezia, *in* Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990, *exhibition catalogue edited by F. BUZZI CERIANI, Venice 1992, p. 22.*

4) For a complete bibliography of the Gardella works discussed in this essay, see the architectural profiles and critical apparatus in Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-90, *op. cit. Only additional information or especially important references are given here.*

5) Dispensario Antitubercolare. Laboratorio provinciale, ing. I. Gardella, L. Martini, *in "Casabella", 88, April 1935, pp. 30-36.*

6) See G. CANELLA, Gardella in controluce, *in* Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990, *op. cit., p.17.*

7) Perché ci siamo seduti, *interview with I. GARDELLA by A. SANTINI, in "Europeo", 15, 1973, p. 26.*

8) See G. PAGANO, Una lezione di modestia, *in "Casabella", 111, March 1937, pp. 2-5.*

9) G.C. ARGAN, Ignazio Gardella, *op. cit., pp. 94-102.*

10) A. SAMONÀ, Ignazio Gardella e il professionismo italiano, *Rome 1983, pp. 12, 48-49.*

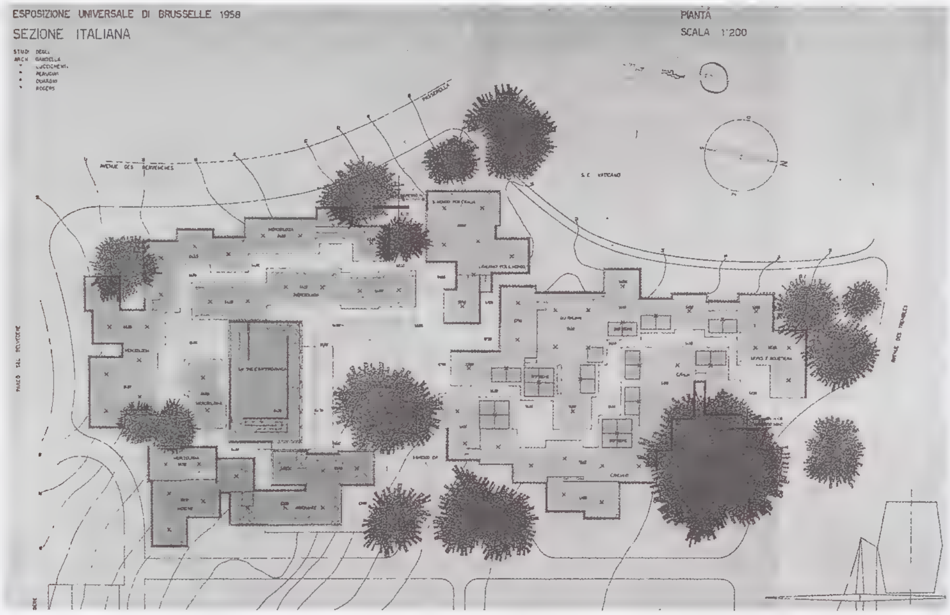
11) See D. VITALE, L'architettura, l'immagine, la città, *in* Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990, *op. cit., p. 48.*

12) I. GARDELLA himself, in Razionalismo e rigenerazione figurativa, *lecture given at Milan Polytechnic on 8 June 1976 (published in "Hinterland", 13-14, January-June 1980, pp. 21-22), emphasises that the dual facing living-rooms enabled light to enter from the south through the front facing the mountains, and made the vigorous urban rhythms outside a part of family life through the street front.*

13) Proposta di Piano Regolatore per la Zona Sempione-Fiera a Milano, progettisti: F. Albini, I. Gardella, G. Minoletti, G. Pagano, G. Palanti, G. Predaval, G. Romano, *in "Casabella", 132, December 1938, pp. 2-3. For Gradella's critique of the "Milano Verde" plan, see* The Last Fifty Years of Italian Architecture reflected in the Eye of an Architect, *in* Ignazio Gardella, *exhibition and catalogue curated by F. NONIS and S. BOIDI, Harvard University, Graduate School of Design, Cambridge (Mass.), 1987, pp. 10-11. For the "A.R." plan, see P. GAZZOLA,* Le vicende urbanistiche del piano A.R., *in "Casabella-Costruzioni",*

BPR, Adolfo De Carlo, Ignazio Gardella, Ludovico Quaroni, Giuseppe Perugini, Padiglione Italiano all'Expo di Bruxelles, 1958: pianta del primo progetto e vista.

BPR, Adolfo De Carlo, Ignazio Gardella, Ludovico Quaroni, Giuseppe Perugini, Italian Pavilion, Brussels Expo, 1958: plan of the first design and external view.





può comprendere rileggendola in rapporto alle espressioni dell'ambiente architettonico milanese, attraverso la relazione con gli opposti poli linguistici che lo caratterizzano: da un lato la rarefatta eleganza di Franco Albini, dall'altro, il revisionismo eclettico e "regionalista" di Luigi Caccia Dominioni. E, insieme, riconoscendo nel gruppo dei BPR uno dei suoi principali interlocutori; mettendo l'accento sul suo colloquio – diretto e indiretto – con Ernesto Rogers, impegnato a riconnettere, sulla scia di Persico e con la bandiera della continuità, i fili interrotti dei rapporti tra storia, architettura e impegno sociale[46].
Ancora: riconoscendo i riflessi dei suoi primi esiti nelle architetture del giovane Giancarlo De Carlo; o tornando a riflettere sul significato di un'occasione quale la progettazione del padiglione italiano all'*Expo* di Bruxelles del 1958, nella quale i BPR, De Carlo, Quaroni, Perugini e Gardella propongono una sintesi provvisoriamente unitaria – ma presto contraddetta dalle direzioni divergenti assunte dalle loro stesse produzioni – delle ricerche intorno al tema dell'architettura tradizionale. La polemica che si origina dalla opzione presentata a Bruxelles è di per sé significativa del valore e insieme dell'ambiguità depositata in una presa di distanza idealistica – se pure sotto il segno della difesa della dignità costruttiva – rispetto all'inefficace "internazionalismo" che domina l'Expo[47].
All'interno di un tale multiforme universo di protagonisti e di tendenze, la strada individuata da Gardella è forse quella dell'assunzione del "già dato" come elemento di una scrittura che non sottindende posizioni ideologiche o programmatiche, ma è piuttosto tesa alla ricerca della qualità specifica per ciascuno dei suoi oggetti, pensati come singolarità. L'antiprogrammaticità di Gardella, infine, è ciò che gli ha consentito di non creare una scuola – nonostante le tendenziose semplificazioni portoghesiane non sembrano esistere architetti "gardelliani" – ma, piuttosto, di trasmettere un mestiere che non ammette approssimazioni, educando allo stesso tempo alla permeabilità. Sulle divagazioni, sui movimenti di andata e ritorno, sul realismo lirico di alcune delle sue realizzazioni, domina, in ciascuna delle sue "stagioni" professionali, una costante tendenza all'*understatement*, lezione non meno rilevante di altre, proposte da un maestro.

Roma, marzo 1995

194, 1946, p. 2-3; C. PERELLI, Studi per il nuovo piano regolatore di Milano, *in "Metron", 10, 1946, pp. 18-49.*
14) See Relazione di progetto, *cited in B. CIRUZZI,* Condominio in via Marchiondi, *in* Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990, *op. cit., p. 108.*
15) Case nel quartiere Mangiagalli a Milano, *in "L'architettura. Cronache e storia", 11, September 1956, pp. 334-337.*
16) G. DE CARLO, Architetture Italiane, *in "Casabella-Continuità", 199, December 1953-January 1954, pp. 19. For the significance of De Carlo's essay, see V. GREGOTTI,* Alcune opere recenti di Mario Ridolfi, *in "Casabella-Continuità, 210, June 1956, p. 23.*
17) For the story of how the Ischian spa were designed, and the people involved, see G. FREDIANI, Ignazio Gardella e Ischia, *Rome 1991.*
18) Centro Studi Archivio della Comunicazione (CSAC), Parma, Fondo Gardella, PTH 16.
19) V. LONGHEU, Padiglione d'Arte Contemporanea, *in* Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990, *op. cit., pp. 95-96.*
20) A. SAMONÀ, Ignazio Gardella e il professionismo italiano, *op. cit., p. 60.*
21) P. NICOLIN, Ricostruzione, *in* Notizie sullo stato dell'architettura in Italia, *Milan 1994, pp. 115-125.*
22) On the importance of Venice in Gardella's architectural and teaching career, see the recent G. CIUCCI, Da Milano a Venezia, *op. cit., pp. 31-33.*
23) See B. ZEVI, Gardella invece di Wright, *in "L'Espresso", 15 June 1958, now in IDEM,* Gardella sulle Zattere – Costruisce i riflessi nell'acqua, *in* Cronache di architettura, *vol.III, Bari 1971, pp. 106-109.*
24) CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, C./ VZ 6 e 7.
25) I. GARDELLA, Razionalismo e rigenerazione fugurativa, *op. cit., pp. 22-24.*
26) B. ZEVI, Una casa riflessa in laguna, *in "L'architettura. Cronache e Storia", 37, November 1958, pp. 474-475; IDEM,* Contro la casa veneziana di Gardella, *ibidem, 38, December 1958, p. 507.*
27) G.C. ARGAN, Progetto e destino, *Milan 1965, p. 370.*
28) G. SAMONÀ, Una casa di Gardella a Venezia, *in "Casabella-Continuità", 220, July 1958, p. 7.*
29) G. CIUCCI, Da Milano a Venezia, *op. cit., p. 33.*
30) D. VITALE, L'architettura, l'immagine, la città, *op. cit., p. 51.*
31) Gardella himself says that Adriano Olivetti discussed these ideas with him during the first design meeting for the canteen complex: see I. GARDELLA, Adriano Olivetti, *20 September 1976, pp. 2-3.*
32) The international debate on Neoliberty began with the article by R. BANHAM, Neoliberty. The Italian Retreat from Modern Architecture, *in "The Architectural Review", vol. 125, 747, April 1959, pp. 231-235, which was answered by E. N. ROGERS in his editorial* L'evoluzione dell'architettura, risposta al custode dei frigidaires, *in "Casabella-Continuità", 228, June 1959, pp. 2-4.*
33) E. N. ROGERS disgreed with Otterlo judgment on the Olivetti canteen: see La mensa Olivetti a Ivrea, *in "Casabella-Continuità", 235, January 1960, p. 4.*
34) See "Casabella-Continuità", 211, July 1956, p. 1. See also R. GUIDUCCI, Appunti sulla progettazione di Gardella, *in "Casabella-Continuità", 235, January1960, pp. 7-8, which notes that the design of Wright's synagogue was published after the Olivetti canteen was designed, and mentions Gardella's fear that people might mistakenly believe that he had copied Wright's design. For Wright's synagogue, see* Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect, *ed. by T. RILEY and P. REED, New York, 1994.*
35) M. PORTA (ed.), L'architettura di Ignazio Gardella, *Milan 1985, pp.140-145.*
36) Ibidem, pp. 178-187. G. GAMBIRASIO, Progetto e didattica, *in M. MONTUORI (ed.),* Lezioni di Progettazione. 10 maestri dell'architettura italiana, *Milan 1988, p. 84, identifies Gardella's* "subtle sensibility" *with his use of the lessons he learned from the daily experience of designing and building Arenzano Station.*
37) Cited in V. BALDUCCI, Facoltà di architettura, *in* Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990, *op. cit., p. 210.*
38) V. GREGOTTI in a recent interview (Radio 3, March 25, 1995, review of V. GREGOTTI, Le scarpe di Van Gogh, *Turin 1994) has acknowledged that one*

Note

* Manuela Morresi è ricercatrice presso il Dipartimento di Storia dell'Architettura dell'Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia (IUAV).

1) M. TAFURI, *Storia dell'architettura italiana 1944-85*, Torino 1986, p. 71.

2) G.C. ARGAN, *Ignazio Gardella*, Milano 1959, ora in IDEM, *Progetto e destino*, Milano 1965, p. 356.

3) G. CIUCCI, *Da Milano a Venezia*, in *Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990*, catalogo della mostra a cura di F. BUZZI CERIANI, Venezia 1992, p. 22.

4) Per la bibliografia completa relativa alle opere di Gardella oggetto del presente saggio si rimanda alle schede e agli apparati del catalogo *Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-90*, cit., e si segnalano soltanto, in questa sede, integrazioni o riferimenti particolarmente significativi.

5) *Dispensario Antitubercolare. Laboratorio provinciale, ing. I. Gardella, L. Martini*, in "Casabella", n. 88, aprile 1935, pp. 30-36.

6) Cfr. G. CANELLA, *Gardella in controluce*, in *Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990*, cit., p. 17.

7) *Perché ci siamo seduti*, intervista rilasciata da I. GARDELLA a A. SANTINI, in "Europeo", n.15, 1973, p. 26.

8) Cfr. G. PAGANO, *Una lezione di modestia*, in "Casabella", n. 111, marzo 1937, pp. 2-5.

9) G.C. ARGAN, *Ignazio Gardella*, cit., pp. 94-102.

10) A. SAMONÀ, *Ignazio Gardella e il professionismo italiano*, Roma 1983, pp. 12, 48-49.

11) Cfr. D. VITALE, *L'architettura, l'immagine, la città*, in *Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990*, cit., p. 48.

12) Lo stesso I. GARDELLA, *Razionalismo e rigenerazione figurativa*, Lezione al Politecnico di Milano, 8 giugno 1976, in "Hinterland", n.13-14, gennaio-giugno 1980, pp. 21-22, sottolinea come il doppio affaccio dei soggiorni fosse funzionale alla penetrazione della luce da sud, attraverso il fronte rivolto verso i monti, e alla partecipazione della vita familiare al movimentato ritmo urbano attraverso il fronte su strada.

13) *Proposta di Piano Regolatore per la Zona Sempione-Fiera a Milano, progettisti: F.Albini, I.Gardella, G.Minoletti, G.Pagano, G.Palanti, G.Predaval, G.Romano*, in "Casabella", n. 132, dicembre 1938, pp. 2-3. Per una critica di Gardella al piano "Milano Verde" cfr. *The last fifty years of Italian Architecture reflected in the eye of an architect*, in *Ignazio Gardella*, Exhibition and Catalogue curated by F. NONIS and S. BOIDI, Harvard University, Graduate School of Design, Cambridge (Mass.), 1987, pp. 10-11. Per il piano "A.R." cfr. P. GAZZOLA, *Le vicende urbanistiche del piano A.R.*, in "Casabella-costruzioni", n. 194, 1946, p. 2-3; C. PERELLI, *Studi per il nuovo piano regolatore di Milano*, in "Metron", n. 10, 1946, pp. 18-49.

14) Si veda la *Relazione di progetto*, cit. in B. CIRUZZI, *Condominio in via Marchiondi*, in *Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990*, cit., p. 108.

15) *Case nel quartiere Mangiagalli a Milano*, in "L'architettura. Cronache e storia", n. 11, settembre 1956, pp. 334-337.

16) G. DE CARLO, *Architetture Italiane*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n.199, dicembre 1953-gennaio 1954, pp. 19. Sul significato del saggio di De Carlo cfr. V. GREGOTTI, *Alcune opere recenti di Mario Ridolfi*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n. 210, giugno 1956, p. 23.

17) Sulla ricostruzione della vicenda progettuale delle terme ischitane e sui protagonisti che vi intervergono si veda G. FREDIANI, *Ignazio Gardella e Ischia*, Roma 1991.

18) Centro Studi Archivio della Comunicazione (CSAC), Parma, Fondo Gardella, PTH 16.

19) V. LONGHEU, *Padiglione d'Arte Contemporanea*, in *Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990*, cit., pp. 95-96.

20) A. SAMONÀ, *Ignazio Gardella e il professionismo italiano*, cit., p. 60.

21) P. NICOLIN, *Ricostruzione*, in *Notizie sullo stato dell'architettura in Italia*, Milano 1994, pp. 115-125.

22) Sulla centralità dell'esperienza veneziana nel percorso architettonico e didattico di Gardella si veda, recentemente, G. CIUCCI, *Da Milano a Venezia*, cit., pp. 31-33.

23) Cfr. B. ZEVI, *Gardella invece di Wright*, in "L'Espresso", 15 Giugno 1958, ora in IDEM, *Gardella sulle Zattere - Costruire i riflessi nell'acqua*, in *Cronache di architettura*, vol. III, Bari 1971, pp. 106-109.

24) CSAC, Parma, Fondo Gardella, C./ VZ 6 e 7.

25) I. GARDELLA, *Razionalismo e rigenerazione fugurativa*, cit., pp. 22-24.

26) B. ZEVI, *Una casa riflessa in laguna*, in "L'architettura. Cronache e Storia", n. 37, novembre 1958, pp. 474-475; IDEM, *Contro la casa veneziana di Gardella*, ibidem, n. 38, dicembre 1958, p. 507.

27) G.C. ARGAN, *Progetto e destino*, Milano 1965, p. 370.

28) G. SAMONÀ, *Una casa di Gardella a Venezia*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n. 220, luglio 1958, p. 7.

29) G. CIUCCI, *Da Milano a Venezia*, cit., p. 33.

30) D. VITALE, *L'architettura, l'immagine, la città*, cit., p. 51.

31) Secondo la testimonianza dello stesso Gardella, Adriano Olivetti discute con lui di questi temi nel corso del primo incontro in vista della progettazione del complesso della mensa: cfr. I. GARDELLA, *Adriano Olivetti*, 20 settembre 1976, pp. 2-3.

32) Il dibattito internazionale, incentrato sulla critica al neoliberty, si accende a partire dall'articolo di R. BANHAM, *Neoliberty. The Italian Retreat from Modern Architecture*, in "The Architectural Review", vol.125, n. 747, aprile 1959, pp. 231-235, cui risponde E. N. ROGERS con l'editoriale *L'evoluzione dell'architettura, risposta al custode dei frigidaires*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n. 228, giugno 1959, pp. 2-4.

33) E. N. ROGERS polemizza con il giudizio espresso a Otterlo sulla mensa Olivetti: cfr. *La mensa Olivetti a Ivrea*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n.235, gennaio 1960, p. 4.

34) Cfr. "Casabella-Continuità", n. 211, luglio 1956, p. 1. Cfr. anche R. GUIDUCCI, *Appunti sulla progettazione di Gardella* in "Casabella-Continuità", n. 235, gennaio1960, pp. 7-8, che nota come il disegno della sinagoga di Wright venga pubblicato dopo la progettazione della Mensa Olivetti, e segnala il timore, da parte di Gardella, di un equivoco sull'eventualità di una sua imitazione dell'opera dell' architetto americano. Sulla sinagoga di Wright si veda, da ultimo *Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect*, ed. by T. RILEY and P. REED, New York 1994, (trad. it. *Frank Lloyd Wright Architetto 1867-1959*, Milano 1994, pp. 75-76; 377-379).

35) M. PORTA (a cura di), *L'architettura di Ignazio Gardella*, Milano 1985, pp. 140-145.

36) Ibidem, pp. 178-187. G. GAMBIRASIO, *Progetto e didattica*, in M. MONTUORI (a cura di), *Lezioni di Progettazione. 10 maestri dell'architettura italiana*, Milano 1988, p. 84, individua nell'uso di elementi tratti dall'esperienza quotidiana nel complesso della stazione di Arenzano la cifra della "*sensibilità per sfumature*" di Gardella.

37) Cit. in V. BALDUCCI, *Facoltà di architettura*, in *Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990*, cit., p.210.

38) V. GREGOTTI in una recente intervista (Radio 3, 25 marzo 1995, recensione a V. GREGOTTI, *Le scarpe di Van Gogh*, Torino 1994) ha riconosciuto nella restituzione di valenze etiche, oltre che estetiche, alla disciplina architettonica, uno dei temi propri del "moderno".

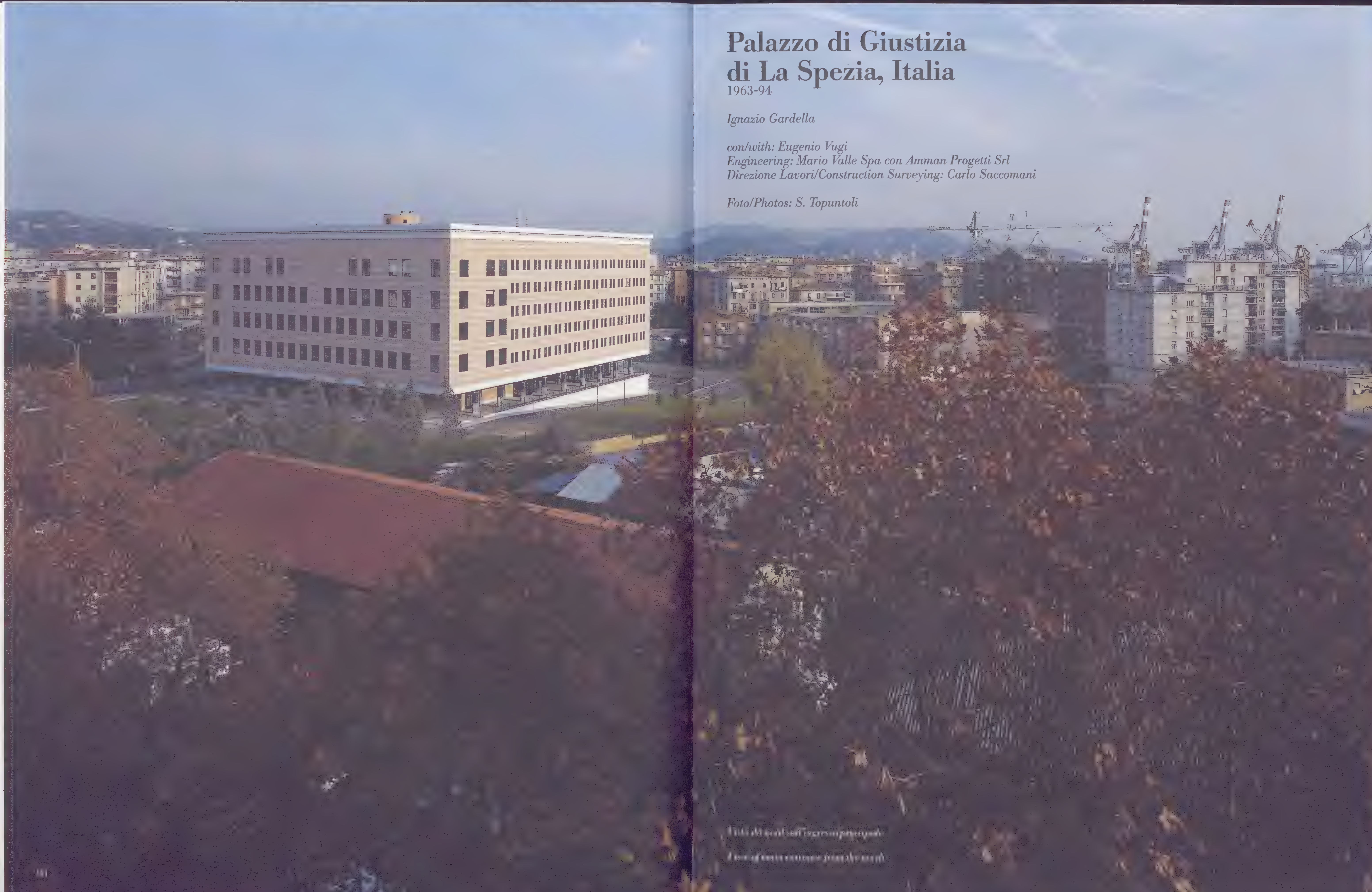
39) L. BENEVOLO interpreta come "smacco" la cooptazione di Ridolfi tra i progenitori dell'architettura postmodernista nella Biennale del 1980, esprimendo nel contempo un severo giudizio sulle sue opere del dopoguerra: cfr. *Ricordo di Mario Ridolfi*, in "Casabella", n. 508, dicembre 1984, p. 30. L'attribuzione a Ridolfi del ruolo di precursore dell'architettura "postmoderna" è in qualche modo preannunciata dai due numeri monografici di "Controspazio" (nn.1 e 3, 1974) a lui dedicati, con i quali si annuncia la "riscoperta" della sua opera da parte della "scuola romana".

40) I. GARDELLA, *Per la stazione Duomo a Milano*, in "Zodiac", n. 1, 1989, p. 168.

41) I. GARDELLA, *Relazione al progetto*, cit. in V. LONGHEU, *Torre in piazza del Duomo*, in *Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990*, cit., p. 58. Il riferimento all'architettura classica in relazione alla torre littoria del 1934 è ribadito dallo stesso Gardèlla nel 1986: cfr. I. GARDELLA, *The last Fifty Years of*

Italian Architecture, cit., p. 12. Ciò consente a G. CIUCCI, *Da Milano a Venezia*, cit., p. 23, di leggere l'architettura della torre in chiave monumentale e di accostarla al progetto per il monumento alla vittoria d'Africa del 1935 e a quelli per i palazzi della Civiltà Italiana e dell'Acqua e della Luce per l'E42, del 1939.
42) Il bando di concorso è pubblicato in "Casabella", n. 90, gugno 1935, pp. 28-35.
43) I. GARDELLA, *Relazione al progetto*, in V. LONGHEU, *Torre in piazza del Duomo*, cit., p. 63.
44) M. TAFURI, *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana 1944-1985*, cit., p. 5.
45) M. TAFURI, *Les "Muses inquiétantes" ou le destin d'une génération de "Maîtres"*, in "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n. 181, settembre-ottobre 1975, p. 33.
46) E. N. ROGERS, *L'architettura italiana dopo la generazione dei maestri*, in "Casabella-Continuità", n. 211, luglio 1956, p. 3: "*se la bandiera dei nostri immediati predecessori si chiamava «Avanguardia», la nostra ha il nome di «Continuità»*".
47) Per una valutazione dell'Expo di Bruxelles del 1958 cfr. M. TAFURI, *Ludovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia*, Milano 1964, pp. 154-158, con indicazioni bibliografiche riassuntive delle divergenti opinioni espresse dalla stampa e dalla critica.

characteristic feature of the "modern" is its reinstatement of ethical as well as aesthetic values in architecture.
39) L. BENEVOLO saw Ridolfi's inclusion in the 1980 Biennale as one of the founding fathers of postmodern architecture as a "humiliation", and was highly critical of his postwar work: see Ricordo di Mario Ridolfi, *in "Casabella", 508, December 1984, p. 30. That Ridolfi would eventually be seen as a precursor of "postmodern" architecture was to an extent foreshadowed in the two monograph issues of "Controspazio" (1 and 3, 1974) devoted to him, in which the "rediscovery" of his work by the "Roman school" was announced.*
40) I. GARDELLA, Per la stazione Duomo a Milano, *in "Zodiac", 1, 1989, p. 168.*
41) I. GARDELLA, Relazione al progetto, *cited in V. LONGHEU,* Torre in piazza del Duomo, *in* Ignazio Gardella progetti e architetture 1933-1990, *op. cit., p. 58. The link between classical architecture and the Lictor's Tower design of 1934 was again stressed by Gardella himself in 1986: see I. GARDELLA,* The Last Fifty Years of Italian Architecture, *op. cit., p. 12. This enables G. CIUCCI,* Da Milano a Venezia, *op. cit., p. 23, to see the tower as a monument and link it to the project for the Victory in Africa monument (1935) and other projects for the Italian Civilisation buildings and the Water and Light buildings for E42 (1939).*
42) The competition was announced in "Casabella", 90, June 1935, pp. 28-35.
43) I. GARDELLA, Relazione al progetto, *in V. LONGHEU,* Torre in piazza del Duomo, *op. cit., p. 63.*
44) M. TAFURI, Storia dell'Architettura Italiana 1944-1985, *op. cit., p. 5.*
45) M. TAFURI, Les "Muses inquiétantes" ou le destin d'une génération de "Maîtres", *in "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", 181, September-October 1975, p. 33.*
46) E. N. ROGERS, L'architettura italiana dopo la generazione dei maestri, *in "Casabella-Continuità", 211, July 1956, p. 3: "if the banner of our immediate predecessors was 'Avant-Garde', ours is 'Continuity'".*
47) For a critique of the 1958 Brussels Expo, see M. TAFURI, Ludovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia, *Milan 1964, pp. 154-158, whose bibliographical references cover all the divergent critical and journalistic opinions.*



Palazzo di Giustizia di La Spezia, Italia

1963-94

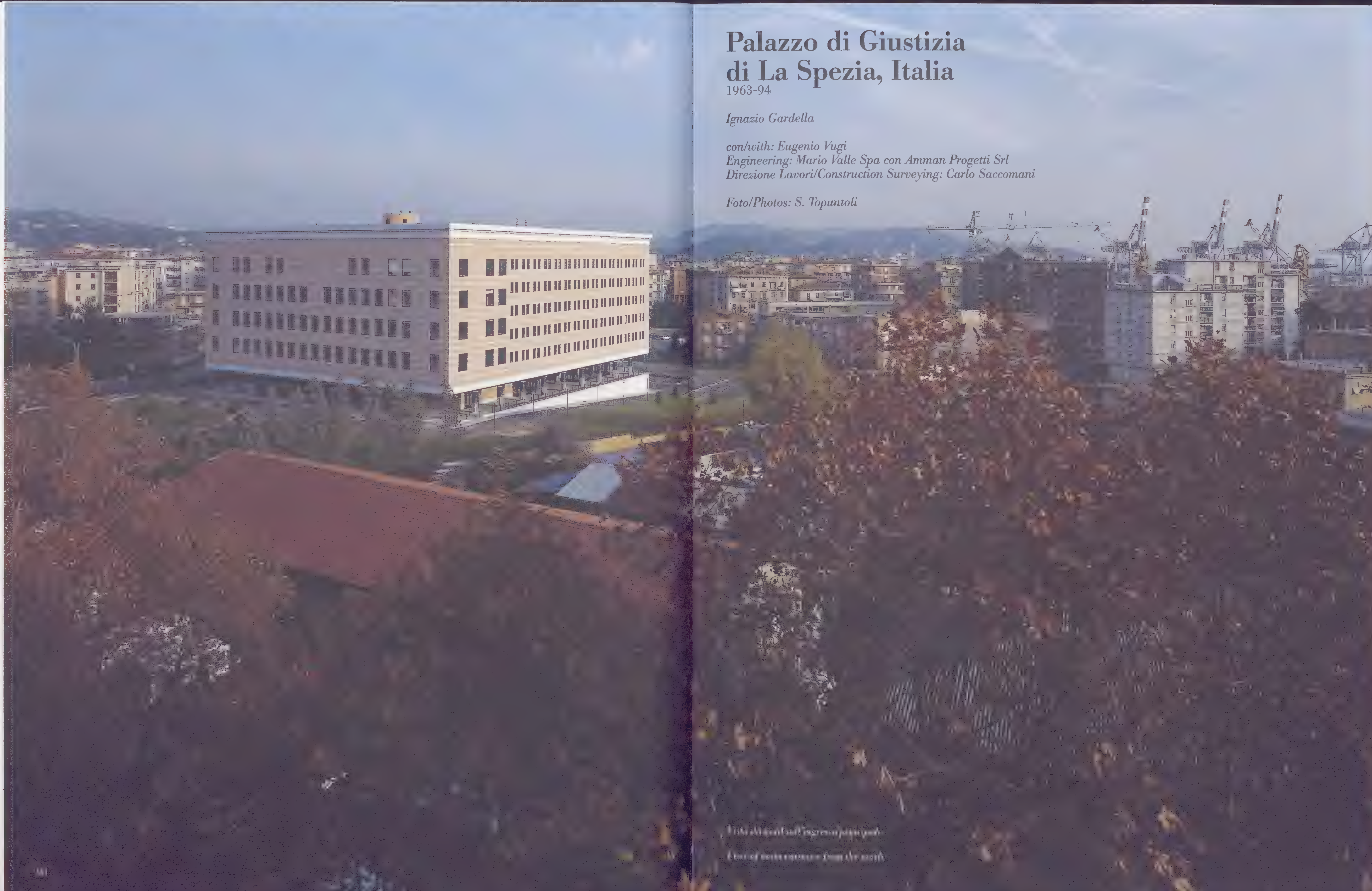
Ignazio Gardella

con/with: Eugenio Vugi
Engineering: Mario Valle Spa con Amman Progetti Srl
Direzione Lavori/Construction Surveying: Carlo Saccomani

Foto/Photos: S. Topuntoli

Vista da nord sull'ingresso principale

View of main entrance from the north



Palazzo di Giustizia di La Spezia, Italia

1963-94

Ignazio Gardella

con/with: Eugenio Vugi
Engineering: Mario Valle Spa con Amman Progetti Srl
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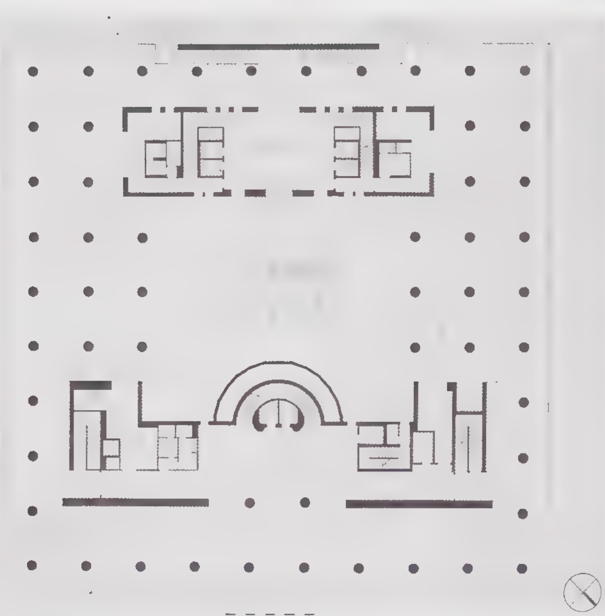
Vista da nord sull'ingresso principale

View of main entrance from the north.



Piante dei piani terreno e primo e vista da sud.

Ground and first floor plans and view from the south.

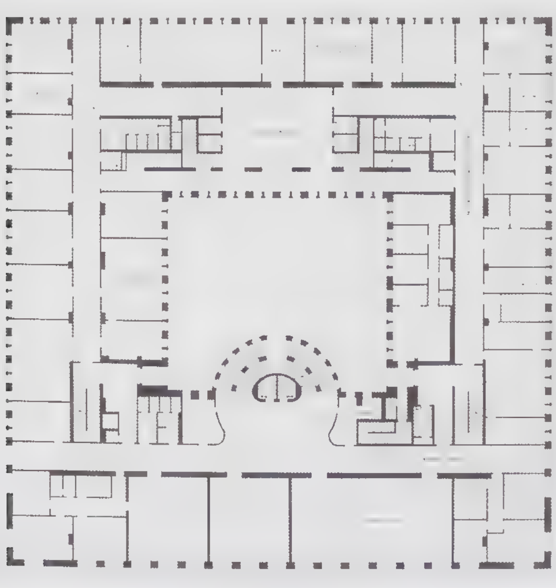


Palazzo di Giustizia di La Spezia, Italia
Ignazio Gardella

L'area nella quale sorge l'edificio del nuovo Palazzo di Giustizia si trova in una posizione di rilievo, all'incrocio tra la direttrice principale di ingresso alla città per chi proviene dall'autostrada e Viale Italia, l'asse viario più importante di attraversamento di La Spezia.
Il Palazzo è circondato da una fascia adibita a viabilità interna e parcheggio, mentre ampie zone sistemate a verde, particolarmente rilevanti in corrispondenza del fronte principale, fanno da filtro con la viabilità cittadina e gli edifici circostanti e sono state realizzate in una visione di possibile fruibilità da parte dei cittadini durante le ore di apertura del nuovo Palazzo.
Sul fronte principale parallelo a Viale Italia si aprono gli accessi al pubblico, sul retro quello per i magistrati e gli addetti, mentre sempre su questo lato è posto l'ingresso al parcheggio sotterraneo utilizzabile anche per l'arrivo dei detenuti.
Il volume cubico dell'edificio, appoggiato sui pilastri del piano terreno, sufficientemente spaziati ed arretrati rispetto al filo delle facciate e verniciati in colore scuro differente da quello delle fronti, viene letto, nella sua purezza geometrica, come un corpo sospeso e staccato dallo zoccolo di base rivestito di marmo bianco.
Le fronti esterne sono scandite da campi di intonaco con polvere di mattone e fasce di marmo che legano tra loro, in un rapporto di modulazione, le differenti altezze delle finestre e terminano in alto con un forte cornicione aggettante in lastre di marmo bianco di Carrara ed in basso con una fascia pure di marmo di Carrara.
I serramenti, leggermente arretrati rispetto al filo della facciata, hanno telaio ed ante in metallo verniciato in colore scuro, così come le vetrate che al piano terreno delimitano gli spazi degli atrii e dei quattro esercizi commerciali.
Il pavimento della piazza porticata è in lastre di pietra di Luserna con finitura a spacco, come le rampe laterali inclinate per la salita dei disabili, ed eccezionalmente degli autoveicoli, e le pedate delle scale che collegano il piano della piazza con il sottostante marciapiede delle strade di contorno, che hanno alzate in marmo bianco di Carrara.
La forma del Palazzo di Giustizia è quella di un quadrato perfetto con lato di m 55 x 55, con cortile interno di m 22 x 22.
Il piano terreno è completamente porticato, ad eccezione degli spazi occupati dagli atri di ingresso per il pubblico e per i magistrati e gli addetti, e dei negozi, mentre negli altri piani sono distribuite le varie funzioni.
Il corpo di fabbrica nel quale si trova l'ingresso per il pubblico contiene gli ambienti di maggiore dimensione, che corrispondono, dal basso verso l'alto alle seguenti destinazioni: aule della Conciliazione, aule della Pretura Civile e Penale, aule del Tribunale Penale, ed infine la grande Aula di Assise, illuminata anche dall'alto, che si sviluppa su doppia altezza, con piano inferiore riservato ai giudici, avvocati ed imputati, e balconata superiore destinata al pubblico.
Sul lato opposto si trovano i corpi di fabbrica che contengono gli uffici dell'Ordine degli Avvocati e dell'Ordine dei Magistrati, gli uffici della Procura della Repubblica presso la Pretura, gli uffici della Pretura sia Civile che Penale, e del Tribunale sia Civile che Penale ed infine gli uffici della Procura della Repubblica.
Sfalsando opportunamente il corpo di fabbrica che contiene le aule con quelli che contengono gli uffici, si sono fatti corrispondere ai cinque piani degli uffici i quattro delle aule di udienza, dando a questi un'altezza maggiore.
All'ultimo piano trovano posto pure gli archivi che si sviluppano lungo il perimetro esterno dell'edificio permettendo così di garantire su tutti i quattro lati una costante linea di gronda e di chiudere con una robusta fascia terminale, senza aperture, l'architettura del Palazzo.

Law Courts, La Spezia, Italy
Ignazio Gardella

The new Law Courts stand on an important site at the cross-roads of the route into the city from the motorway, and Viale Italia, the major cross-town thoroughfare. The building is surrounded by a band of internal roads and parking. Generous planted areas, especially in front of the main façade, act as filters with the city streets and surrounding buildings, and will hopefully be used by the people of La Spezia when the new Law Courts are in session.
The public entrances are on the main front parallel to Viale Italia, with the legal and administrative entrances, and the entrance to the underground car park (used also by arriving prisoners and detainees), to the rear of the building.
The cubic volume resting on ground-floor pillars well spaced and set back from the line of the fronts, and painted in a dark colour different from that of the fronts, was designed to look like geometrically pure solid suspended and separated from the base plinth clad in white marble. The external fronts have large brick-dust plaster squares bordered by marble strips that link up to modulate the different window heights, terminating at the top in a bold jutting cornice of white Carrara marble slabs, and at the bottom in a base strip also of Carrara marble. The doors, which are set back slightly into the fronts, have dark painted metal panels and frames, as do the ground-floor windows that enclose the halls and the four shops. The porticoed piazza is paved with rough slabs of Laserna stone, as are the gently sloping side ramps for the use of people with disabilities (they are also used very occasionally for automobile access), and the treads of steps linking the piazza level to the lower level of the pavements in the surrounding streets (the risers of the steps are white Carrara marble).



The courthouse is a perfect 55x55 m square enclosing an internal 22x22 m courtyard. The ground floor is entirely porticoed, except in the areas of the public, legal and administrative entrances and the shops. The various functions are distributed on the upper floors.
The section with the public entrance contains the larger rooms: from bottom to top, the courts of conciliation, the civil and criminal magistrates courts, the main courts and, finally, the double-height, top-lighted assize court with a lower level for judges, lawyers and plaintiffs, and an upper public gallery.
On the opposite side are the sections containing lawyers and magistrates offices, the Public Prosecutor's office, and all the civil, criminal and magistrates courts.
By staggering the courtroom section with the office sections, the five office floors have been made to match the four courtroom floors, which are higher.
On the top floor, the archives extend along the outside perimeter, creating unbroken eaves round all four sides and allowing the building to terminate in a reassuringly solid, windowless strip.







Vista del fronte posteriore (ingresso addetti) e viste di dettaglio.

View of rear façade (staff entrance) and detailed views.









Viste interne dell'Aula di Assise, del corpo scala e dell'atrio di ingresso del pubblico.

Interior views of Assize Court, stair block and public lobby.

Viste della corte interna.

Views of internal courtyard.







Palacio de Justicia, Lérida, España

1985-90

Rosa Amado, Lluís Domènech

Foto/Photos: H. Suzuki



Palacio de Justicia, Lérida, España

1985-90

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Foto/Photos: H. Suzuk



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Palazzo di Giustizia di Lérida, Spagna

Lluís Domènech

“Costruire il centro per conservare il centro”

Nell’elaborazione del Piano per il centro storico di Lérida si è partiti individuando uno dei maggiori problemi nel fatto che l’asse civico-commerciale del centro, Calle Mayor, risultava costretto tra il fiume Segre e la collina dove si trova la Cattedrale Antica (Seo Antigua), i cui fianchi, che in alcuni punti raggiungono una pendenza del 100%, sono stati abbandonati dalla popolazione dopo i conflitti risalenti alla Guerra di Successione del 1714. Questo spazio costituiva un “vuoto urbano” (l’antico quartiere del Canyeret) con notevoli problemi sociali derivati dalla sua marginalità e da consistenti episodi di accumulo di detriti e corrosione del terreno sopra Calle Mayor causati dalle piogge.
La volontà di potenziare l’asse commerciale e lo studio delle caratteristiche geotecniche del terreno hanno condotto alla decisione di ridurre la scarpata mediante un dislivello verticale creato da un muro di contenimento ancorato al terreno, il cui tracciato in pianta fosse il più possibile parallelo all’asse commerciale. La costruzione di tale muro di contenimento permette di disporre di una superficie piana, utile dal punto di vista urbanistico, che può essere edificata e pavimentata e, bordata da due strade a quote diverse, destinata a molteplici usi. Un edificio longitudinale, parallelo e addossato al muro di contenimento, lo nasconde parzialmente con la propria facciata, che delimita il nuovo spazio così liberato. Grazie a questo nuovo fronte si produce un effetto di rivitalizzazione degli edifici lungo Calle Mayor, che vedono aumentata la loro profondità edificabile e, di conseguenza, potenziate le loro possibilità di espansione. Per rendere manifesta questa operazione, le zone più basse del muro di contenimento e del terrapieno sono lasciate a vista, esagerando alcuni elementi costruttivi al fine di creare una scala più adeguata al contesto. Verso la parte superiore della collina, lo stesso risultato è ottenuto per mezzo di una torre con ascensori, la cui base poggia ai piedi del terrapieno, che permette l’accesso a tre livelli: il basamento (adiacente a Calle Mayor), la strada situata in corrispondenza della quota di coronamento del terrapieno e, attraverso una passerella, l’antica porta delle mura che circondano la Cattedrale. La torre diventa la principale via di accesso pedonale, prima inesistente, dal centro a uno dei monumenti gotici più importanti della Catalogna, la Cattedrale Antica di Lérida.

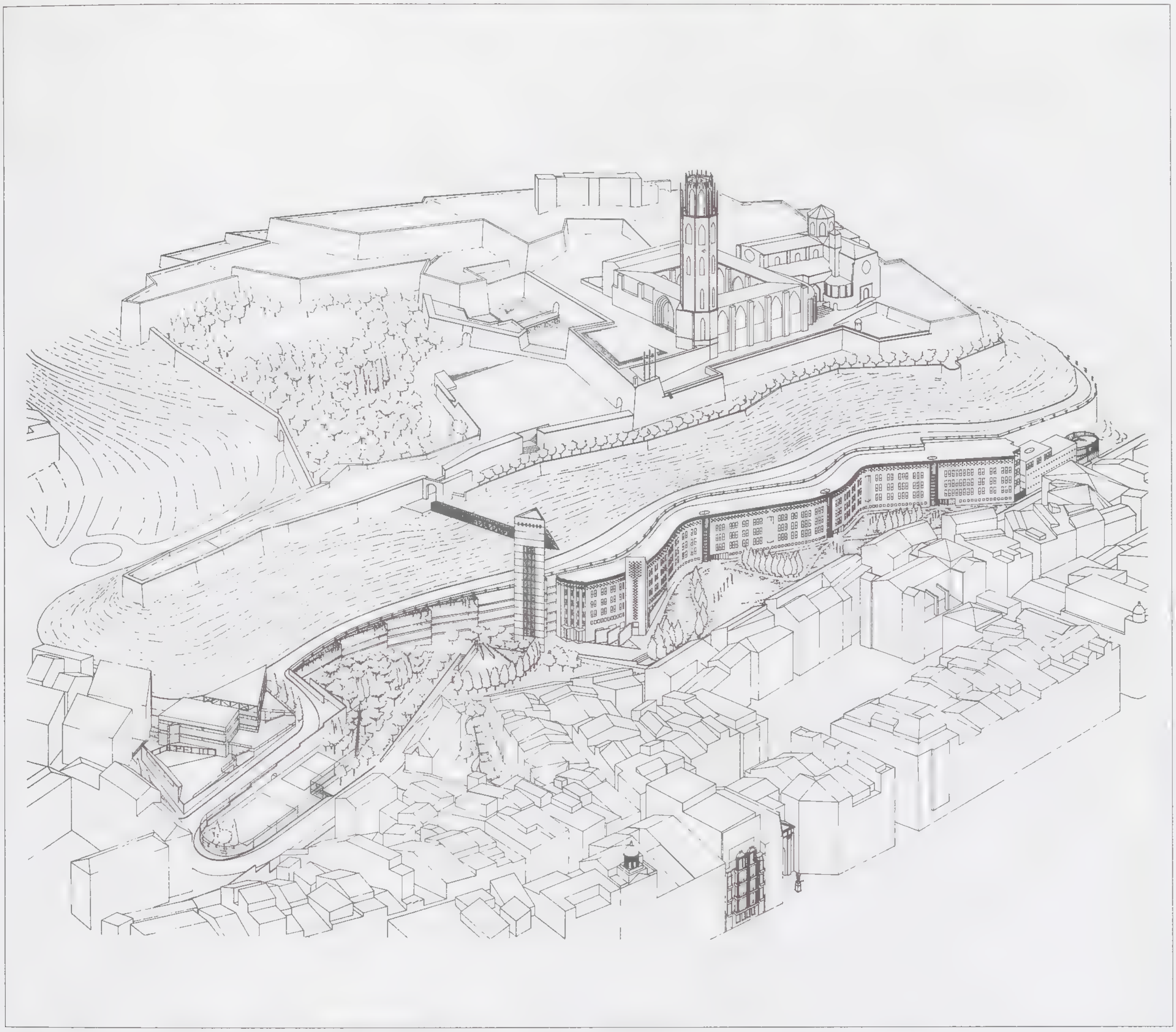
Il Palazzo di Giustizia

Innalzato il muro portante e liberata così la piattaforma destinata a ospitare nuove attività, si è realizzato l’edificio del Palazzo di Giustizia, di cui resta da completare la zona del Tribunale Collegiale. Il volume sinuoso è articolato in modo da ospitare al suo interno i diversi Tribunali (Penale, Civile, dei minori, ecc.), articolati in tre nuclei di comunicazione verticale che funzionano tipologicamente come snodi del Tribunale principale. Lo spazio occupato dai corpi scala e il corridoio longitudinale costituiscono una zona pubblica e dei passi perduti alla quale è stata dedicata particolare attenzione.
Gli spazi di lavoro, illuminati con luce naturale dal fronte, sono stati progettati come uffici convenzionali il cui unico elemento rilevante è il disegno del muro di facciata, rivolto a sud, dove le grandi finestre di climalit si alternano a tratti di parete isolata tramite un rivestimento di spessore incrementato, per proteggere l’interno dal caldo e dall’eccesso di luce che caratterizzano il clima di Lérida.
La composizione dell’edificio è articolata su due ordini di scala: la scala “gigante”, determinata dal muro portante e dalla torre e ottenuta evidenziando il nucleo verticale dei corpi scala, e la scala “quotidiana” determinata da porte e finestre, indispensabile per conferire all’edificio il voluto carattere urbano. Il coronamento dell’edificio rappresenta un elemento importante del linguaggio architettonico adottato: la liscia parete di marmo Macael termina nelle griglie di ventilazione dell’impianto di condizionamento situato in quest’ultima sezione “tecnica”. Sopra il cornicione, che sottolinea questo effetto chiaroscurale, galleggia il grande piano della copertura in lastre di marmo, seconda facciata dell’edificio visibile dal percorso di ronda intorno alle mura, dalla quale emergono come elementi segnaletici i dischi di protezione solare dei lucernari.
Il lungo sviluppo del tema di facciata risulta variato in corrispondenza delle estremità. Nella zona più rappresentativa che affaccia sulla piazza ai piedi della torre degli ascensori e che costituirà il centro delle attività del nuovo spazio urbano, è dislocato l’accesso al Tribunale Collegiale in un elemento volumetrico più articolato che conferisce carattere alla piazza contrapponendosi al prisma triangolare della torre.
All’estremità opposta, nella zona più angusta che porta al parco del Canyeret, un parcheggio occupa un volume più contenuto, più conforme alle costruzioni vicine, presentandosi, allo stesso tempo, come una struttura trasparente che lascia a vista, ancora una volta, il muro di contenimento.

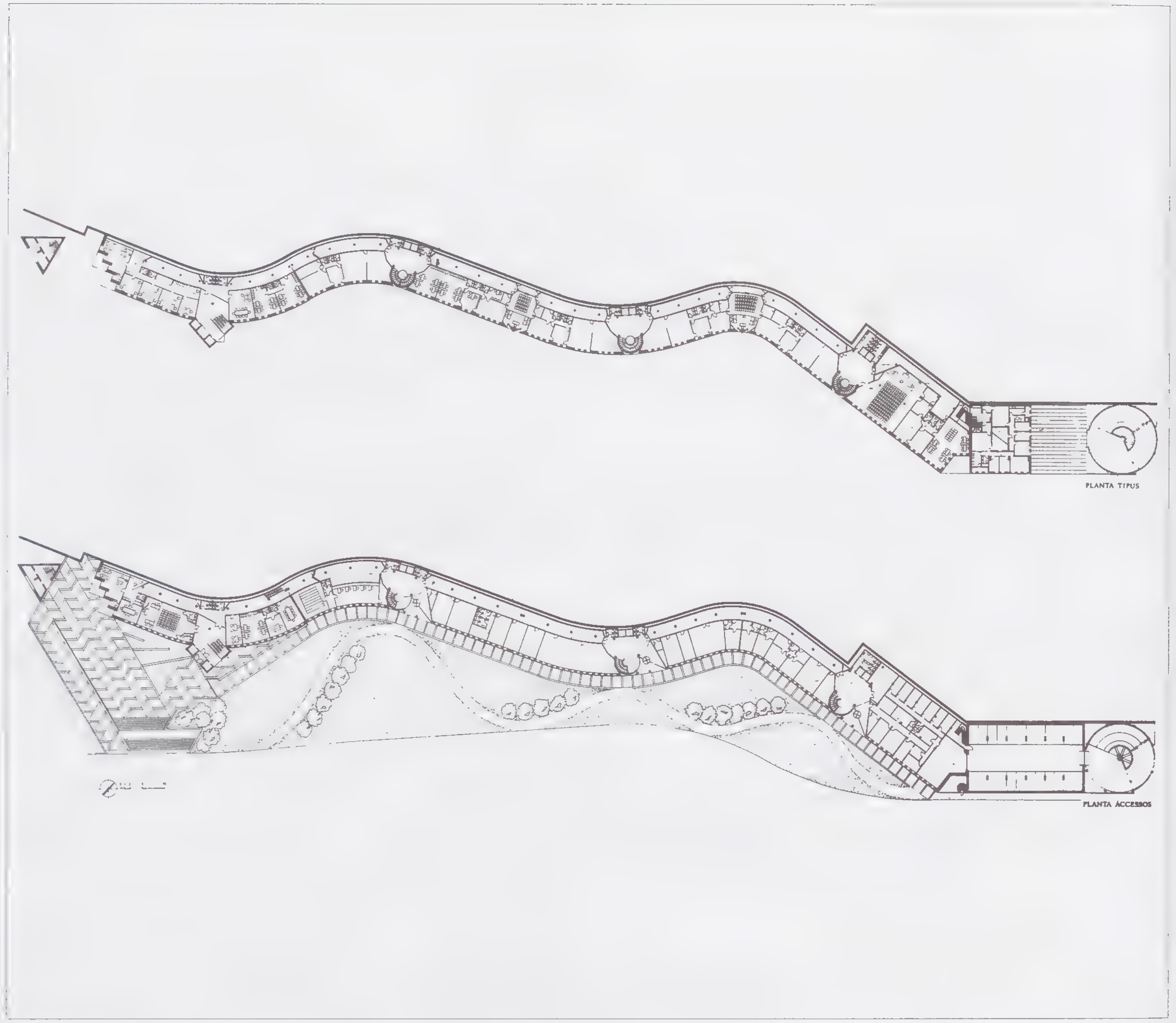


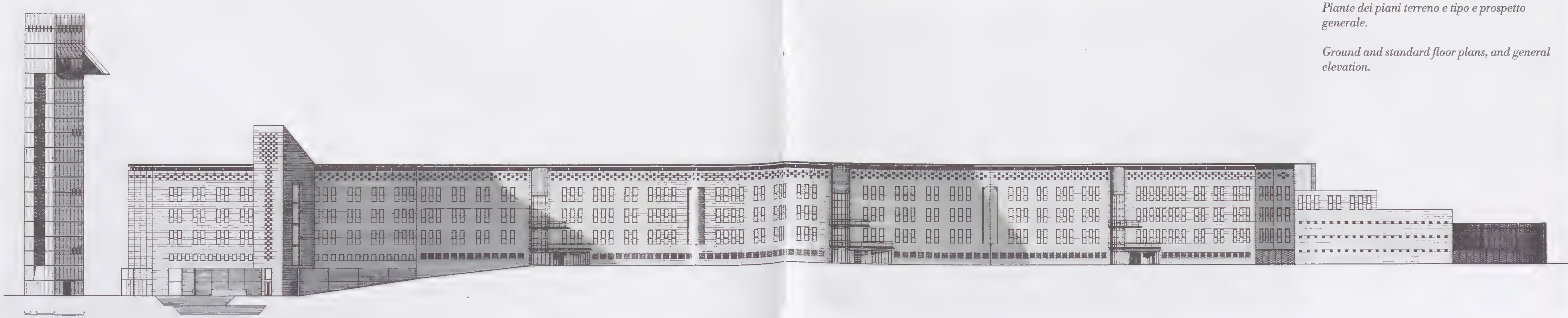
Sezione urbana, assonometria e planimetria generali.

Urban section, axonometric and general plan.









Law Courts, Lérida, Spain
Lluís Domènech

"Building the centre to preserve the centre"

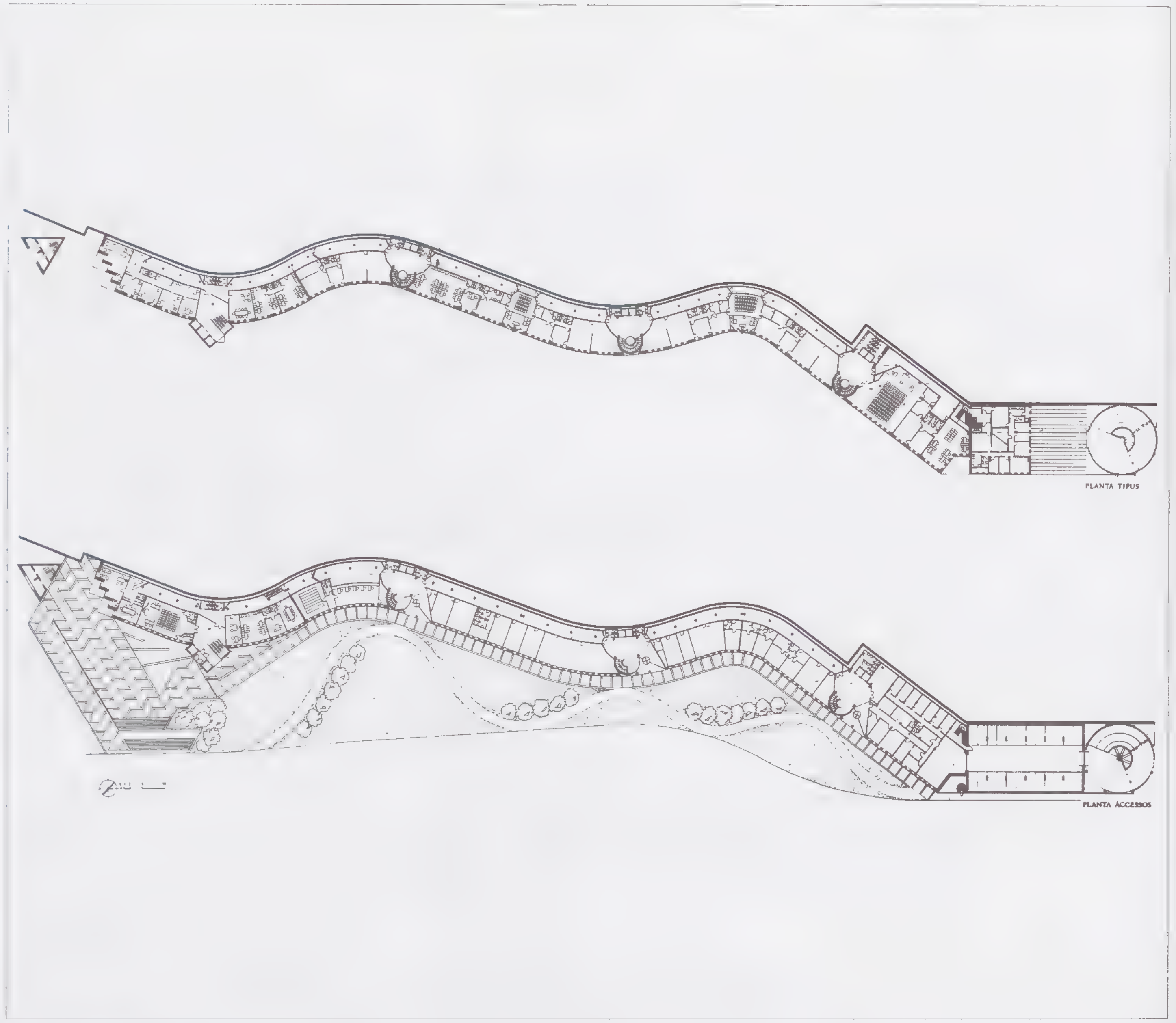
The first major problem to be faced in drawing up the redevelopment plan for the historical centre of Lérida was the fact that the main civic and shopping thoroughfare of the centre - the Calle Mayor - is squashed between the River Segre and the hill on which the Old Cathedral (Seo Antigua) stands. The sides of this hill, which at some points are totally sheer, were abandoned by the population after conflict dating from the War of Succession in 1714. This area (the ancient Canyeret quarter) was an "urban void" plagued by social problems deriving from its marginal status, accumulated detritus and rubbish, and rain erosion above the Calle Mayor.
The desire to redevelop the shopping thoroughfare, and study of the geotechnical features of the terrain, resulted in the decision to improve the slope by building an embankment wall, parallel whenever possible with the street, to create two distinct levels. The construction of the wall made available a flat area that proved extremely useful in planning terms: it could be built on, paved and used for a variety of purposes because it had two boundary roads at different levels. A building backed lengthways and parallel to the embankment wall partially hides the wall itself with its front and delimits the newly created space. This new front revitalises the buildings on the Calle Mayor, which can now be built outwards to a greater depth on either side, and so expanded if desired. To draw attention to the operation, the areas below the wall and embankment have been left visible, enhancing a number of building features to create a more appropriate contextual scale. Higher up the hill, the same effect has been achieved by building a lift tower at the base of the embankment. The lifts give access to three levels: the base (adjacent to the Calle Mayor), the road running along the top of the embankment and, via a walkway, the old gate in the walls surrounding the Cathedral. The tower is now the principal means of pedestrian access (formerly there was none) from the centre to the Old Cathedral, one of the most important Gothic monuments in Catalonia.

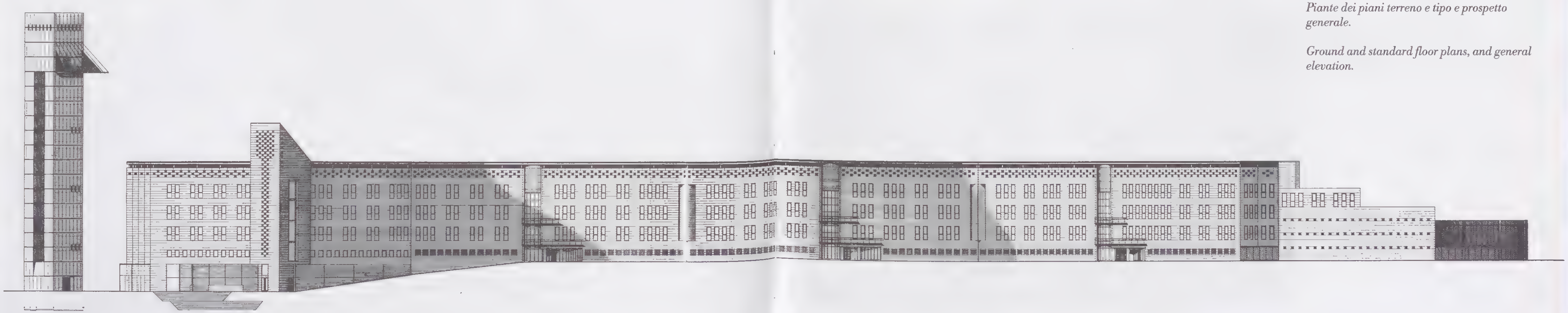
The Law Courts

The Law Courts were built once the embankment wall had been installed and the new empty platform area had been created. Only the Collegiate Court remains to be completed. The sinuous building is laid out to accommodate the different types of court (criminal, civil, juvenile, etc.) in three vertically massed nuclei that function typologically as hubs in the main court building. The space occupied by the stair blocks and longitudinal corridor forms a public area on which special care was lavished.
The working areas are lighted naturally from the façade and were designed as conventional offices. Their only important feature is the construction of the south-facing façade wall, whose large climalit windows alternate with stretches of wall insulated with extra-thick cladding to protect the interior from the high temperatures and intense light typical of the Lérida climate.
The building is composed on two scales: the "giant" scale determined by the embankment wall and obtained by emphasising the vertical nucleus of the stairs blocks; and the "ordinary" scale, determined by doors and windows, which is essential to the building's intentionally urban identity. The crown of the building is an important stylistic feature: the smooth Macael marble wall terminates in the ventilation grill of the air-conditioning plant located in this culminating "technical" section of the building. Above the cornice, which enhances this chiaroscuro contrast, floats the large surface of the marble slab roof, effectively the building's second façade visible from the pathway round the walls, from which the disks protecting the rooflights from the direct sun rise like road signs.
The façade changes at either end of the building. In the more official area facing the piazza at the foot of the lift tower, which will eventually be the centre of activity of the new urban area, the entrance to the Collegiate Court is sited in a more distinctive volume that lends character to the piazza by offsetting the triangular prism of the tower.
At the opposite end, a car park in the narrower area leading to Canyeret Park is contained in a smaller volume more in harmony with the neighbouring buildings, and also transparent, which once again leaves the embankment wall open to view.

Piante dei piani terreno e tipo e prospetto generale.

Ground and standard floor plans, and general elevation.





Law Courts, Lérida, Spain
Lluís Domènech

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Piante dei piani terreno e tipo e prospetto generale.

Ground and standard floor plans, and general elevation.

Viste esterne generali e di dettaglio e vista interna dell'autorimessa.

General external views and detailed views, and an interior view of the garage.





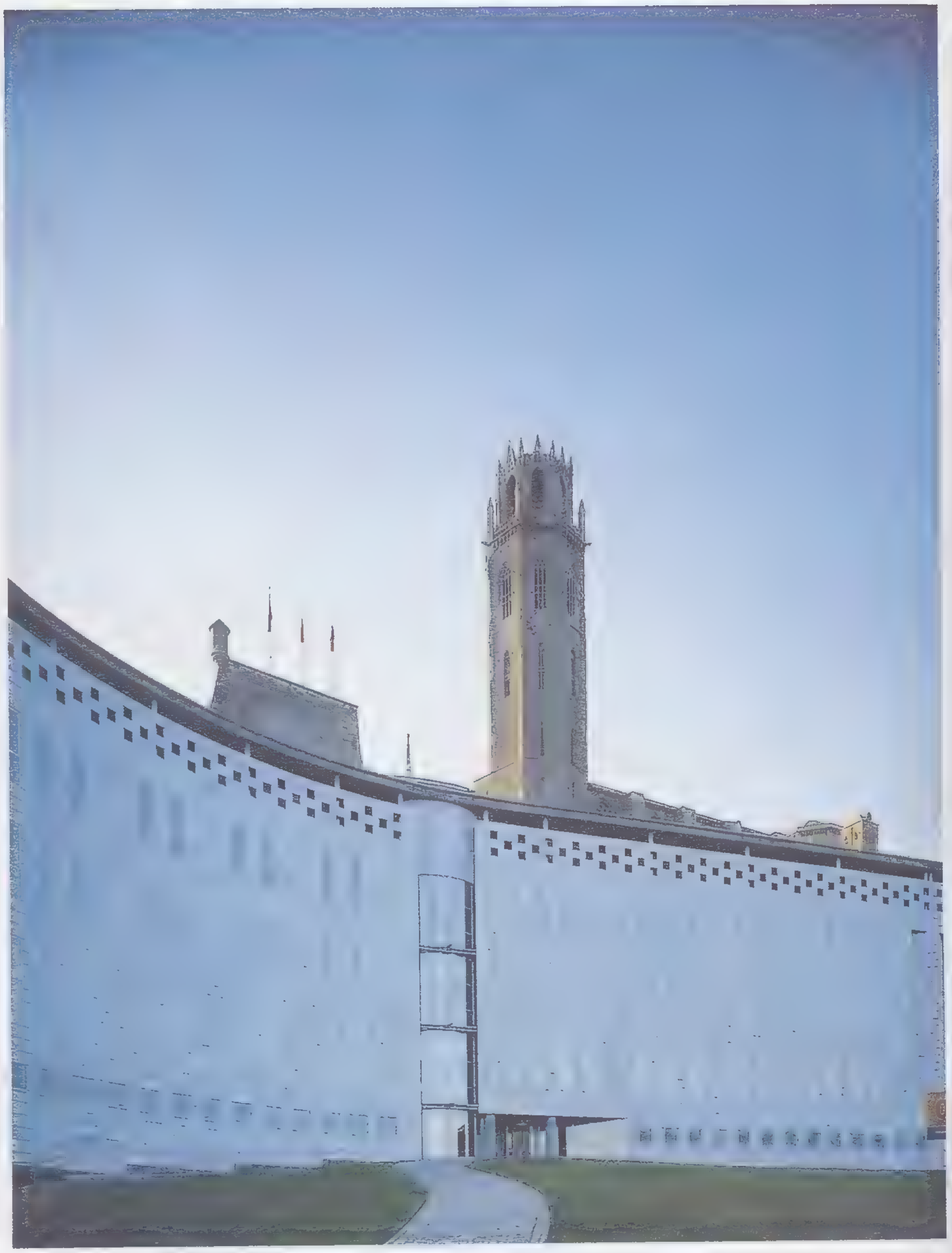






Viste esterne generali e di dettaglio e vista interna dell'ingresso.

General external views and detailed views, and an interior view of the entrance.







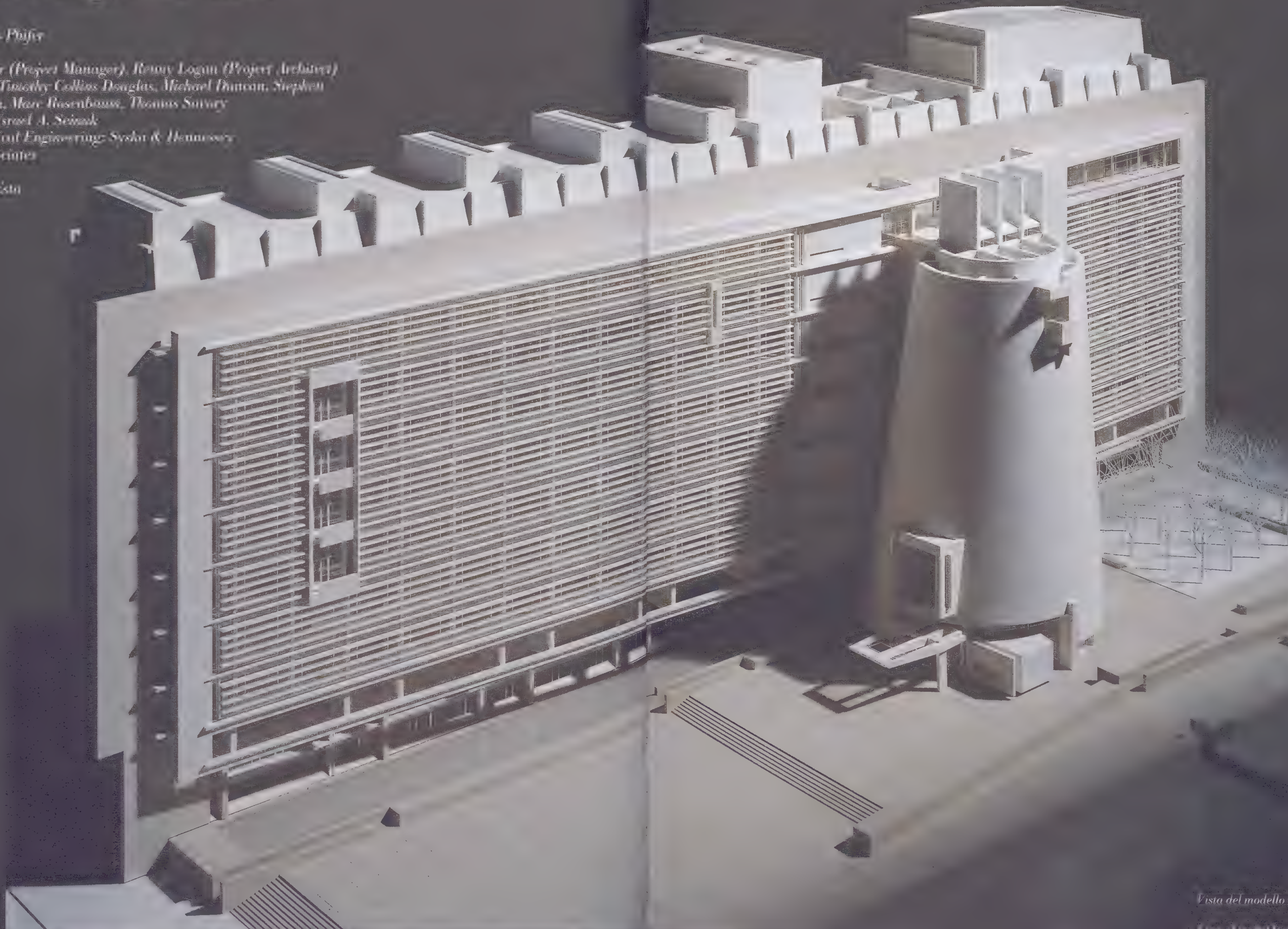


Federal Office Building and U.S. Courthouse, Islip, New York
1993-95

Richard Meier, Thomas Phifer

con/with: James Sawyer (Project Manager), Remy Logan (Project Architect)
coll.: Stephen Dayton, Timothy Collins Douglas, Michael Duncan, Stephen Harris, Richard Manna, Marc Rosenbaum, Thomas Savory
Structural Engineers: Ysrael A. Seinuk
Mechanical and Electrical Engineering: Syska & Hennessy
Graphics: Vignelli Associates

Foto/Photos: J. Paule/Esto



Vista del modello da sud.

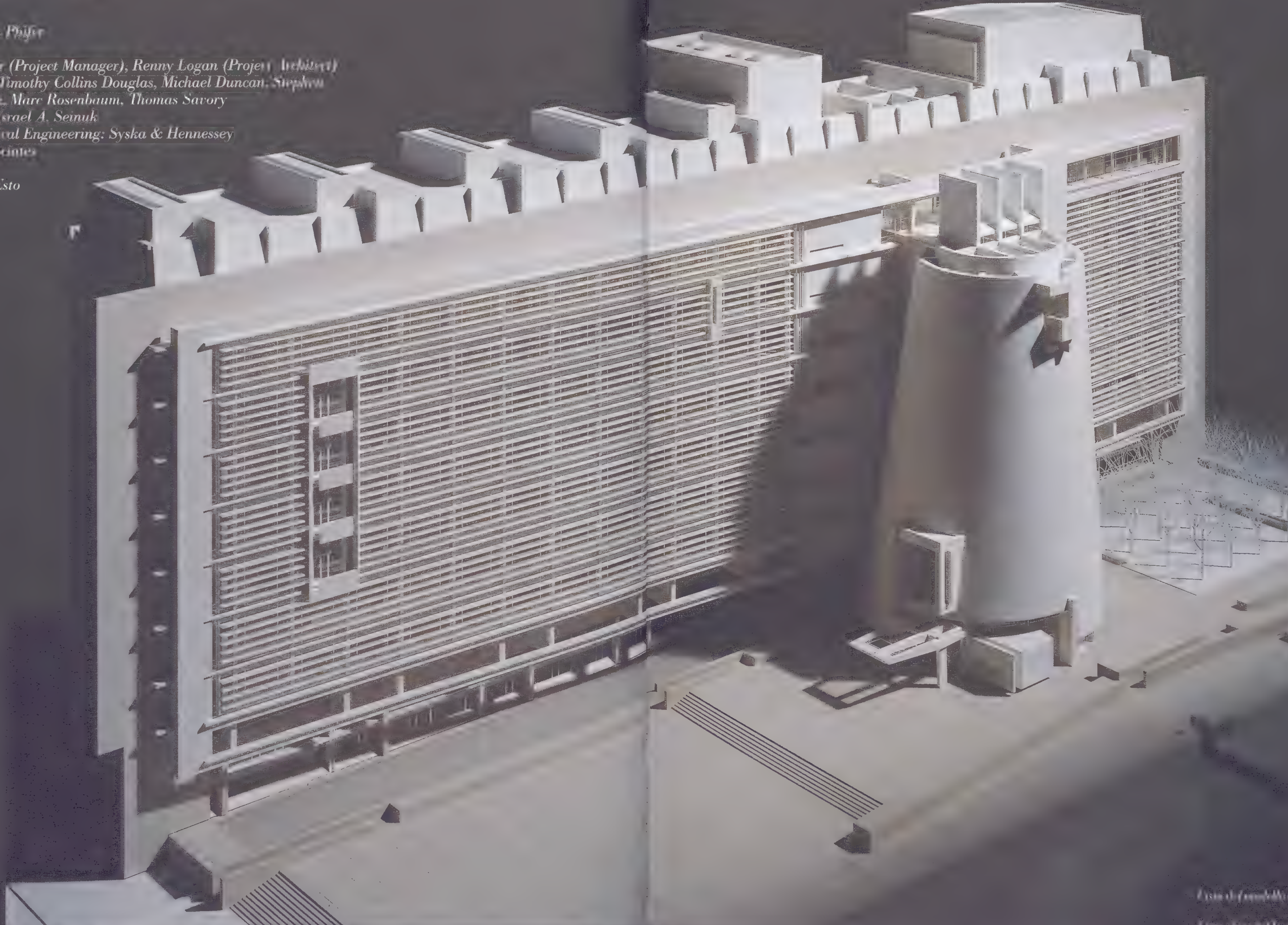
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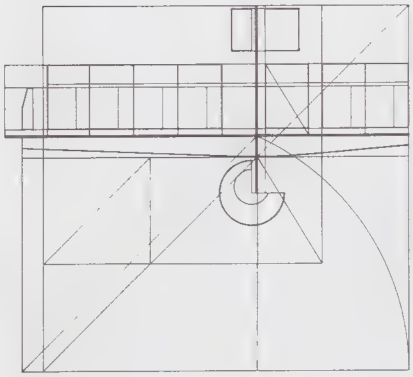
con/with: James Sawyer (Project Manager), Renny Logan (Project Architect)
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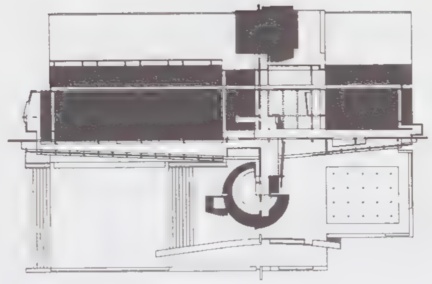


Vista del modello da sud

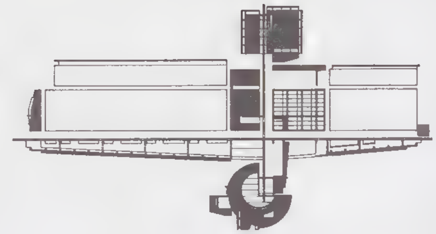
View of model from the south



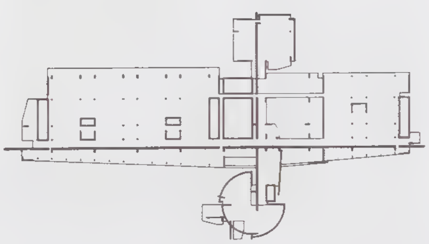
Geometry



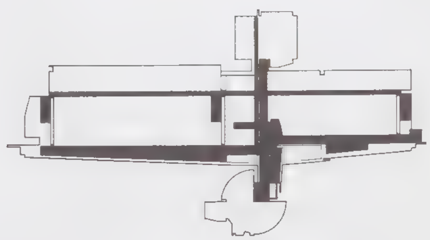
Figure/Ground



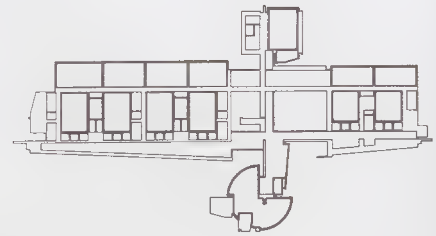
Elements



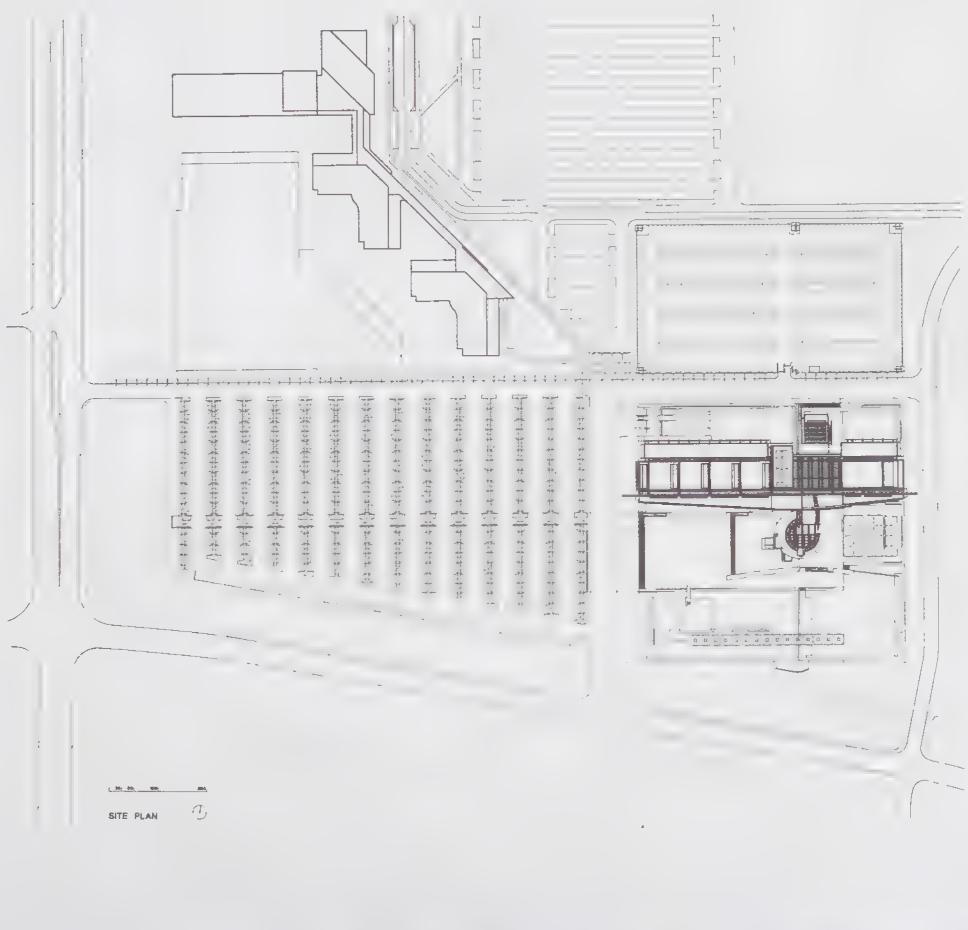
Structure



Circulation



Program



Palazzo Federale e Palazzo di Giustizia degli Stati Uniti a Islip, New York, U.S.A.
Richard Meier

Adiacente al centro di servizi del Tribunale della Contea e fiancheggiato a sudovest dalla strada secondaria che porta alla Southern State Parkway di Central Islip, Long Island, l'edificio offre splendidi panorami sulla Great South Bay e l'Oceano Atlantico. Il Tribunale poggia su uno zoccolo rivestito di pietra chiuso da una bassa recinzione ed è circondato da zone sistemate a verde e specchi d'acqua.
Un volume di forma conica ospita l'atrio d'ingresso che conduce a un vestibolo, punto di orientamento e riferimento per accedere agli undici piani che ospitano le sale d'udienza, la biblioteca e gli uffici.
Un *curtain wall* leggermente curvo, ravvivato da *brise-soleil* e ballatoi a telaio, lascia filtrare molta luce all'interno dei corridoi pubblici e costituisce un raffinato e armonioso sfondo al massiccio volume del tamburo conico. Questa ariosa facciata che domina la piazza e, oltre ad essa, l'Oceano, contrasta con quella più chiusa rivolta a ovest, verso il complesso esistente.
Due muri portanti rivestiti di pietra, chiaramente articolati sia all'interno sia all'esterno, intersecano l'atrio centrale e collegano il tamburo conico a una sala d'udienze cerimoniale alla base della facciata opposta, a nord.
Il volume rettangolare e protetto che ospita gli uffici giudiziari e amministrativi nei tre piani inferiori e, sopra ad essi, le sale d'udienza, è predisposto per ogni ampliamento che possa rivelarsi necessario in un periodo di trent'anni. Un'attenta distribuzione ai diversi piani degli spazi collettivi, delle sale d'udienza e degli uffici privati dei giudici, espressa da un'evidente separazione dei volumi all'interno dell'intera massa costruita, risponde alla necessità di creare zone di circolazione distinte per i giudici, lo staff, i visitatori e i detenuti.
Nell'intero complesso, la flessibilità e funzionalità degli spazi è accompagnata da sorprendenti combinazioni di materiali e forme. Il carattere scultoreo della rotonda d'ingresso instaura un dialogo contrappuntistico con il ritmo e la trasparenza dell'atrio quasi interamente vetrato e con i corridoi di circolazione pubblica. Le pareti che intersecano il volume dell'edificio e lo collegano al tamburo conico sono rivestite di pietra chiara tagliata a spacco in contrasto con i bianchi pannelli di metallo smaltato della rotonda e con i congegni meccanici di chiusura del tetto. Le zone sistemate a verde e le piscine ornamentali offrono una cornice armoniosa alla monumentalità dell'edificio.

Federal Office Building and United States Courthouse, Islip, New York , U.S.A.
Richard Meier

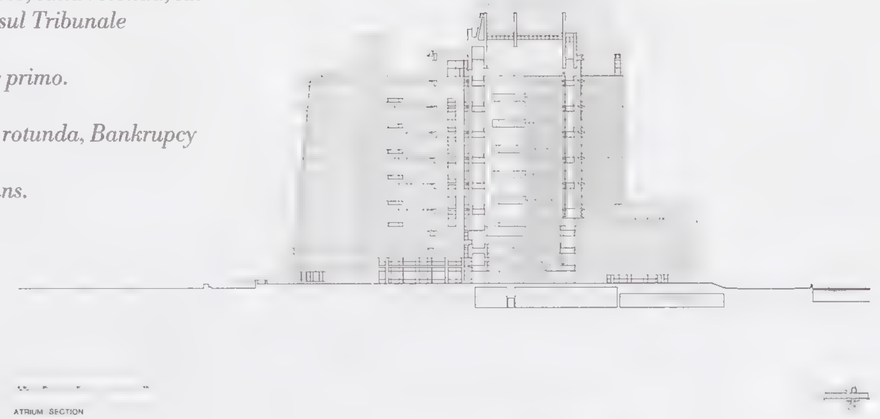
Situated adjacent to existing county court facilities and bounded to the south-west by the service road to the Southern State Parkway in Central Islip, Long Island, the building has panoramic views of the Great South Bay and Atlantic Ocean. The courthouse rests on a stone-paved podium bounded by low walls, reflecting pools and landscaping at its periphery. A conical drum encloses the entry-hall and leads to an 11-storey atrium which serves as a point of orientation and reference to the courts, library and offices distributed throughout.
A gently flexed curtain wall enlivened by brises-soleil *and framed balconies admits abundant light to the public corridors and provides a refined, tensile backdrop for the massive, conic drum. This open façade overlooking the plaza and, beyond, the ocean, contrasts with a more closed façade facing the existing court complex to the west. Articulated clearly both inside and out, a pair of stone-clad datum walls intersect in the central atrium and connect the conic drum to a ceremonial courtroom at the base of the opposite north façade.*
The enveloped rectangular volume housing the complex's administrative and judicial services on the lower three floors and courtrooms above, provides enough flexibility within the plan to accommodate expansion over a projected thirty-year period. Responding to the need to create distinct circulation zones for the judges, staff, visitors and prisoners, a carefully sequenced layering of the building's public spaces, courtrooms and judges chambers is expressed by visual separation of volumes within the overall building mass.
Throughout the complex, the need for flexibility and open function is accompanied by surprising conjunctions of materials and forms. The cylindrical, sculptural character of the entry rotunda establishes a contrapuntal dialogue with the rhythm and clarity of the extensively glazed atrium and public circulation corridors. The walls which intersect the building volume and connect it to the conical drum are sheathed in light rough-cut stone, a tectonic counterpoint to the white enamelled-metal panels of the rotunda and roof-top mechanical enclosures. Tree plantings and the modulated surfaces of the ornamental pools provide an active frame for the building's civic monumentality.

Schemi diagrammatici e planimetria generale.

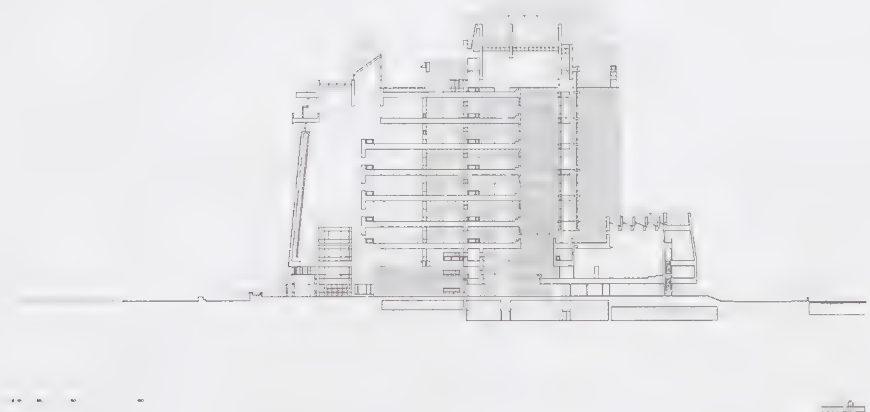
Diagrams and general plan.

Sezioni trasversali sull'atrio, sulla rotonda, sul Tribunale fallimentare e sul Tribunale federale.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo.

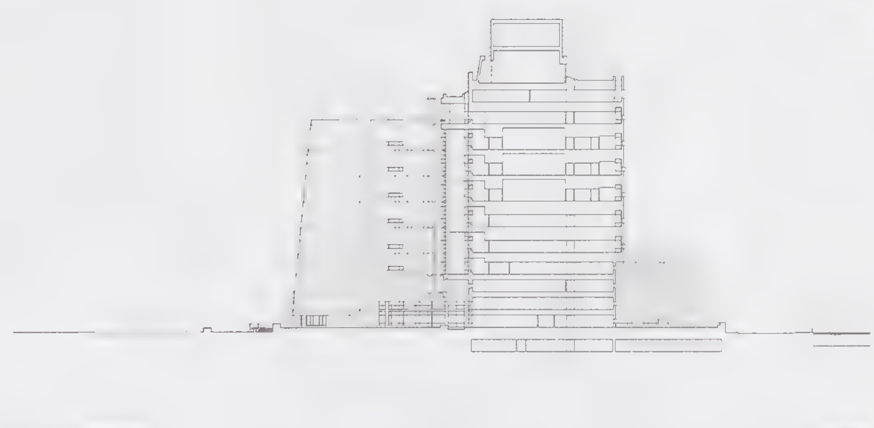
Cross-sections on atrium, rotunda, Bankrupcy Court and District Court.
First and second floor plans.



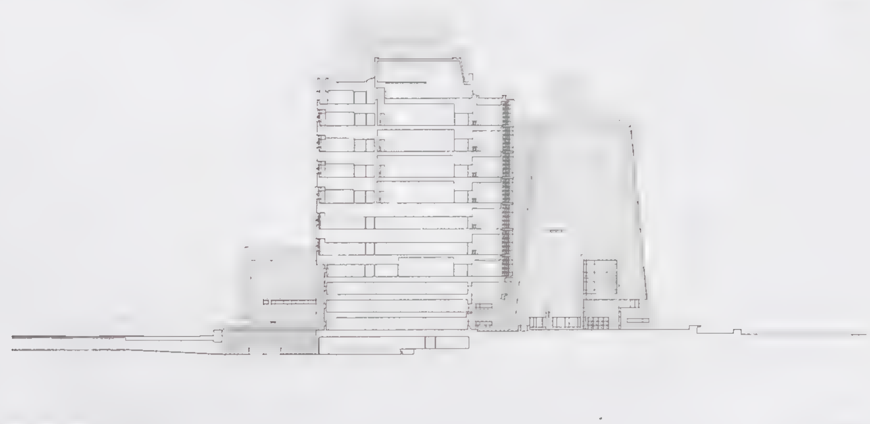
ATRIUM SECTION



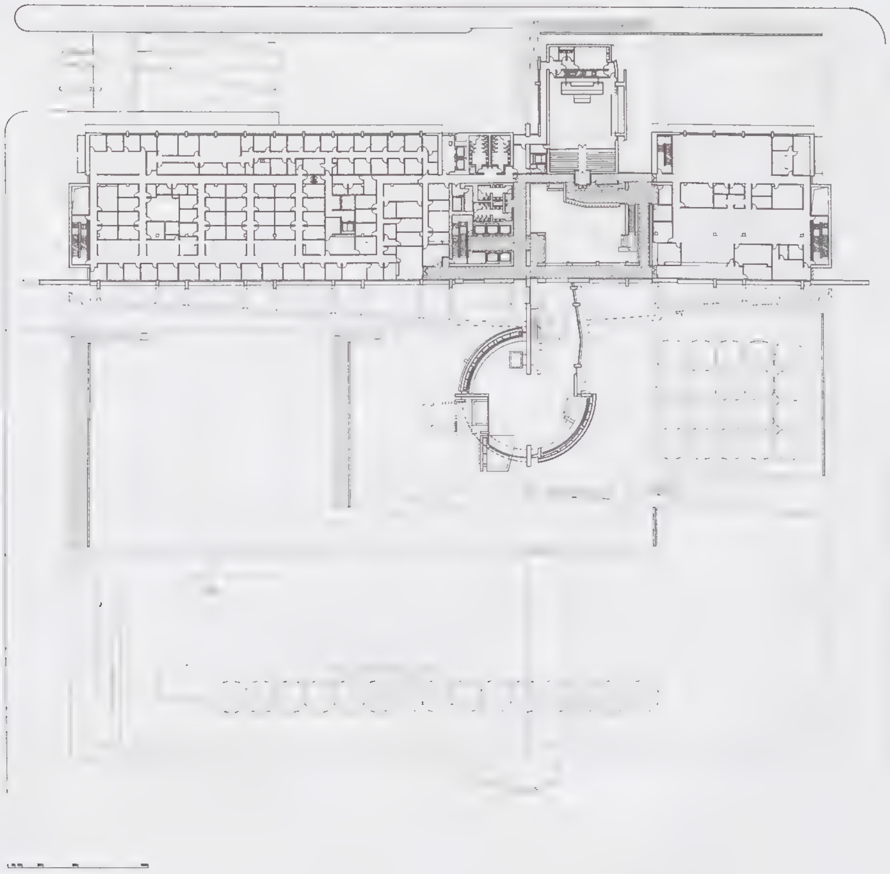
ROTUNDA SECTION



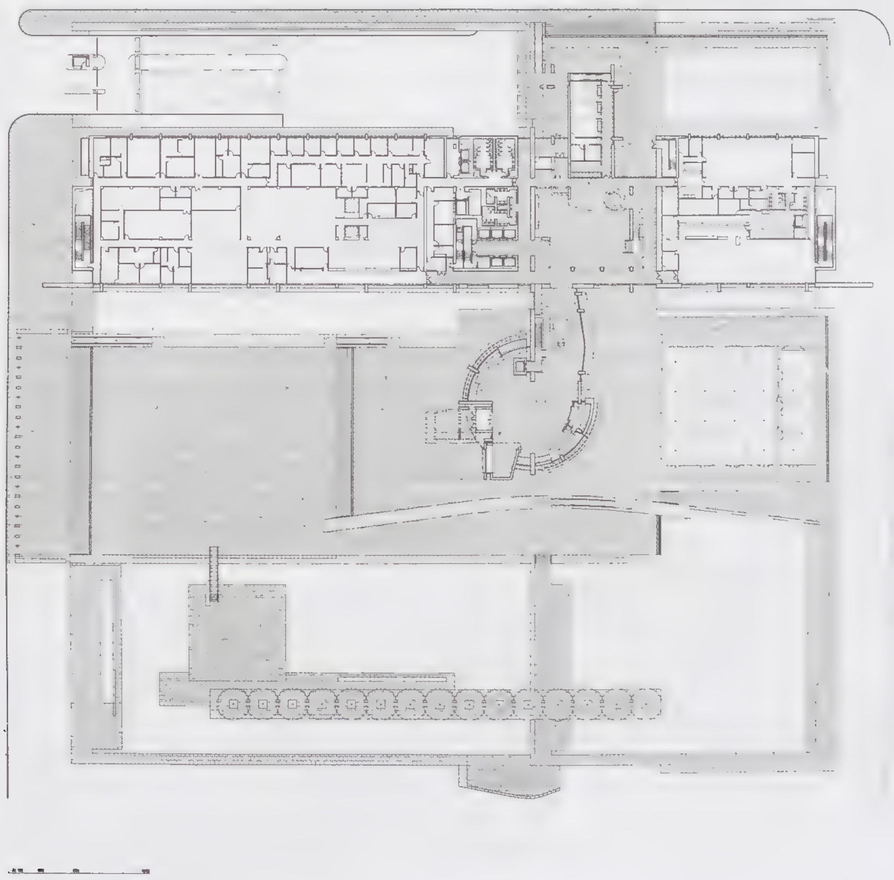
BANKRUPTCY COURT SECTION



DISTRICT COURT SECTION



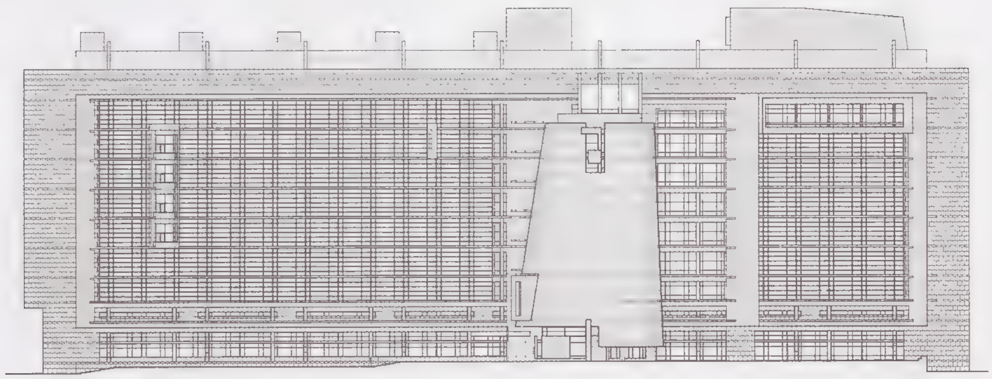
SECOND FLOOR PLAN

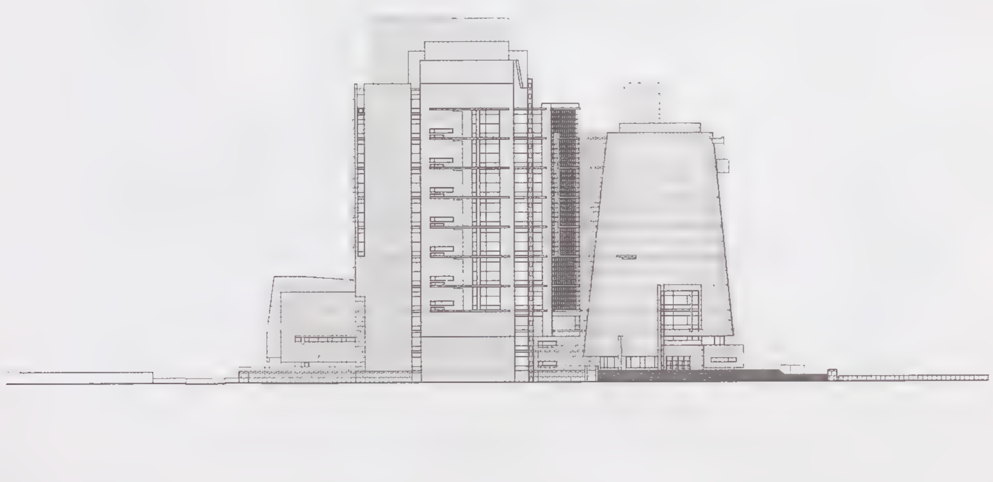


FIRST FLOOR PLAN

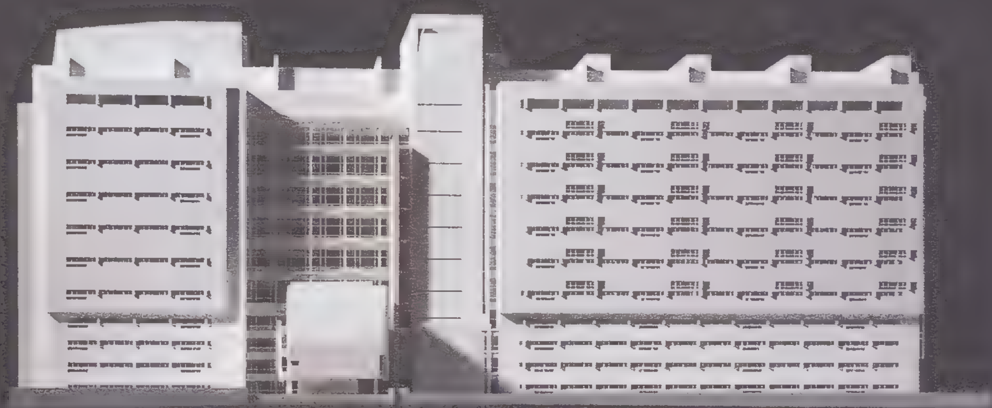
Prospetti sud e ovest.
Viste del modello da sud e da nord.

South and west elevations.
Views of model from the south and north.









Palazzo di Giustizia di Ferrara, Italia
1977-84

Carlo Aymonino

con/with: Alberto Torti

Foto/Photos: B. Segato



Vista dalla corte interna

View from the internal courtyard

Palazzo di Giustizia di Ferrara, Italia
1977-84

Carlo Aymonino

con/with: Alberto Torti

Foto/Photos: B. Segato



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Fondato come convento attiguo alla Chiesa del Gesù intorno alla metà del Cinquecento, nel 1676 rifondato nel nuovo collegio disposto su due ali parallele ed opposte, unite da un portico trasversale, poi ancora nell'Ottocento chiuso a quadrilatero con la costruzione del corpo prospiciente la Via Borgoleoni, sulla quale si affaccia anche la chiesa, il vasto complesso edilizio ha ospitato nelle sue consecutive configurazioni una serie di destinazioni funzionali diverse, passando da convento a carcere per la Corte di Giustizia, poi ancora a caserma per la Guardia Civica ed infine a sede di scuole ginnasiali e tecniche. Diversa è anche la qualità delle singole architetture che costituiscono l'insieme: mentre l'imponente ala di fianco alla chiesa esprime il proprio valore monumentale nel lunghissimo e altissimo spazio voltato a crociera su cui si affacciano le aperture del corridoio di distribuzione ai locali del piano superiore, l'ala opposta si presenta come contenitore elementare e massiccio (e più volte manomesso) di funzioni non precisate, privo di particolari valori architettonici. Il corpo di chiusura del cortile su Via Borgoleoni è l'unico elemento dell'insieme che non subisca vincoli della Soprintendenza, mentre l'ala porticata sul retro ospita le aule di una scuola che occupa il lotto contiguo, e si trova nella situazione di vedersi stravolta e occupata da riempimenti abusivi e da serramenti molto scadenti, e insieme, almeno per il momento, di essere intoccabile dal progetto di ristrutturazione dell'area.
La destinazione richiesta per l'ex Convento dei Gesuiti è quella di Palazzo di Giustizia. Il progetto propone un insieme di approcci specifici che vanno dal restauro "scientifico" a quello semplicemente statico per le due ali principali, alla demolizione e nuova edificazione per il corpo trasversale d'ingresso dalla strada. In pratica, i due corpi alti quattro piani mantengono la propria funzione consolidata di "contenitori", di cui uno da conservare integralmente, mentre la nuova costruzione che sostituisce il corpo trasversale a due piani è progettata per ospitare le aule d'udienza.
L'idea insediativa di introdurre nel sistema un frammento di architettura moderna, complicata dalla necessità di seguire contrastanti richieste provenienti da una committenza composta dal Comune, dal Ministero della Giustizia e dai magistrati, e appesantita da rigide prescrizioni tecniche e di sicurezza, trova nello sviluppo volumetrico delle due assialità perpendicolari caratteristiche dell'organismo complessivo la propria ragione compositiva. L'asse trasversale alle due ali parallele, sottolineato dalla copertura a semiarco del ballatoio sospeso che raccorda i quattro volumi separati e contigui delle aule di udienza, si interseca allo spazio vuoto definito dalla grande galleria vetrata che traguarda e filtra la profondità del cortile fino ad incontrare la torre dell'orologio centrata sullo sfondo dell'ala porticata. Al piano parzialmente interrato i depositi di sicurezza e i luoghi più reconditi dell'apparato giudiziario, al piano terra le quattro aule e i relativi spazi di servizio, al primo piano verso l'ingresso e la strada altre aule il cui accesso avviene in tangenza alle due ali preesistenti dove la giunzione tra vecchio e nuovo è risolta con una sottile fascia vetrata per parte, e con le coperture inclinate a 45°. La distribuzione trasversale avviene attraverso il corridoio al piano terreno e al soprastante ballatoio a sbalzo, vetrato verso il cortile. Il grande vuoto definito dall'incrocio del ballatoio sospeso con la galleria vetrata centrata sulla torre-campanile costituisce così il fulcro prospettico e organizzativo dell'architettura dell'intero complesso, stabilendo un ordine in cui le gerarchie spaziali stratificatesi nella storia trovano una conferma "moderna".

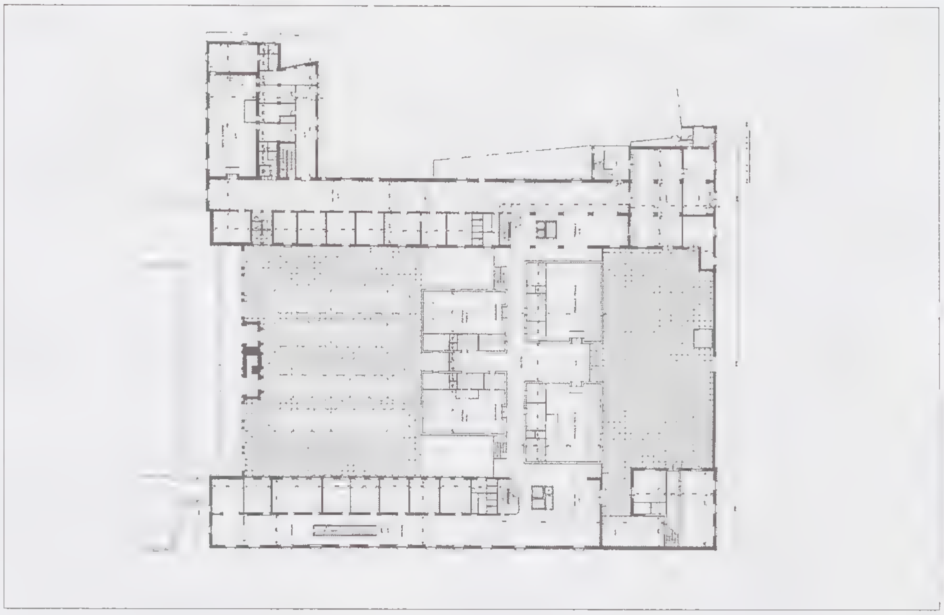
(da G. Polin, "Casabella", n. 479, aprile 1982)

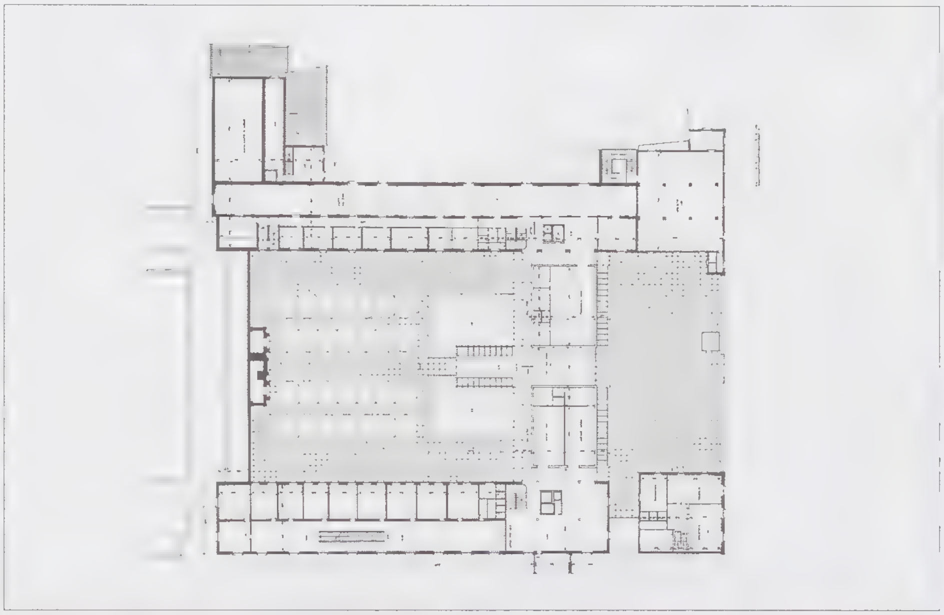
Law Courts, Ferrara, Italy

Founded in the mid sixteenth century as a convent adjoining the Jesuit Church, refounded in 1676 as a new college in two parallel facing wings joined by a transverse portico, and joined up as a quadrilateral in the nineteenth century with the construction of the block fronting Via Borgoleoni, which the church itself also faces, this enormous complex has performed a variety of functions in its successive configurations, passing from convent and court prison to civil defence headquarters and, most recently, high school and technical school.
The architectural components are equally various: the wing flanking the church is monumentally imposing with its exceedingly long, high cross-vaulted space that marshals the doorways to the corridor leading to the upper-floor rooms, while the facing wing is a solid, basic container (much altered over the centuries) of imprecise function and little architectural merit. The block that closes off the courtyard towards Via Borgoleoni is the only part of the complex not subject to planning restrictions, while the porticoed wing to the rear, which currently houses the classrooms
of a school on the contiguous lot, has suffered illegal alteration and addition (including really ugly windows) and is, at least for the moment, the only part of the complex exempt from the renovation project that now involves the whole complex.
It was decided to convert the former Convent into Law Courts. The project adopts specific strategies ranging from "scientific" restoration and ordinary static restoration of the two main wings, to the demolition and rebuilding the transverse block containing the street entrance. In essence, the two four-storey blocks retain their well-established function as "containers"; one will be kept as it is now, and the other new one replacing the two-storey transverse block

has been designed to house the courtrooms. The concept of adding a new piece of modern architecture – complicated by conflicting instructions from a committee jointly representing the Municipality, the Ministry of Justice and the magistrates, and further hampered by strict technical and safety restrictions – establishes the compositional principle of volumetric development on the two major axes of the complex as a whole. The axis lying transverse to the two parallel wings, highlighted by the semi-arched roof of the hanging gallery that joins the four separate contiguous volumes of the courtrooms, intersects with the empty space created by the large glazed gallery that filters through the courtyard to reach the clock tower at the end of the porticoed wing. The security vaults and more specialised judicial services are in the basement, four courtrooms and their service areas are on the ground floor, and other courtrooms on the first floor towards the entrance and street are accessed tangentially to the two existing wings where the old and new elements are joined partly by a thin glazed strip and 45° sloping roofs. Transverse distribution of the rooms is organised along the ground-floor corridor and the overhanging upper gallery which is glazed towards the courtyard. The large void created where the hanging gallery intersects with the glazed gallery centred on the clock tower, is thus the visual and organisational fulcrum of the entire complex, establishing an order in which historical stratifications achieve new focus in a "modern" addition.

(from G. Polin, "Casabella", 479, April 1982)

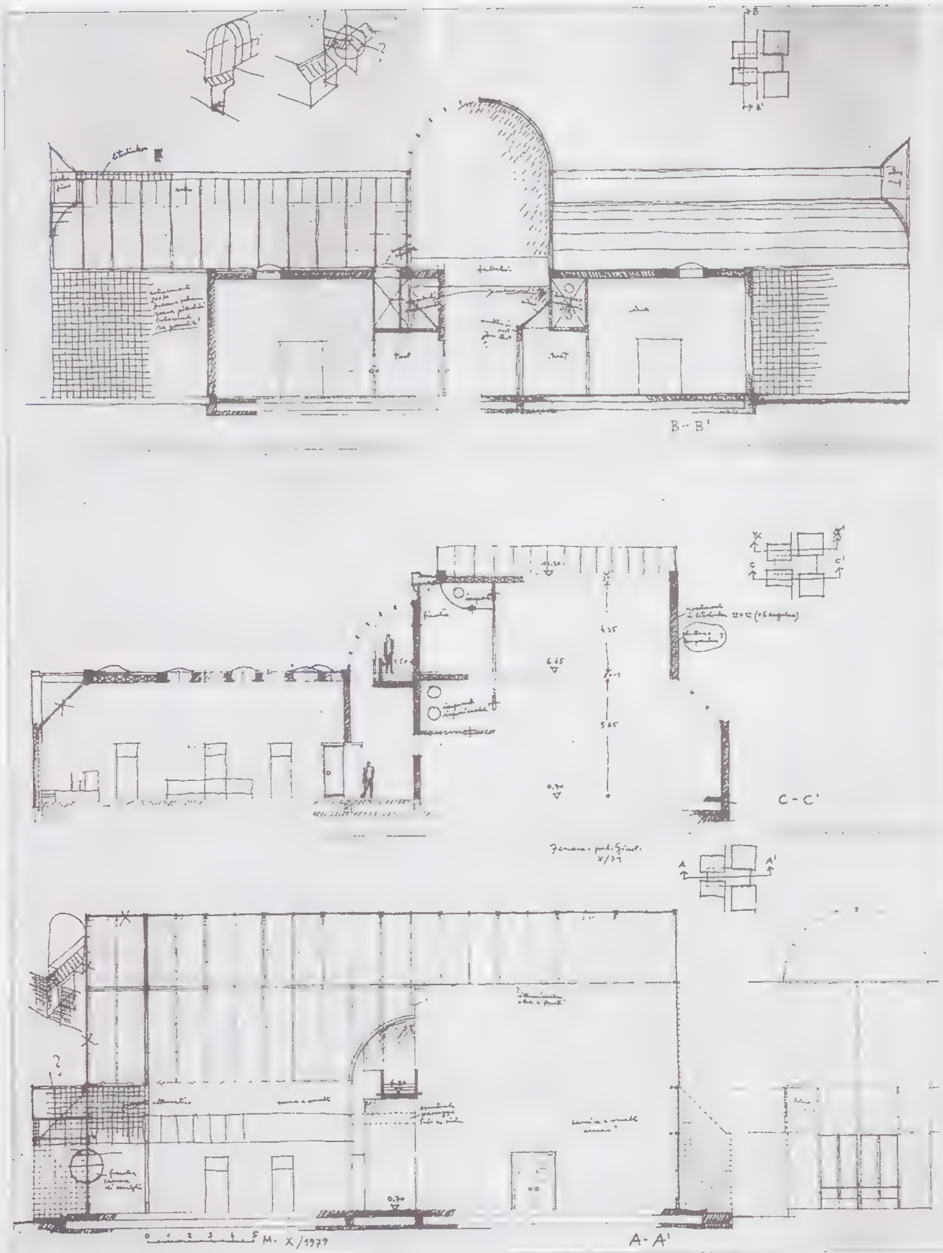


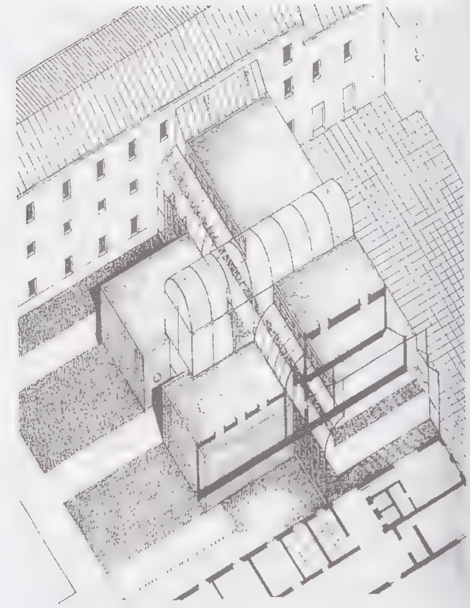


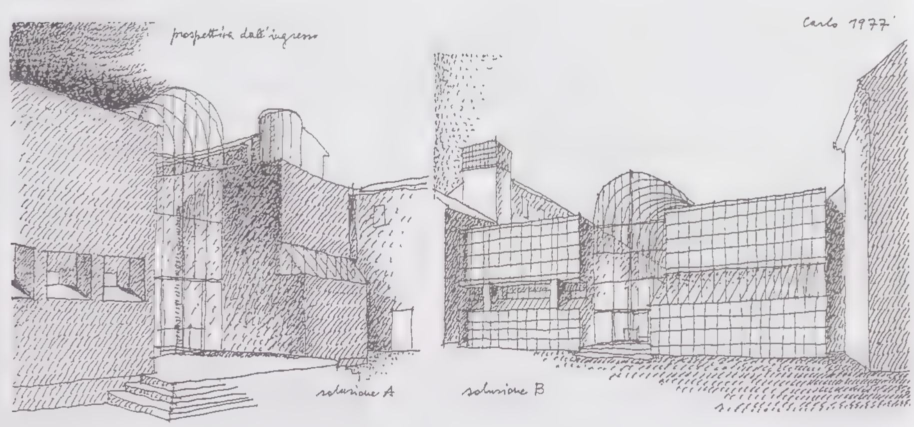


Piante dei piani terreno e primo.
Vista aerea.

Plans of ground and first floors.
Aerial view.



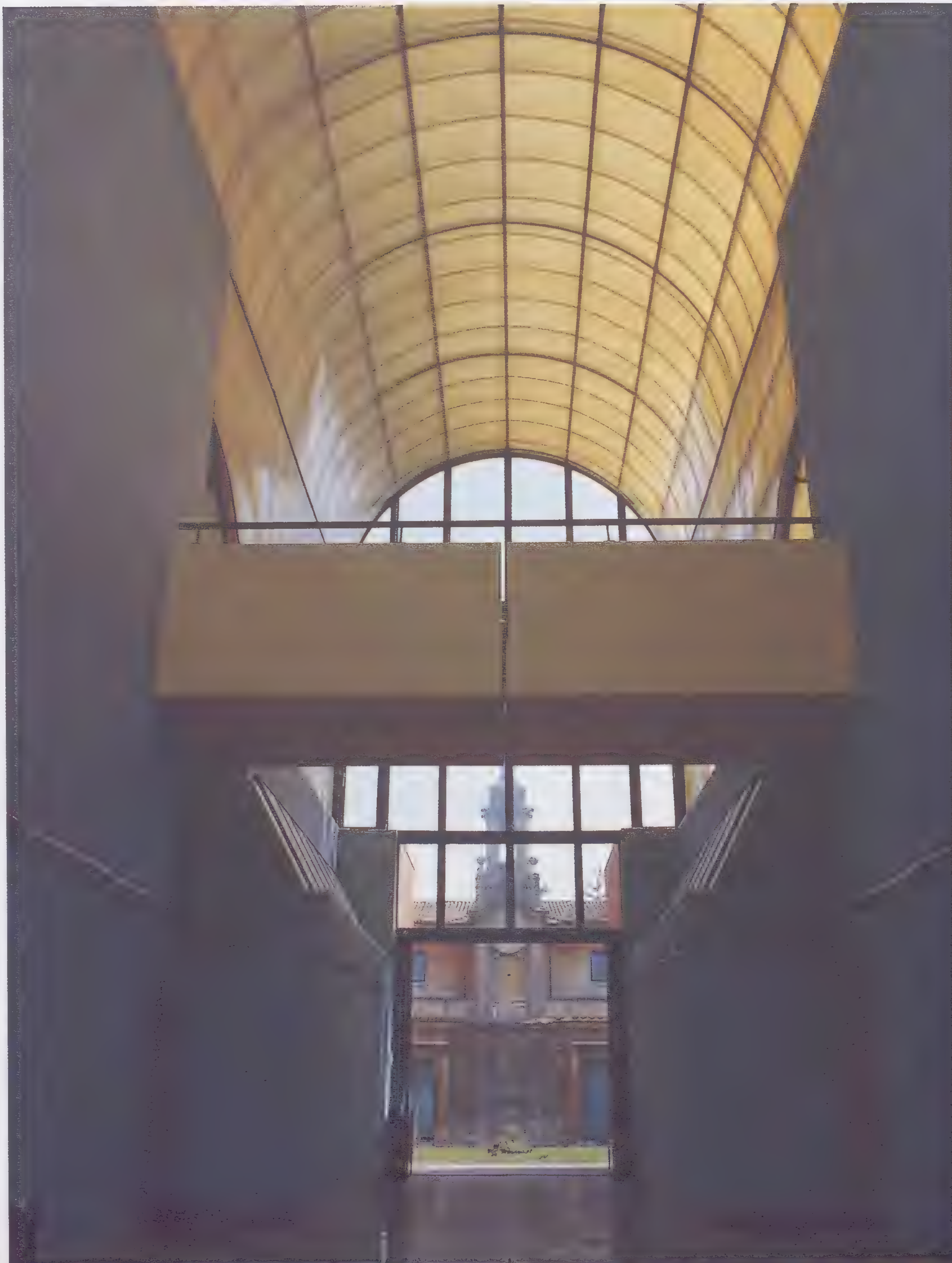




Disegni di studio delle sezioni e schizzo della facciata su strada.
Assonometria dalla corte interna.
Prospettiva della galleria.

Study drawings of sections and a sketch of the street front.
Axonometry from the internal courtyard.
Perspective view of the gallery.


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Viste interne della galleria, del corridoio trasversale e di un'aula di udienza.

Internal views of the gallery, the transverse corridor and a courtroom.



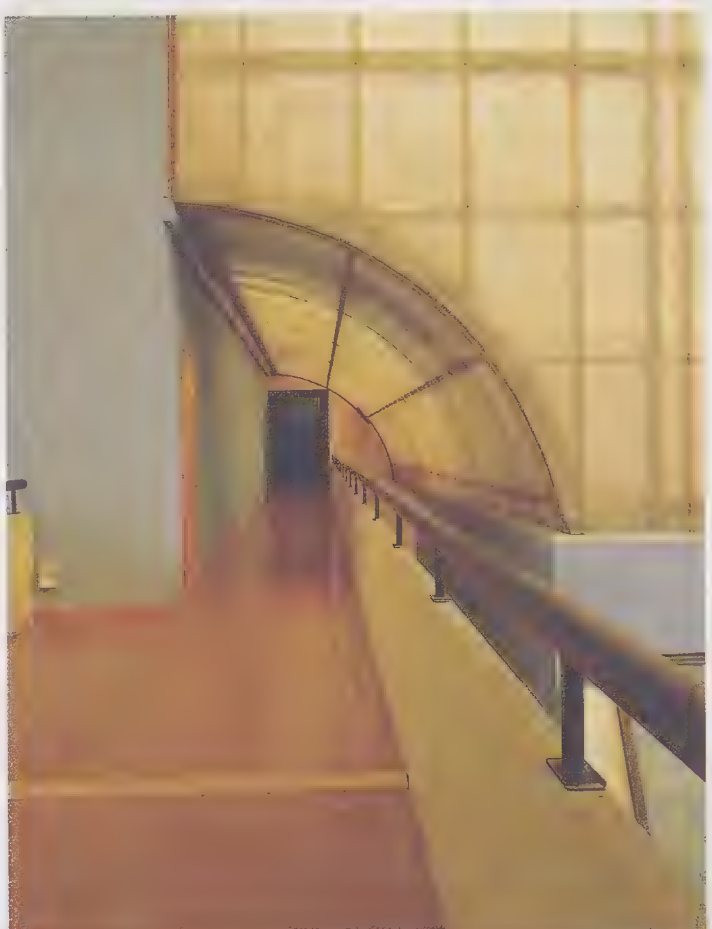






Dettagli della facciata sulla corte e vista interna del ballatoio sospeso.
"Autoritratto preoccupato per l'architettura", in secondo piano il Palazzo di Giustizia, 1977.

Details of the courtyard façade and an internal view of the hanging balcony.
"Self-portrait of the architect worried by architecture" (1977) with the Law Courts behind.





Progetto di concorso per il Palazzo di Giustizia di Lecce, Italia
Carlo Aymonino

L'importanza che un Palazzo di Giustizia ha per una città può condizionare in senso complesso e vario la trasformazione futura della struttura urbanistica e architettonica del settore. Per tali premesse urbanistiche è stata scelta la soluzione di progettare l'organismo partendo, da un lato, dall'architettura interna e quindi dalla necessaria unità e continuità dei diversi ambienti – soprattutto per ciò che riguarda il piano di ingresso –, e dall'altro dalla polivalenza urbanistico-architettonica.
Per tali motivi l'edificio nel suo complesso è stato concepito in forma dinamica e flessibile, senza facciate principali e secondarie, ma interamente proiettato nello spazio circostante.
L'interno è raggiungibile da più punti data la posizione dell'area, l'ubicazione dell'edificio nell'area stessa, la forma planimetrica (determinata dai tre organismi Tribunale-Pretura-Procura-Corte d'Appello) e l'aver voluto differenziare per quanto possibile la penetrazione dei diversi utenti (magistrati, avvocati, pubblico, detenuti, ecc.). I tre atrii, oltre a svolgere il compito dello smistamento della intera massa di pubblico, permettono, con la continuità degli spazi, di percepire anche dall'interno l'organizzazione funzionale dell'intero complesso e la sua organica suddivisione.
Negli atrii affacciano tutte le aule che sono state pensate in modo da suddividere chiaramente i percorsi dei vari partecipanti allo svolgimento dell'atto giudiziario.
Il punto focale dell'edificio è il baricentro dei due complessi scale-ascensori che, attraverso la loro particolare struttura e ubicazione, collegano nello spazio i tre blocchi, sedi delle diverse branche giudiziarie.
Questi blocchi rappresentano, con le diversità di altezza e di angolazione, i tre gruppi principali dell'organismo Palazzo di Giustizia. Architettonicamente la loro unità si ritrova in una medesima modulazione, in uno stesso materiale di tamponamento, in sostanza in una flessibilità di un ulteriore sviluppo in altezza e una possibilità di mutamenti all'interno dei singoli blocchi.
Tale apparente uniformità può in realtà costituire la base di una diversità cromatica dovuta al gioco di luci e ombre per la diversa angolazione dei volumi, per la profondità dei pannelli finestra e per le ampie zone di ombra che scavano l'edificio sino alla sua base.
Il progetto intende così ricollegarsi in modo attuale alla tradizione dell'architettura leccese caratterizzata più da un suo stretto rapporto tra impianto urbano ed effetti chiaroscurali che da una sovrabbondanza di decorazioni, inconfondibili espressioni di un irripetibile momento storico.

Competition Project for Law Courts, Lecce, Italy
Carlo Aymonino

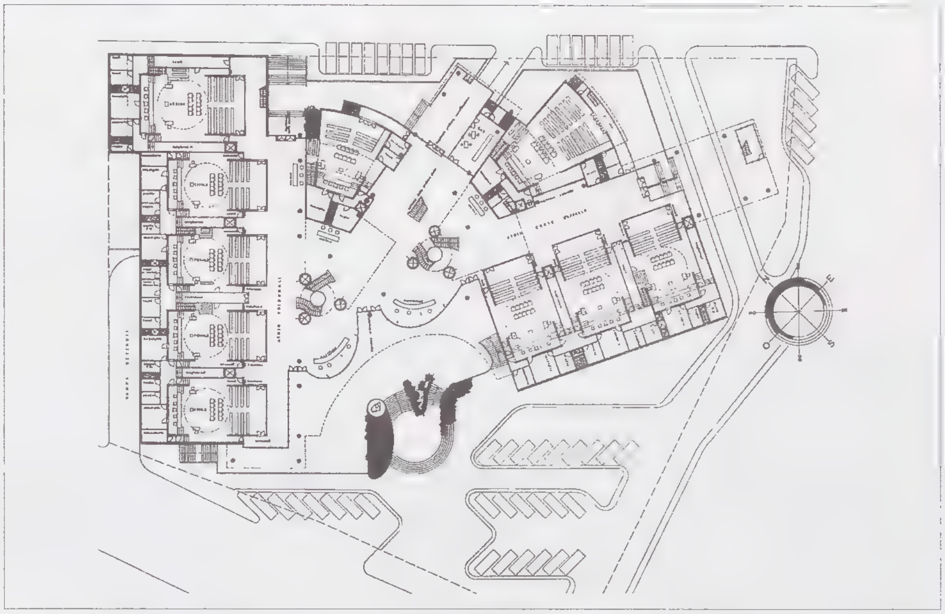
The unusual importance that Law Courts have for a city may influence the future architectural and urban development of the immediate area in a complex variety of ways. As a result, we decided, on the one hand, to design the complex from the inside out, i.e. from interior architectural design and the need to make all the environments continuous and interrelated, especially at entrance level; and on the other, to create a truly versatile combination of architecture and urban planning.
For all these reasons, the building as a whole was designed to be dynamic and flexible: it has no main or secondary façades, and is wholly projected into the surrounding space.
There are several ways into the building, resulting from the positioning of the site, the positioning of the building on the site, the shape of its ground plan (based on three distinct sections: Law Courts – Magistrate's Court/Public Prosecutor's Office – Appeal Court) and the desire to keep the various users of the building (magistrates, judges, lawyers, public, prisoners) as separate as possible. As well as sorting out the general mass of people entering the building, the three halls make it possible to see, even from inside, the functional layout of the entire complex and its organic subdivisions.
All the courtrooms flank these halls, with clearly separate access for the different categories of people involved in or attending trials.
The focal point and centre of gravity of the building is the two stair-lift complexes which, due to their siting and unusual structure, link the three blocks containing the different judicial departments.
With their different heights and angles, these blocks constitute the three major organs of the

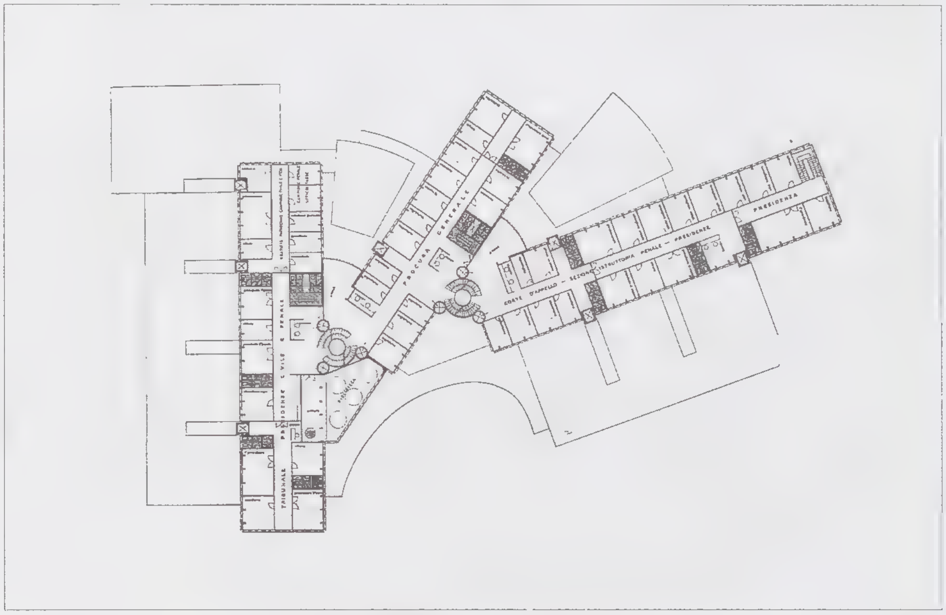
Palazzo di Giustizia di Lecce, Italia
1961

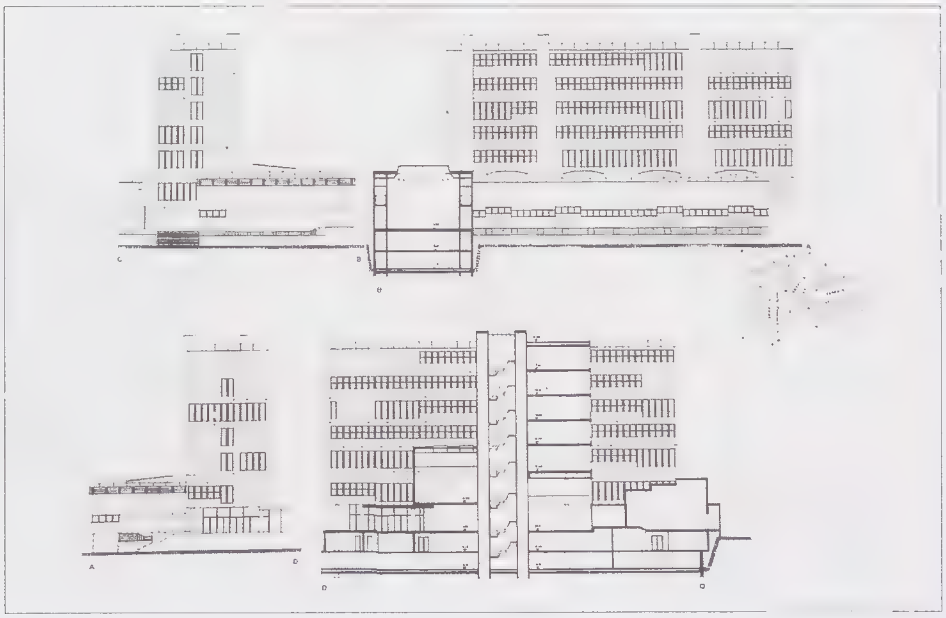
Carlo Aymonino

con/with: Maurizio Aymonino, Baldo de Rossi, Franco Cicirillo, Giuseppe Marasco

Law Court organism. Architecturally, unity is created by shared stylistic modulation and infill wall material, and a flexibility of design that will allow the blocks to grow in height, and changes to be made inside each individual block, if necessary.
The apparent uniformity of the complex might also be a starting point for chromatic diversity based on the chiaroscuro effects created by different angles of the volumes, the depth of the window panels and the broad areas of shadow that penetrate the building right down to the base.
The architects believe that the design is a relevant modern continuation of Lecce's architectural tradition, which in their view is based more on an intimate relationship between urban design and chiaroscuro architectural effects than on the unique – and inimitable – Baroque decorative styles for which the city is so famous.

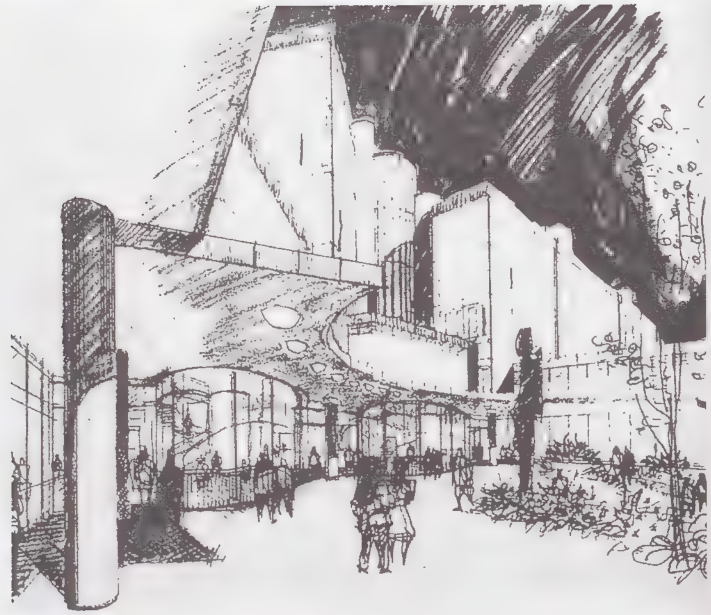


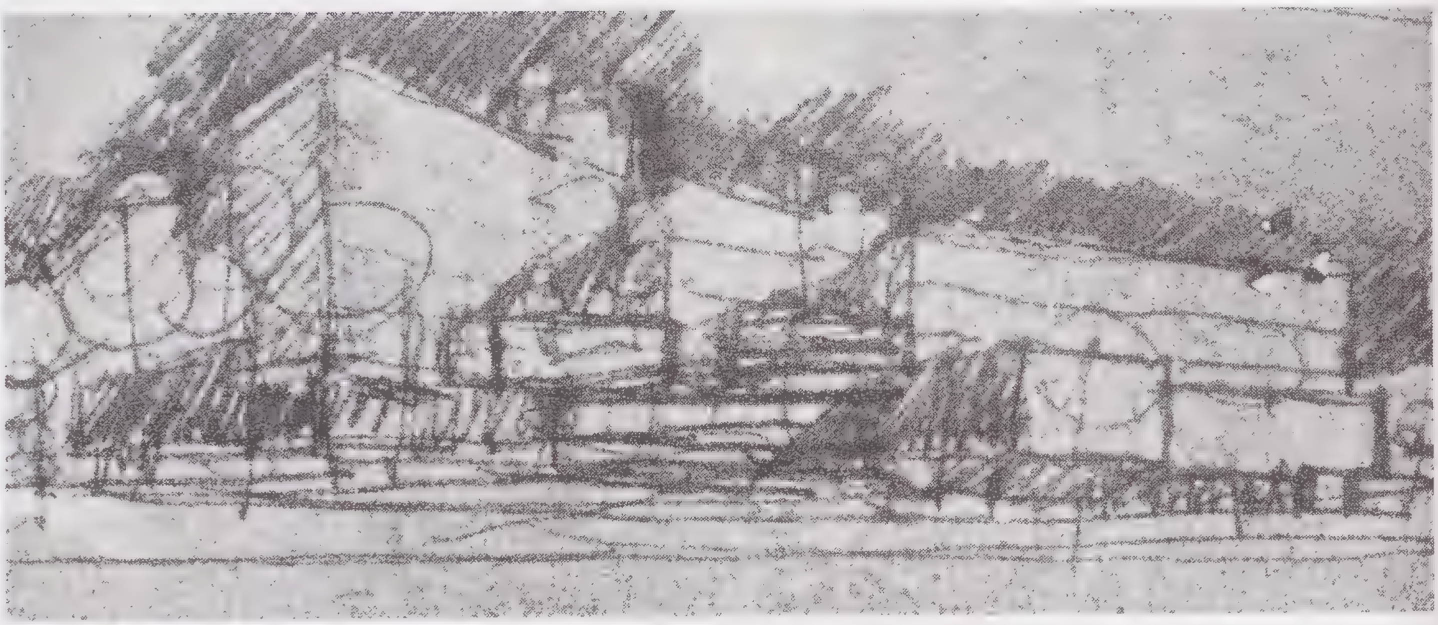


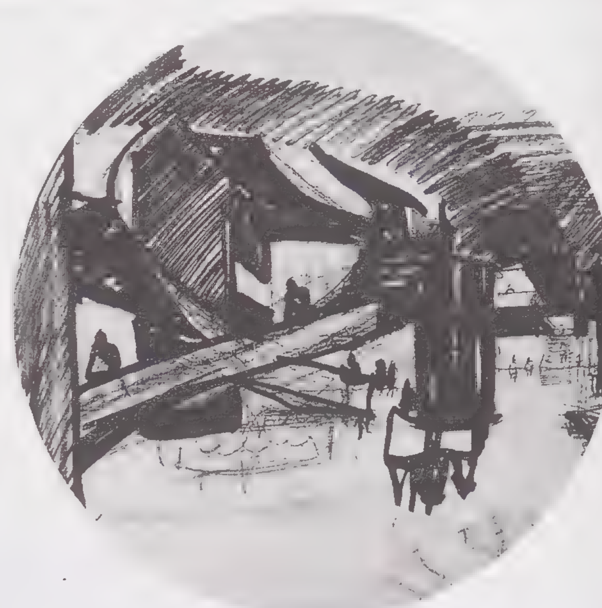


Piante dei piani terreno e tipo e sezioni.

Plans of the ground floor and a standard floor, and sections.







Disegni di studio, modello e fotomontaggio.

Study drawings, model and photomontage.





Palazzo di Giustizia di Alba, Cuneo, Italia

1987-90

R[illegible]tti, Aimaro Isola

[illegible] Guido [illegible] Remo [illegible]

Foto/Photos: D. [illegible]



Vista dall'alto della corte interna.

View from above of internal courtyard.

Palazzo di Giustizia di Alba, Cuneo, Italia

1987-90

Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

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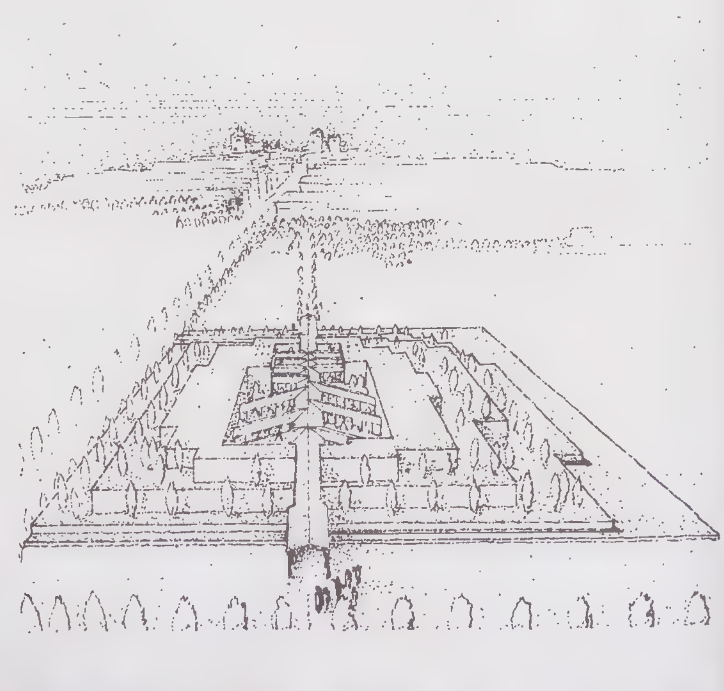
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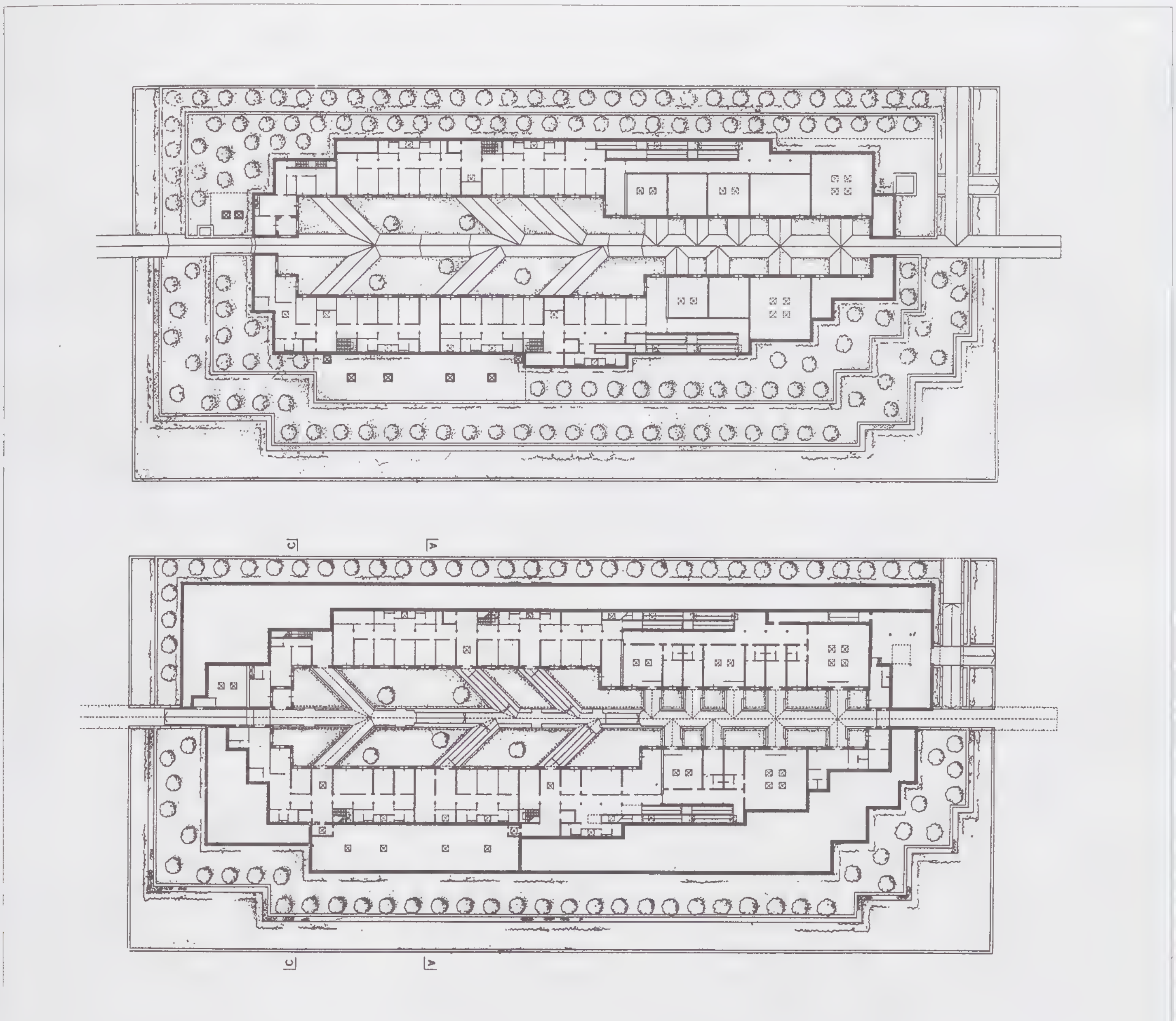


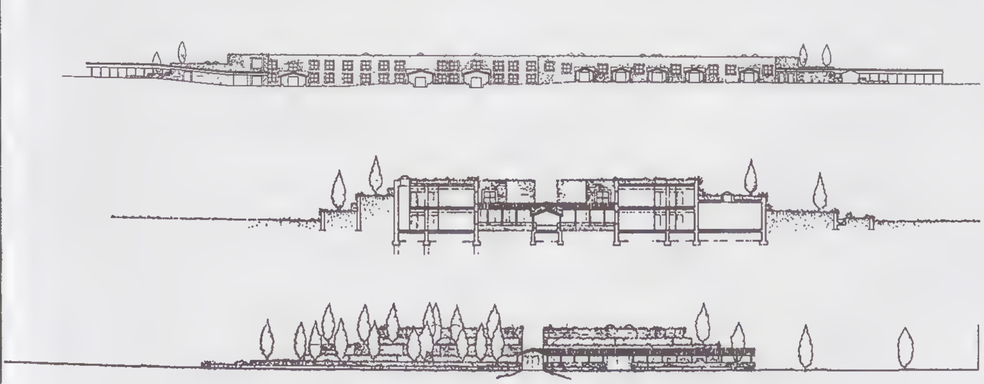
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Palazzo di Giustizia di Alba, Cuneo, Italia
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

Il nuovo edificio del Palazzo di Giustizia di Alba è destinato ad ospitare il Tribunale, la Procura della Repubblica, la Pretura, l'Ufficio di Conciliazione, gli Archivi nonché l'alloggio del custode.
La zona del Tribunale comprende tre sale udienze (e annessi), gli uffici per i giudici e le Cancellerie (Penale, Civile, Commerciale), gli uffici per gli ufficiali giudiziari, i commessi, ecc.
La zona della Procura comprende gli uffici dei procuratori e le segreterie (e annessi), nonché i locali per la squadra di Polizia Giudiziaria.
La zona della Pretura comprende due sale udienze (e annessi), gli uffici per i pretori e gli uffici di Cancelleria nonché i locali speciali.
La sede dell'Ufficio di Conciliazione comprende locali per sedute e per uffici. Gli Archivi sono centralizzati.
L'edificio è costituito da due corpi di fabbrica ad andamento parallelo a Viale Torino e fra di loro separati, affacciati a uno spazio libero interno contenente al piano terra le gallerie di collegamento e gli spazi verdi. Questi nuclei funzionali sono collegati tra di loro e agli ingressi mediante un porticato in parte vetrato che si distende secondo l'asse principale e si dirama verso i singoli ingressi con un andamento ad albero.
Gli Archivi sono centralizzati al piano terreno, nel corpo di fabbrica di sinistra, e sono accessibili mediante due diversi collegamenti con la rete dei percorsi interni.
Gli elementi di collegamento verticale fra piano terreno e primo piano sono costituiti da due rampe di collegamento interno e da cinque gruppi di scale.
Al corpo di fabbrica di destra sono annessi, in testata, l'ingresso carraio (in prossimità dell'ingresso pedonale), per l'accesso al posteggio coperto riservato alle vetture di servizio (collegato direttamente all'interno con le sale udienze del Tribunale); sul fondo è inserita la centrale termica, con accesso diretto dall'esterno, contenente caldaie, pompe, ecc.
La costruzione del nuovo edificio del Palazzo di Giustizia di Alba sorge sul lato nordest di Piazza Medford, su di un terreno alluvionale in profondità, in superficie di riporto. Le fondazioni sono su pali per raggiungere lo strato di marna compatta sottostante allo strato alluvionale; sui pali di fondazione sono previste travi longitudinali e trasversali per l'appoggio delle strutture verticali e per la formazione delle banchine continue orizzontali di collegamento; queste servono anche per formare i piani di posa dei muri di contenimento delle terre a sostegno dei giardini alberati, circostanti l'edificio a varie quote.
La struttura compositiva dell'edificio consegue a un'impostazione rigorosa, volta alla definizione di spazi di forte caratterizzazione e di spiccata amenità. Il dettato funzionale quindi, e quello formale, sono retti da un'unica direttrice progettuale, riassuntivamente definita dai seguenti obbiettivi:
una posizione del nuovo edificio destinato al Palazzo di Giustizia che riqualifichi formalmente lo spazio di arrivo principale nella città di Alba, attraverso il ponte sul Tanaro, mediante la costituzione di un primo piano, rispetto al fondale del centro storico (a mascheramento anche delle degradatissime forme dei condomini di recente costruzione, affacciati sul Corso Matteotti, lungo i limiti del centro storico);
una configurazione dell'edificio che lo caratterizzi come fondale rispetto agli spazi liberi di Piazza Medford, verso il lato nordest della piazza stessa; attraverso la formazione di spalti verdi, con alberi, prati, acqua;
un'apertura simbolica e funzionale del complesso verso il centro storico di Alba (intestata principalmente all'incrocio fra Viale Torino e Corso Matteotti);
un affaccio di tutte le attività principali previste (sale udienze, uffici, alloggi) soltanto verso lo spazio libero interno (lo spazio che risulta delimitato dalle due maniche longitudinali ha carattere di giardino continuo, interrotto da una bassa galleria vetrata completamente immersa entro aree verdi), così da evitare da un lato il gran rumore di traffico leggero e pesante lungo Viale Torino (adiacente a nordest), dall'altro lato il rumore proveniente dagli spazi liberi di Piazza Medford (posti sul lato opposto a sudovest) destinati ad ospitare fiere, parchi di divertimento, mercati, ecc.
Il carattere generale della composizione architettonica nasce invece da questa duplice polarità: una zona verde esterna, con terrazzamenti digradanti verso Viale Torino e Piazza Medford; una zona verde interna piana, percorsa da una galleria vetrata costituente quasi un sistema allungato di piccoli patii.
La testata sudest costituisce poi il punto di collegamento fra le due diverse impostazioni costruttive, dando unità e simmetria ai corpi murati sudest e nordovest e contenendo al centro lo sbocco verso sudest della galleria vetrata che continua anche fuori dall'edificio, come semplice portico, fino all'incrocio fra Viale Torino e Corso Matteotti.





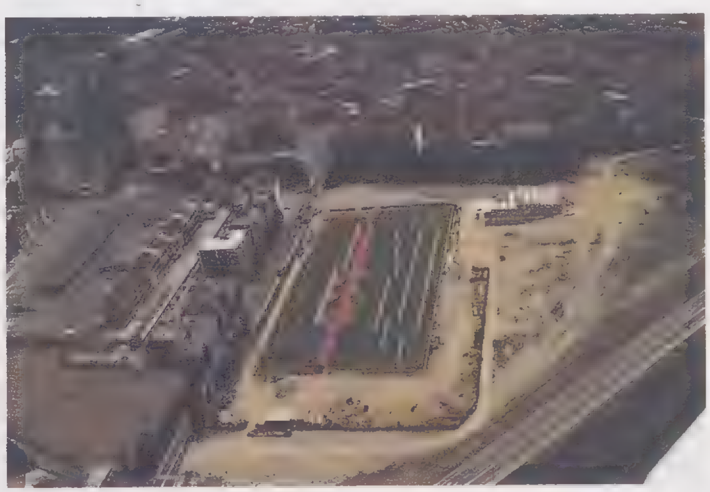


Disegno di studio.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo.
Sezioni longitudinale e trasversali.

Study drawing.
Ground and first floor plans.
Longitudinal and cross sections.

Law Courts, Alba, Cuneo, Italy
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

The new courthouse in Alba will house the Law Courts, the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Magistrate's Court, the Office of Conciliation and the archives, as well as janitor's quarters.
The court area comprises three courts (and annexes), judges' chambers, Chanceries (criminal, civil, commercial), bailiffs' offices, clerks' offices, etc.
The Public Prosecution area comprises the Public Prosecutors' private and secretarial offices (and annexes), as well as the criminal police department.
The Magistrate's Court area comprises two courts (and annexes), magistrates' offices, Chancery offices and special services.
Finally, the Office of Conciliation comprises tribunal rooms and offices. The archives are centralised.
The complex consists of two separate blocks sited parallel to Viale Torino, flanking an open internal space with a ground-floor gallery passageway and green space. The two functional nuclei are connected to each other and the entrances by a partly glazed portico extending along the main axis and branching out towards the individual entrances.
The archives are grouped together on the ground floor in the block on the left, and are accessed by two separate links with the internal circulation network.
Two internal ramps and five sets of stairs link the ground floor to the upper floor.
The block on the right has, at one end, the vehicle entrance (near the pedestrian entrance) leading to the covered car park for court personnel (linked directly to interior of the building where the courts are situated); and at the other end, the heating plant with direct outside access, housing boilers, pumps, etc.
The new Law Courts on the north-east side of Piazza Medford on a deeply banked alluvial site have pile foundations to reach the stratum of compact marble below the alluvial stratum. Longitudinal and cross beams mounted on the piles will support the vertical structures and form the continuos headtrees providing the horizontal connections. These will also form the base levels for the embankment walls of the tree-planted gardens surrounding the building at various levels.
The building was carefully designed to be both distinctive and attractive. Its functional and formal features are the result of a single design process based on the following aims:
siting which formally enhances the main arrival point in Alba at the end of the bridge over the River Tanaro, including a first-floor level higher than the base level of the historical centre that serves, among other things, to conceal the brutal ugliness of the recent apartment blocks along the edge of the historical centre on Corso Matteotti;
an architectural configuration that will make the building a backdrop for the open spaces towards the north-east side of Piazza Medford with terraced beds, trees, lawns, fountains, etc.;
a symbolic and functional opening of the complex towards the historical centre at the cross-roads of Viale Torino and Corso Matteotti; the siting of all the main functions (courts, offices, dwellings) facing the open internal space (enclosed by the two longitudinal arms, and comprising a continuous garden with a low glazed passageway totally immersed in greenery) to avoid the noise of automobile and heavy vehicle traffic on Viale Torino (to the north-east) and from the open spaces in Piazza Medford (on the opposite south-west side) that will host fairs, amusement parks, markets, etc.
The general architectural composition is determined by the dual configuration of the site: an external green area with terraces descending towards Viale Torino and Piazza Medford, and a flat internal green area with a glazed gallery that almost becomes an elongated system of small patios.
The south-east end marks the point of contact between the two configurations, bringing unity and symmetry to the south-east and north-west blocks and provided a south-easterly outlet for the glazed gallery that extends beyond the building as a simple portico as far as the cross-roads of Viale Torino and Corso Matteotti.



Vista aerea verso il centro storico e vista delle gallerie di collegamento.

Aerial view towards the historical centre and view of the connecting galleries.







Vista esterna.

External view.

Palazzo di Giustizia di Pinerolo, Torino, Italia

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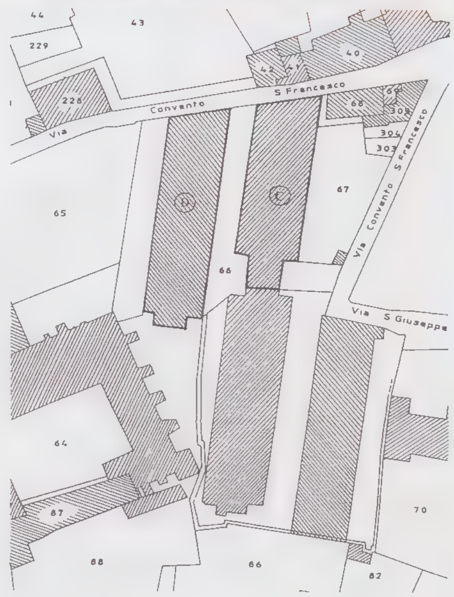
Palazzo di Giustizia di Pinerolo, Torino, Italia
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

1. Le strutture murarie risalgono all'architetto Vauban, al tempo in cui Pinerolo era sotto la dominazione di Luigi XIV; le caserme erano costituite da quattro corpi di fabbrica, due interni allineati, uno a valle e uno a monte: il presente restauro riguarda il corpo di fabbrica a monte e il suo antistante, diviso dall'altro corpo interno da un arco, con sottostante scala di accesso principale.
2. Tutte le strutture murarie preesistenti (pilastri, archi, volte, scale, sottotetti) sono state conservate nella loro integrità, intonachi compresi: sono state soltanto rimosse le divisioni in legno che hanno definito le stanze, nel periodo di questo dopoguerra in cui le caserme sono state adibite ad abitazioni per sfollati.
3. Prima della redazione del progetto erano crollate, a tutta altezza, le volte di testata del corpo mediano: nel progetto sono state ricostruite con solai in cemento armato, per ospitare le grandi sale di udienza.
4. Già nell'elaborazione del piano urbanistico di zona, e poi, più puntualmente, nel progetto architettonico, sono state contenute tutte le strutture nuove (scale, ascensori, atrii ai piani) in una gabbia, interna allo stretto cortile, gabbia realizzata come intervento reversibile (in vetro e ferro). La costruzione di questa serra a più piani ha dato maggiore luminosità ai vani adiacenti (l'affaccio sullo stretto cortile portava poca luce a tutti gli ambienti dei piani bassi delle vecchie caserme).
5. A questa soluzione si è arrivati gradualmente, partendo dal principio di conservare ogni reperto murario dei corpi di fabbrica seicenteschi e assegnando ad una serra interna al cortile le nuove funzioni distributive.

Law Courts, Pinerolo, Turin, Italy
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

1. The masonry by Vanban dates from the time when Pinerolo was under the French domination of Louis XIV. The barracks consisted of four blocks with two aligned uphill and downhill internal blocks. The present restoration involved the upper block and the area in front of it, separated from the other internal block by an arch spanning the main entrance stairs below.
2. All the existing masonry (pillars, arches, vaulting, stairs, attics) was kept intact, including plasterwork and stucco. The only major change was the removal of the wooden partition walls installed to form rooms in the immediate postwar period when the barracks were converted to house evacuees.
3. Before the restoration plan had been drawn up, the head vaults of the middle block collapsed to their full height. During restoration they were rebuilt with reinforced concrete floors to accommodate the spacious courtrooms.
4. In the general urban planning document for the area and, in more detail, the architectural project itself, all the new structures (stairs, lifts, lobbies for each floor) were enclosed in a cage fitted into the cramped courtyard. The glass and iron cage was designed as a reversible structure.
This additional multi-storey glazed structure provides more light for the rooms adjacent to it (in the old barracks, the lower-floor rooms facing the narrow courtyard received very little light).
5. The final design was arrived at by stages, starting from the principle that all the original masonry of the seventeenth-century building had to be retained, and that all the new distributive functions would be grouped in a glazed structure inside the courtyard.



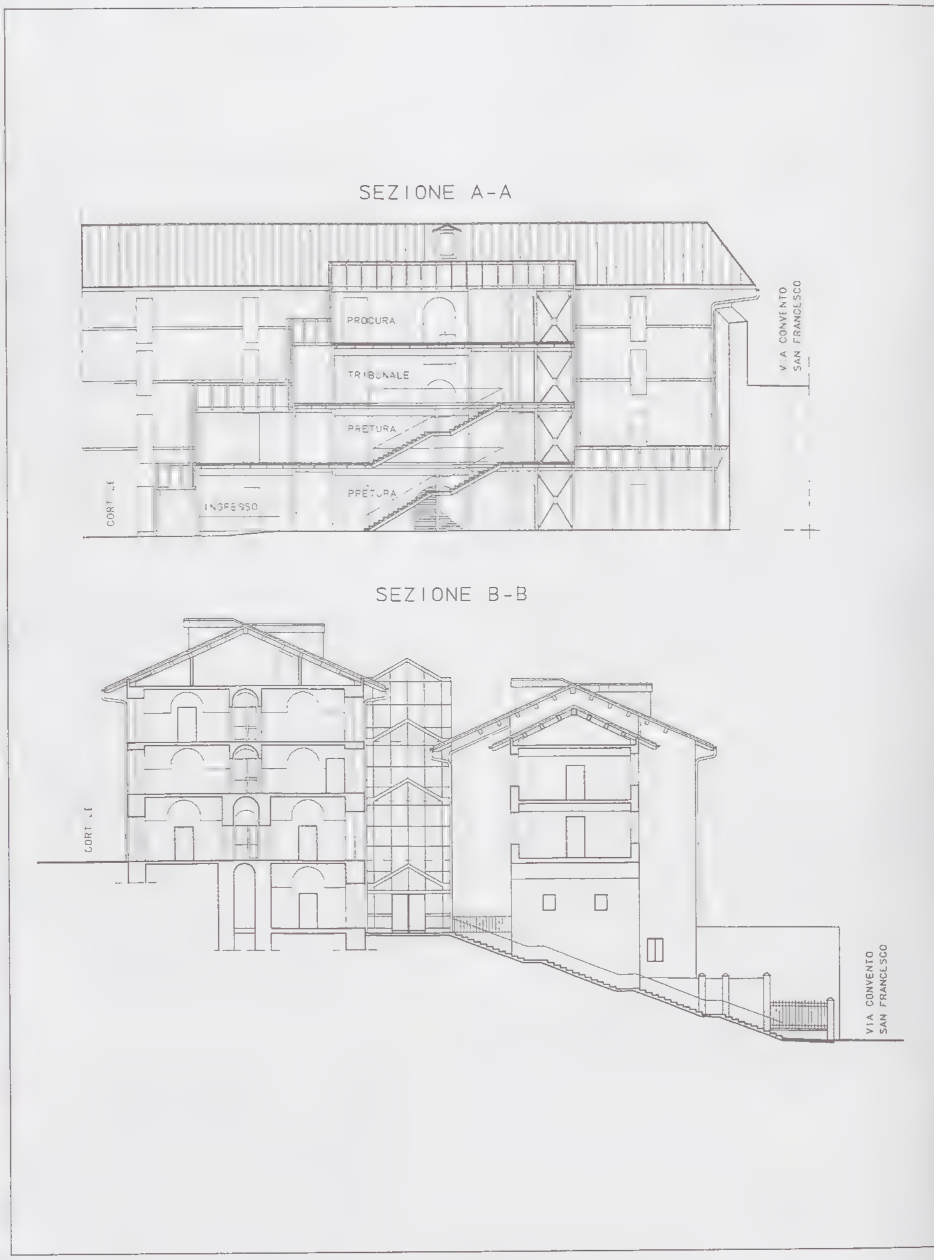


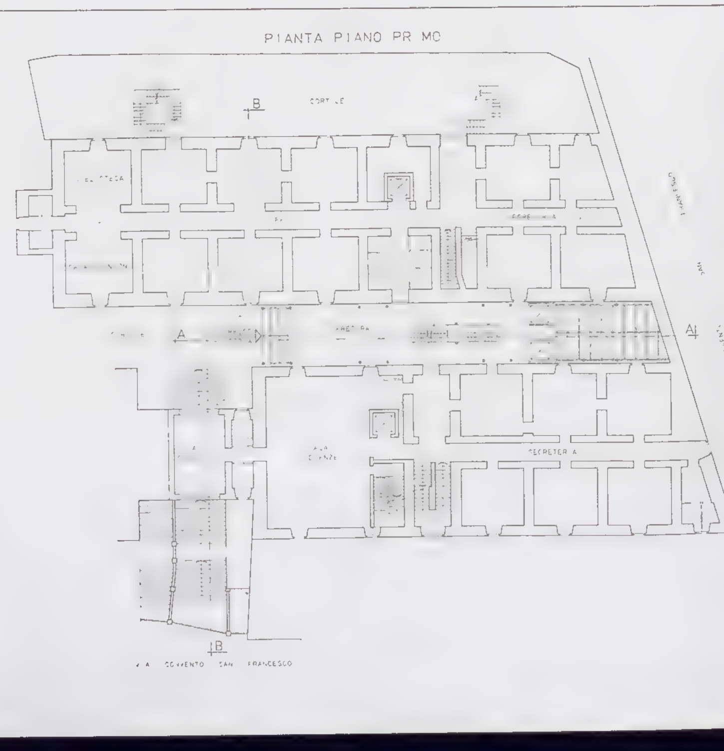
Vista dal cortile.
Vista del modello e planimetria prima dell'intervento.

View from courtyard.
View of model and general plan before the work was carried out.









Sezioni e pianta.
Viste interne e di dettaglio del corpo vetrato.

Sections and plan.
Internal views and detail of glass block.





Palazzo di Giustizia di Ancona, Italia

1975-86

Guido Canella, Fernando Clemente, Alberto Sandroni

coll.: Maurizio Ferrari
Consulenti/consultants: Andrea Castiglioni, Giuseppe Grandori

Foto/Photo: S. Topuntoli

Vista interna della piazza coperta.

Internal view of the covered piazza.



Palazzo di Giustizia di Ancona, Italia

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Vista interna della piazza coperta.

Internal view of the covered piazza.



Spaccato assonometrico e prospetto sud.

Exploded axonometric and south elevation.

Palazzo di Giustizia di Ancona, Italia
Guido Canella, Fernando Clemente, Alberto Sandroni

Inizialmente l'incarico di progetto contemplava la demolizione del Palazzo di Giustizia (costruito tra il 1878 e il 1884 nei modi di un umbratile *revival* neorinascimentale dall'ingegnere primario della Provincia Alessandro Benedetti) e la sua sostituzione in luogo, dopo le lesioni riportate nel terremoto del 1972, con edificio nuovo di aumentata capacità. Dopo le obiezioni da parte dei progettisti (spintesi fino a provocare una temporanea revoca d'incarico), e anche per diretto interessamento dell'ente locale, venne accolta la loro proposta tesa a mantenere e restaurare l'involucro esterno originale come testimonianza di esclusivo rilievo storico-ambientale (dato lo scarso valore tipologico-architettonico) nel paesaggio composito risultato dall'espansione postunitaria della Spina dei corsi, e a inserire la piazza coperta ricavata al centro dell'edificio radicalmente ristrutturato nell'intrico dei flussi pedonali alternativi a quelli stradali.
L'impostazione di progetto, concettualmente unitaria, ha dato luogo così a due espressioni architettoniche: del passato e del presente, percepibili separatamente dall'esterno e dall'interno, evitando la contaminazione di cui spesso si fanno portatori gli adattamenti a rinnovate funzioni di edifici del passato.
La soluzione adottata, minimizzando gli ingombri fissi, si articola a partire da quattro torri angolari dislocate alle intersezioni interne dei quattro corpi di fabbrica. Da esse si estende ad albero un sistema di impalcati i cui terminali perimetrali sono sostenuti da una struttura verticale a diedri, che trapunta la muratura superstite consolidandola. Resa così indipendente, la struttura primaria consente una ripartizione di piani praticabili diversa da quella preesistente. Pertanto i vari piani,

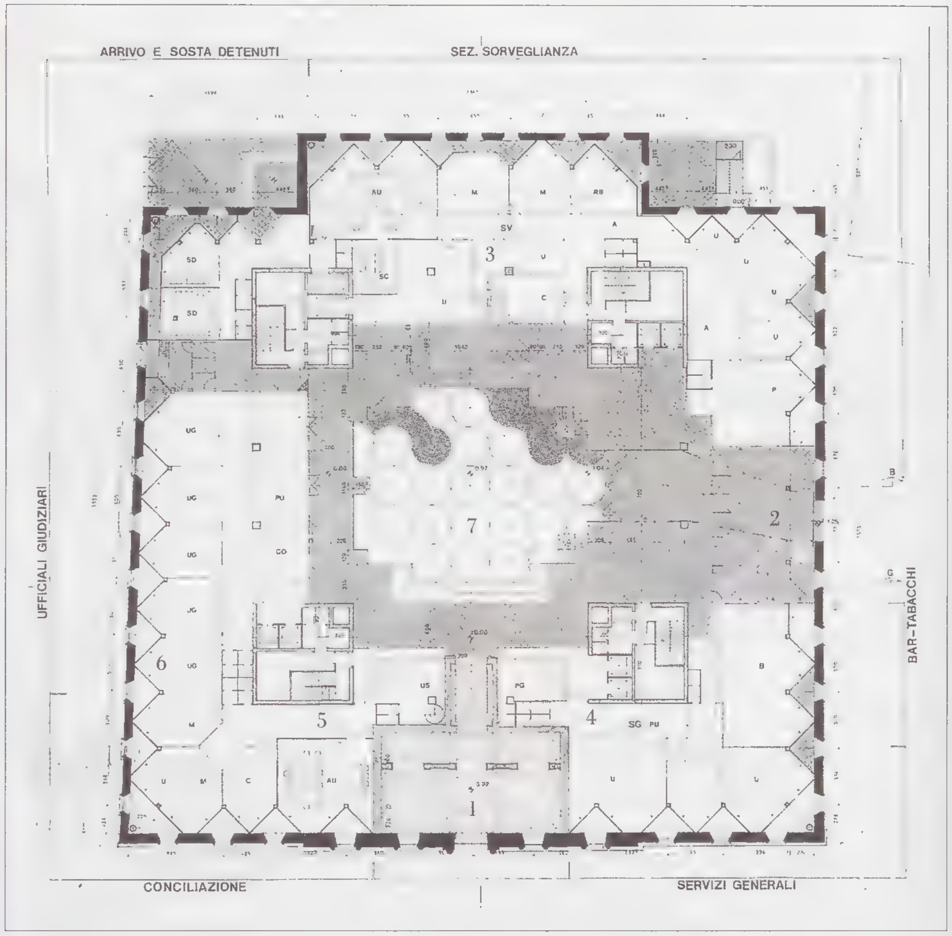
agganciati ma arretrati a risega dalla muratura di bordo, danno luogo all'intercapedine che circonda l'edificio per tutta l'altezza, mentre verso l'interno si estendono fino alle balconate sostenute da un sistema di quattro travi a traliccio alle quali sono appesi gli sbalzi protesi fino a delimitare l'invaso della piazza coperta interna.
Il sistema delle quattro travi a traliccio sostiene anche l'ombrello centrale di copertura, dotato di tamburo areabile, dove il lucernario risulta da lastre e da cupole in policarbonato, a doppia parete (interna trasparente, esterna in opalino traslucido). La pavimentazione in porfido della piazza interna riproduce, per proiezione verticale, il disegno a cerchi del lucernario. Le torri svolgono funzioni multiple, contenendo le colonne verticali dei disimpegni, impianti, servizi e assolvendo alla funzione statica antisismica primaria.
Si è ottenuta così una serie di piani pressoché liberi (con i soli vincoli delle torri angolari, delle quattro coppie dei pilastri rompitratta e dei tiranti di bordo di sostegno degli sbalzi), che consente una larga adattabilità distributiva. Mentre al piano seminterrato si trovano archivio e depositi, al piano terreno sono dislocate quelle funzioni a più diretto contatto col pubblico disimpegnate dalla piazza coperta interna accessibile dai quattro lati dell'edificio. I piani intermedi (dal primo al quarto), prolungando gli sbalzi delle balconate fino ad allinearli ai lati interni delle torri angolari, costruiscono quell'alternanza di pieni e vuoti che si affaccia sull'invaso centrale. Dal piano della piazza ai parapetti delle balconate si protende la sistemazione a verde. All'ultimo piano, dove sono dislocate le principali aule di udienza, tanto i tralicci perimetrali esistenti quanto quelli interni filtrano una ricca e articolata immissione di luce. A questo livello lo sbalzo aggetta ulteriormente per offrire più profondità ai disimpegni delle aule.

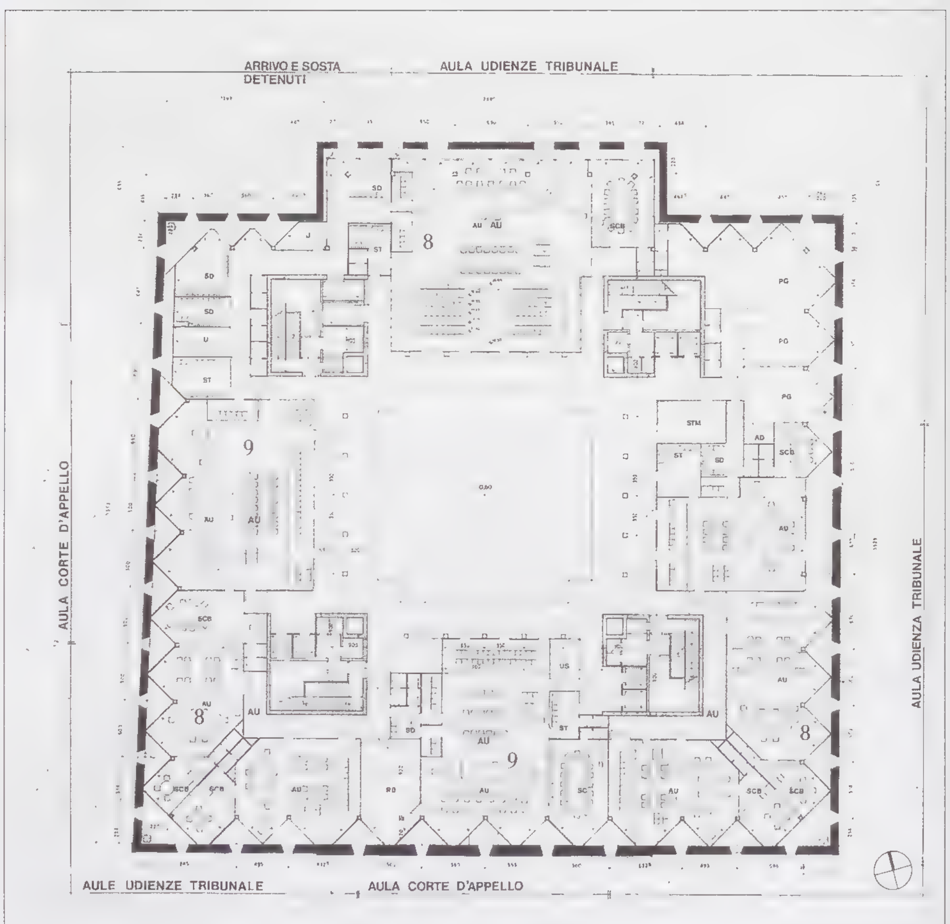
Law Courts, Ancona, Italy
Guido Canella, Fernando Clemente, Alberto Sandroni

Initially, the brief was to demolish the existing Law Courts (built between1878 and 1884 in a vaguely neo-Renaissance style by chief engineer of the Province, Alessandro Benedetti), which were damaged in the 1972 earthquake and replace them with a new, larger building.
After objections from the architects themselves (which led to temporary withdrawal of the commission) and the direct involvement of the local authority, the client accepted their proposal to retain and restore the original shell as a purely historical-contextual memorial (the typology and architecture themselves are of little merit) in the composite cityscape engendered by post-unification expansion of the city-centre road system formed by the parallel avenues Corso Matteotti, Corso Mazzini, Corso Garibaldi and Corso Stamira, and to insert the covered piazza, at the centre of the extensively renovated building, in the local web of off-street pedestrian flows.
Thus, the conceptually unified project had two architecturally distinct facets: a past and present kept separate in the building's stylistically and functionally different exterior and interior, preventing the kind of contamination that often results from adapting old buildings to new purposes. The design keeps permanent intervention to a minimum: four corner towers located at the internal intersections of the four blocks branch into a scaffolding system terminating at the perimeter in a vertical dihedral frame that joins and reinforces the existing masonry shell. Since it is free-standing, the main frame makes possible a new division of floors. On the outside, they are both attached to and set back from the shell, creating a full-height cavity on all four sides; on the inside, they extend into overhanging balconies, sustained by a system of four truss girders, that define the perimeter of the covered internal piazza.
This system of girders also supports the central umbrella roof with an extending drum that creates a rooflight of polycarbonate double-walled sheeting and domes (clear inside, semi-transparent outside). The porphyry paving of the piazza repeats the circular patterning of the rooflight above. The towers serve a variety of purposes: they contain lifts, stairs and service installations, and have a primary aseismic static function.
The result is a sequence of virtually independent floors (linked only to the corner towers, the four pairs of dividing pillars and the stays supporting the overhangs), and much enhanced spatial freedom.
The basement houses the archive and storerooms, while the ground floor groups functions requiring a more direct public interface, mediated by the covered piazza accessible from all four sides of the building. The upper floors (one to four), with balconies extended to align with the internal sides of the four corner towers, create alternating solids and voids around the central piazza. Vegetation extends from piazza level to the balcony parapets. On the top floor, where the main courtrooms are located, both the existing perimeter lattice-work and the new internal scaffolding filter in-coming daylight in complex ways, and the overhangs are more pronounced to provide more access space outside the courtrooms.





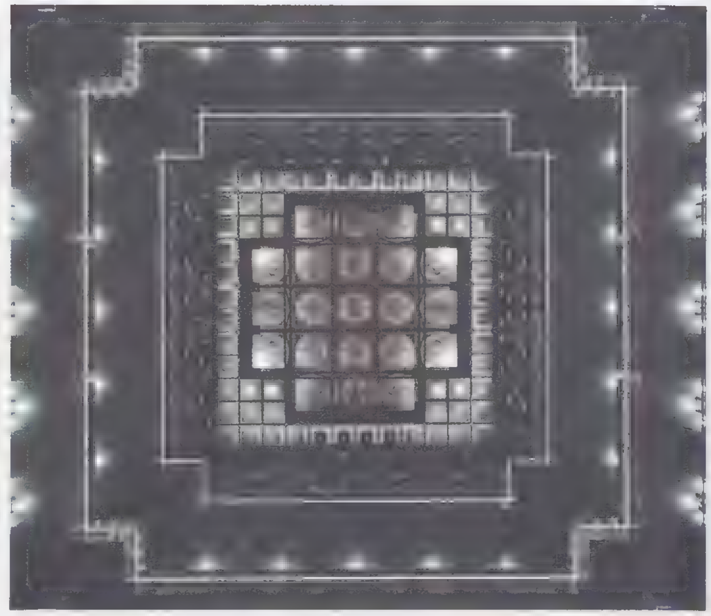

ARRIVO E SOSTA DETENUTI
SEZ. SORVEGLIANZA
UFFICIALI GIUDIZIARI
BAR-TABACCHI
CONCILIAZIONE
SERVIZI GENERALI


ARRIVO E SOSTA DETENUTI
AULA UDIENZE TRIBUNALE
AULA CORTE D'APPELLO
AULA UDIENZA TRIBUNALE
AULE UDIENZE TRIBUNALE
AULA CORTE D'APPELLO



Vista di dettaglio del fronte sud.
Piante dei piani terreno e quinto: 1) ingresso di rappresentanza; 2) ingresso ordinario; 3) sorveglianza; 4) servizi generali; 5) conciliazione; 6) ufficiali giudiziari; 7) piazza coperta; 8) Tribunale; 9) Corte d'Appello.
Sezione sulla piazza coperta.

Detailed view of south front.
Ground and fifth floor plans: 1) official entrance; 2) ordinary entrance; 3) security and surveillance; 4) general services; 5) conciliation; 6) officers of court; 7) covered piazza; 8) court; 9) Court of Appeal.
Section on covered piazza.





Viste interne di un'aula di udienza, del lucernario e delle balconate sulla piazza coperta.
Vista del fronte nord.

Internal views of a courtroom, the rooflight and the balcony facing the covered piazza.
View of the north front.



Uffici Giudiziari, Finanziari e Comunali di Legnano, Milano, Italia

1982 (inizio costruzione/start of construction)

Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto, Giorgio Morano, Ferruccio Rozza

coll.: Antonio Ferré, Ettore Mezzetti
Strutture/Structural Engineer: Fabrizio De Miranda

Foto/Photos: S. Topuntoli



Vista da sudovest.
Planimetria generale: 1) Uffici Giudiziari (realizzati); 2) Uffici Comunali (in progetto); 3) Uffici Finanziari (in progetto).

View from the south-west.
General plan: 1) judicial offices (completed); 2) municipal offices (under planning); 3) financial offices (under planning).



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Uffici Giudiziari, Finanziari e Comunali di Legnano, Milano, Italia*
Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto, Giorgio Morano, Ferruccio Rozza

Il complesso è stato previsto con impianto segmentato secondo due diverse assialità: il corpo centrale degli Uffici Comunali (che ospita, oltre a spazi operativi, il grande salone destinato alle attività di vita associata) è orientato secondo l'asse nordest/sudovest; mentre i corpi simmetrici, rispettivamente degli Uffici Finanziari e degli Uffici Giudiziari (che ospitano esclusivamente spazi operativi), sono orientati secondo l'asse nord/sud.
Lo sviluppo fuori terra dei corpi di fabbrica è contenuto entro una altezza pressoché costante, dalla quale eccedono le torri di cerniera, simmetriche al corpo centrale a scandire la tripartizione longitudinale del complesso architettonico.
La tipologia si configura in modo da definire spazi dotati di diversi regimi di accessibilità, variabili tra un massimo di praticabilità per il pubblico e un massimo di autonomia funzionale interna.
Sulla "piazza coperta" del corpo centrale gravitano i percorsi pubblici estesi tra nucleo storico, verde attrezzato, sistema dell'istruzione oltre-Olona. Qui possono essere ospitate attività civiche diverse e, in particolari condizioni atmosferiche, trovare ricetto i frequentatori del parco. La piazza, esagonale e ipogea, che s'incunea tra le due torri di cerniera e sotto il corpo "a ponte", è coperta nelle parti prominenti da falde inclinate sfalsate, in modo da consentirne l'illuminazione. Vi si accede da est e da ovest attraverso un sistema di rampe a scivolo e scale.
Attraverso gli atrii d'ingresso posti al piede delle torri si accede ai percorsi pensili, divaricati verso i corpi nord e sud. Essi conducono agli spazi destinati a quelle attività che comportano il contatto diretto tra pubblico e operatori (è il caso delle aule giudiziarie della Pretura e delle sale per i servizi al pubblico dell'Amministrazione comunale), dislocate entro due corpi quadrati. Ciascuno di essi, lungo i lati rivolti al parco, è dotato di un percorso di distribuzione interna destinato agli operatori e direttamente connesso, con un gruppo riservato di scale e ascensori, ai piani superiori degli uffici. La pianta libera consente di organizzare al meglio il rapporto frontale tra pubblico e operatori, evitando ogni interferenza.
Attraverso collegamenti verticali (anche meccanizzati), contenuti nelle torri di cerniera, il pubblico selezionato accede agli spazi operativi riservati alle varie funzioni. Gli uffici sono ospitati nel corpo "a ponte" e nei due corpi in linea, disposti simmetricamente. La loro sezione si articola su due livelli: quello superiore affaccia sul sottostante attraverso una fenditura longitudinale, che consente l'illuminazione anche dal lucernario posto in copertura.

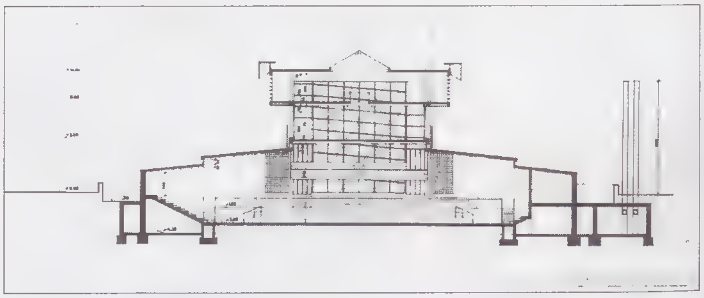
(*) L'Amministrazione, dopo l'esito parimerito di un concorso nazionale, ha voluto assegnare a due gruppi distinti l'incarico di un nuovo progetto, di cui è fin qui realizzata la sola parte destinata agli Uffici Giudiziari. Parte tuttavia di cui i progettisti non hanno potuto curare gli arredi e le finiture interne nonché la sistemazione esterna.

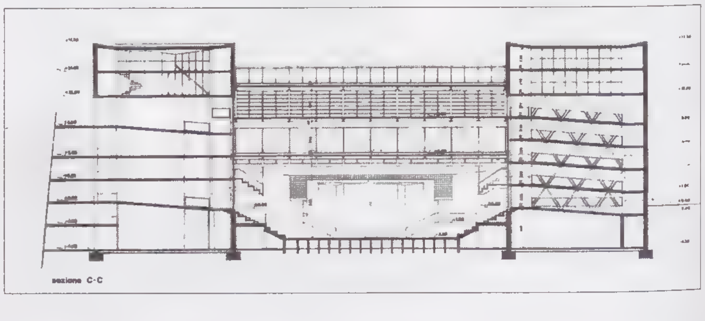
Judicial, financial and municipal offices, Legnano, Milan, Italy*
Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto, Giorgio Morano, Ferruccio Rozza

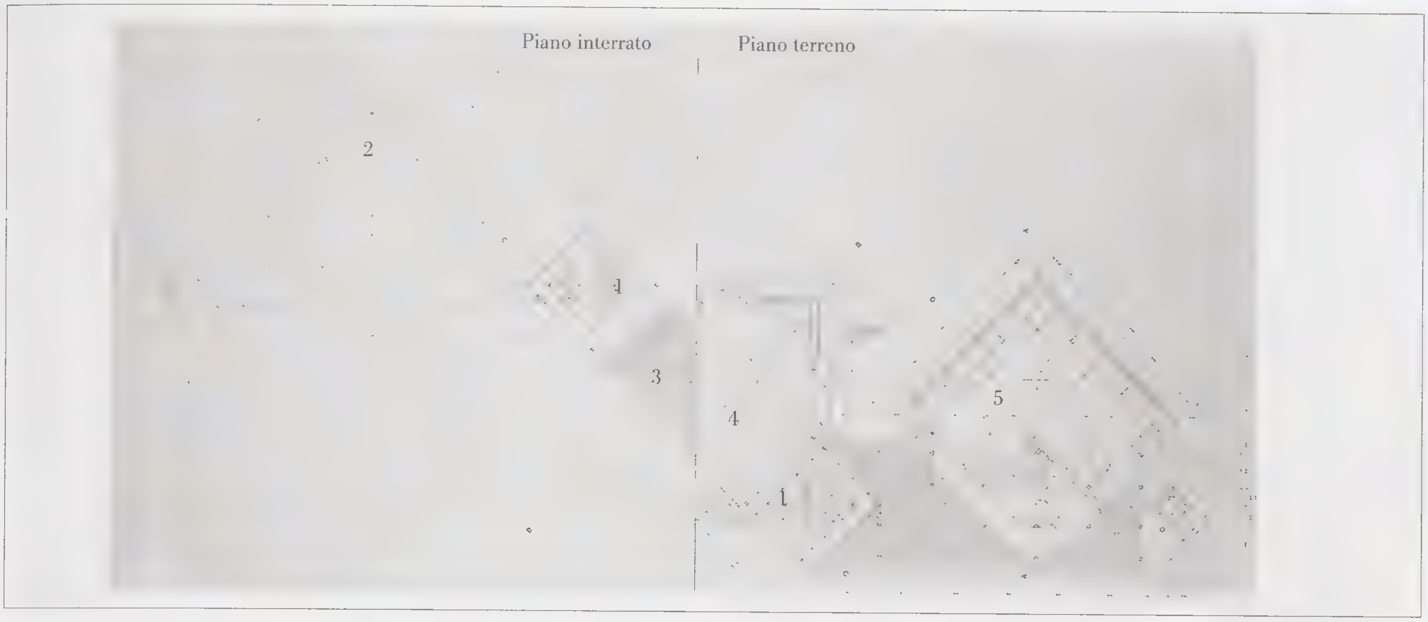
The complex is segmented along two different axes: the main block of municipal offices (which also has a large public hall) is oriented on the north-east/south-west axis, while the symmetrical blocks (financial and judicial offices respectively) which are not open to the public are oriented on the north/south axis.
The blocks are all virtually of the same height, and are surmounted by the hinge towers symmetrical to the central block that punctuate the threefold longitudinal division of the complex.
The typology creates varying degrees of accessibility, from maximum public access to total autonomy of internal function.
The "covered piazza" of the central building is the focus of public paths extending through the historical centre, the park and playground area, and the school system on the other side of the River Olona. The piazza serves a variety of civic needs and provides park users with shelter during bad weather. The hexagonal, hypogeal piazza wedged under the "bridge" block between the two hinge towers has protruding limbs covered by sloping roofs staggered to let daylight in. Access is from the east and west by a system of ramps and stairways.
The entrance lobbies at the foot of the towers lead to suspended pathways giving access to the north and south blocks, where activities requiring direct contact between public and staff (e.g. the magistrates' courts and the municipal offices) are sited in two square blocks. Along their park sides, each block has an internal distribution route for staff use which connects directly, via private lifts and stairs, to the offices on the upper floors. The open-plan design removes any obstacle to optimum public-staff contact.

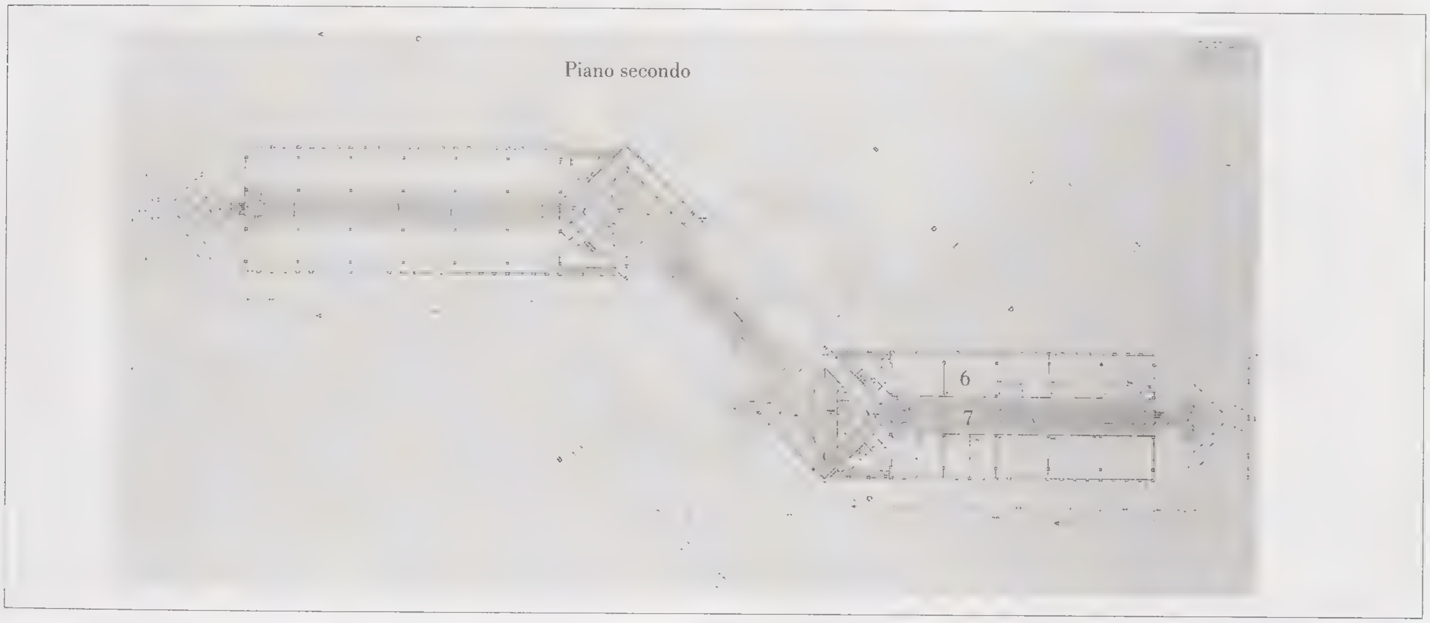
Piante dei piani interrato-terreno e secondo: 1) torre disimpegni verticali; 2) autorimessa; 3) "piazza coperta"; 4) vuoto sulla "piazza coperta"; 5) aula di udienza; 6) stanze pretori, giudici, avvocati; 7) vuoto sul corridoio del piano primo.
Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale sul corpo centrale (Uffici Comunali) e prospetto nordovest.

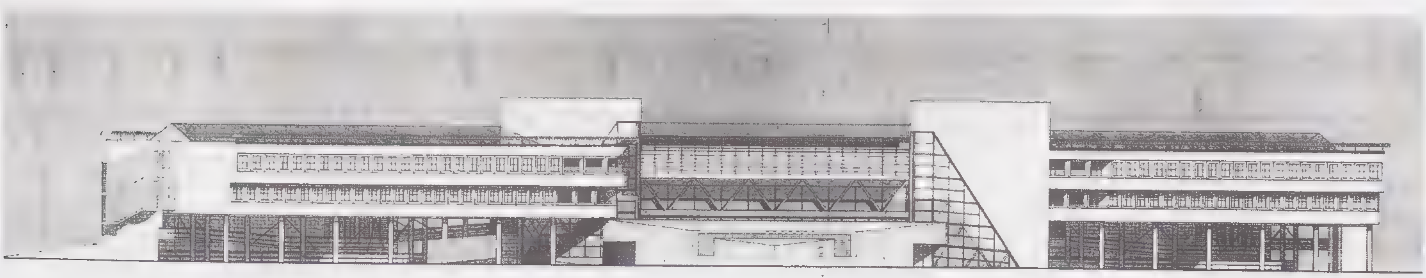
Plans of basement-ground and second levels: 1) lift and stair tower; 2) garage; 3) "covered piazza"; 4) void over "covered piazza"; 5) courtroom; 6) public prosecutors', judges' and lawyers' chambers; 7) void over first-floor corridor.
Cross-section and longitudinal section on the central block (municipal offices) and north-west elevation.

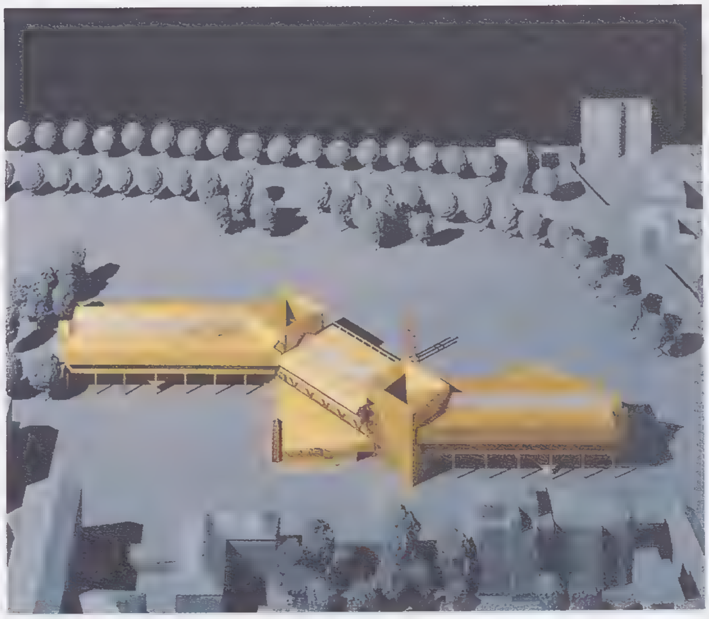


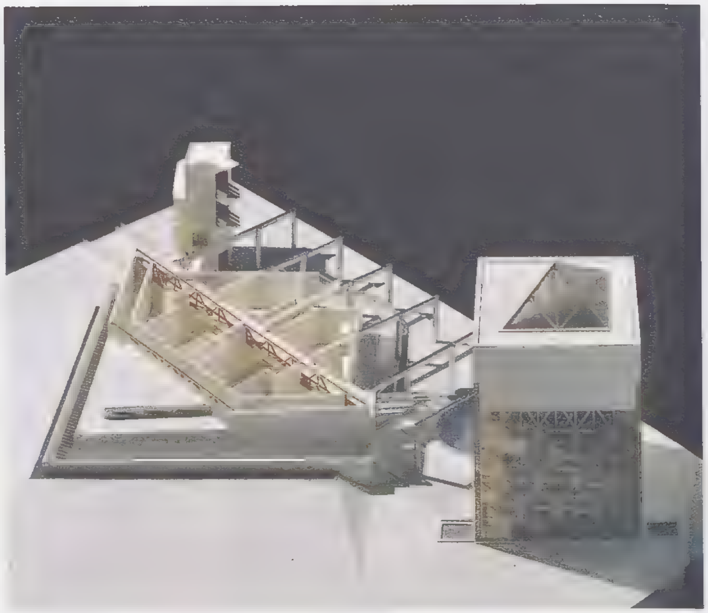


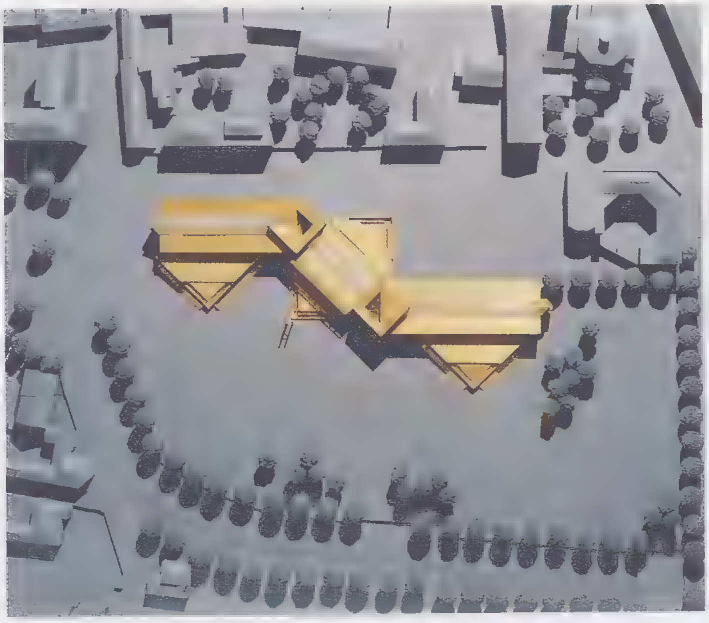

Piano interrato
Piano terreno
2
1
3
4
5
1

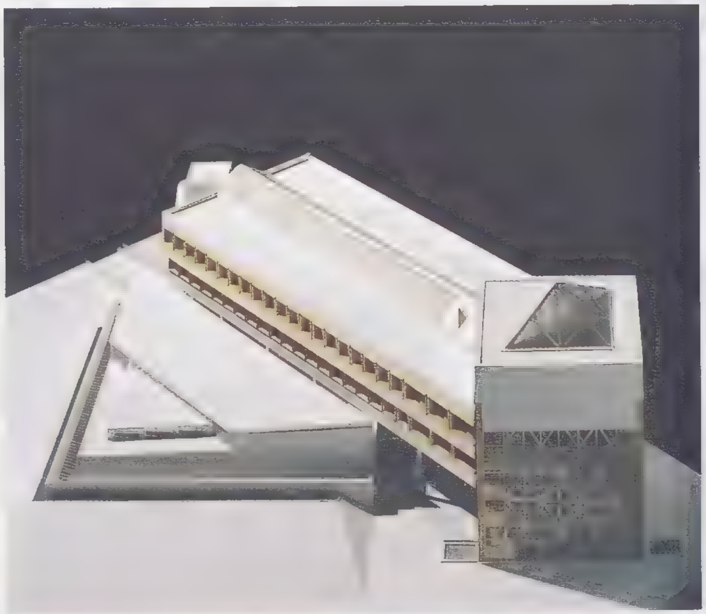

Piano secondo
6
7







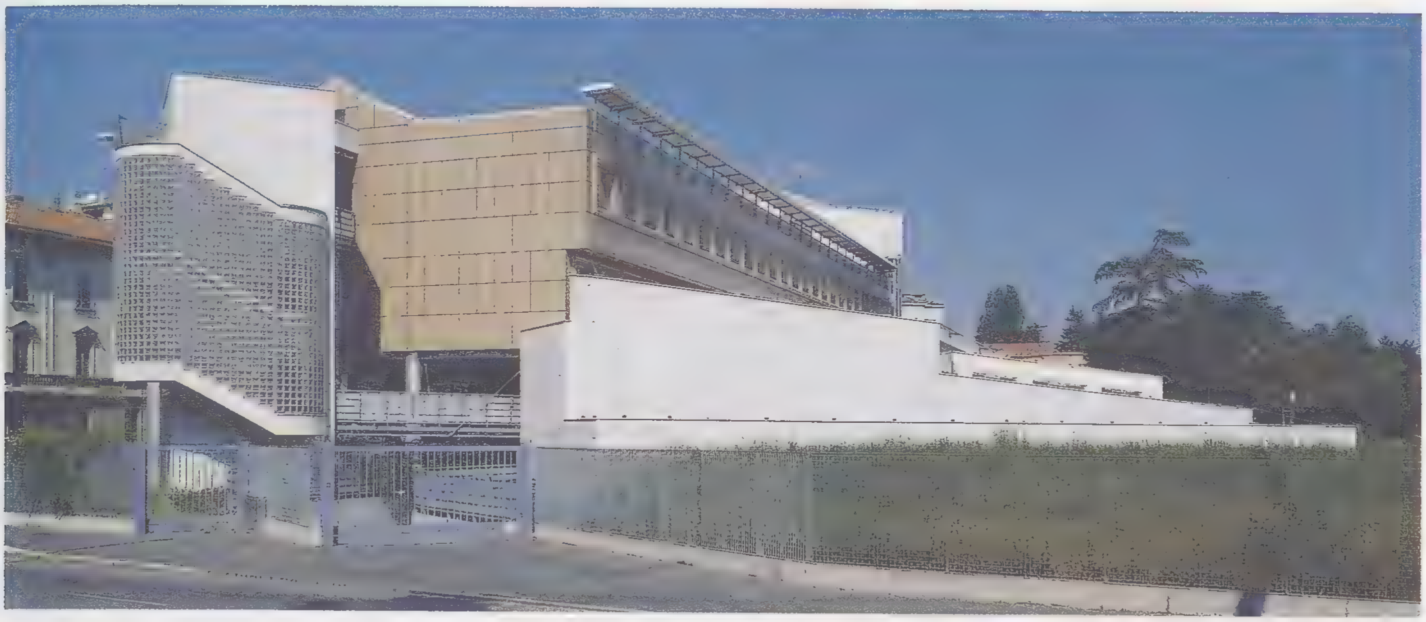




Viste del modello d'insieme e del modello di dettaglio degli Uffici Giudiziari (realizzati).
Prospetto ovest degli Uffici Giudiziari (realizzati).
Viste da sudest e da est.

Views of the general model and the detailed model of the judicial offices (completed).
West elevation of the judicial offices (completed).
Views from the south-east and east.















Viste di dettaglio da sudest e da nordest.
Viste interne di un'aula di udienza e del corpo in linea degli Uffici Giudiziari.

Detailed views from the south-east and north-east.
Internal views of a courtroom and the aligned block of judicial offices.



Stairs and lifts in the hinge towers provide access for selected members of the public to the private judicial, financial and municipal offices in the "bridge" building and the two symmetrically aligned blocks. Their section is on two levels, with the upper one overlooking the lower one through a lengthways slit that lets daylight in through rooflight.

** When the national competition resulted in a tie, the municipality decided to award a new project to two separate groups. So far, only the judicial offices have been completed, and the architects have been allowed a say neither in the choice furnishings and interior finishes, nor in the external layout.*

Viste esterna e interna della torre disimpegni verticali.

External and internal views of the lift and stair tower.



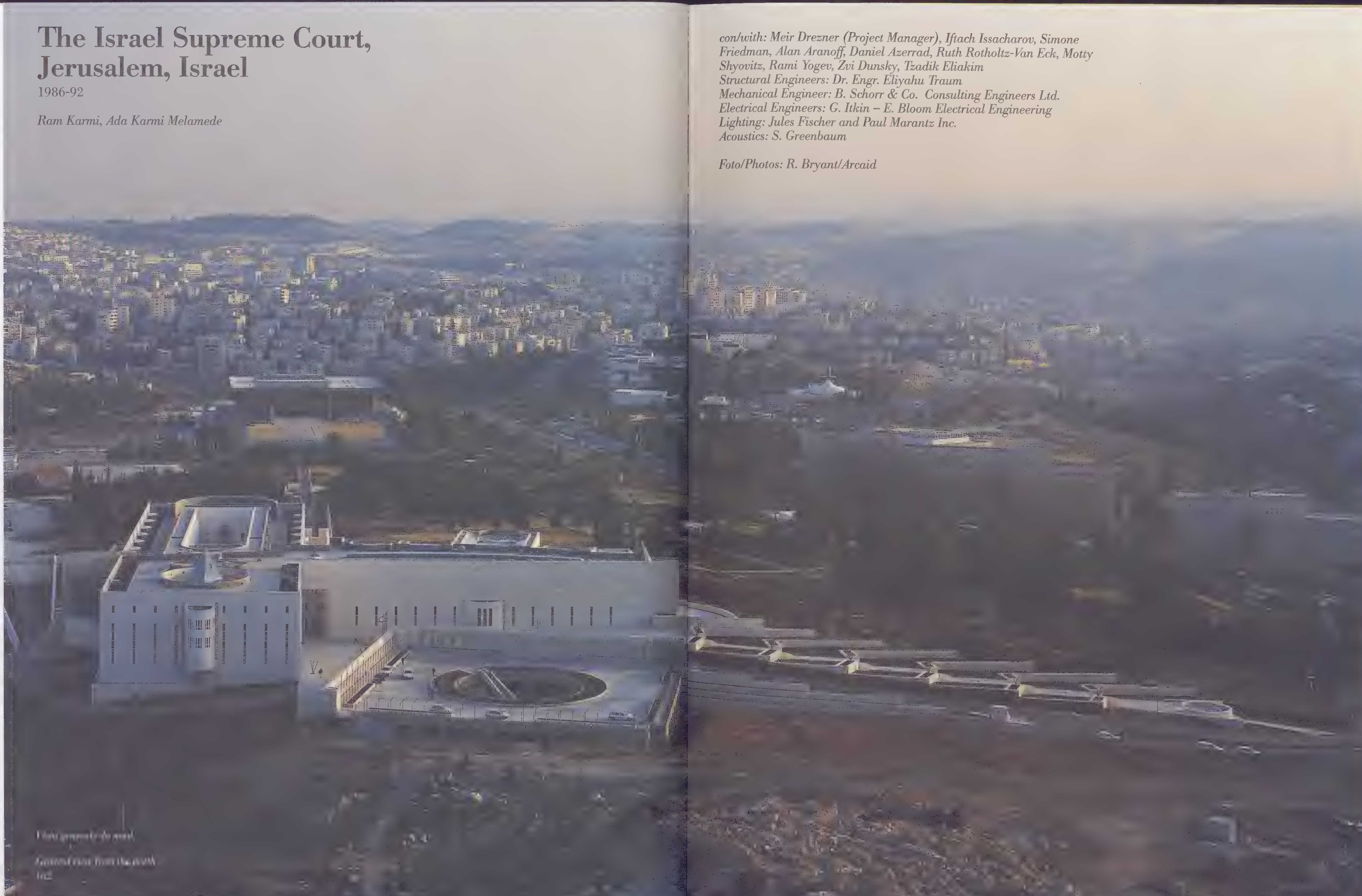
The Israel Supreme Court, Jerusalem, Israel

1986-92

Ram Karmi, Ada Karmi Melamede

con/with: Meir Drezner (Project Manager), Iftach Issacharov, Simone Friedman, Alan Aranoff, Daniel Azerrad, Ruth Rotholtz-Van Eck, Motty Shyovitz, Rami Yogev, Zvi Dunsky, Tzadik Eliakim
Structural Engineers: Dr. Engr. Eliyahu Traum
Mechanical Engineer: B. Schorr & Co. Consulting Engineers Ltd.
Electrical Engineers: G. Itkin – E. Bloom Electrical Engineering
Lighting: Jules Fischer and Paul Marantz Inc.
Acoustics: S. Greenbaum

Foto/Photos: R. Bryant/Arcaid



Vista generale da nord

General view from the north

The Israel Supreme Court, Jerusalem, Israel

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Acoustics: S. Greenbaum

Foto/Photos: R. Bryant/Arcaid



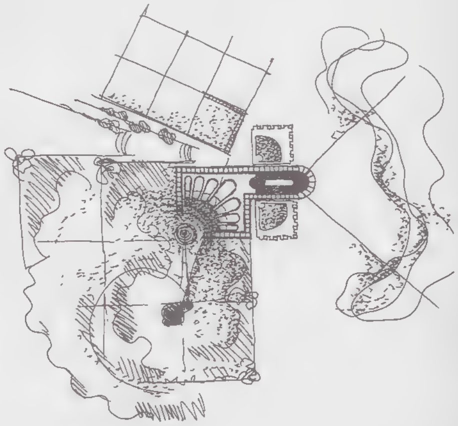
Vista generale da nord.

General view from the north



Schema di localizzazione urbana (elaborato di Concorso, 1986): 1) Corte Suprema; 2) Knesset (Parlamento); 3) Museo d'Israele; 4) edifici governativi; 5) Banca d'Israele; 6) terminal autolinee; 7) area di espansione del Distretto Nazionale delle funzioni governative; 8) Giardino delle rose.
Schema delle relazioni tra la città antica e il futuro Distretto Nazionale delle funzioni governative (elaborato di Concorso, 1986): 1) Corte Suprema; 2) Knesset; 3) area di espansione del Distretto Nazionale; 4) Museo Rockefeller; 5) città antica.
Disegno di studio dell'impianto generale (elaborato di Concorso, 1986).

Urban siting plan (competition document, 1986): 1) Supreme Court; 2) Knesset (Parliament); 3) Museum of Israel; 4) government ministries; 5) Bank of Israel; 6) bus station; 7) proposed future expansion of the National Precinct; 8) Rose Garden.
Plan of relationship between the old city and the new National Precinct (competition document, 1986): 1) Supreme Court; 2) Knesset; 3) National Precinct expansion area; 4) Rockefeller Museum; 5) old city.
Study drawing of general layout (competition document, 1986).





Palazzo della Corte Suprema di Israele a Gerusalemme, Israele
Ram Karmi

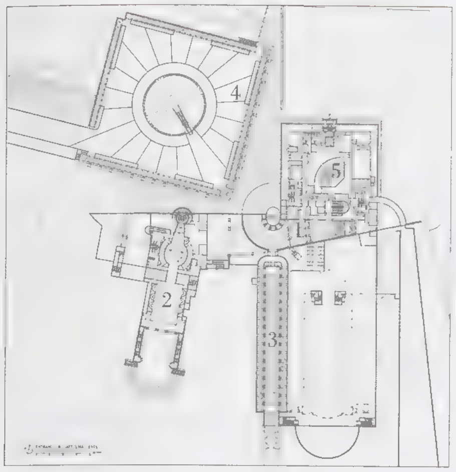
L'architettura del Palazzo della Corte Suprema riguarda intimamente l'esperienza personale di tutti i soggetti coinvolti: gli architetti – io, Ram Karmi, e Ada Karmi Melamed –, il finanziatore (la Fondazione Rothschild), i fruitori dell'edificio (i giudici della Corte Suprema) e il pubblico che lo visita.
Il compito della cultura, come quello della legge, è di proporre un sistema di vita, un contesto entro il quale l'individuo possa sentire di "appartenere" a un luogo, a una società. In un progetto che voglia assolvere questo compito non è possibile adottare un approccio funzionalista di tipo tradizionale poiché esso richiederebbe all'architetto una precisione degna di un orologio svizzero. Concetti quali il piacere (compreso il piacere intellettuale) o il modo di trascorrere il tempo serenamente invece di economizzarlo a fini utilitari, sono considerati parte della sfera personale e non dell'ambito in cui opera l'architetto portavoce dell'oggettività scientifica.
A noi, gli architetti, è stato richiesto di progettare un edificio che rendesse onore alla legge e, proprio perché si trattava di celebrare e rendere onore, non potevamo limitarci all'elaborazione di soluzioni funzionali.
Al fine di creare un'atmosfera "culturale", la stessa cultura che la legge umana cerca di preservare, ci siamo trovati immersi in miti, in simboli e nella storia di Gerusalemme (la Tomba di Assalonne, la Chiesa di Sant'Anna, il Museo Rockefeller). Tutto questo ci ha consentito di dare libero sfogo all'immaginazione e di celebrare il rispetto della legge e della giustizia: questi monumenti ci hanno offerto il substrato emotivo, il materiale grezzo in base al quale poter formulare un appropriato linguaggio architettonico. Abbiamo quindi potuto realizzare il compito primario dell'edificio – celebrare la legge – rivolgendoci al passato e all'immortale memoria storica. E quando parliamo di una vita al cui centro c'è la grande e antica memoria urbana di Gerusalemme, diventiamo semplici passanti e temporanei viaggiatori in un contesto storico più ampio, consapevoli che la nostra personale dimensione del tempo è parte di un tutto che trascende noi stessi. E' questa l'atmosfera che abbiamo cercato di ricreare all'interno del Palazzo della Corte Suprema, soprattutto per coloro che visitano l'edificio.
Quando ci aggiriamo nella Città Vecchia non visitiamo un sito archeologico: la città non è un museo, non lo è mai stata, anzi, è un intreccio vitale di influenze e culture stratificatesi nel tempo. Essa ha conservato i suoi quattro quartieri, tracciati dai due assi perpendicolari del cardo e del decumano, che la attraversano e uniscono la struttura urbana della città e la collegano al mondo esterno. I quartieri lungo le strade del cardo e del decumano si sviluppano verso l'interno e la loro architettura è un'architettura di corridoi adatti al rituale pubblico della processione, una processione che ci conduce nel cuore "segreto" della città. E a coloro che varcano le porte di Gerusalemme la città si manifesta come in una magica danza dei veli, l'ultimo dei quali non si scopre mai. Le strutture che circondano il centro creano una cornice stratificata e una magica atmosfera di mistero.
E' certo possibile vedere nel Palazzo della Corte Suprema "una piccola città", una Gerusalemme in miniatura, divisa in quattro parti: la biblioteca, il parcheggio, gli uffici dei giudici e le sale d'udienza. La divisione interna dell'edificio riprende la divisione degli accampamenti militari romani tracciata dai due assi del cardo e del decumano. Il cardo collega il Palazzo della Corte Suprema alla Knesset, il Parlamento israeliano, a sud, e alla piazza Nazionale a nord. Questo schema ci ha inoltre permesso di situare il Palazzo della Corte Suprema all'ingresso dell'intero Distretto Nazionale: la capitale e il centro governativo dello Stato di Israele a ovest di Gerusalemme.
Nel corso delle generazioni, non c'è stato edificio importante a Gerusalemme che non sia stato costruito in pietra. La pietra è diventata simbolo di eternità perché resta nel tempo, e non soltanto perché "esprime la resistenza al tempo". Come il cespuglio che arde ma non si consuma, la pietra è eternamente presente negli edifici pubblici di Gerusalemme. A differenza del granito o del basalto, creati dal rapido indurimento della lava eruttata dal cuore incandescente degli antichi vulcani, questa pietra bianca viene estratta dagli antichi fondali del mare, e quando, tagliata, viene esposta alla luce intensa di Gerusalemme, ci restituisce una luce più calda, più tenue, più remissiva e più umana. Può capitare di trovare in questa pietra i fossili di piante marine, di molluschi o addirittura di interi pesci la cui forma custodisce un "segreto" (quando ero bambino a Gerusalemme collezionavo questo genere di fossili). I grandi scultori, coloro che intagliavano mirabilmente la pietra – come Michelangelo ("Gli schiavi"), Rodin ("Gli amanti") o Brâncusi ("Bird in Space") – sapevano leggere e decifrare il segreto di un materiale che scoprivano lavorandolo duramente.
Utilizzando la pietra rientriamo in possesso di ciò che il meccanismo dell'architettura moderna ci ha negato: la memoria, la sensazione del tempo trascorso e del legame con un lontano passato. Tutto ciò viene destato dal sonno profondo in cui l'ha costretto la fredda logica del funzionalismo.
Ci sono progetti che rivelano un'architettura estremamente vitale. Quando progetta un importante edificio pubblico, l'architetto si assume un compito assai arduo. Nel suo libro *Vita Activa. La condizione umana* (*The Human Condition*, Chicago 1958, trad. it. Bompiani, Milano 1964) Hannah Arendt nota come i greci si rapportassero ai costruttori delle mura della città esattamente come a qualsiasi altro artigiano e soprattutto come a coloro il cui compito era di "legiferare": "*A loro avviso, il legislatore era come il costruttore delle mura della città, uno che doveva fare e terminare la sua opera prima che l'attività politica potesse cominciare. Egli quindi era trattato come ogni altro artefice o architetto e poteva essere chiamato dall'esterno e incaricato di tale compito senza dover essere necessariamente un cittadino, mentre il diritto di* politeusthai, *di impegnarsi nelle numerose attività che si svolgevano nella* polis, *era riservato ai soli cittadini. Per loro le leggi, come il muro attorno alla città, non erano risultati dell'azione ma prodotti del fare. Prima che gli uomini cominciassero ad agire, doveva essere assicurato uno spazio definito, e costruita una struttura in cui tutte le azioni successive potessero prendere posto, lo spazio essendo il dominio pubblico della* polis *e la legge la sua struttura; legislatore e architetto appartenevano alla stessa categoria*" (Bompiani, Milano 1994, p. 142).
Quando progetta un edificio pubblico, l'architetto agisce come un legislatore: suggerisce uno spazio e una struttura definiti, fornisce un contesto per lo svolgimento delle attività e lo caratterizza in un determinato modo. Ma quando tutto questo avviene a Gerusalemme, egli deve fare i conti con una lunga storia. Per noi Israeliani, Gerusalemme è sempre la "condizione" di ogni manifestazione di vita e di ordine sociale. Gerusalemme è la legge con la L maiuscola, una legge che non può essere violata e che precede ogni legislatore, sia esso morto o vivente. Per noi è inoltre importante sottolineare il rapporto con la nostra terra, ciò che caratterizza la nostra identità di nazione, sottolineando l'immagine della città. Oggi questa immagine rappresenta l'armonia dell'architettura classica espressa attraverso le generazioni, e *resistente* al tempo nonostante tutti gli sviluppi e tutti gli stili che hanno avuto e avranno luogo.

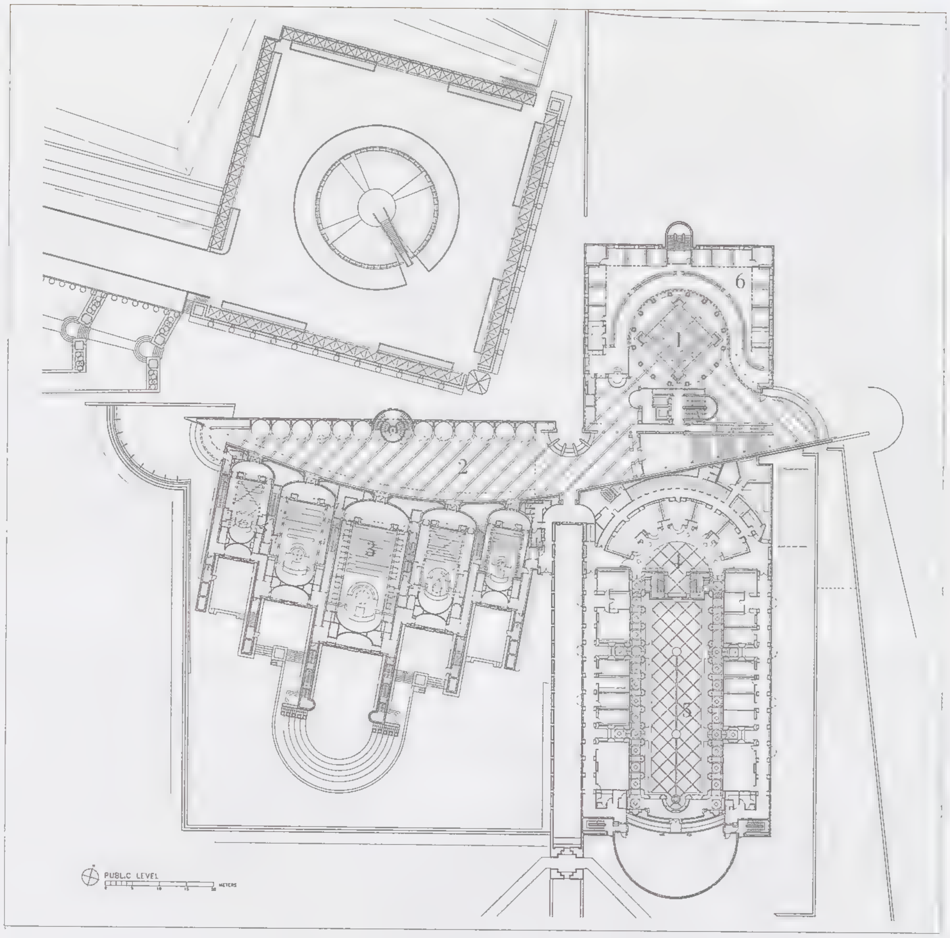
Tel Aviv, luglio 1995

The Israel Supreme Court Building, Jerusalem, Israel
Ram Karmi

The architecture of the Supreme Court Building is, in essence the personal experience of each of us: the architects (Ada Karmi Melamede and myself, Ram Karmi), the entrepreneur (Rothschild Foundation), those who use the building (Supreme Court judges) and the public who visit it.
The purpose of culture, like that of law, is to make possible a way of life, a framework which gives individuals the sense of "belonging" to a place, to a society. A design of this sort, which answers these needs, was not possible with traditional functionalism, which forces the architect to be as precise as a Swiss clock. Concepts such as pleasure (including intellectual pleasure), or how to spend time elegantly instead of how to save time functionally, are considered personal matters that fall outside the realm of architects trained in scientific objectivity.
We, as architects, were asked to plan a building that would to glorify the law, and precisely because the aim was to magnify and to glorify, we could not settle for functional solutions only. To create an atmosphere of culture, the same culture that human law tries to defend, we found ourselves surrounded by the myths, symbols and history of Jerusalem (Absalom's Tomb, St. Anne's Church, Rockefeller Museums). All these inspired our imaginations to take flight and became provided the means to glorify respect for law and justice. These monuments constitute the fundamental emotional layer, which was, for us, the raw material for the creation of a compatible architectural language. Thus, the initial aim of the building – to glorify the law – was achieved by relating to the past and to eternal historical memory. And when we speak about a life at whose centre there is the great ancient urban memory of Jerusalem, we become passers-by and temporary travellers in the midst of a larger history, living with the knowledge that the dimension of personal time is joined to a whole larger than ourselves. This feeling was what we tried to recreate inside the Supreme Court Building, especially in along the route the visiting public takes in the building.
When we walk around the Old City, we do not visit archaeological sites. The city was never a museum, but layer upon layer of living fabric. It preserved its four quarters, which are determined by the two perpendicular axes of the cardo *and the* decumanus *which crosse them. This is the supporting framework which unites the city's urban structure and connects it to the world at large. The neighbourhoods along the streets of the* cardo *and the* decumanus *are inward-looking while, in parallel, the architecture of each neighbourhood is an architecture of corridors suitable for the public ritual of the procession – a procession which leads us deep inside to the "secret" in the centre. And those passing through Jerusalem's gates discover the city as if in a magic dance of veils in which the final layer is never removed. For as you near the last veil you always discover yet another hidden layer. The structures surrounding the centre create a multilayered framework and a permanent feeling of mystery.*
It is certainly possible to see in the Supreme Court Building as a "small city", a Jerusalem in miniature, divided into four parts: the library, car parking, judges chambers and courtrooms. This internal division of the building overlaps with the city's division into quarters, in the conceptual spirit of a Roman army camps which were built on two axis – the cardo *and* decumanus*. The* cardo *connects the Supreme Court Building with the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, to the south, and National Square to the north. In addition, this concept and design enabled us to make the Supreme Court Building as the gateway to the entire National Precinct, Israel's capital and governmental centre on the west side of the Jerusalem.*
No significant building in Jerusalem over the generations has not been built of stone. Stone has become a symbol of eternity because it really does withstand time, not just because it "radiates resistance to time". Like the burning bush which burns but is not consumed, stone has an eternal place in public building in Jerusalem. Unlike granite or basalt, which were created by rapid hardening of lava spewed from the burning hearts of ancient volcanoes, this white stone is quarried from the ancient depths of the sea, and when it is exposed, after being cut, in Jerusalem's intense light, it reflects back upon us a softer, more subtle light, one that is tamed and more humane. Sometimes, in this stone, fossilised sea plants, clams and even entire fish can be found, each one with the right "shape", containing its "secret". (In my childhood in Jerusalem, I would find and collect fossils like these). The great sculptors – those master artists like Michelangelo ("The Slaves"), Rodin ("The Lovers") or Brâncusi ("Bird in Space") who chiselled in stone – knew how to read and decipher the secret of the stones, to see and discover it through hard work.
By building in stone we give back to ourselves what the pure mechanism of modern architecture has taken from us: memory, the feeling of extended time and continuity with the distant past. All of these are awakened from the deep slumber imposed upon them by the cold logic of functionalism.
There are projects which display architecture full of vitality. When an architect designs a grand public building, in large measure he takes upon himself a huge task. In her book The Human Condition *(Chicago, 1958), Hannah Arendt notes that the Greeks related to the builders of the city walls in the same way that they related to other craftsmen, especially those whose profession was "to enact legislation":*
"In their [the Greeks'] opinion, the lawmaker was like the builder of the city wall, someone who had to do and finish his work before political activity could begin. He therefore was treated like any other craftsman or architect and could be called from abroad and commissioned without having to be a citizen, whereas the right to *politeuesthai*, to engage in the numerous activities which eventually went on in the *polis*, was entirely restricted to citizens. To them, the laws, like the wall around the city, were not results of action but products of making. Before men began to act, a definite space had to be secured and a structure built where all subsequent actions could take place, the space being the public realm of the *polis* and its structure the law; legislator and architect belonged in the same category" *(pp. 194-195).*
When the architect designs a public building, he assumes the job of the lawmaker; suggesting a definite space and structure, making possible a framework for activities, and marking it. But when the architect in Jerusalem determines a public space for activities, he is indebted to a long history. For us, as Israelis, Jerusalem is always the "condition" for every manifestation of life and social order. Jerusalem is the law with a capital L, a law which cannot be violated and which precedes every lawmaker, living or dead. And for us, as Israelis living here, it is essential to emphasise our relationship to our land. We are cognisant of the need to stress what is special to us as a national group by emphasising the city's image. In actuality, the city's image is a harmonious accumulation of classic architecture over the generations, and has withstood and will withstand time despite all developments and all styles that have been or will be.

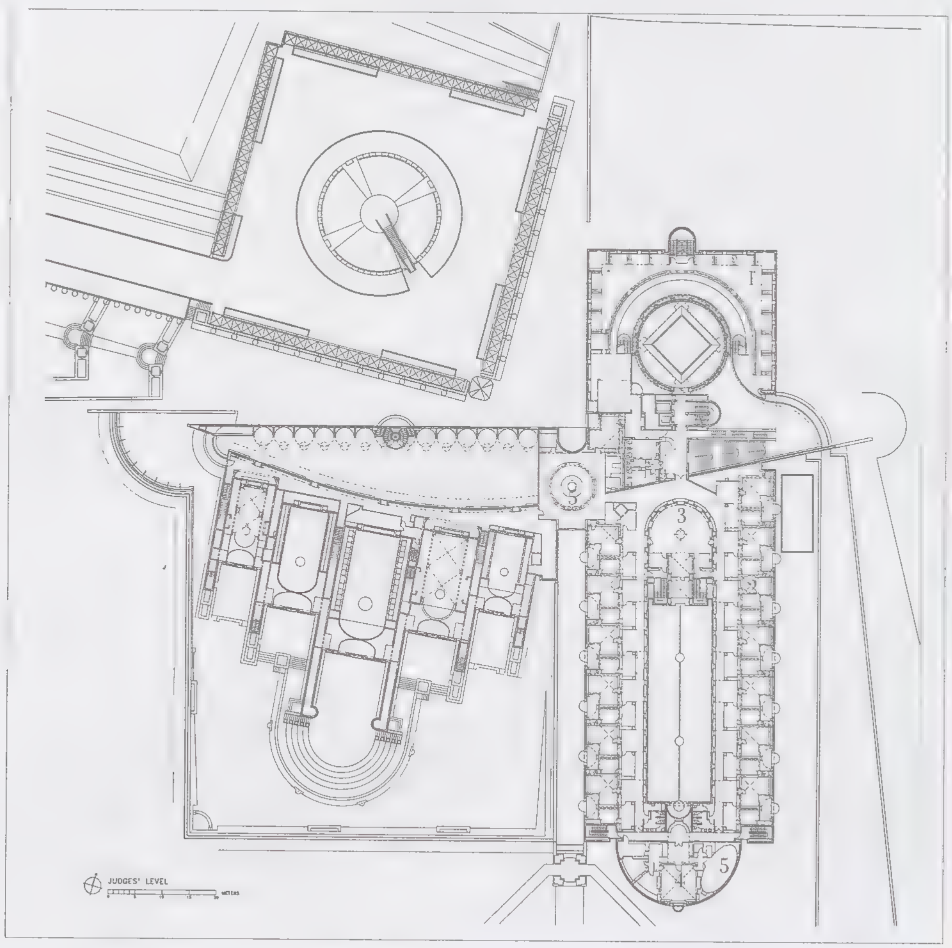
Tel Aviv, July 1995

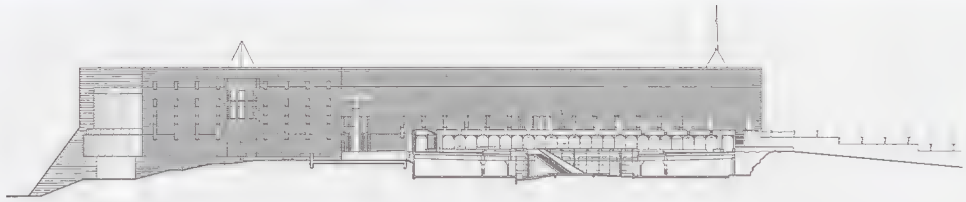




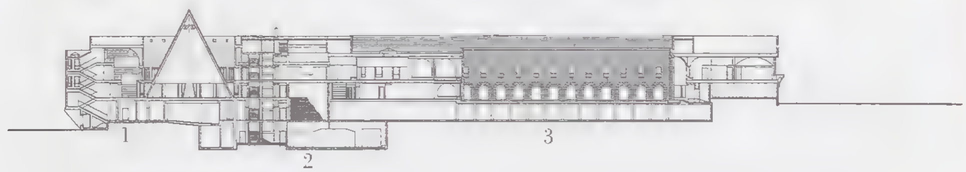
Pianta del piano terreno: 1) ingresso; 2) cafeteria; 3) "Strada della Knesset"; 4) parcheggio; 5) auditorium.
Pianta del piano primo: 1) foyer della biblioteca; 2) foyer delle aule di udienza; 3) aule di udienza; 4) uffici; 5) cortile dei giudici; 6) biblioteca accessibile al pubblico.
Pianta del piano secondo: 1) biblioteca riservata ai giudici; 2) stanze dei giudici; 3) sala comune dei giudici; 4) settore del Presidente; 5) sala conferenze.

Ground-floor plan: 1) entrance; 2) cafeteria; 3) "Route to Knesset"; 4) car park; 5) auditorium.
First-floor plan: 1) library foyer ; 2) courtroom foyer; 3) courtrooms; 4) administration; 5) judges' courtyard; 6) public library.
Second-floor plan: 1) judges' library; 2) judges' chambers; 3) judges' club; 4) President's chambers; 5) conference room.

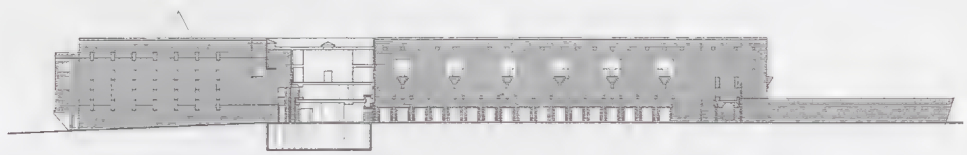




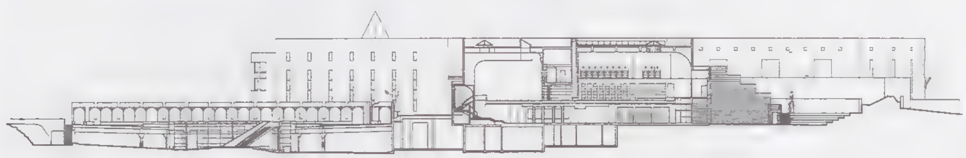
NORTH ELEVATION



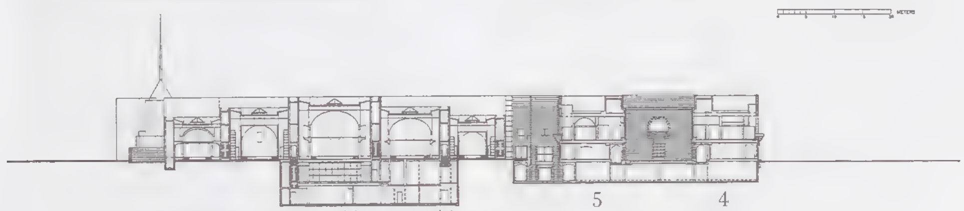
N–S SECTION THROUGH LIBRARY AND JUDGES' COURT



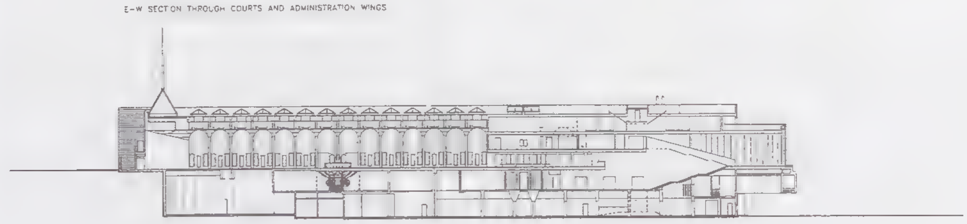
WEST ELEVATION OF LIBRARY AND ADMINISTRATION WINGS



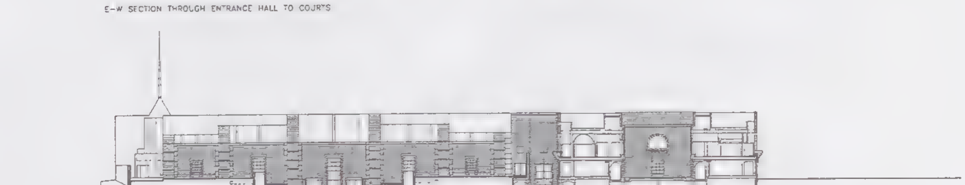
N–S SECTION THROUGH LARGE COURTROOM AND PARKING AREA.



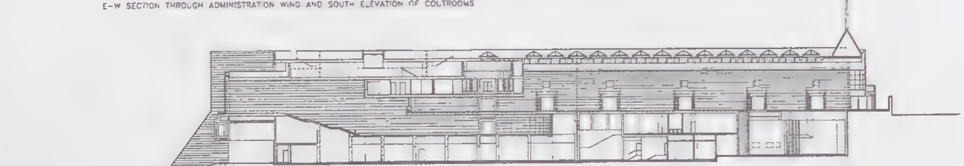
E–W SECTION THROUGH COURTS AND ADMINISTRATION WINGS



E–W SECTION THROUGH ENTRANCE HALL TO COURTS



E–W SECTION THROUGH ADMINISTRATION WING AND SOUTH ELEVATION OF COURTROOMS



E–W SECTION THROUGH ENTRANCE STAIR WITH VIEW TO COURT ENTRANCES



Prospetti e sezioni: 1) biblioteca; 2) scalone di accesso; 3) cortile dei giudici; 4) uffici; 5) stanze dei giudici.
Vista del modello.
Vista da est e viste da sud.

Elevations and sections: 1) library; 2) grand staircase; 3) judges' courtyard; 4) administration; 5) judges' chambers.
View of model.
View from the east and views from the south.







Viste interne del foyer *delle aule di udienza, di due aule di udienza e della sala comune dei giudici.*
Schizzi di studio delle aule di udienza.
Viste interne della biblioteca e del foyer *della biblioteca.*

Interior views of courtrooms foyer, two courtrooms and the judges' club.
Study sketches of the courtrooms.
Interior views of the library and library foyer.





















Viste esterne da nordovest del corpo della biblioteca e vista della "Strada della Knesset". Dettaglio esterno del settore del Presidente e vista della corte dei giudici.

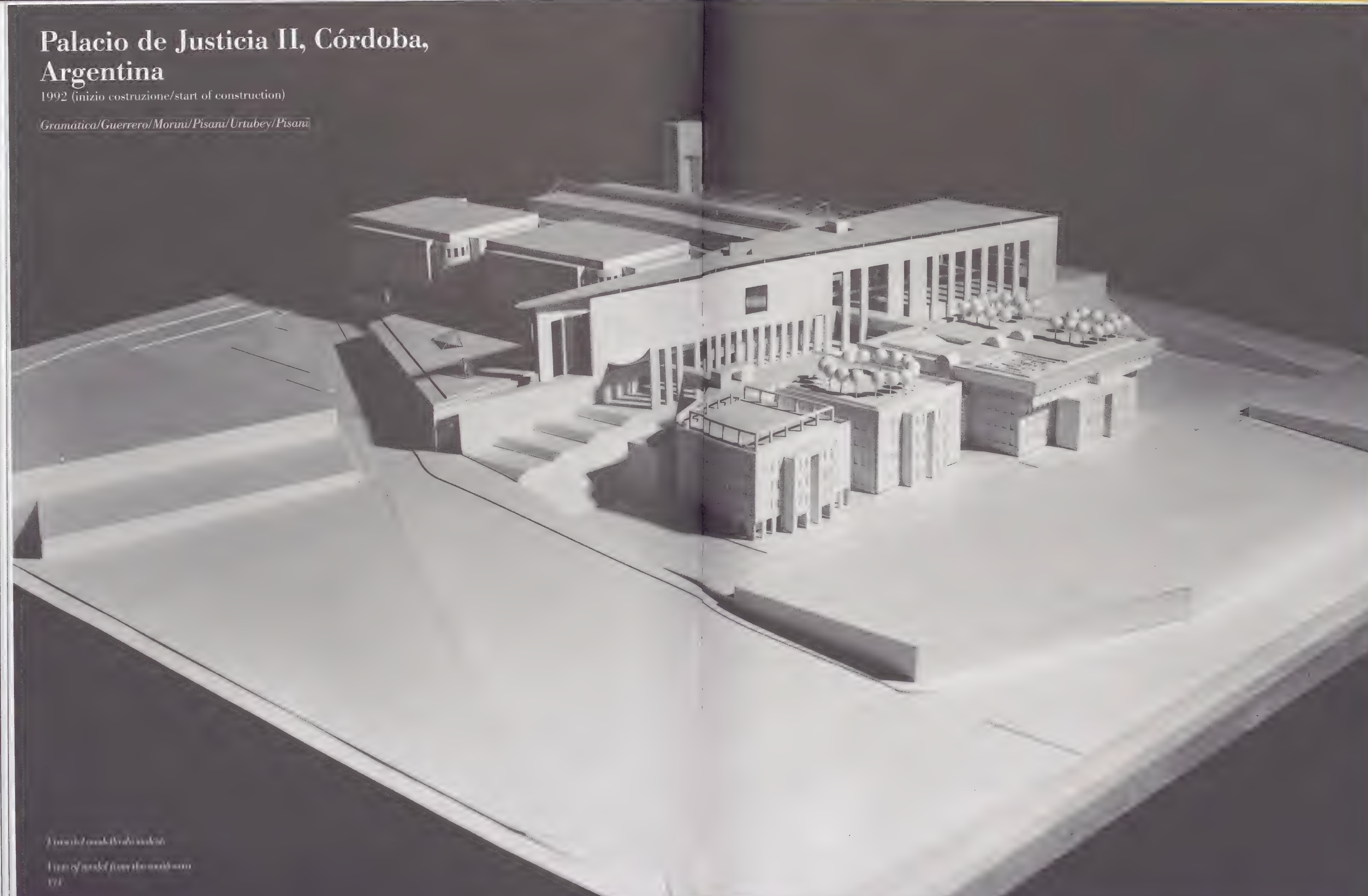
External views from the north-west of the library block, and view of the "Route to the Knesset".
External detail of the President's chambers and view of the judges' courtyard.



Palacio de Justicia II, Córdoba, Argentina

1992 (inizio costruzione/start of construction)

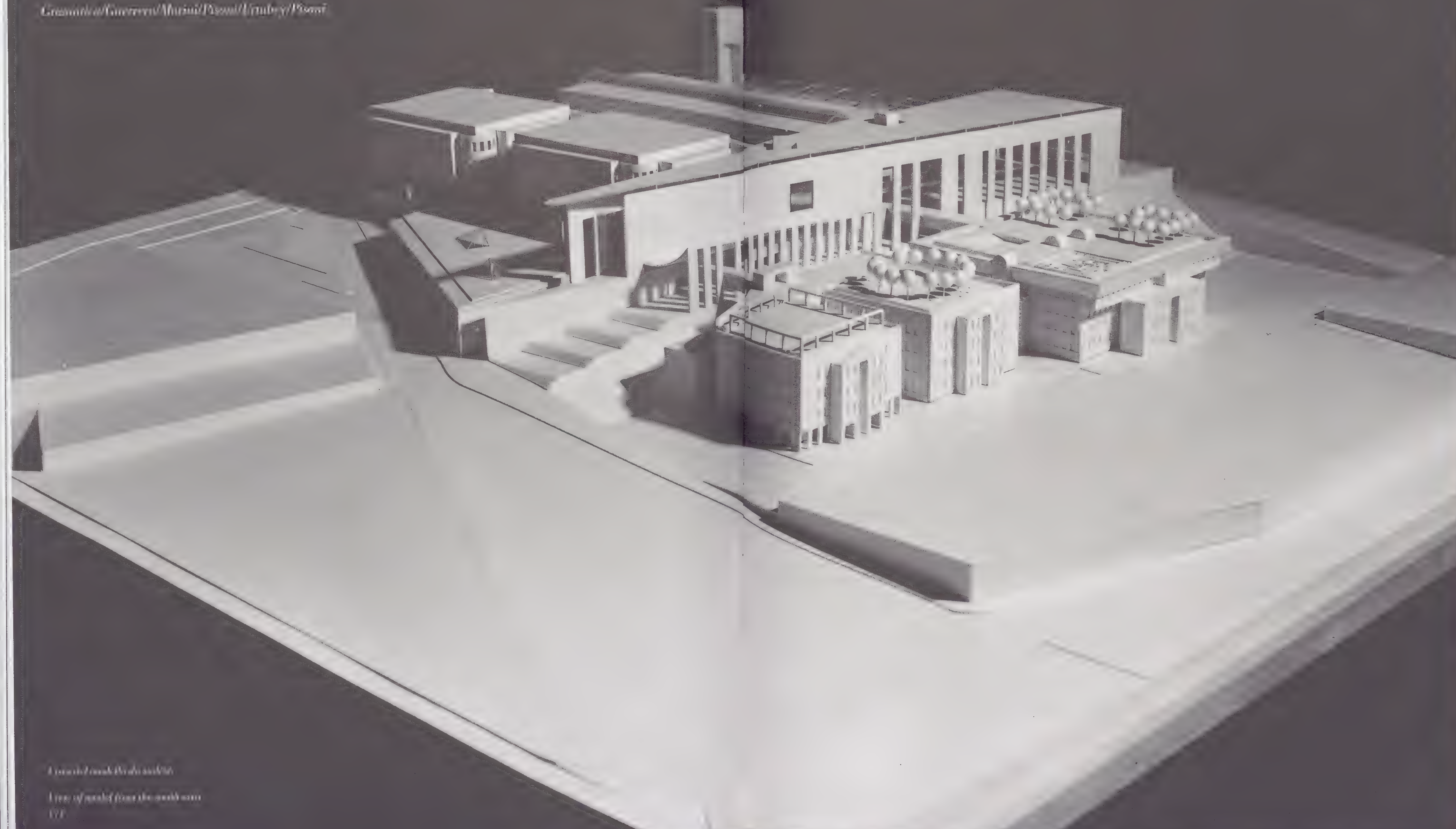
Gramática/Guerrero/Morini/Pisani/Urtubey/Pisani



Palacio de Justicia II, Córdoba, Argentina

1992 (inizio costruzione/start of construction)

Grammatica/Guerrero/Morini/Pisani/Urtubey/Pisani



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View of model from the south west

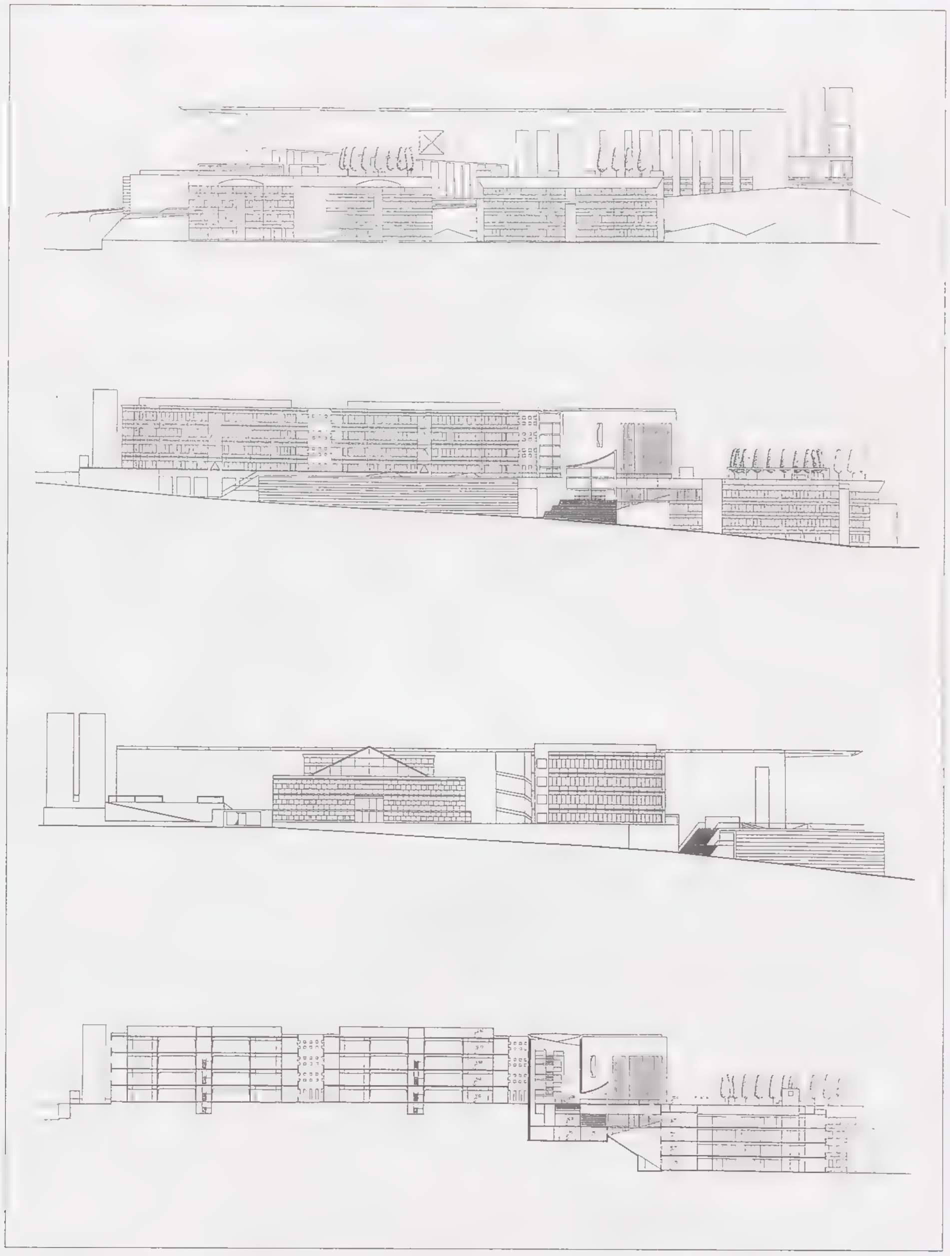
Palazzo di Giustizia di Córdoba, Argentina
Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani

Il presupposto fondamentale di questo progetto è stata la considerazione di aspetti quali lo sfruttamento di un terreno dalla topografia particolare, il carattere intercluso del sito, il suo eccezionale sistema di visuali, l'immagine edilizia conforme al ruolo della giustizia nella società, oltre alla soluzione dei complessi problemi di funzionamento che un edificio di questo tipo pone.
La scelta architettonica propone di sfruttare le differenze di livello del terreno per semplificare, ordinare e razionalizzare i problemi funzionali, utilizzando così una diversa dimensione dello spazio.
In tal modo il complesso si articola a partire dalla grande *hall* centrale, sulla quale danno i diversi settori funzionali e che agisce come area di ritrovo e di connessione ai diversi dipartimenti.
Questo spazio è distribuito su due piani. Il primo a m -5.20, con accesso dall'ingresso principale attraverso una scalinata monumentale, o dall'ingresso secondario ubicato alla stessa quota lungo la laterale di calle Fructuoso Rivera e destinato ai disabili. Da questo piano si accede direttamente agli ascensori che portano ai corpi delle sale di udienza e delle Procure o, attraverso il ponte pevisto, ai corpi del Tribunale dei minori e del Tribunale fallimentare. A questo stesso piano si trovano gli uffici informazione, postale, bancario, il bar e i servizi di collegamento con la direzione, l'archivio, la Polizia giudiziaria, ecc. Il secondo piano, o "piano nobile", a quota ± 0.00 (la stessa alla quale si trovano le sale d'udienza e le Procure) coincide con le piazze-terrazza della copertura del Tribunale dei minori e del Tribunale fallimentare. Questo piano, oltre a costituire uno spazio di collegamento, assume un carattere simbolico-gerarchico occupando una zona molto importante della *hall* di ingresso, destinata a riunioni pubbliche, cerimonie, esposizioni, eventi culturali, ecc., che, insieme alle piazze-terrazza e all'auditorium, costituiscono una zona di grande rappresentatività e partecipazione sociale.
In tal modo le masse edilizie dei differenti settori funzionali risultano distribuite tra la piattaforma inferiore e quella superiore, connesse tra loro attraverso la *hall* centrale, concepita chiaramente come il bordo di una scarpata o di una scogliera.
D'altra parte i corpi dei singoli settori funzionali (Udienze, Tribunali, Procure) possiedono una propria identità, rappresentativa dell'importanza e del carattere delle attività che vi si svolgono; sono gli elementi sostantivi della Giustizia ed esprimono un grande coefficiente di valore simbolico.
Tale soluzione realizza così il carattere monumentale che un'istituzione di questo tipo deve esprimere, ma al tempo stesso garantisce i rapporti di scala necessari per inserire senza contraddizioni l'edificio nel paesaggio urbano circostante.

Law Courts, Córdoba, Argentina
Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani

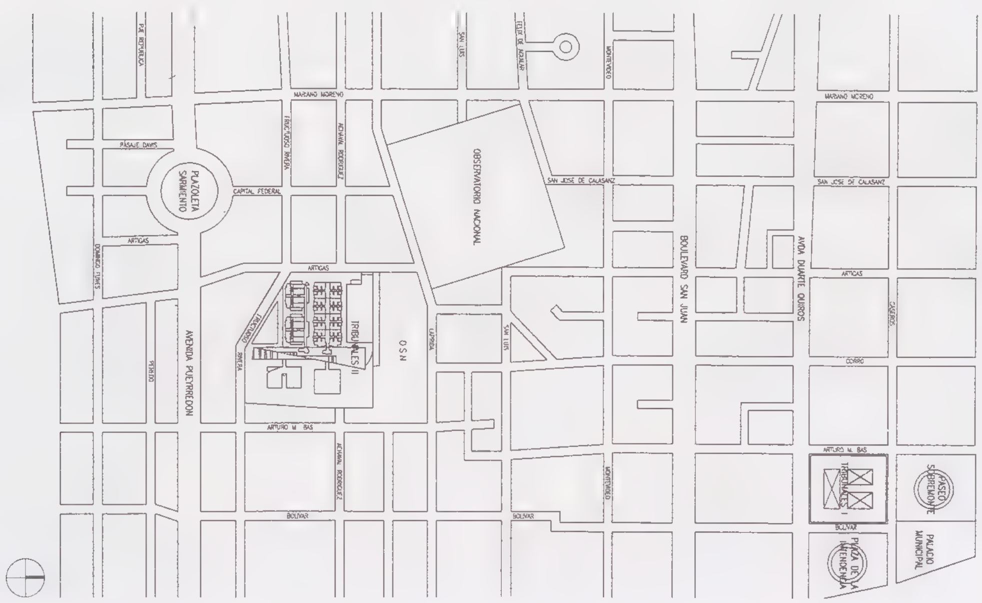
The basic aims of the project were to exploit a topographically unusual site that combines its own particular mode of enclosure with exceptional views and perspectives, and devise an image for the building to match the role of justice in society, as well as solving the complex functional problems that this type of building poses.
The architectural design exploits the site's differences of level in order to simplify, order and rationalise functional problems by utilising different spatial dimensions.
The complex is organised around the large central hall from which the various functional sections lead off, and which provides a meeting and transit area between departments.
This space is distributed on two levels. The first (-5.20 m) is accessed from the main entrance via a monumental stairway, or from the side entrance (specially designed for users with disabilities) at the same level on Calle Fructuoso Rivera. This level gives direct access to the lifts leading to the courtroom and Public Prosecutor blocks and, when built, across the bridge to the juvenile and bankruptcy courts. The information bureau, post office, bank, bar and accesses to the administration centre, archives, criminal police, etc. are also on this level.
The second level, or piano nobile *(±0.00 m, more or less on the same level as the courtrooms and Public Prosecutors' offices), corresponds to the plaza-terraces formed by the roof of the juvenile and bankruptcy courts. As well as being a connecting space, this level has a symbolic and hierarchical function because it occupies a crucial area of the entrance hall intended for public meetings, ceremonies, exhibitions, cultural events, etc. which, together with the plaza-terraces, represents the*

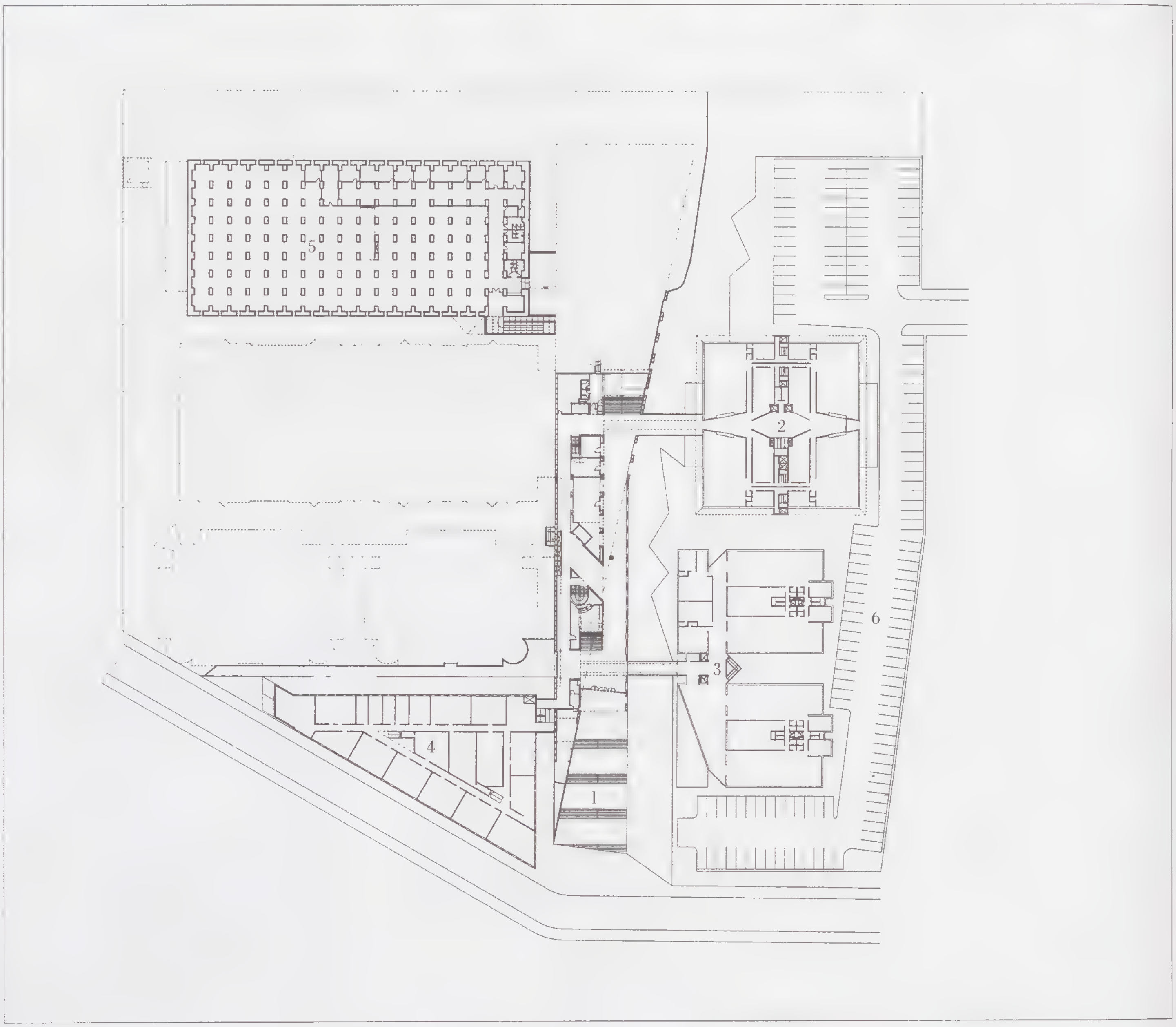
public and social face of the complex.
Thus, the various functional blocks, distributed between the lower and upper platforms, are connected by a central hall clearly intended to resemble the ridge of a scarp and slope.
The blocks housing individual functions (courts, Public Prosecutors' offices) have their own identities that reflect the nature and importance of the activities they perform. They represent the physical substance of justice, and as such carry a considerable symbolic charge.
This combination of features creates the monumentality an institution of this type should convey, but at the same time establishes relations on an appropriate scale with the surrounding cityscape.

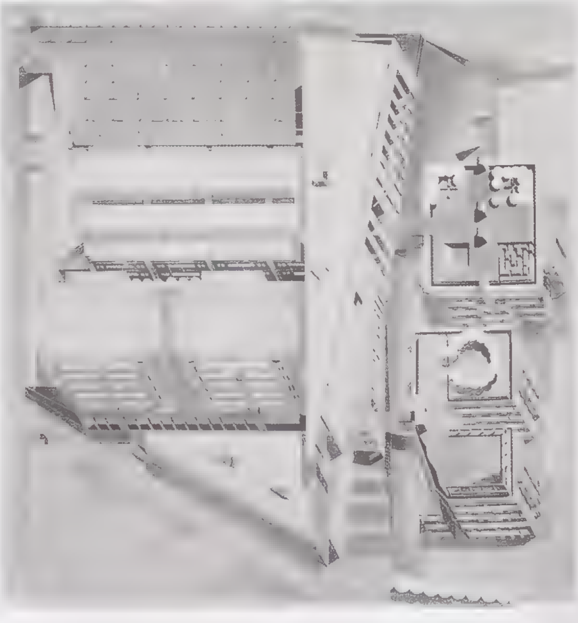


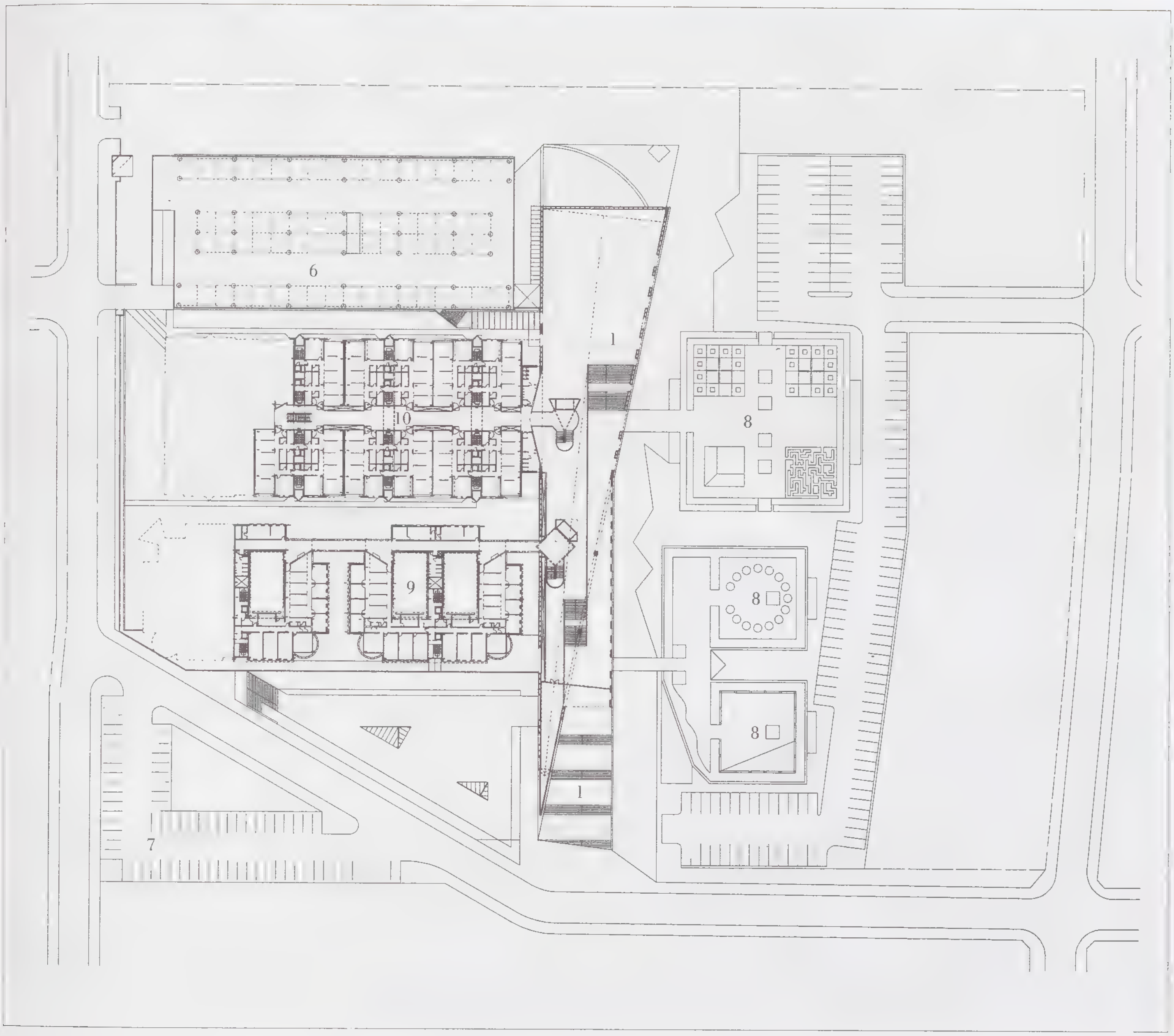
Prospetti est, sud, ovest e sezione est-ovest.
Planimetria generale.

East, south and west elevations, and east-west section.
General plan.




5
2
6
3
4
1

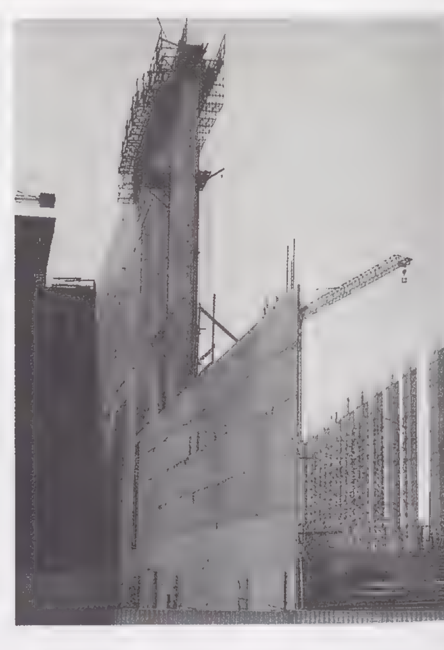


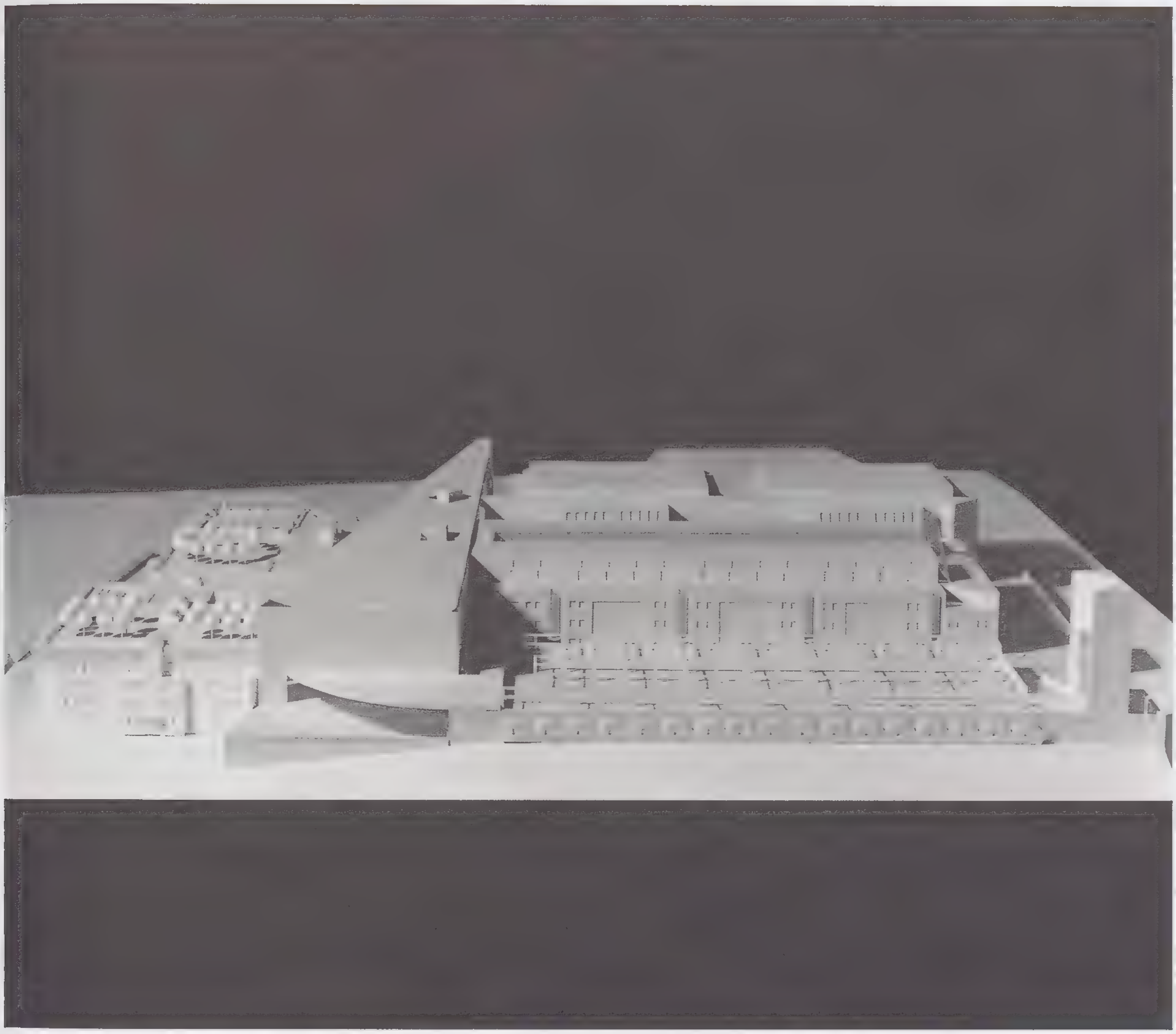


Piante dei piani primo (quota -5.20) e secondo (quota ± 0.00): 1) ingresso e hall *principale; 2) Tribunale fallimentare; 3) Tribunale dei minori; 4) Polizia giudiziaria; 5) archivio; 6) parcheggio per addetti e funzionari; 7) parcheggio pubblico; 8) piazza; 9) aule giudiziarie; 10) Procure. Disegno assonometrico.*

Plans of first (-5.20 m) and second (±0.00) levels: 1) entrance and main hall; 2) Bankruptcy Court; 3) Juvenile Court; 4) criminal police; 5) archive; 6) car park for staff and official visitors; 7) public car park; 8) piazza; 9) courtrooms; 10) Public Prosecutors' offices. Axonometric drawing.



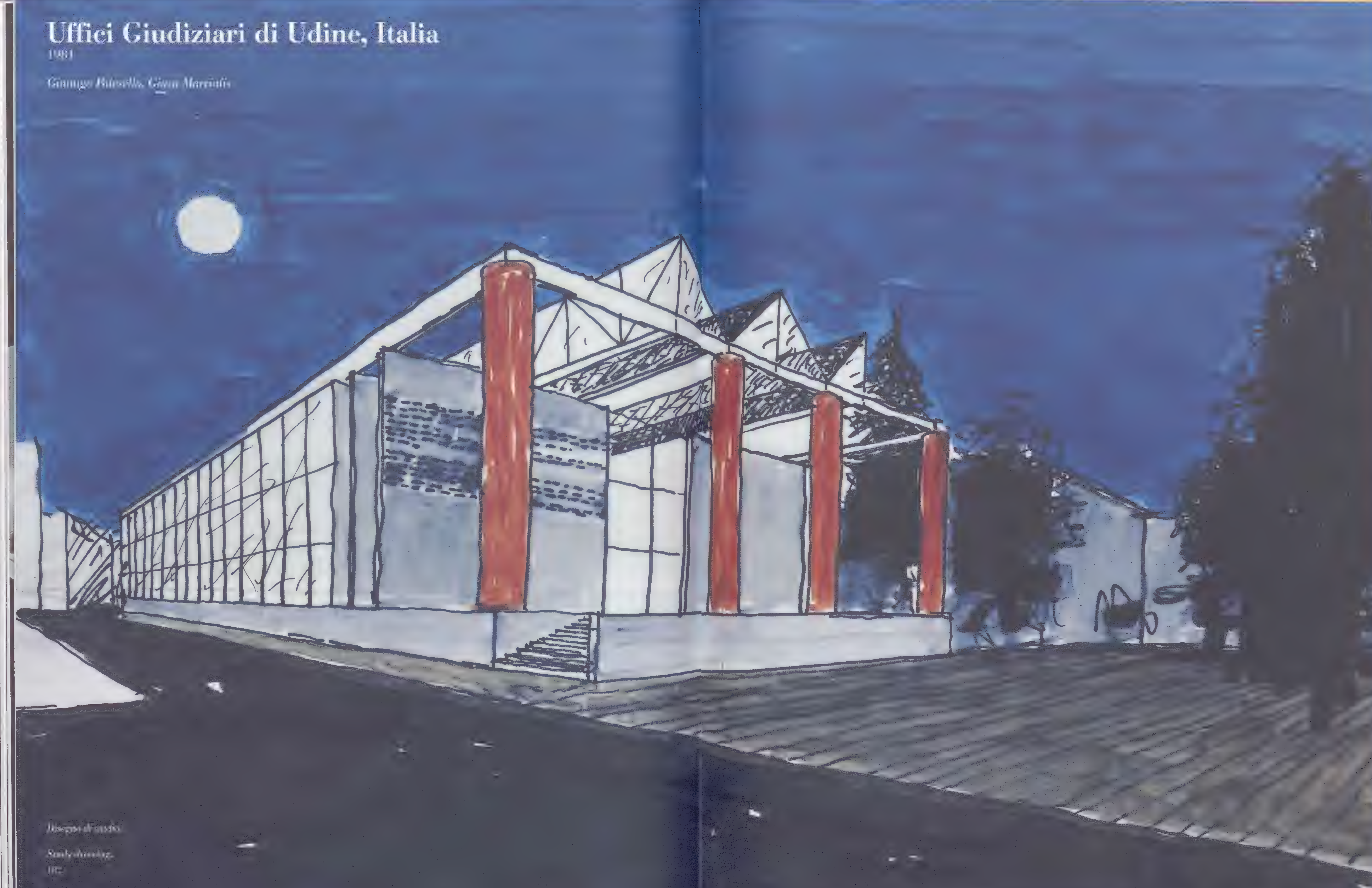




Viste del modello da sud e da nord e vista di cantiere della scalinata d'ingresso.

Views of model from the south and north, and view of the entrance stairway under construction.

Uffici Giudiziari di Udine, Italia



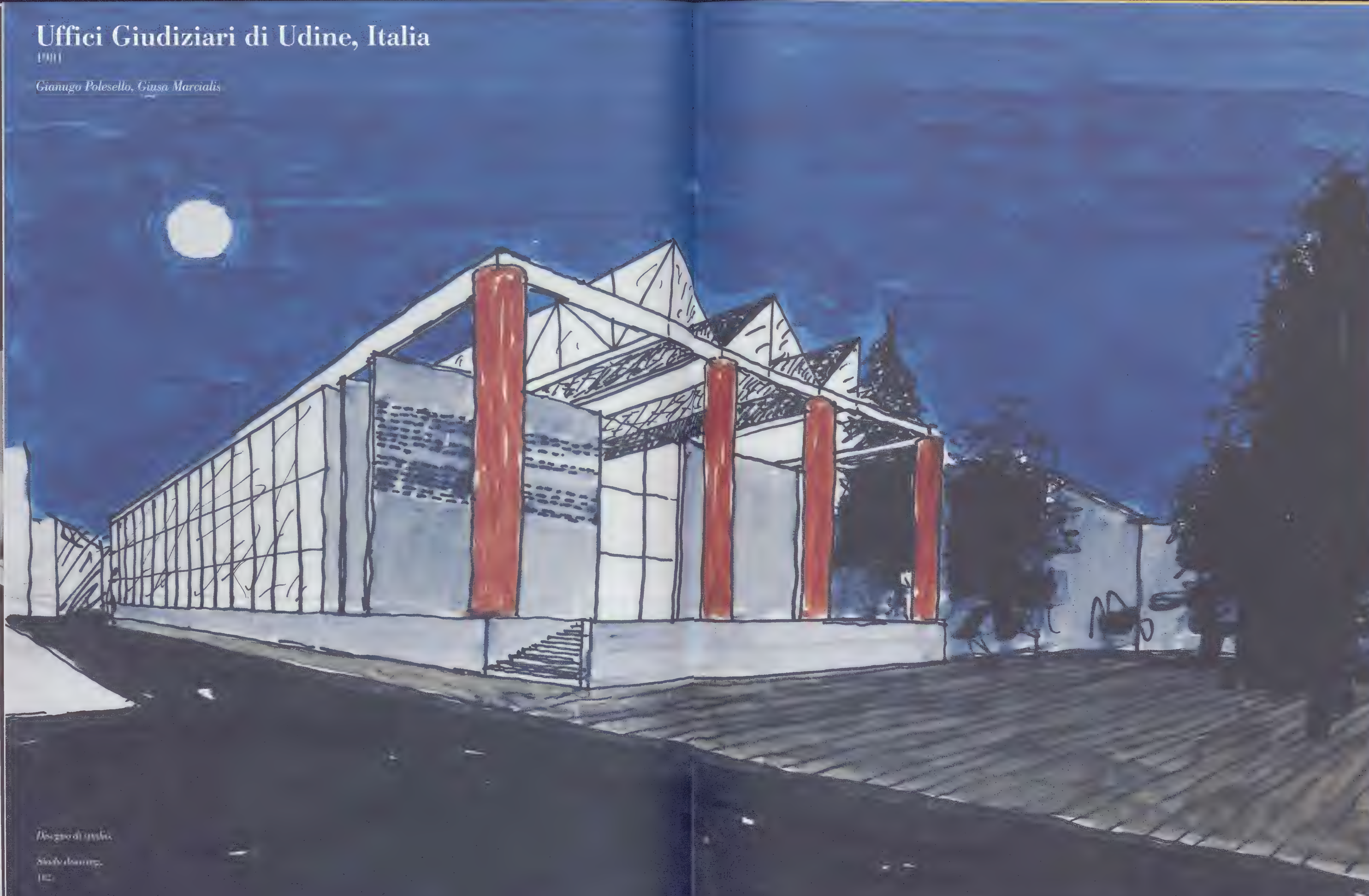
Disegno di studio.

Study drawing.

Uffici Giudiziari di Udine, Italia

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Gianugo Polesello, Giusa Marcialis



Disegno di studio.

Study drawing.

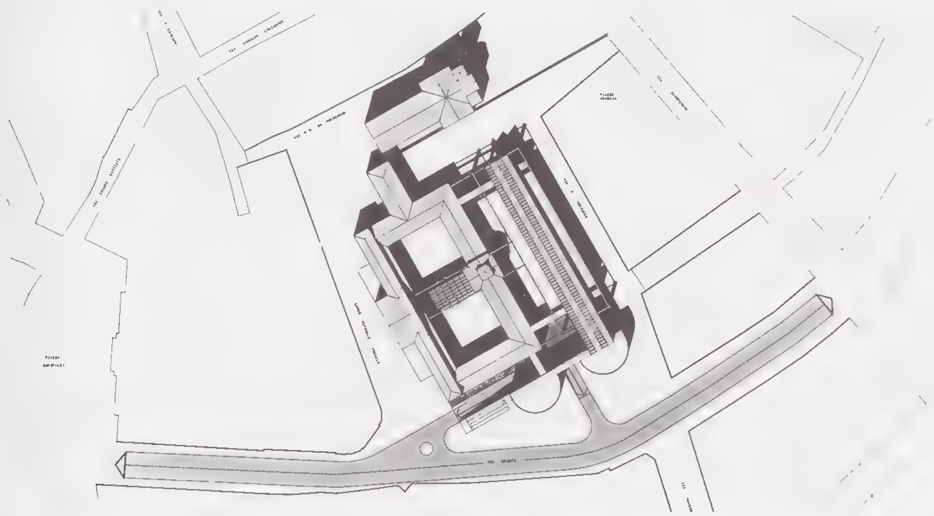
Progetto di concorso per gli Uffici Giudiziari di Udine, Italia
Gianugo Polesello, Giusa Marcialis

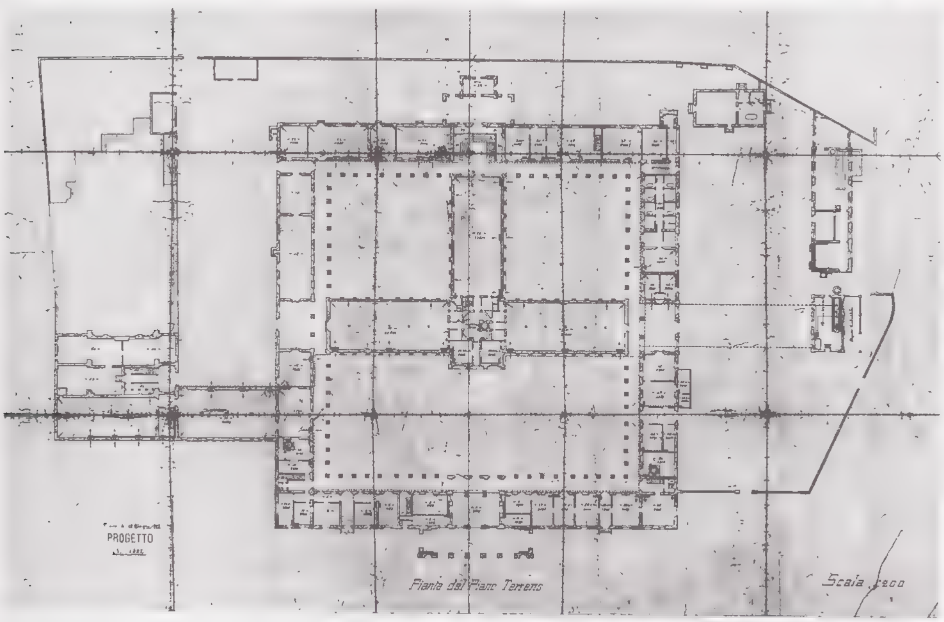
L'area per i nuovi Uffici Giudiziari (che contiene al suo interno il fabbricato dell'Ospedale Vecchio, ormai dismesso e in parte demolito) è localizzata lungo il perimetro della città storica ed è collegata al suo centro fisico attraverso un sistema di piazze susseguentesi, che sono anche luoghi delle funzioni centrali.
Questo insieme di piazze costituisce l'impianto medievale della città e insieme un complesso di fatti urbani che il progetto si propone di ricostituire in sistema. La riconnessione delle piazze attraverso passaggi pedonali riporta in luce la struttura antica della città, costituita di vuoti funzionalmente specializzati più che di strade, vuoti che formavano legame primario tra gli elementi urbani dominanti, le piazze appunto.
Il progetto recupera il disegno antico del sistema dei vuoti attraverso un percorso pedonale che si propone come l'inizio di una nuova razionalità di percorsi per la compiuta integrazione delle funzioni centrali.
Una precisa delimitazione della accessibilità meccanica consente una fruizione completamente pedonale del luogo delle funzioni centrali.
Si determina così un sistema di fatti urbani, costituito non più soltanto da manufatti, ma da un insieme integrato di manufatti e spazi aperti, le piazze, che costruiscono una dimensione di architetture alla scala della città; sottolineano cioè il ruolo dell'area delle funzioni centrali nell'insieme urbano. Allo stesso tempo gli edifici riemergono, valorizzati compiutamente dalla nuova apertura spaziale nella quale sono collocati.
I problemi compositivi che il progetto presenta sono costituiti dalla compresenza di un manufatto storico, parzialmente demolito, il vecchio Ospedale, e di un edificio assolutamente moderno, che sostituisce nella localizzazione la parte demolita dell'Ospedale Vecchio.
Si tratta di costruire una coerenza tra l'edificio monumentale, mutilato, e la nuova edificazione, e, ancora, di proporre un insieme architettonico che aderisca al ruolo che rappresenta la sua destinazione funzionale.
E' necessario dunque ritrovare nell'architettura del nuovo intervento i moduli e i temi compositivi di quella classica, che consentano il suo allineamento alla storia, rappresentata non solo dall'Ospedale Vecchio, ma dall'impianto stesso della città antica, riportato in luce da questa proposta.
Non è pensabile il ricorso a una architettura anonima, a un qualsiasi "palazzo per uffici": il tentativo è quello appunto di costruire un monumento che si raffronti con gli altri manufatti antichi che, connessi, costituiscano un'unita architettonica definita da elementi edilizi eterogenei.
Il verde viene utilizzato come connessione materiale tra le diverse componenti di questa "parte" di città e sottolinea la continuità anche visiva tra elementi e spazi finora separati artificialmente.
La viabilità meccanica è organizzata in modo da sottolineare la continuità funzionale tra le tre piazze e insieme l'unità architettonica costituita dai vari manufatti. Sono previste penetrazioni tecniche che garantiscano la funzionalità del complesso.
In questo più che in altri casi, il progetto del Palazzo di Giustizia è un tema complesso perché implica il raggiungimento di una unità architettonica nell'accostamento tra due edifici: l'Ospedale Vecchio – quello che di esso è rimasto – e il nuovo manufatto.
Dell'Ospedale Vecchio si hanno notizie e documentazioni iconografiche sufficienti a ricostruire la sua vicenda edilizia.
Una descrizione si trova in *Udine e Provincia* di G. Ciconi che dice: "*L'Ospitale Civico, grandiosa fabbrica quadrata di 85 metri di lato, comprendente cinque cortili, venne fondato nel 1782 dall'arcivescovo Girolamo Gradenigo sopra disegno di Antonio Selva in sostituzione all'antico ridotto angusto al bisogno. Benché incompleto servì da ospedale militare e in quelle sale Broussais osservò nel 1806 quei fatti patologici che, illuminato dalla nuova dottrina medica italiana, lo condussero alla riforma della medicina francese. Nel 1834 accolse infermi civili, nel 1847 ne fu eretta la facciata sul piano del Segusini, non però interamente seguita, e successivamente corredato venne dagli accessori indispensabili, e internamente migliorato. Nell'annessa chiesa, che appartenne al convento de' Francescani ammirasi...*".
Elena Bassi, in *Gian Antonio Selva, architetto veneziano*, pag. 132 voce n.19, scrive: "*Udine, Ospedale Civile (di S. Francesco).*
Il Maniago (Guida di Udine *edizione 1839, pag. 60) dice che «si incominciò ad erigere con grandiose proporzioni, col disegno dell'architetto Antonio Selva (...) dall'arcivescovo Girolamo Gradenigo. Poiché questo arcivescovo è morto nel 1786, quest'opera deve ritenersi fatta anteriormente ed è quindi giovanile. Ma solo il basamento del corpo centrale e forse le colonne del pronao, nient'altro deve essere stato fatto su disegno del nostro artista»*".
Nella raccolta di disegni lasciati da A. Selva a Francesco Lazzari, suo successore alla cattedra di architettura dell'Accademia di Venezia, contenuti in nove grandi cartelle al Museo Correr, non appare l'Ospedale di Udine.
Pertanto l'attribuzione dell'opera nella sua interezza, o in parti di essa, è attribuibile a G.A. Selva solo attraverso una analisi filologico-stilistica e non certo filologico-documentaria.
In questo senso sono da ritenersi probanti le osservazioni della Bassi, avendo a mente l'interezza dell'opera di Segusini – quale risulta nel *corpus* dei disegni conservato presso il Museo di Feltre, e dalle sue realizzazioni (in particolare il Palazzo Zugni Tauro a Feltre, il Teatro di Belluno, la Chiesa di Mel, il progetto di una chiesa per Budapest, il Palazzo di Innsbruck) – che mostra una evidente discontinuità stilistica, accusa per altro rivoltagli dai suoi contemporanei, nonostante i necrologi parlino di lui come nuovo Palladio.
Queste ultime osservazioni sono dimostrative delle palesi disomogeneità architettoniche e stilistiche riscontrabili anche nell'opera eseguita a Udine.
Oggi l'antico impianto è quasi irriconoscibile a causa delle demolizioni che dovevano creare spazio prima per il teatro, poi per la sede della Regione, oggi per gli Uffici Giudiziari.
Del vecchio manufatto resta solo il fabbricato che delimita il grande cortile ovest aperto da Segusini; esso è stato ancora una volta diviso in due parti da un edificio a tetto piano, alto due piani, aggiunto nel '900.
In sostanza si tratta di un impianto palesemente mutilato, con piccole aggiunte successive al 1902, come, per esempio, il corpo di fabbrica che continua la facciata principale verso la Via Crispi, vincolato dalla Sovraintendenza. La facciata della chiesa è stata liberata, pur restando accostata all'edificio ospedaliero attraverso un corpo vincolato anch'esso.
Dell'impianto antico è dunque rimasta intatta soltanto la facciata principale (verso la Piazza Ospedale Vecchio), che conserva la dignità e l'armonia un po' barbarica dell'impianto neoclassico lasciato al rustico. Le operazioni di demolizione descritte, se hanno una motivazione immediatamente funzionale, certo non ne hanno nessuna filologica, quindi non appaiono del tutto logici i vincoli imposti dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione a *tutto* quello che è rimasto e, tantomeno, quelli imposti per il nuovo edificio, in particolare l'obbligo di staccare di almeno m 30 l'estremità nord del nuovo corpo dalla Chiesa di San Francesco, visto che l'impianto antico era costituito da un unico edificio con distanza costante dalla chiesa stessa e il convento originario era addirittura costruito in aderenza alla chiesa.

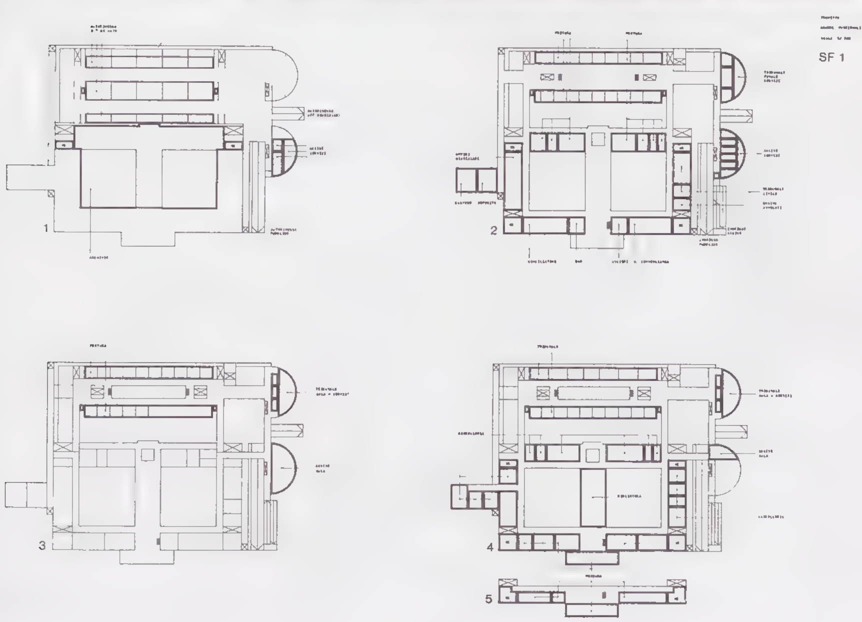
Il progetto è una operazione multipla; esso riguarda:
a) una operazione "complessiva" tendente a tradurre l'unità funzionale del Palazzo per Uffici Giudiziari in unità architettonica; b) una operazione relativa alla costruzione di parti edilizie definite e "indipendenti" dal fabbricato esistente; c) una operazione di restauro non stilistico ma architettonico;
d) una operazione tecnica relativa alle opere di adeguamento strutturale dell'antico manufatto alle sollecitazioni sismiche; e) una operazione tecnologica complessiva (riguardante cioè sia il vecchio che il nuovo manufatto) con riferimento particolare ai problemi termotecnici ed illuminotecnici.
Questa operazione multipla può essere disaggregata e riaggregata rispetto a due

Planivolumetria generale e schemi funzionali. Ospedale Civile di Udine, in un disegno del 1902: pianta del piano terreno.

General volumetric plan and functional schemes. The Ospedale Civile of Udine in a drawing from 1902: plan of the ground floor.

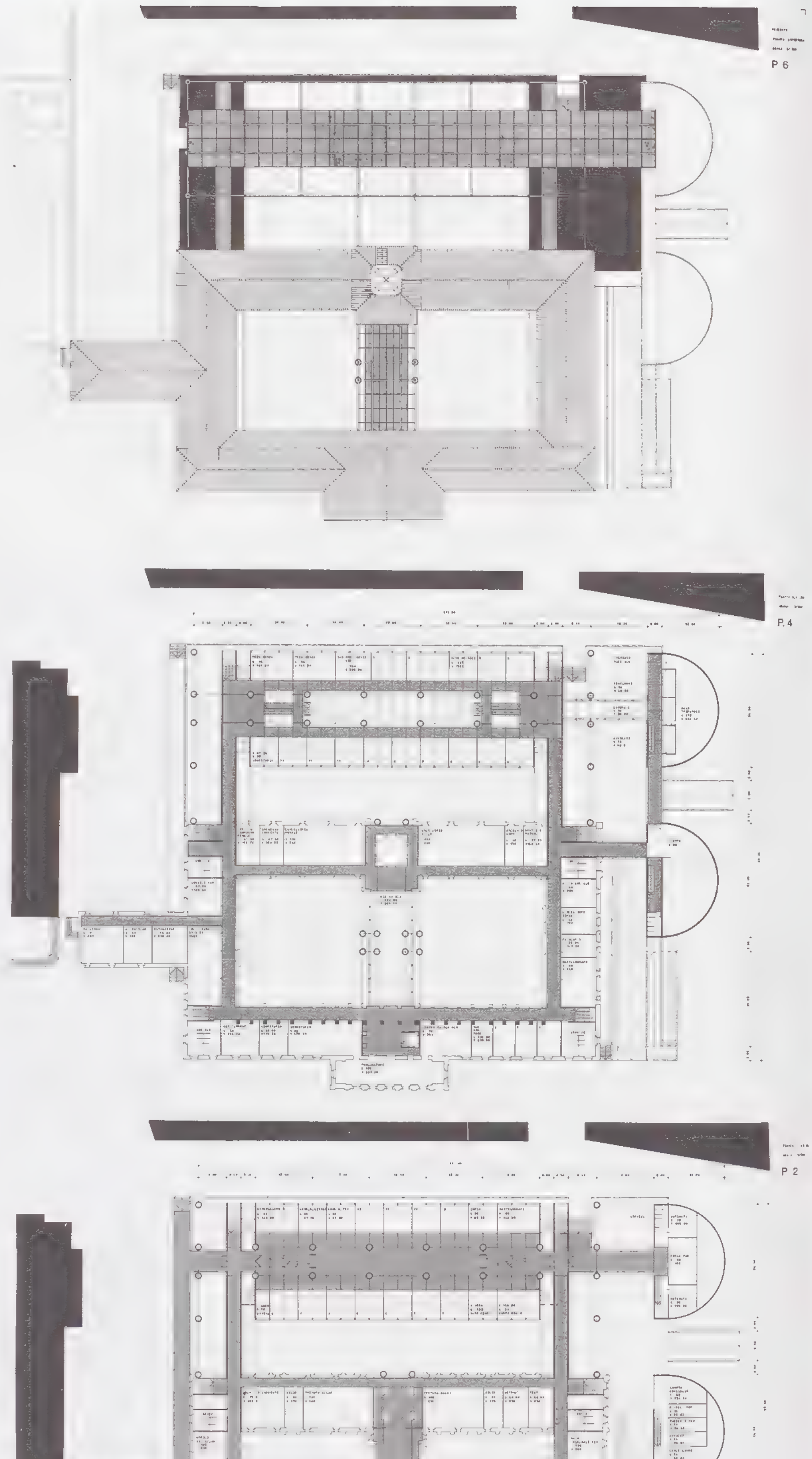






questioni centrali:
1) l' architettura; 2) le tecniche (opere strutturali e tecnologiche).
G.A. Selva (soprattutto avendo a mente il binomio A. Canova- G. A. Selva) è indubbiamente l'architetto veneto che ha segnato più di ogni altro la presenza della "Architettura della Ragione" nell'area di dominio politico e culturale di Venezia.
In questo senso la presenza "latente" a Udine della sua opera è un condizionamento che il progetto assume come emblematico e positivo. Ma come? Negli elementi iconologici piuttosto che negli elementi iconografici? Assumendo la perpetua lezione di Palladio sull'architettura come pianta? O avendo a mente il recupero di stilemi che diventeranno la forma fenomenica del neoclassico di consumo?
Sono domande che non possono avere risposte particolari proprio in quanto, benché articolate e disgiunte, rimandano ad una domanda centrale: il neoclassico dove presenta, in quali elementi di esso, la sua motivazione più profonda?
Dove esso, rivendicando con l'Algarotti l'architettura "in funzione" e "utilizzando" le tautologie palladiane, si propone come "tecnica" nelle risposte da dare alle domande di nuova organizzazione, di moderna organizzazione, della città.
E' interessante, inoltre, rilevare che questa politica culturale che "passa" attraverso l'architettura neoclassica, si contamina localmente. (Quale *contaminatio* più significativa di quella rilevabile nelle opere di Quarenghi a Pietroburgo?)
La *contaminatio* nel nostro caso è rilevabile tutta nell'intervento di Segusini.
Si badi che qui si intende il termine *contaminatio* in senso positivo, come elemento cioè proprio e tipico della cultura locale, della cultura friulana costruita attraverso sedimentazioni e "appropriazioni" anche di elementi esterni ad essa.
Questa operazione compiuta dal Segusini non è rilevabile nell'interezza dell'architettura del Vecchio Ospedale, non è, cioè, operazione omogenea rispetto alle sue distinte parti né, tantomeno, rispetto ai distinti partiti architettonici utilizzati.
E' ipotizzabile, forse, una persistenza di immagine, dell'antico Convento di San Francesco. Come spiegare, altrimenti, all'interno del repertorio neoclassico, il valore tattile delle murature utilizzate, la assoluta prevalenza delle masse murarie sui vuoti e sulle partiture (lesene) inserite a sottolineare alcuni luoghi funzionalmente importanti nel manufatto, ecc.?
Rispetto a manufatti analoghi per dimensione costruiti dal neoclassico, il senso di "grande macchina" che il Vecchio Ospedale assumeva (nella sua intera dimensione precedente agli interventi di demolizione) e assume ancora oggi è dato proprio dal senso di "grave" delle murature d'ambito sottolineato dalla relativa indipendenza delle bucature da problemi di

ritmatura e di composizione delle facciate.
Rispetto a queste considerazioni il progetto assume il valore architettonico del manufatto esistente legato a:
1) l'impianto neoclassico che "impone" la ricostruzione(o la rimeditazione) di una geometria perduta;
2) il valore tattile-costruttivo espresso nella tridimensionalità imponente e grave idonea a "cinturare" uno spazio urbano come fatto architettonico.
Ad 1): L'impianto neoclassico è mantenuto integralmente nel valore di impianto unitario alla scala urbana. Non si tratta, in questo progetto, di una giustapposizione di un nuovo manufatto ad un manufatto esistente. Si tratta, viceversa, della utilizzazione di elementi già dati e di elementi di nuova formazione da ridurre ad unità architettonica.
Gli elementi già dati sono riutilizzati pressoché nella loro interezza. Essi sono eliminati o utilizzati solo sulla base di operazioni di restauro filologico con l'eccezione dei punti che presentano evidenti alterazioni dell'organismo originario o propongono problemi derivanti dal "non-finito" rispetto al primitivo impianto. Questi punti sono:
– il braccio collegante l'ingresso principale con la cappella centrale; il progetto propone l'abbattimento di questo corpo e la sua sostituzione con un elemento architettonico omogeneo con l'architettura del nuovo edificio. Esso costituisce, inoltre, una sorta di biella tridimensionale tra le due maniche lunghe dell'antico edificio;
– il lato est della cappella che oggi presenta solo le tracce della demolizione operata recentemente del quarto elemento della crociera. La parete, nel progetto, viene eliminata completamente e sostituita con due cilindri-colonne a tutta altezza. Questi cilindri hanno la stessa "scala" dei pilastri che definiscono il nucleo centrale della cappella, nucleo che diventa, nel progetto, l'obbiettivo ottico di una *enfilade* che ha la radice nell'ingresso del vecchio edificio. La parete demolita è sostituita da una vetrata di grandi dimensioni;
– le testate nord e sud del vecchio edificio lungo la parete est. Esse si presentano con uno stato di fatto identico a quello della cappella: richiedono, cioè, una soluzione architettonica. Il progetto integra, qui, due ragioni: una assolutamente funzionale (che valga a ricostruire il circuito perimetrale interno della "grande macchina"), l'altra più architettonica che "risolva" il problema compositivo dell'angolo. Anche in questo caso l'uso della colonna-cilindro è proposto come risolutorio (con evidente richiamo letterario agli elementi di definizione laterale del pronao neoclassico e palladiano).
Ad 2): Il valore tattile-costruttivo dell'edificio del Vecchio Ospedale di Santa Maria della Misericordia si presenta anche come valore architettonico.



Piante dei piani terreno, secondo e copertura. *Plans of the ground floor, second floor and roof.*

Esso infatti non è riferibile solo al tipo di tessitura muraria, alle proporzioni tra pieni e vuoti, all'imponenza del piano rialzato, ecc. Esso è riferibile alla volontà di perseguire, attraverso di esso, una unità architettonica non solo nell'impianto ma anche in senso ottico-percettivo.
Il problema che discende da queste considerazioni-assunzioni è, progettualmente, un problema che rimanda alla costruzione di una nuova unità (a questo punto ricusando l'operazione di ricostruzione integrale) in un processo di analisi-sintesi degli elementi preesistenti e di quelli di nuova formazione.
Questa nuova unità architettonica è ancorata (è questa una scelta progettuale) a:
– la "scala" dei nuovi interventi sulla loro dimensione volumetrico-ottica;
– la "scala" degli elementi architettonici che costituiscono le parti di nuova formazione.
E' chiaro che questa scelta progettuale propone problemi di "geometria" per l'impianto complessivo (e qui ricompare la proposta di G. A. Selva in tutta la sua chiarezza e imponenza) e problemi di "figure architettoniche" che sappiano tenere unite le ragioni di "visibilità" con quelle "tecnologico-strutturali" (e qui sono decisamente proclamate le istanze dell'architettura razionale antica e moderna).
Sono comprensibili (più comprensibili) gli usi combinati di cilindri-colonne (in c. a.) e di aste metalliche ordinate in una griglia spaziale cartesiana, le absidi delle grandi aule del Tribunale e della Corte d'Assise e lo sprofondamento dell'intero complesso edilizio a quota -1.50 (che recupera contemporaneamente le motivazioni della sicurezza e quelle della definizione del manufatto come traccia incisa nel suolo).

Gli elementi fissi sono:
a) le due gallerie di collegamento tra il nuovo edificio e il Vecchio Ospedale al piano terreno, primo e secondo piano in corrispondenza dei lati nord e sud del chiostro dell'antico edificio. Sia nel nuovo che nel vecchio edificio si attestano sulle gallerie nuclei di servizi, scale, ascensori;
b) galleria centrale nel nuovo fabbricato che, incrociando le precedenti, percorre in lunghezza l'intero edificio, distribuisce gli uffici al piano terra;
c) gallerie laterali che, sovrapponendosi alla galleria centrale, distribuiscono gli uffici del primo e secondo piano nel nuovo edificio. Al primo piano la galleria si prolunga fino a incrociare il percorso di distribuzione delle due esedre che contengono le aule della Corte d'Assise e del Tribunale e i servizi relativi;
d) corridoi di distribuzione degli uffici nel vecchio manufatto in corrispondenza del chiostro;
e) galleria centrale in corrispondenza del corpo che ripartisce l'antico cortile rettangolare, ripristinando l'impostazione del Selva. Al piano terra la galleria collega l'ingresso su Piazza Ospedale Vecchio con le aule della Pretura.
Gli accessi pedonali agli uffici sono situati alle due estremità del nuovo fabbricato e nell'ingresso principale del Vecchio Ospedale su Piazza Ospedale Vecchio.
Le aule del Tribunale e della Corte d'Assise hanno inoltre accesso diretto e indipendente sia da Piazza Ospedale Vecchio che dalla Via Morpurgo.

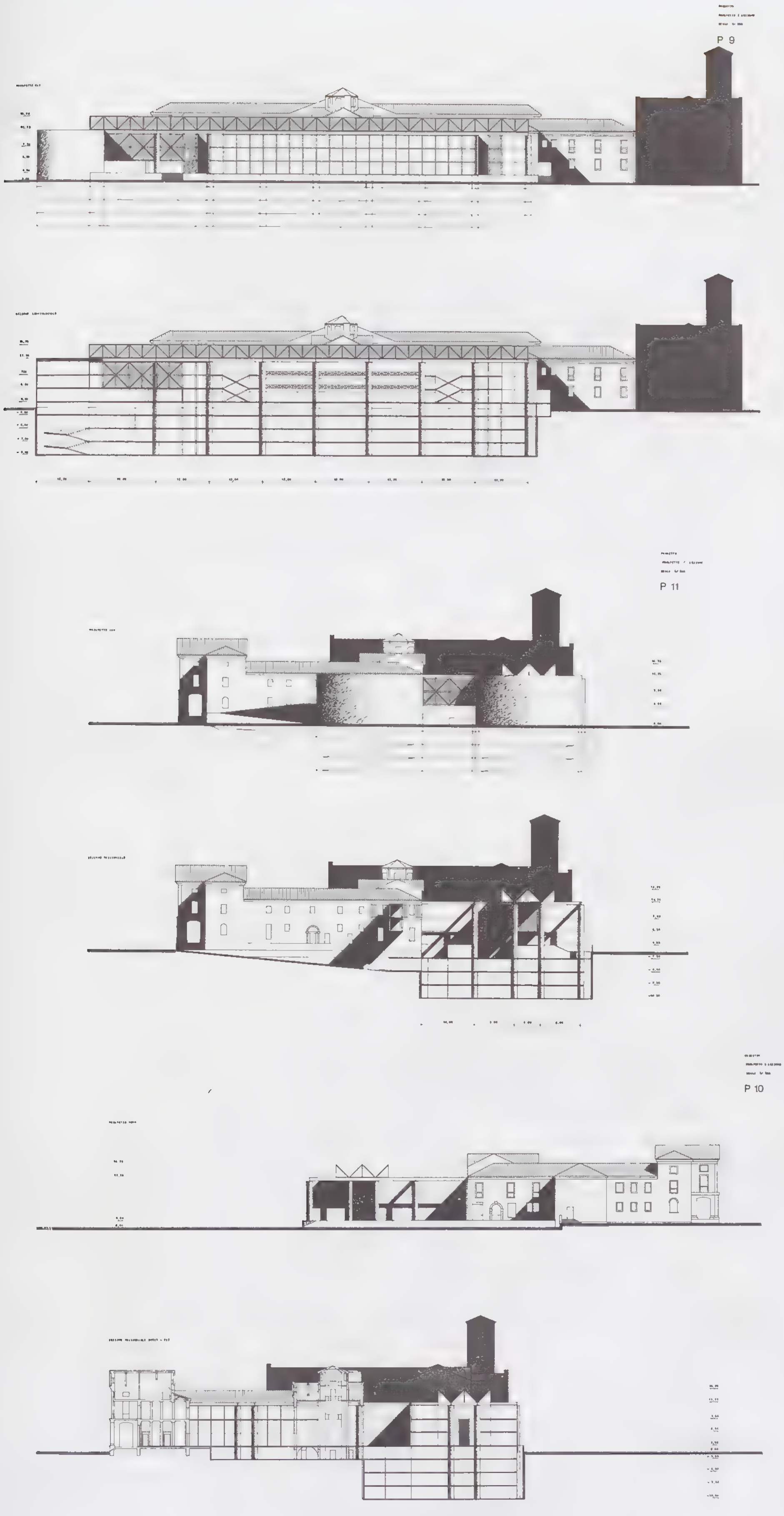
Esistono due distinte operazioni strutturali:
a) l'adeguamento del vecchio manufatto alle sollecitazioni sismiche;
b) il tipo strutturale adottato per il nuovo manufatto.
Nel vecchio fabbricato vengono eliminate tutte le murature interne, portanti o no. Viene mantenuta tutta la muratura di cintura (sia interna che esterna). Vengono predisposti:
a) setti trasversali in c. a. di irrigidimento;
b) sostituzione dei solai con solai leggeri in acciaio con pianta a traliccio per garantire ad essi la funzione di diaframmi orizzontali;
c) sostituzione di porzioni di murature di spina con pilastri in c. a. sul corpo ovest;
d) formazione di telai in acciaio nei bracci nord, sud ed est;
e) immissione nelle testate nord e sud dell'ala est di elementi verticali a grande inerzia orizzontale (cilindri cavi-diaframmati in c. a. del diametro esterno di m1.50).
Il nuovo fabbricato è costituito da una doppia fila di pilastri a forma di cilindro cavo-diaframmato in c. a. (dal punto di vista esecutivo possono essere gettati in opera a mezzo di casseri scorrevoli o prefabbricati a settori e collegati mediante precompressione a cavi scorrevoli).
Ogni coppia (in senso trasversale) è collegata da aste in acciaio (IPE 750) a costituire un telaio multipiano con interasse di m 6.00. Questo insieme di elementi costituisce la struttura resistente alle sollecitazioni orizzontali.
A questa manica strutturale centrale sono accostate due maniche laterali in acciaio (aste verticali e orizzontali) con attacco "a biella": esse scaricano cioè gli sforzi orizzontali alla strutturale centrale.
Nella parte interrata i solai sono costituiti da solai cementizi realizzando in tal modo un tipo strutturale *box-frame*. Ciò significa che la parte entroterra vibra (nel caso di azioni sismiche) con il terreno di margine.
Si tratta, in sostanza, per la parte entroterra di una vasca cementizia diaframmata sia nel piano verticale che nel piano orizzontale. La trasmissione dalle pareti di contenimento della terra alla struttura diaframmata interna è garantita da una serie di bielle orizzontali in acciaio.

Competition project for the Judicial Offices of Udine, Italy

Gianugo Polesello, Giusa Marcialis

The area for the new Judiciary Offices (which also contains the remains of the old hospital, now abandoned and partially demolished), is positioned along the border of the historical city, and connected to its physical centre by means of a series of piazzas which are also the places for central functions.
This sequence of squares represents both the medieval plan of the city and a complex of urban elements which the project attempts to reorganise into a system. The re-connection of the piazzas by means of pedestrian walkways unveils the original structure of the city, with its functionally specialized open spaces, rather than streets, spaces which become the primary links among the dominant urban elements, i.e. the piazzas.
The project recoups the historical design of the system of open spaces by creating a pedestrian route which is intended as the starting point of a new rationale for the complete integration of central urban functions.
Precise regulation of vehicle access permits total pedestrian utilisation of spaces for central functions.
This leads to a system of urban elements, no longer composed only of structures; a "whole" of structures and open spaces, piazzas, which become an architectural dimension on an urban scale; they underline the role of the area of the central functions in the urban whole. At the same time the edifices seem to reappear, their presence is enhanced by the open spaces in which they are positioned.
The compositional problems presented by the project are related to the simultaneous presence of a partially demolished historical element, the old hospital, and an absolutely modern edifice built in the position of the part of the hospital which was demolished.
The problem is to construct a coherency between the mutilated monumental edifice and the new construction; and, at the same time, to propose an architectural whole which represents its functional role.
Therefore it is necessary to contemplate, in the new architecture, the modules and the compositional themes of classical architecture, in order to align the new work with history, in the figure not only of the old hospital, but also of the layout of the historical city, which is brought to light precisely for this purpose.
Here it would be unthinkable to fall back on the expedient of "anonymous architecture", of the "generic office building". Here the aim is to build a monument which can coexist with older structures, to create an architectonic whole defined by heterogeneous elements.
Green areas are utilised as the connections between the different components of the "city part", and also underline the visual continuity among spaces and elements which were previously artificially separated.

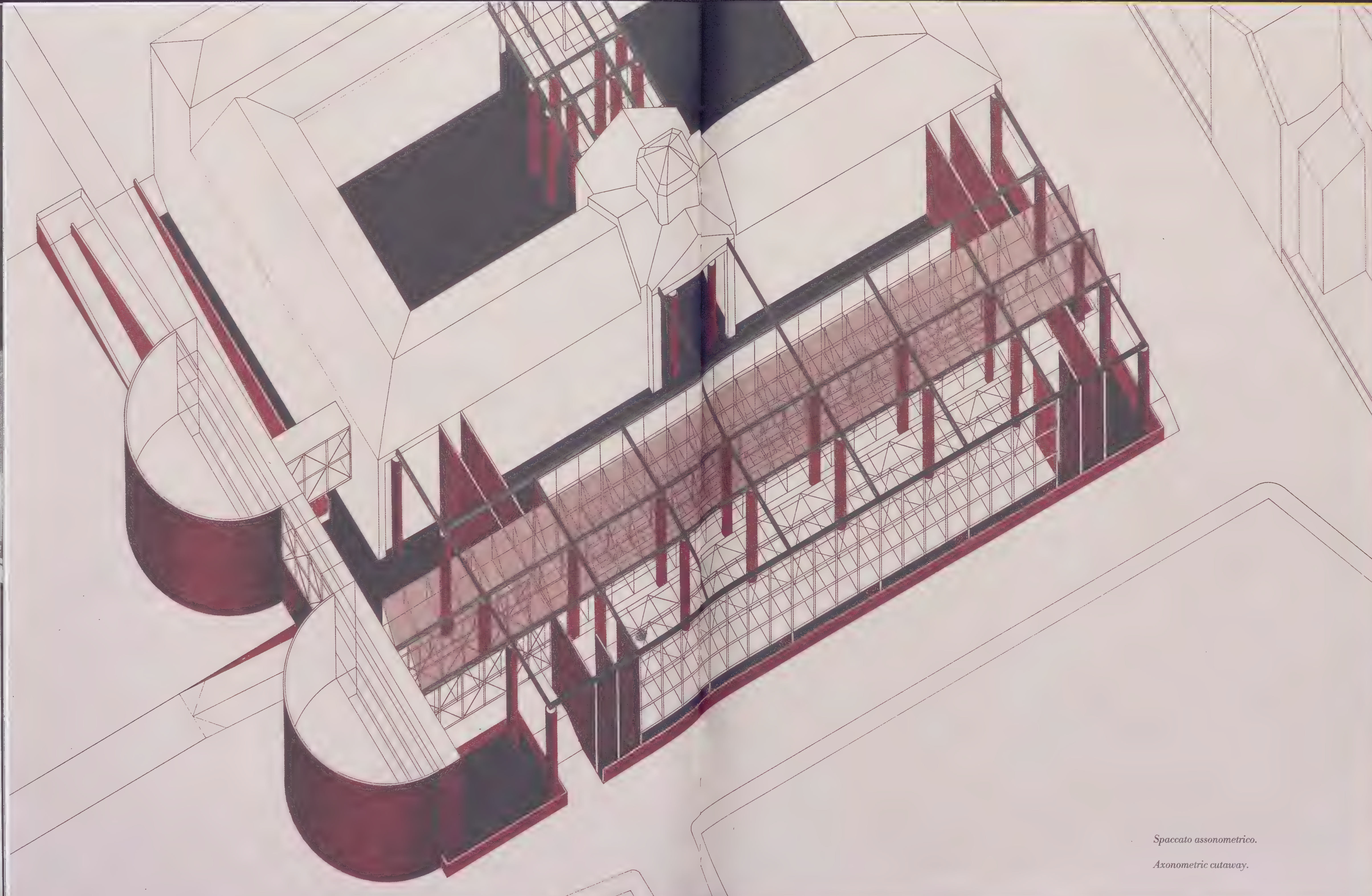
Vehicular circulation is organized in such a way as to emphasise the functional continuity among the three piazzas and the architectural whole composed of the various buildings.
Reserved vehicle access routes for technical purposes guarantee the functional integrity of the complex.
Here, more than in other cases, the design theme of the courthouse becomes very complex, because it involves the achievement of architectural unity in the juxtaposition of two edifices: what is left of the old hospital, and the new building.
Sufficient visual and written documentation exists for a retracing of the building of the hospital.
A description is found in Udine e Provincia *by G. Ciconi:* "The Civic Hospital, a large square complex, 85 metres per side, including five courtyards, was founded in 1782 by the archbishop Girolamo Gradenigo, and designed by Antonio Selva to replace the original structure, which had become too small. Although as yet not completed, the new structure served as a military hospital, where Broussais observed, in 1806, the pathological evidence which, in the light of the medical practices based on the new Italian doctrine, led to the reform of French medicine. In 1834 the hospital was also opened to civilian patients. In 1847 the facade, based on the plan by Segusini, was built, although only in part; later the complex was equipped with the necessary accessories, and improved inside. In the adjoining church, which belongs to the monastery of the Franciscans, one can admire...".
Elena Bassi, in Gian Antonio Selva, architetto veneziano, *on p. 132, entry n. 19, writes:* "Udine, Ospedale Civile (di San Francesco). Maniago *(Guida di Udine*, edition of 1839, p. 60) says that «construction was begun on a grand scale, with the design of the architect Antonio Selva *(...)* by the archbishop Girolamo Gradenigo'. Because this archibishop died in 1786, this work must have been done previously, and can thus be considered an early work. But only the base of the central volume, and perhaps the columns of the pronaos can be attributed to our artist»".
In the collection of drawings left by A. Selva to Francesco Lazzari, his successor at the department of architecture of the Academy of Venice, now conserved in nine large folders at the Museo Correr, the hospital in Udine does not appear.
Therefore the attribution of the work as a whole, or in part, to G.A. Selva can be made only through a stylistic-philological analysis, rather than by means of documentation. In this sense the observations of Bassi are very revealing, based on a knowledge of all the work of Segusini – all the drawings conserved at the Museum of Feltre, and the constructed works (in particular the Zugni Tauro building in Feltre, the theatre in Belluno, the church in Mel, the design for a church in Budapest, the edifice in Innsbruck) – which presents an evident stylistic discontinuity, an accusation which was also made by his contemporaries, in spite of the fact that the obituaries spoke of him as the new Palladio. These latter observations are demonstrative of the blatant architectural and stylistic dis-homogeneities which can also be observed in the work in Udine.
Today the original structure is almost unrecognisable, due to demolitions intended first to make room for a theatre, then for the headquarters of the Regional administration, and today for the Judiciary Offices.
All that remains of the original complex is the part bordering the large western courtyard opened by Segusini; this has been divided into two parts by a flat-roofed two-storey edifice added in the 1900s.
In substance, we are dealing here with an evidently mutilated layout, with small additions after 1902, like the structure which continues the main facade toward Via Crispi, protected by norms. The facade of the church has been freed, although it is still flanked by the hospital edifice, due to another volume protected by regulations.
Thus all that has remained intact of the original arrangement is the main facade (toward Piazza Ospedale Vecchio), which conserves the dignity and rather barbaric harmony of the neoclassical matrix combined with the rustic.
The operations of demolition described, although they have an immediately functional motivation, certainly do not have any philological one; therefore the limitations imposed by the Ministry of Public Instruction for all that which remains standing, and for the new edifice, especially the obligation to separate, by at least 30 metres, the northern extremity of the new building from the Church of St. Francis, do not appear completely logical, given the fact that the original complex was composed of a single edifice with a constant distance from the church itself and the original convent, which was even built up against the church.
The project is a multiple operation, involving:
a) a "comprehensive" operation aimed at translating the functional unity of the edifice for the Judiciary Offices into architectural unity;
b) an operation involving the construction of defined edified parts, "independent" of the existing structures;
c) an operation of architectural, not stylistic, restoration;
d) a technical operation involving works of structural improvement of the original buildings, to adapt them to seismic stress norms;
e) an overall technological operation (regarding both the old and the new buildings), with particular attention to problems of climate control and lighting.
This multiple operation can be broken down or reassembled with respect to two central questions:
1) the architecture;
2) the techniques (structural and technological works).
G.A. Selva (especially when we consider the combination A. Canova - G.A. Selva) is undoubtedly the Veneto architect who most distinctly marks the presence of the "Architecture of Reason" in the area of Venetian political and cultural dominance.
In this sense, the "latent" presence of his work in Udine is a condition which the project can assume as emblematic and positive. But how? In the iconological rather than the iconographic elements? By accepting the eternal lesson of Palladio on architecture as a plan? Or by keeping in mind the recovery of stylemes which become the phenomenal form of the neoclassicism of consumption?
These are questions which cannot have particular answers, precisely because, although they are detailed and specific, they always lead back to a central question: where, in which elements, does the neoclassical present its most profound motivation?
Where, to join Algarotti in the vindication of architecture "in function" and "utilising" the Palladian tautologies, it presents itself as "technique" in the responses to be given to the demands for a new, modern organisation of the city.
Moreover, it is interesting to note that this cultural policy which finds its way into the world by means of neoclassical architecture is also subject to local contaminations. (What contaminatio *could be more telling than that which can be observed in the works of Quarenghi in Petersburg?) The* contaminatio, *in our case, can be seen in its entirety in the intervention of Segusini.*
It should be noted that here we are considering the term contaminatio *in a positive sense, as an element which belongs to the local culture, the culture of Friuli, constructed through sedimentation and "appropriations" even of external elements.*
This operation effected by Segusini cannot be seen in the entirety of the architecture of the Vecchio Ospedale; in other words, it is not a homogeneous operation with respect to the distinct parts, nor with respect to the distinct architectural alternatives utilised.
Perhaps it is possible to hypothesise the survival of an image, that of the original Convent of St. Francis. How, otherwise, can we explain, within the neoclassical repertory, the tactile value of the masonry utilised, the absolute prevalence of the wall masses over the spaces and the divisions (pilaster strips) inserted to underline certain functionally important areas in the structure, etc.?
With respect to analogous edifices, in terms of size, of the neoclassical, the sense of "great machine" which the old hospital assumed (in its entirety, before the demolition of its parts), and still assumes today, is precisely the result of the sense of "gravity" of the masonry, underlined by the relative independence of the



Prospetti est, sud e nord e sezioni corrispondenti.

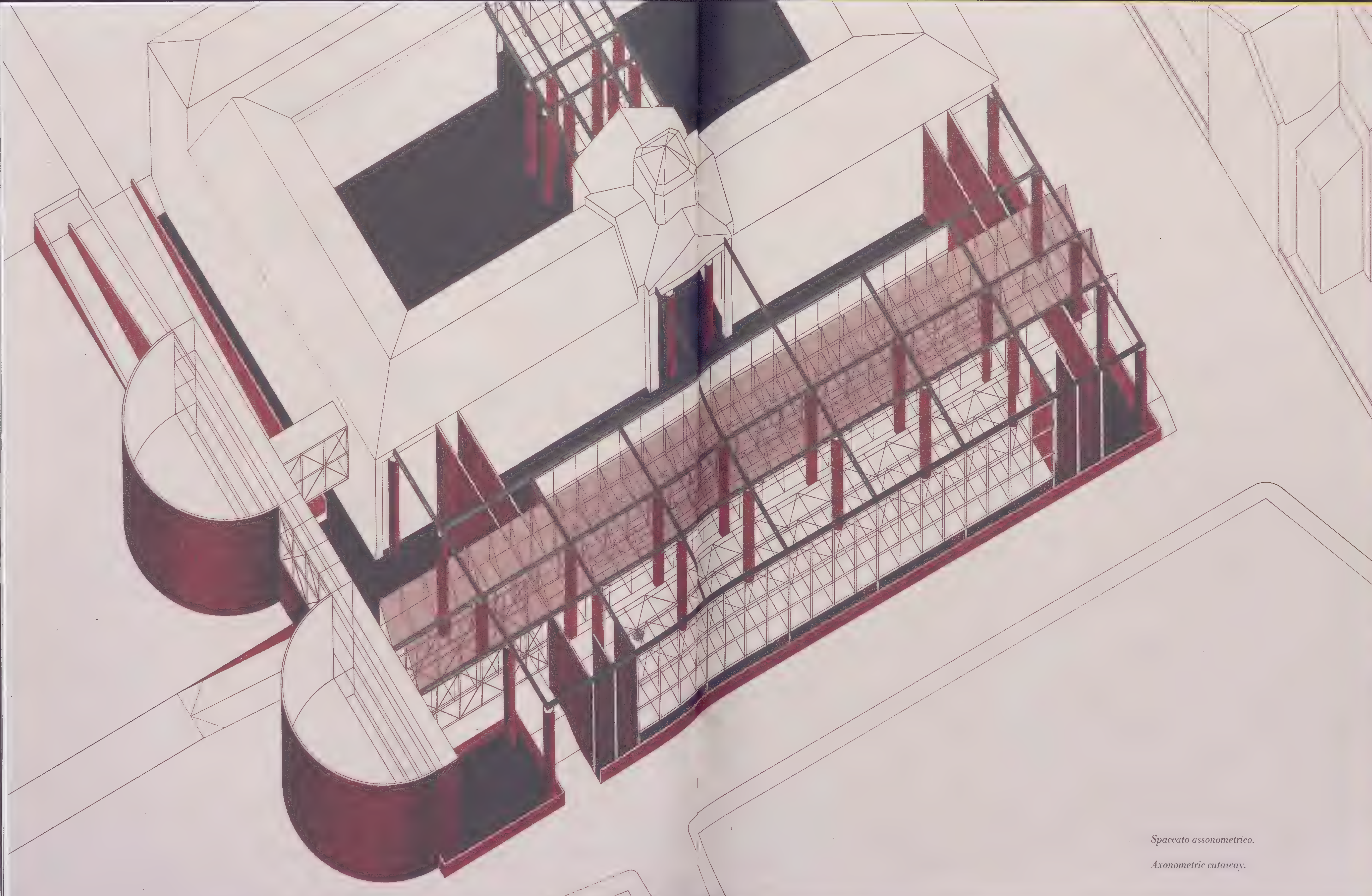
East, south and north elevations and corresponding sections.

openings from problems of rhythm and composition of the facades.
With respect to these considerations the project assumes the architectural value of the existing structure linked to:
1) the neoclassical layout which "imposes" the reconstruction (or the rethinking) of a lost geometry;
2) the tactile-constructive value expressed in the imposing three-dimensional quality and gravity suitable to "enclose" an urban space as an architectural reality.
Ad 1): The neoclassical layout is maintained intact in its value as a unitary arrangement on an urban scale.
The idea, in this project, is not to juxtapose a new structure on an existing one.
Instead, the idea is to utilise existing elements and new ones in order to create an architectonic unity.
The given elements are reutilised almost entirely. They are eliminated or utilised only on the basis of operations of philological restoration, with the exception of the points where there are evident alterations of the original organism, or problems derived from the "unfinished" quality of the original structure. These points are:
– the wing connecting the main entrance to the central chapel; the project proposes the demolition of this volume, and its replacement with an architectural element which is homogeneous with the new edifice. This also constitutes a sort of three-dimensional connecting rod between the two long wings of the original edifice.
– the eastern side of the chapel, which today shows only the traces of the recent demolition of the fourth element of the transept. The wall, in the project, is completely eliminated and replaced with two full-height cylinder-columns. These cylinders have the same "scale" as the pilasters which define the central nucleus of the chapel, a nucleus which becomes, in the project, the optical lens of an "enfilade" whose origin lies in the entrance to the old edifice. The demolished wall is replaced by a large glazed wall.
– the northern and southern ends of the old edifice along the eastern wall. These are in the same state as the chapel: they require an architectural solution. Here the project integrates two reasonings: one absolutely functional in nature (the reconstruction of the perimeter around the "great machine"), the other more architectural, "resolving" the compositional problem of the corner. Again, in this case, the use of the cylinder-column is proposed as a resolution (with evident literary reference to the elements of lateral definition of the neoclassical and Palladian pronaos).
Ad 2): The tactile-constructive value of the edifice of the old hospital of Santa Maria della Misericordia is also viewed as an architectural value. It does not, in fact, only have to do with the type of masonry structure, the proportions between the openings and the closures, the bulk



Spaccato assonometrico.

Axonometric cutaway.



Spaccato assonometrico.

Axonometric cutaway.

of the upper level, etc.
It also has to do with the desire to create, through this quality, an architectural unity, not only in terms of the structure, but also in a visual and tactile sense.
The problem which results from these considerations-assumptions is, in design terms, a problem which leads to the construction of a new unity (at this point rejecting the operation of total reconstruction), in a process of analysis-synthesis of the pre-existing elements and the new ones.
This new architectural unity is based (and this is a design choice) on:
– the "scale" of the new elements in their volumetric-visual dimension;
– the "scale" of the architectural elements which constitute the parts of the new complex.
It is clear that this design choice poses problems of "geometry" for the overall arrangement (and here the proposal of G.A. Selva reappears in all its clarity and power), and problems of "architectonic figures" capable of combining the reasons of "visibility" with those of "technology-structure" (and here there is a decisive proclamation of the requirements of historical and modern rational architecture).
The combined use of cylinder-columns (in reinforced concrete) and metal bars ordered in a Cartesian spatial grid are comprehensible (more comprehensible); as are the apses of the large halls of the Court and the Court of Assizes, and the recessing of the entire complex to a level of - 1.5 metres (simulataneously responding to the need for security and to that of the definition of the edifice as a tracing engraved in the earth's surface).
The fixed elements are:
a) The two corridors connecting the new edifice to the old hospital at the levels of the ground, first and second floors, corresponding to the north and south sides of the cloister of the old edifice. In both the new and the old edifice the corridors lead to nuclei of services, stairs and lifts.
b) The central corridor of the new edifice which, intersecting those described above, crosses the length of the entire edifice, providing access to the offices on the ground floor.
c) Lateral corridors which, overlapping the central corridor, provide access for the first and second floors of the new edifice. On the first floor the corridor continues, encountering the access route of the two semicircular structures which contain the halls of the Court of Assizes and the Courtroom, and their related services.
d) Access corridors for the offices in the old edifice, in correspondence to the cloister.
e) A central corridor in the volume which divides the original rectangular courtyard, restoring Selva's arrangement. At ground level the corridor connects the entrance to the old hospital with the halls of the magistrate's court.
The pedestrian accessways to the offices are situated at the two ends of the new edifice and in the main entrance to the old hospital on Piazza Ospedale Vecchio.
The courtroom chambers and Court of Assizes also have direct, independent accesses from the piazza and from Via Morpurgo.
There are two distinct structural operations:
a) the adaptation of the old structures to modern seismic stress standards;
b) the structural type for the new edifice.
In the old structures all the internal walls have been eliminated, whether structural or not. The masonry of the outer walls (both internal and external) is preserved. The improvements include:
a) transverse baffles in reinforced concrete;
b) replacement of joisted floors with lighter trellice steel floors to guarantee functioning as horizontal diaphragms;
c) substitution of portions of masonry with reinforced concrete pilasters in the western volume;
d) formation of steel frames in the north, south and east wings;
e) placement in the northern and southern ends of the eastern wing of vertical elements with great horizontal inertia (hollow reinforced concrete cylinders with diaphragm, external diameter 1.5 metres).
The new edifice is composed of a double row of hollow reinforced concrete cylinders with diaphragm. (In terms of construction, they can be poured on site by means of mobile moulds, or prefabricated in segments and assembled with precompression with cables).
Each pair (cross-wise) is connected by steel bars (IPE 750), to create a multi-level framework at intervals of 6 metres.
This combination of elements constitutes a structure resistant to horizontal stress.
This central structural channel is joined by two lateral channels in steel (vertical and horizontal bars) with a "connecting rod" attachment: these elements serve to discharge the horizontal stress from the central structure.
In the parts below ground level the floors are composed of concrete joistings of the box-frame type. This means that the underground part of the structure will vibrate (in case of seismic activity) along with the surrounding terrain.
In substance, for the parts below ground level a sort of concrete tub with both horizontal and vertical diaphragms. The transmission of vibrations from the external retainer walls to the internal structure with diaphragm is guaranteed by a series of horizontal steel connecting rods.



Prospettiva.

Perspective.

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Prospettiva.

Perspective.

The European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France

1989-1995

Richard Rogers Partnership

Site Architects: Atelier d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme Claude Bucher
Engineers: Ove Arup & Partners, Omnium Technique Européen
Landscape Architects: Edaw Jarvis with Dan Kiley
Acoustics: Commins Ingemansson, Sound Research Laboratories
Lighting Design: Lighting Design Partnership

Foto/Photos: C. Richters



Vista da ovest.

View from the west.

The European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France
1989-1995

Richard Rogers Partnership

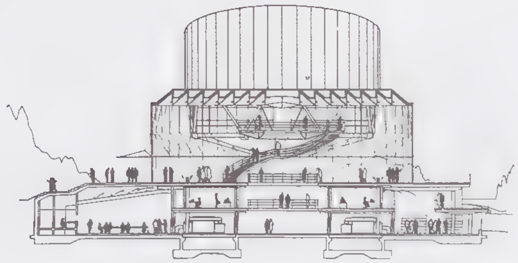
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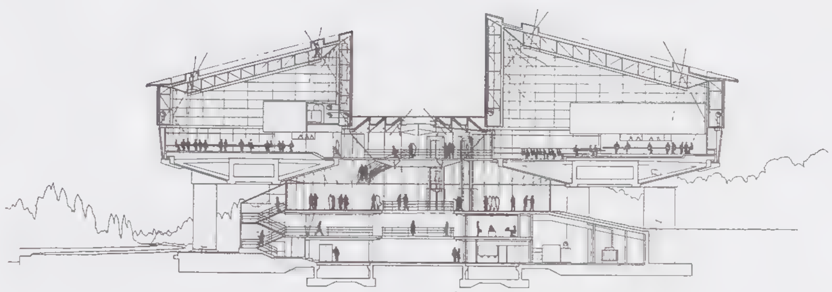
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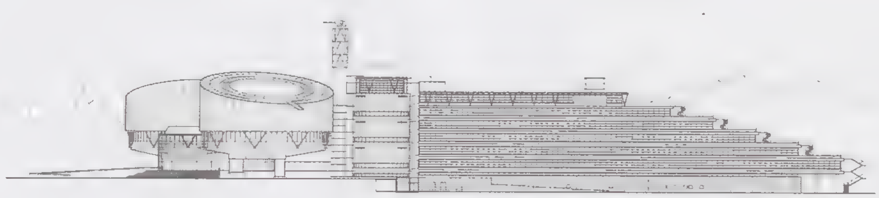


Vista da ovest.

View from the west.









Corte Europea dei Diritti Umani, Strasburgo, Francia
Richard Rogers

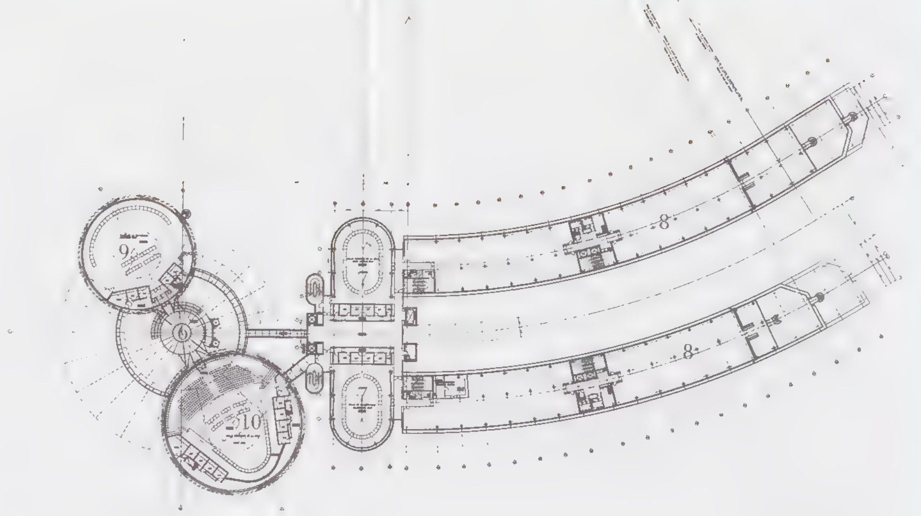
Quando, nell'estate del 1989, abbiamo svolto il primo sopralluogo sull'area destinata alla nuova sede della Corte dei Diritti Umani, siamo stati subito rapiti dalla maestosa ansa del fiume e dalla vegetazione dell'ambiente circostante: alla combinazione di questi due elementi fondamentali si deve la localizzazione dell'edificio, al limitare di terra e acqua. Abbiamo voluto che l'edificio rompesse con il tradizionale monumentalismo associato ai Palazzi di Giustizia, enfatizzandone invece il carattere di accessibilità con una *hall* d'ingresso centrale e trasparente, ed evidenziando volumetricamente le funzioni dell'istituzione: le due grandi aule della Commissione e della Corte Europea che rappresentano la "testa", le camere dei Comitati che rappresentano il "collo", e gli uffici dell'Amministrazione la "coda".
Il progetto è stato sviluppato cercando di ottemperare a requisiti di trasformabilità, e, invero, l'edificio è già stato trasformato durante la costruzione per poter provvedere all'aumento del numero degli Stati membri. In risposta a considerazioni generali circa la compatibilità tra costruzione e vulnerabilità dell'ambiente, l'edificio è climatizzato e ventilato naturalmente e incorpora il paesaggio di terra e acqua sulle sue facciate e nelle sue corti.

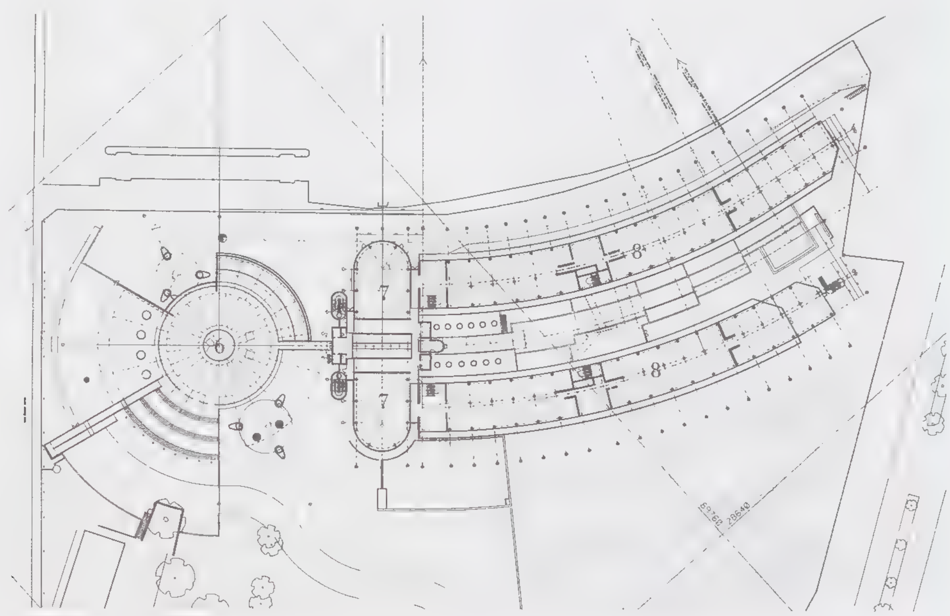
European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France
Richard Rogers

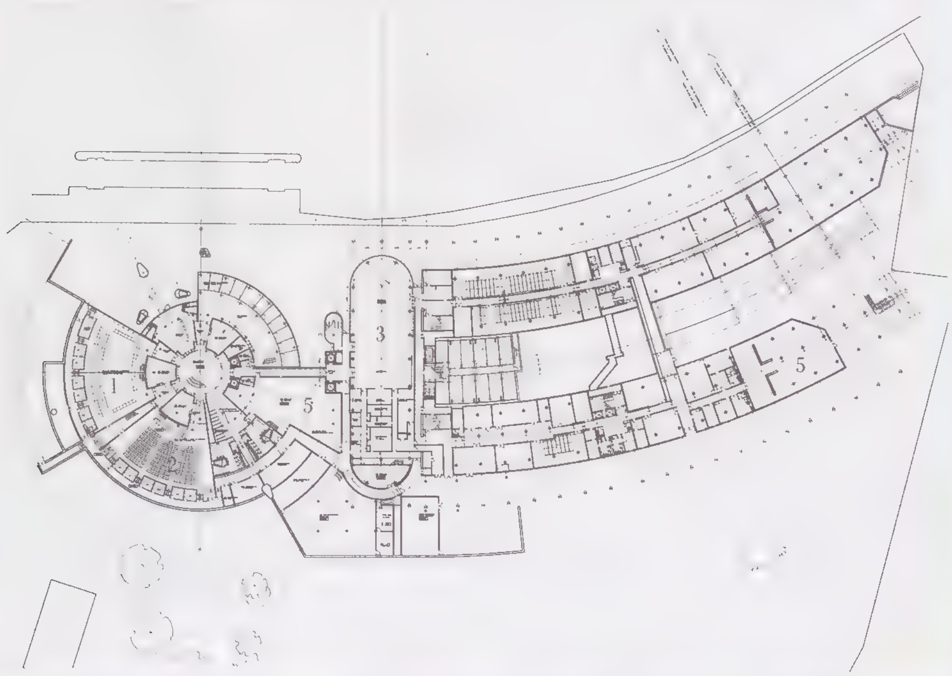
When we first visited the site of the new Human Rights building in summer 1989, we were struck by the majestic curve of the river and of the greenness of the environment around. The combination of these two powerful elements determined the siting of the building at the boundary of river and land. We wanted the building to break from the traditional monumentalism associated with Palaces de Justices by placing emphasis on accessibility with a central, transparent assembly hall and by boldly expressing the functions of the Institution. The two great salles actiong as a 'head', the chambers as 'neck' and administration as 'tail'.
We designed the ensemble to meet changing requirements, and the building has already been extended to accommodate the major addition of member countries during the construction period.
In response to global concerns about conflicts between construction and the fragility of the environment, the building is naturally ventilated and cooled, and integrates landscape and water on its façade and in its courtyards.

Sezioni sul corpo d'ingresso e delle aule e prospetto sudest.
Planivolumetria generale: 1) Palazzo d'Europa; 2) vecchio edificio della Corte Europea; 3) canale Marne-au-Rhin; 4) darsena; 5) fiume; 6) parcheggio.
Piante dei piani interrato, terreno e primo: 1) direzione; 2) sala stampa; 3) cafeteria; 4) archivio; 5) locali impianti; 6) hall d'ingresso; 7) sala riunione comitati; 8) uffici amministrativi; 9) sala riunione della Commissione Europea per i Diritti Umani; 10) aula della Corte Europea per i Diritti Umani.

Sections on entrance and Court blocks. South-east elevation.
General volumetric plan: 1) Palais d'Europe; 2) old European Court building; 3) Marne-au-Rhin Canal; 4) canal basin; 5) river; 6) parking.
Basement, ground and first floor plans: 1) Direction; 2) press room; 3) cafeteria; 4) archives; 5) plant; 6) entrance hall; 7) committee room; 8) offices; 9) Commission; 10) Court.









Viste esterne da sudest e da est e vista interna dell'atrio di ingresso.

External views from the south-east and east, and an interior view of the entrance hall.







Vista esterna da nord.

External view from the north.



Vista esterna da nord.

External view from the north.

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *and* ***Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese*** *and* ***Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;* ***Kurt W. Forster*** *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

Guido Canella *Beyond Legitimate Preservation;* ***Ernesto N. Rogers*** *The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi*** *Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas;* ***James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Poultry n. 1 in London;* ***Colin St. John Wilson*** *Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola*** *The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *Department of Architecture in Genoa;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida;* ***Drexel Turner*** *Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America;* ***Gianugo Polesello*** *University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.*

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *and* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown*** *and* ***Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la citta? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

Who designs the city? *Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning;* ***Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek*** *60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism;* ***Bruno Flierl*** *Stalinallee in Berlin;* ***Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli*** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium;* ***Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi*** *Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London;* ***Micha Bandini*** *Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate;* ***Gian Franco Di Pietro*** *Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini*** *A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence;* ***Giovanni Klaus Koenig*** *About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers*** *Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino** II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epoché"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al desco. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil),** Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

Guido Canella Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo; **Derek A.R. Moore** Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti; **Giovanni Testori, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Luciano Semerani,** Progetti per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona; **Philip Johnson** Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut; **Peter Eisenman** Interview with Philip Johnson; **Oscar Niemeyer** Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil; **Oscar Niemeyer** De Pampulha ao Memorial da América Latina; **Lionello Puppi** Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo; **Richard Meier** Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany; **Carlo Aymonino** Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien; **Gottfried Böhm** Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland; **Gottfried Böhm** Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland; **Aldo Rossi** Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

Zodiac 10

Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

Zodiac 11

Guido Canella Struttura urbana e destrutturazione dell'architettura: la competenza del critico e quella del comune fruitore; **Paolo Polledri** "The nearest thing to a contemporary vernacular": the Bay Area Architectural Tradition in Perspective; **Giovanni Brino** Radici dell'architettura moderna nella California meridionale; **Joseph Giovannini** L.A. Trouvée: **Thomas S. Hines** Housing, Baseball and Creeping Socialism: the Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, 1949-1959; **Kevin Roche** Charles Eames; **Kurt W. Forster** Neutra on the roof; **Charles W. Moore** O' California!; **Frank O. Gehry** Modelli di progetti californiani, 1981-1993; **Joseph Esherick, San Francisco** Sea Ranch, Sonoma County and Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey; **Holt, Hinshaw, Jones, San Francisco** Tall Buildings on Small Lots, S.F. and Visiting Artists Suite, Geyserville; **Marck Mack, San Francisco** Baum House, Berkeley, S.F. and Park and Cultural Center, Candlestick Point, S.F.; **Stanley Saitowitz, San Francisco** McDonald House, Stinson Beach and Live/Work Building, S.F.; **Daniel Solomon, San Francisco** Gleeson Residence, S.F. and Fulton Grove Townhouses, S.F.; **Coop Himmelblau, Los Angeles** Rehak House, L.A. and UFA Theater Center, Pragerstrasse Nord, Dresden, Germany; **Hodgetts+Fung, Los Angeles** Click Model Management Building, L.A. and Franklin-La Brea Proposal, L.A.; **Franklin D. Israel, Los Angeles** Raznick House, L.A. and Southern Regional Library, UCLA; **Panos Koulermos, Los Angeles** Nursery School, L.A. and West Hollywood City Hall, L.A.; **Thom Mayne, Morphosis, Los Angeles** Yuzen Vintage Car Museum, L.A. and Science Museum School, L.A.; **Eric Owen Moss, Los Angeles** Samitaur Complex, L.A. and Hercules Theater and Offices, L.A.; **Dagmar Richter, Los Angeles** West Coast Gateway, L.A. and The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark; **Michael Rotondi, Los Angeles** QWFK House, U.S.A. and Carlson-Reges Residence, L.A.

Zodiac 12

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994); **Guido Canella** Premiata Architettura Contemporanea; **The Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureates, 1979-94; Jay A. Pritzker** Origins and Evolution of the Pritzker Architecture Prize; **Francesco Dal Co** Il migliore architetto del mondo; **Philip Johnson, 1979** Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., Office Development, Shenzen, China; **Luis Barragán, 1980** Torres de la Ciudad Satélite, Queretaro Highway, Mexico City, Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Mexico City; **James Stirling, 1981** Faculty of History, Cambridge University, Great Britain, Engineering Building, Leicester University, Great Britain, Kyoto Centre, Kyoto, Japan; **Kevin Roche, 1982** Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A. and Extension to the Jewish Museum, New York, U.S.A.; **Ieoh Ming Pei, 1983** National Gallery of Art, East Wing, Washington D.C., U.S.A., Grand Louvre, Paris, France; **Richard Meier, 1984** The Atheneum, New Harmony, U.S.A., Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.; **Hans Hollein, 1985** Abteiberg Municipal Museum, Mönchengladbach, Germany, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Auvergne, France; **Gottfried Böhm, 1986** Church of the Resurrection, Cologne, Germany, Arbed-Saarstahl Office Building, Esch-Alzette, Luxembourg; **Kenzo Tange, 1987** Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Japan, Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Japan, American Medical Association Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.; **Gordon Bunshaft, 1988** The Lever House, New York, U.S.A., Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.; **Oscar Niemeyer, 1988** Pampuhla, Minas Gerais, Brasil, Museu de Arte Contemporânea de Niterôi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil; **Frank O. Gehry, 1989** Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, California, U.S.A. , The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain; **Aldo Rossi, 1990** Teatro del Mondo, Venezia, Italia, Porta di Ingresso e Recinzione, Centro residenziale Barialto, Bari, Italia; **Robert Venturi, 1991** Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. , RCID Emergency Services Headquarters, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A.; **Alvaro Siza, 1992** Restaurante Casa de Chá Bóa Nóva, Leça de Palmeira, Portugal, Centro de Arte Contemporanea de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, España; **Fumihiko Maki, 1993** Spiral Building, Tokyo, Japan, Center for the Arts, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A..

Zodiac 13

Guido Canella La diffusione del centro; **Marina Waisman** La ciudad descentrada; **Andrej Ikonnikov** Mosca. Dialettica centro e periferia; **Werner Rietdorf** Probleme der Stadtentwicklung in den neuen deutschen Bundesländern. Zum Zusammenhang von Aussen-und Innenentwicklung; **Klaus Theo Brenner** Heterotope, Berlin; **Moore Ruble Yudell** Housing Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin, Karow Nord Master Plan and Housing, Karow, Berlin; **Peter Eisenman** Bahnhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse Competition, Berlin; **Roland Castro** Sur la périphérie de Paris; **Henri Ciriani** Noisy II à Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, Logements à ColombesParis; **Catherine Furet** Quartier de l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve, 41/49 Rue Piat, Paris XXème; **Bernard Tschumi** "Jardin d'entreprises", Chartres; **Emilio Donato, Jesús de la Torre** Barcelona. Estructura y formación de una periferia metropolitana; **Emilio Donato** Viviendas "Baró de Viver", Barcelona; **Roberto Ferreira** Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria "La Llagosta", Barcelona; **Eduard Calafell** Nave Industrial, Poligono Pedrosa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcelona; **Enrico Bordogna** Periferia, piano o gestione?; **Carlo Aymonino** Complesso terziario sulla via Ostiense, Roma; **Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola** Piazza-Giardino a Catanzaro Lido; **Raffaele Panella** Nuovo Centro polifunzionale di Villa Fastiggi, Pesaro; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Quartiere cooperativo a Compiobbi, Firenze; **Guido Canella** Centro civico con municipio, residenze, attività terziarie e sportive, Pioltello, Milano, Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano.

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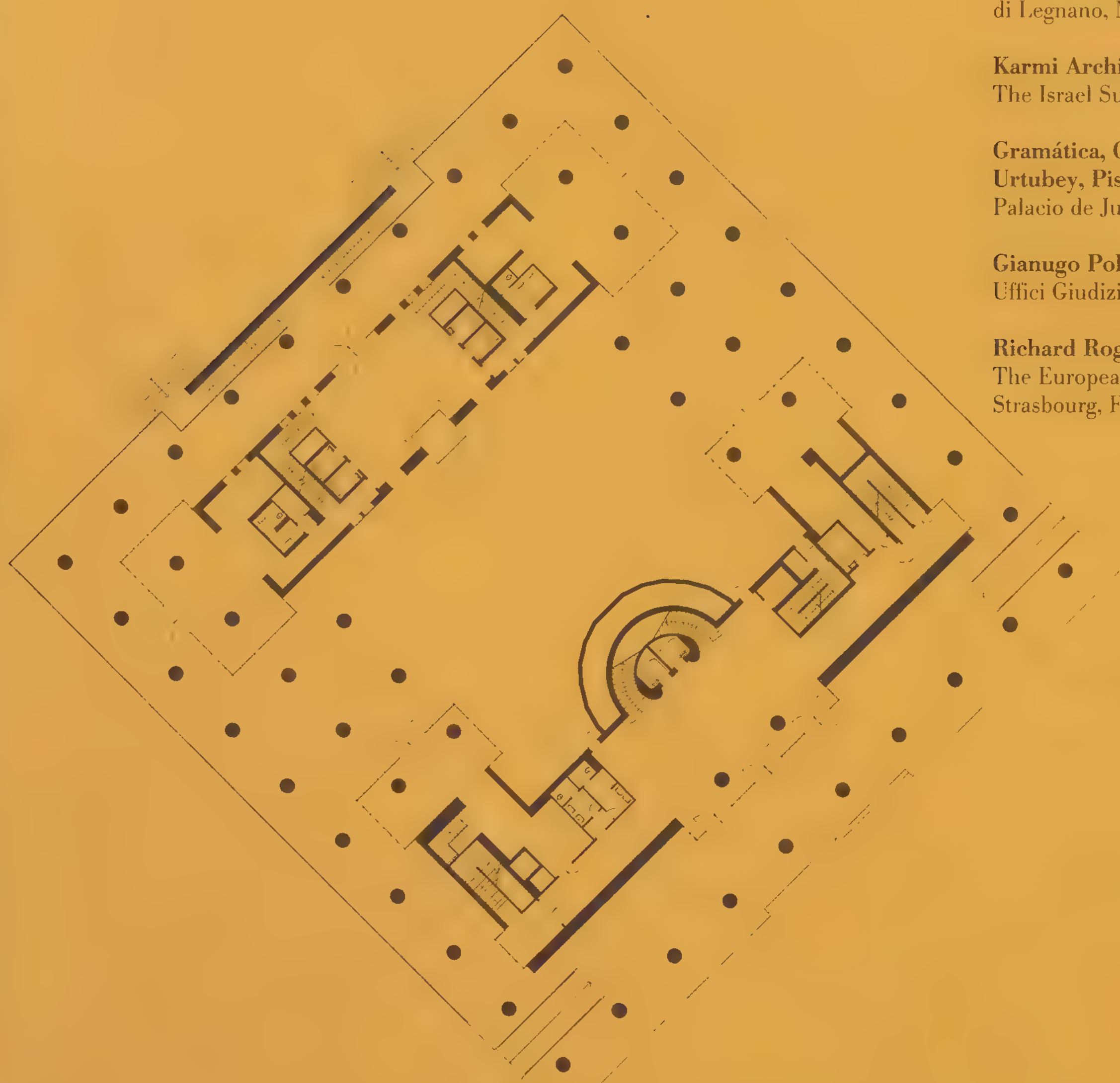
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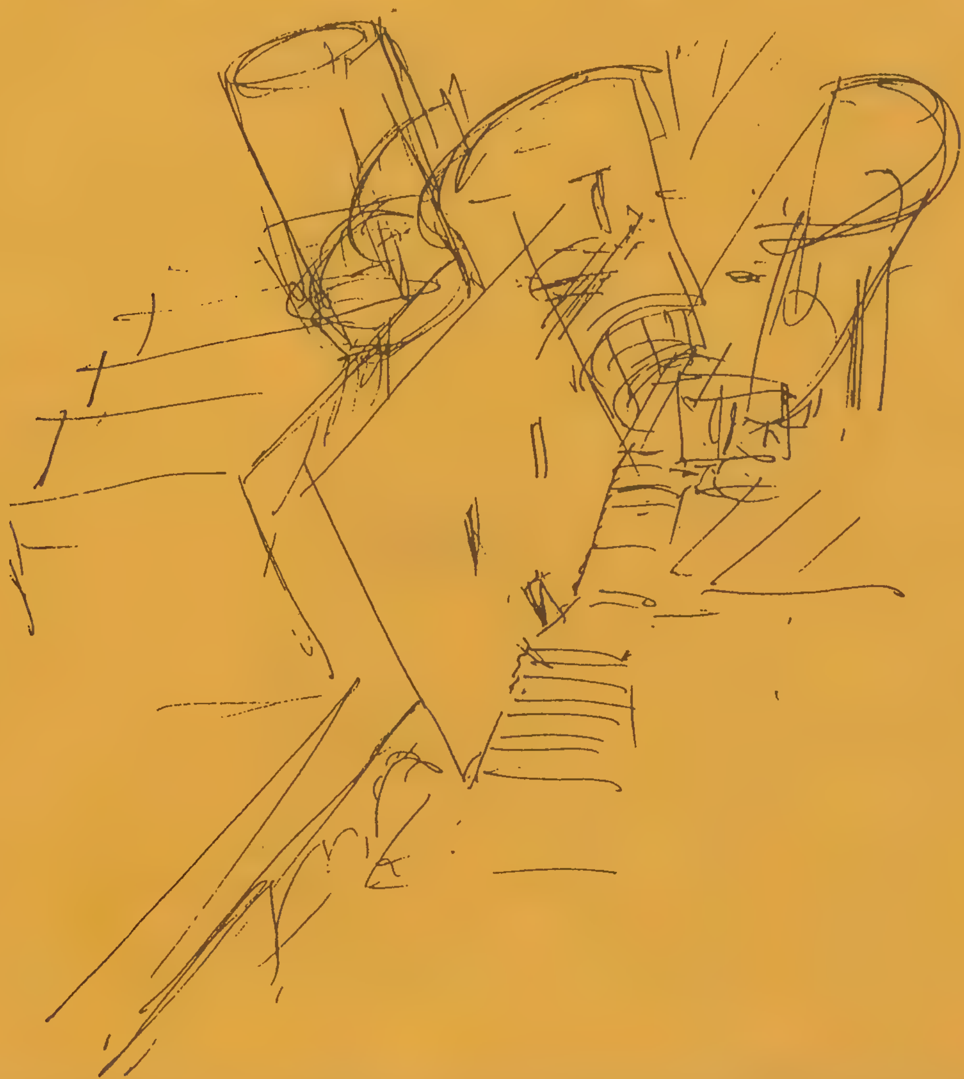
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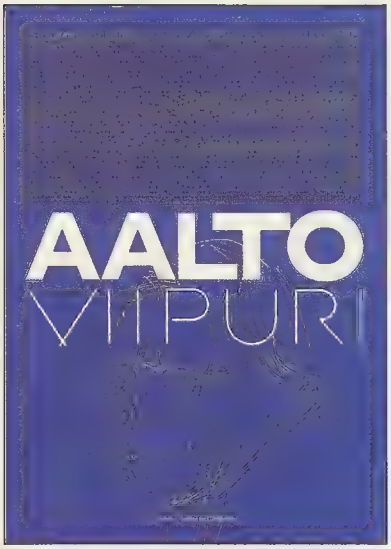
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(a cura di Enrico Baleri)

La Biblioteca di Viipuri, progettata e costruita negli anni Trenta nell'omonima cittadina di confine tra Finlandia e Russia, documento architettonico di primaria importanza tra le opere del Movimento Moderno e dato per distrutto nel 1943, seguì in realtà il curioso destino di ritrovarsi nel dopoguerra, per effetto dello spostamento dei confini di Stato, sotto la giurisdizione sovietica. Il corpo di fabbrica ha sofferto decenni di incuria e di cattiva manutenzione che l'hanno portato a una lenta morte architettonica. Negli anni Novanta, grazie al disgelo diplomatico tra i due Paesi, è stato possibile concordare un adeguato progetto di recupero funzionale. La Fondazione Alvar Aalto di Helsinki e il Comitato Russo-Finlandese hanno rivolto un appello e una richiesta di aiuto alla comunità internazionale degli architetti, dei designer, degli studiosi e degli imprenditori di settore.
La prima parte di questo volume raccoglie materiale di documentazione relativo al manufatto, schizzi autografi a volte inediti del Maestro finlandese e una sezione di interventi narrativi scritti da amici, allievi, intellettuali che "raccontano" Alvar Aalto e la sua opera.
La seconda parte illustra la mostra collettiva "Cento Architetti con Alvar Aalto" organizzata dal Comitato Italiano Aalto/Viipuri, in collaborazione con Finarte, a Milano nel settembre 1995.
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La grande tradizione teatrale e la qualità urbana del contesto parmigiano diventano l'occasione per un laboratorio di ricerca del progetto d'architettura che ha come tema la tipologia teatrale e più in generale la reinterpretazione della scena della città.
100 allievi e 12 docenti tutori, ricercatori e dottori di ricerca, provenienti dalle principali facoltà d'architettura italiane, 26 docenti relatori tra cui Antonio Acuto, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Aurelio Cortesi, Roberto Gabetti, Ignazio Gardella, Aimaro Isola, Giorgio Grassi, Enrico Mantero, Antonio Monestiroli, Gianugo Polesello, Franco Purini, Luciano Semerani, Daniele Vitale, oltre a numerosi altri personaggi partecipanti alle tavole rotonde e alle revisioni del lavoro progettuale, costituiscono la trama complessa di contributi che identifica la scuola di Parma.
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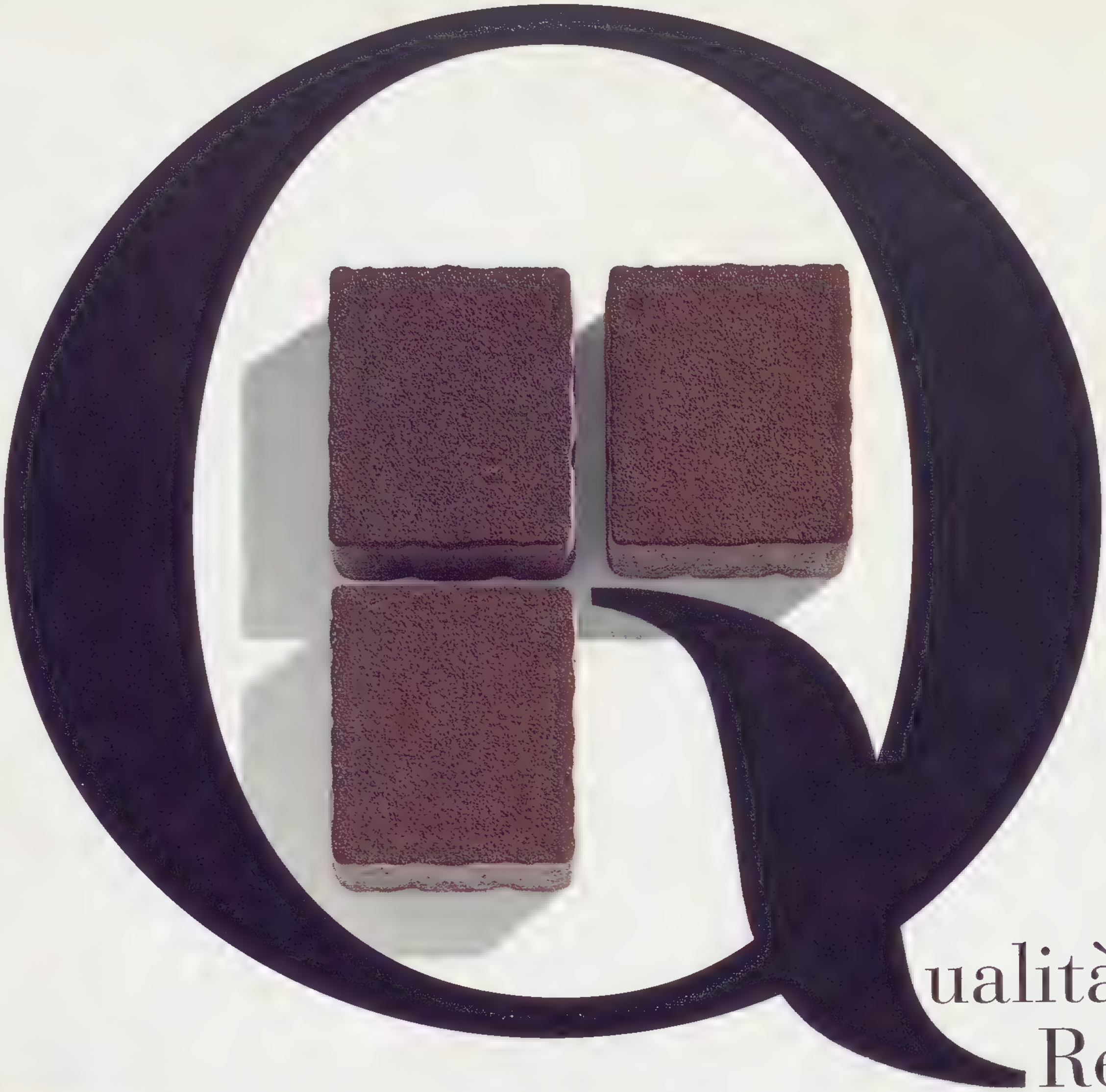


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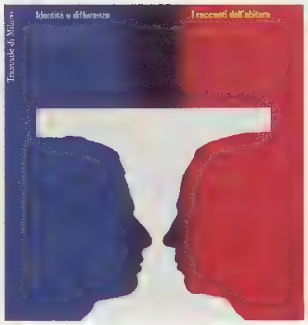
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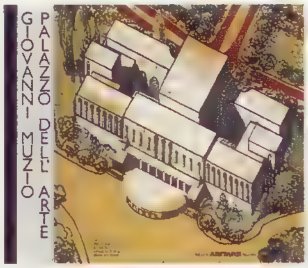
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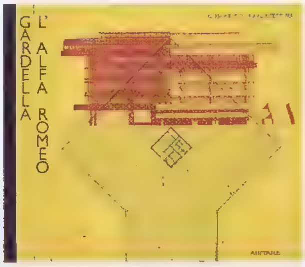
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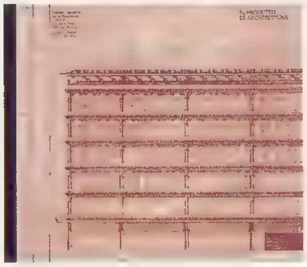
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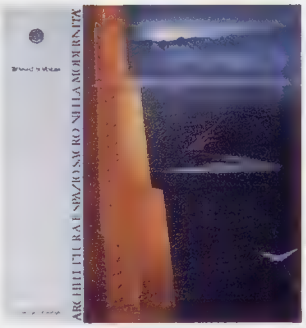
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Zodiac 15

Sommario/*Contents*

Riflettendo su funzionalità e figurazione

Guido Canella

Ha più senso parlare di critica? E, se sì, è lecito supporre che essa contribuisca ancora con una propria funzionalità all'operato intellettuale e artistico, svolgendo un ruolo non dedotto ma delegato dalla società nell'ambito della propria competenza, per farsi interprete di contenuti e riferirli a valori coerenti a un ordine estetico e morale?
Dalla domanda, posta in questi termini, oggi la più parte dei critici prenderebbe le distanze, argomentando in modo personale, poiché l'ultimo denominatore comune della critica risale ormai al concetto di modernità, quando essa assunse come proprio presupposto il valore comunque relativo del suo orientarsi sull'orizzonte della realtà e della storia; quell'ammissione che le consentì di farsi interlocutrice creativa e responsabile nella individuazione di una linea ideologica e di una corrispettiva scala di valori.
E ciò vale ormai anche per la critica in architettura, dove la funzionalità (certo non quella particolaristica, ma quella civile da assumersi con significato esteso) è stata presente fino a oggi, o fino a ieri, in forma istituzionale, obbligando al riscontro sugli eventi epocali, dall'illuminismo del sapere alla rivoluzione industriale.
"*Architettura o rivoluzione*" profetizzava Le Corbusier nel 1923 e ancora nel 1954 "*Progettare per sopravvivere*" implorava Richard Neutra. Ma quanti sono a potersi riconoscere oggi in parole d'ordine tanto finalizzate?
Lo si può motivare considerando che queste esternazioni suonano tipiche della fase eroica del Movimento Moderno, onorevolmente conclusa e consegnata alla storia per quanto riguarda la sua compatta e perentoria ideologia; mentre ciò che essa lascia di ancora attuale e operabile è l'incoraggiamento verso la trasgressione figurativa e la testimonianza pur fallibile del suo operato, realizzato che sia o rimasto allo stato di progetto, in quanto testimonianza corporea, vissuta o vivibile, come sono la città e l'architettura. Testimonianza utile e probante, forse più di ogni altra istituzione, nella ricostruzione storica di ogni epoca.
Movimento Moderno è nozione che la critica coeva poté assumere come unitaria, oltre che per la sua *koinè* linguistica, per una certa larga unitarietà di presupposti e di intenti; unitarietà circoscritta anche da ciò che si contrapponeva al suo internazionalismo d'avanguardia: il *pompier* (non tanto di meno internazionale) della conservazione classicista. Una contrapposizione di così ampia risonanza che, attraverso una mobilitazione del gusto, riuscì a coinvolgere l'opinione pubblica.
Tuttavia, già a ben guardare con prospettiva storica (come a partire dall'ultimo dopoguerra riuscì ad una critica promossa dall'interno del progettare), risultava lo schematismo di quella contrapposizione: non solo le differenze poetiche interne agli schieramenti che esso aveva lasciato in ombra, ma anche la tendenziosità nell'attribuire intenzionalità ideologiche e figurative, allorché si poteva constatare, per esempio, che *la città come organismo vivente*, non di rado era stata colta con maggiore organicità da architetti e studiosi di formazione classicista.
Risultava altresì come alla definitiva consacrazione del gusto moderno nel dopoguerra, più che la radicalità ostensiva dell'avanguardia, avesse concorso la mediazione propagandistica, svolta, da un lato, dall'eccentricità cosmopolita iniziata dall'Art Déco, coltivata sulle riviste di arredamento e nel cinema, e, dall'altro, dalla esaltazione tecnica, una

Reflecting on functionality and figuration
Guido Canella

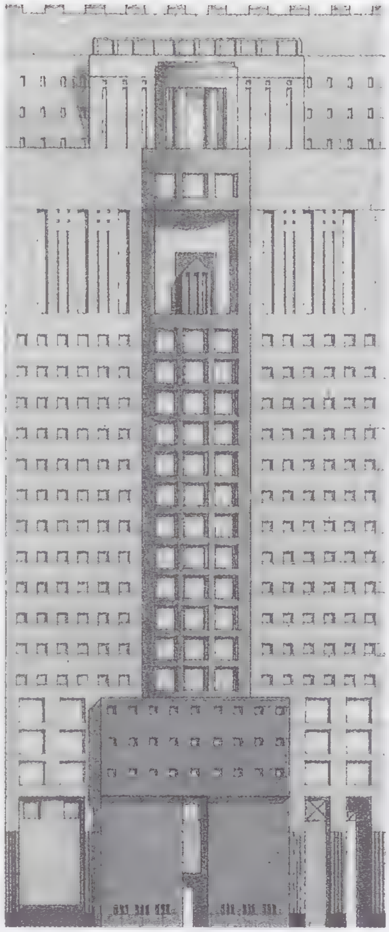
Does it still make sense to talk about criticism? If it does, can we still suppose that criticism contributes with its own functionality something to intellectual and artistic endeavour, playing a role not derived from, but delegated by the society in the sphere of its competence, to be the interpreter of contents, relating them to coherent values of an aesthetic, moral order?
Most critics, today, would reject the question posed in these terms, presenting personal arguments, because the last common denominator of criticism dates back, at this point, to the concept of modernity, when it assumed as its basis the albeit relative value of its orientation with respect to reality and history; that premise which permitted it to be a creative, responsible party in a dialogue aimed at identifying an ideological stance and a corresponding scale of values.
And this, by now, is also true for architectural criticism, where functionality (not, of course, functional particulars, but the wider sense of the term, that of civil functioning) has been present until today, or until yesterday, in an institutional form, demanding comparison of epochal events, from the Enlightenment of knowledge to the industrial revolution. "Architecture ou révolution" *was the prophecy of Le Corbusier in 1923, and in 1954 Richard Neutra urged* "Survival Through Design". *But today how many people can identify with such definitive aims?*
We can approach the issue by considering that these statements have a sound typical of the heroic phase of the Modern Movement, a phase which has been honorably concluded and filed away in history, at least as far as its peremptory, compact ideology is concerned; what remains of use and timeliness is the encouragement of figurative transgression, and the albeit fallible witnessing of its results, whether actually built or left on paper, as a body of evidence, experienced or live-able, like cities and architecture. Useful, insightful evidence, perhaps more than any other institution, in the historical reconstruction of each era.
Modern Movement *is a notion that the criticism of the time could see as unitary, not only because of its linguistic* koinè, *but also for a certain widespread unity of premises and intentions; this unity was also circumscribed by that which was opposed to its avant-garde internationalism: the* pompier *(no less international) of classicist conservatism. An opposition of such wide repercussions that, through the mobilization of taste, it managed to overturn public opinion.*
Nevertheless, to put the situation in historical perspective (as, beginning in the postwar era, a criticism promoted from within design was able to do), the schematic nature of this opposition became evident: not only did the dichotomy overshadow the internal poetic differences present in both sides, but the tendentiousness of attributions of ideological and figurative intentions made it difficult to note, for example, that the city as a living organism *often was understood with greater organicity by architects and scholars with a classicist background.*
It also became evident that the definitive consecration of modern taste in the postwar era was, rather than a result of the ostensive radicalism of the avant-garde, one of propagandistic mediation effected, on the one hand, by the cosmopolitan eccentricity begun by Art Deco, cultivated in interior decorating magazines and cinema, and on the other by the exaltation of the technical, a promise of progress which had been expressed since the days of the great Expositions.

Norman Foster, Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Hong Kong, 1979-86: vista interna.
Michael Graves, Humana Building, Louisville, Kentucky, 1982.
Christian de Portzamparc, Réhabilitation Palulos, rue Nationale, Parigi, 1992-93: vista del complesso residenziale ristrutturato.

Norman Foster, Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Hong Kong, 1979-86: interior view.
Michael Graves, Humana Building, Louisville, Kentucky, 1982.
Christian de Portzamparc, Réhabilitation Palulos, rue Nationale, Paris, 1992-93: view of the restructured residential complex.

promessa di progresso stimolata fin dalle grandi esposizioni.
Ora non è forse troppo azzardato supporre come, parallelamente alla recente crisi delle ideologie e alla contrazione del campo di attendibile significatività del pensiero e dei saperi disciplinari, un'analoga mediazione pervasiva sia avvenuta negli anni Settanta e Ottanta: da un lato, con il minimalismo del cosiddetto *postmoderno* e, dall'altro, con il progressivo sofisticarsi della tecnica.
Non che prove dell'architettura orientate secondo queste polarità non siano talora riuscite a farsi portatrici di qualità, ma questa va cercata appunto nella dimostrazione (spesso non solo consapevole, ma addirittura autoironica) dei limiti del proprio orizzonte di validità: da un lato nel conforto di una decorazione affabulante, dall'altro nel convertirsi della tecnica nella propria emblematica.
Pregiudizialmente avverso ad ogni estremo figurativo (dove scorge concessione al mercato dell'immagine), a questa polarità mimetica si oppone però chi ritiene tuttora legittima la pretesa razionalizzante del progetto. Una razionalità formulata secondo un nuovo internazionalismo critico ormai non più fondato sulla radicalità ideologica e figurativa, ma teorizzato nella semplificazione linguistica dell'ortogonalità e nel pragmatico adattamento all'ambiente e al paesaggio, così da rendere la competenza dell'architetto disponibile ubiquamente alle grandi iniziative e a tutte le scale del progetto.
D'altra parte, proprio in questo numero, si trovano due affermazioni sulle quali vale la pena di riflettere.
"*Noi percepiamo i* media *con gli occhi, non con il corpo* (...). *Dacché i* mass media *hanno sottratto la corporalità agli occhi* – sostiene Peter Eisenman - *propongo di leggere l'architettura del passato con il corpo, non con la testa* (...). *Non sto parlando di espressione personale o di espressionismo, ma della nozione di architettura come una idea di eccesso, come una possibile condizione al di là della funzione, oltre l'iconografia*".
"*Gli edifici non esistono come oggetti autonomi estranei a un più ampio contesto socio-culturale* – scrive Sylvia Lavin vedendo attraverso Gehry – *e se sorgono interrogativi, questo dipende in parte dal sorgere di una nuova situazione sociale. Poiché i principali edifici pubblici sorgono in un'epoca in cui non c'è alcun accordo teoretico rispetto ai metodi di analisi e definizione della sfera pubblica o del soggetto moderno, sarebbe preoccupante pensare che essi possano generare un consenso unanime*".
Socrate, nel *Fedro* di Platone, è indotto a temere che la scrittura possa uccidere la memoria. Noi sappiamo che questo non avvenne, ma Platone era consapevole che con l'affermarsi della scrittura si era comunque interrotta la tradizione orale, cioè drammaturgica, del poema.
L'abate Frollo, in *Notre-Dame de Paris* di Victor Hugo, profetizza che l'affermarsi della stampa avrebbe ucciso l'architettura. Noi sappiamo che questo non avvenne, ma Hugo era consapevole che con la stampa si era comunque interrotta la costruzione collettiva delle cattedrali e che era iniziata l'architettura come saggio d'autore.
Così oggi non si può non convenire che, con l'avvento della società telematica e il prorompere di una realtà virtuale, si è ulteriormente e sostanzialmente alterato il rapporto tra oggettività e soggettività, mettendo in causa le modalità e la ragione stessa del progetto e il valore della sua trasgressione linguistica. Poiché in architettura sembrano aver











Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to suppose that, in parallel with the recent crisis of ideologies and the contraction of the field of expected significance of thought and disciplinary knowledge, an analogous, pervasive mediation has taken place in the Seventies and Eighties: on the one hand, with the minimalism of the so-called postmodern *and, on the other, with the progressive sophistication of technique. Not to say that architectural works oriented toward these parameters have not, in some cases, been able to produce buildings of quality; but this quality must be sought, precisely, in the demonstration (often not only conscious, but even self-ironizing) of the work's own limits of validity: on the one hand in the reinforcement of narrative decoration, on the other in the converting of technique into an emblem.*
Innately opposed to all figurative extremes (considered as concessions to the image market), this mimetic polarity is rejected by those who still believe that design's claim to rationalization remains legitimate. A rationality formulated according to a new critical internationalism which is no longer based on ideological or figurative radicality, but theorized in the linguistic simplification of the orthogonal, in pragmatic adaptation to the environment and the landscape, making the expertise of the architect ubiquitously available to large initiatives and on all project scales.
This issue of Zodiac contains two statements which merit reflection.
"We perceive media with our eyes, and not with the body *(...)*. Because the media has taken our bodies away from our eyes – *Peter Eisenman writes* – what I am suggesting is that we read architecture in the past with the body, not the head *(...)*. I am not talking about personal expression. Rather, I am talking about the notion of architecture as an idea of excess, as a possible condition beyond function, beyond iconography."
"Buildings do not exist as autonomous objects distinct from a larger socio-cultural field – *Sylvia Lavin writes on Gehry* – and when and if answers emerge they will do so in part by virtue of social change. As major public buildings coming into being at a time when there is no theoretical agreement on how to think through and define the public sphere or the modern subject, it would be frightening to think that they could enforce a monolithic consensus."
Socrates, in Plato's Phaedrus, *is induced to fear that writing may destroy memory. We know that this has not happened, but Plato was aware that with the spread of writing the oral, dramaturgical tradition of the poem had been interrupted.*
Abbé Frollo, in Notre-Dame de Paris *by Victor Hugo, prophesizes that the spread of printing will destroy architecture. We know that this has not happened, but Hugo was aware that with the spread of the printed word the collective construction of cathedrals had come to an end, and the era of architecture as a work by an individual* auteur *had begun.*
Thus, today, we cannot but notice that with the advent of the computerized society and of virtual reality there has been a further, substantial alteration in the relation between objectivity and subjectivity, impacting the modes and reasons of design and the value of its linguistic transgression. Because, in architecture, there would appear to be a resurgence of the authority of reference of those premises upon which the Modern Movement attempted to base its historical legitimacy and to articulate its own figurative revolution, and which recent critical

Carlo Aymonino, Aldo Rossi, Complesso residenziale "Monte Amiata" nel quartiere Gallaratese 2, Milano, 1967-72: vista dei corpi di fabbrica di Carlo Aymonino (a sinistra) e Aldo Rossi (a destra).
James Stirling, Michael Wilford, Staatsgalerie, Stoccarda, 1977-84.

Carlo Aymonino, Aldo Rossi, "Monte Amiata" residential complex in the Gallaratese 2 quarter, Milan, 1967-72: view of the buildings by Carlo Aymonino (left) and Aldo Rossi (right).
James Stirling, Michael Wilford, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, 1977-84.

ripreso autorità di riferimento quei presupposti sui quali il Movimento Moderno aveva puntato la propria legittimità storica e articolato la propria rivoluzione figurativa e che talvolta la più recente storiografia critica aveva giudicato causa della sua ingenuità e della sua fatale decomposizione: *spirito dei tempi, imperativo morale, immedesimazione tecnologica.*
Tanto la poetica di Gehry quanto quella di Eisenman, pur nella specificità di ciascuna, incorporano, finalmente con dichiarata intenzionalità e responsabilità, questo straniamento o sovvertimento comunicativo dell'architettura, nei termini di una figurazione critica affrancata dai *media* e il cui eccesso esplora i limiti di una funzionalità supposta ormai inerte.
Ma questa raggiunta consapevolezza aprirebbe un ulteriore interrogativo, quando dovesse risultare – come risulta, per esempio, dal desolante panorama della mostra "*Identità e differenze*", attualmente allestita alla Triennale di Milano – che soltanto nelle economie pienamente sviluppate il progetto può trovare le occasioni per prodursi teoreticamente all'estremo della figurazione, fino a mettere in gioco la propria essenza istituzionale e proporsi (ricordando, tra gli altri, Van Doesburg e Kiesler) come incontaminata scultura abitabile, e che invece, nelle economie meno sviluppate o sottosviluppate, al progetto non resta che garantire il conforto elementare, minimizzando le proprie pretese interpretative nella calligrafia e nella consapevolezza del proprio disorientamento ideologico.
In Europa e nel Terzo Mondo letteratura e cinema d'autore possiedono un ritmo narrativo più radicato e lento, meno incalzato dai *media*.
Così, più radicata, lenta e un po' distaccata, ma forse ancora vitale, rimane la ricerca iniziata da alcuni architetti europei all'inizio degli anni Sessanta – come coglieva nel 1968 il giovane Tafuri in *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* – quando, assumendo funzionalità e figurazione come insieme indistricabile, essi ripercorrevano criticamente, scrivendo e progettando, l'esperienza della modernità, traendone ragione per spingersi oltre le sue Colonne d'Ercole, ed esplorare genealogicamente e trasfigurare allegoricamente la storia della città nella crisi delle sue istituzioni.
Non può meravigliare allora che la critica, trovandosi di fronte a un panorama dell'architettura tanto frammentato e contrastato, prediliga sviscerare le ideologie del passato e prestare al presente un'attenzione separata: sociologica (la città come biografia delle istituzioni) o psicologica (l'opera come autobiografia dell'architetto); o, ancor più frequentemente ormai, riferirsi direttamente alla scala di valori instaurata dalla risonanza dei *media*.
Ciò in attesa di quel "*Punteggio di Amburgo*" auspicato da Viktor Sklovskij fin dal 1928:
"*Il punteggio di Amburgo è importantissimo. Tutti gli incontri di lotta sono truccati. Gli atleti si fanno mettere con le spalle a terra secondo le istruzioni dell'impresario. Ma una volta l'anno si riuniscono ad Amburgo in una osteria e lottano a porte chiuse, con le tende tirate. Lottano a lungo, pesantemente, senza eleganza. Il punteggio di Amburgo serve a stabilire la classe reale di ciascun lottatore e ad evitare il totale discredito. Anche in letteratura non se ne può fare a meno (...)*".
Ma anche in architettura.

historiography has often indicated as the cause of its ingenuity and inevitable decomposition: spirit of the times, moral imperative, identification with technology.
The poetics of Gehry, like that of Eisenman, each with its own specific character, incorporates, at last with declared intent and responsibility, this alienation or communicative subversion of architecture, in the terms of a critical figuration free of the media, a figuration whose excess explores the limits of a functionality seen, by now, as nearly inert.
But this awareness achieved opens the way for another question, when it appears – as, for example, in the desolate panorama of the exposition "Identity and Difference", *presently in progress at the Milan Triennale – that only in the most developed economies can design find opportunities to take its theoretical evolution to the extremes of figuration, to the point of putting its very institutional essence on the line, presenting itself (recalling, among others, Van Doesburg and Kiesler) as uncontaminated inhabitable sculpture; and that, on the other hand, in the less developed or underdeveloped economies, design is left with the task of guaranteeing elementary comforts, minimizing its interpretative pretences in a formal awareness of its ideological disorientation.*
In Europe and the Third World literature and artistic filmmaking have a better-rooted, slower narrative rhythm, less hectic and less distracting than that of the media.
In like manner, deep-rooted, slow, somewhat detached, but perhaps still vital, there is the research begun by certain European architects in the early Sixties – as the youthful Tafuri noted in 1968, in his "Theories and History of Architecture" *– when, in the assumption that functionality and figuration are parts of an inseparable whole, they critically retraced, by writing and designing, the experience of the modern era, finding justification to go beyond its Pillars of Hercules, to genealogically explore and allegorically transfigure the history of the city in the crisis of its institutions.*
Thus it is little wonder that criticism, faced with a highly fragmented architectural panorama, full of contrasts and conflicts, prefers to dissect the ideologies of the past and to devote a separate attention to the present: sociological (the city as the biography of its institutions) or psychological (the work as the autobiography of the architect); or, even more frequently, today, prefers to refer directly to the scale of values established by the impact of the media.
All this as we wait for that "Hamburg ranking" *suggested by Viktor Sklovskij back in 1928:*
"The Hamburg ranking is very important. All wrestling matches are fixed. The athletes allow their shoulders to be pinned to the mat in obedience to the instructions of the promoter. But once a year they all meet in Hamburg, in a tavern, and they fight behind closed doors, with the curtains drawn. They fight at length, they fight hard, without elegance. The Hamburg ranking determines the real class of each fighter, and helps to avoid total disrepute. The same system ought to be used in literature *(...)*."
Not to mention architecture.

1. Leon Battista Alberti, Autoritratto (?). Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele, Cod. 738.

1. Leon Battista Alberti, Self-portrait (?). Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele, Cod. 738.



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Appunti sui trattati di architettura del Rinascimento
*Christof Thoenes**

Mai forse gli architetti hanno scritto tanto e hanno preso così sul serio la loro produzione letteraria come nel secolo e mezzo che va dal *De re aedificatoria* di Alberti all'*Idea dell'architettura universale* di Scamozzi. Il risultato fu un gran numero di testi quanto mai disparati, che pongono notevoli difficoltà a chi cerchi di identificare in essi una teoria coerente dell'architettura rinascimentale. I testi sono accomunati in uno stesso genere da due caratteri piuttosto esteriori, a prima vista del tutto indipendenti l'uno dall'altro. Il primo è la forma letteraria, che è quella del trattato: a un sapere che si trasmetteva gradualmente fra gli addetti ai lavori, all'interno della corporazione edile, subentra il dialogo fra l'architetto e un pubblico di lettori. E' soprattutto questo a distinguere la teoria architettonica del Rinascimento da quella medievale, anche quando la prima attinge alle stesse fonti filosofico-teologiche, classiche o bibliche, e si ricollega alla loro tradizione scolastica. L'altro carattere comune è il profondo e indiscusso convincimento – presente in tutti gli autori, con una sola eccezione – dell'esemplarità dell'architettura antica.
Ciò non implica un distacco dai problemi del proprio tempo: al contrario, il mondo dei trattati diventa accessibile solo a chi veda in essi una critica dell'epoca. L'antichità classica rappresenta per i trattatisti un progetto alternativo a un presente immerso nell'errore. Molto tempo prima che gli architetti si volgessero allo studio degli edifici antichi, i letterati umanisti avevano manifestato il loro disagio nei riguardi della cultura artistica dominante. I loro criteri di valutazione dell'arte si erano formati nella polemica contro Bisanzio e il Gotico, contro la "maniera greca" in pittura e la "maniera tedesca" in architettura; per contrasto l'antichità classica, soprattutto quella romana, appariva loro come l'espressione di una cultura nazionale italica. Nella visione della storia del primo Umanesimo la distruzione di quella cultura, operata dai "goti" al tempo delle invasioni barbariche, si fondeva con la nascita di una nuova maniera "gotica" di costruire; si era portati così a sentire l'architettura moderna come barbarica, estranea e stravolta, le sue strutture come inconsistenti, le sue decorazioni come artificiose. Niente sembrava più facile del ritorno a un'architettura semplice, genuina e grandiosa come quella ancora visibile nelle rovine monumentali di Roma. Naturalmente si trattava di un'autoillusione. In realtà agli antichi romani era subentrata da tempo una nazione romanza, la cui arte non era più quella dell'antichità; l'arte antica doveva piuttosto essere appresa come una lingua

Notes on the Architectural Treatises of the Renaissance
Christof Thoenes*

Never, perhaps, have architects written so much, and taken their literary production so seriously, as in the century and a half extending from the De re aedificatoria *of Alberti to the* Idea dell'architettura universale *of Scamozzi. The result was a great number and great variety of writings, that pose significant problems for those who attempt to use them to identify a coherent theory of Renaissance architecture. What the texts have in common, uniting them in a single genre, are two rather extraneous and, at first glance, mutually independent characteristics. The first is the literary form, that of the treatise: a knowledge gradually passed on within the trade began to be replaced by a dialogue between the architect and a public of readers. This is the factor that distinguishes the architectural theory of the Renaissance from that of the Middle Ages, although the former makes use of the same philosophical-theological, classical or biblical sources, associating itself with the same scholastic tradition. The second shared characteristic is the profound and unchallenged conviction – of all the authors, with but one exception – of the exemplary quality of ancient architecture.*
This does not imply a detachment from the problems of the time: on the contrary, the world of the treatises becomes accessible only when viewed as a critique of the era. Classical antiquity represented, for the treatise writers, an alternative to an era of error. Long before the architects had begun to study the buildings of antiquity, the humanist literati had manifested perplexities regarding the dominant artistic culture. Their criteria of evaluation of art were developed in the polemic against the Byzantine and the Gothic, against the "Greek manner" in painting and the "German manner" in architecture; by contrast classical antiquity, especially that of Rome, appeared as the expression of an Italic national culture. In the vision of history of early humanism the destruction of that classical culture by the "Goths" at the time of the barbarian invasions coincided with the birth of a new "Gothic" manner of building; thus the architecture of the time was seen as barbaric, foreign, disorderly, its structures unsubstantial, its decorations contrived. Nothing appeared simpler than a return to a simple, genuine, grand architecture like that still visible in the monumental ruins of Rome. Naturally this was an illusion. In reality the ancient Romans had been replaced, for some time, by a Latino-Christian nation, whose art was no longer that of antiquity; the art of antiquity had to be learnt, like a foreign language, and it is precisely this learning process that characterizes the architecture of the Renaissance and determines its progress.

straniera, e proprio questo apprendimento caratterizzò l'architettura del Rinascimento e ne delineò il percorso. Nessuno ha visto ciò più chiaramente di Jakob Burckhardt, che definì quello rinascimentale "*uno stile derivato*", in contrapposizione agli stili "*organici*" dell'architettura greca e di quella gotica. E' per questa ragione che le forme rinascimentali non vanno intese come "espressioni" di un modo di concepire lo spazio o le masse, bensì come un sistema semiotico, da prendere come tale e da interpretare secondo le sue stesse regole. Di ciò si occupa la teoria: nell'insegnare come si possa imitare l'architettura antica essa la tratta come un linguaggio, ne analizza per così dire il lessico, la grammatica, la sintassi. Non a caso lo studio degli edifici antichi andò di pari passo con quello di Vitruvio, così che architetti e filologi si ritrovarono impegnati in un'opera comune. Un umanista e letterato come Alberti divenne anzi un architetto, e gli architetti impararono il latino per far progredire, con indicibili sforzi, la critica vitruviana. Francesco di Giorgio Martini descrive le difficoltà contro le quali lui che non era un letterato aveva dovuto lottare: un vocabolario sconosciuto (perché in parte greco) e un testo corrotto e non meno lacunoso dei ruderi di cui egli si serviva per interpretarlo[1]. Ma anche un uomo di cultura come Alberti impreca contro Vitruvio, che avrebbe fatto meglio a non scrivere affatto, anziché scrivere in modo da non essere capito; e raccomanda ai lettori di studiare anche i templi e i teatri, da cui si può apprendere altrettanto quanto "*ex optimis professoribus*"[2].
Ciò che univa filologi e architetti era l'esperienza dell'apprendimento, fatta di metodo, di deduzione e applicazione di regole, di disciplina del pensiero, di critica delle fonti. Bisognava imparare l'arte di risalire dalle versioni corrotte dei testi agli originali, così come Brunelleschi aveva saputo riconoscere nell'architettura del protorinascimento toscano gli antichi modelli romani, distinguendo l'autentico dal falso; al contrario – stando a un aneddoto dell'epoca – durante la costruzione dello Spedale degli Innocenti un suo incolto capomastro aveva copiato proprio l'unico particolare "scorretto" della decorazione del Battistero[3]. Alberti sottolinea che è necessario studiare tutti gli edifici antichi, così come i dotti dovrebbero leggere *tutti* gli autori, "*non soltanto i buoni* (*etiam non bonos*)"[4]. Egli pose così un problema fondamentale dell'imitazione dell'antichità, quello della scelta di modelli idonei tra un gran numero di testi o di monumenti superstiti di diversa qualità; e ciò portò a riconoscere la storicità dell'arte classica. Già per tempo gli umanisti si erano imbattuti nel fenomeno della decadenza della lingua latina; in relazione ad esso si formò l'idea, sviluppata poi nei trattati, della fioritura, decadenza e rinascita della "buona" architettura. Per il Filarete, che scrive intorno al 1460, il ritorno dell'architettura alla classica altezza della lingua di Catullo o di Virgilio è cominciato trenta o quarant'anni prima[5]; Serlio considera l'architettura del suo tempo allo stesso livello del latino dell'età di Cesare o di Cicerone[6]; e l'Aretino si richiama alla pluralità delle lingue antiche per spiegare quella degli ordini di colonne[7].
Storicamente ha ragione il Filarete quando fa risalire ai tempi di Brunelleschi l'inizio dell'età moderna in architettura; Brunelleschi però non scrisse nulla, e il suo pensiero – su cui si fondò ogni teoria successiva – può essere dedotto solo dalla sua opera architettonica. I trattati nascono dopo la metà del Quattrocento, ma da quel momento si susseguono in fitta schiera. Se si passano in rassegna le biografie dei loro autori, si ha l'impressione che l'impulso a scrivere sia stato scatenato dal passaggio al servizio di un sovrano. Il fiorentino Alberti, residente a Roma dal 1443, dedicò il suo libro al papa Nicolò V; il trattato del suo concittadino Filarete è dedicato, in due diversi manoscritti, al duca di Milano Francesco Sforza e a Piero de' Medici; gli scritti del senese Francesco di Giorgio furono composti alle corti di Urbino e di Napoli. Nelle regge dei principi si era insediata la cultura umanistica, e in essa gli architetti cercarono di assicurarsi un posto.
Le ragioni che li muovevano erano più complesse di quanto possa sembrare. Evidente è quella dell'emancipazione sociale: liberatosi dalle strettoie delle corporazioni cittadine, l'"artista di corte" poteva sentirsi un intellettuale nella cerchia di poeti, dotti e letterati che trattavano quasi da pari a pari con i loro nobili signori. D'altra parte gli architetti erano privilegiati già per il fatto di essere immuni dal marchio del lavoro manuale, che rimaneva invece impresso sul pittore e sullo scultore: da sempre l'attività dell'architetto consisteva piuttosto nel progettare e nel predisporre, e comunque non era vincolata alla materia, per cui potevano esercitarla anche i membri dei ceti elevati, e addirittura gli stessi sovrani. Si trattava dunque non tanto di nobilitare il proprio lavoro, quanto di convincere i nuovi potenti – che spesso provenivano essi stessi dalla piccola nobiltà o dalla borghesia – che era necessario servirsi di architetti professionisti. Così Alberti nel caratterizzare la figura dell'architetto[8] non mette l'accento (come Vitruvio e come,

No one has observed this more clearly than Jakob Burckhardt, who defined the style of the Renaissance as "derivative", as opposed to the "organic" styles of Greek and Gothic architecture. It is for this reason that the Renaissance forms cannot be viewed as "expressions" of a way of conceiving of space or the masses; instead they must be seen as part of a semiotic system, and interpreted in keeping with its rules. This is the task of theory: in teaching how it is possible to imitate ancient architecture, theory treats it as a language, analyzing, so to speak, its vocabulary, grammar and syntax. It is no coincidence that the study of the ancient edifices went hand in hand with the study of Vitruvius, joining architects and philologists in a common work. A humanist and scholar like Alberti became himself an architect, and the architects learned Latin in order to carry forward, with tremendous efforts, the Vitruvian critique. Francesco di Giorgio Martini describes the difficulties which, as a non-scholar, he encountered: an unknown vocabulary (partially in Greek) and a corrupted text, as partial as the ruins he observed in his attempt to interpret it[1]*. But even a man of culture like Alberti curses Vitruvius, to the effect that it would be better not to write at all than to write in such a way that no one can understand you; and he advises his readers to also study the temples and theaters, from which one can learn just as much as* "ex optimus professoribus"[2]. *What united philologists and architects was the experience of learning, composed of method, deduction and application of rules, of discipline of thought and critique of sources. It was necessary to learn the art of tracing back from corrupt versions of texts to the originals, just as Brunelleschi had been able to recognize, in the architecture of the proto-Renaissance in Tuscany, the ancient Roman models, distinguishing the authentic from the false; on the other hand – according to an anecdote of the time – during the construction of the Spedale degli Innocenti, a less learned* capomastro *had copied precisely the only "incorrect" detail of the decoration of the Baptistry*[3]*. Alberti emphasizes that it is necessary to study all the ancient edifices, just as the learned should read* all *the authors,* "not only the good ones (etiam non bonos)"[4]*. In this manner he poses one of the fundamental problems in the imitation of antiquity, that of the choice of models from among a large number of surviving texts and monuments of different levels of quality; and this led to the recognition of the historical character of classical art. Already for some time the humanists had been grappling with the phenomenon of the decay of the Latin language: in relation to this phenomenon, the idea took form, and was developed in the treatises, of a rise, fall and rebirth of "good" architecture. For Filarete, writing in approximately 1460, the return of architecture to the classical height of the tongue on Catullus and Virgil began thirty or forty years earlier*[5]*; Serlio considered the architecture of his time to be at a level comparable to that of the Latin of the age of Caesar or Cicero*[6]*; and Aretino cites the plurality of the ancient languages to explain that of the orders of columns*[7]*. In historical terms, Filarete is correct when he dates the beginning of the modern era in architecture to the time of Brunelleschi; Brunelleschi, however, wrote nothing, and his thought – upon which all successive theories are based – can be deduced only from his architectural works. The treatises begin only in the second half of the 1400s, but from that moment on they were produced in great numbers, one after the other. If we examine the biographies of their authors, we get the impression that the impulse to write was the result of being called upon to serve a sovereign. The Florentine Alberti, residing in Rome in 1443, dedicated his book to Pope Nicholas V; the treatise of his fellow Florentine Filarete is dedicated, in two different manuscripts, to the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, and to Piero de' Medici; the writings of Francesco di Giorgio, from Siena, were composed at the courts of Urbino and Naples. The humanist culture had established itself in the palaces of the rulers, and the architects hastened to ensure themselves a place in that context.*

Their motivations were, nevertheless, more complex than they might appear at first glance. One evident motive is that of social emancipation: liberated from the restrictions of the guilds of the cities, the "artist of the court" could consider himself an intellectual in the circle of poets, scholars and literati who conversed almost as peers with their noble patrons. On the other hand, the architects already had the advantage of being immune to the stigma of manual labor, which remained attached to painters and sculptors: the activity of the architect had always been that of designing and preparing, without coming into contact with the materials, and this meant that members of the upper classes, or even sovereigns themselves, could practice architecture.

Consequently, the issue was not so much one of ennobling the profession as of convincing the new rulers – who often came, themselves, from the lower ranks of the nobles, or from the bourgeoisie – that it was necessary to call upon professional architects. Therefore, Alberti, in describing the figure of the

nella sua scia, la scolastica) su un sapere universale, bensì su un'associazione di talento (*"ingenium"*), di diligenza e costanza (*"acerrimum studium"*), di cultura (*"doctrina"*), di abilità pratica ed esperienza professionale (*"usus"*): un catalogo di virtù borghesi con le quali l'architetto si rende gradito al principe e utile alla società. Al tempo stesso egli può dimostrare col suo trattato di essere capace di approfondire razionalmente, e quindi di rendere dominabili, non solo i problemi della sua professione, ma anche quelli dello Stato e della società. Un'analoga razionalità – fatta di regolarità, assialità, simmetria, prospettiva, integrazione di tutte le parti in un insieme organico – informa i progetti e gli edifici della nuova generazione di architetti (e li rende così facilmente accessibili all'analisi degli storici dell'arte).
Si arriva così a quella che è forse la funzione più importante della teoria rinascimentale: la creazione di un nuovo livello di comunicazione fra architetto e committente. All'annosa questione circa i veri destinatari dei trattati si può rispondere infatti solo in modo polivalente. Gli architetti cercavano di assimilarsi alla cultura del ceto dominante nelle corti, orientata in senso letterario e antiquario; dai principi e dai nobili ci si aspettava che s'interessassero ai problemi dell'architettura, e che anzi sapessero presentarsi come conoscitori della materia. A questo punto la corte funzionava veramente, secondo la definizione di Martin Warnke, come "*luogo di trasbordo della società*": luogo di scambio tra gli interessi dei sovrani e quelli del ceto medio urbano, dal quale di solito provenivano gli umanisti e gli artisti.
Tale scambio avveniva peraltro in quelle forme "cortigiane" i cui lati negativi erano criticati aspramente già dai contemporanei, ad esempio da Enea Silvio Piccolomini nella *De curialium miseriis epistola*, composta nel 1444. Per l'architetto-autore era quindi opportuno lusingare il sovrano o il probabile mecenate sostenendo le proprie idee come se fossero le loro. Ciò va tenuto presente quando si cerca di capire dalla trattatistica quale fosse il ruolo dell'architetto nell'arte di corte: esso non era certamente quello di un funzionario che si accontenta di attuare le direttive del suo capo. Gli stessi autori forniscono del resto risposte differenti: non di rado l'omaggio al nobile patrono a cui il libro viene offerto è accompagnato da accuse contro il ceto signorile nel suo complesso, contro la sua avarizia, ignoranza e incultura, come accade ad esempio in Francesco di Giorgio[9]. Per Alberti – lo spirito più libero tra questi scrittori – è l'architetto a realizzare la "sua" opera, servendosi di un committente adatto, e non viceversa; e anche da questo patrono converrà che l'architetto si lasci pregare più volte prima di accettare l'incarico[10]. Una formula di compromesso è quella del Filarete, che chiama padre di un'opera il committente e madre l'architetto, che per così dire la fa maturare in sé e la mette al mondo[11]. Ma anche ciò va preso *cum grano salis*: il suo progetto di città ideale viene da lui battezzato con orgoglio "*Averliano*", dal proprio nome (Antonio Averlino), e solo l'opera realizzata si chiamerà "*Sforzinda*", dal nome del duca di Milano che figura come committente nel libro. Se in esso il principe occupa una posizione centrale, lo fa in quanto figura ideale; così che i trattati appaiono talvolta una varietà di quegli "specchi del principe" con cui la borghesia europea, a cominciare dal tardo medioevo, cercò di far recepire al "*princeps optimus*" le proprie aspettative.
Comunque si evolvessero in pratica queste situazioni, in generale nella società di corte il rapporto fra committente e architetto può essere inteso come un rapporto di scambio: il principe disponeva dei mezzi necessari per costruire, l'architetto era in grado di trasformarli in simboli di prestigio. In questo contesto la trattatistica assume la funzione di un catalogo di offerte: essa propone di investire nell'architettura. Sono presi a modello i sovrani dell'antichità, con i quali i principi odierni sono sollecitati a competere; da parte loro, gli architetti si sentono ben capaci di emulare i loro grandi predecessori, sempre che i committenti siano all'altezza di quelli antichi. La ristrettezza delle risorse finanziarie non è una giustificazione. Secondo Alberti, già Tucidide aveva approvato "*la saggezza di quegli antichi che avevano inalzato nelle loro città ogni genere di edifici, sì da apparire assai più potenti di quanto in realtà non fossero*"[12]; e il Filarete dichiara, in tono quasi minaccioso, che la fama del re Salomone sarebbe da lungo tempo svanita se nel costruire il Tempio egli avesse badato meschinamente alla spesa[13]. Ciò che gli scrittori antichi narrano circa la grandezza di Roma non sarebbe più creduto da nessuno se non fossero ancora sotto gli occhi di tutti gli edifici innalzati dai Cesari[14]. Ricuperare la loro magnificenza materiale, con l'aiuto di committenti come il papa Leone X Medici o il ricchissimo banchiere Agostino Chigi, era il proposito dichiarato di Raffaello. Solo la "seconda caduta di Roma", il Sacco della città da parte delle truppe di Carlo V, riuscì a vincere quest'ottimismo. E così nel 1551, in una dedica al marchese di Avalos, Serlio conclude l'enumerazione dei grandi mecenati del secolo con un rassegnato condizionale: "*Se tutti i principi (...) fossero di*

architect[8]*, does not put the accent (as does Vitruvius and, in his wake, the scholastics) on a universal knowledge, but rather on a combination of talent (*ingenium*), diligence and constance (*acerrimum studium*), culture (*doctrina*), practical ability and professional experience (*usus*): a catalogue of bourgeois virtues with which the architect makes himself pleasing to the prince and useful to the society. At the same time he can demonstrate, with his treatise, that he is capable of rationally examining, and therefore of making tameable, not only the problems of his profession, but also those of the state and the society. An analogous rationality – composed of regularity, axial order, symmetry, perspective, integration of all the parts into an organic whole – informs the designs and the edifices of the new generation of architects (and makes them so well accessible to the analysis of art historians).*
Thus we arrive at what, perhaps, was the most important function of Renaissance architectural theory: the creation of a new level of communication between the architect and the client. In fact, the difficult question regarding precisely for whom the treatises were written can only be answered in a complex way. The architects sought to assimilate the culture of the ruling classes of the courts, oriented toward literature and antiquity; princes and nobles, in turn, were expected to address the problems of architecture, and to have a certain level of expertise. At this point the court truly functioned, according to the definition of Martin Warnke, as a "place of transfer of the society"*: a place of exchange between the interests of the rulers and those of the urban middle class, which was usually the origin of the humanists and the artists. This exchange took place, however, in those "courtly" forms whose negative aspects were already being severely criticized by the contemporaries, such as Enea Silvio Piccolomini in his* De curialium miseriis epistola*, written in 1444. For the architect-auteur, therefore, it was opportune to flatter the sovereign or the probable patron, expressing ideas while attributing them to the ruler. This factor must be taken into account when we try to understand, from the treatises, the role of the architect in the art of the court: it was certainly not that of a mere functionary, content to implement the orders of his boss. The authors themselves furnish differing responses: often the homage to the noble patron to whom the book is dedicated is accompanied by accusations against the ruling class as a whole, against its avarice, its ignorance and lack of culture; this is the case, for example, of the writings of Francesco di Giorgio*[9]*. For Alberti – the most free spirit among these writers – it is the architect who realizes "his" work, making use of a suitable client, not vice versa; and he recommends that the architect only accept the commission from this patron after repeated requests*[10]*. Filarete offers a compromise, stating that the father of the work is the client, and the architect its mother, as the latter develops the work inside himself and then brings it into the world*[11]*. But even this formula must be taken* cum grano salis*: Filarete proudly christened his project for an ideal city "Averliano" (his real name was Antonio Averlino), although when the work was completed it was called "Sforzinda", in honor of the Duke of Milan who provided the patronage for the book. The central position of the noble patron becomes that of an ideal figure, the "prince"; thus the treatises often resemble those "mirrors of the prince" with which the European bourgeoisie, beginning in the late Middle Ages, attempted to communicate its expectations to the* "princeps optimus"*.*
However these situations evolved in practice, in general in courtly society the relationship between the client and the architect can be seen as one of exchange: the prince possessed the means needed to build, the architect was capable of transforming them into symbols of prestige. In this context the treatises take on the character of a catalogue of available options: like a financial prospectus for potential architectural investors. The rulers of the golden age of antiquity are held up as models with which the sovereigns of the day are incited to compete; the architects, in turn, feel that they are quite capable of emulating their great predecessors, if only the clients can rise to the occasion. Limited financial resources are no excuse. According to Alberti, Thucydides commended "the wisdom of those ancients who erected, in their cities, all kinds of buildings, in order to appear much more powerful than they really were"[12]*; and Filarete declares, in an almost menacing tone, that the fame of King Solomon would have faded long ago had he been mean or thrifty in the construction of the Temple*[13]*. No one would believe the tales of the grandeur of Rome were not the architectural wonders erected by the Caesars still there for all to see*[14]*. The recovery of such material magnificence, with the support of clients like Pope Leo X Medici or the wealthy banker Agostino Chigi was the declared aim of Raphael. Only the "second fall of Rome", the sacking of the city by the troops of Charles V, managed to discourage this optimism. Thus in 1551, in a dedication to the Marquis of Avalos, Serlio resignedly concludes his listing of the great patrons of the century with a proviso:* "If all the princes *(...)* possessed the inner beauty of Your Excellency,

quella bellezza d'animo che è Vostra Eccellentia, si potrà sperar (...) che il nostro secolo ritornasse a quel summo di grandezza che si trovava al buon tempo de gli antiqui romani"[15]. Una speranza, questa, nel cui compimento lo stesso Serlio aveva smesso di credere.
Né va trascurato un altro movente dei trattatisti, che acquistò importanza soprattutto nel Cinquecento: la presentazione delle proprie opere. Oltre a far appello alla sete di gloria del principe mecenate, l'architetto si preoccupava della propria fama: tanto più, quanto più si considerava un artista e desiderava passare alla posterità con un complesso di creazioni proprie, come un pittore o uno scultore. A ciò si opponevano notevoli difficoltà. Solo eccezionalmente un edificio veniva realizzato così come l'architetto lo aveva concepito; spesso l'esecuzione sfuggiva al suo controllo; il committente chiedeva modifiche o imponeva riduzioni; le risorse finanziarie si esaurivano, si risparmiava sui materiali, i lavori si protraevano e alla fine venivano interrotti; l'edificio restava incompiuto o era portato a termine, dopo la morte dell'architetto, da altre mani, spesso completamente alterato da successive aggiunte e varianti. Il trattato offriva allora la possibilità di fissare il progetto nella sua forma ideale e – dopo l'introduzione della stampa e delle illustrazioni in xilografia o incise su rame – di farlo conoscere a un vasto pubblico. Il fatto essenziale era l'emancipazione dal committente: l'architetto-autore che si rivolgeva a un pubblico di acquirenti anonimo, sperimentava la forza liberatrice del mercato; talvolta, è vero, anche le sue insidie, costituite dall'"*ingordigia degli stampatori, tirati più dal guadagno che dall'onore*", come già lamentava il Vasari[16]. Occorreva poi guardarsi dall'invidia e dalla gelosia dei colleghi: pubblicando le proprie idee era possibile contrassegnarle come tali e proteggerle da plagi troppo manifesti. Inoltre l'architettura ha bisogno, più che non le arti figurative, di un commento esplicativo. Non tutto ciò che l'architetto ha ideato viene comunicato dall'opera: è necessario evidenziare le difficoltà tecniche e le circostanze esterne che possono agire in senso limitativo, perché solo così potrà essere apprezzata l'abilità del progettista. In questo senso Antonio da Sangallo, che usava commentare con scritte autografe i propri disegni e schizzi, interpretò l'intenzione di Vitruvio: "*Fecie questo libro per fare conoscersi sé essere valente omo, e quelli altri maestri farli conoscere bene ignioranti come erano*"[17]. Il lavoro letterario diviene parte integrante della produzione architettonica: nacque anzi il tipo dell'architetto attivo principalmente come letterato, o del letterato-architetto, incarnato da Serlio, che preferì divulgare mediante testi e xilografie i prodotti della sua fertile immaginazione architettonica, anziché mercanteggiarne la realizzazione con i finanziatori o esporli alla dura realtà del cantiere.
Ma forse tutti questi motivi non sarebbero bastati a far nascere nel Rinascimento una trattatistica se a indicare la via non vi fosse stato un modello antico: i *Dieci libri dell'architettura* di Vitruvio. Come Serlio, quest'architetto e ingegnere militare del I secolo a.C. deve la sua fama postuma unicamente alla sua opera letteraria, non essendosi distinto a quanto pare nella pratica del costruire.
Disingannati come siamo dalla critica degli archeologi odierni, non riusciamo più a cogliere l'effetto quasi magico che il nome di Vitruvio ha avuto sugli architetti del XV e XVI secolo. Il suo influsso fu dovuto anzitutto al profondo rispetto che una cultura di stampo umanistico aveva per il libro, come del resto per ogni genere di scrittura autentica; e in secondo luogo al fatto che si trattava di un manuale. Ciò non significava soltanto che era possibile apprendere da esso quale fosse la buona e corretta architettura; significava anche e soprattutto che gli antichi avevano visto l'architettura come qualcosa di apprendibile teoricamente, ossia come un'attività intellettuale. Era questo il messaggio che il Rinascimento attendeva, ed esso arrivò al momento giusto; o meglio, fu recepito in quel momento. In effetti, Vitruvio non fu una scoperta dell'Umanesimo: I *Dieci libri* erano già noti al medioevo, ed erano stati copiati e studiati senza che ciò influisse sull'architettura dell'epoca, così come i ruderi romani erano stati osservati con ammirato stupore per secoli senza che si producesse una rinascita dell'architettura antica. Si potrebbe dire, in un certo senso, che l'antichità non andava scoperta, ma inventata, cioè trapiantata nella prassi. Il testo fondamentale per questa operazione fu un libro che a prima vista sembra essere un'opera di pura dottrina: il *De re aedificatoria* di Alberti.
Leone Battista Alberti (1404-1472), discendente da una famiglia patrizia fiorentina, fu introdotto allo studio delle lingue antiche a Padova, tra i dodici e i quindici anni d'età, dall'umanista Gasparino Barzizza, e studiò in seguito diritto canonico, matematica e scienze a Bologna; fin dall'inizio ebbe quindi con Vitruvio un rapporto molto diverso da quello degli architetti della sua generazione. In effetti non era possibile separare l'aureola dell'autore antico dallo sforzo che la sua lettura richiedeva al lettore privo di una formazione filologica. Per Alberti il testo in quanto tale non

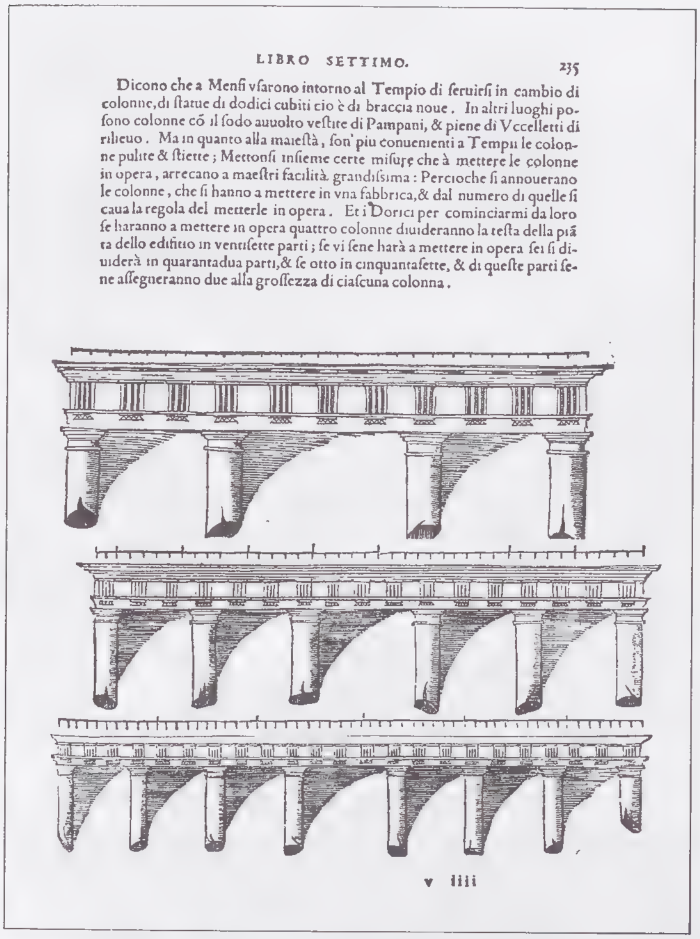
there would be hope *(...)* that our century could return to that height of greatness achieved in the days of the ancient Romans"[15]. *A hope in whose fulfillment Serlio himself had ceased to believe.*
Neither should we overlook another motivation of the treatise writers, which became especially important in the 1500s: the presentation of their own works. Apart from appealing to the thirst for glory of the princely patron, the architect was also concerned with his own fame: thinking of himself as an artist, he wished to go down in history thanks to a body of works, like a painter or a sculptor. Such ambitions met with noteworthy difficulties. Rarely was an edifice constructed exactly as the architect had stipulated; often the execution of the design took place without his control or supervision; the client requested modifications or imposed reductions; the financial resources dwindled, cheaper materials were substituted for more costly ones, there were delays or interruptions in construction; the work remained unfinished, or was completed, after the death of the architect, by others, which often implied total alterations to the design, additions, variations. Therefore the medium of the treatise offered the possibility of preserving, for posterity, the ideal form of the design and – after the introduction of printing and of illustrations using woodcuts or engravings on copper – of making the work known to a vast audience. The essential fact, here, was the emancipation from the client: the architect-auteur addressed a public of anonymous potential buyers, experiencing the liberating force of the market but also, in some cases, its dangers, in the form of the "greed of the printers, attracted more by profit than by honor" *as Vasari complained*[16]. *It was also a good idea to be wary of the envy and jealousy of colleagues: the publication of one's ideas also served as a sort of copyright protection, staking a claim against blatant imitation. Furthermore, architecture requires, to a greater extent than the figurative arts, an explanatory commentary. Not all of the reasoning of the architect is explicitly communicated in the work: it is necessary to consider the technical difficulties and the external circumstances which can act as factors of restriction; only in this manner can the ability of the designer be fully appreciated. In this sense Antonio da Sangallo, who wrote his own comments on his drawings and sketches, interpreted the intent of Vitruvius:* "He made this book to prove his worth, and to demonstrate the ignorance of those other masters"[17].
Literary effort became an integral part of architectural production: the category of the architect whose main work is writing, or of the writer-architect was born, as embodied by Serlio, who preferred to communicate the products of his fertile architectural imagination by means of texts and woodcuts, rather than subjecting them to the realities of the market or exposing them to the hard realities of the worksite. But perhaps all these motivations combined would not have sufficed to justify the treatise-writing activity of the Renaissance had the way not been indicated by an antique model: the "Ten Books of Architecture" of Vitruvius. Like Serlio, this architect and military engineer of the first century BC owes his posthumous fame only to his writing, as no trace remains of his activity as a builder. Disenchanted as we are by modern archaeological awareness, it is difficult for us to imagine the almost magical effect produced by the name Vitruvius on the architects of the 15th and 16th centuries. His profound impact was due first of all to the great respect of humanistic culture for books, and for all types of authentic writing; and secondly to the fact that his work was a manual. This did not only mean that it was possible to use the work in order to learn the meaning of good, correct architecture; it also and above all meant that in antiquity architecture was seen as something which could be taught and learnt by means of theory, as an intellectual activity. This was the message the Renaissance was waiting for, and it arrived, or was received, at just the right moment. In effect Vitruvius was not a discovery of humanism: the "Ten Books" were already known in the Middle Ages, and had been copied and studied without any repercussions on the architecture of the time, just as the Roman ruins had been observed with awe for centuries without inspiring anyone to hypothesize a rebirth of classical architecture. In a certain sense we might say that antiquity was not discovered by the Renaissance; it was, so to speak, invented, that is, transplanted into practice. The fundamental text was a book that at first glance seems to be a work of pure doctrine: Alberti's De re aedificatoria.
Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), scion of a patrician Florentine family, was introduced in his youth (age 12-15) to the study of the languages of antiquity in Padua, by the humanist Gasparino Barzizza; he later studied canon law, mathematics and science in Bologna. Therefore from the outset he had a very different relationship with Vitruvius than the other architects of his generation. In effect the aureole of the ancient author was intimately linked to the effort involved in reading his works for those without sufficient philological

era affatto sacro e inviolabile: il fatto stesso di potersene appropriare linguisticamente gli dava la libertà di discostarsene. Fu così che si propose, anziché di curare un'edizione o una traduzione del trattato antico, di sostituire ad esso un'opera moderna, più accurata e meglio utilizzabile. L'impulso fu quello dell'Umanesimo italiano in genere: passare dallo studio dei testi a quello delle cose. Il primo passo in tal senso consisteva nel verificare sui ruderi romani gli enunciati di Vitruvio. L'immensità del compito a cui Alberti si accinse può essere valutata da chi abbia presente un manoscritto vitruviano del Quattrocento, privo di divisione in parti e di titoli intermedi (per non parlare delle condizioni del testo), e immagini di accostarsi ad esso con le conoscenze archeologiche dell'epoca, senza sapere cioè che cosa fosse un capitello "ionico" o come fosse in realtà strutturato un tempio "dorico". Ma anche la lettura degli edifici in chiave vitruviana presenta delle difficoltà. In effetti l'insegnamento di Vitruvio riguardava soprattutto le regole per costruire le colonne, le trabeazioni e i frontoni del tempio greco, ma non gli edifici di età imperiale ancora visibili a Roma; viceversa, non era possibile trovare nel suo trattato ciò che più interessava agli architetti moderni, una teoria delle volte e dei muri. Alberti cercò di colmare queste lacune tenendo conto di esperienze recenti, in primo luogo di quelle relative alla cupola del Duomo di Firenze[18]; già nel *proemio* al suo trattato sulla pittura egli aveva esaltato questo "*artificio*" tecnico di Brunelleschi, che "*come a questi tempi era incredibile potersi, così forse appresso gli antichi fu non saputo né conosciuto*"[19].
E' difficile valutare quale influsso immediato abbia avuto il trattato di Alberti. L'accoglienza degli umanisti non poteva che essere entusiastica, ma a un successo più ampio si opponevano tre fattori: il testo circolò all'inizio solo in copie manoscritte, era privo di illustrazioni ed era redatto in latino. I primi due fattori erano strettamente connessi tra loro. Da copisti che Alberti, come egli stesso fa intendere[20], non riteneva capaci nemmeno di trascrivere correttamente i numeri romani non ci si potevano aspettare copie utilizzabili di disegni architettonici: gli originali sarebbero stati travisati o sarebbero andati dispersi, come evidentemente era accaduto nel caso di Vitruvio. Alberti preferì quindi fare affidamento sul proprio latino, che egli scriveva più agevolmente e che meglio della lingua toscana del tempo si prestava alla trattazione del suo soggetto[21].
Rispetto al trattato sulla pittura composto quindici anni prima, del quale Alberti aveva messo in circolazione anche

training. For Alberti, with his background, the text was neither sacred nor inviolable: therefore he set out not to produce a new edition or translation of the antique treatise, but to replace it with a modern work of greater accuracy and utility. The impulse was that of Italian humanism in general: to proceed from the study of texts to the study of things. The first step was to verify the accuracy of the statements of Vitruvius by observing the ruins of Rome. The immensity of the task undertaken by Alberti can be understood by those who have seen a Vitruvian manuscript of the 1400s, without any division into parts, without intermediate titles (not to speak of the condition of the text itself), trying to understand it in the light of the archaeological knowledge of the day; without knowing, in other words, what exactly an "Ionic" capital is, or how a "Doric" temple is structured. But also the interpretation of the edifices in keeping with the terms provided by Vitruvius presents its difficulties. In effect the teachings of Vitruvius have to do, above all, with the rules for the construction of columns, trabeations and fronts of the Greek temple, but not with the edifices of the imperial era still visible in Rome; on the other hand, it was not possible to find, in his treatise, the information that most interested the modern architects, namely a theory of vaults and walls. Alberti attempted to bridge these gaps, taking recent experiences into account, especially those related to the cupola of the cathedral in Florence[18]; already, in the proemio *of his treatise on painting, he had sung the praises of this technical "artifice" of Brunelleschi, which* "just as it was an incredible achievement today, so perhaps was it unknown to the ancients"[19].
It is difficult to estimate the immediate impact of the treatise of Alberti. Its reception on the part of the humanists could only have been enthusiastic, but a wider success was impeded by three factors: at first the text circulated only in the form of handwritten copies; it was without illustrations; and it was in Latin. The first two factors are closely related. Scriveners who, as Alberti himself reports[20], he considered incapable even of correctly transcribing Roman numerals, could not be expected to reproduce decent copies of architectural drawings; the originals would have been distorted and finally destroyed, as evidently occurred in the case of the work of Vitruvius. Therefore Alberti decided to rely on his Latin, which he wrote more fluently, and which was better-suited than the Tuscan language of the day for the discussion of the subject at hand[21]. As opposed to the treatise on painting, written fifteen years earlier, for which Alberti had also put a version in vernacular into circulation,

2. 3. Leon Battista Alberti, L'Architettura, *tradotta da Cosimo Bartoli, Firenze 1550: colonnati dorici e frontespizio.*
4. Antonio Averlino, detto il Filarete, Trattato d'architettura, *Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Codex Magliabechianus II.I.140: colonna dorica, corinzia, ionica.*
5. Leon Battista Alberti, De re aedificatoria, *Firenze 1485: prologo.*

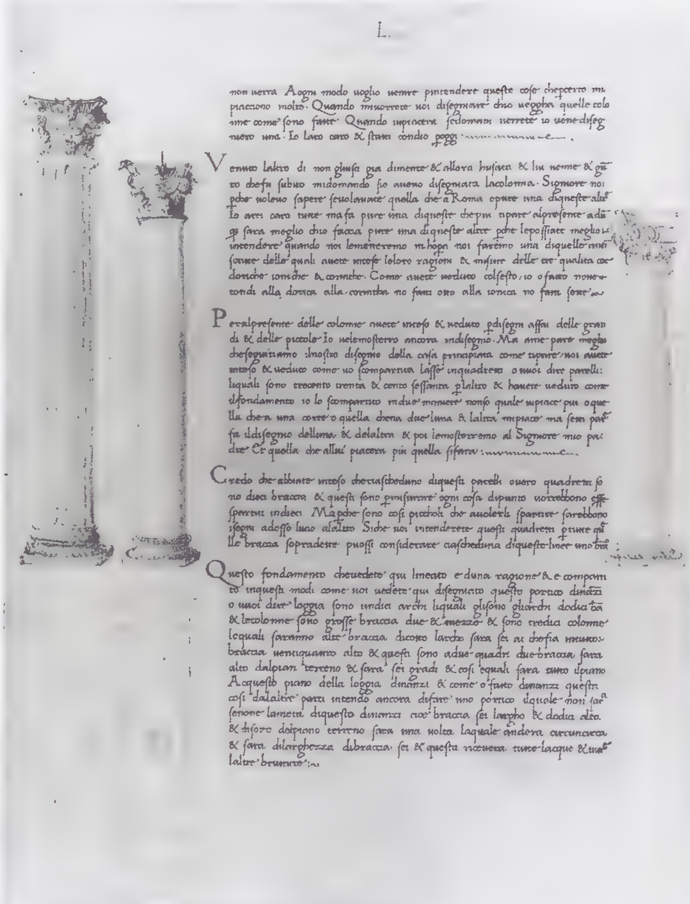
2. 3. Leon Battista Alberti, L'Architettura, *translated by Cosimo Bartoli, Florence, 1550: Doric colonnades and frontispiece.*
4. Antonio Averlino, called il Filarete, Trattato d'architettura, *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Codex Magliabechianus II.I.140: Doric, Corinthian, Ionic columns.*
5. Leon Battista Alberti, De re aedificatoria, *Florence, 1485: prologue.*


LIBRO SETTIMO. 235

Dicono che a Menfi vsarono intorno al Tempio di seruirsi in cambio di colonne, di statue di dodici cubiti cio è di braccia noue. In altri luoghi posono colonne cō il sodo auuolto vestite di Pampani, & piene di Vccelletti di rilieuo. Ma in quanto alla maiestà, son' piu conuenienti a Tempii le colonne pulite & stiette; Mettonsi insieme certe misure che à mettere le colonne in opera, arrecano a maestri facilità grandisima: Percioche si annouerano le colonne, che si hanno a mettere in vna fabbrica, & dal numero di quelle si caua la regola del metterle in opera. Et i Dorici per cominciarmi da loro se haranno a mettere in opera quattro colonne diuideranno la testa della piā ta dello edifitio in ventisette parti; se vi sene harà a mettere in opera sei si diuiderà in quarantadua parti, & se otto in cinquantasette, & di queste parti sene assegneranno due alla grossezza di ciascuna colonna.

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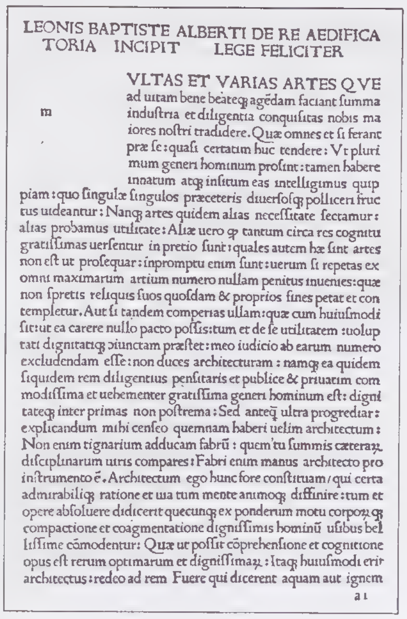
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4



3


LEONIS BAPTISTE ALBERTI DE RE AEDIFICA TORIA INCIPIT LEGE FELICITER

VLTAS ET VARIAS ARTES QVE ad uitam bene beateq̧ agēdam faciant summa industria et diligentia conquisitas nobis maiores nostri tradidere. Quæ omnes et si ferant præ se: quasi certatim huc tendere: Vt plurimum generi hominum prosint: tamen habere innatum atq̧ insitum eas intelligimus quippiam: quo singulæ singulos præceteris diuersosq̧ polliceri fructus uideantur: Nanq̧ artes quidem alias necessitate sectamur: alias probamus utilitate: Aliæ uero q̧ tantum circa res cognitu gratissimas uersentur in pretio sunt: quales autem hæ sint artes non est ut prosequar: inpromptu enim sunt: uerum si repetas ex omni maximarum artium numero nullam penitus inuenies: quæ non spretis reliquis suos quosdam & proprios fines petat et contempletur. Aut si tandem comperias ullam: quæ cum huiusmodi sit: ut ea carere nullo pacto possis: tum et de se utilitatem: uoluptati dignitatiq̧ coniunctam præstet: meo iudicio ab earum numero excludendam esse: non duces architecturam: namq̧ ea quidem siquidem rem diligentius pensitaris et publice & priuatim commodissima et uehementer gratissima generi hominum est: digni tateq̧ inter primas non postrema: Sed anteq̄ ultra progrediar: explicandum mihi censeo quemnam haberi uelim architectum: Non enim tignarium adducam fabrū: quem tu summis cæterarum disciplinarum uiris compares: Fabri enim manus architecto pro instrumento ē. Architectum ego hunc fore constituam / qui certa admirabiliq̧ ratione et uia tum mente animoq̧ diffinire: tum et opere absoluere didicerit quecunq̧ ex ponderum motu corporum q̧ compactione et coagmentatione dignissimis hominū usibus bellissime cōmodentur: Quæ ut possit cōprehensione et cognitione opus est rerum optimarum et dignissimarum: itaq̧ huiusmodi erit architectus: redeo ad rem Fuere qui dicerent aquam aut ignem

a i

5

una versione in volgare, sembra qui delinearsi una specie di allontanamento dalla prassi artistica attuale. Tuttavia il *De re aedificatoria* passò di mano in mano tra gli artisti, anche prima di essere pubblicato a stampa nel 1485: lo dimostrano i trattati del Filarete e di Francesco di Giorgio (scritti in italiano, ma rimasti inediti), che sarebbero inconcepibili senza la conoscenza del testo albertiano.

Antonio Averlino (ca. 1400 - ca. 1470), che adottò lo pseudonimo di Filarete, diede al suo libro la forma di un racconto dialogato. Al centro dell'opera vi è la fantasia d'onnipotenza di un architetto rinascimentale: l'autore si vede nel ruolo del precettore di un principe, che introduce il giovane sovrano, avido di apprendere, nel mondo dell'architettura e lo convince a edificare una nuova città. Questa sorge come per incanto: la cerchia delle mura viene costruita in non più di dieci giorni[22]. Per ottenere un simile risultato, viene attribuita al principe una pienezza di poteri da cui la realtà politico-sociale dell'epoca era ancora ben lontana: e qui l'utopia del platonista sfocia con terrificante linearità nella schiavitù dello stato totalitario. Il Filarete identifica la causa della debolezza economica dei committenti moderni nel rincaro del lavoro umano, e coerentemente sogna una rinascita del sistema economico degli antichi. "*In questo luogo si tenevano ancora schiavi a lavorare*", scrive a proposito del penitenziario (*ergastolon*) della sua città ideale[23]. Una parte della manodopera edile è formata da detenuti, la pena di morte non viene eseguita, così che i grandi criminali si rendono ancora utili allo Stato[24]; ad esso appartengono anche i bambini nati in carcere[25]. La gerarchia della società divisa in ceti si riflette nella gerarchia estetica degli ordini architettonici. Anche le colonne vengono intese come manodopera: quelle più robuste (che per il Filarete sono le ioniche) possono sopportare i carichi maggiori e sono quindi adatte al piano inferiore, mentre le slanciate colonne doriche, che corrispondono al ceto nobiliare, sono situate nella parte più alta dell'edificio, dove il lavoro materiale non è più necessario[26]. Alla base di questa concezione c'è sempre l'idea vitruviana del proporzionamento della colonna sul modello del corpo umano; ma alla diversità tra i sessi subentrano qui le differenze di classe, che il Filarete considera altrettanto naturali.

Anche Francesco Di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501) è pervaso dall'idea delle proporzioni antropometriche, che in lui diventano addirittura una specie di ossessione. Mentre Vitruvio mette a confronto tra loro dei rapporti numerici, Francesco di Giorgio s'impelaga in analogie formali: i capitelli diventano visi, le trabeazioni sono profilate come busti, le colonne prendono vita, quasi animisticamente, dai corpi maschili e femminili in esse rinserrati; gli edifici, le fortezze, le planimetrie di intere città devono somigliare a figure umane[27]. Ciò è in contrasto con l'interesse dell'autore per gli aspetti tecnici e ingegneristici della professione di architetto: la meccanica, l'idraulica, la tecnica della guerra, l'arte delle fortificazioni. In effetti, la vita e l'opera di Francesco di Giorgio appartenevano a due diversi mondi culturali: quello dell'artigianato, dal quale egli proveniva e che caratterizzò le sue attività artistiche, e quello degli studi classici, verso i quali si sentì appassionatamente attratto, forse dopo aver conosciuto di persona Alberti. Nel suo trattato, redatto in due versioni differenti, egli torna continuamente su certi passi di Vitruvio, cercando di tradurli, di parafrasarli, di farli propri: tentativo che finisce col fallire proprio per l'eccessiva aderenza al testo. D'altra parte, la sua esperienza diretta di ingegnere militare gli aveva insegnato che vi erano campi dell'architettura in cui Vitruvio non era di nessun aiuto e in cui gli antichi erano, letteralmente, antiquati. Ciò rese più acuta la sua sensibilità verso le differenze storiche tra il mondo antico e quello moderno. All'antichità egli si dichiara debitore delle regole per le "*proporzioni delle colonne, base e capitelli, cornici, et altre proporzioni di tempi e palazzi*"; ma le forme degli edifici le ideava egli stesso, in quanto facevano parte del mondo attuale[28]. A una visione come questa l'umanista Alberti, che leggeva Vitruvio come un contemporaneo, non pervenne mai, quanto meno durante l'elaborazione del *De re aedificatoria*.

Il trattato di Francesco di Giorgio fu l'ultimo programma teorico del secolo. Gli scritti minori apparsi in seguito sono interessanti più che altro per la sociologia dell'arte, giacché dimostrano la crescente richiesta di teoria dell'architettura. A questa richiesta risposero autori non professionisti, come il matematico Luca Pacioli, che al suo trattato *De divina proportione*, pubblicato a stampa nel 1509, aggiunse un'appendice sull'architettura non molto originale, ma ben comprensibile. Si ebbero inoltre edizioni e traduzioni di Vitruvio, anch'esse a stampa e con illustrazioni in xilografia, a cura di Fra Giocondo (1511), Cesariano (1521), Durantino (1524), Caporali (1536). In tutte queste opere non vi è ancora traccia della svolta verso il Rinascimento maturo iniziata a Roma da Bramante a partire dal 1500. Di nuovo la teoria rimase indietro rispetto all'architettura costruita;

here there appears to be a sort of departure from the artistic praxis of the day. Nevertheless De re aedificatoria *passed from artist to artist, even before it was printed in 1485; this is demonstrated by the treatises of Filarete and Francesco di Giorgio (written, but not published, in Italian), which would have been inconceivable without a knowledge of the work of Alberti.*

Antonio Averlino (1400 ca. – 1470 ca.), who used the pseudonym Filarete, gave his book the form of a narrative dialogue. The central element of the work is the dream of omnipotence of a Renaissance architect: the author sees himself in the role of the tutor of a prince, who introduces the young sovereign, who is eager to learn, to the world of architecture, convincing him to build a new city. It is erected as if by magic: it fortified walls are built in only ten days[22]. Such an achievement is made possible by endowing the prince with powers that, in the socio-political reality of the time, would have been impossible: and here the utopia of the Platonist slips with frightening precision into the slavery of the totalitarian state. Filarete sees the cause of the economic shortcomings of the patrons of his day as the increased cost of human labor, and dreams of a revival of the economic system of the ancient world. "In this place slaves were still held for work", *he writes to describe the prison (*ergastolon*) of his ideal city[23]. There part of the manual labor for construction is supplied by prisoners; there is no death penalty, so that criminals can still be of use to the State[24]; children born in prison also belong to the State[25]. The hierarchy of the society divided into castes is reflected in the aesthetic hierarchy of the architectonic orders. Columns are also interpreted in terms of manual labor: the most robust (which, in Filarete's theory, are the Ionic) can sustain greater weights, and are therefore suitable for the lower levels, while the slender Doric columns, corresponding to the noble class, are situated in the higher part of the edifice, where material labor is no longer necessary[26]. Behind this concept lies the Vitruvian idea of the proportioning of the column in keeping with the model of the human body; but instead of the difference between the sexes, the accent is placed on class differences, which Filarete considers equally natural.*

Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501) is also gripped by the idea of anthropometric proportions, which even become a sort of obsession in his work. While Vitruvius delves into comparisons among numerical ratios, Francesco di Giorgio tangles with formal analogies: the capitals are faces, the trabeations are profiled like torsos, the columns come to life, almost animistically, from male and female bodies trapped inside them; buildings, fortresses, the plans of entire cities must resemble human figures[27]. This is in contrast with the author's interest in the technical and engineering aspects of the architectural profession: mechanics, hydraulics, techniques of war, the art of fortification. In effect the life and work of Francesco di Giorgio belonged to two different cultural worlds: that of the artisan, his roots, characterizing his artistic activities, and that of classical studies, toward which he was passionately attracted, perhaps after having met Alberti. In his treatise, composed in two different versions, he constantly returns to certain passages of Vitruvius, attempting to translate or paraphrase them, to make them his own: an attempt which fails, in the end, because of an excessively literal approach. On the other hand his direct experience as a military engineer had taught him that there are areas of architecture in which Vitruvius was of no help at all, and in which the ancients were, literally, antiquated. This heightened his sensitivity to the historical differences between the ancient world and the modern world. He declares his debt to antiquity for the "proportions of the columns, bases and capitals, cornices and other proportions of temples and palaces"*; but he himself designed the forms of the buildings, because they were to be a part of the real, present world[28]. The humanist Alberti, who read Vitruvius as if he were a contemporary, never managed to achieve such a vision, at least when he was working on* De re aedificatoria.

The treatise of Francesco di Giorgio was the last theoretical program of the century. The minor writings which appeared later are interesting, above all, in terms of the sociology of art, as they reveal a growing demand for architectural theory. The response to this demand came from non-professional authors, like the mathematician Luca Pacioli who, in his treatise De divina proportione, *printed in 1509, included an appendix on architecture that was not very original, but was quite accessible. There were translations and editions of Vitruvius, printed with woodcut illustrations, edited by Fra Giocondo (1511), Cesariano (1521), Durantino (1524), Caporali (1536). In all these works there is still no trace of the turning point in the direction of the mature Renaissance, begun in 1500 by Bramante in Rome. Once again the theory lags behind the constructed architecture; and the architecture assumes, as*

viceversa quest'ultima assunse, come nel Tempietto di Bramante o nella sua scala a chiocciola in Vaticano, il carattere di una dimostrazione teorica. Ma anche il rilievo e la misurazione degli edifici antichi acquistarono nella cerchia di Bramante una qualità nuova. Intorno a Raffaello si raccolse un gruppo di architetti, umanisti e antiquari intenzionati a intraprendere seriamente il vasto programma di confrontare Vitruvio (nuovamente tradotto con la partecipazione dello stesso Raffaello) con i monumenti antichi . La "pianta di Roma" proposta da Raffaello nel suo memoriale a Leone X non sarebbe stata altro che un *corpus* di quei monumenti: associato alla dottrina vitruviana, esso avrebbe racchiuso in sé la teoria della "buona architettura". Era un'idea tanto bella quanto utopistica, non solo perché il materiale da studiare era inesauribile, ma perché la convinzione che era alla base di quell'idea – che cioè l'architettura classica avesse un carattere unitario e gli edifici dell'età imperiale, fino a Costantino, seguissero tutti una stessa "ragione"[29] – si andò rivelando insostenibile man mano che progrediva lo studio dei monumenti.
Un'operazione che avrebbe dovuto portare a conoscere a fondo Vitruvio diventava un'arma nelle mani dei suoi critici. "*Ne bisognia fare paragone colle antiche*", notava l'implacabile Antonio da Sangallo a proposito di un profilo di cornice da lui schizzato, e aggiungeva: "*Vitruvio, e goffo*"[30]. Era inevitabile riconoscere che per stabilire delle regole univoche per l'imitazione dell'antichità bisognava sganciarsi dalla tradizione sia dei monumenti, sia dei testi classici. Questa strada era stata già imboccata da Alberti nel IX libro, in cui veniva elaborata una teoria autonoma delle colonne fondata solo su criteri antropometrico-matematici[31]; nella sua scia procedettero Peruzzi[32] e, ancora con una certa indecisione, Serlio.
Nel 1537 apparvero a Venezia le *Regole generali di architettura* di Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), concepite come il quarto di una serie di sette libri, di cui non è possibile tracciare qui la complicata storia editoriale. E' un trattato di tipo nuovo, anche esteriormente: è costituito infatti da illustrazioni in xilografia, accompagnate da testi non collegati organicamente tra loro. Il concetto ispiratore dell'opera è didattico: "*ogni mediocre*"[33] sarà messo in grado di comprendere l'architettura, o meglio ciò che oggi chiameremmo "composizione architettonica". Il corso infatti non comincia con la tecnica delle costruzioni, la scienza dei materiali e simili, bensì con la geometria e la prospettiva. Segue nel *Terzo libro* la materia d'insegnamento vera e

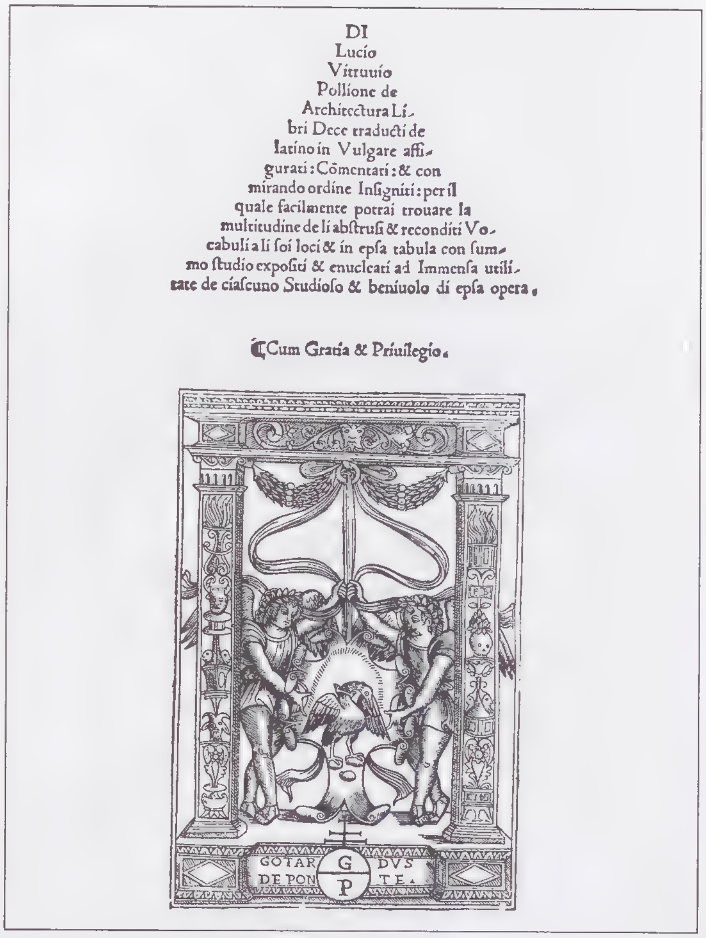
in the Tempietto by Bramante or in his spiral staircase in the Vatican, the value of a theoretical demonstration. But also the surveying and measurement of the antique edifices assumed, in Bramante, a new quality. A group of architects, humanists and antiquarians formed around the figure of Raphael, with the aim of seriously undertaking the enormous task of comparing the writings of Vitruvius (translated anew, with the participation of Raphael himself) with the surviving monuments. The "plan of Rome" proposed by Raphael in his memorial to Leo X would be, after all, a corpus *of those monuments: associated with the doctrine of Vitruvius, it would have embodied the theory of "good architecture". The idea was as utopian as it was beautiful, not only because the material to be studied was infinite, but also because the conviction that lay at the base of that idea – namely that classical architecture had a unified character, and that the edifices of the imperial age, until Constantine, all followed a single "reasoning"[29] – gradually began to appear unfounded as the study of the monuments proceeded. An operation that was supposed to lead to a profound understanding of Vitruvius became a weapon in the hands of his critics.* "To compare with the ancients", *wrote the implacable Antonio da Sangallo in a note on the profile of a cornice he had sketched, adding:* "Vitruvius, and clumsy"[30]. *Recognition of the fact that in order to establish uniform rules for the imitation of antiquity it was necessary to be detached from the tradition of both the monuments and the texts became inevitable. This path had already been indicated by Alberti in the 9th book, with the development of an autonomous theory of columns based only on anthropometric-mathematical criteria[31]; in his wake followed Peruzzi[32] and, with some hesitation, Serlio.*
In 1537 in Venice there appeared the Regole generali di architettura *by Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), conceived as the fourth of a series of seven books, whose complex publishing history cannot be reconstructed here. This is a new type of treatise, even in its external form: it is composed of woodcut illustrations, accompanied by texts which are not connected into a literary discourse. The concept behind the work is didactic in character:* "the average reader"[33] *will be given the opportunity to understand architecture or what today we would call "architectural composition". The course, in fact, does not begin with construction techniques, the science of materials and so on, but with geometry and perspective. The real teachings follow in the* Third Book*:*

6. 7. Francesco di Giorgio, Trattato d'architettura, *Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. Saluzziano 148: Callimaco e la colonna corinzia; pianta di una cittadella con figura umana.*
8. 9. Cesare Cesariano, Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de Architectura Libri Decem, *Como 1521: frontespizio; muratura isodoma e pseudoisodoma.*

6. 7. Francesco di Giorgio, Trattato d'architettura, *Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. Saluzziano 148: Callimaco and the Corinthian column; plan of a citadel with human figure.*
8. 9. Cesare Cesariano, Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de Architectura Libri Decem, *Como 1521: frontispiece; isodomic and pseudo-isodomic masonry.*



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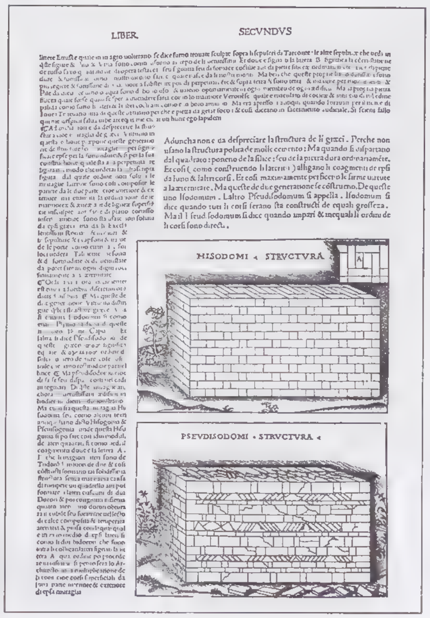
DI
Lucio
Vitruuio
Pollione de
Architectura Li-
bri Dece traducti de
latino in Vulgare affi-
gurati : Cōmentati : & con
mirando ordine Insigniti : per il
quale facilmente potrai trouare la
multitudine de li abstrusi & reconditi Vo-
cabuli a li soi loci & in epsa tabula con sum-
mo studio expositi & enucleati ad Immensa utili-
tate de ciascuno Studioso & beniuolo di epsa opera.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio.

8



7



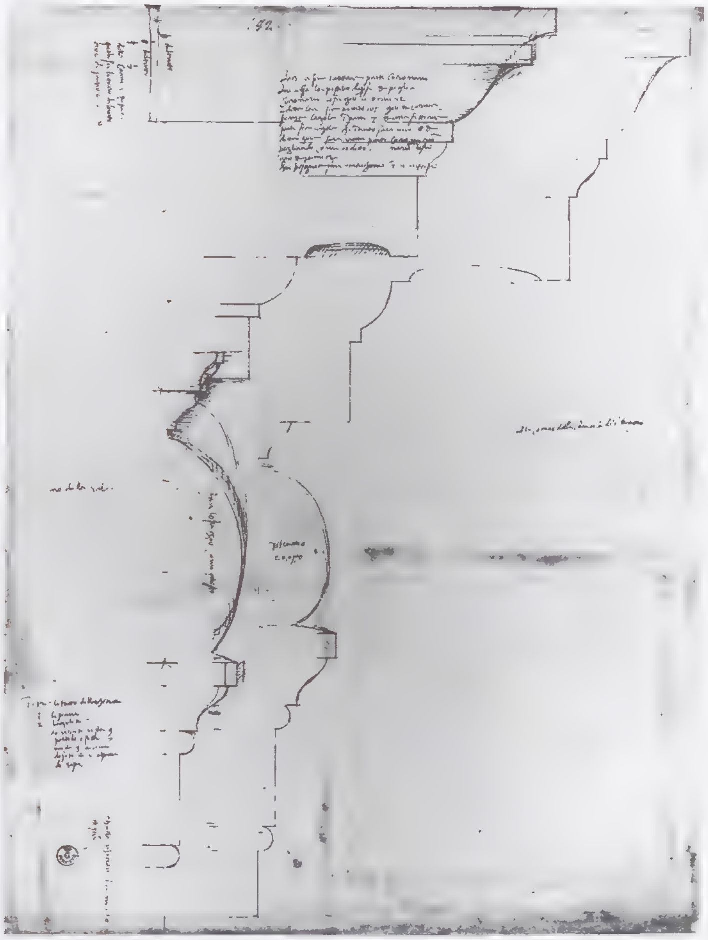
LIBER SECVNDVS

Adunchа non e da despreciare la structura de li greci. Perche non usano la structura polita de molle cemento: Ma quando si dispartano dal quadrato: poneno de la silice: seu de la pietra dura ordinariamēte. Et cosi (como construendo li latericii) alligano li coagmenti de epsi da lungo & li altri corsi. Et cosi maximamente perficeno le firme uirtute a la eternitate. Ma queste de due generatione se cōstrueno. De queste uno Isodomum. L'altro Pseudisodomum si appella. Isodomum si dice quando tuti li corsi serano sta constructi de equali grossezza. Ma il Pseudisodomum si dice quando impari & inequali li ordini de li corsi sono directi.

9

10. Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, Profili di cornice.
Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei disegni, 981A.
11. 12. Sebastiano Serlio, Regole generali di Architettura, *Venezia 1537: ordine dorico: esempio di facciata e colonne con trabeazioni.*
13. Sebastiano Serlio, Il terzo libro, *Venezia 1540: frontespizio.*

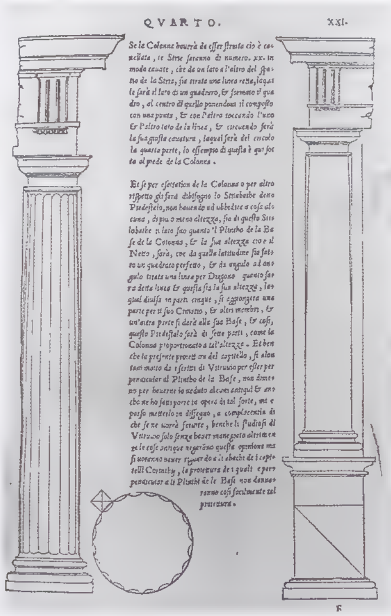
10. Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, Cornice profiles.
Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei disegni, 981A.
11. 12. Sebastiano Serlio, Regole generali di Architettura, *Venice, 1537: Doric order: example of facade and columns with trabeations.*
13. Sebastiano Serlio, Il terzo libro, *Venice, 1540: frontispiece.*



10



11



12



13

propria, i monumenti romani, ordinati per temi edilizi e integrati da edifici moderni esemplari: un estratto di quella che avrebbe dovuto essere la "pianta di Roma" di Raffaello, predisposto a fini didattici in base a disegni eseguiti in quegli anni e raccolti a Roma da Serlio. Per poter imitare i modelli antichi occorrono delle "regole", che formano l'oggetto del già citato *Quarto libro*: Serlio lo fece precedere agli altri, evidentemente perché era il più atteso[34]. La sua importanza storica sta nel fatto che in esso è codificato il canone dei cinque ordini di colonne che il mentore di Serlio, Peruzzi, aveva formulato ma non pubblicato. Serlio non li chiama "ordini", bensì "*maniere*", e include in esse non solo colonne e trabeazioni, ma anche porte, portali, caminetti e schemi dell'intera facciata. Ma negli esempi concreti vengono accolti anche materiali tratti da rilievi delle antichità romane: ciò implica delle divergenza – sia fra l'esempio e il canone, sia fra entrambi e le regole vitruviane – che Serlio non passa sotto silenzio[35]. La sua conclusione è che si possono fornire solo norme approssimative e che nel singolo caso la decisione spetta al "*giudizioso architetto*"[36]. Il successo commerciale dell'opera gli diede ragione: col suo trattato, i cui libri successivi furono pubblicati ad Anversa, Parigi, Lione e Francoforte, il Rinascimento romano divenne uno stile universalmente diffuso.
Su un punto la teoria dell'architettura non era progredita dal tempo di Alberti: continuava a mancare un sistema di proporzioni che abbracciasse i diversi ordini. In Serlio i cinque tipi di colonna sono disposti in una sequenza regolare con altezze crescenti, ma le proporzioni dei piedistalli e delle trabeazioni rimangono tra loro incommensurabili. Su questo problema concentrò la sua attenzione Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573), che nel 1562 pubblicò la sua soluzione nella *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura.* Il singolare usato nel titolo si contrappone programmaticamente al plurale delle *Regole* serliane: ciò che il Vignola presenta è uno schema di calcolo da cui derivano le misure di tutti e cinque gli ordini, dall'alzato d'insieme fino al minimo particolare.
Viene definito anzitutto il rapporto costante tra colonna, piedistallo e trabeazione; il quoziente tra l'altezza complessiva e un determinato numero chiave fornisce per ciascun ordine il "*modulo*", ossia il semidiametro alla base del fusto. Gli occasionali accenni a Vitruvio e ai monumenti antichi presenti anche nel Vignola sono pura retorica; l'autore ammette con disinvoltura di aver corretto i dati anomali per adeguarli al suo sistema[37]. La regola non è

the Roman monuments, organized by building themes and integrated by examples from contemporary architecture: a part of what was to have been the "plan of Rome" of Raphael, arranged for didactical purposes with recent drawings gathered in Rome by Serlio. In order to imitate the ancient models "rules" were necessary, and these rules were explained in the Fourth Book *mentioned above; Serlio published this fourth volume before the others, presumably because it was the part of the work most in demand[34]. Its historical importance lies in the fact that it presents the canon of the five orders of columns which Serlio's mentor Peruzzi had formulated but never published. Serlio calls them* "manners" *rather than "orders", and includes not only columns and trabeations, but also doors, portals, fireplaces and entire facade schemes. But in the concrete examples there are also materials derived from the direct study of the Roman ruins: this implies discrepancies – between the example and the rule, between both these elements and the rules of Vitruvius – which Serlio does not fail to address[35]. His conclusion is that it is possible to furnish only approximative norms, and that in individual cases the final decision is up to the* "judicious architect"[36]. *The commercial success of the work proved his point: with this treatise, whose following volumes were published in Antwerp, Paris, Lyon and Frankfurt, the Roman Renaissance became a universally influential style.*
Architectural theory, from the time of Alberti, had made no progress on one point: a system of proportions applicable to all the different orders had not been defined. In Serlio the five types of columns are arranged in an orderly sequence, in ascending height, but the proportions of the pedestals and the trabeations remain incommensurable with one another. This problem was addressed by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573), who published his solution, in 1562, in the Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura. *The singular form of the title (*regola *as opposed to* regole*) is an intentional contrast to Serlio's plural formulation: what Vignola presents is a scheme of calculation which can produce the measurements for all five orders, from the overall height down to the smallest detail. First if all, the constant rapport among the column, pedestal and trabeation is defined; the quotient of the overall height and a given key number furnishes, for each order, the* "module", *or the semi-diameter at the base of the shaft. The occasional references to Vitruvius and the ancient monuments also present in Vignola are pure rhetoric; the author candidly*

giustificata da ragioni storiche o metafisiche, ma solo dalla logica immanente in essa e dalla conseguente utilizzabilità pratica. Con ciò la teoria architettonica rinascimentale è arrivata a termine, e ciò si manifesta anche nell'aspetto esteriore dell'opera. La *Regola* non è più un trattato, ma una serie di incisioni su rame con figure, dati numerici e spiegazioni estremamente concise, destinate non a un lettore ma a un utente, e anzi concepite da principio – come il Vignola dichiara nel suo *proemio* – per uso dell'autore stesso[38]. La *Regola* si avvicina quindi, in un certo senso, ai "libri dei capomastri" (*Werkmeisterbücher*) del tardo Gotico: non a caso il suo predecessore più importante è il libro sulle colonne dello svizzero Hans Blum, pubblicato a Zurigo nel 1550. "*In un'occhiata sola, senza gran fastidio di leggere*" tutto diventerà comprensibile[39]: si manifesta qui l'astio del professionista (qual era il Vignola) per le chiacchiere dei dilettanti, quella specie di opposizione subliminale alla retorica dei trattatisti che s'intuisce anche in certe annotazioni e in certi frammenti di Antonio da Sangallo – il quale, forse, se la sua vita d'intenso lavoro gliene avesse lasciato il tempo, avrebbe scritto l'antitrattato del Rinascimento romano.

Con ciò naturalmente non si smise di scrivere trattati di architettura; si può dire anzi che solo nella seconda metà del Cinquecento essi si svilupparono compiutamente come genere letterario autonomo, disgiunto dalla pratica architettonica. Nel 1550 apparve a Firenze, a cura di Cosimo Bartoli, la traduzione italiana riccamente illustrata del *De re aedificatoria* di Alberti, un libro che ormai poteva suscitare solo un interesse teorico. I *Quattro libri dell'architettura* di Andrea Palladio, pubblicati nel 1570, rivelano nel loro autore non solo un architetto di genio, ma anche un colto studioso dell'antichità e un brillante scrittore. Vincenzo Scamozzi autore di una voluminosa *Idea dell'architettura universale*, apparsa nel 1615 dopo una preparazione durata venticinque anni, aveva già compilato, forse insieme a suo padre Gian Domenico, un indice sistematico dell'opera di Serlio e aveva curato l'edizione completa del suo trattato, pubblicata a Venezia nel 1584. In questo modo la teoria dell'architettura si affermava come una specie di disciplina accademica.

Non si può fare a meno però di citare, a conclusione di questa rassegna, il piccolo libro di un altro autore veneziano, che, trattando l'architettura dal punto di vista del committente, sembra compiacersi della sua condizione di dilettante aristocratico: Alvise Cornaro, noto agli storici dell'arte come umanista e come uno dei primi mecenati degli architetti del Rinascimento maturo nell'Italia settentrionale. Vecchio ormai di settantacinque anni, Cornaro non vuole più scrivere, come il "*divino Vitruvio*" o il "*gran Leon Baptista Alberti*", su teatri, anfiteatri e terme (che del resto non sono più in uso)[40], bensì fornire ai suoi pari qualche suggerimento per la costruzione di una casa. Egli tralascia le dotte considerazioni sulla scelta del sito da edificare e dell'orientamento: ognuno costruisce sul terreno che possiede e orienta l'edificio secondo la disposizione delle strade e delle piazze[41]. Altrettanto superflue sono le nozioni, raccolte dalle opere degli antichi scrittori, sui vari tipi di pietra, di legname e di argilla da laterizi o sulla confezione della malta: tutte cose che conoscono meglio gli artigiani locali[42]. Dallo studio dell'architettura antica Cornaro ha imparato che gli edifici circolari sono particolarmente stabili: il Pantheon è ancora in piedi, mentre i templi rettangolari romani giacciono tutti in rovina[43]. Per quanto riguarda gli ordini di colonne, su cui tanto si scrive, Cornaro li tiene in poco conto: sono costosi e non danno nessun contributo alla solidità della struttura. Come mero ornamento, poi, non sono indispensabili: il "Santo" a Padova è certamente un bell'edificio senza essere "*né Dorico né di alcuno di tali ordini*"[44]. E' difficile qui distinguere il candore dall'ironia. La teoria dell'architettura come fiera delle vanità erudite, gli ordini di colonne come mascherata: le conclusioni a cui giunse da vecchio un uomo come Cornaro meriterebbero di essere prese più sul serio di quanto non facciamo di solito noi lettori di trattati.

Note

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Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

Una versione in parte diversa del presente testo è apparsa in tedesco nel catalogo *Architekturmodelle der Renaissance*, München 1995, pp. 28-39. Seguirà un saggio a sé sul concetto e sulla storia degli ordini di colonne nella teoria architettonica dell'età moderna. Alcune delle idee qui accennate sono ulteriormente sviluppate in C. THOENES, *L'incarico imposto dall'economia. Appunti su committenza ed economia dai trattati d'architettura*, in A. ESCH, C.L. FROMMEL (a cura di), *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento*, Torino 1995, pp. 51-66.

La formazione e il contenuto dei trattati sono ampiamente esaminati in H.W. KRUFT, *Storia delle teorie architettoniche da Vitruvio al Settecento*, Bari 1988, dove è indicata anche la letteratura secondaria più importante.

Le citazioni dalle fonti sono tratte qui dalle seguenti edizioni: L.B. ALBERTI, *On*

admits that he has adjusted anomalous data in order to adapt it to his system[37]. *The rule is not justified by historical or metaphysical reasons, but only by the logic it contains and by its resulting utility in practical application. Thus Renaissance architectural theory has reached a ultimate goal, as can also be seen in the external aspect of the work. The* Regola *is no longer a treatise, but rather a series of engravings on copper with figures, numerical data and extremely concise explanations, not intended for a reader but for a user, conceived from the outset – as Vignola declares in his* proemio *– as a manual for the use of the author himself*[38]. *Thus the* Regola, *in a certain sense, is similar to the "master builders' books" (*Werkmeisterbücher*) of the late Gothic: it is no coincidence that its most important predecessor is the book on columns by the Swiss Hans Blum, published in Zurich in 1550.* "In a single glance, without the trouble of reading" *everything becomes understandable*[39]*: here we can sense the disdain of a professional (like Vignola) for the chatter of the amateurs, the sort of subliminal opposition to the rhetoric of the treatise-writers that can also be sensed in certain notes and fragments of Antonio da Sangallo – the man who, had his life of intense work left him with any spare time, could have written the anti-treatise of the Roman Renaissance. Naturally all this did not by any means signify the end of architectural treatise writing; by the second half of the 1500s the treatise had become an independent literary genre, detached from architectural practice. In 1550 there appeared in Florence, edited by Cosimo Bartoli, the richly illustrated Italian translation of Alberti's* De re aedificatoria, *a book which, by that time, was only of theoretical interest. The "Four Books of Architecture" of Andrea Palladio, published in 1570, show that their author was not only an architectural genius, but also an erudite scholar of antiquity and a brilliant writer. Vincenzo Scamozzi, author of a voluminous* Idea dell'architettura universale, *which was published in 1615 after twenty-five years of preparation, had already compiled, perhaps together with his father, Gian Domenico, a systematic index of the work of Serlio, and had edited the complete edition of his treatise, published in Venice in 1584. In this way architectural theory assumed the status of a sort of academic discipline.*

To conclude the overview, may be mentioned a little book by another Venetian author who, treating architecture from the viewpoint of the client, seems to reflect a certain pride in his condition as an aristocratic amateur: Alvise Cornaro, known to art historians as a humanist and as one of the first patrons of the architects of the mature Renaissance in northern Italy. At the ripe old age of 75, Cornaro has no desire to write, like the "divine Vitruvius" *or the* "great Leon Battista Alberti", *about theaters, amphitheaters, hot springs (which, at the time, were no longer used)*[40]*; he wants to furnish his peers with suggestions for the construction of a house. He passes over the learned discussions on the choice of the building site and its orientation: one builds on the land one owns, orienting the building in keeping with the pattern of the streets and the squares*[41]. *In like manner, he dismisses the notions of the earlier writers regarding different types of stone, wood, clay, cement: this kind of problems may well be left up to the expertise of local artisans*[42]. *From the study of ancient architecture Cornaro has learnt that circular edifices are particularly stable: the Pantheon is still standing, while the rectangular Roman temples are lying in ruins*[43]. *Where the orders of the columns are concerned, a subject about which so much had been written, Cornaro is not particularly interested: they are expensive, and contribute nothing to the solidity of the structure. As mere ornament they are not indispensable: "il Santo" of Padua is undoubtedly a fine edifice, without being* "Doric nor of any of those orders"[44]. *It is difficult to distinguish candor from irony. Architectural theory as a vanity fair, orders of columns as a masquerade: the conclusions reached, in his old age, by a man like Cornaro deserve to be taken more seriously than they usually are by the treatise readers.*

Notes

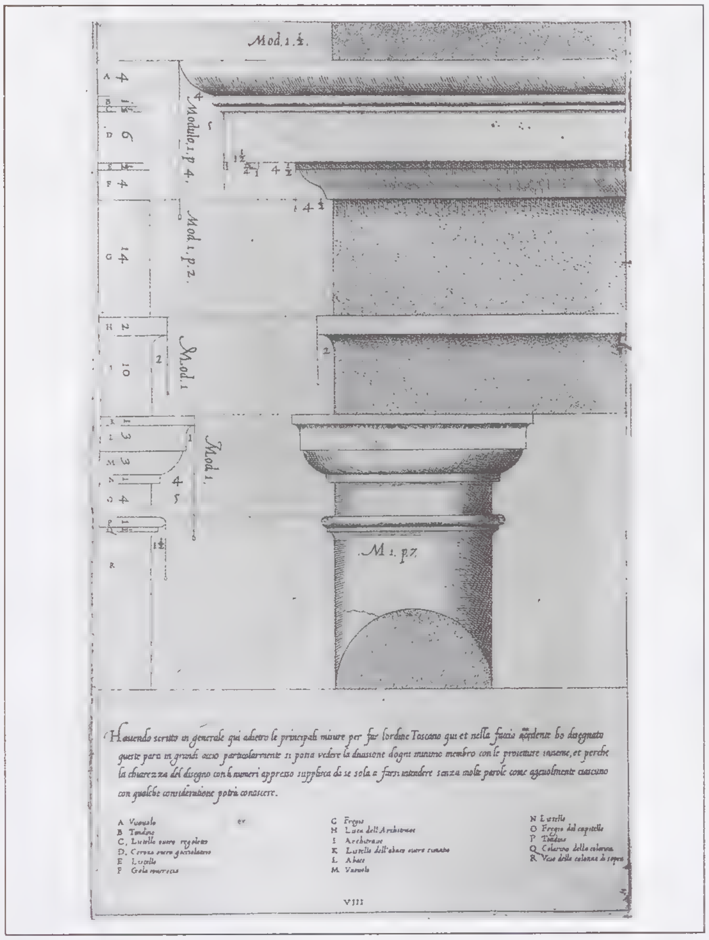
**Christof Thoenes was born in Dresden in 1928; he took a degree in medieval and modern art history in Berlin. He has taught in Berlin, Hamburg and Venice. He is a scientific adviser for the Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut), Rome, honorary professor at the University of Hamburg, member of the scientific board of the CISA Andrea Palladio, Vicenza, and of the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca in Rome. He is an expert on Italian art, from the 1400s to the 1700s, with particular focus on the history and theory of architecture in the Renaissance. He lives in Rome.*

A partially different version of this essay was published in German in the catalogue Architekturmodelle der Renaissance, *Munich, 1995, pp. 28-39. A separate essay will follow on the concept and the history of the orders of columns in the theory of the age of modern architecture. Some of the ideas mentioned here have been further developed in C. THOENES,* L'incarico imposto dall'economia. Appunti su committenza ed economia dai trattati d'architettura, *in A. ESCH, C.L. FROMMEL (edited by),* Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento, *Torino 1995, pp. 51-66.*

The background and contents of the treatises are thoroughly examined in H.W. KRUFT, Storia delle teorie architettoniche da Vitruvio al Settecento, *Bari 1988, with indications for the most important secondary sources. The original quotations come from the following editions: L. B. ALBERTI,* On Painting and Sculpture, *ed.*

14. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura, *Roma 1562: ordine toscano, capitello e trabeazione.*
15. Jacopo Tintoretto, Ritratto di Alvise Cornaro. Firenze, Galleria Palatina.
16. Andrea Palladio, I quattro libri dell'architettura, *Venezia 1570: Andrea Palladio, Villa Sarego, Miega di Cologna Veneta, Verona, 1562.*

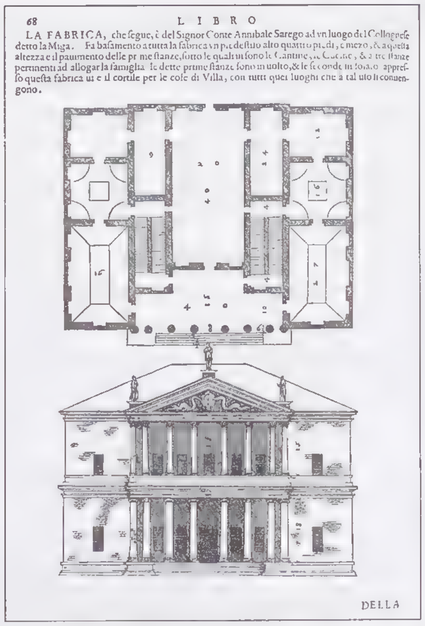
14. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura, *Rome, 1562: Tuscan order, capital and trabeation.*
15. Jacopo Tintoretto, Portrait of Alvise Cornaro. Florence, Galleria Palatina.
16. Andrea Palladio, I quattro libri dell'architettura, *Venice, 1570: Andrea Palladio, Villa Sarego, Miega di Cologna Veneta, Verona, 1562.*



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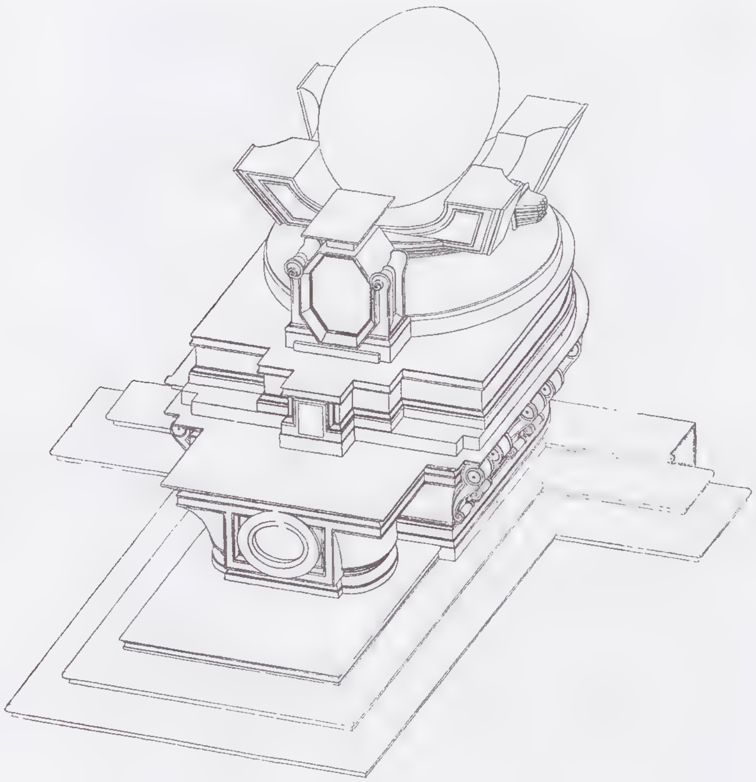
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Painting and Sculpture, a cura di C. Grayson, London 1972; L. B. ALBERTI, *De re aedificatoria*, a cura di G. Orlandi e P. Portoghesi, Milano 1966; A. AVERLINO detto il FILARETE, *Trattato di architettura*, a cura di M. Finoli e L. Grassi, Milano 1972; FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI, *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, a cura di C. Maltese, Milano 1967; L. PACIOLI, *De divina proportione*, in *Scritti rinascimentali di architettura*, a cura di A. Bruschi e a., Milano 1978; F. DI TEODORO, *Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la Lettera a Leone X*, Bologna 1994; A. DA SANGALLO, *Proemio*, in P. Barocchi (a cura di), *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*, III, Milano-Napoli 1977; P. ARETINO, *Il ragionamento delle corti*, in V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti*, Città del Vaticano 1936, 288; S. SERLIO, *Regole generali di architettura*, Venezia 1537, 1551; A. CORNARO, *Scritti sull'architettura*, a cura di P. Carpeggiani, Padova 1980; G. VASARI, *Le vite ...*, a cura di G. Milanesi, Firenze 1878-85; G. BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, *La regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*, 1562.
1) FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO, II, pp. 295 sg.
2) ALBERTI, II, p. 441.
3) ANONIMO GADDIANO, in C.V. FABRICZY, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, Stuttgart 1892, p. 448.
4) ALBERTI, II, p. 857.
5) FILARETE, I, p. 229.
6) SERLIO 1537, fol. V *r*.
7) ARETINO, p. 288.
8) ALBERTI, II, p. 855.
9) FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO, II, p. 294.
10) ALBERTI, II, p. 863.
11) FILARETE, I, p. 40.
12) ALBERTI, I, p. 13.
13) FILARETE, I, p. 238.
14) ALBERTI, I, p. 13.
15) SERLIO 1551, fol. II *r*.
16) VASARI, V, p. 430.
17) SANGALLO, p. 3029.
18) ALBERTI, I, p. 245.
19) ALBERTI, *De pictura*, p. 32.
20) ALBERTI, II, p. 565.
21) ALBERTI, II, p. 445.
22) FILARETE, I, p. 119 sg.
23) FILARETE, II, p. 614.
24) FILARETE, II, p. 616.
25) FILARETE, II, p. 615.
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1

Progetto e *Ricerca*: Manfredo Tafuri come critico e come storico

*Daniel Sherer**

Per Tafuri, Piranesi prospettava un problema dialettico. In *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* egli sostiene che né Protopiro né Didascalo – i contrapposti dialoganti del *Parere sull'architettura* (1765) – sono il portavoce dell'autore; è invece il loro continuo scambio di idee a esprimere la complessità della visuale piranesiana: "(...) *E' singolare che finora non ci si sia accorti che l'autore non partecipa per nessuno dei due, ma presenta una dialettica lacerante. L'altare di S. Maria del Priorato sull'Aventino ne è la esplicitazione architettonica, con la sua doppia faccia: narrativa, didascalica e causticamente tardo-barocca, nella fronte esposta al pubblico; astratta, antidescrittiva, di un allucinante simbolismo illuminista, nel retro, dove una sfera nuda è abbracciata da un solido geometrico, in una sorta di allegoria dell'ormai avvenuta* eclissi del sacro"[1].

Quest'osservazione è tipica di Tafuri, che tendeva a vedere un singolo fenomeno – in questo caso l'altare di San Basilio in S. Maria del Priorato (fig. 1) – come sintomatico di un più vasto processo culturale[2]. Tuttavia non è l'altare in sé a stimolare l'interpretazione storica di Tafuri, bensì il suo valore analogico rispetto al contrasto di opinioni nel *Parere*: esaminati insieme, l'altare e il dialogo non sono soltanto oggetto di una discussione di carattere formale o antiquario, ma rappresentano un momento decisivo della nostra storia, l'"eclissi del sacro" illuministica. Quest'analisi parallela è un esempio del dialogo fra critica e storia che impegnò Tafuri durante tutta la sua attività; essa anticipa anche la dialettica implicita nel suo rapporto col pensiero illuministico e le tensioni che si manifestano quando la ragione architettonica riflette su se stessa. Certo, non si può sostenere che l'idea di Tafuri di una storia critica "*che fa esplodere la carica dei valori*"[3] in Piranesi derivi da coordinate teoriche fisse (anche se, come vedremo, nel percorso intellettuale di Tafuri fu essenziale la tesi weberiana del "*disincanto del mondo*"). Quest'osservazione potrebbe essere generalizzata, giacché il carattere dinamico dell'opera storica di Tafuri, in cui si avvicendano l'adesione all'oggetto e la presa di distanza da esso, lo rese diffidente delle sterili opposizioni tra la prospettiva teorica e quella empirica[4]. Tuttavia, nonostante il suo scetticismo verso questa divisione convenzionale del lavoro intellettuale, l'idealismo storiografico – che tradizionalmente fa uso di concetti per indirizzare una ricerca fondata su fatti, sia pure entro un rigoroso "circolo metodologico" – fornì a Tafuri un punto di partenza e non un punto di arrivo[5]. Sebbene critica e storia fossero componenti di egual peso del suo "*progetto storico*"[6], in esso siamo di fronte a una sintesi che non è astratta né armoniosa: "*Fra il discorso critico fatto con l'architettura e*

Progetto *and* Ricerca *: Manfredo Tafuri as Critic and Historian*

*Daniel Sherer**

For Tafuri, Piranesi presented a dialectical problem. In Teorie e Storia dell'Architettura, *he argues that neither Protopiro nor Didascalo – opposed interlocutors in the* Parere sull'architettura *(1765) – represent their author's voice. Rather, their incessant exchange of ideas conveys the complexity of Piranesi's standpoint: "(...)* it is odd that, up to now no one has realized that the author does not take sides, but offers instead an agonising dialectic. The altar of S. Maria del Priorato on the Aventine is its explicit architectural realization, with its double side: narrative, didactic and caustically late Baroque – facing the public; abstract, anti-descriptive, and of haunting Illuminist symbolism – at the back, where a naked sphere is embraced by a geometrical solid figure, in a sort of allegory of the already achieved eclipse of the sacred"[1].

This observation is typical of Tafuri, who tended to see such singular phenomena as the altar of San Basilio in S. Maria del Priorato (fig.1) as symptomatic of wider cultural processes[2]. Yet it is not the altar as such, but its analogical value with respect to the clash of views in the Parere, *which motivates Tafuri's historical interpretation. Thus, when seen together, altar and dialogue do not only stand for a dispute of formal or antiquarian character, but embody a decisive moment in our own history, the Enlightenment* "eclipse of the sacred". *These paired episodes can introduce the dialogue between criticism and history that occupied Tafuri throughout his career. Furthermore, they anticipate the dialectic implicit in his own relation to Enlightenment thought, and the drama that unfolds when architectural reason reflects on itself. To be sure, one cannot affirm that Tafuri's formulation of a critical history* "exploding the charge of values"[3] *in Piranesi derives from fixed theoretical coordinates (though we shall see that Max Weber's thesis of the* "disenchantment of the world" *was crucial to Tafuri's ongoing intellectual path). This observation might be generalized, since the dynamic character of Tafuri's historical work, alternating closeness to and distance from the object, made him suspicious of sterile oppositions between theoretical and empirical perspectives[4]. Yet despite his diffidence towards this conventional division of intellectual labor, historiographical idealism – which traditionally uses concepts to guide research based on facts, albeit in a strict "methodical circle" – gave Tafuri a point of departure, not a point of arrival[5]. Although criticism and history were equal participants in his* "progetto storico"[6], *in this enterprise we confront a synthesis neither abstract nor*

quello specifico della storia, non può esistere una complementarietà: essi possono colloquiare fra loro, ma non completarsi a vicenda, poiché i due discorsi si trovano inevitabilmente in competizione"[7]. Tafuri non si limitava a innestare una critica che cerca d'interpretare l'oggetto su una prassi storiografica che lo verifica e lo ricostruisce stando ai documenti e ai fatti; al contrario, egli seguiva un percorso inteso a superare la tradizionale sintesi idealistica di filologia e filosofia. Questo percorso – in cui Tafuri si sforzava di cogliere la "*fragranza storica*" dei fenomeni collocandoli in un contesto immanente di "*fatti negativi*"[8] – è indicato col termine polivalente di "*progetto*"[9]. Esso implica un *work in progress* e un preciso compito teorico: non già una sintesi tra orizzonte storico e progetto, ma la scoperta di una posizione epistemologica intermedia fra i due[10]. E' al tempo stesso opera di un architetto che concepiva la storia come un coesistere di forme e di problemi e opera di uno storico che concepiva l'architettura come un susseguirsi di fenomeni culturali e sociali. Uno dei contributi più importanti di Tafuri consiste nell'aver intrecciato dialetticamente queste due prospettive, conservando (come Piranesi nel *Parere*) la *conjunctio oppositorum.*

Per Tafuri l'architettura era un'istituzione segnata da periodiche fratture: un mondo intricato di forme, usi e significati, articolato simultaneamente su vari livelli. Era insomma un metalinguaggio soggetto a una mediazione storica e sociale, una concatenazione di linguaggi che fanno riferimento alla propria logica interna e insieme assorbono la pressione delle circostanze esterne[11]. Carlo Olmo ha fatto a questo proposito un'osservazione acuta: "*Il progetto, non solo l'opera, è strumento complesso per leggere la stratificazione di valori che società, culture, religioni, credenze, saperi specialistici depositano e che solo un'architettura conserva nel tempo* (...)"[12]. In *Ricerca del Rinascimento* Tafuri parla di "*movimenti di medio periodo*" emergenti tra il clamoroso erompere dell'evento e la tacita continuità della *longue durée*[13]; nello stesso modo sembra essere costituito per Tafuri il "progetto". Le nostre riflessioni non vanno intese peraltro nel senso che il "progetto" fosse per lui una categoria statica; per chiarire l'evolversi nel tempo di questo concetto, ho diviso il presente saggio in due parti. Nella prima cercherò di mostrare come il percorso seguito da Tafuri fra storia e critica negli anni Sessanta lo abbia portato a considerare le implicazioni che le analisi weberiane della razionalizzazione possono avere per la storia dell'architettura; quest'evoluzione raggiunse il suo culmine tra il 1968 e il 1973, ossia tra la collaborazione alla rivista "Contropiano" e la stesura di *Progetto e utopia*. Nella seconda parte cercherò invece di ricostruire il destino sotterraneo del "progetto" nella maniera di Tafuri di accostarsi al Rinascimento. Quest'esplorazione "sotterranea", in cui lo scavo erudito del passato è associato alla messa in luce critica di ciò che l'erudizione tende di solito a nascondere[14], ravviva la sua concezione della filologia con intuizioni nate dallo studio delle avanguardie moderne, in particolare di Le Corbusier. Alla luce di questo interscambio tra motivi storici e motivi critici, trattando di Tafuri non è possibile tracciare una distinzione netta fra "progetto" e "ricerca"; è importante invece sottolineare "l'armonia e i conflitti" tra i due poli. L'ambigua associazione generata da questi momenti diversi fece sì che le sue analisi si spostassero dall'architettura come oggetto storico all'architettura come utopia antistorica. Tuttavia quell'associazione finì dialetticamente col ricondurre Tafuri allo studio delle relazioni tra passato e presente: negli anni Ottanta e Novanta i suoi interessi si concentrarono quindi su una critica della memoria culturale che implicava il concetto di "destino tragico" dell'architettura.

1. Dalla critica dell'oggetto al primato della storia (1962 1968)

Per cogliere i primi scambi fra critica e storia nell'opera di Tafuri occorre rifarsi a uno dei suoi saggi meno noti, quello sull'architettura siciliana sotto Federico II[15]. Scritto nel 1962, esso fu probabilmente la prima manifestazione del suo interesse per i momenti di transizione culturale e stilistica. In questo scritto la "critica" ha una duplice funzione: presentare l'oggetto architettonico con dovizia di particolari descrittivi e mettere in rapporto la sua singolarità con cicli culturali più vasti[16]. Nei due palazzi di Taormina studiati da Tafuri le forme gotiche e i motivi normanni, catalani e islamici che le contaminano confluiscono in una difficile sintesi. Tafuri rilevava negli architetti di questi monumenti un "*bisogno confuso*" di "*verificare la* (...) *coerenza storica*" dei loro strumenti progettuali. Ciò implicava inoltre una specie di "critica operativa" alla rovescia: il riconoscimento dell'attualità di un linguaggio alle prese con una trasformazione che Tafuri metteva in relazione con la crisi dell'architettura italiana contemporanea[17]. Il saggio in questione dimostra che nei primi anni Sessanta Tafuri era interessato ad almeno tre temi critici, tutti destinati a riemergere (sia pure in forma diversa) in *Ricerca del Rinascimento*: la rilevanza delle singole opere di architettura, anche eccezionali, per la comprensione di processi storici più vasti; le anticipazioni dialettiche di nuove epoche e di nuovi orizzonti artistici; e l'importanza delle opere che emergono negli interstizi fra stili, periodi e ambiti culturali contigui.

Nel 1962 questa critica descrittiva dell'oggetto sottintendeva il bisogno dell'architettura di trovare la sua giusta collocazione

harmonious. As he put it, "There cannot be a true complementarity between architectural and historical critical discourses: they can converse with each other, but they cannot complete each other, because they find themselves, inevitably, in competition"[7]. *Hence, Tafuri did not simply graft a criticism which tries to interpret the object onto a historiographic practice that verifies and reconstructs it according to documents and facts. Instead, he pursued a path that tried to surpass traditional idealist syntheses of philology and philosophy.*
This path – which strove to capture the "historical scent" *of phenomena while placing them in an immanent context of* "negative facts"[8] *– is designated by the multivalent term* "progetto"[9]. *This word implies "work in progress" and a definite theoretical task: not the fusion of the horizons of history and design but the discovery of an epistemological standpoint between the two*[10]. *It is at once the work of an architect who conceived of history as a coexistence of forms and problems, and the work of a historian who conceived of architecture as a succession of cultural and social phenomena. One of Tafuri's most important contributions is to have woven the two perspectives together dialectically, preserving (as Piranesi did in the* Parere*) the* conjunctio oppositorum.
For Tafuri, architecture was an institution shaken by periodic ruptures. An intricate world of forms, uses and meanings, it was articulated at different levels simultaneously. In short, it was a metalanguage subject to historical and social mediation: a concatenation of languages which refer to their own internal logic while absorbing the pressure of external circumstances[11]. *Carlo Olmo has made an acute suggestion in this regard:* "The project, and not only the building, is a complex tool in which one can read the layers of values deposited by society, culture, religion, beliefs and specialized knowledge; only architecture conserves these layers over time *(…)*"[12]. *In the* Ricerca del Rinascimento, *Tafuri speaks of* "movimenti di medio periodo" *emerging between the clamorous eruption of the event and the silent continuity of* longue duree[13]. *Is not the* "progetto" *similarly constituted for Tafuri?*
These reflections should not be taken to imply that "progetto" *was a static category in Tafuri's work. To clarify its changes over time I have divided this essay into two parts. In the first I try to show that the path Tafuri followed between history and criticism in the 1960's led him to consider the implications of Weber's analyses of rationalisation for the history of architecture. This itinerary reached its ultimate point of development between 1968 and 1973 (between his participation in the journal* Contropiano *and* Progetto e utopia*). In the second part, I trace the subterranean destiny of the* "progetto". *in Tafuri's approach to the Renaissance. This "underground" exploration (at once erudite excavation of the past and critical exposure of what erudition usually tends to hide)*[14] *enlivens his concept of philology with insights gained from studying modern avant-gardes (especially Le Corbusier) In light of this interchange of historical and critical motives, when dealing with Tafuri one cannot draw a sharp distinction between* progetto *and* ricerca . *Instead, it is important to stress* "l'armonia e i conflitti" *between the two. The ambiguous conjunction generated by these different moments moved his analyses from architecture as historical object to architecture as anti-historical utopia. Yet, in dialectical fashion, it ultimately brought Tafuri back to study relations between past and present. His focus in the 1980's and '90's thus involved a critique of cultural memory that implicated the concept of architecture's "tragic destiny."*

1. From Criticism of the Object to the Primacy of History (1962-1968)

To grasp the first exchanges between criticism and history in Tafuri's work it is necessary to return to one of his most overlooked contributions. This was his 1962 essay on Sicilian architecture under Frederick II[15]*: probably the earliest example of Tafuri's interest in moments of cultural and stylistic transition. In this essay* "critica" *serves a dual function: to expose the architectural object in rich descriptive detail, and to relate its singularity to wider cultural cycles*[16]. *In the palaces that Tafuri studied, Gothic forms shot through with Norman, Catalan and Islamic motives converged in a difficult synthesis. Tafuri pointed to a "confused need" on part of the architects of the Taormina monuments to* "verificare la *(…)* coerenza storica" *of their design instruments. This, moreover, implied a kind of "operative criticism" in reverse: an exposure of the actuality of a language in the throes of transformation which he linked to contemporary Italian architectural crises*[17]. *This essay shows that in the early 1960's at least three critical themes occupied Tafuri, all of which would return (albeit in different form) in the* Ricerca del Rinascimento*: the pertinence of individual, even exceptional works of*

storica e la sua sfera di coerenza stilistica entro un caos di linguaggi in competizione tra loro. Ma il colloquio fra critica e storia non era limitato a questi parametri, né era vincolato a un particolare periodo. Il successivo passaggio di Tafuri dall'interesse per il Medioevo a quello per il Barocco, sullo sfondo di problematiche contemporanee (tra i primi libri da lui pubblicati uno riguarda il suo "maestro" Ludovico Quaroni)[18], complicò ulteriormente una situazione già piena di tensioni. Esse esplosero nel suo lavoro su Borromini: negli anni della preparazione di *Teorie e storia* questi divenne per Tafuri, insieme a Brunelleschi[19], il più importante architetto del passato avente una rilevanza critica per l'attualità.

Ispirato almeno in parte da Portoghesi, da Leo Steinberg e molto probabilmente dal Panofsky di *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, Tafuri si accostò a Borromini dal punto di vista formale e da quello filosofico, prima di studiarne i disegni per ricostruire il suo procedimento progettuale. In primo luogo, per chiarire la logica interna della strategia critica di Borromini egli si richiamò a una specifica prospettiva filosofica, la monadologia di Leibniz[20]. Pertanto né l'ondulazione della facciata di S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, né la complessa spazialità di S. Ivo, né le calcolate prospettive di Palazzo Spada (fig. 4) rappresentano dei "riflessi" architettonici della filosofia o della scienza contemporanee; questi caratteri rappresentano piuttosto dei contributi autonomi a un universo culturale di cui in seguito avrebbe fatto parte lo stesso Leibniz. Tafuri riteneva dunque che i progetti di Borromini potessero essere visti come "anticipazioni" di una maniera di pensare in cui le parti e il tutto sono soggetti a un processo formativo che contempera dinamismo e ordine ed evidenzia aspetti diversi secondo il punto di vista adottato[21]. L'indagine filosofica e lo svolgersi del procedimento progettuale divengono qui aspetti complementari di un insieme mutevole di relazioni culturali. Alla luce di quest'associazione, è la funzione critica delle singolarità e delle differenze, più che il manifestarsi di un determinato *Zeitgeist*, a svolgere un ruolo fondamentale nella metodologia di Tafuri in questa fase della sua evoluzione[22].

In queste analisi i margini di autonomia del progetto sono concepiti come una specie di "disegno interno" che si oppone al contesto stilistico del suo tempo e usa il passato come un catalogo di fonti. Secondo Tafuri la trasformazione linguistica che Borromini avviò ed elaborò, e che fu poi trasmessa a Piranesi e alle successive avanguardie, fu di grande portata. In particolare, essa presupponeva nel Seicento un'accresciuta coscienza della storicità dell'architettura, connessa con la storiografia controriformistica di Baronio e con la fondazione dell'archeologia cristiana[23]. Più in generale, la contaminazione di forme classiche, paleocristiane, tardoantiche, medievali e cinquecentesche operata da Borromini [24] corrisponde per Tafuri al momento in cui per la prima volta l'architettura è divenuta consapevole del suo carattere contingente, in un mondo fin allora concepito come stabile e ordinato. Con ciò Borromini esponeva le origini e la parabola dell'architettura a una condizione di crisi permanente.

In *Teorie e storia* Tafuri sottolineò quest'aspetto osservando che "*l'operazione borrominiana introduce nell'universo classicista una vera e propria* esperienza della storia. *La storia, come la natura, non è più un valore a una sola dimensione: può contraddire il presente, può metterlo in dubbio, può imporre, con la sua complessità e la sua varietà, una scelta da motivare volta per volta*"[25]. In un precedente contributo su Borromini Tafuri aveva enunziato tesi analoghe: un anno prima, in un articolo su Palazzo Carpegna, egli aveva indicato le affinità tra alcuni precedenti cinquecenteschi caratterizzati dalla complessità spaziale (qui probabilmente egli pensava a Peruzzi) e i rapporti fra articolazione figurativa e unità formale nel vano ellittico che si apre all'interno del palazzo[26] (fig. 2). Mediante un approccio filologico ai documenti e ai disegni, Tafuri arrivò a importanti conclusioni sull'esperimento borrominiano: egli ne colse il valore di sintomo cercando di identificare le conseguenze linguistiche di un'antidogmatica "*immersione nella storia*"[27], capace di usare in modo libero e inventivo una pluralità di citazioni. Una simile crisi contrapponeva una "tipologia figurativa" dotata di una nuova autonomia a un lessico tipologico normativo che faceva riferimento a sperimentati modelli del passato[28]. Anche in questo caso le soluzioni radicali di Borromini apparivano illuminanti per i futuri sviluppi (ad esempio per la concezione piranesiana della città come "ordine infranto"), sviluppi che avrebbero rivelato anch'essi un'acuta consapevolezza del carattere contingente e flessibile del linguaggio classico[29].

La critica interna della tipologia divenne così uno dei motivi chiave di *Teorie e storia*, agendo come fulcro di una narrazione fatta di successive crisi, che dall'esperimento umanistico del Quattrocento si erano estese, attraverso l'Illuminismo, fino alle avanguardie novecentesche. Tuttavia questo saggio costituiva, più che una *summa* metodologica o un magistrale racconto di storia dell'architettura, uno strumento per accrescere la capacità critica sia del metodo che della narrazione. Il suo merito è di aver immerso l'architettura nelle sue contraddizioni interne e di aver esposto rigorosamente i suoi conflitti esterni in relazione al

architecture to the comprehension of wider historical processes; dialectical anticipations of new artistic eras and horizons; and the significance of works that emerge in the interstices between styles, periods, and cultures.

Thus, by 1962, descriptive criticism of the object implied architecture's need to find its pröper "historical locus" and its sphere of stylistic coherence within a welter of competing languages. Yet the colloquy between criticism and history was hardly confined to these parameters. Nor, for that matter, was it anchored to a specific period. His subsequent shift from medieval to Baroque interests against a background of contemporary concerns (one of his first published books was on his "maestro" *Ludovico Quaroni)*[18]*, further complicated a situation already pregnant with tensions. These exploded in his work on Borromini, who (apart from Brunelleschi)*[19] *became for Tafuri the most important architect of the past with critical actuality during the years leading up to* Teorie e storia.

Inspired, at least partly, by Portoghesi, Leo Steinberg and, quite possibly by the Panofsky of Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism, *Tafuri approached Borromini from the formal and the philosophical standpoint, before studying drawings with the aim of reconstructing his design process. In the first instance, he evoked a specific philosophical horizon (Leibnizian monadology) to expose the internal logic of Borromini's critical strategy*[20]*. In this sense neither the wavering facade of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, nor the complex spatiality of S. Ivo, nor even the calculated perspectives of Palazzo Spada (fig.4) represent architectural "reflections" of contemporary philosophy or science. On the other hand they represent autonomous contributions to a cultural universe in which Leibniz himself would subsequently participate. Thus Tafuri implies that Borromini's projects could be seen as "anticipations"* (anticipazioni) *of a mode of thought in which parts and wholes are subject to a formative process balancing dynamism and order, revealing different aspects depending on one's point of view*[21]*. Here philosophical inquiry and the unfolding of the design process become complementary aspects of a changing ensemble of cultural relationships. In light of this conjunction, the critical function of singularities and differences, rather than the expression of a period* Zeitgeist, *played a fundamental role in Tafuri's method at this point in his development*[22]*.*

In these analyses, the project's margins of autonomy are conceived as a sort of "disegno interno" *that resists its contemporary stylistic context while using the past as an indifferent ensemble of sources. In Tafuri's view, the linguistic transformation Borromini initiated, refined, and passed on to Piranesi and subsequent avant-gardes was massive. Specifically it presupposed an increased awareness of architecture's historicity in the seventeenth century, in connection with the Counterreformation historiography of Baronius and the foundations of Christian archeology*[23]*. In a more general sense, Borromini's hybridization of classical, Paleo-Christian, late antique, medieval, and sixteenth century forms*[24]*, represented, for Tafuri, the first time that architecture became aware of its contingency in a world once thought stable and ordered. Borromini thereby exposed architecture's origins, as well as its trajectory, to permanent crisis.*

Tafuri underscored this point in Teorie e storia *by observing that* "Borromini's work introduces, in the Classicist world, a genuine *experience of history*. History, like nature, is no longer a one-dimensional value: history may contradict the present, may put it in doubt, may impose, with its complexity and variety, a choice to be motivated each successive time"[25]. *Tafuri enunciated similar theses in a previous contribution on the Bissonese architect. A year earlier, in an article on Palazzo Carpegna, he indicated the affinity between sixteenth century precedents characterized by spatial complexity (here Tafuri probably had Peruzzi in mind) and relations between figural articulation and formal unity in the central ellipse that erupts within the body of the palace*[26] *(fig.2) Adopting a philological approach to documents and drawings, Tafuri came to important conclusions about the Borrominian experiment. He grasped its symptomatic value when trying to locate the linguistic effects of the anti-dogmatic* "plunge into history"[27] *able to use a variety of quotations in a free and inventive way. This crisis pitted a newly autonomous "figural typology" against the normative typological lexicon which referred to well-tried models from the past*[28]*. Here, too, Borromini's radical solutions cast a prospective light on future developments (e.g., the conception of the city as* "ordine infranto" *in Piranesi) which for their part also revealed an acute awareness of the contingency and flexibility of the classical language*[29]*.*

The internal critique of typology thus became one of the key motives in Teorie e storia, *where it operated as a pivot in a narrative made up of successive crises. These extended from*

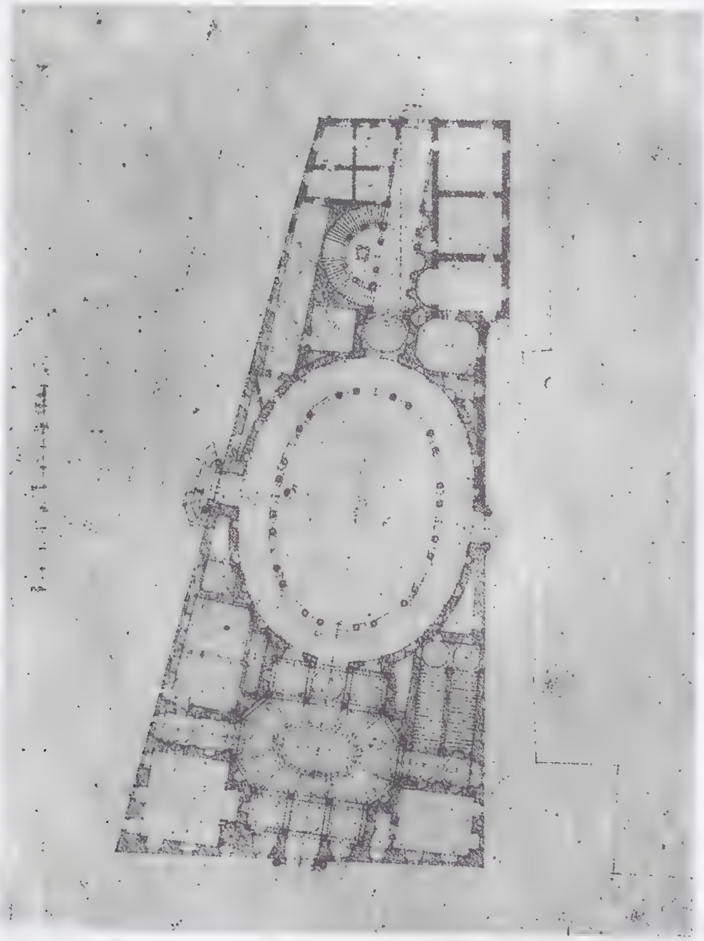
2. Francesco Borromini, Palazzo Carpegna, Roma, 1630-49 c.: pianta del piano terreno del IV progetto. Da: M. Tafuri, Borromini in Palazzo Carpegna, *in "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura", n.79/84, 1968, fig. 28.*
3. Andrea Palladio, Villa Repeta, Campiglia dei Berici, Vicenza, 1557-58 c.: disegno da I quattro libri dell'architettura. *Da: M.Tafuri,* Committenza e tipologia nelle ville palladiane, *in "Bollettino CISA Andrea Palladio", n.11, 1969, fig. 81.*

mutare delle condizioni storiche. Tafuri ha rimodellato qui la storia dell'architettura attribuendo alla critica almeno tre sensi: quello *semiologico* di moltiplicazione dei significati; quello *operativo* di indagine sulla storia dell'architettura come storia della sua attualità; e quello *filologico* di recupero dei codici del passato e del confronto delle divergenze che emergono, nel tempo, tra le varie letture di uno stesso oggetto[30].
Nella stesura di questo libro il confronto con la sociologia storica di Weber ebbe implicitamente un ruolo la cui importanza è stata offuscata dalla soverchiante impronta lasciata su di essa dallo strutturalismo. L'analisi weberiana condotta subito dopo da Tafuri sulla trasvalutazione della tipologia classica nelle ville di Palladio (1969) può essere intesa come una verifica dell'identificazione teorica di critica e storia proposta un anno prima in *Teorie e storia*.
L'interesse di Tafuri per Palladio prese l'avvio dalla ricerca svolta da Wolfgang Lotz sull'applicazione di alcuni elementi linguistici dell'architettura sacra al tema profano della villa[31]. Un simile approccio presupponeva un'indagine storica e formale della tipologia "critica" di Palladio. Visto attraverso le scelte religiose e intellettuali dei committenti, lo scardinamento dei tipi edilizi classici compiuto da Palladio diventava il modello di un' "architettura disincantata"[32]. Il fatto che un edificio profano come la villa potesse avere caratteri tipologici un tempo riservati all'architettura sacra (cupole, pronai frontonati tipici delle facciate di tempio) stava a indicare un profondo cambiamento ideologico. Come i valori sacri del tipo venivano contraddetti, così una gradazione di valori architettonici privi di continuità segnava gli spazi funzionali, residenziali e celebrativi. Ad esempio nella Villa Repeta a Campiglia il collegamento del corpo principale con le barchesse non era visto come un'eccezione alla regola palladiana, ma piuttosto come un manifesto critico della sua "*poetica tipologica*"[33] (fig. 3). Per verificare quest'ipotesi Tafuri forniva due prove: primo, molti dei committenti veneti di Palladio erano accomunati dal non conformismo religioso e da simpatie criptoprotestanti[34]; secondo, il palladianesimo conobbe la sua massima diffusione nei paesi protestanti e non in quelli cattolici[35]. In entrambi i casi Tafuri metteva in evidenza modifiche tipologiche che acquistavano un valore critico nuovo a livello di relazioni combinatorie; e lo faceva allo scopo di comprendere gli specifici conflitti sociali che questi cambiamenti risintetizzavano in astrazione formale[36]. La desacralizzazione di un mondo investito da processi di razionalizzazione implicava dunque specifici mutamenti di forma e di funzione architettonica. Da questo punto di vista

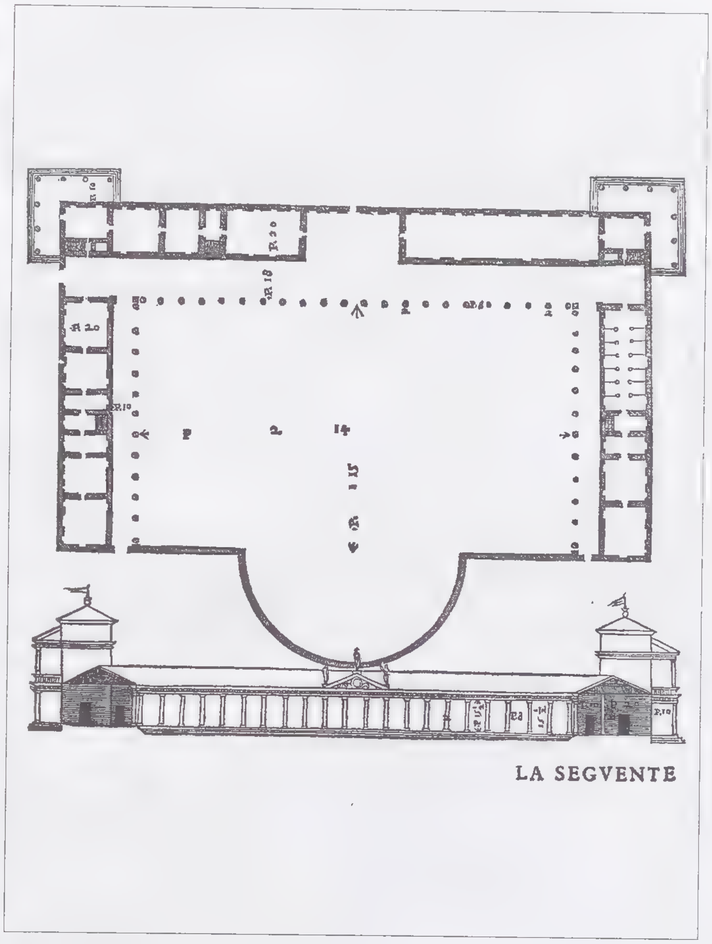
the humanist experiment of the Quattrocento through the Enlightenment onto the twentieth century avant-gardes. Yet this book was not so much a summa *of approaches nor a master narrative of architectural history as a means to make method and narration more critical. Its merit is to have submerged architecture in its internal contradictions and to have rigorously explained its external conflicts with reference to changing historical conditions. In this study Tafuri recast the discipline in terms of at least three senses of criticism: in its* semiological *sense as multiplication of meanings; in its* operative *sense as investigation of the history of architecture as the history of its actuality; and in its* philological *sense as recovery of the codes of the past and comparison of the discrepancies that arise over time between different readings of the same object*[30].
When writing this work the confrontation with Weber's historical sociology played an implicit role which has been overshadowed by the overwhelming imprint structuralism has left on it. Tafuri's subsequent Weberian analysis of the transvaluation of classical typology in Palladio's villas (1969) can provide a test-case verifying the theoretical identification of criticism and history put forward a year earlier in Teorie e storia.
Tafuri's focus on Palladio took as its point of departure Wolfgang Lotz's analysis of the application of sacred linguistic elements to the secular villa[31]. *This approach presupposed historical and formal study of Palladio's "critical" typology. When read through his patrons' religious and intellectual choices, Palladio's unhinging of classical building types became the model of a "disenchanted architecture"*[32]. *That the secular villa could have typological features once reserved for sacred architecture (domes, pedimented porticoes typical of temple fronts) signalled a profound ideological shift. Just as sacred values of type were driven to their extreme opposite, so a gradation of architectural values purged of continuity marked functional, residential, and celebratory spaces. Thus the connection of the main body of the villa to the* barchesse *in the Villa Repeta at Campiglia was not seen as an exception to the Palladian rule, but rather as a critical manifesto of his* "typological poetics"[33] *(fig.3). To verify this hypothesis Tafuri adduced two pieces of evidence: first, that a significant number of Palladio's patrons in the Veneto were linked by religious nonconformism and crypto-Protestant sympathies*[34]*; second, that Palladianism enjoyed its greatest diffusion in Protestant, not Catholic countries*[35].

4. *Francesco Borromini, Palazzo Spada, Roma, 1635 c.: vista della colonnata prospettica. Da: P. Portoghesi,* Borromini. Architettura come linguaggio, *Milano-Roma 1967, fig.132.*

2. *Francesco Borromini, Palazzo Carpegna, Rome, 1630-49 ca.: plan of the ground floor in the fourth design. From: M. Tafuri,* Borromini in Palazzo Carpegna, *in "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura", n.79/84, 1968, fig. 28.*
3. *Andrea Palladio, Villa Repeta, Campiglia dei Berici, Vicenza, 1557-58 c.: drawing from the "Four Books of Architecture". From: M. Tafuri,* Committenza e tipologia nelle ville palladiane, *in "Bollettino CISA Andrea Palladio", n.11, 1969, fig. 81.*
4. *Francesco Borromini, Palazzo Spada, Rome, 1635 c.: view of the perspective colonnade of the main entrance. From: P. Portoghesi,* Borromini. Architettura come linguaggio, *Milan-Rome, 1967, fig.132.*



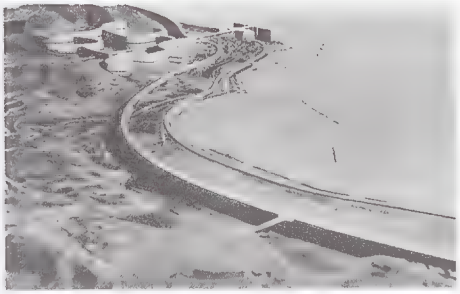
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Palladio non fu il primo a compiere una consapevole trasvalutazione dell'architettura, ma fu, ancor più di Serlio, il massimo architetto di statura internazionale che inaugurasse una continuità "critica" con le forme classiche: una convergenza instabile, la cui capacità inventiva modificava radicalmente l'universo di significati dell'architettura civile e residenziale.

2. La crisi dell'utopia: l'ideologia architettonica e l' "opera disincantata"

Se ci chiediamo quale aspetto del pensiero weberiano abbia avuto per Tafuri un interesse metodologico più generale, la risposta non dovrebbe essere difficile: fu infatti nell'ambiente di "Contropiano" (definito da Alberto Asor Rosa, in un acuto saggio, d'importanza decisiva per lo sviluppo intellettuale di Tafuri)[37] che l'analisi di Massimo Cacciari sul "mondo disincantato" weberiano si combinò per la prima volta con quella di Tafuri sulla teoria critica di Adorno[38]. Più precisamente, la critica della concezione adorniana dell'Illuminismo finì con l'esercitare un'ambigua pressione sul capitolo sulle "avventure della ragione" in *Progetto e utopia*[39] e sulla lettura di Piranesi proposta in *La sfera e il labirinto*[40]. Questi fermenti assunsero la forma di un colloquio tra la storia e la teoria della razionalità capitalistica e il destino "interno" dell'opera d'arte: ciò rappresentava un tentativo di trattare in modo dialettico la dissoluzione benjaminiana dell' "aura", indipendentemente da quella che Tafuri chiamava – a ragione o no – la "*nostalgia*" estetica di Adorno[41]. In un passo di tono nettamente weberiano della *Aesthetische Theorie* di Adorno, citato da Tafuri nel 1975, si può percepire il percorso dell'architettura nelle sue varie modalità di ricezione: "*Anche le opere d'arte disincantate sono qualcosa di più di quanto per loro non sarebbe opportuno. Il 'valore d'esposizione', che in esse dovrebbe sostituire l'auratico 'valore di culto', è un'imago del processo di scambio*"[42].

A questo punto può sembrare che ci siamo allontanati a dismisura dalle coordinate intellettuali che contraddistinguono il saggio del 1962 sull'architettura federiciana. Ma è un'impressione ingannevole: non bisogna infatti sottovalutare la capacità di Tafuri di sintetizzare anche i materiali intellettuali più disparati. Il problema da lui affrontato nel 1962 – l'attualità critica del passato, inteso in termini di "cicli" del linguaggio architettonico – fu visto in un'ottica diversa nel 1969 e ancora nel 1975 e nel 1980. In questa nuova visuale il concetto di ciclo architettonico fu associato alla critica dell'ideologia utopistica; a sua volta la rottura con il vocabolario classico implicita in Palladio e nel palladianesimo (rottura che era in sé una tendenza antiutopistica) rivelava la *facies hippocratica* di un'architettura interamente razionalizzata.

La critica dell'ideologia architettonica, ispirata tanto da Weber quanto da Marx o da Althusser, fu così assimilata a una critica "interna" della dialettica illuministica del pensiero razionale. Tramite quest'ultima l'architettura perse i suoi sacri valori, la sua "aura", e finì col subire quel processo epistemologico che la collega più chiaramente alla modernità: una modalità di rappresentazione storica che Tafuri, riprendendo un'espressione di Robert Klein, chiamò "*angoscia del referente*"[43].

Alla luce di quanto si è detto, possiamo vedere come, dal saggio del 1969 *Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica*[44] (prima versione di *Progetto e utopia*) al saggio del 1975 *Architettura e storiografia* (prima versione del *Progetto storico* in *La sfera e il labirinto*), Tafuri sia giunto a una posizione ricca di nuove possibilità. Tuttavia alcuni aspetti di essa ebbero un ruolo più decisivo di altri nella formulazione dei suoi obiettivi. Ciò vale soprattutto per l'idea che l'analisi del ruolo svolto dall'architettura nell'ambito di rapporti di produzione astratti[45] sia meno importante di un tipo nuovo di storia: una storia critica sensibile al carattere dialettico dell' "opera disincantata", aperta a una "diagnosi obiettiva" della perdita di valore che interviene quando l'architettura affronta direttamente il programma illuministico di razionalizzazione del mondo[46].

Questo processo non stimolò solo una ricerca orientata verso l'oggetto, ma anche una ricerca orientata verso il problema[47]. La nozione tafuriana di "ricerca" acquistava ora una portata sufficiente a consentirgli di collegare l'approccio all'utopia urbana immaginata da Le Corbusier alla comprensione delle tensioni sottostanti all'architettura rinascimentale. Pertanto il concentrarsi di Tafuri su temi rinascimentali negli anni Ottanta non fu connesso – come i suoi critici hanno sostenuto – a un distacco dagli urgenti problemi che si ponevano all'architettura moderna e contemporanea. Al contrario, questo filone della sua ricerca dimostra il suo interesse per le antinomie che caratterizzano le utopie in *tutti* i momenti storici dell'avanguardia. Un'utopia poteva contribuire all'interpretazione di un'altra, non nella prospettiva esplicita della loro "attualità", ma in quella implicita dei rispettivi insuccessi ideologici, dell'incapacità di tradurre in realtà le proprie intenzioni[48].

Elaborate l'una rispetto all'altra, queste tesi potevano essere lette come differenti erosioni storiche, modifiche e impreviste assonanze del retaggio architettonico: lo si può verificare mettendo a confronto le analisi dedicate da Tafuri a Le Corbusier col suo lavoro sul Sansovino. Mentre nelle prime egli



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5. Le Corbusier, Piano urbanistico per Algeri (Plan Obus), progetto A, 1930: vista del modello. In M. Tafuri, Progetto e utopia, *Bari 1973, fig.19.*
6. Le Corbusier, Appartamento Beistegui, Parigi, 1930-31: vista della terrazza-solarium.

5. Le Corbusier, Urban plan for Algiers (Plan Obus), project A, 1930. From: M. Tafuri, Progetto e utopia, *Bari 1973, fig. 19.*
6. Le Corbusier, Beistegui apartment, Paris, 1930-31: view of the terrace-solarium.

In both cases Tafuri focussed on typological modifications which acquired new value at the level of combinatory relations. He did this in order to understand the precise social conflicts which these changes resynthesized in formal abstraction[36]. The desacralization of a world caught up in processes of rationalisation thus implied precise mutations of architectural form and function. From this standpoint, Palladio was not the first to effect a conscious "Umwertung" of architecture. Yet he did become the most important architect of international stature (even more than Serlio) to inaugurate a "critical" continuity with classical forms: an unstable convergence whose inventiveness left the universe of civil and domestic meanings radically altered.

2. The Crisis of Utopia: Architectural Ideology and the "Disenchanted Work"

But what was it in Weber that was of more general methodological interest to Tafuri? The answer is, perhaps, not hard to find: for it was in the ambit of Contropiano (which Alberto Asor Rosa, in an insightful essay, has defined as pivotal for Tafuri's intellectual development)[37] that Massimo Cacciari's analysis of the Weberian "disenchanted world" first fused with Tafuri's critique of Adornian critical theory[38]. More precisely, this was a critique of Adorno's concept of the Enlightenment which came to exert an ambiguous pressure on the chapter on the "adventures of reason" in Progetto e Utopia[39] and on the reading of Piranesi formulated in The Sphere and the Labyrinth[40].

These ferments took the form of a colloquy between the history and theory of capitalist rationality and the "internal" destiny of the work of art. This constituted an attempt to treat the Benjaminian dissolution of the aura dialectically, apart from what Tafuri called (rightly or not) Adorno's aesthetic "nostalgia"[41]. Thus, in a passage with marked Weberian overtones from Adorno's Aesthetic Theory Tafuri cited in 1975, we can sense the trajectory of architecture in its various modes of reception: "even disenchanted 'works of art' acquire more than is opportune for them: their 'exhibition value' which replaces their 'cult value', is [thus] an "imago "of the process of exchange"[42]. Here we might seem to have wandered impossibly far from the intellectual coordinates of the 1962 essay on Federician architecture. But this impression is more apparent than real, since the synthetic power that Tafuri possessed over even the most disparate intellectual materials should not be underestimated. Hence, the same problem which occupied him in 1962 (the critical actuality of the past understood in terms of "cycles" of architectural language) was seen from a different optic in 1969 and, for that matter, in 1975 and 1980. This new standpoint combined the concept of architectural cycles and the critique of utopian ideology; in turn, the break with the classical lexicon implicit in Palladio and Palladianism (itself an anti-utopian move) exposed the facies hippocratica of a thoroughly rationalised architecture.

Thus the critique of architectural ideology, inspired as much by Weber as by Marx or Althusser, was assimilated to an "internal" critique of the Enlightenment dialectic of rational thought. Through the latter, architecture lost its sacred values, its aura, and, in the end, experienced that epistemological process which ties it most clearly to modernity. This was an historical modality of representation which Tafuri, citing an expression of Robert Klein's, called the "anguish of the referent"[43].

In light of the preceding, we can observe that from the Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica of 1969[44] (first version of Progetto e utopia) to the essay on Architettura e Storiografia in 1975 (first version of the Progetto Storico in The Sphere and the Labyrinth) Tafuri came to a position fraught with new possibilities. Nonetheless certain aspects of it played a more crucial role in articulating his objectives than others. Above all, Tafuri's suggestion that analysis of the role played by architecture within abstract relations of production[45] was not as important as a new kind of history. This was a critical history sensitive to the dialectical character of the "disenchanted work": one open to an "unprejudiced diagnosis" of the loss of value that arises when architecture squarely faces the Enlightenment project of rationalising the world[46].

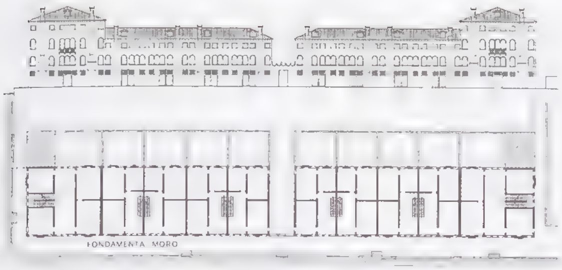
This process did not only activate an object-oriented, but also a problem-oriented research[47]. Here Tafuri's notion of "ricerca" acquired a scope ample enough to link his approach to the urban utopia envisioned by Le Corbusier to his understanding of the underlying tensions of Renaissance architecture. Hence Tafuri's increasing concentration on Renaissance topics in the 1980's did not go hand in hand with a turn away from urgent issues facing contemporary and modern architecture (as his critics have tended to assert). Rather, this pattern reveals his concern with antinomies that typify utopias in all historical. moments of

7. Jacopo Tatti detto Sansovino, Case Moro, Venezia, 1544: rilievo della pianta e della facciata su Rio San Girolamo nella ricostruzione dell'assetto originario proposta da Paolo Maretto. Da: M. Tafuri, Ricerca del Rinascimento, *Torino 1992, fig. 164.*

7. Jacopo Sansovino, Moro houses, Venice, 1544 ca.: study of the plan and the facade on Rio San Girolamo, in the reconstruction of the original arrangement proposed by Paolo Maretto. From: M. Tafuri, Ricerca del Rinascimento, *Turin, 1992, fig. 164.*

si occupa dei residui utopistici e dell'incapacità dell'architetto come "intellettuale puro" di risolvere i problemi pratici posti dal Piano Obus per Algeri[49] (fig. 5), nel secondo dimostra che nelle sue opere tarde Sansovino si allontanò volutamente dal linguaggio classico dell'Umanesimo, richiamandosi all'utopia veneziana di un ordine sociale originario, mantenuto a caro prezzo. Come Le Corbusier aveva realizzato nella Villa Beistegui (fig. 6) un modello abitativo che trasformava la città in un oggetto di contemplazione, in uno "strumento ricevente" capace di captare le vibrazioni filtrate attraverso il silenzio del *grand large*, così Sansovino aveva fatto delle Case Moro (fig. 7) il pretesto per una rinunzia linguistica che immergeva la *domus* patrizia in un'evocazione atemporale del silenzio[50]. Ma anche le differenze sono istruttive e possono dirci molto sui motivi critici dominanti in Tafuri, rivolti a scoprire le complesse interazioni fra l'architettura e i suoi contesti. Nella Parigi del XX secolo, per un'*élite* urbana a disagio l'utopia metropolitana significava isolarsi ermeticamente dalla città; nella Venezia del Cinquecento, per un'orgogliosa classe patrizia repubblicana significava invece aprire lo spazio abitativo alle tradizioni dell'architettura vernacola. Si è portati a vedere in questa strategia del Sansovino un esempio precoce di "realismo" architettonico, più che uno straniamento dello spettatore rispetto ai codici stabiliti[51]; fare quest'ultima ipotesi significherebbe infatti dare per scontato che il riguardante veneziano del Cinquecento fosse sensibile al linguaggio umanistico, il che potrebbe essere dimostrato solo in certi casi. Tafuri scoprì che nella Venezia del Rinascimento gli impulsi utopistici facevano parte di un clima politico e culturale segnato dall'erompere nel tessuto urbano di alcuni eventi eccezionali. Un esempio è offerto dalla sua applicazione della categoria critica del "romanismo", un movimento le cui contraddizioni interne emersero nel complesso ambiente culturale raccolto intorno al doge Andrea Gritti[52]. In questo clima il Palazzo Grimani a Santa Maria Formosa, analizzato in *Venezia e il Rinascimento* (1985) e tuttora privo di attribuzione, era solo la manifestazione più vistosa di un vasto processo in cui erano associate posizioni politiche, proposte formali e strategie di resistenza seguite dalle *élite* umanistiche. In esso l'architettura mostrava la sua *facies hippocratica* dinanzi a due pubblici contrapposti: per i "giovani", che sostenevano la tradizione veneziana, l'esterno era contrassegnato da un'abolizione della retorica non dissimile da quella attuata nelle Case Moro; per i "vecchi", fortemente legati al papato e alla sua trionfale appropriazione dello stile "all'antica", l'interno esplodeva in forme bizzarre spinte ai limiti dell'eccesso[53] (figg. 6,7). Il mito di un ordine sociale stabile, che non faceva che inasprire le tensioni insite nel progetto umanistico, esercita qui una pressione che infrange l'ordine stesso: ne risulta una crisi per cui l'utopia si scinde in due metà, l'una rivolta all'esterno e l'altra rivolta all'interno, che rappresentano delle antitesi critiche facenti parte di un sistema di esclusioni.

Quando Tafuri si propone in *Ricerca del Rinascimento* di analizzare l'uso rinascimentale dell'antico, il ritorno alle origini coincide con la crisi del tentativo umanistico di ripristinare il passato classico. Ne consegue una serie di paradossi: in questo testo salta agli occhi l'assenza di Palladio; Alberti finisce col costruire un'intera teoria architettonica antivitruviana che è metafisicamente "infondata" e priva di principi cosmologici; e la "gara" per il S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini si conclude con una severa condanna (specialmente da parte di Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane) del principale monumento antico superstite, il Pantheon, il cui *eidos* era, secondo i "moderni", più accessibile ai contemporanei che agli stessi antichi[54]. Quanto al Sansovino, abbiamo già visto come egli diventasse il protagonista di un'utopia che rinunziava alla retorica umanistica a favore di un ritorno all'idioma vernacolo. L'importanza di questi episodi apparentemente disparati non deriva dal sostegno *diretto* che essi potrebbero fornire a una posizione critica rivolta verso il presente[55]; piuttosto, essi servono tutti (un po' come nel saggio del 1962 sull'eterogeneità linguistica dell'architettura medievale siciliana) a dimostrare un'unica tesi. Questa tesi è che la capacità significante dell'architettura è pericolosamente vicina a perdite radicali di valore e di memoria, e può quindi diventare intellegibile solo mediante una specie di filologia *indiretta*. In *Ricerca del Rinascimento* Tafuri sostiene, non senza intento polemico, che il sistema di rappresentazione rinascimentale in cui si sviluppa anche l'architettura è in continuo mutamento e non è ristretto ai saldi principi ordinatori che Wittkower ha cercato di illustrare. L'emergere di divergenze critiche a ogni livello di architettura genera una successione di sistemi che produce e al tempo stesso mette in pericolo un'immanenza strutturale di uso, forma e significato. Gli stessi modelli antichi, se compresi in tutta la loro portata, mettono in crisi ogni tentativo di dedurre da essi regole immutabili. Il progetto è sottoposto allora a una continua dislocazione di codici, e anche quei programmi che consentono più efficacemente l'espansione culturale del linguaggio umanistico (ad esempio il sistema stabile di valori armonici che Alberti sembra difendere, mentre segretamente lo inficia)[56] funzionano entro margini di libertà ridotti. Non essendo affatto determinati solo dalla volontà della committenza, questi elementi di licenza risultano inerenti allo stesso processo



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the avant-garde. One utopia could help interpret another, not from the explicit horizon of their "actuality", but from the implicit horizon of their respective ideological failures, their inability to translate their intentions into reality[48]. *When worked out against each other, these theses became legible as different historical erosions, modifications, and unexpected assonances in the architectural legacy. To check this one might compare Tafuri's analyses of Le Corbusier to his work on Sansovino. While the former dealt with utopian residues and the failure of the architect as a "pure intellectual" to resolve practical problems presented by the Obus plan in Algiers*[49] *(fig.5), the latter demonstrated that Jacopo's late work deliberately removed itself from the classical language of humanism, thereby evoking the Venetian utopia of a pristine social order at a price. Just as Le Corbusier constructed a domestic model in the Villa Beistegui (fig.6) that turned the city into an object of contemplation, a "listening instrument" for vibrations filtered through the silence of the* "grand large"*, Sansovino made the urban Case Moro (fig.7) into a pretext for linguistic renunciation that submerged the patrician* domus *in a timeless evocation of silence*[50]. *Yet here the differences are also instructive and can tell us much about Tafuri's critical emphases. These tried to reveal the complex interplay between architecture and its contexts. In 20th century Paris, among a self-conscious urban elite, metropolitan utopia meant hermetically closing oneself off from the city; in 16th century Venice, among a proud republican patrician class, it meant opening domestic space to the traditions of vernacular architecture. To be sure, one might be inclined to see this critical maneuver on Sansovino's part as a precocious instance of architectural "realism", rather than a dislocation of the spectator vis-a-vis established codes*[51]. *For to assume the latter would be to take for granted that the sixteenth century Venetian spectator was sympathetic to the humanist language (an hypothesis demonstrable only in certain cases).*

Tafuri discovered that in Renaissance Venice, utopian impulses were part of a political and cultural climate marked by the eruption of exceptional moments in the urban fabric. This is exemplified by his application of the critical category of "Romanism", a movement whose internal contradictions rose to the surface in the complex cultural world presided over by Doge Andrea Gritti[52]. *In this climate the as yet unattributed palace of Santa Maria Formosa, analyzed in* Venezia e il Rinascimento *(1985), was just the most conspicuous instance of a broad process that aligned political stances, formal proposals, and strategies of resistance pursued by humanist elites. In it architecture realizes its* "facies hippocratica" *before opposed audiences: for the* Giovani*, who supported Venetian custom, the exterior was marked by a suppression of rhetoric not unlike the Case Moro; for the* Vecchi*, who had strong ties to the Papacy and its triumphal appropriation of the* all'antica *style, the interior exploded in extravagant forms poised on the brink of excess*[53] *(figs. 6, 7). Here the myth of a stable social order, which exacerbated tensions inherent in the humanist project, exerts a pressure which tears that order asunder. This resulted in a crisis that split the utopia into outward and inward-looking halves, critical antitheses that form part of a system of exclusions. When Tafuri turns to the task of analyzing Renaissance uses of the antique in the* Ricerca del Rinascimento*, the return to origins and the crisis faced by the humanist attempt to restore the classical past coincide. From this, a series of paradoxes. In this study, Palladio is conspicuous by his absence, Alberti ends up erecting an entire architectural theory against Vitruvius that is metaphysically "groundless" and free of cosmological principles, the* "gara" *for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini ends with a severe condemnation (especially on the part of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger) of the foremost monument that survived from antiquity (the Pantheon, whose* eidos *was, according to the "moderns", more accessible to the present than to the ancients themselves)*[54]. *As for Sansovino, we have already seen how he became the protagonist of a utopia that renounced humanist rhetoric in favor of a return to the vernacular idiom.*

Appearances aside, the significance of these disparate episodes does not derive from the direct *support they might lend to a critical stance toward the present*[55]. *Rather (somewhat after the manner of the 1962 essay on the linguistic heterogeneity of Sicilian medieval architecture) they all verify a single thesis. This maintained that architecture's capacity to signify is perilously close to radical losses of value and memory, and can thus become intelligible only by a kind of* indirect *philology. The* Ricerca del Rinascimento *argues, not without polemical intent, that the Renaissance world of representations in which architecture unfolds is constantly changing, and is not confined to the stable ordering principles Wittkower sought to illuminate. The emergence of critical differences at every*

linguistico. In tal senso l'architettura diviene il luogo di trasgressioni "non ostentate": più abilmente esse sono nascoste, più efficacemente travalicano i parametri linguistici stabiliti[57]. In queste condizioni, gli impulsi utopistici possono entrare a far parte del progetto solo nel momento dell' "(...) *ardito e raffinato equilibrio fra ricerca di fondamento e sperimentazione* (...)"[58].
In tal modo, mentre la sottile rottura dei codici tipologici stabiliti operata da Palladio equivaleva a un netto rifiuto dell'utopia[59], l'aperta rinunzia al programma umanistico da parte del Sansovino corrispondeva a un'accettazione dell'ideologia utopistica della Serenissima. In effetti, Jacopo assimilò i valori dell'originario "stato armonico" e il mito civile di un ritorno al passato. Tuttavia il fatto che egli sia riuscito ad associare condizioni di "linguaggio aulico" e di "*revival*" in una sintesi che criticava i valori eroici del linguaggio umanistico dimostra che era consapevole, non meno del suo rivale Palladio, della precarietà (come pure della flessibilità) di quel linguaggio: in qualsiasi momento esso poteva cadere nell'eccesso retorico, come nel Palazzo Corner (fig. 10), o nel quasi-oblio del vernacolo.
In conclusione, potremo chiederci che cosa Tafuri abbia proposto come "terza via" per il progetto, quale percorso egli abbia suggerito tra la critica del passato classico e la venerazione per i suoi valori. La sua risposta è affascinante e insieme paradossale: "*Lo scopo dei moderni è stato di rendere perfettamente antico l'Antico*"[60]. Quest'affermazione testimonia un profondo e a volte caustico dialogo fra "antiqui" e "moderni": col suo duplice atteggiamento di trasgressione e di *pietas*, essa sta su una linea che porta alla radicale consapevolezza della contingenza storica sperimentata dall'architettura nei secoli XVII e XVIII. Le novità del primo Cinquecento che alimentarono questo paradosso – novità non prive di connessioni con la "sprezzatura" di Castiglione – non si limitarono quindi a prefigurare la problematica della convenzione e della natura di cui si occuperanno Perrault e Wren[61], o a far presagire una licenza fatta di libere citazioni e invenzioni senza remore, palese in Borromini. Quando infatti un linguaggio come quello coniato nella Roma del Cinquecento acquista una glorificazione semantica solo se il segno è separato dalle rigorose norme grammaticali, è aperta ormai la strada verso l'ideologia dell'utopia e la sua dolorosa dissoluzione nelle antinomie illuministiche.
Come si è detto all'inizio, secondo Tafuri queste antinomie furono rivelate con la massima evidenza da Piranesi. Con lui la critica esaustiva del passato classico (critica che portava al limite i suoi strumenti progettuali) aprì una nuova era nei rapporti dell'architettura con la ragione e con l'irrazionalità: è

level of architecture generates a succession of systems that at once produces and undermines a structural immanence of use, form and meaning. Even the antique models themselves, grasped in the their full extension, put in crisis any attempt to deduce immutable norms from them. The project, then, is subject to a permanent dislocation of codes. Even those programs which most effectively permit the cultural expansion of the humanist language (such as the stable system of harmonic values which Alberti seems to defend while secretly undermining them)[56] operate within calibrated margins of freedom. By no means exclusively determined by the will of the patrons, these moments of license inhere within the linguistic process itself. In this sense, architecture becomes the locus of concealed transgressions: the more adroitly they are hidden, the more effectively they overstep established linguistic parameters[57]. Under these conditions, utopian impulses were able to enter into the project only at the moment of "(...) refined and ardent equilibrium between a search for rules and the experimental impulse *(...)"[58].*
Thus, whereas Palladio's subtle disruption of fixed typological codes amounted to a direct refusal of utopia[59], Sansovino's overt renunciation of the humanist program meant acceptance of the utopian ideology of the Serenissima. Jacopo, indeed, assimilated the values of the originary "stato armonico" *and the civil myth of a return to the past. Yet that Sansovino was able to superimpose conditions of "apotheosis" and "survival" in a synthesis critical of the heroic values of the humanist language shows that he, like his rival Palladio, was aware of its fragility (as well as its flexibility). For at any moment it could fall into rhetorical excess (as in Palazzo Corner) (fig.10) or the near-oblivion of the vernacular.*
In the end, we might ask what Tafuri proposes as the "third way" for the project, which path he suggests between critique of the classical past and reverence for its values. His answer is as intriguing as it is paradoxical, since "the goal of the moderns is to render the Antique perfectly antique"[60]. *This statement attests to a profound, at times caustic, dialogue between* "antiqui" *and* "moderni". *As double move of violation and* pietas, *it stands in a line that resulted in the radical awareness of historical contingency architecture experienced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The early Cinquecento developments that augmented this paradox – developments not unrelated to Castiglione's* "sprezzatura" *– thus do not merely prefigure*

8. 9. Palazzo Grimani a Santa Maria Formosa, Venezia: fronte sul rio e vista interna dello "Studio delle Antichità". Da: M. Tafuri, Venezia e il Rinascimento, *Torino 1985, figg.7, 9.*
10. Jacopo Tatti detto Sansovino, Palazzo Corner, Venezia, 1545: facciata sul Canal Grande. Da: M. Tafuri, Ricerca del Rinascimento, *Torino 1992, fig. 148.*

8. 9. Palazzo Grimani at Santa Maria Formosa, Venice: facade on the canal and interior view of the "Studio delle Antichità". From: M. Tafuri, Venezia e il Rinascimento, *Turin, 1985, fig.7, 9.*
10. Jacopo Sansovino, Palazzo Corner, Venice, 1545 ca.: facade on the Grand Canal. From: M. Tafuri, Ricerca del Rinascimento, *Turin, 1992, fig. 148.*


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quindi con quest'architetto che "*l'esperienza dell'angoscia fa (…) la sua prima apparizione in forma moderna*"[62]. Nella sua opera "sadiana" l' "eccezione" dimostra e al tempo stesso distrugge la regola. L'inesorabile indagine piranesiana sulla legge dell'architettura fornisce le intuizioni più convincenti sulla dialettica architettonica dell'Illuminismo, aprendo quella "terza via" tra l'ordine classico e la rottura col passato che finirà con l'esplodere in forme inquietanti e addirittura da incubo. A questo punto la ragion critica, spinta verso l'irrazionalità quando viene a mancare il "referente" o l' "aura", subisce un mutamento radicale. In effetti la sua alterazione è così profonda da richiedere un apparato di verifica più ampio di quello fornito di solito dalla storia dell'architettura, se non altro perché esso si dilata sia nel passato che nel futuro. Lo spazio storico che così si schiude è ciò che Tafuri cercava nell'esaminare l' "*infinita serie di eccezioni*"[63] che si estende dal Cinquecento al Barocco nella scia del programma albertiano di restaurazione di un'antichità "diversa". Quest'antichità "rinata", la cui distanza dal modello rivaleggiava con i codici classici, si avviò a sostituirli. La fondamentale perdita del referente, chiave della rappresentazione umanistica[64], divenne così per Tafuri l'orizzonte critico di una storia che aveva raggiunto l'acme della sua crisi nel XVIII secolo. Fu allora, infatti, che emerse la prima critica veramente moderna della memoria architettonica: una critica del ruolo storico svolto nel progetto dalle "ideologie dell'avanguardia" (e dall'ideologia come tale)[65]. Queste ideologie lasciano uno spazio alla possibilità futura del progetto, ma ne ostacolano la realizzazione tecnica. Per studiare questo processo Tafuri aveva bisogno di una critica "regolativa" situata al di là del recupero filologico. Come Foucault nell'*Archeologia del sapere*, e come Kant al termine della sua prima *Critica*, Tafuri andò dunque alla ricerca di un "a priori storico": tale ricerca fa luce sui modi in cui un sistema di pensiero o un linguaggio artistico è strutturato, e al tempo stesso fonda l'analisi erudita su una rigorosa attenzione verso gli oggetti, i metodi e le origini della razionalità. Tafuri cercò così di spiegare l'emergere del cambiamento nel sistema razionale che Kant aveva chiamato esplicitamente *Architektonik*[66]. Tra i significati che il termine "critica" assume nell'opera di Tafuri uno dei più importanti è quello di "critica della ragione" (da Kant a Weber, da Adorno a Foucault), nell'architettura come al di fuori di essa. Questa critica, se intesa storicamente, può dirci qualcosa di nuovo sul "destino tragico" dell'architettura, sul suo tentativo sfortunato, talvolta eroico, di acquistare un'autonomia nella complessa e spesso irrazionale rete della realtà sociale. Tafuri ebbe il senso della dialettica che legava anche i programmi più razionali al loro disfacimento e i sistemi più consolidati ai momenti singolari che segretamente li disgregavano[67]. Ma questo senso storico della critica implicava un altro livello di distinzione: la conoscenza delle differenze tra il progetto architettonico e quello storico. Il primo, portando a una soluzione definita, attua una sola possibilità fra molte; il secondo, nascendo dal carattere irrisolto dei problemi, mette l'architettura davanti a un campo aperto di possibilità[68]. In questo campo, in cui la storia si scontra con il "progetto", Tafuri finì col situare la sua "ricerca".

Note

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Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

1) M. TAFURI, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, Bari 1968, p. 42; cfr. M. TAFURI, *Giovan Battista Piranesi: l'architettura come utopia negativa*, in AA.VV., *Bernardo Vittone e la disputa fra classicismo e barocco nel Settecento, Atti del convegno internazionale, 21-24 settembre 1970*, Torino 1972, I, p. 293.

2) M. TAFURI, *Non c'e critica, solo storia (intervista con Richard Ingersoll)* in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, pp. 97 sgg. Cfr. M. TAFURI, *Il mestiere dello storico*, intervista in "Domus", n. 605, aprile 1980, p. 31. L'interesse di Tafuri per le "singolarita"" è per molti versi simile a quello di Foucault per la "rarità" delle affermazioni: cfr. M. FOUCAULT, *L'archeologia del sapere*, 1969, Milano 1971, pp. 137 sgg.; su cui v. P. VEYNE, *Foucault revolutionne l'histoire*, in *Comment on ecrit l'histoire*, Paris 1978, p. 204. Per la ricezione di Foucault da parte di Tafuri, cfr. M. TAFURI, *Lettura del testo e pratiche discorsive*, in AA.VV., *Il dispositivo Foucault*, Venezia 1977, pp. 37-45 e D. SHERER, *Tafuri's Renaissance: Architecture, Representation, Transgression*, in "Assemblage", n. 28, 1996, in corso di stampa.

3) M. TAFURI, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, op. cit., p. l.

4) Cfr. M. TAFURI, *Intervista con F. Irace, in* "Domus", n. 653, settembre 1984, p. 28.

5) Qui chiarisco e in parte ribalto alcune analisi precedentemente formulate nel mio saggio, cit. nella nota 2. Per quanto riguarda la critica dell'idealismo storiografico da parte di Tafuri, v. le brevi indicazioni in *Architettura e storiografia: una proposta di metodo*, in "Arte Veneta", n. 29, 1975, pp. 276-82; cfr. la polemica contro Croce nell'intervista con Richard Ingersoll, op. cit., pp. 11 sgg.; per una visione piu' positiva di Croce, v. l'intervista con Fulvio Irace, op.cit., p. 28. Ciò sembrerebbe a sfavore del tentativo di considerare Tafuri come un neoidealista, compiuto da T. LLORENS, *Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History*, in "Architectural Design", n. 51, 1981, pp. 83-95 e specialmente 86, 93. Per due acute analisi della tradizione idealistica nella storiografia tedesca dell'Ottocento e in quella italiana del Novecento, v. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Friedrich Creuzer and Greek Historiography*, in *Contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, Roma 1955, specialmente p. 225; A. MOMIGLIANO, *Reconsidering B. Croce*, in *Studies in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, Middletown, Connecticut 1977, pp. 345-63. Sul cerchio "metodico", v. E. PANOFSKY, *Studies in Iconology*, New York 1962, p. 11 e nota 3; E. PANOFSKY, *The History of Art as Humanistic Discipline*, in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Chicago 1972, pp. 14 sgg.; da un diverso punto di vista cfr. sul cerchio

debates over convention and nature that occupy Perrault and Wren[61]*. Nor do they simply adumbrate a license made up of free quotation and untrammelled invention evident in Borromini. For when a language like the one forged in sixteenth century Rome achieves semantic apotheosis only when the sign is detached from strict grammatical rules, the way is laid open for the ideology of utopia and its painful dissolution in the antinomies of the Enlightenment.*
As we indicated at the outset, for Tafuri these antinomies were most lucidly revealed by Piranesi. With Piranesi the exhaustive critique of the classical past (which pushed its design instruments to the limit) inaugurated a new era in architecture's relations with both reason and unreason. Consequently, it is with this architect that "anguish makes *(...)* its first appearance in modern form"[62]*. In his "Sadean" work the "exception" simultaneously proves and explodes the rule. His merciless investigation of architectural law provides the most cogent insights into architecture's dialectic of Enlightenment, the "third way" between classical order and rupture with the past which ultimately explodes in disquieting, even nightmarish, forms. At this point critical reason, pushed to unreason when the "referent" or "aura" disappears, undergoes a radical mutation. Indeed this alteration is so profound that it requires a more ample apparatus of verification than the discipline of architectural history is usually prepared to provide, if only because it stretches backward as well as forward. The historical expanse thus opened is what Tafuri sought when examining the* "infinite series of exceptions"[63] *extending from the Cinquecento into the Baroque in the wake of the Albertian project of restoring a "different" antiquity. This, a "reborn" antiquity whose distance from the model rivalled the classical codes, set out to replace them. The fundamental loss of the referent, key to humanist representation*[64]*, thus became for Tafuri the critical horizon of a history that reached its full crisis in the 18th century. For it was then that the first truly modern critique of architectural memory emerged: a critique of the historical role played by the "ideologies of the avant-garde" (and by ideology as such) in the project*[65]*. Preserving a space for the futurity of the project, these ideologies nonetheless thwarted its technical realization. To study this process Tafuri required a "regulative" critique located beyond philological recovery. Like Foucault's* Archeology of Knowledge, *and like Kant at the end of the first critique, Tafuri thus sought an "historical a priori". This inquiry casts light on the ways in which a system of thought or artistic language is constructed, and at the same time grounds erudite analysis in a rigorous attention to objects, methods, and origins of rationality. Hence Tafuri tried to account for the emergence of change in the rational system which Kant expressly calls the* Architektonik"[66]*. Among the meanings of* "critica" *in Tafuri's work, then, one of the most important is the critique of reason (from Kant to Weber, from Adorno to Foucault), both in architecture and outside of it. This critique, when understood historically, can tell us something new about architecture's "tragic destiny" – its ill-fated, at times heroic, attempt to acquire autonomy in the complex (often irrational) web of social reality. Tafuri sensed the dialectic which tied even the most rational plans to their undoing, and which linked the most stable systems to singular moments which secretly disrupted them*[67]*. But this historical sense of criticism implied another level of discrimination: knowledge of the differences between the architectural and the historical project. The first, leading to a definite solution, realizes one possibility among many; the second, deriving from the unresolved character of problems, places architecture before an open field of possibilities*[68]*. In this field, where history clashed with the* "progetto"*, Tafuri ultimately situated his* "ricerca"*.*

Notes

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1) *M. TAFURI,* Theories and History of Architecture, *London 1976, pp. 27-28; IDEM,* Giovan Battista Piranesi: l'architettura come 'utopia negativa', *in AAVV,* Bernardo Vittone e la Disputa fra Classicismo e Barocco nel Settecento, Atti del Convegno internazionale, 21-24 settembre 1970, *Torino 1972, I, 293.*

2) *Cf. M. TAFURI,* There is no criticism, only history (interview with Richard Ingersoll), *in "Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), pp. 97ff.; cf. M. TAFURI,* Il mestiere dello storico, interview *in "Domus" no 605 (aprile 1980), p. 31. Tafuri's interest in singularities in some ways seems reminiscent of Foucault's fascination with the "rarity" of statements: cf. M FOUCAULT,* The Archeology of Knowledge, *1969, New York 1972, pp. 118-21; on which P. VEYNE,* Foucault revolutionne l'histoire, *in* Comment on écrit l'histoire, *Paris 1978, p. 204. On Tafuri's reception of Foucault, cf. M. TAFURI,* Lettura del testo e pratiche discorsive, *in AAVV,* Il Dispositivo Foucault, *Venice 1977, pp. 37-45, and my essay* Tafuri's Renaissance: Architecture, Representation, Transgression, *in "Assemblage" no 28 (1996), forthcoming.*

3) *M. TAFURI,* Theories and History, *op. cit., p. 1.*

4) *Cf. M. TAFURI,* Interview with F. Irace, *in "Domus" no 653 (September 1984), p. 28.*

5) *With this I partly refine (and partly reverse) analyses previously formulated in my essay,* Tafuri's Renaissance. Architecture, Representation, Transgression, *op.*

"ermeneutico" H. G. GADAMER, *Truth and Method*, New York 1994, pp. 256 sgg. E' inutile sottolineare il fatto che Panofsky e Gadamer hanno reagito in modo diverso alla tradizione di Schleiermacher e Dilthey: l'argomento non può essere trattato in questa sede.
6) M. TAFURI, *Il progetto storico*, in "Casabella", n. 429, 1977, pp. 12-18.
7) M. TAFURI, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, op. cit., p. 130.
8) *Ibidem*, p. 2.
9) "*Il modo con cui io guardo ai fenomeni storici può dirsi progettuale, anche se continuo a rifiutare qualsiasi categorie di tipo operativo*", in M. TAFURI, *Il mestiere dello storico*, op. cit., p. 31.
10) Nella sua ricerca di uno spazio interstiziale di conoscenza fra progetto e storia, lo straordinario rapporto di Tafuri con la sua disciplina è per molti versi simile a quello di Georges Canguilhem, che cercò di scoprire la specificità della storia della scienza "*tenendo conto del punto di vista epistemologico fra lo storico puro e lo scienziato stesso*", in M. FOUCAULT, *Introduzione* a G. CANGUILHEM, *The Normal and the Pathological*, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, p. 16. Questo paragone ha un valore puramente euristico e non dovrebbe essere spinto troppo oltre; tuttavia è interessante osservare che Tafuri e Canguilhem erano entrambi interessati sia al funzionamento delle norme, sia all'improvviso erompere di errori e trasgressioni; che entrambi erano, oltre che storici, professionisti delle discipline da essi studiate (Tafuri inizialmente nel campo dell'architettura e Canguilhem in quello della medicina).
11) *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, op. cit., cap. III e specialmente p. 110.
12) C. OLMO, *Una storia, molti racconti*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, p. 77.
13) M. TAFURI, *Ricerca del Rinascimento: principi, città architetti*, Torino 1992, p. 127.
14) G. CIUCCI, *Gli anni della formazione*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, p. 12.
15) M. TAFURI, *Problemi di critica e problemi di datazione in due monumenti taorminesi: il palazzo dei duchi di S.Stefano e la "Badia Vecchia"*, in "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura", n. 51, 1962, pp. 1-18. La mia attenzione è stata richiamata su questo saggio da F. P. FIORE, *Autonomia della storia*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, p. 102.
16) M. TAFURI, *Problemi di critica*, op. cit., p. 1. Tafuri parla di "*valore critico determinante di particolari o singoli casi per la comprensione di interi cicli culturali*".
17) *Ibidem*, p. 18.
18) M. TAFURI, *Lodovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia*, Milano 1964; cfr. M. TAFURI, *Lodovico Quaroni e la cultura architettonica italiana*, in "Zodiac", n. 11, 1963, pp. 46-53. Su Tafuri e Quaroni, brevi indicazioni in J. ACKERMAN, *La lezione di Manfredo Tafuri*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, p. 165.
19) Sull'interpretazione di Brunelleschi da parte di Tafuri, alla luce della sua lettura di Aldo Rossi, v. D. SHERER, *Tafuri's Renaissance: Architecture, Representation, Transgression*, op. cit., che prende l'avvio da T. LLORENS, *Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History*, op. cit., p. 93 come punto di partenza.
20) M. TAFURI, *La poetica borrominiana: mito, simbolo e ragione*, in "Palatino", n. 3/4, 1966, pp. 186 sgg.
21) Qui estrapolo da Tafuri, che parla del contributo borrominiano come "*anticipatore di aspetti che solo più tardi il progresso scientifico accoglierà come proprie ipotesi di lavoro*".
22) Cfr. D. SHERER, *Tafuri's Renaissance: Architecture, Representation, Transgression*, op. cit.
23) Qui Tafuri fa riferimento a De Angelis D'Ossat; v. la seconda tavola rotonda su *Il metodo di progettazione di Borromini*, in "*Studi sul Borromini*", Roma 1966, II, p. 60. Su Baronio e sulla storiografia controriformistica, v. A. MOMIGLIANO, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1990, pp. 134, 150.
24) M. TAFURI, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, op. cit., p. 20.
25) *Ibidem*.
26) M. Tafuri, *Borromini in Palazzo Carpegna*, in "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura", n. 79/84, 1967, p. 92; su questo saggio v. le brevi indicazioni in F. P. FIORE, *Autonomia della storia*, op. cit., p. 102.
27) M. TAFURI, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, op. cit., p. 20-21.
28) *Ibidem*, p. 92; cfr. A. COLQUHOUN, *Typology and Design Method*, in "Perspecta", n. 12, 1969, p. 71; cfr. D. SHERER, *The Politics of Formal Autonomy*, in "Assemblage", n. 15, 1991, p. 101.
29) M. TAFURI, *Borromini e Piranesi: la città come ordine infranto*, in A. BETTAGNO (a cura di), *Piranesi tra Venezia e l'Europa*, Venezia 1983, pp. 89-101.
30) M. TAFURI, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, op. cit., in particolare il capitolo III (sugli approcci semiologici), il IV(sulla critica operativa) ed il V (sulle varie forme di recupero filologico). Critiche a quest'opera sono state fatte da Y.-A. BOIS, *Tafuri in the Labyrinth*, in "Oppositions", n. 11, 1977, pp. 121 sgg.; J.-L. COHEN, *Ceci n'est pas une histoire*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, p. 48; T. LLORENS, *Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History*, op. cit., p. 85; D. SHERER, *Tafuri's Renaissance: Architecture, Representation, Transgression*, op. cit.
31) M. TAFURI, *Committenza e tipologia nelle ville palladiane*, in "Bollettino C.I.S.A.", n. 11, 1969, pp. 120-36 (ringrazio James Ackerman per aver richiamato la mia attenzione su questo saggio); W. LOTZ, *The Rotonda: A Secular Building with a Dome*, in *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1990, pp. 190-96.
32) Mi riferisco qui alla nota tesi weberiana della *Entzauberung der Welt*, che cercava di spiegare l'emergere dei processi di razionalizzazione durante la Riforma; la sua formulazione classica si trova in M. WEBER, *L'etica protestante e lo spirito del capitalismo*, (1904-05), Firenze 1945. Sull'analisi weberiana della religione e dei processi di razionalizzazione cfr. H. STUART HUGHES, *Consciousness and Society*, New York 1958, p. 314.
33) M. TAFURI, *Committenza e tipologia*, op. cit., p. 131.
34) *Ibidem*, p. 128, dove Tafuri fa riferimento all'apertura di Giangiorgio Trissino verso nuove forme di religiosità e all'anabattismo di Francesco Repeta, committente della Villa Repeta a Campiglia. E' inutile sottolineare l'importanza di Trissino sulla formazione culturale di Palladio. Per il contributo decisivo da lui dato nel fornire un nuovo insieme di idee filosofiche, di valori umanistici, e perfino un nome classicheggiante allo scalpellino Andrea della Gondola, accolto nell'Accademia Trissiniana di Cricoli, v. R. WITTKOWER, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London-New York 1988, pp. 60 sgg.; J. S. ACKERMAN, *Palladio*, New York 1987, pp. 20-25, 31 sg., 40; R. TAVERNOR, *Palladio and Palladianism*, London 1991, pp. 16-18.
35) M. TAFURI, *Committenza e tipologia*, op. cit., pp. 131 sgg.
36) *Ibidem* pp. 123.
37) A. ASOR ROSA, *Critica dell'ideologia ed esercizio storico*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, p. 28; cfr. P. LOMBARDO, *Introduction: The Philosophy of the City*, in M. CACCIARI, *The Architecture of Nihilism: On the Philosophy of Modern Architecture*, New Haven-London 1993, pp. XXXIV sgg.
38) L'interesse di Tafuri e quello di Cacciari per Weber sono esattamente contemporanei: v. M. CACCIARI, *Sulla genesi del pensiero negativo*, in "Contropiano", n. 1, 1969, pp. 180-81 e il saggio di Tafuri su Palladio pubblicato nello stesso anno; cfr. anche M. CACCIARI, *Pensiero negativo e razionalizzazione*, Padova 1977, p. 9.
39) M. TAFURI, *Progetto e utopia. Architettura e sviluppo capitalistico*, Bari 1973, pp. 13-19.
40) M. TAFURI, *Architettura e storiografia*, op. cit. pp. 280-82; IDEM, *La sfera e il labirinto*, op. cit., pp. l9 sgg. Alla luce della seguente dichiarazione di Tafuri a Françoise Very, è evidente che nell'analizzare Piranesi in *La sfera e il labirinto* egli aveva in mente la critica adorniana dell'illuminismo anche se soltanto come un modello da superare: "*Sade è il Piranesi eclettico*

cit. with full bibliography. For Tafuri's critique of historiographical idealism, see the brief indications in Architettura e Storiografia: una proposta di metodo, *in "Arte Veneta" no 29 (1975), pp. 276-82; cf. the polemic against Croce in M. TAFURI,* There is no criticism, only history (interview with Richard Ingersoll), *op. cit. pp. 11ff. (but contrast the more positive view of Croce in the interview with F. Irace, op cit., p. 28). This would seem to speak against the attempt to cast Tafuri as neo-idealist in T. LLORENS,* Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History, *in "Architectural Design" no 51 (1981), pp. 83-95, esp. pp. 86 and 93. For acute analyses of the idealist tradition in 19th century German and 20th century Italian historiography, A. MOMIGLIANO,* Friedrich Creuzer and Greek Historiography, *in* Contributo alla Storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico, *Rome 1955, esp. p. 255; IDEM,* Reconsidering B. Croce, *in* Studies in Ancient and Modern Historiography, *Middletown, Connecticut 1977, pp. pp. 345-363. On the "methodical" circle, E. PANOFSKY,* Introductory, *in* Studies in Iconology, *New York 1962, p. 11, and note 3; IDEM,* The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline, *in* Meaning in the Visual Arts, *Chicago 1972, p. 14ff.; from a different standpoint, compare, on the "hermeneutic" circle, H. G. GADAMER,* Truth and Method, *New York 1994, pp. 256ff. Needless to say, Panofsky and Gadamer represent two distinct responses to the tradition of Schleiermacher and Dilthey, discussion of which cannot be carried out here.*

6) M. TAFURI, Il progetto storico, *in "Casabella" no 429 (1977), pp. 12-18.*

7) M. TAFURI, Theories and History, *op. cit., p. 109.*

8) Ibidem, p. 2.

9) "Il modo con cui io guardo ai fenomeni storici puo dirsi "progettuale", anche se continuo a rifiutare qualsiasi categoria di tipo operativo " *in M. Tafuri,* Il mestiere dello storico, *op. cit., p. 31.*

10) In its search for an interstitial space of knowledge between design and history, Tafuri's exceptional relation to his discipline is in some ways reminiscent of Georges Canguilhem, who tried to discover the specificity of the history of science by "taking into account the epistemological point of view between the pure historian and the scientist himself." *in M. FOUCAULT,* Introduction, *to G. CANGUILHEM,* The Normal and the Pathological, *Cambridge, MA, 1989, p. 16. This comparison has a merely heuristic value, and should not be pressed too far; yet it is striking to note that both Tafuri and Canguilhem were interested in the functioning of norms as much as the sudden eruption violations, that both were practitioners of the disciplines whose history they studied (Tafuri, at first, of architecture, and Canguilhem, at first, of medicine); and that their mastery of diverging fields of competence led them to make highly original contributions.*

11) M. TAFURI, Theories and History, *op. cit., chapter 3, esp. p. 110.*

12) C. OLMO, One History, many stories, *in "Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), p. 77.*

13) M. TAFURI, Ricerca del Rinascimento: Principi, Citta, Architetti, *Torino 1992, p. 127.*

14) G. CIUCCI, "The Formative Years, *in "Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), p.12.*

15) M. TAFURI, Problemi di critica e problemi di datazione in due monumenti taorminesi: il palazzo dei duchi di S. Stefano e la "Badia Vecchia", *in "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura" no 51 (1962), pp. 1-18. My attention was drawn to this essay by F. P. FIORE,* The Autonomy of History, *in " Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), p. 103.*

16) M. TAFURI, Problemi di critica, *op. cit., p. 1. Tafuri speaks of the* "valore critico determinante di particolari o singoli casi per la comprensione di interi cicli culturali."

17) Ibidem, p. 18.

18) M. TAFURI, Lodovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia, *Milan 1964; cf. M. TAFURI,* Ludovico Quaroni e la cultura architettonica italiana, *in "Zodiac" no 11 (1963), pp. 46-53. On Tafuri and Quaroni, brief indications in J. ACKERMAN,* The Lesson of Manfredo Tafuri, *in "Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), p. 165.*

19) On Tafuri's interpretation of Brunelleschi in light of his understanding of Aldo Rossi, see my essay, Tafuri's Renaissance: Architecture, Representation, Transgression, *op. cit., which takes T. LLORENS,* Manfredo Tafuri, *op. cit., p. 93, n. 11, as its point of departure.*

20) M. TAFURI, La poetica borrominiana: Mito, Simbolo, e Ragione, *in "Palatino" no 3/4 (January-March 1966), pp. 186ff.*

21) Here I extrapolate from Tafuri, who speaks of Borromini's contribution as "anticipatore di aspetti che solo più tardi il progresso scientifico accoglierà come proprie ipotesi di lavoro."

22) Cf. D. SHERER, Tafuri's Renaissance, *op. cit.*

23) This was a point he took from De Angelis D'Ossat: see the second round table discussion on Il metodo di progettazione di Borromini, *in* Studi sul Borromini, *Rome 1966, II, p. 60. On Baronius and Counterreformation historiography, A. MOMIGLIANO,* The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography, *Berkeley and Los Angeles 1990, pp. 134, 150.*

24) M. TAFURI, Theories and History, *op. cit., p. 20.*

25) Ibidem.

26) M. Tafuri, Borromini in Palazzo Carpegna, *in "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura", n. 79/84, 1967, p. 92. On this essay see the brief indications in F. P. FIORE,* The Autonomy of History, *op. cit., p. 103.*

27) M. TAFURI, Theories and History, *cit., pp. 20-21.*

28) Ibidem, p. 92; cf. A. COLQUHOUN, Typology and Design Method, *in "Perspecta" no12 (1969), p. 71;* cf. *D. SHERER,* The Politics of Formal Autonomy, *in "Assemblage" no 15 (1991), p. 101.*

29) M. TAFURI, "Borromini e Piranesi: la città come "ordine infranto", *in A. BETTAGNO, ed.,* Piranesi tra Venezia e l'Europa, *Venezia 1983, pp. 89-101.*

30) M. TAFURI, Theories and History, *op. cit., esp. chapters 3 (on semiological approaches), 4 (on operative criticism) and 5 (on the varieties of philological recovery). Critical responses to this book include Y.-A. BOIS,* Tafuri in the Labyrinth, *in "Oppositions" no 11 (Winter 1977), pp. 121ff; J.-L. COHEN,* Ceci n'est pas une histoire, *in "Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), p. 49; T. LLORENS,* Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History, *op. cit., p. 85; D. SHERER,* Tafuri's Renaissance: Architecture, Representation, Transgression, *op. cit.*

31) M. TAFURI, Committenza e tipologia nelle ville palladiane, *in "Bollettino del C. I. S. A." no 11 (1969), pp. 120-136 (I thank James Ackerman for calling this essay to my attention); W. LOTZ,* The Rotonda: A Secular Building with a Dome, *in* Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture, *Cambridge, Massachusetts 1990, pp. 190-96.*

32) Here I refer to the familiar Weberian thesis of the Entzauberung der Welt *which tried to account for the emergence of processes of rationalisation during the Reformation. Its classic formulation is found in M. WEBER,* The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, *London 1952, first published in 1904/5, pp. 105. On Weber's analysis of religion and rationalisation processes, see H. STUART HUGHES,* Consciousness and Society, *New York 1958, pp. 314 .*

33) M. TAFURI, Committenza e tipologia, *op. cit., p. 131.*

34) Ibidem, p. 128, where Tafuri cites Giangiorgio Trissino's openness to new forms of religiosity as well as the Anabaptism of Francesco Repeta, patron of Villa Repeta at Campiglia. Needless to say, Trissino hardly played a marginal role in Palladio's cultural formation. For the decisive contribution he made when conferring a new set of philosophical ideas, humanist values, and even a classicizing name on the stonemason Andrea della Gondola in the Accademia Trissiniana at Cricoli, see R. WITTKOWER, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism, *London and New York 1988, pp. 60ff; J. S. ACKERMAN,* Palladio, *New York 1987, pp. 20-25, 31-32, 40; R. TAVERNOR,* Palladio and Palladianism, *London, 1991, pp. 16-18.*

35) M. TAFURI, Committenza e tipologia, *op. cit., p.p. 131ff.*

36) Ibidem, pp. 123.

37) A. ASOR ROSA, Critique of Ideology and Historical Practice, *in "Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), p. 29; cf. P. LOMBARDO,* Introduction: The Philosophy of the City, *in M. CACCIARI,* The Architecture of Nihilism: On the Philosophy of Modern Architecture, *New Haven and London 1993, pp. xxxiv ff.*

38) Tafuri's and Cacciari's interest in Weber are precisely contemporary: see M. CACCIARI, Sulla genesi del pensiero negativo, *in "Contropiano" no.1 (1969) , pp. 180-181, and the aforementioned essay by Tafuri on Palladio published in the*

e libertario, Marat il lato posteriore dell'altare del Priorato"; M. TAFURI, *I mercati della cultura. Intervista con Françoise Very*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, p. 36. Per l'atteggiamento piuttosto ambiguo di Tafuri verso Adorno, v. T. LLORENS, *Manfredo Tafuri*, op. cit., p. 94 e nota 29); P. LOMBARDO, *Introduction: The Philosophy of the City*, op. cit., pp. XXXVI sg. (anche se talvolta non concordo con la sua analisi).
41) M. TAFURI, *Architettura e storiografia*, op. cit., p. 281; IDEM, *Teorie e storia*, op. cit., p. ; IDEM, *I mercati della cultura*, op. cit., p. 36; M. TAFURI, F. DAL CO, *Architettura contemporanea*, Milano 1976, p. 118.
42) T. W. ADORNO, *Teoria estetica*, Torino 1975, p. , cit. in M. TAFURI, *Architettura e storiografia*, op. cit., p. 281. Senza dubbio il modo di Adorno di trattare il tema della razionalita' delle opere d'arte fu profondamente influenzato dalla nozione weberiana della *Entzauberung der Welt:* v. ad esempio T.W. ADORNO, *Teoria estetica*, op. cit., pp. 78-79: "*I discorsi sull'incanto dell'arte sono parole e basta poichè l'arte è allergica alla ricaduta nella magia. L'arte costituisce un momento nel processo di quello che Max Weber ha chiamato discanto del mondo, intrecciato alla razionalizzazione; tutti i mezzi dell'arte e tutti i suoi procedimenti di produzione vengono da qui; la tecnica, che l'ideologia dell'arte dichiara eretica, tanto le inerisce quanto la minaccia poichè l'eredità magica si è mantenuta tenacemente in tutte le metamorfosi dell'arte*". E' interessante notare che in un passo successivo della stessa trattazione Adorno indica in Palladio l'origine di una tendenza esemplificata da quegli artisti che "*si unirono solo in maniera intermittente alla riflessione sui procedimenti tecnici, nondimeno dovettero la loro autenticità alla misura della loro formazione tecnica, finchè la tecnologia sgretolò i procedimenti tradizionali*" (*Ibidem*, p.86). E' da escludersi che Tafuri possa essere stato indotto da questo passo a riconsiderare le analisi weberiane nello scrivere il suo articolo su Palladio del 1969 (la prima edizione della Teoria estetica di Adorno fu pubblicata solo nel 1970). Tuttavia la coincidenza è singolare e merita un ulteriore esame. Certo la scelta di Palladio da parte di Adorno è strana: Brunelleschi, Leonardo o magari Alberti avrebbero comprovato la sua tesi della tecnologizzazione dell'arte con maggior efficacia. (Tra l'altro, lo stesso Weber inserì una lunga analisi dell'atteggiamento di Alberti verso l'economia familiare in *L'etica protestante e lo spirito del capitalismo*, op. cit., p. 108 sgg.).
43) R. KLEIN, *Peinture moderne et phenomenologie*, in *La forme et l'intelligible*, Paris 1970, p. 413; cfr. M. TAFURI, *Ricerca*, op. cit., p. XX; D. SHERER, *Tafuri's Renaissance*, op. cit. Tafuri, in questo caso, modifica sottilmente l'espressione di Klein "*agonie de la reference*" traducendola con "*angoscia del referente*", spostando così il centro del processo dal significante al significato. Per inciso, è abbastanza chiaro che il primo abbozzo di quello che diverrà piu' tardi il modello base della *Ricerca* è contenuto (nonostante alcune differenze importanti) nell'enunciato metodologico pubblicato nel 1975 in "Arte Veneta". In esso Tafuri afferma di volere intrapprendere uno studio comparativo di S. Pietro e dell'Escorial; in realtà egli porto' a termine due saggi separati (anche se implicitamente connessi) sulla Roma Leonina e sul palazzo di Carlo V a Granada.
44) In "Contropiano", n. I, 1969. Su questo saggio v. le sensibili (anche se un pò severe) osservazioni di T. LLORENS, *Manfredo Tafuri*, op. cit., p. 94, nota 16.
45) Architettura e storiografia, op. cit., pp. 276 sg.
46) Sulla storia come forma di diagnosi, v. M. TAFURI, *Teorie e storia*, op. cit., p. 3. Sul ruolo diagnostico del critico nell'opera tafuriana, v. H. LIPSTADT, H. MENDELSOHN, *Philosophy, History, and Autobiography: Manfredo Tafuri and the Unsurpassed Lesson of Le Corbusier*, in "Assemblage", n. 22, 1994, pp. 60, 98 e nota 6. Questo punto dovrebbe forse essere visto nel piu' ampio contesto dei rapporti tra medicina e conoscenza storica: cfr. C. GINZBURG, *Clues. Roots of an Evidential Paradigm*, in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, Baltimore 1989, p. 106 e nota 49.
47) Sulla distinzione fra problemai e oggetti di ricerca, cfr. M. TAFURI, *Non c'e critica, solo storia*, op. cit., p. 99.
48) M. TAFURI, *Architettura e utopia*, op. cit. pp. 125 sgg.
49) M. TAFURI, *Machine et memoire: the city in the work of Le Corbusier*, in H. ALLEN BROOKS (a cura di), *The Le Corbusier Archive*, New York 1987, pp. XXXVII sgg. Su questo saggio v. H. LIPSTADT, H. MENDELSOHN, *Philosophy, History, and Autobiography*, op. cit.: IDEM, *Tafuri e Le Corbusier*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, pp. 86-92 (anche se non condivido tutti i punti della loro analisi e specialmente la loro errata interpretazione, dovuta in gran parte ad un eccesso di risalto, del ruolo di Heidegger nel pensiero di Tafuri). Sull'analisi del Piano Obus da parte di Tafuri , v. le brevi indicazioni di J.-L. COHEN, *Ceci n'est pas une histoire*, op. cit., p. 52.
50) M. TAFURI, *Machine et memoire*, op. cit. pp. XXXIV sg.; IDEM, *Ricerca*, op. cit., cap. VII Ringrazio l'amico Paolo Berdini per avermi fatto conoscere il suo punto di vista sull'argomento.
51) M. TAFURI, *Realisme en architecture*, in "Critique", nn. 476-77, 1987, pp. 23 sgg.; sullo straniamento brechtiano dello spettatore, v. M. TAFURI, *American Graffiti: 5x5=25*, in "Oppositions", 1976, p. 45.
52) M. TAFURI, *Il problema storiografico*, in *Renovatio Urbis: Venezia nell'eta' di Andrea Gritti*, Roma 1984; IDEM, *Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, scienza, architettura*, Torino 1985, pp. 162-69; IDEM, *Ricerca*, op. cit., pp. 116, 137n., 245, 317, 328, 334, 343.
53) M. TAFURI, *Venezia e il Rinascimento*, op. cit., pp. 15 sg.
54) M. TAFURI, *Ricerca*, op. cit., pp. 12, 167.
55) *Ibidem*, pp. XX sg. Mentre infatti Tafuri fa riferimento al "*tentativo di ampliare con strumenti concessi alla stori la portata degli interrogativi che agiscono in senso critico all'interno dell'attuale cultura architettonica*" (p. XXI), mette in guardia contro i facili richiami da una "*terapia del ricordo*" (p. XX). Egli invece si esprime a favore del "*debole potere dell'analisi...come momento di un processo che lasci vivere i problemi irrisolti nel passato, inquietando il nostro presente*".
56) M. TAFURI, *Discordant Harmony from Alberti to Zuccari*, in "Architectural Design", n. 21, 1979, p. 36; IDEM, *Ricerca*, op. cit., cap. II, specialmente p. 57.
57) *Ibidem*, p. 12.
58) *Ibidem*, p. 9.
59) M. TAFURI, *Committenza e tipologia*, op. cit.
60) M. TAFURI, *Ricerca*, op. cit., p. 123.
61) *Ibidem*, pp. 10-12.
62) M. TAFURI, *Progetto e utopia*, op. cit., p. 21; IDEM, *La sfera e il labirinto*, op. cit., cap. I.
63) M. TAFURI, *Ricerca*, op. cit., p. 21.
64) *Ibidem*, p. XX.
65) Cfr. M. TAFURI, *Architettura e storiografia*, op. cit., p. 281; IDEM, *Il progetto storico*, op. cit., pp. 17 sg.; IDEM, *La sfera e il labirinto*, op. cit., pp. 6, 15, 19-21.
66. M. FOUCAULT, *L'archeologia del sapere*, op. cit., p. 147 sgg.; I. KANT, *Critique of Pure Reason*, New York 1966, pp. 530, 541 sgg. Certo, l'a priori storico di Foucault è esente da ogni referente trascendentale e Kant, come egli stesso ammette, fa riferimento al progetto di una storia della ragion pura come ad un "*luogo nel sistema* (di Kant) *che per il momento rimane vuoto*" (p. 540). In certo senso Tafuri tento' di riempire questo vuoto con il suo progetto storico, destinato a isolare le vicissitudini della ragione presenti nel processo architettonico. Nel saggio *Il progetto storico* Tafuri fa riferimento alla prima e terza Critica (anche se evita i passi riguardanti l'*Architektonik* e la storia della ragion pura che Kant intendeva scrivere) nel discutere l'opera di Emilio Garroni (*Il progetto storico*, op. cit., pp. 3-4, nota 2. Per il suo uso dell'archeologia del sapere di Foucault, v. p. 6, nota 6 del medesimo saggio.
67) M. TAFURI, *Il mestiere dello storico*, op. cit., p. 31.
68) M. TAFURI, *Intervista con Fulvio Irace*, op. cit., p. 28.

same year. Cf. as well M. CACCIARI, Pensiero negativo e razionalizazzione, *Padova 1977, p. 9.*
39) M. TAFURI, Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development, *op. cit., pp. 13-19.*
40) M. TAFURI, Architettura e Storiografia, *op. cit., pp. 280-82;* Sphere and the Labyrinth, *op. cit., pp. 19ff. Because of the following statement Tafuri made to Françoise Very, it is clear that Adorno's critique of the Enlightenment was on his mind, if only as a model to surpass, when he analyzed Piranesi in* Sphere and the Labyrinth: "Sade is the eclectic, libertarian Piranesi, Marat, the hidden side of the altar of San Basilio in S. Maria del Priorato. Adorno's Dialectic of Enlightenment had not been able to help me find an answer [to this problem]; it [i.e, Adorno's analysis] was too simplistic [translation altered]. *M. TAFURI,* The culture markets. Interview with Françoise Very, *in "Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), p. 37. On Tafuri's rather ambiguous attitude to Adorno, see T. LLORENS,* Manfredo Tafuri, *op. cit., p. 94, note 29; P. LOMBARDO,* Introduction: The Philosophy of the City, *op. cit., pp. xxxvi-xxxvii* (though I do not always agree with her analysis).
41) M. TAFURI, Architettura e Storiografia, *op. cit., p. 281; IDEM,* Theories and History, *op. cit., p. 88; IDEM,* The Culture Markets, *op. cit., pp ; M. TAFURI, F. DAL CO,* Modern Architecture, *New York 1986, I, 104.*
42) T. W. ADORNO, Aesthetic Theory, *New York 1984, p. 67, as cited in M. TAFURI,* Architettura e Storiografia,*op. cit., p. 286. It is certain that Adorno's treatment of the theme of the rationality of art bears the imprint of Weber's notion of the* Entzauberung der Welt*: see, for example, T. W. ADORNO,op. cit., p. 80. The entire passage is worth quoting:* "To speak of the 'magic of art' is to use a facile turn of phrase. Allergic to any relapse into magic, art is part and parcel of the process of the disenchantment of the world, to use Max Weber's phrase. What means and productive methods art has at its disposal all derive from this nexus. Maligned by ideological aestheticians, technology undergirds art to the same degree as it threatens the thousand different shapes in which art's magical heritage has survived." *It is interesting to note that in a subsequent passage in the same discussion Adorno pinpoints Palladio as the origin of a tendency exemplified by those* "artists who occasionally showed some sensitivity to technical procedures, a trend that kept growing until technology eventually exploded the traditional methods [of artistic production] completely." *Ibidem, p. 88. We can rule out the possibility that this passage inspired Tafuri to return to Weber's analyses when writing his 1969 article on Palladio since the first edition of Adorno's Aesthetic Theory was not published until 1970. Yet the coincidence of themes is striking, and deserves further study. Surely Adorno's choice of Palladio is a strange one; Brunelleschi, Leonardo or perhaps Alberti would have served his hypothesis of the technologization of art more effectively (Incidentally, Weber himself inserted a lengthy analysis of Alberti's attitude to familial economics in M. WEBER, The Protestant Ethic, op. cit., pp. 194ff.).*
43) R. KLEIN, Peinture moderne et phenomenologie, *in* La forme et l'intelligible, *Paris 1970, p. 413;* cfr. *M. TAFURI,* Ricerca, *op. cit, p. xx; D. SHERER,* Tafuri's Renaissance, *op. cit. Tafuri subtly modifies Klein's expression* agonie de la reference *when he translates it as* angoscia del referente, *shifting the focus of the process from signification to the signified. Incidentally, it is sufficiently clear that the first outlines of what would later become the "ground plan" for the Ricerca are contained in the methodological statement Tafuri published in* Arte Veneta *in 1975 (though one also recognizes crucial differences). In it Tafuri asserts that he wants to undertake a comparative study of St. Peters and the Escorial; in fact, he carried out separate (though implicitly related) studies of Leonine Rome and the Palace of Charles V at Granada.*
44) "Contropiano" no 1 (1969). On this essay see the perceptive (if somewhat scathing) remarks in T. LLORENS, Manfredo Tafuri, *op. cit., p. 94, note16.*
45) M. TAFURI, Architettura e Storiografia, *op. cit., pp. 276-77.*
46) On history as a form of diagnosis, see M. TAFURI, Theories and History, *op. cit., p. 3. On the diagnostic role of the critic in Tafuri's work, see the remarks in H. LIPSTADT, H. MENDELSOHN,* Philosophy, History, and Autobiography: Manfredo Tafuri and the "Unsurpassed Lesson" of Le Corbusier, *in "Assemblage" no 22 (1994), pp 60, 98, and note 6. This emphasis should perhaps be considered within the wider context of relations between medicine and historical knowledge: cf. C. GINZBURG,* Clues. Roots of an Evidential Paradigm, *in* Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method, *Baltimore, 1989, p. 106 and note 49 (with bibliography).*
47) On the distinction between problems and objects of research, M. TAFURI, "There is no criticism, only history,*op. cit., p. 99.*
48) Architecture and Utopia, *op. cit., pp. 125ff.*
49) M. TAFURI, Machine et memoire: the city in the work of Le Corbusier, *in H. ALLEN BROOKS, ed.,* The Le Corbusier Archive, *New York 1987, pp. xxxviiff.* on this essay see *H. LIPSTADT, H. MENDELSOHN,* Philosophy, History, and Autobiography, *op. cit., and IDEM,* Tafuri and Le Corbusier, *in "Casabella" no 619/620 (1995), pp. 87-93, though I cannot agree with all points of their analysis (especially their misunderstanding- due largely to overemphasis- of the role played by Heidegger in Tafuri's thought). On Tafuri's analysis of the Obus Plan, see the brief indications in J.-L. COHEN,* Ceci n'est pas une histoire, *op. cit., p. 53.*
50) M. TAFURI, Machine et mémoire, *op. cit., pp. xxxiv-v; IDEM,* Ricerca, *op. cit., chapter 7. I thank my friend Paolo Berdini for sharing his views with me on this topic.*
51) M. TAFURI, Réalisme en architecture, *in "Critique" nos 476-477 (Jan-Fev. 1987), pp. 23ff; on the (Brechtian) dislocation of the spectator, cf. M. TAFURI,* American Graffiti: 5 x 5 =25, *in "Oppositions" (Summer 1976), p. 45.*
52) M. TAFURI, Il problema storiografico, *in* Renovatio Urbis: Venezia nell'eta di Andrea Gritti, *Rome, 1984; IDEM,* Venezia e il Rinascimento: Religione, Scienza, Architettura, *Torino 1985, pp. 162-69; IDEM,* Ricerca, *op. cit., pp. 116, 137n, 245, 317, 328, 334, 343.*
53) M. TAFURI, Venezia e il Rinascimento, *op. cit., pp. 15-16.*
54) M. TAFURI, Ricerca, *op. cit., pp. 12, 167.*
55)Ibidem, pp. xx-xxi: for, whereas Tafuri refers to "il tentativo di ampliare- con gli strumenti concessi alla storia- la portata degli interrogativi che agiscono in senso critico all'interno dell'attuale cultura architettonica", *(p. xxi), he warns against facile appeals to* "una terapia del ricordo" *(p. xx). In its place he argues for the* "debole potere dell'analisi...come momento di un processo che lasci vivere i problemi irrisolti nel passato, inquietando il nostro presente."
56) M. TAFURI, Discordant Harmony from Alberti to Zuccari, *in "Architectural Design" no 21 (1979), p. 36; IDEM,* Ricerca, *op. cit., chapter 2, esp. p. 57.*
57) Ibidem, p. 12.
58) Ibidem, p. 9.
59) M. TAFURI, Committenza e tipologia, *op. cit.*
60) M. TAFURI, Ricerca, *op. cit., p. 167.*
61) Ibidem, pp. 10-12.
62) M. TAFURI, Architecture and Utopia, *op. cit., p. 19; cf. IDEM,* Sphere and the Labyrinth, *op. cit., chapter 1.*
63) M. TAFURI, Ricerca, *op. cit., p. 21.*
64) Ibidem, p. xx.
65) Cf. M. TAFURI, Architettura e Storiografia, *op. cit., p. 281; cf. IDEM,* Il Progetto Storico, *op. cit., pp. 17-18; IDEM,* Sphere and the Labyrinth, *op. cit., pp. 6, 15, 19-21.*
66) M. FOUCAULT, The Archeology of Knowledge, *op. cit., pp. 126ff.; I. KANT,* Critique of Pure Reason, *New York 1966, pp. 530, 541ff. To be sure, Foucault's historical a priori is purged of all transcendental referent, and Kant, as he himself admits, refers to the project of a history of pure reason as a* "place in the system [his own] which remains empty for the present" *(p. 540). In a certain sense Tafuri tried to fill this place with his historical project, aimed at isolating the vicissitudes of reason manifest in the "architectonic" of architecture. In the essay titled* Il Progetto Storico *he cites the first and third critique (though not the passages dealing with the "architectonic" and the history of pure reason which Kant intended to write) when discussing the work of Emilio Garroni (M. TAFURI,* Il Progetto Storico, *op. cit., p. 18, note 2). As for his use of Foucault's archeology of knowledge, see p. 12, note 7 of the same essay.*
67) M. TAFURI, Il mestiere dello storico, *op. cit., p. 31.*
68) M. TAFURI, Interview with Fulvio Irace, *op. cit., p. 28.*

A proposito di Gehry
*Sylvia Lavin**

Con il completamento della sua casa nel 1978, Frank Owen Gehry divenne una figura pubblica (fig. 1). Questo modesto edificio è ora un'attrazione per turisti: meta ambita di studenti di architettura, di persone acculturate e di curiosi. Non è raro che sia un singolo progetto a determinare la svolta nella carriera di un architetto, facendo spesso credere che quest'ultimo "venga dal nulla", ma il ruolo svolto dalla casa di Gehry nel configurare la sua carriera è straordinario per molte ragioni. Prima di "venire dal nulla" Gehry aveva svolto la propria attività nella California meridionale, progettando e costruendo edifici di grandi dimensioni per più di quindici anni. Eppure l'edificio che ha suscitato tanta attenzione non è il risultato di un importante incarico pubblico né ha dimensioni degne di nota: è soltanto una piccola casa a Santa Monica, costruita in un quartiere residenziale al tempo relativamente modesto. Ma l'aspetto più significativo è forse il fatto che sia stato uno degli esercizi più personali per un architetto – la progettazione della propria casa – a catapultare Gehry al centro dell'attenzione del pubblico e della critica.

Si tratta di una chiave di lettura molto importante per comprendere la natura della posizione occupata attualmente da Gehry nell'ambito dell'architettura contemporanea. Oggi Gehry è noto soprattutto per il segno sfrontatamente personale e immediatamente riconoscibile (fig. 2). Quando "Progressive Architecture" premiò la Disney Concert Hall con uno dei suoi premi annuali, un membro della Giuria disse: "*Non c'è alcun principio logico o empirico che io, in quanto architetto, potrei riprendere e sviluppare. E' un'architettura del tutto personale*". E' vero che anche il lavoro di molti altri architetti è subito identificabile, ma raramente in modo così evidente: la qualità personale del lavoro di Richard Meier o di Michael Graves, ad esempio, è molto spesso mitigata, e forse qualificata, dall'associazione con le astrazioni universalizzanti di un idioma moderno o con le forze apparentemente impersonali della storia. A prova di un'accentuata originalità, il lavoro di Gehry suscita un interrogativo difficilmente formulabile rispetto all'opera di suoi colleghi altrettanto famosi: come è possibile che una piccola casa a Santa Monica esista sia come abitazione privata sia come monumento pubblico?

L'opera di Gehry nasce da un'interpretazione complessa della soggettività e della natura della partecipazione collettiva. Per un esauriente esame storico di quell'aspetto dell'architettura di Gehry, che normalmente viene ridotto allo *status* di stile, non si dovrebbe infatti prescindere da una storia parallela: quella del soggetto moderno. Il concetto di soggettività, così come essa viene comunemente intesa, è nato nell'età moderna; a poco a poco, tuttavia, questo stesso concetto ha rivelato le sue molteplici sfaccettature. E' stato soprattutto il Ventesimo secolo ad offrire modelli diversi del soggetto: corazzato e al tempo stesso pienamente caratterizzato, molteplice e in conflitto con se stesso e

On the Subject of Gehry

*Sylvia Lavin**

With the completion of his private house in 1978, Frank Owen Gehry became a public figure (fig. 1). This modest building is now a tourist attraction: busloads of architecture students, culture seekers, and curiosity lovers appear every day. While it is not uncommon for a single project to mark a turning point in an architect's career, nor is it rare for this to result in the impression that the architect "came out of nowhere," the role played by Gehry's house in configuring his career is extraordinary for several reasons. Gehry had been practicing architecture in Southern California, building large-scale projects, for over fifteen years before he "came out of nowhere." The building that attracted such widespread attention, however, was not a large public commission nor even a large building. Rather, it was just small house in what was then a still relatively unassuming residential district. Perhaps most telling of all is that it was one of the most personal architectural exercises possible – his own home – that catapulted Gehry into the center of public and critical concern.

This fact is a significant key to understanding the nature of the position Gehry currently occupies in the arena of contemporary architecture. Today, Gehry is best known for his unabashedly singular and immediately recognizable signature (fig. 2). When "Progressive Architecture" gave the Disney Concert Hall one of its annual awards, a member of the jury said: "There is no logical or empirical principle that I, as another architect, could learn and maybe develop. It's a very personal statement." *There are many architects whose work is instantly identifiable, but it would be difficult to say that it was unabashedly so: for the most part, the personal quality of the work of a Richard Meier, or Michael Graves is mitigated and perhaps qualified by association with either the universalizing abstractions of a modern idiom or with the apparently impersonal forces of history. As a result of its pronounced subjectivity, Gehry's work raises a question one would not ask in relation to his equally famous colleagues: how can a little house in Santa Monica exist simultaneously as a private home and a public monument.*

Gehry's work describes a complex understanding of subjectivity and the nature of collective participation. Indeed, a fully historical account of the aspect of Gehry's architecture that is normally reduced to the status *of style would take into consideration a parallel history of the modern subject. The modern period invented the idea of subjectivity as it is generally understood. Increasingly, however, this very subject has come to appear progressively less monolithic. The 20th century in particular has provided various models of the subject, at once armored and fully individuated, multiple and divided against itself, and monadic, understood as an identifiable part of a larger whole. These various models, and the crises that their comparison evoke, provide one means of understanding the historical complexities that shape a figure such as Gehry.*



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1. Casa Gehry, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, 1978 (copertina di "Progressive Architecture", marzo 1980).
2. Modello della Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, 1993 (copertina di "Progressive Architecture", gennaio 1993).

1. Gehry House, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, 1978 (cover of "Progressive Architecture", March 1980).
2. Model of the Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, 1993 (cover of "Progressive Architecture", January 1993).

monadico, considerato come una parte identificabile di un tutto più ampio. Questi diversi modelli, e i conflitti che emergono da un loro confronto, offrono uno strumento di interpretazione delle complessità storiche dalle quali emerge una figura come quella di Gehry. Il merito principale di questi modelli compositi e frammentari è che essi permettono di interpretare le trasformazioni del soggetto moderno non come eventi autogeni ma in rapporto a specifiche condizioni storiche. L'atteggiamento di devozione reverenziale assunto spesso nei confronti di Gehry, tanto da renderlo una sorta di figura iconica estranea a ogni contesto storico, oscura la ricca complessità storica che conferisce importanza al suo lavoro. E' quindi indispensabile iniziare a considerare Gehry una figura storica generata da, e generante, istanze storiche generali.

Quando parla di quello che si potrebbe definire il suo "periodo di formazione", Gehry non parla molto di architettura. Egli descrive piuttosto una serie di crisi relative alla propria identità politica, nazionale, storica e architettonica. Gehry era un canadese che viveva negli Stati Uniti e che era divenuto americano senza sapere bene che cosa ciò significasse, un ottimista del dopoguerra con una vena di realismo prebellico, e un modernista che non aveva creduto molto nell'architettura moderna. Sembra che Gehry fosse inizialmente circondato da persone nelle quali riconosceva un'identità architettonica ben precisa che egli cercava sistematicamente di adottare. I suoi insegnanti, per esempio, erano stati per la maggior parte ex militari che avevano combattuto in Giappone, un fatto che sembra aver generato una serie di conseguenze nella formazione di Gehry. La prima, un interesse quasi spirituale nei confronti dell'architettura giapponese. La seconda, una spinta verso la ricerca di un'architettura che celebrasse l'imperturbabile individualista americano il quale, metaforicamente, aveva appena vinto la guerra. La terza, il tentativo di sviluppare un'architettura precisamente definita, in grado di tenere a bada i conflitti interni ed esterni. In altri termini, il periodo di formazione di Gehry diede forma a una visione dell'architettura paragonabile alla fase dello specchio nel percorso di formazione del soggetto lacaniano – un'immagine di vincente coerenza in un mondo ostile e minaccioso.

L'iniziale formulazione architettonica di questi temi nella Casa Steeves del 1959, il suo primo progetto indipendente, conduceva inevitabilmente a Frank Lloyd Wright, una figura che si sarebbe rivelata determinante nello sviluppo dell'immagine professionale che Gehry nutriva di sé (fig. 3). Con Casa Steeves Gehry si confronta con l'eredità wrightiana. L'edificio esplora sia il modo in cui nelle case della "Prairie School" i piani allungati e organizzati gerarchicamente si estendono nel paesaggio, sia l'uso del tetto largo e della costruzione in legno, soprattutto nelle forme semplificate delle Usonian Houses. Tuttavia, nonostante la palese influenza di Wright, rivelata anche da altri particolari, Casa Steeves esprime una volontà di sfida. Gehry rifiutava soprattutto la grandiosa monumentalità dell'opera di Wright, in particolar modo degli edifici progettati a Los Angeles, e il suo desiderio quasi infinito di produrre una *Gesamtkunstwerk* sottoposta a un controllo assoluto.

Uno degli aspetti più curiosi rispetto alla Casa Steeves è che nonostante molti particolari siano ripresi da Wright, Gehry sostiene di aver sentito la necessità di "*cimentarsi con Wright*", di metterlo alla prova, come si fa quando si vuole decidere quale vestito acquistare. C'è un po' di ironia in questo tentativo di indossare gli abiti di Wright, di avvolgersi nel mantello del Maestro e forse di nascondersi tra le sue pieghe: Wright è stata una delle personalità più note di questo secolo e certamente grazie alla sua straordinaria sensibilità "sartoriale" (fig. 4). Ma, come sostiene Gehry, ciò che gli impedì di indossare quegli abiti fu il disagio provato nei confronti della falsa identità rivelata dalla maschera dispotica e quasi aristocratica assunta da Wright. Gehry ha sviluppato in seguito una propria personalità, altrettanto definita e complessa, altrettanto aperta nel modo in cui si affidava a indicatori quali l'abbigliamento e il linguaggio, e altrettanto individualista e radicata nell'americanismo. Tuttavia, mentre sviluppava il carattere che aveva scelto di adottare, Gehry usò segni e simboli associati alla figura del muratore che aveva costruito Casa Steeves piuttosto che a quella del suo committente (fig. 5).

Mentre le caratteristiche della personalità di Wright si rivelavano sempre più inadatte al ruolo che Gehry aveva deciso di assumere – quando cioè, per così dire, egli iniziò ad avvicinarsi maggiormente allo specchio di Lacan e a non riconoscere più se stesso –, egli continuò ugualmente a esplorare e a elaborare l'idea di un soggetto compiutamente definito, di un tutto organico il cui *ego* agisce come un'armatura che produce e al tempo stesso protegge l'integrità dell'Io. Lo Studio Danziger del 1964 riflette chiaramente questo mutamento di carattere e di affiliazione (fig. 6). Ma il concetto di architettura come equivalente di un *ego* corazzato che agisce per proteggere l'io dal caos interno ed esterno, rivela come lo Studio Danziger, per quanto possa essere diverso dalla Casa Steeves in termini formali, costruisce il soggetto in modo del tutto analogo. Il progetto è frammentato in singole unità spaziali, ognuna delle quali è isolata rispetto all'area urbana circostante che Gehry definisce "*ambiente ostile*". Apparentemente slegato dal sociale e palesemente devoto al regno ermetico delle astrazioni estetiche, l'universo abitato da questo Gehry "soggettivo" sembra essere radicalmente estraneo alle caotiche complessità del mondo esterno.

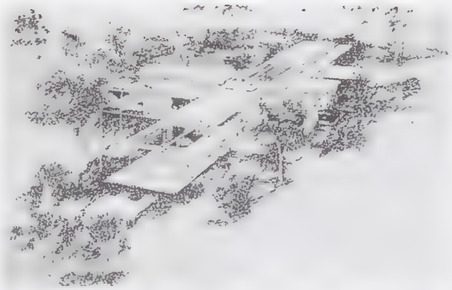
Con il progredire dell'opera di Gehry questa tendenza alla compiutezza soggettiva si fece sempre più pronunciata e la

The prime virtue of these multiple and fragmentary models is that they permit transformations in modern subjectivity to be understood not as self-generating events but in relation to specific historical conditions. The cultish devotion Gehry often inspires, which transforms him into a kind of iconic figure beyond the reach of history, obscures the dense historical complexity that lends his work its importance. Rather, it is imperative to begin to see Gehry as a historical figure effected by and effecting general historical concerns.

When Gehry speaks of what would normally be described as his "formative period," he speaks little about architecture. Instead, he describes a series of crises in relation to his political, national, historical, and architectural identities. He was a Canadian in the United States who became an American without being sure of what that meant, a post-war optimist with a pre-war realist streak, and a modernist who hadn't seen much in the way of modern architecture. Initially, Gehry seems to have been surrounded by people who had what he perceived as highly defined architectural identities which he systematically attempted to adopt. For example, as a student Gehry was taught principally by ex GI's who had spent much of the war in Japan. This context seems to have had several interrelated effects. The first was to instigate an almost spiritual interest in Japanese architecture. The second was to inspire a search for an architecture that celebrated the rugged American individualist who, metaphorically, had just won the war. The third consequence can be seen in Gehry's attempt to develop an architecture of strong definition that could keep incipient external and internal battles at bay. Gehry's formative period, in other words, shaped a view of architecture parallel to Lacan's mirror stage formation of the subject – an image of victorious cohesion amidst a hostile and threatening world.

The initial architectural formulation of these issues, in Gehry's first independent project, the Steeves Residence of 1959, led logically to Frank Lloyd Wright, a figure who would loom large in the development of Gehry's professional self-image (fig. 3). The Steeves house is a recombinant essay in the Wrightian legacy. The building explores how Prairie School houses elongated hierarchically organized plans and extended them into the landscape as well as the Wrightian use of an encompassing roof and wood construction, particularly in their simplified Usonian form. But while clearly indebted to Wright in these and other ways, the house also reveals an implicit challenge to Wright. Above all Gehry rejected the grandiose monumentality of Wright's work, particularly his work in Los Angeles, as well as Wright's almost infinite desire for the production of an absolutely controlled Gesamtkunstwerk.

Part of what is intriguing about the Steeves Residence is that while the building in certain regards took Wright on,



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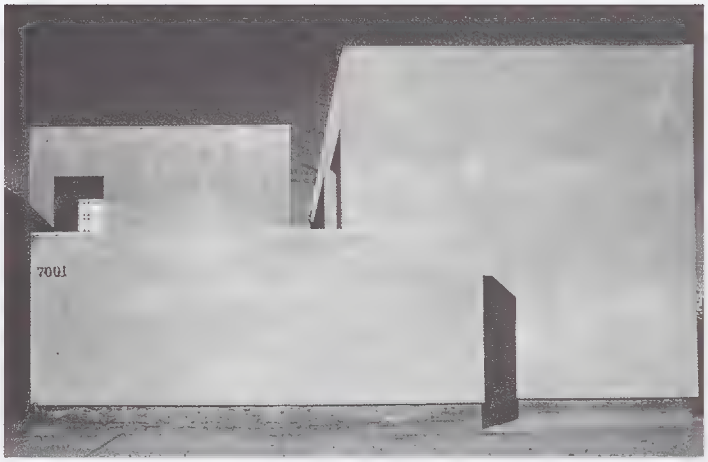
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3. Casa Steeves, Brentwood, Los Angeles, 1959: prospettiva.
4. Frank Lloyd Wright a Taliesin East, in una foto del 1924.
5. Frank O. Gehry con la poltrona "Cross-Check", 1992.

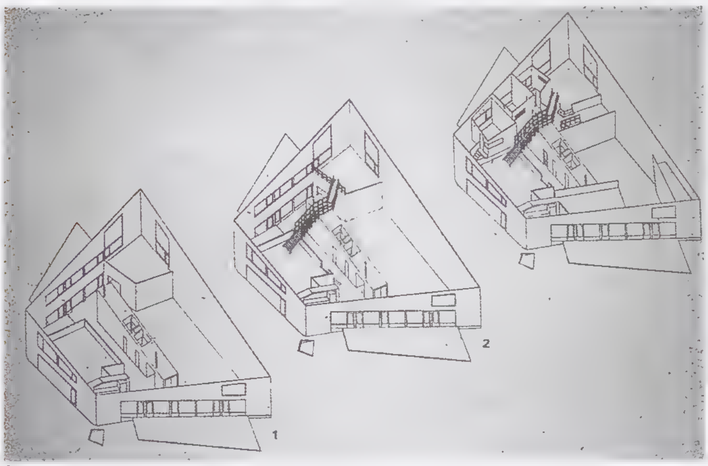
3. Steeves Residence, Brentwood, Los Angeles, 1959: perspective.
4. Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesin East, in a photo from 1924.
5. Frank O. Gehry with "Cross-Check" chair, 1992.



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6. Casa e Studio Danziger, Hollywood, Los Angeles 1964.
7. 8. Casa Ron Davis, Malibu, Los Angeles, 1972: vista e assonometrie di studio.

6. Danziger Studio and Residence, Hollywood, Los Angeles, 1964.
7. 8. Ron Davis House, Malibu, Los Angeles, 1972: view and working axonometric.

sua architettura divenne non solo una corazza ma addirittura lo specchio di Lacan, assumendo il compito di costruire un ritratto architettonico che contribuisse a produrre e a contenere un'immagine dell'*ego*. Questa architettura del tutto personale è espressa dalla casa che Gehry progettò per l'artista Ron Davis a Malibu, nel 1972 (figg. 7, 8). Di carattere essenzialmente simile a un *loft*, questa casa è concepita come un contenitore che offre la massima flessibilità progettuale, come un semplice *shed* che al tempo stesso consente le più ampie possibilità espressive. Per la sua costruzione sono stati utilizzati materiali e tecniche al tempo innovativi e oggi ormai diffusi: lamiera grecata, montanti a vista e una composizione scultorea nella quale, in una prima fase del progetto, gli spazi destinati al soggiorno e allo studio erano separati e si trovavano in due costruzioni isolate nel paesaggio. La configurazione della casa era stata dettata da un motivo ulteriore: il desiderio di completare un'immagine di Davis-artista. Come sosteneva lo stesso Gehry, se Davis produceva immagini spaziali non poteva però costruire uno spazio. "*Per lui sarebbe come scalare l'Everest*", diceva. Il desiderio di insegnare a Davis come si crea uno spazio portò all'elaborazione di una pianta distorta, trapezoidale. La geometria obliqua di questo volume richiama sempre l'attenzione al ruolo che essa stessa svolge nel definire la terza dimensione. Per contrastare questo spazio, tuttavia, le passerelle e i corpi scala interni sono inseriti come elementi lineari di una scenografia multiprospettica piranesiana. Gehry non si limitò a costruire uno spazio tridimensionale, ma volle letteralmente illustrare le relazioni tra le immagini bidimensionali dello spazio e lo spazio stesso. La casa esprime intenzioni formative, utilizzando con ottimismo l'architettura per costruire un ritratto di Davis che dia vita e forma all'artista come autore-soggetto integrale.

Nonostante l'opera iniziale di Gehry sembri esprimere e produrre una visione coerente e unificata del soggetto e dell'autore moderni, al tempo la sua vita professionale era rigorosamente divisa. Dopo aver prestato servizio nei Servizi speciali dell'Esercito statunitense, e aver studiato urbanistica presso la Harvard's Graduate School of Design, Gehry non scelse di avviare una propria attività né cercò impiego in qualche piccolo studio d'avanguardia. Egli preferì lavorare presso importanti studi associati quali Pereira & Luckman e Victor Gruen Associates. Era convinto che in questo modo si sarebbe cimentato in progetti di grande scala e in interventi urbanistici. Questa parte della produzione di Gehry, normalmente trascurata, non fu irrilevante: tra 1962 e 1980 egli collaborò a un numero sorprendente di progetti diversi, comprendenti schemi di pianificazione urbana, abitazioni e insediamenti residenziali commissionati sia da privati sia da istituzioni municipali. All'inizio degli anni Sessanta, per esempio, Gehry fece parte di un gruppo che progettò una serie di complessi residenziali a Los Angeles. I primi furono gli Hillcrest Apartments del 1962, un complesso composto da sei blocchi il cui iniziale riferimento stilistico erano i

Gehry claims he needed to "try Wright on," *as though Wright were a suit of clothes that could be bought off the rack. Gehry's attempt to wear Wright's clothes, to envelop and possibly hide himself in the folds of the master's cape is a bit ironic – Wright was one of the century's most personally notorious figures, certainly known for his extraordinary sartorial flair (fig. 4). Indeed, Gehry asserts that what got him out of that suit of clothes was his discomfort with the assumed identity projected by Wright's autocratic, almost aristocratic costume. Gehry would ultimately develop his own persona, as orchestrated and consistent as Wright's, equally comprehensive insofar as it relies on indicators such as dress and language, and just as deeply invested in a sense of Americanism and individualism. However, as Gehry matured his chosen character would use signs and symbols associated more with the workman that built the Steeves house than with the client to whom the house belonged (fig. 5).*

As the specificities of Wright's persona ceased suiting the role Gehry had decided to play, as you might say he looked closer in Lacan's mirror and no longer recognized himself, he nevertheless continued to explore and articulate the idea of a strongly defined subject, an organic whole whose ego works as a piece of armor, both producing and protecting the integrity of the self. The Danziger Studio of 1964 strongly reflects this change of character and affiliation (fig. 6). But the conception of architecture as the equivalent to an armored ego *working to protect the self from external and internal chaos, reveals that as different from the Steeves Residence as the Danziger Studio may be in formal terms, the way it constructs the subject remains the same. The program is broken down into individual spatial units, and each is blankly detached from the surrounding urban area, which Gehry describes as a* "hostile environment." *Apparently disengaged from the socius and manifestly devoted to the tightly shut realm of aesthetic abstractions, the universe inhabited by this "subjective" Gehry seems to have been radically divorced from the messy complexities of the external world.*

As Gehry's work developed, this fore-grounding of subjective wholeness grew more pronounced – architecture came not only to constitute a suit of armor, but actually became Lacan's mirror, assigning itself the task of constructing an architectural portrait which helps manufacture and contain an image of the occupants ego. *This quite literally personal architecture is discernible in the house Gehry built for the artist Ron Davis in Malibu in 1972 (figs 7, 8). Essentially loft-like in character, the house is designed as a container for maximum programmatic flexibility, a simple shed simultaneously enabling maximum expressive flexibility. The house is replete with now well known innovations – corrugated sheet metal, exposed studs and a sculptural composition in which, during an early design phase, living and studio space were separated into individual buildings positioned in the landscape. But the configuration of the house had an ulterior motive: Gehry's desire to complete an image of Davis-as-artist. While Davis made images that were spatial, he could not actually make a space, according to Gehry.* "That was his unscalable Mount Everest," *says Gehry. The desire to teach Davis about space-making led to a distorted trapezoidal plan. The skewed geometry of this box calls attention at every turn to its role in defining the third dimension. In counterpoint to this space, however, interior bridges and staircases weave themselves into the linear elements of a Piranesian multi-perspectival stage set. Gehry did not just build a three-dimensional space, therefore, but literally illustrated the interconnection between 2-dimensional images of space and space itself. The house is thus formative in intention, optimistically using architecture to build a portrait of Davis which brings into being and composes the artist as an integral author-subject.*

Although Gehry's early work seems both to project and produce a coherent and unified view of the modern subject and auteur, his own professional life was sharply divided at that time. After having served in the Special Services Division of the United States Army, and having studied City Planning at Harvard's Graduate School of Design, Gehry chose not to open his own firm or to seek employment at a small avant-garde studio. Instead, he elected to work for established corporate offices such as Pereira & Luckman and Victor Gruen Associates. This context, he felt, would give him exposure to and responsibility for large scale projects and urban development. Although this component of Gehry's architectural production tends to be overlooked, between 1962 and 1980 Gehry was involved in a prodigious number of projects that ranged in scope and type from urban planning schemes, to housing projects, to developments sponsored by private as well as by municipal clients. In the early 1960s, for example, Gehry was part of a team that attempted to develop multi-unit apartment buildings in Los Angeles. The first to be constructed were the Hillcrest Apartments of 1962, a six-unit building that took the California bungalow as its stylistic point of departure (fig. 11). By the mid-1960s Gehry had begun doing planning studies, urban renewal projects and architectural design for various governmental agencies including a project of 1967 for Rockdale Georgia, the Rose Gardens federally subsidized housing in Las Vegas of 1968, and the Vernon Central Redevelopment for Los Angeles of 1970 (fig. 9). Working with private developers – including a frequent client, The Rouse Company – Gehry was involved in office building construction, new town development, land-use studies, and large multi-family housing schemes.

bungalow californiani (fig. 11). A metà degli anni Sessanta Gehry iniziò a occuparsi di studi di pianificazione, progetti di rinnovo urbano e opere architettoniche per diverse agenzie governative, tra cui, nel 1967, un progetto per Rockdale, Georgia, nel 1968 i Rose Gardens a Las Vegas, un centro residenziale sovvenzionato dal Governo federale, e nel 1970 il Vernon Central Redevelopment a Los Angeles (fig. 9). Lavorando con imprese private, soprattutto con la The Rouse Company, Gehry si occupò di palazzi per uffici, nuovi insediamenti urbani, studi territoriali e pianificazione di ampi complessi residenziali.
Ciò che sorprende di questa mole di lavoro non è tanto la dimensione e la varietà, aspetti che diventano presto irrilevanti, quanto la differenza rispetto alle altre e più note opere di Gehry. Il confronto tra l'Harper House (1976), un edificio di quindici piani costruito per la The Rouse Company, e il Gemini G.E.L. (1976-1979), uno studio e galleria d'arte composto da un *collage* di volumi collegati da travi di legno compensato, richiede uno sforzo d'immaginazione per credere che siano stati progettati dallo stesso architetto e, praticamente, nello stesso anno (figg. 10, 12). Mentre alcune differenze tra i due edifici possono essere ricondotte al programma di base e alle esigenze del cliente, è importante sottolineare che queste distinzioni non sono né accidentali né imposte, ma determinate dal modo in cui Gehry aveva strutturato il proprio studio. Per due decenni, infatti, le *brochure* di presentazione del suo studio sottolineavano le due direzioni parallele che egli aveva deciso di seguire: da un lato progetti di basso profilo, pubblici e "immediati" quali complessi residenziali su grande scala, dall'altro progetti di alto profilo, privati e sperimentali, quali piccoli studi e residenze di artisti.

Queste due attività in una non riflettono soltanto le divisioni interne strettamente legate al mito americano, per il quale il fine del "rigido individualismo" contrasta con l'ideologia del "*melting pot*". Secondo Sigfried Giedion esse riflettono anche la condizione di base del soggetto moderno. In *Space, Time and Architecture* Giedion scrive: "*Abbiamo alle spalle un periodo in cui pensiero e sentimento erano realmente divisi. Questo scisma produsse individui il cui sviluppo interiore fu ineguale, e che mancavano di equilibrio interiore: personalità dissociate. La personalità dissociata quale caso psicopatico non rientra nel nostro argomento: noi ci occupiamo della mancanza di armonia interiore che poggia sulla struttura della personalità normale del nostro tempo*". Questa personalità architettonica dissociata, che rivela uno squilibrio tra un Io emozionale e le rivendicazioni di un Io sociale, ha caratterizzato la vita sia professionale sia personale di Gehry. Nel 1960, nel tentativo di risolvere questa frattura, Gehry iniziò una psicoterapia e nel 1966 Ed Moses gli presentò il dottor Milton Wexler. Gehry e Wexler ebbero un bellissimo rapporto che durò più di venticinque anni e, in modo alquanto insolito, si trasformò da un rapporto tra paziente e medico in un rapporto tra studente e mentore e, infine, in una profonda amicizia. A poco a poco gli effetti di questa relazione uscirono dai confini del gabinetto medico per raggiungere lo studio professionale di Gehry ed egli divenne non soltanto un architetto ma uno psicanalista dell'architettura e, soprattutto, dell'architettura moderna. Quando si sentì nuovamente represso, la schizofrenia professionale di Gehry si tramutò in una figura molto più complessa.

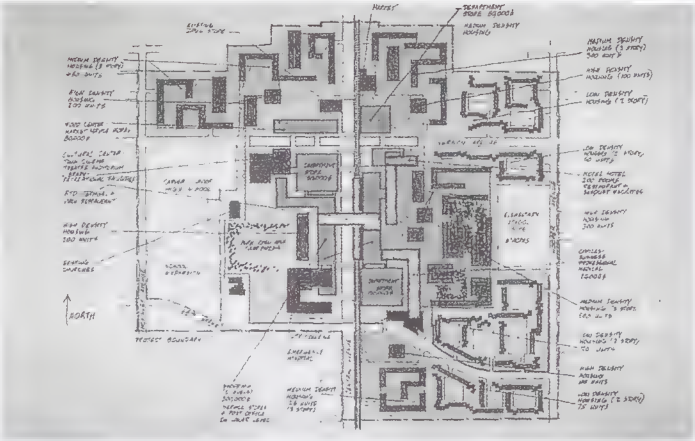
Nei tardi anni Sessanta, quando Gehry iniziò la psicoterapia, la morte del soggetto fu annunciata in ogni ambito culturale e l'autore integro ed eroico vide il suo corpo andare in pezzi, diminuire la distanza che così chiaramente lo separava dal caotico "altro", e la natura del suo Io trasformarsi da quella di artista umanista a quella di soggetto schizoide fluido e frammentato. L'effetto che questi sviluppi ebbero su Gehry è dimostrato non solo dalla sua decisione di affrontare l'analisi, ma anche dal suo desiderio di usare le tecniche di un analista per individuare gli impulsi primari del modernismo e distinguerli da formalizzazioni e addomesticamenti successivi. L'idea che la psiche di un individuo possegga la chiave che permette di accedere alla natura della sua produzione artistica appartiene a una tradizione lunga e complessa. Da quando Borromini si trafisse con la spada e Van Gogh si tagliò un orecchio, la visione romantica del genio creativo ha stabilito che l'anima tormentata è un requisito indispensabile alla produzione di una grande opera d'arte. Da questo punto di vista la terapia, che normalmente si propone di tranquillizzare l'anima, può essere controproducente e di tanto in tanto Gehry esprime il timore che l'analisi possa ridurre la sua facoltà creativa.

Esiste tuttavia una lunga tradizione, soprattutto in ambito architettonico, per la quale il ritorno alle origini rappresenta un percorso che porta al rinnovamento e alla rigenerazione. Questa ricerca delle proprie origini intrapresa da Gehry coincide con la ricerca delle origini dell'architettura, poiché tornando alla propria infanzia, con l'aiuto di Wexler, riaffiorarono in lui ricordi di creatività architettonica: insieme alla nonna costruiva città con tutto ciò che trovava in casa. Condividendo intensamente il commento di Picasso, il quale sosteneva di aver trascorso tutta la vita cercando di imparare a "vedere" così come vede un bambino, da quel momento Gehry avrebbe dedicato molta della sua energia professionale nel tentativo di stabilire un legame tra il proverbiale "castello di sabbia" dell'infanzia e una versione moderna dell'archetipo della "capanna primitiva". Per esempio, alcuni progetti tra loro correlati e realizzati negli anni Sessanta, potrebbero essere definiti *objets-trouvés* architettonici o edifici *ready-made*, che esprimo una solidarietà sociale attraverso l'anonimato personale. Nel lavoro per la Faith Plating Company (1964), per lo Studio e la Residenza Danziger e per il Fienile O' Neill (1968), le tipologie edilizie industriali e agricole "ritrovate" escludono qualsiasi elemento che potrebbe tradire una presenza

What is extraordinary about this body of work is not just its scale and variety, which nevertheless gets disregarded, but how opposed in character it seems in relation to his other and more easily remembered body of work. Comparing Gehry's Harper House (1976), a fifteen-story building of condominiums constructed for The Rouse Company, with his Gemini G.E.L. (1976-1979), a fine arts studio and gallery that collages together several volumes and interconnects them with threads of plywood studs, requires a stretch of the imagination to see that they were designed by the same man and in practically the same year (figs 10, 12). While some of the differences between these two buildings can be explained in terms of basic differences in program and client, what is important in this context is the degree to which the distance between them was neither accidental nor imposed, but rather was built into the structure of Gehry's office. In fact, for two decades his office's publicity brochures *emphasize that he deliberately led two parallel practices, separated into high and low, private and public, experimental and "straightforward," and typified by small studios and residences for artists on the one hand, and large scale housing schemes on the other.*

Gehry's two-practices-in-one reflect not only internal divisions within American mythologies, where the goal of "rugged individualism" contrasts with the ideology of the "melting pot." According to Sigfried Giedion it equally reflects the basic condition of the modern subject. In Space, Time and Architecture *Giedion argued,* "We have behind us a period in which thinking and feeling were separated. This schism produced individuals whose inner development was uneven, who lacked inner equilibrium: split personalities. The split personality as a psychopathic case does not concern us here; we are speaking of the inner disharmony which is found in the structure of the normal personality of this period." *This split architectural personality, which suggests an imbalance between his affective self and the demands on his social self, characterized both Gehry's professional and personal lives. In attempting to resolve this schism, Gehry began psychotherapy in 1960 and was ultimately introduced by Ed Moses to Dr. Milton Wexler in 1966. Gehry and Wexler formed an extraordinary relationship that has lasted for over twenty-five years and that, in a highly unusual way, evolved from patient/doctor to student/mentor to close personal friends. As this relationship leaked out of the doctor's office and seeped into Gehry's professional office, he became not just an architect but a psychoanalyst of architecture, and of modern architecture in particular. As the repressed returned, Gehry's professional schizophrenia was transmuted into a much more complex figure.*

During the late 1960s, when Gehry began his psychotherapy, the death of the subject was proclaimed all across the cultural field and the heroic and integral author



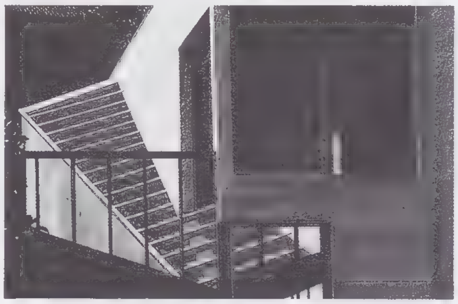
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9. Vernon Central Redevelopment, Los Angeles, 1970.
10. Harper House, Los Angeles, 1976.
11. Hillcrest Apartments, Los Angeles, 1962.
12. Gemini G.E.L. Studios, Los Angeles, 1976-79.

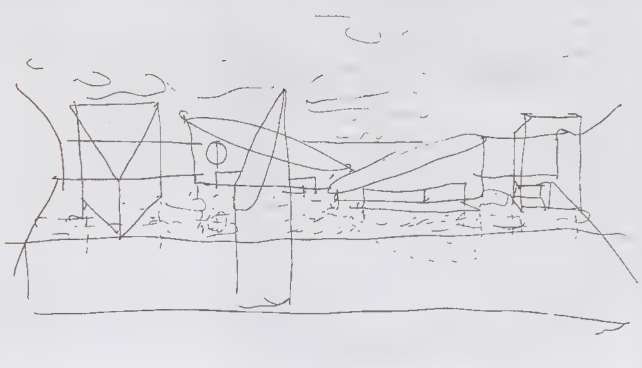
9. Vernon Central Redevelopment, Los Angeles, 1970.
10. Harper House, Los Angeles, 1976.
11. Hillcrest Apartments, Los Angeles, 1962.
12. Gemini G.E.L. Studios, Los Angeles, 1976-79.



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13. Fienile O' Neill, San Juan Capistrano, California, 1968.
14. Carl Andre, Lever, *1966.*
15. Istituto Jung, Los Angeles, 1976: disegno di studio.

13. O' Neill Hay Barn, San Juan Capistrano, California, 1968.
14. Carl Andre, Lever, *1966.*
15. Jung Institute, Los Angeles, 1976: working drawing.

particolare e caratterizzata (fig. 13). Secondo la tradizione modernista di spogliare l'architettura del Diciannovesimo secolo, di ridurla alla nuda essenza programmatica ed economica, sembra che Gehry abbia iniziato a spogliare l'architettura moderna di Los Angeles trovando non degli abiti, ma una sorta di corpo essenziale avvolto in uniformi adatte a tutti gli usi. Queste capanne primitive, che Gehry definì "*scatole mute*", suggeriscono un'affinità concettuale con quelle che Robert Venturi e Denise Scott Brown chiamavano a quel tempo ordinari "*shed decorati*". Ciò che le differenzia non deriva tanto dalla distinzione tra l'essere muto e l'essere ordinario, quanto dal luogo e dal modo in cui tali concetti vengono espressi e resi visibili in una forma. Nello *shed* ordinario forma e contenuto sono separati con precisione quasi chirurgica dal contrasto tra un contenitore semplice e convenzionale e una copertura dall'iconografia sofisticata. Al contrario, i gesti quasi preverbali delle scatole di Gehry sognano ancora un soggetto compiuto e organico racchiuso al loro interno.

Il grado secondo cui l'opera di Gehry può essere considerata parte di una tradizione architettonica è stato oscurato dal grado in cui i suoi edifici richiedono una trattazione in termini di arte moderna. Si tratta di una tematica complessa, provocata non tanto dal modo in cui Gehry parla della propria opera quanto dall'opera stessa. Nel caso di edifici quali la Casa Danziger, che era lo studio di un artista e il primo di una serie di progetti commissionati da artisti e destinati a un ambiente sociale di artisti che Gehry frequentava abitualmente, si riconosce subito un legame con la scultura minimalista. In questo contesto è importante considerare con quali artisti Gehry instaurava un rapporto e in quale modo. Molti di essi, come Richard Serra e Carl Andre, producevano oggetti che rappresentavano uno sviluppo quasi all'infinito delle definizioni tradizionali della scultura (fig. 14). In questo genere di lavoro si intuiva che la differenza tra i mezzi artistici non dipendeva da una differenza intrinseca tra i materiali, ma da una differenza contingente tra categorie culturali. Le prime opere di Jasper Johns o di Robert Rauschenberg giocano in modo analogo con le affinità e le differenze tra categorie artistiche: esse sono state definite "*dipinti costruiti*", in quanto si avvalgono dei materiali per produrre oggetti scultorei e spazi architettonici e collocarli sulla parete in un piano verticale, conservando così non la materialità del dipinto tradizionale ma il suo *locus* culturale. Nel suo rapporto con l'opera di tali artisti Gehry si propose di indagare precisamente queste gerarchie culturalmente determinate. Quando racconta di essere quasi caduto su un'opera di Andre esposta in una galleria, egli non ricorda l'affermazione di Barnett Newman: "*la scultura è ciò con cui ti scontri indietreggiando per guardare un quadro*". Gehry stesso sostiene che incespicando nei mattoni di Andre – un'esperienza che, a suo dire, gli cambiò la vita – egli non scoprì una scultura ma un muro: scoprì l'architettura.

saw its body broken down into parts, its clear distance from the chaotic "other" narrowed, and the nature of its self transformed from humanist artist into a dispersed and fluid Schizoid subject. The effect on Gehry of these developments can be seen not only in his decision to submit to the role of analysand but in his desire to use the techniques of an analyst in an effort to discern modernism's primary impulses and distinguish them from their later domestication and formalization. The idea that one's psyche holds the key to the nature of one's artistic production belongs to a long and complex tradition. Ever since Borromini impaled himself on a sword and Van Gogh cut off his ear, the Romantic vision of the creative genius has asserted that a tortured soul is prerequisite to the production of great works of art. From that point of view, therapy, which normally intends to quiet the soul, would be counterproductive and Gehry from time to time reveals that he had some anxiety that analysis would shrink his creative capacity.

However, there is an equally long tradition, especially strong in architecture, that a return to origins is a path to renewal and regeneration. Gehry's quest for personal origins coalesced with the search for architectural origins, for he found while returning to his childhood with Wexler during psychotherapy memories of architectural creativity; making cities out of domestic debris with his grandmother. Taking Picasso's comment, who said that he had spent his entire life trying to learn how to "look" as a child looks, very much to heart, Gehry would spend much of his subsequent professional energy attempting to forge a link between the proverbial childhood "mudpie" and a modern version of the archetypal "primitive hut." For example, an interrelated series of projects done during the 1960s can be described as architectural objets-trouvés or ready-made buildings, which declare social solidarity through personal anonymity. In work for the Faith Plating Company (1964), the Danziger Studio and Residence, and the O'Neill Hay Barn (1968), "found" industrial and agricultural building types exclude any elements that might betray a particular and individualized presence (fig. 13). In the modernist tradition of undressing the architecture of the nineteenth century, of stripping it down to its bare programmatic and economic essentials, Gehry seems to have begun undressing the modern architecture of Los Angeles finding instead of costumes a kind of basic body clothed in nothing but all-purpose uniforms. These primitive huts, or "dumb boxes" *as Gehry calls them, suggest a conceptual affinity with what Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown were calling at that time ordinary* "decorated sheds." *The difference between them derives less from the distinction between dumbness and ordinariness than from where and how such subject matter is placed and made visible in form. The ordinary shed almost surgically separates form and content by contrasting a simple and conventional container with an iconographically sophisticated lid. In contrast the almost pre-verbal gestures of Gehry's boxes still dream of a fully and organically embodied subject matter.*

The degree to which Gehry's work can be seen as part of an architectural tradition has been overshadowed by the degree to which his buildings ask to be discussed in terms of modern art. This is a complex issue, provoked as much by how Gehry speaks about the work as by the work itself. In the case of buildings such as the Danziger Residence, which was an artist's studio and which was the first of a series of projects done for artists and within a social milieu of artists frequented by Gehry, there is clearly a direct line of engagement with minimalist sculpture. Here it is important to look at what kind of artists Gehry engaged with and how. A great many of them, such as Richard Serra and Carl Andre, produced objects that almost infinitely expanded traditional definitions of sculpture (fig. 14). This kind of work began to suggest that the difference between media was not an intrinsic difference between materials but a contingent difference between cultural categories. The early works of Jasper Johns or Robert Rauschenberg play with proximity's and differences between artistic categories in a similar way. They have been called "constructed paintings" because they use materials to make sculptural objects and architectural spaces but place them on the wall in a vertical plane, thus retaining not the materiality of traditional painting but its cultural locus. Gehry's relation to this body of work involved precisely the questioning of such culturally determined hierarchies. When Gehry describes nearly tripping over a piece by Andre at an exhibition he does not recall Barnett Newman's dictum that "sculpture is what you bump into when you back up to see a painting." *What Gehry says he discovered after tripping over Andre's bricks, an experience he claims changed his life, was not a piece of sculpture, but a wall – he found architecture.*

Gehry's participation in this widespread effort to collapse the boundaries between media also effected his conception of what constitutes architecture and what kind of architect you become when and if you find it. When artists like Andre put sculpture on the floor, hardly an honorific position of high stature, and suggested a means of production where the hand and thus the function of the artist is conceptually negated, the status, nature and integrity of the author is called into question. Gehry's commission for the Jung Institute of 1976 bears the imprint of this realization for the archetypal modern building, as transparent and thin as technology would allow, is turned to the horizontal plane forming a shallow pool of water that becomes the ground from which a new architecture, as weighty and embodied as possible, rises (fig. 15). These emergent forms reject the infinite boundlessness of the modernist landscape in favor of a tightly knit and sculpted cityscape. The relationship between solids and voids, which are interconnected by a

La partecipazione di Gehry a questo sforzo diffuso di eliminare i confini tra i differenti mezzi artistici influenzò anche la sua concezione di che cosa è l'architettura e di che genere di architetto si diventa quando, e se, la si scopre. Quando artisti come Andre appoggiano le sculture sul pavimento, una collocazione che non rende grande merito all'opera d'arte, e propongono uno strumento di produzione che concettualmente nega la mano e, di conseguenza, la funzione dell'artista, sono lo *status*, l'indole e l'integrità dell'autore ad essere messi in questione. L'Istituto Jung, commissionato a Gehry nel 1976, esprime già questa concezione: un archetipo di edificio moderno, esile e trasparente quanto lo consente la tecnologia attuale, piegato sul piano orizzontale a formare una vasca d'acqua poco profonda che diventa il terreno dal quale sorge una nuova architettura, il più possibile solida e austera (fig. 15). Queste forme emergenti rifiutano l'illimitatezza infinita del paesaggio modernista in favore di un paesaggio urbano scolpito e compatto. Il rapporto tra solidi e vuoti, collegati da un pittoresco sentiero sinuoso e circondati da un muro asimmetrico, ricorda le analisi medievalizzanti della forma urbana elaborate da Camillo Sitte alla fine del Diciannovesimo secolo. L'ironia è che Sitte fu uno dei primi a individuare un nesso tra forma urbana e stati psicologici, associando piazze senza delimitazioni e troppo espanse alla patologia dell'agorafobia, analizzata in quegli anni, e che ciò sopravvive ancora in questa *enclave* junghiana. Tuttavia, invece di identificare panico e isteria come Sitte riconobbe in Vienna, gli junghiani si sarebbero aggirati in questa foresta di edifici primordiali e, identificandosi con ciascuna delle sue diverse forme architettoniche, avrebbero fatto esperienza della trasmutazione del loro "*destino personale nel destino del genere umano*", come diceva Jung. Gehry si proponeva soprattutto di creare un ambiente composto da forme così distinte, con caratteri talmente divergenti da indurre lo spettatore a credere che fosse opera di architetti diversi. In questo modo l'autorità individuale si sarebbe dissolta in un dinamico gioco di gruppo.

In questo periodo l'opera di Gehry accentua la frammentazione dell'Io disperdendo e dematerializzando le componenti che la costituiscono. Se uno dei massimi principi dell'architettura moderna era richiamare l'attenzione sulla natura della sua stessa costruzione, questo fu uno dei precetti che il *boom* edilizio verificatosi nell'America del dopoguerra indusse a ignorare più frequentemente. Gli ampi insediamenti di case prefabbricate, anche se standardizzati come predicavano i maggiori esponenti del modernismo, non richiamavano l'attenzione sulla natura della loro costruzione. Inoltre, invece che da astrazioni eroicamente congegnate, il paesaggio americano veniva progressivamente saturato da materiali e significati invisibili alla tradizione della cultura colta, immagini rinvenibili nella realtà e difficilmente eliminabili. Mentre iniziavano ad attingere ampiamente proprio dai detriti della cultura di massa, dei *mass media* e della produzione di massa e, come dice Gehry, a produrre "*bellezza dalla spazzatura*", gli artisti americani assunsero a poco a poco un atteggiamento nuovo e aggressivamente di "basso" profilo culturale. Con questo atteggiamento si voleva ignorare la tradizione "intellettualizzante" dell'avanguardia europea per abbracciare una cultura del popolo, popolare. In questo contesto Gehry si sentì finalmente a proprio agio: non doveva più indossare i buffi abiti di Frank Lloyd Wright ma avvolgersi invece nelle diafane ombre di una rete metallica e abbandonarsi liberamente alla Sperimentazione (fig. 16).

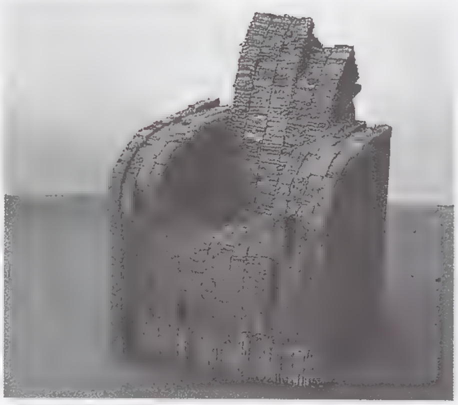
Se considerate in rapporto a queste complesse vicende del soggetto moderno in generale, e della soggettività di Gehry in particolare, la sua casa e le sue opere più recenti possono essere poste in nuova luce (fig. 17). Inestricabilmente legata alla figura personale e professionale di Gehry, la sua casa costruisce un concetto dell'Io non compiuto né chiaramente definito ma, come disse Foucault, "*simile a un volto disegnato sulla sabbia in riva al mare*". La casa di Gehry è, in sostanza, la casa di Tutti, un banale *bungalow* di assi di legno. Questo territorio neutro e quasi muto diviene la scintilla che accende un dialogo architettonico complesso e denso di significati. Ridotta allo scheletro al suo interno, la casa viene rivestita e avvolta all'esterno con una nuova struttura a *collage*. Astrazioni architettoniche, come le "finestre" e i "cubi", sembrano meteore cadute casualmente dal cielo. E come se trovasse respiro vitale, la diafana rete metallica si contorce e si libera dalla servitù materiale per trasformarsi nelle braccia animate di un danzatore inarcate nello spazio. L'enfasi concentrata sulla percezione, già sperimentata con Casa Davis, è accentuata dai cambiamenti di forme e materiali che consentono di vedere, vedere attraverso e vedere all'interno. Infine, racchiuso in questa cornice, si individua un Io esplorato e smascherato dall'affilato bisturi di un chirurgo ma sommerso dalle caotiche cianfrusaglie di un *bricoleur*.

Mentre l'intervento del chirurgo ha messo in luce la moderna capanna primitiva americana, come avviene in parte nella casa che Robert Venturi progettò per la madre nel 1962, il *bricolage* ha analogie nell'"Anarchitettura" di Gordon Matta-Clark (fig. 18). Se egli infatti non fosse morto nel 1978, la sua opera sarebbe divenuta senz'altro un punto di riferimento comune nell'analisi della produzione di Gehry. Il modo in cui Matta-Clark ha utilizzato gli elementi più ignorati del paesaggio urbano e il suo interesse per i concetti visuali di instabilità, *collage*, stratificazione, accompagnati dal desiderio di sovvertire completamente i ruoli culturali e sociali normalmente attribuiti al mezzo artistico, rivelano atteggiamenti e strategie che Gehry ha continuato a sviluppare. Entrambi sono concordi soprattutto nel criticare le fantasie dell'architettura moderna, il suo desiderio di dematerializzare l'architettura, di renderla

picturesquely twisting path and bound by an asymmetrical wall, recalls the medievalizing analyses of urban form made by Camillo Sitte at the end of the nineteenth century. The irony that Sitte was one of the first to connect urban form to psychological states, associating unconfined and expanding plazas with the recently defined pathology of agoraphobia, is not lost in this Jungian enclave. Instead of finding panic and hysteria as Sitte found in Vienna, however, the Jungians were to wander within this forest of primeval buildings and, by identifying with each of its different architectural shapes, experience the transmutation, as Jung said, of their "personal destiny into the destiny of mankind." *Above all, Gehry's idea was to compose an environment made of such distinct shapes with such strongly divergent personalities that the spectator was to suppose they had been made not by an architect but by several different architects. Here individual authority was to dissolve in the dynamic play of the group.*

The break down of the self is reinforced in Gehry's work of this period by dispersing and dematerializing the components out of which it is made. If calling attention to the nature of its own construction was one of the most highly held precepts of modern architecture, the post-war building boom in the US made this one of the most frequently disregarded of precepts. Large prefabricated housing tracts, even though mass-produced as called for by the giants of modernism, did not call attention to the nature of their own construction. Moreover, instead of heroically machined abstractions, the American landscape was increasingly saturated by materials and means, such as disposable images and hard to dispose of waste, that were invisible to the traditions of high culture. As artists began to pillage precisely this detritus of mass culture, mass media and mass-production, making as Gehry says "beauty out of junk," *a new and aggressively "low cultured" attitude developed in the American art world. This attitude claimed to shun the intellectualizing tradition of the European avant-garde, embracing instead the populace and the popular. This was the milieu where Gehry finally felt at home, where he no longer had to don the fancy cape of Frank Lloyd Wright but could wrap himself instead in the diaphanous shadows of chain link and sit on the easy comfort of Experimental Edges (fig. 16).*

When seen in relation to these complex vicissitudes of the modern subject and of Gehry's subjectivity in particular, his own house and his more recent work emerges in a new light (fig. 17). While inextricably associated with Gehry as a personality and professional, his house constructs a notion of the self that is neither whole nor clearly defined but rather, as Foucault said, is "like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea." *The core of the Gehry house is Everyman's house, a banal shingled bungalow. This neutral, almost mute, territory became the spark energizing a complex and*



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16. Mobili sperimentali "Edges", 1979-82.
17. Casa Gehry, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, 1978: modello.
18. Gordon Matta-Clark, Office Baroque, *cibachrome, 1977.*

16. Experimental "Edges" furniture, 1979-82.
17. Gehry House, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, 1978: model.
18. Gordon Matta-Clark, Office Baroque, *cibachrome, 1977.*



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19. Casa Schnabel, Brentwood, Los Angeles, 1986-89.
20. Vitra Design Museum, Weil-am-Rhein, Germania, 1989.
21. Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles: modello, 1992.

19. Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, Los Angeles, 1986-89.
20. Vitra Design Museum, Weil-am-Rhein, Germany, 1989.
21. Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles: model, 1992.

assente, in modo da mascherare le diverse forze che, di fatto, la rendono presente. Nei complessi rapporti che instaurano tra caratteristiche architettoniche convenzionalmente opposte – struttura e ornamento, oggetto e sito, interno ed esterno –, le opere di Gehry e di Matta-Clark suggeriscono l'esistenza di realtà interiori ed esteriori, di impulsi sociali e individuali, di maschere pubbliche e private che possono determinare o meno un equilibrio architettonico.

Una differenza fondamentale tra Matta-Clark e Gehry, tuttavia, è che mentre il primo azionava seghe circolari in magazzini abbandonati, partecipava alle manifestazioni di strada e viveva a SoHo, un quartiere in cui era ancora un atteggiamento radicale abitare, il secondo costruiva ciò che in termini di dimensione, costi, programma e ubicazione poteva essere definita soltanto una casa della classe media, una casa monofamiliare. La relativa normalità di questa impresa appare più evidente quando si colloca la casa di Gehry in una tradizione architettonica caratteristica di Los Angeles, una città che ha fornito il contesto per la costruzione di un insolito numero di case realizzate da architetti influenti. Se confrontata con emblemi dell'architettura moderna della California meridionale, come Casa Eames o Casa Schindler, la casa di Gehry si distingue subito per le sue implicazioni più ordinarie e convenzionali. Anziché cercare di fornire un contesto a una nozione del tutto nuova di vita familiare, come Casa Schindler, o pretendere di indicare un sistema di produzione completamente mutato, come Casa Eames, e senza essere situata all'estrema periferia della città, come lo erano entrambe, la casa di Gehry cerca di cogliere la quotidianità. Essa rivela tuttavia un'ambivalenza piuttosto marcata rispetto alla contemporaneità, un'ambivalenza espressa dal complesso intreccio tra vecchio edificio e nuovo involucro, dall'uso inconsueto di materiali comuni e dal rapporto dissociato rispetto alla cultura della classe media alla quale appartengono sia l'edificio sia l'architetto che l'ha progettato. Ed è proprio lasciando uno spazio a questa ambivalenza che Gehry riesce a formulare quella domanda sull'architettura che il modernismo dell'utopia socialista non era riuscito a porre: se l'architettura sia una chiave per la liberazione sociale o se essa sia una gabbia socializzata e socializzante dalla quale l'individuo deve fuggire.
Gabbia e allo stesso tempo chiave, la casa di Gehry era anche un paletto conficcato nel terreno che rivendicava una proprio ruolo nel sogno americano: un terreno di proprietà, con una casa di proprietà costruita, almeno simbolicamente, con le proprie mani. Un aspetto importante di questo sogno storico è che avere casa significa potersi proteggere dalle istanze e dalle complessità dell'arena pubblica, ma a questo proposito sembra che Gehry si sia costruito un vaso di Pandora. Tutte le persone che in un flusso incessante visitano la sua casa rivendicano un loro ruolo nel sogno di Gehry. Esse non rispettano la regola che vige nei musei

highly charged architectural dialogue. Stripped to its bare bones on the interior, the house is re-clothed and enveloped by a new collaged structure on the exterior. Architectural abstractions, such as "windows" and "cubes" seem like meteors to have fallen randomly out of the sky. As though given the breath of life, diaphanous chain link twists and stretches its way out of material servitude to become the animate arms of a dancer arching into space. The concentrated emphasis on perception explored in the Davis House is strengthened by shifts in form and material, which enable one to see, see through, and see in. Finally, what one sees within this frame is the self, probed and exposed by the exacting scalpel of a surgeon overlaid with the messy odds and ends of a bricoleur.

While the surgery acted to expose the modern American primitive hut, an aim that has parallels in the house Robert Venturi built for his mother in 1962, the bricolage *has parallels in the "Anarchitecture" of Gordon Matta-Clark (fig. 18). In fact, if Matta-Clark had not died in 1978, his work would undoubtedly have become a common point of reference in the analysis of Gehry's production. Matta-Clark's use of neglected elements of the urban landscape and interest in visual ideas of instability,* collage, *and layering, as well as a desire to utterly subvert the cultural and social positions usually assigned to artistic media are ideas and strategies that Gehry continued to develop. Above all, both share a devotion to a critique of the fantasies of modern architecture, its desire to dematerialize architecture, to make it absent, as a means of masking the various forces it actually makes present. Works by Gehry and Matta-Clark suggest, in the complex relations they establish between conventionally opposing architectural features – structure and ornament, object and site, inside and outside – that there are inner and outer realities, social and individual impulses, and public and private masks that hang in the architectural balance.*

An important difference between Matta-Clark and Gehry, however, is that while the former was taking buzz saws to abandoned warehouses, doing agit-prop in the streets, and living in a SoHo loft when that was still a radical thing to do, the latter was building what in terms of size, cost, program, and location can only be called a middle-class, single family house. The relative normalcy of this enterprise becomes even more clear when one situates the Gehry house in an architectural tradition rather peculiar to Los Angeles. The city has provided the context for an unusually large number of influential architect's houses. In comparison to such icons of modern architecture in Southern California as the Eames House or the Schindler house, it is in part the very standard and conventional implications of the Gehry house that stand out. Not calling for an utterly transformed notion of family life, as did the Schindler's house, nor claiming to indicate a thoroughly transformed mode of production, as did the Eames's house, nor located in a remote part of the city as were both, Gehry's building attempts to take on the every day. The house is extraordinarily ambivalent about these days, however, an ambivalence reflected in the utter entanglement of the old building and its new wrap, in the odd use of regular materials, and in its divided attitude toward the middle class culture from which both the building and its architect derive. It is precisely by allowing this ambivalence a place in his house that Gehry manages to ask the very question about architecture that the modernism of utopian socialism could not address: is architecture a key to social liberation or is it a socialized and socializing cage from which the individual must escape.

While Gehry's house was both a cage and a key, it was at the same time a stake driven into the ground, laying claim to his share of the American dream: your own land, with your own house, built, at least figuratively, with your own hands. An important component of this historic dream is that one's house provides a haven from the demands and complexities of the public arena, yet Gehry seems to have built himself a Pandora's box in this regard. The endless stream of visitors to the house lay their own claim to a share of Gehry's dream. They do not observe museum "look, but don't touch" etiquette. Rather they feel free to explore every inch of the property, to peep in windows, knock on doors, and insist on personal guided tours. These activities were of course facilitated by the original design, which lacked high fences or defensive perimeter walls and contained several large windows placed inviting views to the interior. The traditional distinction between private and public space was not the only barrier to be breached: as windows bulge beyond their normal two-dimensions and protrude on the face of the exterior, outside elements, such as asphalt, intrude within, and matter normally hidden inside a wall is without. The complexly collaged composition of the whole makes it difficult to discern where exactly the architecture ends and where trespassing begins. Together, these architectural transgressions contributed to a blurring of the distinction between Gehry's private, public, and professional lives and established the house as a territory on which these entities were suspended in permanent confrontation.

But the house, whatever the ambiguities of the building itself, ultimately made Gehry an unquestionably public figure, an architect whose subsequent commissions themselves have become of an ever more public nature. However, over the course of those same years during which Gehry entered more fully into the public realm in this double sense, the nature and concerns of public discourse have changed. Instead of the death of the subject, the return of multiple subjects is now proclaimed and championed in a complex collage *of positions that range from the left to the*

"guardare e non toccare"; anzi, si sentono libere di esplorare ogni angolo della proprietà, di sbirciare dalle finestre, di bussare alle porte e di insistere per essere guidate nella loro visita. Tutti comportamenti facilitati dal progetto originale, naturalmente, che non prevedeva alte recinzioni o muri di cinta e presentava una serie di ampie finestre che sembravano distribuite volutamente per attrarre i curiosi. La distinzione tradizionale tra spazio pubblico e spazio privato non era l'unico ostacolo da superare: poiché le finestre trasgrediscono l'usuale bidimensionalità e sporgono dalla facciata, elementi esterni, come l'asfalto, si insinuano all'interno e la materia comunemente nascosta all'interno di un muro ne fuoriesce. La complessa composizione a *collage* dell'insieme rende difficile stabilire fino a che punto si può parlare di architettura e dove inizia invece la trasgressione. Trasgressioni architettoniche che, nel loro insieme, contribuiscono a offuscare la distinzione tra la vita privata, pubblica e professionale di Gehry e rendono la sua casa un territorio nel quale queste entità rimangono sospese in permanente confronto.

Ma questa casa, nonostante le sue ambiguità, ha fatto di Gehry una figura pubblica, un architetto i cui lavori successivi sono diventati, inevitabilmente, di natura pubblica. Tuttavia, negli stessi anni in cui Gehry assumeva maggiormente una dimensione pubblica, intesa in questa doppia accezione, la natura e le implicazioni della sfera pubblica subivano un mutamento. In luogo della morte del soggetto si ritorna alla molteplicità dei soggetti, articolati in un complesso *collage* di opinioni che spaziano da posizioni di destra a posizioni di sinistra e che insieme sostituiscono la precedente frammentazione del soggetto in sé con un concetto di collettività assai incontrollabile. Questo processo di trasformazione ha influenzato le opere più recenti di Gehry. La frammentazione del soggetto in parti disperse espressa nel periodo che intercorre tra il progetto dell'Istituto Jung e quello di Casa Schnabel, può essere anche considerata il primo stadio nella possibile ricomposizione delle parti (fig. 19). In quest'ottica, nonostante Gehry descriva spesso una sua opera come nata dal desiderio di costruire un edificio che sembri progettato da diversi architetti – che sembri cioè il frutto dell'attività collettiva di individui distinti e non di un unico individuo dominante –, egli afferma anche che questo è un fine irraggiungibile, che dipende palesemente da strategie formali di differenziazione, attraverso parti rese diverse da ovvi mutamenti di forma, materiale e colore. Mentre la riformulazione di questo fine è ancora in fase di elaborazione, alcuni progetti lasciano intendere che questa ricomposizione avrà un ruolo importante. Nel Museo Vitra del 1989, per esempio, si vedono parti non del tutto differenziate svilupparsi e ricomporsi insieme non per ritrovare la loro vecchia identità ma, probabilmente, per ridefinire se stesse (fig. 20).

I progetti più recenti di Gehry, come la Dancing House a Praga o la Disney Concert Hall a Los Angeles, galvanizzano discorsi antitetici sulla soggettività e sul sociale (fig. 21). Per Herbert Muschamp, critico di architettura del "New York Times", la Disney Concert Hall si propone come strumento terapeutico per una Los Angeles post-rivolta, evocando non tanto un regno magico quanto una "democrazia magica". Altri considerano questi progetti monumenti alla disgregazione sociale, testimonianze di antiquate fantasie di un soggetto borghese universale. Ciò che questi edifici esprimono, individualmente e rispetto a problematiche specifiche di razza, genere, classe o etnia, sono interrogativi complessi difficilmente formulabili e ancora più difficilmente risolvibili. Gli edifici non esistono come oggetti autonomi estranei a un più ampio contesto socioculturale e se sorgono degli interrogativi, questo dipende in parte dal sorgere di una nuova situazione sociale. Poiché i principali edifici pubblici sorgono in un'epoca in cui non c'è alcun accordo teoretico rispetto ai metodi di analisi e definizione della sfera pubblica o del soggetto moderno, sarebbe preoccupante pensare che essi possano generare un consenso unanime.
Ci sono tuttavia alcune cose che si possono già dire rispetto al lavoro attuale di Gehry. I suoi progetti più recenti non sono un richiamo a una politica radicale della soggettività, ma nemmeno una capitolazione di fronte allo *status quo*. Anzi, essi sono espressione e frutto di una lunga analisi e discussione di queste istanze, e svelano un traumatico dischiudersi di nuove soggettività e tipi di pubblico possibili. Lo specchio corazzato di Lacan viene sostituito da ciò che esso stesso più temeva, la complessa turbolenza del fluido in movimento. Nonostante sia ancora uno strumento di riflessione, questa nuova fluidità non ci consente facilmente di modellare e di riconoscere noi stessi in modo da poterci distinguere dagli altri. Il soggetto umanista e universalista è stato demolito. Di conseguenza, l'*enclave* pubblica un tempo ermeticamente chiusa alla quale apparteneva il soggetto si apre alle possibilità di casuali eventi urbani e all'eterogeneità sociale. Mentre molti progetti recenti di Gehry nascono forse dalla semplice ambizione di progettare edifici e monumenti pubblici di valore, questa stessa ambizione è minata dalla gerarchia elusiva e dall'indeterminata forma simbolica che li caratterizza. Stranamente discreti ma decisamente dinamici, questi edifici ci permettono di riconoscere la profonda complessità dell'atto di guardare attraverso noi stessi e negli altri, in noi stessi e verso un'integrità sociale che, potenzialmente, si è nuovamente costituita.

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Traduzione di Giovanna Albio.

right and that together substitute the former fragmentation of the subject itself with a highly fractious notion of collectivity. This transforming process can be seen working both on and in Gehry's work of recent years. The breaking down of the subject into dispersed parts which can be read in work ranging from the Jung Institute to the Schnabel house, can also be seen as the first stage in the possible reconstitution of these parts (fig. 19). Thus, while Gehry often describes this work as having been born of a desire to build a building that looked like it had been built by different architects – in other words that it had been generated by a collective activity of distinct individuals rather than by a single and dominant individual–he also asserts that this was an unattainable goal, overly dependent on formal strategies of distinctiveness with parts differentiated by obvious changes in form, material and color. While the reformulation of this goal is still in the process of evolving, certain projects suggest that reconstitution will play an important role. Thus, at the Vitra Museum of 1989, one sees incompletely differentiated parts growing back together, not to re-find their old self, but perhaps to redefine themselves (fig. 20).

Today, projects such as the Dancing House in Prague or the Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles galvanize antithetical discourses about subjectivity and the socius (fig. 21). For Herbert Muschamp, architecture critic for the "New York Times", the Disney Concert Hall promises to be a therapeutic device for post-rebellion LA, evoking not a magic kingdom but a "magic democracy." Others see such projects as monuments to social divisiveness, as testaments to out-dated fantasies of a universal bourgeois subject. What these buildings will say, individually to individual matters of race, gender, class or ethnicity are complex questions that cannot properly be raised, much less answered. Buildings do not exist as autonomous objects distinct from a larger socio-cultural field and when and if answers emerge they will do so in part by virtue of social change. As major public buildings coming into being at a time when there is no theoretical agreement on how to think through and define the public sphere or the modern subject, it would be frightening to think that they could enforce a monolithic consensus.

Certain other things, however, can already be said about Gehry's current work. Recent projects are not the call to a radical politics of subjectivity, but nor are they Dirty Harry. Instead, they bear witness to a long analysis of and struggle with these issues, and make recognizing the traumatic unfolding of new subjectivities and types of publics possible. Lacan's armored mirror has been replaced by what it feared most, the complex turbulence of fluid in motion. Although still a reflective device, this new fluidity does not easily allow us to shape and recognize ourselves and thus distinguish ourselves from others. The humanist and universalist subject has been dismantled. As a result, the once tightly shut public enclave to which this subject belonged has been opened to the possibilities of chance urban events and social heterogeneity. While many of Gehry's recent projects are perhaps conceived with the conventional ambition of producing distinguished buildings and public monuments, that very ambition is challenged by their elusive hierarchy and indeterminate symbolic form. Oddly delicate but decidedly dynamic, these buildings permit us to recognize the profound complexity of the act of seeing through ourselves and into others, into ourselves and toward a potentially newly constituted social whole.

** Sylvia Lavin is assistant professor of Architectural History and Theory at the University of California, Los Angeles. She has taught at Harvard, Columbia, SCI-Arc and USC. She is the author of numerous pubblications on eighteenth-century French architectural theory including* Quatremère de Quincy and The Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture *(MIT Press, 1992). She is currently working on a book concerned with modern American architecture and the culture of psychoanalysis.*

ING Office Building, Prague, Czech Republic

1992-in costruzione/under construction

Frank O. Gehry & Associates, Inc.

Design Principal: Frank O. Gehry
Project Principal: James Glymph
Project Architect: Marc Salette
Project Designer: Edwin Chan
Project Team: Eva Sobesky, Thomas Stallman,
Lisa Towning, Douglas Giesey, Masis Mesropian
Computer Coordination: Philip Rowe, Kristen Woehl

Collaborative Architect: Vladimir Milunić, Studio VM

[illegible] J. White/M. Salem



Veduta del modello.
Foto J. White.

View of the model.
Photo J. White.

ING Office Building, Prague, Czech Republic

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Veduta del modello.
Foto J. White.

View of the model.
Photo J. White.

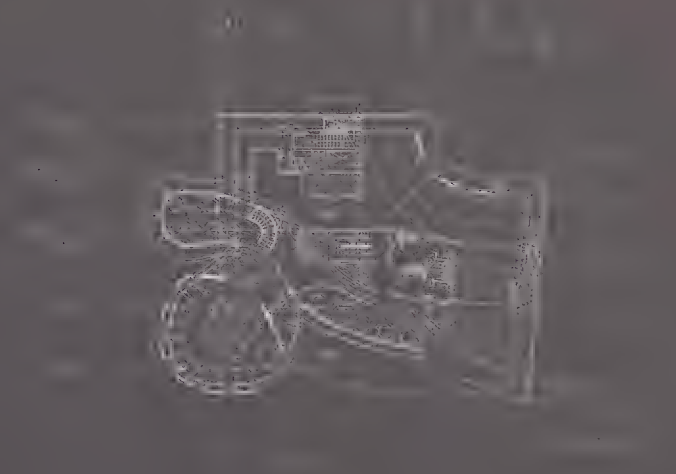


Palazzo per uffici ING, Praga, Repubblica Ceca
Frank O. Gehry, Vladimir Milunić

Situato lungo le rive del fiume Moldava, nei pressi del Teatro Nazionale e di altri importanti centri di cultura, questo palazzo per uffici si trova in uno degli unici tre siti edificabili del centro storico di Praga. Esso occupa un'area lasciata libera da un edificio che una bomba americana distrusse accidentalmente durante la seconda guerra mondiale. Le adiacenze del sito, posto ad angolo su una piazza di forma irregolare, hanno suggerito il progetto di due torri gemelle, che consentono una connessione graduata tra strada e strada e costituiscono al tempo stesso un fulcro di forte impatto visivo. La concezione volumetrica delle torri introduce inoltre un elemento scultoreo appropriato al contesto urbano.
Il progetto prevede la distribuzione di mq 5000 adibiti a uffici commerciali in modo da sfruttare al meglio la singolare ubicazione dell'edificio e l'impostazione volumetrica delle torri gemelle. Al piano terreno, con accesso diretto dalla riva del fiume e dalla piazza, si trovano un caffè e uno spazio di mq 200 destinato a negozi. Altri mq 200 di negozi occupano il piano sottostante. Gli uffici si trovano dal secondo al settimo piano e sono stati progettati in modo da soddisfare rigorosamente le richieste della committenza. Gli spazi direttamente retrostanti le torri gemelle sono destinati a uffici particolari o a sale conferenza. Infine, un bar e un ristorante con 120 coperti occupano il piano più alto, offrendo una vista spettacolare sulla *skyline* di Praga e sul Castello.
La facciata principale, rivolta verso il fiume, riprende la ricca *texture* e la scala delle vicine case a schiera: il vivace andamento ondulato dei cornicioni delle case lungo il fiume continua nel motivo ondeggiante creato dalle finestre sfalsate e dalle linee orizzontali sul fronte dell'edificio. La facciata verrà costruita con pannelli di cemento prefabbricati con finitura esterna a intonaco, comune a molti altri edifici di Praga.
Delle due torri gemelle, una è un volume cilindrico compatto, l'altra una torre di vetro rastremata. Entrambe sono sostenute da una serie di colonne scultoree che creano una piccola piazza coperta attraverso la quale si accede agli uffici ai piani superiori. La torre rastremata sarà chiusa da un doppio involucro di *curtain wall* in ferro e vetro. Lo strato interno costituirà l'effettiva parete dell'edificio mentre quello esterno, scultoreo, funzionerà come uno schermo per gli uffici sottostanti.
In questo progetto ha giocato un ruolo decisivo l'elaborazione tridimensionale a *computer*, che ha integrato con successo i metodi tradizionali di rappresentazione, valutazione e controllo della qualità. La modellazione tridimensionale a *computer* facilita un più stretto legame del progetto con gli elementi della costruzione, contrariamente a quanto avviene con i *software* di pura restituzione grafica, oggi maggiormente diffusi negli studi di architettura. Con questo tipo di approccio si vuole sostenere e esaltare un modo di progettare che si avvale fortemente della elaborazione di modelli di studio dimostrativi e di verifica degli aspetti costruttivi.

ING Office Building, Prague, Czech Republic
Frank O. Gehry, Vladimir Milunić

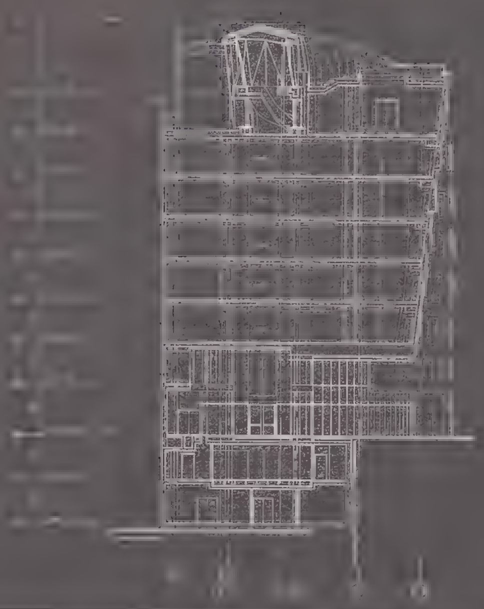
Located along the Vltava river front within walking distance of the National Theatre and other prominent cultural facilities, the site is one of only three in the historical centre of Prague where new construction is being permitted. The building formerly on the site was destroyed accidentally by an American bomber during World War II. The corner site's adjacency to an unusually shaped public square calls for a twin tower scheme that makes a smooth transition from street to street, while at the same time creating a strong visual focus. This massing strategy also establishes a sculptural dialogue appropriate to its urban context.
The programmatic elements of the building distribute the 5,000 square metre commercial office building to take best advantage of its unique location and massing strategy. On the ground level, directly accessible from the river front and public square, is a café and 200 square metres of retail space. An additional 200 square metres of retail space occupy the lower level. The office spaces occupy floors 2-7 and are designed to meet the most rigorous requirements of the client. The spaces directly behind the twin towers are intended as special offices or conference rooms. Finally, a proposed bar and 120-seat restaurant occupy the top level of the building to take full advantage of the spectacular view of the Prague skyline, including the castle.
The main exterior façade overlooking the river bank responds to the rich textures and scale of the adjacent row houses. Its staggered windows and horizontal striations gradually break into a wave pattern that relates to the undulating cornice lines of the lively neighbouring river front façades. It will be constructed of precast concrete panels with the type of plaster finish common in local Prague architecture.
The twin towers, one a cylindrical solid volume, the other a tapering glass tower, are supported by a number of sculptural columns which create a small covered entrance plaza for the offices above. Furthermore, the glass tower will be comprised of two layers of steel-supported glass curtain wall. The interior layer is the actual wall of the building with the sculptural outer layer acting as a screen for the office spaces underneath.
In this project, 3D computer modelling played a key role in supplementing the traditional methods of documentation, bidding and quality control. This approach to 3D computer modelling was developed to link the design process more closely to fabrication and construction technologies, as opposed to the imaging software more typically used by architects. The approach is intended to support and expand on a design process which relies heavily on building physical architectural models and mock-ups.

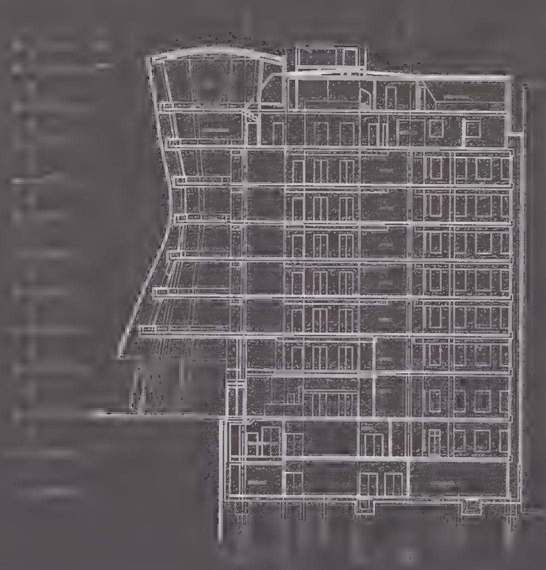


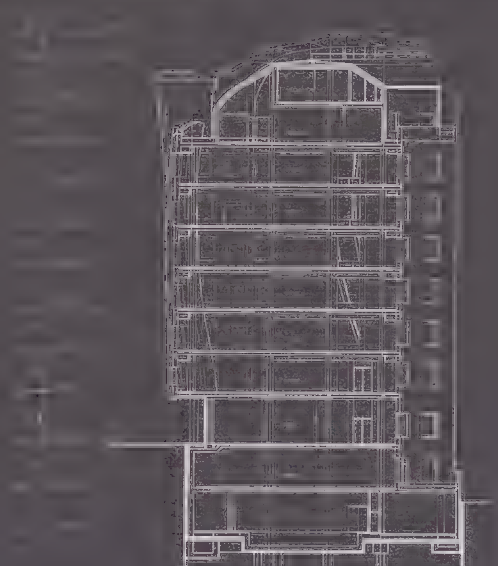




Plans of the [illegible] fourth and eighth floors
Sections



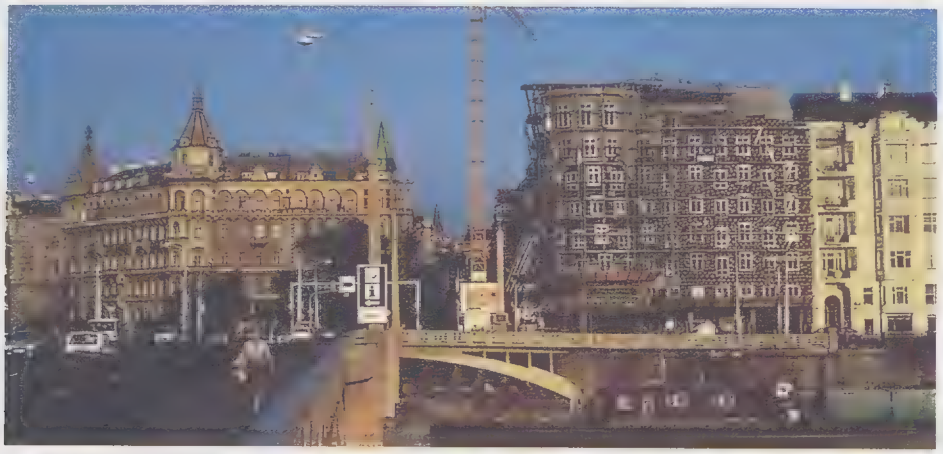








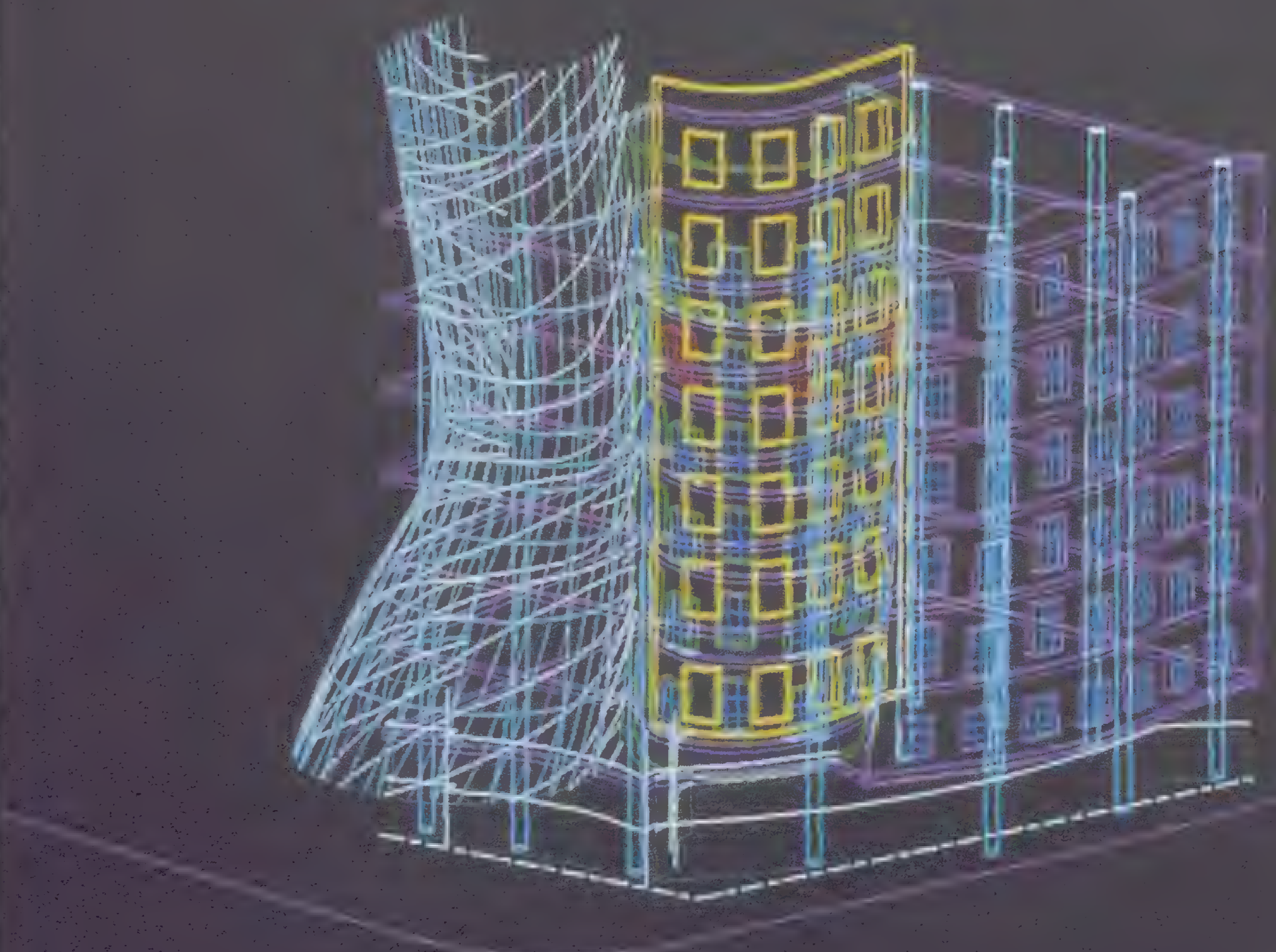






Fotomontaggi e viste dell'edificio in costruzione.
Foto M. Salette.

Photomontages and views of the building under construction.
Photos M. Salette.







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Views of the model /
Photos F. White



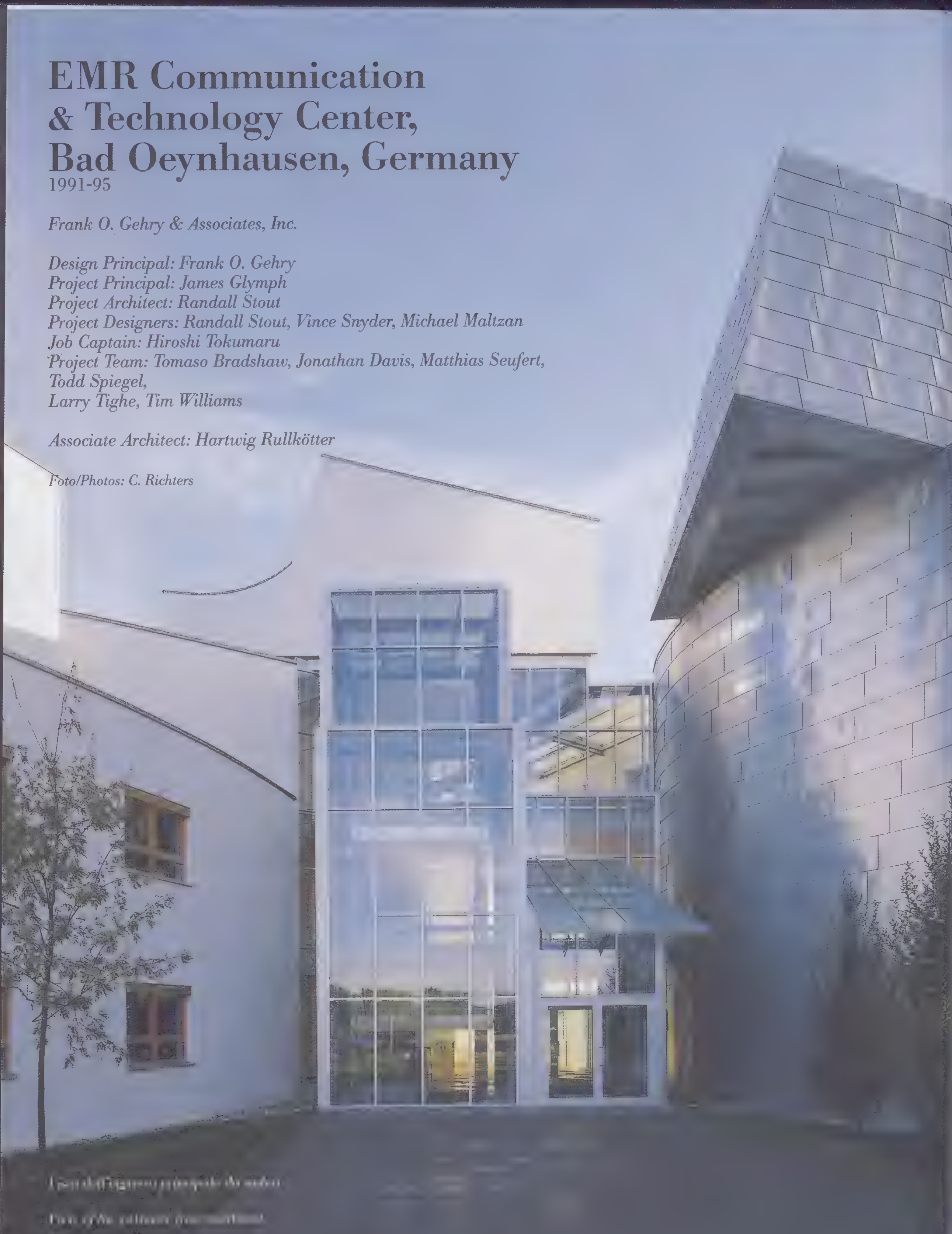
EMR Communication & Technology Center, Bad Oeynhausen, Germany
1991-95

Frank O. Gehry & Associates, Inc.

Design Principal: Frank O. Gehry
Project Principal: James Glymph
Project Architect: Randall Stout
Project Designers: Randall Stout, Vince Snyder, Michael Maltzan
Job Captain: Hiroshi Tokumaru
Project Team: Tomaso Bradshaw, Jonathan Davis, Matthias Seufert, Todd Spiegel,
Larry Tighe, Tim Williams

Associate Architect: Hartwig Rullkötter

Foto/Photos: C. Richters



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Centro tecnologico e delle comunicazioni EMR, Bad Oeynhausen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germania
Frank O. Gehry

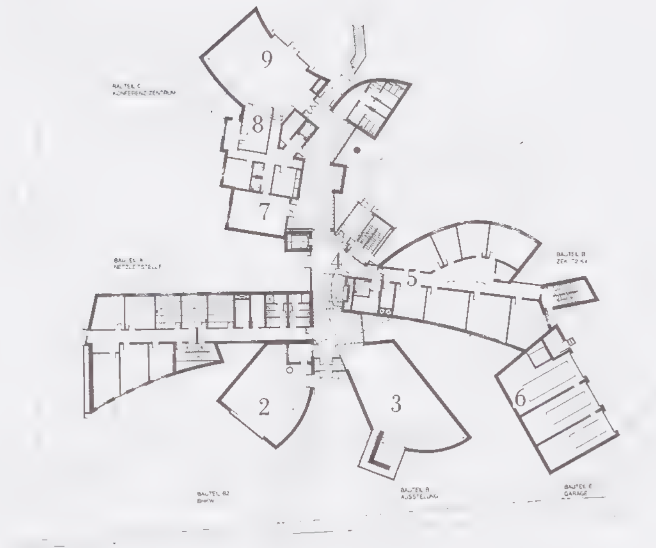
L'area occupata dall'EMR (Elektrizitatswerk Minden-Ravensberg GMBH) è ubicata in Mindener Strasse B61, una delle principali vie di accesso a Bad Oeynhausen. Dal nuovo svincolo autostradale, in direzione est, il complesso viene percepito come porta di accesso alla città.
L'area confina con Mindener Strasse e con Dehmer Strasse a sud e a est; a ovest con un'area occupata da edifici industriali da convertirsi in un nuovo centro commerciale. A nord si trova invece una cintura verde che costeggia il fiume Werre, oltre la quale si estende la campagna ai piedi dei monti Wiehew. Gli edifici previsti sono distribuiti sull'area in modo da rispondere alle caratteristiche del contesto urbano che fronteggia Mindener Strasse. Gli spazi destinati agli uffici e ai laboratori delle attrezzature tecniche sono ubicati nel corpo in linea che fronteggia la strada e che costituisce un limite urbano, mentre crea spazi verdi sui lati nord e ovest dell'edificio. In questo corpo la parte adibita a uffici è distribuita su tre piani, mentre quella destinata ad ospitare le attrezzature tecniche, tra cui il Network Control Center per la distribuzione elettrica regionale, è su due livelli. Al centro dell'edificio in linea si trovano l'atrio con l'ingresso principale, la *reception* e la zona di distribuzione. Dall'atrio si accede anche agli altri edifici del complesso, ognuno di forma e dimensione rispondenti alle condizioni urbane circostanti. Sullo spigolo sudest è disposta una sala per l'esposizione dei risultati degli studi sulle risorse rinnovabili, il risparmio energetico e le nuove tecnologie. Adiacente a quest'ultima c'è inoltre un centro per l'esposizione dei più recenti strumenti meccanici. Queste parti del complesso sono visibili dall'atrio, dalla strada e dalle immediate vicinanze. Sul lato nord dell'atrio i corridoi conducono a un padiglione su due piani dove è ubicata una zona pranzo per i dipendenti e una sala conferenze.
Oltre agli spazi espositivi, l'edificio stesso è progettato per dimostrare il possibile uso di tecnologie e sistemi di produzione energetica idonei a questa tipologia. L'ala che ospita gli uffici è illuminata e areata naturalmente e riscaldata con un impianto a circuito chiuso, mentre l'ala dei laboratori tecnici, sempre frequentata e in attività, e il centro esposizioni hanno pareti a pannelli solari in corrispondenza della facciata a sud. Sulla copertura sono inserite celle fotovoltaiche per integrare la produzione dell'energia e collettori ad alimentazione solare per riscaldare l'acqua usata in cucina. E' inoltre previsto un termoventilatore ad alimentazione solare per riscaldare l'aria prima della sua immissione nel circuito meccanico.
L'esterno dell'edificio integra i sistemi di alimentazione energetica nel contesto esistente con forme rivestite a intonaco, pannelli di metallo e vetro. Le sistemazioni esterne verranno usate per accentuare le vedute del sito da Mindener Strasse e per creare un giardino che si estende verso il fiume e le montagne a nord. Questo giardino rende più gradevole l'arrivo e la partenza dalla zona di parcheggio e rappresenta un luogo piacevole per dipendenti e visitatori. Sul lato sud dell'atrio si trova un ulteriore ingresso pedonale, costituito da un ponte che attraversa un laghetto artificiale nel quale fluisce l'acqua di superficie.

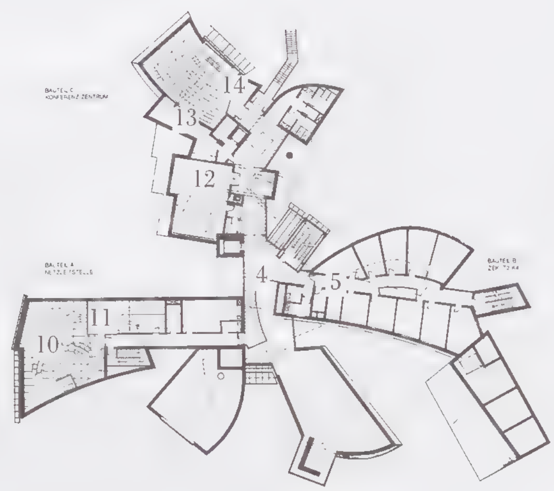
EMR Communication and Technology Center, Bad Oeynhausen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany
Frank O. Gehry

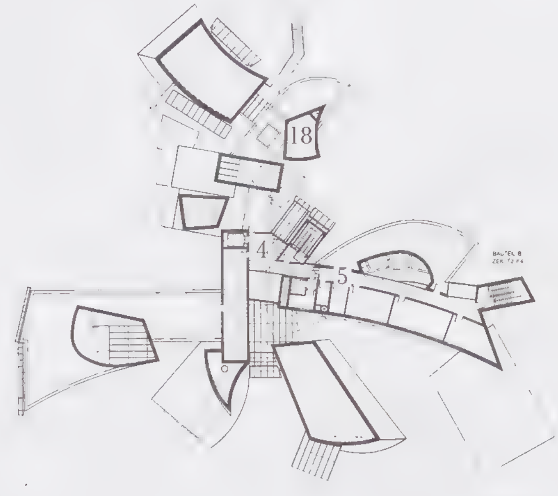
The site of the new EMR facility is located on Mindener Strasse, B61, a prominent entry road into Bad Oeynhausen. Approaching the site from a new highway interchange to the east, one perceives the building as a gateway into the community.
The site is bounded by Mindener Strasse and Dehmer Strasse to the south and east. West of the site exists an industrial warehouse area which is planned for conversion to a new retail and commercial complex. To the north of the site is a green belt along the Werre River. Further north is rural housing and farmland along the foothills of the Wiehew mountains. The building program is distributed on the site in a manner which responds to the urban context of buildings fronting Mindener Strasse. The office and technical facilities are placed in a linear building fronting the street, creating an urban edge while forming garden spaces on the north and west sides of the building. The office portion of the linear building occupies three levels. The technical facilities containing the Network Control Center for regional power distribution occupies two levels. At the center of the linear building is an atrium containing the entry, reception and circulation. Other major building components are accessible from the atrium, each of a size and shape responding to existing urban conditions. Directly attached on the southeast is a hall for the exhibition of renewable resources, energy conservation and new technologies. Also attached on the southeast is an energy center housing state of the art mechanical equipment. These components are visible from the atrium, from the street and neighborhood. On the north side of the atrium, corridors lead to a two-level pavilion housing an employee dining facility and conference center. In addition to the exhibit hall, the building itself is planned to demonstrate energy technologies and systems appropriate to this building type. The office wing utilizes day lighting, natural ventilation, and thermal cycles. The technical wing, which has continuous occupancy, incorporates a thermal storage wall on the south facade, as does the exhibit center. Roof forms integrate photovoltaic cells for supplementary power production, and solar collectors for hot water use in the kitchen facility. A solar air heater is also planned to preheat air entering the mechanical system.
The building exterior integrates the energy systems and existing context through forms clad with plaster, metal panels and glass. landscaping will be utilized to enhance the views into the site from the Mindener Strasse approach and to create a garden setting, opening toward the river and mountains to the north. This garden enhances the arrival and departure experience from the parking area while creating an amenity for employees and visitors. An additional entry is located on the south side of the atrium for pedestrians. This entry consists of a bridge crossing a lake which serves as a retention area for surface water runoff.

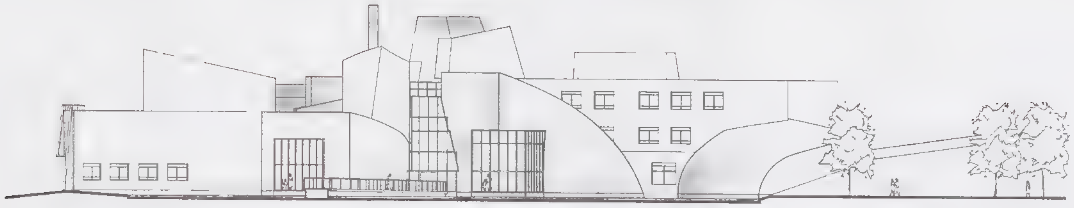
Piante dei piani terreno, primo, secondo, prospetti sud e ovest e sezioni: 1) centro di controllo rete; 2) gruppo elettrogeno; 3) centro esposizioni; 4) atrio; 5) uffici; 6) autorimessa; 7) sala pranzo riservata; 8) cucina; 9) caffeteria; 10) sala controllo rete; 11) archivio; 12) sala conferenze; 13) sala proiezioni; 14) auditorium; 15) sala telecomunicazioni; 16) impianto di ventilazione forzata; 17) deposito; 18) serbatoio d'acqua.

Ground, first and second floor plans, south and west elevations, sections: 1) network control center; 2) energy supply center; 3) exhibition; 4) lobby; 5) offices; 6) garage; 7) private dining; 8) kitchen; 9) cafeteria; 10) network control room; 11) documentation; 12) conference room; 13) projection room; 14) auditorium; 15) telecommunications room; 16) ventilation room; 17) storage room; 18) rain water storage.





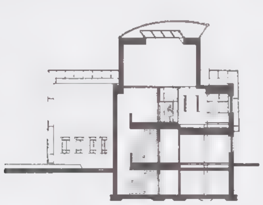


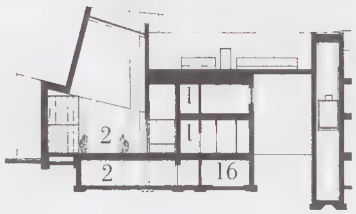


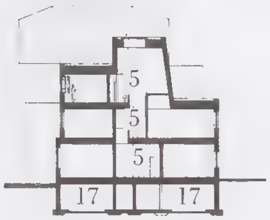
SÜDEN

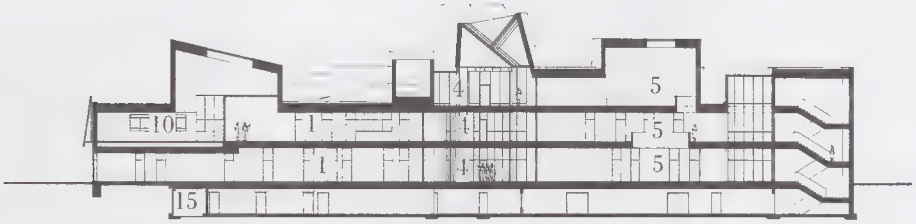


OSTEN

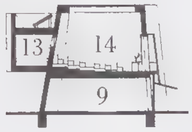



















DEHMER STRASSE
MINDENER STRASSE

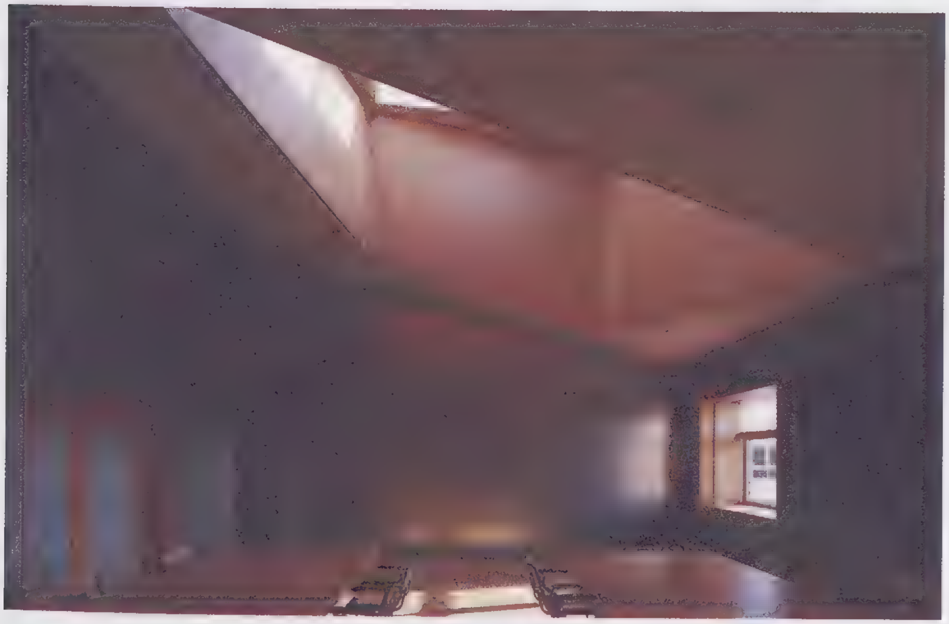












Planimetria generale.
Viste esterne da sudest, sudovest, est e ovest.
Viste interne della sala controllo rete e della sala conferenze.

General plan.
External views from southeast, southwest, east and west.
Internal views of the network control room and conference room.





Vista esterna del complesso da est

External view from east

Parco Tecnologico del Lago Maggiore, Fondotoce, Verbania, Italia
1993-95

Aldo Rossi
con/with: Giovanni da Pozzo, Michele Tadini
Particolari costruttivi e Direzione Lavori/ Building details and Construction Surveying: Ing. Edoardo Guenzani

Foto/Photos: S. Topuntoli



Vista da sudest.

View from southeast.

Parco Tecnologico del Lago Maggiore, Fondotoce, Verbania, Italia
1993-95

Aldo Rossi

con/with: Giovanni da Pozzo, Michele Tadini
Particolari costruttivi e Direzione Lavori/ Building details and Construction Surveying: Ing. Edoardo Guenzani

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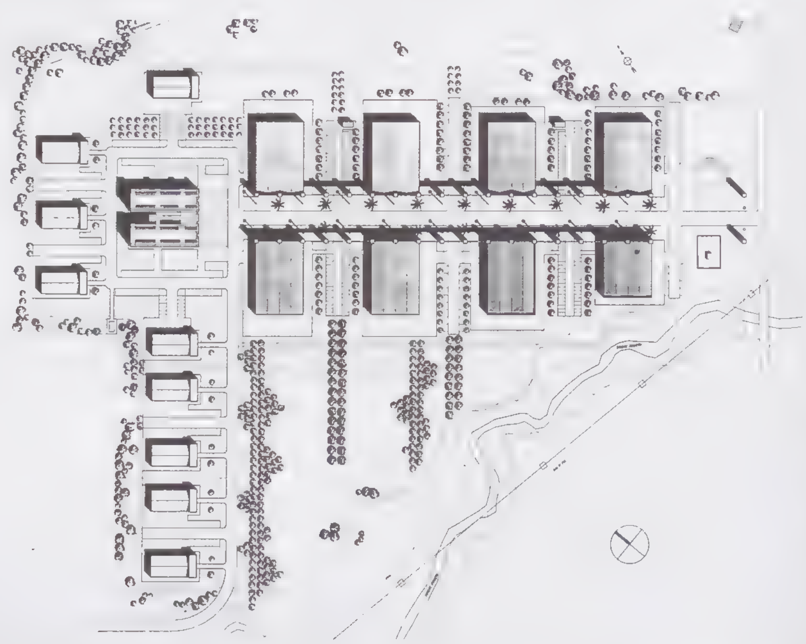


Vista da sudest.

View from southeast.

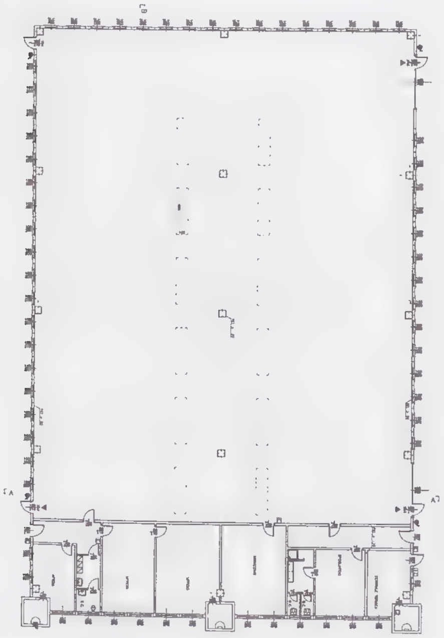
Tecnoparco a Fondotoce, Verbania, Italia
Aldo Rossi

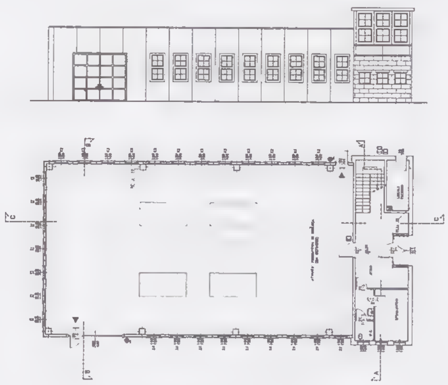
La dizione di Parco tecnologico o Tecnoparco o Polo tecnologico può essere meglio compresa dai complessi esistenti che definita in astratto. Anche se essenzialmente è costituita da un Centro servizi comune e da edifici destinati a laboratorio, la sua conformazione e il suo carattere si precisano e appunto si conformano secondo il sito dove sorgono.
Il concetto di Parco deve essere quindi inteso in senso generale con una probabile analogia con il *campus* americano: ovviamente la ricerca tecnologica ha molte affinità con la ricerca universitaria; questo concetto rende più interessante il Tecnoparco e anche dal punto di vista architettonico gli conferisce una ricchezza tipologica notevole e nel contempo pone la necessità di un'immagine chiara, rappresentativa e soprattutto nuova. Il Parco tecnologico del Lago Maggiore possiede un valore che lo caratterizza a priori; la bellezza del luogo.
Un paesaggio insolito chiuso nella pianura di Fondotoce dove domina il Montorfano che fiancheggia il Lago di Mergozzo, il percorso dell'autostrada per Milano e Alessandria con i suoi imponenti manufatti; il luogo è poi delimitato dalla statale per Gravellona e si accede facilmente e direttamente al lago nella fascia tra Baveno, Feriolo e Verbania.
Questa parte del lago è nota per le pietre che portano appunto i nomi delle singole località; il granito bianco e rosa di Baveno o del Montorfano, il verde di Mergozzo e più a nord la beola e il marmo di Candoglia. Se quest'ultimo è la pietra che nei secoli ha costruito il Duomo di Milano, graniti e beole sono state la materia prima della città ambrosiana che ha sempre avuto il vanto delle strade lastricate in granito.
Queste osservazioni ci avvicinano alla qualità architettonica del progetto: il progetto si inserisce nel paesaggio e si costruisce con la stessa pietra delle montagne circostanti; non in una costruzione mimetica ma esaltando la qualità di queste pietre che costituiscono un'arte senza tempo.
Così tutto l'impianto, come un reticolato romano che divide i singoli laboratori all'interno di una *limitatio* regolare e flessibile, è percorso da un viale centrale, come il corso o la *calle mayor*, che conduce al Centro servizi e serve i diversi laboratori.
Per proseguire nell'analogia urbana potremmo vedere il Centro servizi come l'edificio pubblico per eccellenza: il municipio, la chiesa, e comunque l'elemento primario.
La struttura dei laboratori diventa la continuità dell'impianto urbano: grandi pilastri di cemento segnano la strada e il percorso e costituiscono la struttura degli edifici per la ricerca. Essi segnano anche i punti centrali della *limitatio*. All'inizio del viale si trova una vasca d'acqua, alimentata dal torrente fresco e segreto che solca il terreno.
Il Centro servizi si pone come chiusura della grande prospettiva del viale di ingresso. E' costituito da due grandi corpi simmetrici rispetto la torre centrale che caratterizza sia l'impianto che l'edificio, e che è l'immagine principale del Tecnoparco.
Al centro dell'edificio si trova una grande *hall* che distribuisce ai servizi del piano terra e agli uffici ai piani superiori. Il prospetto principale è caratterizzato dall'uso del granito bianco di Montorfano, mentre la sezione strutturale dell'edificio è messa in evidenza anche in facciata da un "ordine sovrapposto" di portali in ferro verniciato come una sorta di decorazione costruttiva.
I fianchi del Centro servizi sono composti dalle navate contenenti gli uffici divise in tre parti vetrate da due contrafforti completamente ciechi in cemento nei quali sono ubicati i servizi igienici, gli impianti di risalita e le scale.
Le parti vetrate sono costituite da pannelli di cemento prefabbricato, nei quali sono inseriti i serramenti in ferro o alluminio verniciato, sormontati da travi di bordo anch'esse in cemento prefabbricato sagomato e raccordate nei punti in cui l'edificio si rastrema da falde in lamiera preverniciata. L'edificio è coronato da un lucernario in ferro e vetro.
Il prospetto posteriore del Centro servizi è caratterizzato da una seconda torre centrale, più semplice e più bassa di quella della facciata principale, in cemento lisciato. Anche i due corpi laterali sono finiti con lo stesso materiale e sono caratterizzati da piccole finestre quadrate e da due portali in ferro verniciato al piano terra.
Parallelamente al Centro servizi sono ubicati i laboratori: questi edifici sono composti da una testata (maggiormente caratterizzata nell'architettura) e dal capannone vero e proprio realizzato con elementi prefabbricati in cemento. La testata è rivestita in blocchi di ceppo fino all'altezza del portale in ferro verniciato ed è completata nella parte superiore dagli stessi pannelli prefabbricati in cemento usati per i fianchi del Centro servizi.
Il viale d'ingresso è caratterizzato dai grandi pilastri in cemento verniciato alti m 15 e collegati superiormente da una trave reticolare in acciaio verniciato. L'ordine regolare dei pilastri è segnato da campate chiuse con pannelli in cemento prefabbricato al cui interno sono inseriti dei serramenti metallici; tali parti chiuse costituiscono il volume fabbricato dei capannoni sulla strada. I capannoni per i restanti lati sono costituiti da semplici elementi in cemento prefabbricato.
Il Parco tecnologico infine è recintato verso la strada da un muro intonacato alto m 3 ed il suo ingresso è segnato da due torri in cemento che comprendono una parte di muro in ceppo e dai cancelli in ferro verniciato.
La zona immediatamente successiva all'ingresso è destinata ad attrezzature sportive e ricreative completate da una piccola tribuna e da una vasca d'acqua il cui bordo è rivestito in ceppo mentre al centro è posizionato un blocco in granito verde di Mergozzo.



Technology Park, Fondotoce, Verbania, Italy
Aldo Rossi

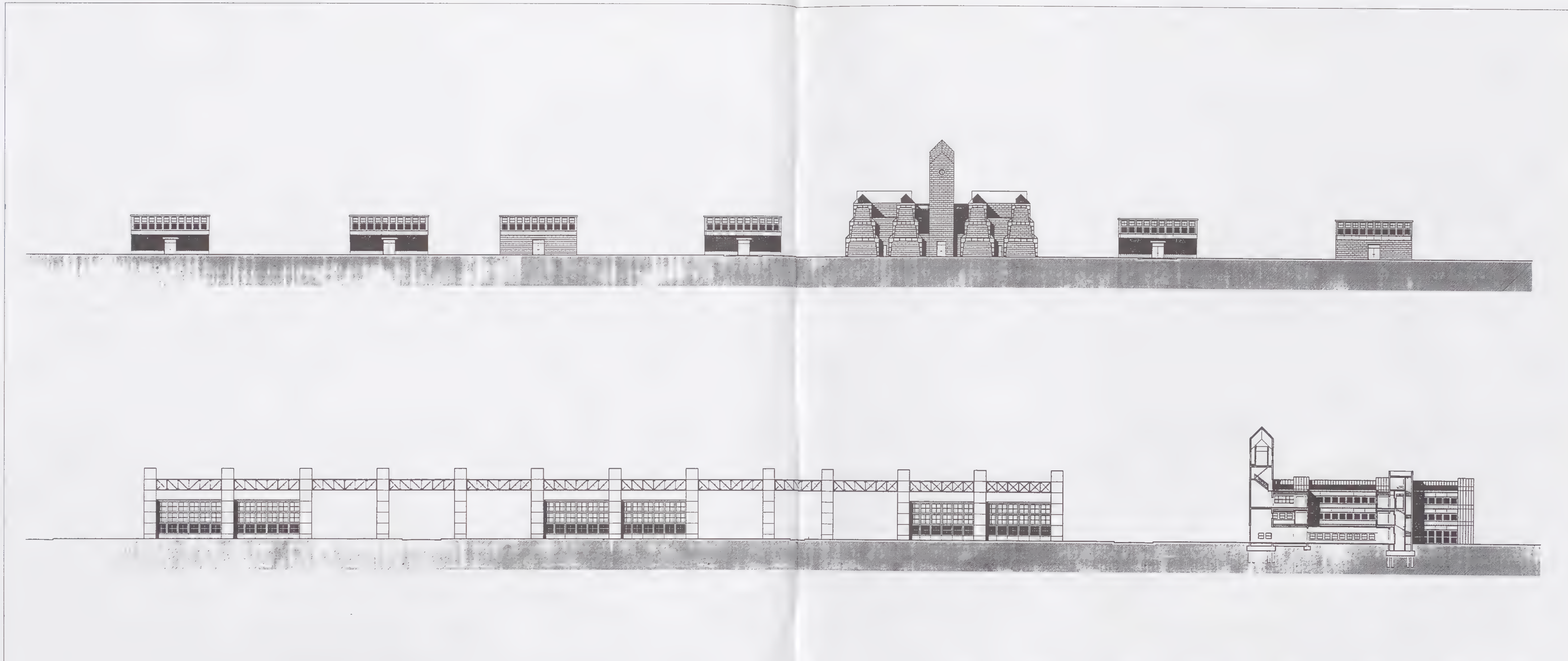
The term "technology park" can be better understood by examining complexes that have been built rather than attempting to define it in the abstract. Although a technology park consists essentially of a shared Service Centre surrounded by individual laboratory and workshop buildings, its layout and features are usually determined by the site it is built on. Thus, the park concept should be interpreted in the most general sense. It has much in common with the American "campus", which is appropriate since technology research has much in common with university research. This enriches the concept of the technology park, while also considerably enlarging its repertoire of potential architectural typologies and imposing the need for an unambiguous, distinctive and, above all, new image.
The technology park on Lake Maggiore already has one great intrinsic advantage: the beauty of its setting. The unusual landscape of the plain of Fondotoce is overlooked by Montorfano with Lake Mergozzo at its foot, the architectural engineering of the Milan-Alessandria motorway is superb, the main Gravellona road also runs along the site, and the bout of Lake Maggiore comprising Baveno, Feriolo and Verbania is easily and directly accessible.
This part of the lake is famous for its building stone named after individual towns and villages: the white and pink granite of Baveno and Montorfano, the green granite of Mergozzo and, further north, the gneiss and marble of Candoglia. This marble was used over the centuries to build Milan Cathedral, while the granite and gneiss have been used to build the city itself, which has always been proud of its granite-paved streets.
These considerations provide a fitting prologue to the design itself, which blends well with the landscape and is built with stone from the surrounding mountains, not as camouflage but as a tribute to the timeless beauty of this stone, which is an art form in its own right.
The site as a whole, divided like a Roman grid into individual laboratories and workshops within a flexible, regular limitatio, *is traversed by a central avenue like a boulevard or* calle mayor *leading to the Service Centre and the individual laboratories.*
Continuing the urban analogy, the Service Centre could be seen as the public building par excellence *of the complex – its town hall or church – and in any case as its most important component. The laboratories are structured to give the urban layout its continuity. Large concrete pillars mark out the streets and routeways and provide structural frames for the research buildings. They also mark the centre points of each side of the* limitatio. *A pool at the start of the avenue is fed by a hidden mountain stream that runs across the site.*
The Service Centre closes the grand perspective view of the entrance avenue. It comprises two large blocks arranged symmetrically to the central tower that is a distinctive feature of the building and layout, as well as the symbol of the technology park. A large hall in the centre of the building provides access to the ground-floor services and upper-floor offices. The main elevation has white Montorfano granite cladding, and the structural section of the building is visible on the façade as a "superimposed order" of painted iron portals that looks like a decorative construction feature. The sides of the Service Centre are naves containing offices divided into three glass sections by two windowless concrete buttresses housing toilets, lifts and stairs. The glass sections are made of prefabricated concrete panels with painted iron or aluminium door frames, surmounted by prefabricated profiled concrete edge beams that join where the building tapers into factory-painted sheet-metal pitched roofing. There is also an iron and glass roof-light.
The rear elevation of the Service Centre has a smoothed concrete tower that is lower and simpler in design than the main façade tower. The two side blocks, also with smoothed concrete cladding, have small square windows and two painted iron ground-floor portals.
The laboratories located parallel to the Service Centre consist of architecturally more elaborate front buildings with authentic prefabricated concrete industrial sheds behind. The front buildings have ceppo block cladding to the height of the painted iron portal and, above this level, the same prefabricated concrete panels used for the sides of the Service Centre.
The entrance avenue has large 15 m painted concrete pillars joined at the top by a painted steel lattice beam. The regular order of the pillars marks off bays enclosed by prefabricated concrete panels into which metal frames have been inserted. These enclosed bays constitute the volume of the industrial sheds along the street. The other sides of the sheds are built with ordinary prefabricated concrete components.
Finally, the technology park is enclosed on the street side by a 3 m plaster wall, and the entrance is marked by two concrete towers framing a ceppo wall with painted iron gates. The area immediately inside the entrance is given over to sports and recreation amenities and has a small spectator stand. The small ornamental pool is edged with ceppo and has a block of green Mergozzo granite standing in the middle.

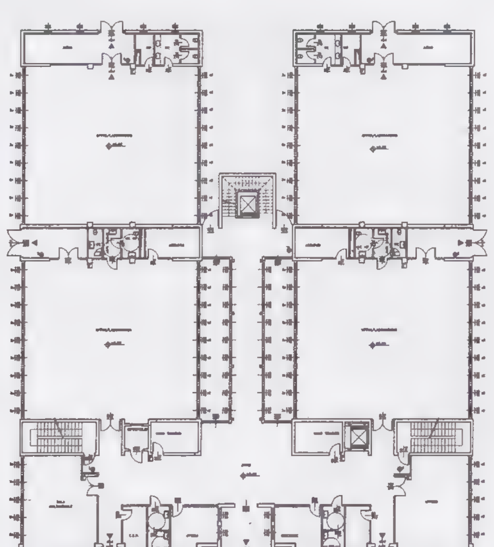


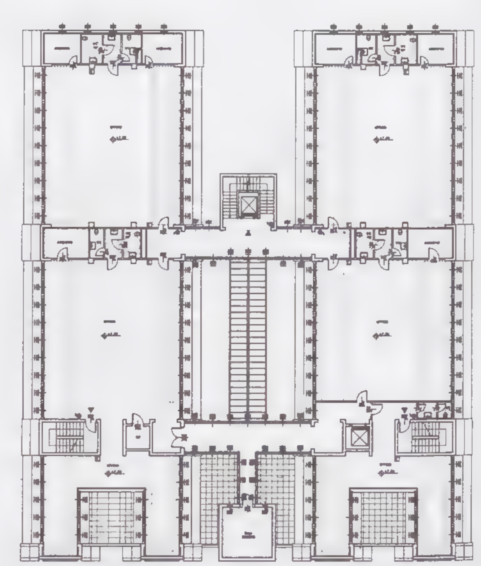


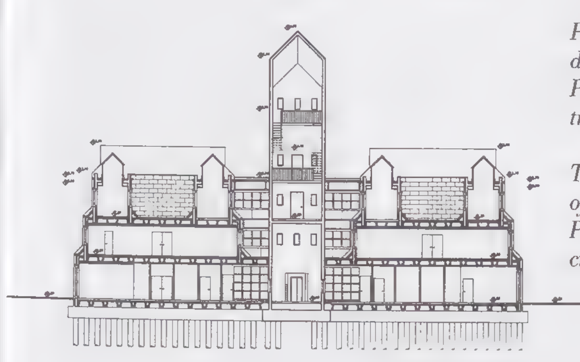
Planimetria generale, pianta del laboratorio grande, pianta e prospetto laterale del laboratorio piccolo.

General plan, plan of the large laboratory, plan and lateral elevation of the small laboratory.



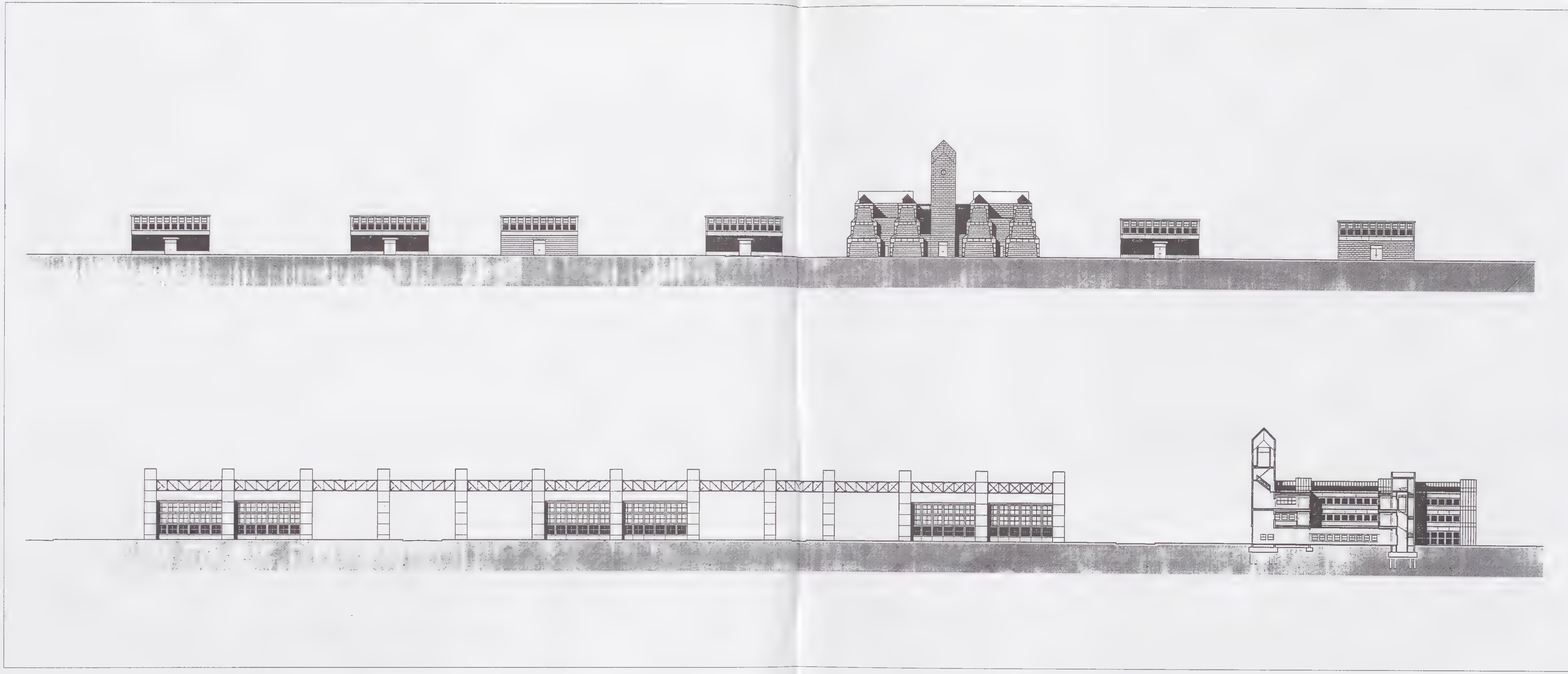


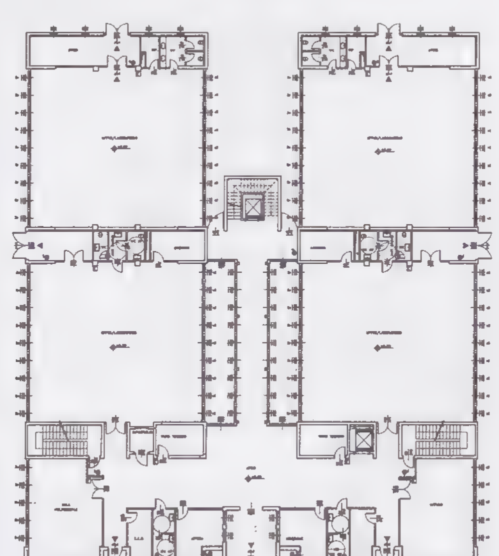


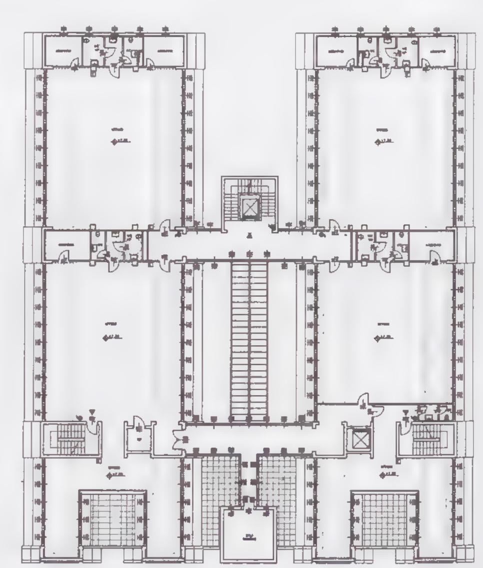


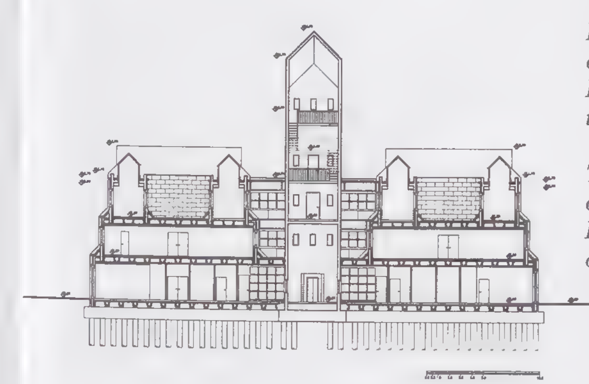
Profili trasversale e longitudinale del complesso. Piante dei piani terreno e secondo e sezione trasversale del Centro servizi.

Transverse and longitudinal profiles of the complex. Plans of the ground and second floors, cross-section of the Service Centre.



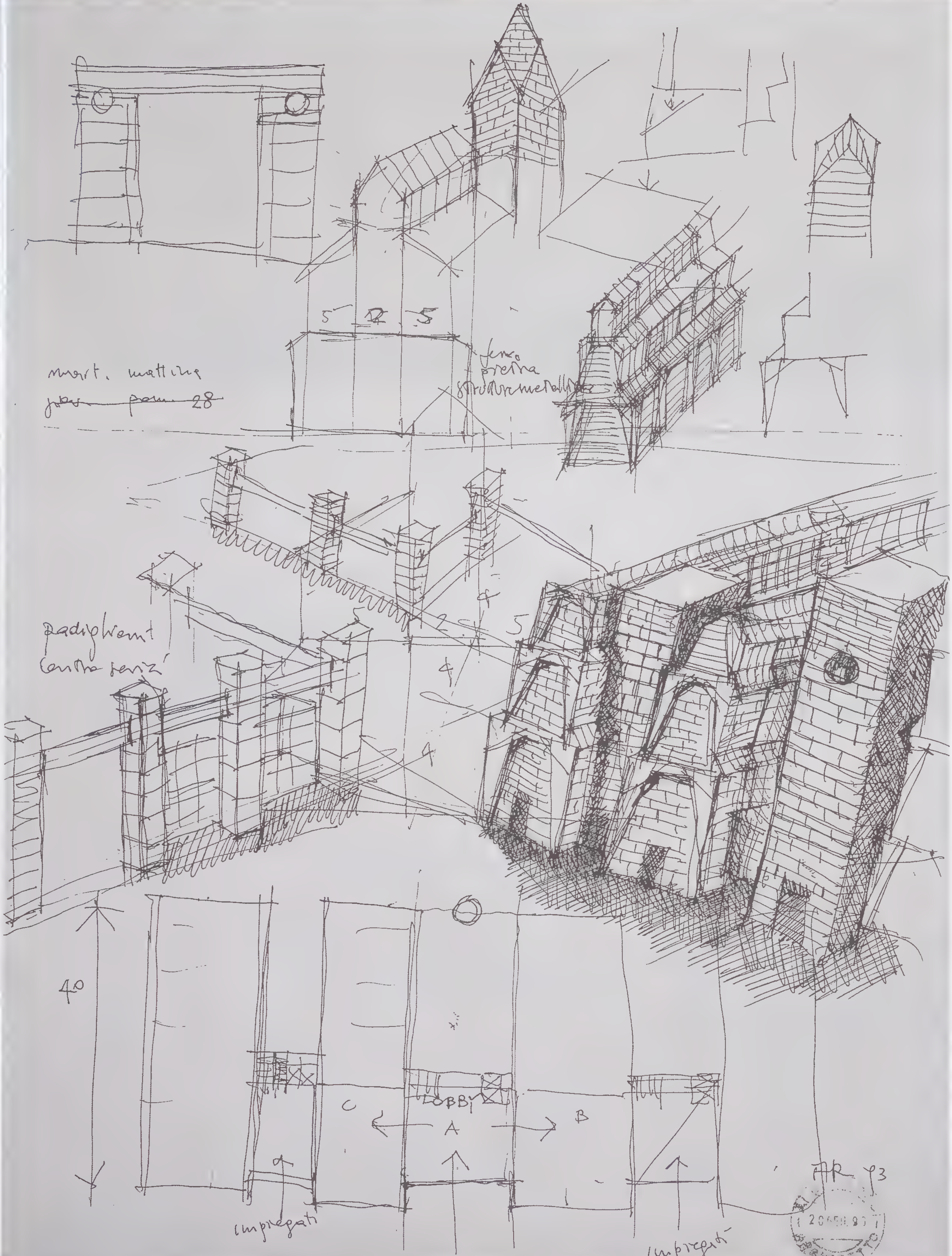






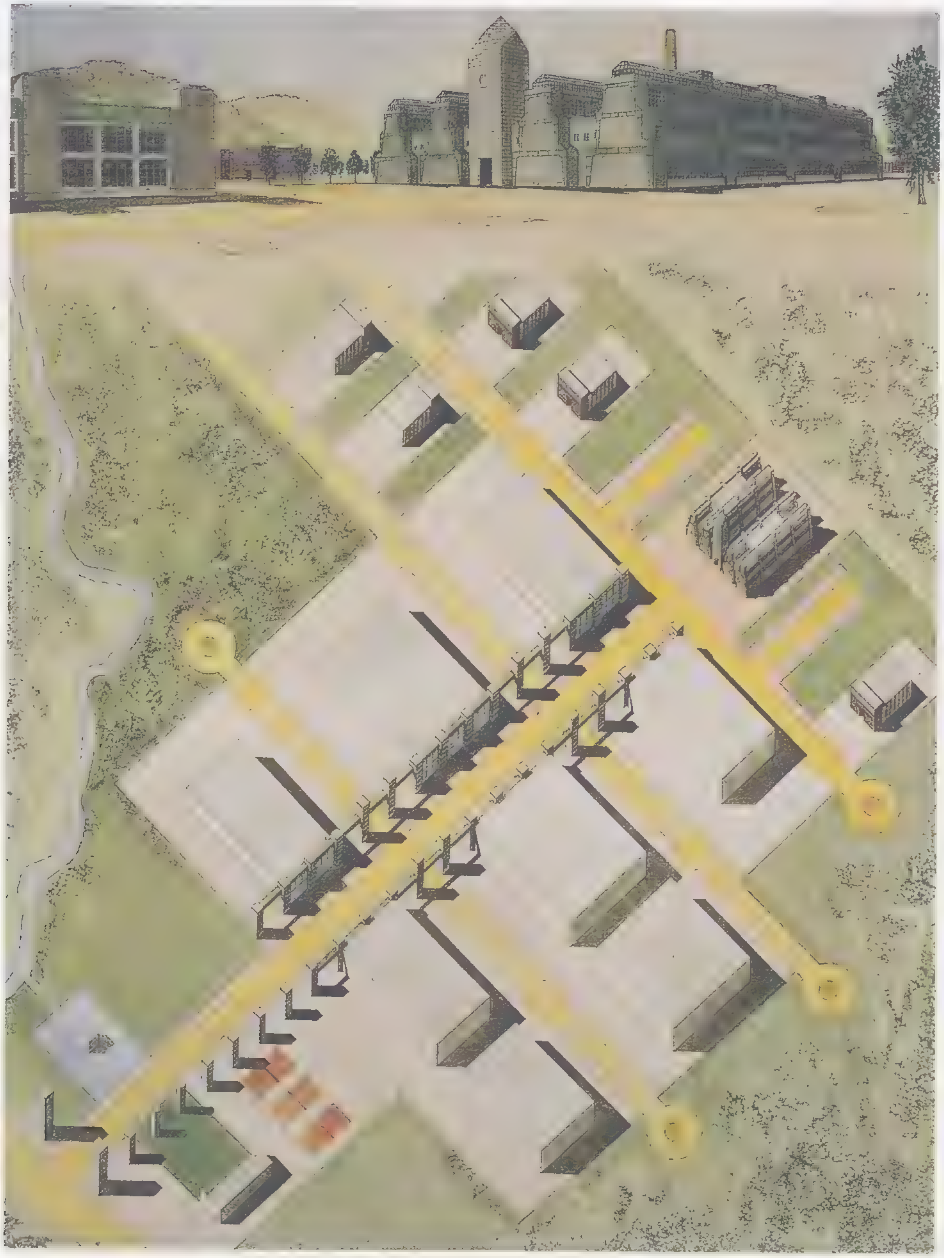
Profili trasversale e longitudinale del complesso.
Piante dei piani terreno e secondo e sezione trasversale del Centro servizi.

Transverse and longitudinal profiles of the complex.
Plans of the ground and second floors, cross-section of the Service Centre.


LOBBY
A
B
C
40
impiegati
impiegati

Disegno di studio.
Propettiva e assonometria d'insieme.

Working drawing.
Perspective and overall axonometric.



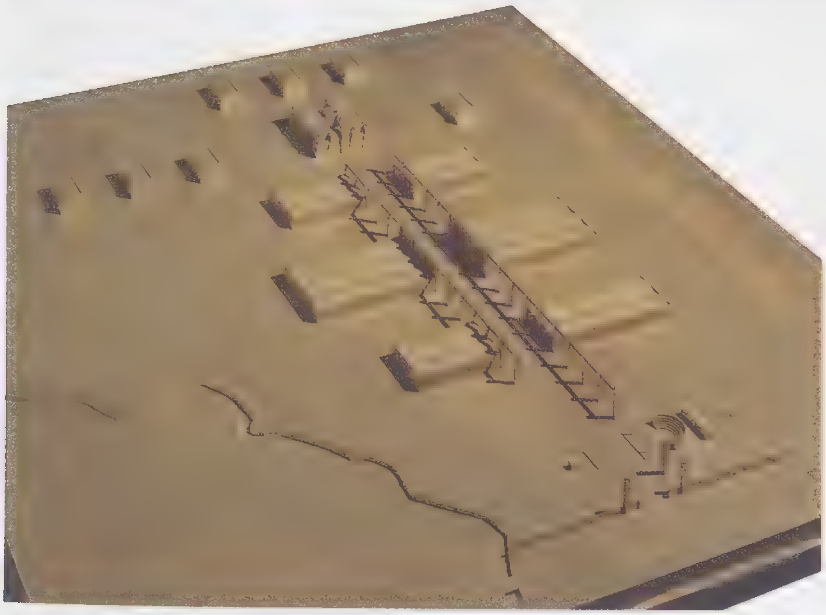


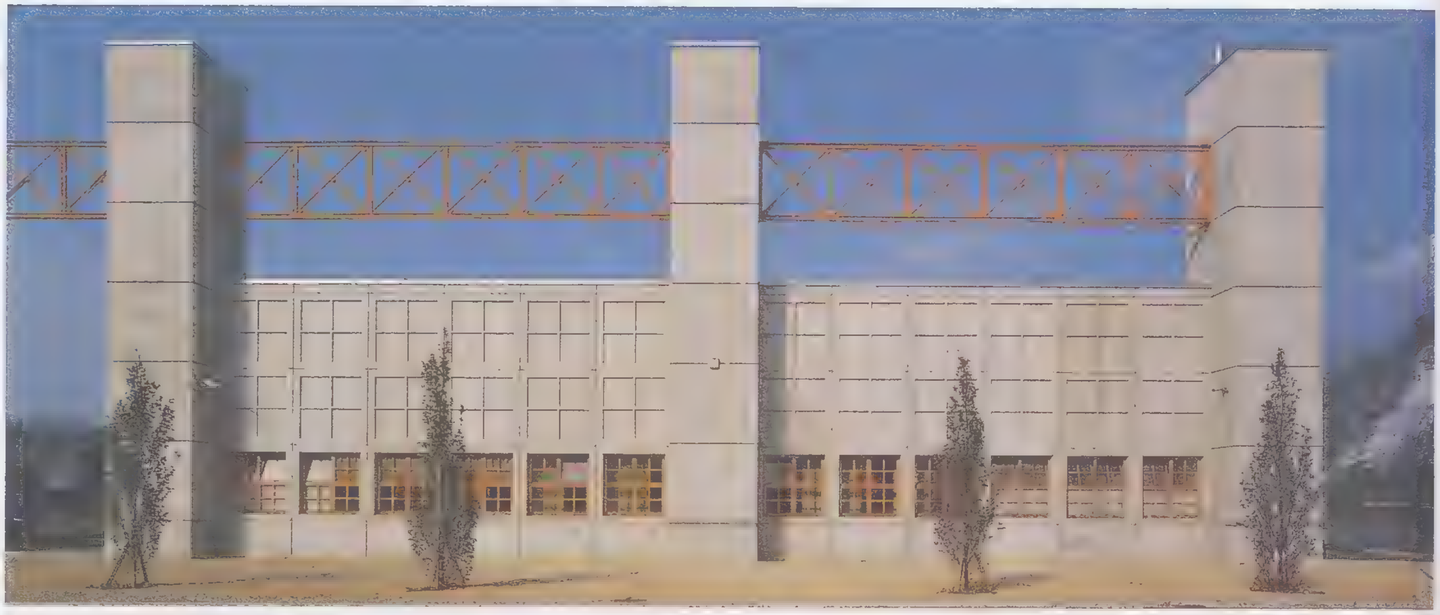


Viste aeree (Concessione S.M.A. n. 247 del 26.05.1995).
Vista del modello.

Aerial views (Concessione S.M.A. n. 247 del 26.05.1995).
View of the model.













Vista del fronte di un laboratorio grande
e viste del viale d'ingresso.
Disegno di studio del Centro servizi.

View of the front of a large laboratory
and views of the access road.
Working drawing of the Service Centre.







Viste di dettaglio del Centro servizi.

Detail views of the Service Centre.





Viste del Centro servizi da sudest, da sudovest e da est.

Views of the Service Centre from southeast, southwest and east.



Intervista con Peter Eisenman
Luca Monica, Tito Canella

L. M. Recentemente è stato annunciato il completamento e la prossima pubblicazione dell'atteso libro dei suoi studi sull'opera di Giuseppe Terragni. Riguardando di recente il saggio, pubblicato per la prima volta in italiano su "Casabella" nel 1970, dal titolo *Dall'oggetto alla Relazionalità: la Casa del Fascio di Terragni*, convince il modo di svolgere una critica sull'opera di architettura, rileggendola attraverso i problemi della forma e della tipologia, come se l'edificio stesso fosse una lezione di architettura, seguendo una strada che è forse la principale per il modo in cui gli architetti possono svolgere la loro opera critica.

P. E. È il solo modo in cui gli architetti, di fronte agli storici e ai critici, possono fare opera di critica.

L. M. Per altri versi lei, nel suo lavoro critico e teorico di questi ultimi anni, ha intrapreso strade diverse, rese sempre più intellettuali in senso epistemologico, sulla cultura dell'architettura. Perciò siamo interessati, nel completamento del lavoro su Terragni, all'idea di un ritorno a quel modo di fare analisi e critica.

P. E. Rispondendo in modo indiretto, credo che tutti gli architetti debbano rifuggire dai propri predecessori. Se consideriamo l'opera di Terragni, notiamo che in essa è presente l'eredità di Palladio. Ogni architetto ha qualcosa che porta impresso il marchio del proprio *ego*, del proprio inconscio, e anche in Palladio c'è sempre qualcosa che rimane sospeso nell'inconscio, che non risultava chiaro neanche a Palladio. Ciò che Terragni ha fatto è stato di gettare un ponte verso Palladio, di farlo evolvere in modo da poter affrontare il suo problema edipico (noi tutti abbiamo un complesso edipico), e nella Casa del Fascio egli svolge uno scavo edipico su Palladio nel tentativo di capire il problema del "palazzo", delle torri d'angolo, dei piani sovrapposti, ritrovando il Palladio inconscio, cose di Palladio che Palladio stesso non poteva comprendere. Terragni trascina Palladio su questo ponte psicologico, nella sua Casa del Fascio, per poterlo distruggere come padre in quell'edificio, e a questo punto è in grado di progettare l'Asilo infantile e la Casa Giuliani Frigerio, che non hanno niente a che fare con Palladio.

Poi arriva Peter Eisenman che vede Terragni come un analogo problema edipico, e il mio lavoro su Terragni insegue un percorso analogo al suo. Inizialmente cercai di scoprire quali erano le strategie architettoniche di Terragni, collocate in uno strato represso nello stesso Terragni, nel Terragni nascosto. Ma mentre cercavo di risolvere il problema di Terragni sono stato coinvolto in un altro padre, Colin Rowe. Così, avendo assunto queste due figure edipiche, l'uno legato alla teoria e alla storia, l'altro un architetto, dovevo cercare di riunirli e di capirli. Le mie prime opere, come la House I e la House II, scaturivano

Interview with Peter Eisenman
Luca Monica, Tito Canella

L. M. *The completion has been announced of your long awaited book on Giuseppe Terragni. When I recently read the essay again of the article you wrote* Dall'oggetto alla relazionalità: la Casa del Fascio di Terragni, *first published in Italian in "Casabella" on 1970, I found it interesting the way you used an analysis of the problems of form and typology, as if the building itself were a lecture on architecture. Is this a way in which architects can make critical work?*

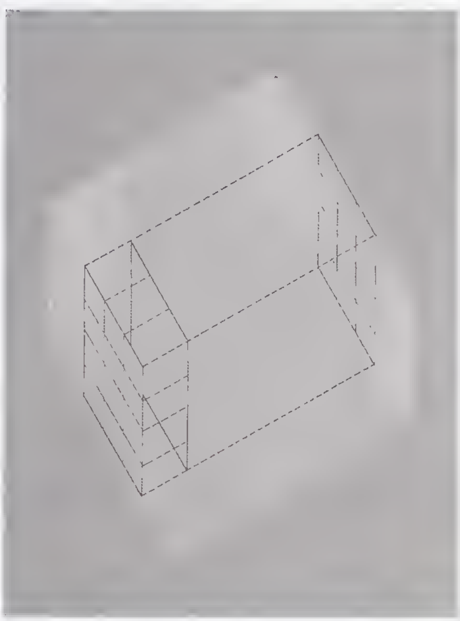
P. E. *It is the only way architects as opposed to historians and critics can make critical work.*

L. M. *In these last years you have chosen different approaches in your critical and theoretical work, approaches which have become more intellectual in an epistemological sense. Thus, in connection with the completion of your work on Terragni, I am interested if you are still involved with this kind of critical work.*

P. E. *I shall answer this in a round about way. I believe that all architects have to escape from their predecessors. If you look at the work of Terragni, he had the heritage of Palladio. Each architect has something that demonstrates the signature of the ego, the unconscious. There is always something in Palladio that remained unconscious, that was not even clear for Palladio. What Terragni did is to build a bridge to Palladio, to bring him forward so that he could deal with his oedipal problem (we all have oedipal complexes). Terragni in his Casa del Fascio does his oedipal work on Palladio by attempting to understand the problem of the "palazzo", of the corner towers, of the layering. In this work he finds the unconscious Palladio, things in Palladio that Palladio himself did not understand. So what Terragni does is bring Palladio forward on this psychological bridge, into his Casa del Fascio, in order to blow up his father in that building. So then he is able to do the Asilo Infantile and the Casa Giuliani Frigerio, which have nothing to do with Palladio.*

Then Peter Eisenman comes along and he sees Terragni as a similar oedipal problem. My work on Terragni travelled a similar path. At first, I was trying to find out what were the architectural strategies of Terragni, that even lay repressed in Terragni himself, the hidden Terragni. At the same time that I was attempting to solve the problem of Terragni I also got involved with another father, Colin Rowe. So I had these two oedipal figures, one in theory and history, and one architect. I had to bring them both together, understand them. My early works like House I and House II come out of Terragni and the first early analyses published in "Casabella" were influenced by Colin Rowe. They were formal analyses like Wittkover in the German art historical tradition. The Terragni book was the bridge that I built to both Terragni and Colin Rowe in order to blow them up.





Peter Eisenman, schemi analitici della Casa del Fascio di Como di Giuseppe Terragni (1932-36).

Peter Eisenman, analytical schemes for the Casa del Fascio by Giuseppe Terragni in Como (1932-36).

dall'influenza di Terragni, mentre le mie prime analisi pubblicate in "Casabella" erano influenzate da Colin Rowe ed erano analisi formali, nel senso inteso da Wittkover, nella tradizione della storiografia dell'arte tedesca. Il libro su Terragni era dunque il ponte che ho costruito verso Terragni e Colin Rowe per distruggerli come padri e questo mi ha consentito di iniziare il mio lavoro personale di architetto sottratto all'influenza di Terragni, come nel Wexner Center e nel Convention Center a Columbus. Ma ho anche distrutto il libro iniziale, ormai del tutto inutile. Così ora il libro è completamente diverso, con una storia del tutto diversa, ed è veramente interessante, soprattutto psicologicamente dacché sono infine riuscito a scriverlo al di fuori di Terragni e di Colin Rowe. Questo lavoro ora è concluso.

L. M. Ritorniamo sulla questione della tradizione della critica artistica tedesca della forma, del "purovisibilismo" e della Scuola di Vienna, quella di Dvorák, Riegl, Wölfflin. Alcuni erano pittori, come von Marées, altri scultori, come Hildebrand, dei quali a Monaco vi sono opere molto belle. Si trattava delle prime teorie fondate sull'idea che per leggere la storia dell'arte e dell'architettura occorresse leggere la forma.

P. E. Non è possibile parlare di architettura senza parlare della forma, perché è il solo linguaggio in cui il mezzo, cioè la colonna, il muro o il pavimento, vale sia come icona che come segno. In altre parole, ciò che è *significato* e ciò che è *significante* corrispondono sempre alla presenza fisica della colonna. Noi non leggiamo la forma dei caratteri della parola "colonna", non importa la forma della *parola* scritta, ma la forma della *parola* costruita che cambia la relazione tra la forma stessa e il significato. Qui sta la differenza fra architettura e linguaggio, nel fatto che in architettura dobbiamo leggere la forma come uno strumento didattico e per leggere la forma dobbiamo separarla dal suo mezzo, che è la sua funzione. Se guardiamo una colonna, innanzitutto comprendiamo che essa *sostiene* qualcosa, non pensiamo inizialmente che *significhi* qualcosa.
Quindi in architettura dobbiamo separare il *muro* dal *segno del muro*, dalle sue possibilità di muro e questo è l'impegno che abbiamo davanti.
Questo è il motivo per cui, per esempio, ritengo tanto importante il disegno della pianta del *Campo Marzio* di Piranesi del 1762: per il fatto che egli riuscì a separare la realtà della pianta dal segno di quella realtà. Il disegno di Piranesi contiene diverse differenti memorie, la memoria reale delle rovine romane, la memoria immaginaria dell'immaginazione di Piranesi, la memoria degli edifici ancora esistenti e la memoria degli edifici che sono stati trasposti da Piranesi. L'architettura non è memoria in senso nostalgico, quanto piuttosto quella che Bergson definisce la memoria del virtuale.

Now I am ready to start my own work, different from Terragni as in the Wexner Center and in the Convention Center in Columbus. But I also blew up the original book. That book would no longer be of any use. The book now is a completely different book, a completely different story. It is psychologically interesting because I was finally able to make this book outside of Terragni and Colin Rowe. That work is now finished.

L. M. *I would like to go back to the issue of the tradition of the German art criticism of visible form, of the* purovisibilismo *(*Sichtbarkeit*), and of the School of Vienna such as Dvorák, Riegl, and Wölfflin.*
Some were painters, like von Marées, others were sculptors, like Hildebrand. In Munich some beautiful works of theirs can be seen. The theory was based on the idea that we must read form in order to read art and architecture.

P. E. *It is impossible to speak about architecture without speaking about form, because it is the only discourse where the instrumentality, that is the column, the wall, the floor, is the same as the icon or the sign. In other words, what architecture means and what it signals is always the same as the physical presence of the columns. We do not read form in the letters of the word "column." It is not important what the shape of the word is as written, but the shape of the word as constructed changes the relationship of the form to the meaning. This is where architecture is different from language. We must read the form, the form is the didactic instrument and in order to read the form we must separate it from its instrumentality, that is its function. When one looks at a column one assumes first that it holds something up; we do not initially think it means anything. So what we have to do in architecture is to separate the wall from the sign of the wall. This is the possibility of the wall, and this is the struggle that we have in making architecture.*
This is why Piranesi's plan of Campo Marzio, *of 1762, for example, was so important because he was able to separate the reality of the plan from the sign of that reality. Piranesi's work contains several different memories. The real memory of Roman ruins, the imagined memory of Piranesi's imagination, the memory of still existent buildings, and the memory of buildings that have been transposed by Piranesi. Architecture is not a memory which is nostalgic, but rather what Bergson calls the memory of the virtual.*
Form in architecture is all we have. So formalism in architecture is different from formalism in language, in painting, in literature, because formalism in language is only one means of communication; in architecture it is the only means.

L. M. *Returning to the issue of the critical in architecture, it seems to me that at present in Italy, it is difficult to approach any debate on the matter. For a number of years, since Manfredo Tafuri split historiography, in its best sense, from architecture, the theory and practice of the project has remained apart, within the individual competence of each discipline.*

P. E. *I disagree with Tafuri. First of all Tafuri also says that the only critical architecture is located in history. If you locate the critical only in the historical, that means you accept always the language of the historical or the language of architecture as some kind of given or natural discourse as opposed to a conventional discourse. For example, if you look at Palladio and say that his was THE historical language of architecture, then Terragni would not have been able to do the Asilo Infantile. The Asilo Infantile is a critical work because it transgresses the idea of a classical or historically given language of architecture. Yes, it begins to look at history, but then challenges that same history and moves outside of it. So my argument with Tafuri is the argument in the Terragni book, that while the critical must always begin in the history, as Tafuri says, in order to be active it must end outside of history and the idea of a given language. If this is not the case, there would never be any transformations of the language. And so while Robert Venturi in* Complexity and Contradiction *is critical of history, he returns language to the domain of historical language. Once you return the language to the historical language, it is no longer possible to be critical.*

L. M. *I remember some beautiful pages by Venturi on Michelangelo.*

P. E. *Yes, but he uses that language as given rather than as something that in itself represses something else. If one looks at history intensively as opposed to extensively, then you realize that all historical facts repress other historical facts or other facts which may not be historical. I am interested in the opening up of the repressions that we assume are natural and therefore are not seen as repressed.*

L. M. *Tafuri, in 1974, wrote a very peculiar essay,* L'Architecture dans le Boudoir, *which was first published on "Oppositions", no.3, and was later published into Italian in* La sfera e il labirinto, *without the initial interesting subtitle* The language of criticism and the criticism of language.
I do not remember any other of Tafuri's essays in which, when he spoke about contemporary architecture, he describes critical texts written by architects on other recent works, texts which are about specific architectural works. In that essay, among others, were mentioned Aldo Rossi who wrote about Adolf Loos, Hans Hollein about Arata Isozaki, you about James Stirling and the Smithsons. I was impressed because he pointed out the features of a certain way of making criticism by architects who actually are

In architettura, la forma è tutto ciò che abbiamo. Ecco perché il formalismo in architettura è diverso dal formalismo nel linguaggio verbale, nella pittura o nella letteratura, poiché il formalismo è un *significato* solo in un passaggio nel processo comunicativo del linguaggio verbale, mentre in architettura è l'unico *significato*.

L. M. Insistiamo sulle problematiche della critica di architettura perché ci pare che oggi, in Italia, vi sia una sorta di difficoltà ad affrontare qualunque discorso in questo senso. Già da alcuni anni Manfredo Tafuri aveva sancito una separazione tra la storiografia, intesa nel senso più alto da una parte, e l'architettura, come teoria e pratica del progetto dall'altra, richiamando tutti alle proprie responsabilità disciplinari.

P. E. Non sono d'accordo con Tafuri. Innanzitutto quando afferma che l'unica architettura critica è situata nella storia. Ma, se noi situiamo il discorso critico solo in quello storico, significa che accettiamo sempre il linguaggio storico, o che questo è il linguaggio dell'architettura come un qualcosa di dato, come un discorso *naturale*, in contrapposizione ad un discorso *convenzionale*.
Per esempio, se consideriamo Palladio e diciamo che il suo era IL linguaggio storico dell'architettura, allora Terragni non sarebbe mai riuscito a progettare l'Asilo infantile di Como. Infatti l'Asilo infantile è un'*opera critica* perché trasgredisce l'idea di un linguaggio dato, classico o storico, dell'architettura. Certo, la storia è il punto di partenza, ma in seguito Terragni la sfida e la supera. Quindi la mia posizione rispetto a Tafuri, posizione che ho sviluppato nel libro su Terragni, è che la critica deve muovere i primi passi nella storia, come Tafuri stesso afferma, tuttavia, per essere operante deve terminare fuori dalla storia stessa e dall'idea di un linguaggio dato come naturale; e se questo non accade non si avrà mai alcuna trasformazione del linguaggio. Allora, dove Robert Venturi, nel suo libro *Complessità e contraddizione in architettura*, si fa critico della storia, egli restituisce il linguaggio al dominio del linguaggio storico. Ma, se noi operiamo in tal senso, non è più possibile esercitare un linguaggio critico.

L. M. Ci sono pagine molto belle di Venturi su Michelangelo.

P. E. Sì, ma egli usa quel linguaggio come qualcosa di dato, senza considerarlo come un qualcosa che in sé opprime qualcos'altro. Se guardiamo alla storia in modo *intensivo* invece che in un modo *estensivo*, ci rendiamo conto che tutti i fatti storici reprimono altri fatti storici o altri fatti che potrebbero non essere storici. Quello a cui sono interessato, dunque, è di allentare questa repressione che assumiamo come naturale e che, invece, non percepiamo.

L. M. Tafuri nel 1974 scrisse un saggio molto particolare: *L'Architecture dans le Boudoir* pubblicato originalmente sul numero 3 della rivista "Oppositions", ripreso poi in italiano in *La sfera e il labirinto*, ma senza il bel sottotitolo iniziale *The language of criticism and the criticism of language*. Non ne ricordiamo altri di Tafuri dove, parlando di architettura contemporanea, descriva testi di architetti che svolgono critica relativamente a opere recenti, rileggendo specifiche architetture. In quel saggio venivano citati, tra gli altri, Aldo Rossi che scriveva sull'opera di Adolf Loos, Hans Hollein su Arata Isozaki, Peter Eisenman su James Stirling e sugli Smithson. Interessante perché egli riconosceva i caratteri di un certo modo di svolgere critica da parte degli architetti che progettano. Ma probabilmente in lui qualcosa, dopo, deve essere cambiato.

P. E. Per comprendere ciò è importante riconoscere una tradizione presente nella filosofia europea di questo secolo, dove il filosofo espone il suo discorso attraverso il discorso di un altro filosofo. In questo modo abbiamo Heidegger su Kant, Derrida su Heidegger, Deleuze su Nietszche e così via. Quindi non sorprende che questa tradizione si sia trasferita in architettura, non tanto perché l'architetto agisce come critico, ma più semplicemente perché usa un altro architetto come veicolo per il suo proprio lavoro. Così è stato certamente nel caso del lavoro critico che io ho svolto su altri architetti, ma ho anche il sospetto che questo sia stato il caso di Tafuri, almeno nei suoi scritti sugli architetti contemporanei. Credo che tra gli ultimi scritti di Tafuri sull'architettura contemporanea vi sia quello apparso nel libro sulle mie opere, un saggio del 1980 mai pubblicato in italiano, dal titolo *Peter Eisenman: The Meditations of Icarus*, e pubblicato nel 1987, un saggio credo certamente scritto in quel modo critico. Ma non dimentichiamo anche quello per il catalogo *Five architects N.Y.*, pubblicato da Officina nel 1977, con un testo diverso da quello apparso su "Oppositions", due testi differenti ma che entrambi esprimevano la posizione critica di Tafuri. Questi erano tra i suoi ultimi testi di questo tipo, oltre a quello su Vittorio Gregotti del 1982, ma che non considererei una elaborazione del suo discorso critico. Alla fine egli era contro l'avanguardia, e a mio parere, contro la critica, poiché sentiva che il tipo di lavoro verso cui stavamo evolvendo gli risultava molto problematico. Così il suo atteggiamento cambiò radicalmente.

L. M. Bruno Zevi ha detto che Frank Gehry e Peter Eisenman sono i due architetti da seguire con maggiore interesse, il primo come "artista", il secondo come "intellettuale". Questo vorremmo ricollegarlo a quanto lei affermava prima a proposito della memoria e del linguaggio critico in architettura. Mentre in Gehry è ancora possibile riconoscere la materialità dell'architettura, attraverso lo spessore dei muri che costruisce, nella luce che penetra nelle cavità, negli spazi che compone, nell'architettura di Eisenman tutto appare differente. Nelle

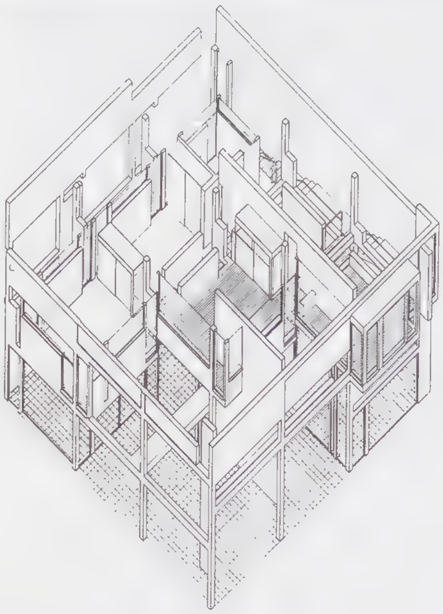
involved in making projects. In his later essays something has definitely changed.

P. E. *What is important to understand is that there is a tradition in twentieth century European philosophy, wherein the philosopher lays out his discourse through the discourse of another philosopher. So we have Heidegger on Kant, Derrida on Heidegger, Deleuze on Nietszche, and so on. Therefore it is not surprising that this tradition would carry on in architecture. It is not so much the architect in these cases as acting as a critic, but more likely merely using another architect as a vehicle for his own work. This was certainly the case in the critical work that I did on other architects. I also suspect this was the case for Tafuri at least when he was writing on contemporary architects. I think that one of the last texts he wrote about contemporary architecture was the text he wrote in my book which never published in Italian called* Peter Eisenman: The Meditations of Icarus, *written in 1980 and published in 1987, that was I think certainly in this critical mode. And also the text he did in the catalogue of the* Five Architects N.Y., *edited by Officina in 1977, which is substantially different from the text he wrote in "Oppositions". They are two different texts, but both present Tafuri's critical position. These were the last texts I think he wrote other than the text on Vittorio Gregotti in 1982, which is not what I would consider as an elaboration of his critical discourse.*
In the end he was against the avant-garde, and for me the critical. He felt that the kind of work that we were moving into was very problematic for him. And he changed completely.

L. M. *Bruno Zevi has said that Frank Gehry and Peter Eisenman are the two most interesting architects, the former as an "artist" and the latter as an "intellectual". This could be in reference to what you said before about memory, and the language of critical in architecture.*
While in Gehry the materiality of architecture is still distinguishable in the thickness of the walls he builds, in the light filtering in the hollows, in the spaces he creates. In your architecture all of that is different. In your glass buildings, what is the structure and what is the wall? The difference seems not to matter.

P. E. *That is precisely the point I made at the beginning, in order to be able to read the sign or the possibility of the sign of writing, we must loosen the relationship to construction, to light, to material etcetera. because we must put this aside in order to be able to make signs. If we continue to say to look at the light, look at the shadow, look at the material, look at the shape, we will not make any movement in architecture. What we will do is merely continue with the existing forms of personal plastic expression. Since one of the struggles today is between those people who believe in plastic means as a way of solving social problems as*





Peter Eisenman, House II, Hardwick, Vermont, U.S.A., 1969-70: vista esterna e assonometria.

Peter Eisenman, House II, Hardwick, Vermont, U.S.A., 1969-70: exterior view and axonometric.

sue costruzioni di vetro, che ruolo ha la struttura, che ruolo ha il muro? La differenza sembra non essere importante.

P. E. Ciò è precisamente la questione che ponevo all'inizio. Per poter leggere il segno, o le possibilità del segno per la scrittura, dobbiamo perdere la relazione con la costruzione, la luce, la materia, eccetera, poiché dobbiamo cercare di mettere da parte tutto questo per essere capaci di usarlo per produrre segni, per comunicare. Se noi insistiamo nel guardare alla luce, all'ombra, ai materiali, alla forma, non ci sarà nessun avanzamento in architettura. Dobbiamo semplicemente continuare con le forme esistenti dell'espressione plastica soggettiva, e dato che una delle battaglie da condurre oggi è tra quelle persone che credono nei valori plastici come modo di risolvere problemi sociali in opposizione a quelle che non lo credono, al fine di trovare una nuova coscienza critica dei valori plastici, dobbiamo liberarci del desiderio di toccare, sentire, guardare le ombre e così via, per essere capaci di leggere l'architettura.
Dobbiamo superare quello che Walter Benjamin dice a proposito dell'architettura, che è circondata dall'indifferenza della gente, dato che non è messa in cornice né su un piedistallo come una scultura o un dipinto, insomma che viene data per scontata. Ma, se vogliamo strutturare l'architettura, cioè essere in grado di scriverla come nel caso della pittura, della poesia e della letteratura, dobbiamo essere in grado di modificare questo atteggiamento indifferente che abbiamo. L'unico modo a nostra disposizione per cambiare questo approccio casuale consiste nel rendere diversa l'architettura. In altri termini, avremo sempre dei muri, e questi sempre si reggeranno, ma se li lasceremo senza una struttura di significati, una cornice, cioè se non strutturiamo l'idea potenziale, non li potremo leggere.
Disporre di una critica dei valori plastici in architettura assume oggi un'importanza senza precedenti, dacché i *mass media* ne hanno sottratto la corporalità agli occhi. Io propongo di leggere l'architettura del passato con il corpo, non con la testa. Noi leggiamo l'architettura somaticamente perché la percepiamo con il corpo appercettivamente. Ma noi percepiamo i *media* con gli occhi, non con il corpo e oggi si è perso il corpo. Oggi tante persone si iscrivono a corsi di ginnastica, corrono e fanno *jogging* e vanno in palestra perché vogliono riabilitare il corpo. Io vorrei riabilitare il corpo e la mente insieme, non solo il corpo in sè. Quindi, per recuperare il corpo, è necessario produrre un'architettura che ci chieda nuovamente l'utilizzo del nostro corpo per capire lo spazio. Ecco ciò che sto cercando di fare nelle mie opere recenti.

Tutto questo è diverso dall'approccio di Frank Gehry ai valori plastici, perché non sto parlando di espressione personale o di espressionismo, ma della nozione di architettura come una idea di eccesso, come una possibile condizione al di là della funzione, oltre l'iconografia. Definirei questa un'*affettività* sensuale, non *effettività* che è funzionale. Non dimentichiamo che era proprio dell'architettura l'essere *affettiva*. Ma più si sviluppavano le funzioni sociali, nelle tipologie degli ospedali, nelle abitazioni, nelle prigioni e in tutti i bisogni sociali del Diciottesimo e Diciannovesimo secolo, di cui l'architettura doveva tenere conto, più l'architettura diventava *effettiva* nella propria iconografia e perdeva la necessaria affettività.

L. M. Questo ricorda il suo progetto per la Max Reinhardt Haus a Berlino dove, nonostante l'elevato grado di alterazione della forma dell'edificio, è ancora possibile riconoscere, anche se molto deformate, alcune tipologie, quali quelle dei teatri, o una certa ritmica tradizionale nella struttura a piani e pilastri, cioè gli elementi per affermare che si tratta ancora di un edificio concepito per essere vissuto e non di un edificio come fatto solamente scultoreo, come apparentemente denuncia.
Inoltre, vi sono anche altre questioni che pone questo progetto: per esempio dal punto di vista del rapporto con la città e il suo contesto, con la tradizione della costruzione degli edifici nella città di Berlino, relativamente al livello di crescita uniforme dei propri isolati a una quota pressoché costante per tutto il tessuto. Questi temi forse si possono ricondurre al dibattito che vi fu per la costruzione della Torre Velasca a Milano, a opera dei BBPR, e alla questione delle "preesistenze ambientali" descritta da Ernesto Nathan Rogers, relativamente alla costruzione moderna nella tradizione storica della città.

P. E. Il dibattito a Berlino era diverso perché verteva su tre problemi.
Innanzitutto la Max Reinhardt Haus doveva essere un monumento, di conseguenza non veniva considerato alla stregua di un edificio in altezza, ma come una nuova Torre Eiffel o una Porta di Brandeburgo. Doveva cioè sostituire l'idea ottocentesca di monumento per crearne uno rivolto al futuro, che guardasse alla germanità in contrapposizione alle memorie dell'Olocausto. Perciò la forma che abbiamo usato era derivata dallo scienziato tedesco August Möbius, che aveva definito una forma geometrica priva di esterno ed interno. Ma, mentre la forma era presa dalla storia, essa non aveva nostalgia del passato ed era proiettata in avanti nella prospettiva della cultura, scienza e tecnologia tedesca. L'edificio era stato concepito come monumento, quindi senza alcun rapporto con la città storica, così come la Torre Eiffel era un monumento che non aveva nulla a che vedere con la Parigi storica. Non si dibatteva dunque se fosse opportuno costruire edifici in altezza a Berlino, anche perché questo edificio richiedeva che l'altezza degli edifici intorno rimanesse bassa, allo scopo di mantenere la sua presenza come monumento. La questione non era tanto sull'edificio in altezza, quanto piuttosto ci si chiedeva

opposed to those who do not, in order to find a new criticality in plastic means, we must loosen our desire for touching, feeling, looking, in order to be able to read.
If we are to overcome what Walter Benjamin says about architecture, that it is treated casually by people precisely because it is not in a frame and it is not on a pedestal, like sculpture and painting. Therefore, we take it for granted. But if we are to frame architecture that is to be able to write it like painting, poetry, literature, we must be able to change the casual attitude we have. And the only way we can change that casual attitude is to make architecture be different. In other words we always have walls, they will always stand up, we understand that, but without a frame, that is without the framing of the idea of the possible, then we do not read it.
And today it is more important than ever to have a critical plastic architecture, because the media has taken our bodies away from our eyes. What I am suggesting is that we read architecture in the past with the body, not the head. We read architecture somatically because we perceive with the body apperceptively. We perceive media with our eyes, and not with the body. Today the body is lost. Today so many people are going to exercise class and running and jogging in gymnasiums, because they want to restore the body. What I want to do is to restore the body and the mind together, not merely the body by itself. It is necessary, in order to restore the body, to produce an architecture which re-demands that we use our body to understand space. This is what I am trying to do in my recent work.

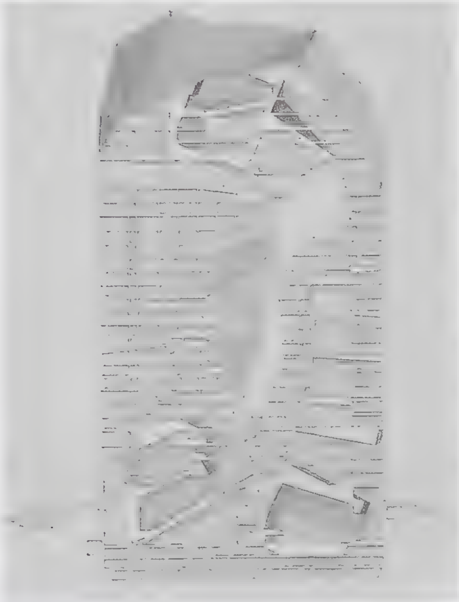
This is different from what Frank Gehry does with plastic means, because I am not talking about personal expression. Rather, I am talking about the notion of architecture as an idea of excess, as a possible condition beyond function, beyond iconography. It is what I would call a sensual affectivity, *not* effectivity. *Architecture used to be* affective. *But the more we had social functions like hospitals, housing, prisons, and all of the social needs of the 18th and 19th centuries that architecture had to comply with, the more architecture became* effective *in its iconography and lost its necessary affectiveness.*



Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Pianta del Campo Marzio, 1762.

Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Plan of Campo Marzio, 1762.

L. M. *That reminds me of your project for the Max Reinhardt Haus in Berlin, where, despite the deep alterations in the building form, it is still possible to identify some typologies, such as the theatres or a certain traditional rhythm in the structure of planes and pillars. These elements assert that the building is still meant to be used and is not a sculpture as it might seem.*
Moreover, this building raises other issues such as for instance, its relationship to the context of Berlin and its tradition of building construction, the idea of the perimeter block, etcetera. Such issues might be related to the debate raised by the construction of the Torre Velasca in Milan by BBPR, and to the issue of the "preesistenze ambientali"



Peter Eisenman, Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlino, 1992: sezione.

Peter Eisenman, Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin, 1992: section.

se un edificio alto potesse essere un monumento. Il dibattito riguardava il problema se il nostro progetto fosse un monumento appropriato per Berlino.

Un'altra questione era relativa alla possibilità di un monumento di avere un uso. E questo monumento doveva essere utilizzato ventiquattro ore su ventiquattro, ospitando una mescolanza di case discografiche, negozi, locali notturni, palestre, piscina, teatri e così via. Doveva avere un uso differente e complementare rispetto ad altri nuovi edifici nella zona della Friedrichstrasse, che attualmente è tutta destinata a edifici per uffici e dunque deserta nelle ore notturne. Volevamo avere un luogo pieno di vita, un centro vicino alla stazione ferroviaria della Friedrichstrasse, alla metropolitana (U-Bahn) e alla ferrovia urbana (S-Bahn). Tutti i sistemi di trasporto pubblico e di comunicazione convergevano in questo nodo, quindi doveva essere un monumento costruito per viverci.

L'ultima questione era molto problematica e stava nel fatto che questo progetto doveva essere un monumento che portava il nome di un impresario ebreo, Max Reinhardt. E per alcuni a Berlino rappresentava un problema il fatto che il nuovo monumento simbolo di Berlino dovesse essere un monumento ebreo. Questa era la vera questione.

L. M. E Max Reinhardt, come direttore artistico, fece costruire a Berlino tre teatri diversi, anche come tipologia drammaturgica, e collegati tra loro urbanisticamente. Anche a Salisburgo, dove diresse il Festspiele, fece lo stesso, collegando diversi luoghi teatrali nella città, come piazze, chiese e teatri.

A New York, durante gli anni Settanta, lei ha diretto l'Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies. Credo fosse molto interessante il congiungimento tra la scuola, i seminari di studio, la rivista "Oppositions" e la cultura architettonica della città. Ricordiamo che uno dei primi temi trattati dal nascente Institute era la presentazione di diversi progetti, svolti in ambito universitario, di *urban design* per Manhattan, eseguiti da Colin Rowe, lei e altri, e presentati in una mostra al Museum of Modern Art nel 1967. Colpivano, di quelle iniziative, lo stretto legame tra la città e un suo ambiente culturale.

P. E. I tempi sono cambiati. L'Institute è stato veramente molto importante per quel periodo. Tuttavia le cose non sono mai le stesse e quindi alcune esperienze sono irripetibili, non si può avere la stessa energia oggi come la si aveva allora. Innanzitutto, Peter Eisenman non è più giovane. Non riuscirei più a rifarlo. C'è bisogno di gente nuova.

Niente si può mai ripetere, occorre andare avanti con

described by Ernesto Nathan Rogers with regard to modern architecture in the tradition of the historical town.

P. E. *In Berlin the debate was different because it centered on three issues.*
One was the fact that the Max Reinhardt House was to be a monument and therefore was not to be seen as a highrise building at all, but as a new Tour Eiffel or Brandenburger Tor. In other words it had to replace the 19th century idea of monument and to make a monument that would look to the future, would look to Germanity as opposed to memories of the Holocaust. Therefore the form we used was from a German scientist August Möbius who proposed a form that had no inside and no outside. While the form was taken from history it contained no nostalgia of the past, but looked forward from the view of German culture, science, technology. Since it was supposed to be a monument, it had nothing to do with the historical town, as the Tour Eiffel was a monument that had nothing to do with historical Paris. It was not about an idea to build high rise buildings in Berlin, in fact it required that the building heights around it would remain low in order to maintain its presence as a monument. It therefore was not about a tall building, but rather about the fact that a tall building could be a monument. The debate was whether our project was an appropriate monument for Berlin.

Another issue concerned the idea that a monument could have a use. This monument was supposed to be used twenty-four hours a day, it was to be a mixture of record companies, drugstores, night clubs, health clubs, theaters and so on. It was to be different in use from the other new buildings in the Friedrichstrasse area, yet complementary to them. At present Friedrichstrasse is all office buildings and it will be deserted at night. So what we wanted was a live place, a center near the Friedrichstrasse Bahnhof, the U-Bahn, S-Bahn. All of the public communication and transportation systems were in this node. Thus it was to be a monument about toward living.

The last question was also problematic. It concerned the fact that the project was to be a monument named for a Jewish impresario, Max Reinhardt. This was a problem for some people in Berlin, that the new monument which symbolised Berlin should be a Jewish monument. This was a real question.

L. M. *And Max Reinhardt, as art director, built three theatres in Berlin which were different, even from a dramaturgic point of view yet related urbanistically. Even in Salzburg where he directed the Festspiele, he connected various theatrical places of the town, such as squares, churches and theatres.*

In New York, in the Seventies, you directed the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. The connection between schools, seminars, "Oppositions" magazine and the architectonic culture of the town was in my opinion very interesting. I remember that one of the first issues approached by the Institute was the presentation of several urban design projects for Manhattan, which were developed in an academic context by Colin Rowe, you and others, and presented at the Museum of Modern Art in 1967. In those initiatives, I was impressed by the close relationship between the city and such a cultural institution.

P. E. *That was then. The Institute was important for that time. However, everything is never the same and therefore you cannot do the same things, you cannot have the same energy today as one had then. First of all, Peter Eisenman is not young; I could never do it again. You need new people.*

Equally, you can never repeat anything, you have to go forward with new things. And every time we must recognise new ventures; for example my wife Cynthia Davidson is making a new magazine, "Any", and a new series of books. This work has nothing to do with "Oppositions" or the Institute, but rather with the historical tradition of this century that critical architectural discourse has always been sustained by so-called little magazines. These magazines and in another sense the Universities carry the critical energy that today seems no longer possible in the world of professional building.

The situation today is that young people cannot build in Italy. There is no mechanism to enable people to begin to do critical work in real building. There must be a way to make projects in Italy, whether from the State or the school. This is a real issue. In Spain, in France, young people are building; but in Italy very little. It seems to require different mechanisms in different countries; but in any case we should never look back, at least we should never look back with nostalgia, because things were never what they may have seemed to have been.

L. M. *At present, the academic world also has major problems. We have to face the problem of changing our curricula. The way seemed to have been paved by the Institute which brought together project culture, teaching and the city own. The School of Venice, at one time was involved in this way. For example, when Giuseppe Samonà called Bruno Zevi, Ignazio Gardella, Franco Albini and so on and set up a School of Architecture.*

P. E. *But now, there are young architects and thinkers of the necessary post-Tafuri era, young people from groups like "Multiplicity" that are trying to come out from under the weight of Tafuri, to deal with their own oedipal problems with Gregotti and Rossi. It is their time!*

T. C. *Last year I went to a conference organised by the*

qualcosa di nuovo e ogni volta dobbiamo riconoscere nuove esperienze. Per esempio, mia moglie, Cinthia Davidson, sta lavorando alla nuova rivista "Any", a una nuova serie di libri e questi interessi non hanno nulla a che vedere con "Oppositions" o con l'Insitute, ma piuttosto con la tradizione, radicata in questo secolo, che vede il discorso critico in architettura sempre sostenuto dalle cosiddette riviste minori. Queste ultime, e per altri versi le università, portano quell'energia critica che oggi non sembra possibile nel mondo professionale.

La situazione, per me oggi, è che i giovani non possono costruire in Italia. Nessun meccanismo permette a loro di iniziare a svolgere opera critica nelle costruzioni architettoniche concrete e si deve trovare il modo, forse attraverso lo Stato oppure la scuola, di fare progetti in Italia. Si tratta di un vero problema. In Spagna e in Francia i giovani costruiscono edifici, ma in Italia molto pochi, così bisogna trovare differenti meccanismi in diversi paesi, ma in nessun modo dobbiamo voltarci indietro, almeno non con nostalgia, perché le cose non erano mai state come esse sembrava che fossero.

L. M. Infatti, oggi in Italia, ci sono grossi problemi nell'insegnamento universitario, nelle scuole di architettura. Ci troviamo di fronte al problema di cambiare le nostre scuole di architettura.
La strada indicata dall'Institute credo sia interessante per noi perché abbiamo perso il modo di riunire la cultura progettuale, l'insegnamento e la città. La Scuola di Venezia, negli anni Sessanta, per esempio, era in un certo modo simile a quell'esperienza, per la quale Giuseppe Samonà chiamò Bruno Zevi, Ignazio Gardella, Franco Albini e altri, per fare una autentica Scuola di Architettura.

P. E. Ma ora ci sono giovani architetti e teorici della necessaria era post-tafuriana, giovani che provengono da gruppi come "Multiplicity", che cercano di liberarsi dal peso dell'eredità di Tafuri, di staccarsi dai propri problemi edipici con Gregotti e Rossi. Questo è il loro momento!

T. C. Abbiamo seguito lo scorso anno all'Architectural Association di Londra una sua conferenza dove c'era un pubblico di circa ottanta persone. Alla Triennale di Milano, lo scorso dicembre, c'erano quattromila persone, fra cui molti studenti che arrivavano dalla Calabria, dalla Sicilia, da Parigi. Crede questo che sia dovuto al fatto che l'architettura internazionale è più seguita in Italia che negli altri paesi?

P. E. In primo luogo l'Inghilterra non può essere considerata come un termine di confronto per i problemi teoretici. È sempre stato il luogo più ottuso e conservatore rispetto alle nuove idee nascenti e per comprenderlo basta guardare la differenza di risultati ottenuti dal Movimento Moderno in Italia. Fatta eccezione per Jim Stirling e per la scuola dell'Architectural Association di Alvin Boyarsky (in realtà non del tutto inglese), l'Inghilterra ha continuato a produrre mediocrità molto commerciale. L'inghilterra è stata contro ogni forma di pensiero speculativo europeo, incluso Tafuri e il poststrutturalismo, mentre, d'altra parte l'Italia sta attraversando una rigenerazione. Quanto è accaduto alle conferenze alla Triennale per me è una conferma di questo e indica l'esistenza di un nuovo spirito in Italia, sulla possibilità di produrre forme e sulla consapevolezza che in qualche modo l'architettura possa ancora essere il simbolo delle speranze e delle aspirazioni dei giovani. Sono stati veramente incredibili quei momenti a Milano.
Quando partecipammo alla prima Biennale internazionale di architettura a Venezia erano presenti più di venti grandi architetti dell'America e dell'Europa, Stirling, Venturi, Rossi ed altri e c'erano circa cinquecento persone al Palazzo del Cinema al Lido. Fu un momento molto importante, ma parlare di fronte a una platea di quattromila persone è tutta un'altra cosa. Lo spirito che si sentiva in quella sala era straordinario. Se vado a fare una conferenza a Bangkok o a Seoul e parlo ad un pubblico di mille persone non c'è lo stesso spirito. Non c'è nessun meccanismo che consenta alla cultura architettonica di quei paesi di essere in grado di comprendere un discorso critico, mentre in Italia, per tradizione millenaria, l'architettura è parte delle cultura.
Anche negli Stati Uniti noi non abbiamo nelle riviste la cultura della critica architettonica. Quando recentemente sono andato a Vienna per un convegno, è apparso un grande articolo sullo "Standard", il più importante quotidiano di Vienna, e del mio intervento ne hanno parlato la televisione e la radio. Quando vado a un convegno a Madrid, c'è sempre un articolo su "El Pais". Questi paesi hanno una cultura architettonica.
Mi sembra che l'Italia negli ultimi dieci anni sia andata in declino, mentre Spagna e Francia sono state in ascesa. Ora l'Italia può riemergere dopo essere stata sottoposta a schiavitù da Tafuri. Ai giovani non interessa il postmoderno di Portoghesi e di Rossi o il pragmatismo di Gregotti. Si è avuta una ripulita da tutto questo nelle riviste. I vecchi giganti non sono più un problema ed è giunto il momento per l'Italia di respirare ancora. Amo la sua aria!

Architectural Association in London. There were about eighty people. Last December at the Triennale in Milan there were four thousand people. A lot of students came from Calabria, Sicily and Paris. Do you think that that was due to the fact that international architecture is more important in Italy than in other countries?

P. E. *First, let me say that England is no measure for anything theoretical. It has always been the most hide-bound and conservative place when it comes to new ideas. One has only to look at the results of the Modern Movement in Italy to understand this. Except for Jim Stirling, and Alvin Boyarsky's AA school (which was not really English at all) England has continued to produce commercial mediocrity. England has been against every form of continental speculation including Tafuri and post-structuralism. While on the other hand Italy is experiencing a regeneration. What happened at the Triennale lectures was a confirming experience for me. It indicated that there was a new spirit in Italy concerning the possibility of making form, and a belief that somehow architecture could still be symbolic of the hopes and aspirations of young people. It was truly incredible, those moments in Milan.*

When we took part in the first international Biennale in Venice, there were over twenty major architects from America and Europe. Stirling and Venturi were there along with Rossi and others. There were over five hundred people at the Cinema Lido. It was an important moment, but to speak in front of four thousand people is quite another matter. The spirit in those rooms was extraordinary. If I speak in Bangkok or Seoul, while there may be a thousand people there is not the same spirit. There is no mechanism that allows for an architectural culture in these countries that enable them to understand a critical discourse. In Italy there are thousands of years of the tradition in architecture as part of the culture.
Even in the United States we do not have in newsmagazines the culture of architectural criticism. When I recently went to speak in Vienna, there was a major article in the "Standard", the number one newspaper in Vienna. My talk was reported on television and on radio. When I go to speak in Madrid, there is always an article in "El Pais". These countries have a culture of architecture.
It seems to me that for the last ten years Italy has been down, Spain and France have been up. Now Italy can come out from under the thrall of Tafuri. Young people were not interested in the post-modernisms of Portoghesi and Rossi or the pragmatism of Gregotti. There is a clean sweep of the magazines. The old giants are no longer a problem. It is time for Italy to breathe again. I love the air!

Place des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland

1995

Eisenman Architects
in association with Frederic Levrat

Principal: Peter Eisenman
Associate: Richard Rosson
Project Architect: Sergio Bregante
Project Assistants: Tina Cantwell, Sean Hagan, Diana Ibrahim, Jan Jurgens, Michael Schmidt, Angelika Solleder, Lisa Torris, Marcus Witta

Model Photographs: Dick Frank Studio



Vista del modello da est.

View of the model from the east.



Place des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland

1995

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Vista del modello da est.

View of the model from the east.

Concorso per Place des Nations, Ginevra, Svizzera
Peter Eisenman

Sin dalla Rivoluzione francese, e dalla sconfitta dell'*ancien régime*, il paesaggio ha giocato un ruolo simbolico importante nello sviluppo dell'architettura. Da Lenné a Repton, da Piranesi a Le Corbusier, il significato allegorico del rapporto tra natura e edificio è stato di importanza simbolica decisiva. Ciò è stato particolarmente vero nel caso degli edifici pubblici: la storia dell'evoluzione delle relazioni tra paesaggio e edificio, da Potsdam alla Ville Radieuse, potrebbe infatti descrivere i momenti canonici della storia dell'architettura. E questo dovrebbe essere non meno vero oggi, quando le gerarchie che hanno caratterizzato il pensiero occidentale sono più che mai messe in discussione da un'era multiculturale e neo-postcoloniale, questione che oggi è anche al cuore del mandato delle Nazioni Unite. I vecchi simboli del potere occidentale, come la geometria assiale cartesiana e il palazzo isolato nel paesaggio, non sono più adatti ad esprimere le nuove culture e nazioni emergenti. Anche il ruolo della vecchia idea di paesaggio e le sue relazioni con il concetto di forma organica sono messi in discussione.

La natura è sempre stata considerata tanto organica quanto opposta alla forma artificiale o meccanica. In entrambi i casi, sia l'organico che il meccanico sono stati visti come entità formali ben definite, capaci di essere comprese attraverso strategie come la simmetria e l'asimmetria. Trattati come quello di D'Arcy Thompson, *On the Growth of Form*, sono stati testi fondamentali per architetti diversi come Le Corbusier e Frank Lloyd Wright. Oggi, tuttavia, la natura è interpretata come un fenomeno maggiormente complesso, non più descrivibile solo attraverso forme stabili.

Se una strategia insediativa totalizzante, come si verifica nel piano barocco di Versailles, aiuterebbe a risolvere l'attuale destrutturazione dell'area di progetto, tuttavia ciò risulterebbe come un ritorno alle gerarchie del passato. Anche il progetto per una nuova città mondiale, elaborato da Le Corbusier su quest'area, si fonda su un'idea di piano globale unitario, fatto di gerarchie geometriche, assi, griglie regolari e edifici isolati come oggetti cartesiani, analogamente ai piani progettati per lo sviluppo di nuove capitali coloniali, come Brasilia, Chandigarh e Dacca, dove l'ideologia occidentale è stata imposta ai paesi dell'est e del sud del mondo. Tuttavia è la stessa storia di questi progetti a fornire un prezioso riferimento per questo luogo specifico, che non può essere semplicemente cancellato dal desiderio del nuovo. Ginevra è la città di alcuni dei progetti non realizzati più famosi di Le Corbusier, le cui tracce forniscono una base di partenza per la nostra proposta. Il nostro progetto muove da questa storia, intesa come archeologia contemporanea, che deve essere trasformata per aprire nuovi modi di intendere le relazioni tra uomo e natura, tra l'uomo e le sue costruzioni.

Il nostro progetto assume come basi simboliche la storia dell'area, sia passata che presente, sia visibile che non visibile, attiva e passiva, per formulare nuove relazioni simboliche tra paesaggio e edificio. Esso tenta di intrecciare passato e presente in un nuova composizione che non sia nostalgica o gerarchica, né impregnata di sovrabbondanti simbolismi d'oriente o d'occidente; piuttosto esso ricerca un nuovo mosaico di paesaggio che nelle proprie trasformazioni e ripetizioni confonda le vecchie categorie gerarchiche di figura e sfondo, paesaggio e edificio, pubblico e privato, città e suburbio.

Tre sono le condizioni fondamentali che animano questo schema di progetto.

1. La prima condizione è la precisa localizzazione di un tunnel sotterraneo sul margine occidentale dell'area, che è il condotto attraverso cui transitano tutte le reti contemporanee di telecomunicazione da e per Ginevra. Questa linea è propriamente ciò che chiamiamo oggi una autostrada informatica. La localizzazione di questo elemento sotterraneo viene usata nel progetto come margine dell'area di intervento presso Place des Nations. Sarebbe stato facile risolvere il caos e la frammentazione esistenti attorno a Place des Nations con i tre o quattro edifici previsti dal programma, localizzandoli in asse con il Palazzo delle Nazioni Unite così da formare una piazza urbana, a prolungamento dell'asse del Palazzo delle Nazioni Unite oltre Route de Ferney. In questo modo avremmo creato un classico spazio urbano che avrebbe concluso l'asse del Palazzo delle Nazioni Unite. Abbiamo deciso di non procedere in questo modo. Abbiamo invece slittato verso sinistra Avenue Giuseppe Motta per approssimare il tracciato del tunnel delle reti telematiche. Così facendo, abbiamo creato un bordo a ovest che delimita uno spazio libero da traffico, che sostituisce Place des Nations. Risultato ottenuto mandando in trincea e interrompendo parzialmente Route de Ferney e connettendo Avenue Giuseppe Motta sia con questo tratto di strada sotterranea che con la connessione in salita con Avenue de la Paix.
2. La seconda condizione è la precisa localizzazione del tracciato del secondo schema per il Palazzo delle Nazioni di Le Corbusier, che costituisce una memoria importante in quest'area. Attraverso un processo di deformazione e ripetizione abbiamo messo in relazione questa memoria col condotto sotterraneo, generando una serie di terrazzamenti panoramici ad est del Palazzo delle Nazioni Unite, connettendo il parco alla retrostante Place des Nations. Poiché questi terrazzamenti vanno dal tracciato di Le Corbusier verso quello del condotto, essi emergono gradualmente dal terreno, così come succede per gli edifici dell'Università (Biblioteca, Istituto di Scienze Politiche, Istituto di Studi strategici e l'area dei laboratori). Una analoga strategia è stata seguita per generare gli altri edifici. Nel tentativo di ridurre l'isolamento della figura del Palazzo delle Nazioni Unite, è stata sviluppata una serie di terrazzamenti panoramici anche sul lato ovest dell'edificio, utilizzando ancora un processo di trasformazione che partendo dalla forma dell'edificio si propaga verso la linea del condotto sotterraneo. Oltre a creare un nuovo paesaggio, questo processo ha generato la forma degli edifici che ospitano la Casa dei Diritti Umani e la Casa Universale.
3. La terza condizione evolve dalle forme del progetto di Le Corbusier per il Mundaneum, rilocalizzato e risistemato sull'area del Collège Sismondi. Quest'area presenta diversi elementi di paesaggio formalizzato e edifici disposti in modo analogo all'idea di Piranesi per Campo Marzio che, pur utilizzando elementi appartenenti all'iconografia storica, rivelava, nella loro complessiva disposizione, un modo nuovo di trattare le forme urbane. Introducendo questa strategia alternata si è dato origine ad un luogo non totalizzante, che consentirà a molti diversi architetti e a molti diversi linguaggi di prendervi parte, dal momento che non è data alcuna visione del progetto come un tutto unitario e predefinito.

Competition Project for Place des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland
Peter Eisenman

Ever since the French revolution, and the breakup of the ancien régime, *landscape has played an important symbolic role in the development of architecture. From Lenné to Repton, from Piranesi to Le Corbusier, the allegorical significance of the relationship between nature and building has been of critical symbolic importance. This was particularly true in the case of public buildings. In fact the history of the evolution of the relationship between landscape and building, from Potsdam to the Ville Radieuse would define the canonical moments in the history of architecture. This should be no less true today when the hierarchies that have defined western thought are being more then ever questioned by a multi-cultural and a new post-colonial era that is at the heart of the United Nations mandate today. No longer are the old symbols of western power, such as axial Cartesian geometry and the remote palace in the landscape, adequate to express the new emergent cultures and nations. Even the role of the old idea of landscape and its relation to concepts of organic form are being questioned. Nature has been traditionally seen as organic as opposed to man-made or mechanical form. In each case both organic and mechanical were seen as well defined formal entities capable of being understood through such strategies as symmetry and asymmetry. Such treatises as D'Arcy Thompson's book* On the Growth of Form *were source books for architects as diverse as Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright. Today, however, nature is being understood as a far more complex phenomenon, no longer merely described by stable forms.*

While an overall site strategy as in the Baroque planning of Versailles would help to define the existing defusion on the site, it would symbolically be seen as a return to the hierarchies of past era. Even Le Corbusier's project for a world city proposed for this site is comprised of a single overall 'master' plan idea of hierarchical geometries, axes, regular grids and isolated Cartesian object building, that have characterized the development of such new 'colonial' capitals as Brasilia, Chandigarh, and Dacca, where western ideologies were imposed on eastern and southern places. Yet it is the very history of such proposals that provides a rich context for this specific site that cannot merely be erased in a desire for the new. Geneva is the site of some of Le Corbusier's most famous unbuilt projects, and the traces of this history provides an initial background for our submission. Our project begins from this history as a modern day 'archaeology' to be transformed to open up new ways of understanding the relationship between man and nature, and man and his constructions.

Our project takes as its symbolic bases the history of this site both past and present, both seen and unseen, active and passive to formulate a new symbolic relationship between land and building. It attempts to weave these traces of past and present into a new fabric which is neither nostalgic or hierarchical, neither imbued with overtly western or eastern symbolism, but rather attempts a new landscape mosaic which in its repetitions and transformations, blurs the old hierarchical categories of figure and ground, landscape and building, public and private, city and suburb. Fundamentally, there are three conditions which animate this scheme:

1. The first condition is the precise location of an underground tunnel in the western edge of our site, which is a conduit for all of the contemporary services for telecommunications to and from Geneve. This line is the true incarnation of the contemporary "electronic information highway". The location of this underground element is used as one edge for our site development at the Place des Nations. Clearly it would be a simple matter to replace the existing dissolution and chaos surrounding the Place Des Nations with the three or four buildings required by the program by placing them in an axial relationship with the existing UN building so as to form an urban square with their mass extending the axis of the existing UN building across the existing Route de Ferney. This would provide a classical urban space which would terminate the axis of the existing UN building. This we chose not to do. Instead we shifted the Avenue Giuseppe Motta to the left to approximate the line of the utilities tunnel. In doing so we created a western edge for a new traffic free space replacing the former Place des Nations. This is accomplished by depressing the Route de Ferney under this space and providing a double connection of the Avenue Giuseppe Motta with both this depressed section of the road as well as an on grade connection with the Avenue de la Paix.

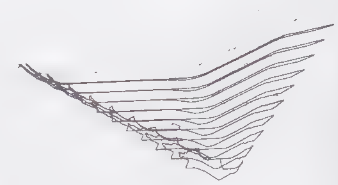
2. The second condition is the precise location of the traces of the Le Corbusier second scheme for the Palais des Nations which is an important memory on this site. Through a process of deformation and repetition, we connected this memory to the underground conduit which produced a series of landscaped terraces to the east of the existing UN building connecting the park back to the Place des Nations. As these terraces moved from Le Corbusier trace to the conduit trace they gradually emerged from the ground as the buildings for the Institut Universitaire (the Library, the Political Sciences Institute, the Institute for Strategic Study and the Place of Worship). A similar strategy was used to produce the other buildings. In an attempt to reduce the isolated figural quality of the existing UN building, a series of landscape terraces was also developed on the western side of the building, again using a transformational process which moved from the form of the building to the line of the underground conduit. In addition to providing a new landscape, it also provided the building forms for the Human Rights House and the Universal House.

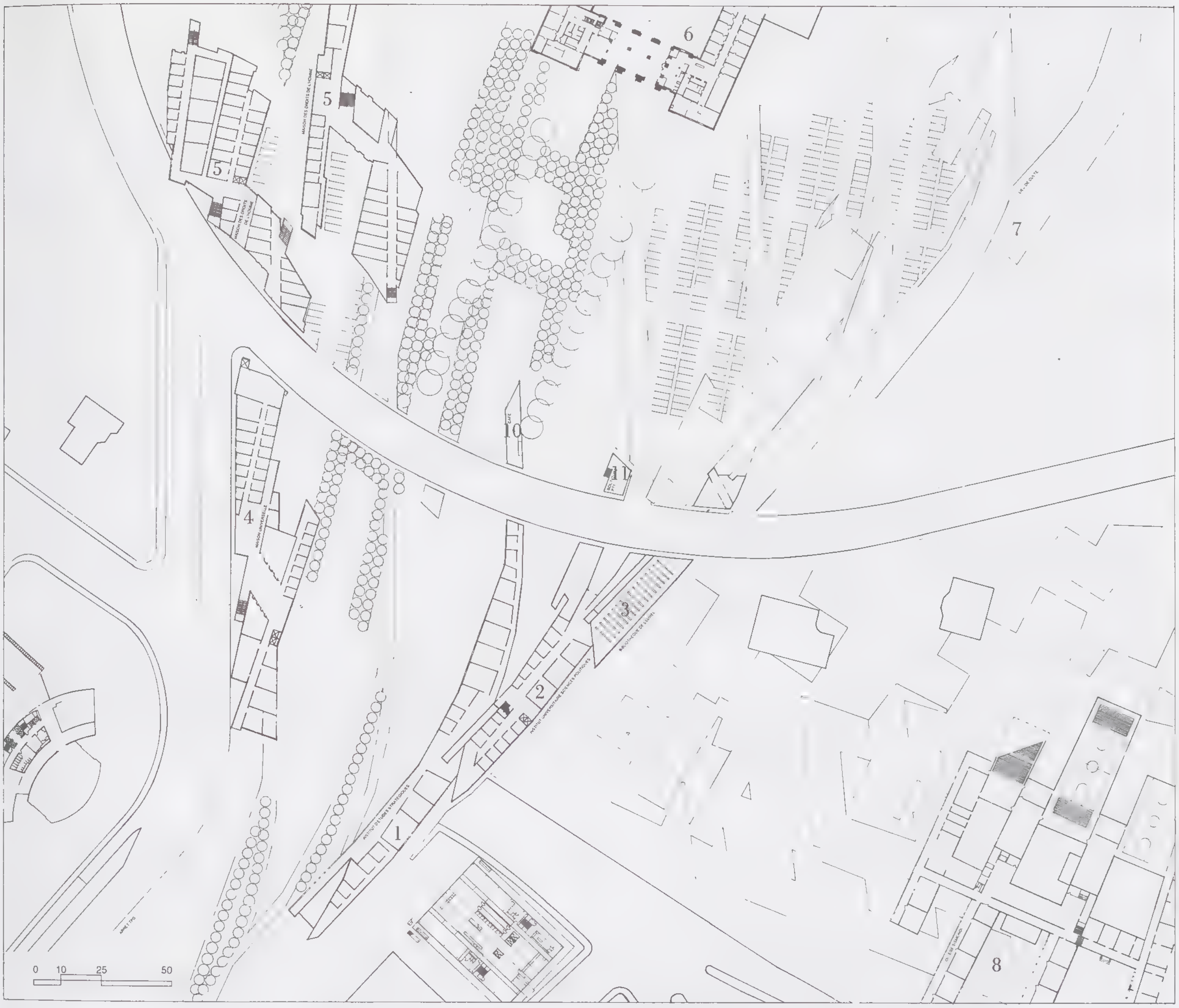
3. The third condition evolves out of the forms of Le Corbusier's Mundaneum project being relocated and rearranged on the site of the Sismondi College. This site has a series of formal landscape elements and buildings placed in a similar manner to Piranesi's idea for Campo Marzio which, while using iconic elements from history, signalled in their overall organization, a new a way of dealing with the forms of urbanity. By introducing such an alternate strategy a non totalizing site strategy is produced that will allow many different architects and many different styles to participate since there is no one view of the project as a whole.

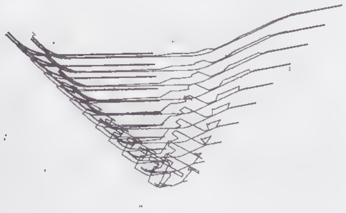


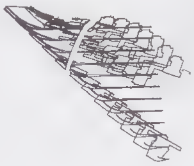
Planivolumetria generale e pianta del piano tipo: 1) Istituto di Studi Strategici Smart; 2) Istituto Universitario di Scienze Politiche; 3) Biblioteca L'Luhel; 4) Maison Universelle; 5) Casa dei Diritti dell'Uomo; 6) Palazzo delle Nazioni Unite; 7) Luogo di culto; 8) Collegio Sismondi; 9) OMC; 10) Caffetteria; 11) Boutiques e Ufficio postale. Diagrammi concettuali.

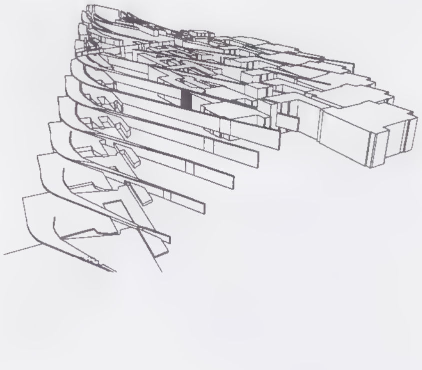
Overall plan and plan of a typical floor: 1) Smart Institute of Strategic Studies; 2) University Political Science Institute; 3) L'Luhel Library; 4) Maison Universelle; 5) Human Rights House; 6) United Nations Building; 7) Place of worship; 8) Sismondi College; 9) OMC; 10) Cafe; 11) Boutiques and Post Office. Conceptual diagrams.











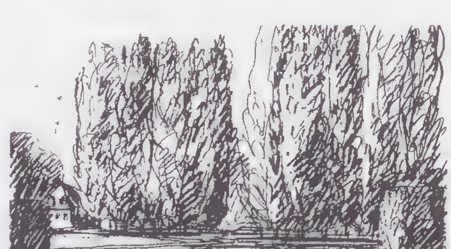


Pianta del piano terreno e sezioni: 1, 2) Istituto di Studi Strategici Smart: uffici, mediateca e sale specialistiche; 3) Istituto Universitario di Scienze Politiche; 4) caffeteria; 5) Biblioteca L'Luhel.
Vista del modello di dettaglio.

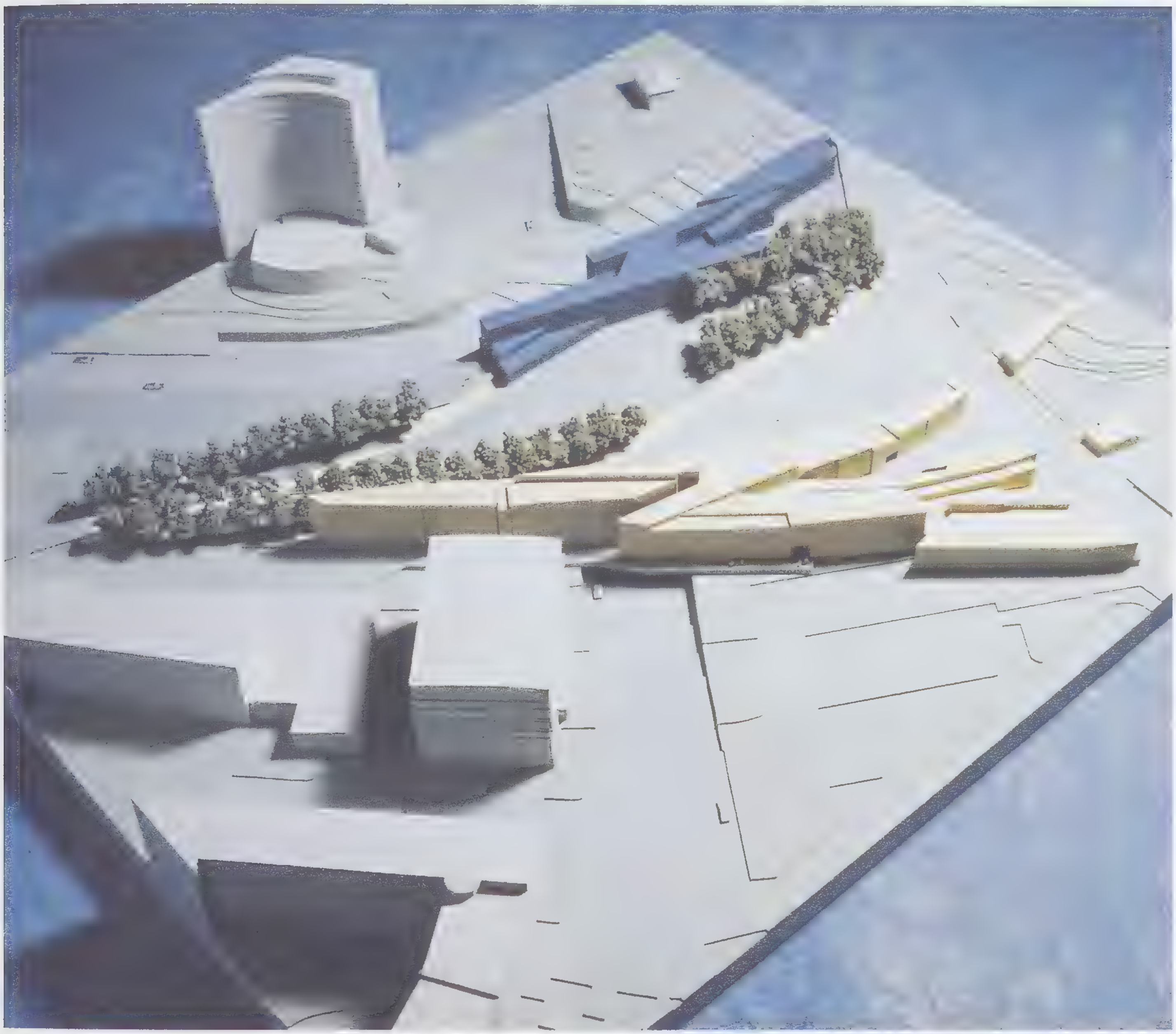
Disegni di studio: A) memoria delle forme delle coltivazioni agricole preesistenti; alberi esistenti da mantenere e da incrementare; terrazzamenti da creare in materiale duro e morbido, con ampie parti a prato e fiori spontanei, prato all'inglese, copertura vegetale, arbusti cedui e sempreverdi intervallati ad arbusti fioriti; B) memoria degli schemi di Le Corbusier per la Cité Mondiale e la Lega delle Nazioni; quest'area ha un diverso ordine formale e fa da base per una futura area di ampliamento insediativo; la forma del Mundaneum diventa qui tracciato di paesaggio, definito con una forma dal disegno denso ma non particolareggiato; l'area, per il

A


B


C


D

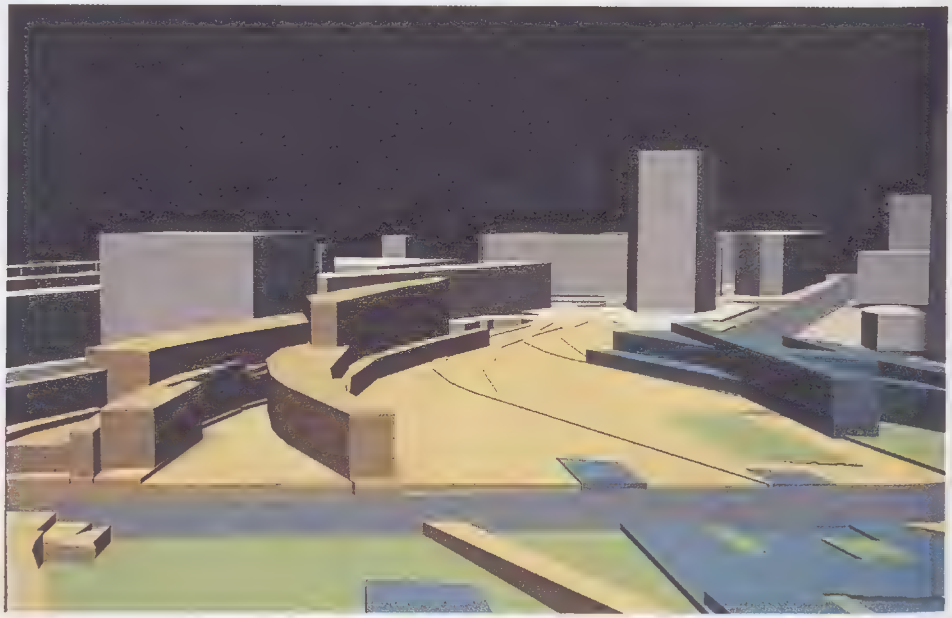



momento, sarà un parco con alberi, arbusti, fiori, terra e pietra, bacini e canali, un luogo di piacere, qualcosa di simile a un labirinto piranesiano, libero e romantico; C) ampie viste e prospettive dai terrazzamenti panoramici con i frutteti; ancora la memoria dei frutteti, dei vigneti e dei campi che un tempo occupavano l'area; le nuove piattaforme e terrazzamenti separano gli spazi pubblici dalle aree destinate a uffici; D) memoria delle foreste europee; gli alberi sono conifere: Cedro, Cedro dell'Atlante, Cedro del Libano e Abete rosso di Norvegia diposti a macchia e a filari.

Plan of the ground floor and sections:
1, 2) Smart Strategic Studies Institute: offices, media library and specialized facilities;
3) University Political Science Institute;
4) cafe; 5) L'Luhel Library.
View of the detail model.

Study drawings: A) memory of forms of earlier agricultural patterns on the site. Existing trees remain, new trees are planted. Terraces are created of hard and soft materials with large areas of meadow grass and wild flowers, lawn, ground cover, deciduous and evergreen shrubs, with intervals of flowering shrubs; B) memory of the Cité Mondiale and the League of Nations schemes of Le Corbusier. This area is of a different formal order and is a basis for a future site for additional buildings. The forms of the Mundaneum become landscape containers denoting a form of density, but not specific designs. The area for the time being will be a park of trees, shrubs, flowers, earth and stone forms, basins and canals, – a pleasure ground, something like a loose, romantic Piranesian maze, with evergreen hedges; C) great overlooks and prospects from view terraces with orchards. Again the memory of orchards, vineyards and fields that once occupied the site. The new platforms and terraces provide separation of the public space from the office areas; D) memory of the European forests. Conifers: Atlas cedar Cryptomeria, Lebanon cedar, redwoods, Norway spruce in groups and rows.







Viste da sudest e zenitale del modello.
Prospettiva computerizzata da nord.

Southeast and zenithal views of the model.
Computer perspective rendering from
the north.

Renovation and Additions to the Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego, California, U.S.A.

1986 -in costruzione

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, Inc.
David Raphael Singer, Associated Architect

Principal-in-Charge: Robert Venturi
Project Managers: Anne Trowbridge, John Hunter, Dan McCoubrey
Project Team: Brian LaBau, Christine Goehe, Kimberly Jones, Laura Campbell, Susan Lockwood, Alex Stolyarik

con/with: Tom Purdy, Nancy Trainer, John Bastian, Hiroko Abe



Veduta del modello da Prospect Street

View of the model from Prospect Street

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Laura Campbell, Susan Lockwood, Alex Stolyarik

con/with: Ron Pardy, Nancy Trainer, John Bastian, Hide Abe



Vista del modello da Prospect Street.

View of the model from Prospect Street.

Progetto di ristrutturazione e ampliamento del Museo d'Arte Contemporanea, San Diego, U.S.A.
Robert Venturi

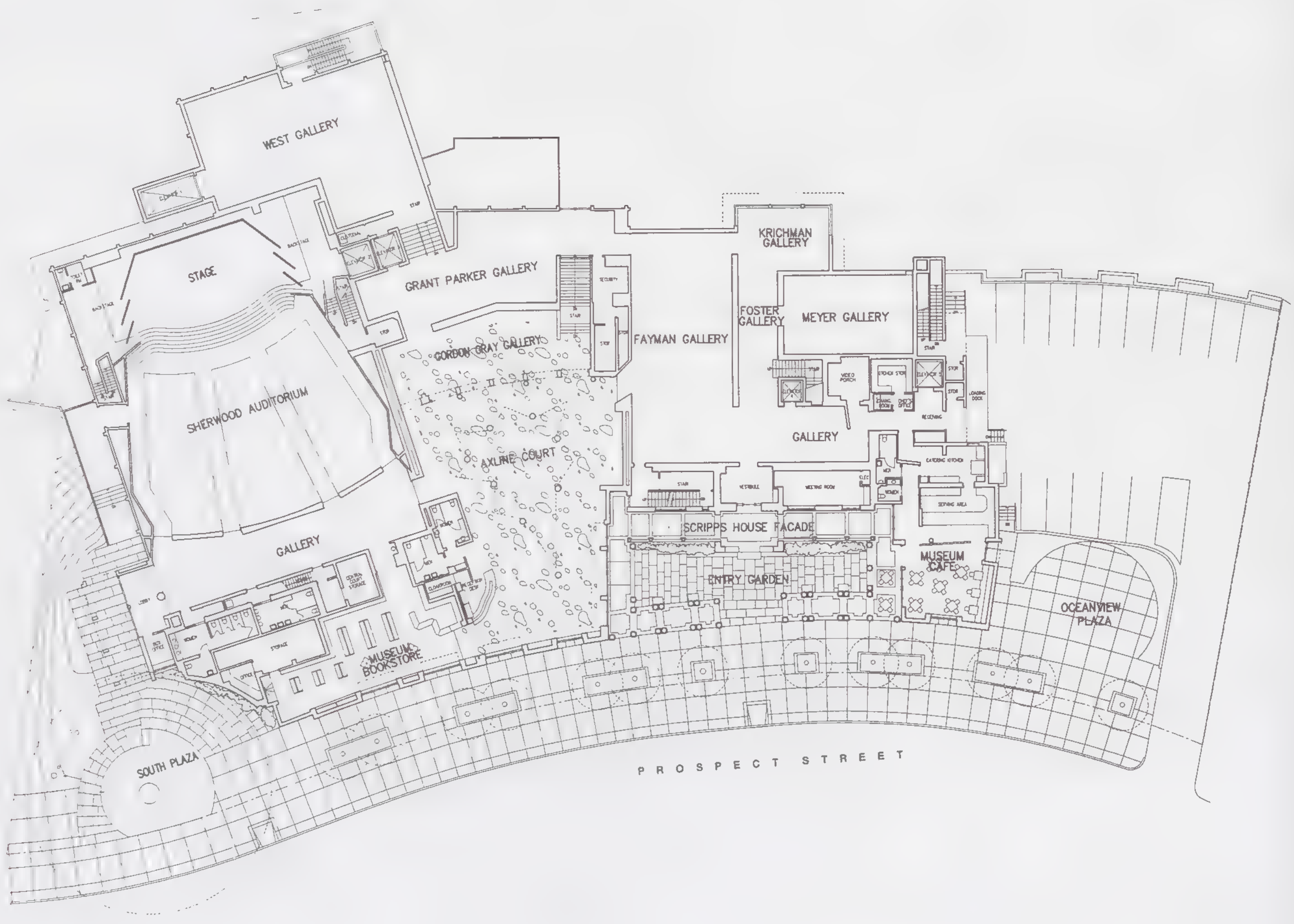
Che sfida progettare l'ampliamento del Museo d'Arte Contemporanea di San Diego!
Abbiamo dovuto demolire, rinnovare, restaurare e aggiungere nuove parti al complesso originario, per fare dell'interno un luogo adeguato al programma estremamente complesso di un museo moderno e dell'esterno un'architettura idonea a un nuovo edificio civico a La Jolla.
Per quanto riguarda l'esterno, si è dovuto considerare il contesto urbano ricco e vario del ridente distretto di La Jolla: sul fronte il Museo ingloba gli splendidi edifici storici di Irving Gill, mentre sul retro contempla il paesaggio naturale, caratterizzato dallo spazio illimitato dell'Oceano Pacifico. Soprattutto, o meglio dentro tutto questo, abbiamo dovuto scavare, riportare alla luce e restaurare la facciata della Casa Ellen Browning Scripps, che negli anni Sessanta era stata sepolta dai lavori di ampliamento dell'allora La Jolla Art Center – una casa ritenuta un capolavoro dell'architettura americana in termini di importanza storica e di qualità estetica.
All'interno abbiamo creato un luogo dedicato essenzialmente all'esposizione di opere d'arte: una serie di spazi di carattere neutro e di configurazione variata, con un sistema di illuminazione e di percorsi flessibile. Alcune finestre, distribuite con discrezione nelle gallerie, affacciano a ovest e consentono viste occasionali sul giardino oltre il quale si intravede l'oceano: un paesaggio incantevole che rende ancora più magica l'atmosfera all'interno delle gallerie d'arte.
Il programma attuale del Museo prevede tuttavia altri spazi significativi che non sono dedicati all'arte e che occupano circa i due terzi della superficie totale: spazi educativi, comuni, sociali, amministrativi, di deposito, sale impianti e di manutenzione e, oltre a questi, una biblioteca, un auditorium, un negozio e una caffeteria con cucina. C'è inoltre uno spazio centrale che identifica l'immagine di questa istituzione civica: l'Axline Court, il cui "addobbo" architettonico – spaziale e ornamentale – si rivela per una volta adeguato a un interno, altrimenti recondito, che deve ospitare e proteggere opere d'arte.
L'architettura esterna di questo nuovo edificio stabilisce un rapporto con gli edifici vicini preesistenti per analogia e contrasto. Il suo vocabolario simbolico e formale, con le sue forme astratto-cubiste, le aperture a più archi, la successione ritmica delle colonne del pergolato, è analogo a quello degli edifici di Gill, mentre da questi si differenzia per le maggiori proporzioni delle forme e per la dimensione iconografica del progetto. Questo adattamento al contesto vuole accentuare la sua già incantevole collocazione. Sono le proporzioni – gli elementi di piccola scala combinati a elementi di scala maggiore, che assecondano la percezione individuale da vicino e quella collettiva a distanza – e l'iconografia – gli elementi simbolici e grafici – che rendono questo edificio un'istituzione civica rilevante nella La Jolla del Ventesimo secolo. La facciata è inoltre caratterizzata da una composizione ritmica dove perfino la successione regolare degli alberi lungo il marciapiede fa da contrappunto al ritmo e alle proporzioni variate di archi e colonne. Con la posizione dominante rispetto al marciapiede, questa facciata asseconda la curva leggera di Prospect Avenue e diventa un edificio urbano e civico della La Jolla del nostro tempo.
Un elemento significativo di questa facciata civico-urbana è la segnaletica, la cui grafica è varia e molto accentuata – nei colori, nelle proporzioni e nell'illuminazione – e coerente con la composizione. Questi elementi grafici, uniti alle forme simboliche e rappresentative già descritte, costituiscono l'iconografia essenziale di un edificio del tardo Ventesimo secolo.
Il rapporto della facciata della Scripps House, nuovamente portata alla luce, con la nuova facciata del complesso è significativo: quest'ultima, come già detto, è un simbolo civico adeguato al contesto ma fa anche da cornice – e a sua volta da ulteriore contesto – all'antica facciata. E in quanto cornice, il nuovo accentua il vecchio riconoscendone il significato e rafforzandone il carattere. La vecchia facciata crea a sua volta un contrasto e incoraggia un confronto di proporzioni, là dove la grande scala civica del nuovo rende esplicita la piccola scala residenziale del vecchio. C'è inoltre l'intima qualità del cortile anteriore, che la nuova facciata racchiude e circonda facendone un contesto immediato. Ci auguriamo che la vecchia facciata divenga un gioiello prezioso protetto dalla recinzione e messo in risalto dallo spazio e dalla scala del suo nuovo contesto.
Le leggere variazioni delle sfumature sulle facciate a intonaco del complesso sono significative. Il tenue colore bianco-rosato dell'originale facciata di Gill (così come il verde delle cornici delle finestre, dei montanti e delle porte) corrisponde al colore originale scoperto saggiando le superfici. Il bianco-grigiastro della nuova facciata accentua sottilmente la differenza tra il vecchio e il nuovo, e al tempo stesso rafforza la rappresentazione del vecchio nel nuovo in modo tale che il nuovo appaia come una fotografia in bianco e nero. Lo stesso colore, leggermente più scuro, ricompare nelle vecchie forme degli anni Sessanta che protendono dal fronte posteriore dell'edificio, in modo da far sembrare questo fronte come appiattito e arretrato rispetto al giardino. La qualità scenografico-rappresentativa dei nuovi interventi sulla facciata anteriore si esprime attraverso la costruzione di muri in muratura tradizionale, rivestita a intonaco, a differenza della tecnologia "moderna" di lastre di cemento armato con cui sono costruiti i muri dell'edificio originale.
La facciata posteriore dell'edificio è definita essenzialmente dalle forme aggiunte negli anni Sessanta in base al concetto, allora prevalente, di progettare a partire dagli spazi interni. Abbiamo voluto conservare l'effetto pittoresco di questa facciata e accentuare così il contrasto tra il fronte urbano (dove il progetto può svilupparsi indifferentemente dall'interno o dall'esterno) e il retro, quasi rurale. Possiamo forse parlare di un fronte in stile Queen Anne e di un retro Mary Anne?
In questo progetto gli elementi architettonici del paesaggio assumono particolare significato nel retro, dove sopravvivono i resti del bellissimo giardino di Casa Scripps, trattati essenzialmente come un giardino di sculture: un elemento importante del complesso architettonico nel suo insieme. Il nostro principale intervento compositivo in questa parte è rappresentato dalle forme organiche delle nuove scale, delle rampe, dei muri di contenimento e dei percorsi a sentiero che rispettano il paesaggio naturale stilizzato – e dalle norme di sicurezza e antincendio –, secondo un'impostazione contrastante con le forme geometriche dell'edificio stesso.
Il contributo architettonico più significativo che abbiamo dato alla facciata posteriore e agli elementi circostanti sono la grafica, che valorizza la complessa configurazione dei muri di contenimento, e il murale esterno. Il murale, un'opera di Ed Ruscha realizzata con una tecnica grafica simile a un tabellone pubblicitario che lo rende intercambiabile, presenta una finestra e un bordo irregolare, che lo integrano visivamente all'edificio. Esso decora, come un grande tabellone pubblicitario, una facciata dell'ala del vecchio auditorium rivolta verso l'Oceano. La sua finezza, eloquenza e iconografia esprimono il contrasto tra il fronte e il retro di questo edificio, che si è trasformato nel tempo tra contesti urbani e rurali, locali e universali.

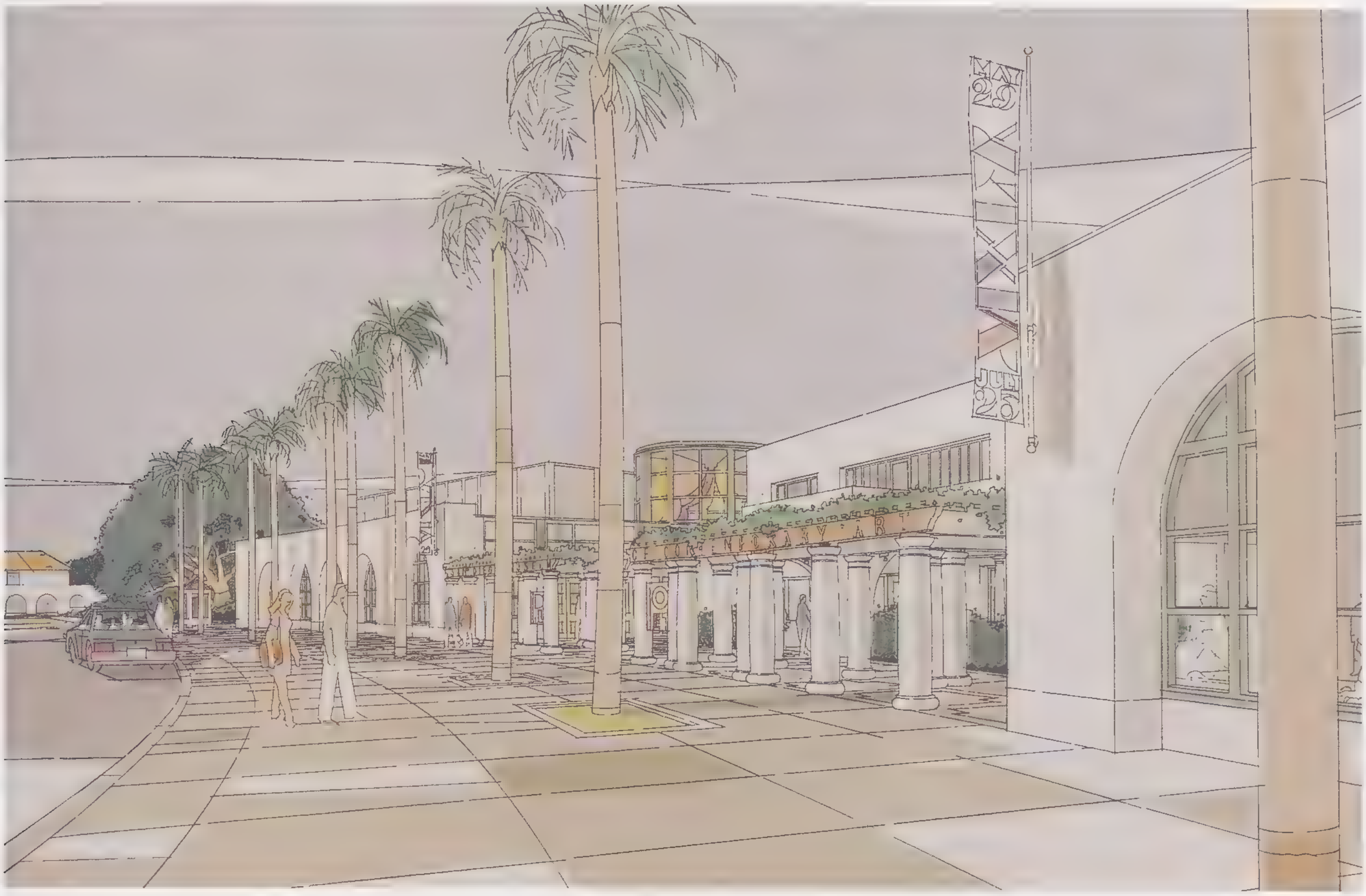
Renovation and Additions to the Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego, U.S.A.
Robert Venturi

What a challenge the design of the extension of the San Diego Museum of Contemporary Art is! We had to demolish parts of, renovate parts of, restore parts of, and add to parts of the original complex to make of the inside a whole which is to accommodate the extremely complex program of a modern museum and to make the outside a new civic building for La Jolla.
On the outside we also had to acknowledge an urban context, rich and varied, and accommodate thereby the gently civic precinct of La Jolla: the museum is in containing sublime historic buildings by Irving Gill in the front and to acknowledge and accommodate a natural landscape in the back characterized by infinite space, that of the Pacific Ocean. On top of that, or within that, we had to excavate-expose and restore the facade of the Ellen Browning Scripps house that had been entombed within the complex of 60's extensions to the then La Jolla Art Center – that house that is an acknowledged masterpiece of American architecture in terms of its historical significance and aesthetic quality.
Of the interior we made a place that is essentially a setting for the exhibition of art – consisting of spaces neutral in their character and varied in their configurations that accommodate as well flexibility for lighting and circulation. Occasional windows discreetly placed among the galleries facing the west permit occasional views of the garden in the foreground and the ocean beyond whose momentary magical aspect is to complement the pervasive magic within the galleries of art. But the museum program for today embraces significant spaces other than those dedicated to art – making up approximately two-thirds of the total area of the building and acknowledging educational, communal, social, administrative, storage, and mechanical and maintenance spaces – including a library, auditorium, shop, and cafe with kitchen. And there is here the central space that imagefully identifies this civic institution as a whole. This is the Axline Court whose architectural fanfare – spatial and ornamental – is appropriate just once within this otherwise recessive interior that is for cradling works of art.
The architecture of this building on the outside works to harmonize with that of the old buildings in front by means of analogy and contrast. Its symbolic and formal vocabulary is analogous to that of Gill's buildings via its abstract-cubist forms, multiple arched openings, and its rhythmic columned pergola while the larger scale of these forms along with the iconographic dimension within the design contrasts with that of Gill's building. And this accommodation to context works to enhance its already beautiful setting by making it more of a whole. And it is the element of scale – large scale combined with small scale to accommodate perception by the individual up close and by the community at a distance – and the element of iconography – embracing symbolism and graphics – that make this building relevant for a civic institution in late 20th century La Jolla. The facade is also characterized by its rhythmic composition where the even rhythm of the line of trees along the sidewalk contrapuntally plays against the uneven rhythms and varying scales of the arches and columns. By its position right up to the sidewalk this facade reflects the slight curve of Prospect Avenue and becomes an urban as well as a civic building in the La Jolla of our time.
A significant element of this civic-urban front facade is its signage whose graphics are varied and very bold – in their color, scale and lighting – and inherent to the composition. These graphic elements combine with the symbolic and representative forms described above to constitute the iconography that is essential to a late 20th century building.
The relation of the newly-revealed facade of the Scripps House to the newly designed facade of the whole is significant: the new facade works as described above as a civic statement analogous to its context but it also works as a frame – as a context itself – to the earlier facade. And as a frame the new works to enhance the old by acknowledging its significance and reinforcing its character – the latter by creating contrast and encouraging comparison in scale where the big civic scale of the new makes explicit the small residential scale of the old. And then there is the intimate quality of the forecourt as immediate context that the surrounding and enclosing new facade promotes. We hope the old facade becomes a precious jewel protected via enclosure and enhanced via the space and scale of its new context.
The slight variations in the hues among the stucco facades of the complex are significant. The slightly pinkish-white hue of the original Gill facade (as well as the green of the window frames and mullions and the doors) corresponds to the original hue as interpreted from surface scrapings. The slightly grayish-white hue of the new front facade works subtly to reinforce the difference between the old and the new and yet reinforces representation of the old in the new so the new appears almost like a black and white photograph. And then the same hue, slightly darker, is on the older 60's forms of the building protruding behind so they perceptually recede – and is on the back facade as it recedes within the natural setting of the garden. The stenographic-representative quality of the new parts of the front facade is substantiated by the construction of their walls – that of conventional stucco-faced masonry rather than technologically progressive concrete slabs that the walls of the original building are composed of.
The rear facade of this complex consists mostly of the varied forms added in the 60's accommodating the idea prevalent at the time of designing from the inside out. We have enjoyed maintaining this picturesque effect of the design and enhancing thereby the contrast between the urban front (where you design from the outside in as well as vice versa) and the almost rural behind; do we acknowledge a valid Queen Anne front and Mary Anne behind?
The landscape architectural element within this design is significant in the rear where the remains of the beautiful Scripps garden exist and are essentially perceived as a sculpture garden – a positive element of the architectural complex as a whole. Our main contribution to the composition here are the organic forms of the new stairs, ramps, retaining walls and paths that accommodate to the stylized natural landscape as to ADA and fire code regulations and work to contrast with the geometrical forms of the building itself.
Our most significant architectural contributions to the rear facade and its setting are the graphics that adorn the complex configuration of retaining walls and then the external mural. We are lucky that the mural has a window in it and has an uneven border that perceptually integrate it with the building and that it is reproduced via a billboard-graphic technique that also makes it changeable – and that is by Ed Ruscha. And it adorns a face of the old auditorium wing perpendicular to the ocean at the scale of a billboard and at home at the edge of the Pacific Ocean. And it finely and eloquently and iconographically expresses the contrast between the front and the back of this building that evolved over time between urban and rural, and local and universal contexts.

Pianta del piano terreno.
Prospettiva e prospetto lungo Prospect Street.
Irving Gill: vista e pianta della Ellen Scripps House, La Jolla, 1915 e schema del vicino complesso della Bishop's School, La Jolla, 1916.

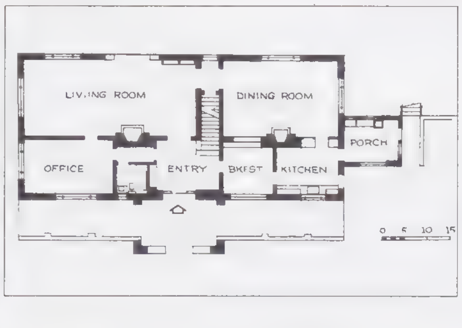
Plan of the ground floor.
Perspective and elevation on Prospect Street.
Irving Gill: view and plan of the Ellen Scripps House, La Jolla, 1915 and scheme of the Bishop's School complex nearby, La Jolla, 1916.

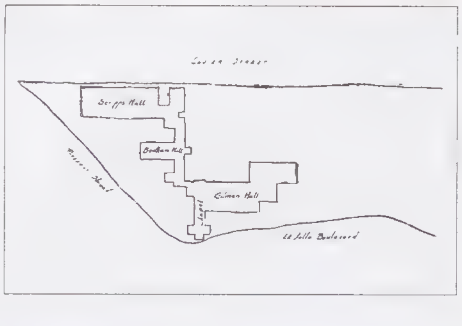


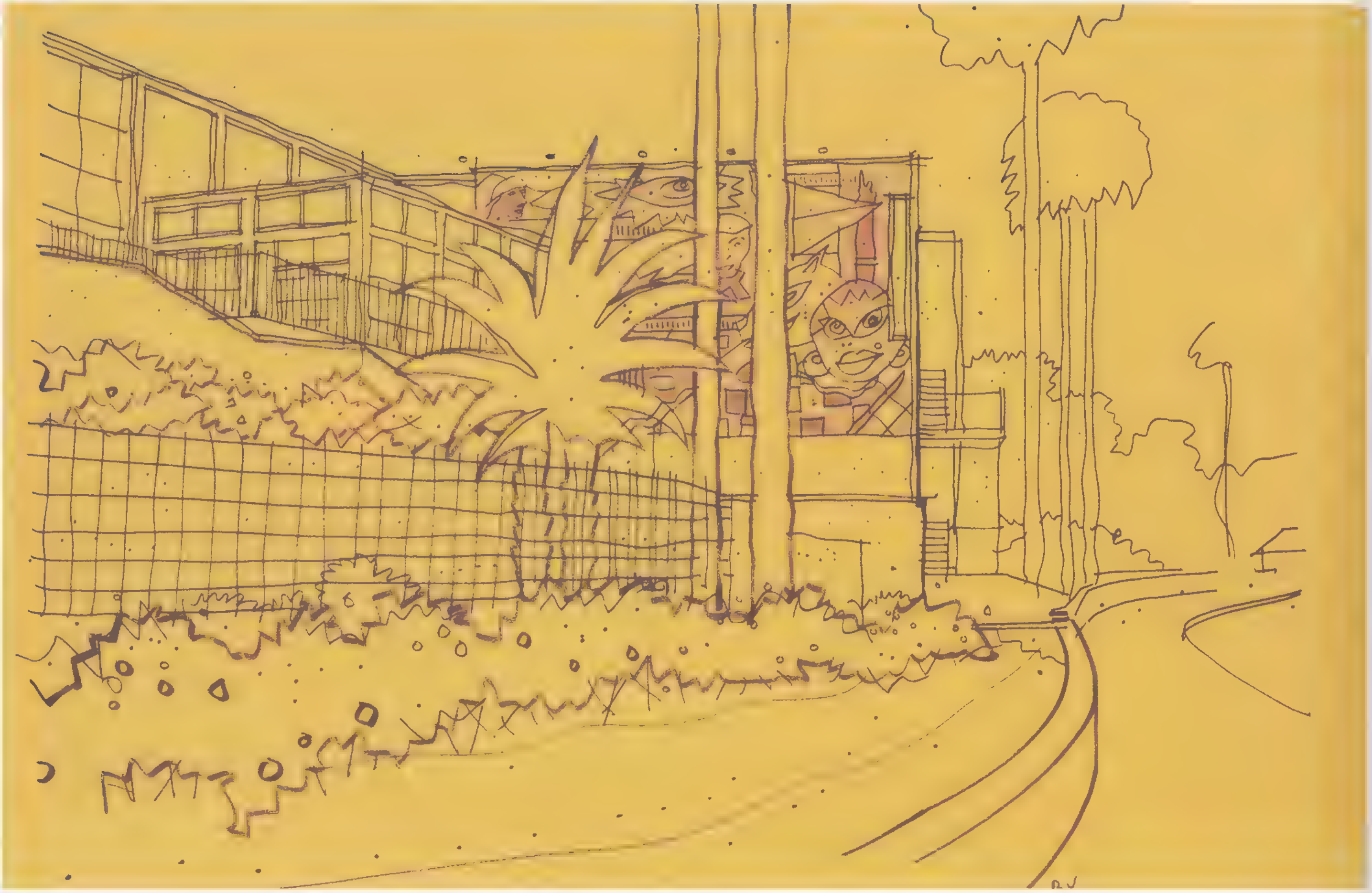

MAY 29
JULY 25


MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY ART, SAN DIEGO
LA JOLLA CALIFORNIA
VENTURI, SCOTT BROWN & ASSOCIATES




LIVING ROOM
DINING ROOM
OFFICE
ENTRY
BKFST
KITCHEN
PORCH
0 5 10 15


La Jolla Boulevard



Disegno di studio del fronte posteriore con il murale di Ed Ruscha.
Viste del modello del lucernario della Axline Court.

Working drawing of the rear facade with the mural by Ed Ruscha.
Views of the model of the skylight for Axline Court.







University of Delaware Student Center, Newark, Delaware, U.S.A.

1992-94

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, Inc.

Principal-in-Charge: Robert Venturi
Project Managers: James Kolker,
Nancy Rogo Trainer, James Wallace

con/with: Joe Herrin, Jeff Hirsh, Steven Izenour, Felisa Opper, Denise Scott Brown, Jon Wagner, Brian Wurst



Centro Studenti, Università del Delaware, Newark, U.S.A.
Venturi, Scott Brown & Associates

Un Centro Studenti non può che apparire, nel suo insieme, un complesso alquanto bizzarro. Poiché deve ospitare diverse funzioni in pochi piani, è facile che dall'esterno possa sembrare un basso magazzino o un centro commerciale. Per questa ragione abbiamo concentrato l'ingombro di questo edificio all'interno dell'area, in modo da mantenere gli edifici esistenti distribuiti lungo il perimetro dell'isolato. Si tratta di costruzioni, per la maggior parte piccole case, che conservano l'aura storica della città e al tempo stesso fanno da scudo all'ingombrante retro della nuova costruzione.
Una galleria porticata, in corrispondenza di uno dei principali percorsi pedonali del *campus*, attraversa il cuore del Centro Studenti. Dentro la galleria, lungo il lato esterno, si forma una specie di navata laterale dove è possibile fermarsi o sedersi a chiacchierare, mangiare o guardare chi passa; più oltre si vede South College Street. Lo spazio lungo il lato opposto della galleria è, per contrasto, molto vivace, con insegne di tipo commerciale che segnalano piccoli ristoranti, una libreria, chioschi e altri tipi di servizio. Sopra, una serie di sale di riunione si affaccia sulla galleria il cui sfarzo è accentuato da insegne simili a stendardi di carattere ornamentale o informativo – per esempio bacheche con una mutevole videografia computerizzata. La galleria è inoltre attraversata da archi decorativi realizzati con tubi al neon a bassa densità che unificano i due lati contrastanti dello spazio. Una via secondaria lungo l'asse est-ovest collega una sala multifunzionale, un'area di sosta per le auto e un garage.
Il progetto del Centro Studenti attinge alla ricca storia architettonica del *campus* senza mimetismi. Se esso è georgiano nello spirito – nei materiali, nel ritmo e nelle allusioni classiche –, non si può certo dire che sia "letteralmente" georgiano. Anzi, esso è fedele al nostro tempo e adeguato alle sue dimensioni e alla sua scala. Oggi un edificio di questo tipo richiede di essere spazioso, profondo e basso e avere quindi una massa volumetrica che non può essere autenticamente georgiana. Allo stesso modo in cui negli anni Venti gli architetti degli edifici georgiani del nucleo storico del *campus* adattarono lo stile al loro tempo e alle loro esigenze, così noi lo abbiamo adattato alle nostre.

Student Center Complex, University of Delaware, Newark, U.S.A.
Venturi, Scott Brown & Associates

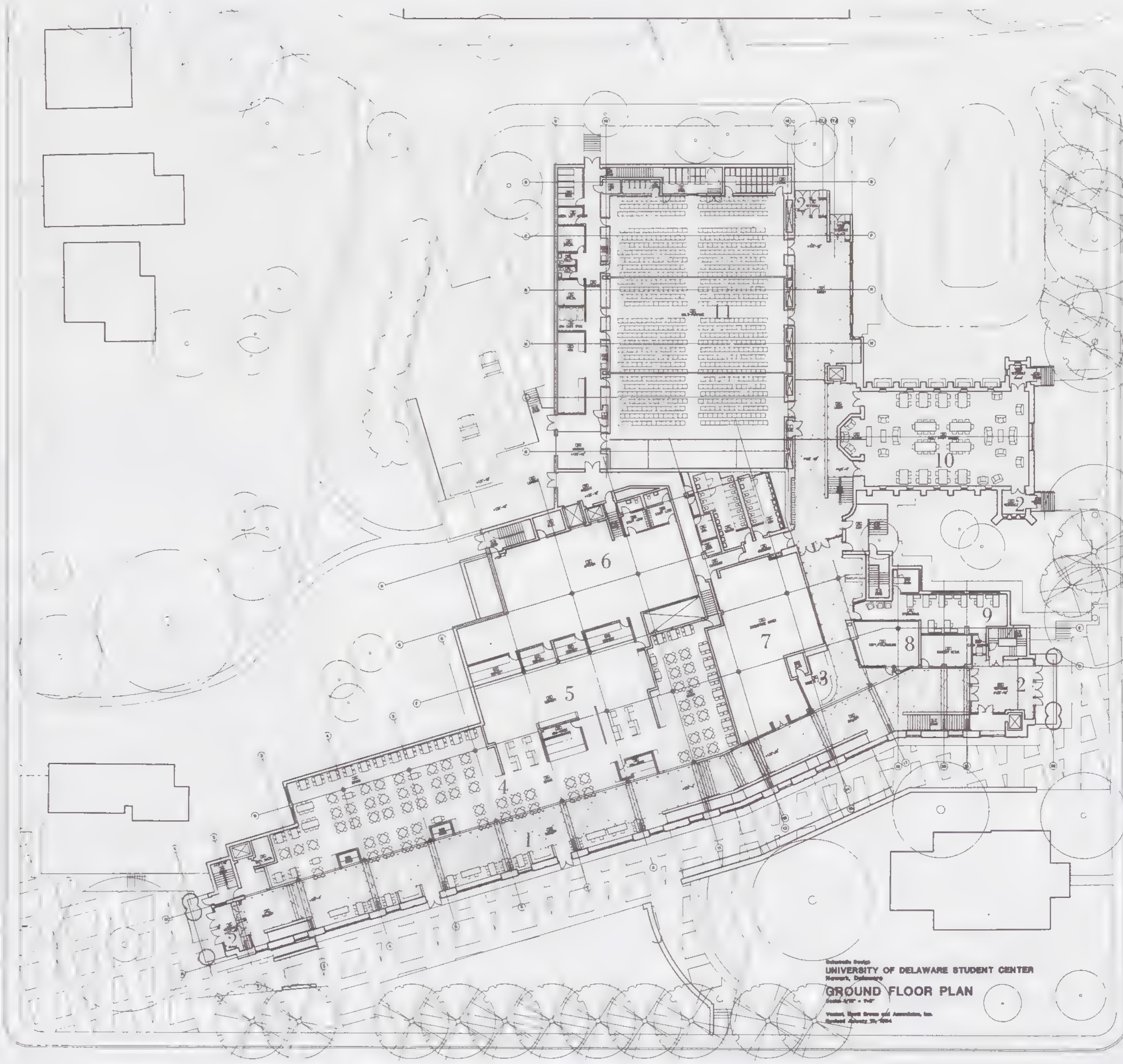
The student center as a type is inevitably awkward as a whole. Because it must accommodate many uses on a few floors, it can easily look from the outside like a low warehouse or shopping mall. For this reason we have concentrated the bulk of this new building within the interior of the site, thereby maintaining the fabric of the existing neighborhood buildings at the perimeter of the block. These charming buildings, little houses for the most part, maintain the historical aura of the town while the bulky rear of the student center hides behind them.
A gallery-arcade, coinciding with one of the campus's dominant pedestrian routes, runs through the heart of the student center. Along the outside edge of the arcade is a kind of side-aisle – a zone where one can stop or sit to talk, eat, observe or perhaps ogle; beyond is a vista of South College Street. In contrast, the space on the other side of the arcade is very active, with commercial-like signs proclaiming a variety of eating places, a book store, kiosks and other services. Above, a series of meeting rooms overlooks the gallery. Reinforcing the gala effect of the gallery are banner-like signs that can be decorative or informational – perhaps bulletin board-like involving changing computer-video graphics. Decorative arches of low-density neon tube span the gallery and work to unify the contrasting sides of the space. A secondary route runs east-west to connect a large multi-purpose room, auto drop-off and parking garage.
The design of the student center acknowledges without mimicry the rich architectural history of the campus. It is Georgian in spirit – in its materials, rhythms and classical allusions – but is not literally Georgian. Instead it is true to our time and appropriate to its size and scale. The uses of the student center dictate that it be large, deep, and low; such massing cannot be truly Georgian. Just as the architects of the 1920s Georgian buildings in the historic campus center adapted the style to their time and purposes, so we have adapted it to ours.

Vista del modello da nord e prospettiva della galleria.

View of the model from the north and perspective from the gallery.

Pianta del piano terreno: 1) galleria; 2) atrio; 3) informazioni; 4) mensa; 5) area self service; 6) cucina; 7) libreria; 8) ufficio postale; 9) amministrazione; 10) sala lettura; 11) sala multiuso.
Vista del modello da South College Avenue, modello di studio della facciata, prospetto.

Plan of the ground floor: 1) gallery; 2) vestibule; 3) information; 4) dining room; 5) self-service area; 6) kitchen; 7) bookstore; 8) copy, fax, mailing; 9) operations; 10) quiet study lounge; 11) multipurpose room.
View of the model from South College Avenue, study model of the facade, elevation.











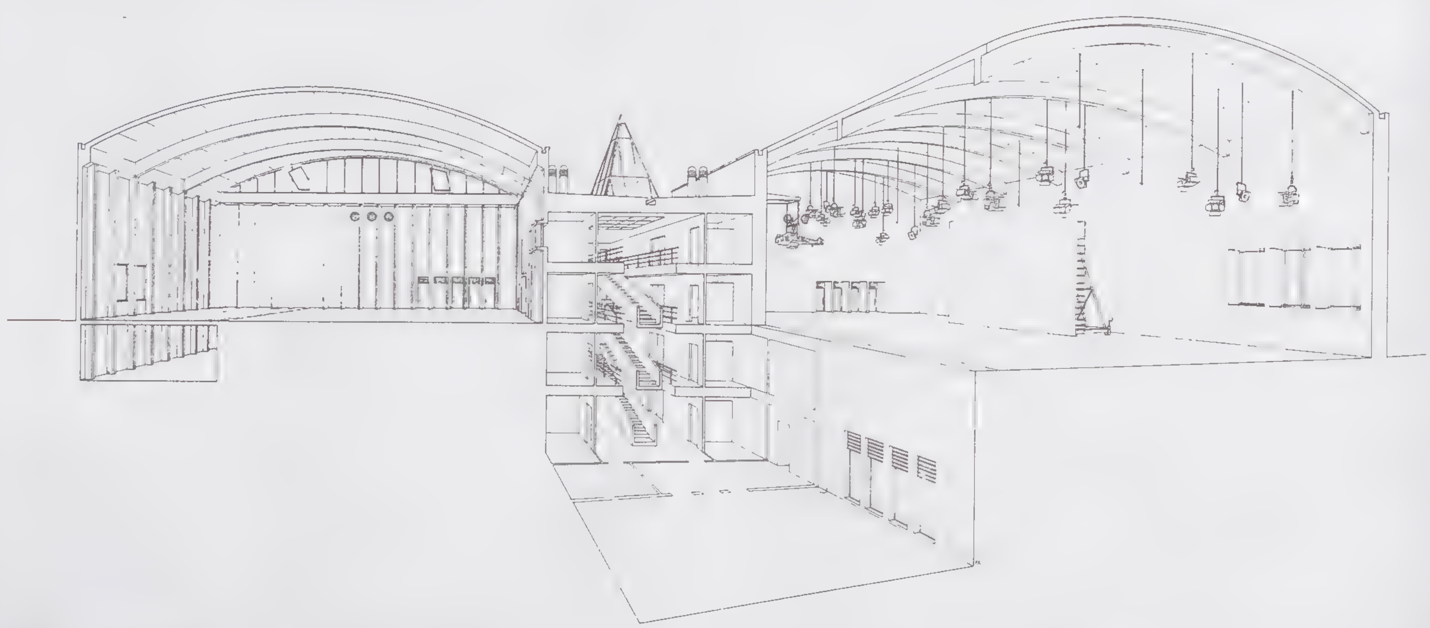


Teatro di prova del Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria
Gustav Peichl

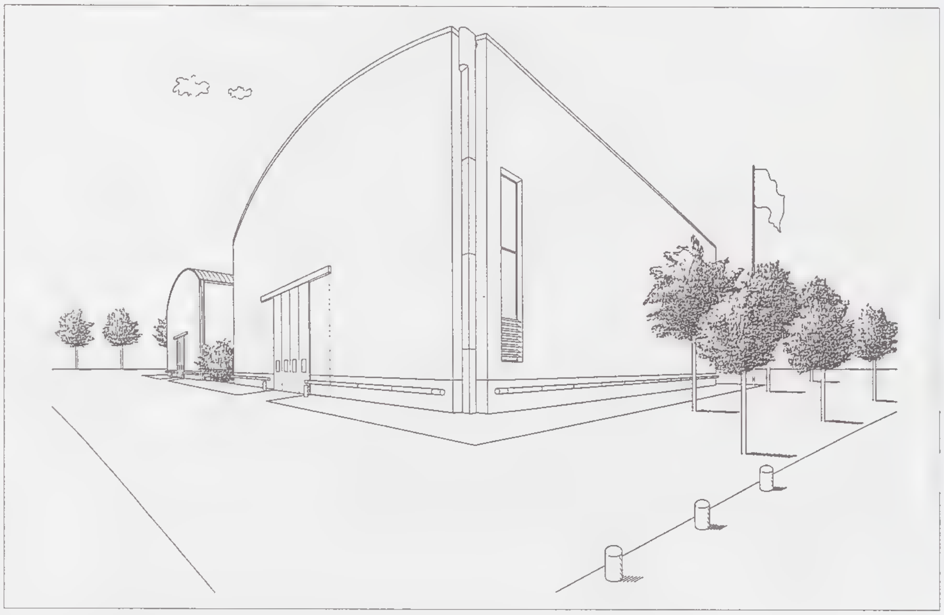
Da sempre la disputa sulle nuove tendenze in "architettura" ha stimolato docenti e studiosi di architettura. Il tema del significato dell'architettura è al centro del dibattito. Il dizionario ci rivela che architettura significa "*arte del costruire*", il che corrisponde solo in parte alla verità. Scrittori e colleghi architetti hanno definito l'architettura "*potere*" oppure "*musica tramutata in pietra*". I più audaci dichiarano addirittura: "*Tutto è architettura!*"
La questione, tanto spesso dibattuta, se l'architettura sia arte, tecnica o scienza, è oziosa. Nel migliore dei casi, una pura questione metodologica. L'architettura non si può classificare in una soltanto di queste categorie, bensì in tutte. Essa riguarda non solo la conoscenza delle tecniche costruttive nel senso proprio del termine, ma anche la rappresentazione e il superamento spirituale dell'intero spazio vitale.
Io riduco l'architettura ai suoi semplici denominatori: l'architettura è somma di spazio, funzione, figura, materiale, colore e luce.
La buona architettura non nasce dal lavoro individuale di un architetto, ma soltanto dalla sua sinergia con un committente interessato e attento. Personalmente ho avuto la fortuna di essere stato scelto da uno dei registi più importanti di lingua tedesca, Claus Peymann, per la progettazione di un teatro di prova per il Burgtheater di Vienna.
Claus Peymann è maestro nell'arte della regia teatrale, ha avuto modo di collaborare con diversi scenografi e di confrontarsi con questioni architettoniche. La collaborazione tra l'architetto e Claus Peymann è stata pertanto tra le più fertili e positive, in quanto il committente si è dedicato approfonditamente, insieme all'architetto, all'analisi dell'obiettivo: la creazione di tre spazi di prova per il Burgtheater e l'Akademietheater di Vienna.
Le idee di Claus Peymann relative all'utilizzo degli spazi sono state elaborate tenendo conto dei requisiti funzionali e realizzate in un'area estremamente ridotta nei pressi dell'Arsenale di Vienna: un programma costruttivo semplice, due grandi sale di prova e uno spazio più piccolo tutti destinati a palcoscenici di prova e altri usi compatibili.
La soluzione figurativa e funzionale è risultata semplice: una parte centrale di spazi per regia, scenografi e attori con le zone di servizio contiene tutti gli impianti necessari all'attività.
Le due grandi sale di prova, ciascuna di m 30x21, direttamente raggiungibili dalla zona centrale, dispongono ciascuna di uno spazio sui lati corti per l'apparato illuminotecnico e i depositi di scena. Lo spazio interno centrale (atrio di ingresso) svolge anche la funzione di distribuzione verticale. Da qui sono raggiungibili direttamente i camerini degli artisti.
L'architetto ha usato particolare riguardo nel rispettare le esigenze di un'intensa sensibilità artistica attraverso l'atmosfera creata dai volumi architettonici. Ciò è avvenuto mediante una scelta di materiali semplici utilizzati senza alcuna variazione cromatica e grazie al contatto visivo tra i singoli piani attraverso il corpo centrale delle scale. Questo spazio è illuminato dall'alto da una struttura conica in vetro.
L'intero complesso è nato da una configurazione spaziale chiara e organica; si è così ottenuto, attraverso una razionale organizzazione dello spazio e una scelta oculata dei materiali e degli elementi prefabbricati utilizzati nelle due grandi sale di prova, un edificio semplice che evidenzia nelle sue variabili formali la funzione del teatro come luogo di cultura.

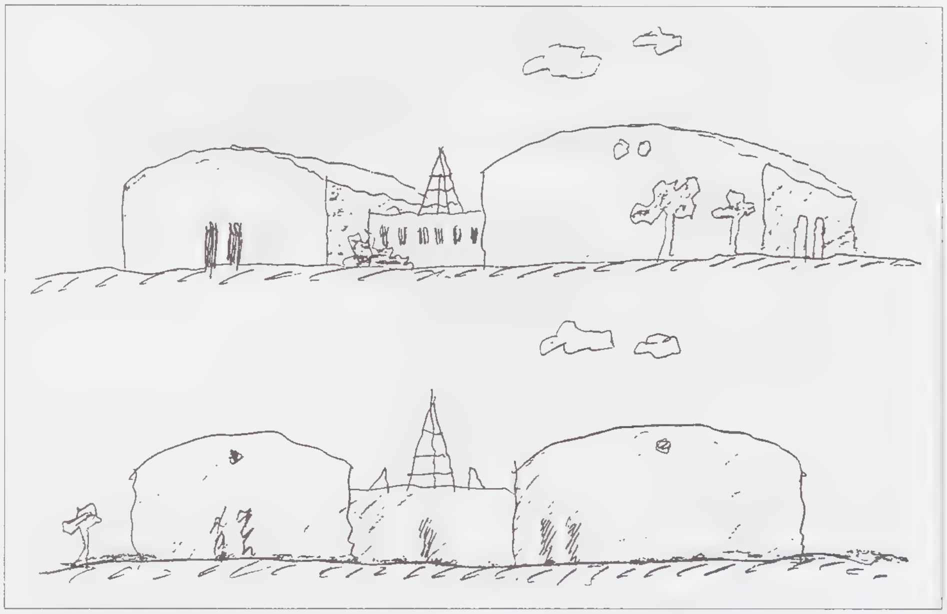
Rehearsal studios of the Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria
Gustav Peichl

The discussion of new trends in "architecture" has always stimulated teachers and scholars of architecture. The issue of the meaning of architecture lies at the center of the debate. The dictionary tells us that architecture means "the art of building", *but this is only partially true. Writers and fellow architects have defined architecture as* "power", *or as* "music translated in stone". *The most audacious have even said:* "Everything is architecture!".
The much-debated question of whether architecture is art, technique or science is pointless. In the best of cases, it is a pure question of method. Architecture cannot be relegated to one or another of these categories; it belongs to all of them. It involves not only the knowledge of construction techniques, in the narrowest sense of the term, but also the representation and spiritual transcendence of the entire space of our lives.
I reduce architecture to its simplest denominators: it is the sum of space, function, figure, material, color and light.
Good architecture is not the result of the individual work of an architect. It is the result of his relationship with an interested, attentive client. Personally I have had the good fortune to be selected by one of the most important German-language theater directors, Claus Peymann, to design the rehearsal studios for the Burgtheater in Vienna.
Claus Peymann is a master of the art of theatrical direction, and has collaborated with many set designers, and considered many architectural questions. Therefore working with Claus Peymann has been a very fertile, positive experience, because as a client he spent a great deal of time and energy, together with the architect, on the analysis of the objective: the creation of three rehearsal spaces for the



Burgtheater and the Akademietheater of Vienna. Claus Peymann's ideas regarding the use of the spaces were developed in the light of the functional coordinates, and built in an extremely small area near the Vienna Arsenal: a simple construction program, calling for two large rehearsal theaters and a smaller space, all for rehearsals and other compatible activities.
The figurative and functional solution turned out to be a simple one: a central part of the spaces for the direction, set design and actors, with service zones containing all the necessary facilities. The two large halls, each measuring 30x21 meters, with direct access from the central area, both have a space on the short ends for lighting equipment and prop storage. The internal central space (entrance atrium) also serves for vertical access. It provides direct access to the dressing rooms of the performing artists.
The architect has taken particular care to respect the needs of intense artistic sensibilities, creating a sense of atmosphere by means of complex architectural volumes, with a choice of simple materials utilized with any chromatic variation, and thanks to visual contact established among the single levels through the central stairwell. This space is lighted from above by a conical glass structure.
The entire complex is the result of a clear, simple spatial configuration; this has created – through a rational organization of the space, a careful selection of materials and of prefabricated elements (used in the two large rehearsal halls) – a simple edifice which illustrates, in its formal variables, the function of the theater as a place of culture.





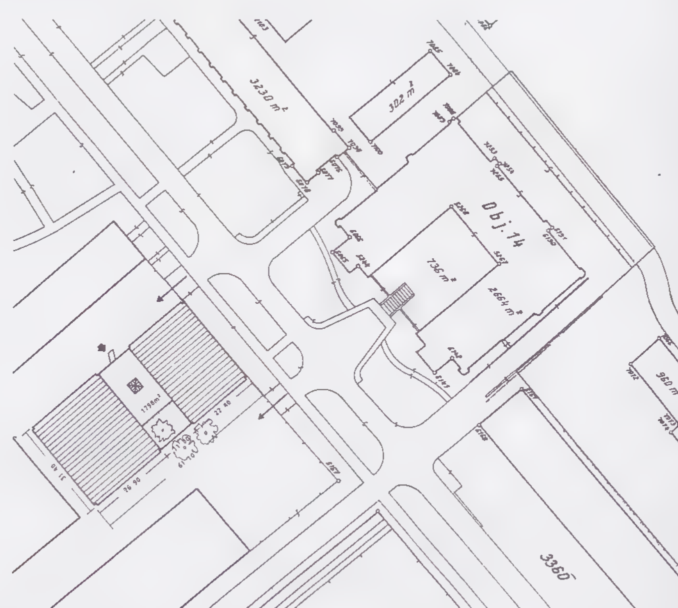
Spaccato prospettico, prospettiva del fronte posteriore e schizzi di studio.

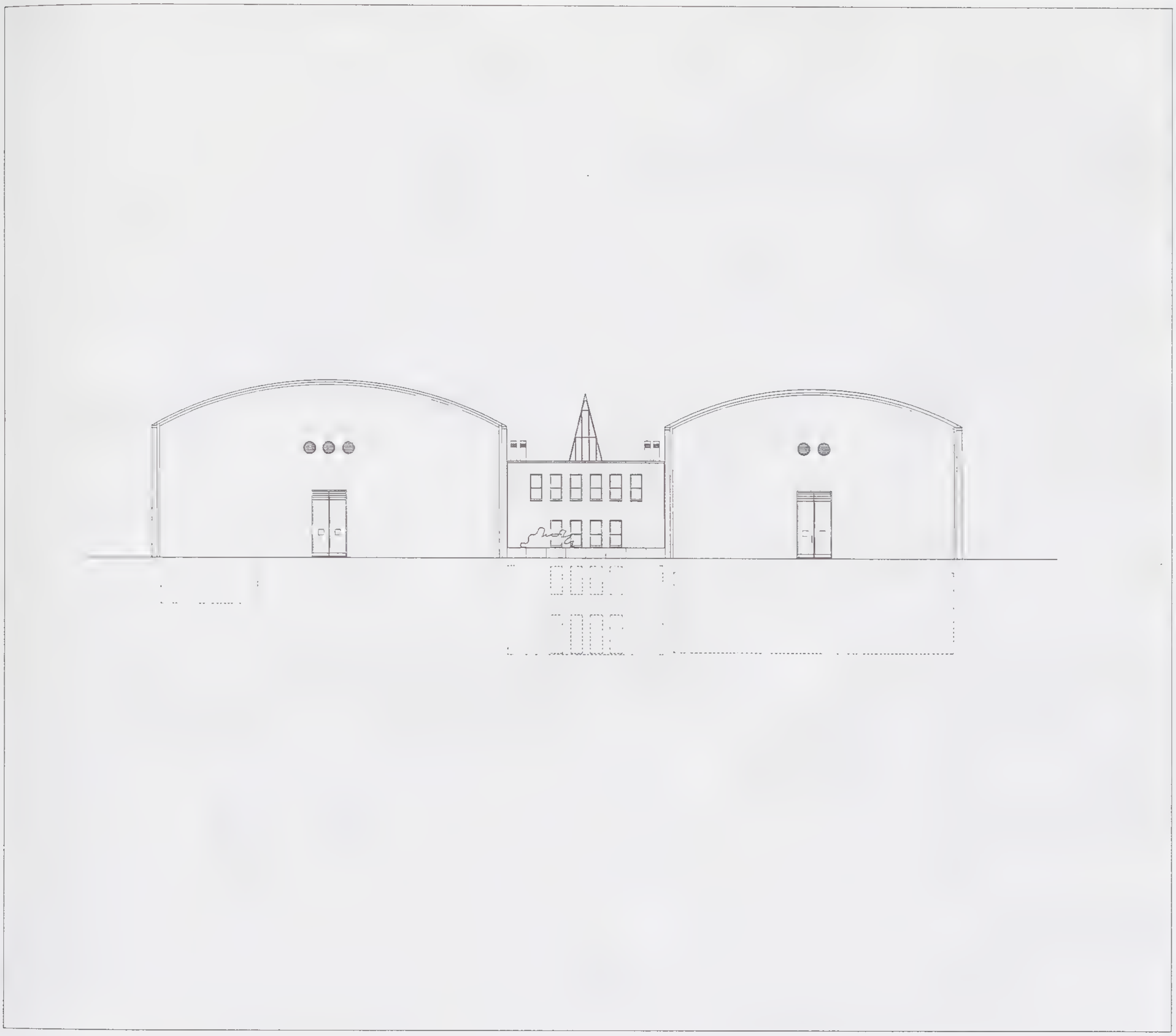
Perspective cutaway, perspective of the rear facade and working sketches.



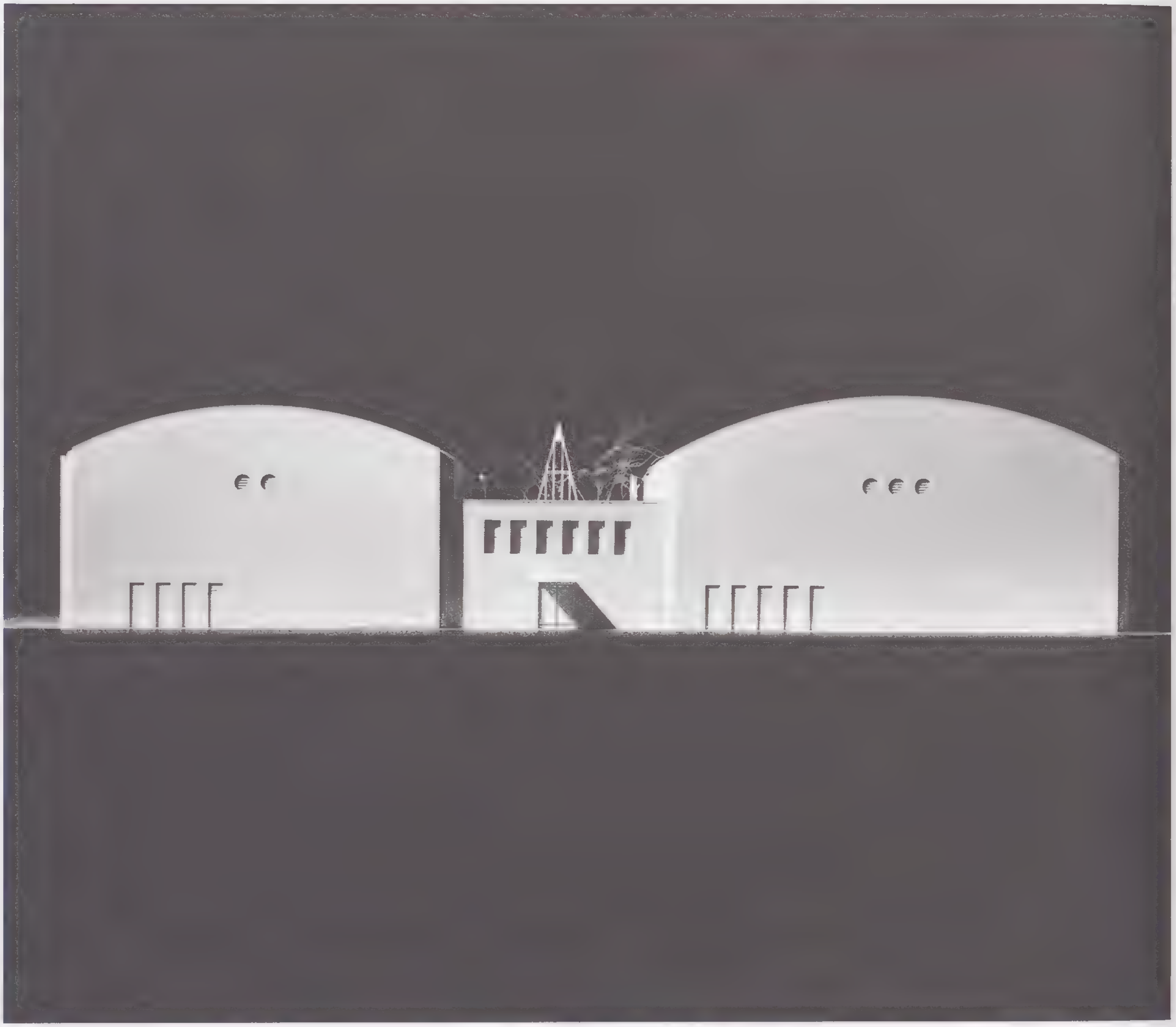
Planimetria generale, sezione longitudinale, prospetto posteriore e pianta del piano terreno.

General plan, longitudinal section, rear elevation and plan of the ground floor.



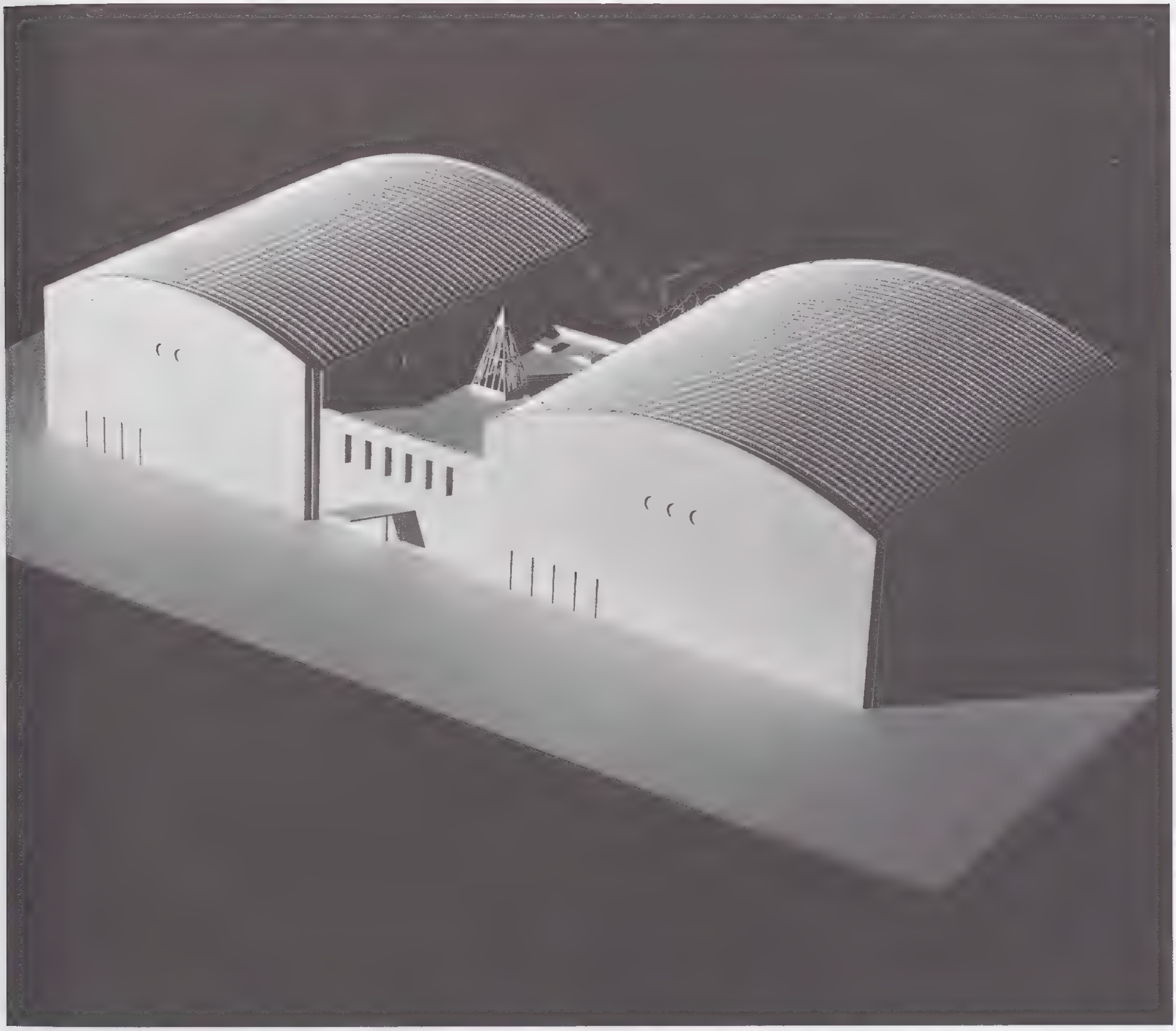


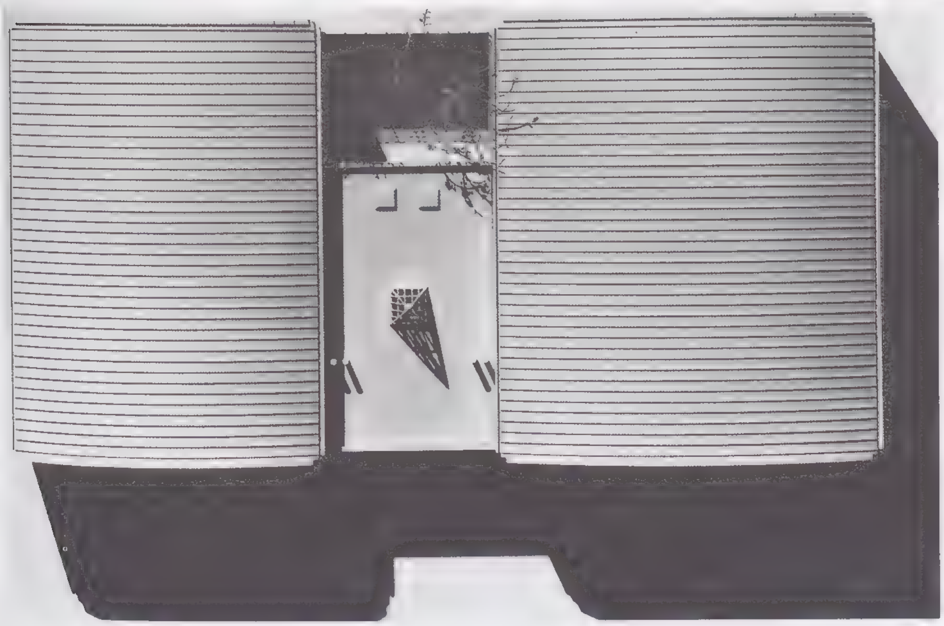




Viste del modello.
Foto Schwingenschlögl.

Views of the model.
Photos Schwingenschlögl.





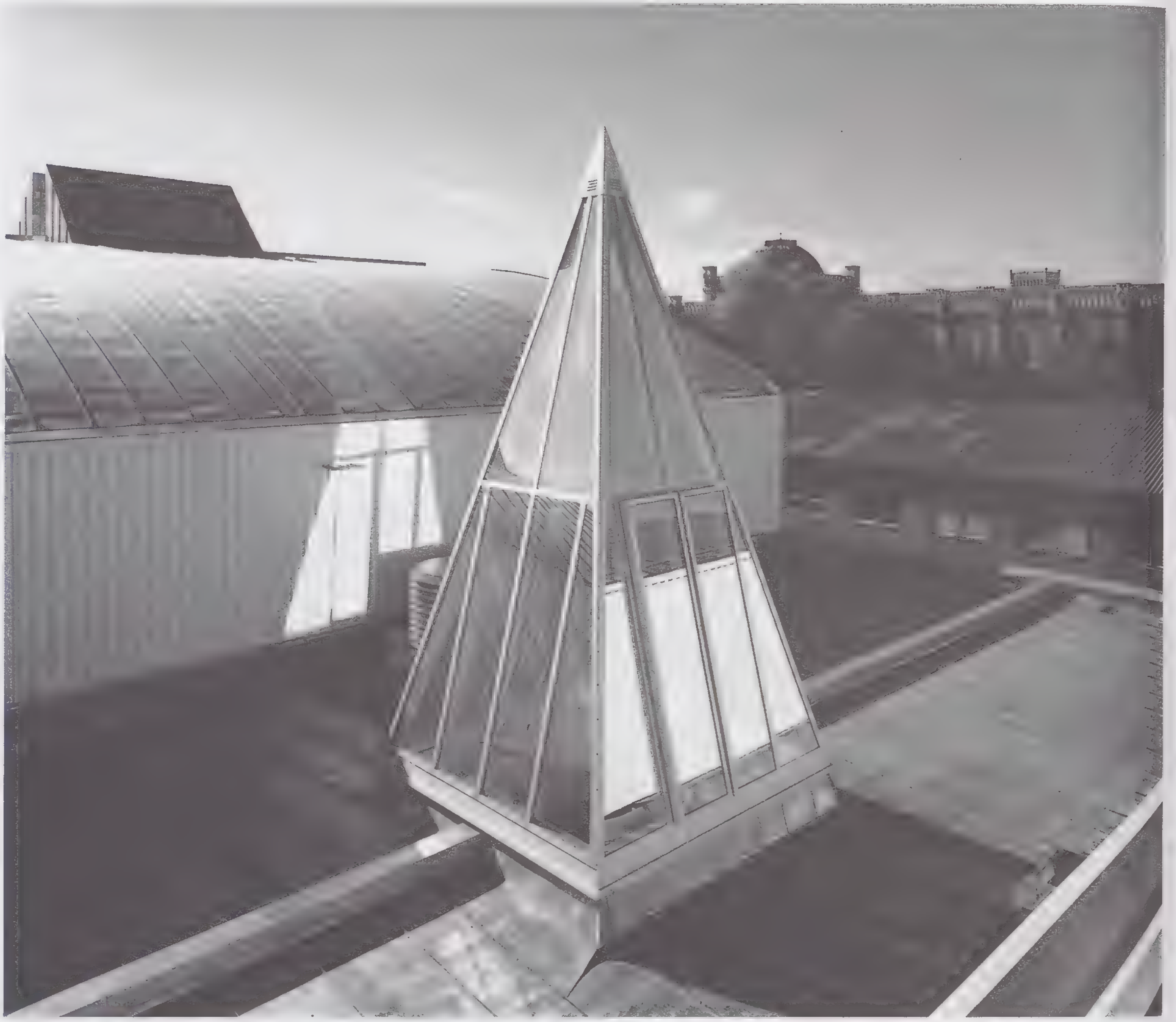


Vista interna del corpo scala e vista esterna di dettaglio.
Foto G. Erlacher.
Vista interna di una sala-prova.
Foto H. Heistinger.

Interior view of the stairwell and detail view.
Photo G. Erlacher.
Interior view of a rehearsal room.
Photo H. Heistinger.



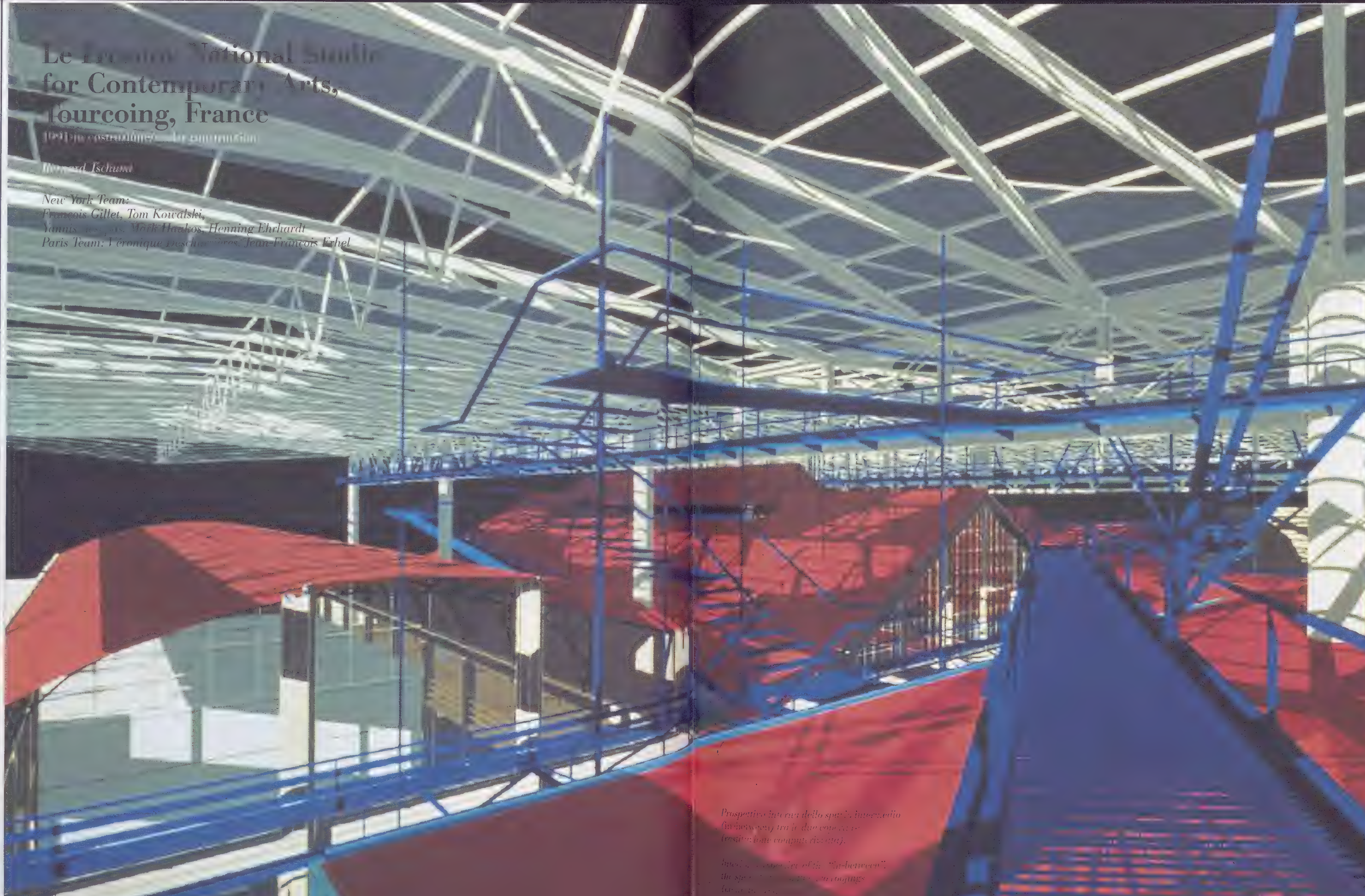




Viste del lucernario del corpo scala e del fronte posteriore. Foto G. Soulek.

Views of the skylight of the stairwell and of the rear facade. Photos G. Soulek.





Le Fresnoy National Studio for Contemporary Arts, Tourcoing, France

1991 in costruzione/under construction

Bernard Tschumi

New York Team:
François Gillet, Tom Kowalski,
Yannis [illegible], Mark Haukos, Henning Ehrhardt
Paris Team: Véronique Descharrières, Jean-François Erhel

Prospettiva interna dello spazio intermedio (in-between) tra le due coperture (restituzione computerizzata).

Interior perspective of the "in-between", the space [illegible] the two roofings [illegible].

Le Fresnoy National Studio for Contemporary Arts, Tourcoing, France

1991-in costruzione/under construction

Bernard Tschumi

New York Team:
François Gillet, Tom Kowalski,
Yannis Aesopos, Mark Haukos, Henning Ehrhardt
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Prospettiva interna dello spazio intermedio (in-between) tra le due coperture (restituzione computerizzata).

Interior perspective of the "in between": the space between the two roofings [illegible]

Centro Nazionale d'Arte Contemporanea Le Fresnoy, Tourcoing, Francia
Bernard Tschumi

Un Centro di arte contemporanea di mq 800 sarà inserito nel complesso di Le Fresnoy a Tourcoing. Una scuola, uno studio cinematografico, una mediateca, sale per spettacoli e mostre, due cinema, laboratori di ricerca e produzione (suono, immagine elettronica, film e video), amministrazione, residenze ed un bar-ristorante: questo è l'ampio programma del nuovo Centro.
L'occasione di Le Fresnoy è eccezionale, perché si tratta di integrare gli edifici di un vecchio complesso per il tempo libero degli anni Venti, che includeva cinema, sala da ballo, pista per il pattinaggio, maneggio e altre attività.
La nostra prima preoccupazione si è rivolta alla condizione degli edifici esistenti, nutrendo seri dubbi circa la loro solidità.
C'era la possibilità sia di demolire le parti più danneggiate dal tempo – tra queste, la bella sala a volta a sud del complesso –, con ciò perdendo gran parte del carattere magico del sito; sia, con buona dose d'ottimismo e con grandi costi, di restaurare tutte le parti danneggiate o deteriorabili in futuro; o, infine, avremmo potuto proteggere radicalmente con una grande copertura la parte più spettacolare di Le Fresnoy, i vecchi edifici, cogliendo l'occasione per installare sull'intradosso della copertura gli impianti tecnici necessari.
L'ultima soluzione è alla fine apparsa la più convincente, dal punto di vista economico ma anche architettonico, tecnico e programmatico.
Concettualmente, vediamo il progetto come una successione di volumi dentro un volume.
1. In primo luogo, una grande copertura, un solido rettangolare moderno, ultratecnologico, il cui lato nord è chiuso, mentre gli altri lati restano aperti e offrono una vista sui vecchi e nuovi edifici. La superficie orizzontale superiore è un rettangolo approssimativamente di m 100 x 80, interrotto da grandi aperture ed ospitante nella sua struttura tutte le canalizzazioni tecnologiche.
2. Sotto la grande copertura elettronica ci sono i volumi degli edifici esistenti. Le sole parti demolite sono una striscia edificata sulla facciata nord e un edificio situato nell'angolo sudest dell'area, che ospitava i locali tecnici e l'abitazione del custode, entrambi in pessime condizioni. Abbiamo sostituito questi volumi e sviluppato un nuovo vocabolario architettonico e funzionale (facciate in lamiera d'acciaio ondulato a nord e facciate *curtain wall* a sud), che ci ha permesso di conferire un'immagine di trasparenza e assoluta contemporaneità all'area di ingresso e alla facciata principale dell'edificio. Allo stesso tempo abbiamo concentrato nei volumi esistenti, pensati come involucri tecnicamente autonomi, le nuove attività, mantenendo il carattere di fluidità degli spazi.
3. A questo punto abbiamo sviluppato l'"*in-between*", lo spazio tra la nuova copertura in acciaio e i vecchi tetti di tegole. Larghe finestre orizzontali, coperte da fogli trasparenti di policarbonato a forma di nuvole, creano una sottocopertura inondata di luce e tagliata trasversalmente in corrispondenza dell'asse di progetto nord-sud. Un'ampia terrazza panoramica, usabile dal bar-ristorante, si serve di accessi diretti al giardino attraverso lo scalone principale.
Se la nuova copertura gioca il ruolo di denominatore comune del progetto (un grande schermo-ombrello), abbiamo cercato anche di accelerare la probabilità di occasioni-eventi combinando diversi elementi, giustapponendo la grande copertura, la scuola-laboratorio di ricerca e il vecchio Le Fresnoy, luogo di spettacolo.
L'insieme è preciso e razionale nella sua concezione, variato e poetico nella sua ricchezza spaziale. L'ampia copertura metallica, con i lucernari come nuvole luminose sospese sopra le vecchie coperture in laterizio, diviene una nuova superficie di riferimento (*artifi-ciel* in francese), che risponde ai bisogni climatici, energetici e informativi, generando un nuovo tipo di spazio, quello dell'"*in-between*".
Gli studenti e i visitatori di Fresnoy potranno così apprezzare la natura surreale di questo immenso spazio orizzontale, la cui dimensione e presenza incombente rende relativa la nozione di interno ed esterno implicita nei vecchi edifici.
Questo spazio multifunzionale destinato a "coprire" eventi (assemblee, concerti, sport, esposizioni con le loro migliaia di visitatori) sarà l'equivalente degli spazi urbani del Ventunesimo secolo. A Le Fresnoy possiamo parlare di una "architettura-evento" piuttosto che di una "architettura-oggetto". Lo spazio interstiziale tra la nuova e le vecchie coperture diviene un luogo di fantasie ed esperimenti (film e altre opere esplorative dello spazio e del tempo).
Gli elementi apparentemente contraddittori del programma arricchiscono il progetto: spazi espositivi, laboratori di ricerca e spazi per la didattica da una parte, edifici storici e tecniche d'avanguardia dall'altra, creano una Bauhaus elettronica.

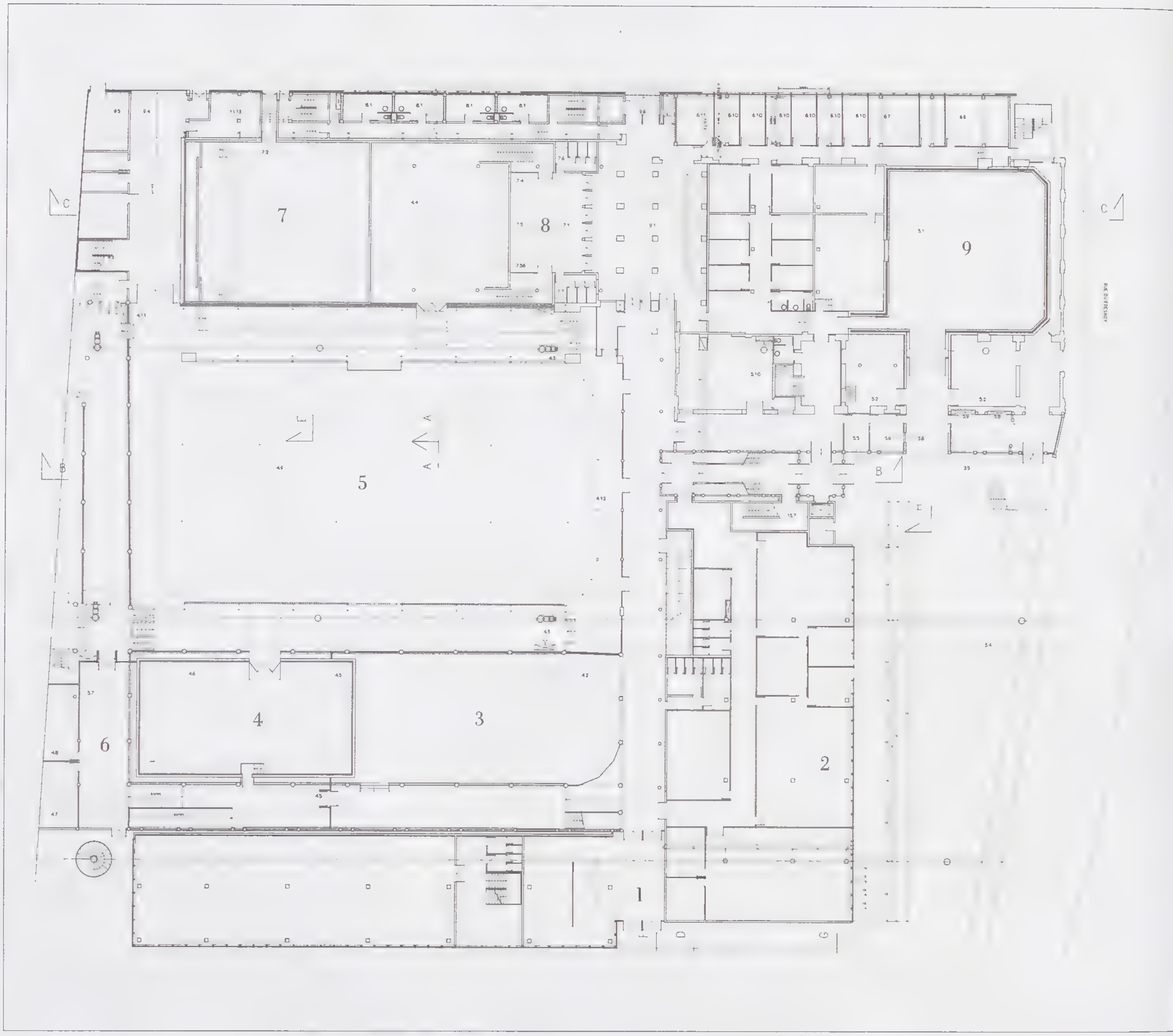
Ancora poche parole sull'idea di una nuova Bauhaus, dell'*hangar*, dello spazio "*in-between*".
Negli ultimi anni ci sono stati sei o sette concorsi per cosiddette nuove Bauhaus. Ciò lascia intravedere un desiderio per la perfezione e la coerenza rappresentate dalla Bauhaus, per la sua capacità di tenere congiunte diverse arti e tecniche. A Le Fresnoy non abbiamo avuto a che fare con discipline coerenti, ben definite, come nel caso della Bauhaus, ma con un disparata molteplicità di *performance art*, cinema, produzione di video e film, laboratori per il suono, una scuola, un ristorante, diverse aree espositive e attrezzature industriali per arti multimediali. A Tourcoing l'area non era libera, pronta per un progetto coerente e puro; abbiamo deciso di giocare sulla complessità intrinseca dell'area attraverso concetti moderni. La nuova copertura avrebbe funzionato come sistema per mantenere in vita gli edifici esistenti, suggerendo l'immagine di una grande rimessa-magazzino, un grande *hangar*.
La copertura "elettronica" definisce un "*in-between*", uno spazio residuale tra gli impossibili piani della razionalità. Ciò che più ci interessava era lo spazio generato tra la logica della nuova copertura (che rendeva possibile tutto ciò) e la logica di ciò che stava sotto: un "*in-between*", luogo dell'inaspettato, dove potessero accadere eventi inaspettati, non previsti da un "curriculum" convenzionale.
Uno spazio di residui, avanzi, vuoti e marginalità. Al di sotto di questa copertura industriale, una miriade di eventi potrebbe aver luogo. Questo progetto è pieno di "supplementi', di indefinibili aree della conoscenza. Forzando le condizioni esistenti, riempiendo l'area con una serie di volumi, compenetrati l'uno dentro l'altro, il progetto consente la possibilità di eventi. Richiamiamo qui due *collage* di Mies van der Rohe (l'uno per una sala per concerti del 1942 e l'altro per una sala convegni a Chicago del 1953). L'uno mostra una struttura esistente, l'altro una nuova struttura. Entrambi rappresentano un evento, ciascuno elaborando una propria storia e simbologia.
Aspetti di questo "*in-between*" non mancano di precedenti. Ci siamo immedesimati qui in alcuni eroi del Ventesimo secolo. Il progetto di Frederick Kiesler per il teatro di produzione multimediale di "R.U.R." del 1923, per Karel Čapek, univa teatro, cinema e altri sistemi di informazione grafici. Nel progetto per un Cinema del 1930, Kiesler ha usato uno schermo orizzontale a soffitto, celebrando un'altra dimensione dell'edificio. Nello stesso modo il nostro schema per Le Fresnoy attiva un'area non ancora definita. Dal momento che questa area non era stata inclusa nel programma del cliente e non era stata quantificata con una stima dei costi, abbiamo potuto realizzarla in piena libertà. Così il costo del programma del "sotto" della nuova copertura letteralmente ha dato origine al palcoscenico dell'"*in-between*". Dapprima le travi del nuovo tetto erano usate solo strutturalmente e ospitavano i condotti per l'aria condizionata; ora servono solo come supporto per le informazioni. La proiezione di film e concerti avverrà nello spazio intermedio tra nuova e vecchia copertura, in un incredibile paesaggio che è quello dello spazio residuale. Il nuovo evento è prodotto non attraverso *collage* e *recollage*, ma attraverso programmi incrociati e simultanei. Questa è l'architettura dell'evento.

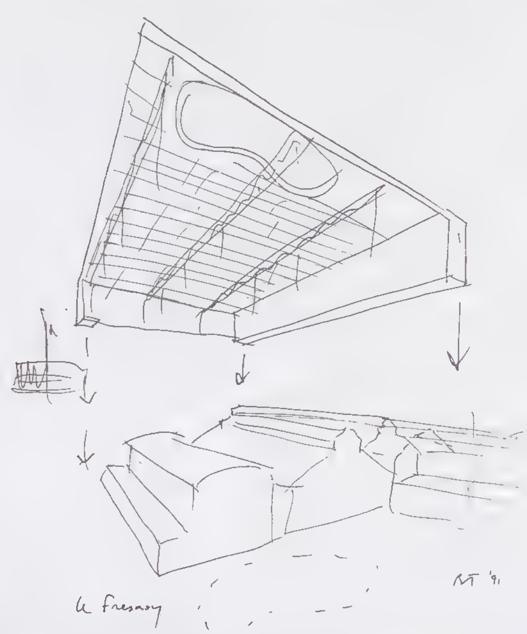
Le Fresnoy National Studio for Contemporary Arts, Tourcoing, France
Bernard Tschumi

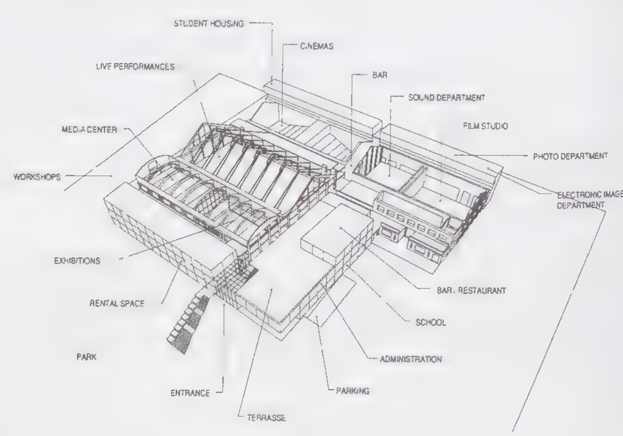
Eight thousand square meters of an international center for the contemporary arts will be inserted into Le Fresnoy in Tourcoing, France. A school, a film studio, a mediathéque, spectacle and exhibition halls, two cinemas, laboratories for research and production (sound, electronic image, film and video), administrative offices, housing and a bar/restaurant: this is the multiple and expansive program of the new center.
The Fresnoy site is exceptional because it integrates the buildings of an old leisure complex of the Twenties that included cinema, ballroom dancing, skating, horseback riding and other activities.
Our first preoccupation was the condition of the existing buildings. Serious doubts about the solidity of the edifices led us to the following analysis: we could either demolish the parts that were most affected by time – and thus lose a large part of the magic of the site, or we could, faithfully and at great expense, restore all parts weakened or susceptible to further deterioration; or we could radically protect, with a big roof, the most spectacular parts of Fresnoy, thus sheltering them from bad weather while installing on the underside of the roof all necessary technical installations (ductwork, air-conditioning, stage mechanisms).
After a study of the cost of each of these options, the last solution appeared by far the most satisfactory, from the financial but also from the architectural, programmatic and technical points of view.
Conceptually, we see the project as a succession of boxes inside a box.
1. First is the rectangular solid of modernity, ultratechnological, whose north side is closed. The other sides remain open and provide a view of the old and new buildings. The upper horizontal surface is a rectangle of approximately eight by one hundred meters pierced with large openings and comprising, in its structure, all of the technical ductwork for heating, ventilation and air-conditioning, the vertical branches of which extend down into the spaces they serve.
2. Under the large electronic roof are the boxes of the existing building, most hereafter sheltered from the bad weather. The only parts demolished were a strip of the north facade and a construction situated in the southeast corner of the site (old technical spaces and keepers' quarters) whose ruinous condition did not justify a restoration. We replaced these volumes and developed a new architectural and functional vocabulary (corrugated steel facades in the north and curtain wall facades in the south) that permits us, among other things, to give a resolutely contemporary and transparent image to the entrance area and the main facade of the building. At the same time, we conceived the new facilities located in the existing volumes as technically autonomous boxes while maintaining the fluidity of the Fresnoy spaces.
3. We then developed the "in-between", the space between the new steel roof and the old tile roofs. large horizontal windows, covered with transparent sheets of polycarbonate in the form of clouds, create an underside of the roof flooded with light and cut through by a transversal corresponding to the project's north-south axis. A large landscaped terrace in from of the bar/restaurant profits from direct access, through the grand stair, to the garden.

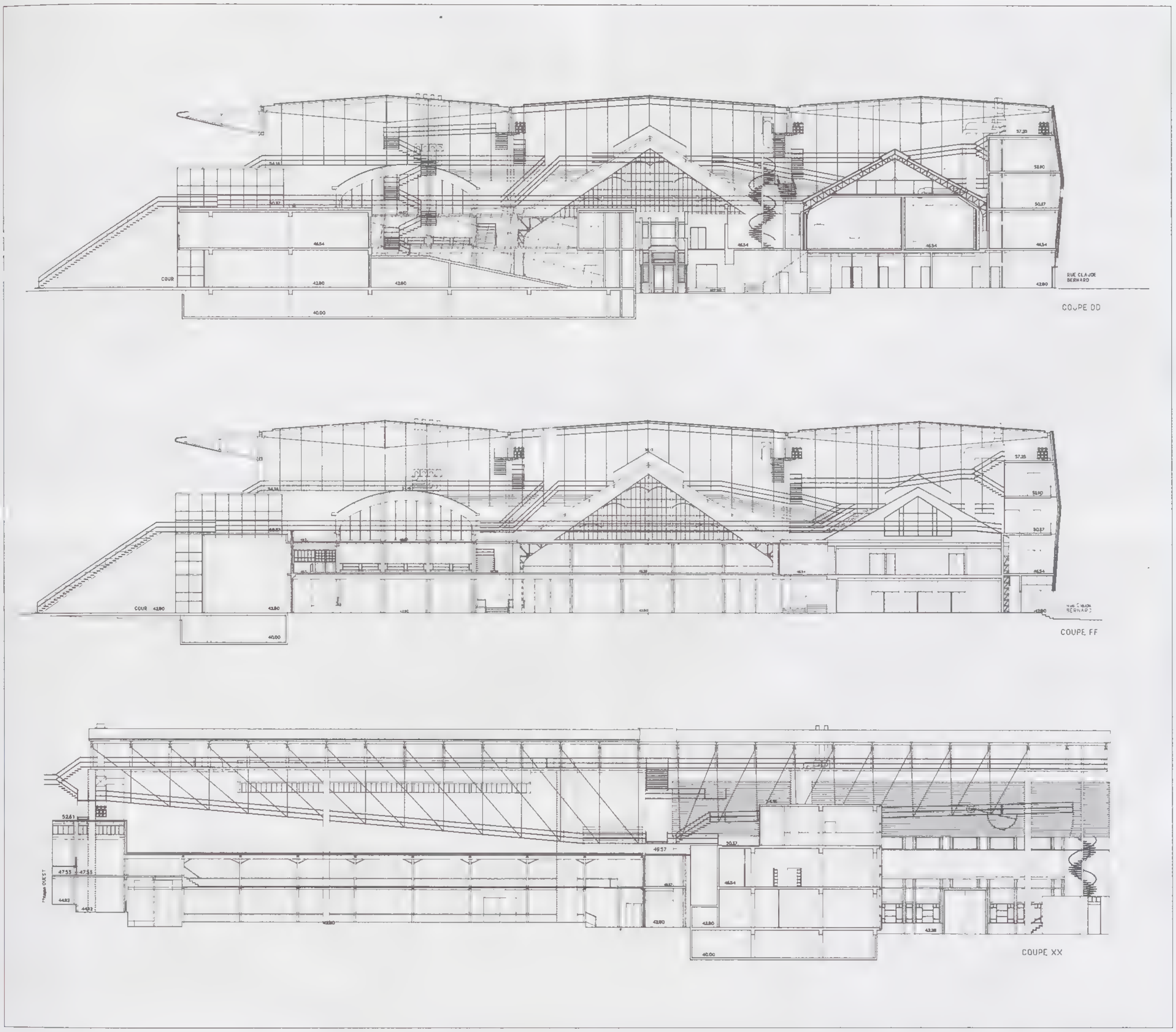
If the new roof acts as the project's common denominator (a large screen-umbrella), we also sought to accelerate the probability of chance-events by combining diverse elements (the meeting of umbrella and sewing machine on the dissecting table), juxtaposing great roof, school/research laboratory and the old Fresnoy, place of spectacle.
The whole is precise and rational in its conception, varied and poetic in its spatial richness. The large steel roof with its clouds of light floats above the old tile roofs. It becomes a new plane of reference (artifi-ciel in French). This large roof that responds to climatic, energy and information needs, also generates a new type of space – the in-between.
Fresnoy students and visitors will be able to appreciate the surreal nature of this immense horizontal space, whose size and presence makes relative the notions of interior and exterior suggested by the old buildings.
Such multifunctional spaces destined to "cover" events (conventions, concerts, sports, exhibitions and their thousands of visitors) will be the urban spaces of the twenty-first-century, here reviving a building from the beginning of the twentieth century. At Fresnoy, we can speak of an "architecture-event" rather than an "architecture-object". the interstitial space between the new and old roofs becomes a place of fantasies and experiments (filming and other exploratory works on space and time).
The in-between becomes a condenser of interdisciplinary investigations between teaching and research, art and cinema, music and image. The apparently contradictory programmatic elements enrich the project: display spaces, research labs and teaching spaces, on one hand, and historic buildings and avant-garde techniques on the other, create an electronic Bauhaus.

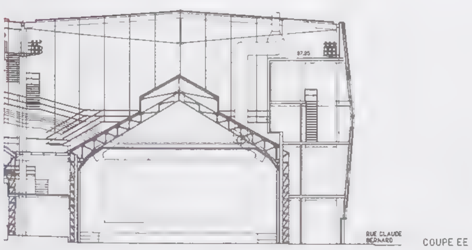
A few more points about the idea of the new Bauhaus, of the hangar and of the in-between. In the last few years, there have been six or seven competitions for so-called New Bauhauses. This suggests a desire for the perfection and coherence represented by the Bauhaus, for its globalization of various techniques and crafts. At Le Fresnoy, we were not dealing with coherent, well-defined disciplines, as the Bauhaus did, but with the disparate multiplicity of performance art, cinema, video and film production, sound studios, a school, a restaurant, several exhibition areas and industrial facilities from multimedia crafts. At Tourcoing, the site was not empty – ready for coherent, pure design – but already populated with a rather strange and derelict entertainment center (the first cinema in northern France) that had been used for dancing, boxing and ice-skating.
We decided to play the site's inherent complexity through contemporary concepts. The new roof would act as a life-support system for the existing building while suggesting a large warehouse hangar. The "electronic" roof defines an in-between, a residual space between the impossible layers of rationalities. What interested us most was the space generated between the logic of the new roof (which made it all possible) and the logic of what was underneath: an in-between, a place of the unexpected where unprogrammed events might occur, events that are not part of the "curriculum". This is a space of residues, leftovers, gaps and margins. Within this industrial shed, myriad events may unfold. The project is full of "supplements", of undecidable areas of knowledge. By challenging the existing conditions, by filling up the site with a series of boxes (a box in a box in a box), the project allows for the possibility of an event. We recall here two Mies van der Rohe collages (for the concert hall of 1942 and a Chicago convention hall of 1953). One shows an existing structure and the other a new structure. Both stage an event. Each supplies its own history and symbolism.
Aspects of this in-between are not without precedents. We drew here on some of the forgotten heroes of the twentieth century. Frederick Kiesler's design for Karel Čapek's multimedia theater production of "R.U.R." in 1923 combined theater, film and various other graphic information systems. In "Project for a Cinema" (1930), Kiesler used horizontal film screen on the ceiling/roof, celebrating another dimension of the building. Similarly, our scheme for Le Fresnoy activates an undefined area. Since this area was not included in the client's program and had no measurable cost, we were free to do whatever we wanted. Yet the charge from the program underneath the new roof literally brought into existence the in-between stage. The beams in the new roof were initially structural, housing the air-conditioning ducts, but ultimately serve only as a support for information. Concerts and film screenings will take place in the space in between the new and old roofs, in that unbelievable landscape of residual space. The new event is produced not through collage and recollage but through crossprogramming and transprogramming. This is architecture of the event.





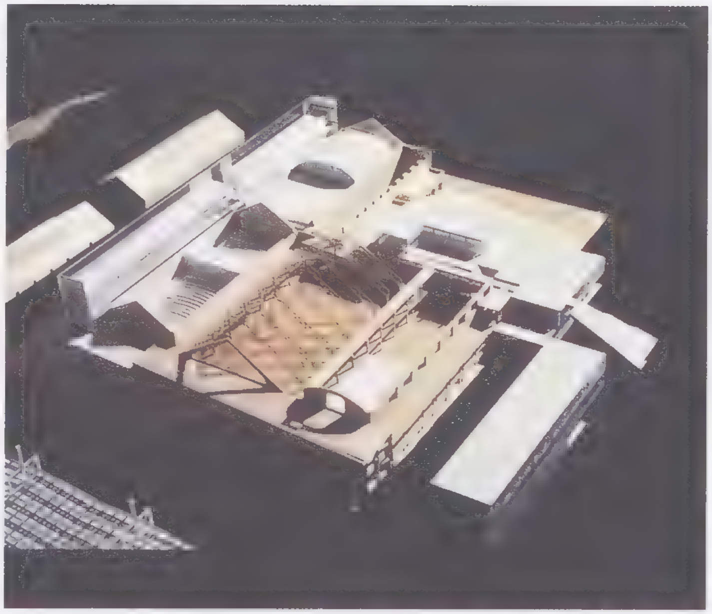

STUDENT HOUSING
CINEMAS
LIVE PERFORMANCES
BAR
SOUND DEPARTMENT
MEDIA CENTER
FILM STUDIO
PHOTO DEPARTMENT
WORKSHOPS
ELECTRONIC IMAGE DEPARTMENT
EXHIBITIONS
BAR, RESTAURANT
RENTAL SPACE
SCHOOL
PARK
ADMINISTRATION
PARKING
ENTRANCE
TERRASSE

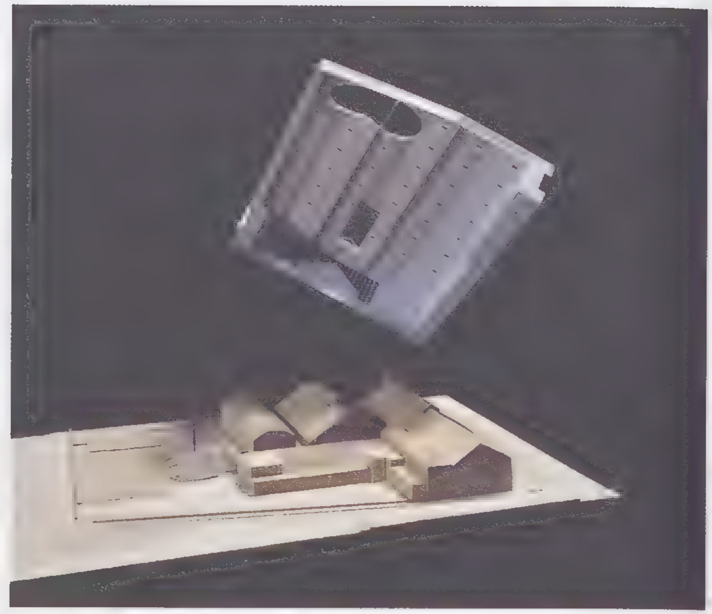




Pianta del piano terreno: 1) atrio d'ingresso; 2) scuola; 3) sala esposizioni; 4) centro media; 5) sala performance; 6) laboratori; 7) sale cinematografiche; 8) bar; 9) sale film e audiovisivi. Schizzo di studio, schema funzionale e sezioni.

Plan of the ground floor: 1) entrance lobby; 2) school; 3) exhibition hall; 4) media center; 5) performance hall; 6) workshop; 7) cinemas; 8) bar; 9) audio and film studios. Working sketch, functional scheme and sections.

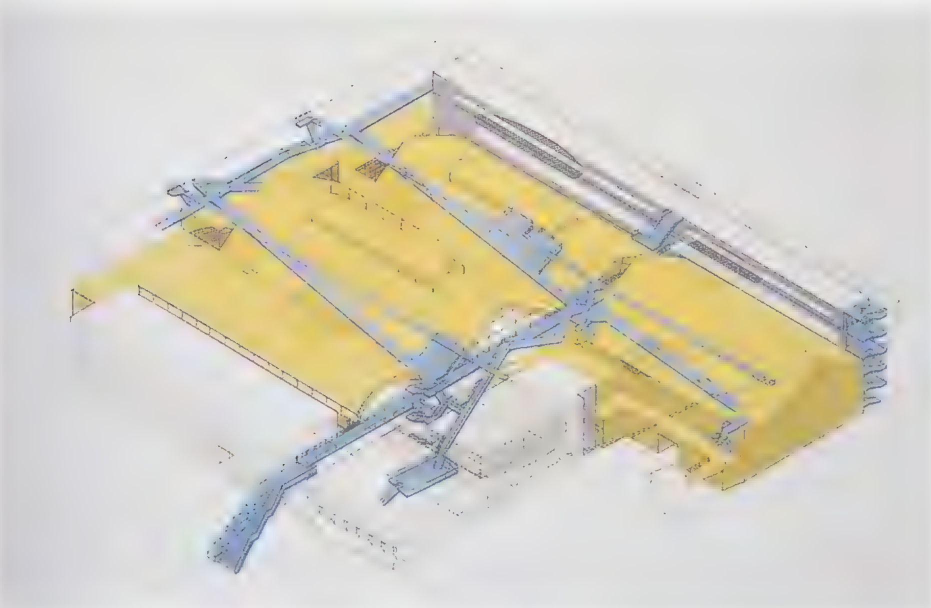


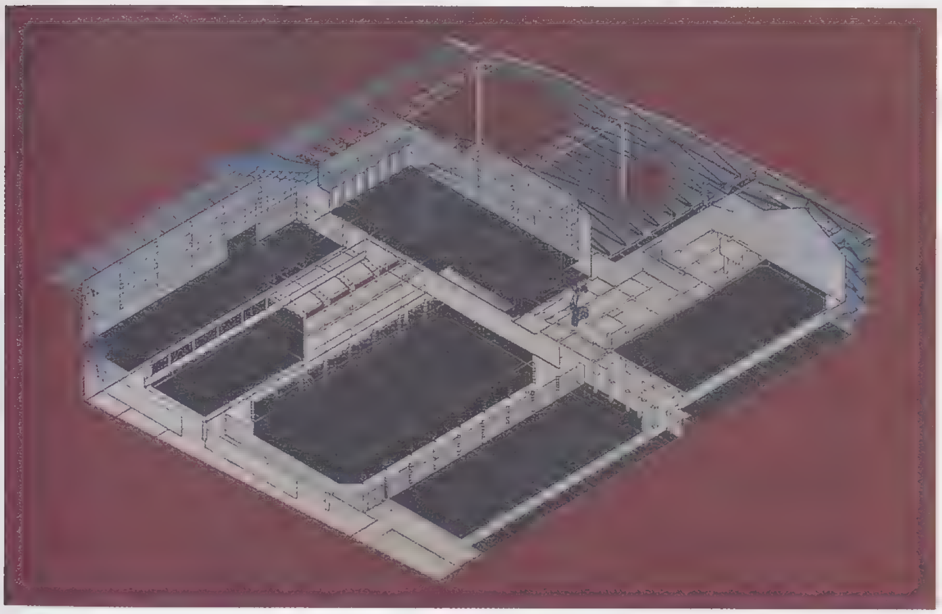


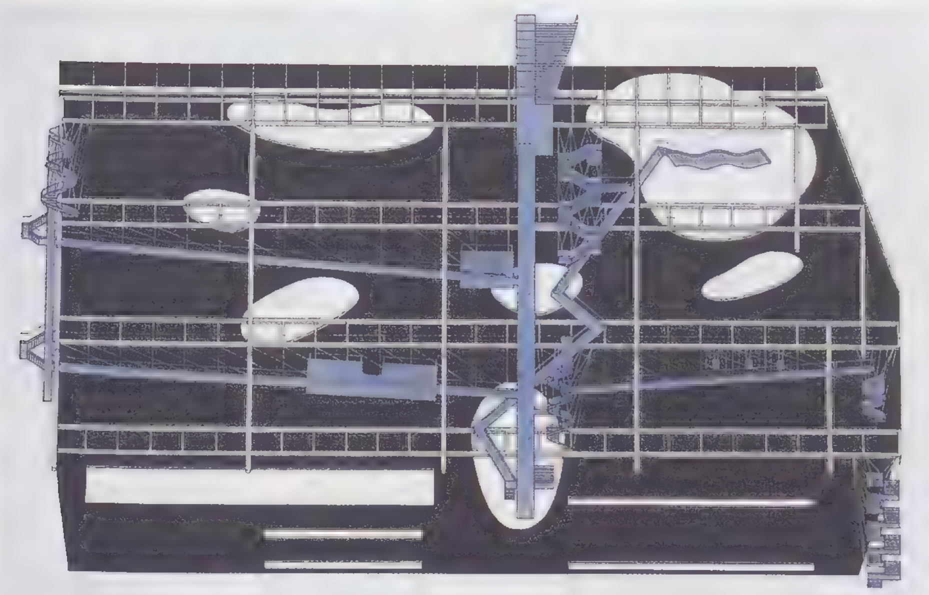












Viste dei modelli e sequenza delle travi reticolari "cinematiche".
Spaccati assonometrici del complesso senza copertura e da sotto in su (restituzione computerizzata).

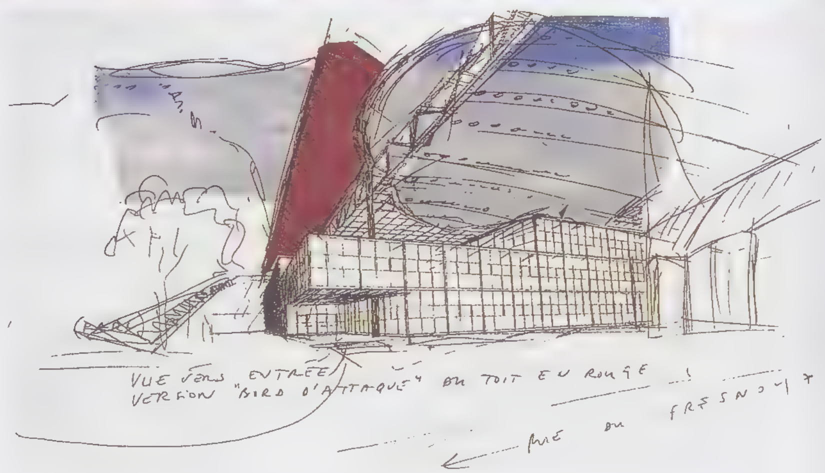
Views of the models and sequence of the "cinematic" trusses.
Axonometric cutaways of the complex without roofing and from below (computer renderings).

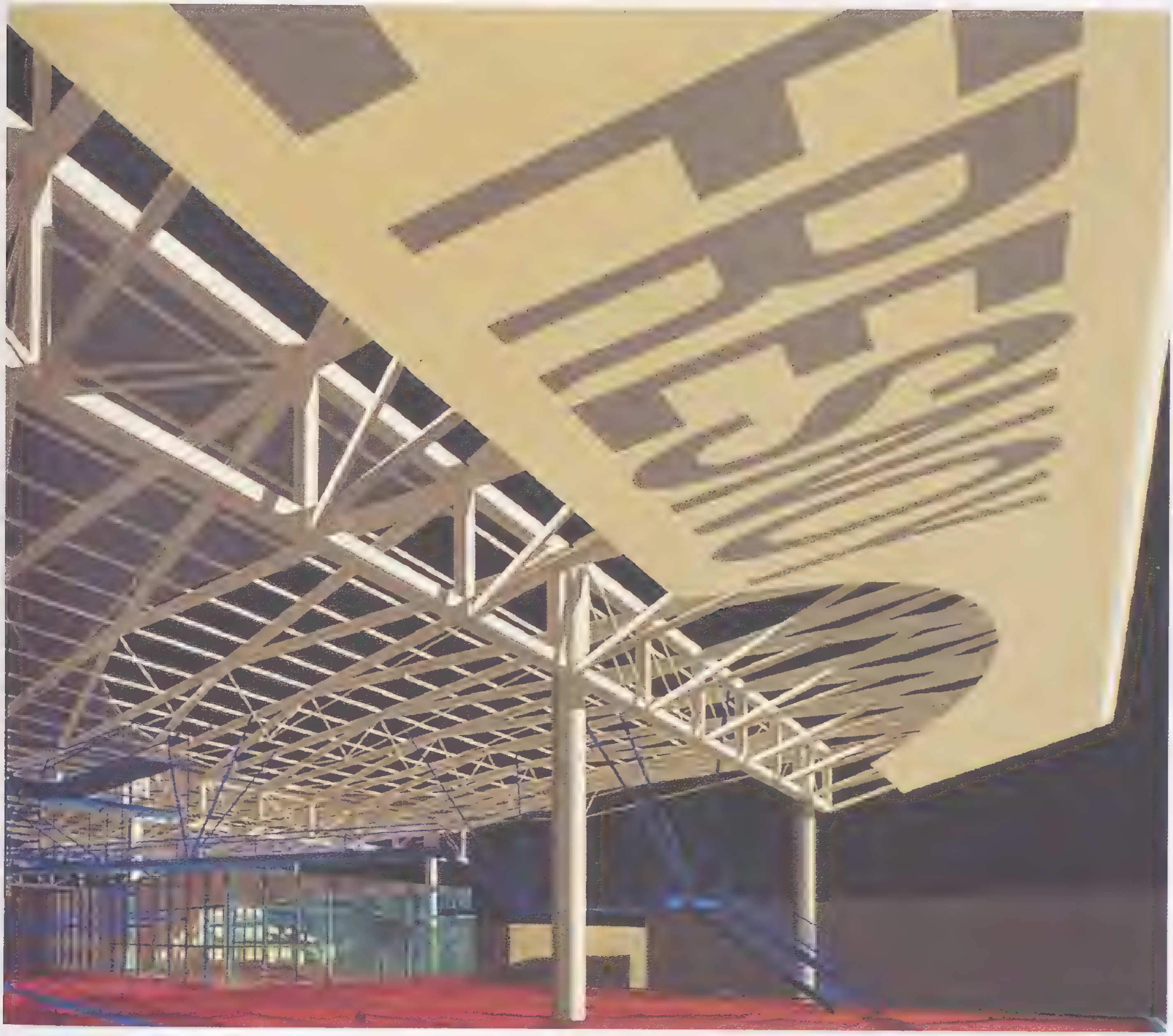
Viste di cantiere del fronte nord e di un padiglione in corso di ristrutturazione.
Prospettiva dello spazio intermedio (in-between) dalla terrazza del bar-ristorante (restituzione computerizzata).
Collage di studio dell'ingresso e della terrazza-ristorante.

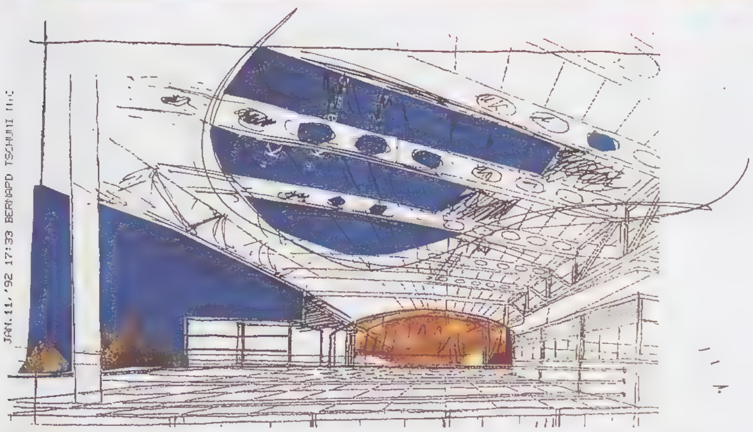
Worksite views of the north facade and of a pavilion during restructuring.
Perspective view of the "in-between" space, from the terrace of the restaurant-bar (computer rendering).
Working collage of the entrance and of the restaurant-terrace.











VUE TERRASSE RESTAURANT VERS PARC, ET MÉDIATHE

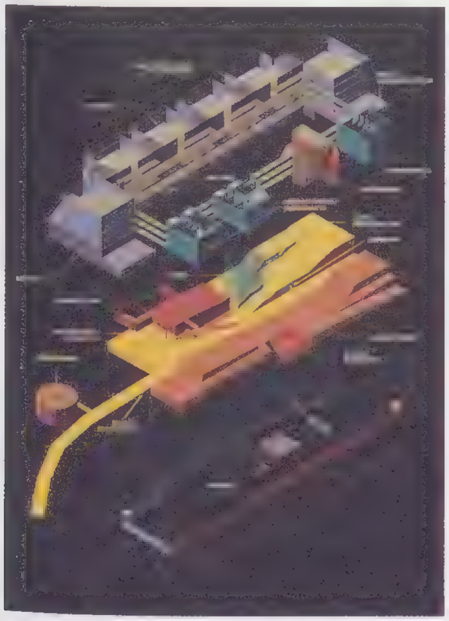


School of Architecture, Champs-sur-Marne, Marne-la-Vallée, Paris, France
1994

Bernard Tschumi

New York Team (Competition): Yannis Aesopos, Robert Young, Tom Kowalski, Mark Haukos, Jordan Parnass, Grace Cheung (Design Development)
Paris Team: Véronique Descharrières, Stephanie Boyard



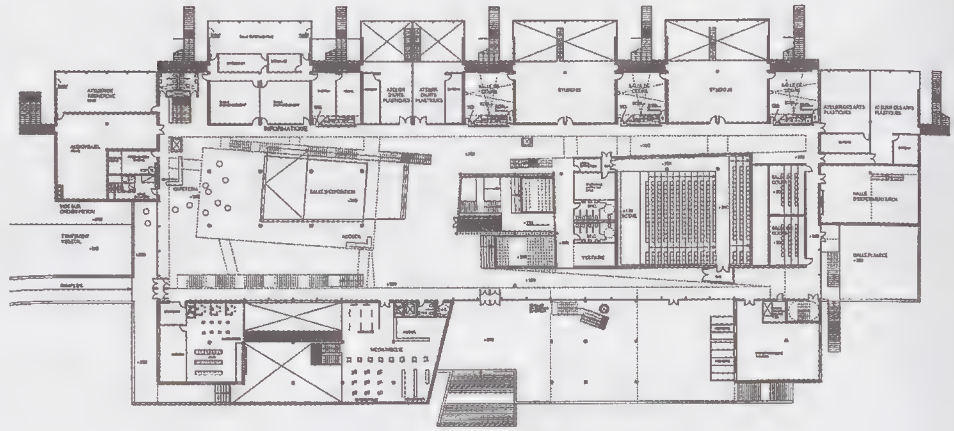


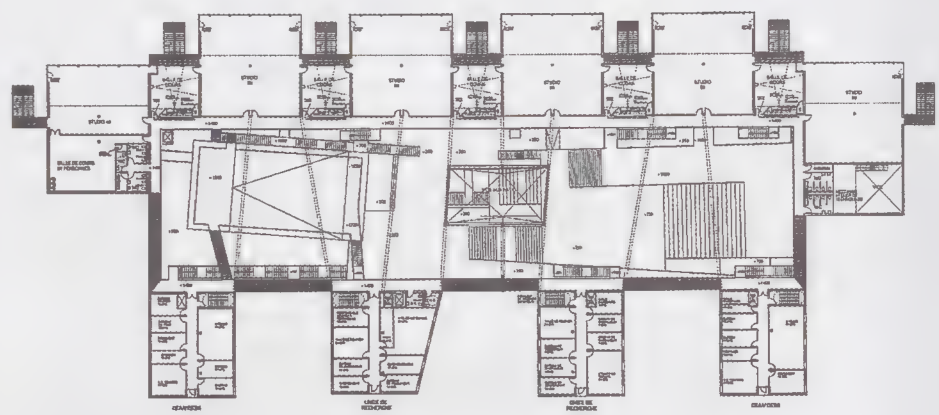
Prospettive da sudovest e da sudest e esploso assonometrico (restituzione computerizzata).

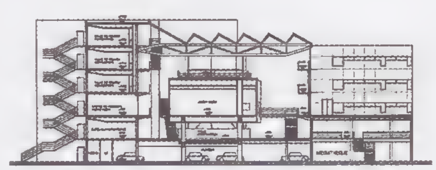
Perspectives from southwest and southeast, exploded axonometric (computer renderings).

Scuola di Architettura, Marne-la-Vallée, Parigi, Francia
Bernard Tschumi

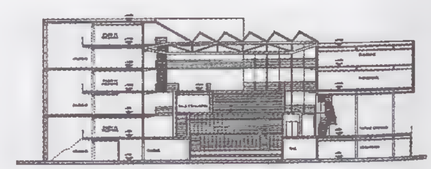
Concepire una nuova scuola di architettura situata a 30 minuti da Parigi fa nascere due domande. La prima riguarda la direzione che l'insegnamento dell'architettura vorrà prendere nei prossimi anni; la seconda l'attrazione che può avere una scuola ubicata al confine, nella periferia, ai margini della densità sociale, economica e culturale del centro urbano.
Oggi è in corso una tripla rivoluzione, informativa, interdisciplinare e ideologica. A Champs-sur-Marne, a 30 chilometri da Parigi, si è alla stessa distanza elettronica da Londra, Berlino, Tokyo, New York o Delhi. Esistono una cultura architettonica ed una informazione globali; solo le condizioni sono locali. Storicamente le persone si sono dirette verso le città per imparare, insegnare, dibattere. A Champs-sur-Marne si fa l'opposto: ci si decentra, ci si marginalizza, in qualche modo. Comunque, ciò che potrebbe apparire come uno svantaggio considerevole può essere trasformato in un notevole vantaggio. Distante da posizioni legate al tema della conservazione dei centri storici, il nuovo complesso tecnologico, che può accogliere circa 20.000 studenti, può essere visto come il punto di partenza per un nuovo modello. Per questa nuova Scuola abbiamo cercato di progettare uno spazio adatto ai tempi moderni e alla mobilità, un nuovo tipo di Scuola di Architettura che non si ispira alla vecchia Ecole des Beaux Arts, alla Bauhaus, alle Università americane o ad altro.
Il nostro progetto muove dalle seguenti tesi: ci sono edifici-generatori di eventi. Sono spesso condensatori di qualità urbana; tanto attraverso i loro programmi che attraverso le loro potenzialità spaziali accelerano una trasformazione culturale e sociale che riconosciamo già in corso.
In ciò che chiamiamo la "Città dell'Architettura" tutte le attività rigorosamente programmate sono distribuite intorno a un grande spazio centrale (m 25 x 100) "non programmato" e "orientato all'evento", reso vivo dalla densità di ciò che lo circonda e tale da diventare nel modo più inaspettato un'ampia area per ospitare cerimonie e intrattenimenti, incontri e dibattiti, proiezioni e installazioni di artisti, i simposi più seri e le esposizioni di artisti di avanguardia. In quanto spazio sociale e culturale, la *hall* centrale risulta frequentata costantemente dagli studenti che la rendono un luogo sempre vivace e dinamico.
Tutte le articolazioni funzionali e programmatiche della Scuola si aprono su questo ampio spazio interno di forma rettangolare: studi, *atelier*, laboratori informatici, mediateca, uffici di Facoltà, zone amministrative e di ricerca circondano e definiscono questo grande spazio culturale "comune" e destinato a ospitare eventi.
L'edificio è anche una grande *promenade* percorribile, come in una città, da diversi punti di partenza. I due principali coincidono con la



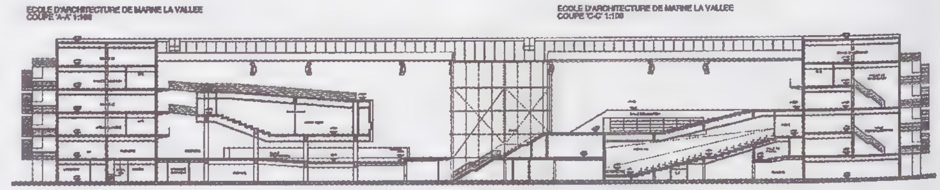




ECOLE D'ARCHITECTURE DE MARNE LA VALLEE
COUPE 'A-A' 1:100



ECOLE D'ARCHITECTURE DE MARNE LA VALLEE
COUPE 'C-C' 1:100



ECOLE D'ARCHITECTURE DE MARNE LA VALLEE
COUPE LONGITUDINALE E-E' 1:100

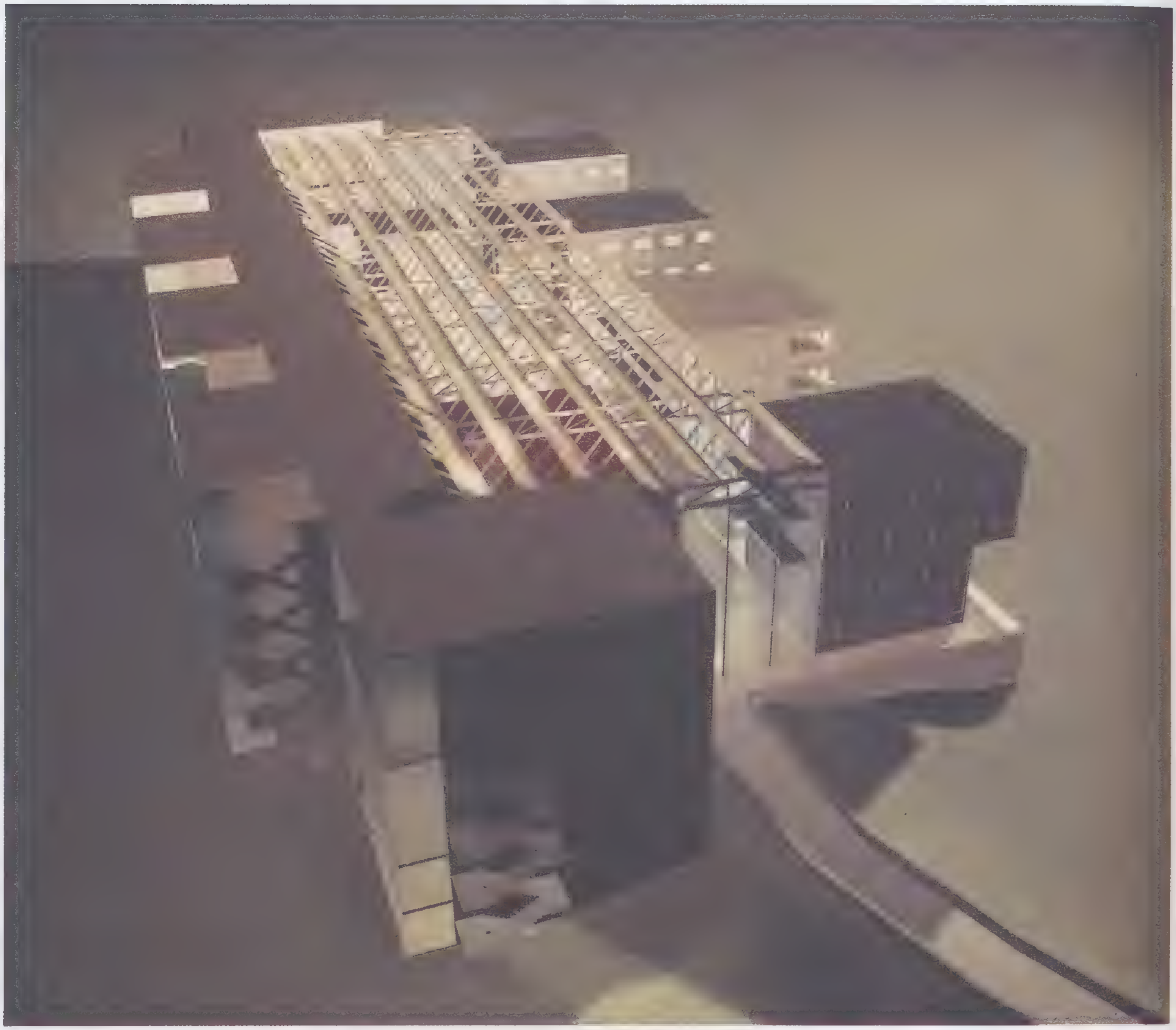
Piante alle quote di ingresso (+3.50) e degli anfiteatri (+14.00). Sezioni trasversali e longitudinale.

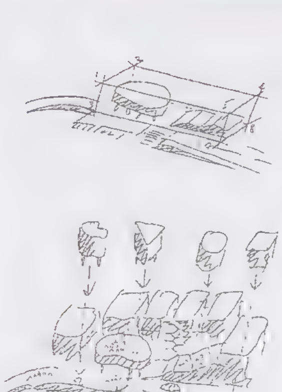
Plans at the entrance level (+3.50 m) and of the amphitheatres (+14.00). Longitudinal and cross-sections.

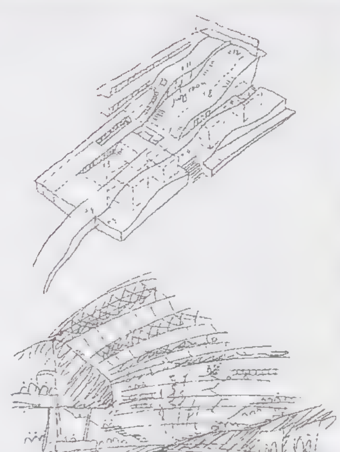
grande scala, da cui si può dirigersi verso sud proseguendo lungo l'asse cartesiano, e con la rampa, da cui dirigersi verso ovest. Dall'ingresso principale, a sud, si accede alla zona di ricezione, agli spazi espositivi, alle aule d'esame e al bar-ristorante. Proseguendo in direzione obliqua si sale sulla copertura di un anfiteatro per 400 persone e si raggiungono gli spazi della giuria e gli studi. E' possibile inoltre prendere la "scorciatoia" della scala che porta alle aule di ricerca, agli uffici amministrativi e agli studi. Altri percorsi più brevi, che si diramano dalle coperture degli auditorium, consentono il passaggio diretto dai corridoi degli uffici amministrativi e di Facoltà agli studi (m 25).
Come in molti edifici istituzionali di questo tipo è possibile raggiungere in auto un parcheggio interno. Nella "Città dell'Architettura" questo ingresso è ricavato attraverso un patio posto nel mezzo della *hall*. Da questa si può scorgere l'attività negli studi. L'elaborazione dei progetti è parte dell'immagine della scuola: così studenti e docenti vedono tutto ciò che succede, incontri, conferenze, dibattiti.
Con il loro doppio orientamento gli studi sono esposti a sud, verso la grande *hall*, e a nord, dove gli spazi risultano illuminati da una luce stabile indispensabile ai *computer*, oggi sempre più impiegati nella progettazione.
La quota generale della ricezione e della circolazione è a m 3.50, che garantisce il migliore collegamento con le scale e gli studi. Il paesaggio interno sale gradualmente fino a raggiungere quota 10.50, attraversando gli spazi d'esame e delle esposizioni dei lavori didattici e passando al di sopra degli anfiteatri che possono ospitare 400, 135 o 90 persone: lo scambio e la promiscuità sono il cuore della scuola.
Gli spazi degli studi e gli *atelier* sono concepiti come dei *loft*, per consentire la massima flessibilità per gruppi di 25, 50 o 75 studenti. Le aule dei seminari e d'esame sono intercambiabili e inserite tra gli studi in modo da incoraggiare lo scambio tra teoria e pratica dell'architettura.
I piccoli blocchi della facciata a sud consentono un'organizzazione flessibile degli uffici di Facoltà, dei laboratori di ricerca e degli spazi amministrativi. Essi appaiono così articolati per evitare qualsiasi effetto monolitico o burocratico.
La nuova mobilità degli studenti rende indispensabile la presenza di stanze-dormitorio facilmente accessibili a distanza pedonale. Nella "Città dell'Architettura" le zone dormitorio sono organizzate in uno o più edifici circolari, definiti come elementi autonomi come avviene nel resto della città.
Ambiente urbano e al tempo stesso macchina elettronica, la "Città dell'Architettura" guarda con sospetto a tendenze estetiche e teorie umaniste mirate alla ricerca di una moralità formale. Anzi, è attraverso un'amplificazione rigorosa della sua logica programmatica che essa sviluppa le condizioni necessarie per una ricerca dei caratteri architettonici del nuovo secolo.

School of Architecture, Marne-la-Vallée, Paris, France
Bernard Tschumi

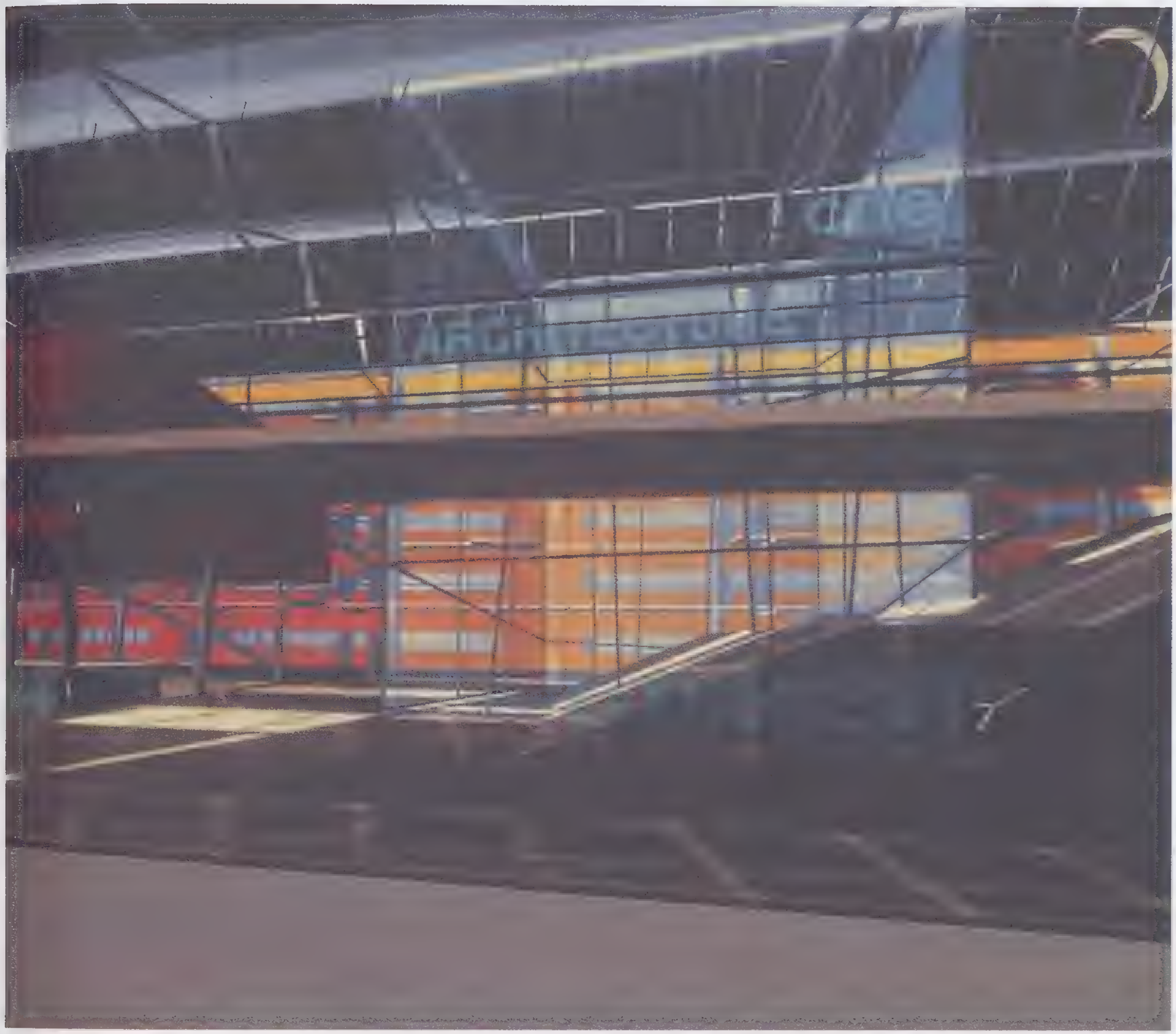
Conceiving of a new school of architecture located 30 minutes outside Paris raises two questions. The first one has to do with the direction that architectural education will take in the next decades. The second has to do with the "attraction" that a school situated on the edge, the periphery, the margin of the social, economic and cultural density of an urban center can have.
Today, a triple revolution – informational, interdisciplinary and ideological – is in the making. At Champs-sur-Marne, located 30 minutes from the heart of Paris, one is at the same electronic distance from London, Berlin, Tokyo, New York or Delhi. There is global architectural culture and information; the conditions alone are local.
Historically, people headed towards the centers in order to learn, teach and debate. Here, at Champs-sur-Marne, it is the opposite that one is doing: one decenters, "marginalizes" oneself in some way. However, what could appear as a considerable handicap can be transformed into a valuable advantage. Located away from habits of thought related to the conservation of historical centers, the new site, set amidst a new 20,000-student technological complex, can be seen as a starting point for a new model. For this new school we sought to design a space conceived for the age of the modern and of mobility, a new type of school of architecture that does not look for inspiration to the old Ecole des Beaux Arts, the Bauhaus, the American universities or elsewhere.
Our project starts from the following thesis: there are building-generators of events. They are often condensers of the city; as much through their programs as through their spatial potential they accelerate a cultural or social transformation that is already in progress.
What we call the "City of Architecture" rearranges all the rigorously programmed activities around an "unprogrammed", "event-oriented" large central space (25 x 100 m), activated by the density of what surrounds it, which in the most unexpected way becomes a large space for celebrations and balls, encounters and debates, projections and artists' installations, the most serious symposia and avant-garde exhibitions. A social and cultural space, the central hall gathers all the circulation of the school. Whatever the level of attendance on a given day, one sees the constant movement of students, giving the hall liveliness and dynamism.
All the functional and programmatic parts of the school open onto the large interior rectangle: the studios, the ateliers, the computer spaces, the médiathèque, the faculty offices, the administration and research areas surround and define this large cultural "communal" and event-seeking space.
The building is also a large promenade that, as in a city, can have several points of departure. The two main ones are from the large staircase towards the south in the continuation of the Descartes axis and from the ramp to the west. From the main entry (south), one arrives at the reception area, the exhibition and evaluation spaces and the bar/restaurant. Walking in an oblique direction one then climbs at an oblique angle over the 400-seat ampitheater and reaches the jury spaces and studios. One could also take the "short-cut" of the staircase towards the research areas, the administration or the studios. Other short-cuts, from the roofs of the auditoriums, allow direct passage from the walkways of the administration or faculty offices to the studios (25 m).
As in many institutions, access is often by car through an interior parking area. In the "City of Architecture" this arrival is made through a patio in the middle of the hall.
From the central hall it is possible to see the activity in the studios. The production of projects is part of the image of the school: students and teachers see what is happening: information, communication, debate.
The double orientation of the studios gives them a south side (towards the large hall) and a north side with stable light necessary for a new and extensive use of computers in architectural design.
The general level for the reception and circulation is at +3.50 in order to allow a better relation with the studios and the staircases. The interior landscape slopes up to level +10.50, passing through the jury and student work exhibition spaces and above the amphitheaters seating 400 and, alternatively, 135 or 90 people: exchange is at the heart of the school.
The studio spaces and the ateliers are based on the same loft-space envelope that allows maximum flexibility for groups of 25, 50 or 75 students. The seminar and jury/pin-up rooms are interchangeable, inserted between the studios in order to encourage debate between design projects and history/theory.
The small blocks of the south facade permit a supple organization of the faculty offices, those of researchers and administrative spaces. Their carving tries to avoid any framing and any monolithic or bureaucratic effect.

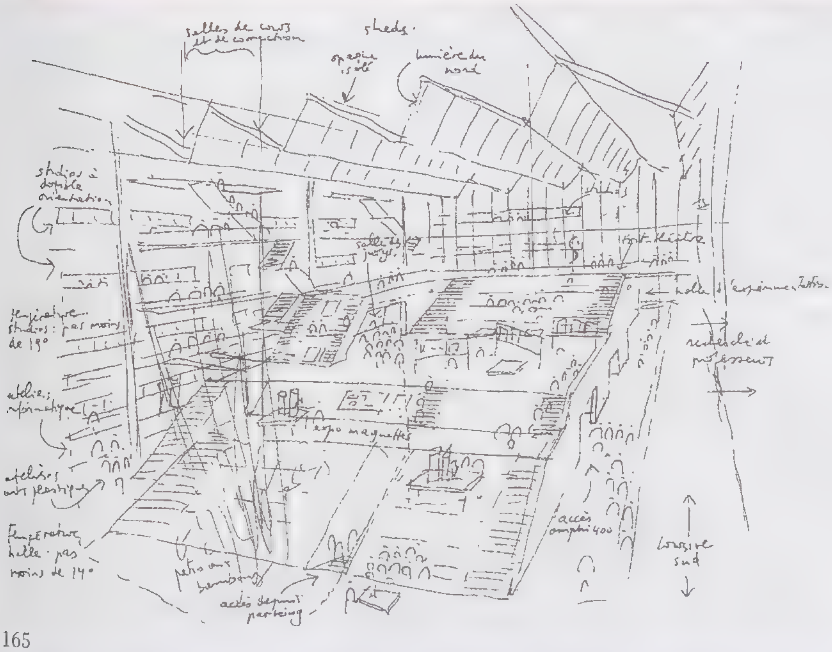












Prospettiva da nordest e prospettive della hall d'ingresso attraverso il fronte vetrato e dall'interno (restituzione computerizzata). Schizzi di studio.

Perspective from northeast and perspectives of the entrance hall through the glazed front and from the interior (computer renderings). Working sketches.

Puerta de Europa, Madrid, España
1995

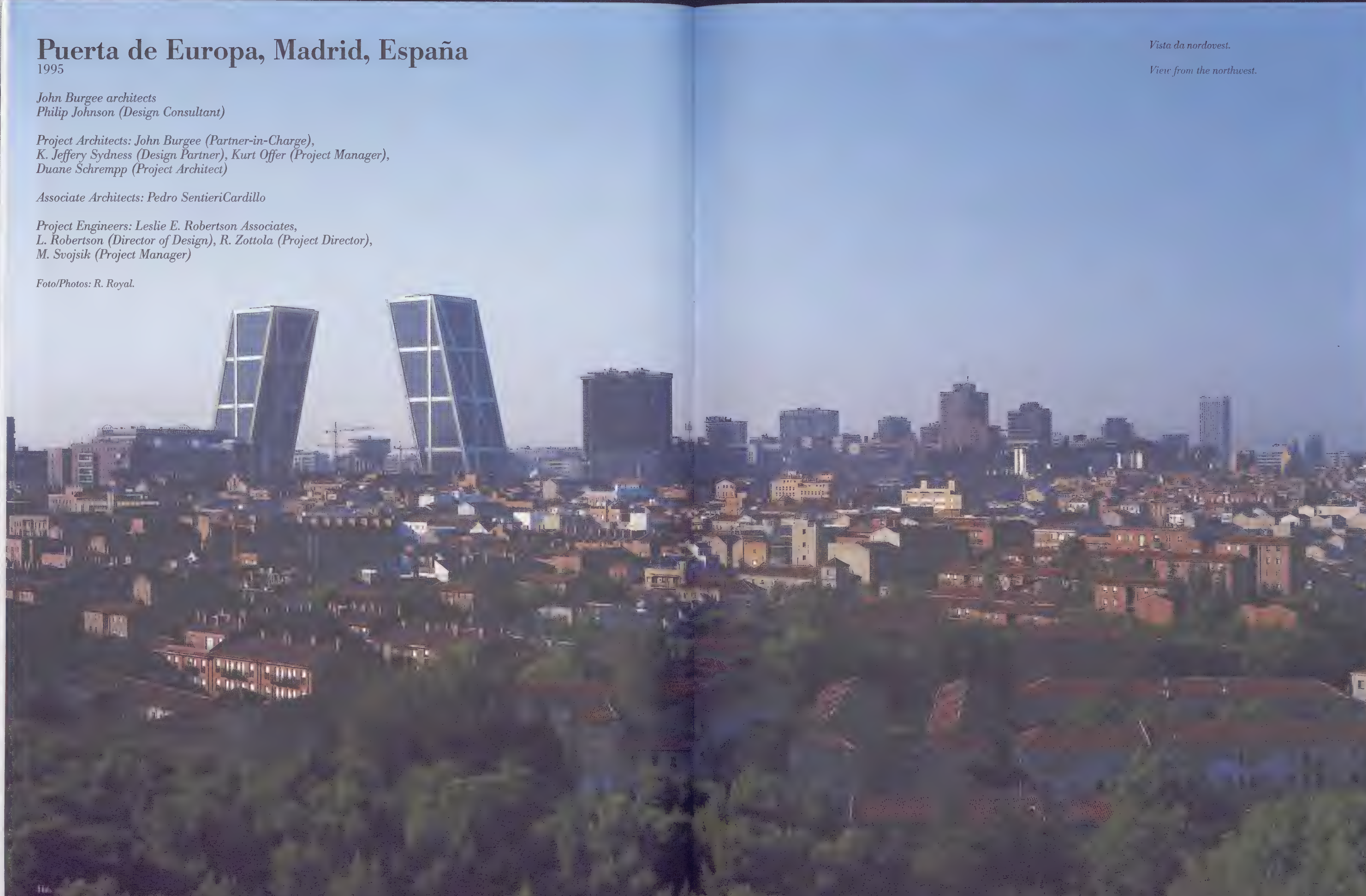
John Burgee architects
Philip Johnson (Design Consultant)

Project Architects: John Burgee (Partner-in-Charge),
K. Jeffery Sydness (Design Partner), Kurt Offer (Project Manager),
Duane Schrempp (Project Architect)

Associate Architects: Pedro SentieriCardillo

Project Engineers: Leslie E. Robertson Associates,
L. Robertson (Director of Design), R. Zottola (Project Director),
M. Svojsik (Project Manager)

Foto/Photos: R. Royal.



Vista da nordovest.

View from the northwest.

Puerta de Europa, Madrid, España
1995

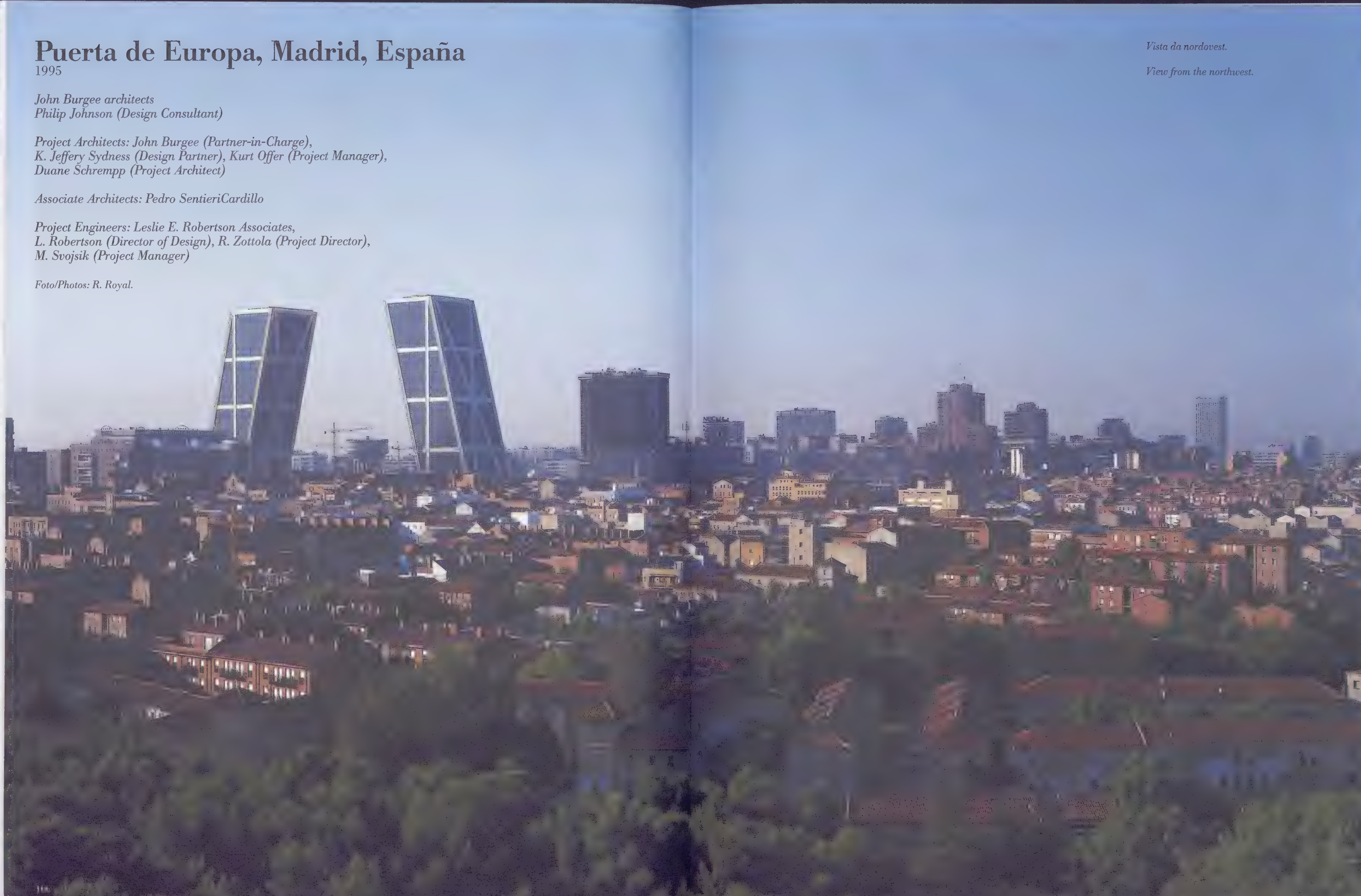
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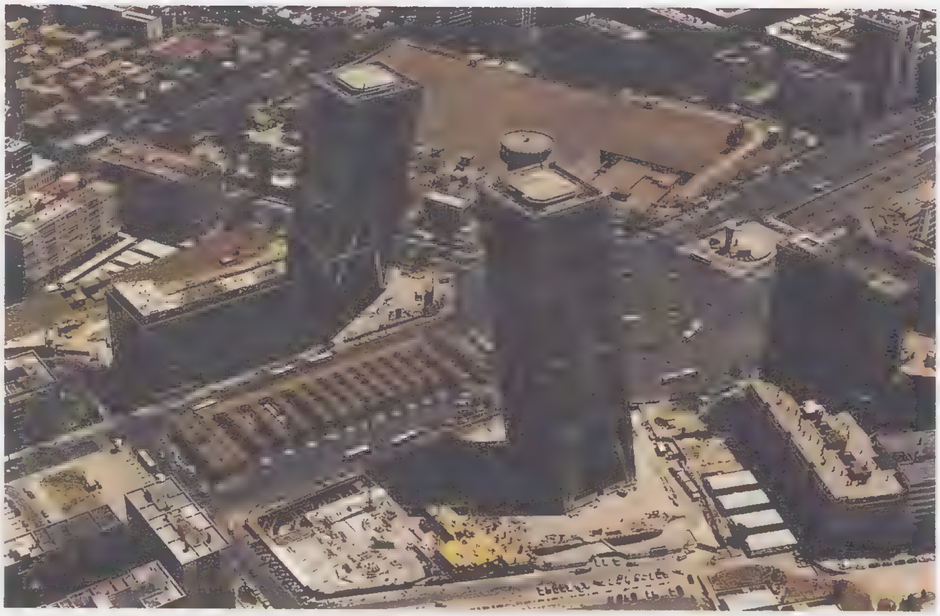
Vista da nordovest.

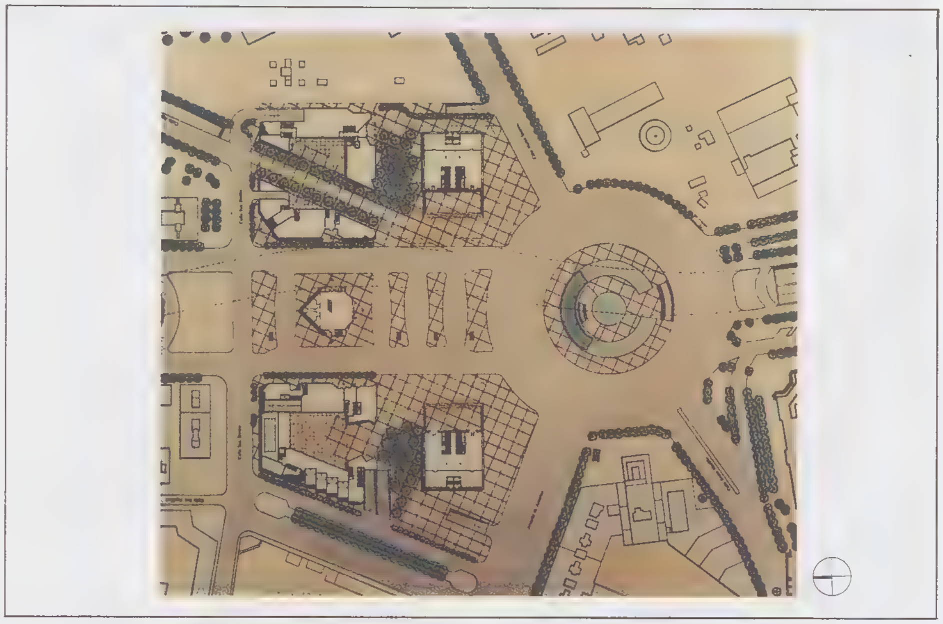
View from the northwest.


HOTEL

Puerta de Europa, Madrid, Spagna
Puerta de Europa è un importante progetto per residenze e uffici situato a cavaliere del Paseo de la Castellana, il viale più importante di Madrid, a nord di Plaza de Castilla.
L'ubicazione dell'area, sopra un interscambio di linee metropolitane, ha reso strutturalmente impossibile che l'edificio per uffici sorgesse sul margine della strada. Al fine di renderle leggibili come una coppia di edifici e assicurarne la visibilità lungo tutto il Paseo, le due torri sono state progettate in modo aggettante l'una verso l'altra, sopra le loro piazze.
Questo movimento accentuato forma la figura di un portale che, essendo al confine nord del centro direzionale, diventa la Porta verso l'Europa: da qui il nome del progetto.
La facciata di ciascuna torre è composta da una griglia strutturale primaria di elementi rettilinei e diagonali rivestiti in acciaio inossidabile e da una griglia secondaria di colore rosso.
Questi elementi si sovrappongono a una parete vetrata *curtain wall* di colore grigio chiaro.
Le due torri pendenti di Puerta de Europa hanno un sistema strutturale misto, composto da travi e pilastri in acciaio e da un nocciolo in cemento della torre dei servizi. L'acciaio è post-tensionato per incrementare l'efficienza del sistema strutturale riducendo la richiesta di rigidezza.

Puerta de Europa, Madrid, Spain
Puerta de Europa is a major office and residential project which stands astride the Paseo de la Castellana, Madrid's most important boulevard, on the north side of the Plaza de Castilla.
The location of the site over a subway interchange makes it structurally impossible for the office buildings to stand near the street. In order for the two towers to read as a pair, and to ensure their visibility from up and down the Paseo, they have been designed to lean toward each other over their plazas.
This bold move creates a portal which, being at the northern end of the business district, becomes the gateway to Europe: hence the name of the project.
The facade of each tower is a composition of a major structural grid of rectilinear and diagonal members clad in stainless steel, and minor grid painted red. These elements stand forward from a simple gray glass curtain wall.
The two sloping towers of Puerta de Europa have a mixed structural system featuring steel columns and beams and a concrete service core. The steel is post-tensioned to increase the efficiency of the structural system by reducing the required stiffness.







Viste aeree da nordovest e di dettaglio, planimetria generale e pianta del piano tipo.

Aerial views from northwest and of particulars, overall plan and typical floor plan.





Viste esterne e interna.

Exterior and interior views.





Town Hall, Celebration, Florida, U.S.A.

1996

Philip Johnson, Ritchie & Fiore Architects

Project Designer: Philip Johnson
Partner in Charge: David Fiore
Project Manager: Dennis Wedlick

Associate Architects HKS inc.

Foto/Photo: Disney

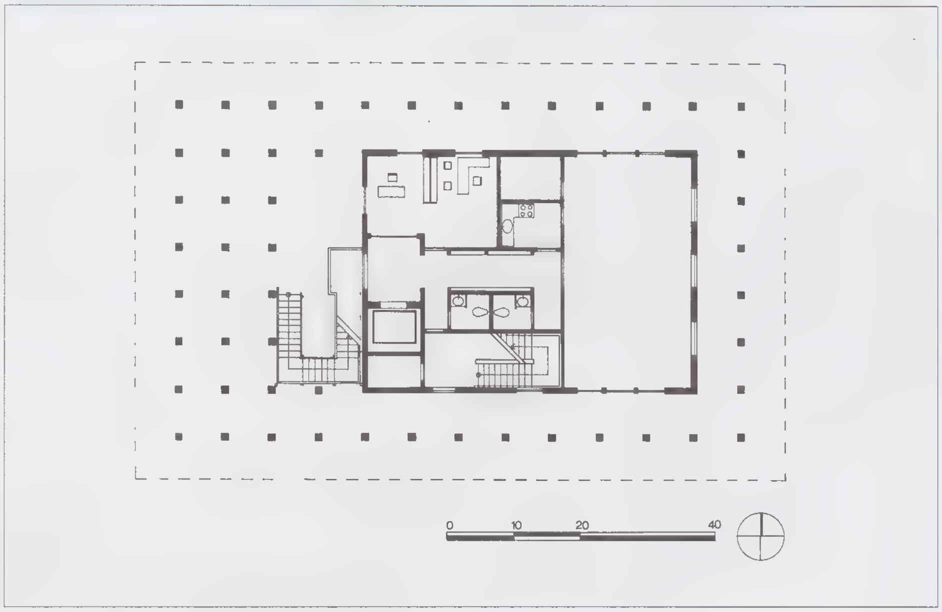
Municipio della nuova città di Celebration, Florida, U.S.A.

La Disney Development Corporation ha invitato un numero selezionato di architetti a progettare i principali edifici pubblici e commerciali per la nuova città di "Celebration". A Philip Johnson è stata affidata la progettazione del Municipio. Questo edificio per uffici è piccolo, se valutato in pianta, ma importante in quanto preposto ad ospitare sia il governo della comunità che una sala per cerimonie e un centro di attività per le associazioni presenti all'interno della comunità. L'aver circondato l'edificio con un colonnato costituito da colonne lignee sottili e tra loro ravvicinate ha sortito l'effetto di amplificarne il volume, l'immagine e l'importanza. Il colonnato origina uno spazio pubblico definito e costituisce anche un atrio all'aperto, incrementando la visibilità dell'edificio senza aumentarne la superficie costruita.
Per ultimo, l'intero complesso di parti aperte e chiuse è sormontato da una copertura a padiglione piuttosto schiacciata, che richiama le semplici e naturali coperture delle regioni tropicali degli Stati Uniti e dei Caraibi.

Town Hall for the New Town of Celebration, Florida, U.S.A.

Disney Development Company invited a select list of architects to design the main public and commercial buildings of their new town, Celebration.
Philip Johnson was assigned the Town Hall building. This office building is small in area but important as not only the town governance building of the community but also offers a meeting hall and activity center for the community associations.
Its volume, image and importance was increased by a surrounding colonnade of thin, closely spaced wood columns. This colonnade creates a defined public area acting as an outdoor lobby for the building. It also increases the visible size of the structure without increasing the built area.
Finally the whole assembly is topped with a low profile hip roof reminiscent of the simple natural shelters of the tropical regions of the United States and the Caribbean.





Viste del modello da nordovest, dell'edificio in costruzione da ovest e pianta del piano terreno.

Views of the model from northwest, of the edifice during construction from west, and plan of the ground floor.

Guggenheim Museum und Volksschule, Donaucity, Wien, Österreich

1994-95

Hans Hollein

Guggenheim Museum
Project Team: Joseph Schwaighofer (Job Captain)
Consulenti/consultants: Friedreich & Partner (Structural),
Allplan G.m.b.H. (Mechanical/HVAC), Hans Lechner (Cost estimation)

Volksschule
Project Team: Ulf Kotz (Project Architect), Klaus Mommertz
Consulenti/consultants: Oswald Friedreich, Viktor Seelaus (Structural)
Bauträger Austria Baumanagement G.m.b.H. (Mechanical/HVAC & EL)



Vista del modello da sud-est nel contesto del progetto Donaucity.

View of the model from southeast of the Donaucity project.

Guggenheim Museum und Volksschule, Donaucity, Wien, Österreich

1994–95

Hans Hollein

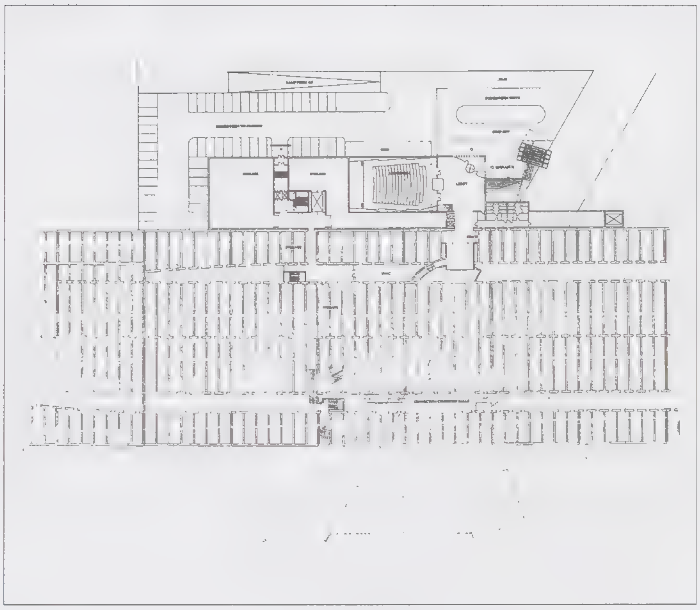
Guggenheim Museum
Project Team: Joseph Schmeighofer (Job Captain)
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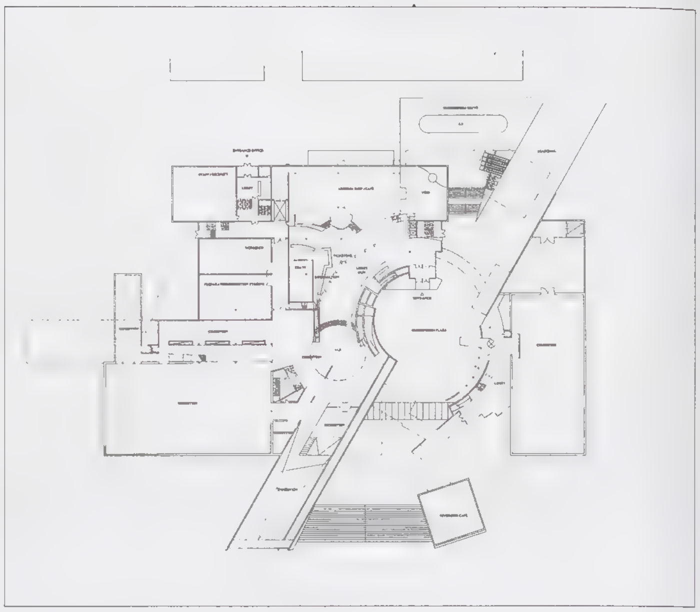
Volksschule
Project Team: Ulf Kotz (Project Architect), Klaus Matzenbichl
Consultants/consultants: Oswald Friedrich, Viktor Stelma (Structural)
Bauträger [illegible] G.m.b.H. (Mechanical/HVAC & [illegible])

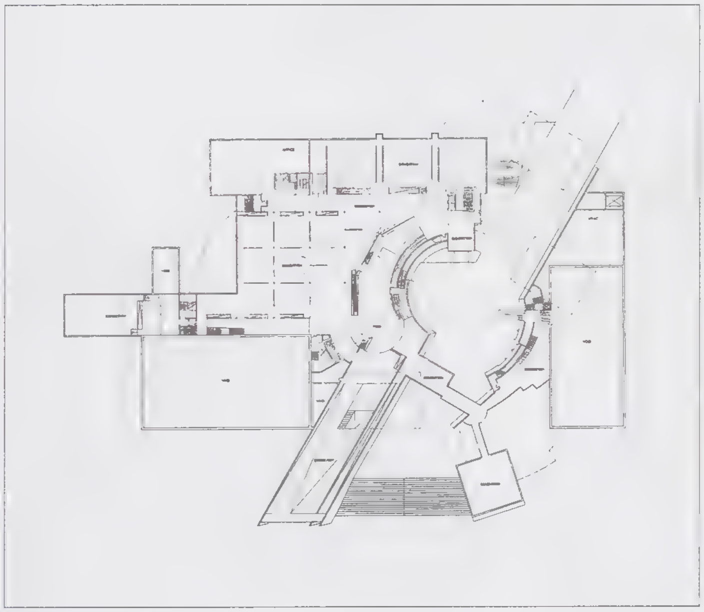


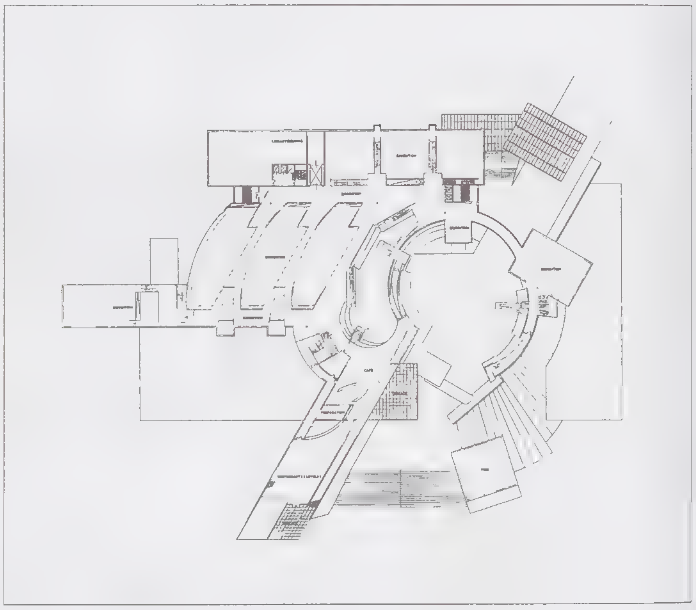
[illegible] Donaucity

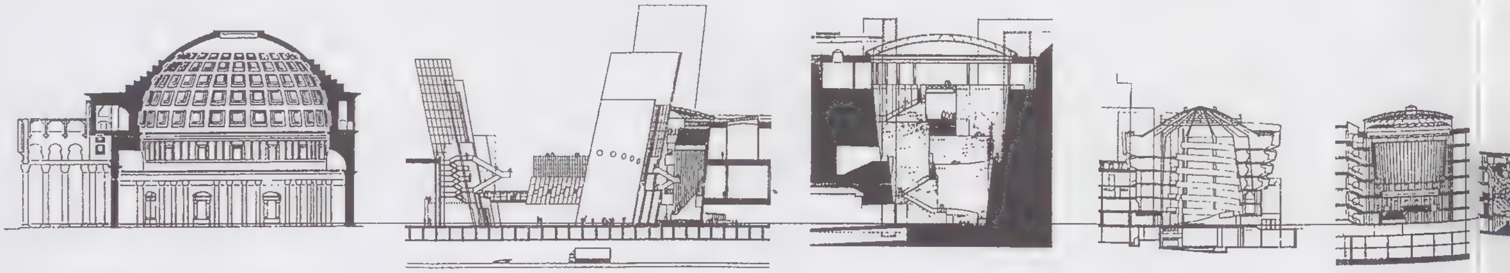
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Rundbauten im Vergleich Pantheon, Rom

Guggenheim, Wien

Guggenheim, Salzburg

Guggenheim, New York

Banco Santander, Mar

Guggenheim Museum e Scuola elementare a Donaucity, Vienna, Austria

Hans Hollein, in quanto vincitore del concorso internazionale del 1990-91 per la progettazione di un'Esposizione universale, è stato successivamente incaricato, caduta l'ipotesi dell'Esposizione universale, dell'elaborazione di un *master plan* iniziale di "Donaucity", un nuovo insediamento al di là del Danubio. In tale ambito un'area, originariamente destinata all'Esposizione universale, è stata progettata per ospitare edifici terziari, residenze e servizi culturali, ubicati di fronte al complesso delle Nazioni Unite.

Le autostrade esistenti sono state coperte con una piastra, attualmente terminata, su cui Hollein realizzerà una serie di edifici: una Scuola elementare (inizio previsto 1997), il Guggenheim Museum di Vienna (in attesa di decisione definitiva) e una piccola chiesa.

Il Guggenheim Museum, con una superficie lorda di mq 23.000, dispone di circa mq 11.000 di superficie coperta: uno spazio pubblico rotondo – una specie di giardino delle sculture verticale –, già appartenente all'area del museo, funge da ingresso per le diverse sezioni che compongono il Museo.

La Scuola elementare, costruita al di sopra della piastra, ne usa la cavità centrale per gli impianti e i locali tecnici. Una rampa taglia a metà il piano terreno; la sua copertura è usata come gradinata all'interno della *hall* multipiano, attorno alla quale sono raggruppate le classi in tre piani sopra quello d'ingresso. Un passaggio pubblico per pedoni, ciclisti e pompieri verso il Danubio taglia l'area alla quota sopraelevata del piano d'ingresso; attrezzature d'uso quotidiano, mensa e gli spazi per la ginnastica sono localizzati nel sottostante piano terreno.

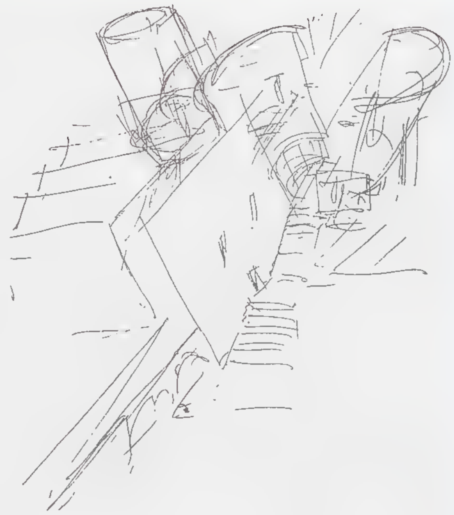
The Guggenheim Museum and Primary School, Donaucity, Vienna Austria

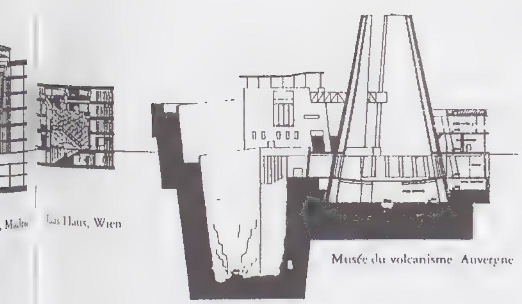
Hans Hollein has been – as prize-winner of the 1990-91 international competition for the master plan of a World Fair – responsible for an initial master plan for a new development across the Danube, the "Donaucity". Based on this concept, an area in front of the United Nations Complex was developed for office structure, housing and cultural buildings.

Existing highways are covered by a slab on which various buildings will be constructed. Construction of this slab is presently finished and Studio Hollein will be erecting a school (construction starting 1997) and, if decided positively, a Guggenheim Museum and a small church.

The Guggenheim Museum is going to be built on a site of 23.000 square meters, 11.000 of which are for the Museum complex itself; a circular, public space, a sort of vertical sculpture-garden, is the main entrance leading to the different sections of the Museum.

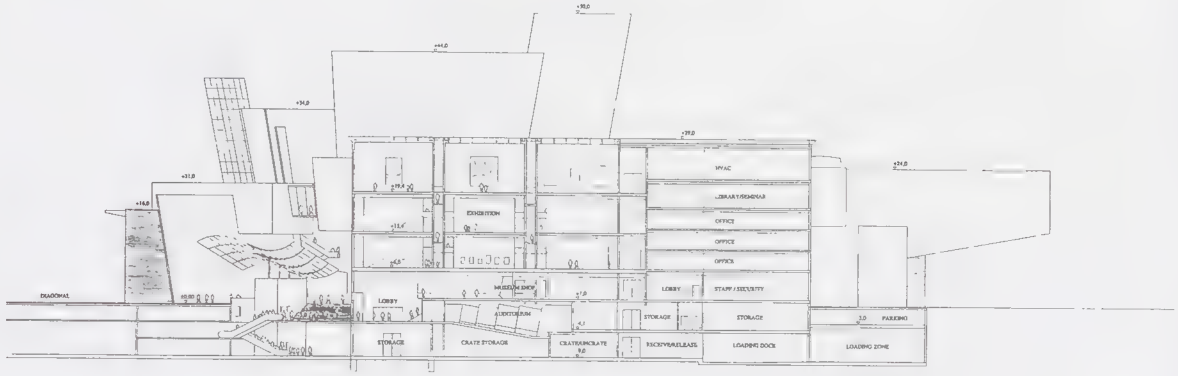
The primary school, on top of the slab, makes use of the hollow core-construction for technical installation and plant rooms. A ramp cuts halfway through the ground floor, the ceiling slab of which is used for an inclined seating arrangement within the multistorey hall, around which the classrooms are grouped in 3 storeys above entrance level. A public route to the Danube for pedestrians, bicycles and fire brigade transverses the relatively narrow site on a raised entrance level; daycare facilities and gymnastic and dining areas are located below on ground level.



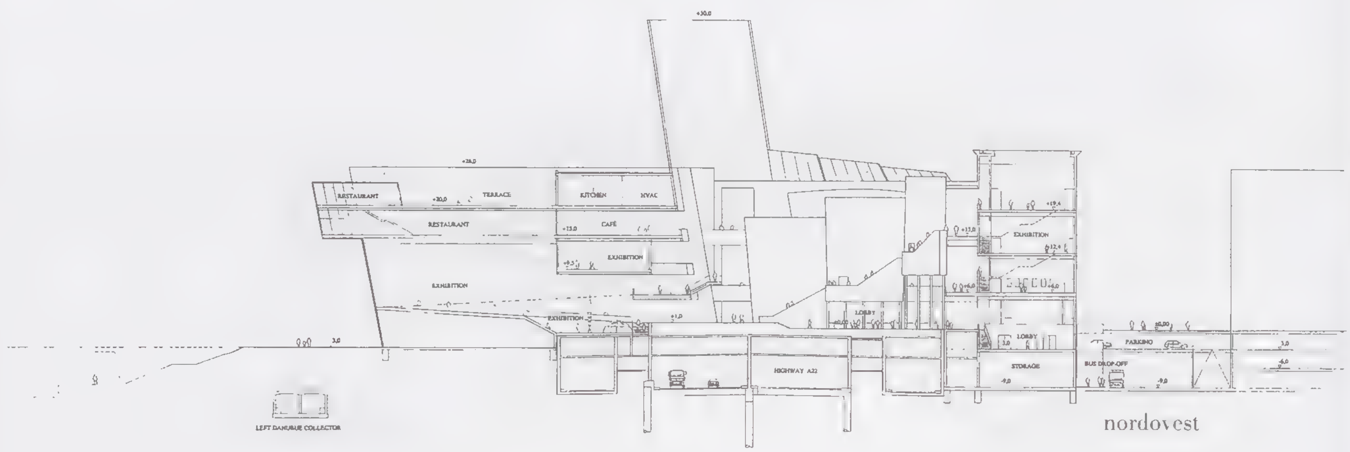


Piante dei piani primo interrato, terreno, primo e secondo del Museo.
Confronto di edifici con impianto a rotonda: da sinistra a destra, Pantheon, Roma; Guggenheim, Vienna; Guggenheim, Salisburgo; Guggenheim, New York; Banco Santander, Madrid; Haas Haus, Vienna; Musée de vulcanisme, Auvergne.
Schizzo di studio.

Plans of the basement, ground, first and second floors.
Comparison of round-plan edifices: left to right, Pantheon, Rome; Guggenheim, Vienna; Guggenheim, Salzburg; Guggenheim, New York; Santander Bank, Madrid; Haas Haus, Vienna; Musée de vulcanisme, Auvergne.
Working sketch.

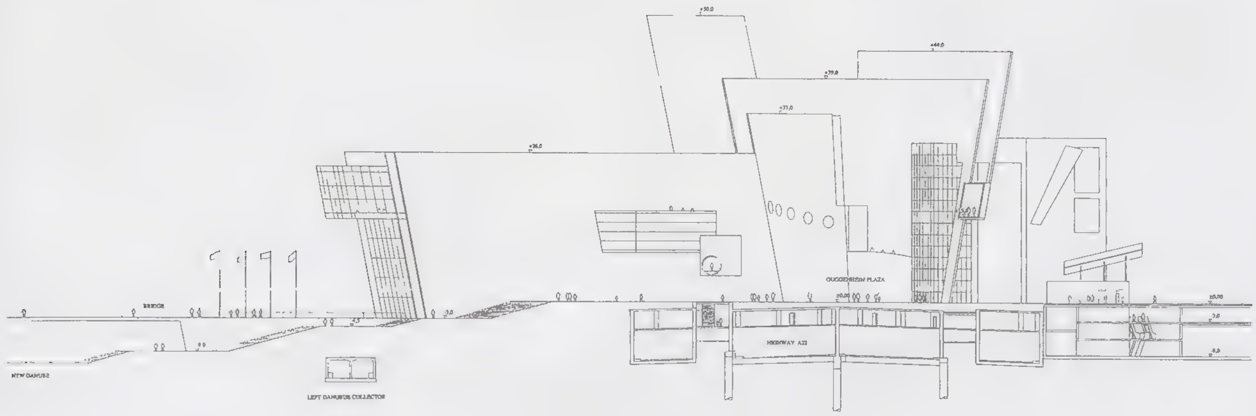


sudovest

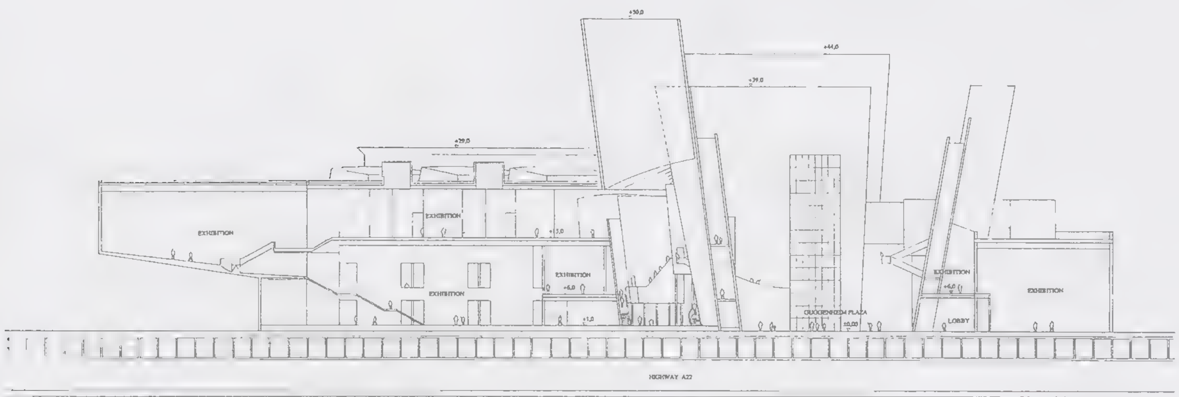


nordovest





nord



nordest

Sezioni verso sudovest, nordovest, nord e nordest del Museo.
Planimetria generale del progetto di Donaucity.

Sections toward southwest, northwest, north and northeast of the Museum.
General plan of the Donaucity project.

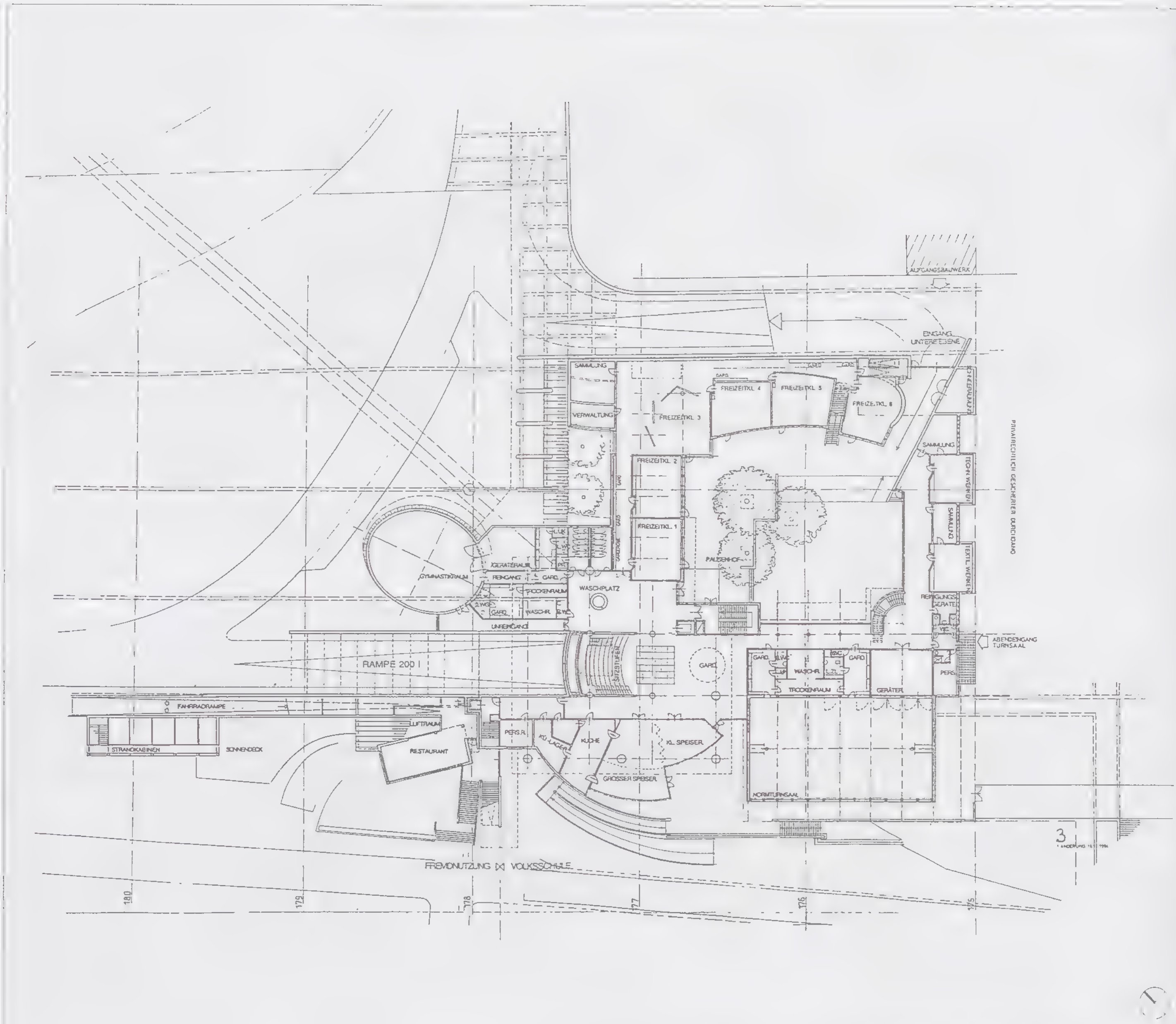


Viste del modello generale da sudovest e da sudest.
Vista del modello di dettaglio del Museo da nordovest.

Views of the overall model from southwest and southeast.
View of the detail model of the museum from northwest.

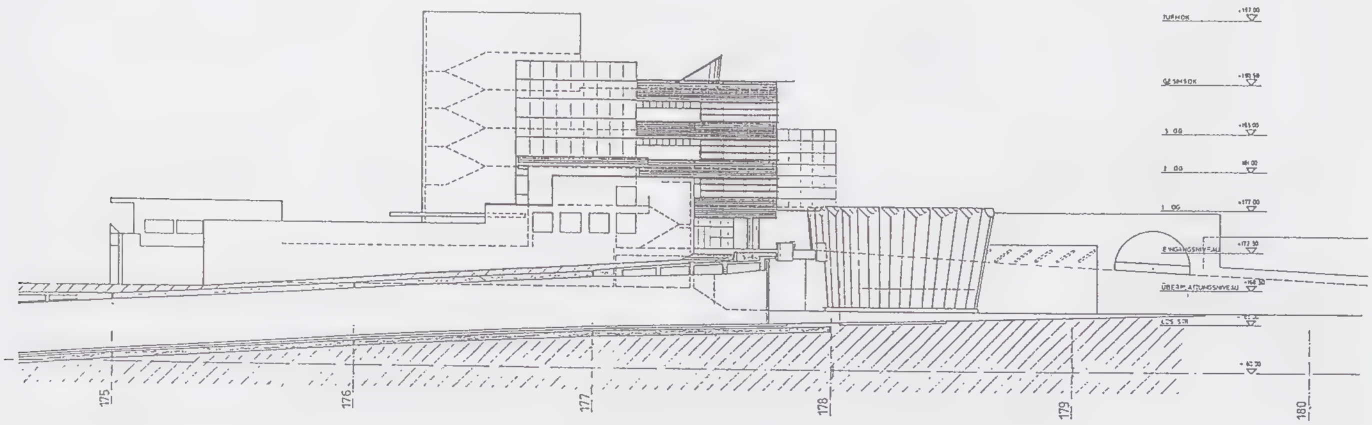


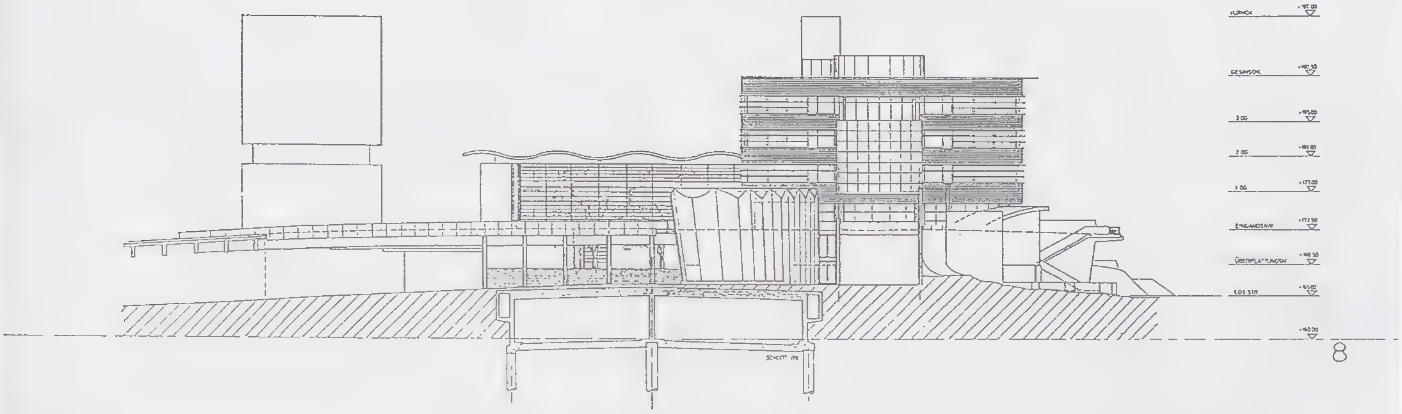




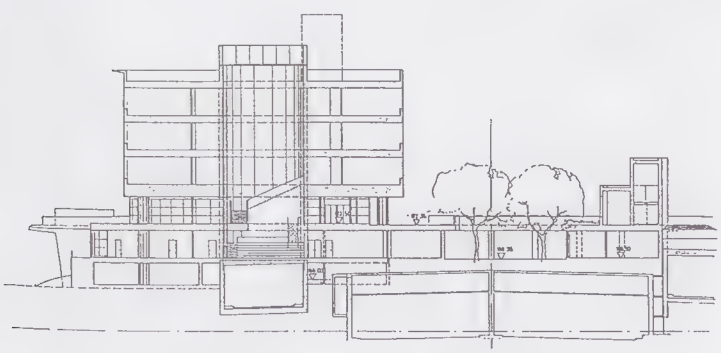
Pianta del piano terreno e sezioni verso nordest, sudest e nordovest della Scuola elementare.

Plan of the ground floor and sections toward northeast, southeast and northwest of the elementary school.





8









Viste del modello generale con la Scuola elementare.

Views of the overall model with the elementary school.

Padiglione specialistico e Dipartimento d'urgenza, Ospedale SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia

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Vista da ovest del Padiglione di de[illegible]

[illegible]

Padiglione specialistico e Dipartimento d'urgenza, Ospedale SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia



Padiglione specialistico e Dipartimento d'urgenza nell'Ospedale SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia
Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro

Il progetto di un Dipartimento d'urgenza, da realizzare mediante la ristrutturazione degli edifici dell'area compresa tra il Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo, il Rio dei Mendicanti e il Canale del Pianto, destinata a pratiche assistenziali, come dichiarato dalla stessa toponomastica, fin dal XVII secolo, prende avvio dopo la decisione di suddividere in due sistemi indipendenti l'organizzazione ospedaliera e sanitaria tra Mestre e Venezia. Tale decisione contribuisce all'abbandono definitivo del progetto di un unico ospedale a Venezia, come previsto nel concorso nazionale del 1963 e dal successivo progetto di Le Corbusier del 1964. Il Dipartimento d'urgenza costituisce una struttura nuova e complessa in cui la diagnostica e la terapia di rilevante impegno tecnologico prendono il sopravvento rispetto alla degenza. Un corpo di fabbrica quadrilatero, con accesso diretto dalla laguna, ospita il primo gruppo di funzioni, con un alto volume con corte interna di tre piani utili più due piani tecnologici. Il riferimento al Fondaco dei Turchi e ad altri palazzi veneziani con impianto a corte chiusa è d'obbligo. Le falde del tetto si giustappongono secondo paratassi e si aprono sulle laterali con serliane che confermano una poliprospetticità, nel senso che alla prospettiva dominante secondo l'asse ottico principale (arrivo acqueo, darsena, cavana, ingresso, corte, portico semiaperto longitudinale) si contrappone una prospettiva per espansione laterale. Anche nella variazione interna delle fronti della corte, sui due lati opposti occupate da balconate, si ha la medesima contrapposizione tra due direttrici ottiche che scompongono la prospettiva.
Il volume longitudinale di degenza è costituito dall'accostamento di dieci campate voltate a botte sul prospetto ma in profondità coperte a due falde, con rivestimento in piombo e sulle quali avanzano grossi gocciolatoi. Qui è da sottolineare la distinzione tra facciata, rivestita in pietra grigia di bardiglio e verde Alpi, e retro, finito in marmorino. L'importante portico a doppia altezza è cassettonato e costituisce il prolungamento di una calle esterna entro il precinto ospedaliero fino all'incrocio dei traffici pedonali tra i padiglioni. I partiti architettonici dei due fronti sfuggono l'effetto *sandwich* dei lunghi solai sovrapposti tipici degli ospedali, costruiti come sono, con la impaginazione delle impennate tra coronamento e basamento, entro i limiti forti delle mezze colonne aggettanti.
L'ampliamento di un piccolo fabbricato dove sono state ubicate due divisioni specialistiche ha costituito un banco di prova per alcune esercitazioni figurative sul fronte lagunare nord. Quattro volumi stretti e alti, equidistanti, si presentano come una "pattuglia" di quattro nuovi personaggi, la cui fisiognomica è basata sulla formula "tema e variazione".
Coerentemente con il loro carattere di edilizia minore sono finiti in coccio pesto e non in pietra o marmorino. Successivo al progetto del Dipartimento quello di un padiglione tecnico, in mattoni e strutture a vista in ferro e cemento. Seguendo la tesi per cui la progettazione nella città antica ha da essere diversa edificio per edificio, si hanno in questi progetti non solo eclettismi di linguaggio, ma, in alcuni "capricci", come nella scala di sicurezza del corpo di degenza o nei torrini d'angolo del corpo a corte, si ha la compresenza, nello stesso corpo di fabbrica, di linguaggi a prima vista incompatibili, una citazione storicista trattata con ironia, un'esaltazione tecnologica spinta verso il basso (verso una sorta di "*low-tech*" contro quella "*high*"), una geometria neo-razionalista: tutte insieme convocate per un paradosso inteso a demistificare la pretesa assolutistica dell'originario configurarsi della forma, in partenza concepita come forma bella, classica, armonica, pura.

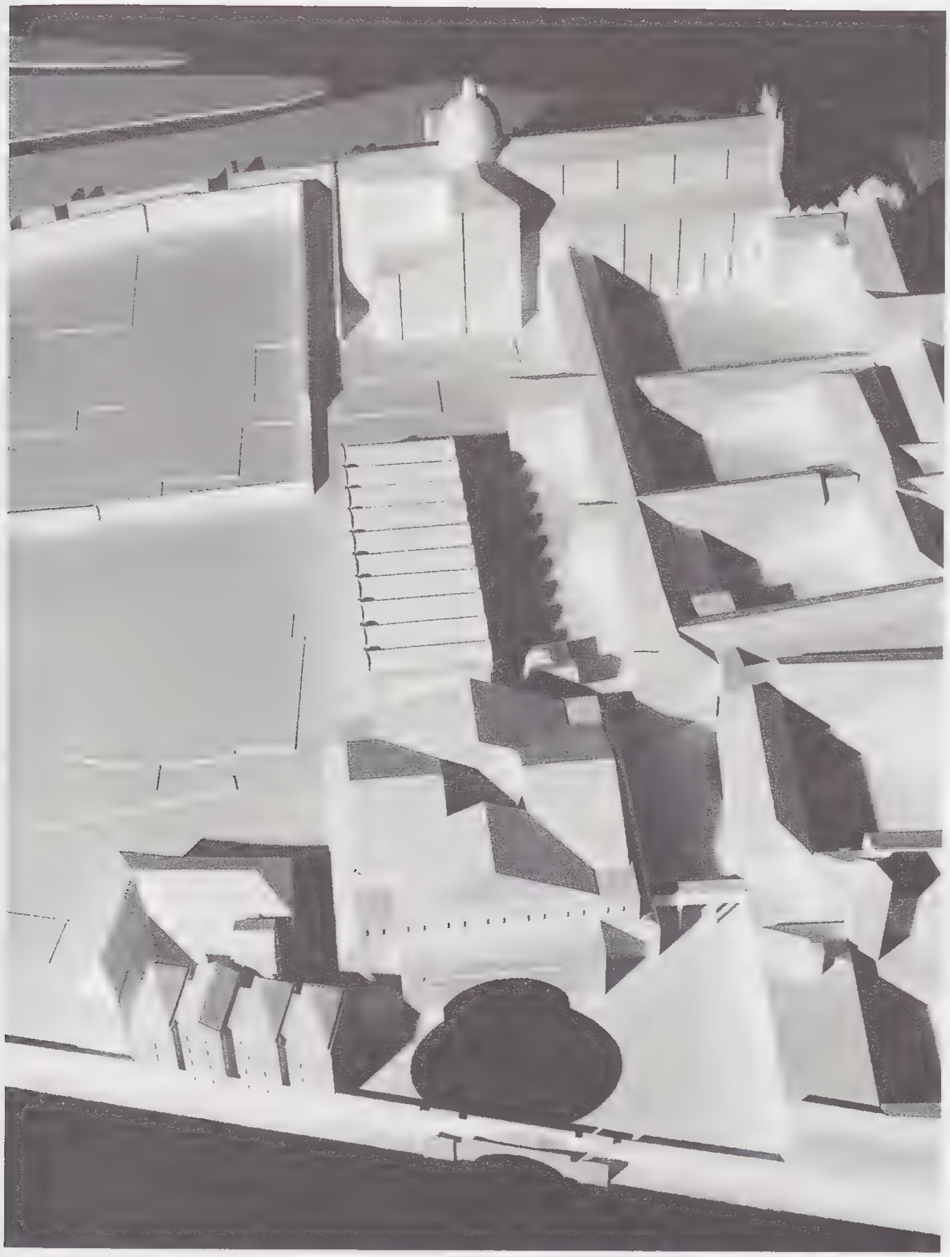
Specialities Pavilion and Emergency Unit of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo Hospital, Venice, Italy
Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro

The project for an Emergency Unit, to be created through the restructuring of the edifices in the area bordered by Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Rio dei Mendicanti and the Canale del Pianto, an area set aside for activities of assistance, in keeping with these place names, since the 17th century, took form following the decision to divide the public health facilities of Venice and Mestre into two separate systems. This decision contributed to the definitive abandonment of the project for a single hospital in Venice, as envisioned in the national competition of 1963 and in the subsequent design by Le Corbusier in 1964. The Emergency Unit represents a new, complex structure, in which the focus is on diagnostics and therapy, with a high technological level, rather than on in-patient care. A quadrilateral building, with direct access from the lagoon, houses the first group of facilities, in a tall volume (three storeys for clinical spaces and two storeys for technological plant) with internal courtyard. The obligatory typological reference is that of the Fondaco dei Turchi and other Venetian buildings with closed courtyards. The pitches of the roof are paratactically juxtaposed and open at the sides with serlianas which confirm a multiple perspective, in the sense that the dominant perspective, along the principal visual axis (arrival from the water, dock, mooring, entrance, courtyard, semi-open longitudinal portico), is contrasted by a perspective of lateral expansion. The same type of contrast between two visual axes, varying the perspective, can be seen in the internal variations of the facades on the courtyard, with balconies on the two opposite sides. The longitudinal volume of the in-patient Unit is composed of the combination of ten spans which are barrel-vaulted in elevation, but



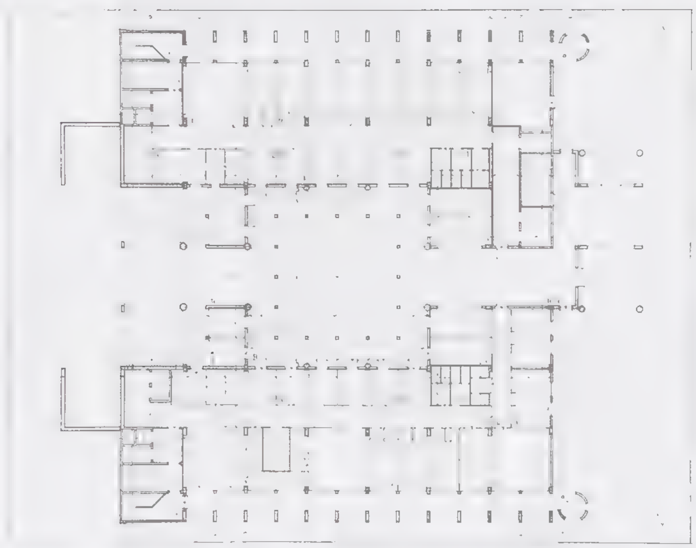
Vista del modello dal Canale delle Fondamenta Nuove.
Viste aeree del complesso dell'Ospedale Civile: 1) Convento dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo, XIII-XV sec.; 2) Scuola Grande di San Marco, 1487-1546; 3) Ospedale di San Lazzaro e Mendicanti, XVII sec.; 4) Santa Maria del Pianto,1647-59; 5) Padiglioni costruiti alla fine del XIX sec.; 6) Padiglione Iona, 1934; 7) Padiglione Gaggia, 1951; 8) Scuola infermieri professionali, 1956.

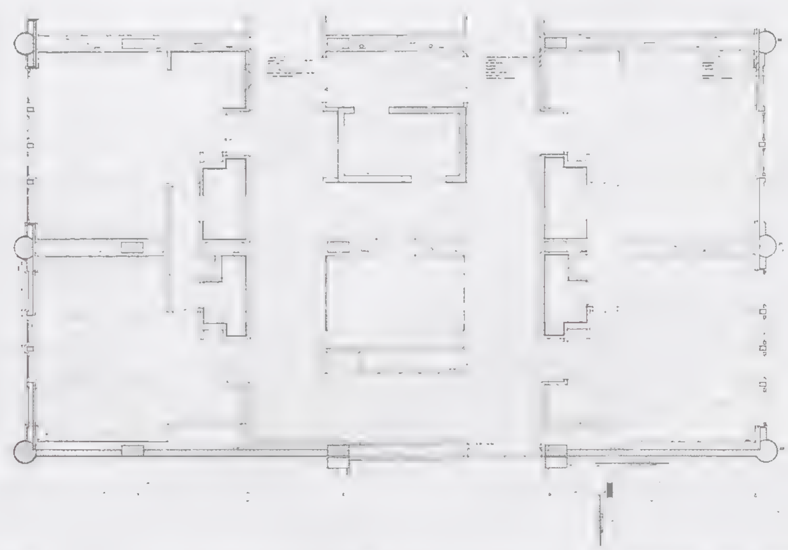
View of the model from the Canale delle Fondamenta Nuove.
Aerial views of the Ospedale Civile complex: 1) Convento dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 13th-15th c.; 2) Scuola Grande di San Marco, 1487-1546; 3) Ospedale di San Lazzaro e Mendicanti, 17th c.; 4) Santa Maria del Pianto,1647-59; 5) Pavilions built toward the end of the 19th c.; 6) Padiglione Iona, 1934; 7) Padiglione Gaggia, 1951; 8) Professional nursing school, 1956.



covered by two pitches, in depth, clad in lead, with large protruding drip mouldings. Here the important feature is the distinction between the facade, faced in Alpine green and grey Bardiglio stone, and the back, faced in marmoreal stone. The imposing two-storey portico is coffered, and constitutes the extension of an external calle *inside the hospital complex, reaching the intersection of pedestrian traffic to and from the pavilions. The architectural design of the two fronts avoids the sandwich effect of the long layers of floors typical of most modern hospitals by means of vertical segments extending from the roof to the foundation, framed by protruding half-columns. The expansion of a small building, containing two specialist divisions, has become a testing ground for certain figurative exercises on the northern front, facing the lagoon. Four tall, narrow, equidistant volumes appear like a sort of "patrol" group of four new figures, whose physiognomy is based on the formula "theme and variations". In keeping with their character as minor elements, they are faced in crushed earthenware rather than stone or marmoreal. After the project for the Emergency Unit came the design of a Specialities Pavilion, in brick, with an exposed iron and concrete structure. In keeping with the theory that the design of the historical city should be diversified, building by building, these designs feature not only a linguistic eclecticism, but also certain "caprices", as in the emergency staircase of the in-patient wards, or in the small corner towers of the courtyard edifice; combining, in a single edifice, languages which, at first glance, are incompatible: historical citations treated with irony, an emphasis on technology taken to elementary extremes (toward a sort of "low-tech" as opposed to "high-tech"), a neo-rationalist geometry. All of these elements are combined in a paradox, with the aim of demystifying the absolutist pretext of the original configuration of form, conceived from the outset as beautiful, harmonious, classical, pure.*





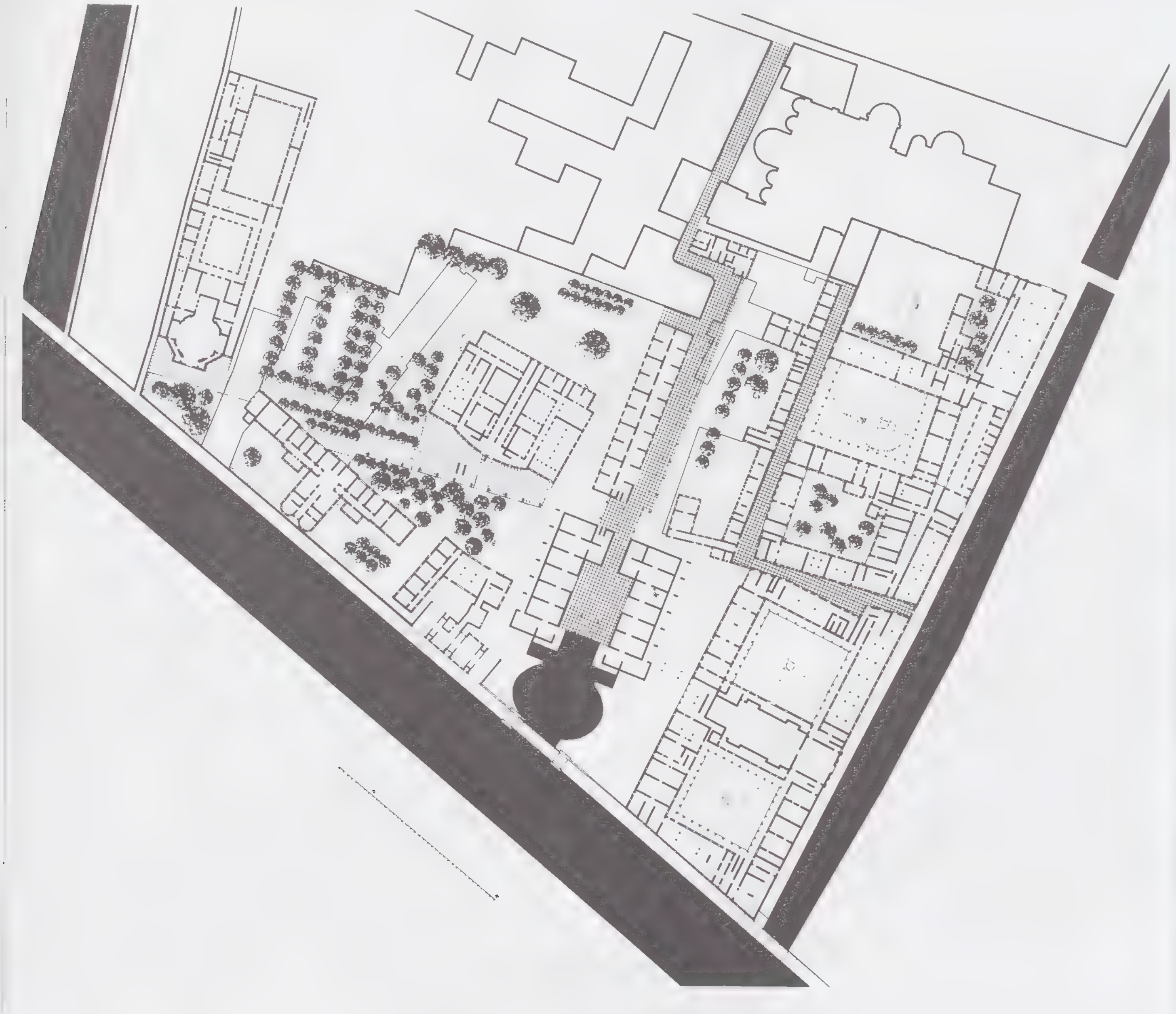


Pianta del piano terreno del Padiglione d'urgenza.
Pianta di dettaglio del piano tipo del Padiglione di degenza.
Planimetria generale.
Sezione longitudinale e prospetto nord dei Padiglioni d'urgenza e di degenza.

Plan of the ground floor of the Emergency Unit.
Detail plan of the typical floorplan of the in-patient Unit.
General plan.
Longitudinal section and northern elevation of the Emergency and the in-patient Units.









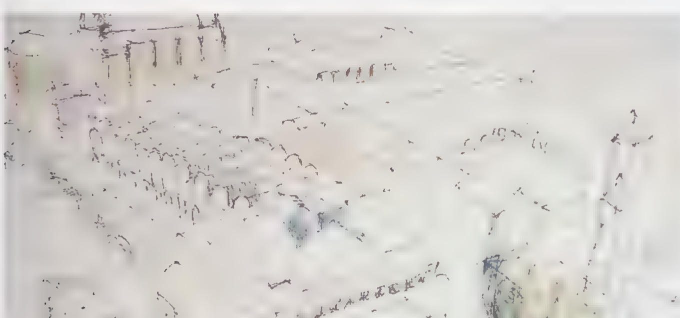
Schizzi di studio di Luciano Semerani.
Disegno di studio di Gigetta Tamaro
per il Padiglione di degenza.
Paura di Venezia, *schizzo di studio*
di Luciano Semerani.

Working sketches by Luciano Semerani.
Working drawing by Gigetta Tamaro
for the in-patient Unit.
Fear of Venice, *working sketch*
by Luciano Semerani.







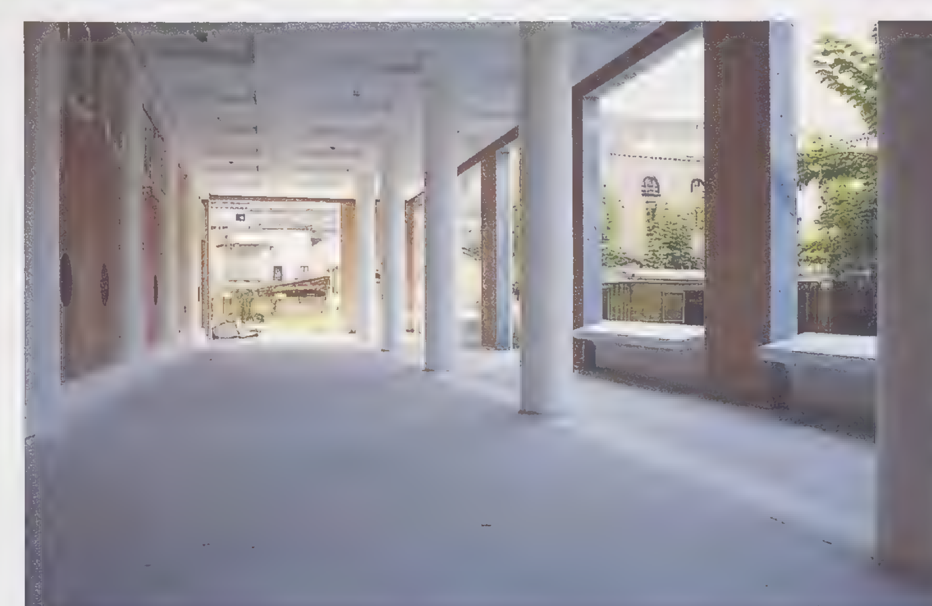






Viste da est e del portico del Padiglione di degenza.

Views from the east and of the portico of the in-patient Unit.







Viste da est e del portico
del Padiglione di degenza.

Views from the east and of the portico of the in-patient Unit.



Viste di dettaglio del Padiglione di degenza da ovest.
Foto P. Sacco.

Detail views of the in-patient Unit from the west.
Photos P. Sacco.














Viste del Padiglione specialistico
dalle Fondamenta Nuove e dettaglio.

Views of the specialities Pavilion
from the Fondamenta Nuove, and detail.







Viste del Padiglione specialistico dalle Fondamenta Nuove e dettaglio.

Views of the specialities Pavilion from the Fondamenta Nuove, and detail.





Vista del Padiglione di degenza con sul fondo la Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo e il campanile di San Marco. Foto L. Ghirri.

View of the in-patient Unit with the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and the steeple of St. Mark's in the background. Photo L. Ghirri.



Vista del Padiglione di degenza con sul fondo la Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo e il campanile di San Marco. Foto L. Ghirri.

View of the in-patient Unit with the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and the steeple of St. Mark's in the background. Photo L. Ghirri.

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *and* ***Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese*** *and* ***Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;* ***Kurt W. Forster*** *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

Guido Canella *Beyond Legitimate Preservation;* ***Ernesto N. Rogers*** *The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi*** *Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas;* ***James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Poultry n. 1 in London;* ***Colin St. John Wilson*** *Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola*** *The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *Department of Architecture in Genoa;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida;* ***Drexel Turner*** *Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America;* ***Gianugo Polesello*** *University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.*

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *and* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown*** *and* ***Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la citta? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

Who designs the city? *Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning;* ***Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek*** *60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism;* ***Bruno Flierl*** *Stalinallee in Berlin;* ***Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli*** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium;* ***Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi*** *Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London;* ***Micha Bandini*** *Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate;* ***Gian Franco Di Pietro*** *Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini*** *A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence;* ***Giovanni Klaus Koenig*** *About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers*** *Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

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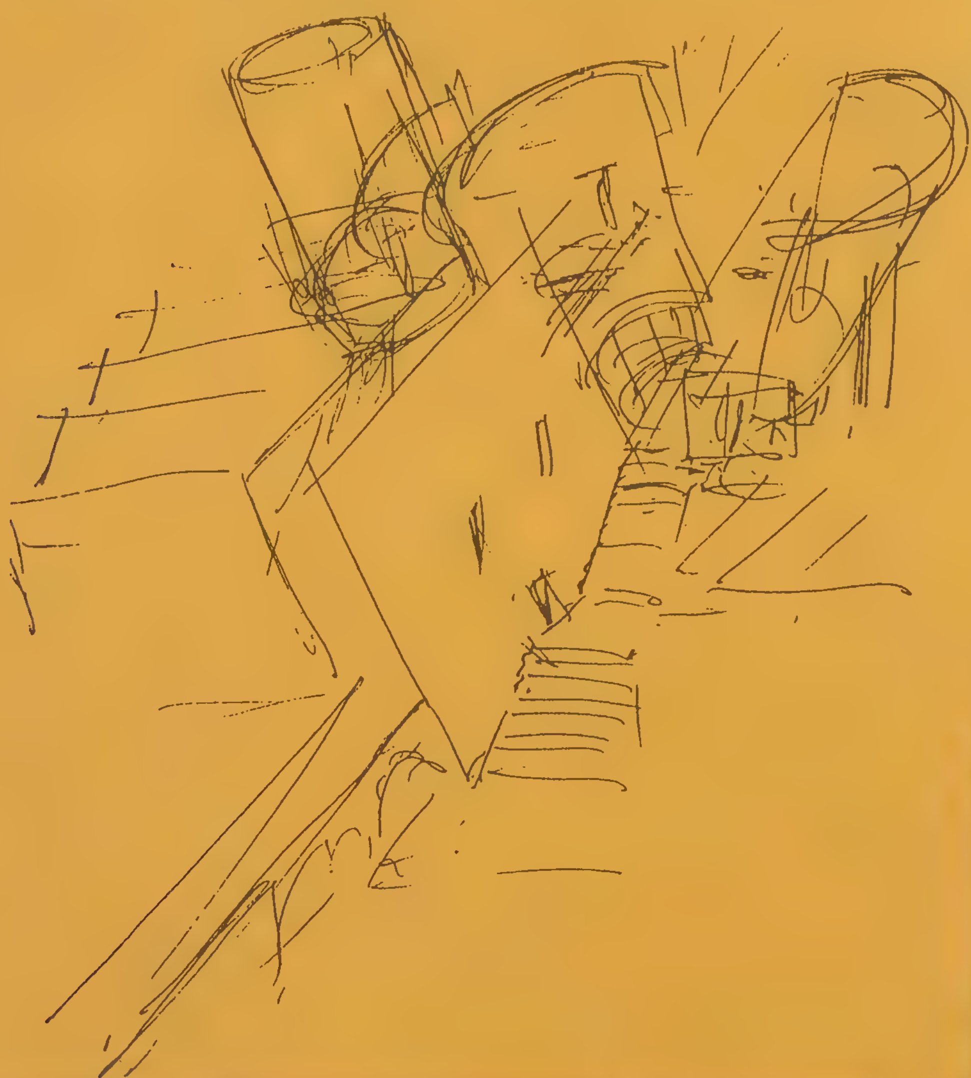
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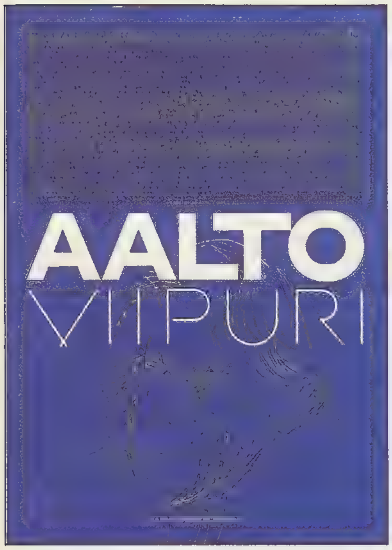
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La seconda parte illustra la mostra collettiva "Cento Architetti con Alvar Aalto" organizzata dal Comitato Italiano Aalto/Viipuri, in collaborazione con Finarte, a Milano nel settembre 1995.
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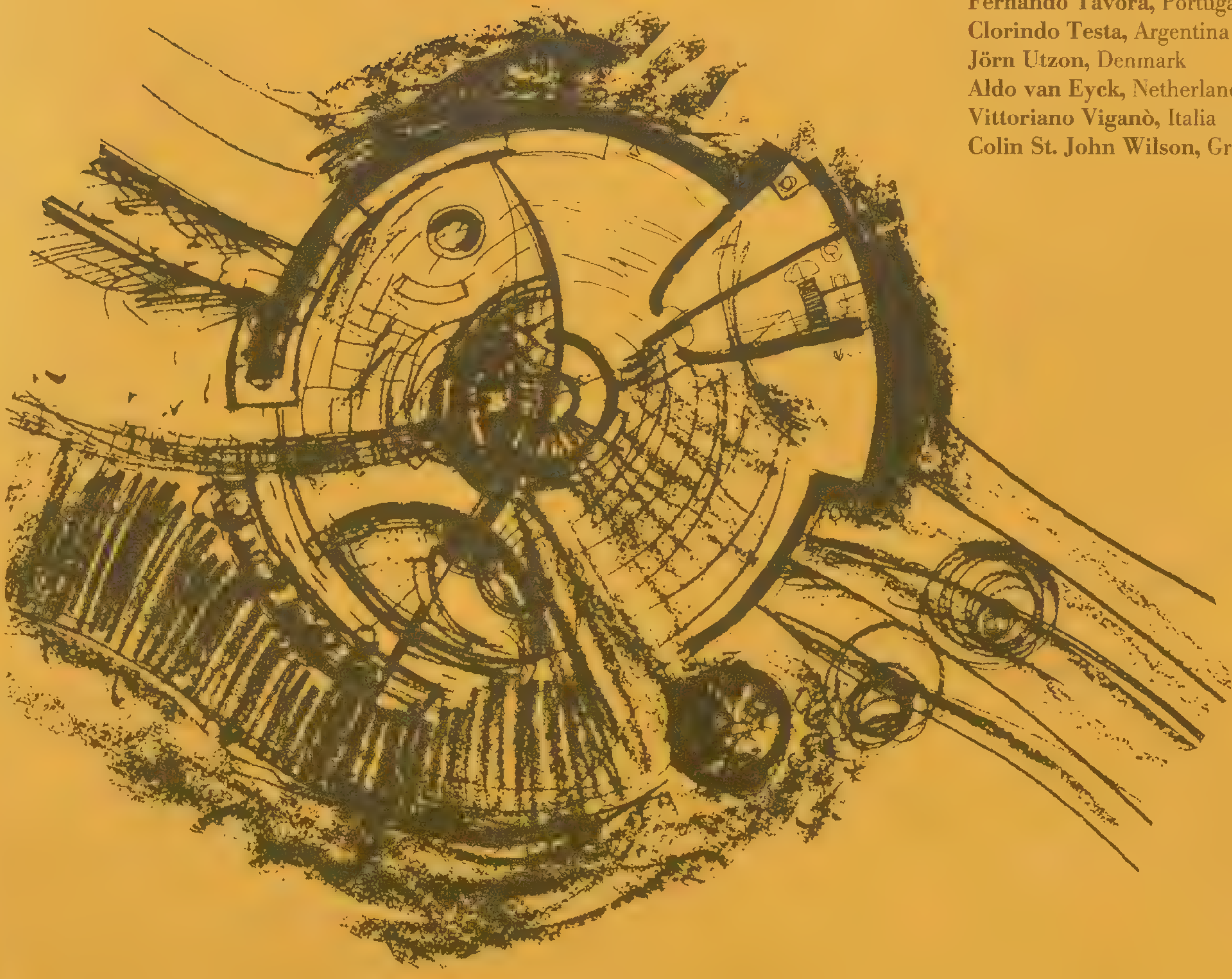
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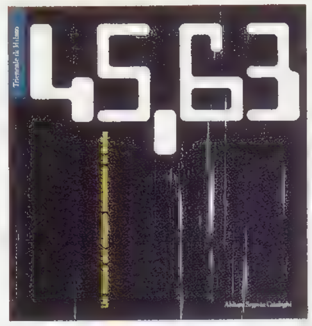
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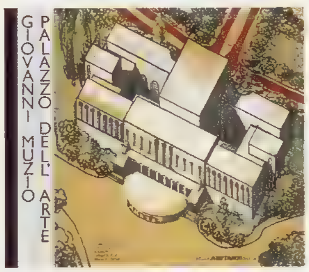
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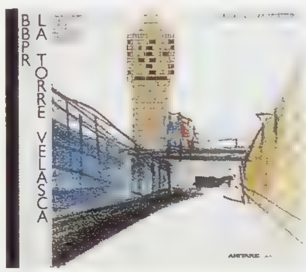
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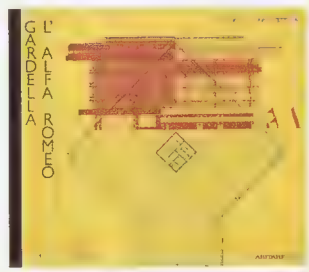
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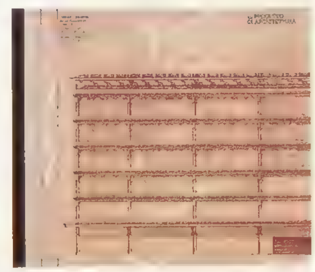
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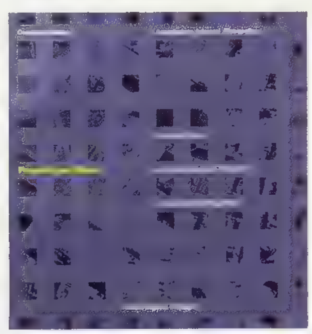
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Zodiac 16

Sommario/*Contents*

Quella "terza generazione" di Giedion

Guido Canella

Nel testo pubblicato sul n. 14 della prima serie di "Zodiac" (aprile 1965) con il titolo *A new chapter of Space Time and Architecture: Jörn Utzon and the third generation*, Siegfried Giedion, fedele al concetto di continuità a partire dalla rivoluzione del Movimento Moderno, si provava a delineare i caratteri poetici della terza generazione.
È ovvio che in genere gli atteggiamenti culturali non sottostanno rigidamente a condizionamenti cronologici. Eppure, in un panorama sinottico, l'estrazione di certi caratteri generazionali, se condotta con certa elasticità, può contribuire a chiarire l'avvicendarsi del gusto.
Comunque è da supporre che per Giedion la prima generazione comprendesse all'incirca i nati tra il 1880 e il 1895, la seconda tra il 1895 e il 1910, la terza tra il 1910 e il 1925.
Non si può che apprezzare l'impegno e certo acume critico del venerabile segretario dei CIAM, poiché la sua disamina era condotta, se non proprio *ex-ante*, certo ancora nel farsi poetico della terza generazione, e perciò spesso fondata sulle intenzioni dichiarate più che su risultati conclusivi dei protagonisti. Così che quella di Giedion potrebbe assumersi come una critica operativa, un atteggiamento questo la cui liceità, pur oggi assai controversa, può riuscire di certa utilità, dacché qua e là si profilano rivendicazioni di riconoscimento avanzate dietro lo scudo generazionale.
Sosteneva Giedion:
"Abbiamo davanti a noi il lavoro di tre generazioni di uomini che hanno partecipato all'edificazione dell'architettura di questo secolo. Ci sono differenze tra queste generazioni, ma è significativo il fatto che, pur rimanendo fedele a se stessa, nessuna ha reputato necessario rinunciare ai suoi predecessori; così ciascuna è riuscita a portare avanti ciò che la generazione precedente aveva cominciato. Negli anni '50 entrò in scena la terza generazione di architetti. Qual è la loro relazione con lo sviluppo dagli anni '20 in poi?
– L'orientamento sociale è portato avanti: una più cosciente considerazione per il cliente anonimo.
– Progettazione aperta: l'incorporazione del mutare delle condizioni come elemento positivo del progetto.
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– Il diritto dell'espressione al di sopra della pura funzione".
Ecco perché a trent'anni di distanza sembra interessante confrontare l'intuizione di Giedion con alcune opere della maturità e alcune testimonianze dei principali protagonisti nel tentativo di un sommario inventario di generazione.

That "third generation" of Giedion

Guido Canella

In the essay published in no. 14 of the first series of "Zodiac" (April 1965), with the title A new chapter of Space Time and Architecture: Jörn Utzon and the third generation, *Siegfried Giedion, faithful to the concept of continuity beginning with the revolution of the Modern Movement, attempted to outline the poetics of the "third generation".*
It is evident that, in general, cultural attitudes are not rigidly connected to chronological factors. Nevertheless, in a synoptic context, the identification of certain characteristics of one generation, if carried out with a certain elasticity, can contribute to a clarification of the evolution of taste.
We can suppose that for Giedion the first generation includes figures born between 1880 and 1895, the second between 1895 and 1910, the third between 1910 and 1925.
We cannot help but recognize the commitment and the critical acumen of the venerable secretary of the CIAM, since his investigation was conducted, if not exactly ex-ante, *at least during the formulative phase of the poetics of the third generation, and is therefore often based more on declarations of intent than on concrete results achieved by the protagonists. Thus Giedion's investigation could be assumed as an operative critique, an approach whose legitimacy, even though controversial today, could turn out to be rather useful, as various revendications of recognition emerge based on classification by generation.*
Giedion wrote:
"We have before us the work of three generations of men concerned with building up the architecture of this century. There are differences between these generations, but what is significant is that, while being true to itself, none has felt it necessary to renounce its forebears, and each has thus been able to carry forward what the earlier generation had begun. In the Fifties the third generation of architects began its activity. How do they stand in relation to the development since the Twenties?
– The social orientation is pushed further: a more conscious regard for the anonymous client.
– Open-ended planning: the incorporation of changing conditions as a positive element of the plan.
– Incorporation of traffic as a positive element of urban planning.
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– Further strengthening of the sculptural tendencies in architecture. A freer relationship between inner and outer space and between volumes in space.
– The right of expression over pure function."
This is why, thirty years later, we feel it is of interest to compare Giedion's outlook with some of the mature works and statements of the leading players of the third generation, in an attempt to make an assessment. An assessment that is also important because of the fact that the central

Interessante anche dacché in questi ultimi anni il nucleo centrale di questa terza generazione (approssimativamente qui circoscritto ai nati intorno al 1920), pur comprendendo personalità di indubbio valore poetico, pare generalmente soffrire di certa obnubilazione sui periodici di architettura, quasi fosse da ritenere il suo un contributo concluso, se non addirittura *demodé*.

D'altra parte questa costatazione potrebbe aprire un interrogativo, tuttora d'attualità, sul vigere di una sorta di predestinazione, ovvero su quanto incidano, soprattutto in architettura, circostanze contestuali sul libero sviluppo creativo di ogni poetica. Il che, paradossalmente, equivarrebbe a chiedersi se in questa terza generazione sarebbe riuscita possibile l'affermazione di personalità titaniche come talune della prima (Le Corbusier, Gropius, Mies, Oud, Mel'nikov), ma anche stilisticamente perentorie come talune della seconda (Aalto, Kahn, Leonidov, Terragni, Niemeyer).

Ovviamente, per non incorrere nel determinismo, ogni tentativo di generalizzare non può non lasciare ampi margini all'eccezione. Così che i caratteri colti prospetticamente da Giedion non vanno assunti come costanti, ma come valenze volta a volta e più o meno saturate nell'evolversi di ogni personalità.

Tanto che il variare dei motivi di ispirazione nel tempo, a distanza di trent'anni, per questa più che per altre generazioni può essere interpretato non come attitudine alla contraddizione, semmai allo sperimentalismo delle intenzioni e delle occasioni. E ciò vale sia per la suggestione figurativa (astrattismo geometrico, art brut, neoempirismo, organicismo, neorealismo, ecc.), che si sovrapponeva e corrodeva l'eredità delle avanguardie storiche e dei Maestri, ma anche per quella tecnologica (da uno scabro minimalismo costruttivo al congegno sofisticato); e perfino per il comportamento votato all'impegno dove, allo schieramento delle generazioni precedenti sul fronte comune dell'architettura moderna, questa terza contrapponeva sodalizi generazionali, perloppiù mirati alla critica interna al Movimento Moderno (basti pensare al rapporto edipico coi CIAM); sodalizi costituiti, elitariamente e temporaneamente, da individualità ben distinte, che coltivavano gelosamente la propria autonomia ideologica, tra opera e vita, tra progetto e atteggiamento, talora fino al compiacimento nell'autobiografia, nell'autoritratto con una punta di dandysmo o di snobismo.

Un ruolo decisivo vi ha giocato poi il rapporto con la committenza, dacché la vocazione sociale (comunque individuale), indicata come prima da Giedion, è valsa assai più per l'architettura europea e giapponese alle prese con lo scenario diruto lasciato dalla guerra, quando l'intervento pubblico era necessariamente puntato sulla ricostruzione. Mentre quella nordamericana, con poche e comunque diverse eccezioni – come nota Peter Blake –, si prestava già a fornire con il modernismo dell'International Style un timbro di eccentricità alla *élite* borghese e un marchio di efficienza alle grandi corporazioni finanziarie.

Negli Stati Uniti le prime generazioni di architetti moderni si erano coltivate in alternativa a un eclettico professionismo commerciale, filtrando il radicalismo figurativo dei Maestri europei immigrati a varie riprese negli anni Venti e Trenta (Schindler e Neutra, Lescaze e Stonorov,

figures of this generation (approximately defined as those born in the vicinity of the year 1920), in spite of their evident talents, are generally overlooked in recent architectural publishing, as if their contribution had been considered concluded, or even demodé.

This fact also raises another question, still a timely one, regarding the effects of a kind of predestination, or the impact, especially in architecture, of contextual circumstances on the free creative development of poetics. Paradoxically, this is tantamount to asking whether, in this third generation, it would have been possible for titanic figures to emerge, like those of the first generation (Le Corbusier, Gropius, Mies, Oud, Mel'nikov), or even strong stylistic figures like those of the second generation (Aalto, Kahn, Leonidov, Terragni, Niemeyer).

Obviously, in order to avoid the trap of determinism, any attempt at generalization must leave ample room for exceptions. Therefore the characteristics noted by Giedion cannot be taken as constants, but as values of variable importance in the evolution of each single personality concerned.

In fact the variations over time of the motives of inspiration, thirty years later, for this more than any other generation can be interpreted not as a propensity for contradiction, but as an approach of experiment in intentions and opportunities. This is true of the figurative suggestions (geometric abstraction, art brut, neoempiricism, organicism, neorealism, etc.), which overlapped and corroded the legacy of the historical avant-gardes and the Masters, but it is also true of the technological side (ranging from harsh minimalism to sophisticated application); it is even true of the aspects of commitment, where with respect to the positions of the preceding generations in the common front of modern architecture, this third generation presents groupings and affinities involving an internal critique of the Modern Movement (just consider its Oedipal relationship with the CIAM), alliances based, in temporary elites, on well-defined individual personalities who jealously guard their ideological autonomy, between work and life, project and posture, even to the point of autobiographical celebration, self-portraiture with a dash of dandyism or snobbery.

A decisive role in this situation has also been played by the relations with the clientele, because the social vocation (albeit individual), observed as a main concern by Giedion, has been more pertinent for European and Japanese architects, involved in the destroyed landscape of the postwar period, when the public policy was necessarily oriented towards reconstruction. In North America, on the other hand, with only a few exceptions – as Peter Blake points out – this generation was busy supplying, with the modernism of the International Style, a mark of eccentricity for the bourgeois elite, and a sign of efficiency for the large corporations.

In the United States the first generations of modern architects had fostered an alternative to eclectic commercial professionalism, filtering the figurative radicalism of the European masters who arrived in America, in various stages, during the Twenties and Thirties (Schindler and Neutra, Lescaze and Stonorov, Gropius and Breuer, Mies and Sert). Nevertheless with the approach of the war, during and after, they moved toward a more typically "American" approach, especially in the areas of congenial

Gropius e Breuer, Mies e Sert). Tuttavia, all'approssimarsi della guerra, durante e successivamente, esse avevano cercato una tipicità più propriamente "americana", soprattutto applicandosi a temi congeniali quali il grattacielo e la villa-*cottage*, dove si rendeva possibile la declinazione degli eroici trascorsi della Scuola di Chicago e del Bay Region Style. Su questa inclinazione erano confluiti la disponibilità di tecnologie semplificate, con la spregiudicata commistione di materiali (acciaio, vetro, legno, pietra) ma, soprattutto, il recupero poetico di due grandi personalità, F.L.Wright e Wurster, man mano che dal pionierismo protomoderno la critica e la storiografia ne scopriva l'attualità capace di aderire alle radici autoctone e alle attese della committenza privata. E sebbene Gropius, soprattutto dopo la fondazione del TAC, avesse dimostrato una inaspettata duttilità professionale, gli si preferivano Mies e Breuer, più facilmente assimilabili a quei filoni tematici tradizionali, sui quali si riteneva possibile impostare l'arco, teso da costa a costa, di una nuova architettura americana. Infatti doveva ancora compiersi la sintesi archeologica di Louis Kahn. Mentre Le Corbusier, nel panorama USA dell'immediato dopoguerra, restava un riferimento ancora lontano, soltanto riflesso, quasi metaforicamente evocato nella sua idea per il Palazzo dell'ONU a New York, realizzato da altri tra il 1947 e il 1950.
Fu quindi la terza generazione (coi vari Bunshaft, Eero Saarinen, Barnes, Johansen, Pei, Catalano e, soprattutto, coi nati intorno al 1920: Rudolph, Soleri, Blake, Giurgola, Netsch, Franzen, Ellwood, Roche) ad assumere come compito quello di forzare, gradualmente e volta a volta, la stereometria miesiana o l'organicità wrightiana attraverso lo scavo chiaroscurale, e talora perfino con il suo ruvido plasticismo, dell'ultimo Le Corbusier.
L'ossessione comunicativa della cultura democratica americana fece sì che proprio qui l'architettura moderna, prima dell'esplosione televisiva, trovasse quel consenso di massa, mai ottenuto fino ad allora in Europa, che si formulò nella versione popolarizzata di *International Style*, così discriminando da subito gli interpreti del Moderno sui due versanti opposti del pragmatismo professionale e, assai più raramente, dell'integrità etica tra funzione, struttura e figurazione.
Alcuni architetti della generazione nata tra il 1895 e il 1900 si erano fatti interpreti dell'apertura verso l'Occidente che il Giappone aveva intrapreso con particolare intensità nel decennio 1926-1937, trovando nell'equipaggiamento produttivo e sociale, che l'aveva promossa, le occasioni per un monumentalismo gradualmente volto al modernismo e poi, grazie a frequenti *stage* presso gli studi dei Maestri europei, per le prime prove di Razionalismo.
E dire che non v'era stata architettura del passato anche lontano più prossima, per essenzialità tipologica e figurativa, ai presupposti del Movimento Moderno, di quella giapponese, come negli anni Trenta Neutra e Bruno Taut avevano potuto costatare, tra i frequenti e intrecciati risentimenti intellettuali e artistici (da F.L. Wright a Mondrian) durati oltre un secolo. Ecco perché proprio su questo trascorso, e in particolare sui temi del tempio e della casa unifamiliare (che riproduceva, a livello terreno e a scala minima, ma funzionalmente confortevole, l'impianto della villa monumentale), l'architettura giapponese, dopo la sconfitta e la crisi di secolari valori istituzionali e morali, aveva inteso rigenerarsi nel

typologies such as the skyscraper and the cottage-style house, making possible the declination of the heroic episodes of the Chicago School and the Bay Region Style. This tendency was reinforced by the availability of simplified technologies, by uninhibited mixing of materials (steel, glass, wood, stone), but above all by a return to the poetics of two great personalities, F.L. Wright and Wurster, as criticism and historiography gradually rediscovered the value of protomodern pioneers, evoking native origins for modernity, responding to the expectations of private clientele. And although Gropius, especially after the founding of the TAC, had demonstrated an unexpected professional flexibility, the preference went to Mies and Breuer, who could be more easily assimilated in traditional thematic currents, those which were to favor the spread, coast to coast, of a new American architecture. The archaeological synthesis of Louis Kahn had not yet been completed. While Le Corbusier, in the American panorama of the immediate postwar period, was still a distant reference, influential only by reflection, almost metaphorically evoked in his idea for the United Nations building in New York, built in 1947-50. Therefore it was the third generation (with figures like Bunshaft, Eero Saarinen, Barnes, Johansen, Pei, Catalano and, above all, with those born around 1920: Rudolph, Soleri, Blake, Giurgola, Netsch, Franzen, Ellwood, Roche) that took on the task of gradually, instance by instance, forcing the stereometry of Mies and the organicity of Wright through the chiaroscuro studies, and even the rugged plasticism, of the later work of Le Corbusier. The obsession with communication of American democratic culture meant that it was precisely here, even before the television explosion, that modern architecture could meet with mass consensus, a consensus it had never enjoyed in Europe, even reaching the popularized status of the formulation International Style, *immediately dividing the ranks of the Moderns into two opposing camps, one based on professional pragmatism, the other (less successful) on the ethical integrity among function, structure and figuration.*

In Japan, some of the architects from the generation born between 1895 and 1900 had taken part in the opening to the West undertaken with particular intensity, in their country, in the period 1926-37; the productive and social context offered opportunities for a monumentalism that gradually approached modernism; thanks to studies and contacts with the European masters, early Rationalist projects began to appear. After all, no architecture from the past, even the distant past, was so similar, in its typological and figurative essentialness, to the premises of the Modern Movement as was Japanese architecture, as Neutra and Bruno Taut noted in the Thirties, within the context of frequent intellectual and artistic interchanges (from Wright to Mondrian) over the course of more than one hundred years. This is why, based on this history, and on the themes of the temple and the single-family house (which reproduced, at ground level and on a small but functionally comfortable scale, the layout of the monumental villa), Japanese architecture, after the defeat and the crisis of age-old institutional and moral values, saw the possibility for its regeneration in the Modern while, at the same time, resisting the culture of consumerism imposed by neocapitalism. Once again, support was provided by the later work of Le Corbusier, which lent itself to an operation of transcription of the ancient in the modern. It is no

Moderno ma, ad un tempo, anche resistere alla civiltà dei consumi subito imposta dal neocapitalismo. E a soccorrerla nella circostanza, ancora una volta, era la poetica dell'ultimo Le Corbusier, dacché era quella che pareva più suscettibile ad una operazione di trascrizione dell'antico nel moderno. D'altra parte, non a caso Sakakura e Mayekawa, architetti di seconda generazione destinati a svolgere il ruolo-guida nel dopoguerra, avevano prestato opera per alcuni anni nell'*atelier* di Rue de Sèvres 35. Dopo la sconfitta e l'olocausto atomico su questa istanza, limitabile a un quinquennio di più profonda ispirazione, prendeva corpo un'architettura di seconda e terza generazione (e soprattutto con il Centro della Pace a Hiroshima di Tange) che, indipendentemente dalla destinazione, incorporava e rendeva abitabile (musealizzando, e pertanto sacralizzando) l'autonomia tra esterno e interno, tra chiaroscurata profondità della scultura e geometrica levità della pittura, tra piani verticali e piani orizzontali; attraverso una figurazione, esternamente, scolpita e modulata per combinazioni trilitiche, con mensole e incastri di calcestruzzo trattati con spessore ligneo e, internamente, resa trascendente per sequenze di telai aerei e diaframmi mobili o trasparenti, come erano tradizionalmente nel tempio e nell'abitazione. Insomma una poetica simbolico-celebrativa, e insieme liturgicamente coagulante, così che la contaminazione tra sacro e domestico potesse tradursi in un appello alla memoria profonda e alla vita di partecipazione come primo atto per una nuova coscienza collettiva ora rivolta alla rinascita democratica della nazione.
Da allora in poi la volgarizzata fortuna ottenuta sulla scena internazionale dall'architettura giapponese di terza generazione, con l'indiscriminato dilatarsi delle occasioni e delle tematiche, è stata anche la causa della sua precoce involuzione formalistica e, soprattutto, del suo arretramento etico.
L'America Latina nel corso di questo secolo ha rappresentato a tratti ciò che nel secolo passato aveva rappresentato il Nordamerica per intellettuali e artisti: il sogno di un "nuovo mondo", dove fosse possibile sperimentare dalle origini e nella grande dimensione una concezione diversa tra natura e civiltà. E ciò soprattutto nei periodi successivi alla Prima e alla Seconda guerra mondiale, quando alcune nazioni del subcontinente, che vi erano rimaste estranee o tardivamente e marginalmente coinvolte, avevano potuto meglio valorizzare le proprie risorse a fronte delle esigenze dei paesi belligeranti. D'altra parte, certe *élite* delle borghesie nazionali, emerse da quelle circostanze, si affacciavano sulla scena delle città con minori pregiudizi di conservazione, ma anche, non di rado e fin dove possibile, con certa predilezione per l'esperienza europea, assunta in alternativa alla massiva infiltrazione nordamericana, ritenuta complice nei fenomeni di concentrazione ed esplosione metropolitana.
I soggiorni dei Maestri europei nel Sud e in Centroamerica furono numerosi, e particolarmente frequenti quelli di Le Corbusier tra il 1947 e il 1962, ma tutti con rari sbocchi realizzativi. Se tutti quanti influirono sulla formazione degli architetti locali, se Mies e più direttamente Neutra incisero sulla trasparente eccentricità della villa, fu Le Corbusier ad aver colto virtualmente la scala dell'impatto tra architettura e natura, pur dovendo rassegnarsi a lasciare sulla carta quella dimensione di

coincidence that Sakakura and Mayekawa, architects of the second generation, who played a leading role after the war, each worked for several years in the atelier *of Rue de Sèvres 35.*
After the defeat and the atomic holocaust, this period of about five years of deeper inspiration led to a second and third-generation architecture (especially with the Peace Center in Hiroshima, by Tange) which, independent of intended uses, incorporated and made inhabitable (in a sort of museumization, or sacralization) the autonomy between exterior and interior, between chiaroscuro depth of sculpture and geometric lightness of painting, between vertical and horizontal planes; through a figurative approach externally sculpted and modulated in trilithic combinations, with shelves and interlockings in concrete treated like wood, and made transcendent internally with sequences of mobile or transparent airy frames and diaphragms, traditional elements of the Japanese temple or dwelling. In short, a symbolic-celebrational and, at the same time, liturgically coherent poetics, in which the contamination between the sacred and the domestic becomes an appeal to deepest memory and to a life of participation as the first act of a new collective consciousness aimed at the democratic rebirth of the nation.
From this point on the commercial success of Japanese architecture on the international scene, with an indiscriminate multiplication of opportunities and themes, has led to a premature formalistic involution and, above all, a regression in terms of ethics.
During our century Latin America has represented what, during the last century, North America represented for intellectuals and artists: the dream of a "new world" where it might be possible to experiment with roots, with the large scale, in a different conception of the nature/civilization relation. This was true, above all, in the periods after the first and second world wars, when certain nations of the subcontinent which were not involved, or only marginally involved, in the conflict, were able to make better use of their resources with respect to the warring nations. Certain elites of the national bourgeoisies that emerged under these circumstances had an impact in cities, operating with less concern for conservation, but also, in many cases, and within the confines of the possible, with a certain predilection for the European experience, seen as an alternative to the overwhelming influence of North America, seen as the accomplice behind the phenomena of metropolitan concentration and explosion.
The European masters visited South and Central America on many occasions, especially in the case of Le Corbusier, who made frequent journeys betwen 1947 and 1962; but few actual works resulted. While these masters had a great influence on the training of local architects, and while Mies and, more directly, Neutra had an impact on the transparent eccentricity of the villa typology, it was Le Corbusier who had best grasped the scale of the impact between architecture and nature, although his efforts in this area were destined to remain on paper. The Latin American architects of the second generation, however, did manage to explore all the potential of his poetics for polarization in cultural syncretism, adapting typical characteristics and figurative signs to the variations of environmental conditions, traditions, and even the influence of other figurative arts. This can clearly be seen in the distance, for

intervento che da tempo inseguiva. Eppure gli architetti latinoamericani di seconda generazione riuscirono a sperimentare tutta la disponibilità della sua poetica a polarizzarsi nel sincretismo culturale, filtrandone la tipicità e la figurazione al variare delle condizioni ambientali, delle tradizioni, perfino delle sollecitazioni da altre arti figurative. E ciò può risultare con evidenza dalla distanza che corre, per esempio, tra l'opera di Barragán e Candela in Messico, di Villanueva in Venezuela, di Costa e Niemeyer in Brasile, di Amancio Williams in Argentina.
Infatti l'influenza corbusieriana sull'architettura latinoamericana appare prevalentemente quella della fase anteguerra, più programmatica, relativamente meno personalizzata e, pertanto, più articolata e disponibile, progetto per progetto, opera per opera, a trasmettere ispirazione e spunti di trascrizione (come, per esempio, l'esploso di volumi e struttura nel progetto presentato al concorso per il Palazzo dei Soviet a Mosca potrebbe aver stimolato la figurazione di Niemeyer), così da rendere possibile la polarizzazione di paradigmi regionali successivamente sviluppati dalla terza generazione.
Proprio dagli Stati Uniti, prima e durante la guerra, tra le *élite* intellettuali dell'Europa libera (ma anche d'Italia, pur durando il fascismo) aveva cominciato a filtrare un clima culturale destinato a influire sulla mentalità degli architetti europei di terza generazione che si sarebbero affacciati alla professione nell'immediato dopoguerra. Si trattava, per esempio, della critica alla metropoli iniziata nel 1938 dal sociologo Lewis Mumford (*The Culture of Cities*), degli interventi strutturali nella Tennessee Valley Authority, raccontati nel 1943 da Julian Huxley (*TVA, adventure in planning*) e, particolarmente, dell'iniziativa di propaganda che il New Deal roosveltiano aveva instaurato con i *media* nel cinema e nella letteratura. Un clima che si impose all'attenzione della cultura europea, ma che soltanto sporadicamente era riuscito a influire sulla architettura americana.
Nel dopoguerra la rivoluzione del gusto moderno ormai trovava consenso in larghi strati della borghesia europea, e gli intellettuali, guardando a Occidente o a Oriente, si ispiravano a nuovi modelli di democrazia. Ma, a differenza di letterati, pittori, cineasti, sovente votati al realismo o al neorealismo, i più dotati architetti europei nati intorno al 1920, con poche eccezioni, mantennero il loro impegno in una posizione abbastanza autonoma dai due schieramenti ideologici che si fronteggiavano nella cosiddetta "guerra fredda", atteggiandosi in una sorta di individualismo radicale vagamente libertario. Cosicché, nonostante la loro attività si esplicasse, almeno virtualmente, dalla pianificazione alla costruzione e nonostante fosse la committenza pubblica della ricostruzione a fornire in quegli anni le più stimolanti occasioni di lavoro, la loro ricerca figurativa sembrava protesa a tradurre in architettura un atteggiamento di comportamentismo gestuale, al quale esperienze coeve (art brut, action painting, letteratura e teatro *on the road*, free cinema, angry young men, ecc.) avevano spinto l'eredità d'anteguerra della "generazione perduta" americana.
Il Regno Unito era uscito dalla guerra vittorioso ma assai provato e, tuttavia, il tema della ricostruzione della città offrì alla cultura degli architetti l'occasione di rivincita sulla mentalità conservatrice che nell'anteguerra, qui più che altrove, aveva opposto tenace resistenza alla

example, between the work of Barragán and Candela in Mexico, of Villanueva in Venezuela, of Costa and Niemeyer in Brazil, of Amancio Williams in Argentina.
In fact Le Corbusier's influence on Latin American architecture appears, for the most part, in the period before the war, in a more programmatic, less personalized and therefore more detailed and open manner, project by project, work by work, transmitting inspiration and incidents of transcription (as, for example, the exploded diagram of the volumes and structure of the project presented for the competition for the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow influenced the figurative approach of Niemeyer), thus making possible the polarization of regional paradigms later developed by the third generation.
*In the United States, before and after the war, among the intellectual elites of free Europe (but also of Italy, even during fascism) a cultural climate had begun to emerge which was to influence the mentality of the European architects of the third generation, who began professional practice in the immediate postwar era. For example, there was the critique of the metropolis initiated in 1938 by the sociologist Lewis Mumford (*The Culture of the Cities*), the structural interventions of the Tennessee Valley Authority, narrated in 1943 by Julian Huxley (*TVA, adventure in planning*) and, in particular, the propaganda of Roosevelt's New Deal. This climate did not escape the attention of European culture, but was only sporadically influential in the achievements of American architecture.*
After the war the revolution of modern taste had met with widespread consensus in the European bourgeoisie, and the intellectuals, looking West and East, focused on new models of democracy. But in contrast with the writers, painters, filmmakers, often exponents of realism and neorealism, the most talented European architects born in the vicinity of 1920, with few exceptions, maintained their position of relative autonomy regarding the two ideological positions of the so-called "cold war", seeking refuge in a sort of vaguely libertarian, radical individualism. Thus in spite of the fact that their activity ranged, at least in virtual terms, from planning to construction, and in spite of the fact that the public commissions for reconstruction projects furnished the most stimulating work opportunities of the time, their figurative research seemed to be directed toward a translation, in architecture, of an attitude of gestural behavioralism, which contemporary experiences (art brut, action painting, "on the road" literature and theater, free cinema, the "angry young men") had derived from the prewar legacy of the American "lost generation".
The United Kingdom emerged from the war victorious, but with serious difficulties. Nevertheless the theme of the reconstruction of the city offered architectural culture an opportunity for revenge against the conservative mentality of the prewar period which here, more than elsewhere, had tenaciously opposed the Modern Movement. In fact, the activity of the MARS group – as Dennis Sharp describes it – took the form of only a few completed Rationalist projects, and the periods of time spent in London by some of the German Masters were of only limited influence, after which they decided to continue their exile in the United States. But England did manage to stand out, in Europe, for its coordinated planning initiatives, which stood in comparison with the free-market orientation of American

penetrazione del Movimento Moderno. Infatti l'attività del Gruppo MARS –come descrive Dennis Sharp– si era esplicata in rari saggi di Razionalismo realizzato e, del resto, scarsa incidenza pratica aveva ottenuto il soggiorno a Londra di alcuni Maestri tedeschi che presto scelsero di riparare negli Stati Uniti. Ma era anche l'occasione per acquisire un primato europeo nell'ambito di una pianificazione coordinata degli interventi, che potesse confrontarsi con il timbro liberista sempre più impresso sull'International Style americano. Il che avvenne prevalentemente attraverso organismi pubblici di progettazione, guidati da *city architect* di seconda generazione, come Robert Matthew e Leslie Martin a Londra, Donald Gibson a Coventry e Nottingham, Lewis Womersley a Sheffield, ma anche con l'apporto su temi straordinari di personalità già di terza generazione, come Denis Lasdun e David Lewis. Sono note le proposizioni tipologiche, messe a punto o rilanciate dall'architettura inglese, divenute di riferimento per i paesi europei provati dalla guerra: dalle *new town* agli alloggi a blocco e a schiera, dai comparti centrali multifunzionali alle scuole prefabbricate.
Altra risonanza internazionale, questa volta sul piano teorico, assunse la revisione ideologica della Carta d'Atene e dei modelli insediativi, che nei CIAM del dopoguerra risultavano ormai cristallizzati, allorché alcuni architetti inglesi nati intorno al 1920 vi contrapposero la griglia topologica articolata su differenziati livelli di relazione urbana (casa-strada, strada-quartiere, quartiere-città), messa a punto nel 1952 da Alison e Peter Smithson per il concorso del Golden Lane indetto dalla Municipalità di Londra. Questa iniziativa agì da coagulante per la fondazione nel 1954 del Team X, su base generazionale ed estesa ad altri membri europei (Voelcher anche egli inglese, Bakema e van Eyck dall'Olanda, Candilis e Woods dalla Francia, Coderch dalla Spagna, Erskine dalla Svezia, Grung dalla Norvegia, Soltan dalla Polonia).
Ma, addirittura precedente al confronto ideologico, era stato quello linguistico, quando in alternativa al postcorbusierismo, filtrato da certo empirismo nordico, allora corrente nell'architettura inglese, gli stessi Smithson, con la Scuola di Hunstanton del 1949, avevano inaugurato quello che in seguito si sarebbe chiamato *New Brutalism*, una figurazione tesa ad esaltare certa regressione alla primordialità formale, quella sorta di *pars destruens* dell'iconografia tradizionale connaturata alle avanguardie e in alcune poetiche dei Maestri, in particolare nella scabrosità materica di Le Corbusier e nel nitore tecnologico di Mies. Sostenuto da una impavida connotazione intellettuale e comportamentale, questo atteggiamento progettuale avanzava incoraggiato dalla progressiva consacrazione critica di Reyner Banham, da considerare pertanto coautore della formula brutalista. Come avrebbe rilevato Francesco Tentori nel testo del 1968 intitolato *Phoenix Brutalism* (pubblicato sul n. 18 della prima serie di "Zodiac"), per dare nobiltà genealogica e universalità a tale formula, le venivano associate personalità di varie generazioni e distanti provenienze, e tra esse anche quelle dei britannici Stirling e Gowan; mentre soprattutto quella di Stirling sarebbe da ascrivere alla quarta generazione, sia anagraficamente sia per come si sarebbe sviluppata, ritagliando e orchestrando con maestria e certo ironico distacco dai diversi, anche contrastanti linguaggi del periodo eroico (Owe Williams, l'ingegnere

International Style. This was a result, above all, of public planning organisms, guided by "city architects" of the second generation, like Robert Matthew and Leslie Martin in London, Donald Gibson in Coventry and Nottingham, Lewis Womersley in Sheffield, but also with the contributions on particular themes of personalities from the third generation, like Denis Lasdun and David Lewis.
The typological propositions developed or revived by English architecture became points of reference for the European nations recovering from the war: from the "new towns" to the housing projects in blocks and rows, from the multifunctional central units to the prefabricated schools.
Another factor of international impact, this time at a theoretical level, was the ideological revision of the Athens Charter and of the settlement models which were, at the time of the CIAM congresses of the postwar era, already crystallized; certain English architects born in the vicinity of 1920 reacted by proposing a topological grid articulated on differentiated levels of urban relations (house-street, street-neighborhood, neighborhood-city), further developed in 1952 by Alison and Peter Smithson for the competition for Golden Lane held by the City of London. This initiative functioned as a stimulus for the formation, in 1954, of Team X, based on generational factors and extended to other European members (Voelcher was also English, Bakema and Van Eyck from Holland, Candilis and Woods from France, Coderch from Spain, Erskine from Sweden, Grung from Norway, Soltan from Poland).
But even before the ideological confrontation there had ben the linguistic issue, when as an alternative to post-Corbusier-ism, filtered by a certain Nordic empiricism still current in English architecture, the Smithsons themselves, with the School of Hunstanton in 1949, had ushered in what was to be known as the New Brutalism, a figuration aimed at exalting a regression toward primordial forms, that sort of pars destruens *of the traditional iconography of the avant-gardes and of certain poetics of the Masters, in particular in the material ruggedness of Le Corbusier and the technological lucidity of Mies. Sustained by dauntless intellectual and behavioral connotation, this design approach advanced, encouraged by the progressive critical consacration of Reyner Banham, who can be considered the co-author of the Brutalist formula. As Francesco Tentori was to note in his essay in 1968, entitled* Phoenix Brutalism *(published in no. 18 of the first series of "Zodiac"), geneological legitimacy was supplied for the formula by means of associations with a variety of personalities from different generations and eras, including figures like England's Stirling and Gowan; whereas the figure of Stirling should be classified in the fourth generation, both in terms of dating and of subsequent development, thanks to his masterful and ironic detachment from the different and often contrasting languages of the heroic period (Owe Williams, the precursor engineer of British Modernism, early and late Le Corbusier, Constructivism, etc.).*
Banham's exploration of the ideological background of the Modern Movement proceeded empirically, and with a very Anglo-Saxon lack of prejudice, while maintaining constant contact with the relationship between technique, typology, figuration and perception, in which, however, the latter term is seen as decisive for those that preceed it. With a background in engineering, introduced to the history of art by Giedion

precursore del Moderno britannico, primo e ultimo Le Corbusier, Costruttivismo, ecc.).
L'esplorazione di Banham nel retroterra ideologico del Movimento Moderno procedeva empiricamente e con spregiudicatezza tutta anglosassone, pur mantenendo costante riferimento al rapporto tra tecnica, tipologia, figurazione e ricezione, dove però l'ultimo dei termini risultava discriminante per i primi. Ingegnere di estrazione e iniziatosi alla storia dell'arte con Giedion e Pevsner, Banham riteneva che a partire dalla rivoluzione industriale la tecnica fosse divenuta il tramite mediologico per la popolarizzazione dell'architettura. Da qui il rimprovero al purismo figurativo dei Maestri del Movimento Moderno, accusato di nuovo accademismo per non aver coltivato con sufficiente autenticità e coerenza l'identificazione con la macchina, evocata soltanto per allusione. Dalla disattesa tecnologica le scorrerie sociologiche del critico inglese si appuntarono alla progettazione contemporanea, rimarcandone le carenze rispetto al ruolo decisivo assunto via via dagli impianti, dalle megastrutture, per acquietarsi infine nella rivalutazione dell'ecologia ambientale di Los Angeles. Eppure dalla metà degli anni Cinquanta, nella scabrosità elementare (materica, tecnologica, espressiva) del New Brutalism e nella griglia dei comportamenti umani applicata ai punti nevralgici della struttura urbana del Team X, Banham era riuscito a scorgere quel ruolo propulsivo analogo a quello svolto proprio dalla macchina nella società di massa.
Il soccorso critico alla prima stagione del Movimento Moderno era pervenuto da coraggiosi studiosi (Giedion, Hitchcock, Pevsner) che provenivano dalla storia dell'arte. Mentre il dato ricorrente tra i critici nati intorno al 1920 è da trovare nella formazione diretta nell'architettura, essendo spesso essi stessi architetti e, non di rado, addirittura militanti nella professione. Il che avveniva in un'epoca quando il loro pronunciarsi pubblico doveva ancora scontrarsi con il gusto corrente, così da risultare coinvolti, e in qualche misura appunto coautori, in talune delle tendenze che si contendevano l'interpretazione autentica dell'eredità del Movimento Moderno.
Da qui l'impronta operativa e antistoricistica della loro critica comunemente iniziata al culto olimpico dei Maestri di prima generazione, considerati, per un complesso di odio-amore, autori di una vera e propria rivoluzione, di portata tale da avere instaurato criteri di valore radicalmente nuovi e, da allora in poi, da ritenere oggettivi e irrinunciabili. Tanto che anche la considerazione degli antecedenti più o meno prossimi avveniva per quanto risultassero coerenti o discrepanti ai presupposti del Movimento Moderno. Infatti l'affidamento all'eredità dei Maestri non muoveva soltanto dal grado eccezionale di significatività poetica raggiunto in una determinata temperie storica, quanto dalla validità esemplare e dall'attualità universale, anche nella fallibilità, delle rispettive risposte alle attese della società. Per cui, generalizzando, il compito assunto dalla critica di terza generazione appariva quello teso ad estrarre dal magistero degli archetipi veri e propri modelli in divenire, ideologici e operativi, sui quali discriminare e integrare i contributi delle generazioni successive e impostare la formazione culturale e professionale delle più giovani leve di architetti.
Accanto a sistemazioni storiche dell'architettura moderna di impianto

and Pevsner, Banham believed that, beginning with the industrial revolution, the technical aspects of architecture could become the instrument of mediation for its diffusion. This is the reasoning behind his objection to the figurative purism of the Masters of the Modern Movement, accused of a new academicism for not having cultivated with sufficient authenticity and coherence the identification with the machine, evoked only by allusion. From these technological disappointments the sociological incursions of the English critic went on to focus on contemporary design, noting its shortcomings with respect to the decisive role gradually assumed by plants, megastructures, only to finally come to rest in the reassessment of the environmental ecology of Los Angeles.
And yet from the mid-Fifties on, in the elementary ruggedness (material, technological, expressive) of the New Brutalism, and in the grid of human behaviors applied to the nerve centers of the urban structure by Team X, Banham was able to perceive that role of propulsion similar to that played by the machine itself in mass society.
Critical support for the early period of the Modern Movement had come from courageous scholars (Giedion, Hitchcock, Pevsner) whose background lay in art history. Whereas the factor in common among the critics born in the vicinity of 1920 is a direct architectural background; often they were architects themselves, and in many cases even practicing ones. This took place in an era in which their public pronouncements still had to come to terms with current taste, meaning that they were implicated in, and to some extent even responsible for, some of the trends that competed with one another for a claim to be the authentic interpretation of the legacy of the Modern Movement.
This helps to explain the operative and antihistoricist tone of their critique; they shared an initiation in the olympian cult of the first-generation Masters who they considered, in a love-hate relationship, as the makers of a true revolution, of such scope that it had established radically new criteria of value which, from that point on, could only be considered objective and inevitable. So much so that even more or less remote antecedents were considered in terms of their coherence with the premises of the Modern Movement. In fact the trust in the legacy of the Masters was not based only on the exceptional degree of poetic significance achieved in a determined historical climate, but particulary on the exemplary validity and universal timeliness, even when fallible, of the respective responses to the expectations of society. Therefore, to generalize, we can say that the task undertaken by the critics of the third generation appeared to be that of extracting true models in progress from the teachings of the Masters, ideological and operative models, with which to discriminate and integrate the contributions of later generations, and to organize the cultural and professional training of the generations to come.
Alongside the historical interpretations of modern architecture in sociological terms (Banham, but also Benevolo), which were widely diffused because they were presented as a vademecum *for a univocal design approach, there were other contributions of the third generation that did not attempt to commandeer the present and the future of architecture, investigating more or less directly the relationship between invention and citation and, therefore, questioning the operative or involuntary role of history in design. And this was expressed through the*

sociologico (Banham, ma anche Benevolo), che hanno goduto di larga diffusione perché orientate come *vademecum* ad un univoco approccio progettuale, si collocavano altri contributi di terza generazione che non pretendevano di ipotecare presente e futuro dell'architettura, interrogandosi, direttamente o meno, sul rapporto tra invenzione e citazione e, quindi, sul ruolo operativo o involontario della storia nella progettazione. E ciò sia attraverso la costatazione (Peter Collins) del variare degli ideali che hanno stimolato la progettazione nel corso della modernità, sia attraverso perlustrazioni (Colin Rowe, Alan Colquhoun) tese ad accertare il persistere di certi rapporti armonici in un'analisi comparata tra antico e moderno. Diversa restava la storia di Bruno Zevi, di impronta crociana e pertanto ispirata a valori di pura artisticità, figurativa e spaziale, che puntava la propria operatività nella trasgressione della tradizione classica, come ineludibile consapevolezza di relatività conquistata dal pensiero moderno.
Tra i paesi europei l'Italia è rimasta forse quello meno soggetto a certa anglofilia architettonica che pervase la cultura degli architetti durante gli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta. Ciò si doveva in parte alla particolare ricchezza del dibattito critico-operativo sul Movimento Moderno internazionale, che ebbe luogo ancora sotto il fascismo da posizioni diversamente angolate (Pagano, Persico, Giolli dalla rivista "Costruzioni-Casabella", Bardi e il gruppo raccolto attorno alla rivista "Quadrante", ecc.); dibattito che contribuì ad orientare verso esperienze originali, e comunque in contrapposizione a quelle ufficiali, un certo numero di architetti di seconda generazione (tra gli altri, Terragni e Lingeri, Figini e Pollini, Bottoni, Albini, Gardella, i BBPR). Ma in parte si doveva anche alla partecipazione dei giovani di terza generazione a certe iniziative di regime, come i Littoriali della cultura e dell'arte, dove a partire dal 1937 le prime forme di dissenso si coagularono proprio nel rifiuto dell'accelerazione retorica e demagogica impressa dal fascismo al lavoro intellettuale; dacché, come s'è detto, attraverso la Francia erano cominciati a filtrare in Italia la letteratura americana e il cinema francese dai quali, dopo le esperienze d'avanguardia assimilate sulla scia del Futurismo, iniziava ad emergere un impegno umanitario e autenticamente democratico.
Per esempio, nel 1937 alla Mostra del cinema di Venezia veniva premiata *La grande illusion*, il film di Renoir ritirato dalla censura dopo alcune proiezioni nei circoli universitari; e nel 1942, nel pieno della guerra e dopo molte difficoltà di censura, curata da Elio Vittorini, nelle librerie italiane usciva *Americana. Raccolta di narratori dalle origini ai nostri giorni*, che dai pionieri arrivava alla "generazione perduta" dei Faulkner, Hemingway, Steinbeck, Caldwell (tanto che alcuni di costoro sarebbero rimasti più famosi in Europa che negli Stati Uniti). Nel 1947 Cesare Pavese, che vi aveva collaborato, attribuiva una svolta decisiva a questa scoperta: "*Verso il 1930, quando il fascismo cominciava ad essere "la speranza del mondo", accadde ad alcuni giovani italiani di scoprire nei suoi libri l'America, una America pensosa e barbarica, felice e rissosa, dissoluta, feconda, greve di tutto il passato del mondo, e insieme giovane, innocente. Per qualche anno questi giovani lessero tradussero e scrissero con una gioia di scoperta e di rivolta che indignò la cultura ufficiale, ma il successo fu tanto che costrinse il regime a tollerare, per salvare la faccia.*

awareness (Peter Collins) of the variation of the ideals that stimulated design during the course of the modern era, and through explorations (Colin Rowe, Alan Colquhoun) intended to ascertain the continued existence of certain harmonic relations, in a comparative analysis of the ancient and the modern. The historical work of Bruno Zevi remained a case apart, influenced by Croce, and therefore based on values of pure figurative and spatial artistic-ness, operating in the area of transgression of the classical tradition, seen in terms of the unavoidable awareness of relativity achieved by modern thought.
Among the European nations, Italy remained perhaps that least subject to the Anglo-Saxon influence that pervaded architectural culture in the Fifties and Sixties. This was due in part to the particular intensity of the critical-operative debate on the international Modern Movement, which had already begun during fascism, with a variety of positions (Pagano, Persico, Giolli from the magazine "Costruzioni-Casabella", Bardi and the group gathered around the magazine "Quadrante", etc.); a debate which played a role in orienting a certain number of second-generation architects toward original experiences, outside the official program (including Terragni and Lingeri, Figini and Pollini, Bottoni, Albini, Gardella, the BBPR studio). But this was also due to the participation of young architects of the third generation in certain initiatives of the regime, like the "Littoriali" of culture and art, in which, beginning in 1937, the first forms of dissent began to appear precisely in the rejection of the rhetorical and demagogical acceleration imposed by fascism on intellectual work; in the meantime, through France, American literature and French cinema had begun to make their way into Italy, boldly expressing, after the avant-garde experiences absorbed in the wake of Futurism, an authentic commitment to democracy and humanitarian values.
For example, in 1937, at the Film Festival of Venice, a prize was awarded to La grande illusion, *the film by Renoir, which was banned by the censors after only a few showings in university circles; and in 1942, in the midst of the war, and after many difficulties with censorship, a volume edited by Elio Vittorini appeared in Italian bookshops, entitled* Americana. Raccolta di narratori dalle origini ai nostri giorni, *offering works ranging from the pioneers to the "lost generation" of Faulkner, Hemingway, Steinbeck, Caldwell (and in fact some of these writers became more famous in Europe than in their homeland). In 1947 Cesare Pavese, who had worked on the volume, wrote of it as a decisive moment of discovery:* "Toward 1930, when fascism was beginning to be 'the hope of the world', certain young Italians happened to discover America through its books, a thoughtful, barbaric America, cheerful and boisterous, dissolute, fertile, burdened with the past of the entire world, but also young, innocent. For a number of years these young people read, translated, wrote, inspired by a joy of discovery and revolt that offended official culture, but the success of their efforts was so great that the regime was forced to tolerate them, in order to save face. [...] It became evident, during those years of study, that America was not an *other* country, a *new* beginning of history, but simply a gigantic theater where, with greater candor than elsewhere, the drama of us all was being acted out" *(from* Ieri e oggi, *in* Saggi letterari, *Turin, 1968).*

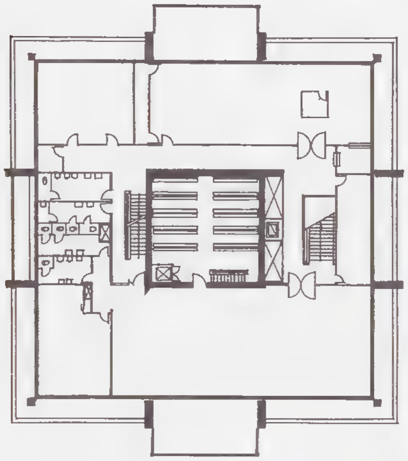
[...] *Ci si accorse, durante quegli anni di studio, che l'America non era un* altro *paese, un* nuovo *inizio della storia, ma soltanto il gigantesco teatro dove con maggiore franchezza che altrove veniva recitato il dramma di tutti*" (da *Ieri e oggi*, in *Saggi letterari*, Torino 1968).
Decisivi furono poi, nel dopoguerra, il ritorno dagli USA di Zevi e il suo testo del 1945 *Verso un'architettura organica*, non solo per la conoscenza di Wright, ma anche e soprattutto per quanto l'organicismo zeviano si proponeva dialetticamente e congruentemente rispetto alla professione di impegno con cui gli architetti di sinistra si disponevano a rigenerare l'eredità interclassista del Movimento Moderno di fronte ai problemi della ricostruzione e dell'edilizia popolare. A tenerne conto furono anche alcune personalità di seconda generazione (Ridolfi e Quaroni, Samonà e Scarpa, Daneri, Cosenza) che riuscirono così a riscattare e integrare una iniziazione al Moderno avvenuta su polarità regionali (Roma, Venezia, Genova, Napoli), fino allora rimaste periferiche rispetto all'epicentro lombardo del Razionalismo italiano.
Alcuni architetti italiani di terza generazione hanno fondato una propria autonoma espressione proprio in quell'intreccio di tensioni, pervenendo ai risultati più incisivi nell'impegno su temi sociali rimasti abbastanza inusuali nel corso della progettazione moderna (per esempio, Monumento alle Fosse Ardeatine a Roma di Mario Fiorentino nel 1946, Villaggio del Fanciullo a Opicina di Marcello D'Olivo nel 1950, Istituto Marchiondi-Spagliardi di Vittoriano Viganò nel 1953, Comunità Monte degli Ulivi a Riesi di Leonardo Ricci dal 1963). Non a caso si tratta di personalità che hanno continuato a cimentare la propria creatività nell'ambito proprio dell'architettura, senza concedere alle coperture urbanistiche, ai pretesti tecnologici o alle tentazioni stilizzanti del *design*. Discipline, queste, che con diversa suggestione e fortuna hanno imperversato sulla scena italiana dal dopoguerra ad oggi.

In conclusione, la necessità occasionale di dover qui schematizzare e generalizzare un'influenza discendente tra generazioni ha fatalmente trascurato un'influenza ascendente che talvolta risulta non meno importante. Basti pensare a quanto Metabolism abbia influito sull'architettura giapponese, e in particolare sul Piano di Tange del 1959 per l'espansione nella baia di Tokyo, e a quanto Archigram abbia capillarmente risalito il New Brutalism, fino alla caricatura *High Tech*. Resta da constatare come ad ogni ricambio generazionale (o addirittura subgenerazionale) non corrisponda necessariamente una rivoluzione poetica. Eppure sovente, e soprattutto quando ciò non si verifica, le nuove generazioni non sfuggono al complesso edipico di ritenere la loro poetica radicalmente e moralmente alternativa a quella che l'ha preceduta.

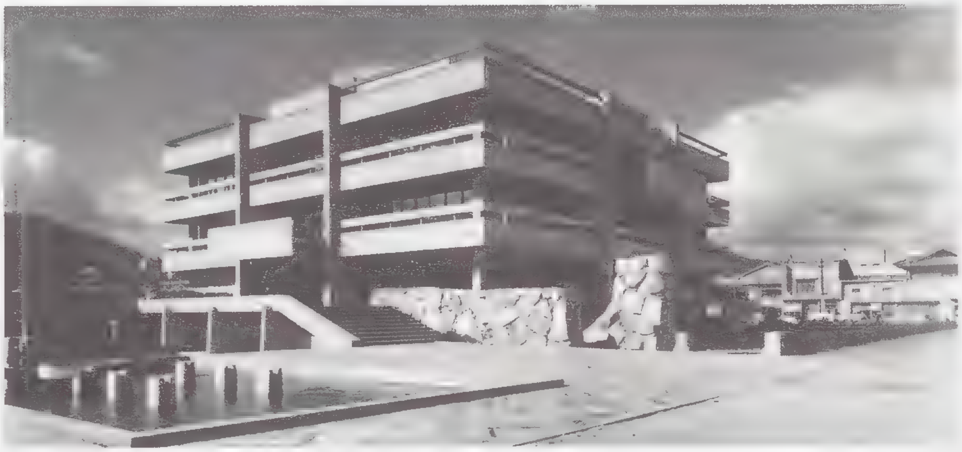
In the postwar period the return of Zevi from the United States was another decisive factor, with the publication of his book, in 1945, entitled Verso un'architettura organica, *not only for an awareness of Wright, but also and above all for what Zevi's organicism dialectically and congruently indicated with respect to the profession of commitment through which the architects of the Left were attempting to regenerate the interclassist legacy of the Modern Movement with respect to the problems of the reconstruction and of low-cost housing. Certain personalities of the second generation were also aware of these factors (Ridolfi and Quaroni, Samonà and Scarpa, Daneri, Cosenza), and were thus able to redeem and integrate an initiation to the Modern in terms of regional polarities (Rome, Venice, Genoa, Naples) which had been left behind the progress of the Lombardy epicenter of Italian Rationalism.*
Some of the Italian architects of the third generation based their individual modes of expression precisely on this interweaving of tensions, achieving more incisive results in their commitment to social themes that had remained relatively extraneous to modern design (for example, the Monument of the Ardeatine Caves in Rome by Mario Fiorentino in 1946, the "Villaggio del Fanciullo" at Opicina by Marcello D'Olivo in 1950, the Marchiondi-Spagliardi Institute by Vittorio Viganò in 1953, the Monte degli Ulivi community at Riesi by Leonardo Ricci in 1963). It is no coincidence that these were personalities who have continued to work in the field of architecture, avoiding the protective shelter of town planning, the technological pretexts and stylistic temptations of so-called "design". Both of which are disciplines that have been extremely visible, with varying results, on the Italian scene from the end of the war to the present.

In conclusion, the occasional need to make things schematic and to generalize when talking about descending influences from generation to generation has inevitably caused us to leave out certain inverse influences that are equally important. Just consider the influence of Metabolism on Japanese architecture, and especially on Tange's plan, in 1959, for the expansion of the bay of Tokyo; just consider the relationship between Archigram and New Brutalism, and the results that extend all the way to the High-Tech caricatures.
We can only note that any turnover of generations (or even within generations) does not necessarily correspond to a revolution in poetics. And yet often, and especially when there is no such revolution, the new generations cannot escape from their Oedipus complex, in the belief that their poetics is radically and morally an alternative to that of the preceeding generation.

Yoshinobu Ashihara



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1.2. Yoshinobu Ashihara, Kagawa Prefectural Library, Kagawa, Japan, 1963.
3. Yoshinobu Ashihara, Japanese Pavilion for the Universal Expo, Montreal, Canada, 1967.
4. Yoshinobu Ashihara, Memorial Fountains in the National Diet, Tokyo, Japan, 1990.

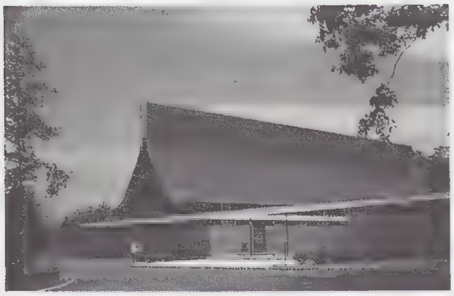


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Peter Blake


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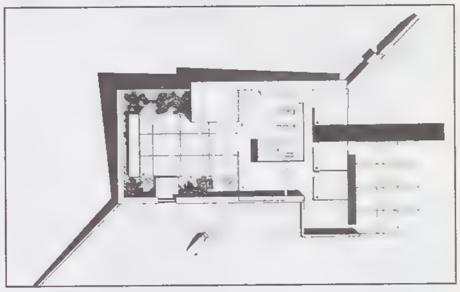

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1.2. Peter Blake, Blake House, Long Island, New York, U.S.A., 1963.
3. Peter Blake, Israelitic Temple Emanu-el, Livingston, New Jersey, U.S.A., 1961.
4. Peter Blake, Mental Rehabilitation Center, Binghamton, U.S.A., 1970.

Eduardo Catalano


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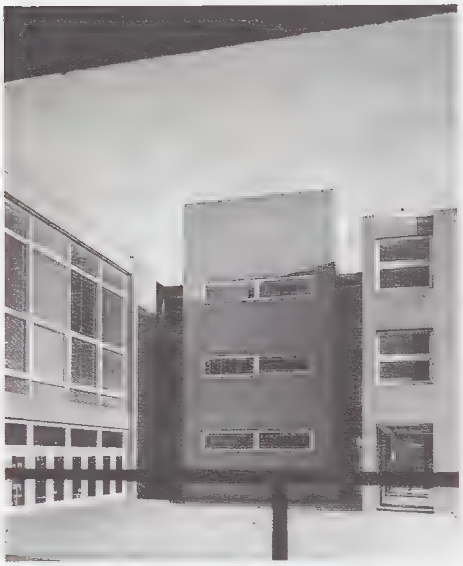

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1. Eduardo Catalano, Greensboro Governmental Center, Court House and City Hall, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A., 1968.
2.3. Eduardo Catalano, Raleigh House, Raleigh, North Carolina, U.S.A., 1954.
4. Eduardo Catalano, Glass Structures, 1995.


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Alan Colquhoun and John Miller



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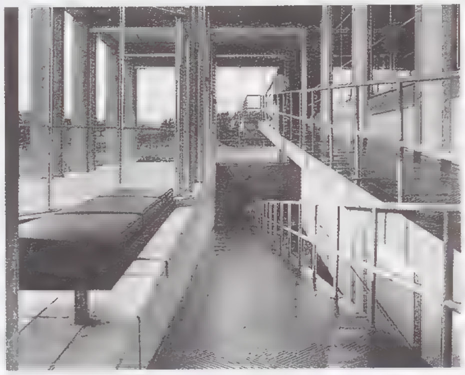


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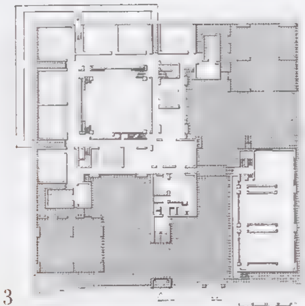


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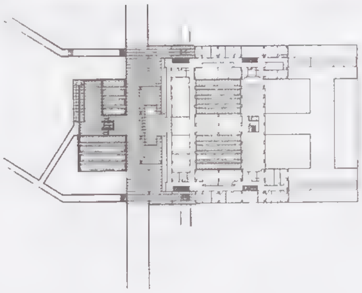
1.2.3. Alan Colquhoun and John Miller, Forest Gate School, London, Great Britain, 1963-65.
4.5.6.7. Alan Colquhoun and John Miller, Chemistry Building, Royal Holloway College, Surrey, Great Britain, 1967-70.
8.9.10. Alan Colquhoun and John Miller, Caversham Road and Gaisford Street Housing, London, Great Britain, 1978-79.



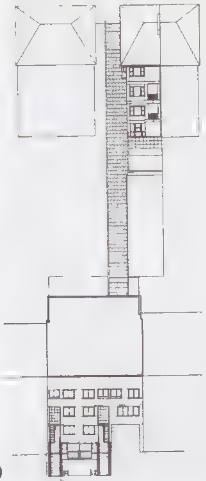
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Marcello D'Olivo



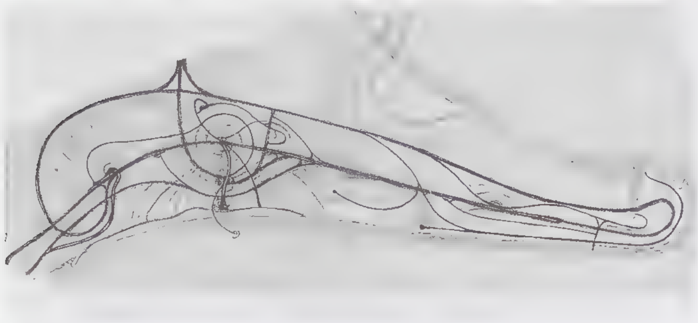
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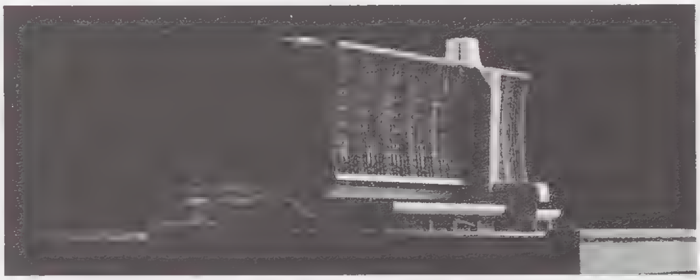
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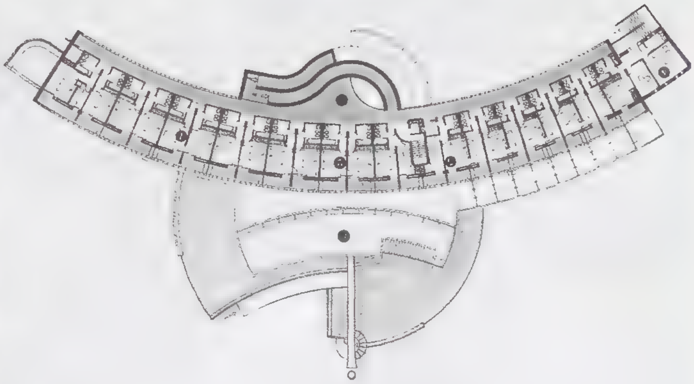


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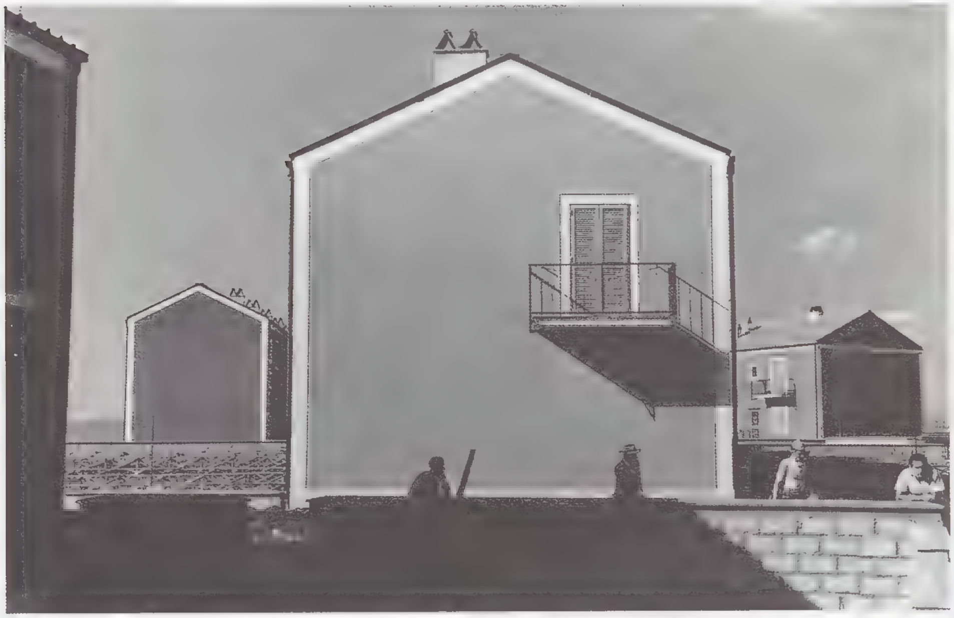
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1. Marcello D'Olivo, Villaggio del Fanciullo, Opicina, Trieste, Italia, 1950-55.
2.3.4. Marcello D'Olivo, Complesso turistico, Lignano Pineta, Udine, Italia, 1953-56.
5. Marcello D'Olivo, Albergo e residenze Zipser, Grado, Udine, Italia, 1960-62.
6.7. Marcello D'Olivo, Centro turistico a Manacore sul Gargano, Foggia, Italia, 1959-63.

Mario Fiorentino



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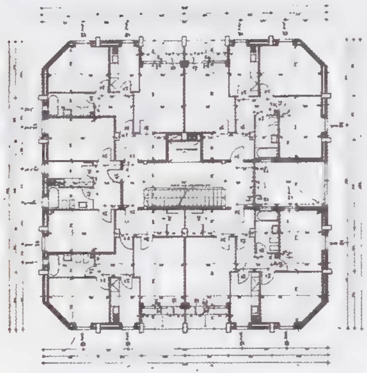


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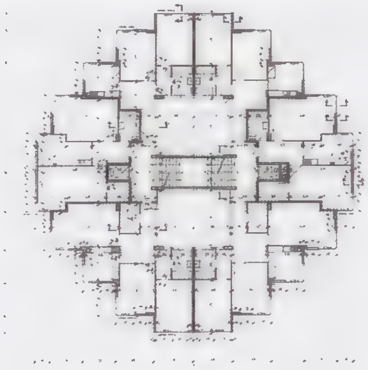


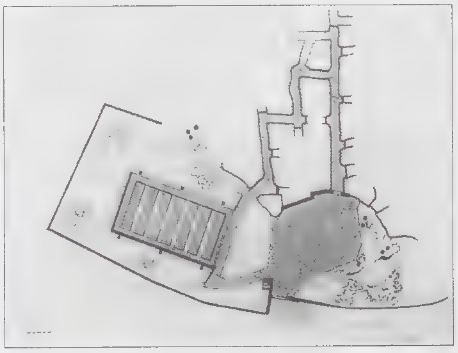
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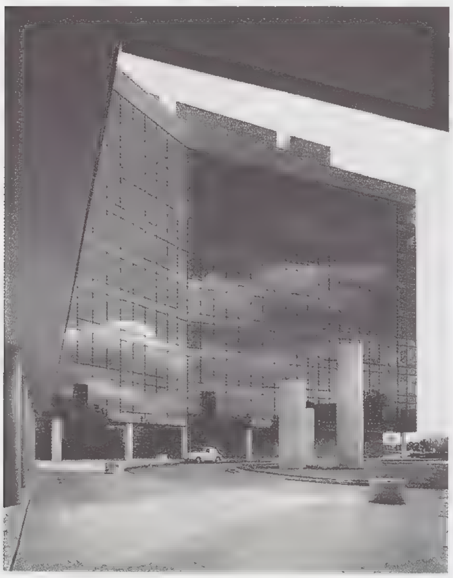


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1.2.3.4. Mario Fiorentino, Giuseppe Perugini, Mirko Basaldella, Monumento alle Fosse Ardeatine, Roma, Italia, 1946-48.
5. Mario Fiorentino, Quartiere di residenza pubblica a San Basilio, Roma, Italia, 1955.
6.7. Mario Fiorentino, Edifici residenziali a torre in Viale Etiopia, Roma, Italia, 1957-58.
8.9. Mario Fiorentino, Edifici residenziali a torre in Viale Etiopia, Italia, Roma, 1962.

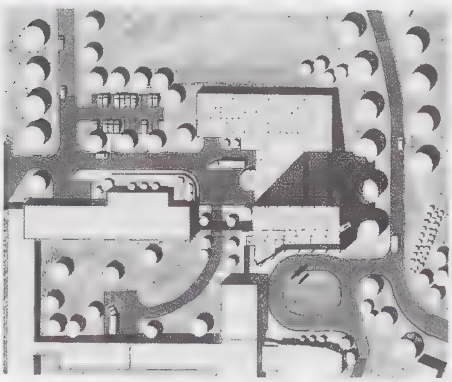
Ulrich Franzen

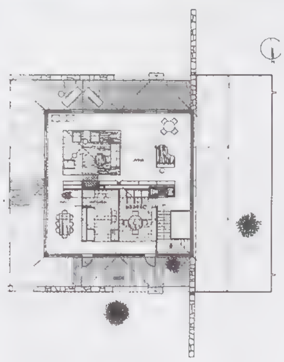

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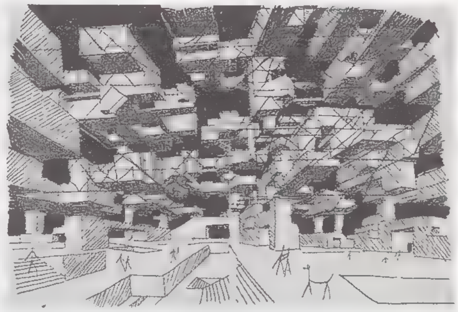

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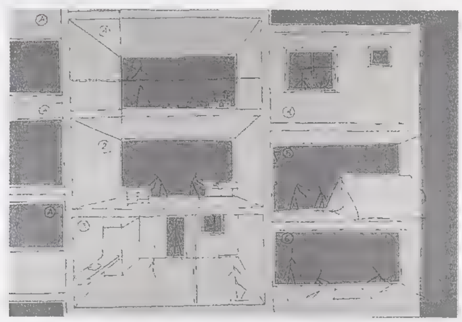
1.2.3. Ulrich Franzen, Multicategorical Biological Research Tower, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A., 1974.
4.5.6. Ulrich Franzen, Towers Residence, Essex, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1963.

Yona Friedman


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1. Yona Friedman, Projet de "Ville spatiale", 1959-61.
2. Yona Friedman, Projet de ville-pont sur le Rhin (District fédéral européen), Strasbourg, France, 1987-88.
3.4. Yona Friedman, Projet de logements autoconstruits pour sans-abris, 1992.

Ernst Gisel



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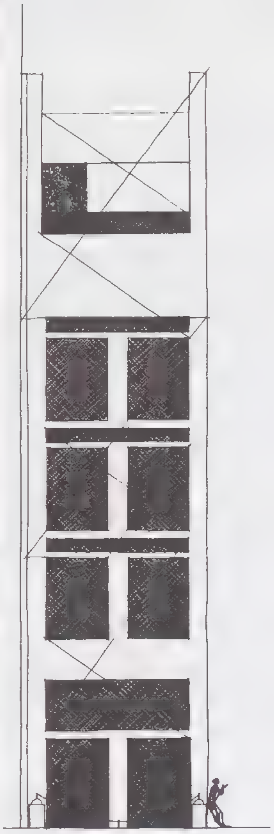
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1. Ernst Gisel, Reformierte Kirche, Reinach, Basel, Switzerland, 1961-63.
2. Ernst Gisel, Appenzell-Ausserrhodische Kantonalbank, Herisau, Switzerland, 1980-84.
3. Ernst Gisel, Parktheater, Grenchen, Switzerland, 1953-55.
4. Ernst Gisel, Kundenzentrum der Stadtwerke, Frankfurt am Main, Deutschland, 1986-90.
5. Ernst Gisel, Erweiterung Schulzentrum, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, 1988-90.

Romaldo Giurgola

1. Mitchell/Giurgola Architects, Philadelphia Life Insurance Company Office Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1960.
2. Mitchell/Giurgola Architects, Sherman Fairchild Laboratories for Biological Sciences, Columbia University, New York, U.S.A., 1977.
3. Mitchell/Giurgola Architects, United Way Headquarters Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1971.
4. Mitchell/Giurgola Architects, Wainwright State Office Complex, St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., 1981.
5. Mitchell/Giurgola & Thorp Architects, Parliament House, Canberra, Australia, 1988.

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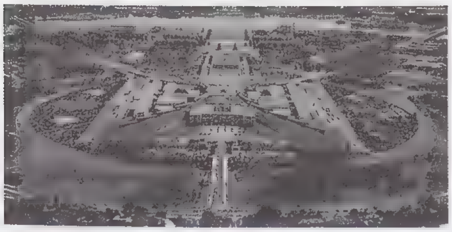
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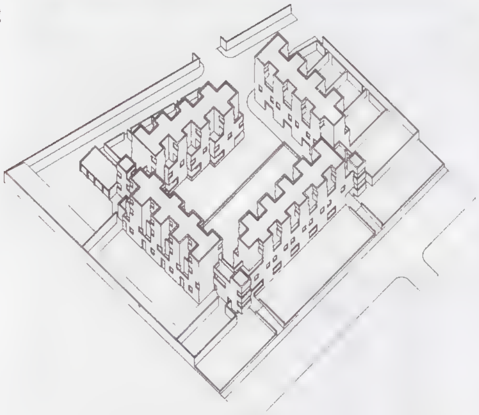
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James Gowan

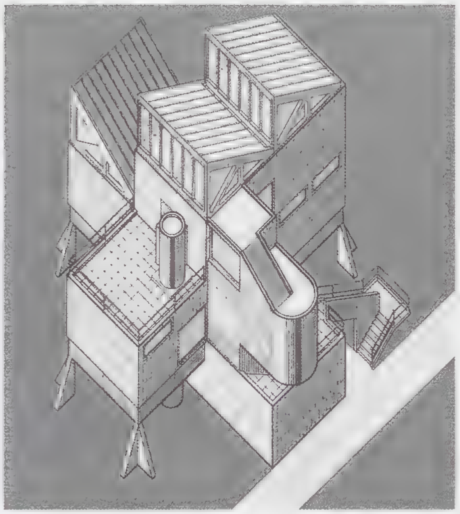
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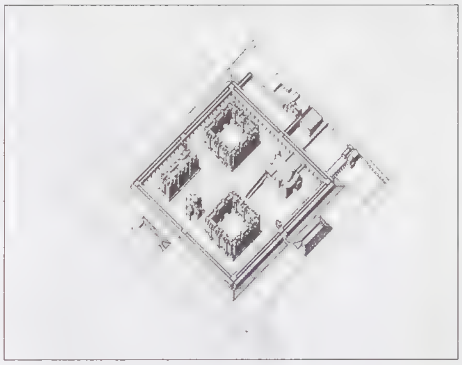
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1.2. James Gowan, Trafalgar Road Housing, Greenwich, London, Great Britain, 1968.
3. James Gowan, Churchill College Library, Cambridge, Great Britain, 1960.
4. James Stirling and James Gowan Architects, Churchill College, Cambridge, Great Britain, 1960 (axonometric by J. Gowan).

Vico Magistretti

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1. Vico Magistretti, Edificio per uffici e abitazioni L'Abeille in Via Leopardi, Milano, Italia, 1956.
2. Vico Magistretti, Edificio per abitazioni in Piazza Aquileia, Milano, Italia, 1961-63.
3. Vico Magistretti, Dipartimento di Biologia dell'Università Statale, Milano, Italia, 1979-81.

Angelo Mangiarotti



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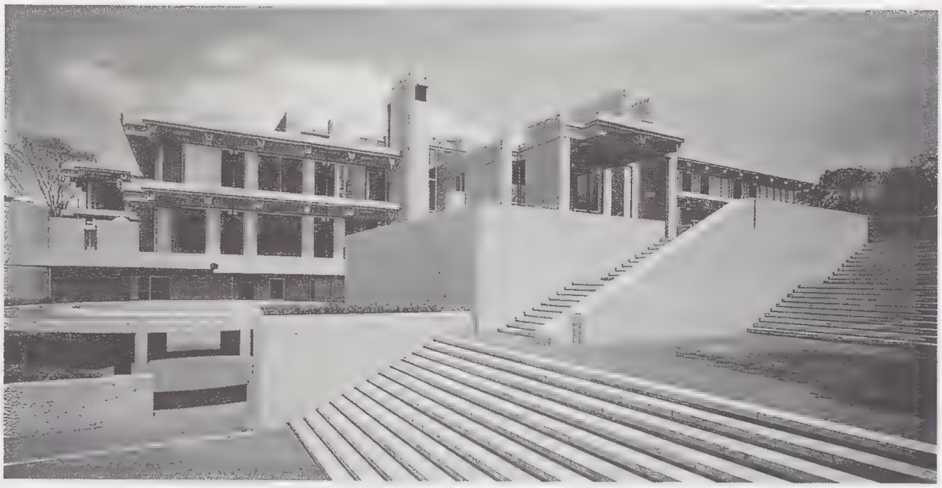
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1. Angelo Mangiarotti, Bruno Morassutti, Edificio per abitazioni in Via Quadronno, Milano, Italia, 1959.
2. Angelo Mangiarotti, Megastruttura a pianta quadrata in cemento armato precompresso, 1975.
3. Angelo Mangiarotti, Struttura prefabbricata in cemento armato per un edificio industriale a Bussolengo, Verona, Italia, 1979.

Masato Otaka



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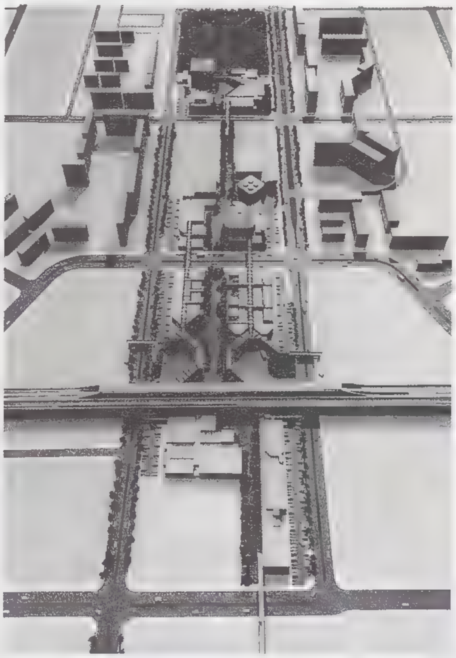
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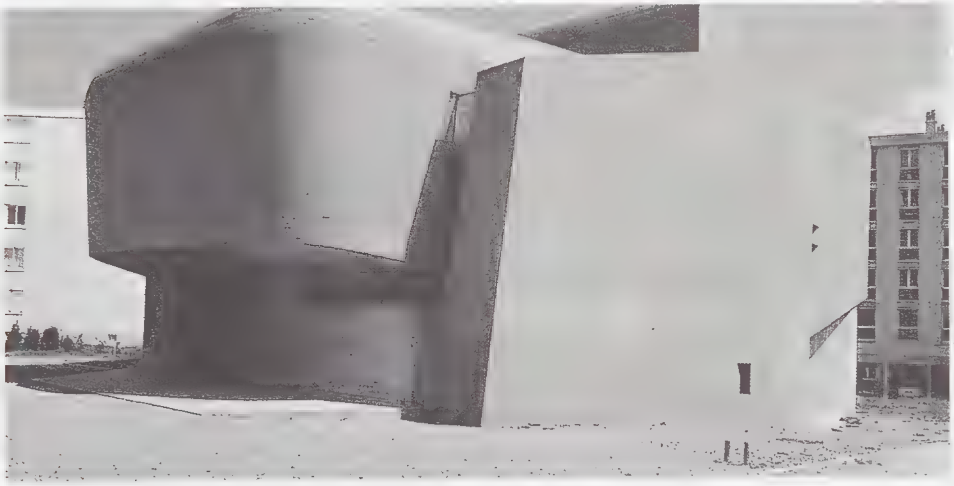
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1. Masato Otaka, Chiba Prefectural Library, Chiba, Japan, 1968.
2.3.4. Masato Otaka, Tochigi Prefectural Congress Hall, Tochigi, Japan, 1970.
5. Masato Otaka, Kemigawa Town Center, Kemigawa, Japan, 1971.

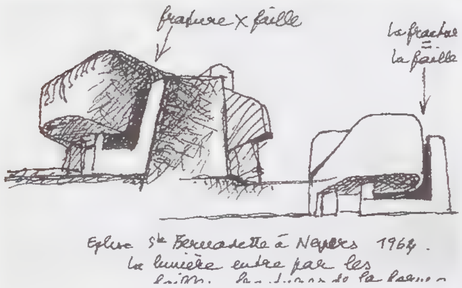
Claude Parent



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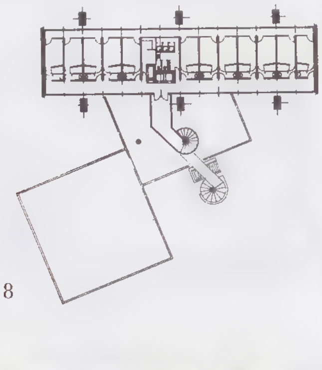


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1.2.3. Claude Parent, Paul Virilio, Eglise S.te Bernadette du Banlay, Nevers, France, 1963-66.
4.5. Claude Parent, Maison André Bloc, Cap d'Antibes, France, 1959.
6. Claude Parent, Maison Drusch, Versailles, France, 1963.
7.8.9. Claude Parent, Maison de l'Iran, Université de Paris, France, 1962-68.



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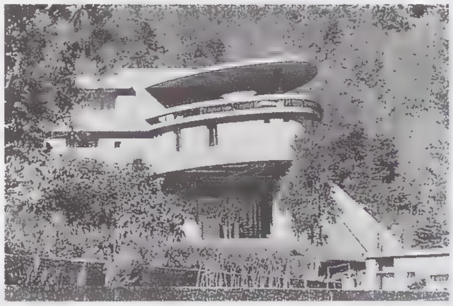
Leonardo Ricci



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1. Leonardo Ricci, Macrostruttura per abitazioni nel Quartiere Sorgane, Firenze, Italia, 1963.
2.3.4. Leonardo Ricci, Casa Ricci nel Villaggio Monterinaldi, Firenze, Italia, 1950-51.
5. Leonardo Ricci, Casa Balmain a Marciana alta, Isola d'Elba, Italia, 1958.
6. Leonardo Ricci, Fabbrica Goti a Campi Bisenzio, Prato, Italia, 1959.

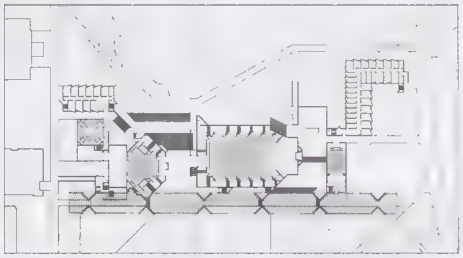
Kevin Roche John Dinkeloo



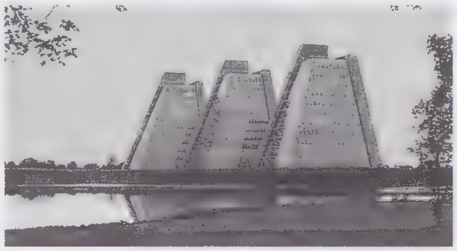
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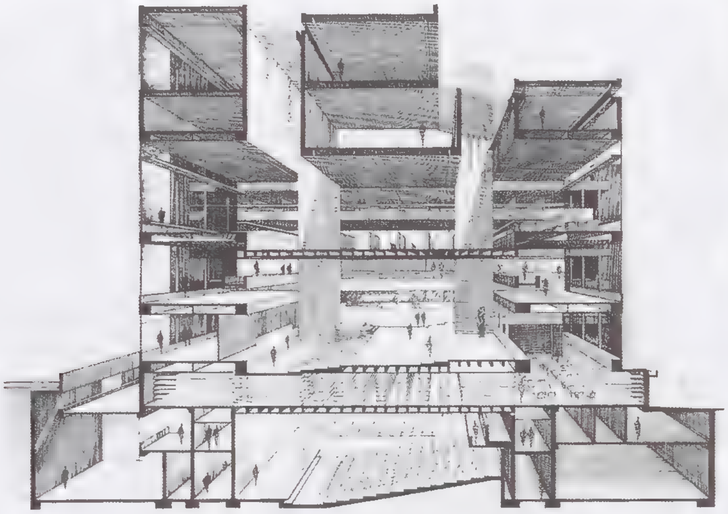
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1.2.3. Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, Fine Arts Center, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass., U.S.A., 1974.
4. Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, College Life Insurance Company of America Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana, U.S.A., 1974.
5. Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo, United Nations Development Corporation, New York, U.S.A., 1968-93.

Paul Rudolph



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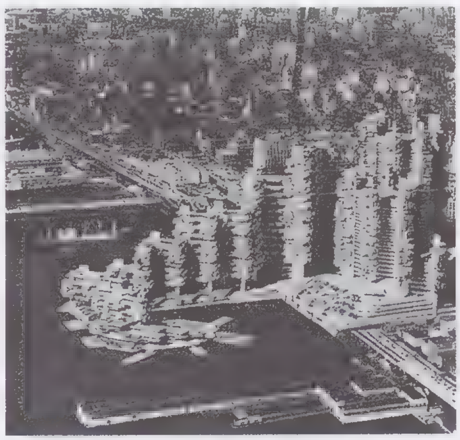


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1.2.3. Paul Rudolph, Art and Architecture Building, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1958-64.
4. Paul Rudolph, Arthur W. Milam House, Jacksonville Beach, St. John's County, Florida, U.S.A., 1960-62.
5. Paul Rudolph, Endo Laboratories, Garden City, Long Island, New York, U.S.A., 1962-64.
6. Paul Rudolph, Graphic Arts Center, New York, U.S.A., 1967.



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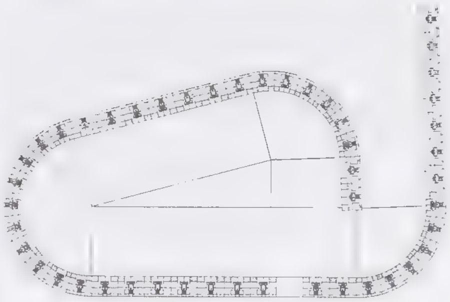
Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza


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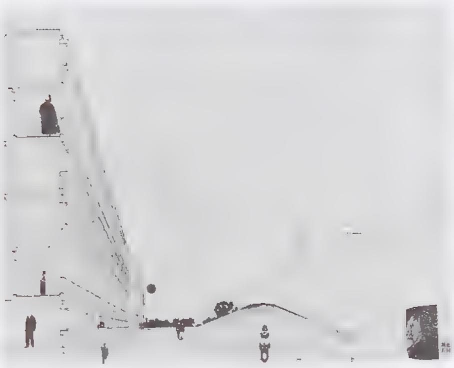

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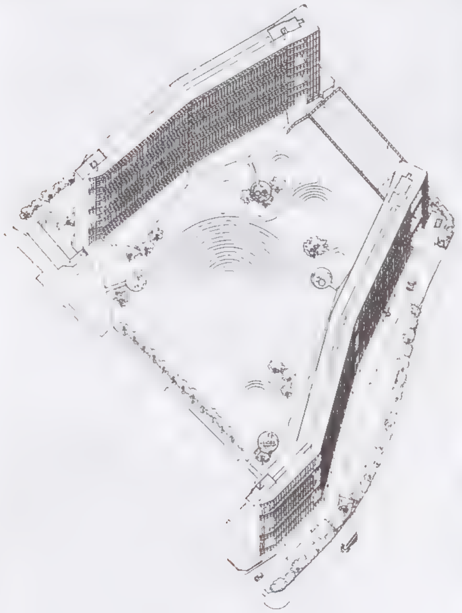
1.2.3. Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Edificio de 346 viviendas en la M-30, Madrid, España, 1996-89.
4. Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Santuario de Aranzazu, Guipozcoa, España, 1950-54.
5.6. Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Edificio de viviendas Torres Blancas, Madrid, España, 1961-68.
7. Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Edificio de oficinas Banco de Bilbao, Madrid, España, 1971-78.


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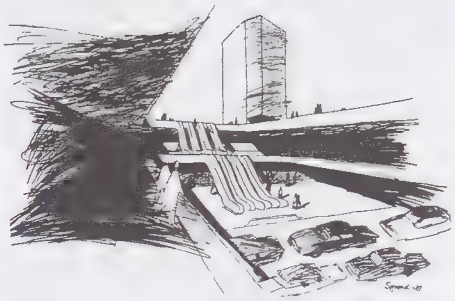
Alison and Peter Smithson

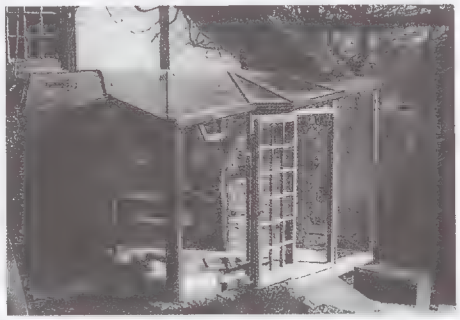

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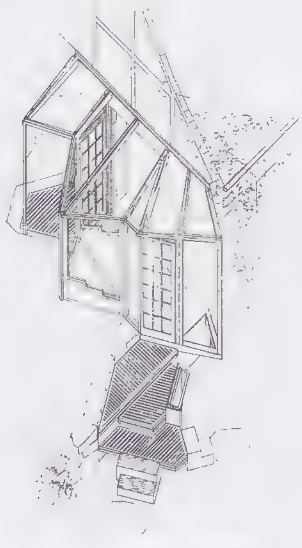

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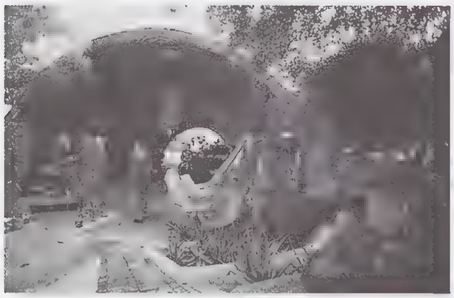
1.2.3.4. Alison and Peter Smithson, Robin Hood Gardens, Tower Hamlets, London, Great Britain, 1966-72.
5. Alison and Peter Smithson, Peter Sigmund, Haupstadt Berlin, Germany, 1958.
6.7.8. Alison and Peter Smithson, Axel's Porch, Hexenhaus, Bad Karlshafen, Kassel, Germany, 1984-86.

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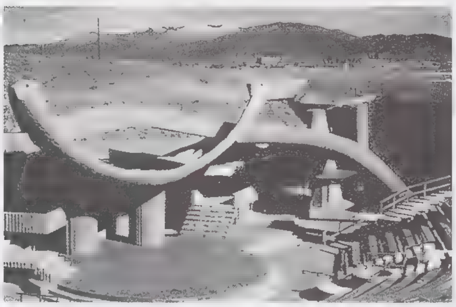
Paolo Soleri



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1. Paolo Soleri, Dome House, passive solar residence, Cave Creek, Arizona, U.S.A., 1949.
2. Paolo Soleri, North Apse, entrance way to Cosanti, Mayer, Arizona, U.S.A., 1964.
3. Paolo Soleri, Santa Fe Indian Theater (now Paolo Soleri Theater), Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A., 1966.

Fernando Távora



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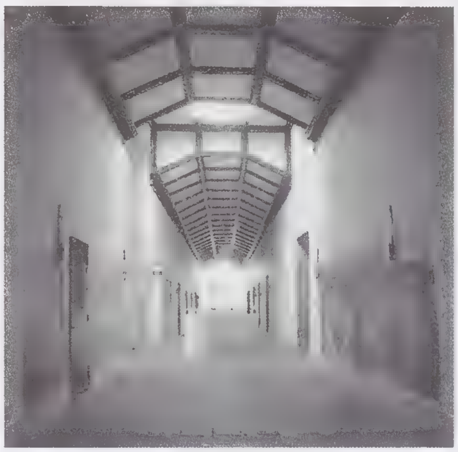
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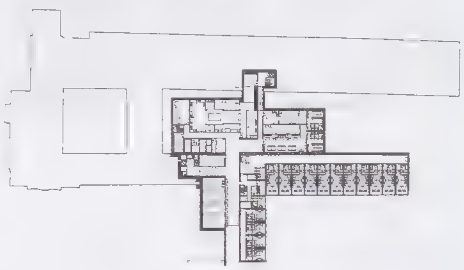


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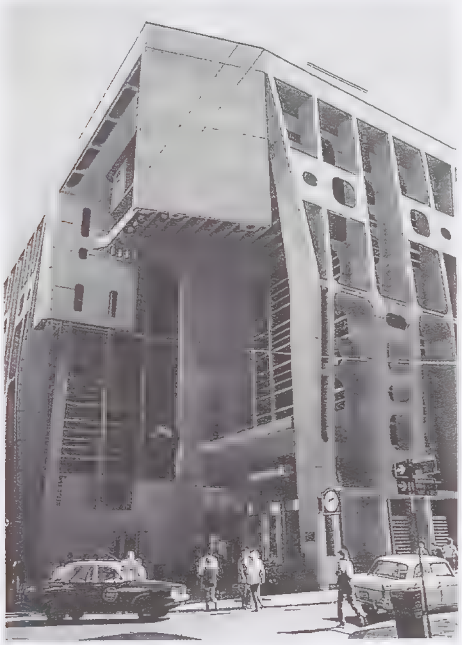


1. Fernando Távora, Escola primaria do Cedro, Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal, 1958-60.
2. Fernando Távora, Mercado Municipal, Vila da Feira, Portugal, 1953-59.
3.4. Fernando Távora, Convento de Santa Marinha, Guimãraes, Portugal, 1975-84.
5.6. Fernando Távora, Escola Superior Agrária, Convento de Refóios do Lima, Ponte de Lima, Portugal, 1987-93.

Clorindo Testa



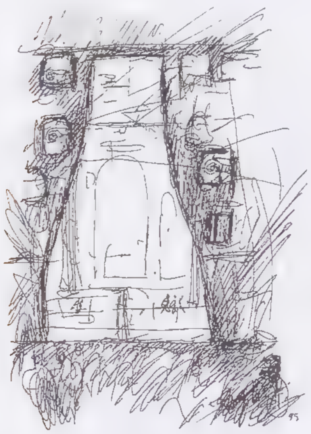
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1. Clorindo Testa, Biblioteca Nacional, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1962-71.
2.3. Clorindo Testa, Banco de Londres y America del Sur, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1959-66.

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Jörn Utzon



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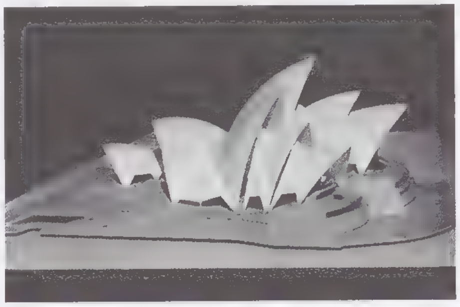
1. Jörn Utzon, Water tower, Bornholm, Denmark, 1946.
2.3. Jörn Utzon, Danish Co-operative Building Company Housing Development, Fredensborg, Denmark, 1962-63.
4.5. Jörn Utzon, Opera House, Sidney, Australia, 1957-66.
6. Jörn Utzon, Municipal Theatre, Zürich, Switzerland, 1964.



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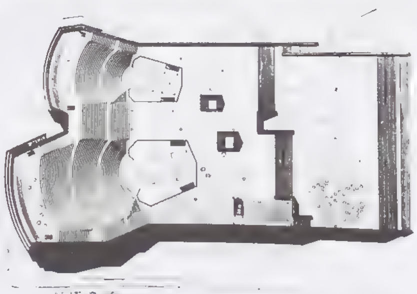
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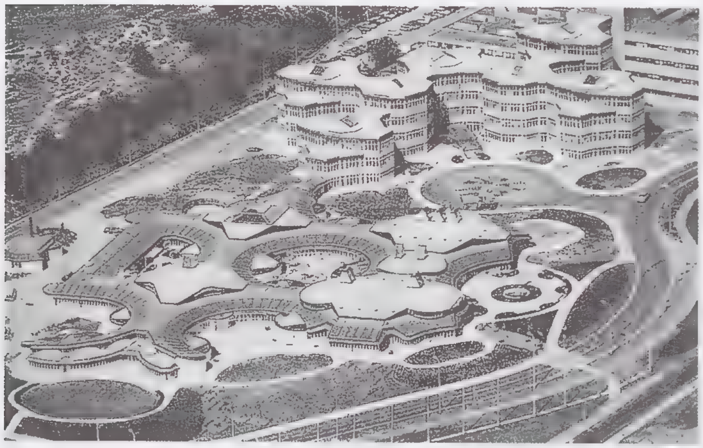
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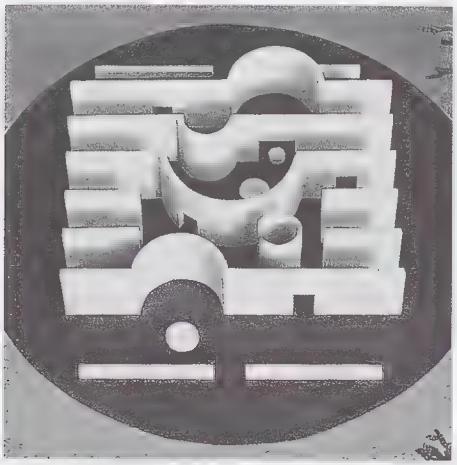
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Aldo van Eyck


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1.2. Aldo and Hannie van Eyck, Europe Space Agency, Noordwijk, Netherlands, 1986-89.
3. Aldo van Eyck, Orphanage, Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1955-60.
4.5. Aldo van Eyck, Sculpture Pavilion, Sonsbeek, Netherlands, 1965-66.
6. Aldo and Hannie van Eyck, Hubertus Home for single parents and their children, Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1976-78.

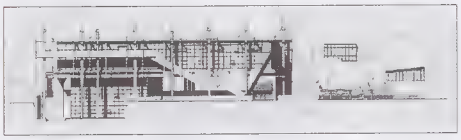
Vittoriano Viganò



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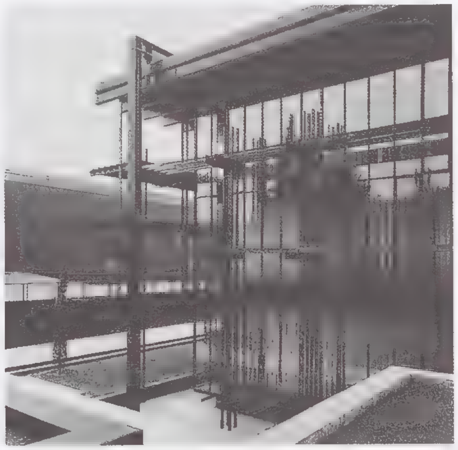
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1.2. Vittoriano Viganò, Istituto Marchiondi Spagliardi, Milano, Italia, 1953-57.
3.4.5. Vittoriano Viganò, Casa "La Scala" per André Bloc, Portese del Garda, Italia, 1957-58.
6.7.8. Vittoriano Viganò, Mollificio Bresciano, San Felice del Benaco, Brescia, Italia, 1968.
9. Vittoriano Viganò, Ampliamento della Facoltà di Architettura del Politecnico di Milano, Milano, Italia, 1970-85.
10. Vittoriano Viganò, Piano di valorizzazione del Parco Sempione e dei suoi monumenti, Terza fase, Milano, Italia, 1985-91.

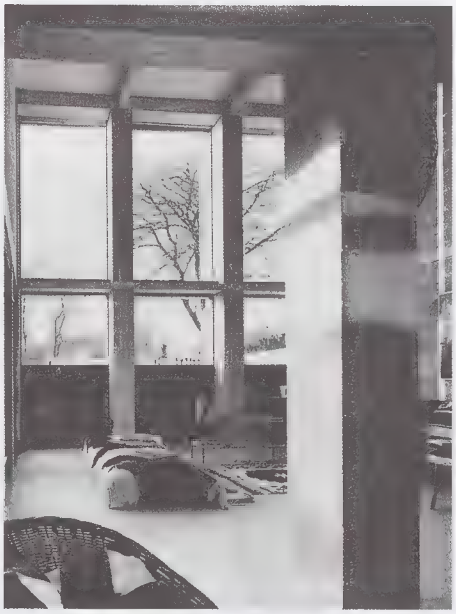
Colin St. John Wilson



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1.2. Colin St. John Wilson, Extension to the School of Architecture, Cambridge University, Great Britain, 1959.
3.4. Colin St. John Wilson, Wilson House and Studio (currently Wittgenstein Archive), Cambridge, Great Britain, 1960-62.
5.6. Leslie Martin and Colin St. John Wilson, Harvey Court, Gonville&Caius College, Cambridge, Great Britain, 1960-62.

1. Eero Saarinen (1910-61), Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., 1948-64.

1. Eero Saarinen (1910-61), Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., 1948-64.



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Da Mies a Mickey Mouse
Peter Blake

Negli anni immediatamente precedenti la Seconda guerra mondiale l'architettura americana subì profondi cambiamenti. Molti importanti architetti europei, costretti ad abbandonare la Germania e l'Austria per sfuggire al Nazismo, emigrarono negli Stati Uniti dove le Scuole di architettura poterono così vantare insegnanti straordinari. È risaputo che i più noti furono Walter Gropius e Marcel Breuer, chiamati a Harvard a insegnare presso la Scuola di Architettura di quella Università, Mies van der Rohe, che insegnò all'Armour Institute (che diverrà poi l'Illinois Institute of Technology o IIT) di Chicago, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy che, sempre a Chicago, fondò un Istituto di Architettura ispirato in parte al Bauhaus, oltre a numerosi artisti e *designer* provenienti dalla famosa istituzione tedesca, come Josef Albers e Herbert Bayer. Tutte queste eminenti personalità giunsero negli Stati Uniti alla fine degli anni Trenta e riuscirono a fondare in tempi brevissimi nuove Scuole di Architettura e *Design* attingendo a molti dei principi che negli anni Venti avevano informato il Bauhaus di Weimar e Dessau.
Per meglio comprendere i profondi cambiamenti che interessarono le Scuole di Architettura dopo l'arrivo improvviso di queste personalità in America, è necessario sottolineare che fino ad allora esse avevano adottato un sistema didattico ispirato alla tradizionale École des Beaux-Arts parigina, una scuola che molti architetti americani avevano frequentato a partire dal Diciannovesimo secolo. Da parte mia, iniziai a studiare architettura in America intorno al 1940, e poiché non fui ammesso né a Harvard né all'Armour Institute, scelsi una Scuola di grande prestigio e di ispirazione *Beaux-Arts* presso l'Università di Pennsylvania, a Filadelfia. Prima della guerra avevo lavorato due anni come praticante presso Serge Chermayeff, a Londra, e non mi interessava molto diventare un architetto *Beaux-Arts*. Per contrastare gli insegnamenti che mi venivano impartiti all'Università di Pennsylvania (o "Penn"), la sera e durante i fine settimana lavoravo nello studio di un architetto locale di nome Louis Kahn, pochissimo conosciuto negli ambienti universitari. Nessuno dei miei progetti "moderni" elaborato all'Università di Pennsylvania fu mai accettato dalla Scuola, un problema che condivisi con altri studenti di orientamento analogo al mio. Erano soltanto due o tre gli studenti di orientamento simile al mio, e in breve fummo tutto arruolati nell'esercito statunitense e spediti a combattere oltreoceano. In fondo era preferibile

From Mies to Mickey Mouse
Peter Blake

In the years immediately prior to World War II, American architecture underwent some dramatic changes: largely as a result of the sudden arrival, in the United States, of several important European architects who had left Germany and Austria to escape the Nazis, architecture schools in the U.S. were able to attract some extraordinary teachers.
The best known among them, needless to say, were Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer, who were hired by Harvard University to teach at that University's School of Design; and Mies van der Rohe, who was hired by Armour Institute (later the Illinois Institute of Technology or IIT) in Chicago. In addition, there was Laszlo Moholy-Nagy who also went to Chicago and started the Institute of Design, more or less in the Bauhaus image; and several former Bauhaus artists and designers like Josef Albers and Herbert Bayer. All of these remarkable people arrived in the U.S. in the late 1930s and were able to start new schools of architecture and design almost immediately – schools patterned, more or less, on the Weimar and Dessau Bauhaus of the 1920s.
To realize what a dramatic shift in architectural education resulted from the sudden arrival of these people in America, it is necessary to point out that almost all U.S. schools of architecture, prior to that time, belonged to an educational system patterned after the traditional, Parisian École des Beaux-Arts *– a school that virtually all American architects attended in the 19th century and later. It so happened that I started my own architectural education in America around 1940; and since I was unable to get into Harvard or Armour Institute, I went to a very prestigious,* Beaux-Arts *oriented school at the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. I had been an apprentice of Serge Chermayeff in London for a couple of years prior to the outbreak of war, and was not especially interested in becoming a* Beaux-Arts *architect. To counteract the teachings at the University of Pennsylvania (or Penn), I went to work in the evenings and on weekends in the office of a local architect called Louis Kahn, of whom hardly anyone at Penn had ever heard. None of my "modern" projects done in studios at Penn were accepted, and other students who shared my views had the same problems. There were only two of three students with similar orientations; and before long we were all drafted into the U.S. Army, anyway, and sent overseas to fight in the war. By and large, that was preferable to fighting*



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combattere in guerra che contro i professori *Beaux-Arts* di Filadelfia!
Quando tornammo in America, ogni cosa era cambiata: gli anni Quaranta stavano per finire e quasi ogni Scuola di Architettura era slittata verso i principi di Mies o del Bauhaus. Mentre prima dell'arrivo di Gropius e di Mies le Scuole "moderne" in America non erano più di due – la più importante, naturalmente, la "Taliesin" di Frank Lloyd Wright e la "Cranbrook" di Eliel Saarinen – ora lo erano pressoché tutte. Non solo, il mio amico Louis Kahn era diventato un docente molto richiesto, così come Serge Chermayeff e Erich Mendelsohn. Il sistema americano ispirato all'*École des Beaux-Arts* sembrava non esistere più e chi l'aveva sostenuto seguiva allora tutt'altri orientamenti.
Gli architetti giovani e promettenti della mia stessa generazione erano nati intorno al 1920, avevano iniziato a studiare architettura intorno al 1940 e in molti casi (come nel mio) avevano ultimato gli studi dopo quattro o cinque anni di servizio militare. A causa di questi nuovi orientamenti, le Scuole di Architettura americane, soprattutto a Harvard e a Chicago, tendevano ad attrarre giovani con inclinazioni artistiche radicalmente moderne e, in molti casi, legati a ideologie politiche progressiste. Poiché sapevamo che in Germania il Bauhaus era stato un centro artistico d'avanguardia (grazie a Klee, Kandinsky, Albers e altri, oltre a Gropius e Breuer), ma al tempo stesso anche un centro d'avanguardia di teoria e pratica sociale e politica, Harvard attrasse i più avventurosi, quei giovani convinti che la nuova architettura potesse cambiare radicalmente la vita del nostro secolo e di quelli a venire.
La gran parte di noi nutriva idee vagamente socialiste, alcuni erano stalinisti, uno o due erano fascisti. E tutti eravamo convinti di potere, e di dovere, cambiare il mondo con l'architettura moderna.
Eravamo, in breve, deliziosamente ottimisti e deliziosamente *naïve*. I progetti che realizzavamo a scuola venivano giudicati "onesti", "socialmente rilevanti" e "politicamente responsabili"; nessuno parlava di "arte" o di "Arte"; e noi volevamo progettare per il "popolo", non certo per un'*élite* capitalista.
Pensandoci oggi, sembra tutto molto strano. Per il fatto che il "Movimento Moderno" nell'architettura americana era tutt'altro che un movimento popolare o della "classe operaia": esso fu, fin dall'inizio, uno "stile" sostenuto e fatto proprio dai ricchi. Nel 1932 il Museum of Modern Art

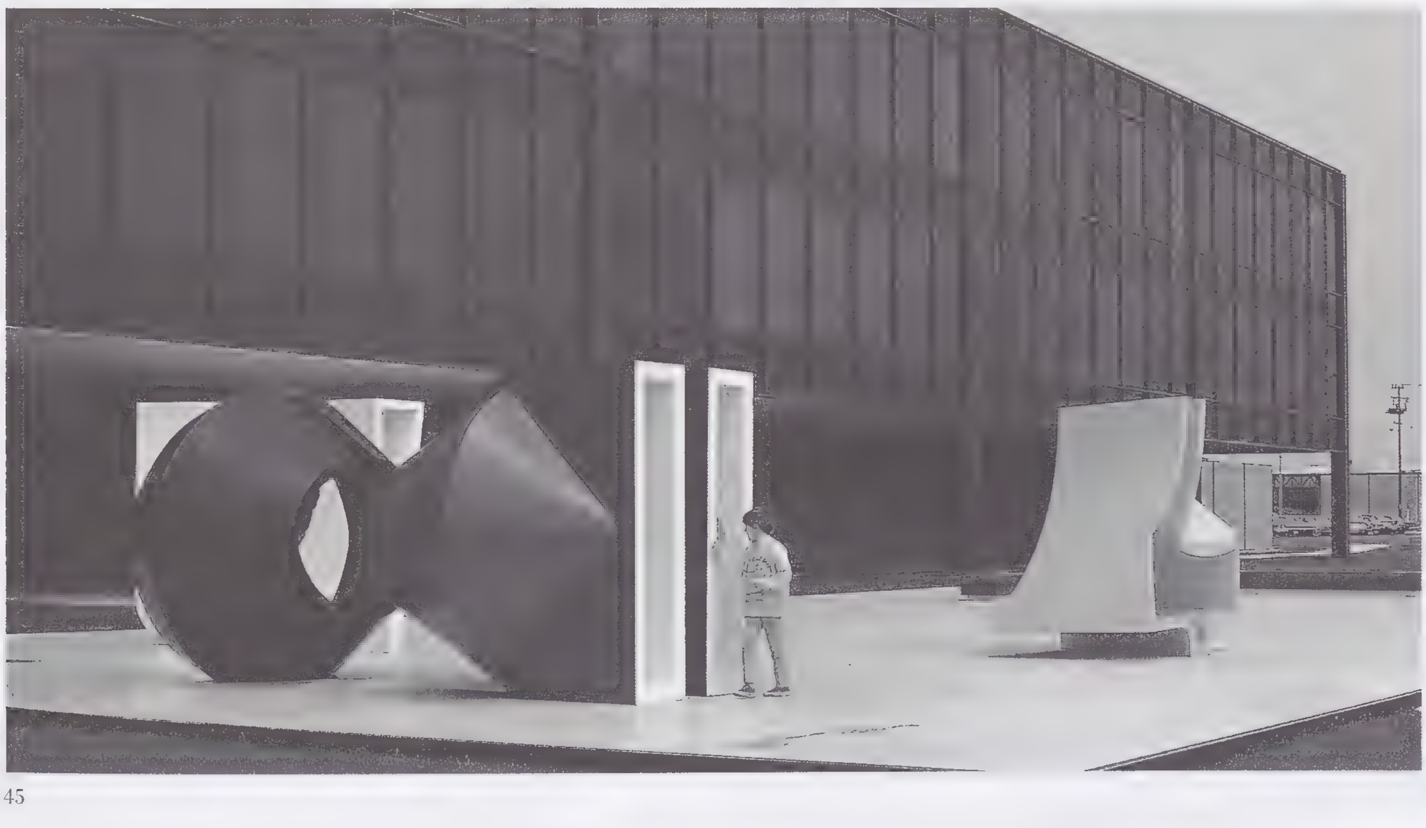
with the Beaux-Arts *oriented professors at Penn.*
By the time we came back from overseas, the architectural situation in the U.S. had changed completely. It was now in the late 1940s, and virtually every single School of Architecture in America had shifted to Bauhaus of Miesian principles. Whereas prior to the arrival of Gropius and Mies there had been only one or two "modern" schools in America – most notably, of course, Frank Lloyd Wright's "Taliesin" and Eliel Saarinen's "Cranbrook", – now almost every American School of Architecture had become "modern"; and my friend Louis Kahn was in great demand as a teacher, as were people like Serge Chermayeff and Erich Mendelsohn. The American École des Beaux-Arts *system had virtually collapsed, and its member schools were completely changed in orientation!*
My generation of young, up-and-coming architects had been born around 1920; and so we started our architectural education around 1940 – and completed it, in many cases (as I did) after serving in the military for four or five years. Because of the way in which the new American schools of architecture, especially at Harvard and in Chicago, began to take shape, they tended to attract young men and women whose artistic inclinations were radically modern, and who were often quite radical politically as well. Because we knew that the Bauhaus, in Germany, had been a center of both avant-garde art (with Klee, Kandinsky, Albers and other artists in residence, as well as Gropius and Breuer), and a center of avant-garde social and political theories and practice, Harvard attracted most of the more adventurous young people – people who believed that the new architecture could change the nature of life in our century and the next.
Most of us were vaguely socialist in orientation; some were Stalinist; one or two were fascist. And all of us believed that we could and should change the world, and that modern architecture was the way to do it.
In short, we were deliciously optimistic and deliciously naive. Our studio projects, at school, were described as "honest", "socially relevant", and "politically responsible"; nobody talked about "art" or "Art"; and our projects were addressed to "the people" – certainly not to any capitalist elite.
In retrospect, this seems very strange indeed. For the fact was that the "modern movement" in American architecture was not a popular, "working class" manifestation at all: from the very start, it was a "style" sponsored and appropriated by the rich. In 1932, the Museum of Modern

2. Eero Saarinen (1910-61), General Motors Technical Center, Dynamometer Building, Warren, Michigan, U.S.A., 1951-57.
3. Craig Ellwood (1922-92), South Bay Bank, Manhattan Beach, California, U.S.A., 1955-56.
4. Craig Ellwood (1922-92), Scientific Data Systems Factory, El Segundo, California, U.S.A., 1965-66. Sculture di George Sugarman.

2. Eero Saarinen (1910-61), General Motors Technical Center, Dynamometer Building, Warren, Michigan, U.S.A., 1951-57.
3. Craig Ellwood (1922-92), South Bay Bank, Manhattan Beach, California, U.S.A., 1955-56.
4. Craig Ellwood (1922-92), Scientific Data Systems Factory, El Segundo, California, U.S.A., 1965-66. Sculptures by George Sugarman.



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5-6. Paolo Soleri (n. 1919), Ceramica artistica Solimene, Vietri sul Mare (Salerno), Italia, 1951.

5-6. Paolo Soleri (b. 1919), Solimene Artistic Ceramics, Vietri sul Mare (Salerno), Italy, 1951.



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di New York organizzò una mostra curata da Henry-Russel Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, Alfred H. Barr e Lewis Mumford che inaugurò il cosiddetto "International Style", una mostra che più di ogni altra iniziativa ha lanciato e promosso il Movimento Moderno in America. E il Museum of Modern Art era stato fondato da famiglie quali i Rockefeller, i Whitney, i Goodyear e da altri principi e principesse del capitalismo americano; e fu così che l' "International Style" divenne presto lo "stile" dei ricchi e dei superricchi.
Tuttavia negli anni successivi la Seconda guerra mondiale, e prima che avvenisse tutto questo, i giovani idealisti che frequentavano Harvard e l'IIT, o le due o tre altre scuole "moderne" che iniziavano a godere di una buona reputazione, rimanevano fermi nella loro fede che la nuova architettura non fosse uno "stile", ma un movimento ideologico interamente votato all'integrità strutturale e funzionale, e ad altre belle cose.
Tutti coloro che abbracciarono questa nuova architettura dimostrarono talento e forza idealistica sorprendenti: tra questi, senza un ordine particolare, Paul Rudolph, Edward Larrabee Barnes, Ulrich Franzen, Ieoh Ming Pei, Henry Cobb, Philip Johnson, John Johansen e molti altri. Tutti studiarono a Harvard negli anni subito precedenti e successivi la Seconda guerra mondiale e tutti, in un modo o nell'altro, sposarono i principi idealisti promossi da Gropius, Breuer e, più indirettamente, da Mies van der Rohe.
(Va sottolineato che la Scuola di Architettura di Harvard non cercò di imporre un orientamento specifico al lavoro dei suoi studenti: alcuni, come Landis Gores, furono devoti discepoli di Frank Lloyd Wright, altri, come Philip Johnson, di Mies, altri di Le Corbusier o, negli anni successivi, della cosiddetta Bay Region School che iniziava ad affermarsi nella West Coast; e altri ancora esplorarono occasionalmente il romanticismo di Alvar Aalto e altri orientamenti non direttamente riferibili al Bauhaus).
Ma in quei primi anni i giovani architetti emergenti formatisi a Harvard erano fermamente ispirati a una visione chiara e inequivocabile. Una visione i cui fondamenti erano la struttura, lo spazio, la forma, la funzione, l'onestà espressiva. E nel lavoro di molti di quei primi laureati tale visione non ha subito compromessi.
Harvard e la scuola di Mies van der Rohe all'IIT non furono tuttavia le sole Scuole di Architettura che alla fine degli anni Quaranta iniziarono ad abbracciare i principi

Art, in New York, opened an exhibition assembled by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, Alfred H. Barr and Lewis Mumford, for which the term "International Style" was initially coined – an exhibition that may have done more than any other to launch and promote the Modern Movement in America. The Museum of Modern Art, needless to say, was the creation of such families as the Rockefellers, the Whitneys, the Goodyears and other princes and princesses of American capitalism; and the "International Style", before long, became the "style" of the rich and the super-rich.
But before this happened in the years after World War II, the young idealists who were enrolled at Harvard and IIT and in one or two other modern schools that were beginning to gain a reputation in the post-war years, were sure that the new architecture was not a "style" but an ideological movement totally dedicated to structural and functional integrity, and to other fine things.
In retrospect, the people who were part and parcel of this new architecture represent an astonishing roster of talent and of idealism. In no particular order, they include Paul Rudolph, Edward Larrabee Barnes, Ulrich Franzen, Ieoh Ming Pei, Henry Cobb, Philip Johnson, John Johansen, and many more. All of these came out of Harvard during the years just before and just after World War II; and all of them, in one way or another, subscribed to the idealistic notions advanced by people like Gropius, Breuer and, more indirectly, by Mies van der Rohe.
(It should be pointed out that the Architecture School at Harvard did not attempt to impose an identifiable handwriting on the work of its students: in fact, one of the students – Landis Gores – was a devoted disciple of Frank Lloyd Wright; another – Philip Johnson – was equally devoted to Mies; still others were devotees of Le Corbusier or, in later years, of the so-called Bay Region School that began to rear its pretty head on the West Coast: and still others occasionally explored Alvar Aalto's romanticism and other directions not usually identified with the Bauhaus).
But the most talented young architects to emerge from those early days at Harvard were pure and consistent and utterly devoted to a clear and unmistakable vision. It was a vision in which structure, space, form, function, and honesty of expression dominated. And in the work of many of those early graduates that vision has not been compromised.
Harvard and Mies van der Rohe's school at IIT were not the

del Movimento Moderno. Il Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), sotto l'influenza della vicina Scuola di Harvard, laureò architetti di talento tra i quali Gordon Bunshaft, che divenne presto il progettista principale dello studio newyorkese Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM) e progettò il primo grande edificio per uffici "moderno" in Park Avenue, la Lever House, ultimato nel 1952, cinque anni prima del Seagram Building di Mies van der Rohe sul fronte opposto della strada. La Scuola di architettura di Yale fu invece frequentata da molti architetti giovani e promettenti, tra i quali Eero Saarinen, e lo stesso si può dire dell'Università di California a Berkeley e di diverse altre scuole in California, North Carolina e altrove. Tuttavia nessuna di queste sembrava informata a un'ideologia così ferrea come quella dominante a Harvard e all'IIT, nel campo del *planning*, dell'*housing* o di altre discipline sociali o politiche.

Non lo furono nemmeno quegli isolati "modernisti" che iniziarono a emergere in modo più o meno indipendente in diverse parti del paese. Di questi le figure più interessanti furono quelle di Craig Ellwood, un texano che iniziò la sua carriera lavorando come tecnico per una società d'appalti in California e, affascinato dalla logica (e dall'estetica) degli elementi in vetro e acciaio di Mies van der Rohe, li tradusse in un linguaggio personale di estrema praticità e bellezza; e di Paolo Soleri, che raggiunse "Taliesin West" di Frank Lloyd Wright abbandonando l'Italia dove aveva realizzato alcune architetture plastiche di grande interesse vicino a Salerno. Trascorsi alcuni anni con Wright, Soleri avviò una propria "impresa" – la Cosanti Foundation a Scottsdale, in Arizona – che ha realizzato una serie di bellissime strutture wrightiane compresa una *new town* su un altopiano a circa 80 miglia a nord di Scottsdale. L'opera di Soleri è lontana dalle strutture razionaliste di Mies van der Rohe e di Ellwood quanto lo sono gli edifici di Gaudì a Barcellona dalle rigorose strutture di cemento costruite da Auguste Perret in Francia nei primi decenni di questo secolo.

Altri architetti, in California e altrove, praticarono individualmente la professione assai attivamente, e il loro lavoro si è conservato pressoché intatto. Tra i primi, Richard Neutra e Rudolph Schindler in California e, in altre regioni del paese, professionisti altrettanto radicali e innovativi.

Ma fu soltanto dopo il diffondersi dell'"International Style" negli anni Trenta, e la nascita delle nuove Scuole

only American schools of architecture, by the late 1940s, that began to dedicate themselves to the Modern Movement. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) became significantly influenced by Harvard (just down the street), and graduated such talented architects as Gordon Bunshaft, who would soon become the top designer for the Skidmore, Owings & Merrill firm (SOM) in New York, and designed the first major "modern" office building on Park Avenue – Lever House, which was completed in 1952, some five years before Mies van der Rohe's Seagram Building diagonally across the street. Yale's School of Architecture had graduated several promising young designers like Eero Saarinen, and so had the University of California at Berkeley, and various other schools in California, North Carolina, and elsewhere. But none of them seemed to have the ideological commitment that one found at Harvard and at IIT, in areas of planning, housing, or in other social or political issues.

Nor was there much of this ideological commitment in evidence among the isolated "modernists" who began to surface more or less independently in various parts of the country. The most interesting among them were Craig Ellwood, a Texan who started his career as a technician working for a general contractor in California, and was fascinated by Mies van der Rohe's steel-and-glass logic (and esthetic), and translated it into a practical and beautiful language of his own; and Paolo Soleri, who joined Frank Lloyd Wright's "Taliesin West" after leaving his native Italy where he had built a few fascinating sculptural structures near Salerno. After a few years with Wright, Soleri started his own "fellowship" – the Cosanti Foundation, in Scottsdale, Arizona – which has been building various fantastic, Wrightian structures, including a "New Town" on a mesa about 80 miles north of Scottsdale. Soleri's work is about as far removed in spirit from Mies van der Rohe's and Ellwood's rationalist structures as Gaudi's buildings in Barcelona were from Auguste Perret's logical concrete frames going up in France in the early decades of this century.

There were others who were practicing pretty much on their own, in California and elsewhere, and whose work has survived in isolation and often intact. Among the earliest were people like Richard Neutra and Rudolph Schindler in California, and similarly radical and innovative practitioners in other parts of the country.

But it really was not until the International Style invasion

7-8. *Kevin Roche (n. 1922), John Dinkeloo (1918-81), Ford Foundation Headquarters, New York, U.S.A., 1967.*

7-8. *Kevin Roche (b. 1922), John Dinkeloo (1918-81), Ford Foundation Headquarters, New York, U.S.A., 1967.*



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9. Philip Johnson (n. 1906), Museum of Modern Art, Sculpture Garden, New York, U.S.A., 1953.
10. Gordon Bunshaft (1909-90), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1963.
11. Ieoh Ming Pei (n. 1917), National Center For Atmosferic Research, Boulder, Colorado, U.S.A., 1967.
12. Ieoh Ming Pei (n. 1917), Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A., 1973.
13. Ulrich Franzen (n. 1921), Bradfield Hall (Agronomy Building), Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A., 1969.


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9. Philip Johnson (b. 1906), Museum of Modern Art, Sculpture Garden, New York, U.S.A., 1953.
10. Gordon Bunshaft (1909-90), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1963.
11. Ieoh Ming Pei (b. 1917), National Center For Atmospheric Research, Boulder, Colorado, U.S.A., 1967.
12. Ieoh Ming Pei (b. 1917), Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A., 1973.
13. Ulrich Franzen (b. 1921), Bradfield Hall (Agronomy Building), Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A., 1969.



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14. Paul Rudolph (n. 1918), Parking Garage per 1500 autovetture, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1959-63.
15. Paul Rudolph (n. 1918), Walker Guest House, Sanibel, Florida, U.S.A., 1952.

14. Paul Rudolph (b. 1918), Parking Garage for 1500 motorcars, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1959-63.
15. Paul Rudolph (b. 1918), Walker Guest House, Sanibel, Florida, U.S.A., 1952.



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più o meno ispirate al Bauhaus, che cominciò a emergere una nuova generazione di giovani architetti americani, una generazione che trasformò l'architettura in modo sostanziale e inequivocabile: nei venti o trent'anni successivi alla Seconda guerra mondiale, i giovani che uscirono da Harvard e dall'IIT – i Pei, i Franzen, i Johansen, i Barnes e i loro discepoli e amici – crearono un'immagine completamente nuova dell'architettura americana. E non solo di questa. A differenza di molti architetti di oggi, la generazione del dopoguerra dimostrò un profondo interesse per altre discipline artistiche e i più noti pittori e scultori del loro tempo, quali Henry Moore, Miró, Picasso e Calder, furono coinvolti nella progettazione di grandi architetture. Una situazione molto diversa da quella che si riscontra oggi nel nostro paese, dove è raro incontrare un architetto "postmoderno" che conosca una qualsiasi scultura che non sia quella di Donald Duck!

Questo avvenne perché i committenti degli anni immediatamente successivi alla guerra erano personaggi alquanto insoliti: non solo quando si trattava di mecenati d'arte come i Rockefeller, i Whitney, i Goodyear, ma anche quando si trattava di quei dirigenti, uomini e donne, che commissionavano edifici per le grandi industrie, dalla General Motors (che fece progettare la sua sede generale, ispirata all'opera di Mies van der Rohe, a Eero Saarinen), all'IBM (i cui numerosi edifici furono realizzati un po' da tutti, da Marcel Breuer a Eliot Noyes), alla Seagram (Mies), alla Ford Foundation (Kevin Roche), la Cummins Engine (Eero Saarinen), la Philip Morris (Ulrich Franzen).

Si trattava di una committenza insolitamente colta e illuminata. Negli anni Sessanta l'American Institute of Architects aveva invitato l'ormai anziano Nikolaus Pevsner a un congresso annuale a Miami. "*Il problema dell'architettura americana*" – disse Pevsner in quell'occasione, di fronte a una numerosa platea – "*non dipende da una scadente professionalità ma da una committenza non abbastanza colta*". Si era ai primi albori del postmoderno e gli architetti che sapevano come rivolgersi alla nuova generazione di clienti "incolti" capirono che l'unico modo per trattare serenamente con loro era quello di specializzarsi in cattivo gusto! E così, in nome del postmoderno, o di qualche altro nuovo "stile" altrettanto infelice, molti architetti "di fama" americani iniziarono a specializzarsi in cattivo gusto, un marchio di

of the 1930s, and the establishment of the new schools more or less patterned after the Bauhaus, that a new generation of young American architects began to surface – a generation that then proceeded to transform American architecture dramatically and unmistakably. And the young men who emerged from Harvard and IIT – the Peis, Franzens, Johansens, the Barneses, and their followers and friends – completely changed the image of American architecture over the twenty or thirty years after the end of World War II. And not only the image of American architecture. Unlike so many of today's architects, the post-war generation seemed exceedingly knowledgeable in the other arts as well: they routinely commissioned the best painters and sculptors of their time to work with them on major projects. It was quite commonplace to find artists like Henry Moore, Miro, Picasso, Calder and all the rest commissioned to collaborate on major architectural projects – a situation very different from that found in the U.S. today, where it would be had to find a "post modern" architect who is actually familiar with any sculpture beyond Donald Duck!

Much of this, needless to say, was due to the fact that the clients of the immediate post-war years were a very unusual crew. They were not only art patrons like the Rockefellers and Whitneys and Goodyears – they were also the men and women who commissioned buildings for corporations like General Motors (which had its huge headquarters built by Eero Saarinen, in the image of Mies van der Rohe); like IBM (whose many buildings were designed by everyone from Marcel Breuer to Eliot Noyes); like Seagram (Mies); Ford Foundation (Kevin Roche); Cummins Engine (Eero Saarinen); and Philip Morris (designed by Ulrich Franzen).

What made these clients so unusual was that they were, by and large, a very civilized and well-educated group. Some time in the 1960s, the American Institute of Architects invited the late Nikolaus Pevsner to come to its annual convention in Miami and to address the assembled throng. "The trouble with American architecture", *Pevsner said,* "is not that your architects are so bad; it is that your clients are not very civilized". *This was about the time when post-modernism started to rear its head; and architects who knew how to appeal to the new generation of "uncivilized" clients realized that the way to win them over was to specialize in bad taste! And so, in the name of postmodernism, or some similarly unfortunate new "style", many of America's "name architects" began to specialize in*



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fabbrica subito identificabile e riconoscibile come Donald Duck stesso.
Che triste destino! Intorno alla metà degli anni Sessanta alcuni dei migliori architetti americani – quella stessa generazione affermatasi nel dopoguerra – iniziarono a caratterizzare i loro marchi di fabbrica con immagini sciocche come quelle di Walt Disney, anche se non sempre altrettanto divertenti. Nei trent'anni successivi alla nascita del postmoderno, la generazione di talenti formatisi a Harvard, all'IIT e negli studi di Eero Saarinen e di Gordon Bunshaft, fu costretta ad arrendersi ai mercanti del cattivo gusto o ad abbandonare la professione (Craig Ellwood, uno dei migliori architetti del dopoguerra, ripudiato dai nuovi mercanti di Mickey Mouse, vendette lo studio di Los Angeles e si trasferì in Italia per dedicarsi alla pittura astratta in un piccolo paese vicino ad Arezzo, dove morì un paio d'anni dopo!).
Da Mies a Mickey Mouse: questo è purtroppo il percorso della storia dell'architettura americana a partire dalla Seconda guerra mondiale. Oggi in Florida, non lontano da Disney World, stanno costruendo una nuova città che credo si chiami Constipation o Copulation, o qualcosa del genere, al cui progetto partecipano quasi tutti gli architetti americani "di fama": una rosa di nomi che comprende alcuni dei miei amici più cari.
Sono contento che "Zodiac" dedichi un numero a quelle persone meravigliose, idealiste, capaci e profondamente impegnate che nell'America del dopoguerra decisero di cambiare il mondo! Sono contento e tuttavia mi rattrista pensare come alcuni miei amici – Gordon Bunshaft, Craig Ellwood, Landis Gores, Willo von Moltke e, soprattutto, Mies, Gropius e Lajko Breuer, che purtroppo non sono più in vita – avrebbero reagito di fronte al nostro declino verso "Mickeyland".

Peter Blake, architetto FAIA, è nato a Berlino nel 1920. Dal 1948 al 1950 curatore del Dipartimento di Architettura e *Industrial Design* del Museum of Modern Art di New York; dal 1950 al 1972 Associate Editor, Managing Editor e Editor-in-Chief di "The Architectural Forum"; dal 1972 al 1975 Editor-in-Chief di "Architecture Plus"; dal 1975 al 1979 direttore della School of Architecture del Boston Architectural Center; dal 1979 al 1990 direttore del Dipartimento di Architettura e Pianificazione della Catholic University di Washington, D.C. Ha realizzato opere di architettura negli U.S.A., in Europa e nella ex URSS. Tra i principali libri: *The Master Builders. Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright*, New York 1960 (trad. ital. *Tre maestri dell'architettura moderna*, Milano 1963); *God's Own Junkyard*, New York 1964; *Form Follows Fiasco*, Boston 1977 (trad. ital. *La forma segue il fiasco*, Firenze 1983); *No Place Like Utopia*, New York 1993.
Traduzione di Giovanna Albio.

bad taste – a trademark just as easily recognized and identified as Donald Duck itself!
What a sad decline and fall! Starting around the middle of the 1960s, some of the best American architects – the same generation that had emerged so impressively in the post-war years – began to create their private trademarks with images as silly as those invented by the late Walt Disney – though not always quite as funny. For the thirty years or so that followed the birth of postmodernism, the talented generation that had been taught at Harvard and IIT and in the offices of Eero Saarinen and Gordon Bunshaft, was forced either to surrender to the merchants of bad taste, or to give up altogether (Craig Ellwood sold his practice in Los Angeles, and moved to Italy to work as an abstract painter in a little village near Arezzo, where he died a couple of years ago – one of America's best post-war architects, disowned by the new merchants of Mickey Mouse!).
From Mies to Mickey Mouse – that, alas, is the story of American architecture in the years since World War II. Down in Florida, not far from Disney World, they are building a new town to be called Constipation or Copulation or something like that – and virtually every American "Name Architect" is contributing to its skyline. And that roster of names includes some of my dearest friends.
I am pleased that "Zodiac" is publishing an issue devoted to those wonderful, idealistic, talented and utterly dedicated people who came out of World War II in America and decided to change the world! I am pleased and very sad when I think of some of my friends – Gordon Bunshaft, Craig Ellwood, Landis Gores, Willo von Moltke and, above all, Mies and Gropius and Lajko Breuer, all of them now dead, alas – and when I think about how they must feel about our descent into Mickeyland.

Peter Blake, FAIA architect, was born in Berlin in 1920. He was curator of the Architecture and Industrial Design department of the Museum of Modern Art from 1948 to 1950; Associate Editor, Managing Editor and Editor-in-Chief of "Architectural Forum" from 1950 to 1973; Editor-in-Chief of "Architecture Plus" from 1974 to 1975; Chairman of the School of Architecture of the Boston Architectural Center from 1975 to 1979; Chairman of the Department of Architecture and Planning of the Catholic University, Washington, D.C. from 1979 to 1990. He has been practicing architect with buildings in the US, Europe, and the former USSR. Among his books: The Master Builders. Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright, *New York 1960*; God's Own Junkyard, *New York 1964;* Form Follows Fiasco, *Boston 1977*; No Place Like Utopia, *New York 1993.*

16. Edward Larrabee Barnes (n. 1915), Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas,Texas, U.S.A., 1983.
17. John Johansen (n. 1916), Mummer's Theater, Oklahoma City, U.S.A., 1970.
18. Edward Larrabee Barnes (n. 1915), Cowels House, Wyzata, Minnesota, U.S.A., 1962.

16. Edward Larrabee Barnes (b. 1915), Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas,Texas, U.S.A., 1983.
17. John Johansen (b. 1916), Mummer's Theater, Oklahoma City, U.S.A., 1970.
18. Edward Larrabee Barnes (b. 1915), Cowels House, Wyzata, Minnesota, U.S.A., 1962.



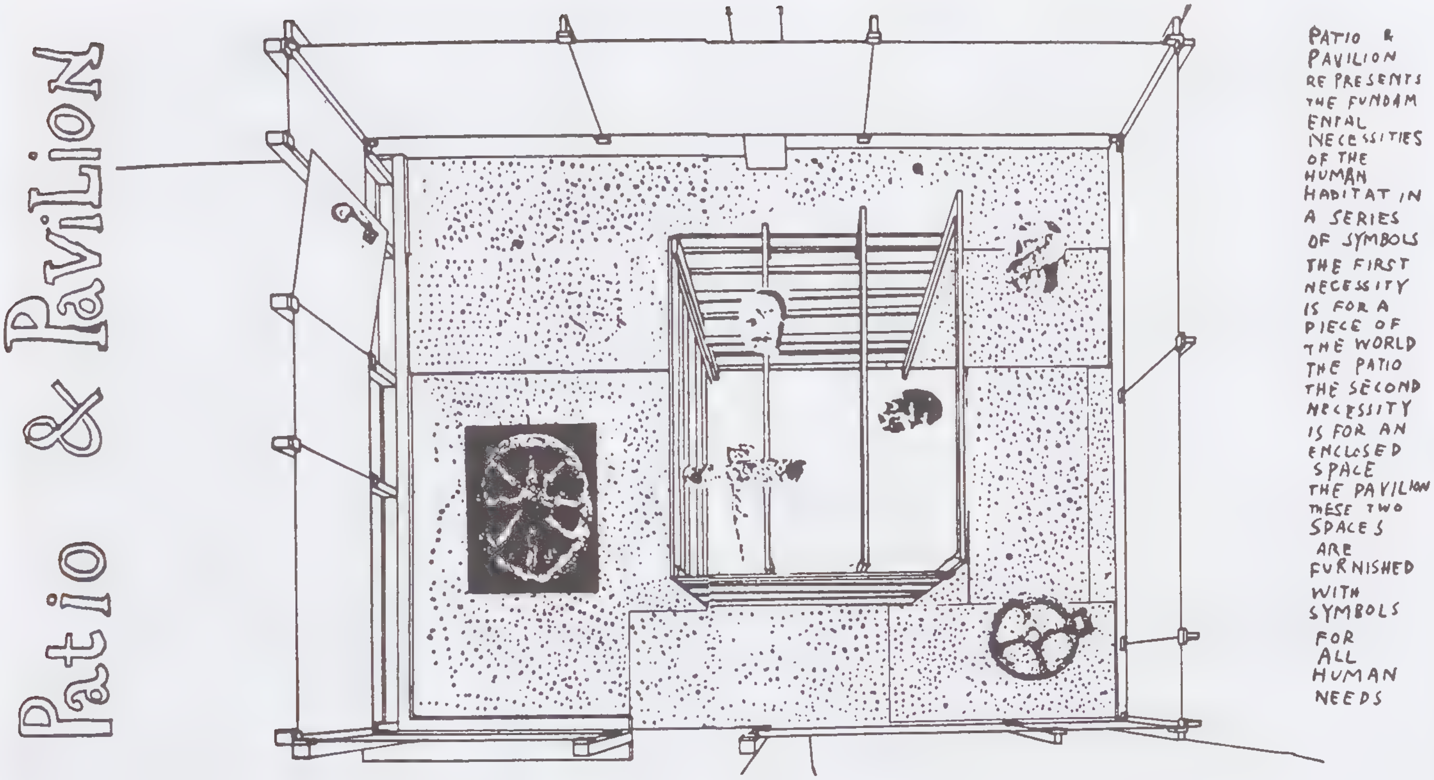
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1. *Alison (1928-1993) e Peter Smithson (n. 1923), Eduardo Paolozzi (n. 1924), Nigel Henderson, "Patio & Pavilion" alla mostra "This is Tomorrow", Whitechapel Art Gallery, Londra, 1956.*

1. *Alison (1928-1993) and Peter Smithson (b. 1923), Eduardo Paolozzi (b. 1924), Nigel Henderson, "Patio & Pavilion" at the exhibit "This is Tomorrow", Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1956.*

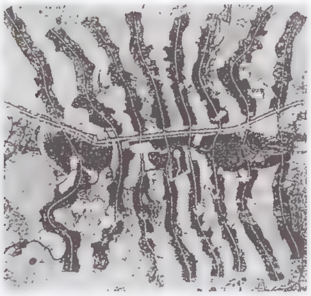


Una cornice per il Welfare State
Dennis Sharp

L'instabilità politica inglese nel secondo dopoguerra ebbe un profondo effetto sull'architettura. Il nuovo governo laburista intendeva ricostruire la società in tempi brevi ed edificare rapidamente; gli architetti che si avviarono alla professione subito dopo la guerra si trovarono spesso di fronte a programmi ambiziosi e mossero all'assalto delle convenzioni, lavorando per un'utopia pacifica.
Il dibattito svoltosi tra le due guerre – spesso elevato e connesso ad influssi stranieri – cedette ben presto il passo alla convinzione che potesse affermarsi un'architettura nuova, moderna, anche se alquanto pragmatica. Alla cautela dell'anteguerra – che trovava espressione nelle pagine di "Focus", la rivista specializzata dell'Architectural Association, redatta da critici nati durante la Grande guerra e divenuti adulti negli anni Trenta – subentrò lo slancio pieno di aspettative della rivista "Plan", succeduta a "Focus" nel dopoguerra. I suoi redattori, che erano nati negli anni Venti e avevano iniziato (o ripreso) la loro carriera professionale dopo il 1946, dichiararono: "*Nei lunghi anni della guerra siamo stati sorretti e stimolati dal pensiero dell'occasione che presto avremmo avuto di ricostruire le nostre città bombardate, di eliminare gli* slum *e di creare le* new town"[1].
Al termine del conflitto emerse uno spirito nuovo, destinato a cambiare la forma della città: lo spirito del socialismo, del *Welfare* e della ricostruzione. Quasi nessuno osava più ricorrere al vecchio slogan "*dimore adatte agli eroici reduci*": nell'aria (e nello Statute Book, la raccolta ufficiale delle leggi) c'era piuttosto il *town planning*. Il Piano Forshaw-Abercrombie (1943) aveva stabilito, sia pure a grandi linee, i principi da seguire in tutta la Contea di Londra: un insieme di direttive concrete, a cui avrebbero potuto rifarsi sia il Piano di sviluppo dettagliato del dopoguerra, sia tutta l'edilizia futura. Nel dopoguerra lo scenario in cui architetti e urbanisti potevano operare non era più costituito da questo o quello *slum*, ma dall'intera Londra. La possibile sfera d'azione del loro lavoro era stata indicata anche dal *Master Plan for London* guidato nel 1938 per il Gruppo MARS dall'architetto Arthur Korn, emigrato dalla Germania, e dall'ingegnere Felix Samuely e pubblicato su "The Architectural Review" nel giugno 1942.
Con le sue idee urbanistiche che sarebbero state fatte proprie da più generazioni di studenti dell'Architectural School fin nei tardi anni Sessanta, Korn esercitò probabilmente un influsso maggiore di quello di ogni altro

Framing the Welfare State
Dennis Sharp

The volatile nature of postwar politics in Britain had a profound effect on architecture. The new socialist government wished to reconstruct society rapidly and build quickly. Architects qualifying as professionals in the immediate postwar period found themselves in many cases with ambitious programmes to complete. They spear-headed an attack on convention. They worked for a peaceful utopia.
The interwar discussion – often polite and to do with foreign influences – soon gave way to the conviction that a new, modern – if somewhat pragmatic-architecture could work.
Prewar caution, as expressed in the pages of "Focus" the specialist AA student magazine – edited by those born during the Great War and beginning adult life in the 1930s – was soon replaced by the expectant urgency of its successor "Plan" magazine in the postwar period. "Plan" was edited by those born in the 1920s and beginning (or resuming) their professional careers after 1946. Plan's editors wrote: "During the long years of war we have been heartened and inspired by the thought of the chance we are going to have to rebuild our bombed cities, to sweep away the slums and create the new towns."[1]
*As the Second World War ended there arose a new spirit. It was to change the shape of the postwar city. It was the spirit of socialism, welfare and reconstruction. No one quite dared to use the old slogan – "*homes fit for heroes*" – but "Town Planning" was in the air – and on the Statute Book. The Forshaw-Abercrombie Plan (1943), if only an* esquisse, *had laid down principles for the whole County of London. It was a tangible brief to which both the more specific post-war Development Plan and all future building work could be geared. After the war it was the whole of London – not just this slum or that – that was the canvas on which the architects and planners could work. The possible scope of the work had also been suggested in the "Master Plan for London" produced by the emigré architect Arthur Korn and the engineer Felix Samuely for the MARS Group in 1938 but published in "The Architectural Review" in June 1942. Korn – whose views on the Town were to be inculcated by many generations of students at the AA School even until the late 1960s –, probably had more influence than any other urban theorist of the time. His students ranged from the architects who worked for the LCC and city and county authorities throughout Britain as well as in the USA and the Far East. He trained generations of architect planners*


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teorico del tempo. La gamma dei suoi allievi andava da architetti operanti nel London County Council e in organismi municipali e di contea di tutta la Gran Bretagna ad architetti attivi negli Stati Uniti e in Estremo Oriente; alla sua scuola si formarono generazioni di architetti urbanisti, da Leslie Ginsburg a Graeme Shankland a Cedric Price e Peter Cook. Il programma di interventi su Londra nel dopoguerra si sviluppò per impulso di Korn e di promotori come Furneaux Jordan (direttore dell'Architectural Association), Ernö Goldfinger ed Edward Carter, nonché di un tipo completamente nuovo di architetto-capo del London County Council. Erano, secondo l'espressione di un critico, "*i giorni dell'utopia*".
Si dava per scontato che il risanamento degli *slum* potesse essere eseguito solo dalle amministrazioni locali attraverso i loro funzionari architetti, e che i professionisti più affermati, le "primedonne", non avrebbero accettato incarichi del genere. Occorrevano appositi gruppi di lavoro, che avrebbero costituito un terreno fertile per i nuovi valori, espressi da architetti stipendiati mossi da un forte impegno sociale. Vi erano possibilità straordinarie, che oltrepassavano di molto il campo d'azione degli architetti privati del tempo: un programma pubblico di interventi avrebbe consentito a molti di diventare architetti di successo, costruendo molto senza andare in cerca di notorietà. La fama attendeva i migliori architetti-capo e i dipartimenti pubblici di progettazione in quanto tali.
Quasi tutti gi architetti capaci nati negli anni Venti e nei primi anni Trenta lavorarono per qualche tempo negli organismi pubblici centrali o locali, spesso insegnando a tempo parziale in una di quelle scuole di architettura in cui si tenevano aggiornati gli studenti e si reclutava la successiva generazione di architetti socialmente impegnati. L'80% circa dei progetti redatti alla Architectural Association, tra il 1955 e il 1960, riguardava le varie forme di edilizia abitativa.
Stimolati dai temi sociali e dai problemi derivanti dalle distruzioni belliche, i reduci erano tornati alla loro professione con grandi speranze e aspettative. La parità sociale era una meta comune ai politici e agli architetti; i temi più importanti e sentiti erano gli alloggi, gli edifici per l'industria e per la produzione di energia, le scuole, le fabbriche, le infrastrutture. Le attese si concentravano sulle occasioni offerte dalla progettazione delle *new town*; e finalmente nel 1947 queste cominciarono a spuntare nei verdi campi del Hertfordshire (già culla delle *garden city* di Letchworth e di Welwyn) e dell'Essex, dove a Harlow furono stabiliti nuovi *standard* di progettazione.
Ma il movimento delle *new town* finì col deludere le ottimistiche aspettative suscitate dai nuovi ideali urbanistici: ben presto questi ideali – nonostante lo straordinario influsso da essi esercitato in tutto il mondo – naufragarono in un ambiente suburbano di "prateria pianificata", di centri di quartiere e nella mentalità espressa dal motto "*la casa di un inglese è il suo castello*"[2].
Solo il progetto non realizzato di Berthold Lubetkin per una città mineraria a Peterlee (1948-50) e la città lineare di Geoffrey Copcutt a Cumbernauld in Scozia (1958-63) rispondevano a una concezione urbanistica coerente.
I programmi edilizi, spesso finanziati direttamente dal governo centrale, erano elaborati da organismi tecnici (Architect's Departments) costituiti *ex novo* o notevolmente ampliati; il controllo politico delle amministrazioni locali garantiva che le autorità della Contea e più tardi quelle regionali potessero adottare un approccio sistematico a questi programmi.

Programmi di edilizia abitativa pubblica
L'Architect's Department del London County Council era responsabile dello sviluppo urbano di Londra, in conformità al programma stabilito per legge, e di tutte le attività edilizie intraprese direttamente dal Council; erano inoltre di sua competenza la manutenzione dei propri edifici, l'applicazione dei regolamenti edilizi e del London Building Act, la nomina degli ispettori distrettuali e la cura dei monumenti e dei parchi storici non dipendenti dalla Corona. Aveva quindi l'effettiva responsabilità dell'approvazione – dal punto di vista urbanistico, strutturale, della sicurezza e, in minor misura, estetico – di tutti i progetti da realizzare nella Contea di Londra. Era un organismo dotato di pieni poteri, che costituiva il principale committente per i giovani architetti.

L'ottimismo del dopoguerra: il Festival of Britain (1951)
Il 1951 segnò uno spartiacque: il Festival of Britain, che si svolse a Londra nella zona di South Bank, un secolo dopo la Grande Esposizione del 1851, ebbe ripercussioni a lunga scadenza sulle arti, l'architettura e il *design*.
L'edificio più importante era la Royal Festival Hall, progettata dagli architetti del London County Council; seguirono ben presto altri edifici ad opera di architetti privati.

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2. *MARS Group, Master Plan for London, 1938.*
3. *John H. Forshaw e Patrick Abercrombie (1879-1957), County of London Plan, 1943.*

2. *MARS Group, Master Plan for London, 1938.*
3. *John H. Forshaw and Patrick Abercrombie (1879-1957), County of London Plan, 1943.*

from Leslie Ginsburg and Graeme Shankland to Cedric Price and Peter Cook. It was under his stimulus and that of promoters like Furneaux Jordan (Head of the AA), Ernö Goldfinger and Edward Carter, as well as an entirely new sort of chief architect at the London County Council, that the postwar programme of work on London developed. They were "starry-eyed" days, as one commentator put it. It was taken for granted that if slum clearance work was not done by municipalities – by employed architects – it would not be done at all. Prima Donna architects it was accepted would not have accepted such commissions. Special staff were needed. It was to prove a breeding ground for the new values created by salaried architects with social commitments and enormous opportunities, far beyond the scope of the private architects at the time. It was a public programme that gave many careers as successful architects building much and seeking little publicity. Success was reserved for the chief architects and the departments named. Almost every architect born in the 1920s and early 1930s and worth his salt, spent some time working in central or local authorities, often teaching part time in one or other of the schools of architecture, keeping students up to date but also recruiting the next generation of socially committed architects. In the AA school from 1955-60 about 80% of all schemes designed were for some form of housing.
Inspired by this challenge of social issues and problems arising from the deprivations of the war, ex-servicemen had returned to their profession with high hopes and expectations. Social equality was a goal for politicians and architects alike. Housing, industrial and power buildings, education, factories and supporting services became the focussed and central issues. Hopes centred on the opportunity offered by the design of New Towns. These eventually – after 1947 – appeared in the green fields of Hertfordshire (the home of the earlier Garden City schemes at Letchworth and Welwyn) and Essex (where Harlow set new standards of design). Eventually it all seemed to fall below the expectations that had optimistically been fostered by new urban planning ideals. They soon became submerged in a suburban world of prairie planning, the "Englishman's home is his castle" *mentality and neighbourhood centres, although extra-ordinarily influential worldwide.*[2]
Only Lubetkin's unbuilt commission for a mining city in Peterlee (1948-50) and Geoffrey Copcutt's Scottish linear city at Cumbernauld (1958-63) showed any coherent planned concept.
Local authority control at the political level ensured that with the newly formed or greatly expanded "Architect Department's" building programmes (many supported directly by central government) systematic approach could be adopted by County and later regional authorities.

Public Housing Programmes
The Architect's Department of the LCC was responsible for the development of London in accordance with its own statutory plan and for all the building work that has directly undertaken by the Council. It was also responsible for the maintenance of its own buildings, for the administering of the Building Regulations, the London Building Act and the appointment of District Surveyors and for the care of such historic monuments and parks that do not come under the Crown. It was, therefore, in a very real sense responsible for the approval in terms of planning, structure, safety and, to a lesser extent, aesthetics, of all applications built within the County of London. It was an all powerful machine and main employer of young architects.

Postwar Optimism: 1951 on the Festival of Britain
1951 was a watershed. The Festival of Britain that took place on London's South Bank a hundred years after the Great Exhibition of 1851 had long term repercussions on art, architecture and design. Its central feature was the Royal Festival Hall designed by the architects of the LCC. New projects by private architects soon followed.
The TUC Building, Great Russell Street, London 1950-55 by David du R Aberdeen, was built as a result of a nationwide competition. It was one of the most successful examples of the work of the second generation British Corbusians. Its approach was however much less doctrinaire than those in the English MARS Group (from 1933 onwards) in the interwar period who had more slavishly followed the precepts of Vers une Architecture *and had indeed attempted to erect a scientific justification for so doing. This was not Le Corbusier by numbers although with the jutting balconies and the treatment of stairs and columnar spaces left us no doubt as to its pedigree.*[3]
Denys Lasdun perhaps, more than any other figure in the 1960s exerted a profound influence on ideas and built form. Although he was himself born at the outbreak of war in

4. Hugh Casson (direttore dell'architettura, n. 1910) e al., Festival of Britain: planimetria, South Bank, Londra, 1951.
5. Philip Powell (n. 1921) e Hidalgo Moya (1920-1994), "Skylon", Festival of Britain, South Bank, Londra, 1951.
6. Robert Matthew (1906-1975) e Leslie Martin (n. 1908), Royal Festival Hall, Festival of Britain, South Bank, Londra, 1951.
7. Ralph Tubbs (n. 1912), "Dome of Discovery", Festival of Britain, South Bank, Londra, 1951.
8. Denys Lasdun (n. 1914) & Partners, Hallfield Primary School, Paddington, 1951.
9. David du R. Aberdeen & Partners, Trades Union Congress Building, Great Russell Street, Londra, 1950-55.
10. Sheffield City Architect's Department (J. Lewis Womersley, n.1910, architetto principale, J. Lynn, I. Smith), Park Hill Development, Sheffield, 1961.
11. London County Council Architect's Department (Housing Division), Alton West Housing, Roehampton, Londra, 1959.

4. Hugh Casson (Director of Architecture, b. 1910) et. al., Plan of the Festival of Britain, South Bank, London, 1951.
5. Philip Powell (b. 1921) and Hidalgo Moya (1920-1994), "Skylon", Festival of Britain, South Bank, London, 1951.
6. Robert Matthew (1906-1975) and Leslie Martin (b. 1908), Royal Festival Hall, Festival of Britain, South Bank, London, 1951.
7. Ralph Tubbs (b. 1912), "Dome of Discovery", Festival of Britain, South Bank, London, 1951.

La sede londinese del Trades Union Congress in Great Russel Street (1950-55), costruita su progetto di David du R. Aberdeen in seguito a un concorso nazionale, fu una delle opere più riuscite della seconda generazione di seguaci inglesi di Le Corbusier. La sua impostazione era peraltro assai meno dottrinaria di quella adottata dal Gruppo inglese MARS, che nel periodo tra le due guerre (a partire dal 1933) si era attenuto più pedissequamente ai precetti di *Vers une architecture*, cercando anzi di elaborare una giustificazione teorica di questo suo atteggiamento. La sede del Trades Union Congress, invece, non aderiva sistematicamente ai principi di Le Corbusier, anche se le balconate in aggetto e il trattamento delle scale e degli spazi su *pilotis* non lasciano dubbi sulla sua ascendenza[3].
La personalità che negli anni Sessanta esercitò l'influsso più profondo sulle idee e sulle forme edilizie fu probabilmente Denys Lasdun. Egli era nato nel 1914, allo scoppio della Prima guerra mondiale, ma i suoi associati appartenevano per lo più – come Peter Softly (n. 1922) o Alexander Redhouse (n. 1920) – alla generazione degli anni Venti[4].
L'individualismo di Lasdun e i suoi rapporti con Wells Coates (fondatore insieme a Maxwell Fry del Gruppo MARS), con Lubetkin e col gruppo Tecton prima della Seconda guerra mondiale lo distinguono dalla maggior parte dei suoi contemporanei: gli *standard* di progettazione architettonica e urbanistica da lui stabiliti erano più elevati di quelli che costoro avrebbero potuto raggiungere. Gli esperimenti condotti dallo studio di Lasdun nel campo dell'edilizia abitativa, scolastica e pubblica erano all'avanguardia dei nuovi sviluppi, specialmente nell'impiego del calcestruzzo e delle sue possibilità estetiche. Nacque così un linguaggio architettonico postcorbuseriano, un paesaggio urbano centrato sull'idea del "terrazzamento" e della stratificazione. Nell'University of East Anglia a Norwich (1962-68) queste idee trovarono un elaborato sviluppo: associando la circolazione alla contiguità topografica in un complesso geometrico di articolata estensione, Lasdun creò un'enorme losanga in sé conclusa di spazi abitativi e sociali continui e interconnessi, tutti permeati dal senso del "luogo". I precedenti progettuali a cui si ispirò quest'importante esperimento, in cui gli spazi universitari appaiono organizzati con nuova fluidità, sono reperibili nella Scuola elementare Hallfield, nel quartiere londinese di Paddington (1951), e nel

1914 most of his later partners were of the twenties generation: Peter Softly (b. 1922) Alexander Redhouse (b. 1920). [4]
Lasdun's individualism – and indeed his involvement with Wells Coates (the founder with Maxwell Fry of the MARS Group), Lubetkin and TECTON before the 2nd World war period – set him apart from most of his contemporaries. He set higher standards in architectural design and urban planning than most of them could manage. The Lasdun offices experiments in housing, institutional and educational work set them in the forefront of new developments, particularly in the use of concrete and its new aesthetic possibilities. Here a post-Corbusian language of architecture developed: an urban landscape in which the idea of "terraces", stratification and layering became a key idea. At the University of East Anglia at Norwich (1962-68) a complex development of these ideas occurred uniting circulation and the topographical contact of a widely spread out geometrical development, to create a huge self contained lozenge of connected living and social spaces. All was imbued with a sense of "place" . The prototypical designs that informed this important experiment in planning the new and fluid university spaces can be seen in the Hallfield Primary school, Paddington, London in 1951 and the cluster blocks for Bethnal Green.[5]
Another unusual experimental group of terrace houses based on Le Corbusier's Modulor *was developed in 1952 as a speculative venture by William and Gillian Howell in Hampstead . Together with four clients they co-operated, as a group of six families, each financing its own house.*[6] *The site had originally contained a terrace of four Victorian houses but was replaced by six house units with a frontage of approximately 4 m each. The site faced west over Hampstead Heath, with a view of two of the Lower Ponds, and the causeway which separates them. It was densely planted with fine plane and willow trees. The narrow plan was designed to give either one room across the whole width, or two single bedrooms, or it could be subdivided for a garage and the remainder for a hall.*
The staircase was planned so that it could be separated completely to give privacy to the rooms on either side, or opened up where required to give views right through the plan. The depth of the building was governed by town planning considerations. It was made as deep as could be permitted. The position of the staircase gave the maximum possible garage space. The basic arrangement of the floors



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8. Denys Lasdun (b. 1914) & Partners, Hallfield Primary School, Paddington, 1951.
9. David du R. Aberdeen & Partners, Trades Union Congress Building, Great Russell Street, London, 1950-55.
10. Sheffield City Architect's Department, (J. Lewis Womersley, b.1910, city architect, J. Lynn, I. Smith), Park Hill Development, Sheffield, 1961.
11. London County Council Architect's Department (Housing Division), Alton West Housing, Roehampton, London, 1959.



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12. Berthold Lubetkin (1901-1990), Peterlee New Town Project, Peterlee, Durham, 1950.
13. Alison (1928-1993) e Peter Smithson (n. 1923), University of Sheffield, Arts and Administration Building, Progetto di concorso, 1953.

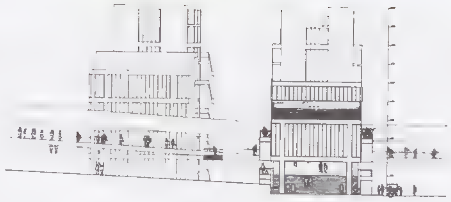
complesso residenziale di blocchi a grappolo per Bethnal Green[5].
Nel quadro dell'iniziativa privata, un altro originale complesso sperimentale di sei abitazioni a schiera fu realizzato nel 1952 a Hampstead da William e Gillian Howell, utilizzando il *Modulor* di Le Corbusier: i due architetti e quattro loro clienti finanziarono ciascuno la costruzione della propria casa[6]. In età vittoriana l'area aveva ospitato quattro case a schiera, sostituite poi da sei unità abitative con anteposto un fronte loggiato di circa m 4 ciascuna. Il sito si affacciava a ovest sulla brughiera di Hampstead, con vista su due stagni (due dei Lower Ponds) e sulla strada rialzata che li separa, ed era fittamente alberato con bei platani e salici. La pianta degli alloggi, piuttosto stretta, poteva dar luogo a un'unica stanza estesa su tutta la profondità della schiera o a due stanze da letto singole, oppure essere suddivisa in un garage e un vestibolo. Il vano scale poteva essere completamente isolato per garantire la privatezza alle stanze sui due lati, o essere a giorno per consentire viste attraverso l'alloggio. La profondità dell'edificio era la massima consentita dai vincoli urbanistici; la posizione del vano scale lasciava il maggior spazio possibile per il garage. La disposizione base dei piani e delle scale si adattava alle esigenze di tutte e sei le famiglie; la stanza su doppia altezza era risolta in modo diverso in ciascun alloggio.
L'influsso dell'Unité d'habitation di Le Corbusier su quest'opera fu esplicitamente riconosciuto dai suoi autori. William Howell scrisse su "The Architectural Review": "*Per la stanza su doppia altezza abbiamo preso naturalmente a modello Marsiglia. Avevamo visitato l'Unité, non ancora ultimata, prima di progettare le nostre case (fine del 1952), e quando dalla suddivisione del sito la fronte risultò la stessa, con l'approssimazione del centimetro, sentimmo di avere un ottimo punto di riferimento per scegliere la profondità dei locali, e in generale le dimensioni. Stavamo allora sperimentando l'uso del* Modulor *e ce ne servimmo per queste case, cosicché le dimensioni coincidono talvolta con quelle di Marsiglia, e in ogni caso sono direttamente riferite ad esse. Il* Modulor *risultò essere uno strumento utilissimo per suddividere una campata* standard *sia simmetricamente (lato strada, piani superiori) che asimmetricamente (lato giardino, vano scale)*". Altri elementi dell'edificio erano messi in relazione con l'Unité d'habitation del concorso per Strasburgo e con quella di Nantes.

Abbiamo fornito notizie dettagliate su quest'opera perché in essa sono espresse in sedicesimo le caratteristiche essenziali della "cellula abitativa" (*living unit*) posta a base dei "blocchi' residenziali che Howell e i suoi colleghi John Partridge, Stan Amis e John Killick progettarono per la Housing Division del London County Council.

La nuova edilizia scolastica

Il progetto con cui Alison (1928-1993) e Peter Smithson (n. 1923) vinsero il concorso per la Scuola secondaria moderna di Hunstanton (Norfolk), realizzata nel 1950-54, segnò un deciso allontanamento dall'interesse per le tecniche di prefabbricazione dominante a quel tempo (e innalzato quasi a credo ideologico in alcuni Achitect's Departments, come quello del Hertfordshire). Si trattava di una vera e propria istanza: "(...) *La Scuola di Hunstanton cerca di ristabilire quell'ordine finito che sostanzia l'architettura*". L'opera mise subito gli Smithson in primo piano come *leader* di una nuova generazione di architetti, e ciò trovò conferma nei loro rapporti a livello locale e internazionale con tutti i gruppi più radicali, dall'Independent Group al Team X.
In quest'edificio innovatore gli Smithson adottarono una struttura a piedritti e travi d'acciaio (più comune nell'edilizia industriale), con poche finiture interne e dettagli a vista. Fu un tentativo "(...) *di definire una soluzione del problema 'scuola' al di là della fase diagrammatica, con un'opera di architettura, in cui la forma risponde a uno studio approfondito delle esigenze didattiche e dei puri requisiti formali*"[7].
Sebbene influenzato da Mies van der Rohe, l'edificio non era un'imitazione, né tanto meno una copia pedissequa; era invece un'opera del tutto originale, destinata a esercitare un notevole influsso sui progettisti inglesi di edifici scolastici e di altri tipi di edifici, dalla Fabbrica di Farmer e Dark a Witham, Essex, all'aereoporto di Gatwick realizzato un decennio più tardi da Yorke, Rosenberg e Mardall.
La scuola di Hunstanton costituì un *exploit* architettonico, in un momento in cui molti architetti d'avanguardia stavano orientando definitivamente il loro interesse verso il modernismo scandinavo, e in particolare verso la sua fase romantica e gli sviluppi modernisti dell'opera postclassica di Gunnar Asplund, dall'Esposizione di Stoccolma in poi. A ciò si associava la crescente attrazione per le novità provenienti dall'Italia (Triennale di Milano). L'effetto di ringiovanimento prodotto dal Festival of

12. Berthold Lubetkin (1901-1990), Peterlee New Town Project, Peterlee, Durham, 1950.
13. Alison (1928-1993) and Peter Smithson (b. 1923), University of Sheffield, Arts and Administration Building Competition Project, 1953.



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and stair suited all the families. The double-height room was differently planned in every house.
The acknowledgement of the influence of Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation on this project was clear. William Howell wrote in "The Architectural Review": "Our exemplar for the use of the double height room was, of course, Marseilles. We had visited the Unité in a semi-finished state before designing these houses (late '52), and when the sub-division of the site landed us with the same frontage, to fractions of an inch, we found we had a wonderful reference point for the choice of room-depths, and indeed of dimensions in general. We were also experimenting with the *Modulor* at this time, and used it in these houses, so that there are dimensions in some cases identical with those at Marseilles, and in all cases directly related to them. We found the *Modulor* an extremely useful tool for subdividing a standard bay-width either symmetrically (road side, upper floors) or asymmetrically (garden side and staircase)". *Other points were compared with the Strasbourg competition block and Nantes.*
Detailed mention is given for this scheme as it provides in miniature a description of the essential "living unit" characteristics of the housing "blocks" developed by Howell and his colleagues John Partridge, Stan Amis and John Killick for the LCC Housing Division.

New Schools

The competition winning Secondary Modern School designed by Alison (1928-1993) and Peter Smithson (b. 1923) at Hunstanton, Norfolk (1950-54) was a radical departure from the then prevalent interest (and almost ideological belief in Architects' Departments such as Hertfordshire) in prefabrication techniques. It was a reclamation of Architecture: "(...) Hunstanton School tries to re-establish the finite order which is architecture". *It brought the Smithson's immediately to the fore as the leaders of a new generation of architects. A fact that was confirmed by their involvement locally and internationally with all the most radical groups from the IG to Team X.*
Their innovatory school used steel column and beam construction, more associated with industrial buildings, few internal finishes and exposed. It was an attempt "(...) to carry a solution of a school beyond the diagrammatic stage into a work of architecture, and its form is dictated by a close study of educational needs and purely formal requirements rather than precedent."[7]

The debt to Mies van der Rohe was obvious, not a pastiche nor as a slavish copy but rather a completely original work that was to have considerable influence on British design both for school and other types of buildings (cf. factory by Farmer and Dark, Witham, Essex, to Yorke, Rosenberg and Mardall's Gatwick Airport a decade later).
It was an architectural exploit *at a moment when many of the architectural avant-garde were preparing for a consolidation of their interests in Scandinavian modernism and particularly in its romanticist phase and in the modernist developments of Gunnar Asplund's post Classicist work from the Stockholm Exhibition onwards. This coupled with the growing fascination with what was coming out of Italy at the Milan Triennale.*
The rejuvenating effect of the 1951 Festival on British architecture, art and design ("in unison" *as Misha Black described* "the brave attempt to unify art with architecture"*) has never been in doubt although its very Englishness (particularly the content) was not all that new.*[8]
There is a curious connection between these two events. Through the enthusiastic interest of Gerald Barry – a national newspaper editor, who before the war used his paper, "The News Chronicle", to promote a new school architecture competition,– the Festival of Britain was generated. Barry became the Director General of the 1951 Festival. He appointed Hugh Casson as his Festival Director, who in turn brought in his "modern" minded colleagues. The prewar educational building competition was won by Denys Clarke-Hall for a school in Richmond, Yorks. In 1950 as assessor for the Hunstanton School he awarded the first prize to the Smithsons.
This was another case of the continuity of ideas of the pre and post war years being passed on almost like a baton in a relay to the new and younger generation, some of whom were given opportunities to develop original designs for the 1951 exhibition, often introducing the use of new materials and erection techniques (cf. Powell and Moya, with their famous cigar shaped metal "Skylon" and Ralph Tubbs's aluminium "Dome of Discovery").
Functional organisation however remained at the heart of English design, particularly for buildings of an industrial, commercial or recreational character.
The postwar "modern factory" was epitomised by the Rubber Factory Brynmawr, South Wales (now Gwent) 1945-1951, designed by the Architects' Co-operative (now ACP), a group of AA trained architects who established

14.15.16. Denys Lasdun (n. 1914) & Partners, Cluster block a Claredale Street, Bethnal Green, Londra, 1955.
17.18. William G. Howell (1922-1974), Gillian Howell, Stanley Amis (n. 1924), Terrace Housing, Hampstead, Londra, 1952.

14.15.16. Denys Lasdun (b. 1914) & Partners, Cluster block at Claredale Street, Bethnal Green, London, 1955.
17.18. William G. Howell (1922-1974), Gillian Howell and Stanley Amis (b. 1924), Terrace Housing, Hampstead, London, 1952.

Britain sull'architettura, sulle arti e sul *design* inglesi ("*all'unisono*", come affermò Misha Black nel descrivere "*l'audace tentativo di unificare arte e architettura*") non è mai stato messo in dubbio, anche se il suo carattere tipicamente inglese, specialmente per quanto riguarda i contenuti, non era poi così nuovo[8].
Tra questi due eventi vi è una singolare connessione. Il Festival of Britain nacque per l'entusiastico interessamento di Gerald Barry, direttore del quotidiano a diffusione nazionale "The News Chronicle", attraverso il quale aveva organizzato nell'anteguerra un concorso per una nuova architettura scolastica. Divenuto direttore generale del Festival del 1951, Barry nominò direttore Hugh Casson, che a sua volta chiamò a collaborare i suoi colleghi di mentalità "moderna". Il concorso per edifici scolastici svoltosi prima della guerra era stato vinto da Denys Clarke-Hall con una scuola a Richmond, Yorks; nel 1950, come giudice del concorso per la scuola di Hunstanton, toccò a lui assegnare il primo premio agli Smithson.
Fu questo un altro esempio della continuità di certe idee tra gli anni prima e dopo la guerra: idee trasmesse ai giovani della nuova generazione come il testimone in una staffetta. Ad alcuni di essi fu data la possibilità di elaborare per l'Esposizione del 1951 progetti originali in cui spesso veniva introdotto l'uso di nuovi materiali e di nuove tecniche costruttive (si vedano ad esempio il famoso "Skylon" metallico a forma di sigaro di Powell e Moya e il "Dome of Discovery" in alluminio di Ralph Tubbs).
Ad ogni modo in Inghilterra l'organizzazione funzionale rimase al centro della progettazione, specialmente negli edifici industriali, commerciali e ricreativi.
La "fabbrica moderna" del dopoguerra ebbe il suo esempio tipico nella Fabbrica di gomma di Brynmawr, nel Galles del Sud, ora Gwent (1945-51), progettata dalla Architects' Co-operative (ora ACP, Architects' Co-Partnership), un gruppo di architetti formatisi all'Architectural Association, che si costituirono in cooperativa nel 1939, ma cominciarono effettivamente a lavorare solo dopo il 1945.
L'aspetto esterno e la struttura di quest'edificio funzionale, destinato in gran parte alla produzione di pneumatici, furono influenzati sia dalle esigenze del processo di lavorazione e dalle sequenze della produzione di massa, sia dalle caratteristiche del sito semirurale, in cui l'ambientazione era favorita dalla presenza di un grande lago. Ne risultò un'opera di elevata qualità e di

their Cooperative in 1939 but whose work really began post-1945.
The whole external appearance and construction of this functional building (largely for the manufacture of rubber tyres) was influenced by the production requirements of the process of manufacture and by mass production sequences carried out in the building as well as by the peculiarities of the semi-rural site. The setting was enhanced by an enormous lake. The result was a building of great distinction and one of immense technical and architectural interest. It exploited new structural techniques and new forms of aesthetic expression and was one of the first postwar British modern buildings to be featured in journals around the world.
The dominating feature of the building was the use of shell membrane construction in the form of shallow reinforced concrete domes and reinforced concrete barrel vaults. In some cases this structural ingenuity led the designers to produce refined architectural details, possibly more in keeping with an exhibition site than a factory. Roofs oversailed the columns and decorative tiles adorned the facades. In the drug room the shell barrel vaults were supported on circular columns standing clear of the glazed wall emphasising the purity of the design. However, it produced a clumsy detail in the glazing achieving very little effect on the appearance of the building.
The overall effect of the entire building was an exploit *even though it stands today, a protected building, but derelict, neglected and recently threatened with demolition. It has outlived its purpose, although attempts are being made to rescue it for new uses.*

New Influences
Sir Leslie Martin, the LCC (where he had been firstly Deputy and then Architect to the Council from 1949-56) to take up the position of professor of architecture at the University of Cambridge in 1956. It was a significant shift from public to private practice. At about that time he formed a new London and Cambridge based practice with Colin St John Wilson (b. 1922) who has also served at the LCC. The Science Faculty Plan and Physics Building at University of Leicester was the first project. In 1962 (1957-62) Harvey Court, for Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, their most characteristic brick building, was completed setting a precedent for carefully detailed low scale courtyard design turning its back on its surroundings and creating a case – if



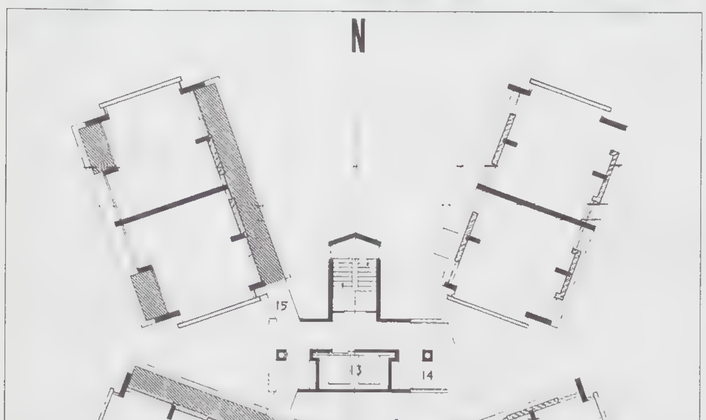
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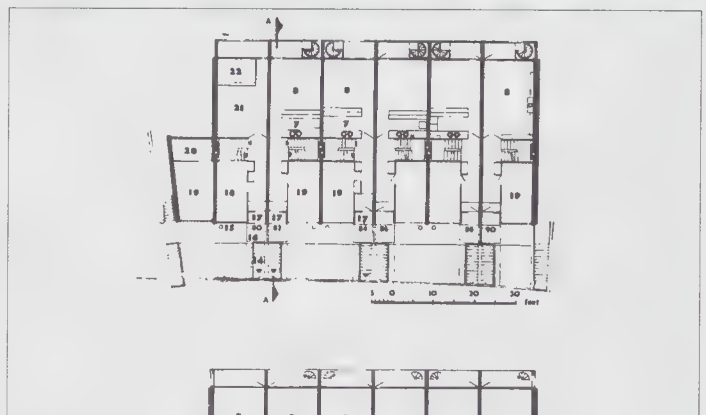
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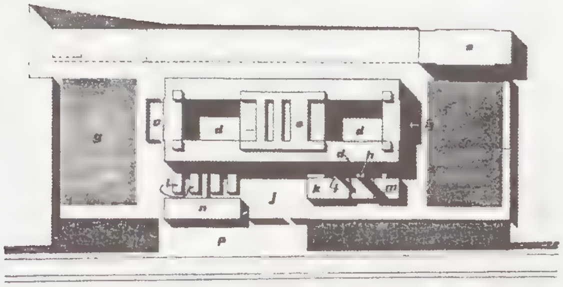
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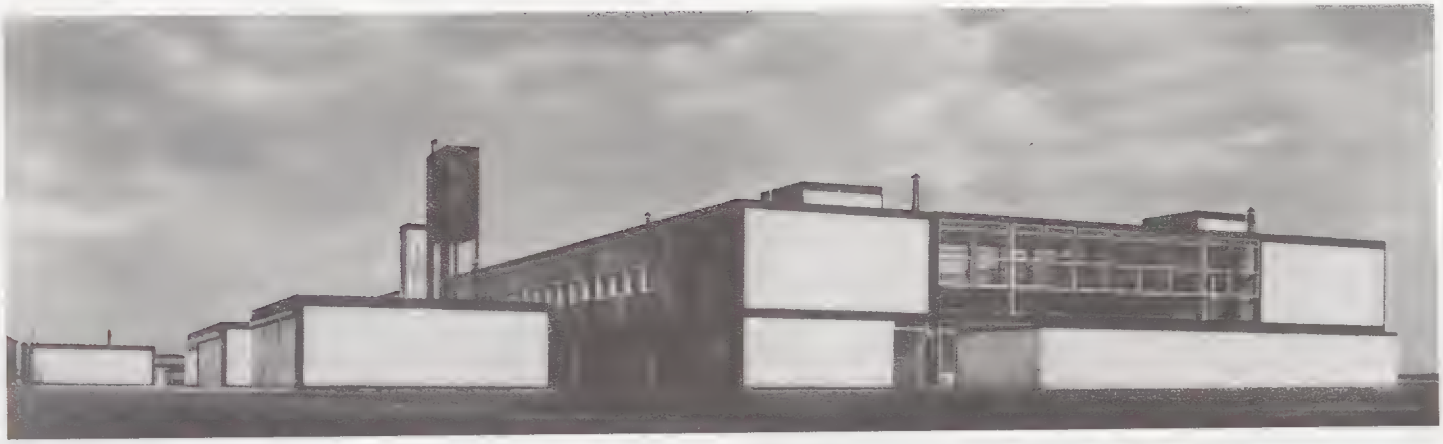
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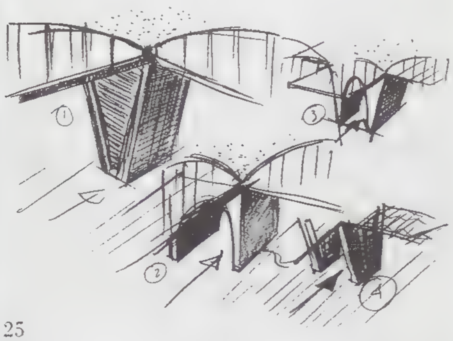
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19.20.21. Alison (1928-1993) e Peter Smithson (n. 1923), Secondary School, Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1950-54.
22. Architects Co-operative Partnership (ACP): i membri fondatori, da sinistra a destra: Leo de Syllas, Michael Grice, Michael Powers, Michael Cooke-Yarborough, Peter Cocke, Anthony Cox, Kenneth Capon. Tutti i soci sono nati fra 1916 e 1918, e la ACP si costituì in giugno 1939. I membri fondatori erano originalmente undici, tutti studenti alla Architectural Association negli anni Trenta. Dal 1948 i membri ritrovatisi dopo la guerra sono stati docenti part time alla AA School.
23.24.25. Architects Co-operative Partnership, Brynmawr Rubber Factory, Brynmawr, Gwent, 1946-51. Photo: Architectural Press.

19.20.21. Alison (1928-1993) and Peter Smithson (b. 1923), Secondary School, Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1950-54.
22. Architects Co-operative Partnership (ACP): the original founding members left to right: Leo de Syllas , Michael Grice, Michael Powers, Michael Cooke-Yarborough, Peter Cocke, Anthony Cox, Kenneth Capon. All partners were born between 1916 and 1918, and the ACP was founded in June 1939. There were originally eleven members, all of whom trained together at the Architectural Association in the 1930's. From 1948 the post war partners taught part time at the AA School.
23.24.25. Architects Co-operative Partnership, Brynmawr Rubber Factory, Brynmawr, Gwent, 1946-51. Photo: Architectural Press.



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straordinario interesse tecnico e architettonico, che utilizzava nuove modalità costruttive e nuove forme di espressione estetica e che fu una delle prime architetture moderne inglesi del dopoguerra a essere pubblicata con grande risalto nelle riviste specializzate di tutto il mondo. L'edificio era caratterizzato dall'uso di strutture sottili in calcestruzzo armato, a forma di cupola ribassata o di volta a botte; in alcuni casi queste ingegnose soluzioni strutturali portarono i progettisti a elaborare raffinati particolari architettonici, più adatti forse alla sede di un'esposizione che a una fabbrica. Le coperture sottolineavano l'andamento dei pilastri e le facciate erano abbellite da piastrelle decorative; nel magazzino dei prodotti chimici le volte sottili a botte erano sostenute da pilastri cilindrici staccati dalle pareti vetrate, esaltando la purezza delle forme. Ciò peraltro rendeva la vetratura sgradevolmente minuta, facendo sì che contribuisse pochissimo all'aspetto dell'edificio.
Nell'insieme dava l'impressione di un *exploit*, benché ancora oggi sia in piedi. Tuttavia pur essendo oggetto di tutela esso ora giace in stato di abbandono e recentemente ha rischiato di essere demolito: è sopravvissuto alla sua funzione, e si sta cercando di recuperarlo per altri usi.

Nuovi influssi

Nel 1956 sir Leslie Martin lasciò il London County Council – di cui tra il 1949 e il 1956 era stato prima vicedirettore e poi direttore – per andare a insegnare architettura nell'Università di Cambridge: significativo passaggio da un'attività pubblica a una privata. All'incirca a quel tempo egli aprì un nuovo studio professionale, con sedi a Londra e a Cambridge, insieme a Colin St. John Wilson (n. 1922), che aveva lavorato anch'egli al London County Council. Il primo progetto eseguito dai due architetti fu quello per la Facoltà di Scienze e per l'Istituto di Fisica dell'Università di Leicester; tra il 1957 e il 1962 costruirono per il Gonville and Caius College di Cambridge la Harvey Court, il più tipico dei loro edifici in mattoni. Esso stabiliva un modello esemplare di impianto a corte a misura d'uomo, accurato nei particolari, aperto all'interno e arroccato rispetto all'ambiente circostante, che rappresentò nelle contee orientali un esempio – se non un'oasi – per una continuità di questo tipo edilizio a bassa densità, rivestito in mattoni. La Harvey Court doveva molto alla tradizione locale (e olandese) della muratura in laterizio, ma teneva dichiaratamente conto della creatività formale del modernismo scandinavo: tra le sue fonti vi erano il complesso residenziale di Eklineberg, presso Elsinore, di Jörn Utzon (1954-60), ampliamente pubblicato nelle riviste inglesi di architettura, e le opere di Asplund e di Lewerentz, che Martin e Wilson ammiravano entrambi.
A questi due architetti si deve anche il primo progetto per la nuova Biblioteca del British Museum (1962-64); il complesso è tuttora in costruzione nel quartiere londinese di St. Pancras (Camden), sotto la direzione del solo Wilson. Una precedente versione, più volte pubblicata , era stata elaborata da Wilson per un'area nella vivida Bloomsbury. Nel 1975 i vincoli imposti a quest'opera commessa dal governo furono ancora una volta modificati, per consentire di utilizzare il vecchio scalo merci di St. Pancras, adiacente alla famosa stazione ferroviaria, destinata a diventare il nuovo terminal dei treni europei.
Nel cantiere di St. Pancras sta nascendo una grande attrezzatura a scala urbana, che supera di molto per vastità e importanza le megastrutture sperimentali degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta elaborate dalla Scuola di Camden, i "Ziggurat designers" formatisi all'Architectural Association. I progetti più noti di questo genere sono quello per il complesso residenziale di Alexandra Road a Camden, redatto da Neave Brown (n. 1929) per il locale Architects's Department, e quello per il complesso residenziale del Foundling Estate a Bloomsbury, dovuto a Patrick Hodgkinson (n. 1930).
La Biblioteca di Wilson pur avendo dimensioni impensabili per Aalto, si rifà decisamente alla tradizione nordica dell'architettura scandinava e finlandese, in cui la luce gioca un ruolo importante nell'articolazione degli spazi interni, che, nel caso di Wilson, sono in netto contrasto con il disegno dilatato e posticcio dei bordi delle facciate esterne in mattone rosso. Ma dietro tutto ciò vi è la fondamentale convinzione di Wilson nel "programma" coordinato ed articolato per ciascuno dei suoi edifici, da lui concepito come "*ordine operativo, priorità economica e fattibilità tecnica*"[9].

Collaborazioni: la mostra "This is Tomorrow" (1956)

Dopo le spettacolari esibizioni artistiche e architettoniche del Festival of Britain del 1951 – una manifestazione, detto per inciso, che indusse molti giovani (me compreso) a darsi all'architettura – gli artisti lavorarono alacremente con gli architetti e i *designer* per ideare programmi di possibile

not an oasis – for a continuation of low density brick faced courtyard design in the eastern counties. It owed much to the local (and Dutch) brickwork tradition although avowedly conscious of the form giving qualities of Scandinavian modernism. Sources included Utzon's Eklineberg Housing Estate near Elsinore (1954-60) which has been widely published in UK architectural journals, and the work of Asplund and Lewerentz whom both Martin and Wilson admired.

Leslie Martin was also responsible, with Wilson, for the first scheme for a British Museum Library in 1962-64. The project is still under construction on a site in St Pancras (Camden) now entirely under the control of Wilson. An earlier, much published, version was designed by Wilson for a site in nearby Bloomsbury. However, in 1975 the goalposts of this government project were yet again changed to allow the development of the former railway yard in St Pancras, adjacent to the famous railway terminal which is now destined to become the new European train terminus.

What is now emerging in the St Pancras site is a remarkable urban scale facility far outreaching in scope, scale and magnitude the experimental megastructures of the AA-trained Camden School of " Ziggurat designers" of the 1950-60s. Schemes such as the estate at Alexandra Road, Camden by Neave Brown (b. 1929) the Camden Architect's Department and Patrick Hodgkinson's (b.1930) Foundling Estate of Bloomsbury housing are the best known example of this genre.

Wilson's Library is on a scale undreamed of by Aalto but one which doggedly adheres to the northern traditions of Scandinavia and Finland in which light plays an important part in articulating the interior spaces. Its internal ambience is a total contrast to sparse, clipped edges of the red brick facades of the exterior. Behind all this though lies Wilson's fundamental belief in the coordination and elaboration of "the programme" for each of his buildings. This he has defined in terms of "operational order, economic priority and technical feasibility".[9]

Collaborations: "This is Tomorrow" exhibition (1956)

After the display of artistic and architectural pyrotechnics at the Festival of Britain in 1951, an exhibition incidentally that conditioned many young people at the time to pursue a career in architecture (myself included!), the artists worked hard with architects and designers to create possible collaborative programmes. Acting as almost a counterblast to the precepts of the Festival the exhibition "This is Tomorrow" held in the The Whitechapel Art Gallery in August-September 1956 created much interest. Set in an East End workers' district of London that was far from the fashionable galleries and design schools of Bloomsbury, the AA and the Slade, it was arranged by the Institute of Contemporary Arts' Independent Group and seen as "the biggest show about design and ways of life since the MARS Group exhibition (in London) in 1937"[10]

Its main aim, under its curator Lawrence Alloway (the ICA Director), was to create "a symbiotic art/architecture" *in which collaboration was founded on* "antagonism rather than mediaeval cooperation". *Thus, it was a complete change of position from the unifying and sympathetic nature of the Festival of Britain five years earlier. It was combative.* "The patterns of dominance and submission, of prestige and intrigue that attend every human group cannot be suspended from the special world of the arts," *Alloway wrote in his catalogue introduction.*[11]

With this collaborative experiment – which was the first public display by the Independent Group – everyone was "independent". Competing groups do not agree on any universal design principles – they claimed variety was the name of this particular exhibition game. It was a direct result of the original exhibition programme and therefore a counterblast to the French Groupe Espace, which in an earlier show in Paris had brought together artists and architects along "lines of orthodox integration". *English artist and architects would not submit to such dogmatic ideas of synthesis. Therefore, Alloway suggested: "(...)* the variety and complexity of the exhibition is not accidental but part of the present design situation in England".[12] *Each sectional group had its own exhibit.*

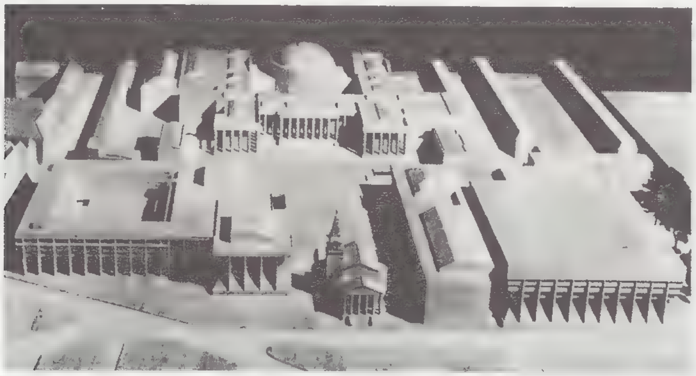
"Patio and Pavilion" was the joint exhibition of Alison and Peter Smithson, the painter Nigel Henderson and the sculptor Eduardo Paolozzi. Their theme was a hierarchical symbolisation of the "fundamental necessities of the human habitat"*: a piece of the world (the patio); an enclosed space (the pavilion).*

A Paolozzi head for "himself – his brain and his machines; tree for nature," *artifacts and pin-ups – for irrational urges, the wheel and aeroplane for locomotion and the machine. The most pertinent image of the whole show was perhaps Richard Hamilton's (b. 1922) called "Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?" a*

collaborazione. La mostra "This is Tomorrow", svoltasi nella Whitechapel Art Gallery nell'agosto-settembre del 1956, suscitò grande interesse, ponendosi quasi come una drastica reazione ai princìpi ispiratori del Festival. La mostra, allestita in un quartiere operaio dell'East End londinese, lontano dalle gallerie alla moda e dalle scuole di progettazione di Bloomsbury, dall'Architectural Association e dalla Slade, fu organizzata dall'Independent Group dell'Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) e fu giudicata "*la più grande mostra sulla progettazione, sul* design *e sui modi di organizzazzione della vita quotidiana dopo quella del Gruppo MARS nel 1937 a Londra*"[10].
L'esposizione – curata dal Lawrence Alloway, direttore dell'ICA – si proponeva essenzialmente di creare "*una simbiosi di arte e architettura*", dove la collaborazione fosse fondata "*sull'antagonismo e non sulla cooperazione medievale*"; corrispondeva quindi a una posizione polemica completamente diversa dall'impostazione unitaria e conciliante del Festival of Britain di cinque anni prima. Nell'introduzione al catalogo Alloway scriveva: "*I modelli di dominanza e di sottomissione, di prestigio e di attrazione presenti in ogni gruppo umano non possono essere messi da parte nella specifica sfera delle arti*"[11].
In quest'esperimento di collaborazione, che fu la prima manifestazione pubblica dell'Independent Group, ognuno restava "indipendente". I gruppi in competizione non concordavano su nessun principio universale di progettazione, e si richiamavano invece alla diversità. Questa posizione, direttamente legata al programma originario della mostra, era diametralmente opposta a quella del Groupe Espace francese, che in una precedente rassegna parigina aveva radunato artisti e architetti su "*linee di integrazione ortodossa*". Gli artisti e gli architetti inglesi non intendevano sottomettersi a sintesi così dogmatiche: secondo Alloway, "(...) *la varietà e la complessità della mostra non sono casuali, ma fanno parte dell'attuale situazione della progettazione in Inghilterra*"[12].
Ciascun gruppo settoriale aveva la propria esposizione. Gli architetti Alison e Peter Smithson, il pittore Nigel Henderson e lo scultore Eduardo Paolozzi esponevano insieme sotto il titolo "Patio and Pavilion". Il loro tema era una simbolizzazione gerarchica delle "*esigenze fondamentali dell'*habitat *umano*": una porzione di mondo (il patio) e uno spazio racchiuso (il padiglione), contenenti una serie di simboli: una testa di Paolozzi per se stesso (il suo cervello, i suoi organi); un albero per la natura; manufatti e *pin-ups* (per gli impulsi irrazionali); una ruota e un aeroplano per la mobilità e la realtà meccanica.
L'immagine più pertinente dell'intera mostra era forse il *collage* di Richard Hamilton (n. 1922) intitolato "Cos'è che rende così diverse, così attraenti le case d'oggi?", efficace rappresentazione dell'autocompiacimento consumistico. Nella mostra erano coinvolti anche Colin St. John Wilson e John Voelcker, più tardi attivo nel Team X[13].
A quel tempo Peter Smithson, John Killick, Alan Colquhoun e William Howell erano docenti a tempo parziale all'Architectural Association School; le loro opere rispecchiavano, oltre alle loro teorie e ai loro interessi recenti, la sempre maggiore attenzione per l'identità e le posizioni presenti nei dibattiti del Team X.
Il progetto degli Smithson per una "House of the Future" (1955-56) costituì, a mio parere, uno dei fattori più importanti del crescente interesse di artisti e architetti per la futurologia. E' probabile che esso abbia stimolato, più di ogni altra suggestione, l'accostamento dei progettisti inglesi all'*High Tech* e la formazione del Gruppo Archigram. Nel frattempo James Stirling (anch'egli allora docente presso l'Architectural Association) e James Gowan avevano posto mano ai loro ben noti interventi nell'Università di Leicester e nel Ham Common; e in occasione del X CIAM a Dubrovnik gli Smithson avevano iniziato i loro studi sulle libere aggregazioni di alloggi (*close houses*), organizzati intorno a strade pedonali, sviluppando nello stesso anno quest'idea nel progetto per il concorso "Hauptstadt Berlin". La nozione di "rete di strade" è stata ulteriormente esplorata da Peter Smithson nel concorso per il Museo dell'Acropoli di Atene (1990) e nella Scuola di architettura e ingegneria dell'Università di Bath (1988)[14].
Al CIAM di Dubrovnik l'atmosfera aveva cominciato a cambiare, e specialmente gli Smithson si avviavano a esercitare un influsso a livello internazionale. Le Corbusier, Gropius e Van Eesteren erano talmente contrari alle nuove posizioni espresse al Congresso che si scusarono e non parteciparono ai lavori; i tre membri anziani del CIAM presenti – Giedion, Sert e la Tyrwhitt – evitarono ogni contatto diretto con i componenti del Team X nelle varie commissioni.
Al ritorno da Dubrovnik gli Smithson scrissero: "*Il risultato più positivo del X Congresso è che nell'insieme i CIAM hanno cominciato a dubitare che vi siano delle ragioni per continuare a esistere*". Al loro scioglimento

26.27. Leslie Martin (n. 1908) e Colin St. John Wilson (n. 1922), British Museum Library, primo progetto, Londra, 1962-64.
28. Colin St. John Wilson (n. 1922), Ampliamento della School of Architecture, Cambridge University, 1959.

26.27. Leslie Martin (b. 1908) and Colin St. John Wilson (b. 1922), British Museum Library, First Project, London, 1962-64.
28. Colin St. John Wilson (b. 1922), Extension to the School of Architecture, Cambridge University, 1959.


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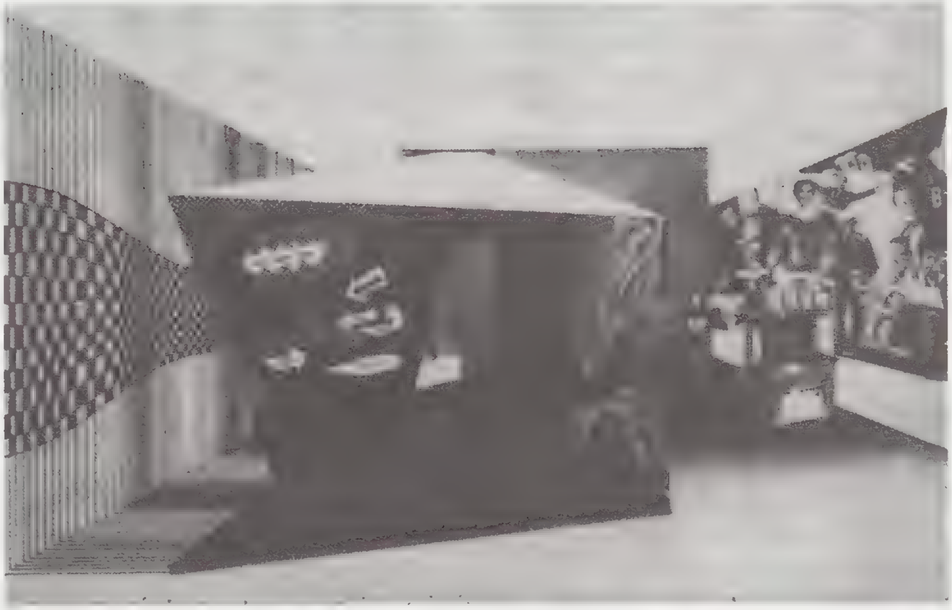
powerful depiction of consumerist self satisfaction. Colin St. John Wilson was also involved in the exhibition as was John Voelcker who was later to become active in Team X.[13]
At the time of the exhibition Peter Smithson, John Killick, Alan Colquhoun and Bill Howell were all teaching on a part time basis in the studios at the AA School .Their work of that time reflected their own new theories and interests as well as the growing concerns about identity and routes that were part of the Team X discussions.
The Smithson's House of the Future project (1955-56) was I believe one of the major contributing factors to the growing interest among artists and architects for futurological predictions . It probably more than anything else precipitated the beginnings of the British interests in High Tech and the formation of the Archigram Group. Meanwhile James Stirling (also at that time an AA Tutor) and James Gowan had embarked on their well documented projects at Leicester University and Ham Common while the Smithson's at the Tenth CIAM Congress in Dubrovnik begun their own studies of loose chains of dwellings (Close Houses) organised around pedestrian ways – an idea that was developed the same year in their Hauptstadt Berlin competition project through a network of "ways" – a notion that has since been further explored by Peter Smithson in the Acropolis Museum competition of 1990 and at the School of Architecture and Engineering at the University of Bath, 1988.[14]
At Dubrovnik attitudes had begun to change. The Smithson's in particular were beginning to make an impact internationally. Le Corbusier, Gropius and Van Eesteren were so opposed to the new views presented at the Congress that they gave their excuses and did not attend. The three CIAM elders who were present, Giedion, Sert and Tyrwhitt avoided direct contact with Team X members in the various working commissions.
Returning from the Congress the Smithson's wrote: "The most positive result in the tenth Congress is that CIAM as a whole began doubting the reasons for its continuing existence." *Its final denouement took place at Otterlo in 1959 at a meeting entitled* CIAM Study Group on the Interrelationship between the Social and the Formal . *This event was attended by fifty invited individuals all of whom were expected to contribute to the meeting with a critical presentation all of which culminated in a talk by Louis Kahn. After Otterlo Team X became autonomous and a group in which the Smithsons were to play an increasing role.*



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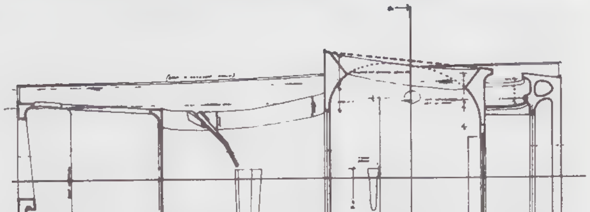
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29.30. Alison (1928-1993) e Peter Smithson (n. 1923), Eduardo Paolozzi (n. 1924), Nigel Henderson, "Patio & Pavilion", alla mostra "This is Tomorrow", Whitechapel Art Gallery, Londra, 1956: vista dell'allestimento; "Testa" di E. Paolozzi.
31. Richard Hamilton (n. 1922), "Cos'è che rende così diverse, così attraenti le case d'oggi?", collage alla mostra "This is Tomorrow", Whitechapel Art Gallery, Londra, 1956.

32.33. Alison (1928-1993) e Peter Smithson (n. 1923), House of the Future, 1956: zona cucina; sezione.

29.30. Alison (1928-1993) and Peter Smithson (b. 1923), Eduardo Paolozzi (b. 1924), Nigel Henderson, "Patio & Pavilion", at the exhibit "This is Tomorrow", Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1956: view of the exhibition; E. Paolozzi's "Head".

31. Richard Hamilton (b. 1922), "Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing?", collage at the exhibit "This is Tomorrow", Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1956.
32.33. Alison (1928-1993) and Peter Smithson (b. 1923), House of the Future, 1956: kitchen area; section.

The English MARS Group had been disbanded in 1957 and CIAM, even with Jaap Bakema's attempts to keep it alive in further exchanges on the Habitat Charter, eventually faded from view.[15]
A different, but not unrelated source of ideas were those of the various "indeterminists" whose heroes were more disparate and included John Cage and a miscellaneous collection of Abstract Artists, from Mondrian to Soulages and Ben Nicholson. The AA-trained architect and hospital planner John Weeks (b.1921), and later a partner with R Llewelyn-Davies, designed a small triangular stand at This is Tomorrow *demonstrating a design method with "indeterminate" applications. This was a subject that Weeks was to apply to his hospital work in the 1960s. Later he summarised his position in relation to hospital design : "(...)* the architect is not able to determine the final form of the building *(...)* he must design an indeterminate hospital on the assumption that his brief is incomplete and wrong"*! His various articles published in specialist hospital journals as well as "The Architectural Review" and the BBC publication "The Listener" on Indeterminacy had a profound impact on attitudes to design.*

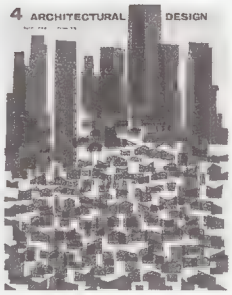
Much of this story of the 1920s generation remains untold, and certainly, at present, unresearched. It is clearly part of a much larger and continuing picture and one that takes in MARS, CIAM, Team X and the Archigram Group as well as more recent High Tech developments (the role of the Peter Fogo and Peter Rice for example) and the consistent work of architects like Trevor Dannatt (b. 1919) and Leonard Manasseh who were not hugging the limelight of publicity afforded by The Independent Group and "Architectural Design". This all needs attention.

Notes
Dennis Sharp, born in Flitwick, Bedford, on november 30, 1933, is Senior Partner, Dennis Sharp Architects, London. He is Special Professor in the School of Architecture, Nottingham University and a Director of CICA. Founder/editor of "AA Quarterly" 1968-1982 and an Executive Editor of "World Architecture".

1) "Focus" was produced by publishers Lund Humphries for a group of AA students. Four issues 1938-9 were produced and it included contributions from Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Moholy-Nagy et al. "Plan", 1-10 *was produced in the postwar period from 1948 and reflected a changed position.*
2) See, for a succinct summary, CHERRY, G., Urban Change and Planning, *Henley on Thames, 1972. Chap. 8., "The Postwar Years", pp. 157-213.*
3) See Wells Coates' interview in "The Listener", 24 May 1933, pp. 819-21.
4) The Partnership between Lasdun, Redhouse and Softly known as Denys Lasdun and Partners began in 1960. Later Associates included : John Lane (b. 1927) Harry Pugh (b. 1928), Peter McKinley (b. 1928) and Stefan Kuszell (b. 1920). It can be appreciated that this was with assistants also from the same age group clearly a 1920s generation practice led by a formidable and original figure.
5) There were two major housing block experiments in Bethnal Green: Usk Street, 1952 and Claredale Street, 1955.
6) A full description of this unusual development was given in "The Architectural Review" November 1956.
7) A special issue of the "Architectural Aassociation Journal" for Feb 1966 provides a chronological review of their work and statements p 187.
8) BANHAM M. and BEVIS HILLIER (Eds) A Tonic to the Nation, *London 1976, p. 83.*
9) Contemporary Architects *(2nd edn.), London 1987, p. 990.The British Museum Reading Room required the coordination of 8000 items of information on the building requirements alone, from which foundation* "the architect can then not only invent a design but also submit it to controlled criticism and revision..." *(ibid).*
10) See catalogue MARS Group Exhibition, *The Burlington Galleries, London 1937.*
11) This is Tomorrow, *Whitefriars Press, 1956. See introduction 1. For a survey of the "Independent Group" see ROBBINS D. (Ed),* The Independent Group, *London 1990.*
12) Ibid. *Intro 1.*
13) See "Architectural Design" June 1955.
14) Smithson has recently elaborated his views in the catalogue Alison + Peter Smithson Architects, *London, Docomomo 1994.*
*15) See "Rassegna", Dec 1992: (*The Last CIAM's*) and the essay LANDAU, R.* The End of CIAM and the role of the British, *pp.40-7.*



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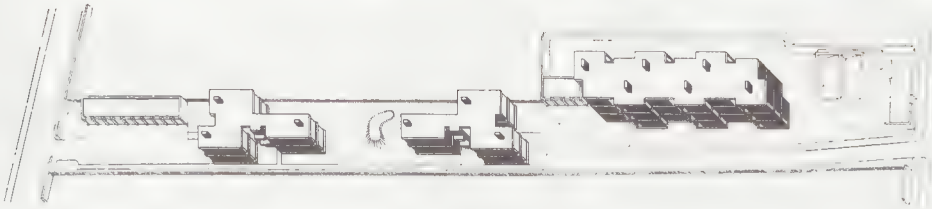
definitivo si arrivò nel 1959 a Otterlo, nel convegno intitolato *Gruppo di studio CIAM sull'interrelazione tra il sociale e il formale (CIAM Study Group on the Interrelationship between the Social and the Formal)*. Il Convegno, a cui parteciparono cinquanta invitati individuali, ciascuno dei quali avrebbe dovuto contribuire ai lavori con un'esposizione critica, si concluse con un discorso di Louis Kahn. Dopo Otterlo il Team X divenne autonomo e in esso assunsero un ruolo sempre più rilevante gli Smithson.
Il gruppo inglese MARS si era già sciolto nel 1957 e i CIAM, nonostante i tentativi di Bakema di mantenerli in vita con ulteriori scambi di opinioni sulla "Carta dell'habitat", finirono per scomparire dalla scena[15].
Una fonte di idee diversa, ma non priva di connessioni, fu costituita dagli "indeterministi", una schiera più variegata di personalità comprendente John Cage e un gruppo eterogeneo di astrattisti, da Mondrian a Soulages e a Ben Nicholson. L'architetto John Weeks (n. 1921), formatosi all'Architectural Association e più tardi socio di R. Llewelyn-Davies, allestì per la mostra "This is Tomorrow" un piccolo *stand* triangolare in cui esponeva un metodo di progettazione con applicazioni "indeterminate", del quale poi si sarebbe valso per progettare i suoi ospedali degli anni Sessanta. In seguito egli avrebbe così riassunto la sua posizione su quest'ultima attività: "(...) *L'architetto non è in grado di determinare la forma definitiva dell'edificio* (...) *egli deve progettare un ospedale indeterminato, partendo dal presupposto che l'insieme di direttive di cui dispone sia incompleto ed erroneo*". I vari articoli sull'indeterminazione, da lui pubblicati in riviste specializzate in problemi ospedalieri, su "The Architectual Review" e sulla rivista della BBC "The Listener", ebbero un notevole influsso sull'atteggiamento dei progettisti.

La storia della generazione degli anni Venti qui delineata rimane in gran parte non scritta, e attualmente non è certo oggetto di ricerca. E' chiaro che essa fa parte di un quadro molto più vasto e ricco di conseguenze, comprendente il MARS, i CIAM, il Team X e il Gruppo Archigram, come pure i successivi sviluppi dell'*High Tech* (si veda ad esempio il ruolo di Peter Fogo e di Peter Rice) e l'opera coerente di architetti come Trevor Dannatt e Leonard Manasseh, che non raggiunsero la notorietà garantita dall'Indipendent Group e da "Architectural Design". Tutto ciò merita di essere esaminato.

Note

Dennis Sharp, nato a Flitwick, Bedford, il 30.11.1933, è socio anziano dello studio Dennis Sharp Architects a Londra, e professore straordinario nella Facoltà di architettura dell'Università di Nottingham ed è uno dei direttori del CICA, Comitato Internazionale dei Critici di Architettura. Ha fondato e diretto l'"Architectural Association Quarterly" (1968-82) ed è uno dei direttori esecutivi di "World Architecture".
Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

1) La rivista "Focus" fu pubblicata dagli editori Lund Humphries per un gruppo di studenti dell'Architectural Association; i quattro numeri apparsi (1938-39) comprendono contributi di Le Corbusier, Gropius, Moholy-Nagy e altri.
La rivista "Plan", pubblicata nel dopoguerra a partire dal 1948, rispecchiava una posizione mutata.
2) Per un sintetico riassunto, cfr. G. CHERRY, *Urban Change and Planning*, Henley on Thames 1972, cap. VIII (*The Postwar Years*), pp. 157-213.
3) Cfr. l'intervista a Well Coates in "The Listener", 24 maggio 1933, pp. 819-21.
4) Lo studio associato tra Lasdun, Redhouse e Softly, denominato "Denys Lasdun and Partners", fu fondato nel 1960; in seguito vi entrarono John Lane (n. 1927), Harry Pugh (n. 1928), Peter Mc. Kinley (n. 1928) e Stefan Kuszell (n. 1920). Come si vede, era uno studio professionale in cui gli assistenti, tutti della stessa classe di età, erano guidati da una potente e originale personalità.
5) A Bethnal Green furono sperimentati due complessi residenziali principali: quello di Usk Street (1952) e quello di Claredale Street (1955).
6) Una descrizione esauriente di quest'originale complesso è apparsa in "The Architectural Review" del novembre 1956.
7) Una rassegna cronologica delle loro opere e delle loro dichiarazioni è contenuta in un numero speciale dell'"Architectural Association Journal" (febbraio 1966), p. 187.
8) M. BANHAM, BEVIS HILLIER (a cura di), *A Tonic to the Nation*, London 1976, p. 83.
9) *Contemporary Architects* (II ed.ne), London 1987, p. 990. La sala di lettura del British Museum richiese il coordinamento di 8000 voci d'informazione sui soli requisiti edilizi; in base ad essi "*l'architetto può non solo ideare un progetto, ma anche sottoporlo a critica e a revisione...*" (ibidem).
10) Cfr. il catalogo *MARS Group Exhibition*, The Burlington Galleries, London 1937.
11) *This is Tomorrow*, London, Whitefriars Press 1956: cfr. l'introduzione, p. l. Per un esame dell'attività dell'Independent Group, cfr. D. ROBBINS (a cura di), *The Independent Group*, London 1990.
12) *This is Tomorrow*, cit., p. 1.
13) Cfr. "Architectual Design", giugno 1955.
14) Di recente Peter Smithson ha sviluppato le sue idee nel catalogo *Alison + Peter Smithson Architects*, Docomomo, London 1994.
15) Cfr. "Rassegna", n. 52, dicembre 1992, (*Gli ultimi CIAM*) e il saggio qui pubblicato di R. LANDAU, *La fine dei CIAM e il ruolo inglese*, pp. 40-47.



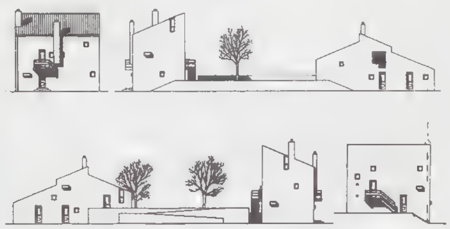
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34.35. Theo Crosby (n. 1925) e la copertina di "Architectural Design", n. 4, aprile 1960. Durante la direzione di Crosby di "Architectural Design" si sono svillupati una nuova mentalità internazionale insieme con un nuovo stile grafico, che hanno esercitato una grande influenza negli anni '50. Numerose copertine di "Architectural Design" sono state disegnate da Theo Crosby.
36.37. James Stirling (1926-1992) e James Gowan (n. 1923), Langham Housing Development, Ham Common, 1958.
38. William Howell (1922-1974) e John Partridge (n. 1924), Progetto di case rurali presentato al Ciam X, Dubrovnik, 1956.

34.35. Theo Crosby (b. 1925) and cover design for "Architectural Design", n. 4, April 1960. During his technical editorship of "Architectural Design" a new international attitude developed as well as a graphic style which was to have a wide influence in the 1950's. Many of the covers of "Architectural Design" were drawn by Theo Crosby.
36.37. James Stirling (1926-1992) and James Gowan (b. 1923), Langham Housing Development, Ham Common, 1958.
38. William Howell (1922-1974) and John Partridge (b. 1924), Rural Housing Project for Ciam X, Dubrovnik, 1956.



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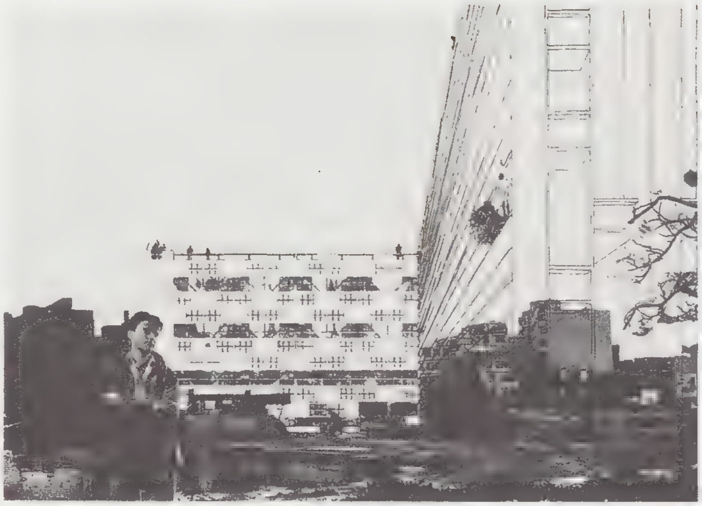
Anni di fermento: l'Independent Group negli anni Cinquanta...

Alison Smithson

Nel centro di Londra erano rimasti alcuni calzolai, negozi d'angolo, qualche bottega di prodotti tipici, i resti di siti bombardati su cui poggiavano statiche cisterne d'acqua. Subito dopo il nostro trasferimento a Chelsea, nel 1953, fu proibito bruciare il carbone. Gli anni '53-'55 furono forse quelli dell'ultima nebbia londinese.
Le figure critiche degli anni Cinquanta erano probabilmente tutte concentrate – come lo eravamo noi stessi –... ad avanzare proposte speciali. I quattro di noi che avevano partecipato insieme alle mostre *Parallel of Life and Art* e *Patio and Pavilion* – A. + P. Smithson, Eduardo Paolozzi, Nigel Henderson – non hanno mai dubitato, credo, del loro ruolo nella storia. Ci assumiamo seriamente la responsabilità di aver partecipato a quel decennio.
All'interno dell'Independent Group la tendenza a custodire gelosamente i propri ambiti di competenza era molto diffusa – tra Banham, Alloway, McHale, Toni del Rienzo, Hamilton, per esempio –: la competizione era tra chi possedeva quelle tali riviste, chi sapeva qualcosa a proposito dell'America, chi aveva visto quel tale film, letto quell'articolo o quel libro. Coloro che erano stati in America (prima visita di Peter Smithson, autunno 1957) –soprattutto se avevano visto i film di Eames – venivano sottoposti ad anatema: quando tornarono dagli Stati Uniti, gli Holroyd, che volevano parlare di Eames, di cibernetica, di teoria della comunicazione, delle differenze tra East Coast e West Coast, furono trattati con freddezza. Le conoscenze di ciascuno facevano parte di un mondo privato costruito con fatica e nessuno era disposto ad accettare che qualcuno lo invadesse. La maggioranza preferiva "apprendere quello che desiderava sapere" da riviste e film. Politicamente, si fece il possibile per evitare che le persone in possesso di informazioni uguali o affini potessero stabilire tra loro un contatto. Già la generazione successiva (quella di Terence Conran) colse e utilizzò idee che la nostra generazione non aveva approfondito abbastanza (o, si potrebbe dire, non aveva avuto la capacità commerciale di sfruttare)... Essendo architetti abbiamo forse conservato più a lungo l'impressione di essere sfruttati (motivo per cui, verso la fine degli anni Cinquanta, abbiamo rinunciato a pubblicare i nostri progetti).
Tuttavia, essendo i soli architetti appartenenti all'Independent Group, ci sentivamo al sicuro; galli nel pollaio... con l'eccezione di coloro che partecipavano agli incontri più importanti sedendosi nelle ultime file (e che si presentarono poi come Ron Heron e James Mellor).
All'interno del gruppo erano sempre in atto numerose battaglie dalle quali ci sentivamo innocentemente esclusi; questo per quanto riguarda le rivalità. Ancora una volta, riuscivamo a tenerci da parte.
L'IG era composto essenzialmente da liberi professionisti, non da persone impiegate presso terzi dalle 9 alle 5. Erano tutti, con molta determinazione, padroni di se stessi.
Quando ci si riuniva a discutere un determinato argomento, oltre a parlare si usava talvolta l'epidiascopio: esso era il nostro più comune mezzo di comunicazione in un'epoca di scarsa diffusione della diapositiva – automobili, macchine fotografiche, macchine da scrivere Olivetti (leggere e quindi prestigiose), visite all'estero erano ancora una rarità –, così che una seduta di proiezione di diapositive avrebbe attratto gruppi numerosi fino agli anni Sessanta inoltrati.
Il ricordo delle immagini proiettate rimaneva più impresso rispetto a ciò che si era detto, nonostante la convinzione che le parole avessero preceduto le immagini... Il tutto era un crogiolo di idee, un gioco con un gran numero di immagini, o senza apparenti consequenzialità colte simultaneamente... Circa in questo periodo ci rendemmo conto che la nostra elaborazione di un'idea non seguiva un processo graduale e logico, ma una direzione generata da uno slancio iniziale e mantenuta con movimenti a ritroso, circolari, per andare avanti, a spirale.
Nel periodo in cui facemmo parte dell'IG:
– realizzavamo i nostri primi quadri;
– lavoravamo al *collage* del Golden Lane a proposito del quale Nigel chiese: "*Perché Nehru issa quel carico di fieno su un balcone?*"
– scrivevamo *O + L*[1], chiamato in seguito *Urban Reidentification*;
– all'inizio del 1953, una composizione letteraria: *Young Girl*;
– caratterizzavamo i discorsi con i concetti di Identità, Modelli di Associazione, "New Brutalism", Soglia, Grappolo, Ponte, Mobilità;
– venivamo contattati da altri per formare gruppi;
– allestivamo la Jenkin's Room all'ultimo piano dello studio di Ove Arup, in Charlotte Street, dove Eduardo "cucì" la sua carta da parati al soffitto e Victor Pasmore si cimentò con il piccolo pensile-bar, il nostro primo mobile progettato (la versione del mobile senza l'intervento di Pasmore è conservata presso la collezione Tecta; la nuova versione appartiene alla collezione di Betty Jenkins);
– "dissolvevamo" un volume tramite *collage* di strumenti

A time of ferment: the Independent Group in its setting of the 'fifties...
Alison Smithson

In central London generally there was a residue of local shoe menders, corner shops, a scatter of speciality shops, walled bombed sites that held static water tanks.
Coal fires were banned soon after we moved to Chelsea in 1953.
'53-'55 was perhaps the last London fog.
The critical figures of the 'fifties were probably all – like ourselves – concentrating... on bringing through an especial offering. The four of us who made the Parallel of Life and Art *and the* Patio and Pavilion *exhibits together – A. + P. Smithson, Eduardo Paolozzi, Nigel Henderson – I believe, were never in doubt about their position in history. We take seriously the responsibility of having been there.*
In the Independent Group there was quite a jealous guarding of territory-of-knowledge among many – Banham, Alloway, McHale, Toni del Rienzo, Hamilton – as to who had what magazines, who knew what about America, who had seen what film, read what article or book. Those who had been to America (P. S. first visit, autumn, 1957) – particularly if they had seen Eames films – were anathematized: the Holroyds, when they came back from the US wanted to talk about Eames, cybernetics, communications theory, the differences between east coast and west coast, were cold shouldered. Everyone's knowledge was part and parcel of whatever private world they had laboriously fabricated and they had no intention of letting pass intruders into their private worlds. The majority preferred to "know what they wanted to know" through magazines, films. A lot of political energy want on keeping people with similar or overlapping information out. Already the next generation (Terence Conran's) were picking up and using ideas that our generation had not fully explored (or, you could say, had not the commercial ability to exploit)... being architects we probably carried longest this sense of being poached (which is why we ceased to publish projects towards the end of the 1950's). However, we felt safe in being the only architects in the Independent Group; Cocks of the Midden... except for those who came and sat at the back in the larger meetings (self-identified as Ron Heron, James Mellor).
There was always a lot of in-fighting going on that we were rather innocently apart from; as it concerned rivalries. Again, we could afford to be aloof.
The IG was basically made up of free-lance people, not those not in the employ of others in nine to five jobs. All were, very deliberately, their own masters.
In the "talk" to focus the discussion on a topic, the Epideioscope was sometimes shared; it was our most



Alison and Peter Smithson, Collage per il progetto di Golden Lane Housing, Londra, 1952.

Alison and Peter Smithson, Golden Lane Housing Project collage, London, 1952.



scientifici, come la superficie di finitura della grande scatola dell'epidiascopio della sala di proiezione dello studio Arup (le tecniche di "dissoluzione" di Nigel erano le più avanzate: nelle decorazioni di Bethnal Green, poi a Thorpe-le-Soken, nelle decorazioni di porcellane...);
– realizzavamo la prima sedia "Trundling Turk" in disegni, modelli e dipinti;
– realizzavamo cose effimere: oggetti "raggisti" e, in seguito, cartoline natalizie, come la scimmia modulare di cartoncino e velluto rosso da appendere sopra il caminetto; pezzi da collezione presenti in ogni lavagna promemoria;
– realizzavamo *collage* con pagine di riviste di cucina americane, con cui rivestimmo prima la parete intorno alla finestra della cucina di Limerston Street, poi i pannelli delle porte... ottenendo una parete "delfica" di "conci" ritagliati da quotidiani greci;
– e così via.

Le nostre attività erano confrontabili con molto di ciò che conoscevamo della produzione di Nigel e Eduardo; soprattutto con le vecchie cartoline e le buste scritte da Nigel, dopo il suo trasferimento a Thorpe-le-Soken, con la sua deliberata mezza-calligrafia che egli probabilmente "inventò" prima di conoscere Eduardo. Il quale, la prima volta che gli facemmo visita in Doughty Street, dove insegnava alla Central School, portava con sé fogli e fogli sui quali i bambini avevano copiato lettere maiuscole e minuscole. Eduardo si stava esercitando a rielaborare la propria calligrafia e, poiché dovevamo allontanarci dalla grafia precisa di Le Corbusier – difficile da simulare –, di fronte ad alternative quali un greco rudimentale e un italiano sgraziato, quella grafica ci sembrava interessante. Ogni cosa fu riconsiderata in modo che il fatto stesso di essere presenti corrispondesse a un pensare, a un agire. Fu Freda Paolozzi che rese ovvia agli occhi di Alison Smithson la banalità delle pagine di moda delle riviste americane, riportando l'attenzione sulla necessità di fare – sull'imballo della macchina da cucire elettrica Singer (le cose in scatole rettangolari assumevano un significato particolare nell'"esposizione" di oggetti del Neo Brutalismo) – ciò che non si dovrebbe ritrovare o assemblare in uno stile personale. In quello stesso periodo Eduardo indossava piccolissime cravatte di maglia da scolaretto londinese ed era particolarmente felice quando ne trovava una a righe orizzontali, tutte uguali, nere e di un nuovo colore: gioiva di fronte al rosa in quanto colore poco "nobile". A contatto con Nigel, Eduardo sapeva sempre cosa si poteva reperire in un negozio di abbigliamento militare usato. Gli piacevano i *notes* e gli album con le pagine multicolori che Woolworth vendeva per la scuola... così come, insieme a Nigel, gli piaceva osservare l'attività, le reazioni istintive e i rapporti affettivi dei bambini dell'East End. Eduardo era solito riempire i suoi *notes* con uno dei suoi caratteri; ne conserviamo ancora uno, realizzato all'epoca, che custodiamo nella nostra scatola magica (dove annotiamo i nostri pensieri).
Gli anni Cinquanta furono ancora un periodo di austerità, di penuria e di trascuratezza conseguenti alla guerra. Finché non tornammo da Aix-en-Provence, nell'autunno del 1953, abitammo al 32 di Doughty Street, Bloomsbury, in alcune stanze ammobiliate al pianterreno con l'uso comune del bagno... Una di quelle stanze era il nostro studio, dove progettammo la scuola di Hunstanton, la Coventry Cathedral e il Golden Lane Housing. Lì vennero a trovarci le persone più diverse: Wittkower, Peter Dunican, Paul Rudolph. Da quando iniziammo a progettare la Cattedrale di Coventry fino a quando lasciammo Doughty Street, passeggiavamo ogni giorno fino a Store Street per pranzare in un piccolo caffè italiano con il nostro ingegnere per Hunstanton e Coventry, Ronald Jenkins. Questo rapporto si interruppe bruscamente quando trovammo d'un tratto uno spazio a un affitto ragionevole al 46 di Limerston Street, a Chelsea: due stanze e uno spazio sul retro nel seminterrato, un pianterreno rialzato e un primo piano. Traslocammo con una *jeep* in una giornata caldissima: dieci viaggi durante i quali Eduardo Paolozzi ci aiutò, divertendosi a guidare quel mezzo sovraccarico di cose intorno al monumento ai caduti di Jagger. Tutto per trasferirci in un quartiere dove non avevamo mai pensato di andare; l'intenzione era di rimanere a Bloomsbury o di trasferirci in una zona più ricca a Islington.
In questo periodo Paolozzi dovette abbandonare l'attico, con relativo bagno, di Charles Madge a Paulton Square e, di conseguenza, i nostri amici non abitarono più "dietro l'angolo" rispetto a Limerston Street. Quando non tornavano nel loro *cottage* a Thorpe-le-Soken, si fermavano a Hampstead, a casa di Dorothy Moreland. E prima di abitare in Paulton Square, vivevano nella casa di Henderson nell'East End dove Eduardo aveva anche uno studio: un pianterreno e un primo piano assai dimessi, con una scala di legno sopra la quale pendeva un cartello: "*Al piano inferiore, lezione del Professor Gropius*", un trofeo conquistato dopo qualche appuntamento con Jane Drew.



Eduardo Paolozzi, Elementi di serigrafia utilizzata come carta da parati nel soggiorno di Nigel Henderson, Bethnal Green, Londra, 1952.
Alison and Peter Smithson, Esposizione "Parallel of Life and Art", Londra, 1953.

Eduardo Paolozzi, Silk screen elements used as wallpaper in Nigel Henderson's drawing room, Bethnal Green, London, 1952.
Alison and Peter Smithson, "Parallel of Life and Art" exhibit, London, 1953.

common tool of communication in a minimal slide era – ownership of cars, cameras, Olivetti typewriters (being thin, prestigious), visits abroad rare – so that a slide show would draw a large group well into the 60's.
Each will have his own memory of what was shown before what was said and believe that said before this was shown… the whole was a stirabout of ideas; of juggling a number of images or whatever seeming inconsequentialities, simultaneously… about this time we realised our working out of an idea was not a logical step by step straight line progression but a direction maintained by momentum gained by a going back and circling to go forwards, spiralling.
During the period we were attending the IG…
– we were doing our first paintings;
– working on Golden Lane with its collage of which Nigel asked: "Why is Nehru humping a load of hay over a balcony?";
– writing O + L[1] *then called* Urban Reidentification;
– beginning 1953, imaginative writing: Young Girl;
– attaching to words ideas about Identity, Patterns of Association, New Brutalism, Doorstep, Cluster, Deck, Mobility;
– being approached by others to from groups;
– doing the Jenkin's Room on the top floor of Ove Arup's offices, Charlotte Street, where Eduardo "stitched" up his wallpapers on the ceiling and Victor Pasmore fronted the small wall-hung drinks cabinet that was our first piece of furniture (reproduction cabinet, without Pasmore, in Tecta collection; actual cabinet in the collection of Betty Jenkins);
– "dissolving" a volume by means of collages of scientific instruments as surface finish to the large box for Arups' Epideioscope/office projector (Nigel's "dissolution" techniques were most advanced: in the decor for Bethnal Green, then in Thorpe-le-Soken, in surface decoration of china…);
– making the first Trundling Turk chair in drawing, models, paintings;
– starting our ephemera with "Rayograms", then Christmas cards, such as the red velvet paper modular monkey to hang on the mantelpiece; collector's items on everyone's pin-up board;
– collaging food pages from American magazines, first as the window wall in the Limerston Street kitchen, then in its door panels… making a "Delphic" wall of "ashlar" cut from Greek newspapers;
– and so on.

Our activities were paralleled by much of what we knew of Nigel's and Eduardo's. Important after he moved to Thorpe-le-Soken, Nigel's old postcards, envelopes, written in deliberate, half-way script that was probably "invented" before he knew Eduardo, who, when we first had him dropping into Doughty Street on his Central School days, was carrying notebooks full of copied children's capital and lower case letters. Eduardo was reteaching himself to write in his own script and as we had to move away from Le Corbusier's stencil notation – stencils that were not easy to come by and we had crude Greek and unstylish Italian as alternatives – their graphics was a parallel interest.
Everything was reconsidered so that the self-presence was consistent with the thinking, the making. Freda Paolozzi was the one to make obvious to A. S. the banality of the fashion pages in American Magazines and so direct attention to the need to make – on the boxed Singer electric sewing machine (things in rectangular boxes made especial sense in New Brutalist "display" of possessions) – what could not be found or collaged into a personal style. It was the period when Eduardo wore tiny London schoolboy stockinette ties; he would be particularly pleased when he found a new colour with the black, equal equal, inch horizontal stripes: a pink was a triumph as a "non-U" colour. With Nigel, Eduardo was knowledgeable in what was available in Army Surplus stores. Eduardo liked Woolworth's school notebooks, scrapbooks with multi coloured pages… alla part of his watching with Nigel the activities and instincts and affections of children in the East End. Eduardo usually covered his notebooks with one of his prints – we still have one he gave that we use as letter folder in our Magic Box (written down thoughts) that dates from this period.
The 'fifties was still a period of austerity and residue of wartime shortages and lack of maintenance. Until we returned from Aix-en-Provence, autumn 1953, we lived at 32 Doughty Street, Bloomsbury, on the ground floor in furnished rooms with use of a toilet and the house bathroom… the front room also served as our Hunstanton office; there Coventry Cathedral and Golden Lane Housing were designed. People as diverse as Wittkower, Peter Dunican, Paul Rudolph, visited. For a period from around our working on Coventry until we left Doughty Street we walked over to Store Street every day to eat lunch with our engineer for Hunstanton and Coventry, Ronald Jenkins, at a small Italian café. This contact ended abruptly when – we quite suddenly found an end of a short lease at 46 Limerston Street, Chelsea: two rooms and back annex in



Nel 1953 avevamo una *jeep* (con il pianale dipinto di ossido rosso vivo) con la quale non potevamo comunque sostenere lunghi viaggi. Quando eravamo a Chelsea nei fine settimana, andavamo spesso a Hammersmith Mall per fare visita a Theo Crosby e chiacchierare… l'IG era un'esperienza conclusa. Molti acquistarono un auto e le visite a Limerston Street si fecero più frequenti – nella fotografia T.I.T. – ma non eravamo il massimo dell'ospitalità: o eravamo impegnati a lavorare o non eravamo in casa. Nel 1956, con la Volkswagen verde scuro (trascurando i suoi paraurti) raggiungevamo Richmond Park o, più oltre, i boschi di pini vicino a Claremont, per occasionali *picnic* prima che i bambini riprendessero la scuola. Nel 1958 ci prese la mania di andare a Upper Lawn e così facemmo, più o meno, ogni due fine settimana.
Seguire Nigel Henderson nei suoi traslochi significò comprenderlo meglio: era la stessa persona a Londra, Bethnal Green, Thorpe le Soken… come se quella sua aria cerebrale aderisse al suo corpo… qualcosa che avverto in tutti gli artisti degli anni Trenta… un po' vittoriano e un po' provinciale, un vicario/professionista con indosso una sorta di tuta aderente. È difficile spiegare come si stava con Nigel perché era molto semplice, confortevole; confortevole e stimolante da ogni punto di vista; riflessivo; cordiale; aperto… con tanti giochi di parole, doppi sensi… fare, cambiare, rovesciare, senza problemi; senza uno sforzo apparente produceva idee come i movimenti di una danza. Bethnal Green, così come si presentava negli anni Cinquanta, non era certo il luogo più adatto alla produzione di idee, di movimenti; lo era di più Thorpe-le-Soken: un posto fuori dal mondo… divertente per un contrabbandiere.
All'inizio degli anni Cinquanta, quando eravamo in Doughty Street, oltre a nutrire interesse per ciò che si "leggeva" e per le pagine pubblicitarie nei giornali americani, ci si alimentava degli scritti dei sociologi in linea con il lavoro attuale di Judith Henderson.
Non ci chiedevamo perché gli altri membri dell'Independent Group erano interessati alla pubblicità; cercavamo ispirazione nel futuro immediato; nel flusso della società: in quello che avremmo definito il *brief* del cliente anonimo in *le plus grande nombre* dei CIAM… e così, al CIAM 9 a Aix-en-Provence, iniziammo a interessarci all'Europa, a stabilire legami con nostri colleghi europei: il trasferimento da Bloomsbury a Chelsea, dall'altra parte di Londra, rappresentò un cambiamento per molti aspetti significativo.
A. M. S., novembre 1987 e gennaio 1988
(*Annotazioni interlineari a matita di Alison Smithson sul suo dattiloscritto, decifrate per quanto possibile e aggiunte in questa versione da P. S., 9 luglio 1996)*[2].

Poscritto
Per iniziare la storia della nostro più importante legame con l'Europa, quello con il gruppo Team 10… Team 10 si allontanò dai modelli urbani generici delle generazioni precedenti – CIAM – per dedicarsi alla specificità del luogo.
Usavamo termini comuni: il punto di partenza era la vita di strada… la soglia, la targa, il cortile, il distretto, il *deck*, il recinto… le cose più semplici, i termini d'uso quotidiano per indicare ataviche necessità di aggregazione, per stabilire un legame tra spazio privato e spazio comune, spazio pubblico i cui occupanti possono essere socievoli. Ci sembrò di poter assolvere il nostro compito con qualcosa di equivalente a una casa bifamiliare… popolare, utile, generalizzabile: ma chi si occupa di queste cose non ci ha mai offerto la possibilità di mettere in pratica le nostre idee.

Note
1) *Ordinariness and Light*, scritto per la maggior parte negli anni 1952-53 e pubblicato molto tempo dopo, nel 1970, da Faber & Faber.
2) N.d.R.: abbiamo ricevuto questa testimonianza inedita di Alison Smithson da Peter Smithson, con la seguente lettera di accompagnamento:
Incoraggiato da quanto letto su Zodiac 11, vi mando un breve testo inedito sugli anni Cinquanta scritto da Alison Smithson al tempo della grande mostra restrospettiva sull'Independent Group.
Si tratta di un frammento autobiografico che rispecchia perfettamente la "ruvidità" di quegli anni. Mi ha fatto piacere ritrovarlo.
Se vi perverrà in ritardo o non riterrete opportuno usarlo, vi chiederei gentilmente di restituirmelo.
Cordialmente,
Peter D. Smithson, 10 luglio 1996



Alison and Peter Smithson nel loro studio di Londra, 1975 (Foto Jorge Lewinski). Alison and Peter Smithson, Economist Building, Londra, 1959-64.

Alison and Peter Smithson in their London office, 1975 (Photo Jorge Lewinski). Alison and Peter Smithson, Economist Building, London, 1959-64.

the basement, raised ground and first floor; a move – in 10 jeep journeys on a hot day, Eduardo Paolozzi helping and particularly enjoying riding around Jagger's war memorial in such open, laden, display – to a district we had never intended to go; we had always wanted to stay in Bloomsbury or move to higher ground in Islington.
Around this period the Paolozzi's use of Charles Madge's top floor and attic bathroom of Paulton Square seemed to end, so they were never "around the corner" from us in Limerston Street; they stayed at Dorothy Moreland's in Hampstead when not at their cottage in Thorpe-le-Soken. Previously when not in Paulton Square they lived with the Henderson's in the East End where Eduardo also had a workshop: a rough ground floor and first floor; at the top of whose open wooden stairs was the notice "Professor Gropius lecturing downstairs", *a trophy from some outing with Jane Drew.*
By 1953 we had a jeep (with a bridge-red oxide painted floor) but long journeys were quite an endurance test. When in Chelsea at weekends we tended to drop in at Theo Crosby in Hammersmith Mall to talk… the IG was over. As car ownership increased people would come down wide Limerston Street – in the T.I.T. photograph – to see if we were there but we were not the best of hosts as we worked all the time when not out. 1956, with the dark green Volkswagen (over-riders on its bumpers) we would go out for children's pre-school picnic lunches to Richmond Park or further afield to pine woods beside Claremont. 1958, we began to have the Folly of Upper Lawn, which meant every second weekend or so away. In the pace at which Nigel Henderson moved you saw something of other values: he was the same person in London, Bethnal Green, Thorpe le Soken… as if he carried his own cerebral air tight to his body… there is something of this I sense in all the '30's artists… it was also a little Victorian, a little the provincial Vicar/professional in some kind of tight body-stocking of their own worth. Being with Nigel cannot really be put on paper because it was very easy, comfortable; comforting yet sharpening of all the senses; speculative; connective; open ended… talk full of word play, cross references… do it, change it, turn it over, at ease; without seeming effort, a dance of energisers of ideas. Bethnal Green was certainly unlikely, in its aspect of the 1950's, for ideas, movements, to appear; Thorpe-le-Soken more so: the back of beyond… you'd need to be a smuggler to enjoy it.

In the early 'fifties in our Doughty Street days in parallel to our interest in what we "read" in and into the advertisements in American magazines, we were feeding off the writings of sociologists working in parallel with Judith Henderson's actual work. We did not question why the other members of the Independent Group were looking at advertisements; we were looking for likely aspirations of the immediate future; the drift of society: what was to be called the brief of the anonymous client in le plus grande nombre *of CIAM… and so we passed, at Aix-en-Provence at CIAM 9, into European focused interests, connections with like-minds: the move across London – from Bloomsbury to Chelsea – marked a many-layered change.*
A. M. S., November, 1987 and January, 1988
* Alison Smithson's pencil interlinears on her typescript, deciphered as far as possible and added into this version by P. S., 9 July 1996)[2].

Postscript:
To start the story of our strongest European connection, that of the group called Team 10… Team 10 moved away from the generalised town patterns of previous generations – CIAM – to notions of specific place.
We used common words: the life of the street was the beginning interest… the doorstep, identity, yard, district, deck, close… all rather humble, everyday names for age old necessities of grouping, spanning from own-space privacy to space held in common, public space where the occupants could be sociable.
We saw our task as coming up with an equivalent to the semi-detached house… popular, supportive, capable of generalisation: but we never got an offer to try our on-the-ground housing ideas from those who arrange such things.

Notes
1) Ordinariness and Light, *largely written 1952-53 and published much later, in 1970, by Faber and Faber.*
2) *Editor's note: Peter Smithson sent us this unpublished text by Alison Smithson along with the following letter:*
Further encouraged by Zodiac 11 I send you a short text about the 'fifties, which has never been published, written by Alison at the time of the big Independent Group retrospective exhibition.
It is really an autobiographical fragment and records the "rawness" of the period very well. I was delighted to find it.
If it is too late, or you cannot use it in your context, I would be grateful if the text could be returned.
Yours sincerely,
Peter D. Smithson, 10 July 1996

Intervista a Bruno Zevi

Enrico Bordogna

E.B. Abbiamo scelto di dedicare questo numero di "Zodiac" al ruolo svolto nel panorama internazionale dell'architettura moderna dagli architetti nati intorno al 1920, di quella che Giedion chiama la "terza generazione", per cercare di verificare, a distanza di trent'anni, il loro contributo rispetto alle due generazioni precedenti e a quelle successive.

B.Z. Per cominciare entrando subito nel cuore dell'incandescente materia, alcuni brevi commenti alle testimonianze di Peter Blake e Dennis Sharp.
Gli architetti di cui si parla entrano in scena subito dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale. Il dilemma culturale è chiarissimo: da un lato, il Razionalismo; dall'altro, l'Organico con la ripresa dell'Espressionismo di Häring e Scharoun. Il saggio *Verso un'architettura organica* uscito nel 1945 trae il titolo da Le Corbusier (*Vers une architecture*), ma l'aggettivo *organico* deriva da Wright, Aalto e l'Empirismo scandinavo, l'urbanistica britannica. In Italia, da Torino e Venezia a Palermo, la professione opta per la tendenza organica. Solo Milano rifiuta, in omaggio ad una "continuità" astratta, destinata presto a sgretolarsi.
Per cogliere i caratteri di questa generazione, non basta riferirsi ai maestri della professione; occorre tener conto anche degli storici e dei critici. La Gran Bretagna vanta Pevsner; gli Stati Uniti, Mumford; l'Italia, Persico, il cui corrosivo pensiero non è riuscito a influenzare oltre i confini della penisola. Occorre anche esaminare gli strumenti di diffusione del linguaggio moderno. La Gran Bretagna prevale con "The Architectural Review"; gli Stati Uniti con "The Architectural Forum" e "Architecture Plus" (per un certo periodo, anche il "Journal of the AIA"); l'Italia con riviste di *design* più che di architettura ("Domus") e con il binomio Milano-"Casabella" e Roma-"L'architettura". Dennis Sharp ricorda le significative iniziative delle riviste studentesche "Focus" e "Plan". A Harvard, invece, la rivista "Task" fu un fallimento.
L'ostracismo della storia dai programmi del Bauhaus ha condizionato la cultura di questi decenni. L'architettura moderna non poteva essere concepita come un capitolo da aggiungere alle vecchie storie dell'architettura. Occorreva compiere un lavoro impegnativo e difficile: rinnovare la storia dell'architettura antica rileggendola con occhi contemporanei, alla luce dei valori moderni: spazi fruiti e dinamici, frammentazione volumetrica, scomposizione De Stijl, dinamica futurista, *High Tech*, eccetera. Oggi, ch'io sappia, abbiamo una sola storia moderna dell'architettura antica che, non a caso, è denominata *controstoria*.
Blake e Sharp interrompono bruscamente la loro testimonianza, quasi che la generazione in esame avesse esaurito le sue funzioni e i suoi compiti. Blake ironizza, da par suo, sul Michey Mouse della produzione odierna. Io sono più ottimista. La vergogna del Postmoderno è finita nello squallore. L'itinerario moderno è in piena ripresa. Abbiamo un punto di riferimento in Frank Owen Gehry.
La politica è implicita nella vicenda inglese, quando si parla di *new towns*, London County Council, TUC Building, University of East Anglia, Brutalism and Team X, Festival of Britain. Ma dovrebbe esserlo con più evidenza negli Stati Uniti e nell'Europa continentale. Oggi, per esempio, in Italia, dopo le elezioni del 21 aprile scorso, è in atto un mutamento radicale che gli architetti largamente trascurano.

E.B. Per quanto riguarda gli architetti nordamericani, nel suo saggio-testimonianza Peter Blake esordisce evocando l'influenza fondamentale esercitata dall'arrivo in America degli architetti europei, soprattutto di provenienza Bauhaus, emigrati dall'Europa nazista e lì approdati soprattutto a Harvard e Chicago, quasi a profilare un'evoluzione diversa tra le poetiche degli architetti americani ed europei nati intorno al 1920.

B.Z. Di questo fenomeno devo considerarmi una testimonianza. Perché dall'Inghilterra, dove frequentai per qualche mese a Londra l'Architectural Association, scrissi a Walter Gropius chiedendogli di accogliermi nella sua scuola e, alla sua risposta affermativa, dopo un breve rientro in Italia per ragioni politiche, raggiunsi Harvard. Lì mi accorsi subito dei limiti di Gropius; non come personalità di architetto, che era di grande qualità, ma come impostazione di insegnamento e come prospettiva culturale. Sicché pubblicai un opuscolo (con altri, ma fatto fondamentalmente da me) dal titolo *An opinion on architecture*, dove optavo per Wright e dove, di fronte alla metodologia del *team work* di Gropius, una metodologia che appiattiva la personalità individuale, difendevo l'intuizione del «genio».
Molti anni dopo, invitato a Harvard in occasione del cinquantenario della mostra *The International Style* tenuta al MOMA di New York nel 1932 –insieme a molti altri come Philip Johnson, naturalmente, Peter Eisenman, eccetera–, nel mio intervento ricordai questa mia insubordinazione, e come Gropius, con la nobiltà d'animo che gli era propria, mi aveva

Interview with Bruno Zevi
Enrico Bordogna

***E.B.** We have decided, in this issue of "Zodiac", to focus on the role played in the international panorama of modern architecture by architects born in the vicinity of the year 1920, those of what Giedion calls the "third generation"; the aim is to assess, thirty years later, their contribution with respect to earlier and successive generations.*

***B.Z.** To begin by immediately going to the heart of this white-hot material, let us briefly comment on the positions of Peter Blake and Dennis Sharp.*
The architects in question enter the picture just after the second world war. The cultural dilemma could not be clearer: on the one hand, Rationalism; on the other, the Organic, with the renewal of Expressionism of Häring and Scharoun. The essay Toward an Organic Architecture *that appeared in 1945 drew its title from Le Corbusier (*Vers une architecture*), but the adjective* organic *comes from Wright, Aalto, Scandinavian Empiricism, British town planning. In Italy, from Turin to Venice to Palermo, the profession opted for the organicist approach. Only Milan refused to join in, remaining faithful to an abstract "continuity" which was soon to disintegrate. To grasp the characters of this generation, it will not suffice to concentrate on the masters of the profession; we will also have to look at the historians and the critics. In Great Britain there was Pevsner; in the United States, Mumford; in Italy, Persico, whose corrosive thought did not manage to extend its influence beyond the confines of the Italian peninsula. We should also examine the instruments of the spread of the modern language. In Great Britain, the "Architectural Review"; in the United States, "Architectural Forum" and "Architecture Plus" (and, for a certain period, the "Journal of the AIA"); in Italy, there were magazines of "design", more than architecture ("Domus"), and there was the pairing of "Casabella", from Milan, and "L'architettura", from Rome. Dennis Sharp recalls the significant initiatives of the student magazines "Focus" and "Plan". At Harvard, on the other hand, the magazine "Task" was a failure.*
The exclusion of history from the curriculum of the Bauhaus conditioned the culture of these decades. Modern architecture could not be conceived as a chapter to be added to the old history of architecture. A difficult task was at hand: that of renewing the history of architecture, reintepreting it with contemporary eyes, in the light of modern values: useful, dynamic spaces, volumetric fragmentation, De Stijl de-composition, Futurist dynamics, High-Tech, etc. Today, as far as I know, we have only one modern history of ancient architecture which, and not by chance, is called "counter-history". Blake and Sharp brusquely interrupt their testimony, almost as if the generation concerned had exhausted its functions and its tasks. Blake waxes ironic, speaking of the "Mickey Mouse" of today's production. I am more optimistic. The shameful episode of the Postmodern has foundered in squalor. The modern itinerary is back on track. One point of reference in this process is Frank Owen Gehry. The policy is implicit in the English situation, when we speak of "new towns", London County Council, the TUC Building, the University of East Anglia, Brutalism and Team X, the Festival of Britain. But it should also be evident in the United States and continental Europe. Today, for example, in Italy, after the elections of April 21, a radical change is underway, that architects have largely overlooked.

***E.B.** Where the North American architects are concerned, in his essay Peter Blake begins by evoking the fundamental influence brought about by the arrival of European architects in America, especially those of the Bauhaus, who fled from Nazi Europe to settle, above all, at Harvard and in Chicago; it is as if Blake were attempting to outline a difference in the evolution of the poetics of American and European architects born in or around 1920.*

***B.Z.** I can say that I was personally involved in this phenomenon. Because from England, where I studied for some months at the Architectural Association, I wrote to Walter Gropius asking him to accept me at his school; after his affirmative reply, and after a short stay in Italy for political reasons, I went to Harvard. There I immediately became aware of the limits of Gropius; not as an architect, but in his cultural outlook and approach to teaching. I published a pamphlet (together with others, but essentially written by me) entitled* An opinion on architecture, *in which I opted for Wright and, with respect to the teamwork methodology of Gropius, that discouraged individual personality, I defended the intuition of the "genius". Many years later, when I was invited to Harvard for the fiftieth anniversary of the exhibition* The International Style, *held at MoMA New York in 1932 – together with many others including, naturally, Philip Johnson, Peter Eisenman, etc. – in my talk I recalled this insubordination, and how Gropius, with his nobility of spirit, had responded that he did not agree, but that he respected my position.*
I mention this incident in order to underline that while it is

Bruno Zevi, Architettura. Concetti di una controstoria, *Roma 1994: copertina.*

Bruno Zevi, Architettura. Concetti di una controstoria, *Rome 1994: front cover.*

risposto di non essere d'accordo, ma di apprezzare comunque la mia posizione.
Riporto questo aneddoto per sottolineare che, se è vero che la generazione alla quale appartengo ha subito profondamente il fascino dei Maestri del Movimento Moderno, è pur vero che non si può dire che li abbia seguiti indiscriminatamente.
Infatti, se si guarda nel dettaglio, quale di questi architetti che "Zodiac" pubblica in questo numero può essere definito razionalista? Non io, che divenni subito wrightiano; non Rudolph, che non si può certo dire gropiusiano; non Leonardo Ricci, dato che fu lui a inaugurare l'Espressionismo a Firenze, strada sulla quale il maestro Michelucci seguirà l'allievo Ricci; forse solo Mario Fiorentino per certi aspetti potrebbe essere considerato razionalista, non però nello splendido sacrario alle Fosse Ardeatine; De Carlo come architetto rivela una personalità composita e come urbanista è anche un teorico, ma in entrambi i casi ha poco a che fare col Razionalismo; Viganò è brutalista, ma il Brutalismo deve essere ascritto al Razionalismo o all'Espressionismo? Marcello D'Olivo è certamente un espressionista. E ancora, venendo all'America: Paul Rudolph, di cui ho già detto, è neoplastico, soprattutto nelle prime opere realizzate a Yale, ma anche in quelle più recenti. Paolo Soleri è indefinibile: all'inizio seguiva Wright, ma poi se ne è distaccato, perseguendo una architettura densa, affastellata, che non riesce a tradurre con chiarezza l'idea di partenza, là dove Wright con Broadacre City puntava all'estensione. Per Soleri umanamente provo molta ammirazione. Anni fa passai da lui una settimana deliziosa con John Cage, con Wright uno dei due geni che ho incontrato nella mia vita. Soleri ha idee meravigliose e generose, ma che poi difficilmente si traducono con coerenza in architettura.

E.B. Il giudizio di Peter Blake sugli architetti americani di questa generazione è emblematicamente contenuto nel titolo che egli stesso ha proposto: *Da Mies a Michey Mouse.*
Sintetizzando: se nell'immediato dopoguerra l'influenza dei Maestri europei, in particolare di Gropius a Harvard e di Mies a Chicago, riuscì a imprimere una svolta eroica e radicale alle scuole di architettura americane, creando le condizioni per il formarsi di una generazione di architetti estremamente colta, capace di impegnare sul piano del gusto e dell'innovazione una committenza elitaria, ricca, colta e illuminata al tempo stesso; dalla metà degli anni Sessanta sarebbe subentrato un processo di involuzione in cui – mi sembra che sostenga Blake – quegli stessi architetti americani avrebbero scelto di «*specializzarsi in cattivo gusto*», per corrispondere a un nuovo genere di committenza, prevalentemente quella delle grandi *corporation*, assai meno colta e illuminata della precedente.

B.Z. Blake, come sempre, è persona finissima, e la sua mi sembra una riflessione giusta e sincera.

E.B. Ma allora questa involuzione sarebbe da circoscrivere in una debolezza ideologica degli architetti americani nati intorno al 1920, perché forse meno impegnati e meno coerenti sia rispetto alle generazioni precedenti sia rispetto ai loro coetanei europei?

B.Z. Non credo affatto a questa presunta debolezza ideologica degli americani. E' vero che a un certo punto negli Stati Uniti si determina una situazione di crisi. Ma occorre capire quando e come. Si può indicare una data precisa: da quando nel settembre 1972 Peter Blake lascia la direzione di "The Architectural Forum" e poi non riesce ad affermare editorialmente "Architecture Plus", un capolavoro di rivista perché passava dall'architettura al territorio senza abbandonare l'impegno sull'architettura. Da allora l'America non ha più una rivista di architettura colta. E, poiché in architettura le riviste hanno una decisiva importanza, si può dire che la crisi della cultura architettonica americana coincide con questa crisi delle riviste di architettura.
Nell'insieme devo dire però che gli architetti americani della terza generazione non mi sembrano più incoerenti di quelli della generazione precedente. Guardiamo a un caso concreto, per esempio a quello di Eero Saarinen, appartenente alla seconda generazione, perché nato nel 1910. Egli si forma nell'ambito del linguaggio di Mies van der Rohe (basti pensare al Centro tecnologico della General Motors, che è una purissima opera miesiana con l'aggiunta del colore), ma contemporaneamente partecipa alla mostra di mobili e arredamento *Organic Design*, con una serie di prototipi di sedie e poltroncine curvilinee, di forma organica. Poi realizza il *Terminal* della TWA a Idlewild, ispirandosi all'idea che l'architettura è spazio, stupendo, ma anche molto artificioso. Infine, nei Dormitori della Yale University a New Haven, cade nel vernacolo da villaggio pseudomedievale, tornando tuttavia a realizzare a New York un grattacielo più o meno *High Tech* per la Columbia Broadcasting System. A queste opere si possono aggiungere ancora l'auditorium e la cappella al MIT, anch'essi affascinanti quale era lui come persona, estremamente tormentata, sempre alla ricerca della propria identità, variegata e ondeggiante. Ecco, per tornare al



true that my generation has been greatly influenced by the masters of the Modern Movement, it is also true that we have not been unquestioning disciples. In fact, if we look closer, which of these architects in this issue of "Zodiac" can be defined as a Rationalist? Not I, I immediately became a follower of Wright; not Rudolph, who can certainly not be called a follower of Gropius; not Leonardo Ricci, given the fact that he was a forerunner of Expressionism in Florence, opening the way for his mentor, Michelucci; perhaps only Mario Fiorentino can, for certain aspects, be considered a Rationalist, although not in his splendid memorial at the Ardeatine caves; De Carlo, as an architect, has a composite personality, and as an urban planner he is also a theorist, but in both cases he has little to do with Rationalism; Viganò is a Brutalist, but should Brutalism be ascribed to Rationalism or Expressionism? Marcello D'Olivo is undoubtedly an Expressionist. And so on; coming from America Paul Rudolph, as I noted above, is a neoplastic architect, especially in his first works, produced at Yale, but also in his more recent projects. Paolo Soleri is undefinable: at first he followed Wright, but then he went his own way, pursuing a dense, jumbled architecture that is not capable of clearly translating the original idea, where Wright was trying to achieve extension, as in Broadacre City. I feel great admiration for Soleri, in human terms. Years ago I spent a wonderful week with him and with John Cage, one of the two geniuses – together with Wright – I have met in my lifetime. Soleri has marvelous, generous ideas, but they are very difficult to translate, coherently, into architecture.

***E.B.** The judgement of Peter Blake regarding the American architects of this generation is emblematically contained in the title he himself has proposed:* From Mies to Mickey Mouse. *In short: while in the immediate postwar period the influence of the European masters, and in particular of Gropius at Harvard and Mies in Chicago, managed to bring about a heroic, radical shift in the American schools of architecture, creating the conditions for the training of an extremely erudite generation of architects, capable of engaging, in terms of taste and innovation, an elite, wealthy, but also cultured and enlightened clientele, from the mid-Seventies on a process of involution has occurred in which – it seems to me that Blake asserts – American architects have chosen to* "specialize in bad taste"*, in response to a new kind of clientele, prevalently that of the large corporations, a much less cultured and enlightened species.*

***B.Z.** Blake, as always, is very refined, and these reflections seem correct, sincere.*

***E.B.** So this involution can be attributed to an ideological weakness of the American architects of the generation born near 1920, perhaps because they are less committed, less coherent than earlier generations, or than their European colleagues?*

***B.Z.** I do not believe in this alleged ideological weakness of the Americans. It is true that at a certain point, in the United States, a situation of crisis arises. But we need to understand when and how. We can indicate a precise date: the moment, in September 1972, when Peter Blake leaves his position as editor of "Architectural Forum", and then fails to make a success of "Architecture Plus", a masterpiece of a review, because it shifted the focus from architecture to the territory without losing sight of architecture. Since then, America has no longer had a truly "cultured" architecture magazine. And because magazines play a decisive role in the world of architecture, we can say that the crisis of American architectural culture coincides with this crisis in American architectural publishing.*
Nevertheless, I would have to say that on the whole the American architects of the third generation do not appear to be more incoherent than those of the preceding generation. Let's look at a concrete example, that of Eero Saarinen, who is part of the second generation, because he was born in 1910. His background lies in the area of the language of Mies van der Rohe (just consider the General Motors technology center, which is a pure Miesian work with the addition of color), but at the same time he participated in the Organic Design *exhibition of furniture and decorating, with a series of prototypes of curvilinear chairs with organic forms. Then he built the TWA terminal at Idlewild, inspired by the idea that architecture is space; stupendous, but also rather contrived. Finally, in the dormitories for Yale University, he falls into the vernacular of the pseudomedieval village, only to then design a more or less High Tech skyscraper for CBS in New York. We can extend the list to include the auditorium and the chapel at MIT, fascinating works by a fascinating, extremely tormented person, always in search of his variegated, wavering identity. To get back to the comparison with the third generation, I don't think that a personality like Kevin Roche, born in 1922, involves similarly various, incoherent shiftings of position.*

Bruno Zevi, Verso un'architettura organica, *Torino 1945: copertina.*

Bruno Zevi, Verso un'architettura organica, *Turin 1945: front cover.*

confronto che stavo facendo, non penso che per esempio una personalità come Kevin Roche, appartenente alla terza generazione perché nato nel 1922, presenti oscillazioni altrettanto multiformi e incoerenti.

E.B. Peter Blake però, più che un difetto di coerenza, mi sembra sollevi la questione di una certa involuzione commerciale nell'opera recente di questi architetti americani.

B.Z. Questo può essere vero: se lo afferma Peter Blake, è senz'altro vero. Però il mondo, anche quello dell'architettura, è fatto di tante cose, e dunque si tratta di decidere che cosa uno vuole selezionare *criticamente* e assumere a carattere emblematico di un'epoca. Non credo che proprio questo carattere debba essere assunto come simbolo dell'epoca di cui stiamo parlando. Al contrario, penso che questa sia la sofisticata eccezione che naturalmente interessa un critico sofisticato come Peter Blake.

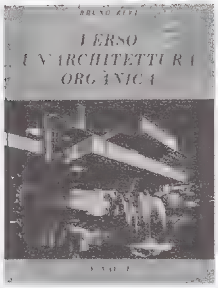
E.B. Eppure, tra le opere degli architetti americani che pubblichiamo, ve ne sono alcune –dello stesso Blake, di Ulrich Franzen e di altri– che sembrano rispondere a una maggiore continuità e coerenza rispetto ai principi del Movimento Moderno. Per esempio, sempre nella sua testimonianza per "Zodiac", Blake ricorda come Craig Ellwood a un certo momento incontri difficoltà a continuare il suo lavoro in California, tanto da abbandonarlo per trasferirsi a dipingere in Toscana, in Italia. Mentre come altri coetanei si siano adeguati più duttilmente alle nuove esigenze della committenza, come potrebbero dimostrare i recenti grandi interventi di Kevin Roche per alcune *corporation* multinazionali, caratterizzati da un misto di postmoderno nel linguaggio e una certa magniloquenza classicista nell'impianto.

B.Z. Sono d'accordo, anche se nel caso di Roche non si può certo parlare di postmoderno. Roche ha il senso innato della grande dimensione, percepibile persino nelle sale del Metropolitan Museum, che restano autentiche, anche se qualcuno le può trovare forse un po' retoriche. Tuttavia il controllo della grande scala in Roche resta innegabile, e la grande dimensione, in sé, non è un demerito. Nella personalità di Roche è presente questa vocazione, che naturalmente può implicare il rischio di sconfinare nel monumentale: ed è vero che in alcune sue opere vi è un eccesso di enfasi.

Però il caso di Roche è unico. Le stesse considerazioni non valgono, per esempio, per la poetica di Rudolph, che è neoplastica, fin dalla Scuola di Arte e Architettura di Yale, e in questo il suo lavoro risulta di una coerenza straordinaria. Egli è l'unico che riprenda l'insegnamento di Van Doesburg e lo porti fino in fondo. Assumere una corrente linguistica come De Stijl e sposarla alla dimensione dei temi edilizi americani risulta un'operazione di grande qualità, a cominciare dal progetto per il Graphic Arts Center di New York del 1967, una macrostruttura con una serie di grattacieli a capsule.
Un'altra personalità di grande importanza, un talento creativo straordinario al quale non si può trascurare di riferirsi, è John Johansen, che pure ha un inizio neoplastico, specialmente in alcune case in cemento, per evolversi poi in una visione "elettronica" -come egli stesso la definisce- tradotta in un'opera di grandissima qualità come il Mummer's Theater di Oklahoma City.
Comunque, per concludere sugli architetti americani di questa generazione, mi sembra che gli autori e le opere pubblicate siano ben scelti e, insieme al pezzo di Peter Blake, costituiscano una rassegna significativa.

E.B. Attraversando ora l'oceano, quale è stato il ruolo svolto dagli architetti europei nati intorno al 1920, in particolare da quelli di area anglosassone, qui trattati nel saggio di Dennis Sharp? A questo riguardo ci sembra che soprattutto gli architetti britannici, dagli Smithson al Team X, abbiano giocato un ruolo centrale, da una parte nella critica all'ideologia tradizionale dei CIAM, dall'altra nel promuovere un processo di «identificazione generazionale» basato su alcune questioni agitate come nodali nella rivendicazione di autonomia dai Maestri del Movimento Moderno: le questioni dell'urbanistica, della tecnica, della storia, del linguaggio, della forma.

B.Z. Va detto subito però che tutti questi temi sono stati agitati dagli architetti inglesi sempre in chiave progressista e moderna. Mentre, se si solleva per esempio il problema della storia in Italia, si rischia di ottenere il consenso della reazione, mentre nella cultura britannica questo non avviene: lì la storia è sempre un motore per spingersi avanti. Il mio giudizio sull'Inghilterra è indiscriminatamente positivo: ma anche perché mi sono trovato a viverci sia nel 1939-40, durante la Battle of Britain, sia quando vi tornai nel 1943, e potei constatare cosa significasse il Piano di Ricostruzione di Londra di Forshaw e Abercrombie, dove l'urbanistica,



E.B. *But Peter Blake, it seems to me, addresses less a lack of coherence than the question of a certain commercial involution in the recent work of these American architects.*

B.Z. *This may be true: if Peter Blake says it, it is undoubtedly true. But the world, and also the world of architecture, is made of many things, so we have to decide what things to* critically *select as emblematic of an era. I do not believe that this precise characteristic should be selected as a symbol of the era in question. No, I think this represents the sophisticated exception that, naturally, interests a sophisticated critic like Blake.*

E.B. *And yet among the works of American architects published here, there are some – by Blake himself, by Ulrich Franzen and others – that seem to reflect a greater continuity and coherence with respect to the principles of the Modern Movement. For example, again in his contribution to "Zodiac", Blake recalls that Craig Ellwood, at a certain point, encountered difficulties in continuing his work in California, so much so that he decided to go to paint in Tuscany. On the other hand others among his contemporaries have adapted to the new demands of the clientele; just look at the recent large projects by Kevin Roche for multinationals, characterized by a mixture of postmodernism in the language and magniloquent classicism in the installation.*

B.Z. *I agree, although in the case of Roche we should certainly not speak of the postmodern. Roche has an innate sense of the large scale, which can even be perceived in the halls of the Metropolitan Museum, which remain authentic, although some may find them a bit rhetorical. Control of the large scale is an undeniable part of Roche's work, and in itself this is nothing to be ashamed of. This vocation is present in Roche's personality, and naturally it can imply the risk of monumental excess: and it is true that in some of his works there is an excess of emphasis.*
But the case of Roche is unique. The same considerations do not apply, for example, to the neoplastic poetics of Rudolph, right from the School of Art and Architecture at Yale, and in this his work is extraordinarily coherent. He is the only one who picks up the teaching of Van Doesburg and follows it all the way through. To embrace a linguistic current like that of De Stijl and combine it with the dimension of American building is an operation of great quality, beginning with the design for the Graphic Arts Center of New York in 1967, a macrostructure with a series of capsule skyscrapers.
Another personality of great importance, an extraordinary creative talent that cannot be overlooked, is John Johansen, who also began with neoplasticism, especially in certain concrete houses, but then evolved into an "electronic" vision – as he defines it – translated into work of great quality, like the Mummer's Theater of Oklahoma City.
In any case, to conclude on the topic of the American architects of this generation, it seems to me that the architects and the works published have been well selected and, together with the piece by Peter Blake, constitute a significant overview.

E.B. *Crossing the ocean, what has been the role played by the European architects born in the vicinity of 1920, especially those of the Anglo-Saxon area, discussed in the essay by Dennis Sharp? Here it would appear that above all the British architects, from the Smithsons to Team X, have played a central role, on the one hand in the critique of traditional ideology at the CIAM congresses, and on the other in the promotion of a process of "generational identification" based on certain questions seen as crucial for the assertion of autonomy from the Masters of the Modern Movement: the questions of town planning, of technique, of history, language, form.*

B.Z. *First, however, me should note that all these themes are confronted by the English architects in a progress-oriented, modern key. While if we look, for example, at the problem of history in Italy, we run the risk of obtaining a consensus of reaction, in British culture this does not happen: history is seen as a motor to push us forward. My judgement of England is indiscriminately positive: but this is also because I lived there both in 1939-40, during the Battle of Britain, and later, in 1943, so I was able to get a firsthand look at the impact of the London reconstruction plan of Forshaw and Abercrombie, in which town planning, focused not only on the destiny of the community but also on that of individuals, took on a extraordinary social meaning and psychological efficacy (while in Italy competitions were being held for the reconstruction of the Abyssinian cities we were planning to reconquer). Similar considerations also apply to the formal aspects. The Festival of Britain in 1951, at South Bank, designed a quarter dominated by the idea of the pathway: no longer static, perspective views, with the inevitable risk of becoming theater sets, but a dynamic, real life settlement.*

Bruno Zevi et al., An Opinion on Architecture, *Cambridge, Mass. 1941: copertina.*

Bruno Zevi et al., An Opinion on Architecture, *Cambridge, Mass. 1941: front cover.*

impegnata non solo sul destino delle comunità ma anche su quello degli individui, assumeva una pregnanza sociale e un'efficacia psicologica straordinarie (mentre in Italia si facevano i concorsi per la ricostruzione delle città abissine che avremmo riconquistato). E considerazioni simili si possono fare anche dal punto di vista formale. Il Festival of Britain del 1951, a South Bank, ha disegnato un quartiere dominato dall'idea del percorso: non più visioni prospettiche, statiche, col rischio inevitabile di diventare scenografia, ma un insediamento dinamico, vissuto.
Quanto al Brutalismo è stato un fenomeno importante; senza staccarsi dal Razionalismo, lo ha commentato. Il Brutalismo è stato inventato non dagli inglesi, ma da Le Corbusier. Gli inglesi però sono stati poi capaci di assimilarlo e riproporlo. In Italia, tolto Viganò, non c'è stato nessuno che l'abbia interpretato.
Il Brutalismo dunque è un ciclo e richiederebbe di comprendervi anche la figura di Stirling, importante e contraddittoria al tempo stesso; ma in un'altra occasione, poiché anagraficamente appartiene alla generazione successiva.
Comunque io sono affascinato dall'Inghilterra, anche se devo aggiungere che il fenomeno di involuzione denunciato da Peter Blake per l'America, in parte vale pure per l'Inghilterra, dove ormai le figure importanti della generazione successiva si riducono a due: Richard Rogers e Norman Foster.

E.B. Tuttavia gli architetti della generazione antecedente hanno pure svolto un ruolo importante nel panorama internazionale, in particolare gli Smithson.

B.Z. Ma gli Smithson quale ruolo hanno svolto dopo la Scuola di Hunstanton, che è un'opera di grande apertura perché ha avviato il Brutalismo senza essere brutalista? Infatti vi si può trovare un approccio brutalista relativamente a certi dettagli (gli impianti elettrici lasciati a vista, per esempio), senza però quella cattiveria, quella violenza materica con cui il Brutalismo, filtrando la poetica di Le Corbusier, si è identificato in seguito.

E.B. L'aspetto più sconcertante è il fatto che gli inglesi, con gli Smithson in primo piano, assurgono alla ribalta internazionale portando una critica revisionista, con toni quasi da *agit-prop*, anche in occasione dei CIAM, alla poetica dei Maestri del Movimento Moderno, nei confronti dei quali tuttavia, soprattutto di Le Corbusier, rimangono fortemente debitori. Se vi è una linea di continuità formale con il Razionalismo, questa è proprio da riconoscere nell'opera di questi architetti.

B.Z. E' verissimo. Il Team X per me è uno degli episodi più enigmatici della storia dell'architettura recente, perché solleva questioni come quelle del «grappolo», della griglia, dell'aggregazione sociale –e in questo senza dubbio colpisce giusto–, che però restano senza applicazione, esaurendosi in ipotesi del tipo di quella della progettazione fatta con il committente. Forse l'interpretazione più corrispondente al vero è che il Team X sia una operazione di recupero di un circuito internazionale, che esso stesso aveva infranto contribuendo alla chiusura dei CIAM.

E.B. Intende che si trattò di un'operazione di tipo generazionale, che puntava dapprima alla direzione e poi, non riuscendovi, alla liquidazione dei CIAM, per subentrare sulla scena internazionale a quei Maestri che li avevano promossi e che non smisero di esserne i protagonisti?

B.Z. Esattamente: attraverso l'invenzione, se non proprio l'improvvisazione, di una ideologia, la quale naturalmente aveva certa fondatezza –altrimenti non avrebbe retto–, sintetizzabile nella filosofia dell'aggregazione contrapposta a quella dell'esemplarità univoca.

E.B. Uno dei punti sui quali vertono le discussioni conflittuali degli ultimi CIAM è la rivendicazione, da parte degli architetti più giovani, di un'urbanistica non più astratta e astorica, come essi giudicavano quella teorizzata dai Maestri autori della Carta d'Atene, propugnando viceversa una riappropriazione della città reale, secondo una linea che gli Smithson chiamano di «reidentificazione urbana». Tuttavia questa istanza di recupero della città storica, affermata teoricamente, sembra rimanere disattesa negli interventi concreti, come per esempio nel progetto degli Smithson per Golden Lane a Londra, assai simile per grana e scala di intervento alle proposte di Le Corbusier per il rinnovo degli *îlot insalubre* di Parigi. Mentre l'elemento che sembra davvero caratterizzare la loro posizione è una concezione fortemente sociologica, con le istanze della partecipazione, dell'aggregazione, della strada unificante, eccetera.

B.Z. Ciò però comportò anche risvolti positivi. Quando penso all'Inghilterra, trovo sempre un carattere di esemplarità



Regarding Brutalism, it has been an important phenomenon; without detaching itself from Rationalism, it comments on it. Brutalism was not invented by the English, but by Le Corbusier. But the English knew how to assimilate it and repropose it. In Italy, apart from Viganò, no one offered an interpretation.
Brutalism is, therefore, a cycle, and it is also necessary to include the figure of Stirling, simultaneously important and contradictory; but this must be left for another occasion, as he belongs to the generation to follow.
In any case I am fascinated by England, although I must add that the phenomenon of involution described by Peter Blake in America is also, in part, evident in England, where the important figures of the generation to follow are reduced to just two: Richard Rogers and Norman Foster.

E.B. Nevertheless the architects of the preceding generation played an important role in the international panorama, especially the Smithsons.

B.Z. But what role did the Smithsons play after the School of Hunstanton, which is a work of great novelty, because it launched Brutalism without being Brutalist? In fact it contains a Brutalist approach to certain details (the electrical plant, for example, left visible), but without the hardness, the materic violence with which Brutalism, filtering the poetics of Le Corbusier, later identified.

E.B. The most disconcerting aspect is the fact that the English, with the Smithsons in the lead, achieved international renown with their revisionist critique, almost in tones of agit-prop, at the CIAM and elsewhere, of the poetics of the Masters of the Modern Movement to whom, nevertheless, they owe a great deal, especially to Le Corbusier. If a line of formal continuity with Rationalism exists anywhere, it is precisely here in the work of these architects.

B.Z. Indeed. Team X, for me, is one of the most enigmatic episodes of recent architectural history, because it raises questions like those of the "cluster", the grid, the social aggregation – and in this sense doubt is justified – which remain, however, without application, boiling down to nothing more than hypotheses, like that of design in collaboration with the client. Perhaps the interpretation that most closely reflects the truth is that Team X was an operation of recovery of an international circuit, which it had taken part in interrupting, contributing to the closing of the CIAM.

E.B. Do you mean that this was an operation of a generational type, aiming first for the control and then, having failed, for the demise of the CIAM, in order to take the place, on the international scene, of the masters who had promoted the congresses and who remained their protagonists?

B.Z. Exactly: through the invention, if not the improvisation, of an ideology, which naturally was not without foundation – otherwise it would not have functioned – which can be summed up in the philosophy of aggregation rather than that of the unique, exemplary work.

E.B. On of the points of controversy and discussion at the last CIAM congresses is the advocacy, on the part of the younger architects, of an urbanism that is no longer abstract and a-historical, as they considered that of the authors of the Athens Charter; they favored a reappropriation of the real city, in line with what the Smithsons called "urban reidentification". Nevertheless this program, expressed in theory, for the recovery of the historical city does not seem to have found its way into their concrete projects, such as that of the Smithsons for Golden Lane in London, which was very similar in its fabric and scale of intervention to the proposals of Le Corbusier for the renewal of the îlot insalubre of Paris. While the element that truly appears to characterize their position is a strongly sociological conception, with demands for participation, aggregation, the unifying street, etc.

B.Z. This, however, led to some positive results. When I think of England, I always sense a character of exemplary, authentic democracy in the recurring transition between Labour and the Conservatives, which rarely manages to thoroughly overturn basic Labourist choices, and even seems to feed on their achievements. The passage from the "new towns", which constitute the most important urbanistic phenomenon of the postwar period, to urban quarters, from the point of view of planning, can also be seen as the expression of a political reversal: but the fact remains that the large English urban estates, like the new towns, are made in a magnificent way; and the same is true of the large infrastructural nodes, the districts, the commercial centres, although recently fewer have been built.

Bruno Zevi, Biagio Rossetti, architetto ferrarese, il primo urbanista moderno europeo, *Torino 1960: copertina.*

Bruno Zevi, Biagio Rossetti, architetto ferrarese, il primo urbanista moderno europeo, *Turin 1960: copertina.*

autenticamente democratica nella transizione ricorrente che lì si verifica tra amministrazione laburista e amministrazione conservatrice, che però raramente ribalta le scelte di fondo laburiste, più spesso anzi nutrendosi alle sue conquiste. Il passaggio dalle *new towns*, che costituiscono il fatto più importante nell'urbanistica del dopoguerra, ai quartieri urbani, dal punto di vista della pianificazione potrà anche risultare l'espressione di un capovolgimento politico: resta il fatto che i grandi quartieri urbani inglesi, così come le *new towns*, sono realizzati in modo magnifico; ed egualmente i grandi nodi infrastrutturali, i *district*, i *commercial centre*, benché ultimamente se ne realizzino meno.

E.B. Anche la questione della tecnica rivela allora una certa ambiguità. Essa veniva considerata soprattutto in chiave di prefabbricazione, interpretata a sua volta come garanzia di economicità, di trasferibilità di esperienze, di «democraticità» della produzione edilizia e della sua destinazione, condizione per una civiltà edilizia diffusa, al riparo da esasperazioni individualistiche sul piano formale. E tuttavia qui potrebbe forse trovarsi l'origine della corrente *High Tech*, che successivamente in molti casi si trasforma da postulazione operativa morale in scelta espressiva *tout court*, con gli stessi rischi di arbitrarietà stilistica che si volevano originariamente esorcizzare. E altra questione ancora è quella delle macrostrutture, assunta emblematicamente da un critico coetaneo come Reyner Banham.

B.Z. Sull'*High Tech* non mi reputo competente, ma per la tecnica bisogna risalire alla seconda generazione, con la figura di Ove Arup, che faceva parte dei fondatori del Gruppo MARS e del Gruppo Tecton, che è uno degli inventori dell'architettura moderna britannica. Inizialmente lavorò con Lubetkin e successivamente in posizione indipendente, ma sempre realizzando opere straordinarie (penso al suo apporto nell'Opera di Sidney di Jörn Utzon) e svolgendo un ruolo che in Italia facciamo addirittura fatica a concepire, perché non abbiamo mai avuto una figura così: abbiamo avuto Nervi, che però ha svolto un ruolo un po' limitato; Riccardo Morandi certamente importante, ma non confrontabile con Arup, senza il cui supporto progettuale non si può comprendere l'atteggiamento della cultura architettonica britannica verso la tecnica. Quanto alle macrostrutture, ne ho sempre dato un giudizio positivo, dall'Unité d'habitation di Le Corbusier, al progetto per il Centro di Arti Grafiche di Rudolph. Ho sempre sostenuto che la straordinaria concezione di Wright manteneva la compresenza di due soluzioni: quella della città estensiva, della città-territorio di Broadacre City e quella del grattacielo alto un miglio.

E.B. Accennavo alla questione delle macrostrutture perché ricordo un suo commento all'edificio di Leonardo Ricci nel Quartiere di Sorgane a Firenze, e perché forse si può individuare un carattere comune ad alcuni architetti italiani di questa generazione, dall'espressionismo di impronta wrightiana del primo D'Olivo, nel Villaggio della madre e del fanciullo ad Opicina, al brutalismo del Marchiondi di Viganò, alla macrostruttura di Ricci a Sorgane.

B.Z. Sicuramente esiste un nesso linguistico tra l'edificio di Ricci e quello di Viganò, come pure tra questo e il complesso di D'Olivo, ma probabilmente anche tra Sorgane e Opicina.

E.B. Tra gli architetti italiani di questa generazione e i loro coetanei inglesi non sembra che ci siano molte affinità: gli italiani, da Fiorentino a De Carlo, da Viganò a D'Olivo, da Ricci fino a Mangiarotti, sembrano legati in modo più diretto, quasi viscerale, ai Maestri del Movimento Moderno.

B.Z. Certamente gli italiani non hanno nulla a che fare con gli inglesi, nonostante la partecipazione di De Carlo al Team X. Però, quanto ai legami con i Maestri del Movimento Moderno, non sono d'accordo. Per Ricci, per esempio, certamente no. Egli è l'unico architetto esistenzialista che ci sia stato in Italia: l'ho detto e scritto più volte. Ricci si impegnava integralmente, come architetto e come uomo, rischiando con grande coraggio e generosità. Gli volevo molto bene e lui mi scriveva delle lettere di quindici pagine completamente incoerenti, ma piene di vitalità esistenziale. Eppure aveva un aspetto sconcertante, che non sono mai riuscito a spiegarmi: la pittura, una pittura estremamente timida, che mi ricordava un po' il caso di Terragni, benché naturalmente quella di Ricci non fosse una pittura novecentista, ma egualmente era estranea alla sua architettura. Negli ultimi tempi lo vidi spesso: quando mi occupai dell'area di Novoli a Firenze, subito lo chiamai, ed egli si comportò con la generosità di sempre, anche nei confronti degli altri architetti coinvolti in quel lavoro. Però Ricci non sentiva un legame particolare con i Maestri del Movimento Moderno. Per esempio di Le Corbusier apprezzava molto il Carpenter Art Center di Harvard, perché è un edificio straordinario tagliato da un percorso urbano, così da partecipare organicamente alla vita



E.B. The question of technique represents another case of ambiguity. It was considered, above all, in terms of prefabrication, seen as a guarantee of cost effectiveness, of the possibility to transfer experience, of "democracy" in building production and its uses, a condition for a widespread civilizing of the real estate business, and a guarantee against individualistic excesses of formal expression. But in spite of all this it is precisely here, perhaps, that we can see the origins of the High Tech tendency, which was later to be tranformed, in many cases, from a moral operative postulate into a pure option of expression, involving the very risks of arbitrary stylistic excess that the approach was supposed to eliminate. Another question is that of the macrostructures, so emblematically addressed by a contemporary critic, Reyner Banham.

B.Z. I don't feel competent to discuss High Tech, but where technique is concerned I can say that we have to trace back to the second generation, to the figure of Ove Arup, who was one of the founders of the MARS group and the Tecton group, and one of the inventors of modern British architecture. Initially he worked with Lubetkin, and later on his own, always producing extraordinary works (consider his contribution to the Sydney Opera House by Jörn Utzon), and playing a role which is nearly inconceivable in Italy, because we have never had such a figure: we have had Nervi, who played, however, a very limited part; Riccardo Morandi is certainly important, but he cannot be compared to Arup, whose design support is essential for an understanding of the attitude of British architectural culture toward the technical side. As far as the macrostructures are concerned, I have always held a positive view, from the Unité d'habitation of Le Corbusier, to the Graphic Arts Center by Rudolph. I have always sustained that the extraordinary conception of Wright preserved the presence of two solutions: that of the extended city, the city-territory of Broadacre City, and that of the mile-high skyscraper.

E.B. I mention the question of macrostructures because I recall your comment on the building by Leonardo Ricci for the Sorgane quarter in Florence, and because perhaps we can find something in common among certain Italian architects of this generation, from the Wrightian expressionism of the early works of D'Olivo, in the "Villaggio della madre e del fanciullo" at Opicina, to the Brutalism of the Marchiondi of Viganò, to the macrostructure of Ricci at Sorgane.

B.Z. Surely there exists a linguistic connection between the building by Ricci and that of Viganò, between the latter and the complex by D'Olivo, and probably between Sorgane and Opicina as well.

E.B. There do not seem to be many affinities between the Italian architects of this generation and their British counterparts: the Italians, from Fiorentino to De Carlo, from Viganò to D'Olivo, from Ricci to Mangiarotti, seem to be linked in a more direct, almost visceral way, to the Masters of the Modern Movement.

B.Z. Certainly the Italians have nothing in common with the English, in spite of De Carlo's participation in Team X. But as far as the direct connection to the Masters of the Modern Movement is concerned, I don't agree. For Ricci, for example, the answer is no. He is the only Italian existentialist architect; I have said so repeatedly. Ricci made a total commitment, as an architect and as a man, taking risks with great courage and generosity of spirit. I was very fond of him, and he used to write me long letters, fifteen pages, completely incoherent, but full of existential vitality. Yet he also had one disconcerting aspect, something I have never been able to explain: his painting, an extremely timid sort of painting, similar to the case of Terragni, although naturally Ricci's painting was not in the Novecento style, but it was equally extraneous to his architecture. In recent years I saw him often: when I was working on the Novoli area, in Florence, I called him immediately, and he participated in the project with his usual generosity, also with respect to the other architects involved. But Ricci did not feel any particular link to the Masters of the Modern Movement. For example, in Le Corbusier's work he greatly appreciated the Carpenter Art Center at Harvard, because it is an extraordinary edifice, cut across by an urban roadway, organically involved in the life of the city. (When I spent a week at Harvard I went there every day, to look at it and walk through it, because you must enter architecture, if you love it you must experience it). On the other hand Ricci cared nothing for Villa Savoie, and perhaps he was equally disinterested in the Unité of Marseilles, in spite of its large scale, which was a theme that was certainly congenial to him.

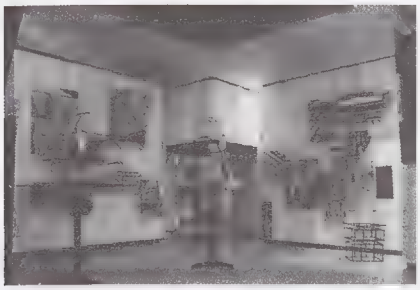
E.B. But perhaps this connection exists for other contemporaries of Ricci. For example, I have happened to be present when Viganò presented his works, and I have taken



della città. (Quando ho passato una settimana a Harvard, andavo tutti i giorni a vederlo e a percorrerlo, perché l'architettura deve essere introiettata, se la si ama la si deve vivere). Mentre della Villa Savoie a Ricci non importava niente, e forse neppure tanto dell'Unité di Marsiglia, malgrado la grande scala che invece era un tema che gli era sicuramente congeniale.

E.B. Però forse questo legame esiste per altri coetanei di Ricci. Per esempio, mi è capitato più volte di essere presente quando Viganò presentava i suoi lavori o di partecipare a conversazioni dove era ricorrente il suo richiamo in particolare a Le Corbusier e a Mies van der Rohe. E' sempre arbitrario generalizzare, ma questa generazione sembra complessivamente impegnata a portare avanti la bandiera del Movimento Moderno, mentre la generazione di Rogers, Albini, Gardella, Samonà, Ridolfi, eccetera, cioè i Maestri del Razionalismo italiano formatisi tra le due guerre, dopo la seconda sembrano aver compiuto una revisione radicale, fondata sul recupero della storia, il rapporto con la tradizione, le preesistenze ambientali, l'uso di tecniche e materiali locali e usuali, eccetera. In altri termini, è come se la generazione del 1920 si sia impegnata in una ricerca di modernità ancora d'avanguardia, in stretto legame con gli insegnamenti dei Maestri del Movimento Moderno, scavalcando la generazione dei Razionalisti italiani, da Rogers a Samonà, con i quali invece hanno stabilito un rapporto privilegiato gli architetti nati tra 1925 e 1930.

B.Z. Certamente Viganò ha trovato una propria coerenza, per così dire, nel riferirsi all'avanguardia; come pure Mangiarotti, benché svolta in senso un po' tecnicistico; per non parlare di Fiorentino, con l'esempio di grande coraggio del blocco di Corviale. Ma, visto che ha sollevato l'argomento, lo riprenderò in modo esplicito. Quell'altra generazione ha prodotto grandi pasticci. Rogers fu personalità deliziosa, ma mai un *leader*. Direi che in tutto il gruppo (dei Rogers, Albini, Gardella, ma anche Ridolfi, Piccinato, eccetera) non ci fu alcun *leader*. E ciò avvenne, in primo luogo, perché i milanesi mancavano della cultura necessaria. *Leader* era Pagano, che era figlio di un archeologo e dunque possedeva una conoscenza profonda dell'architettura antica; *leader* era Persico, con le sue illuminazioni critiche; e *leader* era Terragni, che possedeva anche una straordinaria sensibilità storica. Quando ci fu la ripresa in Italia, a Roma alla fine del '44 e nel resto d'Italia nel '45, ci trovammo tutti orfani di queste tre grandi figure: un artista, Terragni, un critico, Persico, un *leader* culturale e politico, Pagano. Trovandoci a zero, a quel punto si impose quella revisione culturale che era stata impedita dalla guerra, ma prima ancora dal fascismo, il quale, combattendo il Razionalismo, ci pose nella condizione di doverlo difendere. Durante il fascismo, neanche volendo potevamo criticare il Razionalismo, perché significava scendere a patti con il regime. Evidentemente, alla caduta del fascismo, questo condizionamento non era più accettabile. E allora, ancor prima della liberazione di Milano, un gruppo di giovanissimi architetti e studenti fondò l'APAO (Associazione per l'Architettura Organica), ponendo agli architetti italiani e a Milano, che ne aveva ereditato la *leadership*, il problema di una svolta linguistica, basata su una socialità molto più umana di quella meccanicistica prescritta dal Razionalismo, una socialità svincolata dall'Illuminismo, e dai suoi inevitabili esiti totalitari che erano riusciti a portarci fino ad Auschwitz. A questa sollecitazione rispose tutta l'Italia, sia pure in modo differenziato: gruppi locali dell'APAO si costituirono a Torino, Venezia, Bologna, Firenze, Napoli, Palermo: l'unica città dove ciò non avvenne fu Milano, dove si diede vita all'MSA (Movimento Studi per l'Architettura). Rogers pose il problema della *continuità*, che avrebbe dovuto essere continuità con il Razionalismo, ma che poi fu egli stesso a contraddire, tollerando e incoraggiando ricerche sicuramente *discontinue* rispetto al Razionalismo, fino a realizzare la Torre Velasca, che io ho sempre difeso, ma che certamente non è opera concepita nel segno di quella *continuità*. In sostanza Milano, in quel preciso momento, perse la capacità di scegliere tra le grandi direttrici della cultura mondiale. Rogers dedicò un numero speciale di «Casabella» alla morte di Wright, pubblicando in copertina una sua foto con il grande cappello e raccontando con emozione del suo incontro con lui, ma Wright non era mai entrato nel cuore di Rogers, e quel numero rappresentava un'operazione di carattere culturale, con intento sostanzialmente riparatorio.
Questi dunque sono i fatti all'origine della crisi di Milano, che tuttora perdura. Si può dire che in questo modo Milano ha scelto di autocancellarsi dalla cultura mondiale, tentando iniziative che però risultano solo dei rimedi. L'unica esperienza non protesa a rimediare è stata forse quella di Bottoni, in particolare il QT8, impostata alla scala giusta di un esperimento importante. Per il resto niente di notevole; il PIM (Piano Intercomunale Milanese) è stato un fallimento. Quindi, più che di impegno di revisione da parte della generazione dei Razionalisti milanesi, occorre parlare di crisi profonda di



Giulio Carlo Argan, Aldo Bertini, Sergio Bettini, Renato Bonelli, Decio Gioseffi, Roberto Pane, Paolo Portoghesi, Bruno Zevi, Michelangiolo architetto, *Torino 1964: copertina.*
Mostra delle opere architettoniche di Michelangiolo, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Roma, 1964.

Giulio Carlo Argan, Aldo Bertini, Sergio Bettini, Renato Bonelli, Decio Gioseffi, Roberto Pane, Paolo Portoghesi, Bruno Zevi, Michelangiolo architetto, *Turin 1964: copertina.*
Exhibition of architecture works by Michelangiolo, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1964.

part in conversations where he repeatedly made such references, especially to Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe. Generalizations are always arbitrary, but this generation would appear, as a whole, to have been somehow more committed to the Modern Movement, while the generation of Rogers, Albini, Gardella, Samonà, Ridolfi, etc., or the Masters of Italian Rationalism, trained between the two world wars, after the second seems to have made a radical revision, based on the recovery of history, the relationship with tradition, pre-existing environmental elements, the use of local or usual techniques and materials, etc. In other words, it is as if the generation of 1920 were committed to the pursuit of a modernity that is still "avant-garde", in close connection to the teachings of the Masters of the Modern Movement; there is a leapfrog pattern, with the architects born in 1920 passing over the Italian Rationalists, Rogers and Samonà, to go back to the Moderns, while the Italian Rationalists have established a relationship with the architects born between 1925 and 1930.

B.Z. *There is no doubt that Viganò has based his coherence, so to speak, on reference to the avant-garde; the same is true of Mangiarotti, although in his case the approach is a bit more technicistic; not to mention Fiorentino, and his very courageous project at Corviale. You have brought the matter up, and I will respond frankly. The other generation you mentioned made a bit of a mess of things. Rogers was a charismatic person, but not a true leader. In fact I would say that in the entire group (Rogers, Albini, Gardella, but also Ridolfi, Piccinato, et al) there were no real leaders. And this was because the Milanese did not possess the necessary culture. Pagano was a true leader, the son of an archaeologist, he had a profound knowledge of ancient architecture; Persico was a leader, with his critical illuminations; Terragni was a leader, with his extraordinary historical sensibilities. When Italy began to recover, first in Rome, at the end of '44, and then in the rest of the country, in '45, we all felt like orphans with respect to these three great figures: an artist, Terragni, a critic, Persico, a cultural and political leader, Pagano. Deprived of these points of reference, we were faced with the cultural revision which had been prevented by the war and, before the war, by the fascist regime which, because of its opposition to Rationalism, had placed in the position of having to defend it. During the fascist era we could never have criticized Rationalism, because it would have appeared that we were cooperating with the regime. Of course once this political obstacle was removed, all the unspoken, repressed objections came to the surface. And so even before the liberation of Milan a group of very young architects and students founded the APAO (Associazione Per l'Architettura Organica), confronting the architects of Italy, and of Milan, which had inherited a leadership role, with the problem of a linguistic revision, based on a social viewpoint that was much more human than the mechanistic approach prescribed by Rationalism; this new way of looking at society kept its distance from the tenets of the Enlightenment, with their inevitable totalitarian results which had managed to carry us to the horrifying extremes of Auschwitz. All of Italy responded to this call to arms, although in different ways: local APAO groups were formed in Turin, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Naples, Palermo: the only city where this did not take place was Milan, where instead the MSA (Movimento Studi per l'Architettura) was founded. Rogers raised the issue of* continuity, *which was supposed to be a continuity with Rationalism, but then he himself betrayed this credo, by tolerating and encouraging types of research which were indubitably* discontinuous *with respect to Rationalism, and building the Velasca tower, which I have always defended, but which was anything but a work conceived in terms of such a* continuity. *In substance Milan, in that precise moment, lost the possibility of choice among the major currents of world culture. Rogers dedicated a special issue of "Casabella" to Wright, after the death of the American master; a photo portrait of Wright in a big hat was on the cover, and Rogers wrote with feeling about their encounter. But Wright had never really found a place in Rogers' heart, and the publication was an operation of a cultural character, with the aim of compensating for a previous lack of attention.*
*So this is the background of the crisis of Milan, a crisis which is still in progress. We can almost say that in this way Milan chose to drop out of international culture, only to then attempt initiatives which were never more than feeble remedial exercises. Perhaps the only experience which was not based on such a desire for compensation was that of Bottoni, in particular with the QT8, on the right scale for an important experiment. Otherwise there is little of note: the PIM (*Piano Intercomunale Milanese*) was a failure. Thus rather than speaking of a commitment to revision on the part of the generation of Milanese Rationalists, we should speak of a profound crisis of the second generation. In my opinion the situation is much simpler than the way it is portrayed in the usual interpretations. Milanese culture has invented a*

Bruno Zevi, Saper vedere l'architettura, *Torino 1948: copertina.*
Bruno Zevi, Il linguaggio moderno dell'architettura. Guida al codice anticlassico, *Torino 1973: copertina.*

Bruno Zevi, Saper vedere l'architettura, *Turin 1948: front cover.*
Bruno Zevi, Il linguaggio moderno dell'architettura. Guida al codice anticlassico, *Turin 1973: front cover.*

quella seconda generazione. A me pare che la situazione si presenti più semplice di come la si pretende di interpretare. Infatti spesso la cultura milanese si è data un'interpretazione problematica, pensando così di recuperare un ruolo; un ruolo che dovrebbe riconquistare in termini propositivi, perché la cultura italiana non può procedere senza l'apporto di Milano. Chiunque voglia rappresentare la cultura architettonica italiana deve passare per Milano. Ma molti di noi da Milano sono sempre stati ostracizzati. Inizialmente poteva essere una questione di potere, la tradizionale contrapposizione Milano-Roma. Ma ora si tratta di una situazione diversa. Per esempio, che punto di vista critico posso avere sulla Triennale? Nessuno; la Triennale è talmente piatta che non vado neppure a vederla.

E.B. Vorrei porle un'ultima domanda sul rapporto tra gli storici e le vicende di questa terza generazione. In Italia infatti ci sono stati due storici che vi appartengono, Zevi e Benevolo, con punti di vista assai distanti; eppure entrambi di orientamento e sostegno a determinate posizioni architettoniche, così da assumere esplicitamente un ruolo operativo di indirizzo culturale. Quanto hanno inciso una storia e una critica così concepite sugli architetti nati intorno al 1920?

B.Z. Tafuri ha scritto che io interpretavo Biagio Rossetti a Ferrara in chiave di Luigi Piccinato a Roma. E' vero, e non me ne vergogno affatto. Quando feci la mostra di Michelangelo al Palazzo delle Esposizioni di Roma nel 1964, dissero che vedevo Michelangelo attraverso la pop-art. Anche questo è verissimo, come oggi leggo Brunelleschi attraverso il decostruttivismo. Non si può vedere il passato altro che con gli occhi dell'attualità. Se pretendessi di guardare Brunelleschi con l'ottica del Quattrocento, non vedrei niente, perché l'ottica del Quattrocento per me resta inagibile. Ora però il problema storico ha fatto un passo avanti. Inizialmente, seguito qualche anno dopo da Benevolo, mi sono occupato della storia dell'architettura moderna, riferendomi alle esperienze sviluppatesi dalla Rivoluzione francese ad oggi, in parallelo alla attività creativa degli architetti contemporanei. Ora però, con i nove volumetti tascabili della Newton Compton (che in autunno usciranno in unico volume), ho fatto un'operazione più avanzata, con esiti spregiudicati: ho riscritto tutta la storia dell'architettura italiana con gli occhi dell'architettura moderna.
Quale influenza abbiano esercitato questo mio modo di fare storia e il mio giudizio critico sui progettisti miei contemporanei, non saprei dire. Certo l'idea sostenuta in *Saper vedere l'architettura*, che lo spazio è il protagonista dell'architettura, e che dunque ciò richiede la massima attenzione all'uso dei vuoti, al ruolo dell'ambiente e delle cavità per la vita sociale, credo che abbia esercitato un'influenza. Così pure *Il linguaggio moderno dell'architettura.*
Di tutte le cose che ho scritto, sono tre quelle che considero veramente originali e importanti: 1) l'idea che lo spazio è il protagonista dell'architettura; 2) l'idea che l'architettura ha bisogno di un linguaggio, il quale senza *invarianti* non può procedere, estendersi, comunicare. Ma queste invarianti non possono che essere anticlassiche, cioè non più invarianti come regole ma come *anti-regole*; 3) l'idea di una visione della storia dell'architettura che capovolga tutti i valori, che colga l'eresia come fatto progressivo. Fin tanto che si resta nel paradigma si sta nella reazione, solo l'eresia è creativa.
Per concludere voglio sottolineare il significato fondamentale che per me ricopre la critica operativa. Intendo per *critica storica operativa*, una storia che serva a liberare gli architetti dai dogmi, dagli idoli, dai pregiudizi delle invarianti classicistiche e da tutto ciò che li costringe in una posizione statica. Pensiamo a cosa sono stati gli anni Ottanta, con la tragica esplosione del Postmoderno. Io ho resistito e non ho mai pubblicato un'opera postmoderna. Oggi la situazione appare completamente modificata, anche dal punto di vista politico, e penso che anche in Italia chi fa architettura debba sentire l'importanza delle nuove prospettive che questa situazione apre.

Roma, 31 luglio 1996





contorted interpretation for itself, in an attempt to recover its role, a role which instead it ought to earn by proposing something new, because Italian culture cannot go forward without the contribution of Milan. Anyone who wants to represent Italian culture must come to terms with Milan. But many of us have always been ostracized from Milan. At first it could have been seen as a question of power, the traditional rivalry between Rome and Milan. But today the situation is different. For example, what critical viewpoint can I possibly hold regarding the Triennale? None whatsoever; the Triennale is so boring that I don't even go to look at it.

E.B. One last question, on the relationship between the historians and the vicissitudes of this third generation. In Italy there are two historians who belong to this generation, Zevi and Benevolo, with highly contrasting viewpoints; but both support certain architectural positions, explicitly assuming an operative role in cultural terms. What has been the extent of the impact, on the architects born in the vicinity of 1920, of this conception of history and criticism?

B.Z. Tafuri wrote that I interpreted Biagio Rossetti in Ferrara in terms of Luigi Piccinato in Rome. It is true, and I am not ashamed of having done so. When I did the exhibition on Michelangelo at the Palazzo delle Esposizioni in Rome in 1964 I was accused of seeing Michelangelo in terms of Pop Art. This is also true, just as I interpret Brunelleschi, today, in terms of Deconstructivism. You cannot look at the past with the eyes of the past. If I were to pretend to look at Brunelleschi from a 15th-century point of view, I would see nothing, because I cannot possibly look at anything with the mentality of a person living in the 15th century. Today, however, the problem of history has taken a step forward. Initially, a few years after Benevolo, I worked on the history of modern architecture, on the period from the French Revolution to the present, while also studying the creative activities of contemporary architects. Today, however, with the nine little paperbacks I have published for Newton Compton (which will be combined into a single volume in the fall), I have performed a more advanced operation, with unbiased results: I have rewritten the history of Italian architecture, through the eyes of modern architecture.
I cannot tell you what influence my way of studying history and my critical approach has had on the architects of my generation. I believe that the idea advanced in Saper vedere l'architettura, or namely that space is the protagonist of architecture, and that therefore we must pay maximum attention to the use of open spaces, to the role of the environment, the setting, cavities for social life, has had an influence. I also think that my Il linguaggio moderno dell'architettura has been influential. Of all the things I have written, there are three that I consider truly original and important: 1) the idea that space is the protagonist of architecture; 2) the idea that architecture needs a language, a language which, with constants, cannot evolve, extend itself, communicate. But these constants can only be anti-classical, i.e. no longer constants as rules, but rather as anti-rules; 3) the idea of a vision of the history of architecture that overturns all the values, that focuses on heresy as an evolutionary stimulus. As long as one remains in the paradigm, everything is simply reaction; only heresy is truly creative.
In conclusion, I would like to underline the fundamental significance of operative criticism. When I speak of operative historical criticism I mean a history that serves to free architects from dogmas, idols, from the prejudices of the classicist constants, and from all the constraints of a static position. Just think about the 1980s, and the tragic explosion of the Postmodern. I have been stubborn, and I have never published a Postmodernist work. Today the situation seems completely different, even in political terms, and I believe that even in Italy those who make architecture should perceive the importance of the new perspectives opened by this situation.

Rome, July 31, 1996

Architetture dalla generazione 1920

Architecture from the 1920 generation

Yoshinobu Ashihara
1918, Japan

Peter Blake
1920, United States

Eduardo Catalano
1917, United States

Alan Colquhoun
1920, Great Britain

Marcello D'Olivo
1921-1991, Italia

Mario Fiorentino
1918-1982, Italia

Ulrich Franzen
1921, United States

Yona Friedman
1923, France

Ernst Gisel
1922, Switzerland

Romaldo Giurgola
1920, United States

James Gowan
1923, Great Britain

Vico Magistretti
1921, Italia

Angelo Mangiarotti
1921, Italia

Masato Otaka
1923, Japan

Claude Parent
1923, France

Leonardo Ricci
1918-1994, Italia

Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo
1922, United States
1918-1981, United States

Paul Rudolph
1918, United States

Fco. Javier Sáenz de Oiza
1918, España

Alison & Peter Smithson
1928-1993, Great Britain
1923, Great Britain

Paolo Soleri
1919, United States

Fernando Távora
1923, Portugal

Clorindo Testa
1923, Argentina

Jörn Utzon
1918, Denmark

Aldo van Eyck
1918, Netherlands

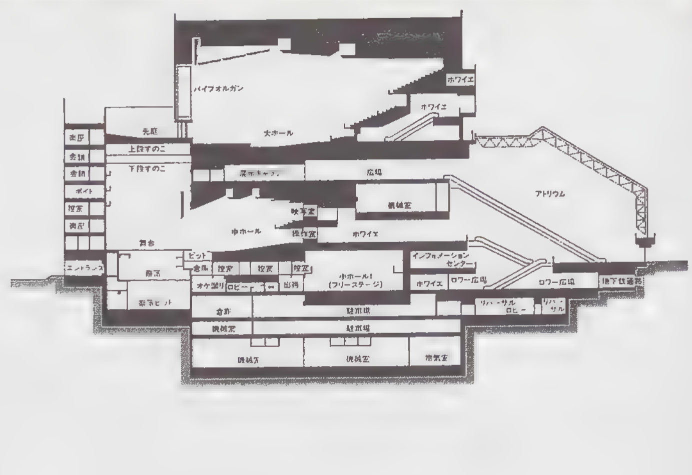
Vittoriano Viganò
1919-1996, Italia

Colin St. John Wilson
1922, Great Britain



Yoshinobu Ashihara

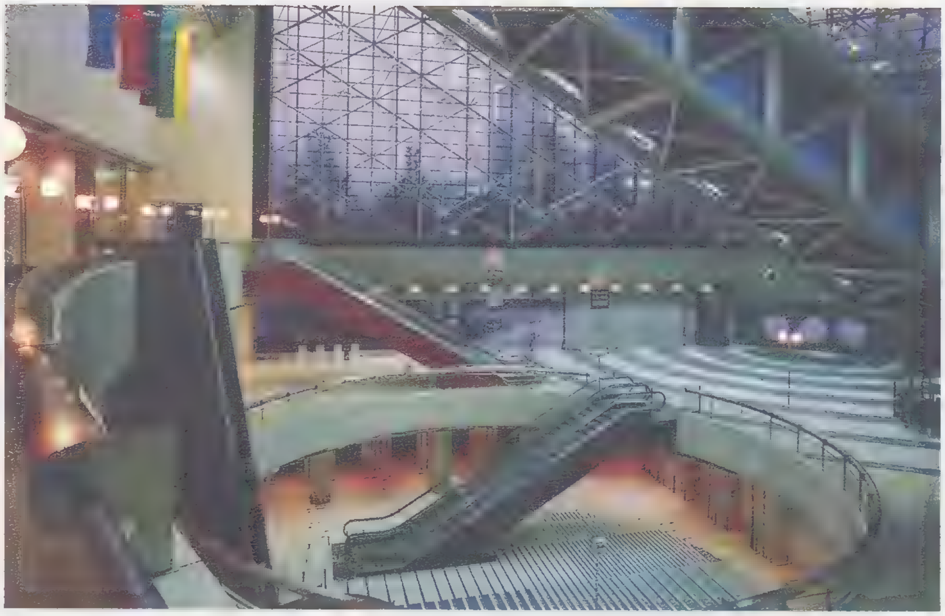
Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space, Tokyo, 1990



Viste esterna e interne.
Foto K. Miwa.
Sezione longitudinale e pianta del secondo piano.

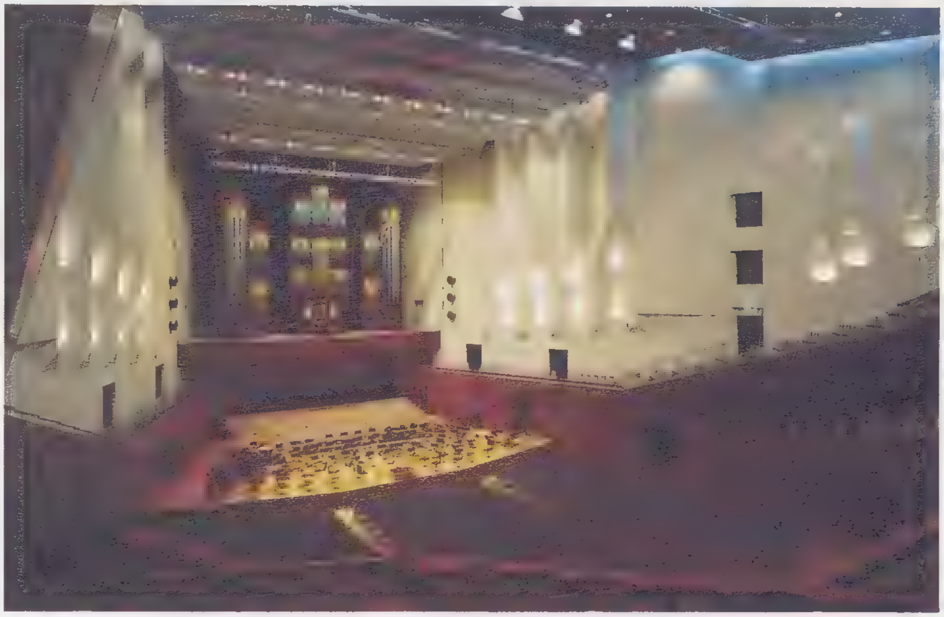
Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space, Tokyo, Giappone
Yoshinobu Ashihara

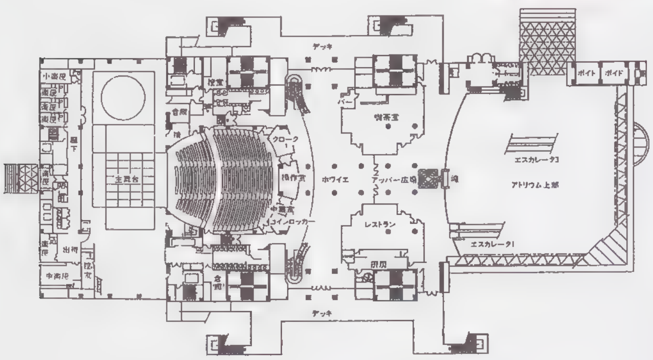
Il Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space è uno spazio polifunzionale. Comprende una sala da concerti – con duemila posti a sedere, un tempo di riverberazione di due secondi e un organo a canne –, un teatro di medie dimensioni con ottocento posti a sedere e due piccoli teatri sperimentali. La sala e i teatri sono costruiti a piani sovrapposti. Nell'ingresso comune vi sono scale mobili che conducono direttamente alla sala da concerto e ai teatri. Negli spazi interni ed esterni sono esposte opere d'arte. I cittadini possono utilizzare questo spazio pubblico nel tempo libero e ammirare le opere esposte anche quando non sono in programma particolari eventi o spettacoli.



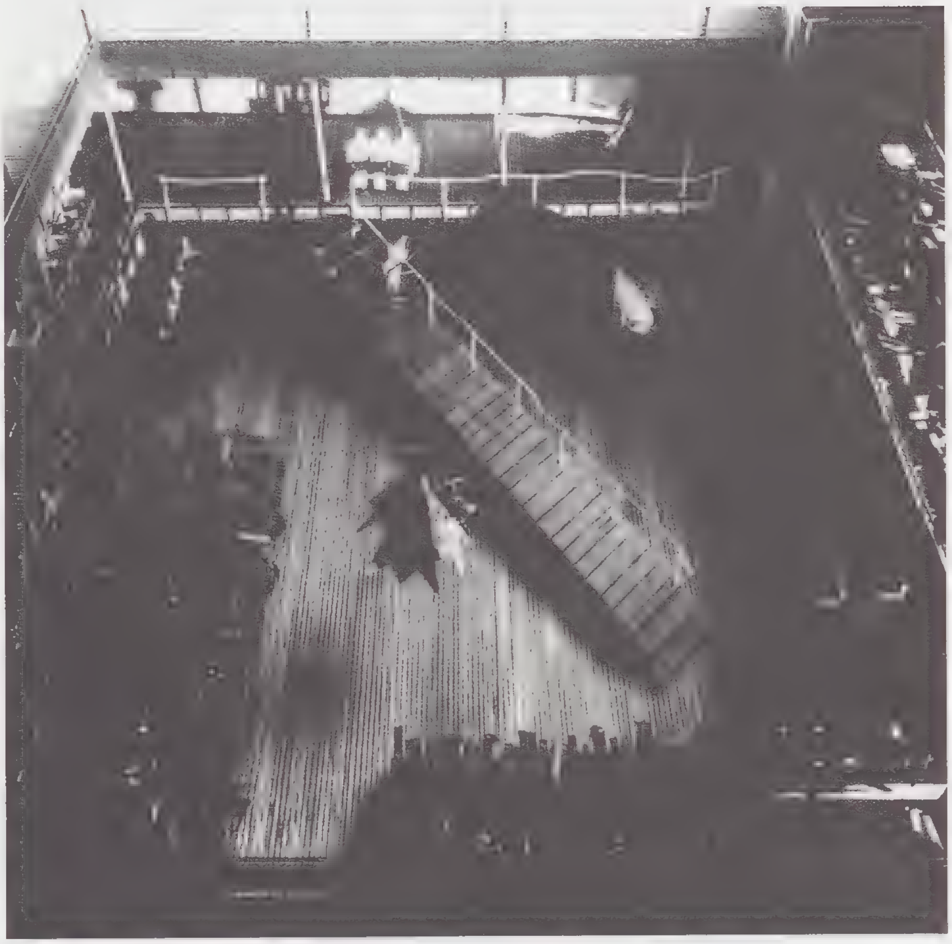
Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space, Tokyo, Japan
Yoshinobu Ashihara

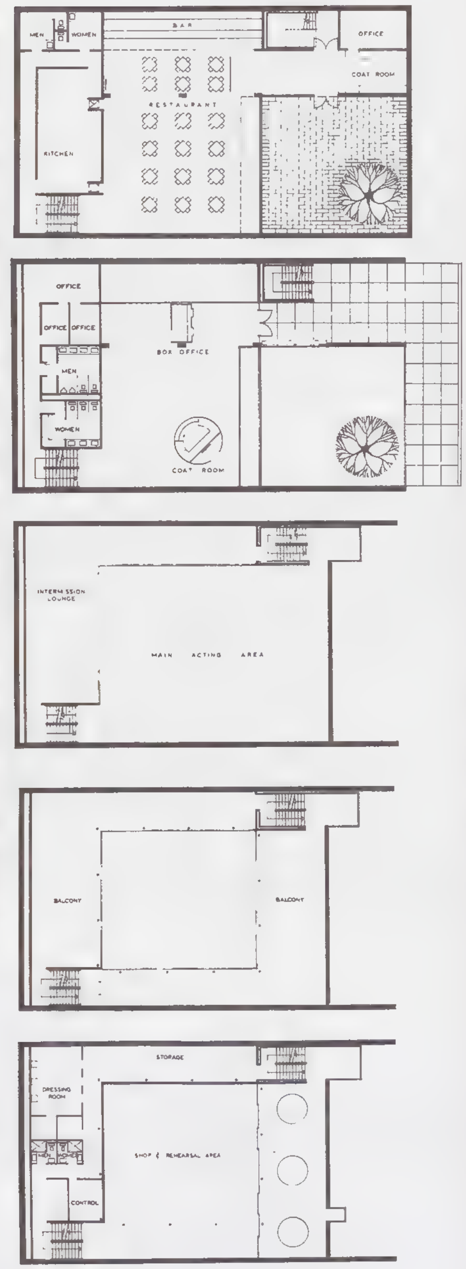
Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space is a multi-purpose facility. It consists of a symphony hall which has a capacity of 2,000 and a reverberation time of two seconds and is equipped with a pipe organ; a medium-sized theater with a capacity of 800; and two small experimental theaters. The hall and theaters are constructed in vertical layers. In the open atrium there are escalators leading directly to each hall or theater. A lot of works of art are displayed both inside and outside. Even when there are no performances here, this facility provides a community space for citizens where they see the displayed works or just spend their free time.





Exterior and interior views.
Photos K. Miwa.
Longitudinal section and plan of the second floor.





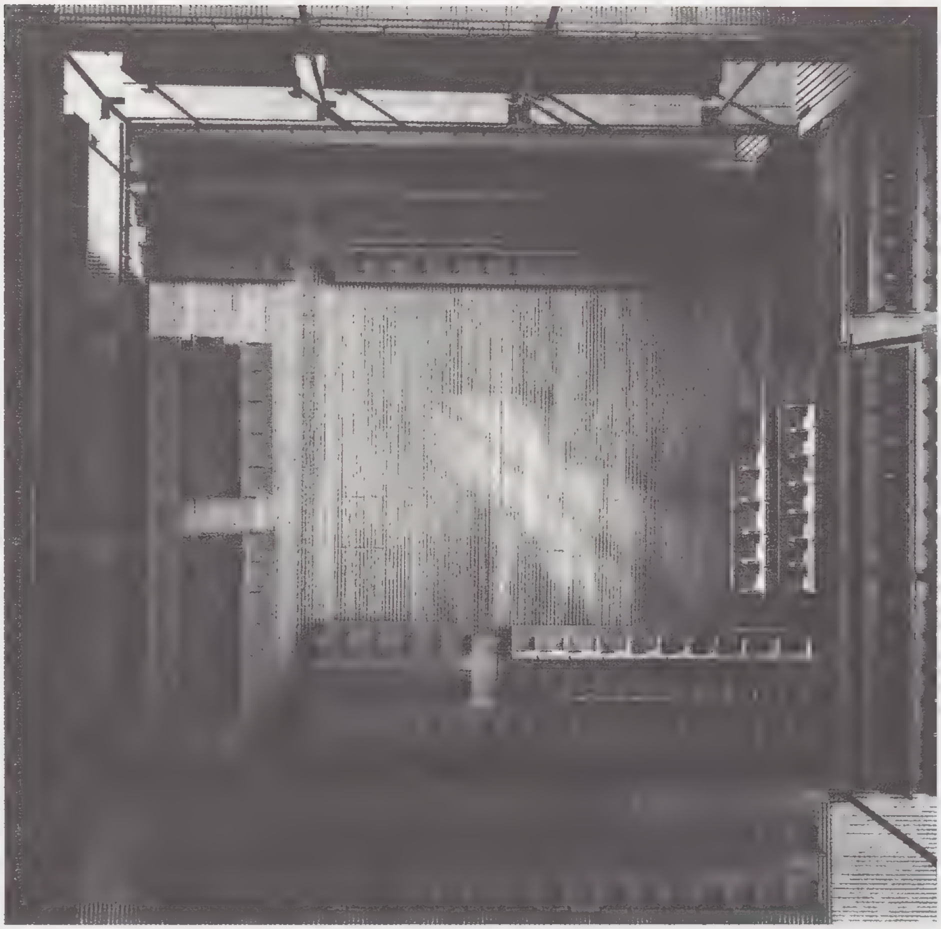
Peter Blake

A flexible 299-seat open stage theater based on the dimension of a New York City lot, Ford Foundation, 1961
Peter Blake
Stage designer: David Hays

Neely Theatre and Drama School, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A., 1978
Peter Blake, architect; Brian Smith, associate
Stage designer: David Hays

Neely Theatre e Scuola d'arte drammatica, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A
Peter Blake e Brian Smith
(testo di Stanley Abercrombie)

Nel gennaio del 1962 venne inaugurata al Museum of Modern Art di New York una deliziosa esposizione. Intitolata *The Ideal Theatre: Eight Concepts*, presentava otto versioni completamente diverse di possibili teatri ideali, ciascuna nata dalla collaborazione di due progettisti (un architetto e un esperto di teatro). Delle otto proposte, la più interessante era senza dubbio il progetto dell'architetto Peter Blake e dello scenografo David Hays. Mentre le altre sette erano caratterizzate da complicati meccanismi scenotecnici e architettonici, lo schema della coppia Blake-Hays consisteva in un semplice "box" con piattaforme molto flessibili (ed economiche) destinate agli spettatori e alla scena.
Secondo atto: sedici anni dopo. La Scuola d'arte drammatica della Vanderbilt University a Nashville, Tennessee, nota a livello nazionale, necessitando di una nuova struttura ricordò il progetto proposto all'esposizione del MOMA. Hays, Blake e il nuovo socio di quest'ultimo, Brian Smith, furono invitati a Nashville e visitarono il *campus*. Secondo l'Amministrazione si poteva abbattere l'esistente Neely Theatre, una costruzione rispettabile ma ormai obsoleta adiacente alla corte quadrangolare principale, e costruire al suo posto un nuovo edificio.
Gli architetti ebbero un'idea migliore. Pur essendo vecchio e senza dubbio un po' grottesco, il teatro esistente era ben costruito e perfettamente inserito nel contesto degli edifici circostanti. Blake e i suoi soci proposero di conservarlo e di collocare il nuovo teatro al suo interno. Gli interni del Neely furono così svuotati e dentro il suo guscio in muratura fu costruita una nuova struttura in acciaio e cemento. I curiosi frammenti delle decorazioni neogotiche del guscio originario, che oggi si intravedono all'interno di spazi quali il laboratorio dei costumi, producono inaspettate testimonianze della trasformazione dell'edificio.
Come il "teatro ideale" originario, la nuova struttura consente una sorprendente varietà di assetti tra scena e pubblico. Il nuovo Neely può essere un teatro a scena centrale, un'arena con palcoscenico avanzato, un piccolo teatro

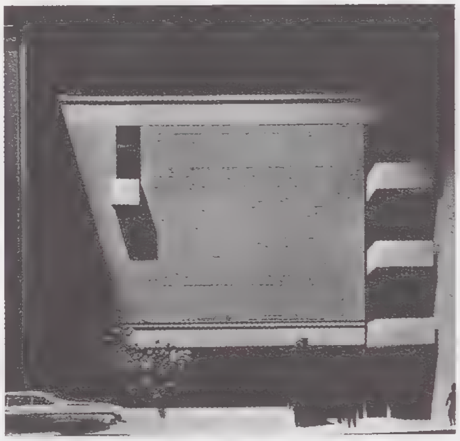


Teatro flessibile a scena aperta per 299 posti sulla dimensione del lotto tipo di New York City, Ford Foundation, 1961.
Viste del modello della sala, disposta per la scena di "The Skin of Our Teeth" e disposta ad arena.
Piante dei piani interrato (bar-ristorante), terreno (ingresso), primo (palcoscenico), secondo (balconate) e terzo (laboratori e prove).

Flexible 299-seat open-stage theater based on the dimensions of a New York City lot, Ford Foundation, 1961.
Views of the model of the hall, arranged for the performance of "The Skin of Our Teeth" and with full-arena seating.
Plans of the basement (bar-restaurant), ground (entrance), first (stage), second (balconies) and third floors (workshops and rehearsal spaces).

Teatro flessibile a scena aperta per 299 posti sulla dimensione del lotto tipo di New York City, Ford Foundation, 1961. Vista del modello del fronte su strada.

Flexible 299-seat open-stage theater based on the dimensions of a New York City lot, Ford Foundation, 1961. View of the model of the street front.







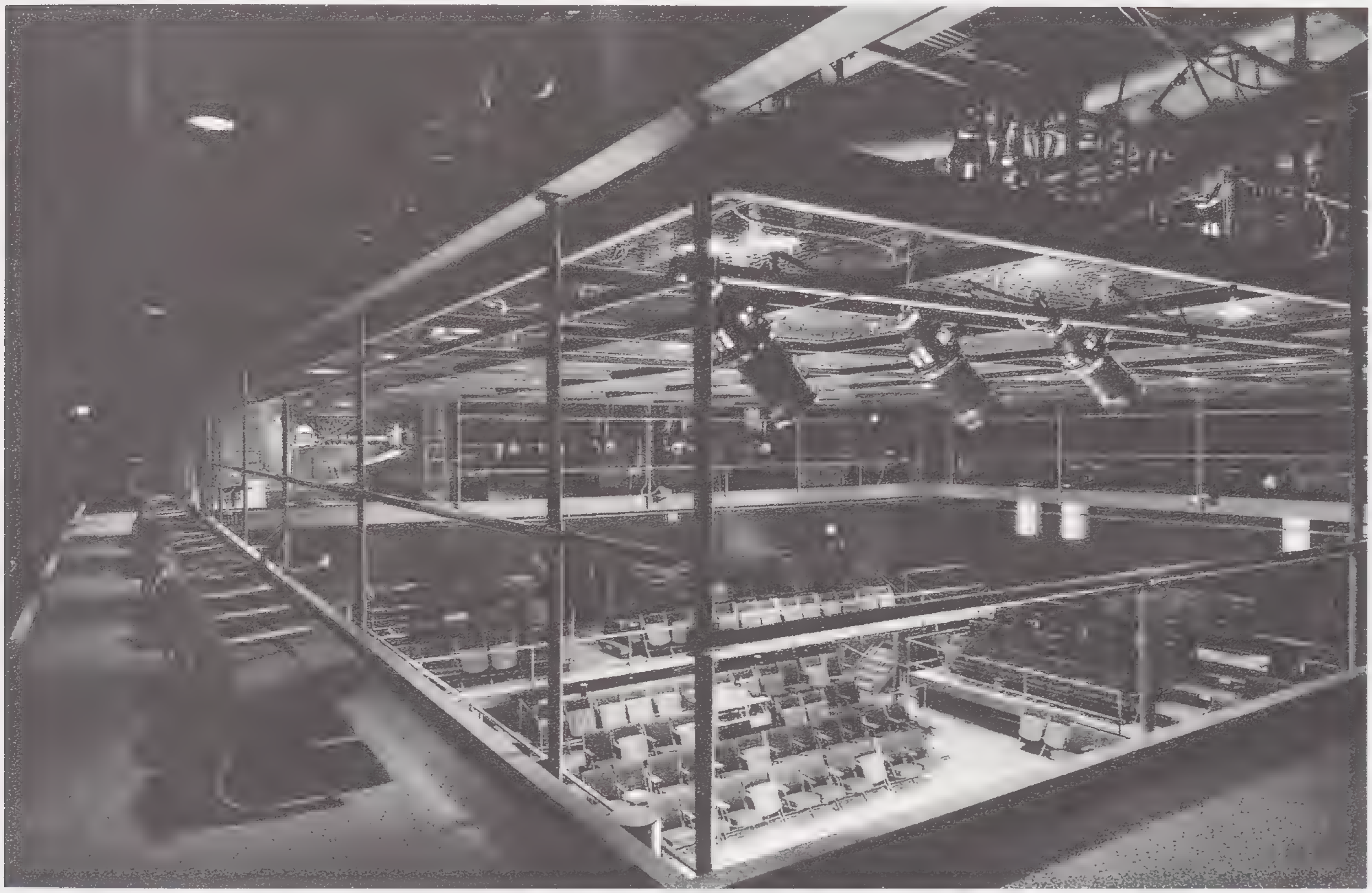
convenzionale. Può ospitare seminari, proiezioni cinematografiche o televisive, concerti o spettacoli di danza. Al suo interno trovano posto dai 250 ai 400 spettatori. L'aspetto più interessante è forse il fatto che tutti questi assetti possono essere ottenuti senza ricorrere a complessi congegni meccanici. Come dicono i progettisti, "*tutto ciò che serve è una leggera spinta, un piccolo strattone, e moltissima immaginazione*". Una delle condizioni di questa insolita flessibilità è rappresentata dalle sedute, realizzate in moduli mobili collocabili ovunque, a quasi tutti i livelli, e scorrevoli in guide in modo da poter essere raccolte in depositi quando necessario. Un'altra condizione consiste nel fatto che, sopra questo spazio flessibile, si trova una maglia di cavi d'acciaio inossidabile abbastanza resistente da sostenere studenti e tecnici delle luci e al tempo stesso abbastanza trasparente da lasciare filtrare la luce. In questo modo è possibile modificare direttamente l'apparato illuminotecnico attraverso semplici spostamenti delle fonti luminose stesse.
Il teatro della Vanderbilt University risulta così una delle sale di prova più belle e più semplici esistenti.
(Da "Contract Interiors", settembre 1978)

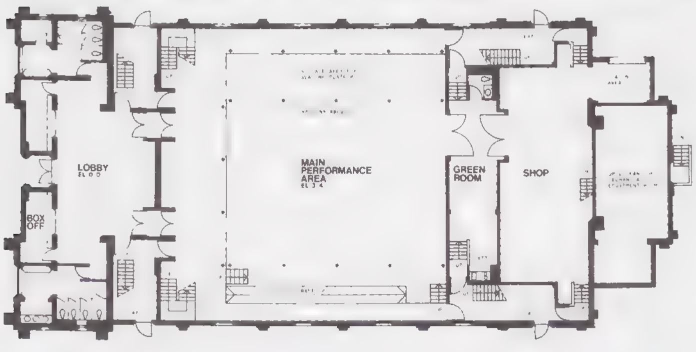
Neely Theatre and Drama School, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A.
Peter Blake and Brian Smith
(text by Stanley Abercrombie)

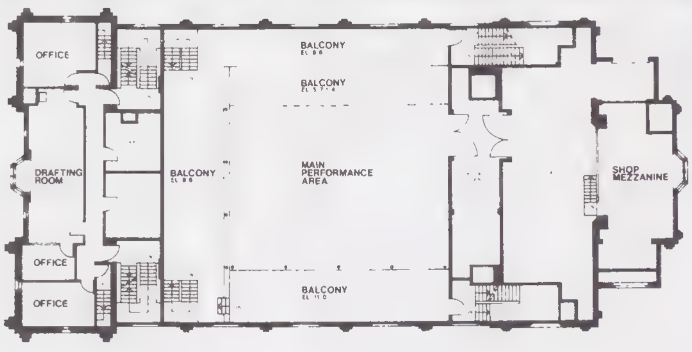
In January of 1962 a delightful exhibition opened at New York's Museum of Modern Art. Called The Ideal Theater: Eight Concepts, *it presented eight strikingly different versions of what the ideal theater might be, each designed by a two-man team. (One member of each team was a designer, one a theater expert.) Of the eight, by far the most appealingly straightforward was a scheme by architect Peter Blake and stage designer David Hays. Although many of the other seven were both mechanically and architecturally elaborate, the Blake-Hays scheme was a simple box with highly flexible (and economical) platforms for seating and acting.*
Act Two: Sixteen Years Later. The nationally known drama school of Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, needed a teaching facility, and remembered the scheme from the MOMA show. Blake, Hays, and Blake's current partner Brian Smith were invited to Nashville and shown around the campus. The venerable but out-moded Neely Theater, adjacent to the main quadrangle, could be razed, the administrators felt, and a new building constructed in its place.
The architects had a better idea. Neely was old and, admittedly, a bit grotesque, but it was well built and it did relate well to the surrounding buildings. Save it, Blake and his partners suggested, and put the new theater facility inside it. So Neely was gutted, and within its masonry shell, a new structure of steel and concrete was built. The fact that fragments of the shell's Collegiate Gothic trim now appear in such unlikely places as the costume workshop offers surprising reminders of the building's transformation.
Like the original "ideal theater," the new facility offers a wonderful variety of audience-actor relationships. The new Neely can be a theater-in-the-round; it can be a thrust stage arena; it can be a fairly conventional small theater. It can even accommodate seminars, movies, TV, concerts, or dance. It can house audiences of 250 or of as many as 400.
Perhaps most impressive of all is the fact that all these changes can be accomplished without reliance on complicated mechanical devices. "All that is required," the designers say, "is a bit of push, a bit of shove, and a lot of imagination." One reason for the unusual flexibility is the seating: movable modules can be placed almost anywhere, on almost any level, and slid back into storage slots when no longer wanted. Another reason is that, above this flexible space, there is a grid of stainless steel wire mesh – strong enough to support lighting technicians and students, but transparent enough to let the lights shine right through. Lighting changes are thus made directly, just by moving the light itself.
The result is one of the finest – and one of the very simplest – teaching theaters anywhere.
(From "Contract Interiors", september 1978)

Neely Theatre e Scuola d'arte drammatica, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A., 1975.
Vista esterna e vista della sala dalla balconata. Sezione longitudinale e piante dei piani terreno (ingresso e palcoscenico) e primo (balconate).

Neely Theatre and School of Theatre Arts, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A., 1975.
External view and view of the hall from the balconies.
Longitudinal section and plans of the ground (entrance and stage) and first floors (balconies).







Eduardo Catalano

United States Embassy, Pretoria, South Africa, 1990
Eduardo Catalano
Structural Engineer: Deborah Forsman



Viste del lato di ingresso e del modello.

Views of the entrance side and the model.

Ambasciata degli Stati Uniti, Pretoria, Sudafrica
Eduardo Catalano

Il Sudafrica vanta una splendida vegetazione: a Pretoria, i grandi alberi di jacaranda annunciano con nuvole di fiori violetti l'arrivo della primavera. L'Ambasciata degli Stati Uniti si trova in un ampio sito dove crescono sette alberi di jacaranda che si distinguono in mezzo a un grande prato verde e ad altre enormi piante coperte di felci. L'edificio di forma triangolare presenta un fronte diagonale molto sporgente, lungo settantacinque metri, arretrato rispetto alla strada e affacciato verso il padiglione d'ingresso situato all'angolo del sito. Il progetto cerca di rendere omaggio alla natura rigogliosa e agli intensi riflessi impalpabili della luce sudafricana. All'esterno, una superficie fortemente riflettente sotto lo sbalzo trasmette al visitatore l'impressione che l'ingresso sia una continuazione o un'estensione del paesaggio. Due volumi aggettanti e sfaccettati riflettono da diverse angolazioni immagini geometriche del paesaggio. Il volume di dimensioni maggiori è in parte destinato a *lobby* mentre l'altro ospita la biblioteca, un contributo culturale all'intera comunità indispensabile in ogni Ambasciata. Nella *lobby* d'ingresso le immagini riflesse del paesaggio lasciano il posto a tre grandi alberi di Ficus Beniamino che delimitano la zona d'attesa illuminata da tre lucernari di forma circolare. La *lobby* è strutturata inoltre come una balconata dalla quale si ammirano le cime di altri alberi che crescono al piano inferiore, alberi che conferiscono un carattere *en plein air*, oltre che ombra e *privacy* a una zona pranzo. Dalla balconata si hanno inoltre viste diverse su una scala aperta e sui piani superiori, tutti affacciati su uno spazio centrale triangolare illuminato da un lucernario.
La struttura di cemento armato si fonda su una campata modulare di dimensioni m 10 x 10, che garantisce grande flessibilità alla distribuzione interna dell'Ambasciata in continua modificazione. Da una cava in Sardegna è stato ricavato il granito bianco Rosso Sardo trattato a fiamma che riveste le pareti di cemento. In un paese in cui la luce è così abbagliante, la *texture* leggermente in rilievo delle superfici regola l'intensità della luce e crea effetti diversi man mano che il sole si muove da est a ovest.
Come tutti i miei edifici, anche questo presenta sbalzi lunghi e profondi, utilizzati non solo per sottolineare il passaggio da spazi esterni a spazi interni, ma anche per esprimere la nostra epoca, un'epoca che, grazie allo sviluppo di nuove tecnologie e materiali, ci permette di costruire strutture più ardite. Se quelle del passato apparivano pesanti, come se si appoggiassero stancamente alle loro strutture di supporto, oggi esse sembrano sospese nello spazio a simboleggiare il nostro tentativo di sfidare la forza di gravità.

United States Embassy, Pretoria, South Africa
Eduardo Catalano

South Africa is a country with a lavish green nature. The huge Jacaranda trees in Pretoria, with their light purple flowers, announce, every year, the awakening of spring. There are seven of them on the generous site of the building, acting as landmarks among other enormous trees with hanging ferns and an open green lawn. It was in this open space that the triangular building, with its seventy five meter long diagonal front and deep overhang was placed, well back from the streets, facing the entrance pavilion located at the corner of the site.
The design attempts to pay homage to green nature and to the transparency and rich reflections of the South African light. Because of a highly reflective surface installed under the overhang, the visitor feels that the entrance is nothing but a continuation or extension of the landscape. Two protruding faceted volumes reflect images of a geometricized landscape from different locations. The large volume is a part of the lobby and the other is the library which every embassy has as a cultural contribution to the community at large. These visual images are suddenly changed by the entrance lobby where three large Ficus Benjamina trees define the area of a waiting space illuminated by three circular skylights. The lobby also acts as a balcony overlooking the tops of other trees planted at the lower level, trees that provide an outdoor character, as well as privacy and shade, to a dining area. The balcony also allows different views of an open stair and the upper floors, each acting also as balconies open to a central triangular space lit by a skylight. The structure, of reinforced concrete, is based on a modular bay, ten meters by ten meters, spans which give great flexibility to the embassy's continuous changes in interior planning. A quarry from Sardinia provided the white Rosso Sardo torch-blasted granite that covers the concrete walls. In a country where the light is so bright, this slightly textured surface controls its intensity. The surface also changes in appearance as the sun moves from East to West.
As in all my buildings, the embassy has long and deep overhangs, non only to create a transition between the exterior and interior spaces, but also to express our times. We have developed technologies and materials that allow us to build more daring structures. Those of the past were heavy and looked downward, as if exhausted, depending on the support of the ground. In our times, the structures can seem to be suspended in space, as a symbol of our attempt to defy the force of gravity.







Alan Colquhoun, John Miller

Church Crescent Housing, London, Great Britain, 1983-84
Alan Colquhoun, John Miller and Partners
Quantity Surveyors: Robinson and Roods
Structural and Services Engineers: London Borough of Hackney

Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, Great Britain, 1983-85
Alan Colquhoun and John Miller
Quantity Surveyors: Brian Davis Associates
Structural Engineers: F. J. Samuely and Partners
Services Engineers: Steensen Varming Mulcahy and Partners

Photos D. Gilbert

**Church Crescent Housing,
Londra, Gran Bretagna**
Alan Colquhoun, John Miller

Il progetto consiste di quattro case in un sito a forma di cuneo adiacente a una chiesa e a un sagrato. Il contesto urbano circostante è molto frammentato, ma la forma del sito e la disposizione delle case adiacenti hanno suggerito una soluzione impostata su edifici isolati a padiglione.
La soluzione adottata è basata sulla tipologia tradizionale della casa a schiera inglese. Ciascun edificio "a villa" comprende due unità abitative di tre piani, con ingressi laterali, dimensionate per ospitare fino a otto persone ciascuna. Gli edifici presentano elementi strutturali tradizionali, quali tetti a padiglione, finestre fisse, bovindi e logge. Tuttavia, a causa del carattere eterogeneo del sito, questi elementi sono stati trattati adottando un linguaggio architettonico estremamente libero. Le case sono costruite con blocchi portanti di cemento e finiture in stucco sopra uno zoccolo di mattoni. I telai delle finestre sono di alluminio verniciato a polvere. I tetti sono in tegole di cemento.

***Church Crescent Housing, London,
Great Britain***
Alan Colquhoun, John Miller

*This project consists of four houses on a wedge-shaped site adjacent to a church and churchyard. The immediate urban context is very fragmented, but the shape of the site and disposition of the adjacent houses suggested a solution in terms of separate pavilion-like buildings.
The solution adopted is based on the traditional English typology of the semi-detached villa. Each villa contains two three-storey, eight person houses, which are entered from the sides. The buildings consist of traditional tectonic elements such as hipped roof, punched windows, bow windows, and loggias. But, because of the heterogeneous character of the site, these have been treated with great freedom from the point of view of architectural language.
The construction is of load-bearing concrete blocks, finished in stucco above a brick plinth. Window frames are of powder-coated aluminium. The roofs are of concrete slates.*





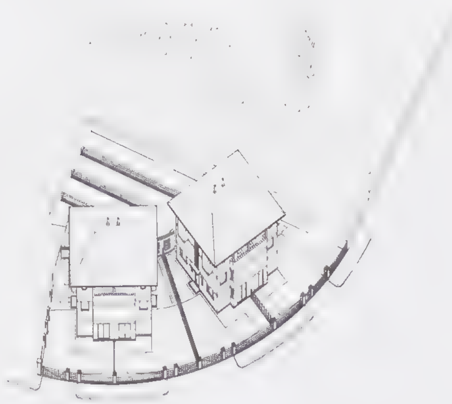




Church Crescent Housing, Londra,
Gran Bretagna, 1983-84.
Viste esterne e di dettaglio.
Pianta del piano terreno e assonometria.

Church Crescent Housing, London,
Great Britain, 1983-84.
Exterior and detail views.
Plan of the ground floor and axonometric.

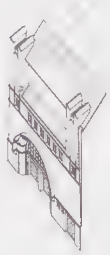






Whitechapel Art Gallery, Londra,
Gran Bretagna, 1983-85.
Viste esterne lungo Angel Alley e della facciata principale.
Viste interne delle gallerie superiore e inferiore e della caffetteria.
Spaccato assonometrico, vista assonometrica da Angel Alley e sezione.

Whitechapel Art Gallery, London,
Great Britain, 1983-85.
Exterior views along Angel Alley and of the main facade.
Interior views of the upper and lower galleries and of the cafeteria.
Axonometric cutaway, axonometric view from Angel Alley and section.



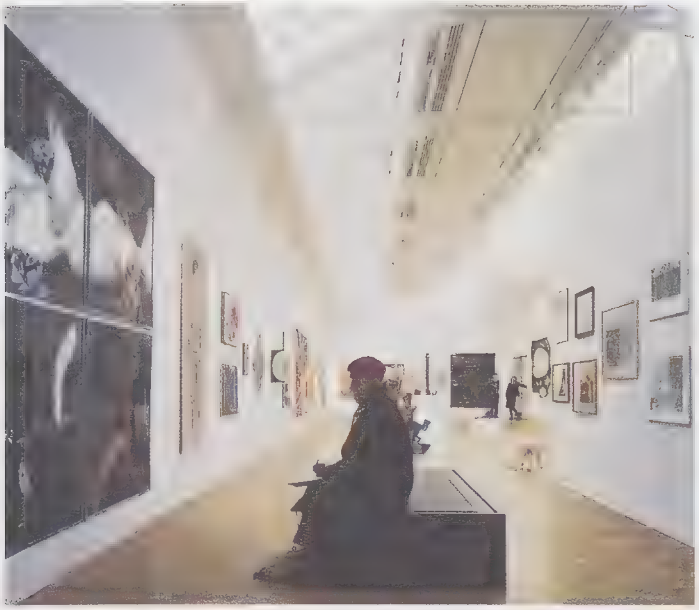


Whitechapel Art Gallery, Londra,
Gran Bretagna
Alan Colquhoun, John Miller

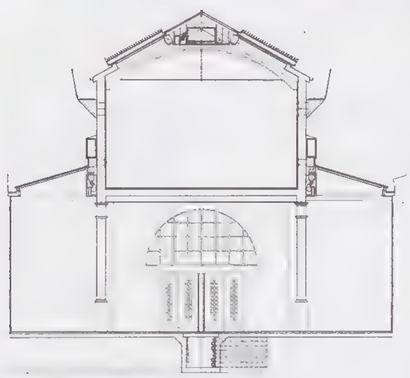
Il progetto consiste in interventi di modifica e di ampliamento della Whitechapel Art Gallery, progettata da Harrison Townsend nel 1898 e costruita nel 1901.
La richiesta era di ristrutturare le gallerie esistenti, in modo che rispondessero a *standard* ambientali moderni, e di aggiungere una nuova piccola galleria, un teatro per conferenze, una sala per gli audiovisivi, una caffetteria, un'aula, una libreria, alcuni uffici, un deposito e una sala impianti.
L'edificio è classificato come "Grado II" di tutela e gli interventi erano subordinati alla conservazione della facciata verso Whitechapel High Street e della forma originale della galleria principale. Gran parte delle modifiche interessano infatti gli spazi secondari e gli interventi nelle gallerie sono limitati alle scale pubbliche e al sistema di circolazione. Essi sono stati realizzati in modo da preservare l'integrità degli spazi delle due gallerie originarie.
L'ampliamento interessa sia l'interno dell'edificio esistente sia una nuova estensione in una stretta fascia di terreno in Angel Alley, precedentemente occupata da un edificio scolastico del Diciannovesimo secolo. I nuovi elementi sono concepiti in modo da inserirsi armonicamente nel contesto, senza intenzioni mimetiche verso il tessuto esistente.

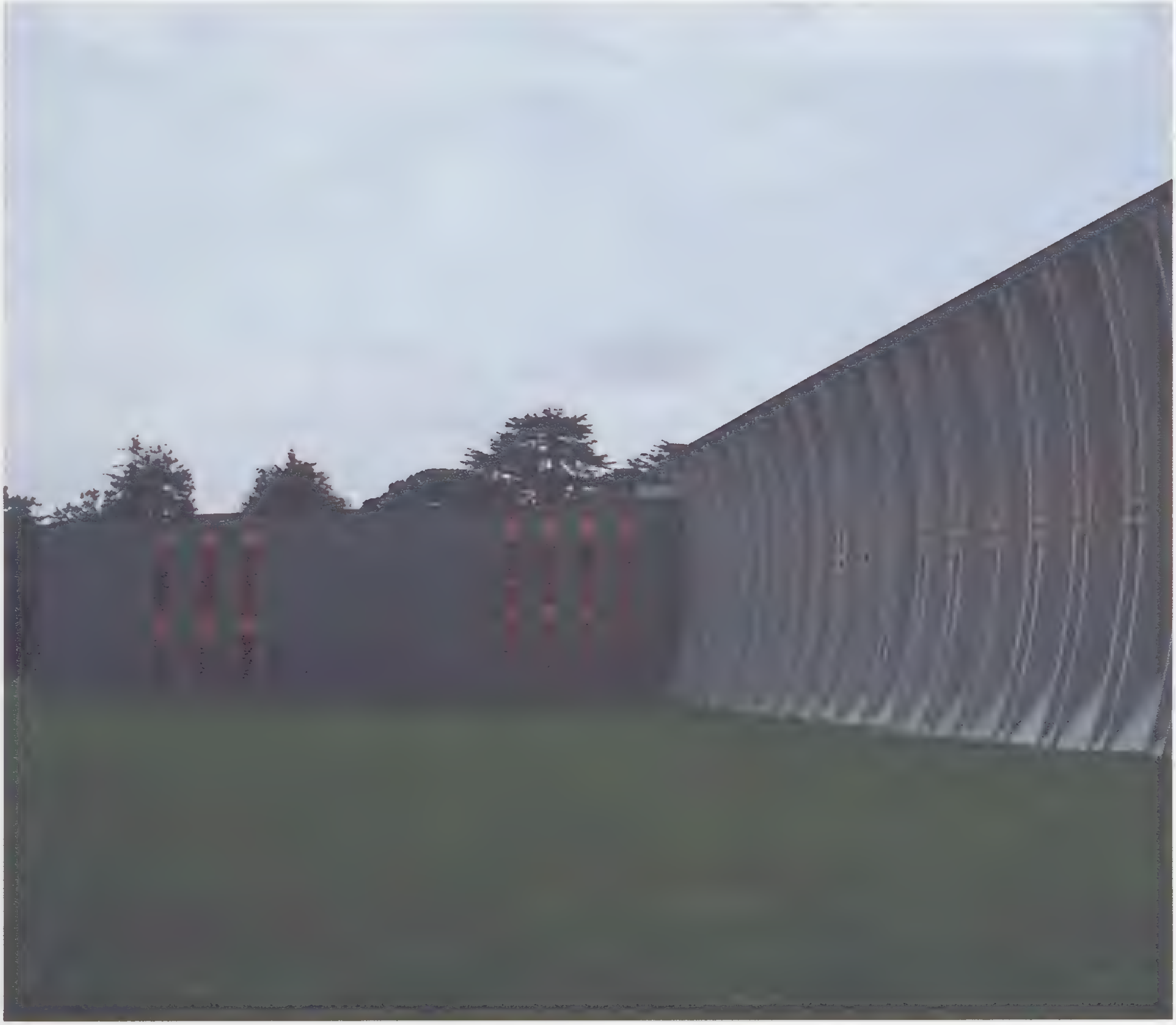
Whitechapel Art Gallery, London,
Great Britain
Alan Colquhoun, John Miller

The project consists of alterations and additions to the Whitechapel Art Gallery, designed by Harrison Townsend in 1898 and built in 1901.
The brief required the renovation and upgrading of the existing galleries to modern environmental standards, together with the provision of a new small gallery, lecture theatre, audio visual space, cafe, education room, bookshop, offices, storage and plant.
The building is listed Grade II and the modifications were conditional on the preservation to the facade to Whitechapel High Street and the conservation of the main gallery spaces in their original form. Most of the modifications concern the secondary accommodation and the principle changes affecting the galleries are to the public stairs and circulation system. These are carried out in such a way that the integrity of the two original gallery spaces is preserved.
The new accommodation is provided both within the envelope of the existing building and in a new extension occupying a narrow strip of land in Angel Alley previously occupied by a 19th century school building. The new elements are designed in a way that is sympathetic to the existing fabric, without imitating it.







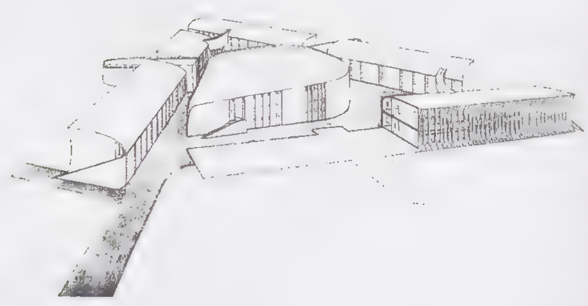
Marcello D'Olivo

Scuola per le minoranze etniche, Gorizia, Italia, 1992
Marcello D'Olivo
con Marian Cefarin

Foto R. Schnabl

Vista del fronte esterno di un corpo-aule.
Viste dall'esterno e dall'interno del collegamento tra due corpi-aule.
Prospettiva generale e pianta del piano primo.

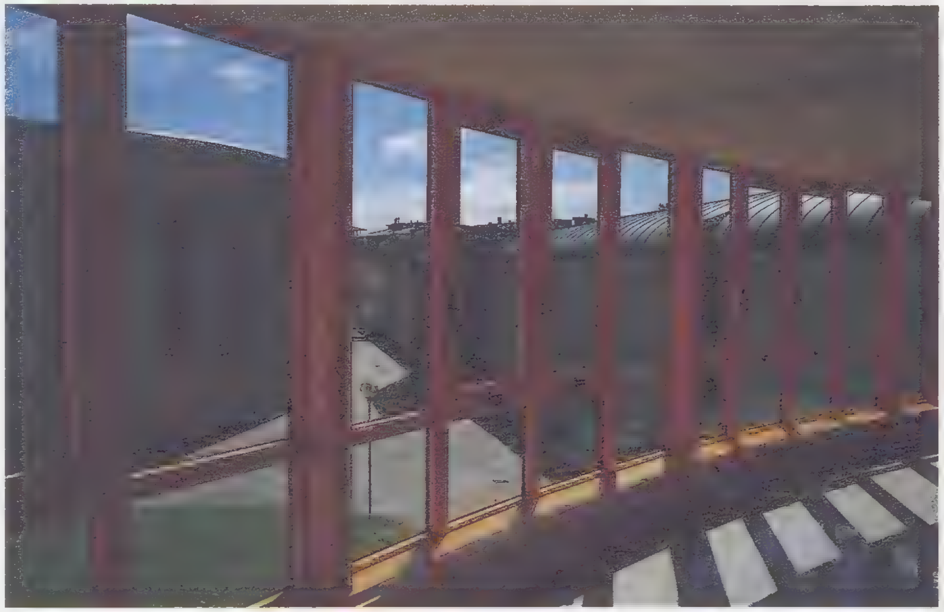
View of an exterior classroom block facade.
Views from the exterior and interior of the connecting hall between two classroom blocks.
General perspective and first floor plan.

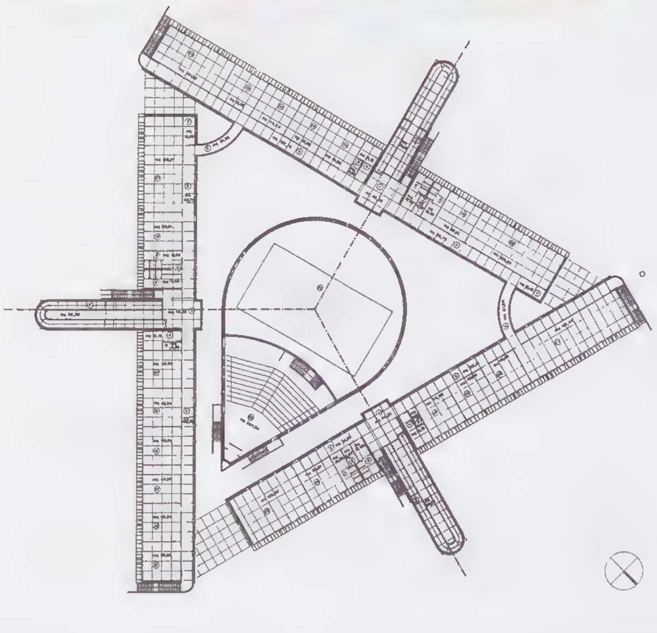


Scuola per le minoranze etniche, Gorizia, Italia
Marcello D'Olivo

Le scelte fondamentali della progettazione possono essere così riassunte: individuazione di uno spazio, "centro" del complesso, con la realizzazione di corpi separati volumetricamente, ma collegati funzionalmente; realizzazione di spazi di uso comune a più istituti (palestra, auditorium, sala riunioni, biblioteca, aule di fisica, chimica, ecc.); adozione di pareti divisorie mobili tali da permettere variazioni nella distribuzione senza interventi radicali; trattandosi di corpi a due piani, realizzazione dei collegamenti verticali mediante rampe al posto di scale e ascensori; sistemazione di tutte le aule lungo il perimetro per consentire un migliore rapporto con l'esterno; realizzazione del corpo palestra-auditorium al centro, nettamente separato dai corpi scolastici, per rendere tali spazi facilmente utilizzabili anche da "esterni" senza interferenze con l'attività scolastica.
I tre corpi delle aule sono disposti lungo i lati di un triangolo equilatero, senza congiungersi. Due passaggi ad arco di cerchio al primo piano ne assicurano un collegamento funzionale. Alla mezzeria di ogni corpo-aule si inserisce il vano rampa, tagliandolo secondo la perpendicolare. Dal punto di vista costruttivo si realizzano due giunti di dilatazione; dal punto di vista estetico questa intersezione determina uno spazio architettonico di grande suggestione.
Le facciate verso l'esterno (in pannelli prefabbricati di c.a. precompresso), che danno luce alle aule, sono realizzate con un continuo alternarsi di coppelle-pilastro concave verso l'interno e di serramenti a tutta altezza. La larghezza delle coppelle è di cm 60, mentre quella dei serramenti varia in funzione delle necessità di luce dei diversi ambienti (30, 60, 90 cm). La facciata risulta così impostata su multipli di cm 30. Questo alternarsi di coppella-serramento a distanze variabili, ma modulari, crea un disegno nel contempo funzionale e armonico.
Il profilo del tetto dei corpi-aule è un quarto di ellisse (sia nell'estradosso che nell'intradosso), che dalla sommità del muro dei corridoi si apre fino ad accogliere le coppelle e i serramenti delle facciate rivolte verso l'esterno. Il rivestimento in rame presente in tutte le coperture ne disegna nettamente le sagome geometriche. Al centro del triangolo equilatero determinato dai tre corpi-aule è collocato l'elemento palestra-auditorium, la cui forma in piano è generata dall'intersezione di una circonferenza con un triangolo: a 240° di circonferenza, tangenti a essa si dipartono due rette che si congiungono formando un angolo di 60°. Si crea così un parallelismo tra i corpi-aule e il corpo palestra-auditorium. Nella zona determinata dalla circonferenza trova posto la palestra, mentre in quella a triangolo sono ubicati i servizi e spogliatoi a piano terra e l'auditorium al primo piano, realizzato a gradoni degradanti verso il vertice del triangolo (scena).











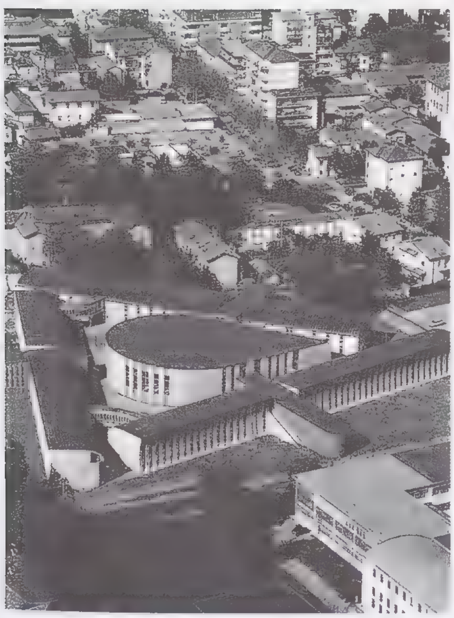
Viste esterne dello spazio centrale e vista interna di una rampa di collegamento tra i piani terreno e primo.
Vista generale dall'alto e schizzi di studio.

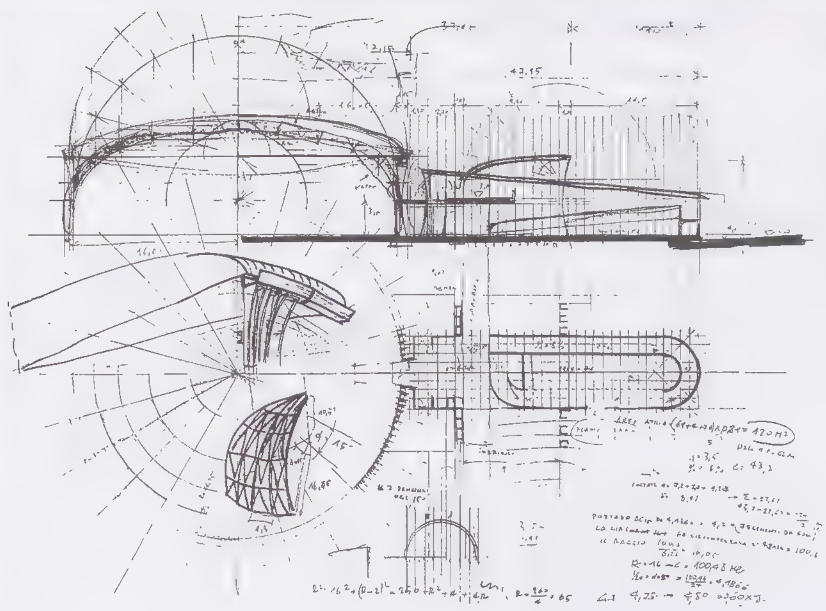
Exterior views of the central space and interior views of the connecting ramp between ground and first floor.
Overall view and preliminary sketches.

School for ethnic minorities, Gorizia, Italy
Marcello D'Olivo

The fundamental choices of the design can be summed up as follows: identification of a space as the "center" of the complex, with the creation of volumetrically separate but functionally connected units; the creation of spaces for common use by a number of institutes (gymnasium, auditorium, conference room, library, physics and chemistry labs, etc.); the use of mobile divider walls to permit layout variations without radical modifications; given the fact that the buildings have two levels, the creation of vertical access by means of ramps rather than staircases or elevators; organization of all the classrooms along the perimeter, for a better relationship with the outside; positioning of the volume for the gymnasium and auditorium at the center, clearly separated from the classroom areas, to make these spaces easy to use even for "outsiders", without disturbing scholastic activities. The three volumes of the classrooms are arranged along the sides of an equilateral triangle, without meeting. Two round arch passages on the first floor level ensure functional connection. At the middle of each classroom building there is a ramp, crossing the volume in perpendicular. From the point of view of construction this creates two expansion joints; in aesthetic terms, this intersection defines an architectonic space of great effect.
The facade toward the outside (in prefabricated panels of precompressed reinforced concrete), which provide natural lighting for the classrooms, are built with a continuous alternation of concave pilasters toward the inside, and floor-to-roof window frames. The width of the pilasters is 60 cm, while that of the glazings varies in keeping with the lighting requirements of the different spaces (30, 60, 90 cm). Thus the pattern of the facade is based on multiples of 30 cm. This alternation of pilasters and glazings at a variable but modular distance creates a design which is both functional and harmonic. The profile of the roofing of the classroom buildings is a quarter ellipse (both in the extrados and the intrados), which from the top of the wall of the corridors opens to contain the pilasters and the window frames of the outer facades. The copper cladding of all the roofing clearly defines the geometric profiles. At the center of the equilateral triangle of the three classroom buildings stands the gymnasium-auditorium, whose planar form is generated by the intersection of a circumference and a triangle: at 240 degrees of the circumference two straight line tangents meet to form a 60-degree angle. This creates a parallel pattern between the classroom wings and the gymnasium-auditorium. The zone bordered by the circumference contains the gymnasium, while the triangle contains services and locker rooms on the ground floor, and the auditorium on the first floor, with a series of stepped levels descending toward the point of the triangle (the stage).







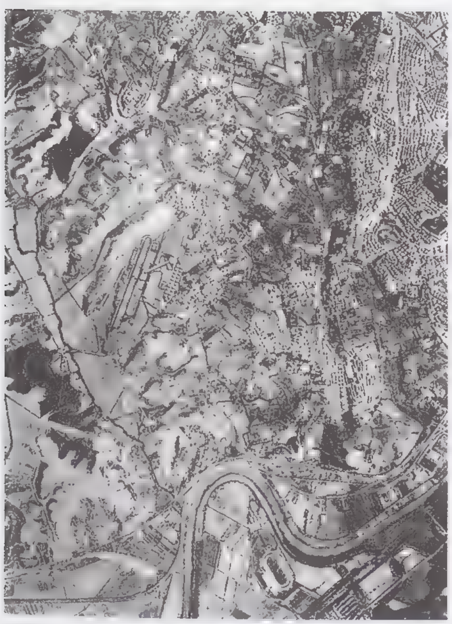


Mario Fiorentino

Complesso residenziale pubblico al Corviale, Roma, Italia, 1973-81
Mario Fiorentino (Coordinatore generale)
Gruppo di coordinamento: R. De Simoni, M. Montani, E. Piroddi
Capigruppo: Mario Fiorentino, Federico Gorio,
Piero Maria Lugli, Giulio Sterbini, Michele Valori
Strutture: Riccardo Morandi
Segnaletica: Stefano Fiorentino







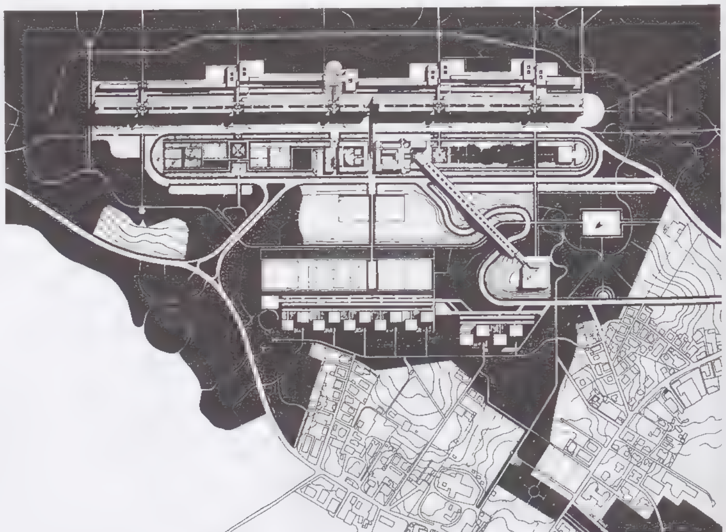
Vista d'insieme da est.
Viste del fronte ovest dalla campagna e dalla strada interna.
Vista aerea zenitale.

Overall view from the east.
Views of the western facade from the countryside and the internal driveway.
Zenithal aerial view.

Complesso residenziale pubblico al Corviale, Roma, Italia
Mario Fiorentino

La superficie interessata dall'intervento è di 603.300 metri quadrati per un insediamento complessivo di 8.500 abitanti. Il nuovo Corviale è un grande "sistema" residenziale, un unico sistema edilizio che si sviluppa con continuità per la lunghezza di circa 1 km. Rispetto a questo sistema si costituiscono infatti 5 sezioni fondamentali, in corrispondenza dei 5 grandi nodi di accesso che identificano il sistema trasversale del complesso per una profondità di m 250 circa. Al suo interno si trovano un centro principale, cinque grandi spazi verdi, tre gruppi di servizi di base, comprendenti ciascuno un asilo-nido, una scuola materna e un gruppo di esercizi commerciali di prima necessità. Alcune decine di locali destinati a botteghe, studi professionali, attività artigianali, ambulatori, sono situati nel piano libero, ed infine una grande autorimessa con un posto macchina per alloggio. Il complesso degli alloggi è suddiviso in cinque "unità di gestione" dotate di una propria piazza di ingresso, smistamento e controllo, e di una propria sede per gli incontri, le riunioni condominiali e le attività sociali in genere, in particolare le attività extrascolastiche e di gestione. La linea edificata è servita da un anello stradale a senso unico che definisce un *parterre* riservato alle attrezzature civiche, commerciali, culturali di livello urbano, al circolo sportivo, al parco ed al complesso parrocchiale. Al di là dell'anello stradale principale, lato est, è posto il centro scolastico comprendente due scuole elementari di 20 aule ciascuna ed una scuola media di 24 aule, come edifici che fanno parte del centro urbano.
Da questo si dirama, in direzione dei quartieri esistenti, un altro edificio "in linea" di dimensioni più modeste rispetto all'unità principale contenente, oltre alla residua quota di alloggi, una strada pedonale coperta affiancata da negozi che si conclude in un'area destinata dal piano di zona alla costruzione di un supermercato. Questo percorso pedonale realizza il collegamento con le aree destinate dal PRG ai servizi del quartiere esistente e realizza la continuità tra l'insieme dei servizi e delle attrezzature di Corviale e il contesto urbano adiacente.
Tra il corpo di fabbrica principale e il corpo a valle verso ovest è tracciata una strada interna pedonale e accessibile da auto solo per funzioni di servizio: un grande viale alberato da una fila di pini e l'altra di tigli. In corrispondenza delle piazze-ingresso il corpo a monte e il corpo a valle sono uniti da un passaggio pensile pedonale e coperto per accedere direttamente agli asili e alle scuole materne, lungo il quale c'è un piccolo nucleo di negozi di prima necessità. Il passaggio pedonale pensile, un vero e proprio ponte, oltre che assolvere il compito di rendere funzionalmente continuo il sistema fraziona prospetticamente la "fuga" della facciata ovest in una serie di episodi caratterizzati da funzioni specifiche – gli asili, le scuole materne, il teatro, il ristorante, il belvedere – ricchi di giardini e di verde. Il sistema è composto dunque da un corpo lineare principale alto 28 metri oltre l'autorimessa e da un corpo secondario a valle verso ovest di 2-3 piani. Il tipo di distribuzione interna è per i primi 4 piani del corpo principale di 4 appartamenti per scala; a ballatoio per gli ultimi 4 piani così come per il corpo di fabbrica a valle. Il *parterre*, di circa m 900x85, contiene, collegato da un ponte metallico al sistema pedonale del corpo principale, il "centro" del complesso: mercato comunale, unità sanitaria locale, teatro, cinema, sala riunioni, biblioteca, sede circoscrizionale e negozi specializzati. Separata invece la centrale termica di tutto il quartiere. Sull'asse delle cinque piazze d'ingresso sono aggregati cinque nuclei variamente composti di negozi di prima necessità e su tre nuclei asili nido e scuole materne in coppia. Sul quarto nucleo un teatro all'aperto per usi sociali differenziati e un ristorante con tavola calda. Sull'ultimo asse verso la valle del Tevere un semplice belvedere. Questi cinque assi strutturano tutto l'insieme prolungandosi sul *parterre* attrezzato dove da nord verso sud è collocata la chiesa parrocchiale, un parco giardino per bambini e vecchi, il centro di cui abbiamo già parlato e la centrale termica. Sul terminale verso sud la polisportiva Corviale che sarà gestita dagli abitanti e composta di campi di tennis e pallacanestro, due campi polivalenti, palestra e lo spazio di una futura piscina.
L'accesso ad un organismo così complesso non può essere ripetitivo di modelli funzionali in linea ma piuttosto rapportato ad un pezzo di "città lineare"; ci è sembrato opportuno a tale scopo concentrare in punti singolari, in vere e proprie piazze, le "porte" di entrata. Questi punti nodali sono cinque. È interessante rilevare che questa scelta di tipo figurativo coincide con la suddivisione amministrativa: cinque condomini che fanno capo a questi nodi, porte vere e proprie, illuminate anche di notte insieme alle cinque scale condominiali e al piano libero. Si tratta in sostanza di cinque piazze e porte d'ingresso a questa città, punti che si differenziano a livello di sistemazione planimetrica esterna e sono arricchiti ognuno da sculture astratte di grandi dimensioni quali "memorie" di luoghi urbani particolari, riferimenti e segnali di cui è così ricca la città storica. L'approccio al sistema pedonale di distribuzione non può essere banale e affidato solo alla disponibilità degli spazi. È stata perciò introdotta una segnaletica che partendo dalla scala dell'architettura arriva fino alla segnalazione di un alloggio particolare.

(da *Mario Fiorentino. La casa*, a cura di F. Moschini, Roma 1985)



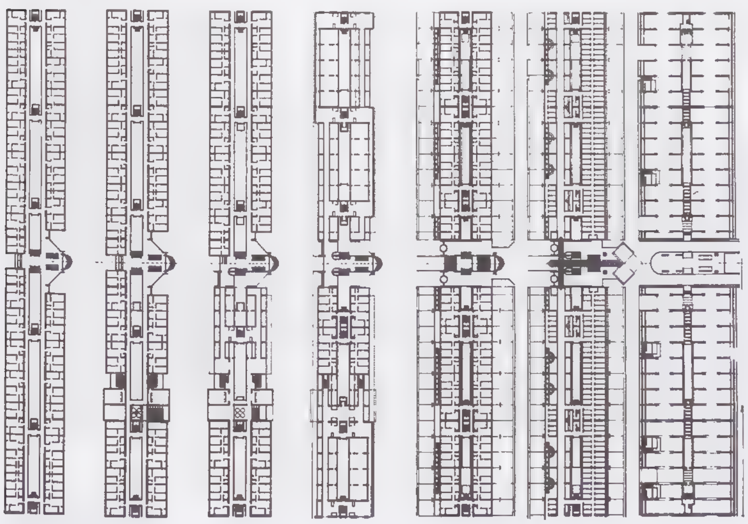
Planimetria generale, piante tipiche ai vari livelli e sezione trasversale del corpo principale.

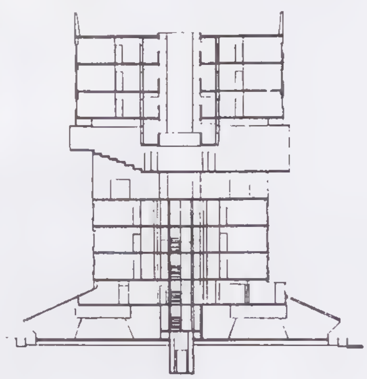
General planimetric, typical plans of the various levels and cross-section of the main building.

Public housing complex at Corviale, Rome, Italy
Mario Fiorentino

The area of the project measures 603,300 sq. meters, to contain a residential complex for 8500 inhabitants. The new Corviale is a large residential "system", a single building system which extends, continuously, for a length of about one kilometer. Within this system there are five fundamental sections, corresponding to five major access nodes that outline the transverse system of the complex, for a depth of about 250 m. Inside there are a main center, five large green areas, three basic service groupings, each of which contains a day-care center, a nursery school and a group of shops for basic needs. In the open level there are dozens of spaces for workshops, professional studios, craftsmen, medical offices, together with a large garage providing parking spaces for all the housing units. The housing complex is subdivided into five "management units", each with its own entry plaza, routing and security, and its own spaces for encounters, meetings of the tenants and social activities, especially after-school activities and those related to the administration of the buildings, forming a reserved parterre for civic, commercial and cultural facilities at an urban level, including a sports center, a park and a parish complex. Beyond the main ring road, to the east, an education center includes two elementary schools, each with 20 classrooms, and a middle school with 24; these facilities are edifices which are a part of the urban center. From this nucleus another "linear" edifice extends toward the existing neighborhoods; it is smaller than the main complex. It contains other housing units, and a pedestrian galleria flanked by shops. At the end of the galleria there is an area set aside for the construction of a supermarket. This pedestrian walkway provides a connection to the areas indicated in the Master Plan to serve the existing neighborhood, and creates a continuity among the services, the facilities of the Corviale, and the nearby urban context. Between the main building and the building downhill to the west there is an internal pedestrian road, to which motor vehicles are admitted only for service functions: a wide road, lined with a row of pines and a row of lindens.
In correspondence to the entry plazas, the uphill and the downhill volumes are joined by a suspended covered pedestrian walkway for direct access to the day-care centers and nursery schools; a small nucleus of shops is located along the walkway. This footbridge not only functions to provide functional continuity for the system, but also breaks up the perspective "vanishing point" of the western facade, creating a series of episodes characterized by specific functions - the day-care centers, the nursery schools, the theater, the restaurant, the belvedere - full of gardens and green areas. The system is composed, therefore, of a main linear volume, 28 meters in height above the garage, and a secondary volume, downhill to the west, 2-3 storeys high. The internal layout, for the first four floors of the main volume, provides four apartments per staircase; on the four upper levels, and in the secondary volume, access is provided by balconies. The parterre, measuring about 900 x 85 m, contains the "center" of the complex, connected to the pedestrian walkway system by a metal bridge: market, health services center, theater, cinema, meeting room, library, local municipal offices and selected shops. The heating plant for the entire project is separated from these areas. Along the axis of the five entry plazas stand five nuclei, with varied composition of shops, while three of the nuclei feature pairs of day-care centers and nursery schools. A fourth nucleus contains an open-air theater for diversified use and a restaurant. The final axis toward the Tiber valley contains a simple belvedere. These five axes delineate the structure of the entire complex, extending over the parterre where, from north to south, one encounters the parish church, a park for children and the elderly, the center described above, and the heating plant. At the southern extremity the Corviale multi-sports center will be administered by the residents themselves, with tennis and basketball courts, and two all-purpose playing fields. The sports complex also includes a large gymnasium and space for the construction, in the future, of a swimming pool.
The access to such a complex organism cannot be banal, repeating functional models in line; rather than that of a building, this is the access to a "piece" of the "linear city": we felt, as such, that it was useful to concentrate access in given points, true public squares, the "gates" to the complex.
There are five of these nodal points. It is interesting to note that this figurative choice corresponds to the administrative subdivisions of the complex: five apartment buildings connected to five nodes, true gateways, well-lit at night, together with five staircase accessways and the open ground floor. In substance, these are five plazas and five entryways to this city, points which are differentiated in terms of external planimetry, each enhanced by large abstract sculptures, like "memories" of particular urban locations, each recognizable thanks to the artificial creation, through a programmatic design process, of the type of references and signals that are found in abundance in the historical city. It is evident that the approach to the pedestrian circulation system, in the same manner, cannot be banal, or based only on the availability of spaces. Therefore a visual system of reference has been supplied for the various levels of utilization: a system of signage that extends from the scale of the architecture to that of the individual dwelling.

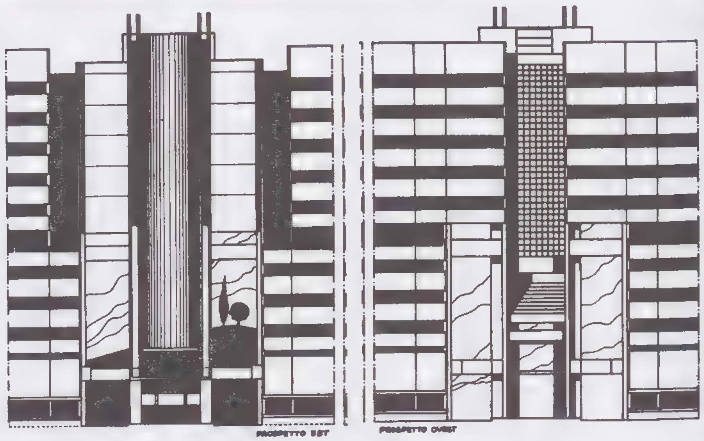
(from Mario Fiorentino. La casa, *edited by F. Moschini, Rome 1985)*



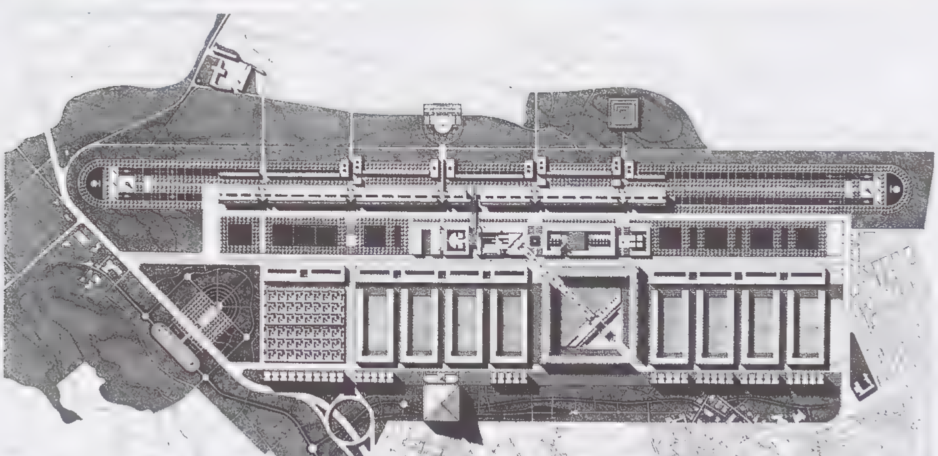







PROSPETTO EST
PROSPETTO OVEST





Viste di dettaglio del cavedio e dei fronti est e ovest.
Prospetti est e ovest di un corpo scale.
Planimetria generale del progetto per il Corviale rivisitato, 1979.

Particulars of the cavedium and the eastern and western frontages.
East and west elevations of a stairwell.
General planimetric of the design for the revisited Corviale, 1979.



Ulrich Franzen

Art Collector's House, Long Island, New York, U.S.A., 1987
Ulrich Franzen and Associates

Foto B. Korab

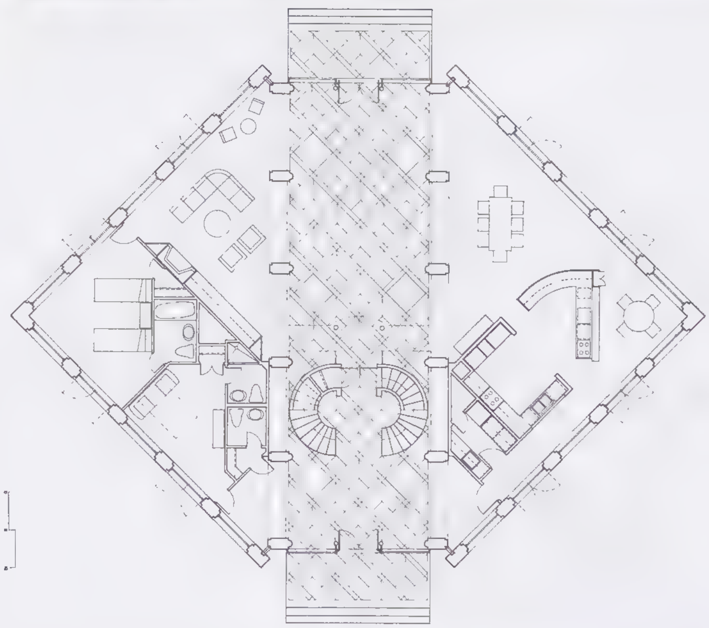
Viste dei fronti anteriore e posteriore.
Pianta del piano terreno.

Views of the front and rear facades.
Plan of the ground floor.

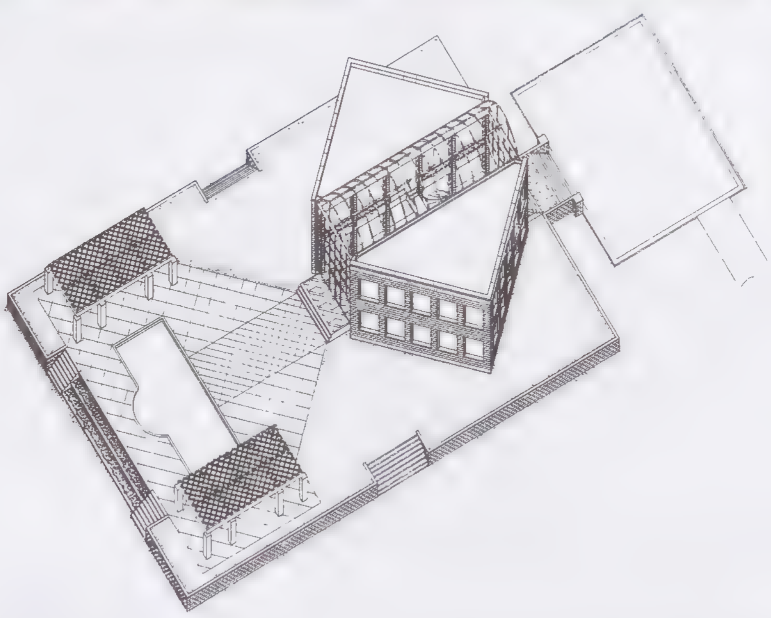
Casa di un collezionista d'arte, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.
Ulrich Franzen

Una casa di vacanza destinata a un noto collezionista d'arte astratta, alla moglie e ai due figli, con spazi per ospitare una domestica *part-time* e un eventuale ospite.
Il sito occupa un terreno piuttosto pianeggiante dalla topografia semplice, con alberi relativamente giovani, all'interno di un ampio lotto edificabile, e costeggia uno stretto stagno nella parte orientale di Long Island.
Il terreno circostante la casa funge da contesto, formale e informale, a importanti sculture moderne che potranno essere sostituite e ricollocate a discrezione del proprietario. Il sito comprende un basamento sul quale sorge la casa, oltre a prati e boschi che offrono contesti differenziati per la collezione. La casa in sé non è destinata a ospitare grandi quadri o sculture, ma oggetti decorativi e un'eclettica collezione di mobili, per i quali costituisce quindi un modulo di riferimento tridimensionale. Lo stile è mantenuto semplice, così da offrire un contesto il più possibile omogeneo.
I muri esterni sono in pietra artificiale, di colore e finitura affini alla pietra arenaria scelta inizialmente. La casa è distribuita intorno a un cortile centrale, che rappresenta lo spazio di circolazione e di socializzazione principale. Esso è pavimentato con un conglomerato di granito e marmo, mentre la volta vetrata sovrastante è attrezzata con una copertura orizzontale in tela bianca semitrasparente che protegge dal sole.
Al piano superiore le due parti in cui è suddivisa la casa ospitano rispettivamente la camera da letto dei proprietari e le camere dei due figli, quest'ultime pensate come un *loft*. Al piano terreno, intorno al cortile centrale, si trovano la cucina e la sala da pranzo da un lato, e dall'altro una piccola stanza con un caminetto. Il pavimento della casa è in rovere verniciato con mordente scuro e le pareti sono rivestite all'interno con tela di lino e sottili finiture di rovere.
L'interesse dei proprietari per una concezione intensamente minimalista e astratta hanno suggerito l'impiego di moduli fissi e di intersezioni geometriche rigorose. Il progetto della casa intende stabilire un rapporto tra un sistema autoreferenziale e un contesto naturale.









Art Collector's House, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.
Ulrich Franzen

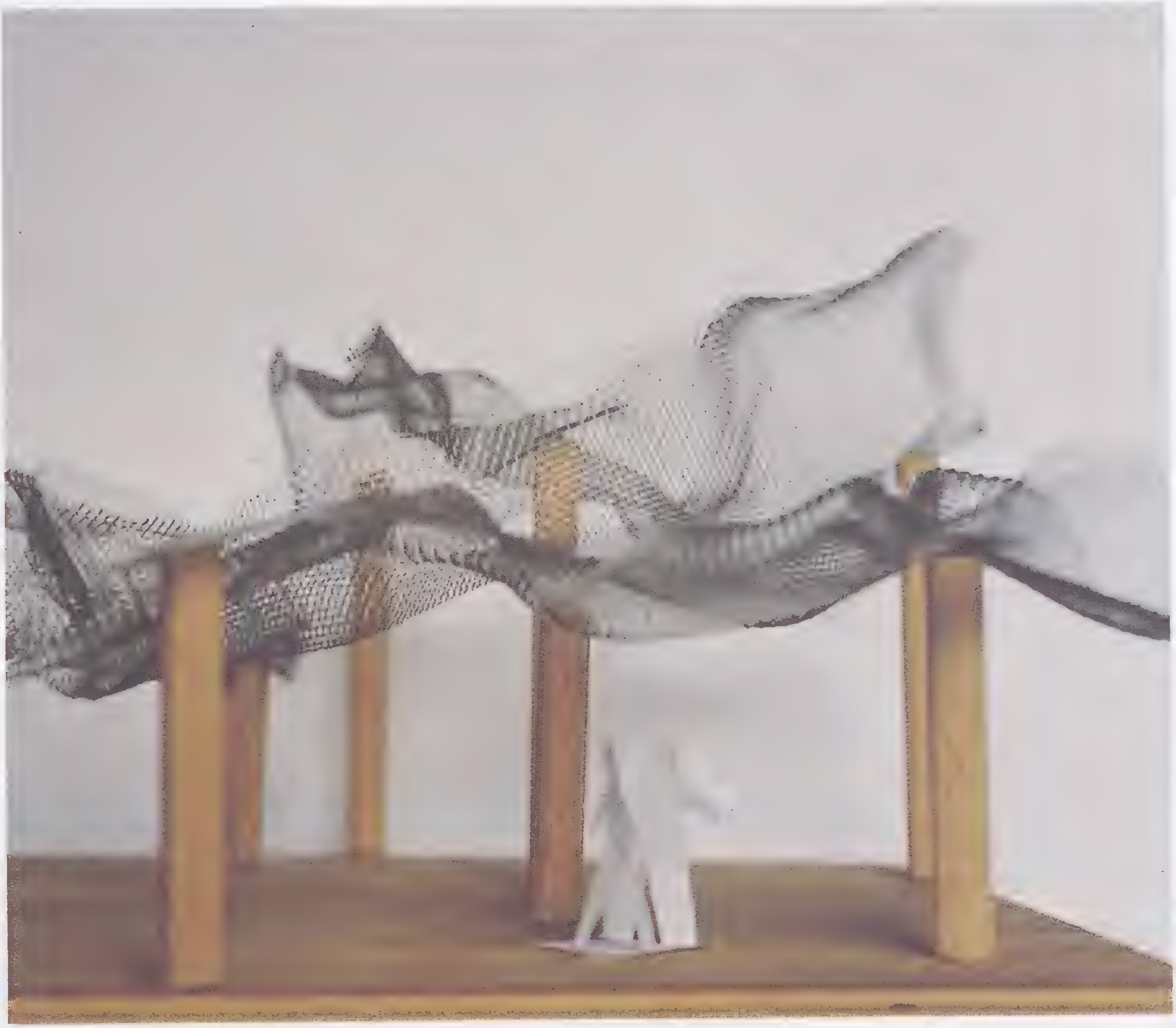
A summer house for a serious collector of abstract art, his wife and their two college-age sons, with space for a part-time maid and an occasional guest.
The site is fairly low land, of no particular topography, with second-growth trees in a large lot development. It parallels a narrow pond in eastern Long Island.
The grounds of the house are to serve as both a formal and informal setting for major modern works of sculpture, some of which will be occasionally changed and rearranged by the owner. The grounds include a formal podium on which the house is placed, as well as fields and woods providing varied settings for the collection. The house itself will not contain large paintings or sculpture, but will hold decorative objects and an eclectic collection of furniture. Through these objects the house is seen as a three-dimensional reference grid. Stylistic flourishes are kept to a minimum so as to provide a background of permanence.
The exterior walls are of cast stone, inside and out. The coloration and texture of the stone will be close to limestone, the initially preferred material. The house itself is organized around a central garden court which will serve as the major socializing and circulation space. The central court is paved in a pattern with a mixture of granite and marble. The interior of the glass vault above the garden court will be equipped with a horizontal awning of white translucent cloth to screen the sun.
The two halves of the house separate the owners' bedroom suite from the loft-style bedrooms of two college-age sons on the upper floor. On the ground floor, surrounding the garden court, lie the kitchen and dining area on the one hand, and on the other, a den with a fireplace. The floor finishes of the two halves are of dark-stained oak and interior walls are covered with linen canvas and light oak trim. The owners' interest in dense minimalism and abstraction suggested a parti governed by tight grids and geometrically correct intersections. The house aspires to a relationship between a self-referential system and a natural setting.





Vista interna, vista aerea e dettaglio del giardino con le sculture.
Assonometria.

Interior view, aerial view, detail of the sculpture garden.
Axonometric.



Yona Friedman

Structures en "feuilles froissées", 1992-96

Vista del modello e collage col progetto applicato al Monte del Tempio di Gerusalemme.
Disegni di studio.

View of the model and collage with the project applied to the Mount of the Temple in Jerusalem.
Working drawings.

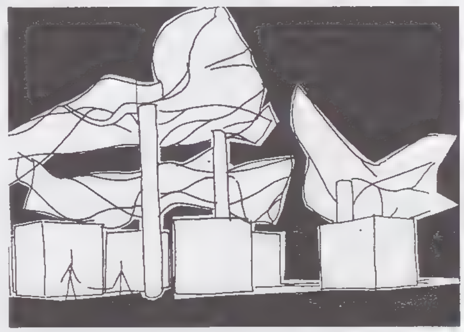
Strutture in "fogli accartocciati"
Yona Friedman

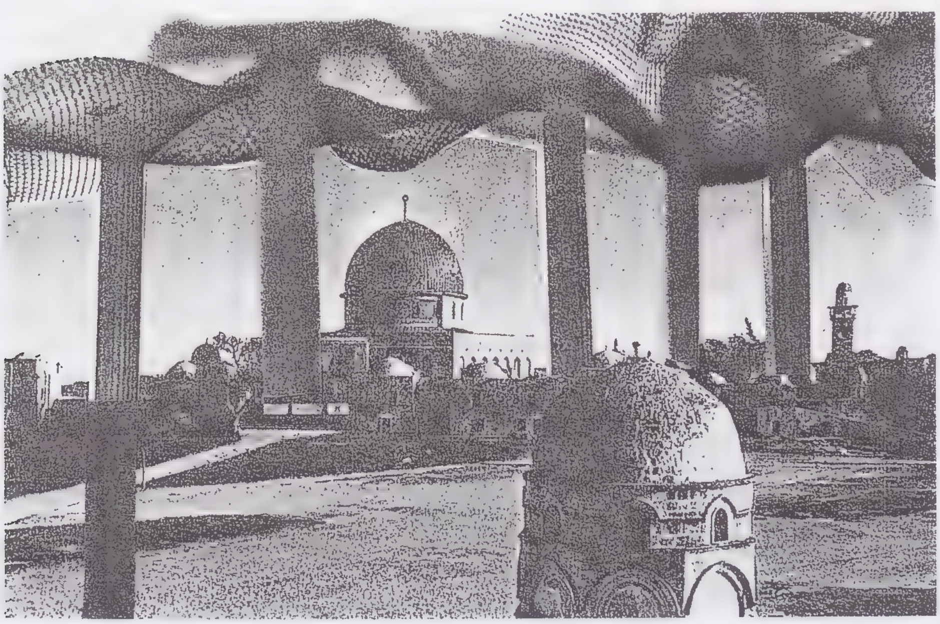
Esistono in architettura strutture che non seguono alcun tipo di ordine geometrico. Un esempio è rappresentato da quelle strutture che ammettono gradi diversi di "non-ordine" (che è tutt'altra cosa rispetto al "disordine"); si tratta, tra altre possibili, di quelle strutture che io chiamo in "fogli accartocciati". Una struttura in "fogli accartocciati", in base alla mia esperienza, non è meno solida di quelle piegate secondo qualsiasi altro tipo di regole. Essa può essere rappresentata anche matematicamente, con l'ausilio delle serie di Fourier. Il comportamento di tali strutture è imprevedibile e non può essere stabilito altrimenti che con l'osservazione di modelli. L'aspetto curioso è che, rispetto alle configurazioni geometriche regolari, questo tipo di strutture presenta alcuni vantaggi in termini di distribuzione delle forze.
È stato tuttavia indispensabile individuarne un ruolo architettonico appropriato. Studiandole attraverso modelli, e memore della mia esperienza di lavoro in India, ho pensato di usarle come "ombrelli" che proiettano un'ombra leggera, come quella di un albero. Questi ombrelli, realizzati con griglie di metallo di pochi centimetri di spessore, creano un'ombra sufficiente a prevenire il surriscaldamento del tetto esposto alla luce del sole e a proteggere da quest'ultima le zone pubbliche all'aperto. Essi sono, in un certo senso, "nuvole artificiali" sostenute da colonne. Per esemplificare la mia proposta, ho pensato che queste nuvole artificiali fossero adatte a proteggere aree che (per ragioni spirituali) non possono essere coperte da strutture "solide": il Monte del Tempio di Gerusalemme, per esempio, una zona sempre esposta al sole intorno alla Cupola della Rocca, dove non c'è mai ombra.

Irregular structures "crumpled sheets"
Yona Friedman

In architecture it is possible to create structures that do not comply with any type of geometric order. For example, there are structures that permit different degrees of "non-order" (which is something quite different from "disorder"); one of them is the type of structure I call "crumpled sheets". A "crumpled sheet" structure, on the basis of my experience, is no less solid than a structure which has been bent into shape using any other type of rule. This proposition can also be represented in mathematical terms, by using Fourier series. The behavior of such structures is unpredictable and can only be determined through the observation of models. The curious fact of the matter is that these structures offer certain advantages, in terms of the distribution of forces, with respect to regular geometric structures.
Nevertheless it was indispensable to identify an appropriate architectural role for this type of structure. Studying the models, and recalling my work experiences in India, I decided that they could be used as "umbrellas", to project a light shadow, like that of a tree. These umbrellas, made with metal screen, only a few centimeters thick, provide sufficient shade to prevent overheating of roofings exposed to intense sunlight, or to protect outdoor public areas its effects. In a way, these shelters are like "artificial clouds", supported by columns. To make my proposal concrete, I had to find a possible application. I thought that these artificial clouds might be useful for areas which (for religious reasons) cannot be covered by "solid" structures: the Temple Mount of Jerusalem, for example, a zone which is always exposed to sunlight, around the Dome of the Rock, where there is never any shade.









Ernst Gisel

Vista da sudest sull'ingresso di servizio e il ristorante e vista da sud.

View from the southeast of the service entrance and the restaurant, and view from the south.

World Trade Center, Zürich, Switzerland, 1991-95
Ernst Gisel
Projektleiter: Christian Zweifel
Mitarbeiter: Harry Moor, Heinz Schmid, Werner Schwander, Leo Schweitzer

Foto H. Moor

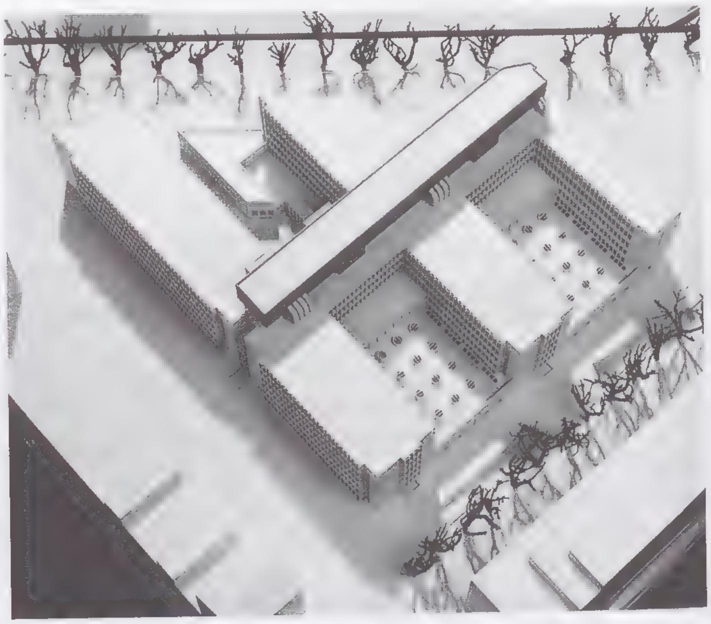
Ernst Gisel e il World Trade Center di Zurigo, Confederazione Elvetica
Bruno Maurer

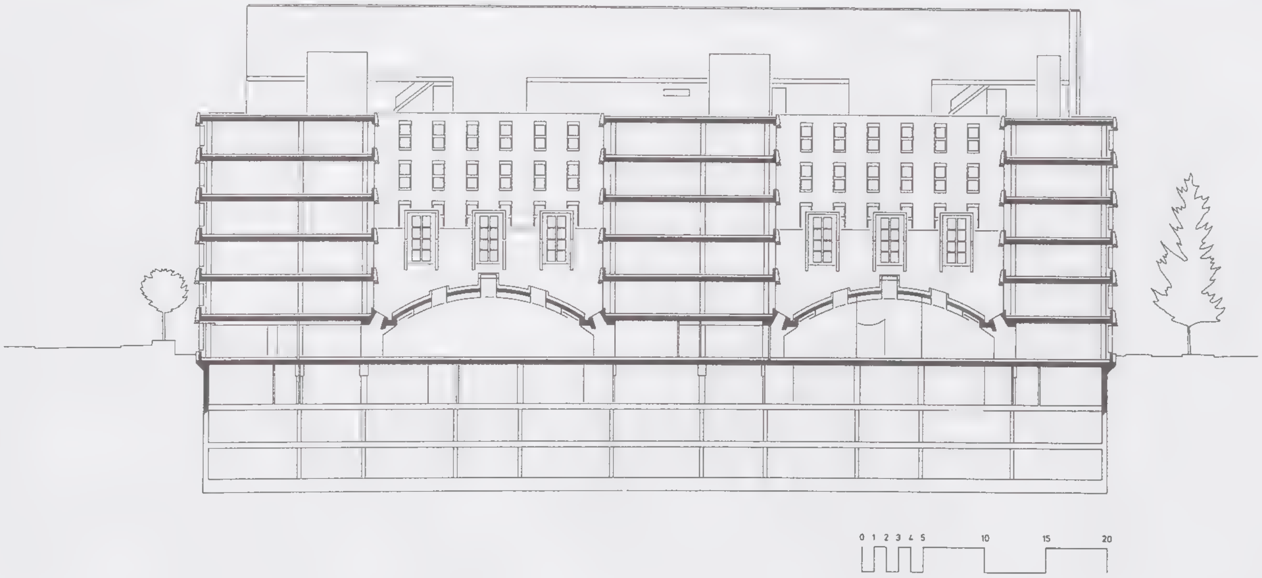
Ernst Gisel, nato nel 1922 nei pressi di Zurigo, nel 1945 compie il coraggioso passo della scelta della libera professione. Dopo gli studi da disegnatore tecnico aveva proseguito la propria formazione alla Kunstgewerbeschule (Scuola di Arte e Artigianato) di Zurigo, entrando poi nello studio di Alfred Roth. Si trovò lì non solo sotto l'influenza diretta di un pioniere del *Neues Bauen*, ma anche nell'epicentro del dibattito architettonico che era in atto nella Svizzera tedesca. (Dal 1942 Roth era redattore della rivista di architettura allora più importante in Svizzera, "Werk").
Nel 1948 Gisel conobbe Alvar Aalto, al quale, nonostante egli appartenesse alla generazione precedente, lo avrebbe poi legato una lunga amicizia, e la cui influenza si manifestò successivamente in molte architetture di Gisel. Altrettanto importanti erano certamente anche i suoi rapporti con gli artisti figurativi: Gisel originariamente voleva diventare pittore, e ancora oggi si dedica a questa attività. Il suo talento plastico si esprime invece nelle sue architetture, che egli definisce lapidariamente con il motto: "*Ogni casa è una scultura*".
Gisel è stato descritto spesso come un *outsider*, che ha scelto un percorso proprio e ha sempre mantenuto un distacco critico nei confronti delle diverse "tendenze". La distanza storica permette comunque di considerare come i suoi edifici rispondano sempre egregiamente ai compiti edilizi proposti. Ciò vale già per il suo primo incarico importante, il Parktheater di Grenchen. Questa soluzione, esemplare per un centro comunitario multifunzionale, lo ha improvvisamente reso noto: Grenchen segna l'inizio di un'opera che nel frattempo è cresciuta fino a comprendere più di 250 tra edifici e progetti. Un contributo significativo è stato offerto da Gisel nell'edilizia scolastica, per la quale ha sviluppato diverse tipologie. I primi complessi scolastici Letzi e Auhof (entrambi a Zurigo) sono composti da corpi a due piani contenenti le aule, raccolti intorno a una corte centrale. Questo disegno rigidamente ortogonale viene ampliato nel Ginnasio di Vaduz, un edificio chiave nella produzione di Gisel, con configurazioni più libere, corpi edilizi semicircolari o a gradoni. La scuola di Engelberg e le prime chiese, sculture architettoniche monumentali in cemento a vista, che drammatizzano il luogo, hanno portato la critica a collocare Gisel nei pressi del Brutalismo.
A fianco degli edifici pubblici Gisel si è occupato anche del tema della residenza, dalla casa unifamiliare fino alla grande *siedlung*, realizzando anche un settore del Märkisches Viertel a Berlino e, recentemente, una nuova *siedlung* a Salisburgo.
Dai primi anni Ottanta il baricentro del suo lavoro si è spostato sul tema degli edifici terziari e amministrativi. L'edificio isolato della Banca Cantonale di Herisau segna l'inizio di questa serie, mentre il Municipio di Fellbach, vicino a Stoccarda, e altri due grandi edifici tipologicamente simili – il centro per il pubblico delle Aziende municipali (gas, acqua, luce ecc.) di Francoforte sul Meno e il World Trade Center di Zurigo – esprimono come caratteristica comune il rapporto tra una forte organizzazione della pianta e marcati elementi plastici.
Il World Trade Center Zürich, l'ultima opera di questa serie, è stata inaugurata in autunno 1995. L'edificio si trova a metà strada tra l'aeroporto e la *city*, ottimamente collegato dal punto di vista viabilistico. La zona dove sorge presenta il carattere tipico della periferia, determinato da costruzioni eterogenee ma monofunzionali. Una volta di più Gisel dimostra qui la sua abilità – definita da Luigi Snozzi "*senso dell'urbano*" in una monografia su Gisel pubblicata di recente – nel dare a difficili situazioni urbanistiche una risposta precisa, che sa anticipare lo sviluppo futuro. Un atteggiamento differenziato verso gli edifici preesistenti circostanti, la precisa definizione degli spazi aperti in rapporto alle strade, ma soprattutto un'impostazione concettuale e un'idea funzionale tendenti ad aumentare l'urbanità del quartiere, portano questo edificio ad assumere il ruolo di edificio guida per la successiva urbanizzazione della zona.
Cinque corpi paralleli in linea di sei piani, contenenti uffici, sono orientati in direzione est-ovest, collegati da un corpo di distribuzione trasversale, spina dorsale del complesso. Gli ultimi due piani di questo corpo ospitano gli impianti tecnici, sporgendo verso l'esterno come una trave possente, che percettivamente tiene insieme i blocchi lineari degli uffici e allo stesso tempo funge da segno architettonico visibile a distanza. La struttura dell'edificio, gerarchicamente articolata, rende possibile un utilizzo dinamico con trenta zone-ufficio indipendenti, che consentono una flessibilità d'uso delle singole zone, ma anche un possibile collegamento tra loro in zone più ampie. Fulcro del complesso è il grande atrio parallelo all'asse di distribuzione, che si estende su più piani e quasi per tutta la larghezza dell'edificio e può essere collegato con la grande sala attraverso una parete mobile a ghigliottina. In questo luogo adibito a funzioni variabili, come mostre d'arte, banchetti e congressi, si mescolano visitatori esterni e utenti usuali dell'edificio, in una situazione che ripropone la complessità del modello urbano.
Con il World Trade Center Gisel ha dimostrato una volta di più la possibilità di contraddire la tendenza, presente anche nella cultura architettonica svizzera, di affidare la progettazione dei complessi edilizi di grande scala sempre più spesso a studi di progettazione anonimi.

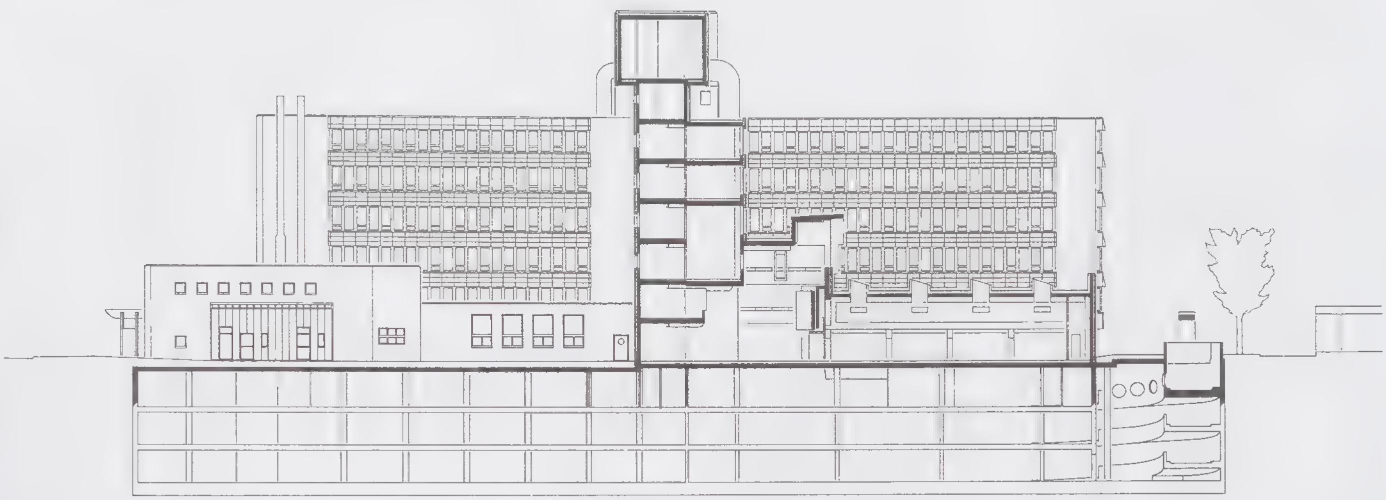


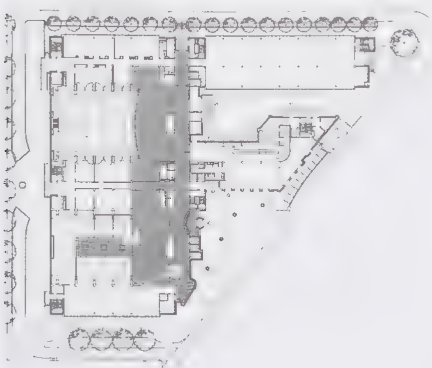
Ernst Gisel and the World Trade Center of Zurich, Switzerland
Bruno Maurer

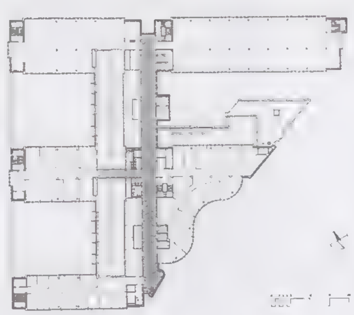
Ernst Gisel, born in 1922 near Zurich, took the courageous step, in 1945, of going into private practice. After having studied technical drawing he continued his education at the Kunstgewerbschule (School of Arts and Crafts) of Zurich, and then worked in the studio of Alfred Roth. In this situation he was directly influenced by a pioneer of the Neues Bauen, *and found himself at the center of the architectural debate taking place at the time in the German part of Switzerland. (Since 1942 Roth had been on the editorial staff of the most important Swiss architectural review, "Werk").*
In 1948 Gisel met Alvar Aalto, with whom, in spite of generational differences, he formed a lasting friendship, the influence of which is evident in many of Gisel's subsequent works. His relationships with figurative artists were also very important: Gisel had originally wanted to become a painter, and even today he continues to paint. His talent for three-dimensional modelling, on the other hand, is expressed through architecture, which he tersely defines as follows: "every house is a sculpture"*. Gisel has often been described as an outsider, who goes his own way, maintaining a critical distance from "trends". Historical hindsight enables us to perceive the precision with which his works respond to the needs of each situation. This is already true for his most important commission, the Parktheater of Grenchen. This exemplary solution for a multifunctional community center made him suddenly famous; Grenchen marks the beginning of a career, which has gone on to include over 250 edifices and projects. Gisel has made a noteworthy contribution to the field of scholastic architecture, developing a variety of typologies. The first school complexes, Letzi and Auhof (both in Zurich), are composed of two-story volumes for the classrooms, arranged around a* central court*. This rigidly orthogonal design is expanded for the school in Vaduz, a key edifice in his production, with freer configurations, and semicircular or stepped volumes. The school of Engelberg and the first churches, monumental architectural sculptures in exposed concrete, dramatizations of the site, led critics to classify Gisel in the vicinity of Brutalism.*
Alongside his public edifices, Gisel has also focused on the theme of housing, from the single-family dwelling to the large Siedlung, also building a sector of the Märkisches Viertel in Berlin and, recently, a new Siedlung in Salzburg.
Since the early 1980s the focus of his work has shifted toward the theme of office buildings. The isolated edifice of the Cantonal Bank of Herisau marks the beginning of this series, while the town hall of Fellbach, near Stuttgart, and two other typologically similar buildings – the public utilities center (gas, electricity, water, etc.) of Frankfurt am Main and the World Trade Center of Zurich – share the characteristic of a relationship between a strong organization of the plan, and marked plastic elements.
The Zurich World Trade Center, the last work of this series, was inaugurated in the autumn of 1995. The edifice is located halfway between the airport and the business district, with excellent access. The area has the typical character of the periphery, with heterogeneous monofunctional buildings. Once again, Gisel demonstrates his ability – defined by Luigi Snozzi as a "sense of the urban"*, in a recently published monograph – to provide a precise response for difficult urban situations, laying the groundwork for future development. A differentiated attitude with respect to the surrounding edifices, precise definition of open spaces in relation to the streets, and above all a conceptual approach and functional idea aimed at increasing the urban character of the quarter; the edifice becomes a sort of guideline for further development of the district.*
Five parallel six-storey volumes for offices, with east-west orientation, are connected to a transverse connecting element, the backbone of the complex. The two upper storeys of the transverse volume contain the technical plant, protruding outward like a large beam, providing a visual unity for the linear office blocks, as well as an architectural sign that is visible from a distance. The structure of the edifice, with its hierarchical organization, permits dynamic utilization, with thirty independent office zones, allowing flexible use of single zones, or combination of zones to create larger facilities. The fulcrum of the complex is the large atrium parallel to the layout axis, an atrium which is several storeys high, extending for the entire length of the edifice, connected to the large hall by means of a vertically sliding wall. In this space, for functions varying from art exhibitions to banquets and congresses, the occasional visitors mingle with the office workers, in a situation that reflects the normal complexity of an urban zone.
With the World Trade Center Gisel, once again, has demonstrated the potential of going against the trend – a trend which is also present in Swiss architectural culture – toward the assignment of commissions for the design of large-scale building complexes to anonymous architecture firms.









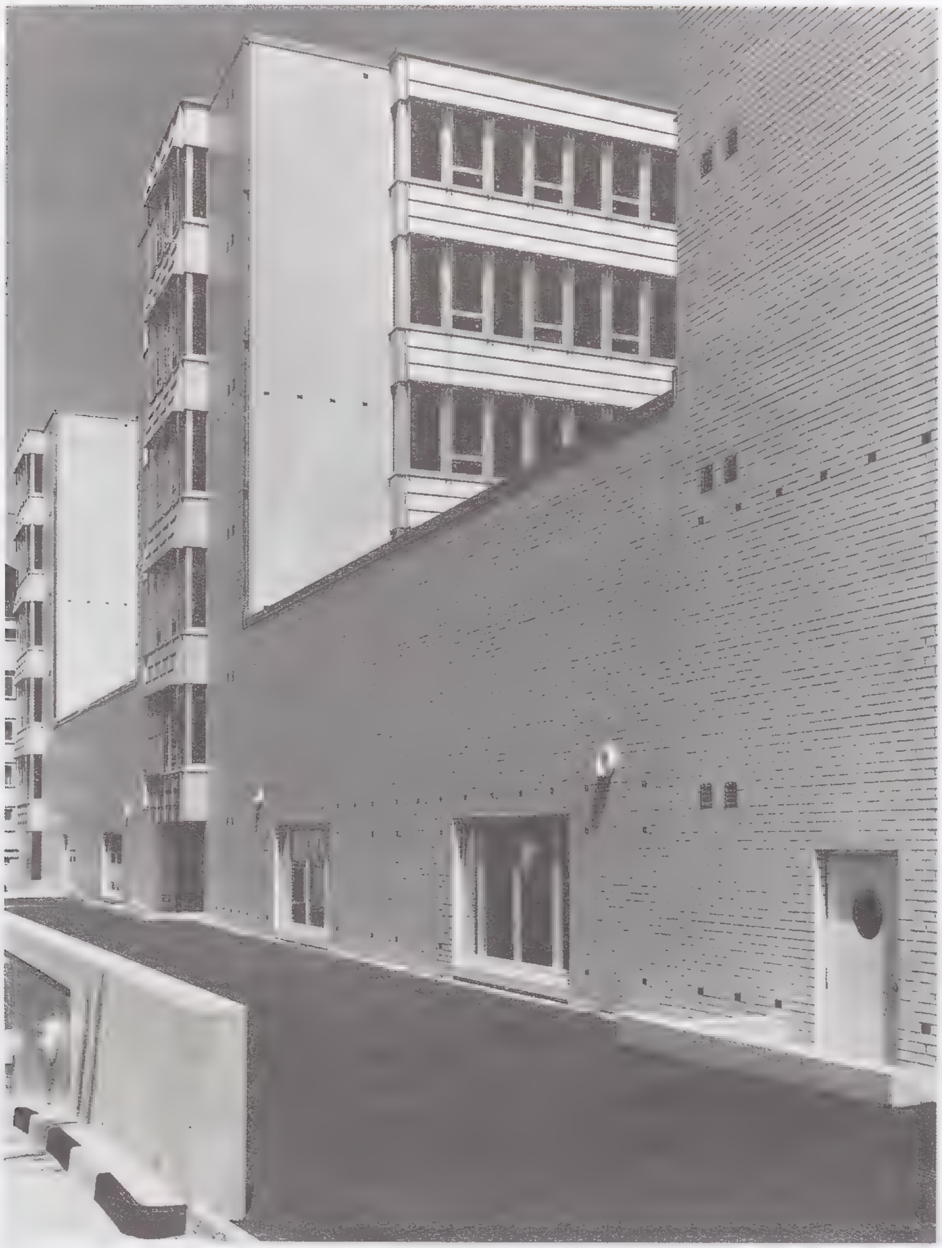


Vista del modello.
Foto R. Hut.
Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale.
Piante del piano terreno e secondo.

View of the model.
Photo R. Hut.
Longitudinal and cross-sections.
Plans of the ground and second floors.


WTC





Viste da sud e da est, dettaglio del portico di ingresso e vista interna della sala comune.

Views from south and east, detail of the entrance portico, interior view of the common room.



Romaldo Giurgola

St. Thomas Aquinas Parish Church, Charnwood, Canberra, Australia, 1989
Mitchell/Giurgola & Thorp Architects
Romaldo Giurgola, Robert Thorne, Pamille Berg

Foto J. Gollings

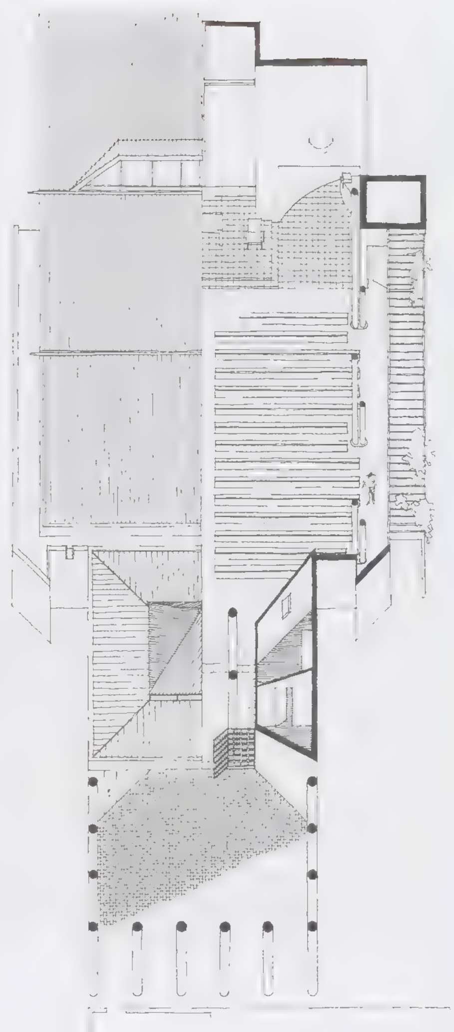


Vista del fronte posteriore e spaccato assonometrico.

View of the rear facade and axonometric cutaway.

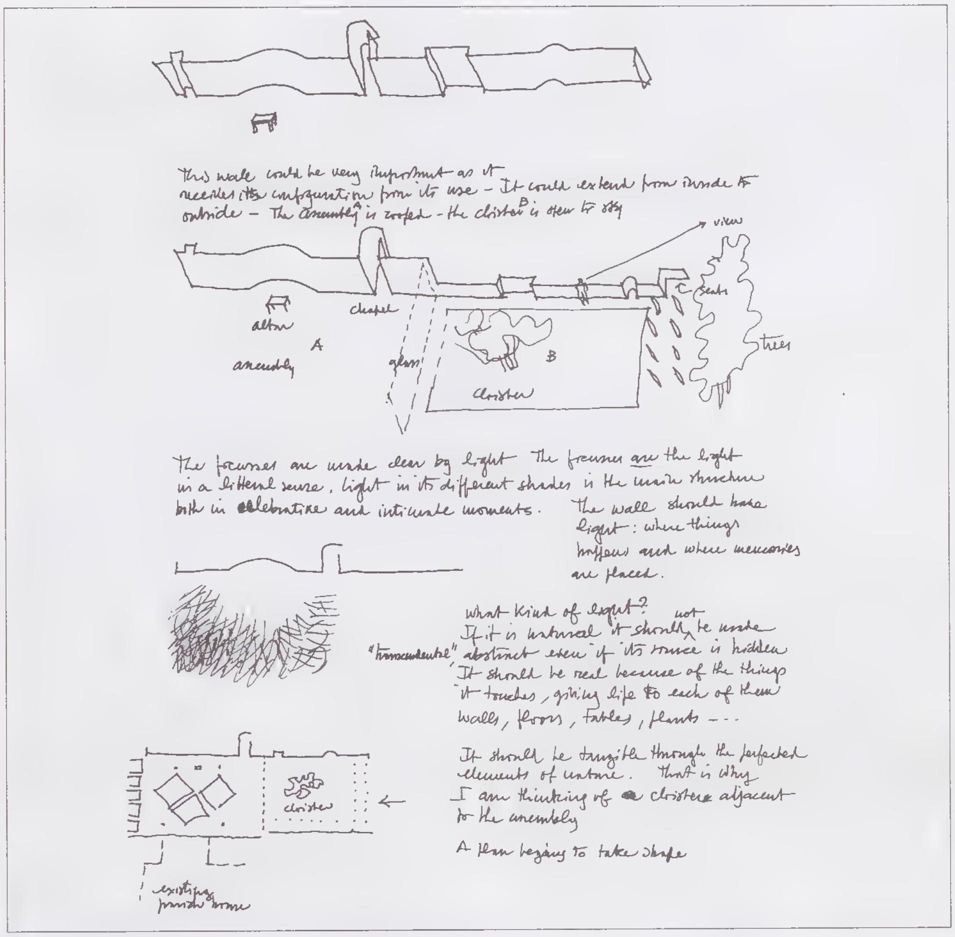
Chiesa parrocchiale San Tommaso d'Aquino, Charnwood, Canberra, Australia
Romaldo Giurgola

La Chiesa parrocchiale St. Thomas Aquinas a Charnwood è stata costruita con un *budget* limitato per ospitare una congregazione di 400 fedeli ed è adiacente a un Presbiterio e a una Scuola cattolica esistenti. La richiesta era di progettare una chiesa nella quale celebrare l'Eucarestia e altre cerimonie cristiane. Essa doveva essere al tempo stesso un luogo tranquillo per la contemplazione e la preghiera quotidiana e, quindi, testimonianza concreta della presenza di Dio nella comunità.
La chiesa è stata progettata sviluppando un itinerario suddiviso in tappe distinte. Le dodici, semplici colonne di legno della corte d'ingresso delimitano lo spazio sacro, predispongono la mente e lo spirito a coloro che vi entrano e simboleggiano le dodici tribù di Israele e le tradizioni religiose inerenti al Vecchio Testamento. Il nartece, di dimensioni raccolte, è un tranquillo spazio di transizione, un soglia di accesso alla navata, che rappresenta lo spazio principale dell'assemblea ecclesiale e il luogo della rivelazione. Anche le quattro colonne strutturali del nartece, di legno e rifinite a mano, sulle quali sono incisi i nomi dei quattro Evangelisti, rappresentano la transizione al nuovo mondo del Nuovo Testamento. Questo itinerario culmina nel Santuario, il luogo in cui si celebra il Sacramento.
L'elemento architettonico centrale nel progetto della chiesa è la presenza dell'alto muro bianco di mattoni del Santuario la cui suddivisione in tre parti distinte rappresenta la Trinità e riflette gli elementi più importanti del rituale: l'altare, il Santissimo Sacramento e la fonte battesimale. Dall'esterno, la prominenza del muro a est rivela la funzione degli spazi interni.
La forma architettonica della chiesa, le sue proporzioni e i materiali creano intenzionalmente una continuità con gli edifici adiacenti, mentre la corte a giardino, visibile attraverso le finestre della navata, rappresenta un luogo protetto e tranquillo per la contemplazione e per funzioni esterne quali i ricevimenti di nozze.
La chiesa ha un piano di costruzione in cemento e una struttura di acciaio e legno rivestita di materiali convenzionali: mattoni, cartongesso, tavole di legno per il soffitto, mattonelle di terracotta e tappeto per il pavimento. Per gli esterni sono stati impiegati materiali analoghi a quelli degli edifici circostanti tra i quali mattoni bianchi con finiture lisce e grezze, tegole rosse di cemento e pannelli da copertura bianchi Colorbond. La struttura della navata è costituita da profilati in acciaio a vista e coppie di colonne tonde che sostengono le alte pareti della navata e la copertura.
Gli architetti hanno chiesto la collaborazione di Kevin Perkins, un artigiano originario della Tasmania, che ha costruito le dodici colonne simboliche della corte di ingresso in legno di pino, con decorazioni a foglia nella parte superiore, le quattro colonne incise a mano e le travi del tetto del nartece, l'altare, la fonte battesimale, il leggio in legno di pino Huon e di mirto della Tasmania. Egli ha inoltre progettato e costruito solidi banchi in legno di quercia e di mirto della Tasmania. I banchi possono essere smontati in modo da agevolare la spedizione, il montaggio e i possibili interventi dei parrocchiani. Nella progettazione e costruzione della chiesa sono stati inoltre coinvolti Klaus Zimmer, autore della vetrata artistica, Graham Oldroyd, autore dei grandi pannelli curvi di ceramica vetrificata nella zona del tabernacolo, della vasca della fonte battesimale e dei vassoi che reggono le candele e l'acquasantiera, e Fay Skyring, che ha tessuto a mano le stoffe che rivestono l'altare.



St. Thomas Aquinas Parish Church, Charnwood, Canberra, Australia
Romaldo Giurgola

St. Thomas Aquinas Parish Church at Charnwood, constructed within a limited budget to seat a congregation of 400 people, is adjacent to an existing presbytery and Catholic school. The brief required the design of a church building in which to celebrate the Eucharist and other Christian ceremonies which would also be a quiet place for daily prayer and contemplation, thereby standing as concrete evidence of God's presence in the community. The church is designed around an itinerary of discrete events. The twelve simple timber columns of the entry court establish the sacred ground and prepare in mind and spirit those about to enter, as well as referring to the twelve tribes of Israel and the religious traditions inherent in the Old Testament. The intimately-scaled narthex forms a quiet transition space, a



Disegni di studio.
Vista laterale e vista interna.

Working drawings.
Lateral view and interior view.

threshold to the nave which is the primary space of assembly and the place of revelation. The four hand-finished structural timber columns of the narthex, incised with the names of the four Apostles, also represent the transition to the new world of the New Testament. This itinerary then culminates in the sanctuary, the place of celebration of the sacrament.
The primary architectural focus of the church's design is the presence of the soaring white brick wall of the sanctuary whose division into three identifiable parts represents the Trinity and reflects the most important elements of the ritual: the altar, the blessed sacrament, and the place of baptism. From the exterior, this visually prominent east wall reveals the function of the dedicated places of the interior.
The church's architectural form, scale, and materials intentionally create a continuity with the adjacent buildings, while the garden court, visible through windows from the nave, provides a quiet, enclosed garden for contemplation and open-air functions such as wedding receptions.
The design of the church employs a concrete slab with a steel and timber-framed structure lined in conventional materials of brick, plasterboard, timber ceiling boards, terra cotta floor tiles and carpet. Exterior materials reflect those used in the surrounding buildings including rough and smooth-faced white bricks, red concrete roof tiles and white Colorbond roof decking. The steel frame is expressed in the nave by exposed universal beams and round, coupled columns which support the high nave side walls and roof. Tasmanian craftsman Kevin Perkins was commissioned for collaborative design with the architects and fabrication of the twelve symbolic entry court celery top pine columns, the four hand-incised narthex columns and roof beams, the altar, baptismal font, and lectern in special Huon pine and Tasmanian myrtle, as well as design/fabrication of solid timber pews in Tasmanian oak and myrtle for the entire church. These pews were designed in "knock-down" form to allow shipment, final assembly, and finishing by parishioners. Other commissions for collaborative design and fabrication within the church were for Klaus Zimmer's stained glass window; Graham Oldroyd's large-scale curved glazed ceramic panels for the tabernacle area, baptismal font bowl, and candle/holy water vessels; and Fay Skyring's handwoven altar cloths.









James Gowan

Villa at Chester, Great Britain, 1982
James Gowan
Associate: Anthony McIntyre
Structural Engineer: Frank Newby

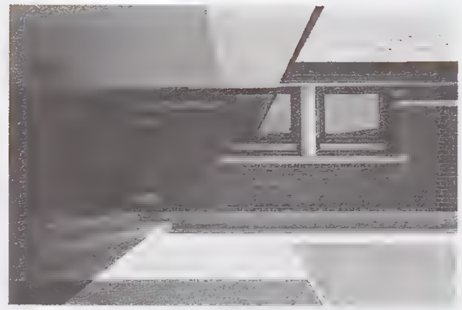
Istituto Clinico Humanitas, Milano, Italia, 1991-96
James Gowan and Renato Restelli (Techint)
Associates: Julian Cowie, Anthony McIntyre

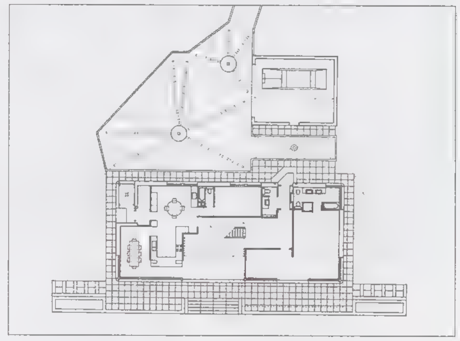
Una villa a Chester, Gran Bretagna
James Gowan

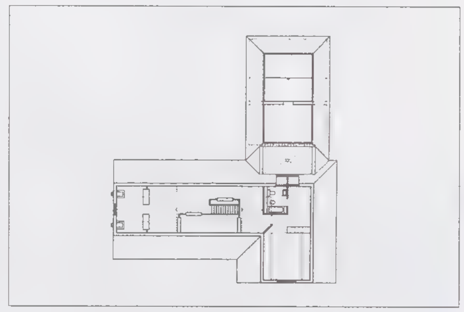
Christopher Hussey, in un suo scritto su Robert Lorimer (*Sir Robert Lorimer*, Londra 1931, pp. 36, 38, 56 e sgg.), non si limita a descrivere quale debba essere l'aspetto di una casa ma motiva le sue affermazioni. La casa deve essere costruita per durare."*Cerchi di comprendere, mio caro signore, che dopo la sua morte questa casa verrà ricordata a lungo come un mio progetto*". Radicata nel passato, la sua semplice iconografia ricorda i disegni dei bambini, e i suoi misteri l'atmosfera delle loro fiabe.
"*A poche miglia da Godalming, il giovane Mr. Lutyens e Miss Gertrude Jekyll discutevano insieme per fare in modo che case e giardini sorgessero da boschi di querce*".
La migliore descrizione della casa inglese si trova, non a caso, in un libro dedicato a un architetto scozzese. In questo contesto le distinzioni diventano importanti e vengono solitamente espresse in capitoli separati.
"*Tetti ad ampie falde, in alcuni punti abbassate con le loro tegole sporgenti fino a poggiare sui muri, la cornice di rovere del poggiolo e del balcone a veranda, la curiosa distanza delle piccole finestre, l'inserimento di un rivestimento di piombo in un bovindo secondario, sono sintomi di come Lorimer subisse profondamente la diffusa venerazione inglese per l'uso artigianale dei materiali semplici*". E occasionalmente c'è un accenno a qualcosa che non obbedisce pienamente al progetto. "*Alcuni di questi riferimenti sono ormai volgarizzati, ma altri rappresentano il materiale autentico dell'architettura inglese*". Le case dovevano ospitare oggetti del cui significato non siamo più consapevoli. Scrivendo a proposito di Lutyens, Hussey menziona il culto dell'antiquariato diffuso in epoca edwardiana. Gli oggetti d'antiquariato erano facilmente accessibili, anche a persone di estrazione modesta, e il compito dell'architetto era di offrire un contesto adeguato a questo tipo di raccolta. Stile ed epoca divennero così legati a istanze funzionali, un aspetto che non è necessario affrontare con clienti privi di interessi. In questo caso, meglio progettare per loro una cella dotata di termosifone. Lutyens ci rende particolarmente consapevoli di questo fardello di stili. Con un sistema assai curioso e metodico, egli li affronta tutti come volesse equipaggiarsi a spese altrui: e senza alcun torto, del resto. La casa e lo studio di Lutyens in Mansfield Street sono un'altra cosa, come spiega Mary Lutyens nel suo libro dedicato al padre (*Edwin Lutyens*, Londra 1980, p. 170). Dieci servitori, un pessimo cuoco, nessun tipo di riscaldamento, niente funzionante a dovere… e in mezzo a tutto ciò Lutyens progettava architetture immacolate… i campanelli di casa non funzionavano e quando i bambini volevano qualcosa dovevano sporgersi dalla balaustra delle scale e urlare. Le scale assolvono così a un'ulteriore funzione e riecheggiano al suono di cristalline voci inglesi … adatte a condurre un Impero e ad assecondare una nuova circostanza.

A villa at Chester, Great Britain
James Gowan

*Christopher Hussey, writing about Robert Lorimer (*Sir Robert Lorimer, *London 1931, pp. 36, 38, 56 e sgg.), not only gives an insight into what a house should look but also one or two of the reasons. It should be built to last.* "You must realise, my dear Sir, this house will be remembered as one of my designs long after you are dead". *Rooted in the past, its simple iconography is reasserted in children's drawings and its mysteries are interwoven with their fairy tales.* "Within a few miles of Godalming young Mr Lutyens and Miss Gertrude Jekyll were laying their heads together to get houses and gardens to grow out of oak woods." *Not surprisingly, the appearance of an English house can best be found in a book about a Scottish architect. There the distinctions become important and are usually served by separate chapters.*
"Far spreading roofs, extended down some of the walls in weather tiling, the oak framework in balcony and oriel window, the quaint spacing of the small windows, the introduction of a lead apron in a subsidiary bay window, are symptoms of how completely Lorimer subjected himself to the prevailing English cult for the craftsmanlike use of simple materials." *And occasionally there is the hint that everything has not quite gone to plan.* "Some of these resources have since become vulgarised, but others are still the true stuff of English architecture."
*Houses were required to accommodate things we are no longer aware of. In writing about Lutyens, Hussey mentions there was an antiquarian cult in the Edwardian period. Antiques were easily come by, even to people of moderate means, and the architect's job was to provide a fit setting for such an accumulation. Style and period then became locked with functional issues; a predicament which does not arise when the client is, say, naked and rootless. Then he can best be placed in a cell with a radiator, possibly. With Lutyens one is particularly aware of this burden of styles. He works progressively through them in a most curious and methodical manner as if he were equipping himself at another's expense; and where's the fault in that. Lutyens home and office at Mansfield Street was another matter, as Mary Lutyens describes it to us in her book about her father (*Edwin Lutyens, *London 1980, p. 170). Ten servants, bad cooking, no heat, nothing working properly… and in the midst of this muddle Lutyens was producing immaculate architecture… the house bells did not operate and when the children wanted anything they had to lean over the staircase and shout. The stair well takes on another purpose and echoes to the sound of strong clear English voices… well fitted to run an Empire and adapting to another circumstance.*





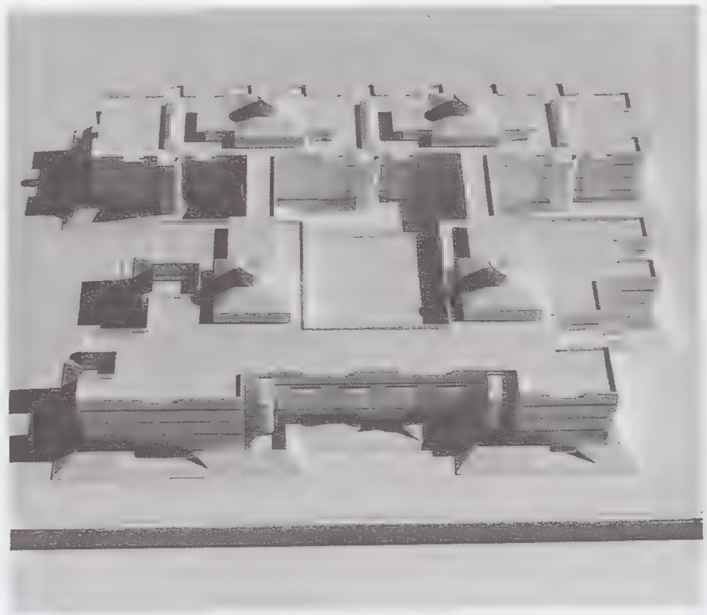


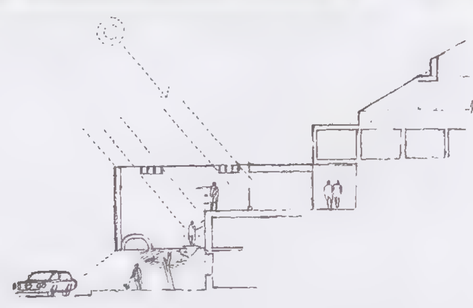
Villa a Chester, Gran Bretagna, 1982.
Viste esterne e dettaglio del portico di ingresso.
Piante del piano terreno e primo.

House in Chester, Great Britain, 1982.
Exterior views and detail of the entrance portico.
Plans of the ground and first floors.











Istituto Clinico "Humanitas", Milano, Italia
James Gowan

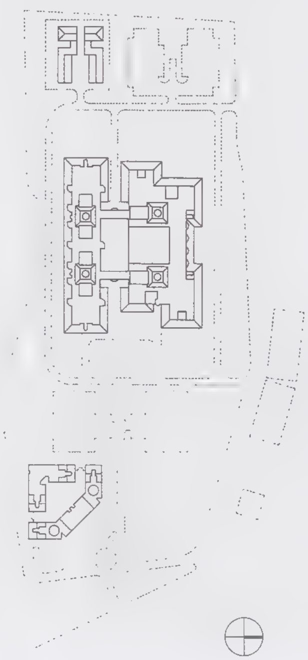
L'Istituto Clinico "Humanitas" è un ospedale di medie dimensioni, altamente specializzato e innovativo per quanto riguarda la gestione, l'assistenza ai degenti, gli insegnamenti postuniversitari, la ricerca e la formazione del personale. Soltanto il 20% delle strutture non è pubblico ma riservato a pazienti privati. L'ospedale è dotato di 306 posti letto destinati ai degenti e di 79 letti attrezzati. Lo staff è di 600 persone. Situato nella cintura sud di Milano, l'Ospedale occupa un'area di mq 40.000 in un sito di mq 85.000, fiancheggiato a est da una strada che lo collega al centro della città. L'edificio principale è concepito in modo compatto e si trova al centro del sito. Il blocco in cui si trovano i reparti è suddiviso in una serie di stanze private e occupa il lato sud del piano terreno, in posizione privilegiata in quanto rivolto alla campagna. In corrispondenza dell'ingresso principale, a est, si trovano le aree di parcheggio per i visitatori. A nord, un sentiero di campagna è stato trasformato in una strada secondaria che conduce a Rozzano.
La copertura è quasi interamente riservata agli impianti tecnici, elettrici e meccanici, ad eccezione di quattro lucernari circolari vetrati, che movimentano il profilo dell'edificio e sono disposti a marcare i punti di raccordo dei corridoi principali dei piani sottostanti. Il disegno della pianta si articola in una serie di rientranze e di sporgenze, distribuite in modo da favorire l'illuminazione naturale all'interno dell'edificio attenuando inoltre l'impatto visivo della massa compatta dell'edificio. Il piano inferiore, con le zone di servizio, è mascherato da un terrapieno erboso che riduce l'altezza apparente dell'edificio e il cui pendio asseconda la configurazione del terreno circostante.

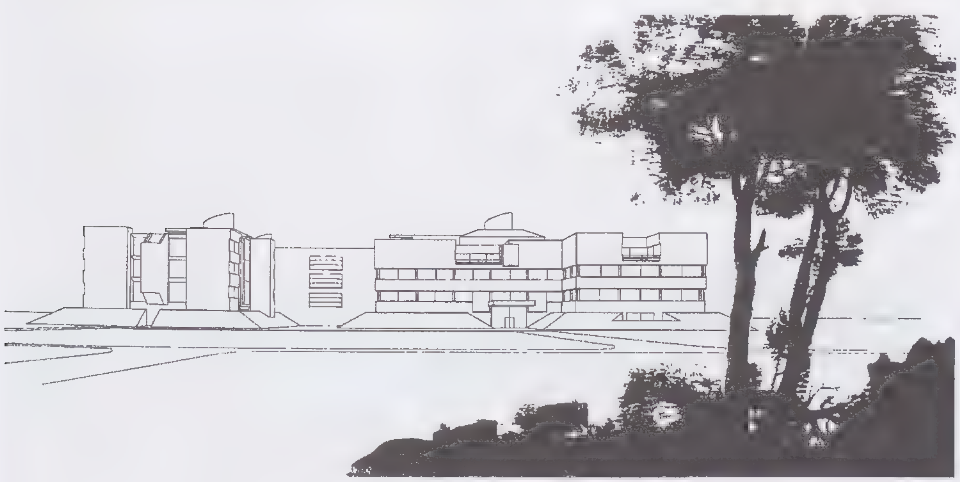
Istituto Clinico "Humanitas", Milan, Italy
James Gowan

The Istituto Clinico "Humanitas" is a medium-size hospital which combines a high degree of specialization with innovative management studies, patient care, post-graduate university teaching, research and personnel training. The greater part of the facility is available to the public apart from 20% that is reserved for patients with private health insurance arrangements. There is provision for 306 in-patient beds and 79 technical beds. Staff total 600.
Located on the southern perimeter of Milan, the site has an area of 85,000 sqm. and the hospital 40,000 sqm. A principal road to the city centre runs along the eastern boundary. The main building is arranged compactly and placed centrally on the site. Sub-divided into suites of private rooms and occupying the south side of the floor plan, the ward block has the prime position facing open countryside. On the east side, the main entrance is flanked by visitors car-parks. Staff cars are parked at the rear of the building against the west boundary, as is the independent boiler house. On the northern perimeter, a new minor road to Rozzano replaces an established rural pathway.
At the roof level, floor space is almost entirely dedicated to mechanical and electrical equipment, apart from four circular top-glazed rooflights which enliven the silhouette and pass through to mark the junctions of the main corridors on the floors below. A variety of recesses and promontories articulate the outline of the plan-form and are arranged to invite daylight into the body of the building and also to fragment the optical effect of its considerable bulk. The inclined grass banks mask the lower floor and its practicalities, reduce the apparent height of the building and provide a gentle transition into the lie of the land.

Istituto Clinico Humanitas, Milano, 1991-96.
Viste del lato delle degenze singole a sud e del lato nord.
Vista del modello, pianta del piano terreno e disegno di studio della sezione.
Prospettiva del lato est di ingresso.
Planivolumetria generale: al centro il blocco della clinica, in basso i blocchi residenziale e didattico.

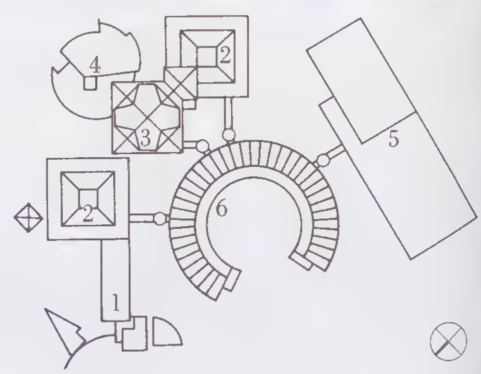
Istituto Clinico Humanitas, Milan, 1991-96.
Views of the side of the single rooms, to the south, and of the northern side. View of the model, plan of the ground floor, working drawing of the section.
Perspective of the eastern side with the entrance.
General planivolumetric: at the center the clinic, residential and educational facilities are located in the lower part.







Vico Magistretti



Centro Servizi della Cassa di Risparmio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma, Italia, 1983-85
Vico Magistretti
Progetto esecutivo, direzione lavori e costruzione: Austin Italia spa
Responsabili del progetto: Vincenzo Banzola (Cassa di Risparmio di Parma e Piacenza), Vincenzo Gasparini (Austin Italia spa)
Progetto del verde: Elena Balsari Berrone

Foto Conservatoria Beni artistici e storici Cassa di Risparmio di Parma e Piacenza (M. Carrieri, G. Amoretti)

Centro Servizi della Cassa di Risparmio, Parma, Italia
Vico Magistretti

In un progetto grande e molto complesso come quello della Cassa di Risparmio di Parma il mio compito è stato, soprattutto all'inizio, quello di ascoltare tutte le necessità, le osservazioni, i suggerimenti sia della Committenza che della Austin. Un progetto di questo tipo non può essere affrontato da una sola persona e lo spirito di collaborazione è l'unico che può garantire una riuscita.
Io penso di essere stato fortunato, sia con la Committenza che con l'esecutrice ed il mio compito è stato molto facilitato dalla loro disponibilità ad ascoltare, a loro volta, le mie ipotesi di lavoro, le mie analisi e le mie proposte di soluzione: ricordo che, dopo ore di riunione, proposi, come ipotesi, quella che è poi divenuta la chiave, la sigla del progetto – lo sviluppo di tutte le centrali per la fornitura di energia in un unico gigantesco anello centrale, nucleo baricentrico di tutta la composizione – e ricordo la mia soddisfazione quando la vidi vagliata, accolta, e, infine, accettata. Mi è stato consentito di cucire e concludere tutte le notizie e le informazioni ricevute dando forma architettonica ad un oggetto concreto.
Gli schizzi iniziali credo esprimano anche meglio dei moltissimi disegni esecutivi il criterio informatore di funzione e di immagine dell'organismo edilizio.
Un gruppo di satelliti (uffici, sala *computer*, sale riunioni e mensa, filiale bancaria, magazzeni) gravita in orbita circolare attorno all'anello centrale degli impianti per la fornitura di energia.
Un'iconografia semplice, riassunta in pochi segni, e realizzata con materiali (mattoni, rame, marmo) accordati al paesaggio della campagna appenninica digradante verso Parma.
L'edificio, quasi una città, è nato così, come una macchina, seguendo una gerarchia anche espressiva che, partendo dalla centrale di fornitura dell'energia (il grande anello baricentrico a tutti gli edifici), prosegue nelle torri e nei ponti blu dove i flussi di energia scorrono nelle canalizzazioni ispezionabili dovunque, per terminare nelle grandi aree di lavoro e soprattutto nella grande sala *computer* segnata dalla copertura a piramidi in rame.
È stata una buona esperienza di lavoro e di collaborazione: ancora una volta è risultato verissimo il detto di un grande trattatista del passato: il padre dell'opera è l'architetto ma la madre è il committente.

Service Center of the Cassa di Risparmio, Parma, Italy
Vico Magistretti

In a large and very complex project like that of the Cassa di Risparmio of Parma my task, especially at the beginning, was to listen to all the requirements, the observations, the suggestions of the client and of the contractor, Austin. One person alone cannot hope to take on a project of this type, and a spirit of collaboration is necessary for a successful result. I feel I was lucky, both in terms of the client and the contractor, and my task was greatly facilitated by their willingness, in turn, to listen to my working hypotheses, analyses and proposals of solutions: I recall that after many hours of meetings I proposed, as a hypothesis, what was to become the key, the signature of the project: the arrangement of all the plants for the furnishing of energy in a single, gigantic central ring, the center of gravity and nucleus of the entire composition. And I recall my satisfaction when this proposal was evaluated, discussed and, in the end, accepted. I was permitted to piece together and conclude all the bits of information received, giving architectonic form to a concrete object.
I feel that the initial sketches, more than the great number of executive drawings, express the criterion of function and image of the constructed organism.
A group of satellites (offices, computer room, conference rooms, dining hall) gravitate in circular orbit around the central ring of the power plant units.
A simple iconography, summed up in a few signs, in materials (brick, copper, marble) that blend with the landscape of the Appennine countryside, sloping toward Parma.
The edifice, almost a city, was born in this way, like a machine, in keeping with what is also a hierarchy of expression, starting with the power plant (the ring which is the center of gravity for all the edifices), moving on to the towers and the blue bridges where the flow of energy passes in channels which can be opened for inspection at any point, and finishing in the large work areas and, above all, in the large computer room, with its copper pyramid roofing. This has been a good experience of work and collaboration: once again, the motto of a great treatise-writer of the past is applicable: the father of the work is the architect, but its mother is the client.

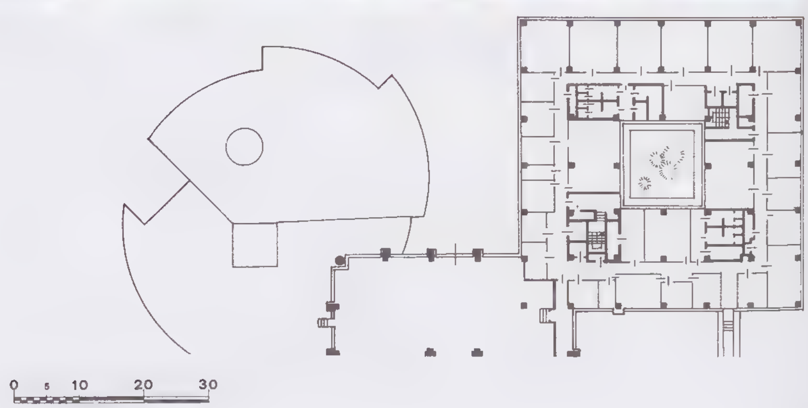


Vista da ovest con in primo piano l'anello delle centrali energetiche e tecnologiche e vista generale da nordest.
Planimetria generale: 1) ingresso e filiale bancaria; 2) uffici; 3) computer room; 4) sale riunioni, mensa, auditorium; 5) magazzini, archivi; 6) centrali energetiche e tecnologiche.

View from the west with the central ring of the technological and power plant units in the foreground and general view from the northeast.
General planimetric: 1) entrance and branch office of the bank; 2) offices; 3) computer room; 4) conference rooms, dining hall, auditorium; 5) storage rooms, archives; 6) power and technological plant units.

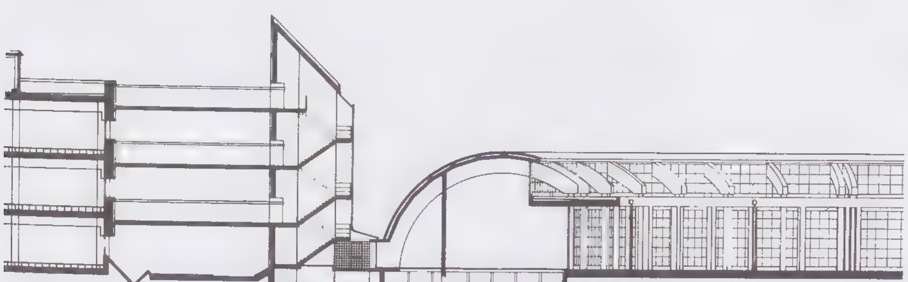





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Viste esterne e di dettaglio e vista interna dell'anello delle centrali energetiche e tecnologiche.
Pianta di un corpo uffici, prospetto sudest e sezione dell'anello delle centrali energetiche e tecnologiche.

External and detail views of the ring of the power and technological plant units.
Plan of an office block, southeast elevation and section of the ring of the power and technological plant units.



Angelo Mangiarotti

Viste da sud e da ovest.

Views from the south and the west.

Sede della Internazionale Marmi e Macchine, Carrara, Italia, 1989-93
Angelo Mangiarotti
Strutture: BCV

Sede della Internazionale Marmi e Macchine, Carrara, Italia
Angelo Mangiarotti

L'edificio sede della Internazionale Marmi e Macchine rappresenta una tappa significativa della ricerca progettuale svolta nel campo dei materiali lapidei.
Il progetto si compone di due elementi. Il primo, appoggiato al suolo, comprende gli ingressi, un ristorante di 60 posti, un *self-service* di 260 posti e i servizi annessi. Si tratta di un volume compatto rivestito interamente in cardoso e la cui continuità è interrotta soltanto dalle piccole finestre quadrate, dalle rampe delle scale e dalla serra del ristorante che emerge dal corpo. Il secondo elemento è costituito invece da un padiglione realizzato sulla piattaforma risultante dalla copertura dei ristoranti, posizionata a m 4 di altezza. È proprio questo elemento superiore a costituire la parte più interessante per quanto riguarda la ricerca progettuale.
La copertura in particolare presenta caratteristiche molto peculiari. Essa è realizzata con una struttura in acciaio costituita da due travi principali, sorrette da otto pilastri e da otto travi secondarie, sulle quali appoggiano voltine di marmo (bianco di Carrara) di cm 6 di spessore, m 5 di luce e m 1 di larghezza. Le voltine sono costituite da due lastre curve di m 2,5, vincolate al colmo tra loro e al piede con la trave a cassone, in modo da configurare un arco a tre cerniere. Le lastre sono ottenute da grandi blocchi mediante taglio con macchine a controllo numerico. Questa tecnologia, nuova per il settore della lavorazione dei materiali lapidei, ha consentito la realizzazione di lastre arcuate, utilizzando al meglio tutto il materiale. Contrastate dalle travi di acciaio a cassone (va ricordato che il padiglione sorge in zona sismica), queste voltine lapidee costituiscono la struttura della copertura. Si tratta di un'applicazione, unica per ora, del marmo con funzione strutturale che emerge da una lunga ricerca.
Grazie alle tecnologie di lavorazione innovative utilizzate per la costruzione delle lastre di copertura, in questo progetto sono state messe in evidenza risorse-prestazioni che non si pensava potessero essere attribuite ai materiali lapidei, aprendo così una strada ricca di possibilità espressive e strutturali nel loro impiego, una strada tracciata a partire dagli eccellenti riscontri ottenuti con le prove di carico (il collaudo è stato effettuato con un sovraccarico di kg 2000 distribuito su una voltina di dimensioni m 5 di lunghezza e m 1 di larghezza).
Per quanto centrale, l'impiego innovativo di un materiale antico come il marmo non è tuttavia il solo aspetto saliente di questo edificio. La concezione compositiva e spaziale si fonda infatti su due presupposti paradigmatici.
Innanzitutto la chiarezza costruttiva. L'attenzione per l'innovazione non si traduce nella ricerca a tutti i costi di un'immagine "tecnologica", ma al contrario si confronta con un'idea costruttiva radicata nella storia dell'architettura: il trilite.
In secondo luogo, la netta separazione della struttura dello spazio abitabile interno dalla struttura esterna che sorregge la copertura. In questo caso il riferimento è a un'architettura caratterizzata da un duplice rapporto con il suo contesto. Da un lato una struttura forte e permanente (i pilastri con la copertura) in grado di determinare il carattere dell'edificio; dall'altra un'aggregazione spaziale debole in grado di suggerire una sorta di temporaneità nella distribuzione degli spazi da abitare rispetto alla sovrastruttura che li copre.

Headquarters of Internazionale Marmi e Macchine, Carrara, Italy
Angelo Mangiarotti

The main building of Internazionale Marmi e Macchine represents a significant phase in the design research on stone materials. The project is composed of two elements. The first, resting on the ground, includes the entrances, a restaurant seating 60 persons, a cafeteria for 260, and connected service areas. This is a compact volume entirely faced in cardoso, *whose continuity is interrupted only by small square windows, the staircases and the protruding "greenhouse" of the restaurant. The second element is a pavilion built on the platform created by the roofing of the restaurants, four meters above ground level. This is the element of greatest interest in terms of design research.*
The roofing, in particular, has very unusual characteristics. It is made with a steel structure composed of two main beams, supported by eight pillars, and eight secondary beams, on which marble vaults (white Carrara) are placed measuring 6 cm in thickness, 5 meters in span, and 1 meter in width. These small vaults are composed of two curved 2.5 meter slabs, connected to each other at the top and at the foot with the caisson beam, forming a three-jointed arch. The slabs are cut out of large blocks by numerically-controlled machines. This technology, only recently employed in the sector of stonecutting, has made it possible to produce arched slabs, while optimizing the use of the material. In contrast with the steel caisson beams (it should be noted that the building is in a zone of seismic activity), these small stone vaults constitute the structure of the roofing. This represents a unique (for the time being) structural application of marble, and the result of lengthy research.
Thanks to the innovative technologies used for the production of the roofing slabs, this project

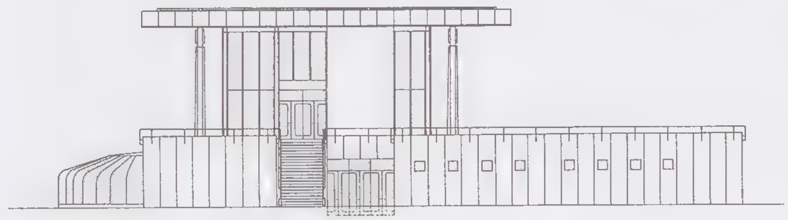


draws attention to resources and performance characteristics which were not considered possible in stone materials, opening the way for a wide range of expressive and structural developments in the use of stone. The structure has stood up to severe testing (supporting excess weight of 2000 kg distributed on a vault measuring 5 x 1 m.).

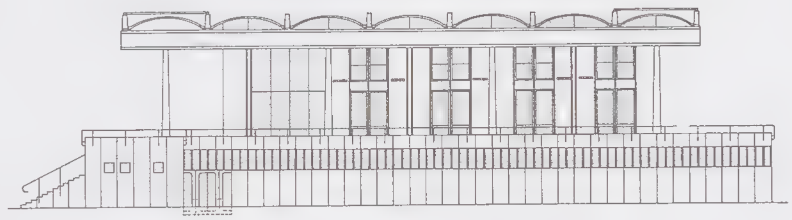
Although of central importance, the innovative utilization of an ancient material like marble is not the only salient aspect of this edifice. The compositional and spatial conception is based, in fact, on two paradigmatic premises.

First of all, constructive clarity. The focus on innovation does not become a pursuit, at all costs, of a "technological" image; on the contrary, the application comes to terms with an idea that is rooted in the history of architecture: the trilith.

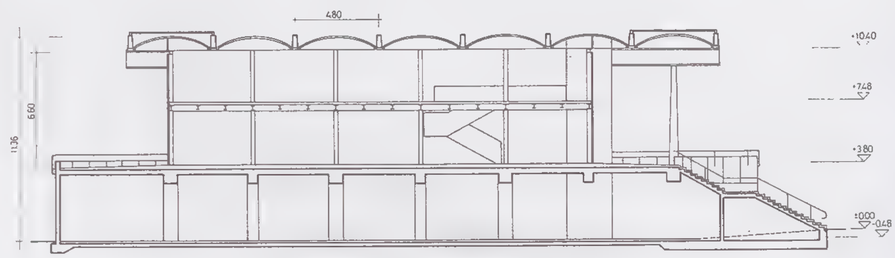
Second, the clear separation of the structure of the inhabitable interior from the external structure that supports the roof. In this case the reference is to a dual relation to the context. On the one hand, a strong, permanent structure (the pillars and the roof) capable of defining the character of the edifice; on the other, a weak spatial aggregation capable of suggesting a sort of temporary character in the arrangement of the internal spaces with respect to the superstructure that shelters them.



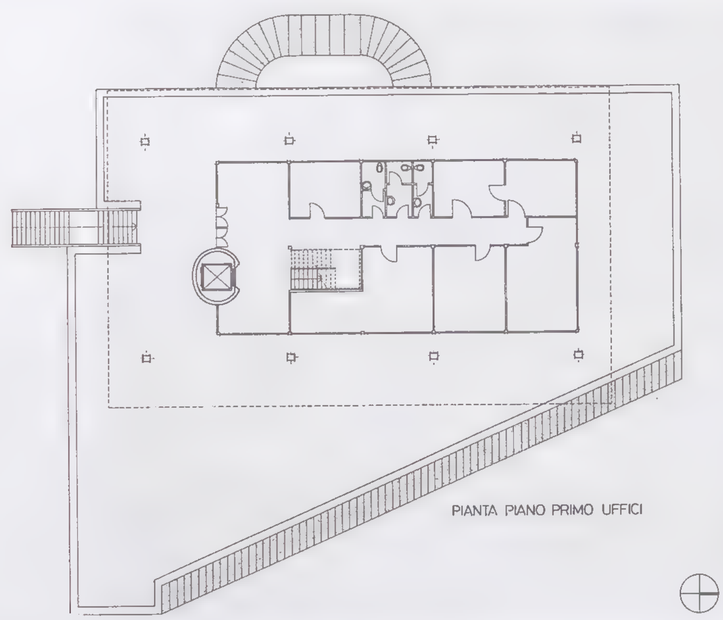
PROSPETTO SUD



PROSPETTO EST



SEZIONE LONGITUDINALE



PIANTA PIANO PRIMO UFFICI



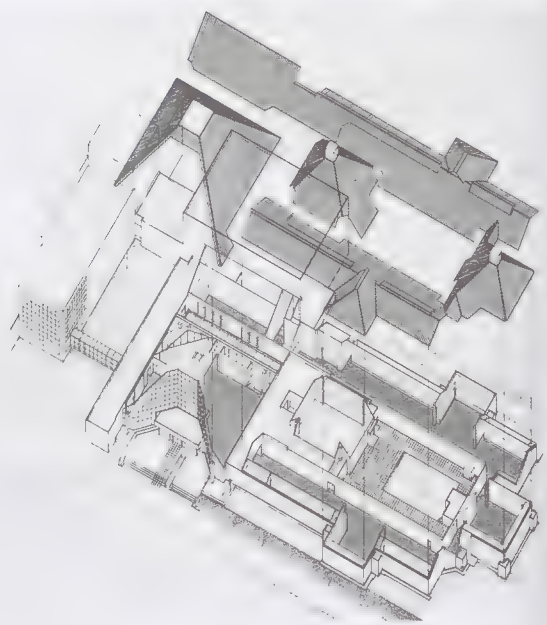


Prospetti sud ed est, sezione longitudinale e pianta del primo piano a uffici.
Viste del padiglione superiore.

South and east elevations, longitudinal section and plan of the first floor for offices.
Views of the upper pavilion.



Masato Otaka



Gunma Prefectural Museum of History, 1979
Masato Otaka
Structure: Toshihiko Kimura
Facilities: Kagaku-oyou Reidan
Display: Tansei-sha

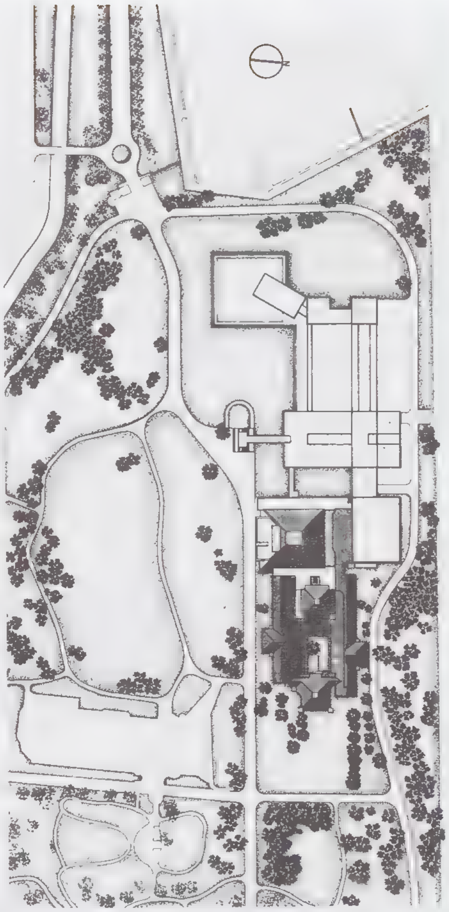
Fukushima Prefectural Museum of Art, 1984
Masato Otaka
Structure: Shigeru Aoki
Facilities: Kagaku-oyou Reidan / Otaki Sethubi

Photos ShinKenchiku-sha

Due correnti contrastanti della nostra opera architettonica

Masato Otaka

Ogni nostra opera è catalogata in base al simbolo "pAu": "p" sta per prefabbricazione, "A" per arte e architettura; "u" per urbanistica. Le lettere simboleggiano la caratteristica principale di ogni lavoro.
Delle opere che qui presentiamo, i Musei di Gunma e Fukushima appartengono alla categoria "A", la Biblioteca di Chiba e il Centro congressi di Tochigi alla categoria "p".
A Gunma e Fukushima abbiamo cercato di realizzare una nuova architettura "locale", con coperture a grandi falde inserite in uno splendido, tipico scenario giapponese.
Il Museo Storico di Gunma è immerso nella fitta foresta del Parco provinciale "Gunma no mori", accanto al Museo d'Arte Moderna progettato da Arata Isozaki. I due edifici hanno stili contrastanti. Alla forma cubica, tipicamente modernista, del Museo d'Arte Moderna, il Museo Storico oppone uno stile ispirato a un concetto, per così dire, di "localismo moderno", con tetti spioventi sovrapposti come in un Tempio Buddista. Il pavimento e i muri dell'edificio sono in *Kawara* – il tipico mattone giapponese – e in granito locale e il progetto sembra ispirato all'architettura tradizionale, pur utilizzando, a fianco di elementi della tradizione, tecniche costruttive e dettagli innovativi.
Il Museo d'Arte di Fukushima si trova nei pressi del monte Shinobu, nel bacino di Fukushima, in un paesaggio montuoso.
Per questo progetto ci siamo ispirati al tema del "*Shakkei*" – l'arte giapponese tradizionale di disegnare i giardini –, adottando grandi tetti diagonali che si stagliano contro la montagna.
A Chiba e a Tochigi il tema è la prefabbricazione.
Per la Biblioteca di Chiba abbiamo cercato di realizzare uno spazio libero attraverso una struttura di pilastri e travi in cemento prefabbricati, elaborando un sistema che abbiamo chiamato "metodo pre-griglia". Le innumerevoli combinazioni rese possibili da questi elementi prefabbricati in cemento hanno consentito di creare diverse tipologie di spazi secondo le differenti esigenze funzionali.
Per il Centro congressi di Tochigi abbiamo invece adottato diversi tipi di sistemi prefabbricati. La struttura principale è stata realizzata con grandi pilastri e travi di cemento armato, e dentro questa struttura principale i locali interni sono stati risolti con strutture secondarie posate o sospese.
Avvalendoci di questi due stili di prefabbricazione siamo riusciti da un lato a garantire la resistenza dell'edificio usando prodotti industriali, dall'altro a proporre una nuova rappresentazione dell'architettura per la nuova Età Industriale.





Museo Storico della Prefettura di Gunma, Giappone, 1979.
Vista dal giardino interno e vista di dettaglio.
Planimetria generale e spaccato assonometrico.

Gunma Prefectural Museum of History, Japan, 1979.
View of the internal garden, and of a particular.
General planimetric and axonometric cutaway.

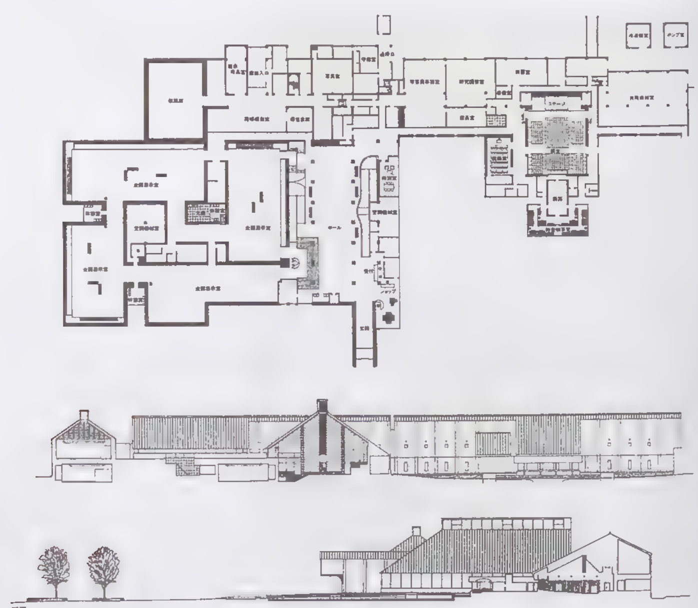


Museo d'Arte della Prefettura di Fukushima, Giappone, 1984.
Viste esterne e interna.
Pianta e sezioni.

Fukushima Prefectural Museum of Art, Japan, 1984.
Exterior and interior views.
Plan and sections.

Two contrasting currents in our architectural works
Masato Otaka

We use symbols (p,A,u) to classify our architectural works, letters placed before the numbers: p for prefabrication, A for art & architecture, u for urban planning. The letters indicate the dominant theme of each work.
In the works presented here, Gunma and Fukushima are typical cases for category A; Chiba and Tochigi belong to category p.
At Gunma and Fukushima, we have attempted to formulate a new localistic architecture, with diagonal roofs surrounded by beautiful Japanese scenery.
In the deep forest of the "Gunma no mori" prefectural park stands the Gunma Museum of History, alongside the Museum of Modern Art designed by Arata Isozaki.
These two buildings have contrasting styles. The cubical forms of the museum are different from those of the Museum of History, which is more conceptual, based on a kind of modern localism; the overlapping roofings are similar to those of a Buddhist temple.
Kawara *(traditional Japanese brick) and local granite are used for the walls and flooring of this building. The design of the building reflects traditional Japanese architectural style. But the innovative engineering and details of the edifice take the tradition one step further.*
The Fukushima Art Museum is located near the famous Mt. Shinobu, in the Fukushima valley, surrounded by the topographical features of the mountain landscape.
For this work we have focused on the theme of the "shakkei"*, or traditional design methodology of the Japanese garden. The result is a large diagonal configuration of roofs, set against the greenery of the mountains.*
In Chiba and Tochigi, on the other hand, our theme is prefabrication.
For the library of Chiba we have tried to build free space using pre-cast concrete pillars and beams. We have given the system a name: "Pre-Grid Method". The combination of the PC units of the system permits the creation of different spatial typologies, in keeping with the functional requirements of the edifice.
For the Tochigi Prefectural Congress Hall we worked with a different type of prefabrication system. Here the main structure of the large pillars and beams is in RC concrete, to support the rooms, which are rested or suspended on the structure.
Our objectives in the development of these two systems of prefabricated construction were, on the one hand, to improve building efficiency by using industrial products and, on the other, to reformulate a representation of the architecture of the new Industrial Age.









Claude Parent

Centre d'Animation L'Aéronef, Roissypole, Paris, France, 1993-94
Claude Parent
Assistant: Christian Morandi
Conseiller Artistique et Coloriste: Chloé Parent

Foto P. Maurer

Viste da sud dell'ingresso e da ovest delle strutture di copertura.

Views from the south of the entrance, and from the west of the roofing structure.

L'*Aéronef*: centro di animazione di Roissypole, Parigi, Francia
Claude Parent

La zona di Roissypole sorge su un grande percorso pedonale per i passeggeri, che conduce dall'attuale stazione RER a una stazione assai più importante, vero cuore della composizione, che mette in connessione TGV, RER e trasporti locali. Non si tratta dunque di lavorare sulla configurazione dell'aeroporto ma di organizzare, in parallelo allo sviluppo di Roissy 2, una sequenza di spazi urbani dove, attorno a piazze, *esplanade* e un grande percorso alberato, si articolino dei pezzi di città, che per ambientamento e dimensioni contrastino con quella assenza di spazio che caratterizza le piste di volo. Benché l'essenza di Roissypole consista nello spettacolo del traffico aereo, che ne costituisce la stessa ragion d'essere e la principale attrazione, è necessario fare in modo che i frequentatori e i lavoratori di questi luoghi avvertano un senso di protezione rispetto alle loro attività.
Per ottenere una condizione di vita urbana è necessario creare, attraverso l'organizzazione degli edifici, delle correnti di movimento delle persone: è con questo obbiettivo che è stata concepita l'*Aéronef*, centro di animazione di Roissypole. Situata all'uscita della stazione RER, di fronte alla sede dell'Air France, l'*Aéronef* è un elemento emergente all'interno della figura ad arco descritta dal complesso di uffici, in corso di realizzazione, denominato la "*Coupole*". Il centro di animazione si trova dunque nel punto focale di interventi già ultimati o in via di realizzazione. Sviluppato su due piani, esso collega la "strada alta" della "*Coupole*" con il grande percorso pedonale dei passeggeri, costituendo il fulcro delle comunicazioni della prima parte di Roissypole. Luogo di passaggio obbligato sia in senso orizzontale che verticale, esso sorge curiosamente nel punto esatto della piegatura degli assi planimetrici e compositivi dell'aeroporto di Roissy.
Come ogni altro snodo di comunicazione, l'*Aéronef* deve: mostrare un'estetica conforme al programma di un luogo vitale, di contatti e di concorso di pubblico; manifestarsi architettonicamente come un segnale, affinché una funzione ricettiva possa tramutarsi anche in una funzione di richiamo sul grande percorso pedonale dei passeggeri.
Ne risulta una forma complessiva articolata in volumi frantumati e sbilanciati nel vuoto, rivestiti su due ali con pannelli metallici nervati. Queste due ali, con forte angolazione, interpretano la piegatura dell'asse compositivo di Roissy, segnalando da un lato l'entrata alla stazione RER e dall'altro la corda dell'arco definito dalla "*Coupole*", che a sua volta funge da elemento di arricchimento dell'*Aéronef*.
Questa violenza, questo tumulto di volumi è rafforzato con colori forti e contrastanti al fine di accentuare l'effetto segnaletico in un contesto trattato in modo deliberatamente discreto con tonalità grigie.











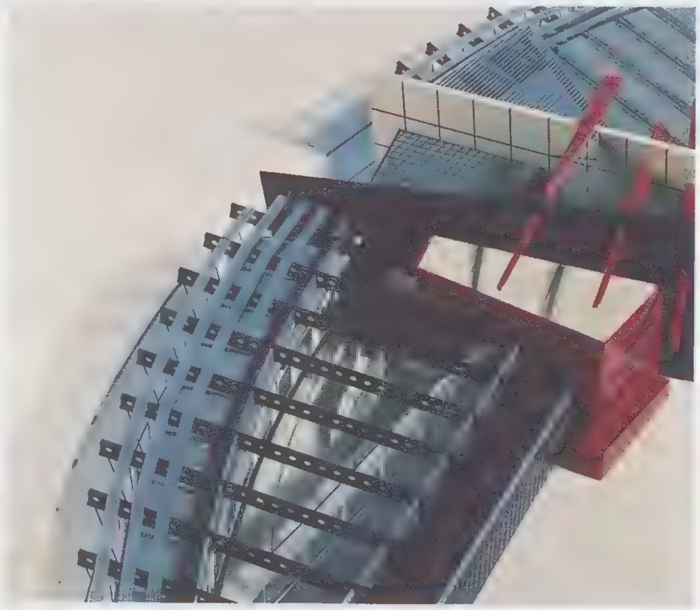
Aéronef: ***animation center at Roissypole, Paris, France***
Claude Parent

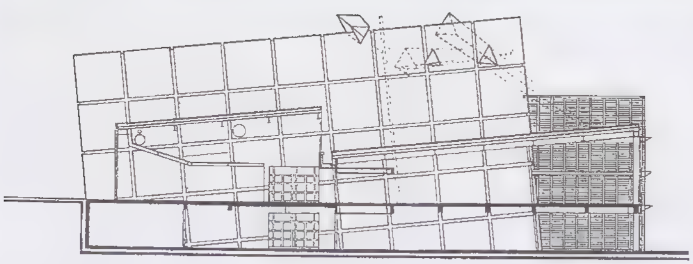
The Roissypole zone stands along a large pedestrian walkway for passengers, leading from the present RER station to a much more important station, the true heart of the composition, the connection point among TGV, RER and local transport. Thus the project does not involve work on the configuration of the airport, but on the organization, in parallel with Roissy 2, of a sequence of urban spaces where, around squares, esplanades and a large tree-lined walkway, pieces of city are arranged, which in their size and environmental quality create a contrast with the spatial void of the runways. Although the essence of Roissypole lies in the spectacle of airborn traffic, which is its reason for being and main attraction, it is necessary to act in such a way the people passing through or working in these places can feel a sense of protection with respect to their activities.
In order to obtain a condition of urban life it is necessary to create, through the organization of the edifices, currents of movement of people: this is the aim behind the conception of the Aéronef, *the animation center of Roissypole.*
Situated at the exit of the RER station, in front of the offices of Air France, the Aéronef *is an element that emerges from the arch outlined by the office complex, now under construction, called* "Coupole"*. Therefore the animation center stands at the focal point of projects which have already been built, or are now under construction. The two-storey complex connects the "high road" of the* "Coupole" *with the large pedestrian walkway for the passengers: thus it can be viewed as the fulcrum of communication of the first part of Roissypole. A place of obligatory passage both in horizontal and vertical terms, it stands, curiously enough, at the precise point of juncture of the planimetric and compositional axes of the Roissy airport.*
Like any other communications junction, the Aéronef *must: express an aesthetic suitable for a vital place, a place of public contact and passage; express an architectural signal in order that a hospitality function can also become a function of attraction along the large pedestrian walkway for the passengers.*
The result is an overall form articulated in fragmented volumes, unbalanced in the void, faced on the two wings with ribbed metal panels. These two wings, at sharp angles, interpret the angle of the compositional axis of Roissy, marking, on the one hand, the entrance to the RER station and, on the other, the arch defined by the "Coupole" *which, in turn, becomes an element that enhances the* Aéronef*. This violence, this tumult of volumes is accentuated by strong, contrasting colors, underlining the signage effect in a context which is deliberately discreet, with gray tones.*





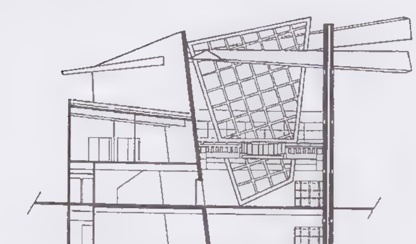






Viste da sud e dall'alto.
Vista interna e viste del modello.
Pianta e sezioni trasversali.

Views from the south and from above.
Interior view and views of the model.
Plan and cross-sections.





Leonardo Ricci

Palazzo di Giustizia di Savona, Italia, 1972-1981
Leonardo Ricci
con Maria Grazia Dallerba Ricci, Andrea Ricci (collaboratore)

Vista da ovest e vista interna dell'atrio.
Sezioni trasversali.

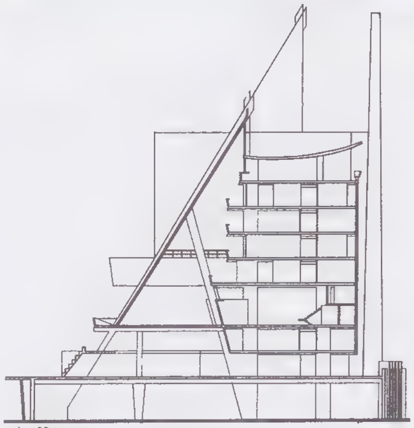
View from the west and interior view of the main hall.
Transversal section.

Palazzo di Giustizia, Savona, Italia
Leonardo Ricci
(testo di Bruno Zevi)

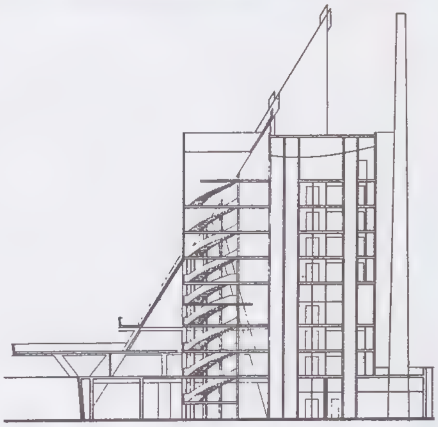
"*Quello del Tribunale è uno spazio specifico in cui deve svolgersi serenamente il dibattito fra giusto e ingiusto, fra legge accusatrice e legge di difesa, fra orrore e comprensione umana, fra guerra interna e pace. È uno spazio sacrale nel senso etimologico del termine, in quanto giudice e imputato, pubblico ministero e avvocati, parte civile e pubblico sono gli elementi di un dramma…*".
Leonardo Ricci, 1972



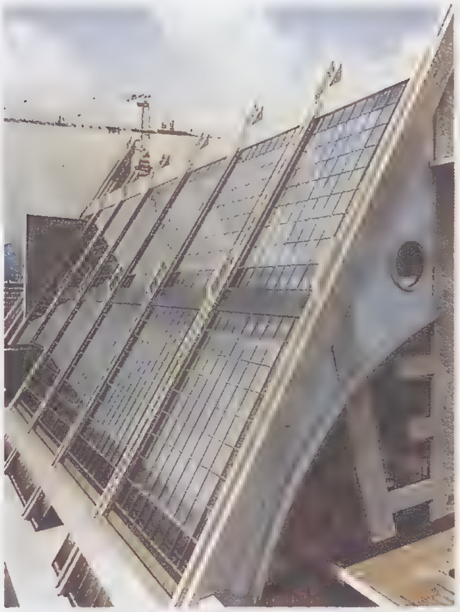
L'edificio va a far parte di un nuovo cuore di Savona, di cui la città necessita dato lo sproporzionato rapporto fra l'espansione urbana ed il vecchio, limitatissimo centro storico; quindi partecipa di una realtà nuova, in divenire, in rapporto con la città e con l'adiacente parco attrezzato. L'organismo non si presenta con una sola facciata, ma con prospetti vari che si relazionano in funzione dell'intorno specifico: verso la città il prospetto si profila in senso "rinascimentale", molto elaborato a livello grafico; verso il parco la facciata è costituita da una grande vetrata inclinata che gioca col verde circostante; a nord l'opera termina con la "vela", timpano significativo di chiusura del volume della basilica; a sud con l'aula magna e la sua forma a quarto di cerchio. L'edificio è sospeso su una piazza coperta, che permette la concentrazione degli accessi in un solo blocco e quindi la loro facile sorveglianza e, nello stesso tempo, un'osmosi con la città e con il parco; una piazza che vive anche quando il palazzo non è funzionante, prolungamento del parco e luogo di sosta. L'impianto generale dell'organizzazione interna è stato elaborato dai progettisti con gli esperti dell'Amministrazione comunale, i magistrati e gli avvocati. La "basilica" è il cuore di tutto l'organismo, quello che gli dà senso: è uno spazio che collega tutte le funzioni, su cui si affacciano tutti i piani: in quota le aule, ai piani superiori pretura, tribunale civile e penale, procura. Per far sentire il pubblico partecipe di tutto l'organismo, i percorsi a loggia si affacciano sempre nello spazio basilicale. Il crescendo plastico del complesso è ottenuto trattando il basamento con un muro in cemento armato e mattoni: i *curtain walls*, anziché di solo vetro, sono variati secondo le funzioni interne (aule, uffici, archivi, basilica).
(da Bruno Zevi, *Linguaggi dell'architettura contemporanea*, Etaslibri, Milano 1993)

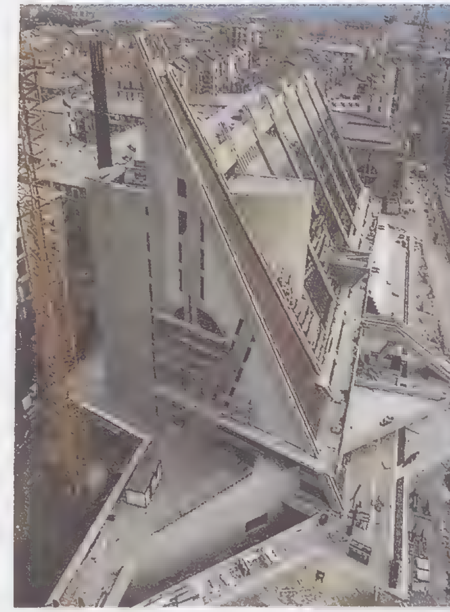
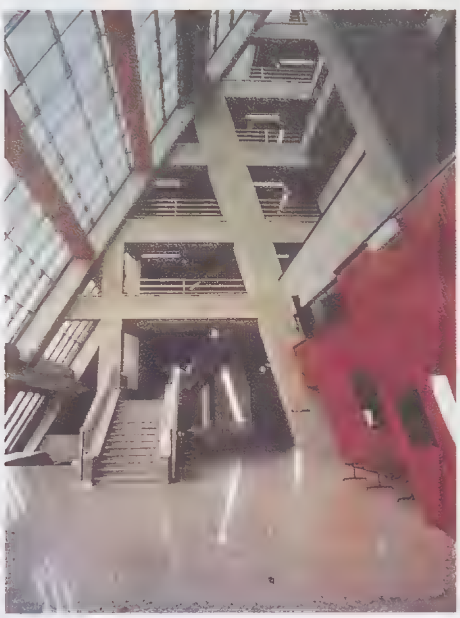
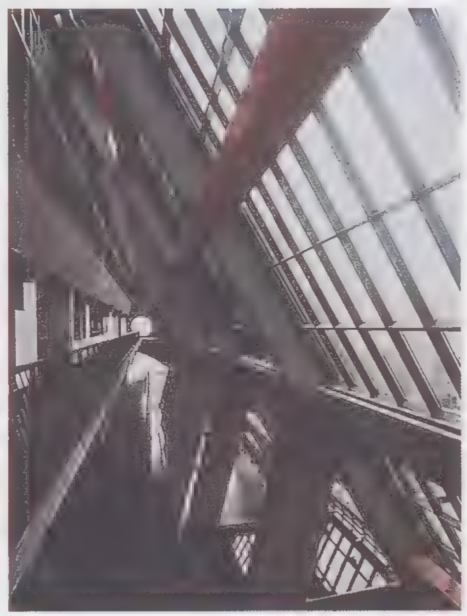
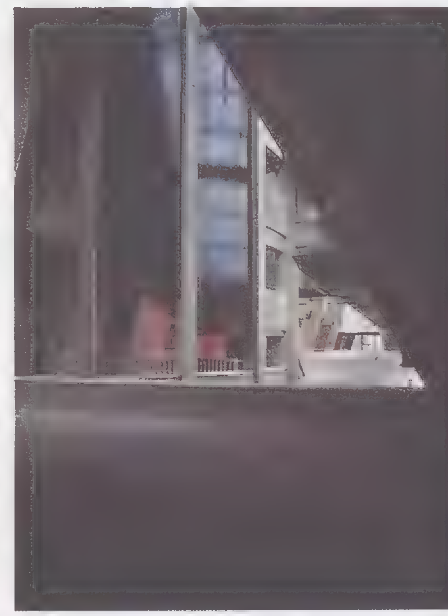
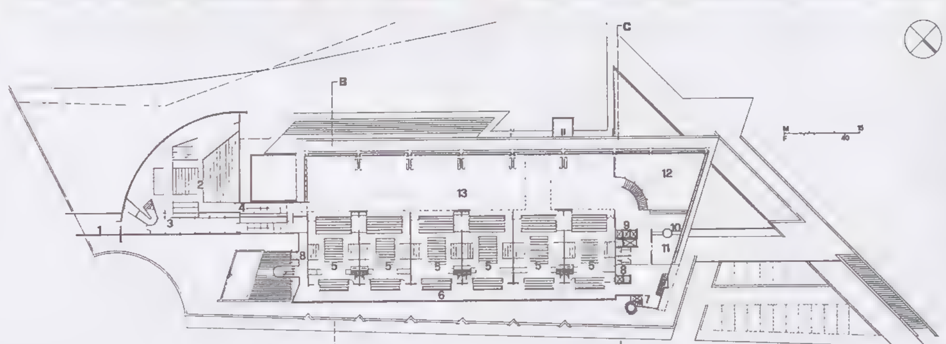


sezione BB



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Court of Justice, Savona, Italy
Leonardo Ricci
(text by Bruno Zevi)

"The one of the Court of Law is a specific space in which one must calmly carry out the debate between the just and unjust, between the laws of the prosecution and laws of the defense, between horrors and human comprehensions, between war and peace. It is a sacred space in the etymological sense of the word, in which the judge and the defendent, district attorney and lawyer, civil party and public are all elements of the drama".
Leonardo Ricci, 1972

The building is part of a new and much-needed pole in Savona that contributes to redressing the imbalance between the urban expansion and the tiny historic centre. Consequently the building has several facades, each one tailored to the specifics of the outlook: towards the city it shows its graphically Renaissance face; towards the park a vast, sloping glazed face jostles with the surrounding greenery; to the north the building terminates with a "sail", a significant tympanum closing the basilica section, while on the south prospect the aula magna ends the building like a cake-slice. The building is suspended around a covered piazza that makes it possible to focus all the access points in a single block, and hence maximise security. The piazza remains lively even when the host building shuts down. The "basilica" is the spatial core of the entire organism and provides its source of meaning. It links all the building's functions, and all the levels look onto it. The courtrooms are at ground level, while the upper level holds the magistrate's court, the civil and penal courts, and the attorney's office. In order to galvanise public participation, the gallery walkways all look onto the basilica area. The sculptural crescendo of the complex is achieved with the base in reinforced concrete and brick, while the glazed curtain-walls are interspersed with other materials: each carefully studied to establish a correlation with the function they contain (courtrooms, offices, archives or the basilica).
(from Bruno Zevi, Linguaggi dell'architettura contemporanea, *Etaslibri, Milan 1993)*



Viste esterne e viste interne della "basilica".
Pianta alla quota dell'atrio.

Exterior and interior views of the "basilica".
Plan of the hall level.



Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo

Union Carbide Corporation World Headquarters, Danbury, Connecticut, 1982
Kevin Roche John Dinkeloo and Associates

Merck & Co. Inc. World Headquarters, Whitehouse Station, New Jersey, 1993
Kevin Roche John Dinkeloo and Associates

Foto Livieri, KRJDA

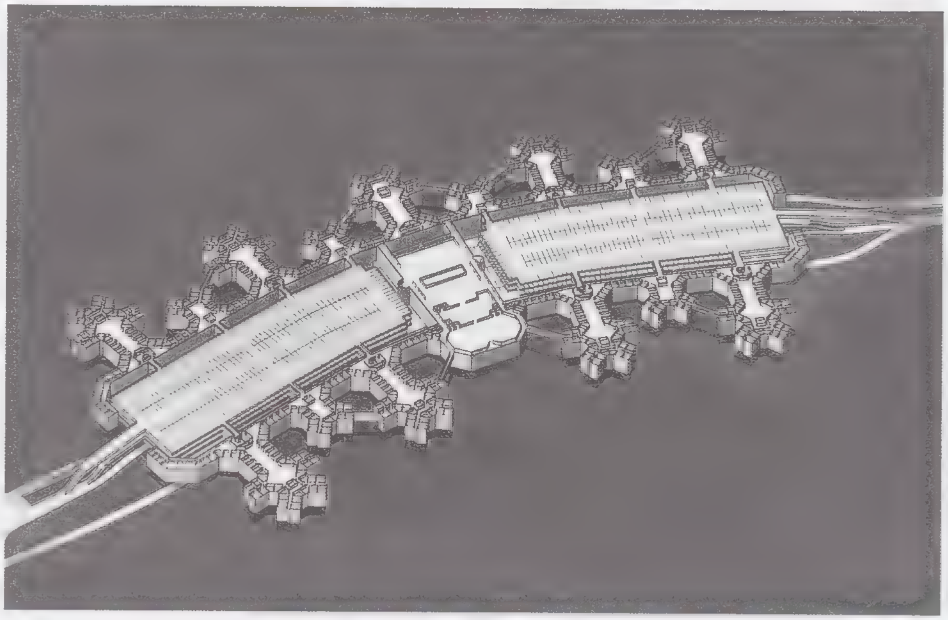
Sede centrale della Union Carbide Corporation, Danbury, Connecticut, U.S.A.
Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo

La direzione e il personale della Union Carbide erano desiderosi di riconsiderare le ormai tradizionali divisioni gerarchiche espresse dagli ambienti di lavoro. Sono state quindi condotte più di 200 ore di interviste agli impiegati per meglio comprendere le reazioni a un dimensionamento differenziato degli uffici. Un'analisi economica ha indicato la necessità di un investimento di un milione e mezzo di dollari l'anno per modificare con pareti divisorie gli uffici esistenti secondo i cambiamenti di *status*. Entrambe le analisi hanno dimostrato che la flessibilità resa possibile da pareti mobili non presentava alcun vantaggio. Di conseguenza, è stato realizzato un progetto basato su divisori fissi e una stanza di dimensioni *standard* – circa 15 mq –, idonea a ospitare uffici o piccole sale conferenze.
I 2300 uffici individuali sono tutti distribuiti lungo il perimetro dell'edificio e offrono panorami sul paesaggio del Connecticut. All'interno si trovano soltanto le sale conferenze, che necessitano di impianti audiovisivi, e determinati servizi, come gli uffici di spedizione. Anche le segreterie, benché non siano distribuite lungo il perimetro, si affacciano ugualmente verso l'esterno.

Union Carbide Corporation World Headquarters, Danbury, Connecticut, U.S.A.
Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo

At Union Carbide there was a management and staff willing to question the established tradition of expressing hierarchical distinctions through physical surroundings. Almost 200 hours of interviews were conducted with employees to determine attitudes toward differential office sizes. An analysis of the economic implications was done indicating that it cost $ 1.5 million each year, in the company's existing offices, to move partitions to accommodate status changes. Both studies suggested that the flexibility provided by movable partitions was more of a liability than an asset. Instead, a plan of fixed partitions and a standard room size – 13.5 feet square – was proposed. The standardized offices can be used as offices or small conference rooms.
Each of the 2,300 private offices is located on the perimeter with views of the Connecticut landscape. Only conference rooms requiring audio-visual equipment and such services as mail rooms are located on the interior. Secretarial spaces, though not located on the perimeter, have direct views of the outside.

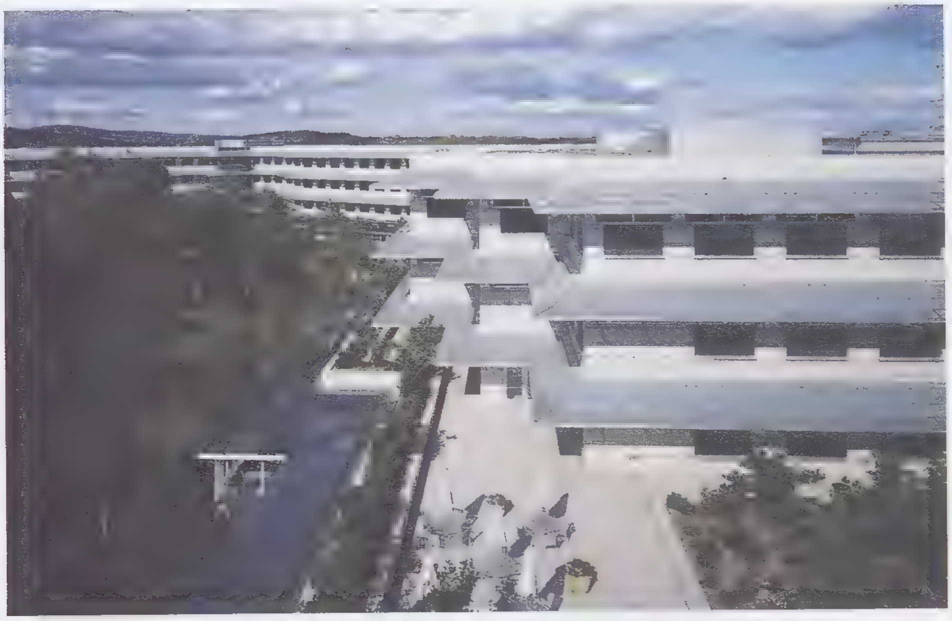




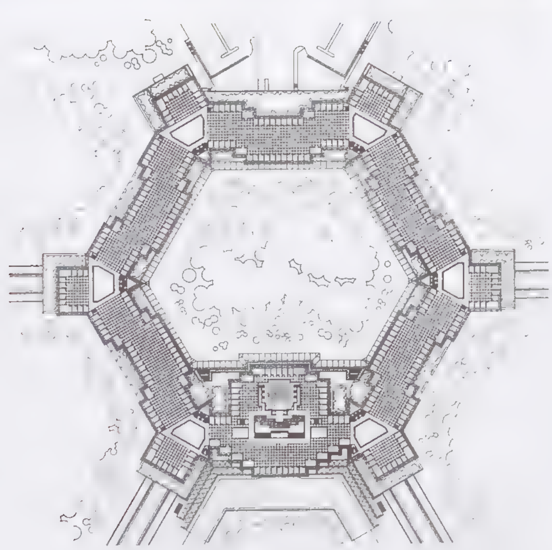


Union Carbide Headquarters, Danbury, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1982.
Vista aerea, vista della strada interna e dettaglio di un corpo per uffici.
Spaccato assonometrico.

Union Carbide Headquarters, Danbury, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1982.
Aerial view, view of the internal driveway and detail of an office building.
Axonometric cutaway.







Sede centrale della Merck & Co. Inc., Whitehouse Station, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo

Il sito si trova nel nordovest del New Jersey, in un'area agricola di fattorie e piccoli centri servita da reti autostradali interstatali. Il paesaggio è caratterizzato da 460 acri di terreno boschivo. Le norme edilizie imponevano un'altezza massima di m 14, e quindi la costruzione di una bassa struttura di tre piani. Il progetto, da realizzarsi in fasi successive, prevedeva un intervento iniziale su un'area di circa mq 93.000 e la costruzione di un parcheggio per 1900 automobili, su un'area complessiva di circa mq 168.000. Per agevolare le comunicazioni e ridurre le percorrenze pedonali degli impiegati, oltre che per seguire le pendenze del terreno, il progetto è stato sviluppato a partire da tre esagoni tra loro collegati. La prima fase prevede la costruzione di un unico esagono rivestito di granito spagnolo, con finestre di vetro grigio per garantire un buon isolamento termico. Esso domina da un lato una gola naturale, mentre dagli altri ne segue parallelamente il profilo, racchiudendo un'ampia zona boschiva. Tutte le aree di parcheggio si trovano sotto l'edificio in un anello distribuito su due piani. Un atrio, che si sviluppa verticalmente attraverso tutti i piani, collega l'ingresso principale, la caffetteria e il centro conferenze creando un'area comune.

Merck & Co., Inc. World Headquarters, Whitehouse Station, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo

The site is located in northwestern New Jersey, in an area of farms and small towns, convenient to Interstate highways that connect to large residential communities to the east.
The 460 acres are heavily-wooded, with low rolling hills, steep ridges, ponds and streams. Zoning regulations established a maximum average height limitation of 45 feet, which mandated a low, three-story structure. The program called for a phased building with an initial gross area of approximately 1,000,000 square feet and parking for 1,900 cars for a total gross area of 1,800,000 s.f.
To promote ease of communication and minimize walking distances for employees, as well as to allow the building to accommodate the sloping land, a master plan building form of three interlocking hexagons was developed.
Phase I consists of a single hexagon, clad in Spanish granite and windows of energy efficient insulating grey glass, which straddles a natural ravine on one side, paralleling the contours on the other sides, and enclosing a heavily wooded area. All parking was placed under the building in a continuous ring on two levels. An atrium extends vertically through all floors connecting the main lobby, cafeteria, and conference center into a common area. The corporate word data processing center comprised of 35,000 square feet of 20-inch high raised flooring is located in this building.



Merck & Co. Headquarters, Whitehouse Station, New Jersey, U.S.A., 1993.
Viste del fronte esterno, dell'ingresso e vista aerea.
Pianta di uno dei tre nuclei esagonali.

Merck & Co. Headquarters, Whitehouse Station, New Jersey, U.S.A., 1993.
Views of the external frontage and the entrance; aerial view.
Plan of one of the three hexagonal nuclei.

Paul Rudolph



Bond Center, Hong Kong, 1986
Consultant architects, Civil, Structural, Mechanical and Electrical Engineers: Wong & Quyang
Architect, Design Consultant: Paul Rudolph

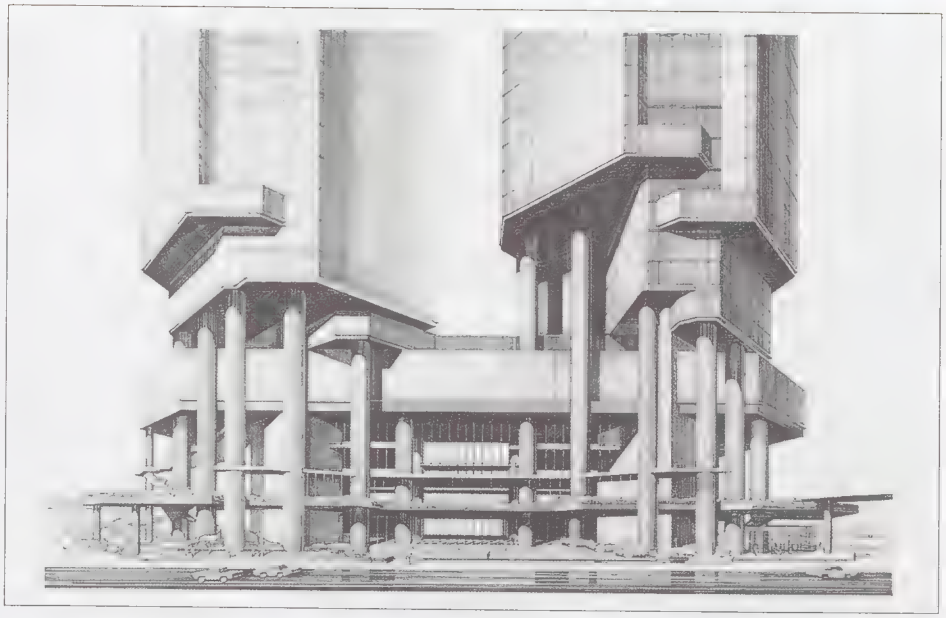
Foto P. Aaron / Esto

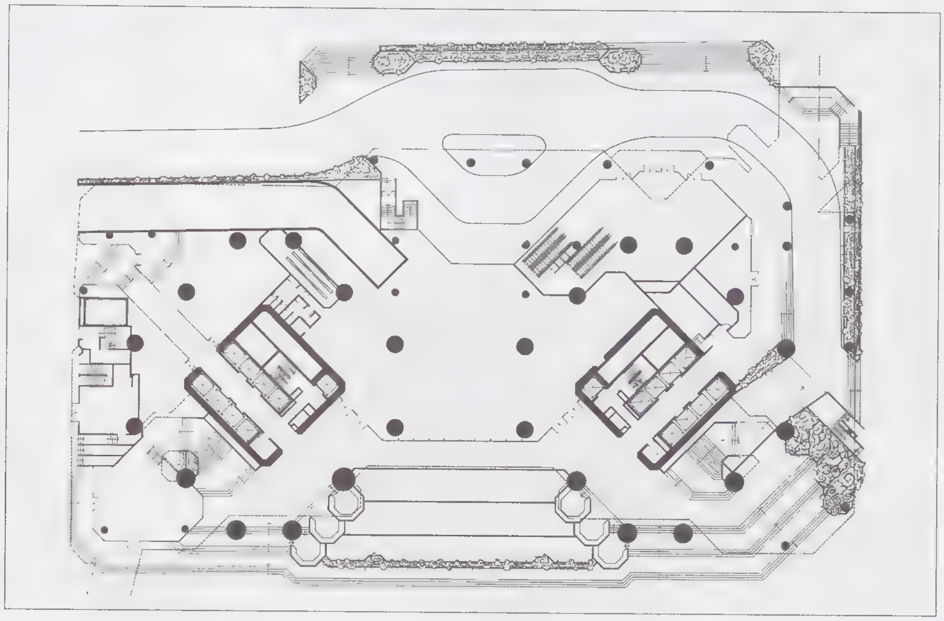
Bond Center, Hong Kong
Paul Rudolph

Se siamo d'accordo con Mies van der Rohe nel sostenere che il fondamento di un edificio a più piani è lo "spazio universale", allora non si potrà essere che in assoluto disaccordo con il Bond Center. Mies, naturalmente, ha progettato splendidi edifici in altezza: edifici straordinariamente proporzionati in tutti i loro dettagli, ma che non distinsero mai tra edifici per uffici e edifici residenziali. Creare uno spazio interamente flessibile è certamente uno dei modi possibili di affrontare il problema dell'edificio in altezza, soprattutto se destinato a uffici. Ritengo tuttavia che questo sistema abbia costretto l'uomo ad abitare uno spazio disumano e senza scala, mentre considero molto importante una distinzione tra funzioni abitative e funzioni lavorative. Mi sembra importante che gli uffici possano avere una varietà spaziale maggiore di quella offerta dallo spazio universale, anche se quest'ultimo rappresenta la "scatola" più flessibile: una successione di piani tra loro esattamente uguali, ai quali l'architetto decoratore può dare una sistemazione interna la più varia possibile. Mi è sembrato che si potesse differenziare i diversi piani degli uffici, intervenendo almeno sul perimetro. Volevo lavorare di più con la tridimensionalità.

Bond Center, Hong Kong
Paul Rudolph

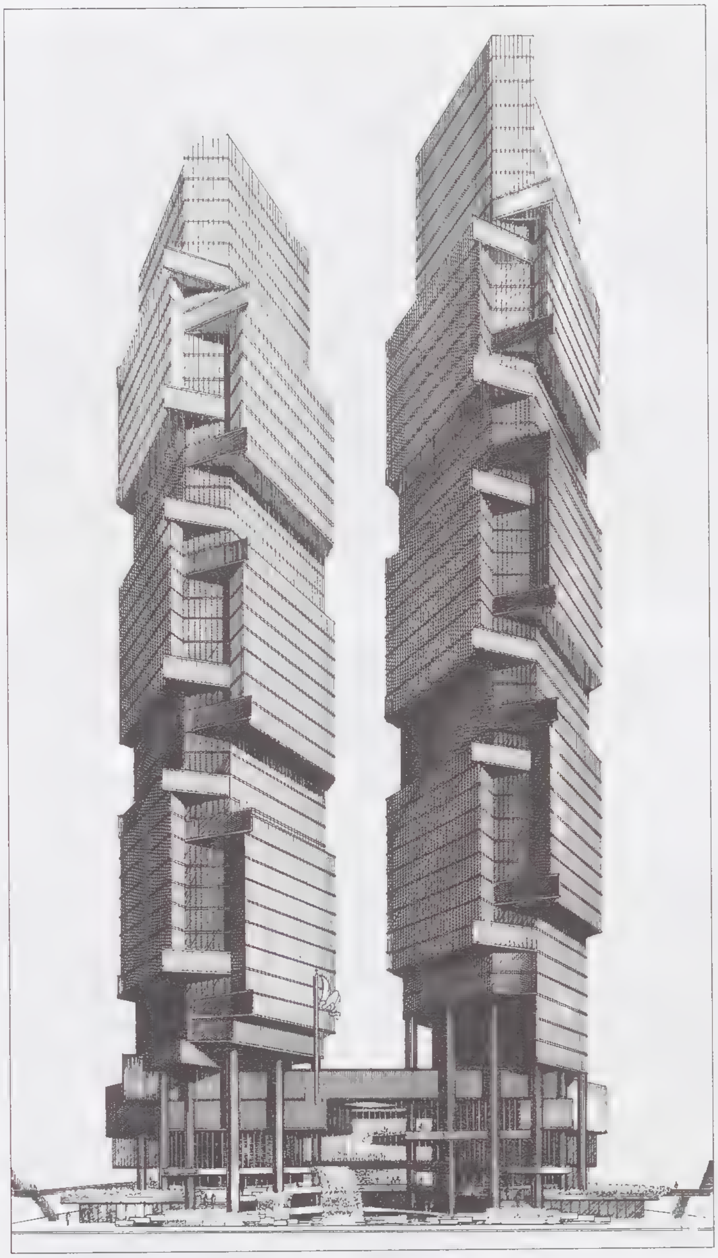
If you say the basis of the multi-storey building is the one which Mies van der Rohe calls the "universal space", then what is done at the Bond Centre is absolutely wrong. Mies, of course, built very beautiful multy-storey buildings; they are beautifully proportioned within their details, but the towers are undifferentiated between apartment buildings and office buildings. Obviously, that is one way to approach the problem of towers, especially for offices, by creating a wholly flexible space. I think, though, that it has relegated man to an inhuman and scaleless environment. It seems to me very important to differentiate between living functions and work functions. It seems important that office areas should have more vareity than the universal space. The universal space is the most flexible "box", one floor exactly like the other floor, the interior decorator giving the interior whatever character is desired. It seemed to me that one could make the office floors different, at least different at the perimeter. I wanted to work much more three-dimensionally.

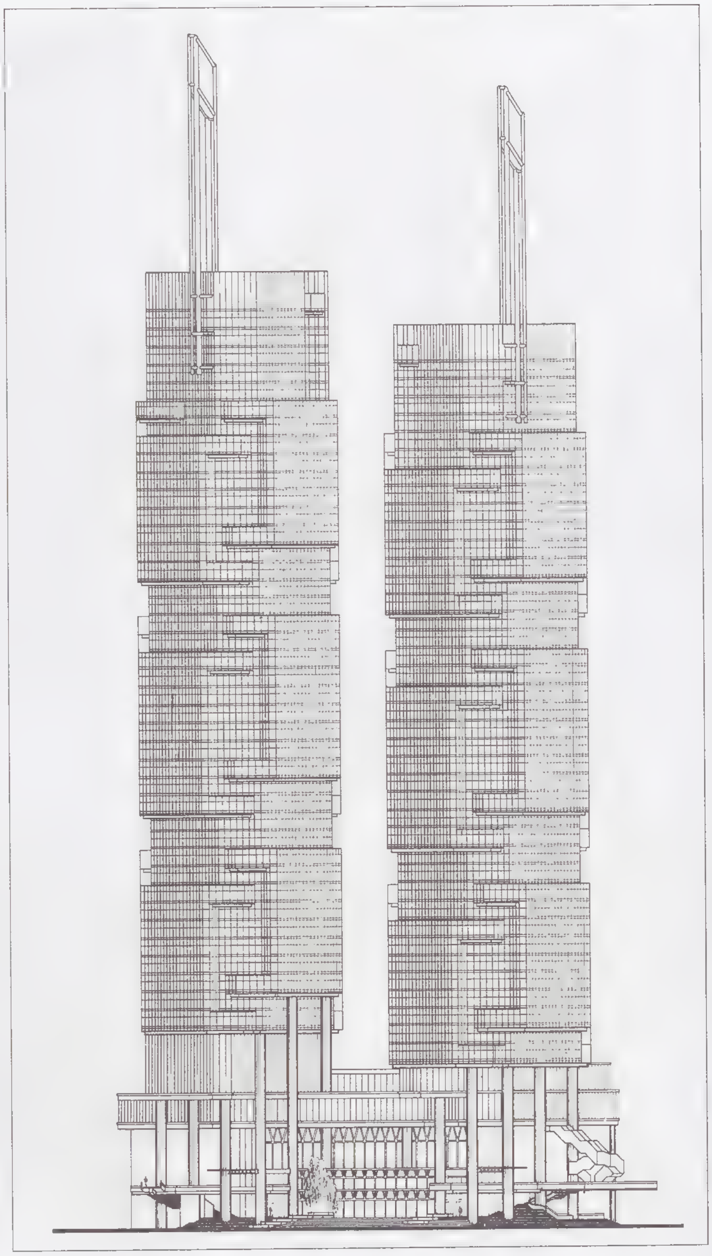


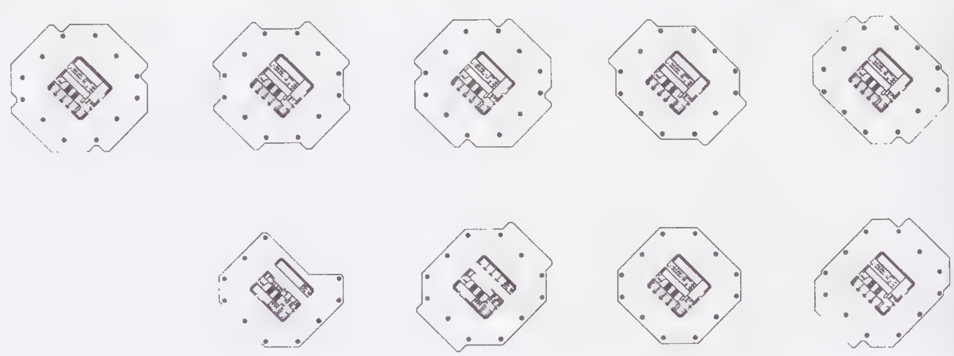


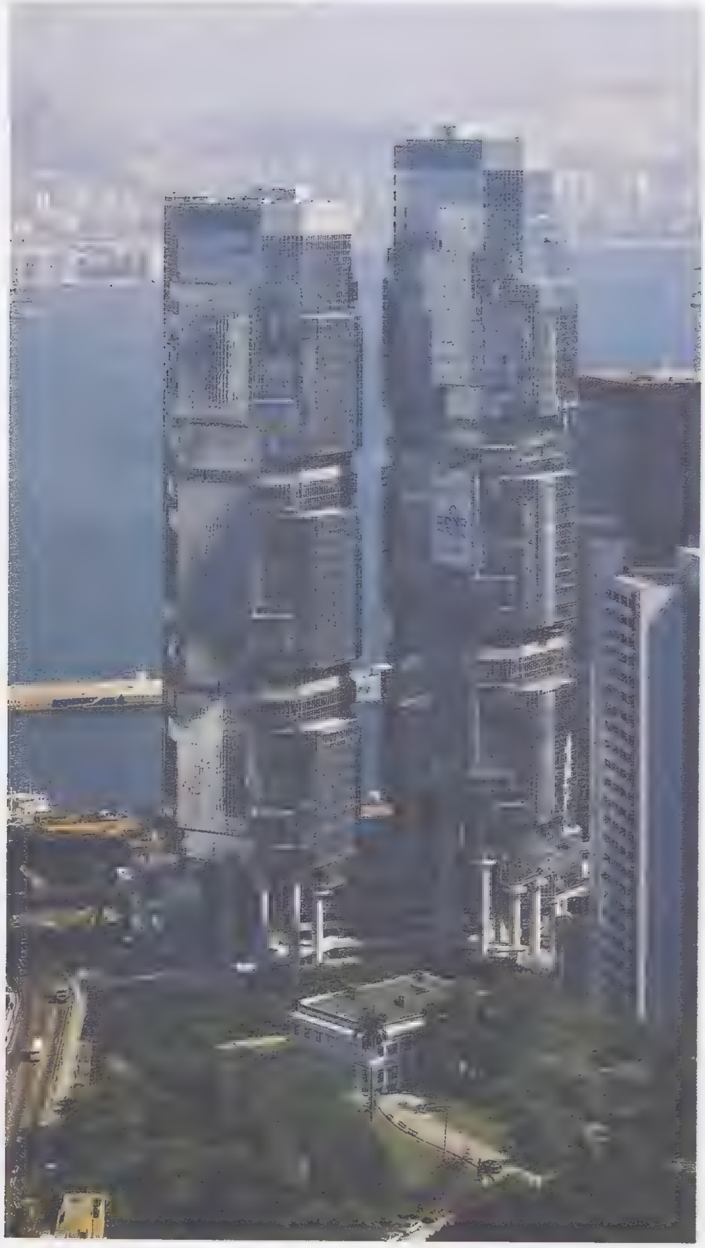
Vista dalla strada, prospettiva del basamento e pianta del piano di ingresso.

View from the street, perspective of the foundation, plan of the entrance level.















Prospettiva di studio, prospetto e piante tipo ai vari livelli.
Viste di insieme e di dettaglio.

Working perspective drawing, elevation, typical plans for the various levels.
Overall and detail views.



Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza

Universidad Pública de Navarra, Pamplona, España, 1989-93
Sáenz de Oiza Arquitectos

Foto Angel Baltanás

Viste degli edifici della Biblioteca, delle aule e dei Dipartimenti.
Planimetria generale: 1) Rettorato; 2) edificio delle aule; 3) Dipartimenti; 4) Biblioteca.

Views of the Library, of the classrooms and of the Departments buildings.
General planimetric: 1) Chancellor office; 2) classrooms block; 3) Departments; 4) Library.

Università Pubblica di Navarra, Spagna
Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza
(testo di Alberto Campo Baeza)

L'Università Pubblica di Navarra è un'opera poco conosciuta e tuttora incompiuta che, una volta di più, dimostra la grande forza espressiva del più noto maestro spagnolo, l'architetto Sáenz de Oiza.
Il punto di partenza del progetto è la comprensione profonda del sito. Oiza vi colloca un unico e grande basamento alla maniera dei greci, un approccio che sarebbe certamente apprezzato da un altro grande maestro vivente, Utzon. Il basamento, che risolve tutto con un solo gesto, funge da appoggio a un *campus* universitario concepito alla maniera classica tramite gli efficaci meccanismi della simmetria. Esso presenta caratteristiche diverse in corrispondenza dei suoi diversi versanti, tra i quali il più potente si estende in un ampio giardino che si affaccia come un grande terrazzo sul fiume Sadar.
Lo schema di distribuzione generale degli edifici, con un doppio percorso circolare, è semplice ed efficace, così come la circolazione interna a ciascun edificio, con schemi che prevedono una galleria centrale, con aule e dipartimenti su entrambi i lati in modo che la luce possa filtrare attraverso la facciata.
La Biblioteca Centrale, situata al centro, è l'edificio più caratterizzato del complesso ed è stata evidentemente progettata a partire dalla sezione. Il riferimento alla bellissima Biblioteca di Etienne Louis Boullée è esplicito, e qui si traduce nell'uso di materiali leggeri e di un ingegnoso meccanismo di illuminazione naturale indiretta che filtra attraverso la volta della galleria mediana. La luce diventa così la protagonista di questo grande spazio. I richiami formali a Stirling e a Kahn e la decisione di utilizzare un solo materiale, il cemento armato, concorrono alla realizzazione di un'opera tipica di Oiza.
L'Università Pubblica di Navarra è, in sostanza, la chiara dimostrazione della partecipazione attiva di Oiza al dibattito architettonico. Insieme a questa opera, il Palazzo dei Festival a Santander, la Torre Triana a Siviglia o il Museo di Arte Contemporanea a Las Palmas sono altre testimonianze della sua fervida creatività. La forza e l'espressività che hanno sempre liberamente caratterizzato la sua architettura continuano ad accompagnare l'opera del maestro spagnolo. Ed è così che lui e la sua architettura continuano a traboccare di vita.















Viste degli edifici delle aule, dei Dipartimenti, del Rettorato, dell'ingresso alle aule e vista interna della Biblioteca.
Viste interne degli edifici del Rettorato e dei Dipartimenti.
Sezioni, pianta e prospetti della Biblioteca.

Views of the classrooms, of the Departments, of the Chancellor's office, of the entrance to the classrooms and internal view of the Library.
Interior views of the Chancellor's and Departments Buildings.
Sections, plan and elevations of the Library.

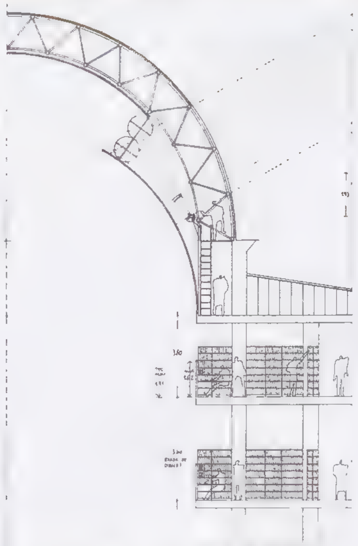


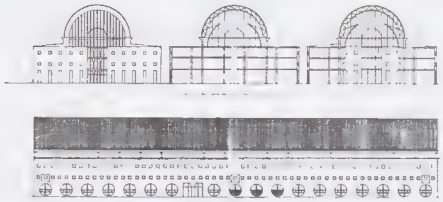
Public University in Navarra, Spain
Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza
(text by Alberto Campo Baeza)

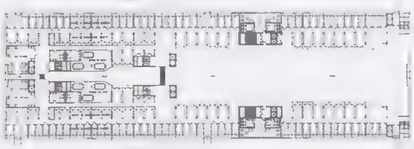
The Public University of Navarra is a little-known, as yet unfinished work which, once again, demonstrates the great expressive force of the most famous Spanish master, the architect Sáenz de Oiza.
The starting point of the project is a profound understanding of the site. Oiza positions a single large foundation, in the Greek manner, an approach that would certainly be appreciated by another great living master, Utzon. The foundation, which resolves the entire situation with a single gesture, functions as a base for a university campus conceived in a classical manner, using the efficient mechanisms of symmetry. The base has different characteristics for its different sides, the most imposing of which extends into a large garden that faces, like a terrace, onto the Sadar River. The overall layout scheme for the buildings, with a double circular path, is simple and effective, like the internal circulation patterns of each edifice, with schemes calling for a central galleria, with classrooms and departmental offices on both sides, allowing the light to enter through the facade. The Central Library, situated at the center, is the most striking building in the complex, and has obviously been designed by beginning with the section. The reference to the beautiful library of Etienne Louis Boullée is explicit, and here it takes the form of a particular use of light materials, and an ingenious mechanism of indirect natural lighting that enters through the vault of the central galleria. Light, therefore, becomes the protagonist of this large space. The formal references to Stirling and Kahn, and the decision to use one material only, reinforced concrete, contribute to make this a typical work of Oiza.
The Public University of Navarra is, in substance, the clear demonstration of Oiza's active participation in the architectural debate. Alongside this work, the Festival Center in Santander, the Triana Tower in Seville and the Contemporary Art Museum of Las Palmas provide ample evidence of his lively creativity. The force and expressive impact that have always characterized his free architecture have not abandoned the Spanish master. Oiza, and his works, continue to overflow with life.













Alison and Peter Smithson

Second Arts Building, Arts Barn and Building 6 East, University of Bath, Great Britain, 1979-1990

Vista aerea da nord del complesso dell'Università di Bath, sul fondo il fiume Avon.
Foto C. Wilson.
Planimetria generale con indicati i quattro edifici realizzati da Alison e Peter Smithson tra il 1979 e il 1990.

Aerial view from the north of the complex of the University of Bath, with the Avon River in the background.
Photo C. Wilson.
General planimetric with indications of the four edifices built by Alison and Peter Smithson from 1979 to1990.

Interventi alla University of Bath, Gran Bretagna
Alison e Peter Smithson

Bath come un tappeto frangiato
Dalla veranda all'ingresso dell'Università, 1983
In quella data avevamo studiato, iniziato o ultimato quattro edifici "ai margini" della University of Bath. A questo punto la condizione di essere "ai margini" poteva essere analizzata in quanto fenomeno.
Fin dall'inizio avevamo "seguito i percorsi" degli edifici interconnessi esistenti, scoprendo i passaggi percepibili all'interno.
Ciò che ora accadeva era che questi edifici "periferici" venivano percepiti come le terminazioni, le frange o le nappe di un tappeto.

Secondo edificio del Dipartimento d'Arte (1 Nordovest), maggio 1979-1981
La costruzione si inserisce all'estremità di un edificio esistente… come la prima di una serie di nappe necessarie a definire l'orlatura di un tappeto… in modo che possa starsene adagiata là sul dolce e verde pendio collinare, apparentemente ultimato.
L'organizzazione della pianta in piccole corti triangolari aiuta a cucire questa nuova nappa al vecchio tappeto.
Costruito *"un decennio dopo i Robin Hood Gardens, l'edificio rivela la stessa fiducia nell'efficacia delle forme connettive. Ma la pianta, progettata in base a più chiare esigenze di esposizione o riparo dalla luce solare, risponde alla nuova sensibilità degli anni Ottanta per quanto riguarda sia il risparmio energetico sia l'apprezzata presenza di funzioni differenziate all'interno della forma costruita".*

Arts Barn, primo schema, 1980-maggio 1981
Esterno dell'auditorium ultimato nel maggio 1990.
Si tratta di un edificio incrementale, una "propagazione" ("*Scatter*") per la cui costruzione non è necessario seguire un ordine preciso. La sua realizzazione dipende da eventuali donazioni in quanto si tratta di uno spazio ricreativo per gli studenti, non di un Dipartimento dell'Università. Il concetto deriva dai fuochi ("*foci*") sperimentati a Steilshoop, Amburgo, 1961. Le funzioni si sovrappongono, i modelli d'uso si intrecciano; le strade ora usate come sentieri verranno coperte e diventeranno parte dell'edificio; ulteriori cambiamenti saranno inevitabili. Gli edifici esistenti sono stati ricavati dalla riconversione di preesistenti fabbricati rurali: il progetto dell'Arts Barn li riconnette e li prolunga fino al terrapieno della "pista di sci", all'interno del quale verrà scavato lo studio di prova e registrazione, garantendo così l'isolamento acustico ai gruppi pop.
Gli alberi esistenti saranno conservati, le aree verdi cintate e gli spazi esterni diverranno parte della "propagazione".

Edificio 6 Est, 1982-88
Questo edificio è destinato agli usi e ai fruitori più diversi, le cui necessità vengono soddisfatte da ciò che abbiamo cominciato a definire una "disposizione conglomerata". Si tratta, in sostanza, di una organizzazione dell'edificazione in cui ognuno può orientarsi a suo modo e percepire "che cosa si trova in un certo luogo" grazie a "segnali" tradizionali … la sensazione di densità sia dell'edificio costruito che del suo uso… la posizione del sole … l'andamento del terreno circostante… la distribuzione dei percorsi principali all'interno. Nell'Edificio 6 Est, ad esempio, l'aperture di finestre in corrispondenza dei percorsi di accesso crea inquadrature "fisse" sul paesaggio circostante. Queste finestre si aprono da pilastro a pilastro, da mezzo metro da terra al soffitto, mentre le finestre nei locali chiusi sono "buchi nelle pareti". Così è anche possibile leggere dall'esterno lo svolgersi dei percorsi interni.

Interventions at the University of Bath, Great Britain
Alison and Peter Smithson

Bath-as-a-fringed-mat
Porch to University hall, 1983
At this date we had studied, started, or completed four buildings "on the edge" at the University of Bath. That condition of being "on the edge" could now be observed as a phenomenon.
From the beginning we had "followed the ways" of the existing interconnected buildings, discovering the perceived pathways within.
What was now happening was a perception of these edge buildings as terminations, fringes, tassels, as on a carpet.

Second Arts Building (1 west north), May 1979 to 1981
The Second Arts building is a new piece woven onto the edge of an existing mat-building… the first of a series of tassels that are going to be needed to make that mat's terminating fringe… so it can lie there, on its gently sloping green hillside, seemingly complete.
The pattern of planting in the small triangular courts helps stitch this new tassel onto the old mat.
Built "a decade later than Robin Hood Gardens, it has the same belief in the efficiency of connective forms but by means of a more obvious sun-receiving, sun-excluding, plan it responds to the changed sensibility of the nineteen eighties both with regard to the conservation of energy and to the welcomed presence of varied functions within the built form".

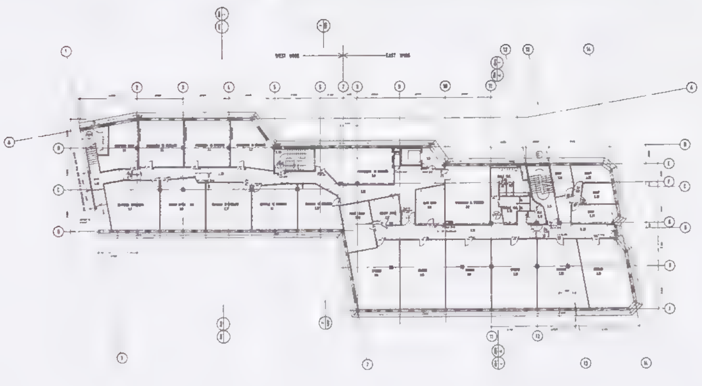
Arts Barn, first scheme 1980 to May 1981
Shell of auditorium completed May 1990.
This is an incremental building, a "Scatter" that can be constructed in any order. The Arts Barn accommodation waits on donors since it



is a student leisure facility, not a facility of the University. Its forebears in thinking are the focii to Steilshoop, Hamburg, 1961. The functions overlay one another, patterns of use interlace; routes at present in use as paths become covered and part of the building; changes are inevitable. The existing buildings were converted from farm buildings; the Arts Barn project connects them and reaches out to the mound of the "ski slope" in which to bury and so protect its rehearsal studio and to hold-in the sound volume of pop-groups.
Existing trees are included, the green is enfolded and outdoors becomes part of the scatter.

Building 6 east, 1982-88
This is a building for many disparate users and uses. Their needs have been resolved by what we are beginning to call a conglomerate ordering – that is an ordering of the building so that those means of finding one's way, of sensing what lies where, are taken from the old indications… the sense of density of both built fabric and its occupation… the position of the sun… the way the land falls outside… the position of the principal ways inside.
An an example in Building 6 East the location of windows in the access ways consciously allow "fixes" onto features of the landscape outside. These windows span from column to column, from seat height to ceiling, whereas the windows in the enclosed rooms are "holes in walls". Thus we can also read the running of the internal ways from the outside.





Building 6 East, 1982-88.
Viste dell'edificio col percorso esterno.
Foto M. Charles.
Vista della testata est.
Foto P. Smithson.
Pianta del terzo livello e spaccato assonometrico del secondo livello col percorso esterno.

Second Arts Building, 1979-81.
Vista da ovest del fronte principale.
Foto M. Charles.
Disegno di studio dell'elemento prefabbricato d'angolo.

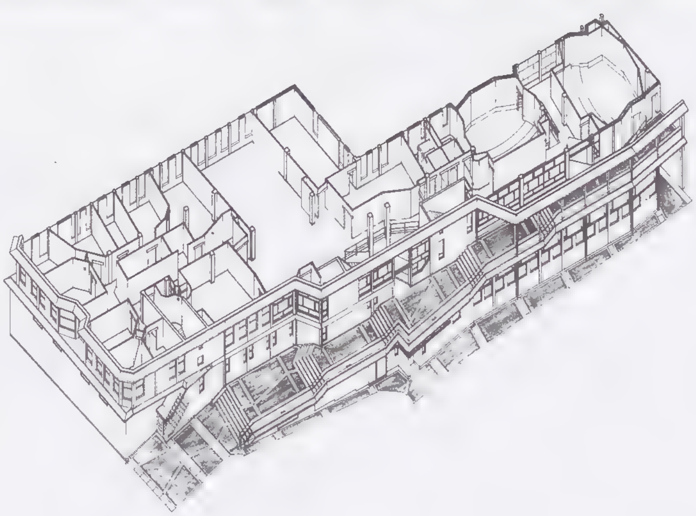


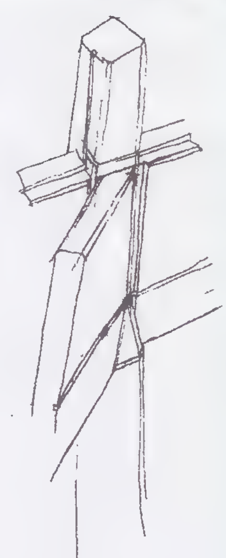




Building 6 East, 1982-88.
Views of the building with the external walkway.
Photos M. Charles.
View of the eastern end.
Photo P. Smithson.
Plan of the third level and axonometric cutaway of the second level with the external walkway.

Second Arts Building, 1979-81.
View from the west of the main facade.
Photo M. Charles.
Working drawing of the prefabricated corner element.

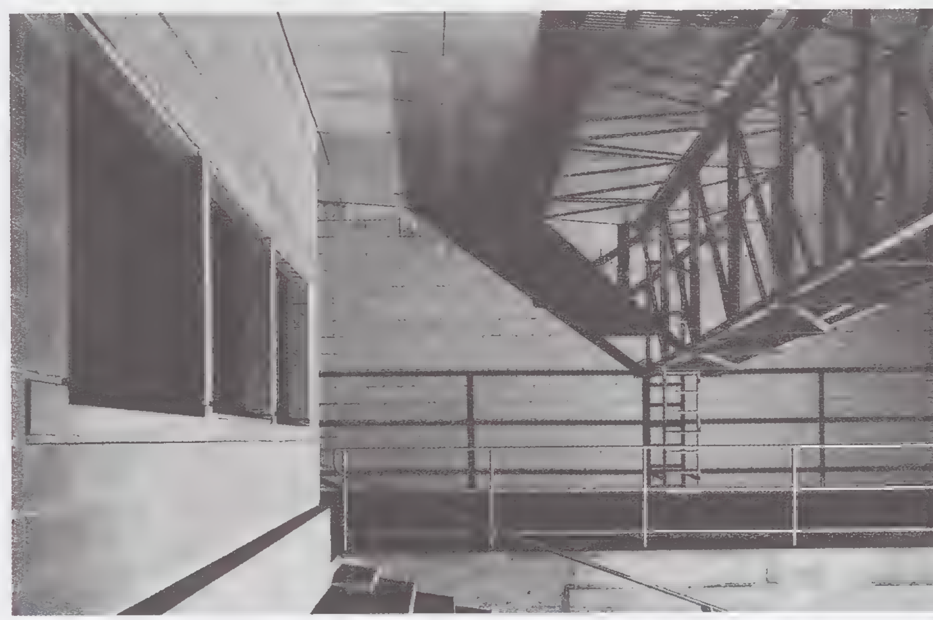


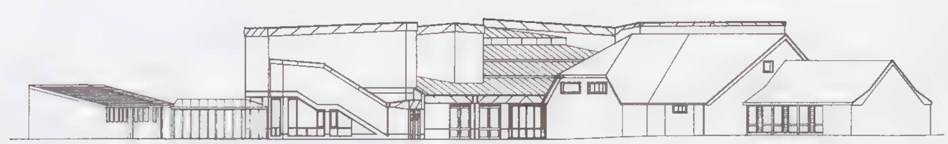


Arts Barn, 1980-90.
Vista esterna da est e viste interne dell'auditorium.
Foro M. Charles.
Vista esterna da nordest.
Foto P. Smithson.
Prospetto est, pianta e assonometria.

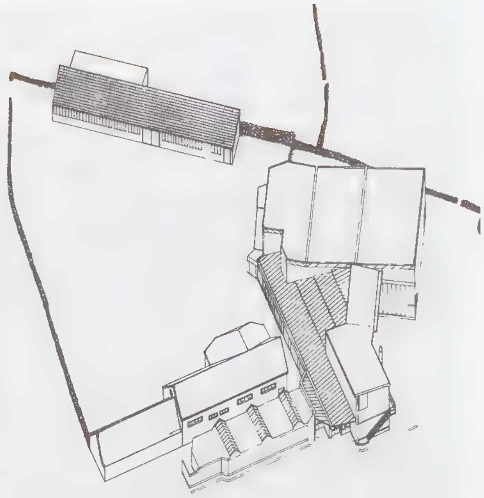
Arts Barn, 1980-90.
Exterior view from the east and interior views of the auditorium.
Photos M. Charles.
Exterior view from the northeast.
Photo P. Smithson.
East elevation, plan and axonometric.



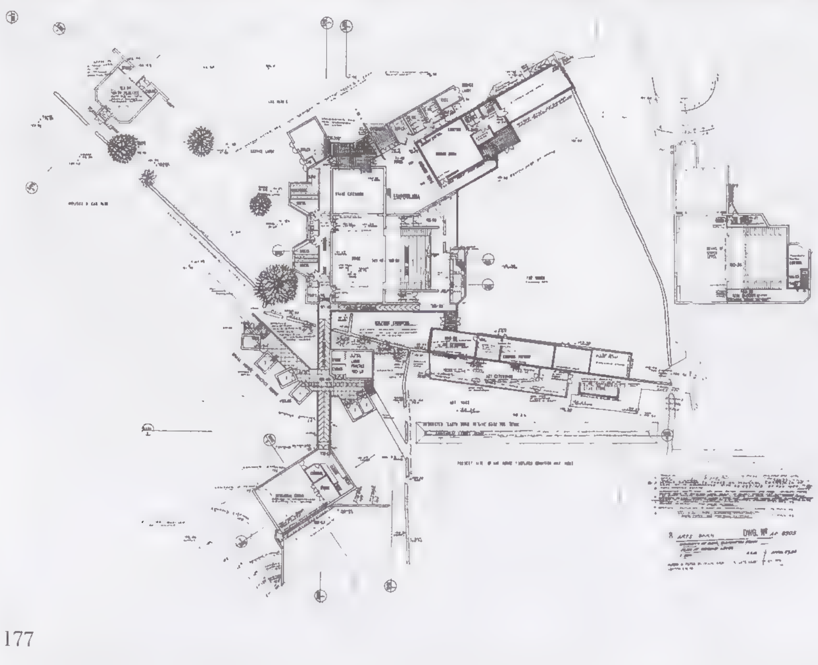














Paolo Soleri

Arcosanti, Cordes Junction, Arizona, U.S.A., 1971-93

Vista dell'abside della fonderia e delle volte nord-sud (1974).
Foto I. Pintar.
Planimetria generale. Edifici esistenti: 1) centro visitatori; 2) abside della ceramica; 3) abside della fonderia; 4) West Housing; 5) laboratori; 6) volte nord-sud; 7) East Housing; 8) East Crescent e teatro; 9) studio Soleri. Critical Mass: 10) Teilhard de Chardin Cloister; 11) centro multimediale, conferenze, museo, esposizioni; 12) nuova fonderia e laboratori. Arcosanti 2000: 13) abside per residenza e didattica; 14) abside per residenza, uffici, negozi; 15) abside per residenza.

Arcosanti, Cordes Junction, Arizona, U.S.A.
Paolo Soleri

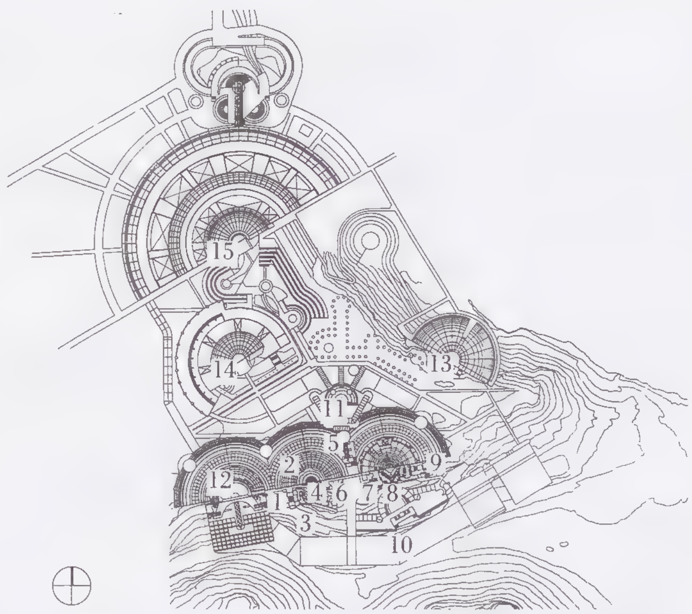
Arcosanti è un laboratorio urbano – il prototipo di un"“arcologia” – pensato per l'analisi e l'applicazione delle teorie urbane e architettoniche di Paolo Soleri. Si tratta di un'area pedonale dove non circolano automobili, concepita secondo un progetto compatto, tridimensionale, che richiede soltanto una piccola porzione di terreno, materiali e energia necessari alla costruzione di una città convenzionale. Arcosanti si trova su un altopiano pressoché desertico, un terreno definito “marginale”, inadatto alla costruzione di una città o a una estesa produzione agricola, secondo metodi e strategie correnti di insediamento urbanistico o agricolo. Gli 860 acri di proprietà della Cosanti Foundation sono delimitati a est e a ovest da due lotti ceduti in affitto dallo Stato dell'Arizona che coprono una superficie di 3200 acri. La caratteristica geografica più saliente dell'area è il *canyon* scavato dal fiume Aqua Fria. La città, una volta completata, si troverà all'interno di questo sito di 4000 acri, la maggior parte dei quali costituiti da spazi aperti. Si tratterà di un insediamento urbano per 5000 abitanti che occuperà appena 20 acri e definirà un nuovo rapporto tra città e campagna: un ambiente urbano compatto e vivace all'interno di un vasto paesaggio naturale. Ad Arcosanti tecniche innovative di costruzione e di progettazione architettonica producono effetti spettacolari. Al cemento viene mescolato il limo ricavato dal fiume Aqua Fria e con il materiale ottenuto si costruiscono edifici “scolpiti” dai colori intensi. L'abside, un quarto di sfera, è la forma più diffusa e usata ad Arcosanti come alternativa a quella dei grattacieli delle città americane contemporanee. Le absidi sono rivolte a sud, per agevolare l'applicazione dei sistemi di energia solare passiva elaborati da Soleri: nella realizzazione finale del progetto di Arcosanti l'energia solare alimenterà un sistema integrato di riscaldamento, raffreddamento e illuminazione naturale.
L'*Energy Apron* – un insieme di grandi serre disposte a terrazza – costituirà contemporaneamente un luogo di produzione agricola e per la fornitura alla città di aria condizionata e acqua calda. Sulle terrazze a nord delle strutture più ampie verranno coltivati alberi da frutto. Attraverso questo mantello biologico si rinfrescheranno gli spazi pubblici sottostanti per mezzo di acqua atomizzata che raffredda le correnti d'aria discendenti.
Il piano generale di Arcosanti è suddiviso in tre fasi. La prima è rappresentata dalle strutture costruite negli ultimi vent'anni. Essa offre i servizi di base per i programmi didattici e costruttivi della Cosanti Foundation. La seconda è rappresentata dalla “Critical Mass”, ora in costruzione. Si tratta di un insieme di prototipi di residenze, aree di lavoro e spazi pubblici destinato a ospitare 500 persone. Con la terza fase, quella finale detta Arcosanti 2000, la città raggiungerà una popolazione di circa 5000 persone composta dalla permanenza a lungo termine di residenti, studenti e visitatori.

La “Città vecchia” – Prima fase
La città vecchia è l'*habitat* sviluppato nei primi vent'anni di lavoro nel sito di Arcosanti. Le numerose strutture saranno infine tutte collegate alle strutture aggiunte della “Critical Mass” (seconda fase) tra le quali l'*Energy Apron*, un sistema di serre per catturare l'energia solare e coltivare prodotti commestibili.
Questa “Città vecchia”, in grado di sostenere le attività di circa 100 persone, rappresenta l'embrione di quella che, a lavori ultimati, sarà una vera e propria cittadina con circa 500 residenti. Questa fase non si articola in modo molto dissimile dal processo storico di sviluppo di migliaia di comunità, piccole o grandi, createsi nel corso della storia.

Arcosanti “Critical Mass” – Seconda fase
La “Critical Mass” è destinata a circa 500 persone che abiteranno, studieranno, lavoreranno e socializzeranno in un *habitat* senza confini precisi e in fase continua di sviluppo. A lavori ultimati, entro il 2000, la “Critical Mass” comprenderà prototipi di strutture per residenze, aree di lavoro e spazi pubblici, presentando, in proporzioni contenute e più semplici, molte caratteristiche che verranno pienamente sviluppate in Arcosanti 2000. Pur non contemplando la ricchezza e la complessità di quest'ultima, la “Critical Mass” sarà comunque un valido laboratorio di sperimentazione della natura dell'Effetto Urbano. Con “effetto urbano” si intende l'intensità della vita resa possibile dal costituirsi di comunità, di piccole o grandi dimensioni, che lavorano in base a concetti di integrità, interazione, cooperazione e individualità, effetto e fonte al tempo stesso di sensibilità e socialità – una sinergia che produce culture e civiltà.

Arcosanti 2000 – Terza fase
Completata la terza fase di costruzione, Arcosanti potrà ospitare 5000 persone, in una popolazione di ospiti, residenti, studenti e visitatori. Arcosanti 2000 rappresenta l'ultima fase di sviluppo del laboratorio urbano che esprimerà un *habitat* non-tecnocratico ma tecnicamente sofisticato. L'obbiettivo è di creare un *habitat* prestando particolare attenzione alle condizioni ambientali e al clima umano, sociale, economico e culturale indispensabile allo sviluppo di una nuova cultura di cui dobbiamo necessariamente impadronirci se, in quanto specie, vogliamo garantirci un futuro. Questo nuovo *master plan* è significativo in quanto comprende un vero e proprio progetto urbano per il prototipo della città “arcologica” di Arcosanti di 5000 persone. Il progetto di Arcosanti 2000 prevede quattro piccole frazioni di “arcologie” a forma di abside, un elemento distintivo, insieme ad altri, della filosofia progettuale di Soleri.

View of the foundry apse and the north and south vaults (1974).
Photo I. Pintar.
General planimetric. Existing buildings: 1) visitors center; 2) ceramics apse; 3) foundry apse; 4) west housing; 5) laboratories; 6) north and south vaults; 7) east housing; 8) East Crescent and theater; 9) Soleri studio. Critical Mass: 10) Teilhard de Chardin Cloister; 11) multimedia center, conferences, museum, expositions; 12)new foundry and laboratories. Arcosanti 2000: 13) residential and educational apse; 14) apse for residences, offices, shops; 15) residential apse.



Arcosanti, Cordes Junction, Arizona, U.S.A.
Paolo Soleri

Arcosanti is a urban laboratory – a prototype arcology – intended to test and demonstrate Paolo Soleri's planning and architectural theories. It is a pedestrian environment without automobiles. The compact, three-dimensional design will consume only a fraction of the land, materials and energy required by a conventional town.
Arcosanti is situated on a high-desert mesa. The land is described as "marginal", unable to sustain a town or city or substantial agricultural production using current, conventional urban planning or agricultural strategies. The 860 acres owned by the Cosanti Foundation are bounded on the east and west by two parcels leased from the state of Arizona totalling 3200 acres. The Aqua Fria River Canyon is the major geographic feature of the preserve. The completed town will sit within this 4000 acre tract, most of which is intended as open space. Arcosanti is planned as an urban village for 5000 people on a 20 acre site within this land sanctuary. It will define a new relationship between city and country: a compact, lively urban environment within a vast natural landscape.
Innovative construction techniques and architectural designs produce effects at Arcosanti. Silt from the Aqua Fria River is used as a forming medium for concrete, producing colorful, "sculptured" buildings. The apse, a quarter-sphere, is Arcosanti's primary design element, an alternative form to the skyscrapers of today's American cities. Use of south-facing apses is crucial in Soleri's passive solar energy techniques. The completed Arcosanti project will harness the energy of the sun to produce an integrated solar heating, cooling and natural lighting system.
The Energy Apron, large terraced greenhouses, will provide the combined benefits of agricultural production, warm air and hot water for the town. Balconies at the north side of the larger structures will have fruit trees forming a blanket of food-producing vegetation. This biological mantel will also cool the public grounds below by way of atomized water cooling the down-drafting air.
The master plan for Arcosanti is composed of three phases. The first phase consists of the structures built over the last twenty years. It provides current facilities for the Cosanti Foundation's educational and construction programs. Construction of the second phase called Critical Mass is currently underway. Critical Mass will house 500 people in prototypes for residences, work areas and public spaces. Completion of the final phase, Arcosanti 2000, will bring the total population of Arcosanti to approximately 5000 people, a mixture of long-term residents, students and visitors.

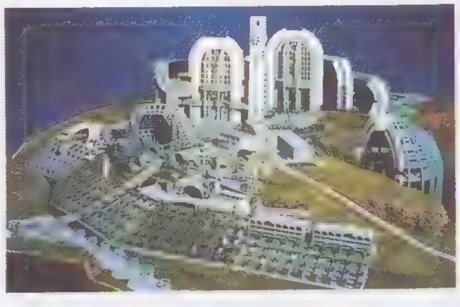
"Old Town" – Phase I
Old Town is the habitat developed in the first twenty years of work on the Arcosanti Site. The many structures will be completely interconnected by the additional structures of the Critical Mass (Phase II), such as the Energy Apron, a system of solar heat and food production greenhouses that will terrace the south slope of Arcosanti.
This "Old Town", capable of sustaining the activities of about 100 people, stands as the embryo of that which will eventually grow into a full-fledged small town of about 500 residents. This phase is not unlike the historical process of development of thousands of communities, large and small, throughout history.

Arcosanti Critical Mass – Phase II
The Critical Mass will serve about 500 people living, learning, working and socializing in the open-ended and developing habitat. When completed, the Critical Mass will include prototype structures for residence, work areas and public spaces. The Critical Mass will contain in modest and simpler proportions many of the features that would fully develop with Arcosanti 2000. Thus, far from the richness and complexity of Arcosanti 2000, the Critical Mass will still be a persuasive laboratory in the nature of the Urban Effect. The Urban Effect is the intensity of life that is generated by communities large and small, working with notions of integrity, interaction, cooperation and individuality, supported by societal sensibilites and vice versa – synergy that produces cultures and civilizations. We like to believe that the Critical Mass will be in its completion stage by the year 2000.

Arcosanti 2000 – Phase III
The final layer of construction will accommodate 5000 people in a mixture of guests, residents, students and visitors. Arcosanti 2000 is the "fully developed" urban laboratory expressing the non-technocratic but technically sophisticated habitat. We anticipate that this habitat will be highly sensitized to the environmental, human, social, economic and cultural climate indispensable for the development of a new culture that by necessity must take hold if we, as a species, are to have a future. This new Arcosanti master plan is significant in that it comprises a complete urban design for the 5,000-person Arcosanti prototype arcological town. The design of Arcosanti 2000 includes four small fractions of arcologies utilizing the form of the apse. This incorporates Paolo's current design thinking, including the use of his trademark apse (quarter-sphere) form.

Vista di insieme da sud dalla mesa.
Foto J. Trotto.
Vista dello West Housing, 1986, da ovest.
Vista del centro visitatori, 1986, da ovest.
Foto D. Wells.
Modello di Arcosanti 2000.
Pianta, prospetto e sezione del Teilhard de Chardin Cloister (centro conferenze e residenze), 1994.

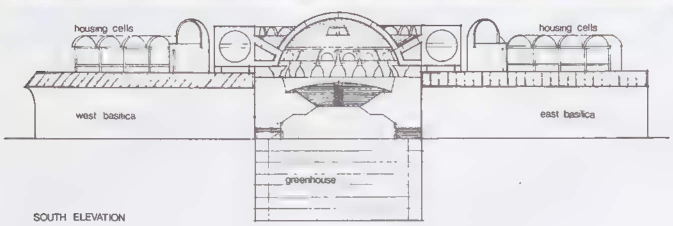
Overall view from the south mesa.
Photo J. Trotto.
View of the West Housing, 1986, from the west.
View of the visitors center, 1986, from the west.
Photo D. Wells.
View of the model of Arcosanti 2000.
Plan, elevation and section of the Teilhard de Chardin Cloister (conference center and housing), 1994.

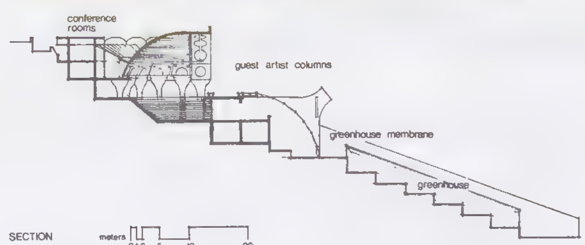


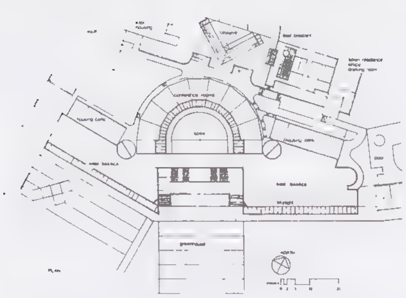







housing cells
housing cells
west basilica
east basilica
greenhouse
SOUTH ELEVATION


conference rooms
guest artist columns
greenhouse membrane
greenhouse
SECTION
meters
0 1 2 5 10 20





Fernando Távora

Auditorium do Instituto Politécnico de Viana do Castelo, Portugal, 1990-94
Fernando Távora, José Bernardo Távora
Con: Fernando Barroso, Carlos Martins, G.O.P. (Gabinete de Organização e Projectos)

Foto C. Monteiro

Vista da sudest dalla piazza e viste interne della sala.
Planimetria generale.

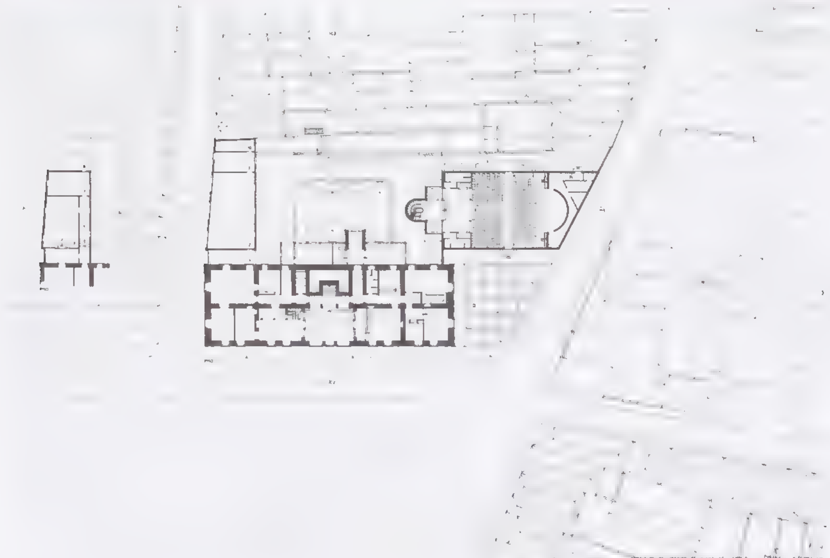
View from southwest from the square, and interior views of the hall.
General planimetric.





Auditorium dell'Istituto Politecnico, Viana do Castelo, Portogallo
Fernando Tavora

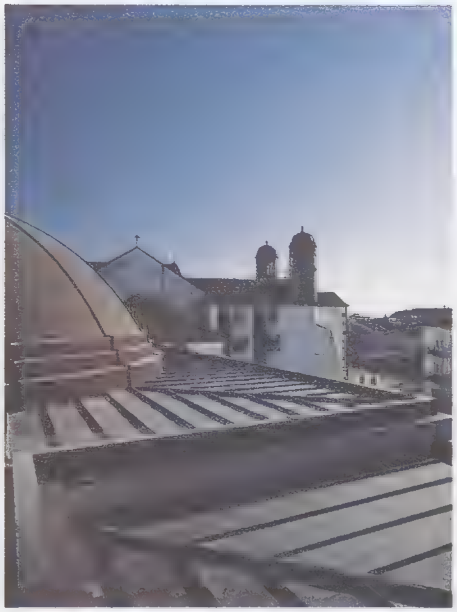
L'anfiteatro dell'Istituto Politecnico di Viana do Castelo si presenta, ad una prima lettura del programma, come un edificio di piccole dimensioni, di facile funzionamento e, in quanto annesso al Palazzo Rego Barretto sede dell'Istituto, di umile posizione in relazione a questo.
In realtà la posizione d'angolo del lotto richiede un edificio di concezione ben più esigente in quanto, concludendo una serie di costruzioni che parte dal Museo municipale ad oriente, ne costituisce l'elemento di raccordo con il Palazzo all'altezza dell'antistante giardino.
Si tratta, quindi, di un edificio cerniera che, affacciandosi sul Convento di S. Domingos e seguendone le regole insediative, articola due settori costruiti di diverse caratteristiche formali.
Per quanto riguarda la sua concezione speriamo, come disse a proposito del suo convento D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Martires, frate domenicano che partecipò al Concilio di Trento e fu animatore della Riforma in Portogallo, che "*lo spirito di Dio modererà l'ingegno edificativo e non permetterà che esso sia superfluo*".



Auditorium of the Polytechnic Institute of Viana do Castelo, Portugal
Fernando Tavora

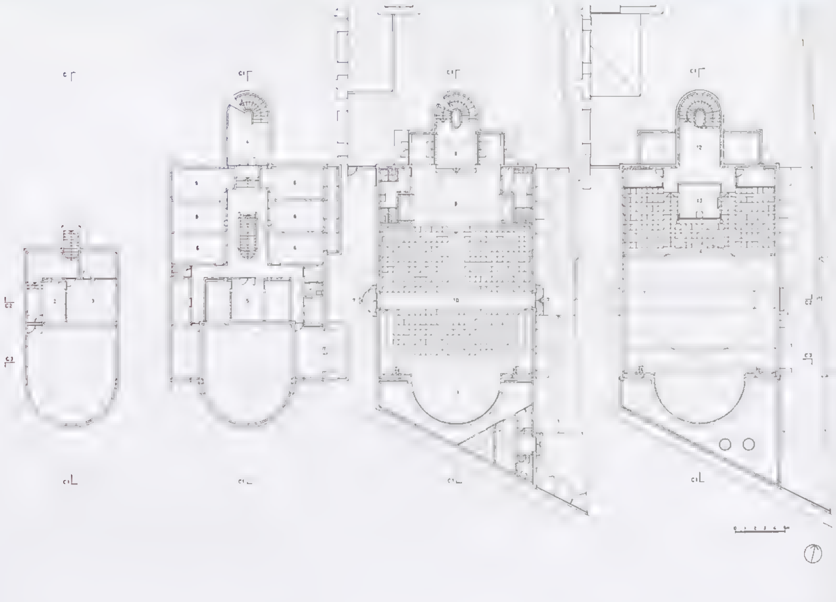
The amphitheater of the Polytechnic Institute of Viana do Castelo appears, in an initial interpretation of the program, as a building of small size, easy functioning and humble position, because it is an annex to the Rego Barretto building, the headquarters of the institute.
In reality the corner position of the lot calls for a much more prominent conception of the edifice, which becomes the conclusion of a series of structures beginning, to the east, with the Municipal Museum, and forming an element of connection with the Rego Barretto building facing the adjacent garden.
Therefore this is a hinge, a connecting edifice, facing the S. Domingos convent and complying with its settlement principles, defining two edified sectors with distinct formal characteristics.
Where the conception of the design is concern it is our hope, as D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Martires, the Dominican friar who participated at the Council of Trent and took part in the Reform in Portugal, expressed it in reference to his convent, that "the spirit of the Lord will temper the cleverness of the builder, preventing it from becoming superfluous".



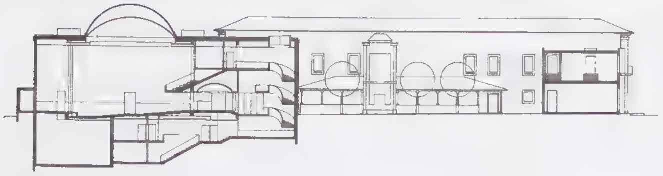


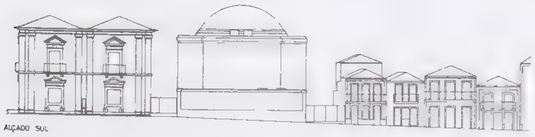












Vista di dettaglio dell'ingresso e della copertura (Foto L. Ferreira Alves).
Viste interne dei corpi scala.
Piante dell'auditorium, sezione e prospetto.

Details of the entrance and of the roof (Photo L. Ferreira Alves).
Interior views of the stairwells.
Plans of the auditorium, section and elevation.



Clorindo Testa

Edificio S.G.I.A.R. "Auditorio de la Paz", Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1994-96
Clorindo Testa
Colaborador asociado: Eduardo Bompadre

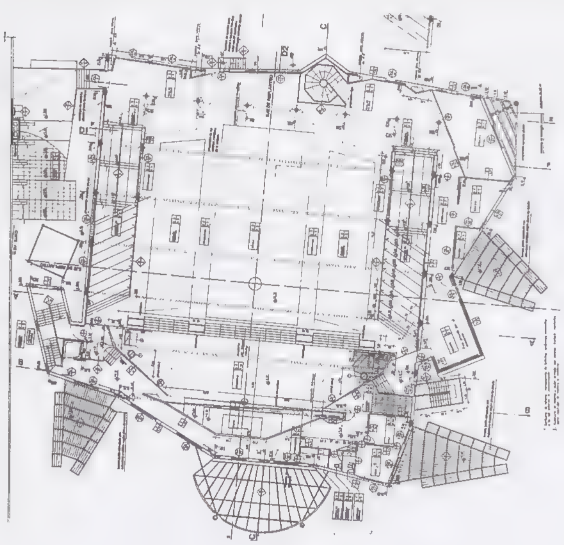
Foto D. Mac Adden, D. Trolliet

Vista del fronte di ingresso.
Foto D. Mac Adden.
Pianta del primo piano (aula del tempio).

View of the entrance facade.
Photo D. Mac Adden.
First floor plan (hall of the temple).

Edificio S.G.I.A.R. "Auditorium della Pace", Buenos Aires, Argentina
Clorindo Testa

L'edificio si trova lungo Calle Mendoza, in prossimità dell'incrocio tra la Ottava e Calle Donado. Il pubblico accede all'edificio attraverso una semplice piazza progettata appositamente e sulla quale si affaccia la sede S.G.I.A.R. esistente (Soka Gakkai Internacional de Argentina).
Il portale di ingresso principale è protetto da una grande pensilina in acciaio e vetro, mentre al di sopra sporgono tre terrazze metalliche attrezzate a verde e alberate, che riprendono al piano superiore l'immagine del giardino al piano terreno. L'obbiettivo progettuale è stato di creare un edificio inserito armonicamente nel suo contesto di vie alberate.
L'edificio si sviluppa su tre piani articolati nel modo seguente:
a) Un piano sotterraneo destinato principalmente a un parcheggio per 65 automobili, oltre che a deposito, sala macchine e una sala prove di musica.
b) Un piano terreno a quota 0.00, che ospita essenzialmente la grande *hall* di accesso all'auditorium, sale riunione di diverse dimensioni, un settore ad uffici e l'abitazione del custode (portineria). Il piano è accessibile direttamente dalla piazza, mentre dalla *hall* due rampe gradinate rivestite di gomma e granito antisdrucciolo su cui è appoggiata una passatoia conducono all'auditorium. Tutte le sale riunione sono dotate di pareti mobili grazie a pannelli scorrevoli, che consentono un'elevata flessibilità d'uso degli spazi. Al centro del piano si trovano le due sale riunione di dimensioni maggiori, con il pavimento di *parquet*, che possono essere isolate o costituire parte integrante della *hall* grazie ai pannelli scorrevoli.
c) Un piano a quota +4.12/5.32 che ospita essenzialmente l'auditorium-tempio, con una capacità massima di 950 persone. Al *foyer* dell'auditorium si accede tramite le due rampe gradinate e una scala elicoidale che conduce direttamente al piano terreno e offre una via d'uscita ausiliaria.
L'auditorium dispone di una platea centrale e di due settori sopraelevati a gradoni in corrispondenza di ciascuna delle rampe gradinate. Il palcoscenico, di grandi dimensioni, è sollevato di m 1.20 rispetto alla sala, in modo da essere ben visibile agli spettatori dalla platea centrale il cui pavimento è piano. Allo stesso livello dell'auditorium si trovano quattro sale riunione di forme e dimensioni diverse. Il podio-altare cerimoniale, situato lungo l'asse dell'auditorium e sullo sfondo del palcoscenico, occupa uno spazio proprio delimitato da una serie di pannelli scorrevoli che fungono da fondale, consentendo di nascondere il podio e di utilizzare lo spazio del palcoscenico per altre funzioni. La copertura dell'auditorium, che ha una luce di m 34, è sostenuta da travi metalliche in profilati di acciaio con finitura termoidrofuga esterna in lamiera di acciaio preverniciata.



S.G.I.A.R. Building: "Peace Auditorium", Buenos Aires, Argentina
Clorindo Testa

The edifice is on Calle Mendoza, near the intersection of Eighth St. and Calle Donado. By means of a slight axial rotation, it is separated from the two municipal streets and the intermediate road, creating space for a garden that is open to the city and, at the same time, an integral part of the plaza and the internal garden. The public access to the edifice is a simple plaza, specially designed, faced by the existing S.G.I.A.R. (Soka Gakkai Internacional de Argentina) headquarters. The main entrance is protected by a large awning in steel and glass; above there are three metal terraces for greenery and trees, reflecting the image of the ground-level garden on the upper level. The design objective was to create a building that is harmonically inserted in its context of tree-lined streets. The edifice has three levels, organized in the following manner:
a) a basement level with parking spaces for 65 motorcars, storage, an engine room and a room for music rehearsals.
b) A ground floor, at 0.00 m, houses the large access hall to the auditorium, meeting rooms of different sizes, an area for offices and the custodian's lodgings (reception). This level is directly accessed from the plaza, while from the hall two staircases, covered in non-slip rubber and granite, lead to the auditorium. Beneath the ramps there are services for the personnel, an office and an infirmary. All the meeting rooms have mobile walls with sliding panels, for flexible use. At the center of the floor there are two larger meeting rooms, with parquet flooring, for separate use or as added parts of the hall, thanks to the sliding dividers.
c) A floor at the level +4.12/5.32 m houses the auditorium/temple, with a maximum capacity of 950 persons. The foyer of the auditorium is reached by means of two ramped stairs and a helicoidal staircase that leads directly to the ground floor, providing an auxiliary exit route. The auditorium has a central parquet and two raised sections in correspondence to the ramped stairs. The large stage is elevated 1.2 m above the hall, to make it visible for all the spectators in the main area, which is not inclined. At the same level as the auditorium there are four meeting rooms with different forms and sizes. The ceremonial altar-podium, situated along the axis of the auditorium and against the backdrop of the stage, occupies its own space, defined by a series of sliding panels that function as a backdrop, permitting the concealment of the podium, and the utilization of the stage for other functions. The covering of the auditorium, with a span of 34 m, is supported by metal beams in steel section, with an external thermal-waterproof seal in pre-painted sheet steel.



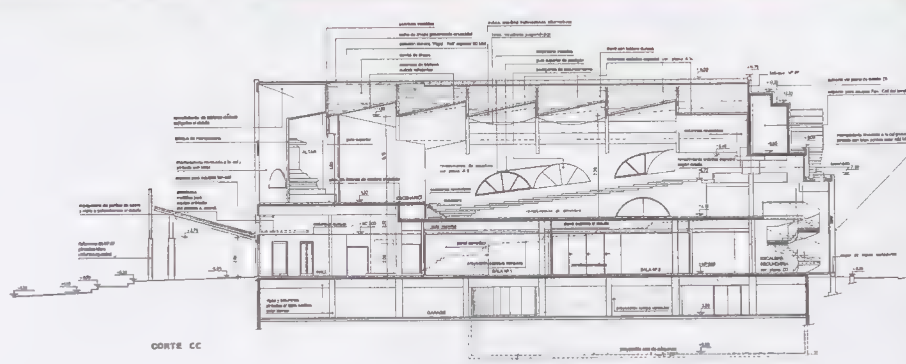




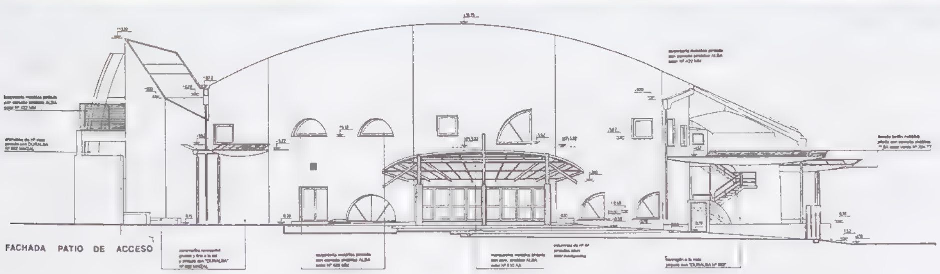


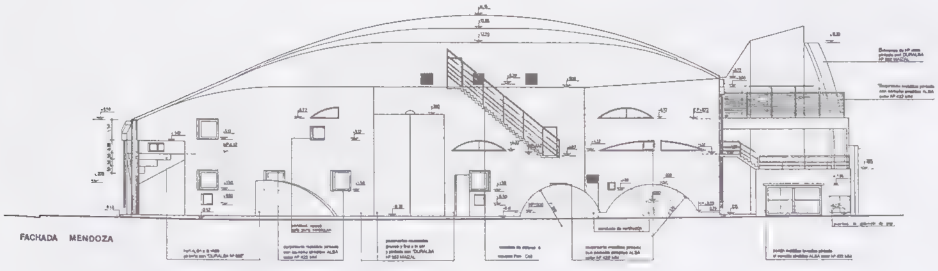
Viste laterali e viste interne della sala.
Foto D. Mac Adden.
Vista del fronte posteriore.
Foto D. Trolliet.
Sezione longitudinale, prospetti del fronte di ingresso e del fronte posteriore.

Lateral views and interior views of the hall.
Photos D. Mac Adden.
View of the rear facade.
Photo D. Trolliet.
Longitudinal section, elevations of the entrance facade and the rear facade.



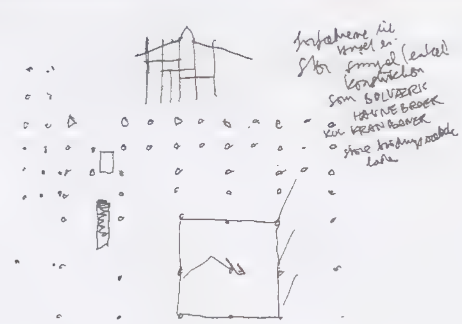



FACHADA PATIO DE ACCESO


FACHADA MENDOZA

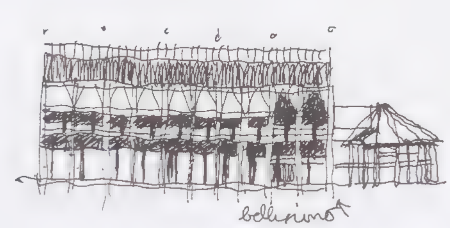


Jörn Utzon





Paustian Furniture House, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1986-87
Utzon Associates
Jörn Utzon, Kim Utzon, Jan Utzon



Paustian Furniture House, Copenhagen, Danimarca
Jörn Utzon
(testo di Christian Norberg-Schulz)

L'architetto Jörn Utzon ha cercato spesso ispirazione nei fenomeni della natura. Il suo amico e collega norvegese Arne Korsmo raccontava la storia del suo incontro con Utzon a Stoccolma durante la Seconda guerra mondiale, e di come avesse approfondito la conoscenza dell'amico in occasione di un'escursione negli arcipelaghi svedesi: "*Trovammo molti tesori: pietre, frammenti di vetro e pezzi di carbone nero e lucente. Con essi creammo il nostro primo 'poema', descrivendo la gioia di una comune esperienza dello spazio*". L'aneddoto dimostra come, fin dagli inizi, Utzon abbia sempre evitato l'astrazione e cercato l'essenza delle *cose in se stesse*. Ciò soprattutto in natura, ma anche attraverso i numerosi frammenti dell'attività umana, dimostrazione della partecipazione dell'uomo a un contesto generale. Le arcate della Sydney Opera House, un richiamo alle barche che veleggiano sul mare circostante, rappresentano, in questo senso, un valido esempio.
Tuttavia Utzon non è un romantico legato a sentimentalismi. La sua concretezza, tipicamente danese, glielo impedirebbe. Egli è inoltre troppo "moderno" per lasciarsi trascinare dalle correnti sempre mutevoli dei tempi. Egli cerca l'essenza delle cose e la esprime rivelandone la struttura. È, in questo senso, un tecnologo moderno che utilizza la tecnologia non come fine ma come mezzo per realizzare la sua *visione* . I gusci della Sydney Opera House sono, anche in questo caso, un buon esempio, così come i sistemi strutturali che egli stesso ha elaborato e che, come molte sue opere, sono un riflesso di forme di crescita organica.
Fu grazie a questo atteggiamento che egli stabilì un legame con Arne Korsmo, il quale aveva appreso dal padre botanico che "*ogni cosa in natura possiede una struttura logica e chiara e ognuna deve adattarsi a condizioni mutevoli e cercare una forma nel tempo e nello spazio*".
Ma con il termine natura si possono intendere molte cose, dal grande contesto "cosmico" al luogo stesso, con i suoi alberi, le rocce e le spiagge, per non menzionare la luce e le nuvole in cielo. In un suo articolo sul Messico, pubblicato in "Zodiac" 10 (1962), Utzon descrive come le piattaforme sopraelevate dei Maya abbiano dato una nuova dimensione al mondo circostante: una visione delle volte celesti che contrasta con il mondo chiuso della giungla sottostante. In questo modo egli sviluppò la sua tesi fondamentale, destinata a influenzare costantemente il suo lavoro: l'Architettura come incontro tra cielo e terra. La chiesa di Bagsværd rappresenta una versione "danese" di questo concetto. Su una pianta ordinata e geometrica, che ricorda i numerosi cimiteri del paese, con le loro siepi precise e regolari, egli inarca le volte dei cieli danesi, interrotte da tenui fasci di luce che danno vita allo spazio sottostante.
Anche la Paustian House, uno *showroom* di mobili, è "danese" ma, in questo caso, egli non ha adottato le forme della terra e del cielo. Gli stessi schizzi di Utzon rivelano come egli si sia ispirato alle foreste di faggi che costeggiano lo Stretto di Øresund. Chi ha visitato la Danimarca conosce le foreste di faggi dai lunghi tronchi dritti e lisci, i cui rami più bassi si estendono a formare una coltre orizzontale, mentre i più alti si innalzano biforcandosi verso il cielo. Un senso di ordine e un alito di sensualità ci consente di rilassarci e di avvertire il fremito della vita. Una sensazione che Alvar Aalto conosceva quando disse: "*Se decidessi di vivere in Danimarca, abiterei in mezzo a una foresta di faggi*".
Ma perché Utzon cerca ispirazione in una foresta di faggi per progettare un edificio sul fronte a mare di Copenhagen? La motivazione non è in una banale metafora ma nel desiderio di offrire al visitatore un'esperienza spaziale "familiare". Tuttavia queste associazioni, espresse con una struttura luminosa e moderna, non lasciano dubbi sul fatto di trovarsi in un edificio contemporaneo.
È questo approccio strutturale che conferisce alla Paustian House un'identità architettonica. Lo schema è caratterizzato da un sistema di pilastri e travi prefabbricati, distribuiti in un'ampia varietà di altezze, campate e ritmi. In corrispondenza della facciata, i pilastri sono disposti in fila come alberi ai margini di una foresta che circonda un prato danese. Quando entriamo, ci troviamo tra gli alberi. Una bassa balconata crea un'atmosfera intima, trasmettendo una sensazione di protezione. Poi lo spazio si apre, d'improvviso, ed esili colonne si innalzano verso la luce riflessa dai loro capitelli triangolari. Un interno davvero affascinante! Anche se la mia descrizione può sembrare in qualche modo troppo "naturalistica", devo sottolineare il fatto che la metafora della foresta non è così evidente. L'esperienza primaria è quella di uno spazio moderno, adatto semplicemente alla sua situazione.
Lo spazio assolve inoltre alla sua funzione di *showroom* di mobili. Un luogo espositivo dove i prodotti diventano elementi secondari che definiscono l'intero contesto spaziale; una dimensione, potremmo dire, e, quindi, qualcosa di tangibile. Nella Paustian House molti elementi esistono fianco a fianco e, insieme alla struttura dell'edificio, illustrano quell'interazione descritta una volta da Utzon come "*una nuova espressione architettonica con le stesse proprietà e gli stessi effetti dell'esperienza additiva prodotta dagli alberi in una foresta, dagli animali in gruppo, dalle pietre sulla spiaggia, dai vagoni ferroviari in uno scalo di smistamento, dai ricchi buffet danesi, tutti generati dal numero di elementi che si aggiunge allo schema di partenza.*" ("Arkitektur DK", n. 1, 1970).
Accanto allo spazio espositivo si trova un edificio basso, che accoglie un piccolo ristorante. Un volume semplice, con basse finestre attraverso le quali si può fare esperienza dell'ambiente circostante e, più in alto, finestre piccole che lasciano filtrare la luce in modo che il commensale abbia la sensazione di pranzare a cielo aperto.
Ancora una volta Jörn Utzon dimostra come l'architettura non debba imitare le forme, siano esse vecchie o nuove, ma piuttosto interpretare ciò che è essenziale, in armonia con il tempo e il luogo. Egli dimostra che un'interpretazione di questo tipo diventa "verità" nel momento in cui viene costruita. I suoi sistemi architettonici aperti riflettono i modelli di crescita flessibile della natura, pur rimanendo il risultato di metodi di produzione industriali contemporanei. Un'architettura nuova e antica, vernacola e internazionale. In un'epoca caratterizzata da mode e dissoluzione, l'esempio di Jörn Utzon è più vitale che mai.
È un piacere sapere come i suoi due figli, Jan e Kim, abbiano compreso pienamente questi principi e siano stati in grado di gestire con successo la costruzione della Paustian House.
(Da "Arkitektur DK", n. 8, 1989)

Vista del fronte a mare.
Foto Schnakenburg & Brahl.
Disegni di studio.

View of the front facing the sea.
Photo Schnakenburg & Brahl.
Working drawings.

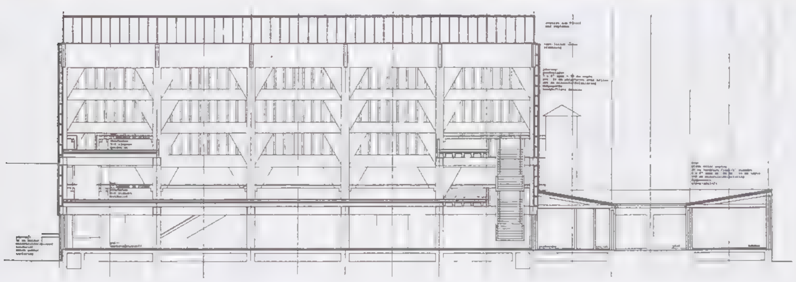
The Paustian Furniture House, Copenhagen, Denmark
Jörn Utzon
(text by Christian Norberg-Schulz)

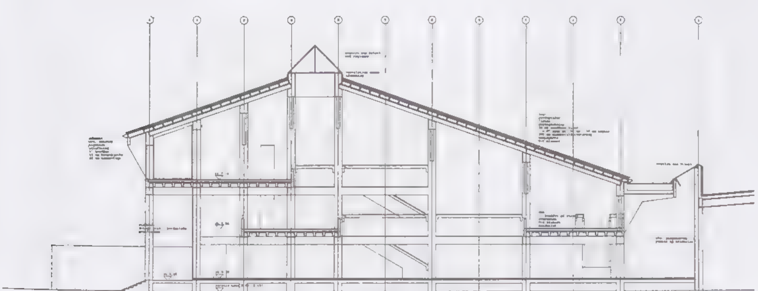
Architect Jörn Utzon has often sought his inspiration in the works of nature. His Norwegian friend and colleague, Arne Korsmo, told the story of how he met Utzon in Stockholm during World War II and grew to know him during an excursion to the Swedish archipelagos: "The many treasures we found: stones, bits of glass and black shiny charcoal were combined to form our first 'poem', describing the joy of our common spatial experience." *This anecdote shows that Utzon, from the very beginning, avoided the abstract and sought the essence of* things themselves. *This was primarily in nature, but also through the many fragments of human activity, evidence of human participation in general context. The arches of the Sydney Opera House, which "mirror" the sailboats gliding through its surrounding waters are a good example of this.*
But Utzon is not a romantic who cultivates sentimentality. His Danish matter-of-factness precludes this, and besides, he is much too "modern" to allow himself to be swept away with the changing currents of the times. He seeks the essence of things and expresses this by exposing their structure. In this sense he is a modern technologist, yet technology is not a goal in itself, but more a tool to realize his vision. *The shells of the Sydney Opera House are again a good example, as are his building systems, which like so much of his work, reflect organic growth forms.*
It was just this attitude that created the bond between him and Arne Korsmo, who had learned from his botanist father, that "all things in nature have a clear and logical structure, and that all must adapt to changing conditions and seek form in time and space."
But nature can be so many things, from the great "cosmic" context to the place itself, with its trees, rocks and beaches, not to mention light and the clouds of the sky. In his article on Mexico in Zodiac 10, Utzon describes how the raised platforms of the Maya indians gave a new dimension to the surrounding world: a view out under the vaulted heavens in contrast to the closed world of the jungle below. In this way he developed his basic thesis, which came to influence his work again and again: Architecture as the meeting of heaven and earth.
At Bagsværd Church, he translated this concept to "Danish". Over an ordered, geometric plan, reminiscent of the country's many cemeteries with their precise, well-trimmed hedges, he arched the heavenlike vaults of the Danish skies, broken subtly by shafts of light, giving life to the room below.
The Paustian House, a furniture showroom, is also "Danish". But here he did not employ the forms of land and sky. Utzon's own sketches reveal that his inspiration was found in the beech forests along the edges of the Øresund Strait. Those who have visited Denmark, know the beech forests with their long, straight smooth trunks from which the lowest branches spread to form a horizontal roof, while the upper ones reach up in open triangular forms toward heaven. A sense of order and a breath of sensuality allows us to relax and feel life's vibrations. Alvar Aalto also sensed this when he said, "If I chose to live in Denmark, I would settle in the middle of a beech forest."
But why does Utzon employ a beech forest as an inspiration for a building on the Copenhagen waterfront? The intention was not that of a banal metaphor, but more the desire to give the visitor a "familiar" spatial experience. Yet these associations, together with a clear and modern structure, suggest quite clearly, that one is in a contemporary building.
It is this structural attitude that gives the Paustian building its architectural identity. A system of prefabricated columns and beams run throughout the scheme, with a wide variety of heights, spans and rhythms. On the facade, the columns are gathered in a row, like the edges of the forest surrounding a Danish meadow. When we enter, we are amidst the trees. A low balcony creates a sense of intimacy, a feeling of being "under", and then the space suddenly opens and the slim columns shoot upward toward the light that reflects from their triangular capitals. A truly fascinating interior! Although my description can seem somewhat too "naturalistic" I should emphasize the fact that the forest metaphor is not obtrusive. One's primary experience is that of a modern space that simply suits its situation.
And it also suits its function as a furniture showroom. An exhibition space where the products are given life as secondary defining elements of the total spatial context. In a way of speaking, dimension and thus a tangibility. In the Paustian House, many things exist side by side and together with the structure of the building, illustrate the "interplay" that Utzon once described as "a new architectural expression with the same properties and the same effects as the additive experience of trees in a forest, groups of animals, stones on a beach, railway carriages in a marshalling yard, Danish smorgasbord, all depending on the number of elements one adds to the scheme" ("Arkitektur DK" no. 1, 1970).
Next to the exhibition space is a low building housing a small restaurant. A simple volume with low windows that allow one to experience the nearness of the surroundings, while the smaller, high windows bring in the light, placing the diner and his dinner under the open heaven. Once again, Jörn Utzon has shown us that architecture does not require the imitation of forms, be they old or new, but more an interpretation of the essentials in harmony with time and place. He proves that an interpretation of this kind becomes a "truth" when actually built. His open building systems reflect nature's adaptive growth patterns, while still being the product of contemporary industrial production methods. Therefore his architecture is both "old" and "new", vernacular and international. In a time marked by fads and dissolution, Jörn Utzon's example is more vital than ever.
It is a pleasure to see, that his two sons, Jan and Kim, with their understanding of these very ideas, were able to successfully lead the building of the Paustian House.
(From "Arkitektur DK", no. 8, 1989)

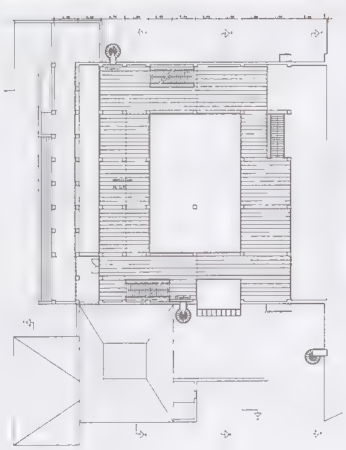
Vista interna.
Sezioni longitudinale e trasversale e pianta del primo piano.

Interior view.
Longitudinal and cross-sections, plan of the first floor.







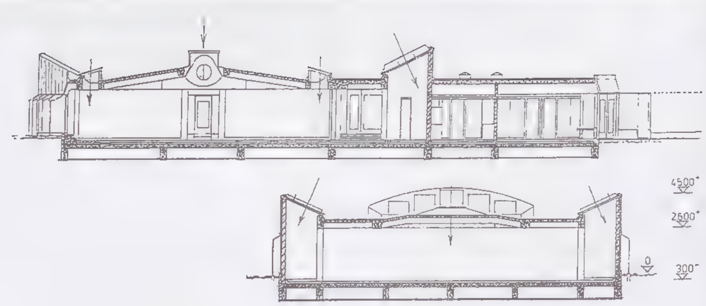


Aldo van Eyck

Church for the Moluccan Community of Deventer, Netherlands, 1982
Aldo and Hannie van Eyck

Photos H.H. van Doorn

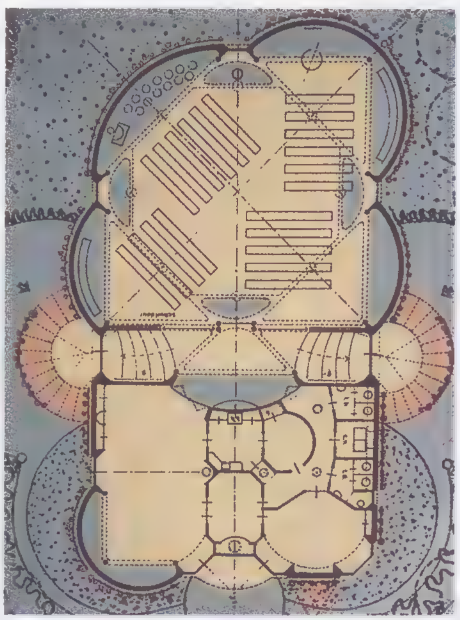




Chiesa per la Comunità delle Molucche, Deventer, Olanda
Aldo e Hannie van Eyck

Il sito è il consueto "non spazio" – i pochi urbanisti rimasti hanno l'abitudine di vivere tra villette a schiera di periferia. Poiché in un "non spazio" (o accanto al tipo di architettura che generalmente lo caratterizza) non si può in realtà costruire (o aggiungere qualcosa), ho cercato di immaginare questo sfortunato spazio-residuale, perché di questo si trattava, solidificato in una massa dalla quale si poteva scavare fuori la chiesa. Ma, ahimé, l'Olanda non è l'Etiopia!
E quali materiali usare? Un vero problema, poiché il carattere di tutto quello che è prontamente disponibile e acquistabile è già stato disperso in un'applicazione casuale in tutto il sito. Inoltre, qualcosa di troppo diverso o appariscente sarebbe apparso isolato e avrebbe quindi tradito il principio dell'unità tra casa e luogo di culto tanto cara a chi è nato nelle Molucche.
Poiché la cerimonia rituale dell'andare in chiesa ha inizio già in casa, in un contesto intimo e familiare, poco prima che inizi la celebrazione vera e propria, il tragitto alla chiesa è considerato un preludio formale alla cerimonia (un'estensione dell'ingresso).
Pensando a questo concetto "in negativo" – o rovesciato – dello spazio, ho rinunciato, per così dire, ai "muri" esterni disponendo intorno alla chiesa, a cm 30 dal muro, sottili graticci su cui crescono rose rampicanti (avvolte anche intorno ai portici d'ingresso). Nel giardino circostante crescono rose del medesimo colore (bianche), che legano così l'edificio al contesto. Lo stesso graticcio verrà disposto intorno al campanile.
Inizialmente si era pensato di decorare i muri perimetrali curvi della chiesa con motivi tradizionali molucchi (precristiani), ricavati con canne di bambù decorate. Si tratta di motivi essenzialmente vegetali.
Così l'interno della chiesa, ricevendo moltissima luce dall'alto, richiama gli spazi esterni.
Alla fine, tuttavia, le composizioni su sfondo azzurro di "conchiglie volanti" di Iene Ambar hanno sostituito l'idea originale dei motivi ricavati dal bambù. Esse richiamano il mare e il cielo che uniscono le isole ancestrali e disperse della gente delle Molucche.
A proposito dell'interno: non volevo creare un unico punto focale (il pulpito) sul quale la gente si concentrasse inconsciamente, ma ho preferito fare in modo che i fedeli potessero di





Vista d'insieme e dettaglio delle murature esterne.
Pianta e sezioni longitudinale e trasversale.

Overall view and detail of the external walls.
Plan and longitudinal and cross-sections.





tanto in tanto distogliere da esso l'attenzione. All'asimmetria ho quindi preferito un asse multidirezionale e una simmetria multipla. Iene Ambar ha creato le sue composizioni "volanti" su ciascuna delle sei pareti curve all'interno. Ognuna è diversa. Le conchiglie di madreperla che ella ha inserito una per una nell'intonaco ancora umido provengono appositamente dalle Molucche. Le quattro tonalità di azzurro sono state scelte dall'architetto. Illuminate dall'alto, esse conferiscono alle pareti un certo senso di esterno. Pur definendo chiaramente i limiti dello spazio della chiesa, l'azzurro risulta al tempo stesso spazialmente indefinito, facendo sì che la sola copertura – "balue", nel linguaggio delle Molucche, qui appoggiata su otto colonne e sotto la quale la gente vuole raccogliersi in questa parte del mondo – risulti al tempo stesso più ampia e più chiaramente disegnata.

Church for the Moluccan Community of Deventer, Netherlands
Aldo and Hannie van Eyck

The site is the usual kind of non space-residue planners are in the habit of leaving between suburban row houses. Since one can't really build in (add anything to) non-space (or next to the kind of architecture that generally goes with it), I imagined this unfortunate space-residue, as it were, solidified and requiring the church scooped out of the mass. But alas, Holland is not Ethiopia! As to what building materials to use? A problem indeed, because the character of all that is readily available and payable is already squandered through random application all round the site. Besides, anything too different or conspicuous would isolate itself and thus work against the unity the Moluccans envisage between their homes and their place of worship.
Since the traditional church going ceremony begins at home some time before the actual service as an intimate family affair, getting to the church – the way there – is regarded as a formal prelude to the actual service (extended entry). With this negative – or inverted – space notion in mind, I did away, so to speak, with all exterior "walls" by having roses grow up thin trelliswork screens right round the church (and looping out and over the entrance porches) – 30 cm away from the walls. Roses with a similar colour (white) will also feature in the surrounding garden linking it to the building. The belfry will have the same trellis screen for roses all round. Originally the idea was to adorn the curved perimeter walls of the church-space all over with traditional Moluccan (pre-Christian) motives adapted in the flat from decorated bamboo tubes. These motives are distinctly vegetative.
So, with ample light from above, the church interior would echo the exterior. Ultimately, however, Iene Ambar's "flying-seashell-lines" on blue replaced the original bamboo-motive idea. They call to mind both sea and sky which unite the dispersed ancestral islands of the Moluccan people.
A propos the interior: I did not want one single point of focus (pulpit) to hold people's attention involuntary fixed, but, instead, prefered to allow it to shift – wander – away and back. Hence multidirectional axiality and multiple symmetry rather than asymmetry.
Iene Ambar drew her "flying lines" on each of the six curved interior walls – each differently. The mother of pearl sea shells she pressed into the wet plaster one by one were sent especially from the moluccan islands. The blue – four shades – are the architect's choice. They give the walls – skylit from above all round – a certain exterior quality. Whilst clearly defining the limits of the church-space the blue is at the same time spatially indefinite rendering the single roof – "balue" (resting on eight columns here) – under which people are want to gather in that part of the world, both wider and more clearly defined.



Viste interne dell'aula e dettaglio delle murature interne con la composizione di conchiglie di Iene Ambar.

Interior views of the hall and detail of the internal walls with the seashell composition by Iene Ambar.



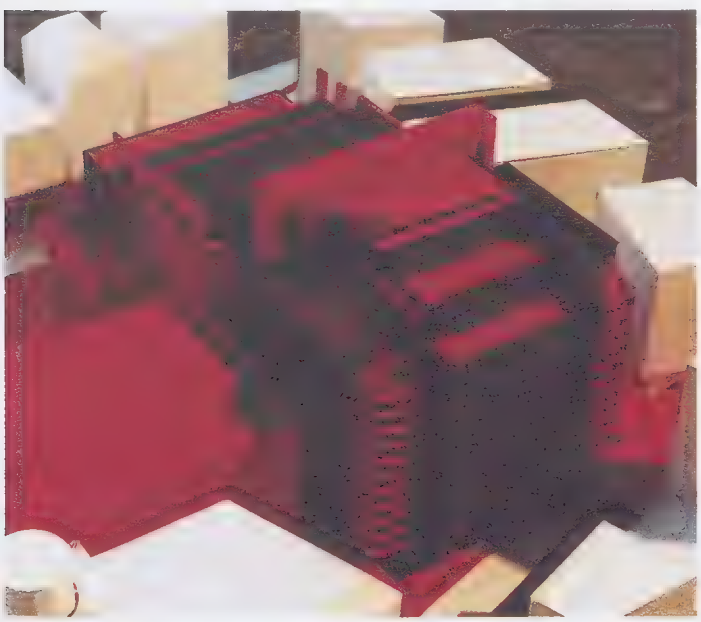
Vittoriano Viganò

Teatro Comunale dell'Opera Carlo Felice, Genova, Italia, 1982-83
Progetto di concorso, prima e seconda fase
Vittoriano Viganò
Progetto strutturale: IN.CO. spa - ing. Silvano Zorzi
Progetto impiantistico: Intertecno spa
Consulenza acustica: Nello Morresi
Consulenza decorazione: Gio' Pomodoro
Consulenza scenotecnica: Tito Varisco
Impresa Capogruppo: Impresa Binda & C.
Collaboratori: architetti: Mario Bacuzzi, Carlo Castiglioni, Claudio Castiglioni, Dante Firenza, Pier Luigi Lunghi, Masahiro Matsuno, Gino Salatino, Daniela Fugagnollo



Progetto di concorso appalto per la ricostruzione del Teatro Carlo Felice, Genova, Italia
Vittoriano Viganò

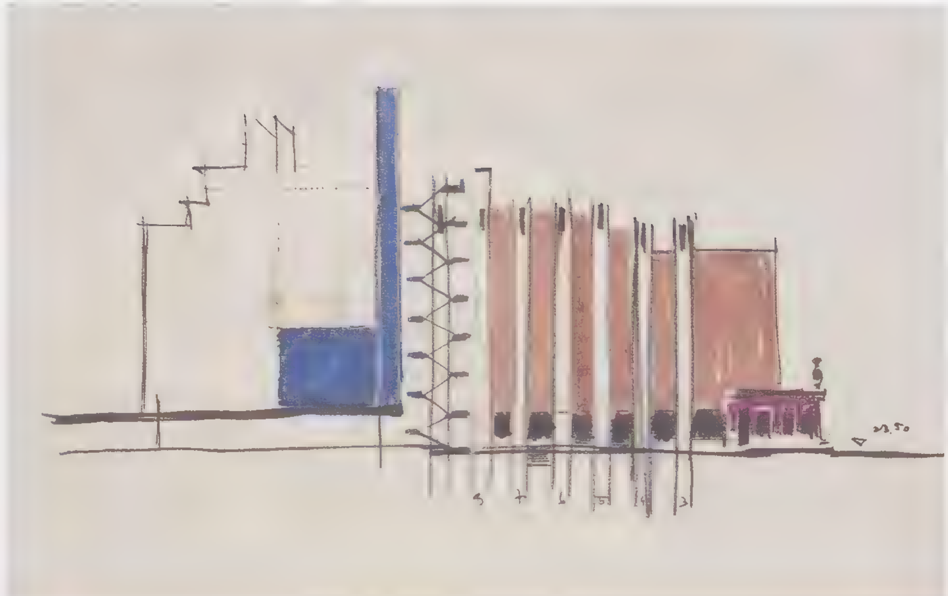
Il progetto offre:
un complesso edilizio monoblocco in c.a., a pianta rettangolare e a sezione longitudinale trapezia (piano di copertura finito a vaste terrazze, che dalla quota absidale, + 42.20, degradano verso ovest, secondo un profilo gradonato).
Il complesso è caratterizzato da finiture a grandi vetrate sulla testata absidale e da grandi superfici piene sul corpo della navata prospiciente su Piazza De Ferrari, Via XX Aprile e lato nord.
Le trasparenze dell'abside interpretano una permeabilità visiva e possibile fra città e sistema degli ambienti di lavoro teatrale, quelli avvolgenti lo spazio scenico vero e proprio.
I pieni della navata – in c. a. – interpretano una impermeabilità sostanziale fra città e sistema ricettivo teatrale (sala, logge di disimpegno e, in qualche misura, i *foyer*).
Essi fanno da sfondo – o da contrappunto neutrale – ai reperti neoclassici (il Pronao e il Portichetto in pietra a ovest) e sono finiti in intonaco pietrificato bocciardato bianco/grigio/rosa.
Il piano di copertura è a terrazzi, finiti però lungo i margini nord e sud con grandi falde (tetti tradizionali in ardesia).
Il complesso si attesta per tangenza all'Accademia e a Piazza Piccapietra, estesa fin contro il complesso della macchina teatrale come elemento di approccio carraio e sbocco diretto dal palcoscenico.
Presuppone inoltre:
a) una solidarizzazione fra sistema urbano di Piccapietra e Galleria Mazzini (nell'ipotesi di una reciproca solidale riqualificazione);
b) una connessione fra Galleria Mazzini e Piazza De Ferrari attraverso una galleria, su due piani e al proprio interno. Risulta così annullata la funzione connettiva nord/sud del portichetto barabiniano, il cui volume viene incorporato in quello dell'atrio/ingresso al Teatro;
c) un riassetto dello spiazzo antistante il Pronao, risolto in tre dimensioni, ponendo cioè a sistema e ridisegnando anche gli spazi di connessione sottesi alla piazza.
Tipologicamente, il progetto ripropone l'impianto barabiniano: macchina teatrale a est, sala a palchi al centro, sistema di accesso a ovest.
La scelta è metodologica, interpreta cioè una connotazione del teatro lirico all'italiana che è da considerarsi una "permanenza o invariante".
È da ritenersi tanto più plausibile quanto più la domanda di rinnovo dell'impianto espressa dal bando di concorso appare radicale:
aggiornamento e potenziamento tecnologico dell'impianto scenico;
triplicazione dei posti (dagli 800 barabiniani agli oltre 2000 richiesti);
istituzione di una sala polifunzionale integrativa;
rispetto delle nuove e onerose norme di sicurezza.
Tanto più il Carlo Felice – per la avvenuta cancellazione della propria massa, per la mutata contestualità urbana e per la nuova e pesante domanda funzionale – non può essere che una entità nuova, cioè una presenza edilizia nuova nella città, tanto più appare plausibile l'affermazione della organizzazione dello spazio interno nella logica del tipo storico e dei suoi modi di fruizione storica:
a) la platea piana e a uso flessibile;
b) la cortina a palchi, di forma ciclica e avvolgente (nel progetto, di forma a "omega"), nella logica della esigenza acustica, di limitate ed equilibrate distanze fruitive, infine di uno spazio atto a quel vissuto rappresentativo e comunicativo che è tipico del teatro lirico all'italiana nella sua risoluzione a palchi.
Il progetto interpreta queste tesi offrendo:
- una platea capace di 1200 posti. La metà anteriore della sala ha pavimento mobile, cioè adeguabile in quota con tecnologia elementare, consentendone un utilizzo differenziato: spettacoli, fuori scena, estensione della scena nella sala per grandi coreografie, feste in platea, ecc. (N. B. L'accumulo delle poltrone rimosse è previsto in via diretta nello spazio sotteso all'orchestra);
- una "cortina di sala" di quasi mq 1000, una superficie cilindrica cioè di 128 palchi capaci di 800/1400 persone;
– un *foyer* (circa mq 700) a contatto diretto con la platea, di cui può divenire parte nella logica della flessibilità di cui si è detto (oltre a un secondo *foyer*, a quota superiore e di pari superficie);
– una architettura degli spazi di accesso e rappresentanza caratterizzata anche dalla ricchezza spaziale delle logge di disimpegno ai palchi a varia quota e non meno dal tema delle scale "a vista alla leonardesca" lungo tutto il lato occidentale.
Il progetto persegue il massimo utilizzo del proprio volume, presupponendo per così dire una stratificazione del volume complessivo per piani, stratificazione di fatto svuotata solo in presenza delle grandi "focalità" funzionali: i *foyer*, la sala vera e propria, e, al di là del diaframma tagliafuoco, lo spazio scenico.
Dunque il progetto offre una specifica notevole quantità di superficie utile al vissuto sociale dell'impianto.
I caratteri di finitura espressi nell'architettura di facciata riemergono anche all'interno, in coerenza con il continuo strutturale sempre evidenziato.
Anche all'interno la finitura dei calcestruzzi è in intonaco pietrificato bocciardato. Talché si può dire che il sistema ambientale di rappresentanza (ingresso, *foyer*, logge, scale,



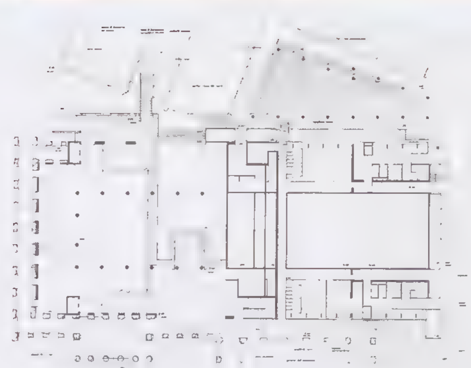
Viste del modello da ovest e da est e planimetria generale della prima fase.

Views of model from west and east and general planimetric of the first phase.

servizi, ecc.) altro non è che un'estensione dell'immagine urbana del teatro e della città stessa.
La scelta è metodologica.
Mette tuttavia conto di rilevare che essa è valsa anche alla migliore qualificazione di questo settore ai fini della sicurezza antincendio.
Diverso o comunque specifico, a tale riguardo, il caso della "sala": essa infatti è in qualche modo parte di questa caratterizzazione essenzialmente strutturale o urbana grazie alla platea, intesa come elemento di connessione fra *foyer* e palcoscenico e come struttura sostanzialmente flessibile. Si distingue per contro, si affina nei particolari e nei materiali di finitura (il velluto), si fa di colore rosso e festoso, secondo tradizione, nel grande invaso dei palchi e nella loro ricchezza chiaroscurale, nel grande drappeggio che interessa tutto l'arco scenico, nel grande stemma comunale che lo decora.
N. B. L'offerta è a buon prezzo.

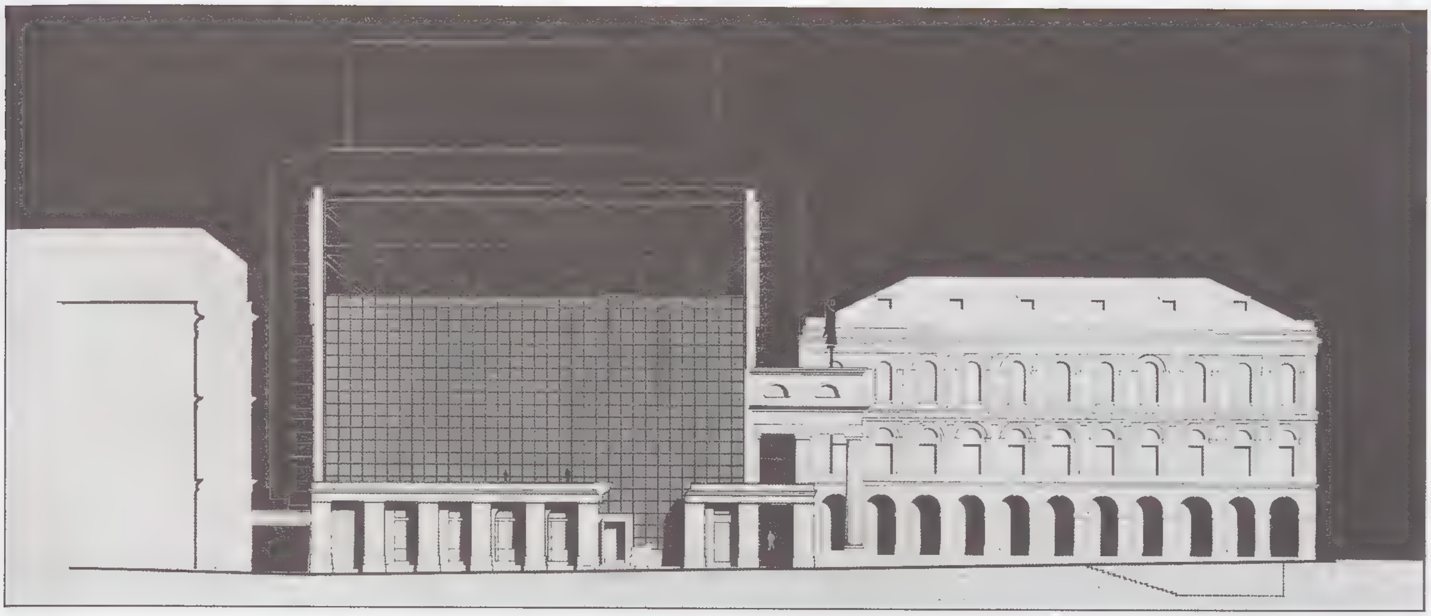


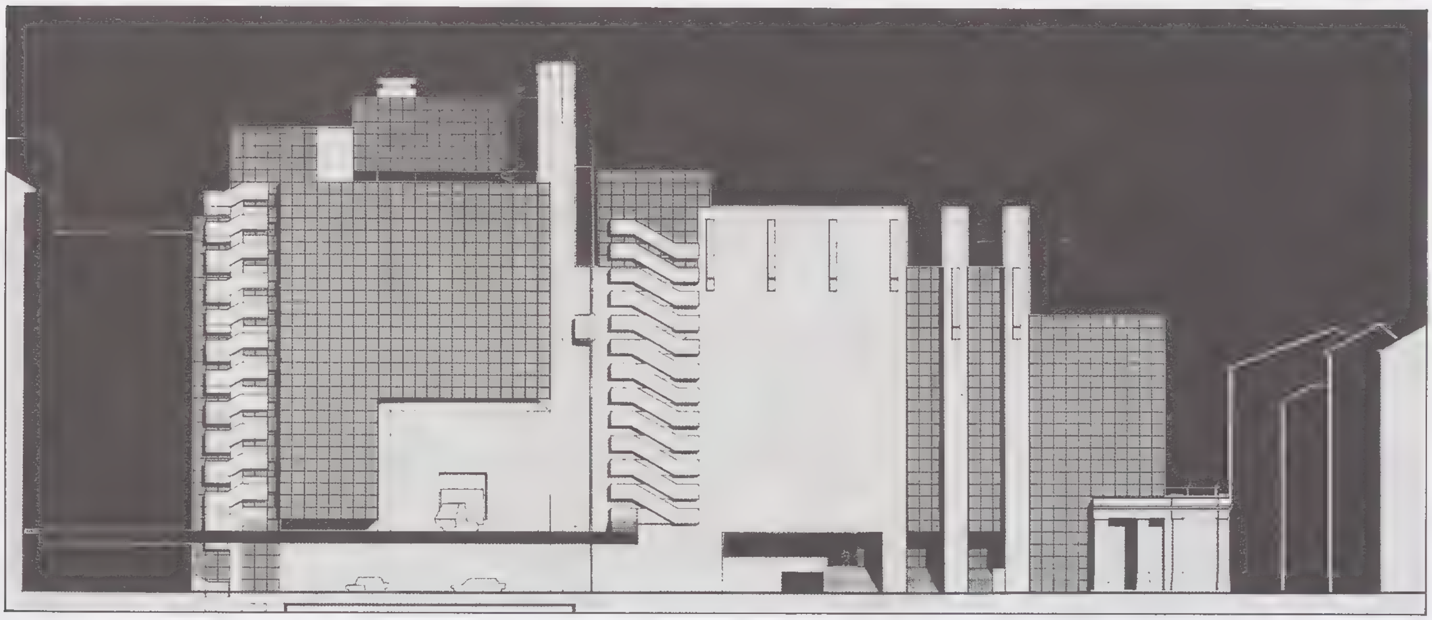


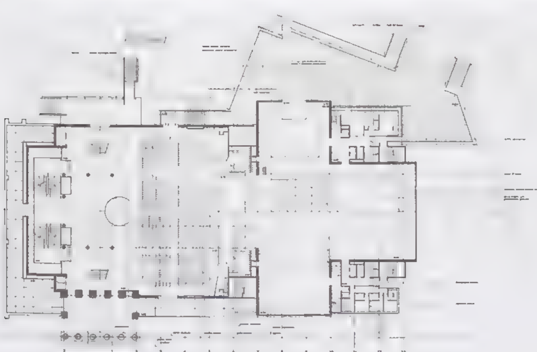


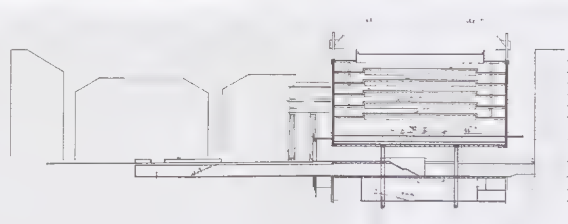
Disegni di studio dei prospetti nordest e sudovest (Piazza De Ferrari) della prima fase.
Prospetti nordovest e nordest della prima fase.
Piante alle quote degli ingressi, della platea e dei palchi e sezione trasversale della seconda fase.

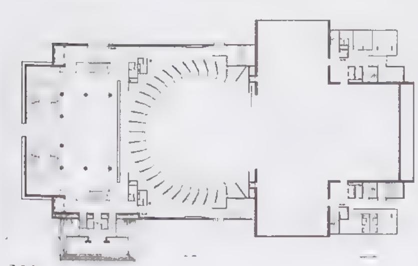
Working drawings of the northeast and southwest elevation (Piazza De Ferrari) of the first phase.
Northwest and northeast elevations of the first phase.
Plans at the levels of the entrances, of the stalls and of the balconies and cross-section of the second phase.











Competition entry for the reconstruction of the Carlo Felice Theater, Genoa, Italy
Vittoriano Viganò

The design offers:
a mono-block complex in reinforced concrete, with a rectangular plan and trapezial longitudinal section (roofing organized as vast terraces, which from the apsidal point (42.2 m) slope toward the west in steps.
The complex is characterized by large glazings on the apsidal end and by large closed surfaces on the volume of the nave facing onto Piazza De Ferrari, Via XX Aprile and the north side.
The transparent parts of the apse interpret a visual and possible permeability between the city and the system of theatrical workspaces, or those surrounding the actual stage area.
The closed surfaces of the nave, in reinforced concrete, interpret a substantial impermeability between the city and the parts of the theater for the public (the hall, the balconies and accessways, the foyers). These elements form a backdrop – or a neutral counterpoint – to the neoclassical remains (the Pronaos and the Portichetto to the west), and are finished in white/gray/pink hammered stone stucco.
The roof is arranged in terraces, but to the north and south there are also traditional slate slopes.
The complex is adjacent to the Accademia and to Piazza Piccapietra, which extends up to the complex of the theater machine like an element of vehicular approach, with a direct link to the stage.
The project also calls for:
a) a consolidation between the urban system of Piccapietra and Galleria Mazzini (in the hypothesis of a reciprocal renewal);
b) a connection between Galleria Mazzini and Piazza De Ferrai by means of a galleria on two levels. This would eliminate the north/south connecting function of the "portichetto" of Barabino, whose volume is incorporated in







that of the entrance-atrium of the theater;
c) a reorganization of the open space in front of the Pronaos, in three dimensions, in a system, while also redesigning the spaces of connection for the piazza.

In typological terms the project maintains Barabino's layout: theatrical machine to the east, hall with balconies in the center, access system to the west.
The choice is one of method, interpreting a connotation of the opera house in Italy, which is considered as a "permanent, unchanging" element.
The result is more plausible due to the fact that the desire for renewal expressed in the competition guidelines is radical in appearance:
– technological updating and improvement of the stage facilities;
– tripling of seating (from 800 to over 2000);
– creation of an integrative multifunctional hall;
– compliance with new, restrictive fire and safety regulations.
The fact is that the Carlo Felice theater – due to the damages of the past, to the changes of the urban context and to the pressing new functional requirements – cannot help but become a new entity, a new edified presence in the city. But all this also means that it is plausible, inside, to maintain the historical logic of the structure and its historical usage patterns:
a) flat seating area for flexible use;
b) balconies and boxes arranged in a circular, wrapped form ("omega" form, in the design), in keeping with the requirements of acoustics, of limited and well-balanced distancing for spectators, and the need for a space suitable for the representative and communicative experience Italian grand opera.
The project interprets these hypotheses by offering:

Viste del modello della seconda fase da ovest e da est e dettaglio del modello della sala della seconda fase.

Views of the model of the second phase from west and east, and detail of the model of the hall of the second phase.

– a stalls seating area for 1200 spectators. The front half of the hall has a height-adjustable floor, permitting differentiated use: in performances, off-stage, extension of the stage for wider choreography, for celebrations, etc. (NB The seats removed for these flexible uses will be stored in the space below the orchestra pit);
– a "curtain" in the hall, of appx. 1000 sq. meters, a cylindrical surface for 128 boxes, seating 800 to 1400 persons;
– a foyer (about 700 sq. meters) in direct contact with the stalls, permitting joining in the logic of flexibility described above (besides a second foyer, at a higher level, of the same size);
– an architecture of the spaces of access and representation that is also characterized by the spatial richness of the accessways for the boxes at different levels, and by the theme of "Leonardesque" visible stairs along the entire western side.
The design attempts to make maximum utilization of volume, positing a stratification of the overall volume in levels, which are not present only in the case of major functional elements: the foyers, the hall itself and the stage.
Thus the project offers a specific, noteworthy quantity of useful areas for the social experience of the facility.
The finishings used in the architecture of the facade are repeating in the interiors, in coherence with the structural continuity. Once again, in the interior, the finishing of the concrete is in hammered stone stucco.
In fact, we can state that the environmental system of representation (entrance, foyer, loggias, stairs, services, etc.) is simply an extension of the urban image of the theater and of the city itself.
The choice is one of methodology.
Nevertheless, it is also important that this choice has led to an improvement in fire safety.

The case of the hall itself is different, or particular: in fact, it becomes a part of this essential structural and urban characterization, thanks to the stalls area, seen as an element of connection between the foyer and the stage, and as a substantially flexible structure. On the other hand, the actual hall is distinguished from the other elements in terms of details and finishing materials, with festive red velvet, in keeping with the tradition, and in the large protrusion of the boxes with their wealth of shadows and patterns, in the large drapery of the entire archway of the stage, in the large coat of arms of the city.
NB: the bid is quite reasonable.



Colin St. John Wilson

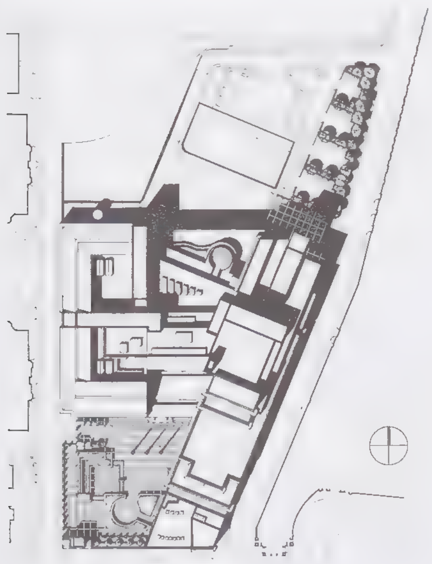
Vista generale dall'alto.
Foto R. Davies.
Planivolumetria generale.

Overall view from above.
Photo R. Davies.
General planivolumetric.

The British Library, London, Great Britain, 1975-1997
Colin St. John Wilson & Partners
Structural Engineers: Ove Arup & Partners
Mechanical Engineers: Steensen Varming Mulcahy & Parners
Quantity Surveyors: Davis Belfield & Everest

British Library, St. Pancras, Londra, Gran Bretagna (in costruzione)
Colin St. John Wilson

La prima fase della British Library, nel quartiere londinese di St. Pancras, sarà portata a termine alla fine di quest'anno. Si tratta dell'ultimo dei tre progetti da me elaborati, dato che i primi due (rispettivamente negli anni 1962-64 e nel 1973) prevedevano la costruzione della Biblioteca a Bloomsbury, di fronte al British Museum, ma furono abbandonati ai fini della conservazione del quartiere.
L'edificio, che occupa un'area di mq 112.000, ospiterà tutte le sezioni di consultazione, composte da libri, mappe, musica, libri rari e manoscritti (circa 340 chilometri di scaffali), 1200 posti di lettura a sedere, tre gallerie espositive e un centro conferenze. Il sito, 5,1 ettari nei pressi della Stazione di St. Pancras, è opportunamente servito da mezzi di superficie e dalla metropolitana e acquisterà straordinaria importanza quando la Stazione di St. Pancras diventerà il principale collegamento con il tunnel che attraverserà la Manica.
L'asimmetria della pianta e della composizione riflette le due funzioni essenziali degli spazi interni, derivanti da due diverse destinazioni d'uso.
Le sale di lettura della sezione umanistica occupano il lato occidentale dell'edificio. Qui lo spazio, occupato quasi interamente da posti di lettura, è illuminato da luce diurna (la più appropriata a un ambiente di questo tipo), che si diffonde attraverso le aperture e i lucernari dei tetti spioventi. Le collezioni sono disposte in un apposito spazio "protetto" e sotterraneo, in ideali condizioni ambientali: da qui, grazie a un sistema di catalogazione interattivo su terminali, i libri vengono distribuiti nel giro di venti minuti con sistemi in parte manuali e in parte meccanici.
Diversamente, gli scaffali della sezione scientifica e della sezione brevetti occupano un intero piano e i lettori possono accedere liberamente alla consultazione di estratti, periodici, libri, microschede, eccetera. Queste sale, che presentano una forma più flessibile e modulare, si trovano sul lato orientale (Midland Road) insieme alla maggior parte degli uffici. Inoltre, poiché lo spazio è occupato al centro dalle scaffalature, la luce diurna filtra da finestre laterali illuminando i tavoli di lettura distribuiti lungo il perimetro delle sale.
Per l'insolita quantità delle opere in consultazione, in continua espansione, si è reso necessario un progetto realizzabile in stadi successivi. Fino a oggi è stata portata a termine soltanto la prima fase del programma generale originale.
Il processo di costruzione in stadi successivi si può meglio realizzare con un tipo di architettura liberamente "adattabile", nella tradizione del *free style* inglese (Butterfield, Waterhouse, Scott, Street, Macintosh), piuttosto che con le rigide simmetrie delle forme classiche. Un approccio che consente un'integrazione armonica tra la Biblioteca e il St. Pancras Hotel di Scott (anch'esso di forma libera e asimmetrica), integrazione accentuata dall'uso di materiali esterni simili in entrambi gli edifici: mattoni rossi, tetti di ardesia, superfici di metallo e di granito, tutti materiali di buona resistenza alle condizioni climatiche.



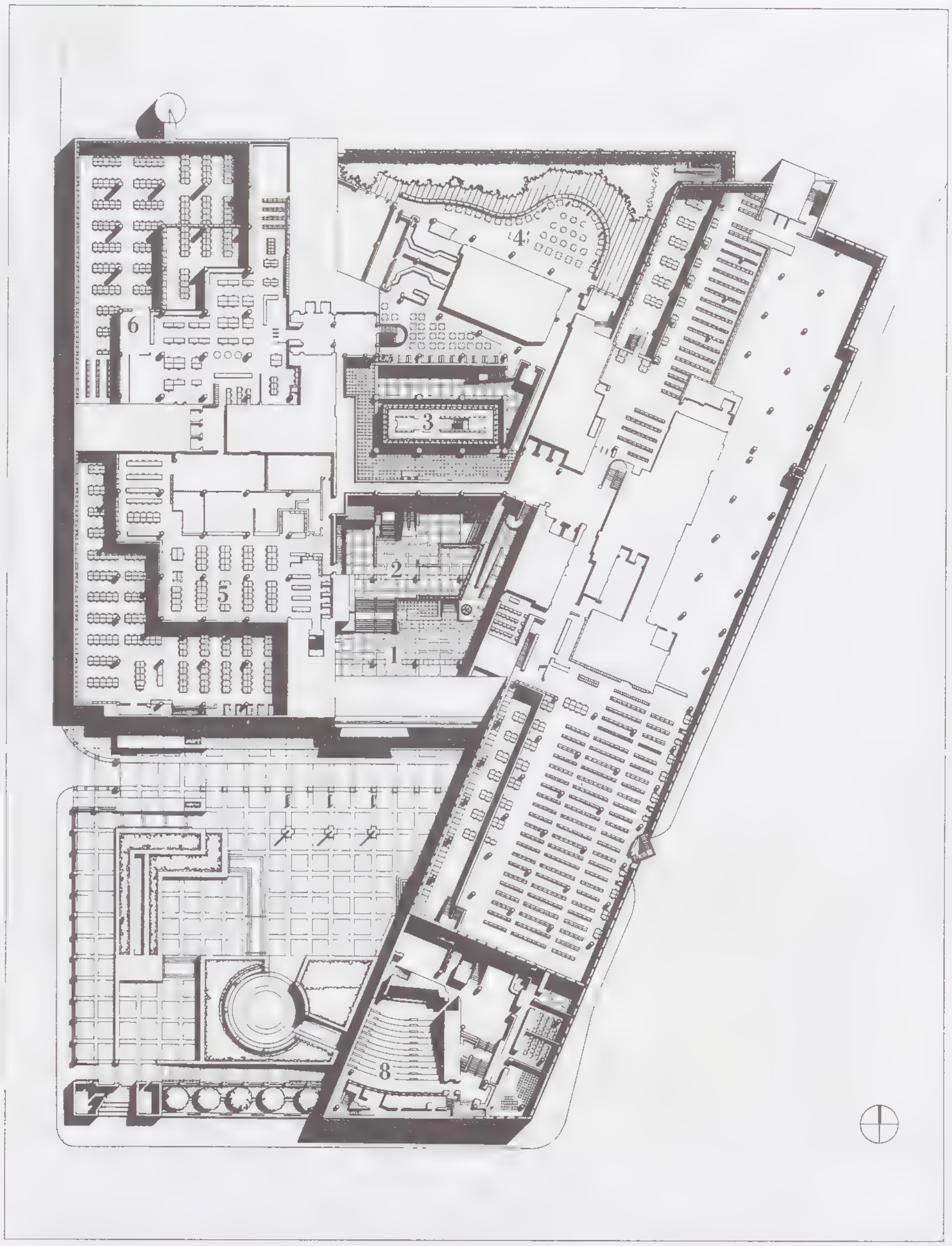
The British Library, St. Pancras, London, Great Britain (under construction)
Colin St. John Wilson

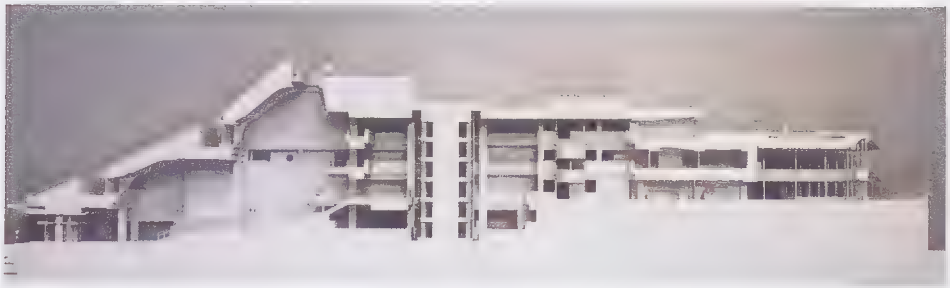
The first phase of the building for the British Library at St. Pancras in London will be completed by the end of this year. It is the last of three projects by me, the first two (1962-4 and 1973) were located opposite the British Museum in Bloomsbury and were abandoned in the interests of the conservation of Bloomsbury.
The building (112,000 sq. m. area) will house the whole of the reference collection of books, maps, music, rare books and manuscripts, approximately 340 kilometres of shelving), 1200 reader places, three exhibition galleries and a conference centre. The site of 5.1 hectares next to St. Pancras Station is well served in terms of surface and underground rail access and will gain enormously in significance when St. Pancras is established as the station of the channel tunnel link to Europe.
The asymmetry of the design is a reflection of a fundamental duality of functions within deriving from two very different patterns of use in the following way.
The reading rooms of the humanities collections occupy the western range of the building. In these rooms the space is almost entirely occupied by readers and daylight (the most stimulating form of ambient light) is introduced into the centre by means of clerestory and lantern lights housed in the pitched roofs. The collections are disposed in "closed" storage in optimal environmental conditions below ground: from there they are delivered by a part-manual part-mechanical system in response to a request from the on-line catalogue terminals within 20 minutes. Conversely the science and patents collections are disposed on "open-access" shelves

occupying nearly all of the floor space and allowing the readers to help themselves to on-the-spot consultation of abstracts, periodicals, books and microfiches, etc. These rooms, which are of a more flexible and modular form, are located in the eastern (Midland Road) range together with the major distribution of offices; and since the centre of the space is taken up by the bookshelves, the daylight is introduced from the side through windows to reader positions located along the perimeter of the spaces.

The sheer size and continuous growth of the collections required that the design should be buildable and inhabitable in stages. Of the original scheme only the first phase has so far been constructed.

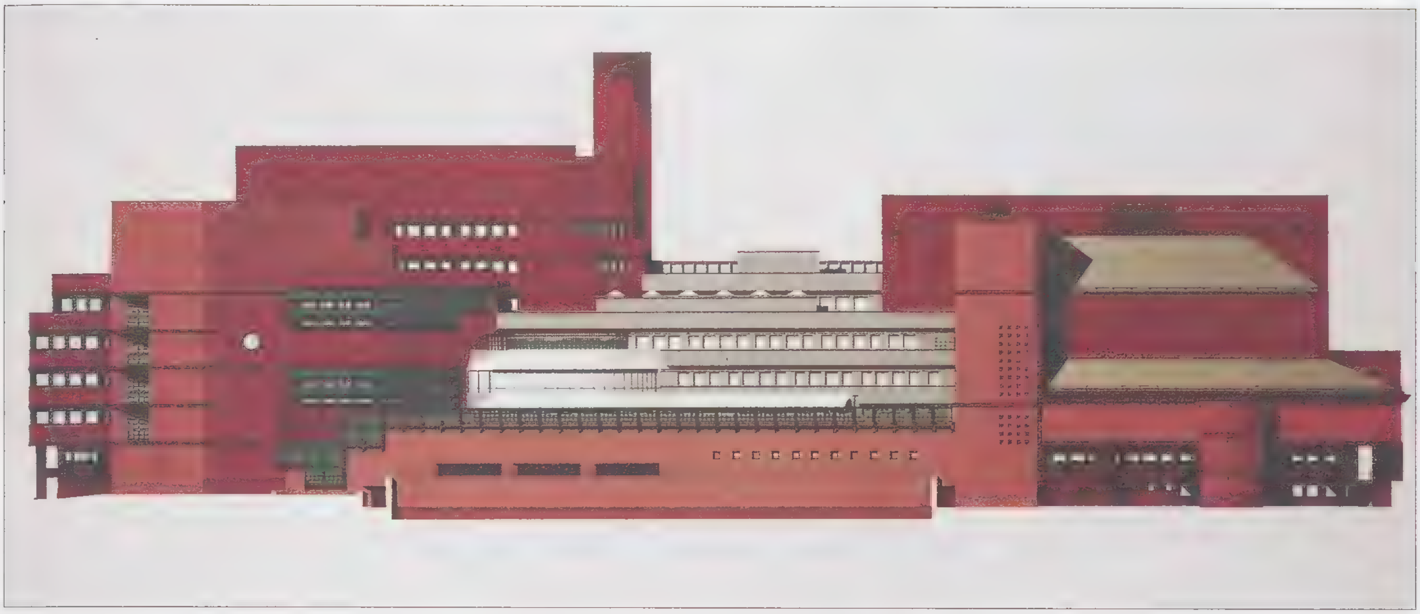
The process of building in stages over time can only be achieved by means of a free adaptive form of architecture whose tradition lies in the English Free School (Butterfield, Waterhouse, Scott, Street, Macintosh) rather than the fixed symmetries of classical form. In the context of Scott's St. Pancras Hotel (which is itself asymmetrical and freely formed) this works well to orchestrate the two buildings together: and this integration is carried further by the use of similar external materials, – red brick, slate roofs, metal and granite facings, all of which weather well in this climate.

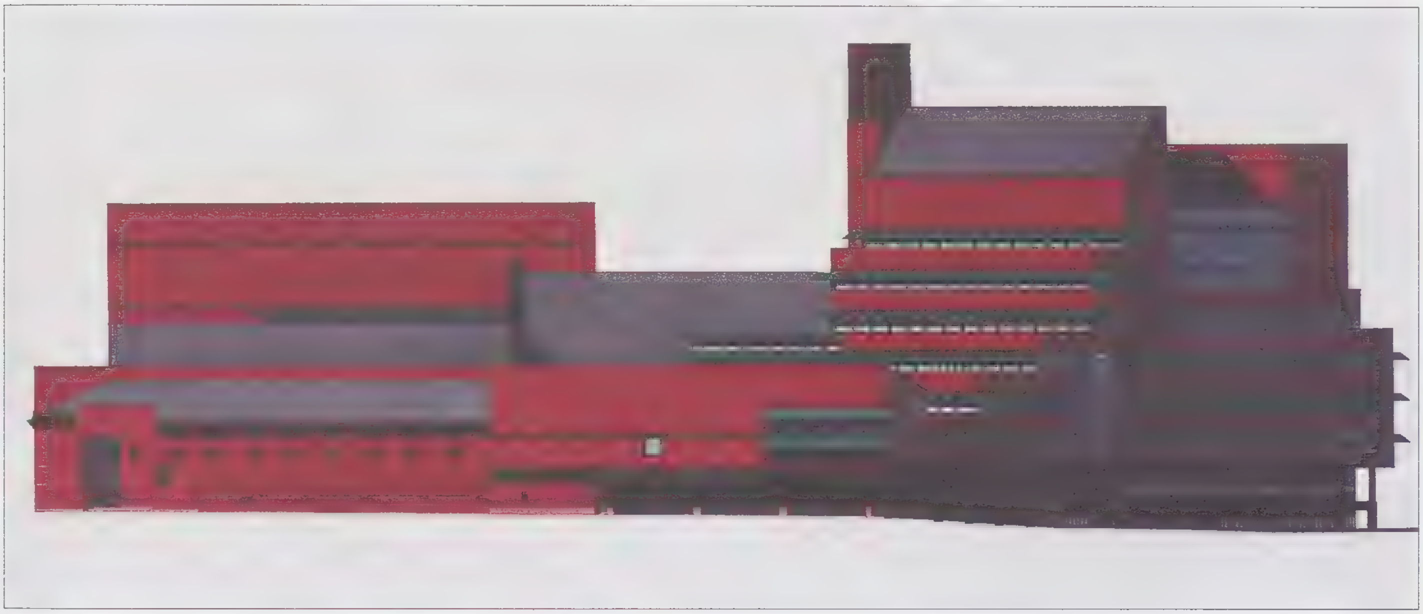


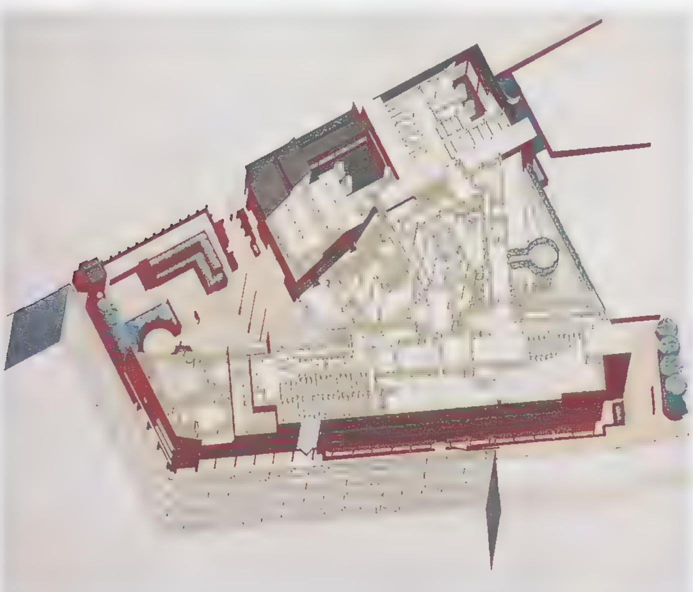


Pianta: 1) hall di ingresso; 2) zona mostre; 3) King's Library, collezione di Giorgio III; 4) ristorante, 5) sale di lettura manoscritti, libri rari e musica; 6) sale di lettura settore umanistico; 7) sale di lettura settore scientifico; 8) auditorium.
Prospetti nord e sud, spaccato del modello sulla hall di ingresso e spaccato assonometrico.

Plan: 1) entrance hall; 2) exhibition area; 3) King's Library, George III collection; 4) restaurant; 5) reading room for manuscripts, rare books and music; 6) social sciences reading room; 7) science reading room; 8) auditorium.
North and south elevations, cutaway of the model at the entrance hall, axonometric cutaway.









Viste interne della hall di ingresso e della sala di lettura del settore scientifico.
Foto J. Donat.
Prospettiva della King's Library.
Disegno di C. Laubin.

Interior views of the entrance hall and the Science Reading Room.
Photos J. Donat.
Perspective of the King's Library.
Drawing C. Laubin.







Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

***Renzo Zorzi** The Rebirth of Zodiac; **Guido Canella** The Foundation and Return of a Magazine; **Manfredo Tafuri** Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy; **Carlo Aymonino** Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice; **Gottfried Böhm** The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main; **Aldo Rossi** Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan; **Claudio Dini** Building Sites of the Milan Subway System; **Ignazio Gardella** The Duomo Station; **Aldo Rossi** The Croce Rossa Station; **Guido Canella** The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

*Theatre History and Design; **Julius Posener** Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Theatres and Pseudotheatres; **Theo Crosby** The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London; **Gottfried Böhm** and **Stefan Böhm** Concert Hall in Essen; **Aldo Rossi** and **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto; **Guido Canella** Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** and **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

***Guido Canella** Beyond Legitimate Preservation; **Ernesto N. Rogers** The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death; **Christof Thoenes** St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas; **James Stirling** and **Michael Wilford** Poultry n. 1 in London; **Colin St. John Wilson** Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project; **Roberto Gabetti** and **Aimaro Isola** The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Department of Architecture in Genoa; **Gottfried Böhm** Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** and **Morris Adjmi** School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America; **Gianugo Polesello** University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.*

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

***Guido Canella** Authenticity and Falsification, Today; **Dieter Leistner** Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918; **Ignazio Gardella** and **Aldo Rossi** The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa; **Venturi, Scott Brown** and **Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** and **Michael Wilford** Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition; **Peter Eisenman** Cooper Union Student Housing in New York; **Richard Meier** The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la citta? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

Who designs the city? *Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning;* ***Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek*** *60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism;* ***Bruno Flierl*** *Stalinallee in Berlin;* ***Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli*** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium;* ***Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi*** *Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London;* ***Micha Bandini*** *Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate;* ***Gian Franco Di Pietro*** *Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini*** *A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence;* ***Giovanni Klaus Koenig*** *About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers*** *Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino** II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epoché"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al desco. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil),** Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

Guido Canella Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo; **Derek A.R. Moore** Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti; **Giovanni Testori, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Luciano Semerani,** Progetti per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona; **Philip Johnson** Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut; **Peter Eisenman** Interview with Philip Johnson; **Oscar Niemeyer** Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil; **Oscar Niemeyer** De Pampulha ao Memorial da América Latina; **Lionello Puppi** Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo; **Richard Meier** Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany; **Carlo Aymonino** Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien; **Gottfried Böhm** Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland; **Gottfried Böhm** Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland; **Aldo Rossi** Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

Zodiac 10

Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

Zodiac 11

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Zodiac 12

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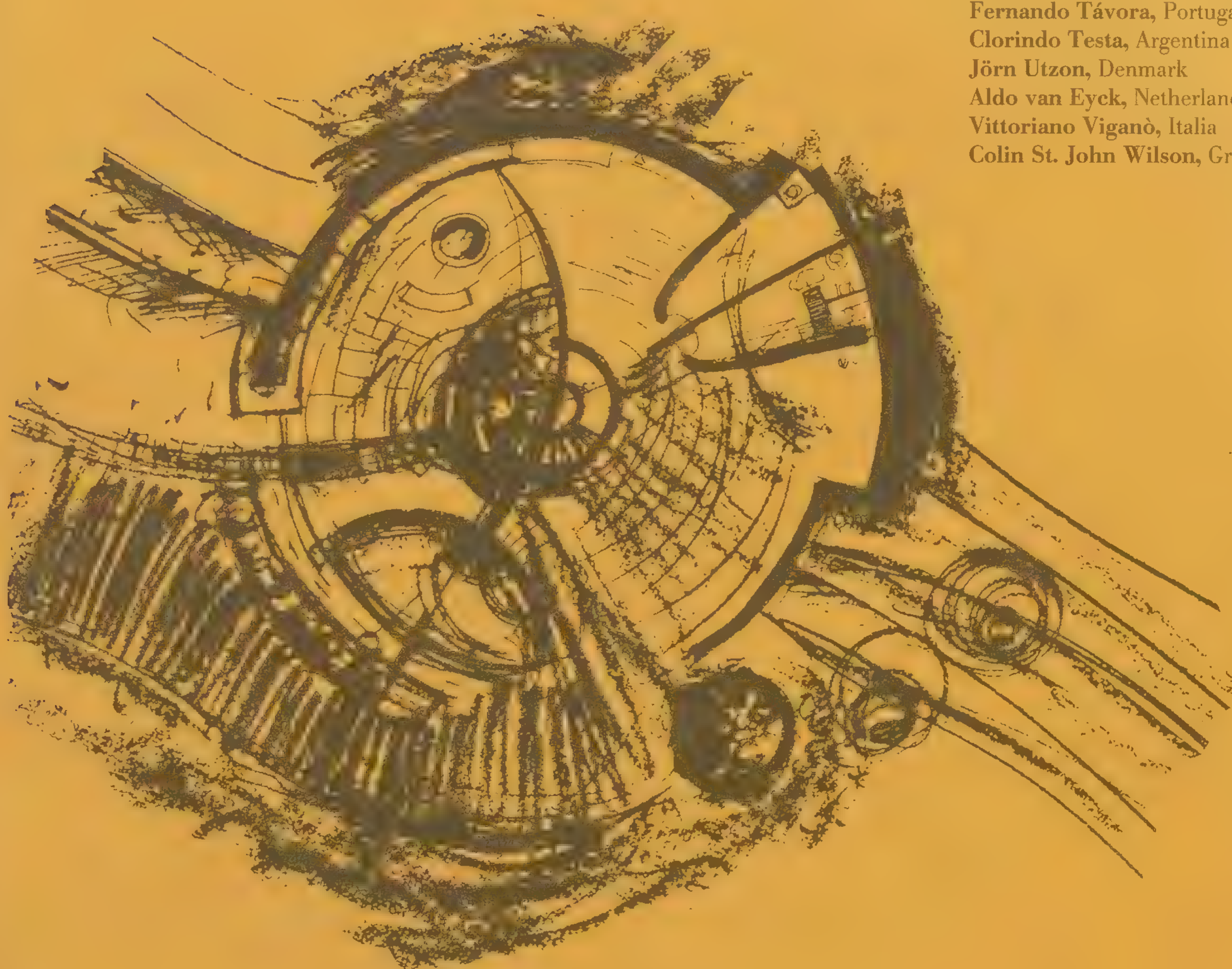
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Guido Canella

Più di altre capitali connotate nell'evo moderno, il secolare percorso di costruzione di Roma si presenta lastricato di profonde contraddizioni. Eppure, trovandosi all'incrocio tra quelli antropicamente intesi come Nord industrializzato e Mezzogiorno, Oriente e Occidente, veri e propri emisferi che si fronteggiano quanto a etnie, religioni, regimi, economie, Roma viene considerata l'estrema e più estesa testimonianza della cosiddetta "civiltà occidentale". Così che ci si è chiesto – e ci si continua a chiedere – perché lo straordinario patrimonio monumentale di questa città, anziché imporre una sospensione archeologica, quale deterrente per certe violente trasformazioni fisiche, abbia agito paradossalmente da stimolo alla rigenerazione della sua apparenza.

Una risposta potrebbe trovarsi nel succedersi di circostanze per le quali, indipendentemente dalla autorità politica mutevole nel tempo, Roma ha continuato a recitare un ruolo di riferimento – come oggi si dice – *massmediologico*, usando della propria *facies* come palinsesto *urbi et orbi*. Ciò è avvenuto fin dall'antichità, per esempio, nell'avvicendarsi dei fori pretesi da consoli e imperatori, e poi con l'iniziativa dei giubilei, che anticipò e accompagnò l'autorità della Chiesa e del Papato in quello straordinario fenomeno che fu il Rinascimento, quando la rappresentatività della grande architettura riusciva a incidere l'immaginario collettivo là dove intere moltitudini restavano escluse dal linguaggio scritto e parlato.

Anche in epoca contemporanea, dopo la contesa tra Stato Pontificio e Regno d'Italia, di recente formazione e lasciato ai margini del concerto tra grandi nazioni, e ancora e soprattutto durante la dittatura fascista, il corpo di Roma ha continuato a stimolare pareri e dispareri nell'ambito internazionale. E non solo tra storici e archeologi interessati alla sua stratificazione, ma anche tra urbanisti e architetti attratti dalla sperimentazione del nuovo all'ombra dell'antico. Spesso, infatti, si fa coincidere il suo definitivo stravolgimento all'avvento del fascismo. Sta di fatto che, dopo una parentesi di ammiccamento all'avanguardia, nella ricerca di un consenso di massa, il regime puntò sullo stato d'animo e su un gusto che avevano pervaso la società già dal primo dopoguerra, e non solo in Italia, con la rivincita di un confuso idealismo estetizzante e nazionalista sui criteri "positivi" di pianificazione sui quali dal secolo scorso si era fondata una nuova "scienza urbanistica".

In questo clima ideologico si collocano le posizioni altalenanti e le vere e proprie conversioni di alcuni protagonisti che si contendevano l'assetto della scena urbana capitolina (Giovannoni, Piacentini e, con percorso inverso, Piccinato, Libera), ma anche, e lontani dall'ardore polemico, gli attenti commenti di alcuni osservatori dall'estero[1].

Diversamente dai Razionalisti centroeuropei, che nei CIAM da tempo si misuravano sulla dimensione conforme dell'abitazione e del quartiere secondo estremizzati parametri tipologici e figurativi, i Razionalisti romani, rimasti isolati dopo lo scioglimento del MIAR, nelle rare occasioni di realizzazione dovevano cimentarsi su tipi edilizi predeterminati nel tessuto urbano e già canonizzati dall'accademismo di una Scuola Romana scenograficamente monumentalista al centro e frivolmente domestica alla periferia, in un panorama privo di industrie e sospinto fino alle città di fondazione dell'Agro Pontino e alle colonie d'oltremare. Così che – seppure di razionalismo si possa parlare – si trattava di prove su misura, pervase da un tono lirico e chiaroscurale, che si potrebbe anche definire "mediterraneo", se non si rischiasse di confonderlo con quello teorizzato volta a volta da Rava, Sartoris e dallo stesso Le Corbusier.

The visage of Rome and the third millennium
Guido Canella

More than other capital cities of the modern age, the centuries of history of the construction of Rome are filled with profound contradictions. And yet, at the crossroads of those regions anthropically defined today as the industrialized North and the South, the Orient and the Occident, virtual hemispheres facing one another in terms of ethnic groupings, religions, regimes, economies, Rome is considered the extreme and most extensive evidence of so-called "Western civilization". So much so that one has wondered, in the past – and continues to wonder – why the extraordinary monumental heritage of this city, rather than dictating a suspension of tranformations for archaeological reasons, as deterrent for certain violent physical transformations, has paradoxically seemed to stimulate activities of regeneration of the visage of the city.
One answer to this question may be found in the series of circumstances which have led, independently of changing agendas of political authority, to Rome's continuing role as what, today, would be called a massmedia *point of reference, using its own* facies *as a palimpsest* urbi et orbi. *This has occurred since ancient times, for example, in the episodes of the Fora commissioned by consuls and emperors, and later with the initiatives of the Holy Years, prefiguring and accompanying the authority of the Church and the Pope in that extraordinary phenomenon, the Renaissance, when the representative image of great architecture struck the collective imagination in an era in which entire multitudes were unable to make use of written and spoken language.*
Even in modern times, after the disagreements between the Papal State and the Kingdom of Italy, recently formed and generally excluded from the agreements among the major nations, and especially during the fascist dictatorship, the city of Rome continued to be the subject of opinions and discussion on an international scale. This discussion involved not only the historians and archaeologists interested in the stratification of the city, but also the architects and town planners attracted by the possibility of experimentation in a historical context. Often the definitive disruption of the city is associated with the arrival of the fascist regime. The fact of the matter is that after a brief flirt with the avant-garde, the regime's need for mass consensus led to an accent on a state of mind and a kind of taste that were already pervasive in the society after the first world war, and not only in Italy, the revenge of a confused aestheticizing and nationalistic idealism against the "positive" criteria of planning which had formed the basis, since the previous century, for the new "science of urban planning".
This is the ideological background for an understanding of the wavering positions and outright conversions of certain protagonists who competed for influence on the Roman urban planning scene (Giovannoni, Piacentini and, in the opposite direction, Piccinato, Libera), but also for comprehension of the comments of certain foreign observers, far from the polemical fray[1].
As opposed to the Rationalists of Central Europe, who for some time in the CIAM congresses had been working on the dimensions of the dwelling and the neighborhood in keeping with extreme typological and figurative parameters, the Roman Rationalists, isolated after the demise of the MIAR (Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale), in their rare work opportunities were forced to deal with predetermined building typologies in the urban context, following the canons of a Roman School that was theatrically monumentalist in the center, and frivolously

Pietro Aschieri, Mario De Renzi, Luigi Ciarrocchi, Mario Marchi, Costantino Vetriani, Giovanni Wittinch, Progetto di concorso per il Quartiere dell'Artigianato in Viale Aventino, Roma, 1925.
Pietro Aschieri, Mario De Renzi, Luigi Ciarrocchi, Mario Marchi, Costantino Vetriani, Giovanni Wittinch, Progetto di concorso per il Palazzo delle Corporazioni, Roma, 1926.
Alessandro Limongelli, Giuseppe Boni, Progetto di concorso per il Palazzo delle Corporazioni, Roma, 1926.
Mario Ridolfi, Mario Fagiolo, Progetto di concorso per una Palazzina ellittica signorile, 1927.
Adalberto Libera, Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e dei Congressi all'E42, Roma, 1937-42.
Gino Cancellotti, Eugenio Montuori, Luigi Piccinato, Enrico Scalpelli, Sabaudia, nuova città dell'Agro Pontino, 1933-34.

Pietro Aschieri, Mario De Renzi, Luigi Ciarrocchi, Mario Marchi, Costantino Vetriani, Giovanni Wittinch, Competition project for the Artisans Quarter on Viale Aventino, Rome, 1925.
Pietro Aschieri, Mario De Renzi, Luigi Ciarrocchi, Mario Marchi, Costantino Vetriani, Giovanni Wittinch, Competition project for the Palazzo delle Corporazioni, Rome, 1926.
Alessandro Limongelli, Giuseppe Boni, Competition project for the Palazzo delle Corporazioni, Rome, 1926.
Mario Ridolfi, Mario Fagiolo, Competition project for an elliptical, upper-middle class apartment house building, 1927.
Adalberto Libera, Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e dei Congressi at the E42, Rome, 1937-42.
Gino Cancellotti, Eugenio Montuori, Luigi Piccinato, Enrico Scalpelli, Sabaudia, new town of Agro Pontino, 1933-34.

D'altra parte, restando ad un confronto tutto italiano, il formalismo – *absit iniuria verbo* –, che pure ricorreva in poetiche anche distanti, come quelle di Aschieri, De Renzi, Moretti e perfino di Libera e Ridolfi, se pur ha qualcosa a che vedere con il plasticismo soprattutto dell'ultimo Terragni, ben poco ha a che fare con il Novecento Milanese (il *bizzarro* di Portaluppi, l'*eccentrico* di Gio Ponti, ecc.), ma proprio nulla con il purismo di Persico, Albini, Gardella, Figini e Pollini, Asnago e Vender e con l'impegno ostensivo di Pagano; poiché questo pseudorazionalismo romano, quando riuscì a sfuggire alla tentazione di prodursi a scala scenografica, si ridusse al componimento equilibrato, appunto della media dimensione edilizia, col riguardo che nel caso essa pretendeva quanto a materiali appropriati e puntuali dettagli costruttivi.
Nella fase di ricostruzione del secondo dopoguerra perdurò la selvaggia trasformazione di Roma: ancor più sfigurata nel tessuto storico da residui sussulti di accademismo e, complice anche una versione corriva dell'*International Style* che andava imperversando in Europa, riprodotta secondo quantità e modalità da terzo mondo.
In questa situazione restava minoritaria, ma assai incisiva teoricamente e progettualmente, quell'interpretazione del rapporto con la storia e la città svolta da architetti già attivi nelle polemiche d'anteguerra, e quindi da punti di vista anche distanti, allorché in modo implicito coinvolgeva criticamente le diverse poetiche sulle quali si era articolata l'avanguardia architettonica, così da rendere il "caso-Roma" un paradigma delle contraddizioni sulle quali doveva ormai confrontarsi contestualmente la cultura internazionale che si richiamava al Movimento Moderno. È stato proprio questo atteggiamento critico, accompagnato da purtroppo rare ma significative realizzazioni, a costituire un riferimento teorico-linguistico destinato a smuovere dalle radici l'integralismo con cui veniva assunta l'eredità del Razionalismo. Ecco, dunque, il rapporto complessamente dialettico, e a volte oppositivo, tra storia e critica operative di Zevi, scetticismo razionalizzante di Quaroni, pragmatismo costruttivo di Ridolfi, analisi sistematizzante di Muratori, approccio clinico di Samonà, intuito diagnostico di Piccinato, per non parlare dei loro allievi che allora muovevano i primi passi (Aymonino, Portoghesi, Tafuri, ecc.).
Se al "caso-Roma" si unisce, ancora una volta dialetticamente e – come è noto – anche conflittualmente, il "caso-Milano", coagulatosi attorno alla ripresa della rivista "Casabella - Continuità" diretta da Ernesto N. Rogers, ci si trova di fronte alla multiforme complessità dell'architettura italiana negli anni Sessanta chiamata in giudizio dalla critica internazionale.
Sul fronte di impegno aperto dalla Sinistra, assumeva posizione autonoma la generazione di architetti romani nati tra il 1920 e il 1925, venuta professionalmente alla ribalta nel secondo dopoguerra (Vittoria, Melograni, Benevolo, ecc.). Riprendendo la polemica condotta da Pagano nell'anteguerra, essa la sviluppò in una storiografia urbanistica tesa alla rivalutazione della temperanza razionalista e alla denuncia di un corso retorico dal periodo postunitario alla caduta del fascismo, scoprendone il risvolto strutturale nel malaffare immobiliare prolungatosi fino ai nostri giorni: da qui la mancata modernità di Roma, che non sarebbe riuscita a ridisegnarsi sul modello e con gli *standard* di certe esperienze urbane che avevano corso nel Centro e nel Nord Europa.
Eppure dal dopoguerra anche in Italia, e perfino a Roma, la popolarità dell'architettura moderna si è nutrita di certi *exploit* promossi dalle

domestic in the periphery, in a panorama free of industrial structures, extending to the newly founded cities of the Agro Pontino and the overseas colonies. Thus – if it is even correct to speak of rationalism, in such cases – the task was one of adaptation, case by case, full of a lyrical, chiaroscuro atmosphere, that could also be defined as "Mediterranean", if not for the risk of creating confusion with the Mediterranean character theorized by Rava, Sartoris and Le Corbusier himself.

Furthermore, to continue with comparisons of work in Italy, the formalism – absit iniuria verbo *– that existed even in poetics very distant from one another, like those of Aschieri, De Renzi, Moretti and even Libera and Ridolfi, although it has something in common with the plasticism above all of the late works of Terragni, has little to do with the Milan Novecento movement (the* bizzare *of Portaluppi, the* eccentric *of Gio Ponti, etc.), and absolutely nothing to do with the purism of Persico, Albini, Gardella, Figini and Pollini, Asnago and Vender and with the ostensive commitment of Pagano; because this Roman pseudo-rationalism, when it managed to avoid the temptation of production on a theatrical scale, was limited to balanced composition, in the average building dimension, with proper attention to appropriate materials and careful construction detailing.*

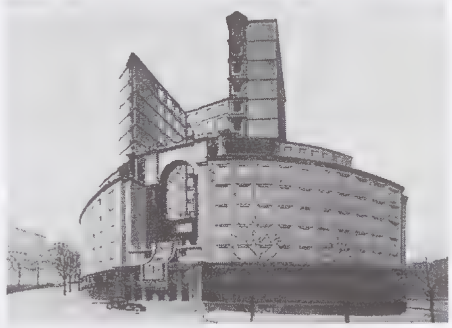
In the phase of reconstruction after the second world war the uncontrolled transformation of Rome continued unabated: the historical fabric was further disfigured by residual impulses of academicism, and by a rather rash interpretation of the International Style that was running amok in Europe, reproduced in quantities and ways similar to those of the third world.

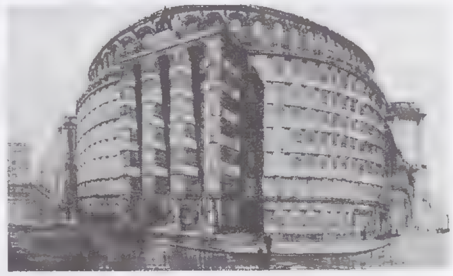
In this situation a minority position, but with great influence in terms of theory and design, was held by the interpretation of the relationship with history and city undertaken by architects already active in the pre-war debate, when starting from distant points of view, involved in an implicit critical way the various poetics that formed the basis for the architectural avant-garde, making the "case of Rome" into a paradigm of the contradictions with which the international culture based on the Modern Movement was coming to grips. It was precisely this critical stance, accompanied by (unfortunately) very few but very significant actual constructions, that became the theoretical-linguistic reference destined to uproot the integralism of the previous interpretation of the legacy of Rationalism. Thus here we find the complex dialectical relationship, and sometimes in contrast, between history and operative critique of Zevi, the rationalizing scepticism of Quaroni, the constructive pragmatism of Ridolfi, the systematic analysis of Muratori, the clinical approach of Samonà, the diagnostic intuition of Piccinato, not to mention their disciples, who were already beginning to work (Aymonino, Portoghesi, Tafuri, etc.).

If the "case of Rome" is combined, again dialectically and – as we are all aware – also in conflict, with the "case of Milan", associated with the reappearance of the magazine Casabella-Continuità *under the guidance of Ernesto N. Rogers, we have an overall picture of the multiform complexity of Italian architecture in the 1960s, which caused it to become a focus of international criticism.*

With regard to the sort of commitment urged by the Left, the generation of Roman architects born between 1920 and 1925 (Vittoria, Melograni, Benevolo, etc.), that began to take part in professional practice in the period after the second world war, assumed a position of autonomy.



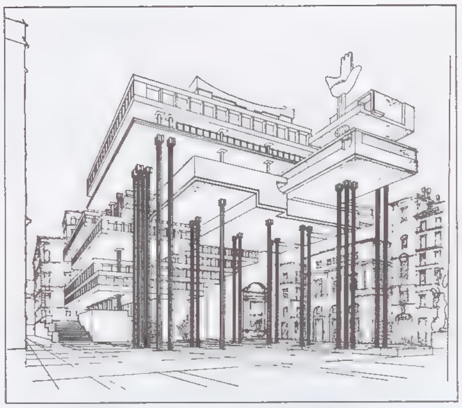




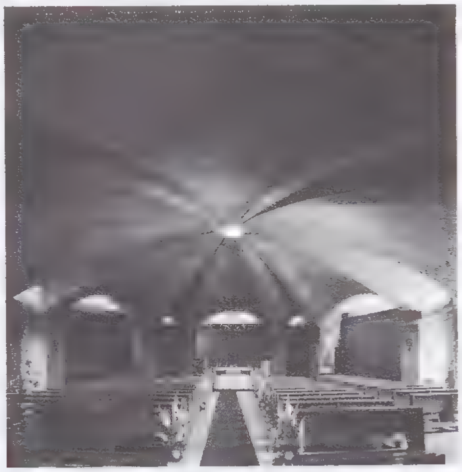


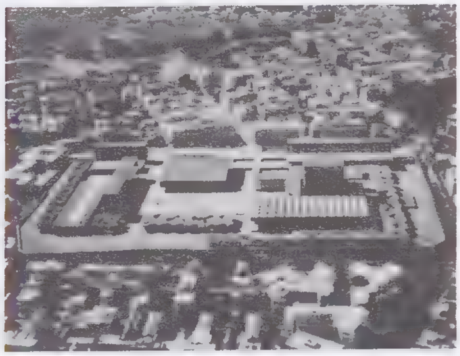














istituzioni pubbliche e dalle grandi iniziative private nel contrapporre una sorta di caricatura tecnica al problematismo culturale di quelle ricerche. Così, in mancanza di interventi autenticamente infrastrutturali, il linguaggio delle "megastrutture", teorizzate e realizzate all'estero, nel panorama romano restava contratto nelle dimensioni straordinarie del palazzo di rappresentanza, dell'impianto sportivo, ecc.
Analogamente alla produzione cinematografica dove, dalla palude della volgarità e della violenza, emergono gli "effetti speciali" dei vari Spielberg, Lucas, Ridley Scott e i film ancora "fatti a mano" e un po' intimisti dei vari Truffaut, Wenders, Rohmer, anche il presente dell'architettura non rifugge da una contrapposizione gergale tra modernismo e postmodernismo.
Un malinteso pregiudizio ecologico, che non riesce a preservare l'identità della città da intrusioni altrettanto volgari e violente, e un generico culto della modernità spingono anche le amministrazioni democratiche a cercare consenso secondo due orientamenti: gli *effetti speciali* per interventi straordinari (centri direzionali, impianti sportivi, aeroporti, stazioni, auditorium, ecc.) e il *minimalismo* per interventi di manutenzione del tessuto esistente (sistemazioni a verde, pavimentazioni, arredo urbano, ecc.); mentre il centro storico, pur vincolato, è abbondonato a un metabolismo terziario e consumistico e la periferia, del tutto priva di infrastrutture e occasioni di vita in comune, al conforto della televisione.
Quasi l'affidarsi ad una nomenclatura di imprenditori e architetti di raggio internazionale, spesso strettamente connessi, fosse prezzo da pagare al consenso dei *mass media* per riportare la città al centro dell'attenzione mondiale: dalla vecchia alternativa locale tra *Strapaese* e *Stracittà* a quella che ormai ha corso un po' dovunque tra *Disneyland* e *High-Tech*. Nel frattempo, condannate a scegliere tra speculazione immobiliare e giardinaggio, rimangono alcune generazioni di architetti romani formatesi proprio nel rispetto propositivo di quel processo di costruzione che individua ogni città.
Non è certo da note di demerito che si può trarre un bilancio per una prospettiva di Roma avviata al terzo millennio. Resta da constatare che intorno ai suoi problemi, meglio sarebbe dire intorno al perdurare delle sue contraddizioni ambientali, vanno ormai sfumandosi e forse confondendosi tra particolarismo ed esotismo gli effetti di quel confronto, ormai ultrasecolare, che ha visto fronteggiarsi non senza ambiguità due schieramenti: quello dei *conservatori* e quello dei *radicali*.
Mentre assai rare e particolarmente disattese restano le proposte che si ispirano al suo respiro, cioè alla singolarità fisiologica di *città unica*, oppressa dall'ingente deposito della storia, ma pur sempre bisognosa di rinnovarsi per sopravvivere, dacché per conservare occorre pur intervenire e per contenere occorre pur dotare e trasformare con puntualità e dignità, essendo ogni città (e quindi anche Roma) – come sosteneva Marcel Poëte e altri dopo di lui – un *organismo vivente*.

Note

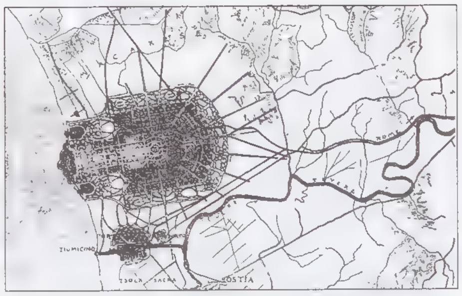
1) Tra i casi spesso trascurati dalla pur copiosa storiografia su Roma moderna e contemporanea, se ne possono richiamare alcuni di certo interesse.
Nel 1913 lo scultore nordamericano di origine svedese Hendrik Christian Andersen, coadiuvato da storici, economisti, giuristi di fama, nonché dall'urbanista Ernest M. Hébrard (Grand Prix de Rome 1904), si era fatto promotore di un'idea grandiosa, dettagliatamente descritta e illustrata nel volume intitolato *Création d'un centre mondial de communication*. Una vera e propria metropoli di fondazione, articolata su tre centri monumentali (scientifico, artistico, olimpionico) su un'area di circa seicento ettari, che avrebbe dovuto estendersi, con parchi, industrie, porto,

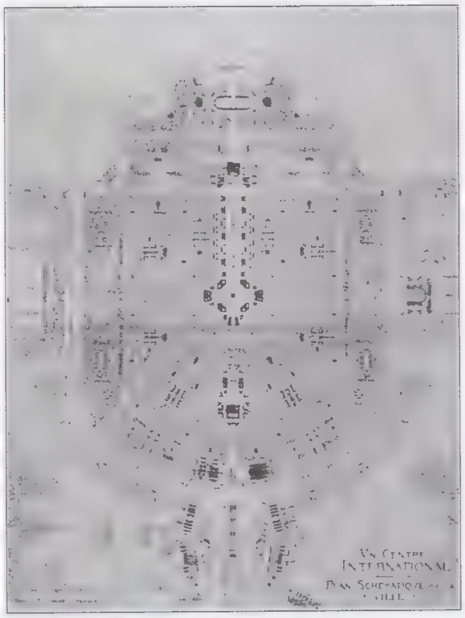
Referring to the polemic conducted by Pagano before the war, this generation developed an urbanistic historiography aimed at a re-evaluation of rationalist temperance, and a negative critique of the rhetorical passage from the post-unification period to the fall of fascism, revealing the structural implications caused by uncontrolled real estate speculation which has continued, unimpeded, until today: this would be the reason for the lack of modernity of Rome, a city which would have been incapable of conforming to the models and the standards offered by many urban situations in Central and Northern Europe.
And yet in the postwar period even in Italy, and even in Rome, the popularity of modern architecture was furthered by certain exploits encouraged by public institutions and major private initiatives, suggesting a kind of caricature-like technical alternative to the cultural problem-orientation of such research. So in the absence of any true infrastructural modifications, the language of the "megastructures", theorized and applied abroad, remained stiffened, in the Roman context, to the extraordinary dimensions of representative palaces, sports facilities, etc. Similar to the world of cinema where out of the badlands of vulgarity and violence the "special effects" of Spielberg, Lucas, Ridley Scott, or the "handmade" and a bit intimist films of Truffaut, Wenders, Rohmer redeem the genre, in the present situation of architecture there is a jargan-like dichotomy between the modern and the postmodern.
An ill-conceived ecological prejudice, incapable of protecting the city from equally vulgar and violent intrusions, and a generic cult of the modern prompt even progressive administrations to seek consensus around two orientations: the special effects *of extraordinary works (office complexes, sports complexes, airports, stations, auditoriums, etc.) and the* minimalism *of interventions of maintenance of the existing fabric (green areas, pavings, urban furniture, etc.); while the historical center, in spite of protective regulations, is abandoned to a service-industry and commercial metabolism, and the periphery, utterly lacking in infrastructure or opportunities for community life, is abandoned to the consolations of television.*
Almost as if the price to be paid for the consensus of the mass media were an involvement of developers and architects of international fame, often linked, as the only way to bring the city back to the center of worldwide attention: from the old local alternative between Strapaese *and* Stracittà* *to that which has appeared everywhere, to some extent, between Disneyland and High-Tech. In the meantime, condemned to a choice between real estate speculation and gardening, some generations of Roman architects trained to respect propositively the process of construction that provides the individuality for every city.*
Of course such demeriting notations cannot suffice for a true assessment of the outlook for Rome as it approaches the third millennium. But we can observe that in the city's problems, or in the continuation of its environmental contradictions, the effects of an often ambiguous conflict that has lasted for more then a century are fading, or perhaps becoming confused between particularism and exoticism: that conflict between the conservatives *and the* radicals. *In the meantime, the proposals based on its truly vital respiration, that is on the physiological singularity of the* unique city, *oppressed by the incredible weight of the layers of history, but nevertheless in need of renewal, in order to survive, are very rare and particularly well-ignored. To conserve*

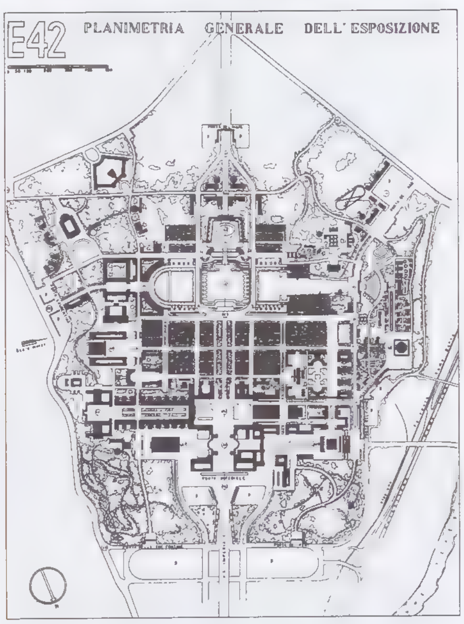
Giuseppe e Alberto Samonà, Progetto di concorso per la nuova sede degli uffici della Camera dei Deputati, Roma, 1967.
Ludovico Quaroni, Mario Ridolfi, Progetto di concorso per il Fabbricato viaggiatori della Stazione Termini, Roma, 1947.
Saverio Muratori, Chiesa dell'Assunzione di Maria Santissima., Roma, 1954-70.
Pietro Barucci, Leonardo Benevolo, Carlo Melograni, Ugo Sacco, Progetto di concorso per la Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma sull'area del Castro Pretorio, 1959.
Pier Luigi Nervi, Annibale Vitellozzi, Palazzetto dello Sport, Roma, 1957.

Giuseppe and Alberto Samonà, Competition project for the new office building of the Camera dei Deputati, Rome, 1967.
Ludovico Quaroni, Mario Ridolfi, Competition project for the Termini Station entrance lounge, Rome, 1947.
Saverio Muratori, Church of the Assumption of SS. Maria, Rome, 1954-70.
Pietro Barucci, Leonardo Benevolo, Carlo Melograni, Ugo Sacco, Competition project for the National Library of Rome on the site of the Castro Pretorio, 1959.
Pier Luigi Nervi, Annibale Vitellozzi, Palace of Sport, Rome, 1957.

* "*Strapaese*: literary movement of the first half of the 20th century, inspired by strightforward rural traditions, against any form of cosmopolitanism or xenomania, and thus in opposition to the *stracittà* movement; its origins can be traced to the nationalist manifesto compiled by G. Papini (1904), but the name appeared as a polemical expression of a particular taste only after the First World War; the principal exponents of the trend were M. Maccari, L. Longanesi and C. Malaparte". "*Stracittà*: literary movement in Italy after the First World War, cosmopolitan in character, in polemical opposition to the *strapaese* movement; the culminating expression of the so-called *novecentismo*, led by the figure of M. Bontempelli". *(From* Vocabolario della lingua italiana, *Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1986-94,* ad vocem*)*





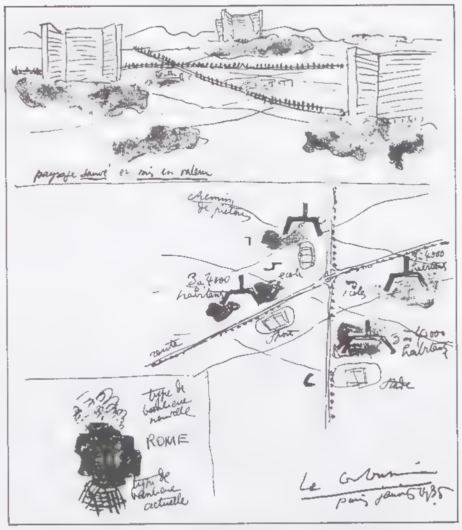


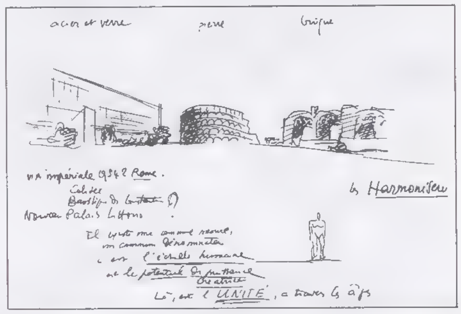
aeroporto e secondo un impianto rigorosamente simmetrico, fino alle arterie foranee di adduzione dai previsti nuclei residenziali satelliti agricoli e operai, per un milione di abitanti su una superficie complessiva di cinquemila ettari. La scelta del luogo non era ancora decisa, ma erano privilegiate le vicinanze di una capitale: Bruxelles, Parigi, Costantinopoli, l'Aja e Roma. Assunta quest'ultima (del resto Andersen risiedeva a Roma), localizzata a una ventina di chilometri dall'Urbe, così che questa le risultasse madrina, affacciata sul mare a nord della foce del Tevere, tra Fiumicino e la Pianura Macarese, Antonio Nezi nel 1926 dava ampio rilievo all'iniziativa e al progetto di Hébrard sulle pagine della rivista "Emporium", presentandoli con il viatico di Mussolini, che sembra avesse promesso ad Andersen la cessione gratuita dei terreni. Così viene da supporre che l'iniziativa dell'E42, maturata tra il 1935 e il 1937 per l'esposizione internazionale con la quale Mussolini e Bottai, governatore di Roma, intendevano celebrare il ventennale della rivoluzione fascista, proiettando *Roma verso il mare e il mare verso Roma*, possa essersi ispirata a quella pubblicazione. E non solo per la dimensione del nucleo centrale e nel ricorso all'impianto gerarchico e simmetrico, ma anche per l'operazione finanziaria con cui, secondo lo storico Renzo De Felice, vendendo i lotti degli espositori stranieri, Mussolini sperava di ripianare i debiti accumulati nella guerra d'Etiopia.
Elbert Peets, storico e paesaggista nordamericano, amico e spesso collaboratore di Werner Hegemann, commentando nel 1926 gli sventramenti in atto nel centro storico di Roma sotto l'allora governatore Filippo Cremonesi, non senza ironia paragonava Mussolini a Haussmann. Eppure, in un successivo saggio del 1927 (*The Restoration of Rome*), accogliendo favorevolmente le prescrizioni di Giovannoni, concludeva: " [...] *La maggior parte degli architetti italiani contemporanei lavora in una maniera che sarebbe ben accetta in Sud America. Ma di recente l'arte italiana è diventata più vigorosa e nello stesso tempo più raffinata. Alcuni architetti, affrancatisi dalla Francia Beaux-Arts e dalla Germania moderna, promettono di far rivivere l'antico incomparabile senso italiano della forma. Scegliendo l'uomo giusto, il miracolo può avvenire: Mussolini ha la possibilità di incrementare, e non distruggere, la bellezza di Roma. E la nuova città che sorgerà dall'antica costituirà anch'essa un problema complesso, seppure di diverso tipo. Roma non poggia su ampie basi economiche e solo l'industria potrà costruire una grande città moderna. Non c'è più l'impero che spedisce galee cariche di grano. Ma forse Mussolini può creare le industrie e può allontanare i romani dalle loro abitazioni insalubri. La sua nuova città dovrà essere ancora Romana, riconoscere l'amore Romano per la vita sociale, il piacere dell'assembramento. E anche la conformazione architettonica della città dovrà essere Romana, non una copia dei* faubourgs *parigini o dei sobborghi-giardino inglesi. Esiste una tradizione aurea dell'arte civica in Italia. La nuova Roma potrebbe essere la sua più grande realizzazione*".
Del consenso francese, più o meno condizionato, prestato negli anni Trenta da Pierre Vago e Gaston Bardet alle vicende urbanistiche romane sotto il regime, tratta specificamente il saggio di Jean-Louis Cohen.
Nella contrapposizione tra utopismo pacifista e internazionalista e ambizione di potere nazionalista, in cui si inserivano, talvolta non senza ambiguità, le poetiche di architetti e urbanisti tradizionalisti e d'avanguardia, si colloca anche l'iniziativa che l'avvocato belga Paul Otlet nel 1928 innestava su quella di Andersen per il *Mundaneum* presso Ginevra, dove all'intento di costruire un luogo di inventario dei saperi, d'incontro e di decisione dell'aristocrazia intellettuale mondiale, la progettazione affidata a Le Corbusier e Pierre Jeanneret corrispondeva con una archeologica (e forse inconsciamente babelica) soluzione a *ziggurat*. Eppure lo stesso Le Corbusier già nel 1934 era disposto a tessere rapporti con Mussolini e Bottai, nella speranza di ottenere (con un ingeneroso giudizio su Sabaudia) il piano di Pontinia, la terza città nuova dell'Agro Pontino. E poi, con un disegno inviato direttamente a Bottai governatore di Roma, il piano dello sviluppo periferico della capitale modulato sui famosi grattacieli cartesiani.
Ma, quanto alle città nuove dell'Agro Pontino, è interessante cogliere il giudizio del famoso storico britannico John Summerson, proprio perché formulato nel 1944 durando ancora la guerra: "*Voi forse vi domanderete che cosa un urbanista che scrive da Londra possa dire di interessante per un romano o un milanese. Io certo non pretendo di esporvi qui gli importanti risultati delle esperienze urbanistiche moderne; devo poi aggiungere che, per quanto si può giudicare dalle nuove città costruite nelle Paludi Pontine e in Africa, credo che gli urbanisti italiani siano più avanti di noi*".

one must also intervene, and to contain one must also supply and transform, point by point and with dignity, because every city (including Rome) - as Marcel Poëte believed, and others after him - is a living organism.

Notes

1) Among the often overlooked cases in the nevertheless copious historiography on modern and contemporary Rome, we can recall some of particular interest.
In 1913 the American sculptor of Swedish origin Hendrik Christian Andersen, aided by famous historians, economists, legal experts, and the urban planner Ernest M. Hébrard (Grand Prix de Rome 1904), undertook the promotion of a grand idea, described and illustrated in detail in the volume entitled Création d'un centre mondial de communication. *A true foundation metropolis, organized around three monumental centers (scientific, artistic, Olympionic) in an area of about six hundred hectares, which was to extend, with parks, industry, a port and an airport, in a rigorously symmetrical plan, to the rural arteries leading to planned residential satellite zones for agricultural or industrial workers, for one million inhabitants in an overall area of 5000 hectares. The choice of the site was uncertain, but places near major capitals were favored: Brussels, Paris, Constantinople, the Hague, and Rome. With the selection of the latter (Andersen also lived there himself), a position was chosen at about 20 kilometers from the city, making Rome the "godmother" of the initiative; the site faced the sea, north of the mouth of the Tiber, between Fiumicino and the Macarese Plains; Antonio Nezi, in 1926, gave ample coverage to the initiative and to the project of Hébrard in the pages of the magazine* Emporium, *presenting them with the encouragement of Mussolini, who seems to have promised Andersen free use of the land.*
This leads us to suppose that the initiative of E42, developed between 1935 and 1937 for the international exposition which Mussolini and Bottai, the governor of Rome, wanted as a celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the fascist revolution, projecting Rome toward the sea and the sea toward Rome, *was inspired by this publication. And not only for the size of the central nucleus and the hierarchical, symmetrical layout, but also for the financing operation with which, according to the historian Renzo De Felice, by selling lots to foreign exhibitors Mussolini hoped to compensate for the debts accumulated in the Ethiopian war.*
*Elbert Peets, a North American historian and landscape architect, friend and frequent collaborator of Werner Hegemann, commenting in 1926 on the gutting taking place in the historical center of Rome under the governor Filippo Cremonesi, ironically compared Mussolini to Haussmann. And yet, in a later essay, in 1927 (*The Restoration of Rome*), viewing the proposals of Giovannoni with favor, he concluded: "[…]* Most contemporary Italian architects do the kind of work that is liked in South America. But of late, Italian art has become both more vigorous and more refined. A few architects, freeing themselves from the French Beaux-Arts and from modern Germany, give promise of reviving the old incomparable Italian sense of form. If the right man is chosen, the miracle may come to pass: Mussolini may add to, and not destroy, the beauty of Rome. And the new city that is to rise about the old one also will be a complex problem, of a different sort. The economic basis of Rome is not broad, and only industry will build a great modern city. There is no empire now to send galleys of grain to Rome. But perhaps Mussolini can create the industries and can take the people of Rome out of their unsanitary tenements. His new city will have still to be Roman, to recognize the Roman love of company, delight in crowds. And the architectural form of the city ought also to be Roman, not a copy of the Parisian faubourgs or of English garden suburbs. There is a golden tradition of civic art in Italy. The new Rome could be its greatest creation."
Regarding the more or less conditioned French consensus in the 1930s of Pierre Vago and Gaston Bardet with respect to the urban planning of Rome under the regime, see the essay by Jean-Louis Cohen.
Within the opposition between pacifist and internationalist utopia and ambitions of nationalistic power, in which there were the insertions, at times not without compromise and ambiguities, of the poetics of both traditional and avant-garde architects and urban planners, we can observe the initiative of the Belgium lawyer Paul Otlet, in 1928, grafted onto the idea of Andersen, for the Mundaneum *near Geneva, where in the aim of constructing a place that is an inventory of knowledge, of encounter and decision of the world intellectual aristocracy, the design entrusted to Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret corresponded to an archaeological (and perhaps, unconsciously, Babel-like)* ziggurat solution. *And yet Le Corbusier himself, already in 1934, was willing to establish relations with Mussolini and Bottai, in the hope of obtaining (with an uncharitable assessment of Sabaudia) the commission for the plan of Pontinia, the third new city of the Agro Pontino. And later, with a drawing sent directly to Bottai, the governor of Rome, the plan for the peripheral development of the capital, modulated by the famous Cartesian skyscrapers.*
Where the new cities of the Agro Pontino are concerned, it is interesting to look back on the assessment of the famous British historian John Summerson, precisely because it was made in 1944, when the war was still in progress: "You may wonder what a town planner writing in London can have to say that will be of interest for a Roman or a Milanese. I certainly do not intend to lecture you here on the important results of modern urban planning experiences; but then I must add that, to judge from the new cities built in the Pontine swamps and in Africa, Italian urbanists are ahead of us".





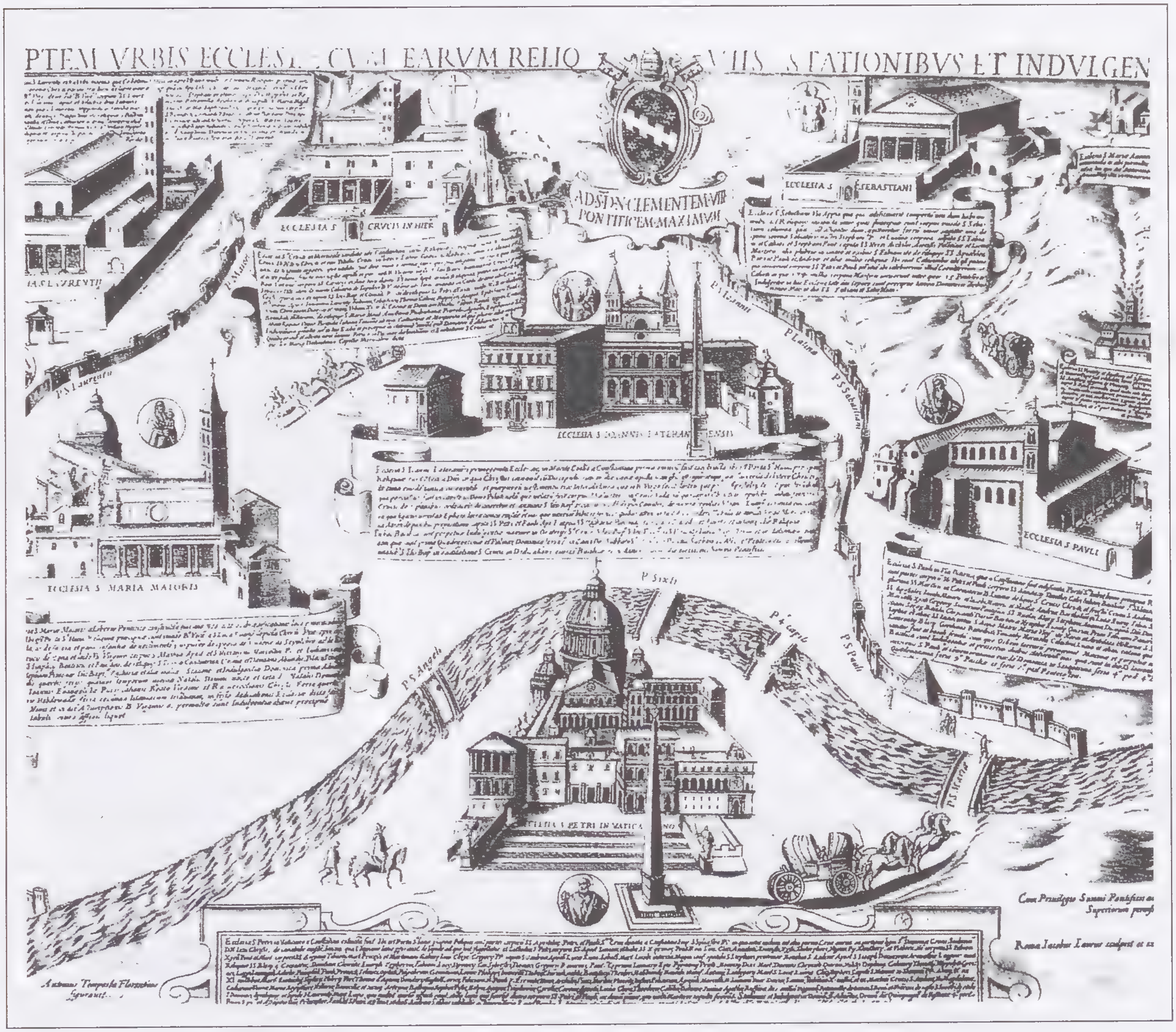


Hendrik Christian Andersen, Ernest M. Hébrard, Centre mondial de communication, 1913: localizzazione sul litorale romano e planimetria.
Marcello Piacentini, Piano regolatore dell'E42, Roma, 1938.
Le Corbusier, Disegno per un nuovo tipo di periferia a Roma, 1935, pubblicato in La Ville Radieuse, *1933.*
Le Corbusier, Disegno della Via dei Fori Imperiali a Roma, pubblicato in Aircraft, *1935.*
Antonio Carminati, Pietro Lingeri, Ernesto Saliva, Giuseppe Terragni, Luigi Vietti, Progetto di concorso di primo grado per il Palazzo del Littorio a Roma, soluzione B, 1934.

Hendrik Christian Andersen, Ernest M. Hébrard, World Comunication Centre, 1913: localization on the Roman coast and plan.
Marcello Piacentini, Master Plan of E42, Rome, 1938.
Le Corbusier, Drawing for a new type of suburb for Rome, 1935, published in La Ville Radieuse, *1933.*
Le Corbusier, Drawing of the Via dei Fori Imperiali in Rome, published in Aircraft, *1935.*
Antonio Carminati, Pietro Lingeri, Ernesto Saliva, Giuseppe Terragni, Luigi Vietti, Competition project (first phase) for the Palazzo del Littorio in Rome, version B, 1934.

1. Le sette basiliche giubilari nella rappresentazione del Tempesta, 1599.

1. The seven Jubilee basilicas in the representation by Tempesta, 1599.



1

I Giubilei nella storia di Roma
Mario Manieri Elia

L'idea dell'Anno Santo romano è di Bonifacio VIII. Ma in essa si coagulano i flussi antichi e recenti di una grande tradizione culturale, l'ebraico-cristiana, capace di gestire il tempo e lo spazio trascendendone i vincoli, in funzione di una ideologia salvifica, tanto indimostrabile quanto determinata ed egemone, suggerita dalla metafora della *Terra Promessa* e dell'attesa magica del suo raggiungimento. Non mancano a Bonifacio, teologo e giurista della nobile famiglia dei Caetani, gli strumenti teorici per lanciare, nella forma più alta e inconfutabile, il nuovo messaggio: esso, infatti, è già nell'Antico Testamento e fonda le basi del culto monoteista, con l'avventuroso – ma garantito da Dio – viaggio di Mosè verso il Sinai. Un viaggio che già fin dal IV secolo ripeteranno, infatti, alcuni pellegrinaggi diretti verso Gerusalemme, nel quadro di una attualizzazione dell'antica profezia, che l'ideale a-temporale ebraico non mancava di consentire e convalidare.
Con le Crociate, la dimensione teleologica apparirà compromessa con precisi interessi di natura pratica, destinati a rimanere impliciti: Gregorio VII, nel suo progetto per la riconquista di Gerusalemme dalle mani dei suoi invasori, può a buon diritto sostenere, in nome dell'appiattimento delle durate temporali, di voler punire, dopo oltre mille anni, i torturatori di Cristo. Ma la metafora viene agìta fin d'allora con implicazioni complesse; e per sette volte: dalla crociata "eroica" di Goffredo di Buglione (1096) – quella delle "*arme pietose*", cantate dal Tasso –; all'avida e violenta quarta crociata; a quella che Federico II, riluttante e scomunicato, promuove nel 1227. Fino alle ultime due, decisamente sfortunate (del 1248-50 in Egitto e del 1270 in Tunisia), guidate da Luigi IX, re di Francia e futuro San Luigi, che nella prima fu prigioniero e nella seconda lascerà la vita: un re-santo che, nella storia europea, stava a significare un Cristianesimo fondato su un rapporto diretto tra la Monarchia francese, garanzia terrena, e Gerusalemme, garanzia celeste; ponte ideale che scavalcava e, di fatto, marginalizzava la Chiesa di Roma.
Ventisette anni dopo, Bonifacio VIII – che della Francia aveva ottenuto il favore sostenendo e approvando la contrastata canonizzazione del re – riprende il tema della trasferta penitenziale, ribaltandolo su Roma.
Un simile ribaltamento, ma verso Assisi e in chiave esclusivamente spirituale, aveva già operato San Francesco il quale, identificando la città del Subasio con Gerusalemme, aveva istituito quel "Perdono di Assisi" che

Jubilee years in the history of Rome
Mario Manieri Elia

The Roman Holy Year was the idea of Boniface VIII. But it is an idea that contains elements of ancient and recent currents of a great cultural tradition, the Judaic-Christian tradition, capable of taming time and space, transcending their limits in the name of a redeeming ideology that is as determinate and hegemonous as it is undemonstrable, suggested by the metaphor of the Promised Land *and the magical expectation of its attainment. Boniface, a theologian and jurist of the noble Caetani family, was well-supplied with the theoretical tools with which, in the highest, most indisputable form, to launch the new message: a message that already existed in the Old Testament, forming the basis of monotheist worship, in the adventurous – but also protected, by God – voyage of Moses to Sinai. A voyage which was repeated, in fact, by pilgrims from the 4th century on, heading for Jerusalem, in the framework of an updating of ancient prophecies which the atemporal Jewish ideal did not fail to permit and approve.*
With the Crusades, the teleological dimension was to appear compromised by interests of a practical nature, destined to remain implicit: Gregory VII, in his program for the liberation of Jerusalem from its invaders, felt justified, in the name of a very long view of temporal factors, in claiming that the objective was to punish, after over one thousand years, those who had tortured Christ. But such metaphor was implemented, from the outset, with complex implications: and seven times over: from the "heroic" crusade of Godfroi de Bouillon (1096) – that of the "arme pietose" *immortalized by Tasso – to the greedy, violent fourth crusade; to that which the reluctant, excommunicated Frederick II undertook in 1227. Down to the last two decidedly ill-starred crusades (1248-50 in Egypt, 1270 in Tunisia) guided by Louis IX, king of France and the future St. Louis, taken prisoner in the first and killed in the second: a saint-king who, in European history, represented a Christianity based on a direct relationship between the French monarchy, the earthly guarantor, and Jerusalem, that of heaven; an ideal bridge that left Rome out of the picture. Twenty-seven years later, Boniface VIII – who had won French favor by supporting and approving the controversial canonization of the king – returned to the theme of penitential travel, but now with the focus on Rome.*
A similar shift in focus, but toward Assisi and in an exclusively spiritual key, had been effected by St. Francis; the identification of Assisi with Jerusalem had led to the

il papa Celestino V aveva poi perpetuato nella "Perdonanza Aquilana" (tuttora in vigore). Ma questa francescana, che può ben definirsi la "rivoluzione ascetica" duecentesca, resterà, dimessosi "*per viltade*" il Papa, un fatto isolato e marginalizzato, anche e proprio per l'azione di un uomo come Bonifacio VIII Caetani; il quale, dopo aver punito ferocemente, con la distruzione della roccaforte dei Colonna a Palestrina (1299), il fronte ghibellino a lui ostile, è in grado di portare a sintesi, con l'iniziativa giubilare, tutte le tradizioni, bellicose o mistiche, basate sul rapporto magico instaurabile tra viaggio rituale e remissione dei peccati.
Il problema che il grande pontefice (oggetto dell'ingenuo sarcasmo di Dario Fo) deve affrontare è quello, fondamentale, che durante il cosiddetto periodo buio dell'era volgare non era stato risolto: urgeva sciogliere i nodi conflittuali tra la *Roma Aeterna*, magnificata dai grandi resti monumentali pagani, e la Capitale del Cristianesimo, peculiare anch'essa per i grandi edifici cultuali, realizzati, a partire dalla periferia, da Costantino in poi. *Capites Mundi* entrambe, ma radicalmente oppositive l'una all'altra, potevano convivere solo al prezzo di un ossimorico compromesso: quello della "con-fusione" degli opposti. In altre parole, occorre, all'alba dell'Umanesimo, procedere più speditamente e radicalmente nella risimbolizzazione, iniziata già nell'alto medioevo, dei giganteggianti templi e terme e palazzi monumentali pagani, caricando su di essi un "senso", altrimenti proprio alle grandi reliquie e costruzioni ecclesiali della tradizione cristiana: ai grandi resti ruderizzati dell'antica Roma Imperiale, poteva essere affidato il *senso* di spettacolare scenario della redenzione, di meta salvifica del viaggio rituale; con una riduzione delle vestigia classiche a sfondo dei sacri poli basilicali, destinati a trarre, da tale fastoso commento, maggior gloria.
Ma la cadenza giubilare si fonda su una tradizione ancor più remota: *Jobel*, l'antico corno ebraico, infatti, annunziava l'anno di grazia concesso da Dio a Mosè "*dopo sette volte sette anni*". Anche in questo, l'alta strategia papale è in grado di operare un vero e proprio ribaltamento da Gerusalemme a Roma, utilizzando la fungibilità del tempo e dello spazio. Sembra proprio, insomma, che il papa Caetani riesca, d'un colpo, ad esorcizzare tutto quanto di nuovo e di laico ferveva nella straordinaria disposizione al viaggio e all'avventura trasformativa, mercantile e produttiva del medioevo maturo. Egli, istituendo nella Sede Petriana una meta sacrale così egemone, da imbrigliare, almeno per un anno, quelle dinamiche verso Roma, giunge a dimostrare come il "Tempo della Chiesa" – per citare Le Goff –, cioè il tempo fermo, escatologico e ciclico, poteva ormai, nel tardo medioevo, coniugarsi con il "Tempo del Mercante": un tempo nuovo, progressivo e dinamico, quindi progettuale ma insicuro, in quanto non garantito da Dio.
Per un anno ogni cinquanta, la città del Papa deve *significare* tutto questo. E, con intuito naturale, Bonifacio VIII individua nei tre principali luoghi simbolici della città le sedi giubilari in cui intervenire, mobilitando il meglio dell'intellettualità artistica disponibile, per rendere più efficace l'impegno trasformativo. I luoghi prescelti per gli interventi sulla città fisica saranno il Laterano, il Vaticano e il Campidoglio; e, conciostesso, il Caetani traccia su Roma un segno trasversale di imperitura forza allegorica; quasi un segno esorcistico – assimilabile alle antiche *inaugurazioni* urbane sacerdotali – reso rituale, per secoli, dalle processioni lungo la *Via Papalis*: i complessi del Laterano e del Vaticano, ai due estremi diametrali, ricalcano la strategia dell'Imperatore Costantino, orientata alla risimbolizzazione della città convertita attraverso la creazione di spettacolari polarizzazioni cristiane nei luoghi di accesso alla città dalle vie consolari; due luoghi che il Papa prescegli̇e dal "sistema" religioso del IV secolo, trascurando, in una selezione essenziale ed ortodossa dei poli costantiniani, quelli di San Paolo Ostiense, di Sant'Agnese, di San Lorenzo, dei Santi Marcellino e Pietro e di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. L'Anno Santo del 1300 si celebrerà, infatti, essenzialmente in Vaticano e in Laterano: in San Pietro, in quanto massima installazione ecclesiale, eretta sulla tomba dell'Apostolo; e in San Giovanni, già Santo Salvatore, quale non secondaria residenza papale. Sede "difficile", quest'ultima, a cagione dei valori *imperiali* insiti in essa per essere stata oggetto della "donazione" costantiniana, convalidata nell'VIII secolo dal re dei Franchi. In Laterano, a trasformare il vecchio Palazzo pontificale con la sua nuova *Loggia delle Benedizioni* è Arnolfo di Cambio, massimo artefice prerinascimentale, attivo in aree ghibelline, come Pisa, ma ora operante in Roma; ove, per il Giubileo del 1300 presta la sua opera eccezionale, sia in Laterano che in Vaticano, il giovane Giotto. Nella Basilica di San Pietro questi ha la responsabilità del grande mosaico della *Navicella*, con la rappresentazione allegorica della barca ecclesiale

"Assisi Indulgence" which Pope Celestine V later perpetuated in the "Pardon of Aquila" (still in effect). But this Franciscan initiative, which can justifiably be defined as the "ascetic revolution" of the 1200s was to remain, after the resignation "per viltade" *of the Pope, an isolated episode, also and precisely because of the actions of a man like Boniface VIII Caetani; who, after having severely punished his Ghibelline adversaries with the destruction of the stronghold of the Colonna at Palestrina (1299), was capable of proposing a synthesis, with his Jubilee Year initiative, of all the mystical or bellicose traditions based on the magical relation between a ritual journey and the remission of sins.*

The problem the great pontiff (ridiculed today by the naive sarcasm of Dario Fo) had to face was the fundamental problem that had not been resolved during the so-called dark period of the vulgar (or Christian) era: the urgent need to resolve the conflicts between Roma Aeterna, *with its magnificent ruins of pagan monuments, and Rome the Capital of Christianity, with its own exceptional edifices which had been built, from the periphery to the center, from the time of Constantine to the present. Both images of the city were* Capites Mundi, *but in radical opposition to one another, even in linguistic terms; they could only coexist by paying the price of a compromised oxymoron: that of the "con-fusion" of opposites. In other words, it was necessary, at the dawn of Humanism, to rapidly and radically proceed with the re-symbolization, already begun in the early Middle Ages, of the towering pagan temples and baths and monumental palaces, endowing them with a "sense" which could otherwise only be said to belong to the great relics and ecclesiastic constructions of the Christian tradition: the grand ruins of ancient Imperial Rome could be charged with the* sense *of a spectacular scenario of redemption, the ideal destination for a ritual journey; with an appropriate reduction of the classic vestiges that form the setting for the holy focal points of the basilicas, in such a way that the Christian edifices would derive greater glory from the impressive company of the neighboring ruins.*

But the Jubilee program is also based on a still older tradition: Jobel, *the ancient Hebrew horn, announced the year of grace granted by God to Moses* "after seven times seven years"*. Here again we can observe how the studied strategy of the Pope proceeds to effect a true shift from Jerusalem to Rome, utilizing the fungibility of time and space. It appears, in short, that the Pope managed, in one fell swoop, to defuse all that was new and profane in the extraordinary urge for travel and personal, mercantile and productive adventure that was so much a part of the late Middle Ages. By making Rome the holy destination for travel, at least for one year, detouring all flows, he was able to demonstrate how the "Time of the Church" – to cite Le Goff – or arrested, eschatological, cyclical time, could be combined in the late Middle Ages with the "Time of the Merchant", a new, progressive, dynamic time, and therefore productive but uncertain, because not guaranteed by God. For one year every fifty years the city of the Pope was to* signify *all this. And, with a natural sort of intuition, Boniface VIII saw three symbolic sites of the city as places for intervention, mobilizing the best artistic and intellectual resources available, to effect a lasting transformation. The sites chosen for the physical interventions in the city were the Lateran, the Vatican and Campidoglio: in this way, Caetani traces a transverse sign of impressive allegorical force on the face of Rome; almost an exorcistic sign – comparable to the ancient urban priestly* inaugurazioni *– made ritual, for centuries, by the processions along the* Via Papalis*: the complexes of the Lateran and the Vatican, at two diametrical extremes, reflect the strategy of the Emperor Constantine, aimed at the re-symbolization of the city through the creation of spectacular Christian focal points at the points of access to the city from the consular roads: two locations the Pope selects from the religious "system" of the 4th century, neglecting those of San Paolo Ostiense, Sant'Agnese, San Lorenzo, Santi Marcellino e Pietro, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. The Holy Year 1300 was celebrated, in fact, essentially in the Vatican and the Lateran: at St. Peter's, the maximum ecclesiastical installation, built over the tomb of the apostle; and at San Giovanni, previously San Salvatore, the papal residence. The latter site was a "difficult" one, due to the* imperial *values still present, as it was part of the Constantinian "donation", validated in the 8th century by the king of the Franks. In the Lateran, the person chosen to transform the original papal palace with a new* Loggia delle Benedizioni *was Arnolfo di Cambio, pre-Renaissance master, active in Ghibelline areas like Pisa, but now working in Rome where, for the Jubilee of 1300, the youthful Giotto also worked, both in the Lateran and the Vatican. In St. Peter's Basilica Giotto was responsible for the great mosaic of the* Navicella, *with the allegorical representation of the vessel of the church steered by St. Peter with a single oar.*

2. Interventi giubilari sul Campidoglio dei papi Bonifacio VIII, 1300, Bonifacio IX, 1400, e Nicolò V, 1450, nella rappresentazione del Cock, 1547(?).
3. L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito nella rappresentazione di Botticelli La guarigione del lebbroso, *Cappella Sistina, Roma.*
4. "Come fu lo perdono da Roma", *Anno Santo 1400 (Miniatura dal Codice Sercambi, Lucca, Archivio di Stato).*

5. Ponte Sisto, nell'incisione di Giuseppe Vasi, XVIII sec.

governata da San Pietro, con un solo remo.
E sul Campidoglio? Qui l'intervento non ha carattere sacrale ma, si può dire, esorcistico e appropriativo. La gloriosa e sanguigna sede del *SPQR* viene assoggettata a quello che oggi chiameremmo un intervento di recupero trasformativo e di risignificazione simbolica: viene consolidata e monumentalizzata con l'aggiunta, anche qui, di una loggia: il famoso *Lovium*, che sarà, a sua volta, rivendicato dal popolo romano per le assemblee senatoriali e l'amministrazione della giustizia. Una loggia gotica, che avrà l'effetto di ribaltare il fronte del Palazzo Senatorio, un tempo affacciato verso il Foro, rivolgendolo verso la piazza e verso il panorama della città medievale.
Come è noto, l'ambizione del papa Caetani riguardo alla rinnovata centralità di Roma sotto il segno dell'integralismo pontificio viene punita, con puntualità ed efficacia, da Filippo il Bello di Francia, che invia ad Anagni Sciarra Colonna latore del famoso "schiaffo": un affronto insopportabile, cui seguirà la morte del pontefice e l'esodo papale ad Avignone. Siamo appena nel 1303 e l'operazione bonifaciana dell'Anno Santo del 1300, pur fondativa e lungimirante, sembra già ribaltata; ma il seme ha messo radici. Non passa mezzo secolo e, proprio dal versante ghibellino, ad opera del colto Stefano Colonna (1342) e di due intellettuali così diversi tra loro come Cola di Rienzo e Petrarca, viene data voce all'ansia del popolo romano di ottenere, se non il ritorno del papa, almeno un nuovo Anno Santo. Terremoti e pestilenze (1348) vengono in appoggio alla richiesta e Clemente VI Roger concede il richiesto Giubileo sulla scadenza cinquantennale (richiamando la legge mosaica), pur rifiutando il proprio ritorno, ancorché provvisorio, a Roma. L'Anno Santo, aperto dal card. Anniballo Caetani in un Natale insolitamente glaciale, finisce per essere deludente: Petrarca, atterrito per il crollo del Colosseo – dovuto al terremoto del 1349 –, lamenta lo stato miserevole delle basiliche patriarcali, nelle quali vede "*crescere l'erba*".
La fase travagliata e non breve del recupero di credibilità della Chiesa dopo il ritorno della Corte papale da Avignone, in un periodo di feroci lotte civili tra guelfi e ghibellini, consente con difficoltà lo svolgersi del terzo Anno Santo, che il papa Urbano VI Butilli-Prignani – insidiosamente osteggiato dall'antipapa Clemente VII, che gode dell'appoggio di mezza Europa – anticipa al 1390, senza di fatto, per la propria morte, poterlo aprire. Si occuperà di tale cerimoniale e di gran parte delle

And at Campidoglio? Here the intervention is not one of a religious order but, we might say, one of exorcism and appropriation. The glorious, sanguine headquarters of the SPQR *was subjected to what, today, we would call an operation of transforming restoration and symbolic redefinition: it was consolidated and made more monumental with the addition, again, of a loggia: the famous* Lovium, *which was to be claimed, in turn, by the Roman people for assemblies of the Senate and the administration of justice. A gothic loggia, which had the effect of reversing the orientation of the Senate building, once facing toward the Forum, now facing toward the piazza and the panorama of the medieval city.*
As we know, the ambitions of Pope Caetani for the renewed centrality of Rome under the auspices of papal integralism were punished, with punctual efficacy, by Philip the Fair of France, who sent Sciarra Colonna, bearer of the famous "slap", to Anagni: an unbearable insult, which was followed by the death of the pontiff and the move to Avignon. We are only in 1303, the Boniface's Jubilee operation of 1300, although farsighted, already seems to be a thing of the past: but the seed was planted. Less than half a century later, and precisely from the Ghibelline front, thanks to the erudite Stefano Colonna (1342) and two very different intellectuals, Cola di Rienzo and Petrarch, attention was paid to the desire of the Roman populace to obtain if not the return of the pope, at least that of the Jubilee. Earthquakes and plagues (1348) seemed to be timed accordingly, and Clement VI Roger granted the request in 1350 (in keeping with the law of Moses), while refusing to return, even temporarily, to Rome. The Holy Year, inaugurated by Cardinal Anniballo Caetani in an unusually gelid Christmas season, was a disappointment: Petrarch, anguished by the collapse of the Colosseum caused by the earthquake of 1349, complained about the sorry state of the patriarchal basilicae, in which he observed "grass growing".
The difficult and far from brief phase of recovery of credibility for the Church after the return of the papal court from Avignon, in a period of ferocious in-fighting between Guelfs and Ghibellines, created problems for the celebration of the third Holy Year, which Pope Urban VI (Butilli-Prignani) – insidiously harassed by the anti-pope Clement VII, with the support of half of Europe – decided to hold in advance, in 1390, although he did not live to see it. The opening ceremony and the better part of the urban

2. Jubilee projects on Campidoglio of the popes Boniface VIII, 1300, Boniface IX, 1400, and Nicholas V, 1450, as represented by Cock, 1547(?).
3. Santo Spirito hospital as depicted by Botticelli, La guarigione del lebbroso, *Sistine Chapel, Rome.*
4. "Come fu lo perdono da Roma", *Holy Year 1400 (Miniature from the Codex Sercambi, Lucca, State Archives).*
5. Ponte Sisto, in an engraving by Giuseppe Vasi, 18th century.



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6. Giotto, Bonifacio VIII indice il Giubileo del 1300, frammento dell'affresco della Loggia di Arnolfo di Cambio, oggi in San Giovanni in Laterano.

6. Giotto, Boniface VIII inaugurates the Holy Year of 1300, fragment of the fresco of the Loggia by Arnolfo di Cambio, today at San Giovanni in Laterano.

trasformazioni urbane Bonifacio IX Tomacelli, che viene alla ribalta con grinta degna del predecessore, (non a caso) omonimo, Bonifacio VIII; e che vorrà replicare l'iniziativa, riportando la scadenza al cinquantenario, nel 1400. Nella città semideserta, con il suo agglomerato di non più di 20.000 abitanti raccolti nell'ansa del Tevere verso il Vaticano, l'afflusso di pellegrini si presenta, tuttavia, notevole e comporta lavori di sistemazione della città nelle sue strutture essenziali: lavori stradali sui due assi della *Via Papalis* – Laterano-Vaticano – e della *Via Peregrinorum* – Campidoglio-Vaticano –; interventi manutentivi e migliorativi lungo il Tevere e in vari tratti delle Mura Aureliane.
Bonifacio IX, nel suo impegno al rilancio della politica urbana già adottata da papa Caetani un secolo prima, accentua l'aspetto più arcigno delle trasformazioni romane: potenzia le difese di Castel Sant'Angelo e fortifica persino il Palazzo Capitolino con due torri sul lato meridionale e con il tamponamento degli archi della Loggia mediante pesanti muraglioni (tuttora riconoscibili all'interno): una trasformazione particolarmente sgradita ai Romani, che protesteranno e otterranno dal papa successivo la liberazione delle arcate e la restituzione dell'aspetto di palazzo; e tuttavia provvidenziale per il pontefice che dovrà, proprio a quei muraglioni, la propria salvezza dall'attacco sferrato dai Colonna, al grido di "Popolo, popolo e libertà", nel gennaio dell'anno giubilare. Un attacco cui il Tomacelli, seguendo ancora una volta l'esempio di Bonifacio VIII, risponderà con puntigliosa spietatezza, radendo al suolo, e in modo ancora più feroce, la città colonnese di Palestrina.
Ma per contrappasso, sarà proprio un papa Colonna a riproporre il tema dell'Anno Santo a scadenza trentatrennale (gli anni di Cristo), riferendosi al 1390; cancellando, cioè, dal conteggio – non a caso – proprio il Giubileo indetto da papa Tomacelli nel 1400, così devastante per il proprio casato. Una forzatura procedurale, questa del Giubileo del 1423 indetto da un papa di famiglia ghibellina, che non sfuggirà all'autorevole contestazione di Canterbury. Martino V, tuttavia, a dispetto dei dissensi nonché dello scarso afflusso di pellegrini dovuto al perdurare della guerra con Napoli, non manca di sfruttare la sua occasione giubilare, dando ad essa, ancor più, il senso di un pretesto per la politica di riorganizzazione infrastrutturale urbana. Riedifica Ponte Santa Maria e Ponte Flaminio e rivolge la sua attenzione, oltre che al Vaticano, soprattutto ai poli romani antichi del nordest: Laterano, Santi Apostoli (vi realizza la propria residenza alle pendici del Quirinale) e Campidoglio, ove edifica anch'egli una torre sulla facciata verso Roma del Palazzo Senatorio, ma all'angolo opposto di quello delle torri del papa Tomacelli.
La mentalità e le modalità degli interventi di Martino V risentono ormai di una temperie umanistica di provenienza toscana. Ma, a Roma, la vera svolta verso il Rinascimento, svolta di cui il Giubileo è fervida occasione, si compirà sotto Nicolò V. Consigliato da umanisti del calibro di Leon Battista Alberti, il papa Parentucelli si affretterà a cancellare dalla contabilità giubilare l'Anno Santo indetto dal papa Colonna e a riprendere, ma riferendosi al 1400, la scadenza cinquantennale. Come non pensare, in un così intenso avvicendarsi di cambiamenti e controcambiamenti, al recente *De varietate Fortunae* di Poggio Bracciolini? E sarà un Giubileo, questa volta, veramente grande, che registrerà un'affluenza così forte, nonostante la peste scatenata dal contagio portato dagli stessi pellegrini, da mettere a dura prova la città. Se è esagerato parlare di crollo del Ponte Sant'Angelo, si sa per certo di duecento morti causati sul ponte, e giù dal ponte, dalla ressa.
Vediamo nelle grandi linee quale sia la strategia, ormai pienamente rinascimentale, che si afferma nel Giubileo del 1450. Nella sostanza, intanto, vi è un ribaltamento della direttrice urbana valorizzata. Se il papa Colonna aveva rivolto la sua cura principale verso il sudest, Laterano-Santa Maria Maggiore-Santi Apostoli-Campidoglio, Nicolò V sceglie decisamente la direttrice opposta: quella del Vaticano, da San Pietro al Castello, ma si rivolge anche alla riqualificazione urbana dell'intera città raccolta nell'ansa del Tevere. Un grande sviluppo e un forte impegno progettuale e simbolico investe le preesistenze storiche, ispirato quasi certamente dall'Alberti, che lo affianca come consulente nei numerosi restauri di opere antiche: le Mura, gli Acquedotti, Ponte Sant'Angelo, Santo Stefano Rotondo, San Teodoro, e molte altre chiese tra cui, ovviamente, San Giovanni. Ma la più ambiziosa trasformazione riguarda l'area di Borgo e tutta la zona di connettivo tra il centro storico, Castel Sant'Angelo e la Basilica Petriana; di quest'ultima verrà avviata, con i soldi accumulati durante l'Anno Santo, la ricostruzione della parte absidale. Mentre si realizzano, significativamente, due nuove residenze papali: in Vaticano e sul Campidoglio.



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transformations effected for the occasion were conducted by Boniface IX Tomacelli, who arrived on the scene with the same kind of fortitude as his previous namesake (and model), Boniface VIII. Boniface IX also decided to repeat the initiative, returning to the normal schedule, with another Jubilee in 1400. In the nearly deserted city, with no more than 20,000 inhabitants gathered in the area of the bend in the Tiber near the Vatican, the influx of pilgrims nevertheless created the need for noteworthy public works: roadwork for the two axes of the Via Papalis – Lateran-Vatican – and the Via Peregrinorum – Campidoglio-Vatican – as well as maintenance and improvements along the Tiber and in a number of parts of the Aurelian walls. Boniface IX, in his commitment to a renewal of the urban policy launched by Pope Caetani one century earlier, accentuated the sterner aspects of the transformations of Rome: improvement of the fortification of Castel Sant'Angelo, and even the fortification of the Palazzo Capitolino, with two towers on the southern side and the walling up of the arches of the Loggia (traces of which can still be seen inside): these were transformations that did not please the people of Rome, who protested and later obtained the re-opening of the arches and the restoration of the original look of the Palazzo; nevertheless these works were providential for the pontiff, as they saved him from the attack undertaken by the Colonna, with the battle-cry "Popolo, popolo e libertà" in January of the Holy Year. An attack to which Tomicelli, again following the example of Boniface VIII, responded with merciless zeal, with even greater ferocity, razing the Colonnese city of Palestrina to the ground.

It was precisely one of the Colonna popes who returned to the theme of the Holy Year 33 years later (the 33 years of Christ's life), using 1390 as the starting point for the count, and therefore eliminating, intentionally, the Jubilee year held by Pope Tomacelli in 1400 from the calculations. A stretch of the rules that did not fail to meet with the authoritative criticism of Canterbury. Martin V, nevertheless, in spite of such dissent and in spite of the low influx of pilgrims due to the continuation of the war with Naples, took advantage of the Holy Year, augmenting its character as a pretext for the reorganization of urban infrastructures. He rebuilt the Santa Maria and Flaminio bridges, and intervened not only in the Vatican, but also in the ancient Roman centers of the north-east: the Lateran, SS. Apostoli (building his own residence on the slopes of the Quirinale) and Campidoglio, where he too built a tower on the front of the Palazzo Senatorio facing Rome, but on the opposite corner from that of the towers of Pope Tomacelli. The mentality and the manner of the interventions of Martin V are marked, at this point, by an atmosphere of humanism of Tuscan origin. But the true turning point toward the Renaissance, in Rome, for which the Jubilee was a stimulus, took place under Nicholas V. Advised by humanists of the stature of Leon Battista Alberti, Pope Parentucelli hastened to remove the Holy Year held by Colonna from the calculations, in order to return to the 50-year intervals, assuming 1400 as the last Jubilee. In such an intense series of changes and reversals, how can Poggio Bracciolini's De varietate Fortunae fail to come to mind? This time it was a truly grand Jubilee, with such a great influx of pilgrims, in spite of the plague caused by the movements of the pilgrims themselves, that the city was sorely tried indeed. Although it is an exaggeration to speak of the collapse of Ponte Sant'Angelo, it is certain that two hundred persons died on the bridge, or falling from it, in the stampeding crowds.

At this point we can clearly observe the full Renaissance strategy at work in the Jubilee of 1450. In the meantime, there is also a shift in the urban zones of focus. While Pope Colonna concentrated on the south-east – Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore, SS. Apostoli, Campidoglio –, Nicholas V made a decisive shift toward the opposite area: that of the Vatican, and San Pietro al Castello, while also paying attention to the overall improvement of the city. Major development and symbolic-architectural transformation impacted the historical remnants; this was almost certainly influenced by Alberti, who served the pope as a consultant for the many works of restoration: the walls, the aqueducts, Ponte Sant'Angelo, Santo Stefano Rotondo, San Teodoro and many other churches including, obviously, San Giovanni. But the most ambitious transformation involved the area of the Borgo and the entire connection zone between the historical center, Castel Sant'Angelo and St. Peter's Basilica; for the latter, the funds accumulated during the Holy Year were used for the reconstruction of the apse. At the same time, significantly, two new papal residences were built, in the Vatican and at Campidoglio. The latter zone was completely transformed, as a demonstration of papal hegemony, by means of Renaissance formulae: on the facades of the Palazzo Senatorio and the Palazzo dei Conservatori guelfe

Quest'ultimo viene completamente trasformato, nel segno della egemonia papale, secondo moduli ormai rinascimentali: sulle facciate del Palazzo Senatorio e del Palazzo dei Conservatori fanno la loro comparsa le finestre *guelfe* (che gli interventi michelangioleschi e postmichelangioleschi cancelleranno).
Il pontificato di Niccolò V, al cui centro è la scadenza giubilare di metà secolo, sviluppa temi di grande rilancio economico e culturale, secondo un atteggiamento che, da ora in avanti, caratterizzerà gli Anni Santi dell'epoca moderna. Con Sisto IV Della Rovere, che è il primo a preferire il termine *giubileo*, dando anche avvio alla cadenza venticinquennale, la città viene investita da una azione ampia e dislocata di rinnovamento nelle sue infrastrutture e nella forma; secondo un'azione che, facendo seguito all'opera di Niccolò V, riprende anche quella di Paolo II Barbo. Questi, morto nel 1471 alla vigilia della preparazione giubilare, aveva già creato, con il suo palazzo e con la riapertura della Via Lata, un polo urbano che sarà decisivo per la città moderna, in Piazza San Marco (oggi Piazza Venezia). Affiancato dal cardinale d'Estouteville e rinnovata l'istituzione dei Maestri di strade, il ligure Della Rovere pone mano, guadagnandosi il titolo di *Urbis Renovator*, a una vasta rete di interventi: la ristrutturazione delle reti stradale e fognaria; il sistema dei ponti sul Tevere – con la ricostruzione di Ponte Sisto – e degli Ospedali – d'avanguardia quello di Santo Spirito–; la costruzione e recupero di palazzi e di chiese, molte delle quali, a parte Sant'Agostino, dedicate alla Madonna – Santa Maria del Popolo, Santa Maria della Pace, Santa Maria della Consolazione –; e persino il restauro di monumenti antichi, come il Marco Aurelio e l'Arco di Costantino.
Rispettando la nuova cadenza venticinquennale, che resterà valida fino all'Ottocento, Alessandro VI Borgia, con il Giubileo del 1500, apre la città alle massime personalità artistiche del Rinascimento a partire da Bramante il quale, con il chiostro di Santa Maria della Pace, introduce in Roma il linguaggio classico in edizione moderna e ormai perfetta. E se la figura del Borgia è stata fatta oggetto delle note critiche, per l'uso disinvolto delle indulgenze che egli concede in cambio di "offerte", non si può non riconoscergli un preciso impegno, sostenuto da un livello di cultura che desta ammirazione, nel conferire a Roma un rango internazionale. In particolare, è sua l'idea di solennizzare un importante rituale giubilare sull'archetipo della *porta*. La "Porta Santa", la cui apertura, dal 1500 in poi, impegnerà i papi in un rito tra i più significativi del cerimoniale, divenendo la soglia iniziatica per la redenzione, in quanto identificabile con Cristo stesso: "*Ego sum ostium, per Me si quis introierit salvabitur*".
Mentre un rettifilo, la Via Alessandrina, farà sistema tra il Palazzo papale e Ponte Sant'Angelo, avviando a questa iniziazione; e mentre il corridoio del "Passetto", collegamento rapido e protetto tra i Palazzi Papali e un Castel Sant'Angelo in edizione degna dell'*otium* di un principe, restaurato e riccamente decorato, darà al pontefice il prezioso privilegio di una linea di fuga verso un rifugio sicuro e prestigioso.
Siamo ormai al momento magico degli anni di Raffaello, di Michelangelo giovane e delle favolose corti papali di Giulio II e di Leone X. Un periodo aureo, fervido quanto breve, che non coincide con alcuna scadenza giubilare e si chiude con la morte, per veleno, del papa Medici. 1521: lo stesso anno dell'evento storico, tragico per la Chiesa romana, della Riforma luterana. Con questo immediato precedente, non può che essere sottotono il Giubileo del 1525, gestito da un altro Medici, Clemente VII il quale, solo due anni dopo, dovrà vivere l'umiliazione inferta a Roma da Carlo V, con i suoi *Landsgenechten*. Il segno urbano più valido e importante, lasciato dallo sfortunato papa, è la Via Clementina (Babuino) che completa il tridente iniziato dal suo predecessore e parente Leone X con Via Leonina (Ripetta). Ma nel 1527, a subire la devastante tragedia del Sacco, Roma sembra rimasta sola.
Trascorso il funesto terzo decennio del secolo XVI, la città del Papa, ferita e umiliata, appare come un centro vuoto. Non meno della Chiesa, dal cui potere – messo a dura prova da un'Europa sempre meno egemonizzabile – la città dipende, Roma ha ora bisogno di nuova fiducia e nuove energie. Matura l'esigenza dell'uomo forte: e questi viene, con calcolata scelta, individuato in Alessandro Farnese. L'indizione nel 1545 del Concilio di Trento, per l'avvio di una "Riforma Cattolica" capace di rimettere in piedi il prestigio internazionale della Chiesa romana e di avviare un processo di ricentralizzazione della Città *Aeterna*, corona l'impegno già largamente dimostrato da Paolo III, in sede politica e diplomatica, con l'invito a Roma di Carlo V ed il fantasioso cerimoniale della sua accoglienza, che cancella il pur recente sfacelo del "Sacco": il rituale prodotto per il corteo imperiale del 1536, con un oculato uso dello scenario monumentale

windows appeared (which the subsequent projects of Michelangelo and others were to erase).
The pontificate of Nicholas V, with the mid-century Jubilee appointment at its center, develops themes of major economic and cultural renewal, in an approach which, from this point on, characterizes all the Holy Years of the modern era. With Sixtus IV Della Rovere, the first to favor the term giubileo, *instituting a schedule of 25 year intervals, the city was impacted by a wide-ranging program of renewal, both of infrastructure and form; in keeping with an activity which, following the work of Nicholas V, also continued that of Paul II Barbo. The latter, who died in 1471 on the eve of the Jubilee preparations, had already created, with his palazzo and with the reopening of Via Lata, an urban pole which was to be decisive for the modern city, in Piazza San Marco (today's Piazza Venezia). Aided by Cardinal d'Estouteville, and having revived the institution of the "Maestri di strade", the Ligurian Pope Della Rovere undertook a vast series of projects, earning himself the name of* Urbis Renovator*: the restructuring of the street and sewer networks; the system of bridges on the Tiber – with the reconstruction of Ponte Sisto, Ponte degli Ospedali, and the avant-garde Ponte Santo Spirito – the construction and renovation of palaces and churches, many of which, apart from Sant'Agostino, were dedicated to the Madonna – Santa Maria del Popolo, Santa Maria della Pace, Santa Maria della Consolazione – and even the restoration of ancient monuments, like the Marcus Aurelius and the Arch of Constantine.*
In keeping with the new 25-year cadence, which remained in effect until the 1800s, Alexander VI Borgia, with the Jubilee of 1500, opened the city to the most important artistic talents of the Renaissance, beginning with Bramante who, with the cloister of Santa Maria della Pace, introduced the classical language in a modern, perfected version to Rome. And while the figure of Borgia has been criticized, due to the unscrupulous use he made of "indulgences" conceded in exchange for "offerings", we must acknowledge his precise commitment, backed by an admirable cultural level, to make Rome one of the great international cities. In particular, his was the idea of the solemnization of an important Jubilee rite with the archetype of the gate. *The "Porta Santa" (Holy Gate), whose reopening in 1500 committed the popes to a rite among the most significant of the entire ceremonial, became the threshold of initiation for redemption, identifiable with Christ himself:* "Ego sum ostium, per Me si quis introierit salvabitur". *While a straight line, Via Alessandrina, creates a system between the Papal Palace and Ponte Sant'Angelo, leading to this initiation; and the "Passetto" corridor, a rapid, protected access between the Papal Palaces and a Castel Sant'Angelo worthy of the* otium *of a prince, restored and richly decorated, gave the pontiff the valuable privilege of being able to quickly escape to a secure, prestigious refuge.*
By now we have reached the magical moment of the years of Raphael, of young Michelangelo and the fabled papal courts of Julius II and Leo X. A golden age, as fervent as it was brief, that does not coincide with any Holy Years, and ends with the death, by poisoning, for the Medici pope. 1521: the same year as the historical event that was so tragic for the Roman Church, the Lutheran Reformation. In this historical context it is no wonder that the Jubilee of 1525 was rather understated, managed by another Medici, Clement VII who, only two years later, was to undergo the humiliation inflicted upon him by Charles V, with his Landsgenechten. *The most valid and important urban sign left by this unlucky pope is Via Clementina (Babuino), completing the trident begun by his predecessor and relation Leo X with Via Leonina (Ripetta). But in 1527 the devastating tragedy of the Sack of Rome left the city on its own.*
After the dark third decade of the 16th century, the city of the Pope, wounded and humiliated, seemed like an empty center. Like the Church, upon whose power – sorely tried by a Europe with decreased potential for hegemony – the city depends, Rome at this point requires new faith and new energy. The need for a strong leader became pressing: the calculated choice went to Alessandro Farnese. The proclamation of the Council of Trent in 1545 for the launching of a "Catholic Reformation" capable of reviving the international prestige of the Roman Church and beginning a process of recentralization of the Eternal City was the crowning achievement of the wide-ranging efforts of Paul III, in political and diplomatic circles, including the invitation of Charles V to Rome, and the imaginative ceremonies conducted for his welcome, erasing the memory of the recent "Sack". The ritual conceived for the imperial procession of 1536, with skilful use of the monumental ancient setting combined strategically with the Catholic architectural strongholds, offered a sensational model for future Jubilee celebrations. The Emperor, in fact, arriving

7. La Porta Santa sulle medaglie commemorative di Giulio III, 1550, e di Gregorio XIII, 1575.

7. The Porta Santa on the commemorative medals of Julius III, 1550, and Gregory XIII, 1575.

antico combinato strategicamente con i caposaldi architettonici cattolici, propone un sensazionale modello per le future occasioni giubilari. L'Imperatore, infatti, proveniente da Napoli, aveva pernottato a San Paolo fuori le Mura e da lì, l'indomani, si era mosso con il corteo che, percorsa la Via Ostiense, Porta San Paolo, Porta Capena e raggiunto l'Arco di Costantino, si era avviato per il Foro Romano, riprendendo al Foro Traiano l'antico percorso della *Via Papalis*, per la *Platea Marciana* (Piazza Venezia) verso San Pietro. Un percorso popolato da mirabolanti presenze monumentali antiche ma anche moderne; e punteggiato da strutture provvisorie, consistenti in archi trionfali, allestite da architetti del livello di Antonio da Sangallo, nelle quali il classico antico e quello rinascimentale, volutamente e significativamente, si fondevano e identificavano.
Così, l'Anno Santo del 1550, aperto da Giulio III Ciocchi del Monte, in pieno Concilio di Trento, può dirsi preparato dal papa Farnese, con interventi urbani di grande rilevanza: come il "piccolo Tridente" di Ponte Sant'Angelo, verso il Banco di Santo Spirito, e come il rettilineo della *Via Trinitatis* (Via Fontanella Borghese-Via dei Condotti), che prosegue fino al Pincio. Interventi che configurano, insieme alle trasformazioni monumentali della zona di Piazza Venezia e dell'asse Farnesina-Piazza Farnese-Campo de' Fiori-Piazza Navona, la struttura di una città organizzata nel sistema dei suoi caposaldi rappresentativi e già moderna. Ma è con Gregorio XIII e con Sisto V, che Roma viene riproposta come una città capitale capace di competere, anticipandoli, con i grandi centri dell'assolutismo europeo. Per la preparazione del Giubileo del 1575, indetto dal Boncompagni, si affronta il problema della riorganizzazione economica e funzionale dell'intero territorio urbano impostando, già dal 1570 con l'acquedotto dell'Acqua Vergine, i nuovi sviluppi della città verso est, a riconquistare il suolo urbano già occupato da Roma al tempo di Aureliano. Via Gregoriana (oggi Via Merulana), il centro annonario a Termini, il palazzo sul Quirinale, il restauro del battistero Laterano rientrano in questa nuova visione della città, che Sisto V dieci anni dopo convaliderà. Quello di Gregorio XIII è un grande Giubileo, perfettamente organizzato nelle strutture di accoglienza per un'enorme affluenza di pellegrini di ogni ceto: solo nel nuovo impianto della Arciconfraternita della Trinità, a Ponte Sisto, troveranno posto 400.000 persone. Non annovera veri e propri Anni Santi l'età di Sisto V (1585-1590), che pure è un periodo di incredibile efficienza operativa, in cui Roma acquisisce l'assetto complessivo che in gran parte sopravvive nella città di oggi. I cosiddetti "Giubilei" di Sisto V hanno carattere cerimoniale e non catalizzano l'attivissimo fervore operativo delle trasformazioni urbane, sospinte dalla grande determinazione del papa e favorite da meccanismi di incentivazione economica d'avanguardia, i cui immediati precedenti sono riscontrabili in Sicilia, soprattutto a Messina e a Palermo. Ma alle croci di strade impresse sulla struttura insediativa esistente, che caratterizzano gli interventi di ristrutturazione urbana siciliani, a Roma invece i papi, forti della loro esperienza quattrocentesca, preferiscono, confermando e rilanciando i luoghi monumentali significativi, un vero e proprio sistema di rettifili e valorizzazioni polarizzate e innovative. Nel portentoso quinquennio di papa Peretti, viene investita la città soprattutto nelle zone del nordest e dell'est, a partire dal nuovo nodo di attrezzature urbane collocato in relazione alla Via Pia (XX Settembre) e alle Terme di Diocleziano; nonché nella poderosa trasformazione del Laterano. Mentre a San Pietro avranno finalmente luogo due operazioni estremamente impegnative: lo spostamento e ricollocazione dell'obelisco al centro della Piazza, ad opera di Domenico Fontana, e la chiusura della gigantesca cupola "michelangiolesca", ad opera di Giacomo Della Porta. Due iniziative che i precedenti pontefici non erano riusciti ad eseguire, di enorme impatto pubblico, spettacolare e simbolico.
Siamo quindi, alla fine del XVI secolo, in una situazione ormai stabilizzata, sia riguardo alla Chiesa, per i consolidati effetti della Controriforma, sia riguardo alla città, per la puntuale affermazione della nuova egemonia vaticana sulla struttura dell'insediamento urbano. Così, il Giubileo del 1600 può essere, sotto il sapiente impulso di Clemente VIII Aldobrandini, l'occasione per il lancio a scala mondiale di una Roma cosmopolita, in una Europa finalmente rasserenata dalla pace con la Francia e tra la Francia e la Spagna. L'enorme afflusso di pellegrini è controllato con una gestione urbana oculata che dà sostegno alla comune edilizia abitativa e prende cura della razionalità degli spazi pubblici; ma è anche capace di dare impulso, con Villa Borghese, a nuove concezioni di vivibilità e di qualità del paesaggio urbano. E' una politica che Urbano VIII Barberini, con il Giubileo del 1625, proseguirà, unendo agli *exploit* barocchi del Baldacchino



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from Naples, had spent the night at San Paolo fuori le Mura; the next day he was brought, with the procession, along Via Ostense, Porta San Paolo, Porta Capena, to the Arch of Constantine, and then to the Roman Forum, following the original path, from Foro Traiano, of the Via Papalis, through the Platea Marciana (Piazza Venezia) to St. Peter's. An itinerary filled with awesome ancient but also modern monuments, and punctuated with temporary structures, triumphal arches created by renowned architects like Antonio da Sangallo, in which antique classicism and Renaissance classicism were intentionally, meaningfully combined.
Thus the Holy Year of 1550, inaugurated by Julius III Ciocchi del Monte, during the Council of Trent, can be said to have been prepared by Pope Farnese, with very important urban projects: like the "little Trident" of Ponte Sant'Angelo, toward the Banco di Santo Spirito, or the rectilinear Via Trinitatis (Via Fontanella Borghese-Via dei Condotti), which continues until the Pincio. Projects that outlined, together with the monumental transformations of the zone of Piazza Venezia and of the axis Farnesina-Piazza Farnese-Campo de' Fiori-Piazza Navona, the structure of an already city organized around a series of representative points. But it is with Gregory XIII and Sixtus V that Rome reappears as a capital city capable of competing, in advance, with the major centers of European absolutism. For the preparation of the Jubilee of 1575, held by Boncompagni, the problem arose of the economic and functional reorganization of the entire urban territory, positioning, already in 1570, with the Acqua Vergine aqueduct, the new developments of the city to the east, retaking the urban areas already occupied by Rome at the time of Aurelian. Via Gregoriana (today's Via Merulana), the victualling center at Termini, the palace on the Quirinale, the restoration of the Lateran baptistry were all part of this new vision of the city, which was to be embraced by Sixtus V ten years later. The Jubilee of Gregory XIII was a grand one, perfectly organized to welcome and accommodate an enormous number of pilgrims of all types: in the sole facility of the Arciconfraternità della Trinità, at Ponte Sisto, 400,000 were housed.
No actual Holy Years took place during the time of Sixtus V (1585-1590), but this was nevertheless a period of incredible efficiency and activity, in which Rome took on the overall structure which, to a great extent, has survived until today. The so-called "Jubilees" of Sixtus V were ceremonial in character, and did not catalyze the fervent operations of urban transformation promoted by the great determination of the pope and favored by avant-garde mechanisms of economic incentive, whose immediate precedents can be found in Sicily, especially in Messina and Palermo. But instead of the criss-crosses of streets inserted in the existing settlement structure in the Sicilian renewal projects, in Rome the popes, based on their experiences in the 1400s, opted for a true system of straight lines, with innovative projects, exploiting and improving significant monumental sites. In the very important 5-year reign of Peretti as pope, the city was transformed above all in the northeastern and eastern zones, beginning with the new node of urban facilities placed in relation to Via Pia (XX Settembre) and the Baths of Diocletian, and in the extensive transformation of the Lateran. At St. Peter's two very intensive operations finally took place: the repositioning of the obelisk at the center of the Piazza, effected by Domenico Fontana, and the closure of the gigantic cupola "of Michelangelo", overseen by Giacomo Della Porta. Two initiatives which earlier popes had not been able to implement, of enormous spectacular and symbolic impact.
So at this point we are at the end of the 16th century, in a situation which has been restabilized, both with respect to the Church, thanks to the effects of the Counter-Reformation, and with respect to the city, due to the timely establishment of a new Vatican hegemony over the urban structure. Therefore the Jubilee of 1600, under the able guidance of Clement VIII Aldobrandini, became an opportunity for the worldwide revival of a cosmopolitan Rome, in a Europe finally in a period of peace. The enormous influx of pilgrims was controlled by precise urban management, with support for housing and attention to the rationality of public spaces; but there was also, with Villa Borghese, a new conception of liveability and quality of the urban landscape. This is a policy which Urban VIII Barberini, with the Jubilee of 1625, continued, combining the baroque exploits of the Canopy of St. Peter's and Palazzo Barberini with an efficient hospitality program, an ever-wider range of active Confraternities: apart from the Trinità, by now able to host 500,000 visitors, there were also the Gonfalone, with 300,000, as well as the Pietà, the Fiorentini, San Rocco, San Giacomo a Scossacavalli, Santa Caterina dei Senesi, the Crocifisso di San Marcello, the

8. Il Baldacchino berniniano di San Pietro, realizzato da Urbano VIII per il Giubileo del 1625.
9. Francesco Borromini, particolare dell'interno di San Giovanni in Laterno, nella riprogettazione complessiva, voluta da Innocenzo X, per l'Anno Santo 1650.
10. L'apertura della Porta Santa da parte di Innocenzo X, 1649.
11. Scalinata di Trinità dei Monti, realizzata dal De Sanctis, per l'Anno Santo 1725, aperto da Benedetto XIII.
12. Particolare del Colosseo, oggetto di risimbolizzazione cristiana da parte di Benedetto XIV per l'Anno Santo 1775.

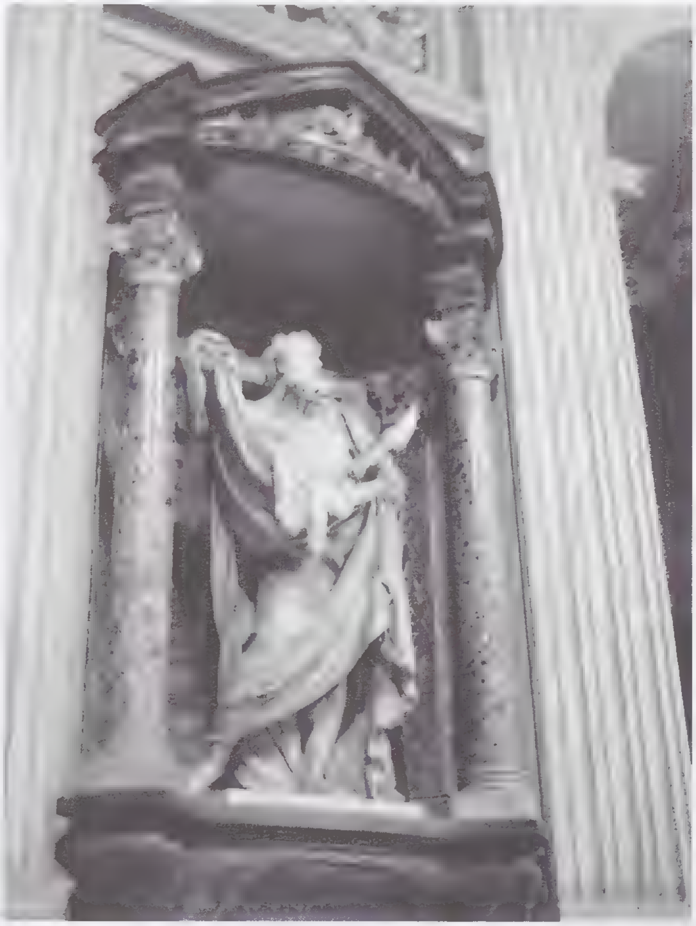
di San Pietro e del Palazzo Barberini, un'efficiente gestione dell'ospitalità, con un sistema sempre più ampio di Confraternite attive: oltre alla Trinità, che ospita ormai 500.000 persone, il Gonfalone, con 300.000, e poi la Pietà, i Fiorentini, San Rocco, San Giacomo a Scossacavalli, Santa Caterina dei Senesi, il Crocifisso di San Marcello, la chiesa della Morte, delle Ss. Stimmate, del Carmine.
Con la fine della guerra dei Trent'anni, alla metà del Seicento, la situazione cambia: Innocenzo X Pamphili, favorito dalla pace europea e da un diverso contesto di rapporti internazionali, si orienta verso un deciso ribaltamento della politica barberiniana anche riguardo all'impatto sulla città: se Urbano VIII aveva dato impulso al rinnovo di San Pietro, il nuovo papa filospagnolo e filoimperiale, oltre che alla spettacolare scena urbana di Piazza Navona, ove realizza la propria residenza, rivolge la propria attenzione al "polo ghibellino" del Laterano, con il decisivo *restauro*, che è una vera e propria *riprogettazione* della Basilica, affidato a Francesco Borromini.
Nell'anamnesi degli eventi riferiti all'antica struttura policentrica della città, riconosciamo, ancora una volta, il pendolo della storia urbana che – auspice il *De varietate Fortunae* di Bracciolini – continua a oscillare.
E a concludere lo straordinario periodo del barocco romano – che corrisponde, manco a dirlo, a una stagione di pauroso pauperismo con il popolo ridotto alla disperazione –, si avrà la sensazionale sequenza delle opere promosse da Alessandro VII Chigi ("*Altro volemo che guglie e fontane. Pane volemo, pane, pane!*", è la drammatica pasquinata): opere come il colonnato di San Pietro, Piazza del Popolo, Piazza Colonna, l'obelisco alla Minerva, Santa Maria della Pace, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Santa Maria in Campitelli, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, il restauro del Pantheon, il viale degli olmi al Foro Romano, che non sono nemmeno occasionate da scadenze giubilari, consegnano ai posteri una città dotata di un'attrezzatura monumentale senza confronti a livello mondiale. Infine ai papi che chiudono il secolo XVII, Clemente X Altieri e Clemente XI Albani, non resta, per i Giubilei del 1675 e del 1700, che potenziare il cerimoniale religioso e le strutture amministrative e di scambio. Si devono all'Albani la Curia Innocenziana a Monte Citorio, lo scalo di Ripa Grande al San Michele e la Dogana di Terra a Piazza di Pietra.
1700. Gli spettacoli architettonici urbani di maggior vivacità, leggerezza e gradimento, vale a dire i geniali

churches "della Morte", "delle Ss. Stimmate" and "del Carmine".
With the end of the Thirty Years' War, in the mid-1600s, the situation changed: Innocent X Pamphili, encouraged by peace in Europe and by a different context of international relations, moved toward a decisive overturning of the Barberinian policy, including its aspects of impact on the city: whereas Urban VIII had focused on the renewal of St. Peter's, the new pope, with sympathies for Spain and the Emperor, concentrated not only on the spectacular urban setting of Piazza Navona, where he built his residence, but also on the "Ghibelline pole" of the Lateran, with the decisive restoration, *a true* redesign, *of the Basilica, entrusted to Francesco Borromini. In the anamnesis of the events related to the ancient polycentric structure of the city we can recognize, once again, the pendulum of urban history that – as foretold in the* De varietate Fortunae *of Bracciolini – continues to swing.*
To conclude the extraordinary baroque period in Rome – corresponding, naturally, to a period of frightful poverty, with the populace reduced to a state of true despair – came the sensational sequence of works promoted by Alexander VII Chigi ("We cared not for spires and fountains. We wanted bread, bread, bread!", *in the dramatic pasquinade): works like the Colonnade of St. Peter's, Piazza del Popolo, Piazza Colonna, the Minerva obelisk, Santa Maria della Pace, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Santa Maria in Campitelli, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, the restoration of the Pantheon, the elm avenue of the Roman Forum, works which were not built for Holy Years, completed the creation, for posterity, of a city with an unparalleled quantity and quality of monumental sites. For the popes in the last part of the 17th century – Clement X Altieri and Clement XI Albani – nothing remained, for the Jubilees of 1675 and 1700, but work on the religious ceremonies and the administrative and exchange structures. Albani concentrated his efforts on the Curia Innocenziana at Monte Citorio, the Ripa Grande quay at San Michele, and the Land Customs House at Piazza di Pietra.*
1700s. The urban architectural spectacles of greatest vivicity, lightness and acclaim, or namely the brilliant projects of urban renewal of the steps of Trinità dei Monti, by De Sanctis, or those of the organization of Piazza Sant'Ignazio and the hospital of San Gallicano, by Raguzzini, were completed, in preparation for the Jubilee year, by a pope who, in contrast with his predecessors, was

8. Bernini's canopy at St. Peter's, built by Urban VIII for the Jubilee of 1625.
9. Francesco Borromini, detail of the interior of St. John in the Lateran, in the overall redesign commissioned by Innocent X, for the Holy Year 1650.
10. The opening of the Porta Santa by Innocent X, 1649.
11. The Trinità dei Monti steps, built by De Sanctis, for the Holy Year 1725, inaugurated by Benedict XIII.
12. Detail of the Colosseum, the focus of Christian resymbolization ordered by Benedict XIV for the Holy Year 1775.



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interventi di rinnovo urbano della Scalinata di Trinità dei Monti, del De Sanctis, o quelli della sistemazione di Piazza Sant'Ignazio e dell'Ospedale di San Gallicano, dovuti al Raguzzini – saranno realizzati, in preparazione giubilare, da un papa che, per converso, è decisamente tra i più austeri e cupi nei costumi: Benedetto XIII Orsini. Mentre più attento a non creare troppo stridenti contrasti tra la diffusa povertà e gli eccessi suntuari dei potenti, dando, invece, spazio a comportamenti cultualmente ortodossi da contrapporre al soffio libertino che viene dalla Francia di Voltaire e di Montesquieu, sarà Benedetto XIV Lambertini, il papa che negherà alla musica barocca di turbare la mistica del suo Giubileo del 1750. A lui, oltre che la grande riforma amministrativa e toponomastica, si deve l'impegno nell'imporre manutenzione e restauri delle chiese, nonché l'attenzione posta alla vecchia questione della riconversione cristiana del Colosseo, venuta all'ordine del giorno con la Controriforma: instaura nell'Anfiteatro Flavio l'uso della cerimonia della Via Crucis, per la quale fa realizzare, attorno all'arena, quattordici edicole da Paolo Posi. E può essere interessante rilevare come un intervento architettonico per certi versi analogo sarà dallo stesso papa fatto attuare, sempre dal Posi, anche nell'altro colosso monumentale romano, il Pantheon, ove il tamburo antico viene investito, all'interno, dal forte segno trasformativo delle otto finte finestre a edicola.
Clemente XIV Ganganelli si trova, ormai, sul finire del "Secolo dei lumi", ad affrontare una temperie sempre più difficile: è costretto a sciogliere la Compagnia del Gesù, mentre il *Terzo Stato* si fa imperiosamente sentire e Giansenismo e Massoneria si diffondono straordinariamente in Europa ed a Napoli. Questo papa, che muore alla vigilia del Giubileo del 1775, aperto, invece, da Pio VI Braschi, lascia un importante segno nelle attrezzature per la cultura, musei, biblioteche, dedicandosi, in particolare, alla creazione del Museo Pio Clementino, cui darà grande impegno anche il Braschi, confermando una politica della Chiesa, sia pure culturalmente illuminata, ma di arroccamento, per la difficoltà di incidere su un sociale sempre più agitato. Siamo infatti, ormai, alla Rivoluzione Francese e a Napoleone I: una congiuntura epocale che, di fatto, determina l'impossibilità, da parte di Pio VI e Pio VII, di mantenere il ritmo venticinquennale dei Giubilei.
E tuttavia l'Anno Santo del 1825, indetto da Leone XII della Genga, sarà nuovamente un grande Giubileo "all'antica". Con grande determinazione, infatti, riprendendo, e con chiara intenzionalità di restaurazione, la sequenza venticinquennale, mira a riconfermare il ruolo devozionale baricentrico di Roma. Salendo al soglio pontificio dopo un disperante periodo di vera e propria impossibilità culturale e politica a riproporre, sia pure metaforicamente, l'antica e recente centralità religiosa romana, egli postula esplicitamente la riconferma rituale di quel mito. In ciò, lo favorisce la fase di intervallo tra la svolta epocale delle rivoluzioni borghesi e del dominio napoleonico ed il periodo dei moti liberali della metà dell'Ottocento: un momento di rilancio religioso, corrispondente ad un breve ripristino dell'Assolutismo, che a sua volta sarà seguito, nella gestione papale romana, da un ulteriore, lungo periodo di regresso e di smarrimento delle possibilità d'iniziativa.
Si tratta, sia pure nel breve periodo, di richiamare e rilanciare quella centralità di Roma, che le vicende storiche sembrano negare; ma della quale non si è persa la memoria e può rinnovarsi la nostalgia. A tale impegno si dedica con straordinaria energia il pontefice della Genga, con perfetta coscenza delle difficoltà di agire su una città ormai diversa e, purtuttavia, ancora caratterizzata da una consuetudine a rapporti esterni, nazionali ed internazionali, alla quale ha corrisposto, da sempre, una caratteristica frammentazione policentrica interna: quel policentrismo originario, sopravvissuto alle vicende storiche di trasformazione dell'insediamento, che i poteri imperiali, a partire da Augusto, avevano da sempre cercato di esorcizzare e che invece i Papi avevano saputo usare *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*; cioè, per l'egemonia della Chiesa romana.
Al tempo di Leone XII, tale attitudine a relazioni esterne e tale policentrismo sono ancora sostanza strutturale di una città di dimensioni modeste: 120-150.000 abitanti, la quale, a dispetto del fatto che la ferrovia è di là da venire e che le Alpi sono ancora una barriera pressoché invalicabile, non è, tuttavia, priva di rapporti internazionali; e nella quale la struttura polarizzata dei grandi caposaldi papali è quella presente *ab origine*. Basti pensare ai tre centri di potere del Vaticano, del Laterano e del Quirinale, divaricati e collocati ai limiti estremi dell'abitato; non diversamente dai Ministeri papalini, sistemati secondo tre dislocazioni di grande rilevanza storica: in Campo Marzio, nella zona di Trevi ed in Augusta.

decidedly more austere and frugal: Benedict XIII Orsini. While careful not to create excessively strident contrasts between the widespread poverty of the populace and the sumptuous excesses of the powerful, focusing on orthodox religious behavior as opposed to the libertine breezes arriving from the France of Voltaire and Montesquieu, Benedict XIV Lambertini also prohibited baroque music, preventing it from disturbing the mystique of his Jubilee in 1750. He was responsible for major administrative and place-name reforms, and instituted programs for the maintenance and restoration of churches, and to address the old issue of the Christian reconversion of the Colosseum, which had been discussed in the wake of the Counter-Reformation: at the Anfiteatro Flavio, he instituted ceremonies of the stations of the cross, commissioning fourteen aediculae around the arena, by Paolo Posi. And it is interesting to note that another architectural intervention, analogous in some ways, was undertaken by the same pope, again with the collaboration of Posi, for another major Roman monument, the Pantheon, where the ancient tambour was covered, inside, by a strongly transforming sign, eight aediculae/false windows.
At this point, toward the end of the "century of Enlightenment", Clement XIV Ganganelli was faced with mounting difficulties: he was forced to dissolve the Society of Jesus, while the Third State *began to make its influence felt, and Jansenism and Freemasonry were spreading with extraordinary rapidity in Europe and Naples. This pope, who died on the eve of the Jubilee of 1775, which was inaugurated by Pius VI Braschi, left his mark on cultural facilities, museums, libraries, focusing particularly on the creation of the Museo Pio Clementino, which was also sustained by his successor, confirming a policy of the Church, one of cultural enlightenment but social detachment, because of the increasing threat of social discontent. By now, in fact, we are in the period of the French revolution and Napoleon I: an epoch-making moment which prevented Pius VI and Pius VII from maintaining the 25-year schedule of the Jubilees. Nevertheless, the Holy Year of 1825, announced by Leo XII della Genga, was once again a grand, old-fashioned Jubilee. With great determination, returning to the 25-year schedule, the pope attempted to reassert the centrality of Rome as a place of worship. Selected for the papacy after a frustrating period of true cultural and political impossibility for the advancement, even in metaphorical terms, of the original centrality of Rome as a religious pole of attraction, he explicitly hypothesized a ritual confirmation of that myth. In this intent he was favored by the phase of interval between the revolutions and the dominion of Napoleon and the period of liberal turmoil in the mid-1800s: a moment of religious revival, corresponding to a brief reprise of Absolutism, which in turn was followed, in Roman Papal policy, by a further, long period of regression and floundering.*
Although the interval was brief, it was one of recollection and reassertion of the centrality of Rome, in the face of the historical situation; the memory of Rome's glory was still alive. Pope della Genga worked on this matter with extraordinary energy, in full awareness of the difficulties involved in dealing with a city that had changed, but which was still characterized by its familiarity with external relations, both national and international, which had always been reflected in its internal polycentric fragmentation; that original polycentrism that had survived all the historic events of transformation, a polycentrism that the imperial powers, from Augustus on, had always attempted to destroy, and which the popes, instead, found a way to use ad maiorem Dei gloriam, *for the hegemony of the Roman Church.*
At the time of Leo XII this aptitude for external relations and this polycentrism were still part and parcel of a city of modest dimensions: 120-150 thousand inhabitants, and in spite of the fact that the railroad had not been invented, and that the Alps remained a nearly insurmountable barrier, it was not a city without international relations; a city in which the polarized structure of the major papal strongholds is the same structure present ab origine. *Just consider the three centers of power of the Vatican, the Lateran and the Quirinale, separated, located at the limits of the inhabited city; similar to the Papal Ministries, placed in three sites of great historical relevance: Campo Marzio, the Trevi zone, and Augusta.*
The severe policy of Pope Pecci is oriented toward the reorganization of a decaying, impoverished and listless city, plagued by disorders and criminal activity, and by the fear of "revolutionary" ferment; the policy proceeded with widespread projects of urban maintenance, stopgap measures to arrest decay where necessary. These projects included: the expansion of the Ghetto, with the inclusion of the block between Via Reginella and Via di Sant'Ambrogio, as far as Piazza Mattei; the outfitting of a "fluvial port"

La severa politica del papa Pecci è orientata alla riorganizzazione di una città in degrado, indigente e pigra, insidiata da disordini sia di natura malavitosa che, secondo quanto teme l'*establishment*, "rivoluzionaria", con interventi diffusi, di manutenzione urbana, e puntuali, dislocati variamente a seconda delle urgenze. Tra questi ultimi: l'ampliamento del Ghetto, con l'inglobamento dell'isolato tra Via Reginella e Via di Sant'Ambrogio fino a Piazza Mattei; l'attrezzatura di un "porto fluviale" tra l'Ospedale di Santo Spirito e Palazzo Salviati. Infine, anche la sistemazione architettonica neoclassica, promossa da Camillo Borghese e guidata dal Canina con raffinato gusto antiquario, della Villa Borghese, sviluppando, in quest'ultimo caso, un tema di valorizzazione urbana particolarmente fecondo, per il quale sfrutta l'utile sponda della nobiltà romana.
L'opera più importante che il papa è chiamato ad affrontare diviene però, per un evento improvviso che si ritiene estraneo ai programmi papali, la ricostruzione della Basilica di San Paolo, colpita da un terribile incendio che distrugge la chiesa nel 1823, mentre ormai PioVII è sul letto di morte, ignaro del disastro. L'intervento di ripristino, enormemente impegnativo, non ha alcuna possibilità di essere affrontato con gli scarsi fondi del Ministero delle Finanze, ma l'energico, neoeletto Leone XII si mostra subito in grado di far ricorso con efficacia alla solidarietà internazionale, sensibilizzata dall'imminenza del Giubileo. E se la raccolta di fondi darà presto buoni frutti, la discussione sui metodi per la ricostruzione impegnerà, invece, gli anni successivi ben al di là dell'Anno Santo, mettendo alla prova le contrastate metodologie sul restauro di ripristino. Dal dibattito, influenzato da posizioni teoriche anche non italiane, finirà per prevalere il progetto di Pasquale Belli, approvato nel 1831, che introduce pesanti innovazioni; seguito poi dall'ancor più liberamente interpretativo progetto di Luigi Poletti. Interventi entrambi orientati, a dispetto della filologia, a dar prova delle capacità attuali di produrre un "Tempio Classico-Cristiano".
Tra il Giubileo del 1825 e il lungo periodo del papato di Pio IX (1846-1878), che stabilisce il record del pontificato più lungo, le vicende storiche volgono verso uno sviluppo del mondo laico, che non consente a Roma di attrarre su di sé l'attenzione della religiosità occidentale. Sono, invece, gli anni in cui crescono e si affermano in Europa le dinamiche del mondo contemporaneo: basti pensare allo sviluppo dei mezzi di comunicazione e in particolare dei trasporti ferroviari. Mentre le trasformazioni urbane, anche nella città dei Papi, si trovano a seguire ormai assai poco la cadenza giubilare. Pio IX stesso non può aprire l'Anno Santo nel 1850, per le conflittuali vicende che travagliano l'Europa e l'Italia: la Repubblica romana di Mazzini cade nel luglio del 1849 e il papa può rientrare in Roma solo nell'aprile successivo. La sua longevità gli consentirà di indire – sia pure in una Roma, dopo Porta Pia, non più papale e rimanendo autosequestrato in Vaticano – l'Anno Santo del 1875.
La macchina urbana è ormai avviata secondo processi che lo stesso papa può solo in parte governare e le trasformazioni romane, intensissime a partire dallo spostamento in Roma della capitale, precedono e seguono, senza particolare attinenza, l'occasione giubilare. Già tra il 1870 e il 1871, il maltempo e la grande piena del Tevere sottopongono la città a una dura prova, che impone una generale riorganizzazione urbana: fin dal gennaio, è attiva una Commissione per il controllo delle inondazioni tiberine presieduta da Carlo Possenti, che vedrà prevalere il grande progetto di arginatura del Canevari, attuato dall'aprile del 1872. Ma l'immagine del fiume è già da tempo in trasformazione: tutto l'arco del papato di Mastai-Ferretti vede in atto la realizzazione dei ponti in ferro, secondo una tecnologia evocata da dinamiche urbane nuove, che si accompagna a una vera e propria trasformazione del volto urbano, con l'interruzione del vitale, antico dialogo dell'abitato romano con l'acqua.
Già dal 1847 è pronto il disegno per il Ponte di Ripetta, da impostarsi in asse alla chiesa di San Girolamo degli Schiavoni e destinato ad invadere la grande scena della scalea dello Specchi (1704-6) ormai in degrado. Verrà realizzato alla scadenza del papato, nel 1878, e durerà fino alla realizzazione di Ponte Cavour e del nuovo asse urbano di Via Tomacelli-Via Vittoria Colonna-Via Crescenzio, lanciato, secondo i piani del '73 e dell''83, verso il nuovo quartiere dei Prati di Castello. Nel 1853 viene riattivato, limitatamente ai pedoni, il transito sul Ponte Rotto, con un'elegante passerella metallica sospesa che resterà in opera sino alla realizzazione, da parte del Canevari, di Ponte Palatino (1887). E' del 1863 la più interessante di queste strutture sospese: il Ponte dei Fiorentini, in corrispondenza all'omonima chiesa; la caratteristica struttura verrà eliminata senza un motivo, che non sia quello di un pregiudizio di gusto che perseguiterà, a Roma,

between the Santo Spirito hospital and Palazzo Salviati. Finally, there was also the neoclassical architectural renovation of Villa Borghese, promoted by Camillo Borghese and guided by Canina with refined taste, developing a particularly fertile theme of urban reutilization, taking advantage of the contributions of Roman nobles.

But the most important work this pope was called upon to complete was the result of an unexpected event, the terrible fire that destroyed the Basilica of St. Paul in 1823, when Pius VII was on his deathbed, unaware of the distaster The enormously difficult work of reconstruction could never have been handled with the resources of the Finance Ministry, but the energetic new pope, Leo XII, immediately demonstrated his talents for international fund-raising, using the upcoming Jubilee as a way of stimulating donations. While the financial side of the project went well, the reconstruction methods to be employed were to be the subject of controversy long after the Holy Year, a kind of test case for the discussion of different restoration methodologies. The debate, also influenced by non-Italian positions, wound up in favor of the proposal of Pasquale Belli, approved in 1831, which introduced major innovations; this project was followed by the even freer interpretation of that of Luigi Poletti. Both these interventions were oriented, at the expense of philological considerations, toward a demonstration of the present-day possibility of producing a "Classical-Christian Temple".

Between the Jubilee of 1825 and the long period of the reign of Pius IX (1846-1878, setting the record for the longest papacy), historical events were centered on a development of the lay world, preventing Rome from capturing the attention of the Western world. These were the years of the growth and consolidation in Europe of the dynamics of the contemporary world: just consider the development of means of communication, and of rail transport in particular. Urban transformations, even in the city of the popes, have little correspondence to Holy Years. Pius IX himself was unable to inaugurate the Holy Year in 1850, because of the conflict in Europe: the Roman Republic of Mazzini fell in July 1849, and the pope was able to return to Rome only in April of the following year. The longevity of Pius IX, nevertheless, allowed him to inaugurate – although in a Rome which, after Porta Pia, was no longer papal, in self-imposed "house arrest" in the Vatican – the Holy Year of 1875.

The urban machine was in motion, in keeping with processes that the pope himself could only partially govern, and the transformations of Rome, which were very intense due to the repositioning of the capital, proceeded without any particular relation to the Jubilee festivities. In 1870 and 1871 bad weather and flooding of the Tiber caused problems for the city, requiring a general urban reorganization: from January on a commission was active for flood control, directed by Carlo Possenti, implementing the riverbank flood control project of Canevari in April 1872. But the image of the river was already being changed: the entire period of the papacy of Mastai-Ferretti is marked by the construction of iron bridges, based on a technology of new urban dynamics, accompanied by a real transformation of the face of the city, involving the interruption of the ancient, vital dialogue of Rome with this river.

Already in 1847 the design for Ponte di Ripetta was ready, to be aligned with the church of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni, and destined to invade the grand setting of the staircase of Specchi (1704-6), by now in a state of decay. It was built at the end of one papacy, in 1878, and lasted until the construction of Ponte Cavour and the new urban axis of Via Tomacelli-Via Vittoria Colonna-Via Crescenzio directed, in the plans of '73 and '83, toward the new Prati di Castello quarter. In 1853 pedestrian traffic was readmitted on Ponte Rotto, with an elegant suspended metal walkway that remained there until the construction, by Canevari, of the Ponte Palatino (1887). The most interesting of these suspended structures dates back to 1863: the Ponte dei Fiorentini, at the position of the church of the same name; the characteristic structure was later eliminated, for no real reason, if not that of a prejudice of taste against 19th-century architecture in Rome, that was to lead to the disappearance of nearly all the iron bridges. The "Fiorentini" bridge was dismantled under the pretext of being used as "iron for the homeland", in 1942. In 1864, in the Ostiense zone, the railroad bridge (Rome-Civitavecchia) was built, which still exists today, although in a modified version, under the name of "Ponte dell'Industria". And there is also one last iron bridge, erected in 1891 downstream from Ponte Sant'Angelo, before the construction of Ponte Vittorio Emanuele (1911).

A complex and very interesting story, finally, is that of Ponte Sisto, a Jubilee bridge built at the time of Sixtus IV (1475) which, after the unification of Italy, in 1877, was rebuilt in a

l'architettura ottocentesca, fino a far quasi scomparire i ponti in ferro. Quello dei Fiorentini sarà smontato con il pretesto del "ferro alla Patria", durante la guerra, nel 1942. Nel 1864 si realizza, nella zona Ostiense, il ponte della Ferrovia (Roma-Civitavecchia), l'unico tutt'ora esistente, ma in edizione modificata, con il nome di Ponte dell'Industria. E vi è un ultimo ponte in ferro, eretto nel 1891 a valle di Ponte Sant'Angelo per servire le due sponde prima della realizzazione di Ponte Vittorio Emanuele (1911).

Complessa e di grande attualità è, infine, la vicenda di Ponte Sisto, un ponte giubilare realizzato al tempo di Sisto IV (1475), che ebbe dopo l'Unità d'Italia, nel 1877, una affascinante sistemazione giunta a noi. Quest'opera composita, perfettamente coerente con il sistema dei Lungoteveri, realizzati a quota tale da far da argine alle piene difendendo la città storica, manteneva la stretta carreggiata quattrocentesca, ampliandola sui due lati con una caratteristica addizione metallica: due marciapiedi che, all'imposta del ponte, prendevano il livello delle nuove spalle del fiume. Una concezione architettonica complessa e geniale, volta a fornire carattere di passeggiata borghese al collegamento al centro di un quartiere popolare e disagiato come Trastevere, cui fa seguito, a completamento del sito urbano, la sistemazione assiale, dalla parte del Gianicolo, di Piazza Trilussa, con il fontanone spostato da Via Giulia nel 1898. Ebbene, per motivi tutt'ora in discussione – ma anche, dichiaratamente, per un attardato giudizio di valore –, in anni ormai recenti (1990), le "ali" ottocentesche sono state eliminate, sulla base di una proposta di ripristino rinascimentale (!), nata in sede accademica, ma poi sospinta da "motivazioni tecniche" verso una improvvida realizzazione, iniziata appunto, repentinamente, con l'atto demolitorio. Un'iniziativa di cui nessuno oggi si assume la responsabilità, che ha determinato l'apertura di un pesante contenzioso culturale e scientifico, ben difficile, ora, da risolvere.

Con Pio IX, riprende l'interesse per le aree più lontane dal Tevere e dalla cittadella Vaticana: e cioè le zone a sudest del centro, salubri perché in quota, su cui si era sviluppata, dalla seconda metà del Cinquecento, una urbanizzazione dal chiaro assetto moderno, promossa dalle iniziative papali, da Pio IV in poi, e coronata dai lavori di Sisto V. E' la politica urbana di Quintino Sella, curiosamente vicina a quella sistina, ma soprattutto favorevole alle iniziative fondiarie non certo disinteressate di Mons. De Mérode, responsabile vaticano del settore Lavori Pubblici; iniziative, quest'ultime, già avviate dal 1860 con ampie acquisizioni di suolo, incardinate su oculate convenzioni con il Comune di Roma (1870) per la lottizzazione delle aree prossime alla stazione ferroviaria di testa: la futura *Stazione Pio IX*. Contemporaneamente, Alessandro Viviani prepara il progetto per Via Nazionale, perfezionato e avviato all'attuazione negli anni successivi, ma non ultimato per il Giubileo. E dal 1880 si svilupperà il clamoroso processo concorsuale per il monumento a Vittorio Emanuele II, che richiamerà l'attenzione internazionale ponendosi come massima occasione di trionfalismo urbano per la nuova capitale dell'Italia laica, anche per la significativa ubicazione indicata, all'inizio, in Piazza Esedra.

Alla fine, prevarrà invece la collocazione sul Campidoglio, come risultato di un'abile strategia mediatrice di cui è fautore De Pretis: il nuovo monumento ai Savoia sul massimo Colle significa, infatti, una precisa opzione di centralità, ribadita come momento di sintesi storica tra il nuovo e l'antico. E la grandiosità eccessiva dell'opera del Sacconi, insieme al suo impianto iconografico evidentemente "capitolino", esprimono senza complessi, e con qualche tracotanza, la sfida borghese alla Roma papalina, ma anche alla complessità della storia dell'Urbe. Il che viene attuato con pericoloso decisionismo, incurante del sacrificio di memorie, in termini di distruzioni archeologiche e di preesistenze monumentali. Mentre all'Esedra sarà realizzata la sistemazione del Koch (1886-1904): curiosa resuscitazione, in chiave eclettica, della grande esedra termale e maestoso ingresso all'asse borghese della nuova Via Nazionale.

Con gran travaglio di progetti e di ripensamenti, si è andata sviluppando, nel frattempo, la realizzazione di Termini. La vicenda ha inizio all'indomani della nomina di Pio IX, nel 1847, con l'attestamento nel perimetro termale della stazione Roma-Frascati: è la prima ferrovia romana e fa seguito, in Italia, alla Napoli-Portici e alla Mestre-Venezia. Già nel 1853 si progetta il suo avanzamento fino a Villa Borghese; ma subito, due anni dopo, si torna su Termini e, nel 1856, s'inaugura la stazione a Porta Maggiore. Dal 1859, con l' inizio delle operazioni fondiarie di De Mérode, si stabilizza, però, la scelta di Termini, ove si attestano le linee ferroviarie che, nel 1860, sono due: per Frascati e per Civitavecchia. Sette anni dopo, viene approvato il progetto del Bianchi per il

13.14. Basilica ostiense di San Paolo, nella ricostruzione attuata dopo l'incendio del 1823, promossa da Leone XII.

13.14. Basilica ostiense di San Paolo, in the reconstruction effected after the fire of 1823, by order of Leo XII.



13



14

fascinating way that survives even today. This composite work, perfectly coherent with the system of the banks of the Tiber, built at such a height that the banks can defend the historical city from flooding, maintains the narrow 15th-century roadway, expanding it on both sides with a characteristic metal structure: two walkways which at the impost of the bridge assume the level of the new sides of the river. A complex, ingenious architectural concept, designed to give a promenade character to a connection to the center of a lower-class district like the Trastevere, which was followed, to complete the urban site, by the axial arrangement, on the part of Gianicolo, of Piazza Trilussa, with the large fountain moved away from Via Giulia in 1898. For reasons still being discussed – but also, admittedly, for a delay in the recognition of their value – in recent times (1990) the 19th-century "wings" have been eliminated, in the name of a return to the original "Renaissance" form of the bridge (!), a proposal advanced by academics, then rejected for "technical reasons", and finally resulting, suddenly, in an act of demolition. This is an initiative for which, today, no one is willing to assume the responsibility; its unfortunate outcome has led to a great deal of cultural controversy, but a solution for the undoing of the damage is not likely to surface.
With Pius IX interest revived in the areas far from the Tiber and the citadel of the Vatican: the zones to the southeast of the center, salubrious because of their altitude, where since the second half of the 1500s a clearly modern development had been underway, encouraged by papal initiatives, from Pius IV on, culminating in the works of Sixtus V. This is part of the urban policy of Quintino Sella, curiously similar to the approach of Sixtus, but above all involved in the indubitably profit-seeking real estate manipulations of Mons. De Mérode, the Vatican's director of Public Works; these initiatives, already underway in 1860 with a major land acquisition campaign, favored by well-planned agreements with the City of Rome (1870) for the parcelling of the area near the main rail station: the future Stazione Pio IX. *At the same time, Alessandro Viviani was preparing the project for Via Nazionale, perfected and implemented in the years to come, but not completed for the Jubilee. From 1880 on international attention focused on the competition for the monument dedicated to Vittorio Emanuele II, seen as a maximum opportunity for urban triumphalism for the new capital of a lay Italy, especially because of the position initially stipulated: Piazza Esedra.*

nuovo Fabbricato Viaggiatori, che sarà inaugurato da Pio IX in vista del Giubileo, nel 1873. Sarà Piacentini a riaprire, in epoca fascista, la discussione sull'ubicazione della stazione di testa, studiando nel 1924 una sistemazione monumentale arretrata nuovamente a Porta Maggiore, per dar spazio a un lungo, spettacolare piazzale verso le Terme e Piazza Esedra. Ma prevarrà ancora l'ubicazione originaria nel progetto di Angelo Mazzoni, del 1938, realizzato nei suoi corpi laterali, tuttora in gran parte esistenti, prima e durante la guerra.
Ed è proprio da Termini che il dibattito architettonico riprenderà dopo la Liberazione, ormai in vista del Giubileo del 1950, con il grande concorso per il nuovo Fabbricato Viaggiatori, che vedrà impegnate le nuove leve della progettazione italiana (1947) e che sarà vinto dal gruppo di Eugenio Montuori. Una realizzazione che, insieme al Monumento alle Fosse Ardeatine – e a dispetto della mediocre sistemazione giubilare di Via della Conciliazione – aprirà, in Roma, la nuova stagione dell'architettura moderna italiana.
Dal tempo del primo Anno Santo ai nostri giorni, è il territorio urbano, insomma, a registrare, nelle sue sedi più evocative ma anche nelle sue strutture funzionali e dinamiche, il senso di una mobilitazione universale la quale, prima che una risposta alla grande attesa cristiana, è determinazione al rilancio e alla ricentralizzazione di Roma. Di scadenza in scadenza, in condizioni storiche sempre diverse, la città autocandidatasi come *aeterna* ripropone un proprio ruolo che, di fronte al mondo, l'incomparabile accumulazione di memorie storiche e di monumenti stanno a certificare. L'impegno giubilare è sempre stato, e resta, un impegno *per* Roma; e qui, anche ora, la storia urbana può essere riletta, in gran parte, in questa periodica, orgogliosa restituzione di "senso" alla città. Un succedersi di eccezionali momenti di riprogettazione complessiva, portata, nella precarietà evolutiva dei momenti storici, su un sistema di permanenze imperiture tuttavia compromesse, ma anche rivitalizzate, dal sempre mutevole contesto del quale fanno parte, per l'insorgere inevitabile di nuove permanenze e di rinnovate precarietà: nell'allegoria, ancora una volta, della inesauribile *Varietà* della Storia.

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Foto 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14: M. Segarra Lagunes.

In the end the monument was placed on Campidoglio, after the diplomatic intermediation of De Pretis: the new monument to the Savoy dynasty on the highest of the Roman hills indicated, in fact, a precise option for centrality, restated as a moment of historical synthesis between the new and the ancient. And the excessive grandiosity of the work by Sacconi, together with its evidently Capitoline iconography, expressed without inhibition, and with a certain arrogance, the bourgeois challenge to the Rome of the popes, but also to the complexity of the history of the city. This all took place with dangerous decisiveness, without considering the price of squandered memories, the destruction of archaeological and monumental presences. In the meantime, at Piazza Esedra the reorganization was handled by Koch (1886-1904): a curious reworking, in eclectic terms, of the great exedrae of the hot springs, and the imposing entryway to the bourgeois axis of the new Via Nazionale.
In a context of projects, revisions, difficulties, the construction of Termini proceeded. The process begins after the election of Pius IX, in 1847, with the positioning in the area of the Rome-Frascati station: this is part of the first Roman railway, preceded in Italy by the Naples-Portici line and the Mestre-Venice line. In 1853 there was already a project for extension to Villa Borghese; but just two years later the focus returned to Termini and, in 1856, the station at Porta Maggiore was inaugurated. From 1859 on, in the context of the real estate operations of De Mérode, Termini became the true focal point, with the terminals for two rail lines, in 1860: to Frascati and to Civitavecchia. Seven years later Bianchi's project for the new Fabbricato Viaggiatori was approved, and the structure was inaugurated for the coming Jubilee by Pius IX, in 1873.
During the fascist era Piacentini revived the debate on the positioning of the terminal station; in 1924 he worked on a monumental project set back, once again, to Porta Maggiore, in order to have space for a long, spectacular plaza in the direction of the Baths and Piazza Esedra. But once again the original site was chosen, in the design by Angelo Mazzoni, in 1938, whose lateral parts – most of which exist, even today – were built before and during the war.
And it was here, at Termini, that the architectural debate began anew after the Liberation, and with an eye on the Jubilee of 1950, with a major competition for a new Fabbricato Viaggiatori, involving the new talents of Italian

design (1947), won by the group of Eugenio Montuori. A project which, together with the monument at the Ardeatine caves – and in spite of the mediocre Jubilee project for Via della Conciliazione – inaugurated, in Rome, the new period of Italian modern architecture.
From the time of the first Holy Year to the present it is the urban territory, in short, that records, in its most emblematic sites, but also in its functional and dynamic structures, the sense of a universal mobilization which, more than a response to the great expectations of Christianity, represents a continuing attempt to re-establish and reinforce the role of Rome as an international city. From Jubilee to Jubilee, in changing historical contexts, the self-proclaimed "eternal" city retakes it claim to a role which, with respect to the rest of the world, is justified by the unparalleled accumulation of historical memories and monuments. The efforts of the Jubilee have always been, and remain, efforts for Rome; and here in Rome, even today, urban history can be reinterpreted, to a great extent, in terms of this periodic, proud restitution of "sense" to the city. A sequence of exceptional moments of overall redesign effected, in the evolutionary uncertainty of historical moments, on a system of everlasting but compromised sites revitalized by their constantly changing context, with the inevitable appearance of new landmarks and new threats to those of the past: in the allegory, yet again, of the endless Varietà *of history.*

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Photos 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14: M. Segarra Lagunes.

1. Veduta di Via della Conciliazione nel 1950.

1. View of Via della Conciliazione, 1950.



1

"Urbi et orbi": Roma e la Basilica vaticana negli Anni Santi

Christof Thoenes

Fino alla loro partenza per Avignone i papi risiedettero nel Laterano, e lì il 22 febbraio 1300 Bonifacio VIII indisse il primo Giubileo; tuttavia fin dall'inizio la Basilica vaticana ebbe un ruolo rilevante nello svolgimento degli Anni Santi. La tomba del principe degli apostoli era sempre stata la meta primaria del pellegrinaggio a Roma, e proprio nel XIV secolo si fece più forte per le masse il richiamo della più importante fra le reliquie conservate a San Pietro, il sudario della Veronica. Un altro vantaggio della Basilica petriana era la sua posizione sulla riva destra del Tevere, quella che le schiere di pellegrini provenienti da nord raggiungevano per prima; e lì, lungo la strada tra la chiesa e il Ponte Sant'Angelo, era sorto il Borgo Leonino, in cui erano situati i maggiori ospizi. Il Laterano era posto invece nel "disabitato", dall'altra parte della città, e la strada per arrivarvi attraversava zone desolate, disagevoli e malsicure. Dopo il ritorno dall'esilio avignonese, i papi scelsero come residenza principale il Vaticano, e quindi fu trasferita a San Pietro anche la cerimonia più importante dell'Anno Santo, la benedizione impartita dal pontefice.

Il rapido aumento delle richieste di indulgenze pose ai papi, in quanto supremi reggitori della Chiesa e della città (di cui nel 1398 avevano esautorato il Comune), quattro importanti compiti: 1) il restauro e l'abbellimento della Basilica vaticana, in degrado da secoli; 2) la creazione di una cornice architettonica per la cerimonia della benedizione; 3) la regolarizzazione e la decorosa sistemazione della piazza antistante San Pietro e del Borgo; 4) la regolazione dell'accesso dall'"abitato" al Borgo, implicante la costruzione di idonee infrastrutture (strade, ponti, condotte d'acqua, ospizi) in tutto il territorio cittadino. Tutti questi problemi furono affrontati dai papi nei tre secoli seguenti, non secondo un programma attentamente predisposto, ma attraverso singole iniziative locali dei vari pontefici, che di solito non venivano proseguite dai loro successori e che diedero un risultato d'insieme – in verità imponente – solo al termine del suddetto periodo. Rimase irrisolto un altro problema, che secondo i criteri odierni avrebbe dovuto ricevere uguali, se non maggiori cure: quello dell'arginamento del Tevere, le cui esondazioni, di frequenza annuale, interrompevano ogni volta lo svolgimento dell'Anno Santo, rendevano parzialmente impraticabile la città, privavano molti pellegrini dei loro ricoveri, già di per sé precari, e provocavano disastrose epidemie. E' difficile stabilire fino a che punto ciò dipendesse da difficoltà tecniche e

"Urbi et orbi": Rome and the Vatican Basilica in the Holy Years

Christof Thoenes

Until their departure for Avignon the popes lived in the Lateran, and it was there, on 22 February 1300, that Boniface VIII inaugurated the first Holy Year; nevertheless from the outset the Vatican Basilica had an important role in the events of the Holy Years. The tomb of the prince of the apostles has always been the main destination of pilgrimages to Rome, and in the 14th century its attraction was even greater, due to the most important of the relics conserved at St. Peter's, the sudarium of Veronica. Another advantage of St. Peter's Basilica was its position on the right bank of the Tiber, the side of the river reached first by the pilgrims arriving from the north; there, along the road between the church and Ponte Sant'Angelo, the Borgo Leonino had grown up, with the main shelters and hospices. The Lateran was located, on the other hand, on the other side of the city, in an "uninhabited" zone, and the road leading there was desolate and dangerous. After the return from Avignon, the popes chose the Vatican as their main place of residence, and the most important ceremony of the Holy Year, the pope's benediction, was shifted to St. Peter's. The rapid increase in the requests for indulgences imposed, for the popes, as the supreme figures of the Church and the city (after having deprived the Comune of its power in 1398), four important tasks: 1) the restoration and embellishment of the Vatican Basilica, left to decay for centuries; 2) the creation of an architectural setting for the ceremony of the benediction; 3) the ordering and appropriate renewal of the piazza facing St. Peter's and of the Borgo; 4) the ordering of the access from the residential area to the Borgo, implying the construction of suitable infrastructures (streets, bridges, aqueducts, hospices) in the entire urban territory. All these problems were dealt with by the popes in the following three centuries, not in keeping with a carefully planned program, but through single local initiatives on the part of the various pontiffs, which usually were not continued or completed by their successors, leading to an overall result – impressive, nevertheless – that could only be truly comprehended at the end of the period. Another problem remained unresolved, a problem which in keeping with today's values should have been equally, if not more important: that of the banks of the Tiber, whose annual floods regularly interrupted the events of the Holy Year, making parts of the city useless, depriving many pilgrims of their already precarious shelters, and causing disastrous epidemics. It is hard to say to what extent this oversight was the result of technical and financial

2. Maerten van Heemskerck, Fronte dell'atrio in Piazza San Pietro, 1532-36. Vienna, Albertina.
3. Castel Sant'Angelo, San Pietro e il Vaticano nella pianta di Roma di Alessandro Strozzi, 1474 (part.). Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
4. Maerten van Heemskerck, Palazzo Lateranense, Loggia delle Benedizioni e transetto nord della Basilica, 1532-36(part.). Berlino, Gabinetto dei disegni.
5. San Pietro, Pianta dell'atrio con la Loggia delle Benedizioni di Pio II (Ricostruzione del progetto, C.L. Frommel).
6. San Pietro, Fronte dell'atrio con la Loggia delle Benedizioni provvisoria, 1493. Hartmann Schedel, Weltchronik.

finanziarie, o invece dalla tendenza ad accettare le calamità naturali, anche se prevedibili, come castighi divini ai quali bisognava cercare di ovviare mediante una contrizione più viva.
Il presente schizzo segue la cronologia degli anni giubilari, anche se va detto in anticipo che solo occasionalmente il succedersi delle iniziative esaminate corrisponde al ciclo venticinquennale. Ciò è dovuto a tre motivi. Anzitutto, progetti come quello del rinnovo di San Pietro acquistavano ben presto una dinamica propria: gli Anni Santi potevano agire come impulso aggiuntivo, ma non influivano sulle grandi scelte edilizie. In secondo luogo, il campo d'azione di ciascun pontefice era definito dallo stato delle finanze ecclesiastiche, e quindi da fattori economici e politici che in gran parte sfuggivano al suo controllo. Infine, la successione nel pontificato introduceva un elemento di pura casualità: poteva accadere che papi fattivi e solleciti del bene di Roma e della Chiesa come Giulio II, Sisto V o Alessandro VII regnassero nell'intervallo tra due Giubilei e che altri papi, come Giulio III o Pio VI, si trovassero improvvisamente di fronte a un Anno Santo per la morte del loro predecessore, e non avessero quindi il tempo di elaborare un programma proprio.

1425
Può far meraviglia che il primo Giubileo proclamato in San Pietro non vi abbia lasciato nessuna traccia monumentale. Ma Martino V (1417-1431), che aveva potuto prendere possesso di Roma solo cinque anni prima, era stato interamente assorbito dal compito di rendere di nuovo abitabile la città. Lo stesso Palazzo vaticano aveva bisogno di essere ripulito, provvisto di finestre e arredato alla meglio; e anche la preparazione della Basilica e della piazza antistante per la celebrazione del Giubileo dev'essere rimasta limitata a provvedimenti provvisori. L'unico lavoro documentato è una riparazione della copertura del portico d'ingresso.

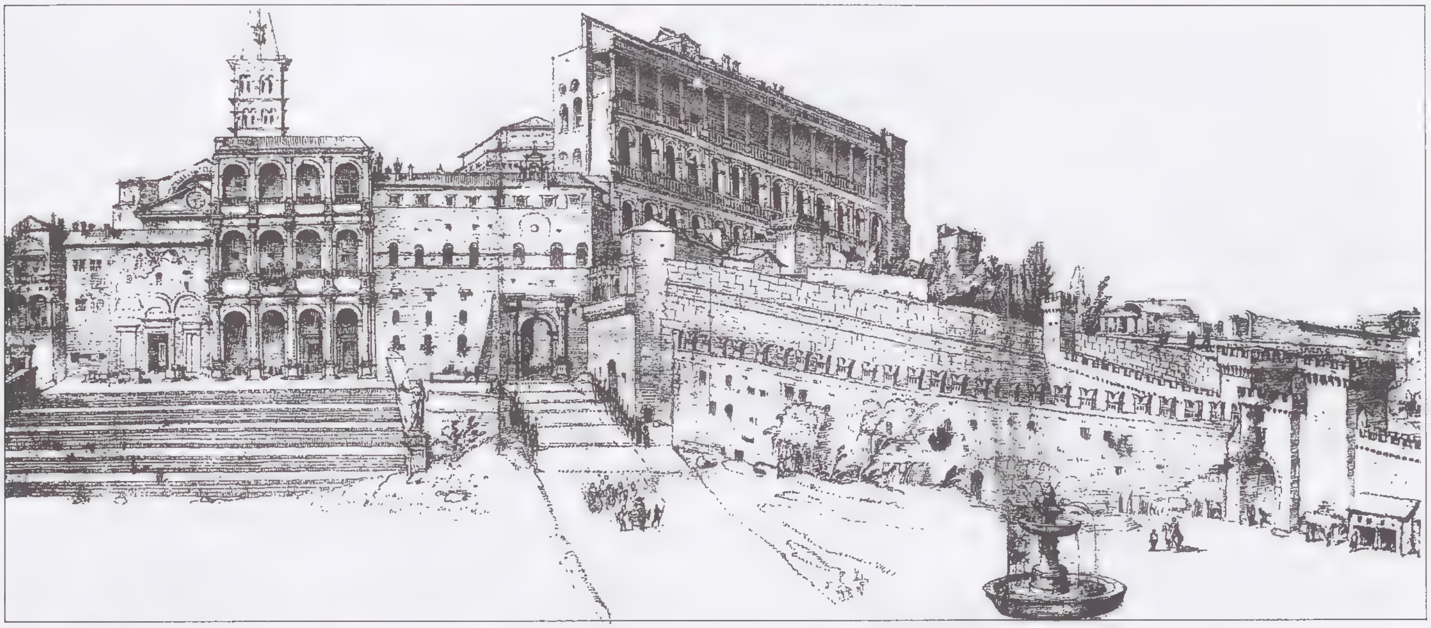
1450
Anche ai pellegrini dell'Anno Santo successivo, bandito da Nicolò V (1447-1455), gli edifici vaticani presentarono quasi invariato il loro volto medievale. Soltanto due anni dopo cominciarono a innalzarsi dietro l'abside della Basilica i muri di un nuovo coro, facente parte di un progetto di ristrutturazione esteso anche alla Piazza, al Borgo e al Palazzo vaticano. Con straordinaria

difficulties, or whether it reflected a tendency to accept natural disasters, however predictable, as manifestations of a divine wrath which could only be placated with more fervent acts of contrition.
The rapid outline furnished here follows the chronology of the Jubilee Years, although we should state from the outset that the rhythm of these initiatives only rarely complies with the 25-year schedule of their conception. This is due to three factors. First, projects such as that for the renovation of St. Peter's rapidly took on their own dynamics: the Holy Years could serve as an added impulse, but they didn't have a major effect on building decisions. Second, the range of action of each pontiff was defined by the state of church finances, or by economic and political factors that were, to a great extent, beyond his control. Finally, the succession of the popes introduces a purely random element: it occurred that active popes, concerned about the well-being of Rome and the Church, like Julius II, Sixtus V or Alexander VII, held their positions in the intervals between two Jubilees, and that other popes, like Julius III or Pius VI, were suddenly faced with the planning of a Holy Year due to the death of their predecessor, without having time to develop their own programs.

1425
It may seem unlikely that the first Holy Year proclaimed at St. Peter's left no monumental traces of its passage. But Martin V (1417-1431), who had taken possession of Rome only five years earlier, had been entirely occupied with the task of making the city liveable. The Palazzo Vaticano needed to be cleaned, fitted with windows, furnished; and the preparation of the Basilica and the Piazza for the celebration of the Jubilee involved only temporary facilities and structures. The only documented work undertaken was the repair of the covering of the entrance portico.

1450
Once again the pilgrims who came to Rome for the next Holy Year, held by Nicholas V (1447-1455), saw the buildings of the Vatican almost without any modification of their medieval state. Just two years later work began behind the apse of the Basilica for the construction of the walls of a new chancel, part of a wide-ranging restructuring project also including the piazza, the Borgo and the Palazzo Vaticano. With extraordinary foresight Nicholas V formulated the guidelines for the edification activities of the

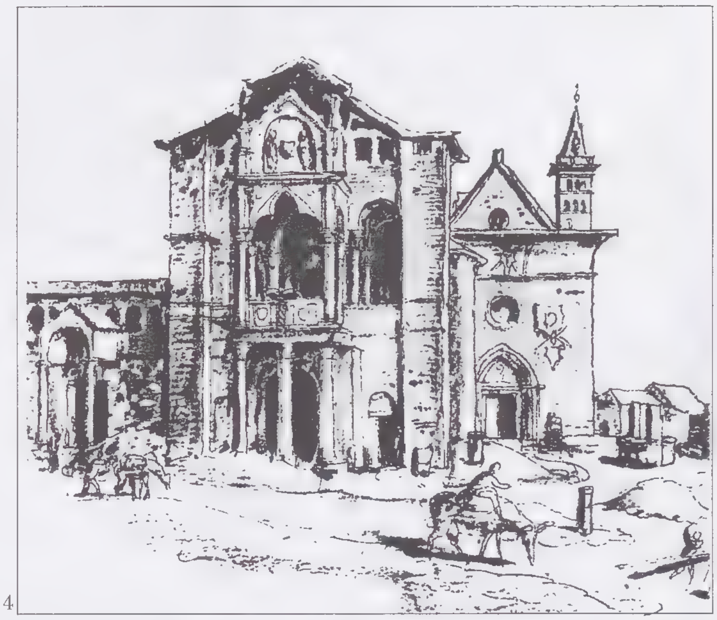
2. Maerten van Heemskerck, Front of the atrium in St. Peter's Square, 1532-36. Vienna, Albertina.
3. Castel Sant'Angelo, St. Peter's and the Vatican in the map of Rome by Alessandro Strozzi, 1474 (detail). Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
4. Maerten van Heemskerck, Palazzo Lateranense, Loggia delle Benedizioni and north transept of the Basilica, 1532-36 (detail). Berlin, Drawings cabinet.
5. St. Peter's, Plan of the atrium with the Loggia delle Benedizioni of Pius II (Reconstruction of the design, C.L. Frommel).
6. St. Peter's, Front of the atrium with the temporary Loggia delle Benedizioni,1493. Hartmann Schedel, Weltchronik.



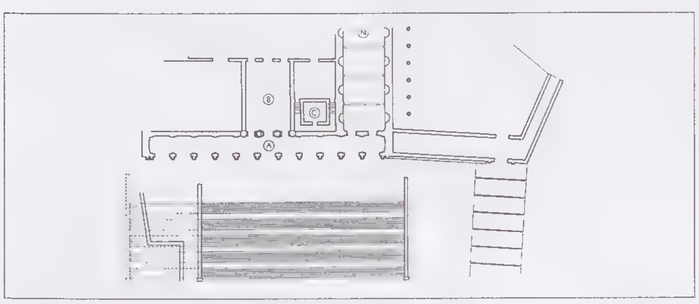
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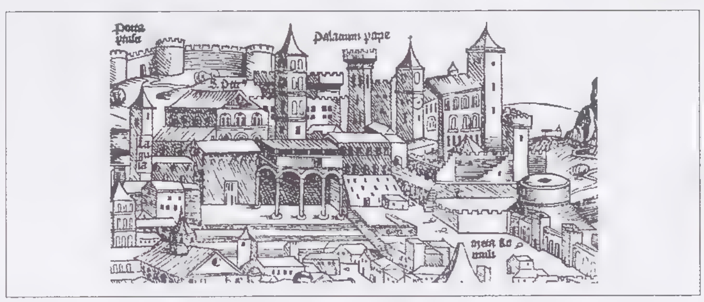
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chiaroveggenza Nicolò V formulò i motivi che avrebbero guidato l'attività edilizia dei papi nei secoli seguenti. Architetture di grande bellezza e di dimensioni imponenti avrebbero rinsaldato nel popolo la fede nell'autorità della Chiesa romana: infatti il pellegrino incolto avrebbe ricevuto da ciò che avrebbe visto un'impressione più profonda che non dalle parole dei dotti. Quello che Nicolò aveva in mente era il programma edilizio più vasto che un papa abbia mai concepito; e come tutti i grandi programmi delle età successive, anch'esso fu attuato solo frammentariamente. Anziché proseguire la costruzione del coro, Pio II (1458-1464) intervenne all'estremità opposta del complesso, modificando la fronte dell'atrio e la piazza antistante, dove i pellegrini dell'Anno Santo si raccoglievano per ricevere la benedizione papale.
Al Laterano i fedeli si erano radunati davanti alla testata del transetto della Basilica, rivolta verso la città: lì sorgeva la famosa Loggia delle Benedizioni di Bonifacio VIII, raffigurata ancora nel Cinquecento da Heemskerck. A San Pietro Martino V e Nicolò V avevano a quanto pare impartito la benedizione da tribune provvisorie innalzate davanti alla fronte dell'atrio. A queste strutture Pio II sostituì un edificio monumentale, di tipo completamente diverso da quello lateranense: invece dell'alta e stretta loggia che racchiudeva come in un tabernacolo gotico la figura del papa, sorse qui una loggia a tre piani su pilastri, prevista a undici campate; il papa si mostrava da una delle arcate del primo piano, segnalata da drappi disposti sul parapetto.
In effetti furono costruite solo le quattro campate settentrionali, adiacenti al Palazzo. Così anche qui, come al Laterano, la Loggia delle Benedizioni appariva come parte della residenza papale, senza un collegamento diretto con la chiesa, che rimaneva in secondo piano e spostata lateralmente. Se la Loggia voluta da Pio II fosse stata ultimata (al che ancora Giulio II pose mano), la Basilica sarebbe scomparsa dietro un'ampia fronte porticata con pilastri, archi e ordini di colonne simili a quelli dell'architettura teatrale antica e aventi comunque una connotazione più profana che chiesastica. L'incompiuta struttura quattrocentesca divenne invece parte integrante della fronte dell'atrio e con essa invecchiò fino a quando, all'inizio del Seicento, la chiesa stessa avanzò fino alla piazza con il corpo longitudinale di Maderno e inglobò la Loggia delle Benedizioni. Si spiega così la serie di finestroni vetrati centinati del piano superiore, che conferiscono anche alla facciata attuale un carattere semiprofano, quasi di reggia; carattere a cui corrispondeva l'idea di Maderno di chiudere la chiesa tra due ali di palazzo di pari altezza, sporgenti in avanti. Sarà Bernini, alla fine, a liberare la Basilica da questa stretta e a restituirle la dignità di edificio sacro a sé stante.

1475

Il Giubileo del 1475 fu associato a un evento eccezionale per l'urbanistica romana: la costruzione di un nuovo ponte sul Tevere, il Ponte Sisto, sulle fondamenta dell'antico *pons Ianicularis* risalente forse ad Agrippa. Ordinato nel 1473 da Sisto IV (1471-1484), il nuovo ponte fu puntualmente aperto al traffico per l'Anno Santo: fatto che non può non colmare d'invidia i Romani del XX secolo. Le iscrizioni collocate ai due capi del ponte si rivolgevano esplicitamente ai pellegrini del Giubileo.
La connessione tra questa iniziativa e la Basilica vaticana è più stretta di quanto non appaia a prima vista. In effetti il Ponte Sant'Angelo, unico collegamento tra l'abitato e il Vaticano, aveva creato fin dal primo anno giubilare gravi difficoltà. Fu adottata a quel tempo la regolamentazione del traffico di cui parla Dante nel XVIII canto dell'*Inferno*: "(...) *da l'un lato tutti hanno la fronte / verso il Castello, e vanno a Santo Pietro, / da l'altra sponda vanno verso il monte*" [monte Giordano]. Ciò nonostante, nel 1450 era accaduta una spaventosa sciagura. Il 19 dicembre un'enorme fiumana di pellegrini affluiva ancora a San Pietro, dove per l'ultima volta veniva esposto il Sudario e il papa impartiva la benedizione; quando la cerimonia ebbe termine, in anticipo sul previsto, le masse di pellegrini, muli e cavalli che attraversavano il ponte in direzioni opposte s'ingorgarono e nella micidiale confusione che ne seguì, durata un'ora, morirono calpestate o precipitate nel fiume circa duecento persone. A ricordo di quest'evento e come monito a che non si ripetesse, Nicolò V innalzò all'imbocco del ponte verso la città due cappelle in cui si celebravano ogni giorno messe di suffragio per le vittime.
Non è facile stabilire in quale misura l'apertura del nuovo ponte abbia veramente migliorato la situazione: la maggior parte dei visitatori di San Pietro non provenivano dai quartieri meridionali, bensì dalle strade del centro storico, e quindi si addensavano come prima sul Ponte Sant'Angelo. Un effettivo alleggerimento sarebbe potuto venire dalla ricostruzione – presa in esame da Giulio II – dell'antico *pons Triumphalis*, situato nell'ansa del Tevere più vicina a San Pietro, subito a valle dell'odierno Ponte

popes of the following centuries. Architecture of great beauty and imposing size, to reinforce the faith of the people in the authority of the Roman Church: the uneducated pilgrim would receive a more lasting impression from what he saw than from the words uttered by sages. What Nicholas had in mind was the most vast program of edification ever conceived by a pope; and like all the grand programs of the eras to come, it too was realized only in part. Instead of continuing with the construction of the chancel, Pius II (1458-1464) began work at the opposite end of the complex, modifying the front of the atrium and the adjacent piazza, where the pilgrims gathered for the papal benediction.

At the Lateran the faithful gathered in front of the end of the transept of the Basilica, facing toward the city: this was the location of the famous Loggia delle Benedizioni of Boniface VIII, still depicted in the 1500s by Heemskerck. At St. Peter's Martin V and Nicholas V had, it appears, distributed their blessings from the temporary stands erected in front of the atrium. Pius II replaced these structures with a monumental edifice, completely different from that of the Lateran: instead of a tall narrow loggia, enclosing the figure of the pope in a sort of Gothic tabernacle, he planned a three-storey loggia on pillars, with eleven spans; the pope appeared in one of the spans of the first floor, indicated by precious fabrics draped over the parapet.

In the end only the four northern spans were built, adjacent to the Palazzo. So here again, as at the Lateran, the Loggia delle Benedizioni appeared as part of the papal residence, without any direct connection to the church, which remained in the background, to one side. If the Loggia envisioned by Pius II (and also involving the intervention of Julius II) had been completed, the Basilica would have been concealed behind a wide porticoed facade with pillars, arches and orders of columns similar to those of the architecture of ancient theaters, with a connotation that would have been more profane than sacred. The unfinished 15th-century structure becomes, instead, an integral part of the frontage of the atrium, growing old together with the church, until the church was extended forward to the piazza, in the early 1600s, with the longitudinal volume of Maderno, incorporating the Loggia. This explains the series of large arched windows on the upper floor, which give the present facade, too, a semi-profane character, almost like a royal palace; a character consonant with Maderno's idea of enclosing the church between the two equally high protruding wings of the palazzo. Bernini, in the end, freed the Basilica from this embrace, restoring its dignity as a self-contained sacred building.

1475

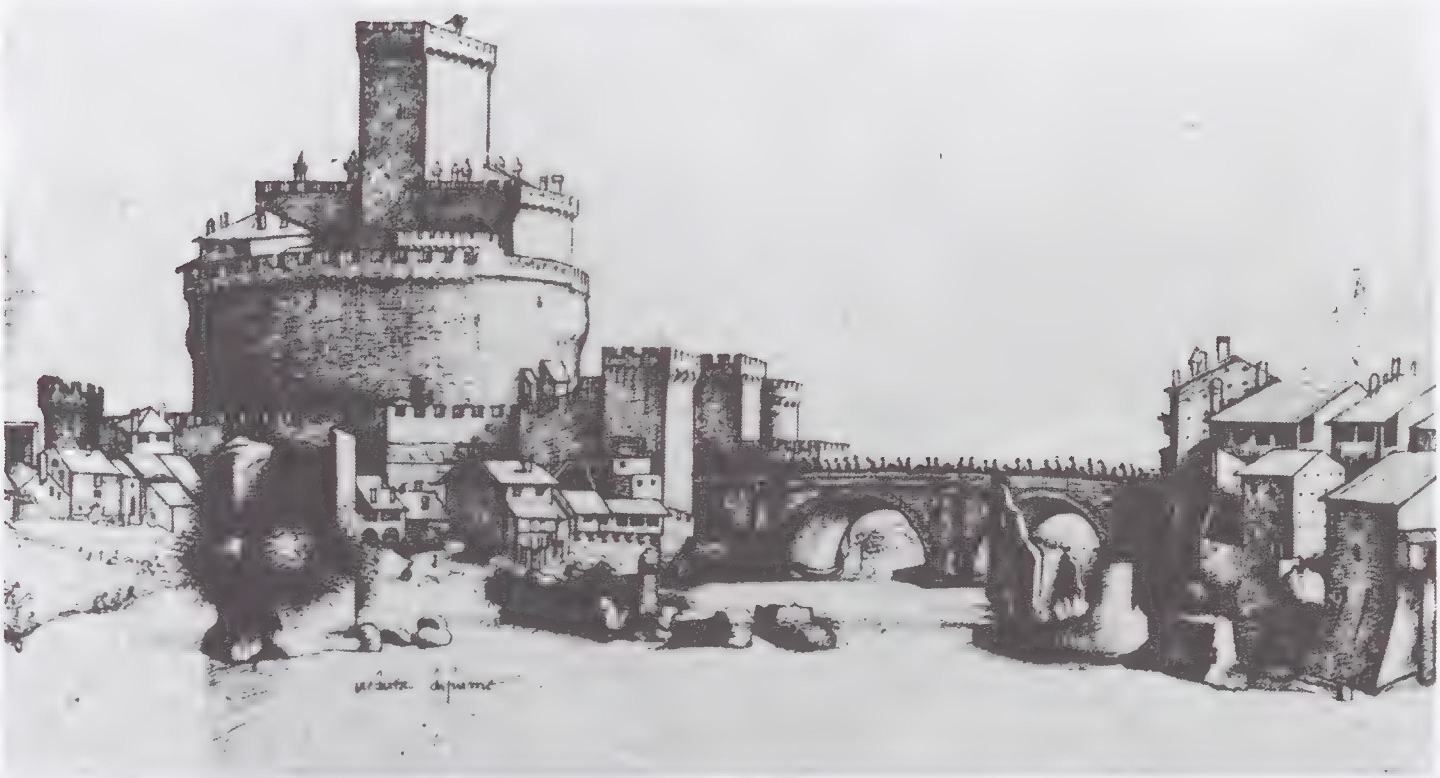
The Jubilee of 1475 was connected with an exceptional event for the city of Rome: the construction of a new bridge over the Tiber, Ponte Sisto, on the foundation of the ancient pons Ianicularis, *dating back perhaps to Agrippa. Commissioned in 1473 by Sixtus IV (1471-1484) the new bridge was punctually opened to traffic for the Holy Year, a fact likely to fill modern-day Romans with envy. The inscriptions at the two ends of the bridge are directly addressed to the Jubilee pilgrims.*

*The connection between this initiative and the Vatican Basilica is closer than it might appear. In effect, Ponte Sant'Angelo, the only connection between the residential areas and the Vatican, had always created serious difficulties in the Holy Years. Traffic control measures had been implemented, as described by Dante in the 18th Canto of the Inferno: "(...)*da l'un lato tutti hanno la fronte / verso il Castello, e vanno a Santo Pietro, / da l'altra sponda vanno verso il monte*" [Monte Giordano]. In spite of these measures a terrible tragedy occurred in 1450. On December 19 an enormous crowd of pilgrims was directed toward St. Peter's, where the Veronica was displayed for the last time, and the Pope gave his benediction. When the ceremony finished, earlier than planned, the masses of pilgrims, mules and horses crossing the bridge in both directions caused a traffic jam; in the terrible confusion, lasting more than one hour, about two hundred persons died, either trampled or pushed over the railings into the river. To commemorate this event, and as a warning against its possible repetition, Pope Nicholas V erected two chapels near the end of the bridge toward the city, where daily masses were celebrated for the victims.*

It is not easy to evaluate to what extent the construction of the new bridge improved the situation: most of the visitors to St. Peter's did not arrive from the south, but from the streets of the historical center, and therefore the traffic on Ponte Sant'Angelo remained heavy. The problem could have been resolved by the reconstruction – considered by Julius II – of the ancient pons Triumphalis, *at the bend of the Tiber closest to St. Peter's, just downstream from today's Ponte Vittorio Emanuele; combined with Bramante's proposal to provide the Basilica with a new entrance from*



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7. L'abitato a sud di Ponte Sant'Angelo, dal catasto del 1819-22 (H. Günther).
8. Ponte e Castel Sant'Angelo, 1500 c. Codex Escurialensis, El Escorial, Biblioteca.
9. Antonio Acquaroni, Ponte Sisto, 1836.

7. Residential zone to the south of Ponte Sant'Angelo, from the land-survey of 1819-22 (H. Günther).
8. Ponte and Castel Sant'Angelo, 1500 c. Codex Escurialensis, El Escorial, Library.
9. Antonio Acquaroni, Ponte Sisto, 1836.

Vittorio Emanuele; associata alla proposta bramantesca di dare alla nuova Basilica l'ingresso da sud, tale ricostruzione avrebbe rivoluzionato l'accesso a San Pietro e anche l'urbanistica in riva sinistra del Tevere. Ma non se ne fece nulla: i papi che seguirono si accontentarono di aprire nuove strade nell'abitato a sud di Ponte Sant'Angelo e di ampliare la piazza all'imbocco del ponte (*platea Sancti Celsi*, oggi Piazza di Ponte Sant'Angelo).
Rimase invece la strettoia all'estremità settentrionale del ponte, dove vi era una situazione piuttosto paradossale. Infatti l'antica Porta Castello, che la corrente dei pellegrini doveva attraversare, era stata destinata in origine proprio a controllare l'accesso alla Città Leonina; lo stesso Castel Sant'Angelo, con la sua gigantesca mole, fungeva da forte di sbarramento, e nel corso del XVI secolo le sue opere di difesa avanzate furono irrobustite, cosicché il varco si restrinse ulteriormente. Il sito rimase un punto nevralgico per l'intero traffico cittadino, e lo divenne ancor più dopo il 1870, quando in destra del Tevere sorsero nuovi quartieri d'abitazione. Non a caso su questo punto è centrato oggi il dibattito sulla pianificazione del traffico alla vigilia del Giubileo del 2000.

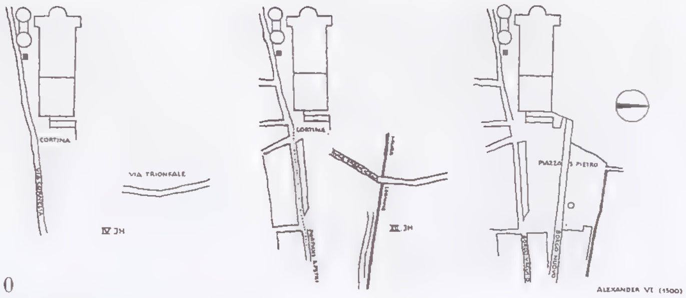
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Tra i provvedimenti presi in vista di quest'Anno Santo spicca di nuovo un'iniziativa urbanistica, riguardante questa volta i dintorni immediati della Basilica: l'apertura, disposta da Alessandro VI (1492-1503), della Via Alessandrina (detta poi Borgo Nuovo) tra Porta Castello e Piazza San Pietro. L'opera fu deliberata nel novembre 1498 e la sua amministrazione fu affidata al cardinale Raffaele Riario; l'inaugurazione avvenne all'inizio del Giubileo, il giorno di Natale del 1499. Fu un evento destinato ad avere conseguenze di vasta portata per il futuro sviluppo della zona.
Oggi noi vediamo San Pietro come il punto terminale di un asse visuale e di traffico che va da Castel Sant'Angelo al portale maggiore della chiesa; ma ciò non corrisponde alla situazione originaria. La Basilica vaticana era sorta sulla tomba dell'Apostolo "*iuxta viam Corneliam*", sulla destra della strada consolare che venendo dal *pons Hadriani* usciva dall'abitato in direzione ovest, costeggiando il fianco meridionale dell'edificio costantiniano. Questa strada rimase, col nome di Borgo Vecchio, la principale via di traffico del quartiere d'abitazione e commerciale che qui andò sorgendo; pertanto anche al *campus Vaticanus*,

*the south, this reconstruction would have revolutionized the access system of St. Peter's, along with the urban organization of the left bank of the Tiber. But nothing was done: the popes that followed limited their activity to the construction of new streets in the residential area to the south of Ponte Sant'Angelo, and the expansion of the adjacent piazza (*platea Sancti Celsi, *today's Piazza di Ponte Sant'Angelo).*
The bottleneck at the northern extremity of the bridge remained, in a rather paradoxical situation. In fact the old Porta Castello, which the current of pilgrims had to pass through, had originally been built to control access to the Leonine city; Castel Sant'Angelo itself, with its gigantic bulk, functioned as a fortified barricade, and in the course of the 16th century its defences were strengthened, further narrowing the passage. The site remained a focal point for all traffic, even more so after 1870, when new residential quarters were built on the right bank of the Tiber. It is no coincidence that this point is the focus of the debate on traffic planning in preparation for the Jubilee of 2000.

1500

Among the preparations made for this Holy Year a new urban initiative stands out, this time involving the immediate surroundings of the Basilica: the opening, ordered by Alexander VI (1492-1503) of Via Alessandrina (later called Borgo Nuovo), between Porta Castello and Piazza San Pietro. The decision was made in 1498, and the supervision of the project was assigned to Cardinal Raffaele Riario; the inauguration took place at the beginning of the Jubilee, on Christmas day 1499. This was an event destined to have a vast effect on the future development of the zone. Today we see St. Peter's as the terminal point of a visual and traffic axis that runs from Castel Sant'Angelo to the main entrance to the church; but this has not always been the case. The Vatican Basilica was built over the tomb of the Apostle "iuxta viam Corneliam", *to the right of the consular road that led from the* pons Hadriani *out of the inhabited city and toward the west, running along the southern side of the Constantinian edifice. This street remained, with the name Borgo Vecchio, the main artery of the residential and commercial quarter that grew up in the area; thus the* campus Vaticanus, *situated at the foot of the staircase leading to St. Peter's, was also reached from the south, while the space on axis with the Basilica was gradually occupied by the buildings that were to form the "spina dei*



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situato ai piedi della scalinata d'accesso a San Pietro, si arrivava da sud, mentre lo spazio in asse con la Basilica fu a poco a poco occupato dagli edifici che avrebbero formato la "spina dei Borghi", problema chiave di ogni futuro piano di sistemazione di Piazza San Pietro. Sotto Sisto IV fu aperta nel Borgo una nuova strada, Borgo Santo Spirito, che però era disposta ancora più a sud; solo l'apertura della parallela settentrionale, la Via Alessandrina, creò un collegamento diretto tra Ponte Sant'Angelo e la piazza dinanzi alla Basilica. La nuova strada presentava due innovazioni notevoli: 1) non seguiva gli allineamenti edilizi preesistenti, come ancora aveva fatto il Borgo Santo Spirito, ma correva in rettilineo: in omaggio a questo criterio fu accettata perfino la demolizione degli avanzi di un antico monumento sepolcrale, la *meta Romuli*; 2) non aveva come punto terminale il portale della Basilica, ma quello del Palazzo vaticano. Non sappiamo se ciò sia dipeso solo dalla volontà del papa o sia stato reso necessario dall'esistenza, già allora, della spina dei Borghi. In ogni caso, questo provvedimento pregiudicò gravemente la futura regolarizzazione del *campus*. In una piazza centrata sull'asse stabilito da Alessandro la Basilica avrebbe avuto solo un ruolo secondario; d'altra parte, nessun piano avrebbe potuto ignorare o addirittura annullare questo passo decisivo verso la modernizzazione del Borgo. Ancora una volta sarà Bernini, un secolo e mezzo più tardi, a trovare una via d'uscita dal dilemma.

1525

La successiva scadenza giubilare trovò la Chiesa investita da una crisi così profonda che al papa fu consigliato perfino di non indire l'Anno Santo. Tuttavia Clemente VII (1523-1534) si decise a farlo; e per cercare di attenuare le critiche dei protestanti dispensò dall'obbligo delle offerte in denaro i pellegrini provenienti dall'estero. Ma il numero dei visitatori rimase ugualmente inferiore a quello di tutti i Giubilei precedenti. Lo stato in cui si presentava il complesso degli edifici vaticani non era certo tale da confermare nella fede i pellegrini. Visto dalla piazza, San Pietro offriva il consueto spettacolo, tramandatoci da Heemskerck, della scalinata, degli edifici davanti all'atrio e della Loggia; ma dietro questa facciata era avvenuto un drammatico mutamento. L'antica Basilica, meta del pellegrinaggio a Roma fin dall'alto medioevo, non esisteva più, o sopravviveva solo come rudere: in corrispondenza dell'undicesima colonna del corpo longitudinale le pareti s'interrompevano e al di là si apriva un cantiere. Nel 1506 Giulio II (1503-1513) aveva posto la prima pietra di un nuovo edificio, che aveva richiesto la demolizione di tutta la metà occidentale della Basilica. Solo la tomba dell'Apostolo, l'altare papale e l'antica abside erano stati risparmiati e protetti con una struttura provvisoria.
A quanto pare era stato Bramante a suggerire al papa che il prestigio della Chiesa esigeva un'architettura del tutto nuova e veramente moderna, ossia tale da stare alla pari con i grandi edifici di Roma antica. I lavori erano stati iniziati con ottimistico slancio ed erano progrediti rapidamente nei primi anni, ma dopo la morte di Giulio II e del suo architetto erano rimasti ben presto paralizzati. Durante l'Anno Santo si lavorò al transetto meridionale, ma ciò che colpiva subito i pellegrini erano i piloni e gli arconi eretti da Bramante a sostegno della cupola centrale: un insieme di membrature di dimensioni faraoniche, che gli stessi Romani dubitavano di poter vedere mai completato. Non sorprende, quindi, che i protestanti continuassero a criticare malignamente il Giubileo e l'insaziabile sete di denaro della Santa Sede.
Meno di due anni dopo la partenza degli ultimi pellegrini Roma fu invasa dai Lanzichenecchi di Carlo V. Il papa, asserragliato in Castel Sant'Angelo, dovette assistere al saccheggio e alla devastazione della città. Nei combattimenti intorno al Ponte Sant'Angelo gli assalitori si ripararono nelle cappelle commemorative di Nicolò V, e alla fine delle ostilità Clemente le fece demolire, sostituendole con le statue, tuttora esistenti, dei due Principi degli Apostoli. Esse formarono il primo nucleo di un programma figurativo che avrebbe dovuto accompagnare i pellegrini dal ponte fino a San Pietro; anche questo programma verrà più tardi realizzato, almeno in parte, da Bernini.

1550

Lo stato di disordine e di abbandono della Basilica vaticana era destinato a riflettersi negativamente ancora sui tre Giubilei seguenti. Il successore di Clemente VII, Paolo III (1534-1549), investì tutta la sua energia nel consolidamento, almeno provvisorio, delle strutture: la parte anteriore dell'antico corpo longitudinale ancora in piedi fu rinforzata con un muro trasversale e sistemata in modo che fosse di nuovo possibile celebrarvi la messa ed esporvi le reliquie. Un passaggio ad arco al centro del muro, sostituito più tardi da un portale, consentiva di

10. Pianta della Basilica e Piazza San Pietro nel IV sec., XII sec. e dopo il 1500 (Ch. Thoenes).

10. Plan of the Basilica and Piazza San Pietro in the 4th century, 12th century and after 1500 (Ch. Thoenes).

Borghi" ("spine of neighborhoods"), a key problem for any future planning regarding St. Peter's Square. Under Sixtus IV a new street was opened in the zone, Borgo Santo Spirito, but it was even further to the south; only the opening of the parallel to the north, Via Alessandrina, could create a direct link between Ponte Sant'Angelo and the square in front of the Basilica. The new street featured two noteworthy innovations: 1) it did not conform to pre-existing edification alignments, as in the case of Borgo Santo Spirito, but was built in a straight line, even at the cost of demolishing the remains of an ancient burial monument, the meta Romuli*; 2) its terminal point was not the portal of the Basilica, but that of the Palazzo Vaticano. We do not know if this was the result of the desires of the pope, or if it was made necessary by the existence, even then, of the "spina dei Borghi". In any case, this project seriously hampered future regularization of the* campus*. In a square centered on the axis established by Alexander the Basilica would have had only a secondary role; but no plan could have overlooked or eliminated this decisive step toward the modernization of the zone. Once again it was Bernini, one and a half centuries later, who found the way out of this dilemma.*

1525

The next Holy Year fell in a moment in which the Church was going through a crisis so profound that the pope was advised not to declare the Jubilee. Nevertheless Clement VII (1523-1534) decided to proceed; and in order to attenuate the criticism of the Protestants, he eliminated the obligation previously imposed on foreign pilgrims to make cash offerings. However, the number of visitors decreased with respect to the earlier Holy Years. The state of the buildings of the Vatican complex was certainly not one to reinforce the faith of the pilgrims. Seen from the square, St. Peter's offered the usual spectacle, passed on to us by Heemskerck, of the steps, the buildings in front of the atrium, the loggia; but behind this facade a dramatic change had taken place. The original basilica, destination of pilgrimages to Rome since the early Middle Ages, no longer existed, or survived only as a ruin: at the point of the eleventh column of the longitudinal volume the walls were interrupted, and a worksite began. In 1506 Julius II (1503-1513) had laid the first stone for a new edifice, which would have required the demolition of the entire western half of the basilica. Only the tomb of the Apostle, the papal altar and the ancient apse were spared, and protected by a temporary structure.

It appears it was Bramante who suggested, to the pope, that the prestige of the Church required a completely new, truly modern work of architecture, something that could compete with the splendors of the grand edifices of ancient Rome. Work began with great optimism, and rapid progress was made in the first years, but after the death of Julius II and his architect the project ground to a halt. During the Holy Year work was done on the southern transept, but what struck the pilgrims were the pylons and large arches erected by Bramante to support the central cupola: a gigantic assemblage of frameworks, that even the Romans themselves feared would never be completed. Thus it is not surprising that the Protestants continued to harshly criticize the Jubilee and the insatiable hunger for money of the Holy See.

Less than two years after the departure of the pilgrims Rome was invaded by the lansquenets of Charles V. The pope, barricaded in Castel Sant'Angelo, could only look on as the city was sacked and devastated. In the fighting around Ponte Sant'Angelo the attackers took shelter in the memorial chapels of Nicholas V, and at the end of the episode Clement had them demolished, replacing them with the statues, that still exist, of the two Princes of the Apostles. These statues formed the nucleus of a new figurative program which was to accompany the pilgrims from the bridge to St. Peter's; this too was later completed, in part, by Bernini.

1550

The state of disorder and abandon of the Vatican Basilica threw a negative light still on the next three Jubilees. The successor of Clement VII, Paul III (1534-1549) put all his energy into the, at least temporary, consolidation of the structures: the anterior part of the longitudinal body still standing was reinforced by a transverse wall and arranged in such a way that it was possible, once again, to hold masses there and to display relics. An arched passage in the center of the wall, later replaced by a portal, permitted access to the eastern wing of the new structure, where work was rapidly resumed under the supervision of Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. In the large map of Rome by Leonardo Bufalini, probably conceived for the Holy Year but not published until 1551, the old and new parts of St. Peter's are represented, for the first time, as a single edifice.

accedere al braccio di croce orientale della nuova fabbrica, dove i lavori furono ripresi con alacrità sotto la direzione di Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. Nella grande pianta di Roma di Leonardo Bufalini, concepita probabilmente per l'Anno Santo ma pubblicata solo nel 1551, la parte antica e quella nuova di San Pietro sono rappresentate per la prima volta come un unico edificio.
Forse ci si sarebbe accontentati di una soluzione di compromesso di questo tipo se nel 1546, dopo la morte di Sangallo, la direzione dei lavori non fosse stata assunta da Michelangelo. Quarant'anni prima, in seguito al fallimento dei suoi progetti per la tomba di Giulio II, Michelangelo aveva abbandonato con risentimento l'impresa; ora ridusse drasticamente i mastodontici programmi dei suoi predecessori per realizzare un edificio a pianta rigorosamente centrale, "*chiaro, schietto e luminoso*". Riuscì in tal modo a salvare l'opera, anche se nei successivi sviluppi si tornerà allo schema longitudinale. L'aver chiamato Michelangelo a San Pietro costituì l'ultima e maggiore benemerenza di Paolo III nei riguardi della Basilica. Il papa aveva già fatto coniare una medaglia per il "suo" Anno Santo (i due precedenti li aveva vissuti come cardinale) quando la morte lo colse, sei settimane prima della data fissata per l'apertura. Il suo successore Giulio III (1550-1555), eletto solo in febbraio, celebrò il Giubileo senza innovazioni; anche questa volta l'afflusso dei pellegrini rimase al disotto del previsto.

1575

Al tempo del Giubileo indetto da Gregorio XIII (1572-1585) l'atmosfera romana era cambiata. La città attraversava una fase di sviluppo economico (il numero di abitanti era salito dai 55.000 del 1527 a circa 140.000), e offriva inoltre lo spettacolo di un rinnovamento della Chiesa e di un rinvigorirsi della devozione e della moralità. Il papa celebrò con nuova solennità le cerimonie e i riti tradizionali; un ruolo importante fu svolto da Carlo Borromeo, che era molto stimato da Gregorio XIII ed era stato da lui chiamato a Roma per l'Anno Santo. La costruzione del nuovo San Pietro progrediva, sia pure lentamente; qui l'attenzione del papa era rivolta soprattutto alla propria cappella funeraria.
Più importante fu l'attività urbanistica di Gregorio, che si estese a tutto il territorio cittadino e fu proseguita senza soluzione di continuità – fatto eccezionale – dal suo successore Sisto V (1585-1590). Grazie a quest'ultimo,

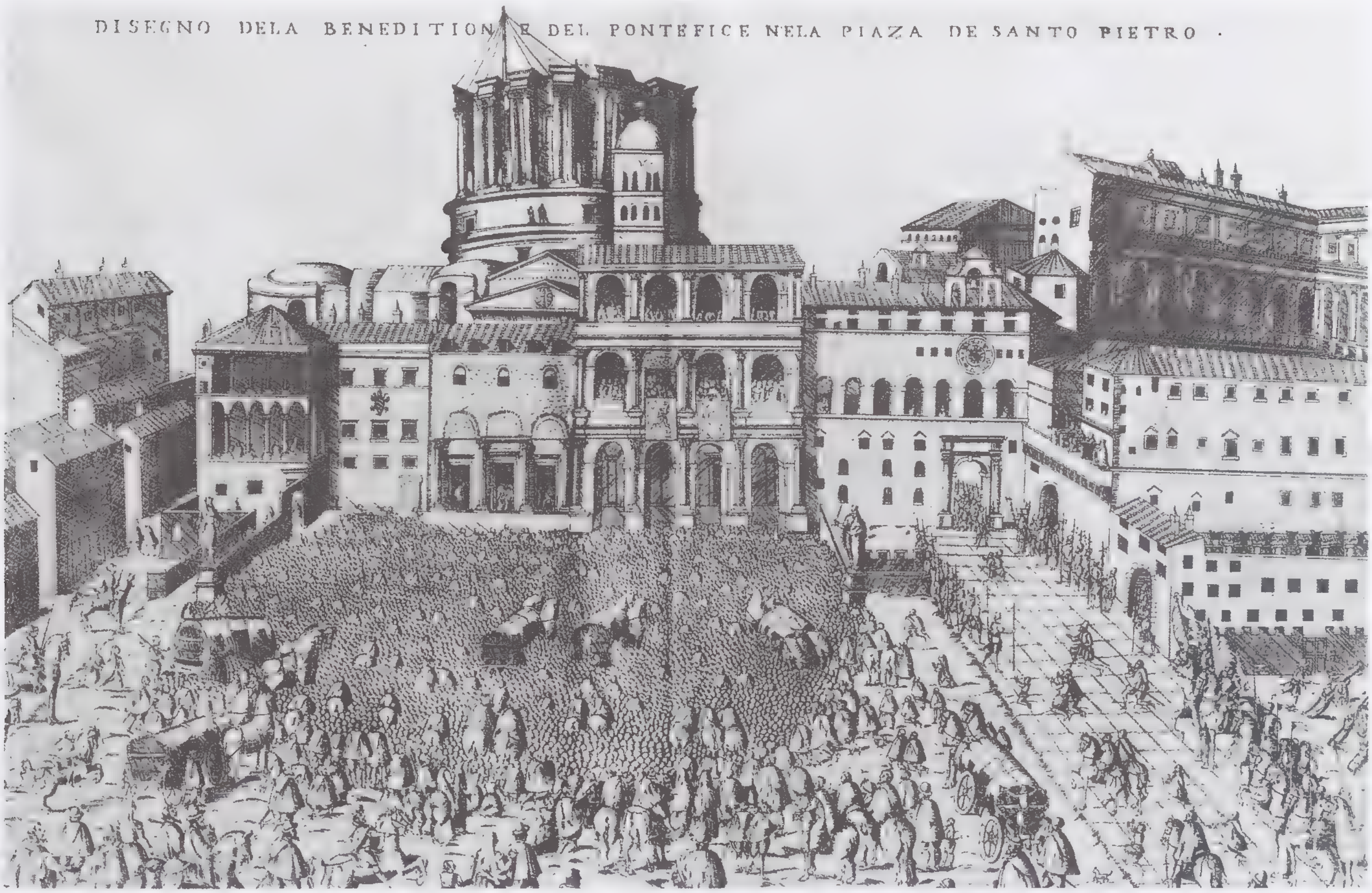
Perhaps a compromise solution of this type would have been considered sufficient, but in 1546, after the death of Sangallo, supervision of the project was assumed by Michelangelo. Forty years earlier, after the failure of his projects for the tomb of Julius II, Michelangelo had abandoned the undertaking; now he drastically reduced the mastodontic programs of his predecessors, in order to create a "clear, straightforward, luminous" *edifice with a rigorously central plan. In this way he was able to save the work, although in successive phases one returned to the longitudinal scheme. Calling Michelangelo to work on St. Peter's was the last and greatest contribution of Paul III to the realization of the Basilica. The pope had already minted a medal for "his" Holy Year (he had experienced the two previous ones as a cardinal) when death overtook him, just six weeks before the date set for the inauguration. His successor Julius III (1550-1555) was not elected until February, and held a Jubilee without innovations; once again, the influx of pilgrims was unexpectedly light.*

1575

At the time of the Jubilee held by Gregory XIII (1572-1585) the atmosphere in Rome had changed. The city was going through a phase of economic growth (the number of inhabitants had also increased, from 55,000 in 1527 to 140,000), and offered the image of a renewal of the Church and a revitalization of devotion and morality. The pope celebrated the traditional rites and ceremonies with a new solemnity; an important role was played in this by Carlo Borromeo, who was greatly respected by Gregory XIII, and had been called to Rome for the Holy Year. The construction of St. Peter's continued, although slowly; here the pope's attention focused, above all, on his own funerary chapel.
Of greater importance was the urban planning activity of Gregory, extended throughout the city and continued, without interruption – an exceptional fact – by his successor Sixtus V (1585-1590). Thanks to Sixtus the first signs of renewal could be seen from the square of St. Peter's: above the fronton of the old nave the cupola of Michelangelo finally appeared, its vaulting completed between 1586 and 1590; in 1586 Domenico Fontana erected the Vatican obelisk in the square in front of the church. This raised the question of the square itself. But Sixtus died after only five years as pontiff, and his successors placed the priority on the completion of the Basilica.

11. Claude Duchet, Piazza San Pietro, 1570-80 c.
12. Maerten van Heemskerck, San Pietro, navata verso ovest, 1532-36.
Berlino, Gabinetto dei disegni.
13. San Pietro, 1550 c., nella pianta di Roma di Leonardo Bufalini, 1551 (part.).

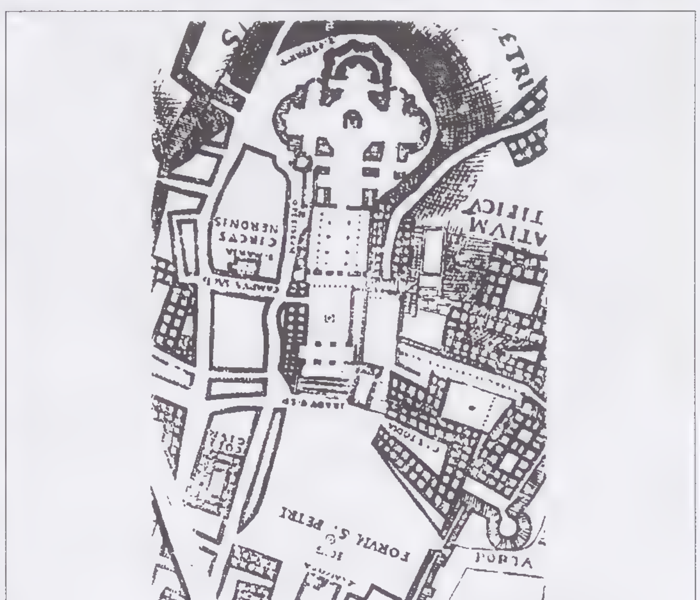
11. Claude Duchet, Piazza San Pietro, 1570-80 ca.
12. Maerten van Heemskerck, St. Peter's, nave toward the west, 1532-36.
Berlin, Drawings cabinet.
13. St. Peter's, 1550 ca., in the map of Rome by Leonardo Bufalini, 1551 (detail).



11



12



13



14. Piazza San Pietro, 1610 c.
Wolfenbütteler Skizzenbuch, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek.
15. San Pietro, La Porta Santa.

14. St. Peter's Square, 1610 ca.
Wolfenbütteler Skizzenbuch, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek.
15. St. Peter's, the Porta Santa.


15

anche a Piazza San Pietro si videro i primi segni di rinnovamento: al disopra del frontone dell'antico corpo longitudinale apparve finalmente la cupola michelangiolesca, voltata fra il 1586 e il 1590, e nel 1586 Domenico Fontana eresse nella piazza antistante l'obelisco vaticano. Si poneva così la questione della Piazza. Ma Sisto morì dopo soli cinque anni di pontificato, e i suoi successori diedero la precedenza al proseguimento della Basilica.

1600
Quando Clemente VIII (1592-1605) proclamò il nuovo Anno Santo, era in pieno svolgimento il dibattito sulla forma definitiva da dare a San Pietro. L'edificio a pianta centrale di Michelangelo si avviava a essere completato, ma sempre più numerose si facevano le richieste di un nuovo corpo longitudinale, e alcuni si pronunziavano addirittura per la conservazione della parte superstite di quello antico. Il papa fece disegnare dei progetti a croce latina, ma la decisione finale fu presa anche questa volta nell'intervallo tra due anni giubilari e indipendentemente da essi: fu Paolo V (1605-1621) a ordinare la costruzione dell'attuale navata, condotta a termine con straordinaria rapidità. Nel 1607 si cominciò a demolire l'antico atrio e già nel 1611 era ultimata la facciata di Maderno: prima parte di Piazza San Pietro come oggi la conosciamo. Tuttavia doveva passare ancora mezzo secolo prima che il *campus* ai piedi della nuova fabbrica ricevesse una sistemazione architettonica.

1625
In un pontificato lungo e denso di attività artistiche come quello di Urbano VIII (1623-1644) il Giubileo non ebbe particolare risalto. Sotto questo pontefice Roma divenne la "città del Barocco": dopo che i grandi papi urbanisti del Cinquecento ebbero creato le infrastrutture indispensabili a una capitale europea, ripresero ora a sorgere chiese, palazzi e fontane di grande individualità. La costruzione di San Pietro fu finalmente compiuta: il giorno di Natale del 1624 il papa aprì la Porta Santa nel portico di Maderno. La consacrazione della nuova Basilica, rinviata all'anno successivo a quello giubilare, avvenne il 18 novembre 1626, 1300° anniversario della consacrazione della chiesa costantiniana: fu un altro Giubileo in scala minore, con indulgenze straordinarie, benedizioni e un grande afflusso di popolo. Fu proseguito l'arredamento della Basilica, a cui Urbano si dedicò con grande impegno: sia la sistemazione

1600
When Clement VIII (1592-1605) proclaimed the new Holy Year debate was in full swing on the definitive form to be given to St. Peter's. The central-plan edifice of Michelangelo was nearing completion, but there were many requests that a new longitudinal volume be built, and some were even in favor of the conservation of the surviving parts of the original. The pope commissioned designs with a Latin cross layout, but the final decision, once again, was made in the interval between two Holy Years, and independent of them: Paul V (1605-1621) ordered the construction of the present nave, which was finished with extraordinary rapidity. In 1607 demolition of the old atrium began, and in 1611 the new facade by Maderno was already complete: the first part of St. Peter's Square as we know it today. Nevertheless, half a century passed before the campus *at the foot of the new structure received an architectonic order.*

1625
In a long reign full of artistic activities like that of Urban VIII (1623-1644) the Jubilee was not a particularly important moment. Under this pontiff Rome became the "city of the Baroque": after the creation by the great urban-planner popes of the 1500s of the infrastructures needed by a European capital, now churches, palaces and fountains of great individuality began to appear. The construction of St. Peter's was finally completed: on Christmas day 1624 the pope opened the Porta Santa in Maderno's portico. The consacration of the new Basilica, postponed to the year after the Jubilee, took place on November 18, 1626, the 1300th anniversary of the consacration of the church of Constantine: this was another Jubilee on a smaller scale, with special indulgences, benedictions and a large influx of visitors. Urban then devoted great energy to the furnishing of the Basilica: the zone beneath the cupola, with Bernini's canopy, the statues and the balconies for relics, placed against the pillars, the papal tombs in the western apse are all elements in which he took personal interest.

1650
Under Innocent X (1644-1655) two important events took place for Roman artistic life, although not of long duration: Bernini's fall from grace, and the return of papal attention to the Lateran. The old Basilica had required constant repairs; Innocent decided to undertake a radical renewal. The project was in contrast with the new St. Peter's in two

16. Carlo Rainaldi, Progetto per Piazza San Pietro, 1654. Codex Chigi P. VII. 9, Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana.
17. Gasparre Vanvitelli, Piazza San Pietro nel Settecento. Già Roma, Museo di Palazzo Venezia (distrutto).
18. San Pietro e borghi, 1748, nella pianta di Roma di Giambattista Nolli, 1748 (part.).

19. Pianta di Piazza San Pietro prima di Bernini e progetto berniniano (Ch. Thoenes).

della zona sottostante la cupola, con il baldacchino di Bernini, le statue e le balconate delle reliquie addossate ai piloni, sia le tombe papali nell'abside occidentale recano la sua impronta personale.

1650

Sotto Innocenzo X (1644-1655) accaddero due fatti importanti per la vita artistica romana, anche se di breve durata: Bernini cadde in disgrazia, e il Laterano attirò di nuovo l'interesse del papa. La veneranda Basilica aveva richiesto continue riparazioni; ora Innocenzo decise di intraprendere un radicale rinnovo. L'impresa si contrappose alla fabbrica del nuovo San Pietro sotto due aspetti: da una parte fu imposto all'architetto incaricato, Francesco Borromini, di rispettare il più possibile l'edificio costantiniano; dall'altra il compito a lui affidato fu assolto – come si espresse un contemporaneo – con "*celerità non credibile*". L'imponente opera, ordinata nel 1647, fu pronta per l'Anno Santo; solo l'arredamento fu compiuto in seguito. A San Pietro Innocenzo fece eseguire il rivestimento marmoreo del corpo longitudinale, e anche qui cercò di tener vivo il ricordo dell'antica Basilica: modificando il programma del suo predecessore, fece addossare ai pilastri una serie di ritratti a rilievo dei pontefici che si ricollegava all'analogo ciclo esistente nel primo San Pietro. I lavori erano ancora in corso durante l'Anno Santo. Ma già Innocenzo aveva in vista il prossimo obiettivo, e incaricò Carlo Rainaldi di preparare un progetto di sistemazione della piazza antistante la Basilica. Come spesso accadeva, fu la morte del papa a impedire che il progetto avesse seguito – e a lasciare via libera a Bernini.

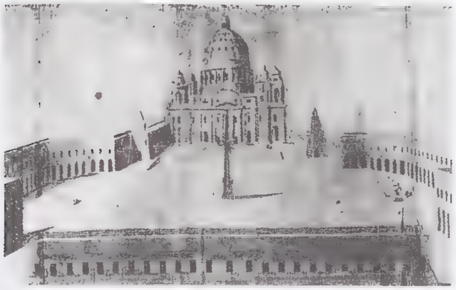
1675

La vicenda del nuovo San Pietro fu piena di traversie, ma terminò con un caso fortunato: la sistemazione della piazza, che avrebbe caratterizzato la fisionomia della Basilica nel suo rapporto con la città, fu decisa da due personalità congeniali. Alessandro VII (1655-1667) riuscì non solo ad assecondare il genio di Bernini, ma anche a ispirarlo: sembra infatti che sia stato lui a proporre l'idea dei colonnati a sé stanti, contribuendo così alla nascita di un tipo di piazza totalmente nuovo. In ogni caso, il papa era ben deciso a non perdere tempo: nel 1656, prima ancora che Bernini avesse avviato la progettazione, si cominciò a sgombrare l'area, e nel 1667, anno in cui il papa morì, i colonnati e i bracci di raccordo erano stati

ways: first, the architect, Francesco Borromini, was instructed to respect the Constantinian original as much as possible; second, the task assigned was completed – as a contemporary put it – with "unbelievable speed". *The major work, ordered in 1647, was ready for the Holy Year; only the furnishings were completed later. At St. Peter's Innocent ordered the marble facing of the longitudinal volume, and here again he attempted to preserve the memory of the original Basilica: modifying the program of his predecessor, he had a series of relief portraits of the popes attached to the pillars, a reference to the analogous series of portraits on the original structure. Work was still underway during the Holy Year. But Innocent was already working on his next objective, and commissioned Carlo Rainaldi to prepare a project for the architectonic arrangement of the square in front of the Basilica. As often occurred, the death of the pope prevented the project from being realized, and left the way open for Bernini.*

1675

The history of the new St. Peter's was full of setbacks, but it finished with a stroke of luck: the design of the piazza, which was to characterize the image of the Basilica and its relationship with the city, was the result of the collaboration of two congenial personalities. Alexander VII (1655-1667) managed not only to encourage the genius of Bernini, but even to inspire it: in fact it appears that the pope was the one who proposed the idea of the colonnade, thus contributing to the birth of a totally new type of piazza. In any case, the pope was determined not to lose time: in 1656, even before Bernini had begun the design, Alexander had the area cleared, and in 1667, the year of the pope's death, the colonnades and the connections had already been built. The remaining works were rapidly completed by his successor. Thus the first pilgrims of the Holy Year were welcomed by a profoundly different setting.
We have briefly mentioned some of the urban planning problems that had accumulated, over the course of centuries, between the Borgo and the Basilica. Sixtus V had influenced any future arrangement with his obelisk: this would have to remain at the center of a square which had to be created in an area with very irregular borders, and would have to be large enough to contain the masses of pilgrims. It was also necessary to resolve the question of the two access routes from the east, Borgo Vecchio and Borgo Nuovo (previously Via Alessandrina), whose ends were



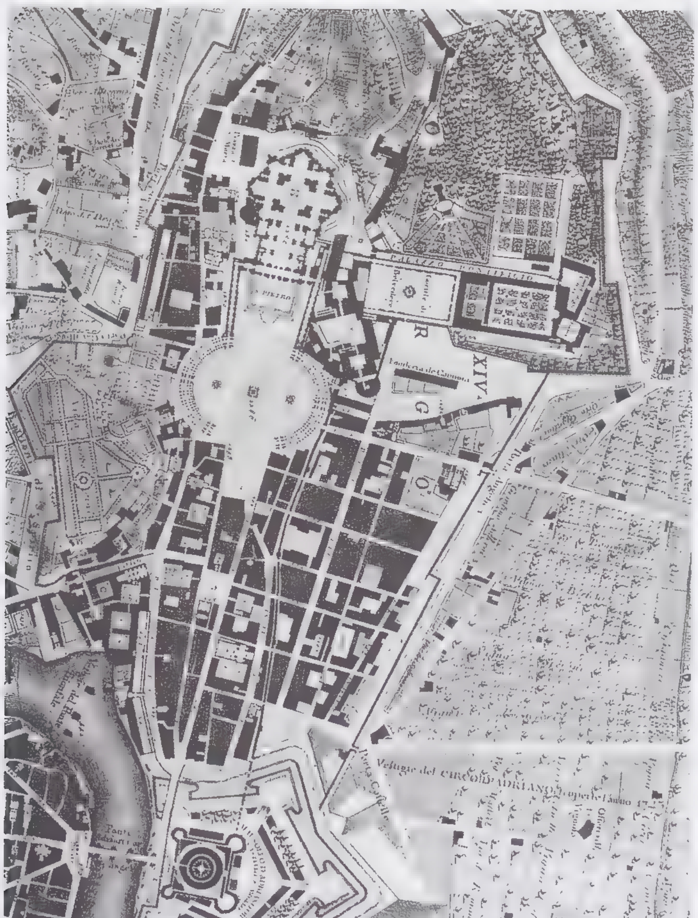
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16. *Carlo Rainaldi, Design for St. Peter's Square, 1654.*
Codex Chigi P. VII. 9, Rome, Vatican Library.
17. *Gasparre Vanvitelli, St. Peter's Square in the 1700s.*
Previously in Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia (destroyed).
18. *St. Peter's and the surrounding zones, 1748, in the map of Rome by Giambattista Nolli, 1748 (detail).*

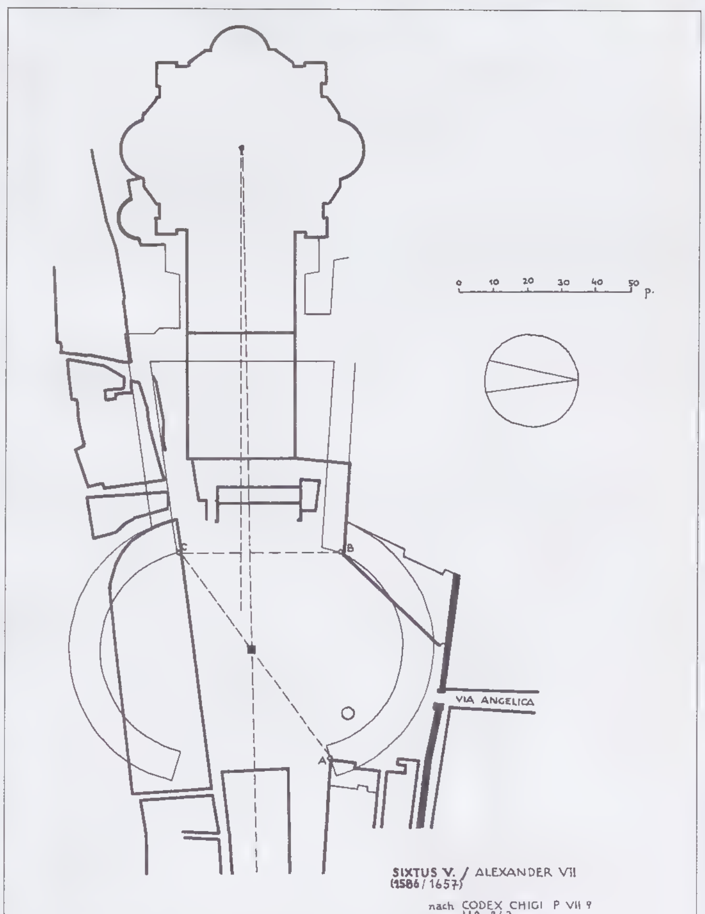
19. *Plan of St. Peter's Square before Bernini, and design by Bernini (Ch. Thoenes).*



17



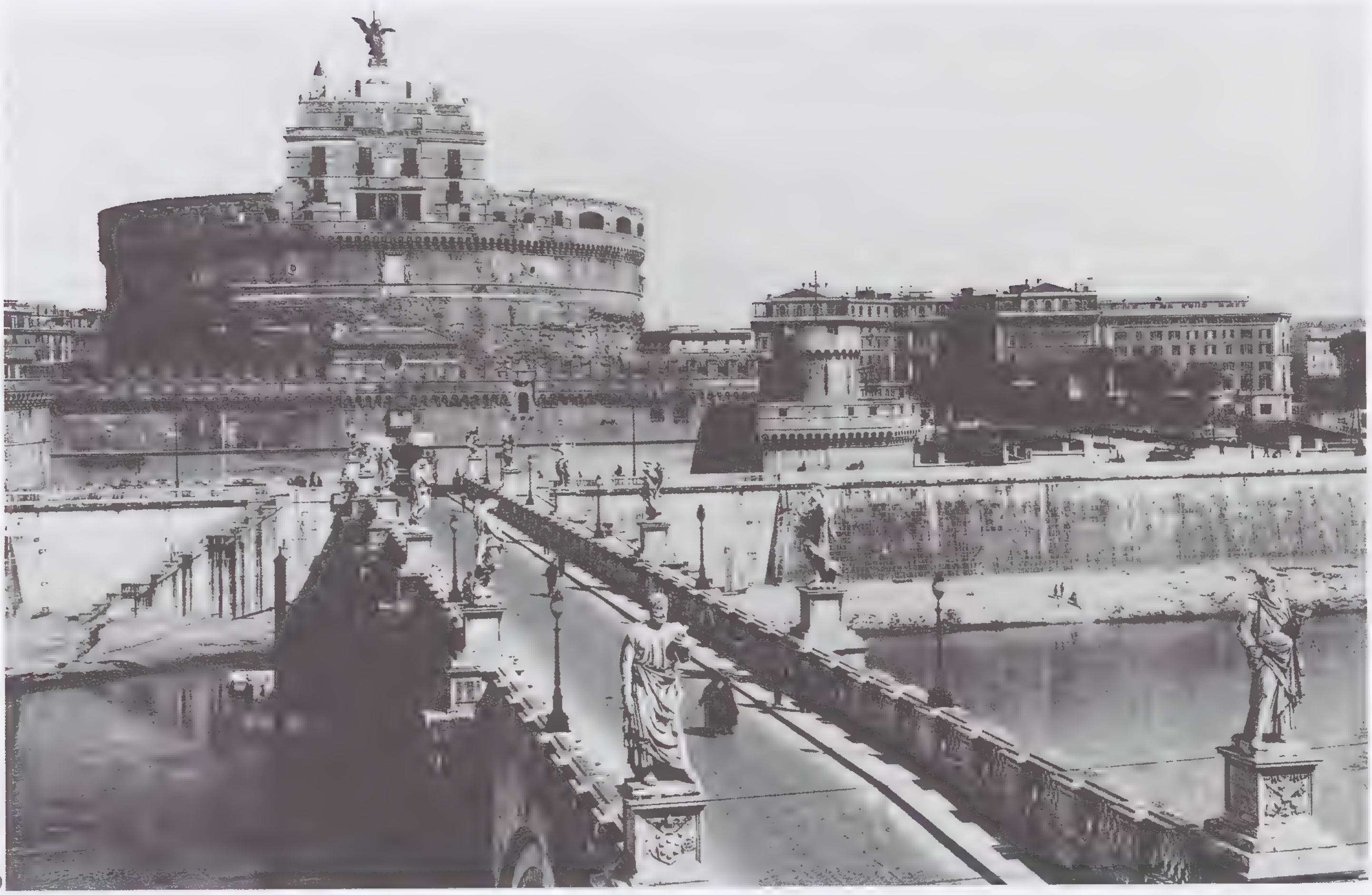
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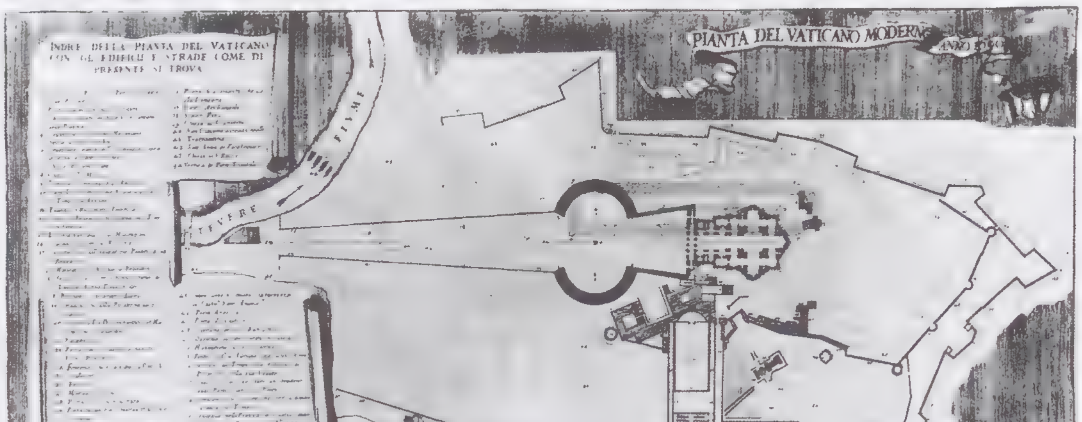
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20. Ponte Sant'Angelo.
21. Carlo Fontana, Progetto per lo sventramento del Borgo.
Carlo Fontana, Templum Vaticanum, *1694.*

20. Ponte Sant'Angelo.
21. Carlo Fontana, Project for the gutting of the Borgo.
Carlo Fontana, Templum Vaticanum, *1694.*



20



21

costruiti. I rimanenti lavori furono sollecitamente ultimati sotto il successore di Alessandro. Così i primi pellegrini dell'Anno Santo trovarono ad accoglierli uno scenario profondamente cambiato.

Abbiamo accennato brevemente ad alcuni dei problemi urbanistici che si erano andati accumulando nel corso dei secoli tra il Borgo e la Basilica. Sisto V aveva condizionato in modo decisivo ogni futura sistemazione col suo obelisco: esso sarebbe stato necessariamente al centro di una piazza che doveva essere ottenuta da un'area delimitata molto irregolarmente, e che doveva risultare abbastanza spaziosa per accogliere le masse dei pellegrini. D'altra parte, bisognava risolvere il nodo delle due vie d'accesso da est, il Borgo Vecchio e il Borgo Nuovo (già Via Alessandrina), sboccanti asimmetricamente rispetto all'asse della Basilica. Bernini, anziché cercare di correggere il loro tracciato, accolse nel suo progetto l'andamento divergente della strada settentrionale, prolungandolo anzi fin dentro il Palazzo vaticano con il braccio di raccordo destro e la prima rampa della Scala Regia. In tal modo egli risolse come per incanto il problema di Piazza San Pietro: la sua duplice funzione di spazio antistante alla Basilica e al Palazzo. Appariva infatti in fondo alla Via Alessandrina, già da Castel Sant'Angelo, la testata del colonnato settentrionale, come parte di una composizione assiale lunga un chilometro: percorrendola, il visitatore di rango diretto verso il Portone di bronzo e la Scala Regia aveva la sensazione viva delle aspirazioni papali alla sovranità terrena (dei cui limiti di fatto lo stesso Alessandro avrebbe avuto modo di rendersi dolorosamente conto in occasione del suo conflitto col Re Sole).

La Basilica diventava visibile solo quando si entrava nella piazza, quale che fosse la via seguita. A quel punto però essa dominava incontrastata la scena: l'ordine gigante di Maderno – in sostanza, quello di Michelangelo – sovrastava tutte le architetture adiacenti. I due bracci di raccordo, funzionalmente appartenenti all'ambito del Palazzo, sotto l'aspetto formale erano trattati come appendici della facciata di San Pietro, e così anche le ali colonnate che cingevano la piazza ovale erano sentite come emanazioni della Basilica. Lo stesso Bernini espresse questo concetto con la metafora delle "*braccia aperte*" con cui la chiesa, "*quasi matrice di tutte le altre*", mostra "*di ricevere maternamente i Cattolici per confermarli nella credenza, gl'Heretici per riunirli alla Chiesa, e gl'Infedeli per illuminarli alla vera fede*".

asymmetrical with respect to the axis of the Basilica. Bernini, rather than attempting to correct their positioning, accepted the diverging path of the northern street in his design, extending it even into the interior of the Palazzo Vaticano, through the northern corridor wing and the first flight of the Scala Regia. In this way he resolved, as if by magic, the problem of St. Peter's Square: its dual function as a space in front of both the Basilica and the Palazzo. One could see, at the end of Via Alessandrina, already from Castel Sant'Angelo, the northern end of the colonnade, part of an axial composition one kilometer in length: following this axis, the important visitors directed toward the large bronze door and the Scala Regia received the vivid sensation of papal aspirations for earthly rule (the limits of which were, painfully, to be felt by Alexander, in his conflict with the Sun King).

The Basilica became visible only once the piazza had been entered, whatever route was taken. But at this point it dominated the scene completely: the gigantic order of Maderno – that of Michelangelo, in substance – overwhelmed all the adjacent architecture. The two corridors, functionally belonging to the Palazzo, in formal terms were treated as two additions to the facade of St. Peter's, just as the hemicycles of columns surrounding the oval piazza were treated as emanations of the Basilica. Bernini himself expressed this concept with the metaphor of "open arms", *with which the church,* "almost the matrix of all the others", *demonstrates that it* "maternally receives Catholics to reconfirm their faith, heretics to reunite them with the Church, and infedels to illuminate them with the true faith".

Perhaps there has never been such a grand organization of a square as a theater of emotions. All profane associations have been eliminated from this architecture; those who arrived at the piazza felt that they had reached the destination of their pilgrimage, they felt liberated, joyfully raised above the condition of everyday life. And yet Piazza San Pietro, unlike the atrium of the old Basilica, remained a piazza, that is, part of the public space of the city. Thus Bernini responded to the challenge which had faced Rome since the end of the Middle Ages: to insert the church built over the tomb of the apostle into the urban context. Due to the course of events, the solution could no longer be one of urban planning: the situation had to be accepted as it was, without further modifications of the street network of the zone. It was a wise decision, although perhaps it was never

Mai forse si era riusciti a organizzare in modo così grandioso una piazza come teatro di un'esperienza vissuta. Tutte le associazioni profane erano state eliminate da quest'architettura; chi arrivava nella piazza si sentiva giunto alla meta del suo pellegrinaggio, liberato e festosamente innalzato al disopra della vita quotidiana. Tuttavia Piazza San Pietro, a differenza dell'atrio dell'antica Basilica, rimaneva una piazza, faceva parte cioè dello spazio pubblico della città. Così Bernini seppe rispondere alla sfida che Roma si era trovata ad affrontare fin dal medioevo: inserire nel contesto urbano la chiesa costruita sulla tomba dell'Apostolo. Per come erano andate le cose, la soluzione non poteva più essere urbanistica: la situazione fu accettata così com'era, senza ulteriori interventi sulla rete stradale della zona. Fu una decisione saggia, anche se forse non fu mai adottata come tale: dai documenti si ha piuttosto l'impressione che i progettisti si siano man mano ritirati di fronte a problemi la cui soluzione era superiore alle loro forze. Sappiamo, ad esempio, che Bernini inizialmente aveva pensato di aprire verso nord una strada d'accesso che, proseguendo l'asse maggiore della piazza, andasse a ricollegarsi con l'antica *via Triumphalis* proveniente da Monte Mario. Fu anche presa in considerazione – per essere poi abbandonata, forse a malincuore – la demolizione della "spina dei Borghi", che già Sisto V aveva meditato di attuare. L'idea continuò a essere dibattuta, fra l'altro da Carlo Fontana, assistente e successore di Bernini, che ancora nel 1694 caldeggiava nella sua opera su San Pietro l'apertura di questo asse viario e visivo.
Ma per Roma – o almeno per la Roma papale – il tempo degli atti di forza assolutistici era ormai passato. Restava da realizzare un programma figurativo che decorasse la piazza e ne esprimesse il significato, soprattutto mediante le statue di santi disposte sui colonnati e sui bracci di raccordo. La loro installazione si protrasse fino al 1673, e in questo quadro s'inserisce anche l'incarico che il successore di Alessandro VII, Clemente IX (1667-1669), diede a Bernini subito dopo essere salito al soglio: la decorazione del Ponte Sant'Angelo con dieci statue colossali di angeli recanti gli strumenti della Passione. I lavori cominciarono nello stesso anno, e poco prima di morire il papa poté vedere sistemate ai loro posti sei delle statue previste. In tal modo già i pellegrini dell'Anno Santo 1675 ricevettero durante l'attraversamento del ponte l'esortazione a meditare sulle sofferenze del Cristo.

1950
Le statue di Ponte Sant'Angelo furono l'ultimo contributo di Bernini agli Anni Santi e l'ultimo cambiamento importante che la Basilica vaticana e la strada per raggiungerla subirono per un periodo di oltre 250 anni. I grandi problemi sembravano risolti, la situazione si era "stabilizzata". Ma la stasi celava il germe della crisi: la comunicazione tra la città e il Vaticano perse d'interesse, fino a cessare quasi del tutto in seguito ai rivolgimenti politici dell'Ottocento, che fecero di Roma la capitale del nuovo Stato italiano. La tradizione degli Anni Santi si era già interrotta dopo il 1775, e nel secolo XIX ebbe una ripresa solo nel 1825; nel 1900 il Giubileo fu di nuovo proclamato da Leone XIII, ma i preparativi rimasero limitati al territorio vaticano. Solo la Conciliazione tra Chiesa e Stato sancita nel 1929 dai Patti Lateranensi portò a un'ultima, radicale trasformazione dell'accesso alla Basilica.
La Via della Conciliazione, iniziata nel 1935 da Piacentini e Spaccarelli e ultimata per l'Anno Santo del 1950, reca l'impronta urbanistica e architettonica dell'era fascista; perciò la polemica che ha accompagnato la sua attuazione è stata animata soprattutto da ragioni politiche, più o meno velatamente prima del 1945 e apertamente in seguito. Gli oppositori dell'intervento si rifacevano per lo più all'opinione di Bernini, che avrebbe lasciato intenzionalmente intatto il Borgo, impostando la sua sistemazione proprio sul contrasto fra la strettezza delle vie d'accesso e la vastità della piazza; quindi lo sventramento piacentiniano avrebbe annullato l'effetto tipicamente barocco della "sorpresa". Dal punto di vista storico, però, si potrebbe ribaltare l'argomentazione e rimproverare ai due progettisti di aver attuato ciò che da sempre i papi avevano pensato di fare. La demolizione della spina non è stata antistorica come idea in sé, ma per il momento in cui è avvenuta: il falso non è consistito nella rottura con la tradizione assolutistica, ma nella continuità con essa.
Se si cerca di fare un bilancio consuntivo di quest'intervento, prevale senz'altro il dispiacere per la perdita del cuore dell'antico rione Borgo; all'attivo andrebbe messa invece la vista da lontano della facciata di San Pietro, la possibilità di vedere finalmente la cupola dominare maestosa, così come l'aveva immaginata Michelangelo, al disopra del tamburo e del corpo centrale frontonato. Ma ciò vale solo se si esclude dalla vista la magniloquente architettura della strada. Le file di finestre dei palazzi per uffici che fiancheggiano il percorso verso

really decided as such: the documents give the impression that the designers gradually retreated in the face of problems whose solutions were beyond their possibilities. We know, for example, that Bernini had initially considered opening an access route to the north which, extending the main axis of the piazza, would have been connected to the ancient via Triumphalis *coming from Monte Mario. Another hypothesis – also abandoned, although perhaps with regret – was that of the demolition of the "spina dei Borghi", already considered by Sixtus V. The debate continued for years, with the participation of Carlo Fontana, Bernini's assistant and successor, who until 1694 continued to urge that this visual and physical accessway be opened for St. Peter's.*

But for Rome – or at least for papal Rome – the days of absolute power were over. What remained to be done was to implement a figurative program for the decoration of the square and the expression of its meaning, especially by means of statues of saints displayed on the colonnades and the connections. The installation of the statues continued until 1673, and this operation also included the commission which the successor of Alexander VII, Clement IX (1667-1669) assigned to Bernini immediately after his election: the decoration of Ponte Sant'Angelo with ten colossal statues of angels bearing the instruments of the Passion. Work began that same year, and shortly before his death the pope was able to view six of the statues, already in place. In this way the pilgrims of the Holy Year 1675 were urged, while crossing the bridge, to meditate on the sufferings of Christ.

1950

The statues on Ponte Sant'Angelo were the last contribution of Bernini to the Holy Years, and the last important change which the Vatican Basilica and the street leading to it were to undergo for a period of over 250 years. The major problems seemed to have been resolved, the situation had been "stabilized". But the stasis contained the seeds of crisis: the elements of communication between the city and the Vatican lost their relevance, nearly completely after the political events of the 1800s, which made Rome the capital of the new Italian state. The tradition of the Holy Years was interrupted after 1775, and revived in the 19th century only in 1825; in 1900 a Jubilee was again proclaimed by Leo XIII, but the preparations were limited to the territory of the Vatican. Only the Conciliation between the Church and the State sealed, in 1929, by the Lateran Pacts, led to an ultimate, radical transformation of the access to the Basilica.

Via della Conciliazione, begun in 1935 by Piacentini and Spaccarelli and finished for the Holy Year of 1950 bears the urban planning and architectural mark of the fascist era; therefore the controversy regarding its construction was motivated above all by political concerns, which were somewhat concealed before 1945, and openly expressed after. The opponents of the project feeled, for the most part, in agreement with the opinion of Bernini, who intentionally would have preserved the Borgo, basing the organization of the situation precisely on the contrast between the narrow access routes and the vast dimension of the square; Piacentini's gutting of the quarter was seen as cancelling out the typically Baroque effect of "surprise". But from a historical point of view the argument could also be reversed, accusing the two architects of having put into practice what the popes had always desired. The demolition of the "spine" was not anti-historical as an idea in itself, but was incorrect because of the moment in which it happened: the error lies not in a break with the absolutist tradition, but in its continuity.

Any attempt to assess this project, overall, is dominated by the sense of loss regarding the historical heart of the Borgo; the positive side is the view, from a distance, of the facade of St. Peter's, the possibility to finally observe the impressive cupola from afar, as Michelangelo had imagined it, above the tambour and the fronton of the central part. But this is valid only if we exclude from the view the magniloquent architecture of the street itself. The rows of windows of the office buildings flanking the route to St. Peter's produce a sense of frustration and alienation: instead of "opening its arms", the Basilica appears as the distant point of arrival of a path of curial hierarchy. The result is equally dubious in practical terms. At the time it appeared opportune, even necessary, to facilitate the flow of traffic toward St. Peter's Square, but the problem is that the flow of vehicles cannot help but stop in the square itself, making it into a giant parking lot: a condition that was tolerated until the 1960s, but which today would meet with little if any approval.

2000

For St. Peter's Basilica the 700 years that have passed since the proclamation of the first Holy Year have been dense with continuous, often dramatic changes. A pilgrim from the year 1300 on his way to St. Peter's today would barely

San Pietro producono infatti un senso di frustrazione e di distanziamento: anziché "aprire le braccia", la Basilica sembra essere il lontano punto d'arrivo di una via gerarchica curiale. Altrettanto dubbio è il risultato dal punto di vista pratico. L'agevolare il traffico verso Piazza San Pietro sembrò allora opportuno e anzi necessario, ma il flusso dei veicoli non poteva che arrestarsi sulla piazza stessa, facendola diventare un parcheggio: condizione che è stata tollerata fino agli anni Sessanta, ma che oggi certamente non trova più sostenitori.

2000

Per la Basilica petriana i settecento anni trascorsi dalla proclamazione del primo Giubileo sono stati densi di continui e a volte drammatici cambiamenti. Un pellegrino del 1300 che si dirigesse oggi verso San Pietro troverebbe in Ponte Sant'Angelo l'ultima opera architettonica da lui riconoscibile, non senza qualche difficoltà. Come proseguirà la storia? Il Giubileo del 2000 si svolgerà all'insegna del turismo e delle tecniche di comunicazione di massa, fenomeni che negli ultimi 25 anni hanno assunto una nuova dimensione. Sul Comune incombono problemi logistici la cui soluzione non s'intravede ancora. La Chiesa ha tenuto conto di questi sviluppi costruendo fin dal 1970, su progetto di Pier Luigi Nervi, una sala per udienze capace di accogliere 12.000 pellegrini, allontanando così una parte del traffico da Piazza San Pietro. Tuttavia questa conserverà il suo ruolo preminente. Per predisporla a ospitare raduni di massa sono state adoperate sempre più spesso in questi ultimi anni strutture provvisorie come transenne, file di sedie, tribune e baldacchini. Forse durante l'Anno Santo l'immagine della piazza si avvicinerà a quella di un palcoscenico o di uno stadio, con cavi e batterie di riflettori, postazioni di ripresa e torri per altoparlanti. I colonnati di Bernini non scompariranno dietro queste attrezzature, ma appariranno un po' obsoleti. Non sono previsti per ora interventi architettonici nella zona, e di ciò lo storico dell'arte non può che rallegrarsi. Congetturare quale potrà essere l'aspetto della Basilica e della piazza negli Anni Santi del terzo millennio oltrepassa la sua capacità d'immaginazione.

Nota bibliografica

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Traduzione di Giuseppe Scattone.

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recognize Ponte Sant'Angelo, and that would be the last familiar feature along the way. How will the story continue? The Jubilee of 2000 will take place in a context of tourism and mass communications, phenomena which have taken on a new dimension during the last twenty-five years. The municipal administration is hampered by logistical problems whose solution is far from imminent. The Church has attempted to keep pace with developments by building, back in 1970, a space for audiences capable of containing 12,000 pilgrims, designed by Pier Luigi Nervi, shifting some traffic away from St. Peter's Square. Nevertheless, the square remains the focal point. To permit it to host massive gatherings, in recent years there has been an increase in the use of temporary structures, railings, seating, bleachers, canopies. Perhaps during the Holy Year the image of the square will come closer to that of an open-air stage or a stadium, with wires, banks of spotlights, camera positions and towers for loudspeakers. The colonnades of Bernini will not disappear behind all this equipment, but they will look somewhat obsolete. For the moment no architectural interventions are planned for the zone, a fact that can only serve to cheer the art historian. Any conjecture regarding the image of the Basilica and the square in the Holy Years of the third millennium goes beyond the possibilities of his imagination.

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On Via della Conciliazione there is a vast amount of contemporary writing, most of it polemical in character. Among the most recent texts we can cite, as an example, the brief but useful chapter by A. CEDERNA in Mussolini urbanista. Lo sventramento di Roma negli anni del consenso, *Bari 1979; cfr. also the related observations in KITAO,* op. cit. *A historical analysis based on all the collected documentary material is still lacking.*

1. Planimetria generale dell'area dei Fori (H. Kiepert, C. Hulsen, 1912).

1. General site plan of the area of the Fori Imperiali (H. Kiepert, C. Hulsen, 1912).



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Archeologia dei Fori Imperiali
Silvana Rizzo

La storia moderna dei Fori Imperiali è soprattutto storia di mutamenti di mentalità e di conseguenti conflitti di interessi; così se non si tiene ben conto delle rapide trasformazioni ideologiche che hanno costellato le vicende in questo secolo, la problematica connessa all'area archeologica forense risulterebbe davvero incomprensibile.
Il primo progetto finalizzato allo scoprimento di un settore dei Fori Imperiali, realizzato da Corrado Ricci e tradotto in disegno da Lodovico Pogliaghi, era già stato impostato nel 1911 ma venne realizzato solo a partire dal 1924 con l'entusiastico consenso di Mussolini. Si tratterà in effetti di una progettazione di per sé assai limitata, a causa della difficoltà di espropriare gli isolati che nel tempo si erano impiantati sui Fori e praticamente finiva con l'interessare esclusivamente il settore a est di Via Alessandrina, dove si riduceva al minimo l'abbattimento di case, chiese e palazzi storici.
Tuttavia il successivo progetto urbanistico di realizzazione di una lunga arteria di collegamento tra Piazza Venezia ed il Colosseo, già presente nella variante del 1926 al Piano Regolatore del 1909, non prese neppure in esame la possibilità di costituire un parco archeologico attraversato dallo stradone, utilizzando in tal modo almeno in parte le proposte di Corrado Ricci.
Questi, limitandosi all'ideazione delle due esedre arboree ai lati del Vittoriano, non alzò alcuna voce di protesta e ridusse la progettazione archeologica ai lavori di scavo sotto l'esedra affiancata alla Colonna Traiana. Liberò così una cospicua porzione della Basilica Ulpia condannandola però per sempre ad una vita sotterranea. Sono questi gli anni nei quali a Roma il principio di omogeneità del tessuto urbano si intrecciò anche con la varietà di teorie sulla conservazione e sul restauro dei complessi storici, spesso sotto l'influenza dell'ambiente culturale europeo contemporaneo, molto diverso nella sostanza dalla realtà romana.
Le soluzioni adottate per il centro storico di Roma rimasero pressocché invariate sino all'indomani della guerra di Etiopia, quando l'area archeologica tra Campidoglio e Colosseo, ancora ricchissima di preziose testimonianze della città medievale, divenne il cantiere prediletto per la concretizzazione delle velleità imperialiste di Mussolini.
Fu così che la Via dei Monti, poi Via dell'Impero nacque in un'ottica diversa da quella degli anni di Roma Capitale, e

Archaeology of the Imperial Fora
Silvana Rizzo

The modern history of the Imperial Fora is above all one of shifting mentalities and conflicts of interest; if we fail to consider the rapid ideological transformations of our century, we cannot comprehend the problems involved in this archaeological research.
The first project for the uncovering of one sector of the Imperial Fora, realized by Corrado Ricci and documented in drawings by Lodovico Pogliaghi, had already been outlined in 1911, but was implemented only beginning in 1924, with the enthusiastic support of Mussolini. Here the design intervention was very restricted, due to the difficulties involved in expropriating the blocks which had grown up over the area of the Fora; in practice, the only area effected was the sector to the east of Via Alessandrina, which required only minimal demolition of buildings, churches, historical landmarks.
Nevertheless the subsequent urban planning project for the creation of a long artery connecting Piazza Venezia and the Colosseum, already outlined in the 1926 variant to the Master Plan of 1909, did not even consider the possibility of constructing an archaeological park with a street overpass, at least utilizing some part of the proposals advanced by Corrado Ricci.
Ricci, after having designed two exedrae of plantings at the sides of the Vittoriano, raised no objections, and reduced the archaeological project to excavation works beneath the exedra alongside the Colonna Traiana. In this way he liberated a large portion of the Basilica Ulpia, unwittingly condemning it to a permanent underground existence. These were the years, in Rome, when the principle of homogeneity of the urban fabric intertwined with various theories regarding the conservation and restoration of historical complexes, often under the influence of the contemporary European cultural scene, which was very different, as a whole, from the Roman situation.
The solutions chosen for the historical center of Rome remained more or less the same until the aftermath of the war in Ethiopia, when the archaeological area between Campidoglio and the Colosseum, still full of precious evidence regarding the medieval city, became the preferred worksite for the symbolic realization of the imperialistic fantasies of Mussolini.
Thus Via dei Monti, later Via dell'Impero, was born in the context of an outlook that was different from that of the years of "Roma Capitale"; if possible, archaeology played an even less important role, as can be deduced from the

2. Le demolizioni per la costruzione di Via dell' Impero nel quartiere Alessandrino, anni '30.
3. Via della Croce Bianca prima dello sbancamento e delle demolizioni per l'apertura di Via dell'Impero. L'edificio con portali bugnati è la Casa Vitali mentre sulla destra, all'angolo con la chiesa di Santa Maria in Macello Martyrum, si apriva Via Alessandrina.
4. Via della Salara Vecchia all'angolo con Via Cavour. Sullo sfondo, non ancora isolato, il convento dei S.S. Cosma e Damiano e sulla destra il muro di recinzione della chiesa di San Lorenzo in Miranda.

in essa l'archeologia giocò un ruolo se possibile ancora più marginale, come dimostrano la sbalorditiva rapidità dell'intervento, frutto di continui e frequenti ripensamenti, e la volontà ben precisa di "ricostruire" ai lati della strada edifici monumentali a gloria del nuovo regime.
Non è casuale, infatti, che lo scavo archeologico si arrestò nell'area per altro assai limitata di una porzione del Foro di Cesare, mentre tutte le aree limitrofe allo stradone, una volta rasi al suolo i palazzi dell'antico quartiere Alessandrino, vennero ricoperte da mediocri giardinetti ideati e realizzati in tutta fretta da Antonio Muñoz in attesa di future decisioni che non giunsero mai durante quegli anni e solo oggi sono diventati finalmente oggetto di ripensamento.
Accadde dunque l'inevitabile e i Fori, il complesso monumentale più imponente della Roma imperiale, a causa di soluzioni urbanistiche nate da progetti isolati mai previsti dai programmi ufficiali, divennero una sorta di quinta teatrale scenograficamente di appoggio a Via dell'Impero.
Fino ad oggi il Foro di Cesare, il Foro di Augusto, quello di Vespasiano, noto come *Templum Pacis*, il Foro di Nerva e il Foro di Traiano non sono mai riusciti ad imporsi come punto focale di quella che da sempre sarebbe potuta essere una magnifica passeggiata archeologica.
Non si ritenne opportuno in quegli anni di sbancamenti e di sterri conservare neppure la memoria grafica e fotografica delle successioni stratigrafiche che a livello più o meno monumentale si erano susseguite nella vita dei Fori e con un colpo di spugna si cancellò la storia di Roma dall'età tardoantica fino all'età moderna, mentre via via tornavano in luce i resti del Foro di Augusto e del Tempio di Marte Ultore, maestosamente restaurati dopo la demolizione del convento dell'Annunziata e di gran parte della Via Bonella.
Con lo stesso intento di "ricerca-redenzione" da costruzioni recentiori, Corrado Ricci ed Antonio Muñoz dal 3 gennaio al 20 aprile del 1930 scoprirono e riportarono in luce i resti del Foro di Cesare. In così breve tempo si "rialzarono" le splendide colonne del Tempio di Venere Genitrice – voluto da Cesare a seguito di un voto all'indomani della battaglia di Farsalo –, si restaurarono le TABERNAE del Clivo Argentario, che univa il Foro Romano al Campidoglio, e quelle dei tre piani all'interno del complesso cesariano, che risultarono essere tra gli ambienti più conservati. Un attento lavoro di ricerca

amazing rapidity of the construction, after continuous revisions, and the precise will to "reconstruct", on both sides of the street, monumental edifices for the glorification of the new regime.
It is no coincidence, in fact, that archaeological excavation was brought to a halt in the already very limited area of the Forum of Caesar, while all the areas bordering the artery, after the razing of the buildings of the old Alexandrian quarter, were filled with mediocre little parks hurriedly designed and built by Antonio Muñoz, as temporary solutions in expectation of decisions that were never made; only today, many years later, has attention finally turned to these areas.
So the inevitable happened; the Fora, the most impressive monumental complex of Imperial Rome, due to urban planning solutions based on isolated projects never acknowledged in official planning, became a sort of theatrical backdrop for Via dell'Impero.
Until today the Forum of Caesar, the Forum of Augustus, that of Vespasian, also known as the Templum Pacis, *the Forum of Nerva and the Forum of Trajan have never managed to emerge as landmarks in what could have become a magnificent archaeological promenade.*
In those years of excavations no one even considered conserving the graphic or photographic record of the strata uncovered, the strata containing the more or less monumental evidence of the life of the Fora; in one fell swoop the history of Rome in its late-ancient period down to the modern era was erased, as the ruins of the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars the Avenger were revealed and impressively restored after the demolition of the Dell'Annunziata convent and much of Via Bonella.
With the same intent of "research-redemption" of more recent constructions, Corrado Ricci and Antonio Muñoz from 3 January to 20 April in 1930 discovered and revealed the remains of the Forum of Caesar. In a short time the splendid columns of the Temple of Venus Genetrix were "re-erected" – in keeping with the wishes of Caesar expressed in a vow taken after the battle of Pharsalus – and the TABERNAE of the Clivo Argentario, which joined the Roman Forum to Campidoglio, were restored, along with the three-storey counterparts inside Caesar's complex, which were the best-preserved spaces. Careful research conducted on the strata would have yielded a great deal of information, but in keeping with the excessive, propagandistic passion for the grandeur of the Roman past,

2. Demolition for the construction of Via dell'Impero in the Alessandrino quarter, 1930's.
3. Via della Croce Bianca before the demolition work for the opening of Via dell'Impero. The edifice with the rustic-work doors is Casa Vitali, while to the right, at the corner of the Santa Maria in Macello Martyrum church, Via Alessandrina began.
4. Via della Salara Vecchia at the corner of Via Cavour. In the background, not yet isolated, the convent of S.S. Cosma e Damiano, and on the right the enclosure of the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda.



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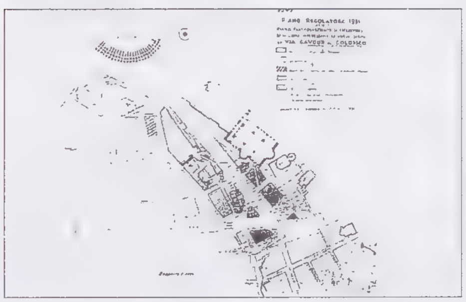
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5. Incrocio tra Via della Croce Bianca e Via della Salara Vecchia prima dell'apertura di Via dell' Impero. Sullo slargo è visibile il cancello di ingresso al Foro Romano.
6. Incrocio tra Via della Croce Bianca e Via della Salara Vecchia dopo il taglio di Via Cavour. Davanti al cancello di ingresso al Foro Romano sono visibili i resti di una colonna in marmo africano e di una cornice provenienti del Foro della Pace.
7. Pianta del Piano Regolatore del 1931.
8. Sistemazione ad aiuole lungo Via Alessandrina.

5. Intersection of Via della Croce Bianca and Via della Salara Vecchia before the opening of Via dell'Impero. Where the road widens the entrance gate to the Roman Forum is visible.
6. Intersection of Via della Croce Bianca and Via della Salara Vecchia after the opening of Via Cavour. In front of the entrance gate of the Roman Forum the remains of a column in African marble and a cornice from the Foro della Pace are visible.
7. Map of the Master Plan of 1931.
8. Arrangement of flower beds along Via Alessandrina.


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stratigrafica avrebbe certo consentito una lettura ricca di informazioni, ma fedeli ad un eccessivo quanto propagandistico amore per la grandezza del passato di Roma, anche nel Foro che Cesare aveva voluto perfetto nella struttura architettonica e ricco di opere d'arte, si provvide a rimettere in sesto solo tutto ciò che risultasse valido a costituire "arredo" per il percorso stradale finalizzato al potere politico e alla sua magnificazione popolare. Non a caso il Nuovo Foro di Cesare fu inaugurato da Mussolini il 21 aprile del 1932!
In tal modo il tessuto urbanistico dei Fori Imperiali, organico e coordinato nonostante i singoli complessi siano stati realizzati nello spazio di oltre un secolo e mezzo, era ormai completamente obliterato dalla città moderna. Ma a deformare ulteriormente la *facies* dell'area storica venne costruita una strada sopraelevata sul livello archeologico del Foro Romano, che nel toponimo ricordava il percorso dell'antica SALARA VECCHIA, che separava nettamente ed antistoricamente il Foro repubblicano dalle aree forensi imperiali.
Un falso storico perpetrato fino a qualche tempo fa, quando con l'inizio dei lavori di scavo nel Foro di Nerva si è provveduto ad eliminare l'inutile barriera, ricongiungendo alla quota archeologica i complessi monumentali così come erano stati originariamente progettati.
Il Foro Romano, infatti, la piazza che costituì il cuore della Roma regia e repubblicana, fu sempre strettamente connesso allo sviluppo dei Fori Imperiali. E non sarebbe stato possibile il contrario dato che anche in età imperiale il FORUM MAGNUM, perduta ormai la sua funzione politica, conservò sempre quella di prestigiosa rappresentanza. Lungo il percorso della Via Sacra, che taglia in senso longitudinale il Foro dall'Arco di Tito fino a quello di Settimio Severo, accanto agli edifici più antichi si allinearono in età imperiale una serie di monumenti celebrativi che ne significarono ulteriormente l'autorità.
Di fronte alla REGIA, dove esercitava la sua funzione rituale il re sacrale e che sorgeva adiacente al Tempio di Vesta, al cui interno era custodito il fuoco sacro – simbolo della vita stessa di Roma –, sorse nel 141 d.C. il tempio di Antonino e Faustina, poi trasformato nella Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Miranda. Più settentrionale e affacciato sul Comizio, dove anticamente si svolgevano le assemblee popolari, si erge l'edificio della Curia, la grandiosa aula in opera laterizia sede del Senato, costruita secondo i canoni

even in the Forum that Caesar had desired to be perfect in its architectural structure and full of works of art, all that was restored were the elements considered useful as "decor" for a street designed for the celebration of political power. It is no coincidence that the "Nuovo Foro di Cesare" was personally inaugurated by Mussolini, on 21 April 1932!
In this way the urban fabric of the Imperial Fora, organic and coordinated in spite of the fact that the individual complexes were built over a span of over 150 years, was completely obliterated in the modern city. Further deformation of the facies *of the historical area was caused by the construction of a street raised above the archaeological level of the Roman Forum, with a name that is a reminder of the ancient SALARA VECCHIA, cleanly and erroneously (in historical terms) separating the Republican Forum from the Imperial Fora.*
This historical falsehood was perpetrated until a short time ago, when the beginning of excavation of the Forum of Nerva led to the elimination of this useless barrier, reuniting the monumental complexes at the archaeological level, as in their original design.
The Roman Forum, in fact, or the square that constituted the heart of Rome in under the monarchy and under the Republic, was always closely connected to the Imperial Fora. It could not have been otherwise, given the fact that in Imperial times the FORUM MAGNUM, after losing its political function, preserved its value as a representation, a place of image. Along the Via Sacra, longitudinal crossing of the Forum of the Arch of Titus extending to that of Septimius Severus, alongside the older edifices were aligned, in the Imperial era, a series of commemorative monuments, images of authority.
Facing the REGIA, where the sacred king enacted his ritual functions, alongside the Temple of Vesta, where the sacred flame was guarded – symbol of the very life of Rome – in 141 AD the temple of "Antonino e Faustina" was built, later to become the Church of San Lorenzo in Miranda. To the north, facing the Comitia, where in ancient times assemblies of the populace were held, stood the edifice of the Curia, the grand hall in brickwork of the Senate, constructed according to the canons of Vitruvius and conserved thanks to its transformation into the Church of Sant'Adriano, although drastically altered after the fire of Carino in 283 AD.
The ancient hill called the Velia, between the Palatine and the Fagutale hills, later completely removed to make way

9. Foro di Augusto e Tempio di Marte Ultore.
10. Foro di Cesare, lavori di sterro e di restauro durante lo scavo, 1930.
11. Foro di Augusto dopo le demolizioni con in primo piano Via dell'Impero, anni '30.

9. Forum of Augustus and Temple of Mars the Revenger.
10. Forum of Caesar, works of excavation and restoration, 1930.
11. Forum of Augustus after the demolition work, with Via dell'Impero in the foreground, 1930's.

di Vitruvio e conservata grazie alla trasformazione nella Chiesa di Sant'Adriano, sia pure pesantemente restaurata dopo l'incendio di Carino del 283 d.C.
L'antica altura della Velia, la collina che univa il colle Palatino al Fagutale e che venne sbancata completamente per la costruzione di Via dell'Impero, subì un iniziale taglio per rendere possibile l'accesso lungo la Via Sacra alla Basilica di Massenzio, l'ultima basilica progettata a Roma di architettura totalmente diversa dalle altre, con tre navate delle quali la centrale, più alta, raggiunge con le ardite crociere i 35 metri.
Nella SUMMA SACRA VIA, presso la biforcazione con il Clivo Palatino, Domiziano dedicò al fratello Tito un arco ad un solo fornice, con semicolonne di ordine composito e sontuosa decorazione a pannelli, in ricordo della vittoria giudaica del 70 d.C. Un altro arco, al di sotto del quale la Via Sacra proseguiva fino a raggiungere – allacciatasi al VICO IUGARIO – il Tevere, venne dedicato nel 203 d.C. a Settimio Severo e concludeva il percorso della strada ai piedi del Campidoglio.
Da allora la magnificenza del complesso monumentale che dai Mercati e Foro di Traiano si estende attraverso i Fori di Cesare, di Augusto e di Nerva sino al Foro Romano ed al Palatino è tuttora sottoposta ad un contesto che ne banalizza la percezione, con un sostanziale stravolgimento dello straordinario impianto urbanistico originario, soprattutto a causa dell'interruzione dei nessi tra le emergenze archeologiche e di un insufficiente supporto museale ed informativo per la comprensione dell'insieme architettonico.
Solo di recente la Sovraintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma d'intesa con la Soprintendenza Archeologica di Stato, ha intrapreso un programma complessivo di interventi nell'area archeologica centrale, iniziando dai Fori Imperiali, considerati il principale centro di rappresentanza di quella stessa civiltà che si sta apprestando ad entrare nel terzo millennio.
Con nuove campagne di scavo, progetti di musealizzazione, interventi di diversa viabilità si è così tornati, dopo più di sessanta anni, ad affrontare nuovamente la problematica dell'area dei Fori Imperiali, con una diversa mentalità e soprattutto con la maturità necessaria per non sottovalutare né la delicatezza archeologica del sito storico né l'importanza strategica dei rapporti ambiente-città funzionale, che investono qui un nodo cruciale del sistema urbano contemporaneo.

for the construction of Via dell'Impero, underwent an initial excavation to make access possible, along the Via Sacra, to the Basilica of Massenzio, the last basilica designed in Rome, with a totally different architecture, with three naves, the central of which reaches the height, together with the daring transept, of 35 meters.
In the SUMMA SACRA VIA, near the fork with the Clivo Palatino, Domitian erected an arch for his brother Titus, with a single span, with semicolumns of composite order, and sumptuous panel decorations, to commemorate the victory of 70 AD. Another arch, beneath which the Via Sacra extended to reach – connecting to the VICO IUGARIO – the Tiber, was dedicated, in 203 AD, to Septimius Severus, concluding the streetway at the foot of the Campidoglio.
Since then the magnificence of the monumental complex that extends from the Markets and Forum of Trajan to the Fora of Caesar, Augustus and Nerva, all the way to the Roman Forum and the Palatine hill, has been plagued by a context that banalizes its perception, with a substantial modification of the original urban layout, especially because of the interruption of the connections between archaeological elements, and the lack of sufficient museum and information support for comprehension of the architectural complex as a whole.
Only recently the cultural resources authorities of Rome, together with the National Department of Archaeology, have undertaken an overall program of intervention in the central archaeological area, beginning with the Imperial Fora, considered the principal center of representation of a civilization about to enter the third millennium.
With new excavations, projects for museums, new circulation plans, after more than sixty years the problem of the area of the Imperial Fora is once again being confronted, but with a different mentality and, above all, with the maturity necessary to avoid underestimating the archaeological delicacy of the historical site and the strategic importance of relations between the environment and the functioning city, touching on a crucial node of the contemporary urban system.
Archaeological excavation work began in May 1995 for the Forum of Nerva, in the context of the legal provisions for Roma Capitale; the aim was to uncover the southern part of the Forum, digging in the zones between Via dei Fori Imperiali and the Roman Forum.
The dig, conducted in collaboration with the Department of

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Si è iniziato dal lavoro di scavo archeologico, avviato nel maggio 1995 nel Foro di Nerva con un progetto inserito all'interno della legge per gli interventi per Roma Capitale, che mirava a rimettere in luce il settore meridionale del Foro, scavando le aiuole poste tra la Via dei Fori Imperiali ed il Foro Romano.
Lo scavo, condotto in collaborazione con il Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità – I Cattedra di Topografia di Roma dell'Università "La Sapienza" – ha fornito interessanti elementi per lo studio delle aree archeologiche anche prima dell'impianto dei Fori.
Le testimonianze letterarie antiche, infatti, fanno più volte riferimento all'esistenza di un ampio quartiere sorto attorno all'antichissimo asse stradale dell'Argileto, che metteva in comunicazione il Foro Romano con la popolosa contrada della Subura. Il quartiere era per la gran parte occupato dal Macellum, vasto mercato di generi diversi (soprattutto alimentari) e da case, alcune di proprietà di noti personaggi dell'aristocrazia senatoria.
Le indagini condotte al di sotto della pavimentazione della piazza imperiale del Foro detto anche Transitorio, costruito da Domiziano e inaugurato da Nerva tra il 97 e il 98, hanno rimesso in luce, oltre ai resti di un arco a blocchi di tufo, strutture costruite in opera incerta con pavimenti in opera spicata, che sono databili forse a partire dal II secolo a.C. e che quasi certamente sono da mettere in relazione con ambienti a carattere commerciale appartenenti ad una delle fasi più antiche del Macellum. Tali strutture vengono poi distrutte a seguito di una generale ristrutturazione e di un innalzamento di livello dell'area in età tardorepubblicana, che comportarono addirittura il rifacimento del percorso della Cloaca Massima. Questo intervento attesta, comunque, che ancora nell'età di Cesare il mercato era in piena attività, organizzato in botteghe con pavimenti in opera spicata.
Oltre a queste fasi più antiche, gli scavi hanno restituito una serie di grandi fondazioni in opera cementizia databili alla prima età imperiale, che documentano una ulteriore generale trasformazione volta a monumentalizzare le strutture di mercato.
L'insieme dei dati emersi mette in evidenza, per la prima volta e con abbondanza di elementi archeologici, la persistenza nei secoli della destinazione ad uso commerciale di questo settore, che solo l'intervento di Domiziano e Nerva per il Foro Transitorio modificherà radicalmente e definitivamente.

Lo scavo ha poi interessato un vasto settore del Foro domizianeo, caratterizzato da una pianta di forma rettangolare stretta ed allungata, dominato sul lato nordorientale dal Tempio di Minerva e concluso da un portico monumentale di ingresso, la Porticus Absidata.
Lo spazio limitato impose una particolare organizzazione del colonnato circostante la piazza, che risulta quasi addossato ai muri perimetrali e, dunque, non percorribile, come lasciano ben intuire le due colonne superstiti (le cosiddette Colonnacce).
Le indagini hanno consentito di riportare alla luce gran parte della pavimentazione originaria della piazza, costituita da grandi lastre marmoree, stese su una solida massicciata di allettamento, ma il pavimento presenta frequenti lacune, che ne interrompono la tessitura omogenea, frutto per lo più delle attività di spoliazione per il recupero dei materiali da costruzione, che nel corso dell'età medievale e rinascimentale interessarono, così come la stragrande maggioranza dei monumenti antichi, anche l'area del Foro di Nerva. A questo stesso fenomeno è probabilmente da imputare la perdita della quasi totalità del colonnato perimetrale, di cui si conservano solamente le massicce fondazioni in opera cementizia e alcuni blocchi di peperino, sottostanti lo stilobate marmoreo da cui si innalzavano le eleganti colonne corinzie, anch'esse di marmo. Della ricca decorazione architettonica e scultorea che ornava il complesso, di cui è ancora testimonianza la parte sopravvissuta dello splendido fregio delle "Colonnacce", con scene del mito di Minerva, dea protettrice di Domiziano, sono stati rinvenuti numerosi frammenti riutilizzati nelle strutture postantiche sorte nell'area del Foro.
Nel settore meridionale della piazza lo scavo sta restituendo elementi preziosi per la comprensione di uno dei problemi più controversi e dibattuti relativi al Foro Transitorio. Si tratta della grande fondazione cementizia, a pianta rettangolare, che alcuni studiosi hanno proposto di identificare con il Tempio di Giano che Domiziano, secondo alcune testimonianze letterarie, avrebbe eretto all'interno del Foro e che altre fonti, da valutare con estrema cautela, indicherebbero ancora esistente nel XII secolo.
Anche nell'area del Foro di Nerva, come in altre parti del tessuto urbano, la destrutturazione dell'impianto monumentale della città imperiale riportò alla luce l'ossatura viaria della città repubblicana. Sulla piazza del



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12. 13. Emiciclo dei Mercati di Traiano nell'attuale sistemazione e Colonna di Traiano.

12. 13. Crescent of the Mercati di Traiano in the present situation, and Column of Traiano.

Sciences of Antiquity – the Department of Roman Topography of the "La Sapienza" University – furnished interesting elements for the study of the archaeological areas, including elements predating the construction of the Fora.
Ancient texts often make reference to a large quarter built around the very old Argileto street axis, connecting the Roman Forum with the densely populated zone of the Subura. This quarter was, to a large extent, occupied by the Macellum, a vast market for different products (mostly groceries), and by residences, including homes of famous members of the senatorial aristocracy.
Investigation of the strata beneath the paving of the "piazza imperiale" of the Forum, also known as the "Transitorio", built by Domitian and inaugurated by Nerva in '97 and '98, have revealed, apart from the remains of an arch constructed with blocks of tufa, structures that are difficult to date, with twill-pattern pavings, perhaps from the 2d century BC; these works should almost certainly be associated with the commercial spaces of one of the most ancient phases of the Macellum. These structures were destroyed in an overall project of renovation that raised the level of the area in the late republican era, even leading to a restructuring of the routing of the Cloaca Maxima. In any case, this study proves that at the time of Caesar the market was still fully operative, organized in "botteghe", with twill-pattern pavings.
Apart from these earlier periods, the excavations also yielded a series of large foundations of buildings that can be dated to the first part of the Imperial era, evidence of a subsequent general transformation aimed at a monumentalization of the structures of the market.
The data revealed in these studies demonstrate, for the first time, with ample archaeological evidence, that this area was used for commercial functions for many centuries; its radical, definitive modification took place only through the intervention of Domitian and Nerva, with the "Foro Transitorio".
The excavation also involved a large area of the Forum of Domitian, with an oblong rectangular plan, dominated on the northeast side by the Temple of Minerva, and concluded by a monumental entryway, the Porticus Absidata. Spatial limitations dictated a particular organization of the colonnade around the square, which is almost placed against the perimeter walls, precluding the creation of a porticoed area for pedestrians; this can easily be deduced from the two surviving columns (known as the "Colonnacce").
The excavations revealed much of the original paving of the piazza, large marble slabs laid over a solid bed; but there are also many gaps in the paving, caused by the removal of its parts for the construction of later works, a kind of looting which, during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, compromised nearly all the ancient monuments, including the area of the Forum of Nerva. It is probable that this is also the reason for the loss of nearly all the perimeter columns; all that remains are the massive foundations, a few blocks of peperino, beneath the marble stylobate that formed the base for the elegant marble Corinthian columns.
The rich architectural and sculptural decoration of the complex survives only in the splendid frieze of the "Colonnacce", with scenes of the myth of Minerva, the guardian goddess of Domitian, and in a number of fragments utilized in the later structures built in the area of the Forum.
In the southern part of the piazza the digs are revealing valuable elements for the understanding of one of the most controversial problems regarding the Foro Transitorio. A large cement foundation, rectangular in form, has prompted some scholars to hypothesize the presence of the Temple of Janus which Domitian, according to certain sources, built inside the Forum; other sources (of dubious accuracy) claim that it still existed in the 12th century.
Again in the area of the Forum of Nerva, as in other parts of the urban fabric, the destructuring of the monumental complexes of the imperial city reveals the skeleton of the roadways of the republican city. On the piazza of the Forum one notes the traces, almost perfectly aligned with the ancient axis of the Argileto, connecting the area of the Roman Forum and the Subura. In archaeological terms, this route is evident in the traces of wear on the marble paving, which were covered with rudimentary but compact cobblestones. This street crossed the piazza, with its monumental structures, obliquely; the absence of strata of debris from collapses, datable to the 6th and 7th centuries, the "dark ages" which traditional historiography views only in terms of crisis and decadence, an evaluation which is being revised in recent research, would seem to indicate that the structures were still intact at the time. After the most difficult period of the demographic crisis of the first centuries of the early Middle Ages, a sort of repopulation took place in the city, and the street in the area of the old Forum of Nerva became a gathering point for new

14. Foro di Nerva, le fondazioni del cosiddetto Tempio di Giano al confine con la Basilica Emilia nel Foro Romano, settembre 1996.
15. Foro di Nerva, l'area archeologica dopo la demolizione del muro di contenimento di Via della Salara Vecchia ed il ricongiungimento alla quota antica con il Foro Romano, giugno 1996.
16. 17. Viste aeree dell'area dei Fori Imperiali, primi anni '80.

14. Forum of Nerva, the foundations of the so-called Temple of Janus at the border with the Basilica Emilia in the Roman Forum, September 1996.
15. Forum of Nerva, the archaeological area after the demolition of the barrier wall of Via della Salara Vecchia and the return to the original level of the Roman Forum, June 1996.
16. 17. Aerial views of the area of the Fori Imperiali, beginning of 1980's.

Foro si venne a segnare, con un tracciato che ripercorre quasi esattamente l'antico asse dell'Argileto, un collegamento tra l'area del Foro romano e la Subura. Archeologicamente tale percorso è evidenziato da una fascia di usura nel pavimento marmoreo, risarcito da un rozzo ma compatto acciottolato. Questa strada attraversava obliquamente la piazza ancora conservata nelle sue strutture monumentali, come sembra mostrare l'assenza di strati di crollo, accumulo o abbandono databili ai secoli VI e VII, i "secoli bui" che la storiografia tradizionale vedeva solo in chiave di crisi e decadenza, e dei quali la ricerca più recente sta tentando di dare una lettura più equilibrata, pur evidenziandone gli elementi di discontinuità rispetto all'assetto della città tardoantica. Quando, passato il periodo più grave della crisi demografica dei primi secoli dell'alto medioevo, una sorta di ripopolamento giungerà nella città, la presenza della strada venne a costituire, nell'area del vecchio Foro di Nerva, un polo di attrazione lungo il quale si attestarono una serie di nuove strutture. Lo scavo ha messo in luce, direttamente edificato sul livello della piazza domizianea nel corso dell'VIII secolo, un grande edificio costruito con blocchi di peperino di reimpiego, che affacciava sulla strada con due accessi con soglie di travertino. Nel IX secolo, contestualmente al primo rialzamento di livello sul piano del Foro, all'edificio venne aggiunto un portico monumentale con quattro arcate, anch'esso costruito con blocchi di peperino di reimpiego. Resti di altre strutture, con la stessa tecnica, rimangono su ambedue i lati della strada, evidenziando, pur nella loro lacunosità, un momento di grande impegno edilizio. Purtroppo la scarsità di conoscenze sull'edilizia civile dell'epoca rende difficile per ora definire le funzioni e la tipologia delle strutture individuate, anche se appare indiscutibile l'intento di monumentalizzare l'area con edifici di prestigio.
L'età carolingia anche in questa zona sembra delinearsi come il momento in cui si perde definitivamente l'assetto urbano ereditato dalla città antica e si tracciano le linee attorno alle quali si articolerà la città medievale. L'analisi stratigrafica ha permesso di individuare, nel corso dell'XI secolo, una fase di profonda trasformazione del paesaggio urbano: il grande edificio porticato di epoca carolingia venne abbandonato e parzialmente spogliato, lasciando solamente i muri perimetrali, mentre un consistente riporto di terra rialzò la quota di calpestio di circa due metri.

structures. The excavations have revealed, directly built at the level of the piazza of Domitian during the 8th century, a large edifice built with blocks of recycled peperino, facing onto the street with two accesses with Travertine thresholds. In the 9th century, at the time of the first level increment to the height of the Forum, a monumental portico with four archways was added to the edifice, again in recycled peperino. Remains of other structures built with the same technique can be found on both sides of the street; in spite of the gaps in this evidence, it provides ample documentation of a moment of intense building activity. Unfortunately our lack of knowledge regarding the civic building of the time makes it difficult, for the moment, to define the functions and the typologies of the structures discovered, although it is evident that they were intended to make the area monumental.
The Carolingian era, in this zone as in others, seems to be the period of definitive loss of the urban order inherited from the ancient city; the lines are traced for the development of the medieval city. The strata analysis has revealed, during the 11th century, a phase of profound transformation of the urban landscape; the large porticoed edifice of the Carolingian era is abandoned and partially stripped, leaving only the perimeter walls, while the land surface was raised by about two meters.
It is extremely probable that this landfill initiative was connected to the initial appearance of the phenomenon of marshland invasion which gave the area of the Imperial Fora the knickname of "li Pantani".
In the late Middle Ages the area was on the margins of the inhabited zone, and the excavations have shown that the street continued to rise in level, in a series of layers. A thin row of buildings lined the north side of the street, while the rest of the area appears to have been utilized for vegetable gardens. Historical sources indicate that the buildings along the street were used for commerce and crafts workshops, thus the name Fundicus Macellorum de Archanoè, *which indicated the street and the zone in the Middle Ages.*
In the late 15th century the large porticoed edifice from the Carolingian era was used as a stable, further evidence of the ruralization of the zone before the urban development of the late Renaissance, during which the filling of a well has provided us with a fine quantity of pottery from the late medieval period.
The excellent results achieved, up to this point, at the Forum

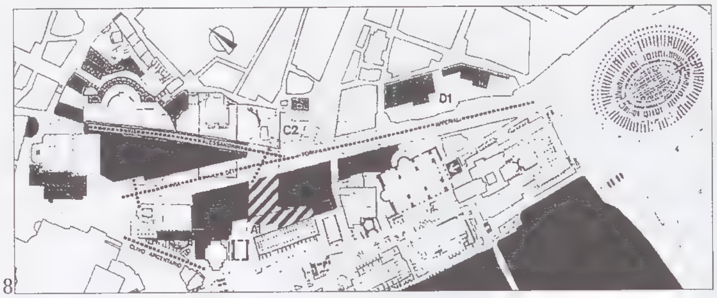

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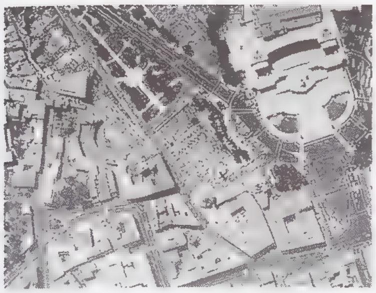

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E' estremamente probabile che questo intenzionale riporto sia da connettersi al primo manifestarsi di quel fenomeno di impaludamento che avrebbe lasciato all'area dei Fori Imperiali il toponimo de "li Pantani".
I secoli del basso medioevo vedono la nostra zona piuttosto ai margini dell'abitato e lo scavo ha evidenziato come la strada abbia subito un continuo rialzamento di livello, con la formazione di una serie di battuti sovrapposti. Una sottile fascia di edifici fiancheggiava il lato nord della strada, mentre tutto il resto dell'area appare non edificato e probabilmente era tenuto ad orti. Le fonti archivistiche ci testimoniano, per gli edifici lungo l'asse stradale, una destinazione commerciale, di botteghe artigiane, da cui il nome di *Fundicus Macellorum de Archanoè*, con il quale sono note nel medioevo la strada e la contrada.
Al tardo XV secolo risale l'utilizzo come stalla dei resti del grande edificio porticato di epoca carolingia, ulteriore testimonianza della ruralizzazione della zona prima del grande intervento di urbanizzazione di epoca tardo rinascimentale, nel quale il riempimento di un pozzo ha restituito un ricco complesso di ceramiche di epoca bassomedievale.
Gli eclatanti risultati raggiunti sinora nel Foro di Nerva costituiscono la base di una ben più vasta progettazione di interventi nell'area forense, che la Sovraintendenza Comunale ha già messo a punto nell'ambito delle opere per il Giubileo, in modo da poter completare entro il 2000 la realizzazione di un parco archeologico che dal Campidoglio giunga sino al Colosseo.
La realizzazione del Progetto Fori è articolata per successive fasi di scavo con i relativi percorsi museali e comprende l'immediata contemporanea apertura dei nuovi cantieri archeologici nel Foro di Cesare, nel *Templum Pacis* e nel Foro di Traiano. Contestualmente si provvederà ad una riqualificazione urbanistica dei percorsi stradali, già da tempo sottoposti a verifiche, a partire dalla Via Alessandrina, dal Clivo Argentario e dalla stessa Via dei Fori Imperiali, elemento ormai storicizzato e parte integrante della storia di Roma, della quale viene proposta una valorizzazione dell'uso come percorso pedonale.
Per la riunificazione delle piazze forensi si sta già provvedendo attraverso l'utilizzazione della grande fogna seicentesca riportata in luce durante i lavori nel Foro di Nerva attualmente in fase di sistemazione per la frequentazione da parte del pubblico, nonché mediante l'apertura di ulteriori passaggi pedonali posti alla quota archeologica al di sotto della sede stradale.
Il sistema di circuito museale avrà come punto focale i Mercati di Traiano, dove è già in atto una fase di recupero e di adeguamento degli ambienti destinati a divenire Museo dei Fori Imperiali.
Ma sarà certamente indispensabile provvedere alla valorizzazione di ulteriori sedi, quali ad esempio la Torre de' Conti, che è sorta a partire dall'858 proprio sui resti di una delle esedre del Foro della Pace e che nel progetto della Sovraintendenza Comunale dovrebbe essere anche la sede di esposizione della FORMA URBIS, la preziosa mappa catastale marmorea che Settimio Severo fece apporre proprio nell'aula del Tempio della Pace e della quale oggi sono visibili parte delle impronte sul muro di facciata della Chiesa dei SS. Cosma e Damiano.
Grazie alla proficua collaborazione con la Sovrintendenza Archeologica di Stato si potrà attuare già all'apertura dei primi cantieri di scavo un percorso archeologico costituito dal Foro Romano e dalle piazze imperiali già scavate, ripristinando l'accesso pedonale lungo la Via Sacra e attraverso il condotto seicentesco del Foro di Nerva, che garantisce la libera frequentazione sino al Foro di Traiano.
L'intervento progettuale, come è evidente, fornisce una serie di condizioni per colmare l'emarginazione macroscopica che tuttora impedisce una corretta visione dell'area forense e potrebbe realmente costituire un modello unico al mondo di museo integrato della città antica.

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18. Progetto degli interventi di scavo dell'area dei Fori Imperiali per il Giubileo del 2000.
19. Vista area dell'area dei Fori Imperiali, stato attuale.

18. Excavation project for the area of the Fori Imperiali for the Jubilee of 2000.
19. Aerial view of the area of the Fori Imperiali. (present state).

of Nerva become the basis for a much larger project of study in the area of the Fora; this project has already been prepared by the municipal authorities in the context of the works for the Jubilee. By the year 2000 an archaeological park is to be completed, extending from Campidoglio to the Colosseum.
The project is organized in phases of excavation, with related museum itineraries, with the simultaneous opening of archaeological worksites for the Forum of Caesar, the Templum Pacis *and the Forum of Trajan. In the context of the project there will also be an urban redefinition of the streets, already studied in the recent past, beginning with Via Alessandrina, Clivo Argentario and Via dei Fori Imperiali, an element which has been historicized, an integral part of the history of Rome, which has been proposed as a pedestrian zone.*
The reunification of the squares in the area is already in progress, through the utilization of the 17th-century sewers discovered during the work on the Forum of Nerva, now being renewed for the public, and through the opening of new pedestrian passages at the archaeological level, below street level.
The focal point of the system of museum itineraries will be the Markets of Trajan, where work is already in progress for the recovery and renovation of spaces which will become the Museum of the Imperial Fora.
But it will also be indispensable to make use of other locations, like the Torre de' Conti, built beginning in 858 precisely on the ruins of one of the exedrae of the Templum Pacis; in the project outlined by the municipal authorities, this should also become the location of an exposition of the FORMA URBIS, the precious marble map that Septimius Severus placed in the hall of the Temple of Peace; its traces are still partially visible today on the facade of the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano.
Thanks to collaboration with the national archaeology departments it is already possible to begin digging and building an initial archaeological itinerary composed of the Roman Forum and the Imperial Fora which have already been opened, restoring the pedestrian access along the Via Sacra and through the 17th-century conduit of the Forum of Nerva, guaranteeing free circulation as far as the Forum of Trajan.
The design intervention, as is evident, furnishes a series of conditions to compensate for the macroscopic marginalization that even today prevents a correct vision of the area of the Fora, with its potential to become a truly unique situation of integration between museum areas and the historical city.

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1. *Copertina di* La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*

1. *Cover of* La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*



1

Gaston Bardet e la "Roma di Mussolini"

Jean-Louis Cohen

Nel 1937 un giovane urbanista francese dedica il suo primo libro allo studio delle "*idee generose*" che Roma "*lancia attraverso il mondo*" e al loro contesto urbanistico. Con *La Rome de Mussolini* Gaston Bardet intraprende in maniera provocatoria una carriera tanto precoce quanto intensa, dal momento che egli ne compie i passi essenziali tra 1937 e 1952, tra i 30 e i 45 anni di età[1]. Ormai largamente misconosciuta tanto in Francia che nei paesi vicini, l'opera teorica di Bardet è da considerarsi invece essenziale per la comprensione dell'urbanistica del XX secolo[2]. E' interessante notare come essa prenda sostanzialmente avvio con la pubblicazione di un'opera singolare da più di un punto di vista nella pur assai poco convenzionale bibliografia di Bardet, opera che non può essere compresa senza un suo inquadramento all'interno della strategia dell'autore e dei termini in cui è recepita in Francia l'urbanistica italiana del periodo tra le due guerre.
L'*iter* professionale di Bardet è caratterizzato da un'ambizione pressoché smisurata. Applicandosi alla materia della pianificazione a tutte le scale, dal piano urbanistico generale allo studio di dettaglio, parallelamente e con continuità interviene con articoli virulenti su temi di attualità, animando riviste quali "Organisation et statistique du bâtiment" (alla fine degli anni Trenta) o "Le Maître d'œuvre" (dopo la Liberazione).
Spirito satirico e profetico, egli è anche un organizzatore – segretario generale della Societé Française des Urbanistes – e un pedagogo – dal momento che prosegue a Bruxelles, a Algeri e in America Latina l'attività didattica incominciata all'Institut d'Urbanisme dell'Università di Parigi –. Già di portata internazionale per l'attenzione persistente che egli rivolge all'urbanistica europea e del Nuovo Mondo, di cui è testimonianza l'ampiezza documentaria delle sue pubblicazioni, la sfera d'azione di Bardet diventa praticamente globale dal momento in cui la sua opera – ed egli stesso – sono recepiti in Gran Bretagna, negli Stati Uniti, in Belgio, in Algeria, in Portogallo, in Messico e in Argentina, impatto planetario in contrasto, d'altra parte, con un relativo insuccesso in Francia nel periodo della sua maggiore maturità, ovvero all'inizio degli anni Cinquanta[3].

Le origini culturali di Bardet

Proveniente da una famiglia piccoloborghese di Vichy, Bardet compie i suoi studi a Moulins e in seguito a Parigi, prima di intraprendere all'École des Beaux-Arts un *iter* scolastico, da considerarsi brillante più che eccezionale,

Gaston Bardet and "Mussolini's Rome"

Jean-Louis Cohen

In 1937 a young French urbanist focused his first book on the study of the "generous ideas" *that Rome* "sends out across the world"*, and their urban planning context. With* La Rome de Mussolini *Gaston Bardet set forth in a provocatory way on a precocious, intense career, whose essential steps were taken between 1937 and 1950, when he was 30-45 years old[1]. Largely disregarded today in France and neighboring countries, the theoretical work of Bardet is nevertheless essential for an understanding of 20th-century urban planning[2]. It is interesting to note that it begins with the publication of a work that is singular, in more ways than one, even in the quite unconventional bibliography of Bardet, a work that cannot be understood without viewing it in the context of the strategy of the author and of the view of Italian urban planning in France between the two world wars.*
The career path of Bardet is marked by a nearly boundless ambition. Working on the subject of planning on all scales, from urban master plans to detail studies, he continuously, and in parallel, produced virulent articles on timely themes, in magazines like "Organisation et statistique du bâtiment" (at the end of the Thirties) or "Le Maître d'œuvre" (after the Liberation).
A prophetic, satirical spirit, he was also an organizer – secretary general of the Societé Française des Urbanistes – and a pedagogue, continuing his teaching activities in Brussels, Algiers and Latin America after beginning at the Institut d'Urbanisme of the University of Paris. Already international in scope for the constant attention paid to urban policies in Europe and the New World, as documented in a wide range of publications, Bardet's sphere of action became practically global when his work – and his person – were received in Great Britain, the United States, Belgium, Algeria, Portugal, Mexico, Argentina, a planetary impact which was in contrast with his relative lack of success in France at the height of his career, or at the beginning of the 1950s[3].

The cultural background of Bardet

From a petit-bourgeois family of Vichy, Bardet was educated at Moulins and later in Paris, before attending the École des Beaux-Arts, with brilliant but not exceptional results, and the Pontrémoli-Leconte studio, obtaining many awards and admission as a logiste *at the Grand Prix of Rome. When he had completed his architectural studies, as early as 1934 Bardet revealed his parallel interest in urban*

presso l'*atelier* Pontrémoli-Leconte, ottenendo numerosi premi e essendo ammesso come *logiste* al Grand Prix de Rome. Una volta terminati gli studi di architettura, fin dal 1934 Bardet rivela il suo parallelo interesse per l'urbanistica con la presentazione al Salon d'Automne di un progetto di "città-giardino per intellettuali" e la pubblicazione su "Urbanisme" di un suo primo articolo sulla "*nascita*" della disciplina[4].
Al pari di alcuni suoi condiscepoli delle Beaux-Arts animati da un ideale intellettuale e/o sociale, Bardet decide di proseguire i suoi studi all'Institut d'Urbanisme dell'Università di Parigi. Qui scopre l'insegnamento di Marcel Poëte ed è affascinato dalla sua dottrina vitalistica. Sono rapporti privilegiati quelli che si stabiliscono tra Bardet e Poëte, il cui approccio alla pratica urbanistica era avvenuto nel corso della sua attività a fianco di Louis Bonnier per la Commission d'Extension di Parigi tra il 1911 e il 1913[5]. Questi legami sono di carattere scientifico e Bardet elaborerà nel 1937 illustrazioni eloquenti quanto concise per il libro di Poëte *Paris, son évolution créatrice*[6]; ma sono anche di carattere personale dal momento che Bardet sposa Françoise, figlia dello storico, sedotta dalla sua intelligenza e sua collaboratrice fino al termine degli anni Cinquanta[7].

Sguardi francesi su Roma

Quando Bardet decide di dedicare la tesi con la quale terminerà i propri studi presso l'Institut d'Urbanisme alla politica urbana e architettonica del fascismo, l'urbanistica romana non è sconosciuta al pubblico francese. Volendo definire l'ambito di accoglienza del libro di Bardet, non deve essere sottovalutato il ruolo di Pierre Vago. Questo giovane allievo dello studio Perret, il cui padre, architetto ungherese, si è stabilito a Roma, riveste un ruolo fondamentale nella costruzione dell'immagine francese dell'Italia degli anni Trenta. Redattore-capo de "L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui", egli organizzerà nel 1934 un viaggio nel corso del quale gli amici della rivista scopriranno le città nuove dell'Agro Pontino, dopo avere già visitato, nel 1932, la Russia sovietica[8]. Vago è molto attivo anche durante la Triennale di Milano del 1933 e il Congresso internazionale degli architetti tenutosi a Roma nel 1935. La testimonianza più interessante delle sue osservazioni è il numero della rivista "Le Maître d'œuvre" dedicato al Piano Regolatore di Roma che egli cura nel maggio del 1930.

planning, with the presentation at the Salon d'Automne of a project for a "garden-city for intellectuals" and the publication in "Urbanisme" of an initial article on the "birth" of the discipline[4].
Filled, like some of his fellow students at the Beaux-Arts, with intellectual and/or social ideals, Bardet decides to continue his studies at the Institut d'Urbanisme of the University of Paris. Here he discovers the teachings of Marcel Poëte, and is fascinated by his doctrine of vitalism. He establishes a special relationship with this professor, whose approach to urban planning was a result of his activity alongside Louis Bonnier for the Commission d'Extension of Paris in 1911-1913[5]. These links are scientific in character, and in 1937 Bardet was to make eloquent, concise illustrations for Poëte's book Paris, son évolution créatrice*[6]; but they are also personal, because Bardet married Françoise, the daughter of the historian, seduced by her intelligence; she continued to collaborate with Bardet until the end of the 1950s[7].*

The French look at Rome

When Bardet decides to do the thesis that will complete his studies at the Institut d'Urbanisme on the urban and architectural policies of fascism, Roman urban planning was as yet unknown to the French public. To get an idea of the context for the reception of Bardet's book, we cannot underestimate the role of Pierre Vago. This young student of the Perret studio, whose father, a Hungarian architect, lived in Rome, played a fundamental part in the construction of the French image of Italy in the Thirties. Editor-in-chief of "L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui", in 1934 he organized a trip during which the friends of the magazine discovered the new cities of Agro Pontino, after having already visited Soviet Russia in 1932[8]. Vago was also very active in the Milan Triennale of 1933 and the International Congress of Architects held in Rome in 1935. The most interesting presentation of his observations is in the issue of "Le Maître d'œuvre" on the Master Plan of Rome, an issue he edited in 1930.
Published with the open support of the Italian authorities – Count Manzoni, the ambassador to Paris, wrote a brief preface – this issue of a review published by both the École Spéciale d'Architecture and the Société des Diplômés de l'Institut d'Urbanisme was generous with praise for the solutions that provide a response "to one of the most interesting problems of modern urban planning".



2



Le développement urbain de Rome

Le développement démographique

3



4

2. Spazi verdi, zoning e confronto dei piani d'espansione della città di Roma, in "Le Maître d'œuvre", numero dedicato al Piano Regolatore di Roma, maggio 1930.
3. "Le développement urbain de Rome", in "Le Maître d'œuvre", numero dedicato al Piano Regolatore di Roma, maggio 1930.
4. Armando Brasini, Progetti per la sistemazione urbanistica di Roma, in "Le Maître d'œuvre", numero dedicato al Piano Regolatore di Roma, maggio 1930.

2. Green areas, zoning and comparison of growth plans for the city of Rome, in "Le Maître d'œuvre", issue on the Master Plan of Rome, May 1930.
3. "Le développement urbain de Rome", in "Le Maître d'œuvre", issue on the Master Plan of Rome, May 1930.
4. Armando Brasini, Designs for the urban organization of Rome, in "Le Maître d'œuvre", issue on the Master Plan of Rome, May 1930.

Pubblicato con il palese appoggio delle autorità italiane – il conte Manzoni, ambasciatore a Parigi, ne scrive una breve prefazione – questo numero di una rivista che fa capo sia all'École Spéciale d'Architecture che alla Société des Diplômés de l'Institut d'Urbanisme non risparmia elogi per le soluzioni che danno risposta "*a uno dei problemi più interessanti dell'urbanistica moderna*".
Raccogliendo un gran numero di dati demografici e statistici, Vago sottolinea l'obsolescenza del Piano di Sanjust del 1909 rispetto al "*disegno di fare di Roma la grande Capitale dell'Italia spiritualmente unificata*", espresso dal fascismo[9]. Egli ripercorre le tappe del lavoro della Commissione per il Piano Regolatore creata nel 1923, discute la Variante generale del 1925 e mette a confronto il progetto del gruppo "La Burbera" con quello di Armando Brasini. Vago approva gli interventi di sventramento nel centro, per quanto egli apprezzi soprattutto le ipotesi di decentramento dello schema di sviluppo regionale del Gruppo Urbanisti Romani:

"*Una Roma scompare: con grande dolore per le anime romantiche esageratamente sensibili al "colore locale" dei carretti e della biancheria appesa fuori dalle finestre. Una nuova Roma nasce: spaziosa, maestosa, elegante, moderna a dispetto di coloro che sostengono che la Città Eterna non potrà mai diventare una Capitale moderna. E' la Roma imperiale di Mussolini*"[10].

Nel 1930 "La Vie urbaine", rivista dell'Institut d'Urbanisme, pubblicherà anche un articolo intitolato *Lo sviluppo urbano in Italia e la lotta contro l'urbanizzazione*[11]. In Francia si può rintracciare una certa ammirazione per il fascismo in gran parte della gioventù universitaria e intellettuale, affascinata dall'immagine di un regime "forte" e tecnico[12]. Solamente la sinistra socialista e comunista resiste a questa pressione ideologica.

La costruzione del libro di Bardet
Conformemente a una prassi che voleva che la tesi discussa presso l'Institut d'Urbanisme fosse una monografia su una città, Bardet decide di concludere i propri studi con un lavoro su Roma. Benché non appartenga assolutamente ad alcuno dei gruppuscoli fascisti francesi, Bardet è leggermente "*fascisant*" secondo Françoise Poëte, decisamente di sinistra e che a malincuore batterà a macchina la tesi del marito all'indomani del loro matrimonio[13]... Poco impegnato nella politica francese, Bardet non manca di una certa ingenuità in materia, provenendo le sue posizioni più esplicite dal cattolicesimo sociale, come dimostra il riferimento all'enciclica *Rerum Novarum.*
Gli elementi di giudizio politico che traspaiono dai capitoli di *La Rome de Mussolini* non vanno comunque nella direzione della cieca approvazione delle posizioni del regime. Bardet sottolinea che la retorica di Mussolini "*non risponde assolutamente alla viva realtà e non ha che il merito della formula*" quando il Duce afferma:

"*Roma non può e non deve essere una città moderna nel senso banale del termine, deve essere una città degna della propria gloria e questa gloria deve essere incessantemente rinnovata per poter essere trasmessa, come eredità del nostro tempo, alle generazioni future*"[14].

Bardet utilizza nel suo libro le opere di sostenitori francesi del fascismo quali Georges Roux, Georges Valois o Marcel Ouessant[15] e fa ampiamente riferimento ai materiali raccolti da Vago. Ma si basa soprattutto sulle pubblicazioni italiane dedicate alla pianificazione di Roma e sulle informazioni raccolte presso protagonisti italiani quali Arturo Bianchi, Ugo Vallecchi, Antonio Muñoz e Giuseppe Bottai, ma anche francesi come "*il grande sindacalista*" Hubert Lagardelle, compagno di strada della prim'ora di Mussolini e impegnato con Le Corbusier nella pubblicazione delle riviste "Plans" e "Prélude"[16].
Bardet evoca "l*a dottrina così ondivaga, così piena di contraddizioni*" di quel regime "*opportunista*" che è il fascismo, che egli giudica essere "*più una* forma mentis *che un principio*". Nonostante sia convinto delle carenze del "*sindacalismo fascista*", ne loda le organizzazioni di massa, dai Balilla al Dopolavoro, e alcune istituzioni come la Città Universitaria o il Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. In uno scritto del 1937 egli giudica tuttavia che "*l'atmosfera guerrafondaia instaurata con regime disciplinare e che ha condotto alla guerra d'Etiopia non ha più ragione di esistere*" e preconizza "*spese per l'igiene e le abitazioni più che di polizia e di guerra*", anche se considera che Roma capitale imponga delle "*spese suntuarie*"[17]. Discutendo nel dettaglio le statistiche e la politica demografica del regime, Bardet prende una certa distanza rispetto alla "*supremazia*" accordata al

Compiling a great quantity of demographic and statistical data, Vago emphasises the obsolescence of the plan of Sanjust from 1909 with respect to "the program to make Rome the great capital of a spiritually unified Italy", as expressed by fascism[9]. He retraced the phases of the work of the Master Plan commission created in 1923, discusses the general variant of 1925 and compares the project of the "La Burbera" group to that of Armando Brasini. Vago approves of the proposals for the gutting of the center, and above all favors the hypothesis of decentralization of the regional development scheme, proposed by the Gruppo Urbanisti Romani.

"One Rome disappears: with great sorrow for those romantic souls who are exaggeratedly attached to the 'local color' of horse carts, of laundry hanging on lines outside windows.
A new Rome is born: spacious, impressive, elegant, modern, in spite of the opinions of those who say that the Eternal City can never become a modern Capital.
It is the Imperial Rome of Mussolini."[10]

In 1930 "La Vie urbaine", magazine of the Institut d'Urbanisme, also published an article entitled Urban development in Italy and the fight against urbanization[11]. *In France we can retrace a certain admiration for fascism among the university students and intellectuals of the time, fascinated by the image of a "strong", "technical" regime[12]. Only the socialist and communist left resisted this ideological pressure.*

The construction of Bardet's book

In keeping with a formula in which the theses at the Institut d'Urbanisme each focused on one particular city, Bardet decided to conclude his studies with a work on Rome. Although he was absolutely extraneous to the fringe groups of French fascism, Bardet was slightly "fascisant", *according to Françoise Poëte, who was decidedly leftist, and reluctantly typed her husband's thesis shortly after their marriage[13]. Only slightly involved in French politics, Bardet was rather naive in such matters; his more explicit positions were derived from Social Catholicism, as can be seen in the reference to the encyclica* Rerum Novarum. *The elements of political judgement present in the chapters of* La Rome de Mussolini *are not oriented, in any case, toward a blind approval of the positions of the regime. Bardet remarks that the rhetoric of Mussolini* "in no way corresponds to real life, and has merit only as a formula", *when the Duce declares:*

"Rome cannot and must not be a modern city in the banal sense of the term, it must be a city deserving of its glory, and this glory must be incessantly renewed in order to be passed on, as the legacy of our time, to future generations"[14].

Bardet utilizes, in his book, the works of French supporters of fascism like Georges Roux, Georges Valois, Marcel Ouessant[15], and makes many references to the materials gathered by Vago. But his sources, above all, are Italian publications on the planning of Rome and information gathered from Italian protagonists like Arturo Bianchi, Ugo Vallecchi, Antonio Muñoz and Giuseppe Bottai, but also from leading French figures like "the great syndicalist" *Hubert Lagardelle, an early ally of Mussolini, collaborator of Le Corbusier for the publication of the magazines "Plans" and "Prélude"[16].*
Bardet writes about "the extremely sea-roving doctrine, full of contradictions" *of that* "opportunistic" *regime of the fascists, which he evaluates as* "more a *forma mentis* than a true principle". *In spite of his conviction regarding the shortcomings of* "fascist union movements", *he praises the mass organizations, from the Balilla to the Dopolavoro, and some institutions like the Città Universitaria or the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. In a piece written in 1937, in any case, he writes that* "the warmongering atmosphere established by the authoritarian regime, leading to the war in Ethiopia, no longer has any reason to exist" *and hopes for* "greater investment for hygiene and housing, less for police and war", *although advancing the consideration that Rome as a capital will require* "major investments"[17]. *Discussing the statistics and the demographic policies of the regime in detail, Bardet takes a certain distance from the* "supremacy" *accorded to* "collective sentiment", *because in his opinion this threatens the institution of the family to which, as a good Catholic, he is very attached. He does not disguise his perplexities regarding the* "near suppression of all liberties", *and observes that* "having achieved its national aims", *the time had come for fascism* "to evolve".
The historical-thematic narrative Bardet constructs is punctuated by recurring elements, such as the large aerial photos, with comment, of contemporary Rome, or pages full

5. 6. 7. Viste aeree del Quartiere Rinascimento, della "città-giardino" Aniene e della Via dei Trionfi, in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*
8. Confronto tra i Piani Regolatori di Roma (disegno di Gaston Bardet), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*

5. 6. 7. Aerial views of the Quartiere Rinascimento, of the Aniene "garden-city" and of Via dei Trionfi, in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*
8. Comparison of the Master Plans of Rome (drawing by Gaston Bardet), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*

"*sentimento collettivo*", perché a suo parere essa minaccia l'istituzione della famiglia alla quale, da buon cattolico, egli è fortemente legato. Non nasconde la propria inquietudine davanti alla "*quasi-soppressione di ogni libertà*" e considera ormai che, "*avendo raggiunto i suoi fini nazionali*", il fascismo "*debba evolvere*".
Il racconto storico-tematico che Bardet costruisce è ritmato da elementi ricorrenti quali grandi fotografie aeree commentate della Roma contemporanea o pagine fitte di statistiche demografiche o economiche. Ma per il suo diploma all'Institut d'Urbanisme Bardet ha anche realizzato disegni analitici che rendono conto degli "*sviluppi dei piani regolatori ufficiali*" o di altri dispositivi e tavole comparative riprese poi nel libro. Via via che procede nel testo, egli è storico, osservatore, critico d'architettura, moralista o profeta. Stabilendo la genealogia delle operazioni, ne giudica assai liberamente i princìpi concreti.



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Bardet e la "vita" di Roma

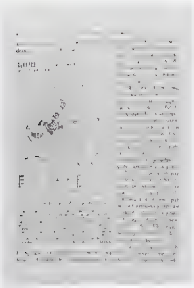
Avendo l'intenzione di rendere conto, come denota il sottotitolo del suo libro, di una "*nuova era romana sotto il segno del fascio*", Bardet inserisce i progetti e le realizzazioni del regime in un ampio panorama storico. In conformità al modello organicista di Marcel Poëte che assimila la città a un essere vivente, per prima cosa ripercorre "*trenta secoli di vita*". La sua evocazione dell'"*uomo primitivo*" che si stabilisce "*sulle rive del fiume*" non è che un frusto *cliché* e la sua analisi dei primi secoli di popolamento del sito romano è assai convenzionale, basata su imprestiti da Léon Homo e Fustel de Coulanges, ma anche sui testi di Tito Livio e Tacito. Bardet fa allusione furtivamente agli episodi medievali per sottolineare la portata del "*grande piano regolatore*" di Sisto V "*rigido come la volontà del papa*". Secondo la sua opinione "*egli inaugura l'urbanistica contemporanea, realizzando con spirito cartesiano un programma che si poneva per la prima volta: la riunione dei molteplici centri già esistenti*"[18].
Loda i progetti di Napoleone "*vittima* [...] *della volontà di mettere ordine laddove tutti avevano interesse a conservare l'anarchia*", notando che è a lui "*che si devono le prime realizzazioni imperialiste che in seguito il fascismo ha ripreso conducendole a buon fine*". Il periodo unitario inaugura, secondo Bardet, la "*genesi*" della Roma di Mussolini ed è in questa prospettiva teleologica che egli



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of demographic and economic statistics. But for his diploma at the Institut d'Urbanisme Bardet also made analytical drawings to illustrate "developments of official master plans", and other devices and comparison tables also included in the book. Bardet, as the text proceeds, is historian, observer, architecture critic, moralist and prophet. Establishing the geneology of the operations, he freely assesses the concrete principles.

Bardet and the "life" of Rome

With the aim of assessing, as indicated in the subtitle of his book, a "new Roman era under fascist rule", Bardet analyzes the projects and constructions of the regime in a wider historical context. In keeping with the organicist model of Marcel Poëte, viewing a city as a living organism, first he retraces "thirty centuries of life". His evocation of a "primitive man" who settles "on the banks of the river" is merely a threadbare cliché, and his analysis of the first centuries of life in the city is very conventional, based on borrowings from Léon Homo and Fustel de Coulanges, as well as texts by Livy and Tacitus. Bardet makes fleeting allusions to medieval episodes to underline the scope of the "great master plan" of Sixtus V, "as rigid as the will of the pope". In his opinion "he marks the beginning of contemporary urban planning, undertaking, with Cartesian spirit, a program that appears for the first time: the rejoining of already existing multiple centers"[18].
He praises the projects of Napoleon "victim [...] of the desire to make order where all had a vested interest in maintaining anarchy", noting that it is to Napoleon that "we owe the first imperialist works which, later, fascism has continued, bringing them to a successful conclusion". The period of the unification ushers in, according to Bardet, the "genesis" of the Rome of Mussolini, and it is from this teleological perspective that he rewrites the history of urban planning at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, alternating examples of concrete results with descriptions of plans. Using a range of sources, including articles published by Arturo Bianchi in "Capitolium" in 1931 and 1933, he proposes an interesting description of the urban space of Rome at the turn of the century.
Bardet takes particular care in his analysis of the Master Plan of 1873 – revised in its essential points in 1883 – commenting on the provisions it included for the Rinascimento quarter. He reconstructs the chronicle of speculation, recalling the figure of Cardinal de Mérode and the analysis of Émile Zola regarding the financial crisis of 1887. Bardet criticizes the "isolated fragments" of the Sanjust plan for the absence of radial streets permitting connection with the center, in accord with the evaluation of Stübben, who considered this plan inferior to the plan of 1883. Moving on to the episodes of the postwar period, Bardet denounces the "banality and poverty" of the "garden-city" of Aniene, while acknowledging certain virtues in the Garbatella quarter.

Fascism and the Master Plan of 1931

Against the impasses of this type of urban planning, Bardet proposes the action undertaken by the new regime, identifying point by point the "rods of the fasces" included in the plan of 1931, and in particular the Master Plan variant of 1925, which he criticizes. He adheres, essentially, to the positions outlined by Piacentini in 1926 in "Capitolium", although he criticizes the project of the Gruppo Urbanisti Romani and, in particular, their proposal to build a large station "to impede any expansion toward the southeast". He evaluates the project of the "La Burbera" group with a certain irony as a "private effort", supported by Giovannoni, "impregnated with Etruscan ritual" in its major tracings, considering their drawings closer to the "realizations of Asian despots" than to "purely Latin elements". Where Brasini is concerned, who "is not satisfied by devastating the center to an even greater extent than three barbarian invasions", Bardet criticizes him for his "exuberant imagination, that of an excessively able artist"[19].
Bardet doesn't miss the opportunity to ironize regarding the presence of Brasini, Giovannoni and Piacentini on the commission created for the definition of the Plan of 1931. He criticizes the doubling of Via del Babuino and Via Ripetta, and the ordering of the Muro Torto. Deploring the conservation of the monument to Vittorio Emanuele, "a large blind portico" that offends the eye, Bardet recommends a reordering of Piazza Venezia, although he is against the unjustified grouping of small squares in the center. Examining the new relationships established by the Lateran Pacts, however, he declares that he is in favor of the project of Via della Conciliazione, formulated in 1935. Bardet reviews the constituent solutions of the Plan of 1931, analyzing the device of the radial or "consular" streets, that expand the Roman space out "to the hills and the sea". He is against the idea of a single passenger rail station, and suggests the principle of an underground

riscrive la storia dell'urbanistica della fine del XIX e dell'inizio del XX secolo, alternando l'evocazione dei luoghi concreti a quella dei Piani. Attingendo a fonti diverse, tra le quali gli articoli pubblicati da Arturo Bianchi in "Capitolium" nel 1931 e nel 1933, egli propone un'interessante descrizione dello spazio urbano romano della fine del secolo.
Bardet si sofferma particolarmente su un'analisi dettagliata del Piano Regolatore del 1873 – ripreso nei suoi punti essenziali nel 1883 – del quale commenta i provvedimenti per il Quartiere Rinascimento. Ricostruisce la cronaca della speculazione, ricordando la figura del Cardinale de Mérode e le analisi di Émile Zola sulla crisi finanziaria del 1887. Bardet critica i "*frammenti isolati*" del Piano Sanjust per l'assenza di vie radiali che ne permettano il collegamento col centro, allineandosi al giudizio di Stübben che lo considerava inferiore al Piano del 1883. Passando agli episodi del dopoguerra, denuncia la "*banalità e la povertà*" della "città-giardino" Aniene, laddove riconosce qualche virtù al Quartiere della Garbatella.

Il Fascismo e il Piano Regolatore del 1931
Alle *impasse* di questo tipo di urbanistica, Bardet oppone l'azione intrapresa dal nuovo regime, identificando punto per punto le "*verghe del fascio*" in cui si articolerà il Piano del 1931, e in particolare la Variante del 1925 del Piano Regolatore, che egli critica. Aderisce essenzialmente alle posizioni formulate da Piacentini nel 1926 in "Capitolium", anche se critica il progetto del Gruppo Urbanisti Romani e in particolare la loro proposta di edificare una grande stazione "*che impedisce qualsiasi espansione in direzione sudest*". Egli giudica con una certa ironia il progetto del gruppo "La Burbera", "*sforzo privato*" appoggiato da Giovannoni, "*impregnato di rito etrusco*" nei suoi grandi tracciati, considerando i loro disegni più vicini alle "*realizzazioni di despoti asiatici*" che "*elementi puramente latini*". Quanto a Brasini, che "*non si contenta di devastare il centro meglio di quanto non avrebbero potuto fare tre invasioni barbariche*", la sua "*immaginazione esuberante di artista troppo abile*" lo condanna[19].
A Bardet non sfuggirà l'occasione di ironizzare sulla presenza di Brasini, Giovannoni e Piacentini nella Commissione creata per elaborare il Piano del 1931. Egli critica il raddoppio delle Vie del Babuino e di

"bypass". *On the question of green areas, Bardet acknowledges that the city has* "grand parks", *but underlines the absence of neighborhood parks and landscaped streets similar to those proposed by Prost for the Côte d'Azur. He also introduces an interesting comparison between the scheme of the parks of Rome and that of Louis Bonnier and Marcel Poëte for Paris, while for the executive instruments of the Plan he approves of the very brutal measures that were taken.*
Bardet also makes an assessment of the excavations and archaeological sites, lingering over the Mercati di Traiano, the Circus Maximus, and the Theater of Marcellus. He has doubts regarding the solutions adopted for the temples of Largo Argentina, and criticizes the isolation of the Mausoleum of Augustus, saying that he is disturbed by the transformation of these "sad vestiges" *into a* "center of a rotating platform for aerodynamic bodywork"... *He also feels that the demolition of the base of the Colossus of Nero and the* Meta sudans *are useless.*

The urban networks and extension of Rome
Bardet examines the new traffic network, beginning with that "extraordinary result", *as he calls Via dell'Impero,* "a highway in the midst of a cemetery", *ironizing on the parades held in the forums:*

"When the eye is focused on the dark ribbons, gazes raised to the sky, arms raised toward the Duce – erect, in front of the statue of Augustus – one realizes that man is truly the most suitable complement for this grand escavation"[20].

Where architecture is concerned, Bardet underlines the limited influence of radical modernism, noting the eclectic pragmatism of the programs undertaken in Rome, within which he observes "three fashions":

"The first, perfectly functional, is suitable for sanatoria, schools, markets, etc., inserting itself well in green areas; the second, which must combine with the Renaissance and baroque areas, contains certain elements of reference to the past, while maintaining a great sobriety of volumes; finally, there is the truly fascist approach, charged with a socio-political mission"[21].

Bardet compiles a sort of ranking of recent constructions, focusing on the Foro Mussolini and certain projects by

9. Analisi dei sistemi di comunicazione di Roma (disegno di Gaston Bardet), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*
10. Piano Regolatore di Roma, 1931 (disegno di Gaston Bardet), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*

9. Analysis of Roman communications systems (drawing by Gaston Bardet), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*
10. Master Plan of Rome, 1931 (drawing by Gaston Bardet), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*



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11. Confronto tra le piazze di Parigi e di Roma (disegno di Gaston Bardet), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*

11. Comparison between the squares of Paris and Rome (drawing by Gaston Bardet), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*

Ripetta e la sistemazione del Muro Torto. Deplorando la conservazione del monumento a Vittorio Emanuele, "*grande portico cieco*" che ferisce la vista, Bardet sottoscrive una risistemazione di Piazza Venezia, benché si dichiari ostile al raggruppamento ingiustificato delle piccole piazze del centro. Esaminando i nuovi rapporti instaurati dai Patti Lateranensi, si dichiara tuttavia favorevole al progetto di Via della Conciliazione formulato nel 1935.
Bardet passa in rivista le soluzioni costitutive del Piano del 1931, analizzando il dispositivo delle vie radiali o "*consolari*", che dilatano lo spazio romano "*fino alle colline e al mare*". Egli è contrario all'idea di una Stazione passeggeri unica e suggerisce il principio di un "*passante*" sotterraneo. Sulla questione degli spazi verdi, Bardet riconosce che la città ha "*parchi grandiosi*", ma sottolinea l'assenza di giardini di quartiere e di strade paesaggistiche simili a quelle che Prost aveva proposto nel Var per la Costa Azzurra. Egli introduce d'altra parte un interessante paragone tra lo schema dei parchi di Roma e quello che Louis Bonnier e Marcel Poëte avevano redatto per Parigi, mentre per quel che riguarda gli strumenti esecutivi del Piano approva le misure di esproprio assai brutali messe in opera.
Bardet fa anche un bilancio degli scavi e delle sistemazioni archeologiche, soffermandosi sui Mercati di Traiano, il Circo Massimo e il Teatro di Marcello. Egli pone delle riserve sulle soluzioni individuate per i templi di Largo Argentina e denuncia l'isolamento del Mausoleo d'Augusto, dichiarandosi turbato dalla trasformazione di queste "*tristi vestigia*" in "*centro di una piattaforma rotante per le carrozzerie aerodinamiche*"... Giudica inutili anche le demolizioni della base del Colosso di Nerone e della *Meta sudans*.

Le reti urbane e l'estensione di Roma
Bardet esamina la nuova rete viabilistica, a cominciare da quello "*straordinario risultato*" che è Via dell'Impero, "*autostrada nel mezzo di un campo di riposo*", ironizzando sulle sfilate che occupano i Fori:

"*Quando l'occhio è puntato sul nastro scuro che sfila, gli sguardi al cielo e le braccia tese verso il Duce – ritto davanti alla statua d'Augusto – ci si rende conto che l'uomo è veramente il complemento più adatto a questo grande scavo*"[20].

Per quanto riguarda l'architettura, Bardet sottolinea la limitata incidenza della modernità radicale e registra il pragmatismo eclettico dei programmi intrapresi a Roma, all'interno dei quali distingue "*tre modi*":

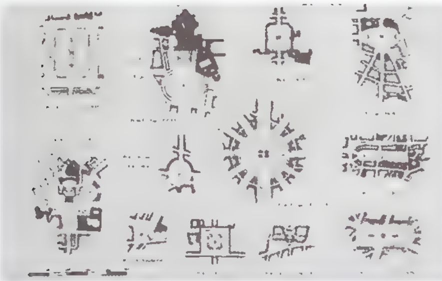
"*Il primo, perfettamente funzionale, è adatto a sanatori, scuole, mercati, ecc., e sa inserirsi nelle aree verdi che lo vivificheranno; il secondo, che deve combinarsi con il nucleo rinascimentale o barocco, ritrova certi elementi di richiamo al passato, mantenendo tuttavia una grande sobrietà di volume; infine l'ultimo, quello veramente fascistissimo, è caricato di una missione politico-sociale*"[21].

Bardet compila una sorta di classifica delle costruzioni recenti, mettendo in evidenza il Foro Mussolini e certi progetti di Piacentini. Si felicita di vedere i giovani architetti, incoraggiati dal Duce, evitare "*le gravi esagerazioni del razionalismo integrale che spesso conducono a un utilitarismo grossolano o a un pigro formalismo*", riferendosi in particolare al Concorso per il Palazzo del Littorio che gli sembra annunciare un'Italia divenuta "*campione della cultura classica adattata alla vita moderna*". Al tempo stesso non manca, con annotazioni a margine, di lanciare le sue prime critiche contro le "*finestre a nastro*", i "*muri neutralizzanti*" e, soprattutto, gli "*uomini standardizzati*" di Le Corbusier, che aveva a sua volta prestato le sue attenzioni al regime.

Le soluzioni di Bardet per l'espansione di Roma
Prendendo in considerazione la dimensione regionale delle politiche del regime, Bardet si felicita del fatto che la città "*abbandoni il suo contorno globuloso per estendersi a raggiera*", con un'immagine particolare:

"*Non è tuttavia sotto l'apparenza di colate che espandendosi fuoriescono da una fessura, né sotto quella di un nastro dai bordi paralleli alla ferrovia; è sotto forma di bracci o tentacoli nodosi, dove ciascun nodo è il nucleo di nuove macchie d'olio, dai volumi variabili in modo inversamente proporzionale alla loro distanza dal centro*"[22].

Qui, la dottrina di Bardet comincia a prendere forma, con il suo rifiuto delle città lineari "*molto alla moda*" e il suo pragmatismo organico. Egli suggerisce come alternativa alla "*condensazione anormale*" della città "*tentacolare*" un



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Piacentini. He congratulates the young architects, encouraged by the Duce, for having avoided "the grave exaggerations of total rationalism that often lead to a banal utilitarianism or a lazy formalism", *referring in particular to the Competition for the Palazzo del Littorio, which for him seems to announce an Italy which has become* "champion of classical culture adapted to modern life". *At the same time he does not fail, with margin notes, to express his first criticisms of the* "ribbon windows", "neutralizing walls" *and, above all, the* "standardized men" *of Le Corbusier, who had also paid attention to the doings of the Italian regime.*

Bardet's solutions for the expansion of Rome

Taking into consideration the regional dimension of the policies of the regime, Bardet is impressed by the fact that the city "abandons its globule outline to expand outward in spokes", *expressing this with an image:*

"Nevertheless the appearance is not one of liquid in a mold escaping from an opening, nor of a band with borders along the railway; it is a form of arms or tentacles with nodes, and each node is a nucleus of new spreading development, with variable volumes, inversely proportional to their distance from the center"[22].

Here the doctrine of Bardet begins to take form, with his rejection of the "very fashionable" *linear cities, and his organic pragmatism. He suggests as an alternative to the* "abnormal condensation" *of the* "tentacular" *city an ideal device, partially derived from the ideas of Raymond Unwin and the* Trabantenprinzip *of Ernst May, rejecting the* "exclusively residential" *garden-cities:*

"In today's urban settlements the only possible organizational scheme is a center of intense interchanges - surrounded by a residential area for those whose work requires them to remain in contact with the center - around which a system of autonomous, productive satellite cities is immersed in the green countryside"[23].

Recognizing the "need to swarm", *Bardet supports the project for the creation of a garden-city at the Castelli as imagined by the Gruppo Urbanisti Romani in 1929; he recommends* "that rapidity and capacity to make decisions" *he has observed in the works of overall improvement.*

Bardet carefully describes the policy of the regime and its forerunners, and criticizes the excessive dispersion of residential areas. He opposes the Plan of Oriolo Frezzotti for Littoria, because it has no growth potential, and expresses his approval of the "stable serenity" *of the spaces of Sabaudia, although one gets the impression, at times, of* "strolling through a Hollywood set", *waiting for* "a signal that will suddenly flood the scene with a horde of extras".

Above all, Bardet fears that Rome is destined to "swell", *and he envisions a* "command center" *in the Colli Albani, on the slopes of Monte Cavo. This zoning principle is consistent with the social claims of Bardet, for whom* "only the groups with an intimate connection to the earth: family, village, neighborhood, region, are within the measure and reach of man":

"The environment favorable for the birth and development of this new man [...] is not the existing contemporary city, and even less so the city conceived by these criminal theorists who want to consacrate a civilization of the module-man, height 1.75 meters, with interchangeable parts (Le Corbusier *dixit*).
In the urban order, the great capital of Italy should materialize human reconstruction through the fragmentation of its urban conglomeration into satellite cities, each composed of individual dwellings that permit a return to the notion of the family, the primary natural grouping"[24].

Orienting his program within the perspectives outlined by the physician Alexis Carrel, whose eugenic theories were encouraged by the Vichy government[25], *Bardet says that* "the third Rome must proceed with Latin rigor for an authentic reconstruction of man, based on fundamental ideas of charity and spirituality". *This return to the* "real man" – *invoked by Lagardelle and the French fascists – is, in Bardet's opinion, announced by the* "urban teachings" *of Rome, or rather of the different* Romes *being born:*

"At the foot of the Gianicolo, Vatican Rome, the Christian metropolis; on the Palatine Hill and in the forums, Palatine Rome, museum-city and altar of the fatherland, ordering the archaeological zone; in the eastern bend of the Tiber, Renaissance Rome, living museum and hearth of spirituality, bordered to the east by Commercial Rome, with

dispositivo ideale, in parte derivato dalle idee di Raymond Unwin e dal *Trabantenprinzip* di Ernst May, scartando le città-giardino "*unicamente residenziali*":

"*Negli attuali agglomerati urbani il solo schema organizzativo possibile è un centro di scambi intensi – con una corona formata da un'area residenziale riservata a coloro le cui funzioni obbligano a restare in contatto col centro –, intorno al quale graviti un sistema di città-satelliti autonome e produttive immerse nel verde*"[23].

Riconoscendo la "*necessità di sciamare*", Bardet sottoscrive il progetto di creazione di una città-giardino immaginata ai Castelli dal Gruppo Urbanisti Romani nel 1929, per la realizzazione della quale si aspetta "*quella rapidità e quella capacità di decisione*" che riconosce negli interventi di bonifica integrale. Bardet descrive con cura la politica del regime e i suoi antecedenti, e critica l'eccessiva dispersione delle abitazioni. Contrario al Piano di Oriolo Frezzotti per Littoria, perché non ha alcun potenziale di crescita, esprime la propria simpatia per l'"*inalterabile serenità*" degli spazi di Sabaudia, anche se a volte ha l'impressione di "*deambulare in uno scenario hollywoodiano*", in attesa "*del segnale che farà irrompere improvvisamente l'orda delle comparse*".

Soprattutto, Bardet teme che Roma sia destinata a "*enfiarsi*" e preconizza di creare un "*centro di comando*" nei Colli Albani, alle pendici del Monte Cavo. Questo principio di zonizzazione si accorda con le istanze sociali di Bardet, per il quale "*solo i gruppi con un legame intimo con la terra: famiglia, villaggio, quartiere, regione, sono a misura e a portata dell'uomo*":

"*L'ambiente favorevole allo sbocciare e allo svilupparsi di questo uomo nuovo* [...] *non è affatto l'esistente città contemporanea, e ancora meno quella concepita da questi teorici criminali che vogliono consacrare una civiltà dell'uomo-modulo 1,75 m di altezza, meccaniche interscambiabili (Le Corbusier* dixit*).*
Nell'ordine urbano, la grande capitale d'Italia deve materializzare la ricostruzione umana attraverso la polverizzazione del suo agglomerato urbano in città-satelliti, esse stesse costituite da abitazioni individuali che permettano il ritorno alla famiglia, gruppo naturale primario"[24].

Iscrivendo il suo programma nelle prospettive tracciate dal medico Alexis Carrel, le cui teorie eugeniche saranno incoraggiate dal governo di Vichy[25], Bardet afferma che "*la terza Roma deve procedere con rigore latino a un'autentica ricostruzione dell'uomo, basata su idee fondamentali di carità e di spiritualità*". Questo ritorno all'"*uomo reale*" – che Lagardelle e i fascisti francesi invocano – è a suo parere annunciato dall'"*insegnamento urbano*" di Roma, o piuttosto *delle* Roma in divenire:

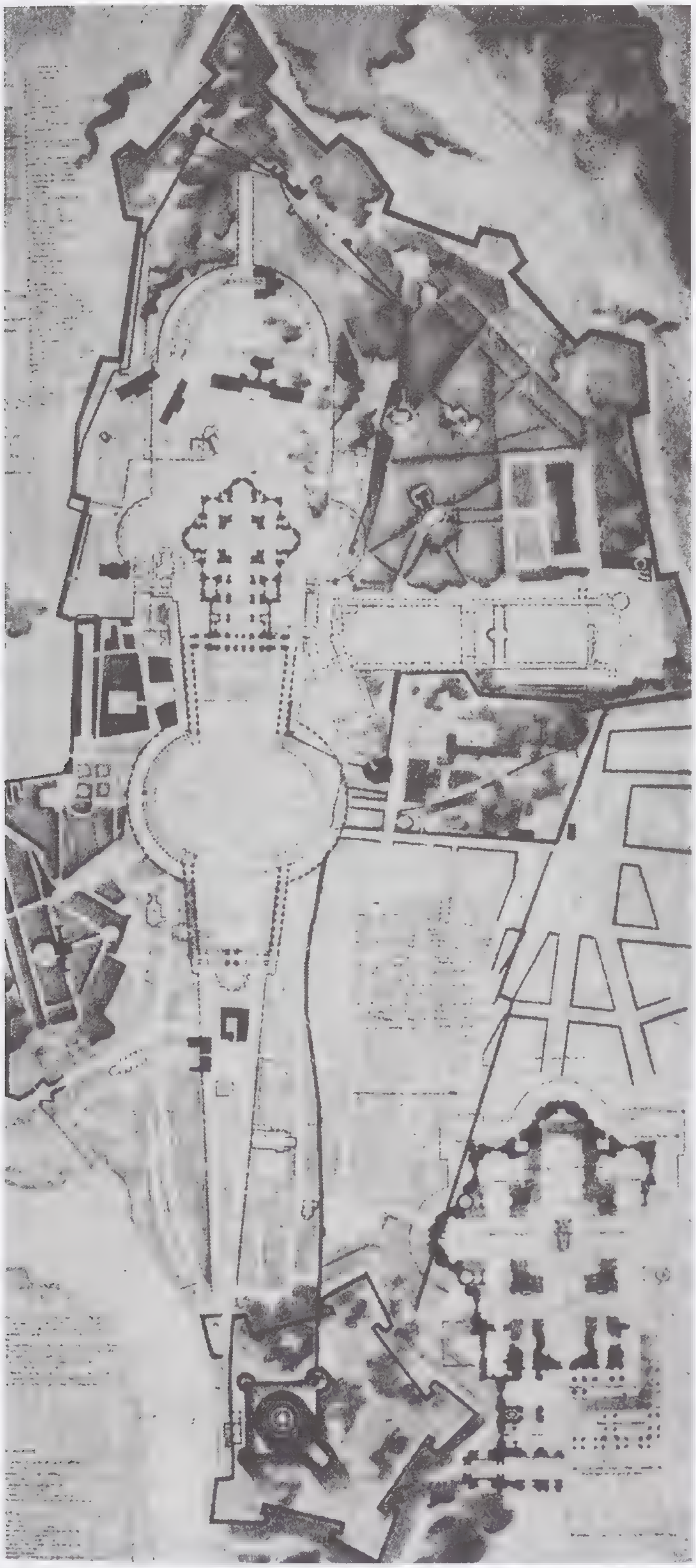
"*Alle pendici del Gianicolo, la Roma Vaticana, metropoli cristiana; sul Palatino e nei fori, la Roma Palatina, città museo e altare della patria, ordinatrice della zona archeologica; nel meandro orientale del Tevere, la Roma Rinascimentale, museo vivente e focolare di spiritualità, confinante a est con la Roma Commerciale, con centro a Termini, e a ovest con il porto fluviale vivificato dal porto marittimo di Roma Ostiense, mentre la Roma Albana, capitale politica, si rimirerà pensosa nel disco d'acciaio del suo lago immobile* [...]. *E tutto questo insieme* [...] *costituirà la Roma maestra, che avrà ricostruito l'Urbs alla scala morale dell'uomo*"[26].

Il destino di Bardet

Al momento della pubblicazione del suo libro, Bardet è impegnato nel disegno dei giardini dell'Esposizione Internazionale del 1937, sotto la direzione di Jacques Gréber. Si lancia in un'attività di critica e di propaganda a tutto campo e incomincia a formare e mettere in opera un pensiero della complessità, agli antipodi della semplificazione funzionalista. Attento ai problemi della pianificazione regionale di Parigi – con l'appoggio di Poëte pubblica nel 1937 tre numeri della rivista "Paris et la région capitale" – egli ripropone le idee sviluppate da Hénard tra il 1903 e il 1910 e nutre delle sue riflessioni l'azione del GECUS di Edouard Utudjian rivolta alla creazione di vie rapide nel sottosuolo di Parigi.
Bardet propone per la prima volta nel 1941 in *Problèmes d'urbanisme* una dottrina globale che associa le istanze spaziali a quelle sociali. Egli integra le tecniche contemporanee e lo sviluppo economico alla visione organicista dello sviluppo delle città proposta da Poëte e si fa interprete dei metodi di inchiesta stabiliti da Patrick Geddes all'inizio del XX secolo e in seguito delle cronache di Lewis Mumford, col quale intratterrà una corrispondenza. S'impone da allora come un attento

12. La Città del Vaticano (disegno di Eugène Beaudouin), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*

12. Vatican City (drawing by Eugène Beaudouin), in La Rome de Mussolini, *1937.*



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its center at Termini, and to the west by the river port, connected to the seaport of Roma Ostiense, while Alban Rome, the political capital, will thoughtfully gaze at its own reflection in the steel disk of its immobile lake [...]. And this entire grouping [...] will constitute Roma maestra, which will have reconstructed the Urbs on the moral scale of man"[26].

The fate of Bardet

At the moment of the publication of his book Bardet was busy with the design of the gardens of the International Exposition of 1937, under the direction of Jacques Gréber. He set out on a wide-ranging campaign of criticism and propaganda, beginning to formulate and put into practice theories of complexity, the precise opposite of functionalist simplifications. Concerned about the problems of regional planning in Paris – with the support of Poëte in 1937 he published three issues of the review "Paris et la région capitale" – he reproposed the ideas developed by Hénard between 1903 and 1910, contributing, with his reflections, to the activity of the GECUS of Edouard Utudjian, aimed at the creation of rapid underground arteries for Paris. Bardet proposed, for the first time in 1941, in Problèmes d'urbanisme, *a global doctrine combining spatial and social issues. He integrated contemporary techniques and economic development with the organicist vision of the development of the city proposed by Poëte, becoming a spokesman for the research methods recommended by Patrick Geddes at the beginning of the 20th century, and later for the work of Lewis Mumford, with whom he maintained a correspondence. From this point on he made a mark as an attentive observer of the "creative evolution" of the city. Far from limiting his activity to the comparitive cataloguing of international experiences, he attempted to develop graphic techniques for the diagrammatic representation of the growth and territorial articulation of cities, offering a vision of a city composed of human collective groupings requiring reasoned design solutions that would be acceptable to the inhabitants.*
Called upon in 1938 to teach at the Institut d'Urbanisme, Bardet undertook the direction of the Société Française des Urbanistes and, in 1939, began work on his first important commission as an urban planner, the Master Plan of Vichy, the city where he was born. The phase of reconstruction that began with the termination of the German Blitzkrieg *in France involved him in work in the Seine and Oise valleys, where he prepared, for the reconstruction of Louviers and*

osservatore dell'"*evoluzione creatrice*" delle città. Lontano dal limitarsi alla compilazione comparativa delle esperienze internazionali, egli tenta di elaborare tecniche grafiche efficaci a rappresentare in modo diagrammatico la loro crescita e la loro articolazione territoriale, proponendo la visione di una città composta da collettività umane che richiedono soluzioni progettuali ragionate e accettabili per gli abitanti.
Chiamato nel 1938 a insegnare all'Institut d'Urbanisme, Bardet si dedica alla direzione della Société Française des Urbanistes e, nel 1939, intraprende lo studio del suo primo significativo incarico di urbanistica, il Piano Regolatore di Vichy, sua città natale. La fase di ricostruzione che prende avvio alla fine del *Blitzkrieg* tedesco in Francia lo vede all'opera nella Valle della Senna e nell'Oise, dove appronta per la ricostruzione di Louviers e di Vernon una *topografia sociale*, dispositivo quasi ossessivo di istruttoria al Piano che riprende le tecniche del *Civic Survey* di Geddes.
La Liberazione non porterà nuovi incarichi di rilievo all'"*atelier d'urbanisme appliqué*" di Gaston Bardet e poco a poco si guasteranno i suoi rapporti con i funzionari del nuovo Ministero della Ricostruzione e dell'Urbanistica e i suoi colleghi dell'Institut d'Urbanisme. Egli creerà l'Institut Supérieur d'Urbanisme Appliqué di Bruxelles, riprendendo il suo ruolo di polemista. Esecratore scomodo, sempre meno tollerato in Francia, dove non ottiene ormai che incarichi marginali, Bardet si reca in Algeria e in Argentina, dove organizza corsi di studi. La sua ultima realizzazione sarà la città-giardino del Rheu, presso Rennes, dove, dopo il 1959, metterà a frutto la sua conoscenza di Letchworth e Hampstead. Nell'insieme di un contributo teorico di rara originalità e importanza, l'analisi delle politiche urbane di Roma resta un episodio singolare per avervi coniugato sguardo storico e critica. Essa preannuncia, per acutezza e libertà di pensiero, i migliori testi di un urbanista affascinante e originale.

Note

* Jean-Louis Cohen, architetto, è professore all'Institut Français d'Urbanisme, Université de Paris-8 e all'Institute of Fine Arts della New York University. Traduzione di Anna Foppiano.

1) Le principali opere pubblicate da Gaston Bardet (nato nel 1907 a Vichy, dove morirà nel 1989) sono: *Problèmes d'urbanisme*, Dunod, Parigi 1941 (2ª edizione 1948); *L'Urbanisme*, Presses Universitaires de France, Parigi 1945 (coll. "Que sais-je?", n. 187); *Pierre sur Pierre, construction du nouvel urbanisme*, Éditions LCB, Parigi 1946; *Le Nouvel Urbanisme*, Vincent & Fréal, Parigi 1948; *Mission de l'urbanisme*, Les Éditions Ouvrières, Parigi 1950; *Naissance et méconnaissance de l'urbanisme*, SABRI, Parigi 1951.

2) Tra gli articoli che ho dedicato a Bardet cfr. in particolare *Gaston Bardet, un humanisme à visage urbain*, in "Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité", n. 44, febbraio 1978, pp. 74-83 e *Le "nouvel urbanisme" de Gaston Bardet*, in "Le Visiteur", n. 2, primavera 1996, pp. 134-147, dei quali sono ripresi qui alcuni sviluppi.

3) G. Bardet, conversazione con Jean-Louis Cohen e Jacques Lucan, Vichy, 8 dicembre 1977.

4) G. BARDET, *Naissance de l'urbanisme*, in "Urbanisme", luglio 1934, pp. 3 e ss.

5) Su Poëte cfr. D. CALABI, *Marcel Poëte, un militante della storia urbana*, in "Urbanistica", n. 104, giugno 1995, pp. 136-149.

6) M. POËTE, *Paris, son évolution créatrice*, Vincent & Fréal, Parigi 1937.

7) Françoise Poëte-Bardet, conversazione con Jean-Louis Cohen e Rémi Baudoui, Le Rheu, 12 marzo 1990.

8) P. VAGO, *Sabaudia*, in "L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui", settembre 1934, pp. 16-30.

9) P. VAGO, *Le développement urbain de Rome*, in "Le Maître d'œuvre", n. 43-44, maggio-giugno 1930, p. 12.

10) *Ibid.*, p. 21.

11) *Le développement urbain en Italie et la lutte contre l'urbanisation*, in "La Vie urbaine", maggio 1930, pp. 216-224.

12)P. MILZA, *Le Fascisme italien et la presse française: 1920-1940*, Complexe, Parigi 1987 (edizione riveduta).

13) Françoise Bardet-Poëte, conversazione citata.

14) G. BARDET, *Une nouvelle ère romaine sous le signe du Faisceau. La Rome de Mussolini*, Massin, Parigi 1937, p. 159.

15) G. ROUX, *L'Italie fasciste*, Stock, Parigi 1932; G. VALOIS, *Finances italiennes*, Valois, Parigi 1930; M. OUESSANT, *La révolution des chemises noires (1919-1922)*, Plon, Parigi 1935.

16) Bardet si basa anche sulle idee di Bertrand de Jouvenel, un altro collaboratore di "Plans", del quale egli cita il libro *Vers les États-Unis d'Europe*, Valois, Parigi 1930.

17) G. BARDET, *Une nouvelle ère romaine..., op.cit.*, p. 254.

18) *Ibid.*, p. XXXII.

19) *Ibid.*, pp. 66-79.

20) *Ibid.*, p. 187.

21) *Ibid.*, p. 208.

22) *Ibid.*, p. 252.

23) *Ibid.*, p. 254.

24) *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309.

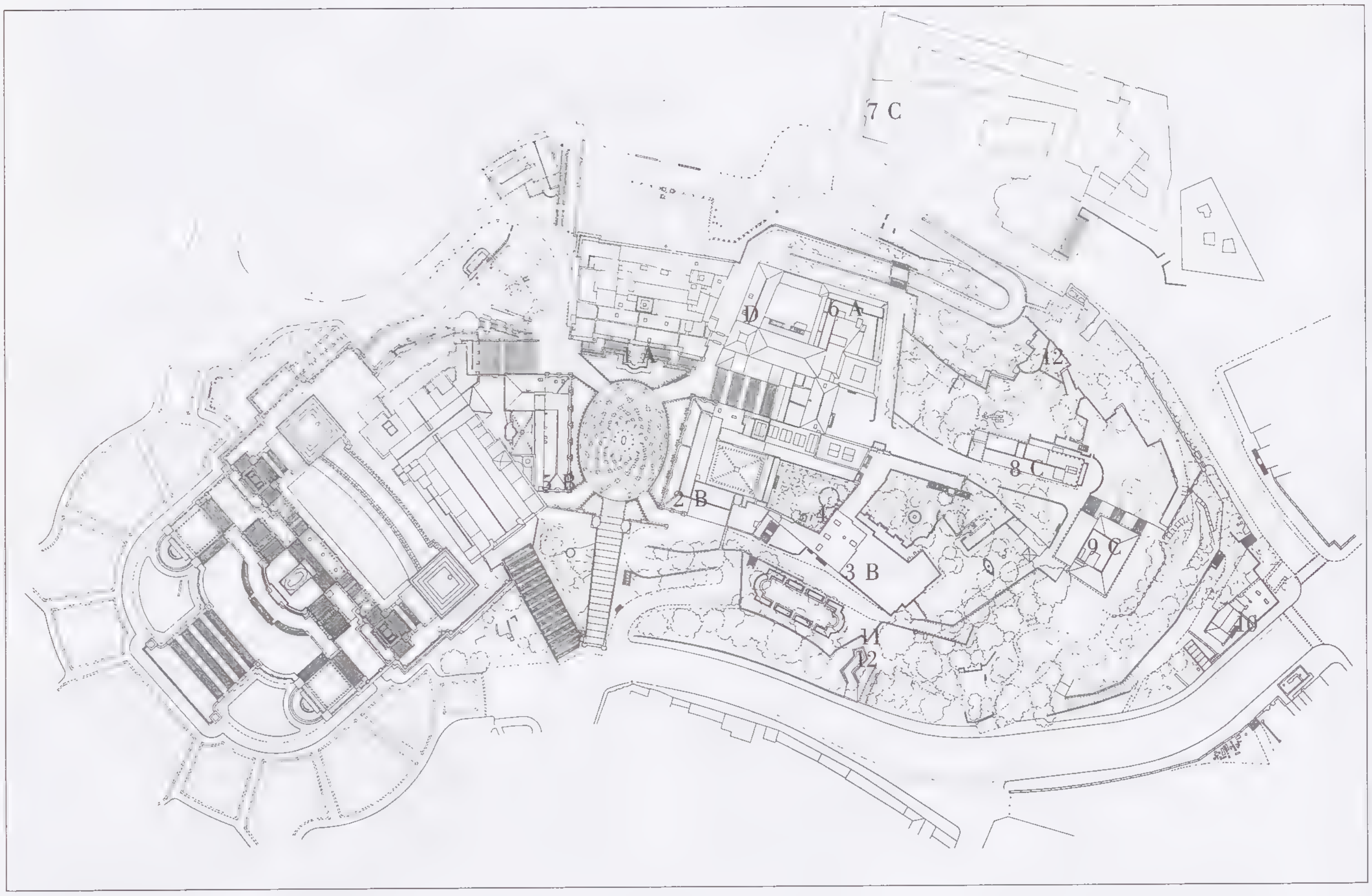
25) Il *best-seller* di A. CARREL è *L'homme cet inconnu*, Plon, Parigi 1935.

26) G. BARDET, *Une nouvelle ère romaine..., op.cit.*, pp. 309-310.

Vernon, a social topography, *a nearly obsessive device for the formulation of planning guidelines, based on the* Civic Survey *techniques of Geddes.*
The Liberation did not lead to new important commissions for the "atelier d'urbanisme appliqué" *of Gaston Bardet, and gradually his relations with the new Ministry of Reconstruction and Urban Planning, and his colleagues at the Institut d'Urbanisme, deteriorated. He created the Institut Supérieur d'Urbanisme Appliqué in Brussels, returning to his role as a polemicist. An irritating critic, found increasingly intolerable in France, where he was offered only minor jobs, Bardet went to Algeria and Argentina, organizing courses of study. His last completed work was the garden-city at Le Rheu, near Rennes, where after 1959 he made use of his knowledge of Letchworth and Hampstead. In the context of a theoretical contribution of rare originality and importance, his analysis of Roman urban policies remains a unique episode, for its combination of historical and critical points of view. It is a harbinger, for the acuteness and freedom of its thinking, of the best writings of a fascinating, original urbanist.*

Notes

* *Jean-Louis Cohen, architect, is Professor at the Institut Français d'Urbanisme, Université de Paris-8 and at the Institute of Fine Arts of the New York University.*
1) *The principal published works of Gaston Bardet (born in 1907 at Vichy, where he died in 1989) are:* Problèmes d'urbanisme, *Dunod, Paris 1941 (2d edition 1948);* L'Urbanisme, *Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1945 (coll. "Que sais-je?", n.187);* Pierre sur Pierre, construction du nouvel urbanisme, *Éditions LCB, Paris 1946;* Le Nouvel Urbanisme, *Vincent & Fréal, Paris 1948;* Mission de l'urbanisme, *Les Éditions Ouvrières, Paris 1950;* Naissance et méconnaissance de l'urbanisme, *SABRI, Paris 1951.*
2) *Among the articles I have written on Bardet see, in particular,* Gaston Bardet, un humanisme à visage urbain, *in "Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité", n. 44, February 1978, pp. 74-83 and* Le "nouvel urbanisme" de Gaston Bardet, *in "Le Visiteur", n. 2, Spring 1996, pp. 134-147, parts of which are further.developed herein.*
3) *G. Bardet, conversation with Jean-Louis Cohen and Jacques Lucan, Vichy, 8 December 1977.*
4) *G. BARDET,* Naissance de l'urbanisme, *in "Urbanisme", July 1934, pp. 3 on.*
5) *On Poëte cfr. D. CALABI,* Marcel Poëte, un militante della storia urbana, *in "Urbanistica", n. 104, June 1995, pp. 136-149.*
6) *M. POËTE,* Paris, son évolution créatrice, *Vincent & Fréal, Paris 1937.*
7) *Françoise Poëte-Bardet, conversation with Jean-Louis Cohen and Rémi Baudoui, Le Rheu, 12 March 1990.*
8) *P. VAGO,* Sabaudia, *in "L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui", September 1934, pp. 16-30.*
9) *P. VAGO,* Le développement urbain de Rome, *in "Le Maître d'œuvre", n. 43-44, May-June 1930, p. 12.*
10) Ibid, *p. 21.*
11) Le développement urbain en Italie et la lutte contre l'urbanisation, *in "La vie urbaine", May 1930, pp. 216-224.*
12) *P. MILZA,* Le Fascisme italien et la presse française: 1920-1940, *Complexe, Paris 1987 (revised edition).*
13) *Françoise Bardet-Poëte, conversation (*op. cit.*).*
14) *G. BARDET,* Une nouvelle ère romaine sous le signe du Faisceau. La Rome de Mussolini, *Massin, Paris 1937, p. 159.*
15) *G. ROUX,* L'Italie fasciste, *Stock, Paris 1932; G. VALOIS,* Finances italiennes, *Valois, Paris 1930; M. OUESSANT,* La révolution des chemises noires (1919-1922), *Plon, Paris 1935.*
16) *Bardet also bases his work on the ideas of Bertrand de Jouvenel, another contributor to "Plans", mentioning his book* Vers les États-Unis d'Europe, *Valois, Paris 1930.*
17) *G. BARDET,* Une nouvelle ère romaine..., op.cit., *p. 254.*
18) Ibid., *p. XXXII.*
19) Ibid., *pp. 66-79.*
20) Ibid., *p. 187.*
21) Ibid., *p. 208.*
22) Ibid., *p. 252.*
23) Ibid., *p. 254.*
24) Ibid., *pp. 308-309.*
25) *The best-seller by A. CARREL is* L'homme cet inconnu, *Plon, Paris 1935.*
26) *G. BARDET,* Une nouvelle ère romaine..., op.cit., *pp. 309-310.*



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1. Planimetria generale del Sistema museale capitolino.
Nucleo principale: 1) Palazzo Senatorio e Tabularium; 2) Palazzo dei Conservatori; 3) Palazzi Caffarelli e Clementino; 4) Copertura del Giardino Romano, progetto Carlo Aymonino; 5)Palazzo Nuovo; 6) Edificio della Ragioneria, Protomoteca, Corporazioni, Accademia del Nudo.
Sistema complementare: 7) Ex-Ospedale S. Maria della Consolazione; 8) Ex-Ospedale Teutonico; 9) Ex-Istituto Archeologico Germanico; 10) Casina dei Pierleoni; 11) "Casa in grotta" sulla Rampa Caffarelli; 12) Grottoni.
Destinazioni d'uso: A) Rappresentanza Municipale; B) Nucleo storico dei Musei Capitolini; C) Espansione museale e servizi relativi; D) Informazioni e servizi al pubblico.

1. General plan of the Musei Capitolini complex.
Principal nucleus: 1) Palazzo Senatorio and Tabularium; 2) Palazzo dei Conservatori; 3) Palazzo Caffarelli and Palazzo Clementino; 4) Covered Roman Garden, project by Carlo Aymonino; 5) Palazzo Nuovo; 6) Ragioneria Building, Protomoteca, Corporazioni, Accademia del Nudo.
Complementary system: 7) Ex-Ospedale S. Maria della Consolazione; 8) Ex-Ospedale Teutonico; 9) Ex-Istituto Archeologico Germanico; 10) Casina dei Pierleoni; 11) "Casa in grotta" on the Caffarelli ramp; 12) Grottoni.
Destination: A) Official Municipal Headquarters; B) Historical center of the Musei Capitolini; C) Museum annex and relative services; D) Information and services for the public.

Il progetto "Grande Campidoglio"
Anna Mura Sommella

Le linee programmatiche del progetto "Grande Campidoglio" che prevede la trasformazione dell'area capitolina in un complesso a prevalente carattere culturale, avente come fulcro la piazza michelangiolesca e i suoi magnifici palazzi cinque-secenteschi, risalgono alla fine degli anni Settanta: in occasione della grande mostra "Enea nel Lazio" ospitata nel Palazzo dei Conservatori, furono infatti utilizzate nell'allestimento le caratteristiche bande bianche e rosse dei "lavori in corso", per indicare la volontà dell'Amministrazione comunale di dare vita ad un impegnativo piano di ristrutturazione dell'intero Colle capitolino[1].
Tuttavia la contemporanea definizione del grandioso "Progetto Fori", proposto nei primi anni Ottanta, determinò uno spostamento di interesse dai programmi capitolini, calamitando per quasi un ventennio l'attenzione dell'opinione pubblica, con uno strascico di vivaci dibattiti e di polemiche, incentrate sulla proposta di scavo integrale dell'area dei Fori Imperiali, che solo ora sembra aver trovato il suo equilibrio attuativo[2].
Questa "interferenza" se da un lato è stata una delle cause più significative dei ritardi nell'avvio del progetto relativo al Campidoglio, ha consentito dall'altro di far maturare la consapevolezza che esso è inscindibile dal più vasto piano di sistemazione urbanistica dell'intera "Area archeologica centrale". Il piano di ristrutturazione del Colle capitolino è infatti ora inserito in un più ampio programma che prevede lo scavo e la valorizzazione del complesso dei Fori Imperiali e la creazione di un sistema museale policentrico, integrato da nuove strutture espositive.
Le linee programmatiche del progetto "Grande Campidoglio" comprendono il restauro e una destinazione d'uso a carattere culturale per gli edifici, una adeguata valorizzazione dei magnifici giardini che li circondano, nonché la trasformazione dell'intera Area capitolina in un complesso in cui vengano esaltate le valenze storico artistiche, paesaggistiche ed archeologiche che costituiscono la sua unicità[3].
Una "dilatazione" degli spazi esistenti e la creazione di nuovi poli museali è prevista con l'acquisizione di alcuni complessi edilizi situati alle pendici del Campidoglio e caratterizzati dalla presenza al loro interno di particolari emergenze archeologiche.
Un programma certamente ambizioso che segna in primo luogo una inversione di tendenza rispetto all'indirizzo prevalso a partire dalla metà dell'Ottocento quando, in

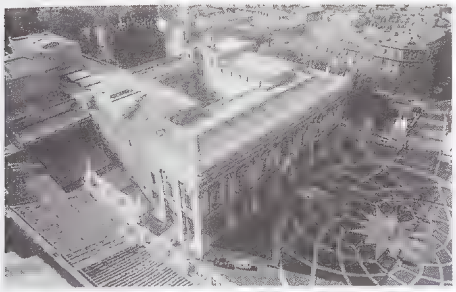
The "Grande Campidoglio" project
Anna Mura Sommella

The overall guidelines of the "Grande Campidoglio" project calling for the transformation of the Capitoline area in a complex which is primarily cultural in character, centered on the piazza of Michelangelo and its magnificent buildings from the 1500s and 1600s, date back to the late Seventies: at the large exhibition entitled "Enea nel Lazio", held at Palazzo dei Conservatori, the installation featured the red and white ribbons used to indicate "men at work", to indicate the intentions of the municipal administration to undertake an extensive program of restructuring for the entire Capitoline hill[1].
But the simultaneous definition of the grandiose "Progetto Fori", proposed in the early Eighties, caused a shift of focus away from the Capitoline initiatives, monopolizing public attention for nearly two decades, with an aftermath of lively debate and controversy, focused on the proposal for complete excavation in the area of the Imperial Fora, which only today is beginning to take concrete form[2].
This "interference", on the one hand, was one of the most important causes of the delay in the implementation of the Campidoglio project; but it also provided an opportunity for reflection, for a realization of the fact that this project is indispensable within the overall plan of urban organization of the entire "central archaeological area". The restructuring plan for the Capitoline hill is now a part of a wide-ranging program for excavation and utilization of the Imperial Fora, and the creation of a polycentric museum system, integrated with new exhibition structures.
The guidelines of the "Grande Campidoglio" project cover the restoration and conversion for cultural uses of the edifices, the improvement and utilization of the magnificent surrounding parks, and the transformation of the entire Capitoline area in a complex which will accentuate the historical-artistic, landscape and archaeological values that make it unique[3].
A "dilation" of the existing spaces and the creation of new museums can be effected through the acquisition of certain buildings located near Campidoglio; these are all properties containing particular archaeological treasures.
This is a very ambitious program, a turnaround with respect to the policy direction that held sway since the mid-1800s when, following the motu proprio *of Pius IX, which assigned the buildings facing onto the Capitoline piazza to the civic magistrates, major programs were proposed for the Palazzo Senatorio to permit, as the work report dated 1849 relates, the* "reduction of the above-praised Palazzo, for



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seguito al *motu proprio* di Pio IX, che affidava alla magistratura civica gli edifici che prospettano sulla Piazza capitolina, furono programmati impegnativi interventi nel Palazzo Senatorio per consentire, come dice il consuntivo dei lavori datato al 1849, la "*riduzione del sullodato Palazzo, ad Offici Municipali*"[4]; questo intervento doveva segnare l'avvio della progressiva utilizzazione degli edifici esistenti sul Campidoglio come sede per gli uffici della pubblica Amministrazione.
Negli ultimi due secoli l'assetto storico-architettonico di questo colle, strettamente legato alle vicende della città, è stato interessato da programmi di intervento così radicali che, qualora attuati nella loro interezza, ne avrebbero stravolto, assai più di quanto non sia per fortuna avvenuto, quella complessa stratificazione storica che ne costituisce il fascino più profondo. All'epoca napoleonica si riferisce il "*Progetto per la riduzione della pianta del Palazzo del Campidoglio*" redatta prima del 1811 dall'architetto Scipione Perosini che prevedeva la costruzione di un "*Palazzo imperiale*" di così vaste dimensioni che avrebbe comportato la demolizione del Campidoglio stesso e di buona parte del Foro Romano, per consentire la realizzazione di un immenso complesso che si sarebbe esteso tra Piazza del Gesù e il Colosseo. Secondo questo piano programmatico la residenza dell'imperatore avrebbe occupato con un amplissimo edificio pentagonale tutta la collina del Campidoglio, raccordandola al piano del Foro con una serie di scenografiche rampe[5].
La profonda trasformazione del Campidoglio, iniziata sul finire del secolo scorso con i lavori di sbancamento delle sue propaggini orientali per la costruzione del monumento a Vittorio Emanuele, si concluse solo alla vigilia della Seconda guerra mondiale con il completamento delle demolizioni per il suo isolamento[6].
L'acquisizione, nel 1924, di quanto restava dopo le demolizioni del Palazzo Caffarelli, già sede dell'Ambasciata prussiana, e degli altri ex edifici germanici esistenti nell'Area capitolina, consentì all'Amministrazione comunale di entrare finalmente in possesso di "*totum montem capitolii in integrum*" come si potrebbe dire parafrasando la famosa espressione con la quale l'antipapa Anacleto confermava, nel XII secolo, il possesso del Colle ai Benedettini di Santa Maria in Capitolio[7].
L'ampliarsi per l'Amministrazione civica dei possessi capitolini determinò, agli inizi di questo secolo, l'avvio di un complesso piano di trasformazione che vide il dilatarsi degli ambiti museali con la creazione di nuovi settori espositivi, ma segnò anche l'apice dell'espansione degli uffici sul Campidoglio. Se da un lato furono infatti istituiti, nella ex sede dell'Ambasciata prussiana a Palazzo Caffarelli, il Museo Mussolini di scultura antica e la Galleria Comunale di Arte Moderna, dall'altro nei decenni tra le due guerre, l'ottocentesca sede dell'Imperiale Istituto Archeologico Germanico e l'Ospedale Teutonico furono destinati ad uffici e furono persino costruiti *ex novo*, presso le antiche sedi delle Corporazioni e l'Accademia del Nudo, gli edifici attualmente occupati dalla Ragioneria, Tesoreria ed Avvocatura.
All'architetto Ghino Venturi, vincitore del concorso nazionale bandito nel 1923 per gli interventi di ristrutturazione del Palazzo Senatorio, fu affidato l'incarico del nuovo assetto degli uffici capitolini e della trasformazione di quel che restava, dopo le pesanti demolizioni, del Palazzo Caffarelli per una sua trasformazione in sede museale; all'architetto de Vico "*che sa i fàscini dei giuochi di verzure, dei placidi specchi e dei trillanti getti d'acqua, dei capricciosi aggruppamenti di sculture frammentarie, d'iscrizioni e di elementi architettonici dell'età classica*"[8] spettò il compito della sistemazione del Giardino Caffarelli rimasto quasi immutato fino ad oggi. Così come immutato nell'assetto raggiunto dopo i lavori degli anni '30 si presenta l'intero Colle capitolino, oggi fortemente degradato.
Da queste premesse ha preso l'avvio la definizione del progetto di recupero e ristrutturazione dell'Area capitolina che mira ad una sua radicale trasformazione, da attuarsi per tappe successive, con priorità di intervento sul complesso museale. Il progetto nasce dall'esigenza di ridare al Campidoglio quel carattere di unitarietà architettonico-culturale che esso ha irrimediabilmente perduto con la fine dell'età antica.
Il complesso museale capitolino è caratterizzato nella situazione attuale da una articolazione in due blocchi distinti composti dal Palazzo dei Conservatori e dal contiguo Palazzo Caffarelli sul versante occidentale della Piazza, e dal Museo Capitolino sul lato opposto: mentre quest'ultimo ha conservato intatto attraverso i secoli l'assetto e il fascino dell'ordinamento settecentesco, il Palazzo dei Conservatori, sede del nucleo originario delle raccolte, che svolge ancora oggi nelle sue magnifiche sale il duplice ruolo di sede di rappresentanza della pubblica Amministrazione e di spazio museale regolarmente aperto



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2. Veduta aerea del Colle Capitolino.
3. Piazza del Campidoglio verso il Palazzo dei Conservatori.

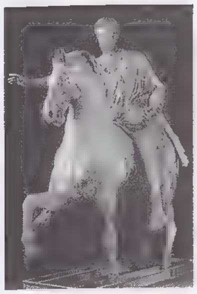
2. Aerial view of the Capitoline Hill.
3. Piazza del Campidoglio looking towards Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Municipal Offices"[4]; *this intervention was to mark the beginning of the gradual utilization of the existing buildings of Campidoglio as a headquarters for the offices of the public administration.*
During the last two centuries the historical-architectural order of this hill, closely connected to the life of the city, has been impacted by such radical programs of intervention that had they been entirely implemented they would have utterly confused the complex historical stratification of the area: fortunately this has not occurred. At the time of Napoleon there is reference to the "Project for the reduction of the plan of the Palazzo del Campidoglio", *prepared before 1811 by the architect Scipione Perosini, calling for the construction of an* "Imperial Palace" *of such vast dimensions that it would have required the demolition of Campidoglio itself and of much of the Roman Forum, to permit the construction of a vast complex extending from Piazza del Gesù to the Colosseum. In keeping with this plan the residence of the emperor would have occupied the entire Campidoglio hill with a very large pentagonal edifice, connecting it to the level of the Forum by means of a series of ramps*[5].
The profound transformation of the Campidoglio, which began toward the end of the last century with the excavations of the eastern side for the construction of the monument to Vittorio Emanuele, was concluded only just before the second world war, with the completion of the demolitions for its isolation[6].
The purchase, in 1924, of what remained after the demolition of Palazzo Caffarelli, previously the Prussian embassy, and of the other edifices of the Germans in the Capitoline area, enabled the municipal administration to finally achieve possession of "totum montem capitolii in integrum", *to cite the famous phrase with which the antipope Anacletus announced, in the 12th century, possession of the hill to the Benedictines of S. Maria in Capitolio*[7].
The expansion, for the municipal administration, of the Capitoline properties led, at the beginning of this century, to the development of a complex plan of transformations involving more museum facilities, but also an intensification of office utilization. On the one hand the former Prussian embassy at Palazzo Caffarelli was made into the Mussolini Museum of ancient sculpture and the Civic Gallery of Modern Art; on the other, in the decades between the two world wars, the 19th-century headquarters of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute and the Ospedale Teutonico were converted for offices, and there were also new constructions, at the sites of the Corporazioni and the Accademia del Nudo, for buildings presently occupied by state accounting, treasury and legal functions.
Architect Ghino Venturi, winner of the national competition announced in 1923 for the restructuring of Palazzo Senatorio, was commissioned to outline the new organization of the Capitoline offices and the transformation of what remained, after drastic demolition, of Palazzo Caffarelli, for the creation of a museum; the architect de Vico "who understands the charm of greenery, of placid pools and musical spray of water, of fanciful groupings of sculptural fragments, inscriptions and architectural elements from the classical age"[8] *was entrusted with the task of renovating the gardens of Palazzo Caffarelli, which have remained nearly intact to the present day. Just as the entire organization of the Capitoline hill, after the interventions of the 1930s, has remained unchanged, gradually declining toward its present state of decay.*
This was the background for the definition of a renewal and restructuring project for the Capitoline area, aimed at achieving a radical transformation, in phases, with priority focus on the creation of a museum complex. The project is the result of the need to restore the unified architectural and cultural character of Campidoglio that had been definitively lost at the end of the ancient era.
The Capitoline museum complex is characterized, in its present state, by a division into two distinct blocks: Palazzo dei Conservatori and the contiguous Palazzo Caffarelli on the western side of the Piazza, and the Museo Capitolino on the opposite side: while the latter has conserved intact over the centuries its 18th-century appearance and elegance, Palazzo dei Conservatori, the original site of the nucleus of the collections, still playing a dual role today, in its magnificent spaces, as a museum open to the public and a space for state functions, has undergone major modifications and additions in the period after the unification of Italy.
In 1870, with the selection of Rome as the capital of the new state of Italy, profound changes began for the museum complexes of the Capitoline hill. Frenzied building activity toward the end of the century and subsequent land-moving of vast peripheral areas, effected by the new political

4. La statua equestre di Marco Aurelio dopo il restauro.
5. La testa colossale in bronzo di Costantino dopo il restauro.

4. The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius after restoration.
5. The colossal bronze head of Constantine after restoration.

al pubblico, ha avuto in età postunitaria significativi ampliamenti e modifiche.
Con il 1870 e il trasferimento a Roma della capitale del nuovo Regno d'Italia, ebbe inizio infatti in ambito capitolino una profonda trasformazione del complesso museale. La febbrile attività edilizia di fine secolo e i conseguenti lavori di sbancamento di vaste aree periferiche, intrapresi dalla nuova classe politica per dotare la città dei quartieri residenziali e degli edifici pubblici necessari alle mutate esigenze amministrative, portarono al recupero di una ingente quantità di materiale archeologico[9].
Questo patrimonio immenso che riflette gli aspetti artistici, storicoeconomici e monumentali della città antica, fornendo un quadro significativo della sua storia urbana dalle origini al tardo periodo imperiale, entrò nelle raccolte capitoline trovando sistemazione, ma solo in minima parte, nell'ambito del Palazzo dei Conservatori dove si erano resi disponibili nuovi spazi, nel momento in cui l'edificio aveva cessato di essere la sede dell'omonima magistratura civica.
Una selezione delle sculture provenienti dagli scavi ottocenteschi ebbe, già nel 1876, un primo allestimento nell'ambito del complesso museale capitolino: i reperti ritrovati nell'area dell'Esquilino furono infatti presentati al pubblico all'interno di un elegante padiglione ligneo, costruito dall'architetto Vespignani, nel giardino del Palazzo dei Conservatori. Grazie a questa installazione provvisoria fu creato un percorso espositivo continuo che segnò il primo tentativo di una presentazione organica delle opere musealizzate. Un quarto di secolo più tardi Rodolfo Lanciani curò una nuova sistemazione dei materiali ritrovati entro la fine dell'Ottocento; anche se non fu possibile in tale occasione realizzare il progetto fortemente innovativo da un punto di vista museografico ideato dallo stesso Lanciani per creare ampi spazi espositivi caratterizzati da sale "*tutte illuminate dall'alto*" e ci si dovette accontentare di sistemare le statue nei corridoi e nelle sale "*tutte viziate dalla luce orizzontale*"[10], tuttavia questa data segna, con la nascita del Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori, una tappa fondamentale nella formazione del complesso museale.
Un altro momento particolarmente rilevante nella storia dei Musei Capitolini è segnato, negli anni '30, da due importanti avvenimenti tra loro correlati: la istituzione del Museo Mussolini e l'ampliamento e la completa trasformazione della sede dell'Antiquarium Comunale, sorto sul finire del secolo scorso sulle pendici del Celio verso il Palatino, e dedicato alla presentazione delle cosiddette "arti minori". Nel 1925 le opere scultoree provenienti dagli scavi ottocenteschi trovarono definitiva sistemazione nel nuovo Museo Mussolini, attuale Museo Nuovo, creato al piano terra del Palazzo Caffarelli: la destinazione museale di questo edificio consentì l'esplorazione e la valorizzazione degli imponenti resti del tempio di Giove Capitolino, conservati al suo interno come struttura di fondazione.
Quegli stessi anni tra le due guerre furono contrassegnati da significative scoperte archeologiche, frutto degli sbancamenti per l'isolamento del Campidoglio e la rimessa in luce dei Fori Imperiali[11]. Gli eccezionali ritrovamenti non ebbero tuttavia immediato riscontro in una adeguata sede espositiva, e fu solo nei primi anni Cinquanta, con l'apertura al pubblico di un nuovo settore espositivo nel Palazzo dei Conservatori, il cosiddetto Braccio Nuovo, che si rese possibile la presentazione di una limitatissima scelta dei reperti più importanti. Con il riordino, nel 1952, di un nuovo settore epigrafico nella Galleria che collega, passando sotto la piazza, il Palazzo Senatorio con il Palazzo dei Conservatori ed il Museo Capitolino, l'assetto del complesso museale potè dirsi concluso.
A quasi mezzo secolo di distanza dalla istituzione di questi settori museali, il progetto di ristrutturazione dei Musei Capitolini, che costituisce il punto nodale dell'intera operazione Campidoglio, è stato definito da Costantino Dardi e Robert Einaudi, secondo linee programmatiche che tengono conto dell'esigenza di adeguare la struttura alle normative di legge, di ampliare gli spazi espositivi e di servizio ed infine di predisporre nuovi percorsi e strutture allestitive. I lavori saranno articolati in due momenti attuativi, per consentire alternativamente la agibilità dei diversi settori del complesso museale, mentre per evitare che le opere possano essere precluse alla fruizione per lunghi periodi ne è stata programmata l'esposizione temporanea in altra sede. A tale scopo è stata riconvertita ad un ruolo museale la Centrale elettrica "Montemartini", una costruzione dei primi del Novecento ubicata all'inizio della Via Ostiense, caratterizzata da spazi assai ampli.
La particolare rilevanza storicoarchitettonica e monumentale dei Palazzi Capitolini che ospitano la "*prima raccolta pubblica di antichità*" ha richiesto nella definizione del piano di ristrutturazione e restauro la



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powers to provide the city with the needed residential zones and public buildings, brought about the discovery of a large quantity of archaeological material[9].
This immense patrimony, with evidence of the artistic, historical-economic and monumental aspects of the ancient city, providing a framework for an understanding of the urban history of the late imperial period, entered the Capitoline collections; but only a very small part was placed under the aegis of Palazzo dei Conservatori, where new spaces had become available due to the fact that the building was no longer used for the civic magistrature.
A selection of sculptures uncovered in the excavations of the 1800s was initially displayed, in 1876, in the Capitoline museum complex: finds from the area of the Esquiline were presented to the public in an elegant wooden pavilion, constructed by the architect Vespignani, in the garden of Palazzo dei Conservatori. Thanks to this temporary installation an exhibition itinerary was created, a first attempt at an organic presentation of the works in a museum context. A quarter century later Rodolfo Lanciani curated a new arrangement of the materials found before the end of the 1800s; although on this occasion it was not possible to complete a highly innovative museum project conceived by Lanciani himself, for the creation of large exhibition spaces "completely lit from above"*, and the project was limited to the placement of the statues in corridors and rooms* "utterly spoilt by horizontal lighting"[10]*, nevertheless this date marks, with the birth of the Museum of Palazzo dei Conservatori, a fundamental milestone in the formation of the new museum complex.*
Another particularly important moment in the history of the Capitoline Museums is marked, in the 1930s, by two important, and connected, events: the creation of the Mussolini Museum and the expansion and complete transformation of the Antiquarium Comunale, built toward the end of the 1800s on the slopes of the Coelian facing toward the Palatine, for the presentation of the so-called "minor arts". In 1925 the sculptural works unearthed in the excavations of the 1800s were definitively placed in the new Museo Mussolini, today's Museo Nuovo, created on the ground floor of Palazzo Caffarelli: the museum function assigned to this edifice permitted exploration and utilization of the sizeable remains of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, which had survived within as part of the structural foundation.
The years between the two world wars were a period of significant archaeological research, due to the earth-moving projects for the isolation of the Campidoglio, and the unearthing of the Imperial Fora[11]*. But the exceptional finds were not readily placed in a suitable display space; it was not until the early Fifties, with the opening to the public of a new exhibits area at Palazzo dei Conservatori, the so-called "Braccio Nuovo", that a very limited presentation of the most important works became possible. With the reordering in 1952 of a new epigraphical sector in the Galleria that connects, passing beneath the piazza, Palazzo Senatorio, Palazzo dei Conservatori and the Museo Capitolino, the overall structure of the museum complex can be said to have been completed.*
Nearly half a century after the institution of these museum facilities, the project for the restructuring of the Capitoline Museums, which represents the crucial area of the entire Campidoglio operation, has been outlined by Costantino Dardi and Robert Einaudi, in keeping with guidelines concerning compliance with regulations, expansion of display and service spaces, and the creation of new museum itineraries and installations. The works will be divided into two phases, to permit alternating access for the different sectors of the museum complex; in order to avoid lack of access to given works of art for extended periods, temporary exhibitions will be held elsewhere. For this purpose, the "Montemartini" electrical plant, a construction from the early 20th century, on the Via Ostiense, with very large spaces, has been converted as a museum facility.
The particular historical-architectural and monumental importance of the Capitoline edifices that host the "first public collection of antiquity" *required the definition of an extremely precise program of restructuring and restoration, to avoid disturbing the existing balance between the buildings and the works they contain: where Palazzo dei Conservatori and Palazzo Nuovo are concerned, the works on the structure involved only accurate intervention for the conservation of the decorative and pictorial elements of the atriums, courtyards, and the rooms from the 1500s and 1600s. The program of reordering of the archaeological collections follows diversified criteria, depending on whether historically consolidated museum sectors or newer formations are involved: for the former, a rigorous philological restoration of the original ordering is planned, based on archives research, while for the others the display plan will reflect the lengthy work of research, aimed at reconstructing the original archaeological contexts,*



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massima cura, perché non fosse turbato l'equilibrio esistente tra gli edifici e le opere in essi racchiuse: per quanto concerne il Palazzo dei Conservatori e il Palazzo Nuovo, i lavori sulla struttura prevedono infatti solo accurati interventi di carattere conservativo dell'apparato decorativo e pittorico degli atri, dei cortili e delle sale cinque-seicentesche. Il programma di riordinamento delle collezioni archeologiche seguirà a sua volta criteri diversificati a seconda che si tratti di settori museali storicamente consolidati o, al contrario, di formazione più recente: per i primi si intende realizzare un rigoroso ripristino filologico dell'ordinamento originario, sulla base di accurate ricerche archivistiche ed antiquarie, per gli altri il piano espositivo dovrà riflettere il lungo lavoro scientifico, finalizzato alla ricostituzione degli originari contesti archeologici, portato a termine dall'*équipe* scientifica del Museo[12].
Su questa base è stato studiato un nuovo percorso espositivo incentrato sugli aspetti più significativi del processo di trasformazione storica e culturale di Roma dalle sue origini alla fine del mondo antico.
Nell'ambito delle raccolte archeologiche del Palazzo dei Conservatori, anch'esse oggetto di un programma articolato di interventi, sono stati privilegiati i settori del Museo che ospitano opere entrate a far parte delle collezioni capitoline nell'arco dell'ultimo secolo. Gli interventi di restauro degli originali greci e delle sculture esposte nelle sale degli Horti Lamiani e Mecenaziani e in quella detta dei Magistrati hanno dato l'opportunità di condurre a termine un'approfondita analisi scientifica sulle sculture, sulle fonti storicoletterarie e sui dati d'archivio e di aprire uno spiraglio di conoscenza sugli aspetti storicotopografici, artistici e sociali di Roma tra il Primo secolo a.C. e l'Età costantiniana[13]. I risultati di questi lavori e degli studi relativi hanno contribuito a definire le linee programmatiche del nuovo ordinamento espositivo che rifletterà nel contempo gli aspetti artistici e monumentali della città antica, e la storia sorprendente ed unica di questo particolare complesso museale[14].
L'acquisizione di una nuova ala nel Palazzo Clementino, contiguo al Palazzo dei Conservatori, ha offerto la possibilità di ridefinire, ampliandolo, il percorso museale e di riflettere nell'ordinamento delle opere i risultati delle più recenti scoperte scientifiche, frutto di un capillare lavoro di ricerca sui materiali musealizzati e su quelli conservati nei depositi. La disponibilità di nuovi spazi e una ottimale utilizzazione di quelli esistenti, consentiranno anche di dotare finalmente il complesso museale di servizi polifunzionali di supporto per l'attività divulgativa e scientifica, quali laboratori, sala per conferenze, archivi e biblioteca. La realizzazione di un punto di sosta e di ristoro, che si aprirà sulla splendida terrazza che guarda verso la città rinascimentale e barocca, in comunicazione con l'ampio giardino del Museo, completerà con il recupero di uno spazio di pregio il percorso di visita.
Questo, incentrato intorno agli imponenti resti, risalenti al VI secolo a.C, del Tempio di Giove Capitolino, il più celebre edificio sacro di Roma antica, carico di memorie storiche e di significati simbolici, illustrerà le tappe fondamentali della città antica attraverso le testimonianze di epoca arcaica, repubblicana ed imperiale.
La visita ai Musei Capitolini sarà introdotta da un quadro storico dei fatti salienti relativi al Campidoglio e alla formazione delle sue raccolte; a questa funzione sarà destinato un grande ambiente che prospetta direttamente sulla Piazza capitolina e che ne costituirà il principale punto di riferimento.
La collocazione in quest'ambito, che ne ricorda la sistemazione originaria, della statua bronzea di Costantino, recuperata alla sua piena fruibilità da un impegnativo restauro, e da un adeguato allestimento, contribuirà a dare a questo settore il carattere di un'introduzione storica non solo del complesso museale, ma dell'intero Campidoglio.
Nei nuovi settori museali gli aspetti più rappresentativi della "Grande Roma dei Tarquini"[15] che nel corso del VI secolo a.C. segna, con il sorgere di grandi edifici di carattere religioso, una tappa fondamentale nel processo di formazione della città antica, avranno un ruolo introduttivo nel percorso di visita che negli spazi tradizionali sarà oggetto di una rivisitazione allestitiva, volta ad una più chiara presentazione dei complessi di epoca repubblicana ed imperiale.
Il compito di illustrare gli aspetti monumentali di Roma in età più antica sarà demandato principalmente alla presentazione della straordinaria decorazione frontonale e architettonica in terracotta policroma, pertinente ad un tempio arcaico risalente al VI secolo a.C, esplorato nell'arco dell'ultimo cinquantennio all'interno dell'Area Sacra del Foro Boario[16], e alle statue e all'apparato decorativo di un altro importante edificio templare di età repubblicana, identificato con quello della "Fortuna respiciens" sul Palatino[17]. La ingente documentazione



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6. La Sala del Fauno nel Museo Capitolino.
7. La Sala dei Magistrati nel Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori dopo gli interventi di restauro.

6. The Sala del Fauno in the Museo Capitolino.
7. The Sala dei Magistrati in the Museum of Palazzo dei Conservatori after restoration.

performed by the Museum research staff[12].
On this basis, a new exhibition itinerary has been outlined, centering on the most significant aspects of the process of historical and cultural transformation of Rome from its origins to the end of the antique world.
In the area of the archaeological collections of Palazzo dei Conservatori, also involving a detailed program of interventions, the accent is placed on the sectors of the museum that contain works that became part of the Capitoline collections during the last century. The restoration of the Greek originals and the sculptures displayed in the halls of the Horti Lamiani and Mecenaziani, and in that known as the "hall of the Magistrates" has provided an opportunity for in-depth scientific analysis of the sculptures, the historical-literary sources and the archive data, opening new frontiers of knowledge regarding the historical-topographical, artistic and social aspects of Rome between the first century BC and the Constantinian era[13]. The results of these studies have contributed to define the program lines of the new exhibition organization, simultaneously reflecting the artistic and monumental aspects of the ancient city, and the surprising, unique history of this particular museum complex[14].
The acquisition of a new wing in Palazzo Clementino, contiguous to Palazzo dei Conservatori, has offered a possibility to redefine and expand the museum itinerary, and to reflect recent scientific discoveries in the ordering of the works, the result of capillary research work on the materials of the museum and those which are conserved in storage. The availability of new spaces and the optimization of the use of the existing spaces also finally allow the museum complex to be equipped with multifunctional services for educational and scientific activities, including laboratories, conference rooms, archives and a library. The creation of an area for relaxation and refreshment, opening onto the splendid terrace with a view of the Renaissance and Baroque city, in communication with the large gardens of the museum, completes the visitors' itinerary with the recovery of a fine space. The itinerary focuses on the impressive remains, from the 6th century BC, of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the most famous religious edifice of ancient Rome, full of historical memories and symbolism, as it illustrates the fundamental phases of the ancient city with materials from the archaic, republican and imperial eras.
The visit to the Capitoline Museums will be introduced by a historical outline of the salient facts regarding the Campidoglio and the formation of the collections; this will be contained in a large space directly overlooking the piazza, which will represent the main point of reference. The positioning in this space, similar to its original placement, of the bronze statue of Constantine, which has been completely restored, and of a suitable installation, will contribute to give this sector the character of a historical introduction not only to the museum complex, but also to the entire Campidoglio.
In the new museum sectors the most representative aspects of the "Great Rome of the Tarquins"[15], which during the course of the 6th century BC marked, with the construction of large religious edifices, a fundamental phase in the process of formation of the ancient city, will play an introductory role in the visit itinerary, and be revisited with special displays in the more traditional museum spaces, to provide a clear presentation of the complexes of the republican and imperial eras. The task of illustrating the monumental aspects of Rome in more ancient times will be entrusted primarily to the presentation of the extraordinary architectural decoration in polychromatic terracotta, from a temple dating back to the 6th century BC, explored over the last 50 years within the area of the Foro Boario[16], and to the statues and decorative elements of another important temple of the republican era, identified as that of the "Fortuna respiciens" on the Palatine[17]. The large quantity of sculptural documentation on the monuments of the Campidoglio, the full-size reconstruction, with the conserved architectonic elements, of the cella of the temple of Apollo Sosiano and of its Greek fronton, and finally the sculptural elements of the major collections of the late republican and imperial eras, found on the slopes of the Quirinale and the Esquiline, permit documentation of the essential phases of transformation of the city in the late republican and imperial eras. While the wealth of objects from the patrician villas of the Horti Sallustiani, Mecenaziani, Lamiani, will be reordering in the spaces of the Museo dei Conservatori set aside for them since the last century, the remains of the temple of Apollo Sosiano, displayed in their entirety for the first time, will make use of new spaces. This exceptional architectural and sculptural complex, involving the reutilization, in the era of Augustus, of a splendid 5th-century Greek fronton, recently the object of thorough scientific research[18], will be located, through the

scultorea relativa ai monumenti del Campidoglio, la ricostruzione a tutta altezza, con gli elementi architettonici conservati, della cella del tempio di Apollo Sosiano e del frontone greco ad esso pertinente, ed infine l'arredo scultoreo dei grandi possedimenti di epoca tardorepubblicana e imperiale rinvenuti alla pendici del Quirinale e sull'Esquilino, consentiranno di documentare le tappe essenziali della trasformazione della città in epoca tardorepubblicana e imperiale. Mentre le ricche testimonianze provenienti dalle dimore patrizie degli Horti Sallustiani, Mecenaziani, Lamiani, saranno riordinate nell'ambito degli spazi del Museo dei Conservatori ad essi destinato fin dal secolo scorso, i resti del tempio di Apollo Sosiano, esposti nella loro interezza per la prima volta, avranno la possibilità di utilizzare nuovi spazi. Questo eccezionale complesso architettonico e scultoreo, testimonianza del riuso in epoca augustea di uno splendido frontone greco di V secolo, recentemente recuperato alla conoscenza scientifica nella sua interezza[18], troverà infatti, con l'attuazione dei programmi di ristrutturazione del complesso museale e grazie alla proposta progettuale di Carlo Aymonino, un ampio, luminosissimo spazio espositivo, con la riconversione di un cortile interno del Palazzo dei Conservatori. La creazione di questo elegante "padiglione" costituisce il punto focale del rinnovamento dei Musei Capitolini: esso consentirà infatti di disporre di uno spazio straordinario, pensato per le nuove esigenze, in cui le sculture potranno godere di luce naturale grazie all'utilizzazione, per le coperture e per la vetrata di separazione con il Giardino Caffarelli, di materiali trasparenti.

Questa nuova grande sala, nel cuore del percorso museale, costituirà anche la sede adeguata per ospitare il gruppo bronzeo di Marco Aurelio, attualmente ancora ricoverato in quell'ambiente angusto, all'interno del cortile del Museo Capitolino, dove era stato collocato, in attesa di una sistemazione definitiva al momento del suo ritorno in Campidoglio, dopo il lungo intervento di restauro degli anni '80[19].

Con il completamento dei lavori di ristrutturazione dei Musei Capitolini entreranno a far parte del circuito museale anche la grande terrazza di Palazzo Caffarelli che si affaccia su Roma rinascimentale e barocca e l'adiacente giardino con le sue fontane e gli alberi centenari; infine il recupero della Galleria Lapidaria che snodandosi al di sotto della Piazza ricollega gli edifici del Museo al Palazzo Senatorio consentirà di concludere il percorso di visita, attraverso gli straordinari resti del Tempio di Giove e del Tabularium, con la vista dei monumenti del Foro Romano e dei Fori Imperiali.

Note

* Anna Mura Sommella è Direttore dei Musei Capitolini di Roma.

1) Cfr. AA.VV., *Enea nel Lazio, archeologia e mito*, catalogo della mostra, Roma 1981.

2) Cfr.: L. BENEVOLO (a cura di), *Roma. Studio per la sistemazione dell'area archeologica centrale*, in "Lavori e studi di archeologia", 7, Roma 1985; L. BENEVOLO, F. SCOPPOLA (a cura di), *L'area archeologica centrale e la città moderna*, Roma 1988.

3) Una preziosa sintesi degli aspetti storico-topografici del Campidoglio è in C. PIETRANGELI, *Rione X Campitelli*, parte II, *Guide Rionali di Roma*, Roma 1983.

4) In *Esercizi 1849 e 1850, Riduzione del Palazzo Senatorio*, Archivio Storico Capitolino, n. 9819, p. 55 e ss.

5) Cfr. E. DE BENEDETTI, *Valadier*, catalogo della mostra, Roma 1986, pp. 60-61, n. 82-83.

6) Cfr.: A. MUGNOZ, A.M. COLINI, *Campidoglio*, Roma 1931; P.L. PORZIO, *Il Vittoriano. Materiali per una storia*, Roma 1986-88.

7) Si veda, da ultimo, A. MURA SOMMELLA, *La "Camellaria" e il "Palatium Octaviani" sul Campidoglio: il riuso del Tabularium in età post antica*, in "Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma", in corso di stampa.

8) In C. CECCHELLI, *Capitolium II*, 1926-27, p. 217.

9) Cfr. M. CIMA, E. TALAMO, *"Roma Capitale" e l'ampliamento delle raccolte archeologiche*, in "Archeo", X, 5, 1995, pp. 64-69.

10) In R. LANCIANI, *Il nuovo ordinamento del Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori*, in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma", 1903, pp. 317-320.

11) Cfr. M. CIMA, A. TALAMO, *I lavori tra le due guerre*, in "Archeo", X, 5, 1995, pp. 70-73.

12) Cfr.: M. CIMA, E. LA ROCCA (a cura di), *Le tranquille dimore degli dei*, Roma 1986; M. CIMA, A. TALAMO, *Il riordinamento delle collezioni*, in "Archeo", X, 5, 1995, pp. 74-87.

13) Cfr. M. CIMA (a cura di), *Restauri nei Musei Capitolini*, Roma 1955.

14) Cfr. A. MURA SOMMELLA, *La ristrutturazione e l'ampliamento degli spazi museali*, in "Archeo", X, 5, 1995, pp. 88-99.

15) Cfr. M. CRISTOFANI (a cura di), *La Grande Roma dei Tarquini*, catalogo della mostra, Roma 1990.

16) Cfr. A. MURA SOMMELLA, *La decorazione architettonica del tempio arcaico*, in atti del convegno "Lazio Arcaico e Mondo Greco", in "La Parola del Passato", XXXII, 1977, pp. 62-128.

17) Cfr. L. ANSELMINO, L. FERREA, M.J. STRAZZULLA, *Il frontone di via S. Gregorio ed il tempio della "Fortuna Respiciens" sul Palatino: una nuova ipotesi*, "Rendiconti. Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia", LXIII, 1993, pp. 193-262.

18) Cfr.: E. LA ROCCA, *Amazzonomachia. Le sculture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano*, catalogo della mostra, Roma 1985; A. VISCOGLIOSI, *Il tempio di Apollo in "Circo" e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusteo*, in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma", suppl. 3, Roma 1996.

19) Cfr.: A. MELUCCO VACCARO, A. MURA SOMMELLA (a cura di), *Marco Aurelio. Storia di un monumento e del suo restauro*, Roma 1989; C. PARISI PRESICCE, *Il Marco Aurelio in Campidoglio* (a cura di A. Mura Sommella), Milano 1990; L. DE LACHENAL, *Il gruppo equestre di Marco Aurelio in Laterano*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", n. 61, maggio-giugno 1990; EADEM, *ibid.*, n. 62-63, luglio-ottobre 1990.

implementation of programs of restructuring of the museum complex, and thanks to the design proposal of Carlo Aymonino, in a large, very luminous exhibition space, the reconversion of an internal courtyard of Palazzo dei Conservatori. The creation of this elegant "pavilion" represents the focal point of the renewal of the Capitoline Museums: it will provide an extraordinary space, designed for the new needs, in which the sculptures will be displayed with natural lighting thanks to the utilization, for the roofings and for the glazing separating the space for the Giardino Caffarelli, of transparent materials.

This large new hall, at the heart of the museum itinerary, will also provide an appropriate space for the bronze sculptural grouping of Marcus Aurelius, presently still positioned in a small space inside the courtyard of the Museo Capitolino where it was placed, temporarily, at the time of its return to Campidoglio, after the lengthy work of restoration in the 1980s[19].

With the completion of the restructuring work of the Capitoline Museums, the museum circuit will also include the large terrace of Palazzo Caffarelli overlooking Renaissance and Baroque Rome, and the adjacent garden with its fountains and centuries-old trees; finally, the renovation of the Galleria Lapidaria that runs beneath the Piazza to provide connection to the Museum at Palazzo Senatorio will permit a conclusion of the visitors' itinerary, through the extraordinary remains of the temple of Veiove and the Tabularium, with the view of the monuments of the Roman Forum and the Imperial Fora.

Notes

** Anna Mura Sommella is director of the Musei Capitolini, Rome.*

1) See Var., Enea nel Lazio, archeologia e mito, *exhibition catalogue, Rome 1981.*

2) See L. BENEVOLO (ed.), Roma. Studio per la sistemazione dell'area archeologica centrale, *in "Lavori e studi di archeologia", 7, Rome 1985; L. BENEVOLO, F. SCOPPOLA (ed.),* L'area archeologica centrale e la città moderna, *Rome 1988.*

3) A useful syntesis of the historical-topographical aspects of the Campidoglio can be found in C. PIETRANGELI, Rione X Campitelli, *part II,* Guide Rionali di Roma, *Rome 1983.*

4) In Esercizi 1849 e 1850, Riduzione del Palazzo Senatorio, *Archivio Storico Capitolino, n. 9819, p. 55 on.*

5) See E. DE BENEDETTI, Valadier, *exhibition catalogue, Rome 1986, pp. 60-61, n. 82-83.*

6) See A. MUGNOZ, A.M. COLINI, Campidoglio, *Rome 1931; P.L. PORZIO,* Il Vittoriano. Materiali per una storia, *Rome 1986-88.*

7) See A. MURA SOMMELLA, La "Camellaria" e il "Palatium Octaviani" sul Campidoglio: il riuso del Tabularium in età post antica, *in "Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma", in press.*

8) In C. CECCHELLI, Capitolium II, *1926-27, p. 217.*

9) See M. CIMA, E. TALAMO, "Roma Capitale" e l'ampliamento delle raccolte archeologiche, *in "Archeo", X, 5, 1995, pp. 64-69.*

10) In R. LANCIANI, Il nuovo ordinamento del Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori, *in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma", 1903, pp. 317-320.*

11) See M. CIMA, A. TALAMO, I lavori tra le due guerre, *in "Archeo", X, 5, 1995, pp. 70-73.*

12) See M. CIMA, E. LA ROCCA (ed.), Le tranquille dimore degli dei, *Rome 1986; M. CIMA, A. TALAMO,* Il riordinamento delle collezioni, *in "Archeo", X, 5, 1995, pp. 74-87.*

13) See M. CIMA (ed.), Restauri nei Musei Capitolini, *Rome 1955.*

14) See A. MURA SOMMELLA, La ristrutturazione e l'ampliamento degli spazi museali, *in "Archeo", X, 5, 1995, pp. 88-99.*

15) See M. CRISTOFANI (ed.), La Grande Roma dei Tarquini, *exhibition catalogue, Rome 1990.*

16) See A. MURA SOMMELLA, La decorazione architettonica del tempio arcaico, *conference publication "Lazio Arcaico e Mondo Greco", in "La Parola del Passato", XXXII, 1977, pp. 62-128.*

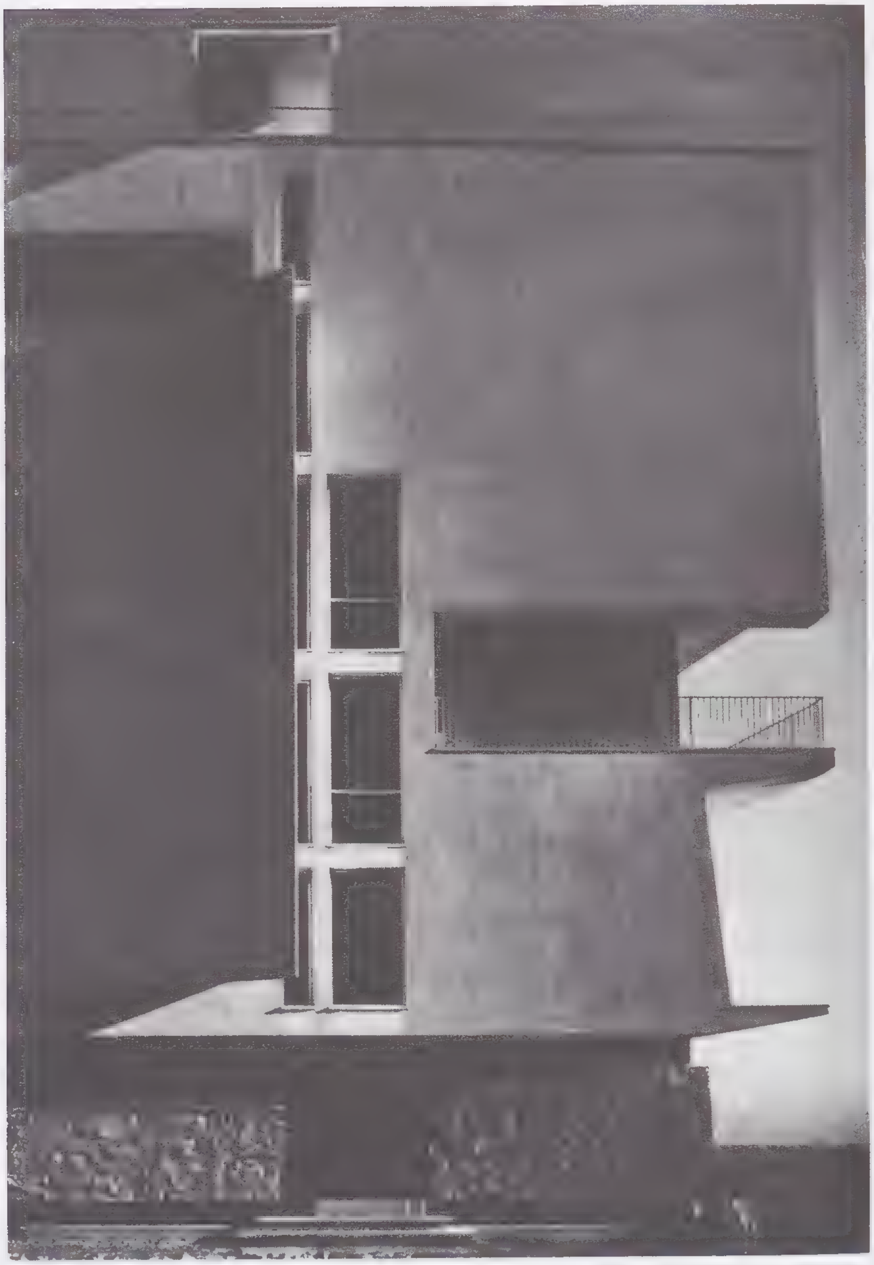
17) See L. ANSELMINO, L. FERREA, M.J. STRAZZULLA, Il frontone di via S. Gregorio ed il tempio della "Fortuna Respiciens" sul Palatino: una nuova ipotesi, *"Rendiconti. Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia", LXIII, 1993, pp. 193-262.*

18) See E. LA ROCCA, Amazzonomachia. Le sculture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano, *exhibition catalogue, Rome 1985; A. VISCOGLIOSI,* Il tempio di Apollo in "Circo" e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusteo, *in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma", suppl. 3, Roma 1996.*

19) See A. MELUCCO VACCARO, A. MURA SOMMELLA (ed.), Marco Aurelio. Storia di un monumento e del suo restauro, *Rome 1989; C. PARISI PRESICCE,* Il Marco Aurelio in Campidoglio *(ed. A. Mura Sommella), Milan 1990; L. DE LACHENAL,* Il gruppo equestre di Marco Aurelio in Laterano, *in "Bollettino d'Arte", n. 61, May-June 1990; EADEM,* ibid., *n. 62-63, July-October 1990.*

1. Luigi Moretti, Palazzina Astrea in Via Jenner, Roma, 1947-50.

1. Luigi Moretti, Palazzina Astrea on Via Jenner, Rome, 1947-50.



1

Paradigma residenziale del professionismo romano del dopoguerra
Claudia Conforti

La progettualità, con cui il regime fascista ha improntato negli anni Trenta la rifigurazione della Terza Roma, si prolunga anche negli anni successivi alla guerra e alla caduta del fascismo: si rifletta, per esempio, al planivolumetrico di Giorgio Calza Bini che, negli anni Cinquanta, ripropone il completamento di buona parte degli edifici monumentali previsti dal piano del 1937 di Marcello Piacentini per l'Esposizione Universale di Roma del 1942 (l'E42 ridenominata Eur dal 1951). Entro il 1955-56 sono completati: il Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e dei Congressi di Adalberto Libera, la Chiesa dei Santi Pietro e Paolo di Arnaldo Foschini, gli edifici INA e INPS e la piazza a esedre di Giovanni Muzio con Mario Paniconi e Giulio Pediconi, la sede delle Forze Armate di Mario De Renzi e Gino Pollini, poi assegnata all'Archivio Centrale dello Stato, il Museo della Romanità di Pietro Aschieri e altri[1]. Proprio all'Eur, con il Palazzo dello Sport (1958), completato per le Olimpiadi del 1960, si concluderà la parabola progettuale del quasi ottuagenario Piacentini. La riproposizione del piano Eur, se testimonia l'arroganza di un'ipotesi culturale che, pur sconfitta sul piano politico, fatica a uscire di scena, rende anche omaggio alla coerenza estrema di un'ideologia progettuale non priva di solide motivazioni disciplinari, e di un personaggio – Piacentini – tra i più accorti e smaliziati manipolatori della cultura architettonica italiana del Novecento[2].
Come la prospettiva olimpica del 1960 sarà utilizzata per rilanciare il progetto Eur, la celebrazione dell'Anno Santo, indetto per il 1950, ha riavviato alcune grandi opere interrotte dalla guerra.
Già nel 1948 riprendono i lavori, inaugurati nel 1936, di Via della Conciliazione, l'asse di collegamento tra Castel Sant'Angelo e Piazza San Pietro, secondo un progetto anteguerra di Piacentini e Attilio Spaccarelli[3]. Risalgono pure all'immediato dopoguerra la Cappella delle Reliquie in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, iniziata nel 1927 e terminata nel 1952, e il misurato palazzetto in Corso d'Italia, avviato nel 1940 per la Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Agricoltura, in seguito passato alla Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (CGIL), opere entrambe di Florestano Di Fausto[4]. Cambi di destinazione e lievi modifiche progettuali toccano anche all'edificio opacamente classicista di Vittorio Cafiero (1938) per il Ministero dell'Africa italiana e ceduto alla F.A.O. nel 1951[5]; al raggelato Palazzo del Littorio (1937-50), di Foschini, Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo ed Enrico Del Debbio,

The residential paradigm of Roman professionalism in the postwar period
Claudia Conforti

The design approach with which the fascist regime sought to guide, in the 1930s, the figurative revision of the Third Rome, continued into the years after the war and after the fall of fascism. It can be seen, for example, in the planivolumetric of Giorgio Calza Bini who, in the 1950s, reproposed the completion of many of the monumental edifices called for in the plan of 1937 by Marcello Piacentini for the Universal Exposition in Rome in 1942, (E42, renamed Eur in 1951). By 1955-56 they were completed; the Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e dei Congressi by Adalberto Libera, the Church of Saints Peter and Paul by Arnaldo Foschini, the INA and INPS buildings and the exedra piazza by Giovanni Muzio with Mario Paniconi and Giulio Pediconi, the Armed Forces building by Mario De Renzi and Gino Pollini, later assigned to the Archivio Centrale dello Stato, the Museo della Romanità by Pietro Aschieri, and others[1]. Precisely there, at Eur, with the Palazzo dello Sport (1958), completed for the Olympics of 1960, the design career of the nearly eighty-year-old Piacentini came to a conclusion. The reproposition of the Eur plan, while evidence of the arrogance of a cultural hypothesis which, although defeated in political terms, refuses to disappear, is also evidence of the extreme coherence of a design ideology that was not without solid disciplinary motivations, and of the role of a personality – Piacentini – who was among the most discerning and shrewd manipulators of Italian architectural culture in the 1900s[2].
Just as the Olympic games of 1960 were to be used to relaunch the Eur project, so the celebration of the Holy Year, in 1950, revived certain major works that had been interrupted by the war.
Already in 1948 the work begun in 1936 was resumed for Via della Conciliazione, the connecting axis between Castel Sant'Angelo and St. Peter's Square, following a prewar design by Piacentini and Attilio Spaccarelli[3]. Other works dating back to the immediate postwar period include the reliquary chapel of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, begun in 1927 and completed in 1952, and the building on Corso d'Italia, begun in 1940 for the Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Agricoltura, later passed on to a postwar union, the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (CGIL), both by Florestano Di Fausto[4]. Changes of function and slight design modifications were effected for the opaquely classicist edifice by Vittorio Cafiero (1938) for the Ministry of Italian Africa, ceded to the F.A.O. in 1951[5]; the halted

destinato a sede del Ministero degli Esteri della neonata Repubblica. Non si adeguano alle stanche cadenze figurali delle attardate architetture "fasciste" i visionari progetti del Ponte Flaminio (1927-50) e della Chiesa del Sacro Cuore Immacolato di Maria ai Parioli (1923-51, consacrata nel 1954) di Armando Brasini, le cui architetture riescono a compattare, nella comune indignazione modernista, gli schieramenti disciplinari che si confrontano nella capitale dell'immediato dopoguerra[6]. Nonostante le sdegnate opposizioni, la celebrazione dell'Anno Santo sarà il viatico costruttivo di queste schegge oniriche di un'altra Roma – l'*Urbe Massima* vagheggiata fin dal '17 da Brasini –. Se le Olimpiadi del 1960 sono occasione dell'ultimo, seppure episodico, adeguamento infrastrutturale della capitale, esse facilitano anche il torrenziale sviluppo dell'edilizia, soprattutto residenziale, che contrassegnerà la controversa crescita di Roma contemporanea.

L'emergenza abitativa negli anni dell'immediato dopoguerra assume toni drammatici, soprattutto nelle città centromeridionali, dove il numero di abitanti a vano passa dall'1,86 del 1931 al 2,46 del 1947[7]. Gli insediamenti cresciuti intorno alla città suscitano sdegno civile e denunce presso l'opinione pubblica nazionale. Il 1° aprile 1950 il settimanale "Il Mondo" pubblica un articolo intitolato *La cintura di fame*, in riferimento alla cintura di borgate che cinge la città. La descrizione della borgata Gordiani al Prenestino, a est della capitale, lascia sgomenti: "*si susseguono le baracche color marrone, per quasi due chilometri, per una doppia profondità di cento metri* (...) *le latrine sono a coabitazione, nel senso che un cesso del peggior tipo militaresco serve un lotto di quattro casupole;* (...) *nelle millecento catapecchie si ammassano dodicimila persone* (...) ".

E' pertanto comprensibile che il problema dell'abitazione polarizzi il dibattito architettonico, dando luogo a malintesi sociologici, a deleghe improprie e a supplenze politiche, che non hanno tuttavia impedito sperimentazioni generose e azzardi fecondi, ai quali è debitrice l'originale vitalità dell'architettura romana degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta. Dolosamente omessa risulta invece, in questo frangente, la pianificazione urbanistica: le periferie romane del dopoguerra testimoniano un'idea di città rozza e primitiva. Esse si configurano infatti come sommatoria di case, non raramente di buona qualità architettonica, ma inadeguate, esse sole, a strutturare la città nuova. La gran parte dei quartieri romani del primo dopoguerra sono il risultato di scelte molteplici e di circostanze proteiformi, da cui tuttavia emerge una visione urbana miope e angusta, che non riesce a guardare al di là del centro storico. La metropoli archeologica voluta dal fascismo non viene sostanzialmente messa in discussione, e ancora oggi, alla vigilia del Duemila, essa stenta a trovare un'alternativa. Le mura aureliane, sostanzialmente intatte, sembrano celare, non solo metaforicamente, i vitalissimi orizzonti delle periferie in tumultuante crescita.

E' difficile sottrarsi al significato simbolico che assume, rispetto all'esclusiva centralità di Roma antica, il più controverso e vivace concorso d'architettura tenuto nella capitale del dopoguerra – a esclusione naturalmente delle Fosse Ardeatine –. Si allude al concorso per i nuovi Uffici della Camera dei deputati (1967): una competizione di ingegni ad altissimo livello, criticamente imperniata sul completamento dell'isolato adiacente a Montecitorio, posto dunque nel cuore del centro storico.

Ancora dieci anni dopo, la mostra *Roma interrotta* (1977), esponendo esercitazioni accademiche di progettisti italiani e stranieri focalizzate sulla città della pianta di Giambattista Nolli del 1748, conferma come, a dispetto di una realtà metropolitana che preme sulla città antica e ne condiziona i destini, la cultura ufficiale non riesca a proiettare neppure l'immaginazione più ineffettuale al di là delle mura. Le innovative ipotesi sui processi congiunti di architettura e città, messe a punto da Saverio Muratori, da Ludovico Quaroni, da Carlo Aymonino, non trapassano il diaframma che separa la ricerca universitaria dal professionismo romano corrente (e, non raramente, corrivo), né pervengono a orientare le scelte politiche e tecnico-istituzionali.

Date queste premesse, come avviene dunque la crescita residenziale della città? A quali tipi edilizi è agganciata? Se si escludono i quartieri progettati integralmente, sia nelle componenti abitative che infrastrutturali e di servizi – Tiburtino Ina-casa, Valco San Paolo, Tuscolano, San Basilio, fino ai più recenti Corviale e Val Melaina –, di grande valore metodologico e architettonico, tuttavia quantitativamente non altrettanto rilevanti, la prima, impetuosa, crescita della città appare contrassegnata da innumerevoli varianti della palazzina, una tipologia peculiare dell'edilizia romana del Novecento[8]. Il termine palazzina si afferma in epoca rinascimentale e soprattutto barocca, a indicare piccole costruzioni immerse nei

Palazzo del Littorio (1937-50), by Foschini, Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo and Enrico Del Debbio, set aside for offices of the Foreign Ministry and of the newly created Republic. The visionary designs by Armando Brasini did not conform to the weary figurative cadences of late "fascist" architecture; the Flaminio bridge (1927-50) and the Church of the Sacro Cuore Immacolato di Maria at Parioli (1923-51, consacrated in 1954) are works of architecture that compactly express, in their shared modernist indignation, the disciplinary factions that at odds in the capital in the immediate postwar era[6].

In spite of controversy and opposition, the celebration of the Holy Year was to be the means of salvaging these dreamlike fragments of another Rome, the Urbe Massima *hypothesized since 1917 by Brasini. While the 1960 Olympics were the opportunity for the last, although episodic, infrastructural renewal of the capital, they also facilitated the torrential real estate development, especially in residential building, that marks the controversial growth of contemporary Rome. The housing crisis of the years immediately after the war reached dramatic proportions, especially in the central-southern parts of the city, where the number of inhabitants per room rose from 1.86 in 1931 to 2.46 in 1947*[7]. *The settlements that sprouted up around the city were a cause for indignation and protest on a national level. On 1 April 1950 the weekly magazine* Il Mondo *published an article entitled "The Hunger Belt", referring to the ring of settlements on the outskirts of the city. The description of the Gordiani quarter at the Prenestino, to the east of the capital, is shocking:* "rows of brown shanties, for nearly two kilometers, for a double width of 100 meters *(...)* the latrines are shared, in the sense that one military latrine of the worst type is provided for a lot of four shacks; *(…)* 12,000 persons are packed into 1100 shanties *(...)*".

Therefore it is understandable that the problem of housing was an urgent priority in the architectural debate, giving rise to sociological misunderstandings, to improper assignments and political manouverings which, nevertheless, did not completely impede generous experimentations and worthwhile undertakings, of which it owes the original vitality of Roman architecture in the Fifties and Sixties. But in such a situation urban planning was utterly overlooked: the Roman peripheries of the postwar period are evidence of a crude, primitive idea of the city. They are configured as groupings of houses, often of good architectural quality, but inadequate, on their own, to provide a real structure for the new city. Most of the Roman neighborhoods of the postwar period were the result of multiple choices and proteiform circumstances, from which, nevertheless there emerges a myopic, limited vision that doesn't manage to look beyond the historical center. The archaeological metropolis intended by the fascists is seldom challenged, and even today, on the eve of the new millennium, its influence is strong. The Aurelian walls, substantially intact, seem to conceal, not only in metaphorical terms, the very vital horizons of the peripheries in tumultuous growth.

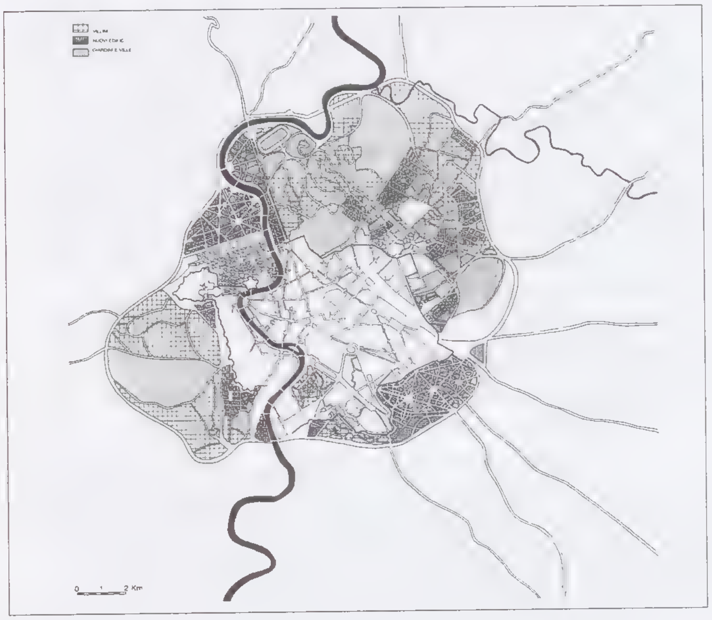
It is hard to ignore the symbolic significance, with respect to the exclusive centrality of ancient Rome, of the most controversial and lively architectural competition held in the capital after the war – apart, naturally, for that of the Ardeatine Caves. This was the competition for the new Offices of the Chamber of Deputies (1967): a competition of very high-level inventions, critically centered around the completion of the block adjacent to Montecitorio, and thus in the heart of the historical center.

Ten years later, the exhibition Roma interrotta *(1977), displaying academic exercises by Italian and foreign architects focusing on the city of the plan of Giambattista Nolli of 1748, illustrated how, in spite of a metropolitan reality that impacts the ancient city and conditions its destiny, official culture cannot manage to project even the most ineffectual efforts of imagination beyond the walls. The innovative hypotheses on joint processes of architecture and city developed by Saverio Muratori, Ludovico Quaroni, Carlo Aymonino, did not penetrate the barrier that separates university research from current Roman professional practice (or malpractice), nor did they manage to orient political and technical-institutional choices.*

Given these premises, how does the residential growth of the city take place? What are the building typologies? If we exclude the quarters designed as a whole, as estates, in terms of housing and infrastructure and services – Tiburtino Ina-casa, Valco San Paolo, Tuscolano, San Basilio, down to the more recent Corviale and Val Melaina – of great methodological and architectural value, but not of great quantitative impact, the first rapid growth of the city appears to be characterized by an infinity of variations on the palazzina *(a kind of apartment house), a typology particular to Roman building in the 1900s*[8].

The term palazzina *appeared in the Renaissance and,*

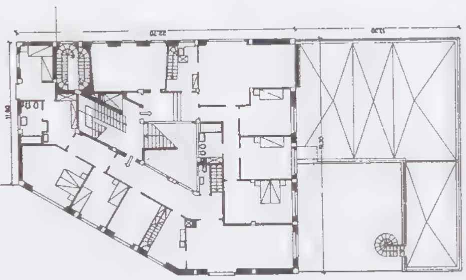
2. 3. Schemi del Piano Regolatore di Roma del 1909 e del 1931 con indicate le zone a villini, a palazzine e a intensivi. Da "Metamorfosi", n. 8, 1987.
4. 5. 6. Gino Capponi, Palazzina sul Lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia, Roma, 1938: disegno per la copertina, piante dei piani tipo e attico.
7. 8. Mario Ridolfi, Wolfgang Frankl, Palazzina Rea in Via di Villa Massimo, Roma, 1934: piante dei piani terreno e attico.
9. Mario Ridolfi, Wolfgang Frankl, Palazzina Colombo in Via San Valentino, Roma, 1935-36: pianta.
10. 11. Ugo Luccichenti, Palazzina in Via Panama angolo Via Lima, Roma, 1936: piante dei piani terreno e tipo.
12. 13. Luigi Moretti, Casa del Girasole in Viale Buozzi, Roma, 1950: piante dei piani terreno e tipo.
14. Luigi Moretti, Palazzina Astrea in Via Jenner, Roma, 1947-50: pianta.
15. Carlo e Maurizio Aymonino con Baldo De Rossi, Palazzina in Via Arbia, Roma, 1960-61: pianta.



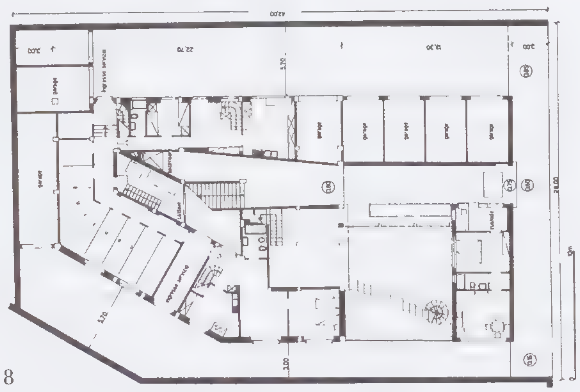
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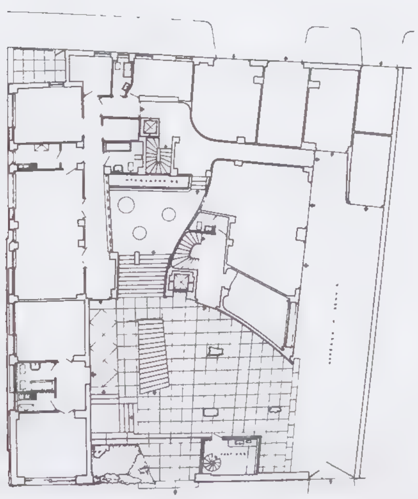
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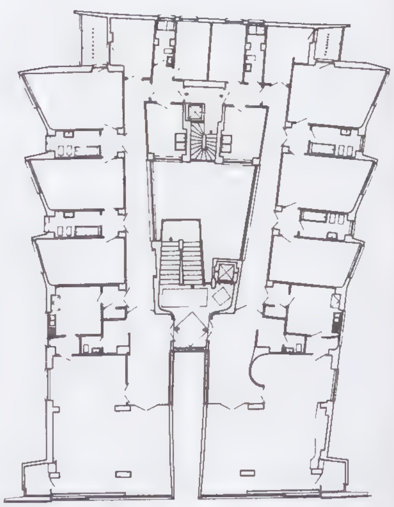
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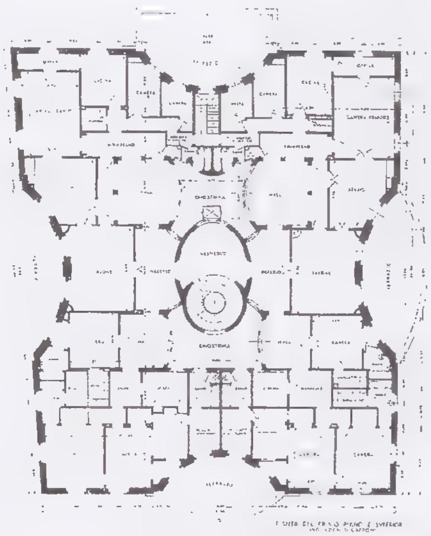


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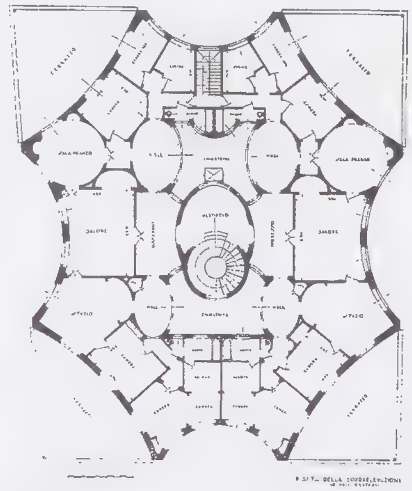
2. 3. Schemes of the Master Plan of Rome 1909 and of 1931 with indications of the zones for villini, palazzine and intensive housing. From "Metamorfosi", n. 8, 1987.
4. 5. 6. Gino Capponi, Palazzina on Lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia, Rome, 1938: drawing for the coverm plans of typical and attic floors.
7. 8. Mario Ridolfi, Wolfgang Frankl, Palazzina Rea on Via di Villa Massimo, Rome, 1934: plans of ground and attic floors.
9. Mario Ridolfi, Wolfgang Frankl, Palazzina Colombo on Via San Valentino, Rome, 1935-36: plan.
10. 11. Ugo Luccichenti, Palazzina on Via Panama at the corner of Via Lima, Rome, 1936: plans of ground and typical floors. Photo L. Ippolito.
12. 13. Luigi Moretti, Casa del Girasole on Viale Buozzi, Rome, 1950: plans of ground and typical floors.
14. Luigi Moretti, Palazzina Astrea on Via Jenner, Rome, 1947-50: plan.
15. Carlo and Maurizio Aymonino with Baldo De Rossi, Palazzina on Via Arbia, Rome, 1960-61: plan.



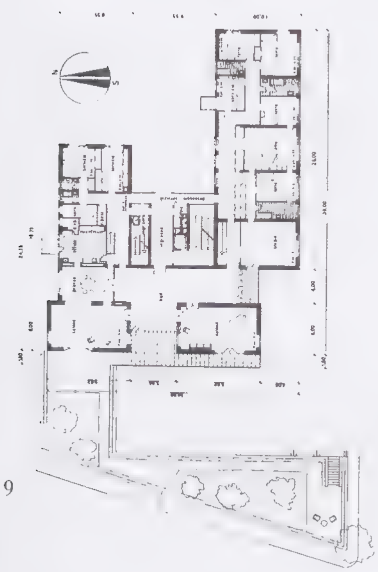
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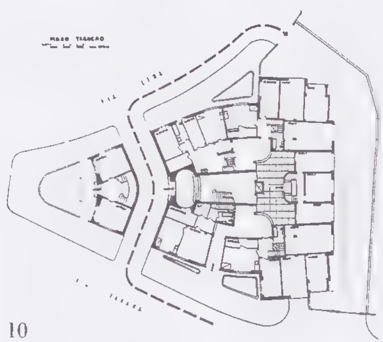
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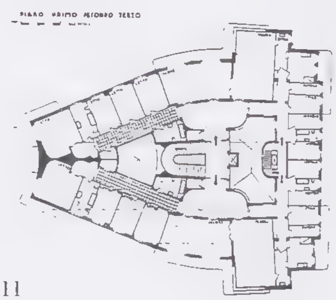
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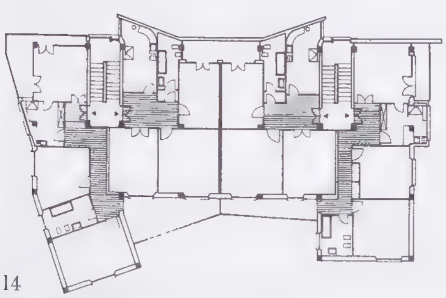
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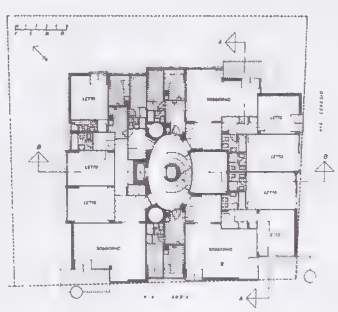
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16. *Mino Maccari*, "Un solo ingresso e molti appartamenti: – Tema da sottoporsi all'architetto – Ingegnere e dottore Lucchichenti – Perché realizzandone il progetto – Ricordi un pittorello da strapazzo – Ch'ebbe la prima idea d'un tal palazzo". *Da* Ugo Luccichenti architetto, *Roma 1980.*

16. *Mino Maccari*, "A single entrance and many apartments – Theme to propose to the architect – Engineer and Doctor Luccichenti – Because in creating the design – You remind me of an eccentric painter – Who first had the idea for such a building". *From* Ugo Luccichenti architetto, *Rome 1980.*

giardini e destinate al riposo e al piacere dell'aristocrazia. La definizione riemerge nel Novecento, con significato profondamente mutato, a fondamento di un testo normativo: il regio decreto 1937 del 16 dicembre 1920 che, autorizzando una variante al Regolamento Edilizio Speciale del 1912, riferito al Piano del 1909, introduce la palazzina come nuovo tipo edilizio[9]. Il provvedimento, transitorio e giustificato dall'emergenza indotta dalla "*acutissima crisi delle abitazioni*", ha lo scopo dichiarato di consentire un più intenso sfruttamento delle aree già destinate a villini[10].
Se in origine il villino – unità residenziale di 3-4 appartamenti, circondata da giardini – è destinato a soddisfare le esigenze di decoro e di salubrità dei ceti medi, che non possono accedere ai prestigiosi appartamenti dei palazzi patrizi del centro, esso "*rappresenta anche la volontà di ritrovare per l'abitazione moderna una qualità architettonica nuova*", alternativa ai blocchi-isolato della città borghese ottocentesca[11]. Alle prime verifiche operative, tuttavia, questa scelta di piano si rivela estremamente onerosa, sia per l'incidenza dell'area sul costo del manufatto, sia per gli altissimi costi di urbanizzazione che un'espansione a così bassa densità comporta. Dall'aumento di cubatura, per motivi diversi auspicato dalla proprietà fondiaria, dai costruttori e dai tecnici, germinerà quella singolare ibridazione tipologica tra villino, villa suburbana e palazzo, dal quale ultimo mutua la classica suddivisione in basamento, corpo centrale e coronamento o attico, denominata *palazzina*.
Formalizzata da uno studio dell'Associazione Cultori di Architettura, essa, secondo il decreto del 1920, ribadito e ampliato da provvedimenti successivi, deve avere "*vedute a prospetto su tutte le fronti ed essere distante almeno metri 5,8 dai confini dei lotti attigui. L'estensione delle fronti sulle strade non potrà eccedere la lunghezza di 25 metri, osservata la distanza di metri 5,80 dal confine* (...)"; tale estensione può essere portata a 35 metri, a condizione che si attuino arretramenti parziali non inferiori a 4 metri. Le palazzine possono essere di tre o quattro piani, per un'altezza massima di 19 metri, "*salvo parziali sopraelevazioni che rendano armonico e variato il profilo dell'edificio, a giudizio del Comune*"[12], l'attico tuttavia non deve superare i 3/5 – portati a 2/3 dal Piano del '31 – della superficie coperta; le aree residue del lotto devono essere sistemate a giardini. A questi ultimi è infatti affidata la funzione di connettivo della prevedibile eterogeneità volumetrica e stilistica delle costruzioni. Naturalmente queste indicazioni di prima istanza saranno soggette a eccezioni e a successive modifiche, attraverso le quali la palazzina, con il Piano del 1931, entrerà definitivamente tra i tipi edilizi caratterizzanti la crescita della città.
Di norma la palazzina ha un impianto planimetrico bloccato, fortemente condizionato dalla forma del lotto, una o più chiostrine – una via di mezzo tra la corte e il cavedio – consentono l'illuminazione e l'areazione dei vani di servizio; oltre a un ingresso di servizio, l'ingresso principale, sottolineato da accenti di cauta solennità, è generalmente unico per tutti gli appartamenti, di solito due per piano; le scale padronali configurano generalmente un gesto compositivo fortemente caratterizzato sotto il profilo volumetrico e spaziale[13]. La stereometria imposta dal regolamento induce invenzioni plastiche e di impaginato prospettico tali da squadernare la statica compattezza dell'impianto planimetrico.
Pertanto se la palazzina da un lato contraddice il determinismo razionalista, che vuole l'alzato stereometricamente rispondente alla pianta, dall'altro si fa vettore di una crescita urbana discontinua ed episodica, triangolata su singoli manufatti plastici, tale da escludere i sottili trapassi di piani, le differenti vibrazioni di superfici, gli incastri bidimensionali di figure geometriche diverse, ai quali indulgono i progetti che si innestano nelle quinte continue dell'edilizia urbana di derivazione ottocentesca. In definitiva, la crescita parcellare della città, veicolata dalla palazzina, rende inefficaci i luministici sfalsamenti di piano, gli allineamenti geometrici, le successioni ritmiche di pieni e di vuoti, che argomentano, per esempio, le sequenze stradali di Milano moderna nei fronti di Asnago e Vender o nelle *domus* di Gio Ponti[14]. Tanto che quando quest'ultimo è chiamato nel 1939 a progettare la Palazzina Salvatelli ai Parioli, pur dando prova di non comune abilità distributiva nell'impianto quadrangolare, non attinge negli alzati, simmetricamente scanditi da allineamenti geometrici, a nulla di più che a una "*convenzionale compostezza*", enfatizzata dall'algida lucentezza del rivestimento in tessere di grès bianco[15]. Per contro il romano Luigi Moretti, allorché progetta a Milano il complesso di Corso Italia (1950-53), sommuove il *continuum* urbano con un'architettura violentemente plastica, che assume, nel panorama milanese, il significato di un gesto provocatorio[16].
Tuttavia proprio la sua estrema adattabilità rende la



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above all, the Baroque, to indicate small constructions surrounded by gardens, places of rest or pleasure for the aristocracy. The term resurfaced in the 1900s, with a profoundly different meaning, as the basis for a regulatory text: the royal decree #1937 of 16 December 1920 which, authorizing a variant of the Special Building Regulations of 1912, based on the Plan of 1909, introduced the palazzina *as a new building type*[9]*. This provision, temporary and justified by the emergency caused by the* "very serious housing crisis", *had the stated aim of permitting more intense exploitation of areas previously set aside for small* villini[10].

While originally the villino *– a residential building with 3-4 apartments, surrounded by gardens – was supposed to satisfy the needs for decorum and healthfulness of the middle classes, who could not afford the prestigious apartments in the patrician palaces of the center, it* "also represented the will to rediscover, for the modern habitation, a new architectural quality", *an alternative to the blocks of the bourgeois city of the 1800s*[11]*. But when put into practice this planning choice turned out to be very costly, both in terms of land area and of construction, and because of the very high costs involved in such low-density development. The need to increase volumes, for different motives expressed by the real estate owners, the builders and the technicians, led to the development of that singular typological hybrid of* villino, *suburban villa and* palazzo, *borrowing, from the latter, the classic subdivision in base, central volume and crowning or attic: the* palazzina.

Formally defined in a study by the Associazione Cultori di Architettura, the palazzina, *according to the decree of 1920, reiterated and extended in successive legislation, should have* "elevation views on all sides, and be at least 5.8 meters from the confines of bordering lots. The extension of the street frontage should not exceed a length of 25 meters, observing the rule of distance of 5.8 meters from the borders *(...)*"; *this extension could be increased to 35 meters, if there were partial setbacks of at least 4 meters. The* palazzina *can be of three or four storeys, for a maximum height of 19 meters,* "except for partially taller portions to vary and render harmonic the profile of the edifice, in the opinion of the City"[12]; *the attic, nevertheless, should not exceed 3/5 – later adjusted to 2/3 by the Plan of '31 – of the roof surface; the remaining areas of the lot should be arranged as gardens. The gardens are entrusted with the function of providing connection for the predictable heterogeneity of the constructions in terms of volumetrics and style. Naturally these initial indications met with exceptions and subsequent modifications, through which the* palazzina, *with the Plan of 1931, became a definitive element of the building types that characterized the growth of the city.*

Unusually the palazzina *has a blocked planimetric layout, strongly conditioned by the form of the lot, while one or more* chiostrine *– a cross between a courtyard and a cavedium – provide lighting and ventilation for the service areas; apart from a service entrance, the main entrance, indicated with accents of cautious solemnity, is generally single, for all the apartments, which are usually arranged two per floor; the residents' staircase is often a strong compositional gesture in terms of volume and space*[13]*. The stereometry imposed by the regulations stimulates plastic inventions and perspective arrangements designed to compensate for the static compactness of the planimetric scheme.*

Thus while on the one hand the palazzina *contradicts rationalist determinism, which calls for elevations that correspond to the plan, on the other it becomes the stimulus for a new discontinuous, episode-based urban growth, involving individual sculptural objects, excluding the subtle shiftings of levels, the differing vibrations of surfaces, the two-dimensional interlockings of different geometric figures, which were the materials of the projects based on continuous streetfronts of 19th-century tradition. In definitive terms, the growth of the city in fragments, articulated by the* palazzina, *rendered useless the luministic shiftings of planes, the geometrical alignments and rhythmic successions of openings and closures, which can be seen, for example, in the street sequences of modern Milan, with frontage by Asnago and Vender, or in the* domus *magazines of Gio Ponti*[14]*. In fact, when the latter was called upon, in 1939, to design the* palazzina *Salvatelli at Parioli, although demonstrating uncommon ability in the circulation layout of the quadrangular plan, he did not achieve, in the elevations, symmetrically patterned with geometric alignments, anything more than a* "conventional composure", *emphasized by the frigid shine of the facings in white grès tile*[15]*. In contrast Luigi Moretti, when he designed the complex on Corso Italia in Milan (1950-53), upset the urban* continuum *with a violently plastic architecture, which took on the meaning of a provocative gesture in the Milanese cityscape*[16].

palazzina idonea ad assecondare gli scarti altimetrici delle ondulate sezioni dei terreni romani. Inoltre la discontinuità di tessuto edilizio, che essa configura, non costituisce certo un fattore di rottura nella tradizione del paesaggio urbano della capitale. Al contrario: essa si presta piuttosto a essere letta in chiave di continuità con quella disseminazione architettonica alla quale, con l'eccezione del quartiere Rinascimento, Roma affida da secoli la singolarità di un'immagine inconfondibile. Terme, acquedotti e templi in rovina; ville, basiliche, chiese e conventi si sono innalzati per secoli isolati tra le fronde dei giardini, circondati dai campi e dagli orti, assediati dai roveti, trapuntando i colli racchiusi nelle mura. La natura rapsodica della crescita edilizia di Roma, dal Rinascimento al tramonto del Barocco, è testimoniata dai ricorrenti provvedimenti dei papi, da Giulio II a Leone X a Sisto V ad Alessandro VII, finalizzati a conferire, attraverso tracciati viari, obelischi e fontane, continuità e *genus* urbano ai nuclei edilizi dispersi all'interno delle mura, incoraggiando anche, con eccezionali provvidenze fiscali, le costruzioni lungo i nuovi assi di collegamento[17]. A questa sintonia con la tradizione della Roma pontificia, oltre che alla sua versatilità compositiva, si deve in parte il consenso che ha commendato, per oltre mezzo secolo, la diffusione delle palazzine. Si consideri poi che nel modellato della palazzina, manufatto tridimensionale per definizione, si possono riversare e metabolizzare quelle spazialità dinamiche e quelle profondità prospettiche che hanno plasmato il volto di Roma nella lunga stagione del Barocco[18]. "*Plastica di cavi spazi tra loro composti, risonanti con la plastica delle superfici che li delimitano*", sono le parole con cui Moretti, che alla palazzina ha regalato folgoranti figurazioni, descrive "*il volto urbanistico, anzi violentemente plastico*" di Roma[19]. Proprio agli echi barocchi, se non addirittura borrominiani, è ispirata una delle precoci, brillanti affermazioni di questa tipologia: si allude alla palazzina costruita da Giuseppe Capponi sul Lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia nel 1926-29, modellata su dinamiche combinazioni di geometrie ortogonali e curve, magistralmente desunte dalle fabbriche barocche[20]. L'impianto planimetrico, lievemente trapezoidale, è scavato sui quattro fronti da ampie esedre, scandite da paraste lisce, che dinamizzano il blocco bianco di travertino. Questa configurazione coniuga le ragioni formali con quelle distributive: le estese curvature delle pareti consentono infatti un'illuminazione migliore a un numero di vani (ben quattro più la scala di servizio, sul fronte posteriore) maggiore rispetto alla parete rettilinea[21]. Un vano ellittico, dove si avvita l'elica della scala padronale, rischiarata da una vetrata di fondo, riassume la logica compositiva generale e trasmette ai vani interni il dinamismo dell'involucro curvilineo. Due chiostrine, dai perimetri concavo-convessi, una delle quali alloga l'ascensore, assicurano l'illuminazione dei vani di servizio. Una "borrominiana" combinazione ottagonale di archi a diversa curvatura modella il risentito profilo dell'attico, suddiviso in due lussuosi appartamenti, corredati da spettacolari terrazze[22]. L'ostensione topografica sul fronte del Tevere, la singolarissima formulazione volumetrica, sottolineata dal rivestimento in travertino, conferisce a questo edificio la persuasività di un messaggio pubblicitario. Infatti la Società committente, di cui è socio proprietario Pier Luigi Nervi, ne utilizza commercialmente l'immagine in una – oggi – preziosa *plaquette*, corredata da linografie degli interni di mano dell'architetto[23].
Pochi anni più tardi (1935-38), sempre sul fronte sinistro del Tevere, un po' più a nord, viene costruita da Mario De Renzi la Palazzina Furmanik: alle fluenze dinamiche e "barocche" di Capponi l'edificio di De Renzi risponde svelando il limpido classicismo a cui può attingere il linguaggio razionalista[24]. L'impianto quadrangolare, centripeto e compatto, è assecondato dalle compassate geometrie dei fronti laterali e posteriore. Nella facciata sul Tevere, delineata sulla sezione aurea, la compattezza volumetrica si squaderna in alterni contrasti di pieno e di vuoto, di luminoso e di umbratile, di fisso e di mobile. Questo effetto è creato da un sistema orizzontale di balconi che si svolgono a nastro sulla facciata, dissimulando i telai strutturali in cemento armato, che riemergono sull'attico, suggerendo, nel profilo di un pergolato, la presenza del tetto a giardino. I parapetti dei balconi sono intercalati, in orizzontale, da "*schermi e griglie mobili, scorrevoli e regolabili in base alle mutevoli condizioni di luce e di temperatura*"[25], che fanno irrompere le imprevedibili vibrazioni della temporalità nell'immota geometria della facciata. A questo dispositivo, di grande efficacia insieme funzionale ed espressiva, lo stesso De Renzi farà di nuovo ricorso nelle facciate delle quattro eleganti palazzine realizzate per l'INA in Via Tommasini tra il 1949 e il 1951[26].
Anche Moretti nella Palazzina del Girasole (1947-50), un

Nevertheless, its extreme adaptability made the palazzina *ideal for the level differences and rolling terrain of Rome. Moreover, the discontinuity of the building fabric involved was certainly in keeping with the tradition of the urban landscape of the capital. It could be seen in continuity with the architectural scatterings which, with the exception of the Renaissance quarter, over the centuries had been so much a part of Rome's unique image. Baths, aqueducts, ruined temples; villas, basilicas, churches and convents have stood for centuries in the midst of gardens, surrounding by fields or vegetable gardens, assaulted by oak groves, punctuating the hills enclosed by the walls. The rhapsodic nature of the growth of Rome, from the Renaissance to the end of the Baroque, is full of the recurring initiatives of the popes, from Julius II to Leo X to Sixtus V to Alexander VII, aimed at conferring, through streets, obelisks, fountains, a continuity and* genus *for the edified nuclei scattered within the walls, also encouraging, with exceptional largesse, construction along the new axes of connection*[17].

This harmony with the traditional of papal Rome, together with its compositional versatility, led to the spread of the palazzina, *for over half a century. We should also consider the fact that in the modelling of the* palazzina, *a true three-dimensional artefact, it was possible to involve and metabolize those spatial dynamics and perspective depths which shaped the face of Rome during the long period of the Baroque*[18]. "Sculpture of hollow spaces in composition, reflected in the sculptural quality of the surfaces that form their borders", *are the words with which Moretti, who bestowed astonishing figurative treatments on the* palazzina, *describes* "the urban, even violently plastic, visage" *of Rome*[19].

One of the early, and most brilliant, examples of this typology is inspired precisely by the echoes of the Baroque, if not directly by Borromini: the palazzina *built by Giuseppe Capponi on Lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia in 1926-29, modelled with dynamic combinations of orthogonal geometries and curves, masterfully derived from the Baroque buildings*[20]. *The slightly trapezoidal planimetric is opened on all four sides by large exedrae, with smooth walls, rendering the white block of Travertine stone dynamic. This configuration combines formal and layout reasons: the extended curves of the walls permit improved lighting for a greater number of rooms (four, plus the service staircase, on the rear) than in the case of a straight wall*[21]. *An elliptical space, containing the helix of the master staircase, lit by a window, sums up the overall compositional logic, transmitting the dynamism of its curved container to the internal rooms. Two* chiostrine, *with concave-convex perimeters, one of which contains the lift, guarantee lighting for the service areas. A "Borrominian" octagonal combination of arches of different curvatures is used for the profile of the attic, divided into two luxurious apartments with spectacular terraces*[22]. *The topographical display on the facade on the Tiber, the unique volumetric formulation, underlined by the facing in Travertine stone, give this edifice the persuasive force of an advertisement. In fact the company that commissioned the work, whose business partners included Pier Luigi Nervi, made commercial use of the image in what is now a precious* plaquette, *accompanied by linographs of the interiors drawn by the architect*[23]. *A few years later (1935-38), again on the left bank of the Tiber, further to the north, Mario De Renzi built the Palazzina Furmanik: the dynamic and "baroque" influences of the work of Capponi are countered, by De Renzi, in the lucid classicism possible for the rationalist language*[24]. *The quadrangular layout, centripetal and compact, is reflected in the archaic geometries of the lateral and rear fronts. In the facade on the Tiber, based on the golden section, the volumetric compactness is skewed in alternating contrasts of openings and closures, of light and shadow, fixed and mobile. This effect is created by a horizontal system of balconies that run ribbon-like along the facade, dissimulating the structural frames in reinforced concrete, that resurface at the attic level to suggest, in the profile of a pergola, the presence of a roof garden. The parapets of the balconies are horizontally collated with* "mobile screens and grilles, sliding, adjustable in keeping with changing lighting and temperature condition"[25], *altering the static geometry of the facade with the unpredictable shifts of time and weather. This device – of great functional and expressive efficacy – was used again by De Renzi in the facades of the four elegant* palazzine *built for INA on Via Tommasini between 1949 and 1951*[26]. *Moretti, too, in the Palazzina del Girasole (1947-50), an authentic masterpiece of modern architecture, was to utilize diaphragm sliding* brise-soleil *panels, like those of the Palazzina Furmanik. The vitality of the modern language was also masterfully demonstrated by Mario Ridolfi, when in 1934 he worked on the* palazzina *typology in his design for the Cooperativa Rea on Via di Villa Massimo. The*

17. Gio Ponti, Palazzina Salvatelli in Piazza delle Muse, Roma, 1939. Foto L. Ippolito.
18. Luigi Moretti, Edificio per abitazioni e uffici in Corso Italia, Milano, 1950-53.
19. Luigi Moretti, Palazzina Astrea in Via Jenner, Roma, 1947-50.
20. 21. 22. 23. Luigi Moretti, Casa del Girasole in Viale Buozzi, Roma, 1950: viste d'insieme e dettagli.
24. Gino Capponi, Palazzina sul Lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia, Roma, 1938.
25. Mario De Renzi, Palazzina Furmanik sul Lungotevere Flaminio, Roma, 1935-38. Foto L. Ippolito.
26. Ugo Luccichenti, Palazzina in Via Panama angolo Via Lima, Roma, 1936. Foto L. Ippolito.
27. Mario Ridolfi, Wolfgang Frankl, Palazzina Colombo in Via San Valentino, Roma, 1935-36. Foto F. Bellini.
28. Mario Ridolfi, Wolfgang Frankl, Palazzina Rea in Via di Villa Massimo in una foto d'epoca, Roma, 1934.
29. Carlo e Maurizio Aymonino con Baldo De Rossi, Palazzina in Via Arbia, Roma, 1960-61.


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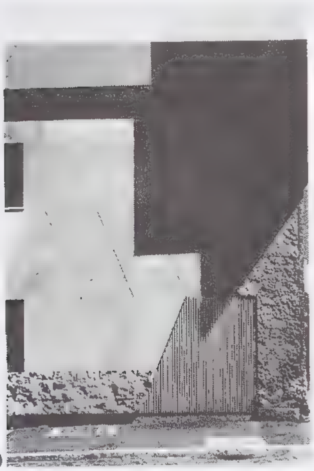

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17. Gio Ponti, Palazzina Salvatelli in Piazza delle Muse, Rome, 1939. Photo L. Ippolito.
18. Luigi Moretti, Residential and office building on Corso Italia, Milan, 1950-53.
19. Luigi Moretti, Palazzina Astrea on Via Jenner, Rome, 1947-50.
20. 21. 22. 23. Luigi Moretti, Casa del Girasole on Viale Buozzi, Rome, 1950: overall and detail views.
24. Gino Capponi, Palazzina on Lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia, Rome, 1938.
25. Mario De Renzi, Palazzina Furmanik on Lungotevere Flaminio, Roma, 1935-38. Photo L. Ippolito.
26. Ugo Luccichenti, Palazzina on Via Panama at the corner of Via Lima, Roma, 1936. Photo L. Ippolito.
27. Mario Ridolfi, Wolfgang Frankl, Palazzina Colombo on Via San Valentino, Rome, 1935-36. Photo F. Bellini.
28. Mario Ridolfi, Wolfgang Frankl, Palazzina Rea on Via di Villa Massimo, period photo, Rome, 1934.
29. Carlo and Maurizio Aymonino with Baldo De Rossi, Palazzina on Via Arbia, Rome, 1960-61.


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autentico capolavoro dell'architettura moderna, utilizzerà nella facciata diaframmata pannelli *brise-soleil* scorrevoli, ispirati a quelli della Furmanik.
La vitalità del linguaggio moderno è sperimentata magistralmente anche da Mario Ridolfi, allorché, nel 1934, si misura con la palazzina nel progetto per la Cooperativa Rea in Via di Villa Massimo. L'impianto è del tutto canonico: un poligono irregolare, generato dal lotto, si sviluppa intorno a una chiostrina e alloga due appartamenti a piano; ingresso e scala padronale sono distinti da quelli di servizio. Se l'andamento sghembo del lotto si proietta sulla scala padronale, imprimendole un anomalo assetto obliquo, esso lascia tuttavia inalterata la griglia ortogonale e simmetrica della facciata, composta "in profondità" e suddivisa in cinque registri verticali. Essi non trascrivono, come sarebbe d'obbligo nell'ortodossia razionalista, gli interassi della struttura portante, ma al contrario ne dissimulano le asimmetrie. Gli edifici di Le Corbusier e di Mies van der Rohe al Weissenhof di Stoccarda, visitato da Ridolfi proprio in quel periodo, e la collaborazione con Wolfgang Frankl e Konrad Wachsmann, influenzano il progetto, intimamente pervaso di echi razionalisti: l'attico arretrato e segnalato da una trabeazione libera; la partizione dei telai delle finestre; i balconi, nervosamente aggettanti, che ritagliano un fronte laterale; il purismo dell'alloggio del custode che, staccato dal corpo principale, profila il bordo stradale con un ermetico muro di lastre di travertino. La Palazzina Colombo, a Via San Valentino ai Parioli (1935-36), consente a Ridolfi, sempre affiancato dai due architetti tedeschi, di affinare la progettazione, sia sotto il profilo tecnologico che distributivo, dando vita a una sorta di "villa multipla", che rimane ancor oggi per molti aspetti un *unicum*[27].
Se le prove ridolfiane costituiranno un modello da imitare e da replicare, spesso trivialmente, per tanti professionisti romani, le tre palazzine costruite nel dopoguerra da Moretti sono destinate a rimanere enigmatici quanto stupefacenti "a-solo" di un creatore misconosciuto dalla critica accademica, sulla scorta di un pregiudizio ideologico, giustificato solo dai tempi. Il particolare storicismo di Moretti non tende al reimpiego dell'uno o dell'altro stile del passato, e neppure alla citazione letterale del frammento, bensì a recuperare dalla storia principi compositivi, movenze sintattiche e motivi morfologici negletti dal Movimento Moderno. Il confronto-scontro tra volumi e superfici, tra plasticità degli involucri e cavità spaziali, che investe la progettazione dell'edificio milanese di Corso Italia, plasma anche le contemporanee palazzine romane: la Cooperativa Astrea (1947-49), in Via Jenner a Monteverde, e la già ricordata Casa del Girasole in Viale Buozzi ai Parioli. La struttura della palazzina viene manipolata e stravolta secondo figurazioni antinaturalistiche, astratte, conformate alle leggi spazio-temporali che governano la percezione della pittura e della scultura barocche e moderne[28]. Nell'Astrea il lotto obbliga il prospetto su strada a ovest; l'esposizione impropria suggerisce a Moretti un ribaltamento distributivo tale da riunire sulla facciata principale i servizi e i corpi scala. Per dissimulare esternamente gli ambienti, di norma segregati, dell'edificio, Moretti fa ricorso a una scomposizione "cubista" del blocco architettonico, scardinandone piani e volumi. Al centro la parete di facciata si flette come una lastra in procinto di staccarsi: mentre gli sguinci dissimulano le finestre dei servizi, le pareti, scollate dal volume, tradiscono la funzione di puri diaframmi debordanti gli spigoli irregolari del corpo di fabbrica. L'originario bianco dell'intonaco sottolinea i distacchi guizzanti delle pareti, le frizioni tra piani e volumi; mentre il basamento lapideo, compatto e regolare, configura una sorta di piedistallo, che esibisce il blocco scultoreo dell'edificio. Nella Girasole, costruita da un imprenditore privato per un'utenza altoborghese, i termini compositivi dell'Astrea sono esasperati da spregiudicatezza figurativa e dalla drammatizzazione spaziale. Un podio incrostato di inserti lapidei diversi – tra i quali sconcerta il modellato di una gamba nell'imbotte di una finestra – solleva un blocco dai profili tormentati: alle pareti laterali, frastagliate come petali rivolti al sole, si deve la denominazione. La facciata, sottile come uno schermo cinematografico, è profilata come l'ideogramma di un tempio classico; una profonda fessura, nelle cui ombre risiede il nucleo figurale dell'edificio, spacca asimmetricamente l'immagine frontale. E' un'architettura sconcertante, irriferibile a categorie conosciute, tanto da destare l'interesse di Robert Venturi che osserva: "*L'edificio per abitazioni di Luigi Moretti ai Parioli: è un edificio con una spaccatura o due edifici accostati? La calcolata ambiguità di espressione si basa sulla confusione dell'esperienza come è riflessa nel programma architettonico; questo incrementa la ricchezza del significato a scapito della chiarezza del significato*"[29].
Terrazze ellittiche e circolari si accavallano come onde sul

layout is very conventional: an irregular polygon, based on the form of the lot, around a chiostrina, *with two apartments per floor; the residents' entrance and staircase are separate from their service counterparts. While the uneven form of the lot can be seen in the main staircase, with its unusual oblique form, it does not effect the orthogonal, symmetrical arrangement of the facade, composed "in depth" and subdivided in five vertical registers. These registers do not transcribe, as dictated by rationalist orthodoxy, the interaxes of the structure, but instead they disguise them and their asymmetries. The edifices by Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe at the Weissenhof in Stuttgart, visited by Ridolfi precisely in that period, and the collaboration with Wolfgang Frankl and Konrad Wachsmann, influence the design, which is full of echoes of rationalism: the recessed attic with its free trabeation; the partitioning of the window frames; the overhanging balconies of one lateral facade; the purism of the custodian's quarters which, detached from the main volume, outlines the streetfront with a hermetic wall of Travertine stones. The Palazzina Colombo, on Via San Valentino at Parioli (1935-36), permits Ridolfi, again in collaboration with the two German architects, to refine this design both in technological and layout terms, creating a sort of "multiple villa" which even today, in many respects, is an* unicum[27].

While the works of Ridolfi constitute a model for imitation, often in a trivial manner, for a great many Roman professionals, the three palazzine *built after the war by Moretti were destined to remain enigmatic and astonishing "solos" of a creative architect misunderstood by academic critics, due to a sort of ideological prejudice justified only by the times. The particular historicism of Moretti does not focus on the reutilization of one style or another from the past, nor is it oriented toward the literal citation of fragments; the aim is to rediscover compositional principles, syntactic and morphological motives neglected by the modern movement. The confrontation/clash between volumes and surfaces, between the plastic form of the exteriors and the spatial cavities seen in the design of the Milanese building on Corso d'Italia can also be observed in these Roman* palazzine *from the same period: the Cooperativa Astrea (1947-49), on Via Jenner at Monteverde, and the Casa del Girasole on Viale Buozzi at Parioli. The structure of the* palazzina *is manipulated and disrupted in anti-naturalistic figurations, abstractions, based on the spatial-temporal laws that govern our perception of painting and of baroque and modern sculpture[28]. In the Astrea the lot requires a streetfront to the west; this inconvenient exposure prompts Moretti to reverse the usual layout, placing the servants quarters and service staircase near the main facade. For an external concealment of these normally segregated spaces, Moretti makes use of a "Cubist" de-composition of the architectural block, disrupting planes and volumes. At its center, the facade wall bends like a slab about to break away from the structure: while the splayed jambs disguise the service windows, the walls, detached from the volume, betray their function as pure diaphragms, extending beyond the irregular corners of the building itself. The original white of the stucco underlines the detachments of the walls, the frictions between planes and volumes; while the compact, regular stone base represents a sort of pedestal, displaying the sculptural block of the edifice. In the Girasole, built by a private developer for upper middle class tenants, the compositional terms of the Astrea are rendered even more radical by reckless figuration and spatial dramatization. A podium studded with different types of stone inserts – including the disconcerting modelling of a leg in the intrados of a window – supports a block with tormented profiles: the lateral walls, opened like flower petals to the sun, give the building its name (Girasole = sunflower). The thin facade, like a movie screen, is profiled like an ideogram of a classical temple; a deep opening, whose shadows contain the figurative nucleus of the edifice, asymmetrically splits the frontal image. This is a disconcerting work of architecture, separate from all known categories, so much so that it has attracted the interest of Robert Venturi who observes:* "The residential building by Luigi Moretti at Parioli: is it an edifice with split, or two edifices side by side? The calculated ambiguity of expression lies in the confusion of experience as reflected in the architectural program; this increases richness of meaning, at the expense of clarity of meaning"[29]. *Elliptical and circular terraces overlap like waves on the slope of Monte Mario, breaking up the orthogonal geometries of the interior spaces of Palazzina San Maurizio (1962-65) on Via Tomei, again by Moretti; similar but less forceful furor can be seen in the calculated tensions between curvilinear volumes and orthogonal stereometrics in the* palazzina *of Via Arbia (1960-61) by Carlo and Maurizio Aymonino with Baldo De Rossi which, in terms of quality, in a certain*

declivio di Monte Mario e scompaginano le geometrie ortogonali degli spazi interni della Palazzina San Maurizio (1962-65) in Via Tomei, sempre di Moretti, alla quale si apparentano, con mitigato furore, le calibrate tensioni tra volumi a matrice curvilinea e stereometrie ortogonali della palazzina di Via Arbia (1960-61) di Carlo e Maurizio Aymonino con Baldo De Rossi, che, sotto il profilo della qualità, in un certo senso conclude la stagione più creativa di questo fecondo quanto sottovalutato tipo edilizio[30].
La palazzina domina per più decenni il mercato residenziale romano e costituisce un banco di prova inevitabile per i professionisti della capitale; ne deriva pertanto, al di là degli esempi più alti, che abbiamo annoverato, una produzione pletorica, generalmente piuttosto volgare, dove alla massima convenzionalità planimetrica si accompagna frequentemente l'esibizionismo formalistico più smaccato. Tuttavia proprio la copiosità di progetti ha affinato alcuni professionisti romani, il cui nome è diventato sinonimo di "palazzina di qualità". Tra questi riveste il ruolo di protagonista Ugo Luccichenti, attivo a Roma dalla metà degli anni Trenta[31]. Alcune delle sue palazzine hanno assunto, nel tempo, il prestigio e la dignità di classici: si pensi a quella sull'angolo tra Via Panama e Via Lima (1936-37), che sa riscattare un lotto dal taglio infelicissimo trasformandolo in un fecondo suggerimento planimetrico[32]. Le palazzine di Luccichenti, disseminate nei quartieri residenziali più eleganti di Roma (a Piazza delle Muse, 1936, sul Lungotevere Flaminio, 1937, in Via G.B. De Rossi, 1938-39, in Via Bruxelles, 1945-47, ecc.) sono contrassegnate da una non comune vivacità compositiva, dall'aggiornata creatività dei particolari tecnici e dei materiali costruttivi, in definitiva da un orgoglio professionale che, alla metà degli anni Cinquanta, in pieno *boom* edilizio, ha spinto l'architetto ad assegnare una medaglia d'oro come premio all'impresa che avesse costruito al meglio una sua opera, rispettandone accuratamente i disegni costruttivi[33].
Un accattivante repertorio formale di derivazione razionalista è messo in campo tra il 1948 e il 1960 da Amedeo Luccichenti, fratello di Ugo, insieme a Vincenzo Monaco, architetti prediletti dal "generone" romano, in una serie di palazzine che si distinguono per una certa eleganza figurativa. La palazzina di Via San Crescenziano (1952) si segnala, oltre che per il persuasivo impatto volumetrico risonante di echi lecorbusieriani, per il rinnovamento dello schema distributivo: viene abolito il tradizionale, lungo corridoio di disimpegno; il blocco scale è proiettato all'esterno ad agganciare il corpo basso delle autorimesse, anch'esso esterno; le terrazze, audacemente protese, catturano i frammenti del paesaggio boschivo di Villa Ada, che si addensa al di là della Salaria.
Il prevalere, a partire dagli anni Settanta, dell'edilizia economica-popolare che, insieme a quella abusiva, assorbe di fatto la quasi totalità della domanda di nuove abitazioni a Roma, ha portato alla rarefazione della palazzina, tipo edilizio medio e altoborghese per definizione, solitamente connesso all'iniziativa privata, da cui il termine romanesco "palazzinaro", per indicare dapprima il costruttore in proprio, spregiudicato e tuttavia capace, al quale si è sostituito nel tempo un imprenditore, spesso improvvisato, che ha dissipato il patrimonio dell'artigianato edile romano, per secoli abile e inventivo.

Note

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1) Sull'E42 nel dopoguerra si veda *E42. Utopia e scenario del Regime*, II, *Urbanistica, architettura, arte e decorazione*, cat. mostra Roma, Marsilio, Venezia 1987. Non vengono completati il teatro all'aperto di Giovanni Michelucci e il Palazzo dell'Agricoltura e delle Foreste di Armando Brasini: di entrambi gli edifici verranno anzi demolite le consistenti parti già edificate. Sui singoli edifici si veda anche il documentato e criticamente attento P.O. ROSSI, *Roma. Guida all'architettura moderna 1909-1984*, Roma-Bari 1984, con bibliografia.

2) Su Piacentini si veda M. LUPANO, *Marcello Piacentini*, Roma-Bari 1991, pp.158-59; le pagine dedicate al dopoguerra non sono tuttavia esaurienti.

3) M. PIACENTINI, A. SPACCARELLI, *Memoria sugli studi e sui lavori per l'accesso a San Pietro (Rione Borgo)*, Roma 1944.

4) Sono insufficienti gli studi critici su Florestano Di Fausto, del quale fornisce un'attenta indagine biografica G. MIANO, *Florestano Di Fausto. From Rhodes to Libya*, in "Environmental Design", *Amate sponde... Presence of Italy in the Architecture of the Islamic Mediterranean*, VIII, 9/10, 1992, pp.56-67.

5) Si veda la presentazione dello stesso V. CAFIERO, *Il Palazzo della FAO a Roma*, in "Prospettive" I, 4, 1952, pp.9-24. Il progetto vincitore del concorso di secondo grado è redatto, oltre che da Cafiero, da Ettore Rossi, Mario Ridolfi e Wolfgang Frankl; questi due ultimi saranno progressivamente estromessi dal progetto esecutivo, tanto che i loro nomi non compaiono nell'articolo su "Prospettive".

6) La chiesa a Piazza Euclide è tuttora mancante del tamburo e della cupola: si veda M.G. D'AMELIO, *Il progetto di Armando Brasini per la cupola del tempio del Cuore Immacolato di Maria a Roma*, in *Lo specchio del cielo*, a cura di C. CONFORTI, Electa, Milano 1997. Il ponte sul Tevere denominato "XXVIII Ottobre" dall'anniversario della marcia dei fascisti su Roma, dopo la guerra diventa "Ponte della Libertà"; progettato da Armando Brasini a monte del Ponte Milvio, viene portato a termine, chiudendo un cantiere protratto oltre un decennio tra molte critiche feroci e rarissimi consensi. Anche nelle recenti guide all'architettura moderna romana queste opere di Brasini continuano a essere omesse; fanno eccezione G. CIUCCI, V. DE FEO, *Itinerari per Roma*, Guide dell'Espresso, Vicenza 1985, che riservano alcune righe alla segnalazione di questi edifici. Su Brasini si veda *L'opera architettonica e urbanistica di Armando Brasini*, a cura di L. BRASINI, Roma 1979; M. PISANI, *Architetture di Armando*

sense concludes the most creative period of this fertile but undervalued building typology[30].

The palazzina *has dominated the Roman real estate market for decades, and represents a kind of inevitable trial for the practicing architects of the capital; as a result it has been endlessly imitated, usually in a rather vulgar way, in which maximum planimetric conventionality is combined with the most shameless formal exhibitionism. Nevertheless, precisely this large quantity of production has refined the work of certain Roman professionals, whose names have become synonymous with the "quality* palazzina*". The most important of these architects is Ugo Luccichenti, active in Rome since the mid-Thirties*[31]. *Some of his* palazzine *have taken on, over time, the prestige and the dignity of the classics: consider the building at the intersection of Via Panama and Via Lima (1936-37), that manages to redeem a lot with a very unfavorable form, by means of a creative planimetric idea*[32]. *The* palazzine *of Luccichenti, scattered throughout the most elegant residential districts of Rome (Piazza delle Muse, 1936, Lungotevere Flaminio, 1937, Via G.B. De Rossi, 1938-39, Via Bruxelles, 1945-47, etc.) are characterized by unusual compositional vivacity, by up-to-date creativity in technical particulars and construction materials, and by a certain professional pride which, in the mid-Fifties, in the middle of the building boom, prompted the architect to award a gold medal to the contractor who had best completed one of his works, with the greatest accuracy in following the executive drawings*[33].

An interesting formal repertory, of rationalist origin, is utilized, between 1948 and 1960, by Amedeo Luccichenti, the brother of Ugo, together with Vincenzo Monaco, the favored architects of the Roman generone *(nouveau riche), in a series of* palazzine *that stand out for a certain figurative elegance. The* palazzina *of Via San Crescenziano (1952) is distinguished not only for its persuasive volumetric impact, full of echoes of Le Corbusier, but also for the novelty of its layout scheme: the traditional long corridor is eliminated, the stairwell projects outward, connecting to the low volume of the garage; the audaciously overhanging terraces capture fragments of the wooded landscape of Villa Ada, on the other side of the Salaria. The prevalence, beginning in the 1970s, of the building of low-cost housing which, together with unauthorized speculation, absorbs nearly all the demand for new residential building in Rome, has led to a decrease in the building of the* palazzina, *a typology, by definition, for the middle and upper middle classes, usually commissioned by private developers, leading to the Roman slang term "palazzinaro", to indicate those contractor-speculators who have so irresponsibly wasted the heritage of skillful, inventive building craftsmanship which had thrived for centuries in Rome.*

Notes

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1) On E42 in the postwar period see E42. Utopia e scenario del Regime, *II,* Urbanistica, architettura, arte e decorazione, *exhibition catalogue Rome, Marsilio, Venice 1987. Projects not completed include the outdoor theater of Giovanni Michelucci and the Agriculture and Forestry building by Armando Brasini: in fact, the large parts already built of these structures were demolished. On the individual buildings, see the well-documented and critically attentive work of P.O. ROSSI,* Roma. Guida all'architettura moderna 1909-1984, *Rome-Bari 1984, with bibliography.*

2) On Piacentini see M. LUPANO, Marcello Piacentini, *Rome-Bari 1991, pp.158-59; coverage of the postwar period, in this work, is not particularly complete.*

3) M. PIACENTINI, A. SPACCARELLI, Memoria sugli studi e sui lavori per l'accesso a San Pietro (Rione Borgo), *Rome 1944.*

4) Critical studies on Florestano Di Fausto are insufficient; useful biographical information is provided by G. MIANO, Florestano Di Fausto. From Rhodes to Libya, *in "Environmental Design",* Amate sponde... Presence of Italy in the Architecture of the Islamic Mediterranean, *VIII, 9/10, 1992, pp.56-67.*

5) See the presentation by V. CAFIERO himself, Il Palazzo della FAO a Roma, *in "Prospettive" I, 4, 1952, pp.9-24. The project that won the second phase of the competition was prepared by Cafiero, Ettore Rossi, Mario Ridolfi and Wolfgang Frankl; that last two were gradually excluded from the executive design, and their names do not appear in the article in "Prospettive".*

6) The church of Piazza Euclide is still lacking the tambour and the cupola: see M.G. D'AMELIO, Il progetto di Armando Brasini per la cupola del tempio del Cuore Immacolato di Maria a Roma, *in* Lo specchio del cielo, *ed. C. CONFORTI, Electa, Milan 1997. The bridge on the Tiber known as "XXVIII Ottobre" for the anniversary of the Fascist march on Rome, and after the war known as "Ponte della Libertà", designed by Armando Brasini upstream from the Milvio bridge, was completed, concluding a worksite that dragged on for more than a decade, in the midst of ferocious controversy and very little consensus. Even in recent guides to modern Roman architecture these works by Brasini continue to be omitted; an exception is G. CIUCCI, V. DE FEO,* Itinerari per Roma, *Guide dell'Espresso, Vicenza 1985, with a few lines set aside for these structures. On Brasini see* L'opera architettonica e urbanistica di Armando Brasini, *ed. L. BRASINI, Rome 1979; M. PISANI,* Architetture di Armando Brasini, *Officina, Rome 1996, also with illustrations of the* Urbe Massima.

7) The study is published in the "Giornale del Genio Civile", 87, 564, 1949.

8) Regarding the palazzina *see:* Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica (DAU), *IV, p.344, ad vocem; the writings of P. PORTOGHESI,* Palazzina Romana, *in "Casabella", 407, 1975, pp.17-25; IDEM,* Biografia della palazzina romana, *in IDEM,* L'angelo della storia. Teorie e linguaggi dell'architettura, *Laterza, Rome-Bari 1982, pp.269-283; an overview of the* palazzina *typology is published in "Rassegna critica di architettura", Facoltà di Architettura di Roma, 16-17, 1950-51, pp.3-42; V. FRATICELLI,* Rome 1914-1929. La città e gli architetti tra la guerra e il fascismo, *Officina, Rome 1982, pp.224-229; the monographic issue of "Metamorfosi",* Dal "villino" alla "palazzina". Roma 1920/40, *8, 1987, reprinted in 1993; the educational pamphlet* Palazzina e città, *ed. A. AYMONINO and M. CICCHITTI, Dipartimento Architettura e Urbanistica, Pescara 1994. The latter, on p.36, like* DAU *and PORTOGHESI – in both essays – indicates the height of the* palazzina *as 17*

Brasini, Officina, Roma 1996, che pubblica anche alcune tavole dell'*Urbe Massima*.
7) Lo studio è pubblicato sul "Giornale del Genio Civile", 87, 564, 1949.
8) Sulla palazzina si vedano: *Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica* (*DAU*), IV, p.344, *ad vocem*; gli scritti di P. PORTOGHESI, *Palazzina Romana*, in "Casabella", 407, 1975, pp.17-25; IDEM, *Biografia della palazzina romana*, in IDEM, *L'angelo della storia. Teorie e linguaggi dell'architettura*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 1982, pp.269-283; una rassegna di palazzine è pubblicata da "Rassegna critica di architettura", Facoltà di Architettura di Roma, 16-17, 1950-51, pp.3-42; V. FRATICELLI, *Roma 1914-1929. La città e gli architetti tra la guerra e il fascismo*, Officina, Roma 1982, pp.224-229; il numero monografico di "Metamorfosi", *Dal "villino" alla "palazzina". Roma 1920/40*, 8, 1987, ristampa 1993; l'opuscolo didattico *Palazzina e città*, a cura di A. AYMONINO e M. CICCHITTI, Dipartimento Architettura e Urbanistica, Pescara 1994. Quest'ultimo a p.36, al pari del *DAU*, e di PORTOGHESI – in entrambi i saggi–, indica l'altezza della palazzina in 17 metri, anziché in 19, come da regolamento. Lo stesso errore è ripreso dall'*Enciclopedia dell'Architettura* Garzanti, Milano 1996, p.616, *ad vocem*.
9) Le norme che regolano la costruzione delle palazzine sono ripubblicate su "Urbanistica", 28-29, 1959, pp.200-201.
10) Risulta molto eloquente il confronto tra le tavole dei Piani del 1909 e del 1931, pubblicate in "Metamorfosi", cit., pp.4-5.
11) V. FRATICELLI, *Roma 1914-1929*...cit., p.225.
12) *Aggiunta al Regolamento Edilizio speciale di Roma*, art.8bis, in "Urbanistica", 28-29...cit., p.201; esso è ribadito in *Costruzioni a palazzine*, delle *Norme generali del P.R. di Roma* del 1931, art.2, ivi, p.35.
13) D. BARBIERI, *Per la grande Roma. Formazione e sviluppo delle grandi città moderne*, Milano 1927, fornisce un abaco di schemi planimetrici di palazzine. La caratteristica distributiva di "*un solo ingresso e molti appartamenti*" è caricaturalmente raffigurata da una vignetta di Maccari dedicata a Ugo Luccichenti e pubblicata in *Ugo Luccichenti architetto*, a cura di F. PIERDOMENICO e M. PIERSENSINI, Officina, Roma 1980, p.12; l'*Introduzione* di Mario Manieri Elia, pp.7-17, è ricca di osservazioni sulla palazzina e sul professionismo romano.
14) Sulle *domus* di Ponti si veda F. IRACE, *Gio Ponti. La casa all'italiana*, Electa, Milano 1988, passim.
15) L'osservazione è citata IVI, p.195; alla palazzina è dedicata una scheda da P.O. ROSSI, *Roma. Guida all'architettura* ...cit., p.123; restauri recenti hanno sostituito il rivestimento originale con l'intonaco, il grès rimane solo all'attico.
16) A. BELLUZZI, C. CONFORTI, *Architettura italiana 1944/94*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 1994, p.33.
17) L. SPEZZAFERRO, *La Roma di Sisto V*, in *Momenti di architettura*, in *Storia Arte Italiana Einaudi*, III, V, Torino 1983. La particolare conformazione di tante zone di Roma all'interno delle mura è costantemente testimoniata nelle lettere e nei documenti. Bastino alcuni esempi: nel 1385 un documento notarile definisce la zona intorno alla torre delle Milizie "*loco suspecto et sterili et inhabitato*", in E. HUBERT, *Economie de la propriété immobilière*, in *Roma nei secoli XIII e XIV cinque saggi*, a cura di E. HUBERT, Ecole Française, Viella, Roma 1993, p.196, n.73. Due secoli più tardi la zona di Via della Lungara è definita dal letterato Antonio Querenghi "*qui possiam dire d'essere dove diceva Socrate non potersi imparare altro che a discorrer con gli arbori, e con le pietre*", in C. CONFORTI, *Testimonianze letterarie e disegni inediti sulle residenze estensi a Roma fra il XV e il XVII secolo*, in "Palladio", II, 4, 1989, p.50.
18) Sulle valenze di immagine urbana delle architetture barocche si veda il saggio del 1939, *Neuer Versuch über Borromini*, recentemente tradotto in italiano, di H. SEDLMAYR, *Borromini*, in "Casabella", LX, 637, 1996, pp.66-75.
19) L. MORETTI, *Colore di Venezia*, in "Spazio", I, 3, 1950, p.33.
20) P. PORTOGHESI, *Palazzina Romana*,...cit., p.19; P.O. ROSSI, *Roma. Guida all'architettura*...cit., p.47.
21) Un dispositivo analogo di arretramento con articolazione della parete era stato adottato da Auguste Perret nell'edificio al 25 bis di rue Franklin a Parigi del 1903-1904.
22) P. PORTOGHESI, *Palazzina Romana*, cit., p.19, ricorda che, a causa di questo edificio, che peraltro si raccorda a tutta una stagione dell'architettura romana "barocchetta", Capponi venne soprannominato "Borromini in camicia".
23) *Palazzina al lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia della Società per Costruzioni Ing. Nervi e Nebbiosi su progetto dell'architetto G. Capponi. Roma 1928*, s.l., s.d.. Il volumetto, privo di testo, è aperto da una breve *Introduzione* dei costruttori, che recita "(…) *una palazzina per abitazioni di carattere signorile, con appartamenti da 16 a 20 ambienti* (…). *I criteri seguiti nello studio del progetto, e nella scelta dei materiali e degli impianti, hanno per scopo la realizzazione del tipo di casa moderna, perfetta nelle rifiniture, italiana di carattere*".
24) La palazzina è analizzata da M.L. NERI, *Mario De Renzi. L'architettura come mestiere 1897-1967*, Roma 1992, pp.118-119; una scheda gli viene dedicata in P.O. ROSSI, *Roma. Guida all'architettura*...cit., p.126. Su De Renzi si veda anche T. CARUNCHIO, *De Renzi*, Editalia, Roma 1981.
25) M.L. NERI, *Mario De Renzi*..., cit., p.118. Improvvide superfetazioni recenti hanno offuscato la limpida stereometria dell'edificio.
26) IVI, pp.156-157.
27) Una fine lettura delle palazzine è delineata da F. BELLINI, *Mario Ridolfi*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 1993, pp.25-29; si veda anche P.O. ROSSI, *Roma. Guida all'architettura*... cit., pp.109-110.
28) Si vedano gli scritti di Moretti pubblicati sui sette numeri, i soli usciti, di "Spazio", la rivista votata utopisticamente a un progetto di integrazione tra le arti, fondata nel 1950 e diretta dallo stesso Moretti. Sui rapporti dell'architetto con l'arte e gli artisti si vedano le interviste a Giulio Carlo Argan e Bruno Zevi in *Architetture a Roma. Dagli anni '50 agli anni '80*, in "Bollettino della Facoltà di Architettura dell'università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza", 42-43, 1990, pp.35-40. L'opera di Moretti è sintetizzata in *Luigi Moretti*, a cura di S. SANTUCCIO, Zanichelli, Bologna 1986; L. FINELLI, *La promessa e il debito architettura 1926-1973*, Officina, Roma 1989; sulla casa del Girasole si vedano C. CONFORTI, *Casa del Girasole*, in A. BELLUZZI, C. CONFORTI, *Architettura italiana*..., cit., pp.115-120; I. BURGDORF, *Untersuchungen zur Casa del Girasole von Luigi Moretti*, tesi di dottorato, rel. W.Oechslin, ETH Zürich, 1989.
29) R. VENTURI, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, New York, 1966, trad. it. Laterza, Bari 1980, p.26.
30) Su Via Arbia si vedano C. CONFORTI, *Carlo Aymonino. L'architettura non è un mito*, Officina, Roma 1980, pp.39-41, 104-105; G. PRIORI, *Carlo Aymonino*, Zanichelli, Bologna 1990, pp.44-49.
31) All'opera di Ugo Luccichenti, ingegnere e architetto, è dedicata una sintetica monografia: *Ugo Luccichenti architetto* ...cit., dove tuttavia prevale l'attenzione alle ville, peraltro di scarsa originalità compositiva, mentre alle palazzine è riservata una telegrafica sezione di fotine. Sull'attività di questo architetto, gravata dalla responsabilità progettuale dell'hotel Cavalieri Hilton a Monte Mario, uno tra i più reclamizzati abusi paesaggistici della capitale, manca uno studio analitico e un'adeguata esegesi critica. Un rapido sguardo d'insieme è in B. DI GADDO, *Opere di Ugo Luccichenti professionista romano*, in "L'architettura cronache e storia", II, 15, 1957, pp.638-643.
32) La palazzina di Via Panama angolo Via Lima è illustrata in M. PIACENTINI, *Palazzina in via Panama a Roma. Arch. Ugo Luccichenti*, in "Architettura", XV, III, marzo 1937, pp.165-171.
33) B. DI GADDO, *Opere di Ugo Luccichenti*...cit., p.639.

meters, rather than 19, as would have been in keeping with the regulations. The same error is propagated in the Enciclopedia dell'Architettura *Garzanti, Milan 1996, p.616,* ad vocem.
9) The norms regulating the construction of the palazzine *were also published in "Urbanistica", 28-29, 1959, pp.200-201.*
10) A comparison of of the Plans of 1909 and 1931 in the tables published in "Metamorfosi", cit., pp.4-5, is very eloquent.
11) V. FRATICELLI, Roma 1914-1929... *cit., p.225.*
12) Aggiunta al Regolamento Edilizio speciale di Roma, *art.8bis, in "Urbanistica", 28-29...cit., p.201; this is reiterated in* Costruzioni a palazzine, *from the* Norme generali del PR di Roma*1931, art.2, ivi, p.35.*
13) D. BARBIERI, Per la grande Roma. Formazione e sviluppo delle grandi città moderne, *Milan, 1927, providing an overview of the planimetric schemes of the* palazzine. *The layout characteristic of* "a single entrance and many apartments" *is ironically caricatured in a cartoon by Maccari dedicated to Ugo Luccichenti and published in* Ugo Luccichenti architetto, *ed. F. PIERDOMENICO and M. PIERSENSINI, Officina, Rome 1980, p.12; the introduction by Mario Manieri Elia, pp.7-17, is full of observations on the* palazzina *and on Roman professionism.*
14) On the domus *of Ponti see F. IRACE,* Gio Ponti. La casa all'italiana, *Electa, Milan, 1988.*
15) The observation is cited IVI, p.195; the palazzina *is treated in a profile by P.O. ROSSI,* Roma. Guida all'architettura *...cit., p.123; recent restorations have replaced the original facings with stucco; the grès remains only at the attic level.*
16) A. BELLUZZI, C. CONFORTI, Architettura italiana 1944/94, *Laterza, Rome-Bari 1994, p.33.*
17) L. SPEZZAFERRO, La Roma di Sisto V, *in* Momenti di architettura, *in* Storia Arte Italiana Einaudi, *III, V, Turin 1983. The particular conformation of many zones of Rome within the walls is constantly shown in the letters and documents. A few examples suffice: in 1385 a notary's document defines the zone around the Torre delle Milizie* "Loco suspecto et sterili et inhabitato", *in E. HUBERT,* Economie de la propriété immobilière, *in* Roma nei secoli XIII e XIV cinque saggi, *ed. E. HUBERT, Ecole Française, Viella, Rome 1993, p.196, n.73. Two centuries later the zone of Via della Lungara was defined by the writer Antonio Querenghi* "here we can say that we are in that place where Socrates said you cannot learn anything, except how to talk to the trees and the stones", *in C. CONFORTI,* Testimonianze letterarie e disegni inediti sulle residenze estensi a Roma fra il XV e il XVII secolo, *in "Palladio", II, 4, 1989, p.50.*
18) On urban image values of baroque architecture see the 1939 essay, Neuer Versuch über Borromini, *recently translated in Italian, by H. SEDLMAYR,* Borromini, *in "Casabella" LX, 637, 1996, pp.66-75.*
19) L. MORETTI, Colore di Venezia, *in "Spazio", I, 3, 1950, p.33.*
20) P. PORTOGHESI, Palazzina Romana... *cit., p.19; P.O. ROSSI,* Roma. Guida all'architettura... *cit., p.47.*
21) A similar device of recessing with articulation of the wall was used by Auguste Perret in the edifice at 25 bis Rue Franklin in Paris, 1903-1904.
22) P. PORTOGHESI, Palazzina Romana, *cit., p.19, recalls that, because of this edifice, which is also connected to an entire period of "barocchetta" Roman architecture, Capponi was knicknamed "Borromini in camicia".*
23) Palazzina al lungotevere Arnaldo da Brescia della Società per Costruzioni Ing. Nervi e Nebbiosi su progetto dell'architetto G. Capponi. Roma 1928, *s.l., s.d.. The booklet, without text, begins with a brief Introduction of the builders that informs us: "(...)* a palazzina for upper class residences, with apartments from 16 to 20 rooms *(...)* The criteria followed in the design, in the choice of materials and plant elements, are aimed at the creation of a type of modern home, with perfect finishings, Italian in character".
24) The palazzina *is analyzed by M.L. NERI,* Mario De Renzi. L'architettura come mestiere 1897-1967, *Rome,1992, pp.118-119; a profile is provided in P.O. ROSSI,* Roma. Guida all'architettura*...cit., p.126. On De Renzi see also T. CARUNCHIO,* De Renzi, *Editalia, Rome, 1981.*
25) M.L. NERI, Mario De Renzi..., *cit., p.118. Inappropriate recent additions have concealed the lucid stereometry of the edifice.*
26) IVI, pp.156-157.
27) A fine interpretation of the palazzine *is provided by F. BELLINI,* Mario Ridolfi, *Laterza, Rome-Bari 1993, pp.25-29; also see P.O. ROSSI,* Roma. Guida all'architettura... *cit., pp.109-110.*
28) See the writings of Moretti published in the seven issues, the only ones released, of "Spazio", a magazine with a utopian program of integration of the arts, founded in 1950 and directed by Moretti himself. On the relations of the architect with art and artists see the interviews with Giulio Carlo Argan and Bruno Zevi in Architetture a Roma. Dagli anni '50 agli anni '80, *in "Bollettino della Facoltà di Architettura dell'università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza", 42-43, 1990, pp.35-40. The work of Moretti is summed up in* Luigi Moretti, *ed. S. SANTUCCIO, Zanichelli, Bologna 1986; L. FINELLI,* La promessa e il debito architettura 1926-1973, *Officina, Rome,1989; on the Casa del Girasole see C. CONFORTI,* Casa del Girasole, *in A. BELLUZZI, C. CONFORTI,* Architettura italiana..., *cit., pp.115-120; I. BURGDORF,* Untersuchungen zur Casa del Girasole von Luigi Moretti, *doctoral thesis, prof. W.Oechslin, ETH Zürich, 1989.*
29) R. VENTURI, Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture, *New York, 1966, trans. It., Laterza, Bari 1980, p.26.*
30) On Via Arbia see C. CONFORTI, Carlo Aymonino. L'architettura non è un mito, *Officina, Rome, 1980, pp.39-41, 104-105; G. PRIORI,* Carlo Aymonino, *Zanichelli, Bologna 1990, pp.44-49.*
31) The work of Ugo Luccichenti, engineer and architect, is covered in a synthetic monograph: Ugo Luccichenti architetto,*...cit., in which, nevertheless, the focus is on the villas, which are not very original in compositional terms, while for the* palazzine *only a rapid section of small photos is included. On the activity of this architect, compromised by his responsibility for the Hotel Cavalieri Hilton at Monte Mario, one of the most notorious landscape abuses of the capital, no adequate analytical study or critical exegesis yet exists. A rapid overview is provided in B. DI GADDO,* Opere di Ugo Luccichenti professionista romano, *in* L'architettura cronache e storia, *II, 15, 1957, pp.638-643.*
32) The palazzina *at the intersection of Via Panama and Via Lima is illustrated in M. PIACENTINI,* Palazzina in via Panama a Roma. Arch. Ugo Luccichenti, *in "Architettura", XV, III, March 1937, pp.165-171.*
33) B. DI GADDO, Opere di Ugo Luccichenti*...cit., p.639.*



La Roma del Giubileo dell'anno 2000

Localizzazione sulla pianta della città di Roma dei progetti presentati in questo numero:
1) Progetti per la Chiesa del 2000;
2) Sistemazione museale dell'Ara Pacis;
3) Sistemazione del Giardino Romano nel complesso dei Musei Capitolini;
4) Concorso a inviti per la ristrutturazione della Bibliotheca Hertziana;
5) Ristrutturazione del Palazzo delle Esposizioni;
6) Concorso a inviti "Una piazza per il Foro Italico";
7) Consultazione a inviti per il Sistema Direzionale Orientale Pietralata-Tiburtina.

Localization on the map of the city of Rome of the projects presented in this issue:
1) Projects for the Church of the Year 2000;
2) Organization of the Ara Pacis Museum Complex;
3) Organization of the Roman Garden in the complex of the Musei Capitolini;
4) Competition entry by invitation for the renovation of the Bibliotheca Hertziana;
5) Restructuring of the Palazzo delle Esposizioni;
6) Competition entry by invitation "A piazza for the Foro Italico";
7) Consultation projects by invitation for the Sistema Direzionale Orientale (SDO, Eastern Administrative System), Pietralata-Tiburtina area.



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Progetti per la Chiesa del 2000, Roma

1995

Tadao Ando
Peter Eisenman
Frank O. Gehry
Richard Meier

La Chiesa dell'anno 2000, Roma
Tadao Ando

Il progetto di concorso prevede la realizzazione di una chiesa e di un centro parrocchiale per una diocesi situata nella periferia di Roma, in occasione della celebrazione dell'anno 2000.
Ho pensato di creare un luogo adatto a interagire e a comunicare con Dio e, in quest'epoca dominata da condizioni sociali incerte e da ambienti disorganici, adatto all'introspezione personale.
Il sito è un terreno piano ubicato lungo il margine di una zona residenziale composta da alti condomini, adiacente a una strada, a un'area di parcheggio e a un parco. L'intero progetto prevede la costruzione di una chiesa, di un centro parrocchiale, di un chiostro e di una residenza per il clero.
Dal lato sud del sito, un lieve pendio conduce a un muro di cemento di m 8 di altezza; svoltando a sinistra lungo la parete si trova l'ingresso alla chiesa che si configura a forma di triangolo isoscele con l'apice rivolto a est. Al suo interno lo spazio ha una distribuzione centripeta e una scala scende alla zona del santuario. La luce, che filtra attraverso una fessura aperta in corrispondenza dell'apice della cappella, dietro l'altare, e attraverso un'altra apertura a forma di croce nel soffitto, crea un'atmosfera di sacralità e spiritualità.
Avvicinandosi all'entrata spoglia e procedendo a destra, si raggiunge un sentiero che scende verso il chiostro circondato da un giardino con fontane. Questo chiostro seminterrato è concepito come un rifugio dalla vita di tutti i giorni. Una zona in cui incontrare qualcuno o sostare, vicino all'acqua, e concedersi momenti di riflessione.
Contrariamente allo spazio centripeto della cappella, le sale comuni e la residenza del clero sono distribuite ai margini del chiostro situato a un livello tale da rendere semplice l'accesso a ogni altro locale.

The Church of the Year 2000, Rome
Tadao Ando

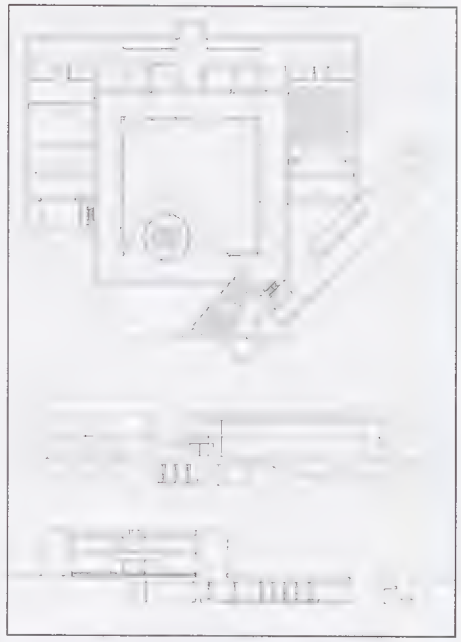
This is a conceptual design for a competition involving a church and parish center for a diocese in the suburbs of Rome, for the Jubilee of the year 2000.
My intention was to create a place for interaction and communion with God, and for personal reflection, in this period of chaotic social conditions and inorganic environments.
The site is on flat, even ground, on the outskirts of Rome, along one side of a residential area with high-rise condominiums, surrounded by a road and a parking lot, and a nearby park.
The overall design includes the church, an underground community center and colonnade, and the cleric's residence.
From the south side of the site there is a gentle grade approaching an 8 meter concrete wall. Continuing to the left along the wall, one reaches the entrance of the church.
The configuration of the church is an isosceles triangle with the apex pointing eastward. Inside, the chapel has a centripetal layout, with a stair-stepped flooring down toward the area of the sanctuary. Light penetrates through a slit at the apex of the chapel, behind the altar, and through a cruciform opening in the ceiling, creating an atmosphere of sanctity and spirituality.
By proceeding to the right after approaching the bare entrance wall one reaches a sloping pathway that leads down to a colonnade surrounding a water garden. This colonnade, below ground level, offers a sanctuary from everyday life; an area for gathering or lingering, near water, for quiet reflection.
In contrast to the centripetal space of the chapel, the meeting rooms and clerical residence are located around the periphery of the colonnade; from this lower level easy access is provided to all the facilities.

La Chiesa dell'anno 2000, Roma
Peter Eisenman

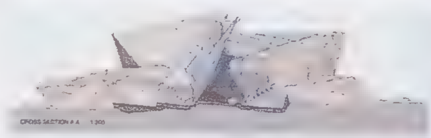
La Chiesa nell'era dell'informazione. Al giorno d'oggi i viaggi aerei e i mezzi di comunicazione hanno appiattito la distanza del pellegrinaggio e creato un accesso universale a questa esperienza. Di nuovo, come in passato, è la chiesa stessa a dover procurare l'esperienza di distanza e vicinanza del pellegrino. Il nome della nostra chiesa diviene simbolo della distanza e della vicinanza, di due percorsi. Perciò la navata stessa si trasforma, per così dire, in due corsie laterali, ciascuna delle quali consente il passaggio come in un pellegrinaggio attraverso lo spazio della comunione. Questi due passaggi su entrambi i lati di uno spazio centrale scoperto sono "inclusi", accentuando il contrasto di luce e ombra, spazio e volume, per esprimere il mistero lontano del sacramento. Perciò la chiesa propone una coppia di percorsi, uno laico, l'altro ecclesiastico, attraverso lo spazio della comunione. La messa quotidiana è celebrata nella cappella feriale, mentre quella domenicale in una delle due corsie laterali e nelle festività più importanti in tutte e tre le zone attraverso i *media*. La chiesa diviene un analogo terreno del cielo. Il suo fine non è tanto di creare uno spazio, quanto creare la sensazione di uno spazio ancora più grande. Tutto è misterioso e seminascosto, e tutto è insieme rivelato; la chiesa nelle sue contraddizioni contemporanee, tra mistero e chiarezza, spazio e massa.
La Chiesa come mezzo di comunicazione. Nel medioevo e nell'età delle cattedrali gotiche, la chiesa mediava tra il celebrante e i fedeli. I fedeli non capivano il latino della messa, ma l'iconografia della chiesa, le sue cappelle, sculture, fregi, stoffe e dipinti, comunicavano il significato religioso della messa. In quell'epoca l'architettura della chiesa era un mezzo di comunicazione molto forte. Oggi stiamo vivendo un cambiamento culturale da un mondo in cui la tecnologia e i suoi meccanismi erano i mediatori, ad un altro in cui l'informazione sta diventando il nuovo mediatore tra Dio, l'uomo e la natura.
Come fa la Chiesa ad orientarsi attraverso l'informazione per comunicare il suo messaggio religioso? Questo progetto riflette questo mutamento culturale e l'effetto che ha sull'architettura della chiesa, e in particolare sull'architettura di questa chiesa di pellegrinaggio, in questo luogo, in questo momento e per questa particolare funzione.
Come le vetrate colorate delle cattedrali gotiche erano un grande strumento di comunicazione, la nostra chiesa propone una forma contemporanea di "vetrata colorata", una "*media wall*" che può essere vista sia dalle navate laterali che dallo spazio centrale scoperto, così da permettere la penetrazione sia della luce che delle informazioni, consentendo che tutti possano assistere ai sacramenti nei giorni di grande affluenza (la "*media wall*" è fatta di pannelli di cristalli liquidi che ci guidano all'iconografia della chiesa).

The Church of the Year 2000, Rome
Peter Eisenman

The Church in the age of information. *Today, air travel and media have collapsed the distance of the pilgrimage and created universal access to its experience. Again, as in the past, the church itself must provide the pilgrim's experience of distance and proximity. The name of our church becomes symbolic of proximity and distance, two routes. Therefore the actual nave of the church becomes, as it were, two side aisles, each providing passage as in a pilgrimage space of communion. These two passages, on either side of the roofless central space, are enclosed, heightening the contrasts of light and shadow, space and mass to express the distant mystery of the sacrament. Thus the church becomes two routes, one, the secular route, the other, the ecclesiastical route through the space of communion, the mass is celebrated in the chapel for daily mass, and in one of the two side aisles for Sunday mass, and in all three areas via media for feast days.*
The church becomes an earthly analogue to heaven. Its aim is not so much to create space as to create the feeling of still greater space. Everything is mysterious and half-hidden, yet everything is revealed; the church in its contemporary contradictions between mystery and clarity, space and mass.
The Church as Media. *In the Middle Ages and the period of the Gothic cathedrals, the church mediated between the celebrant of the mass and the congregant. The congregants did not understand the Latin language of the mass, but the iconography of the church, its chapels, sculptures, carvings, tapestries, and paintings related the religious significance of the mass to the people. At this time, church architecture was a strong media. Today, we are experiencing a cultural shift from a world in which technology and its mechanisms were the mediators to one in which information is becoming the new mediator between God, man, and nature. How does the church sort through this information to relay its religious message? This project reflects this cultural shift and the effect it has on the architecture of the church, and in particular the architecture of this pilgrimage church at this place, at this time, for this particular function. As the stained glass in the Gothic Cathedrals was a major form of media, our church introduces a contemporary form of "Stained glass", a media wall in each side aisle which can be seen from both the central outdoor space and each side aisle. The media wall allows for both light and media to penetrate the body of the church, and allows for everyone to witness the sacraments during days of large assembly. The media wall is made up of panels of liquid crystals which lead us to the iconography of the church.*





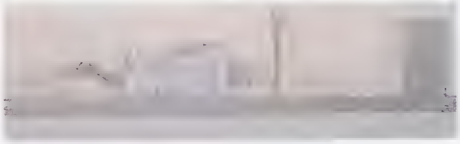


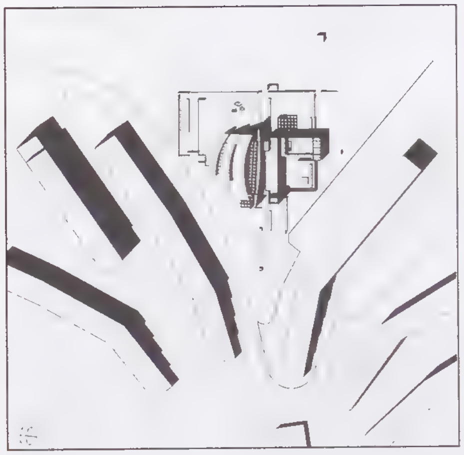


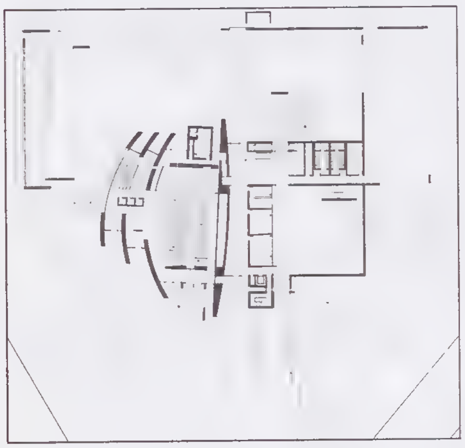
Tadao Ando: pianta del piano interrato e sezioni.
Peter Eisenman: planivolumetria e sezioni.

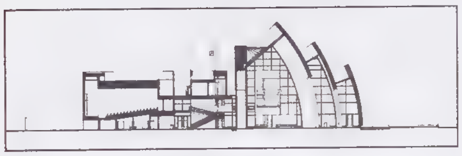
Tadao Ando: plan of the basement and sections.
Peter Eisenman: planivolumetric and sections.











La Chiesa dell'anno 2000, Roma
Frank O. Gehry

Il sito. L'importanza di trasmettere un senso del luogo in un contesto prevalentemente residenziale ha indotto a progettare il sito in base alla configurazione tradizionale del chiostro, creando un recinto al tempo stesso casuale e accogliente, modesto nel suo carattere architettonico. La dislocazione degli elementi del programma in questa configurazione a chiostro risponde alle interrelazioni richieste dalle quattro zone previste dallo schema funzionale. Considerazioni altrettanto importanti per la loro localizzazione sono l'accessibilità pubblica e privata e l'esposizione alla luce naturale. Questi elementi programmatici sono articolati in una serie di edifici isolati ognuno dei quali è accessibile dal sagrato al centro del chiostro. Il campanile si trova nell'angolo sudest della corte centrale con un'altezza massima di m 30, in struttura di metallo a vista con tre lati rivestiti in pietra.
A nordovest, adiacente a Largo Serafino Ceyasco, è prevista una vasca d'acqua rettangolare (m 43x63) che pone in relazione la chiesa e il centro parrocchiale con il quartiere residenziale e il parco pubblico vicini.
L'intera area è perimetrata da un filare di platani che creano l'atmosfera di un giardino, mentre due gruppi di alberi, agli angoli nord e ovest, contribuiscono a creare una composizione armoniosa tra il contesto, la vasca d'acqua e la nuova architettura.
La chiesa. La chiesa è ubicata nella metà settentrionale del chiostro per evitare l'ombra proiettata dalle residenze a sud consentendo la massima esposizione alla luce naturale della corte centrale. L'atrio della chiesa è rivolto a sud, come un'estensione del sagrato. Di conseguenza, la navata e l'altare sono orientati da sud a nord, diversamente dall'orientamento tradizionale con l'altare a est. In questo modo, durante il servizio del mattino e di mezzogiorno, l'altare è illuminato di luce naturale. La chiesa non ha la tradizionale pianta a croce. All'esterno è articolata come un gruppo di quattro volumi sculturalmente distinti, e l'atrio si presenta come un alto edificio (m 12) rettangolare di pietra posto il più possibile verso l'altare per accentuare il senso d'ingresso. La sacrestia si trova dietro l'altare, come la quarta ala della pianta. Gli spazi interni della chiesa riflettono le forme scultoree esterne. I volumi sono plasmati con tre forme di soffitti a volta alti da 10 a 14 metri, e la geometria delle superfici verrà ulteriormente accentuata per corrispondere alle esigenze acustiche. Come l'esterno anche l'interno è finito ad intonaco, conferendo alla chiesa un carattere spoglio. Gli spazi interni hanno luce naturale sia diretta che indiretta. Quest'ultima si diffonde attraverso due lucernari "scolpiti" all'estremità sud di ciascuna ala dei fedeli mentre la luce diretta penetra attraverso sottili aperture lungo i muri e i soffitti. Questi stretti lucernari sono collegati da quattro vestiboli di vetro: dall'interno offrono scorci sull'esterno mentre dall'esterno appaiono come quattro contrafforti di vetro.

The Church of the Year 2000, Rome
Frank O. Gehry

Site organization. *The importance of creating a sense of place within the boundaries of the site in the predominantly residential neighborhood has led to a site planning strategy, inspired by the traditional cloister configuration, creating an inner precinct that is both inviting, casual and modest in its architectural character. The locations of the programmatic elements within the cloister-like configuration respond to the interconnections required by the four functional zones delineated in the building program. Public and private accessibility as well as exposure to natural light are equally important considerations to their specific location. These programmatic elements are articulated as a number of individual buildings, which are accessible from the* sagrato *located in the middle of the cloister.*
The 30m bell tower marks the south-eastern corner of the central court and has an exposed metal structure with stone cladding on three of its sides. To the north-west adjacent to the Largo Serafino Ceyasco a 43 x 63 m rectangular reflecting pool is proposed. This pool relates the church and community center to the neighborhood and nearby public park. The entire site is defined by a row of plane trees creating a garden like feeling. Two groves of trees at the northern and western corner unify the landscaping, the reflecting pool and the architecture into a coherent composition.
The church. *The church is located towards the northern half of the cloister to avoid the shadow cast by the housing development directly to the south, maximizing the morning and mid-day sun on the central courtyard.*
The atrium of the church faces south as an extension of the sagrato. Consequently, the nave and altar of the church are oriented from south to north, unlike the traditional orientation with the altar to the east. In this manner the altar receives natural illumination during the morning and mid-day services. The church is transformed from the traditional cross-shaped plan. From the exterior it is articulated architecturally as four sculpturally distinct volumes. The atrium is expressed as a 12 m high rectangular stone building placed close to the altar to enhance the sense of arrival. The sacristy is located behind the altar as the fourth wing of the plan. The interior of the church reflects the sculptural exterior. The interior volumes are articulated with three vaulted ceiling forms that undulate from 10 to 14 m. The surface geometries will be further refined to incorporate acoustic performance. Like the exterior, the interior of the church is finished in plain plaster, which gives the spaces an unadorned character. Illumination within the church is achieved by both indirect and direct light. Indirect light is diffused into the church by two sculpted skylights located at the south end of each seating/congregational wing. Direct light penetrates inside the church through the narrow openings along the walls and ceilings. Four glass vestibules connect these narrow skylights allowing glimpses of the exterior from the interior of the church and function visually as four glass buttresses from the exterior.

La Chiesa dell'anno 2000, Roma
Richard Meier

L'area. La chiesa e il centro parrocchiale sono collocati nella parte sud e nord dell'area edificabile, con accesso da est attraverso una piazza pavimentata (il sagrato) situata sul lato più vicino al centro effettivo del quartiere. Una sistemazione minima dell'area a parco, che fiancheggia il *temenos*, il luogo sacro della chiesa, a nord, serve ad articolarne la presenza attraverso due elementi intermedi: una piazza di alberi immediatamente a sud della collina e un percorso a serpentina che conduce al sagrato. All'interno del recinto delimitato da un muro-panchina, la fascia inedificabile ad ovest è organizzata in due corti quadrate separate da un collegamento pavimentato passante tra il centro parrocchiale a nord e la chiesa a sud. La prima delle corti, a nord, è trattata come un giardino attrezzato, con una terrazza-caffè pavimentata adiacente al centro parrocchiale. La seconda corte, con un'ampia vasca d'acqua, è sistemata come uno spazio per la meditazione.
Accesso. L'accesso alla chiesa avviene dal sagrato pavimentato sul lato est dell'area con il fronte della chiesa e il portico che insieme simboleggiano il benvenuto alla comunità. Oltre al portico principale due altre entrate dal sagrato tra i due gusci esterni consentono un accesso indipendente rispettivamente alla cappella feriale e al battistero. Anziché chiudere integralmente il sagrato con un recinto, abbiamo optato per una piazza aperta, incorniciata da elementi attentamente collocati, panche, fontane, alberi e una "fonte" d'acqua al limite sudest del sagrato.
Portico, atrio, navata, cappella laterale e sacrestia. Passando sotto il pergolato e un portale simbolico in pietra, si entra nell'atrio attraverso due coppie di porte in legno, fronteggiate da due porte cerimoniali inserite in un muro di pietra sull'asse della chiesa, che servono solo in occasioni speciali. La navata comincia in un rapporto reciproco tra il muro dritto a nord e le pareti concave sul lato sud del volume. Mentre il primo è rivestito in pietra e pannelli acustici in legno, le seconde sono in cemento a vista. La percezione del volume della chiesa è direttamente influenzata dalla luce naturale, poiché la luce zenitale e i lucernari vetrati tra i gusci paralleli restituiscono continuamente le variazioni di luce e ombra del sole. Secondo la stagione, il tempo e l'ora del giorno, la luce è graduata in vario modo sulla superficie interna dei gusci, conferendo un carattere particolare alla chiesa, alla cappella e al fonte battesimale. Questa luce è arricchita da quella proveniente dalle pareti verticali di vetro traslucido, che è modulata attentamente per illuminare ma non abbagliare. La sacrestia e gli uffici sono sistemati perpendicolarmente al muro di vetro traslucido ad ovest della navata. Un oculo in vetro piombato sopra la sacrestia crea un controluce naturale dietro una croce con la figura di Cristo.

The Church of the Year 2000, Rome
Richard Meier

Site. *The church and the community center are located on the southern and northern sides of the buildable area of the site, with access from the east via a paved plaza (*sagrato*) which is situated on the side of the site nearest to the effective center of the housing estate. A minimal landscape treatment of the park flanking the temenos of the church to the north serves to articulate the church through two intermediary elements: a square of trees just south of the hill and a serpentine path that leads to the* sagrato. *Within the precinct bound by a bench/wall, the unbuildable western side of the church site is laid out as two courts separated from each other by a paved causeway running between the community center to the north and the church to the south. The first court situated to the north has been treated as a recreational garden with a paved café terrace adjacent to the community center. The second court which is furnished with a large reflecting pool serves as a meditation space.*
General Approach. *The approach to the church is via a paved* sagrato *at the eastern side of the site with the front of the church and the portico jointly symbolizing the welcome that the church offers to the community. In addition to the main portico two other entrances from the* sagrato *are provided between the two outer shells affording independent access to the week-day chapel and the baptistery respectively. Rather than fully enclosing the* sagrato *with a fence we have opted for an open plaza framed by carefully placed elements – benches, fountain, trees and a water "source" at the southwest edge of the* sagrato.
Portico, Atrium, Nave, Side Chapel and Sacristy. *Passing under the trellis portico and a symbolic stone portal one enters the Atrium via a pair of double wood doors opposed by a single pair of ceremonial doors set in a stone wall, on the axis of the church, used on special occasion. The nave comes into being through the interplay between the straight north wall and the concave shells on the southern side of the volume. Where the former is faced in stone and acoustic wood paneling the latter is executed out of architectural concrete. The perceptual volume of the church is directly influenced by natural light since the zenith light and the glazed sky-lights between the shells are continually responsive to the changing pattern of light and shadow of the sun. According to the season, the weather, and the time of day, light is variously graduated down the inner surface of the shells thereby imparting to the Church, the Chapel and the Baptismal Fount a particular character. This light is complemented by the light coming through the vertical translucent glass walls which are carefully modulated to illuminate but not overwhelm. The sacristy and workroom are arranged vertically at the western vertical translucent glass wall of the nave. A stained glass oculus above the sacristy provides a natural backlight for a cross surmounted by a figure of Christ.*

Frank O. Gehry: pianta piano terreno e sezione.
Richard Meier: planivolumetria, pianta del piano terreno e sezione.

Frank O. Gehry: ground floor plan and section.
Richard Meier: planivolumetric, ground floor plan and section.

Tadao Ando

Foto/photo: T. Ohashi



Tadao Ando

Foto/photo: T. Ohashi





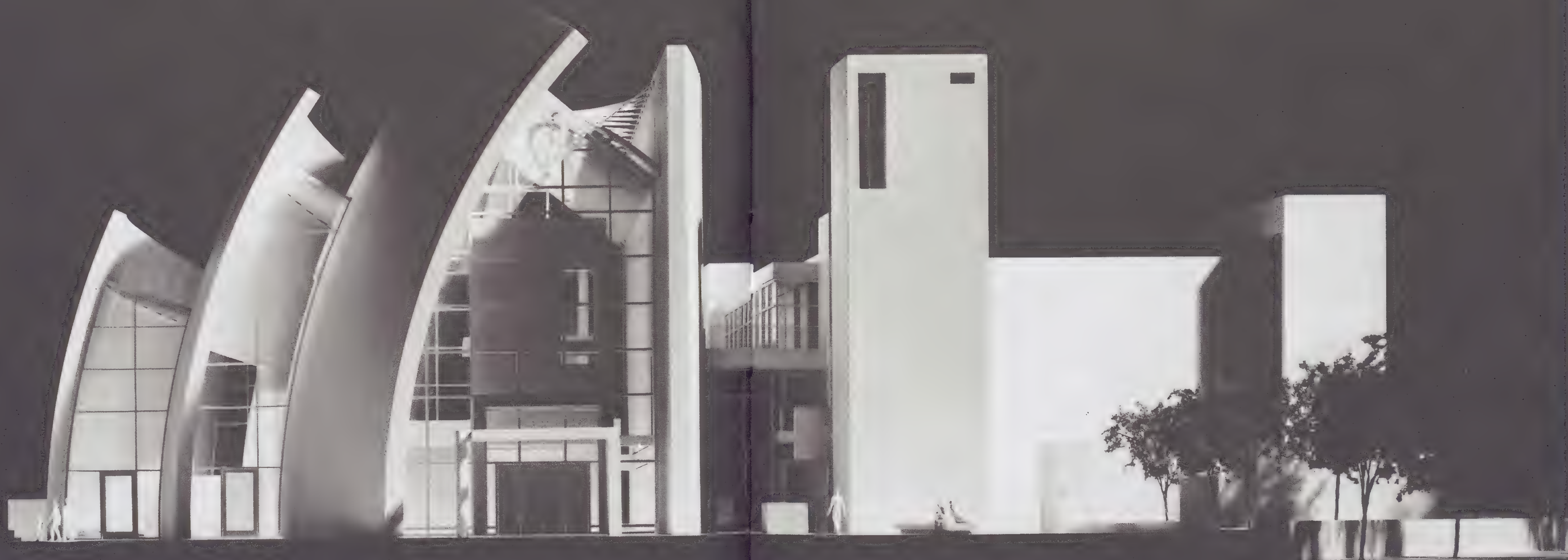






Richard Meier

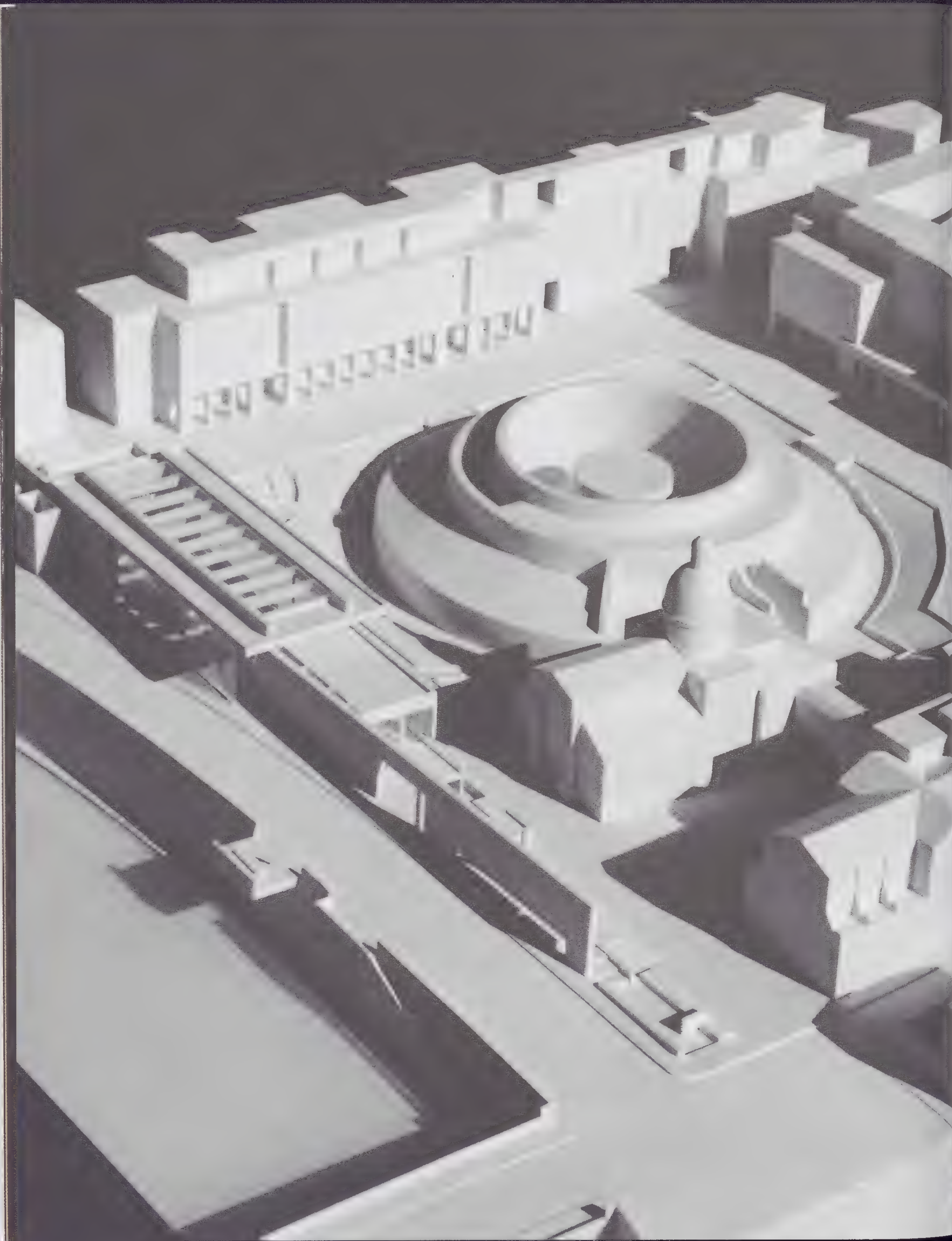
Fotografie: J. Pauli/ESTO



Richard Meier

Fotografia: J. Pottle/ESTO





Sistemazione museale dell'Ara Pacis, Roma

1996

Richard Meier, John Eisler

con/with: Ron Castellano, Mark Dizon, Amy Donohue, Stephen Harris, Christopher Haynes, Jun-ya Nakatsugawa, Jennifer Stevenson, Carlos Tan

Progetto per il Museo dell'Ara Pacis, Roma
Richard Meier

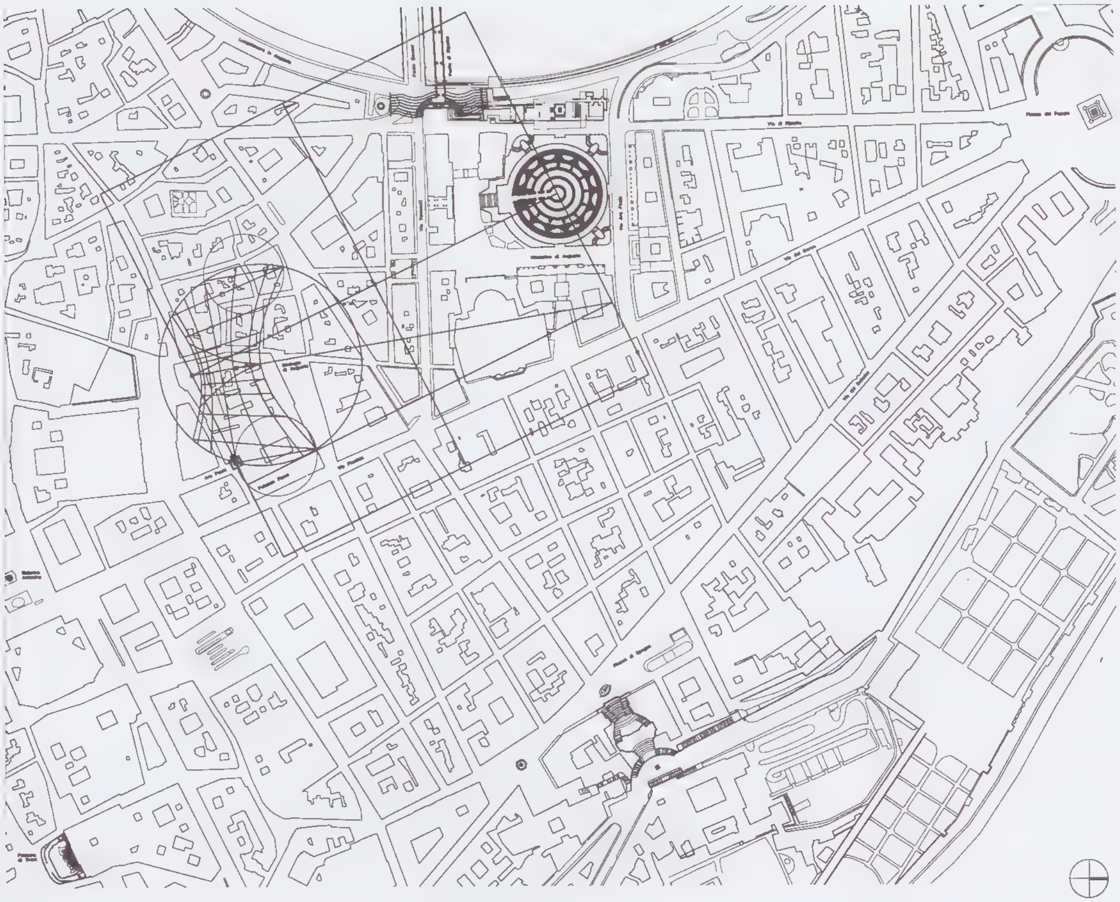
La necessità di promuovere la metodologia degli interventi architettonici e urbanistici nel centro storico di Roma e la responsabilità di tutelare e valorizzare il patrimonio culturale e monumentale della città, hanno portato all'elaborazione di un programma di riorganizzazione e riqualificazione dell'area augustea ubicata lungo la sponda orientale del Tevere, in prossimità di Ponte Cavour.
L'ubicazione del sito rende l'intervento particolarmente delicato, trattandosi di un'area di grande valore storico, architettonico e archeologico, e ciò esige una riqualificazione a un livello di qualità che assicuri l'approvazione sia della comunità architettonica, nazionale e internazionale, sia del pubblico in generale.
L'area di progetto verrà pedonalizzata e in tutta la zona circostante il Mausoleo di Augusto e l'Ara Pacis verranno realizzati adeguati interventi per regolamentare il flusso del traffico.
L'edificio in cui attualmente si trova l'Ara Pacis, un altare sacrificale risalente all'anno 13 a.C., è situato al margine occidentale di Piazza Augusto Imperatore, tra Via Ripetta e il Lungotevere. Inadeguato dal punto di vista estetico, ambientale, tecnico e funzionale, sarà sostituito da un nuovo complesso museale maggiormente degno di ospitare il monumento.
Il Museo si avvarrà delle più innovative tecnologie espositive e di comunicazione. Verrà progettato in modo da essere permeabile e trasparente rispetto al contesto urbano dell'Augusteo. Oltre alle aree espositive pubbliche, comprenderà un piccolo auditorium, uno spazio di vendita annesso al museo, uffici e magazzini.
Il progetto del nuovo Museo sarà parte integrante di un piano urbanistico che interesserà l'intera area augustea.

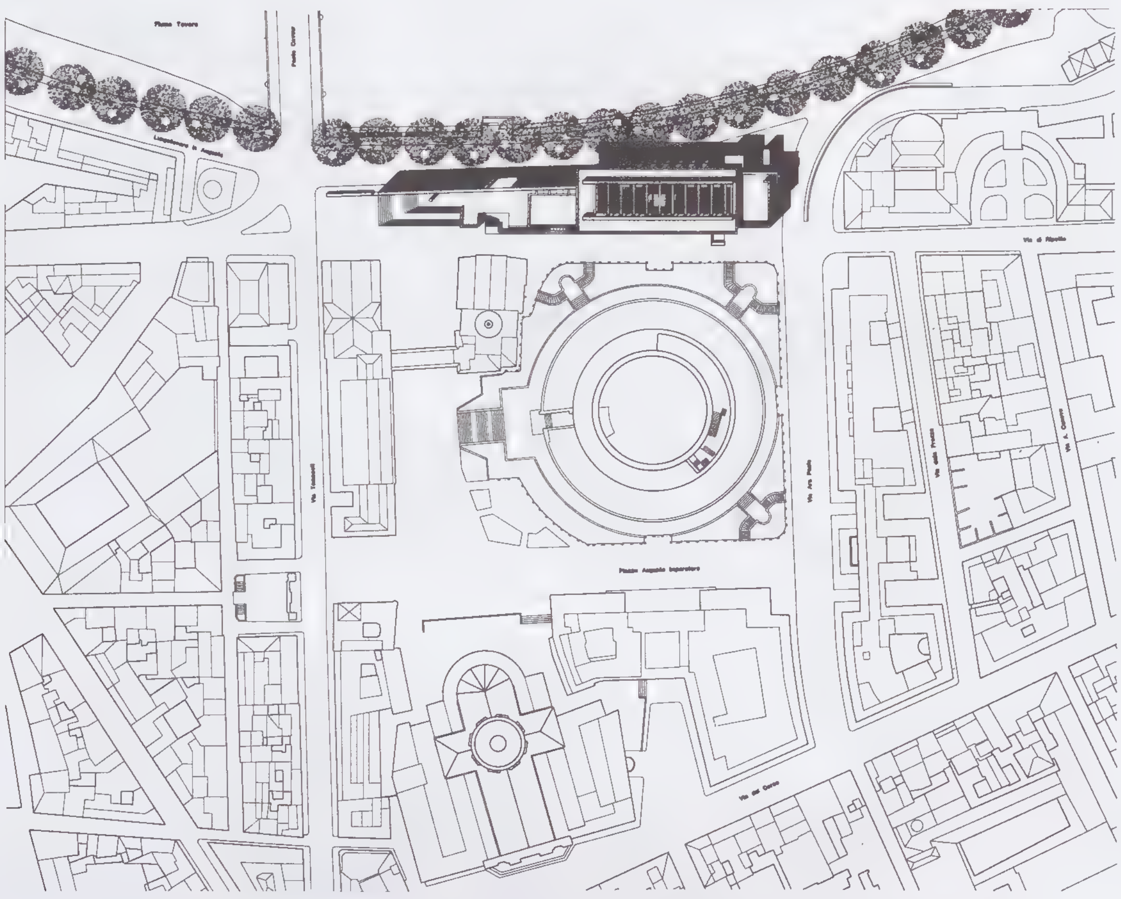
Project for the Ara Pacis Museum Complex, Rome
Richard Meier

The need to promote the methodology of design interventions and town planning in the historical center of Rome and the responsability to protect and enhance Rome's cultural and monumental legacy has resulted in a requirement to realize a program of reorganization and upgrading of the Augustean area located on the east bank of the Tiber River in close proximity to the Ponte Cavour.
The location of the site has particularly delicate characteristics due to its outstanding historical, archeological and architectural values, and requires a process of enhancement at a level of quality that will ensure the approval from the Italian and the international architectural communities, as well as from the general public.
The area will be pedestrianized and the traffic arrangement in all of the zone surrounding the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Ara Pacis will be appropriately modified.
The existing building which houses the Ara Pacis, a sacrificial altar dating to XIII BC, is located on the western edge of the Piazza Augusto Imperatore in an area between Via Ripetta and the Lungotevere. It is unsatisfactory from an aesthetic, an environmental, a technical and functional point of view, and will be replaced by a new museum complex, which will create a fitting and secure housing for the Ara Pacis.
The museum will employ the most up to date exhibition techniques and media. It will be designed to be permeable and transparent with regard to the urban context of the Augusteo. In additional to the public exhibition areas, there will be a small auditorium, a museum shop, and supporting office areas and storage facilities.
The design for the new museum complex of the Ara Pacis will be an integral part of a master plan dealing with the urban context of the Augustean area.

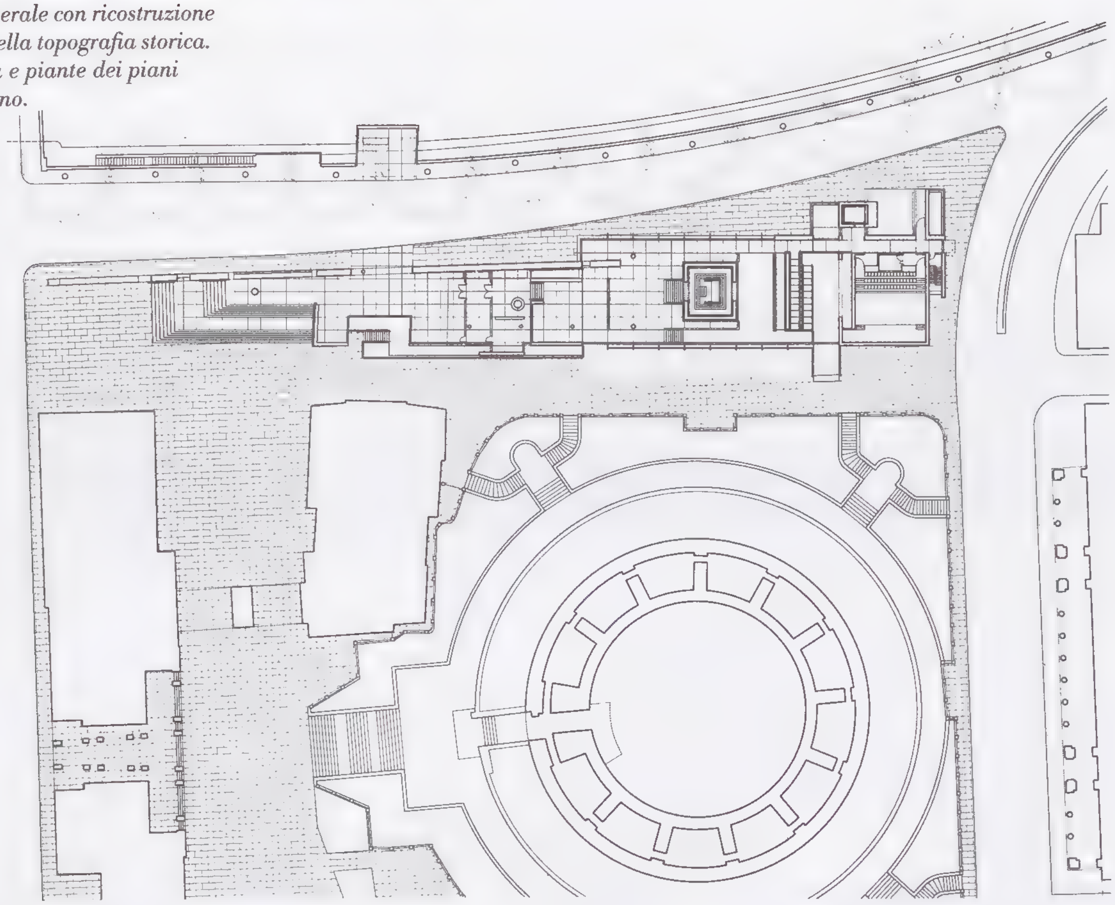
Vista del modello.

View of the model.

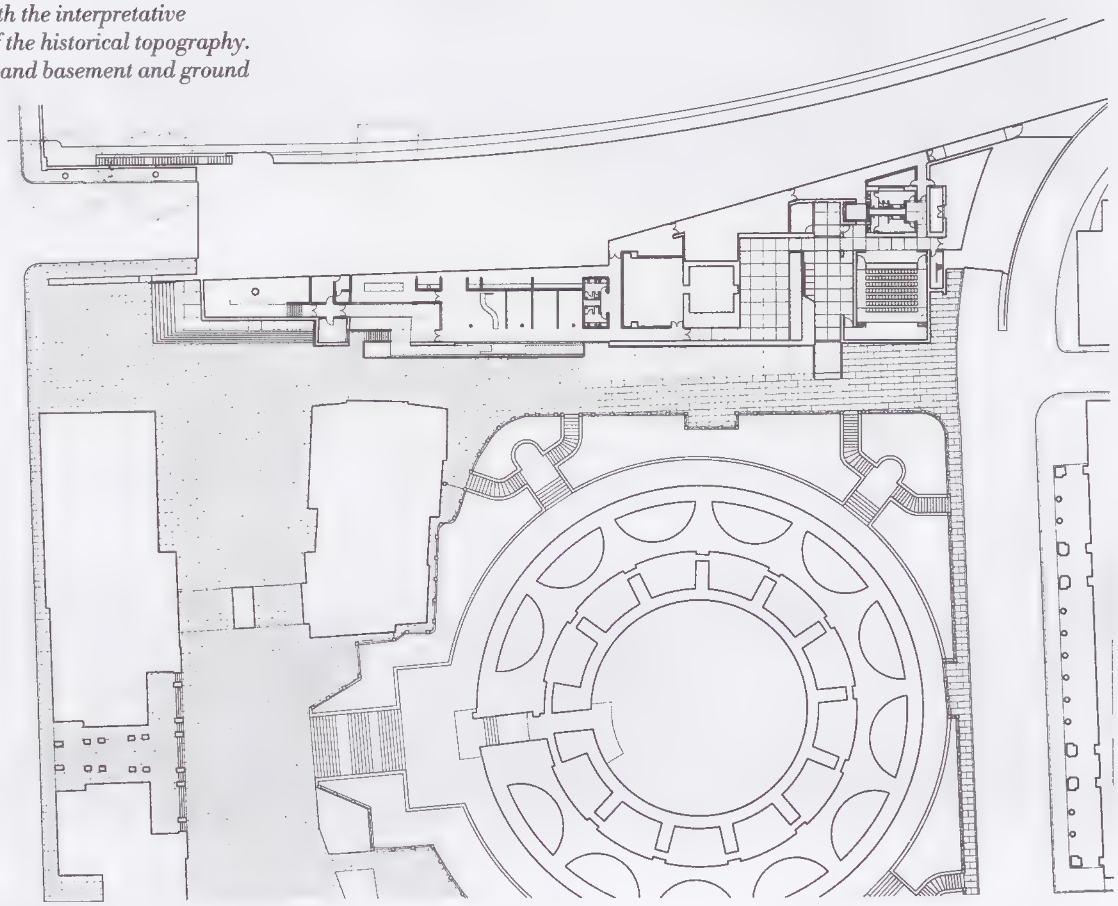




Planimetria generale con ricostruzione interpretativa della topografia storica. Planivolumetria e piante dei piani interrato e terreno.

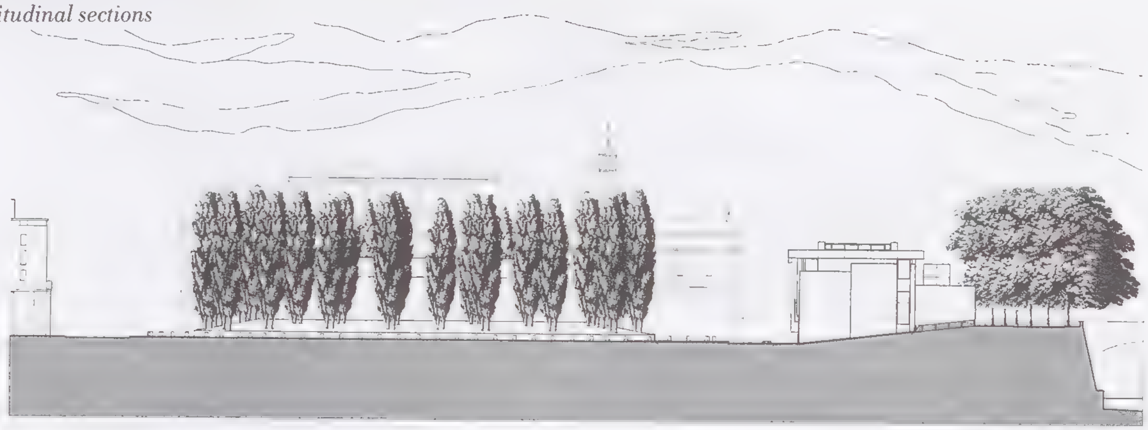


General plan with the interpretative reconstruction of the historical topography. Planivolumetric and basement and ground floor plans.



Prospetti nord, est, sud, ovest e sezioni trasversale e longitudinale.

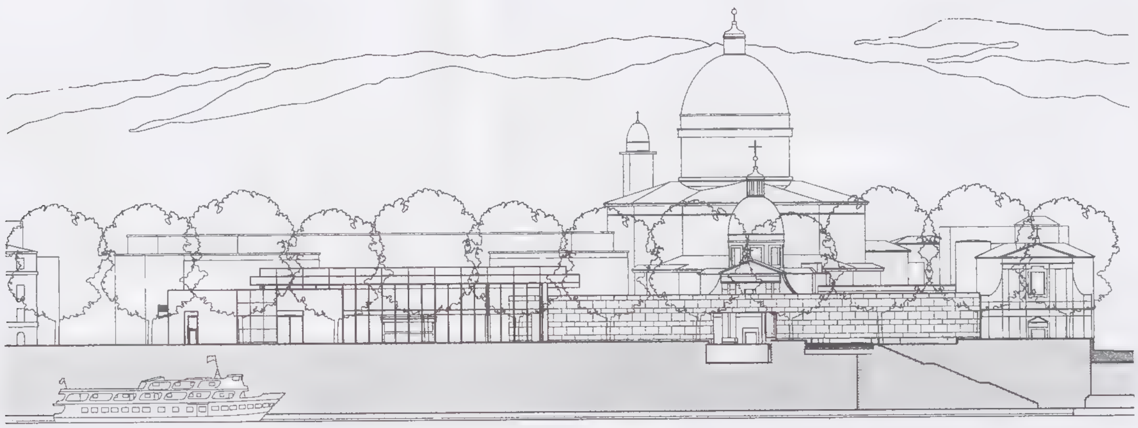
North, east, south, and west elevations, and cross and longitudinal sections

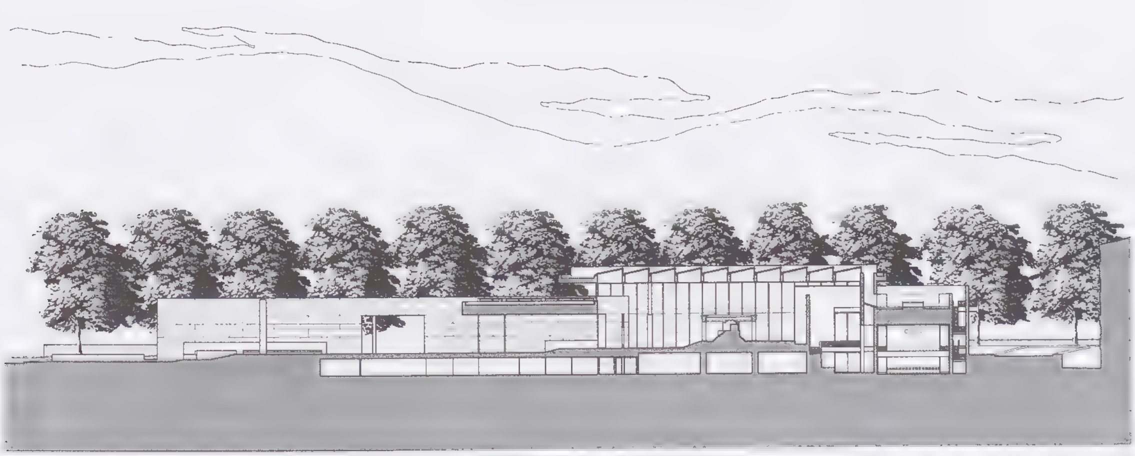






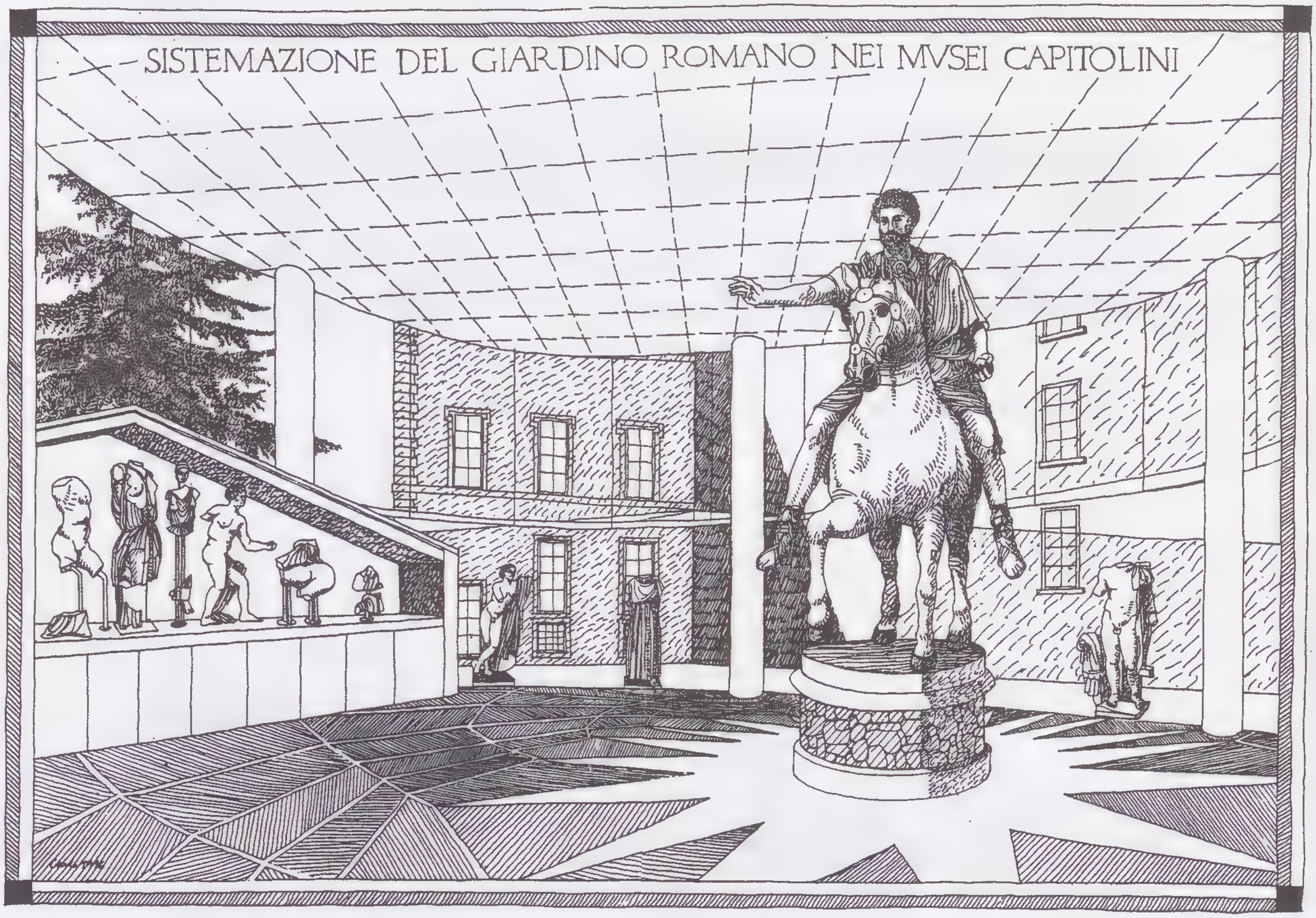






Sistemazione del Giardino Romano nel complesso dei Musei
1994-1996

Carlo Aymonino



con/with: Luisa Tugnoli, Geneviève Hanssen, Antonio Michetti (strutture)

Prospettiva della Sala del Giardino Romano, terza soluzione, aprile 1996.

Perspective of the hall of the Roman Garden, third solution, April 1996.

Capitolini, Roma

Progetto per la sistemazione del Giardino Romano nel complesso dei Musei Capitolini, Roma
Carlo Aymonino

Il nuovo spazio museale, allestito nel Giardino Romano del Palazzo dei Conservatori, è finalizzato a dotare di nuovi spazi espositivi il complesso dei Musei Capitolini.
La nuova Sala si rende necessaria per ricollocare *pezzi* di straordinario pregio artistico, oggi sottratti al pubblico, restituendoli a una sistemazione adeguata al loro valore.
Il progetto ha preso l'avvio nell'aprile 1993, partendo dall'idea di accostare al frontone del Tempio dell'Apollo Sosiano alcune statue del medesimo periodo, in uno spazio a forma circolare direttamente raggiungibile dalla Galleria degli Orti Lamiani. In questa prima ipotesi, la figura circolare della Sala si inserisce in modo autonomo rispetto ai muri perimetrali del giardino, a eccezione di due punti di tangenza, che corrispondono agli ingressi.
Questa ipotesi viene presto accantonata per la necessità, che si è intanto avvertita, di mettere nel giusto valore il reperto murario del Tempio di Giove Capitolino, oggi occultato da strutture murarie del primo Novecento. Prende consistenza in questo contesto l'idea di porre in relazione questo importantissimo reperto con il frontone Sosiano, all'interno di un unico spazio completamente nuovo. Questa soluzione prevede un'altezza libera interna della Sala di m 12.
E' a questo stadio del progetto che si afferma l'idea di collocare la ricostruzione di una parte della cella del Tempio di Apollo nello stesso luogo. Questo inserimento oltre che modificare l'impianto planimetrico della Sala, ne altera radicalmente l'assetto in verticale. Infatti la cella, che misura m 15.65 di altezza, impone l'innalzamento della copertura fino a quota 17, ad una quota compatibile con le fabbriche circostanti e di liberare l'interno da qualsiasi tipo di sostegno verticale.
Tra settembre e dicembre 1993, la soluzione che contempera la collocazione dei tre elementi principali (il frontone e la cella del Tempio di Apollo Sosiano e i resti del Tempio di Giove) trova una definizione planimetrica soddisfacente. La copertura si estende su tutto l'ambiente per ragioni di unitarietà dello spazio; si prevede conseguentemente lo spostamento in altra sede delle alberature esistenti. Essa assume la forma definitiva di un sistema a cassettoni di un metro per un metro per un metro in travi di acciaio (spessore di cm 1). Questa struttura rigira sullo spigolo della Pinacoteca e si abbassa in corrispondenza dell'ambito caratterizzato dalla presenza dei resti del Tempio di Giove. Diventa parete verticale autoportante con la stessa maglia, ma modulo doppio, sul fronte del Giardino Caffarelli. In questa parete è inserito un percorso che collega la Pinacoteca con il terrazzo di Palazzo Caffarelli e le strutture di servizio ivi collocate.
La terza soluzione della Sala del Giardino Romano è completamente nuova rispetto alle due precedenti in quanto nuove sono le richieste della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Comune di Roma; richieste per altro dovute, in buona parte, alla non approvazione della seconda soluzione da parte del Comitato dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali.
Riprendendo una delle soluzioni studiate a suo tempo (maggio del '93) – che si ispirava alla Sala Ottagona costruita in materiale leggero da Vespignani nel 1870 e demolita nel 1902 – abbiamo progettato di *ricoprire* con due quote diversificate l'intero cortile del Giardino Romano. L'una, la sala più grande e di forma ellittica, ha la copertura a quota + 57.65 (l'interno è alto 11 metri) e contiene le tre sculture più prestigiose: il celebre frontone del Tempio di Apollo Sosiano, la statua dorata di Eracle giovanile e, soprattutto, la statua dorata di Marco Aurelio. L'altra parte, a quote variabili, e comunque mai superiore alla quota di + 55.40, copre i notevoli "ritagli" dell'intera figura e non tocca le mura perimetrali del Palazzo dei Conservatori né quelle di Palazzo Caffarelli; è leggermente inclinata verso l'interno e ospita le sculture del Teatro di Pompeo, quelle frontonali di Piazza Campitelli e dell'Area Sacra di Largo Argentina e i tre reperti in bronzo della statua di Costantino.
Le due figure – quella centrale ellittica e quella di risulta all'intorno – saranno trattate in modo differenziato. La figura centrale avrà un pavimento in "battuto alla veneziana" di colore rosso con un disegno in grigio che ricordi l'impianto della Piazza del Campidoglio. Il resto della pavimentazione sarà in antracite, le basi delle diverse statue saranno in travertino, la copertura a livello più basso in vetro trasparente in modo da godere dei cambiamenti del cielo.

Considerazioni museografiche
Il progetto per la sistemazione del Giardino Romano nei suoi termini generali vuole saldarsi alla tradizione italiana dell'allestimento museografico, l'esperienza che, a partire dal Secondo dopoguerra, ha segnato il dibattito architettonico nazionale e internazionale consacrando le esperienze di Albini, Gardella, Scarpa, i BBPR. Un fenomeno che in Italia – a differenza di quanto si è verificato in altri paesi europei (si pensi alla Germania), nei quali l'istituzione museale costituisce vero e proprio paradigma tipologico – si accompagna a quello intimamente connesso e complementare del restauro e del recupero di parti di notevole pregio archeologico.
Conviene poi ricordare come di fondamentale importanza, nella concezione moderna del tipo-museo, risulti la distinzione tra collezionismo fine a se stesso e l'idea di *museo attivo* come entità in grado di sottrarsi alle secche di una mera teoria del *purovisibilismo*, così come si era venuta a delineare nella seconda metà dell'"800, sulla scorta delle teorizzazioni di Konrad Fiedler e, successivamente, di Heinrich Wölfflin.
Un simile dibattito, alimentato in Italia già nel 1949 da G. C. Argan mutuando in parte concetti di matrice angloamericana espressi da Herbert Read e, in particolare, da John Dewey in *Art as Experience* (1934), cerca di strutturare i termini di una attività museale che si esplichi secondo una prospettiva *pedagogica*. Attività, cioè, che prescrive una forma sociale del museo intesa in un senso altamente civile e *democratico*. Una *vocazione didattica*, ad alto livello, dunque, che contrasta la pura contemplazione dell'oggetto. Attitudine, quest'ultima, da cui non si esimono critici come Bernard Berenson e Roberto Pane, anche se con una sostanziale distinzione: mentre per il primo *l'estasi contemplativa* è volta a rinverdire i sintomi di una nuova sindrome stendhaliana, per il secondo è *contemplazione in senso etimologico*, vale a dire fruizione della totalità dell'oggetto favorita solo da una indisturbata percezione. Ciò associa il problema del restauro a quello dell'allestimento museografico. Basterebbe, in tal senso, ricordare le perplessità e le polemiche che qui da noi, sul finire degli anni '50, investirono il restauro del Castello Sforzesco a Milano, per opera del gruppo BBPR, e in particolare la collocazione della Pietà Rondanini.
Da quanto detto risulta che, in definitiva, nel caso del progetto del Giardino Romano si persegue un metodo di intervento filologicamente corretto e antimimetico, che mette in risalto il ribaltamento del rapporto tra interno ed esterno, ed esclude recenti pratiche progettuali *à la page*. Ciò che qui interessa è l'orchestrazione di un ambiente (tutto giocato sulla calibrata misura degli elementi) segnato da episodi salienti, chiaramente identificabili, autonomi nel loro isolamento (si pensi, ancora, all'esempio scarpiano fornito nella Gipsoteca canoviana di Possagno).
Un percorso espositivo che si snoda nel ricercato connubio tra pezzi dislocati da altri luoghi, rovine rinvenute sul posto e ricostruzioni parziali reinserite come frammenti. In tal modo, il titanico ispessimento murario – resto del Tempio di Giove Capitolino –, le statue frontonali dell'Apollo Sosiano ricontestualizzate nella ricostruzione del frontone, la Cella del Tempio Sosiano intessono un rapporto di reciprocità con il resto delle opere esposte (provenienti dall'Area Sacra di Largo Argentina, dal Teatro di Pompeo, da Piazza Campitelli, ecc.) alternandosi, secondo i canoni di un

fuori-scala che mira a esaltare i contrasti dimensionali con sigilli, iscrizioni marmoree e statue mutile provenienti dal corredo della più alta *ars-statuaria*.
In termini espositivi, si può affermare che l'allestimento è tutto in bilico tra una rarefatta collezione di pezzi e una presentazione vista come esperienza votata a un'idea che sollecita la funzione civile e *educativa* del museo, nel suo significato più nobile. In tal senso può considerarsi la collocazione di un modello in scala opportuna del Tempio Sosiano, il quale consente di comparare l'opera al vero parzializzata e la simulazione ridotta della sua totalità, nel continuo scambio scalare tra grande e piccolo, tra oggetto e *rappresentazione*.
Questo esercizio di traduzione cerca di sottrarre la proposta di allestimento da un tipo di esposizione vista come semplice assemblaggio di *resti;* non vuole assoggettarsi, cioè, a quelle giustapposizioni in qualche modo inclini a favorire il privilegio di una icona, né giunge al parossismo classificatorio, in gran voga dalla metà del '700 sino alla prima metà del '900, proveniente dai retaggi del collezionismo privato.(Basti ricordare il bell'allestimento, perfettamente conservato, del Museo Capitolino). Nel nostro caso l'esposizione intende testimoniare l'alto grado della statuaria greco-romana, al cui scopo giova l'ampio respiro dell'ambiente, concepito in modo da poter girare attorno ai pezzi singoli o reinseriti nella complessità cui appartenevano. Si veda, infatti, la ricollocazione delle statue frontonali, o anche la disposizione dei resti dell'Area Sacra di Largo Argentina riconsiderati nella loro accezione originaria.
L'intento, insomma, è quello di ripristinare punti di vista molteplici. Percezioni multiple e anche insolite che permettono letture inconsuete anche della cella del Tempio dell'Apollo Sosiano, che termina con un breve rigiro mostrando la *sezione viva*.
Al problema del restauro si innesta, poi, il tema squisitamente archeologico delle rovine murarie presenti nel Giardino Romano e nel Giardino Caffarelli; il restauro del muro del Tempio di Giove è rivolto a evidenziare le successive stratigrafie temporali: quella di età romana e di età medievale, liberandolo dall'intonaco e dal soffitto del portico che gli grava sopra, isolandone le strutture basamentali, facendole affiorare come tarsìe marmorizzate sul fondo rosso del pavimento in battuto alla veneziana.

Project for the organization of the Roman Garden in the complex of the Musei Capitolini, Rome
Carlo Aymonino

The new museum area in the Roman Garden of Palazzo dei Conservatori, provides new display spaces for the complex of the Musei Capitolini. The new hall is needed to contain pieces of extraordinary artistic value, not presently available for viewing. The project began in April 1993, with the idea of placing several statues, from the same period, together with the pediment of the Temple of Apollo Sosiano, in a space with a circular form, directly accessed from the Galleria degli Orti Lamiani. In this first hypothesis, the circular figure of the hall is inserted in an autonomous way with respect to the perimeter walls of the garden, with the exception of two points of tangency, corresponding to the entrances. This hypothesis was soon discarded due to the need to provide a fitting context for the remains of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, now hidden by wall structures from the early 1900s. This led to the idea of placing this very important ruin in relation to the pediment of the Temple of Apollo, inside a completely new space.
This solution calls for an internal height of the hall of m 12.
At this point in the project the idea emerges to also place the reconstruction of a part of the cella of the Temple of Apollo on the same site. This added element not only modifies the layout of the hall, but also radically alters its vertical dimension. The cella, measuring 15.65 meters in height, imposes an increase in the height of the hall, to 17 meters, at a level compatible with nearby structures, and without any type of vertical supports inside the space of the hall itself.
Between September and December 1993 the solution for the positioning of the three elements (pediment and cella of the Temple of Apollo Sosiano, remains of the Temple of Jupiter) is developed in an appropriate planimetry. The roofing extends over the entire space, to create a sense of unity; this means that the existing trees must be transplanted elsewhere. The roofing takes on the definitive form of a system of coffers, one meter by one meter by one meter, in steel beams (1 cm thick). This structure is placed around the corner of the Pinacoteca, and is lowered in the area marked by the presence of the remains of the Temple of Jupiter. It becomes a vertical self-supporting wall, with the same pattern but a double module, on the front of Giardino Caffarelli. In this wall a pathway is inserted connecting the Pinacoteca to the terrace of Palazzo Caffarelli and the service structures there.
The third solution for the hall of the Roman Garden is completely new, in order to adapt to new requirements expressed by the Archaeology Office of the City of Rome; requirements made necessary, for the most part, by the fact that the second solution was not approved by the Committee for Cultural and Environmental Resources.
Returning to one of the solutions considered in the past (May 1993) – based on the Octagonal Hall built in light materials by Vespignani in 1870, and demolished in 1902 – we have designed a covering at two different levels for the entire courtyard of the Roman Garden.
One element is the larger, elliptical hall, covered at a height of +57.65 (interior 11 meters high), containing the three most prestigious works: the famous pediment of the Temple of Apollo Sosiano, the gilded statue of young Heracles and, above all, the gilded statue of Marcus Aurelius. The other part, at variable levels, but never above +55.40, covers the significant "fragments" of the entire figure, and does not interfere with the perimeter walls of Palazzo dei Conservatori, nor with those of Palazzo Caffarelli; it is slightly sloped inward, and houses the sculptures of the Theater of Pompey, the frontons of Piazza Campitelli and of the Holy Area of Largo Argentina, and the three bronze relics of the statue of Constantine.
The two figures – the elliptical central figure and the resulting surrounding zone – will be treated in different ways. The central figure will have flooring in "Venetian cement", red in color, with a gray design similar to the layout of the square at Campidoglio. The rest of the flooring will be in anthracite, while the pedestals for the statues are in Travertine stone; the lower covering is in transparent glass, to allow visitors to enjoy a view of the sky.

Museological considerations
The project for the organization of the Roman Garden in its general terms intends to conform to the Italian tradition of museum design, the experience which, after the second world war, has marked the national and international architectural debate, thanks to the works of Albini, Gardella, Scarpa, BBPR. A phenomenon which in Italy – as opposed to other European countries (Germany, for example), where the institution of the museum has become a true typological paradigm – is accompanied by that closely connected, complementary phenomenon of

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restoration and recovery of artefacts of noteworthy archaeological value.
It is also worth noting the fundamental importance, in the modern conception of the museum, of the distinction between collecting as an end in itself and the idea of an active museum as an entity capable of avoiding the pitfalls of mere "pure visibility", based on the theories that developed in the second half of the 1800s, with Konrad Fiedler, and then with Heinrich Wölfflin.
A similar debate, already encouraged in Italy in 1949 by G.C. Argan, with partial borrowings from concepts of Anglo-American origin, as expressed by Herbert Read and, in particular, by John Dewey in Art as Experience (1934), seeks to structure the terms of a museum activity that takes form in keeping with a pedagogical perspective. An activity, in other words, that prescribes a social form of the museum seen in a highly civil, democratic way. A didactic mission, at a high level, as opposed to the pure contemplation of the object. The latter attitude was not rejected by critics like Bernard Berenson and Roberto Pane, although with substantial differences: while for the first contemplative ecstasy is aimed at reviving the symptoms of a new syndrome of Stendhal, for the second it is contemplation in an etymological sense, or use of the total object thanks to undisturbed perception. This associates the problem of restoration with that of museum design. In this sense, it suffices to recall the perplexities and controversy which, here in Italy, toward the end of the 1950s, surrounded the restoration of the Sforzesco Castle in Milan, carried out by the BBPR group, and especially the positioning of the Pietà Rondanini.
This said, it is evident that in the case of the project for the Roman Garden the method followed has been one of philologically correct, antimimetic intervention, emphasising the reversal of the indoor-outdoor relation, excluding recent à la page design practices.
What interests us here is the orchestration of an environment (based on the calibrated measure of the elements) marked by salient, clearly identifiable episodes, independent of one another (consider Scarpa's example, in the Gipsoteca Canoviana of Possagno).
A display itinerary that unfolds in the studied combination of pieces shifted from other sites, ruins found on-site and partial reconstructions inserted as fragments. In this way, the titanic thickening of the walls, the remains of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the pediment statues of the Temple of Apollo Sosiano, recontextualized in the reconstruction of the fronton, the cella of the Temple of Apollo establish a relationship of reciprocity with the other works on display (from Largo Argentina, the Theater of Pompey, Piazza Campitelli, etc.), alternating, in keeping with the canons of an out-of-scale aimed at exalting dimensional contrasts, with seals, inscriptions, mutilated statues.
In display terms, we can say that the installation wavers between a rarefied collection of pieces and a presentation seen as an experience based on an idea that stimulates the civil and educational function of the museum, in its most noble sense. Thus the positioning of a scale model of the Temple of Apollo Sosiano, permitting visual comparison of the actual-size ruin with the complete scale-model, is part of the constant shifting of scales, between large and small, object and representation.
This exercise of translation is an attempt to avoid a display arranged as a mere assemblage of remains; the idea, in other words, is to avoid those juxtapositions that somehow tend to favor the privilege of an icon, but also to avoid the pitfalls of excessive classification, in vogue from the mid 1700s to the first half of our century, as a result of private collecting (just consider the fine, perfectly conserved installation at the Museo Capitolino). In our case the display is aimed at illustrating the highest levels of Graeco-Roman statuary, in the favorable context of a large, uncluttered space, allowing visitors to view the pieces from all sides, but also to see them inserted in the original complexity of their context. The repositioning of the pediment statues, or the arrangement of the remains of the Sacred Area of Largo Argentina, can be seen in this sense.
The intent, in short, is to re-establish multiple points of view. Multiple and also unusual perceptions that permit unusual interpretations, even of the cella of the Temple of Apollo Sosiano, which terminates in a small turnback showing the actual cross-section.
The problem of restoration also involves the archaeological question of the ruins present in the Roman Garden and Giardino Caffarelli; the restoration of the wall of the Temple of Jupiter is designed to illustrate the successive temporal strata, from Roman times and the Middle Ages, removing the stucco and the ceiling of the portico above it, isolating the foundation structures, allowing them to resurface as marble inlays against the red of the Venetian cement flooring.







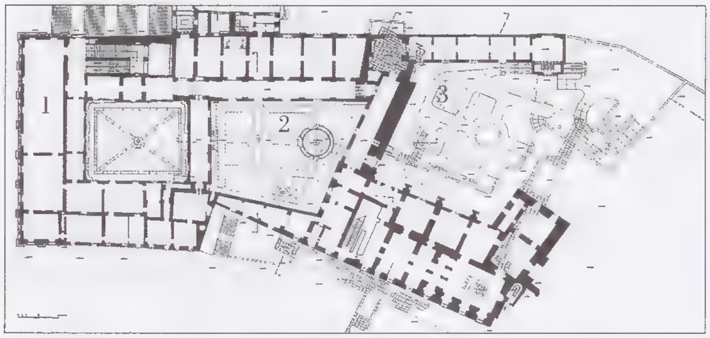


Vedute dell'area del Campidoglio.
Tempio di Apollo Sosiano al Teatro di Marcello.
Terrazzo del Giardino Caffarelli.

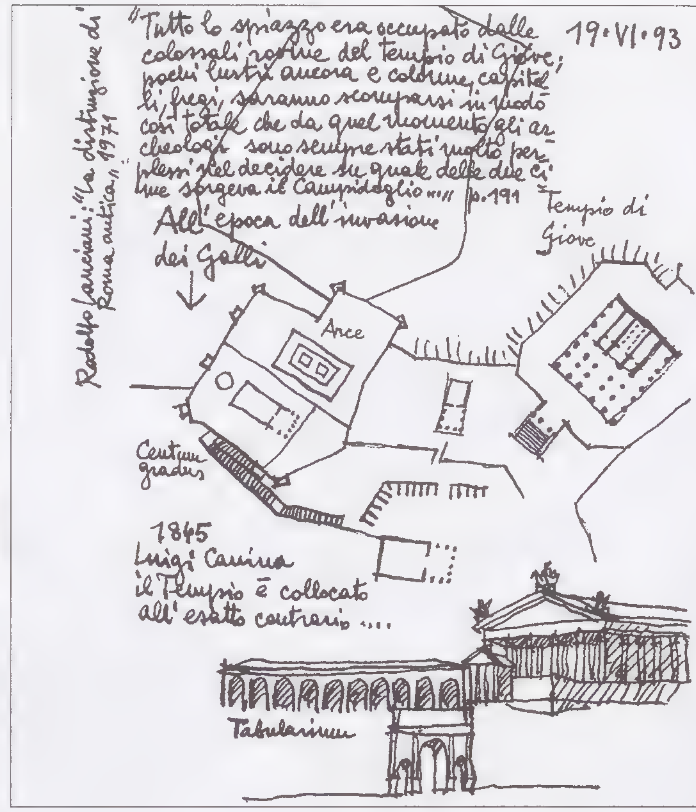
Views of the Campidoglio area.
Temple of Apollo Sosiano at Theater of Marcello.
Terrace of Giardino Caffarelli.

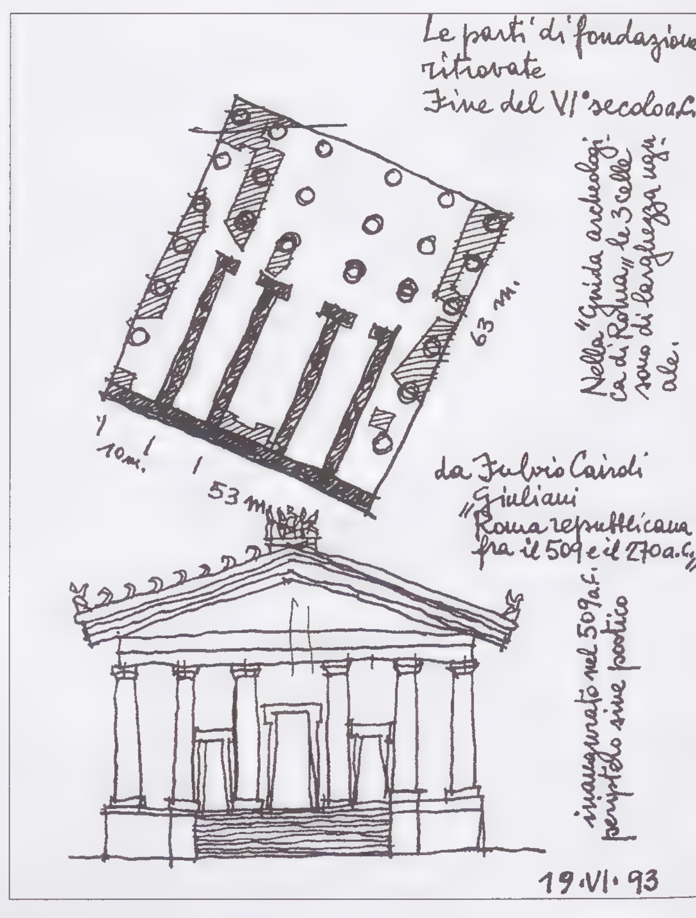
Stato di fatto

Studi



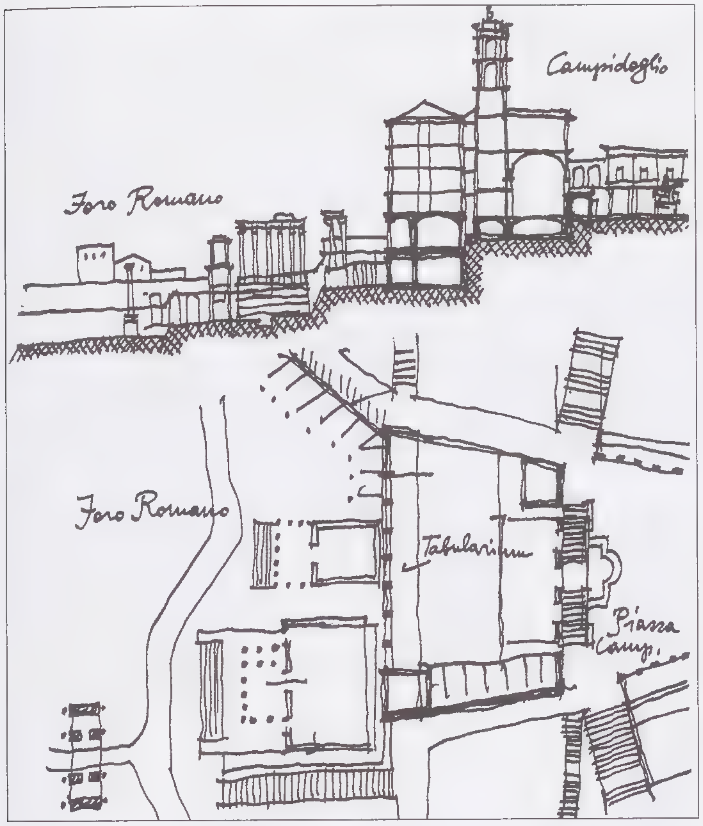


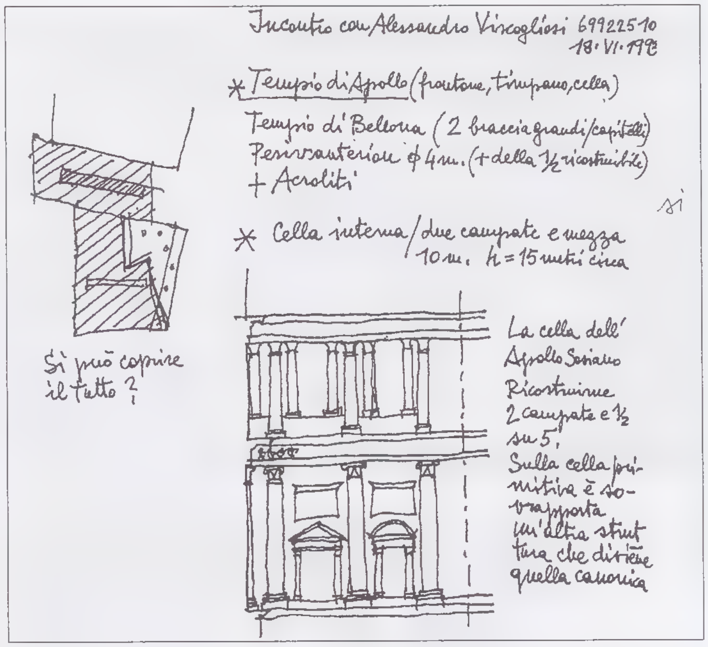


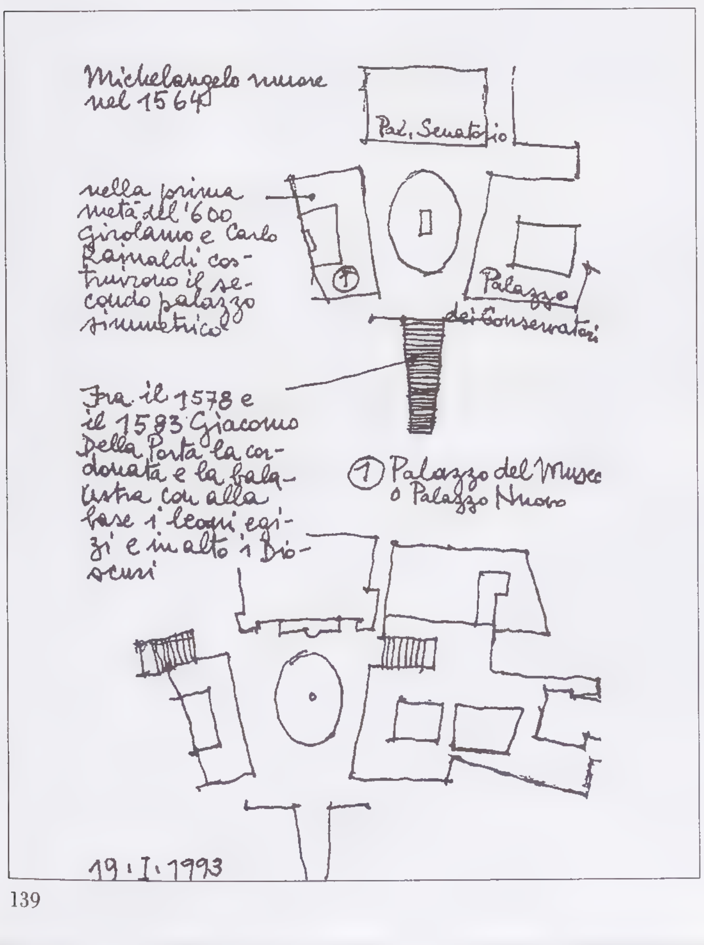


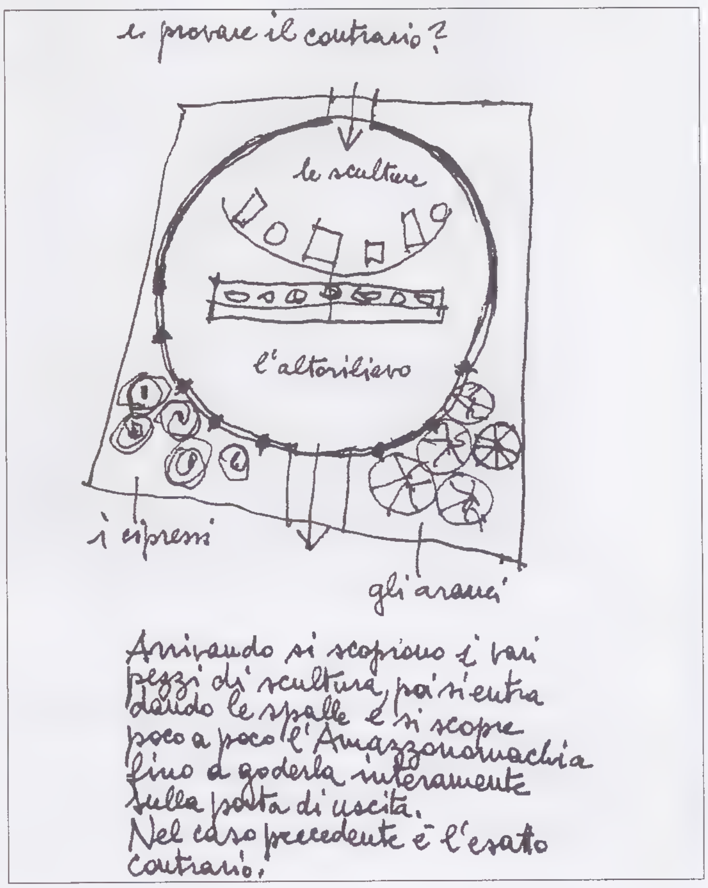
Pianta dello stato di fatto: 1) Palazzo dei Conservatori; 2) Giardino Romano; 3) Giardino Caffarelli e resti del Tempio di Giove.
Sezione longitudinale.
Disegni di studio:
Tempio di Giove all'epoca dell'invasione dei Galli.
Tempio di Apollo Sosiano.
Ricostruzione del Tabularium e Foro Romano sul Campidoglio.
Piazza del Campidoglio.
Ricostruzione del Tempio di Apollo Sosiano.
Prima ipotesi di collocazione dei reperti.

Plan of the present conditions: 1) Palazzo dei Conservatori; 2) Roman Garden; 3) Giardino Caffarelli and the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter.
Longitudinal section.
Study drawings:
Temple of Jupiter at the time of the invasion of the Gauls.
Temple of Apollo Sosiano.
Reconstruction of the Tabularium and Foro Romano on Campidoglio.
Piazza del Campidoglio.
Reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo Sosiano.
First hypothesis for the positioning of the finds.

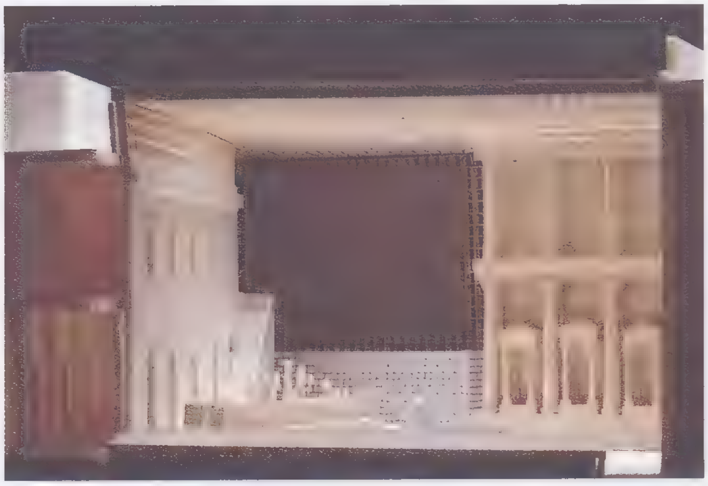

Campidoglio
Foro Romano
Foro Romano
Tabularium
Piazza Camp.


Incontro con Alessandro Viscogliosi 69922510
18·VI·1998
* Tempio di Apollo (frontone, timpano, cella)
Tempio di Bellona (2 braccia grandi/capitelli)
Pennsanterion ϕ 4 m. (+ della 1/2 ricostruibile)
+ Acroliti
si
* Cella interna / due campate e mezza
10 m. h = 15 metri circa
Si può coprire il tetto ?
La cella dell' Apollo Sosiano
Ricostruirne 2 campate e 1/2 su 5.
Sulla cella primitiva è sovrapposta un'altra struttura che diviene quella canonica


Michelangelo muore nel 1564
Pal. Senatorio
nella prima metà del '600 Girolamo e Carlo Rainaldi costruirono il secondo palazzo simmetrico
Palazzo dei Conservatori
Fra il 1578 e il 1583 Giacomo Della Porta la cordonata e la balaustra con alla base i leoni egizi e in alto i Dioscuri
1 Palazzo del Museo o Palazzo Nuovo
19·I·1993


e provare il contrario ?
le sculture
l'altorilievo
i cipressi
gli aranci
Arrivando si scoprono i vari pezzi di scultura, poi si entra dando le spalle e si scopre poco a poco l'Amazzonomachia fino a goderla interamente sulla porta di uscita.
Nel caso precedente è l'esatto contrario.

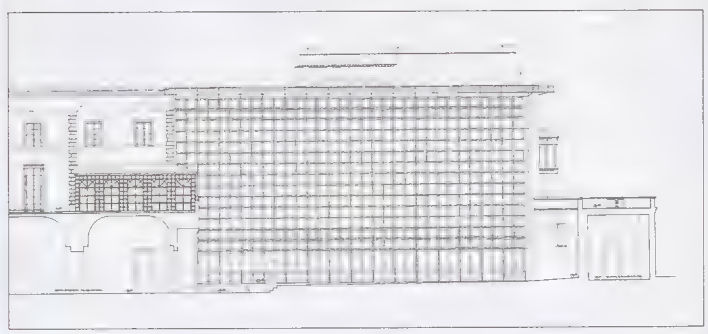
Prima soluzione, febbraio 1994

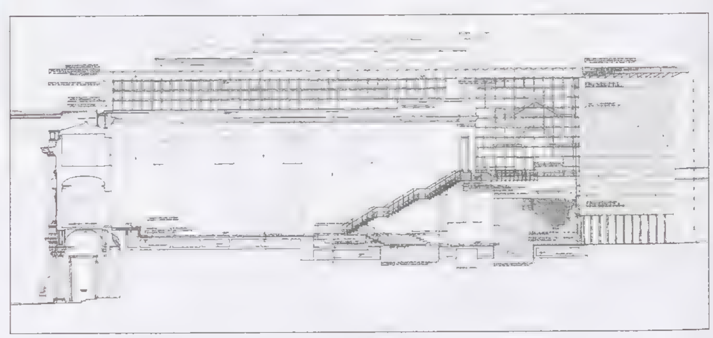


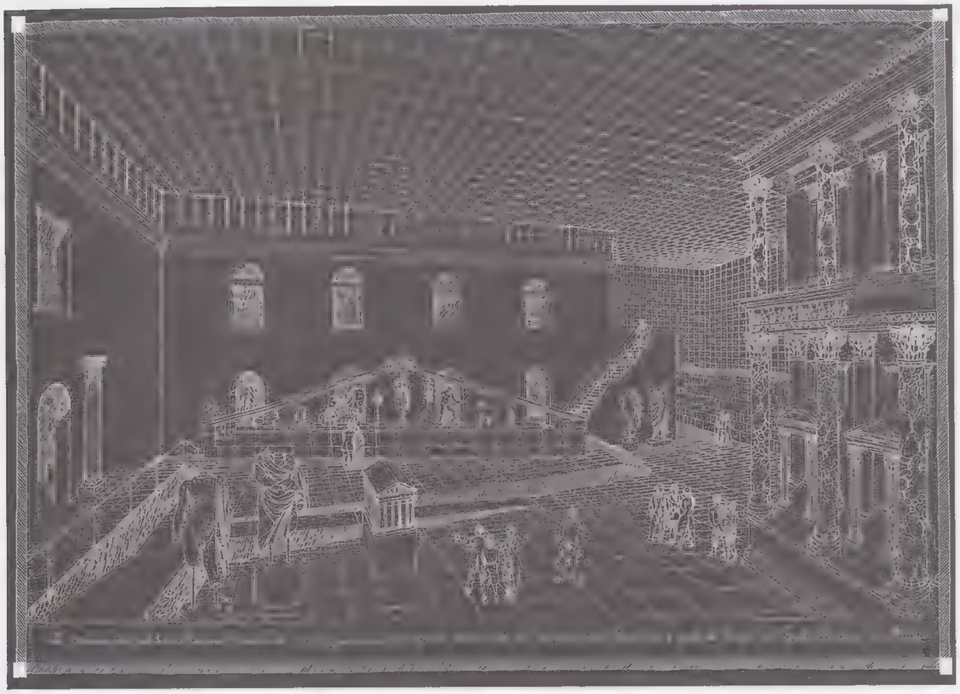


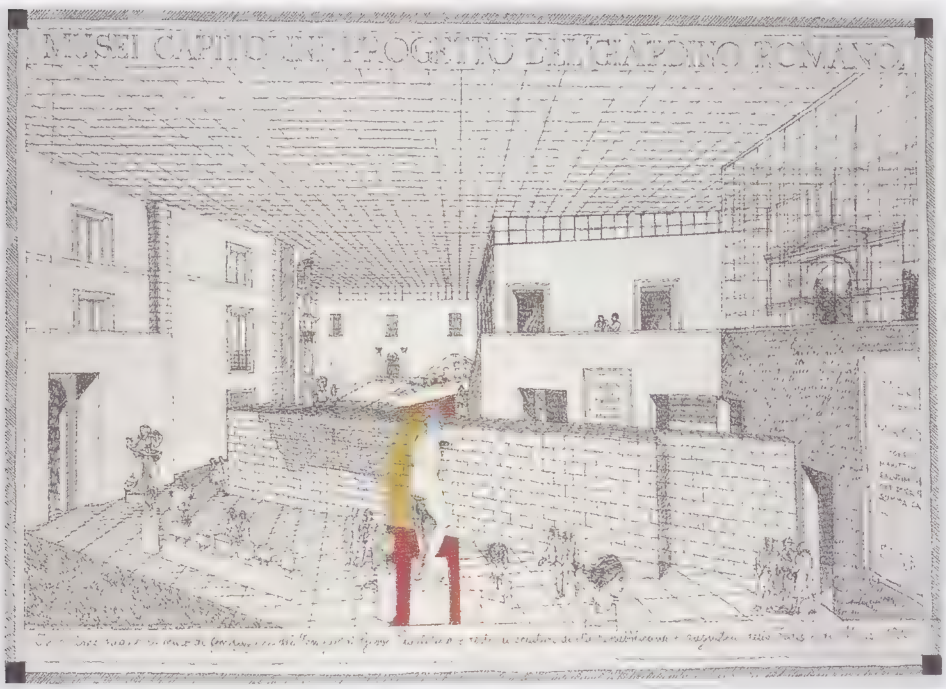








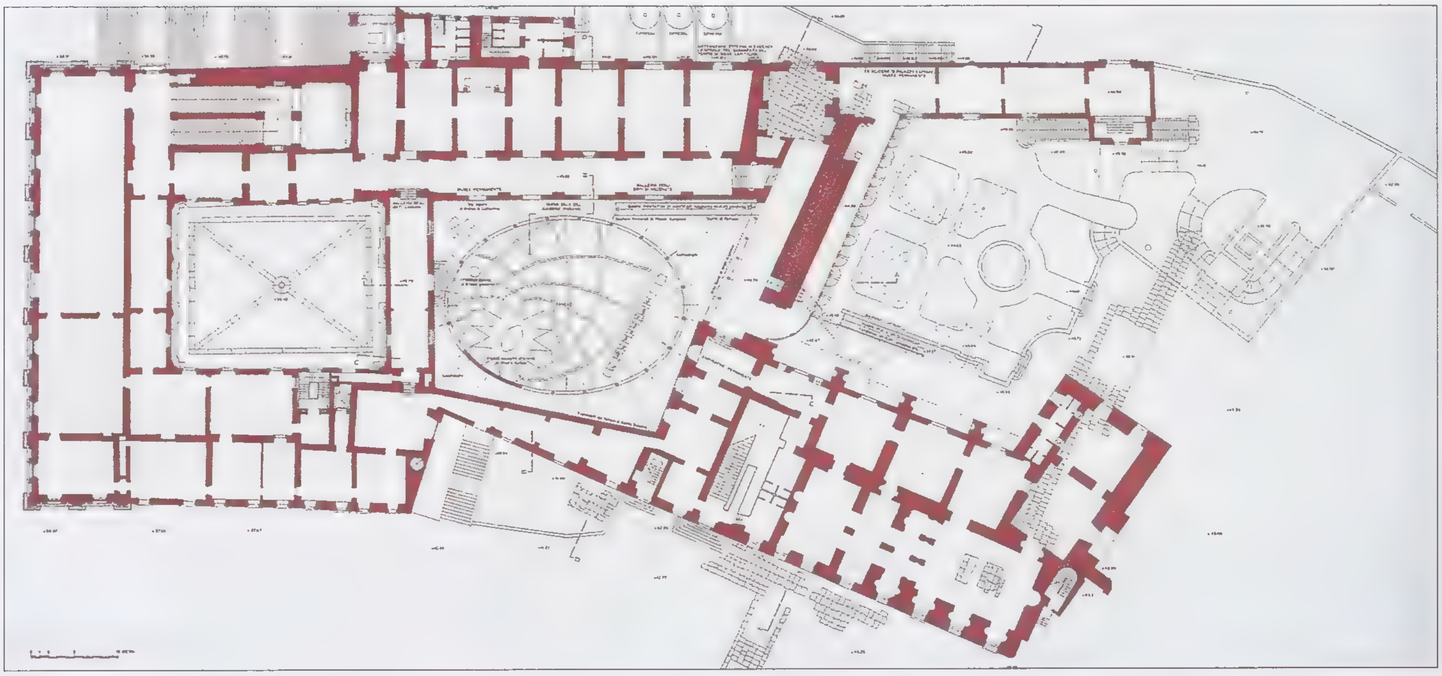




Viste interna ed esterna del modello.
Piante dei piani terreno e coperture, prospetto e sezione longitudinale.
Prospettive della Sala del Giardino Romano.

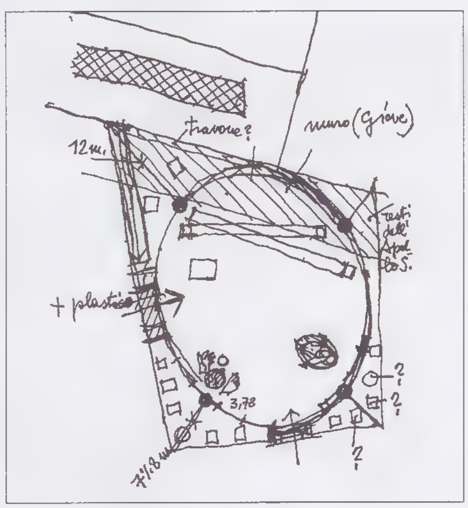
Internal and external views of the model.
Plans of the ground floor and the roofing, elevation and longitudinal section.
Perspectives of the hall of the Roman Garden.

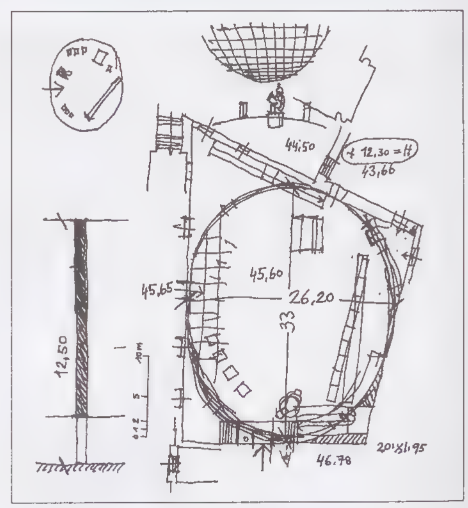
Terza soluzione, aprile 1996

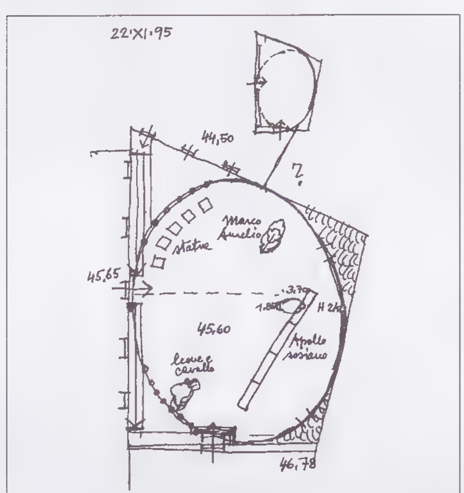


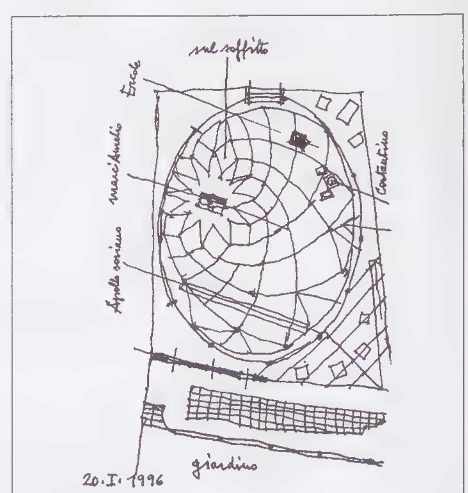
Pianta, disegni di studio, modello e sezione longitudinale della Sala del Giardino Romano.

Plan, working drawings, model and longitudinal section of the hall of the Roman Garden.



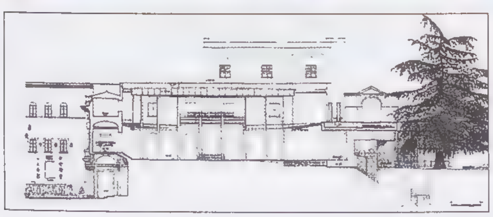










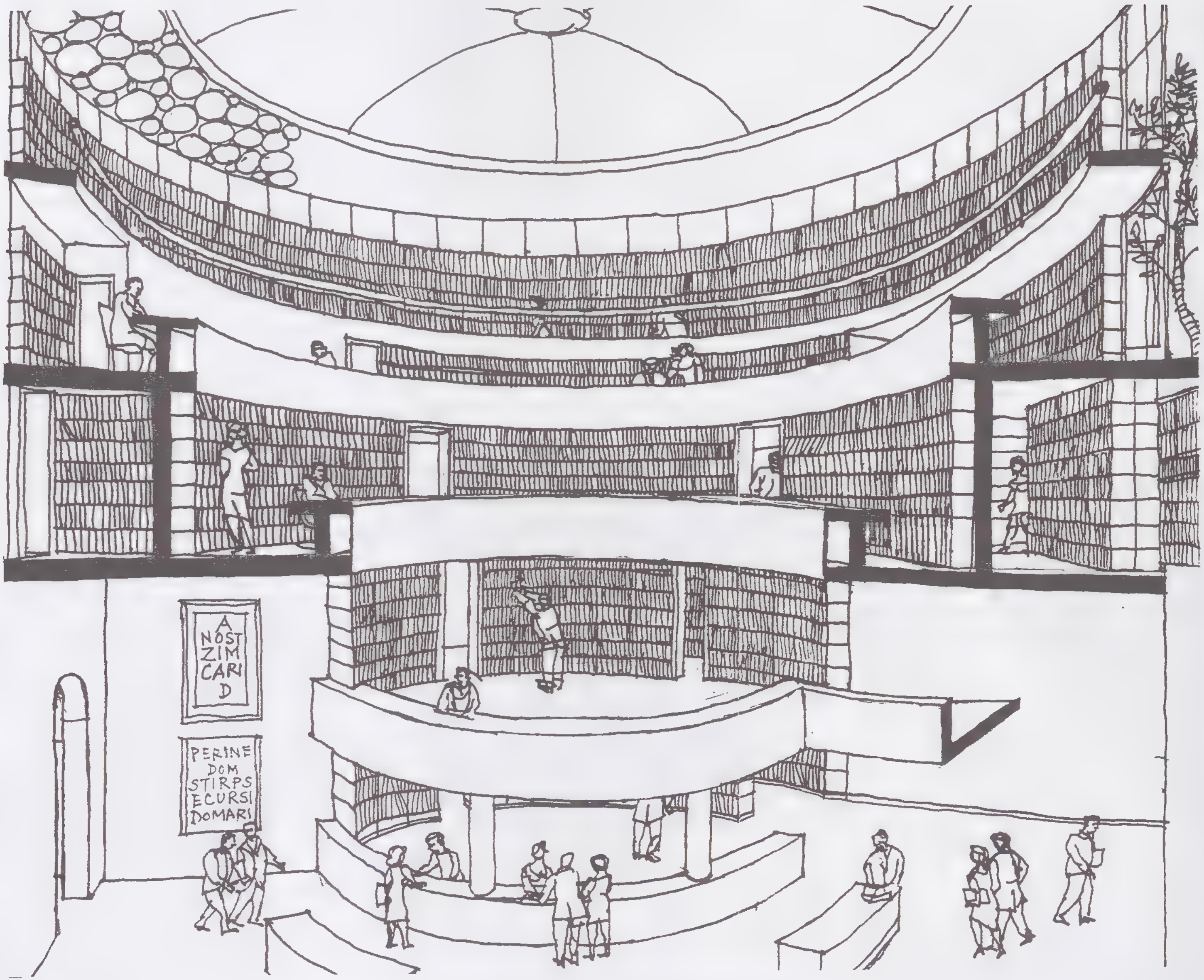


Ristrutturazione della Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma

1995

Carlo Aymonino

con/with: Luisa Tugnoli, Geneviève Hanssen



Disegno prospettico del vuoto centrale sulle sale di lettura.

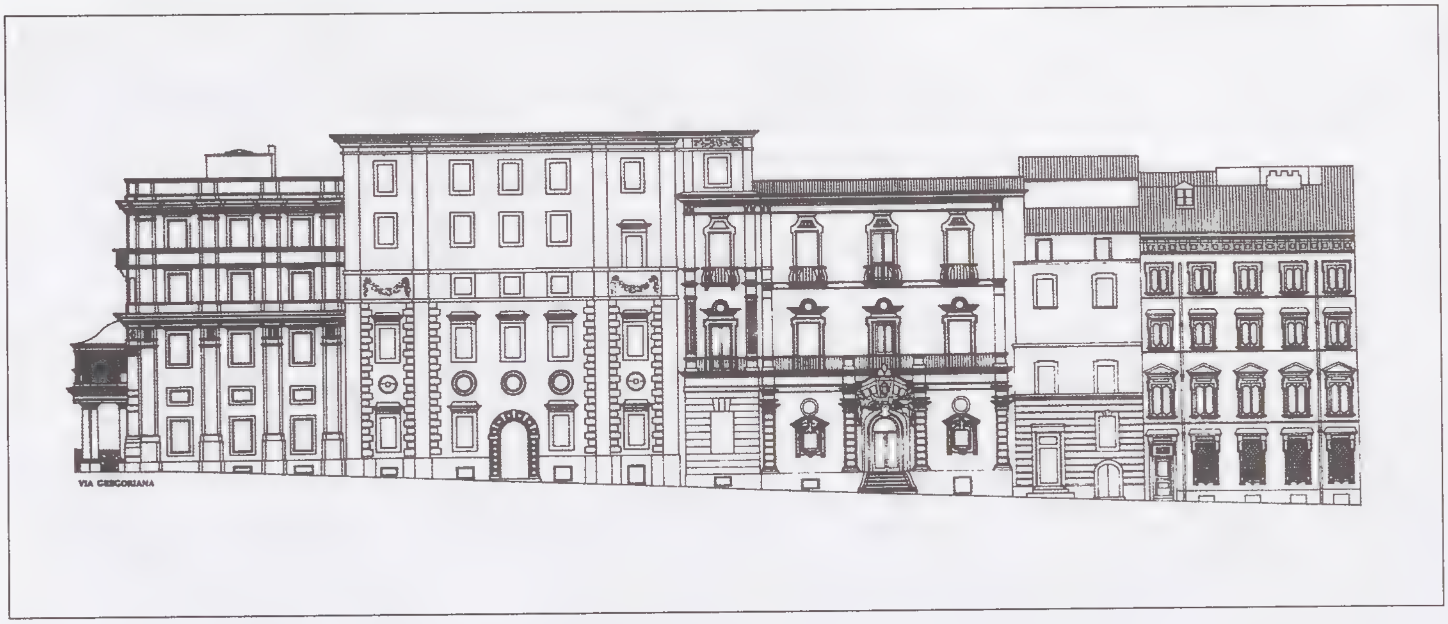
Perspective drawing of the central void above the reading rooms.

Concorso a inviti per la ristrutturazione della Casa dei Preti fra Palazzo Zuccari e Palazzo Stroganoff per la Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma
Carlo Aymonino

Il progetto nasce dalla necessità di raccordare spazialmente i comparti separati dei due palazzi storici della Hertziana e si è andato definendo fin dai primi disegni come uno spazio cavo, a tutta altezza, sul quale si affacciano i piani della biblioteca. Il grande ambiente cavo è coperto da un lucernario in acciaio e vetro, in forma di volta a vela a sesto ribassato. Questa struttura fortemente espressiva si avverte fin dall'ingresso monumentale del Mascherone, ma la sua percezione avverrà anche dall'ingresso principale della Biblioteca su Via Gregoriana, come richiesto dal Bando. L'iscrizione del cerchio entro il quadrilatero delle vecchie mura libera quattro spazi di raccordo tra le due figure, il primo dei quali sarà occupato da una scala per i collegamenti tra i vari piani del nuovo corpo, la cui edificazione consentirà anche di ricavare due piani sotterranei e sarà realizzata in modo del tutto autonomo dalle vecchie facciate, per le quali è prevista la conservazione e il restauro; salvo per la facciata di Via Gregoriana, realizzata negli anni Cinquanta, che sarà rifatta secondo il disegno in progetto.
La muratura è rifinita con intonaco marmorizzato; mentre i pavimenti saranno realizzati in battuto alla veneziana a dominante colore giallo. Anche i setti e le colonne in c.a. saranno rifiniti in marmorino e dipinti di giallo come il pavimento. Tutti gli infissi saranno in legno. Tutti i corrimano saranno in acciaio spazzolato con giunti, pezzi speciali e rifiniture in ottone.
Piano terra. Contiene la zona cataloghi, l'informazione, la zona di libera consultazione e di lettura opere attuali. In corrispondenza del Mascherone, lo spazio è alto due piani e può ottimamente ospitare una sala di conferenze per 150 persone. Il Mascherone viene liberato dalle attuali sovrastrutture e munito di una porta in cristallo in modo da funzionare come ingresso monumentale e contemporaneamente come uscita di sicurezza.
Piano primo, +3.82. Al centro è prevista una sala di lettura, che si affaccia sulla sala a doppia altezza del Mascherone. Attorno alla sala di lettura sono previsti depositi di libri direttamente consultabili. In corrispondenza della strada interna sono stati previsti, oltre alle connessioni verticali, i servizi igienici, una sala di consulenza, una sala di lettura silenziosa e una parte dell'archivio *rara* (60 mq.).
Piano secondo, +6.85. Attorno allo spazio centrale si sviluppa un ballatoio anulare utilizzato come zona di lettura non silenziosa. Alle spalle un deposito libri, in analogia con quanto avviene al primo piano.
Il piano sconta l'arretramento della facciata storica su Via Gregoriana, e da esso si può conseguentemente accedere alla vecchia terrazza che sovrasta il Mascherone.
Sul lato di Palazzo Stroganoff, il collegamento con i suoi ambienti avviene in quota mediante apertura di un apposito vano che rende accessibile la Direzione della Biblioteca dal nuovo corpo di fabbrica. In corrispondenza dell'archivio *rara* del piano sottostante è previsto uno spazio identico per la medesima funzione, così come per la sala di lettura silenziosa su Via Sistina.
Piano terzo, +9.88. Come il piano sottostante, ma in posizione più arretrata, si sviluppa un ballatoio riservato alla lettura non silenziosa. Gli spicchi di risulta sono utilizzati a questo livello come terrazze sulle quali viene prevista la realizzazione di altrettanti *giardini di pietra*. Su quello sudorientale di Via Gregoriana si affaccia anche la sala di lettura silenziosa ricavata in corrispondenza dell'archivio *rara*. Nel corpo attiguo al Palazzo Stroganoff c'è anche una saletta di consultazione, e i servizi igienici. Il collegamento in quota serve nel Palazzo Stroganoff il magazzino riviste, il parlatorium e la sala lettura delle riviste.
Quarto piano, +12.91. In corrispondenza del grande spazio vuoto centrale è previsto un ballatoio in ferro con libreria a parete, collegato in quota con gli alloggi del Palazzo Zuccari. Nel corpo attiguo al Palazzo Stroganoff sono previste una sala di consultazione, una sala di lettura silenziosa e una sala di lettura per *rara* e controllo.

Competition entry by invitation for the renovation of the Casa dei Preti between Palazzo Zuccari and Palazzo Stroganoff for the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome
Carlo Aymonino

The project stems from the conviction that it is necessary to create a spatial connection between the two historical buildings of the Hertziana library. This connection has taken the form, from the initial drawings, of a hollow floor-to-roof space, surrounded by the different levels of the library arranged in concentric rings, opening toward the sky. The large open space is covered by a large skylight in steel and glass, in the form of a domical segmental vault.
This very expressive structure can be seen from the monumental entrance of the Mascherone, and it is also immediately perceptible from the main entrance to the library, to be positioned on Via Gregoriana, as stipulated in the guidelines. The insertion of a circle within the original square wall structure creates four spaces at the corners. The first space is used as a stairwell. The new volume, which also features two basement levels, will be constructed in total autonomy with respect to the original facades, which will be restored; the only facade to be modified is that on Via Gregoriana, built in the 1950s.
The walls are finished with marble-ized stucco, while the floorings are in Venetian cement, with a dominant yellow shade. The uprights and columns in reinforced concrete will also be finished in stucco, painted yellow, like the flooring. All the casements are in wood. All the railings are in brushed steel with joints, hardware and finishings in brass.
Ground floor. *This contains the areas for catalogues, information, open shelving and recent works. Similar to the Mascherone, the space is two storeys high, and can be used as a conference room for 150 persons. The Mascherone is freed of its present superstructures, and provided with a glass door, to function as a monumental entrance for special events, and as a security exit.*
First floor, +3.82 m. *At the center the design calls for a circular reading room, overlooking the two-storey hall of the Mascherone. The reading room is surrounded by shelving areas for free access. In correspondence to the internal passageway, the design features, apart from vertical access elements, the bathrooms, a consulting room and a silent reading room, as well as a part of the* rara *book archives (60 sq. meters).*
Second floor, +6.85 m. *Around the central space a ring balcony is arranged as a silent reading area. Behind it there is space for stacks, as on the first floor. The floor is smaller than those below because of the recess of the historical facade on Via Gregoriana, making it possible to have access to the original terrace over the Mascherone. In correspondence to the internal passageway, on the side of Palazzo Stroganoff, the connection with its spaces is resolved at the same level, with a special room. The new passage provides direct access to the administrative area from the new structure. In correspondence to the* rara *books archive on the floor below, an identical space is provided for the same function. The same is true of the silent reading room, facing onto Via Sistina.*
Third floor, +9.88 m. *Like the floor below, but in a setback position, with a balcony set aside as a non-silent reading area.*
The resulting segments are used, at this level, as terraces for rock gardens. On the southwestern side, on Via Gregoriana, there is a silent reading room, in the area used for the rara *books archive on the floors below. In the volume connected to Palazzo Stroganoff there is also a consultation room, with bathrooms. The connection at this level leads to Palazzo Stroganoff and to the periodicals stacks, the parlatorium and the periodicals reading room.*
Fourth floor, +12.91 m. *In correspondence to the open central space, this level features an iron balcony with shelf-lined walls. The balcony is connected to the lodgings in Palazzo Zuccari. In the volume alongside Palazzo Stroganoff the design calls for a consultation room, a silent reading room, and a* rara *books reading room with security.*

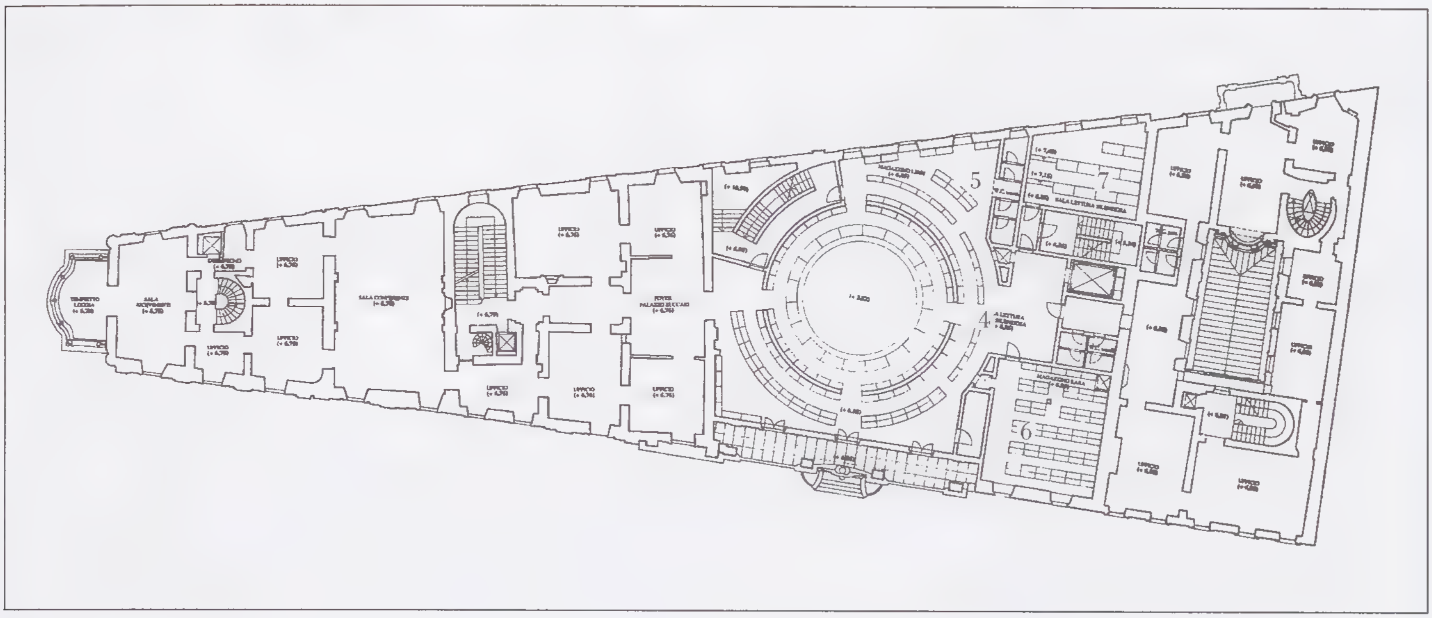


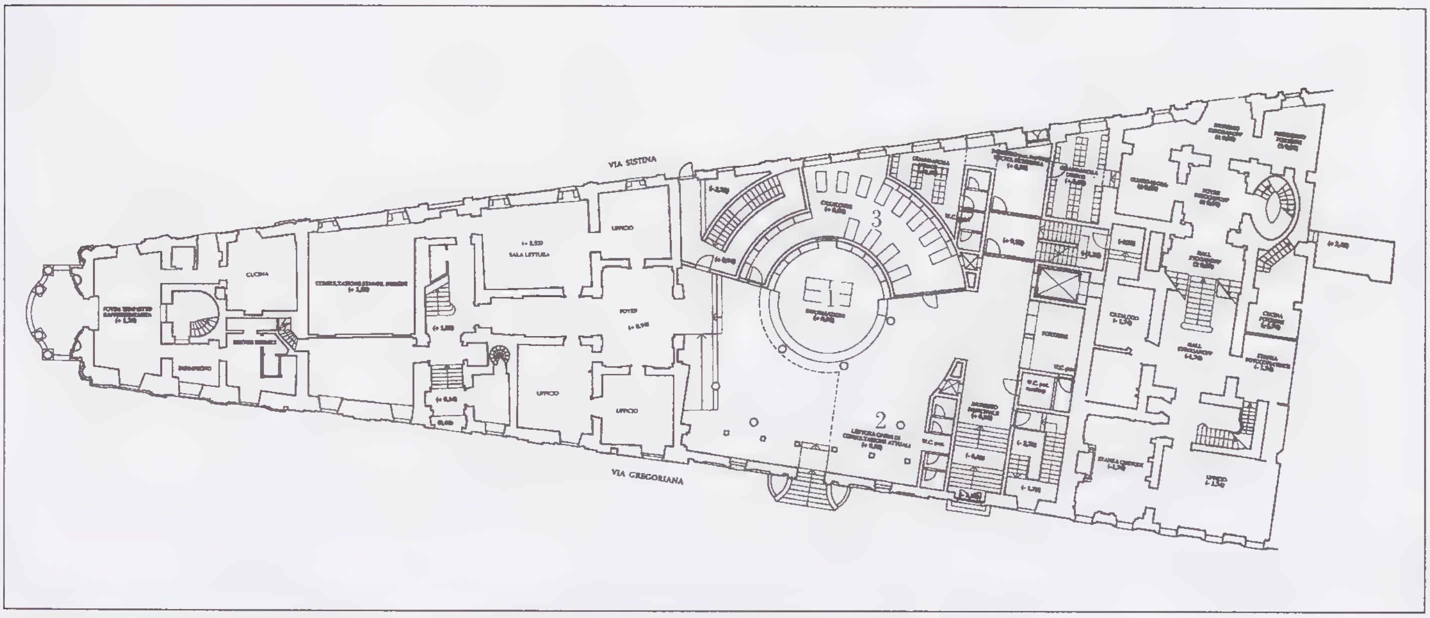


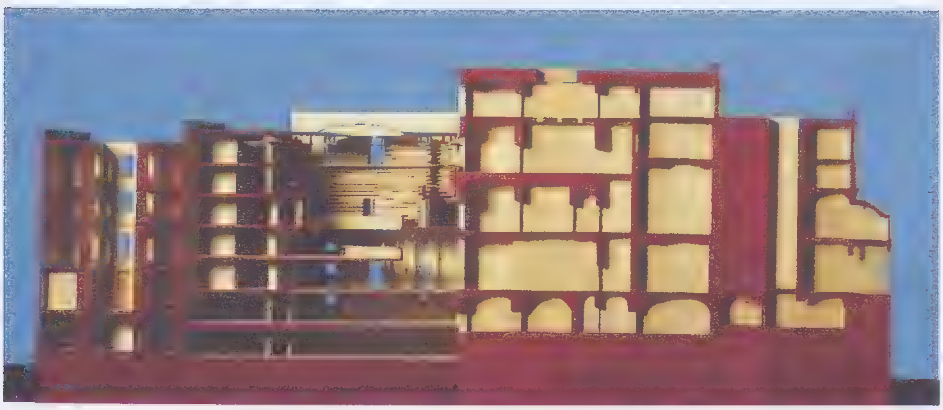


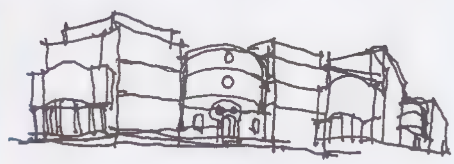
Fronte su Via Gregoriana, sezioni longitudinale e trasversale, modello e schizzo di studio del fronte su Via Gregoriana. Piante dei piani terreno e tipo: 1)informazioni; 2) lettura opere di consultazione e sala conferenze; 3) cataloghi; 4) sala di lettura non silenziosa; 5) deposito libri; 6) deposito libri rari; 7) sala di lettura silenziosa.

Front on Via Gregoriana, longitudinal and cross-sections, model and working sketch of the front on Via Gregoriana. Plans of ground and typical floors: 1) information; 2) reference and conferences; 3) catalogues; 4) non-silent reading room; 5) book storage; 6) rara books storage; 7) silent reading room.


4
5
6
7


VIA SISTINA
VIA GREGORIANA
1
2
3



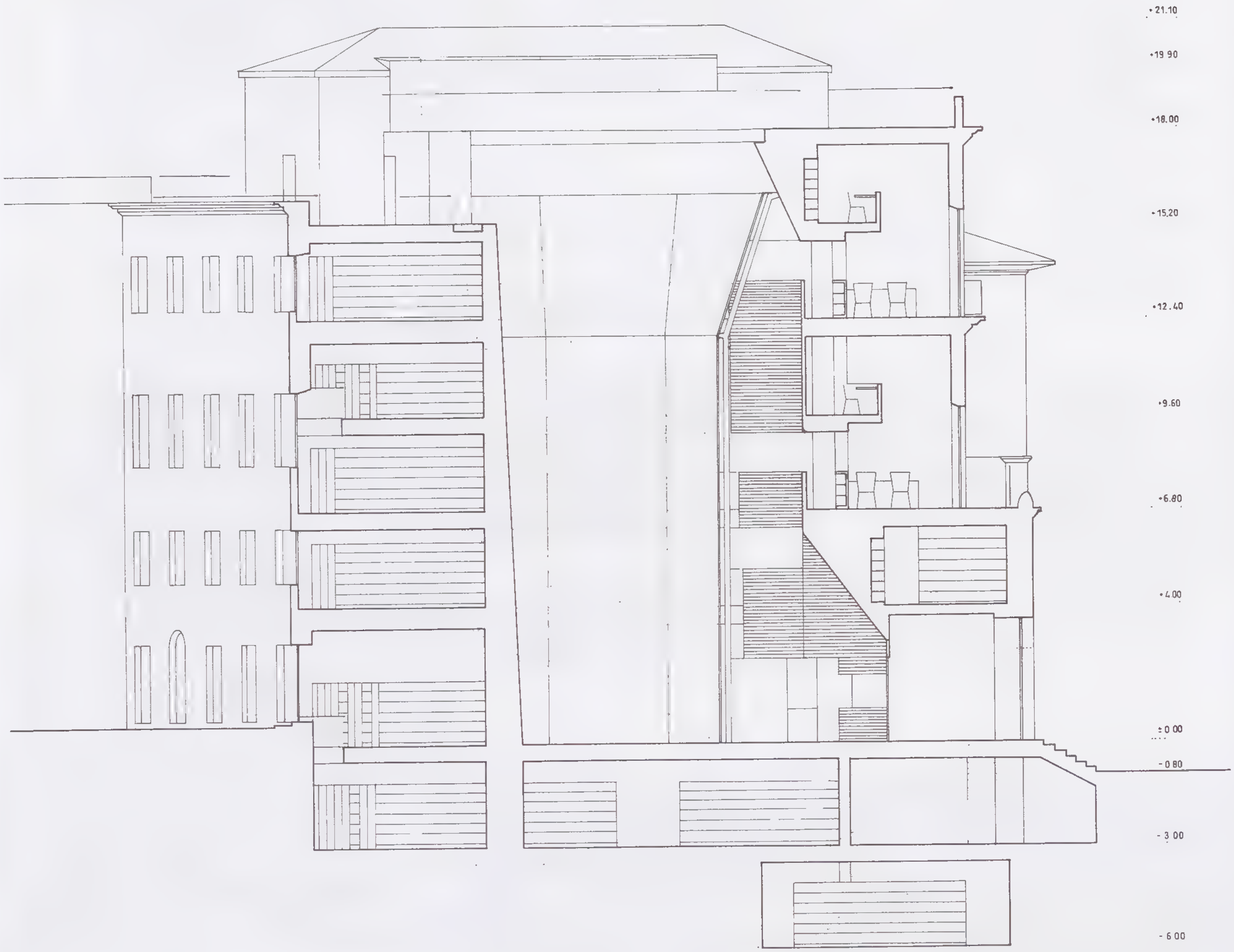


Ristrutturazione della Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma

1995

Juan Navarro Baldeweg

con/with: Andrea Lupberger, Alvaro Galmés Cerezo, Jaime Bretón Lesmes, Scott Slarsky, Daniel Delbrück, Juan de Dios Hernández (maqueta), Juan de la Torre (estructuras)



Sezione trasversale.

Cross section.

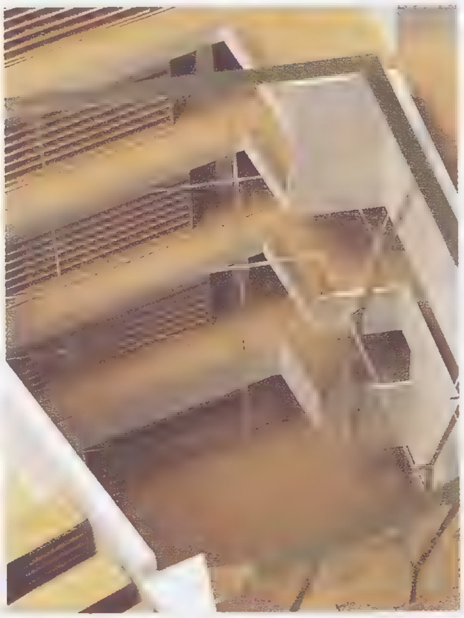
Concorso a inviti per la ristrutturazione della Casa dei Preti fra Palazzo Zuccari e Palazzo Stroganoff per la Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma
Juan Navarro Baldeweg

Il progetto di ristrutturazione dell'area occupata un tempo da un giardino all'interno di Palazzo Zuccari deve partire innanzitutto da considerazioni riguardanti le origini di uno spazio così singolare. Sarebbe infatti sconveniente ignorare quel *genius loci* che occorrerebbe sempre rendere esplicito e trasparente in qualsiasi intervento rispettoso.
Il luogo in cui un tempo si trovava il giardino terrazzato della villa romana di Lucullo era caratterizzato da una disposizione gradonata dei muri di contenimento su un pendio del versante meridionale del Pincio. Le caratteristiche formali di questo giardino, che conferivano unitarietà all'insieme, sono state il punto di ispirazione del nostro progetto.
Proponiamo che l'ingresso pubblico alla nuova biblioteca debba essere il Portale del Mascherone, elemento che Zuccari considerò necessario contrasto alla bellezza paradisiaca che si presentava alla vista di chi lo varcava. Anche nel nostro caso, quindi, l'ingresso consentirà di comprendere subito l'organizzazione distributiva generale della biblioteca. Il salone centrale si presenta come un pozzo di luce, con pareti vetrate e leggermente inclinate attraverso le quali la luce si riflette e diffonde. Intorno a questo elemento centrale si articolano ballatoi gradonati a perimetro libero, che ospitano gli scaffali dei libri e le sale di lettura. Si ottiene così uno spazio interno di superficie ridotta ma di grande efficacia per lo sviluppo in altezza, il grado di luminosità ambientale e la ricchezza formale di un ordine gradonato che, in sezione, si presenta di forma trapezoidale.
I diversi livelli sono organizzati in base a una distribuzione regolare, che dispone gli scaffali dei libri nella zona affacciata su Via Sistina e le zone di lettura in quella affacciata su Via Gregoriana, con finestre e terrazze dalle quali si può ammirare il panorama di Roma. Al piano più alto si trova una zona di lettura silenziosa destinata a un'attività separata e indipendente dallo spazio comune centrale; anch'essa usufruisce della terrazza superiore come luogo di sosta affacciato sulla città.
Il passaggio dalla terrazza più bassa di Palazzo Stroganoff alla terrazza elevata di Palazzo Zuccari avviene tramite una convenzionale copertura inclinata, un elemento semplice che attenua gli scarti di altezza dei diversi edifici della Bibliotheca Hertziana. Tale copertura presenta una serie di lucernari che consentono un'illuminazione adeguata della sala di lettura silenziosa. La proposta rende esplicita la volontà di variare la disposizione delle coperture, accettando la frammentazione e la compresenza di terrazze piane e coperture inclinate, come è tipico dei tetti di Roma e come si può notare osservando la città dall'alto.
I mattoni a vista intonacati di bianco, proposti come finitura per le pareti che delimitano l'ampio spazio centrale, ricordano gli interni della Gliptoteca di Monaco. La tonalità chiara del mattone così trattato faciliterà la diffusione della luce zenitale conferendo all'ambiente luce e calore. Il pavimento dell'ingresso sarà in travertino, quello dei piani superiori quasi ovunque in legno. La combinazione semplice e raffinata delle finiture, quali il mattone intonacato bianco, la pietra, il legno, gli stessi libri in vista, creeranno un insieme di materiali ben armonizzati, configurando un ambiente caldo e accogliente.

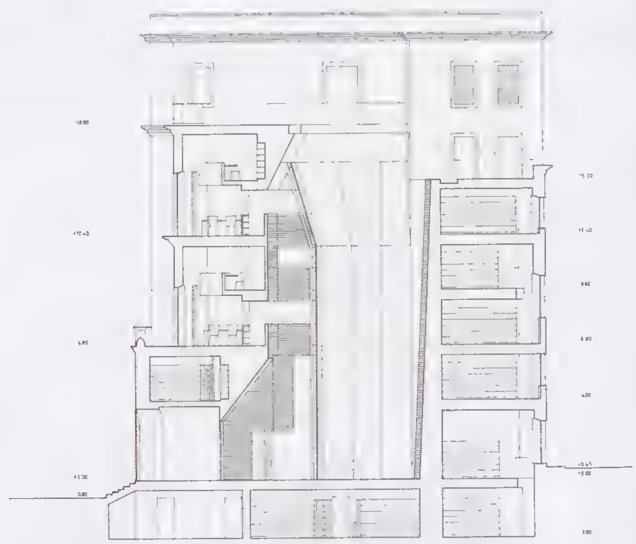
Competition entry by invitation for the renovation of the Casa dei Preti between Palazzo Zuccari and Palazzo Stroganoff for the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome
Juan Navarro Baldeweg

The renovation project for the area once occupied by a garden within Palazzo Zuccari must begin, first of all, with considerations regarding the origins of such a singular space. It would be a grave error to overlook that genius loci *which ought to be made explicit and evident in any proper intervention.*
The place which once contained the terraced garden of the Roman villa of Lucullus was marked by a stepped arrangement of the retainer walls on a southern slope of the Pincio. The formal characteristics of this garden, which gave it a unified image, are the point of inspiration for our project.
We believe that the public entrance for the new library should be the Portale del Mascherone, an element Zuccari considered a necessary contrast to the heavenly beauty of what lay beyond its threshold. Again in our case, therefore, the entrance will make it possible to immediately comprehend the overall layout of the library. The central room is like a light well, with glazed walls, slightly inclined, through which the light enters and spreads. Around this central element stepped terraces contain the stacks and the reading rooms. This creates an internal space of small areas but great efficacy in its vertical development, its lighting, and the formal richness of a stepped order which, in section, has a trapezoidal form.
The various levels are organized with a regular layout, with shelving in the zone facing onto Via Sistina and reading areas in those facing onto Via Gregoriana, with windows and terraces from which to admire the view of Rome. The upper level contains a silent reading room, separated from the central common space; it also makes use of the upper terrace as a stopping point overlooking the city.
The passage from the lower terrace of Palazzo Stroganoff to the raised terrace of Palazzo Zuccari takes place through a conventional inclined roof, a simple element that attenuates the height differences of the various edifices of the Bibliotheca Hertziana. This roofing contains a series of skylights to permit adequate lighting for the silent reading room. The proposal explicitly illustrates the desire to vary the roofings arrangement, accepting the fragmentation and coexistence of flat terraces and sloped roofs, typical of the rooftops of Rome, as can be seen when one views the city from above.
The exposed bricks with white finish, proposed as the finishing for the walls bordering the large central space, are reminiscent of the interiors of the Glyptograph Museum of Munich. The light color of the treated bricks facilitates the diffusion of zenithal lighting, providing the space with light and warmth. The flooring of the entrance is in Travertine stone, while that of the upper levels is nearly always in wood. The simple and refined combination of finishings, including white plastered bricks, stone, wood, and the books themselves, will create a grouping of well-harmonized materials for a warm, welcoming atmosphere.

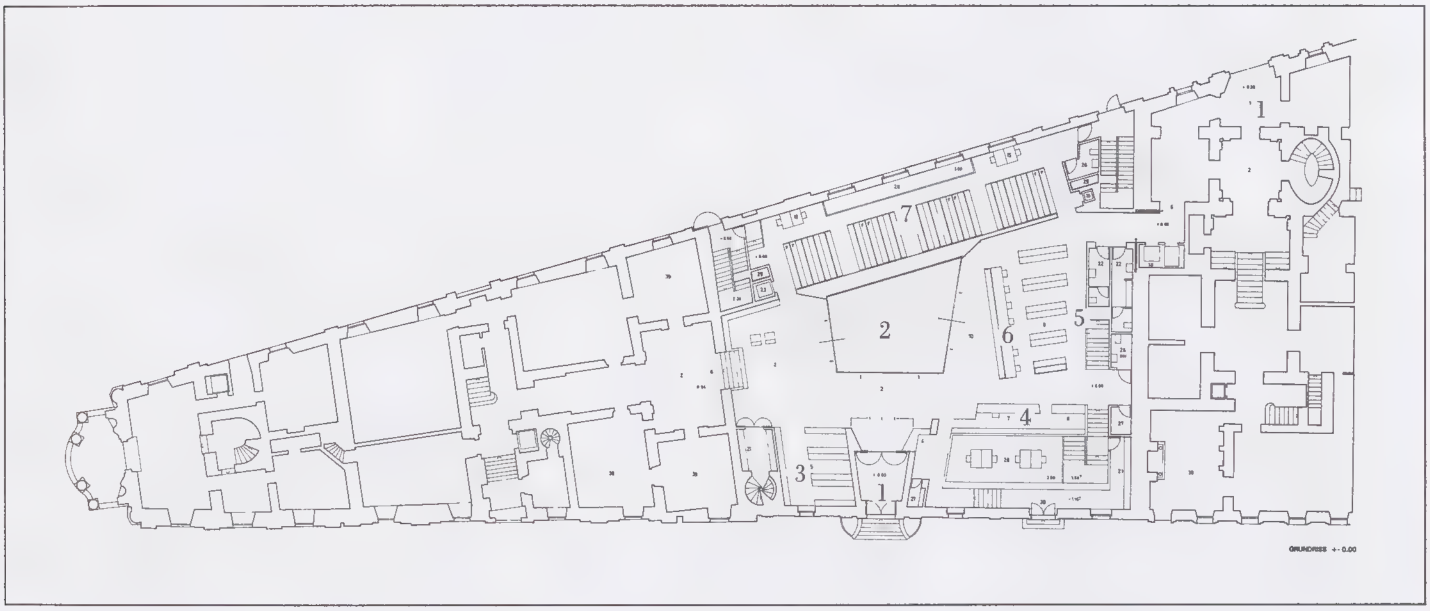


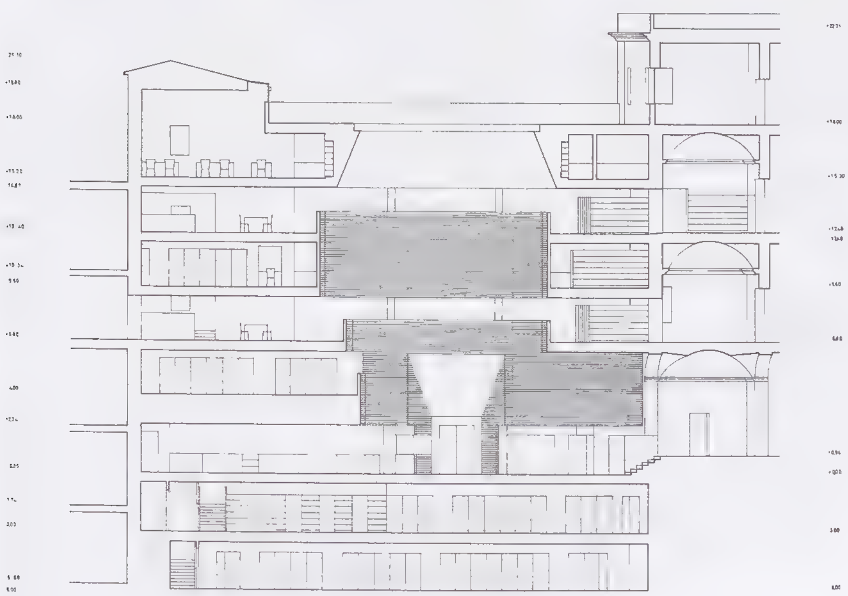












Vedute del modello dall'esterno e dall'interno.
Fronte su Via Gregoriana e pianta del piano terreno: 1) ingresso; 2) cortile; 3) guardaroba; 4) informazioni; 5) cataloghi; 6) computer; 7) deposito libri.
Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale.

Exterior and interior model views.
Front elevation on Via Gregoriana and ground floor plan: 1)entrance; 2) courtyard; 3)cloakroom; 4) information; 5)catalogues; 6) computers; 7) book storage.
Cross and longitudinal sections.

Ristrutturazione della Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma

1995

Vittorio De Feo



Sezione prospettica trasversale sull'atrio e sulla sala conferenze.

Perspective cross-section of the atrium and the conference room.

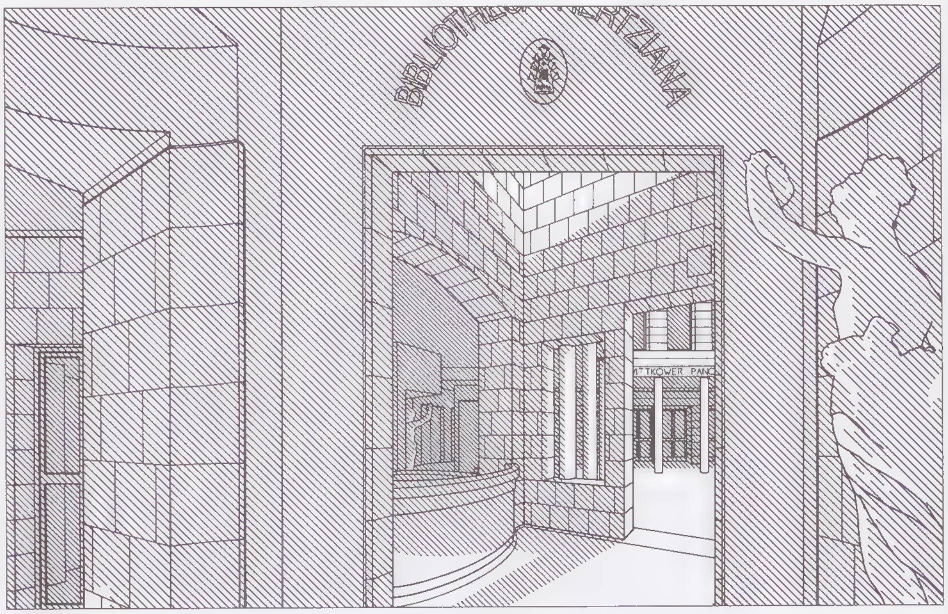
Concorso a inviti per la ristrutturazione della Casa dei Preti fra Palazzo Zuccari e Palazzo Stroganoff per la Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma
Vittorio De Feo

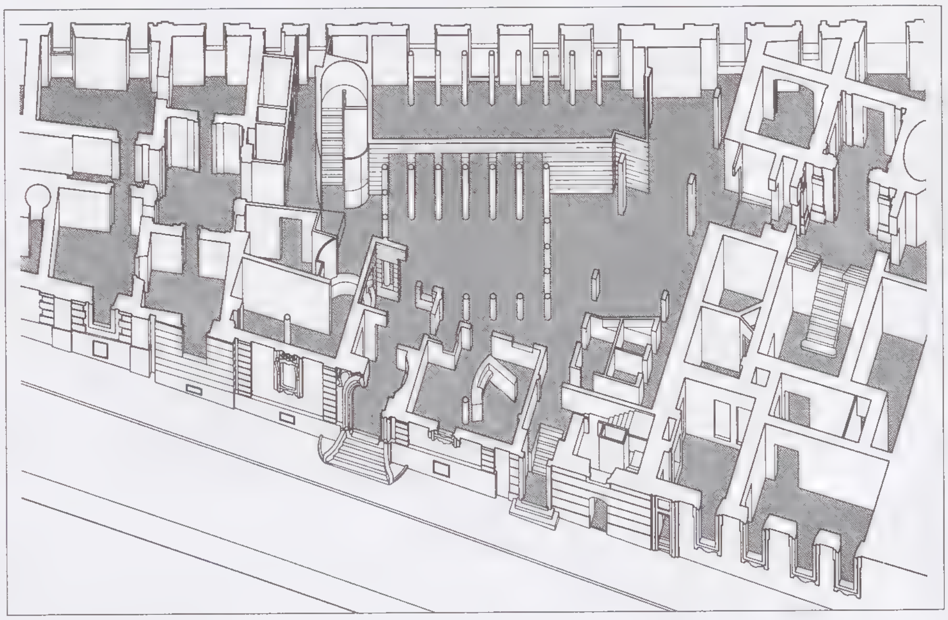
Un conveniente rimodernamento della Casa dei Preti comporta la sua totale demolizione e ricostruzione, pur dovendo conservare del tutto immutate le pareti perimetrali verso Via Gregoriana e Via Sistina e le altezze complessive dell'edificio.
Il cinquecentesco Portale del Mascherone su Via Gregoriana è assunto come ingresso principale, considerando che la "bocca infernale" è il migliore, più rappresentativo ingresso al "Paradiso" umanistico della Hertziana.
La pianta del piano terra è articolata secondo due assi prospettici che dirigono i percorsi fondamentali. Il primo conduce dal Portale del Mascherone, attraverso un vestibolo e un piccolo atrio, ad un ampia sala centrale di incontro, istituendo una concatenata sequenza di spazi. L'asse trasversale si incrocia con un secondo asse longitudinale, corrispondente al percorso che unisce il corridoio affrescato di Palazzo Zuccari con la sala centrale, attraversandola in lunghezza. I due assi non sono tra loro ortogonali poiché si conformano alle particolarità del luogo. Il primo infatti è perpendicolare alla Via Gregoriana di accesso; mentre il secondo segue l'andamento della Via Sistina.
I vani dell'atrio e della sala, tra loro intersecati, hanno dimensioni differenti ma, similmente, si innalzano pressocché per tutta l'altezza dell'edificio. Sono corti adiacenti che sostituiscono quella attuale; concluse in alto da lucernari parzialmente apribili e oscurabili che formano suggestivi pozzi luminosi. Esse congiungono i diversi piani ed ambienti favorendone la reciproca visibilità. Le due corti protette costituiscono gli spazi architettonici più significativi della Biblioteca, e ne segnano il centro funzionale.
L'atrio è dominato dal banco circolare della portineria, in posizione strategica.
Al piano terra è anche collocata la zona cataloghi; e nella sala centrale trova spazio la libera consultazione delle opere recenti.
In funzione delle molteplici e prestigiose attività culturali dell'Istituto è opportuno avere al piano terra del nuovo edificio una sala per conferenze e riunioni, con capienza di circa 150 posti. Essa è a lato della sala di incontro che, come un peristilio coperto, ne costituisce il *foyer* ed un adeguato completamento, particolarmente in occasione di cerimonie e ricevimenti.
Al primo piano è situata la zona di lettura riviste con parlatorium e magazzino. Lo stesso piano ospita un primo spazio di lettura non silenziosa con 12 posti e una sezione di magazzino libri. Accanto al blocco scala ascensori e montacarichi si trovano un banco di informazione e consulenza e due locali secondari polivalenti.
Il secondo piano con altri 47 posti completa gli spazi di lettura non silenziosa che raggiungono pertanto i 59 posti. Vi trovano collocazione una ulteriore sezione di magazzino e altri due locali secondari.
Il terzo piano accoglie gli spazi di lettura silenziosa con 43 posti, una terza sezione di magazzino e due locali secondari analoghi a quelli disposti nei piani inferiori.
Al quarto piano è situato l'intero settore *rara* con spazio di lettura con 12 posti, il magazzino e la zona di consegna e controllo, con due locali secondari, in prossimità di scala, ascensori e montacarichi. Il magazzino *rara* trova facile espansione in un soprastante ambiente a quota delle terrazze.
I magazzini libri distribuiti nei quattro piani, in vicinanza delle zone lettura, sono tutti a scaffalature compatte a doppia faccia, con profondità dei ripiani di cm 30 e in parte di cm 40. Sono completati da ulteriori scaffalature compatte nei piani interrati.
Il primo interrato accoglie anche il laboratorio fotografico, il locale per il server elaborazione dati e due locali secondari di servizio e deposito. Il secondo interrato ha una minore estensione per evitare un eccessivo rischio di impatto con l'area archeologica.
Sono accuratamente facilitati, piano per piano, i collegamenti della nuova Biblioteca con i contigui Palazzi Zuccari e Stroganoff in modo che le varie, complementari funnzioni dei tre palazzi possano trovare sistemazione in una ben integrata sede complessiva.
Le particolarissime esigenze costruttive e di cantiere, con la difficoltà di integrare alla nuova costruzione le parti storiche esistenti, conducono ad escludere l'impiego del c. a. nelle strutture in elevazione a favore di strutture in acciaio, adeguatamente protette secondo le norme antincendio. Qualche difficoltà si rileva per le fondazioni che, dovendosi escludere l'uso di pali in presenza dei reperti archeologici, sono prevedibili a platea o con graticcio di travi rovesce.
I materiali di finitura sono di tipo tradizionale. Il vasto pavimento del piano terra è in battuto alla veneziana a scaglie di marmo Verde Alpi. Le zone di lettura dei vari piani hanno invece pavimenti in listoni di legno di rovere. Le pareti interne, comprese quelle perimetrali delle corti coperte, sono rivestite in travertino giallo Rapolano grezzo. Le colonne tutte intonacate in marmorina color grigio bardiglio. Gli infissi interni in alluminio verniciato con smalti opachi.

Competition entry by invitation for the renovation of the Casa dei Preti between Palazzo Zuccari and Palazzo Stroganoff for the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome
Vittorio De Feo

An appropriate updating of the Casa dei Preti implies its total demolition and reconstruction, conserving only the perimeter walls on Via Gregoriana and Via Sistina, and the overall height of the building.
The 16th-century Portale del Mascherone on Via Gregoriana is assumed as the main entrance, considering the fact that the "infernal mouth" is the best, most representative entrance to the Humanistic "Paradiso" of the Hertziana library.
The plan of the ground floor is ordered in accordance with two perspective axes that orient the main passageways. The first leads from the Portale del Mascherone, through a vestibule and a small atrium, to a large central space for encounters, a chained sequence of spaces. The transverse axis intersects with a second longitudinal axis, the route that joins the frescoed corridor of Palazzo Zuccari to the central hall. The two axes are not orthogonal, because of the particularities of the place. The first is perpendicular to Via Gregoriana, where the entrance is located; the second is aligned with Via Sistina.
The spaces of the atrium and the hall, which intersect, are different in size, but are similar in the fact that their height is nearly equal to that of the entire edifice. They are adjacent courts, replacing the present one, with partially ventilante or obscurante skylights. The various levels and spaces are connected, ensuring reciprocal visibility. The two covered courts are the most important architectural spaces of the library, indicating its functional center.
The atrium is dominated by the circular counter of the reception, in a strategic position.
The ground floor also contains the area of the catalogues; the central room contains space for free consultation of recent works.
For the many different prestigious cultural activities of the Institute it is appropriate to include, on the ground floor of the new building, a room for conferences and meetings, with a capacity of about 150. This is positioned beside the space of encounter, like a covered peristyle, creating a kind of foyer, *especially for receptions and ceremonies.*
The first floor contains the periodicals area, with a parlatorium and storage room. The same floor also hosts an initial non-silent reading room for 12 persons, and a book storage area. Alongside the vertical access block are located an information desk and two secondary multipurpose rooms.
The second floor, with space for 47 visitors, completes the spaces for non-silent reading, for a total capacity of 59. Other storage spaces are included here, as well as two more secondary rooms.
The third floor contains the silent reading

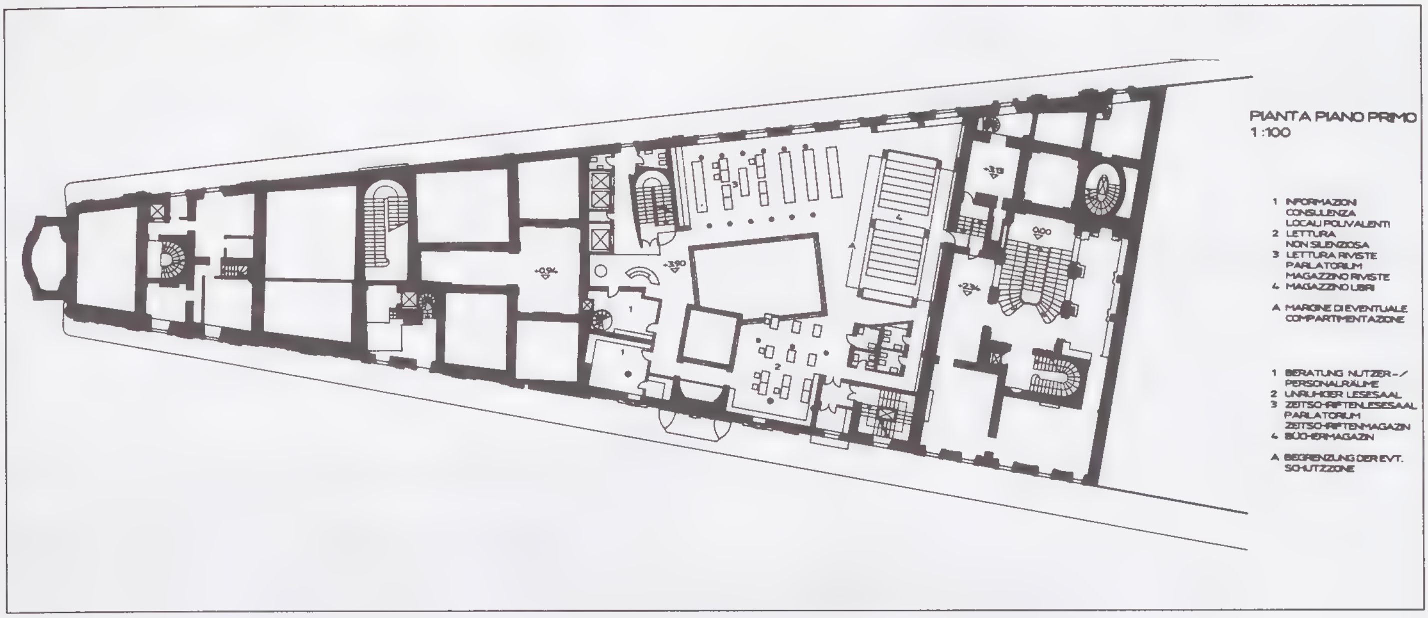
areas, for 43 visitors, a third storage area and two secondary rooms analogous to those on the levels below.
The fourth floor contains the entire rara books section, with space for 12 visitors, a storage area and a zone for consultation and security; once again there are two secondary rooms near the vertical access block. The rare books storage area can easily be expanded into a space above, at the level of the terraces.
The book storage areas on the four floors, near the reading areas, are all equipped with compact two-sided shelving units, some 30 cm in depth, others 40 cm. Compact stacks are also placed in the basement levels.
The first basement also houses the photography lab, a data processing area, and two secondary service or storage rooms. The sub-basement is smaller, to avoid the risk of damaging an archaeological area.
On each floor connection has been facilitated between the new library and the contiguous Zuccari and Stroganoff buildings, so that the various, complementary functions of the three structures can be integrated in a single complex.
The very particular conditions of the construction and the worksite, with the need to integrate the new construction with existing historical structures, mean that reinforced concrete must be excluded in favor of steel structures, with adequate compliance with fire regulations. Certain difficulties arise in the construction of the foundations, because piles cannot be utilized, for fear of damaging archaeological materials; other systems must be applied.
The finishing materials are traditional. The vast flooring of the ground level is in Venetian cement and shards of green Alpine marble. The reading areas on the various floors have oak wood flooring. The internal walls, including the perimeter walls of the covered courts, are faced in natural yellow Rapolano Travertine stone. The columns are finished in gray bardiglio composite stucco. The internal window frames are in matt finish aluminium.

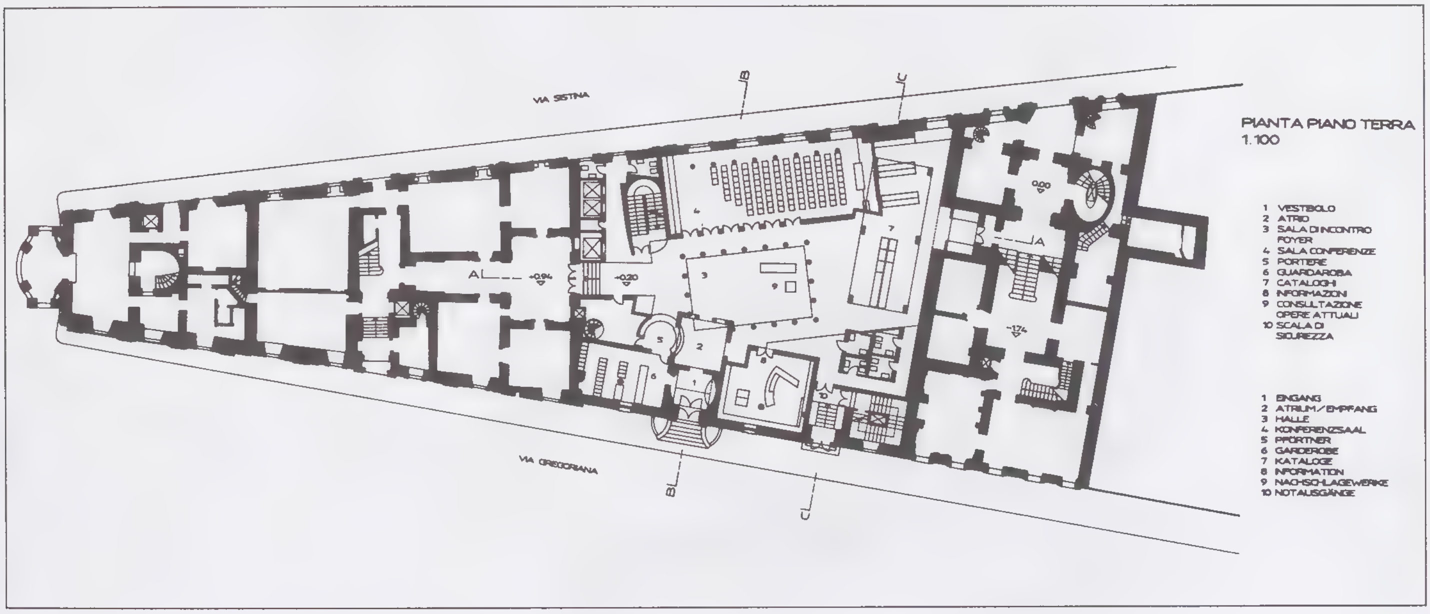




Prospettiva dell'ingresso e spaccato assonometrico del piano terreno.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo.

Perspective of the entrance and axonometric cutaway of the ground floor.
Plans of the ground and first floors.


PIANTA PIANO PRIMO
1 :100
1 INFORMAZIONI CONSULENZA LOCALI POLIVALENTI
2 LETTURA NON SILENZIOSA
3 LETTURA RIVISTE PARLATORIUM MAGAZZINO RIVISTE
4 MAGAZZINO LIBRI
A MARGINE DI EVENTUALE COMPARTIMENTAZIONE
1 BERATUNG NUTZER-/ PERSONALRÄUME
2 UNRUHIGER LESESAAL
3 ZEITSCHRIFTENLESESAAL PARLATORIUM ZEITSCHRIFTENMAGAZIN
4 BÜCHERMAGAZIN
A BEGRENZUNG DER EVT. SCHUTZZONE


VIA SISTINA
VIA GREGORIANA
PIANTA PIANO TERRA
1.100
1 VESTIBOLO
2 ATRIO
3 SALA DI INCONTRO FOYER
4 SALA CONFERENZE
5 PORTIERE
6 GUARDAROBA
7 CATALOGHI
8 INFORMAZIONI
9 CONSULTAZIONE OPERE ATTUALI
10 SCALA DI SICUREZZA
1 EINGANG
2 ATRIUM / EMPFANG
3 HALLE
4 KONFERENZSAAL
5 PFÖRTNER
6 GARDEROBE
7 KATALOGE
8 INFORMATION
9 NACHSCHLAGEWERKE
10 NOTAUSGÄNGE

Ristrutturazione della Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma

1995

Giorgio Grassi

con/with: Nunzio Dego, Elena Grassi, Simona Pierini

Sezioni longitudinale e trasversali.

Longitudinal and cross-sections.







Ristrutturazione della Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma

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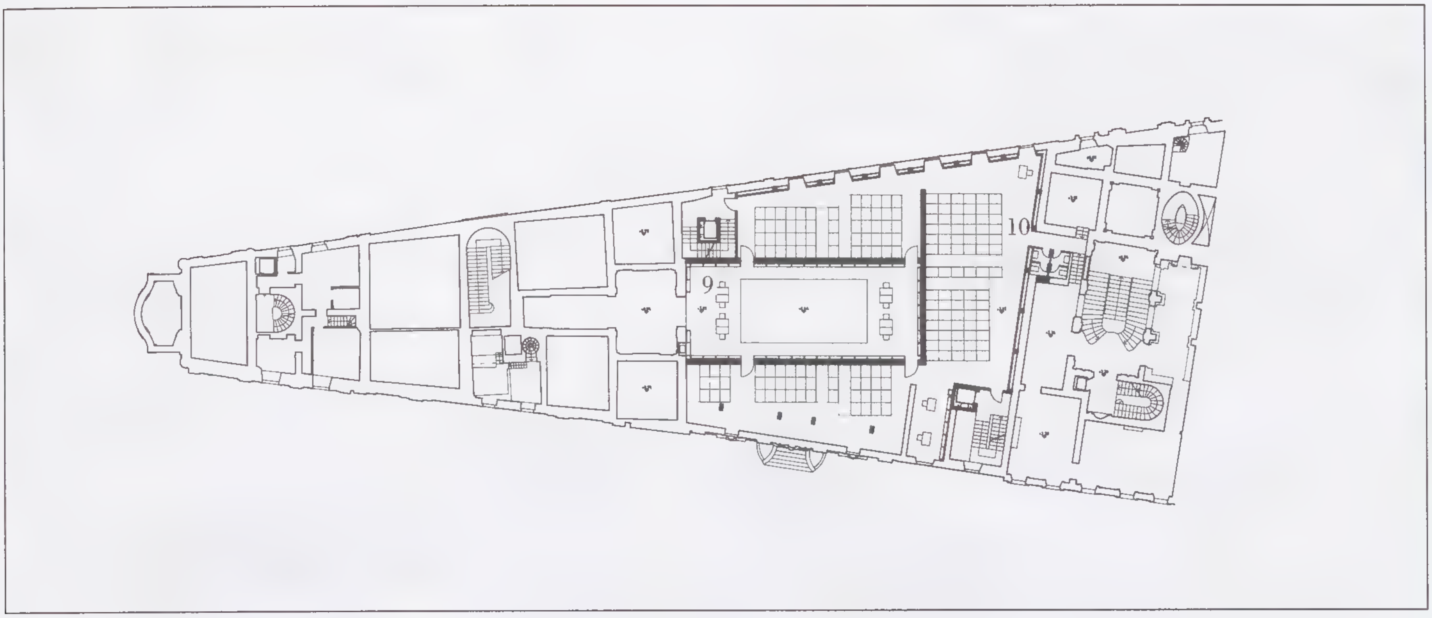


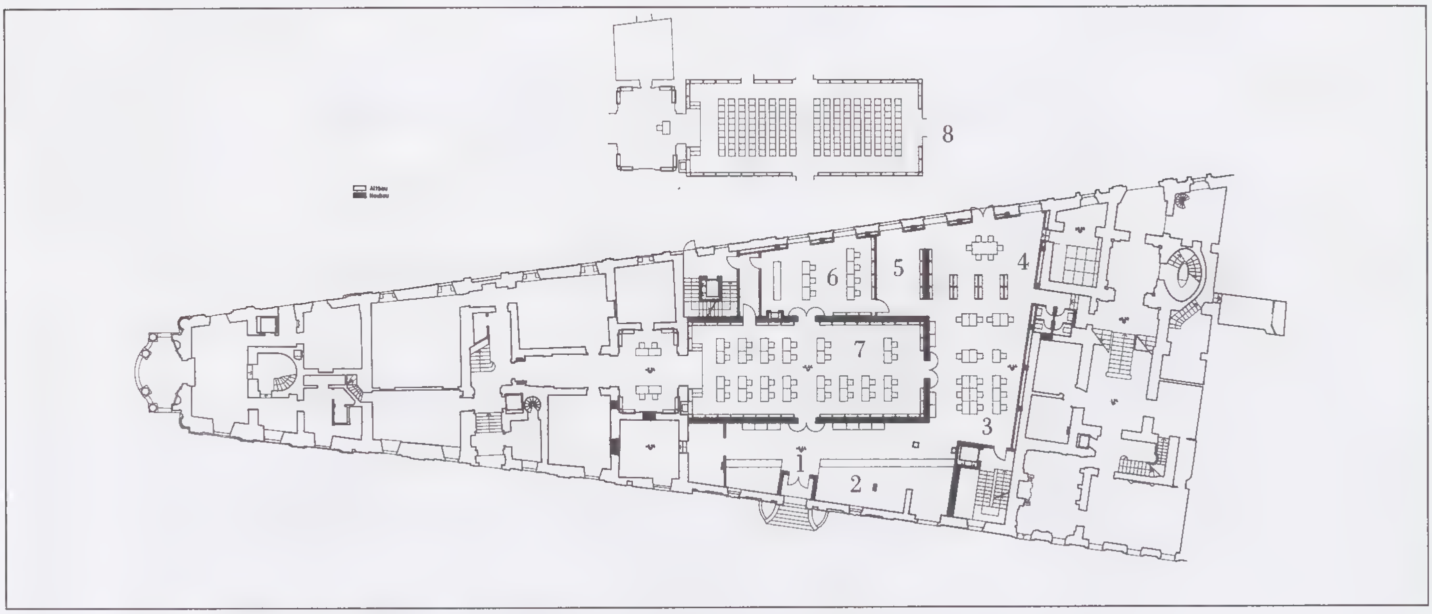
Concorso a inviti per la ristrutturazione della Casa dei Preti fra Palazzo Zuccari e Palazzo Stroganoff per la Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma
Giorgio Grassi

C'è una questione, specificatamente funzionale, che è decisiva per il progetto e che è in grado perciò di condizionare pesantemente le scelte architettoniche. Si tratta dell'esigenza, espressa dal Bando di concorso, di immagazzinare il maggior numero possibile di libri (quantificati in circa (400.000 volumi) mediante l'uso di scaffalature compatte. E questa richiesta sembra essere assolutamente prioritaria.
In realtà questo vuol dire che l'oggetto del nostro progetto è costituito prevalentemente da un grande magazzino in cui i libri (o quantomeno la gran maggioranza) scompaiono dentro grandi contenitori metallici. Dove scompare cioè alla vista uno dei principali elementi di riconoscibilità della biblioteca (la Hertziana, tutta ad accesso libero), ciò che ne rappresenta meglio in fondo la qualità, il valore, cioè appunto la quantità, messa in mostra, dei libri custoditi. Da ciò deriva che soltanto alle sale per il pubblico (di lettura, di consultazione, ecc.) è affidato il compito di rappresentare visivamente, per così dire, la specificità della storica istituzione; oltre al compito naturalmente di risolvere architettonicamente la relazione con l'edificio monumentale, cioè l'imprescindibile relazione tipologica e spaziale con il Palazzo Zuccari.
Il nostro progetto ha come oggetto principale il ridisegno del cortile interno.
Al nuovo cortile, interamente vetrato in alto e foderato di libri per tutta la sua altezza, si è voluto affidare il compito appunto di restituire con il suo aspetto e con le sue dimensioni inusuali il senso e la ragione di essere della storica biblioteca.
Al piano terra il nostro cortile coincide con la sala di lettura silenziosa per 36 posti, utilizzabile anche come sala conferenze per 153 posti.
La sala (e quindi il cortile che la sovrasta) è di forma allungata e disposta secondo lo stesso asse generatore del progetto di Palazzo Zuccari. Cioè in asse con la successione degli spazi affrescati del vestibolo e della sala terrena, come ideale elemento conclusivo del sistema prospettico nel sito dell'antico giardino.
Le sue pareti oltre che letteralmente ricoperte di libri sono percorse a tutti i piani da un ballatoio perimetrale che diventa più ampio sui lati corti per consentire quattro posti di lettura per parte. L'insieme di questi spazi distribuiti (4x2x5 = 40 posti) su cinque piani dà luogo alla sala di lettura non silenziosa. E diciamo a questo proposito che, date le particolari condizioni termoacustiche di questo grande spazio verticale (direzione di propagazione del suono e flusso ascensionale dell'aria), il brusio che può prodursi ai piani superiori per l'uso dei *personal computer* non può avere conseguenze apprezzabili per la sala sottostante.
Per quanto riguarda il problema del mantenimento nel progetto della stessa cubatura utile dell'edificio attuale, la superficie libera del nuovo cortile equivale a quella del precedente (ad esclusione dei due stretti ballatoi longitudinali) mentre l'area libera in alto risulta quasi doppia di quella dell'attuale cortile.
Il nuovo cortile coperto è delimitato su un lato dal fronte verso il giardino del Palazzo Zuccari e sugli altri da tre pareti ortogonali in cemento armato destinate a sostenere (sul lato opposto ai ballatoi) insieme ai pilastri addossati ai muri perimetrali dell'edificio i solai che reggono i nuovi magazzini dei libri. Qui i blocchi delle scaffalature compatte si allineano lungo le pareti in cemento armato mentre lungo quelle perimetrali, nell'intercapedine formata dai nuovi pilastri, è previsto il passaggio degli impianti (di ventilazione, condizionamento, riscaldamento, ecc., provenienti dalle centrali poste all'ultimo piano).
Le facciate su Via Sistina e su Via Gregoriana, compresi gli arretrati, le coperture e i volumi tecnici rivolti verso strada, non subiscono nel progetto alcuna modifica. L'ingresso principale alla Bibliotheca Hertziana è previsto dal portale con mascherone su Via Gregoriana mentre quello per i disabili si trova su Via Sistina in corrispondenza di un'uscita d'emergenza.
La struttura dell'edificio è prevista in cemento armato (pilastri, pareti e solai) e la copertura del cortile in ferro e vetro atermico con frangisole orientabili meccanicamente.

Competition entry by invitation for the renovation of the Casa dei Preti between Palazzo Zuccari and Palazzo Stroganoff for the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome
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There is a specifically functional issue which is decisive for the project and therefore capable of strongly influencing the architectural choices involved. This is the need, expressed in the competition guidelines, to store the greatest possible quantity of books (appx. 400,000 volumes) using compact stacks. This appears to be an absolute priority. In reality, this means that the aim of the project is, above all, to design a large storehouse in which the books (or most of them) will disappear into large metal containers. In other words, one of the main elements of recognizability of the library (the Hertziana, all open to the public) will disappear, removing the best possible representation of the quality, the value, the quantity of the place. This means that the task of visual representation of this historical institution will be assigned only to the rooms open to the public (reading and research rooms, etc.); along with the task of resolving, in architectural terms, the relation with the monumental edifice, the inevitable typological and spatial relation to Palazzo Zuccari. Our project focuses on the redesign of the internal courtyard.
The new courtyard, entirely glazed above, and completely lined with books, is intended to re-create, with its appearance and its unusual size, the sensation and the essence of the historical library.
At ground level our courtyard coincides with a quiet reading room for 36 persons, which can also be used as a conference room for 153 persons. The hall (and the courtyard above) is oblong, aligned with the axis that generates the design of Palazzo Zuccari, or with the succession of frescoed spaces of the vestibule and the ground-floor room, as an ideal concluding element of the perspective system on the site of the original garden. The walls of the courtyard are literally covered with books, with a perimeter gallery at all levels, wider on the short sides to accommodate four positions for reading on each side. The total of the positions (4x2x5=40) on the five levels gives rise to the non-silent reading room. Here we should mention that given the particular thermo-acoustic conditions of this large vertical space (direction of propagation of sound and ascending air currents), the hum of the personal computers on the upper levels will not disturb the visitors on the lower levels.
Regarding the problem of maintaining the same utilized volume as the present edifice, the empty space of the new courtyard is equivalent to that of the old one (with the exclusion of the two narrow longitudinal galleries), while the vacant area above is nearly double that of the present courtyard.
The new covered courtyard is bordered on one side by the front facing the garden of Palazzo Zuccari, and on the others by three orthogonal walls in reinforced concrete to support (on the side opposite the galleries), together with the pilasters positioned against the perimeter walls of the edifice, the floor slabs that support the new book stacks. Here the blocks of the compact stacks are aligned along the walls in reinforced concrete, while along the perimeter walls, in the interspace formed by the new pilasters, plant elements will be located (ventilation, air conditioning, heating, etc., connected to the central plant on the top floor).
The facades on Via Sistina and Via Gregoriana, including the setbacks, roofings and technical volumes facing the street, are left intact. The main entrance to the Bibliotheca Hertziana can be through the door with mascaron on Via Gregoriana, while the entrance for the handicapped is on Via Sistina, in corrispondence with that of the emergency exit.
The structure of the edifice is in reinforced concrete (pilasters, walls and floor slabs), and the covering of the courtyard is in iron and thermal glass, with mechanically adjustable sun screens.







Piante dei piani terreno e secondo: 1) ingresso; 2) informazioni; 3) cataloghi; 4) sala di consultazione; 5) parlatorium; 6) sala di lettura libri rari; 7) sala di lettura silenziosa; 8) la sala di lettura silenziosa trasformata in sala conferenze; 9) sala di lettura non silenziosa; 10) deposito libri.
Planimetria generale.

Plans of the ground and second floors: 1) entrance; 2) information; 3) catalogues; 4) reference room; 5) parlatorium; 6) rara books reading room; 7) silent reading room; 8) silent reading room transformed into a conference room; 9) non-silent reading room; 10) book storage.
General planimetric.

Ristrutturazione della Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma

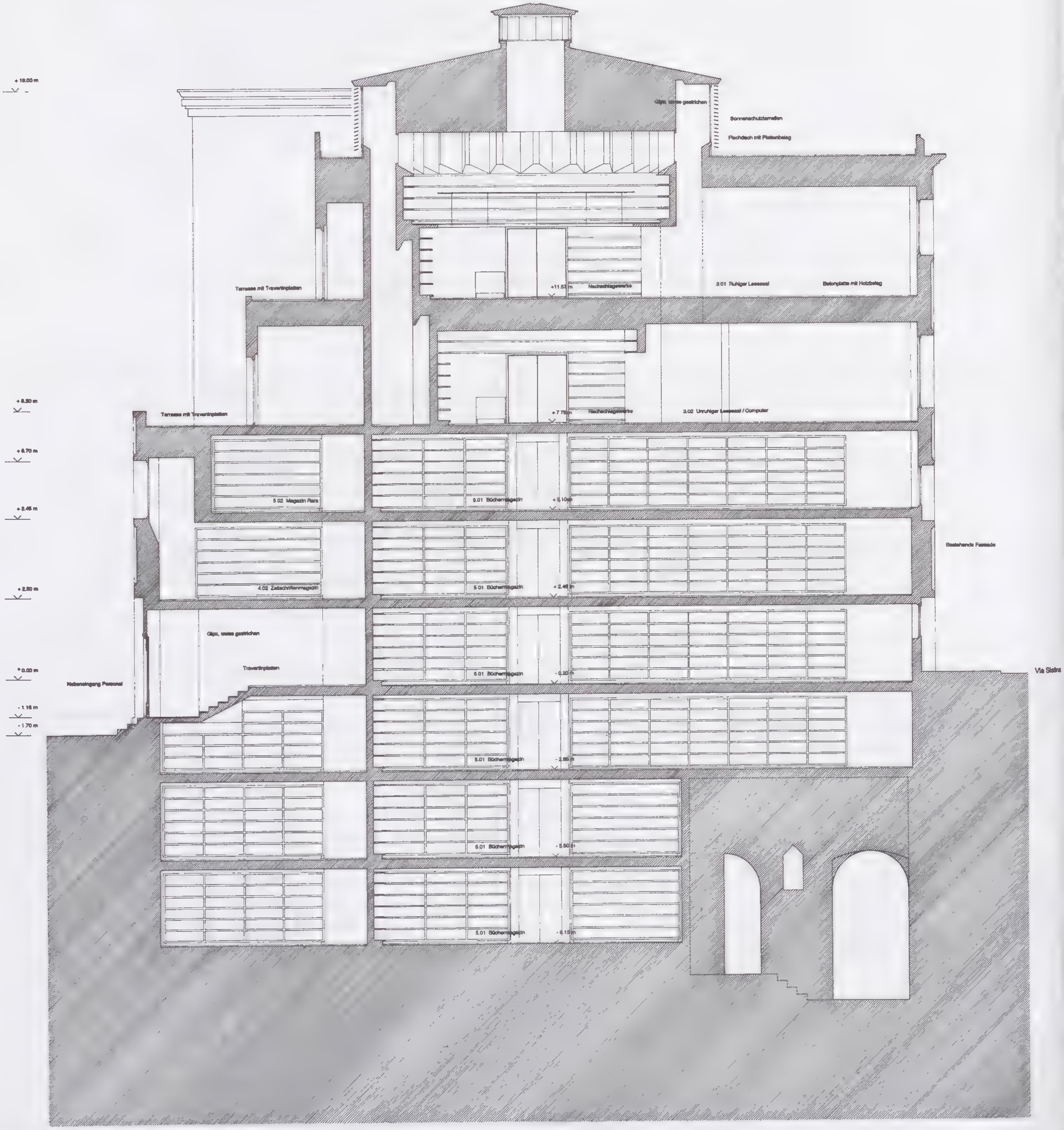
1995

Rafael Moneo

con/with: Christoph Schmid
*coll.: Mauricio Bertet, José Luis Gahona, Max Holst, Fernando Iznaola, Eduardo Miraille*s

Sezione trasversale.

Cross-section.

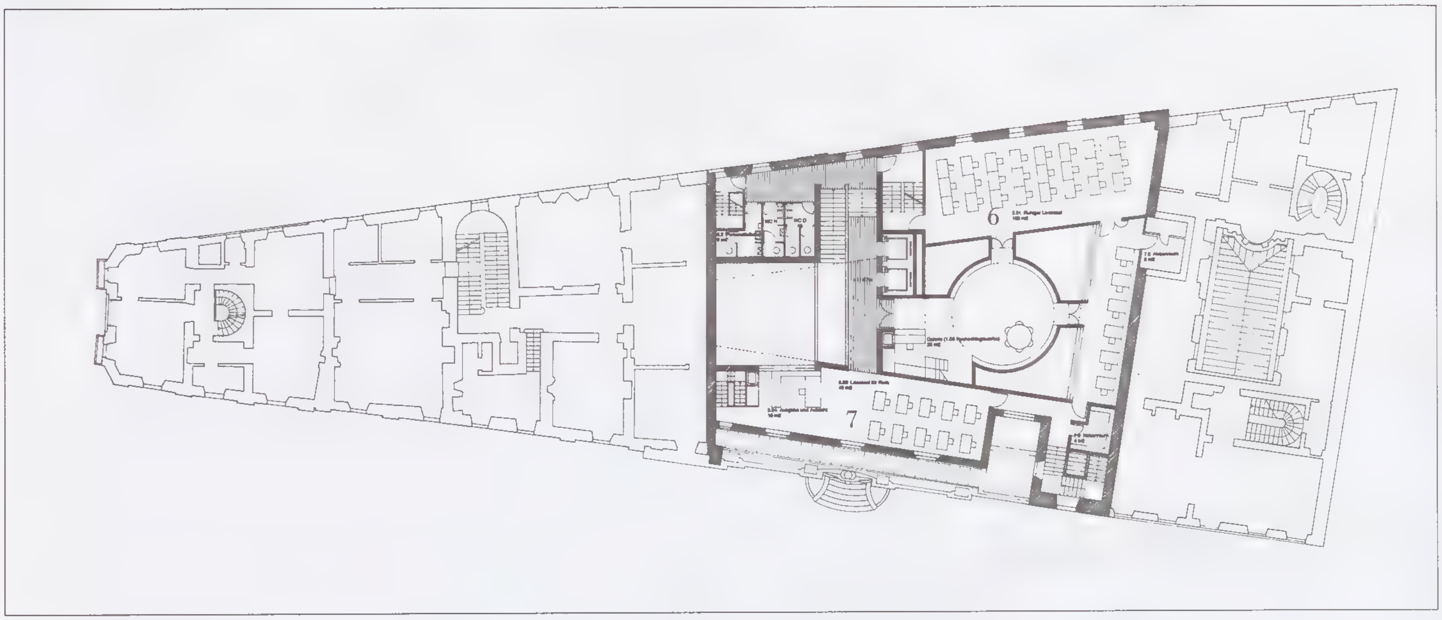


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Rafael Moneo

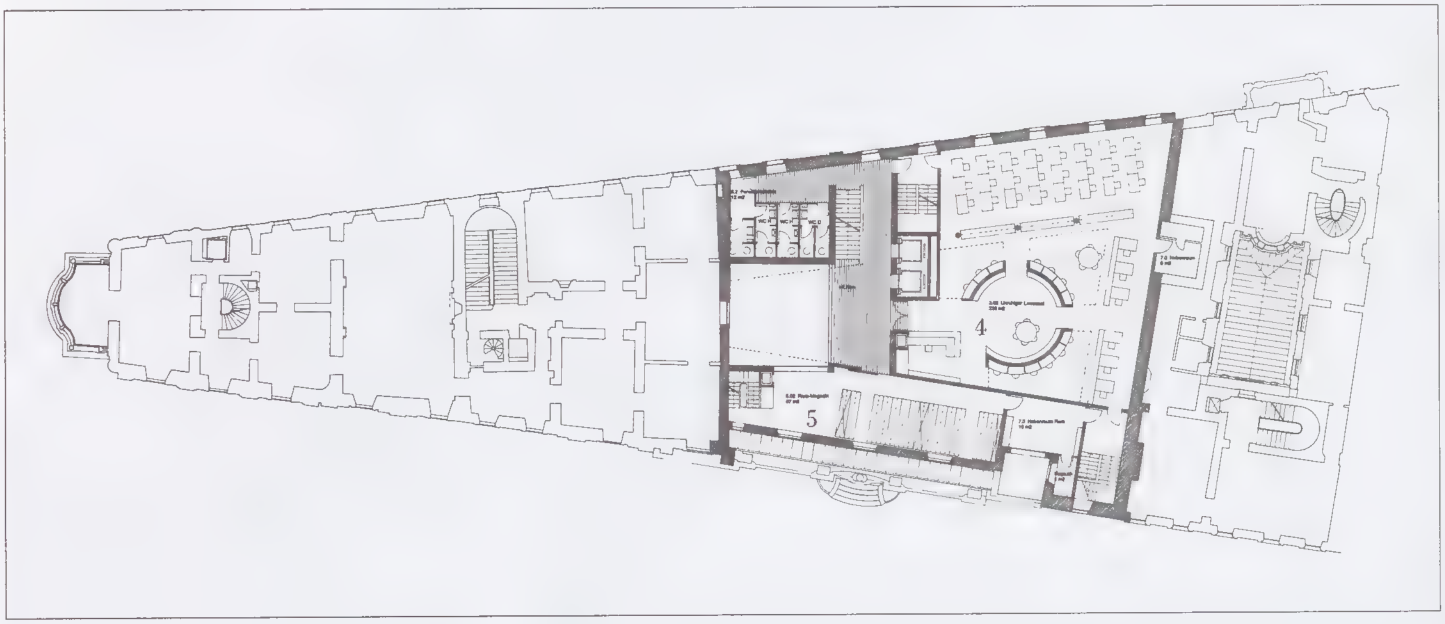
Il progetto offre all'architetto un programma molto interessante in quanto la nuova costruzione dovrà essere inserita tra le facciate di Via Gregoriana e Via Sistina e i contigui Palazzo Zuccari e Palazzo Stroganoff; dovrà inoltre rispettare, per quanto possibile, la copertura esistente. E' necessario individuare l'ingresso principale più appropriato, distribuire con precisione corpi scala e ascensori, uscite di emergenza e antincendio, vestiboli, eccetera; si deve, in breve, definire una strategia adatta al programma che consenta un'armoniosa integrazione del nuovo edificio alle parti storiche esistenti.
Questa prima preoccupazione riguardante la pianta assume tuttavia un'importanza secondaria non appena entrano in gioco i diversi livelli con i loro vani, i resti archeologici, i profili delle coperture e delle facciate, e così via. La distribuzione della pianta si trasforma subito in un complicatissimo problema di gestione dello spazio che tanto avrebbe interessato architetti quali Loos e Le Corbusier, e al quale abbiamo trovato la soluzione che segue.
Riteniamo innanzitutto che l'unico possibile ingresso della nuova Bibliotheca Hertziana sia il portale di Palazzo Zuccari, autentico emblema dell'architettura esistente. Questa scelta non consente soltanto di recuperare le antiche funzioni della porta del Palazzo ma, soprattutto, di dividere in modo funzionale e appropriato l'area oggetto del nostro intervento. Di fatto, creare un asse trasversale rispetto a Via Gregoriana e a Via Sistina, che colleghi al tempo stesso le due strade, ci permette di identificare l'area di maggiore utilizzo, quella che conterrà i più capienti magazzini di libri e le sale di lettura, e di definire l'indispensabile "cortile" che garantisca un'adeguata illuminazione agli spazi pubblici interni e risolva l'obbligata continuità tra la nuova costruzione e Palazzo Zuccari.
Per ragioni prettamente economiche, si è ritenuto opportuno continuare le direttrici tracciate da Via Gregoriana e da Via Sistina e assumerle come punto di partenza per stabilire la geometria della pianta. Tra queste direttrici e le trasversali perpendicolari all'asse longitudinale di Palazzo Zuccari – una delle quali, come si è detto, è stata individuata come via d'accesso – si crea una trama che, come rivelerà l'analisi delle piante, conterrà i singoli elementi che danno vita al programma: i corpi scala, il blocco ascensori, le corti, eccetera. A questa trama sarà estranea soltanto l'area di forma circolare nella quale si svilupperanno le sale di lettura. Questa descrizione sistematica della strategia planimetrica adottata consente di definire anche in sezione il programma. Anche in questo caso criteri di economia ci hanno indotto a collocare i magazzini dei libri ai piani sotterranei e inferiori e le sale di lettura ai piani superiori, in modo da sfruttare al meglio la luce naturale.
I vincoli imposti dall'Amministrazione romana a qualsiasi alterazione dell'architettura urbana ci ha indotto a rispettare integralmente le facciate che verranno conservate per quanto le tecniche moderne di costruzione lo permetteranno. Per questo riteniamo non sia opportuno dilungarci sulla descrizione dei materiali che non andranno a modificare quelli che già oggi contempliamo.
Per quanto riguarda la copertura, verranno mantenute le finiture e i materiali esistenti. Come si può intuire dall'analisi delle sezioni, il padiglione/lucernario che copre le sale di lettura non oltrepassa i profili esistenti e verrà costruito con elementi e materiali tradizionali. Siamo naturalmente coscienti dell'importanza di proteggere i libri dalla luce del sole e pertanto verrà posta tutta l'attenzione necessaria al tipo di vetro da usare e alla definizione degli elementi di protezione (tende, persiane) che consentano di filtrare adeguatamente la luce naturale.

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Rafael Moneo

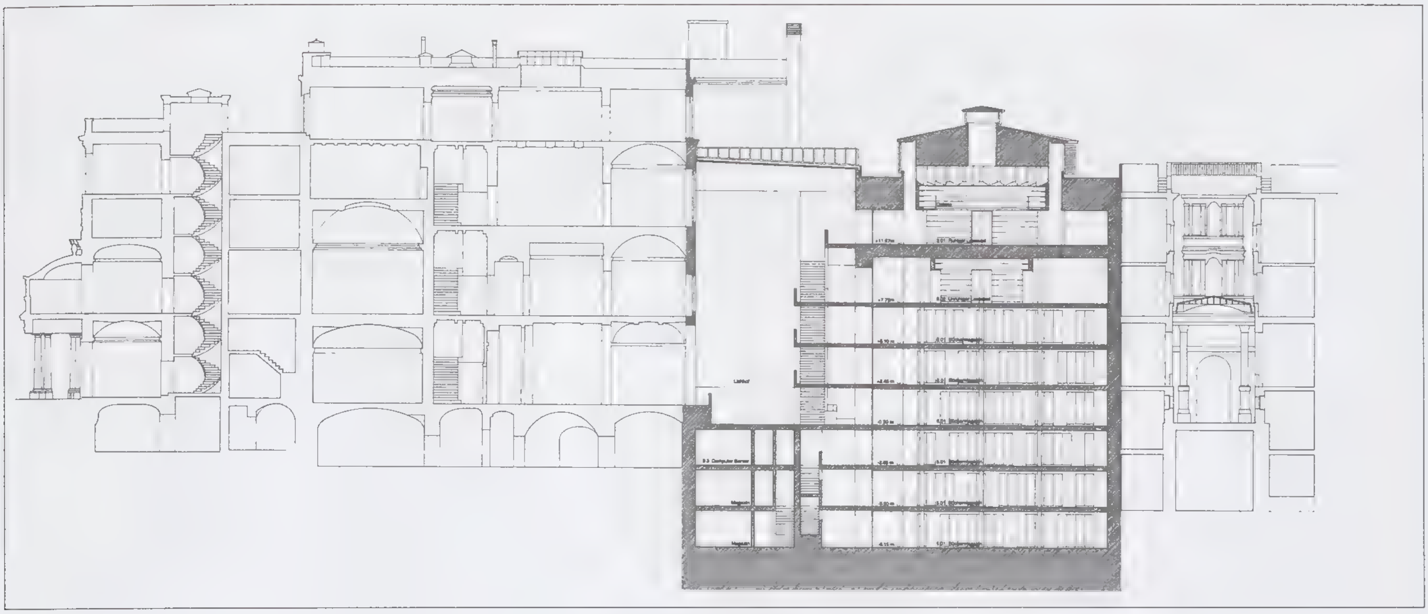
The project offers a very interesting opportunity for the architect, because the new construction must be inserted between the facades of Via Gregoriana and Via Sistina and the contiguous Palazzo Zuccari and Palazzo Stroganoff; it must also maintain, as much as possible, the existing roofing. It is necessary to identify the most appropriate position for the main entrance, to precisely position stairwells and lifts, emergency and fire exits, vestibules, etc. In short, what is required is a strategy, suited to the program, to permit harmonious integration of the new edifice with the existing historical features.
This initial concern regarding the plan, nevertheless, takes on a secondary importance when we begin to examine the issues involved in the different levels and their rooms, the archaeological remains, the profiles of the roofings and the facades, and so on. The layout of the plan immediately becomes a very complicated problem of spatial management, which would have been of great interest for architects like Loos or Le Corbusier; our solution to the problem is as follows.
We believe, first of all, that the only possible entrance for the new Bibliotheca Hertziana is the portal of Palazzo Zuccari, an authentic emblem of the existing architecture. This choice not only makes it possible to restore the original function of the door of the Palazzo, but also, and above all, to divide the area concerned in a functional, appropriate way. The creation of a transverse axis with respect to Via Gregoriana and Via Sistina, connecting the two streets, allows us to identify the area of greatest utilization, that which will contain the largest book storage facilities and reading rooms, and to define an indispensable "courtyard" to guarantee adequate lighting for the public interiors, and to resolve the need for continuity between the new construction and Palazzo Zuccari.
For purely economic reasons, we felt it was opportune to continue the axes of Via Gregoriana and Via Sistina, assuming them as a starting point from which to establish the geometry of the plan. Between these streets and the cross-streets perpendicular to the longitudinal axis of Palazzo Zuccari – one of which, as we have mentioned, has been identified as the accessway – a pattern is created which, as can be seen by analyzing the plans, can contain the single elements of the program: the stairwells, the lift blocks, the courts, etc. The only element that is not part of this pattern is the circular area for the reading rooms. This schematic description of the planimetric strategy used also permits the definition of the program in section. Again in this case, criteria of economy have led us to position the book storage areas on the basement and lower levels, and the reading rooms on the upper levels, to take advantage of natural lighting.
The limits posed by the municipal authorities regarding any alteration of the architecture of the city have led us to maintain the facades completely; they are to be conserved to the extent possible with modern construction techniques. For this reason we feel it is not necessary to describe the materials, at present, as they will not modify what we are already considering.
Where the roofing is concerned, the existing finishes and materials will be maintained. As can be seen in an analysis of the sections, the pavilion-skylight that covers the reading rooms does not exceed existing profiles, and will be built with traditional elements and materials. Naturally we are aware of the importance of protecting books from sunlight, and therefore special attention will be paid to the choice of the type of glass to be used and to the definition of protection elements (blinds, curtains) to permit adequate natural lighting.

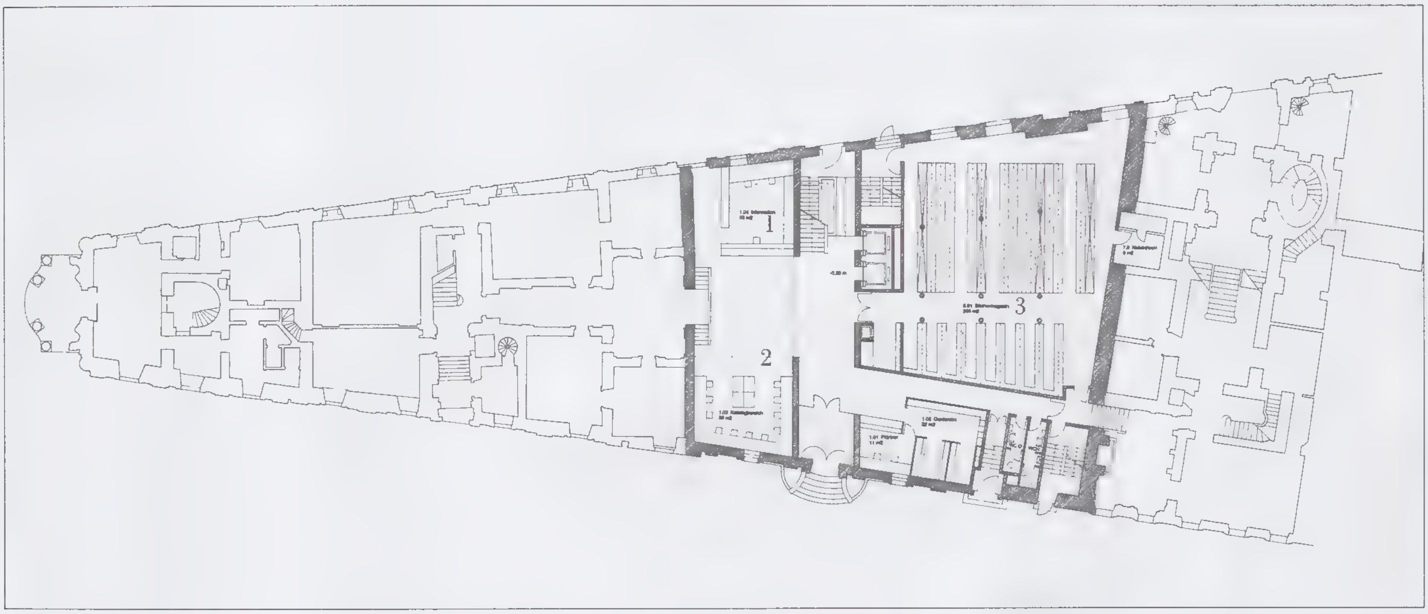


6
7



4
5





Piante dei piani terreno, terzo e quarto: 1) informazioni; 2) cataloghi; 3) deposito libri; 4) sala di lettura non silenziosa; 5) deposito libri rari; 6) sala di lettura silenziosa; 7) sala di lettura libri rari. Sezione longitudinale.

Plans of the ground, third and fourth floors: 1) information; 2) catalogues; 3) book storage; 4) non-silent reading room; 5) rara books storage; 6) silent reading room; 7) rara books reading room. Longitudinal section.



Ristrutturazione del Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Roma
1982-89

Costantino Dardi

Foto/photos R. Bossaglia

Vista della galleria di collegamento del piano terreno.

View of the connection gallery on the ground floor.

Ristrutturazione del Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Roma
Costantino Dardi

Un palazzo disegnato secondo i canoni dell'accademismo classicista *fin-de-siècle*, riportato all'originaria luminosità e visibilità, equipaggiato con una nuova rete di tecnologie, attrezzature ed impianti, dotato di un'ampia gamma di spazi e servizi, investito di nuovi compiti ed aperto a nuove funzioni, liberato attraverso i lavori di strutturazione da ingessature e superfetazioni, ritrova se stesso, recuperando quella vasta atmosfericità basilicale, quella sospesa luminosità ambientale, quella sorprendente visibilità longitudinale interno/esterna lungo i tracciati delle viste e degli sguardi, che ne contrassegnano l'impianto originario e costituiscono il maggior pregio della sua configurazione spaziale: quale è il limite ove termina l'opera di restauro/conservazione ed ha inizio l'intervento di progetto/valorizzazione? Identico a se stesso, e nello stesso tempo radicalmente diverso: per la riqualificazione tecnologica cui è stato sottoposto, per le dotazioni impiantistiche di cui è stato fornito, per la percorribilità ritrovata e l'agibilità consentita, per le nuove attrezzature multimediali e per i servizi di cui è stato dotato, il ristrutturato Palazzo delle Esposizioni può essere ora ricondotto a quella struttura-forma di museo come complesso luogo urbano che contrassegna oggi lo spazio dell'arte.
La ristrutturazione ha compreso una gamma assai vasta di interventi, dal consolidamento statico delle strutture all'eliminazione delle infiltrazioni di acque meteoriche; dall'adeguamento alle normative vigenti in materia di sicurezza e prevenzione incendi all'eliminazione delle barriere architettoniche; dalle attrezzature necessarie per l'ordinaria attività d'istituto del Palazzo (uffici dell'Ente Quadriennale, abitazione del custode, ufficio dogana, ufficio protocollo, magazzini casse, magazzini opere, magazzini arredi, laboratorio di manutenzione e restauro), agli interventi in campo impiantistico (adeguamento a norma e potenziamento della centrale termica, impianto generale di condizionamento d'aria, nuovo impianto elettrico generale con sistema di regolazione automatica della luce nelle sale d'esposizione, realizzazione di impianto generale antifurto ed antincendio, sistema informatizzato di telesorveglianza, ecc.) in linea con le moderne esigenze espositive e con gli *standard* internazionali; all'ampliamento delle attività culturali e delle discipline praticabili, ottenuto affiancando alla tradizionale attività espositiva spazi ed attrezzature idonee ad attivare altre esperienze di ricerca artistica, nel campo del cinema, del teatro, della televisione, dell'architettura, della fotografia, dell'*industrial design*, della grafica, della musica, dei *media* audiovisivi, informatici e telematici, con la realizzazione di una sala cinematografica e multimediale e di una sala conferenze e teatrale e con predisposizione di nuclei di sale d'esposizione di media e piccola dimensione; al conseguimento dell'autonomia funzionale di ogni settore (con indipendenza di accesso e di percorso, anche attraverso gli ingressi affacciati sulla scalinata di Via Milano e su Via Piacenza) conformemente alle esigenze connesse con la pratica della ricerca interdisciplinare e con la programmazione a palinsesto delle attività culturali; alla dotazione di servizi per il pubblico adeguati alla nuova dimensione sociale dei consumi culturali (centro informazioni, centro di documentazione, biblioteca specializzata, guardaroba, bar-caffetteria, libreria, punti vendita, servizi igienici): ed è sicuramente acquisizione significativa il recupero a giardino pensile dell'ampio terrazzo al piano superiore del Palazzo, in corrispondenza al lato affacciato su Via Piacenza; fino al restauro delle fronti esterne, sia per quanto attiene i gruppi scultorei presenti sulla facciata principale, sia per le superfici murarie dell'involucro volumetrico, che hanno riacquisito la luminosità storica della tinteggiatura originaria.
Un *leit-motiv* della ristrutturazione è costituito dal recupero di quell'atmosfericità passante che caratterizza l'intero impianto architettonico: i ritrovati scaloni monumentali che collegano la quota di Via Milano ed il piano principale del Palazzo restituendo pari dignità ai diversi livelli, prima occultati e murati dietro soppalchi e tramezzi; le ampie balconate interne che consentono di incrociare gli sguardi tra il piano superiore, la rotonda e la navata principale; le viste longitudinali che da Via Nazionale attraverso l'intero Palazzo raggiungono il terrazzo e l'affaccio su Via Piacenza: tutto questo ci parla di una visibilità interna che è qualità strutturale dell'impianto ritrovato e che segna, insieme al riscoperto rapporto con il cielo, i caratteri dell'intervento critico di restauro.
La ristrutturazione, come tutte le operazioni connesse con le attività di restauro, non poteva non porre in campo la questione per eccellenza che investe questa disciplina: in quale relazione, di autonomia od eteronomia, vadano correttamente posti i rapporti che intercorrono tra un primo testo, pre-esistente dell'atto dell'intervento, ed un testo secondo, costituito dalle modificazioni introdotte al suo interno sul filo delle più disparate motivazioni, filologiche, storiche, culturali, sociali, strutturali, normative o tecnologiche.
Premesso che, nell'ambito di una materia esplorata tramite pratiche della vista e disciplinata dalle leggi della visione, l'identità comunicante di un'opera, sia essa elemento o sistema, parte o insieme unitario, è affidata essenzialmente ai suoi caratteri di figura e di misura, a questi vanno ricondotte anche le relazioni che interagiscono tra due o più testi: misura e figura dell'impianto preesistente o della struttura di base cui il successivo intervento sovrappone o aderisce, con

autonoma proposta di misura e figura, instaurando con l'antica relazioni di affinità e differenza. Affinità e differenza, identità e distinzione, senza forzare l'una, pena lo sconfinamento nel falso, nell'imitazione stilistica, nella replica volgare, senza esasperare l'altra, con il rischio di produrre soltanto estraneità e dissonanza, reciproca impraticabile indifferenza.
Affinità come specialissima assonanza, sottile ascolto e lieve intelligenza, tesa a conseguire un più alto livello di omogeneità, una maggiore riconoscibilità, una figurabilità più piena, che concorre alla continuità della storia ed al recupero delle radici, che punta all'identità come valore, alla compiutezza come qualità, ma rifiuta l'omologazione del mimetismo e della rinuncia.
Differenza come impercettibile scarto, variazione dimensionale o dissonanza stilistica, attenzione profonda e circostanziata lettura, finalizzata alla verifica critica ed alla ricchezza linguistica, che punta alla complessità come valore, al polistilismo ed all'ambiguità come ipotesi poetica.
Il progetto si è costantemente mosso sulla linea di una riduzione essenziale, tenacemente perseguendo assenza e coincisione, continuamente ricercando la configurazione originale, riscoprendo il ruolo metafisico e surreale di quella serliana gigante che sulla facciata di Via Nazionale retoricamente rievoca antichi archi di trionfo, di quel recinto di colonne corinzie, fiammeggianti di finti marmi, che disegna l'ottagono della rotonda centrale, fulcro di tutta la composizione e matrice di ogni proiezione, longitudinale e trasversale, interna ed esterna, quando viene letto controluce con i luminosi spazi basilicali a costituire il fondale.
Assai calibrate e volutamente trattenute sono in genere le modifiche apportate dalla nuova progettazione: è questo il caso dei pavimenti, ove l'intervento è limitato alle sottili fascie di peperino che commentano sottovoce la geometria degli spazi, entro le ampie superfici di travertino, impiegato quasi a ribadire la legittimazione entro la cultura romana maturata nel tempo da un Palazzo che fu percepito all'inizio come prodotto di matrice transalpina.
L'elemento di maggior novità del progetto, comunque, concerne il disegno dei lucernari ed il rapporto tra il Palazzo ed il cielo: l'immagine chiusa che esso offre di sé alla città deriva dall'opzione di Pio Piacentini di non utilizzare sulle fronti finestre o vetrate che avrebbero ridotto lo sviluppo delle superfici espositive e di ricorrere esclusivamente a fonti zenithali, catturando la luce dall'alto, attraverso lucernari di ferro e vetro.
Sostituiti questi, successivamente, da plùmbee voltine in vetrocemento, i nuovi lucernari ripropongono l'antica luminosità e l'originaria leggerezza ed instaurano con il testo architettonico preesistente rapporti di misura e di figura, ricercando ad un tempo relazioni di affinità e di differenza. La misura delle nuove strutture, infatti, è scandita secondo moduli che riprendono il disegno ed il ritmo del cassettonato delle volte a botte delle sale, così come la nuova figura è costruita per mezzo di aste diagonali e radiali che ne intercettano la superficie cilindrica tramite un'esatta collimazione geometrica e comuni tracciati generativi. Differente dall'antico testo è la concezione strutturale a reticolo spaziale, ma affine è l'omaggio alla carpenteria metallica dell'ottocentesca architettura del ferro piuttosto che l'avveniristica immagine che affiora dalle aste e dai nodi di analoghe strutture contemporanee. Su queste strutture grandi telai quadrati di tela bianca, regolati da meccanismi automatici collegati a fotocellule, ruotano lentamente graduando lungo l'arco delle diverse ore del giorno l'intensità della luce in relazione alla luminosità della volta celeste, regolandone l'afflusso alle diverse sale, in rapporto alle specifiche esigenze, con il ritmo lento, solenne e biologico, naturale e primario di un orologio solare, accendendosi d'un moto improvviso al rapido mutare della luce ed al veloce trascorrere delle nuvole in cielo, in una ventosa giornata di marzo.
Italo Mussa li ha chiamati *mulini della luce.*

Restructuring of Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome
Costantino Dardi

A palazzo designed according to the canons of classicist fin-de-siècle *accademicism, restored to its original luminosity and visibility, equipped with a new network of technologies, facilities and plant, and a wide range of spaces and services; ready for new responsibilities and open to new functions, freed of plasterwork and superfluous additions, the palazzo rediscovers its identity, recovering its vast, basilica-like atmosphere, the suspended luminosity of its spaces, its surprising longitudinal internal/external visibility, all characteristics of the original structure, constituting the main value of its spatial configuration.*
Where does the work of restoration/conservation finish, and the work of design/improvement begin?
Identical to itself, but at the same time radically different: for the technological transformation it has undergone, for the new plant elements that have been incorporated, for its rediscovered circulation and utilization, for the new multimedia equipment and new services, the restructured Palazzo delle Esposizioni can now be seen in the form of a museum, a complex urban site, the space of art today.
The restructuring has involved a wide range of interventions, from the static consolidation of the structures to the elimination of infiltration of rainwater, from compliance with today's standards for safety and fire prevention to the elimination of architectural barriers; from the necessary facilities for the day-to-day activities of the institute (offices of the Ente Quadriennale, custodian's lodgings, customs office, protocol office, storage areas, maintenance and restoration workshop) to plant elements (bringing the climate control system up to standards, new overall electrical plant with automated regulation of lighting for the exhibit rooms, burglar alarms and fire prevention, computerized video surveillance, etc.) in keeping with the modern needs of an exhibition facility and international standards; to the expansion of cultural activities and disciplines practiced, obtained by combining the traditional exhibition activity with spaces and equipment for other experiences of artistic research, in the fields of cinema, theater, television, architecture, photography, industrial design, graphics, music, audiovisuals, computers, communications, with the construction of a movie and multimedia theater and a conference/theater room, with small and medium nuclei of rooms; to the establishment of functional autonomy for each sector (with independent accesses and passages, also through entrances placed on the staircase of Via Milano and on Via Piacenza), in

keeping with the requirements of interdisciplinary research and the programming of cultural activities; to the furnishing of services for the public based on the new social dimension of cultural consumption (information center, documentation center, specialized library, coatroom, bar-cafe, bookstore, sales outlets, bathrooms). Another important achievement is the restoration of the hanging gardens of the wide terrace on the top floor of the palazzo, on the side facing Via Piacenza; not to mention the restoration of the external facades, both for the sculpture groupings on the main facade and for the wall surfaces themselves, which have reacquired their original color and luminosity.

A leitmotiv *in the restructuring has been the recovery of the "passing" atmosphere that characterizes the entire architectural complex: the rediscovery of the monumental steps (previously concealed, walled in behind platforms and partitions) that connect the level of Via Milano with the main floor, giving equal dignity to the various levels; the wide internal balconies that permit visual contact among the upper level, the rotunda and the main nave; the longitudinal views which, from Via Nazionale across the entire palazzo, reach the terrace and the facade on Via Piacenza. All this is related to an internal visibility which is a structural quality of the original architecture, and which marks, together with the rediscovered relationship with the sky, the characters of the critical restoration approach.*

The restructuring, as in all operations connected with activities of restoration, could not help but pose the question, par excellence, of this discipline: in what relation – of autonomy or heteronomy – should we place the two "texts": the first, existing before the intervention, and the second, composed of the modifications introduced within the first, for a wide range of philological, historical, cultural, social, structural, technological, regulatory reasons. A premise which, in the context of a situation explored through the practice of observation, governed by the laws of vision, the communicating identity of a work, albeit an element or a system, a part or the whole, is essentially based on the work's characteristics of figure and measure, also keeping in mind the relations of interaction between or among two or more texts: measure and figure of the pre-existing layout or of the basic structure on which the later intervention is made, with autonomous proposal of measure and figure, establishing a relations of affinity and difference with the original. Affinity and difference, identity and distinction, without excess, avoiding the temptations of stylistic imitation, of vulgar replicas, but also avoiding the risks of excessive dissonance, of differences that cannot be reconciled.

Affinity as a very special assonance, subtle listening and agile intelligence, aimed at achieving a higher level of homogeneity, greater recognizability, fuller figurative impact, based on continuity with history and recovery of roots, on identity as value, fulfillment as quality, while rejecting the standardization of imitation or surrender. Difference as the imperceptible gap, size or scale variation, stylistic dissonance, profound attention, interpretation of the context, for critical verification and linguistic richness, aimed at complexity as a value, at polystylism and ambiguity as a poetic hypothesis.

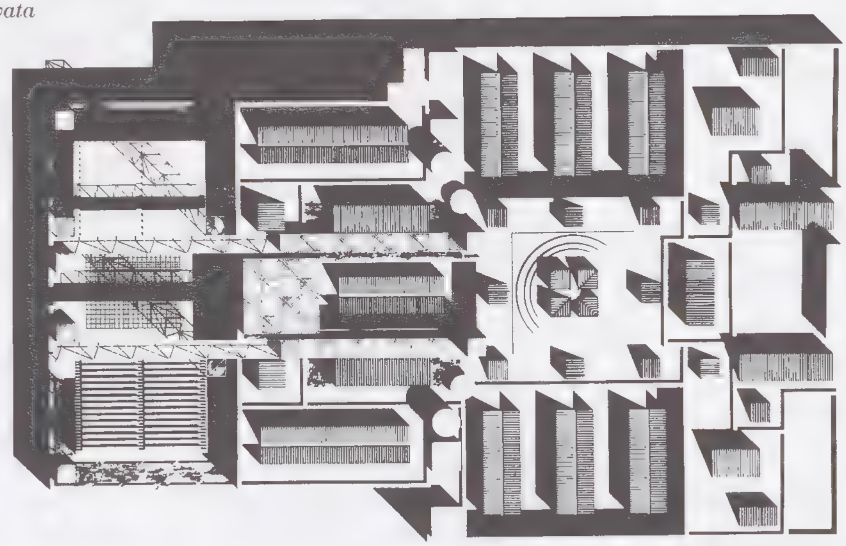
The project has constantly progressed along the lines of essential reduction, tenaciously pursuing absence and coincidence, continuously seeking the original configuration, rediscovering the metaphysical and surreal role of that giant serliana that on the facade on Via Nazionale rhetorically evokes ancient triumphal arches, of that enclosure of Corinthian columns, blazing with fake marble, the octagon of the central rotunda, fulcrum of the entire composition and matrix of any longitudinal or horizontal, internal or external projection, when seen against the lit backdrop of the bright, basilical spaces.

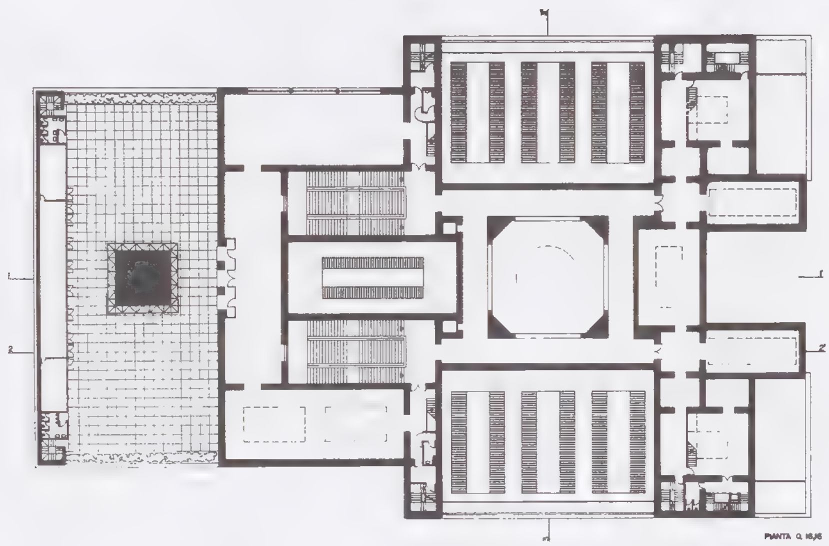
The modifications effected in the new project are generally well-calibrated and intentionally understated: in the floorings, for example, the intervention is limited to narrow bands of peperino which softly comment on the geometry of the spaces, within the large Travertine stone surface, almost as if to reassert the legitimacy, in Roman culture, achieved over time by a palazzo which was seen, at the outset, as more Central European in character.

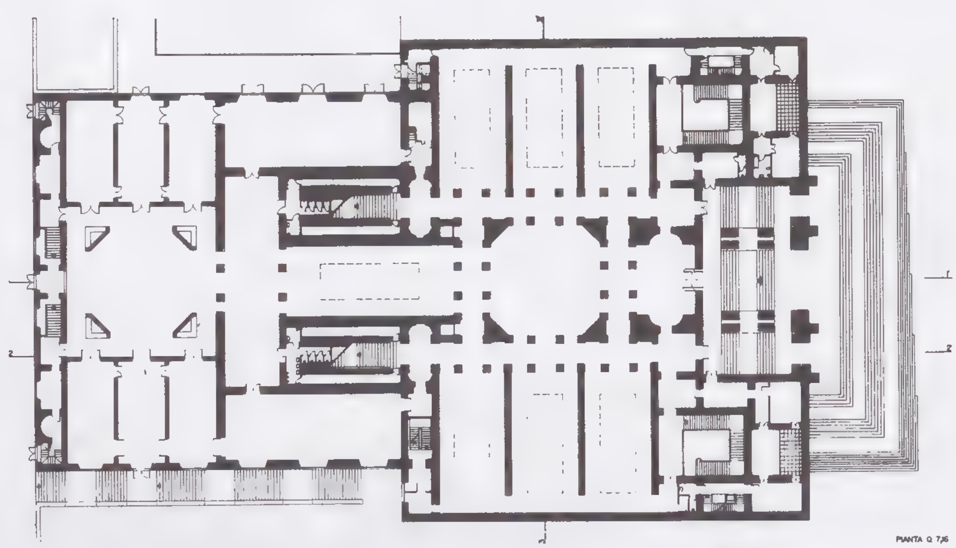
The newest element of the project has to do with the design of the skylights and the relationship between the palazzo and the sky: the closed image of the building with respect to the city is a result of the decision of Pio Piacentini to avoid the use, on the facades, of windows or glazings that would have reduced the available exhibition space; he made exclusive use of zenithal lighting, with iron and glass skylights.

Later these skylights were replaced by glass and cement vaults; the new skylights restore the original luminosity and lightness, establishing relationships of measure and figure with the pre-existing architecture, while pursuing relations of affinity and difference. The measure of the new structures, in fact, is based on modules that reflect the rhythm of the cofferings of the barrel vaults of the rooms, just as the new figure is constructed by means of diagonal and radial bars that intercept the cylindrical surface by means of precise geometric coincidence and shared generative tracings. The spatial grid of the structural concept is different from the original text, but the homage to 19th-century architectural ironwork is similar, avoiding the futuristic image of analogous contemporary structures with their rods and nodes. On these structures large square frames with white fabric, regulated by automatic mechanisms connected to photocells, slowly rotate during the course of the day, regulating light intensity in the various rooms, in keeping with the type of works on display, establishing a slow, solemn, biological rhythm, a sense of time, rapidly adapting to quick changes of conditions, a cloud hurriedly passing in front of the sun, driven by a gust of wind in March. Italo Mussa has called them light mills.

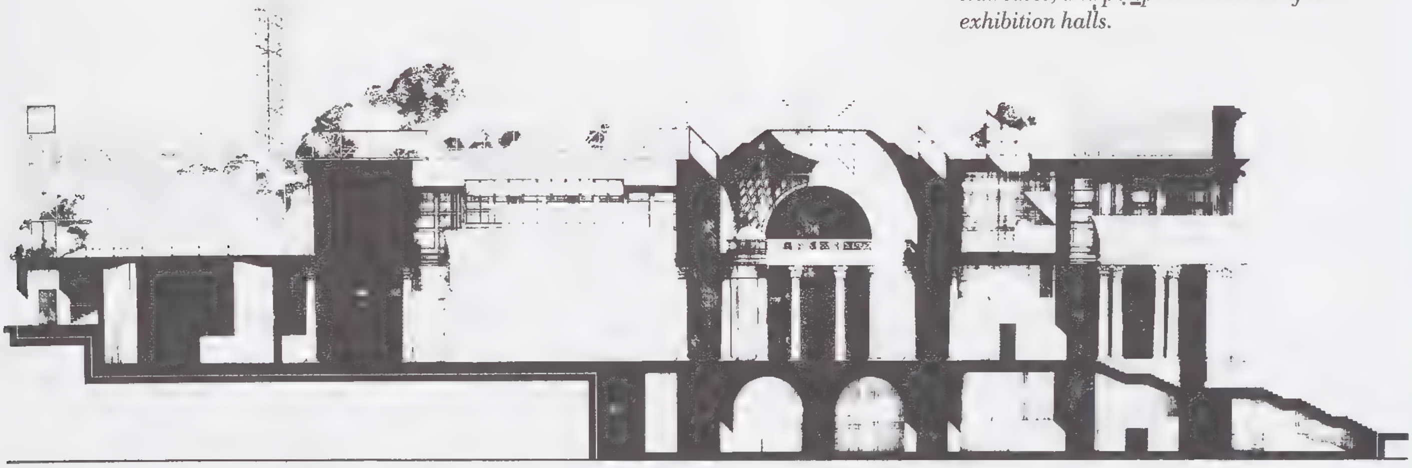
Piante dei piani terreno, primo e copertura. Sezioni longitudinali sulla navata principale e sulle scale e sezione prospettica sulle sale d'esposizione.







Plans of the ground, first and rooftop levels. Longitudinal sections of the main nave and the staircases, and perspective section of the exhibition halls.



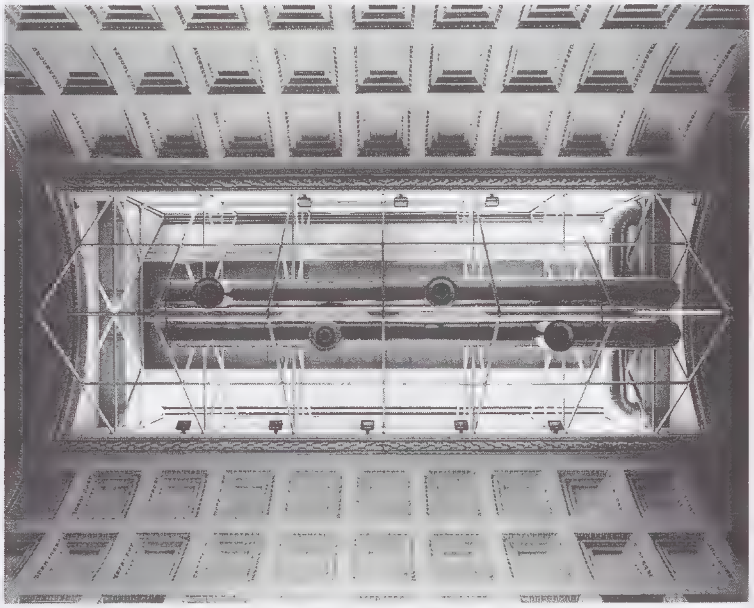




Viste del fronte principale e dell'ingresso laterale.
Viste di dettaglio della galleria di collegamento del piano terreno.
Viste della caffetteria e dell'ingresso principale.
Vista dello scalone principale.

Views of the main facade and the lateral entrance.
Detail views of the connection gallery on the ground floor.
Views of the cafe and the main entrance.
View of the main staircase.








Polisport
Polisport







Programma Centopiazze: nuovi spazi pubblici per Roma
Francesco R. Ghio

La nuova stagione dell'architettura romana, da poco avviata, è caratterizzata da un insieme di progetti e di opere di scala molto diversa.
Mentre vengono definiti i nuovi programmi urbanistici, indispensabili per operare in un quadro di certezze dopo molti anni di sviluppo disordinato e spesso illegale della città – Variante delle Certezze, avvio del nuovo Piano Regolatore, progetti urbani per la riqualificazione della periferia, nuova mobilità su ferro –, e mentre si susseguono consultazioni di architettura e urbanistica indispensabili per la definizione di importanti progetti urbani, sono in corso di redazione molti progetti esecutivi e aprono i cantieri di una prima serie di opere: dell'Auditorium firmato da Renzo Piano, ma anche di nuove piazze e spazi pubblici a seguito dell'esito positivo di alcuni concorsi di progettazione.
Oltre che in opere di grande scala come l'Auditorium, l'Amministrazione comunale si è anche impegnata in una azione diffusa di riqualificazione urbana che è stata avviata con il Programma Centopiazze per Roma: qui l'architettura si confronta con luoghi specifici, dove ritrova un suo sfondo urbano e dove il programma viene ampiamente discusso e condiviso con i cittadini.
Il concorso per le Piazze di Quartiere, concluso con quattordici progetti premiati e molti menzionati, si è trasformato in un terreno di sperimentazione sulle potenzialità e possibilità dello spazio pubblico romano.
Le aree prese in esame, rappresentative dei diversi tipi di spazi pubblici urbani, delle diverse funzioni e dei diversi caratteri dei luoghi – piazze del centro storico, della città consolidata, della periferia, piazze-parco, piazze-mercato, piazze con nuove stazioni – sono divenute il banco di prova per la ricerca di una nuova qualità urbana dello spazio collettivo e per l'uso di nuovi materiali. Il concorso ha messo in luce una nuova generazione di architetti, non solo romani, che da tempo lavora, con una pluralità di approcci, sui linguaggi dell'architettura contemporanea: nei loro progetti si legge una positiva commistione tra linguaggi di matrice europea e ricerche espressive più tipiche delle scuola romana.
A seguito del concorso i progettisti vincitori e i primi dodici tra i menzionati hanno avviato la stesura dei progetti esecutivi, che ora l'Amministrazione si appresta a realizzare.
Ma un programma di interventi per la riqualificazione degli spazi collettivi, quale è Centopiazze, ha necessitato da subito di un salto di qualità: per costruire una competenza reale sullo spazio pubblico è necessario poter disporre di un quadro affidabile di criteri e di soluzioni esemplari, dotarsi di un atlante di esempi, affinare la qualità dei progetti. Per questo, in parallelo al concorso per le Piazze di Quartiere, sono stati redatti all'interno dell'Ufficio Centopiazze i primi progetti-pilota, e alcuni Dipartimenti universitari hanno lavorato su progetti-guida, manualistica, ricerche specifiche sugli spazi pubblici dei PEEP (Piani di edilizia economico-popolare), delle zone O (ex aree abusive) e alla redazione di un Atlante di esempi europei.
Da pochi mesi si è concluso il concorso per la riqualificazione di Piazza della Farnesina; la storia del luogo e il suo carattere "monumentale", da sempre oggetto di progetti di noti architetti e scultori, hanno indotto l'Amministrazione ad optare per la formula del concorso a inviti, ristretta a sei professionisti di chiara fama.
Il concorso, vinto da Umberto Riva, propone una riflessione su un tema molto specifico ma di grande interesse per Roma: l'intervento su un luogo dell'architettura moderna, il Foro Italico, e in particolare sull'area che circonda il Ministero degli Esteri – la ex Casa Littoria progettata da Arnaldo Foschini, Enrico Del Debbio e Vittorio Morpurgo – completata nel 1958 ma priva della piazza porticata prevista dal progetto originario.
La storia di questo luogo è particolamente significativa: la sistemazione definitiva del Foro Mussolini nella parte nord prevedeva, fino al 1936, la realizzazione di un Piazzale delle Adunate (Arengo delle Nazioni) destinato alle sfilate degli atleti ma anche alle adunate di popolo. Lo studio di massima affidato a Luigi Moretti e C. Pennisi, proponeva uno stadio di forma trapezoidale con il lato a monte lievemente curvato e gli angoli smussati.
Sull'asse dell'Arengo, verso la collina della Farnesina, era prevista l'erezione di una colossale statua in bronzo alta circa 130 metri.
Ai bozzetti della statua lavorarono con diverse proposte Enrico Del Debbio, Luigi Moretti, Mario Paniconi e Giulio Pediconi.
Nel 1937, il progetto del grande Arengo fu abbandonato destinando la stessa area ad accogliere la Casa Littoria, con lo sconcerto degli stessi progettisti vincitori del concorso per il nuovo edificio ma anche coautori dell'impianto sportivo del Foro, così attento dal punto di vista dell'inserimento ambientale – è il caso di Del Debbio.
Dopo l'abbandono del progetto del colosso, il piede e la testa, già realizzati, furono fusi per farne cannoni.
La Casa Littoria, progettata come palazzo nel senso più tradizionale della parola, è ancora oggi quanto di piu incongruente con l'area del Foro Italico – superata solo dalla copertura dello Stadio olimpico realizzata per i mondiali del '90.
Il Bando di concorso ha richiesto ai progettisti di ripensare il rapporto tra il complessso sportivo voluto da Renato Ricci e l'edificio della Farnesina ma anche di rendere coerente, nei limiti del possibile, il sistema collina-edificio-fiume.
La prima fase dell'intervento, limitata alla riqualificazione del Viale del Ministero degli Esteri, doveva essere contenuta nella spesa massima di tre miliardi e proporre un insieme di opere immediatamente eseguibili; una riflessione progettuale di respiro più ampio, estesa alle aree limitrofe ed eventualmente anche alle altre parti del Foro Italico, doveva suggerire indicazioni utili per la riqualificazione del grande complesso sportivo, pensando in particolare alla candidatura di Roma per le Olimpiadi del 2004.

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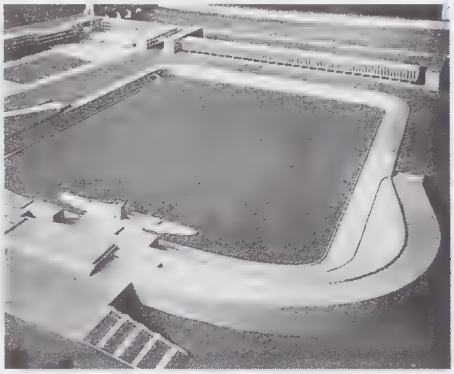
Centopiazze Program: new public spaces for Rome
Francesco R. Ghio

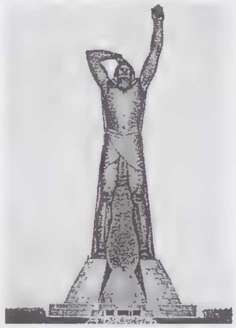
The new season of Roman architecture, recently begun, is marked by a collection of projects and works on very different scales.
While new urban planning programs, indispensable for operation in a framework of certainties after many years of disorderly and often illegal development of the city are being defined – planning variants and the new Master Plan, urban projects for the renewal of the periphery, new rail transport facilities –, and while architecture and planning consultations proceed for the definition of important urban projects, many executive designs are being completed, and construction is beginning for an initial series of works: the Auditorium designed by Renzo Piano, as well as new squares and public spaces, following the positive outcome of a series of architecture competitions. Apart from the large-scale works like the Auditorium, the municipal administration has also undertaken a widespread effort of urban renewal, launched with the Centopiazze per Roma Program (100 squares for Rome): here architecture comes to grips with specific sites, in an urban setting, in which the program is discussed with the citizens.
The competition for the neighborhood squares, resulting in 14 winning designs and many honorable mentions, has become a proving ground for experimentation on the potential and the possibilities of public space in Rome.
The areas examined, representative of different types of urban public space, with different functions and different characters – squares in the historical center, in the consolidated city, in the periphery, park-squares, market-squares, squares with new stations – have become a proving ground for research on a new urban quality for collective spaces, involving the use of new materials. The

competition has shed light on a new generation of architects, not only from Rome, which has been working for some time now, with a wide range of approaches, on the languages of contemporary architecture: in their projects we can observe a positive mixture of languages of European origin, and expressive research typical of the Roman school.
After the competition the winners, and the first twelve among the honorable mentions, began work on executive projects, which the administration is now preparing to build.
But a program of interventions for the renewal of public spaces, like the Centopiazze initiative, required an immediate leap forward in terms of quality: to develop true competence in the area of public spaces it was necessary to have a reliable framework of criteria and exemplary solutions, a sort of atlas of examples, to refine the quality of the projects.
For this reason, in parallel with the competition for the neighborhood squares, the Centopiazze Office developed a series of initial pilot projects, and certain university departments worked on guideline projects, manuals, specific research on the public spaces of PEEP (Piani di edilizia economico-popolare), the O zones (former areas of illegal speculation), and the creation of an Atlas of European examples.
A few months ago the competition for the renewal of Piazza della Farnesina was completed: the history of the site and its "monumental" character, a place which always involved works of well-known architects and sculptors, induced the administration to opt for the formula of an invitational competition, limited to six renowned professionals.
The competition, won by Umberto Riva, proposes reflection on a very specific theme that is of great interest for Rome: intervention in a site of modern architecture, the Foro Italico, and in particular in the area surrounding the Foreign Ministry – the former Casa Littoria designed by Arnaldo Foschini, Enrico Del Debbio and Vittorio Morpurgo – completed in 1958, but without the porticoed square envisioned in the original design.
The history of this site is particularly significant: the definitive positioning of the Foro Mussolini in the northern part called, from 1936 on, for the creation of a Piazzale delle Adunate (Arengo delle Nazioni) for the parades of athletes and for gatherings of the populace. The initial design study prepared by Luigi Moretti and C. Pennisi proposed a trapezoidal stadium with the uphill side slightly curved, with bevelled corners. On the axis of the Arengo, toward the hill of the Farnesina, a colossal bronze statue was planned, 130 meters in height.
Proposals for the statue were prepared by Enrico Del Debbio, Luigi Moretti, Mario Paniconi and Giulio Pediconi.
In 1937 the project for the great Arengo was abandoned, and the area was set aside for the Casa Littoria, to the great surprise of the architects who were the winners of the competition for the new edifice, but also the co-designers of the sports facilities of the Foro, where great care had been taken for correct insertion in the context – this was the case of Del Debbio.
After the abandonment of the project for the colossal statue, the foot and the head, already cast, were melted down to make arms.
The Casa Littoria, designed as a palazzo in the most traditional sense of the term, is still very incongruous in the context of the area of the Foro Italico – the only taller element in the area is the roofing of the Olympic Stadium built for the World Cup in 1990.
The competition guidelines asked the architects to reconsider the relationship between the sports complex whose construction was urged by Renato Ricci and the edifice of the Farnesina, but also to seek a coherent order, as far as possible, for the hill-edifice-river system.
The first phase of the intervention, limited to the modification of Viale del Ministero degli Esteri, had to be based on a budget of no more than 3 billion lire, with a series of immediately feasible works; wider-ranging design reflection, including the nearby areas and the other parts of the Foro Italico, would have to suggest useful indications for the renewal of the large sports complex, particularly in the light of Rome's candidacy for the Olympic Games of 2004.

* Francesco R. Ghio, architect, is scientific consultant to the Mayor of Rome for the Centopiazze Program.





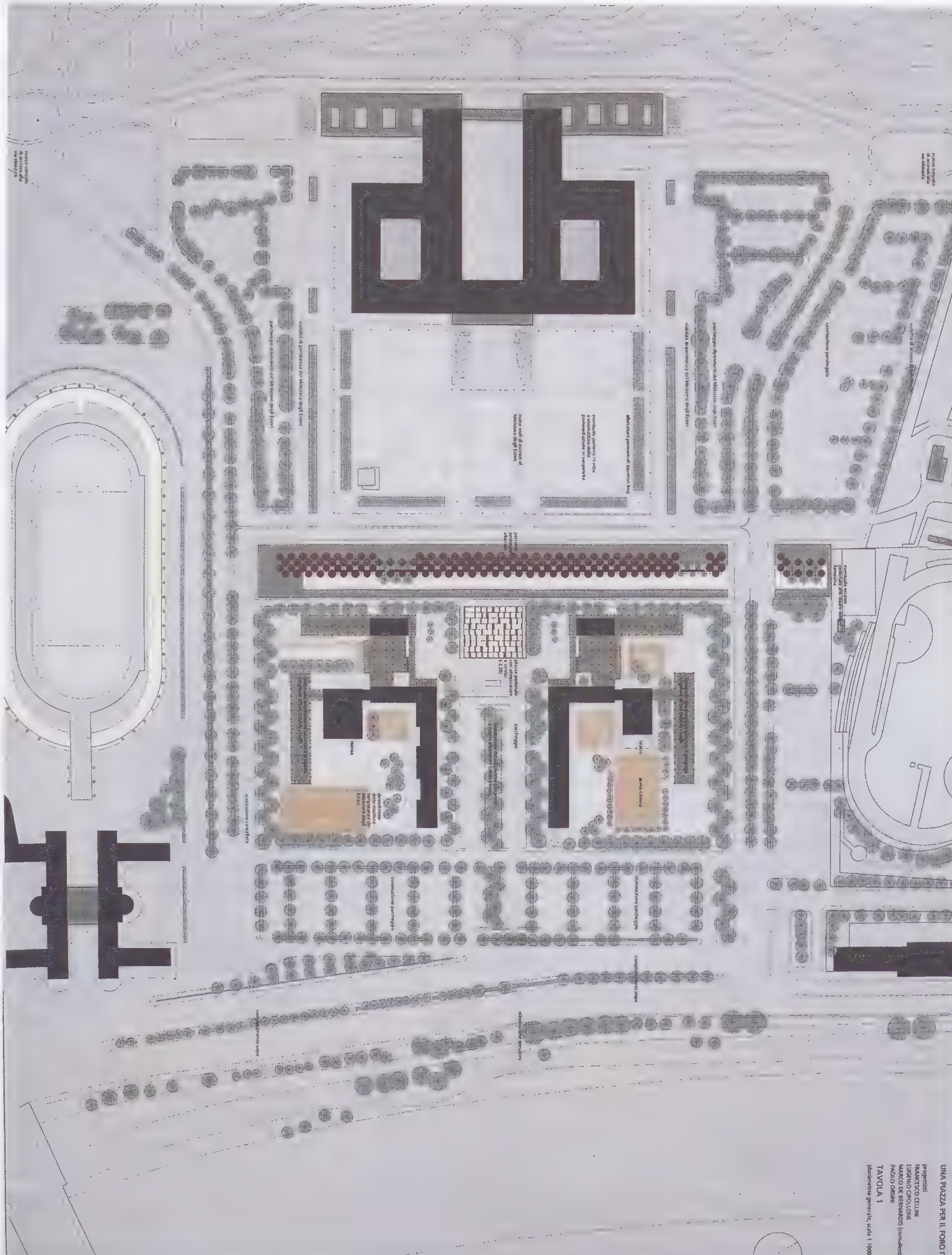






Enrico Del Debbio, Arnaldo Foschini, Vittorio Morpurgo, Casa Littoria al Foro Italico, Roma, 1937.
Luigi Moretti con C. Pennisi, Piazzale delle Adunate (Arengo delle Nazioni), Roma, 1936.
Araldo Bellini, Statua del Fascismo e parti del colosso realizzate, 1934.

Enrico Del Debbio, Arnaldo Foschini, Vittorio Morpurgo, Casa Littoria at the Foro Italico, Rome, 1937.
Luigi Moretti with C. Pennisi, Piazzale delle Adunate (Arengo delle Nazioni), Rome, 1936.
Araldo Bellini, Statua del Fascismo and parts built of the colossus, 1934.


UNA PIAZZA PER IL FORO ITAL
progettisti
FRANCESCO CELLINI
EUGENIO CIPOLLONE
MARCO DE BERNARDIS (consulente)
PAOLO ORSINI
TAVOLA 1
planimetria generale, scala 1:1000

Una piazza per il Foro Italico, Roma

1996

Francesco Cellini

con/with: Eugenio Cipollone, Marco De Bernardis (consulente), Paolo Orsini

Concorso a inviti "Una piazza per il Foro Italico", Roma
Francesco Cellini

Il sistema pubblico del Foro Italico, per il suo notevole valore architettonico e ambientale chiede di essere restaurato e restituito agli usi per i quali era stato progettato; di questo restauro, la realizzazione degli spazi pubblici oggetto del concorso, può essere un primo significativo episodio. La loro collocazione impone di scegliere fra due possibili alternative. La prima è consolidare la struttura assiale del Ministero degli Esteri e dei suoi accessi monumentali, e questo significa accettare la definitiva separazione del Foro in due parti; la seconda (quella qui adottata) è, al contrario, di riconnettere il Foro in una plausibile unità.
Sulla piazza antistante il Ministero si colloca il principale elemento del progetto, una vasta zona pedonale che intende riconnettere ed estendere il sistema degli spazi pedonali del Foro Italico. Un grande marciapiede bianco in travertino, largo 15 metri e lungo 260, quasi una replica dell'analogo listone di travertino situato all'estremità opposta del Foro Italico, tra le piscine e lo stadio del tennis, emerge da un più ampio campo in pozzolana stabilizzata, bordato da una fascia di sanpietrini. Con cadenza regolare, sulla lista in travertino e sul campo di terra scura, sono piantati 4 filari di Pruni (*Prunus Cerasifera Nigra*) dal colore rosso disposti a *quinconce*. Sole eccezioni alla regolarità dell'alberata sono due gruppi di alberi più alti: un ciuffo di Cipressi (*Cupressus sempervirens*) sul lato dello stadio della Farnesina, ed un gruppo di svettanti palme del tipo *Phoenix Washingtonia* in corrispondenza della fontana di Arnaldo Pomodoro dall'altro lato della strada. Unico elemento di arredo, una panca in peperino disposta nel senso della dimensione principale, che offre una seduta sotto gli alberi.
Per il piazzale antistante il Palazzo, oggi utilizzato come parcheggio dei dipendenti del Ministero, si dà l'indicazione di una fitta alberatura di lecci (*Quercus ilex*); quasi una siepe che lo recinga rafforzandone il perimetro e definendo lo spazio della piazza come un sagrato o una radura nel sistema del verde delle pendici di Monte Mario. Il Viale del Ministero degli Esteri viene chiuso al traffico veicolare e risistemato con la piantumazione di alcuni pini sullo spartitraffico centrale. In corrispondenza degli ingressi alle attrezzature ed ai servizi dell'opera universitaria, sfruttando la presenza di una galleria pedonale sotterranea fra i due complessi di edifici, il progetto propone la realizzazione di una piazza pedonale ad una quota più bassa della strada attuale; una grande corte ribassata su cui ci si affaccia e cui si accede tramite due rampe. L'intera piazza contrasterà con l'ombrosità della pineta per il nitore dei rivestimenti in travertino; un ulteriore gioco cromatico sarà dato dal contrasto fra il travertino e il marmo rosso di Verona, le due pietre della pavimentazione. La parte del viale che conduce al Lungotevere, con l'esclusione della trasformazione in aiuola alberata dello spartitraffico centrale, rimarrà quasi inalterata.

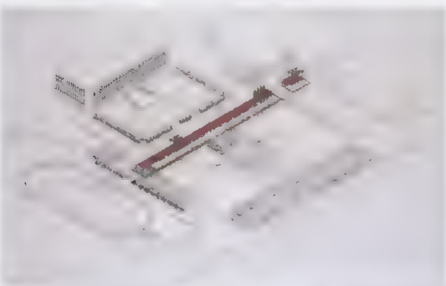
Competition entry by invitation "A piazza for the Foro Italico", Rome
Francesco Cellini

The public system of the Foro Italico, due to its architectural and environmental value, should be restored and returned to the uses for which it was designed; for this restoration the construction of the public spaces concerned in this competition can represent an important contribution. Their positioning imposes a choice between two alternatives. The first is to consolidate the axial structure of the Foreign Ministry and its monumental accesses, and this means accepting the definitive division of the Foro into two parts; the second (selected here) is to reconnect the Foro in a plausible unity.
*The main element of the project is positioned in the square in front of the Ministry, a vast pedestrian zone intended to extend and reconnect the system of pedestrian spaces of the Foro Italico. A large white sidewalk in Travertine stone, 15 meters wide and 260 in length, almost a replica of the similar strip at the opposite extremity of the Foro Italico, between the swimming pools and the tennis stadium, emerges from a wider expanse of stabilized pozzolana, bordered by a band of cobblestones. At regular intervals along the Travertine sidewalk and in the field of dark earth there are plantings of four rows of red plum trees (*Prunus Cerasifera Nigra*) in a quincuncial arrangement. The only exceptions to the regular pattern of the plantings are two groups of taller trees: a group of cypresses (*Cupressus sempervirens*) on the side of the stadium of the Farnesina, and a group of palm trees of the *Phoenix Washingtonia *type, near the fountain by Arnaldo Pomodoro, on the other side of the street. The only furniture element is a bench in peperino, for seating beneath the trees.*
*For the piazza in front of the Ministry, used as a parking area by Ministry staff today, we have indicated dense planting of holm oak (*Quercus ilex*); almost a hedgerow, enclosing and reinforcing the perimeter, defining the space of the piazza like a churchyard or a clearing in the system of green areas extending from the slopes of Monte Mario. The Viale del Ministero degli Esteri will be closed to vehicular traffic and reordered with the planting of pines on the median strip. In correspondence to the entrances to the facilities and services of the university, taking advantage of the presence of a pedestrian tunnel between the two complexes of buildings, the project proposes the creation of a pedestrian plaza at a level lower than the present street; a large recessed courtyard with access provided by two ramps. The entire plaza will contrast with the shadows of the pine grove due to the light color of its Travertine covering; another chromatic effect is obtained through the contrast of the Travertine stone and red Verona marble, the two stones used for the paving. The part of the Viale that leads to the riverfront will remain nearly unchanged, except for the transformation of the median strip into a tree-lined lawn.*

Planimetria generale, prospettiva del percorso pedonale alberato e assonometria.

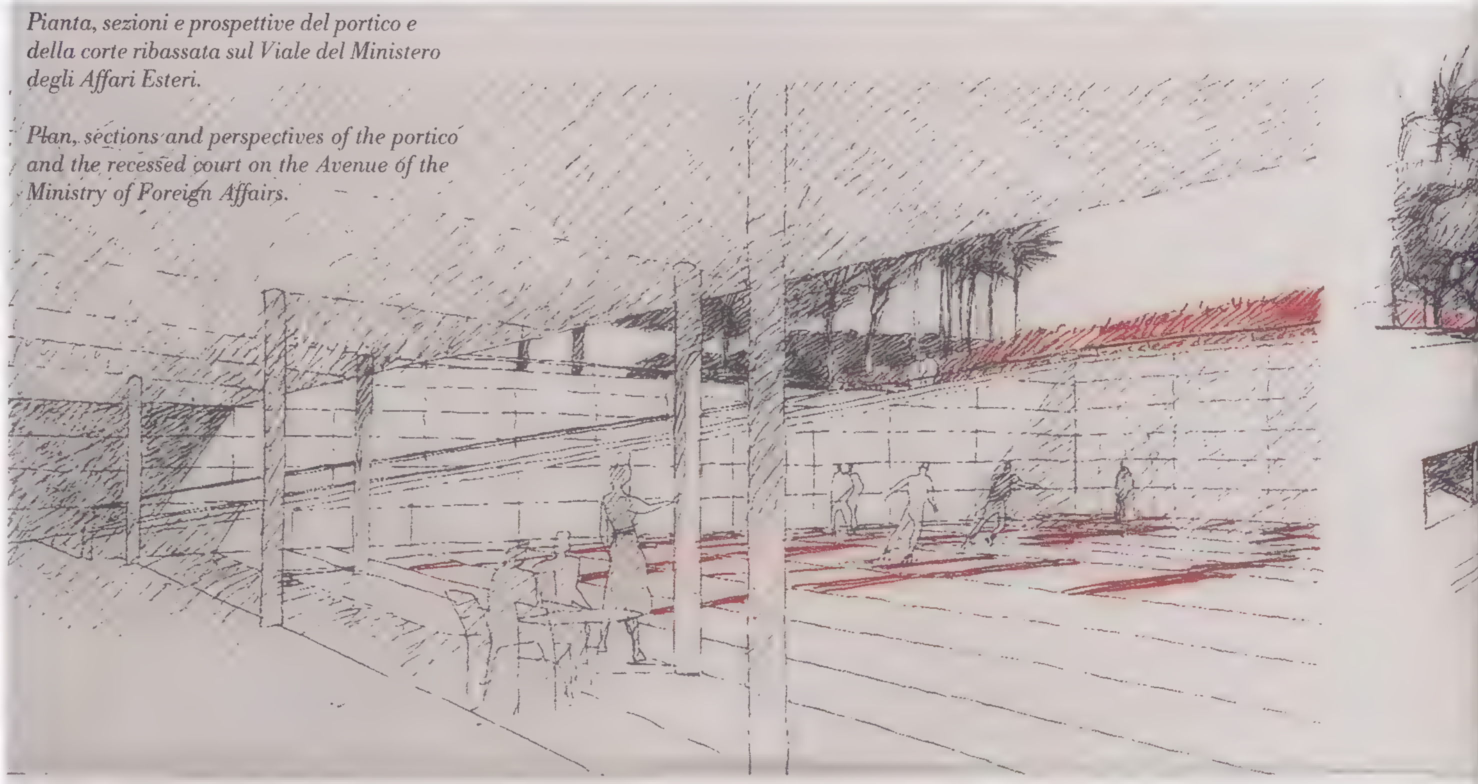
Site plan, perspective of the tree-lined pedestrian walkway and axonometric.

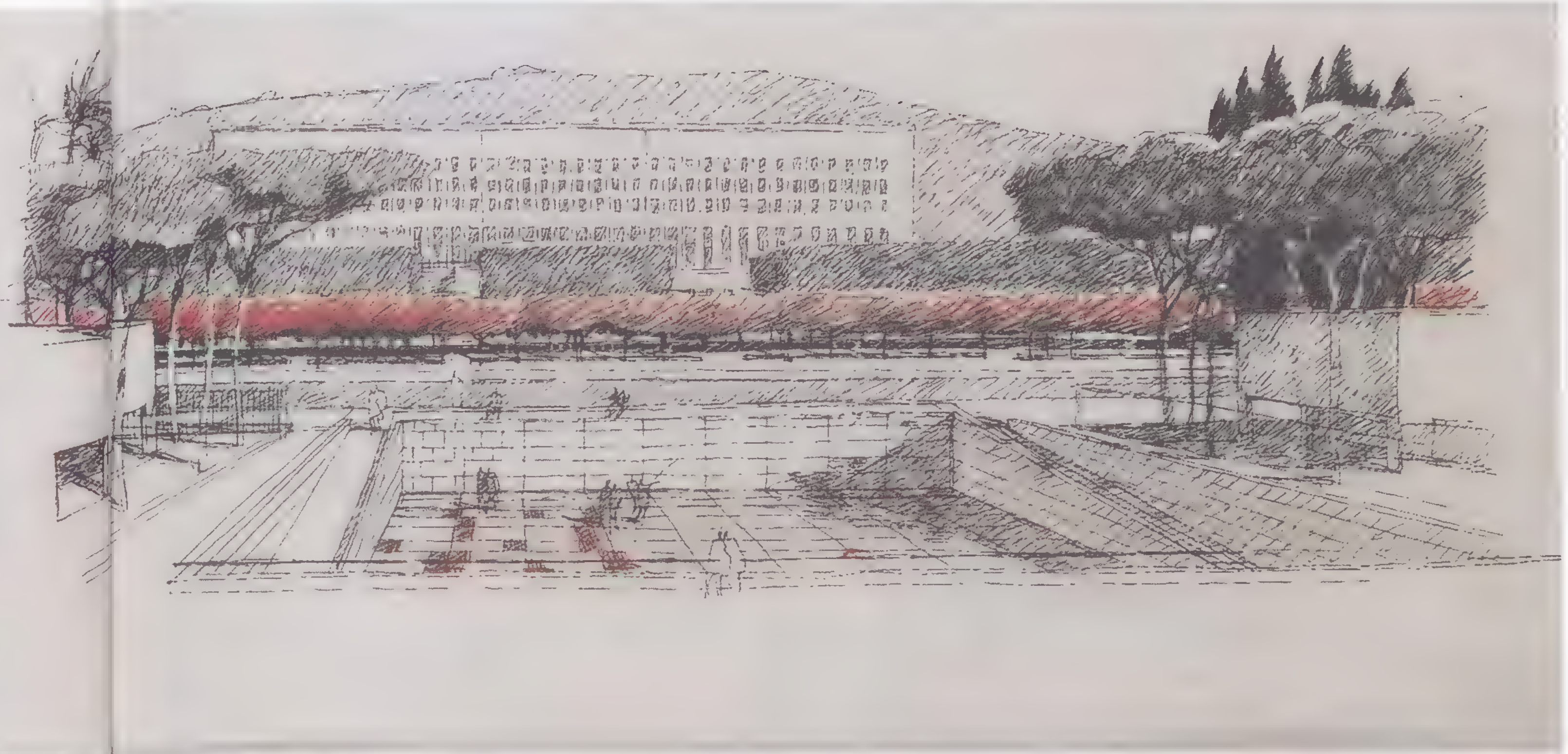


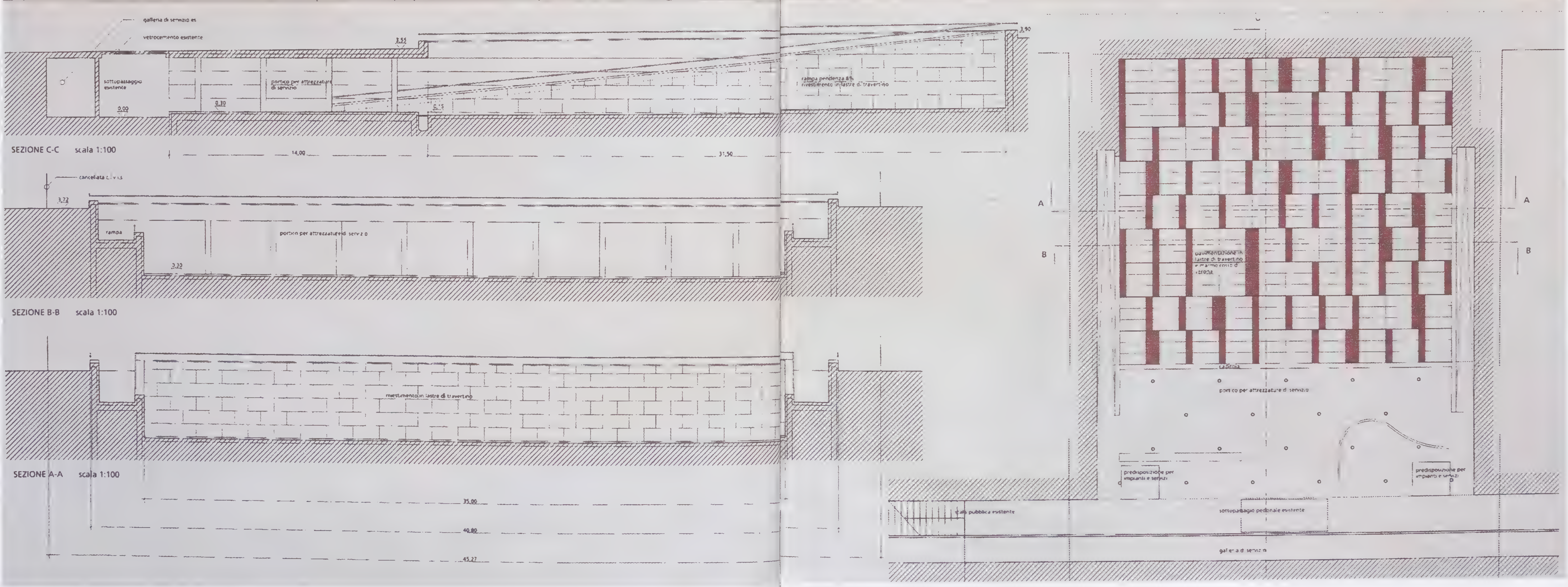


Pianta, sezioni e prospettive del portico e della corte ribassata sul Viale del Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

Plan, sections and perspectives of the portico and the recessed court on the Avenue of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

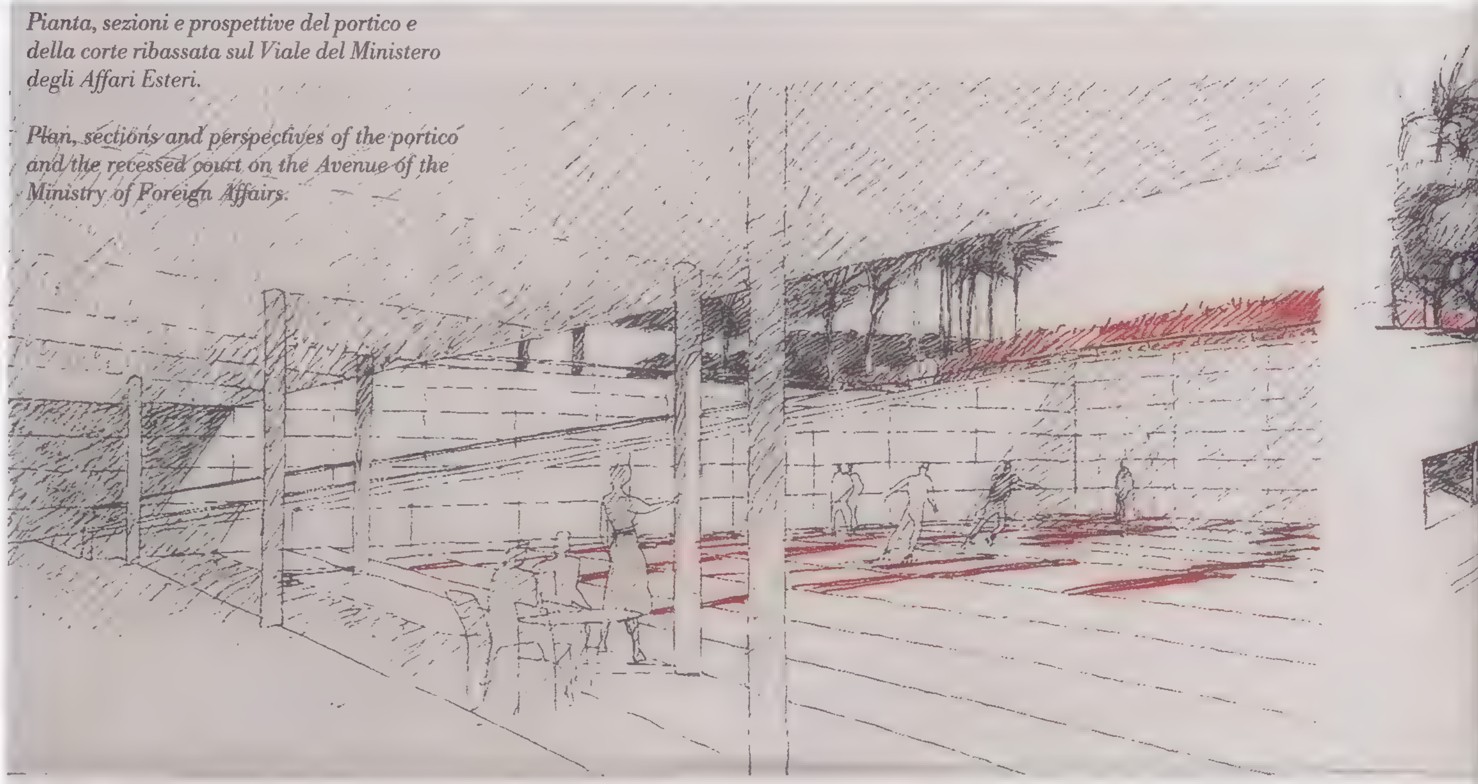




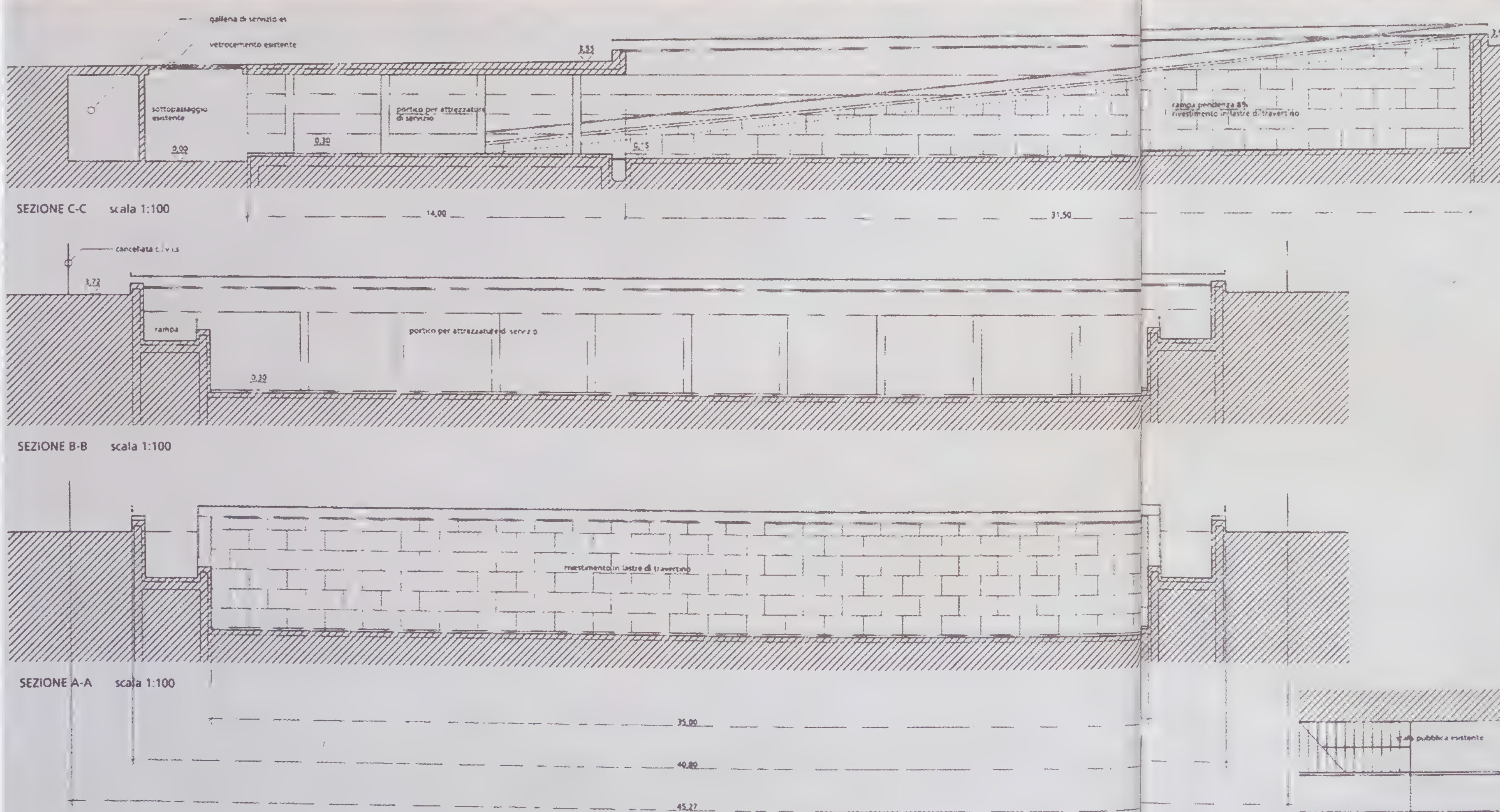


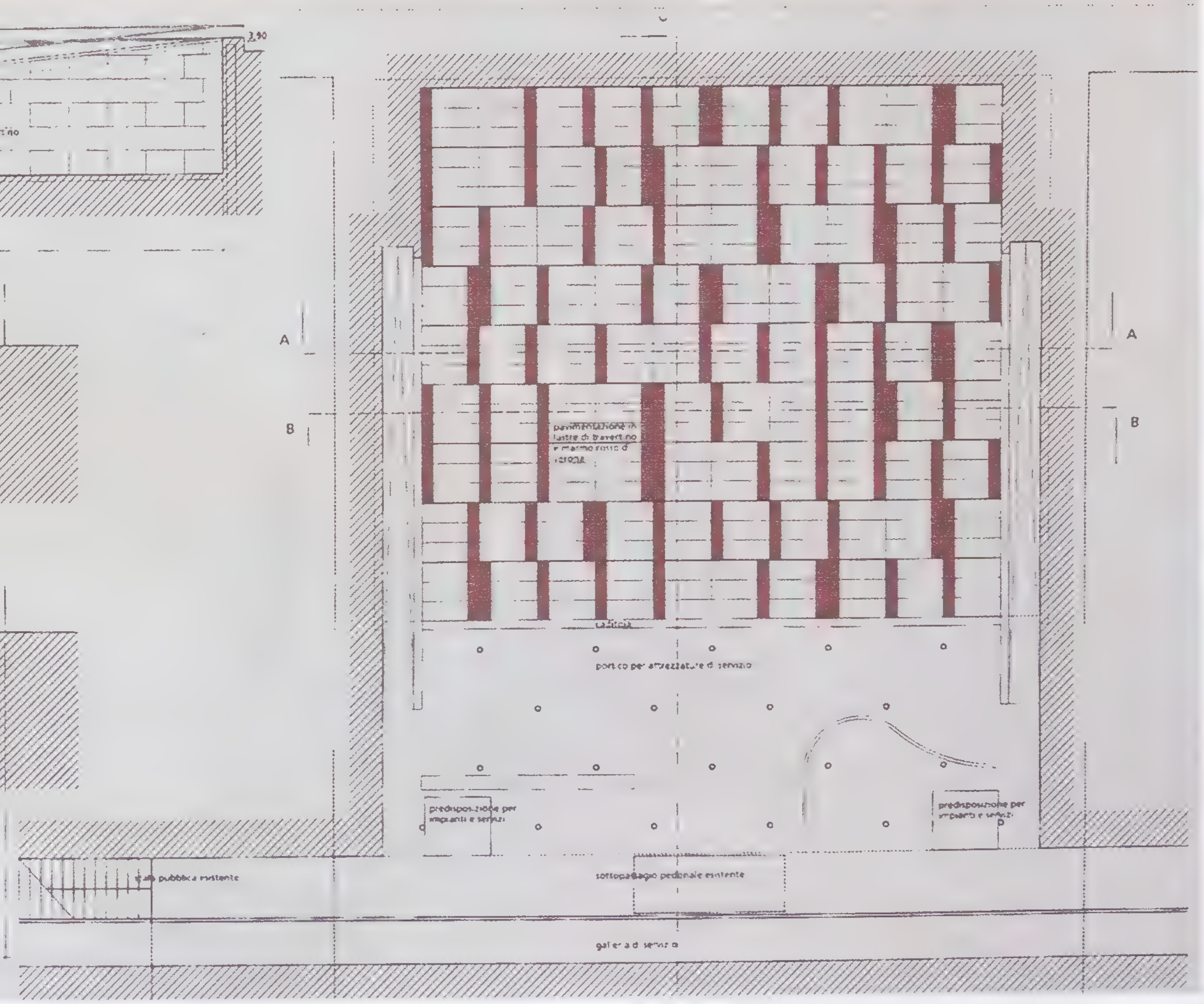
Pianta, sezioni e prospettive del portico e della corte ribassata sul Viale del Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

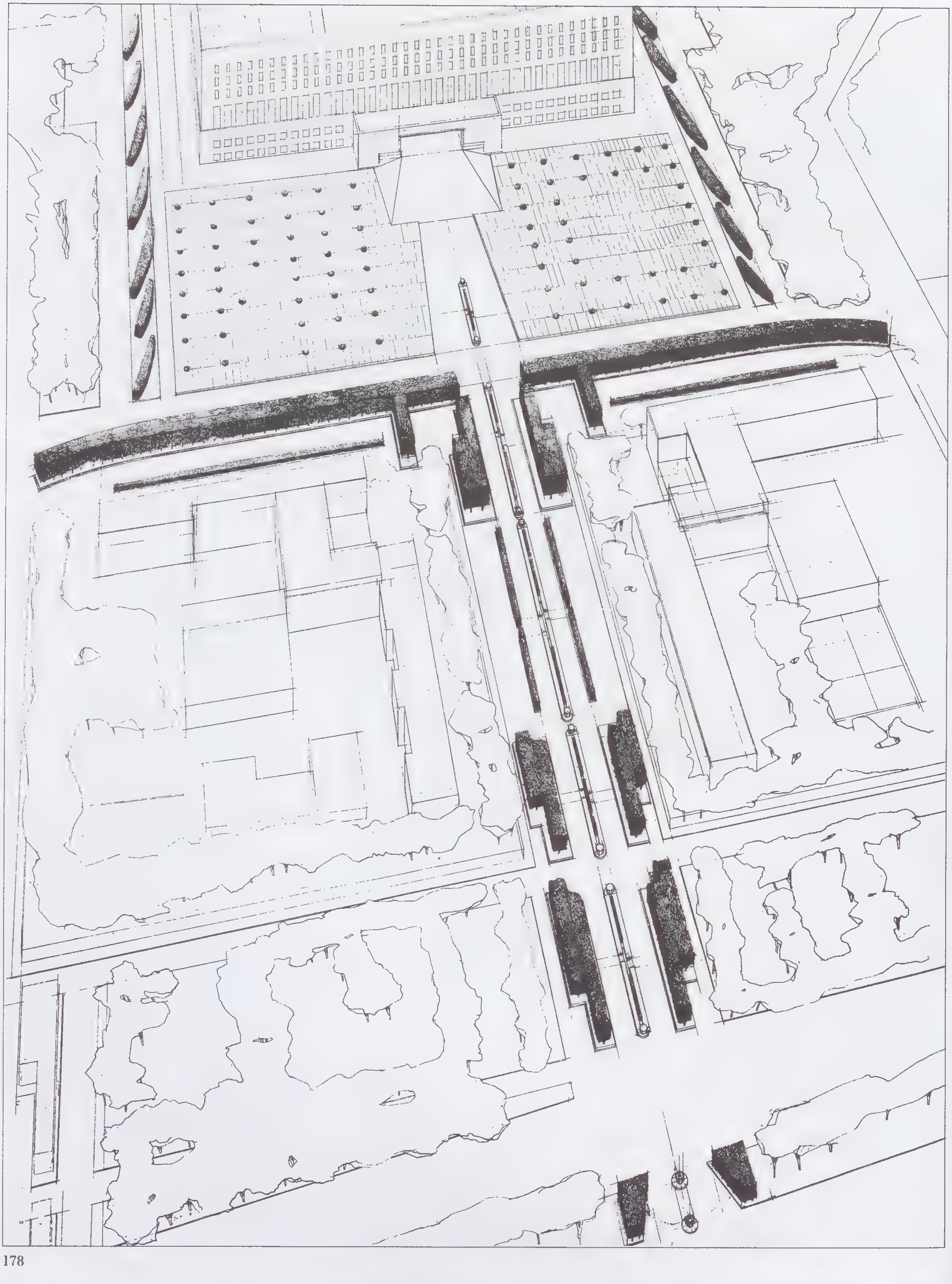
Plan, sections and perspectives of the portico and the recessed court on the Avenue of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.











Una piazza per il Foro Italico, Roma

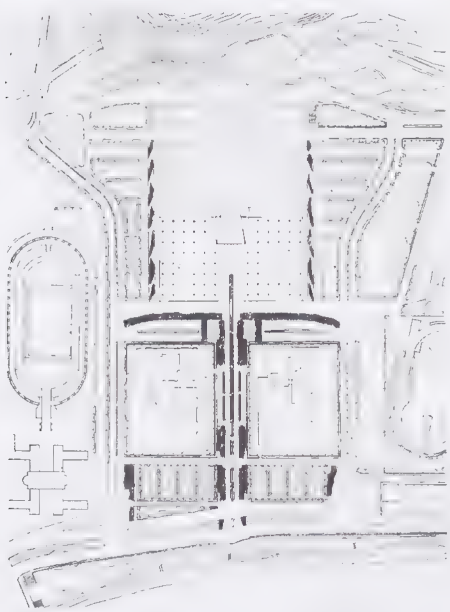
1996

Umberto Riva

con/with: Paolo Ricatti, Monica Manfredi, Alessandro Scandurra, Paolo Bonvini, Ippolito Pizzetti (consulente per il verde)

Prospettiva di insieme verso il Ministero degli Affari Esteri e planimetria generale.

Overall perspective toward s the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and site plan.

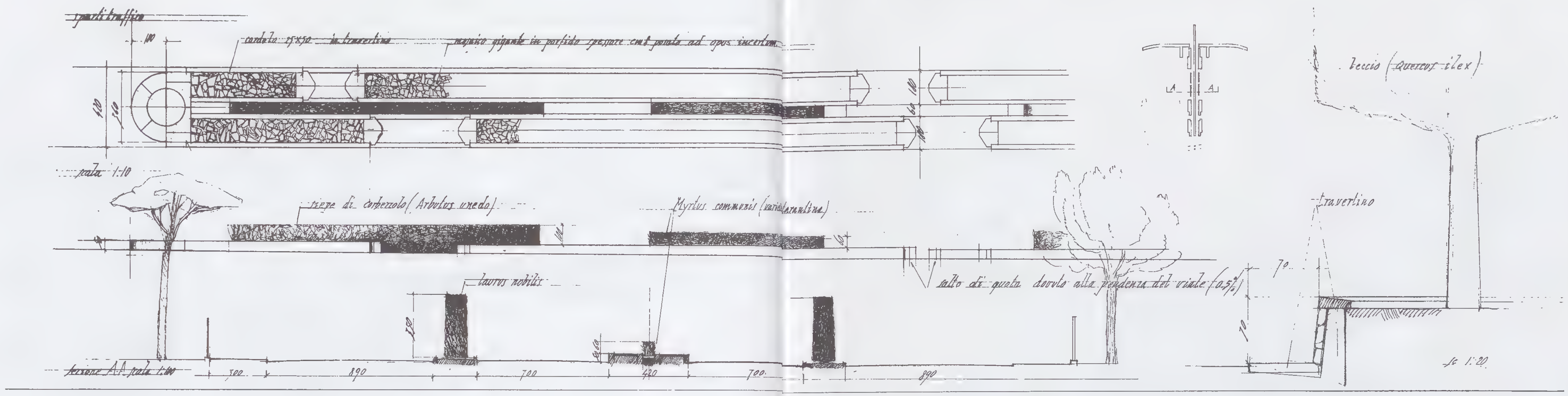


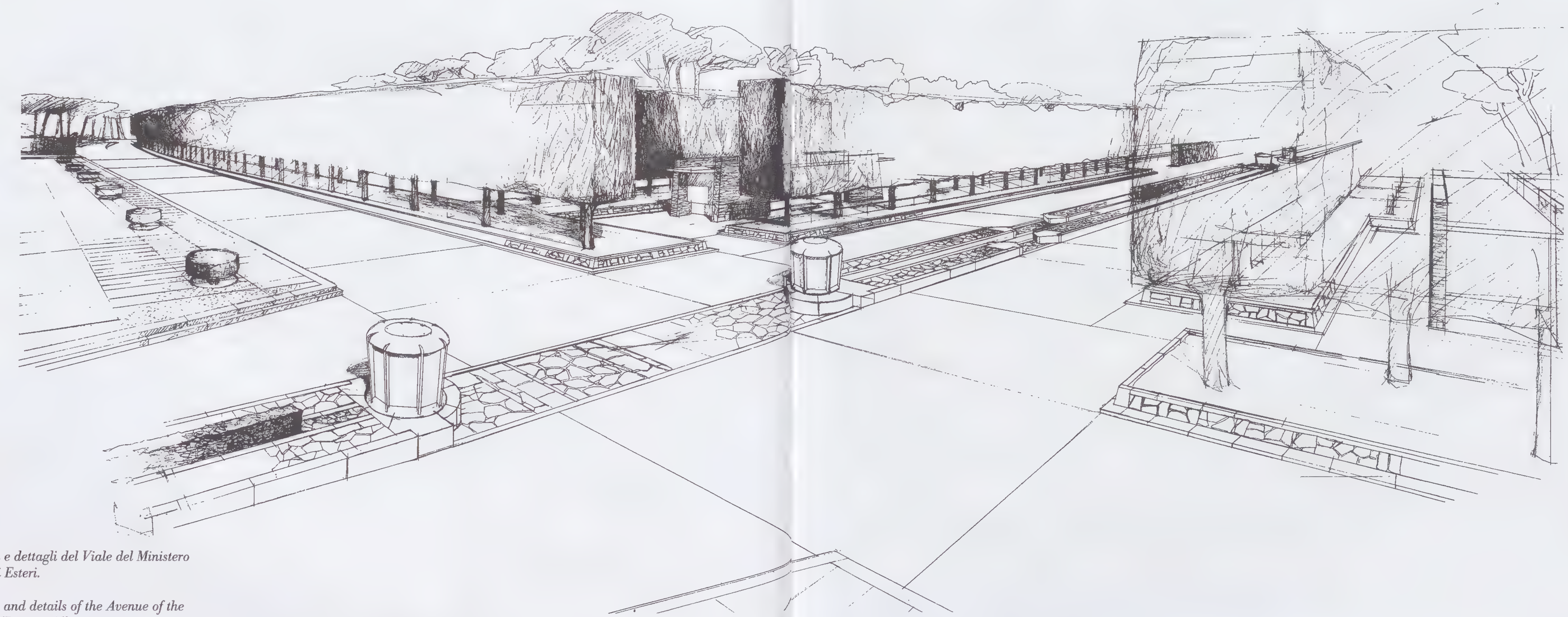
Concorso a inviti "Una piazza per il Foro Italico", Roma
Umberto Riva

Per entrare in una relazione paesaggistica con il sistema collina-palazzo-fiume il progetto usa come materia architettonica il verde, masse di alberi, grandi cespugli topiari, campiture regolari di piante insieme ad arredi urbani e stradali portati fuori scala, ora con la funzione di disegnare, costruire, misurare lo spazio, ora con quella di allontanare e nascondere alla vista. La relazione visiva tra la sezione vasta e indefinita del Viale del Ministero degli Esteri e il Palazzo della Farnesina, con il suo fronte eccessivo, falsa lo spazio annullando la profondità che esiste tra il Tevere e il Palazzo stesso. Questa mancanza di focalizzazione e il senso di dispersione che ne deriva ha portato alla scelta di chiudere il fuoco visivo riducendo la sezione stradale per controllare il rapporto percettivo con il fuori scala del Palazzo.
In accordo con la scelta di ridurre la sezione stradale del Viale del Ministero degli Esteri e delle Vie tangenti alla Piazza della Farnesina sta la definizione di nuove aree di parcheggio, uno dei temi centrali del bando di concorso. La mediazione tra la funzionalità tecnica e rigida dei parcheggi e la monumentalità del Viale del Ministero degli Esteri e della Piazza della Farnesina è affidata a volumi di verde che da una parte contengono distese di auto e dall'altra definiscono lo spazio monumentale. Cosicché il progetto gioca nello scarto tra una dimensione automobilistica di ingresso aulico al Palazzo e una dimensione automobilistica di parcheggio, costruendo uno spazio pubblico pedonale che passa dal palcoscenico al retro del palcoscenico.
La ridefinizione architettonica del Viale del Ministero degli Esteri come accesso privilegiato instaura un nuovo rapporto tra il Palazzo ed il Tevere spostandone l'ingresso sul lungofiume. L'idea dell'asse si materializza in un elemento di arredo stradale che diventa un segno continuo dal Lungotevere sino dentro alla Piazza della Farnesina. Lo spartitraffico portato a dimensione monumentale assume un ruolo centrale nel progetto sia per il valore di relazione spaziale che instaura, sia perché sostanzia e commenta la scelta di costruire un accesso automobilistico di rappresentanza al Palazzo. In corrispondenza dello spartitraffico del Viale Maresciallo Diaz, in linea con lo spartitraffico del Viale del Ministero degli Esteri, vengono collocati due grandi lampade di forma ottagonale con basamento circolare in travertino. Il progetto si porta sino ad un affaccio sul fiume costruendo una balconata che sporge di tre metri verso l'acqua nel suo punto centrale.

Competition entry by invitation "A piazza for the Foro Italico", Rome
Umberto Riva

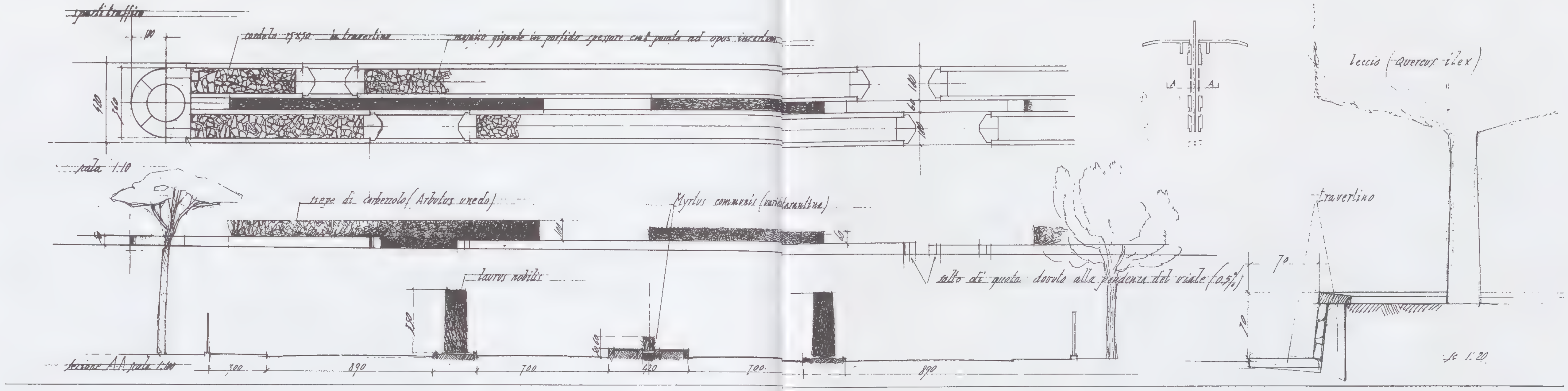
To establish a landscape relation with the system of hill-palazzo-river, the project uses greenery as architectural material: masses of trees, large garden shrubs, regular zones of plantings, together with urban and street furnishings taken out of scale, with the function of defining, constructing, measuring space, or of distancing things, concealing them from view. The visual relation between the vast, undefined Viale del Ministero degli Esteri and the Palazzo della Farnesina, with its excessive facade, causes a false perception of the space, cancelling out the depth that exists between the Tiber and the Palazzo itself. This lack of focus and the resulting disorientation has prompted the decision to reduce the width of the street, in order to control the visual relationship with the out-of-scale element of the Palazzo.
The decision to reduce the width of Viale del Ministero degli Esteri and of the streets tangential to Piazza della Farnesina goes together with the aim of creating new parking areas, one of the central themes of the competition guidelines. The mediation between the rigid, technical function of parking areas and the monumental character of Viale del Ministero degli Esteri and Piazza della Farnesina is effected by volumes of greenery that contain areas for parking while defining a monumental space. In this manner the project operates on the distinction between a dimension of courtly vehicular entry to the Palazzo, and a dimension of parking, constructing a public pedestrian area that passes "from the stage to the backstage".
The architectural redefinition of Viale del Ministero degli Esteri as a favored accessway establishes a new relationship between the Palazzo and the Tiber, shifting the entrance toward the riverfront. The idea of the axis takes the form of street furnishings that become a continuous sign from the Lungotevere all the way into the Palazzo della Farnesina. The median strip, increased to a monumental dimension, takes on a central role in the project, both for the value of spatial relation it establishes, and because it indicates the intention to construct a monumental vehicular accessway for the Palazzo. In correspondence with the median strip of Viale Maresciallo Diaz, in line with the median strip of Viale del Ministero degli Esteri, two large octagonal lamps with circular bases in Travertine stone are positioned. The project extends all the way to the riverfront, building a balcony that reaches three meters over the water at its central point.

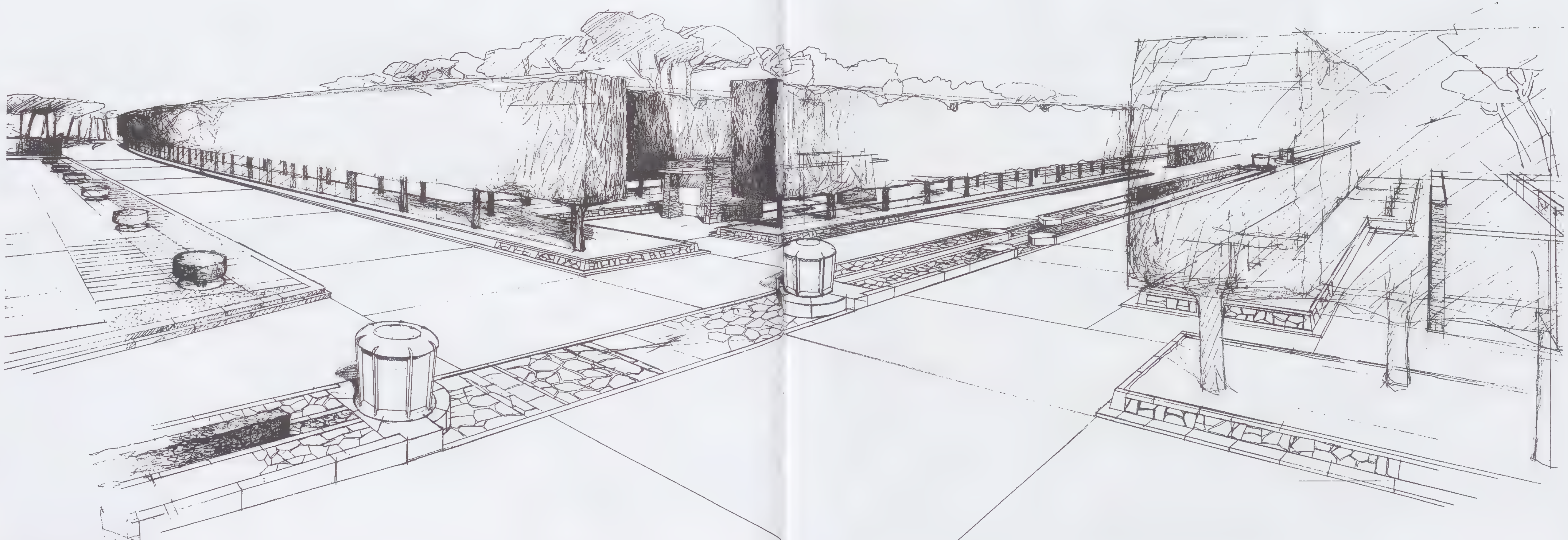




Prospettiva e dettagli del Viale del Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

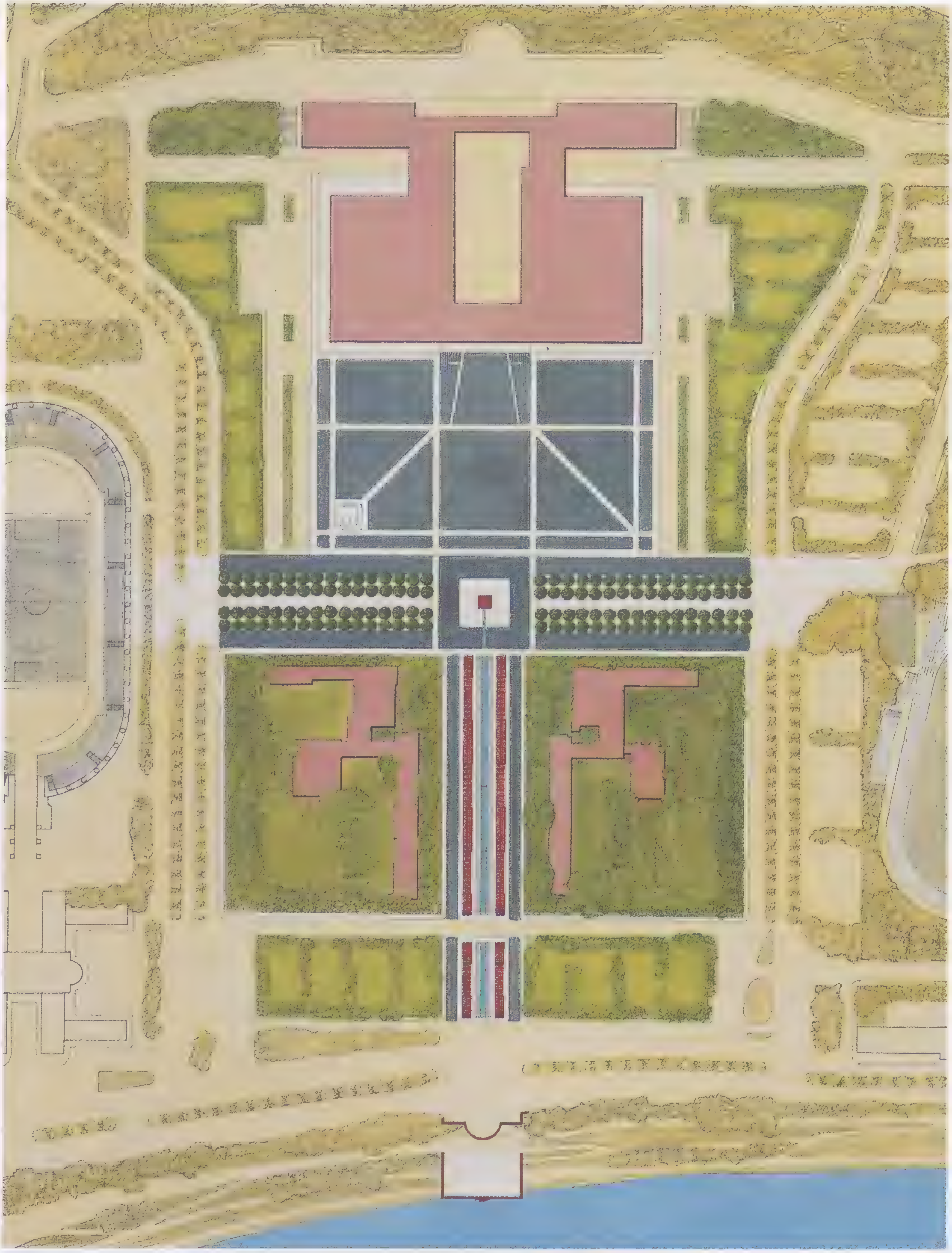
Perspective and details of the Avenue of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.





Prospettiva e dettagli del Viale del Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

Perspective and details of the Avenue of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Una piazza per il Foro Italico, Roma

1996

Aldo Rossi

con/with: Giovanni Da Pozzo, Michele Tadini, Marc Kocher

Concorso a inviti "Una piazza per il Foro Italico", Roma
Aldo Rossi

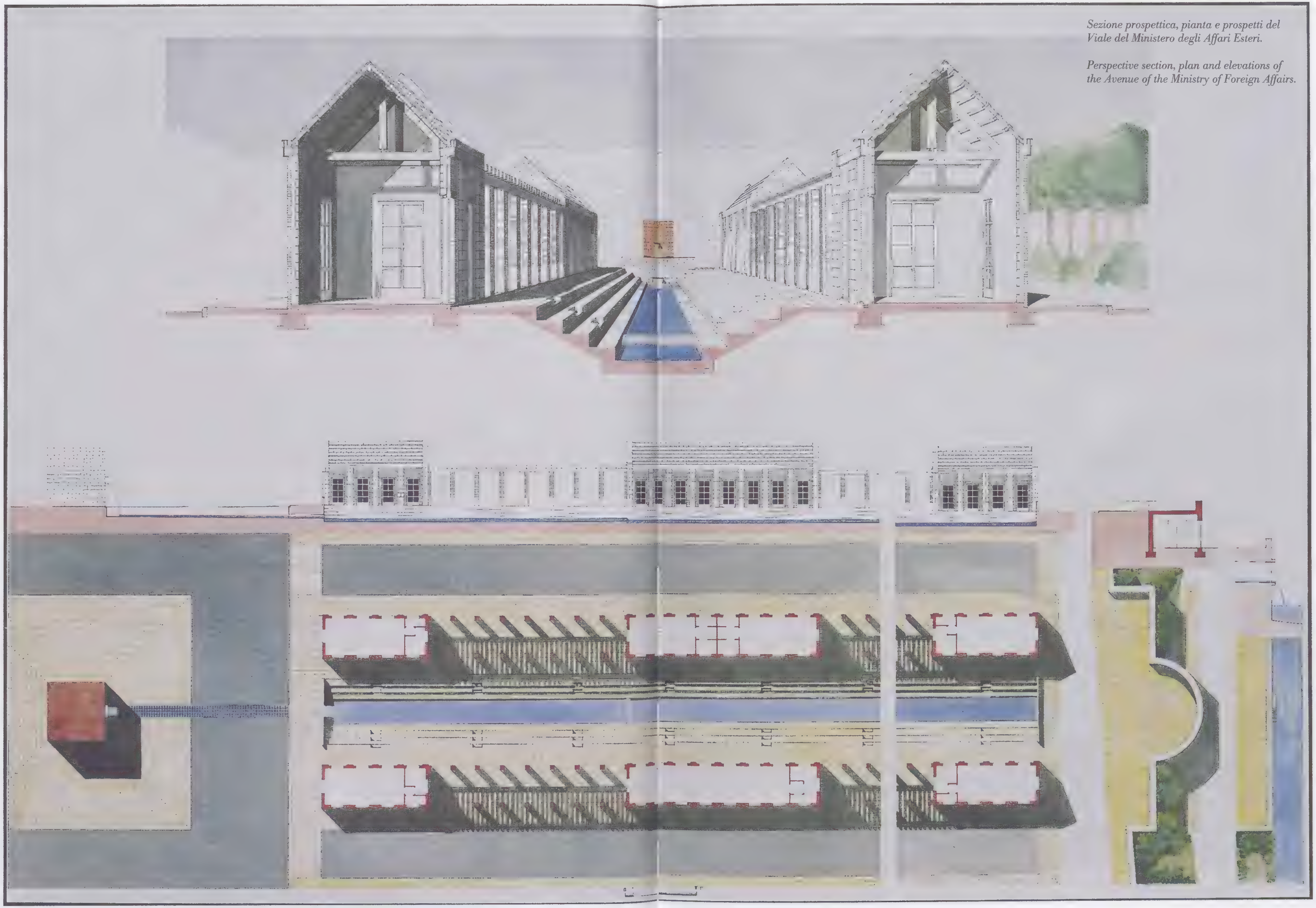
L'area del progetto è certamente uno dei pochi e più affascinanti complessi dell'architettura moderna a Roma. I diversi edifici, lo Stadio Olimpico, lo Stadio dei Marmi, sono tutte costruzioni che difficilmente si possono trovare in Europa negli stessi decenni. In particolare lo Stadio dei Marmi si impone sopra tutto ed è strano pensare come in pochi decenni si sia perduta la possibilità di concepire e non solo costruire un'opera simile.
Eppure questi elementi, forse anche per le vicende del tempo, rimangono isolati e non si conformano come insieme urbano: in particolare il Palazzo della Farnesina è isolato da uno spazio antistante confuso e caotico, in un intreccio di strade e aiuole senza senso.
Bene ha quindi fatto l'Amministrazione di Roma a proporre questo progetto pur conoscendone tutte le difficoltà, non solo materiali ed economiche, ma anche architettoniche.
Il nostro progetto si propone di collegare questi edifici e particolarmente di creare due assi: uno che colleghi la Farnesina alla città con un percorso costruito, l'altro che intersecandosi al primo colleghi lo Stadio dei Marmi al Viale principale.
Il Viale principale è costituito da un corso d'acqua dove si scende a gradoni, ai lati vi sono costruzioni in travertino interrotte da percorsi coperti parzialmente: un solarium in legno o mattoni su cui cresce il verde.
Le costruzioni sono luoghi di ritrovo (ambienti di ristoro) osterie, ecc., che si prolungano nel solarium dove si troveranno panche e tavoli. Questo percorso, simile alle località sacre greche o ai santuari cattolici, non è destinato certo (in questo caso) ai pellegrini ma alla possibilità d'uso di questa parte della città. Si noti che oggi per un impiegato del Ministero o per i ragazzi dell'Ostello della gioventù, e per la zona in genere non si trova un luogo dove sostare. In particolare nei giorni dei campionati di calcio l'enorme folla dei tifosi è costretta ad allontanarsi o a vagare in modo confuso. Ma soprattutto l'acqua, il verde, le costruzioni daranno vita a un parco nuovo, segnato dai monumenti e dal verde delle colline retrostanti.
Elemento importante è l'acqua. Roma ha sempre avuto questa immagine dell'acqua: le fontane, il Tevere, gli acquedotti. Idealmente un rivo d'acqua dovrebbe partire dalla fontana nel cortile della Farnesina e attraversare il palazzo e il piazzale e gettarsi nell'alveo di pietra circondato da piccole case, costruite come templi, per raggiungere il Tevere e ricollegarsi a Roma. La nuova piazza quadrata che si viene a formare avrà una fontana come un cubo di pietra che raccoglie l'acqua (proveniente forse da antiche terme sovrastanti la Farnesina) che esce nell'alveo di travertino riportandola al Tevere.
I materiali sono principalmente i sanpietrini e il travertino bianco.

Competition entry by invitation "A piazza for the Foro Italico", Rome
Aldo Rossi

The area concerned is undoubtedly one of the few, and most fascinating, complexes of modern architecture in Rome. The different edifices, the Olympic Stadium, the "Stadio dei Marmi", are all constructions which one can unlikely find anywhere else in Europe during the same decades. The Stadio dei Marmi is particularly impressive, and it is strange to think that in just a few decades we have lost the possibility of even considering the construction of such a work. Yet these elements, perhaps also because of the events of history, remain isolated, they do not present themselves as an urban whole: in particular, Palazzo della Farnesina is isolated by a confused, chaotic space in front of it, a senseless tangle of streets and traffic islands. Therefore the municipal administration of Rome has done well to propose this project, in spite of all the difficulties involved, not only in material and economic terms, but also in terms of architecture.
Our project aims at connecting these edifices, and in particular at creating two axes: one connecting the Farnesina to the city with a constructed route, and another intersecting the first, connecting the Stadio dei Marmi to the main avenue.
The main avenue is composed of a waterway flanked by constructions in Travertine stone, interrupted by partially covered accessways: a solarium in wood or brick, with green plantings. The constructions are meeting places, venues, restaurants, etc. that extend into the solarium, with benches and tables. This pathway, similar to sacred places in Greece, or Catholic sanctuaries, is not conceived for pilgrims, but for the city itself. It is important to note that today for the employees of the Ministry, or for the visitors at the Youth Hostel, and for all the people who spend time in this zone, it is impossible to find a place to sit, to pause. On the days when there are soccer matches at the stadium the enormous crowds of fans wander about, confused, or simply leave the area immediately after the match. Water, greenery, constructions can create a new park, with views of the monuments and the green landscape of the nearby hills.
Water is an important element. Rome has always had this image of water: the fountains, the Tiber, the aqueducts. Ideally a brook should begin at the fountain of the courtyard of the Farnesina, crossing the building and the square, flowing into a stone bed surrounded by small buildings, constructed like temples, reaching the Tiber, returning to Rome. The new square plaza thus created would have a fountain like a stone cube that collects the water (perhaps from the ancient hot springs above the Farnesina) that emerges from the bed of travertine stone, returning to the Tiber.

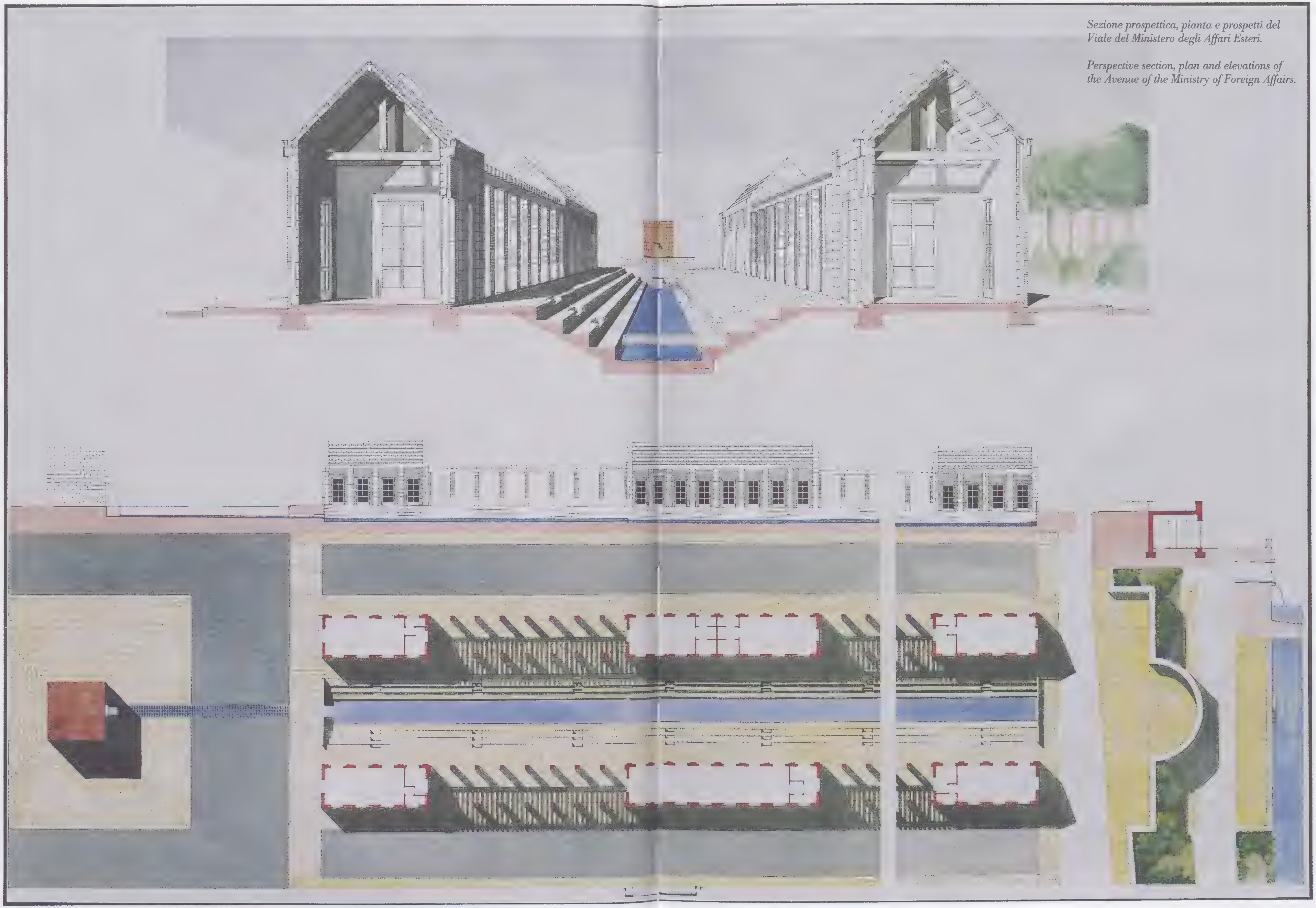
Planimetria generale.

Site plan.



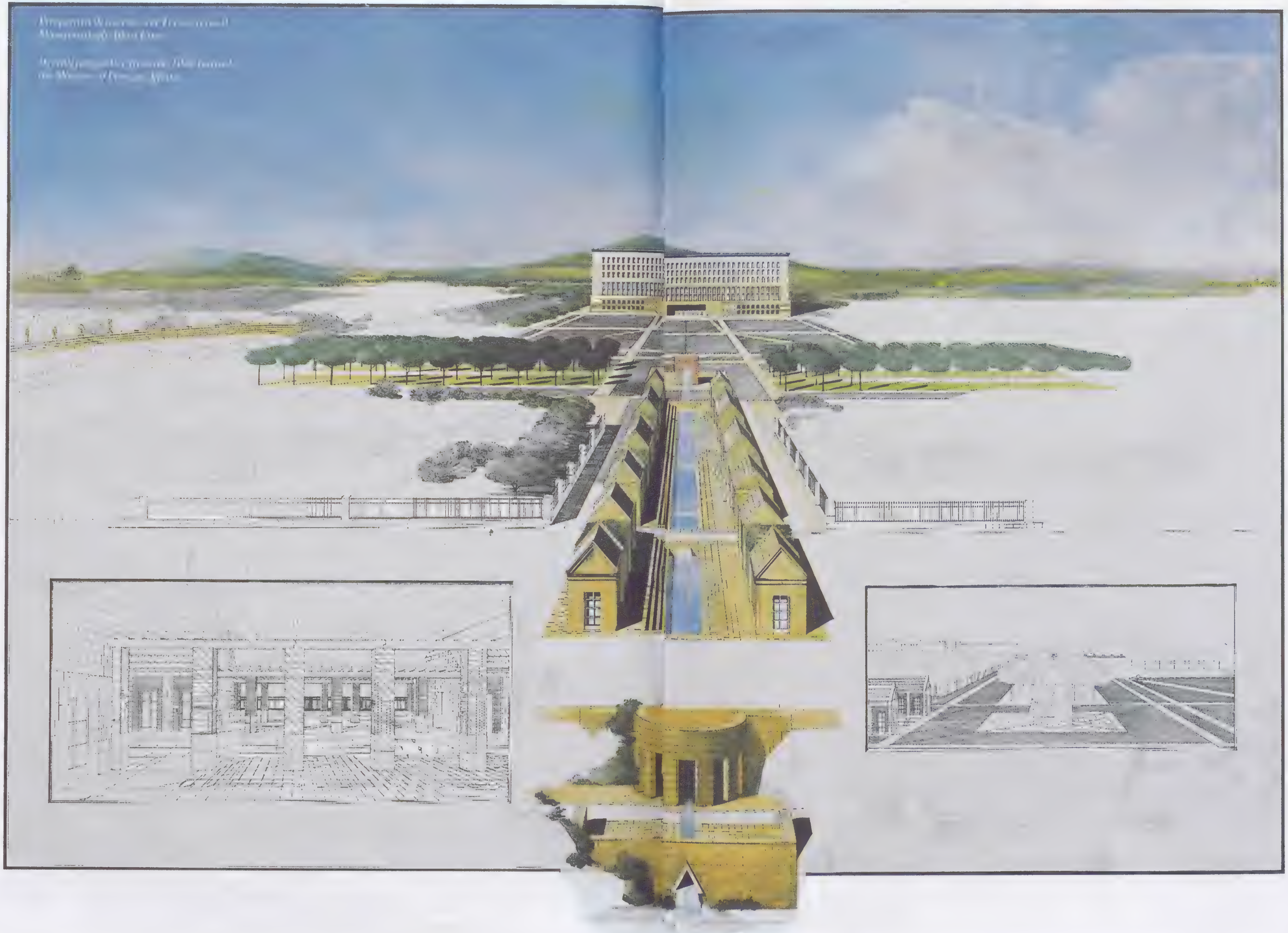
Sezione prospettica, pianta e prospetti del Viale del Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

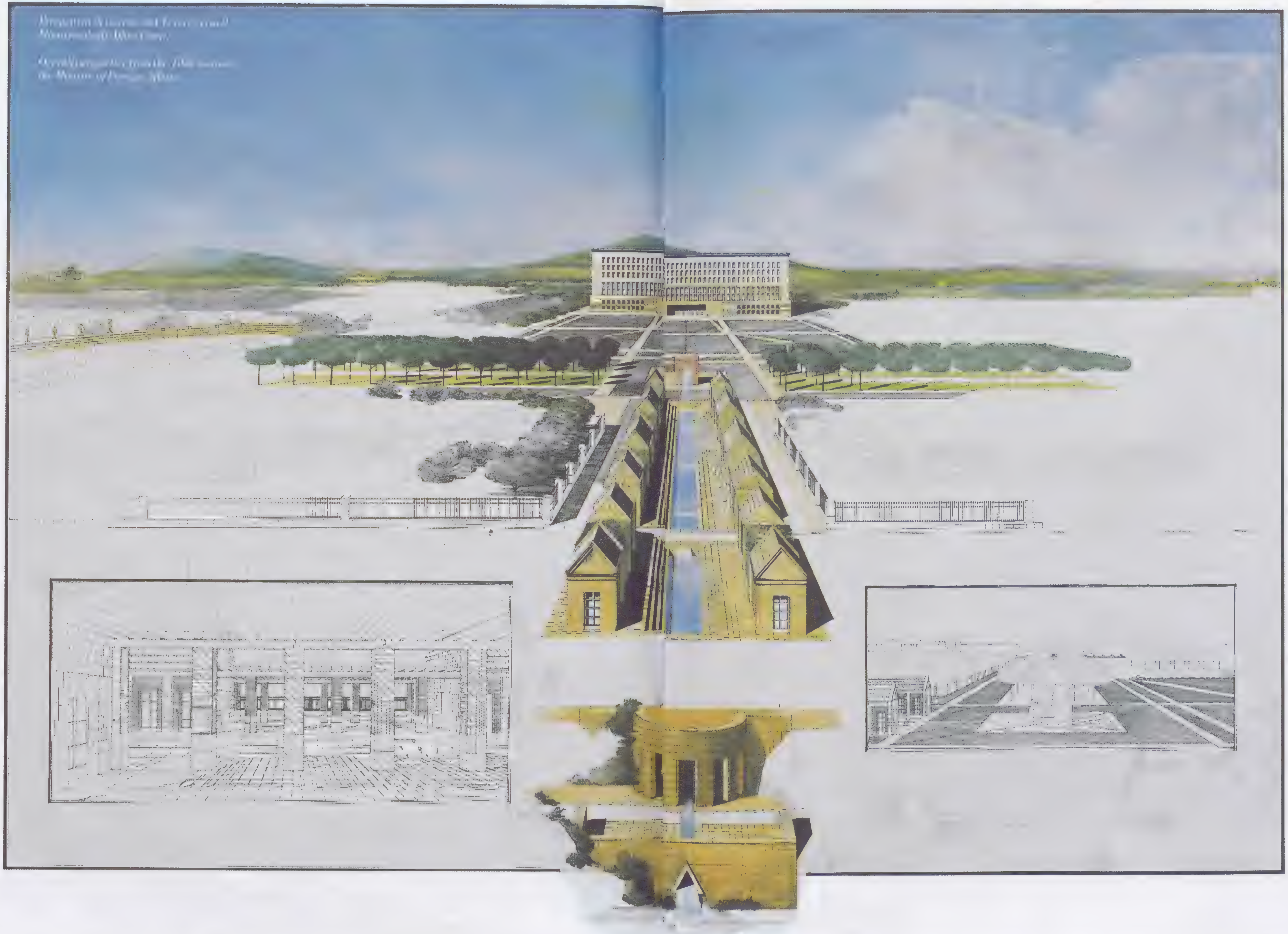
Perspective section, plan and elevations of the Avenue of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Sezione prospettica, pianta e prospetti del Viale del Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

Perspective section, plan and elevations of the Avenue of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.





Aerial perspective from the Tiber towards the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.


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Sistema Direzionale Orientale Pietralata-Tiburtina, Roma

1996

Alessandro Anselmi

con/with: Maria Argenti, Elisabetta Avallone, Francesco Careri, Marco De Bernardis, Luca Montuori, Fabio Palmia

Consultazione a inviti per il Sistema Direzionale Orientale, area Pietralata-Tiburtina, Roma
Alessandro Anselmi

Il progetto si struttura come un sistema correlato di parti indipendenti. Le tematiche individuate dal confronto tra l'area oggetto di studio ed i programmi funzionali proposti hanno suggerito il ripensamento di tutto il settore che si estende dagli spazi di fronte alla Stazione Tiburtina fino al sistema territoriale dei parchi, per fornire una risposta alla complessità delle diverse scale compresenti nel senso della nuova dimensione metropolitana della città. Il *terminal* della Stazione Tiburtina è stato progettato al di sotto di una grande copertura percorribile. La parte superiore della copertura diventa una piazza pedonale, in parte trattata a verde, dalla quale si raggiunge l'edificio lineare della Stazione, una grande lama che svolge il ruolo simbolico di limite della città moderna e, contemporaneamente, quello di soglia da attraversare. Dall'estremità settentrionale della lama un elemento di collegamento, con all'interno un percorso meccanizzato integrato, unisce direttamente la Stazione con i nuovi interventi direzionali.
Il modello che organizza il Polo direzionale si configura come la sommatoria di tre parti, tre livelli funzionali collegati verticalmente, con diversi valori funzionali, formali e simbolici: il piano della città, il luogo in cui simbolicamente l'intervento si radica al suolo; il terreno artificiale, dove sono concentrate le attività dell'intervento direzionale di relazione con il pubblico; gli edifici per il direzionale; a nord i Ministeri a disegnare un fronte continuo che si confronta sia con la "città storica" che con il grande vuoto del Parco di Pietralata; a sud edifici isolati che variano per forma e tipo. La concentrazione delle strutture direzionali permette poi di destinare a verde gran parte dell'area. Il disegno del parco deriva dall'interazione di diversi sistemi ricavati dalla lettura dei segni esistenti nell'area: vecchie strutture catastali, filari di alberi che segnalano le diverse proprietà agricole, tracciati stradali e mulattiere, ma anche strade e tessuti, moderni e di progetto.

Consultation project by invitation for the Sistema Direzionale Orientale (SDO, Eastern Administrative System), Pietralata-Tiburtina area, Rome
Alessandro Anselmi

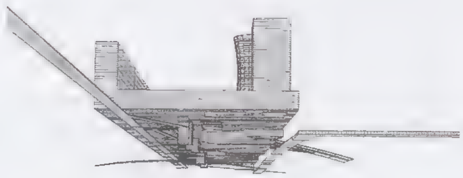
The project is structured as a correlated system of independent parts. The issues identified in the comparison of the area concerned and the functional programs proposed have suggested a rethinking of the entire district extending from the front of the Tiburtina station out to the territorial system of the parks, to furnish a response for the complexity of the different scales that are simultaneously present in the new metropolitan dimension of the city. The terminal of the Tiburtina station has been designed beneath an ample roofed through way. The upper part becomes a pedestrian plaza, with plantings, from which access is provided for the linear building of the station, a large blade that plays the symbolic role of a border for the modern city and, at the same time, a threshold to be crossed. From the northern extremity of the blade a connecting element, containing an integrated mechanized passageway, directly links the station with the new office complexes.
The organizational model of the Administrative Center is configured as the sum of three parts, three functional levels, vertically connected, with different functional, formal and symbolic values: the plan of the city, the place in which, symbolically, the project is rooted to the ground; the artificial terrain, where the activities of relations with the public are concentrated; the edifices for the offices themselves; to the north, the ministries, creating a continuous frontage that establishes a relation both with the "historical city" and with the large open space of the Pietralata park; to the south, isolated buildings, varying both in form and in type.
This concentration of the administrative functions permits use of much of the area as a park. The design of the park is based on the interaction of different systems observed in the signs existing in the area: old cadastral structures, rows of trees marking the confines of agricultural properties, roadways and paths, but also modern streets and developments.

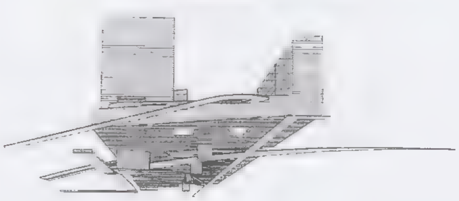
Planimetria generale: 1) Polo Pietralata-Tiburtina del Sistema Direzionale Orientale; 2) Bosco urbano; 3) Parco di Pietralata; 4) Stazione Tiburtina; 5) Ferrovie dello Stato; 6) Ospedale Sandro Pertini.

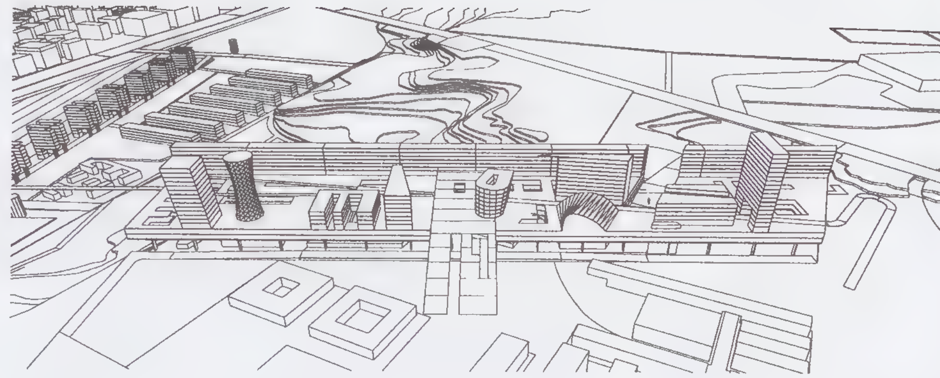
Site plan: 1) Pietralata-Tiburtina pole of the Sistema Direzionale Orientale; 2) Urban woods; 3) Pietralata Park; 4) Tiburtina Station; 5) State Railways; 6) Sandro Pertini Hospital.

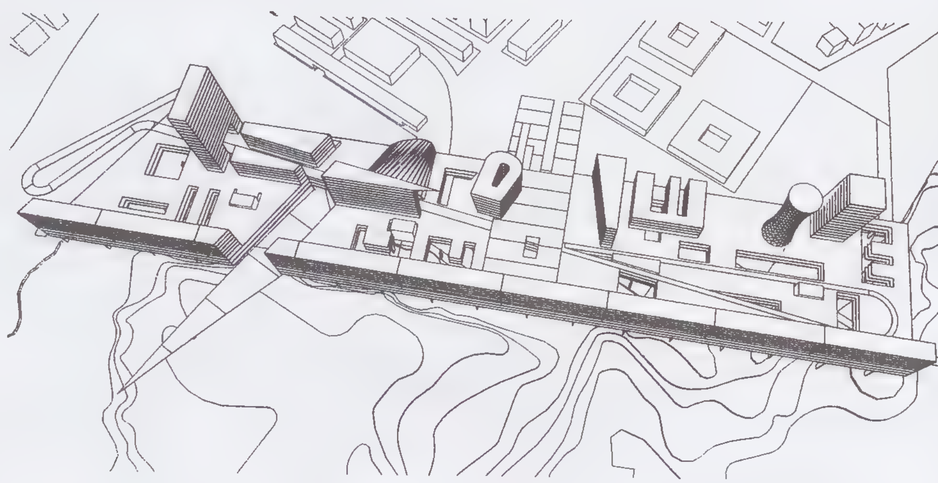
Prospettive, sezione trasversale sulla piazza centrale e piante dei piani tipici del Polo direzionale.

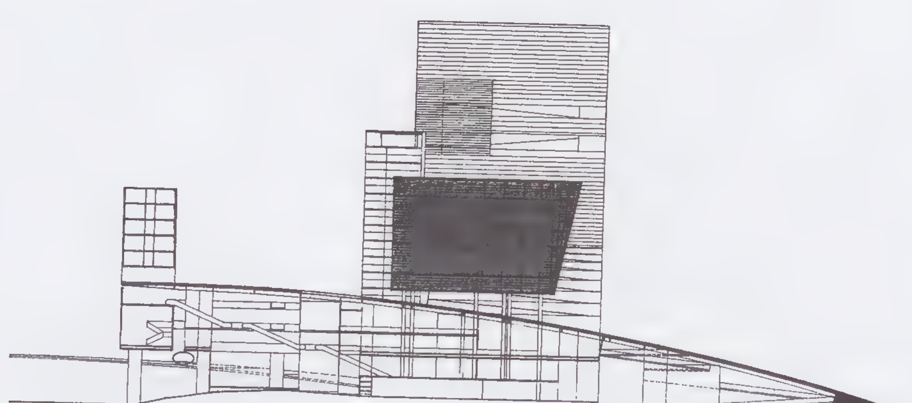
Perspectives, cross-section of the central square and typical floor plans of the administrative center.









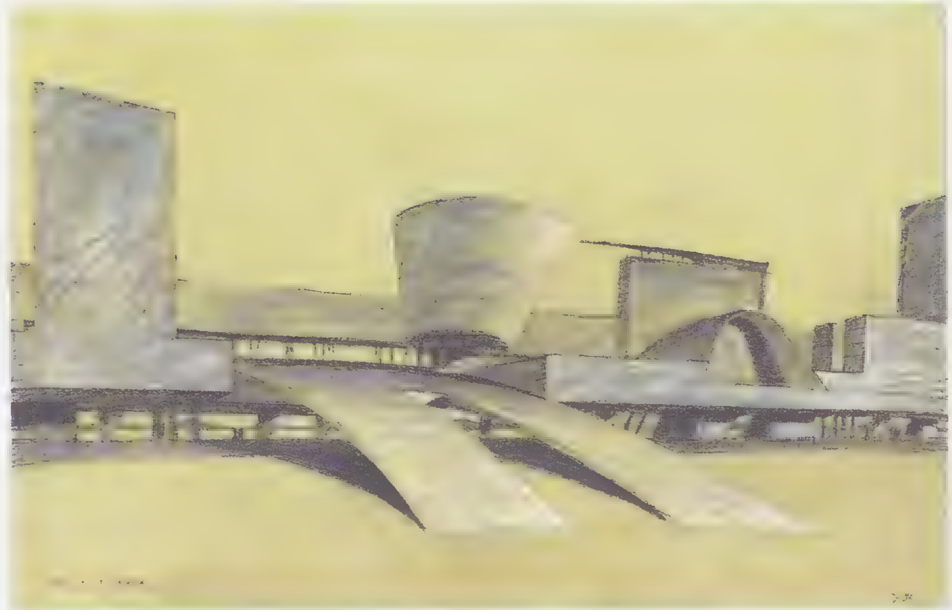


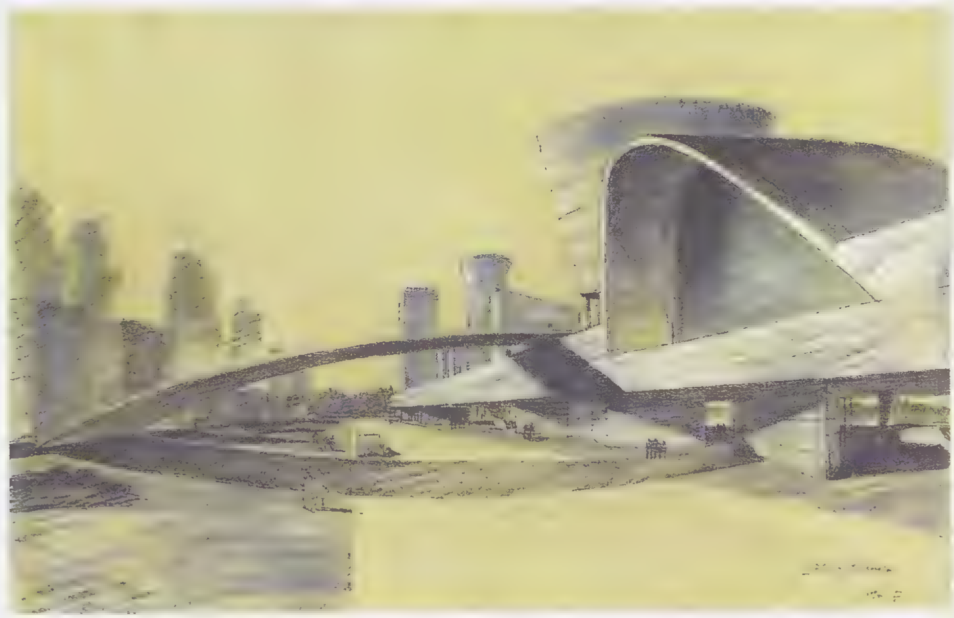


PIANTA PIANO TIPO EDIFICI
PIANTA PIANO COPERTURA PIASTRA
PIANTA PIANO PIASTRA
PIANTA PIANO PORTICO

Disegni di studio del Polo direzionale.

Working drawings for the administrative center.











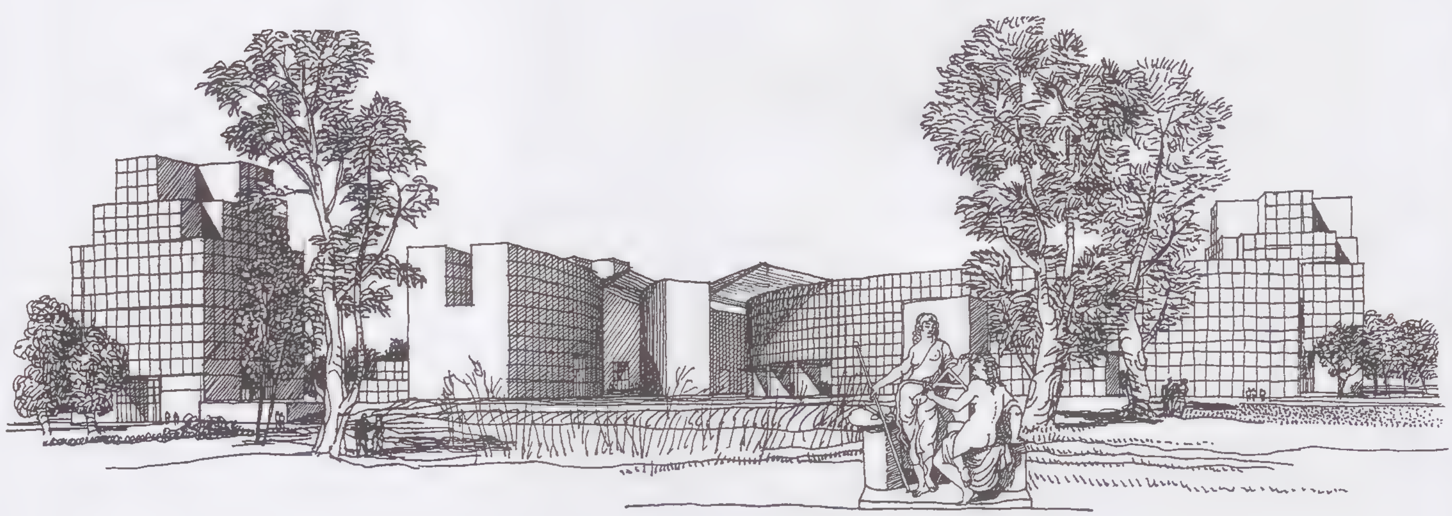
Sistema Direzionale Orientale
Pietralata-Tiburtina, Roma

1996

Carlo Aymonino

con/with: Luisa Tugnoli, Geneviève Hanssen





Prospettive.

Perspectives.

Consultazione a inviti per il Sistema Direzionale Orientale, area Pietralata-Tiburtina, Roma
Carlo Aymonino

Gli aspetti architettonici del Polo direzionale sono basati su due principi tra loro interagenti.
Il primo è dato dalla localizzazione, niente affatto "nel verde", ma relazionato alla parte di città esistente, tenendo conto dei mutamenti dovuti proprio all'attuale riprogettazione generale; il secondo principio è dato dalla *forma* dell'intervento, non chiusa né "isola" ma, pur riconoscibile nelle forme specifiche, collegata all'intorno urbano – la Scuola De Ruggero, l'Ospedale Pertini, gli Stabilimenti De Paolis.
Pertanto la struttura direzionale, per il luogo prescelto e per il disegno conferitole, è confinante con il progettato Parco di Pietralata, venendo a costituire la struttura di confine del parco stesso.
In tal modo viene a prendere corpo un'unica soluzione del direzionale (Ministeri e Centro civico) aumentando così le aree a verde.
Si tratta perciò di un insieme di aree inedificate, il cui fulcro sarà il grande parco urbano, con caratteristiche simili a quelle delle ville storiche, in particolare a quello della Villa Doria Pamphili.
In questo insieme di nuovo e di esistente è determinante la centralità della Stazione Quintiliani, localizzata nel luogo più frequentato del nuovo progetto e collegata in superficie, sia pedonalmente che automobilisticamente, con l'altro polo direzionale della Stazione Tiburtina.
L'insieme è caratterizzato dalla mancanza di gerarchie nella viabilità principale e dall'incompletezza dei tracciati viari; da una forte varietà degli insediamenti residenziali sia nelle tipologie che nei caratteri; da un sufficiente e decente sistema di scuole ai vari livelli mentre mancano quasi del tutto mercati, servizi sociali e religiosi, come è messo bene in luce dalla relazione dell'Ufficio Speciale del Sistema Direzionale Orientale.
Pur essendo il progetto che presentiamo assolutamente "di massima" e quindi da prendersi come un suggerimento per ulteriori approfondimenti, ci preme segnalare alcune caratteristiche che vanno nella direzione della relazione annessa al Bando di Francesco Cellini:
– l'avere valorizzato in modo continuo e dettagliato l'inedificato, come risorsa per il futuro e come atto progettuale non ancora così diffuso nella cultura architettonica;
– l'avere accettato ma differenziato le parti, sia quelle esistenti che quelle aggiunte, in modo da tentare una unificazione dell'insieme nelle sue infrastrutture di traffici e di relazioni con una decisa differenza tra l'edificato e l'edificabile, fino a ipotizzare anche una notevole diversità fra le varie parti del Centro direzionale;
– l'avere scartato ipotesi architettoniche di esemplificazione schematica (vedi le torri progettate da Piano per la Tiburtina) per proporre un complesso articolato ma molto unitario, in maniera da "segnare" questo settore urbano in modo coerente.
L'impianto è basato tipologicamente sulla differenziazione di tre elementi architettonici, corrispondenti ai tre Ministeri ipotizzati, agli uffici, le rappresentanze e il commercio nei tre edifici in linea – a loro volta differenziati nello spessore e quindi nella loro diversità dei tipi – e a una percentuale di abitazioni, anche temporanee, da collocare nei tre edifici bassi che completano il progetto.
Un ruolo particolare rivestono le due grandi gallerie centrali, vero "cuore" del sistema, dove – oltre l'importantissima stazione metropolitana – sono sistemate gran parte delle rappresentanze commerciali nelle loro differenti destinazioni, quali uffici, negozi, ufficio postale, supermarket, banche, multisale, ecc.
Il nuovo Centro di Pietralata è quindi raggiungibile, oltre che dalla metropolitana, dalla via carrabile dei Monti Tiburtini (bisognerà prevedere uno scavalco o un sottopasso per assicurare la continuità del parco) e da quella sotterranea di collegamento tra il quartiere Bologna e quello Tiburtino, vero e proprio asse di adduzione del traffico automobilistico, garantito anche dai grandi parcheggi multipiani e sotterranei a servizio del Centro. A sud invece si è pensato di disegnare soprattutto con prevalenti percorsi pedonali un complesso abitativo e terziario che – utilizzando e valorizzando ulteriormente il complesso De Paolis – riunifichi e semplifichi una parte incompiuta e mal definita della città.
Da ultimo abbiamo completato le aree C e D con intenti soprattutto di identificazione. In particolare quello D previsto di mc 154.000, è stato organizzato attorno ad uno specchio di acqua variato, tale da costituire anche un richiamo visivo per l'intero settore.
In conclusione ci sembra che il progetto d'area rispecchi la messa a punto di un insieme di parti definite in se stesse, "*incuranti dei salti di scala e delle relazioni spaziali reciproche (...). Il vuoto dovrà in ogni modo restare protagonista dell'area*".

Consultation project by invitation for the Sistema Direzionale Orientale (SDO, Eastern Administrative System), Pietralata-Tiburtina area, Rome
Carlo Aymonino

The architectural aspects of the administrative center are based on two interacting principles. The first has to do with the positioning, which is not in "a green area", but in direct relation to an existing part of the city, taking into account the changes due to the present overall redesigning; the second has to do with the form *of the project, not closed, not an "island" but, although recognizable in its specific forms, connected to the urban context: the De Ruggero school, the Pertini hospital, the De Paolis complex.*
Thus the administrative center, due to the site chosen and the design, is bordered on the planned Pietralata Park, constituting the border structure of the park itself.
In this way a single solution (Ministries and Civic Center) emerges, in order to increase the amount of park area available. Therefore this is a grouping of undeveloped areas, whose fulcrum will be the large urban park, with characteristics similar to those of the historical villas, and that of Villa Doria Pamphili in particular.
In this combination of new and existing elements the central position of the Quintiliani station is decisive, in the most densely frequented area of the new design, and connected, both on foot or by car, to the other administrative pole of the Tiburtina Station.
The whole area is characterized by a lack of hierarchies in the main traffic arteries, and by the incompleteness of the various routes; by a great variety of residential settlement, both in terms of typology and character; by a decent, sufficient system of schools at various levels, but a nearly total lack of markets, social and religious services, as has been well-documented by the Special Office of the SDO. Although the project we present is merely a "rough outline", or a suggestion for further study, we would like to point our some characteristics that move in the direction of the paper attached to the guidelines by Francesco Cellini:
– the project makes continuous and detailed use of unbuilt areas, as a resource for the future and a design procedure still not very common in architectural culture;
– it accepts but also differentiates the parts, both those existing and those added, in such a way as to attempt a unification of the whole in its infrastructures and relations, with a decisive difference between the edified and the edifiable, even hypothesizing a noteworthy diversity among the various parts of the administrative center itself; it discards all architectural hypotheses of schematic exemplification (see the towers designed by Piano for the Tiburtina), proposing an articulated but highly unitary complex, in order to "mark" this urban sector in a coherent manner.
The structural layout is based, in typological terms, on the differentiation of three architectural elements, corresponding to the three Ministries hypothesized, to the offices, the representative spaces and the commercial spaces in the three aligned edifices – which are themselves differentiated in thickness, signaling the typological diversities – and to a certain residential quota, including hotels, to be located in the three low edifices that complete the project.
A particular role is played by the two large central gallerias, the true "heart" of the system, in which – apart from the very important subway station – many of the commercial functions are located, including offices, shops, post office, supermarkets, banks, cinemas, etc.
The new Pietralata center can be reached not only by subway, but also by the Via dei Monti Tiburtini (for vehicles, with an overpass or an underpass to ensure the continuity of the park), and by the tunnel connecting the Bologna quarter to the Tiburtino zone, a true traffic artery, whose use is supported by large multi-level and underground parking garages. To the south, on the other hand, the design focuses on pedestrian walkways for a residential and office complex which – by further utilizing the

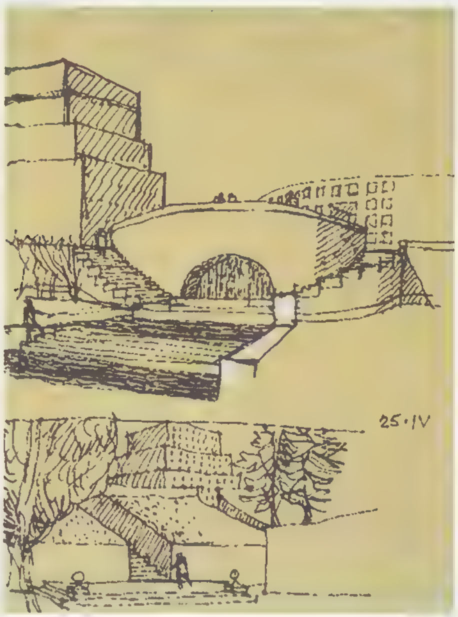

COMUNE DI ROMA – ASSESSORATO ALLE POLITICHE DEL TERRITORIO – UFFICIO SPECIALE ATTUAZIONE SISTEMA DIREZIONALE ORIENTALE
Consultazione per contributi di idee alla definizione degli aspetti architettonici, estetici e ambientali degli interventi di trasformazione previsti per l'area Pietralata-Tiburtina
Prof. Arch. Carlo Aymonino con Arch. M. Luisa Tugnoli, Arch. Geneviève Hanssen
2
Scala 1:2000



De Paolis complex – reunifies and simplifies an unfinished and poorly defined part of the city. Finally, we have completed the areas C and D, with the aim of providing identification. In particular, area D, for 154,000 cubic meters, has been organized around a body of water which can become a visual reference point for the entire sector. In conclusion, we feel that the project for the overall area can include the definition of self-contained, defined parts, "without limiting leaps of scale or reciprocal spatial relations *(…)* Open space, in any case, should remain as the leading feature of the area".





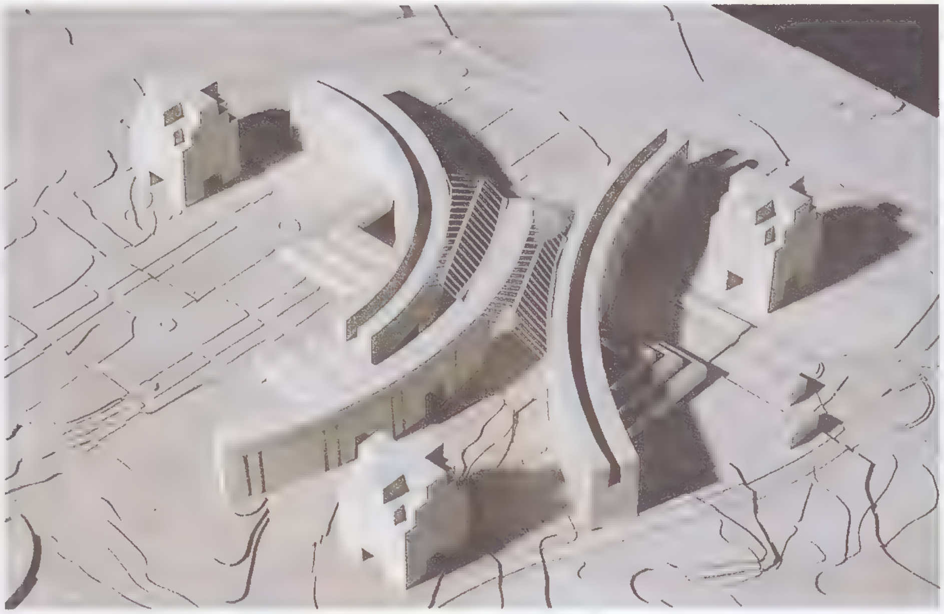


Planimetria generale: 1) Polo Pietralata-Tiburtina del Sistema Direzionale Orientale; 2) Stazione Tiburtina. Disegni di studio della planimetria e vedute.

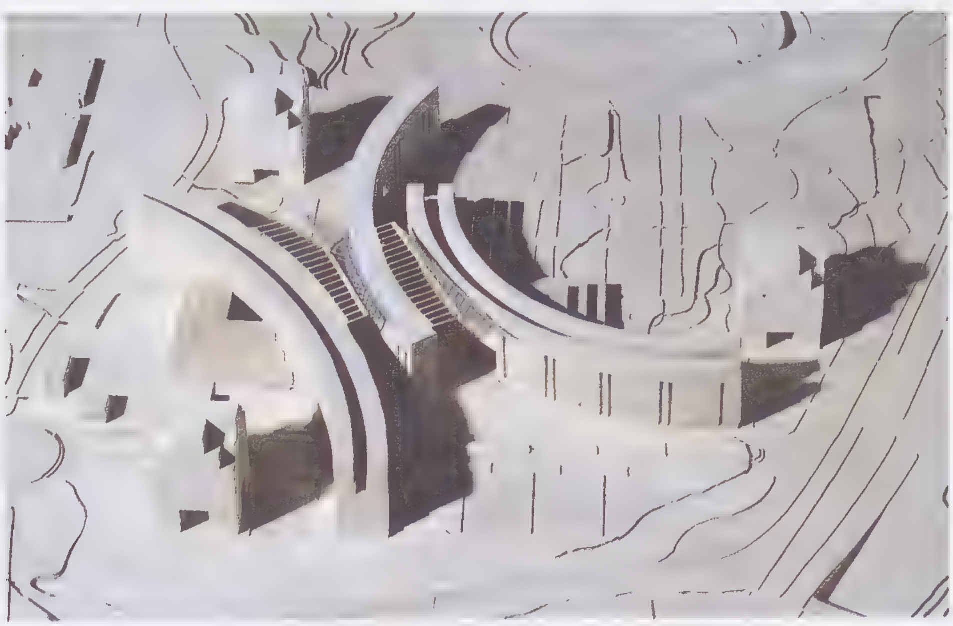
Site plan: 1) Pietralata-Tiburtina pole of the Sistema Direzionale Orientale; 2) Tiburtina Station. Working drawings of the planimetric and views.

Vedute del modello del Polo direzionale e pianta generale del piano terreno.

View of the model of the administrative center and overall plan of the ground floor.








Consultazione per contributi di idee alla definizione degli aspetti architettonici, estetici e ambientali degli interventi di trasformazione previsti per l'area Pietralata Tiburtina
Prof. Arch. Carlo Aymonino con Arch. M. Luisa Tugnoli, Arch. Geneviève Hanssen

Sistema Direzionale Orientale Pietralata-Tiburtina, Roma

1996

Paolo Portoghesi

con/with: Roberto Palombi, Giancarlo Priori, Beatrice Castagna, Giancarlo Mancarella



Prospetto di insieme.

Overall elevation.

Consultazione a inviti per il Sistema Direzionale Orientale, area Pietralata-Tiburtina, Roma
Paolo Portoghesi

Nelle *Città invisibili* di Calvino si dice che è inutile dividere le città tra felici e infelici; conviene piuttosto dividerle tra quelle che "*continuano attraverso gli anni e le mutazioni a dare la loro forma ai desideri e quelle in cui i desideri o riescono a cancellare la città, o ne sono cancellati*". Roma negli ultimi cinquant'anni, anche se non si è lasciata cancellare, ha certamente cancellati più desideri di quanti non sia riuscita a tradurre nella sua forma urbana. E il Sistema Direzionale Orientale è una delle grandi illusioni-delusioni della storia della città moderna; su di esso si sono concentrate le speranze di decongestionamento del centro storico, di apertura alla innovazione ambientale e di riorganizzazione della macchina burocratica dello Stato nazionale.
Chi scrive aveva partecipato, con il professor Spadolini, l'architetto Passarelli e il professor Salzano al progetto del Consorzio SDO, l'ultimo tentativo in ordine di tempo di interpretare l'"asse attrezzato", concepito negli anni Sessanta, come una eredità utilizzabile. Durante la fase di progettazione emersero chiaramente diversi fattori che mettevano in forse la possibilità che questa scelta complessiva potesse attuarsi: in primo luogo la crisi economica e la saturazione del mercato edilizio per quanto riguardava uffici privati e altre funzioni direzionali; in secondo luogo (ma non meno decisiva) la decisione della Soprintendenza alle Antichità di destinare quasi tutta l'area di Centocelle (l'unica di proprietà demaniale che avrebbe dovuto costituire il volano della intera operazione) a parco archeologico.
In breve le vicissitudini in cui incorse il piano del Consorzio SDO misero in evidenza l'anacronismo di un progetto che cercava di realizzare, a trent'anni di distanza, aggiornandola tecnicamente, una strategia dettata da una realtà socioeconomica pregressa, ormai lontanissima anche dal punto di vista psicologico. L'Amministrazione comunale attuale mentre ha avviato la redazione di una Variante Generale al P.R.G. ha deciso di utilizzare le aree rimaste libere, tra quelle a suo tempo vincolate per la realizzazione dello SDO, in un'ottica meno totalizzante e ambiziosa.
Il Piano Particolareggiato redatto dall'Ufficio Speciale per l'attuazione dello SDO espone con chiarezza gli obiettivi del progetto e i suoi limiti, escludendo la funzione di "ricucitura" e quindi la praticabilità dell'idea centrale che ispirava il progetto del "Consorzio SDO": realizzare una parte di città integrata, comprendente residenze uffici e servizi collegati in un tessuto continuo simile a quello della città storica.

Il progetto redatto per la consultazione
Le scelte del Piano Particolareggiato che il progetto interpreta sono:
1) La discontinuità rispetto all'intorno ("*consolidare migliorandolo ciò che è già formato ed aggiungere nuove parti formalmente finite*").
2) L'attenzione ai vuoti urbani intesi come spazi delle relazioni sociali e architettoniche, e quindi diversificati per uso e significato. La simbiosi tra spazi aperti e volumi edilizi (la città pedonale).
3) L'edificazione densa e concentrata per occupare poco suolo e ridurre le distanze.
4) La permeabilità visiva e funzionale verso l'area della Stazione Tiburtina e il rapporto di integrazione con i quartieri circostanti.
A questi obiettivi ben chiariti nelle "*linee guida per la progettazione*" ne abbiamo aggiunto un quinto che guida la nostra ricerca da quarant'anni: quello di interpretare lo spirito della città nella continuità del suo sviluppo storico, una continuità interrottasi solo in questo secolo.

Obbiettivo 1. Una parte ben definita della città
Al primo obiettivo, quello della discontinuità rispetto al contesto, è stata data una risposta scegliendo per l'area direzionale un insieme formalmente finito, dotato di autonoma organicità: 5 torri, da trenta piani ciascuna, collocate sui vertici di un pentagono e appoggiate su corpi di fabbrica anulari di forma ovale. Le torri rievocano, nella loro sagoma elicoidale, le colonne salomoniche del baldacchino berniniano di San Pietro e si riallacciano nello stesso tempo a una ipotesi progettuale avanzata da uno dei protagonisti della cultura moderna romana, Mario Ridolfi, nella prima mostra di "Architettura Razionale" organizzata nella città (1928) e poi ripresa nel 1969 per il progetto di un albergo all'innesto della Salaria sul Raccordo Anulare.
La scelta di questa forma di ispirazione naturalistica che traduce in termini geometrici la regola della filotassi vegetale (per cui nello sviluppo di una pianta le foglie tendono ad avvolgere lo stelo da cui scaturiscono) come la disposizione a vortice dei corpi di fabbrica ovali deriva dalla volontà di connettere la forma architettonica alle leggi che governano la genesi e lo sviluppo degli esseri viventi, nello spirito di una "nuova alleanza" tra uomo e natura alla quale sono legate le speranze per l'umanità di sottrarsi alla logica del dominio che tante autolesionistiche "vittorie di Pirro" contro la natura ha visto compiersi nel nostro secolo.
La plasticità avvolgente del modello elicoidale della colonna tortile (che la leggenda ha ricondotto al tempio di Salomone a Gerusalemme) è tra quelli che meglio sintetizzano certi aspetti ricorrenti della cultura visiva romana sia nella espressione classica dove si esplica negli elementi tipici dell'abside, del ninfeo, del teatro, dello stadio e dell'anfiteatro, sia nel Rinascimento e nel Barocco dove si esplica nel modello della scala elicoidale, della facciata concava e culmina nella immagine borrominiana della lanterna elicoidale di Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza.
Lo schema planimetrico e l'innesto delle torri suggeriscono un movimento di rotazione e di elevazione non tuttavia basato sulla ripetizione, ma sulle "variazioni" rispetto a un tema comune. Il progetto prevede infatti che le cinque torri abbiano carattere architettonico diverso pur obbedendo tutte alla regola della sovrapposizione ruotata.
L'ispirazione naturalistica si riflette anche nel disegno che connette gli edifici al grande parco che li circonda. Un insieme di vialetti pavimentati, attraverso il disegno del pavimento, riproduce il sistema di Mandelbrot (che ha suggerito la scelta dello schema geometrico a turbina pentagonale), una delle meraviglie dell'universo matematico frattale che ha permesso di studiare l'ordine basato sull'autosimilarità che si nasconde dietro il "caos" imprevedibile di molte strutture naturali.

Obiettivo 2. Attenzione ai vuoti e città pedonale
Il vuoto che sta in mezzo alle cose è quello che dà loro un senso e una identità e chi fa il mestiere dell'architetto sa che il volume serve anzitutto a modellare lo spazio e le facciate, a formare le strade come spazi che contengono la nostra vita. Nel nuovo centro di Pietralata il vuoto è protagonista in quanto materializzato dalla vegetazione così da creare una sorta di città virtuale. Il verde non è considerato una "quantità", adatta a soddisfare uno *standard*, ma un *continuum* ambientale capace di valorizzare la presenza dei nuovi volumi edilizi. Al posto dell'attuale "vuoto" senza valore per il quale la bassa densità edilizia si risolve in un aggravio della qualità ambientale, nascono due realtà polari ma non contraddittorie. L'attrezzatura prevista consiste nella differenziazione delle parti in rapporto con la storia della città (vedi obiettivo n. 4) nella presenza di percorsi pedonali e ciclabili e in una serie di padiglioni destinati a svolgere un certo numero di funzioni necessarie perché il parco sia sentito come proprio sia dagli abitanti della zona che dagli impiegati e dai frequentatori delle nuove strutture amministrative.
Il progetto interpreta il modello della "città pedonale", implicito nelle scelte del Piano Particolareggiato, cercando di esprimerne appieno le potenzialità liberatorie. La possibilità di eliminare completamente i veicoli dalla scena urbana è resa possibile dalla stazione della metropolitana al centro dell'area, dalla vicinanza della stazione ferroviaria Tiburtina, dall'arteria sotterranea prevista dal Piano Particolareggiato che unisce la nuova tangenziale e la nuova stazione con via dei Colli Tiburtini e si collega direttamente sia con i parcheggi sotterranei sotto le torri e gli altri palazzi per uffici, sia con i silos posti alle soglie dell'area verso la Stazione Tiburtina e in prossimità del nuovo Centro civico: silos che accoppiano il valore visivo di una porta urbica a quello simbolico di difesa dello spazio urbano dal flusso inquinante.

Obiettivo 3. La permeabilità visiva e funzionale
La permeabilità visiva rispetto all'area della Via e della Stazione Tiburtina, destinata a

diventare un nodo importante nella città del futuro, poteva essere risolto solo attraverso la concentrazione dei volumi e il loro sviluppo in altezza, poiché il piano di sedime dei binari ferroviari è molto inferiore alla quota media dell'area direzionale. Sulla base delle visualizzazioni prospettiche prodotte si può constatare come l'insieme delle torri, destinate ai nuovi ministeri, sia ben identificabile in tutto il quartiere e possa diventare lo sfondo riconoscibile di alcune strade circostanti.

Obiettivo 4. La continuità rispetto al genius loci

Se nella precedente soluzione elaborata per il Consorzio SDO la continuità con Roma era stata ricercata da chi scrive attraverso la rievocazione di immagini familiari (Piazza del Popolo, il Tridente, ecc.), nel progetto che presentiamo in questa occasione la continuità è perseguita in modo diverso, attraverso la dialettica tra permanenza e innovazione e un sistema di rimandi visivi basato sul tema stellare che ispirò il piano di Sisto V e Domenico Fontana. L'uso dell'ovale, la forma tipica degli anfiteatri (un tipo edilizio introdotto dai Romani nella civiltà mediterranea) è il richiamo più esplicito alla *forma urbis* e alla forma del paesaggio romano.
Ma l'ispirazione romana del progetto si coglie ancor meglio in filigrana, nel sistema di riferimenti ottici creati all'interno e all'esterno del giunto dinamico delle torri e dei corpi di fabbrica ovali. Attraverso la punteggiatura e la collocazione strategica di padiglioni, fontane ed obelischi si è creata una rete di mete visive che rimandano l'una all'altra secondo l'impareggiabile insegnamento dei giardini cinquecenteschi che servirono da modello a Sisto V e Domenico Fontana per la loro interpretazione dinamica dell'organismo urbano.
Si è voluto in questo modo sancire il valore simbolico di "rifondazione di Roma capitale" che Pietralata può assolvere ospitando una parte della macchina burocratica dello Stato adeguatamente riorganizzata, in un insieme edilizio "intelligente" dotato di una forte caratterizzazione visiva e quindi simbolica, tale da entrare nel novero di quegli elementi emergenti nel paesaggio che Bernini aveva così efficacemente descritto nel suo viaggio in Francia confrontando il panorama di Roma con quello di Parigi: "*Il Cavaliere ha fatto notare che dall'altezza in cui s'era non si vedeva di Parigi che un ammasso di camini e questo dava l'impressione come di un pettine per cardare. Ha aggiunto che Roma ha un ben altro aspetto, perché in un punto si vede San Pietro, il Campidoglio in un altro, in un altro ancora palazzo Farnese, e poi Montecavallo, il palazzo di San Marco, il Colosseo, la Cancelleria, il palazzo Colonna e così via, tutti situati qua e là e tutti grandiosi e d'un aspetto magnifico e superbo*".

Consultation project by invitation for the Sistema Direzionale Orientale (SDO, Eastern Administrative System), Pietralata-Tiburtina area, Rome
Paolo Portoghesi

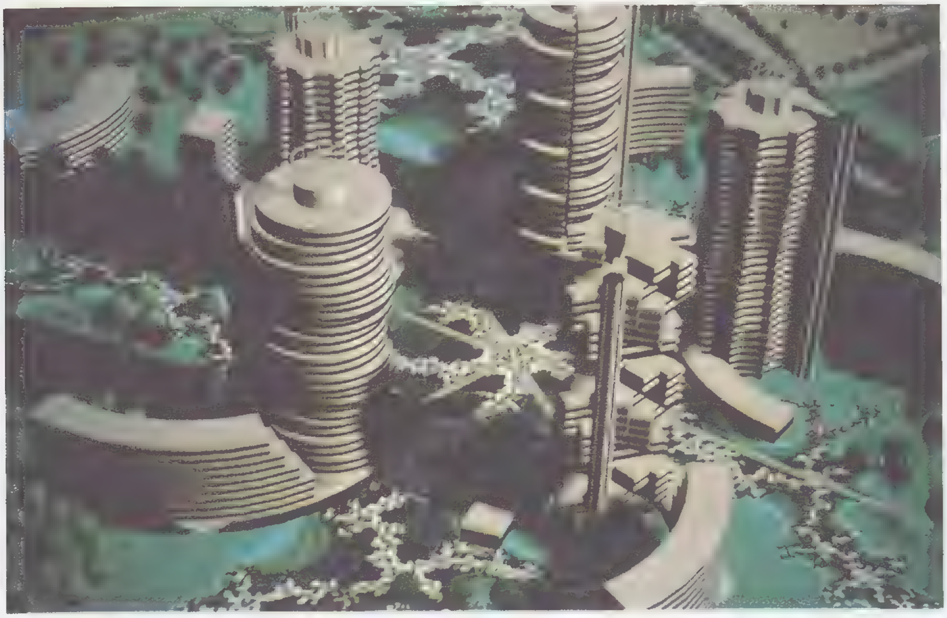
In the Invisible Cities *of Calvino it is said that it is useless to distinguish between happy and unhappy cities; it is better to divide them into* "those which continue, over the years and through the changes, to give form to desires, and those in which the desires either manage to overwhelm the city, or are overwhelmed by it". *Rome, in the last fifty years, although it has not been overwhelmed, has certainly managed to erase more desires than it has managed to embody in an urban form. And the "Sistema Direzionale Orientale" (SDO) is one of the grand illusion-delusions of the history of the modern city; all hopes for the decongestion of the historical center hinged on this project, along with those for environmental innovation and reorganization of the bureaucratic machine of the State. The undersigned participated, with Prof. Spadolini, Arch. Passarelli and Prof. Salzano, in the project of the SDO consortium, a final attempt, in chronological order, to interpret the "equipped axis" conceived in the Seventies as a legacy for utilization. During the design phase a number of factors clearly emerged that could compromise the potential of this overall hypothesis: first, the economic crisis and the saturation of the real estate market for private offices and other administrative functions; second (but of equal importance), the decision of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità to set aside nearly the entire Centocelle area (the only area of state property capable of motivating the entire operation) as an archaeological park.*
In brief, the difficulties which the SDO consortium encountered revealed the anachronistic nature of a project which would attempt to implement, thirty years later, with technical updatings, a strategy dictated by a socio-economic situation of the past, far from the reality, or the psychology, of the present.
The present municipal administration, as it launched the studies for a General Variant to the Master Plan, has decided to make use of the remaining available areas with a less complete, less ambitious approach.
The Detail Plan developed by the special office for the implementation of the SDO clearly expresses the objectives of the project and its limits, excluding the function of "mending", and with it the feasibility of the central idea behind the SDO consortium: to create an integral part of the city, with residences, offices and services, connected in a continuous fabric similar to that of the historical city.

The project prepared for the consultation

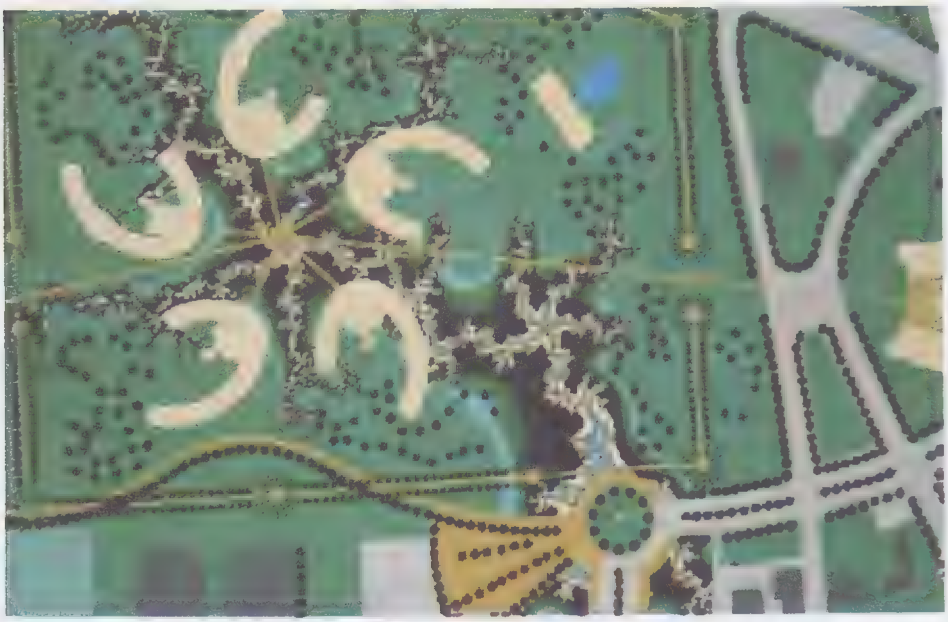
The choices of the Detail Plan interpreted by the project are:
1) Discontinuity with respect to the surroundings ("to consolidate and improve that which is already formed, and to add new formally finished parts"*).*
2) Attention to urban gaps seen as spaces of social and architectural relations, diversified in terms of use and meaning. The symbiosis between open spaces and edified volumes (the pedestrian city).
3) Dense, concentrated edification, to occupy less area and reduce distances between elements.
4) Visual and functional permeability toward the area of the Tiburtina station, and integration with surrounding quarters.
These objectives well-expressed in the "design guidelines" *are joined by a fifth, which has guided our research over the last forty years: that of interpreting the spirit of the city in the continuity of its historical development, a continuity which has been interrupted only in our century.*

Objective 1. A well-defined part of the city

For the first objective, that of discontinuity with respect to the context, a response has been proposed by selecting a finite form for the administrative area, with organic autonomy: 5 towers, 30 storeys each, positioned at the points of a pentagon, atop oval edifices. The towers evoke, in their helicoidal profile, the Solomonic columns of Bernini's canopy at St. Peter's, while at the same time making reference to a design hypothesis advanced by one of the protagonists of modern Roman culture, Mario Ridolfi, in the first exhibition of "Rational Architecture" held in the city (1928), a hypothesis revived in 1969 for the design of a hotel at the intersection of Via Salaria and the Raccordo Anulare (ring-road expressway). The choice of this form inspired by nature, translating the rule of botanical phyllotaxy into geometric forms to determine the arrangement of the oval buildings, is a result of a desire to connect the architectonic form to the laws that govern the genesis and development of living beings, in the spirit of a "new alliance" between man and nature, to which are linked the hopes for humanity to escape from the self-destructive logic of dominion over nature.
The sinuous contours of the helicoidal model of the spiral column (which legend traces back to the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem) are one of the best syntheses of certain recurring aspects of Roman visual culture, both in the classical expressions in the typical elements of the apse, the nymphaeum, the theater, the stadium, the amphitheater, and in the Renaissance and the Baroque, in the model of the helicoidal staircase, in the concave facade, culminating in the Borrominian image of the helicoidal lantern of Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza. The planimetric scheme and the insertion of the towers suggest a movement of rotation and elevation not, however, based on repetition, but on variations of a shared theme. The project, in fact, stipulates that the towers should be different from one another in







Prospettiva, planimetrie generale e di dettaglio.

Perspective, site plan, detail plan.

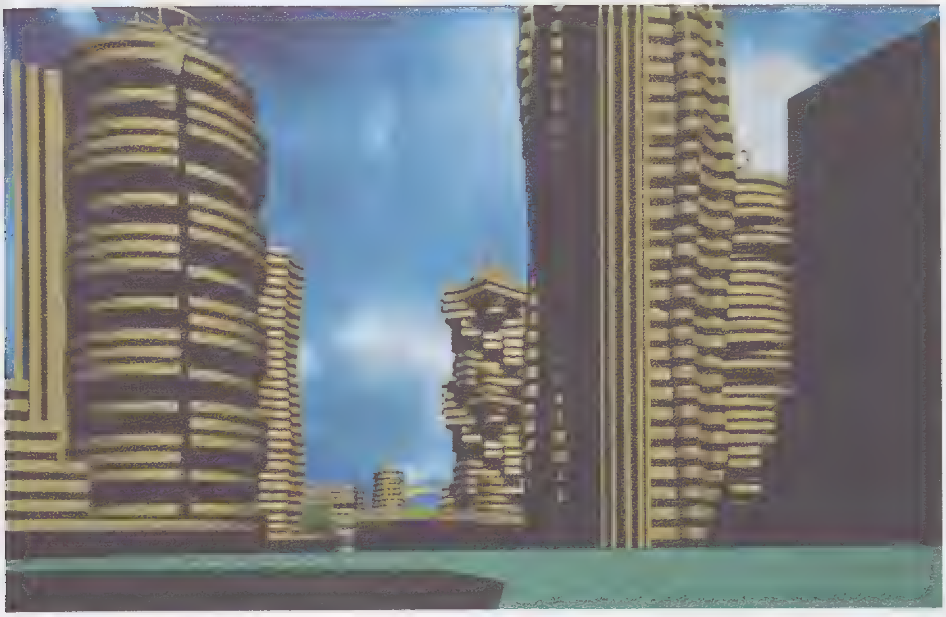


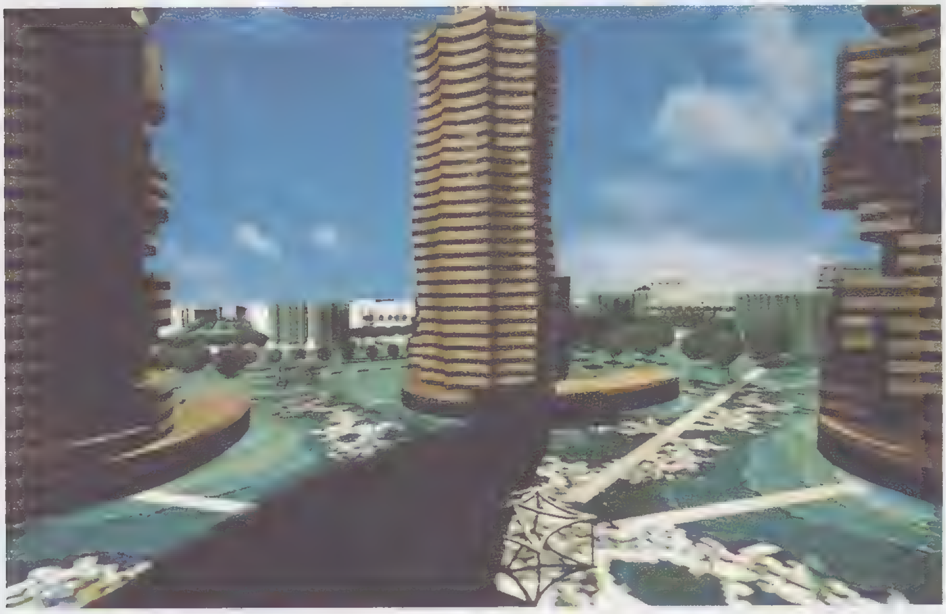
architectural character, while all obeying the rule of rotated placement.
The naturalistic approach is also reflected in the design that connects the towers to the surrounding park. A series of paved avenues reproduce, in the design of the paving, the system of Mandelbrot (which suggested the choice of the pentagonal geometric scheme), one of the wonders of the universe of fractal mathematics which has made it possible to study the order, based on similarity, that is concealed behind the apparently unpredictable "chaos" of many natural structures.

Objective 2. Attention to open spaces and the pedestrian city
The gaps between things give them meaning and identity, and all architects know that the volume serves, above all, to shape the space, and the facades to form the streets, as spaces that contain our life. In the new center of Pietralata open space is the protagonist, because it is filled with plantings to create a sort of virtual city. Green areas are not considered, in this approach, as a "quantity", in compliance with some standard; they are an environmental continuum which can enhance and justify the presence of new buildings. In place of the present "empty space", in which low building density becomes a problem for environmental quality, two opposing but not contradictory realities appear. The arrangement envisioned is based on the differentiation of the parts in relation to the history of the city (see Objective 4), using pedestrian walkways and bicycle paths, and a series of pavilions for a certain number of necessary functions, so that the park will be accepted and used by both the inhabitants of the zone and by the employees and visitors of the new administrative structures.
The project interprets the model of the "pedestrian city" implicit in the choices of the Detail Plan, seeking to fully express its potential. The possibility of completely eliminating vehicles from the urban setting is made feasible by placing a subway station at the center of the area, by the vicinity of the Tiburtina railway station, and by the underground artery called for in the Detail Plan, connecting the new expressway and the new station to Via dei Colli Tiburtini, with direct access to the underground parking areas beneath the towers and the other office buildings, and to the parking silos placed at the thresholds of the area toward the Tiburtina station and near the new Civic Center, silos which combine the visual value of an urban gateway with the symbolic value of defence of the urban space against the dangers of pollution and traffic.

Objective 3. Visual and functional permeability
Visual permeability with respect to the street and the Tiburtina station, destined to become an important node in the future, can only be accomplished by means of a concentration of vertically developed volumes, because the level of the rail tracks is much lower than the average ground level of the area. Based on visual perspective simulations, it is possible to observe that the grouping of towers, for the new ministries, will be easily identifiable from any point in the zone, becoming a recognizable backdrop for several nearby streets.

Objective 4. Continuity with the genius loci
Whereas in the earlier solution developed for the SDO consortium continuity with Rome was pursued (by the undersigned) through references to familiar images (Piazza del Popolo, the Tridente, etc.), in the project presented here continuity is pursued in a different manner, through the dialectics between permanence and innovation, and a system of visual reminders based on the stellar theme that inspired the plan of Sixtus V and Domenico Fontana. The use of the oval, the typical form of the amphitheaters (a building typology introduced by the Romans in the Mediterranean), is the most explicit reference to the forma urbis *and the form of the Roman landscape. But the Roman inspiration of the project can be perceived even more clearly in the system of optical references created inside and outside the dynamic joint of the towers and the oval structures. Through the punctuation and strategic placement of pavilions, fountains and obelisks a network of visual destinations is created, inter-related landmarks, as in the gardens of the 1500s, which served as a model for Sixtus V and Domenico Fontana in their dynamic interpretation of the urban organism.*
This is intended to reinforce the symbolic value of the "re-foundation of Rome the capital", a role which can be played by Pietralata as it hosts a part of the reorganized bureaucratic machine of the State, in a complex of "intelligent" buildings with a forceful, and therefore symbolic, visual characterization, becoming one of the landmarks in the landscape that Bernini so eloquently described during his trip to France, comparing the Roman panorama to that of Paris: "The Chevalier pointed out that from such a height, in Paris, one sees only a forest of chimneys, like a brush for carding wool. He added that Rome has a completely different look, because in one point one sees St. Peter's, in another Campidoglio, in yet another Palazzo Farnese, and then Montecavallo, the San Marco palazzo, the Colosseum, the Chancellery, Palazzo Colonna, and so on, magnificent, superb monuments scattered throughout the landscape".







Planimetria della piazza centrale e prospettive.

Plan of the central piazza and perspectives.



Sistema Direzionale Orientale Pietralata-Tiburtina, Roma

1996

Franco Purini

con/with: Paolo De Chiaro, Stefano Lo Parco, Alessandro Mazzocchi, Anne Sophie Nottebaert

Consultazione a inviti per il Sistema Direzionale Orientale, area Pietralata-Tiburtina, Roma
Franco Purini

Una premessa. La città contemporanea non rappresenta un fallimento. Nonostante le numerose critiche alla sua struttura, alla sua forma, al suo funzionamento, e malgrado le ripetute teorizzazioni sulla sua presunta incapacità genetica di corrispondere alle aspettative dei suoi abitanti – teorizzazioni che assumono a modello degli attuali insediamenti urbani la città storica – è innegabile che i paesaggi metropolitani dell'atopia, gli intorni indeterminati ed intrisi del senso poetico di una *waste land* infinita offerti dalla periferia, le grandi aree abbandonate ed i vuoti spesso incommensurabili che ne segnano il tessuto come eventi spaziali improvvisi e preoccupanti , l'anonimato ripetitivo dei singoli episodi edilizi costituiscono gli scenari oggi emotivamente e conoscitivamente più coinvolgenti. La poesia di Eliot, che ha fondato nel nostro secolo il concetto stesso dell'abbandono e del disperso, il cinema di Antonioni e di Wenders, la fotografia di Basilico, di Ghirri, di Meyerowitz, la narrativa di Raymond Carver, la pittura di Pollock e di Burri hanno ormai da tempo riconosciuto il primato dei *non luoghi*, come li ha chiamati l'antropologo francese Marc Augé, nei confronti dei *luoghi*. Il carattere ermetico ed erratico della città contemporanea si imprime così in tutte le dimensioni fisiche e culturali in cui questa si identifica, al punto che lo stesso centro storico finisce con l'assumere il ruolo di un puro incidente morfologico, una presenza divenuta casuale che riceve oggi dalla periferia gran parte della sua identità.

Un modello. Tramontato il grande sogno di Luigi Piccinato di spostare ad est, lungo un nuovo Asse Attrezzato, il peso della direzionalità romana che soffocava come oggi soffoca il centro storico, sogno rimasto sulla carta perché gli abitanti della capitale, inconsapevoli alleati dei detentori della proprietà fondiaria, hanno respinto l'idea stessa di una rifondazione della città – di questo infatti si sarebbe trattato – e restato senza seguito l'appello di Passarelli, Quaroni e Zevi, rivolto ad una drammatizzazione architettonica della gigantesca struttura terziaria – la macchina che non emette suoni di cui parlò Manfredo Tafuri – alla quale si chiedeva di provocare nel corpo di Roma un violento trauma rigeneratore, il più semplice Sistema Direzionale Orientale (SDO) stenta anch'esso a venire alla luce. Per un motivo, soprattutto. Trent'anni fa l'Asse Attrezzato avrebbe dovuto fungere da spina dorsale dell'espansione; oggi che l'espansione c'è stata senza un disegno e un controllo complessivo, ciò di cui si sente il bisogno è un sistema di *luoghi/non luoghi* capace di dotare questo recente tessuto di adeguati nodi funzionali e rappresentativi, altrettanti condensatori urbani nei quali la comunità metropolitana, anzi le diverse comunità che si confrontano oggi in quelli che Massimo Ilardi ha chiamato i "*territori dello sradicamento*", possano riconoscersi. Nel momento in cui Roma si definisce neanche più come un sistema policentrico ma in modo più radicale come un insieme di più città morfologicamente quasi autonome, le aree rimaste libere per accogliere gli interventi del Sistema Direzionale Orientale si propongono come le ultime risorse per attribuire un senso compiutamente urbano ad un costruito privo di *salti di scala* qualitativi, scarsamente provvisto di complessità insediative e di accensioni metropolitane. Tale esigenza è però contestualmente ostacolata da una sempre più diffusa e motivata volontà delle comunità urbane di preservare queste aree come zone verdi a servizio dei quartieri cresciuti attorno ai grandi vuoti destinati al Sistema Direzionale Orientale e rimasti finora in attesa. Si fa strada così la necessità di una strategia apparentemente contraddittoria. Per un verso occorre che queste aree assumano il più possibile la funzione di grandi parchi; per l'altro questi ultimi, alla maniera delle grandi ville storiche, dovranno ospitare manufatti anche consistenti, la cui costruzione fornirà i mezzi economici necessari alla loro realizzazione. Questo comportamento che può apparire contraddittorio è in realtà il segnale di una nuova stagione del progetto, un progetto della complessità e della conflittualità che è insieme, come si è già detto, *restauro urbano*, con la conseguente rivalutazione delle tracce insediative presenti nel contesto, a volte indecise tra permanenze e persistenze e con il recupero dei manufatti storici, *proposta del nuovo*, con tutte le derive sperimentali e dissonanti che ciò comporta, *ricostruzione della natura* attraverso il disegno del verde, con le connesse problematiche ambientali, e *definizione di macro e microambienti segnaletico/informativi* composti di elementi fissi e di flussi comunicativi intercettati e amplificati in tempo reale. In questo senso il progetto sembra configurarsi anch'esso, come la città, al modo di un *sistema complesso adattativo*, nozione con la quale i teorici della complessità tentano di costruire un nuovo modello interpretativo della realtà capace di restituire la straordinaria mutevolezza e la sostanziale imprevedibilità dei suoi processi vitali.

Una scelta. La proposta si iscrive nelle previsioni avanzate dall'Ufficio Speciale Sistema Direzionale Orientale, contenute nel Piano Particolareggiato del Comprensorio di Pietralata. Il carattere disgiuntivo di questo Piano, pur senza enfasi, si muove all'interno di una forte consapevolezza, che si risolve in una accurata analisi, del tono definitivamente disaggregato di questa importante sezione dell'organismo metropolitano. Il Piano è dunque un piano di frammenti, anche se non frammentario. La sua dimensione interstiziale, che trova in una nuova interpretazione dell'esistente la sua chiave concettuale, non esita né nel mero descrittivismo di un pittoresco di maniera – che sarebbe stato facile proporre date le testimonianze in loco del

neorealismo – né in una velleitaria accentuazione neoavanguardistica dei numerosi valori metropolitani presenti nell'area.
La proposta si sostiene su alcuni criteri quali la forza dell'immagine, che deve essere in grado di esprimere contraddittoriamente un carattere unitario e la dimensione del frammento; una accentuata duttilità realizzativa, che dovrebbe permettere una opportuna suddivisione in fasi dell'intervento; una pluralità di articolazioni dimensionali capaci di favorire la presenza di linguaggi architettonici diversi; una flessibilità d'uso nel tempo, che consenta al Polo direzionale e alla parte di città su cui insiste di reagire attivamente alle future e spesso imprevedibili modificazioni delle funzioni urbane; una combinazione di attività diverse, che faccia in modo che il Polo direzionale non si trasformi dopo la chiusura degli uffici in un pericoloso deserto.

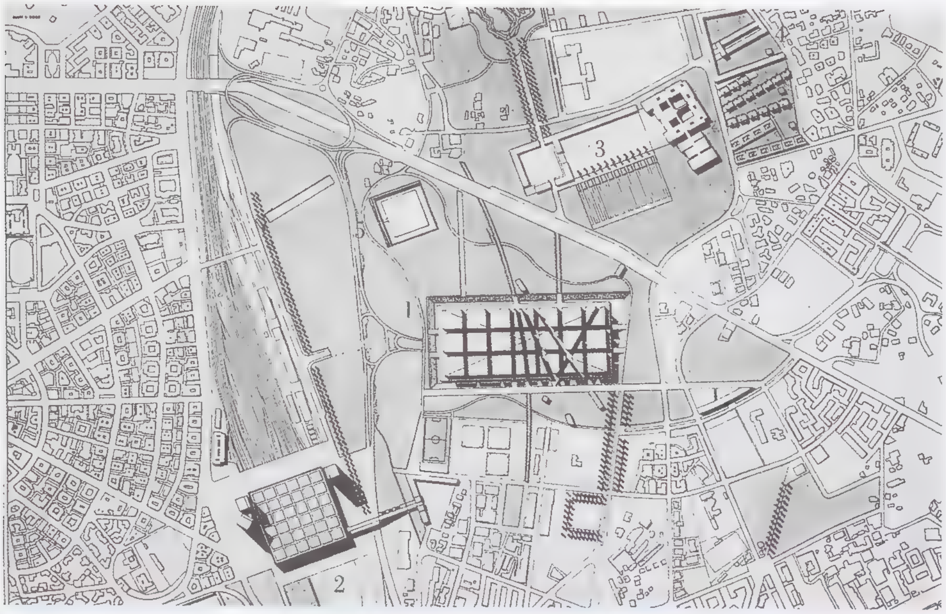
La proposta. A parte un suggerimento per la nuova Stazione Tiburtina, una grande sala ipostila bordata da un corpo dei servizi, attraversata da una galleria pedonale che riconnette le due sponde del vallo ferroviario, e segnalata nel panorama urbano da una coppia di torri alte 126 metri, la proposta si articola in quattro parti.
La prima riguarda l'Ospedale Sandro Pertini, davanti al quale si prevede la realizzazione di una vasta piazza – Piazza Sandro Pertini – affiancata a nord da un portico. Questa struttura, dell'altezza di due piani, rivestita in travertino, è una sorta di microinfrastruttura che innerva una serie di piccoli edifici, anche effimeri, destinati a servizi per gli utenti dell'Ospedale quali negozi, uffici, piccole attrezzature ricettive, foresterie per il personale ospedaliero. Il lato sud della Piazza Pertini, che potrebbe essere realizzata tramite l'intervento di imprenditori privati, i quali potrebbero gestire le attività previste, e che sarebbe utilizzabile anche per funzioni eccezionali o sporadiche (mercati settimanali, manifestazioni, spettacoli) è risolto con un viale alberato, memoria di analoghe sistemazioni della Roma storica. Esso permette l'accesso ai parcheggi dell'Ospedale, la cui quota viene leggermente abbassata.
La seconda parte dell'intervento consiste nell'edificazione, all'interno del Comparto F, di circa 500 alloggi suddivisi in quattro tipologie edilizie, villini, palazzine, case in linea e un ibrido tra casa in linea e a ballatoio. Gli edifici sono circondati da estese aree verdi.
All'estremità nord del comparto, all'interno del sistema di case in linea, è ricavata una piazza. Il disegno del comparto cerca di costituire una naturale prosecuzione dell'edificazione circostante, di cui intende riprendere il tono discontinuo ed accidentale.
La terza parte dell'intervento concerne il disegno del Parco di Pietralata. Il paesaggio della campagna romana, colto da Stendhal e da Gadda, tra molti, come uno spazio di grigie solitudini, di cui l'area di Pietralata è una sorta di reliquia, viene confermato nella sua nudità. A parte le fitte alberate che in qualche modo lo attraversano, il suolo è lasciato a prato. Un grande scavo quadrato introduce ad una zona ribassata, un ambiente raccolto ed intenso dal quale la vista della città è esclusa mentre domina come protagonista il cielo.
La quarta e più importante parte dell'intervento ha come oggetto il Polo direzionale. Questo è concepito come la traslazione di una sezione del centro storico di Roma. Una piastra di 192 x 432 metri, scandita da un reticolo di 60 metri di lato, forma il supporto dell'insediamento direzionale. Questa piattaforma, incisa da percorsi pedonali e dalla quale si elevano gli edifici, alti 33,60 metri, emerge da uno scavo – quasi a suggerire l'idea di una archeologia artificiale – che ne mette a nudo la costruzione ospitante i parcheggi e gli impianti tecnologici.
Il regolare reticolo di base riceve una serie di infrazioni dalle risonanze dei tracciati circostanti. In tal modo la forza geometrica della griglia, un'ideale *castramentazione*, si stempera in una struttura che rivela una complessità frattale trasferita sugli edifici, la cui regolarità subisce così una serie di distorsioni planimetriche e di anamorfosi plastiche.
La grande piastra è debitrice nella sua configurazione geometrica di alcune immagini quali quelle del cretto di Burri a Gibellina o il selciato delle strade romane nelle incisioni di Palladio e di Piranesi. Contemporaneamente essa richiama, come già ricordato, un frammento del tracciato storico di Roma nonché il circuito stampato di un calcolatore.
Le differenze funzionali non sono esplicitate, rimanendo interne alle volumetrie degli edifici, rigorosamente omologate a meno delle scelte dei singoli progettisti riguardo ai materiali. Il grande prisma unitario, solcato da fenditure verticali, dichiara la propria finitezza attraverso un'articolazione *topologica* di alcune sue facce. Per contro questa stessa finitezza è contraddetta dall'intrinseca frammentarietà della strutturazione seriale che ispira il disegno della piastra e che allude ad una sua virtuale estensione.

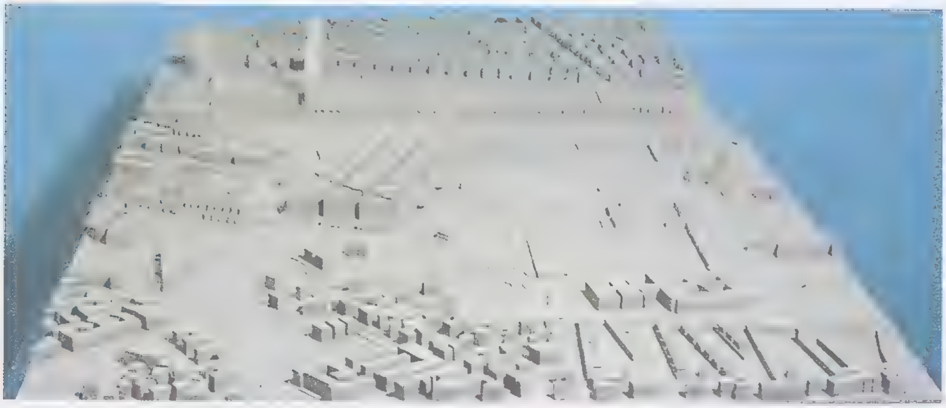
Passaggio ad est. Nella sua ambiguità tra unità e frammento che non impedisce alla figura di acquisire una rilevante densità la grande piastra si pone come antipolo dell'intero settore urbano sul quale insiste. Poggiata sul suo basamento come una gigantesca scultura essa affonda nel terreno per sottolineare la sua appartenenza terrestre. Questa grande architettura insieme finita e non finita fonda se stessa come luogo non attraverso la storia, che nella città è rappresentata dal tracciato – la vera memoria che la città ha di sé – ma per mezzo della distanza da essa. Una distanza che non esclude risonanze ed analogie con le forme del passato ma che permette di concentrare l'intera energia progettuale sulla prefigurazione di un'immagine inaspettata. Un'immagine inaspettata e nuova capace di entrare nelle narrazioni urbane come premessa per quel desiderato che Roma sta cercando ormai da qualche decennio tra resistenze apparentemente invincibili ma con altrettanta determinazione.

Consultation project by invitation for the Sistema Direzionale Orientale (SDO, Eastern Administrative System), Pietralata-Tiburtina area, Rome
Franco Purini

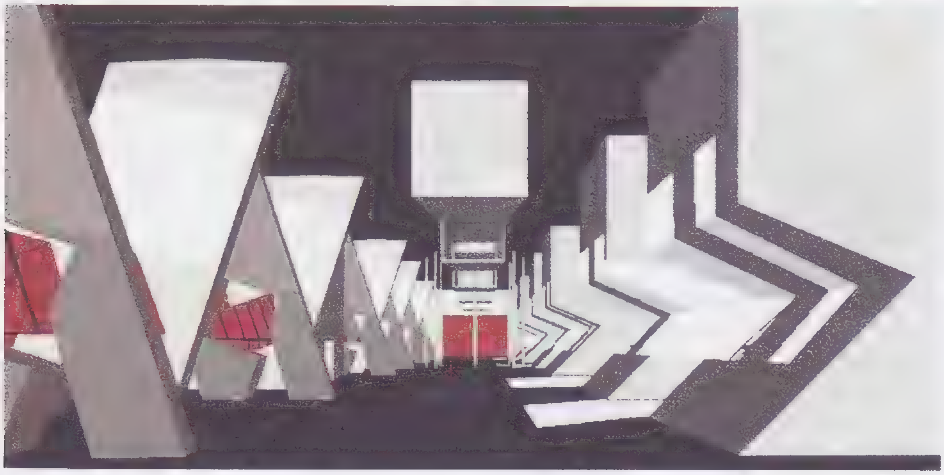
A premise. *The contemporary city does not represent a failure. In spite of the many criticisms of its structure, its form, its functioning, and in spite of the repeated theorizing on its presumed genetic incapacity to live up to the expectations of its inhabitants - theorizing that take the historical city as the model for present urban settlements - it is undeniable that the metropolitan landscapes of placelessness, the indeterminate contours filled with the poetic sense of an infinite* wasteland *of the periphery, the great abandoned areas and boundless voids that mark the urban fabric as sudden, perplexing spatial events, the anonymous repetition of single building episodes are, today, the most emotionally poignant and intellectually involving scenarios. Eliot's poem, which defined the concept of abandon and dispersion of our century, the films of Antonioni and Wenders, the photography of Basilico, Ghirri, Meyerowitz, the fiction of Raymond Carver, the painting of Pollock and Burri, have long been involved in a recognition of the importance of* non-places, *as the French anthropologist Marc Augé calls them, as opposed to* places. *The hermetic, erratic character of the contemporary city thus asserts itself in all the physical and cultural dimensions with which it is identified, to the point where the historical center winds up playing the role of a mere morphological accident, a presence that has become random, and which depends on the periphery, today, for much of its identity.*

A model. *After the downfall of the great dream of Luigi Piccinato to shift to the east, along an Accessorized Axis, the mass of Roman administrative functions, which suffocated the center, as it still does today, a dream that was never realized because the inhabitants of the capital, unwitting allies of the landowners, rejected the idea of a reorganization of the city, and after the failure of the appeal of Passarelli, Quaroni and Zevi, aimed at an architectural dramaticization of the gigantic office and administrative structure – the machine that makes no sound, as Manfredo Tafuri put it – which was to provoke a violent, revitalizing trauma, even the much simpler Sistema Direzionale Orientale (SDO) has had problems in becoming a reality. For, above all, one reason. Thirty years ago the Accessorized Axis would have functioned as a backbone for expansion; today that expansion has already happened, but without an overall plan, and what is now required is a system of* places/non-places *capable of providing this recent fabric with functional and representative nodes, urban condensors with which the metropolitan community, or the different communities found,*







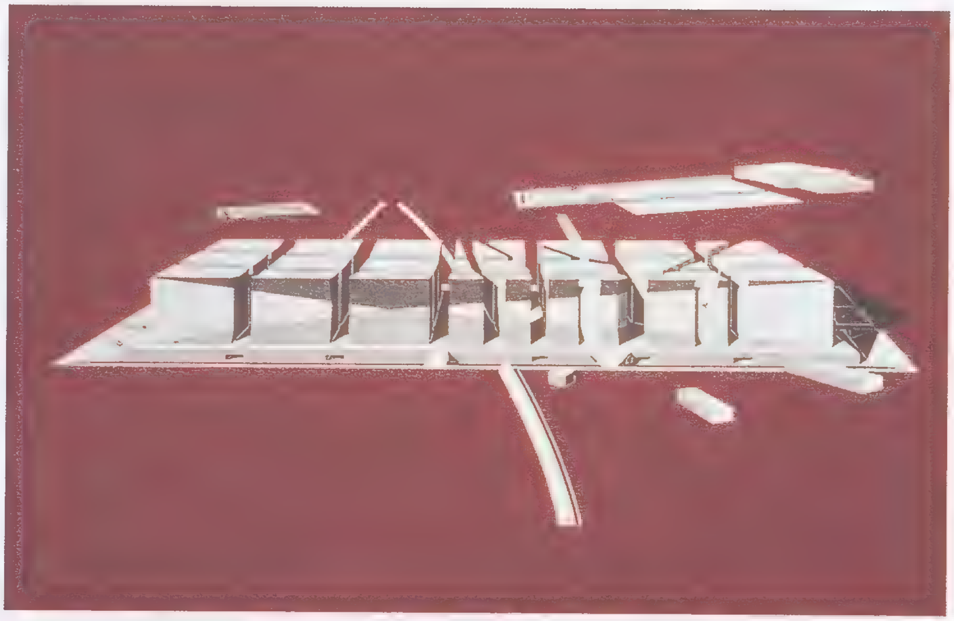


Planimetria generale: 1)Polo Pietralata-Tiburtina del Sistema Direzionale Orientale; 2) Stazione Tiburtina; 3)Piazza Sandro Pertini; 4) Edifici residenziali; 5) Parco di Pietralata.
Modello generale dell'intervento.
Sezione prospettica e prospettiva interna dei nuovi Ministeri.

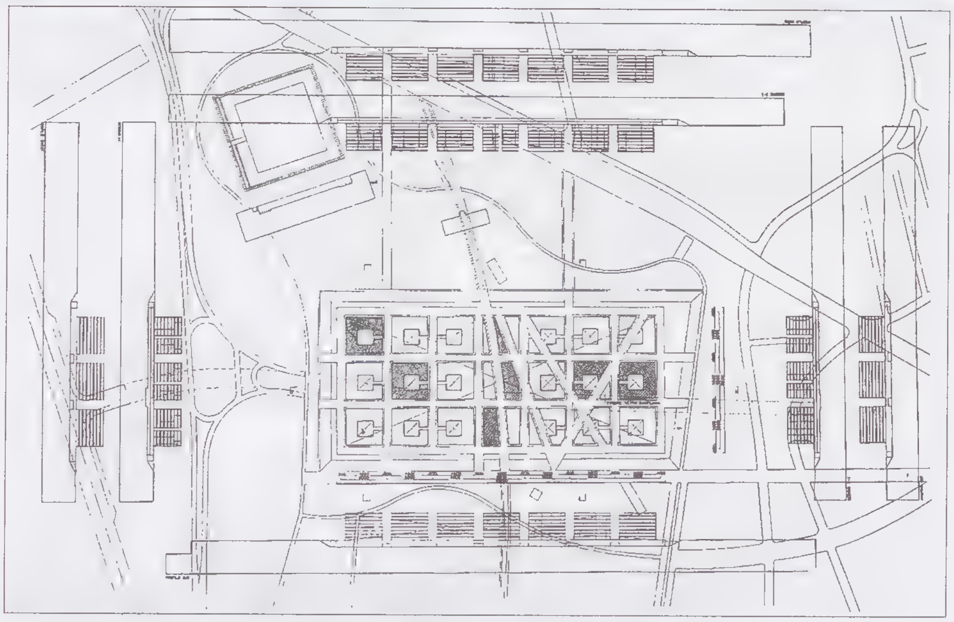
Site plan: 1) Pietralata-Tiburtina pole of the Sistema Direzionale Orientale; 2) Tiburtina Station; 3)Piazza Sandro Pertini; 4) Residential buildings; 5) Pietralata Park.
Overall project model.
Perspective section and internal perspective of the new Ministries.

Prospettive e pianta del Polo direzionale.

Perpectives and plan of the administrative center.







today, in what Massimo Ilardi has called the "territories of uprooting", can identify. Since Rome no longer defines itself as merely a polycentric system, but has become, in a more radical way, an aggregation of many different cities, nearly autonomous in morphological terms, the areas left free for the projects of the SDO appear as the last resources available with which to provide a sense of urban completeness for an edification that lacks qualitative leaps of scale, settlement complexity, metropolitan stimuli. This need, however, is contextually impeded by an increasingly widespread and reasonable desire, on the part of the urban communities, to preserve these areas as parks to serve the neighborhoods that have grown up around the large open areas impacted by the SDO. This leads to the need for an apparently contradictory strategy. In one sense, it is necessary that these areas take on the functions of large parks; in another sense they must, like the great historical villas, contain large structures. This apparent contradiction is actually a signal of a new design phase, the design of complexity and conflicting elements which represents, as a whole, urban restoration, with the resulting reassessment of the settlement traces present in the context, often wavering between permanent and surviving forms, and with the recovery of historical artefacts, proposal of the new, with all the experimental and dissonant shiftings involved, reconstruction of nature through the design of green areas, with the related environmental problems, and definition of macro and micro signage/information environments composed of fixed elements and communications flows intercepted and amplified in real time. In this sense the project seems to take the form, like the city, of a complex adaptational system, a notion with which the theorists of complexity attempt to construct a new interpretational model of reality capable of representing the extraordinary changeability and substantial unpredictability of its vital processes.

A choice. The proposal is advanced in the context of the guidelines of the SDO Special Office, contained in the Detail Plan of the Pietralata Area.The disjunctive character of this Plan, although without emphasis, is based on a strong awareness, that is developed in an accurate analysis, of the definitively fragmentary tone of this important portion of the urban organism. The Plan, therefore, is a plan of fragments, although it is not fragmentary. Its interstitial dimension, whose conceptual key lies in a new interpretation of the existent, does not lead to mere picturesque descriptivism – which would have been all too easy, given the documentation of the area by Neorealism – nor to a vain neo-avant-garde accentuation of the many metropolitan values present in the area. The proposal is based on certain criteria, like the force of the image, which must be capable of expressing, paradoxically, a unitary character and the dimension of the fragment; an accentuated constructive ductility which should permit an appropriate subdivision of the project into phases; a plurality of dimensional articulations capable of encouraging the presence of different architectural languages; a flexibility of use in time, permitting the Administrative Pole and the city part in which it is located to react to the future and often unpredictable modifications of urban functions; a combination of different activities, to ensure that after office hours the district does not become a dangerously deserted area.

The proposal. Apart from the proposal for the new Tiburtina station, a large hypostyle hall bordered by a services volume, crossed by a pedestrian galleria connecting the two sides of the rail yard, and marked, in the urban panorama, by a pair of towers, 126 meters in height, the proposal is divided into four parts. The first has to do with the Sandro Pertini Hospital, in front of which the proposal calls for a large piazza – Piazza Sandro Pertini – with a portico on the northern side. This structure, two storeys high, clad in Travertine stone, is a sort of microinfrastructure for a series of small, even ephemeral edifices, services for the users of the hospital, shops, offices, hospitality structures for visitors, patients, hospital staff. The south side of the piazza, which can be built with funding from businesses, which can be involved in the management of the activities conducted there, should also be used for special events (weekly markets, entertainment), features a tree-lined avenue, reminiscent of similar arrangements in Rome's historical center. This permits access to the parking areas of the hospital, built on a slightly lower level.
The second part of the proposal involves the construction, in Sector F, of about 500 housing units, subdivided into four typologies: small villas, small buildings, row houses and hybrid row-courtyard houses. The edifices are surrounded by large green areas. At the northern extremity of the area, within the system of row houses, there is a piazza. The design of the area attempts to create a natural continuation of the surrounding edification, reflecting its discontinous, accidental character. The third part of the proposal has to do with the design of the Pietralata Park. The landscape of the Roman countryside, seen by Stendhal and Gadda, and many others, as a space of gray solitude, for which the area of Pietralata has become a sort of symbol, is re-presented without adornment, apart from plantings of trees that cross the meadows. A large square excavation creates a recessed zone, an intense, concentrated area from which the view of the city is excluded, replaced by the view of the sky. The fourth and most important part of the proposal focuses on the Adminstrative Center. This is conceived as a shifting of one section of the historical center of Rome. A slab measuring 192 x 432 meters, with a lateral grid of 60 meters, is the base for the administration complex. This platform on which the buildings (33.6 meters in height) are placed, crossed by pedestrian walkways, emerges from an excavation – almost as if to suggest the idea of an artificial archaeology – that reveals the substruction that contains the parking areas and the technological plant. The regular basic grid is interrupted by the surrounding tracings. In this way the geometric force of the grid, an ideal castrametation, is attenuated in a structure that reveals a fractal complexity transferred to the buildings, whose regularity undergoes a series of planimetric and plastic distortions. The geometric configuration of the large slab is based on certain images, like those of the crevices of Burri at Gibellina, or the pavings of Roman streets in the engravings of Palladio or Piranesi. At the same time it evokes a fragment of the historical map of Rome, or the printed circuit board of a computer. The functional differences are not explicitly indicated, they remain inside the volumes of the edifices, with rigorous specifications, while leaving the choice of the materials to be used up to the individual architects. The large single prism, with vertical openings, declares its completeness by means of a topological articulation of some of its facades. But this completeness is also contradicted by the intrinsic fragmentary character of the serial structuring that lies behind the design of the slab and alludes to its virtual extension.

Eastern passage. In its ambiguity between unity and fragment, which does not prevent the figure from taking on a significant density, the large slab presents itself as an anti-pole of the entire urban sector where it is placed. Resting on its base like a gigantic sculpture, it sinks into the terrain, underlining its belonging to the earth. This large work of architecture, finished but unfinished, appears as a place not based on history, which in the city is represented by tracings – the true memory the city conserves of itself – but through distance. A distance that does not exclude echoes and analogies of forms of the past, permitting the concentration of all design energies on the creation of an unexpected image. An unexpected, new image capable of entering urban narratives as a premise for the desires which Rome has been expressing for several decades, in spite of apparently invincible objections, but with equally invincible determination.

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *and* ***Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese*** *and* ***Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;* ***Kurt W. Forster*** *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

Guido Canella *Beyond Legitimate Preservation;* ***Ernesto N. Rogers*** *The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi*** *Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas;* ***James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Poultry n. 1 in London;* ***Colin St. John Wilson*** *Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola*** *The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *Department of Architecture in Genoa;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida;* ***Drexel Turner*** *Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America;* ***Gianugo Polesello*** *University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.*

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *and* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown*** *and* ***Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la citta? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

Who designs the city? *Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning;* ***Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek*** *60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism;* ***Bruno Flierl*** *Stalinallee in Berlin;* ***Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli*** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium;* ***Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi*** *Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London;* ***Micha Bandini*** *Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate;* ***Gian Franco Di Pietro*** *Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini*** *A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence;* ***Giovanni Klaus Koenig*** *About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers*** *Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino** II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epoché"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al desco. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil),** Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

Guido Canella Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo; **Derek A.R. Moore** Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti; **Giovanni Testori, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Luciano Semerani,** Progetti per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona; **Philip Johnson** Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut; **Peter Eisenman** Interview with Philip Johnson; **Oscar Niemeyer** Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil; **Oscar Niemeyer** De Pampulha ao Memorial da América Latina; **Lionello Puppi** Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo; **Richard Meier** Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany; **Carlo Aymonino** Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien; **Gottfried Böhm** Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland; **Gottfried Böhm** Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland; **Aldo Rossi** Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

Zodiac 10

Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

Zodiac 11

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In copertina: Rembrandt van Rijn, Il campo del pesatore d'oro, 1651. Art Institute, Chicago.

Front cover: Rembrandt van Rijn, The Goldweigher's Field, 1651. Art Institute, Chicago.

Zodiac 18

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Per/To Aldo Rossi

(3 maggio 1931-4 settembre 1997)

Carlo Aymonino
Ignazio Gardella
Philip Johnson

Ricordo con affetto Aldo Rossi: un caro amico e un grande architetto.
Ma forse è meglio (e credo che lui preferirebbe) dire semplicemente che era un architetto (gli architetti autentici sono pochi), un architetto che amava profondamente l'architettura e che rifiutava le classificazioni di passato, moderno, post-moderno e così via.
L'architettura di Aldo è certamente una architettura di oggi, ma ha quella sottile e misteriosa qualità che hanno tutte le vere architetture perchè nel momento in cui nascono esse esprimono il proprio tempo e rispondono ad una destinazione d'uso, ma continuano poi a darci le stesse emozioni indipendentemente dalla epoca e dall'uso.

Ignazio Gardella

Philip Johnson, Ritchie & Fiore *Architects*

Aldo Rossi was one of the greats. He was cut off just at the peak of his work. The latest I am familiar with is the office building for Disney at Celebration in Florida. He was master of the difficult art of mixing classical and modern - familiar and new. Better than any he could use massive columns with modern fenestration, monumentality with regularity. Celebration is a difficult but totally successful mixture, pleasing me at one extreme and the Disney clients at the other.

We architects shall all miss him.

Philip Johnson

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Ignazio Gardella

I fondly recall Aldo Rossi: a dear friend and a great architect.
But perhaps it is better (I think he would have agreed) to simple say that he was an architect (true architects are few indeed), an architect who loved architecture deeply and rejected all the classifications of past, modern, postmodern, and so on.
Aldo's architecture is undoubtedly an architecture of today, but it has that subtle, mysterious quality that belongs to all works of true architecture, that in the moment of their creation express their own time and respond to functional needs, but then go on to give us the same emotions, independently of their epoch or their function.
Ignazio Gardella

Aldo Rossi era uno dei grandi. È stato stroncato all'apice della sua attività. Fra le più recenti, una realizzazione che ben conosco: è l'edificio ad uffici per Disney, a Celebration, in Florida. Egli era maestro nella difficile arte di unire classico e moderno, consueto e nuovo. Meglio di ogni altro era in grado di combinare colonne imponenti con una disposizione moderna delle finestrature, monumentalità e regolarità. A Celebration è stata raggiunto con successo un difficile equilibrio, che riesce a soddisfare ad un estremo me e all'altro i clienti di Disney.
Tutti noi architetti ne sentiremo la mancanza.
Philip Johnson

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Carlo Aymonino, ritratto di Aldo Rossi.

Carlo Aymonino, portrait of Aldo Rossi.

Olanda, primo amore
Guido Canella

Aldo Rossi: "*...A proposito: sul numero monografico sull'Olanda ci terrei venisse pubblicato il Bonnefantenmuseum di Maastricht*".
G. C.: "*Ma l'abbiamo già pubblicato sul numero 6, non ricordi? E poi ormai è comparso un po' dappertutto*".
A. R.: "*Guarda che allora era ancora in costruzione, mentre ora ci sono delle fotografie molto belle e inedite*".
G. C.: "*Veramente avremmo deciso di includere soltanto opere di architetti olandesi destinate all'Olanda...*".
Questo molto in sintesi un brano del colloquio telefonico con Aldo Rossi pochi giorni prima della sua morte. Ora invece apriamo questo numero proprio con il Museo di Maastricht. E ciò non per commemorarlo, ma soprattutto perché quel museo, a differenza di altre opere dedicate all'Olanda da architetti stranieri, ci sembra rappresentare il compendio di ciò che l'architettura moderna olandese ha rappresentato per la nostra generazione.
Il primo viaggio in Olanda, che risale al 1956, non fu occasionale, ma fortemente intenzionato. Il filo conduttore era il nostro interesse a confrontare il rapporto tra le poetiche sorte in certe nazioni europee nella scia del Movimento Moderno internazionale e quelle coeve che avevano continuato a riferirsi alle tradizioni locali. In Olanda il nodo da sciogliere stava nell'eredità di Berlage e, forse ancor più che in Germania e nel resto d'Europa, l'esito della biforcazione appariva icasticamente riconoscibile.
Infatti il ritorno da quel viaggio avrebbe ispirato due testi, apparsi nel 1957 rispettivamente sui numeri 215 e 216 della "Casabella-Continuità" di Ernesto Rogers: *L'epopea borghese della Scuola di Amsterdam* e *Il caso Dudok riferito anche ad alcune esperienze italiane*, dove l'accento era polemicamente teso a riscattare la parte negletta da quella considerazione manichea allora generalmente presente nella storiografia del Movimento Moderno.
Infatti erano vari i riscontri per analogia od opposizione e, comunque, di dialettica equivalenza che ci sembrava di poter instaurare.
1. Diversamente dalle approssimative valutazioni allora correnti, siamo stati primi ad escludere qualsiasi interferenza espressionistica, mancando in generale all'architettura moderna olandese, e in particolare alla Scuola di Amsterdam, ogni traccia di combustione ideologica e rappresentativa.
2. Il superamento da parte di entrambe le tendenze dell'individualismo professionale presente nell'architettura olandese a cavallo di secolo, per riconoscersi invece in sodalizi di straordinaria coesione figurativa e intensità cromatica: da una parte nella elaborata alchimia compositiva (Wendingen), dall'altra nella estrema sublimazione geometrica (De Stijl).
3. La *Weltanschauung* "religiosa" che le ha ispirate, declinata tra neoplatonismo del Movimento neoplastico e teosofia della Scuola di Amsterdam, svolta in pratica disponibile al riformismo municipale che le avrebbe rese entrambe poetiche tra le più diffusamente e coerentemente coinvolte nella costruzione moderna della città europea del Novecento.
4. Il confluire delle rispettive derivazioni (da una parte, per esempio, Duiker, dall'altra Wijdeveld) nel funzionalismo e poi nella progressiva dissoluzione delle originali tensioni ideali: da una parte nell'elegante professionismo (da Dudok a Bakema), dall'altra nella restaurazione accademica del Gruppo attorno Granpré Molière.

Scorrendo le pagine di questo numero di "Zodiac" si può osservare come in generale la più recente architettura olandese (quella autoctona, ma non diversamente quella di importazione) pare aver tagliato i ponti con la tradizione del Moderno, tanto con quella del mattone quanto con quella bianca e trasparente, per prodursi secondo i moduli del nuovo internazionalismo che ormai travalica meridiani e paralleli.
Proprio per questo abbiamo deciso di aprire il numero con una serie di recenti immagini del Bonnefantenmuseum di Maastricht – come ci aveva chiesto il suo autore, che qui ricordiamo per lunga e intensa amicizia –, poiché, diversamente dall'orientamento delle ultime generazioni di architetti olandesi, dallo spettro figurativo di quel Museo paiono irradiarsi l'ordine sintattico di Berlage, la tessitura laterizia di Amsterdam Sud, il cubismo di Oud, la trasparente stereometria di Duiker, riproposti in mirabile sintesi a confortare la nostra memoria di una straordinaria stagione dell'architettura moderna.







Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Gemeentemuseum, L'Aia, 1920: primo progetto.
Michel de Klerk, Complesso residenziale per la Società edilizia "Eigen Haard" allo Spaarndammerplantsoen, Amsterdam, 1917-21. Foto V. Vercelloni.
Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Costruzione provvisoria per la direzione lavori del complesso residenziale Oud-Mathenesse, Rotterdam, 1923.

Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, 1920: first project.
Michel de Klerk, Housing complex for the Building Society "Eigen Haard" at Spaarndammerplantsoen, Amsterdam, 1917-21. Photo V. Vercelloni.
Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Temporary construction for the building management of the Oud-Mathenesse Housing Estate, Rotterdam, 1923.

Holland, first love
Guido Canella

Aldo Rossi: "...Speaking of Holland, I would be very pleased to see the Bonnefantenmuseum of Maastricht published in your Dutch issue".
G.C.: "But we already published that work in Zodiac 6, remember? And at this point it has been featured in all kinds of publications".
A.R.: "Yes, but at the time it was still under construction, today there are some very nice photos that have never been published".
G.C.: "To tell you the truth, our idea was to publish an issue featuring only the works of Dutch architects in Holland...".
This is a rough paraphrase of a telephone conversation with Aldo Rossi a few days before his death. And now we are here to present, as the first feature of this issue on Holland, the museum of Maastricht. This decision is not based only on a desire to commemorate Aldo Rossi, but also on a realization that this museum, in contrast with other works built in Holland by foreign architects, somehow represents a summation of all that Dutch architecture has meant for our generation.
Our first trip to Holland, back in 1956, was the result of a clear intention. We were interested in the relation between the poetics that had appeared in certain European nations in the wake of the international Modern Movement, and the simultaneous poetics that had continued to make reference to local traditions. In Holland the issue to be resolved lay in the legacy of Berlage and, perhaps even more than in Germany and the rest of Europe, the result of this divergence of paths appeared to be graphically visible.
The trip led to two essays, which appeared in 1957, in issues 215 and 216 of the Ernesto Rogers' "Casabella Continuità": The middle-class epic of the Amsterdam School *and* Dudok "case" seen also in the light of some italian experiences. *The accent was placed on a polemical desire to redeem the part generally overlooked by the conventional interpretations present at that time in the historiography of the Modern Movement. There were many stimulating examples to be found in Holland, whether seen in terms of analogy or contrast. Revealing dialectical equivalencies seemed to emerge.*
1. In contrast with the sketchy assessments of the time, we were among the first to exclude any expressionistic interference, given the fact that Dutch modern architecture, and particularly the Amsterdam School, was completely lacking in any sense of ideological or representative conflict.
2. The overcoming of the professional individualism present in turn-of-the-century Dutch architecture effected by both tendencies in favor of groups of extraordinary figurative cohesion and chromatic intensity: on the one hand in elaborate compositional alchemy (Wendingen), on the other in extreme geometric sublimation (De Stijl).
3. The "religious" Weltanschauung *that had inspired them, with the neo-Platonism of the Neo-plastic Movement and the theosophy of the Amsterdam School, combined with the municipal reform that enabled them to join the ranks of the most widespread and coherent poetics involved in the modern construction of the European city of the 20th century.*
4. The rejoining of the respective derivations (on the one hand, for example, Duiker, on the other Wijdeveld) in the Functionalism and then in the progressive breakdown of the original ideals: on the one hand in elegant professionalism (from Dudok to Bakema), and on the other hand in the academic restoration of the group assembled around Granpré Molière.







Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Piano per Amsterdam Sud, 1915-17: vista aerea della zona est.
Cornelis van Eesteren, Th. K. van Lohuizen, Piano generale di espansione per Amsterdam (AUP), 1934: prospettiva della zona sud della città.
Johannes Duiker, Bernard Bijvoet, Sanatorio Zonnestraal, Hilversum, 1928.

Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Plan for Amsterdam South, 1915-17: aerial view of the eastern area.
Cornelis van Eesteren, Th. K. van Lohuizen, General Expansion Plan for Amsterdam (AUP), 1934: perspective drawing of the southern part of the city.
Johannes Duiker, Bernard Bijvoet, Sanatorium Zonnestraal, Hilversum, 1928.

Looking through the pages of this issue of "Zodiac" we can see that in general the most recent Dutch architecture (made by Dutch architects, but the same is true for the work of foreigners in Holland) seems to have burnt its bridges to the Modern tradition, both with that of brick and that of whiteness and transparency, conforming to the dictates of the new internationalism that extends by now across all meridians and parallels.
It is precisely for this reason that we have decided to begin this issue with a series of recent images of the Bonnefantenmuseum of Maastricht – as requested by its architect, with whom we enjoyed a long and intense friendship – because, in contrast with the orientation of the latest generations of Dutch architects, the figurative spectrum of the Museum seems to radiate the syntactic order of Berlage, the brickwork texture of Amsterdam South, the cubism of Oud, the transparent stereometry of Duiker, proffered in a sort of sublime synthesis, an aid for our memory of an extraordinary period of modern architecture.

Aldo Rossi

Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht, 1990-95
Aldo Rossi
con/with: Umberto Barbieri, Giovanni Da Pozzo, Marc Kocher

Foto C. Urban, M. Carrieri



Vista dal fiume Maas.
Foto C. Urban.

View from the river Maas.
Photo C. Urban.

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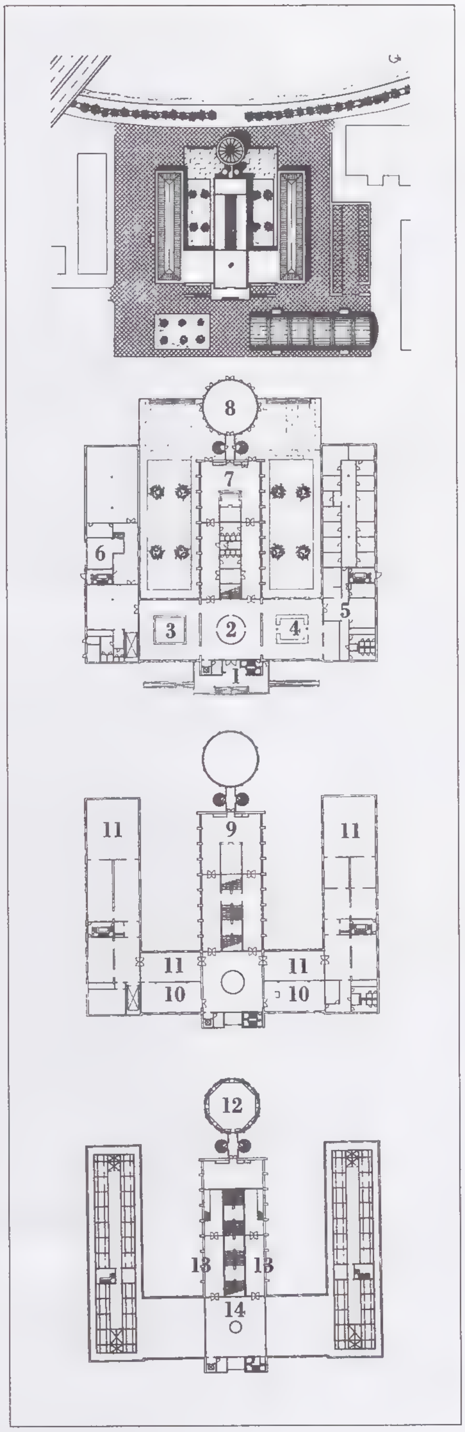
View from the river Maas.
Photo C. Urban.

L'Entrée de l'Exposition
Ovvero una lettera in risposta al signor Alexander van Grevenstein a proposito del Museo di Maastricht
Aldo Rossi

Caro Alex, ti ringrazio della tua lettera che riassume ed amplia una serie di meditazioni e ragionamenti che si sono svolti tra noi nel tempo.
Per iniziare in modo non retorico dirò che ho ricevuto la tua lettera in lingua tedesca, lingua che tu parli correttamente ma che non scrivi. Mi sembra che tu usi questa lingua spesso in modo dottorale al confronto del tuo francese e inglese. Infatti ho visto che la lettera era tradotta in tedesco e nel fax era scritto: *"German translation of A.v.G.; 'Letter to Aldo Rossi', for Mr Aldo Rossi".*
Non era un errore o una qualche disattenzione, ma forse indicava un compito e un'attenzione che superano la facilità con cui leggiamo. Era come quelle traduzioni del liceo dove, oltre alla costruzione linguistica, si cercava la resa maggiore del significato. Tu stesso hai divagato su una frase semplice di Böcklin: *"Ich male nicht für die Franzosen"* per scoprire tutta una interpretazione (o una malattia) dell'arte.
Ma poi ho incontrato la *"Treppenstraße"* anch'essa parola semplice vista nel contesto urbano di una strada a gradini. Ma il nostro Museo è basato su poche condizioni che ritroviamo nei primi disegni come parti di un enigma. Un disegno azteco o precolombino, una scala e, anche se fuori da una regola generale, una palma.
Così ho cominciato a pensare che nel contesto la *"Treppenstraße"* fosse una "scala santa". È una traduzione secentesca, cattolica e conformista, se vuoi.
Ma la parola mi è sembrata molto bella ed io vedo ora questa scala come una scala santa.
La scala è una parte dell'edificio particolare; si sale e si scende. Ma è anche facile cadere.
Queste considerazioni sulla caduta sono affermazioni di ingegneria prima che di attenzione civica. D'altra parte l'ingegneria è parte, o meglio, sostanza del vivere civile. Un gradino imprevisto, una trave ribassata e altre imprudenze di questo genere abbassano il nostro mestiere e affliggono i cittadini.
Ma niente è più commovente di una persona che cade, intendo sia in senso figurato, sia in senso propriamente fisico. Vi è un bellissimo tango argentino di Luis Gardell *Hoy una caida, mañana un trabazon.* Questo tango peraltro magnifico nel suo crescendo ci avverte che una piccola caduta può annunciare un disastro. O meglio che è in realtà la sindrome del disastro.
Infatti chi inizia una scala santa deve tener conto di molte cose, soprattutto che sta compiendo un lavoro.
D'altronde il nostro grande vate lombardo, il Parini ha raccolto tutto in una magnifica poesia: *La caduta.* A chi lo aiuta a sollevarsi da terra, rimproverandogli il troppo orgoglio morale causa della sua povertà, il Poeta gli risponde con una frase di antica virtù *"Umano sei, non giusto".* Come è fiera questa frase e nel contempo commovente; tutti noi abbiamo trovato conforto e compassione, quando invece volevamo solo giustizia.
Il conforto è come la minestra dei poveri solo Dio potrà renderle giustizia.
Scrive un dotto autore *"che ne manda più all'inferno la misericordia di Dio, che non ne mandi la giustizia"* (S. Alfonso de Liguori, *Apparecchi alla morte*, p. 243).
Tutte queste considerazioni sulla scala si riferiscono al museo e non sono divagazioni. Il traduttore tedesco ha colto l'importanza di questa *"Treppenstraße".*
In fondo i templi nuragici (che sono la radice del progetto di Maastricht) erano scale che scendevano per trovare la purificazione o qualcosa di più complesso. Comunque esse scendevano.
Immaginiamo che fosse una discesa senza conforto: che fossero scale di misericordia o di giustizia non ci è dato sapere.
(Si noti d'altra parte che nell'arte figurativa la deposizione e i sepolcri sono sempre superiori drammaticamente all'ascensione).
Caro Alex, non mi allontano dal nostro Museo, ma voglio ampliare le considerazioni che lo hanno generato. Per esempio questa della consolazione. Forse il limite dell'arte è proprio questo: di essere consolatoria e solo tristemente consolatoria. E alla fine lo sono anche i musei; le folle dei musei sono come quelle dei turisti nelle città storiche. E sono sempre più tristi più capiscono quello che le circonda.
Ma nel nostro Museo vi è qualcosa di nuovo: la palma.
Forse il nostro incontro nella progettazione è nato dalla palma. Essa circola in ogni disegno e porge sempre un significato nuovo. Pensavo che la Palma non fosse proponibile in Olanda e quanto mi sbagliavo!
In un certo senso il paesaggio nordico offre alla palma il fascino dell'esotico. È inutile citare la palma di Goethe a Padova anche se dobbiamo essere grati a questi grandi artisti delle loro attenzioni alle cose.
La palma di Padova è un mito anche se l'artista probabilmente si è servito della palma come di una scena, così come aveva fatto degli aranci del Lago Maggiore.
Mi hai scritto di questo straordinario artista che ha costruito un progetto di palme e che lo porrai all'inizio del Museo. La composizione si chiama *"L'Entrée de l'Exposition".*
Quale titolo più bello, e che *grandeur* acquista nella lingua francese. E particolarmente siamo tutti attratti dall'Entrata.
Chi non entra in un'esposizione è per così dire un fuorilegge o un cretino.
L'esposizione non garantisce l'autenticità degli oggetti, una volta mostravano di tutto: selvaggi, missionari, malati mentali e oggetti bizzarri o tutto quello che vuoi.
Ma forse dico questo perché penso a l'esposizione in modo astratto e in realtà non vi è molta differenza tra esposizione e museo. Forse il tuo artista mi ha tratto in inganno con le palme.
Vorrei costruire una grande *Palmenhaus.*
Confesso che io posseggo tre palme di rara bellezza anche se vivono nel micromondo di un lago lombardo. Io le amo anche come proprietà, non le cambierei con le più belle di Palermo. Ma non possono essere allontanate dal loro micromondo. Vi sono cose o persone troppo belle e fragili per modificare anche di poco la loro vita; penso sempre alle eroine di Čechov, a Sonia uccisa da quel paese sterminato che l'amava senza poterla salvare. Non mi allontano troppo, anche Čechov appartiene al museo. Possiamo affermare che *Il gabbiano* è il più penetrante museo della borghesia. Ha persino i limiti del museo, quel colpo di pistola potrà essere ripetuto per sempre senza angoscia.
Scrivo cose che si dicono al Direttore del Museo e via via mescoliamo innocenza e complessità.
Ma cosa è oggi il museo?
Ti tralascio la solita storia di Adriano e dei tesori e del positivismo che elenca gli oggetti ecc. Il museo sembra sempre legato a questa evoluzione per le scuole medie.
Tu ne sei lontano e per questo ti pongo la domanda e non ne voglio la risposta. La risposta si è chiarita mentre progettavamo il Museo.
Se abbiamo una virtù in comune è quella di ignorare non solo gli *Entwerfer*, i *designer* ecc. ma anche il mondo accademico come abbiamo ignorato la scuola.
Ha scritto un giovane poeta tedesco:
"Ich hatte schlechte Lehrer.
Ich war ein guter Schüler".
Ma non erano cattivi maestri nel senso della negligenza, ma piuttosto dell'ostinazione e della cattiveria con cui impedivano di essere *guter Schüler.*
Non mi ricordo dove Platone vede l'ignoranza più pericolosa in coloro che non sanno e credono di sapere. Mentre l'incomprensione non è altro che la demenza di un'anima che tende alla verità.
La nostra demenza non ha mai creduto di sapere, ma ci ha permesso di capire quale ostinata cattiveria vi è in coloro che non sanno e credono di sapere. I tuoi *Entwerfer*, i *designer* alla moda forse sono ancora i migliori. Penso proprio alla moda e al suo consumarsi, alle discoteche, a tutte queste cose. Non cambio parere ma odio talmente questo mondo accademico che penso vi sia sempre una realtà nei cambiamenti. E poi sono musei che fermano un momento: la cucina, qualsiasi cucina borghese potrebbe essere od è un museo. Queste cose piacciono agli architetti: ma lasciamo stare gli architetti alla moda. E il vero complice era l'architetto che formulava teorie divenute utili per il massacro delle città.

Infine si troverà sempre un geometra, un *Baumeister* che tirerà su la casa. Non pensare agli architetti: tutti a dormire. Come nel bel libro che mi hai regalato *Bauen ist eine Lust* – e chi non si vorrebbe divertire? Rendere allegre le case con belle ragazze alla finestra. Una *Bauordnung* più ricca *Ein Fenster auf, macht gesunden Lebenslauf.*
Scrivendo del museo si affollano molte questioni o solo impressioni e ora torno al tema più bello: Il Museo di Maastricht.
Prima cosa è una grande fortuna quella del nome del tuo museo, *Bonnefantenmuseum.* Anche se i bambini non ci sono più essi hanno lasciato solo cose buone. E tu in qualche modo sei *pater* di questi bravi fanciulli, anzi di questi buoni fanciulli.
Quale musa mitica da tanta purezza e da tanto mistero? Questi buoni ragazzi hanno perso il nome. Ed è compito del Direttore o del Museo stesso dare un nome alle cose. Perché il Museo è sempre il luogo dove le cose hanno perso il nome. Sarà il sasso lavato da una pioggia antica, l'incisione unica, l'arma del legionario romano e tutte queste cose che hanno perso il nome.
Così il Museo sostituisce l'anagrafe, o è un'anagrafe più complessa, a partire da quei *bonnefanten* che sono l'origine del Museo. Ricostruire e dare un nome da piccoli frammenti, un piccolo orologio, un bracciale, una maglia consunta, un gioco – era creare la realtà.
Anche il nostro mondo sta perdendo un nome. Come in un lungo crepuscolo tutto si assomiglia e l'anagrafe perde di significato.
E l'architettura?
L'architettura è un riferimento: quanti marinai scendendo la Mosa la segneranno come confine del tempo. La cupola è il segno che segue il ponte romano.
All'interno le luci del cielo, la luce zenitale che tanto amo.
In questa luce crepuscolare alcuni dementi cercano quel tanto che i musei ci avevano promesso: una sorta di eternità, di eternità marmorea, di sepolcrale monumentalità.
È come un istinto di sicurezza. Niente mi ha mai commosso come la frase di Cézanne *"Io dipingo per i musei"*. Il grande vecchio, come aveva capito che il verde è blu, aveva visto questi grandi edifici che accoglievano e aspettavano la sua opera.
Erano la controparte della Provenza, ed erano oltre Parigi.
"Io dipingo per i musei".
Mi sembra di sapere quali musei siano questi; ma la demenza platonica diventa demenza clinica.
Caro Alex termino con un ringraziamento particolare: mi hai lasciato porre il nome sul museo.
"MUSEUM", in piombo colato su pietra bianca.
È difficile dirti perché questo è per me così importante.
Devo citare il mio scrittore o educatore preferito, Raymond Roussel *"devant moi s'étendait l'immense place des Trophées, située au cœur même de l'Éjur, imposante capitale formée de cases sans nombre....A ma droite, devant le point médian de la rangée d'arbres s'élevait,..... certain théâtre rouge, sur le fronton duquel les mots 'Club des Incomparables' composant trois lignes en lettres d'argent, étaient brillamment environnées de larges rayons d'or épanouis dans toutes les directions comme autour d'un soleil"*.
Questo Museo, o *Théâtre rouge*, o *Club des Incomparables* si eleva in questa città fatta di case piccole e senza nome.
Senza seguire troppo il nostro autore, io sono affascinato da queste "*trois lignes en lettres d'argent, brillamment environnées de larges rayons d'or épanouis dans toutes les directions comme autour d'un soleil"*.
Retoricamente sarebbe bello chiudere con le grandi barche che solcano la Mosa, con la strada ciclabile dove le splendide ragazze olandesi vanno al lavoro racchiudendo tutto questo attorno al nostro Museo.
E ancora vedere allinearsi o accalcarsi la gente per entrare; per ricerca, per curiosità, per stupidità, per scienza o turismo e tante altre cose. Per quel mistero dell'entrata. Appunto: *L'Entrée de L'Exposition* .
Ma una lettera, forse, richiede una conclusione, anche se l'epoca dei carteggi è finita.
Così volevo solo risponderti e riprendere alcuni motivi legati a questa opera.
Ma forse possiamo affermare che, oltre a queste vicende, suggestioni e analogie, il museo è un'opera che serve al progresso, a una città migliore, infine alla conoscenza.
Non so poi cosa sia il progresso e la conoscenza anche se nel progresso vi è sempre qualcosa di triste perché è in realtà qualcosa di inevitabile.

Ti saluto,
Aldo Rossi
Milano, dicembre 1994



Planimetria generale e piante dei piani terreno, primo e terzo: 1) ingresso; 2) torre interna; 3) foyer; 4) reception; 5) uffici; 6) carico e scarico e laboratori; 7) Grand Café; 8) ristorante; 9) biblioteca; 10) auditorium; 11) sale espositive; 12) Cupola; 13) gabinetto delle stampe; 14) Studiolo.

Site plan and ground floor, first floor and third floor plans: 1) entrance; 2) inner tower; 3) foyer; 4) reception; 5) offices; 6) transport and working area; 7) Grand Café; 8) restaurant; 9) library; 10) auditorium; 11) exhibition room; 12) Cupola; 13) print room; 14) Studiolo.



Viste esterne dal fiume Maas.
Dettaglio di una corte e vista dell'ingresso principale.
Foto M. Carrieri.

Exterior views from the river Maas.
Detail of a courtyard and view of the main entrance.
Photo M. Carrieri.







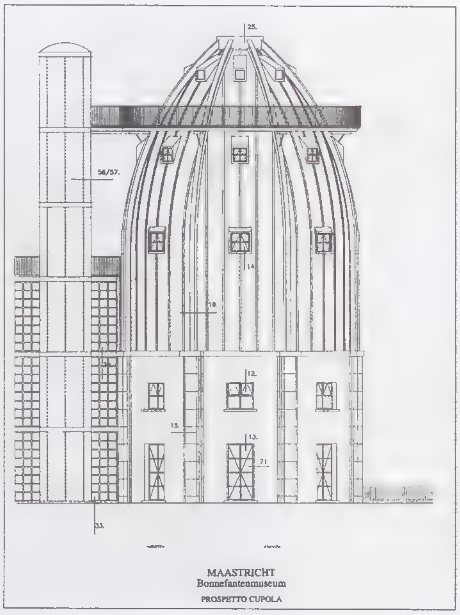
L'Entrée de l'Exposition
Or a reply to Mr Alexander van Grevenstein about the Maastricht Museum
Aldo Rossi

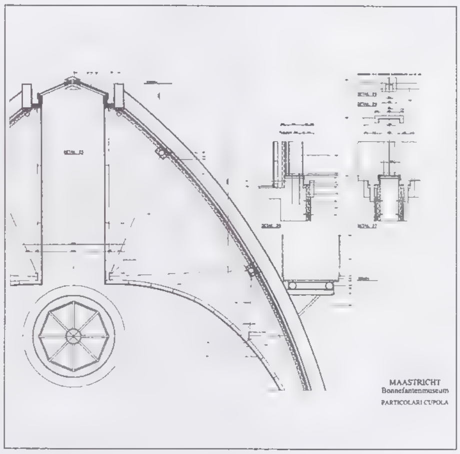
Dear Alex, thank you for your letter in which you elaborate on a whole series of ideas and topics we've been talking about for a while now. I'd like to start in a no-rhetorical way by saying that I got your letter written in German, a language you speak correctly but cannot write. I get the feeling your use of this language is somewhat over-learned compared with your French and English. In fact I noticed that your letter had been translated into German; in the fax was written: "German translation of A.v.G.; 'Letter to Aldo Rossi', for Mr Aldo Rossi".
It wasn't any mistake or piece of carelessness; maybe what was involved was an exercize and over-carefulness that got in the way of easy reading. It was like one of those school translations where you have to penetrate the linguistic structure of the text to find out what was meant. You yourself once improvised on a simple sentence by Böcklin: "Ich male nicht für die Franzosen", *in order to expose a whole theory (or malady) of art.*
But then I came across the "Treppenstraße", *which is also a simple word in the urbanistic sense of a street with steps.*
But our Museum is based on a few stipulations that occur in the first designs as part of a puzzle. An Aztec or Precolumbian design, a flight of steps and, even if it isn't a general principle, a palm tree.
Then it occurred to me that perhaps in this context the "Treppenstraße" *was a* "scala santa" *or "holy staircase". It is a translation of a 16th century motif, Catholic and conformist if you like.*
But the word seemed to me very nice and I think now this staircase is like a holy staircase.
A staircase is a quite unique part of any building; it ascends but it also descends. Moreover, you can fall down it.
The problem of falling is one that construction engineers have to deal with; it's not so much a matter for architects. On the other hand engineering is part – or rather it is the very substance – of civic existence. An unexpected step, a low hanging beam, it's bits of carelessness like that bring our profession into disrepute, moreover they're an imposition on the citizens.
But there's nothing more moving than someone falling – I mean both metaphorically and literally. There's a very beautiful tango by Luis Gardell Hoy una caida, mañana un trabazon.
Apart from the fact that it has such a magnificent crescendo, this tango warns us that a little fall can presage a disaster. Or rather, it is really the syndrome of disaster.
In fact anyone who begins on a scala santa *has to bear a number of things in mind, above all that what he is doing is a piece of work.*
Our great bard of Lombardy, Parini, has said it all in a magnificent poem entitled La caduta.
The poet answers someone who is helping him get up from the ground, telling him that his moral pride is the cause of his poverty with a classical epithet "You may be human, but you are not just". *How full of pride this little sentence is and at the same time how moving; we are all familiar with the experience of being offered consolation and compassion when what we wanted was justice. Consolation is like the thin soup of the poor; only God can give them justice.*
A learned author writes that "more people are condemned to hell by God's mercy than are punished in the law courts" *(St. Alfonso de Liguori,* Apparecchi alla morte, *p. 243).*
All these remarks about the staircase have to do with the museum; I'm not going off the subject. The German translator has understood the importance of this "Treppenstraße".
Basically the beehive temples in Sardinia (which were the inspiration behind the project in Maastricht) consisted of flights of steps that descended in search of purification or something more complex. Whatever it was, they were steps that went down.
Let's suppose that it was a descent without consolation: we don't have the information to say whether they were stairs of mercy or justice. (It is remarkable however that in figurative art, scenes of the Deposition and Entombment are always dramatically superior to those of the Ascension).
Dear Alex, I haven't forgotten our Museum but I wanted to elaborate a bit on the ideas behind it. Consolation, for instance. Maybe the limit of art is just this that it consoles us but only with sadness. In the end the same goes for museums. Museum crowds are no different from the crowds of tourists to our historic cities. The more they understand what surrounds them the sadder they become.
In our Museum however there's something new – palm trees.
Perhaps it was with the palm trees that we really met each other in the design process. They recur in every design and each time they mean something different. I used to think that palm trees were inconceivable in Holland – how wrong I was!
In a sense a northern landscape gives palm trees the fascination of the exotic. I don't need to refer to Goethe's palm in Padua, even though we should be grateful to great artists for noticing things like that.
The palm tree in Padua is a myth even though the artist probably used it like part of stage set, just as he did with the orange trees of Lago Maggiore.
You wrote to me about this extraordinary artist who has made an installation with palm trees that you intend to have at the entrance of the Museum. It is called L'Entrée de l'Exposition.
A more beautiful title is hard to imagine; the fact that it is in French gives it extra grandeur.
In a sense anyone who doesn't enter an exhibition is an outlaw and a cretin.
The fact that an object is on exhibition is no guarantee of its authenticity – there was a time when everything was put on show – savages, missionaries, the mentally ill, curiosities, what you will.
But, perhaps I'm only saying this because I'm thinking of exhibitions is an abstract fashion; in actual fact there's not much difference between an exhibition and a museum.
Maybe your artist was pulling my leg with his palm trees.
I'd like to build a huge Palmenhaus. *I admit that I own three palm trees of beauty that is quite exceptional even if they do grow in the microhabitat of a lake in Lombardy. I also love them as my own possession and I would not exchange them for the most beautiful palms of Palermo. But they cannot be moved from their microhabitat. There are things and people that are too beautiful and fragile for one to be able to change their lives even a little; I'm reminded of Chekhov's heroine, Sonia, who was killed by that immense land that loved her but could not save her. I'm not straying too far from the subject, because Chekhov also belongs in the museum. It's arguable that* The Seagull *is the most profound museum of the bourgeoisie.*
Museums have their limits, however; it will even be possible to repeat that pistol shot painlessly.
I'm writing the sort of things one says to Museum Directors and bit by bit I'm jumbling up innocence and complexity.
What is a museum nowadays anyway?
I'll spare you the usual story of Hadrian and the treasures, or the positivism that insists on making lists of objects, etc. It seems that the schools will make sure that the museums remain tied to this tradition.
As for you, you've strayed a long way from it, so I can ask you a question without expecting an answer. The answer became clear while we were planning the museum.
If there's one virtue we have in common, it's that neither of us takes any notice not only of the Entwerfer, *the designers, etc., but also of the academic world, just as previously we managed to take no notice of the schools.*
A young German poet has written:
"Ich hatte schlechte Lehrer.
Ich war ein guter Schüler".
But they weren't bad teachers in the sense that they neglected us, but rather because of the pig-headed malice with which they discouraged us from being guter Schüler.
Somewhere, I don't remember where, Plato says that the most dangerous form of ignorance is that of those who don't know but who think that they do. While a failure to understand is only the folly of a mind that aspires towards truth.
It was never our folly to claim that we knew, but this folly did help us realize just how pig-headed and malicious those people are who don't know but who think that they do. Perhaps your Entwerfer, *the fashionable designers are preferable after all. What I'm thinking of particularly is fashion and the consumption of fashion, of discos and all that kind of thing. I'm not changing my mind but I hate this academic world so much that I think there's always some*

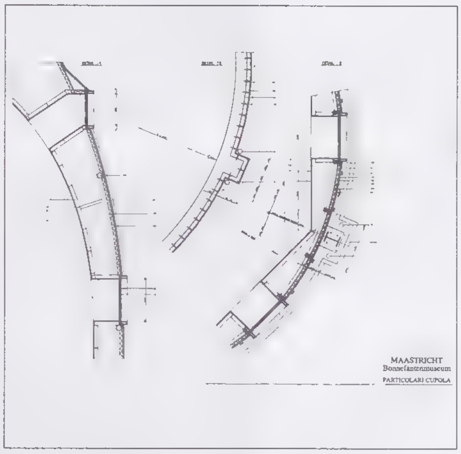
reality behind the changes that take place. And then there are museums that stop still for a moment: cuisine, any bourgeois cuisine you care to name could be a museum, if it isn't one already. Things like this appeal to architects, but let's not talk about the architects who are fashionable at the moment. And the real culprit was the architect who devised theories that turned out to be useful for the destruction of the cities.
In the end there will always be a geometrican, a Baumeister *who will see that the house gets built. Don't bother about the architects – they're all asleep. Just as in the beautiful book you gave me,* Bauen ist eine Lust – *and who wouldn't want to get pleasure out of it? To adorn the houses with pretty women in the windows. A more decorative* Bauordnung : Ein Fenster auf, macht gesunden Lebenslauf.
Writing about the museum my brain starts reeling with questions or else with impressions so I should get back now to my most beautiful topic: The Maastricht Museum.
First of all the name of your museum is a wonderful stroke of luck, Bonnefantenmuseum. *Even if the children are no longer there they've left us nothing but good. And in a way you are the father of these clever children – who are not just clever but good as well.*
It is hard to imagine a mythical muse more mysterious and pure. These good children have lost their names. And it's the job of a Director or of the Museum to give things names. It could be a stone washed clean by an ancient shower of rain, a unique etching, the weapon of a Roman legionary or any of these things that have lost their names.
In this way the Museum takes the place of the birth register, or rather it is a more complicated register, beginning with these bonnefanten *who are the origin of the Museum. To reconstruct and give a name to little fragments, a little watch, a bracelet, a worn-out sweater or a game – it was to create reality.*
Our world too is losing its name. As though in a long evening where everything starts looking the same and the birth register loses its meaning. What about architecture?
Architecture is a reference point – how many sailors travelling down the Maas will note it down as a turning point in time. The dome is the sign that comes after the Roman bridge. Inside it the changing light of the sky, the sky at noon that I love so much.
In this light of evening some people, perhaps madmen or fools, will seek just that thing that the museums have promised us: a sort of eternity, an eternity of marble, the monumentality of a tomb. It is like an instinct for security. Nothing has ever moved me as much as Cézanne's phrase, "I paint for the museums". *Just as he had realized that green is really blue, so the grand old man had also seen those huge buildings that were awaiting his work and which would welcome it. They were the counterpart of Provence and they transcended Paris.*
"I paint for the museums".

I get feeling that I know which museums he was talking about; but Platonic folly easily turns into a clinical madness.
Dear Alex, I'll end this letter by thanking you for one thing in particular: you have allowed me to give the museum a name, literally. "MUSEUM" cast in leaad on white stone. It is hard to express why this is so important for me .
I should quote my favourite writer or educator, Raymond Roussel: "devant moi s'étendait l'immense place des Trophées, située au cœur même de l'Éjur, imposante capitale formée de cases sans nombre....A ma droite, devant le point médian de la rangée d'arbres s'élevait,....certain théâtre rouge, sur le fronton duquel les mots 'Club des Incomparables' composant trois lignes en lettres d'argent, étaient brillamment environnées de larges rayons d'or épanouis dans toutes les directions comme autour d'un soleil".
This Museum, or Théâtre rouge *or* Club des Incomparables *has been erected in this city of small nameless houses.*
Without wanting to go all the way with our author, I am fascinated by these "trois lignes en lettres d'argent, brillamment environnées de larges rayons d'or épanouis dans toutes les directions comme autour d'un soleil".
Rhetorically speaking it would be nice to end this letter with the great barges that cleave their way along the Maas, with the cycle path and the splendid Dutch girls going to work, taking all this as frame for our Museum.
And then to see the crowds of people queuing or floking to got in – for research, for curiosity, out of stupidity, to acquire knowledge or because they are tourists, and for many other reasons. For this mystery of the entrance. That's right: L'Entrée de L'Exposition.
But perhaps a letter has to have an ending even when the age of letter-writing itself has come to an end.
I wanted to answer to your letter, by continuing your discussion on some of the themes connected with this work.
But perhaps we can say for sure that beyond all these incidents, proposals and comparisons, the museum is a work that furthers progress, that helps make a better city; in the end it advances our knowledge.
I no longer know what kind of a thing progress and knowledge are, but there's always something sad about progress – sad because it really is something that's inevitable.

With warm regards,
Aldo Rossi
Milan, December 1994



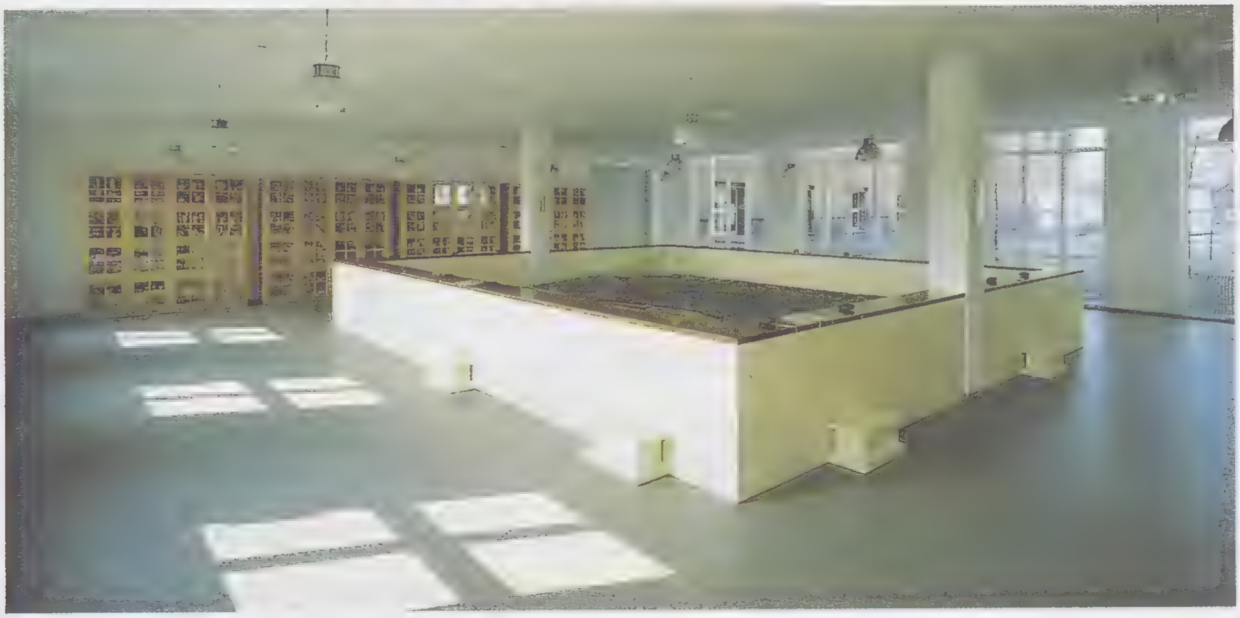




Prospetto e dettagli della Cupola.

Elevation and details of the Cupola.









Vista esterna della Cupola e viste interne del foyer e dello scalone centrale.
Foto M. Carrieri.

Exterior view of the Cupola and interior views of the foyer and of the main staircase.
Photo M. Carrieri.

1. Vista aerea dell'Aeroporto di Schiphol, Amsterdam, 1949. KLM Aerocarto.

1. Aerial view of the Airport of Schiphol, Amsterdam, 1949. KLM Aerocarto.

1



Forma e identità del Randstad
Auke van der Woud

Il nome *Randstad* deriva a quanto pare da Albert Plesman, il pioniere olandese del volo. Dall'alto del campo di volo di Schiphol gli si offriva infatti un'amplissima vista della parte più urbanizzata del Paese. È un bel nome, una città a forma di anello, una striscia che circonda un vuoto. Quando, all'inizio del Ventesimo secolo, le espansioni di Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, L'Aia, Rotterdam, Dordrecht e Utrecht cominciarono lentamente a raggrupparsi in forma di arco intorno a un vuoto centrale, nessuno avrebbe pensato che qui si stesse formando spontaneamente un agglomerato urbano a nastro, una città lineare.

Una città lineare frammentaria

Nel corso del nostro secolo quel processo è stato prima osteggiato e poi assecondato dai pianificatori. Perché, per quali ragioni? Forse la spiegazione più convincente è di natura storica. Gli Olandesi si immaginano tradizionalmente una città come un centro o, detto in modo più appropriato, come una entità legata ad esso. Nel nucleo centrale sono presenti le espressioni della vita urbana di più alto valore. Lì sono più forti l'identità e il carattere della città, è lì che il visitatore decide come valutare questa o quella città. Anche la misura e la piccola scala degli antichi centri storici rappresentano per l'Olandese, in modo più o meno consapevole, il criterio del suo pensare l'urbanizzazione. La città olandese ideale è costituita da un centro, preferibilmente non troppo grande; una città di milioni di abitanti è qualcosa di più adatto a un Paese straniero.
Tornando alla forma lineare dell'agglomerato che Albert Plesman vide svilupparsi dal suo posto di osservazione, il fatto che i pianificatori ne fossero poco entusiasti dipendeva da un lato dall'antica propensione nazionale a preservare le identità urbane locali, ma dall'altro anche dalla circostanza che tra gli urbanisti la reputazione del concetto di città lineare era allora piuttosto debole. I modelli più noti erano quelli proposti da alcuni esponenti dell'avanguardia tra le due guerre – Le Corbusier, Hilberseimer, Miljutin, Arthur Korn –, le cui idee a favore della città lineare avevano in comune il fatto di essere proposte puramente teoriche, dogmatiche, e quindi artificiose.
In realtà, la più antica proposta di città lineare dell'epoca moderna aveva presentato alcuni elementi stimolanti. La *Ciudad Lineal* proposta dall'ingegnere spagnolo Soría y

Form and identity of the Randstad
Auke van der Woud

The name Randstad *comes, as far as we know, from Albert Plesman, the Dutch aviation pioneer. We are certain that he could observe, from above the Schiphol air field, many different views of the most developed part of the country.*
It is a nice name, a city in the form of a ring, a strip extended around a void. When at the beginning of the 20th century the expansions of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, The Hague, Rotterdam, Dordrecht and Utrecht slowly began to connect to one another in the form of an arc around a central void, no one would have imagined that what was spontaneously taking form was an urbanized ribbon, a linear city.

A fragmentary linear city

This process, during the course of this century, was at first contested, then supported by the planners. Why, for what reasons? Perhaps the most convincing explanation is historical in nature. The Dutch, traditionally, think of a city as a center or, to put it in a more appropriate way, as an entity connected to a center. The central nucleus is the place of concentration of the most important expressions of urban life. This is where the strongest identity and character of the city reside, this is where the visitor can immediately grasp the relative importance of one city or another. Even the relatively small scale of the ancient historical centers represents, for the Dutch, in a more or less conscious way, the point of reference for an idea of the urban. The ideal city for the people of the Netherlands is a center, and not a very large one. Cities with a population of one million or more are thought to be better suited for foreign countries.
To get back to the linear form of urban sprawl that Albert Plesman saw from his special aerial vantage point, the fact that the urban planners were not initially enthused can be attributed, on the one hand, to the consolidated local tendency to preserve urban identities, and on the other to the fact that the notion of the linear city was still not sufficiently developed. The best-known images were those proposed by certain exponents of the avant-garde between the two World Wars – Le Corbusier, Hilberseimer, Miljutin, Arthur Korn – whose ideas in favor of the linear city shared the fact that they were proposed as pure theory, not as practical solutions.

Mata (1882) intorno a Madrid prevedeva che l'agglomerato urbano non dovesse espandersi ai margini del proprio limite edificato, bensì svilupparsi lungo una direttrice strutturata con una linea tranviaria che, con un raggio di 7 chilometri dal centro della città, avrebbe collegato tra loro i nuclei insediativi preesistenti.
Alcuni anni più tardi, nel 1898, Ebenezer Howard avrebbe derivato dalla *Ciudad Lineal* la ben nota variante perfezionata della *garden city*, con la quale intendeva incanalare il processo di espansione urbana fissandone in modo certo il limite di crescita e ripartendo le potenzialità eccedenti su nuove città satelliti.
Negli anni Venti e Trenta la diffusione a livello professionale delle idee di Howard, sviluppatesi in particolare nell'ambito della International Federation of Housing and Town Planning, non era affatto ignota agli amministratori e ai pianificatori di Amsterdam, Rotterdam e L'Aia. Tuttavia nell'applicare quelle idee essi si interessavano solo ai fenomeni circoscritti alla propria città, senza preoccuparsi di considerare il sistema urbano che nel corso dei successivi cinquant'anni si sarebbe formato al di fuori di ogni pianificazione.
Negli anni Trenta il concetto di Randstad aveva un significato solo per qualcuno lassù tra le nuvole, o per un paio di teorici che, chiusi nei loro studi, si trastullavano con la carta demografica di quel territorio. Poco sarebbe accaduto in tale ambito fino ai tardi anni Cinquanta, quando l'Olanda, dopo cinque anni di occupazione tedesca e un piano di ricostruzione elaborato e gestito centralmente, si era abituata a una pianificazione fortemente centralizzata.
Nelle nuove istanze pianificatorie – quali ad esempio il Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan e il Centraal Planbureau – si afferma una visione unitaria, tesa a ricomporre questioni di importanza generale. Come appare nella pubblicazione *Het Westen en het overige Nederland*, 1956 [L'Ovest in rapporto all'intera Olanda] e nella *Nota inzake de ruimtelijke ordening in Nederland*, 1960 [Legge sulla pianificazione territoriale dell'Olanda], il governo nazionale considerò allora per la prima volta ufficialmente quest'area come un'unità funzionale, all'interno della quale veniva assegnato alle tre maggiori città il compito di guidare l'Olanda nella costruzione dello Stato Sociale.
La conseguenza di tale atteggiamento era facile da prevedere: una crescita enorme delle superfici urbanizzate. La reazione dei pianificatori appariva ovviamente ispirata alla politica postbellica inglese delle *new town* (una diretta derivazione della *garden city* di Howard). Il concetto di Randstad acquistava ora una forma territoriale: la crescita preventivata sarebbe stata assorbita da anonime città satelliti, mentre i grandi centri urbani sarebbero rimasti separati per mezzo di *buffer-zones* [zone cuscinetto]. Anche un altro carattere della strutturazione del Randstad allora concepita va sottolineato: la natura agricola dell'area centrale, intorno alla quale le città erano disposte ad anello, avrebbe dovuto essere rigorosamente salvaguardata. Il suo nome, *Groene Hart van Holland* [Cuore verde dell'Olanda], esprime bene quanto fosse grande la considerazione dei pianificatori per l'umido territorio del *polder*: una natura in un certo senso idealizzata, vista come rimedio contro la prospettata urbanizzazione di massa. Il Randstad Holland diventava una città lineare frammentaria, senza un centro.
Questa affermazione illumina tuttavia solo uno degli aspetti della questione, quello della pianificazione territoriale centralistica. Chi vuole definire il Randstad Holland una metropoli deve tenere presente il fatto che qui si può parlare solamente di una metropoli frammentaria e riassemblata, con grandi vuoti alternati a punti di elevata densità[1].
Tale carattere frammentario non è solo il risultato delle scelte di governo del dopoguerra, tese, attraverso la salvaguardia di grandi quantità di territorio agricolo, a preservare l'idea nazionale di città come centro e a placare nella società il timore di una crescita urbana sfrenata. È anche la conseguenza della effettiva diversità tra i caratteri delle città che lo compongono, formatisi nel corso dei secoli.

Centri della regione
Le città più importanti dell'odierno Randstad sono caratterizzate da un ricco e potente passato. Nel Seicento il loro orizzonte, si potrebbe quasi dire la loro regione di riferimento, era grande quanto il mondo. Esse difendevano i propri interessi soprattutto lungo le coste degli oceani. Il grandissimo potere dei capitali e della flotta teneva dappertutto in movimento un redditizio flusso di merci, una corrente di spezie, lana, legno, pece, sale, schiavi, porcellane, caffè, zucchero, pesce. Su innumerevoli prodotti e traffici esse esercitavano un

To tell the truth, the oldest proposal for a linear city of the modern era had certain stimulating features. The Ciudad Lineal *proposed by the Spanish engineer Soría y Mata (1882) around the city of Madrid hypothesized a city that did not expand at random beyond its boundaries, but instead along an axis structured along the railway, encountering pre-existing settlements within a radius of 7 kilometers.*
Some years later, in 1898, Ebenezer Howard came up with the famous, perfected variation of the "garden city", designed to channel the process of urban expansion, establishing growth limits and shifting excess growth off into new satellite cities.
In the Twenties and Thirties the spread of Howard's ideas, especially through the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning, was known to the administrators and planners of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. They paid attention, however, only to developments in their own cities, without any consideration of the urban system that was growing up, and would during the course of the next fifty years take a form uneffected by any kind of planning.
In the Thirties the Randstad concept had meaning only for someone with his head in the clouds, or for a couple of theorists who, in the lonely ivory towers, were amusing themselves with demographic statistics. Very little was to happen in this area until the Fifties, when Holland, after five years of German occupation and a centrally managed reconstruction plan, had gotten used to the concept of centralized planning.
In the context of the new planning initiatives – like, for example, the Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan and the Centraal Planbureau – a unified vision emerged, aimed at reordering issues of generalized importance. As can be seen in the publication Het Westen en het overige Nederland, *1956 [The West in relation to all of Holland], and in the* Nota inzake de ruimtelijke ordening in Nederland, *1960 [Law on the territorial planning of Holland], the national government considered, for the first time, this area as a single functional unit, within which the three major cities were assigned the task of guiding Holland in the construction of a wellfare state.*
The physical consequences of such an approach were easy to predict: an enormous growth of urbanized territory. The reaction of the planners was also consistent, inspired by the British postwar policy of "new towns" (an offshoot of the "garden city" of Ebenezer Howard). The Randstad concept took on a spatial form: the estimated growth would be absorbed by anonymous satellite cities, while the major urban centers would remain separated from one another by "buffer zones". And another characteristic of the Randstad as it was conceived at the time should be underlined: the agricultural character of the central area, around which the cities were arranged in a ring, would have to be vigorously safeguarded. Its name, the Groene Hart van Holland *[the Green Heart of Holland] is indicative of the esteem of the planners for the humid zones of the* polder*: in a certain sense an idealized natural setting, seen as a healthful response to the upcoming mass urban development. Randstad Holland became a fragmentary linear city, without a center.*
But this statement sheds light on only one aspect of the question, that of centralized planning. Anyone who wants to describe the Randstad Holland as a metropolis will have to accept the fact that here we can only speak of a fragmented and re-assembled metropolis, with large gaps and zones of high physical density[1]*.*
Moreover, this fragmentary character is not only the result of postwar governmental policy aimed at the protection of large areas of agricultural territory in order to preserve the national idea of the city as a center and to assuage the anxieties of the society in the face of rapid urban growth. It is also the consequence of real diversities among the various original cities, whose character was the result of hundreds of years of history.

Centers of the region

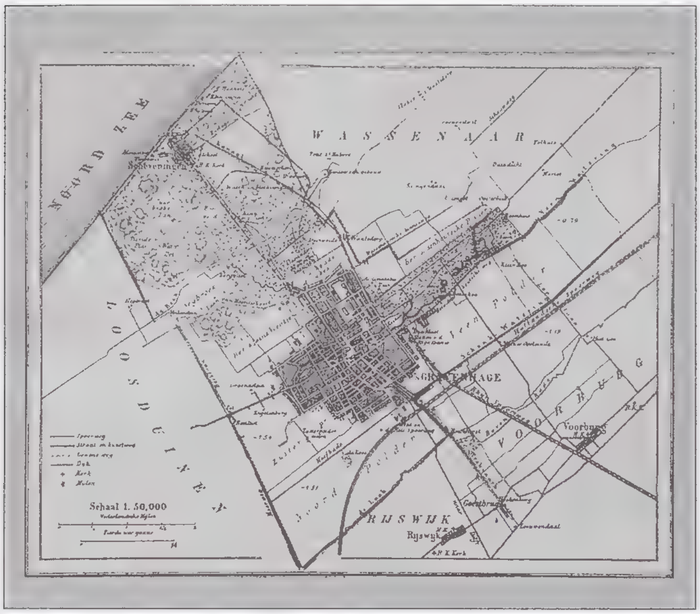
The most important cities of today's Randstad are characterized by a rich, powerful past. Their horizon, one could almost say their region of reference, was as large as the entire world in the 17th century. They defended their interests, above all, along the coasts of the oceans. The great power of their capital and their seagoing fleets sustained a constant flow of merchandise, of spices, wool, wood, pitch, salt, slaves, porcelain, coffee, sugar, fish. They had cornered worldwide monopolies on many products. These facts, dating back to the era of the Golden Century (Gouden Eeuw)*, are known to all, as are the developments that followed in the 18th century, when Dutch control of world commerce*

monopolio mondiale, che sviluppavano e assolvevano in ogni evenienza con la propria marina. Tali tendenze, risalenti all'epoca del nostro Secolo d'oro (*Gouden Eeuw*), sono ben note, come pure i fatti che ne derivarono nel secolo seguente.
Allora l'egemonia olandese sul commercio mondiale venne meno e il potere politico e commerciale della Repubblica delle Sette Province (*Republiek der Zeven Provinciën*) cominciò a declinare. Nel Diciannovesimo secolo e nella prima metà del Ventesimo di tale depressione economica (una depressione durata circa cento anni) veniva fornita una spiegazione molto semplice: i mercanti erano vissuti beatamente di rendita sulle fortune guadagnate dai loro antenati. La ricerca storica ha tuttavia dimostrato già da alcuni decenni che la regressione delle città olandesi non va ascritta in particolare alla mentalità delle famiglie dominanti, ma a cambiamenti strutturali intervenuti nel sistema mondiale del trasporto delle merci. Quali che possano essere state le ragioni – gli storici ritengono di non averle ancora pienamente comprese –, la conseguenza fu che il commercio internazionale alla fine del Diciottesimo secolo si allontanò in misura crescente dalle navi e dalle città olandesi. La pratica tradizionale del commercio primario si dimostrò superata, dispendiosa in termini di tempo e tale da rendere troppo oneroso il transito di intermediazione.
Non meno grave fu il fatto che i nuovi tipi di nave da trasporto avessero un pescaggio sempre maggiore, mentre le rotte di avvicinamento ai porti di Amsterdam e Rotterdam erano piene di bassi fondali e banchi di sabbia. Intorno al 1800 l'Olanda, un tempo al centro del commercio mondiale, ne era diventata la periferia.
È importante, nel contesto di questo saggio, illustrare in modo più puntuale questo noto episodio della nostra storia. Forse anche le città all'inizio del Diciannovesimo secolo erano scivolate dal centro verso la periferia? A prima vista, sì. Il ruolo influente delle grandi città olandesi, di Amsterdam anzitutto, nella politica mondiale sembrava messo fuori gioco. Dopo la rivoluzione del 1795, anche la sua posizione di guida della politica della antica Repubblica era cessata. Dopo un periodo di transizione sotto l'occupazione francese, nel 1813 l'Olanda ebbe alla guida della nazione un re e un parlamento. Questo nuovo Governo centrale sottomise sempre più a sé le città, un tempo così potenti.

broke down, and the political power of the Republic of the Seven Provinces (Republiek der Zeven Provincïen) *began to diminish. In the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century there was a very simple explanation for the economic depression (which lasted about one hundred years): the merchants had squandered the fortunes accumulated by their ancestors. But historical research has shown, for some decades, that the regression of the Dutch cities cannot be blamed, in particular, on the mentality of the prominent families; its causes lie in structural changes that took place in the worldwide system of merchandise transport. Apart from such reasons – which historians are still trying to sort out – the result, in any case, was that international commerce at the end of the 18th century, and to a growing extent, moved away from Dutch ships and cities. The traditional practice of primary commerce was obsolete, time-consuming and too costly for intermediation.*
The low point was also accentuated by the fact that new types of cargo ships were deeper in draft, while the navigation routes to Amsterdam and Rotterdam were full of sand bars and shallows. In and around 1800 Holland, once the center of world trade, became part of the periphery.
It is important, in the context of this essay, to illustrate this episode in detail. Perhaps we can say that Dutch cities, at the beginning of the 19th century, were also moving toward the sidelines. At first glance this would appear to be the case. The role of the large Dutch cities in world politics, and especially that of Amsterdam, was in decline. After the revolution of 1795, even its original position as a leader in the politics of the Republic had come to an end. After a period of transition under French occupation, in 1813 Holland was governed by a king and a parliament. This new central government exercised increasing power over the once-mighty cities. But there was one area in which the cities retained their traditional influence, and which they learned to exploit at the beginning of the 19th century: that of the surrounding region[2]. While in 1800 the Dutch cities, with their walls and gates, were still very distinctly separated from the surrounding countryside as in the Middle Ages, in 1813 the systematic demolition of these fortifications began, and the cities opened out toward their surroundings. The rigidity of the separation in

2. 3. Piante delle città dell'Aia e di Rotterdam, 1850 c. Da J. Kuyper, Gemeenteatlas van de provincie Zuid-Holland, *1869.*
4. Disegno prospettico del Canale del Mare del Nord, completato nel 1876. Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.
5. La città di Amsterdam nel 1544, ripresa nel 1870 da un disegno di Cornelis Anthoniszoon. Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.

2. 3. Maps of The Hague and Rotterdam, 1850 ca. From J. Kuyper, Gemeenteatlas van de provincie Zuid-Holland, *1869.*
4. Perspective drawing of the North Sea Canal, completed in 1876. Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.
5. Amsterdam in 1544, drawn in 1870 from a map by Cornelis Anthoniszoon. Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.



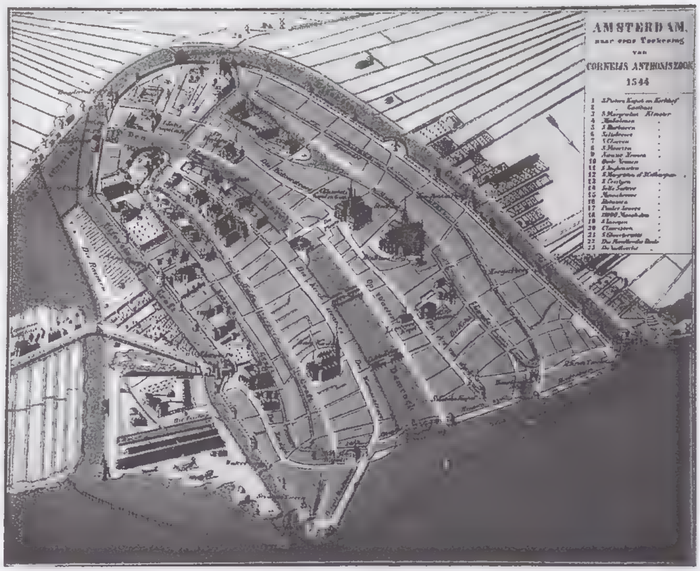
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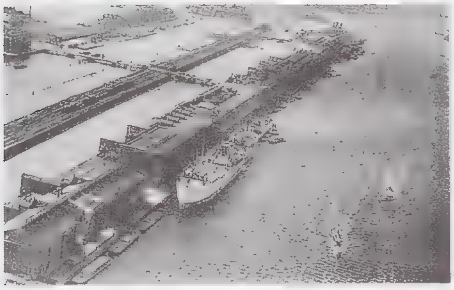
6. Vista aerea del Porto di Amsterdam, anni '20. Da The importance of Holland seen from the air, *1928.*
7. Vista aerea dei lavori nel Porto di Rotterdam, 1891.

6. Aerial view of the port of Amsterdam, 1920's. From The importance of Holland seen from the air, *1928.*
7. Aerial view of the works in the port of Rotterdam, 1891.

Vi fu tuttavia un ambito in cui le città mantennero il loro tradizionale dominio, e che anzi all'inizio del Diciannovesimo secolo impararono a sfruttare in modo più efficiente ai fini del proprio benessere e della propria crescita: la regione circostante[2]. Mentre intorno al 1800 le città olandesi conservavano ancora, con le mura e le porte, una forte contrapposizione medievale rispetto alla campagna, a partire dal 1813 cominciò la demolizione sistematica di queste opere di difesa e le città si aprirono al territorio circostante. Quanto fosse ancora rigida tale separazione intorno al 1800 appare dal costume, ampiamente diffuso, di chiudere al tramonto le porte della città, le cui chiavi erano custodite dal borgomastro fino al mattino successivo. Dopo il 1820 anche le strade e le vie d'acqua più importanti vennero molto migliorate e rese più confortevoli; e dopo l'introduzione in Olanda della ferrovia viaggiare divenne subito un divertimento popolare. "Olanda" significa in questo caso l'attuale area del Randstad, con le tratte Amsterdam-Haarlem (1839), Leiden (1842), Utrecht (1843), L'Aia (1843), Delft e Rotterdam (1847). Nel 1839 la ferrovia trasportava 78.000 persone, nel 1843 circa 470.000 e nel 1850 900.000, cioè il doppio di quello che era allora il numero di abitanti di Amsterdam, Rotterdam, L'Aia, Leiden e Haarlem messi insieme.
Quali siano state le cause di questa passione per il viaggio, senza precedenti nella storia olandese, in effetti non lo sappiamo. Siamo solo sicuri che non si trattava del puro piacere di viaggiare. Le città devono avere fondato su altre ragioni la loro nuova forza di attrazione: se è vero che avevano perduto il loro antico potere politico e militare e che nel corso del Diciottesimo secolo la loro posizione economica si era fortemente indebolita, tuttavia la cultura urbana consentì loro di acquistare una centralità di nuovo tipo, di divenire i punti di raccolta di una massa umana in movimento.

Centri del commercio mondiale

Per le *élite* dirigenti e commerciali dell'epoca il treno non era altro che un innocente svago popolare, un mezzo di trasporto privo di un'importanza economica strutturale. Preferivano confrontarsi con interrogativi più seri, per esempio in quale maniera Amsterdam, e in minor misura Rotterdam, avrebbero potuto riconquistare la precedente centralità nel commercio mondiale. Trasporti e commerci avvenivano per nave e non con il treno; le *élite* concordavano dunque sul fatto che prioritariamente i due porti dovessero di nuovo diventare facilmente accessibili alle navi di maggiore tonnellaggio. In breve tempo furono quindi scavate due nuove vie d'acqua: il Noordhollands Kanaal, tra Amsterdam e Den Helder (terminato nel 1824), e il Kanaal door Voorne, tra Rotterdam e Hellevoetsluis (terminato nel 1830). Sebbene questi canali avessero dimensioni fin allora sconosciute (40 m di larghezza e 6 m di profondità), essi divennero insufficienti già intorno al 1850. Ciò era dovuto soprattutto ai costruttori americani e inglesi, che stavano approntando navi più grandi e molto più veloci: il *klipper*, una nave a vela, e la nave a vapore. Intorno al 1850 la velocità era diventata un elemento importante negli scambi internazionali. A partire dal Diciassettesimo secolo Londra era il centro più importante dei traffici marittimi mondiali. Data la posizione geografica, era dunque logico che Rotterdam divenisse per il commercio internazionale un porto più conveniente di Amsterdam. Dal punto di vista di Londra, infatti, la rotta usuale per Amsterdam appariva troppo lunga: prima verso Den Helder, poi un tragitto di due giorni attraverso il Noordhollands Kanaal, troppo piccolo per potervi veleggiare, così che le navi da carico dovevano essere trainate per 70 km da due tiri di cavalli. La costruzione del Noordzee-kanaal (completato nel 1876, lungo 24 km e profondo 10 m), che Amsterdam approntò in un tempo brevissimo, non riuscì a farle rimontare l'inferiorità intervenuta nei confronti di Rotterdam. Del resto anche Rotterdam realizzò negli stessi anni un collegamento con il mare altrettanto moderno, la Nieuwe Waterweg, che raggiungeva la costa nei pressi di Hoek Van Holland. Intorno al 1900 il volume di traffico commerciale che transitava nelle due direzioni in quest'ultima via d'acqua era doppio di quello del Noordzee-kanaal; in seguito la differenza aumentò ancora.
Il fattore tempo aveva acquistato intorno al 1850 un peso economico maggiore negli ambienti industriali stranieri che in quelli olandesi. Quindi non solo diveniva importante la diversa accessibilità di Amsterdam e Rotterdam, ma ancor più la loro adeguatezza a funzionare come porti di transito. L'industrializzazione in Germania, che soprattutto dopo il 1850 ebbe nella Renania uno sviluppo spettacolare, creò un retroterra produttivo con molte esigenze specifiche. Considerati i problematici collegamenti di Amsterdam con il Reno, ne



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1800 is illustrated by the fact that the gates of the cities were locked at sundown, and the keys were held by the burgomaster until the next morning. By 1820 important roadways and waterways were being improved; after the introduction of the railroad in Holland, travel became immediately very popular. "Holland", in this case, with reference to the present area of the Randstad, means: the Amsterdam-Haarlem segment (1839), Leiden (1842), Utrecht (1843), The Hague (1843), Delft and Rotterdam (1847). In 1839 the railway transported 78,000 passengers, in 1843 about 470,000 and in 1850 900,000, or twice the combined population of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Leiden and Haarlem at the time.
The causes behind this unprecedented feverish travel are not know to us today. But we can be certain that these were not merely pleasure trips. The cities must have based their new force of attraction on other factors: although their former political and military power was gone, and their economic position greatly compromised during the course of the 18th century, urban culture permitted the cities to take on a new type of centrality, becoming the gathering points of masses of people in motion.

Centers of world commerce
For the administrative and commercial élite of the period the train appeared to be merely an inoffensive popular amusement, without any particular economic or structural significance. They preferred to discuss more serious matters, such as how Amsterdam, and to a lesser extent Rotterdam, could reattain their former central role in world commerce. Transport and commerce were a question of ships, not trains; therefore these men agreed that the ports had to be made accessible for ships with greater tonnage. In a short time two new waterways were created: the Noordhollands Kanaal, between Amsterdam and Den Helder (completed in 1824), and the Kanaal door Voorne, between Rotterdam and Hellevoetsluis (completed in 1830). Although these canals were unprecedented in size, at the time – 40 m wide and 6 m deep – they were already inadequate by 1850. The causes can be attributed above all to British and American ship builders, who were developing larger and faster vessels: the clipper ship, a sailing vessel, and the steamship. By 1850 speed had become an important factor in international shipping. Since the 17th century London had been the most important center of world seagoing traffic. Due to its geographical position, it was logical that Rotterdam should become a more convenient port than Amsterdam for international commerce. From London's point of view, in fact, the usual route for Amsterdam was too long – first to Den Helder, then two days' journey through the Noordhollands Kanaal, which was too small for the use of sail power, meaning that cargo ships had to be towed for 70 km by two teams of horses. The construction of the Noordzee-kanaal (completed in 1876, 24 km long and 10 m deep), which Amsterdam effected in record time, did not suffice to compensate for the disadvantage which had developed with respect to Rotterdam. Nevertheless Rotterdam, in the same period, constructed an equally modern waterway to the sea, the Nieuwe Waterweg, toward the coast near Hoek Van Holland. By 1900 the volume of commercial traffic in both direction was twice that of the Noordzee-kanaal. After 1900 the difference increased.
Around 1850 the time factor took on economic importance, but moreso in foreign industrial circles than in those of Holland. Therefore not only did the diversities in accessibility between Amsterdam and Rotterdam become important, but also their suitability to be used as ports of transit. Industrialization in Germany, which especially after 1850 in the area of the Rhine grew in a spectacular manner, gave rise to a productive territory with very specific needs. Considering the rather problematic connection of Amsterdam to the Rhine, the immediate result was further advantage for Rotterdam. Thus the demise of Amsterdam as a world port was confirmed: the mighty trade center of the past was surpassed by its relatively small competitor, Rotterdam. At least this was how the situation appeared on the surface; in truth, under the pressure of foreign trade Amsterdam's commercial function was divided in two, with transport and distribution functions moving to Rotterdam and financial, banking and stock exchange functions continuing to flourish and grow in Amsterdam. Instead of a single center, by 1900 there were two international trade centers.
This division of functions between the two cities gradually revealed how, in the future, the motor of the Dutch economy would move east-west, while the

derivava immediatamente che Rotterdam risultava di nuovo privilegiata. Veniva così sanzionata la fine della fortuna di Amsterdam come porto mondiale; sul finire dell'Ottocento lo strapotente centro dei commerci di un tempo fu superato dalla relativamente piccola Rotterdam. Questo almeno appariva alla superficie; in realtà, sotto la pressione degli scambi con l'estero la funzione commerciale di Amsterdam si scisse in due parti: trasporto e distribuzione si spostarono verso Rotterdam, mentre le attività finanziarie, bancarie e borsistiche continuarono a fiorire ad Amsterdam e vi si svilupparono ulteriormente. Invece di un unico centro, si costituirono intorno al 1900 due centri commerciali internazionali.
Con tale divisione di compiti tra Amsterdam e Rotterdam divenne a poco a poco evidente che in futuro la fonte dell'economia olandese si sarebbe mossa in direzione est-ovest, mentre la secolare rotta nord-sud dominata da Amsterdam avrebbe perso d'importanza. Dovette passare tuttavia molto tempo prima che Amsterdam si rassegnasse ad aver perso il suo posto d'onore di prima città commerciale del Paese. Perfino quando Rotterdam, intorno al 1875, conquistò l'80% del traffico proveniente dalla Renania, Amsterdam continuò ad assillare il Governo con piani tesi a neutralizzarne la concorrenza. Il rimedio miracoloso sembrò essere un miglior collegamento con il Reno. Quando questo finalmente venne realizzato – il Merwedekanaal, completato nel 1892 –, l'opera tanto attesa si rivelò una pia illusione.

Tre centri nazionali

È ovvio interpretare il rapporto sviluppatosi nel corso del Diciannovesimo secolo tra Amsterdam e Rotterdam come una forma di concorrenza; ma sarebbe meglio tener conto di un altro carattere del fenomeno, quello della specializzazione. Per noi non è così importante come per i contemporanei il fatto che le due città cercassero di elidersi reciprocamente, quanto il fatto che in quel periodo ciascuna di esse assunse una funzione e un ruolo specifici, acquistando in tal modo un carattere differente. Tale specializzazione influì anche sul terzo polo dell'attuale area del Randstad, L'Aia ('s-Gravenhage). Essa era stata nel lontano passato residenza del conte d'Olanda, più tardi sede dello *Stadhouder* della Repubblica delle Sette Province e luogo di riunione degli Stati Generali. Quando nel 1813 fu proclamato il Regno

centuries-old north-south axis dominated by Amsterdam would lose its meaning. Nevertheless, many years passed before Amsterdam finally acknowledged the loss of its position as the country's leading center of trade. Even when Rotterdam, in 1875, captured 80% of the traffic from the Rhine, Amsterdam contined to petition the government with plans designed to neutralize the competition. The miraculous remedy for the situation appeared to be an improved connection to the Rhine. When this was finally built – the Merwedekanaal, completed in 1892 – it turned out to be an ineffectual dream.

Three national centers

It is inevitable to interpret the relationship that developed between Amsterdam and Rotterdam during the 19th century as one of competition, although it might be better to focus on another aspect of this relationship: that of specialization. For us it is not very important, as it was for the people of the time, to know that each of the cities attempted to defeat the other. What is important is that each took on specific functions and roles, and therefore assumed a particular character. This specialization also had its impact on the third major center of the present Randstad area: The Hague ('s-Gravenhage). In the distant past the city had been the residence of the Count of Holland, and later it was the Stadhouder *of the Republic of the Seven Provinces, and the meeting place of the* Staten-Generaal. *When the Kingdom of Holland was proclaimed in 1813, Amsterdam became the capital. This honor was undoubtedly a result of the city's glorious past, but the real effects were insignificant. Amsterdam functioned as the capital only in terms of protocol and ceremony. The real capital was The Hague, the residence of the royal family, headquarters of the government, site of the ministries and the parliament.*
This important Solomon-like decision to create two capitals was not at all unusual in the 19th century. It reflected the situation that had developed in the two cities over the centuries. In particular, who would have imagined, in 1813, that the positioning of the seat of the government would become so important? In and around that year state employees were about 1000 in number; ministries and departments set about occupying existing buildings, and the Staten-Generaal *met for only a few*

8. *Carta ferroviaria e tranviaria dell'Olanda, 1900 c. Collezione cartografica Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.*
9. *Carta stradale del Randstad in scala 1:100.000 rappresentata come un'unica mappa urbana. Edizioni 010, Rotterdam 1997.*

8. *Railway and tramway map of the Netherlands, 1900 ca. Collection of Maps, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.*
9. *Road map of the Randstad (scale 1:100.000) represented as a single urban map. 010 Publishing, Rotterdam 1997.*



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d'Olanda, Amsterdam ne divenne la capitale. Tale onore le toccò sicuramente per il suo illustre passato, ma la portata effettiva di questo privilegio fu piuttosto scarsa. Amsterdam funzionò come capitale solo in senso costituzionale, protocollare, cerimoniale: la vera capitale era invece L'Aia, residenza della famiglia reale, luogo dove si insediò il Governo, dove vennero trasferiti i ministeri e dove si riunirono le rappresentanze popolari. Questa importante decisione salomonica, che creava due capitali, non era tuttavia tanto anomala nel primo Ottocento. Essa rispecchiava la situazione che si era andata evolvendo nelle due città nel corso dei secoli. In particolare, chi avrebbe potuto supporre nel 1813 che la localizzazione della sede governativa sarebbe diventata così importante? Intorno a quella data il numero degli impiegati statali ammontava in tutto a un migliaio, i Ministeri furono sistemati in edifici antichi e gli Stati Generali si riunivano solo qualche settimana all'anno.
Un secolo più tardi divenne peraltro evidente che L'Aia e Amsterdam si erano entrambe sviluppate tumultuosamente come capitali, ma ciascuna in modo del tutto specifico, analogamente a quanto era accaduto per Amsterdam e Rotterdam. L'Aia aveva visto sorgere numerosi edifici occorrenti al Governo nazionale, molte ambasciate, eleganti alberghi e ristoranti; Amsterdam presentava invece una vasta gamma di importanti istituzioni artistiche e scientifiche, tra cui il Rijksmuseum, il Concertgebouw, lo Schouwburg, lo Stedelijk Museum e l'Accademia Reale delle Scienze.
All'inizio del Ventesimo secolo si erano consolidati tre centri nazionali specializzati, ciascuno con un suo carattere e una sua fama internazionale: L'Aia, città della diplomazia; Rotterdam, città portuale; Amsterdam, città della cultura.
La trasformazione più visibile di queste antiche città fu l'intensa crescita territoriale, che ebbe inizio negli ultimi decenni del Diciannovesimo secolo e si manifestò nella costruzione di abitazioni alla periferia della città, necessaria sia per coloro che dovevano o volevano trasferirsi dal centro, sia per coloro che dall'esterno erano attratti dalla città come luogo dove stabilirsi. Nel 1901 fu approvata la *Woningwet* [Legge sulle abitazioni], mediante la quale non solo l'impegno del Governo nel campo dell'edilizia residenziale divenne molto maggiore che in passato, ma l'edilizia popolare a grande scala fu affrontata in modo assai più consapevole dal punto di vista sia architettonico che urbanistico. Cosicché anche nell'edilizia residenziale dei decenni dopo il 1901 non è difficile distinguere il *genius loci* così diverso delle tre "capitali": per esempio, nelle costose e ricercate facciate della Scuola di Amsterdam ad Amsterdam Sud, che presentano l'edilizia sociale come un fatto di politica culturale; nel quartiere di Vreewijk a Rotterdam, anche in questo caso edilizia sociale, ma trattata come un "pane quotidiano" anziché come le "delicatezze" di Amsterdam; infine nel moderno e distinto complesso di ville Marlot all'Aia.

Il Randstad, la nostra frammentaria capitale

Gli sviluppi che hanno trasformato Amsterdam, Rotterdam e L'Aia in tre diversi centri di rilievo nazionale, e per certi riguardi anche internazionale, hanno rappresentato un processo di specializzazione funzionale. Inevitabilmente ciò ha avuto delle conseguenze per le altre città dell'attuale area del Randstad, che in misura sempre maggiore sono cadute sotto l'influsso delle tre città principali. La loro regione d'influenza si è progressivamente ristretta, mentre quella dei tre centri è diventata sempre più grande e potente. Corollario di questa nuova gerarchia è stato il predominio esercitato dai tre centri sul territorio direttamente circostante, un fenomeno già chiaramente percepibile alla fine del Diciannovesimo secolo. L'Aia fu attratta verso il mare, trasformando il povero villaggio di pescatori di Scheveningen in un lussuoso centro balneare, di fama internazionale fino alla Seconda guerra mondiale. Rotterdam si espanse anch'essa in direzione del mare, anno dopo anno, con le sue strutture portuali, chiamando nel 1960 la sua espansione più moderna sulla costa "Europoort", porta dell'Europa. La quantità di territori comunali limitrofi che Rotterdam dovette acquisire per poter costruire il suo immenso complesso portuale fu indubbiamente enorme per la mentalità olandese. In confronto, le acquisizioni compiute da Amsterdam all'esterno del suo territorio furono considerevolmente minori: la città era autosufficiente, l'antico centro storico era ed è il capitale di cui Amsterdam vive.
A partire dal 1960 i tre centri principali, le città minori progressivamente inglobate, le espansioni e le nuove città satelliti indotte dalla pressione demografica si sono saldati in quella agglomerazione a "U", con un'area

weeks each year. One hundred years later it was evident, nevertheless, that The Hague and Amsterdam had both developed rapidly as capitals, but each in its own specific way, analogous to the relationship between Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In The Hague many buildings were erected for the national government, for embassies or elegant hotels and restaurants; Amsterdam, on the other hand, featured a wealth of theatrical, scientific and artistic institutions, including the Rijksmuseum, the Concertgebouw, the Schouwburg, the Stedelijk Museum and the Royal Academy of Sciences.

At the beginning of the 20th century there were three consolidated specialized centers: The Hague, the city of diplomacy; Rotterdam, the port city; Amsterdam, the city of culture.

The most visible transformation of these three historical cities was their territorial expansion, which began during the last decades of the 19th century and was evident in the construction of housing on the outskirts of the cities, required for those who wanted or had to move out of the center, and for those attracted to move to the city from elsewhere. In 1901 came the Woningwet *[Housing Act], which not only greatly increased governmental commitment in the area of housing, but also led to a more aware treatment of the question of low-cost housing, both in terms of architecture and of urban planning. Even in the residential development of the decades after 1901, it is not difficult to distinguish the very different* genius loci *of the three "capitals": for example, in the expensive, refined facades of the Amsterdamse School at Amsterdam South, resolving social construction as a question of cultural policy; in the Vreewijk area in Rotterdam, again a social development, but treated as "daily bread", without the "delicacies" of Amsterdam; and, finally, in the modern and distinguished complex of Marlot in The Hague.*

The Randstad, our fragmentary capital

The developments that have transformed Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague into centers of national and in some aspects international importance represent a process of functional specialization. Inevitably this has led to consequences for the other cities gravitating around the present area of the Randstad, which have fallen under the influence of the three leaders. Their region of influence has gradually diminished, allowing the three main centers to become increasingly large and powerful. The result of this new hierarchy is the dominion of the three major cities over the surrounding territory, in keeping with a process of development clearly perceptible since the end of the last century. The Hague is drawn toward the sea, transforming the humble fishing village of Scheveningen into a luxurious seaside resort, internationally renowned until the Second World War. Rotterdam expands year after year with its port structures, again in the direction of the sea, calling its most modern colony on the coast "Europoort", or the gate of Europe, in 1960. The quantity of bordering territory that Rotterdam had to acquire to construct its immense port network was undoubtedly enormous for the Dutch mentality. By comparison, the acquisitions made by Amsterdam were considerably more modest – the city was self-sufficient, the historical center was, and is, its real wealth. Beginning in 1960, the combination of the three major centers with the progressively absorbed bordering cities, expansions and new satellite cities brought about by demographic pressures took the form of a "U" configuration, with a relatively rural inner portion, which the aviation pioneer of the turn of the century christened the Randstad. *On a map printed in 1925 the horseshoe form is already quite evident[3]. This form, the spontaneous result of the fact that during the entire late Middle Ages the center of the area was too marshy to permit real edification, took firm root in the vision of the planners who worked on the Randstad from the 1950s on – in spite of the fact that the central area had been sufficiently dry for settlement for at least 150 years. The Randstad, with its "Green Heart", was seen as a precious inheritance to be cared for by wise administrators. There was very little mention of the fact that this legacy might also represent an obstruction. We should also mention that the Randstad, apart from its recognizable form on the map, also represents a precise identity in the current language of the Dutch, a zone of opportunity for highly qualified employment, an area of quality and variety of cultural services and variety of demographic composition of the population. A self-sufficient zone whose central importance is often the focus of media coverage. In the government planning*

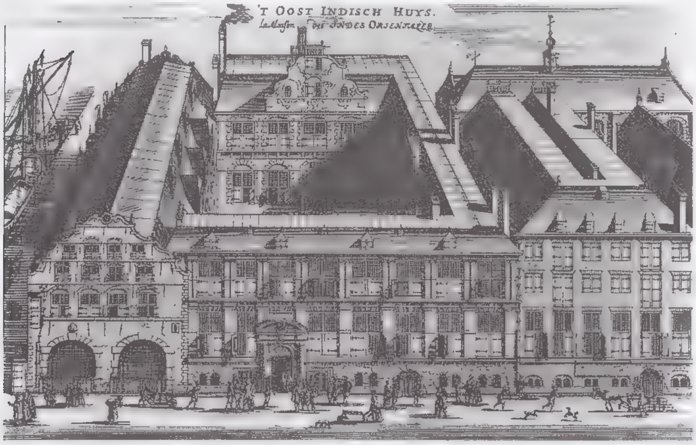
rurale interna relativamente vuota, che all'inizio del secolo un pioniere del volo aveva battezzato *Randstad*. In realtà, già in una carta demografica pubblicata nel 1925 quel ferro di cavallo era evidente[3]. Questa forma, originatasi spontaneamente perché la sua parte centrale era stata per secoli troppo impregnata d'acqua per consentire grandi insediamenti, si è fissata in modo indelebile nelle menti dei pianificatori che dagli anni Cinquanta in poi si sono occupati del Randstad, nonostante che quella zona centrale vuota fosse ormai da centocinquant'anni sufficientemente asciutta per una colonizzazione di massa. Il Randstad, con il suo "Cuore verde", veniva presentato come una preziosa eredità che noi, da saggi amministratori, avremmo dovuto trattare con cautela. Poco si discuteva sul fatto che tale eredità potesse costituire in qualche modo anche un intralcio. A ciò si aggiunga che il Randstad, oltre ad essere riconoscibile per la sua forma su una carta geografica, ha anche nel linguaggio corrente degli Olandesi una precisa identità, grazie all'ampiezza di opportunità di lavoro altamente qualificato, alla qualità e varietà dei servizi culturali, alla composizione della popolazione, al grado di autosufficienza, alla centralità che occupa nell'attenzione dei *media*. Nella politica governativa del secondo dopoguerra in materia di pianificazione territoriale il concetto di Randstad è dato per un fatto acquisito, come nel linguaggio corrente. A un livello di astrazione relativamente elevato come quello delle decisioni del Governo esso può non costituire un problema; ma nella attuazione a livello locale, dove necessariamente occorre rapportarsi a condizioni fisiche molto concrete, cominciano a nascere gli interrogativi. A livello nazionale il Randstad rappresenta una evidente unità, mentre a quello locale si configura come un arcipelago di un centinaio di comuni distribuiti in tre province. A uno sguardo più attento i tre centri maggiori – Amsterdam, Rotterdam e L'Aia – appaiono quelli che determinano la intrinseca qualità dell'intero insediamento. La parola *Randstad* può dunque facilmente rivelarsi, nel linguaggio corrente come in quello della politica governativa, un termine mistificante, un termine sul quale proiettare intenzioni e promesse senza riscontro. Al suo interno il Randstad non è unitario, come risulta evidente ogni volta che debba essere realizzata la sede di qualche istituzione nazionale o un'opera infrastrutturale di rilievo. Il consenso su tali

initiatives of the period after the Second World War the concept of the Randstad is seen as a given, just as it has entered the language as an accepted term. At the relatively high level of abstraction of administrative governmental decisions this does not cause any problems, but at the level of local implementation of policy, where there is the need to relate to very concrete physical conditions, certain questions arise. At a national level the Randstad represents an evident unit, but at a local level it appears as an archipelago of about one hundred communities unevenly distributed through three provinces. A careful look at the three major centers – Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague – shows that these are the cities that determine the intrinsic quality of the entire settlement. The word Randstad, *therefore, can easily turn out to be a misleading term in both common usage and governmental jargon, a term upon which to project intentions and promises, without any real verification of their outcome. Inside the Randstad there is no unity, as becomes evident every time an important national institutional headquarters or a major infrastructural project is to be built. Consensus regarding such initiatives is a true rarity, a difficult process, because there is no possibility of a shared program in the face of the contradictory interests of the various municipalities. If these difficulties in decision-making and this fragmentation of interests exceed certain limits, as took place in the case of the national airports, or the land and water transport routes for export, only one authority can effectively make the necessary decisions: the Government. At times the Government seems like the City Council of the Randstad, our fragmentary capital.*

What will be the influence of the Europe of the future on this context? Who will assume the responsibility for the guidance of the Randstad under the pressures of new international circumstances? It is improbable that it will be the Government that decides, because the administrative tradition of the past has assigned it the role of referee, rather than executor. The municipality of The Hague has nothing to offer to Europe, while that of Amsterdam is too busy with its neighborhood councils and other attempts at optimization of local government. Thus it is evident that Rotterdam is in the best position to take advantage of the new situation. Will the

10. Sede della Compagnia delle Indie Orientali (antico Arsenale), Amsterdam, 1663.
11. 12. Hendrick de Keyser, Palazzo della Borsa al Rokin, Amsterdam, 1608-11: corte interna in un dipinto di Job Berckheyde, seconda metà del XVII secolo (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam) e vista esterna in una stampa del 1612.
13. Gerrit Berckheyde, La Dam ad Amsterdam, *1668. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Anversa.*
14. Veduta della piazza della Dam ad Amsterdam con al centro la Borsa di Jan David Zocher (1845).

10. East India Company Headquarters (old Arsenal), Amsterdam, 1663.
11. 12. Hendrick de Keyser, Stock Exchange at Rokin, Amsterdam, 1608-11: the courtyard in a painting by Job Berckheyde, second half of the XVIIth century (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam) and exterior view in a print dated 1612.
13. Gerrit Berckheyde, The Dam in Amsterdam, 1668. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.
14. View of the Dam square in Amsterdam, with, in the middle, the Stock Exchange by Jan David Zocher (1845).

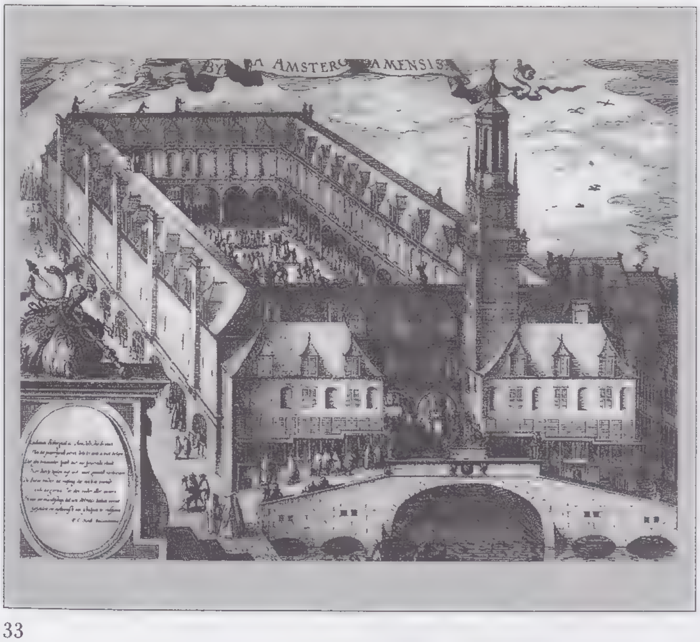


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iniziative è raro e difficile, mancando la possibilità di un'elaborazione congiunta in presenza di interessi contraddittori tra i comuni e di decisioni frammentarie. Se tali difficoltà di decisione e tale frammentarietà superano un certo limite, come è accaduto nel caso degli aeroporti nazionali o delle vie di trasporto per acqua o per terra in funzione delle esportazioni, resta una sola istanza in grado di assumere la decisione: lo stesso Governo. Ogni tanto il Governo appare come il Consiglio comunale del Randstad, la nostra capitale frammentaria. Quanto influirà su tale contesto l'Europa degli anni futuri? Chi assumerà su di sé la guida del Randstad sotto la pressione delle nuove situazioni internazionali? È improbabile che sarà il Governo a decidere, giacché la tradizione amministrativa gli ha attribuito un ruolo di arbitro piuttosto che di esecutore. La municipalità dell'Aia non ha nulla da offrire all'Europa, mentre quella di Amsterdam è troppo occupata con i suoi consigli di quartiere e gli altri tentativi di ottimizzazione ideologica del governo locale. È dunque evidente che Rotterdam possiede le carte più valide per questo ruolo. Oserà il Governo trarre queste conclusioni, e oserà poi accettarne le conseguenze? Anche questo non è sicuro, in quanto il nostro Governo non è propenso a prendere decisioni d'autorità. D'altra parte non potrebbe essere altrimenti, dato che non esistono regole del gioco capaci di conferirgli tale autorità. Non rimane dunque aperta altra possibilità che i tre comuni più grandi rimangano rivali l'uno dell'altro, cercando ciascuno di ottenere un posticino in Europa in nome della propria storia e identità.
Il Randstad: un'area che, in quest'epoca di concentrazione economica internazionale, continua ad opporsi con successo, con il sostegno dei suoi cento consigli comunali e dell'intera popolazione olandese, alla forma e alle funzioni di una città mondiale.

Note
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Questo saggio è una rielaborazione dell'originale comparso nel volume: K. BOSMA (a cura di), *Verleidelijke Stadsbeeld ontwerpen voor stedelijke vernieuwing* [La seduzione dell'immagine urbana: progetti per il rinnovo urbano], Rotterdam 1990, pp. 110-117.
Traduzione dall'olandese di Mario Fosso. Revisione di Giuseppe Scattone.
1) La politica dello struzzo nel campo della pianificazione è stata già brillantemente illustrata dal prof.ir. N.A. DE BOER, *De Randstad*, in AA.VV., *Stedebouw in Nederland, 50 jaar Bond van Nederlandse stedebouwkundigen* [Urbanistica in Olanda: 50 anni di realizzazioni], Zutphen 1985, pp. 139-145.
2) Per una descrizione dei caratteri fisici delle città e della relativa regione e dei mutamenti intervenutivi, si veda: A. VAN DER WOUD, *Het lege Land. De ruimtelijke orde van Nederland 1798-1848* [Paesi Bassi: l'assetto territoriale dell'Olanda 1798-1848], Amsterdam 1987, capitolo 13. Per una trattazione economico-geografica dell'argomento si veda: M.WAGENAAR, R. VAN ENGELSDORP GASTELAARS, *Het ontstaan van de Randstad, 1815-1930* [La nascita del Randstad, 1815-1930], in "KNAG. Geografisch Tijdschrift", n.1, a. XX (1986), pp. 14-29.
3) La carta venne elaborata dal Servizio Comunale per le Abitazioni di Rotterdam sulla base dei dati presentati al Congresso Internazionale di Urbanistica di Amsterdam (1925). TH.K. VAN LOHUIZEN, *Concentratie en decentralisatie. De bevolkingsbeweging in de stedelijke invloedssfeer Holland-Utrecht 1869-1920* [Concentrazione e decentralizzazione. Il movimento demografico nella sfera di influenza Holland-Utrecht 1869-1920], in "Tijdschrift voor Economische Geographie", 1925, pp. 341-350.

Government dare to come to the same conclusion, and be willing to accept the consequences? This is anything but certain, because our government is prone to play the role of referee in the creation of consensus, rather than imposing decisions. After all, this is the only way it can proceed, because the rules of the game do not grant it any greater authority. Therefore the only alternative is that the three major centers will continue, at least for a time, to be rivals, each striving for a slice of the European pie in the name of its own history and identity.

The Randstad: an area that, in this period of international economic concentration, continues to come to grips with the form and the functions of an international, world-class city, with the support of its town councils and the entire populace.

Notes

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This essay is a revision of the essay that appeared in the volume edited by K. BOSMA, Verleidelijke Stadsbeeld ontwerpen voor stedelijke vernieuwing, *Rotterdam 1990, pp. 110-117.*

1) The "ostrich" approach to urban planning has been brilliantly described by Prof. N.A. DE BOER in De Randstad, *in VARIOUS AUTHORS,* Stedebouw in Nederland, 50 jaar Bond van Nederlandse stedebouwkundigen, *Zutphen 1985, pp. 139-145.*

2) For a description of the physical characteristics of the city and the related region, and of the changes that have taken place, see: A. VAN DER WOUD, Het lege Land. De ruimtelijke orde van Nederland 1798-1848, *Amsterdam 1987, chap. 13. For economic-geographical discussion of the subject, see: M. WAGENAAR, R. VAN ENGELSDORP GASTELAARS,* Het ontstaan van de Randstad, 1815-1930, *in "KNAG. Geografisch Tijdschrift", n. 1, a. XX (1986), pp. 14-29.*

4) The map was made by the Municipal Housing Service of Rotterdam, based on the data presented at the International Urban Planning conference in Amsterdam (1925). TH.K. VAN LOHUIZEN, Concentratie en decentralisatie. De bevolkingsbeweging in de stedelijke invloedssfeer Holland-Utrecht 1869-1920, *in "Tijdschrift voor Economische Geographie", 1925, p. 341-350.*



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1. Amsterdam, Docks Orientali. Vista aerea da est: al centro le Isole Borneo-Sporenburg, in alto a destra l'Isola KNSM, e a sinistra, fuori campo, l'Isola Java.

1. Amsterdam, Eastern Docklands. Aerial view from the east: in the middle the Borneo-Sporenburg Islands, on the upper right the KNSM Island and on the left, outside, the Java Island.

Progettazione urbana e pianificazione in condizioni nuove: trasformazioni urbane a Amsterdam, Rotterdam e L'Aia

Han Meyer, Willem Hermans, John Westrik

Premessa

La progettazione e la pianificazione urbana olandesi hanno acquisito fama di discipline capaci di controllare lo sviluppo delle città mediante l'applicazione di principi di razionalità organizzativa e progettuale e sulla base di strumenti urbanistici di ampio respiro. L'attività urbanistica del Ventesimo secolo nelle grandi città di Amsterdam e di Rotterdam, e in misura minore dell'Aia, ha ottenuto il riconoscimento internazionale. Dagli anni Ottanta, tuttavia, anche queste città sono state coinvolte in processi di trasformazione che hanno obbligato a riconsiderare mezzi e fini. In quale misura questa revisione ha rinnovato la pianificazione e la progettazione urbana? Per rispondere a questa domanda prenderemo in esame tre progetti, attualmente in via di realizzazione, per tre aree di intervento comparabili: l'area di Oostelijk Haven ad Amsterdam, l'area di Kop van Zuid a Rotterdam e l'area di Laakhaven all'Aia.

La tradizione urbanistica olandese si basa su due importanti presupposti. Il primo è il carattere particolare del suolo: in questo paese formato in buona parte da delta di fiumi, acquitrini e torbiere, dove la minaccia del mare è sempre presente, il complesso sistema di gestione delle acque e delle dighe ha reso necessarie da secoli intese e regole per l'uso del territorio. E questa necessità ha dato vita a una solida tradizione ingegneristica e di controllo dei suoli che fino alla fine del secolo scorso ha informato l'organizzazione e la progettazione dello sviluppo urbano. Il secondo presupposto è l'ambizione di usare la pianificazione urbana non soltanto per regolare l'uso del territorio, ma anche per governare l'intera struttura sociale. Questa ambizione ha fortemente influenzato l'attività urbanistica di questo secolo, che ha progressivamente sviluppato tre importanti caratteristiche:

– uno stretto rapporto con il sistema dell'edilizia abitativa pubblica, incentivato dalla Legge sulle abitazioni (*Woningwet*) del 1901;
– strumenti legali efficaci che consentono di fissare vincoli e obblighi per i programmi di pianificazione urbana;
– un "approccio scientifico" ovvero, in altre parole, la convinzione di essere in grado di prevedere con precisione lo sviluppo demografico, economico e sociale in base a indagini e ricerche preliminari di tipo scientifico.

Nel corso del Ventesimo secolo le grandi città sono diventate laboratori di sperimentazione e applicazione della nuova urbanistica, con aspirazioni sociali e culturali.

Urban design and planning under new conditions: urban transformations in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague

Han Meyer, Willem Hermans, John Westrik

Introduction

Urban design and planning in the Netherlands has acquired an international reputation of a discipline which, using rational organisational and design principles as well as extensive planning instruments, is able to steer and control urban development to a considerable extent. Especially the 20th-century planning process in the large cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and to a lesser degree The Hague, has received great international acclaim. Since the 1980s, however, also these cities go through processes which have forced the discipline of urban planning to reconsider and renew the existing system of aims and means. To what extent does this revision lead to a new kind of the practice of planning and urban design? To answer this question, we will consider the recent, now under construction, schemes for three comparable areas in these cities: the Oostelijk Haven Area in Amsterdam, Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam and the Laakhaven Area in The Hague.

The Dutch urbanistic tradition is based on two important foundations. The first one corresponds with the character of the soil: in this country of river deltas, peat bogs and permanent threat from the sea, the complex system of water management and dykes has necessitated mutual arrangements and regulations with regard to land use for centuries. This necessity has led to a strong tradition of land surveying and civil engineering, which dominated the way of organising and designing of urban growth until the end of the 19th century. This tradition concerns, in fact, the regulation of the possibilities of land use.

The second foundation consists of the ambition to use urban planning for steering and regulating not only the possibilities of land use but the entire social structure too. This ambition has strongly dominated the 20th-century practice of planning and urban design. This practice has gradually developed three important elements:

– a strong interrelationship with the public housing system, which was stimulated by the Housing Act (Woningwet) *of 1901;*
– legal instruments, by means of which binding rights and duties are laid down in town-planning schemes;
– a "scientific approach", or in other words, a claim to be able to precisely prognosticate future demographic, economic and social development on the basis of scientific preliminary investigation.

In the course of the 20th century, large cities have become laboratories where the new urbanism, cherishing social and

Ed è interessante notare come essa non abbia obbedito a un modello unico e uniforme, ma come ogni città abbia sviluppato il proprio. Uno dei motivi sta nelle differenze storiche e territoriali fra le tre città. Tutte e tre sono situate ai margini estremi della cosiddetta "zona della torba": Amsterdam, città portuale sul fiume IJ, a nord; Rotterdam, città portuale sul fiume Maas, a sud; e L'Aia a ovest, al bordo delle dune, dove il suolo sabbioso ha offerto condizioni favorevoli allo sviluppo residenziale. La differenza fra le due *città portuali* di Amsterdam e Rotterdam e la *città residenziale* dell'Aia è sostanziale e a essa corrisponde la differenza del clima politico emerso nelle tre città nel corso di questo secolo.

Amsterdam si presenta come una città socialdemocratica, in cui il Partito Socialista Olandese (SDAP) ha conquistato una posizione stabile e governato quasi ininterrottamente dagli anni Venti, fissandosi come obbiettivi primari la pianificazione urbana e l'edilizia abitativa popolare. In questa "città rossa" l'ambizione di regolare lo sviluppo della società, a ogni livello, attraverso la pianificazione urbana è diventata pratica reale: dal controllo estetico sul singolo edificio all'elaborazione dei piani regolatori particolareggiati. Il Piano generale di espansione (AUP, *Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan*) del 1934 è un monumento indiscusso in questo senso e ha influenzato l'attività urbanistica di Amsterdam per decenni.

A Rotterdam che, specie nel secolo scorso, è cresciuta in modo molto più esplosivo di Amsterdam e dove quindi il movimento socialista ha avuto basi meno stabili, si è invece sviluppata una sorta di "cultura civica" che ha portato a un avvicinamento fra il mondo della politica e il mondo degli affari allo scopo di raggiungere un certo consenso. Anche questo approccio, del tipo "stretta di mano", ha il suo monumento urbanistico nel Piano di Base per la Ricostruzione del 1946. Mentre i quartieri residenziali costruiti nel dopoguerra sono stati sottoposti a uno stretto controllo formale e urbanistico, come ad Amsterdam, per la ricostruzione del centro urbano distrutto dalla guerra sono state adottate regole più elastiche.

All'Aia il clima è sempre stato più liberale e i poteri cristiano-democratici hanno sempre manifestato una minore ambizione di sottoporre lo sviluppo urbano a regole strette e vincolanti. L'Aia deve l'attrattiva delle sue lussuose residenze urbane ed extraurbane alla libertà lasciata all'iniziativa privata nel corso di questo secolo. I tentativi, che pure ci sono stati, di disegnare uno schema di sviluppo strutturato sono falliti per la mancanza di una intesa fra le varie forze politiche. Ciò nonostante L'Aia è stata la prima città a istituire, nel 1914, un Ufficio di Pianificazione Urbana. Fin dall'inizio, tuttavia, questo ufficio ha concentrato la propria attenzione sul controllo dei nuovi quartieri di abitazione per le classi lavoratrici, mentre per quanto riguarda l'edilizia residenziale medio-altoborghese ha rispettato integralmente la tradizione liberistica.

Gli stretti legami fra pianificazione urbana ed edilizia abitativa pubblica, e di conseguenza fra urbanistica e architettura, hanno ricevuto un ulteriore impulso dalla politica di rinnovo urbano degli anni Settanta. Sono stati anni in cui nella Pubblica amministrazione la Socialdemocrazia ha occupato tutti i punti chiave, sia a livello locale che a livello nazionale. Il primo e principale risultato di questa politica è stato il fiorire di nuovi insediamenti abitativi urbani; ma, a un altro livello, si deve constatare che in questo periodo l'urbanistica è stata ridotta alla produzione di piani regolatori astratti e che, per quanto riguarda la *forma fisica* della città nel suo insieme, sono state elaborate ben poche idee.

La spinta degli anni Settanta a coordinare pianificazione urbana ed edilizia abitativa pubblica è stata l'ultima manifestazione verificatasi in questa direzione. Negli anni Ottanta, infatti, in Olanda si è instaurato un clima economico e sociale completamente diverso: è sopraggiunta una crisi economica con conseguente disoccupazione di massa, di cui hanno risentito gravemente le grandi città in particolare. A livello politico nazionale la Socialdemocrazia ha dovuto cedere il passo a una coalizione fra Democratici cristiani e Liberali, e a livello locale i sostenitori della Socialdemocrazia nelle grandi aree urbane si sono ridotti notevolmente. L'edilizia abitativa pubblica e sovvenzionata è stata privatizzata, il che ha messo fine al legame di lunga data che essa aveva con la pianificazione urbana.

Oltre ai mutamenti sul piano economico e politico e al distacco fra pianificazione ed edilizia pubblica, gli anni Ottanta hanno visto anche il dibattito sulla centralità delle grandi città rispetto al loro *hinterland*. Ci si chiedeva se, nel quadro della regionalizzazione, sarebbe stato possibile e desiderabile dare a questa centralità nuovo contenuto e nuova forma. Ed è stato precisamente questo il momento in cui ha avuto inizio anche il dibattito sulla conversione

cultural aspirations, was implemented. It is interesting that there was no question of one uniform urbanistic practice, but that a specific kind of it was developed in each city. One important reason for this stems from the various territorial and historical conditions of the three cities. All three cities are located on the farthest edge of the "continent" of the Dutch peat area: Amsterdam on the north side, as a port city on the river IJ; Rotterdam on the south side, as a port city on the river Maas and The Hague on the west dune edge, where the sandy soil offered favourable conditions for a residential function. This difference between the two port cities *of Amsterdam and Rotterdam and the* residential city *The Hague is essential. It is connected with the differences in the political climate of the cities which become apparent in the political struggle for power in the 20th century: Amsterdam presented itself as a social-democratic city, where the Dutch Labour Party (SDAP) took up a stable position and has borne administrative responsibility almost without interruption since the 1920s, its primary domains being town planning and public housing. In this "red city" the ambition to regulate the development of urban society at all levels by means of planning process was carried out in practice: attempts were made to regulate the aesthetic qualities and the programme of the city from the level of a design for an individual building block to and including the detailed laying down of the city plan. The General Expansion Plan (AUP,* Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan) *of 1934 is an undisputed monument of this new approach and influenced the urban-planning practice in Amsterdam for decades.*
In Rotterdam which, particularly in the 19th century, had grown much more explosively than Amsterdam and therefore housed a far more unstable labour movement, something of a "civic culture" developed, allowing social democracy and business world to get closer to each other and arrive at a certain consensus. This "shake hands" approach too has its own urban-planning monument in the form of the Basic Plan for the Reconstruction dating from 1946. While the new postwar residential districts were subjected to both a strict programmatic and aesthetic regime, comparable with Amsterdam, more adaptable regulations were developed for the purpose of the reconstruction of the destroyed city centre, allowing more flexibility in land use and architectural elaboration.
The Hague has always been more dominated by liberal and christiandemocratic powers which had less ambition to subject the entire urban development to stringent regulations. The Hague owes the attractiveness of its luxurious residences and country estates especially to the freedom of the private initiative, and throughout the 20th century it has tried to affect it as little as possible. Various attempts to draw up a structured framework for the city as a whole were deadlocked by differences of political opinions. In spite of this, The Hague was the first city to establish a special Department of Town Planning in 1914. From the start, however, it concentrated on regulating the aesthetics of the new working-class districts, so that the tradition of luxurious residence would not be violated.
The strong ties between urban planning and public housing, leading to a close connection between architecture and urban planning, received an additional impulse in the three cities from the new urban-renewal policy in the 1970s. These were the years of the unprecedented power of the social democracy, which occupied all administrative posts in the field of town planning and public housing both at national and local levels.
The urban-renewal boost of the 1970s resulted first and foremost in a large quantity of new urban housing ensembles. At a higher level, the planning process of that time was reduced to the production of abstract master plans. As far as the physical form *of the city as a whole was concerned, hardly any ideas were available at that time. The new impulse to interconnect urban planning and public housing in the 1970s was at the same time the last one in this field. In the 1980s a totally different economic and political climate came into being in the Netherlands. All the attention for public housing could not prevent the arising of serious economic problems in the 1980s, accompanied by mass unemployment, manifesting itself in a most extreme way particularly in large cities. On a national level, the social democracy had to make way for a long-term coalition of christiandemocracy and liberals, while in the large cities the support of social democracy also started to dwindle. The state-made and state-supported public housing system was being wound down and privatised, which has also ended the decades-long connection between urban planning and public housing.*
Apart from the changing economic and political context and the separation between urban planning and public housing, it also became clear in the 1980s that the central position of the large cities in their regions was no longer as obvious as it had been. The question was whether, within

delle aree dei *docks* ottocenteschi, che nelle grandi città sono ubicati in punti di importanza strategica.
L'Oostelijk Haven (Docks Orientali) ad Amsterdam, i *docks* di Kop van Zuid a Rotterdam e il Laakhaven all'Aia furono costruiti nel secolo scorso per far fronte allo sviluppo dei trasporti: a quel tempo erano situati alla periferia delle città e avevano una struttura lineare determinata soprattutto dalle esigenze dell'ingegneria dei trasporti e dell'ingegneria civile. Nel Ventesimo secolo le città crebbero attorno a queste aree, che per la loro struttura e la loro dimensione finirono per diventare barriere impenetrabili, di ostacolo alla coerenza spaziale della città. La *trasformazione* non riguarda quindi esclusivamente queste aree, ma coinvolge la struttura dell'intera città e la posizione di questa nel suo *hinterland*. In breve, non si tratta soltanto di configurare per queste aree un nuovo ruolo: occorre anche individuare nuovi strumenti, poiché quelli da tempo collaudati dell'edilizia pubblica e della ricerca preliminare si rivelano non più applicabili indiscriminatamente.
La questione è dunque: quale contenuto si deve dare a questi interventi di trasformazione urbana?

Amsterdam: l'area dei Docks Orientali (Oostelijk Havengebied)

Alla fine del Diciannovesimo secolo la città di Amsterdam subì un importante processo di trasformazione, dovuto in larga misura alla costruzione della ferrovia. Da un lato l'edificazione della strada ferrata e della Stazione centrale sull'argine del fiume IJ creò un nuovo collegamento fra il centro di Amsterdam e l'esterno; dall'altro lato, però, rese i *docks* contigui al centro storico inaccessibili alle grandi navi merci e passeggeri. A cavallo del secolo un nuovo complesso di *docks* fu costruito a nord della linea ferrata: le banchine lungo l'IJ, dietro la Stazione centrale, e l'area di Oostelijk Haven, costituita da un arcipelago di isole e penisole artificiali (KNSM, Java, Borneo e Sporenburg). Comunque fin dall'inizio questi *docks* si trovarono nella parte "sbagliata" della città: il Canale del Mare del Nord, infatti, scavato nello stesso periodo, rendeva più fattibile e vantaggioso lo sviluppo del porto verso ovest.
All'inizio degli anni Settanta le banchine lungo il fiume IJ e i Docks Orientali caddero in disuso. Circa dieci anni dopo il Comune di Amsterdam ha cominciato a convertire l'area a nuovi usi.

Continuità nella pianificazione urbana di Amsterdam

La città di Amsterdam ha una secolare tradizione di pianificazione urbana, iniziata al tempo della costruzione dell'anello di canali del centro storico, durante la quale lo sviluppo urbanistico di ampie zone è stato condotto con una certa continuità e completezza. Nel Ventesimo secolo questa tradizione è continuata con il Piano di Berlage per Amsterdam Sud, seguito nel 1934 dal Piano generale di ampliamento di Van Eesteren, che prevedeva una estensione della città "a lobi". Successivamente sorsero le città giardino a ovest e a sud, costruite in un arco di tempo di trentacinque anni, e il distretto residenziale Bijlmermeer (il "lobo" sudest costruito negli anni 1965-1980).
La pianificazione urbana di Amsterdam nel Ventesimo secolo è caratterizzata non soltanto dal controllo che l'Ufficio Urbanistico sembra avere avuto sullo sviluppo dell'intera città, ma anche dalla sempre più stretta fusione fra architettura e disegno urbano. L'anello di canali del Diciassettesimo secolo è tuttora un buon esempio di entità urbanistiche che non coincidono con le entità architettoniche (per "entità urbanistica" si intende la componente base che consente di disegnare il piano della città): nell'anello, infatti, ogni entità urbanistica permette una molteplicità di soluzioni architettoniche.
Tuttavia a partire dal Piano di Berlage per Amsterdam Sud si è fatta strada la tendenza a far coincidere l'unità urbanistica con l'unità architettonica, e di tale tendenza Bijlmermeer rappresenta il momento culminante.
L'Ufficio per l'Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica fu però particolarmente critico verso questa realizzazione, tanto che nei successivi interventi di sviluppo delle aree sudest della città è stato adottato un approccio a scala minore e una maggiore differenziazione architettonica.
La stessa cosa si è verificata per l'intervento di rinnovo dei quartieri ottocenteschi, che ebbe inizio nel 1975. Anche in questo caso l'approccio a larga scala dell'Ufficio Urbanistico fu fortemente criticato dall'Ufficio per l'Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica; e il fatto che quest'ultimo avesse la gestione dei fondi contribuì a far sì che l'Ufficio Urbanistico perdesse il controllo del processo di pianificazione.
Questi due episodi hanno indebolito seriamente la posizione dell'Ufficio Urbanistico, che tuttavia tentò ancora una volta di rinnovare la propria tradizione. Un



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2. Amsterdam, Docks Orientali. Localizzazione rispetto all'area centrale e alla circonvallazione.

2. Amsterdam, Eastern Docklands. Location in relation to the inner city and the ringway.

the framework of regionalisation, it would be possible and desirable to provide this central position with a new content and form.
It is precisely the moment that the subject of the urban-planning transformation of the old, 19th-century dock areas came up for discussion; remarkable areas which occupied a strategic position in the cities.
The Oostelijk Haven Area in Amsterdam, the Rotterdam docks of Kop van Zuid and the Laakhaven Area in The Hague were constructed in the 19th century. These were new facilities at the time, designed for the growing transport economy, located on the periphery of the city, with a linear structure and primarily determined by the requirements of transport engineering and civil engineering.
In the 20th century the cities grew as it were around these areas. As a result of their large dimensions and linear structures, these areas became impenetrable barriers, standing in the way of a clear spatial coherence of the city. The transformation *of these areas does not, therefore, refer solely to these areas, but may also refer to the structure of the city as a whole and the position of the city in the region. In short, not only is the character of the assignment new, it has also turned out that the well-tried instruments of mass housing and scientific preliminary research are no longer universally applicable to these areas.*
The question is in what way these urban transformations are given content.

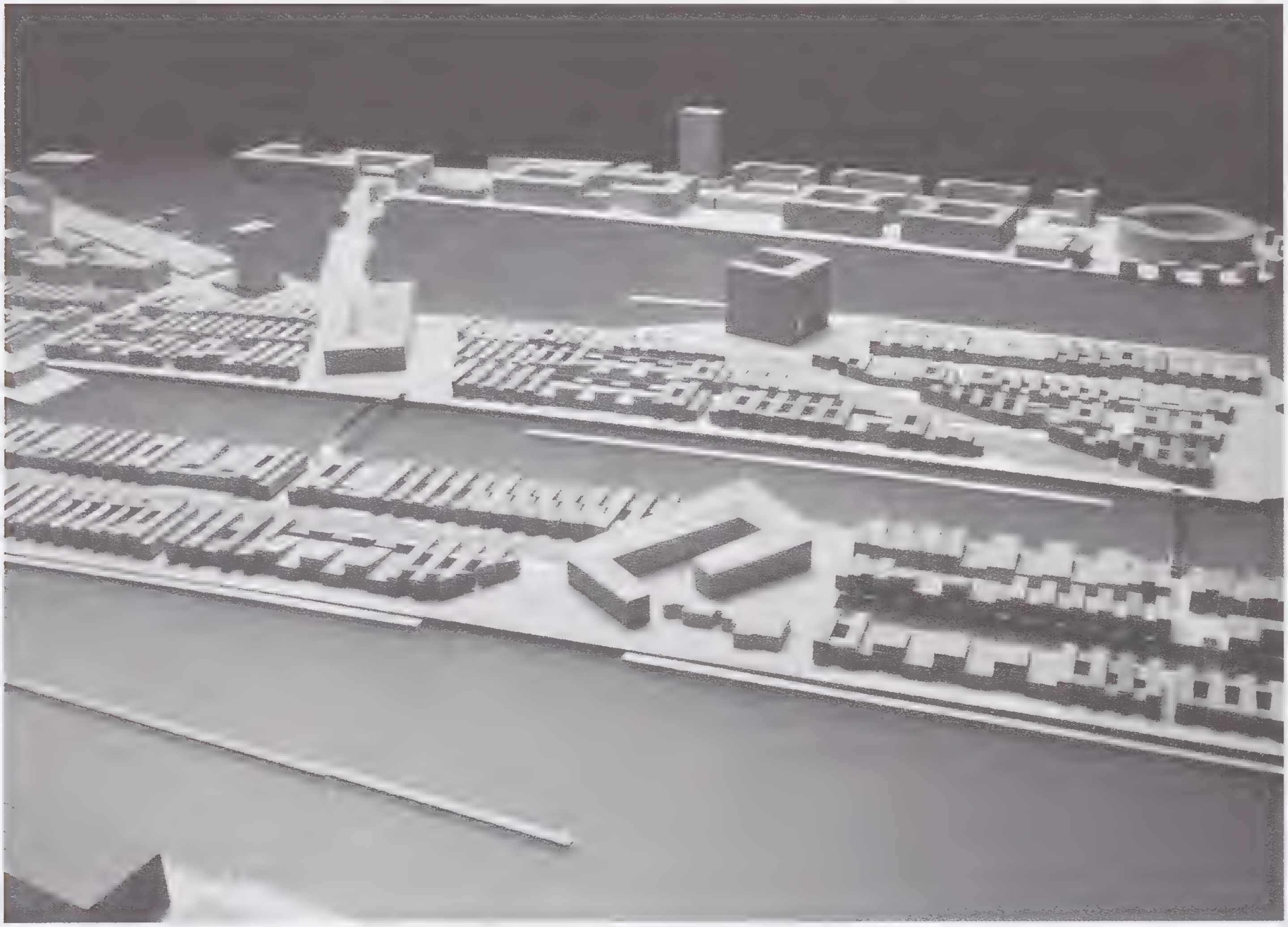
Amsterdam, Eastern Docklands (Oostelijk Havengebied)

At the end of the 19th century the inner city of Amsterdam went through an important transformation process, caused in large part by the introduction of the railway. On the one hand the construction of the railway line and the Central Station on the IJ embankment meant a new link of the Amsterdam inner city with the outside world, but on the other hand it rendered the docks adjoining the inner city inaccessible to large trading and passenger ships. Around the turn of the century a completely new dock complex was built on the north side of the railway: the IJ embankment behind the Central Station and the Oostelijk Haven Area, which consists of an archipelago of artificial peninsulas (KNSM island, Java island, Borneo and Sporenburg). From the beginning, however, these docks were located on the wrong side of the city: the North Sea Canal, which was dug at the same time, made a westbound development of the port more feasible.
At the beginning of the 1970s the banks of the river IJ and the eastern docks fell into disuse. Some ten years later the Amsterdam Municipality started to redevelop the extensive bank and island area.

Continuity in the Amsterdam urban planning

Amsterdam has built up a tradition of urban planning since the development of the ring of canals, in which town-planning schemes for large parts of the city were carried out with a certain degree of continuity and completeness. In the 20th century this tradition was continued by Berlage's plan for Amsterdam South, followed in 1934 by Van Eesteren's General Extension Plan. The latter envisaged an extension of the city in the form of "lobes". Successively the western and southern garden cities came into being, built during a period of over 35 years, and the residential district Bijlmermeer (the southeast lobe, construction period: 1965-1980).
A characteristic feature of the 20th-century tradition of urban planning in Amsterdam is not only the all-embracing grip the Department of Town Planning seems to have on the development of the city as a whole, but also the more and more far-reaching fusion of urban design and architecture. The 17th-century ring of canals is still a good example of clear urbanistic entities which do not overlap with architectural entities. "Urbanistic entity" is understood to mean the basic component by means of which the city plan can be designed. In the ring of canals each urbanistic entity allows a multitude of various architectural elaborations. Since Berlage's plan for Amsterdam South, however, there has been an increasing striving to transform the urbanistic entity into architectural entity at the same time. Bijlmermeer represents the apotheosis of this development. The Department of Public Housing was particularly critical of this development. In further development of Amsterdam South-East a smaller-scale approach, focused on a greater housing differentiation was decided on.
The same happened in the urban renewal of the 19th-century districts (which started in 1975). In this case too, the large-scale approach of the Department of Town Planning was strongly criticised by the public housing department. The fact that the funds for the urban renewal were arranged by the public housing department contributed to the Department of Town Planning losing its

Amsterdam, Docks Orientali.
3. Adriaan Geuze/West 8, Modello del Piano urbanistico, Isole Borneo-Sporenburg, 1993. Foto DRO, Amsterdam.
4. Isola Java, vista da sud. Foto J. Westrik.
5. Frits van Dongen/de Architekten Cie., Edificio residenziale "The Whale", Isole Borneo-Sporenburg, 1995.
6. Vista aerea da est, sullo sfondo il centro città. Foto D. Sellenraad.
7. Hans Kollhoff, Complesso residenziale "Pireus", Isola KNSM, 1994. Foto H. Schouten.
8. DRO Amsterdam, Masterplan, 1993: 1) Isola KNSM (Jo Coenen); 2) Isole Borneo-Sporenburg (Adriaan Geuze/West 8); 3) Isola Java (Sjoerd Soeters).



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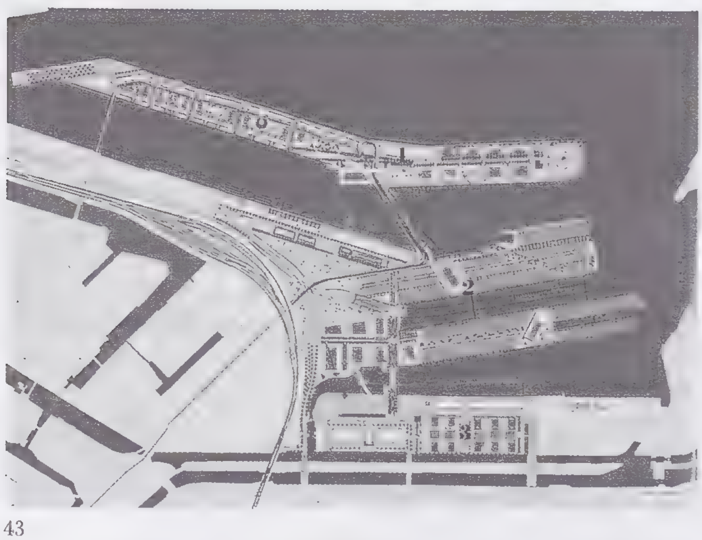
Amsterdam, Eastern Docklands.
3. Adriaan Geuze/West 8, Model of the Urban plan, Borneo-Sporenburg Islands, 1993. Foto DRO, Amsterdam.
4. Java Island, view from the south. Photo J. Westrik.
5. Frits van Dongen/de Architekten Cie., The "Whale" housing complex, Borneo-Sporenburg Islands, 1995.
6. Aerial view from the east, with the inner city in the background. Photo D. Sellenraad.
7. Hans Kollhoff, "Pireus" housing complex, KNSM Island, 1994. Photo H. Schouten.
8. DRO Amsterdam, Urban masterplan, 1993: 1) KNSM Island (Jo Coenen); 2) Borneo-Sporenburg Islands (Adriaan Geuze/West 8); 3) Java Island (Sjoerd Soeters).



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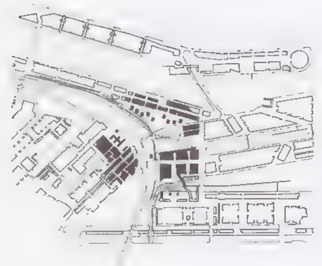
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piano generale elaborato per l'argine del fiume IJ, di importanza strategica per il centro storico, doveva servire a questo scopo. Il piano comportava la trasformazione del vecchio fronte del porto lungo il fiume, a nord del centro storico e lungo il margine est dell'area di Oostelijk Haven. Anche la posizione di quest'area divenne di importanza strategica allorché, nello spirito del Piano generale di ampliamento di Van Eesteren, si decise di creare un "lobo" est nel lago IJ, destinato a ospitare un nuovo quartiere residenziale (l'IJ-Burg) di 18.000 alloggi. Tenendo presente questa idea, a metà degli anni Ottanta i progettisti disegnarono i piani per l'area di Oostelijk Haven.
All'inizio degli anni Novanta il progetto per l'argine dell'IJ, finanziato da privati, si rivelò incapace di decollare, anche perché l'espansione delle aree commerciali e di uffici si era nel frattempo avviata verso sud, in direzione dell'aeroporto di Schiphol. Con la nascita di questo "asse sud" si è instaurato un processo lento ma continuo che ha portato allo sviluppo di una nuova area urbana lungo la circonvallazione sud di Amsterdam. Per l'area di Oostelijk Haven questo ha significato il mancato rinnovo urbano ed economico in direzione del centro. Ha preso avvio invece la costruzione di una nuova infrastruttura, che doveva dare accesso al quartiere IJ-Burg e raggiungere l'anello della circonvallazione. Nelle vicinanze dell'area di Oostelijk Haven questa infrastruttura è stata risolta con un tunnel situato nel bacino portuale fra le isole Borneo e Sporenburg, che ospita il traffico veicolare e una linea tranviaria rapida.

L'area di Oostelijk Haven come laboratorio di pianificazione urbana
La parte più a sud dell'area di Oostelijk Haven (la zona di Veemarkt, la zona di Slaughterhouse e il *dock* Entrepot), ai margini del quartiere "Indiano" dei primi anni del secolo, risale al periodo della politica di rinnovamento urbano (circa 1000 alloggi). Per la parte restante, la più vasta, si è seguito invece un processo di pianificazione che si discosta dalla tradizione della città. Enti privati e consulenti esterni sono stati coinvolti in modo molto significativo nello sviluppo dell'area e ai consulenti esterni è stato affidato un ruolo importante nella progettazione.
Come prima tappa, l'Ufficio Urbanistico ha prodotto un piano regolatore dell'intera area, che lasciava intatti i bacini portuali e le isole e penisole preesistenti. Approvato dal Consiglio comunale nel 1989, il piano prevedeva un

Amsterdam, Docks Orientali.
9. Frammentazione degli spazi dell'area centrale "Rietlanden".
10. I Docks Orientali come elementi generatori di una nuova città nell'acqua (a destra il lago IJ, area del progetto IJ-Burg).

Amsterdam, Eastern Docklands.
9. Spatial fragmentation of the central area "Rietlanden".
10. Eastern Docklands as the start of a new city in the water (on the right the IJ lake, site of the IJ-Burg project).



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programma di costruzione di circa 8500 alloggi (con una densità di 100 alloggi per ettaro) e relativi servizi, nonché l'infrastruttura necessaria (un tunnel) per l'espansione della città verso est (IJ-Burg).
Il piano regolatore generale è stato poi articolato in tre piani parziali. Al complesso delle isole venne assegnato il ruolo di laboratorio dove sperimentare i diversi rapporti possibili fra unità urbanistiche e unità architettoniche, al fine di contribuire a comprendere se bisognasse battersi, e fino a che punto, per l'unità e l'omogeneità oppure per la varietà e la differenziazione. Questi esperimenti sono stati affidati a professionisti esterni. Fra 1989 e 1993 tre progettisti hanno ricevuto l'incarico di elaborare piani urbanistici – ciascuno per un'isola – e di agire come supervisori nel corso della realizzazione. Jo Coenen è stato incaricato per l'isola di KNSM, Sjoerd Soeters per l'isola di Java, e lo studio West 8 (Adriaan Geuze) per Borneo e Sporenburg.
È sorprendente che la progettazione della parte più importante dell'area di Oostelijk Haven, quella che doveva collegare l'area stessa con la città e con il tunnel Piet Hein, sia stata posposta nel programma di pianificazione. Il progetto per questa parte, denominata Rietlanden, è stato infatti elaborato in un secondo momento dall'Ufficio Urbanistico, dopo che i progetti per le isole erano stati completati.
Quale è stato il risultato di questi esperimenti per quanto riguarda il rapporto fra entità urbanistica e entità architettonica?
Nell'area di Oostelijk Haven questo rapporto sembra essersi espresso in tre varianti. Nella prima variante le entità urbanistiche sono anche entità architettoniche, anche se ciascuna entità urbanistica è elaborata architettonicamente in modo differenziato. È questo il caso del progetto di Jo Coenen. L'entità urbanistica è il grande blocco perimetrale: ogni entità urbanistica è stata poi progettata come entità architettonica da un architetto diverso (fra gli altri, Kollhoff, Albert e lo stesso Coenen). Il risultato è un paesaggio urbano che contiene una collezione di oggetti architettonici a grande scala.
La seconda variante comporta la definizione di un certo numero di ruoli architettonici nell'ambito dell'entità urbanistica. Questo concetto è illustrato dal progetto elaborato da Sjoerd Soeters per l'isola di Java. Egli ha previsto cinque entità urbanistiche (blocchi perimetrali) separate l'una dall'altra da quattro nuovi canali scavati *ad hoc*. Queste entità sono poi state affidate ad autori diversi per la progettazione architettonica. Il numero dei piani degli edifici varia da sette a nove, il che bene si accorda con le ampie dimensioni dell'area, ma supera di tre-cinque piani la media della città. Il progetto di Soeters si ispira allo storico anello di canali di Amsterdam.
La terza variante, elaborata da Adriaan Geuze per le isole di Borneo e Sporenburg, è di fatto una combinazione delle prime due. Il piano di Geuze prevede tre grandi blocchi che formano una unità, sia dal punto di vista urbanistico che da quello architettonico (architetti Holl, Van Egeraat e Van Velsen): tre elementi monumentali dotati di specifiche qualità alla scala dell'intero piano. Ma la porzione maggiore del piano di Geuze è caratterizzata dagli stessi criteri che informano la seconda variante. Come Soeters, egli si è ispirato alla tradizionale casa su canale di Amsterdam e alla sua posizione nel blocco perimetrale. Ma, contrariamente a Soeters e a Coenen, Geuze ha avuto l'incarico di creare le condizioni per realizzare molti alloggi direttamente collegati al livello del piano terreno. Nelle sue entità urbanistiche gli edifici si estendono da una strada all'altra. Manca il cortile interno del blocco perimetrale, ma ogni abitazione è dotata di patio. Architetti diversi sono stati incaricati di progettare varie tipologie di alloggi per ogni entità urbanistica. Queste entità urbanistiche e i tre blocchi "scultorei" sono stati utilizzati come elementi per disegnare il piano urbano.
C'è infine anche una variante senza entità urbanistiche. Abbastanza stranamente, è questo il caso di Rietlanden, che è il vero collegamento dell'area di Oostelijk Haven con la città e l'infrastruttura principale. Qui l'uso del territorio è stato definito da un piano di settore ed è stata progettata soltanto l'entità architettonica d'insieme. Il risultato dell'intervento è una frammentazione spaziale dell'area, con brani di territorio che risultano residuali per via di un incongruo processo di progettazione dell'infrastruttura principale. L'Ufficio Urbanistico ha tentato di rimediare trattando quest'area frammentaria come un parco, con un certo numero di edifici inseriti nel verde in composizione architettonica. Il rapporto spaziale con i progetti elaborati per le altre aree, tuttavia, è completamente assente.

Una nuova città nell'acqua

Nel processo di sviluppo dell'area di Oostelijk Haven ci si è sforzati di creare un ambiente residenziale di alto livello, che si contrapponesse agli insediamenti popolari



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control of the planning process again. These two serious defeats have considerably weakened the position of the Department of Town Planning.
One more time the Department of Town Planning tried to breathe new life into the tradition it had built up.
A comprehensive scheme for the IJ embankment, of strategic importance for the position of the old inner city, was to serve this purpose.
The scheme involved the transformation of the old harbour front along the river IJ, located to the north of the inner city and on the east side bordering on the Oostelijk Haven Area. The position of the Oostelijk Haven Area also became of strategic importance when it was decided, still in the spirit of the General Extension Plan, to create a new eastern lobe in the IJ lake, which was to accommodate a new residential district (IJ-Burg) with 18,000 dwellings. Keeping this at the back of their minds, designers drew up the plans for the Oostelijk Haven Area halfway the 1980s.
At the beginning of the 1990s the entire IJ embankment scheme, financed by private parties, turned out not to be able to get off the ground, partly because the economic development (the office market) moved to the south of the city, in the direction of the Schiphol Airport. Slowly but surely, as a result of this development the "South axis" came into being, a new urban zone along the southern part of the ring road of Amsterdam.
As far as the Oostelijk Haven Area was concerned, this meant a non-effectuation of the spatial-economic regeneration in the direction of the inner city. What did happen, however, was the start of the construction of the new infrastructure which would provide access to IJ-Burg and also join the ring road. In the vicinity of the Oostelijk Haven Area this infrastructure has been accommodated in a tunnel, located in the harbour basin between the Borneo and Sporenburg islands. The tunnel offers space for vehicle traffic as well as a rapid tram line.

The Oostelijk Haven Area as urban-planning laboratory

The southernmost area of the Oostelijk Haven Area (the Veemarkt area, Slaughterhouse area and the Entrepot dock), bordering on the early 20th-century Indische neighbourhood, dates from the period of the urban renewal policy (some 1000 dwellings). The remaining and largest part of the Oostelijk Haven Area, however, has been developed according to a planning process which deviates from the Amsterdam tradition of urban planning. Here, private parties as well as external advisors were closely involved in the development, the latter having been given an important designing role.
In the first instance, the Department of Town Planning drew up a master plan for the entire plan area, which left the existing harbour basins and peninsulas intact. In 1989 the plan was approved by the municipal council.
The master plan contained the programme (some 8,500 dwellings in a density of 100 dwellings per hectare, with the accompanying facilities) as well as the necessary infrastructure (tunnel) for the further extension of the city eastwards (IJ-Burg).
The general master plan was subsequently elaborated in the form of three various subplans. The complex of islands was assigned the role of a laboratory, where it was possible to experiment with various relationships between urbanistic and architectural entities. The question was at which level unity and uniformity, and at which level variation and differentiation had to be striven for.
These experiments were contracted out to external designers: between 1989 and 1993 three various designers were commissioned to draw up town-planning schemes, each of them for one island, and also to act as a supervisor during the implementation.
Jo Coenen was commissioned for the KNSM island, Sjoerd Soeters for the Java island and the West 8 office (Adriaan Geuze) for Borneo and Sporenburg.
It is striking that the design for the most crucial part of the Oostelijk Haven Area, the one which would connect this area with the existing city and with the Piet Hein Tunnel, was postponed in the planning process. The design for that part of the plan area, "Rietlanden", was made afterwards, after the designs for the islands had been completed, by the Department of Town Planning itself.
What has been the result of these experiments for the relationship between urbanistic entity and architectural entity?
In the Eastern Docklands the relationship between urbanistic and architectural entities appears to have generated three variants.
In the first variant urbanistic entities are architectural entities at the same time, though each urbanistic entity is architecturally differently elaborated. This is the case in Jo Coenen's design. The urbanistic entity is the large perimeter block. Each urbanistic entity has been designed by an architect as an architectural entity (by, among others,

Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid.
11. Localizzazione rispetto all'area centrale e alla circonvallazione.
12. Vista aerea da sud. Litografia, 1901.

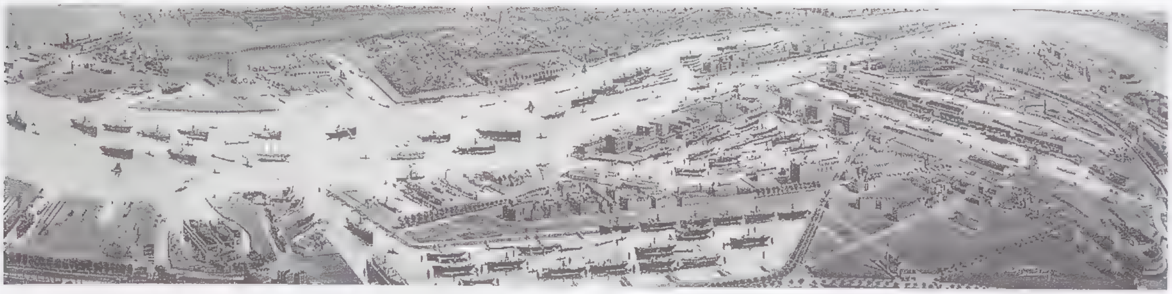
Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid.
11. Location in relation to the inner city and the ringway.
12. Aerial view from the south. Lithography, 1901.



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suburbani. Per dare un'identità a questo ambiente ci si è avvalsi sia della sua eccezionale ubicazione lungo il fiume IJ, sia della presenza dei bacini portuali e delle banchine. Il disegno dello spazio pubblico esterno è stato pertanto particolarmente curato. Il fatto che le banchine possano trasformarsi in attracchi per una grande flotta di case galleggianti conferisce un ulteriore carattere a questa parte delle isole, riducendo la monumentalità dell'isola KNSM progettata da Coenen.
L'isola di KNSM attualmente è completata. L'isola di Java sarà pronta per la fine del 1998 e l'area Borneo-Sporenburg nel 1999. Per quella data l'intero programma di costruzione di 8500 alloggi sarà completato. È stato però lasciato fuori un "dettaglio" di importanza fondamentale: l'area di Rietlanden, che è il collegamento fra la città e l'infrastruttura principale costituita dal tunnel Piet Hein. Resta da vedere se l'importanza di quest'area centrale di raccordo verrà adeguatamente riconosciuta. Certo è strano che la pianificazione di questo nodo importantissimo sia stata effettuata soltanto nella fase finale del programma, cosicché è stato impossibile evitare che l'area appaia come un insieme di "avanzi".
L'area di Oostelijk Haven ha aperto un nuovo capitolo nella storia dello sviluppo urbano di Amsterdam, con la creazione di una parte completamente nuova della città nell'acqua. Il progetto sarà compiuto quando verrà completato il quartiere IJ-Burg.

Rotterdam: l'area di Kop van Zuid
Delle tre città citate, Rotterdam è quella che ha avuto lo sviluppo spaziale più contraddittorio nel corso degli ultimi cento anni e a questo ha contribuito la posizione dominante del porto. Dal punto di vista della pianificazione urbana Rotterdam ha sviluppato un rapporto di odio-amore fra città e porto: da un lato il porto viene messo al primo posto nella scala dei valori e come tale viene attentamente gestito; dall'altro si fanno grandi sforzi per diminuire la dipendenza della città dal porto. Questo rapporto di odio-amore si riflette in quattro caratteri che hanno informato il processo di pianificazione fin dal Diciannovesimo secolo e ha avuto un'enorme influenza sullo sviluppo della città, specie durante il periodo della ricostruzione degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta. Essi sono i seguenti.
1. Il consolidamento e l'espansione dell'economia e della cultura urbane. A partire dal Diciannovesimo secolo l'economia dei trasporti di Rotterdam ha avuto una straordinaria fioritura come conseguenza dello sviluppo dell'industria dell'acciaio nell'area della Ruhr. Ciò ha fatto sì che enormi aree fossero destinate a bacini portuali per il trasbordo delle merci e ha generato praticamente tutta la ricchezza della città. Un incremento altrettanto esplosivo ha avuto la popolazione, la cui struttura è costituita da un larghissimo strato di lavoratori non specializzati e poco retribuiti e da una ristretta *élite* economica, intellettuale e artistica. Dalla fine del secolo scorso le *élite* locali si battono per rafforzare e ampliare la vita economica e culturale della città con due intendimenti: la differenziazione dell'economia con il potenziamento di altre attività, oltre a quelle legate ai trasporti, e lo sviluppo di una cultura urbana più varia, che non sia un semplice derivato dell'economia del porto. Durante tutto il Ventesimo secolo questa battaglia ha avuto un ruolo preponderante nella politica urbana di Rotterdam.
2. La definizione della posizione del centro urbano rispetto al porto. L'espansione del porto a sud (riva sinistra del fiume Maas) e a est (verso l'estuario) è stata accompagnata, sia nel secolo scorso che in questo secolo, da una serie di tentativi di trasferire anche il centro della città. Durante i decenni della ricostruzione postbellica il centro fu in effetti spostato dalla posizione sull'acqua definita nel Diciassettesimo secolo all'attuale quadrante nei pressi della Stazione centrale.
3. L'orientamento del centro urbano verso il fiume. Anche questo è stato, fin dal secolo scorso, un tema ricorrente nella pianificazione urbana di Rotterdam, in particolare durante la ricostruzione postbellica, dato che il nuovo centro urbano era stato spostato a una certa distanza dal fiume. Si è tentato di salvare il rapporto visuale fra il centro e il fiume per mezzo di una "finestra" verso il fiume stesso.
4. La progettazione delle infrastrutture come prova architettonica. Nel Diciannovesimo e nel Ventesimo secolo la posizione predominante dell'infrastruttura a grande scala sul piano urbanistico e sul paesaggio della città è stata considerata come una sfida a creare una *nuova architettura della città*. Importanti parti del sistema formato dai *docks*, dalla ferrovia, dalle vie di scorrimento e dalle strutture di gestione delle acque furono trattate come un compito architettonico e questo ha creato una grande tradizione nella progettazione di banchine, canali e strade. L'autostrada che passa nel tunnel sotto il fiume Maas, terminato nel 1940 e fino a poco tempo fa principale via di



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Kollhoff, Albert and Coenen himself). The result is a cityscape containing a collection of large-scale architectural objects.
The second variant involves determining a number of architectural assignments within the urbanistic entity. Sjoerd Soeters' design for the Java island illustrates this. In his design Soeters utilised five urbanistic entities (perimeter blocks), separated from each other by four newly-dug cross canals. Eventually, these entities have been given content by several architects. The number of storeys varies from seven to nine and matches well the large dimensions of this area, but is three to five storeys higher than the Amsterdam average. The design by Soeters hints at the Amsterdam ring of canals.
The third variant, elaborated by Adriaan Geuze for the islands of Borneo and Sporenburg, is in fact a combination of the first two variants. Geuze's plan contains three large blocks which form a unity, both from the point of view of urban planning as well as architecture (architects: Holl, Van Egeraat and Van Velsen). These blocks form monumental elements of special qualities on the scale of the entire plan. The largest part of Geuze's plan, however, is characterised by the principles of the second variant. Like Soeters, Adriaan Geuze has also drawn his inspiration from the Amsterdam canal house and its position in the perimeter block. Contrary to Soeters and Coenen, Geuze's commission was to create conditions for designing many dwellings directly linked to the ground level. In his urbanistic entities the buildings stretch from street to street. Though the interior courtyard of the perimeter block is lacking, each dwelling has been provided with patios. Various architects have been responsible for developing dwelling types per urbanistic entity. These urbanistic entities and the three "sculptural" blocks served as a means of designing the city plan.
Finally, there was also question of a variant without an urbanistic entity. This was, strangely enough, the case of Rietlanden, which is the very connection of the Oostelijk Haven Area with the city and with the main infrastructure. Here, the land uses have been laid down by means of a sector plan, and only the architectural entity has been designed (the ensemble). The result of this procedure is a spatial fragmentation of the area, which now consists of remaining pieces of land, left over from an inconsistent planning process of the main infrastructure. The Department of Town Planning has tried to design this fragmented area as a park zone, with a number of buildings located in an architectural composition in the park. The spatial relationship with the designs for the other areas, however, is totally lacking.

A new city in the water

In the process of the development of the Oostelijk Haven Area efforts were made to create high-quality residential environments which would be able to compete with the very popular suburban residential environments. For the purpose of creating the identity of the residential environments, the unique location along the IJ as well as the presence of harbour basins and quays were gratefully made use of. In this way, the design of public open space has received plenty of attention.
The fact that the quays will become a mooring place for an enormous fleet of houseboats adds an additional quality to this area of islands. They will diminish the monumental character of Coenen's KNSM island.
The KNSM island has been completed by now. The Java island will be ready by the end of 1998 and Borneo-Sporenburg a year later. The entire housing programme of 8,500 dwellings will have been realised by then. What is left is a crucial detail, the Rietlanden area, the link between the city and the main infrastructure of the Piet Hein Tunnel. It remains to be seen whether the importance of this area as a central "coupling piece" will be sufficiently acknowledged. It is strange that the urban-planning elaboration of this important node was carried out only during the final phase of the planning process, so that it became impossible to prevent the area from appearing as a collection of leftover spaces.
The Oostelijk Haven Area has opened a new chapter in the spatial development of Amsterdam, namely the development of an entirely new part of the city in the water, which will be completed when IJ-Burg is ready.

Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid

Of the three cities, Rotterdam underwent the most inconsistent spatial development during the past hundred years. The dominating position of the port in the urban development has contributed to this. From the point of view of urban planning, Rotterdam has built up a love-hate relationship between city and port: on the one hand the port is put first and cultivated, while on the other hand, many efforts are made to diminish the city's dependence on the

Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid.
13. Vista aerea da est, con al centro il Ponte Erasmus. Foto D. Sellenraad.
14. 15. DS&V Rotterdam, Masterplan, 1996: 1) Ponte Erasmus; 2) piazza centrale; 3) Molo Wilhelmina; 4) Binnenhaven ed Entrepotdock; 5) Spoorweghaven.
16. Vista aerea da nord, 1996, con al centro il Ponte Erasmus di Van Berkel & Bos, 1990-95 e, a sinistra, il Complesso residenziale sul Binnenhaven di Frits van Dongen/de Architekten Cie., 1991-97. Foto D. Sellenraad.
17. Erick van Egeraat, Progetto per la Ichthus Hogeschool, 1996, sul Molo Wilhelmina.

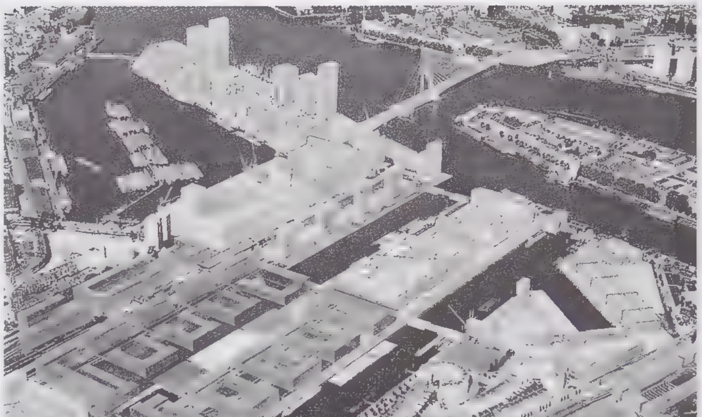
Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid.
13. Aerial view from the east. In the middle the Erasmus Bridge. Photo D. Sellenraad.
14. 15. DS&V Rotterdam, Urban masterplan, 1996: 1) Erasmus Bridge; 2) central square; 3) Wilhelmina Pier; 4) Binnenhaven and Entrepotdock; 5) Spoorweghaven.
16. Aereal view from the north, 1996. In the middle the Erasmus Bridge by Van Berkel & Bos, 1990-95, and on the left the Housing



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complex on the Binnenhaven by Frits van Dongen/de Architekten Cie., 1991-97. Photo D. Sellenraad.
17. Erick van Egeraat, Project for the Ichthus Hogeschool, 1996, on the Wilhelmina Pier.



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Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid.
18. Van Berkel & Bos, Ponte Erasmus, 1990-95. Foto C. Richters.
19. Cees Dam, Complesso per uffici Wilhelminahof sullo Spoorweghaven, 1995.
20. Vista dal Ponte Erasmus verso nordest.
21. 22. Frits van Dongen/de Architekten Cie., Complesso residenziale sul Binnenhaven, 1991-97: vista dal Binnenhaven, con sullo sfondo il "Poortgebouw", antica sede dell'autorità portuaria, e vista dallo Spoorweghaven.
23. Vista sull'Entrepotdock e sul Binnenhaven. Foto H. Schouten.

Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid.
18. Van Berkel & Bos, Erasmus Bridge, 1990-95. Photo C. Richters.
19. Cees Dam, Office complex Wilhelminahof on the Spoorweghaven, 1995.
20. View from the Erasmus Bridge looking northeast.
21. 22. Frits van Dongen/de Architekten Cie., Housing complex on the Binnenhaven, 1991-97: view from the Binnenhaven with, in the



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background, the "Poortgebouw", the former headqarter of the Port Authority, and view from the Spoorweghaven.
23. View of the Entrepotdock and of the Binnenhaven. Photo H. Schouten.


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port. This love-hate relationship is reflected in four themes which have dominated the planning process since the 19th century and had a tremendous impact on the city's spatial development especially during the reconstruction period in the 1950s and 1960s. These themes are as follows.
1. Strengthening and extending urban economy and culture. Since the 19th century the Rotterdam transport economy has immensely flourished as a result of the advance of the steel industry in the Ruhr Area. This transport economy claimed enormous areas for the new ports of transhipment and generated hardly any economic surplus value for the city. The population expanded equally explosively, resulting in a population structure with a very large group of low-paid and unskilled individual workers and a relatively very small economic, intellectual and artistic élite.
Since the end of the 19th century the local élites have started to strive for the extension and strengthening of the economic and cultural life of the city: the development of more economic functions than only these of the transport economy, and the development of a multifarious urban culture, which should not be merely a derivative of the port economy. During the entire 20th century, this striving assumes a dominant position in the urban policy of Rotterdam.
2. The determination of the position of the city centre with regard to the port. The growth of the port both southwards (left bank of the Maas) and westwards (towards the estuary), was accompanied in the 19 and 20th centuries by a series of attempts to relocate the city centre too. During the postwar reconstruction period of several decades, the city centre was actually moved from the 17th-century water city area to the present "city quadrant" near the Central Station.
3. The orientation of the city centre on the river. This aspect too has been a permanent theme in the urban-planning culture of Rotterdam since the 19th century. This was an important theme during the postwar reconstruction period, considering the fact that the new city centre was located at a distance from the river. Attempts were made to preserve the visual relationship between centre and river by means of a "window to the river".
4. The design of infrastructure as an architectural assignment. The domination of the large-scale infrastructure on the city plan and the cityscape was considered in the 19 and 20th centuries mainly a challenge

Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid.
23. 24. 25. Il boulevard *urbano come nuovo elemento di connessione tra le autostrade A20 e A16; l'infrastruttura come area pubblica; la sequenza degli elementi d'acqua lungo il* boulevard *urbano.*

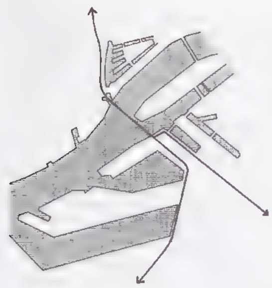


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collegamento attraverso il fiume, è uno dei momenti più alti di questa tradizione.
Durante il rinnovo urbano degli anni Settanta si è tentato di incrementare il rapporto fra città e fiume soprattutto creando una serie di imponenti insediamenti residenziali su vecchie aree portuali. Questi progetti, tuttavia, avevano il carattere di episodi isolati e mancavano di inquadramento strutturale a livello urbano.
Il piano elaborato nel 1987 da Teun Koolhaas Associates per l'area di Kop van Zuid ha introdotto, per la prima volta in quindici anni, il concetto di città come un tutto. Esso attinge ai quattro caratteri cui si è accennato sopra. La sua caratteristica più importante è rappresentata dal vivace tentativo di rafforzare la posizione del centro urbano nel contesto regionale e internazionale. Sia sul piano internazionale che nell'ambito del Randstad Rotterdam infatti non era considerata una buona sede per gli affari e la residenza. C'era inoltre il mutamento del carattere del porto, la cui funzione di punto di transito stava progressivamente riducendosi a favore della funzione di punto di distribuzione. Questa nuova funzione, per la quale Rotterdam aspirava alla posizione di *porta d'ingresso* d'Europa (insieme all'aeroporto di Schiphol), richiedeva innanzi tutto un ambiente favorevole ad attirare il flusso degli affari nel campo della logistica e delle telecomunicazioni. Quando le aziende di questo settore avessero deciso di stabilirsi a Rotterdam, era ovvio che avrebbero scelto una ubicazione prossima alla nuova rete di autostrade e ai moderni *docks* di distribuzione. Il piano per l'area di Kop van Zuid è stato un elemento importante della strategia messa in opera per conferire a Rotterdam, e in particolare al suo centro urbano, una nuova posizione e un nuovo prestigio. Questa strategia si è articolata a vari livelli di scala.
1. Prima di tutto, la scala dello stesso centro urbano. L'area di Kop van Zuid rappresenta una notevole estensione e una trasformazione qualitativa del centro, di cui il Molo Wilhelmina è sostanzialmente considerato una nuova parte, con i suoi 16 ettari di superficie e 400.000 metri quadrati pianificati di costruzioni da destinare a uffici. Questa concentrazione di edifici sviluppati in altezza su una striscia di terreno relativamente piccola è stata definita la "Manhattan sul Maas". Il piano comprende inoltre un programma di costruzione di circa 4500 alloggi. In parte disegnato in forma di blocchi urbani, in parte secondo uno schema simile a quello dei quartieri-giardino caratteristici di Rotterdam Sud, il complesso è stato lanciato come alternativa urbana agli insediamenti residenziali suburbani verso i quali dagli anni Settanta in poi sono confluiti vasti strati della borghesia. Il salto di qualità consiste anche nel riorientamento del centro urbano verso il fiume, il quale non è più ai margini del centro, ma ne è diventato il punto focale. Le banchine e i vecchi *docks* situati su entrambe le rive del fiume sono in via di recupero come aree metropolitane. Il centro urbano ha dunque fatto il salto al di là del fiume.
2. Alla scala della città nel suo insieme il piano punta a liberare Rotterdam Sud dalla sua posizione di inferiorità: invece di essere una zona della città nascosta dietro i *docks*, questa sta diventando una zona che, come il suo equivalente a nord, si estende lungo il fiume e ospita una parte del centro urbano.
3. Alla scala regionale il nuovo *boulevard* urbano gioca un ruolo importante poiché collega Kop van Zuid e il centro della città con la rete delle autostrade, fatto che sta trasformando il centro in luogo ideale per ubicarvi il cervello logistico del porto moderno.
4. Alla scala del Randstad Rotterdam mira a situarsi come punto di collegamento fra i due "corridoi" economici più importanti dell'Olanda occidentale: a nord quello che ospita imprese di servizi distribuite lungo le autostrade che servono il gruppo di città costituito da Amsterdam-Leida-L'Aia-Rotterdam; a sud il corridoio che ospita attività industriali e attività legate al porto lungo la direttrice Rotterdam-Dordrecht-Breda-Anversa. Il nuovo centro urbano ampliato di Rotterdam – e l'area di Kop van Zuid in particolare – è considerato il collegamento fra le due zone.
Nell'elaborazione del piano da parte dell'Ufficio Urbanistico, al nuovo *boulevard* urbano, con il nuovo ponte e la piazza d'arrivo, è stato conferito un particolare valore. Benché l'esecuzione del progetto elaborato da Ben van Berkel richiedesse fondi ben più rilevanti di quelli che sarebbero occorsi per un "normale" ponte realizzato dall'Ufficio dei Lavori Pubblici, il Consiglio comunale ha deciso che valesse la pena di fare questo maggiore investimento. Il progetto di una infrastruttura, in questo caso il *boulevard* con il nuovo ponte e la piazza d'arrivo, è stato evidentemente considerato un contributo importante all'architettura della città. Il *boulevard* urbano nel suo insieme infatti è stato disegnato come un elemento di collegamento fra il paesaggio portuale della città sull'acqua



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Rotterdam, Kop van Zuid.
23. 24. 25. The city-boulevard as a new connection between the highways A20 and A16; the infrastructure as central public domain; the sequence of water-elements alongside the city-boulevard.

to develop a new architecture of the city. Important parts of the systems of docks, railways, parkways and water management were dealt with in terms of an architectural assignment, which has led to a rich tradition of designing quays, canals, avenues and parkways. The design of the Maas Tunnel Motorway, completed in 1940 and until recently the most important cross river connection, is one of the highlights of this tradition.
During the period of urban renewal in the 1970s, attempts were made to enhance the relationship between city and river mainly by developing on a massive scale housing projects in former port areas. These projects, however, had the character of a series of individual incidents and lacked a structural framework at urban level.
The 1987 plan for Kop van Zuid by Teun Koolhaas Ass., introduced a new structural concept for the city as a whole for the first time in 15 years. It drew on the four previously mentioned themes of the urban-planning culture of Rotterdam. The most important component of the plan was the striving for reinforcing the position of the city centre in the regional and international context. Both internationally and in the context of Randstad Holland, Rotterdam turned out not to be doing well as a business and residential location. This was accompanied by the changing character of the port: its transit function was gradually diminishing, while its distribution function was gradually becoming more important. This new distribution function, through which Rotterdam wanted to position itself as Gate of Europe (beside Schiphol), required first of all a favourable environment to attract business from the field of logistics and telecommunications. As far as these companies were prepared to take up domicile in Rotterdam at all, it seemed to be quite obvious that they would choose a location next to the new network of motorways and in the vicinity of the modern distribution docks. The plan for Kop van Zuid was an important component of the strategy to give Rotterdam as a whole and the city centre in particular a new position and new prestige. This strategy concerned various scale levels.
1. First of all, the scale level of the city centre itself. Kop van Zuid means a considerable quantitative extension and a qualitative transformation of the city centre. The Wilhelmina Pier is primarily considered a new part of the city centre, with the surface area of 16 hectare and the planned 400,000 sq metres office space. This concentration of high-rise buildings on a relatively small strip of land has been strongly emphasised as "Manhattan on the Maas" in the public debate.
In addition, the plan contains a housing programme for some 4,500 dwellings. This housing programme, partly designed in the form of urban perimeter blocks, and partly in the form of a garden city-like site layout, characteristic of Rotterdam South, has been launched as an urban alternative to the suburban residential environments, where masses of the urban middle classes have moved to since the 1970s.
The qualitative transformation concerns the new orientation of the city centre towards the river. The river is no longer the edge but the focal point of the city centre. The quays and old docks on both river banks are being redeveloped as metropolitan environments. The city centre has made the leap across the river: a new chapter has been added to the theme of place of the city centre and the theme of its orientation towards the river.
2. At the level of the city as a whole, the plan aims to free Rotterdam South from its inferior position: instead of being a hidden part of the city behind the docks, it is becoming part of the city which, just like its northern counterpart, is located along the river and accommodates a section of the city centre.
3. At the level of the region, the new city boulevard plays an important role as it links Kop van Zuid and the city centre to the network of motorways, and is to turn the city centre into the ideal location for a logistic nerve centre of the modern port.
4. At the level of Randstad, Rotterdam aims to position itself as the link between the two most important economic corridors of the West Netherlands: on the north side the corridor accommodating service companies along the network of motorways of the group of cities Amsterdam-Leiden-The Hague-Rotterdam, on the south side the corridor with port-related and industrial activities along the Rotterdam-Dordrecht-Breda-Antwerp line. The new, extended city centre, and Kop van Zuid in particular, is presented as the link between both zones.
In the elaboration of the plan by the Department of Town Planning, particularly the new city boulevard with the new bridge and the landing square were strongly emphasised. Although the execution of Ben van Berkel's design for the bridge required a considerably higher budget than the "regular" bridge designed by the Department of Public Works, the Municipal Council considered this additional

del Diciassettesimo secolo, che sta sulla riva destra del fiume Maas, e i bacini ottocenteschi sulla riva sinistra, che vengono così integrati definitivamente nel piano urbano. In questo modo i *docks* sono diventati un sistema coerente di piazze e di parchi sull'acqua, con il *boulevard* che vi si snoda accanto: un sistema che ha come punto focale il fiume attraversato dal ponte.

Due parti della città collegate l'una all'altra
Lo scopo primo del piano di Kop van Zuid era l'ampliamento e la valorizzazione del centro della città. A tale fine è stata dedicata innanzitutto grande cura alla coerenza spaziale e di impianto dell'area, come presupposto per attirare sia nuove aziende di buon livello sia nuovi abitanti. Oltre alla particolare qualità della nuova struttura (ponte, piazza, *boulevard*, banchine), le tre "teste di ponte" sono diventate punti di riferimento che fungeranno come ingressi all'area dal centro urbano. Essi comprendono: il complesso di uffici "Wilhelminahof" accanto alla piazza d'arrivo; un "mercato esotico" nell'ottocentesco edificio Entrepot, accanto ai vecchi ponti sul Maas; l'Hotel New York, un vasto albergo con caffè e ristorante situato nella vecchia sede della Holland America Line, che fin dall'inizio ha riscosso grande successo divenendo un popolare punto di incontro.
I nuovi sviluppi che dovrebbero derivare da queste "teste di ponte" sono soggetti a molti vincoli di qualità, tra i quali, in primo luogo, il Piano per l'uso del suolo, che si riferisce a tre raccolte di "Norme per la qualità" che forniscono le direttive per: a) l'impianto degli spazi pubblici aperti; b) le caratteristiche architettoniche degli edifici; c) le funzioni degli edifici. Un "Team della Qualità", che fa parte del Comitato Municipale per l'Architettura e i Monumenti, controlla che queste direttive siano rispettate.
Chi volesse giudicare la riuscita di Kop van Zuid dalla misura in cui gli obiettivi originali sono stati raggiunti sarà incline a un certo scetticismo. Più della metà del programma di costruzione degli edifici residenziali è ormai realizzato. Resta da vedere in quale misura lo sarà il programma degli uffici e delle strutture di servizio. Il complesso "Wilhelminahof", già completato, ospita soltanto enti pubblici che sono stati trasferiti a Kop van Zuid da altre parti della città. Due nuovi progetti per il Molo Wilhelmina sono in corso di realizzazione: un'alta torre progettata da Norman Foster che ospiterà la Capitaneria di Porto e un'altra progettata da Renzo Piano che ospiterà la divisione telecomunicazioni delle Poste. Benché la qualità architettonica sia dunque assicurata, tuttavia gli utenti di questi edifici non saranno per ora le grandi aziende internazionali per le quali l'intervento di Kop van Zuid è stato pensato. Il significato di questo progetto nel contesto regionale e internazionale può, una volta realizzato, rivelarsi diverso da quello sperato all'inizio. Per la città, comunque, esso ha innegabilmente una grande importanza poiché la trasformazione spaziale dell'area ha aggiunto una dimensione completamente nuova alla struttura urbana e l'ha dotata di una serie di spazi coordinati. Mentre il contenuto programmatico dell'area dipende fortemente dall'andamento dei cicli economici, che hanno durata relativamente limitata, la nuova qualità spaziale di Kop van Zuid rappresenterà per Rotterdam un beneficio a lungo termine.

L'Aia: l'area di Laakhaven
"*Oh, Oh, L'Aia, meravigliosa città dietro le dune!*". È il primo verso di una canzone scritta circa dieci anni fa, al tempo in cui il rinnovo urbano era all'ordine del giorno nell'attività culturale e politica della città. La canzone parla dell'Aia, città vicina al mare, del suo suolo sabbioso, delle basse e umide torbiere, di gente che fa vita fastosa, di impiegati dello Stato, di chi sta in alto e di chi sta in basso. L'Aia è una città aperta, senza mura, una città dalle lunghe linee rette, che all'origine erano un elemento del paesaggio e poi sono diventate una caratteristica del piano urbano. Una città con una splendida collezione di brani di arte spaziale; una città dove nel corso del tempo la "miscela" fra architettura, spazio pubblico e paesaggio ha dato frutti rigogliosi. L'Aia contiene spettacolari spazi urbani ispirati a esempi stranieri: come il Plein, per cui fu presa a modello la parigina Place des Vosges; il Plein 1813 e il Nassauplein, derivati dagli *squares* inglesi; lo Sportlaan e il vicino Rode Kruisplantsoen (progettati dall'architetto Dudok nel 1950), che si rifanno al modello dell'autostrada urbana americana. Questo significa che un giro per L'Aia è una passeggiata da un frammento urbano a un altro, ora percorrendo tratti di impianto lineare (Javastraat, Laan van Meerdervoort), ora attraversando raccordi e incroci accortamente progettati, che sono anch'essi pezzi di arte spaziale (lo Scheveningseweg creato da Constant Huygens nel 1563 o il Vaillantlaan progettato dall'architetto Coenen nel 1990). Oltre sette secoli di sviluppo hanno riempito la città di edifici fino ai margini. Oggi le possibilità di



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26. L'Aia, Laakhaven. Localizzazione rispetto all'area urbana centrale, al fronte sul mare e all'autostrada A4.

26. The Hague, Laakhaven. Location in relation to the inner city, the seafront and the highway A4.

investment worthwhile. Again, the design of the infrastructure, i.e. the city boulevard with the new bridge and the landing square, was considered a valuable contribution to the city's architecture. The whole city boulevard has been designed as an element linking the entire harbour landscape of the 17th-century water city on the right bank of the Maas with the 19th-century ports of transhipment on the left bank, thus definitively integrating them into the city plan. In this way the docks have become a new coherent system of water squares and water parks, with the city boulevard winding alongside, its focal point being the river spanned by the bridge.

Two parts of the city linked together

The primary aim of the Kop van Zuid plan was the programmatic extension and reinforcement of the city centre. The close attention for the spatial coherence and layout of the area was first and foremost applied as a means *to achieve this aim. The new spatial quality of Kop van Zuid would set a trend for attracting both new, desired "high-quality" companies and new city dwellers. In addition to devoting attention to the quality of the new spatial main structure (bridge, landing square, city boulevard, quays), the three "bridge heads" of the plan area have become focal points, which are to serve as entrances to the area from the city centre. They include: the "Wilhelminahof" office complex next to the landing square; an "exotic festival market" in the 19th-century Entrepot Building near the old bridges over the Maas and a large Hotel-Café-Restaurant "Hotel New York" in the former headquarters of the Holland America Line, which has become a great success from the start and a popular meeting point for the trendy Dutch.*

The new developments, which should be generated by these bridge heads, are subject to a large number of quality requirements. First of all, there is the Land Use Plan, which legally lays down the most important issues concerning land use and building regulations. This Land Use Plan mentions as a reference three "Quality Books" which provide guidelines for (a) the layout of public open spaces, (b) the architecture of the buildings and (c) the programmatic functions of the buildings. A "Quality Team", which is part of the Municipal Vetting Committee of Architecture and Monuments, supervises the observance of these guidelines.

Those who judge the degree of success of Kop van Zuid from the degree of realisation of original aims, will be inclined to some scepticism. More than half of the housing programme has already been realised. To what extent the programme of offices and facilities will come off, remains to be seen. The already completed "Wilhelminahof" contains merely public institutions which have been relocated to Kop van Zuid from other parts of the city. Two new projects on the Wilhelmina Pier are currently in preparation: one high-rise tower designed by Norman Foster which will house the Municipal Port Authority, and another one designed by Renzo Piano which will accommodate the telecommunications division of the PTT. Though the architectural quality seems to be guaranteed, the future users of these buildings still do not belong to the internationally acclaimed companies the plan for Kop van Zuid was actually intended for. The meaning of the realised scheme for the regional or international context may eventually turn out to be different from what one hoped for in the beginning. As far as the city itself is concerned, however, the scheme is undeniably of great importance, since the spatial *transformation of the area has added an entirely new dimension to the spatial structure of the city as a whole and has also provided the city with a series of newly interrelated urban spaces. While the programmatic content of the area is strongly dependent on relatively short-lived economic trends, the new spatial quality of Kop van Zuid will benefit the city for a long time.*

The Hague, the Laakhaven Area

"Oh, Oh, The Hague, beautiful city behind the dunes". *This is the first line from a song, written 10 years ago, about the characteristic features of The Hague as a city by the sea. A "folk song" from The Hague, dating from the time when urban renewal as a cultural activity in a neighbourhood had its place on the political agenda. This song also portrays The Hague as the city of high, sandy soil and low, wet peat, of luxury living, of civil servants and the distinction between upstairs and downstairs. The Hague, however, is also an open city, the city without walled fortifications and the city of the long lines, originally landscape elements, which have become a pattern in the city plan. A city with a splendid collection of spatial art; ensembles in the field of urban planning, in which the combination of architecture, public space and landscape has flourished in the course of time. Inspired by foreign examples, the city contains spectacular urban*

espansione sono limitate: o si costruisce nel mare o ci si indirizza nell'entroterra regionale, con insediamenti situati al di là dei comuni adiacenti. Inevitabilmente, quindi, l'attività urbanistica si concentra sulla trasformazione e la ristrutturazione dell'esistente.

Una città di enclave

In diverse parti della città, e con livelli di impegno diversi, sono in atto trasformazioni dell'impianto urbano, anche se non su grandi aree continue ma in una serie di episodi separati. L'obbiettivo di questi interventi si può far risalire allo *Schema strutturale di massima per le aree urbane* (*Structuurschets Stedelijke Gebieden*), a livello nazionale, pubblicato nel 1983. Per quanto riguarda L'Aia esso proponeva la massima utilizzazione dell'area urbana esistente, essendo insostenibili, sia spazialmente che amministrativamente, espansioni a larga scala (e lo sono ancora). Al fine di salvaguardare la funzione di centralità dell'Aia rispetto al suo *hinterland* e contenere il decremento della popolazione, esso raccomandava la costruzione di un grande numero di alloggi e il miglioramento della base economica. Per realizzare queste importanti trasformazioni erano a disposizione molte aree separate, di piccole dimensioni, e poche grandi aree come Laakhaven. Occupando tutti gli spazi disponibili si dovevano costruire, dal 1985 al 1990, circa 10.000 alloggi, mentre aree di grandi dimensioni per i nuovi insediamenti industriali erano da reperire nell'*hinterland*. Per soddisfare la domanda di uffici si dovevano invece utilizzare le aree della Stazione ferroviaria e le zone centrali dei distretti urbani.

La dinamica spaziale della città si restringe ad alcune zone, di cui l'area di Laakhaven è una. Essa è stata oggetto di uno studio volto a migliorare l'accessibilità dell'area ferroviaria di Holland Spoor e a ristabilire il "dimenticato" ingresso da sud. La riconversione di quest'area è diventata ancor più d'attualità nel 1986, quando si cercava un sito per la creazione di una Università di Tecnologia dell'informazione e di un complesso scolastico di specializzazione professionale. Laakhaven era un'area arretrata in termini di pianificazione urbana e regionale sia dal punto di vista funzionale che tecnologico, allorché una vasta parte di essa tornò in possesso del Comune nel 1995, alla scadenza dei termini del contratto d'affitto del suolo. Nel 1985 l'area era ancora contraddistinta da una cattiva accessibilità e da una attività industriale marginale; non

spaces like the Plein, modelled on Place des Vosges, Plein 1813 and Nassauplein, derived from the English squares, and Sportlaan and adjoining Rode Kruisplantsoen (designed by the architect Dudok in 1950), with the American urban motorway as a reference. This means that a tour of The Hague is a walk from one fragment to another; sometimes along the underlying long lines (Javastraat - Laan van Meerdervoort), sometimes along the designed cross connections which are part of the spatial art themselves (Scheveningseweg, Constant Huygens, 1563 and the Vaillantlaan, architect Coenen, 1990). Over seven centuries of spatial development have made the city into a whole filled with buildings to its borders. The possibilities of urban extensions are limited now to either building in the sea (coastal locations) or organising building locations within a regional framework, locations which will lie far behind the urban area of the adjacent municipalities. The attention for town planning inevitably concentrates on transforming and restructuring the existing urban area.

City of enclaves

On several locations in the city and receiving various degrees of attention, the transformations in the city plan of The Hague are taking place; not in large continuous areas, but as a series of separate incidents. The general aim of these extensive alterations can be traced back to the (national) Structural Sketch on Urban Areas (Structuurschets Stedelijke Gebieden), *published in 1983. As far as The Hague is concerned, it proposed a maximum utilisation of the existing area of the city where large-scale extensions were (still) spatially and administratively inconceivable. To preserve The Hague's central function in its urban region and to limit the decrease in population, it recommended the construction of a large number of dwellings and the improvement of the economic basis. Plenty of separate locations and a limited number of larger sites, like Laakhaven, were available for the purpose of this extensive alteration. All available places had to accommodate some 10,000 dwellings between 1985 and 1990. Locations for large-scale, new industrial estates had to be found within the limits of the urban region. To meet the demand for offices, the railway station locations and centres of urban districts had to be utilised. The spatial dynamics of the city is restricted to certain places in the city, the Laakhaven Area being one of them. It formed a subject*

L'Aia, Laakhaven.
27. Veduta aerea da nordest, 1997.
Foto D. Sellenraad.
28. 29. Atelier PRO, Haagse Hogeschool,
1990-96. Foto H. Schouten.

The Hague, Laakhaven.
27. Aerial view from the northeast, 1997.
Photo D. Sellenraad.
28. 29. Atelier PRO, Haagse Hogeschool,
1990-96. Photo H. Schouten.



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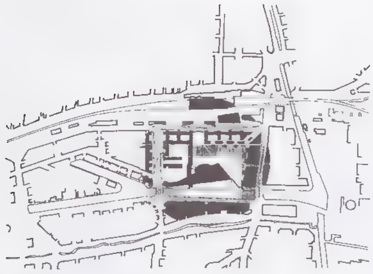
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attirava nuovi investimenti e risentiva della presenza della barriera infrastrutturale costituita dalla ferrovia e dalle vie d'acqua.

Una città pragmatica
Per affrontare il problema dell'area di Laakhaven, in stato di abbandono e di degrado, è stato proposto un approccio pragmatico. Si trattava, fra l'altro, di migliorare l'accessibilità, evitando che il flusso delle attività si incanalasse per la "scorciatoia" che passava attraverso il vicino quartiere di Schilderswijk, dove era in atto un riuscito intervento di rinnovo urbano, e di studiare una sistemazione più efficiente delle aree disponibili. La questione non è stata portata al dibattito né ci si è posto il problema di introdurre cambiamenti nel programma: così, dopo il rinnovo di Schilderswijk, sarebbe rimasta una *enclave* residenziale riqualificata fra l'area di Laakhaven, oggetto di futuri interventi di trasformazione, e il centro cittadino.
Come scelta di base del programma è stata proposta la realizzazione di alloggi nelle aree che stavano svuotandosi, secondo il piano "Lamel" di Aldo Rossi per l'area in disuso di Slaughterhouse e il piano di Mecanoo per l'area del vecchio mercato all'ingrosso, che aveva ottenuto un premio in un concorso sul tema "Costruire per una nuova cultura di quartiere". Oltre che rendere accessibile da sud la Stazione ferroviaria di Holland Spoor, anche per mezzo di una linea tranviaria, e creare un nuovo nodo di trasporti vicino alla Stazione di Moerwijk, è stato proposto il riempimento di un *dock* (che significava il guadagno di due ettari di terreno) e la concentrazione di strutture per l'educazione (un parco di lavoro e di studio) in prossimità della Stazione di Holland Spoor. Neppure in questo caso si è arrivati al dibattito sul significato dell'area a livello urbano. La mancanza di un piano regolatore generale era diventata manifesta. I tentativi di elaborarne uno in più fasi sono sfociati nel 1980 in documenti simili più a un piano di strategia politica che a uno schema di sviluppo urbano.
Nel corso della sua storia la città ha sperimentato una serie di lunghi conflitti che hanno impedito di predisporne le linee generali dello sviluppo. Le questioni di interesse venivano risolte non in via generale ma con misure *ad hoc* riferite a singoli episodi concreti. A Laakhaven questo modo di affrontare i problemi, caratteristico della città, ha trovato una ulteriore conferma: la preoccupazione per l'esistente, sia in termini di edifici che in termini di attività in essi ospitate, ha portato a interventi per piccole entità. Ai tanti interessi individuali è stata prestata così maggiore attenzione che al potenziale dell'area a una scala maggiore. Soltanto nel 1990 è stato pubblicato uno studio intitolato *Laakhaven-total*, nel quale tutti i singoli progetti vengono visti in un quadro più generale. Esso è opera di architetti e urbanisti provenienti da altre città, da poco investiti di questo incarico. Così il dibattito che si stava avviando sulla posizione e l'importanza per la città dei progetti di trasformazione, come pure sul ruolo disciplinare da attribuire all'architettura, all'urbanistica, al paesaggio e alle infrastrutture, si è spostato sul piano politico.
Alla fine l'Atelier PRO ha ottenuto l'incarico di progettare il complesso edilizio e di elaborare il piano urbanistico. Anche le fasi successive, e cioè la progettazione degli spazi pubblici e il lavoro di supervisione dell'insieme, sono state affidate a Hans van Beek di Atelier PRO. La domanda che ci si pone è: un approccio di questo genere è in grado di creare un insieme spaziale come *Gesamtkunstwerk*? E quale influenza eserciteranno su questo nuovo brano di arte spaziale le scelte adottate per questo complesso di edifici, destinato ad ospitare un istituto scolastico (la Haagse Hogeschool)? In questo modo la progettazione urbana diventa programma edilizio, le fasi di realizzazione si identificano con il programma di edificazione e il suo contesto – lo spazio pubblico aperto – è elaborato con mezzi architettonici.
Il risultato di quanto finora realizzato (solo una parte del programma è stata a oggi completata) è al di sopra della media. Il sito e le relative costruzioni già segnano il paesaggio urbano dell'Aia. La decisione di tradurre il vasto programma in una serie di "oggetti " (di forma curva, a nastro, ovale) e di usare lo spazio interno coperto come elemento centrale (l'atrio nell'ovale) aderisce alla consuetudine locale di creare per quanto possibile spazi pubblici coperti.
Scegliendo questo tipo di approccio, si è assegnato all'architettura il compito di organizzare lo spazio. Affidare tutto a una sola mano ha limitato l'influenza di terzi sull'immagine degli edifici e degli spazi pubblici. La differenziazione è assente. Conseguenza di ciò è il modo in cui viene percepito il percorso dalla Stazione al complesso scolastico: i muri del complesso costituiscono i margini dell'area sui lati sud e ovest, e oltre questo punto non c'è più niente.


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30. L'Aia, Laakhaven. Il complesso edificato come elemento centrale.

30. The Hague, Laakhaven. The building complex as central element.

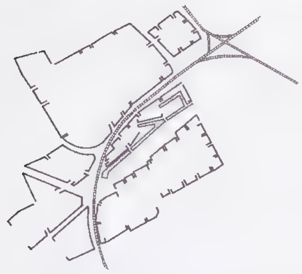
of study into improving accessibility of the Holland Spoor railway area and reinstating the "forgotten" entrance on the south side. The Laakhaven Area as an object of transformation became even more topical in 1986 when a location was sought for a university of information technology and a cluster of schools offering higher professional education.
The Laakhaven Area is an outdated area in terms of urban and regional planning, functionality and technology, a large part of which returned into municipal possession when the ground lease term expired around 1995. In 1985 the area was still characterised by bad accessibility and marginal industrial activity. Moreover, it did not attract new investments and suffered from the presence of the infrastructural barrier of the railway and waterways.

City of pragmatism

To address the problems of the Laakhaven Area, plagued by vacancy and deterioration, a pragmatic approach was proposed. This involved the improvement of accessibility at urban level, combatting shortcutting through the adjacent district Schilderswijk, where urban renewal was succeeding, and a more efficient arrangement of the available areas. Urban renewal as a neighbourhood-oriented activity does not bring up the position of such locations in the city for discussion. There is no question of changes in terms of the programme either, so that after the renovation of Schilderswijk, an improved residential enclave would remain between the future transformation area of Laakhaven and the existing city centre.
The development of housing on the locations which were becoming vacant was proposed as the main programme for the area; the "Lamel" development plan (Aldo Rossi) on the Slaughterhouse area which had gone bankrupt, the development plan by Mecanoo, which had received a prize at a competition about "Building for a new neighbourhood culture", on the location of the former wholesale market. Apart from making the Holland Spoor railway station accessible on the south side, also by means of a tram, and developing a new transport node near the Moerwijk station, filling in a dock (which meant gaining 2 hectare ground) was proposed, as well as concentrating educational facilities (work & study park) in the vicinity of the Holland Spoor station. The meaning of the location at urban level was not raised for discussion here either. In addition, the lack of a real master plan became conspicuous. The attempts to draw up a master plan in several phases in 1980 resulted in documents which had more in common with a political strategy plan than with a spatial urban-development scheme. In the course of its spatial development, the city has experienced a series of long drawn-out conflicts which hampered setting out the general background of the spatial development.
Conflicts of interests were solved per concrete situation and on an ad hoc basis. In Laakhaven too, this political dilemma characteristic of The Hague got a spatial confirmation; the care of what existed, both the buildings and the employment they housed, lead to an approach by means of small, well-organised entities. The numerous individual interests involved in the restructuring received more attention than the potential of the area at a larger scale.
Only in 1990 a design study, Laakhaven-total, *was published, in which all individual projects were viewed in a larger framework. This report was drawn up by town planners/architects who had recently been recruited from other municipalities. In this way, the discussion which was going on over there about the position and the importance of transformation projects for the city, as well as about giving substance to the disciplines of architecture, town planning, landscape and infrastructure, was shifted to the arena of politics and civil services in The Hague. Eventually, Atelier PRO was commissioned to design the building complex and to draw up the town-planning scheme. Also the follow-up of the plan development, namely the layout of public space, and the supervision was in the hands of Hans van Beek/Atelier PRO. Is such an approach a condition for the creation of a spatial ensemble as* Gesamtkunstwerk*? And what influence does the chosen concept of buildings, which is to house an educational institution (Haagse Hogeschool), have on the coming into being of such a new piece of spatial art? In this way, the urban design becomes a building plan, its development period becomes a constructional planning and its setting, being public open space, is elaborated with architectural means.*
The interim final result (only part of the total programme has been completed) is above the average. The site and building already mark the cityscape as a special situation, characteristic of The Hague. The decision to translate the extensive programme into a series of objects (curve, strip, oval) and to use the roofed interior space as a central

Nuova urbanizzazione oltre la linea ferroviaria
Si è visto che, anche all'Aia, la componente base per un intervento di trasformazione è la combinazione fra un vasto programma urbano (in questo caso con la Haagse Hogeschool come elemento propulsore) e interventi infrastrutturali diretti a collegare fisicamente l'area specifica con la città. Lo straordinario complesso di 80.000 metri quadrati di destinazione scolastica, risolti con un forte concetto architettonico, rafforza l'immagine degli usi attuali e futuri di questo punto della città. Il nuovo ingresso alla Stazione – con la possibilità per le automobili di arrivare davanti alla facciata e con il parcheggio coperto per le biciclette – è stato felicemente associato al tunnel per il tram, sotto la ferrovia. D'altra parte, però, la coerenza spaziale con la zona residenziale del quartiere di Laak non viene certo rafforzata dall'effetto-muro creato da alcune parti dell'edificio. Il divario esistente fra quest'area e quella al di là dell'acqua deve ancora essere colmato.
In termini di funzione urbana il progetto si inserisce nella tradizione dell'Aia e testimonia l'ambizione di raggiungere una simbiosi fra il nuovo intervento e la città, adeguandolo all'esistente. Nello stesso tempo, tuttavia, esso solleva interrogativi dal punto di vista urbanistico e da quello architettonico, in relazione alla situazione preesistente e alla prassi urbanistica della città. L'intervento di progettazione urbana coincide con un piano di edificazione, controllato da una sola mano (la mano di un architetto), che mostra fino a che punto l'architettura possa arrivare in questo compito. Ma come e dove si possono creare le condizioni per una maggiore differenziazione, per un programma alternativo, per l'intervento di parti terze?
Il progetto è inoltre un esempio del metodo in uso in questa città, che in troppe occasioni consiste nel risolvere i problemi singolarmente, via via che si presentano. È emersa con molta evidenza la necessità di un piano generale a livello urbano. Forse sarà la *Nuova mappa dell'Aia* (*Nieuwe kaart voor Den Haag*) a offrire l'intelaiatura in cui inserire nuove iniziative. Attraverso questo documento gli Amministratori pubblici potranno fare chiarezza sugli obiettivi da perseguire. Progetti come quello di Laakhaven sono di importanza chiave e dovrebbero esprimere un'idea di città e di società. Fortunatamente la Haagse Hogeschool può ancora insegnarci molto, e in modo piacevole.

Conclusioni: verso una prassi di progettazione urbana senza programma
In quale misura questi tre recenti progetti indicano una nuova tendenza dell'urbanistica olandese?
Se essi sono indicativi dello stato attuale della disciplina urbanistica in Olanda, allora bisogna dedurre che ci sono problemi di importanza strategica nel controllo e nella direzione dei programmi edilizi e nella realizzazione di un rapporto fra l'insieme urbano e l'elaborazione architettonica; e inoltre che la relazione con la città risulta trascurata.
La realizzazione di nuovi programmi è considerata un obiettivo primario per conferire alla città un nuova posizione nel contesto regionale e internazionale. Questa battaglia, tuttavia, si è rivelata infruttuosa. Si deve constatare che le aree dei *docks* recuperate sono state importanti per ricollocare o ampliare programmi già in atto nel centro urbano, ma che finora hanno dimostrato ben poca capacità di attirarne di nuovi.
Il conseguimento di un'alta qualità architettonica è visto soprattutto come un mezzo per raggiungere una adeguata qualificazione dell'insieme urbano in grado di competere con la forza di attrazione di altre località del Randstad. È evidente che il livello a scala intermedia – il livello della città – ne fa le spese. Il significato delle trasformazioni delle aree dei *docks* per la struttura spaziale della città nel suo insieme ne esce male. Ad Amsterdam questo aspetto era considerato importante all'inizio del processo di pianificazione, ma è scomparso nel corso dell'elaborazione. All'Aia è accaduto il contrario: qui il rapporto fra l'area di Laakhaven e la città è stato messo all'ordine del giorno soltanto in un secondo momento. Tutto ciò si può far risalire in buona parte alla grande insicurezza degli Uffici Urbanistici comunali circa le proprie capacità progettuali. In tutti e tre i casi analizzati l'incarico di progettazione è stato affidato a professionisti esterni nella speranza che essi, più degli Uffici comunali, riuscissero a dare nuovo impulso a una attività progettuale che era arrivata a un punto morto. Nella maggior parte dei casi essi hanno fatto anche di più: ad Amsterdam e all'Aia hanno svolto anche il lavoro di supervisione della qualità dell'esecuzione dei piani. In queste città evidentemente il controllo della qualità era diventato così precario che si è preferito affidarsi a professionisti indipendenti.
L'inadeguatezza del rapporto fra area di intervento e città nel suo insieme può essere fatta risalire non soltanto alla



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*31. L'Aia, Laakhaven come un'*enclave *tra* enclave.

31. The Hague, the Laakhaven as an enclave among enclaves.

element (the atrium in the oval) fits into the local custom of creating more roofed public spaces.
By choosing this approach, architecture was heavily drawn on as the discipline which had to organise the space. Keeping everything in one hand has limited the influence of third parties on the spatial appearance of buildings and public space. The composition does not generate urban differentiation in its surroundings. Its consequence is the manner in which the way from the station to the school building is experienced; the walls of the building complex form the borders of the area on the south and west sides and beyond this point there is nothing more.

New urbanity behind the railway line
It turns out that the basic ingredient of a transformation, also in The Hague, is the combination of an extensive urban programme (Haagse Hogeschool as generator) with infrastructural interventions aimed at physically connecting the area with the city. Designing 80,000 square metres of educational space in the form of a striking building concept reinforces the image of the existing and new uses of this spot in the city. The new entrance to the station and the possibility for cars to drive up to the front as well as the shelter for bicycles have been effectively combined with the tram tunnel under the railway line.
On the other hand, the spatial coherence with, for example, Laakkwartier as a residential area is not strengthened by the effect of a wall created by parts of the building. The gap existing between this area and the area across the water has still to be bridged.
In terms of an urban design assignment, the project fits into the tradition of the city, it is evidence of the ambition to achieve symbiosis between city and institution and adequately dealing with the existing urban area.
At the same time, however, it raises questions as an urbanistic intervention and as an architectural assignment, both at the level of the situation and in the relationship with the urban design practice in the city. The urban design intervention is a building plan, kept in one (architectural) hand, which shows the maximum extent of steering architecture can exercise in such an assignment. Where and how indeed can room for more differentiation, a different programme, influence of third parties be created?
The project also illustrates the working method of the city; too often solving problems on an ad hoc *basis ("ruling by incident"). The necessity for a plan document at city level has been clearly demonstrated; perhaps it will become the merit of the* New Map of The Hague, *to offer a framework for new initiatives. By means of this document the municipal authorities will be able to provide clarity about the kind of qualities, their location and the level they strive for. Projects like Laakhaven are strategic and should be evidence of the realisation of a concept of city and society. Luckily the Haagse Hogeschool can still teach us a lot in a pleasant way.*

Conclusion: towards a practice of urban design without programme
To what extent do the recent projects for the three transformation areas point towards a new development in Dutch urban planning?
If these projects are illustrative of the present state of affairs in the discipline of urbanism in the Netherlands, it is possible to argue that there is a question of a strong focus on directing the programme of the buildings and on the far-reaching interrelationship between urban ensemble and architectural elaboration. Moreover, the interrelation with the city is being neglected.
The realisation of new programmes is considered a primary aim, in order to provide the city with a new position in the regional and international context. This striving, however, has turned out to be fruitless. The revitalised dock areas have proven to be important for the relocation or extension of the programmes that were already present in the city centre, but as yet of hardly any significance for attracting new ones.
The realisation of a high-grade architectural quality is first of all considered a means of realising sufficient quality at the level of urban ensemble which can compete with other attractive locations on the map of Randstad.
It is conspicuous that the in-between scale level, the level of city, is the victim. The meaning of transformations of the dock areas for the spatial structure of the city as a whole comes off badly. Although in Amsterdam this aspect was an important motif at the beginning of the planning process, it disappeared during the elaboration. In The Hague it was the other way round: there, the interrelationship between the Laakhaven Area and the city as a whole was put on the urban agenda only afterwards.
All this has a lot to do with the great insecurity of the municipal departments of town planning about their own design qualities. External designers were commissioned for

formazione dei professionisti incaricati – architetti (Coenen e Soeters ad Amsterdam, Atelier PRO all'Aia) o architetti del paesaggio (Geuze ancora ad Amsterdam) –, ma anche al fatto che essi non hanno avuto la possibilità di guardare al di là dei confini dell'area loro assegnata. L'eccezione di Rotterdam, dove ha operato Teun Koolhaas Associates che è uno studio di urbanistica, è importante, ma più importante ancora è il fatto che in questo caso è stato l'Ufficio Urbanistico comunale a elaborare il piano di Koolhaas. È stato nel corso di questa elaborazione che il ruolo del piano d'area in rapporto alla città nel suo insieme ha acquistato importanza centrale ed è grazie a questo processo che l'area di Kop van Zuid potrà diventare significativa come nuovo elemento di collegamento fra le due metà della città prima divise. La stretta relazione ottenuta in questo piano fra l'infrastrutturazione principale (il *boulevard* urbano e il nuovo ponte) e l'insieme degli spazi pubblici – strade, banchine, piazze – è di importanza fondamentale. Ed è proprio questa relazione che manca ad Amsterdam e all'Aia, dove l'infrastrutturazione principale e il tessuto urbano a scala minore rimangono due mondi separati e senza rapporto.
Si può concludere che finalizzare il progetto urbanistico alla realizzazione di uno specifico programma edilizio è una pratica superata. Il progetto urbanistico può creare le condizioni per programmi di edificazione specifici, ma deve anche lasciare spazio, specialmente a lungo termine, ad adattamenti e modifiche del contenuto programmatico. Le condizioni per lo sviluppo positivo di un intervento di rinnovo urbano non dipendono soltanto dalle intrinseche qualità spaziali del progetto, ma anche dal rapporto che esso può creare con la città. Rispetto a ciò si può considerare che l'attenzione dedicata al livello di scala minore a Amsterdam e all'Aia, e la relazione fra l'infrastrutturazione principale e lo spazio pubblico aperto realizzata a Rotterdam hanno prodotto validi strumenti per i futuri interventi urbanistici. Se l'interrelazione fra infrastruttura e nuovi insiemi urbani viene progettata con cura, questi insiemi pervengono a stabilire un rapporto con la città esistente, con i centri esistenti, e diventano così parte della città stessa accrescendone il valore.

Nota bibliografica

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H. MEYER, *De Stad en de Haven. Stedebouw als culturele opgave. Londen, Barcelona, New York, Rotterdam* [La città e il porto. Urbanistica come impegno culturale. Londra, Barcellona, New York, Rotterdam], Uitgeverij Jan van Arkel, Utrecht 1996.
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all three dock areas in the expectation that they, more than the municipal departments themselves, would be able to provide new impetus for the deadlocked production of appealing town-planning concepts. In most cases it went further than solely providing stimuli. Both in Amsterdam and The Hague the external designers also supervised the quality of the execution of the plans. Apparently quality control has become so precarious in these cities that it is preferred to hand it over to independent designers.
The inadequate interrelationship between the projects and the city as a whole has to do not only with the background of the external designers as architects (Coenen and Soeters in Amsterdam, Atelier PRO in The Hague) or landscape architects (Geuze in Amsterdam), but also with the lack of opportunity for them to look beyond the borders of the plan area that was assigned to them. Their commissions concerned marked off areas.
The exception of Rotterdam, with Teun Koolhaas Ass. which is a typical urban design office, is important, but far more important is the fact that in this city the municipal department of town planning elaborated Koolhaas' plan. It was during this elaboration that the meaning of the plan area for the city as a whole became a central motif. Thanks to the adapted main structure of Kop van Zuid, this area may become significant as a new link between two formerly separated halves of the city. The close interrelation between main infrastructure (city boulevard and new bridge) and the network of public spaces, streets, quays, squares, which has been generated by this design, was essential in this process. It is exactly this interrelation which is lacking in Amsterdam and The Hague. There, main infrastructure and the smaller-scale urban fabric remain two separate worlds, unrelated.
Finally, a conclusion can be drawn that making the urban-planning design subservient to the realisation of specific, desired programmes, has become outdated. The urban-planning design can create conditions for specific programmes, but should also offer room, especially in the long term, for adaptations to the programmatic content. The conditions for the development of a programmatic renewal and richness depend not only on the internal spatial qualities of the design, but also on the new interrelation with the city. As far as the latter is concerned, it can be said that the attention for the lower scale level in Amsterdam and The Hague, and the relationship between infrastructure and public open space in Rotterdam, especially in this combination, yield valuable instruments for the future urban design assignments. In the case of a carefully-designed interrelation between infrastructure and new urban ensembles, the new ensembles can establish relationships with the existing city, with existing centrums, and thus become part of the city and add surplus value to it.

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1. La parcellizzazione razionale del territorio olandese. Foto B. Hofmeester.

1. Rational parcellation pattern in the Netherlands. Photo B. Hofmeester.



1

Policentrismo e paesaggio urbanizzato in Olanda
Frits Palmboom

Pratica e teoria: un rapporto delicato
In Olanda, il delinearsi del paesaggio e lo sviluppo di una cultura urbana sono strettamente legati da tempo immemore in base a un processo all'interno del quale forme di pianficazione e di regolamentazione svolgono da sempre un ruolo di primaria importanza. In questo secolo a evolversi in modo significativo è stato soprattutto il concetto di pianificazione.
Negli ultimi decenni questa tradizione è stata sottoposta a considerevoli condizionamenti: situazioni fisiche, culturali e socioeconomiche hanno subito radicali mutamenti. Il presente articolo si propone di descrivere brevemente questi mutamenti di tendenza, riferendosi a diversi scritti, studi e progetti, realizzati o irrealizzati. L'argomento verrà quindi affrontato a grandi linee, non avendo come obbiettivo la formulazione di alcuna teoria stabilita. Innanzittutto, il saggio è impostato dalla limitata prospettiva di un professionista: io stesso sono parte in causa nel gioco; il panorama delineato sarà quindi una sorta di autoanalisi. In secondo luogo, quando è in gioco il rapporto tra teoria e pratica – o tra concetto e progetto – si richiede un certo grado di moderazione. Le opere concrete quanto più sono enigmatiche e quanto più eccedono nella loro intrinseca qualità il ruolo dimostrativo a servizio di una teoria, tanto più sono interessanti. Questa analisi coscienziosa, tuttavia, esula dagli scopi di questo articolo.

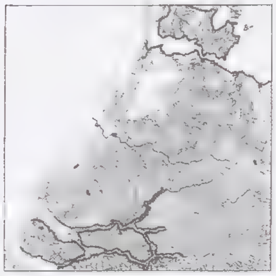
Policentrismo nel paesaggio olandese
La considerazione che il paesaggio olandese sia quasi interamente opera dell'uomo ha assunto la veridicità di un truismo. L'idea di un ambiente naturale che può essere addomesticato e di un paesaggio che può essere creato volontariamente affida tradizionalmente alla pianificazione fisica e urbana, così come all'architettura, il ruolo di protagonista. Questo concetto deve essere considerato sulla base di una corretta analisi del passato e di alcune tendenze attuali.
Le analisi storiche svolte negli ultimi decenni[1] dimostrano chiaramente che non è mai esistito, di fatto, un reale conflitto tra uomo e natura, durante il quale la terra è stata sottratta con la forza al mare in un eroico duello. Si è trattato piuttosto di un'azione reciproca, sottile e indiretta, con inaspettate e, talvolta, disastrose conseguenze. In origine, le torbiere si estendevano oltre le dune, a molti metri sopra il livello del mare. Drenando queste zone per favorire l'agricoltura, gli Olandesi diedero inizio a un

Polycentrism and urbanized landscape in the Netherlands
Frits Palmboom

Practice and theory: a delicate interplay
In the Netherlands, the making of the landscape and the development of urban culture have been closely linked from time immemorial. Forms of planning and regulation have always played a major role within this process. The concept of planning has made particularly great strides in this century.
In recent decades, this tradition has come under a great deal of pressure. Physical, cultural, and socioeconomic conditions have experienced a number of significant changes. A related phenomenon is a reversal in theoretical conceptions. This article attempts to describe this theoretical reversal in a nutshell, on the basis of various writings, studies, and projects, both realized and unrealized.
The article is set out, quite deliberately, in broad outlines; its goal is not one of theoretical consistency. To begin with, it is written from the involved perspective of a practicing designer; I myself am a player in the game. Thus the panorama presented is a type of self-study as well. Secondly, a certain degree of restraint is called for when the relationship between theory and practice – or that between concept and design – is at issue. The relationship between either of the two is not unequivocal. The more enigmatic concrete works are, and the more their intrinsic quality exceeds the illustrative effect that serves a theory, the more interesting they become. Such a painstaking examination, however, is outside the scope of this article.

Polycentrism in the Dutch landscape
The observation that nearly all of the Dutch landscape is the work of human hands holds the veracity of a truism. The idea of a natural environment that can be tamed and a landscape that can be created traditionally places physical and urban planning, as well as architecture, in the protagonist's role. This idea has to be qualified with a view to both a correct understanding of the past and a number of current trends.
Historical studies carried out in recent decades[1] clearly show that an unequivocal antithesis between mankind and nature, in which land was wrested from the sea in a heroic duel, definitely did not exist. It was much more a case of a subtle and undirected interplay of the two, with unexpected and sometimes disastrous consequences.
Originally, peat moors lying behind the dunes were many meters above sea level. In draining these areas for the sake

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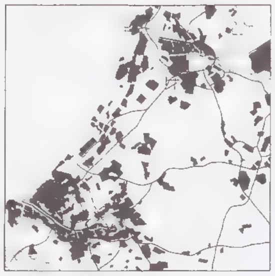
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processo di subsidenza in seguito al quale le acque del mare e dei fiumi divennero una minaccia per la terra. Si iniziarono allora a costruire argini di protezione sempre più alti per consentire il deflusso delle acque dei fiumi. La colonizzazione di un paesaggio che nel Medioevo presentava estese torbiere ha portato inconsapevolmente alla situazione attuale, in cui la terra si trova sotto il livello del mare. La tensione esistente tra uomo e natura non si è quindi allentata, bensì acuita.
Questa serie di interventi tra loro in conflitto ha determinato anche il modello di urbanizzazione. La colonizzazione del paesaggio del delta iniziò con una serie di insediamenti lungo le dune della costa occidentale. Con la costruzione delle dighe lungo i fiumi e gli estuari, si costituivano nuovi insediamenti là dove i vari affluenti venivano arginati. Risultato di questo processo è il cordone di città, approssimativamente a forma di ferro di cavallo, successivamente denominato *Randstad*[2].
La principale caratteristica di questo nastro urbanizzato è l'elevata densità: le città si susseguono senza soluzione di continuità. Una seconda caratteristica è il modello di urbanizzazione, decentralizzato e policentrico. In linea di principio, nessuna città occupa una posizione dominante rispetto alle altre. Il Randstad non ha un unico centro urbano ma le sue città presentano caratteristiche specifiche, che creano reciproca competizione e, al tempo stesso, reciproca indipendenza. Dal punto di vista amministrativo, inoltre, esse godono di notevole autonomia.
Una terza caratteristica è la natura provinciale che le contraddistingue da sempre, a esclusione di Amsterdam nel Diciassettesimo secolo. Non sono mai state metropoli. Di norma, ciascuna presenta un centro urbano chiaramente riconoscibile, e una netta demarcazione separa la città dalla campagna circostante.
Come avviene oggi, anche nel passato il sistema urbano influenzava l'intero paesaggio. La colonizzazione delle torbiere era organizzata dalle autorità cittadine, affinché ampie aree rurali venissero scavate per rifornire di combustibile, appunto torba, le città. A bonificare inizialmente laghi e torbiere furono quindi gli abitanti delle città, che saturarono presto il paesaggio con infrastrutture di collegamento tra i centri urbani.
In una serie di disegni analitici, Maurits de Hoog[3] dimostra chiaramente come il nastro urbano abbia conservato la propria struttura originaria nonostante il processo di

of agriculture, the Dutch started a process of subsidence that resulted in water from both sea and rivers becoming a threat to the land. Dikes erected for protection constricted the riverbed to such an extent that they had to be made even higher. Colonization of the medieval peat-moor landscape unintentionally led to the present situation, in which the surface of the land lies below sea level. The tension that exists between humankind and nature is heightened, therefore, rather than diminished.
This process of conflicting sub-interventions has determined the pattern of urbanization as well. Colonization of the delta landscape began with a series of settlements along the row of dunes in the west. When dikes went up along rivers and estuaries, new settlements appeared at places in which tributaries were dammed up. The more or less horseshoe-shaped ribbon of cities, later referred to as the Randstad, *is the result of this process*[2].
The primary characteristic of this urbanized ribbon is its high level of density; neighboring cities lie within one another's field of vision.
Secondly, the pattern of urbanization is decentralized and polycentric. In principle, the cities occupy positions of equality. The Randstad does not have a single urban center; its cities possess special features which produce mutual competition as well as mutual independence. In an administrative respect, the cities are remarkably autonomous.
A third point is the provincial nature that has always characterized these, with the exception of Amsterdam in the XVIIth century. They have never been metropolises. As a rule, each has one obvious city center and a clear demarcation separating the city and its surroundings: the countryside.
Even in times past, the entire landscape was influenced, as it is today, by the urban system. Colonization of the peat moors was organized by city authorities. Large sections of the countryside were dug up in order to provide the cities with fuel in the form of peat. Reclamation of lakes and peat bogs was initiated by those in the cities. From the very beginning, moreover, the landscape was saturated with infrastructural works that link all the cities together.
In his series of analytical drawings, Maurits de Hoog[3] *clearly demonstrates how the structure of the urban ribbon remained fairly stable throughout this process of continual adaptation and modernization. He notes,*

2. 3. 4. 5. Fasi di colonizzazione del paesaggio: dighe, canali e città dal XIII al XV secolo; torbiere e canali navigabili nel XVII e XVIII secolo; polderizzazione e ferrovie nel XIX secolo; autostrade ed espansioni urbane nel XX secolo. Da uno studio di Adriaan Geuze/West 8, "Wilderness", 1993.
6. La città nel paesaggio aperto: Rembrandt van Rijn, Il campo del pesatore d'oro, *1651. Art Institute, Chicago.*
7. La città concentrica: Groningen. Da Joan Blaeu, Toonneel der Steden van de vereenighde Nederlanden, *1649.*

2. 3. 4. 5. Stages of landscape colonization: dikes, ditches and towns from the XIIIth to the XVth century; peat cutting and barge canals in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries; impoldering and railroads in the XIXth century; highways and urban expansion in the XXth century. From "Wilderness" study by Adriaan Geuze/West 8, 1993.
6. Cities in open landscape: Rembrandt van Rijn, The Gold-Weigher's Field, *1651. Art Institute, Chicago.*
7 Concentric city: Groningen. From Joan Blaeu, Toonneel der Steden van de vereenighde Nederlanden, *1649.*



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continuo adattamento e modernizzazione. Egli sottolinea tuttavia come l'espansione dell'aeroporto di Schiphol e la costruzione dell'autostrada negli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta siano state all'origine di alcuni significativi mutamenti. Il modello policentrico delle città autonome cominciò a subire una considerevole pressione: in senso fisico, le città si espandevano e iniziavano a fondersi. Crebbero le infrastrutture, rappresentate da autostrade e ferrovie: la rete cominciò a infittirsi e si iniziò a occupare sempre più spazio. In qualità di fattore determinante per l'ubicazione delle attività economiche, l'infrastrutturazione acquisì maggiore importanza rispetto alla prossimità ai tradizionali centri urbani. L'espansione urbana comportava che un numero sempre maggiore di autostrade avrebbe presto raggiunto i confini delle città, attraversandole anziché correre lungo i bordi. L'effetto barriera delle autostrade produce così un'influenza disgregatrice sull'unità delle singole città al tempo stesso in cui, d'altra parte, esse offrono occasione di stabilire una salda interrelazione tra le funzioni delle diverse città.
Questi mutamenti fisici sono strettamente legati a una serie di tendenze nella sfera sociale[4]. L'Olanda non è l'unico luogo nel quale, in anni recenti, è emerso un alto livello di individualismo e, di conseguenza, una marcata diversificazione delle unità familiari. La coesione sociale che caratterizzava l'Olanda nel Secondo dopoguerra ha lasciato il posto a un amalgama di sottoculture legate all'età, al reddito, al paese di origine e a fedi politiche o religiose. La mobilità sociale e fisica ha subito un considerevole incremento. Il chiaro orientamento verso una vita urbana nei centri tradizionali è ormai in declino[5].
Nel frattempo, anche il paesaggio rurale subisce marcati mutamenti. Fattori quali i *media*, la mobilità, le attività turistiche e ricreative, attraggono sempre più la campagna nella sfera d'influenza urbana. Via via che diventa sempre più meccanizzata, l'agricoltura, il più importante settore per le esportazioni, appare progressivamente orientata verso i mercati internazionali. Al tempo stesso, i fondamenti sui quali poggia rischiano di vacillare: la prevista riorganizzazione dei sussidi della Comunità Europea può rappresentare un reale pericolo.
In questo modo, la vita sociale all'interno di un paesaggio policentrico ancora bene organizzato assume sempre più il carattere di vita metropolitana, accompagnata da mobilità e congestione, velocità e *stress*, anonimato e disuguaglianza sociale, oltre che da un'elevata concentrazione di informazioni. Nonostante evochi sensazioni di timore e incertezza, questa situazione è fonte di opportunità e gratificazioni inaspettate.

La tradizione della pianificazione urbana: gerarchia e suddivisione
Nel periodo di ricostruzione e industrializzazione che caratterizzò il Primo dopoguerra, l'urbanistica ebbe stretti legami con i movimenti sociali e politici: fu, di fatto, uno strumento di ricostruzione sociale, impiegato essenzialmente per sopperire alla carenza di abitazioni, un grave problema che richiedeva soluzioni immediate. La costruzione di alloggi, rigorosamente controllata dal Governo centrale, si svolse con il supporto di adeguate norme, finanziamenti e progetti di pianificazione. Per lo Stato la costruzione di case rappresentò uno strumento di pianificazione del territorio.
Da un punto di vista metodologico, l'urbanistica olandese del Primo dopoguerra è stata caratterizzata da una duplice gerarchia. In primo luogo, si trattava di una gerarchia che conferiva priorità assoluta a progetti su grande scala rispetto a progetti su piccola scala, un concetto stabilito da una serie di piani concepiti a cascata in ordine di importanza: piano nazionale, piano regionale, piano strutturale, piano di sviluppo e piano edilizio. In secondo luogo, essa stabiliva una priorità preferenziale: la fase progettuale doveva sempre essere preceduta da un'analisi socioeconomica. I fondamenti scientifici (ipotizzati) della pianificazione urbana garantivano a quest'ultima priorità rispetto all'architettura. Questo concetto trovò corrispondenza nell'approccio tecnico adottato dal movimento del *Nieuwe Bouwen*, sostenuto in particolare dagli architetti tedeschi e olandesi, sotto la guida di Van Eesteren, al CIAM, e formulato compiutamente nella Carta di Atene del 1934. In quest'ambito, il progetto più significativo fu l'AUP (il Piano generale di espansione, 1934) di Amsterdam.
Da un punto di vista concettuale, l'urbanistica olandese di questo periodo fu dominata dall'"idea di vicinato" e dal concetto della "città nucleare"[6]. Gli ordini sociali e fisici desiderati erano gli uni riflesso degli altri. Entrambi erano basati su una disposizione strutturale a cerchi concentrici con al centro l'unità minore (nucleo abitativo o familiare). Si trattava di una misura preventiva contro il pericolo di una selvaggia massificazione come quella che si verificava



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8. 9. Il paesaggio urbanizzato: periferia e infrastrutture; nuove periferie urbane. Foto J. Linders.

8. 9. The urbanized landscape: periphery and infrastructure; new urban peripheries. Photo J. Linders.

however, that the growth of Schiphol Airport and highway construction in the 1950s and '60s brought about the onset of certain significant changes. The polycentric pattern of autonomous cities began to experience a great deal of pressure. In a physical sense, cities expanded and started to merge. Infrastructure relating to highways and railroad lines increased in size. The network became more concentrated; a growing amount of space was occupied. As a factor determining the location of businesses, infrastructure became more important than proximity to traditional city centers. Urban growth meant that an increasing number of highways came to lie within the boundaries of cities, running through them rather than along them. The barrier effect of highways has a disintegrating influence on the unity of individual cities. At the same time, highways create the opportunity for functions found in various cities to become markedly interrelated.

These physical changes are linked directly to a number of trends in the social sphere[4]. The Netherlands is not the only place in which a high degree of individualization has emerged in recent decades and, consequently, a great deal of diversification in types of households. The social cohesion found in the Netherlands following World War II has been replaced by an amalgam of subcultures pertaining to age, income, country of origin, and political or religious persuasion. Both social and physical mobility has experienced enormous growth. The unequivocal orientation of city living toward individual, traditional city centers is on the decline.[5]

Meanwhile, the character of the countryside is changing as well. Factors such as media and mobility, and tourism and recreation, are drawing the countryside even more forcefully inside the urban sphere of influence. As it becomes more and more industrialized, agriculture – a major export sector – focuses increasingly on the international market. At the same time, the basis upon which it stands is under pressure: the anticipated reorganization of EC subsidies will eliminate this basis to a large extent.

Thus social life within this still reasonably well-organized polycentric landscape is exhibiting more and more signs of a metropolitan way of life, complete with mobility and congestion, speed and stress caused by a lack of time, anonymity and social diversity, and a high concentration of information. Although the situation evokes feelings of fear and uncertainty, it also offers unprecedented opportunities and enjoyment.

The tradition of urban planning: hierarchy and subdivision

In the postwar era of reconstruction and industrialization, urban planning had strong ties with social and political movements. Physical planning was an instrument used in social postwar reconstruction. Its most important application pertained to alleviating the housing shortage, a problem that was both acute and enormous. Housing construction, strictly supervised by the central government, was carried out with the aid of regulations, subsidies, and planning. Housing construction was used by the state as a physical-planning instrument.

Seen from the perspective of method, Dutch urban planning of the postwar era was characterized by a dual hierarchy. This was, first and foremost, a hierarchy in which large-scale plans were always given priority over small-scale interventions. This concept was established in a series of plans listed in order of importance: national plan, regional plan, structural plan, development plan, and building plan. The second feature of the hierarchy was also one of preference: a socioeconomic survey was to precede the physical design at all times. The (hypothesized) scientific basis of the urban plan granted it priority over architecture. This concept concurred with the rather technical approach of the movement known as Nieuwe Bouwen, *which was defended in particular by Dutch and German architects, under the leadership of Van Eesteren, at the CIAM, and which was embodied in the Charte d'Athènes of 1934. The AUP (General Expansion Plan, 1934) is the most exemplary design of this type.*

In a conceptual sense, Dutch urban planning of this period was dominated by the "neighborhood idea" and the concept of "the subdivided city."[6] The desired social and physical orders formed each other's mirror images. Both orders were based on a structured arrangement of concentric circles, with the smallest unit (family or dwelling) in the middle. This was a preventive measure against the danger of unbridled massiveness, such as that seen in large metropolises. The ideology of the district idea was anti-urban.

The concentric arrangement of housing in neighborhoods, districts, and burroughs was an instrument used to achieve

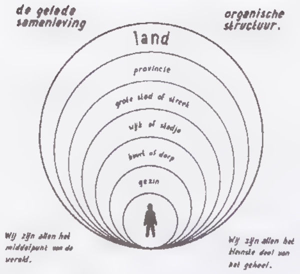
10. Gruppo di architettura "de Opbouw", Schemi di pianificazione fisica per la città e la comunità, 1946 c.
11. W. F. Geyl, Schema della "Città articolata", 1947.
12. Urbanistica: Christopher Alexander, Schema delle sovrapposizioni e variazioni delle sfere di vita,1966.
13. Insediamento urbano tra linee di infrastrutture: Groot IJsselmonde, Rotterdam, anni '60.
14. Modello: Johannes H. van den Broek e Jacob B.Bakema, Piano Pampus, Amsterdam, 1965.
15. Aldo van Eyck, Orphanage, Amsterdam, 1955-60: pianta del secondo piano.

10. Architects'group known as "de Opbouw", Physical planning schemes for city and community, 1946 ca.
11. W.F. Geyl, Plan of the Articulated City, 1947.
12. Urbanism: Christopher Alexander, Variational overlapping of the spheres of life, 1966.
13. Urban settlement inbetween infrastructural lines: Groot IJsselmonde, Rotterdam, 1960's.

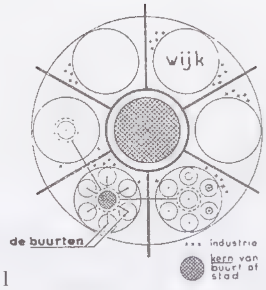
nelle grandi metropoli. L'ideologia del distretto era anti-urbana.
La disposizione concentrica delle case in quartieri, distretti e piccoli centri fu impiegata al fine di ottenere una forma articolata della città nel suo insieme. Essa fu espressa in due modelli urbanistici: la città satellite e la città "a cinque dita". Gli Olandesi ricorsero al modello della città satellite – soprattutto per le città di medie dimensioni – con risultati ineccepibili. Il modello della città "a cinque dita" fornì le linee guida per l'espansione di Amsterdam dopo il Piano generale di espansione; sia Amstelveen sia Bijlmermeer furono progettate in base a questo modello. L'obiettivo era sempre quello di creare una città "leggibile" in un contesto non-urbano (agricolo, naturale, paesaggistico).
Negli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta questa entità concatenata di ordini fisici e sociali fu definita dai critici "deterministica". Lo stesso accadde al concetto in base al quale la vita sociale di un cittadino si svolge all'interno di cerchi concentrici. Illuminante è l'articolo di Christopher Alexander *A City Is Not a Tree*, nel quale l'autore sottolinea che è precisamente questa sovrapposizione variabile delle sfere esistenziali a determinare la vita urbana e che le relazioni sociali si svolgono in base a una sorta di schema reticolare o a "semi-griglia"[7].
Alla fine degli anni Cinquanta Aldo van Eyck, nel suo *Het Verhaal van een Andere Gedachte* [Storia dell'altra idea][8], pose in questione questa duplice gerarchia, riconoscendo l'esistenza di legami tra pianificazione urbana e architettura, città e abitazione, grande e piccolo. In questo modo egli mise in discussione la supremazia dell'urbanistica. La Casa del fanciullo che egli progettò ad Amsterdam rappresenta, in ambito architettonico, il paradigma del suo pensiero. In ambito urbanistico, questi concetti aprirono la strada agli interventi di rinnovamento urbano degli anni Settanta. Nonostante questo, l'urbanistica indugiava confusa nelle retrovie. Progettando il suo Piano Pampus per la nuova espansione di Amsterdam, Bakema offrì ciò che è forse l'interpretazione più diretta di questo concetto: le sue megastrutture offrirono una sinonimia tra urbanistica e architettura.
D'altro canto, nella pratica quotidiana dell'urbanistica è molto interessante notare come i progettisti più rigorosi abbiano continuato e continuino a rispettare la tradizione basata sul principio della gerarchia e dell'articolazione. Anche oggi, molti progetti di espansione urbana sono

an articulated form of the city as a whole. This was expressed in two urban models: the satellite city and the finger city. The Dutch used the satellite-city model – especially in medium-sized cities – with virtually ironclad consequences. The finger-city model served as a guideline for the expansion of Amsterdam following the design of the General Expansion Plan; both Amstelveen and the Bijlmermeer were designed according to this model. The constant objective was to create a city that would be "legible" against a nonurban background (agriculture, nature, landscape).
In the 1950s and '60s, this seamless entity of physical and social orders was labelled "deterministic" by its critics. The same applies to the concept that the social life of an urbanite takes place within concentric circles. Of special note is Christopher Alexander's article, A City Is Not a Tree, *which points out that it is precisely this variational overlapping of the spheres of life that determines city living, and that social relationships exhibit a network-like pattern, or a "half-grid"[7].*
In writing his Het Verhaal van een Andere Gedachte *[Story of the Other Idea][8] in the late 1950s Aldo van Eyck prompted a breach in the dual hierarchy. He argued for mutual relationships between urban planning and architecture, city and dwelling, and large and small. In so doing, Van Eyck brought up for discussion the primacy of urban planning. His Children's home in Amsterdam represents the paradigmatic work, within architecture, supporting his views. As for urban planning, these ideas did pave the way for urban renovation activities in the 1970s. Nevertheless, urban planning more or less lagged behind in confusion. In designing his Pampus Plan for new expansion in Amsterdam, Bakema offered what is possibly the most direct interpretation of this concept. His megastructures provided urban planning and architecture with synonymity.*
On the other hand, in the day-to-day practice of urban planning it is remarkable to note how rigorously planners have continued, and still continue, to honor the tradition based on hierarchy and articulation. Even today, urban expansion in many cities is realized in the form of concentric districts anchored in clusters to older parts of town. This demonstrates the tenacity of a paradigm which – for want of anything better – continues to appear from sheer force of habit, even after having been proved faulty.

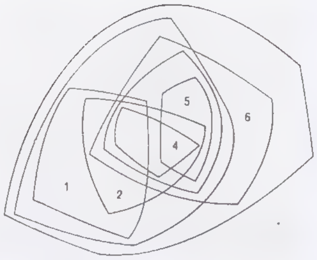
14. *Model: Johannes H. van den Broek and Jacob B. Bakema, Pampus Plan, Amsterdam, 1965.*
15. *Aldo van Eyck, Orphanage, Amsterdam, 1955-60: second floor plan.*



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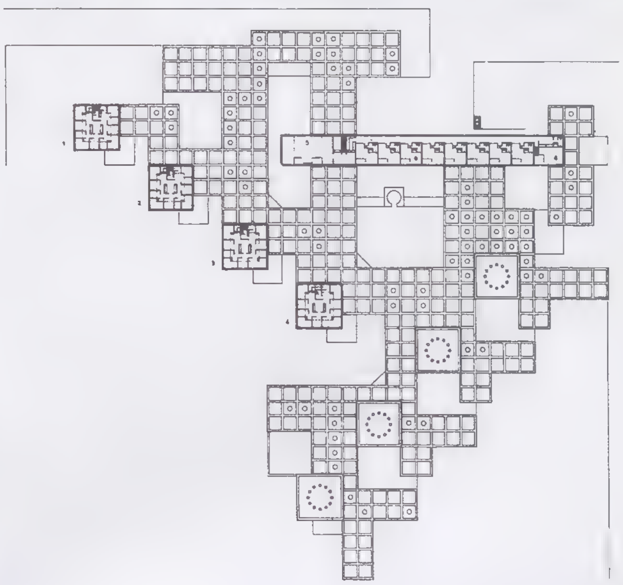


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realizzati sulla base di distretti concentrici ancorati a grappolo alle parti preesistenti della città. Questo dimostra la tenacia di un paradigma che – per mancanza di soluzioni migliori – continua a essere proposto per semplice consuetudine nonostante si sia dimostrato fallimentare.
Da una prospettiva ancora una volta metodologica, si sono verificati molti cambiamenti. La gerarchia di pianificazione urbana che privilegia il "grande" rispetto al "piccolo" non funziona più in modo indiscutibile. Risolta la carenza di abitazioni verificatasi nel Dopoguerra, il legame tra pianificazione fisica e costruzione di case si è allentato. Il mercato dell'edilizia è stato liberalizzato e, di conseguenza, il Governo centrale ha dovuto rinunciare a parte della sua funzione di controllo. La pianificazione nazionale è limitata a poche linee guida generali integrate da iniziative locali.
Fondamento di questa politica è il concetto di "città compatta", in base al quale tutti i nuovi progetti di edilizia residenziale devono essere realizzati all'interno, nelle immediate vicinanze o come dirette addizioni alle città esistenti. Questa politica complessiva reca tuttavia le tracce del pensiero concentrico, un tarlo che minaccia la sua efficacia e legittimità. La città in quanto entità esiste solo sulle mappe bidimensionali. I nuovi insediamenti residenziali (designati dal termine "VINEX", un acronimo olandese riferito alla legislazione sulla pianificazione fisica) sono in molti casi separati dai centri esistenti da grandi opere infrastrutturali e, spesso, ricadono nei campi di tensione creati da più centri. Inoltre, è da molto tempo che il paesaggio circostante ai centri urbani non possiede più la natura inequivocabile che consente di riconoscere città e campagna quali "forma e controforma". Nonostante si stia ormai delineando un modello di città reticolare, esso non ha ancora alcun fondamento concettuale all'interno della politica ufficiale.

Nuovi concetti: paesaggio e metropoli

Sullo sfondo delle tradizioni già descritte, a partire dai primi anni Ottanta sono emersi nuovi metodi di approccio. Nonostante differiscano grandemente tra loro, tutti ruotano intorno alla rivalutazione della metropoli e del paesaggio, all'integrazione e alla fusione di questi due fenomeni.
Nonostante l'accoglienza poco entusiasta da parte della critica al momento della sua pubblicazione in Olanda nel 1978, considero il libro di Rem Koolhaas *Delirious New York* straordinariamente anticipatore[9]. Il fatto che egli presentasse il suo libro come un manifesto retroattivo è, di per se stesso, particolarmente significativo. A Koolhaas non interessa proporre e anticipare un modello ideale; egli considera la metropoli esistente, comprese tutte le sue contraddizioni, da una prospettiva non moralistica. Ne descrive e ne sviscera le dinamiche nascoste, l'irrazionalità e la banalità. Egli considera la congestione della metropoli una forza positiva, una macchina che alimenta la cultura urbana metropolitana. Se confrontate con gli approcci al pensiero urbanistico precedentemente descritti, le sue idee segnano un autentico e paradigmatico momento di svolta. Egli guarda dritto alle fauci della metropoli, per così dire, invece di ignorarla o cercare di rimuoverla.
Oltre alla rivalutazione intellettuale della metropoli, Koolhaas introduce un nuovo approccio basato sull'esagerazione, la dispersione e il contrasto. Hans van Dijk lo paragona alla figura retorica dell'ossimoro: la combinazione di due idee o termini contraddittori[10]. Questa tattica si dimostra in netto contrasto con l'"equilibrio degli opposti" che tanto preoccupava il movimento De Stijl e con la reciprocità dei fenomeni gemelli che crucciava Van Eyck. La figura retorica richiamata da queste strategie progettuali è il paradosso: una contraddizione apparente che porta in sé, in ogni momento, la speranza in una riconciliazione finale.
Se il ricorso all'esagerazione da parte di Koolhaas da un lato provoca un risveglio alla realtà – rendendo palese ciò che è latente –, d'altro lato le sue osservazioni non possono essere applicate direttamente alla situazione olandese. Molti studi e progetti realizzati negli ultimi dieci anni possono essere considerati infatti come la ricerca di una specifica qualità, peculiare alla "metropoli" olandese e, di conseguenza, del modo in cui la pianificazione urbanistica possa e debba essere svolta.
Prenderò qui in considerazione tre tipi di approccio: il primo riguarda un'analisi approfondita del paesaggio urbanizzato; il secondo i manifesti che propongono uno stile di vita metropolitano; il terzo ciò che gli Olandesi chiamano metodo "*casco*" (intelaiatura).
Un passo importante verso il primo di questi approcci fu la pubblicazione del libro *Rotterdam, verstedelijkt landschap* [Rotterdam, paesaggio urbanizzato][11]. La storiografia descrive Rotterdam quale vetrina del Movimento Moderno, un modello di città razionalmente organizzata

Viewed once more from the perspective of method, many changes have taken place. Hierarchy in the type of planning predicated on "large to small" no longer functions so unequivocally. Now that the postwar housing shortage has been resolved, the link between physical planning and housing construction is less strong than it once was. The housing market has been liberalized, and this means that the central government has had to relinquish an instrument of control. National planning is limited to a few global guidelines, which are augmented by local initiatives.

The concept at the heart of this policy is "the compact city". All new housing projects, according to this policy, are to be built in, adjacent to, or directly adjoining existing cities. However, this comprehensive policy also bears traces of concentric thinking, a flaw that gnaws at the edges of its efficacy and legitimacy. The city as an entity exists only on two-dimensional maps. New housing sites (designated by the term "VINEX," a Dutch acronym referring to physical planning legislation) are separated, in most cases, from existing centers by major infrastructural works and frequently find themselves within the field of tension created by a number of centers. Moreover, it has been a long time since the landscape surrounding urban centers possessed the unequivocal nature that allows city and countryside to be recognized as "form and counterform". Although the network city is currently in the process of taking shape, it has no conceptual basis within official policy as yet.

New concepts: landscape and metropolis

Against a backdrop of the traditions already described, a number of new methods of approach have emerged since the early 1980s. Although they differ greatly, all revolve around the revaluation of both metropolis and landscape, and around the interfusion and amalgamation of these two phenomena.

It may not have received rave reviews upon its publication (in 1978) in the Netherlands, but I consider Rem Koolhaas's book, Delirious New York, *to be an absolute trailblazer*[9]*. His presentation of the book as a retroactive manifesto is, in itself, of vital significance. Koolhaas is not interested in projecting an ideal model in advance; he views the existing metropolis, including all its contradictions, through unmoralistic eyes. He exposes its hidden dynamic, its irrationalities, its banality, and blows them up. He regards metropolitan congestion as a positive strength, as the engine that powers contemporary urban culture. When compared with the previously described approaches to urban planning thought, his ideas mark a true paradigmatic turning point. He looks straight into the jaws of the metropolis, so to speak, instead of ignoring it or trying to wish it away.*

In addition to the intellectual revaluation of the metropolis, Koolhaas also introduces a new design tactic based on exaggeration, dispersal, and contrast. Hans van Dijk compares this to a figure of speech known as an oxymoron: a combination of two contradictory ideas or terms.[10] *This tactic presents a sharp contrast to the De Stijl movement's preoccupation with the "balance of opposites" and to that of Van Eyck with the reciprocity of twin phenomena. The figure of speech brought to mind by these design strategies is the paradox: an apparent contradiction, which carries within it, at all times, the suggestion (or hope) of an ultimate reconciliation.*

On the one hand, Koolhaas's use of exaggeration evokes a shock of recognition – it takes that which is latent and makes it obvious – but, on the other hand, his observations cannot be translated directly into the Dutch situation. Many studies and projects of the last ten years can be seen as a search for a specific quality peculiar to the Dutch "metropolis" and for the effect of that quality on the way in which urban planning can and should be carried out. A trio of approaches will be reviewed here: the first concerns an in-depth analysis of the urbanized landscape, the second deals with manifestoes for a metropolitan way of life, and the third pertains to what the Dutch call the "casco" *(framework) method.*

An important step leading up to the first approach was the publication of the book Rotterdam, verstedelijkt landschap *[Rotterdam, Urbanized Landscape]*[11]*. Historiography describes Rotterdam as a showcase of the Modern Movement, a model of the rationally organized city made so by urban planning and architecture. In the book, this ideal image is set off against a number of long-term processes that provide the city not with rationality and order, but with exceptional complexity and recalcitrance. As in Koolhaas's book, the focus is not on an ideal model, but on the study of the city as it is, including those aspects that fall outside the traditional scope of urban planning. With the aid of meticulous cartographic analysis, the book unravels the concealed logic of such a*

16. Ufficio urbanistico di Rotterdam, Quartiere residenziale Prinsenland, Rotterdam, 1984: veduta aerea con in primo piano il complesso realizzato da Mecanoo, 1993.
17. Rotterdam come paesaggio urbanizzato. Foto F. Palmboom.
18. Il grattacielo: sovrapposizione di dissimili e contrastanti programmi funzionali. Da Rem Koolhaas, Delirious New York, *1978.*

19. Frits Palmboom, Rotterdam come composizione di piani sovrapposti, 1987.

grazie alla pianificazione urbanistica e al progetto architettonico. Nel libro questa immagine ideale viene contrapposta a uno sfondo di molteplici processi a lungo termine, che non restituiscono una città razionale e ordinata ma eccezionalmente complessa e recalcitrante. Come nel libro di Koolhaas, l'attenzione non è posta su un modello ideale ma sullo studio della città in quanto tale, comprendendo quegli aspetti che esulano dagli scopi tradizionali dell'urbanistica. Con l'aiuto di una meticolosa analisi cartografica, il libro svela la logica nascosta di una città di questo tipo, la disseziona e vi riconosce tre diversi livelli. Il primo è la dinamica del delta espressa dal corso sinuoso dei fiumi e delle baie; il secondo include il sistema di divisione del territorio e la rete stradale; il terzo riguarda le opere infrastrutturali: la "macchina del traffico" che divide la città in isole e *enclave*.
Queste tre tessiture si sovrappongono creando un effetto di stratificazione, e slittano tra loro producendo rapporti che si alternano senza sosta, senza una gerarchia stabilita. Il risultato è una molteplicità di combinazioni e confronti inaspettati. La città non assume più la forma di un'entità architettonica omogenea ma quella di un paesaggio urbano eterogeneo.
Essenziale all'analisi è la creazione di una radicale frattura nell'antitesi tradizionale tra città e paesaggio. La pianificazione urbanistica riflette la trasformazione costante di un paesaggio già urbanizzato.
Il piano di sviluppo di Prinsenland, un'area di Rotterdam alla quale si lavora dal 1987, è il primo risultato concreto di questo tipo di approccio. Esso si concentra nella ricerca delicata di un equilibrio tra sito e intervento. Attraverso la progettazione di una nuova via di accesso e di un nuovo lago, la struttura del paesaggio esistente viene modificata e preparata, per così dire, a una nuova fase di urbanizzazione. Il progetto dello spazio pubblico aperto e delle strade principali ha preceduto quello degli edifici. Le stesse aree residenziali non sono state progettate in base a modelli sociali prestabiliti, ma ogni settore stabilisce una relazione che gli è propria con il paesaggio urbanizzato. Il compito di dare compiutezza a questo paesaggio è stato affidato a un imprevedibile impegno congiunto tra Governo e interessi commerciali.
Un approccio paragonabile, anche se su più ampia scala, è stato adottato per il recente piano di IJ-Burg, un distretto periferico di Amsterdam. IJ-Burg è situato nell'acqua, in un luogo dove trent'anni fa Bakema, nel progettare il Piano

city. It dissects the city, separating it into three different layers. The first is the dynamic of the delta, expressed in the meandering course of rivers and harbors. The second includes the system of land division and the network of streets, and the third consists of infrastructural works: the "traffic machine" that divides the city into islands and enclaves.
All these patterns overlap, creating a layered effect, and shift to produce continually alternating relationships; there is no question of an unequivocal hierarchy. The result is an abundance of unexpected combinations and confrontations. The city no longer assumes the form of a homogeneous architectonic entity, but that of a heterogeneous urbanized landscape.
Essential to the analysis is the creation of a radical breach in the traditional antithesis between city and landscape. Urban planning embodies the constant transformation of a landscape already urbanized.
The development plan for Prinsenland, a Rotterdam expansion area on which work began in 1987, is the first concrete result of this approach. It engages in a delicate game between site and intervention. By projecting a new access route and a new lake, the structure of the existing landscape was prepared, so to speak, for a new phase of urbanization. The design of public open space, as well as of major networks, preceded that of buildings. Plans for the residential areas themselves were not based on a preconceived social model; each neighborhood has an individual relationship with the urbanized landscape. The task of filling in this landscape was left to the somewhat unpredictable joint effort of government and commercial interests.
A comparable approach, but on a much larger scale, is being applied to the recent plan for IJ-Burg, an outer district of Amsterdam. IJ-Burg is located in the water at a place where Bakema, in designing the Pampus Plan thirty years ago, added a new digit to Amsterdam's finger city. Although at first glance the vast expanse of water appears to be a genuine tabula rasa, *even this is being conceived as a landscape already urbanized. Here countless forces (economic, ecological, and climatological, to name but a few), demand the same type of delicate game between site and intervention once played in Prinsenland. Once again, the design of the landscape preceded the design of the buildings. The specific siting – in the water – has resulted in an archipelagic structure and, consequently, has led to*

16. Rotterdam Department of Town Planning, Prinsenland housing district, Rotterdam, 1984: bird's-eye-view drawing, with, in the foreground, the housing complex by Mecanoo, 1993.
17. Rotterdam as urbanized landscape. Photo F. Palmboom.
18. The skyscraper: superposition of unlike and contrasting programs. From Delirious New York *by Rem Koolhaas.*

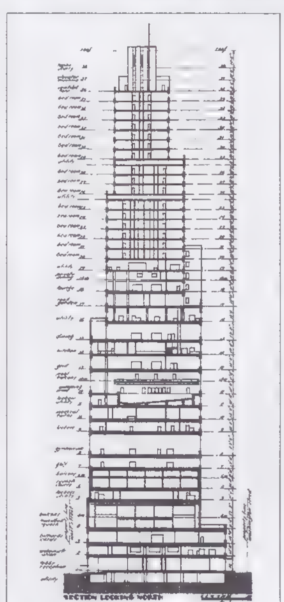
19. Frits Palmboom, Rotterdam as a composition of superimposed layers, 1987.



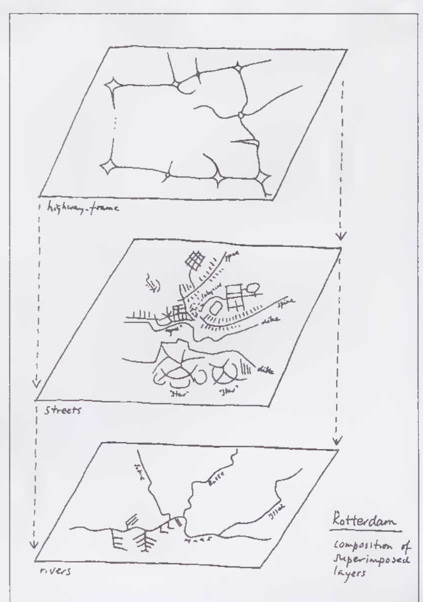
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Pampus, aggiunse un nuovo "dito" al *fingerplan* di Amsterdam. Nonostante, a prima vista, l'ampia distesa d'acqua possa apparire una vera e propria *tabula rasa*, anch'essa nel piano è concepita come un paesaggio già urbanizzato. In questo caso innumerevoli vincoli (economici, ecologici e climatici, per menzionarne solo alcuni) hanno richiesto la stessa attenzione al delicato equilibrio tra sito e intervento già adottata per Prinseland. Ancora una volta, il progetto del paesaggio ha preceduto quello degli edifici. La peculiarità del sito – nell'acqua – ha determinato una struttura ad arcipelago e, di conseguenza, ha indotto a rinunciare al *fingerplan* previsto in origine e in base al quale l'acqua risultava colonizzata dalla città e ridotta a spazio residuale. Questo arcipelago aggiunge un colore singolare alla ricca tavolozza del paesaggio urbanizzato regionale. All'interno della sua composizione spaziale, l'attenzione è posta più sul paradosso che sull'ossimoro. Il progetto stabilisce una misteriosa relazione tra terra e acqua, come se in quel luogo ne riconoscesse l'esistenza dalla notte dei tempi. Esso cerca di essere contemporaneo e, al tempo stesso, senza tempo.
Un secondo approccio relativo alla qualità del paesaggio urbano in Olanda è offerto da una serie di piani che possono essere considerati manifesti dello stile di vita metropolitano. Essi comprendono il progetto "Patchwork Metropolis" di W.J. Neutelings (1990)[12], e lo studio "Wilderness" di West 8/Adriaan Geuze (AIR-Alexander 1993)[13]. Entrambi i progettisti sostengono che l'antitesi tra città e campagna non esiste più. Neutelings riconosce lo stile di vita metropolitano in ciò che si sta evolvendo all'interno del paesaggio urbano olandese. Oggi il cittadino sperimenta e percepisce frammenti dell'ambiente in cui vive, frammenti tra loro uniti e allineati lungo l'autostrada. "*In un viaggio di venticinque minuti*", il finestrino dell'auto fa da cornice a "*scultoree raffinerie di petrolio, multicolori campi fioriti, raccolte città giardino, reti di canali medievali, autostrade a otto corsie... aeroporti, supermercati, piazze e moschee*". La "Patchwork Metropolis" di Neutelings non è stratificata. Essa consiste di frammenti coordinati che non conoscono gerarchie, frammenti disposti l'uno accanto all'altro, separati. Egli sostiene che questo "*caos offre un'intensa varietà di esperienze e vi si può quindi riconoscere un importante valore qualitativo*". Si può tracciare un parallelo tra questo modo di sperimentare le cose e una metropoli come Parigi: una collezione di frammenti intorno a stazioni della

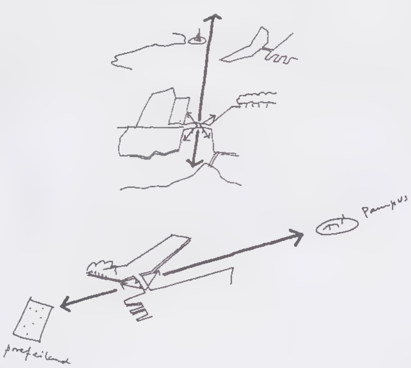
a dismantlement of the finger structure originally planned, in which the water was colonized by the city and reduced to residual space. This archipelago adds a unique color to the enormous palette of regional urbanized landscape.
Within the spatial composition of this archipelago, the focus is more on the paradox than the oxymoron. The design embodies a mysterious reciprocity of land and water that makes it look as though it has been there since time began. It strives to be contemporary and timeless simultaneously.
A second approach to the issue of the quality of urbanized landscape in the Netherlands is formed by a series of plans that may be seen as manifestoes for a metropolitan way of life. Included in this category are "Patchwork Metropolis," designed by W.J. Neutelings (1990)[12], and "Wilderness" study by West 8/Adriaan Geuze (AIR-Alexander, 1993)[13]. Both argue that the antithesis between city and countryside no longer exists. Neutelings pictures the metropolitan way of life as that which is evolving within the Dutch urbanized landscape. Today's urbanite uses and experiences his environment in fragments, which are strung together along the highway. Appearing within the frame formed by the car window, "during a twenty-minute drive" *one sees* "sculptural oil refineries, colorful fields of flowers, intimate garden cities, medieval rings of canals, eight-lane highways . . . airports, marketplaces, plazas, and mosques." *Neutelings's "Patchwork Metropolis" is not stratified. It consists of coordinated fragments that know no hierarchy; the fragments lie next to one another, unattached. He claims that this* "chaos provides a rich variety of intense experiences and may be conceived, therefore, as a major quality." *A parallel can be drawn between this way of experiencing things and a metropolis such as Paris: a collection of fragments around metro stations spread throughout the city. One of Neutelings's drawings can be compared to Guy Debord's "Situationist Map" of Paris, but moved forward forty years and transplanted onto the face of the Netherlands. In creating his "Wilderness" study, Adriaan Geuze took the same point of departure as did Neutelings. The* "modern urbanite is a self-assured and exploratory individual . . . extremely mobile." *And,* "The city dweller exploits the entire landscape". *In theory, one can live anywhere in the landscape, collectively or individually. In using the landscape, straightforwardness and spontaneity*

Jaap van den Bout e Frits Palmboom, Dirk Sijmons e Yttje Feddes, Department of Physical Planning Amsterdam, Piano urbanistico per IJ-Burg, Amsterdam, 1996.
20. Articolazione e trasparenza.
21. Ponti come crocevia strategici.
22. Infrastrutture, centri e densità.

Jaap van den Bout and Frits Palmboom, Dirk Sijmons and Yttje Feddes, Department of Physical Planning Amsterdam, IJ-Burg Project, Amsterdam, 1996.
20. Articulation and transparency.
21. Bridges as the crucial detail.
22. Infrastructure, centres and density.



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Progetto IJ-Burg, Amsterdam

Il Progetto IJ-Burg riguarda lo sviluppo di una nuova area urbana residenziale, con 18.000 unità abitative, situata a est di Amsterdam in un angolo remoto di un mare interno, l'IJmeer. Nei prossimi anni si prevede di ricavare da questa regione, interamente coperta d'acqua, 450 ettari di terra. Il progetto è parte della cosiddetta politica VINEX, mirata alla realizzazione di nuovi complessi residenziali il più possibile vicini ai tradizionali centri urbani.

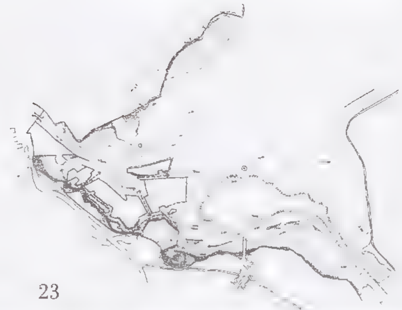
Il Piano è composto da sei isole di dimensioni diverse. Grazie al vasto interfaccia tra terra e acqua è possibile ottenere una densità molto più elevata di quella riscontrabile altrove in Olanda. Allo stesso tempo, ciò offre innumerevoli occasioni allo sviluppo di nuovi elementi ecologici quali bassofondi, zone di transizione e aree riparate. Due isole a nordest fungono da frangiflutti. Dal punto di vista spaziale, il risultato è un'articolazione della vasta distesa d'acqua. Allo stesso tempo, gli stacchi tra le isole garantiscono una chiara visuale dell'arcipelago. La differenza tra superficie d'acqua piatta e d'acqua increspata porta a marcate differenze della linea costiera: dighe fiancheggiate da alberi a nord, banchine lungo la baia, giardini affacciati sull'acqua a sud. Questo progetto di paesaggio, che precede gli interventi urbanistici, è già espressione architettonica, anche se gli edifici non sono stati ancora costruiti: un projeto del sol. *Elemento complementare indispensabile è il progetto sottomarino di una serie di canali, bassofondi e argini. IJ-Burg è collegato al centro urbano di Amsterdam, così come ad altri importanti centri regionali, da due strade, una linea tranviaria e una linea metropolitana. Nonostante la composizione globale dell'arcipelago riveli un certa irregolarità – come una serie di blocchi di ghiaccio nell'acqua – la struttura principale delle isole è semplice e geometrica. I componenti utilizzati per realizzare questa struttura variano notevolmente da un'isola all'altra. I primi interventi di drenaggio inizieranno nel 1998 e le prime costruzioni residenziali verranno realizzate nel 2000.*
F.P.

IJ-Burg Project, Amsterdam

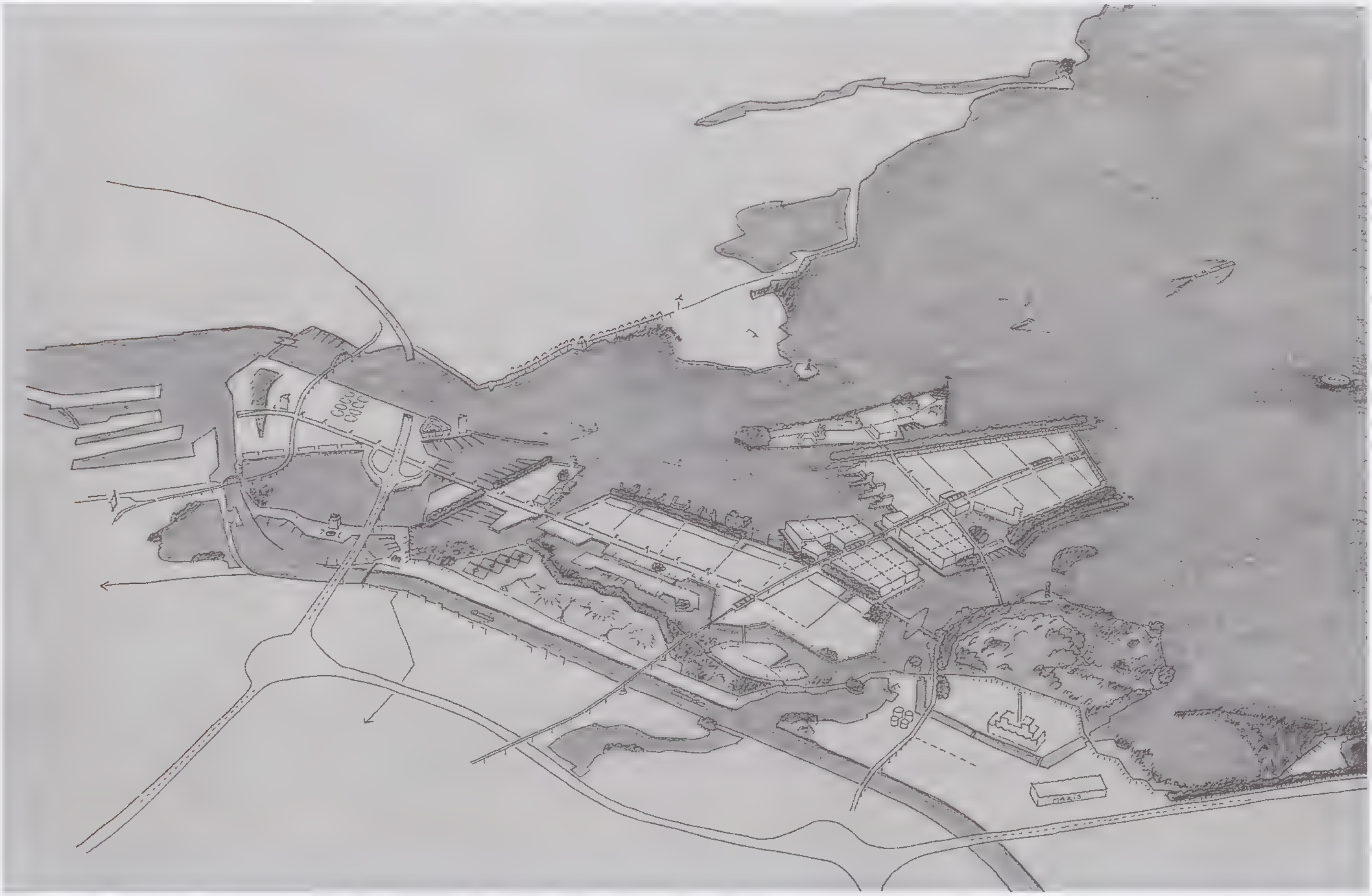
The IJ-Burg Project concerns the development of a new urban residential area, with 18,000 dwellings, located east of Amsterdam in a remote corner of an inland sea, the IJmeer. In the coming years, 450 hectares of land is to be created. The project is part of the so-called VINEX policy, which is aimed at the realization of housing construction as close as possible to traditional city centers.

The plan is composed of six islands of varying sizes. The vast interface between land and water makes it possible to achieve a density markedly higher than that found elsewhere in the Netherlands. As the same time, this offers scores of opportunities for the development of new ecological features, such as shallows, transitional zones, and sheltered areas. Two islands to the northeast act as breakwaters. In a spatial sense, the result is the articulation of the wide expanse of water. At the same time, openings between the islands guarantee the visual transparency of the archipelago. The difference between smooth and choppy surfaces leads to a differentiated shoreline: tree-lined dikes in the north, quays along the bay, waterfront gardens in the south. This landscape design precedes the urban planning completion of the project. It already embodies architectonic expression, even before the buildings have been added: a projeto del sol. *A vital complementary element is an underwater design for a variety of channels, shallows and underwater dams. IJ-Burg is linked to the inner city of Amsterdam, as well as to other major regional hubs, by two roads, a tramline, and one metro line. The composition of the archipelago as a whole exhibits a certain degree of irregularity, like ice-floes in the water. The main structure on the islands themselves is simple and geometric. Components used to fill in this framework are remarkably different, from one island to another. Initial operations aimed at the creation of land will start in 1998. The housing construction is scheduled to begin in the year 2000.*
F.P.

Jaap van den Bout e Frits Palmboom, Dirk Sijmons e Yttje Feddes, Department of Physical Planning Amsterdam, Piano urbanistico per IJ-Burg, Amsterdam, 1996.
23. Disegno dei fondali lagunari.
24. Prospettiva aerea.
25. Planimetria con le differenti strutture urbane delle isole.
26. Carta topografica della zona di intervento: a ovest il centro di Amsterdam e a est il polder di Flevoland (Almere).
27. Vista aerea verso est dell'area di intervento, con in primo piano le zone periferiche della città e la circonvallazione.
28. Vista del modello (sullo sfondo i Docks Orientali).



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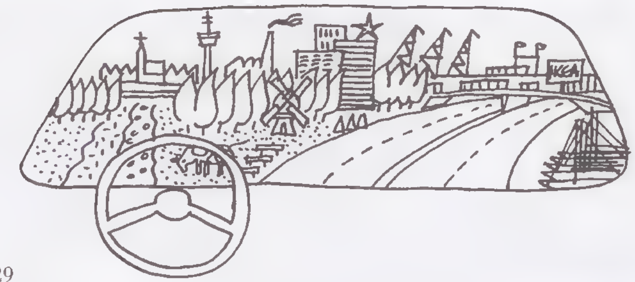
Jaap van den Bout and Frits Palmboom, Dirk Sijmons and Yttje Feddes, Department of Physical Planning Amsterdam, IJ-Burg, Amsterdam, 1996.
23. The underwater design.
24. General layout (perspective).
25. Urban structure (plan): the islands exhibit a diversity of structures.
26. Topographical map of the site: Amsterdam in the west and the Flevoland polder (Almere) in the east.
27. Aerial view of the site looking eastward: in the foreground, the outskirts of Amsterdam and the ringroad.
28. View of the model (in the background, the Eastern Docklands).



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metropolitana sparse nella città. Uno dei disegni di Neutelings può essere paragonato alla "Mappa Situazionista" di Parigi di Guy Debord, ma datata quarant'anni dopo e trapiantata nella realtà olandese. Nella realizzazione del suo studio "Wilderness", Adriaan Geuze ha adottato lo stesso punto di partenza di Neutelings. Il "*cittadino moderno è un individuo sicuro di sé e curioso... estremamente mobile*". E, "*l'abitante della città sfrutta il paesaggio intero*". In teoria si può vivere ovunque nel paesaggio, collettivamente o individualmente. Nella fruizione del paesaggio l'immediatezza e la spontaneità sono questioni di primaria importanza, elementi essenziali a quello che definirei un "parassitismo intelligente". Anche Geuze adotta la tattica dell'esagerazione e della dispersione nella sua opera. L'immediatezza della fruizione si traduce sia in edifici di grande scala, che come singolari sculture si misurano con la vastità del paesaggio, sia in uno schema di edifici sparsi che si ripetono all'infinito, assorbiti dal paesaggio e ridotti a semplice tessitura. Attualmente Geuze è in procinto di realizzare un importante progetto urbanistico su ampia scala nell'area Oostelijk Haven (Docks Orientali) di Amsterdam: il Borneo Sporenburg. In questo caso egli ricorre alla stessa contrapposizione di scultura e tessuto, di architettura e paesaggio, in un programma di insediamento urbano residenziale ad alta densità. La fitta trama di bassi edifici risponde alla tendenza verso un'individualità assicurata dall'anonimato, di proporzioni virtualmente illimitate. I complessi scultorei rispondono alla necessità individuale di cercare rifugio all'interno di un determinato corpo collettivo, un dominio sottratto alla città che tuttavia su di essa si affaccia con una teatrale panoramica. I due concetti di gerarchia e suddivisione perdono di validità. La forma della città ha assunto la forma di un paesaggio, un paesaggio con caratteristiche metropolitane. *Vis-à-vis* con l'intellettuale e paradigmatico punto di svolta espresso da Koolhaas in *Delirious New York*, si può affermare che Adriaan Geuze ha realizzato un progetto paradigmatico modellato sul paesaggio urbanizzato olandese.
Il terzo approccio al paesaggio urbanizzato – il cosiddetto metodo "*casco*" – ha tratto origine nell'ambito dell'architettura del paesaggio, dell'ecologia e dello sviluppo del territorio. In questa tendenza ha svolto un ruolo pionieristico il cosiddetto Piano Ooievaar ("Cicogna"), un progetto regionale per un'area attraversata da grandi fiumi nella parte centrale del Paese[14].

Questa regione è stata a lungo soggetta a fenomeni naturali quali l'innalzamento e il sollevamento del livello dell'acqua e la variabilità degli estuari: un paesaggio che lentamente, nel corso dei secoli, ha assunto una configurazione stabile grazie alla costruzione di dighe. Ulteriori interventi hanno interessato l'area compresa tra le dighe, per dominare la dinamica dei fiumi. Dietro alle dighe, e non senza difficoltà, si è sviluppata una modesta e piuttosto isolata economia agraria; attualmente in quest'area, come in altre analoghe regioni agricole, si registrano forti pressioni per interventi di consolidamento dimensionale e modernizzazione.
Il Piano Ooievaar rompe con la tradizione di una conciliazione tra obiettivi economici ed ecologici, uniformemente distribuiti sull'intera regione. Al contrario, il suo scopo è separare le funzioni che si ostacolano reciprocamente nelle rispettive dinamiche di sviluppo. Punto di partenza è la differenza tra le aree situate rispettivamente all'interno e all'esterno delle dighe: il contrasto tra queste due aree è enfatizzato, non minimizzato.
Sul lato delle dighe rivolto verso l'acqua è stata rimossa tutta una serie di strutture artificiali, quali moli e dighe secondarie, e la priorità è stata data a funzioni meno dinamiche, orientate verso uno sviluppo ecologico. È stata creata una struttura coerente e su ampia scala all'interno della quale possono verificarsi liberamente, in modo autoregolato, processi naturali quali fenomeni di piena, sedimentazione ed erosione.
Sul lato rivolto verso terra, la suddivisione degli appezzamenti agricoli è stata ottimizzata per assicurare adeguata redditività alle fattorie, stabilendo specifiche ripartizioni dimensionali e sofisticati sistemi di irrigazione, che consentano di trarre profitto dalla variabilità delle circostanze esterne. In quest'area, alle funzioni altamente dinamiche che obbediscono a esigenze di mercato è offerto uno spazio flessibile.
Di primaria importanza per il concetto "*casco*" è il fattore tempo. A differenza del progetto "Patchwork Metropolis", qui i frammenti del paesaggio urbanizzato non sono considerati quali elementi autonomi e semplicemente enumerati. Essi sono considerati in modo distinto in base alla natura della loro dinamica e sono accoppiati o separati in strutture che offrono situazioni ottimali per la stabilità, il cambiamento o la loro combinazione. In questo modo è possibile realizzare un collegamento con le strutture

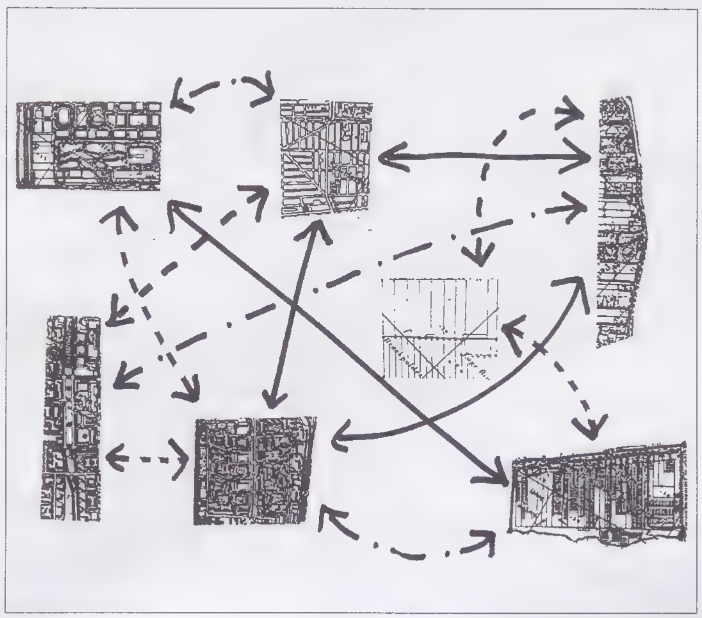
29. 30. 31. Willem Jan Neutelings, "Patchwork Metropolis", 1989: percezione frammentaria del paesaggio urbanizzato; collage *di elementi fisico-programmatici sulla carta della regione compresa tra L'Aia e Rotterdam; montaggio di "pezzi" di paesaggio.*

29. 30. 31. Willem Jan Neutelings, "Patchwork Metropolis", 1989: fragmentary perception of the urbanized landscape; collage of physical-programmatic elements on the map of The Hague-Rotterdam region; landscapes pieced together.

are matters of vital importance; this argues in favor of something I choose to call an "intelligent parasitism." Geuze, too, applies the tactic of exaggeration and dispersal in his work. The straightforwardness of this exploitation is translated either into large-scale buildings which, as one-of-a-kind sculptures, measure up to the immensity of the landscape; or into a pattern of scattered, endlessly repetitive buildings which are absorbed into the landscape and reduced to sheer texture. At present, Geuze is in the process of realizing a major, large-scale, urban planning project in Amsterdam's Oostelijk Haven (Eastern Docklands) area: Borneo Sporenburg. Here he is using the same contraposition of sculpture and texture, of architecture and landscape, in a high-density urban housing program. The close-knit texture of low rise housing corresponds to the trend toward an individualization ensconced in anonymity and of virtually boundless proportions. The sculptural complexes respond to an individual's need to seek shelter within a distinctive collective body, a domain lifted up and away from the city while still providing a theatrical view of the city. The conceptual pair – hierarchy and subdivision – no longer applies. The shape of the city has assumed the shape of a landscape, a landscape with metropolitan features. Vis-à-vis *the intellectual paradigmatic turning point in Koolhaas's* Delirious New York, *it may be said that Adriaan Geuze has created a paradigmatic project tailored to the Dutch urbanized landscape.*
The third approach to the urbanized landscape – the "casco" *concept – originated in the area of landscape architecture, ecology, and land development. The pioneering project was the so-called Ooievaar ("Stork") Plan, a regional design for an area in the center of the Netherlands where large rivers flow*[14].
This part of the country has long been subject to the natural dynamics of phenomena such as rising and falling water levels and shifting estuaries: a landscape that slowly, over a period of centuries, took on a permanent form thanks to the construction of dikes. Increasing efforts were made in the area between the dikes to curb the dynamic of the rivers. Behind these dikes, a fairly isolated and small-scale agrarian economy developed, though not without difficulty; currently this area, like other farming regions, is experiencing a great deal of pressure to increase in scale and to modernize.
The Ooievaar Plan *breaks with the tradition of an evenly*



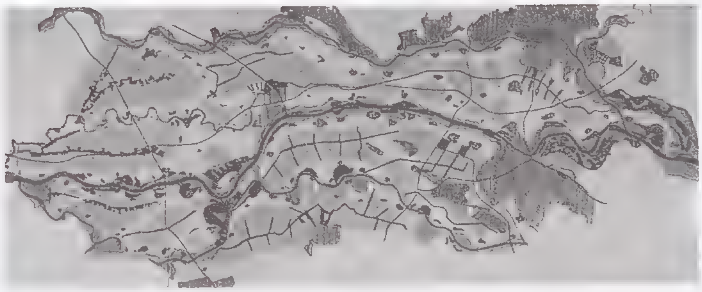
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32. 33. 34. D. de Bruin e altri, Piano Ooievaar per un'area fluviale, 1987: planimetria della zona dei fiumi; consolidamento dei valori ecologici lungo i fiumi; ottimizzazione agricola oltre le dighe.

32. 33. 34. D. de Bruin and others, Ooievaar Plan for the area of rivers, 1987: general plan; primacy for the reinforcement of ecological values along the rivers; primacy for the optimization of agriculture behind the dikes.



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esistenti, più antiche o più stabili, o aggiungerne di nuove. La gestione della dinamica del tempo può entrare in relazione con la struttura stratificata del paesaggio urbanizzato. Essenziale a questo tipo di approccio è attribuire a queste dinamiche un certo grado di libertà, all'interno di alcune obbligatorie condizioni di contorno che garantiscono il buon funzionamento complessivo, come una "locomotiva" che consenta al movimento dinamico di svilupparsi o, in caso di necessità, di arrestarsi. L'aspetto centrale risiede in una strategia di pianificazione che non ha come scopo finale un'immagine statica, "architettonica".

Sono stati realizzati molti progetti di intervento urbanistico in qualche modo simili a questo. Alla base di ognuno vi è la ricerca di ciò che può essere controllato con efficacia e che crea le condizioni adeguate alla realizzazione dell'auspicato programma di sviluppo, con la possibilità di produrre qualcosa di interessante in senso spaziale.

I nuovi approcci descritti consentono di trarre alcune conclusioni.

Lo sviluppo di uno stile di vita metropolitano è un dato di fatto. Koolhaas ci ha offerto la chiave per accettarlo positivamente.

La metropoli nel paesaggio policentrico olandese sarà una metropoli "del paesaggio": un paesaggio urbanizzato, soggetto a ripetute trasformazioni. Non si tratta di un ordine del tutto nuovo. Nuova è qui un'interpretazione in qualche modo "mutata" di ciò che da molto tempo si nasconde nella disposizione policentrica del paesaggio.

In questa metropoli del paesaggio tradizionali caratteristiche, urbane e periferiche, si mescolano in modo insolito. La grande sfida risiede nell'individuare la possibilità di articolare questi caratteri in modo autentico in ambito urbanistico e architettonico. Oltre agli interventi già descritti, alcuni recenti progetti hanno dato una risposta a questa sfida in termini originali; tra questi, il blocco residenziale di Kollhoff nell'area portuale un tempo periferica di Amsterdam e il curioso alloggio del custode progettato da MVRDV per il Museo Kröller Müller, situato all'interno della più vasta riserva naturale olandese.

Dal punto di vista culturale, i nuovi approcci implicano una svolta significativa. L'opinione pubblica, ancora legata alla tradizione della piccola città, continua a considerare il paesaggio come qualcosa di "esterno" alla città. Di fronte alla violenza di un'espansione sempre maggiore delle aree urbane e ai problemi ambientali che ne conseguono, essa tende sempre più a identificare quest'area "esterna" con la "natura" incontaminata, che deve essere preservata e protetta dalla città.

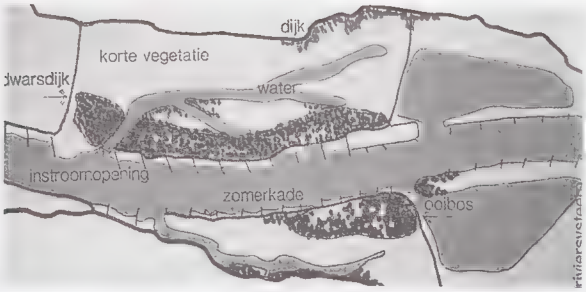
Gli interventi nel paesaggio sono quindi destinati a incontrare una certa resistenza. L'uomo continua a essere considerato nemico e usurpatore della natura, ma non più in senso "eroico", bensì quale parte colpevole. Progetti quali IJ-Burg, che cercano di risolvere questa opposizione, rappresentano un punto formalizzato di questo dibattito, anche se un recente referendum svoltosi ad Amsterdam ha rischiato di portare all'annullamento del progetto.

Il compito delle discipline progettuali è quello di dare espressione alla dimensione culturale del paesaggio urbanizzato attraverso analisi e nuove proposte di intervento. Credo che esse possano stabilire legami tra i seguenti nuovi approcci:

1. l'analisi approfondita del paesaggio urbanizzato, che consente di individuare la stratificazione complessa e tenace della città;
2. il manifesto di uno stile di vita metropolitano, che implica un consumo "superficiale" e spontaneo del paesaggio, e ne sollecita le trasformazioni connesse ai ritmi sempre più frenetici;
3. l'approccio "*casco*" che rende chiaro come la scelta tra due alternative non possa costituire una risposta; oggetto del pensiero urbanistico deve essere il rapporto tra le stratificazioni profonde e i cambiamenti superficiali.

Allo stato attuale, tali questioni meritano maggiori analisi e riflessioni. Esse necessitano del tipo di considerazioni che trascendano i limiti della retorica per misurarsi con lo sviluppo di differenziate tattiche progettuali nell'ambito di interventi concreti.

In questo modo, urbanisti e architetti possono stabilire una base produttiva per occuparsi in modo equilibrato e creativo di un paesaggio metropolitano in continuo mutamento.



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distributed conciliation of economic and ecological objectives throughout the entire region. On the contrary, its aim is to separate functions that hinder one another with respect to their dynamics in time. The difference between areas inside and outside the dikes serve as a starting point. The contrast between the two areas is emphasized rather than minimized.

On the water-side of the dikes, a number of cultural interventions are nullified; quays are removed, secondary dikes breached. Here priority is given to less dynamic functions, which are oriented toward ecological development. A coherent, large-scale framework is created, within which self-regulative, natural processes (floods, sedimentation, and erosion) are offered a chance.

On the land-side of the dikes, land division in the agricultural sector is optimized to make sure that farms remain solvent. Owing to a specific lot size and a sophisticated water system, can use alternating circumstances to their own advantage. In this area, highly dynamic functions influenced by the market are supplied with flexible space.

Dealing with the time factor is of primary importance to the "casco" concept. Unlike the situation in the "Patchwork Metropolis", here fragments of the urbanized landscape are not viewed as autonomous items and simply enumerated. They are distinguished according to the nature of their dynamic, and coupled or uncoupled into frameworks which offer optimal conditions for stability, change, or a combination of the two. Thus a connection can be made to existing structures that are older or more permanent, or new structures can be added. The management of the dynamic of time can enter into a relationship with the stratified structure of the urbanized landscape. Vital to the "casco" approach is that within its framework dynamics be given a certain amount of freedom. Conditions conducive to good functioning are a must, as is a "locomotive" to get the dynamic going or, if need be, to bring it to a halt. The emphasis is on a form of strategic planning that does not have a static, "architectonic," final image as its focus.

Scores of approaches to urban areas have been developed that bear a certain resemblance to this one. At the heart of each is a search for that which can be guided effectively and for that which creates conditions beneficial to the desired programmatic development, with the potential to produce something interesting in a spatial sense.

The new approaches described here allow a number of conclusions to be drawn.

The development of a metropolitan way of life is a given. Koolhaas has handed us the key to a positive acceptance of this fact.

The metropolis in the Dutch polycentric landscape will be a metropolis "of the landscape": an urbanized landscape, subject to one transformation after the other. This is not an entirely new order. At issue here is a new, somewhat "shifted" interpretation of that which has been lying hidden in the polycentric layout of the landscape for a long time.

In the landscape metropolis, traditional urban and peripheral qualities blend together in an unusual manner. The great challenge lies in how to get an authentic articulation of this blend into urban planning and architecture. In addition to urban plans already described, several recent architectonic projects have responded to this challenge with intriguing initiatives, such as Kollhoff's housing block in the previously peripheral harbor area in Amsterdam, and the curious porters' lodges designed by MVRDV for the Kröller Müller Museum, which stands amid the largest nature reserve in the Netherlands.

In a cultural sense, the new approaches require a significant turnabout. Public opinion, still steeped in small-town tradition, continues to view the landscape as something "outside" the city. Under the duress of ever-increasing urbanization and the environmental pressure that goes with it, people tend to see this "outside" area more and more as (innocent) "nature," which must be cherished and protected from the city.

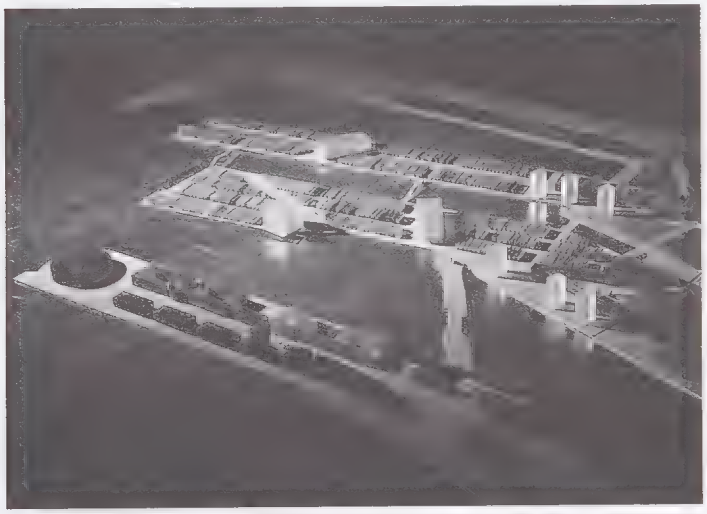
Thus interventions into the landscape will invariably face resistance. Man continues to be seen as nature's opponent and tamer, although no longer in a "heroic" sense, but rather as the guilty party. Projects such as IJ-Burg, which try to break through this opposition, form a crystallization point in this discussion; a recent referendum in Amsterdam nearly led to the cancellation of the project.

The task of the design disciplines is to give expression to the cultural dimension of the urbanized landscape in analyses and new projects. I believe that they might find connections between these new approaches:

1. The in-depth analysis of the urbanized landscape, which allows the complex and tenacious stratification of the city to be seen;

35. Adriaan Geuze/West 8, Progetto di complesso residenziale, Isole Borneo-Sporenburg, Docks Orientali, Amsterdam, 1993.
36. Edificio urbano per appartamenti in un'area portuale periferica: Hans Kollhoff, Christian Rapp, Complesso residenziale "Pireus", Docks Orientali, Amsterdam, 1994.
37. MVRDV, Padiglione di ingresso al Parco nazionale e al Kröller Müller Museum, De Hoge Veluwe, 1994-97.

35. Adriaan Geuze/West 8, Design for Housing complex, Borneo-Sporenburg Islands, Eastern Docklands, Amsterdam, 1993.
36. Urban apartment building in former peripheral harbour area: Hans Kollhoff, Christian Rapp, "Pireus" housing complex, Eastern Docklands, Amsterdam, 1994.
37. MVRDV, Entrance pavilion of the National Park and Kröller Müller Museum, De Hoge Veluwe, 1994-97.



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Note

*Frits Palmboom è nato nel 1951. Ha studiato architettura e urbanistica presso il Politecnico di Delft. Dal 1981, presso il Dipartimento di urbanistica di Rotterdam, ha lavorato al progetto "Prinsenland", un nuovo distretto urbano alla periferia di Alexanderpolder. Ha aperto un proprio studio nel 1990 e da allora lavora a progetti di urbanistica ad Amsterdam, L'Aia, Delft, Groningen e Maastricht. Dal 1994 collabora con Jaap van den Bout, con il quale, dal 1995, lavora al Progetto IJ-Burg, Amsterdam. È docente universitario e autore di *Doel en vermaak in het Konstruktivisme* [Finalità e gioco nel Costruttivismo], 1979 e *Rotterdam, verstedeljkt landschap* [Rotterdam, paesaggio urbanizzato], 1987.
Traduzione dall'inglese di Giovanna Albio.

1) Vedi, tra gli altri, A.M. LAMBERT, *The making of the Dutch Landscape: An Historical Geography of the Netherlands*, Londra 1985.
2) Vedi M. DE HOOG, *De Randstad: een verstedelijkte delta* [Il Randstad: un delta urbanizzato], in "de Architect", n. 36, numero speciale, settembre 1989, pp.13-21.
3) *Ibid.*
4) Vedi, tra gli altri, G. ANDERIESEN e A. REYNDORP, *Wonen tussen stad en polder* [Abitare tra città e polder], Zwolle 1992.
5) L'espansione delle città è solo in parte risultato dell'aumento (modesto) della popolazione. Un incremento del senso di individualità e di mobilità è la causa principale di una crescita costante della quantità di spazio di cui fruisce ogni abitante.
6) Vedi U. BARBIERI (a cura di), *Architectuur en Planning, Nederland 1940-1980* [Architettura e pianificazione. Olanda 1940-1980], Rotterdam 1983.
7) C. ALEXANDER, *A City Is Not a Tree*, in "Architectural Design", febbraio 1966.
8) A. VAN EYCK et AL., *Het Verhaal van een Andere Gedachte* [Storia dell'altra idea], in "Forum", 1967.
9) R. KOOLHAAS, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, New York 1978.
10) H. VAN DIJK, *Het Bezwijken van tegenstellingen* [La rinuncia alle antitesi], in "Wonen/TABK", n. 13-14, 1982.
11) F. PALMBOOM, *Rotterdam, verstedelijkt landschap*, Rotterdam 1987. Una traduzione inglese è apparsa in M.J. VROOM, J.H.A. MEEUWS, *Learning from Rotterdam*, Londra/New York 1990; una sintesi in italiano è apparsa in "Urbanistica", n. 93, novembre 1988, con il titolo *Un caso nordico di urbanità.*
12) Vedi Rotterdam-Maaskant Foundation, *Willem Jan Neutelings Architect*, Rotterdam 1991, pp.40-45.
13) Vedi A. DEVOLDER (a cura di), *De Alexanderpolder, waar de stad verder gaat* [Alexanderpolder, nuove frontiere urbane], Rotterdam 1993, pp.96-105.
14) D. DE BRUIN et AL., *Ooievaar. De toekomst van het rivierengebied* [Ooievaar. Il futuro dell'area fluviale], a cura di D. van Ooij, Arnhem 1987.

2. the manifesto for the metropolitan way of life, which makes "superficial" and spontaneous use of the landscape and prompts change to occur at an increasingly faster pace;

*3. the "*casco*" approach, which makes it clear that an "either-or" decision is not the answer; it is the relationship between the tenacious stratification and the superficial changes that asks to be the object of planning thought.*

The subject deserves even more debate and reflection than it is getting at present. It needs the kind of consideration that goes beyond the bounds of rhetoric and that includes the development of the various design tactics within concrete works.

In this way, planners and designers can establish a productive basis for dealing with a constantly changing metropolitan landscape in a relaxed and creative manner.

Notes

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English translation from the Dutch: D'Laine Camp and Donna de Hermansader.

1) See, among others, A.M. LAMBERT, The making of the Dutch Landscape: An Historical Geography of the Netherlands, *London 1985.*

2) See M. DE HOOG, De Randstad: een verstedelijkte delta, *in "de Architect", n. 36, special issue, September 1989, pp. 13-21.*

3) Ibid.

4) Vedi, among others, G. ANDERIESEN and A. REYNDORP, Wonen tussen stad en polder, *Zwolle 1992.*

5) The growth of the cities is only partly the result of the (modest) growth of the population. An increase in individualization and mobility is the main cause of a steady rise in the amount of space used by each inhabitant.

6) See U. BARBIERI ed., Architectuur en Planning, Nederland 1940-1980, *Rotterdam 1983.*

7) C. ALEXANDER, A City Is Not a Tree, *in "Architectural Design", February 1966.*

8) A. VAN EYCK ET AL., Het Verhaal van een Andere Gedachte, in "Forum", 1967.

9) R. KOOLHAAS, Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan, *New York 1978.*

10) H. VAN DIJK, Het Bezwijken van tegenstellingen, *in "Wonen/TABK", n. 13-14, 1982.*

11) F. PALMBOOM, Rotterdam, verstedelijkt landschap, *Rotterdam 1987. An english translation appeared in M.J. VROOM, J.H.A. MEEUWS,* Learning from Rotterdam, *London/New York 1990; for a summarized italian translation see* Un caso nordico, *in "Urbanistica", n. 93, novembre 1988.*

12) See Rotterdam-Maaskant Foundation, Willem Jan Neutelings Architect, *Rotterdam 1991, pp. 40-45.*

13) See A. DEVOLDER ed., De Alexanderpolder, waar de stad verder gaat, *Rotterdam 1993, pp.96-105.*

14) D. DE BRUIN et AL., Ooievaar. De toekomst van het rivierengebied, *ed. D. van Ooij, Arnhem 1987.*

Architettura internazionale, ricerca storica e critica operativa

Carlo Olmo

Esiste veramente la possibilità, oggi in Italia, di costruire un programma di studi dentro una struttura per tanti versi debole come un dottorato di ricerca? È credibile, in una situazione di istituzioni ancora non riformate, dove, ad esempio, le singole scuole e i singoli dottorati non sono chiamati a certificare il loro prodotto, educare all'indagine storica e contemporaneamente mettere in discussione barriere disciplinari tanto fragili, quanto difese una volta ancora con vigore? Che senso avrebbe (o ha) una scuola che forma alla replica, al conformismo, alla difesa di un proprio spazio disciplinare astrattamente rivendicata?
La ricerca storica in campo architettonico (e urbanistico) è attraversata, non solo in Italia, da calme apparenti: tutti sembrano ritrovarsi nel procedere oscillante, ma consolatorio, di progetti formativi della storia autonomi da quelli del progetto, per altro accompagnati da un fare storia attento alle icone e ai loro maestri; in un continuo gioco di rimandi che rivaluta insieme, ancora una volta, l'artista e il critico, e che sta facendo della biografia d'autore quasi il genere scontato e solitario di questa letteratura e del disegno di architettura l'oggetto esclusivo di desideri scientifici come mercantili.
Le ricerche storiche che troveranno spazio su "Zodiac" (grazie alla consueta attenzione di Guido Canella a ciò che non è conforme) tentano di mettere i piedi nel piatto, con garbo e attenzione, ma senza paura di affrontare il nodo, ancora oggi volutamente mantenuto ambiguo e al centro di tante discussioni: il significato e i confini reali della critica operativa in questo secolo, che si sta spegnendo.
Non si tratta esclusivamente di lavori di storia della storiografia, che potrebbero anche essere l'ultima frontiera di una storiografia autoreferenziale e prigioniera delle sue stesse strutture narrative. La formazione ed i primi lavori critici e storici di H.-R. Hitchcock e di J. Summerson sono studiati non solo e non tanto per la diversa fortuna critica delle loro opere (una diversità che è già indizio interessante di due modi con cui le rispettive società vivevano l'impegno intellettuale), ma soprattutto negli anni e per i rapporti con quell'architettura che si definiva (e viene ancor oggi assunta) come moderna. Al centro di due lavori di tesi di dottorato assai complessi stanno formazioni interessanti, estranee a qualsiasi costruzione di una modernità autonormata, ma anche i modi attraverso i quali quelle interpretazioni circolano, persuadono, costruiscono un consenso al di là dei circoli intellettuali nei quali si sono formate.

International architecture, historical research and working critique

Carlo Olmo

Is it genuinely possible in Italy today to construct a study programme within what is in many ways the very weak structure of PhD research? Is it conceivable in a system in which institutional reform is long overdue, where individual schools and PhD courses are not, for example, required to certify their end product, to educate for historical research and at the same time call into question disciplinary barriers that are as fragile as they are jealousy guarded? What would be (or is) the point of an education system that encourages repetition, conformity and the defence of the disciplinary space this system abstractly claims for itself?

Historical research in the field of architecture (and town-planning) is pervaded – in Italy and elsewhere – by a sense of apparent calm: everyone seems caught up in the fluctuating but comforting process of historical training projects that are quite independent of architectural design projects, and accompanied by an approach to history based on icons and their masters. It is a never-ending process of making references that reassess artist and critic together yet again, one that sees the author biography as being the only genre for this literature, and architectural design as being the exclusive object of scientific and mercantile desires.

The historical research work that will appear on the pages of "Zodiac" (thanks to Guido Canella's customary attention to non-conformist trends) tactfully and carefully attempts to face up to this situation, unafraid to get to the heart of the matter, of what even today is deliberately kept ambiguous and at the centre of much debate: the meaning and real limitations of working critique in this century, as it draws to a close.

These are not only historical works of historiography, which might even be the final frontier of a self-referential historiography that is a prisoner of its own narrative structures. The training and early critical and historical works of H.-R. Hitchcock and J. Summerson are studied not so much for the different critical fortunes of their work (a difference that is in itself an interesting indication of the attitudes of their respective societies to intellectual engagement) but above all in the years and in the relations with that architecture that defined itself (and is still thought of) as modern. Two rather complex PhD theses take as their central themes two interesting formative experiences, extraneous to any construction of a self-regulated modernity, as well as dealing with the ways in

Hitchcock e Summerson sono stati scelti perché consentono di andare oltre l'interpretazione (e la demonizzazione) della critica operativa tutta centrata sulle vicende tedesche, austriache, ceche, ma anche perché è nel mondo anglosassone che si sperimentano le forme della comunicazione di massa. Hitchcock e Summerson hanno continui rapporti e costruiscono le loro interpretazioni anche in relazione a *milieu* culturali assai ristretti, dentro i quali hanno un peso rilevante culture letterarie, non solo figurative, moderniste. I loro itinerari (reali e figurati) disegnano *filières* non tutte attese, ma che sostanzialmente sembrano confermare l'autoreferenzialità di questi gruppi di intellettuali. Eppure se il processo di legittimazione sembra chiudersi dentro un dibattito di pochi e la pedagogia dell'arte essere una conseguenza quasi necessaria di una concezione autonoma della cultura, l'ampiezza e la diversità degli strumenti con cui Hitchcock e Summerson dialogano con la società incrina questa lettura. Gli strumenti, le loro esigenze di raccontare una realtà per forza semplificata, iterata, ricondotta a poche icone facilmente riconoscibili, trasformano il senso stesso del messaggio e il significato dell'azione persuasiva che essi intraprendono.
L'operatività cessa di essere quasi l'impegno morale di un'*élite* che vuole realizzare un suo dover essere sociale, per diventare una forma necessaria di comunicazione in una società di massa che mobilita intorno a un'architettura, non più necessariamente modernista, interessi culturali, sociali, economici. Un'operatività che ribalta quasi necessariamente i suoi riferimenti: nel ricercare il consenso si definisce quasi un'ideologia del corretto costruire dai confini volutamente ambigui, certo non segnati dalle tante rigidità delle discussioni e delle architetture razionaliste. L'operatività, con Hitchcock e Summerson, si stacca dal modernismo, dall'essere quasi *habitus* dell'architetto che vuole affermare il proprio essere nel tempo, per diventare azione morale, recuperando al fare storia soprattutto del contemporaneo, il senso di un lavoro intellettuale necessariamente calato in una società multipla, contraddittoria ma anche consumista e distratta. Non vi è né utopia né speranza nell'essere dei due storici anglosassoni nel proprio tempo, ma non vi sono neanche barriere simboliche costruite su diversità che poi il mercato si procura di annullare in pochi anni. Il loro rifiuto di identificare operatività e modernità non nasce da un superamento dei paradigmi razionalisti, ma da un'accettazione del farsi delle culture nelle società di massa e attraverso gli strumenti di una comunicazione che impone un impegno narrativo non risolto nella scrittura e non misurato da correttezze formali e procedurali del proprio fare storia. Il diverso rapporto di Hitchcock e Summerson con le storie (dell'arte, ma anche dei contemporanei) che i saggi tentano di illustrare, nasce dalla percezione di un radicamento insieme nel passato (nello scrivere una storia dell'architettura gotica, come della città georgiana) e in un presente in grado di annullare ogni distinzione, ogni profondità temporale, se non educato alla lettura paziente, pedante, spesso quasi noiosa nel suo dichiararsi così volutamente educativa.
In questo, non solo in questo, sta una modernità che aiuta non solo a leggerne una fortuna soprattutto interna ai loro paesi e alle loro culture, ma anche a riaprire una discussione sulla critica operativa, oggi davvero tanto intrecciata con strategie della persuasione, del collezionismo, del mercato, da far apparire romantiche prese di distanza gli esercizi di riduzione del proprio fare (architettura non solo storia) a forma di ossequio procedurale (alla filologia, pur necessaria, come a una qualunque estetica). Una lezione di laicità, non solo di comprensione della dimensione in cui si colloca il proprio lavoro intellettuale in una società di massa, che può aiutare a far dialogare architetti e storici sugli strumenti del loro fare.

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L'articolo di Paolo Scrivano, pubblicato nelle pagine seguenti, inaugura una rassegna di studi svolti all'interno del Dottorato di Ricerca in Storia dell'Architettura e dell'Urbanistica consorziato tra Politecnico di Torino, Politecnico di Milano e Università di Genova, di cui Carlo Olmo è il coordinatore.

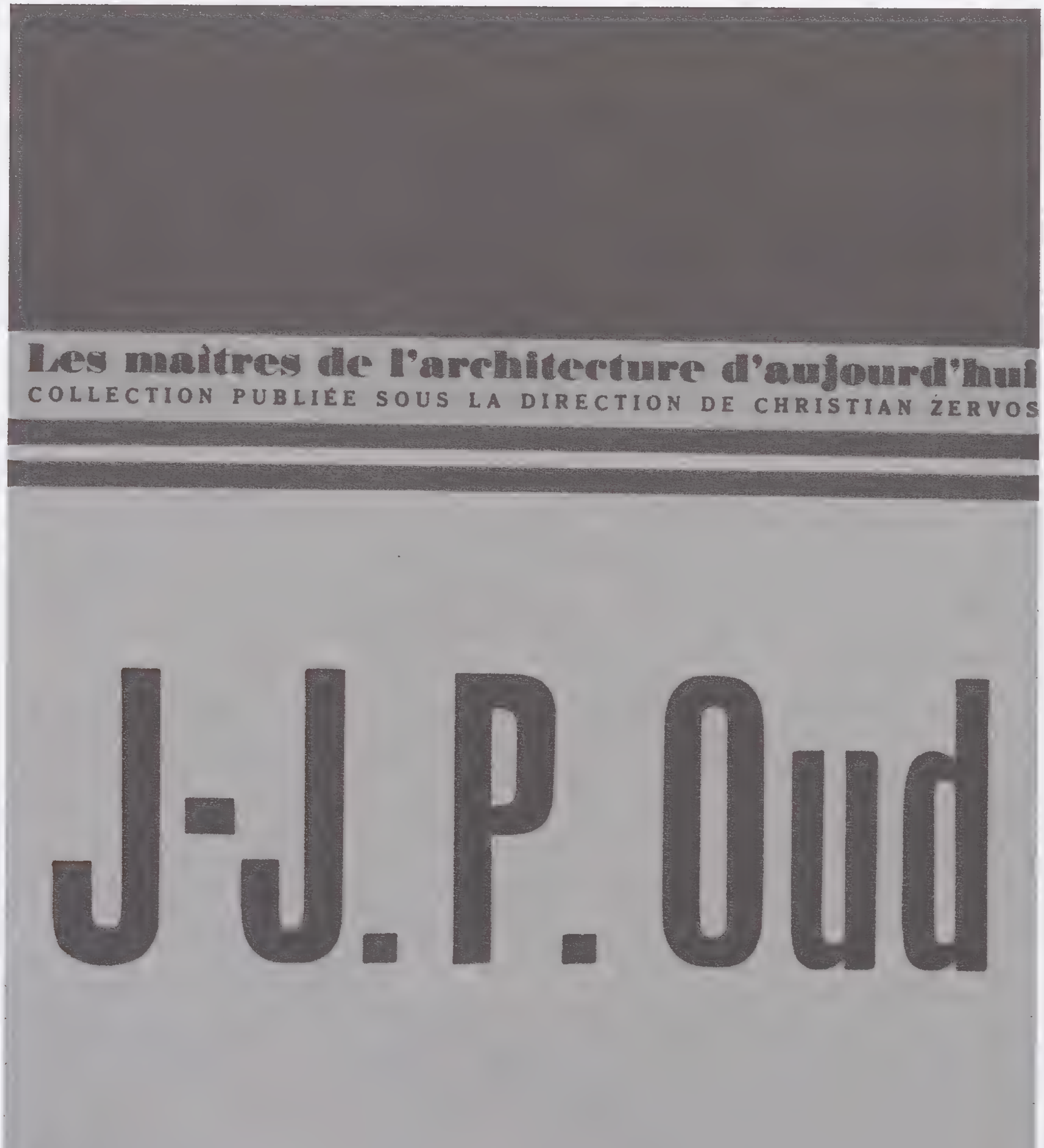
which those interpretations circulate, persuade and construct a favourable reception beyond the intellectual circles in which they were formed.
Hitchcock and Summerson were chosen because they make it possible to go beyond an interpretation (and demonisation) of the German-, Austrian- and Czech-centred working critique and also because it is the Anglo-Saxon world that experiments with the forms of mass communication. Hitchcock and Summerson often display similarities and construct their interpretations in relation, amongst other things, to quite restricted cultural milieux, in which literary and not only figurative, modernist culture carry considerable weight. Their careers (real and metaphorical) go down what are sometimes quite unexpected paths but which basically seem to confirm the self-referentiality of these groups of intellectuals. And yet while the process of legitimisation seems to be restricted to a debate among a select few and the pedagogics of the art seem to be an almost inevitable consequence of an autonomous concept of culture, such an interpretation is undermined by the breadth and diversity of the instruments with which Hitchcock and Summerson converse with society. The resources they use, their insistence on recounting a reality that has been unduly simplified, repeated and reduced to a few easily recognisable icons, transform the very sense of the message and the meaning of the persuasive action they undertake.
The working concept almost ceases to be the moral engagement of an élite that wants to live up to its social obligations, and becomes instead an essential form of communication in a mass society which mobilises around a form of architecture that is not necessarily modernist, or a set of cultural, social and economic interests. The concept almost inevitably turns its points of reference on their head: in its search for a favourable reception it almost defines an ideology of good building whose limitations are deliberately left ambiguous, with none of the many restrictions of rationalist architecture and debate. With Hitchcock and Summerson the working concept is detached from modernism, from being the habitus of the architect who wants to assert his own being in time, to a moral action, restoring to history-making, especially contemporary history-making, the sense of an intellectual process that has been thrust upon a many-sided, contradictory society – a consumerist and inattentive society.
There is nothing utopian or optimistic about the way the two Anglo-Saxon historians relate to their time, nor are there any symbolic barriers built on differences which the market then proceeds to eliminate in a matter of years. Their refusal to associate working concept with modernity does not stem from having superseded rationalist paradigms, but from the acceptance of creating culture in mass market society and through the instruments of a communication that imposes a narrative engagement not resolved through writing and not measured in terms of the formal and procedural correctness of making history.
Hitchcock and Summerson's different relationships with the history (of art and of the contemporaries) which the essays try to illustrate, stem from the perception of their being rooted both in the past (in writing a history of Gothic architecture or the Georgian town) and in a present that could eliminate all distinction, all temporal depth but which involves making patient, pedantic and often pedestrian interpretations that deliberately set out to be educative.
In this, as elsewhere, there lies a modernity that helps to demonstrate their success especially within their countries and cultures, and also to reopen the discussion of working critique which today is so intermingled with strategies of persuasion, of the desire to collect and of the market as to make exercises in reducing their activities (architecture as well as history) to forms of procedural deference (to philology, necessary though it is, or to any other aesthetic) seem like a romantic kind of disassociation. A lesson in laicism, not only in understanding the way one's intellectual work fits into mass society, one which may be of some use in encouraging architects and historians to discuss the tools of their trade.

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1. Copertina del libro di Henry-Russell Hitchcock, J-J. P. Oud, *pubblicato nel 1931 nei "Cahiers d'Art" di Christian Zervos.*

1. Cover of the book by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, J-J.P. Oud, *published in 1931 in the Christian Zervos' "Cahiers d'Art".*

1



J.J.P. Oud e l'architettura olandese negli scritti di Henry-Russell Hitchcock
Paolo Scrivano

J.J.P. Oud and Dutch architecture in the writings of Henry-Russell Hitchcock
Paolo Scrivano

Il 1931, anno della pubblicazione di *J-J.P. Oud*, rappresenta un momento importante per la maturazione del pensiero di Henry-Russell Hitchcock sull'architettura contemporanea[1]. Il testo dedicato all'architetto olandese – apparso in francese per i "Cahiers d'Art" di Christian Zervos – faceva seguito a *Modern Architecture. Romanticism and Reintegration*, del 1929, e precedeva di pochi mesi *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, pubblicato nel 1932 in collaborazione con Philip Johnson[2]. L'importanza di *The International Style*, nel consolidamento della "tradizione" del Razionalismo in architettura, costituisce oggi un dato condiviso tra studiosi e specialisti[3]. Eppure, la comparazione del libro del 1929 con quello del 1932 suscita più di un interrogativo. Al di là del fatto che *Modern Architecture* sia opera molto più evocata che conosciuta e che il messaggio di *The International Style* sia stato spesso frainteso[4], rimane la constatazione che i due volumi differiscono notevolmente per le loro impostazioni prima ancora che per le finalità.
La pubblicazione di *The International Style*, legata alle strategie culturali all'epoca perseguite dal Museum of Modern Art di New York, ha in parte offuscato, nella valutazione della storiografia architettonica, il valore – in termini di contenuti – del suo rilevante precedente. *Modern Architecture. Romanticism and Reintegration*, testo che non nasconde il suo carattere di opera giovanile, contiene ad esempio importanti riferimenti a una letteratura otto e novecentesca soprattutto britannica, assenti nel volume del 1932. I lavori di Charles Eastlake, di Geoffrey Scott, di Kenneth Clark, di Christopher Hussey, di George Gilbert Scott (è dal suo *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture* che Hitchcock deriva quella dicotomia tra *eclecticism of taste* ed *eclecticism of style* da cui partono molte delle considerazioni contenute nel libro[5]), ma anche la trattatistica angloamericana della seconda metà dell'Ottocento, costituiscono il vero filtro attraverso cui leggere il testo del 1929: e attraverso cui ricostruire un universo culturale apparentemente dissonante rispetto al profilo intellettuale troppo spesso attribuito allo storico americano.
La biografia di Hitchcock negli anni formativi aiuta a spiegare la distanza tra i due testi, fornendo la testimonianza di un processo di avvicinamento graduale ai temi della storia dell'architettura contemporanea da parte del giovane storico. Nell'estate del 1927, data alla quale risalgono i primi contatti con Oud, Hitchcock si trova in

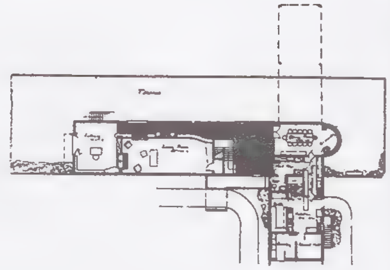
1931, the year of the publication of J-J. P. Oud, *represents an important moment in the development of the thinking of Henry-Russell Hitchcock on contemporary architecture[1]. The text on the Dutch architect – which appeared in French for the "Cahiers d'Art" of Christian Zervos – came after* Modern Architecture, Romanticism and Reintegration, *of 1929, and a few months before* The International Style: Architecture since 1922, *published in 1932, in collaboration with Philip Johnson[2]. The importance of* The International Style *in the consolidation of the "tradition" of Rationalism in architecture is recognized today by nearly all scholars and experts[3]. And yet a comparison of the book of 1929 with that of 1932 raises a number of questions. Apart from the fact that* Modern Architecture *is a work more often mentioned than actually read, and that the message of* The International Style *is often misunderstood[4], it is still evident that the two volumes are quite different from one another, both in terms of their premises and of their objectives.*
The publication of The International Style, *connected to the cultural strategies of the Museum of Modern Art of New York at the time, has partially obscured, in the appraisal of architectural historiography, the value – in terms of content – of its predecessor.* Modern Architecture. Romanticism and Reintegration, *a text that does not attempt to conceal its character as a youthful work, contains, for example, important references to a 17th and 18th century literature, above all British, that are missing in the volume of 1932. The works of Charles Eastlake, Geoffrey Scott, Kenneth Clark, Christopher Hussey, George Gilbert Scott (it is from his* Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture *that Hitchcock takes the dichotomy between "eclecticism of taste" and "eclecticism of style" that is the basis for many of the considerations contained in the book)[5], but also the Anglo-American treatises of the second half of the 19th century, constitute the true filter for an interpretation of the text of 1929, through which to reconstruct a cultural universe which is apparently at odds with the intellectual profile all too often attributed to the American historian.*
The biography of Hitchcock in his years of education helps to explain the differences between the two texts, shedding light on a gradual process of approach to the themes of the history of contemporary architecture. In the summer of 1927, the year of the first contacts with Oud, Hitchcock

Europa in uno dei suoi ricorrenti soggiorni sul vecchio continente[6]. Alle sue spalle ha un Bachelor of Arts conseguito allo Harvard College nel 1924, un anno di frequentazione della School of Architecture della stessa Università, un Master of Arts alla Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences[7]. Ma nel suo *curriculum* di studi non sono né la storia dell'arte né la storia dell'architettura contemporanea a costituire il nucleo centrale dei suoi interessi. In un ambiente – quello della Graduate School of Arts and Sciences – caratterizzato dalla presenza di insegnanti come Kenneth Conant o Paul Sachs, Hitchcock si forma su testi quali quelli di Jacob Burckhardt e A. E. Brinckmann, di Charles Diehl (autore di un importante *Manuel de l'art byzantin*[8]), di Viollet-le-Duc o di Choisy.
È in questo contesto culturale che l'itinerario formativo di Hitchcock si indirizza verso lo studio dell'architettura medievale sotto la guida di Arthur Kingsley Porter: ed è proprio all'architettura medievale che Hitchcock dedica la propria tesi di *Master*[9]. L'importanza di Porter, nell'ambito della storiografia artistica e architettonica prerinascimentale, è d'altra parte assai rilevante. Autore di lavori innovativi come *Medieval Architecture* (1909), *Lombard Architecture* (1916) o *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (1923)[10], Porter costituisce una figura centrale nella maturazione intellettuale di Hitchcock. E non solo per l'affermazione di una metodologia che accordava all'approccio visivo un ruolo preminente all'interno dello studio dei fenomeni artistici: ma anche per la caratteristica di un profilo intellettuale aggiornato rispetto a un universo di riferimenti teorici che va da Toesca a Puig i Cadafalch a Strzygowski, da Croce a von Schlosser a Schmarsow[11].
Anche i viaggi compiuti da Hitchcock tra 1924 e 1927 in Italia, Francia, Svizzera, Germania e Olanda svelano una geografia di interessi e di attenzioni del tutto originale. Nel 1924 e nel corso del soggiorno italiano, ad esempio, sono i capolavori della pittura rinascimentale o della scuola veneziana a suscitare le curiosità del giovane viaggiatore. Gli esiti, poi, della visita all'Exposition des Arts Décoratifs di Parigi del 1925 sono ancora più sorprendenti. Nella corrispondenza di viaggio tenuta con i compagni di corso a Harvard, Hitchcock menziona i padiglioni della Polonia, dell'Austria, dell'Olanda, della Spagna e della Danimarca, ma non quello de L'Esprit Nouveau (cosa spiegabile, forse, con il fatto che il padiglione disegnato da Le Corbusier e Pierre Jeanneret venne inaugurato in ritardo rispetto all'apertura della manifestazione) o quello sovietico, opera di Konstantin Mel'nikov, autentica *icona* dell'architettura moderna nella rassegna parigina[12]. Ancora più inattese sono le letture compiute nel periodo: non solo testi come *Backsteinbauen in Norddeutschland und Dänemark* di Otto Stiehl o l'*Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bouwkunst* di F. A. J. Vermeulen, ma anche le opere di Proust, Mann o Virginia Woolf, a testimonianza di una *forma mentis* – prodotto degli studi a Harvard – aliena dalla costruzione di steccati disciplinari[13]. L'*Handboek* di Vermeulen, sorta di corrispondente olandese dell'*Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* di Louis Hautecœur, dimostra poi l'attenzione accordata da Hitchcock anche a filoni storiografici secondari, almeno rispetto ai tradizionali percorsi formativi dello storico dell'architettura.
Ma quale ruolo riveste la figura di Oud in questa evoluzione intellettuale compiuta da Hitchcock tra gli anni a Harvard e la pubblicazione di *The International Style*? Se non appaiono ancora del tutto chiare le modalità dell'incontro, occorre invece sottolineare le numerose affinità culturali tra i due personaggi. Malgrado la notorietà acquisita negli anni precedenti, alla fine degli anni Venti Oud appare una figura piuttosto isolata nel panorama dell'architettura olandese. Ma la relativa vicinanza all'esperienza De Stijl, così come l'estesa attività progettuale svolta per la municipalità di Rotterdam, fanno di lui quasi l'emblema di un'idea di architettura moderna che coniuga la cultura artistica a concreti programmi edilizi. È su questo piano che si realizza la convergenza tra le due personalità. Oud, intellettuale raffinato e poliglotta, amico di Piet Mondrian, sembra proporsi a Hitchcock in una luce non dissimile da quella sotto la quale doveva apparire un personaggio come Bernard Berenson, frequentato tra l'altro dal giovane americano durante i soggiorni italiani, secondo una prassi abbastanza consueta tra gli studenti d'arte a Harvard[14]. Il mondo degli storici dell'arte e soprattutto dei collezionisti, ad esempio, è familiare a Hitchcock quanto a Oud. La collaborazione di Hitchcock a "International Studio", rivista per la quale pubblicherà otto brevi articoli tra 1930 e 1931, è da questo punto di vista assai significativa[15]: "International Studio" è infatti destinata al mercato dell'arte e a quel pubblico di appassionati o di semplici cultori che ruota attorno ad esso.
L'affermazione – ribadita da Oud – del primato del lavoro artistico, affiancata da esperienze progettuali affatto marginali – in termini quantitativi e qualitativi – almeno

went to Europe for one of his recurring stays on the old continent[6]. He had already taken a Bachelor of Arts degree at Harvard, in 1924, had spent one year of study at the Harvard School of Architecture, and had taken a Master of Arts at the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences[7]. But in his curriculum of study art history and the history of contemporary architecture were not the central focus. In an environment like that of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, characterized by the presence of teachers like Kenneth Conant and Paul Sachs, Hitchcock's study focused on texts such as those of Jacob Burckhardt, A.E. Brinckmann, Charles Diehl (author of the important Manuel de l'art byzantin[8]), and Viollet-le-Duc or Choisy.
It is in this cultural context that the educational background of Hitchcock was directed toward the study of medieval architecture, under the guidance of Arthur Kingsley Porter: medieval architecture, in fact, was the subject of Hitchcock's Master's thesis[9]. The importance of Porter in the area of pre-Renaissance artistic and architectural historiography is noteworthy indeed. He was the author of innovative works like Medieval Architecture (1909), Lombard Architecture (1916), and Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads (1923)[10]. Porter was a central figure in the intellectual development of Hitchcock, not only in the teaching of a methodology that attributed a primary role to the visual approach in the study of artistic phenomena, but also thanks to an up-to-date intellectual profile, that included study of theoretical references ranging from Toesca to Puig i Cadafalch to Strzygowski, from Croce to Von Schlosser to Schmarsow[11].
Hitchcock's travels between 1924 and 1927 in Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany and Holland also reveal a range of interests that was far from common. In 1924 during a stay in Italy, for example, the young traveller's curiosity was attracted by the masterpieces of Renaissance painting and the Venetian school. The results of his visit to the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs in Paris in 1925 are even more surprising. In his travel correspondence written for his classmates at Harvard, Hitchcock mentions the pavilions of Poland, Austria, Holland, Spain and Denmark, but neglects to mention that of the Esprit Nouveau (an omittance that may be explained by the fact that the pavilion designed by Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret was inaugurated later than the rest of the exposition), nor does he discuss the Soviet pavilion, by Konstantin Mel'nikov, a true icon of modern architecture in the Parisian exposition[12]. His readings during the same period are also very unusual: not only texts like Backsteinbauen in Norddeutschland und Dänemark by Otto Stiehl, or the Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bouwkunst by F.A.J. Vermeulen, but also the works of Proust, Mann or Virginia Woolf, evidence of a forma mentis – produced by his studies at Harvard – free of boundaries between disciplines[13]. The Handboek of Vermeulen, a sort of Dutch counterpart to the Histoire de l'architecture classique en France by Louis Hautecoeur, demonstrates the attention paid by Hitchcock even to historiographical currents that are secondary, at least as compared to the traditional materials used in the training of architectural historians.
But what part did Oud have to play in this intellectual evolution that took place in Hitchcock between the Harvard years and the publication of The International Style? While we do not know exactly how their encounter took place, we can point out the many cultural affinities they shared. In spite of the fame achieved in the preceding years, at the end of the 1920s Oud appeared to be a rather isolated figure on the Dutch architectural scene. But the relative vicinity of the De Stijl experience, and the extensive design work undertaken for the city of Rotterdam, made him nearly an emblem of the idea of a modern architecture that combined artistic culture and concrete building programs. It is at this level that the meeting of the two minds takes place. Oud, a refined, polyglot intellectual, friend of Piet Mondrian, appears to Hitchcock as something similar to a figure like Bernard Berenson, who the young American had met during his travels in Italy, as was customary for Harvard art students[14]. The world of art historians and, above all, collectors was as familiar to Hitchcock as it was to Oud. Hitchcock's collaboration with "International Studio", a magazine for which he wrote eight short articles in 1930-31, is significant from this point of view[15]: "International Studio" was aimed at the art market, and at the public of art lovers.
The declaration – emphasised by Oud – of the importance of artistic work, alongside rather marginal design experiences (in both quantitative and qualitative terms, at least in the context of the Netherlands), was more important than the network of European contacts Hitchcock put together thanks to the Dutch architect. It was certainly due to the intermediation of Oud that the young American was able to meet, in Paris, protagonists of the Modern Movement like Lurçat, but also figures considered complementary, like Peter Meyer or Helena and Szymon

2. 3. 4. Peter van der Meulen Smith, Progetto per una casa per week-end al mare, 1927: pianta del piano terreno, prospettive del fronte principale e del fronte sull'oceano (da lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 4/12/1928; in "i10", vol. II, n.19, 1929, p.123).
5. J. Limburg, Casa a L'Aia, 1924 (da "The Architectural Record", Vol. 63, n. 4, Aprile 1928, p.339).

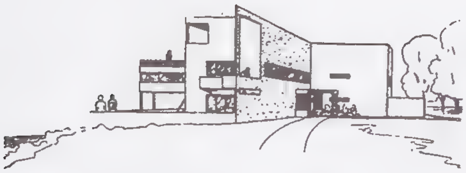
2. 3. 4. Peter van der Meulen Smith, Project of a house by the sea, 1927: ground floor plan, perspectives of the entrance front and of the ocean front (from a letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 4/12/1928; in "i10", vol. II, n.19, 1929, p.123).
5. J. Limburg, House in The Hague, 1924 (from "The Architectural Record", Vol. 63, n. 4, April 1928, p.339).



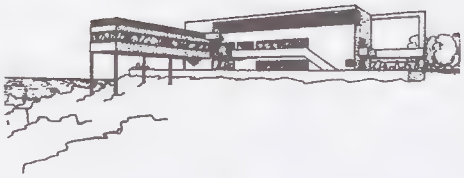
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nel contesto dei Paesi Bassi, è più importante della rete di contatti europei che Hitchcock riesce a imbastire grazie all'architetto olandese. È certamente per il tramite di Oud che il giovane americano ha modo di incontrare a Parigi protagonisti del Movimento Moderno come Lurçat, ma anche figure ritenute complementari come Peter Meyer o Helena e Szymon Syrkus[16]. Ma nei programmi edilizi che la municipalità di Rotterdam persegue affidandone il progetto (e il cantiere) a Oud, Hitchcock sembra cogliere, non senza accenni critici ad alcuni dei risultati formali, un importante tentativo di diffondere e affermare – anche al di fuori dei circoli viziosi delle *élite* intellettuali – i principi di una nuova estetica architettonica: nonché la messa in pratica dell'affermazione secondo cui l'architettura sia "arte indiretta", limitata nelle sue possibilità espressive da condizionamenti funzionali e sociali[17].
L'importanza di Oud in questa fase della biografia di Hitchcock, d'altro canto, sembra andare molto al di là della parte svolta dall'architettura olandese negli scritti apparsi tra 1927 e 1932. La corrispondenza, a tratti assai fitta, con Oud svela un rapporto non gerarchizzato ma fondato sul dialogo critico, nel quale le discussioni spaziano dalla situazione architettonica europea ai dettagli dell'opera di Le Corbusier. Da parte sua, Hitchcock risulta aggiornato rispetto al dibattito culturale in corso nei Paesi Bassi alla fine degli anni Venti, come dimostra l'attività di recensore bibliografico svolta per "The Architectural Record" tra 1928 e 1929: proprio per la rivista americana e in una rassegna dedicata alla pubblicistica specializzata olandese, Hitchcock segnala "Wendingen", "De Stijl" (di cui sottolinea l'importanza "[...] *in the establishment of a new architectural aesthetic*") e "i10"[18]. Per "i10", poi, Hitchcock pubblica un articolo in risposta a un precedente scritto di Knud Lönberg-Holm nel quale contesta l'affermazione di quest'ultimo secondo cui a un "*European sense of space*" si contrapponga un "*American sense of time*"[19]. Qui Hitchcock, oltre a ribadire il valore e l'originalità di Latrobe e Richardson, preconizza per una nuova generazione di architetti americani la piena adesione ai principi della "*International Architecture*", senza l'ostacolo di una tradizione "[...] *of compromised "modernism", as particularly in Holland and Scandinavia*". Di questa generazione Hitchcock indica come rappresentante Peter van der Meulen Smith, compagno di studi a Harvard e di viaggio in Europa, deceduto prematuramente a Berlino nel novembre del 1928[20].

Tuttavia, pur rivestendo entrambi un ruolo di primo piano nelle geografie dell'affermazione dell'architettura moderna proposte da Hitchcock nei suoi scritti, né l'Olanda né Oud arrivano mai a rappresentare l'unico riferimento possibile: anzi, la conoscenza di Hitchcock dell'architettura olandese sembra riflettere abbastanza precisamente la frequentazione della letteratura periodica europea e delle rassegne sull'architettura del vecchio continente, come quelle di Francis Yerbury[21]. Negli articoli per "The Architectural Record" e in *Modern Architecture. Romanticism and Reintegration* così come in *The International Style* (e nel suo parallelo *Modern Architecture. International Exhibition*, il vero catalogo della mostra di New York) non è il solo Oud a rappresentare l'Olanda[22]: Berlage, Dudok e Limburg, ad esempio, sono indicati come la testimonianza di un'evoluzione ancora incompleta dell'architettura contemporanea.
In ogni caso, è l'interpretazione dell'architettura di Oud a rivelare la straordinaria capacità di lettura critica di Hitchcock. In *J-J.P. Oud* e nel suo precedente – un articolo pubblicato nel 1928 sulla rivista americana "The Arts"[23] – il profilo intellettuale dell'architetto olandese viene delineato attraverso una genealogia di discendenze e influenze, ricostruendo il percorso evolutivo che porta un protagonista dell'architettura contemporanea a staccarsi dalle reminescenze eclettiche presenti nelle architetture di Cuijpers, Berlage o de Klerk: l'itinerario che Hitchcock propone parte da Muthesius e dal suo *Das englische Haus*, passa per Theodor Fischer, di cui Oud fu allievo per breve tempo, e arriva a Berlage, figura influente su tutta la cultura architettonica olandese d'inizio secolo. Non è un caso che l'adesione di Oud al neoplasticismo divenga un aspetto di primaria importanza all'interno di questo impianto interpretativo: l'appartenenza o meno a De Stijl risulta infatti un quesito centrale nell'impostazione del libro del 1931[24]. Il cammino può dunque completarsi congiungendo le esperienze giovanili alle influenze delle avanguardie artistiche: è l'attività per la municipalità di Rotterdam che, secondo Hitchcock, consegna in maniera definitiva Oud all'architettura moderna, sottraendolo al rischio di un'evoluzione eccessivamente estetizzante[25].
Le opere presentate in *J-J.P. Oud* segnano lo svolgersi del ragionamento proposto dallo storico americano: i quartieri Tusschendijken e Spangen – costruiti tra 1919 e 1923 – appartengono ancora a una fase prematura ma preludono all'evoluzione completa che sembra realizzarsi con il

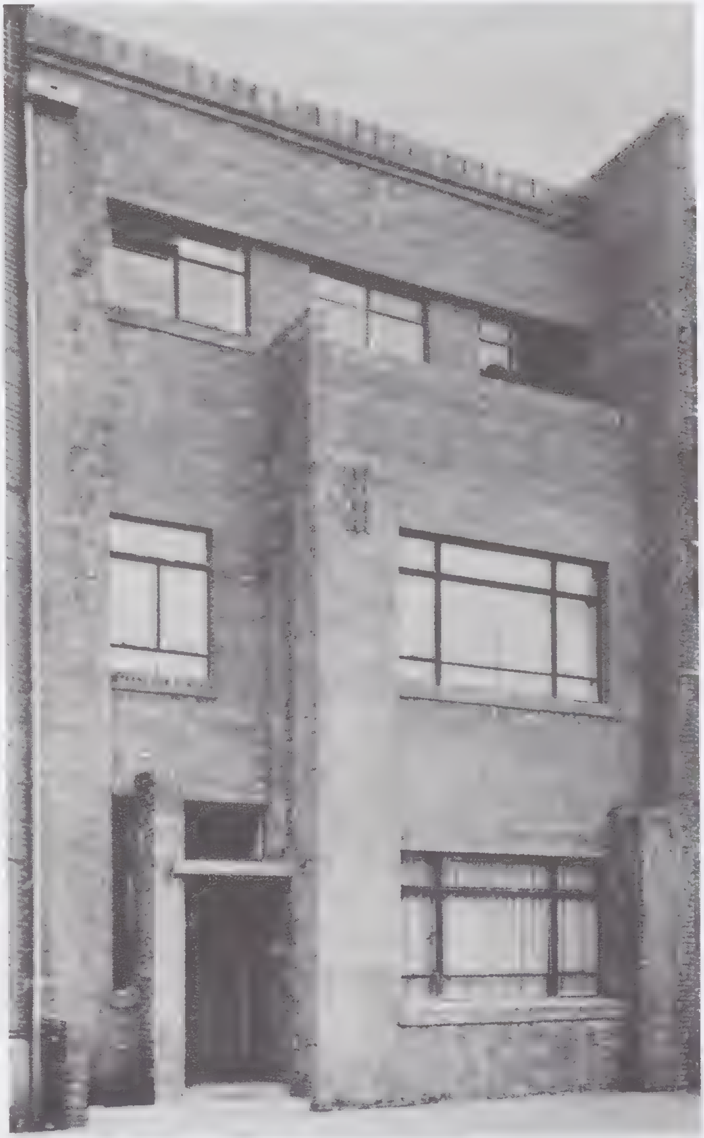


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Syrkus[16]. But in the building programs that the city of Rotterdam undertakes, assigning the designs (and the worksite supervision) to Oud, Hitchcock seems to perceive, although not without critical comment on some of the formal results, an important attempt to spread and consolidate – outside the closed circles of the intellectual elites – the principles of a new architectural aesthetic, as well as the putting into practice of the declaration that architecture is an "indirect art", limited in its expressive possibilities by functional and social conditionings[17].
The importance of Oud in this phase of the biography of Hitchcock, on the other hand, would seem to be far beyond the part played by Dutch architecture in the writings that appears from 1927 to 1932. The often very frequent correspondence with Oud reveals a relationship as peers, based on a critical dialogue, in which the discussion ranges from the European architectural situation to the work of Le Corbusier. For his part, Hitchcock is quite up-to-date regarding the cultural debate in progress in the Netherlands at the end of the 1920s, as is demonstrated by his activity as a book critic for "The Architectural Record" in 1928-29: in this American magazine, and in a feature on Dutch specialized publishing, Hitchcock mentions "Wendingen", "De Stijl" (underlining their importance "[...] in the establishment of a new architectural aesthetic"), and "i10"[18]. For "i10", Hitchcock later published an article in response to an earlier text by Knud Lönberg-Holm, challenging the latter's notion of a "European sense of space" contrasted with an "American sense of time"[19]. Here Hitchcock not only reminds readers of the value and originality of Latrobe and Richardson, but also envisions a new generation of American architects in complete accord with the principles of the "International Architecture", without the obstacle of a tradition "[...] of compromised 'modernism', as particularly in Holland and Scandinavia". As an example of this generation, Hitchcock indicates Peter van der Meulen Smith, a classmate at Harvard and companion in his European travels, who died young in Berlin in November 1928[20].
Nevertheless, although both play an important part in the discussion of modern architecture as proposed by Hitchcock in his writings, neither Holland nor Oud ever represents the sole possible point of reference: in fact, Hitchcock's knowledge of Dutch architecture seems to precisely reflect his study of European periodicals and architectural publications, such as those of Francis Yerbury[21]. In the



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6. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Quartiere Tusschendijken, Rotterdam, 1920-1921 (da H.-R. Hitchcock, J-J. P. Oud, *p.9).*
7. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Quartiere Mathenesse, Rotterdam, 1922-24 (da H.-R. Hitchcock, J-J. P. Oud, *p.15).*
8. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Case operaie, Hoek van Holland, Rotterdam, 1924-27 (da H.-R. Hitchcock, J-J. P. Oud, *p.21).*
9. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Chiesa apostolica al Quartiere Kiefhoek, Rotterdam, 1928-29 (da H.-R. Hitchcock, J-J. P. Oud, *p.44).*

6. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Tusschendijken Housing Estate, Rotterdam, 1920-21 (from H.-R. Hitchcock, J-J.P. Oud, *1931, p.9).*
7. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Mathenesse Housing Estate, Rotterdam, 1922-24 (from H.-R. Hitchcock, J-J.P. Oud, *1931, p.15).*
8. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Workers'Housing Blocks, Hoek van Holland, Rotterdam, 1924-27 (from H.-R. Hitchcock, J-J.P. Oud, *1931, p.21).*
9. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Apostolic Church at the Kiefhoek Workers'Village, Rotterdam, 1928-29 (from H.-R. Hitchcock, J-J.P. Oud, *1931, p.44).*

articles for "The Architectural Record" and in Modern Architecture. Romanticism and Reintegration, *as in* The International Style *(and in the parallel* Modern Architecture. International Exhibition, *the true catalogue of the show in New York), Oud is not the only representative of Holland*[22]*: Berlage, Dudok and Limburg, for example, are indicated as evidence of an as yet incomplete evolution of contemporary architecture.*
In any case, it is the interpretation of the architecture of Oud that reveals Hitchcock's extraordinary talent for critical interpretation. In J-J.P. Oud *and in its predecessor – an article published in 1928 in the American magazine "The Arts"*[23] *– the intellectual profile of the Dutch architect is outlined in a geneology of forerunners and influences, reconstructing the evolutionary path that leads a protagonist of contemporary architecture to take a distance from the eclectic reminiscences present in the work of Cuijpers, Berlage or De Klerk; the itinerary proposed by Hitchcock begins with Muthesius and his* Das englische Haus, *moving on to Theodor Fischer, who was Oud's teacher for a short time, and then to Berlage, an influential figure in all turn-of-the-century Dutch architectural culture. It is no coincidence that Oud's espousal of neoplasticism becomes an aspect of primary importance in this interpretation: his position with respect to De Stijl becomes the central issue of the book of 1931*[24]*. The path can be completed by connecting the youthful experiences to the influences of the artistic avant-gardes: it is the activity for the city of Rotterdam that, in Hitchcock's opinion, definitively pushes Oud into the area of modern architecture, helping him to avoid the risks of an excessively aestheticizing evolution*[25]*.*
The works presented in J-J.P. Oud *indicate a turning point in the reasoning of the American historian: the Tusschendijken and Spangen estates – built in the period from 1919 to 1923 – are seen as belonging to a premature phase, but they are also the prelude to the complete evolution that seems to take form in the Mathenesse estate, built in 1922-24. Hitchcock makes a careful formal interpretation of the architecture, in order to develop his own analysis of Oud's work*[26]*. At Spangen the influence of the teachings of Berlage is still evident in the use of exposed brick and in the positioning of the dormers in the pitched roofing of some of the blocks of the complex, while the other blocks have flat roofing; while that which in the article for "The Arts" was called* "the phrasing of the windows"[27], *effected with the aim of emphasising the verticality of the facade, is seen as evidence of an approach to the modernist language. The edifices of the Tusschendijken development, in turn, cannot be considered mature works, although Hitchcock finds them remarkable in technical terms: the exposed brickwork, the slight protrusion of the masonry at the position of the windows of the stairwells, the two-tone bands at the base of the perimeter walls (a solution already used at Spangen), are all clues indicating an as yet imperfect development of the poetics of Oud. It is* "la légereté des piliers [...] disproportionnée à la lourdeur de l'ensemble" *that demonstrates that these works* "restent des oeuvres de transition"[28].
The final step toward the new architecture is taken, in Hitchcock's opinion, in 1922, with the beginning of the construction of the Mathenesse estate. Here the new element is the use of white stucco poured on metal screening for the perimeter walls, a formal option considered important in the context of the gradual removal of decorative elements underway in the Dutch school. The evolution terminates at the threshold of the 1930s with the Hoek van Holland and Kiefhoek developments, the latter of which was compared, for its aesthetic characteristics, to the estate designed by Le Corbusier at Pessac for Henry Frugès. What makes these works different from their predecessors, in the opinion of the American historian, is above all their exploitation of the potential of new construction techniques, making possible, for example, an increase in the size of the glazings, thanks to the use of lintels in reinforced concrete[29]*. This is an interface of technological and formal aspects that seems to represent a constant concern in architectural historiography during the 1930s: the origins of this concern, in the case of Hitchcock, can be traced back to his readings and studies during the years of his education.*
The story of the publication of J-J.P. Oud *is very complex, revealing the limits of the spread of literature on the Modern Movement during the period of its historiographical and critical success. From the first contacts made in January 1928 by the publisher Zervos and by Oud himself, even before the proposal of the latter to entrust the text to Hitchcock rather than Mondrian, it took almost three years to produce the book*[30]*. The work did not begin until the following December, with the objective of finishing in February 1929*[31]*. The long schedule meant that this was a continuing work in progress, as can be seen in the process of the selection of the illustrations; this also meant*

quartiere Mathenesse – del 1922-24. Hitchcock compie un'accurata lettura formale delle architetture per arrivare a costruire la sua analisi dell'opera di Oud[26]. A Spangen l'influenza dell'insegnamento di Berlage è ancora evidente nell'uso del mattone a vista e nella collocazione degli abbaini sul tetto a falde di alcuni dei blocchi del complesso, quando gli altri blocchi sono provvisti di coperture piane; mentre quello che nell'articolo per "The Arts" era stato chiamato "*the phrasing of the windows*"[27], realizzato con l'intento di esaltare la verticalità della facciata, testimonia del processo di avvicinamento al linguaggio modernista. Gli edifici del quartiere Tusschendijken, da parte loro, non assurgono ancora al rango di opere mature benché risultino rimarchevoli per Hitchcock sotto il profilo tecnico: il mattone a vista, la leggera sporgenza della muratura in corrispondenza delle finestre dei blocchi scala, le fasce bicrome alla base delle pareti perimetrali (soluzione già adottata a Spangen), sono tutti indizi di uno sviluppo ancora imperfetto della poetica di Oud. È "*la légèreté des piliers* […] *disproportionnée à la lourdeur de l'ensemble*" a dimostrare che queste realizzazioni "*restent des œuvres de transition*"[28].
L'ultimo passo verso la nuova architettura viene compiuto, secondo Hitchcock, nel 1922, con l'avvio della realizzazione del quartiere Mathenesse. Qui l'elemento di novità è costituito dall'adozione dell'intonaco bianco gettato su rete metallica nelle pareti perimetrali, una scelta formale rilevante all'interno del processo di diradamento degli elementi decorativi avviato dalla scuola olandese.
L'evoluzione si chiude dunque alla soglia degli anni Trenta con i quartieri Hoek van Holland e Kiefhoek, quest'ultimo paragonato per le sue caratteristiche estetiche al quartiere realizzato da Le Corbusier a Pessac per Henry Frugès. Ciò che differenzia queste opere dalle precedenti è, nella riflessione dello storico americano, soprattutto lo sfruttamento delle possibilità offerte dalle nuove tecniche costruttive, cosa che permette, ad esempio, un ampliamento delle superfici finestrate grazie all'uso di piattabande di cemento armato[29]. Un connubio tra aspetti tecnologici e formali, quello proposto da Hitchcock, che sembra costituire un costante nodo problematico per la storiografia architettonica degli anni Trenta: e le cui origini, nel caso dello storico americano, andrebbero messe in relazione con le letture e gli studi compiuti negli anni formativi.
La vicenda della pubblicazione di *J-J.P. Oud* è assai complessa e rivela i limiti della diffusione della letteratura del Movimento Moderno all'epoca della sua affermazione storiografica e critica. A partire dai primi contatti avviati nel gennaio del 1928 dall'editore Zervos e da Oud, prima ancora della proposta avanzata da quest'ultimo di affidare lo scritto a Hitchcock in luogo di Mondrian, la realizzazione del libro si protrae in un arco di tempo di quasi tre anni[30]. Il lavoro non ha inizio che nel dicembre successivo con l'obiettivo di portarlo a termine nel 1929, per l'inizio di febbraio[31]. La dilatazione dei tempi obbliga a un lavoro *in progress* di cui è prova la stessa operazione di selezione delle illustrazioni: e consente integrazioni importanti, come ad esempio l'aggiunta di immagini di architetture nel frattempo completate, quali la chiesa costruita nel complesso di Kiefhoek[32]. Il calendario della stesura e della preparazione di *J-J.P. Oud* è costellato di ritardi, revisioni del manoscritto, solleciti dell'editore contraddetti da nuovi rinvii: nel giugno del 1929, Hitchcock chiede notizie circa il gradimento da parte di Oud della traduzione in francese ma aggiunge anche che "*Zervos does not intend to bring out the monograph until September*"[33]. Ancora nell'ottobre dello stesso anno si lavora all'iconografia: ma, a quella data, è Zervos a scrivere a Oud per ottenere le illustrazioni della "*maison normalisée* […] *d'un village de 300 maisons*"[34]. Nel maggio del 1930, un'ulteriore lettera dell'editore sollecita l'invio delle immagini delle ultime realizzazioni[35]. E ancora, nell'agosto dello stesso anno, è Hitchcock a scrivere all'architetto olandese per comunicargli di aver aggiunto altre quattro pagine al testo, in modo da dedicare una menzione più ampia alla villa a Katwijk aan Zee e al quartiere Kiefhoek[36].
Inizia qui un curioso contenzioso tra soggetto del testo – che si è sostituito all'autore anche nella definizione delle caratteristiche del prodotto editoriale – ed editore. Zervos, nel frattempo angustiato da problemi economici che rischiano di portare alla chiusura di "Cahiers d'Art", non è in grado di garantire una rapida messa in stampa del libro: proprio mentre le continue richieste di modifica e correzione rischiano di far lievitare i costi della pubblicazione[37]. Benché non tutti gli interventi di Oud riguardanti l'apparato iconografico risultino eseguibili, il costo della pubblicazione risulta infatti cresciuto di un sesto rispetto al preventivo di spesa iniziale[38]. E così, dalla primavera all'autunno del 1931, i ritardi continuano: il libro esce di tipografia soltanto a ottobre[39].
Ma con la pubblicazione di *J-J.P. Oud* non si conclude una vicenda editoriale che non può certo dirsi fortunata. I

that important additions could be made to the work, such as the inclusion of images of works of architecture completed in the meantime, like the church built in the Kiefhoek complex[32]*. The writing and preparation of* J-J.P. Oud *was filled with delays, revisions, deadline notices from the publisher, further procrastinations: in June 1929 Hitchcock enquired regarding Oud's opinion on the French translation, adding that* "Zervos does not intend to bring out the monograph until September"[33]*. In October that same year work was still underway on the illustrations, but at this point it is Zervos who writes to Oud with a request for the illustrations of the* "maison normalisée [...] d'un village de 300 maisons"[34]*. In May 1930 another letter from the publisher requests images of the latest realized works*[35]*. In August, Hitchcock writes to the architect to inform him that he has added four pages to the text, to expand the coverage of the house at Katwijk aan Zee and the Kiefhoek estate*[36]*.*

Here a curious conflict begins between the subject of the text – who took the place of the author even in the definition of the characteristics of the publication – and the publisher. Zervos, plagued by economic difficulties that threatened the existence of "Cahiers d'Art", was not able to guarantee rapid printing of the book; and the continuing requests for modifications and corrections were causing budget problems[37]*. Although not all of Oud's suggestions regarding the illustrations were feasible, the cost of the publication was increased by one sixth over the original estimate*[38]*. And so, from spring to autumn of 1931, the delays continued: the book was not printed until October*[39]*. But the publication of* J-J.P. Oud *is not the end of what was certainly not a successful collaboration. The tense relations between the author, the architect and the publisher deteriorated due to difficulties in selling the work. Several months after its debut, with 500 copies printed, of which 128 were distributed as free promotional copies, provoking sarcastic remarks by Zervos*[40]*, sales amounted to just 22 copies, with only three in Paris and five in New York*[41]*. At first Zervos tried to convince Oud to take part in an attempt to publicize the work and increase sales, at least in the Netherlands*[42]*. Later he resigned himself to failure:* "Je le regrette beaucoup – *the discouraged Zervos writes to Oud* – mais je suis tellement ennuyé avec ce livre que je ne peux faire plus, j'aurais l'air d'avoir fait le livre pour vous faire plaisir"[43]*. This commercial failure was far from uncommon in the context of the nascent architectural publishing industry, and prompts us to reconsider its real influence in the 1930s, in spite of the lack of adequate studies on quantity and sales of publications during that period*[44]*.*

Probably the case of Hitchcock and Oud should be seen in the context of personal relationships, rather than as a paradigm of intercultural exchange between America and Holland, art and architecture: other figures, like Berlage, seem to play a more important role in this perspective[45]*. But perhaps the misunderstanding lies in the fact that Oud represents a precise model of a message which, in reality, is not as precise as one might wish. At the same time the limitations of the "modernist" interpretation of the work of the Dutch architect fatally coincide with the discrepancies that are evident between Hitchcock's research and the content of* The International Style, *not to mention the widespread notion of "International Style". And it is precisely a work by Oud, the Shell building constructed at The Hague before and after the Second world war, that becomes the focal point of an apparently unresolved historiographic issue.*

In the narratives of the history of architecture the biography of the Dutch architect seems to have remained frozen at the phase of J-J.P. Oud, *which was to remain the only published work on Oud for many years. But this simplification of the figure of Oud is easily refuted. During the decade before the Second world war Oud was already re-examining his experience and redefining the boundaries of his poetics, as he recalled twenty years later, in 1955:* "Around 1935 [...] I was absolutely sure of the fact that white walls and 'esthetical' space [...] are too sober means for expressing the fullness of life. For that I changed"[46]*. The supposed betrayal of the fundamental principles of international modern architecture took place well before the completion of the work on the Shell building*[47]*. And for Hitchcock a similar assessment is possible: again in his case we can talk about an intellectual profile subjected to misunderstandings or misleading influences. The difference is just too great between the scientific approach to research of his early period and the outcome, in the collective imagination, of the term "International Style", a far cry from the true intentions and aims of its author. But perhaps this is a theme that should be dealt with in a different research context: the stories of architectural historiography of this century remain, for the most part, incomplete.*

rapporti ormai tesi tra editore, soggetto del libro e autore si inaspriscono di fronte alle difficoltà di vendita. A distanza di qualche mese dall'uscita, su una tiratura complessiva di 500 esemplari e un invio di 128 copie in omaggio – cosa che stimola l'acida ironia di Zervos[40] –, le vendite si attestano ad appena ventidue copie, di cui tre a Parigi e cinque a New York[41]. Zervos dapprima tenta di coinvolgere Oud in un tentativo di pubblicizzare il testo e incrementarne le vendite per lo meno nei Paesi Bassi[42], quindi si rassegna all'insuccesso editoriale: "*Je le regrette beaucoup* – scrive a Oud uno Zervos ormai scoraggiato – *mais je suis tellement ennuyé avec ce livre que je ne peux faire plus, j'aurais l'air d'avoir fait le livre pour vous faire plaisir*"[43]. Un fallimento commerciale nient'affatto isolato nel panorama della nascente letteratura sull'architettura contemporanea e che impone di riconsiderare la reale diffusione di questa, malgrado l'insufficienza di studi su tirature e vendite, nel corso degli anni Trenta[44].
È probabile che il caso di Hitchcock e Oud vada più correttamente ricondotto alla sfera dell'interrelazione personale che non a paradigma dello scambio tra culture, quella americana e quella olandese, quella artistica e quella architettonica: altre figure, ad esempio Berlage, sembrano giocare un ruolo più determinante da questo punto di vista[45]. Ma forse l'equivoco consiste nel pensare che Oud costituisca il modello nitido di un messaggio che, in realtà, non è così univoco come si vorrebbe. D'altra parte, i limiti dell'interpretazione "modernista" dell'opera dell'architetto olandese coincidono fatalmente con il fraintendimento rivelato dalla comparazione della produzione scientifica di Hitchcock con i contenuti di *The International Style* e l'idea diffusa dell'"International Style". Proprio un'opera di Oud, l'edificio per la Shell costruito a L'Aia a cavallo della Seconda guerra mondiale, finirà per costituire il punto nodale di una vicenda storiografica apparentemente irrisolta.
Nei racconti della storia dell'architettura, la biografia dell'architetto olandese sembra rimanere cristallizzata dai tempi di *J-J.P. Oud*, primo e per lungo tempo unico testo a lui dedicato. Una semplificazione che non è difficile mettere in discussione. Nel decennio che precede la guerra, Oud ha infatti già avuto modo di riconsiderare la propria esperienza e di ridefinire i margini della propria poetica, come avrà modo di rievocare vent'anni dopo, nel 1955: "*Around 1935* [...] *I was absolutely sure of the fact that white walls and "esthetical" space* [...] *are too sober means for expressing the fullness of life. For that I changed*"[46]. Il presunto tradimento dei principi fondamentali dell'architettura moderna internazionale si era consumato molto prima della conclusione dei lavori per l'edificio della Shell[47]. Per Hitchcock può essere fatto un discorso analogo: anche nel suo caso si può parlare di un profilo intellettuale sottoposto a letture fuorvianti o a fraintendimenti. Troppa è la distanza che separa la complessità teorica della sua produzione scientifica, evidente fin dalla sua prima formazione, dal senso assunto dal termine "International Style" in maniera autonoma rispetto alle intenzioni e alle finalità del suo autore. Ma forse questo è un tema pertinente a un altro ambito di ricerca: le storie della storiografia architettonica di questo secolo restano ancora in buona parte incomplete.

Note

*Paolo Scrivano è Dottore di Ricerca di Storia dell'Architettura e dell'Urbanistica presso il Politecnico di Torino, università nella quale svolge attività di insegnamento.

*Elenco delle abbreviazioni: AAA: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington (D.C.); IFA: Institut Français d'Architecture, Parigi; NAi: Nederlands Architectuurinstituut, Rotterdam; ORHU: Official Register of Harvard University, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge (Mass.). Un importante aiuto alla stesura del presente articolo, in termini di critiche e suggerimenti è venuto da Maria Luisa Scalvini, Carlo Olmo e Ed Taverne: desidero inoltre ringraziare Dolf Broekhuizen per l'assistenza fornita al Nederlands Architectuurinstituut.

1) H.-R. HITCHCOCK, *J-J.P. Oud*, Paris 1931.
2) ID., *Modern Architecture. Romanticism and Reintegration*, New York 1929; H.-R. HITCHCOCK, P. JOHNSON, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, New York 1932.
3) Sulla "nascita" della storia dell'architettura contemporanea si rimanda alle considerazioni contenute in M.L. SCALVINI, M.G. SANDRI, *L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da Platz a Giedion*, Roma 1984.
4) Nel 1947 e a proposito dell'"International Style", Alfred Barr parlerà di "*misused term*": *What is Happening to Modern Architecture? A Symposium At the Museum of Modern Art*, "The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art", n. 3, Spring 1948, pp. 5-8 (cfr. anche l'intervento di Hitchcock allo stesso simposio: *ibid.*, pp. 8-10).
5) G.G. SCOTT, *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future*, London 1857.
6) Lettera di Hitchcock a Berlage, NAi, Archief Berlage, correspondentie B, 25 luglio 1927; lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 26 luglio 1927.
7) Titolo conseguito il 23 giugno 1927: sull'*iter* di studi di Hitchcock a Harvard cfr. *Secretary's First Report. Harvard College class of 1924*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1925, pp. 15-6, 81; *Harvard Class of 1924. Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1949, pp. 394-7.
8) C. DIEHL, *Manuel de l'art byzantin*, Paris 1910.
9) La tesi è parzialmente pubblicata in: H.-R. HITCHCOCK, *Banded Arches before the year 1000*, in *Art Studies. Medieval Renaissance and Modern*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1928, pp. 175-91.
10) A.K. PORTER, *Medieval Architecture. Its origins and development. With lists of monuments and bibliographies*, New York 1909; ID., *Lombard Architecture*, New Haven, London 1916 (Vol. II), 1917 (Vol. I); ID., *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston 1923.
11) Nell'anno accademico 1926-27, Porter è titolare di cinque corsi all'interno della

10. 11. 12. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Sede centrale della Shell, L'Aia, 1938-42: fronte posteriore; dettaglio dell'ingresso principale; schizzi di dettaglio del fronte posteriore (da E. Taverne, D. Broekhuizen, Het Shell-gebouw van J.J.P. Oud, *1995, pp.31, 53, 65).*

10. 11. 12. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Shell Building, The Hague, 1938-42: rear façade; detail of the main entrance; detail sketches of the rear façade (from E. Taverne, D. Broekhuizen, Het Shell-gebouw van J.J.P. Oud, *1995, pp.31,53,65).*

Notes

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List of abbreviations: AAA: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington (D.C.); IFA: Institut Français d'Architecture, Parigi; NAi: Nederlands Architectuurinstituut, Rotterdam; ORHU: Official Register of Harvard University, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge (Mass.). Important contributions to the preparation of this article, in terms of criticism and suggestions, were provided by Maria Luisa Scalvini, Carlo Olmo and Ed Taverne: I would also like to thank Dolf Broekhuizen for the assistence provided at the Nederlands Architectuurinstituut.

1) H.-R. HITCHCOCK, J-J.P.Oud, *Paris 1931.*

2) ID., Modern Architecture. Romanticism and Reintegration, *New York 1929; H.-R. HITCHCOCK, P. JOHNSON,* The International Style: Architecture since 1922, *New York 1932.*

3) On the "birth" of the history of contemporary architecture see the considerations contained in M.L. SCALVINI, M.G. SANDRI, L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da Platz a Giedion, *Roma 1984.*

4) In 1947 with reference to the "International Style", Alfred Barr spoke of a "misused term": What is Happening to Modern Architecture? A Symposium At the Museum of Modern Art, *"The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art", n° 3, Spring 1948, p. 5-8 (see also the contribution of Hitchcock at the same symposium:* ibid., *p. 8-10).*

5) G.G. SCOTT, Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future, *London 1857.*

6) Letter by Hitchcock to Berlage, NAi, Archief Berlage, correspondentie B, 25 July 1927; letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 26 July 1927.

7) Degree granted on 23 June 1927: on Hitchcock's studies at Harvard see Secretary's First Report. Harvard College class of 1924, *Cambridge (Mass.) 1925, p. 15-6, 81;* Harvard Class of 1924. Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report, *Cambridge (Mass.) 1949, p. 394-7.*

8) C. DIEHL, Manuel de l'art byzantin, *Paris 1910.*

9) The thesis is published in part in: H.-R. HITCHCOCK, Banded Arches before the year 1000, *in* Art Studies. Medieval Renaissance and Modern, *Cambridge (Mass.) 1928, p. 175-91.*

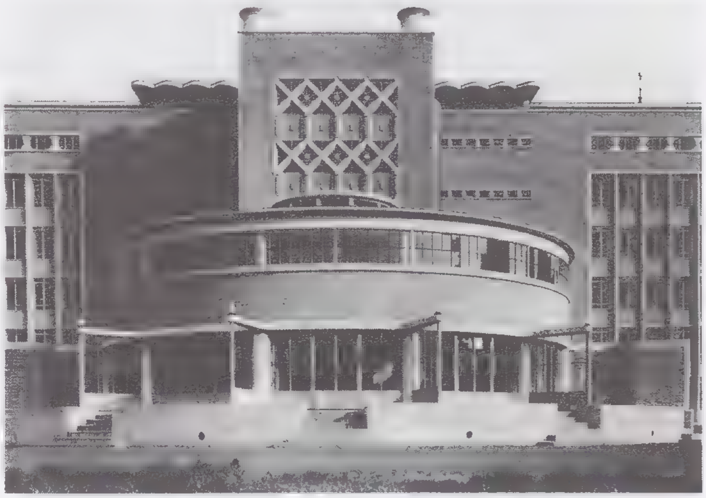
10) A.K. PORTER, Medieval Architecture. Its origins and development. With lists of monuments and bibliographies, *New York 1909; ID.,* Lombard Architecture, *New Haven, London 1916 (Vol. II), 1917 (Vol. I); ID.,* Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, *Boston 1923.*

11) In the academic year 1926-27, Porter taught five courses at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, all on Byzantine and medieval art and architecture: Division of The Fine Arts. 1926-27, *OHRU, n° 28, June 30, 1926, p. 24-8. On the theoretical basis of the teachings of Porter see A.K. PORTER,* Kunst und Wissenschaft, *J. JAHN (ed.),* Die Kunstwissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen, *Leipzig 1924, p. 77-93.*

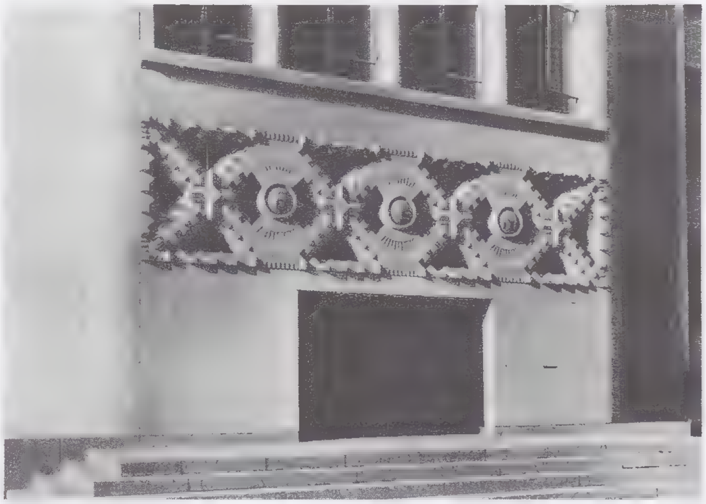
12) Letter by Hitchcock to Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 23 May 1925; Harry Francis, destined to undertake a brilliant career as a museum curator, took a Bachelor of Arts at Harvard in the same year as Hitchcock. The correspondence between Hitchcock and Francis covers the years 1924-1970 and constitutes one of the richest documentary sources for study of the American historian, given the lack of access to his personal archives, which must remain secret by stipulation until twenty years after his death in 1987.

13) Letter by Hitchcock to Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 26 August 1925; letter by Hitchcock to Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 10 December 1927; letter by Hitchcock to Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 28 December 1928. The texts of Stiehl and Vermeulen are O.M.J. STIEHL, Backsteinbauen in Norddeutschland und Dänemark, *Stuttgart (1923); F.A.J. VERMEULEN,* Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bouwkunst, *'s-Gravenhage 1928 (Vol. I-II), 1931 (Vol. III-IV), 1941 (Vol. V-VI).*

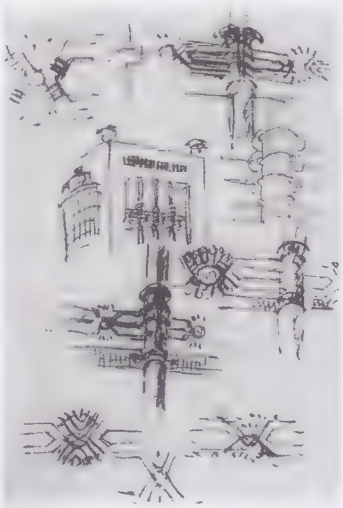
14) Letter by Hitchcock to Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 21 February



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1925. At the Berenson library of Settignano, there is also an extract of Banded Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, tutti dedicati all'arte e all'architettura bizantina e medievale: *Division of The Fine Arts. 1926-27*, OHRU, n. 28, June 30, 1926, pp. 24-8. Sui riferimenti teorici di Porter cfr. A.K. PORTER, *Kunst und Wissenschaft*, J. JAHN (ed.), *Die Kunstwissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, Leipzig 1924, pp. 77-93.

12) Lettera di Hitchcock a Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 23 maggio 1925; Harry Francis, destinato a una brillante carriera di curatore di musei, ottiene il Bachelor of Arts a Harvard nello stesso anno di Hitchcock. L'epistolario tra Hitchcock e Francis copre gli anni 1924-1970 e costituisce una delle basi documentarie più ricche per lo studio dello storico americano, stante l'inaccessibilità del suo archivio personale, sottoposto a un vincolo di segretezza della durata di venti anni dal momento della morte avvenuta nel 1987.

13) Lettera di Hitchcock a Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 26 agosto 1925; lettera di Hitchcock a Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 10 dicembre 1927; lettera di Hitchcock a Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 28 dicembre 1928. I testi di Stiehl e Vermeulen sono O.M.J. STIEHL, *Backsteinbauen in Norddeutschland und Dänemark*, Stuttgart 1923; F.A.J. VERMEULEN, *Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bouwkunst*, 's-Gravenhage 1928 (Voll. I-II), 1931 (Voll. III-IV), 1941 (Voll. V-VI).

14) Lettera di Hitchcock a Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 21 febbraio 1925. Alla biblioteca Berenson di Settignano, tra l'altro, è conservato un estratto di *Banded Arches before the year 1000* con dedica autografa di Hitchcock a Berenson.

15) Il primo articolo ad apparire su "International Studio" è: *An Architectural Farce*, March 1930, p. 71; l'ultimo è l'interessante (per il tema trattato che prelude a più importanti studi successivi) *The Romantic Architecture of Potsdam*, May 1931, pp. 46-9.

16) Lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 26 gennaio 1928.

17) Di grande interesse per comprendere le posizioni teoriche assunte da Oud a questo proposito è J.J.P. OUD, *Bouwkunst en Normalisitie bij den Massabouw*, "De Stijl", n. 7, Mei 1918, pp. 77-9.

18) H.-R. HITCHCOCK, *Foreign periodicals*, "The Architectural Record", n. 5, May 1929, pp. 520-1.

19) ID., *America-Europe*, "i10", n. 20, 1929, pp. 149-50. L'articolo risulta però datato dicembre 1928.

20) Smith entra alla Harvard School of Architecture nel 1925, quindi diviene *stagiaire* nello studio Lurçat nel 1927: *Secretary's Second Report. Harvard College class of 1925*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1928, p. 167; cfr. anche lettera di Hitchcock a Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 27 luglio 1927 e la nota dattiloscritta ("*liste des élèves dont je me rappelle le nom*"), IFA, Fonds Lurçat, 533 AP 453, s.d., ms 1617: Smith è il primo della lista. È Oud a firmare il necrologio di Smith su "i10": J.J.P. OUD, *In memory of Peter Van der Meulen Smith 1902-1928*, "i 10", n. 19, 1929, pp. 122-3.

21) J.P. MIERAS, F.R. YERBURY (ed.), *Dutch Architecture of the XXth century*, New York 1926.

22) *Modern Architecture. International Exhibition* (New York 1932) è il catalogo della mostra del MoMA: *The International Style* uscì in contemporanea al catalogo.

23) H.-R. HITCHCOCK, *The Architectural Work of J.J.P. Oud*, "The Arts", n. 2, February 1928, pp. 97-103.

24) Lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 30 maggio 1928.

25) "*Quelques années avaient donc suffi pour transformer Oud, l'ami trop docile des peintres néo-plasticiens, en véritable créateur d'une architecture nouvelle*", HITCHCOCK, *J-J.P. Oud… cit.*, p. (3).

26) Sono 45 le illustrazioni di cui è corredato *J-J.P. Oud*; si va dai progetti degli anni Dieci (tra cui la villa a Katwijk aan Zee, del 1917), alle realizzazioni per la municipalità di Rotterdam negli anni Venti (Spangen, Tusschendijken, Mathenesse, Hoek van Holland, Kiefhoek), al caffé "De Unie" (Rotterdam, 1925), alle case costruite nel 1927 all'esposizione del Weissenhof di Stoccarda: *ibid.*, pp. 1-45.

27) ID., *The Architectural Work of J.J.P. Oud*, *cit.*, p. 100.

28) ID., *J-J.P. Oud... cit.*, p. (2).

29) *Ibid.*, pp. (2)-(4).

30) Lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 26 gennaio 1928; lettera di Oud a Lurçat, IFA, Fonds Lurçat, 533 AP 452, 7 maggio 1928.

31) Lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (ma dicembre 1928), 55:28:275.

32) Lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 21 giugno 1929.

33) *Ibid.*, lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 17 marzo 1929.

34) Lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 19 ottobre 1929.

35) Lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 22 maggio 1930.

36) Lettera di Hitchcock a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 10 agosto 1930.

37) Lettera di Oud a Zervos, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 24 aprile 1931.

38) Lettera di Oud a Zervos, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 8 aprile 1931; lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 22 aprile 1931.

39) Lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 14 settembre 1931; lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (ma settembre 1931), 67:31:78.

40) "*Vous pensez que ce n'est pas très commercial d'envoyer 400 ex. à titre gratuit pour en vendre 100, c'est la proportion actuelle*": lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 23 gennaio 1932.

41) Lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (ma inizio 1932), 68:32:3; Oud contesta le accuse di Zervos affermando che nella sola Rotterdam sarebbero state vendute da 20 a 25 copie: cfr. lettera di Oud a Zervos, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 20 gennaio 1932. Egli è tuttavia cosciente dei rischi di insuccesso commerciale già a poca distanza dalla pubblicazione: "[…] *le livre de Zervos* - scrive a Lurçat - *a paru avec beaucoup, beaucoup de difficultés. J'espère qu'il va vendre des exemplaires mais il semble que le moment est très, très mauvais pour la vente des livres*", lettera di Oud a Lurçat, IFA, Fonds Lurçat, 533 AP 452, 1 dicembre 1931.

42) Lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (ma ottobre 1931), 67:31:89; lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (ma fine 1931), 67:31:111; lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (ma fine 1931), 67:31:112.

43) Lettera di Zervos a Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 23 gennaio 1932.

44) *Bauen in Frankreich* di Giedion, ad esempio, vendette 300 copie: cfr. S. GEORGIADIS, *Introduction*, in S. Giedion, *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferro-concrete*, Santa Monica 1995, pp. 44-57 (si tratta della traduzione inglese di *Bauen in Frankreich, Bauen in Eisen, Bauen in Eisenbeton*, Leipzig, Berlin 1928).

45) Di cui occorre ricordare il libro pubblicato al ritorno dal viaggio negli Stati Uniti: H.P. BERLAGE, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen door H.P. Berlage. Bouwmeesterte Amsterdam. Illustraties naar Fotos*, Rotterdam 1913.

46) Lettera di Oud a Mellquist, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 9 novembre 1955.

47) Contrariamente a quanto accaduto per altri "maestri" dell'architettura contemporanea, alla figura di Oud sono stati dedicati un numero ridotto di studi, tutti concentrati sulla produzione degli anni Venti e Trenta; proprio partendo dall'edificio Shell, la storiografia contemporanea sembra avere avviato una

nuova riflessione sull'opera dell'architetto olandese: E. TAVERNE, D. BROEKHUIZEN, *Het Shell-gebouw van J.J.P. Oud. Ontwerp en receptie*, Rotterdam 1995.

Arches before the year 1000 *with a hand-written dedication by Hitchcock to Berenson.*

15) The first article to appear in "International Studio" *is:* An Architectural Farce, *March 1930, p. 71; the last is interesting (due to the subject matter, a prelude to more important later studies)* The Romantic Architecture of Potsdam, *May 1931, p. 46-9.*

16) Letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 26 January 1928.

17) Of great interest for comprehension of the theoretical positions of Oud on this subject, see J.J.P. OUD, Bouwkunst en Normalisitie bij den Massabouw, *"De Stijl", n° 7, Mei 1918, p. 77-9.*

18) H.-R. HITCHCOCK, Foreign periodicals, *"The Architectural Record", n° 5, May 1929, p. 520-1.*

19) ID., America-Europe, *"i10", n° 20, 1929, p. 149-50. The article itself is dated December 1928.*

20) Smith enters the Harvard School of Architecture in 1925, and then becomes a stagiaire *in the Lurçat studio in 1927:* Secretary's Second Report. Harvard College class of 1925, *Cambridge (Mass.) 1928, p. 167; see also the letter by Hitchcock to Francis, AAA, Francis papers, 3839, 27 July 1927 and the typewritten note ("liste des élèves dont je me rappelle le nom"), IFA, Fonds Lurçat, 533 AP 453, s.d., ms 1617: Smith is the first on the list. Oud signed the obituary of Smith in* "i10"*: J.J.P.OUD,* In memory of Peter Van der Meulen Smith 1902-1928, *"i10", n° 19, 1929, p. 122-3.*

21) J.P. MIERAS, F.R. YERBURY (ed.), Dutch Architecture of the XXth century, *New York 1926.*

22) Modern Architecture. International Exhibition *(New York 1932) is the catalogue of the exhibition at MoMA:* The International Style *was released at the same time as the catalogue.*

23) H.-R. HITCHCOCK, The Architectural Work of J.J.P. Oud, *"The Arts", n° 2, February 1928, p. 97-103.*

24) Letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 30 May 1928.

25) "Quelques années avaient donc suffi pour transformer Oud, l'ami trop docile des peintres néo-plasticiens, en véritable créateur d'une architecture nouvelle", *HITCHCOCK,* J-J.P.Oud… cit., *p. (3).*

26) There are 45 illustrations in J-J.P.Oud*; ranging from projects of the 1910s (including the villa at Katwijk aan Zee, 1917), to those built for the city of Rotterdam in the 1920s (Spangen, Tusschendijken, Mathenesse, Hoek van Holland, Kiefhoek), to the "De Unie" café (Rotterdam, 1925), to the houses built in 1927 at the Weissenhof exposition in Stuttgart:* ibid., *p. 1-45.*

27) ID., The Architectural Work of J.J.P. Oud, cit., *p. 100.*

28) ID., J-J.P.Oud... cit., *p. (2).*

29) Ibid., *p. (2)-(4).*

30) Letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 26 January 1928; letter by Oud to Lurçat, IFA, Fonds Lurçat, 533 AP 452, 7 May 1928.

31) Letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (December 1928), 55:28:275.

32) Letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 21 June 1929.

33) Ibid., *letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 17 March 1929.*

34) Letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 19 October 1929.

35) Letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 22 May 1930.

36) Letter by Hitchcock to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 10 August 1930.

37) Letter by Oud to Zervos, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 24 April 1931.

38) Letter by Oud to Zervos, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 8 April 1931; letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 22 April 1931.

39) Letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 14 September 1931; letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (September 1931), 67:31:78.

40) "Vous pensez que ce n'est pas très commercial d'envoyer 400 ex. à titre gratuit pour en vendre 100, c'est la proportion actuelle"*: letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 23 January 1932.*

41) Letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (early 1932), 68:32:3; Oud responds to the accusations of Zervos, declaring that in Rotterdam alone 20 to 25 copies had been sold: see letter by Oud to Zervos, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 20 January 1932. Nevertheless, shortly after publication, he is already aware of the risks of a commercial failure: "[…] le livre de Zervos - *Oud writes to Lurçat* - a paru avec beaucoup, beaucoup de difficultés. J'espère qu'il va vendre des exemplaires mais il semble que le moment est très, très mauvais pour la vente des livres"*, letter by Oud to Lurçat, IFA, Fonds Lurcat, 533 AP 452, 1 December 1931.*

42) Letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (October 1931), 67:31:89; letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (late 1931), 67:31:111; letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, s.d. (late 1931), 67:31:112.

43) Letter by Zervos to Oud, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 23 January 1932.

44) Bauen in Frankreich *by Giedion, for example, sold 300 copies: see S. GEORGIADIS,* Introduction, *in S. GIEDION,* Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferro-concrete, *Santa Monica 1995, p. 44-57 (this is the English translation of* Bauen in Frankreich, Bauen in Eisen, Bauen in Eisenbeton, *Leipzig, Berlin 1928).*

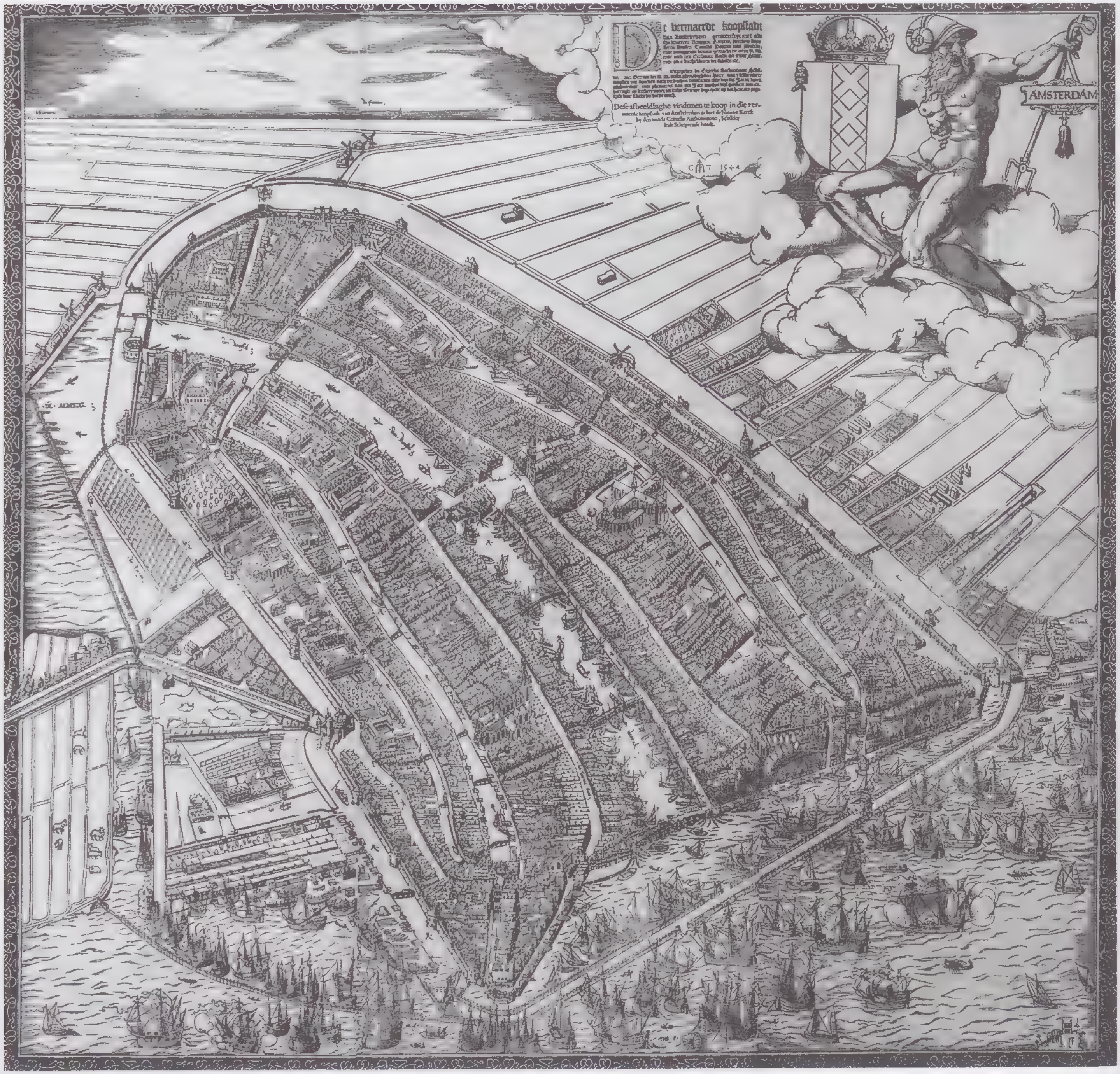
45) Here we should mention the book published upon return from the voyage to the United States: H.P. BERLAGE, Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen door H.P.Berlage. Bouwmeesterte Amsterdam. Illustraties naar Fotos, *Rotterdam 1913.*

46) Letter by Oud to Mellquist, NAi, Archief Oud, correspondentie B, 9 November 1955.

47) In contrast with what has occurred for other "masters" of contemporary architecture, very few studies have been made on the figure of Oud, most of them focusing on the production of the 1920s and 1930s; beginning with the Shell building, contemporary historiography seems to be undertaking new reflection on the work of the Dutch architect: see E. TAVERNE, D. BROEKHUIZEN, Het Shell-gebouw van J.J.P.Oud. Ontwerp en receptie, *Rotterdam 1995.*

1. Cornelis Anthoniszoon, Veduta di Amsterdam a volo d'uccello, *1544. Amsterdam Historisch Museum, Amsterdam.*

1. Cornelis Anthoniszoon, Bird's eye view of Amsterdam, *1544. Amsterdam Historisch Museum, Amsterdam.*



1

La nostra immagine dell'Olanda
Mario Fosso

Un paesaggio di città
Da molti punti di vista l'Olanda è stata nel corso di questo secolo il territorio ideale per l'architettura. Al paradosso originario e vissuto di una terra rivendicata al mare, di un suolo creato artificialmente per la costruzione di città e vie di transito, cominciata nel Medioevo e assurta al massimo splendore nel corso del Diciassettesimo secolo, si è aggiunto tra Ottocento e Novecento l'apporto della industria tecnica. Questa, se ne ha accentuato l'originaria vocazione urbana ed esaltato le potenziali qualità, vi ha anche immesso tutte le contraddizioni di una futura società di massa esposta alle incerte influenze del tempo[1].

Pensare all'Olanda ed alla sua tradizione in architettura significa dunque sempre rivisitare criticamente uno dei miti positivi della storia (un paradiso in una terra promessa a misura d'uomo), all'interno del quale natura ed artificio si sono sostenuti ed alimentati vicendevolmente, contribuendo a creare e consolidare le ragioni stesse del vivere sociale e civile in quella parte d'Europa.

Eppure occuparsi dell'architettura olandese di questi ultimi anni significa esporre a più di un dubbio le proprie certezze sull'argomento. Senza la prospettiva di una convincente direzione di marcia, di fronte alle pulsioni più recenti il rischio è di trovarsi completamente disorientati.

Tre linee interpretative sembrano guidare in questo campo l'architetto *well-learned*.

In prima battuta la sua tradizionale formazione storicistica lo induce a coltivare alcune figure mitiche o particolari architetture di riferimento, assurte per il loro rilievo culturale a monumenti dell'architettura contemporanea. Si tratta di certezze nell'ambito del moderno dove ancora imprecisa è la distinzione tra i diversi punti di vista. La Borsa di Berlage, il gruppo De Stijl, la Scuola di Amsterdam, le architetture di Dudok e Duiker sono solo alcuni degli esempi possibili che rischiano di rientrare, in modo quasi indifferenziato, in un movimento all'apparenza omogeneo ma in realtà ricco di personalità e conflitti.

Gli esempi vengono collocati in un contesto politico-filosofico unitario che, se risolve le differenze di atteggiamento riconducendole al patrimonio culturale dell'architettura, dando così risalto allo spirito di un'epoca, trascina con sé inevitabili riduzioni.

La seconda linea interpretativa, a spettro più ampio e meno finalizzata alla conferma di un *background* culturale di tipo disciplinare, si alimenta dell'influenza dei grandi pittori, della loro riscoperta, specialmente nell'Ottocento, da parte degli scrittori di cose d'arte e d'umanità. Le figure di

Our image of the Netherlands
Mario Fosso

A landscape of cities
In many ways the Netherlands have been the ideal terrain for architecture in this century. The original, keenly-felt paradox of a territory reclaimed from the sea, of land created artificially for the building of cities and road networks that began in the Middle Ages and reached its pinnacle in the 17th century, was followed in the 19th and 20th centuries by industry and technology, whose arrival has reinforced the country's original urban vocation and enhanced its potential, but also brought in its wake all the contradictions of a future mass society at the mercy of time[1].

Any consideration of the Netherlands and the country's architectural tradition therefore requires a critical revisitation of one of history's success stories (heaven on earth in a promised land on a human scale), in which nature and artifice have sustained and stimulated one another, helping to lay and consolidate the very foundations of social and civil life in that part of Europe.

And yet a discussion of Dutch architecture in recent years involves laying one's own certainties on the subject open to doubt. Without the prospect of really knowing which direction to head in, and faced with the most recent developments the risk is one of total disorientation.

Three interpretative strands would seem to guide the well-learned architect here.

Firstly, his traditional historicist training prompts him to cultivate certain key legendary figures or particular architectural milestones, whose cultural importance have turned them into monuments of contemporary architecture. They offer certainty in the world of modernism, in which the distinction between differing viewpoints is still hazy. Berlage's Stock Exchange, the De Stijl group, the Amsterdam School and the works of Dudok and Duiker are just some examples that risk being lumped together into a movement that on the face of it seems homogeneous but which in actual fact abounds with personalities and conflicts.

The examples are pigeon-holed in a unified political and philosophical context which, while ironing out differences in attitude by relating them to architecture's cultural heritage thus highlighting the spirit of an age, inevitably leads to over-simplifications.

The second interpretative strand, which is more wide-ranging and less concerned with finding a cultural background of a disciplinary nature, is fuelled by the influence of the great painters and their rediscovery, particularly in the 19th century by writers on matters of art and humanity. The

2. Pieter de Hoogh, Una compagnia in una corte sul retro di una casa, *1663-65 c. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*
3. Jacob van Ruysdael, Veduta di Haarlem, *1670 c. Mauritshuis, L'Aia.*
4. Rembrandt van Rijn, La lezione di anatomia del Dottor Tulp, *1632. Mauritshuis, L'Aia.*


2


3

Rembrandt, Vermeer, Haals, Steen gettano luce attraverso il colore sul mondo reale, ne trasfigurano il senso, ne interpretano quasi scientificamente la struttura e la materia. Esse assurgono a matrici di una spiritualità di nuovo stampo, umanisticamente e materialisticamente fondata, anticipatrice del sentire dell'uomo moderno[2].
Realtà e materia pittorica cooperano, attraverso le grandi mostre retrospettive di questi ultimi anni, a focalizzare l'interesse in particolare sull'epoca del Secolo d'oro (*Gouden Eeuw*)[3]. In questa si ritrovano senso e significato di un percorso di civilizzazione che lega intimamente lo spazio vissuto dell'architettura alle altre forme d'arte.
La terza linea si consolida dopo le visite periodiche ai monumenti della modernità ed il contatto con gli sviluppi recenti nel campo delle politiche urbane. Il pretesto consente l'esperienza del fenomeno urbano come stratificazione e continuità di un territorio artefatto e delle fenomeniche d'impresa che ora vi agiscono. L'esperienza permette di sperimentare la conoscenza della città e dei suoi dintorni secondo i paradigmi dell'estensione e della verticalità, due categorie che riassumono dialetticamente e figurativamente il contrasto pittorico tra l'opera ed il suo contesto culturale. Analogamente un quadro di Ruysdael, rappresentando palude e brughiera, o uno di Brueghel, la città operosa e babelica (decente nei dettagli, contraddittoria nell'insieme)[4], si propongono quali metafore visive dell'urbanizzazione.
Sul terreno delle arti figurative si sono infatti fronteggiati in Olanda, nell'ambito del Novecento, i movimenti dell'arte astratta e dell'arte primitiva, mentre gli innesti spiritualisti ed empiristi hanno tentato di scompaginarvi l'ortodossia pragmatica cercando di distrarla dal suo operoso orizzonte sociale. Giacché da sempre l'Olanda è stata crocevia di atteggiamenti e posizioni che hanno rimandato a culture tra loro lontane od antitetiche che qui hanno trovato il loro punto d'incontro e di sperimentazione. Profonde e molteplici sembrano dunque essere le influenze da rintracciare.
Un paesaggio di città – dal punto di vista della geografia urbana, della geografia storica o molto più semplicemente dell'urbanistica o della storia dell'arte – è quello al quale siamo costantemente ricondotti perché sentiamo di dover ritrovare, accanto ai nuovi luoghi urbani, i luoghi della memoria dell'architettura olandese. È necessario ridefinire parametri e convincimenti di una valutazione che stenta talvolta a ricongiungersi all'originaria attesa di un modello ideale.
Accogliamo con umiltà la lezione di Johan Huizinga: mentre indaga il passato in tutte le sue espressioni lo storico deve osservarne l'arte e leggerne la letteratura per aumentare la chiarezza della rappresentazione[5].

Natura e culture della figurazione urbana
"*Mentre l'aereo si abbassa e attraversa la cortina di nubi che tanto spesso ricopre questa parte di Europa*" – comincia così, shakespearianamente, la descrizione del Randstad Holland fatta da Peter Hall nel libro *Le città mondiali* – "*la prima visione che si presenta al viaggiatore è quella di una distesa d'acqua: egli vede i tortuosi bracci del Reno e della Mosa, i grandi bacini affiancati da raffinerie, impianti chimici e magazzini che caratterizzano il porto di Rotterdam*"[6].
Il centro di "*una delle più straordinarie regioni urbane del mondo*", nell'approccio geografico e geografico-storico si dimostra come un paesaggio di città molto prossime l'una all'altra, fondato su un suolo che costituisce di per sé una stratificazione straordinaria di caratteri fisico-naturali e di infrastrutture d'acqua e viarie, progressivamente trasformati in un paesaggio antropico profondamente storicizzato.
All'interno di quei paesaggi culturali l'attualità degli interventi sottolinea continuamente, vuoi per meccanica necessità vuoi per le virtù coerenti di un'evoluzione sociale progressiva e consapevole, spostamenti di senso degli elementi originari e ne ripropone insistentemente il significato.
In nessun altro paese la differenziazione degli elementi originari del paesaggio (sabbia, fiumi, suolo agrario, torba, argilla, marne, dune) ha potuto coinvolgere su così grande scala, in rapporto alla dimensione della nazione, la relazione tra tecnica di acquisizione e bonifica del suolo ed il suo successivo utilizzo e sfruttamento sia agricolo che edilizio. Correlando per successive epoche l'evoluzione delle tecniche di conquista del suolo ed i caratteri originari del territorio, la geografia storica ne ha descritto le differenze topografiche e quelle intrinseche, come un libro di testo sul quale ogni periodo della storia olandese abbia impresso la propria impronta – di cui ogni nuovo intervento deve tenere conto – fino a determinarvi una profonda relazione tra natura e cultura del paesaggio[7].
Non a caso la linea di lavoro recente sul paesaggio, da quello naturalistico a quello più strutturalmente assunto come guida per la redazione di piani per Rotterdam (Prinsenland) ed Amsterdam (Oostelijk Havengebied), assume di volta in volta il significato di un orientamento per la città in divenire sul quale confrontarsi.
Lo stato di natura ottocentesco, secondo Zocher, architetto tardoneoclassico e paesaggista, incastonava lo spazio del giardino romantico nella città-manufatto dell'ingegnere,

4



2. *Pieter de Hoogh,* A company in a Courtyard behind a house, *1663-65 ca. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*
3. *Jacob van Ruysdael,* View of Haarlem, *1670 ca. Mauritshuis, The Hague.*
4. *Rembrandt van Rijn,* The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp, *1632. Mauritshuis, The Hague.*

figures of Rembrandt, Vermeer, Haals and Steen shed light on the real world through colour, transfigure its meaning and interpret its structure and substance in an almost scientific way. They come to epitomize a new form of humanistic and materialistic spirituality, one that looks ahead to modern man's sensitivity[2].

*Together, reality and pictorial substance have, through the major retrospective exhibitions of recent years, focused interest in particular on the golden age (*Gouden Euw*)*[3]*. This explains a development in civilization that closely links the spatial experience of architecture with other art forms.*

The third strand establishes itself after periodic visits to the monuments of modernity and contact with recent developments in town-planning. The pretext makes possible the experience of the urban phenomenon as stratification and continuity of an artificial area of land and the enterprises now acting on it. Through this experience it is possible to learn about the city and its surroundings according to the paradigms of extension and verticality, two categories that are the dialectical and figurative expression of the pictorial contrast between the work and its cultural context, just as a painting by Ruysdael depicting marsh and moorland or one by Brueghel showing babel-like town life (decorous in detail, contradictory as a whole)[4]*, present a more general visual metaphor of meaning for urbanization.*

The abstract art and primitive art movements found themselves in opposing figurative art camps in the Netherlands in the 20th century, while the spiritualist and empiricist influences tried to throw pragmatic orthodoxy into disarray to distract it from its highly active social activities. Since the Netherlands have always been a crossroads of attitudes and stances from distant or antithetical cultures, the place of contact and experimentation, the influences that need to be traced are as diverse as they are deep rooted.

We are inevitably constantly led back to the idea of a landscape of cities – in terms of urban geography, historical geography or much more simply town-planning or art history – because we feel we have to find sites that are a part of Dutch architectural history alongside the new urban sites. The parameters and convictions of an assessment that sometimes falls short of the original expectation of an ideal model have to be redefined.

We humbly accept the lesson given by Johan Huizinga, who says that while investigating the past in all its expressions, the historian must observe its art and read its literature if he is to increase the clarity of the representation[5].

Nature and cultures in urban figuration

"As the aircraft loses height and comes through the cloud cover which so often covers this part of Europe" *reads the somewhat Shakespearean opening to Peter Hall's description of Randstad Holland in* The World Cities – "the traveller's first glimpse may well be of water: he sees the complex distribution of the Rijnn and Maas rivers, and the great harbour basins, mixed with oil refineries, chemical plants and warehouses, which mark the port of Rotterdam"[6].

The centre of "one of the most extraordinary urban regions in the world"*, in the geographical and geographical-historical approach is a landscape of closely-set towns and cities, built on a terrain that is in itself an extraordinary stratification of physical and natural features, waterways and road networks, which have gradually been transformed into a profoundly historicized anthropic landscape. The topicality of the work done on those cultural landscapes continually emphasizes, either through mechanical necessity or the consistent virtues of a gradual and conscious social evolution, shifts in the sense of the original elements and persistently reiterates their meaning. In no other country have the distinctions between the original elements that make up the landscape (sand, rivers, farmland, peat, clay, loam rock, dunes) successfully involved on such a grand scale in relation to the size of the country, the relationship between acquisition techniques and reclamation of the land and its subsequent use and exploitation for farming and building. By correlating the development of land reclamation techniques and the original characteristics of the land, historical geography has described the topographical and intrinsic differences, like a textbook on which each period in Dutch history has left its mark – one each new intervention must take account of – to the point of establishing a profound relationship between nature and landscape culture*[7].

It is no accident that the strand of recent work on the landscape, from the naturalistic type to that seen more structurally as a guide for the drawing-up of plans for Rotterdam (Prinsenland) and Amsterdam (Oostelijk Havengebied), becomes in each case a direction which the city in the making can take.

The 19th century state of nature according to Zocher, a late neo-classical architect and landscape designer, set the romantic garden in the engineer's man-made city, town-planning as a landscape crystallized in the singels *of Rotterdam, and the solution of the hygiene problem of running water in an aesthetic town-planning scheme.*

Now, while Adriaan Geuze proposes the recomposition, within

5. Johannes A. Brinkman e Leendert C. van der Vlugt, Stadio Feyenoord, 1934-36, Rotterdam: situazione prima degli interventi recenti di copertura delle tribune. Foto B. Hofmeester.
6. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Complesso comunale di alloggi semipermanenti Oud-Mathenesse, Rotterdam, 1922-24: situazione all'anno 1978 prima della demolizione. Foto Mario Fosso.
7. Gerrit Thomas Rietveld, Casa Schröder, Utrecht, 1924, nello stato attuale. Foto Mario Fosso.
8. Fotografo in azione sui cieli del Randstad negli anni '30. Da Nederland van Boven, *1976.*
9. Gruppo di lavoro Landschapstypologie-Natuurbeschermingraad, I paesaggi storico-geografici dell'Olanda. Da AA.VV., Het Nederlandse Landschap, *1995.*

l'urbanistica come *landscape* cristallizzato nei *singel* di Rotterdam, la soluzione al problema igienico dello scorrimento delle acque nel progetto estetico ed urbanistico.
Ora, mentre Adriaan Geuze propone la ricomposizione, entro un disegno globale dello spazio urbano, di esperienze e materie frammentarie, sintesi di una somma indifferenziata di particolarità che costituisce pretesto per la poetica dei nuovi parchi urbani *techno*, Frits Palmboom riconsidera gli elementi costitutivi della morfologia del paesaggio come aspetti di una composizione stratificata per la quale i *layers* del progetto urbanistico trasmettono intrinseche qualità ed offrono opportunità per nuove strategie insediative. Da questo punto di vista il caso di Rotterdam, posta sull'estuario della Maas, è estremo ed esemplare della natura artificiale di un paesaggio costruito nella duplice relazione tra vie d'acqua, aree portuali, città ed insieme della prodigiosa trasformazione messa in campo dall'ingegneria civile.
Suolo, infrastrutture ed aree urbane sono qui il risultato di una integrazione pressocché continua ed assoluta dell'azione delle competenze dell'ingegnere, dapprima (a partire dal Diciassettesimo secolo) identificabile nella figura del geometra (*landmeter*) e del controllore delle dighe (*heemraad*), più recentemente (durante il Diciannovesimo secolo), sulla scorta della specializzazione politecnica nutritasi a Delft, nella differenziazione tra ingegnere civile (*bouwkundig ingenieur*) ed architetto.
Notevole in proposito è stato, tra Diciannovesimo e Ventesimo secolo, il contributo degli ingegneri e degli architetti preposti alla pianificazione delle aree portuali ed urbane di Rotterdam – Rose, De Jongh, Witteveen, Van Traa – la cui azione, oltre a risolvere dal punto di vista pratico il problema della costruzione della città in un territorio d'acque, definisce anche i caratteri propri delle espansioni urbane della città otto-novecentesca con il conseguente articolarsi di funzioni, luoghi ed architetture pubbliche inseriti nella rete delle infrastrutture[8]. Ne fa fede ancora una volta a partire dagli anni Ottanta il poderoso sforzo del Kop van Zuid a Rotterdam, volto alla ridestinazione delle aree portuali storiche.
Ma è vero che l'urbanista, in quanto costruttore di città (*stedebouwer*), è da sempre qui la figura risolutiva dell'incontro-scontro tra l'ingegnere civile e militare, delegato alla costruzione del suolo, e l'architetto, deputato a risolvere e giustificare nel rapporto tra lotto edificabile e città nel suo insieme il miglior uso della risorsa suolo[9].
Anche da questa capacità di risolvere per via di disegno e di rappresentazione il carattere proprio di una intera città e

an overall design of the urban space, of fragmentary experiences and substances, the sum total of a random collection of details that constitutes a pretext for the poetics of the new techno *urban parks, Frits Palmboom reconsiders the elements that go to make up the morphology of the landscape as aspects of a stratified composition in which the layers of the town-planning scheme transmit intrinsic qualities and offer opportunities for new settlement strategies. Seen in this way, the case of Rotterdam, located at the estuary of the Maas, is extreme and exemplary of the artificial nature of a landscape constructed around the dual relationship between waterways, port areas, city and the set of extraordinary transformations brought about by civil engineering.*
*The land, the infrastructures and urban areas are the result of the virtually uninterrupted, total integration of the work of the engineer (from the 17th century onwards), which can be identified in the figure of the surveyor (*landmeter*) and the dyke controller (*heemraad*), more recently (in the 19th century) under the guidance of polytechnic specialization fostered in Delft, in the differentiation between civil engineering (*bouwkundig ingenieur*) and architect.*
A considerable contribution was made in this connection by engineer and architects whose job it was to plan the port and urban areas of Rotterdam: Rose, De Jongh, Witteveen and Van Traa. Their work, as well as solving the problem of the construction of a city in a land of water, also defined the way in which the city would expand in the 19th and 20th century with functions, places and public architecture taking up their various places in the infrastructures[8]. It is attested once again from the 1980s onwards by the impressive efforts of Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam to redevelop the historic port areas.
*But it has to be said that the town planner, in his role as a builder of cities (*stedebouwer*) has always been the mediator in the convergence and clash between civil and military engineer concerned with constructing the ground, and the architect, whose job it is to decide upon and justify the best use for the ground in the relationship between areas suitable for building on and the city as a whole[9].*
It is also this ability to create the inherent character of a city and its expansion through design and representation founded not on a single principle or religious matter but for the benefit of many merchants and citizens that the unquestioned appeal of H.P. Berlage's expansion plan for Amsterdam South derives. In illustrating the Amsterdam South plan, Fraenkel clearly describes how Berlage uses two concepts applicable in a more general sense to Amsterdam's urban layout and its system of

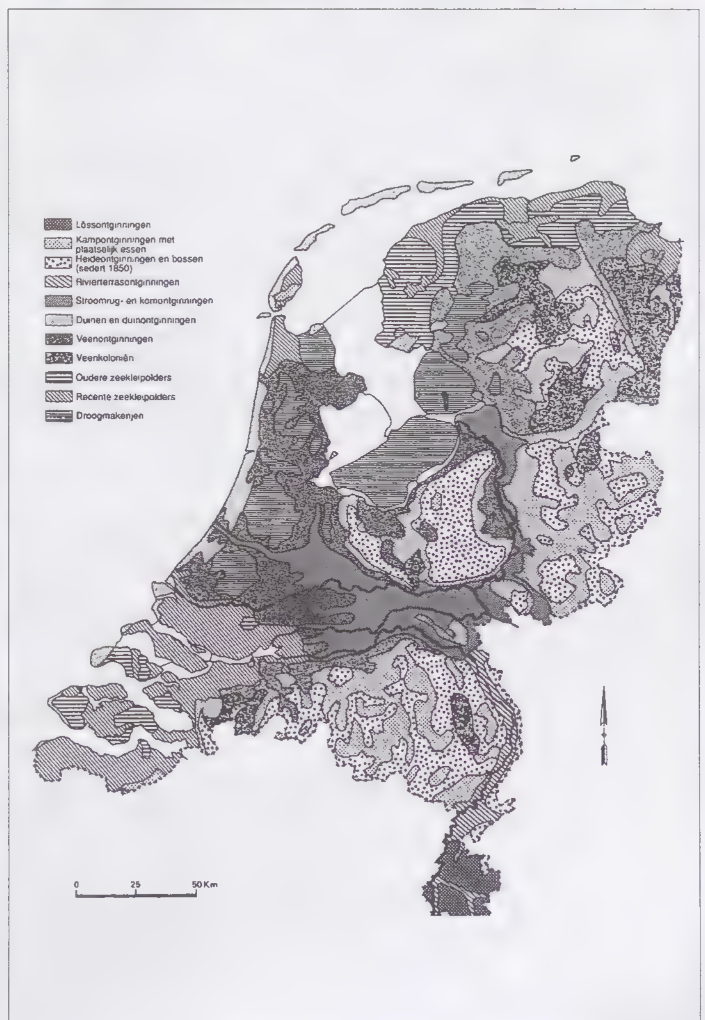
5. Johannes A. Brinkman and Leendert C. van der Vlugt, Feyenoord Stadium, 1934-36, Rotterdam: situation before the covering of the tribunes. Photo B. Hofmeester.
6. Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Semi-Permanent Housing Estate Oud-Mathenesse, Rotterdam, 1922-24: situation in 1978, before the demolishing. Photo Mario Fosso.
7. Gerrit Thomas Rietveld, Schröder House, Utrecht, 1924 (present state). Photo Mario Fosso.
8. Flying through the Randstad skies during the 1930's. From Nederland van Boven, *1976.*
9. Workgroup Landschapstypologie-Natuurbeschermingraad, The Historical-Geographical landscapes of the Netherlands. From Various Authors, Het Nederlandse Landschap, *1995.*


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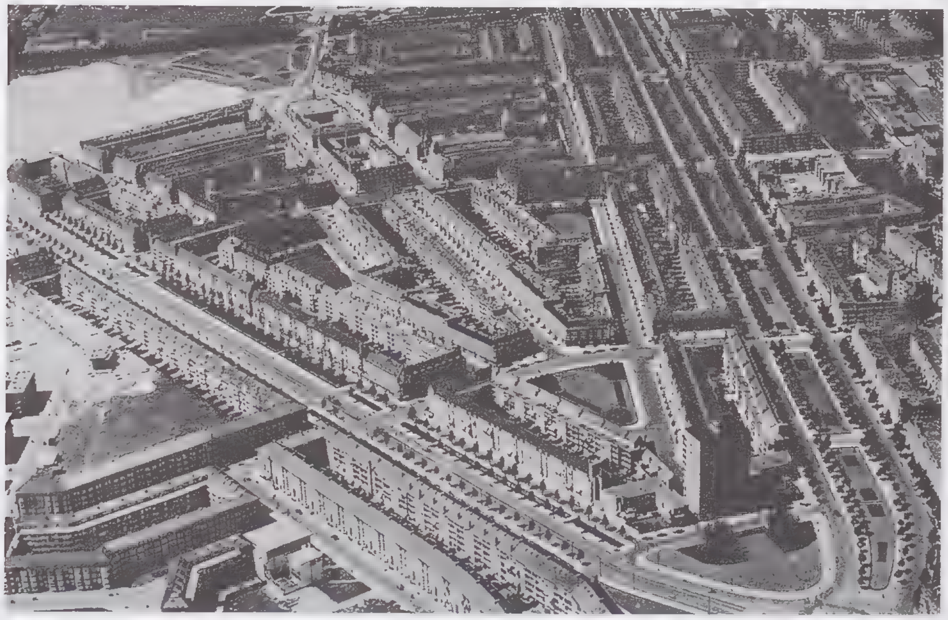


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10. Mappa degli edifici della Scuola di Amsterdam inseriti nella pianta attuale della città, 1975. Architectuur Museum Amsterdam.
11. Veduta aerea di Amsterdam Sud dal Berlage Brug verso la Victoria Plein (anni '70).
12. Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Borsa alla Damrak, Amsterdam, il giorno dell'inaugurazione nel 1903.
13. Michel de Klerk, Complesso residenziale per la Società edilizia "Eigen Haard" allo Spaarndammerplantsoen, terzo blocco, Amsterdam, 1917-21, nello stato attuale. Foto Matteo Fosso.



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10. The Amsterdam School's buildings positioned on the map of the present city, 1975. Architectuur Museum Amsterdam.
11. Aerial view of Amsterdam South from the Berlage Brug towards the Victoria Plein (1970's).
12. Hendrik Petrus Berlage, The Stock Exchange at Damrak, Amsterdam, the day of its inauguration in1903.
13. Michel de Klerk, Housing complex for the Building Society "Eigen Haard" at Spaarndammerplantsoen, third block, Amsterdam, 1917-21 (present state). Photo Matteo Fosso.

della sua espansione, fondata non per un unico principe o capo religioso ma per il beneficio di molti mercanti e cittadini, deriva l'indiscussa fascinazione esercitata del Piano di espansione per Amsterdam Sud di H.P. Berlage.
Con chiarezza il Fraenkel, nell'illustrare il Piano di Amsterdam Sud, descrive come Berlage utilizzi due concetti applicabili da un punto di vista più generale alla forma urbana di Amsterdam ed al suo impianto canalizio: "*Ecco dunque definirsi il carattere proprio della città: monumentale nell'impianto, pittoresca nei dettagli*". Si tratta di elementi che si riveleranno di interesse fondamentale per la comprensione del suo pensiero[10].
Non a caso con gli obbiettivi del Piano, densi di attese politiche e sociali per un'edilizia abitativa di massa e democratica, si confronterà in modo fiammeggiante la ricerca figurativa di Pieter Kramer e Michel de Klerk, rivolta a suscitare immagini ed emozioni di appartenenza: all'edificio, alla strada, alla città[11].
Soggettività e metodo progettuale misurano tutto il valore della corografia gerarchicamente messa in scena da Berlage nella città di Amsterdam per condensarsi in connotati figurativi di grande fascino e bellezza, plasticamente risolti con i materiali della tradizione costruttiva – mattone, legno, pietra, ceramica – ed inscritti in un orizzonte esteticamente eversivo e vitalistico.
Robertson e Yerbury vi individuavano, fin dalla fine degli anni Venti, il punto di partenza di una modernità che tratta superfici ed aperture come "*the chief point of concentration in this new manner of design* [...]", aggiungendo che "*the moment was therefore propitious for a change of heart, and this change towards a modern expression was given a great initial impetus through the competence of that group of architects who were its sponsors*"[12].
La complementarità storica tra piano e progetti non eviterà tuttavia che la sapienza di Berlage, riformatore della tecnica costruttiva e portatore di una teoria sociale dell'arte, venisse giudicata come conservatrice da Michel de Klerk e violentamente attaccata in uno scritto sulla rivista "Bouwkundig weekblad"[13].
Dal contrasto tra gli aspetti del monumentale e del pittoresco, così evidenti sul piano storico nell'Olanda degli anni Venti, sembra dunque nascere nella città olandese contemporanea, dove i tempi di realizzazione dell'opera sono inevitabilmente ed efficientisticamente accelerati dall'economia del progetto, tutta l'incertezza a ritrovare un punto di equilibrio risolutivo del rapporto tra costruzione e forma architettonica.
Tornano in proposito di attualità le parole J.J.P. Oud: "[...] *Il "moderno" può essere definito come il "mutevole", nel senso*

canals: "This then is what defines the true character of the city: monumental in its layout, picturesque in its details".
These elements will prove to be essential to an understanding of his thinking[10].
It is no coincidence that the figurative research of Pieter Kramer and Michel de Klerk, aimed at evoking related images and emotions – the building, the street, the town – should be compared so dazzlingly with the aims of the plan, dense with political and social expectations for a democratic mass residential building programme[11].
Subjectivity and design method limit the value of the chorography hierarchically developed by Berlage in the city of Amsterdam and condensed into highly fascinating and beautiful figurative features, plastically created with traditional building materials – brick, wood, stone, ceramic – and inscribed into an aesthetically subversive and vitalistic context.
From the late 1920s onwards, Robertson and Yerbury identified the starting-point of a modernity that treats surfaces and openings as "the chief point of concentration in this new manner of design [...]", *adding that* "the moment was therefore propitious for a change of heart, and this change towards a modern expression was given a great initial impetus through the competence of that group of architects who were its sponsors"[12].
The historical complementariness between plan and design did not prevent the wisdom of Berlage, reformer of building technique and bringer of a social theory of art, from being judged as conservative by Michel de Klerk and violently attacked in a commentary in the magazine "Bouwkundig weekblad"[13].
The contrast between the monumental and picturesque, so evident on a historical level in the Netherlands of the Twenties, seems to have given rise in the contemporary Dutch town, where completion of work is inevitably and efficiently speeded up by economy of design, to all the uncertainties of finding a definitive point of balance in the relationship between construction and architectural form.
The words of J.J.P. Oud are of topical interest in this connection: "[...] The "modern" can be defined as "changing", in the sense of "becoming", that is to say "constantly evolving". Hence the "modern" need not necessarily also be "new". The "modern" is individual becoming, the "new" is collective becoming, a distinction of primary importance for the evolution of art [...]"[14].
Assuming this point of view to be still current, it could almost be stated that in the present scenario, unlike the heroic age,

14. Jaap van den Bout e Frits Palmboom, Dirk Sijmons e Yttje Feddes, Department of Physical Planning Amsterdam, Piano urbanistico per IJ-Burg, Amsterdam, 1996: disegno prospettico dell'area.

14. Jaap van den Bout and Frits Palmboom, Dirk Sijmons and Yttje Feddes, Department of Physical Planning Amsterdam, IJ-Burg Project, Amsterdam, 1996: perspective drawing of the site.

del "divenire", cioè della "continua evoluzione". Perciò il "moderno" non deve essere necessariamente allo stesso tempo il "nuovo". Il "moderno" è il divenire individuale, il "nuovo" è il divenire collettivo, distinzione di primaria importanza per l'evoluzione dell'arte [...]"[14].
Assumendo questo punto di vista come ancora attuale, si potrebbe quasi affermare come l'odierno panorama, al contrario del periodo eroico, presenti una prevalenza del *nuovo* rispetto al *mutevole* e quindi maggiori incertezze nelle attribuzioni di senso generale al divenire storico dell'arte che stiamo considerando.
Sul terreno di questo contrasto lo storico Auke van der Woud, all'interno del dibattito culturale in Olanda, ha espresso in modo chiaro la critica alla posizione reticente della cultura ufficiale funzionalista degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta nei confronti dei valori estetici in architettura e la conseguente sua regressione alla poetica decostruttivista o della rovina: "*Il recente, forte interesse per l'estetica del costruire, che è spesso una critica dimostrativa della modestia del modernismo, fa senz'altro parte della rivalutazione della bellezza in quanto categoria generale. Questa è già da tempo stata interpretata come "l'estetizzazione della visione del mondo", l'unico sistema di valori collettivi sopravvissuto alla perdita di terreno delle ideologie. Anche tale sistema di valori è "non verbale", viene trasferito e mantenuto attraverso l'immagine. L'inesprimibile bellezza dell'architettura non è per nulla un fenomeno isolato. La moderna cultura di massa è una cultura di immagini, le parole "bello" e "brutto" sono in ogni ambito vecchie ed usurate, estetica ed artisticità sono diventate in tutte le arti concetti metafisici troppo spettrali per lasciarsi afferrare con le parole*"[15].

La vocazione cartografica
Nessuna rappresentazione sintetizza meglio di quella cartografica la cosapevolezza, razionale ed insieme visionaria, che la città dei Paesi Bassi si fonda su una costruzione umana sollecitata da forze naturali tanto instabili tra loro quanto necessarie all'opera di riconquista del suolo ed al farsi della città. La storica dell'arte Svetlana Alpers, allieva del Gombrich, è stata indotta in proposito a scrivere di una "*vocazione cartografica*" dell'arte olandese.
La bellezza della cartografia olandese, sia storica che tecnica, non risiede infatti solamente nella convenzione grafica raffinata, ma nell'essere essa stata strumento e sintesi delle differenze e dei caratteri del paesaggio edificato dei quali è stata costretta a mantenere traccia, pena lo smarrimento della memoria storica ed il decadimento di una società. Rivelatore in tal senso è il continuo ed ambivalente riapparire della rappresentazione planimetrica e di quella a volo d'uccello, così come l'uso del colore sfumato nelle mappe, utilizzato per accentuare la corporeità di un paesaggio sapientemente misurato e disegnato dal *landmeter*, rispecchia gli elementi vissuti dell'esperienza del paesaggio urbanizzato[16].
Sul carattere coinvolgente e speculativo di pittura e cartografia ha scritto la Alpers, tra l'altro, che nella *Veduta di Delft* di Johannes Vermeer "*la veduta apodittica della* descriptio *si trasforma da figura retorica in una immagine pittorica incomparabile e la cartografia diventa celebrazione*"[17]. E questo non già per un simmetrico e deduttivo rispecchiarsi di rappresentazione topografica e visione pittorica, ma perché la qualità propria del dipinto di Vermeer è quella di mostrare, anche piegando o variando i dati della topografia, l'interna differenziazione delle architetture della città oltre l'ombra delle sue mura e mettere in risalto, come negli interni di altre sue tele, il contrappunto armonico e discorsivo tra animate figure.
Prospettiva, rappresentazione e contenuto della visione realistica della pittura, sia in rapporto al luogo urbano che all'interno domestico, suggeriscono una analoga funzione sociale dell'architetto operante alla luce del sole, tra realtà privata e collettiva, portatore di uno sguardo sulle cose urbane e sulla loro fisica materialità. Piuttosto che fondarsi su un codice estetico politico-celebrativo, la composizione urbana è strumento tecnico di consenso per amministratori e cittadini, proprio perché il contratto sociale è qui sempre stato inevitabilmente fondato sulle scelte in campo urbanistico ed architettonico, sulla loro rispondenza (*doelmatigheid*) all'interesse collettivo.
Il dibattito che attraversa gli anni Venti e Trenta della storia olandese di questo secolo, nel confronto tra funzionalisti e tradizionalisti, prende avvio dalla ragione pratica dell'architettura e si incammina per l'ideologia della forma. Esso rappresenta un punto di svolta e di non ritorno nella considerazione dell'*oggettività* del costruire (*zakelijkheid)* come uno dei valori massimi della modernità, ma costituisce anche il punto di arrivo di una vicenda culturale che pone al suo centro città e territorio. Le polemiche intorno al conformismo dell'architettura istituzionale degli anni Sessanta erano infatti portate avanti da chi, come Willem van Tijen, rivendicava lo sperimentalismo eroico degli anni Trenta contro il tecnicismo neutro di un'edilizia abitativa di massa, aliena da qualsiasi contestualità.
È quello che ancora Auke van der Woud, generalizzando le



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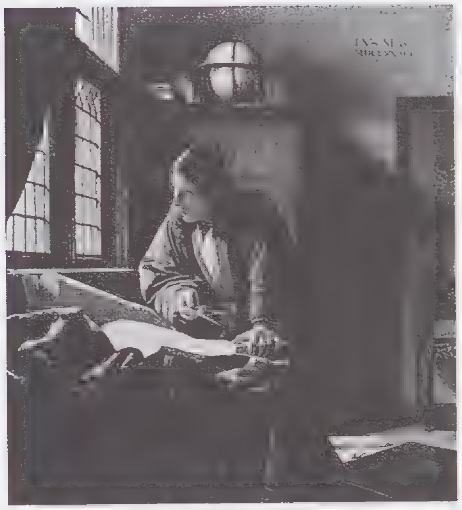
the new *outweighs the* changing *and so there are greater uncertainties in the attribution of a general meaning to the process whereby the art in question becomes history.*
Tackling this contrast, historian Auke van der Woud, as part of the cultural debate in the Netherlands, clearly expressed his criticism of the reticence of official functionalist culture in the Fifties and Sixties towards the aesthetic values in architecture and its consequent regression to deconstructivist poetics or ruin: "The recent, strong interest in the building aesthetic, which is often a demonstrative criticism of modernism's modesty, undoubtedly forms part of the reassessment of beauty as a general category. This has for some time now been interpreted as the "aestheticisation of the world vision", the only system of collective values that has survived as ideologies have run out of steam. Even this system of values is a "non verbal" one, it is transferred and maintained through image. The inexpressible beauty of architecture is not an isolated phenomenon. In today's image-oriented mass culture the words "beautiful" and "ugly" have become old, time-worn expressions, aesthetics and artistry have throughout the arts become metaphysical concepts, too spectral to be expressed in words"[15].

The cartographic vocation

Cartographic representation illustrates better than any other the rational and at the same time visionary awareness that the Dutch city is founded on a human construction that is subject to natural forces as unstable as they are necessary to the process of reclaiming the land and building cities. Art historian Svetlana Alpers, a pupil of Gombrich, was prompted in this connection to speak of the "cartographic vocation" of Dutch art.
The beauty of Dutch cartography, both historical and technical, does not lie merely in refined graphic convention, but in its being the instrument and embodiment of the differences and features of the built-up landscape, traces of which it was obliged to maintain, lest it lose its sense of history and see its society decay. Telling in this connection is the continuous and ambivalent reappearance of the planimetric representation and that of the bird's-eye view, just as the use of coloured shading on the maps to accentuate the consistency of a landscape, carefully measured out and designed by the landmeter, *reflects the elements that are part of the cityscape experience*[16].
Alpers also wrote on the engaging and speculative character of painting and cartography that in Johannes Vermeer's View of Delft "the apodeictic view of the *descriptio* is transformed from a rhetorical figure into an incomparable pictorial image and the cartography becomes a celebration"[17]. *And this is not through any symmetrical and deductive reflection of topographical representation and pictorial vision, but because the inherent quality of the Vermeer painting is to show (even if this means bending or varying the topographical facts) the internal differentiation of the architecture of the city beyond the shadows of its walls and to highlight, as he does in the interiors of his other paintings, the harmonious, discursive counterpoint between animated figures.*
*Perspective, representation and content of the realistic vision of painting, in relation to both the urban site and the domestic interior, suggest a similar social function of the architect operating in sunlight, privately and collectively, offering a new glimpse of things urban and their physical materiality. Rather than basing itself on a political and celebratory aesthetic code, the urban composition is a technical instrument of approval for administrators and citizens, precisely because the social contract here has always inevitably been based on town-planning and architectural choices, and the way they correspond (*doelmatigheid*) to the collective interest.*
The debate between functionalists and traditionalists in the Netherlands in the 1920s and 1930s took its cue from architecture's practical rationale and proceeded towards ideology of form. It represents a turning point and point of no return in the consideration of the objectivity *of building (*zakelijkheid*) as one of the highest values of modernity, but also constitutes the arrival point of a cultural event that places city and territory at its centre. The controversy surrounding the conformity of institutional architecture of the 1960s was fired by those, like Willem van Tijen, who championed the heroic experimentalism of the Thirties against the neutral technicism of totally non-contextualized mass housing.*
This was what Auke van der Woud defined , in generalizing the uncertainties of several generations of Dutch architects, as the conflict between the truth and the character of modern architecture.
"The highest ideal of the 19th century architect was to be considered as an artist of building. In our age the old word "*bouwkunst*", with its various layers of meaning, is replaced everywhere by the flat term "*architectuur*", which has no regulatory associations. And this is the second paradox of contemporary architecture: the highest aim we strive for is still a building that is a work of art, but there are no longer any words to define the artistic dimension of the work let alone concepts through which beauty can be organized professionally. Contemporary architecture possesses a beauty

15. Johannes Vermeer, Il geografo, *1668-69 c. Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Francoforte.*
16. Johannes Vermeer, Veduta di Delft, *1660-61 c. Mauritshuis, L'Aia.*
17. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Delft dopo l'esposizione del Deposito delle polveri nel 1654. *Staatliche Museen, Berlino.*

15. Johannes Vermeer, Geographer, *1668-69 ca. Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt.*
16. Johannes Vermeer, View of Delft, *1660-61 ca. Mauritshuis, The Hague.*
17. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Delft after the Explosion of the Powder Magazine in 1654, *Staatliche Museen, Berlin.*



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incertezze di più generazioni di architetti olandesi, ha definito come il conflitto tra verità e carattere dell'architettura moderna.

"L'architetto del Diciannovesimo secolo aveva come proprio più alto ideale l'essere considerato un artista del costruire. Nel nostro tempo la vecchia parola "bouwkunst", *stratificata di significati, è dappertutto sostituita dal termine piano* "architectuur", *libera da connotazioni normative. Ed è questo il secondo paradosso dell'architettura contemporanea: il fine più alto da raggiungere è ancora un edificio che sia anche un'opera d'arte, ma non esistono più parole per definire la dimensione artistica del lavoro e tanto meno esistono concetti per mezzo dei quali poter collocare la bellezza professionalmente. L'architettura contemporanea possiede una bellezza inesprimibile.*

Tale situazione non si chiarisce adducendo come causa la molto discussa superficialità del postmodernismo. Al contrario, tutto indica che sia stato il modernismo, che ha preso avvio nella cerchia di Berlage, ad annullare il discorso sulla bellezza nella professione. I discepoli della Nieuwe Zakelijkheid ("het Nieuwe Bouwen"*) ritenevano superfluo e quindi non desiderabile aspirare ad un'estetica precostituita, in quanto ritenevano che la bellezza fosse una qualità inerente al progetto funzionale. Cosicché la si riconosce di più nella scienza che nell'arte del costruire, come spiegava il gruppo di architetti di Amsterdam "De8" nel 1927, che si autonominò pertanto "a-estetico".*

La società venne allora resa fiduciosa non solo nel dogma che il funzionalismo fa nascere una bellezza "senza tempo", ma anche nell'estetica anti-accademica delle avanguardie artistiche dell'anteguerra per le quali il brutto, il grezzo, il non raffinato erano centrali. Che il brutto fosse bello in senso profondo, venne negli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta indicato in molte pubblicazioni scientifico-popolari, con argomentazioni tratte dalle teorie della Gestalt e dalla psicologia di Freud e Jung, nelle quali i disegni dei bambini e perfino dei malati di mente giocavano un proprio ruolo, e dall'etnografia, nella quale si dimostrava la bellezza dell'"arte primitiva". L'architettura di questi decenni ha rispecchiato questi concetti, da un lato idealizzando gli insediamenti "primitivi" non occidentali come esempio di sintesi di una corretta socialità ed assetto fisico, dall'altro applicando a grande scala i princìpi funzionalisti dell'anteguerra. È tuttavia significativo come questo imporsi del modernismo in architettura sia stato legittimato con argomentazioni generali di natura culturale e soprattutto sociale, mentre ai corrispondenti ideali estetici

which cannot be expressed. This situation cannot be clarified by identifying the much-discussed superficiality of post-modernism as its cause. On the contrary, everything points to modernism, which began in Berlage's circles, as having destroyed the concept of beauty in the profession. The disciples of the Nieuwe Zakelijkheid *("het Nieuwe Bouwen")* considered superfluous and hence undesirable the idea of aspiring to a pre-established aesthetic, inasmuch as beauty was considered to be an inherent quality of functional design. So it was recognized more in the science than in the art of building, as the "De8" group of Amsterdam architects explained in 1927, which therefore styled itself "a-aesthetic". Society was therefore encouraged to believe not only in the dogma that functionalism creates a "timeless" beauty, but also in the anti-academic aesthetic of the artistic avant-garde of the pre-war years of which ugly, raw and unrefined elements formed a central part. The idea that ugliness was beautiful in the profound sense was put forward in many popular scientific publications in the Fifties, with arguments taken from Gestalt theory and Freudian and Jungian philosophy, in which drawings by children and even by the mentally ill played their part, as did ethnography, which demonstrated the beauty of "primitive art". Architecture in recent decades has reflected these concerns, on the one hand by idealizing non-western "primitive" settlements as an example of the fusion between good social behaviour and physical organization, and on the other by applying on a larger scale the functionalist principles of the pre-war years. It is, however, significant how this assertion of modernism in architecture was legitimized by general arguments of a cultural and above all social nature, while the corresponding aesthetic ideals received a few miserable lines, even though aesthetics were the most characteristic feature of modernism"[18].

A Farewell to the Arms of Town-Planning

No idealization has been more explicit than that carried out by planning discipline as part of the reconstruction of the Netherlands after the Second World War[19].

A successful attempt was made to satsify the urgent material need for new housing in the post-war period, with a plan capable of integrating residential functions and building programmes into a stylistic whole.

Above and beyond the varying ideological positions, the economic planning of post-war governments, buoyed up by the Marshall Plan, was implemented with no exceptions right up to the end of the 1960s: town-planning and architecture

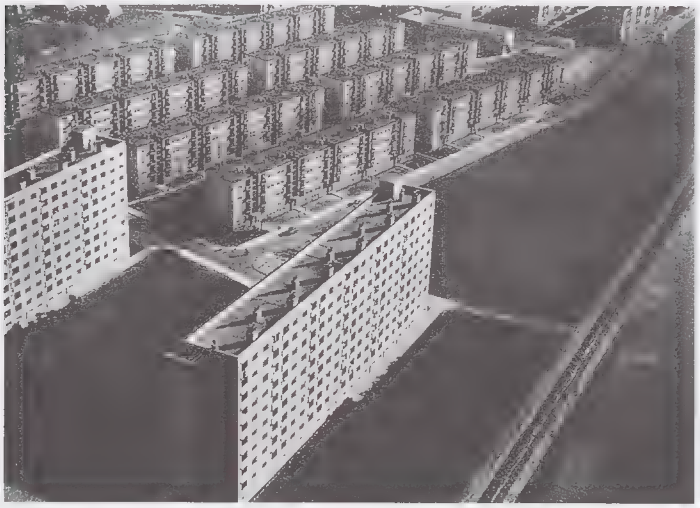
18. Lotte Stam-Beese, Quartiere Kleinpolder, Rotterdam, 1947-55.
19. Johannes H. van den Broek e Jacob B. Bakema, Quartiere Klein Driene, Hengelo, 1951-1958.
20. Aldo van Eyck, Edificio per l'Agenzia Spaziale Europea, Nordwijk, 1989.
21. Huig A. Maaskant e Willem van Tijen, Edificio per il commercio all'ingrosso "Grotehandelsgebouw", Rotterdam, 1949-52.
22. Mecanoo, Complesso residenziale e servizi per giovani, Rotterdam-Kruisplein, 1981-85.

siano state dedicate poche striminzite parole, anche se proprio l'estetica era il tratto più caratteristico del modernismo"[18].

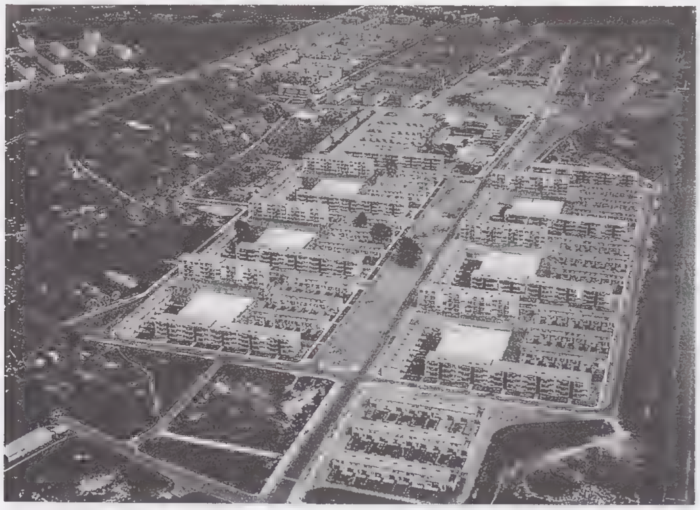
L'addio alle armi dell'urbanistica
Nessuna idealizzazione è stata più esplicita di quella operata dalla disciplina urbanistica nell'ambito della ricostruzione dell'Olanda dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale[19].
Il tentativo riuscito è stato quello di fronteggiare il fabbisogno materiale di nuovi alloggi, emerso dalle urgenze del Dopoguerra, elaborando una pianificazione capace di integrare funzioni dell'abitare e programmi edilizi nell'ambito di una medesima ragione sociale.
Al di là delle differenti posizioni ideologiche, il dirigismo economico dei governi del Dopoguerra, sostenuto dal Piano Marshall, non prevede fino a tutti gli anni Sessanta eccezioni alla regola: urbanistica ed architettura sono sottomesse alla tecnica di un'edilizia abitativa di massa fondata sul principio del quartiere autosufficiente, sul criterio produttivo di un'economia di scala, sul metodo normativo di *standard*, servizi e materiali.
L'urbanistica (*stedebouw*), da sempre identificata con un'edilizia sociale abitativa (*volkshuisvesting*) e tradizionalmente relazionata al contesto urbano, rinuncia alla propria autonomia propositiva e si sottomette all'ordine economico del Piano.
Programmaticamente il principio dell'alloggio individuale e quello della sua articolazione normativa vengono subordinati al programma edilizio, situazione tanto più accettabile quanto più funzionanti ed efficienti dal punto di vista della qualità materiale risultano le realizzazioni degli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta.
Le ragioni pratiche sopraffanno quelle del cuore, che continua a battere all'unisono con gli esperimenti dell'anteguerra ai quali si appella da un punto di vista formale, a compensazione di una situazione che poco lascia alla sperimentazione se non nell'analisi del tipo abitativo e dei dettagli costruttivi.
Su questo terreno due scuole si fronteggiano giungendo ad una conciliazione sul piano politico, ideologico e professionale. La Scuola di Delft, culturalmente tradizionalista, artigianale e cattolica, guidata da Granpré Molière, egemone fino al '48 nell'insegnamento accademico a Delft e progettista di *Vreewijk*, il più importante quartiere giardino dell'anteguerra. Il gruppo "De 8 en Opbouw" dove confluiscono aspirazioni e programmi dei funzionalisti, alcuni reduci dal fronte dell'impegno militante in Germania ed Unione Sovietica.
Van Tijen e Van den Broek sono i mediatori di questo scontro, essi mirano ad una superiore sintesi politica nell'interesse del paese.

*were subjugated to the techniques of mass housing programmes, based on the principle of the self-sufficient district, on economy of scale and on standardization of services and materials. Town-planning (*stedebouw*), which had always been identified with social housing (*volkshuisvesting*) and traditionally related to the urban context, forewent its experimental autonomy and subjected itself to the economic order of the Plan.*
In programmatical terms, the principle of individual housing and the way it was regulated were subordinated to the building programme, a situation that was rendered all the more acceptable by the fact that constructions in the 1950s and 1960s were more functional and efficient in terms of its material quality.
Practical considerations outweighed reasons of the heart, which continued to beat in unison with the pre-war experiments from which formal inspiration was drawn to compensate for a situation that left little space for experimentation other than that concerning the analysis of housing types and constructional details.
This situation led to a confrontation between two schools, which reached a political, ideological and professional reconciliation: the School of Delft, a culturally traditionalist, craft-based Catholic school run by Granpré Molière, who dominated academic teaching in Delft until 1948 and was the designer of Vreewijk, the most important garden district of the pre-war period; and the "De 8 en Opbouw" group, which brought together the aspirations and programmes of the functionalists, some of whom had just returned from their militant engagement in Germany and the Soviet Union.
The clash was mediated by Van Tijen and Van den Broek, whose aim was to achieve a higher political accord in the interests of the country.
Their role was fundamental in directing the government commissions towards an articulation of the planning schemes that would provide the impetus and means for the completion of the expansion plan for Amsterdam and for the reconstruction of Rotterdam. They also played an undeniably important part in promoting the technical and scientific renewal of the building sector as a prerequisite for the encounter with the commissioning agent and the construction firm[20].
In this political and cultural context, the equivocal confusion between plan and project came to a head in the 1960s. In cities with an organic, intact expansion plan – such as Amsterdam – the cultural hegemony of the historical city remained, and there were opportunities for experimentation

18. Lotte Stam-Beese, Kleinpolder Estate, Rotterdam, 1947-55.
19. Johannes H. van den Broek and Jacob B. Bakema, Klein Driene Estate, Hengelo, 1951-58.
20. Aldo van Eyck, European Space Agency, Nordwijk, 1989.
21. Huig A. Maaskant and Willem van Tijen, Business Center "Grotehandelsgebouw", Rotterdam, 1949-52.
22. Mecanoo, Housing complex and facilities for young people, Rotterdam-Kruisplein, 1981-85.


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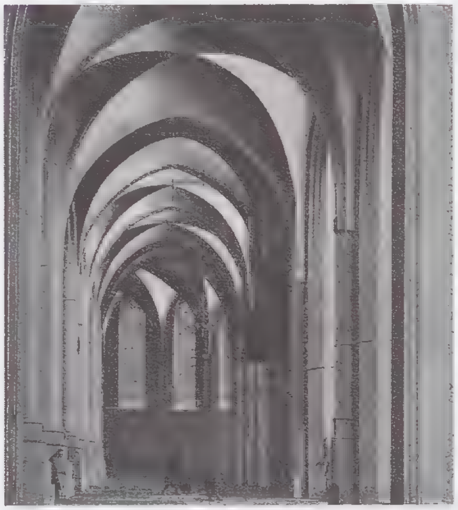

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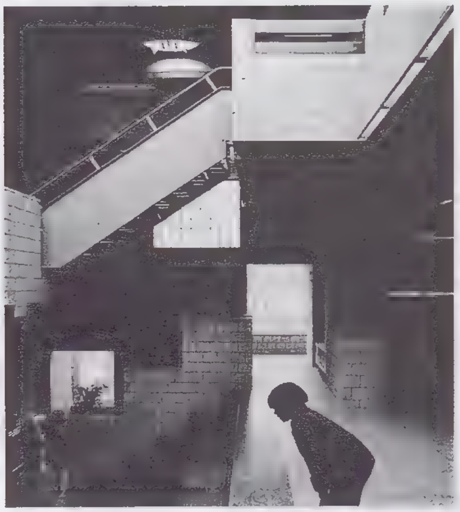
23. Pieter Saenredam, L'ambulacro sud della chiesa di San Bavone ad Haarlem, con la presentazione di Cristo al Tempio, *1635. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlino.*
24. Wim G. Quist, Maritiem Museum Prins Hendrik, Rotterdam, 1981-86: in primo piano la scultura di Zadkine in memoria del bombardamento del 1940.
25. Hieronymus Bosch, Il trittico delle delizie, *seconda metà del XV sec.: particolare dell'ala destra. Museo del Prado, Madrid.*
26. Rem Koolhaas/OMA, Nederlands Dans Theater, L'Aia, 1984-87: veduta dell'ingresso.
27. Herman Hertzberger, Complesso scolastico Apollolaan, Scuole Montessori e Willemspark, Amsterdam, 1980-83: atrio della Scuola Willemspark. Foto J. van der Keuken.
28. Jan Vredeman de Vries, Trattato sulla prospettiva, *tavola n. 30, 1604-05.*

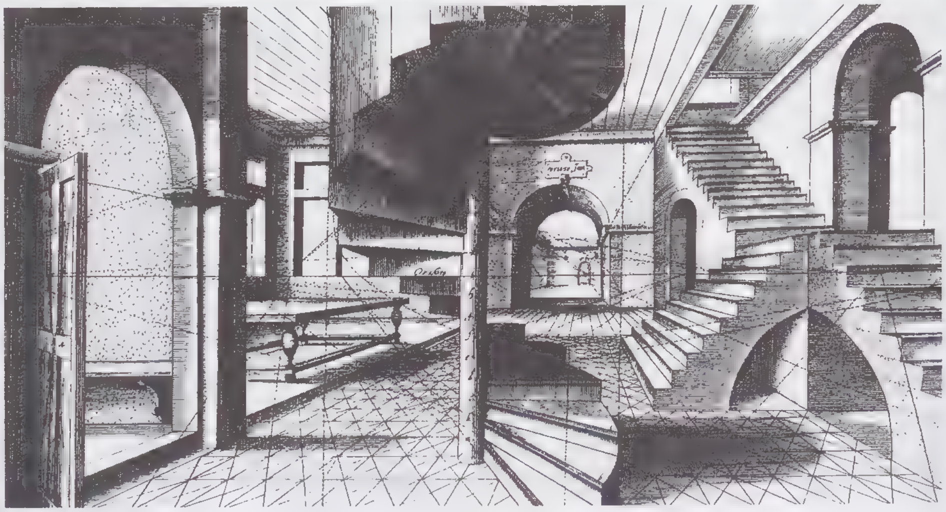

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23. *Pieter Saenredam,* The south ambulatory of the St. Bavo Church in Haarlem with the Presentation of Christ to the Temple, *1635. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.*
24. *Wim G. Quist, Maritiem Museum Prins Hendrik, Rotterdam, 1981-86: in the foreground the Zadkine memorial dedicated to the bombing of the city in 1940.*
25. *Hieronymus Bosch,* Triptych of delights, *second half of XVth century: right wing detail. Prado Museum, Madrid.*
26. *Rem Koolhaas/OMA, Nederlands Dans Theater, The Hague, 1984-87: view of the entrance.*
27. *Herman Hertzberger, Schoolcomplex Apollolaan, Montessori and Willemspark Schools, Amsterdam, 1980-83: inner hall of the Willemspark School. Photo J. van der Keuken.*
28. *Jan Vredeman de Vries,* Perspective, *plate n. 30, 1604-05.*

Fondamentale il loro ruolo nell'indirizzare le commissioni governative verso un'articolazione dei programmi urbanistici che forniranno impulso e mezzi al completamento del Piano di espansione di Amsterdam ed alla ricostruzione di Rotterdam. Indiscutibile il loro ruolo nel promuovere il rinnovamento tecnico scientifico del settore delle costruzioni come premessa necessaria all'incontro con la committenza e l'impresa[20].
Entro queste premesse politiche e culturali l'equivoca confusione tra piano e progetto arriva alle sue massime conseguenze nel corso degli anni Sessanta. Dove la città possiede un piano di espansione organico ed intatta rimane l'egemonia culturale della città storica, come nel caso di Amsterdam, si offrono occasioni per la sperimentazione delle unità edilizie, sul tema dell'isolato e sul suo rapporto con le infrastrutture della mobilità. Dove più statico ed autosufficiente è concepito il rapporto con la città, come a Rotterdam, si misura tutta la tirannia del piano di urbanizzazione delle espansioni basato sulla gerarchia formale delle unità di vicinato entro l'impianto volumetrico.
In quegli anni, mentre Van Eesteren trasferiva operativamente i princìpi della Carta d'Atene (certamente con minore successo che nel Piano del 1933) da Amsterdam al territorio recentemente formato dell'IJsselmeer nella fondazione di Lelystad, i Congressi Internazionali di Architettura Moderna avevano celebrato il proprio dissolvimento nel Congresso di Otterlo del 1959[21].
È il gruppo FORUM, soprattutto attraverso la forza dialettica ed evocativa delle parole di Aldo van Eyck, che propone sulla rivista omonima una reazione radicale all'economicismo degli anni Sessanta.
Il gruppo "*became interested in how to generate a city that was both a contiguous organism and made place for every activity, deliberate and spontaneous*" afferma Peter Buchanan in un tentativo retrospettivo di sintesi pubblicato nel 1990 su "The Architectural Review"[22].
È Aldo van Eyck, l'autore dell'Orphanage di Amsterdam, polemista, narratore e pubblicista, rousseauiano *ragazzo selvaggio* dei Paesi Bassi, che come insegnante alla Scuola di architettura di Delft, nel mezzo della latente crisi del modello istituzionale postbellico, dà vita nella scuola e nella polemica militante ad un modo di pensare l'architettura come organismo piuttosto che come semplice realizzazione di un programma economico o demografico; è lui che più a lungo rivendica e difende l'originaria spontaneità d'ispirazione del gesto minimo dell'artefice.
È anche dal suo insegnamento che trae spunto e fondamento

with the housing units on the theme of the street block and on its relationship with the infrastructures of mobility. Where relations with the city were more static and self-sufficient, as in Rotterdam, the tyranny of the expansion plan based on the formal hierarchy of the neighbourhood units had to come to terms with the volumetric system.
In those years, while Van Eesteren was applying the principles of the Charter of Athens (though undoubtedly less successfully than in the 1933 plan) to the recently-formed territory of IJsselmeer in the foundation of Lelystad, the International Congresses for Modern Architecture had celebrated their own dissolution in the Congress of Otterlo in 1959[21].
The FORUM group, especially through the dialectical and evocative power of the words of Aldo van Eyck, reacted radically in the magazine of the same name to the economism of the 1960s. The group "became interested in how to generate a city that was both a contiguous organism and made place for every activity, deliberate and spontaneous," *said Peter Buchanan in an attempt at a retrospective summary published in "The Architectural Review" in 1990*[22].
It was the creator of the Amsterdam Orphanage, Aldo van Eyck, polemicist, narrator and publicist, Rousseauian enfant sauvage *of the Netherlands who, as a teacher at the Delft Architecture School, amid the latent crisis in the post-war institutional model, gave rise in the school and in the militant controversy to an organic approach to architecture rather than one that saw it as the realization of an economic or demographic programme; it was he who vindicated and defended the original spontaneity of inspiration of the minimal gesture of artifice.*
It was also Eyck's teaching that gave rise to the systematic study of pioneering projects that were later taken up by major exhibitions by Max Risselada, his assistant and pupil[23]*. One of several groups that formed and went its own way in Risselada's school as early as the 1970s was the Mecanoo group. It quickly began to win its first public orders, bringing to the profession a technical and cultural repertory that marked an innovative break with rationalist tradition.*

Painting and architecture: parallel stories
The constants in a long history seem to apply, in the Netherlands better than anywhere else, to a view of contemporary architecture as a cultural and historical phenomenon. The role of the historian takes on considerable significance alongside that of the geographer.

29. 30. Richard Meier, Municipio e Biblioteca comunale, L'Aia, 1986-95: modello del progetto di concorso e vista dell'atrio. Foto Mario Fosso.
31. "De volken krabber", Delft, 1997: disegno infantile di un grattacielo.
32. Robert Krier (progetto urbanistico), G. Dann, B. Dirrix, P. Drijver, M. Graves, K. van der Meer Architecten, R. Krier, A. Natalini, C. Pelli, S. Soeters, CH & Partners, Complesso terziario e residenziale "De Resident", L'Aia, 1996: vista del modello.
33. Robert Graves, Il "Transitorium", edificio interno al complesso "De Resident", ricostruzione di un presistente edificio per uffici degli anni '60, L'Aia, 1997. Foto Mario Fosso.
34. 35. Hans Kollhoff e Christian Rapp, Complesso residenziale "Pireus", Docks Orientali, Amsterdam, 1994: vista della corte e schizzi preparatori. Foto Mario Fosso.

29. 30. Richard Meier, Town Hall and Public Library, The Hague, 1986-95: competition model and view of the main hall. Photo Mario Fosso.
31. "De volken krabber", Delft, 1997: a child's drawing of a skyscraper.
32. Robert Krier (urban plan), G. Dann, B. Dirrix, P. Drijver, M. Graves, K. van der Meer Architecten, R. Krier, A. Natalini, C. Pelli, S. Soeters, CH & Partners, Office and Residential

lo studio sistematico dei progetti delle avanguardie portato avanti successivamente in importanti mostre da Max Risselada, suo assistente ed allievo[23]. Alla scuola di quest'ultimo, già alla fine degli anni Settanta, si forma e si emancipa tra gli altri il gruppo dei Mecanoo, capace di conquistare precocemente, con bagaglio tecnico e culturale innovativo nei confronti della tradizione razionalista, i primi importanti incarichi pubblici e tuffarsi nella professione.

Pittura e architettura: storie parallele

Le costanti di una storia di lungo periodo sembrano applicarsi, in Olanda meglio che altrove, alla considerazione dell'architettura contemporanea come fenomeno culturale e storico. Accanto all'apporto del geografo grande rilievo assume quello dello storico.

Già Johan Huizinga, in uno dei suoi saggi più noti, si applica alla lettura delle origini della civiltà olandese del Seicento restitutendone un significativo impianto concettuale[24]. Se nella prolusione alla sua attività di professore presso l'Università di Groningen Huizinga esordiva interrogandosi sul futuro della scienza storica in un'epoca dove questa rischiava di essere soppiantata dalla storia sociale e da quella tecnica, forti della loro oggettività, nell'indagare le origini della civiltà olandese del Diciassettesimo secolo egli metteva direttamente in campo "*il ruolo dell'immaginazione*": "*il concetto di* rappresentazione *riceve un significato più ampio di quello di esposizione descrittiva e viene visto come l'inizio dell'attività mentale più propriamente storica*".

L'immagine storica, che Huizinga introduce nello studio sull'arte dei Van Eyck, si propone per esempio di spiegare la cultura borgognona come "*una di quelle culture in cui la magnificenza tende a soppiantare la bellezza. L'arte del medioevo rispecchia fedelmente lo spirito dell'epoca, uno spirito che era approdato al termine del suo corso. Come il pensiero era giunto a dar forma a tutto il pensabile creando un sistema infinito di trame indipendenti camuffate con delle immagini, così anche l'arte si impegna a non lasciare nulla senza immagine*"[25].

Nel saggio *La civiltà olandese del Seicento*, attraverso un *excursus* storiografico che abbraccia le vicende politiche religiose e sociali dei Paesi Bassi, Huizinga si concentra sulle arti figurative come espressione di una civiltà e considera il valore sociale della pittura.

Pittorico, pittoresco. Il viaggio ideale all'interno dell'architettura contemporanea in Olanda può forse ripartire da quella che Huizinga definisce la "*funzione sociale della pittura olandese*", per la quale il pittore doveva solo

In one of his better-known essays, Johan Huizinga studied the origins of Dutch 17th century civilization, and found in it an important conceptual system[24]. In his inaugural speech when taking up the post of professor at the University of Groningen, Huizinga began by asking questions about the future of historical science in a period in which it ran the risk of being supplanted by social and technological history. But on the strength of their objectivity, in investigating the origins of 17th century Dutch civilization, he also called into question "the role of the imagination": "the concept of representation takes on a wider meaning than that of descriptive exposition and is seen as the beginning of a more strictly historical mental activity".

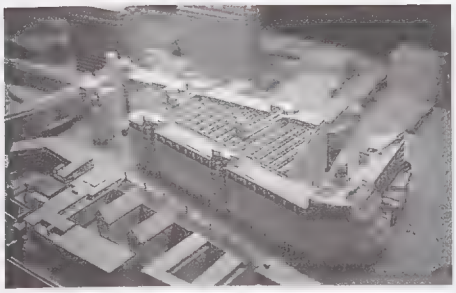
The historical image, which Huizinga introduces into the study of the art of Van Eyck, sets out for example to explain Burgundian culture as "one of those cultures in which magnificence tends to supplant beauty. Medieval art faithfully reflects the spirit of the age, a spirit that had outlived its usefulness. Just as thought had given form to all that was thinkable, creating an infinite system of independent strands camouflaged with images, so too art had undertook to leave nothing without an image"[25].

In his essay Dutch civilization in the 17th century, *through a historiographical* excursus *that encompassed the Netherlands' political, religious and social circumstances , Huizinga concentrates on the figurative arts as the expression of a civilisation and considers the social value of painting.*

Pictorial, picturesque. A conceptual journey through Dutch contemporary architecture could perhaps begin with what Huizinga defines as the "social function of Dutch painting", *whereby the painter's task is merely to represent the objects of daily life, establishing a link between landscape space and domestic space, a link in which he recognizes a relationship between the artist's ethical universe and* "the essentially urban and middle-class structure of the Dutch city in the 17th century. A relationship that also confirms the disproportionate preponderance of painting over all other art forms"[26].

A figurative vision of architecture can help decipher the current fragmentary condition of the building discipline in the Netherlands. To call it fragmentary is not necessarily a disparaging judgement, precisely because the experimentation in question in many cases shows a "hunger and thirst to depict"[27], *which in the multiform variety and crystallization of schools in many ways resembles the historical antecedents of painting's glorious past.*

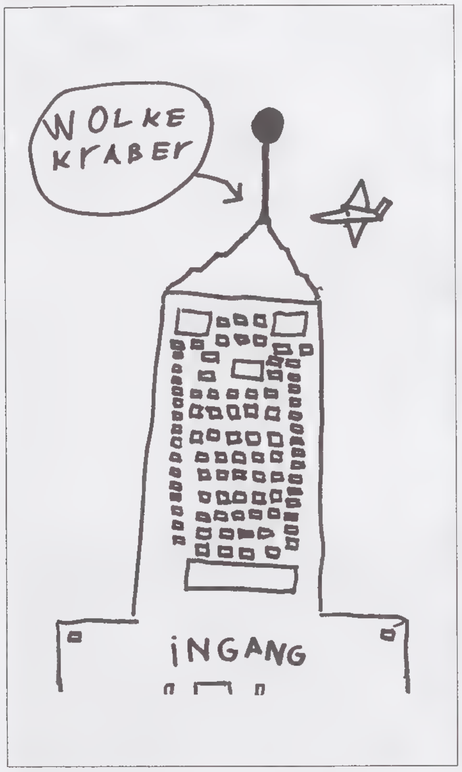
Estate "De Resident", The Hague, 1996: view of the model.
33. Robert Graves, The "Transitorium", a reconstruction within "De Resident" of a pre-existing office building from the 1960's, The Hague, 1997. Photo: Mario Fosso.
34. 35. Hans Kollhoff and Christian Rapp, Housing complex "Pireus", Eastern Docklands, Amsterdam, 1994: view of the courtyard and sketches.Photo Mario Fosso.



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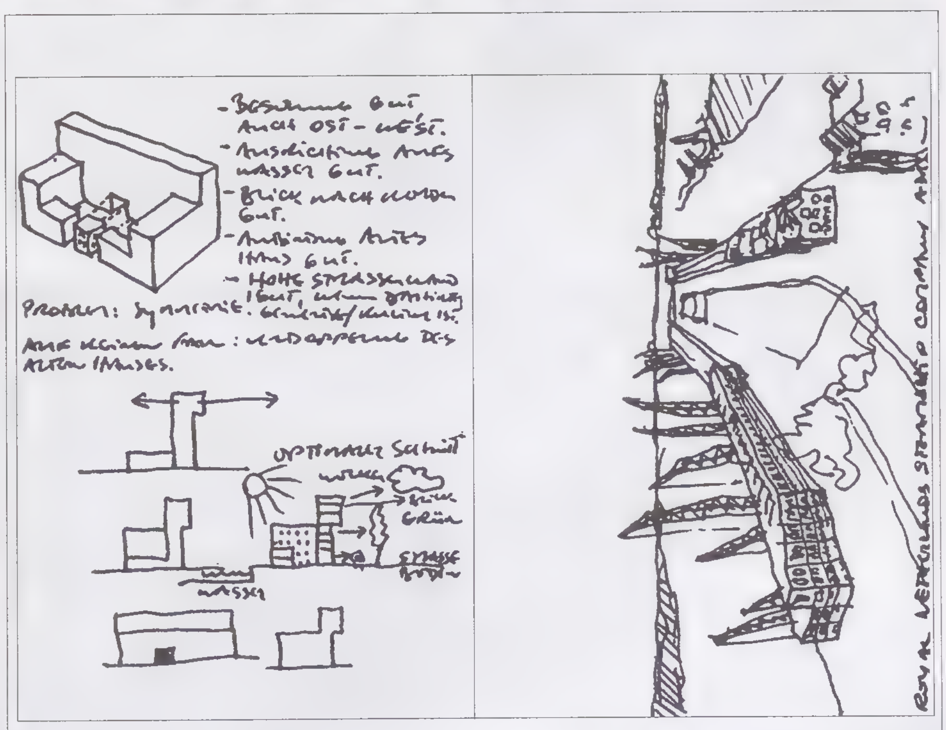
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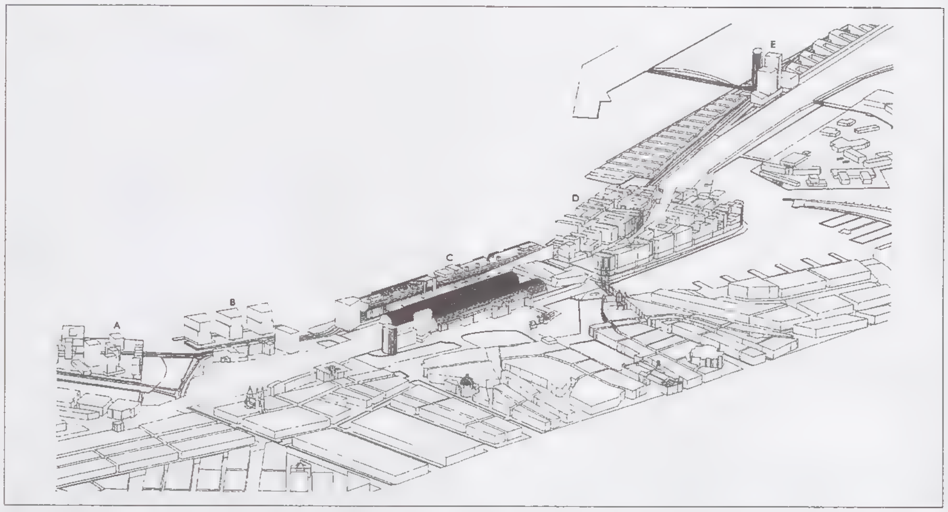
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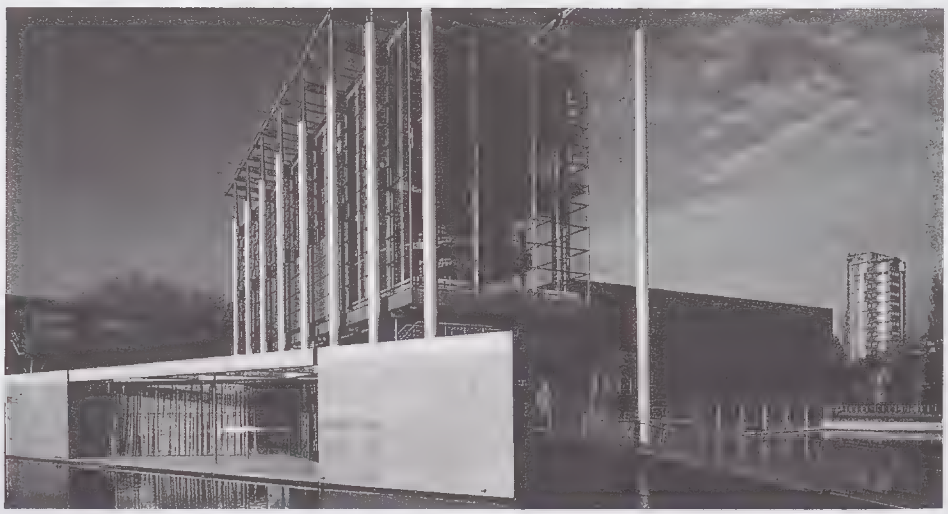
36. Sjoerd Soeters, Complesso residenziale, Isola Java, Docks Orientali, Amsterdam, 1993: vista del modello.
37. Gruppo di progettazione Amsterdam Waterfront Financing Society (Rem Koolhaas capogruppo), Piano urbanistico per le sponde dell'IJ a Amsterdam, 1992.
38. Bjarne Mastenbroek, Ristrutturazione del Westerdokhuis a sede dello studio di architettura de architectengroep, Amsterdam, 1996-97: collage fotografico.
39. Rem Koolhaas/OMA, Piano urbanistico, residenze e servizi all'IJ-Plein ad Amsterdam, 1980-81. Foto Aerocamera.
40. Jo Coenen, Nederlands Architectuurinstituut, Rotterdam, 1993.

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36. Sjoerd Soeters, Housing complex, Java Island, Eastern Docklands, Amsterdam, 1993: view of the model.
37. Amsterdam Waterfront Financing Society Project Team (Rem Koolhaas project leader), Master Plan for the IJ riversides in Amsterdam, 1992.
38. Bjarne Mastenbroek, Reconstruction of the Westerdokhuis as architectural office of de architectengroep, Amsterdam, 1996-97: photocollage.
39. Rem Koolhaas/OMA, Town Plan, Housing and facilities at IJ-Plein in Amsterdam, 1980-81. Photo Aerocamera.
40. Jo Coenen, Nederlands Architectuurinstituut, Rotterdam, 1993.

rappresentare gli oggetti della vita di ogni giorno stabilendo un legame tra lo spazio del paesaggio e lo spazio domestico, legame nel quale riconosce una relazione tra l'universo etico dell'artista e "*la struttura essenzialmente urbana e borghese della città olandese del Seicento. Relazione che sancisce anche la sproporzionata preponderanza della pittura rispetto a tutte le altre arti*"[26].
Ad una visione figurativa dell'architettura è lecito qui appellarsi per cercare di decifrare l'odierna condizione di frammentarietà della disciplina edilizia in Olanda. Frammentarietà che non comporta necessariamente un giudizio di valore negativo, proprio perché la sperimentazione in atto dimostra in molti casi una "*fame e sete di raffigurare*"[27], che nella multiforme varietà e cristallizzazione di scuole ricorda per molti versi gli antecedenti storici della pittura del glorioso passato.
Permangono, al di là delle apparenti differenze, linee di fondo che riconducono la ricerca compositiva attuale ad atteggiamenti e caratterizzazioni culturali di più lunga durata.
Una visione figurativa ed analoga di architettura e pittura individua nei tre parametri huizinghiani della *domesticità*, dell'*assenza di uno stile determinato* e della *ricomposizione in una unità di paesaggio* le tracce alle quali ricondurre una possibile interpretazione in tal senso dell'odierna architettura olandese.
Entro questo orizzonte, al di là delle apparenze, il purismo spaziale di Wim Quist ribadisce l'antefatto pittorico di Pieter Saenredam (1597-1665), che nelle immagini di interni di chiese, iconoclasticamente riconsacrate ad un culto laico prospettico e asimmetrico, rovescia il senso degli originari luoghi di culto in fatti di grande cultura visiva.
All'opposto le visioni trasgressive di Rem Koolhaas evocano il mondo della tradizione ermetica di Hieronimous Bosch (1453?-1516), che interroga in ogni suo anfratto l'essere vivente sull'esistenza del bene e dell'anima. Come il libertino Don Giovanni quando elenca il catalogo delle innumeri conquiste, egli tenta l'estrema seduzione della materia nell'universo, disperatamente vi cerca il riscatto dalla morte dello spirito replicando, variando ed ibridando nel durevole e nell'effimero i diversi regni.
Così, nella precisione combinatoria di un ordine minuto, gli elementi semplici di Herman Hertzberger assumono il senso di esortazioni all'utenza, di puri congegni verbali pedagogicamente illustrati all'interno della scatola edilizia, come i fogli d'album dei disegni manualistici di Jan Vredeman de Vries (1527-1604?)[28].

Apart from the apparent differences, there remain basic sequences that lead compositional research back to more long-lasting cultural attitudes.
A figurative and analogous vision of architecture and painting identifies in Huizinga's three parameters of domesticity, absence of definite style *and* recomposition in a landscape unit *strands on which such a possible interpretation of Dutch architecture today can be based.*
In this context, irrespective of appearances, Wim Quist's spatial purism reiterates the pictorial precedent of Pieter Saenredam (1597-1665), whose church interiors, iconoclastically reconsecrated to a perspective and asymmetrical secular cult turns on its head the original sense of places of worship in matters of great visual culture.
At the opposite end of the spectrum, Rem Koolhaas' non-conformist visions evoke Hieronymus Bosch (1450?-1516) and his world of hermetic traditions, every single aspect of which interrogates the living being as to the existence of good and the soul. Like Don Giovanni's interminable catalogue of conquests, it tries the extreme seduction of matter in the universe, desperately seeking redemption from the death of the spirit, repeating, altering and hybridizing the different kingdoms in the lasting and in the passing.
So, in the combinatorial precision of minute order, Herman Hertzberger's simple elements take on the sense of appeals to users, purely verbal devices pedagogically illustrated in the building industry container, like the leaves in the manualistic album of drawings by Jan Vredeman de Vries (1527-1604?)[28].

The new condition of the architect
The Netherlands are a crossroads of exchange, a meeting point for religions and cults. Alongside the cult of domesticity, where the interior dominates over the representative character of the building, can be found influences and reminders of a solar Mediterranean quality, a retrieved rationalist purity and references to the metropolitan condition. Similarly in the 1920s theosophy and oriental religions had syncretically crossed the path of New Objectivity and new blood had arrived with Russian Constructivism and the influence of Wright.
But it was from the controversy and debate around the new creative architect *in the Dutch tradition, especially after invitations to many acclaimed European and American architects to contribute to the Dutch city, that thinking on town-planning and the profession of the architect gathered*

La nuova condizione dell'architetto

Olanda crocevia degli scambi, punto d'incontro di religioni e culti. Accanto al culto della domesticità, dove l'interno domina nei confronti della rappresentatività dell'edificio, si propagano influenze e nostalgie della mediterraneità solare, recuperi della purezza razionalista, richiami dalla condizione metropolitana. Analogamente negli anni Venti la teosofia e le religioni orientali si erano sincreticamente incrociate con la Nuova Oggettività e nuova linfa era arrivata dal Costruttivismo russo o dall'influenza wrightiana.

Ma è ancora dalle polemiche e dal dibattito sul *nuovo architetto creativo* inserito nella tradizione olandese, specialmente dopo gli inviti a molti degli architetti europei ed americani di fama ad intervenire nel corpo della città olandese, che ha preso quota nell'ultimo decennio un punto di vista sull'urbanistica e sul mestiere dell'architetto. Al suo interno si profilano nuovi compiti e responsabilità per le attuali generazioni, giovani e giovanissime, a confronto con politici dinamici ed iperattivi. Insistente è la voce di Carel Weeber, da tempo presidente della maggiore associazione professionale, la BNA, nel provocare polemiche e discussioni sul futuro della pratica professionale. Esemplare nel decennio passato è l'azione di un politico "puro", Adri Duivesteijn, dapprima nel promuovere la realizzazione dello Schilderswijk all'Aia (esempio concreto e positivo di rinnovo urbano) e della nuova *town-hall*; poi alla direzione del Nederlands Architectuurinstituut a Rotterdam, del quale ha diretto il programma di costruzione della sede fino all'inaugurazione.

Le diverse politiche di intervento offrono occasioni sempre nuove di sperimentazione e definiscono tematiche architettoniche ed urbane funzionalmente e programmaticamente derivate dalla complessità di una società matura, in continua evoluzione economica, sociale ed istituzionale.

Accanto alla tradizione dell'edilizia sociale, ora ridimensionata e ridefinita nei suoi compiti ed obbiettivi accanto al mercato privato, le città sui *waterfront*, gli spazi della socialità e delle culture metropolitane, la pedagogia e la formazione culturale di massa, i musei ed il mercato dell'arte sono alcune delle tematiche sulle quali più vivace ed insistente si concentra l'attenzione di amministratori e committenti, sia pubblici che privati.

Allo stesso tempo l'intervento statale, attraverso l'azione del *rijksbouwmeester* [29], ha in questi anni aggiornato diligentemente l'elenco di edifici utilitaristici – stazioni, carceri, ospedali, scuole – fornendo ancora una volta un esempio di efficienza organizzativa e di preveggenza sociale; mentre il mercato edilizio, indirizzato dalle direttive comunitarie verso nuove opportunità di investimento, si apre con lucida tempestività a tutte le sperimentazioni progettuali compatibili con i processi economici di una strategia di pianificazione urbana e territoriale sempre più legata allo sviluppo delle infrastrutture e dei servizi.

Note

*Mario Fosso è professore associato di Composizione architettonica presso la Facoltà di Architettura di Milano-Bovisa del Politecnico di Milano. A partire dal 1990 è coordinatore tra le facoltà di Architettura di Milano e di Delft dei programmi ERASMUS e SOCRATES della Comunità Europea. È il responsabile scientifico della Biblioteca Didattica della Facoltà di Architettura di Milano-Bovisa del Politecnico di Milano.

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1) È il parere dello storico Johan Huizinga riportato nell'introduzione al libro A. VAN DER LEM (a cura di), *J. Huzinga. America dagboek, 14 april-19 juni 1926* [Diario americano, 14 aprile - 19 giugno 1926], Amsterdam/Antwerpen 1993, p. 21: "*Only the number counts, only the number expresses thought. This shifting of the mode of thinking is full of grave dangers to civilization, and not in the last place to the noble product of the mind called history*".

2) Un'ampia e commentata selezione dei testi di viaggiatori e storici dell'arte si trova nell'introduzione e nelle note al testo: E. DE AMICIS, *Olanda*, a cura di D. Aristodemo, presentazione di A. Arbasino, Genova 1986.

3) Tra le tante citeremo solo quella oltremodo pubblicizzata su J. Vermeer, alla quale si collegava a Delft l'altrettanto importante mostra sui contemporanei, e inoltre la fondamentale mostra su P. Saenredam. Si vedano: AA.VV. *Johannes Vermeer*, Milano 1995 (catalogo in italiano della mostra al Mauritshuis dell'Aia); M. KERSTEN, D.H.A.C. LOKIN, *Delft Masters, Vermeer's Contemporaries*, Zwolle 1996; J. GILTAIJ, G. JANSEN, *Perspectiven: Saenredam en de architectuurschilders van de 17e eeuw* [Prospettive: Saenredam e i pittori di architettura del XVII secolo], 1991.

4) L'espressione, a proposito della complessa situazione urbana di Rotterdam, è del critico inglese Peter Buchanan.

5) "*Il posto che nelle scienze naturali viene occupato dal definire rigorosamente, viene preso qui dalla formazione di idee le più specifiche possibili. [...] Il fatto stesso che si parli di idee (*denkbeelden*) mostra come dietro vi sia una funzione soggettiva di immaginazione*", in J. HUIZINGA, *Le immagini della storia. Scritti 1905-1941*, a cura di W. De Boer, Milano 1993, p. 15.

6) P. HALL, *Le città mondiali*, Milano 1966, pp. 95-96. È importante nel testo di Hall la sintesi di elementi percettivi, concettuali e geografici che tratteggiano una rappresentazione fedele e suggestiva del territorio del Randstad. La descrizione così prosegue: "*La città si estende verso ovest, sulla riva settentrionale del* Nieuwe Waterweg, *che costituisce lo sbocco principale di Rotterdam sul mare; essa ha inghiottito città preesistenti, come il centro di pesca di Vlaardingen e di Schiedam (luogo d'origine del gin olandese), che appaiono oggi circondate da sobborghi. E guardando ad ovest, verso il Mare del Nord, il viaggiatore si accorgerà che Rotterdam [...] non è che una parte di un complesso molto più vasto. Lungo la grande autostrada che si snoda diritta attraverso i polder verso nord-ovest, una fenditura pressocché invisibile sembra separare i sobborghi di Rotterdam da quelli dell'antica città di Delft, famosa per le sue terracotte. Più in là, verso il Mare del Nord, lungo lo stesso nastro stradale, una fenditura ancora più irrilevante separa Delft dall'ampia distesa urbana dell'Aia; poco lontano dalla costa, sorgono le città di Leida e di Haarlem; a nord di Haarlem, direttamente sulla costa, una foschia di vapori industriali ci annuncia la città dell'acciaio, IJmuiden. Mentre l'aereo perde rapidamente quota, ecco apparire oltre le piste d'atterraggio e gli edifici dell'aeroporto di Schiphol, la città di Amsterdam [...]. A destra, su un terreno più*

steam in the last decade. New tasks and responsibilities for today's young generations emerged as they got to grips with dynamic, hyperactive politicians.
Carel Weeber, chairman of the profession's main association, the BNA, has been vocal in arousing controversy and discussions on the future of professional methods.
In the last decade a "pure" politician, Adri Duivesteijn has set an exemplary standard in promoting the Schilderswijk at The Hague (a concrete and positive example of urban renewal) and the new town hall. He also ran the Nederlands Architectuurinstituut in Rotterdam, managing its building programme up to its inauguration.
The various intervention policies offer ever new opportunities for experimentation and define thematic architectural and urban themes functionally and programmatically derived from the complexity of a mature society, one that is evolving economically, socially and institutionally all the time.
Alongside the tradition of social building, whose tasks and aims have been scaled down and redefined alongside the private market, waterfront towns, spaces for socialization and metropolitan culture, pedagogics and mass cultural training, museums and the art market are just a few of the themes on which the attention of public and private administrators and clients has concentrated most intensely.
At the same time, through the work of the rijksbouwmeester[29], *state intervention has in these years diligently updated the list of utilitarian buildings – stations, prisons, hospitals and schools – supplying once again an example of organizational efficiency and social far-sightedness. Meanwhile the building market, guided by community directives towards new investment opportunities, is opening up with timely lucidity to all design experimentation compatible with the economic processes of an urban and territorial planning strategy that has increasingly closer links with the development of infrastructure and services.*

Notes

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The essay was written as part of research carried out, with the aid of a National Research Council grant, at the Technical University of Delft in June 1996.
1) This is the opinion of historian Johan Huizinga published in the introduction to the book A. VAN DER LEM (edited by), J. Huizinga. America dagboek, 14 April-19 June 1926, *Amsterdam/Antwerpen 1993, p.21:* "Only the number counts, only the number expresses thought. This shifting of the mode of thinking is full of grave dangers to civilization, and not in the last place to the noble product of the mind called history".
2) An extensive selection of writings by travellers and art historians with commentaries can be found in the introduction and notes to: E. DE AMICIS, Olanda, *edited by D. Aristodemo, presentation by A. Arbasino, Genoa 1986.*
3) Of the many, a reference to a much publicised exhibition on J. Vermeer, to which the equally important exhibition on his contemporaries in Delft was linked, and the fundamental exhibition on P. Saenredam. See: VARIOUS AUTHORS. Johannes Vermeer, *Milan 1995 (catalogue in Italian to the exhibition at the Mauritshuis in The Hague); M. KERSTEN, D.H.A.C. LOKIN,* Delft Masters, Vermeer's Contemporaries, *Zwolle 1996; J. GILTAIJ, G. JANSEN,* Perspectiven: Saenredam en de architectuurschilders van de 17e eeuw, *1991.*
4) The expression, a reference to Rotterdam's complex urban situation, was used by the English critic Peter Buchanan.
5) "The place occupied in natural sciences by rigorous definition is taken here by the formation of ideas that are as specific as possible *[...]* The very fact that ideas are talked about *(denkbeelden)* shows that behind it there lies a subjective imaginative function" *in J. HUIZINGA,* Le immagini della storia. Scritti 1905-1941, *edited by W. De Boer, Milan 1993, p. 15.*
6) P. HALL, World Cities, *London 1966, pp. 95-96. Important in the Hall passage is the blend of perceptive, conceptual and geographical elements, which give a faithful and imaginative picture of the Randstad area. The description continues:* "The city spreads far to the west on the northern side of the *New Waterway* Rotterdam's main outlet to the sea: it has swallowed up former towns like the fishermen's centre of Vlaardingen and Schiedam, the birthplace of Dutch gin, which now appears ringed by suburbs. And as he looks towards the North Sea, the air traveller will realise that Rotterdam *[...]* is only part of a larger whole. Along the great motorway that runs straight as a die across the polders to the north west, an infinitesimal gap appears to separate the suburbs of Rotterdam from those of the old pottery town of Delft. Further away towards the North Sea, along the same ribbon of road, an even smaller gap separates Delft from the vast urban spread of The Hague along the coastal sand-dunes. To the north of that, just inland from the coast, appear the towns of Leiden and Haarlem; north of Haarlem, right on the coast, industrial haze marks the steel town of IJmuiden. As the plane loses height rapidly, the city of Amsterdam appears behind the runways and terminal building of Schiphol to the right, on the higher forested ground behind the polder edge, are the suburbs which extend outwards from Amsterdam towards the radio and television masts of Hilversum, and then again southwards along the ridge of high ground to the city of Utrecht *[...]". The inspired description continues, defining almost the geographical and historical coordinates of a clear identity:* "All around is the polder landscape of the provinces of North and South Holland, which has always dominated the nation of which it forms a part: so much indeed that the English-speaking people habitually confuse the two, and say Holland when they mean the Netherlands. Beyond the polders, just as in a landscape by Ruysdael, are the houses and spires of the nearest town, It is only from the air, or from the map, that you can appreciate the real change that has come over Holland in the three centuries since Ruysdael - indeed in the century since 1860".
7) Cf. VARIOUS AUTHORS., Het Nederlandse Landschap. Een historisch-geographische benadering, *Den Haag 1995, in which the periods and categories of the evolution of the original features are described in university handbook form; F. PALMBOOM,* Rotterdam, verstedelijkt landschap, *Rotterdam 1987, for a structural interpretation of the relationship between natural landscape and built-up landscape in the urban area of Rotterdam.*
8) For the city's leap acroos the Maas, cf. J. DE GRAAF, W. NIJNHUIS, D. VAN DANSIK, Onderzoek. En Schone stad, Rotterdam maakt de sprong naar Zuid, *in VARIOUS AUTHORS,* De Kop van Zuid ontwerp en onderzoek, *Rotterdam 1982, pp.83-175; for a systematic description of Rotterdam architecture in the period in question through analytical factsheets, cf. A. DEVOLDER (edited by),* Rotterdam architecture 1890-1945/1945-1970, *Rotterdam 1991/1992; for a comparison*

elevato coltivato a bosco, dietro il confine del polder, *sorgono i sobborghi che si diramano da Amsterdam verso le antenne della radio e della televisione di Hilversum, e poi di nuovo più a sud, lungo il bordo dell'altipiano verso la città di Utrecht* [...]". La descrizione ispirata prosegue quasi a determinare le coordinate geografiche e storiche di una chiara identità: "*Tutt'intorno vi sono i* polder *dell'Olanda settentrionale e meridionale, che hanno caratterizzato la regione di cui fan parte a tal punto che spesso molte persone fanno un po' di confusione e dicono Olanda per designare i Paesi Bassi. Al di là dei* polder, *proprio come in un paesaggio di Ruysdael, sorgono le case e i pinnacoli della città più vicina. È solo dall'aereo o da una carta geografica che si può notare pienamente il mutamento che si è verificato in Olanda nei tre secoli dopo Ruysdael, ma soprattutto dal 1860 in poi*".
7) Cfr. AA.VV., *Het Nederlandse Landschap. Een historisch-geografische benadering* [Il paesaggio olandese. Un approccio storico-geografico], Den Haag 1995, in cui in forma di manualetto universitario si descrivono epoche e categorie dell'evoluzione dei caratteri originari; F. PALMBOOM, *Rotterdam, verstedelijkt landschap [Rotterdam paesaggio urbanizzato]*, Rotterdam 1987, per una lettura strutturale delle relazioni tra paesaggio naturale e paesaggio edificato nell'area urbana di Rotterdam.
8) Per il salto della città al di là della Maas, cfr. J. DE GRAAF, W. NIJNHUIS, D. VAN DANSIK, *Onderzoek. En Schone stad, Rotterdam maakt de sprong naar Zuid* [Ricerca. Una bella città, Rotterdam, fa il salto verso sud], in AA.VV., *De Kop van Zuid ontwerp en onderzoek* [Kop van Zuid progetto e ricerca], Rotterdam 1982, pp. 83-175; per una descrizione sistematica delle architetture di Rotterdam del periodo in questione attraverso schede analitiche, cfr. A. DEVOLDER (a cura di), *Rotterdam architecture 1890-1945/1945-1970*, Rotterdam 1991/1992; per un confronto tra le città porto nella storia e nella contemporenità, si veda il recentissimo e riccamente documentato H. MEYER, *De stad en de haven. Stedebouw als culturele opgave London, Barcelona, New York, Rotterdam* [La città e il porto. Urbanistica come impegno culturale. Londra, Barcellona, New York, Rotterdam], Utrecht 1997.
9) Fondativa in tal senso è stata la ricerca E.TAVERNE, *In 't land van belofte in de nieuwe stad. Ideaal en werkelijkheid van de stadsuitleg in de Republiek 1580-1680* [Nella terra promessa nella nuova città. Ideale e realtà dell'espansione urbana nella Repubblica 1580-1680], Maarssen 1978, nel quale si studiano sulle fonti originali le espansioni urbane di Amsterdam, Leiden, Utrecht ed Haarlem.
10) Cfr. F. FRAENKEL, *Het Plan Amsterdam-Zuid van H.P. Berlage* [Il Piano di Amsterdam Sud di H.P.Berlage], Alphen aan den Rijn 1976, p. 32.
11) Sull'intreccio tra tematiche culturali e politiche della Scuola di Amsterdam, cfr. G. CANELLA, *L'epopea borghese della Scuola di Amsterdam*, in "Casabella Continuità", n. 215, 1957, pp. 79-86; G. GRASSI, *Immagine di Berlage*, in "Casabella Continuità", n. 249, 1961, pp. 36-52; G. FANELLI, *Architettura moderna in Olanda*, Firenze 1968; W. DE WIT, *The Amsterdam School. Dutch expessionist architecture. 1915-1930*, New York 1983; H.E. SEARING, *Housing in Holland and the Amsterdam School*, Yale 1971; M. CASCIATO, *La Scuola di Amsterdam*, Bologna 1987; inoltre si veda il catalogo della recentissima e documentata mostra dei disegni originali di De Klerk allestita presso il NAI di Rotterdam: M. BOCK, S. JHANNISSE, V. STISSI, *Michel de Klerk, architect and artist of the Amsterdam School. 1884-1923*, Rotterdam 1997.
12) Cfr. AA.VV., *Travels in Modern Architecture, Howard Robertson and E.R. Yerbury*, Londra 1989, pp. 58-65.
13) Cfr. M. BOCK, S. JHANNISSE, V. STISSI, op.cit., p. 48.
14) Cfr. J.J.P. OUD, *Lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Olanda*, 1926, in S. Polano (a cura di), J.J.P.OUD, *Architettura Olandese*, Milano 1981, pp. 95-96.
15) Cfr. A. VAN DER WOUD, *Onuitsprekelijke schoonheid. Waarheid en karakter in de Nederlandse bouwkunst* [L'inesprimibile bellezza. Verità e carattere nell'architettura olandese], Amsterdam 1993, p. 5.
16) Cfr. i cambiamenti del paesaggio olandese, illustrati attraverso quattro secoli di cartografia storica ed il loro rispecchiamento nella pittura del XVII secolo in AA.VV., *Nederland in Kaarten. Verandering van stad en land in vier eeuwen cartographie* [Olanda nelle carte. Mutamento della città e del territorio in quattro secoli di cartografia], Ede/Antwerpen 1985; S. ALPERS, *La vocazione cartografica*, in S. ALPERS, *Arte del descrivere. Scienza e pittura nel Seicento olandese*, Torino 1983, pp. 195-275.
17) S. ALPERS, op.cit., pp. 261-263, "*Il genere della veduta topografica di città è un classico esempio del passaggio, così frequente nell'arte olandese, da un mezzo grafico al più impegnativo mezzo pittorico. E la natura di questo passaggio è di particolare interesse perché la* Veduta di Delft *di Vermeer appartiene proprio a questo genere* [...]. *Si è spesso insistito sull'accuratezza dell'esecuzione, che consente di riconoscere i vari edifici*" ma "*la qualità propria del dipinto lo distingue sia dalle stampe che dalle altre vedute prospettiche: vi sentiamo la presenza di uno sguardo e di una tonalità emotiva inconsueti. Vermeer modifica l'impianto prospettico sollevando il cielo molto sopra il livello della città, che l'argine dorato del fiume fa gravitare verso il margine inferiore. La città si ripiega su se stessa: circondata dalle sue mura, che racchiudono alberi e sequele di tetti, suggerisce l'intimità dell'abitare* [...]".
18) A. VAN DER WOUD, op.cit., pp. 5-6.
19) Per una revisione critica dei rapporti tra architettura ed urbanistica nella fase della ricostruzione si confronti il catalogo della mostra: AA.VV., *Architectuur en Planning, Nederland 1940-1980*, a cura di U. Barbieri, Rotterdam 1983, dove gli esponenti della generazione impegnata nel processo di "democratizzazione" degli anni Sessanta documentano ed analizzano progetti e programmi del periodo.
20) Per una analisi del periodo formativo di J.H. van den Broek come protagonista della ricostruzione in Olanda e prima dell'incontro con J. Bakema, cfr. M. FOSSO, *Autorità di J.H. van den Broek (1898-1978). Sperimentazione e costruzione di una istituzione architettonica tra immagine e programma: 1927-1948*, tradotto in olandese in: R. STROINK (a cura di), *Ir.J.H. van den Broek projekten uit de periode 1927-1948*, Delft 1981.
21) Cfr. AA.VV., *CIAM, Housing Town Planning*, a cura di A. Van der Woud, Delft 1983, pp. 103-105.
22) Interessante numero di "The Architectural Review" curato da Peter Buchanan, dedicato interamente alla *Forum Fellowship*, con un punto di vista retrospettivo "partigiano", ma molto acuto e vicino alle fonti olandesi: P.BUCHANAN, *Forum Fellowship. Recent work by some Amsterdam architects*, in "The Architectural Review", numero tematico a cura di P. Buchanan,Vol. CLXXXVII, n. 1116, February 1990. Vedi anche l'ampio saggio sugli stessi argomenti, pubblicato su "Spazio e Società" dello stesso anno: P. BUCHANAN, *Osservazioni su un paese artificiale*, in "Spazio e Società", vol. 13, n. 152, pp. 18-29.
23) Delle mostre e delle prolungate ricerche d'archivio curate da Max Risselada, ricordiamo qui quelle sul Costruttivismo russo, sulla casa isolata nel confronto tra Loos e Le Corbusier, su Alison & Peter Smithson ed il loro percorso culturale nel gruppo Team X, e la recentissima, in corso di redazione, sull'architettura e l'urbanistica degli anni Cinquanta in Germania ed Olanda (con un confronto tra Van den Broek e Scharoun). Tutte sono state svolte in stretta relazione con l'insegnamento ai giovani futuri architetti della scuola di architettura della TU Delft.
24) Cfr. J. HUIZINGA, *La civiltà olandese del Seicento*, in IDEM, *Le immagini della storia...*, op.cit., parte seconda, capitolo VII.
25) J. HUIZINGA, *L'arte dei Van Eyck nella vita del loro tempo*, in IDEM, *Le immagini della storia...*, op.cit, parte seconda, cap. III, pp. 109-110.
26) *Ibidem*, parte seconda, capitolo VII, p. 326.
27) *Ibidem*, pag. 328: "*Gli spiriti del nostro Seicento dovevano avere una vera fame e sete di raffigurare. Nessun oggetto a portata di mano era per loro troppo meschino per non cercare di riprodurlo con tutta la bravura e tutta la diligenza possibili. Accanto alla raffigurazione dal vero di paesaggi, costruzioni, municipi, uomini o animali c'era anche il tesoro delle figure suggerite dal mondo concettuale, rese con simboli ed allegorie*".
28) Cfr. A. VAN DER WOUD, *Wim Quist*, Rotterdam 1989; A. DE GRAAF (a cura di), *A conversation with Rem Koolhaas*, (in *The Critical Landscape*, Rotterdam 1997, pp. 218-236), ora disponibile sul sito Internet *Archined* del NAI; AA.VV, *Herman Hertzberger. Six architectures photographiées par Johan van der Keuken*, Milano 1985.
29) La figura del *Rijksbouwmeester*, architetto statale che presiede alla politica edilizia nell'ambito degli edifici pubblici, ha avuto un ruolo determinante nella storia dell'architettura olandese. L'incarico, a termine, è stato infatti assunto in passato anche da architetti impegnati nella professione o nell'insegnamento. Per una visione d'insieme della sua funzione cfr. C. VAN DE PEET, *The position of the Government Architect 1915-1989*, in "Archis", n. 12, 1995, pp. 42-51.

between port cities past and present, see the very recent and exhaustively documented H. MEYER, De stad en de haven. Stedebouw als culturele opgave London, Barcelona, New York, Rotterdam, *Utrecht 1997.*
9) Seminal in this connection is the research E. TAVERNE, In't land van belofte in de nieuwe stad. Ideaal en werkelijkheid van de stadsuitleg in de Republiek 1580-1680, *Maarssen 1978, which takes original sources as the basis for the urban expansion of Amsterdam, Leiden, Utrecht and Haarlem.*
10) Cf. F. FRAENKEL, Het Plan Amsterdam-Zuid van H.P. Berlage, *Alphen an den Rijn 1976, p.32.*
11) On the links between cultural and political themes in the Amsterdam School, cf. G. CANELLA, L'epopea borghese della Scuola di Amsterdam, *in "Casabella Continuità", n.215, 1957, pp.79-86; G. GRASSI,* Immagine di Berlage, *in "Casabella Continuità", n.249, 1961, pp.36-52; G.FANELLI,* Architettura moderna in Olanda, *Firenze 1968; W. DE WIT,* The Amsterdam School. Dutch expressionist architecture. 1915-1930, *New York 1983; H.E. SEARING,* Housing in Holland and the Amsterdam School, *Yale 1971; M. CASCIATO,* La Scuola di Amsterdam, *Bologna 1987; see also the catalogue of the very recent, well-documented exhibition of original drawings by De Klerk, at the NAI in Rotterdam; M. BOCK, S. JHANNISSE, V. STISSI,* Michel de Klerk, architect and artist of the Amsterdam School, 1884-1923, *Rotterdam 1997.*
12) Cf. VARIOUS AUTHORS, Travels in Modern Architecture, Howard Robertson and E.R. Yerbury, *London 1989, pp.58-65.*
13) Cf. M. BOCK, S. JHANNISSE, V. STISSI, op.cit., p.48.
14) Cf. J.J.P. OUD, Lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Olanda, *1926, in S. Polano (edited by),* J.J.P. Oud, Architettura Olandese, *Milan 1981, pp.95-96.*
15) Cf. A. VAN DER WOUD, Onuitsprekelijke schoonheid. Waarheid en karakter in de Nederlandse bouwkunst, *Amsterdam 1993, p.5.*
16) Cf. Changes in the Dutch landscape, illustrated through four centuries of historical cartography and the way they are reflected in 17th century painting in VARIOUS AUTHORS, Nederland in Kaarten, Verandering van stad en land in vier eeuwen cartographie, *Ede/Antwerpen 1985; S. ALPERS,* La vocazione cartografica, *in S. ALPERS,* Arte del descrivere. Scienza e pittura nel Seicento olandese, *Turin 1983, pp.195-275.*
17) S. ALPERS, op. cit., pp.261-263, "The genre of the topographical townscape vista painting is a classic example of the transfer, so frequent in Dutch art, from a graphic medium to the more demanding pictorial medium. And the nature of this landscape is of particular interest because *Vermeer's View of Delft* belongs to precisely this genre *[...]* Attention has often concentrated on the meticulousness of execution thanks to which the various buildings can be recognised" *but* "the inherent quality of the painting distinguishes it both from prints and from other perspective views; we can feel in it an unusual glimpse and emotional tone quality. Vermeer changes the perspective by raising the sky high up over the level of the city, which the golden bank of the river pushes down to the bottom edge. The city folds back on itself: surrounded by its walls, which enclose trees and rooftop sequences, it suggests the intimacy of domestic living *[...]*".
18) A. VAN DER WOUD, op.cit., pp.5-6.
19) For a critical review of relations between architecture and town-planning during the reconstruction period, see the catalogue: VARIOUS AUTHORS. Architectuur en Planning. Nederland 1940-1980, *edited by U.Barbieri, Rotterdam 1983, where the exponents of the generation engoged in the process of "democratization" in the 1960s document and analyze the projects and programmes of the period.*
20) For an analysis of the career development of J.H. van den Broek as a leading figure in the reconstruction of the Netherlands and before meeting J.Bakema, of M.FOSSO, Autorità di J.H. van den Broek (1898-1978). Sperimentazione e costruzione di una istituzione architettonica tra immagine e programma: 1927-1948, *translated into Dutch as:* R. STROINK *(editor), Ir.J.H. van den Broek projekten uit de periode 1978-1948, Delft, 1981.*
21) Cf. VARIOUS AUTHORS, CIAM, Housing Town Planning, *edited by A. Van der Woud, Delft 1983, pp.103-105.*
22) An interesting issue of "The Architectural Review" edited by Peter Buchanan and dedicated entirely to the Forum Fellowship, *with a retrospective viewpoint that is "partisan" but extremely sharp and close to Dutch sources: P. BUCHANAN* Forum Fellowship. Recent work by some Amsterdam architects, *in "The Architectural Review", special theme issue edited by P. Buchanan, Vol. CLXXXVII, no.1116, February 1990. See also the detailed essay on the same subjects, published in "Spazio e Società" of the same year: P. BUCHANAN,* Osservazioni su un paese artificiale, *in "Spazio e Società", vol. 13, no.152, pp.18-29.*
23) Of the many exhibitions and extensive research work by Max Risselada, a mention of that on Russian Constructivism, on the isolated home in the comparison between Loos and Le Corbusier, on Alison & Peter Smithson and their cultural development in the Team X group and the very recent work (currently being edited) on architecture and town-planning in the 1950s in Germany and the Netherlands, including a comparison between Van den Broek and Scharoun. All the research was closely linked to the teaching to the young future architects of the architecture school of the TU Delft.
24) Cf. J. HUIZINGA, La civiltà olandese del Seicento, *in J. HUIZINGA, op.cit., part two, chapter VII.*
25) J. HUIZINGA, L'arte dei Van Eyck nella vita del loro tempo, *in J. HUIZINGA op.cit., part two, chapter III, pp.109-110.*
26) J. HUIZINGA, part two, chapter VII, p.326.
27) J. HUIZINGA, op. cit., p.328: "The spirits of our 17th century must have had a great hunger and thirst to depict. No object they came across was too humble to be worth reproducing with all possible skill and diligence. As well as landscapes, buildings, town halls, men, or animals copied from life, there was also a storehouse of figures drawn from the conceptual world, rendered through symbols and allegories".
28) Cf. A. VAN DER WOUD, Wim Quist, *Rotterdam 1989; A. DE GRAAF (edited by),* A conversation with Rem Koolhaas, *(in* The Critical Landscape, *Rotterdam 1997, pp.218-236), now available on the NAI's* Archined *Internet site; VARIOUS AUTHORS,* Herman Hertzberger. Six architectures photographiées par Johan van der Keuken, *Milan 1985.*
29) The figure of the Rijksbouwmeester, *a state-employed architect who oversees the building policy on public buildings, has played a decisive role in the history of Dutch architecture. The post, held for a limited term, was in the past also held by architects involved in the profession or in teaching. For an overview of his function cf. C. VAN DE PEET,* The position of the Government Architect 1915-1989, *in "Archis", n.12, 1995, pp.42-51.*

de architectengroep, Amsterdam
Ben Loerakker (1931), Kees Rijnboutt (1939), Hans Ruijssenaars (1944), Gert-Jan Hendriks (1946), Dick van Gameren (1962), Bjarne Mastenbroek (1964)

Van Berkel & Bos, Amsterdam
Ben van Berkel (1957), Caroline Bos (1959)

Erick van Egeraat (1956), Rotterdam

Hubert-Jan Henket (1940), Esch

Herman Hertzberger (1932), Amsterdam

Mecanoo architekten, Delft
Henk Döll (1956), Francine Houben (1955), Chris de Weijer (1956)

MVRDV, Rotterdam
Winy Maas (1959), Jacob van Rijs (1964), Nathalie de Vries (1965)

Wim G. Quist (1930), Rotterdam

Koen van Velsen (1952), Hilversum


ROTTERDAM
DORDRECHT
AMSTERDAM
HAARLEM
Vlieland
Texel
Den Helder
FRIESLAND
IJssel Meer
(Zuider Zee)
Markerwaard
Noordoost-polder
Zwolle
Deventer
Apeldoorn
Amersfoort
UTRECHT
Scheveningen
DEN HAAG
Walcheren
Vlissingen
Breda
TILBURG
EINDHOVEN
ANTWERPEN
BRUXELLES
MECHELEN
LIÉGE
KREFELD
MÖNCHEN-GLADBACH
DÜSSELDORF
KÖLN
Plateau de Herve
Plateau des Tailles

de architectengroep

Villa KBWW, Utrecht, 1997
de architectengroep (Loerakker, Rijnboutt, Ruijssenaars, Hendriks, Van Gameren, Mastenbroek)
Project architects: Bjarne Mastenbroek in association with MVRDV

Foto C. Richters



Villa KBWW, Utrecht
Bjarne Mastenbroek, MVRDV

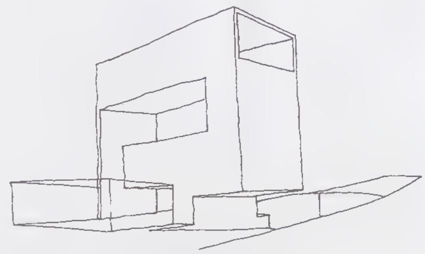
La casa di Utrecht è situata sul terreno di un preesistente ospedale, confinante con un *singel* novecentesco. Anni orsono il terreno era stato lottizzato dal Comune per costruirvi delle varianti contemporanee della cosiddetta *villa-urbana*, tipo per un certo periodo estremamente popolare per il fatto di essere facilmente inseribile nel contesto urbano, ma ultimamente passato in disuso, soprattutto ad Utrecht. Si tratta in sostanza di un edificio residenziale basso, a gradoni, nel verde.
La casa edificabile sull'ultimo lotto disponibile dell'urbanizzazione del terreno del preesistente ospedale era risultata, a conti fatti, troppo grande e troppo costosa per il committente originario che, per questa ragione, con un annuncio su un quotidiano, ha cercato con successo un secondo socio-committente per poter costruire una casa doppia. Le due famiglie, pur avendo alcune esigenze in comune, avevano priorità diverse. Una si accontentava di una minor dimensione dell'alloggio, ma poneva come condizione un miglior rapporto con il giardino e una vista, quanto più ampia possibile, sul parco collocato sull'altro lato del *singel*. L'altra desiderava invece un'abitazione più "classica", introversa, capace di mantenere una certa distanza dal mondo esterno. Per tale motivo optava per un ampio salone al primo piano e esigeva assolutamente un posto macchina sul proprio terreno. Trovare un accordo tra esigenze così diverse ha condotto ad una trattativa complicata tra le due famiglie. Il risultato è stato la rinuncia a un muro divisorio unico e la sua ricollocazione ad ogni piano in punti diversi. Il risultato è stato anche: due case che si intrecciano e sembrano generare spazi e qualità inaspettati.
In una delle due case l'abitazione si sviluppa in modo piuttosto convenzionale. Lo spazio principale, o piano nobile, è collocato al primo piano. Al piano terreno si trovano camera degli ospiti e autorimessa, mentre a quelli superiori si collocano studio, camere da letto e terrazza. Questa suddivisione contrasta con quella meno ordinaria dell'altra abitazione. Qui, al piano terreno si trova la cucina come parte di una stanza vetrata sul giardino. Il primo piano manca, mentre dal soggiorno, al secondo piano, si accede direttamente a camere e bagno sulla copertura. Anche la facciata, prospiciente l'antistante parco cittadino, riflette l'andamento meandrico della pianta. Scegliendo una pianta poco profonda e allargata e costruendo su quattro-cinque piani, si è riusciti a realizzare un edificio residenziale verticale con ampio giardino interno. Grazie a questa verticalità ed alla scelta appropriata dei colori, la casa si inserisce perfettamente nel circostante contesto novecentesco. Non è in alcun modo debitrice dello stile delle ville precedenti che l'affiancano e una "giungla" di acacie, collocate nel giardino anteriore, contribuisce a mantenere una certa distanza dalla strada.

Villa KBWW, Utrecht
Bjarne Mastenbroek, MVRDV

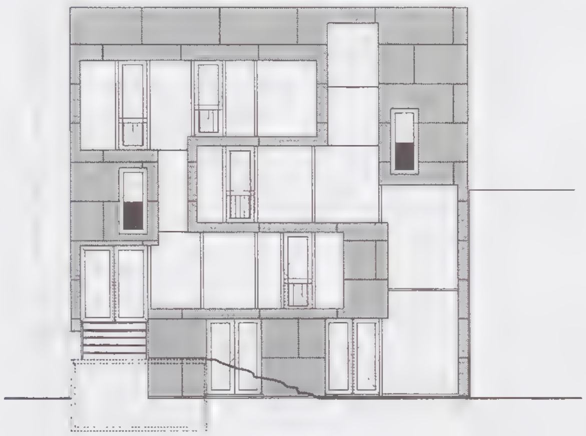
The house in Utrecht is situated on the land of a former hospital, adjacent to a 20th-century singel. *For some years now the land has been divided up into lots by the city for the construction of contemporary variations on the "urban villa", a typology which was extremely popular during a certain period because it can be easily inserted in the urban context, but which has recently been neglected, especially in Utrecht. In substance the urban villa is a low, stepped residential edifice in a green setting. The house to be built on the last available lot of the development turned out to be too large and too expensive for the original client. The client put an advertisement in the newspaper to find a partner client with whom to transform the house into a duplex. The partner was found. The two families had certain requirements in common, but they also had different priorities. One family was willing to have less space, but desired a better relationship with the garden, and a good view of the park located on the other side of the* singel. *The other family wanted a more "classic" dwelling, introverted, capable of maintaining a certain distance with respect to the outside world. For these reasons, they opted for a large living room on the first floor, and demanded a parking place on the lot itself. Reconciling these differing requirements and desires led to complicated negotiations between the two families. The result is the elimination of a single divider wall, with the divisions between the two dwellings differentiated at different points. The result is also two houses that intersect in such a way as to create unexpected spaces and qualities. In one of the two dwellings the layout is rather conventional. The main living area is on the first floor. The ground floor contains a guestroom and a garage, while the upper floors contain a studio, bedrooms and a terrace. This layout is in contrast with the unconventional arrangement of the second dwelling. Here on the ground floor the kitchen is part of a glazed space facing onto the garden. The first floor doesn't exist; from the living room, on the second floor, one proceeds directly to the bedrooms and the bathroom on the roof level. The facade, overlooking the park, reflects the winding pattern of the plan. By using a wide, shallow plan and building on 4-5 levels, a vertical residential building has been created with a large internal garden. Thanks to this verticality and to the appropriate choice of colors, the house blends perfectly into the surrounding 20th-century context. It features no stylistic imitation of the neighboring houses. A "jungle" of acacias, placed in the front garden, contributes to maintain a certain detachment from the street.*

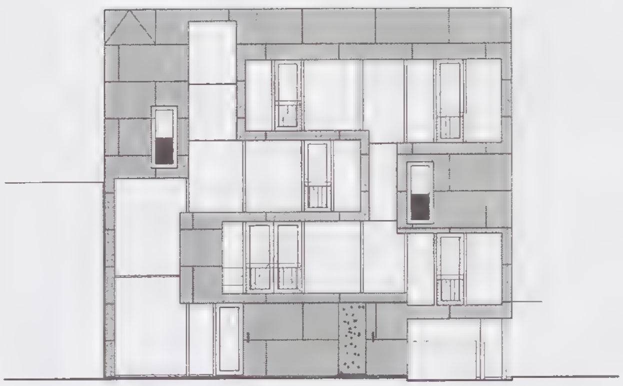
Villa KBWW, Utrecht, 1997.
Vista del fronte nord dalla strada.
Disegno di studio.

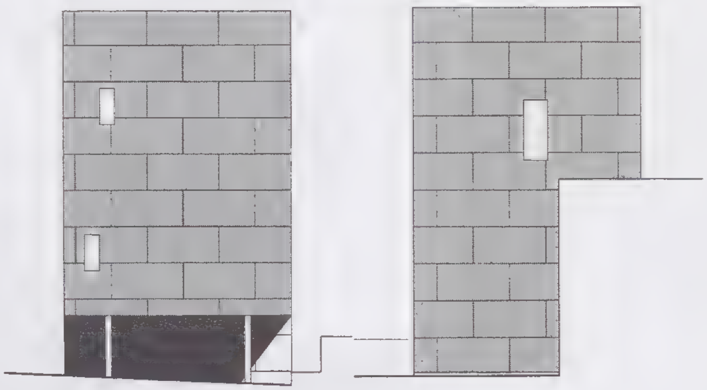
Villa KBWW, Utrecht, 1997.
View of the north facade from the street.
Working drawing.

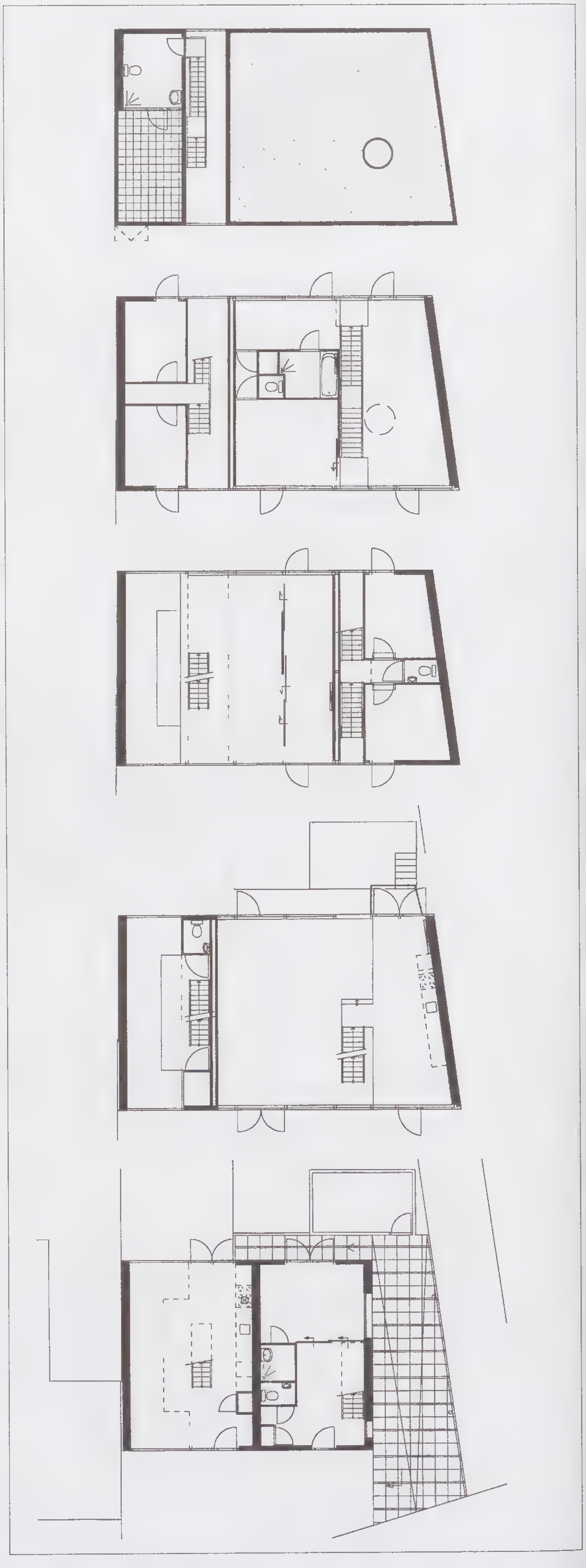














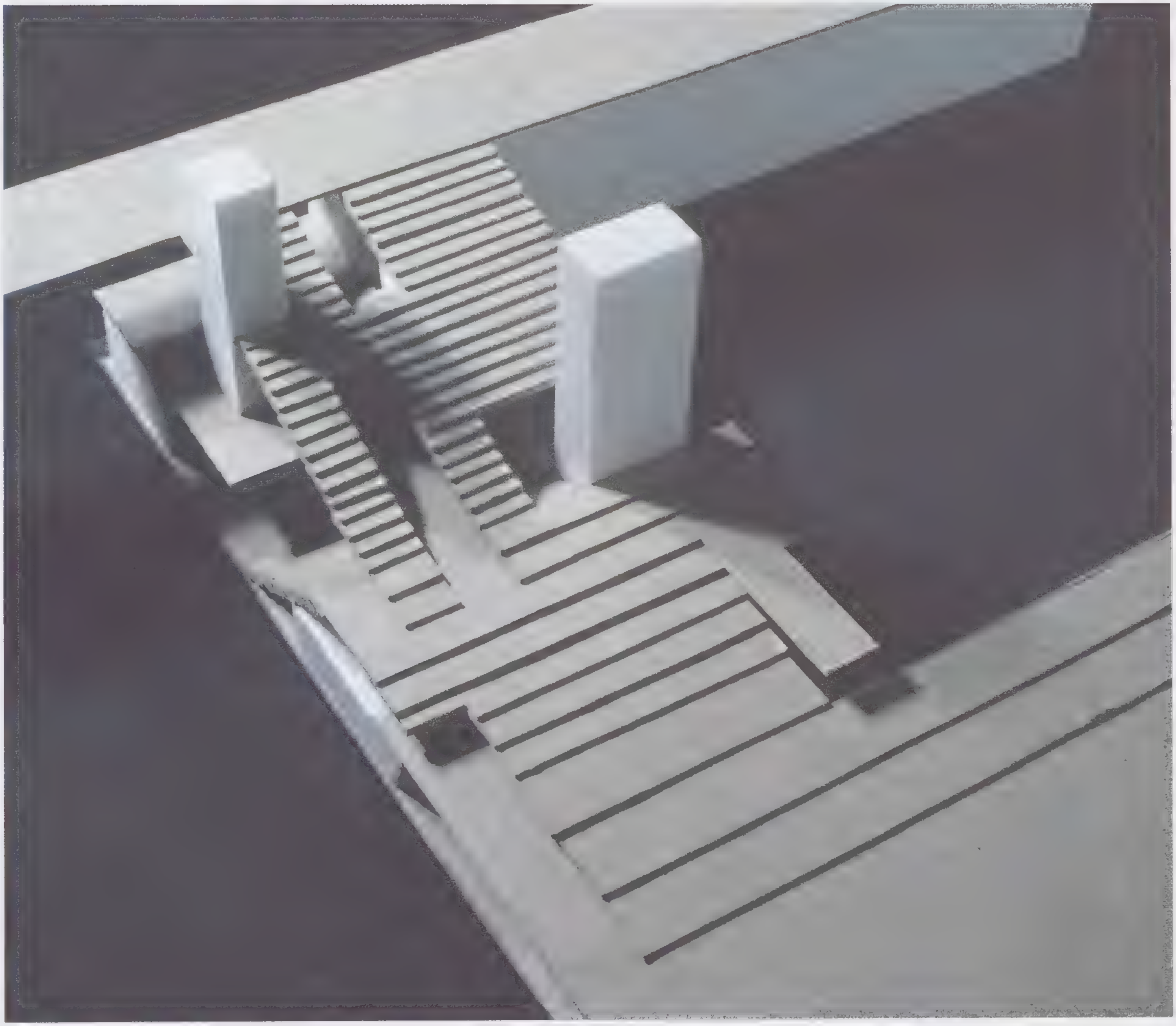
Villa KBWW, Utrecht, 1997.
Sezione longitudinale.
Prospetti sud (verso il giardino), nord (verso la strada), ovest ed est.
Piante dei piani terreno, primo, secondo, terzo e quarto.
Viste interne.

Villa KBWW, Utrecht, 1997.
Longitudinal section.
South (looking the garden), north (looking the street), west and east elevations.
Ground floor, first floor, second floor, third floor and fourth floor plans.
Interior views.









Van Berkel & Bos

Museum "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen, 1995
Ben van Berkel
coll.: Rob Hootsmans (coordination), Remco Bruggink, Henri Snel, Hugo Beschoor Plug, Walther Kloet, Marc Dijkman, Jacco van Wengerden, Luc Veeger, Florian Fischer, Carsten Kiselowsky

Museo "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen
Ben van Berkel

Il Museo è generato dall'interazione tra la localizzazione, ricca di potenzialità, ed il programma. Nella concezione del progetto è centrale il ruolo degli oggetti che vi saranno esposti. Tali oggetti, pezzi di artigianato ed opere d'arte, per lo più slegati dal proprio tempo e contesto, non rivelano facilmente il proprio valore. La museologia moderna è posta di fronte alla domanda su come riportare in vita, di fronte al visitatore, gli oggetti esposti. L'impianto stesso del Museo di Nijmegen rivela la concezione progettuale che ne è alla base: le collezioni potranno essere mostrate, in modo da permettere agli oggetti, silenziosi, di svelare nuovi significati, ma al tempo stesso sarà anche consentito agli artisti contemporanei di esprimere, attraverso l'allestimento, il proprio punto di vista sugli oggetti e sulle opere esposte.
La distribuzione del nuovo Museo, con spazi espositivi flessibili collocati su un unico piano circondato da una lunga zona balconata, è stata pensata espressamente per soddisfare queste necessità.
Due strutture primarie, disposte in senso perpendicolare tra loro, determinano il carattere dell'edificio. La prima consiste in una scala protesa verso la piazza e la zona balconata. Attraverso questi elementi, che percorrono in modo continuo l'intero edificio, il Museo nel suo insieme viene posto in relazione con la città ed il paesaggio circostante. La scala e la zona balconata ad essa connessa formano il collegamento tra la piazza Kelfkensbos, le mura cittadine e la vista sul fiume Waal.
La seconda struttura ripartisce su due piani i tre settori di attività del Museo, in modo da renderne quanto più possibile efficiente l'uso ed il programma di attività. Ciò è possibile perché le funzioni pubbliche, amministrative e di magazzino costituiscono il fondamento delle attività più prettamente espositive poste al primo piano. Quest'ultimo non è orientato ortogonalmente rispetto al piano terreno, ma fuoriesce e devia, in modo da inquadrare la vista sul fiume Waal.
Le facciate di vetro opaco sul lato della piazza e del Waal evidenziano una figura scalare a tre gradoni per tutto il senso della lunghezza che ben si inserisce nell'ambiente circostante. Zone di vetro trasparente marcano i punti dove la luce potrà penetrare all'interno. Sia per la piazza Kelfkensbos che per le scale del Museo sarà utilizzata una pietra di agglomerato sintetico color asfalto.

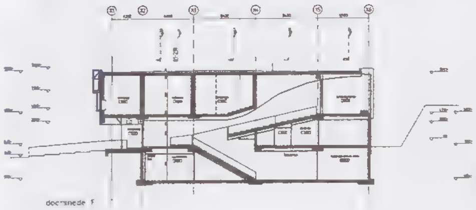
Museum "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen
Ben van Berkel

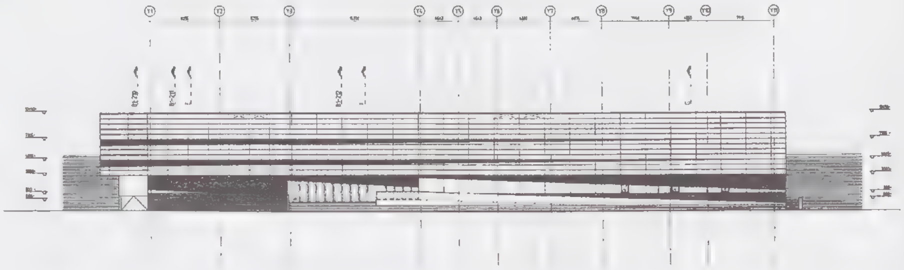
The museum is generated by the interaction between its position, which is full of potential, and its program. In the conception of the project the role of the objects to be displayed is central. These objects – artworks and examples of fine craftsmanship – when considered outside of their own time and context do not reveal, at first glance, their value. Modern museum design is faced with the question of how to bring such objects back to life for the visitor. The installation of the Nijmegen facility is a reflection of its basic concept: the collections can be displayed in such a way that the objects, in silence, reveal new meanings; but it will also be possible for contemporary artists to express, through installations, their own points of view on the objects and the works displayed. The layout of the new museum, with flexible exhibition spaces on a single level surrounded by a long balcony zone, has been designed precisely to conform to this concept. Two main structures, perpendicular to one another, define the character of the edifice. The first is a staircase leading to the square and the balcony zone. Through these elements, that pass through the entire edifice, the museum as a whole is placed in relation with the city and the surrounding landscape. The staircase and the balcony zone connected to it form the connection between the Kelfkensbos square, the walls of the city and the view of the Waal River. The second structure distributes, on two levels, the sectors of activity of the museum, for the greatest possible efficiency. The public, administrative and storage functions form the foundation for the actual exhibition areas, on the first floor. The first floor is not orthogonally oriented with respect to the ground floor, but deviates in order to frame the view of the Waal River. The opaque glass facades on the side of the square and of the Waal emphasise the figure of three large steps for the entire length of the building, fitting in well to the surrounding environment. Zones of transparent glass mark the points where light can penetrate the structure. For the Kelfkensbos square and for the staircases of the museum, a synthetic composite asphalt-color stone will be utilized.

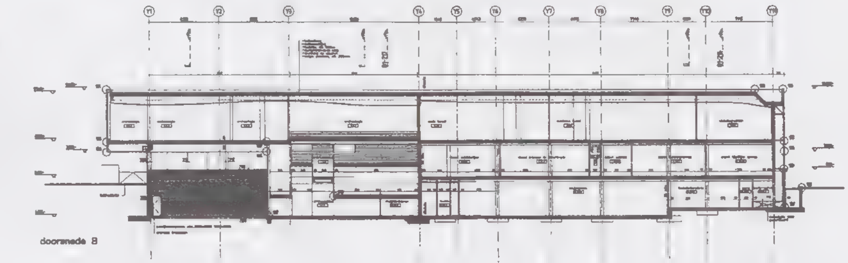
Museo "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen, 1995.
Modello di studio della grande scala interna.

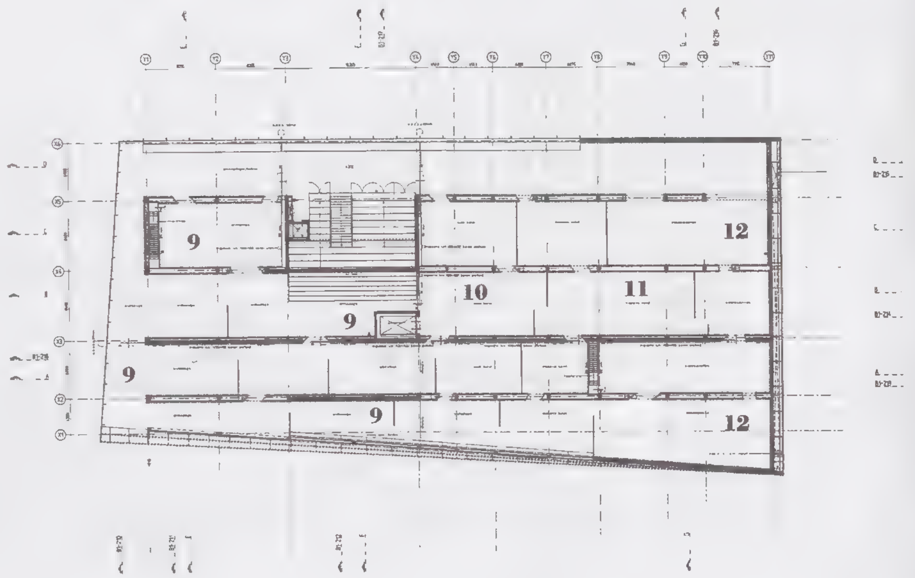
Museum "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen, 1995.
Study model of the large inner staircase.

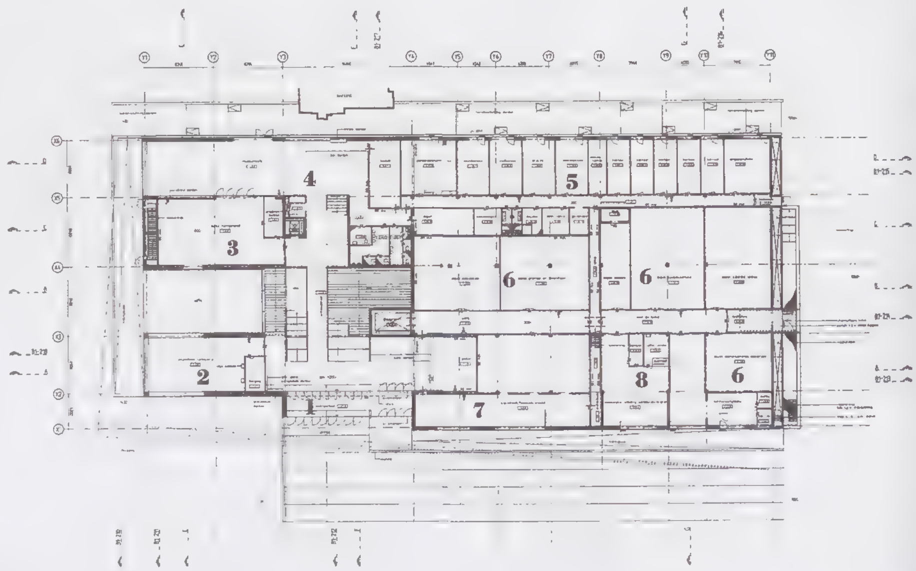






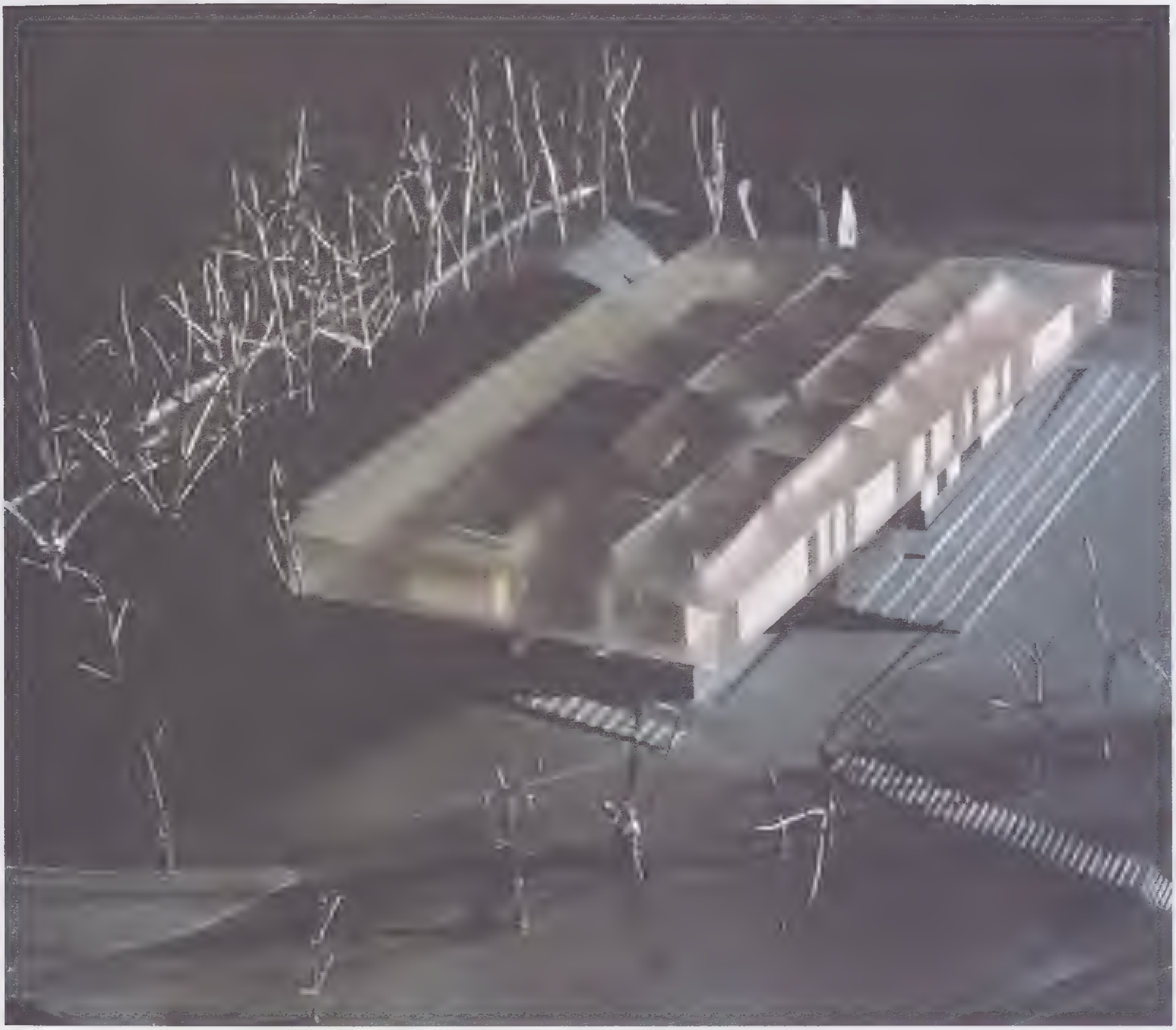






Museo "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen, 1995.
Modello di studio del soffitto delle sale espositive e sezione trasversale.
Prospetto verso la piazza e sezione longitudinale.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo: 1) ingresso; 2) aula didattica; 3) conferenze; 4) caffetteria; 5) uffici; 6) depositi; 7) biblioteca; 8) laboratorio di restauro; 9) archeologia; 10) arte antica; 11) arte moderna; 12) esposizioni temporanee.
Viste del modello.

Museum "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen, 1995.
Study model of the ceiling of the exhibition halls and cross section.
Facade facing the square and longitudinal section.
Ground and first floor plans: 1) entrance; 2) teaching room; 3) conference room; 4) cafeteria; 5) offices; 6) storage; 7) library; 8) restoration workshop; 9) archaeology; 10) ancient art; 11) modern art; 12) temporary exhibitions.
Views of the model.





Erick van Egeraat

Vaktechnisch Lyceum, Utrecht, 1994-97
Erick van Egeraat
con/with: Maartje Lammers, Ard Buijsen, Boris Zeisser
Structural engeneering: Strukton Engineering

Natuurmuseum, Rotterdam, 1993-96
Erick van Egeraat
con/with: Birgit Jürgenhake, Perry Klootwijk, Jeroen Schipper,
Jan Bekkering, Dietmar Haupt, Theo Kupers, Alexandre Lamboley,
Miranda Nieboer, Luís Pires.
Structural engineering: ABT Adviesburo voor Bouwtechniek

Foto C. Richters



Scuola tecnica professionale di moda e grafica,
Utrecht, 1994-97.
Vista d'insieme della corte.

School for Fashion and Graphics, Utrecht,
1994-97.
Overall view of the courtyard.

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Foto C. Richters

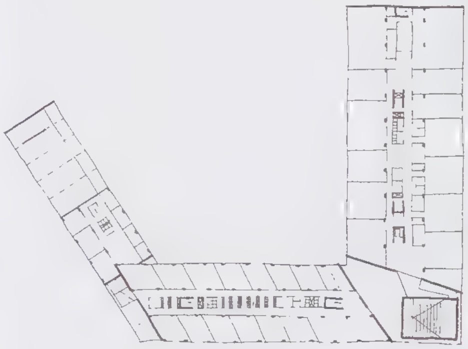


Scuola tecnica professionale di moda e grafica, Utrecht, 1994-97.
Vista d'insieme della corte.

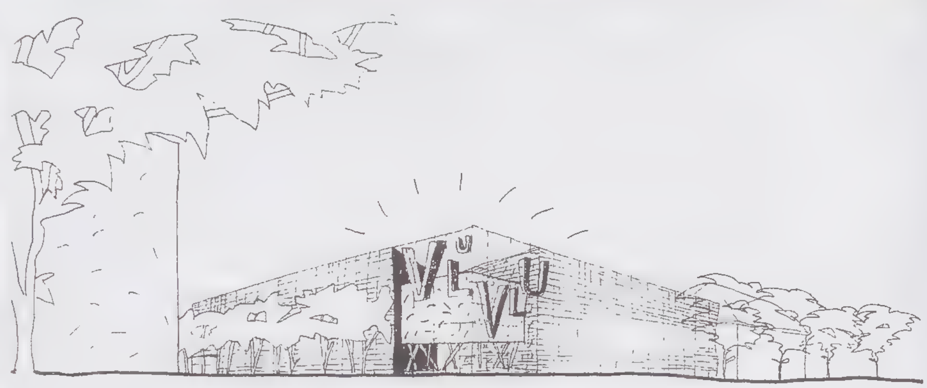
School for Fashion and Graphics, Utrecht, 1994-97.
Overall view of the courtyard.

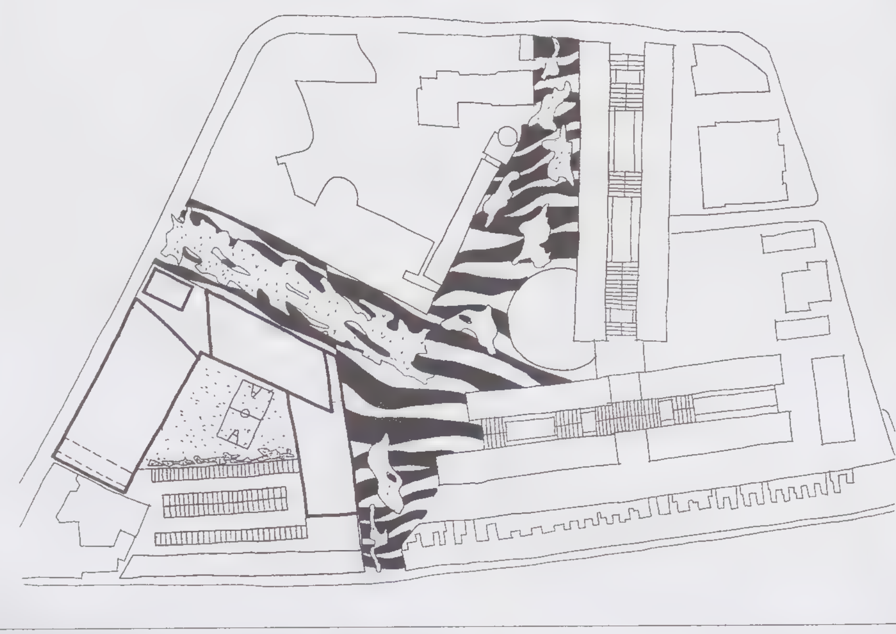
Scuola tecnica professionale di moda e grafica, Utrecht, 1994-97.
Viste interne e esterna del padiglione di ingresso.
Disegni di studio della pianta, della planimetria generale e del padiglione di ingresso.

School for Fashion and Graphics, Utrecht, 1994-97.
Interior and exterior views of the entrance pavilion.
Working drawings of plan, site plan and entrance pavilion.











Scuola tecnica professionale di moda e grafica, Utrecht
Erick van Egeraat
Il progetto del fronte di questa nuova Scuola secondaria tecnica e commerciale è stato concepito con l'intento di ridare vita con una facciata omogenea, senza segni evidenti di giunture, all'impianto strutturale dell'edificio, banale e monotono e ormai completato nella sua distribuzione in pianta, precedentemente definita. Analogamente ad una saga di Frankenstein, il progetto cerca di infondere nuova vita in un corpo quasi "invisibile". Esso intende inoltre alludere concettualmente agli insegnamenti impartiti nella Scuola – la moda e le discipline tecniche –, evocati dall'involucro in vetro che, come un velo di garza, avvolge l'intero edificio, conferendogli un misterioso grado di indeterminatezza e, al tempo stesso, lasciando intravvedere dall'esterno quello che sta dietro, il lato "tecnico" dell'edificio. Attraverso i fronti vetrati si vede il cuore dell'edificio: gli elementi strutturali, il legno, le pareti in muratura a vista e i pannelli gialli di isolamento, che coprono il corpo di fabbrica come una coperta di lana.

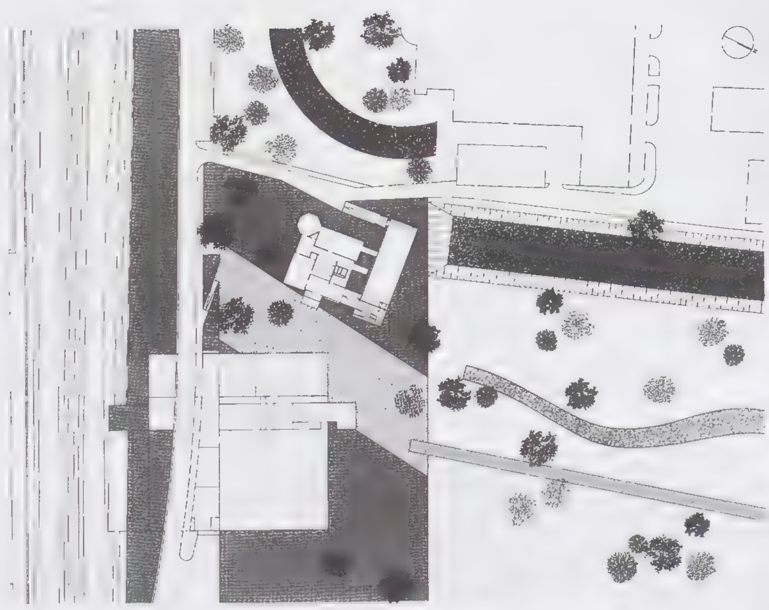


School for Fashion and Graphics, Utrecht
Erick van Egeraat
The floor plan of the new building had been completed and the facade design for this new technical and commercial secondary school was to revitalize the banal and boring structural core without leaving any visible scars and joints. In the manner of a true Frankenstein saga, the design attemps to breathe new life into a largely "invisible" body. Fashion and technical subjects as the teaching disciplines of the school were to be expressed through the architectural design concept. The entire building is enclosed by a glass envelope, comparable to a gauze veil, an element of fashion that conveys a mysterious lack of definition, yet indicates or provides insights into what is behind. Behind the glass skin is the other, the technical side of the building. Through the glass facade one sees the hard core of the building: structural members, wood, exposed masonry walls and the yellow insulation pads which cover the building like a woollen blanket.

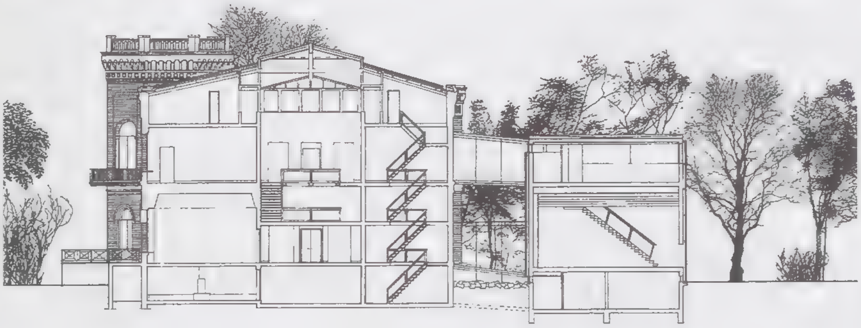


Museo di storia naturale, Rotterdam, 1993-96.
Vista d'insieme del nuovo padiglione e della Villa "Dijkzigt".
Planimetria generale, prospetto principale e sezione.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo: 1) ingresso; 2) biglietteria e museum shop; 3) sale espositive; 4) uffici; 5) biblioteca.

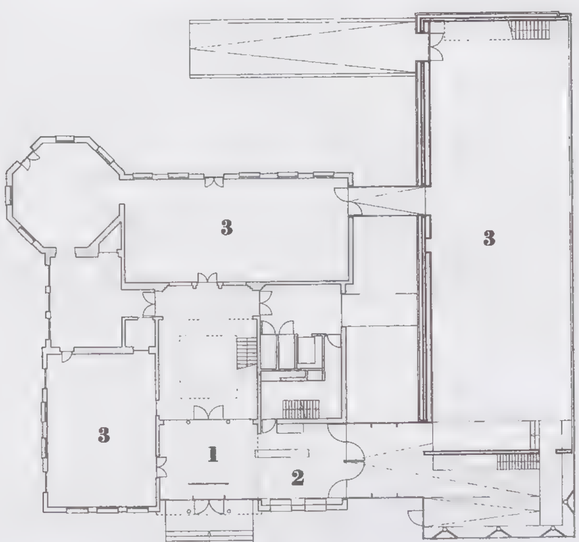
Natural History Museum, Rotterdam, 1993-96.
Overall view of the new pavilion and of the Villa "Dijkzigt".
Site plan, main facade and section.
Ground floor and first floor plans:
1) entrance; 2) shop and ticket office;
3) exhibition halls; 4) offices; 5) library.











Museo di storia naturale, Rotterdam

Erick van Egeraat

L'esistente villa "Dijkzigt" non aveva un'estensione sufficiente per ospitare un museo. In gran parte adibita a depositi, uffici e un laboratorio, non disponeva praticamente di sale in cui esporre la collezione permanente o mostre temporanee, né servizi di accoglienza per il pubblico. Gli spazi disponibili si riducevano a una *hall* centrale, due sale espositive (mq 160) e un negozio. Oltre al restauro della villa (monumento pubblico) era quindi necessario progettare un ampliamento. In questo progetto la villa è adibita esclusivamente a spazio espositivo. Il deposito degli oggetti di dimensioni minori si trova nell'attico, mentre il sotterraneo ospita i magazzini degli oggetti di grandi dimensioni.
Il negozio annesso al Museo si trova al piano terreno, vicino all'ingresso. L'adiacente "salone", restaurato nelle sue forme originarie, può essere usato per conferenze o eventi speciali. Il percorso museale inizia dalla "sala del mammut", dalla quale si accede alla "sala di marmo" e alla "sala della torre", dove è esposta la "teca della rara collezione" del Dottor van Deinse, e infine alla "sala delle vetrine", dove si trova la collezione permanente. Da qui si passa all'ampia sala espositiva nella nuova ala, spazio aperto destinato a mostre temporanee e a una sezione di documentazione permanente denominata "Green display". Al primo piano, il percorso segue la scala aperta centrale, nel cui cavedio sono appesi scheletri di delfini, e prosegue attraverso la sezione (semipermanente) dedicata alla scienze ecologiche e ambientali. Attraverso l'antica "sala della torre", che ospita una collezione permanente di fossili e minerali, il visitatore accede alla grande sala delle esposizioni temporanee. L'esistente facciata principale è stata completamente smantellata, mantenendo solo la struttura di mattoni. Dietro questa, una struttura interamente vetrata collega la villa alla nuova ala, dove si trova l'ampia sala espositiva (mq 250) che funziona come una grande teca e che ospiterà lo scheletro di una balena. Nella parte superiore una banda vetrata di m 1.50 consente alla luce diurna di diffondersi negli spazi espositivi. Al primo piano si trovano gli uffici e la biblioteca di storia naturale, che è parte del circuito espositivo. La facciata della nuova ala è stata progettata in contrasto con la villa e può essere considerata come la sovrapposizione di tre "pelli": la prima, di cemento, racchiude lo spazio espositivo; la seconda, di vetro, forma una sorta di membrana intorno alla prima, ma si discosta dall'edificio sul lato est, creando uno spazio destinato a ospitare l'ingresso alla nuova ala, dal quale, per mezzo di due rampe, si accede alla sala espositiva, alla villa e al parco; la terza, nella parte sud e ovest dell'edificio, è di mattoni e avvolge la struttura in vetro proteggendo l'interno dell'edificio dalla luce solare. Osservato dal parco, l'edificio può sembrare una grande balena (di cemento) custodita all'interno di una grande teca, mentre dall'argine la visuale resta dominata dalla villa, dietro la quale la nuova costruzione è visibile solo in parte.

Natural History Museum, Rotterdam
Erick van Egeraat

The existing villa "Dijkzigt" appeared to be too small for the function of the museum. The main part was allocated to collection depots, offices and a workshop. There was virtually no room for exhibiting the permanent collection or the temporary presentations, nor for information services to the public. In total the facilities available were the central hall, two exhibition rooms (160 sq m) and a shop. Besides an extensive restoration of this villa (a state monument) an extension was necessary.
In this project the old villa is designed solely for exhibitions. The depot for relatively light articles remains in the attic and the basement is adapted to function as a depot for heavy articles.
The museum shop is situated at the ground floor next to the entrance facilities. The adjacent "salon" is restored to its original state and can be used for lectures and special occasions. The public route begins in the "mammoth hall" leading to the "marble hall", the "tower room", containing the Dr. van Deinse "rare collection cabinet" and the "vitrine hall" where the permanent exhibition is displayed. From there on the route progresses to the large exhibition hall in the new extension. This open hall will be used for rotating exhibitions as well as the permanent regional presentation/information "Green display".
The route at the first floor follows the central open staircase where dolphin skeletons are hanging in the lightwell and leads through the (semi-permanent) department of city-ecology and interior-environment. Through the antique tower room, containing a permanent presentation of fossils and minerals, the visitor is lead to the big hall with temporary actual exhibitions.
The existing facade at the entrance is totally dismantled and only the brick skeleton is maintained. A complete glass infil behind the bricks connects the existing villa with the new extension, where the big exhibition hall is situated (250 sq m). This hall serves as an exhibition cabinet and will house the skeleton of a whale. Via a 1,5 m elevated glass strip daylight can flow into the exhibition space. On the first floor offices and a natural history library are located. The library is part of the exhibition circuit. The facade of the extension is designed in a contrast to the villa, and can be seen as a concept of three layers of skin. The first skin is of concrete, and encloses the exhibition space. The second skin, made of glass, acts as a membrane around the concrete skin, but releases itself from the building at the east part. In the space thus created the new entrance to the extension is situated. From this hall one can reach the exhibition hall, the villa and the Museum-Park by two ramps. The third skin is made of bricks, and is applied at the south and west part of the building. This is folded as a blanket around the glass and prevents too much sun entering the building. Arriving from the Museum-Park an image is created as of a large (concrete) whale conserved in a preserving jar. The image seen from the dike is still dominated by the villa, where behind only a fragment of the new part is visible.







*Museo di storia naturale, Rotterdam, 1993-96.
Viste esterne e interne.*

*Natural History Museum, Rotterdam, 1993-96.
Exterior and interior views.*







Hubert-Jan Henket

Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96
Hubert-Jan Henket
con/with: Henk van Laarhoven, Teresa van Rosmalen,
John Swagten, Maarten Willems
Structural engeneering: ABT, Frans van Herwijnen, Jos Wolters
Interior Maastheater: Jos Looise, Willem van Drunen

Foto J. Henderik

Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96.
Vista dal fiume Maas.

Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96.
View from the river Maas.



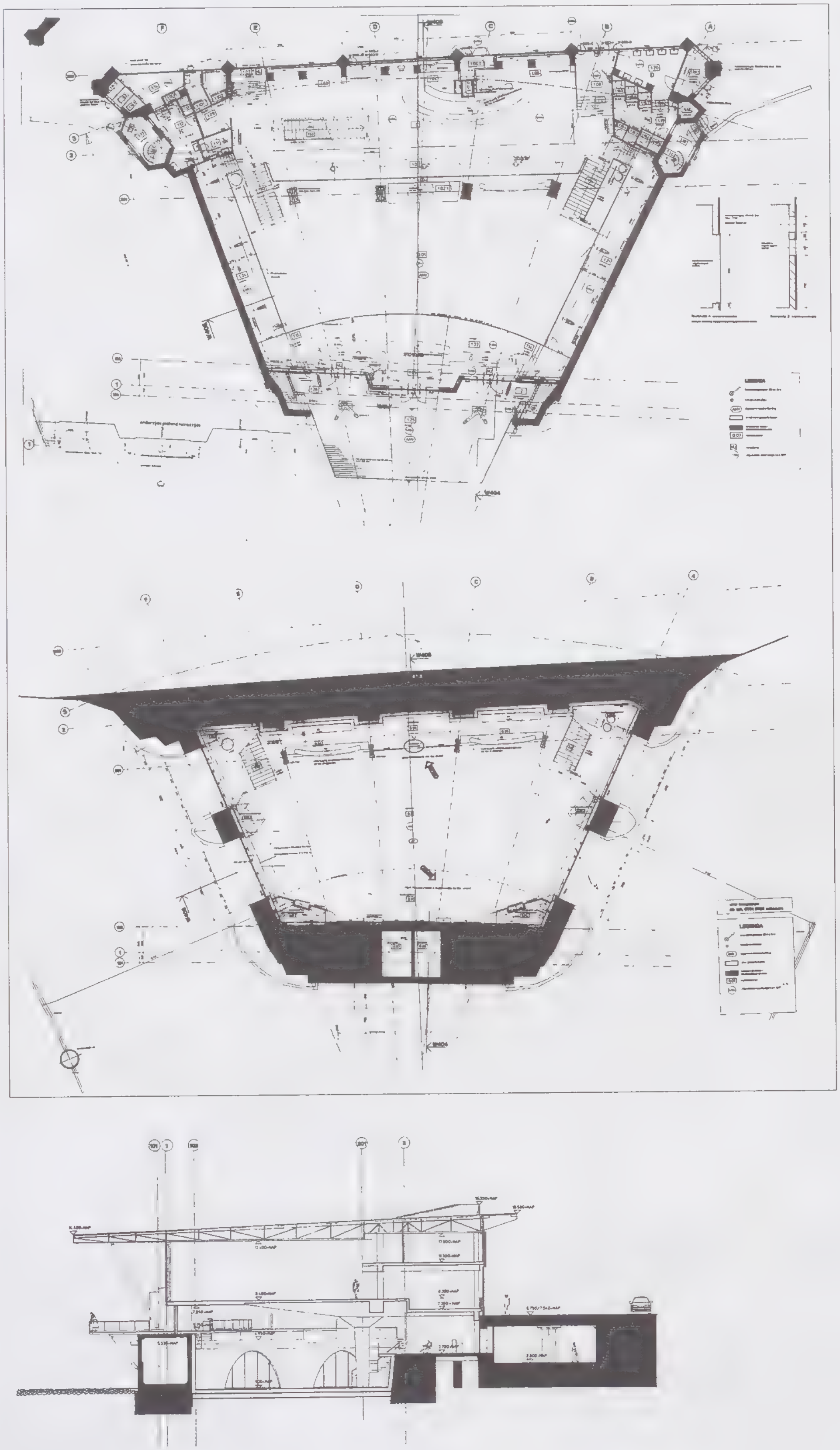
Hubert-Jan Henket

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Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96.
Vista dal fiume Maas.

Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96.
View from the river Maas.



Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96.
Piante alle quote della sala e della balconata e sezione trasversale.

Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96.
Theatre level and balcony level plans and cross section.

Maastheater, Rotterdam
Hubert-Jan Henket

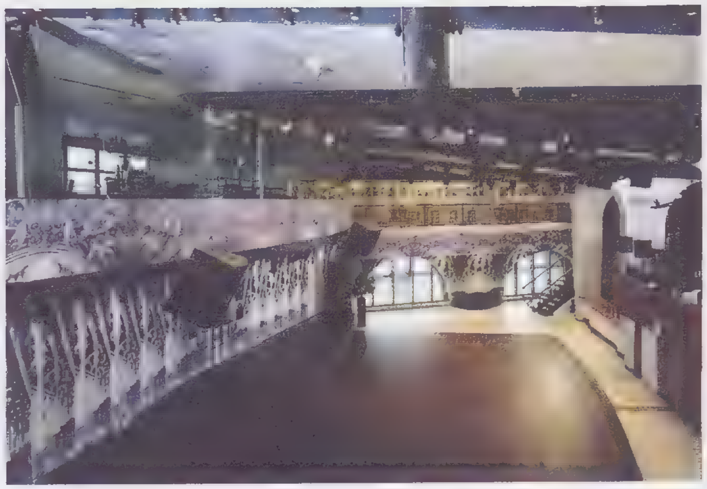
L'antico Willemsbrug, a Rotterdam, è stato uno dei principali bersagli durante il conflitto tra marina olandese e invasori nazisti nel maggio 1940. In quell'occasione sia la città che il ponte furono distrutti, ma rimasero pressocché intatte le testate su entrambe le sponde del fiume. Da allora vi sono state molte proposte per il recupero della testata sulla sponda nord, a causa della sua posizione strategica rispetto alla città e al fiume, ma soltanto nel 1994 è stato approvato un progetto economicamente realizzabile.
La struttura originaria era un guscio vuoto di cemento e mattoni progettato nello stile della Scuola di Amsterdam, con due piccole torri di guardia su entrambi i lati a livello dell'argine e due arcate a livello dell'acqua per consentire lo scorrimento del fiume Maas. Lo scioglimento delle nevi alpine nella stagione primaverile o i fenomeni di particolare alta marea nel Mare del Nord possono determinare un innalzamento del livello del fiume di circa m 4.
Lo spazio racchiuso dalla struttura della testata sembrava ideale per la costruzione di un teatro a livello dell'acqua e di un ristorante sulla sommità, con una splendida vista sul fiume e il suo intenso traffico tra il porto di Rotterdam e quelli francesi, tedeschi e svizzeri. La proposta si inseriva nei progetti di recupero del lungofiume per la realizzazione di nuovi spazi ricreativi.
Le singolari caratteristiche della struttura originaria sono state valorizzate con la creazione di una soletta di cemento al livello medio dell'acqua, che consente ai visitatori di vedere, attraverso le arcate, le acque agitate del fiume, le imbarcazioni, il nuovo Ponte Erasmus e le recenti costruzioni sulla sponda sud (Kop van Zuid). Quando la marea è particolarmente alta, guardando attraverso le arcate può accadere di assistere al passaggio di branchi di pesci. Una piattaforma di cemento sopra questo livello ha reso possibile ricavare lo spazio per il teatro e, al di sopra, per il ristorante.
A un'altezza di m 5 sopra questa piattaforma di cemento una copertura di acciaio, a forma di grande ala argentata, è sospesa sulla testata del ponte e sull'acqua. Tra pavimento e copertura, grandi pareti vetrate garantiscono massima trasparenza e spettacolari viste sul porto. Una terrazza aggettante a sud sul fiume e accessibile dal teatro, dal ristorante e dall'area pedonale lungo l'argine esalta l'eccezionale vicinanza del sito alle acque impetuose.
Il progetto ha voluto preservare l'aspetto della struttura originaria in ogni suo particolare. La nuova costruzione ha un aspetto trasparente e leggero che contrasta con l'imponenza della struttura originaria. I colori scelti sono grigio argento per la copertura, la struttura metallica e i profili delle parti vetrate, e nero per i rivestimenti delle zone di servizio sul lato nord. Dal punto di vista tecnico, la costruzione ha richiesto specifiche soluzioni per la sua

vicinanza all'acqua. Innanzitutto una "scatola" a tenuta stagna in grado di sopportare i carichi verso il basso e verso l'alto dovuti all'escursione di 4 metri del livello dell'acqua. Inoltre, dal momento che l'argine nei pressi della costruzione è la più importante difesa dall'acqua di Rotterdam, la nuova struttura non poteva poggiare sull'argine stesso ma era necessario che avesse una propria struttura di fondazione. Poiché a Rotterdam il primo strato portante di sabbia si trova a una profondità di m 25, sono stati usati pali di cemento a tensione e compressione di questa lunghezza.
Anche la realizzazione del teatro e del ristorante, con una possibile utenza di 1600 visitatori, ha richiesto adeguate precauzioni. Per evitare collisioni dei natanti, sono stati dislocati 10 piloni di acciaio di m 1.50 di diametro e m 30 di altezza a una distanza di m 10 dal fronte della costruzione. A difesa di eventuali oli combustibili galleggianti sull'acqua, sono state inserite tra i piloni apposite barriere, mentre i fronti e la copertura sono stati rinforzati in misura cinque volte superiore alla norma in modo da resistere a eventuali esplosioni sull'acqua. Gli interni del ristorante e del teatro sono stati affidati a progettisti scelti dai committenti

Maastheater, Rotterdam
Hubert-Jan Henket

The old Willemsbridge was one of the main targets in Rotterdam during the fight between the Dutch Marines and the invading Nazis in May 1940. Both the bridge and the city were destroyed but the two bridgeheads on the north and the south side of the river remained more or less intact. For many years initiatives have been proposed to redevelop the northern bridgehead due to its strategic position in the city and the river, but it was only in 1994 that an economically feasible proposition was accepted. The original bridgehead was an empty shell of concrete and brick designed in the style of the Amsterdam School with two little towers on either side at dike level for the bridge operators and two arches at water level to allow the water of the river Maas through the bridgehead. Due to melting water coming from the Alps in spring or to extreme high tide in the Northsea, the water level differs approximately 4 meters between its highest and lowest position. The original space enclosed by the bridgehead shell and the water was perfect for a theater at water level. A restaurant made sense on top of the bridgehead because of the spectacular view of the river with its heavy traffic of boats travelling between the harbours of Rotterdam and the German, French and Swiss hinterland. This initiative linked in well with the plans of the city of Rotterdam to redevelop the waterfront and stimulate entertainment activities along the river.
The unique characteristics of the bridgehead could best be used by making a concrete floor at average water level so that the theater visitor can look through the arches over the heavily undulating water to the boats, the new Erasmus Bridge and the new developments on the south embankment (Kop van Zuid). When there is extreme high tide, one may see fish swimming in the view through the arches. By placing a concrete "table" on top of this floor, the space for the night theater was born and it gave the opportunity to build the restaurant on top.
5 meters above this concrete table a steel roof was formed in the shape of a huge silver wing, floating over the bridgehead and the water. In between the floor and roof, glass elevations are made to allow for maximum transparency and spectacular views over the harbour. To enforce the uniqueness of the spot in the powerful stream of the river, a south facing terrace is made cantilevering over the water. This terrace is accessible from the night theater, from the restaurant and from the pedestrian area on top of the dike. The architectural concept was to keep the original appearance of the bridgehead and restore it to its original details. The new development has a transparent and light appearance in contrast with the visual heaviness of the original bridgehead. The colours are silver grey for the roof, the superstructure and the elevation frames, and black for the tiling of the service areas on the north side of the building. Technically the new development asked for some specific solutions due to its particular location in the water. To begin with, a watertight box had to be formed which can withstand both upwards and downwards loads due to the difference of the water level of 4 meters. Besides, the dike next to which the original bridgehead is built is the main water protection of Rotterdam. This is why the superstructure was not allowed to rest on the dike but has to have its own load-bearing distribution system. Because the first load-bearing sand level in Rotterdam is 25 meters deep, concrete tension and compression piles were used of the same length. At the same time the heavily used theater and the food and beverage accommodation has approximately 1600 visitors. This also required extreme precautions. To avoid collisions of boats, ten huge steel piles of 1.50 meters diameter and 30 meters long had to be placed at 10 meters distance in front of the bridgehead. To keep burning liquids, floating on the water, away from the building, oil booms are connected to these piles and to withstand explosions on the water, the elevations and the roof had to be enforced to a capacity of approximately 5 times the ordinary requirements. Both the interiors of the restaurant and the night theater are designed by interior designers separately appointed by the clients.







Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96.
Vista aerea dei resti del ponte.
Vista lungo il fiume Maas (in fondo il Ponte Erasmus di Van Berkel & Bos) e vista interna.

Maastheater, Rotterdam, 1994-96.
Aerial view of the bridgeheads.
View along the river Maas (with the Erasmus Bridge by Van Berkel & Bos in the background) and interior view.

Herman Hertzberger

“Anne Frank” Basisschool, Papendrecht, 1994
Herman Hertzberger
coll.: Geert Mol, Roos Eichhorn, Peter de Bruyn

Foto G. Mol

“De Bombardon” LOM-Basisschool, Almere, 1993-95
Herman Hertzberger
coll.: Ad Schreuder, Jan v.d. Berg, Roos Eichhorn, Geert Mol, Ariënne Matser

Foto J. Derwig, H.v. Doorn, G.Mol



Scuola elementare “Anne Frank”.
Papendrecht, 1994.
Vista da nordovest.

Primary school “Anne Frank”.
Papendrecht, [illegible]
[illegible] northwest.

Herman Hertzberger

"Anne Frank" Basisschool, Papendrecht, 1994
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"De Bombardon" LOM-Basisschool, Almere, 1993-95
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Foto J. Derwig, H.v. Doorn, G.Mol



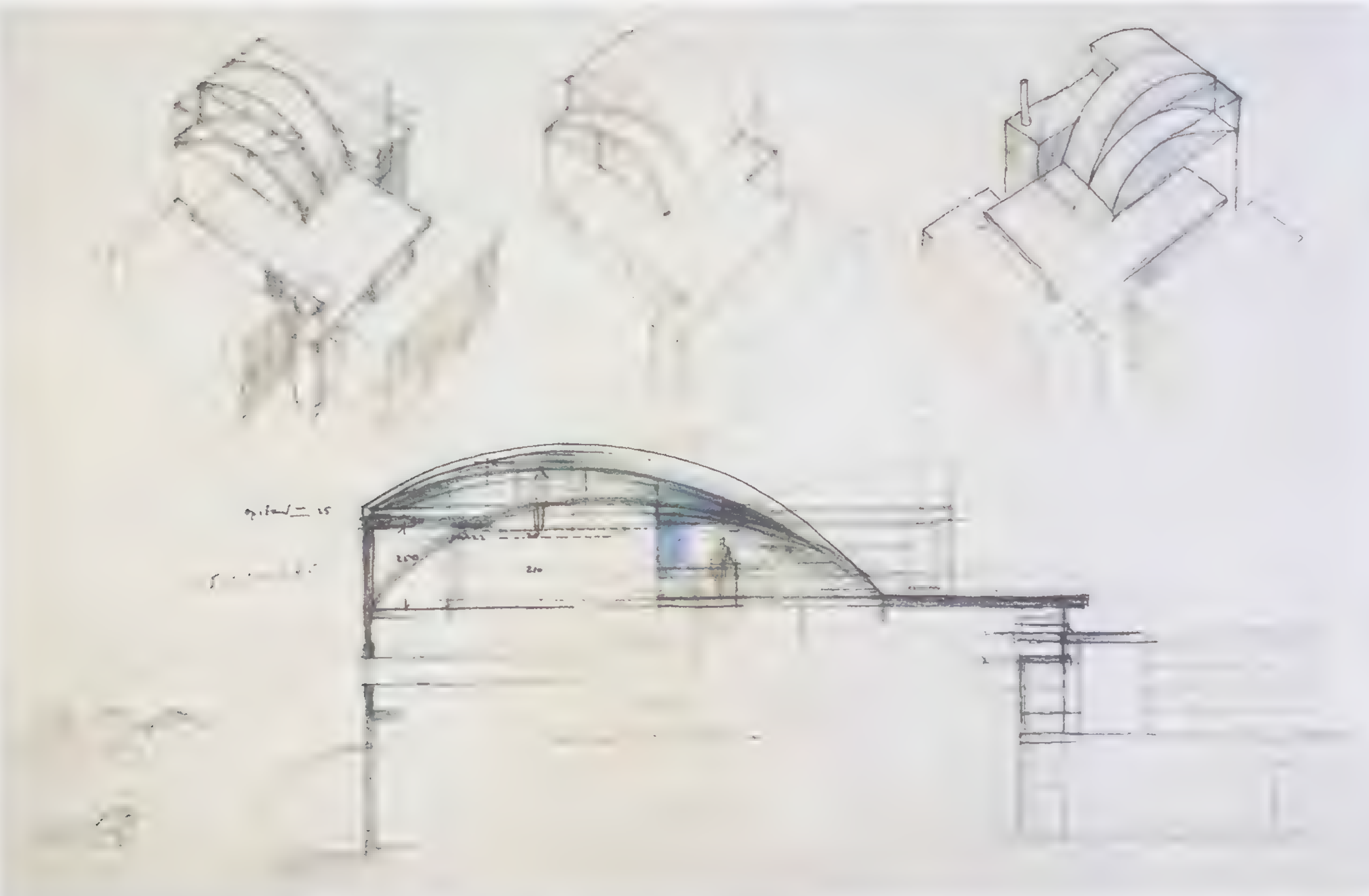
Scuola elementare "Anne Frank", Papendrecht, 1994. Vista da nordovest.

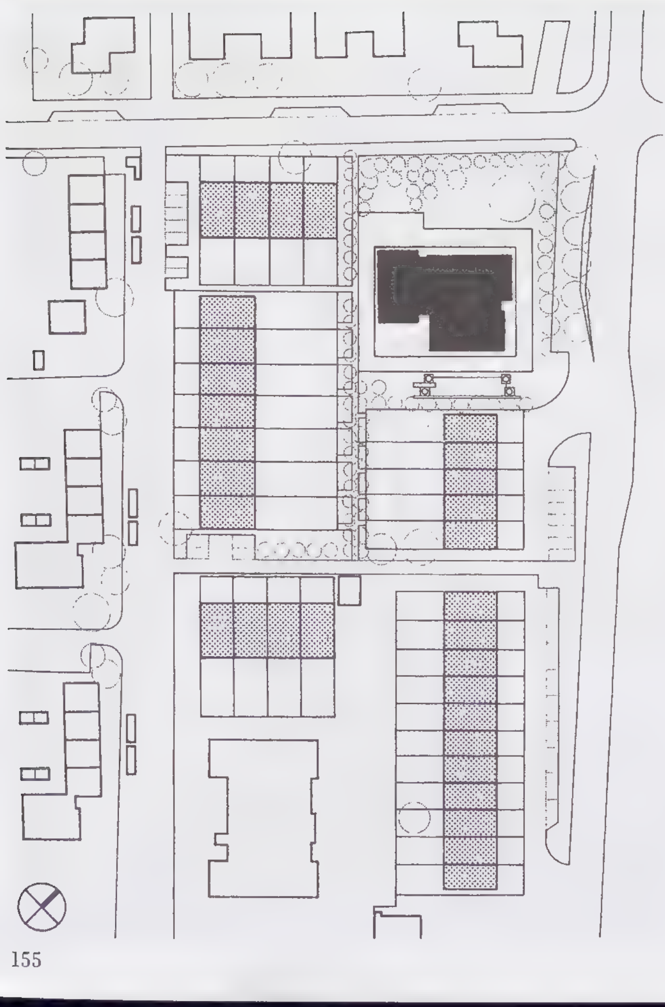
Primary school "Anne Frank", Papendrecht, [illegible] [illegible] northwest.

Scuola elementare "Anne Frank", Papendrecht
Herman Hertzberger
Questa scuola di otto aule costituisce il caposaldo di un'area destinata esclusivamente ad edilizia residenziale. Lo sviluppo verticale garantisce l'isolamento dell'edificio rispetto a future costruzioni e ne circoscrive le dimensioni in pianta. Sull'atrio centrale – nucleo nel quale convergono tutte le attività scolastiche – si affacciano le otto aule, situate in due blocchi identici, e gli altri locali, che si trovano in un terzo corpo sfalsato di mezzo livello. La circolazione avviene per mezzo di rampe di scale e ballatoi che si affacciano sullo spazio centrale. Coperture curve, con grandi aperture per l'immissione della luce solare, sovrastano l'atrio centrale, spazio di grande altezza nel quale convergono linee e masse dei tre corpi circostanti.

Primary school "Anne Frank", Papendrecht
Herman Hertzberger
This school of eight classes provides an urban cornerstone for a site otherwise to receive housing development. The building's vertical treatment serves to separate it from its future neighbours and restricts the size of its footprint. Classes occupy two identical blocks, the remaining rooms being housed in a third block staggered half a level so that stacking results around the central hall.
Circulation is via half-stairs and enlarged stair heads that overlook the void like balconies.
The central hall is the heart of the school where all activity converges.
This particularly tall space is covered by roofs curved so as to unite directional lines and heights of the three surrounding masses and possessing generous openings where daylight pours in.







Scuola elementare "Anne Frank", Papendrecht, 1994.
Sezione verso nordovest, piante dei piani terreno, primo e secondo.
Disegno di studio e planimetria generale.

Primary school "Anne Frank", Papendrecht, 1994.
Section looking northwest, ground floor, first floor and second floor plans.
Working drawings and site plan.

Scuola elementare "Anne Frank",
Papendrecht, 1994.
Viste esterne da sud e da est.
Viste interne dell'atrio. Foto G. Mol.

Primary school "Anne Frank", Papendrecht, 1994
Exterior views from the south and from the east.
Interior views of the entrance hall. Photo G. Mol.

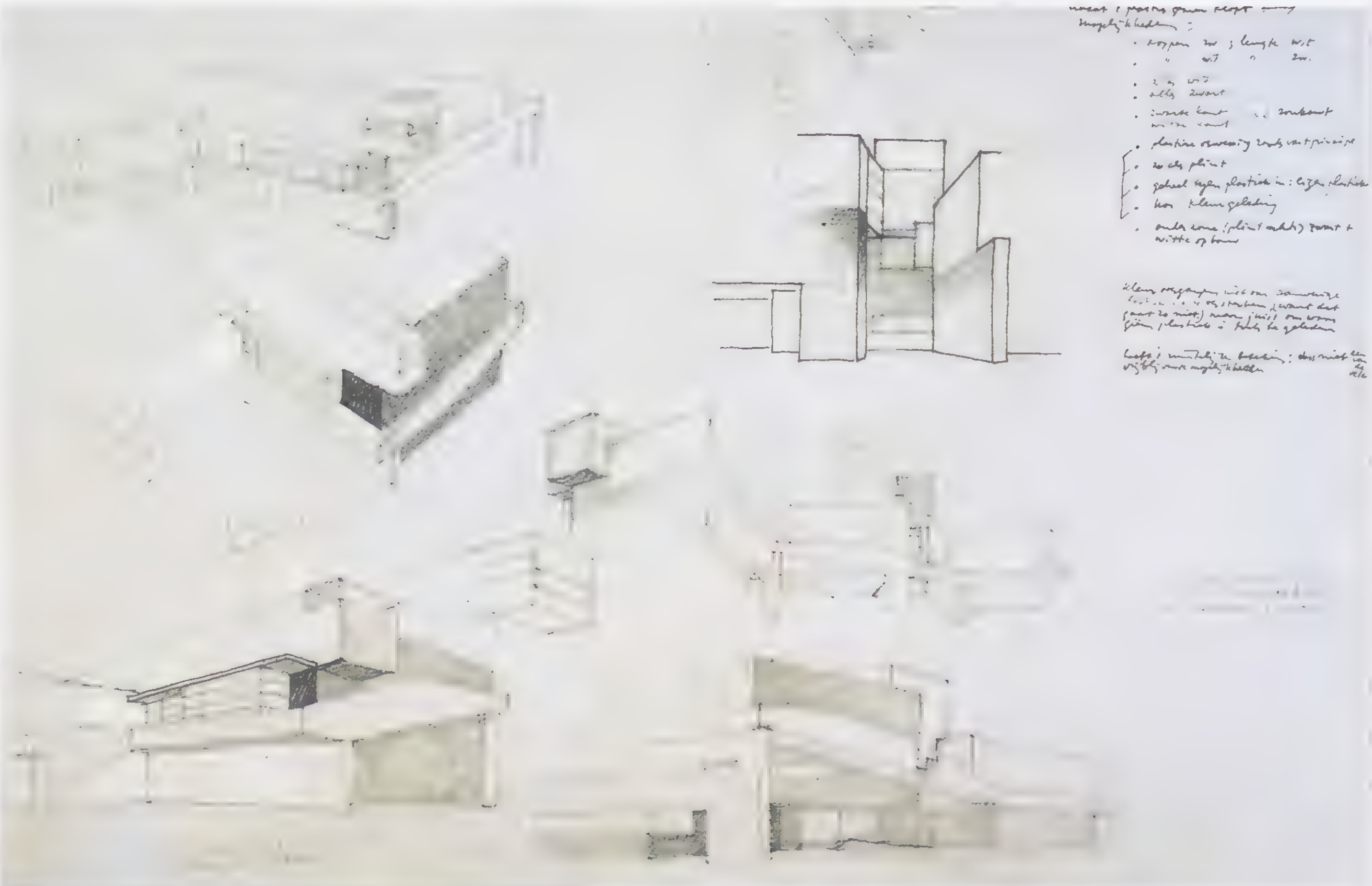






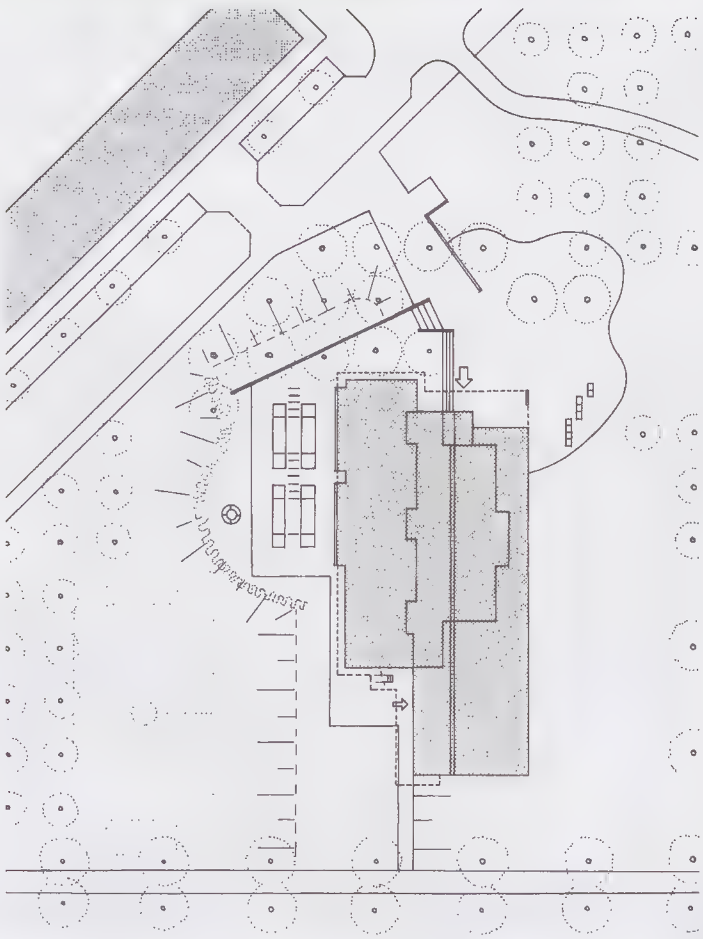






Scuola elementare di recupero "De Bombardon", Almere, 1993-95.
Disegno di studio e planimetria generale.
Piante dei piani terreno, primo e secondo.
Sezione trasversale.

Primary remedial school "De Bombardon", Almere, 1993-95.
Working drawings and site plan.
Ground floor, first floor and second floor plans.
Cross section.

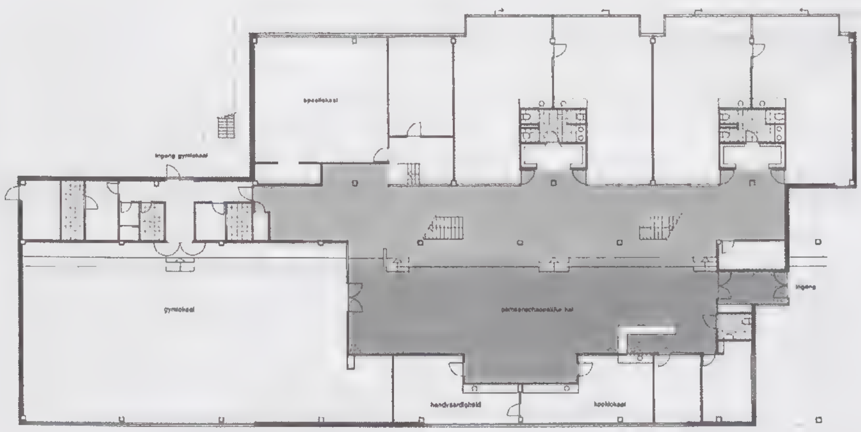


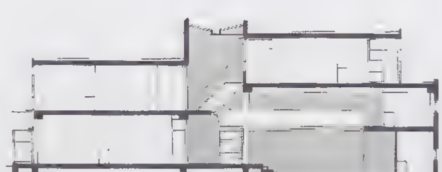
Scuola elementare di recupero “De Bombardon”, Almere
Herman Hertzberger

Oltre a 14 aule tradizionali, questa scuola per bambini con difficoltà comportamentali e di apprendimento ha un elevato numero di spazi complementari, quali 6 aule per corsi di recupero, spazi per l’esercizio psicomotorio, un’aula per lezioni di cucina e una palestra.
Il tema principale è l’assenza di corridoi: tutte le aule si aprono su una sorta di arteria di scorrimento interno che percorre l’edificio in tutta la sua lunghezza. In questo modo gli spostamenti avvengono sempre attraverso una vasta area centrale, simile a una piazza urbana, spazio a tutta altezza che favorisce i contatti interpersonali, gli incontri e le attività comuni. Una grande flessibilità d’uso caratterizza le aule per la cucina e le attività manuali, così come le zone a ballatoio, dove si svolgono altre attività. Le scale che conducono ai piani superiori presentano numerosi punti di sosta dai quali è possibile avere una visione d’insieme dello spazio interno dell’edificio. Lo sfalsamento, lungo tutto il corpo di fabbrica, tra il piano terra e l’area per il gioco, che si trova ad una quota leggermente inferiore, rende più agevole e informale il controllo delle attività dei bambini da parte degli insegnanti.
All’esterno, la presenza di uscite di sicurezza fortemente caratterizzate con ballatoi e collocate tutt’intorno all’edificio permette di derogare alle norme antincendio, che prevederebbero la divisione interna in differenti comparti: in questo modo si preserva l’unità spaziale dell’edificio, evitando interruzioni dovute a chiusure e mantenendo una connessione tra i differenti livelli.









Primary remedial school "De Bombardon", Almere
Herman Hertzberger

Besides 14 formal classrooms, this school for children with learning and educational problems has a relatively large number of additional spaces, including around 6 rooms for remedial teaching, spaces for expressive movement and one for cookery lessons and a gym.
The main theme was the absence of corridors, with all rooms opening on to an uninterrupted hallway stretching like an interior main street over the entire length of the building. The result here is that you always come out into a large central area like a city square, which strongly stimulates social interaction. This lofty space lends itself to all kinds of gatherings and communal activities. The close proximity of the rooms for cookery and handicrafts lessons, as well as the surrounding gallery where various other activities take place, allows for a wide range of uses. The steps to the upper spaces have many spots offering an overview. The difference in level, stretching from one end of the hall to the other, between the ground floor and the play area three steps lower, makes it easy for staff to keep an eye on things, as well as providing the informal opportunity to watch what is taking place below.
Outside, the strongly characteristic fire-escape balconies located around the building prevent it from having to be divided into separate compartments, as fire regulations would normally stipulate. Thanks to this facility, the interior could remain a single spatial unit uninterrupted by doors and even have an open connection between floors.











Scuola elementare di recupero "De Bombardon", Almere, 1993-95.
Vista interna del corridoio al piano primo. Foto G. Mol.
Vista interna dell'atrio. Foto H. v. Doorn.
Vista esterna da sudest. Foto J. Derwig.
Viste della facciata sud.

Primary remedial school "De Bombardon", Almere, 1993-95.
Interior view of the hallway on the first floor. Photo G. Mol.
Interior view of the entrance hall. Photo H. v. Doorn.
Exterior view from the southeast. Photo J. Derwig.
Views of the south elevation.



Mecanoo architekten

[illegible] Technische Universiteit, Delft, 1993-97
[illegible]: *ABT adviesbureau voor bouwtechniek*

[illegible], 1990-95
[illegible]: *ABT adviesbureau voor bouwtechniek*

Biblioteca del Politecnico di Delft, 1993-97.
Vista da nordovest.

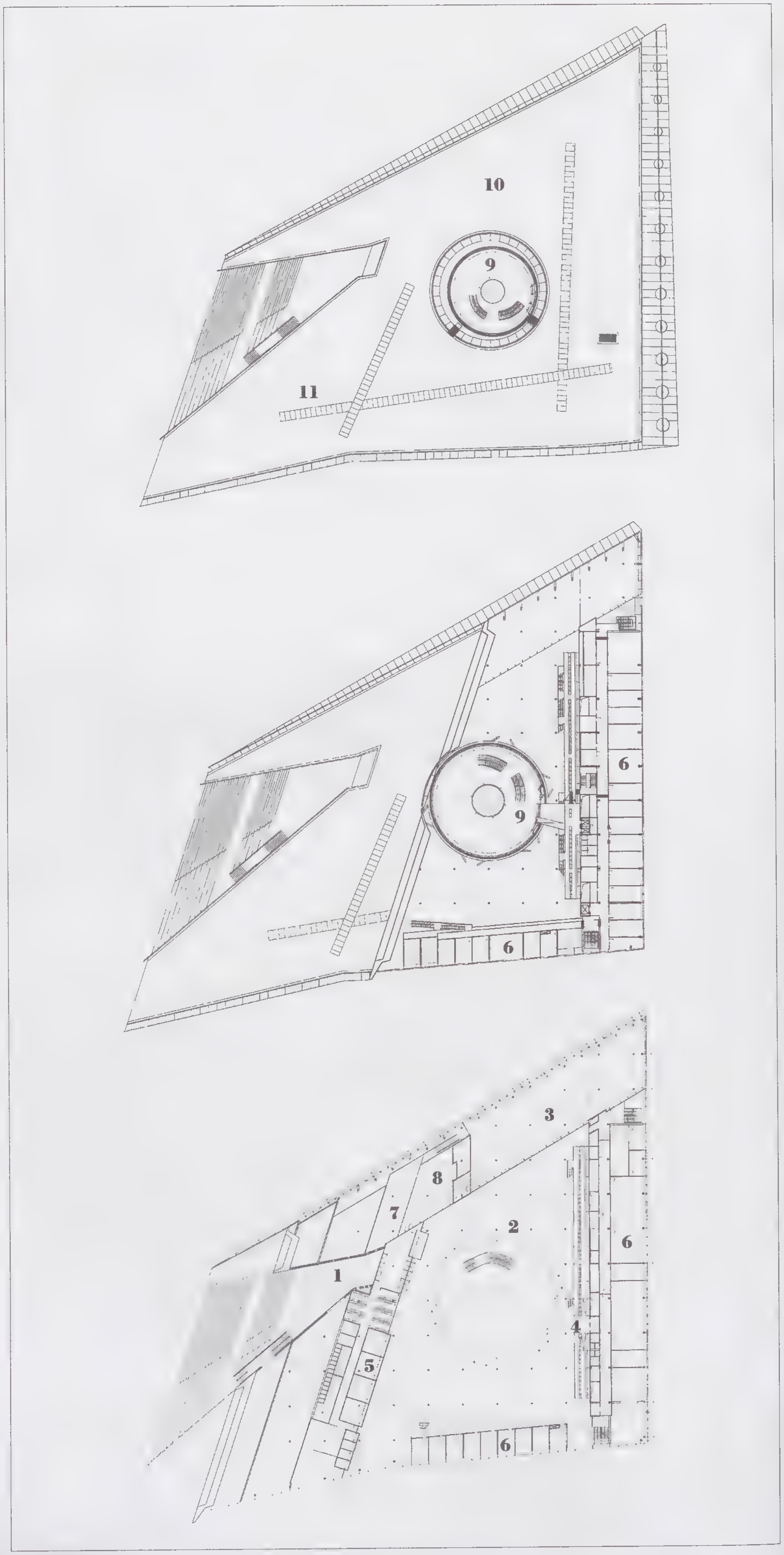
Library of the Delft University of Technology, Delft, 1993-97.
View from the northwest.



Biblioteca del Politecnico di Delft, 1993-97.
Vista da nordovest.

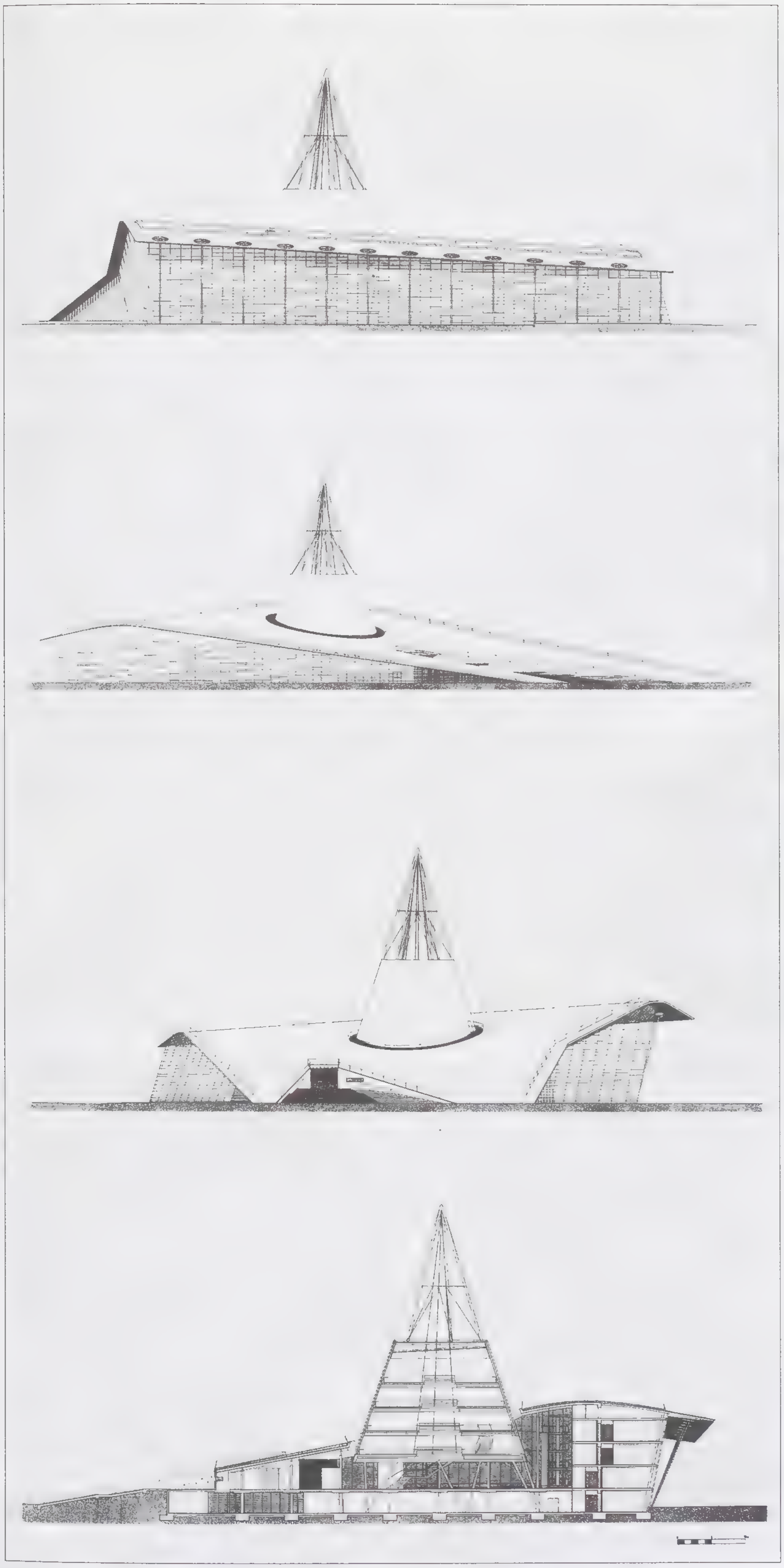
Library of the Delft University of Technology, Delft, 1993-97.
View from the northwest.





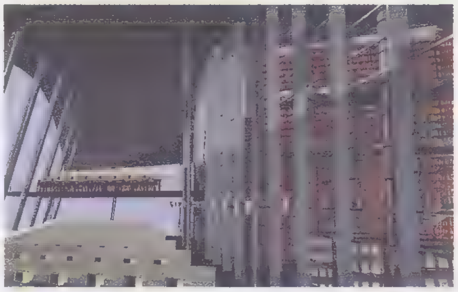
Biblioteca del Politecnico di Delft, 1993-97.
Planimetria generale (in alto l'Aula magna di Van den Broek e Bakema).
Piante del piano di ingresso e dei piani secondo e quarto: 1) ingresso; 2) hall; 3) posti di studio attrezzati; 4) scaffalature aperte; 5) studioli multipli; 6) uffici; 7) bookstore; 8) caffetteria; 9) sala di lettura; 10) copertura a prato; 11) percorsi pedonali.
Prospetti nordovest, est e ovest, sezione longitudinale e prospettive computerizzate.

Library of the Delft University of Technology, Delft, 1993-97.
Site plan (above, the Hall by Van den Broek and Bakema).
Entrance level and second floor and fourth floor plans: 1) entrance; 2) hall; 3) study places; 4) open bookcase; 5) multiple study rooms; 6) offices; 7) bookstore; 8) cafeteria; 9) reading room; 10) grass roof; 11) foot paths.
Northwest, east and west elevations, longitudinal section and perspective computer drawings.

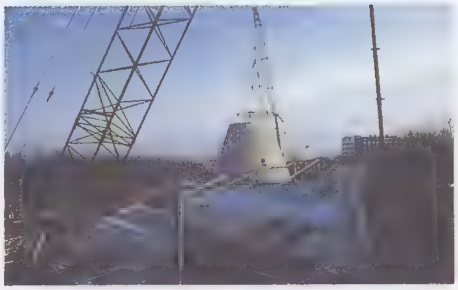




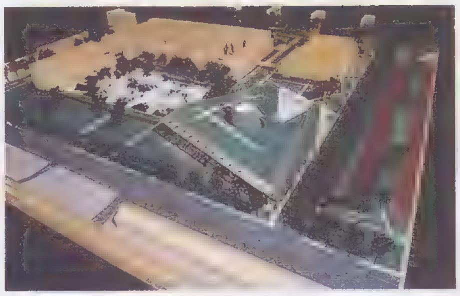


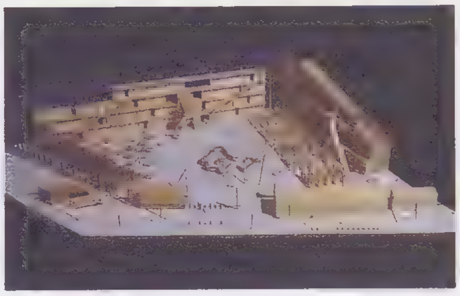












Biblioteca del Politecnico di Delft
Mecanoo

Il tema progettuale della nuova Biblioteca all'interno del *campus* della TU (Technische Universiteit) presentava un aspetto particolarmente interessante: la contiguità con l'enorme Aula magna realizzata da Van den Broek e Bakema (1961-66), una costruzione imponente e di difficile approccio, che sembrava non poter tollerare la vicinanza di altri edifici. Lo spoglio spazio circostante richiedeva un intervento che implicasse un cambiamento radicale. Si voleva inoltre creare l'atmosfera del *campus*, della quale l'Università sembrava priva: spazi verdi e ampie scalinate dove studenti e insegnanti possano incontrarsi senza formalità. Comunemente si associa il concetto di biblioteca alla presenza di libri: un'infinità di volumi riposti in scaffali alti fino al soffitto. Ma una biblioteca moderna si avvale essenzialmente di sistemi informatizzati e i libri sono conservati nei depositi. A dover essere messi in mostra non sono quindi i libri, ma la tecnologia: occorreva dunque un edificio del futuro, così come lo è un aeroporto. Queste erano le intenzioni.
Il *campus* è stato trasformato in un'ampia distesa erbosa sulla quale la nuova costruzione è atterrata come un'astronave. O come un'enorme rana a suo agio tra l'erba. In un angolo, come un foglio di carta, il prato si alza a formare la copertura della Biblioteca, sulla quale è possibile camminare. La copertura erbosa è sostenuta da pilastri e la grande sala così ottenuta ha pareti climatizzate in vetro. Nel punto di stacco della copertura inclinata, un'agevole scala conduce all'ingresso.
Più oltre, la distesa erbosa è perforata da un grande cono, che si conclude al colmo con una struttura aperta. Il cono, oltre ad essere simbolo di tecnologia, permette alla luce di penetrare all'interno dell'edificio attraverso una lastra di vetro posta nella parte superiore. Alto più di m 40 e illuminato durante la notte, questo elemento ha la stessa funzione di un faro.
La maggior parte dei libri è conservata nei depositi al piano seminterrato; quelli di libera consultazione, invece, sono facilmente accessibili, disposti in una grande scaffalatura che attraversa l'edificio a tutta altezza, dal piano terra fino al soffitto del quarto piano.
La nuova Biblioteca si presenta quindi come un moderno edificio di vetro e di prato, che non vuole essere una costruzione in senso tradizionale ma un elemento del paesaggio. Un edificio del futuro, dove 300 dei 1000 posti di lettura sono dotati di terminali. Sono così soddisfatte le esigenze della cosiddetta "autostrada elettronica", pur mantenendo la possibilità di un contatto "fisico" con i libri, di toccarli e sentirne l'odore: all'interno del cono si trovano posti di lettura tradizionali, dove è possibile consultare i volumi e leggere in tutta tranquillità.

Library of the Delft University of Technology, Delft
Mecanoo

The location for the new library on the campus of the TU (Technische Universiteit) is intriguing: right next to the colossal hall by Van den Broek and Bakema (1961-66), a prominent and almost unassailable edifice that will not tolerate another building beside it. Its bare surroundings invite radical change. What the university area lacks is a campus atmosphere: lawns, flowers, trees and broad steps where students and teachers can meet informally. We associate a library with books: an infinity of books in cases reaching up to the ceiling. But a modern library works with computers and hides the books away in storerooms. Not books but technology must be displayed: a building like an airport, a building of the future. This is how it was phrased in the brief.
The campus is turned into a large expanse of grass in which the hall has landed like a spaceship. Or like a huge frog, who feels at home in the green grass. At one corner the grass is lifted like a sheet of paper to form the roof of the library, a roof that can be walked over. The raised grass is supported by columns and the large hall thus created is provided with glass climate walls. Where the slope begins it is interrupted by gentle stairs leading to the entrance.
Further on a huge cone pierces the grass expanse; its top consists of an open construction. The cone is not only a symbol of technology but also has a function in the supply of light. In the roof of the cone there is a glass plate which lets daylight penetrate into the middle of the building. Over 40 meters high and floodlit at night, this structure acts as a beacon at all hours. Most of the books are kept in storerooms in the basement. But those which are available to the public are tangibly close, displayed in a vast bookcase in the high part of the building which extends from the ground floor to the ceiling of the fourth floor.
The new library reveals itself as a modern building of glass and grass, a building that wants to be not a building but a landscape. And a building of the future, where 300 of the 1000 study places are equipped with terminals. The requirements of the "electronic superhighway" are met, but in addition there is ample opportunity to smell and feel the books, and in the cone there are old-fashioned study places where it is possible to browse and read in peace.





Biblioteca del Politecnico di Delft, 1993-97.
Vista di cantiere da sudovest e modelli.

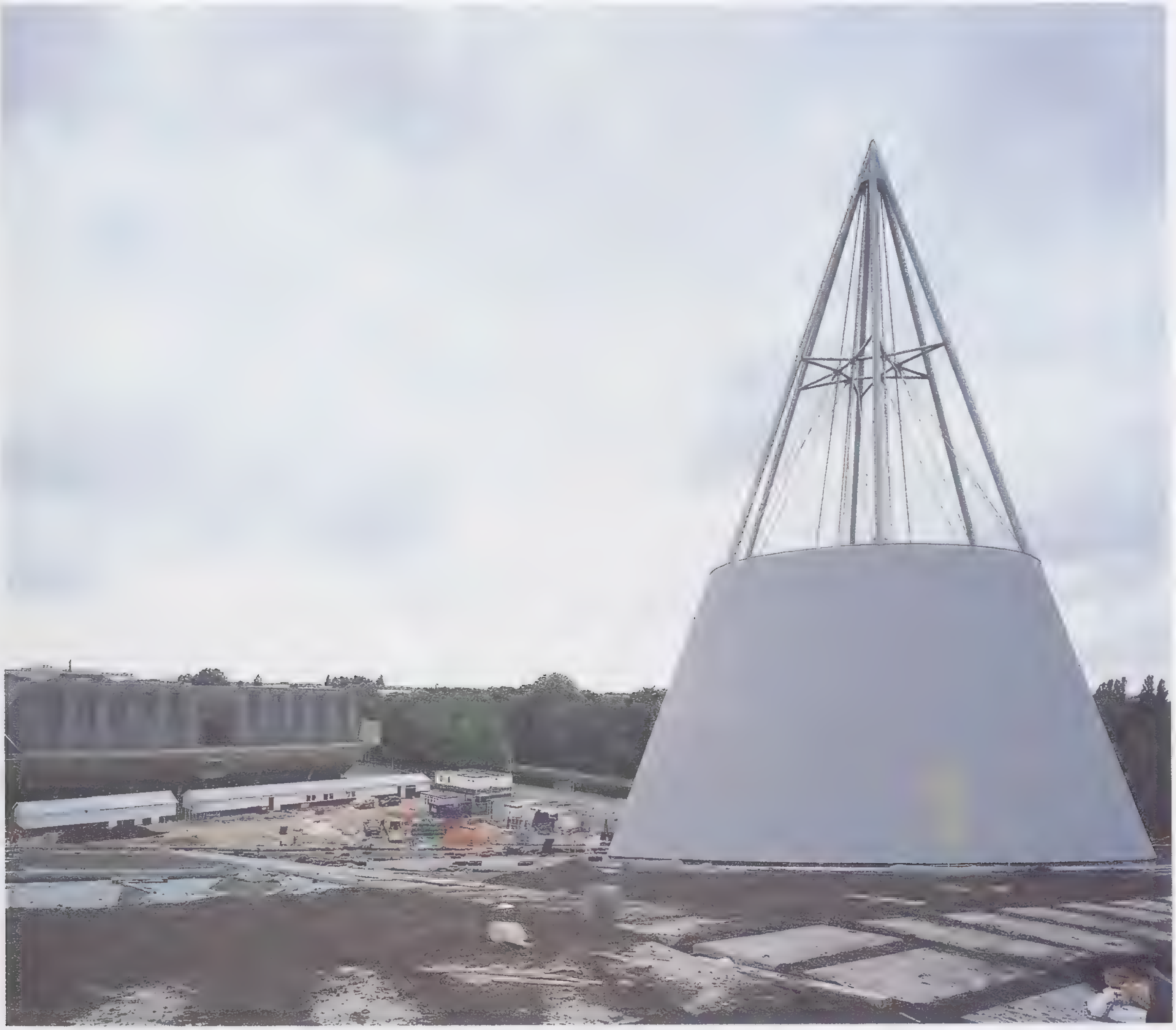
Library of the Delft University of Technology, Delft, 1993-97.
View of the construction site from the southwest and models.

Biblioteca del Politecnico di Delft, 1993-97.
Viste di cantiere dell'interno della hall e vista esterna della copertura verso l'Aula magna di Van den Broek e Bakema.

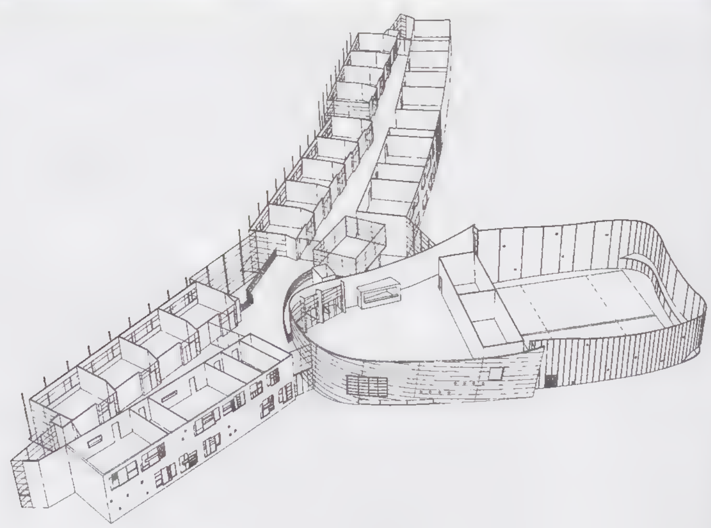
Library of the Delft University of Technology, Delft, 1993-97.
Interior views of the hall under construction and view of the roof of the new building toward the Hall by Van den Broek and Bakema.





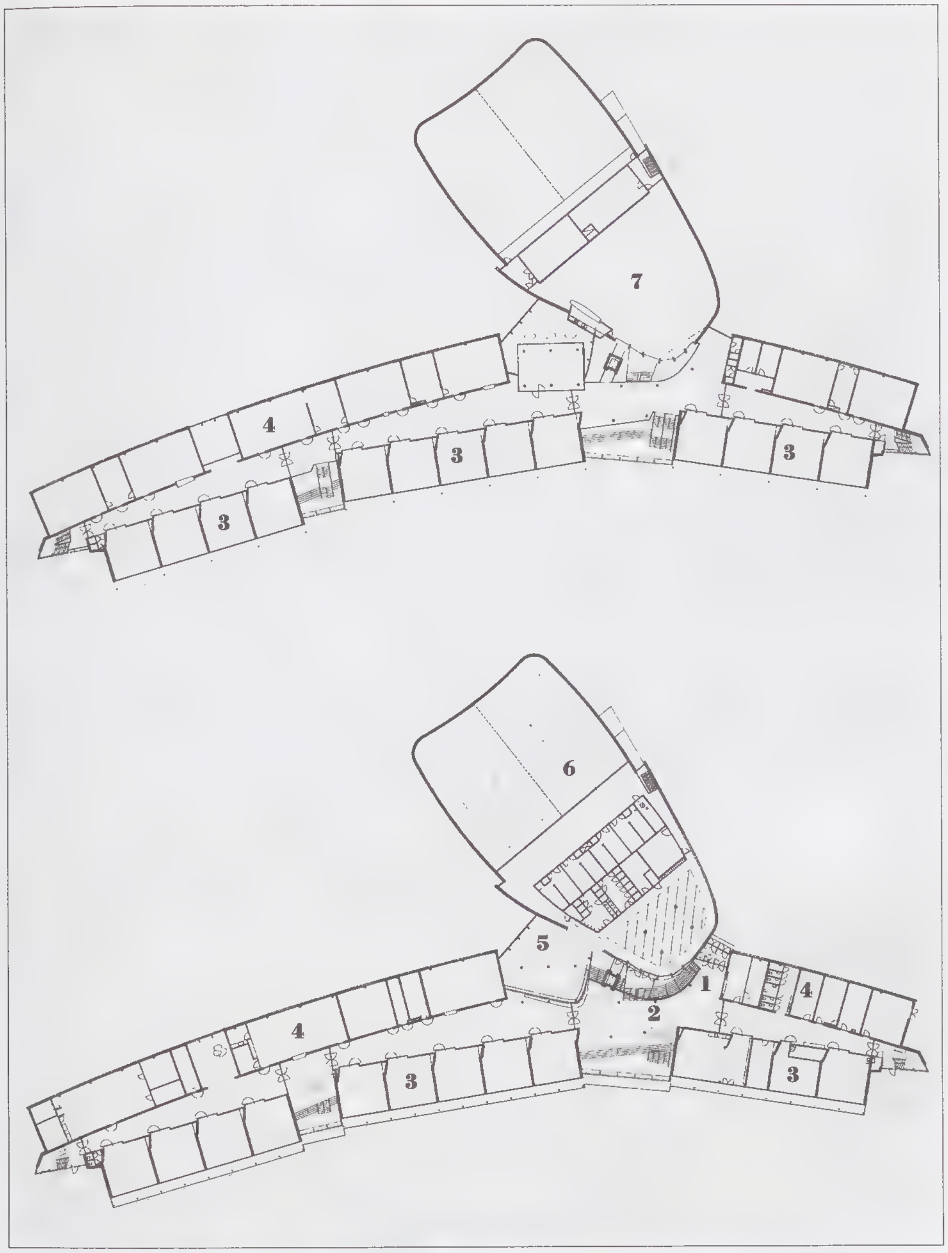


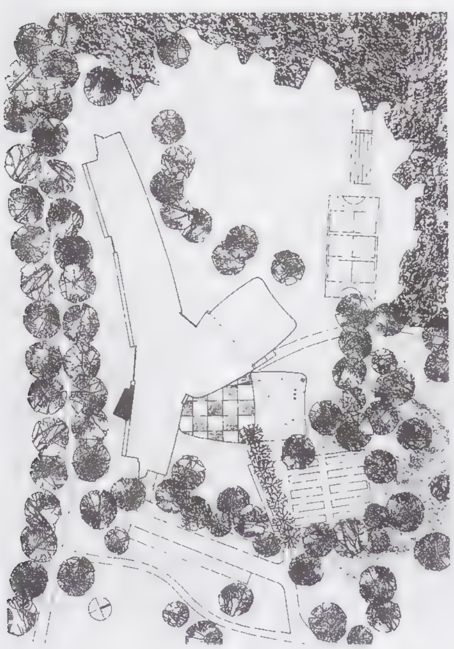




Isala College, Silvolde
Mecanoo

L'Isala College è una Scuola superiore per 750 allievi. A partire dal 1970 le diverse parti funzionali risultavano organizzate secondo un impianto, cresciuto per aggiunte successive, costituito da un insieme di costruzioni provvisorie distribuite in modo inappropriato e, in alcuni casi, dislocate a una considerevole distanza le une dalle altre. Distribuzione che ostacolava anche la vista verso i prati e il fiume, attraverso gli alberi.
Il progetto della nuova Scuola si è proposto due principali obbiettivi: creare un edificio unitario e inserirlo maggiormente nel verde circostante. Al fine di ottenere nell'area a disposizione spazi sufficienti ad ospitare tutte le funzioni previste, è stata progettata una costruzione a due piani, a cui si affiancano campi sportivi, un cortile e il parcheggio per le biciclette.
La forma del nuovo edificio trae ispirazione dal fiume: un corpo di forma allungata, leggermente curvato, con un ampio corridoio centrale per la distribuzione interna. Qui trova sede la maggior parte delle aule per l'insegnamento delle materie teoriche, con ampie finestre affacciate a sud, con vista sul fiume. La facciata sud, che presenta una schermatura sorretta da esili pilastri, è rivestita con pannelli in legno, in armonia con l'ambiente circostante. Nella parte esposta a nord si trovano i laboratori di scienze e gli uffici della direzione. Rispetto alle aule, questi spazi presentano forme e materiali differenti e sono distribuiti in modo da rendere il corridoio un percorso luminoso e piacevole.
Gli uffici amministrativi della Scuola si trovano in un piccolo corpo leggermente disassato rispetto al resto dell'edificio. Le altre classi (per l'insegnamento della geografia e per l'informatica) sono situate sotto gli uffici amministrativi. L'aula magna, che ha anche funzione di auditorium, è l'elemento centrale dell'edificio e si trova presso l'ingresso, nel punto di snodo tra le due ali del corpo di fabbrica. Al di sotto di essa vi sono guardaroba e ufficio del custode. Le due palestre, con annessi spogliatoi, hanno entrate indipendenti ma sono accessibili anche attraverso l'aula magna.





Isala College, Silvolde, 1990-95.
Vista da sud e assonometria.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo: 1) ingresso; 2) hall; 3) aule; 4) laboratori; 5) biblioteca; 6) palestra; 7) auditorium.
Planimetria generale.

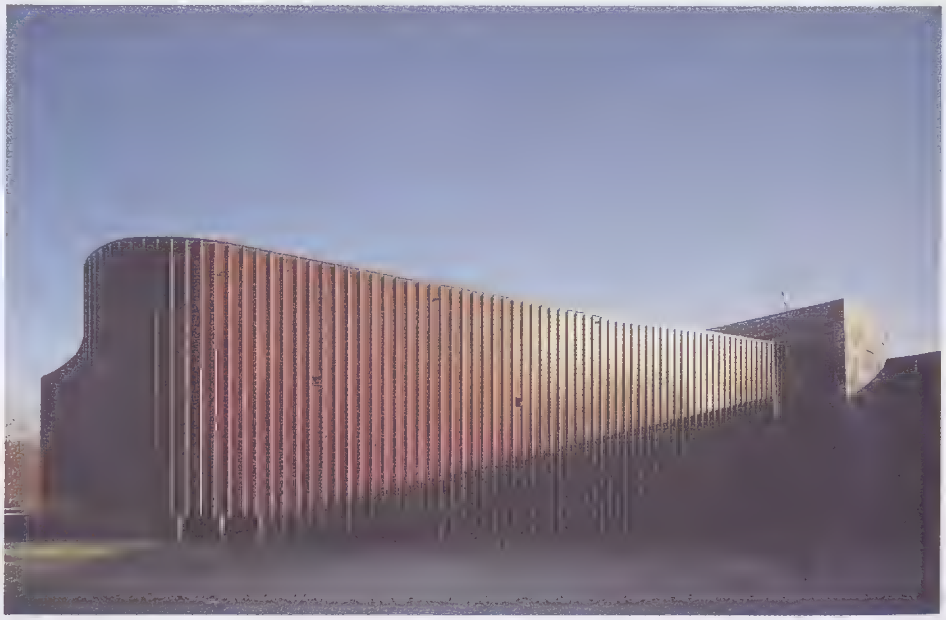
Isala College, Silvolde, 1990-95.
View from the south and axonometric.
Ground floor and first floor plans: 1) entrance; 2) hall; 3) classrooms; 4) laboratories; 5) library; 6) gymnastics; 7) auditorium.
Site plan.

Isala College, Silvolde
Mecanoo

The Isala College is a secondary school for 750 pupils. Since 1970, the facilities have been housed in an ever expanding collection of temporary buildings. The layout of the temporary buildings was rather inconvenient, with long walking distances between some buildings. Also, a charming view through the trees at the meadows and old river-landscape was blocked. In designing the new school, the two main objectives were to create a compact building and to direct the building more towards the green surroundings; in order to be able to house all school functions on the terrain available, a two-storeyed building was designed. Various sports facilities, a school yard and bicycle storage take up the rest of the available space.
The shape of the new building has been inspired by the river: a slightly curved, elongated building, with a wide corridor running down its centre. Nearly all classrooms for theoretical subjects are housed in this building. The large windows face south and give a panoramic view over the river. An awning is supported by slim posts. The facade of the south side of the building has been finished with a wooden panelling, in accord with the surroundings. The north side of the building houses the science labs and the directors' offices. The labs and offices have different shapes and different materials have been used than in the classrooms for theoretical subjects. The rooms are laid out in a way which makes the corridor a bright and interesting route.
The administrative functions of the school are housed in a short block, at a slight angle with the rest of the building. The remaining classrooms (geography, computer studies) are situated above the administration offices. In the bend between the two wings, close to the entrance, the assembly hall, which also functions as auditorium, is truly the heart of the building. The cloakroom and caretaker's office are both underneath the assembly hall. The two gymnasiums with changing rooms have a separate entrance but are also accessible through the assembly hall.









Isala College, Silvolde, 1990-95.
Viste esterne.

Isala College, Silvolde, 1990-95.
Exterior views.

MVRDV



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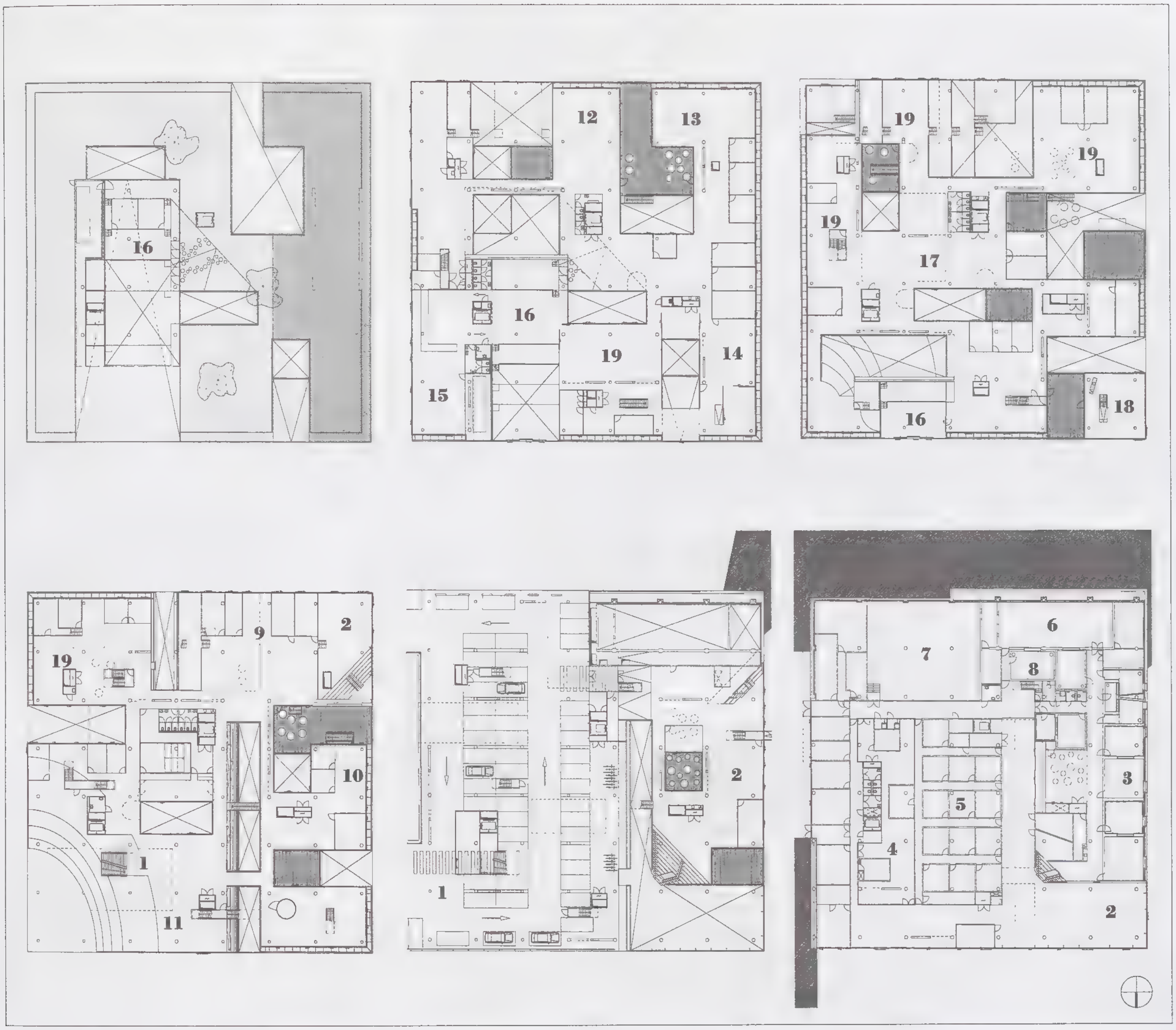


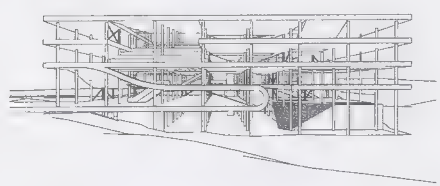
Centro radiotelevisivo VPRO, Hilversum
Winy Maas, Jacob van Rijs, Nathalie de Vries
MVRDV

Per VPRO, la compagnia televisiva olandese "artistica", trasferirsi in un nuovo edificio significa abbandonare le circa 11 ville che, contribuendo fortemente a definirne l'identità, ne hanno costituito la sede fino ad oggi. Si tratta quindi di creare un ambiente di lavoro, un "vero" ufficio, per persone abituate ad operare in *suite*, attici, serre e *bel-étage*. Ma è giusto rinunciare a questa precedente identità? Si può combinare l'uso improvvisato dello spazio, che così spesso ha avuto influenza sui programmi prodotti, con l'"efficienza" necessaria in un moderno ufficio? Può essere conservato questo carattere di "scioltezza" anche in occasione di un "ampliamento"? Può ancora esistere oggi la metafora della villa? La tipologia della villa è caratterizzata dalla compattezza (assenza di lunghi corridoi), dalla presenza di "camere" e dal rapporto con il paesaggio circostante. Il desiderio di unità spaziale, tenuto conto dei vincoli urbanistici, ha fatto sì che questo diventasse l'edificio per uffici "più profondo" d'Olanda. Un "bombardamento di precisione" di aperture, disposte a serpentina, ha reso possibile combinare le esigenze di illuminazione e aerazione con la percezione visiva dell'ambiente circostante. Ne risulta uno spazio di lavoro dove resta vaga la differenza tra interno ed esterno.
Il verde esistente sarà sostituito da un tetto giardino, con piante di erica, al di sotto del quale i diversi livelli si sovrappongono, quasi fossero una stratificazione geologica. Questi livelli sono interconnessi spazialmente da differenti sistemi – rampe, scale monumentali, leggeri dislivelli, gradonate, pavimenti inclinati – che nel loro insieme costituiscono un percorso che dall'esterno porta alla copertura dell'edificio. Lo spazio interno risulta un continuo, dove le differenti altezze mettono in relazione spazi specifici e ambiente collettivo, stimolando la reciproca comunicazione. Grazie alla varietà tipologica degli spazi d'ufficio – grandi sale, attici, corridoi, patii, terrazze –, vera e propria metafora della villa, i vari livelli potranno essere "ripianificati" secondo le variabili esigenze dell'azienda. La struttura consiste in una "foresta" di pilastri e di piccole mensole che consentono di ottenere piani liberi.
I materiali utilizzati riecheggiano quelli propri delle ville esistenti: soffitti "veri" rivestiti in pietra, invece che controsoffitti; muri "veri" con porte scorrevoli, invece che sistemi di pareti attrezzate; pavimenti rivestiti in pietra, che non danno la sensazione di essere cavi, con tappeti persiani su misura, invece che pavimenti galleggianti con rivestimenti *standard*; porte scorrevoli a tutta altezza che aprono su terrazze, invece che semplici finestre. Il fronte è il risultato di una "campionatura" di esigenze. Allo scopo di tenere la visuale aperta il più possibile sull'ambiente circostante si è ricorso a 35 tipi di superfici vetrate, diverse per dimensione e posizione. La ricchezza spaziale dell'interno dell'edificio sarà così riflessa dal "rosone" delle differenti vetrate.



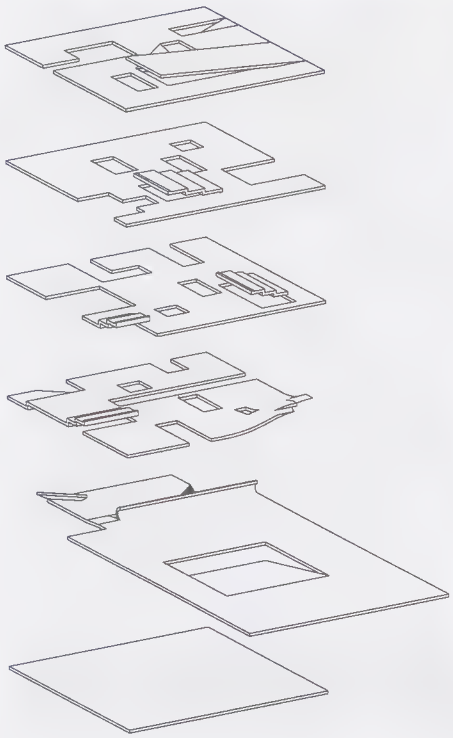


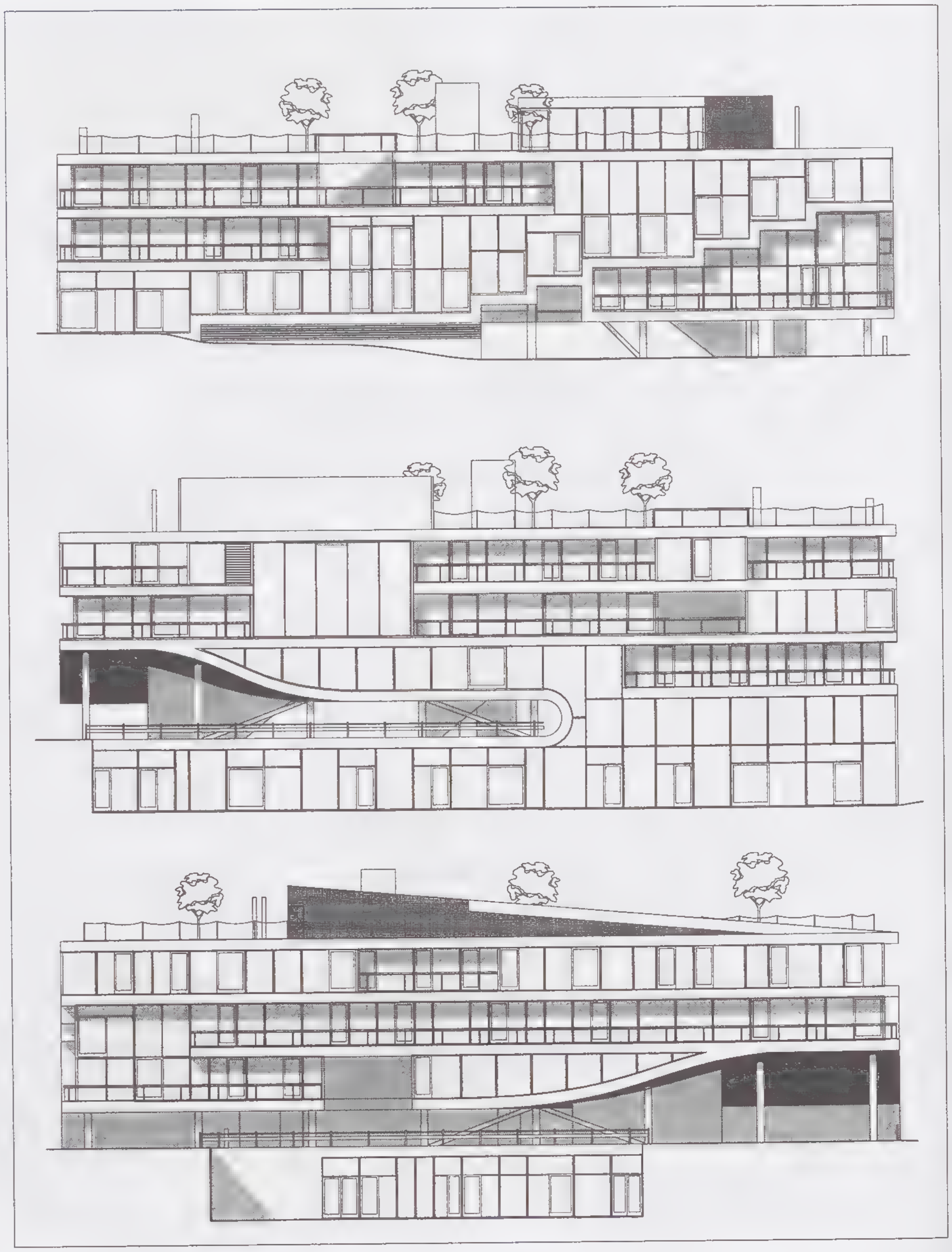


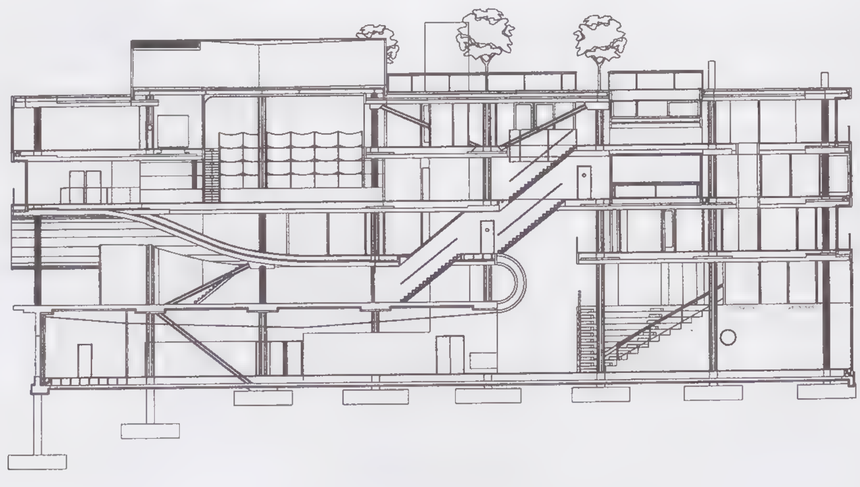


Centro radiotelevisivo VPRO, Hilversum, 1993-97.
Viste del fronte est.
Piante dei piani interrato, terreno, primo, secondo, terzo e quarto: 1) ingresso; 2) redazione radiofonica; 3) studio radiofonico; 4) archivio; 5) off-lines; 6) studio televisivo; 7) impianti; 8) deposito rifiuti; 9) programmazione e produzione; 10) pubbliche relazioni; 11) servizi al pubblico; 12) documentazione; 13) amministrazione; 14) affari generali; 15) cucina; 16) ristorante; 17) digitale; 18) riunioni; 19) redazione televisiva.
Disegno prospettico della struttura.

VPRO Broadcasting Company, Hilversum, 1993-97.
Views of the east elevation.
Basement level, ground floor, first floor, second floor, third floor and fourth floor plans: 1) entrance; 2) radio department; 3) radio studio; 4) archive; 5) off-lines; 6) T.V. studio; 7) installations; 8) grime; 9) planning and production; 10) public relations; 11) public services; 12) documentation; 13) administration; 14) general business; 15) kitchen; 16) restaurant; 17) digital; 18) meeting-room; 19) T.V. department.
Perspective drawing of the structure.







VPRO Broadcasting Company, Hilversum
Winy Maas, Jacob van Rijs, Nathalie de Vries
MVRDV

For the VPRO, the Dutch "artistic" broadcasting company, a new building means leaving the present condition of more or less 11 villas. Villas, which played throughout the years a vital role in the identity of the VPRO. People, who used to work in rooms-en-suite, attics, serres *and* bel-étages *will have to find their spot in a new and "real" office-environment. Should this existing identity be stopped? Can the present improvised use of space, which often had an influence on the programs that were produced, be combined with the required "efficiency" of the modern office? And can this "loose" character be re-used even under the circumstances of "enlargement"? Can the metaphor of the villa still exist in modern times? The villa can be characterized by compactness (the absence of long corridors), by different types of "rooms" and by its relation with the surrounding landscape. This compactness leads within the urban constraints to the "deepest" office-building of Holland. A "precision-bombardment" of snake-like holes makes it possible to combine light and air with views to the surrounding. The result is an office-landscape where the difference between outside and inside is vague. The existing nature will be replaced by an elevated heather roof, under which like a geological formation a series of floors is made. These floors are interconnected by different spatial means: ramps, monumental stairs, mini-hills, grand stairs, slopes, thus forming a route from the surroundings towards the roof. It causes a continuous interior where the differences in height combine the specific with the general, stimulating the communication patterns. These floors can be "urbanized" according to the changing demands of the company: a range of office typologies as the saloon-, attic-, corridor-, patio- and terrace offices form a retrospective of the existing villas. These floors are supported by a "forest" of columns and minimal bracing in order to keep the planes as open as possible. In materialisation the villa echoes the present villas: no false lowered ceiling-systems but a "real" stone ceiling; no clicking wall-systems but "real" walls with sliding doors; no computerfloors but a stone-one that does not sound hollow, covered by individually chosen persian rugs instead of this standard "project-tapestry"; no windows but fullheight glass sliding-doors opening towards balconies. The facade has become the result of a "datascape" of demands. In order to keep the view towards the surrounding nature as open as possible 35 species of glass have been employed, caused of the differences in height and position. The spatial richness of the interior will thus be reflected by this "rose-window" of glasstypes.*





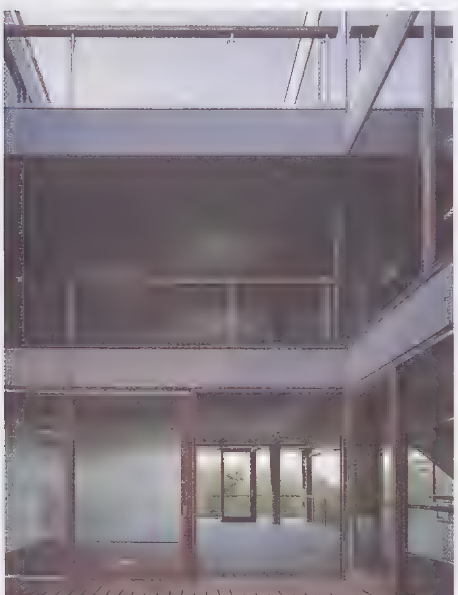
Centro radiotelevisivo VPRO, Hilversum, 1993-97.
Diagramma dei piani sovrapposti.
Prospetti sud, nord ed est.
Sezione verso sud.
Viste interne di una redazione televisiva e del ristorante.

VPRO Broadcasting Company, Hilversum, 1993-97.
Diagram of the superimposed levels.
South, north and east elevations.
Section looking southward.
Interior views of a T.V. department and of the restaurant.









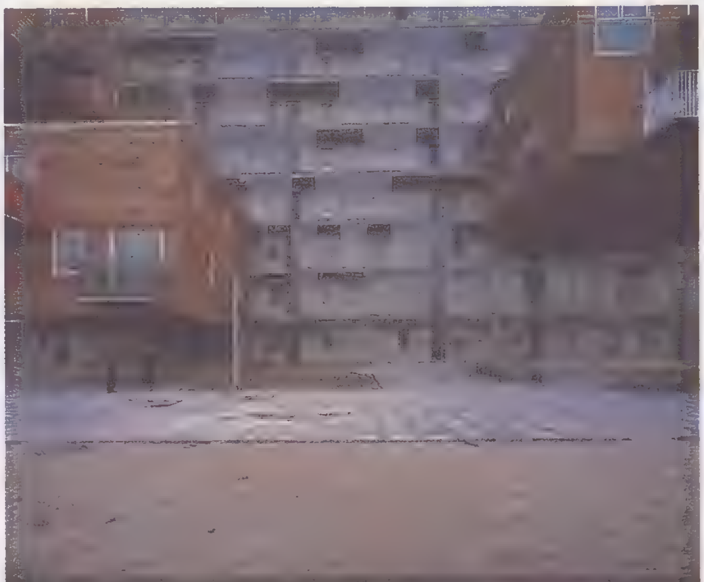
Centro radiotelevisivo VPRO, Hilversum, 1993-97.
Viste interne della redazione radiofonica al piano terreno, dell'atrio di ingresso al primo piano, della redazione televisiva al primo piano e di un patio.

VPRO Broadcasting Company, Hilversum, 1993-97.
Interior views of the radio department (ground floor), of the entrance hall (first floor), of the T.V. department (first floor) and of a patio.



Residenze per anziani, Amsterdam-Osdorp, 1994-97.
Vista da nord e dettaglio del fronte nordovest.
Sezione trasversale, prospetto laterale e prospettiva.

Houses for elderly people, Amsterdam-Osdorp, 1994-97.
View from the north and detail of the northwest elevation.
Cross section, side elevation and perspective.

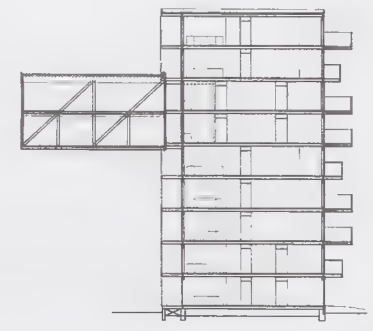


100 alloggi per anziani, Amsterdam-Osdorp
Winy Maas, Jacob van Rijs, Nathalie de Vries MVRDV

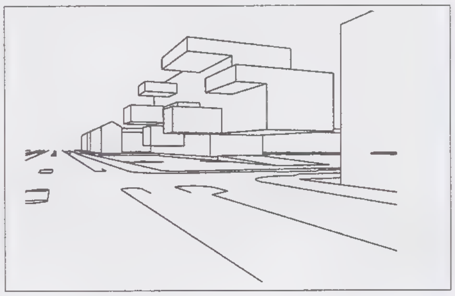
Nelle Western Garden Cities massicci interventi di edificazione intensiva continuano a minacciare le aree verdi, che rappresentano la qualità più rilevante di questa parte della città. In questo ambito è stato proposto il progetto di un edificio con 100 alloggi destinati a persone di età superiore ai 55 anni, elemento conclusivo di una fascia di servizi per anziani. Esso può essere considerato un'innovazione rispetto alle tipologie correnti di edifici per anziani, garantendo agli abitanti un più elevato grado di indipendenza: in tal modo, passata "l'onda grigia", questi alloggi potranno in futuro ospitare persone più giovani.
Volendo garantire agli edifici circostanti un'adeguata esposizione, ottemperando ai princìpi di Van Eesteren all'interno di un unico blocco sarebbe stato possibile realizzare soltanto 87 dei 100 alloggi previsti. Rimaneva quindi il problema di dove collocare altre 13 unità abitative. Realizzare un altro edificio significava ridurre ulteriormente l'area libera disponibile; non era inoltre possibile aumentare la profondità del corpo di fabbrica e diminuire le dimensioni delle singole unità. Dato l'orientamento nord-sud del blocco, è stato adottato un modulo di m 7.20. Le 13 unità sono state "sbalzate" sulla facciata nord, grazie a strutture a mensola che le fanno apparire letteralmente sospese, creando un fronte fortemente articolato lungo la Ookmeerweg. Gli alloggi con disposizione nord-sud sono integrati da altri, con orientamento est-ovest, che affacciano sul *polder*.
Limitando il numero delle partizioni interne dell'alloggio tipo è stato possibile ridurre i costi del 7-8% in modo da compensare la spesa, superiore del 50%, delle "unità sospese". Variando la posizione delle finestre, oltreché dimensioni e materiali dei balconi, anche gli alloggi distribuiti dai ballatoi, lungo i quali si godono differenti viste prospettiche, acquisiscono un carattere peculiare. Poiché i muri divisori presentano, per ragioni di isolamento acustico, uno spessore maggiorato di cm 8 rispetto a quanto strutturalmente necessario, è stato possibile tenere le travi a mensola in spessore, senza dover aumentare il peso dei muri portanti. Le travi sono rivestite per rispondere alle norme di isolamento acustico e antincendio. Grazie alle unità abitative "a sbalzo" sulla facciata nord, è stato possibile mantenere a verde una superficie maggiore di terreno. Questo intervento si può pertanto considerare come un prototipo per quanto riguarda le operazioni di edificazione intensiva in quest'area.

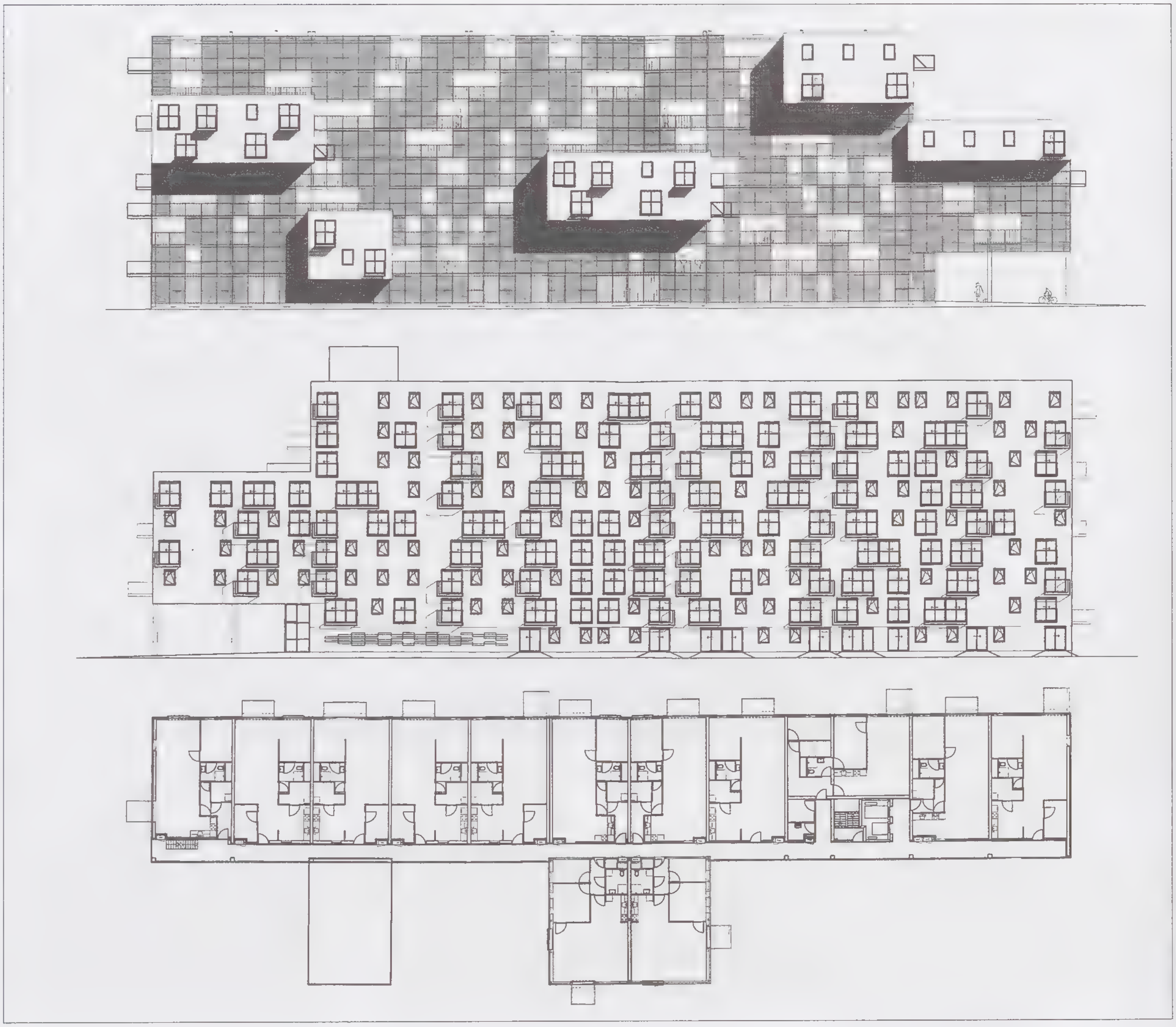
100 houses for elderly people, Amsterdam-Osdorp
Winy Maas, Jacob van Rijs, Nathalie de Vries MVRDV

In the Western Garden Cities we are confronted with massive densification operations that continue to threaten the open green spaces, the most important quality of this part of the city.
As part of this operation, a block of 100 apartments for 55+ers is proposed to mark the end of a facility strip for the elderly. This could be viewed as a supplement to the existing elderly housing typologies. In the context of old age homes an apartment could be realized which offers its inhabitants a higher degree of independence. It is then predictable that after the "grey wave" these dwellings could accommodate younger inhabitants.
To ensure adequate sunlight into the surrounding buildings, in terms of Van Eesteren's regulations, only 87 of the 100 units could be realized within the block. Where could the remaining 13 dwellings be placed? Would they be placed elsewhere on the site, the open space is further reduced. Also a deeper block with narrower units did not seem possible. Due to the north/south orientation of the block, a 7.20 m module was the generator. By "cantilevering" the remaining 13 units on the north- facade they are literally left suspended in the air. This also provides a welcome articulation of the Ookmeerweg street aspect. The north/south dwellings in the block are complemented by east and west oriented types with a view over the polder.
By pre-determining the number of inner walls of the basic-type, 7 to 8% of the cost could be saved, enough to compensate for the 50% more expensive "hanging units". The Spartan gallery flat becomes acceptable. Each gallery obtains different perspective. By changing window positions, balcony sizes and varying balcony materials, the different flats acquire their own character.
The fact that the party walls are constructed 8 cm thicker then structurally necessary (for sound insulation), it became possible to use this extra thickness for the connection of the cantilever trusses without having to increase the weight of the load-bearing walls. Due to sound and fire regulations it became necessary to clad these trusses.
By hanging the extra units on the north-facade the ground plane is kept as open and green as possible. A prototypical densification for these areas is achieved.















Residenze per anziani, Amsterdam-Osdorp, 1994-97.
Prospetti nordovest e sudest, pianta del piano terzo e planimetria generale.
Vista da est e vista interna di un alloggio sospeso.

Houses for elderly people, Amsterdam-Osdorp, 1994-97.
Northwest and southeast elevations, third floor plan and site plan.
View from the east and interior view of an "hanging unit".

Wim G. Quist

Museum "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, Den Haag, [illegible]
Wim G. Quist
con/with: Hennie Korver, Paul Meeuwisse
Structural engeneering: Adviesbureau voor Bouwtechniek, [illegible]

CoBrA Museum, Amstelveen, 1992-95
Wim G. Quist
con/with: Hennie Korver
Structural engeneering: ABT Delft
Landscape architect: Gemeente Amstelveen
Artist: Shinkichi Tajiri

Renovatie Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1991-96
Wim G. Quist
con/with: Jons G. Verheul, Nico L. Cammelbeeck
Structural engeneering: RGD DO & T

Foto K. Zwarts



Wim G. Quist

Museum "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, Den Haag, [illegible]
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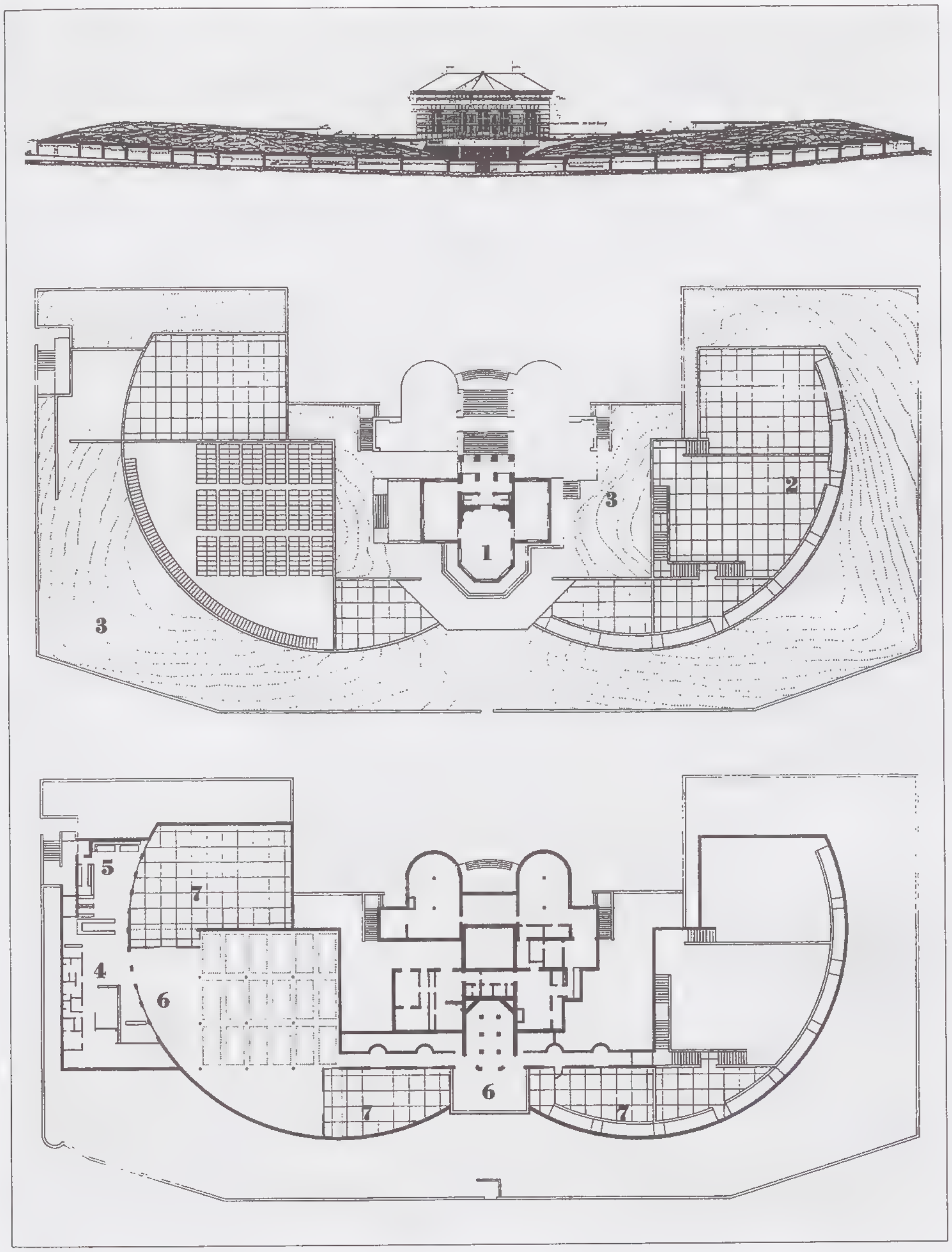
Museo "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, L'Aia
Wim G. Quist

Il Museo, destinato all'esposizione di opere scultoree, ospita permanentemente la collezione dei coniugi Scholten, che raccoglie circa 650 pezzi. Il principio base è quello di esporre opere d'arte tridimensionali in spazi luminosi, con vista sul mare e, a tratti, sul padiglione che si trova sulla spiaggia. È al centro delle fondazioni di quest'ultimo – un edificio del 1826 in stile classico, utilizzato dal 1918 come *club-house* – che si intersecano i due cerchi che costituiscono il disegno di impianto.
Scopo del progetto è stato quello di combinare gli spazi aperti della duna con quelli architettonici interni. Questo ha reso possibile una percezione molto marcata della luce naturale, con forti effetti chiaroscurali.
Dopo aver oltrepassato una zona di ingresso e un atrio (dove si trova anche una piccola caffetteria), entrambi di modeste dimensioni, ci si trova immersi nella luce degli spazi espositivi e si può accedere alle zone a "patio". Un corridoio conduce agli spazi esterni, costituiti da terrazze. Il percorso in una direzione può essere differente da quello di ritorno, in quanto si possono utilizzare a scelta le scale o una rampa. Raggiunta la sommità si gode la vista sul mare aperto e sul molo di Scheveningen. L'articolazione spaziale permette, da qualunque punto dell'edificio, di traguardare sempre verso l'esterno, a volte attraversando diagonalmente con lo sguardo uno spazio interno.
La sabbia del sito è stata utilizzata per "restaurare" la duna, che aveva l'aspetto di un argine in stato di abbandono, e rinforzare il suo aspetto funzionale di barriera al mare.
La scelta dei materiali mira ad armonizzare l'edificio con la sabbia della duna, motivo per cui anche la copertura presenta una superficie "sabbiosa". Quest'ultima è sospesa liberamente ed è connessa da un lucernario alla muratura, che è in cemento color sabbia (ora lievemente danneggiato). Le pavimentazioni interne in pietra e quelle esterne in cemento sono a loro volta pensate in relazione alla scala dell'intero edificio. In armonia con il cemento color sabbia e con la pietra, si è scelto di utilizzare per la copertura il legno naturale. Di questo stesso materiale sono gli arredi interni del Museo.









Museo "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, L'Aia, 1990-95.
Viste del fronte verso il mare, di un patio con le sculture e dell'ingresso.
Prospetto verso il mare.
Piante delle terrazze di copertura e del piano terreno: 1) padiglione preesistente; 2) terrazze; 3) duna; 4) ingresso; 5) caffetteria; 6) esposizione; 7) patio.

Museum "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, The Hague, 1990-95.
Views of the facade facing the sea, of a patio with the sculptures and of the entrance.
Facade facing the sea.
Terrace level and ground floor plans: 1) old pavilion; 2) terraces; 3) dune; 4) entrance; 5) cafe; 6) exhibition; 7) patio.

Museum "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, Den Haag
Wim G. Quist

The museum is intended to permanently show sculptures from the approximately 650 pieces of the collection of the couple Scholten, but also to exhibit other sculptures. The basic principle is to exhibit three–dimensional art, in light, with a view of the sea and here and there of the existing beach pavilion. The concept consists of two circles which intersect in the heart of the foundations of this pavilion: a classical building from 1826, which has been used as a club house since 1918.
A combination of open spaces in and on the dune and the inward form of the architecture was the aim. This makes a pronounced perception of daylight possible, with contrast not being shunned. Through the modest entrance and a low hall with coffee corner, one enters the full light of the exhibition spaces and the patios. A corridor leads to exterior space, constructed of terraces. A walk in one direction can be different than the walk back, because one can use stairs and a ramp. Once on top there is a view of the sea and the Scheveningen pier. The spatial articulation ensures views from interior to exterior, sometimes diagonally through an interior space. The sand on the site was used to "restore" the dune, which looked like a neglected dike, and also to reinforce its function as a seawall.
The goal in the use of materials was a combining of the building with the dune sand, even on the roof, that is provided with a "sandy" surface. The roof is suspended freely, with a skylight as a connection to the wall. The walls are made in dune–coloured concrete which has been lightly damaged. The stone floors inside and the concrete tiles outside are attuned to the scale of the entire building. In harmony with the sand–coloured concrete and stone, a plain wood roof has been chosen.
The display cases and seats are also in plain wood.









Museo "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, L'Aia, 1990-95.
Viste interne delle sale espositive e di un patio e vista di una terrazza di copertura.

Museum "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, The Hague, 1990-95.
Interior views of the exhibition halls and of a patio and view of a terrace.

Museo CoBrA, Amstelveen
Wim G. Quist
Il nucleo del Museo consiste nella Collezione Van Stuijvenberg, che raccoglie circa 300 opere del Movimento CoBrA (dipinti, sculture e ceramiche). L'intero complesso vuole essere il cardine tra il nucleo urbano antistante e la zona alberata presso il bacino d'acqua che si trova sul retro. Perno dell'edificio è il patio rosso, sorta di "occhio" in vetro, che ne attraversa entrambi i piani. Scale e patio sono stati progettati in stretta coerenza tra loro, come elementi trasparenti che interagiscono con il fogliame e con l'acqua. La differenza di altezza tra i due volumi inseriti l'uno nell'altro – triangolare e rettangolare – permette al visitatore, una volta raggiunta la sommità, di abbracciare l'insieme con un solo sguardo. L'ingresso, il patio e le scale sono allineati tra loro cosicché dalla corte antistante, attraversando con lo sguardo l'edificio in diagonale, si vedono al di là di esso l'acqua e gli alberi. Nella parte anteriore si trovano l'auditorium, uno spazio di vendita e una zona di ristoro. Le grandi finestre creano una connessione con la nuova piazza – dedicata a William Sandberg, uno dei promotori del Movimento CoBrA – che si può considerare parte di un più esteso processo di "ricostruzione" del centro della città. L'artista giapponese Shinkichi Tajiri, con un allestimento costituito da lastre di acciaio, ha realizzato una specie di giardino Zen "asciutto" all'interno del patio.



CoBrA Museum, Amstelveen
Wim G. Quist
The core of the museum collection consists of the Van Stuijvenberg collection, about three hundred works (paintings, sculptures and ceramics) of the CoBrA movement. The whole is interpreted as a hinge between the urban heart on the front and the area planted with trees and close to the water on the back. Inside the building, the hinge of the directions is the red, glass patio, kind of "eye" across both floors. Stairwell and patio have been designed as a coherent, transparent whole, in optimal interaction with the greenery and the water. The difference in height between the triangular and rectangular volumes which have been shoved into each other means that the visitor, once he has come up, can look back over the whole in a single glance. Entrance, patio and stairwell have been placed in line with each other so that from the forecourt one looks diagonally through the building at the water and the trees. Also on the front are the auditorium, the museum shop and the café. The big windows create a connection with the new centre square, part of a general reconstruction of the heart of the city. The square was named after one of the first promoters of the CoBrA movement, William Sandberg, former director of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. The patio has been laid out by the japanese artist Shinkichi Tajiri with screens of cut steel, to form a "dry" Zen garden.

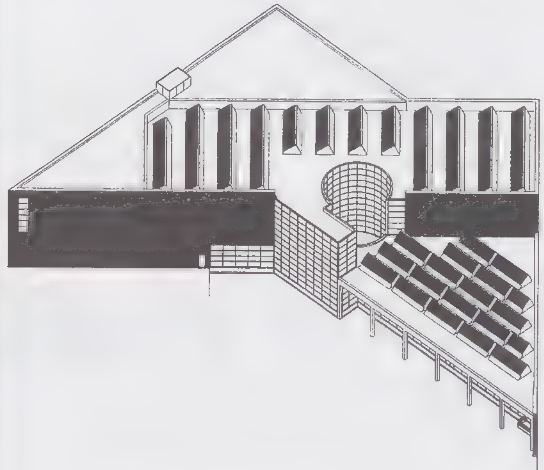


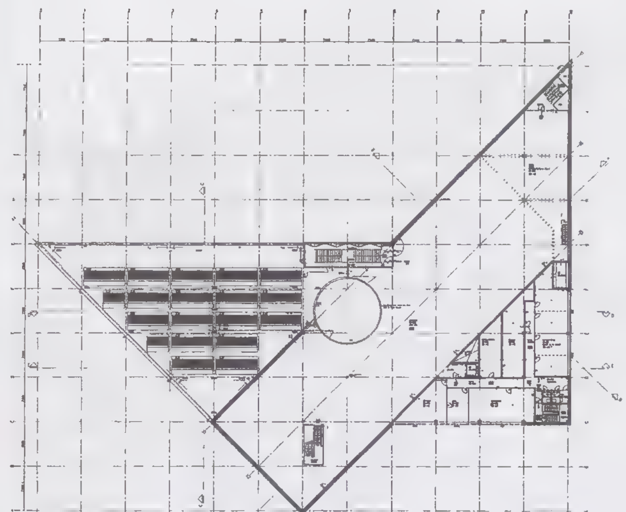
Museo CoBrA, Amstelveen, 1992-95.
Viste esterne e interna.
Assonometria e piante dei piani primo e terreno.

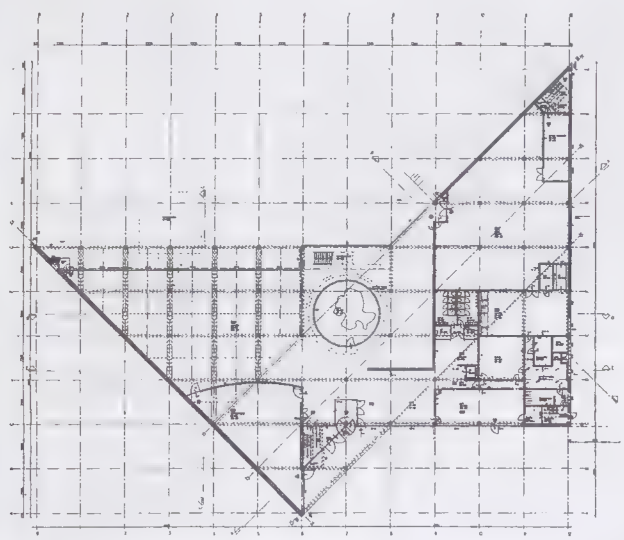
CoBrA Museum, Amstelveen, 1992-95.
Exterior and interior views.
Axonometric and first floor and ground floor plans.









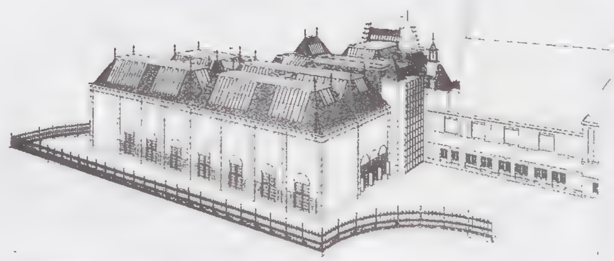


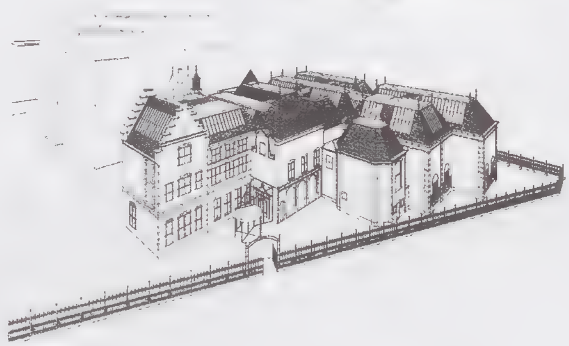
Sistemazione del Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Wim G. Quist
La sistemazione del Rijksmuseum di Amsterdam, aperto al pubblico nel 1885, è essenzialmente tecnica. L'intervento, che riguarda l'ala sud, dedicata al XX secolo, era mirato a risolvere le carenze maggiormente evidenti, quali la mancanza di un ingresso decoroso e l'inadeguatezza degli spazi di servizio (guardaroba, ascensore, accesso disabili, ecc.). Una prima fase è consistita nell'eliminazione di installazioni e addizioni sommatesi nel corso del tempo: è stata sufficiente la rimozione di questi pretenziosi elementi architettonici perché l'edificio rivelasse possibilità di intervento inaspettate. Si è quindi studiata una distribuzione logica e chiara. Al piano terreno, rimuovendo le pareti sul lato strada, è stata creata una serie di spazi espositivi tra loro collegati con accessi e uscite da entrambi i lati. Al piano superiore sono state ricavate altre due ampie sale rimuovendo due pareti dell'esistente "Druckerzalen", prima divisa in quattro piccole stanze. Gli accessi sono stati riposizionati agli angoli delle sale espositive, in modo che i visitatori ne possano avere una visione d'infilata. Il Rijksmuseum, che prima dell'intervento presentava un'immagine frammentaria, grazie al restauro dell'ala sud – che si può considerare "un nuovo museo nel museo" – è ora un edificio fortemente caratterizzato, luminoso e accogliente.

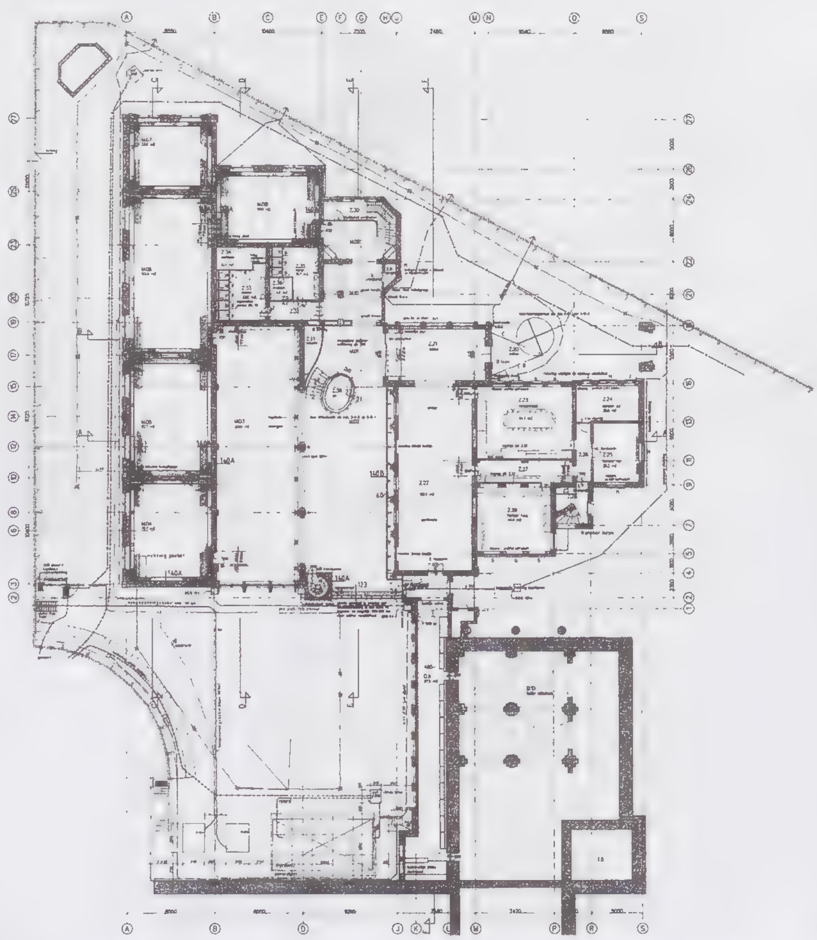
Renovation of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Wim G. Quist
The renovation of Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum, opened in 1885, is for a major part technical. The design of the south-wing for the 20th century would solve the most important bottlenecks, there must be a decent entrance and the service area provisions must be upgraded (i.e.: cloak-room, lift, appropriate access for disabled, etc.). The first activity of rebuilding made short work of all the upgrade installations and additions that successive generations had made to the building. Then it became apparent that simply by the removal of all the pretentious architectonic elements, the building offered unexpected possibilities. The evolution of clear, logical spaces was appointed. On the ground floor, by removing walls at the street side, a series of interconnecting exhibition rooms were created incorporating entrances and exits to both sides. On the upper floor, two walls in the former "Druckerzalen" have been removed, so that instead of four small chambers, two large exhibition rooms have been formed. The thoroughfare through the exhibitions has now been re-positioned to the corners of the rooms. The visitor can now enjoy an open line of vision through the rooms. Having only ever been a mixed bag of building elements, through renovation the south wing is now a translucent and unusually appealing museum, projecting enormous individuality. So the south wing has become a museum with the right to be hailed as "a new museum within a museum".

Sistemazione del Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1991-96.
Prospettive e pianta del piano terreno dell'ala sud.
Vista dell'ingresso.

Renovation of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1991-96.
Perspectives and ground floor plan of the south wing.
View of the entrance.








ZUIDVLEUGEL



Koen van Velsen

Uitbreiding en renovatie Stadhuis/Stadskantoor, Terneuzen, 1993-96
Koen van Velsen
con/with: Gideon de Jong, Okko van der Kam, Lars Zwart, Marcel Steeghs
Structural engeneering: Ingenieursgroep Van Rossum
Artist: Thom Puckey

Foto M. Boesveld

Ampliamento e restauro del Municipio,
Terneuzen, 1993-96.
Vista da nord.

Extension and renovation of the Town Hall,
Terneuzen, 1993-96.
View from the north.

Koen van Velsen

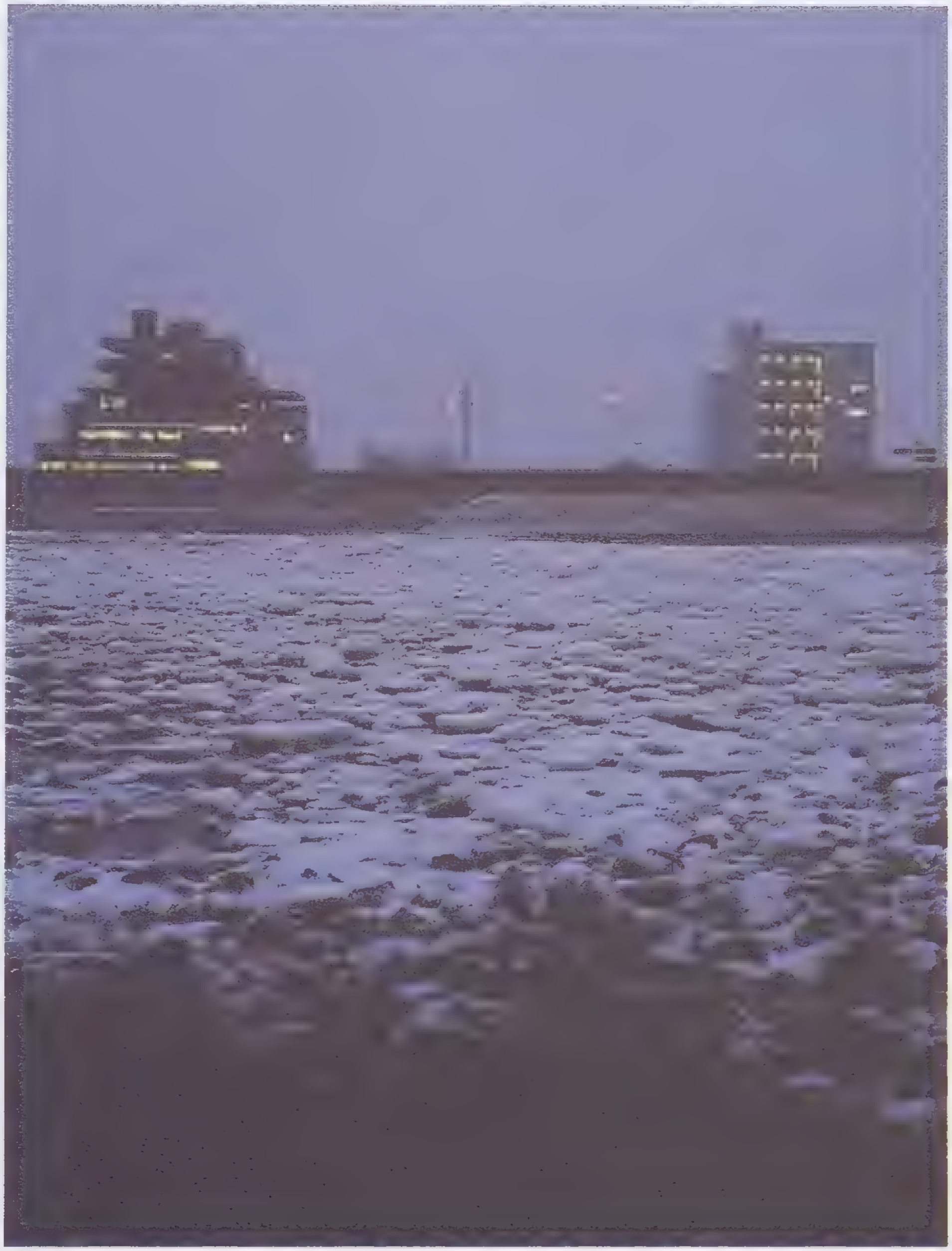
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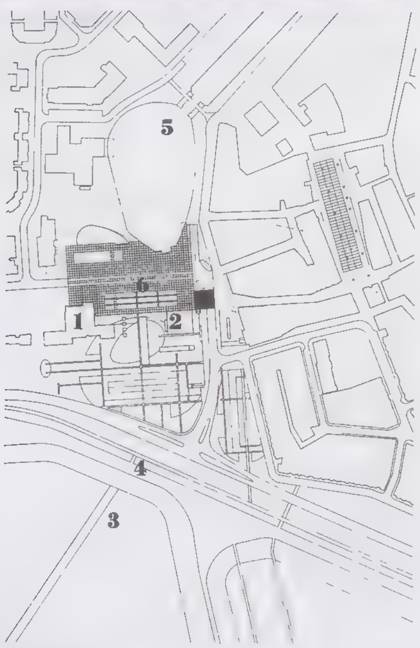
Ampliamento e restauro del Municipio,
Terneuzen, 1993-96.
Vista da nord.

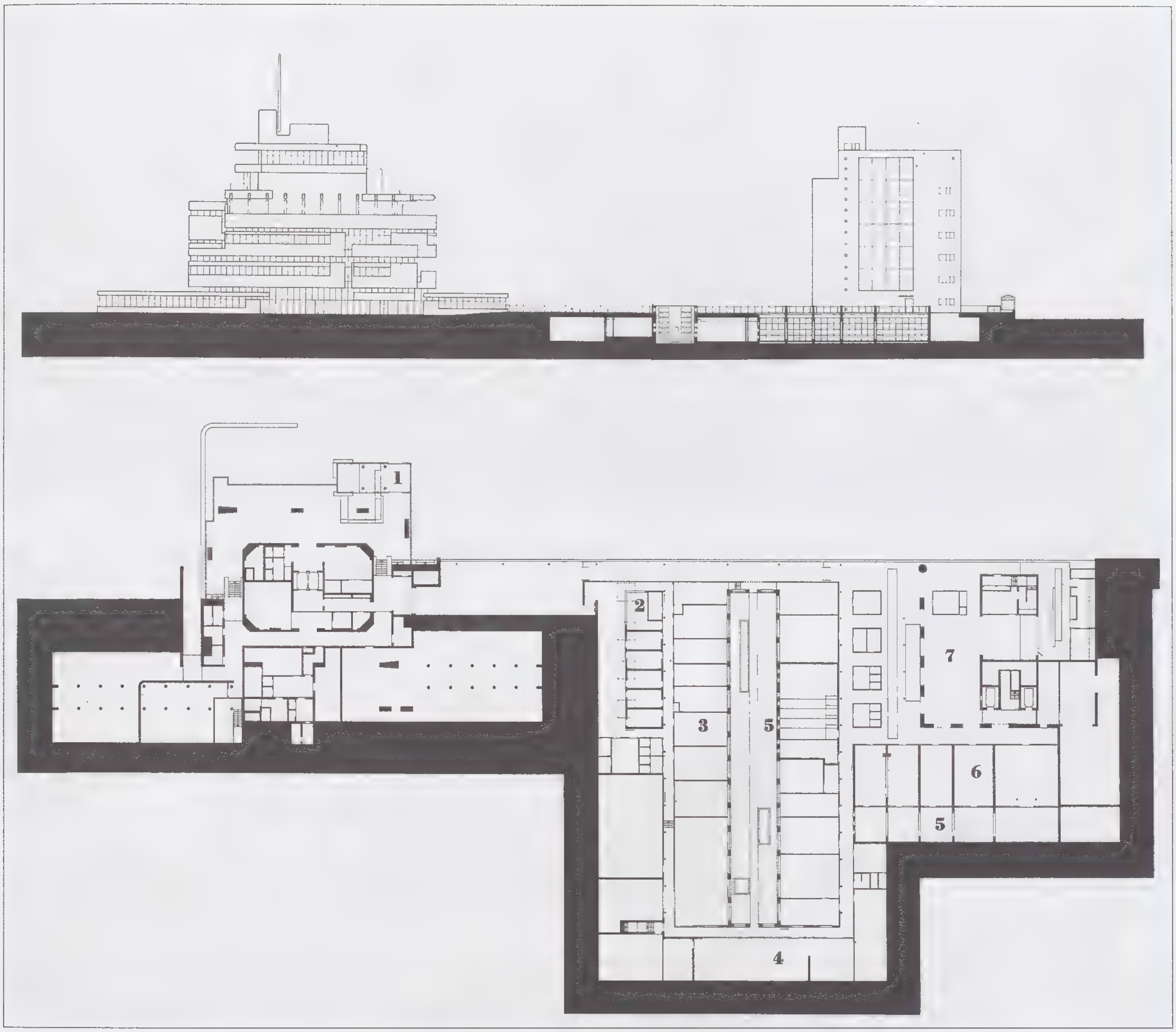
Extension and renovation of the Town Hall,
Terneuzen, 1993-96.
View from the north.



Ampliamento e restauro del Municipio, Terneuzen
Koen van Velsen

I nuovi uffici amministrativi costituiscono l'ampliamento del Municipio realizzato nel 1972 da Van den Broek e Bakema, che sovrasta l'argine della Schelda come il ponte di una nave. Dopo il restauro e la restituzione al suo stato d'origine, esso manterrà la sua destinazione pubblica. Il nuovo edificio intende valorizzare una parte della città destinata a mettere in relazione la piccola scala del nucleo storico con la parte del centro a scala maggiore. Elementi importanti all'interno del sito sono l'argine della Schelda, a nord, e la vecchia chiusa del canale Kolk, a sud. La scelta progettuale è stata quella di realizzare l'addizione di un elemento autonomo. In questo modo è stato possibile preservare la vista del centro storico dall'argine e quella della confluenza del Kolk nella Schelda. A questo fine i nuovi uffici sono in parte inseriti nell'argine del fiume, cosicché si crea un collegamento seminterrato, che delimita la piazza del Municipio, tra il vecchio e il nuovo edificio. In quanto proseguimento dell'argine esso costituisce un elemento con funzioni specifiche la cui copertura, adibita a parcheggio, è interrotta da patii. In termini architettonici il Municipio e il nuovo ampliamento si pongono come due strutture tra loro contrastanti: mentre il vecchio Municipio sembra galleggiare, il nuovo edificio sembra sorgere dall'argine. In contrasto con l'espressività del vecchio edificio, spicca l'immagine di levigata efficienza proposta dall'ampliamento, la cui facciata astratta costituisce un richiamo al mare e al cielo.







Ampliamento e restauro del Municipio, Terneuzen, 1993-96.
Vista da nord con, a sinistra, l'edificio di Van den Broek e Bakema.
Planimetria generale: 1) Municipio di Van den Broek e Bakema; 2) nuovi uffici comunali; 3) Westerschelde; 4) argine della Schelda; 5) chiusa del canale Kolk; 6) piazza del Municipio.
Sezione longitudinale sul patio e piante dei piani interrato e secondo: 1) ingresso principale nell'edificio di Van den Broek e Bakema; 2) reception dei servizi sociali e ufficio del lavoro; 3) uffici; 4) centro stampa; 5) patio; 6) riunioni; 7) ristorante.

Extension and renovation of the Town Hall, Terneuzen, 1993-96.
View from the north (on the left Van den Broek and Bakema Town Hall).
Site plan: 1) Town Hall by Van den Broek and Bakema; 2) new civic offices; 3) Westerschelde; 4) Scheldedijk; 5) Kolk canal lock; 6) Town Hall square.
Longitudinal section through patio and basement and second floor plans: 1) main entrance to Van den Broek and Bakema building; 2) reception Social Services and Employment; 3) offices; 4) printer's; 5) patio; 6) conference rooms; 7) restaurant.

Extension and renovation of the Town Hall, Terneuzen
Koen van Velsen

The civic office is an extension of the striking Town Hall (1972) by Van den Broek and Bakema, which rises above the Scheldedijk like the bridge of a ship. After renovation, and return to its original state, it will keep its public-oriented functions. The new buildings must lend impetus to a part of the city which must connect the small-scale historic centre area and a larger-scale part of the centre. Important elements in the area are the Scheldedijk on the northern side and a former canal lock, the Kolk, on the southern side. It has been chosen to add an autonomous object. That means that the vista from the dike of the old centre is preserved, as is the Kolk's contact with the Schelde. For this reason the new civic offices have partly been slid into the body of the dike. This creates a half-underground connection between the old and new building. The new Town Hall square is bordered by this connecting element. As a continuation of the dike it forms a layer with special functions, whose roof, intended for parking, is perforated with patios. In architectural terms Town Hall and extension form a contrast, as each others' reinforcing contraries. While the old Town Hall seems to float, the new part rises up out of the foot of the dike. Opposed to the expressive form of the old Town Hall is the smooth, efficient form of the extension with its abstract facade referring to sea and sky.









Ampliamento e restauro del Municipio, Terneuzen, 1993-96.
Vista da sudovest e viste da sud e da est della piazza tra i due edifici.
Vista interna.

Extension and renovation of the Town Hall, Terneuzen, 1993-96.
View from the southwest and views from the south and from the east of the square connecting the two buildings.
Interior view.

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *and* ***Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese*** *and* ***Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;* ***Kurt W. Forster*** *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

Guido Canella *Beyond Legitimate Preservation;* ***Ernesto N. Rogers*** *The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi*** *Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas;* ***James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Poultry n. 1 in London;* ***Colin St. John Wilson*** *Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola*** *The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *Department of Architecture in Genoa;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida;* ***Drexel Turner*** *Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America;* ***Gianugo Polesello*** *University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.*

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *and* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown*** *and* ***Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la citta? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

Who designs the city? *Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning;* ***Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek*** *60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism;* ***Bruno Flierl*** *Stalinallee in Berlin;* ***Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli*** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium;* ***Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi*** *Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London;* ***Micha Bandini*** *Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate;* ***Gian Franco Di Pietro*** *Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini*** *A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence;* ***Giovanni Klaus Koenig*** *About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers*** *Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino** II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epoché"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al desco. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil),** Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

Guido Canella Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo; **Derek A.R. Moore** Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti; **Giovanni Testori, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Luciano Semerani,** Progetti per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona; **Philip Johnson** Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut; **Peter Eisenman** Interview with Philip Johnson; **Oscar Niemeyer** Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil; **Oscar Niemeyer** De Pampulha ao Memorial da América Latina; **Lionello Puppi** Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo; **Richard Meier** Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany; **Carlo Aymonino** Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien; **Gottfried Böhm** Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland; **Gottfried Böhm** Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland; **Aldo Rossi** Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

Zodiac 10

Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

Zodiac 11

Guido Canella Struttura urbana e destrutturazione dell'architettura: la competenza del critico e quella del comune fruitore; **Paolo Polledri** "The nearest thing to a contemporary vernacular": the Bay Area Architectural Tradition in Perspective; **Giovanni Brino** Radici dell'architettura moderna nella California meridionale; **Joseph Giovannini** L.A. Trouvée: **Thomas S. Hines** Housing, Baseball and Creeping Socialism: the Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, 1949-1959; **Kevin Roche** Charles Eames; **Kurt W. Forster** Neutra on the roof; **Charles W. Moore** O' California!; **Frank O. Gehry** Modelli di progetti californiani, 1981-1993; **Joseph Esherick, San Francisco** Sea Ranch, Sonoma County and Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey; **Holt, Hinshaw, Jones, San Francisco** Tall Buildings on Small Lots, S.F. and Visiting Artists Suite, Geyserville; **Marck Mack, San Francisco** Baum House, Berkeley, S.F. and Park and Cultural Center, Candlestick Point, S.F.; **Stanley Saitowitz, San Francisco** McDonald House, Stinson Beach and Live/Work Building, S.F.; **Daniel Solomon, San Francisco** Gleeson Residence, S.F. and Fulton Grove Townhouses, S.F.; **Coop Himmelblau, Los Angeles** Rehak House, L.A. and UFA Theater Center, Pragerstrasse Nord, Dresden, Germany; **Hodgetts+Fung, Los Angeles** Click Model Management Building, L.A. and Franklin-La Brea Proposal, L.A.; **Franklin D. Israel, Los Angeles** Raznick House, L.A. and Southern Regional Library, UCLA; **Panos Koulermos, Los Angeles** Nursery School, L.A. and West Hollywood City Hall, L.A.; **Thom Mayne, Morphosis, Los Angeles** Yuzen Vintage Car Museum, L.A. and Science Museum School, L.A.; **Eric Owen Moss, Los Angeles** Samitaur Complex, L.A. and Hercules Theater and Offices, L.A.; **Dagmar Richter, Los Angeles** West Coast Gateway, L.A. and The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark; **Michael Rotondi, Los Angeles** QWFK House, U.S.A. and Carlson-Reges Residence, L.A.

Zodiac 12

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994); **Guido Canella** Premiata Architettura Contemporanea; **The Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureates, 1979-94; Jay A. Pritzker** Origins and Evolution of the Pritzker Architecture Prize; **Francesco Dal Co** Il migliore architetto del mondo; **Philip Johnson, 1979** Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., Office Development, Shenzen, China; **Luis Barragán, 1980** Torres de la Ciudad Satélite, Queretaro Highway, Mexico City, Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Mexico City; **James Stirling, 1981** Faculty of History, Cambridge University, Great Britain, Engineering Building, Leicester University, Great Britain, Kyoto Centre, Kyoto, Japan; **Kevin Roche, 1982** Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A. and Extension to the Jewish Museum, New York, U.S.A.; **Ieoh Ming Pei, 1983** National Gallery of Art, East Wing, Washington D.C., U.S.A., Grand Louvre, Paris, France; **Richard Meier, 1984** The Atheneum, New Harmony, U.S.A., Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.; **Hans Hollein, 1985** Abteiberg Municipal Museum, Mönchengladbach, Germany, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Auvergne, France; **Gottfried Böhm, 1986** Church of the Resurrection, Cologne, Germany, Arbed-Saarstahl Office Building, Esch-Alzette, Luxembourg; **Kenzo Tange, 1987** Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Japan, Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Japan, American Medical Association Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.; **Gordon Bunshaft, 1988** The Lever House, New York, U.S.A., Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.; **Oscar Niemeyer, 1988** Pampuhla, Minas Gerais, Brasil, Museu de Arte Contemporânea de Niterôi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil; **Frank O. Gehry, 1989** Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, California, U.S.A. , The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain; **Aldo Rossi, 1990** Teatro del Mondo, Venezia, Italia, Porta di Ingresso e Recinzione, Centro residenziale Barialto, Bari, Italia; **Robert Venturi, 1991** Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. , RCID Emergency Services Headquarters, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A.; **Alvaro Siza, 1992** Restaurante Casa de Chá Bóa Nóva, Leça de Palmeira, Portugal, Centro de Arte Contemporanea de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, España; **Fumihiko Maki, 1993** Spiral Building, Tokyo, Japan, Center for the Arts, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A..

Zodiac 13

Guido Canella La diffusione del centro; **Marina Waisman** La ciudad descentrada; **Andrej Ikonnikov** Mosca. Dialettica centro e periferia; **Werner Rietdorf** Probleme der Stadtentwicklung in den neuen deutschen Bundesländern. Zum Zusammenhang von Aussen-und Innenentwicklung; **Klaus Theo Brenner** Heterotope, Berlin; **Moore Ruble Yudell** Housing Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin, Karow Nord Master Plan and Housing, Karow, Berlin; **Peter Eisenman** Bahnhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse Competition, Berlin; **Roland Castro** Sur la périphérie de Paris; **Henri Ciriani** Noisy II à Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, Logements à ColombesParis; **Catherine Furet** Quartier de l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve, 41/49 Rue Piat, Paris XXème; **Bernard Tschumi** "Jardin d'entreprises", Chartres; **Emilio Donato, Jesús de la Torre** Barcelona. Estructura y formación de una periferia metropolitana; **Emilio Donato** Viviendas "Baró de Viver", Barcelona; **Roberto Ferreira** Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria "La Llagosta", Barcelona; **Eduard Calafell** Nave Industrial, Poligono Pedrosa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcelona; **Enrico Bordogna** Periferia, piano o gestione?; **Carlo Aymonino** Complesso terziario sulla via Ostiense, Roma; **Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola** Piazza-Giardino a Catanzaro Lido; **Raffaele Panella** Nuovo Centro polifunzionale di Villa Fastiggi, Pesaro; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Quartiere cooperativo a Compiobbi, Firenze; **Guido Canella** Centro civico con municipio, residenze, attività terziarie e sportive, Pioltello, Milano, Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano.

Zodiac 14

Guido Canella La retorica della Giustizia; **Suzanne B. Butters, Pier Nicola Pagliara** Il Palazzo dei Tribunali e via Giulia a Roma; **Robert Jacob** La formation historique de l'architecture judiciaire; **Giorgio Muratore** Il Palazzo di Giustizia nella città moderna; **Manuela Morresi** Lezioni di architettura di Ignazio Gardella; **Ignazio Gardella** Palazzo di Giustizia di La Spezia, Italia; **Lluís Domènech** Palacio de Justicia, Lérida, España; **Richard Meier** Federal Office Building and U. S. Courthouse, Islip, New York, U.S.A.; **Carlo Aymonino** Palazzo di Giustizia di Lecce, Palazzo di Giustizia di Ferrara, Italia; **Roberto Gabetti e Aimaro Isola** Palazzo di Giustizia di Alba, Cuneo, Palazzo di Giustizia di Pinerolo, Torino, Italia; **Guido Canella, Fernando Clemente, Alberto Sandroni** Palazzo di Giustizia di Ancona; **Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto, Giorgio Morano, Ferruccio Rozza** Uffici Giudiziari Finanziari e Comunali di Legnano, Milano, Italia; **Karmi Architects** The Israel Supreme Court, Jerusalem, Israel; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani** Palacio de Justicia II, Córdoba, Argentina; **Gianugo Polesello, Giusa Marcialis** Uffici Giudiziari di Udine, Italia; **Richard Rogers** The European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France.

Zodiac 15

Guido Canella Riflettendo su funzionalità e figurazione; **Christof Thoenes** Appunti sui trattati di architettura del Rinascimento; **Daniel Sherer** *Progetto e Ricerca:* Manfredo Tafuri as Critic and Historian; **Sylvia Lavin** On the Subject of Gehry; **Frank O. Gehry** ING Office Building, Prague, Czech Republic, EMR Communication & Technology Center, Bad Oeynhausen, Germany; **Aldo Rossi** Parco Tecnologico del Lago Maggiore, Fondotoce, Verbania, Italia; **Peter Eisenman** Intervista di Luca Monica e Tito Canella, Place des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Renovation and Additions to the Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, San Diego, University of Delaware, Student Center, Newark, Delaware, U.S.A.; **Gustav Peichl** Probebühne für das Burgtheater, Wien, Österreich; **Bernard Tschumi** Le Fresnoy National Studio for Contemporary Arts, Tourcoing, School of Architecture, Marne-la-Vallée, Paris, France; **Philip Johnson** Puerta de Europa, Madrid, España, Town Hall, Clelebration, Florida, U.S.A.; **Hans Hollein** Guggenheim Museum und Volksschule, Donaucity, Wien, Österreich; **Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro** Padiglione specialistico e Dipartimento d'urgenza, Ospedale SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia.

Zodiac 16

Guido Canella Quella "terza generazione" di Giedion; **Architecture from the 1920 generation; Peter Blake** From Mies to Mickey Mouse; **Dennis Sharp** Framing the Welfare State; **Alison Smithson** A time of ferment: the Indipendent Group in its setting of the 'fifties...; **Enrico Bordogna** Intervista a Bruno Zevi; **Yoshinobu Ashihara** Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space, Tokyo; **Peter Blake** A flexible 299-seat open stage theater based on the dimension of a New York City lot, Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A., Neely Theatre and Drama School, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A.; **Eduardo Catalano** United States Embassy, Pretoria, South Africa; **Alan Colquhoun, John Miller** Church Crescent Housing, London, Great Britain, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, Great Britain; **Marcello d'Olivo** Scuola per le minoranze etniche, Gorizia, Italia; **Mario Fiorentino** Complesso residenziale pubblico al Corviale, Roma, Italia; **Ulrich Franzen** Art Collector's House, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.; **Yona Friedman** Structures en "feuilles froissées"; **Erst Gisel** World Trade Center, Zürich, Switzerland; **Romaldo Giurgola** St. Thomas Aquinas Parish Church, Charnwood, Canberra, Australia; **James Gowan** Villa at Chester, Great Britain; Istituto Clinico Humanitas, Milano, Italia; **Vico Magistretti** Centro Servizi della Cassa di Risparmio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma, Italia; **Angelo Mangiarotti** Sede della Internazionale Marmi e Macchine, Carrara, Italia; **Masato Otaka** Gunma Prefectural Museum of History, Gunma, Japan, Fukushima Prefectural Museum of Art, Fukushima, Japan; **Claude Parent** Centre d'animation l'*Aéronef*, Roissypole, Paris, France; **Leonardo Ricci** Palazzo di Giustizia, Savona, Italia; **Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo** Union Carbide Corporation World Headquarters, Danbury, Conn., U.S.A.; Merck & Co. Inc. World Headquarters, Whitehouse Station, N.J., U.S.A.; **Paul Rudolph** Bond Center, Hong Kong; **Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza** Universidad Pública de Navarra, Pamplona, España; **Alison and Peter Smithson** Second Arts Building, Arts Barn and Building 6 East, University of Bath, Great Britain; **Paolo Soleri** Arcosanti, Cordes Junction, Arizona; **Fernando Távora** Auditorium do Instituto Politécnico de Viana do Castelo, Portugal; **Clorindo Testa** Edificio S.G.I.A.R. "Auditorio de la Paz", Buenos Aires, Argentina; **Jörn Utzon** Paustian Furniture House, Copenhagen, Denmark; **Aldo van Eyck** Church for the Moluccan Community of Deventer, Netherlands; **Vittoriano Viganò** Teatro Comunale dell'Opera Carlo Felice, Genova, Italia; **Colin St. John Wilson** The British Library, London, Great Britain.

Zodiac 17

Guido Canella Il volto di Roma e il terzo millennio; **Mario Manieri Elia** I Giubilei nella storia di Roma; **Christof Thoenes** "Urbi et orbi": Roma e la Basilica vaticana negli Anni Santi; **Silvana Rizzo** Archeologia dei Fori Imperiali; **Jean-Louis Cohen** Gaston Bardet e la "Roma di Mussolini"; **Anna Mura Sommella** Il progetto "Grande Campidoglio"; **Claudia Conforti** Paradigma residenziale del professionismo romano del dopoguerra; **Progetti per la Roma del Giubileo dell'anno 2000; Tadao Ando, Frank O. Gehry, Peter Eisenman, Richard Meier** Progetti per la Chiesa del 2000; **Richard Meier** Sistemazione museale dell'Ara Pacis; **Carlo Aymonino** Sistemazione del Giardino Romano nel complesso dei Musei Capitolini; **Carlo Aymonino, Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Vittorio De Feo, Giorgio Grassi, Rafael Moneo** Ristrutturazione della Biblioteca Hertziana; **Costantino Dardi** Ristrutturazione del Palazzo delle Esposizioni; **Francesco R. Ghio** Programma Centopiazze: nuovi spazi pubblici per Roma; **Francesco Cellini, Umberto Riva, Aldo Rossi** Una piazza per il Foro Italico; **Alessandro Anselmi, Carlo Aymonino, Paolo Portoghesi, Franco Purini** Sistema Direzionale Orientale Pietralata-Tiburtina.

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In copertina: Aldo Rossi, Progetto per la ricostruzione del Teatro La Fenice, Venezia, 1997: frammento della Sala Nuova dal disegno di studio con la facciata e le sezioni delle Sale Apollinee, della Sala Nuova, della Sala della Platea e del Palcoscenico.

Front cover: Aldo Rossi, Project for the reconstruction of the Teatro La Fenice, Venice, 1997: fragment of the Sala Nuova from the working drawing of the facade and the sections of the Sale Apollinee, the Sala Nuova, the Hall and the Stage.

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Sommario/*Contents*

Cantieri milanesi
Guido Canella

*L'uomo, che Rousseau incolpava di falsare e coartare l'opera felice della natura, è in realtà un inguaribile falsificatore, un "ingegnere" inguaribile.**

Alla metà degli anni Ottanta, trovandoci a far parte di una commissione istituita dall'Amministrazione regionale per la ridestinazione funzionale del Castello di Vigevano, proponemmo di assegnarlo a foresteria delle istituzioni e delle facoltà universitarie umanistiche della Lombardia Occidentale, per il soggiorno degli studiosi provenienti dall'estero. Fondavamo la scelta sulle possibilità, ormai acquisite, di collegarlo per via telematica alle biblioteche e agli archivi nazionali e internazionali.
La proposta trovò ovviamente l'opposizione dell'allora Sovrintendente ai beni ambientali e architettonici, che rivendicava perentoriamente la destinazione del Castello a "museo di se stesso". Sicché ci chiedevamo quanti "musei di se stessi" dovessero sorgere in Italia per mantenere e tramandare i complessi monumentali pervenuti fino a noi e se, invece, per conservarli non occorresse tentare di renderli funzionalmente vitali, autonomi e significativi anche per un pubblico generico. Infatti avevamo constatato che i visitatori non iniziati, entrati nella grande corte detta del *piazzone*, prima che dai corpi di autentica scuola bramantesca (torre, scuderie, falconiera, ecc.), erano attratti dal fronte interno del mastio, rimasto in vista dopo il crollo della cortina muraria e del rivellino: un fronte sopralzato e completamente ricomposto in stile neogotico da un ingegnere del Genio militare alla metà del secolo scorso, quando l'intero complesso era ormai adibito a caserma. D'altronde, così ridotto, il grande *piazzone*, più che di una corte rinascimentale, presentava l'aspetto di un cortile di caserma.
Perciò, con intento ostensivo, approntammo un progetto schematico che, senza impegnare l'esistente, preservato da un accurato restauro filologico in corso, contemplasse il completamento reversibile di alcune parti del complesso, così da renderne la percezione d'insieme più espressiva e coerente all'originale ruolo funzionale e rappresentativo della dimora ducale.
Quel nostro progetto tra l'altro prevedeva, a oriente, il ripristino del Giardino pensile della Duchessa e la liberazione della Loggia delle Dame dai tamponamenti aggiunti, nonché la ricostruzione di una delle due *cavallerizze*, costruite nel secolo scorso sull'area della preesistente Rocca Vecchia, per dare ragionevole conclusione alla straordinaria Strada coperta sopraelevata di epoca viscontea; mentre a occidente, nel *piazzone*, prevedeva il ripristino del fossato lungo tre lati del mastio, dove quello centrale (un tempo costituito da cortina muraria, camminamento, torre e rivellino) veniva allegoricamente evocato attraverso un diaframma, realizzato in legno e acciaio con tecnica di carpenteria a secco, in modo da lasciar intravvedere solo in dissolvenza il cortile del mastio con il fronte neogotico.
A ispirare quel progetto era soccorsa la memoria della reinvenzione del Castello di Milano, con l'area circostante sottratta a una estesa operazione immobiliare sulla fine del secolo scorso e risolta invece con il Parco Sempione disegnato da Emilio Alemagna fino a comprendere le testimonianze napoleoniche dell'Arena Civica di Luigi Canonica e dell'Arco della Pace di Luigi Cagnola e con il doppio emiciclo che evoca – verrebbe da dire "per metonimia", e con quasi pari raggio di 250 metri – il grandioso progetto, pure di età napoleonica, per il Foro Bonaparte di Giovanni Antonio Antolini. Ma la reinvenzione di questo brano di città – tutto ciò che rimane del diorama antoliniano di

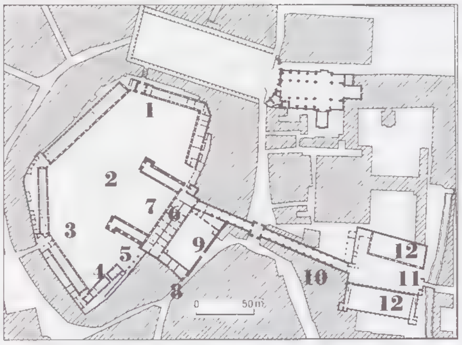
Man, who Rousseau accused of falsifying and coercing the serendipitous work of nature, is in truth an incorrigible counterfeiter, an incorrigible "engineer". *

Worksites of Milan
Guido Canella

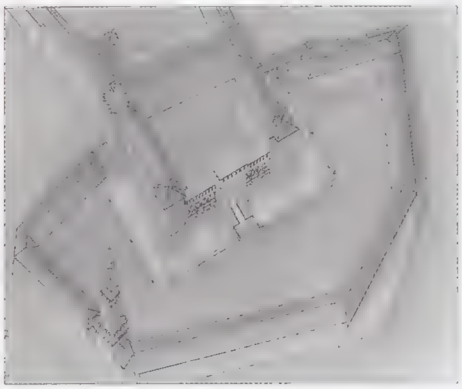
Halfway through the 1980s, we found ourselves taking part in a commission established by the Regional Administration for the functional reconversion of the Castle of Vigevano; we proposed that it be made into a guest house for the institutions and humanities faculties of Western Lombardy, to provide hospitality for scholars from abroad. Our recommendation was based on the fact that today's technology would make it possible to connect the facility to libraries and national or international archives.
Naturally the proposal met with the disapproval of the Supervisor of Environmental and Architectural Resources at the time, who imperiously insisted that the Castle be utilized as a "museum of itself". At the time we wondered just how many "museums of themselves" would have to be created in Italy in order to pass on all the monumental heritage, and we asked ourselves if, to preserve them, it might not be better to give them some kind of vital function, to make them independent and meaningful even for the general public. We had noticed that uninformed visitors, having entered the large courtyard called the piazzone, *were struck by the internal facade of the keep, which remained exposed after the collapse of the walled enclosure and the demilune, more than by the volumes designed by the authentic Bramante school (towers, stables,* falconiera, *etc.): this raised facade had been completely re-built in Neo-Gothic style by a military engineer in the mid-1800s, when the entire complex was being used as a barracks. And in its reduced condition, the grand* piazzone *looked more like the courtyard of a barracks that a true Renaissance courtyard.*
Therefore, with a demonstrative aim, we prepared a schematic design that would not alter the existing elements, preserved by careful philological restoration, but would add a totally reversible completion of certain parts of the complex, in order to make the perception of the whole more expressive and more consistent with the complex's original functional and representative role as the dwelling of a duke.
To the east, our project also called for the restoration of the hanging gardens of the Duchess and the removal of walls that had been added to the Loggia delle Dame, as well as the reconstruction of one of the two cavallerizze, *built in the 1800s on the area of the pre-existing Rocca Vecchia, to give a reasonable conclusion to the extraordinary raised covered route built at the time of the Visconti; to the west, in the* piazzone, *the project envisioned the restoration of the moat along three sides of the keep, where the central side (once composed of a walled enclosure, a communication trench, a tower and a demilune) was allegorically evoked by means of a diaphragm in wood and steel, built with the techniques of dry carpentry, to permit only a mediated view of the courtyard of the keep with the Neo-Gothic facade.*
Our inspiration for this project was supported by the memory of the reinvention of the Castle of Milan, with the surrounding area that had been saved from a major real estate development operation at the end of the last century, allowing for the creation of Parco Sempione, designed by Emilio Alemagna, and including the Napoleonic traces of the Arena Civica by Luigi Canonica and the Arco della Pace by Luigi Cagnola, with the double hemicycle that evokes – we are tempted to say "by metonymy", and with a nearly equal radius of 250 metres – the grandiose design, again from the Napoleonic era, for Foro Bonaparte by Giovanni Antonio



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1. Vigevano, vista aerea del Castello.
2. Vigevano, planimetria generale del Castello: 1) torre; 2) piazzone; 3) scuderia; 4) falconiera; 5) passaggio aereo; 6) Palazzo Ducale; 7) corte del mastio; 8) Loggia delle Dame; 9) Giardino pensile della Duchessa; 10) Strada coperta sopraelevata; 11) Rocca Vecchia; 12) cavallerizza.
3. Castello di Vigevano, progetto di completamento del mastio, 1985.

1. Vigevano, aerial view of the Castle.
2. Vigevano, general plan of the Castle: 1) tower; 2) piazzone*; 3) stables; 4)* falconiera*; 5) aerial walkway; 6) Palazzo Ducale; 7) courtyard of the keep; 8) Loggia delle Dame; 9) hanging gardens of the Duchess; 10) raised covered route; 11) Rocca Vecchia; 12)* cavallerizza.
3. Vigevano Castle, project for the completion of the keep, 1985.

auspicata capitale, eppure straordinario nel restante introverso paesaggio di Milano, che Alberto Savinio considerava "*città dura, città di ferro*" – si completa, sempre sullo scorcio del secolo, nella ricostruzione parziale dello stesso Castello, culminata tra il 1901 e il 1905 nella vera e propria invenzione della Torre cosiddetta "del Filarete" ad opera dell'eclettico Luca Beltrami, che si dichiarò ispirato a graffiti presenti in edifici quattrocenteschi e alla Torre dello stesso Castello di Vigevano.
Ma quanta cittadinanza, che si dice affezionata al volto singolare di questa città, si rende conto che anche la piazza aperta di fronte al venerabile Teatro alla Scala è per tre quarti risolta in retoriche sembianze neorinascimentali dal nostro Beltrami, ivi compreso il fronte di Palazzo Marino, la presenza più dignitosa, falsificato nei primi anni di questo secolo per riporto dal fronte opposto, realizzato da Galeazzo Alessi dalla metà del Cinquecento? E dire che Beltrami fu architetto che allora risultò notabile più per il suo incessante darsi da fare che per autentico talento, da cui, per la verità, non rimase particolarmente gratificato; del resto come quasi sempre accade, e anche ai giorni nostri.
Tuttavia tanto i nuovi interventi nel tessuto storico quanto il ripristino di manufatti del passato all'assetto originale, spinto magari fino alla falsificazione, pretendono necessariamente un approfondimento, oltre che filologico ed estetico, motivatamente tipologico e contestuale.
Da qui la nostra perplessità, dichiarata da tempo, per due iniziative d'intervento in corso a Milano.
Il primo caso riguarda l'adattamento dell'ottocentesco Teatro Dal Verme, situato ai margini dell'area del Castello, ad auditorium della radio-televisione di Stato. A nostro parere invece, dopo una serie di rifacimenti a sala cinematografica, il ritorno all'originale impianto ad anfiteatro del politeama (da considerare, almeno embrionalmente, progenitore del gropiusiano *Totaltheater*) avrebbe offerto interessanti opportunità alle *performance* della nuova drammaturgia, consentendo di estendere il luogo e lo spazio dell'azione nell'area riservata agli spettatori. Opportunità rinunciate in partenza dalla tipologia in tutto convenzionale (platea e galleria), pretesa da Giorgio Strehler per il Nuovo Piccolo Teatro, dislocato su un'area simmetrica rispetto al Castello, e solo in parte trasferibili nell'annesso spazio del Teatro Studio, ricavato nell'ottocentesco Teatro Fossati suggestivamente ristrutturato da Marco Zanuso.
Il secondo caso riguarda l'iniziativa della Società Pirelli di confinare un duplicato del settecentesco Teatro alla Scala su un'area periferica dismessa dall'industria. A nostro parere, invece, il Teatro Lirico, situato al centro della città e stravolto da una serie di ristrutturazioni in sala di genere (platea e gallerie), se riportato all'impianto originale di Teatro della Canobbiana, inaugurato nel 1779, un anno dopo quello alla Scala, dello stesso architetto Giuseppe Piermarini e con analoga tipologia a palchi, ricostituirebbe quel sistema centrale bipolare, come allora, tra i due teatri d'opera milanesi, con la possibilità di dotare quello riconvertito dei progrediti requisiti scenotecnici ritenuti inattuabili nel palcoscenico scaligero.
Ecco perché riteniamo che, ancor prima di un controllo di compatibilità estetica e ambientale, si debba accertare quello di compatibilità funzionale e contestuale, poiché la città storica non può essere congelata nella sua crescita fisiologica di organismo vivente.
Da qui il nostro pronunciarci contro la più parte dei pareri benpensanti e

Antolini. But the reinvention of this portion of the city – all that remains of Antolini's diorama for the prospective capital, but still extraordinary within the otherwise introverted landscape of Milan, that Alberto Savinio described as a "hard city, city of iron" *– is completed, still at the turn of the century, by the partial reconstruction of the Castle itself, culminating in 1901-05 with the true invention of the Tower said to be "of Filarete" by the eclectic architect Luca Beltrami, who stated that he had been inspired by the graffiti found in buildings from the 1400s and by the Tower of the Castle of Vigevano.*

How many of the citizens of Milan, who love the unique scenery of the city, are aware that the square in front of the venerable Teatro alla Scala is composed for three-fourths of rhetorical neo-Renaissance features designed by this same Beltrami, including the facade of Palazzo Marino, a more dignified but nevertheless falsified presence, the result of a transferral, in the early 1900s, of the opposite facade created by Galeazzo Alessi in the mid-1500s? Ironically enough, at the time Beltrami was an architect known for his incessant maneuvering, but not for his talent, which brought him little satisfaction or recognition; as is nearly always the case, even in our modern times.

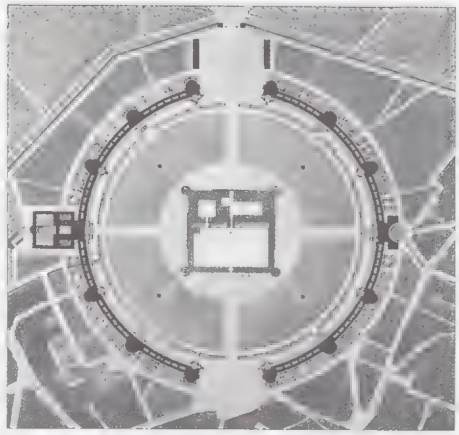
New insertions in the historical fabric, however, like the restoration of structures from the past to return them to their original state, even to the point of creating a "counterfeit" work, require in-depth philological and aesthetic research, but also a very close examination of the typology and the context.

This is why we have our doubts, which we have expressed for some time now, regarding two initiatives in progress today in Milan.

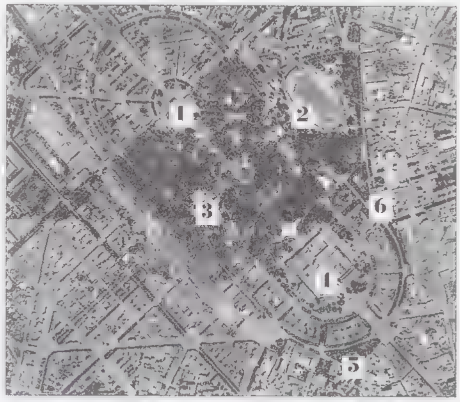
The first has to do with the conversion of the 19th-century Teatro Dal Verme, situated at the edge of the Castle area, to create an auditorium for the state radio-television network. In our opinion, after a series of renovations as a movie theatre, a return to the original amphitheatre plan of the politeama *(which can be considered, at least in embryonic form, the progenitor of Gropius's* Totaltheater*) would have offered interesting performance opportunities for the new dramaturgy, making it possible to extend the space of action into the audience area. Such opportunities for avant-garde theatre production were discarded out of hand in the utterly conventional arrangement (stalls and boxes) demanded by Giorgio Strehler for the Nuovo Piccolo Teatro, located in an area that is symmetrical with respect to the Castle; opportunities that can only be partially transferred to the connected space of the Teatro Studio, created in the 19th-century Teatro Fossati, impressively restructured by Marco Zanuso.*

The second case that raises doubts is the initiative of the Pirelli Corporation that involves the creation of a clone of the 18th-century Teatro alla Scala in an abandoned industrial area in the periphery of the city. In our opinion, it would be better to make use of the Teatro Lirico, situated in the city centre, compromised by a series of conventional restructuring projects (stalls and boxes); this theatre could be restored to its original state of Teatro della Canobbiana, inaugurated in 1779, just one year after Teatro alla Scala, by the same architect, Giuseppe Piermarini, and with a similar internal configuration. Such a restoration would truly lead to that central, bi-polar system with two opera houses, offering the possibility to provide the newly renovated theatre with all the most modern equipment, a thing that it appears cannot be effected at La Scala.

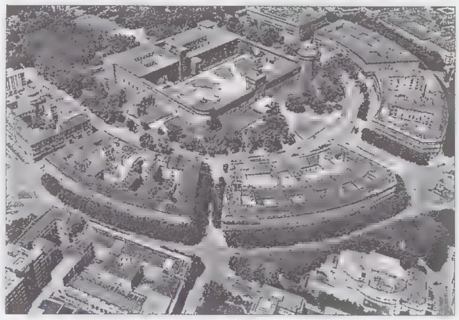
This is why we believe that before checking on aesthetic and environmental compatibility, it is better to ascertain functional and



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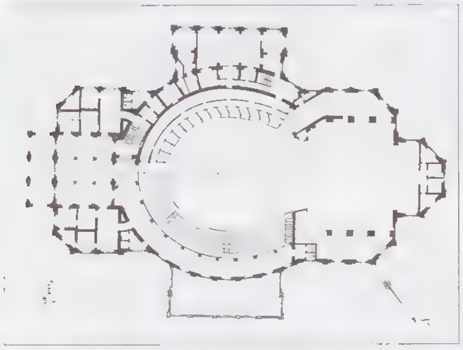
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4. Milano, Progetto per il Foro Bonaparte di Giovanni Antonio Antolini, 1801.
5. Milano, l'area del Castello con il Parco Sempione (1890-94): 1) Arco della Pace (1806-38); 2) Arena Civica (1805-07); 3) Palazzo dell'Arte (1931-33); 4) Torre "del Filarete" (1901-05); 5) Teatro Dal Verme (1871-72); 6) Nuovo Piccolo Teatro (1977-97) e Teatro Studio (1977-86).
6. Milano, vista aerea del Castello con antistante l'emiciclo (1886). Foto Edizioni Luigi Scrocchi.

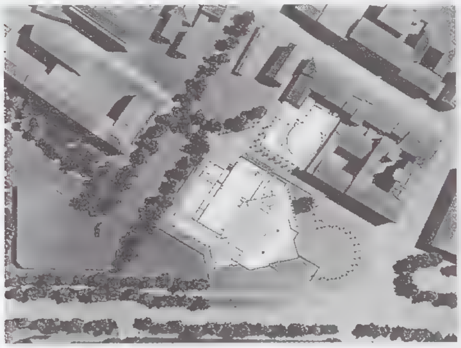
4. Milano, Design for Foro Bonaparte by Giovanni Antonio Antolini, 1801.
5. Milano, the area of the Castle with Parco Sempione (1890-94): 1) Arco della Pace (1806-38); 2) Arena Civica (1805-07); 3) Palazzo dell'Arte (1931-33); 4) Torre "del Filarete" (1901-05); 5) Teatro Dal Verme (1871-72); 6) Nuovo Piccolo Teatro (1977-97) and Teatro Studio (1977-86).
6. Milan, aerial view of the Castle with the hemicycle in front of it (1886). Photo Edizioni Luigi Scrocchi.



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7. 8. Milano, vista e pianta del Teatro Dal Verme di Giuseppe Pestagalli (1871-72).
9. Milano, piante del Nuovo Piccolo Teatro (1977-97) e del Teatro Studio (1977-86) di Marco Zanuso.
10. Milano, diorama di Piazza della Scala. Tranne il teatro e l'arco di imbocco della Galleria Vittorio Emanuele (1861-77), i restanti edifici da sinistra: prima sede della Banca Commerciale (1905-11), completamento stilistico del fronte di Palazzo Marino (1888-92) e seconda sede della Banca Commerciale (1913-27), sono opera di Luca Beltrami (da A. Boccazzi-Varotto, Milano 360°, *Ivrea 1988).*

a favore degli interventi recenti di alcuni architetti milanesi di comprovata felice ispirazione: il progetto di Ignazio Gardella, purtroppo rimasto irrealizzato, che avrebbe riproporzionato la Piazza del Duomo, cercando di conciliare nel sincretismo figurativo le discordi presenze che vi si affacciano; la sistemazione di Vittoriano Viganò del tratto conclusivo di Corso Sempione verso l'Arco della Pace, che ristabilisce una solennità più congruente alle contenute misure dell'intorno; il cubo-monumento realizzato da Aldo Rossi al fondo di Via Monte Napoleone, che la cittadinanza ostile solo col tempo riuscirà ad integrare nei caratteri tipici della città (del resto, come sempre e ovunque avviene per opere non convenzionali: non fu forse soprannominata "*Ca' Brütta*" quella realizzata nei primi anni Venti da Giovanni Muzio, oggi considerata la prima architettura moderna sorta a Milano?).

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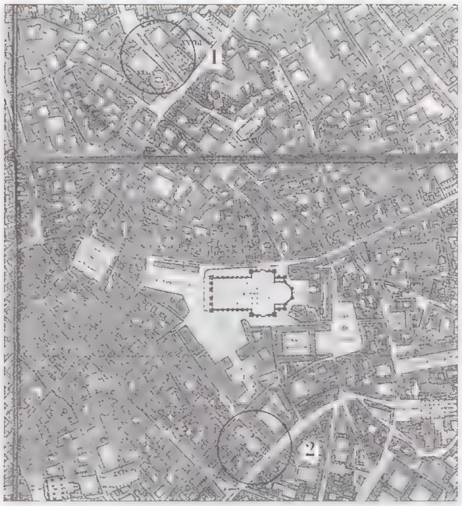
In due occasioni (della seconda riportiamo qui l'intervento per esteso) l'attuale Ministro per i beni culturali e ambientali, rivolgendosi direttamente agli architetti, ha affrontato il rapporto tra conservazione e innovazione dell'architettura, con tale pertinenza per cui qualcuno si è detto preoccupato. A noi invece sembra quanto mai importante che per la prima volta in Italia un membro del Governo abbia sollevato problematicamente il criterio del vincolo pregiudiziale (pur sempre arbitrario, come è facilmente dimostrabile) nell'ipoteca che esso pone sul possibile apporto culturale della progettazione contemporanea.
La disciplina della conservazione e del restauro dei beni ambientali e architettonici ha operato fin qui nella presunzione di aver raggiunto oggettività scientifica nel principio "se nulla si crea, nulla si distrugge".
Un criterio che ritiene morale la fissazione dello stato presente di ogni ambiente o manufatto monumentale nella sua stratificazione, sia per quanto comporta di originale sia per quanto sopporta delle contaminazioni incorporate nel tempo. Con ciò si intende preservare a futura memoria una documentazione materiale disponibile per successivi approfondimenti filologici.
E su tale linea sembrava fossero tenute a schierarsi le stesse sovrintendenze, preposte alla tutela con la dottrina del vincolo ad oltranza piuttosto che incoraggiate a valutare con sapienza e responsabilità creative i casi che via via si presentano.
Eppure una polemica in corso, anch'essa tutta italiana, tra accademici del restauro scopre gli uni contro gli altri schierati: da un lato i cultori della "scientificità", in nome della quale occorrerebbe tutto conservare, comprese le superfetazioni aggiuntesi nel tempo; dall'altro lato chi ritiene che i monumenti debbano restituire il senso e i caratteri del ruolo attivo e rappresentativo svolto storicamente nel discorso della città.
Infatti dal "ruinismo" di Ruskin all'"interventismo" di Viollet-le-Duc, la vicenda moderna delle teorie e delle pratiche applicate alla conservazione e al restauro testimonia in tanta ricchezza un continuo proporre, variare e contraddirsi. Tuttavia in ognuna delle diverse fasi ideologiche e operative è possibile distinguere, caso per caso, risultati significativi, accettabili, scadenti.

contextual compatibility, so that the historical city will not be frozen in its physiological growth as a living organism.
This is why we have expressed our support, against the majority of conventional opinion, for the recent interventions of some Milanese architects of proven inspiration: the design by Ignazio Gardella, unfortunately never built, that would have established new proportions for Piazza del Duomo, attempting to reconcile, in figurative syncretism, the discordant presences around the square; the project by Vittoriano Viganò for the final segment of Corso Sempione near the Arco della Pace, that re-establishes a more congruent solemnity with respect to the modest dimensions of the surroundings; the cube-monument by Aldo Rossi at the end of Via Monte Napoleone, that the hostile citizenry will perhaps only accept with the passage of time – as, after all, has always been the case for non-conventional works of architecture: we should recall that the locals assigned the nickname of "Ca' Brütta" *(the Ugly House) to the building constructed in the early 1920s by Giovanni Muzio, which is considered, today, as Milan's first work of modern architecture.*

* * *

On two occasions (the second of which is reported in this issue in complete form) the present Minister of Cultural and Environmental Assets, directly addressing architects, has dealt with the issue of the relationship between preservation and innovation in architecture, in such a pertinent manner as to cause a certain nervousness among some observers. We, on the other hand, feel that it is of great importance that, for the first time in Italy, a member of the Government is actually addressing the problematic issues of the preconceived constraints (which, as is easily demonstrated, are always arbitrary) that limit the possible cultural contribution of contemporary design activity. The discipline of conservation and restoration of architectural heritage resources has operated, until today, under the assumption of having achieved scientific objectivity in the principle "if nothing is created, nothing is destroyed". A criterion that sees a moral value in the maintenance, in its present state, of every environment or monumental artefact in its stratification, respecting both the original elements and those resulting from progressive contaminations. The intent is to preserve, for the future, a material documentation for further philological study.
And it has appeared that all the heritage protection authorities, too, have had to conform to this line of thinking, safeguarding what exists, with the doctrine of extreme limitations, rather than encouraging the revitalization, through knowledge and creative responsibility, of each case, in all its diversity.
And yet when we turn to the academic world, in the field of restoration there is a debate in progress, again a very Italian phenomenon, with two radically opposing sides: on the one hand, the supporters of the "scientific" approach, who believe it is best to conserve everything, including later additions; on the other, those who believe that monuments should be restored to the sense and characteristics of the active, representative role they have played, historically, in the urban discourse.
In fact, from the "ruinism" of Ruskin to the "interventionism" of Viollet-le-Duc, the modern situation of theories and practices applied to preservation and restoration is a rich tale of continuous propositions, variations, contradictions. But in each of the different ideological and

7. 8. Milan, view and plan of Teatro Dal Verme by Giuseppe Pestagalli (1871-72).
9. Milan, plans of the Nuovo Piccolo Teatro (1977-97) and the Teatro Studio (1977-86) by Marco Zanuso.
10. Milan, diorama of Piazza della Scala. Apart from the theatre and the entrance archway of Galleria Vittorio Emanuele (1861-77), the other edifices, from the left: first headquarters of the Banca Commerciale (1905-11), stylistic completion of the facade of Palazzo Marino (1888-92) and second headquarters of the Banca Commerciale (1913-27), are by Luca Beltrami (from A. Boccazzi-Varotto, Milano 360°, *Ivrea 1988).*



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11. Milano, l'area centrale nella Pianta degli Astronomi di Brera, 1814: 1) Teatro alla Scala (1776-78) e 2) Teatro della Canobbiana (1776-79), entrambi realizzati da Giuseppe Piermarini.
12. 13. Milano, Teatro della Canobbiana (oggi Lirico), disegno della facciata di Giuseppe Piermarini (1778) e interno durante una festa da ballo nel 1825.
14. Milano, Teatro Lirico (già della Canobbiana), sezioni longitudinali nelle ristrutturazioni, rispettivamente, di Antonio Cassi Ramelli (1939) e Eugenio Faludi (1932).
15. Milano, Progetto di riconversione del Teatro Lirico nell'assetto piermariniano del Teatro della Canobbiana e di dotazione di nuovi impianti e attrezzature complementari sull'area degli Uffici Comunali di Via Larga (1965).

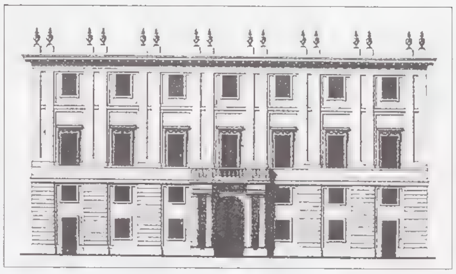
11. Milan, the central area in the Pianta degli Astronomi of Brera, 1814: 1) Teatro alla Scala (1776-78) and 2) Teatro della Canobbiana (1776-79), both designed by Giuseppe Piermarini.
12. 13. Milan, Teatro della Canobbiana (today's Teatro Lirico), drawing of the facade by Giuseppe Piermarini (1778) and interior during a ball in 1825.
14. Milan, Teatro Lirico (previously Teatro della Canobbiana), longitudinal sections of the restructurings, respectively by Antonio Cassi Ramelli (1939) and Eugenio Faludi (1932).
15. Milan, Design for the reconversion of Teatro Lirico returning to the design by Piermarini for Teatro della Canobbiana, with new equipment and facilities on the area of the Municipal Offices on Via Larga (1965).

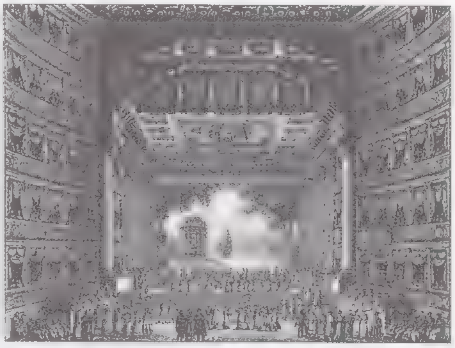
D'altra parte l'accelerazione assunta ormai dallo sviluppo tecnologico, insieme ai gravi inconvenienti che patiamo, potrebbe pure offrire qualche risorsa in grado di influire progressivamente sul nostro modo di riflettere e agire sull'eredità del passato. Una di esse potrebbe aprire la prospettiva verso interventi di completamento, rigorosamente interpretativo e predisposto alla reversibilità, sui manufatti e negli ambienti storici (del resto non si discute proprio in questi giorni sull'opportunità di falsificare gli affreschi di Giotto e di Cimabue, ormai perduti dopo il terremoto che ha coinvolto la Basilica Superiore di Assisi?). La reversibilità dell'intervento, senza incidervi definitivamente, renderebbe allora possibile che anche la nostra epoca non rinunci alla facoltà di esprimere un particolare intendere e interpretare, insomma un proprio gusto nel dare maggiore significato all'antico attraverso il nuovo.
Nell'ultimo dopoguerra l'architettura italiana ha vissuto una stagione di prestigio internazionale mai ottenuto in epoca moderna, nella quale ha svolto un ruolo primario il rapporto tra nuovo e antico (interventi nei centri storici e allestimenti museali di Albini, Gardella, Scarpa, BPR, ecc.). E ancora oggi dimostra una vitalità variata e spesso decorosa, soprattutto quando cerca una via propria di conoscenza contestuale, riuscendo a distaccarsi da quella sorta di atopia linguistica con cui molta dell'architettura internazionale pare voler rincorrere il processo di globalizzazione dell'economia e dell'informazione.
Pur con tutte le garanzie di rispetto "scientifico" dell'integrità di quanto ha sedimentato il tempo fin qui e proprio nei casi di maggiore menomazione e incomunicabilità del patrimonio architettonico e ambientale, perché non saggiare sperimentalmente, con pari vitalità e creatività, una più significativa valorizzazione tesa ad un completamento reversibile di un patrimonio che l'Italia possiede più di ogni altro paese e che altrimenti resterebbe muto e condannato all'ineluttabile degrado?

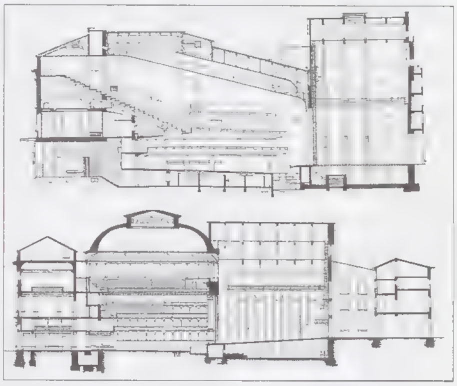
* Trascrizione infedele di Gianfranco Contini (da *Gadda milanese*, 1987, in *Quarant'anni d'amicizia. Scritti su Carlo Emilio Gadda (1934-1988)*, Einaudi, Torino 1989, p. 78) di un passo di Carlo Emilio Gadda (da *Pane e chimica sintetica*, 1937, in *Scritti vari e postumi*, vol. V delle *Opere*, a cura di Dante Isella, Garzanti, Milano 1993, p. 125).

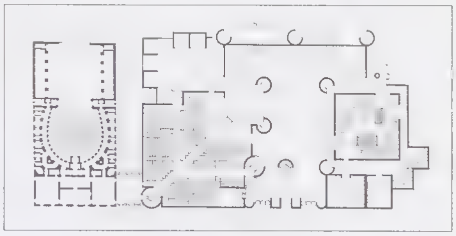
operative phases it is possible to distinguish, case by case, significant, acceptable or mediocre results.
The acceleration of technological development, together with the great difficulties we face, ought perhaps to provide us with resources that can gradually influence our way of reflecting and acting with respect to the heritage of the past. One of these resources might be the possibility of completion – as reversible interpretations of historical data – of monuments and historical settings (after all, these days there is discussion of the possibility of falsifying the frescoes by Giotto and Cimabue that were destroyed in the earthquake that struck the Upper Basilica of Assisi). Reversibility of the intervention, without definitive changes, would permit our era to express its particular interpretation, its own taste in giving greater significance to the old by means of the new.
After the Second world war Italian architecture has gone through a period of international prestige never obtained in the modern era, and in this period the relationship between the old and the new has played a primary role (interventions in historical centres and museum installations by Albini, Gardella, Scarpa, BPR, etc.). And still, today, it demonstrates a variegated, often quite decorous vitality, especially when it seeks out its own form of contextual awareness, stepping back from that sort of linguistic atopia pursued by so much of international architecture in the race for globalization of the economy and of information.
Although with all the assurances of "scientific" respect for the integrity of what time has left behind, and precisely in the cases of greatest damage or incommunicability of the architectural or environmental heritage, why not make an experimental attempt, with vitality and creativity, to achieve a more significant utilization, a reversible completion of a legacy that is unique, among all nations, in Italy, a legacy that will otherwise remain mute and condemned to inevitable decay?

* *Rough transcription by Gianfranco Contini (from* Gadda milanese, *1987, in* Quarant'anni d'amicizia. Scritti su Carlo Emilio Gadda (1934-1988), *Einaudi, Turin 1989, p. 78) of a passage by Carlo Emilio Gadda (from* Pane e chimica sintetica, *1937, in* Scritti vari e postumi, *vol. V of the* Opere, *ed. Dante Isella, Garzanti, Milan 1993, p. 125).*


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Tutela del patrimonio culturale e progettualità contemporanea

Walter Veltroni

Sono ben lieto di portare il saluto mio personale e dell'intero Governo a questo Convegno del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, dedicato ad una riflessione sulle nuove frontiere della progettazione architettonica e al ripensamento del ruolo e degli strumenti tecnici e culturali dell'architetto di fronte alle sfide della città, della natura e delle nuove tecnologie.
Sapete bene che stiamo attraversando una fase delicata. Molti nodi vengono al pettine, nodi che derivano da decenni di incuria del territorio, di pochezza culturale e organizzativa nell'attuazione delle politiche per il territorio e per il paesaggio, di confusione amministrativa e di conflitti endemici fra poteri e istituzioni della Repubblica. Ma sapete anche che è pienamente aperta una fase di riforma e di riassetto. Una fase in cui abbiamo la possibilità di costruire nuove soluzioni, di ribaltare in modo permanente e strutturale – non dipendente, cioè, dall'abilità e dalla bravura dei singoli ministri ovvero dalla natura dei programmi e delle coalizioni di governo – il segno di alcuni tradizionali problemi italiani: penso alla necessità di una nuova consapevolezza delle politiche del territorio, e di una più efficace organizzazione delle amministrazioni centrali e locali per il loro perseguimento; penso al rilancio di una "buona" architettura; penso al bisogno di un nuovo rapporto fra tutela del patrimonio culturale, sua conoscenza e accessibilità, forme di progettualità contemporanea.
Sappiamo tutti che la sfida è alta. È una sfida che assume, nel nostro Paese, caratteri del tutto particolari e peculiari. Il paesaggio italiano è, di per sé, storia. Il patrimonio culturale italiano è, di per sé, una componente formidabile – forse la più importante – della nostra identità. Un'identità che abbiamo quasi sempre vissuto in modo individuale – ribaltando la convinzione di Cavour – da "Italiani senza Italia".
Un'identità che ha oggi – in un passaggio storico inedito e di importanza determinante per le sorti del Paese – la possibilità di farsi collettiva. Di superare antiche debolezze e di procedere alla costruzione di un assetto istituzionale e politico moderno.
E mentre facciamo l'Italia, e la facciamo all'interno del nuovo e più avanzato quadro europeo, non è un caso che il nostro patrimonio culturale diventi oggetto di importanti sperimentazioni e ammodernamenti, simbolo di una nuova Italia capace di crescere e di imporre la sua identità nel panorama della mondializzazione della cultura, dell'informazione e degli scambi.
E non è un caso che, allo stesso tempo, il nostro patrimonio diventi bersaglio di forze occulte. Che attraverso il patrimonio vogliono colpire non solo l'identità italiana, ma la nostra stessa coscienza civile. Vorrebbero convincerci che non siamo in grado di far da soli. Che siamo un paese comunque destinato all'arretratezza, alla precarietà, all'incertezza, all'arte di arrangiarsi.
Sapremo dimostrare che non è così. Ai vecchi e nuovi signori della mafia e della malavita si è risposto, si risponde e si risponderà con una battaglia senza tregua. Una battaglia condotta non solo sul campo, ma anche attraverso l'accelerazione del processo di modernizzazione delle istituzioni, delle leggi, delle organizzazioni pubbliche. Una battaglia condotta non solo dalle forze dell'ordine e dalla magistratura, ma da tutti i cittadini. Una battaglia condotta anche attraverso i cantieri di restauro del nostro patrimonio, come quello degli Uffizi dove, a cinque anni dallo scellerato e ignobile attentato del 1993, di cui ancora piangiamo e ricordiamo le vittime innocenti, i lavori di recupero sono quasi giunti a conclusione e verranno terminati entro sei mesi, insieme all'apertura di nuovi spazi per il pubblico.
Se questo è il fronte dei problemi, se questo è il livello dello scontro, è naturale che la sfida che abbiamo di fronte non coinvolga la sola autorità di Governo. Da un lato, è naturale che il Governo senta la necessità di confrontarsi e di discutere liberamente con il mondo scientifico e professionale, come già avviene da mesi, sui temi che avete posto al centro della riflessione di queste giornate.
Dall'altro lato, è necessario che il mondo della cultura, della progettazione, dell'architettura, dell'urbanistica, sia in grado di partecipare pienamente al processo di riforma, innovando gli schemi di azione, adeguando le sue elaborazioni, superando antichi steccati e suddivisioni.
Siamo stati abituati a considerare la bellezza dell'architettura storica e del paesaggio come risorse irriproducibili. Come se si fosse esaurita per sempre la capacità creativa della nostra comunità e dei nostri architetti, che tanto hanno dato al mondo nel corso dei secoli passati. Come se, per quanto riguarda il territorio, la nostra epoca segnasse la cesura tra una stagione passata di invenzione, di produzione, di armonia, ed una condizione odierna di incapacità espressiva. Come se – al posto dei Giardini di Boboli o delle Ville palladiane – oggi si possa costruire solo Fuenti, oppure periferie moderne segnate

Protection of cultural heritage and contemporary design culture
Walter Veltroni

I am grateful for this opportunity to extend my personal greetings and those of the Government to this Conference of the National Council of Research, which focuses on a reflection on the new frontiers of architectural design and a rethinking of the role, and the technical and cultural instruments, of the architect in the face of the challenges of the city, nature and new technologies.
You are well-aware of the fact that we are going through a delicate phase. Many problems are coming to the surface, problems that are the result of decades of negligence, of cultural and organizational approximation in the creation and application of policies for the territory and the landscape, decades of administrative confusion and chronic conflict between different powers and institutions of the Republic. But you are also aware that a phase of reform and reorganization has been fully launched. A phase in which we have the possibility to construct new solutions, to reverse, in a permanent, structural manner – independent, that is, of the ability of individual ministers, or of the nature of the programmes and the coalitions of the Government – the direction of events with respect to a number of traditional Italian problems: I am thinking of the need for a new awareness of territorial policies, and a more efficient organization of central and local administrations for their implementation; I am thinking of the re-proposal of "good" architecture; I am thinking of the need for a new relationship between protection of cultural heritage, its knowledge and accessibility, and contemporary design culture.
We all know that this is a big challenge. It is a challenge that takes on a very particular character in our country. The Italian landscape is, by definition, history. The Italian cultural heritage is, in itself, an extremely important part, perhaps the most important, of our identity. An identity that we have almost always lived in an individual way – gainsaying the conviction of Cavour – as "Italians without Italy".
An identity which today – in an unprecedented historical moment, of decisive importance for the destiny of our country – has the possibility of becoming collective. To go beyond age-old weaknesses and to proceed with the construction of a modern institutional and political order. And as we are making Italy, and doing so within the context of the new, advanced European framework, it is no coincidence that our cultural heritage becomes the focus of important experimentation and modernization; the symbol of a new Italy that is capable of growing and of asserting its identity in the panorama of the globalization of culture, information and trade.
And it is no coincidence that, at the same time, our cultural heritage becomes the target of attacks by subversive forces. By attacking our cultural heritage, they want to undermine not only the Italian identity, but also our civic conscience. They want to convince us that we are not capable of making it on our own. That we are a country that is destined to remain backward, precarious, uncertain, a place of improvisation.
We will show them that this is not the case. We have responded, are responding and will respond to the old and new lords of the mafia, with a battle to the finish. A battle fought not only in direct encounters, but also through the acceleration of the process of modernization of institutions, laws, public organizations. A battle conducted not only by the police and the magistrates, but by all the citizens. A battle that is also fought in the worksites for the restoration of our heritage, as in that of the Uffizi where, five years after the shameful, ignominious bombing of 1993, whose innocent victims have not been forgotten, the work of restoration has nearly been finished, and will be completed in six months, when the new spaces will be opened to the public.
If this is the face of the problem, and this is the level of the clash, it is only natural that the challenge we must meet does not involve the authority of the Government alone. On the one hand, it is natural that the Government feel the need to discuss matters freely with the scientific and professional world, as has been happening for months now, focusing on the themes you have selected for these encounters. On the other, it is necessary that the world of culture, of design, architecture and urban planning be capable of fully participating in the reform process, with innovation in terms of the schemes of action, adapting to new approaches, overcoming age-old rancors and divisions.
We are accustomed to thinking of the beauty of historical architecture or of the landscape as a resource that cannot be reproduced. As if the creative capacities of our community and our architects were definitively exhausted, after all they have given to the world in centuries past. As if, where the territory is concerned, our epoch were the dividing line between a past of invention, production and harmony, and a present of expressive paralysis. As if –

dalla bruttezza, dalla volgarità, dall'aggressività. Come se l'energia di chi ha a cuore la conservazione dell'antico e del paesaggio debba essere spesa unicamente in trincea, a difesa del dilagare del nuovo, fino a confinarsi all'interno di un conservazionismo esclusivo e oltranzista.
Io credo invece che si difende l'antico anche migliorando la qualità del nuovo. Anche permettendo al nuovo di manifestarsi nelle sue forme migliori. Affinché il nuovo possa dialogare intelligentemente con l'antico, con la natura, con il paesaggio, con i bisogni degli individui e delle collettività.
Credo di non dire nulla di particolarmente provocatorio se affermo che oggi, invece, in Italia quasi tutte le regole e le consuetudini in vigore contribuiscono a mortificare l'architettura contemporanea e ad abbassarne la qualità. Penso alla continua aspettativa di nuovi condoni edilizi, che purtroppo è stata finora convalidata. Penso all'esercizio di un'attività di tutela di tipo puntuale, che arriva solo alla fine del percorso di programmazione e non interagisce a monte con le decisioni d'uso del territorio. Penso allo scarso uso e al funzionamento poco soddisfacente dei concorsi di progettazione. Penso all'assenza di un sistema di premi e di incentivi per la qualità dei progetti diffusi, quelli di piccola dimensione, sia pubblici che privati. Penso alla carenza di studi e di investimenti di ricerca sul paesaggio e sulla progettazione paesaggistica. Penso all'ossessiva reificazione delle norme amministrative, che diventano l'unica preoccupazione dei concorsi e dei progetti, facendo perdere di vista il merito della qualità progettuale. Penso all'equilibrio fra obiettivo di minimizzazione dei costi e obiettivo di miglioramento della qualità del costruito, equilibrio che non sempre viene raggiunto con modalità soddisfacenti.
Non intendo certo, con queste affermazioni, mettere a rischio i tratti fondamentali del territorio italiano: un vero e proprio territorio-museo, segnato da migliaia di nuclei storici in un tessuto paesaggistico mirabilmente antropizzato. Non si intende minimamente allentare il rigore della tutela. E questo, anche a beneficio delle collettività locali, poiché chi ha investito in tutela e conservazione del paesaggio negli ultimi vent'anni sta oggi raccogliendo frutti ben superiori, sul piano dello sviluppo economico locale, di chi ha deturpato risorse inseguendo vantaggi speculativi di brevissimo termine.
Vorremmo, al contrario, vedere una convivenza più armoniosa fra l'antico da difendere e i nuovi insediamenti da creare. Una tutela forte dei monumenti e dei centri storici, all'interno però di un'accentuazione della loro valorizzazione e dell'accessibilità alla loro conoscenza e godimento. Una difesa strenua del paesaggio, che si trasformi però da un semplice potere di veto alla capacità di contribuire affinché gli interventi necessari costituiscano aggiunta e miglioramento alla qualità dell'ambiente, piuttosto che sottrazione e degrado. Una salvaguardia di natura e cultura che non si dimentichi, ma anzi metta in cima alla lista delle priorità, la riqualificazione e il miglioramento delle periferie che avvolgono i nostri splendidi centri storici.
Per realizzare questi obiettivi ho proposto una strada: quella di gettare un ponte tra la difesa dell'architettura antica e la promozione dell'architettura contemporanea di qualità. Due funzioni che hanno molto in comune e che possono meglio interagire se a ciascuna corrisponde un centro amministrativo di elevata competenza tecnico-scientifica che, nell'ambito di un necessario processo di devoluzione alle autonomie locali dei compiti di gestione e attuazione delle politiche e dei piani, mantengano però una salda visione unitaria a livello nazionale. È da qui che nasce la mia proposta di attivare, all'interno del nuovo Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, una serie di azioni che hanno come obiettivo il ricongiungimento metodologico e operativo fra i due momenti, dell'antico e del moderno di qualità.
Intorno a questa idea stiamo lavorando da alcuni mesi, identificando strumenti e interventi possibili; verificandone la fattibilità tecnica, giuridica, amministrativa; suscitando il dibattito esterno e chiedendo anzi alla comunità scientifica un concreto apporto di idee, di ipotesi, di suggerimenti. Una domanda che, ne sono convinto, anche questo Convegno potrà contribuire a soddisfare.
Stiamo ragionando, in primo luogo, intorno all'istituzione di una struttura centrale all'interno del nuovo Ministero, dedicata alla funzioni di concorso nella ideazione e progettazione dell'architettura di qualità. Questa struttura dovrebbe muoversi, in cooperazione con le corrispondenti strutture per la tutela del paesaggio e del patrimonio architettonico e in collegamento con gli enti locali, a sostegno delle politiche di valorizzazione architettonica e urbanistica degli spazi antropizzati, in relazione al loro interesse storico, estetico e culturale. Dovrebbe, poi, promuovere e favorire la qualità del progetto di

instead of the Boboli Gardens or the Palladian villas – it were possible today to construct only Fuenti (a hotel on the Amalfi coast representing a case of property speculation) or ugly modern suburbs, vulgar and aggressive. As if the energy of those who care about the conservation of things from the past and of the landscape should be spent only in the trenches, fighting against the spread of the new, in pure conservationism, without compromise.

I, on the other hand, believe that we can also defend the old by improving the quality of the new. By permitting the new to manifest itself in its best forms. So that the new can establish an intelligent dialogue with the old, with nature, the landscape, with the needs of individuals and communities.

I don't think I am saying anything particularly controversial if I state that today, on the other hand, in Italy nearly all the rules and customary practices contribute to discourage contemporary architecture and to lower its quality. I am thinking of the constant expectation for renewed amnesties for building violations, an expectation which has unfortunately always been fulfilled. I am thinking of a system of control that intervenes only at the end of the planning process, never interacting upstream in the decision-making regarding the uses of the territory.

I am thinking of the fact that architectural competitions are seldom used, and that when used they seldom have satisfying results. I am thinking of the lack of a system of prizes and incentives for the quality of designs, even small-scale projects, whether public or private. I am thinking of the lack of study and investment in research on the landscape and its design. I am thinking of the obsessive focus on administrative norms, which become the sole concern of competitions and designs, causing us to lose sight of the quality of the design itself. I am thinking of the balance between the objective of minimization of costs and that of the improvement of the quality of what is built, an equilibrium which is not always achieved in a satisfactory manner.

Of course these remarks are not intended to place the fundamental features of the Italian territory at risk: a true museum-at-large, with thousands of historical nuclei in a landscape fabric admirably anthropized. There is no intention whatsoever to make protection less rigorous. And this is also to protect local communities, because those who have invested in the conservation of the landscape over the last twenty years are now reaping the benefits on the level of local economic growth, much greater benefits than those quickly gained by those who have destroyed resources in pursuit of short-term profits through speculation.

Instead, we would like to see a more harmonious coexistence between the old to be protected and the new settlements to be created. Forceful safeguarding of monuments and historical centres, but in a context with an accent on their utilization and accessibility. Forceful protection of the landscape, but transformed from the simple power of veto or denial to a protection that is capable of contributing to the realization of interventions that are necessary for an improvement in the quality of the environment, rather than just maintaining the status quo, *which will inevitably lead to deterioration. A safeguarding of nature and culture that never overlooks the need for the improvement of the peripheries surrounding our splendid historical urban centres.*

To achieve these objectives I have proposed a path: that of bridging the gap between the defense of historical architecture and the promotion of quality contemporary architecture. Two functions that have a lot in common and can better interact if each corresponds to an administrative centre of great technical and scientific expertise, which within the necessary process of decentralization of responsibilities toward local realities, in terms of policy and planning, can maintain a solid, unified vision on a national scale. This lies behind my proposal to activate, within the new Ministry for Cultural Assets and Activities, a series of actions whose aim is the methodological and operative reunification of these two factors: historical resources and quality contemporary resources.

We have been working on this idea for a few months now, defining possible instruments and interventions; verifying technical, legal and administrative feasibility; stimulating external debate and asking the scientific community for a concrete contribution of ideas, hypotheses, suggestions. A request which, I am certain, this Conference can play a part in satisfying.

We are considering, first of all, the creation of a central structure within the new Ministry, to handle competitions for the conception and design of quality architecture. This structure should operate in cooperation with the corresponding structures for the safeguarding of the landscape and the architectural heritage, and in connection with local agencies, to support policies of architectural and urban planning improvement and

architettura, del progetto urbanistico e del progetto paesaggistico, anche attraverso nuovi sistemi di incentivi, di premi, di azioni di sostegno e di assistenza tecnica alle pubbliche amministrazioni e ai privati.
Stiamo, poi, lavorando per la costituzione di un Museo nazionale dell'architettura, una delle nuove istituzioni culturali per cui ho chiesto al Parlamento, in una proposta di legge attualmente in discussione, di utilizzare gli stanziamenti aggiuntivi a favore del Ministero deliberati dalla Legge finanziaria del 1998. Al Museo pensiamo debba essere collegata una rete periferica di musei d'architettura, istituiti e promossi da una pluralità di soggetti e di organismi.
Stiamo operando in via diretta, attraverso alcuni interventi esemplari, come il concorso di architettura che abbiamo intenzione di bandire per la ristrutturazione della Caserma di Via Guido Reni da destinare a nuovo polo dell'arte e dell'architettura contemporanea. Stiamo riflettendo sui meccanismi – che pensiamo di tipo amministrativo e gestionale, più che di tipo legislativo – per favorire la crescita formativa e culturale, e la visibilità, delle giovani generazioni di progettisti.
Nei bandi di concorso per Venaria Reale abbiamo già sperimentato alcuni di questi meccanismi. Prestiamo attenzione continua, in piena collaborazione con il Ministro dei Lavori Pubblici, all'attuazione della Legge Merloni e al relativo regolamento.
Stiamo preparando la prima Conferenza Nazionale del Paesaggio, al cui centro proporre una riflessione per il rilancio della pianificazione territoriale paesaggistica, superando la logica di contrapposizione e di separazione di competenze tra Stato ed Enti locali e regionali, con l'obiettivo di costruire sedi di concertazione in cui far crescere una progettualità nuova, che metta insieme le diverse istituzioni in uno sforzo cooperativo. Dovremo varare, ai sensi del Decreto Legislativo 112/1998, le nuove Commissioni Regionali per i Beni Culturali, che dovranno diventare la sede permanente del confronto e dell'azione cooperativa fra Stato e Autonomie locali anche nel campo del paesaggio e del territorio.
E dobbiamo, infine, presidiare con efficacia e con nuova capacità d'iniziativa il livello comunitario. È necessario che nella cultura della nuova Unione Europea vengano introdotte, accanto alle categorie che si riferiscono ai mercati, alla moneta e alle merci, le categorie dell'azione culturale, della diversità culturale, della tutela, dell'ambiente, del paesaggio, della qualità architettonica. E occorrerà che l'Unione impari a tener conto dell'opzione culturale in una lunga serie di infrastrutture giuridiche e regolamentari di base: dal trattamento fiscale dei prodotti culturali, al diritto d'autore, alla difesa della proprietà intellettuale, fino alla regolamentazione dei mercati pubblici.
Non solo c'è molto spazio per nuove idee, nuovi suggerimenti, nuove ipotesi di lavoro, in questo difficile passaggio di riforma dell'intervento dello Stato a sostegno della cultura architettonica italiana. Di queste idee, di questi suggerimenti, di queste ipotesi di lavoro, sentiamo fortemente il bisogno. Auguro, allora, buon esito ai lavori del vostro Convegno.

* Walter Veltroni è Vice Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri e Ministro per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali.
Intervento di apertura al Convegno "Il progetto di architettura", organizzato dal Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche e svoltosi a Roma il 25, 26 e 27 maggio 1998, con il coordinamento scientifico di Paolo Portoghesi, Direttore del Gruppo Nazionale Architettura del C.N.R., e Rolando Scarano, rappresentante del Settore Architettura del C.N.R.

utilization of spaces in which anthropization is evident, in relation to their levels of historical, aesthetic and cultural interest. It should also promote and favour the quality of architectural, urban and landscape design, through new systems of incentives, prizes, support actions, technical assistance for public administrations and private initiatives.
We are also working for the creation of a National Museum of Architecture, one of the new cultural institutions for which I have asked the Parliament, in a legislative proposal presently under discussion, to make use of the added funds set aside for the Ministry in the financial legislation of 1998. We feel that the Museum should be connected to a peripheral network of architecture museums, established and promoted by a wide range of subjects and organisms.
We are also operating directly, through a limited number of exemplary initiatives, like the architecture competition we are planning to hold for the restructuring of the barracks on Via Guido Reni, to be used as a new centre for contemporary art and architecture. We are reflecting on the mechanisms – which we feel should be administrative and managerial in nature, rather than legislative – to favour the professional and cultural growth, and the visibility, of the younger generations of designers.
In the competition guidelines for Venaria Reale we have already tested some of these mechanisms. We pay constant attention, in full collaboration with the Ministry of Public Works, to the implementation of the Merloni Act and its related regulations.
We are preparing the first National Conference on the Landscape, whose focus will be a consideration of how to renew territorial landscape planning, going beyond the logic of separation of roles between the State and local and regional administrations, with the aim of creating situations of cooperation to encourage the growth of a new design approach, combining the various institutions in a concerted effort. We will launch, in keeping with the stipulations of Legislative Decree 112/1998, the new Regional Commissions for Cultural Assets, which should become the permanent place of confrontation and cooperative action between the State and local administrations for, among other things, the area of the landscape and the territory.
Finally, we must be effective, with new types of initiative, at a European community level. The culture of the new European Union requires, alongside categories referring to markets, currencies and products, other categories of cultural action, cultural diversity, safeguarding of the environment, the landscape, architectural quality. And the Union must learn to take the cultural option into account in a long series of basic legal and regulatory infrastructures: from the taxation treatment of cultural products, to authors' royalties and copyrights, to the defense of intellectual property and the regulation of public markets.
There is not only a great deal of space for new ideas, new suggestions, new working hypotheses in this difficult passage of reform of the State's role to sustain Italian architectural culture. There is also an explicit desire, on our part, to know about these ideas, these suggestions and hypotheses, because we feel a true need for them. So let me extend my best wishes and hopes that your Conference will produce good results.

** Walter Veltroni is Vice-president of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Cultural and Environmental Assets.*
He made this speech to open the Conference "The design of architecture", organized by the National Council of Research and held in Rome on 25, 26 and 27 May 1998, with the coordination of Paolo Portoghesi, Director of the National Architecture Group of C.N.R., and Rolando Scarano, representing the Architecture Sector of C.N.R.

1. *Disegno del Colosseo come "chiusura" dei Fori.*

1. *Drawing of the Colosseum as "conclusion" of the Forums.*



1

Tra scavi, conservazione e completamenti: quali interventi per i Fori Imperiali?
Carlo Aymonino

Un breve riepilogo dei principali avvenimenti sull'area
Il Foro inizia la sua funzione di riunione di popolo, per decisioni riguardanti gli avvenimenti della città, alla fine del Sesto secolo avanti Cristo.
Il Foro di Cesare diventa il primo monumento complesso ed esteso che determinerà gran parte dei monumenti successivi.
Il Tempio di Marte Ultore è inaugurato da Augusto nel 752 (2 a.C.), estendendo di molto l'area dei Fori sia in rapporto all'insieme che al singolo monumento.
Nella valle tra Palatino, Esquilino e Celio vi era il lago della Domus Aurea; qui Vespasiano volle costruire il Colosseo per cancellare il ricordo di Nerone.
L'ultimo monumento costruito è l'Arco di Costantino, del 316, che già indica, attraverso la "spoliazione" di parti di altri monumenti, la crisi e la successiva scomparsa di quella civiltà.
Dopo questa sommaria e rapidissima rievocazione dei principali avvenimenti, vale ancora la pena di ricordare che l'attuale "sistemazione" del Foro Romano (anzi, prima degli interventi di scavo in corso di realizzazione) è il frutto di una interpretazione d'epoca, cioè scenografica, ma soprattutto frutto di un paesaggio in qualche modo "agreste", formato com'è da ruderi incompleti anche dove si potrebbe completare il monumento e da acanti (molti), allori (abbastanza) e cipressi (pochi).
Dove le rovine servono da completamento del paesaggio stesso e comunque sempre in funzione di fondale per lo sfrecciare delle vetture sulla Via dell'Impero! Oggi è un paesaggio insopportabile.

Com'era, dov'era...
Uno dei problemi più complessi e difficili da affrontare è proprio la sistemazione, nuova e attuale – ancora non terminata – dell'area dei Fori (Foro Romano e Fori Imperiali).
Prima di tutto occorre stabilire i suoi confini, che naturalmente non possono essere quelli "antichi", romani, ma per forza quelli attuali. Dove e come ci si ferma?
E, soprattutto, come sostiene Silvana Rizzo nel saggio pubblicato in questo stesso numero, qual è la realtà "archeologica" che oggi vogliamo rappresentare?
Per dare una risposta plausibile tocca tornare ai lavori del 1931-33 quando fu decisa l'opera di congiungimento tra Piazza Venezia e il Colosseo, cercando di rimettere in luce

Excavation, conservation, completion: what should be done with the Imperial Forums?
Carlo Aymonino

A brief retracing of the main events in this area
The Forum began its function as a meeting place for the people, to make decisions regarding events in the city, at the end of the 6th century BC.
The Forum of Caesar became the first complex, extended monument, setting the model for most of those built later.
The Temple of Mars Ultor was inaugurated by Augustus in 752 (2 BC), greatly extending the area of the Forums, both in terms of the whole and of the single monument.
In the valley between the Palatine, the Esquiline and the Coelian there was the lake of the Domus Aurea; here Vespasian wanted to construct the Colosseum, to erase the memory of Nero.
The last monument built was the Arch of Constantine, in 316, already indicating, through the "pillage" of parts of other monuments, the crisis and subsequent fall of the civilization.
After this extremely brief sketch of the main events, it is still worth recalling that the present-day "arrangement" of the Roman Forum (or, to be precise, that before the excavations now in progress) is the result of a "period" interpretation, as in a theatrical set, and above all of a landscape that is somehow "rustic", formed of incomplete ruins, even where it would be possible to complete the monument, and by acanthuses (many), laurels (quite a lot), and cypresses (few).
Where the ruins serve as a completion of the landscape, not vice versa, and always in compliance with the function of a backdrop for the cars speeding by on Via dell'Impero! Today, in other words, an unbearable landscape.

As it was, where it was...
One of the most complex and difficult problems that faces us is the new ordering of the area of the Forums (the Roman Forum and the Imperial Forums).
First of all, it is necessary to define the boundaries of the area, which naturally cannot be those of ancient Rome: they are defined by the elements present in today's Rome. Where, and how, can we draw the lines? And, above all, as Silvana Rizzo asks in the essay published in this issue, just what is the "archaeological" reality we are trying to represent?
To offer a plausible answer we have to go back to the works of 1931-33, when it was decided to connect Piazza Venezia and the Colosseum, and to attempt to reveal, as far as possible, the "Romanity" that could be seen on both sides of the new street.

il più possibile la "romanità" che si sarebbe ritrovata ai lati della nuova strada.
Qui c'è già una prima scelta operata dai politici e accettata dagli archeologi (che non erano comunque alle prime armi sull'argomento). E cioè che si *voleva* come risultato finale solo la romanità – certo il periodo più importante per la città e per il regime –, soprattutto quella monumentale e scenografica.
E il risultato fu anche da molti positivamente apprezzato nel senso che, sia pure sommariamente, era omogeneo nel tempo (all'incirca tre secoli) e soprattutto nella "rappresentazione" di un'epoca data per omogenea.
Oggi è ben diverso, sia per la direzione politica che delega – dal Sindaco Petroselli in poi – gli specialisti lasciando loro la libertà di *decidere*, sia per la direzione archeologica che oggi è tutta orientata verso lo scavo stratigrafico e la conseguente conservazione e catalogazione di tutte le testimonianza individuate.
Avremo forse due, tre, quattro soluzioni dei Fori Imperiali? Non credo che oggi si possa dare una risposta unica, visto che gli archeologi stanno scoprendo tutti gli strati possibili. Alla fine cosa apparirà nell'insieme e come si può *unificare* una zona – e che zona! – che pur sempre è il frutto dell'epoca romana?
Entro questo quadro complesso è possibile *completare* qualche monumento – o una parte di esso – per rendere più evidenti e comprensibili i resti stessi? Ossia cambiare radicalmente la sistemazione generale del Foro Romano e renderla più simile ai Mercati di Traiano e al Colosseo nella nuova sistemazione?

Due esempi tra i molti
Le colonne del Tempio di Marte Ultore nel Foro di Augusto – segnate tutte nella disposizione delle basi – dovrebbero essere completate per rendere *visibile*, a un pubblico dieci volte superiore ai numeri attuali, un monumento importantissimo nel quadro generale dell'antichità e, di conseguenza, anche nello stato attuale.
O il completamento del Colosseo – è facile la ricostruzione, mi pare –, che avrebbe tra l'altro il ruolo architettonico di fondale di tutta l'area dei Fori, come già nel 1809 veniva segnalata, dagli esperti incaricati dal Governo napoleonico, l'importanza che veniva ad assumere l'anfiteatro Flavio come "*il punto terminale della valle dei monumenti*".
Già l'indicare *quali* monumenti siano da completare, in parte o in tutto, ma differenziati nei materiali, significa scegliere e giustificare le scelte stesse.
La Via dei Fori Imperiali scomparirà pertanto nel tempo una volta sistemata, da Piazza Venezia al Colosseo, tutta l'area dei Fori in quanto anacronistica rispetto alla nuova sistemazione, molto simile a quella antica. (Che comunque copre un arco di quasi mille anni).
Si potrà in parte comprendere l'urbanistica romana, niente affatto prospettica come quella "moderna", ma affastellata nell'impianto urbano, senza gerarchie particolari ma invece, all'interno di ogni complesso (terme, basiliche, teatri, eccetera), piena di spazi, di luce e di aria completamente differenziati.

* I disegni che accompagnano questo testo sono appunti di studio di Carlo Aymonino per la sistemazione del Colosseo nell'ambito della trasformazione dei Fori Romano e Imperiali.

Here we are faced, already, by a choice made by politicians and accepted by archaeologists (who were not, however, newcomers to this debate). This choice entailed a declaration of intent: the result was to be only one of "Romanity" – with reference, of course, to the most important period of the city's existence – especially in terms of the monumental and theatrical aspects.
The result met with acclaim, because although it was rather sketchy, it was homogeneous in terms of temporal references (focusing on about three centuries) and, above all, it was consistent with an idea of the "representation" of an epoch thought to be homogeneous.
Today things are quite different, both in terms of the political scene that delegates – from Mayor Petroselli to the present – real decision-making powers to the specialists, and in terms of the archaeological authorities, who are oriented, today, toward stratigraphic excavation and the consequent conservation and classification of all the items found.
Will we wind up with two, three, four different solutions for the Imperial Forums? I do not believe that a single solution is possible, today, given the fact that the archaeologists are busy discovering all the possible layers.
In the end, what will appear in the whole, and how can we unify *a zone – and what a zone! – that is, in spite of it all, still a product of the Roman era?*
Within this complex scenario, is it possible to complete *any of the monuments – or their parts – to facilitate an understanding of the ruins themselves? Is it possible to radically alter the general organization of the Roman Forum, to make it more similar to the Trajan Markets and the Colosseum in the new arrangement?*

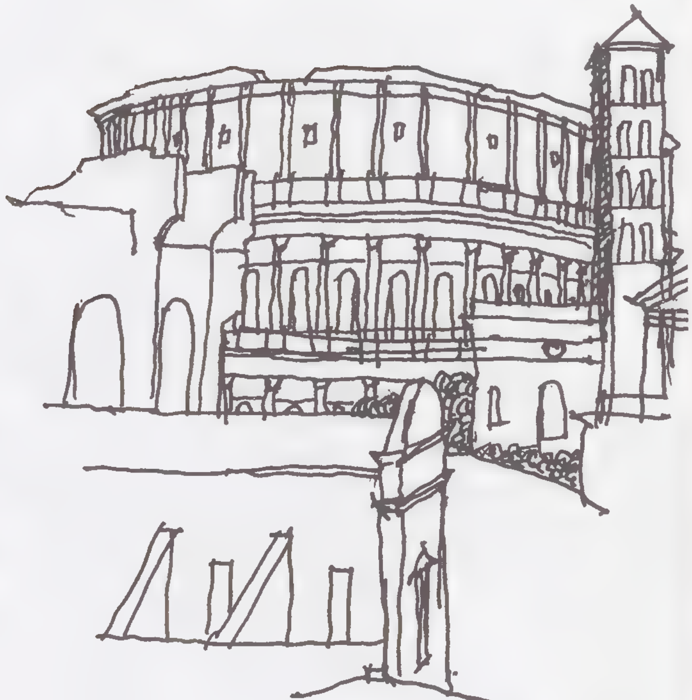
Two examples, among many
The columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus – all still clearly evident due to the positioning of their bases – should be completed in order to render visible, *for an audience ten times larger than that of today, a monument that is of the greatest importance in the overall context of antiquity, even in its present state.*
Or the completion of the Colosseum – the reconstruction would be rather simple, I think – which could also play the architectonic role of a backdrop for the entire area of the Forums, as was indicated, back in 1809, by the experts hired by the Napoleonic Government, mentioning it as the "terminal point of the valley of the monuments".
Right away, the indication of which *monuments should be completed, partially or totally, although with differentiation of old and new materials, means making choices and justifying them.*
Via dei Fori Imperiali will disappear, in time, once the entire area of the Forums, from Piazza Venezia to the Colosseum, has been reorganized, because this street would become anachronistic in the context of the new arrangement, which should be very similar to that of ancient times. (Ancient times: a period of nearly 1000 years!)
This will, in part, make it possible to comprehend the urban design of ancient Rome, which was not "perspective-oriented", like modern urban design, but more closely connected, and confused, with the urban layout, without particular hierarchies; it was based, instead, inside each complex (baths, basilicas, theatres, etc.) on a logic of completely differentiated spaces, of light and air.

** The drawings accompanying this text are study notes by Carlo Aymonino for the new ordering of the Colosseum in the context of the transformation of the Roman and Imperial Forums.*

2. Disegno del Colosseo all'epoca di Goethe (1786), con la Via Crucis e la cappella.
3. Disegno dalla veduta di Volpato (1740-1803) con il Colosseo completato.
4. Disegno del Colosseo e della Via dei Fori Imperiali.
5. Disegno ricostruttivo del Tempio di Marte Ultore.

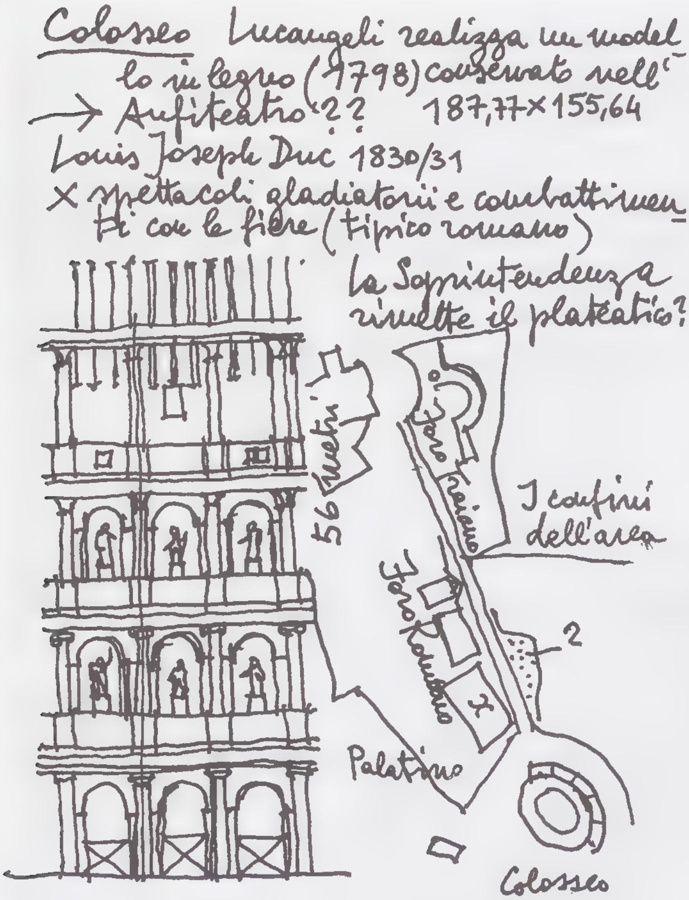


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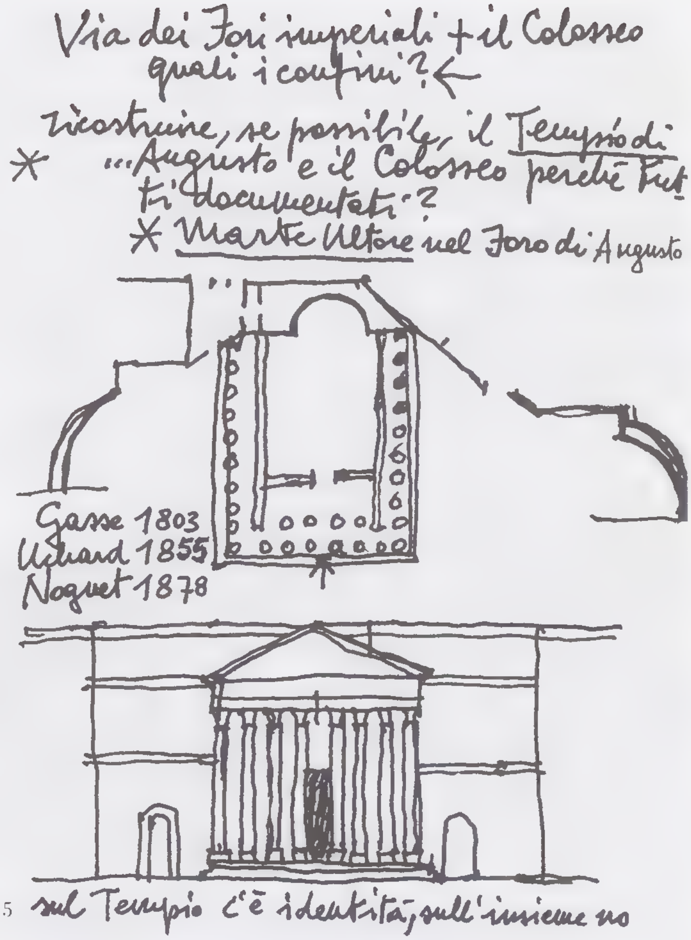


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2. Drawing of the Colosseum at the time of Goethe (1786), with the Via Crucis and the chapel.
3. Drawing from the Volpato's view (1740-1803) with the Colosseum completed.
4. Drawing of the Colosseum and the Via dei Fori Imperiali.
5. Reconstructive drawing of the Temple of Mars Ultor.



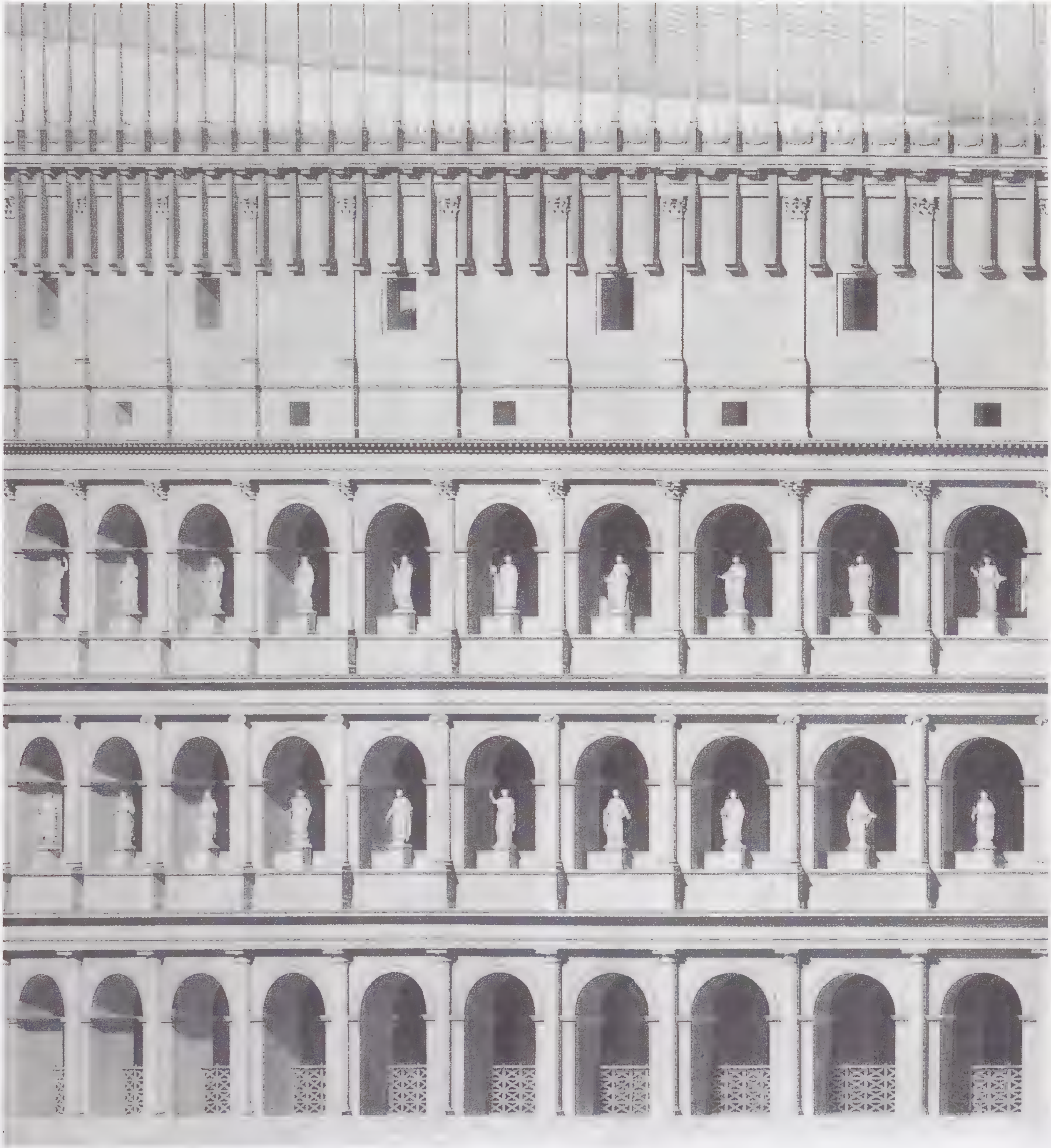
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1. Louis Joseph Duc (1802-79), Il Colosseo ricostruito, 1830.

1. Louis Joseph Duc (1802-79), The Colosseum reconstructed, 1830.



1

I Fori Imperiali a Roma: la memoria dell'antico tra guerre, sterri e scavi
Silvana Rizzo

The Imperial Forums in Rome: the memory of the ancient, through wars, digs and excavations
Silvana Rizzo

Vicende storiche del Complesso monumentale
Giulio Cesare, il primo a comprendere l'importanza di costruire a Roma un nuovo Foro piuttosto che limitarsi ad ampliare quello repubblicano, secondo lo storico Svetonio spese ben sessanta milioni di sesterzi solo per espropriare il terreno per la costruzione del complesso monumentale.
Sappiamo anche che l'operazione fu fatta condurre all'amico intellettuale Cicerone, il quale mise subito da parte vecchie perplessità più volte espresse sul nuovo astro politico in ascesa e insieme al fratello Ortenzio diede vita alla prima delle grandi famiglie di speculatori edilizi romani. I due fratelli, infatti, vendettero immediatamente le proprietà del Tuscolo per comperare quelle lungo l'Argileto, l'antico quartiere repubblicano da essi stessi individuato come area da espropriare per edificare il nuovo Foro cesariano.
Le splendide colonne del Tempio di Venere Genitrice dedicate da Cesare nel Foro dopo la vittoria di Farsalo, pur nella frammentarietà del loro contesto attuale ancora oggi testimoniano la raffinatezza del complesso monumentale, ma certamente non consentono neppure di immaginare nel loro isolamento l'originale maestosità dell'edificio cui appartennero.
Quanto oggi è in vista del Foro di Cesare fu riportato in luce durante i lavori di sventramento per l'apertura di Via dell'Impero e corrisponde a mq 5000 su un totale di ben 15.000. I lavori di scavo durarono dal 1930 al 1932 e furono indirizzati solamente verso la scoperta di quanto era posto lungo il settore sudorientale. Tuttavia anche la metà della parte orientale e gran parte di quella settentrionale furono ricoperte perché inutilizzabili ai fini della diversa urbanizzazione del sito.
Non è certo casuale che lo sterro archeologico sia stato allora arrestato nell'area assai esigua di una limitata porzione del Foro di Cesare, benché non fossero ignote la magnificenza e l'abbondanza delle preesistenze accertate attraverso precedenti ritrovamenti di enorme rilevanza seppure condotti sporadicamente.
Ma già nel 1870, con l'entrata dei Piemontesi a Roma, alcune costruzioni di proprietà ecclesiastica sorte sopra i resti del Foro e dei Mercati di Traiano furono espropriate e trasformate in caserma per i reparti dell'esercito, nonostante la Torre delle Milizie, costruita nel 1200, svettasse sopra il complesso monumentale, del quale era ben visibile anche la parte superiore del grande emiciclo dei mercati.
Nel periodo fascista la caserma continuò a funzionare come acquartieramento della Milizia sino alla fine degli anni

Historical background of the monumental complex
Julius Caesar, the first to understand the importance of the construction, in Rome, of a new Forum, rather than simply expanding that of the republican era, spent the huge sum of sixty million sesterces, according to the historian Suetonius, just to purchase the land for the construction of the monumental complex.
We also know that the operation was guided by his friend, the intellectual Cicero, who immediately abandoned his previous, repeatedly expressed perplexities regarding the new rising political star, and together with his brother Hortensius launched the first of the great families of Roman real estate speculators. The two brothers, in fact, immediately sold the holdings of Tusculum in order to purchase those along the Argiletum, the old republican district, which they had already selected as the area to be expropriated for the construction of Caesar's new Forum.
The splendid columns of the Temple of Venus Genetrix dedicated by Caesar in the Forum after the victory of Pharsalus, in spite of the fragmentary condition of the present context, still bear witness to the refinement of the monumental complex; but on their own they cannot possibly offer us even a glimpse of the imposing grandeur *of the edifice of which they were a part.*
What can be seen today of the Forum of Caesar was revealed during the work of demolition for the building of Via dell'Impero, and covers an area of 5000 sq. meters, just one third of the original complex. The excavation took place between 1930 and 1932, with the sole aim of uncovering the southeastern sector. Later, about half of the eastern part and much of the northern sector were covered over, because they were deemed useless for a urban development of the site.
So it is no coincidence that the archaeological dig was stopped, limited to a very small portion of the Forum of Caesar, in spite of the fact that earlier sporadic explorations and studies had revealed finds of enormous importance.
Already, in 1870, when the Piedmontese entered Rome, some constructions which were the property of the church, built over the ruins of the Forum and the Markets of Trajan, were expropriated and transformed into barracks for the divisions of the army, in spite of the fact that the Torre delle Milizie, built in 1200, stood overlooking the monumental complex, offering a fine view including the upper part of the large semicircle of the markets.
During the fascist era the barracks continued to function as a headquarters for the Militia, until the end of the 1920s, when

Venti, quando fu definitivamente smantellata dal Governatorato. Erano gli anni durante i quali si riportarono in luce una parte del Complesso monumentale traianeo e il Foro di Augusto con l'imponente podio del Tempio di Marte Ultore, dedicato dall'Imperatore per ricordare la vendetta dopo l'uccisione di Cesare suo padre adottivo.
Le notizie relative ai lavori di scavo si sono potute dedurre dalla scarsa documentazione d'archivio conservata presso la Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma e soprattutto dal fondo dell'archivio di Antonio Maria Colini, che fu tra i pochi archeologi a redarre rilievi, appunti, fotografie e parte del materiale grafico, che insieme con quello prodotto da Italo Gismondi venne poi utilizzato per la realizzazione del plastico del Foro di Augusto, tuttora conservato nei Mercati di Traiano. I dati più significativi che si evidenziano dalla lettura del materiale allora redatto riguardano, più ancora di quelli relativi alla scoperta dei Fori, le notizie concernenti le fasi di demolizione dei resti di età posteriore di cui l'area era ricchissima.
Nell'edificio dei Mercati di Traiano, infatti, che nel Dodicesimo secolo era posto lungo il percorso delle processioni papali, si erano insediate le chiese di San Salvatore de Divittis e di San Abbaciro, corruzione dei nomi Ciro e Giovanni, nonché un palazzo colonnato eretto sui resti romani nell'area retrostante la Grande Aula dei Mercati.
Questo stesso settore nel 1574 venne acquistato da monache domenicane che vi stabilirono il primo nucleo del monastero di Santa Caterina. La presenza del monastero si protrasse per circa trecento anni, durante i quali furono edificati diversi edifici sulle strutture romane e medievali sino a nasconderle completamente.
Inoltre fin dal Nono secolo l'area del Foro di Augusto era stata occupata dall'insediamento monastico di San Basilio, le cui nuove strutture si sovrapposero sul peristilio del Tempio di Marte Ultore, privato necessariamente del colonnato sia lungo il lato nord sia sulla fronte, e che vennero demolite totalmente nel 1926, lasciando a testimonianza del complesso religioso soltanto le mensole esterne e gli affreschi interni, attualmente visibili nella Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi.
Ma contemporaneamente agli scavi si proseguì anche con la demolizione sistematica dei diversi settori dell'impianto conventuale medievale, che attraverso i disegni e i sommari rilievi conservati si evidenzia come un unico edificio di culto suddiviso in un atrio a pilastri, corrispondente al pronao del Tempio di Marte Ultore, una chiesa coperta con volte a

they were definitively dismantled. During this period a part of the monumental complex of Trajan was unearthed, as well as the Forum of Augustus with the imposing podium of the Temple of Mars Ultor, thus dedicated by the Emperor to commemorate the vendetta after the killing of Caesar, his adoptive father.
The facts regarding the excavations can be deduced from the scanty documentation conserved in the archives of the Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali of the City of Rome, and above all from the archives of Antonio Maria Colini, who was one of the few archaeologists who made precise drawings, notes, photographs, supplying graphic materials, together with the documentation produced by Italo Gismondi, later used to create a model of the Forum of Augustus, still conserved today in the Markets of Trajan. The most important information we can clean from these documents is not so much that related to the discovery of the Forums, as that regarding the phases of the demolition of the old ruins that filled the entire area.
In the edifice of the Markets of Trajan, in fact, which in the 12th century was located along the route of the papal processions, two churches were built, those of San Salvatore de Divittis and San Abbaciro (a corruption of the names of Ciro and Giovanni), along with a palazzo with columns, built on the Roman ruins in the area behind the Great Hall of the Markets.
In 1574 this same sector was purchased by Dominican nuns, who founded the first nucleus of the convent of Santa Caterina. The convent remained there for about three centuries, during which a number of buildings were constructed over the Roman and medieval structures, utterly concealing them.
Moreover, from the 9th century the area of the Forum of Augustus was occupied by the monastery complex of San Basilio, whose new structures were built over the peristyle of the Temple of Mars Ultor, necessarily deprived of its colonnade along the northern side and the main facade; the monastery structures were totally demolished in 1926, and their only remaining traces are the external corbels and the internal frescoes, which can be seen today in the Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi.
Simultaneously to the excavations, work continued on the systematic demolition of different segments of the medieval convent complex; surviving drawings and rough surveys show that this was a single religious structure, subdivided into an atrium with pillars, corresponding to the position of the pronaos of the Temple of Mars the Revenger, a church covered

2. Area archeologica dal Campidoglio al Colosseo in una vista aerea antecedente all'apertura di Via dell'Impero.

3. Ricostruzione dei Fori Imperiali (dal Plastico realizzato dal 1937 da Italo Gismondi, conservato al Museo della Civiltà Romana).

2. Aerial view of the archaeological area from the Capitol to the Colosseum, before the opening of the Via dell'Impero.

3. Reconstruction of the Imperial Forums (from the Model made since 1937 by Italo Gismondi, conserved at the Museo della Civiltà Romana).


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4. Hubert Robert, Foro di Augusto, 1759
5. I resti del Tempio di Marte Ultore in una stampa anonima del sec. XVIII.

4. Hubert Robert, Forum of Augustus, 1759.
5. The ruins of the Temple of Mars Ultor in an anonymous print of 18th century.



4



5

crociera su alte colonne insistente su un'ampia porzione della cella del Tempio, quindi il transetto che presentava una croce greca incisa sul pavimento augusteo.
La demolizione delle murature medievali a sacco, che presentavano chiare indicazioni degli edifici esistenti, trova un'ulteriore inspiegabile contraddizione nella costruzione di una falsa muratura a sacco sul lato settentrionale del podio del Tempio, ovviamente priva delle indicazioni poste invece su quella originale!
Identico destino viene riservato al tratto di muro medievale posto in corrispondenza con quello romano, tra la cella e il pronao, che aveva oltretutto il merito di aver riutilizzato nella parte superiore i blocchi antichi in travertino.
Al termine dei lavori "di redenzione" all'interno del Foro di Augusto viene consegnato alla Storia il muraglione di contenimento del complesso forense come unica testimonianza della stratigrafia postantica, segnalata da moltissime impronte relative agli edifici recenziori tuttora visibili ma non sempre comprensibili.
Ma il senso di isolata maestosità dell'impianto originario è oggi testimoniato soprattutto dai resti poderosi del Tempio di Marte Ultore, la cui visione attuale non è certamente quella antica. Originariamente il Tempio occupava una posizione simile a quella di Venere Genitrice nel Foro di Cesare, con la scalinata centrale in opera cementizia. Il podio, in opera quadrata di tufo, era rivestito di lastre di marmo di Carrara e al centro era inserito l'altare tra due fontane. Otto colonne costituivano la facciata e otto erano sui lati lunghi, secondo uno schema che si è recentemente rivelato pressocché sempre il medesimo per tutti i templi dei Fori Imperiali.
Delle colonne originarie ne restano in piedi tre più il pilastro di fondo: l'edificio è tuttora grandioso, considerando che le colonne corinzie in marmo di Carrara sono alte m 18 e che resta anche il tratto corrispondente del muro della cella e dell'architrave, con il magnifico cassettonato imitato da modelli greci del Quarto secolo a.C.
Lo spazio interno era scandito da sette colonne per lato probabilmente su due piani, accostate alle pareti in corrispondenza di altrettanti pilastri, tra i quali erano ricavate nicchie per statue. Uno dei capitelli dei pilastri, decorato magnificamente con Pegasi alati, è oggi conservato nei Mercati di Traiano. In fine la cella si concludeva con un'abside entro la quale era posta la base lunga circa m 9 che doveva sostenere le statue di culto.
Tanta maestosità, tanta superba grandezza sono oggi

by cruciform vaults on high columns over a large portion of the cella of the Temple, and a transept featuring a Greek cross cut into the original paving of Augustus.
The demolition of the medieval dry masonry walls, which featured clear indications of pre-existing edifices, meets with another inexplicable contradiction in the construction of false masonry on the northern side of the podium of the Temple, obviously without the indications that had been placed on the original!
The same fate befell the segment of medieval wall positioned in correspondence to that of the Roman era, between the cella and the pronaos, a portion which was of interest above all because of its reutilization, in the upper part, of the ancient blocks of Travertine stone.
At the end of the "redemption" works inside the Forum of Augustus, all that remains for History's scrutiny is the large retaining wall of the complex, the only evidence of post-ancient stratigraphy, marked by many signs of successive edifices, signs which are not always comprehensible.
But the sense of isolated majesty of the original structure is conveyed today, above all, by the imposing ruins of the Temple of Mars Ultor, whose appearance is certainly very different than it was in ancient times. Originally the Temple occupied a position similar to that of Venus Genitrix in the Forum of Caesar, with the central flight of steps in caementicium. The podium, in squared blocks of tuff, was faced with slabs of Carrara marble, and at the center stood an altar, between two fountains. There were eight columns on the facade and eight along the long sides, in keeping with a scheme that has recently been seen to be nearly identical for all the temples of the Imperial Forums.
Of the original columns, only three remain standing, along with the base pilaster: the edifice is still grand indeed, considering the fact that the Corinthian columns in Carrara marble are 18 meters high and that the wall corresponding to the cella and the architrave also remains, with the magnificent lacunar arrangement copied from Greek models of the 4th century BC.
The internal space featured seven columns on each side, probably on two levels, placed near the walls at the points of a corresponding number of pilasters, between which there were niches for statues. One of the capitals of the pilasters, magnificently decorated with winged Pegasus figures, is conserved today in the Markets of Trajan. Finally, the cella concluded with an apse which contained a base, about 9 meters long, intended as platform of religious statues.



6

mortificate da una sistemazione assolutamente priva di scientificità e risulta assolutamente impossibile immaginare l'impatto originario dell'invaso e della volumetria esercitato dal complesso monumentale sul contesto ambientale.
Tra il 1933 e il 1936 il fermento classicistico decretò che lo sfondo ideale dell'assetto urbanistico e architettonico della rinnovata romanità nei Fori Imperiali non potesse che essere costituito dal Colosseo, il quale aveva trovato la sua nobile origine nella misera fine di Nerone.
Risultato di un'architettura ardita e possente, il Colosseo è alto per l'anello esterno oltre m 50, mentre il diametro maggiore dell'ellissi misura m 188 e il minore m 156. È stato calcolato che erano stati impiegati più di 100.000 metri cubi di travertino e 300 tonnellate di ferro.
L'anello esterno, conservato solo per circa i due quinti della circonferenza, comprende quattro piani sovrapposti, dei quali i primi tre sono costituiti da arcate inquadrate da semicolonne tuscaniche nel primo piano, ioniche nel secondo e corinzie nel terzo. Il quarto piano, una sorta di attico, è ripartito da lesene anch'esse corinzie. Ogni due scomparti si apre una finestra quadrata, mentre una serie di mensole sono inserite al di sopra del livello delle finestre in corrispondenza di 240 fori nel cornicione per sostenere i pali ai quali si fissava il velario a spicchi destinato a riparare gli spettatori dal sole. Una squadra di marinai del porto di Miseno era addetta alla manovra del velario e questi militari dimoravano in un'apposita caserma vicino all'anfiteatro, i *Castra Misenatium*.
Anche l'interno del Colosseo semicrollato e privato di tutte le gradinate non può certo fornire neppure una pallida idea dell'aspetto originario, ulteriormente modificato dalla mancanza del piano dell'arena, che lascia scoperti i sotterranei di servizio.
Il monumento fu più volte restaurato anche nell'antichità e quando nel 523 cessarono ufficialmente spettacoli e combattimenti iniziò il suo decadimento.
Le fonti medievali ricordano almeno una decina di chiese attorno al Colosseo, mentre tra il Decimo e l'Undicesimo secolo il monumento venne trasformato in fortezza della famiglia dei Frangipane.
Alla fine del Sedicesimo secolo all'interno del Colosseo trovò posto un lanificio e nel 1675 addirittura un deposito di letame per la produzione di salnitro. Tali attività richiesero la tamponatura degli archi interni ed esterni dell'anfiteatro e quasi contemporaneamente iniziarono le spoliazioni, che terminarono solo nel 1744 per volontà di Papa Benedetto

All this majestic grandeur *is compromised, today, by an arrangement that is without any scientific justification, making it absolutely impossible to imagine the original impact of the inner space and of the volume of the structure in the context.*
Between 1933 and 1936 classicist ferment decreed that the ideal backdrop for the urban and architectural renovation of the Roman character of the Imperial Forums could only be the Colosseum, whose noble origins date back to the ignoble end of Nero.
The result of a daring, imposing architectural design, the Colosseum is over 50 meters high at its external ring, while the largest diameter of the ellipse measures 188 meters, and the smallest 156. It has been calculated that over 100,000 cubic meters of Travertine stone and 300 tons of iron were used to build this monument.
The outer ring, surviving for only two fifths of its circumference, includes four levels, of which the first three are composed of arches framed by Tuscan semi-columns on the first floor, Ionic on the second, Corinthian on the third. The fourth floor, a sort of attic, is subdivided by pilaster strips, again Corinthian. Every two segments a square window is placed, while a series of corbels are inserted above the level of the windows, corresponding to the 240 holes in the cornice to hold the poles for the segmented velarium that protected the spectators from the sun. A team of sailors from the port of Misenum was entrusted with the task of handling this velarium, and these sailors were housed in a special barracks near the amphitheatre, the Castra Misenatium.
Once again, the inside of the Colosseum, in ruins, without its seating levels, cannot offer any real idea of its original image, especially because of the fact that the actual arena level is gone, leaving the underground service spaces open to view.
The monument had been restored repeatedly, even in ancient times, but when the spectacles and contests were officially put to an end in 523 it began to fall into a state of decay.
Medieval sources mention at least ten churches around the Colosseum; during the 10th and 11th centuries, the monument was transformed into the fortress of the Frangipane family.
At the end of the 16th century there was a wool mill inside the Colosseum, and in 1675 it even contained a storage facility for manure used for the production of saltpetre. These activities required the walling up of the internal and external arches of the amphitheatre, and at almost the same time pillage began, which was halted only in 1744, by order of Pope Benedict XIV. This date marks the beginning of a rebirth of the monument,

6. Il Foro di Augusto e il Tempio di Marte Ultore in una foto attuale.
7. François-Joseph Uchard (1809-90), Ricostruzione del Tempio di Marte Ultore, 1843.
8. Il Foro di Augusto in una foto dopo lo scavo del 1933.

6. The Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars Ultor (present state).
7. François-Joseph Uchard (1809-90), Reconstruction of The Temple of Mars Ultor, 1843.
8. The Forum of Augustus after the excavation of 1933.



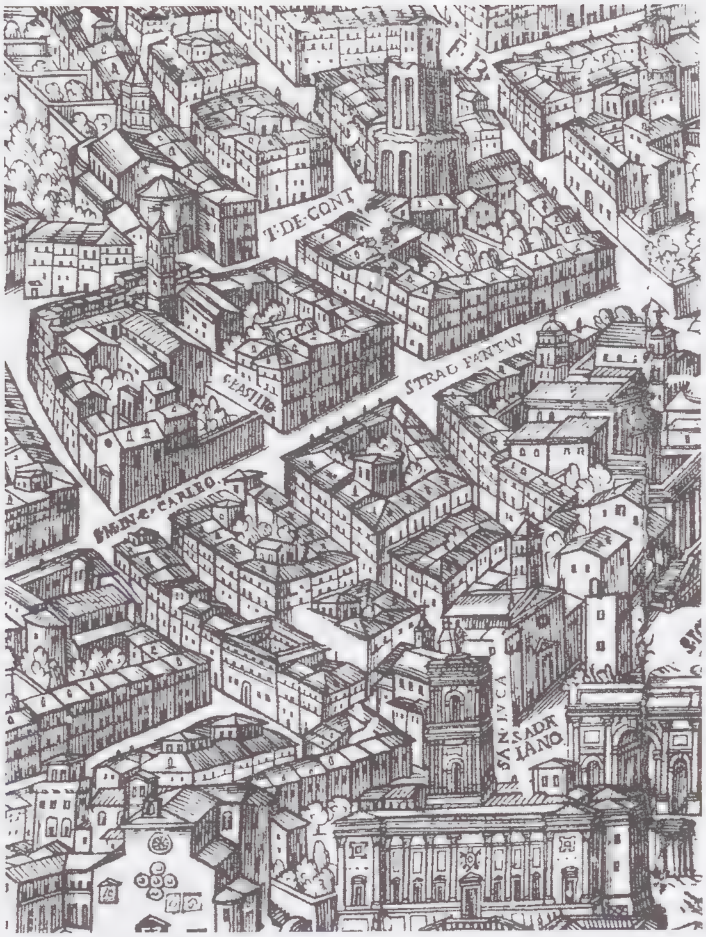
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9. *Pianta di Roma di Francesco Magi, 1625: particolare del quartiere sorto intorno alla Torre de' Conti.*
10. *La Torre delle Milizie, costruita nel 1200, in una foto attuale.*
11. *I Mercati di Traiano in una foto attuale.*

9. *Plan of Rome by Francesco Magi, 1625: detail of the quarter risen around the Torre de' Conti.*
10. *The Torre delle Milizie, built in 1200 (present state).*
11. *The Markets of Trajan (present state).*



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XIV. È questo l'inizio di una rinascita del monumento, che rischiò però nel 1703 di dover ospitare al suo interno una basilica, secondo il progetto di Carlo Fontana. Con l'avvento del Governo francese si diede inizio ai lavori di demolizione degli edifici moderni e nel 1820, per ordine di Pio VII, fu affidata al Valadier la costruzione di due contrafforti alle estremità, costituiti da altissimi muraglioni.
Nel decennio tra 1920 e 1930 anche per il Colosseo e l'area ad esso circostante fu determinante il sacrificio delle testimonianze archeologiche di secoli di vita in onore della "nuova" concezione urbanistica, volta all'esaltazione della romanità di una "nuova" città capitale di un "nuovo" impero.
Gli interventi di "liberazione" dell'area condussero alla distruzione totale dei resti appartenenti alla base del Colosso di Nerone oltre che della *Meta Sudans*, monumentale fontana che fu in parte seppellita sotto una gettata di cemento, mentre al livello del piano stradale moderno se ne disegnarono approssimativamente i limiti con sampietrini.
Con altrettanto accanimento venne distrutta anche la Velia, l'antica collina che congiungeva il Colle Palatino con il Colle Oppio, spianata per tutta la lunghezza necessaria al compimento di Via dell'Impero.
Il Colosseo apparve allora maestosamente delimitato dai Fori Imperiali ad esclusione del Tempio della Pace. Il Foro costruito proprio da Vespasiano tra il 71 e il 75 in ricordo della vittoria sugli Ebrei non era stato assolutamente indagato durante i lavori alla fine degli anni Venti, mentre per la costruzione di Via dell'Impero era stato in gran parte ricoperto da giardinetti di pini e lecci ideati da Antonio Muñoz in attesa forse di un futuro diverso.

I nuovi interventi del Progetto Fori Imperiali per il Giubileo dell'anno 2000

La conseguenza principale di tali interventi di isolamento del Colosseo dagli elementi storici cui da sempre era stato collegato è ancora oggi evidente: l'unità urbanistica e architettonica dell'area archeologica che trova il suo inizio nell'attuale Piazza Venezia è negata e assolutamente incomprensibile, mentre il complesso dei Fori è sezionato da Via dei Fori Imperiali e le emergenze monumentali ad esso pertinenti costituiscono ancora una sorta di scenografia immota e decontestualizzata.
Per tentare di restituire unitarietà a quell'area così devastata già qualche anno fa lo scavo condotto nel Foro di Nerva ha contribuito a dare l'avvio alla realizzazione del Parco dei

which had run the risk, in 1703, of having a basilica built inside it, in keeping with a project of Carlo Fontana. With the arrival of the French Government, work began on the demolition of the modern structures, and in 1820, by order of Pius VII, Valadier was commissioned to build two buttresses at the extremities.
In the decade from 1920 to 1930, the Colosseum and the area around it were subjected to a sacrifice of archaeological evidence of centuries of existence, in favour of a "new" urban planning concept, aimed at exalting the Roman-ness of a "new" capital city of a "new" empire.
The interventions of "liberation" of the area led to the total destruction of the ruins of the base of the Colossus of Nero, and of the Meta Sudans, *the monumental fountain that was partially buried beneath poured concrete, while at the level of the modern street an approximate tracing of its borders was made with cobblestones.*
With equal zeal, the Velia was also destroyed, the hill that connected the Palatine Hill to the Oppius Hill, razing it for the entire area required for the completion of Via dell'Impero.
The Colosseum appeared majestically framed by the Imperial Forums, with the exception of the Temple of Peace. The Forum built by Vespasian between 71 and 75 to commemorate the victory over the Jews was utterly overlooked during the works at the end of the 1920s, while for the construction of Via dell'Impero it was covered over by gardens of pines and ilex created by Antonio Muñoz, perhaps in expectation of a different future.

The new interventions of the Imperial Forums Project for the Jubilee of the year 2000

The main consequence of the actions of the past, which isolated the Colosseum from the historical elements to which it had always been connected, is still evident today: the urban and architectural unity of the archaeological area that begins at today's Piazza Venezia is negated and absolutely incomprehensible, while the complex of the Forums is dissected by Via dei Fori Imperiali, and its monumental landmarks still constitute a sort of mute, decontextualized theatrical set.
To attempt to restore some unity for such a devastated area, just a few years ago the excavations made in the area of the Forum of Nerva contributed to launch the creation of the Park of the Imperial Forums; this also represented the first significant modification of the urban arrangement of the site, restoring an area of 2500 sq. meters to the archaeological patrimony.
At the same time, documentary research and reports on the

Fori Imperiali, costituendo anche la prima consistente modifica dell'assetto urbano del sito e riconsegnando al patrimonio archeologico un'area di mq 2500.
Contemporaneamente ricerche d'archivio e saggi di scavo nel Foro di Traiano hanno dimostrato che il Tempio del Divo Traiano non può essere collocato secondo quanto sinora affermato dagli studiosi, poiché basato su aggiustamenti di simmetrie e non su dati archeologici scientificamente rilevati.
Pertanto il Progetto Fori Imperiali, finanziato con i fondi della Legge per il Giubileo e che sta per cominciare proprio in questi giorni, attraverso lo scavo dei Fori di Cesare, della Pace e di Traiano rimetterà in discussione tutto ciò che finora è stato dato per acclarato nell'area forense.
Il progetto di scavo interessa circa mq 14.000 e consentirà di aumentare considerevolmente la superficie visibile dei Fori, passando dall'attuale rapporto di 1:4 a quello di sostanziale parità.
I nuovi scavi aggiungeranno ulteriori mq 6600 ai già visibili 12.000 del Foro di Traiano, mq 3500 ai 5000 già scavati nel Foro di Cesare, mentre per il Foro della Pace, del quale sono attualmente visibili solo mq 800, lo scavo metterà in luce ben ulteriori mq 5500, una porzione comunque minima ma che sarà sufficiente a chiarire la conformazione stessa del Foro sconosciuto quasi in assoluto.
Le cifre finora descritte sono certamente indicative della complessità degli interventi intesi alla ricomposizione dell'intero complesso forense, ma deve essere sottolineata anche la profonda differenza tra gli interventi di sterro condotti tra gli anni Venti e Trenta e quelli appena conclusi nel Foro di Nerva e da intraprendere a breve negli altri Fori.
La metodologia scientifica e la filosofia alla base della ricerca archeologica sono profondamente mutate negli anni e soprattutto oggi, attraverso lo scavo stratigrafico, si consente la possibilità di studiare, finalmente non estrapolate dal loro contesto, anche le stratificazioni postantiche, precedentemente sempre sopraffatte da tecniche che miravano esclusivamente al raggiungimento della quota archeologica.
Alla ricerca della "romanità" si è contrapposta quella della successione delle fasi storiche, dall'età moderna alla più antica, consentendo in tal modo di giungere alla visibilità dell'insieme storicizzato e unificato dal corretto utilizzo della ricerca stessa.
Nel Foro di Nerva è perfettamente visibile la stratificazione storica dell'area dal Secondo secolo a.C. al 1930, attraverso

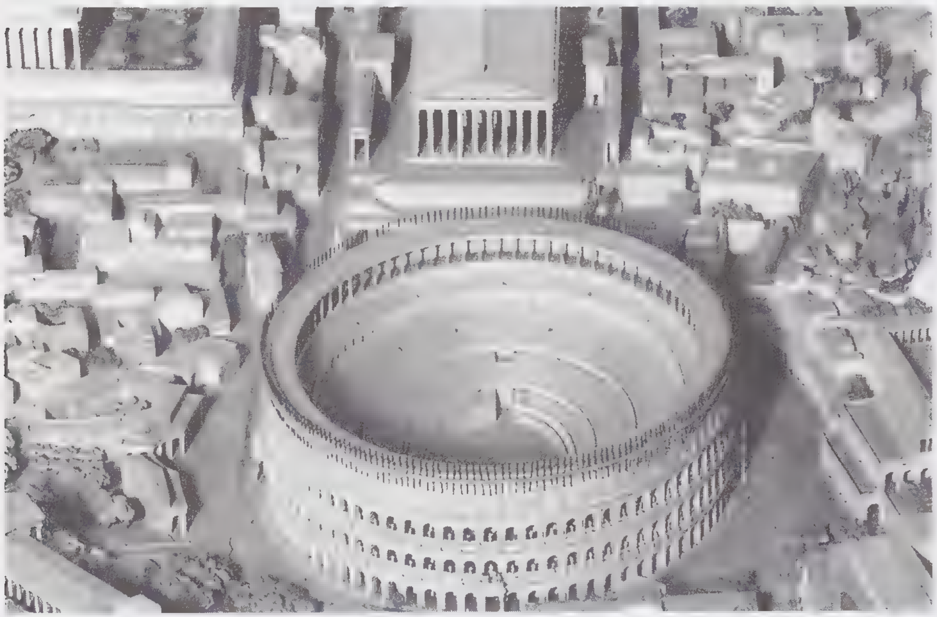
excavations of the Forum of Trajan have shown that the Temple of the Divine Trajan cannot have been positioned as scholars, to date, have indicated, because their hypothesis is based on adjustments of symmetries, rather than on scientifically proven archaeological evidence.
Therefore Imperial Forums Project, financed with funds supplied by Jubilee Year legislation, and about to begin as this is written, through the excavation of the Forums of Caesar, Vespasian and Trajan will re-open the debate regarding all that has been accepted as factual, until now, regarding the area of the Forums.
The excavation project covers an area of about 14,000 sq.m., and will make it possible to considerably extend the visible surface of the Forums, from the present ratio of 1:4 to a situation of substantial equilibrium between the parts revealed and concealed.
The new excavation will add a surface of 6600 sq. m. to the 12,000 already visible of the Forum of Trajan, 3500 to the 5000 already excavated in the Forum of Caesar, while in the Forum of Peace, presently visible only in an area of 800 sq. m., the digging will reveal another 5500 sq. m., still a minimal portion of the whole, but sufficient to clarify the form of the Forum, still almost completely unknown to us.
These numbers are clear indications of the complexity of the intervention that will take place for the recomposition of the entire complex of the Forums, but we should also emphasise the profound difference between the digging effected in the Twenties and Thirties and the excavation which has just been completed in the Forum of Nerva, and will soon be conducted in the other Forums.
The scientific methodology and underlying philosophy of archaeological research have changed profoundly over the years, and today the possibility of stratigraphic excavation permits, at last, the study of post-ancient stratifications in their context, whereas previously they were simply removed in order to reach the "archaeological" level.
Rather than seeking "Roman-ness", today's archaeologists are looking for the entire retraced succession of historical phases, from the modern era to ancient times, permitting visibility for the entire historical context, based on a correct research approach.
In the Forum of Nerva the historical stratification of the area from the 2nd century BC to 1930 is perfectly visible, through the examination of the cellars of the buildings razed during the works for the creation of Via dell'Impero, cellars which contain masonry from earlier periods, and now function as natural

12. 13. L'area del Colosseo in una vista aerea attuale e nella ricostruzione del Plastico realizzato dal 1937 da Italo Gismondi, conservato al Museo della Civiltà Romana.
14. 15. Il Colosseo, viste esterna e interna dello stato attuale.
16. Il Colosseo, vista del restauro "drammatico" dello sperone nordest con rivestimento in travertino, di Raffaello Stern, 1806-08. Il restauro delle arcate e dello sperone nordovest è di Giuseppe Valadier, 1828.

12. 13. Area of the Colosseum: aerial view (present state) and reconstruction in the model made since 1937 by Italo Gismondi, conserved at Museo della Civiltà Romana.
14. 15. Colosseum: exterior and interior views (present state).
16. Colosseum: view of the "dramatic" restoration of the northeastern spur with travertine stone facing, by Raffaello Stern, 1806-08. The restoration of the northwestern arches and spur is by Giuseppe Valadier, 1828.


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17. 18. *L'area del Foro di Nerva, in due viste prima e dopo lo scavo del 1995.*
19. 20. *Resti e ricostruzione (disegno R. Meneghini) dell'edificio carolingio rinvenuto nel Foro di Nerva durante lo scavo del 1995.*

17.18. *Area of the Forum of Nerva: views before and after the excavation of 1995.*
19.20. *Ruins and reconstruction (drawing by R. Meneghini) of the Carolingian edifice discovered in the Forum of Nerva during the excavation of 1995.*

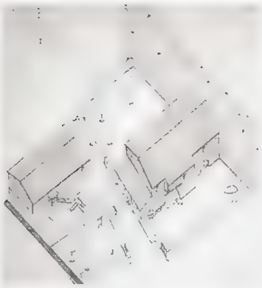


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l'esame delle cantine degli edifici rasi al suolo durante i lavori per l'apertura di Via dell'Impero, che conservano al loro interno murature di età precedenti e in veste di naturale *Antiquarium* custodiscono, esposti in teche moderne, parte dei ritrovamenti più significativi di tutte le stratigrafie emerse.
Se infatti lo scavo archeologico è di per sé distruttivo, è comunque possibile conservare anche in alzato stratigrafie murarie che testimoniano tutte le epoche di vita di un sito antico, e gli splendidi edifici Carolingi scoperti e conservati nel Foro di Nerva ne costituiscono ora una tangibile realtà.
Ma la suggestione immediata che i monumenti riemersi dal profondo ventre di Roma antica devono comunicare ai visitatori, per continuare così a far vivere l'antico, non può prescindere comunque anche da una corretta rilettura del restauro conservativo.
Alle indagini preliminari di tipo conoscitivo, alle indagini diagnostiche per l'accertamento delle condizioni statiche e la definizione degli interventi di consolidamento dei monumenti deve seguire un altrettanto preciso studio delle soluzioni progettuali.
Certamente tra i casi più emblematici e discussi di "restauro" occorre citare proprio i parchi archeologici, nei quali le emergenze architettoniche devono essere supportate dalla creazione di un tessuto connettivo tra le varie preesistenze ma anche tra le diverse stratificazioni storiche.
Nel caso del Parco dei Fori Imperiali il progetto non deve limitarsi a liberare i monumenti dal suolo ma deve anche proporsi la ricostruzione parziale della condizione originaria del contesto topografico.
Per essere comprensibili le emergenze monumentali devono poter comunicare con il contesto ambientale attuale: perché non immaginare, ad esempio, quale impatto potrebbe avere la "ricostruzione" del Tempio di Marte Ultore nel Foro di Augusto, secondo i principi dettati dalla conoscenza esatta delle dimensioni e delle volumetrie originarie? E perché non evidenziare la sezione naturale offerta dal podio e dalle tre colonne del Tempio di Venere Genitrice nel Foro di Cesare, o tentare di far vedere e non immaginare la composizione della latrina cesariana, la più imponente dell'antica Roma, della quale è stato rinvenuto il perimetro intero?
Non lasciamo alla sola realtà virtuale la possibilità di vedere ciò che in gran parte è già sotto i nostri occhi, affinché non sembri un gioco la ricostruzione della memoria storica e il futuro non diventi solo futuribile.
La lettura architettonica e urbanistica dell'area archeologica

Antiquaria *containing modern display cases for the most significant stratigraphic finds.*
Although archaeological digging is intrinsically destructive, it is still possible to conserve, even in elevation, masonry strata that bear witness to all the eras of an ancient site, and the splendid Carolingian edifices discovered and preserved in the Forum of Nerva are now a concrete proof of this fact.
But the immediate impact the monuments re-emerging from the depths of Rome must communicate to visitors, to make ancient heritage come alive, cannot however be disjoined from a correct interpretation of conservative restoration.
After preliminary studies of a cognitive type, diagnostic studies for the analysis of structural conditions and the definition of intervention for the consolidation of the monuments, there must be another, precise phase of study of design solutions.
Certainly one of the most emblematic and often discussed cases of "restoration" is that of the archaeological parks, in which the archaeological finds must be placed in a context of a connective tissue, linking the various pre-existing elements, but also the various historical stratifications.
In the case of the Park of the Imperial Forums the project should not be limited to a separation of the monuments from the overlying layers; it must also involve a partial reconstruction of the original topographical context.
To be comprehensible the monumental structures must be able to communicate with the present environmental context: why not imagine, for example, the possible impact of a "reconstruction" of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, in keeping with the principles dictated by precise knowledge of the original measurements and volumetrics? And why not focus on the natural cross-section offered by the podium and the three columns of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar; why not attempt to show, rather than leaving it up to the imagination, the composition of the lavatory of Caesar, the most impressive of those in ancient Rome, whose entire perimeter has been revealed?
Why should we leave only virtual reality the possibility of seeing what, in large part, is already there before our eyes? In doing so we make the reconstruction of historical memory seem like a game, and the future seem merely futuristic.
The architectural and urban interpretation of the central archaeological area still involves enormous difficulties; the monumental complexes can only be seen in a context of isolation from one another, and in spite of their fascinating beauty they are incomprehensible, mute survivors of a long

centrale presenta infatti ancora oggi enormi difficoltà: i complessi monumentali appaiono ancora isolati gli uni dagli altri e pur nella loro affascinante bellezza risultano a volte incomprensibili e muti elementi sopravvissuti ad una larga storia di trasformazioni urbane di cui è difficile seguire la genesi.
Nel turbinio di progettazioni troppo spesso empiriche, tra propositi integralisti di mera conservazione e avveniristici piani di azzeramento assoluto delle situazioni contingenti, si è perfino rischiato di dimenticare cos'era in origine il Colosseo, qual era il compito dei Fori nella Roma che ne decise la costruzione, cosa rappresentavano questi complessi monumentali nella crescita della città antica e postantica.
Sconsideratamente si è a volte contribuito a ingenerare, attraverso una commistione errata tra politiche culturali e nuove metodologie di intervento, l'abitudine anche intellettuale a consolidare l'aspetto "folcloristico" che le emergenze architettoniche della città storica venivano ormai assumendo, accettando che "le rovine" venissero considerate quasi esclusivamente nell'ottica di simbologie, che troppo spesso hanno contribuito a distorcere la vera identità di questi monumenti, costretti peraltro a sopravvivere in un contesto urbano non sempre idoneo alla loro pur sempre maestosa dignità.
Si deve al Senatore Corrado Ricci nel 1911 il primo tentativo di scavo archeologico del complesso monumentale dei Fori Imperiali che, pur contrapponendosi a progettazioni di totale stravolgimento dell'area, fu comunque strumentalmente "reinterpretato" nel 1931 e piegato alla decisione di radere al suolo il quartiere Alessandrino, con la mira inizialmente di allargare Via Cremona per poi invece definire l'apertura dello stradone di collegamento tra il Colosseo e Piazza Venezia. In definitiva l'area archeologica subisce comunque quel totale stravolgimento che inizialmente il progetto di Ricci sembrava escludere.
Oggi, alle soglie del 2000, si è finalmente deciso di ricondurre i Fori Imperiali "allo scoperto", non solo attraverso nuovi scavi ma gettando via via le basi per una diversa sistemazione dell'area archeologica centrale, che solo dopo la ricomposizione unitaria del grande complesso monumentale e le successive fasi conoscitive potrà assumere l'identità di una diversa valorizzazione di questo straordinario patrimonio.

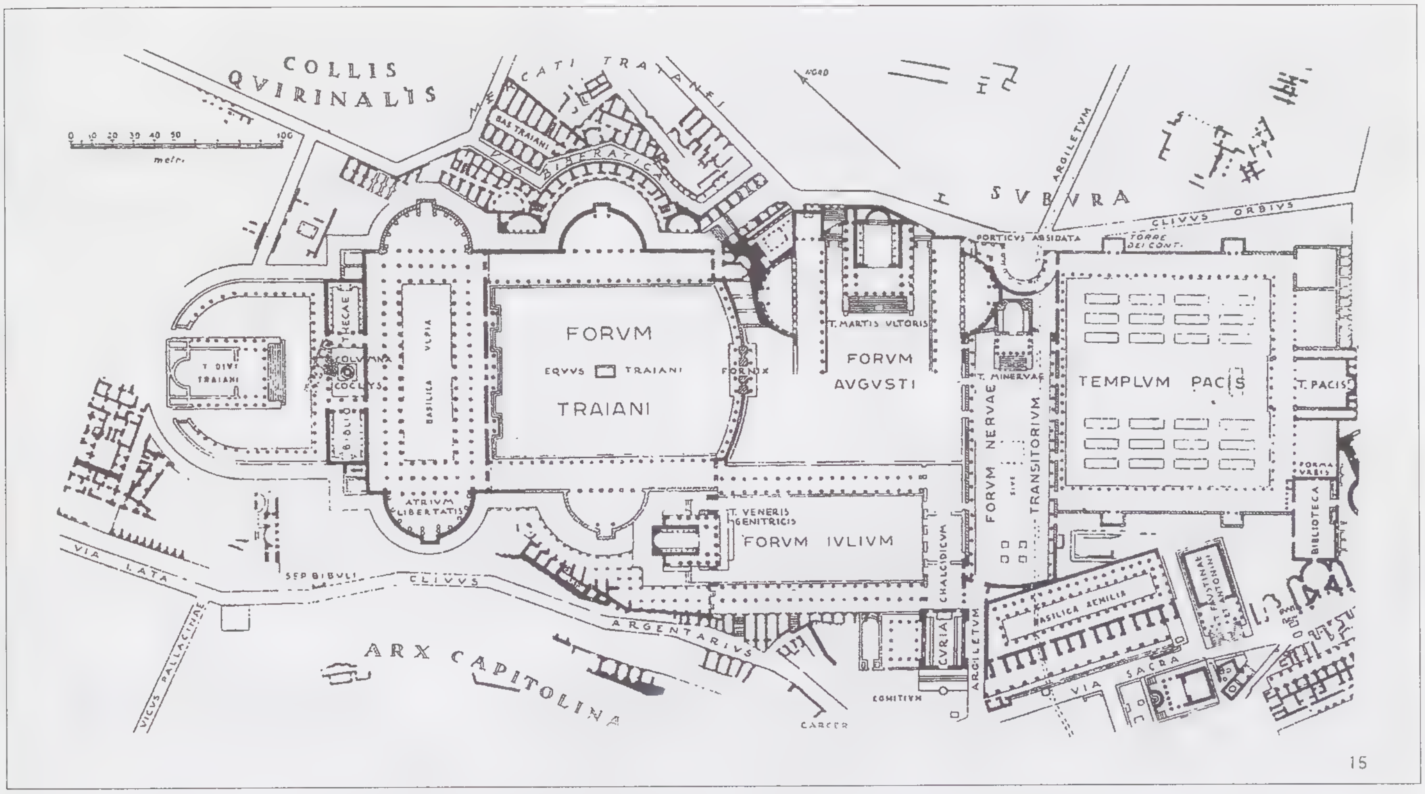
* Silvana Rizzo è Direttore dell'Ufficio Fori Imperiali della Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma.

history of urban transformation whose origins are difficult to retrace.
In the turmoil of design proposals which are all too often empirical, in the midst of fundamentalist proposals for mere conservation and futuristic plans for the absolute elimination of all "superfluous" elements, we have even run the risk of forgetting what the Colosseum actually was, at the outset, of forgetting the role of the Forums in the city of Rome, the reasons for their construction, and what these monumental complexes represented in the growth of the ancient and post-ancient city.
Thoughtlessly, through an improper mixture of cultural politics and new methodologies of intervention, we have developed a habit, even on an intellectual level, of focusing on the "folklore" aspect of the architectural landmarks of the historical city, accepting that "the ruins" be considered almost exclusively in terms of their symbolic value, all too often distorting the true identity of these monuments, which are forced to survive in an urban context which is not always suitable for the perception of their (nevertheless) lasting, majestic dignity.
The Senator Corrado Ricci, in 1911, was responsible for the first attempt at an archaeological excavation of the monumental complex of the Imperial Forums; in spite of the fact that it was in opposition to a project of a total re-ordering of the area in 1931 it was tendentiously "reinterpreted", twisted in support of the decision to raze the Alexandrine quarter, with the initial aim of widening Via Cremona, and the subsequent decision of opening a large artery connecting the Colosseum to Piazza Venezia. Thus, in practice, the archaeological area underwent precisely the total disruption which Ricci's project should have prevented.
Today, on the eve of the next millennium, the decision has finally been made to "unveil" the Imperial Forums, not just through new excavation, but also by laying the groundwork for a different treatment of the central archaeological area; only after the unified re-composition of the overall monumental complex, and successive phases of study, will it be possible to correctly define a new way of properly conserving and displaying this extraordinary legacy from the past.

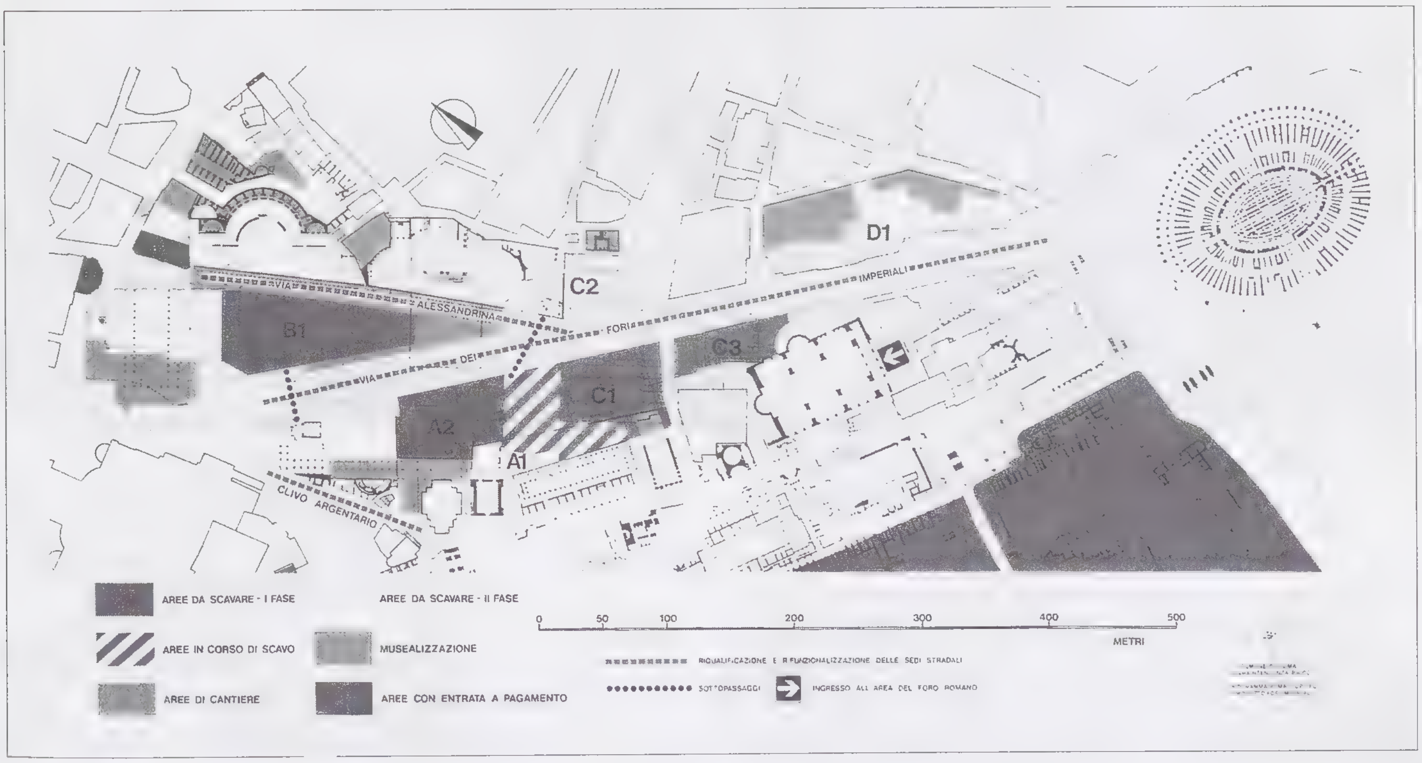
** Silvana Rizzo is Director of the Imperial Forums Office at the Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali of the Municipality of Rome.*

21. Pianta dei Fori Imperiali (Giuseppe Lugli, 1946).
22. Il Progetto Fori Imperiali per il Giubileo dell'anno 2000.

21. Plan of the Imperial Forums (Giuseppe Lugli, 1946).
22. The Imperial Forums Project for the Jubilee of the year 2000.



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1. 2. Verona, Ponte Pietra: vista e dettaglio dell'arcata intermedia. "Duplicato" da P. Gazzola nell'immediato Dopoguerra ("«duplicare» non è rappresentare né imitare, nel senso di «fare un'immagine di» ma riprodurre, attraverso procedimenti uguali, uguali condizioni", *da U. Eco,* Trattato di semiologia generale, *1975), replica anche i "difetti di costruzione" del composito ponte preesistente, incurvato verso monte, con sorprendenti esiti di stabilità nei riguardi delle piene dell'Adige.*

1. 2. Verona, Ponte Pietra: overall view and detail of the middle arch. "Duplicated" by P. Gazzola in the immediate postwar period ("«to duplicate» does not mean to represent nor to imitate, in the sense of «making an image of something», it means to reproduce, through equivalent procedures, equal conditions", *from U. Eco,* Trattato di semiologia generale, *1975), it also reproduces the "defects of construction" of the pre-existing bridge, curved upstream, with surprising results of stability during the flooding of the Adige River.*



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Restauro e ricostruzione: com'era, dov'era?
Paolo Marconi

La casistica di architetture monumentali ricostruite *à l'identique* nell'ultimo secolo e mezzo, in Italia e nel mondo, è assai numerosa, e ne ho già fatta e ne farò in altre sedi una rievocazione sistematica (cfr. la bibliografia).
A ben vedere, tali ricostruzioni hanno avuto, nella quasi totalità dei casi, il significato simbolico di "*riparazione all'aggressione sadica subìta*" (direbbe Mélanie Klein), una sorta di "cerimoniale di rimozione", insomma, dell'evento luttuoso che provocò il crollo, e comunque esprimevano la volontà (certamente regressiva, ma tant'è, nel secolo della psicanalisi) di restituire, ad un'architettura monumentale sentita come patrimonio collettivo, una realtà corporea senza la quale l'architettura è un puro fantasma.
In altre parole: se non è fatta di pietre o di mattoni, se non restituisce all'orecchio l'eco dei passi fatti per visitarla, se resta consegnata in effigie alle fotografie o ai disegni, l'architettura non è percepibile da parte del fruitore comune, come non lo sarebbe la musica, se si limitasse ad essere annotata sulla carta del pentagramma. Il rudere dell'architettura poi, con gli attributi che gli si accompagnano (infestazioni biologiche, strutture fatiscenti, perdita del "volto"), è forse la più diretta metafora che si conosca dello scheletro umano e, con esso, la metafora per eccellenza della morte (come Piranesi ben sapeva), e dunque dell'oblio. Proprio di quell'oblio che si desidera evitare, dal momento che *quel* monumento è un'opera che noi abbiamo considerato degna di durare in virtù del *messaggio* che essa recava, e solo di quello, messaggio che desideriamo venga trasmesso alla nostra discendenza.
Il crollo causato dalla distruzione bellica, dall'attentato terroristico, dal terremoto, dall'incendio, mette altresì in crisi l'ambiente dove il monumento campeggiava: il più delle volte la motivazione più esplicita che si accompagna alle pulsioni inconsce alle quali abbiamo accennato è la seguente: senza di *quel* monumento *quell*'ambiente resterebbe mutilo e privo di significazione in modo insopportabile, così come resterebbe mutilo un quadro con il supplizio di San Sebastiano, se il Santo mancasse improvvisamente dalla scena. La Piazza San Marco è salva, solo se il Campanile ritorna a campeggiarvi; in caso contrario se ne intravvederebbe l'indefinita trasformazione, quella trasformazione che la psicologia umana accetta solo in piccole dosi, pena una sensazione di insicurezza che può influire negativamente su molti ed imprevedibili comportamenti singoli e collettivi.

Restoration and reconstruction: as it was, where it was?
Paolo Marconi

There are a great many cases of monumental architecture that has been reconstructed à l'identique *over the last 150 years in Italy and the rest of the world; I have already made, and will continue to do so, in other publications, a comprehensive survey (see the bibliography).*
Upon close examination, we find that these reconstructions have had, in nearly all the cases, the symbolic significance of a "redress of a sadistic aggression suffered" *(as Mélanie Klein would put it), a sort of "ceremony of repression", a way of helping us to forget, or get over, a painful event, an expression of the desire (undoubtedly regressive, but that's the way it is in the century of psychoanalysis) to restore a monumental architecture, that is felt to be a collective legacy, a corporeal reality without which architecture becomes a mere phantom.*
In other words: if it is not made of stone or bricks, if it doesn't echo with the footsteps of the visitor, if it remains in documented form only in photographs or drawings, architecture is not perceptible for the average man, just as music would not be understandable were it not played, were it to remain a mere score of notes on a page. The architectural ruin, moreover, with all its connotations (biological infestations, crumbling structures, loss of the "visage") is, perhaps, the most direct metaphor possible for the human skeleton, which leads us to the image of death (as Piranesi was well-aware) and oblivion. It is precisely this oblivion that we want to avoid, to the extent that a given monument is a work we thought should last not in itself but for the message *it contained, a message we want to pass down on to future generations.*
Destruction caused by bombing during a war, terrorism, earthquakes, fire, is also a cause of distress for the context where the monument was built: more often than not, the most explicit motivation behind the desire to reconstruct things as they were can be expressed as follows: without that *monument* that *context would remain mutilated, deprived of its significance in a way that we cannot bear, just as a painting of the sufferings of St. Sebastian would be utterly mutilated were the figure of the saint himself to be removed. St. Mark's Square is intact only with its steeple; otherwise it would be transformed, subjected to that unpredictable transformation that human psychology can accept only in small doses; otherwise a sensation of insecurity comes into play, with possible negative impact on multiple, unpredictable aspects of individual and collective human behaviour.*

3. 4. Verona, Ponte Scaligero: viste. Anche questo ponte venne "duplicato" da P. Gazzola nell'immediato Dopoguerra, usando mattoni analoghi e ripescando le pietre delle armille nel greto. Fu sottoposto inoltre ad un procedimento abrasivo superficiale per ospitare quanto prima la vegetazione infestante, caratteristica della sua esposizione.
5. 6. 7. Montecassino, Abbazia: viste di insieme e di dettaglio del chiostro in cui si riconoscono i conci recuperati; interno della chiesa, perfettamente replicata, salvo le occhiaie dei medaglioni della volta, a suo tempo dipinte dal Solimena, sulla replica delle quali le autorità storico-artistiche del tempo riuscirono a lanciare efficacemente il loro "interdetto". Ricostruita recuperando il più possibile le fondazioni e le pietre riconoscibili ad opera dei monaci benedettini e dell'ingegnere Breccia Fratadocchi nell'immediato Dopoguerra, l'Abbazia incarna, con la storia del suo progetto, avversato da tutte le "autorità" del tempo (e specie dai fautori delle Disposizioni in materia di Belle Arti del 1938, le quali proibivano "assolutamente... la costruzione di edifici in «stili» antichi, rappresentando essi una doppia falsificazione, nei riguardi dell'antica e della recente storia dell'arte"*), il prototipo delle ricostruzioni volute dalla mentalità collettiva per "riparare all'aggressione sadica subìta", istituendo, con la ricostruzione postbellica, un cerimoniale di rimozione collettiva dell'evento.*

Non c'è dubbio che tra gli eventi che l'immaginario collettivo desidera rimuovere, per "riparare all'aggressione subìta", il più sentito, forse ancor più del terremoto (indipendente quest'ultimo dall'aggressività del nemico) è l'evento bellico, in quanto subìto in modo traumatico da tutta la collettività, e ricordato ben oltre la generazione che assisté ad esso.
Tra i "cerimoniali di rimozione" di eventi bellici celebrati con la ricostruzione di uno o più dei monumenti che furono distrutti, possiamo annoverare le numerose ricostruzioni realizzate dopo l'ultima Guerra mondiale in Germania, in Inghilterra, in Italia, in Polonia, sulle quali torneremo tra breve. In Italia esse sono molte decine: tra queste i due ponti di Verona, il Ponte di Bassano, il Ponte a Santa Trinita a Firenze, ma sopra tutte, e prima di tutte domina la ricostruzione "com'era e dov'era" dell'Abbazia di Montecassino (1946-56), voluta fortemente dai monaci benedettini e realizzata dal Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici a dispetto dello stesso Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, oltre che a dispetto di storici dell'arte ed archeologi quali Bertini Calosso o Bianchi Bandinelli.
Agli eventi bellici dobbiamo sommare oggi anche gli attentati terroristici, e guai a chi faccia orecchio di mercante a questa nuova manifestazione della creatività umana, dimenticando ad esempio che la prima giustificazione della recentissima riproduzione del monumento a Marc'Aurelio, sul Campidoglio di Roma, va vista nell'attentato terroristico al Palazzo Senatorio, perpetrato ormai più di dieci anni or sono. E il terrorismo ha anche richiesto, con la sua brutalità, un cerimoniale apotropaico di "rimozione" dell'evento distruttivo nel caso delle recenti ricostruzioni del portico di San Giorgio in Velabro e del portico occidentale di San Giovanni in Laterano a Roma (1996-97), come pure della coeva ricostruzione della Torre dei Georgofili a Firenze, minata con gli altri in un'unica notte di terrore.
Oltre agli eventi bellici, ed a quelli terroristici, richiedono "cerimoniali di rimozione", consistenti in ricostruzioni dei monumenti distrutti, le calamità naturali come i terremoti e gli incendi, per la loro incidenza fisica e psicologica sulla collettività intera, specie se avvengono in piccole città e specie se il monumento rivestì una importante funzione pubblica.
In quanto ai terremoti, si pensi alla Cattedrale di Venzone, distrutta dal terremoto nel 1976, e terminata di ricostruire tre anni fa, in fregio al Borgo medievale, anch'esso

There is little doubt that among the events that the collective imagination wants to forget, to repress, as "redress of a suffered aggression", the most emotionally involving, even more than an earthquake (which, after all, does not depend upon the aggressivity of an enemy), is war, because war is a traumatic experience for the entire society, and its memories are passed on from generation to generation.
The "ceremonies of repression" for war that have been enacted, with the reconstruction of one of more monuments destroyed during wartime, are many, including the many reconstructions effected after the Second world war in Germany, England, Italy, Poland, which we will discuss below. In Italy there are dozens of such examples: the two bridges in Verona, Ponte di Bassano, Ponte Santa Trinita in Florence, but above all, first and foremost, there is the reconstruction "as it was and where it was" of the Abbey of Montecassino (1946-56), strongly urged by the Benedictine monks and undertaken by the Ministry of Public Works, in spite of the objections of the Ministry of Public Education and the opinions of art historians and archaeologists like Bertini Calosso and Bianchi Bandinelli.
Apart from wartime destruction, today we also have to consider the damages caused by terrorism, and the effects of this new manifestation of human creativity are not to be underestimated; just consider the fact that the first justification for the very recent reproduction of the monument of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill in Rome stems from the terrorist attack on the Palazzo Senatorio, which took place more than ten years ago.
And terrorism has also demanded, with its brutality, an apotropaic "ceremony of repression" of the destructive event, in the case of the recent reconstructions of the portico of San Giorgio in Velabro and the western portico of St. John Lateran, in Rome (1996-97), as in the reconstruction, from the same period, of the Torre dei Georgofili in Florence, damaged along with the other monuments mentioned above during the course of a single night of bombings.
Apart from wartime events and terrorism, "ceremonies of repression" of negative memories, involving the reconstruction of monuments, are required in the case of natural disasters like earthquakes or fires, due to their physical and psychological impact on the entire populace, especially in the case of small cities or towns, and when the monument in question has an important public function.

3. 4. Verona, Ponte Scaligero: views. This bridge too was "duplicated" by P. Gazzola in the immediate postwar period, using similar bricks and the stones from the armillas recovered from the river bed. The surface was subjected to an abrasive treatment to speed the growth of its peculiar weeds due to its exposure.
5. 6. 7. Montecassino, Abbey: overall and detail views of the Cloister, showing the recovered stones; interior of the church, a perfect replica, except for the decorations of the medallions of the vault, which were originally painted by Solimena: in the replica, the historical-artistic authorities of the period managed to "censure" this part of the work. Reconstructed with the utmost effort to recover the foundations and recognizable stones, on the part of the Benedictine monks and the engineer Breccia Fratadocchi in the immediate postwar period, the Abbey is the incarnation, with the history of its project touched upon by all the "authorities" of the time (and especially by those behind the Fine Arts regulations of 1938, which prohibited "absolutely... the construction of edifices in antique «styles», as this would represent a dual falsification, with respect to the past and to the recent history of art"*), of the prototype of the reconstructions demanded by the collective mentality to "compensate for the sadistic aggression suffered", instituting, with the postwar reconstruction, a ceremony of collective repression of memories.*



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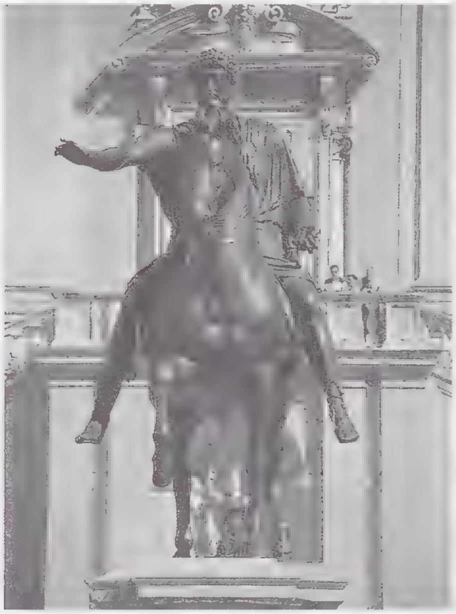


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8. Roma, Piazza del Campidoglio: replica del gruppo equestre di Marc'Aurelio. Il gruppo bronzeo è stato recentemente collocato (21 aprile 1997) nella Piazza dopo una lunga elaborazione, deliberata peraltro in occasione dell'attentato terroristico che, più di dieci anni fa, lesionò gravemente il portale del Palazzo Senatorio. Quest'ultimo, visibile dietro il capo della statua, venne immediatamente ripristinato dopo l'attentato "com'era, dov'era".
9. Roma, San Giorgio in Velabro: il portico dopo la ricostruzione (1996). Assieme al portico settentrionale di San Giovanni in Laterano e alla Torre dei Georgofili a Firenze il portico fu oggetto nel 1993 di un attentato terroristico simultaneo, cui risposero unanimi le autorità di turno, procedendo alla ricostruzione dei tre monumenti, "com'erano, dov'erano", in tempi brevissimi.
10. Venzone: il centro storico ricostruito dopo il terremoto del 1976 per volontà degli abitanti, i quali si opposero, anche fisicamente, all'asportazione delle macerie ed alla ricostruzione in stile "moderno", ricostruendo essi stessi, con eccellente manualità, le loro case nella tipologia antica, recuperando i materiali riconoscibili.
11. 12. Venzone, Cattedrale: fianco meridionale e interno. Dopo la ricostruzione, la Cattedrale è stata riaperta ai fedeli dell'antica Diocesi nel 1995, dopo quasi vent'anni di accanito sforzo filologico (e manuale) per recuperare la massima quantità di materiale originario. Progetto culturale di Marisa Dalai Emiliani, Progetto edilizio di Francesco Doglioni e altri.


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8. Rome, Piazza del Campidoglio: replica of the equestrian grouping of Marcus Aurelius. This bronze grouping has recently been placed (21 April 1997) in the Piazza after a long process, decided in the wake of the terrorist bombing which, more than ten years ago, severely damaged the portal of Palazzo Senatorio. The latter, visible behind the head of the statue, was immediately restored "as it was, where it was".
9. Rome, San Giorgio in Velabro: the portico after the reconstruction (1996). Together with the northern portico of St. John Lateran and the Torre dei Georgofili in Florence, the portico was damaged, in 1993, in simultaneous terrorist bombings; the authorities responsible responded unanimously to the situation, very rapidly proceeding with the reconstruction of the three monuments "as they were, where they were".
10. Venzone: the historical centre reconstructed, after the earthquake of 1976,

due to the demands of the inhabitants, who even physically opposed the removal of the rubble and a reconstruction in "modern" style, undertaking the work themselves, with noteworthy ability, reconstructing their homes in their original style and recovering materials from the rubble where possible.
11. 12. Venzone, Cathedral: southern side and interior. After the reconstruction, the Cathedral was reopened to the faithful of the old diocese in 1995, after nearly twenty years of arduous philological (and manual) labour to recover the greatest possible quantity of original materials. Cultural project by Marisa Dalai Emiliani, Building project by Francesco Doglioni and others.

ricostruito. Si pensi alla ricostruzione della Cattedrale di Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi, con tecniche tradizionali, di qualche anno addietro (1987-90). Si pensi a ciò che sta accadendo oggi in Assisi, dopo il terremoto del 26 settembre 1997, dove si sta provvedendo allo sgombero delle macerie, ma è in corso un progetto di ricostruzione che non potrà non ricorrere, per la "saturazione delle lacune", a buone pietre e a buoni mattoni, come si farebbe in Francia, in Germania, in Inghilterra, in Spagna, e così via. Si pensi addirittura che, per evitare lo squallore delle "vele" bianche d'intonaco, in quanto deprivate dei loro affreschi, si è recentemente proposto, da parte di fonti autorevoli, il ripristino delle *istorie* dipinte (a quell'altezza, e con quella luce, sarebbero ben difficilmente distinguibili dagli originali, se ben rifatte), senza che alcuno dei topi che ancora stridono di raccapriccio di fronte al "falso storico" si sia fatto vivo. Lo stesso discorso vale per i borghi distrutti dal medesimo terremoto nell'Umbria e nelle Marche, i quali andranno ricostruiti in ossequio alla loro straordinaria sapienza insediativa, anche se soltanto alcuni (i meglio conservati, per evidenti ragioni economiche), previa bonifica, beninteso, di tante superfetazioni moderne, specie se consistenti in improvvide soprelevazioni, e soprattutto se realizzate con quei materiali e tecniche "innovativi" che hanno fatto tanta cattiva mostra di sé, a confronto coi materiali e con le tecniche tradizionali.
In quanto agli incendi, si pensi alla ricostruzione del tetto del Parlamento di Bretagna a Rennes, incendiato quattro anni or sono, ed agli appalti in corso per la ricostruzione, "com'erano, dov'erano", dei teatri Liceu a Barcellona e La Fenice a Venezia, anch'essi abbruciati.
Vengono dopo, ma solo perché riguardano situazioni non luttuose, le ricostruzioni dovute all'improvvisa presa di coscienza del degrado di alcuni monumenti particolarmente trascurati dalle generazioni precedenti, a causa di diversi orientamenti culturali, di diverse sensibilità collettive. In questi casi, si assiste talvolta alla formazione, anche improvvisa, di una mentalità che attribuisce un valore carismatico, un valore "di culto" ad un monumento o ad un complesso di monumenti cui i nostri padri non avrebbero attribuito altrettanta importanza: il Padiglione di Mies van der Rohe a Barcellona o il quartiere Weissenhof a Stoccarda, ad esempio, come testimonianze "*cult*" dell'architettura dell'avanguardia europea.

Where earthquakes are concerned, we can consider the case of the Cathedral of Venzone, destroyed by the earthquake of 1976, whose reconstruction was completed three years ago, close to the medieval village, which has also been reconstructed. We think of the reconstruction of the Cathedral of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi, effected with traditional techniques a few years ago (1987-90). And of course we are aware of what is happening today in Assisi, after the earthquake of 26 September 1997, where the rubble is being cleared away, and a reconstruction project being prepared that cannot help, in order to "fill the gaps", but make use of good stones and good bricks, as would be done in France, Germany, England, Spain, etc. Just consider that, in order to avoid the squalor of white "veils" of plaster, there has even been a recent proposal, on the part of authoritative exponents, to re-paint the istorie *(at such a height, and with such lighting, that they would be difficult to distinguish from the originals, if they are painted well), and none of the usual protest of those who get so upset about "historical fakes" has made itself heard. The same is true for the towns destroyed by the same earthquake in Umbria and the Marche, which will be reconstructed in respect for their extraordinary settlement structures, although only a few (the best-preserved, for evident economic reasons), with the demolition of many modern additions, including improvident upper levels, and elements made with those "innovative" techniques and materials that have performed so poorly as compared to their traditional counterparts.*
In the case of fires, we can consider the reconstruction of the roof of the Parliament of Brittany in Rennes, which was destroyed four years ago, or the bidding in progress for the reconstruction, "as they were, where they were", of the Liceu Theatre in Barcelona and the La Fenice Theatre in Venice, also destroyed by fire.
Following these situations, but treated after them only because they are not cases of tragedy or mourning, come those reconstructions prompted by a sudden awareness of the state of decay of certain monuments that were particularly neglected by past generations, due to different cultural orientations, different collective sensibilities.
In these cases we can, at times, observe even the sudden formation of a mentality that attributes a charismatic, even "cult" status to a monument or a complex of monuments that previous generations would not have felt were important at all: the Pavilion of Mies van der Rohe in

13. 14. Atene, Eretteo: vista della Loggia delle Cariatidi e del fronte orientale. La celebre loggetta ha visto sostituire negli anni successivi al 1985 le strutture in acciaio con strutture in titanio e le Cariatidi originarie (malamente degradate dall'ostinazione demenziale degli estimatori dell'"autenticità") con bellissimi calchi. Le Cariatidi autentiche stanno nel piccolo Museo dell'Acropoli, finalmente protette e disponibili agli studiosi specializzati.

La sesta colonna a destra del fronte orientale è il calco di quella a suo tempo "rapita" da Sir Evans e conservata al British Museum. Il calco è stato eseguito, per motivi di contiguità materica, con gli stessi metodi e criteri delle Cariatidi. La colonna peraltro realizza un aggancio stabile con l'anta settentrionale del complesso e dunque costituisce un notevole miglioramento della situazione statica dell'intero colonnato in termini di prevenzione sismica.

15. 16. Atene, Stoà di Attalo: dettaglio del fronte e portico al piano terreno. Ricostruita tra il 1953 e il 1956 con finanziamenti e tecnici statunitensi, realizza una cesura netta tra la zona archeologica dell'Agorà e la città, ed ospita utilmente, data la sua tipologia, un piccolo Museo, oltre ad essere un ottimo posto di sosta per i visitatori accaldati, come lo era ai tempi di Attalo. Nel contesto rinnovato con materiali e tecniche analoghi, sono ben visibili i conci originari recuperati.

Ad opera altresì di organismi soprannazionali, piuttosto che di singoli Stati o amministrazioni, si decise negli anni Settanta-Ottanta di preferire la ricostruzione dei monumenti del "secolo d'oro" dell'Acropoli di Atene: i Propilei, l'Eretteo (simbolo di come avrebbe dovuto essere la ricostruzione, fu la realizzazione dei bellissimi calchi delle Cariatidi dell'Eretteo, e della sesta colonna del suo frontone Est, nel 1985), l'Athena Nike (oggi al suo terzo smontaggio e rimontaggio), il Partenone. Sempre ad Atene, si era ricostruito negli anni 1953-56 lo Stoà di Attalo, nel recinto dell'Agorà, per la destinazione "laica" dell'edificio, e per la sua configurazione tipologica più compatibile al riuso proposto, di Museo dell'Agorà.
In ogni caso sono motivazioni squisitamente "politiche" quelle che presiedono alle scelte che arriveranno effettivamente in porto, grazie a speciali finanziamenti, con l'effettiva ricostruzione di *quel* monumento in *quel* momento. Mai come nel caso delle ricostruzioni di monumenti, necessariamente costose ed impegnative, si può dire che il principale movente di esse è *politico*, e basterà l'episodio del restauro-ricostruzione dell'Arco di Tito per darne l'idea.
Esso infatti fu il primo tra i restauri attivati dallo Stato pontificio dopo l'occupazione napoleonica, sebbene in un periodo di penose difficoltà finanziarie, ma lo stesso Valadier ci ricorda, nella sua *Narrazione storica* del 1821, che esso fu voluto da Pio VII per rammentare, agli Ebrei di Roma e dello Stato pontificio (con la valorizzazione di quel truce, per quanto raffinato, memoriale della conquista di Gerusalemme, a suo tempo anch'esso imposto da ragioni politiche), che gli ideali di *liberté, egalité et fraternité* avevano finito di essere attuali, e che si ritornava sotto l'*ancien régime*.
"Politica" per eccellenza è stata la ricostruzione del Teatro di Semper e dello Swinger di Dresda, ed in genere le ricostruzioni in Germania Orientale e nella stessa Unione Sovietica (si vedano tanti fabbricati di San Pietroburgo o anche di Mosca, col codicillo recente del restauro in corso della Chiesa della Piazza Rossa), fino alla caduta del Muro di Berlino. Anche la Polonia vilipesa dai Tedeschi nel corso della Seconda guerra mondiale ha reagito "rimuovendo" quell'evento brutale, prima con l'aiuto economico dei Sovietici e poi con il ricorso alla autotassazione, ricostruendo "com'era e dov'era" la Città Alta di Varsavia, e poi addirittura il Castello, finito solo in questi ultimi anni.

Barcelona or the Weissenhof quarter in Stuttgart, for example, as "cult" treasures of the architecture of the European avant-garde.
Due to the influence of super-national organisms, rather than single States or administrations, in the 1970s and 1980s it was decided to promote the reconstruction of the monuments of the "golden century" of the Acropolis of Athens: the Propylaea, the Erechtheion (the symbol of how the reconstruction was to take place was the realization of the very beautiful casts of the Caryatids of the Erechtheion, and the sixth column in its eastern fronton, in 1985), the Athena Nike (today in its third dismantling and reassembly), the Parthenon. Again in Athens, during the period 1953-56 there was the reconstruction of the the Stoa of Attalus, in the enclosure of the Agora, for the "lay" function of the edifice, and for its typological configuration that was most suitable for the proposed reutilization as the Museum of the Agora.
In any case, the motivations are strictly "political" behind the choices of which projects will, in effect, be completed, thanks to special grants, leading to the actual reconstruction of that *monument in* that *moment. Never as in the case of the reconstruction of monuments, necessarily costly and difficult, can we so safely state that the main motivation is* political, *and sufficient proof lies in the episode of the restoration-reconstruction of the Arch of Titus.*
This was, in fact, the first of the restorations undertaken by the Papal State after the Napoleonic occupation, in spite of a period of serious financial difficulties; but Valadier himself reminds us, in his Narrazione storica *of 1821, that this was desired by Pius VII to remind the Jews of Rome and the Papal State (with the restoration of that menacing, although refined, memorial to the conquest of Jerusalem, in its time also the result of political motives) that the ideals of* liberté, egalité et fraternité *were no longer in vogue, and that the* ancien régime *had returned.*
"Political", par excellence, was the reconstruction of the Theatre of Semper and of the Swinger of Dresden, as can generally be said of the reconstructions in Eastern Germany and in the Soviet Union itself (just consider many buildings in St. Petersburg and Moscow, with the more recent addendum of the restoration, in progress, of the church in the Red Square), before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Poland, too, reacted to the humiliations of the Second world war by "repressing" that brutal event, first with the economic aid of

13. 14. Athens, Erechtheion: Balcony of the Caryatids and eastern facade. Since 1985 the steel structures of this famous monumental work have been replaced by titanium, and the original Caryatids (seriously damaged by the demented obstinacy of lovers of "authenticity") have been substituted by beautiful castings. The original Caryatids are now in the small Acropolis Museum, sheltered at last, available for the scrutiny of specialists and scholars. The sixth column to the right of the eastern facade is the casting of the column "kidnapped" by Sir Evans and conserved at the British Museum. The casting was made, for reasons of materic continuity, with the same methods and criteria as those of the Caryatids. The column also forms a structural attachment to the northern side of the complex, greatly improving the structural integrity of the entire colonnade in case of earthquakes.
15. 16. Athens, Stoa of Attalus: facade and portico on the ground floor. Reconstructed in 1953-56 with American financing and technical expertise, it effects a clear separation between the archaeological zone of the Agora and the city, and usefully houses, given its typology, a small Museum, as well as serving as a pleasant place for a refreshing pause for overheated visitors, just as it was in the days of Attalus. In the context restored using analogous materials and techniques, the original blocks of stone recovered and reutilized are evident.


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17. 18. Dresda, Cantiere di ricostruzione della Frauenkirche: pannello pubblicitario dello sponsor (1996) e vista dal vicino, immenso deposito di frammenti di scultura decorativa e di elementi architettonici ancora riconoscibili, in corso di reintegrazione. La Chiesa barocca di rito luterano costituiva il vero cuore monumentale della bella città, distrutta da un efferato bombardamento alleato in uno degli ultimi giorni della Seconda guerra mondiale. La pubblicità dello sponsor si vale di una delle straordinarie tele del Bellotto, ospitate nel vicino Museo costruito da G. Semper, a sua volta ricostruito nel Dopoguerra (assieme al Teatro di Semper e ad abbondanti porzioni dello Zwinger) nel periodo di sudditanza sovietica della città.

17. 18. Dresden, worksite for the reconstruction of the Frauenkirche: advertising panel of the sponsor (1996) and view from the nearby, immense deposit of recognizable fragments of decorative sculpture and architectural elements, fragments still being reintegrated. The baroque Lutheran Church constituted the true monumental heart of this beautiful city, destroyed by allied bombing in one of the last days of the Second world war. The sponsor's advertisement makes use of one of the extraordinary paintings of Bellotto, housed in the nearby museum built by G. Semper, also reconstructed after the war (together with the Theatre by Semper and large portions of the Zwinger) during the period of Soviet occupation of the city.

Ma anche nell'area occidentale della Germania si ricostruivano con zelo incredibile nel Dopoguerra i monumenti religiosi di Colonia (il colossale St. Gereon e il Gross St. Martin, ad esempio) e di Ildesheim (recentemente costì si è demolito il contorno "moderno" della Piazza del Mercato, per ricostruirlo in *fachwerk* com'era prima della guerra), per non parlare di Ratisbona (Regensburg), o di Bamberg, o di Aquisgrana.
A quei precedenti oggi si riallaccia, in terra germanica, un'altra mossa "politica", tuttavia di parte anti-sovietica: la ricostruzione del Castello di Berlino al posto della Piazza delle parate militari e delle dimostrazioni di popolo voluta da Walter Ulbricht nel 1950, nonché del Palast der Republik inaugurato da Honecker nel 1976.
E concludiamo, infine, con la ricostruzione da poco iniziata (dicembre 1994) per celebrare, si direbbe, la riunificazione delle due Germanie: quella della Frauenkirche di Dresda, capolavoro del Barocco luterano, ricostruita sulla falsariga delle incredibilmente minuziose tele del Bellotto.

A questo punto, abbiamo visto che il motore delle operazioni di ricostruzione è prevalentemente "politico", e dunque involge le pulsioni più profonde dell'animo umano, oltre che meccanismi decisionali tipici della politica locale, ma anche di quella internazionale e di quella planetaria. Si mettono in moto, allora, tutti i meccanismi politici disponibili per rappresentare al meglio *tutti i cittadini di quell'intorno*, locale o planetario che sia.
La risposta spetta dunque ai politici, e non agli "specialisti", ai restauratori di mestiere, i quali, in tali circostanze, non possono avere altro ruolo di quello delle mosche cocchiere.
Allo specialista, piuttosto, toccherà un compito particolarmente delicato: ricostruire *bene* quel monumento, con la massima aderenza filologica alla sua configurazione materiale, strutturale e morfologica, in quanto occorre tramandare ai posteri *quella* materia, ma anche *quella* struttura oltre a *quella* forma (come diceva la Circolare Fiorelli fin dal 1882), e allora il discorso potrà rientrare tra le ristrette mura degli addetti ai lavori, ed essere oggetto di dibattito sulla *qualità* dell'opera, e non sulla sua *opportunità*.
A questo proposito, resta comunque in piedi la *querelle*, tipicamente italiana, se si tratti di "falso storico", e se mai

the Soviet Union, and later with taxes, reconstructing "as it was, where it was" the Upper City of Warsaw, and then even the Castle, which was only finished during the last few years.
But even in West Germany there was incredible zeal in the postwar reconstruction of religious monuments in Cologne (the colossal St. Gereon and the Gross St. Martin, for example) and Ildesheim (where recently the "modern" perimeter of the Market Square has been demolished, and reconstructed in fachwerk *just as it was before the war), not to speak of Regensburg or Bamberg, or Aachen.*
These precedents set the stage today, in Germany, for another "political" move, but with an anti-Soviet aim: the reconstruction of the Castle of Berlin in place of the military parade ground and square for public demonstrations ordered by Walter Ulbricht in 1950, and the Palast der Republik inaugurated by Honecker in 1976.
Finally, we can conclude with the recently initiated reconstruction (December 1994) to celebrate, so to speak, the re-unification of the two Germanies: that of the Frauenkirche of Dresden, a masterpiece of the Lutheran Baroque, reconstructed by following the incredibly detailed paintings of Bellotto.

At this point, we have seen that the driving force behind operations of reconstruction is primarily "political", and involves the most profound sentiments of the human soul, as well as the decision-making mechanisms typical of local politics, but also of international and planetary politics. All the political mechanisms are set into motion to best represent all the citizens of that area, *whether local or planetary.*
The response is left up to the politicians, not to the "specialists", the professionals of restoration, who in these circumstances simply play the role of "busybodies".
But the specialist is then assigned a particularly delicate task: that of reconstructing a monument well, *with the maximum philological conformity to its material, structural and morphological configuration, because what is to be passed on to future generations is* that *material, but also* that *structure and* that *form (as it was put in the Circolare Fiorelli as far back as 1882), and then the discourse enters the limited sphere of the professionals, who discuss and debate the* quality *of the work, not* whether it should have been undertaken.
In this context, we are still mired in the typically Italian

un simile tradimento dell'"architettura moderna" costituisca un crimine di lesa maestà.
La *querelle* se ricostruire *à l'identique* un monumento o parte di esso, in caso di crollo o di degrado, oppure no, nasce in Italia nel 1883, su basi ruskiniane, quando Camillo Boito, durante un memorabile Congresso romano di Ingegneri ed Architetti, si oppose alla menzionata circolare ministeriale dell'anno precedente, la splendida circolare di Giuseppe Fiorelli, Direttore Generale ed archeologo di grande finezza, per fortuna restata in pieno vigore fino al 1932. Fiorelli era aiutato nel suo compito dall'altro grande protagonista dei restauri italiani della fine del Diciannovesimo secolo: l'Ing. Bongioannini, presente miracolosamente (e sì che allora si viaggiava assai difficilmente!) su tutto il territorio nazionale, compresa la Sicilia. Il Boito, opponendosi al sano concetto fiorelliano di restituire lo "*stato normale*" all'edificio, senza indulgere a futili mezzi e segnali che denunciassero le parti nuove rispetto alle antiche, escogitava al contrario la necessità di differenziare, sia per materiale che per forma, le parti nuove dalle parti preesistenti di un monumento antico, avendo, coi suoi colleghi storici dell'arte e archeologi, una pessima opinione del "falso storico".
"[...] *E come caccerei in galera il falsificatore di vecchie medaglie, così vi manderei a marcire il falsificatore di un vecchio edificio, o di una parte di esso* [...]". Con queste parole che si commentano da sole per la loro esagerata acredine, Camillo Boito, più di un secolo fa, sosteneva il diritto illimitato dei cultori di filologia e di storia dell'arte, come degli archeologi, allo studio dei "loro" documenti artistici e dei "loro" ruderi, quasi esso fosse loro concesso vita natural durante. Dimenticando peraltro il non piccolo dettaglio che essi, alla stessa stregua dei conoscitori e dei mercanti d'arte, non avevano (e non hanno) in carico la sopravvivenza dei loro oggetti di studio (sovente millenari, se ben curati), se non limitatamente alla propria durata di vita, e tendevano a privilegiare di gran lunga, dunque, lo "sfruttamento" intellettuale se non mercantile di quegli oggetti, piuttosto che i problemi connessi alla loro miglior fruizione e godimento culturale da parte del pubblico e dei posteri.
Tale mentalità, si badi bene, era senz'altro giustificabile nell'Ottocento, agli albori degli studi di Filologia, di Archeologia e di Storia dell'arte, quando era forse preferibile lasciare quei documenti impolverati e quei ruderi cadenti, fino a che il loro studio e la loro documentazione non fossero stati approfonditi e diffusi, e per ciò allora ci volevano decenni. Ma oggi, chi chiedesse di conservare tale e quale un rudere per la comodità dei propri approfondimenti, lo farebbe solo per un miserabile egoismo scientifico, e non nell'interesse della conservazione di quel rudere per le future generazioni, dal momento che l'architettura – a differenza degli oggetti d'arte o della carta, destinati a sopravvivere, una volta restaurati, in Musei ben protetti e climatizzati – resta all'aperto, sottoposta ai capricci del clima, dei terremoti, della polluzione atmosferica ed agli abusi degli utenti, e dunque durerebbe assai poco, se non si intervenisse su di essa con manutenzioni tanto più radicali quanto più lontane nel tempo e (cosa che non si richiederebbe mai ai quadri, o ai vasi greci), se non le si trovasse ogni volta una nuova utilizzazione pratica, coi conseguenti aggiornamenti strutturali ed impiantistici.
Solo ripristinando bene ed abilmente le membrature e le tipologie edilizie degradate, dunque, si potrebbe conservare un certo grado di fruibilità, ed anche di leggibilità, dell'architettura storica, la quale altrimenti non potrebbe sopravvivere per più di poche generazioni. La mentalità favorevole alla "konservazione" – mentalità simile a quella perniciosissima del "medico pietoso" – non può essere quindi condivisa da chi, come noi, ha in cura la sopravvivenza dei monumenti, pena il vederci trasformati nei becchini dei nostri pazienti.
Certo, il ripristino ha un inconveniente vistoso: appena realizzato, "spara" col suo biancore, e perfino un cieco si accorgerebbe della sua flagranza. Nessuno potrà non accorgersi dell'avvenuto rinnovo, anche nel caso della *duplicazione* più accanita: un'aura particolare di "novità" avvolgerà la duplicazione del portico ricostruito di San Giorgio al Velabro a Roma, almeno fino a quando non sarà divenuto tanto grinzoso ed affumicato da manifestare, con segni evidenti di decrepitezza, una nuovamente raggiunta vecchiaia.
Occorrerà dunque armarsi di pazienza, ed attendere quel momento, giunto il quale non si avrà più il motivo di arricciare il naso davanti ai segni di freschezza dei materiali e delle tracce di lavorazione: la freschezza non ci sarà più, ed il nostro palato di degustatori raffinati di ciò che è decrepito, se non putrefatto, sarà soddisfatto. E d'altra parte, basterà osservare i restauri "fiorelliani" degli ultimi anni del Diciannovesimo secolo e dei primi anni del secolo attuale, per constatare come cent'anni di

querelle *regarding whether reconstructions should be considered "historical fakes", and whether such a betrayal of "modern architecture" represents a crime of lese majesty. The* querelle *regarding whether or not to reconstruct a monument or a part of it* à l'identique, *after collapse or decay, began in Italy in 1883, on a Ruskinian basis, when Camillo Boito, during a memorable Roman Congress of Engineers and Architects, took a stand against the ministerial circular mentioned above, the splendid circular of Giuseppe Fiorelli, General Director and refined archaeologist, a circular which fortunately remained in full legal effect until 1932. Fiorelli was aided in his task by another great protagonist of the Italian restorations of the late 1800s: the engineer Bongioannini, miraculously active all over the national territory (and travel was very difficult back then!), including Sicily. Boito, attacking the sensible concept of Fiorelli that the edifice should be restored to its "normal state", without indulging in futile and unnecessary signs and signals to indicate the new parts with respect to the old, insisted upon the need to differentiate, both in terms of materials and form, the new and the pre-existing parts of a historical monument, as he despised the "historical fakes", an opinion shared by his fellow art historians and archaeologists.*

"[...] Just as I would throw a counterfeiter of old medals into prison, so I would also send the counterfeiter of an old edifice, or a part of it, there to rot *[...]". With these words that speak for themselves in their exaggerated bitterness, Camillo Boito, more than one century ago, spoke out for the unlimited right of scholars of philology and art history, and archaeologists, to study "their" artist documents, "their" ruins, almost as if this right had been granted them for the entire course of their natural lives. In doing so, he overlooked one not-very-small detail: the fact that these scholars, just like connaisseurs and art dealers, did not (and do not) have the responsibility for the survival of the things they wish to study (often thousands of years old, if well cared-for), over the terms of their lifetimes; therefore they tend to favour the intellectual, if not mercantile, "exploitation" of those objects, rather than focusing on the questions of how they can be better utilized for the cultural benefit of the general public and future generations.*

This mentality, we should note, was undoubtedly justifiable in the 1800s, in the early phases of the studies of Philology, Archaeology and Art History, when perhaps it was truly preferible to leave the dust on the documents and the ruins in a state of ruin, at least until they had been studied thoroughly and documented, something that would require decades at the time. But today, anyone who calls for the conservation of a ruin for the facilitation of study is doing so only out of blatant scientific egotism, not in the interest of the conservation of the relic for future generations, because architecture – unlike art objects or paper documents, destined to survive, once restored, in well-protected, air-conditioned museums – remains exposed to the threats of weather, earthquakes, pollution, vandalism and abuse, and is thus destined to be destroyed unless intervention is made, and the later we intervene the more radical will be the alterations, and unless (and this could never be the case for paintings or Grecian urns) a new practical utilization is found for a restored monument, with the necessary structural and plant updatings.

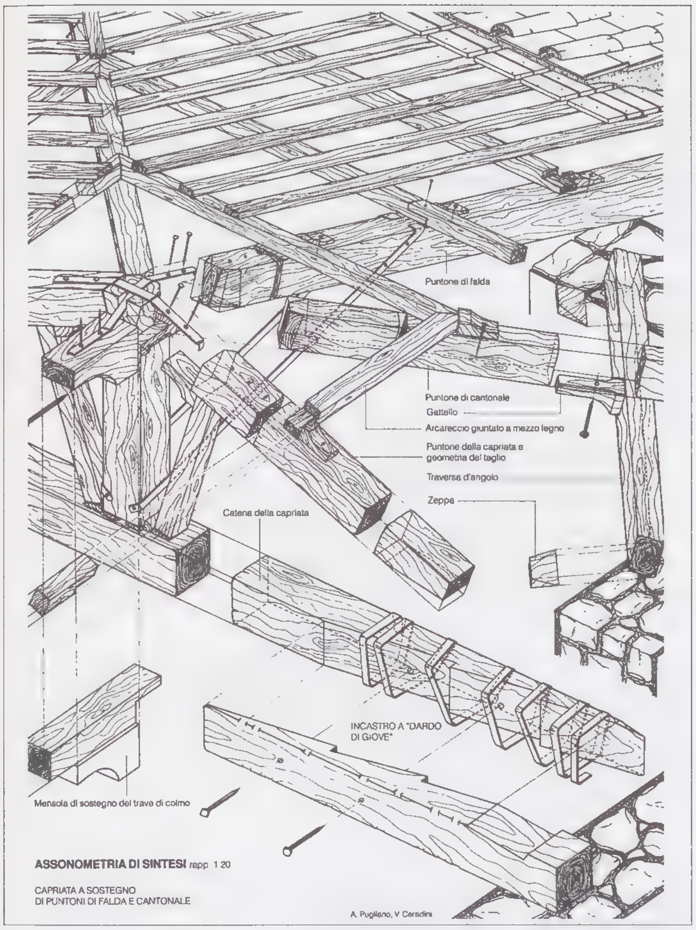
Only by restoring, with skill and ability, the structures and the typologies of decayed buildings, therefore, is it possible to maintain a certain level of usefulness, and also of legibility, for historical architecture, which otherwise can survive only for a few generations. The mentality that favours "konservazione" *– a mentality similar to the very damaging approach of the "tender-hearted doctor" – cannot be shared by those of us who are entrusted with the protection and survival of monuments; were we to reason in this way, we would become the gravediggers of our own patients.*

Of course restoration has a very evident drawback: when it has just been completed, its gleaming surfaces are too bright, too shiny. You cannot help but notice that the renovation has taken place, even in the case of the most careful attempts at duplication*: a particular aura of "newness" will surround the duplication of the reconstructed portico of San Giorgio al Velabro in Rome, at least until it has become so scarred and smog-blackened that it can display, with evident signs of decay, that it has reached a state of decrepitude once again.*

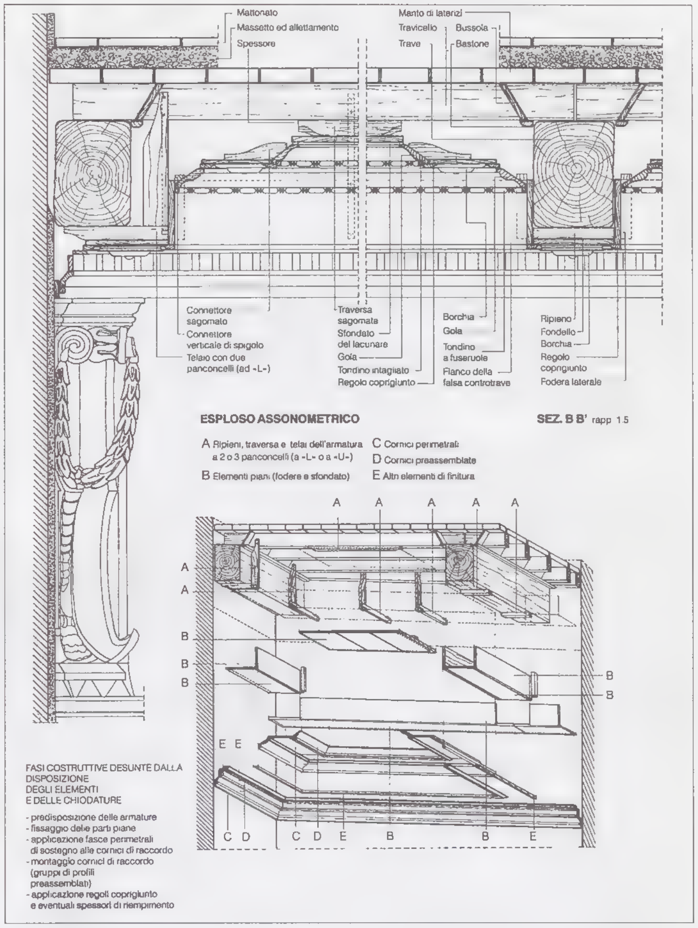
What is required is patience, to wait for that moment, so as not to have to turn up one's nose at signs of fresh materials and traces of recent work: the freshness will have vanished, and the palates of those refined observers who appreciate the decrepit, if not the putrified, will be pleased. And in fact it is enough to observe the "Fiorellian" restorations of the final years of the 19th century and the early years of our century to note that one hundred years of exposure to the elements have enabled

esposizione all'aperto li abbiano tanto bene omogeneizzati al contesto, da rendere alquanto difficile (sebbene non impossibile), a chi non sia del mestiere, il loro riconoscimento. E si parla, con essi, di parecchi dei monumenti chiave della storia dell'arte italiana, dei quali nessuno finora ha lamentato la "falsità" totale o parziale.
In quanto al problema della lesa maestà dell'architettura moderna, ho più volte avanzato il sospetto che tale incriminazione sia nata in coincidenza con la crisi del Movimento Moderno, allo scopo di sostenere oltre il suo termine naturale un Movimento fin troppo intriso delle motivazioni economiche tipiche dell'area di massima industrializzazione del Pianeta, e dunque non necessariamente valevoli per l'altra parte del Mondo, ed anzi duramente incompatibili con essa.
Per stabilire una data, potremmo scegliere quella della Carta di Venezia (1964): essa infatti sottolineava con particolarte enfasi il fatto che "[...] *il restauro deve fermarsi dove ha inizio l'ipotesi; sul piano della ricostruzione congetturale qualsiasi lavoro di completamento* [...] *deve distinguersi dalla progettazione architettonica e dovrà recare il segno della nostra epoca, affinché il restauro non falsifichi il momumento*[...]".
Ho già supposto, in altra sede, che a tanto rigorismo non fossero estranei alcuni influssi della "rivoluzione culturale" maoista (in quegli anni di gran moda tra gli Stati Uniti e certe cittadelle universitarie italiane), col necessario corollario dell'"autocritica". Basti pensare, infatti, che i principali ispiratori di quella Carta furono proprio i compianti Gazzola e Pane, e cioè, paradossalmente, i fautori e gli autori della "duplicazione" di alcune delle più simboliche fabbriche distrutte dalla guerra, come i ponti di Verona e di Firenze, o Santa Chiara a Napoli, appena finite di ricostruire.
Con ciò si regrediva ai concetti boitiani del 1883, sotto l'influsso altresì delle traduzioni italiane di quanto Pevsner già predicava da tempo (mentendo per la gola, ma amplificato tuttavia enfaticamente in Italia da Bruno Zevi), e cioè che "[...] *ogni edificio trattato naturalmente, senza travestimenti e dissimulazioni, non può essere che bello*[...]" ed anzi, al contrario "[...] *ogni* revival *di stili del passato è segno di debolezza perché nel* revival *il pensiero e il sentimento indipendente contano meno della scelta dei modelli* [...]" (*Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, 1936).
Per quanto riguarda gli architetti italiani, poi, il rigorismo ancor più bacchettone col quale la Carta del Restauro

them to blend into the context, making it rather difficult (although not impossible), for the non-expert, to recognize them. And we are talking, in this case, about many of the most important monuments in the history of Italian art, monuments that have prompted no complaints, for the moment, about their total or partial "falsity".
Where the problem of the lese majesty of modern architecture is concerned, I have repeatedly advanced the suspicion that this accusation has been voiced in synchrony with the crisis of the Modern Movement, in order to sustain, beyond its natural lifespan, a movement that is all too permeated with the economic motivations typical of the area of maximum industrialization of our planet, and therefore not necessarily valid or even truly incompatible for other parts of the world.
To establish a date, we can choose that of the Venice Charter (1964): it underlined, in fact, with particular emphasis, that "[...] restoration must come to a halt where the hypothesis begins; on the level of conjectural reconstruction any work of completion *[...]* must distinguish itself from the architectural design and bear the sign of our era, so that the restoration does not falsify the momument *[...]".*
I have already suggested, on other occasions, that such rigour might have been influenced by influxes of the Maoist "cultural revolution" (much in vogue in those years in the United States and certain Italian university citadels), with the required corollary of "self-critique". Just consider the fact that the main inspiration for the Charter came from the late Gazzola and Pane, and thus, paradoxically, from the upholders of the "duplication" of some of the most symbolic objects destroyed during the war, like the bridges of Verona and Florence, or Santa Chiara in Naples, which had just been finished at the time.
This was a regression to the concepts of Boito of 1883, beneath the influx of the Italian translations of what Pevsner had been preaching for some time (lying through his teeth, but nevertheless emphatically amplified in Italy by Bruno Zevi), namely that "[...] any edifice that is treated naturally, without disguise or subterfuge, cannot help but be beautiful *[...]" and moreover, to the contrary "[...]* every revival of styles of the past is a sign of weakness, because in the revival independent thought and sentiment count less than the choice of the models *[...]" (*Pioneers of the Modern Movement, *1936).*
Where Italian architects were concerned, the even more



19



20

19. Ariccia (Roma), Palazzo Chigi: corpo aggiunto a fianco dell'altana (sec. XVII). Foglio D (assonometria di sintesi) che mostra la capriata a sostegno dei puntoni di falda e di cantonale. Rilievo e commento tecnico di A. Pugliano e V. Ceradini (da Manuale del Recupero del Comune di Roma, *1997, cfr. Nota bibliografica). Uno dei tanti rilievi ragionati di strutture pre-moderne del contado di Roma, destinato ad accrescere la cultura tecnica degli addetti al restauro e, perché no?, quella di coloro che preferiscono comporre "all'antica".*
20. Roma, Palazzo Altemps: primo piano, Sala della Duchessa, controsoffitto sospeso ad un solaio "alla senese" ed appoggiato ai muri di perimetro. Foglio B (fasi costruttive desunte dalla disposizione degli elementi e delle chiodature), con esploso assonometrico. Rilievo e commento tecnico di M. Bertoldi (da Manuale del Recupero del Comune di Roma, *1997, cfr. Nota bibliografica). Il* Manuale *prende in considerazione strutture lignee di coperture, comignoli, volte, scale, solai in legno e loro manutenzione strutturale, ammattonati di pavimento, infissi di legno, seguendo l'indirizzo dato dalla prima edizione (1989) pubblicata su incarico di Carlo Aymonino del 1982-83.*

19. Ariccia (Rome), Palazzo Chigi: volume added alongside the altana *(17th c.). Folio D (synthetic axonometric) showing the support truss of the pitch and angle rafters. Survey and technical comment by A. Pugliano and V. Ceradini (from* Manuale del Recupero del Comune di Roma, *1997, see Bibliographic notes). One of the many analytical studies of pre-modern structures of the Roman countryside, aimed at increasing the technical culture of restoration professionals and (why not?) that of those who prefer to compose "in the antique manner".*
20. Rome, Palazzo Altemps: first floor, Sala della Duchessa, suspended ceiling attached to a "Siennese" floor structure and resting on the perimeter walls. Folio B (construction phases deduced from the arrangement of the elements and the nailings), with exploded axonometric. Survey and technical comment by M. Bertoldi (from Manuale del Recupero del Comune di Roma, *1997, see Bibliographic notes). The* Manuale *analyzes the wooden structures of roofings, copings, vaults, staircases, wooden floor structures and their maintenance, brick pavings and floorings, wooden casements, in keeping with the approach of the first edition (1989) published by Carlo Aymonino's appointment of 1982-83.*

Italiana del 1972 li obbligava a sole opere di conservazione senza qualsiasi aggiunta o mutamento, neppure nelle patine, li allontanava ancora di più da una concezione "architettonica" del restauro (e cioè tratta dal pur sempre glorioso albero del sapere edilizio), facendoli invece propendere per gli interventi di puro *consolidamento* strutturale, o chimico. Per quelle tecniche, cioè, che sono nate prevalentemente nel cantiere di consolidamento delle rocce e delle frane, e sono del tutto estranee, in quanto tali, al cantiere delle tecniche edilizie. È questo il motivo per il quale negli anni Settanta-Ottanta si occuparono assai più di restauro, in Italia, gli ingegneri ed i chimici, piuttosto che gli architetti, e per il quale questi ultimi, e con loro l'industria edilizia, hanno quasi del tutto abbandonato, nel periodo, lo studio e la pratica delle tecniche tradizionali.
Nonostante tale quadro veda una situazione negativa del restauro architettonico dal 1972 fino ai primi anni Novanta, oggi la situazione, in Italia, è assai migliorata: nel campo del restauro architettonico, esistono ancora, è vero, un paio di cittadelle di "komeinisti della conservazione", in un Paese in cui sta prevalendo, tuttavia, il concetto ispirato dal puro buon senso, e universalmente diffuso, che il restauro si deve fare con materiali e tecniche tradizionali. E ciò sulla base di una conoscenza del linguaggio dell'architettura storica che si può perfezionare attraverso campagne di rilievo e di studio delle tecniche e dei materiali tradizionali (cfr. i *Manuali del Recupero* realizzati e pubblicati da qualche anno da me e da alcuni colleghi ed amici, ed ora finalmente sostenuti dal Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, menzionati in bibliografia).
Non c'è da nascondersi che codesti "Manuali" sono anche una vera e propria tentazione verso il *pastiche*. Ma alla prospettiva del *pastiche*, e cioè dell'architettura "storicista", come si diceva una volta, ed oggi "vernacolare" ovvero "classicista" (ma sono le due facce di una stessa medaglia, se restiamo in area postrinascimentale), non si guarda più con scandalo, oggi, come negli anni Cinquanta-Ottanta, ed anzi comincia a comparire una maggiore tolleranza, anche in vista della sua prorompente diffusione internazionale, specie presso i giovani. In ogni caso, per progettare *en pastiche* ci vuole una apposita didattica dell'antico, fatta in un modo che i nostri Corsi di Storia dell'Architettura non condividono tuttavia volentieri perché ancora suggestionati dalle vociferazioni del Pevsner; una cultura tuttavia che non è lontana da concretarsi presso qualcuna delle nostre Facoltà, sia pure in Corsi di Perfezionamento post-laurea come quello diretto da me ormai da quattro anni presso la Facoltà di Architettura di Roma Tre.
D'altra parte in Italia vi è un'antica tradizione di architetture completate o modificate *en pastiche*, che risale al Peruzzi e al Vignola (vedasi il concorso per la facciata di San Petronio a Bologna), al Bernini, a Borromini (il *pastiche* delle torri di San Martino al Cimino, tuttora esaltate dai libri specializzati come capolavoro di architettura cistercense!), a Carlo Fontana (vedasi il terzo ed ultimo piano merlato del Palazzo Pubblico di Siena), fino ai restauri della fine dell'Ottocento a Milano, Torino, Genova, Trento, Venezia, Verona, eccetera, ed a quelli postbellici già menzionati.
E tra la progettazione *en pastiche* e la riproduzione *à l'identique* la distanza è assai breve. Anche per questo tipo di creazione è necessaria un'alta qualità progettuale, fatta di attenzione al linguaggio dell'architettura antica ed alla sua interpretazione, in una situazione che è paragonabile alla creatività del filologo, il quale è obbligato a "divinare" le parole cadute, o i brani cancellati del testo che ha in cura, ed in questo apporto fondamentale all'antica poesia (che altrimenti rimarrebbe mozza ed insignificante) trova il suo riscatto e la sua utilità nel mondo dell'Arte.

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* Paolo Marconi, architetto, è professore ordinario di Restauro architettonico presso l'Università degli Studi di Roma Tre.

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pious rigorism urged in the Charter of Italian Restoration of 1972 obliged them to perform only works of conservation, without any additions or modifications, even of the surface patina, distancing them even further from an "architectural" view of restoration (or an approach derived from the still glorious heritage of knowledge of building), forcing them to opt for interventions of pure structural or chemical consolidation. *For those techniques, that is, that were developed, above all, for the consolidation of stone and landslides, utterly extraneous to the techniques of the building site and construction. This is why, in the 1970s and 1980s, in Italy, engineers and chemists were more involved in restoration than architects, and this explains why the architects, and the building industry, almost completely abandoned the study and practice of traditional techniques in that period. Although this outline describes a negative situation for architectural restoration in Italy from 1972 to the early 1990s, today the situation has improved: there are still, it is true, a couple of remaining strongholds of the "fundamentalists of conservation", in a country where nevertheless the concept inspired by good common sense, that restoration should be effected with traditional materials and methods, is now very widespread. All this should be based on a knowledge of the language of historical architecture, that can be developed through campaigns of study of traditional techniques and materials (see the* Manuali del Recupero *realized and published by the author and some colleagues and friends, and now finally supported by the National Council of Research, mentioned in the bibliography).*

We should not attempt to conceal the fact that these "Manuals" also represent a true temptation to indulge in pastiche. *But the prospect of the* pastiche, *that is of "historicist" architecture, as it was once put, or of "vernacular" or "classicist" architecture, as they say today (but these are two sides of the same coin, if we remain in the post-Renaissance area), is no longer considered shocking, today, as it was in the 1950s-1980s; in fact, greater tolerance is beginning to appear, also because of its spread on an international level, especially among the young. In any case, to design* en pastiche *what is required is special education about the past, effected in a way that our courses of History of Architecture are unwilling to do, because they are still influenced by the dictates of Pevsner, but this is a culture that will soon make inroads in our architecture schools, and in post-graduate programs, like the one I have been directing for four years now at the Faculty of Architecture of Roma Tre.*

After all, in Italy there is a venerable tradition of works of architecture completed or modified en pastiche, *dating back to Peruzzi and Vignola (see the competition for the facade of San Petronio in Bologna), Bernini, Borromini (the* pastiche *of the towers of San Martino al Cimino, still hailed by specialized texts as a masterpiece of Cistercian architecture!), Carlo Fontana (see the third and last crenellated floor of the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena), down to the restorations of the late 1800s in Milan, Turin, Genoa, Trent, Venice, Verona, etc., and those postwar works already mentioned.*

And between design en pastiche *and reproduction* à l'identique *the distance is indeed a short one. Even for this type of creation a high level of design quality is necessary, based on attention to the language of historical architecture and its interpretation, in a situation that is comparable to the creativity of the philologist, who is obliged to "guess" the lost words, or the missing parts of a text, and in this fundamental contribution to the interpretation of ancient poetry (which would otherwise remain mutilated and meaningless) finds his reward and his usefulness in the world of the arts.*

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** Paolo Marconi, architect, is Professor of Architectural Restoration at the Università degli Studi di Roma Tre.*

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Ricostruzione del Teatro La Fenice, Venezia
1997

Raggruppamento di imprese: Ph. Holzmann Bau Ag. Süd (D), Romagnoli S.p.A. (Mi), [illegible] Lombarda S.p.A. (Mi), Clerici S.p.A. (Co)

Aldo Rossi

con/with: Francesco da Mosto, Giovanni da Pozzo, Massimo Scheurer

Progetto esecutivo: Edoardo Guazzoni
Progetto di restauro: Aldo Rossi
Apparato decorativo: Ugo Fattore, La Nuova Fenice
Verifica strutturale delle murature superstiti: Roberto Di Marco, Franco Laner, Paolo Faccioschi
Progetto delle strutture: Roberto Di Marco
Progetto strutture lignee: Franco Laner
Progetto delle fondazioni: Achille Balossi Restelli
Progetto impianti meccanici: Mario N. Battiston
Progetto impianti elettrici: Filippo Vitello
Progetto e verifica acustica: Müller BBM, München
Progetto macchina scenica: Kurt Gerling, Werner Arendt
Progetto della sicurezza: Ivano Molinaro, TECSA S.p.A.
Progetto degli arredi: Unifor
Progetto impianto di cantiere: Edoardo Guazzoni, Giovanni Leonardi



Foto del modello: S. Topuntoli
Foto dell'edificio: F. da Mosto

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Foto del modello: S. Topuntoli
Foto dell'edificio: F. da Mosto

Progetto di concorso a inviti per la ricostruzione del Teatro La Fenice, Venezia
Aldo Rossi

1. Premessa
Molte le opinioni sulla ricostruzione della Fenice, anzi sul problema del Teatro della Fenice.
Ma ogni problema è singolare ed è sciocco ridurlo o riportarlo al problema dei centri storici in generale, come sembrerebbe a prima vista.
La Fenice, come si dirà più avanti è "un ritratto di famiglia con interno" secondo il titolo viscontiano e ancora il teatro di *Senso*, con le divise bianche degli ufficiali austriaci, il tricolore e attorno un torbido mondo di relazioni.
Una interpretazione come un'altra perché in realtà come ha scritto James "*di Venezia non vi è più nulla da dire*".
Ma se non vi è più nulla da dire, non vi è nemmeno più nulla da costruire.
Da questo punto di vista il "*dov'era e com'era*" ha molte giustificazioni; ma se è possibile costruire "dov'era" non credo sia possile costruire "com'era".
Anche se questo progetto si attiene fedelmente al Bando non può ricreare quel ritratto di famiglia che solo l'architettura del tempo – e un'impronta personale – possono dare.
Ma è anche vero che architetture ricostruite – penso al Mont Saint Michel, al Teatro di Nîmes e altre – hanno già acquistato una storia e costruito un paesaggio.
Per questi motivi principalmente io e i miei compagni abbiamo voluto affrontare il restauro della Fenice.
Il leggendario uccello ("*che ci sia ognun lo dice/dove sia nessun lo sa*") è nato più volte dalla sua cenere e sorgerà ancora.
Noi abbiamo introdotto poche note: ad esempio una Sala Nuova, che ha per fondo un frammento della Basilica palladiana – non solo perché è bella ma anche perché riproduce quell'interno del mondo veneto, quasi il tentativo di ricomporre nell'edificio un mondo veneziano tra storia e invenzione.
L'insieme è il restauro dove ognuno vi avrà posto non solo le proprie abilità ma anche qualche accento personale.
L'architettura è fatta di tante cose, e vi lavorano tante persone; forse il teatro è l'espressione più convincente di tutto questo.
L'architetto è solo il regista di questo insieme.
Per questo abbiamo lavorato alla ricostruzione della Fenice, non per rimediare ad un disastro ma per ricreare un monumento di Venezia.
Una ricostruzione importante anche se contenuta nell'affermazione dello scrittore inglese.
Qualcosa vi sarà sempre da dire come questa opera dimostra.

2. Criteri di progetto
Se la "fabbrica del teatro" può considerarsi "l'officina del diavolo" il fuoco che la distrugge e lo spettacolo che ne segue possono certamente essere attribuiti ad un castigo di Dio, ma subito dopo tanti diavoletti, chi con le corna chi con la coda, si affannano tra le macerie; chi per soldi o gloria, chi per fama o per diletto, per ricostruire e ridare vita a quel luogo ove i drammi umani diventano tragedia o poesia.
La società, che aveva acquistato il Teatro Grimani a San Benedetto, ne era stata estromessa dai Venier proprietari del fondo: trovato il luogo adatto a San Fantino, si ricostituì e bandì il concorso per la costruzione di un nuovo teatro, che si chiamò Fenice, per significare che, morta come proprietaria del Teatro a San Benedetto, al pari della Fenice risorgeva dalle proprie ceneri. Fu scelto il progetto del Selva ed i lavori iniziarono nel 1791: "*Gettandosene le fondamenta,*" riporta così il Tassini "*si rinvennero un grosso tronco d'albero, colle radici ancor fitte nel suolo a dodici piedi sotto il livello del solito flusso, ed un graticcio di vimini ad uso di siepe, indizi, secondo il Filiasi, d'un orto, che colà esisteva ai tempi Romani*".
Nell'introduzione al trattato per la ricostruzione del Teatro dopo il primo incendio scrivono i fratelli Meduna: "*Dai tempi dei Greci e dei Romani, ove i teatri erano ricavati nei seni dei colli o de'monti dai gradi intagliati sulle falde, allargati dal fasto i confini del gusto del teatro così radicato, raggiunsero gli edifizi la imponente loro sontuosità: colla scelta dei più durevoli materiali si abbondò nelle masse quando si domandarono monumenti non perituri. Non possono però gli antichi dar norma ai moderni, perché i costumi, le abitudini e le azioni della scena di troppo ne differiscono; né l'architetto è arbitro delle condizioni dei tempi*".

2.1 Cronologia storico-architettonica
1787. La Nobile Società, proprietaria del Teatro San Benedetto, estromessa da un accordo giudiziario in favore dei proprietari del fondo dove sorgerà il Teatro, decide di costruirne uno nuovo a San Fantino.
1789. La Nobile Società bandisce un concorso internazionale per la costruzione del nuovo Teatro.
1790. Il progetto prescelto per la realizzazione dell'edificio è quello di Giannantonio Selva. Al nuovo Teatro viene dato anche il nome augurale della "Fenice".
1792. Il nuovo Teatro del Selva viene ufficialmente inaugurato.
1808. Giannantonio Selva viene incaricato dal Governo napoleonico di costruire il palco imperiale e del riordinamento del Teatro. Concorso per la decorazione della nuova sala teatrale, bandito dall'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia. Risulta vincitore Giuseppe Borsato.
1836. Primo incendio. Il 13 dicembre un incendio di vaste proporzioni, sviluppatosi probabilmente a causa del cattivo funzionamento di una stufa, distrugge la sala teatrale e parte del Teatro. Il Teatro crolla, ma sono risparmiati dal fuoco l'atrio e le Sale Apollinee.
1837. La Società proprietaria del Teatro incarica i fratelli ingegneri Tommaso e Giambattista Meduna per il progetto della ricostruzione del Teatro. Tranquillo Orsi lavora per la decorazione del soffitto; Sebastiano Santi e Luigi Zandomenighi per quella della sala. Il 26 dicembre dello stesso anno il nuovo Teatro viene inaugurato completo delle nuove decorazioni.
1844. L'illuminazione ad olio del Teatro è sostituita con un nuovo impianto a gas.
1848. La loggia imperiale, in seguito ai moti patriottici, viene distrutta e sostituita con palchetti.
1849. Il Governo austriaco, stabilitosi alla guida della città, incarica i fratelli Meduna di ricostruire la loggia imperiale. Per la decorazione viene chiamato Giuseppe Borsato.
1853. Viene bandito per due volte il concorso per la nuova decorazione della sala in quanto la prima volta esso rimase senza esito. Il progetto prescelto è ancora quello di Giambattista Meduna. La realizzazione è quella che verrà distrutta il 29 gennaio 1996 da un secondo incendio.
1865. Nel quarto centenario della nascita di Dante una delle Sale Apollinee è decorata con episodi danteschi del pittore Giacomo Cassa.
1866. Dopo l'annessione di Venezia all'Italia, la loggia imperiale del Teatro è trasformata in palco reale collocandosi al centro del fastigio lo stemma sabaudo.
1876. La società proprietaria del Teatro si scioglie.
1878. Il sipario è sostituito con uno nuovo dipinto da Antonio Ermolao Paoletti raffigurante *Onfredo Giustiniani che reca a Venezia l'annuncio della vittoria di Lepanto.* Ludovico Cadorin trasforma il quinto ordine dei palchi in loggione.
1892. Introduzione dell'illuminazione elettrica nel Teatro.
1892. Il Teatro La Fenice assume la veste giuridica di Ente Morale.
1904. Per aumentare i posti del Teatro vengono trasformati in galleria i settori laterali del 3° ordine di palchi.
1937. Il Comune, divenuto proprietario del Teatro, ne affida il rinnovamento all'ingegnere Eugenio Miozzi, incaricandolo di rendere lo stabile più consono alle nuove esigenze sceniche e di riportarlo al suo aspetto neoclassico. L'atrio viene raddoppiato. Il pittore Giuseppe Cherubini restaura le decorazioni della sala teatrale, delle Sale Apollinee e il sipario sotto le direttive di Nino Barbantini. La scena diviene girevole, aumenta in altezza e viene attrezzata con nuove macchine.
1938. La nuova Fenice del Miozzi viene inaugurata.

1946. Con la proclamazione della Repubblica, lo stemma sabaudo sul fastigio del palco reale viene sostituito dal simbolo del Leone di San Marco.
1976. È inaugurata la nuova Sala Guidi, già Sala Dante, al primo piano delle Sale Apollinee.
1996. Secondo incendio. Il 29 gennaio il Teatro brucia per la seconda volta.

2.2 Il Teatro: architettura e decorazioni, la distruzione, la resurrezione
Il Teatro la Fenice poteva apparire, prima dell'incendio, un insieme di due espressioni omogenee d'arte decorativa, una neoclassica, l'altra neobarocca, dove le architetture avevano mantenuto quasi interamente il disegno originario. In realtà, comunque, la lettura incrociata di documenti finora inediti ha rivelato come prima dell'incendio si fosse depositata una stratificazione continua di interventi a partire dalla fine del Settecento fino ai nostri giorni.
L'approfondimento puntuale dell'evoluzione storico-architettonica del Teatro, degli elementi stilistici, dei materiali delle decorazioni, in rapporto con i reperti superstiti o affiorati dopo l'incendio ed alla datazione delle murature, ha caratterizzato in profondità tutto l'*iter* progettuale, al fine di costruire uno stretto dialogo tra il fedele restauro del Teatro e della sua atmosfera e il disegno interpretativo degli spazi "inventati", collegando all'immagine del Teatro conosciuta nel nostro secolo i simboli della città e il bagaglio tecnologico della nostra generazione.
Una linea progettuale preceduta da un accurato percorso di analisi dell'evoluzione architettonica, artistica e decorativa del Teatro nel quale sono state considerate tutte le ricostruzioni e le trasformazioni, al fine di riproporre quegli elementi stilistici che nelle varie epoche hanno costruito il mito della Fenice e del Teatro Classico.
La riproposizione dell'immagine simbolica del Teatro Classico che si identifica con una Sala Nuova; uno spazio che non diventa l'inserimento di un elemento moderno nel corpo antico, ma un simbolo architettonico in analogia con il Palladio, come frammento di una impossibile ricostruzione, là, dove tutto è perduto. Un concetto di riprogettazione che dialoga con l'intervento dell'azione del restauro costruttivo.
Un obbiettivo che non si rivela come un puro atto di nostalgia, ma come una riproposizione di quel bacino di conoscenze che spaziano tra le architetture della città e i segreti delle opere realizzate manualmente dai "maestri".
Un concetto di sovrapposizioni di immagini che colloquiano con i simboli architettonici di una città ferma nel tempo, dove la luce riflessa dall'acqua colora i marmi e le pietre delle facciate dei palazzi e trafigge gli interni con bagliori generati dalle onde dei canali, il cui movimento crea d'impulso un linguaggio rappresentativo che non può esprimersi se non con l'astrazione pittorica.

2.3 Filosofie e scelte progettuali
La Progettazione di una Macchina Teatrale si identifica con la realizzazione di un meccanismo composto di moltitudini di persone e artifici che girando insieme hanno la possibilità di fare percepire i sentimenti umani, ove la loro celebrazione può diventare estasi o follia che, in grado di creare i miti, ci porta a varcare le porte della percezione.
Il disegno di una Macchina Teatrale non può non essere legato all'immagine di come sarà nell'attimo della rappresentazione, quando l'intonazione di una sola sillaba di un cantante sarà in grado di emozionare lo spettatore, quando le sensazioni passeranno dentro la sua schiena: sarà questo attimo il risultato del complesso del disegno. Un prodotto di azioni materiali che durante la celebrazione arrivano a toccare il divino o l'abisso che è dentro l'animo umano.
La progettazione del Teatro "*dov'era e com'era*" ci riporta subito al rapporto del Simbolo con la città di Venezia e alla sua situazione socio-urbanistica, in bilico tra il monumentalismo palladiano e l'integrazione architettonica sansoviniana, risvegliando gli intenti del Selva per dare alla Fenice la massima dignità urbanistica: "*Per chi verrà per tale strada, prendendo per punto fermo l'ultimo arco a San Giminiano delle Procuratie Vecchie, sarà il Teatro più vicino alla Piazza*".
Nella Venezia città Museo, il Teatro si ripropone nella sua immagine ferma nel tempo, dove la rigidità del restauro ripropone le immagini del "Ritratto di famiglia in un interno", testimone delle generazioni che si susseguono concatenandosi inarrestabili una dopo l'altra.
Una riproposizione dove la scenografia teatrale diventa finzione come rifacimento e i colori richiamano le sensazioni di una Macchina Teatrale dell'Ottocento; un colore rosso come intende Strehler o un rosa arancio velato dei velluti e i colori delle decorazioni che restituiscono le sensazioni forti delle rappresentazioni operistiche del tempo, evolutesi di pari passo ai progressi tecnici, che arricchirono il repertorio del Teatro con i nomi di Wagner, Mascagni e Puccini, e dell'ultimo Verdi con *Otello* e *Falstaff*, sostituendo la colorazione azzurro acqua marina che aveva caratterizzato il teatro del Settecento.

3. Descrizione di progetto
3.1 Obbiettivi
Le parole "*dov'era e com'era*" non sottintendono certamente una mera ricostruzione meccanica di qualche cosa che rimane nei ricordi.
Basti guardare al passato, quando durante una delle ricostruzioni si formò una crepa nella volta della sala teatrale: fu demolita e ricostruita affinché la sala, come la cassa di un grande strumento musicale, vibrasse all'unisono con il corpo vibrante.
I principi fondamentali di ricostruzione non sono cambiati e la volta e il pianale appaiono quasi membrane se la loro rigidezza viene confrontata con quella delle murature cilindriche di platea. La loro funzione acustica è quella di equilibrare l'assorbimento selettivo dei palchi attraverso un complesso modo di entrare in oscillazione. Le note più basse, per fissare le idee quelle che vanno da 40 Hz. circa, trovano nella forma e levigatezza della volta un deciso elemento di focalizzazione in platea.
È il confronto della forma costruttiva di un teatro classico con quella di uno strumento ad arco che ha guidato le linee progettuali, cogliendone la sorprendente analogia: alle fasce del violino che sono molto rigide si può far corrispondere la muratura portante di palcoscenico e di platea; la strozzatura del violino dove passa l'archetto, è corrispondente alla strozzatura di boccascena; nella similitudine si può osservare che nella strozzatura del violino viene generata la vibrazione, trasferita alla cassa armonica per mezzo del ponticello; nella strozzatura di boccascena c'è il generatore del suono, l'orchestra, che trasmette le vibrazioni al pianale del golfo mistico.
Alla cassa armonica del violino corrisponde la volta leggera del teatro: entrambi usano come materiale di costruzione l'abete, entrambi sono elastici, entrambi sono leggeri. Ed ancora al fondo del violino, elemento emettitore di suono, si può fare corrispondere il pianale di platea, pure in legno, sottile, elastico, distanziato dal terreno. Ad accrescere la somiglianza, alcune viole e contrabbassi hanno il fondo piano anziché curvo. In conclusione non solo la sala ma tutto il piano di appoggio del teatro, palcoscenico, golfo mistico, pianale di sala sono quasi sempre sospesi su un impalcato ligneo.
Questa premessa intende sottolineare quanto la progettazione del Teatro sia stata un argomento particolarmente delicato e necessario di studio approfondito, a partire dalla ricostruzione della sala teatrale di un teatro completamente distrutto.
Per questa ed altre motivazioni si è affrontata la progettazione del Teatro con il massimo rispetto delle regole dell'arte, prendendo insegnamento dalle conoscenze degli antichi, per creare un luogo dove i canoni classici vivano nuovamente nel nostro tempo. Valori che non si riferiscono solamente all'immagine architettonica del Teatro che è rimasta negli occhi dei ricordi, ma è un "*dov'era e com'era*" che si identifica con il lavoro manuale dell'artigiano e i suoi segreti delle lavorazioni e dei materiali.
Un complesso di tecniche dei maestri artigiani, legate alla trasmissione del "mestiere" da un maestro all'altro

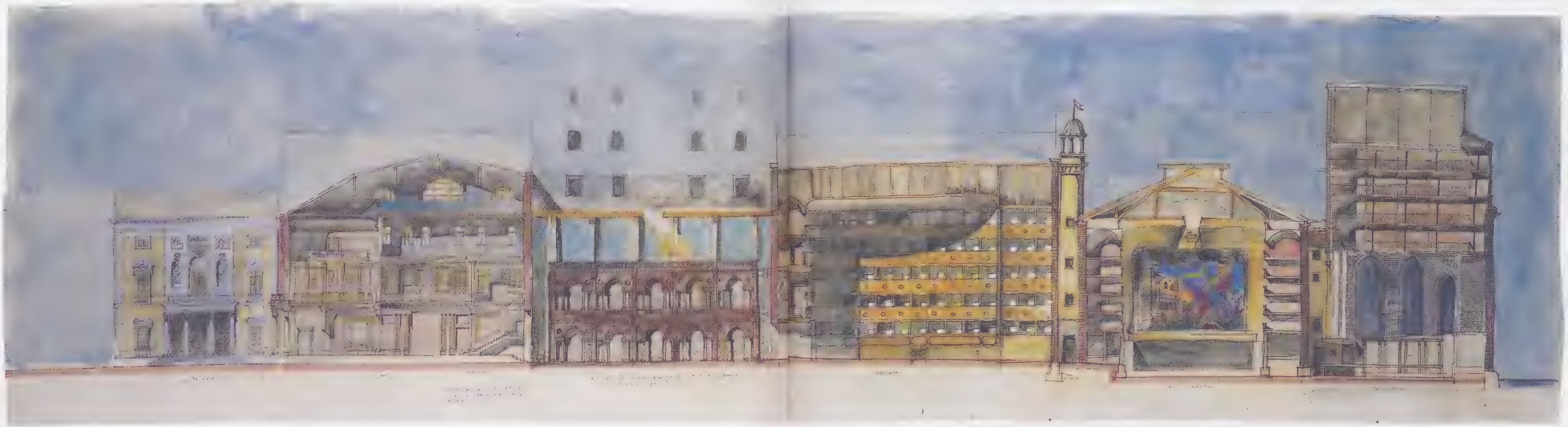
attraverso l'eredità manuale, la sensibilità estetica e la capacità tecnologica presenti nella bottega d'arte e nel cantiere, in virtù delle quali le nostre scelte si sono rivolte nel riproporre queste conoscenze. È appunto questa ottica che ci permetterà di apprezzare visivamente l'immagine del passato, frutto di un aggiornamento stilistico in chiave rococò, attuata alla metà dell'Ottocento utilizzando legno laccato piano, legno intagliato sia a nastro sia a tutto tondo e soprattutto cartapesta, operando affinché la gran parte della cassa armonica che restituirà l'acustica del passato sia nuovamente realizzata con le tecniche tramandateci nei secoli. È a questa filosofia di restauro e ricostruzione che si è ispirato il progetto, ove la tradizione delle tecniche decorative è applicata all'architettura.
La struttura dei palchi e la loro concatenazione acustica con le decorazioni che la "ornano", come scrive il Meduna nella realizzazione della Sala della Platea, è stata riproposta con le stesse tecniche per assicurare la migliore restituzione acustica, con la struttura lignea costruita, oltre che con le precise regole dell'arte, in stretta connessione con l'apparato decorativo, che diventa elemento necessario alla propagazione delle onde sonore e al loro assorbimento grazie alle opere in cartapesta in pasta o a stratificazione di fogli; tecniche di realizzazione affidate ai materiali ed alle loro specifiche lavorazioni: dall'utilizzo della carta paglia, o assorbente o di riso macerata e diluita nell'acqua mescolata a polvere di carbonato di calcio, per rendere l'acqua più "dura", alla formazione dell'impasto con colla di ossa o di pelle di coniglio che conferisce alla materia consistenza, rigidità e leggera flessibilità, arrivando ad un prodotto accuratamente essiccato, sufficientemente rigido, pronto per le finiture occorrenti, doratura o laccatura, allo stesso modo di un intaglio in legno.

3.2 Linee guida

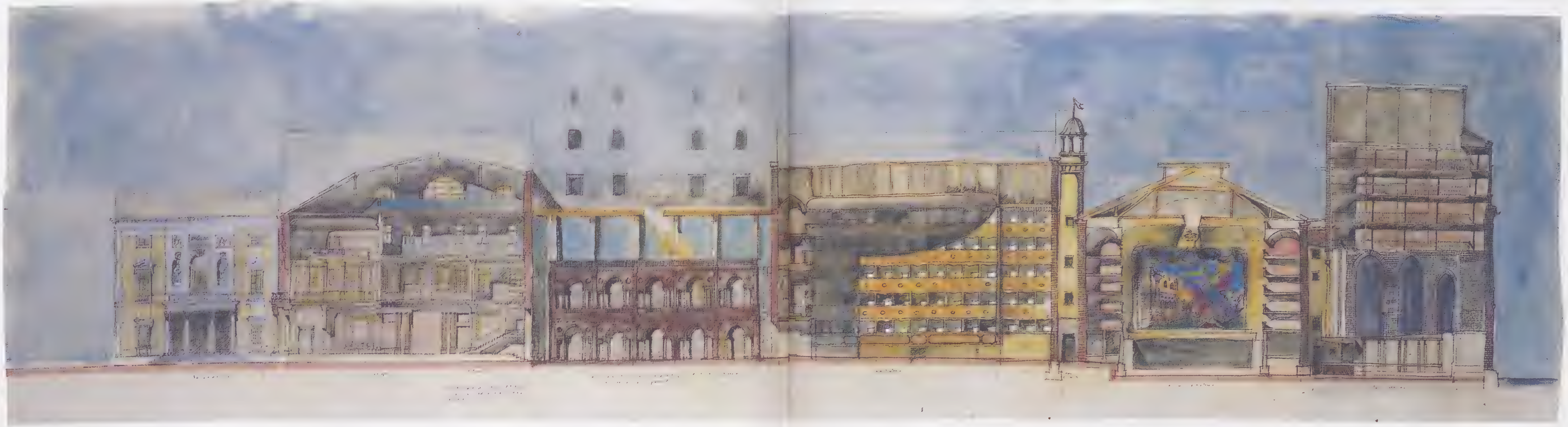
L'intervento al corpo teatrale della Fenice, in relazione al progetto originario ed alle successive evoluzioni dell'edificio, caratterizzate dal tipo di rappresentazioni e dall'epoca, fino a quella risalente al momento dell'incendio, può dividersi in puro restauro, ristrutturazione e riprogettazione, operando sempre in stretta correlazione con l'acustica: l'anima del teatro lirico.
Indubbiamente nelle parti da restaurare sono state rispettate la distribuzione e le relative attività, utilizzando i materiali e le tecniche di restauro tramandatici dagli esecutori originari, restituendo all'intero corpo del *foyer* e delle Sale Apollinee da una parte e alla Sala della Platea dall'altra, esistenti prima dell'incendio, quel fascino legato alla storia del Teatro e alle rappresentazioni operistiche.
Le aree di nuova progettazione, nel rispetto delle antiche murature, delle capriate lignee e degli elementi di valore artistico e architettonico, sono state studiate nell'intento di ampliare le funzioni del Teatro, ed in particolare dal punto di vista rappresentativo, che costituiscono l'esercizio del Teatro stesso.
Attraverso un esame schematico, la struttura del Teatro può essere scomposta in tre parti, sia dal punto di vista funzionale che distributivo: le Sale Apollinee; il complesso Sala della Platea, Palcoscenico e Servizi; l'edificio degli Uffici.
Nelle Sale Apollinee, rispettando la loro originaria funzione di rappresentanza, di *foyer* e di Ridotto del Loggione, sarà creata una nuova Sala espositiva, e sfruttando e valorizzando ogni ambiente del corpo, si restituirà loro il valore di edificio pubblico veneziano, completo nella sua autonomia.
Il complesso Sala della Platea, Palcoscenico e Servizi diventerà il fulcro della Macchina Teatrale, dove la creazione si fonderà con la rappresentazione.
Nell'edificio degli Uffici, che si affaccia sul Rio della Fenice, la realizzazione di una Sala Nuova, oltre ad accogliere tutta la parte amministrativa del Teatro, soddisfa le richieste del Bando, garantendone un utilizzo contemporaneo alla Sala Teatrale senza disturbi acustici. Riproponendo l'idea palladiana del Teatro Olimpico, come quinta scenografica interna, ove l'equilibrio dei pieni e dei vuoti nei suoi chiaroscuri invoca il mistero e il richiamo dell'architettura romana che si fonde con la celebrazione concertistica e teatrale, la Sala diventa un altro importante polo delle attività del corpo teatrale al servizio della città.
Se il *foyer*, le Sale Apollinee e la Sala della Platea richiederanno quasi completamente un intervento prettamente rivolto al restauro, nelle altre aree vengono messi a fuoco spazi di particolare interesse dal punto di vista distributivo, architettonico e statico.
Il disegno distributivo della nuova progettazione del complesso teatrale è stato studiato in funzione degli spazi originariamente esistenti da restaurare o da ristrutturare e dei nuovi spazi progettati. Con particolare attenzione si è approfondita la correlazione tra i corpi del Teatro e il razionale e versatile sviluppo dei percorsi degli spazi adibiti al pubblico, agli artisti, agli addetti ai lavori e ai materiali, privilegiando una struttura distributiva che eviti il rischio di sovrapposizioni tra le diverse attività e la loro sicurezza.
Considerando lo schema di massima degli spazi prescritti dalla relazione generale del Progetto Preliminare compresi nelle quattro aree principali (Sale Apollinee, Cavea Teatrale, Palcoscenico e Ambienti accessori), il disegno della nostra progettazione ha identificato le zone sulle quali si sviluppano le linee di distribuzione analizzando le interrelazioni tra le attività che gravitano attorno alla rappresentazione e quelle che, grazie alla posizione ed agli accorgimenti funzionali inseriti, si offrono anche come spazi autonomi, utilizzabili senza il coinvolgimento delle altre aree del complesso teatrale.

3.3 Ricerca e analisi

In relazione alle indagini, ai rilievi e alle ricerche anche di integrazione, necessarie alle scelte progettuali raggiunte, per il conseguimento e la verifica delle soluzioni spaziali, tipologiche, funzionali, architettoniche e tecnologiche, in stretto accordo con i livelli qualitativi prescritti, si rimanda alle relazioni tecniche specifiche che analizzano in particolare ogni parte della progettazione.
L'*iter* progettuale infatti, come appare nei capitoli che seguono, si è sviluppato con la continua interrelazione tra il restauro, la ristrutturazione e la progettazione, attenendosi fedelmente allo stato di fatto, seguendo punto per punto le tecniche di costruzione originarie, mediando, dopo averle valutate con le attuali tecnologie e materiali, e ben considerando l'importanza di ogni riferimento alle attuali normative di sicurezza che rendono il teatro un luogo contemporaneo.
Riguardo al delicato aspetto del **restauro** del *foyer*, delle Sale Apollinee e della Sala della Platea l'elaborazione progettuale è stata preceduta da un accurato percorso di analisi dell'evoluzione architettonica, artistica e decorativa del Teatro, nel quale sono state considerate tutte le ricostruzioni e le trasformazioni.
La linea metodologica tenuta presente, nella piena fedeltà al Bando di concorso, si basa sull'interpretazione dell'impianto decorativo della Fenice, e della maggior parte dei teatri d'epoca, come una tendenziale ripetizione di vere e proprie "frasi compiute" e poste in opera con magisteri tecnici che fra loro si compenetrano. Pertanto prevale una decorazione artigianale di pregio che amalgama il tutto, e che nell'uso dei materiali tiene presenti più gli aspetti acustici che gli effetti estetici.
In approfondimento alla **parte storica**, oltre ad essere state prese in esame tutte le pubblicazioni relative all'argomento ed ai disegni e relazioni originali del Selva, dei Meduna e del Miozzi, sono stati consultati tutti i documenti fotografici e cartacei presenti negli archivi della città: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Archivio Storico Comunale alla Celestia, Archivio del Teatro La Fenice, Archivio della Fondazione Levi, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Biblioteca Marciana, Archivio Storico della Cassa di Risparmio. La consultazione di tutti i documenti inediti, da disegni a carteggi, ha reso possibile alla nostra progettazione un approfondimento che spazia dai particolari costruttivi dei fratelli Meduna, alle lettere di trasmissione da Londra del nuovo lampadario in bronzo dorato, agli schizzi di trasformazione del Miozzi, alla catalogazione degli stili e delle tecniche del restauro.
L'obiettivo degli **interventi sulle murature superstiti** è stato quello di garantire che le caratteristiche meccaniche siano compatibili con le azioni ad esse applicate.
Il tipo e l'entità di tali interventi sono stati calibrati sulla base del degrado, evidenziato con una serie di prove in sito, e dello stato di sollecitazione nello stato finale previsto nel progetto, che è stato studiato con un modello matematico in grado di tener conto delle disomogeneità geometriche (aperture, spessori) e meccaniche del tessuto murario.
Il **cemento armato**, per le sue caratteristiche di adattabilità a geometrie esistenti, è stato ampiamente utilizzato nei corpi servizi e



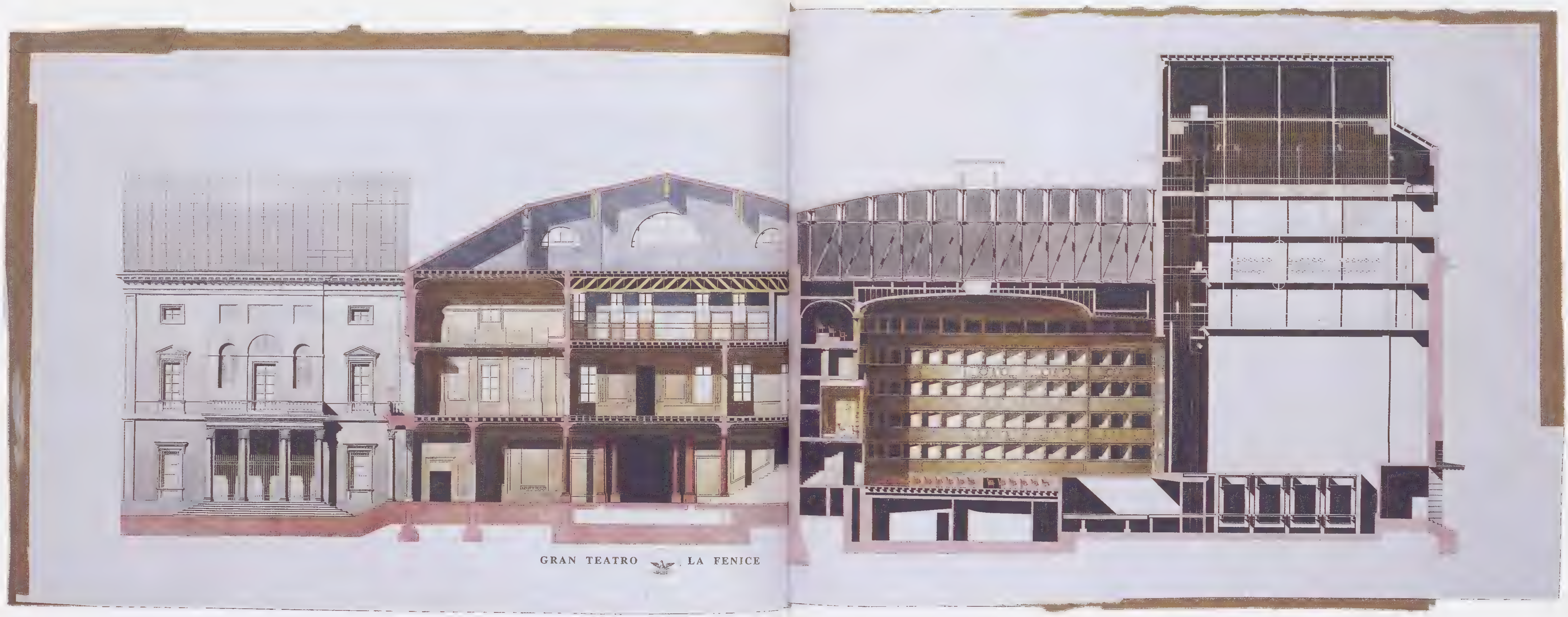
attraverso l'eredità manuale, la sensibilità estetica e la capacità tecnologica presenti nella bottega d'arte e nel cantiere, in virtù delle quali le nostre scelte si sono rivolte nel riproporre queste conoscenze. È appunto questa ottica che ci permetterà di apprezzare visivamente l'immagine del passato, frutto di un aggiornamento stilistico in chiave rococò, attuata alla metà dell'Ottocento utilizzando legno laccato piano, legno intagliato sia a nastro sia a tutto tondo e soprattutto cartapesta, operando affinché la gran parte della cassa armonica che restituirà l'acustica del passato sia nuovamente realizzata con le tecniche tramandateci nei secoli. È a questa filosofia di restauro e ricostruzione che si è ispirato il progetto, ove la tradizione delle tecniche



decorative è applicata all'architettura.
La struttura dei palchi e la loro concatenazione acustica con le decorazioni che la "ornano", come scrive il Meduna nella realizzazione della Sala della Platea, è stata riproposta con le stesse tecniche per assicurare la migliore restituzione acustica, con la struttura lignea costruita, oltre che con le precise regole dell'arte, in stretta connessione con l'apparato decorativo, che diventa elemento necessario alla propagazione delle onde sonore e al loro assorbimento grazie alle opere in cartapesta in pasta o a stratificazione di fogli; tecniche di realizzazione affidate ai materiali ed alle loro specifiche lavorazioni: dall'utilizzo della carta paglia, o assorbente o di riso macerata e diluita nell'acqua mescolata a polvere di carbonato di calcio, per rendere l'acqua più "dura", alla formazione dell'impasto con colla di ossa o di pelle di coniglio che conferisce alla materia consistenza, rigidità e leggera flessibilità, arrivando ad un prodotto accuratamente essiccato, sufficientemente rigido, pronto per le finiture occorrenti, doratura o laccatura, allo stesso modo di un intaglio in legno.

3.2 Linee guida
L'intervento al corpo teatrale della Fenice, in relazione al progetto originario ed alle successive evoluzioni dell'edificio, caratterizzate dal tipo di rappresentazioni e dall'epoca, fino a quella risalente al momento dell'incendio, può dividersi in puro restauro, ristrutturazione e riprogettazione, operando sempre in stretta correlazione con l'acustica: l'anima del teatro lirico.
Indubbiamente nelle parti da restaurare sono state rispettate la distribuzione e le relative attività, utilizzando i materiali e le tecniche di restauro tramandatici dagli esecutori originari, restituendo all'intero corpo del *foyer* e delle Sale Apollinee da una parte e alla Sala della Platea dall'altra, esistenti prima dell'incendio, quel fascino legato alla storia del Teatro e alle rappresentazioni operistiche.
Le aree di nuova progettazione, nel rispetto delle antiche murature, delle capriate lignee e degli elementi di valore artistico e architettonico, sono state studiate nell'intento di ampliare le funzioni del Teatro, ed in particolare dal punto di vista rappresentativo, che costituiscono l'esercizio del Teatro stesso.
Attraverso un esame schematico, la struttura del Teatro può essere scomposta in tre parti, sia dal punto di vista funzionale che distributivo: le Sale Apollinee; il complesso Sala della Platea, Palcoscenico e Servizi; l'edificio degli Uffici.
Nelle Sale Apollinee, rispettando la loro originaria funzione di rappresentanza, di *foyer* e di Ridotto del Loggione, sarà creata una nuova Sala espositiva, e sfruttando e valorizzando ogni ambiente del corpo, si restituirà loro il valore di edificio pubblico veneziano, completo nella sua autonomia.
Il complesso Sala della Platea, Palcoscenico e Servizi diventerà il fulcro della Macchina Teatrale, dove la creazione si fonderà con la rappresentazione.
Nell'edificio degli Uffici, che si affaccia sul Rio della Fenice, la realizzazione di una Sala Nuova, oltre ad accogliere tutta la parte amministrativa del Teatro, soddisfa le richieste del Bando, garantendone un utilizzo contemporaneo alla Sala Teatrale senza disturbi acustici. Riproponendo l'idea palladiana del Teatro Olimpico, come quinta scenografica interna, ove l'equilibrio dei pieni e dei vuoti nei suoi chiaroscuri invoca il mistero e il richiamo dell'architettura romana che si fonde con la celebrazione concertistica e teatrale, la Sala diventa un altro importante polo delle attività del corpo teatrale al servizio della città.
Se il *foyer*, le Sale Apollinee e la Sala della Platea richiederanno quasi completamente un intervento prettamente rivolto al restauro, nelle altre aree vengono messi a fuoco spazi di particolare interesse dal punto di vista distributivo, architettonico e statico.
Il disegno distributivo della nuova progettazione del complesso teatrale è stato studiato in funzione degli spazi originariamente esistenti da restaurare o da ristrutturare e dei nuovi spazi progettati. Con particolare attenzione si è approfondita la correlazione tra i corpi del Teatro e il razionale e versatile sviluppo dei percorsi degli spazi adibiti al pubblico, agli artisti, agli addetti ai lavori e ai materiali, privilegiando una struttura distributiva che eviti il rischio di sovrapposizioni tra le diverse attività e la loro sicurezza.
Considerando lo schema di massima degli spazi prescritti dalla relazione generale del Progetto Preliminare compresi nelle quattro aree principali (Sale Apollinee, Cavea Teatrale, Palcoscenico e Ambienti accessori), il disegno della nostra progettazione ha identificato le zone sulle quali si sviluppano le linee di distribuzione analizzando le interrelazioni tra le attività che gravitano attorno alla rappresentazione e quelle che, grazie alla posizione ed agli accorgimenti funzionali inseriti, si offrono anche come spazi autonomi, utilizzabili senza il coinvolgimento delle altre aree del complesso teatrale.

3.3 Ricerca e analisi
In relazione alle indagini, ai rilievi e alle ricerche anche di integrazione, necessarie alle scelte progettuali raggiunte, per il conseguimento e la verifica delle soluzioni spaziali, tipologiche, funzionali, architettoniche e tecnologiche, in stretto accordo con i livelli qualitativi prescritti, si rimanda alle relazioni tecniche specifiche che analizzano in particolare ogni parte della progettazione.
L'*iter* progettuale infatti, come appare nei capitoli che seguono, si è sviluppato con la continua interrelazione tra il restauro, la ristrutturazione e la progettazione, attenendosi fedelmente allo stato di fatto, seguendo punto per punto le tecniche di costruzione originarie, mediando, dopo averle valutate con le attuali tecnologie e materiali, e ben considerando l'importanza di ogni riferimento alle attuali normative di sicurezza che rendono il teatro un luogo contemporaneo.
Riguardo al delicato aspetto del **restauro** del *foyer*, delle Sale Apollinee e della Sala della Platea l'elaborazione progettuale è stata preceduta da un accurato percorso di analisi dell'evoluzione architettonica, artistica e decorativa del Teatro, nel quale sono state considerate tutte le ricostruzioni e le trasformazioni.
La linea metodologica tenuta presente, nella piena fedeltà al Bando di concorso, si basa sull'interpretazione dell'impianto decorativo della Fenice, e della maggior parte dei teatri d'epoca, come una tendenziale ripetizione di vere e proprie "frasi compiute" e poste in opera con magisteri tecnici che fra loro si compenetrano. Pertanto prevale una decorazione artigianale di pregio che amalgama il tutto, e che nell'uso dei materiali tiene presenti più gli aspetti acustici che gli effetti estetici.
In approfondimento alla **parte storica**, oltre ad essere state prese in esame tutte le pubblicazioni relative all'argomento ed ai disegni e relazioni originali del Selva, dei Meduna e del Miozzi, sono stati consultati tutti i documenti fotografici e cartacei presenti negli archivi della città: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Archivio Storico Comunale alla Celestia, Archivio del Teatro La Fenice, Archivio della Fondazione Levi, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Biblioteca Marciana, Archivio Storico della Cassa di Risparmio. La consultazione di tutti i documenti inediti, da disegni a carteggi, ha reso possibile alla nostra progettazione un approfondimento che spazia dai particolari costruttivi dei fratelli Meduna, alle lettere di trasmissione da Londra del nuovo lampadario in bronzo dorato, agli schizzi di trasformazione del Miozzi, alla catalogazione degli stili e delle tecniche del restauro.
L'obiettivo degli **interventi sulle murature superstiti** è stato quello di garantire che le caratteristiche meccaniche siano compatibili con le azioni ad esse applicate.
Il tipo e l'entità di tali interventi sono stati calibrati sulla base del degrado, evidenziato con una serie di prove in sito, e dello stato di sollecitazione nello stato finale previsto nel progetto, che è stato studiato con un modello matematico in grado di tener conto delle disomogeneità geometriche (aperture, spessori) e meccaniche del tessuto murario.
Il **cemento armato**, per le sue caratteristiche di adattabilità a geometrie esistenti, è stato ampiamente utilizzato nei corpi servizi e



uffici, ove il progetto prevede una radicale ridefinizione degli spazi interni ed il mantenimento di una piena leggibilità dell'impianto planimetrico attraverso la totale conservazione delle murature perimetrali.
L'**acciaio**, materiale di uso non frequente nella tipologia costruttiva di Venezia, è stato previsto solo nella realizzazione di due "macchine": le strutture di sostegno della macchina scenica, i cui carichi vengono trasmessi direttamente alle fondazioni senza impegnare staticamente i paramenti murari, e la copertura della Sala Teatrale, ove le esigenze di isolamento acustico e di protezione dall'incendio suggeriscono l'adozione di un orizzontamento di massa particolarmente elevata, racchiudendo e rispettando il concetto guida concepito dai Meduna per l'acustica del complesso della cassa armonica in legno, all'interno di una scatola in muratura, cemento armato e strutture in acciaio che hanno solo funzione strutturale.
Il progetto delle **strutture lignee** del Teatro ha posto due ordini di problemi: da una parte la riproposizione dell'esistente, dall'altra il progetto nuovo.
Le Sale Apollinee e la cassa armonica (Sala Teatrale) non potevano che reclamare il rifacimento dell'esistente, sia dal punto di vista dei codici che dei magisteri costruttivi – di grande aiuto è stato in questo senso il preciso resoconto dei Meduna del 1849 – ma anche, e soprattutto, per la scelta delle specie lignee. Ad esempio, per alcune partizioni della cassa armonica del Teatro, l'impiego dell'abete bianco, con tavolette ricavate per taglio radiale, ha diversa risposta acustica rispetto all'abete rosso ricavato da sezioni tangenziali.
Per la copertura della Sala Teatrale, resa indipendente dalla sottostante cassa armonica, ci si è riferito a quanto di più tecnologicamente innovativo offrisse la ricerca sul legno e si è previsto il larice fibrorinforzato con tessuto di fibre di vetro a strati verticali ed orizzontali (Quadralam) per questioni di protezione dall'incendio e per l'altissima resistenza meccanica, per la sua affidabilità e durabilità.
Nelle **opere speciali di fondazione**, i nuovi volumi da ricavare in sottosuolo per gli impianti tecnologici, gli scavi conseguenti in sottofalda anche a ridosso delle vecchie murature da conservare, la natura dello strato del terreno limoso argilloso, hanno evidenziato una situazione assai delicata in relazione agli interventi di consolidamento ed impermeabilizzazione.
Dopo attenta disamina di altri trattamenti possibili, abbiamo scelto di adottare la tecnologia, già bene affermata all'estero e in Italia, del cosiddetto *"deep mixing"* – realizzazione di colonne secanti di terreno consolidato – che, grazie alla delicatezza ed alla precisione della sua realizzazione, offre le più ampie garanzie di scavi sicuri e di conservazione integra delle murature esistenti.
Alcuni micropali, protetti da zincatura, assicureranno la trasmissione in profondità dei carichi più concentrati delle nuove

strutture da realizzare.
Verranno inoltre posti in opera, sia nel terreno che sulle strutture, speciali strumenti per il controllo del regolare svolgimento delle operazioni previste.
Il **progetto acustico** garantisce il pieno funzionamento del Teatro e delle sue singole parti sotto gli aspetti artistici, tecnici ed acustici; si fonda sulle basi delle richieste e desideri della committenza descritti dettagliatamente nel capitolato d'appalto del Comune di Venezia *Progetto Preliminare per la Ricostruzione. Elaborati di Progetto*, di tutte le normative e direttive italiane vigenti, nonché delle norme tecniche europee sino ad oggi definite nell'ambito dell'unificazione europea.
Indipendentemente dagli aspetti inerenti la tutela dei monumenti si può comunque affermare che la ricostruzione conforme all'originale è assolutamente raccomandabile.
Oltre all'utilizzo della sala per rappresentazioni di danza e di opere l'Ente appaltante richiede la creazione di una sala concerti, il cui progetto di acustica architettonica ha prediletto il raggiungimento di una acustica "naturale" attraverso l'utilizzo di una cassa acustica variabile nel palcoscenico, metodo preferito anche dal pubblico e dai musicisti.
Al fine di indirizzare le scelte progettuali, tenendo conto, oltre che delle richieste funzionali di capitolato anche dei vincoli al contorno e degli obiettivi di sicurezza, si sono definiti a priori dei criteri ispiratori per guidare la progettazione della **sicurezza del Teatro**.
Nel progetto, le analisi e le valutazioni di tipo prestazionale hanno costituito l'approccio predominante, mentre la verifica della conformità con le norme ha costituito, di fatto, una non secondaria verifica di accettabilità.
Il criterio guida primario è stato dunque quello di *"progettare la sicurezza del Teatro La Fenice con un approccio di tipo prestazionale nel rispetto delle prescrizioni normative"*.
Tenuto conto degli obiettivi di sicurezza stabiliti dalle vigenti disposizioni legislative e dei loro regolamentari attuativi (D.P.R. 577/82, D.P.R. 246/93, D.Lgs. 626/94, D.M.19/8/1996), le ipotesi progettuali sono state formulate sulla base di precisi criteri guida. Seguendo il procedimento logico dettato dall'art. 3 del D.Lgs. 626/94, che pone come primo passo per l'individuazione delle misure di tutela la valutazione dei rischi e che stabilisce che i rischi devono essere ridotti alla fonte e, quindi, in questo caso già in fase di progettazione, si è operato secondo una mirata strategia.
Già in sede di elaborazione delle ipotesi di progetto si è cercato quindi di prevedere l'integrazione tra le esigenze dettate dagli obiettivi funzionali e quelle derivanti dagli obiettivi di sicurezza.
Nei criteri guida del progetto si è tenuto conto anche delle caratteristiche di contesto, particolarmente significative in una realtà come quella del centro storico veneziano.
La logica conservativa mirante alla riconsegna del Teatro così com'era – nell'aspetto, nel temperamento e nelle *performance* –, i prescritti ed inderogabili obbiettivi di

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La logica conservativa mirante alla riconsegna del Teatro così com'era – nell'aspetto, nel temperamento e nelle *performance* –, i prescritti ed inderogabili obbiettivi di



sicurezza – comprensibilmente esasperati dall'incombente esperienza del rogo –, nonché la determinazione a voler adottare soluzioni impiantistiche e dotazioni scenotecniche moderne – per garantire un'adeguata apertura del Teatro ai cambiamenti futuri –, sono le tre fondamentali istanze, tutte di pari rango e purtroppo contrastanti nell'implementazione, alle quali il progetto impiantistico ha fatto riferimento e per le quali ha cercato di dare un proprio contributo.
Il **progetto impiantistico** si è imposto l'ambizioso obbiettivo di studiare una proposta articolata di sistemi in grado di attivare le più appropriate soluzioni di rincalzo – tipicamente la sicurezza impiantistica, la supervisione, il controllo, la gestione e la manutenzione – volte a coniugare le precipue e contrastanti esigenze di conservazione, sicurezza e modernità.
A questo scopo, la progettazione dei sistemi impiantistici si è inserita all'interno del processo progettuale architettonico/scenotecnico/funzionale come il catalizzatore che attiva e accelera una reazione chimica, e cioè partecipando "in punta di piedi" ma con un'attenta sensibilità ai problemi di interfaccia.
Il sistema è caratterizzato da una struttura estremamente articolata per la presenza di impianti di varia natura, che oltretutto assumono dignità diversa in funzione del pericolo (funzionamento diurno/notturno, con/senza rappresentazione, normale/energia, estate/inverno).
Ciò impone, come evidenziato nel Progetto Preliminare, una **centralizzazione della gestione** in modo da garantire la massima semplicità ed efficienza di esercizio in assetto di funzionamento normale, con o senza rappresentazione, e la massima rapidità ed efficacia di intervento in condizioni di emergenza.
Il sistema di gestione e controllo previsto è ovviamente basato sulla tecnologia a microprocessore, in modo da sfruttare i vantaggi della capacità elaborativa uniti a quelli altrettanto importanti della trasmissione dei dati via "bus".
La **macchina scenica** si inserisce nel volume del postscenio esistente adeguandosi alle strutture murarie ed alle quote di livello, valorizzando le possibilità di movimentazione e sfruttamento dello spazio ad essa deputato ed introducendo soluzioni tecniche avanzate compatibili con tali spazi. La macchina prevede un cambio scena verticale ed uno orizzontale.
Il palco è formato da quattro pedane mobili, che con il loro movimento verticale rispondono a tutte le richieste del Bando e di movimentazione scenica, possono riprodurre qualsiasi tipo di morfologia di scena e possono essere usate anche come montacarichi tra zona di carico (livello dell'acqua) e palcoscenico vero e proprio.
La loro conformazione permette anche di attraversare, conservandoli nella loro interezza, gli archi esistenti nella muratura perimetrale al corpo servizi: in questo modo può essere utilizzato al meglio lo spazio laterale al retropalco.
Una pedana mobile è prevista anche nella fossa dell'orchestra (90 musicisti) permettendo così un'estensione della platea con diverse configurazioni e un miglior utilizzo del golfo mistico.

3.4 Il restauro

Particolare attenzione è stata dedicata all'indagine sulle tecniche anticamente utilizzate.
Gli interventi di restauro saranno realizzati consolidando ogni reperto sopravvissuto e riproponendo le decorazioni, eseguite secondo le tecniche tradizionali. Generalmente la teoria del restauro consiglia di distinguere le reintegrazioni delle lacune con abbassamenti di tono, presupponendo che le lacune stesse siano minoritarie rispetto alle parti antiche. In questo caso, però, le parti antiche sono purtroppo esigue, ed il loro salvataggio ha un senso preciso: trasmettere un messaggio di continuità al di là dell'evento devastatore, che nessuna ricostruzione potrà far dimenticare.
Perciò il restauro degli elementi antichi non tenderà all'obbiettivo, del resto tecnicamente impossibile, di farli sembrare nuovi, ma li porterà ad integrarsi nell'insieme come piccole parti "sotto tono", non per una scelta, ma per la loro autenticità. Quella progettata, dunque, è un'immagine in cui l'insieme si presenta piacevolmente rimesso a nuovo, ma contiene dettagli più o meno ampi che allo spettatore attento garantiscono la fedeltà della ricostruzione e documentano la continuità della storia nel suo proprio luogo, nella sua irripetibile atmosfera: così, grazie a questo atto d'amore verso i frammenti superstiti, la ricostruzione si differenzia da un'eventuale copia realizzata lontano da Venezia.
Gli elementi irrimediabilmente perduti che non erano semplicemente decorativi, ma erano carichi di una autonoma volontà di espressione artistica, saranno peraltro oggetto di ulteriore studio.
Particolare attenzione è stata dedicata al delicato intreccio tra la decorazione, riproposta a immagine dell'esistente, e la componente tecnico-impiantistica, opportunamente adeguata.
Per la Sala Teatrale, la sopravvivenza delle mura perimetrali rimanda necessariamente alla forma antica, studiata per ottenere la migliore acustica. Il concetto informatore è stato quello di riproporre la sala dei Meduna non tanto nella sua immagine esteriore, quanto nella specifica soluzione tecnica, basata sul prevalente uso del legno accuratamente scelto e sapientemente trattato.
Il foyer e le Sale Apollinee. L'intervento di restauro e risanamento conservativo si identifica con il ripristino di ciò che si è salvato dall'incendio, o di ciò che è recuperabile: uno dei capisaldi ordinatori del nostro progetto di ricostruzione. L'intervento di ricostruzione del Teatro prevede la massima conservazione dei resti, in quanto il contenuto informativo del bene culturale è immagazzinato a diversi livelli anche nei materiali costruttivi. La modalità attraverso cui "progettare" tale conservazione è passata necessariamente attraverso dettagliate indagini storiche e analisi chimico-fisiche-meccaniche dei resti, ed accurati rilievi, in completamento delle relazioni tecniche formulate nel Progetto Preliminare.
L'analisi delle trasformazioni che coinvolsero in larga parte il *foyer*, il cui spazio venne raddoppiato rispetto all'originale, affidate nel 1930 all'ingegnere Miozzi dal Comune di Venezia, divenuto proprietario del Teatro dopo aver ottenuto la cessione dei palchi ancora di proprietà privata con la clausola di riportarlo al suo "aspetto neoclassico", oltre a fare comprendere le variazioni distributive e funzionali dell'edificio, è stata di estremo e necessario aiuto per identificare le datazioni delle murature delle Sale Apollinee, per il puntuale progetto di restauro.
Un preciso rilievo dell'esistente – effettuato durante la progettazione e correlato allo stato del Teatro prima dell'incendio, ricco di tecniche specificatamente settecentesche tra cui stucco forte o di gesso riportato che presuppongono interventi successivi, terrazzi alla veneziana, marmorini o finto marmo, ferro battuto e ottone, cristalli e vetri lavorati, legno laccato, dorature sia su legno che su stucco – ha permesso di restituire il valore artistico dell'architettura e delle decorazioni, la cui consultazione si rimanda alle specifiche relazioni.
La Sala Teatrale. La Sala Teatrale, di cui non rimangono altro che le mura perimetrali, viene riproposta secondo le tecniche ed i materiali utilizzati dai fratelli Meduna dopo l'incendio dell'Ottocento. Il valore di questa affermazione viene innanzitutto riconosciuto in quanto l'opera di ricostruzione va fondata su ciò che si è salvato, poiché lo scheletro rimasto in piedi rimanda necessariamente alla sua forma precedente, come scrive il Meduna per l'intervento di ricostruzione dopo l'incendio dell'Ottocento: "*Per ottenere dalla forma del Teatro maggiore risonanza si esegue elissoideo il cielo della sala, e con interposte curve si tolsero gli angoli rientranti dei palchetti, come intorno al pavimento nello spazio sotto la platea, che ammettesi influire della sonorità*".
Una struttura in cui tutti i materiali impiegati nella ricostruzione della sala del Selva sono stati scelti accuratamente come corpi sonori per la destinazione acustica, secondo l'indicazione del Meduna che più volte si sofferma sul problema del reperimento del legno con le caratteristiche necessarie: "*In una sala teatrale importa molto che*

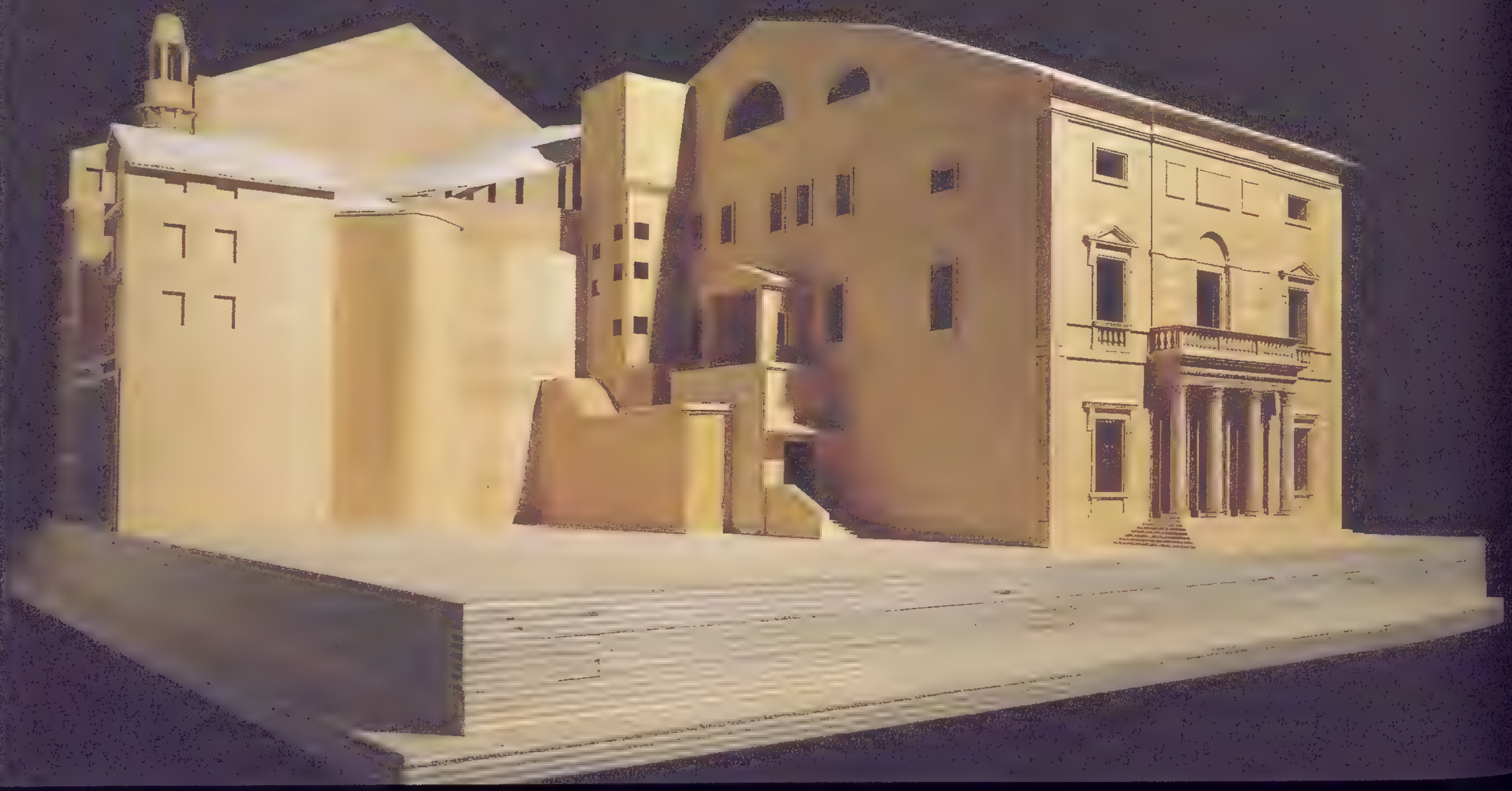
l'articolazione ed il suono della voce, la melodia del canto e l'armonia dell'orchestra si diffondano senza frastuono e gli spettatori in qualunque punto situati ne sentano bene le consonanze. Colla riedificazione hanno perciò preceduto le cure per la sonorità. L'acustica ci fa conoscere i vari fenomeni derivanti dai corpi in vibrazione e le leggi che li regolano; ma la sola teorica non basta [...] *bisogna ricorrere all'esperienza* [...]. *Può riguardarsi la sala siccome la cassa di un grande strumento musicale* [...] *che deve vibrare all'unisono col corpo vibrante. I risultati acustici si ottengono da un attento esame dei materiali, della loro struttura e qualità*".
Il Meduna inoltre osserva che "*alle pietre ed ai metalli essere preferibile il legno per la più gradita voce che produce, e meglio secco che fresco e umido; più favorevole se le sue fibre siano rette ed omogenee, perché allora l'escursione delle molecole eccitate si fanno uniformemente* [...] *e colla maggiore elasticità procedere la maggiore sonorità* [...]".
Si è riproposta quindi una struttura prevalentemente lignea che ricalca l'arte dei maestri d'ascia che conoscevano l'arte del taglio dei tronchi d'abete, sapevano rispettare le proprietà del legno, "*il corso delle fibre parallele nel senso del loro essere contenute in un tronco ben tagliato lateralmente sì da assumere la forma di un cilindro e non più di conica: tale taglio permette il segmento delle linee in maniera perfettamente parallela*". Una lavorazione che si allinea con l'esistente, frutto di un aggiornamento stilistico in chiave rococò attuata alla metà dell'Ottocento utilizzando legno laccato piano, legno intagliato sia a nastro sia a tutto tondo e soprattutto cartapesta, tecnica veloce, d'effetto sempre dorato e soprattutto compartecipe agli ottimi risultati acustici di cui era ricca la Fenice.
Il recupero dell'immagine della Sala Teatrale e dell'atmosfera che regnava nell'attesa prima della rappresentazione si completa con la riproposizione del sipario storico, opera realizzata da Antonio Ermolao Paoletti al tempo dei lavori di ammodernamento e conservazione del Cadorin, raffigurante *Onfredo Giustiniani che reca a Venezia l'annuncio della vittoria di Lepanto*, che sembra celebrare come una specie di bandiera il perenne risorgere della Fenice.

4. La Sala Nuova
Sostanzialmente uno dei principali obbiettivi del progetto è la creazione di una **Sala Nuova** adibita a prove con coro ed orchestra, concerti da camera e conferenze, ove avranno luogo prove teatrali, ampliando così le funzionalità del corpo teatrale della Fenice quando ormai di frequente le prove dovevano essere effettuate in altri ambienti estranei al Teatro. Tale Sala sarà posizionata nell'edificio degli **Uffici** nella zona che si affaccia sul Rio della Fenice, comprendente i primi due piani dell'edificio adibito in precedenza solo all'amministrazione del Teatro e a parte degli impianti che rendevano esteticamente sgradevole il cortile interno dell'edificio. Una scelta di separazione acustica dalla Sala Grande che garantisce l'utilizzo contemporaneo senza disturbi attraverso le misure edili e senza creare problemi ai fini della sicurezza.
Utilizzata longitudinalmente, riproponendo per l'orchestra e il coro la medesima posizione nella Sala Teatrale (fossa d'orchestra e palcoscenico per il coro), è stata progettata con l'obbiettivo di rendere un'acustica perfetta: composta di una zona in piano, per l'orchestra o prove teatrali o concerti da camera o conferenze, è strutturata con un ballatoio a gradoni per i coristi o per il pubblico durante l'esecuzione di concerti da camera. Questa Sala Nuova se da un lato come elemento architettonico, anche se solo di interno, si avvicina al concetto palladiano del monumento, richiamando gli elementi stilistici classici e le quinte architettoniche che incorniciano il bacino di San Marco, dall'altra parte ricorda l'idea sansoviniana del costruire in correlazione con gli altri edifici, dove il nuovo diventa parte integrante dell'insula e della città; un concetto già suggerito dal Selva, costretto dagli spazi che aveva a disposizione a mettere "*nella facciata esteriore gli accessori*" tenendo ben presente che la facciata ha il compito di rappresentare un teatro: "*Nel prospetto ho studiato di evitare la rappresentazione del Tempio e della Casa e l'ho simboleggiato per l'uso che deve avere, sottolineando la continuità interno/esterno, tipica, prima ancora che dell'architettura, del «costume» veneziano*".
Un disegno classico che crea un ponte stilistico con le colonne levigate dallo stucco, gli intonaci che appaiono quasi la "pelle" dei muri e le pietre che sembrano vivere nell'atmosfera del momento magico della Fenice rappresentato dalle giovanili sculture del Canova, grande amico ed estimatore del Selva, quando le forme neoclassiche conservavano ancora la grazia e la sensibilità epidermica del Settecento, ove la "*Loggia Corintia*" e gli ornamenti della facciata vogliono dichiarare la destinazione a Teatro dell'edificio.

Alle pagine precedenti:
Disegno di studio con la facciata e le sezioni delle Sale Apollinee, della Sala Nuova, della Sala della Platea e del Palcoscenico.
Disegno con la facciata e la sezione longitudinale.

On the preceding pages:
Working drawing of the facade and the sections of the Sale Apollinee, the Sala Nuova, the hall and the stage.
Drawing of the facade and the longitudinal section.









Viste del modello su Rio della Fenice con Campo San Fantin e viste del modello spaccato.

Views of the model (sides on Rio della Fenice and Campo San Fantin) and views of the cut-away model.

Project for the invitational competition for the reconstruction of the Teatro La Fenice, Venice
Aldo Rossi

1. Introduction

There are many different opinions regarding the reconstruction of the Fenice, or the problem of the Teatro La Fenice.
But every problem is unique, and it would be foolish to try to reduce this one to a generic discussion of historical centres, as might appear feasible at first glance.
The Fenice, as we will see further on, is "a family portrait with interior", in keeping with Visconti's title, it is the theatre of Senso, *with the white uniforms of the Austrian officers, the three-colour flag, surrounded by a murky world of relations.*
One interpretation that is as good as another, because as James wrote, "there is nothing left to say about Venice"*.*
But if there is nothing left to say, then there is also nothing left to build.
From this point of view the "where it was and as it was" *approach has many justifications; but while it is possible to build "where it was", I don't believe it is possible to build it "as it was".*
Although this project complies with the competition guidelines exactly, it cannot recreate that family portrait that only the architecture of time – and a personal touch – can make.
But it is also true that reconstructed works of architecture – I am thinking of Mont Saint Michel, the Theatre of Nîmes and other works – have already acquired a history and constructed a landscape.
For these reasons, above all I, together with my colleagues, have decided to tackle the project of the reconstruction of the Fenice.
The Phoenix, the legendary bird ("everyone says it exists/no-one knows where"*) has been repeatedly reborn from its ashes, and it will rise again.*
We have introduced a few touches: for example, a New Hall, whose backdrop is a fragment of the Basilica Palladiana – not only because it is beautiful but also because it reproduces that interior of the Venetian world, almost an attempt to re-compose, in the edifice, a Venetian world of history and invention.
The whole is the restoration, in which there will be a place for all, not only for specific talents, but also for a few personal notes.
Architecture is made of many things and made by many people; perhaps the theatre is the most convincing expression of all this.
The architect is simply the director of this complex undertaking.
This is why we have worked on the reconstruction of the Fenice, not to repair a disaster but to re-create one of the monuments of Venice.
An important reconstruction, mindful of the warning of James, but offering a respectful rebuttal.
There is always something left to say, and this work tries to say it.

2. Design criteria

If the "factory of the theatre" can be seen as the "devil's workshop", the fire that destroys it and the resulting spectacle can certainly be seen as a punishment from God, but then all kinds of little devils appear, some with horns, others with tails, mucking about in the rubble; some for money or glory, others for fame or amusement, to reconstruct and revive that place where human drama becomes tragedy or poetry.
The company, that had purchased the Teatro Grimani in San Benedetto, had been forced out by the Veniers, the owners of the property: having found a suitable site at San Fantino, the company was reformed, proclaiming a competition for the construction of a new theatre, to be called the Fenice, the Phoenix, meaning that after the demise as owner of the Theatre at San Benedetto, the Phoenix would rise up from its ashes, in a new site. The design by Selva was selected, and construction began in 1791: "As they were laying the foundations," *Tassini reports,* "they found a large tree trunk, with roots extending down into the soil, twelve feet below the usual level, and a wicker trellis for hedges, signs, according to Filiasi, of a garden that existed there in the times of the Romans".
In the introduction to the treatise for the reconstruction of the Theatre after the first fire, as the Meduna brothers write: "Since the times of the Greeks and the Romans, when theatres were created on hillsides, hollowing out the slopes, expanding outward from the taste of such a well-rooted theatre, these structures have become imposing, sumptuous: with the choice of more lasting materials more massive volumes were used, because of the desire to create lasting monuments. But the ancients cannot dictate the norms for modern times, because the customs, attitudes and actions of theatrical performances have changed drastically; and the architect cannot be the arbiter of the times".

2.1 Historical-architectural chronology

1787. *The Nobile Società, proprietor of Teatro San Benedetto, is expelled by a judicial accord in favour of the proprietors of the land where the Theatre stood, leading to the decision to build a new theatre at San Fantino.*
1789. *The Nobile Società announces an international competition for the design and construction of the new Theatre.*
1790. *The design selected for the new edifice is that of Giannantonio Selva. The new Theatre is also given the auspicious name "Fenice".*
1792. *Official inauguration of the new Theatre by Selva.*
1808. *Giannantonio Selva is commissioned by the Napoleonic Government to construct the imperial box and to renovate the Theatre. Competition for the decoration of the new hall, held by the Academy of Fine Arts of Venice. The winner, Giuseppe Borsato.*
1836. *First fire. On 13 December an enormous blaze, probably caused by the faulty functioning of a stove, destroys the hall and part of the Theatre. The Theatre collapses, but the atrium and the Sale Apollinee survive.*
1837. *The Società that owns the Theatre commissions the engineers Tommaso and Giambattista Meduna for the reconstruction. Tranquillo Orsi works on the decoration of the ceiling; Sebastiano Santi and Luigi Zandomenighi on that of the hall. On 26 December of the same year the inauguration is held of the new Theatre, complete with its new decorations.*
1844. *The oil lamps of the Theatre are replaced with a new system of gas lighting.*
1848. *The imperial loggia, after a period of patriotic ferment, is destroyed and replaced by smaller boxes.*
1849. *The Austrian Government, having taken over the government of the city, commissions to the Meduna brothers to rebuild the imperial loggia. For the decoration Giuseppe Borsato is called upon.*
1853. *A competition for the new decoration of the hall is held twice, because the first time no useful result is achieved. The design selected, once again, is that of Giambattista Meduna. This is the work that was later to be destroyed by the second fire, on 29 January 1996.*
1865. *For the quadricentennial of the birth of Dante one of the Sale Apollinee is decorated with illustrations of episodes from his work, by the painter Giacomo Cassa.*
1866. *After the annexation of Venice to Italy, the imperial loggia is transformed into the royal box, and the Savoy coat of arms is placed at the centre of the fastigium.*
1876. *The company that owns the Theatre is dissolved.*
1878. *The curtain is replaced with a new one painted by Antonio Ermolao Paoletti depicting* Onfredo Giustiniani bringing the news of the victory at Lepanto to Venice. *Ludovico Cadorin trasforms the fifth order of boxes into a gallery.*
1892. *Introduction of electric lighting.*
1892. *Teatro La Fenice assumes the legal status of a corporation (Ente Morale).*
1904. *To increase the capacity of the Theatre, the lateral sectors of the third order of boxes are transformed into galleries.*
1937. *The City, having become the proprietor of the Theatre, assigns its renovation to the engineer Eugenio Miozzi, instructing him to adapt the facility to new staging requirements, and to restore its neo-classical image. The atrium is doubled in size. The painter Giuseppe Cherubini restores the decorations in the hall, the Sale Apollinee, and those of the curtain, under the direction of Nino*

Barbantini. The stage is equipped for rotation, raised in height, and equipped with new machinery.
1938. *Inauguration of the new Theatre of Miozzi.*
1946. *With the proclamation of the Republic, the Savoy coat of arms on the fastigium of the royal box is replaced with the symbol of the lion of St. Mark.*
1976. *Inauguration of the new Sala Guidi, the former Sala Dante, on the first floor of the Sale Apollinee.*
1996. *Second fire. On 29 January the Theatre burns down for the second time.*

2.2 The Theatre: architecture and decorations; the destruction, the resurrection

The Teatro la Fenice might have appeared, before the fire, as a combination of two different expressions of the art of decoration, one neo-classical, the other neo-baroque, with the original architectural designs nearly intact. But in reality, a detailed examination of the documentation (never before published) reveals a continuous stratification of interventions, beginning at the end of the 1700s and extending down to the present era. In-depth study of the historical-architectural evolution of the Theatre, of its stylistic elements, decoration materials, in relation to the remaining evidence and the dating of the masonry, has been the groundwork of the entire design process, in order to establish a close dialogue between the accurate restoration of the Theatre and its atmosphere and the interpretative design of the "invented" spaces, connecting the symbols of the city and the technological contribution of our generation to the image of the Theatre as it has been seen in our century.
This design process was preceeded by a careful analysis of the architectural, artistic and decorative evolution of the Theatre, considering all the reconstructions and transformations, in order to re-propose those stylistic elements which, in the various eras, have created the legend of the Phoenix/Fenice and of the Classical Theatre.
The reintroduction of the symbolic image of the Classical Theater is identified with a New Hall; a space that does not become the insertion of a modern element in the old volume, but an architectural symbol in analogy with Palladio, as a fragment of an impossible reconstruction, there where all has been lost. A concept of re-design that creates a dialogue with the action of constructive restoration.
An objective which is not merely an act of nostalgia, but a way of returning to that reservoir of knowledge that ranges from the works of architecture of the city to the secrets of the works made, by hand, by the "masters".
A concept of overlappings of images that communicate with the architectural symbols of a city that is frozen in time, where the light reflected from the water colours the marble and the stones of the facades of the buildings, piercing their interiors with the light beams generated by the ripples in the canals, whose movement impulsively creates a representative language that cannot be expressed if not in terms of painterly abstraction.

2.3 Design philosophies and choices

The design of a Theatrical Machine involves the creation of a mechanism composed of multitudes of persons and devices that, functioning together, make it possible to communicate human sentiments, in a setting where their celebration can become ecstasy or madness, capable of creating myths, taking us beyond the doors of perception.
The design of a Theatrical Machine cannot help but be linked to the image of what that moment of performance will be like, when the sound of a single syllable produced by a singer will be capable of moving the spectator, causing sensations to run up and down his spine: this moment will be the result of the overall design. A product of material actions that, during the celebration, manage to touch the divine nature or the abyss that lies within the human soul.
The design of the Theatre "where it was, as it was" *brings us immediately to the question of the relationship between the Symbol and the city of Venice and its socio-urban situation, somewhere between Palladian monumentalism and the architectural integration of Sansovino, reawakening the intentions of Selva to give the Fenice a maximum of urban dignity:* "For those approaching from that street, taking as a fixed point the last arch at San Giminiano of the Procuratie Vecchie, it will be the Theatre closest to the Piazza".
In Venice the city-museum, the Theatre reappears with its image frozen in time, where the rigidity of the restoration reminds us of the images of "a family portrait with interior", witness to the generations that follow one another incessantly, in sequence.
A reappearance in which the theatrical set becomes a pretence as a re-production, and the colours are reminders of the sensations of a theatrical machine of the 1800s; a red colour, as Strehler would have wanted it, or a veiled pinkish orange of velvets, and the colours of the decorations that take us back to the strong sensations of the operatic performances of the past, that evolved step by step with technical progress, enriching the repertory of the Theatre with names like Wagner, Mascagni and Puccini, and the later Verdi with Otello *and* Falstaff, *replacing the light blue aquamarine colouring that characterized the theatre of the 1700s.*

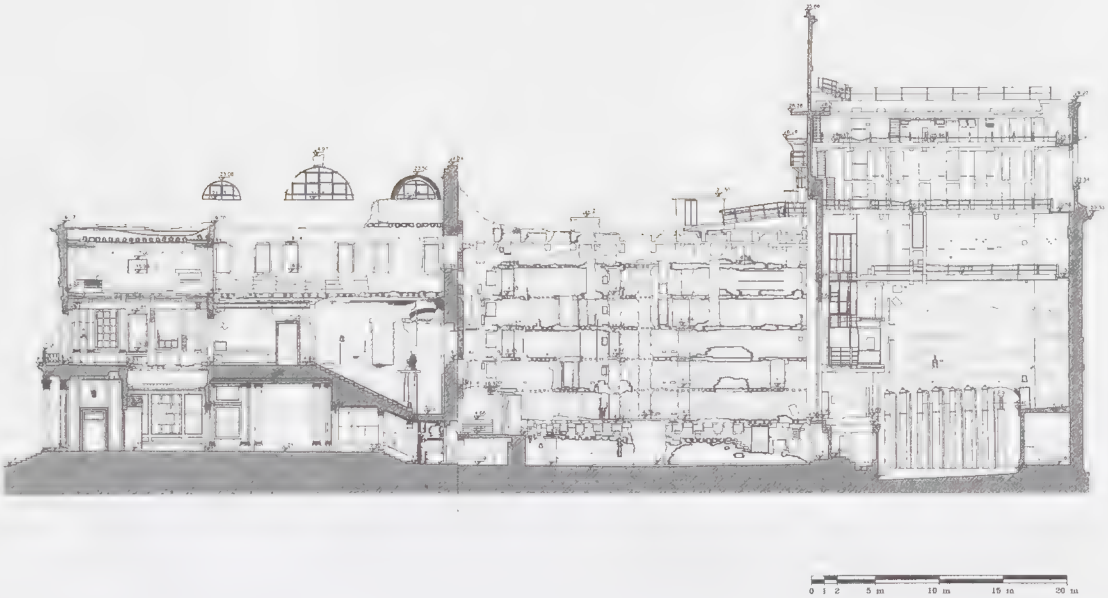
3. Project description

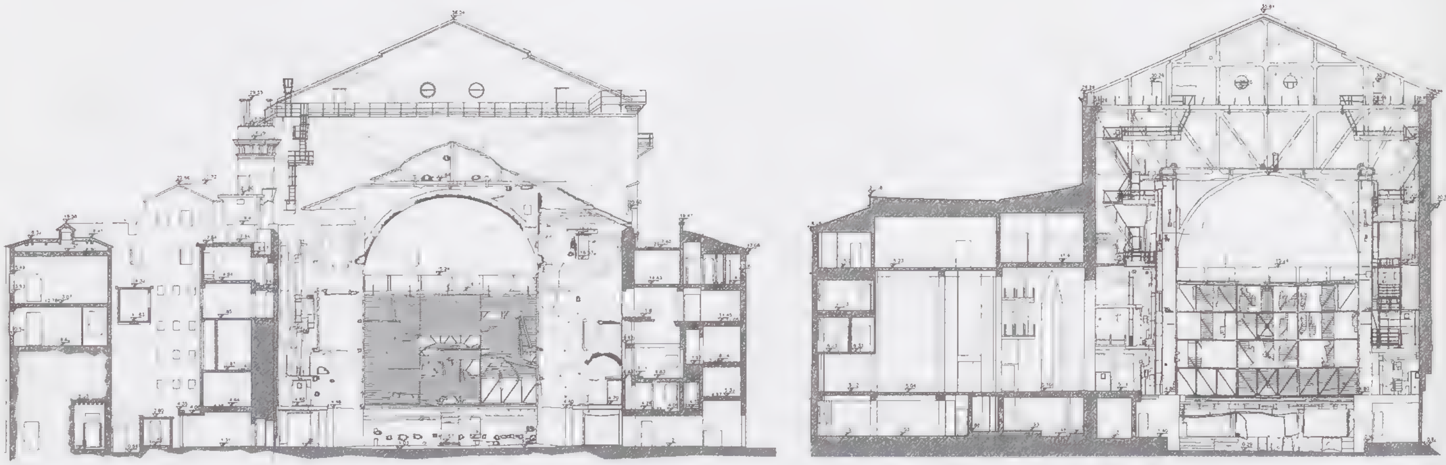
3.1 Objectives

The words "where it was, as it was" *certainly do not mean a mere mechanical reconstruction of something that has remained in memory. Just consider the past, when during one of the reconstructions a crack opened up in the vault of the hall: the vault was demolished and reconstructed so that the hall, like a huge musical instrument, would vibrate in unison with the vibrating body.*
The fundamental principles of reconstruction have remained unchanged, and the vault and the floor appear almost as membranes when their rigidity is compared to that of the cylindrical walls of the orchestra. Their acoustic function is that of balancing the selective absorbtion of the boxes through a complex way of entering into a state of oscillation. The lower notes, or those beginning at about 40 Hz., are decisively focussed at orchestra level by the form and smoothness of the vault.
The comparison of the constructional form of the classical theatre with that of a stringed instrument has guided the design, revealing surprising similarities: the sides of a violin, which are very rigid, correspond to the structural walls of the stage and the orchestra; the narrower part of the violin where the bow passes corresponds to the narrowing of the proscenium; in this analogy, we can observe that in the narrow part of the violin the vibration is generated, and passed to the sound box by means of the bridge; in the narrowing of the proscenium we find the generator of sound, the orchestra itself, that transmits the vibrations to the floor of the orchestra pit.
The sound box of the violin is matched by the light ceiling vault of the theatre: both are made of fir-wood, both are elastic, both are light. And the bottom of the violin, that part that emits the sound, can be compared to the floor of the orchestra or the stalls, again in wood, slim, elastic, distanced from the terrain. To increase the resemblance, we can note that some violas and bass viols have a flat back, rather than a curved one. In conclusion, not only the hall but the entire flooring structure of the theatre, the stage, the orchestra pit, the flooring of the stalls, are nearly always raised on a wooden structure.
This is to show that the design of the Theatre is a particularly delicate task, requiring in-depth study, beginning with the reconstruction of the hall of a completely destroyed theatre.
For this and other reasons we have approached the design of the Theatre with the greatest respect for the rules of the art, learning things from the expertise of the past, to create a place where the classical canons can live again, in our time. Values that do not involve only the architectural image of the Theatre that has remained in visual memory, but also a "where it was, as it was" *that is associated with the manual work of the craftsman and his secrets regarding the techniques and materials. A complex of techniques of master craftsmen, connected to the passing down of the* "mestiere" *from one master to another through manual processes, aesthetic sensibilities and*

Sezione longitudinale e sezioni trasversali sulla Sala della Platea e sul Palcoscenico dopo l'incendio del 29 gennaio 1996.

Longitudinal section and cross sections through hall and stage after the fire of 29 january 1996.





technological capacities present in the artisan workshop and the construction site; awareness of these factors has oriented our choices. This is the perspective that can enable us to fully appreciate the visual image of the past, the result of a stylistic updating in Rococò, effected in the mid-1800s using painted wood, carved wood, both in strips and lathe-work, and above all papier-mâché, *in such a way that the better part of the sound box that restores the acoustics of the past is once again made with the techniques passed down over the centuries.*
This is the philosophy of restoration and reconstruction behind the project, in which the tradition of decorative techniques is applied to architecture.
The structure of the balconies and their acoustic concatenation with the decorations that "adorn" it, as Meduna wrote as he completed the Hall, has been re-proposed with the same techniques to ensure the best acoustic results, with the wooden structure built according to the precise rules of the art, and in close connection to the decorative elements, that become a necessary element for the propagation of the sound waves and their absorbtion, thanks to the works in papier-mâché *or layered paper; construction techniques entrusted to materials and their specific workmanship characteristics: from the use of straw paper or absorbent paper, or rice paper soaked in water mixed with calcium carbonate powder, to make the water "harder", to the formation of the mixture with bone glue or glue made from rabbit skin, to give the material consistency, rigidity and light flexibility, finishing with a carefully dried product, sufficiently rigid, ready for the application of external finishes, gilding or lacquer, just like a piece of carved wood.*

3.2 Guidelines

The intervention in the body of the Teatro La Fenice, in relation to the original design and the successive evolutions of the edifice, based on the types of performances held in the different epochs, down to that of the moment of the fire, can be subdivided into pure restoration, restructuring and re-design, always operating in close correlation to the factor of acoustics: the true soul of an opera house.
Of course in the parts to be restored the layout and the functional divisions have been respected, using the techniques and materials of restoration passed on to us by the original creators of the facility, giving the entire volume of the foyer and of the Sale Apollinee, on the one hand, and that of the Hall, on the other, existing before the fire, their former charm, linked to the history of the Theatre and to the great performances that took place there.
The areas of new design, without altering the surviving walls, the wooden trusses and the elements of artistic and architectural value, have been studied with the aim of expanding the functions of the Theatre.
Through a schematic analysis, the structure of the Theatre can be broken down into three parts, both in terms of function and layout: the Sale Apollinee; the complex of the Hall, the Stage and the Services; the building with the Offices.
In the Sale Apollinee, respecting their original representative function, as a foyer for the gallery, a new exhibition hall will be created; taking advantage of all the various spaces, the Theatre will return to its status as a Venetian public building, complete in its autonomy.
The complex of the Hall, the Stage and the Services will become the fulcrum of the Theatrical Machine, combining functions of creation and performance.
In the building of the Offices, facing onto Rio della Fenice, the creation of a New Hall, besides hosting all the administrative part of the Theatre, will also satisfy the requests of the guidelines, guaranteeing the possibility of contemporary usage with performances in the Theatre proper, without acoustic interference. Returning to Palladio's idea for the Teatro Olimpico, as an internal theatrical scenography, where the balance of solids and voids in the chiaroscuro *effects speaks of the mystery and the reminder of Roman architecture that combines with the ritual of the concert or the theatrical performance, the Hall becomes another important segment of the activity of the Theater complex serving the city. While the foyer, the Sale Apollinee and the Hall will require, almost completely, an intervention based on pure restoration, in the other areas there should be a focus on spaces of particular interest in terms of architectural and static layout.*
The layout of the new design of the theatre complex has been developed in keeping with the originally existing spaces to be restored or restructured, and the new spaces designed. Particular attention has been paid to the relationship between the volumes of the Theatre and the rational and versatile organization of the accessways for the public, the artists, the staff and for materials, favouring a layout structure that avoids the risk of overlappings of the different activities, for questions of security.
Considering the generic scheme for the spaces indicated in the general report of the Preliminary Project, in the four principal areas (Sale Apollinee, Hall, Stage and related spaces), our project has identified the zones where the distribution lines develop, analyzing inter-relations among the activities that gravitate around the performance and those that, thanks to the positioning and the functional devices inserted, can also be used as autonomous spaces, without involving the other areas of the theatre complex.

3.3 Research and analysis

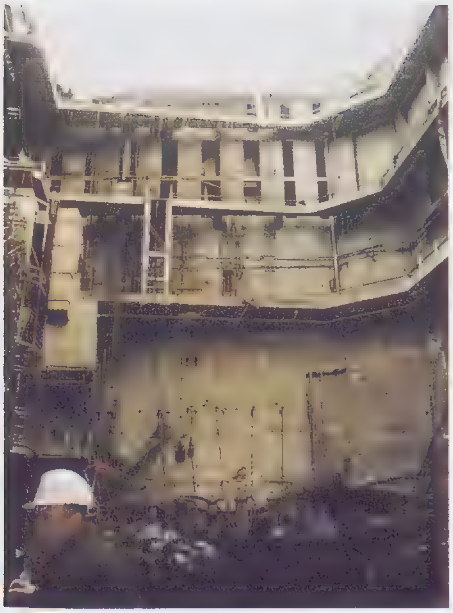
Regarding the studies, surveys and research, including integration studies, required for the design choices proposed, for the implementation and verification of spatial, typological, functional, architectural and technological solutions, in close compliance with the qualitative levels stipulated, please see the technical specification reports, with detailed analysis of each part of the design.
The design process has developed, as we will further illustrate below, in the context of continuing inter-relation among the interventions of restoration, restructuring and new design, in close connection to the state of the work, examining the original construction techniques point by point, revising them in relation to today's technologies and materials, in an awareness of the importance of today's safety regulations for theatres.
Regarding the delicate issue of the ***restoration*** *of the Foyer, the Sale Apollinee and the Hall, the design work has been based on careful analysis of the architectural, artistic and decorative evolution of the Theatre, considering all its reconstructions and transformations.*
The methodological approach, in complete compliance with the competition guidelines, is based on the interpretation of the decorative features of the Fenice, and of most of the theatres of the period, as a repetition of true "complete phrases" effected, in terms of workmanship, with masterful techniques that interact with one another. What prevails here is a decoration of fine craftsmanship that amalgamates the whole, selecting and using materials on the basis of their acoustic and aesthetic qualities.
In the study of the ***historical part****, all the publications on this subject and the original drawings and writings of Selva, the Medunas and Miozzi were examined, along with all the photographic and paper documents present in the archives of the city: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Archivio Storico Comunale alla Celestia, Archivio del Teatro La Fenice, Archivio della Fondazione Levi, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Biblioteca Marciana, Archivio Storico della Cassa di Risparmio. The examination of all the unpublished documents, from drawings to correspondence, has made it possible for our design to consider input ranging from the construction details of the Meduna brothers, to bills of lading for the shipping of a new chandelier in gilded bronze from London, from the sketches of Miozzi to the cataloguing of styles and restoration techniques.*
The objective of the ***treatment of the surviving wall structures*** *has been that of guaranteeing that their mechanical characteristics will be compatible with the actions to be effected.*
The type and degree of such intervention is based on the state of elements, evaluated through a series of on-site tests, and by the levels of final stress estimated in the project, with the use of a mathematical model that

takes geometric dishomogeneity into account (openings, thicknesses) along with mechanical anomalies in the masonry fabric.
Reinforced concrete*, for its characteristics of adaptability to existing geometries, has been widely used in the service and office volumes, where the design calls for a radical redefinition of the internal spaces and the conservation of complete legibility of the planimetric design through complete conservation of the perimeter walls.*
Steel*, a material that is not frequently used in the construction typologies of Venice, has been indicated only for the realization of two "machines": the support structures for the stage machine, whose loads are directly trasmitted to the foundation without placing stress on the walls, and the covering of the Hall of the Theatre, where the needs for acoustic insulation and protection against fire suggest the use of a particularly massive garret, in keeping with the guiding concept of the Medunas for the overall acoustics of the wooden sound box, inside a masonry box, with reinforced concrete and steel that have a purely structural function.*
The design of the ***wooden structures*** *of the Theatre has posed two orders of problems: the restoration of what existed before and the design of new elements.*
The Sale Apollinee and the sound box (the Hall of the Theatre) could only be based on the reconstruction of what existed before, both in terms of the codes and of the masters of the past – and here the precise reports of the Medunas of 1849 were very helpful – but also, and above all, for the choice of the type of wood to be used. For example, for certain partitions of the sound box of the Theatre, the use of white fir-wood, with planks created by radial cutting, has a different acoustic response with respect to red fir cut tangentially.
For the roofing of the Hall, built to be independent of the acoustic structure below, we have turned to the most advanced technological innovations in the field of construction with wood, using larch reinforced with fiberglass in vertical and horizontal layers (Quadralam), for questions of fireproofing and very high mechanical resistance, reliability and durability.
In the ***special foundation works****, the new volumes to be created below ground for technological plant, the excavations that must take place even in proximity to the old walls that are to be conserved, the nature of the layer of muddy clay, lead to a very delicate situation for interventions of consolidation and waterproofing.*
After a careful study of the possible alternatives, we have selected the technology, already widely used both in Italy and abroad, of so-called "deep mixing" – the realization of secant columns of consolidated terrain – which, thanks to its delicacy and precision, offers a greater guarantee of safe excavation and complete conservation of existing wall structures.
A number of micro-piles, protected by galvanizing, ensure the downward transmission of the most concentrated loads of the new structures to be built.
Both in the land and on the structures, special instruments for precise measurement and control of the operations will be utilized.
The ***acoustic design*** *guarantees the full functioning of the Theatre and its single parts in terms of artistic, technical and acoustic quality; the design complies with the requests and desires of the client as described, in detail, in the specifications supplied by the City of Venice,* Preliminary Project for the Reconstruction. Design specifications, *and with all the present Italian regulations and directives, as well as the European norms defined to date.*
Apart from the aspects regarding the protection of architectural heritage, in this case it is absolutely advisable that the reconstruction be based on the original design.
Apart from the utilization of the Theatre for performances of ballet and opera, the client has also requested the creation of a concert hall, whose architectural acoustic design aims at achieving a "natural" acoustic setting by means of a variable arrangement of the stage, a method that is also preferred by audiences and musicians.
In order to orient the design choices, taking into account both the functional demands of the specifications and the constraints of the surroundings and objectives of security, a number of a priori criteria have been defined to guide the design of the ***safety and security of the Theatre****.*
In the project, the analysis and evaluation of performance characteristics has been the predominant approach, while the verification of compliance with norms has also been carefully studied.
The primary criterion has, therefore, been that of "designing the security of Teatro La Fenice with a performance-oriented approach in compliance with norms and regulations".
Taking into account the security objectives stipulated by the current legislation and regulations (D.P.R. 577/82, D.P.R. 246/93, D.Lgs. 626/94, D.M.19/8/1996), the design hypotheses have been based on precise guideline criteria. Following the logical procedure dictated by Art. 3 of D.Lgs. 626/94 that stipulates the first step for the identification of the safety measures as one of risk evaluation, stating that risks must be reduced at their source and, therefore, in this case, also in the design phase, we have employed a precise strategy.
Already during the phase of design hypotheses we have attempted to reconcile the needs dictated by the functional objectives and those dictated by the objectives of safety and security.
In the guiding criteria of the project we have also considered the characteristics of the context, a particularly significant factor in a reality such as that of the historical center of Venice.
The conservative logic that aims at recreating the Theatre just as it was – in its image, character and performance –, the stipulated and imperative safety objectives – understandably further emphasised after the experience of the fire –, along with the decision to make use of modern plant solutions and theatrical equipment – to guarantee that the Theatre will be able to keep pace with future changes –, are the three fundamental considerations, all of equal importance, but unfortunately leading to conflicts in the phase of implementation; in this sense the design for the physical plant attempts to offer solutions.
The ***plant design*** *has the ambitious goal of coming up with a detailed systems proposal capable of activating the most appropriate support solutions – in the areas of plant security, supervision, control, management and maintenance – aimed at reconciling the fundamental but contrasting demands of conservation, safety and modernity.*
To this end, the design of the physical plant systems has been inserted within the architectural/technical staging/functional design process as the catalyst that activates or accelerates a chemical reaction, participating "on tip-toe", but with great sensitivity to the problems of interfacing.
The system is characterized by an extremely detailed structure due to the presence of plant elements of different types, that take on different levels of importance in keeping with different danger levels (daytime/nighttime functioning, during a performance or not, normal/energy, summer/winter).
This imposes, as shown in the Preliminary Project, a ***centralization of management*** *in order to guarantee the maximum simplicity and efficiency of the overall system in normal functioning mode, with or without a performance in progress, and maximum rapidity and efficacy of intervention in case of emergency.*
The management and control system envisioned is obviously computerized, to take advantage of the latest data processing and data transmission technologies.
The ***theatrical machinery*** *is inserted in the volume of the existing postscenium, adapting to the wall structures and the levels, taking advantage of the possibilities for movement and use of space, and introducing advanced technical solutions that are compatible with these spaces. The machinery allows for one vertical and one horizontal change of scene.*
The stage is composed of four mobile platforms, whose vertical motion responds to all the specifications of the guidelines and of modern theatrical production; any type of set morphology can be utilized, and they can also



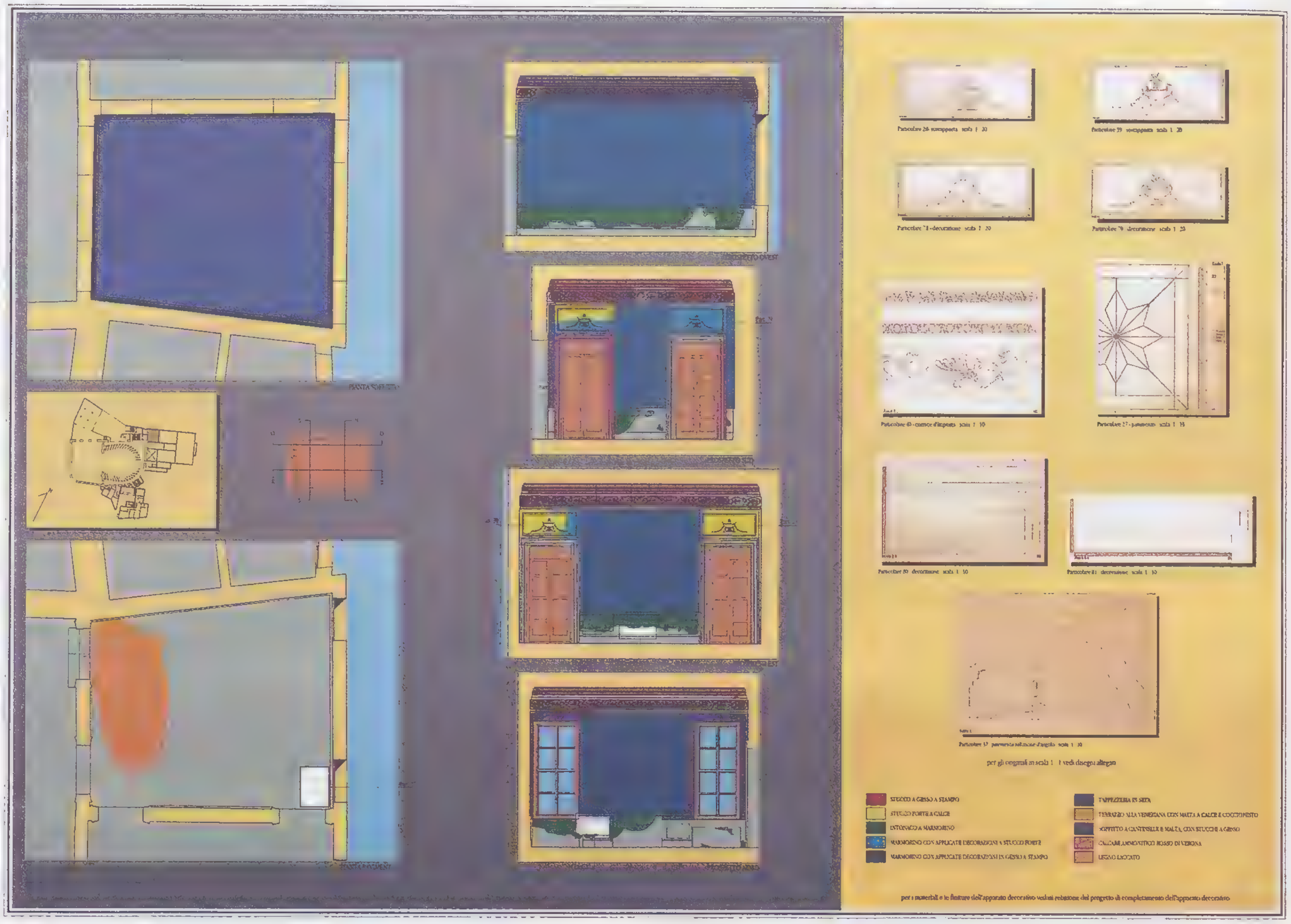






Viste della Sala della Platea, delle Sale Apollinee e del Palcoscenico allo stato attuale.

Views of the hall, the Sale Apollinee and the stage (present state).



Dettaglio esecutivo degli interventi di restauro della Sala Malibran.

Detail drawing of the restoration of the Sala Malibran.

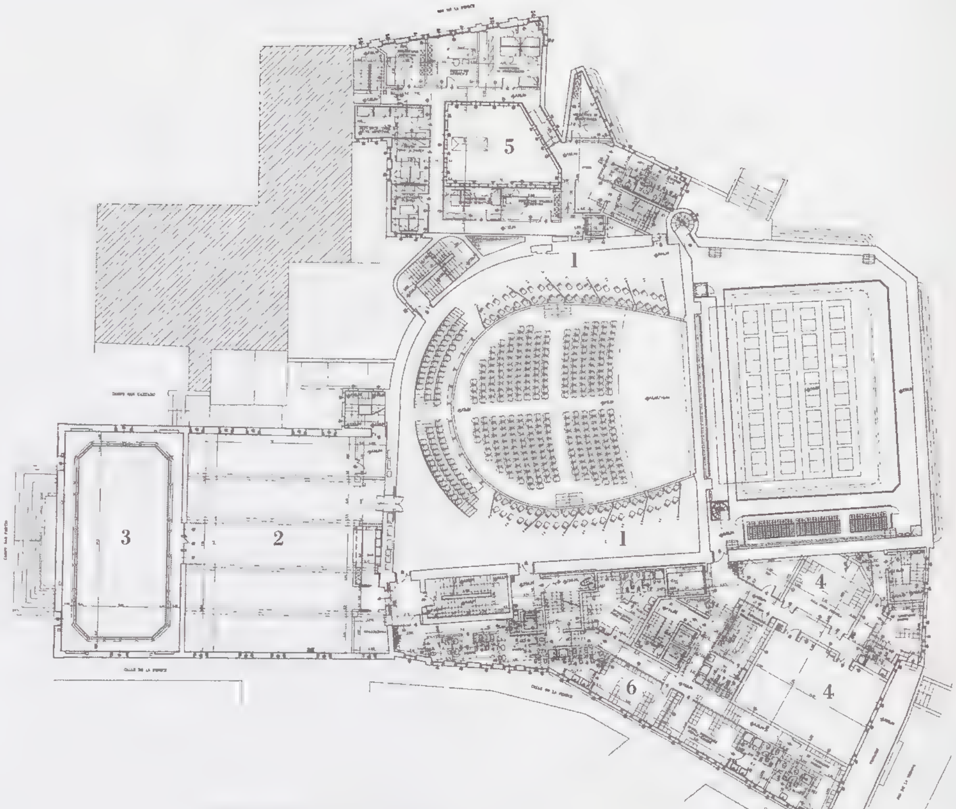
be used as freight elevators from the loading level (water level) and the actual stage. Their arrangement also makes it possible to cross through, conserving them entirely, the existing arches in the perimeter walls of the service volume: in this way the lateral space near the backstage area can be used to best advantage.
A mobile platform is also provided for the orchestra pit (for 90 musicians), thus permitting an extension of the stalls with different configurations and better use of the pit area.

3.4 The restoration
Particular attention has been paid to the study of techniques used in the past.
The interventions of restoration will be effected by consolidating all the surviving elements and re-creating the decorations, using traditional techniques. In general, restoration theory recommends the creation of a distinction between original parts and the new parts used to fill gaps, advising a lower level of tone, in the assumption that there are fewer gaps than original parts. But in this case, unfortunately, few parts survive, and their conservation has a precise meaning: to send a message of continuity, beyond the events of devastation, whose memory can never be erased by any reconstruction. Therefore the restoration of the surviving elements will not attempt – something which would, in any case, be impossible – to make them appear new; it will integrate them into the whole, as small parts that are "understated", not due to any choice, but because of their authenticity. What we plan, therefore, is an image in which the whole appears to have been pleasingly renovated, but also contains more or less visible details that, for the careful observer, guarantee the fidelity of the reconstruction and document the continuity of history in its proper place, in its unrepeatable atmosphere: in this way, thanks to this act of love for the surviving fragments, the reconstruction maintains its identity, rejecting the possible image of a copy that could have been made anywhere, even far from Venice.
The irremediably lost elements that were not merely decorative, but also charged with an autonomous form of artistic expression, will be evaluated during the course of further study. Particular attention has been paid to the delicate interweaving of the decoration, based on the image of what still exists, and the technical plant elements, which will be updated.
For the Hall of the Theatre itself, the survival of the perimeter walls necessarily dictates a reutilization of the original form, studied to obtain the best possible acoustics. The concept behind our design is that of re-creating the hall of the Medunas not so much in its external image, as in its specific technical solution, based on the use of carefully chosen and skillfully treated wooden elements.

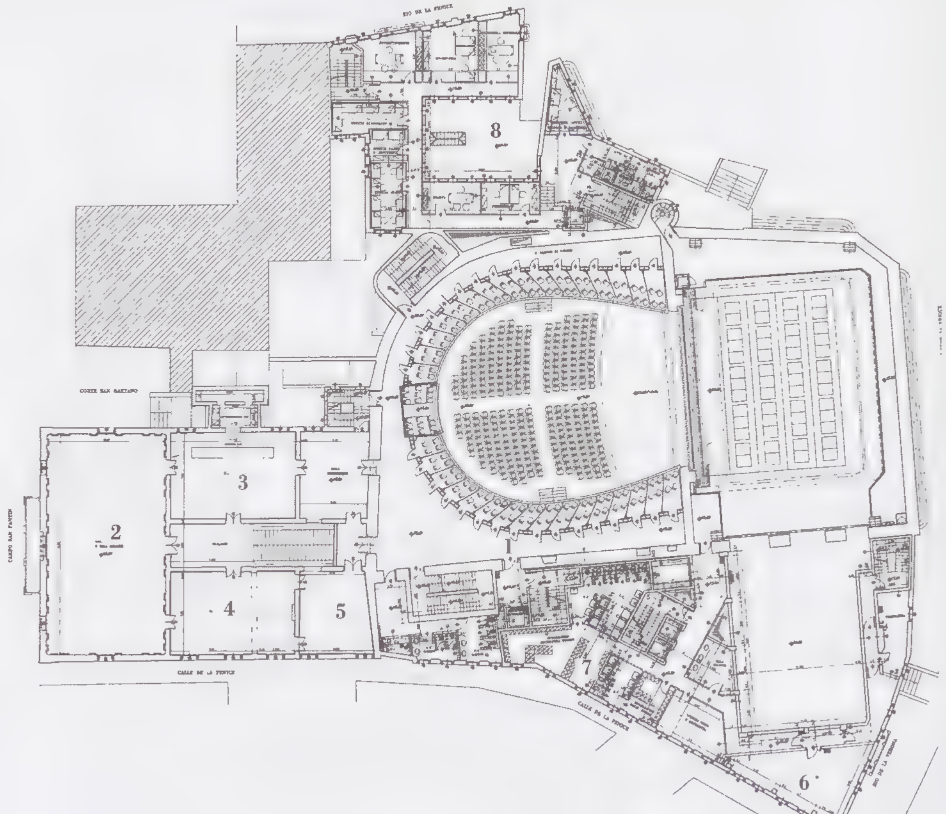
The foyer and the Sale Apollinee. *The intervention of restoration and conservation involves the renovation of what has survived the fire, or of what can feasibly by utilized: this is one of the main priorities of our reconstruction project. The project of reconstruction of the Theatre calls for the greatest possible conservation of its remains, because the information content of the cultural asset is stored at different levels, even in the construction materials. The modes for the "design" of this conservation naturally involve detailed historical investigation and chemical-physical-mechanical analysis of the ruins, along with careful surveys, to complete the technical specifications offered in the Preliminary Project.*
The analysis of the transformations that took place in the foyer, whose space was doubled with respect to the original, a work assigned in 1930 to the engineer Miozzi by the City of Venice, which had become the proprietor of the Theatre after having obtained the ownership of the boxes that were still private property, with a clause stipulating that the city would restore the Theatre to its "neoclassical image", has helped us to understand the variations of the layout and the functions of the edifice, and has been extremely useful for the dating of the wall structures of the Sale Apollinee, to define a point-by-point restoration design.
Precise examination of the existing elements during the design process and study of the state of the Theatre before the fire, rich in the presence of techniques specific to the 1700s, including stucco-work and plaster-work that reveal successive interventions, Venetian terrazzo, marmoreal or false marble, wrought iron and brass, worked crystals and glass, lacquered wood, gildings on wood and stucco, has made it possible to restore the artistic value of the architecture and the decorations. Specific reports are provided on these studies.

The Theatre Hall. *The Hall itself, of which only the perimeter walls survive, is re-created in keeping with the techniques and materials utilized by the Meduna brothers after the fire in the 1800s. The value of this statement must be recognized, first of all, because the work of reconstruction is thus based on what has survived, because the remaining skeleton necessarily dictates the maintenance of the precedent form, as Meduna remarked in the case of the reconstruction after the fire in the 1800s:* "To obtain greater resonance from the form of the Theatre the ceiling of the hall was made ellipsoidal, and curves were used to remove the angular features of the balconies, and around the flooring in the space beneath the orchestra, which had a negative influence on the sonority".
A structure in which all the materials used in the reconstruction of the hall of Selva have been carefully selected as resonant bodies for the improvement of acoustics, as Meduna emphasises repeatedly, speaking of the problem of finding wood with the proper characteristics: "In a theatrical hall great importance must be attributed to the articulation and sound of the voice, the melody of the singing and the harmony of the orchestra must spread outward without uproar or din, and the spectators seated in any point of the hall must be able to hear the consonances well. In the reconstruction, therefore, precedence was assigned to the improvement of sonority. The science of acoustics informs us of the various phenomena derived from bodies in vibration, and the laws that regulate them; but theory alone does not suffice *[...]* one must make use of experience *[...]*. The hall can be seen as the sound box of a large musical instrument *[...]* which must vibrate in unison with the vibrating body. The acoustic results are obtained through a careful examination of the materials, their structure and quality".
Meduna also observes that "wood is preferible to stones or metals because of the more pleasant voice it produces, and it is better dry than fresh and humid; it is more favourable if its fibers are straight and homogeneous, because this leads to uniformity in the movement of the molecules that are excited *[...]* and greater elasticity leads to greater resonance *[...]*".
Therefore we have proposed a structure that is prevalently in wood, returning to the art of the master carpenters who understood how to cut the trunks of fir-trees, how to respect the properties of the wood, "the course of the parallel fibers in the sense of their being contained in a trunk that is cut properly, laterally, giving it the form of a cylinder and no longer that of a cone, permitting the segmentation of the lines in a perfectly parallel manner". *A type of workmanship that creates harmony with the pre-existing elements, the result of the Rococò stylistic updating that took place halfway through the 1800s, utilizing painted wood, carved and lathed wood, and especially* papier-mâché, *a rapid technique of great effect, always gilded, and above all a contribution to the excellent acoustic results for which the Fenice was famous.*
The recovery of the image of the Hall and the atmosphere that could be experienced there in the moments before the beginning of a performance is completed with the re-creation of the historical curtain, a work made by Antonio Ermolao Paoletti at the time of the modernization and conservation interventions of Cadorin, depicting Onfredo Giustiniani bringing the news of the victory at Lepanto to Venice, *which seems to celebrate, like a sort of banner, the eternal resurrection of the Fenice.*

Pianta al piano loggione e ridotto (+14.16, +14.50, +15.50, +15.65): 1) loggione; 2) ridotto, prova regia e ballo; 3) vuoto sulla Sala Grande; 4) sala coro; 5) corte interna; 6) servizi addetti e pubblico.
Pianta al piano delle Sale Apollinee e terzo ordine di palchi (+8.92, +9.42): 1) terzo ordine di palchi; 2) Sala da ballo o Sala Grande; 3) Sala Guidi, ex Sala Dante; 4) Sala Ammannati; 5) Sala Malibran; 6) sartoria; 7) servizi addetti e pubblico; 8) corte interna.
Pianta al piano platea, palcoscenico e primo ordine di palchi (+2.25, +3.60, +4.52, +5.00): 1) primo ordine di palchi; 2) ingresso; 3) Sala Nuova, prova orchestra e coro, concerti; 4) servizi addetti e pubblico.
Pianta al piano ingressi (-0.65, +1.30, +1.45, +2.25): 1) sale prova; 2) orchestra; 3) sottopalco; 4) magazzino e laboratori; 5) ingresso; 6) Sala Nuova, prova orchestra e coro, concerti; 7) servizi addetti e pubblico.

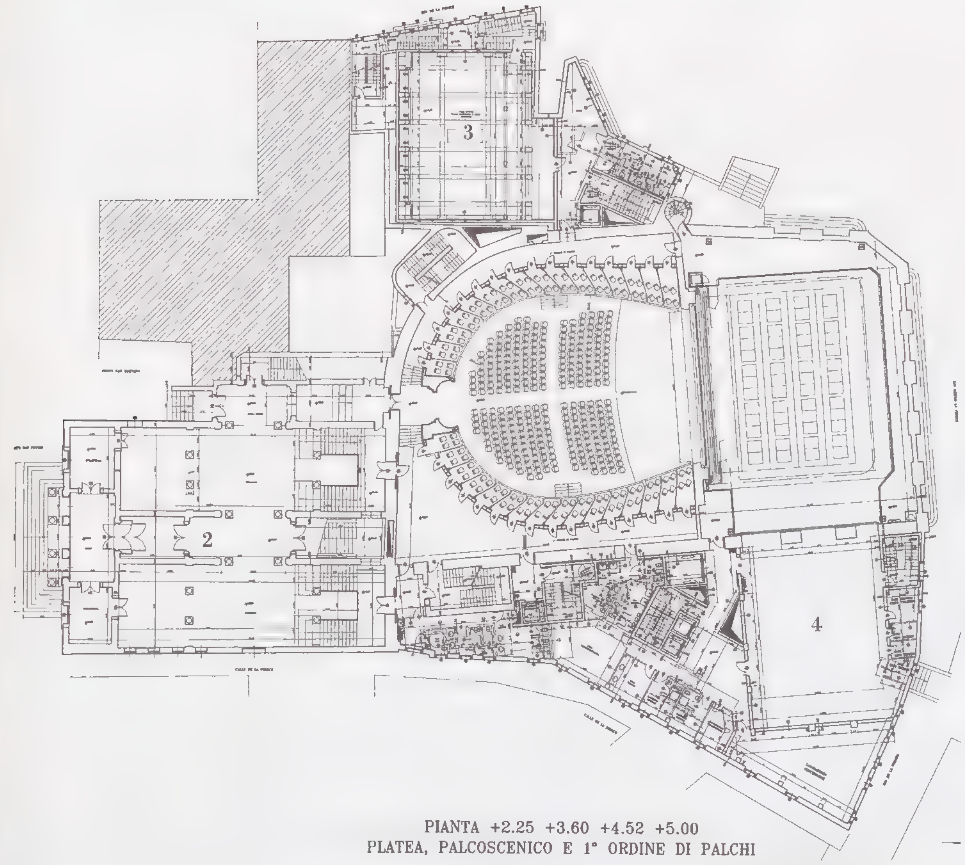


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LOGGIONE E RIDOTTO

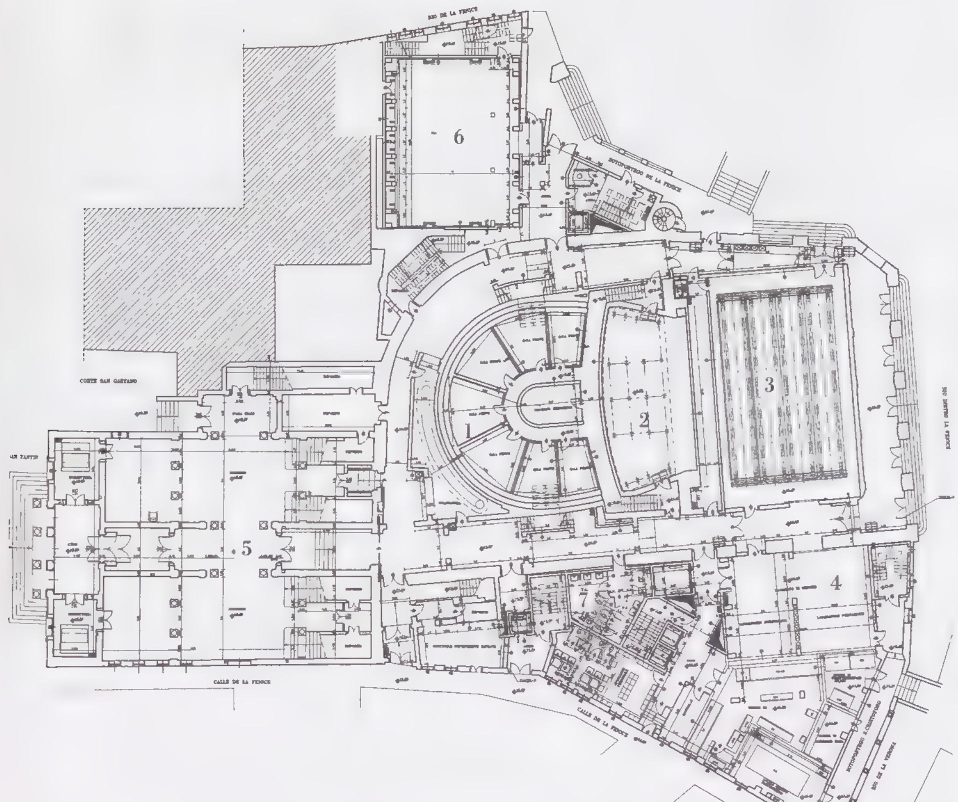


PIANTA +8.92 +9.42
SALE APOLLINEE E 3' ORDINE PALCHI

Gallery and foyer floor plan (+14.16, +14.50, +15.50, +15.65): 1) gallery; 2) foyer, direction and ballet rehearsal; 3) void above the Sala Grande; 4) chorus hall; 5) inner courtyard; 6) personnel and spectators services.
Sale Apollinee and third-tier box floor plan (+8.92, +9.42): 1) third-tier boxes; 2) Ballet hall or Sala Grande; 3) Sala Guidi, ex Sala Dante; 4) Sala Ammannati; 5) Sala Malibran; 6) tailor's; 7) personnel and spectators services; 8) inner courtyard.
Stalls, stage and first-tier boxes floor plan (+2.25, +3.60, +4.52, +5.00): 1) first-tier boxes; 2) entrance hall; 3) New Hall, orchestra and chorus rehearsal, concerts; 4) personnel and spectators services.
Entrance floor plan (-0.65, +1.30, +1.45, +2.25): 1) rehearsal rooms; 2) orchestra; 3) space under the stage; 4) store and workshops; 5) entrance hall; 6) New Hall, orchestra and chorus rehearsal, concerts; 7) personnel and spectators services.



PIANTA +2.25 +3.60 +4.52 +5.00
PLATEA, PALCOSCENICO E 1° ORDINE DI PALCHI



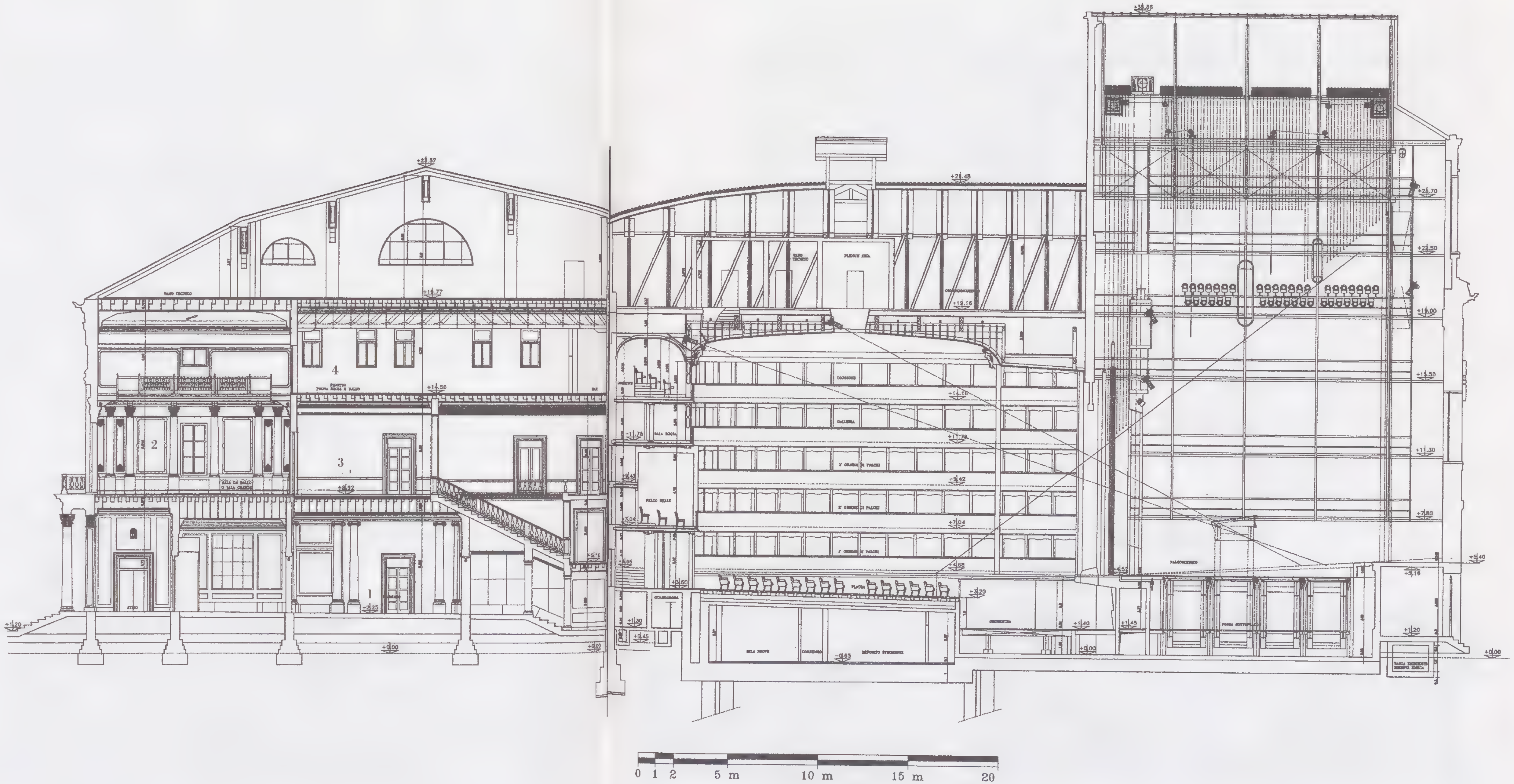
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INGRESSI

4. The New Hall

In substance, one of the main objectives of the project has to do with the creation of a ***New Hall*** *for rehearsals with chorus and orchestra, chamber music concerts and conferences, as well as theatre rehearsals, expanding the functional range of the Teatro La Fenice, to correct the problem of the need for spaces outside the theatre complex for rehearsals. The New Hall will be positioned in the edifice of the* ***Offices,*** *in the zone facing onto Rio della Fenice, utilizing the first two floors of the edifice previously set aside only for the Theatre administration and part of the technical plants that made the internal courtyard aesthetically unattractive. A choice of acoustic separation from the Sala Grande, to ensure the possibility of simultaneous utilization without disturbance and without creating security problems. Utilized in a longitudinal layout, offering the orchestra and the chorus the same type of positioning as in the Theatre Hall (orchestra pit and stage for the chorus), this Hall has been designed with the objective of achieving perfect acoustics: composed of a level zone, for the orchestra, theatre rehearsals, chamber music concerts or conferences, it is structured with a stepped flies for the chorus, or for the audience during the concerts of chamber music. This New Hall, on the one hand, approaches the Palladian concept of the monument, although only as an internal architectural element, evoking the classic stylistic elements and the architectonic wings that frame the basin of St. Mark's; on the other, it represents a return to the idea of Sansovino regarding construction in correlation with the other edifices, where the new becomes an integral part of the* insula *and of the city; a concept that had already been suggested by Selva, forced by available spaces to place* "the accessories in the external facade", *aware of the fact that the facade has the task of representing the image of the Theatre:* "In the elevation I have attempted to avoid the representation of the Temple or of the House, and I have symbolized it for its particular function, underlining the interior/exterior continuity typical not only of Venetian architecture, but also and above all of Venetian «customs»".
A classic design that creates a stylistic bridge with the stuccoed columns, the plaster finishes that appear almost to be the "skin" of the walls, the stones that seem to live in the atmosphere of the magical moment of the Fenice, represented in the youthful sculptures of Canova, a great friend and admirer of Selva, when the neoclassical forms still conserve the grace and the epidermic sensitivity of the 1700s, where the "Loggia Corintia" *and the ornaments of the facade are designed as an open declaration of the fact that this edifice is a Theatre.*

Sezione longitudinale sull'ingresso, le Sale Apollinee, la Sala della Platea e il Palcoscenico: 1) ingresso; 2) Sala Grande; 3) scalone; 4) ridotto.

Longitudinal section through entrance hall, Sale Apollinee, hall and stage: 1) entrance hall; 2) Sala Grande; 3) staircase; 4) foyer.

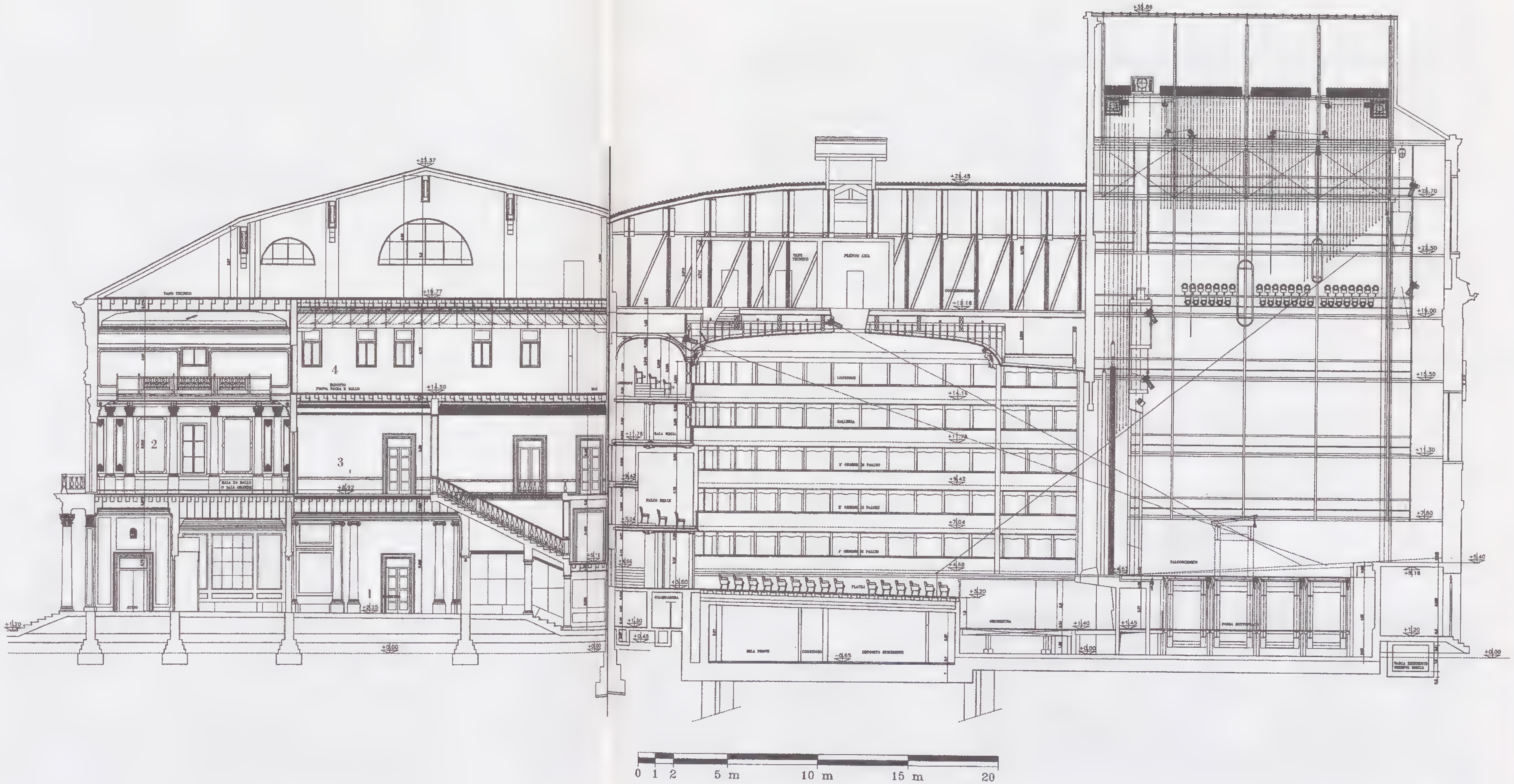


4. The New Hall

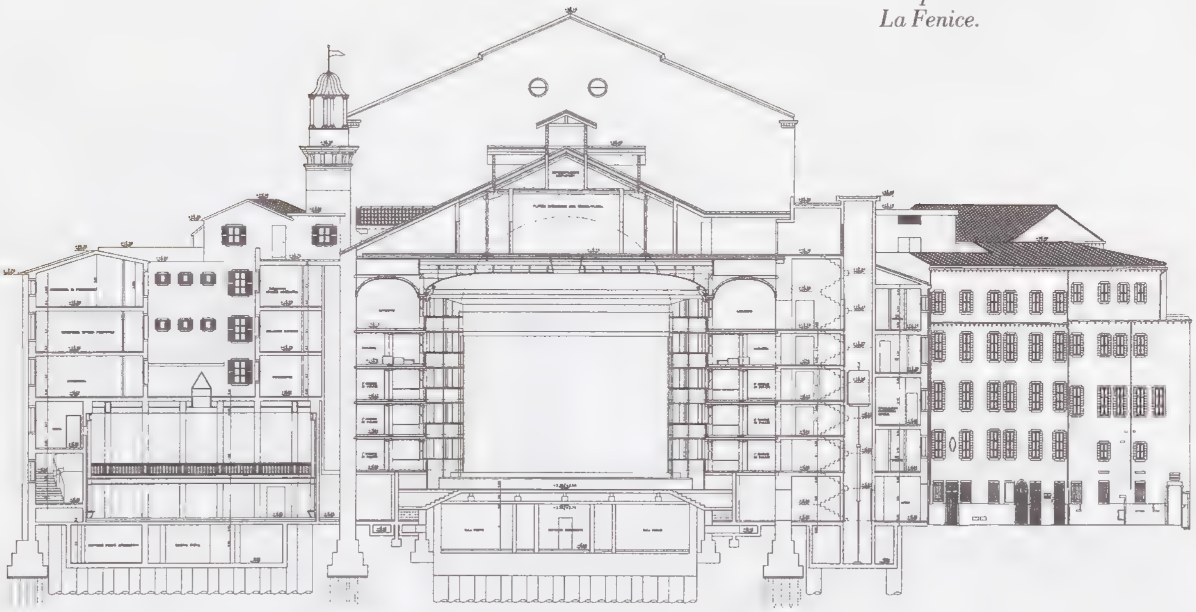
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Sezione longitudinale sull'ingresso, le Sale Apollinee, la Sala della Platea e il Palcoscenico: 1) ingresso; 2) Sala Grande; 3) scalone; 4) ridotto.

Longitudinal section through entrance hall, Sale Apollinee, hall and stage: 1) entrance hall; 2) Sala Grande; 3) staircase; 4) foyer.



Sezione trasversale sulla Sala della Platea.
Prospetto della facciata su Campo San Fantin e sezioni trasversali sulle Sale Apollinee: 1) ingresso; 2) Sala Grande; 3) scalone; 4) Sala Guidi; 5) Sala Ammannati; 6) ridotto; 7) sala esposizioni.
Prospetti su Rio de La Fenice e su Rio dietro La Fenice.



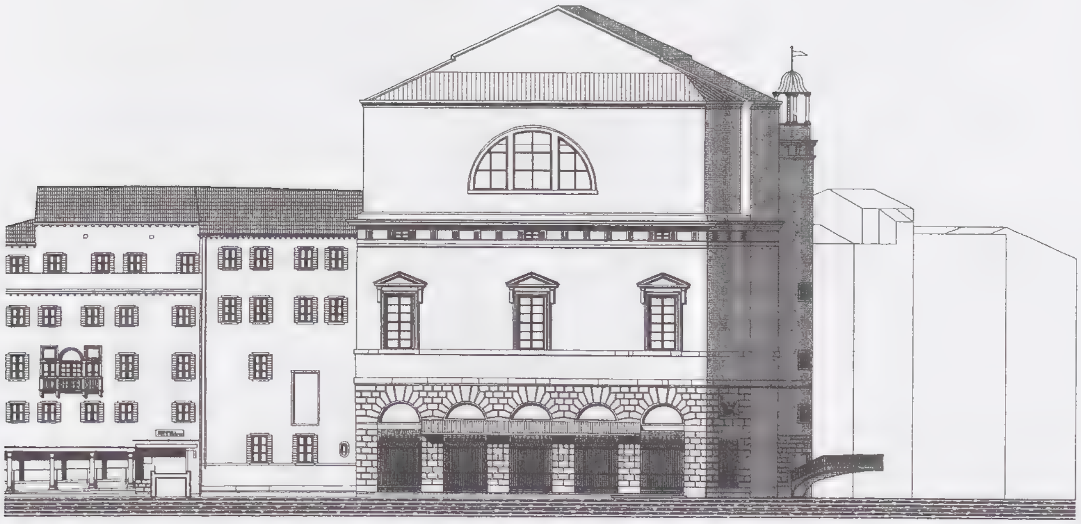
Cross section through hall.
Facade on Campo San Fantin and cross sections through Sale Apollinee: 1) entrance hall; 2) Sala Grande; 3) staircase; 4) Sala Guidi; 5) Sala Ammannati; 6) foyer; 7) exhibition hall.
Elevations on Rio de La Fenice and Rio dietro La Fenice.





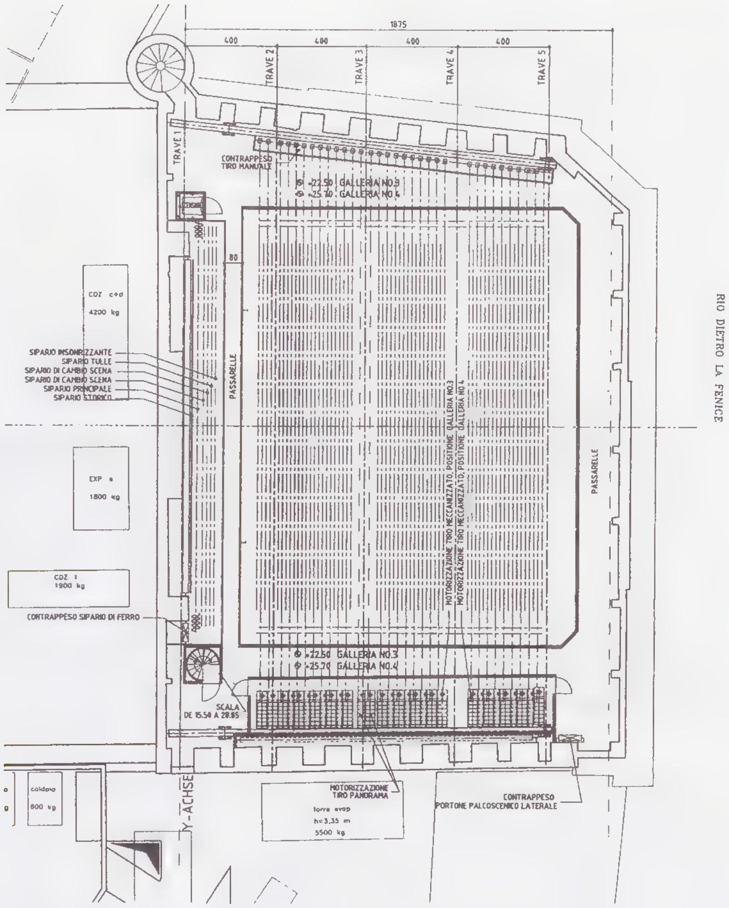


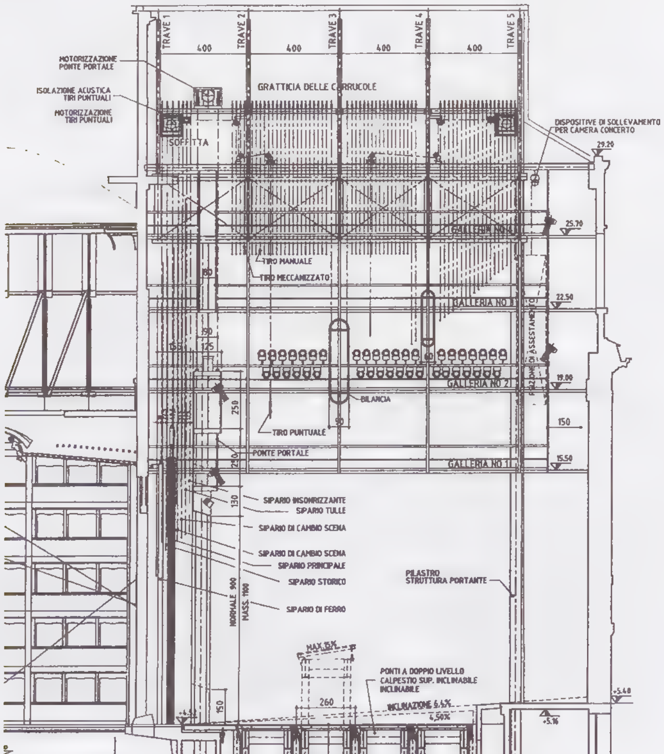

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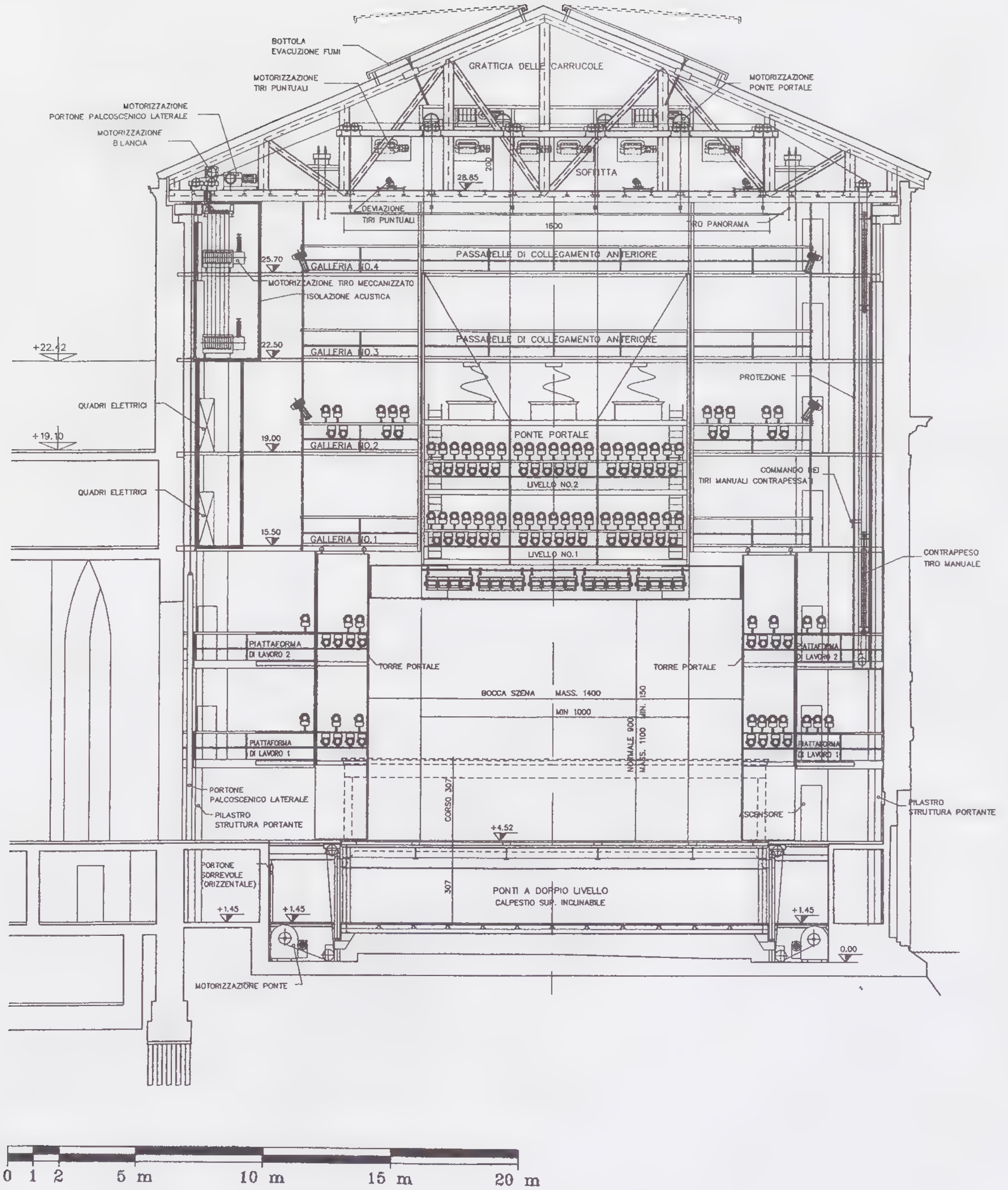


Pianta, sezioni longitudinale e trasversale della macchina scenica.

Plan, longitudinal and cross sections of the theatrical machinery.

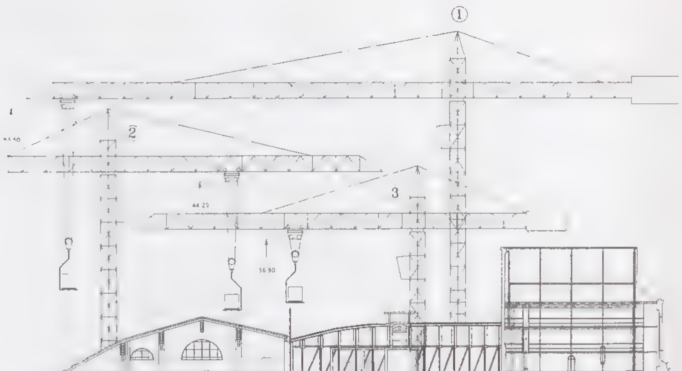






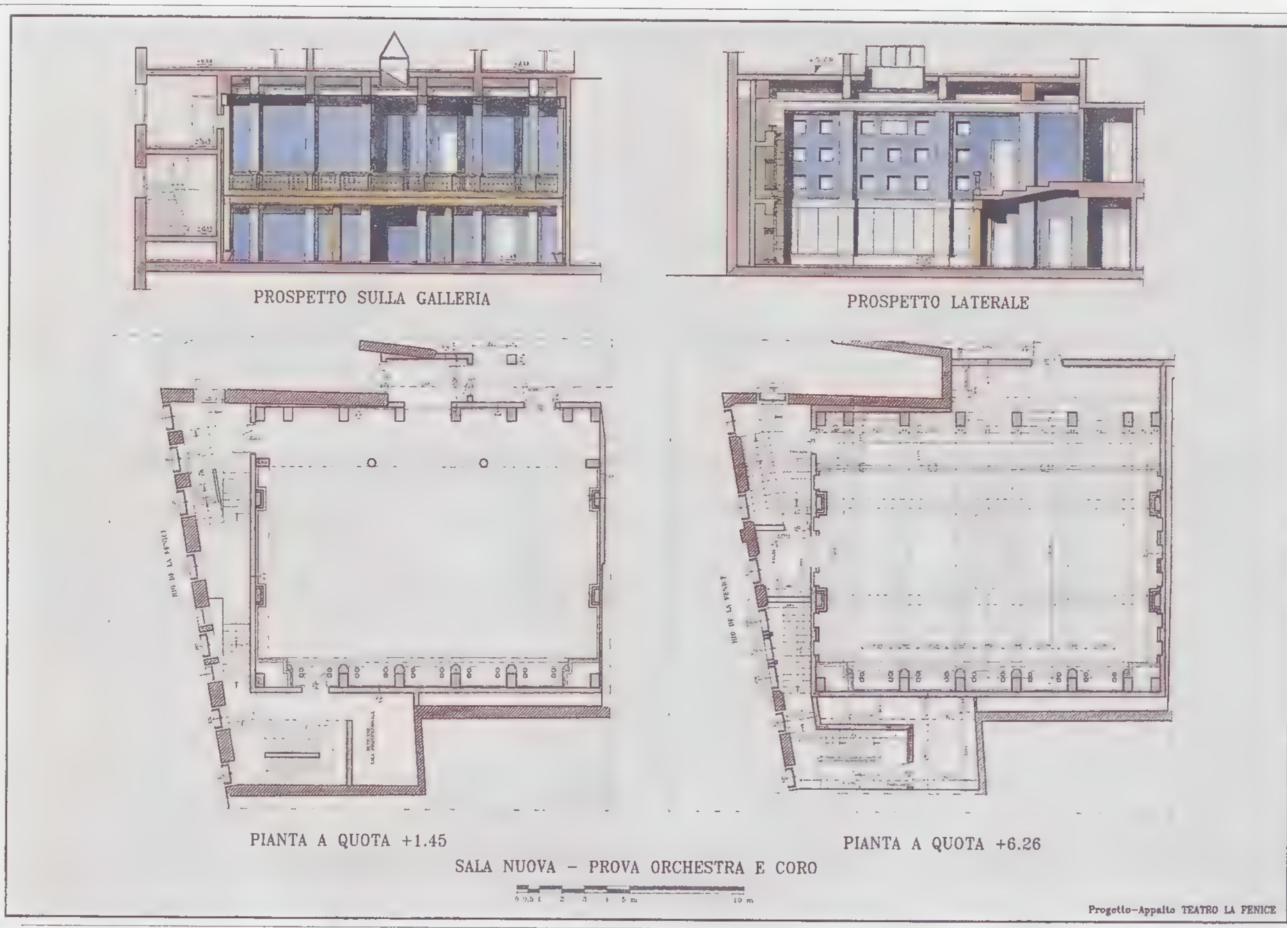
BOTTOLA EVACUZIONE FUMI
GRATTICIA DELLE CARRUCOLE
MOTORIZZAZIONE TIRI PUNTUALI
MOTORIZZAZIONE PONTE PORTALE
MOTORIZZAZIONE PORTONE PALCOSCENICO LATERALE
MOTORIZZAZIONE 8 LANCIA
200
28.85
SOFFITTA
DEVIAZIONE TIRI PUNTUALI
1600
TIRO PANORAMA
25.70
GALLERIA NO.4
PASSARELLE DI COLLEGAMENTO ANTERIORE
MOTORIZZAZIONE TIRO MECCANIZZATO
ISOLAZIONE ACUSTICA
+22.42
22.50
PASSARELLE DI COLLEGAMENTO ANTERIORE
GALLERIA NO.3
PROTEZIONE
QUADRI ELETTRICI
+19.10
19.00
GALLERIA NO.2
PONTE PORTALE
LIVELLO NO.2
COMMANDO DEI TIRI MANUALI CONTRAPESSATI
QUADRI ELETTRICI
15.50
GALLERIA NO.1
LIVELLO NO.1
CONTRAPPESO TIRO MANUALE
PIATTAFORMA DI LAVORO 2
TORRE PORTALE
TORRE PORTALE
PIATTAFORMA DI LAVORO 2
BOCCA SZENA
MASS. 1400
MIN 1000
NORMALE 900
MASS. 1100
MIN. 150
PIATTAFORMA DI LAVORO 1
PIATTAFORMA DI LAVORO 1
CORSO 307
PORTONE PALCOSCENICO LATERALE
PILASTRO STRUTTURA PORTANTE
ASCENSORE
PILASTRO STRUTTURA PORTANTE
+4.52
PORTONE SORREVOLE (ORIZZENTALE)
307
PONTI A DOPPIO LIVELLO
CALPESTIO SUP. INCLINABILE
+1.45
+1.45
+1.45
0.00
MOTORIZZAZIONE PONTE
0 1 2 5 m 10 m 15 m 20 m

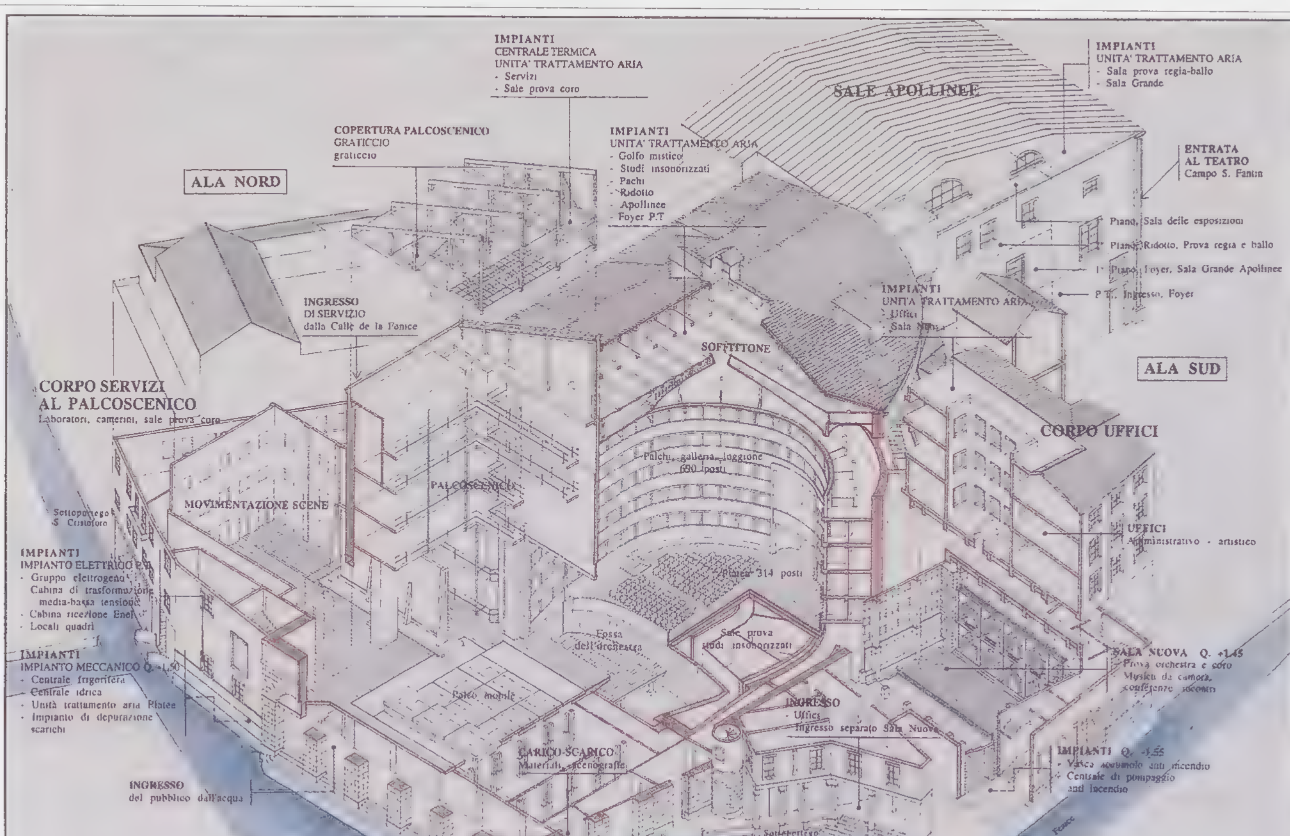


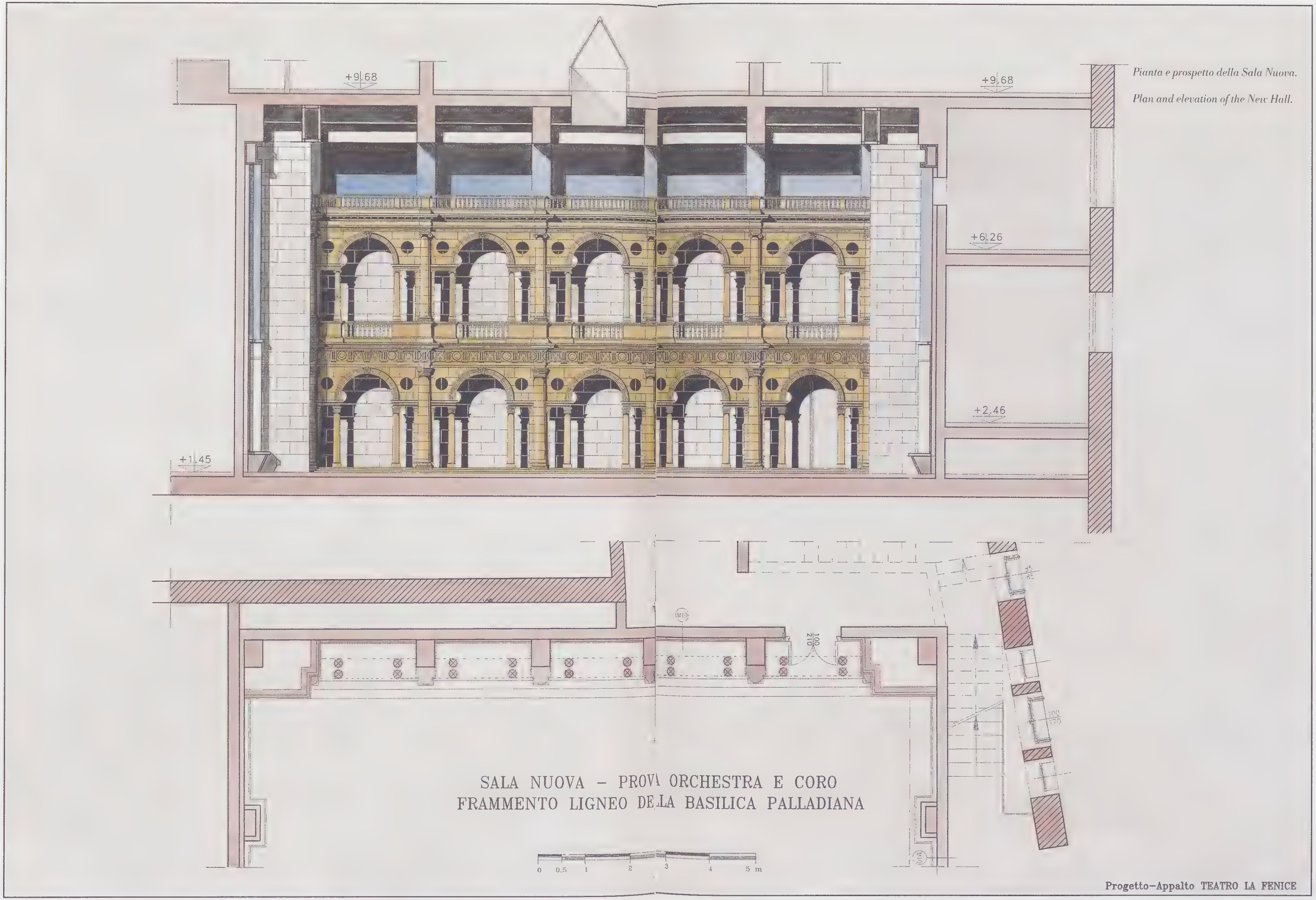


Planimetria generale e sezione dell'impianto di cantiere.
Disegno della Sala Nuova.
Spaccato assonometrico.

Site plan and section of the construction plant.
Drawing of the New Hall.
Axonometric cut-away.

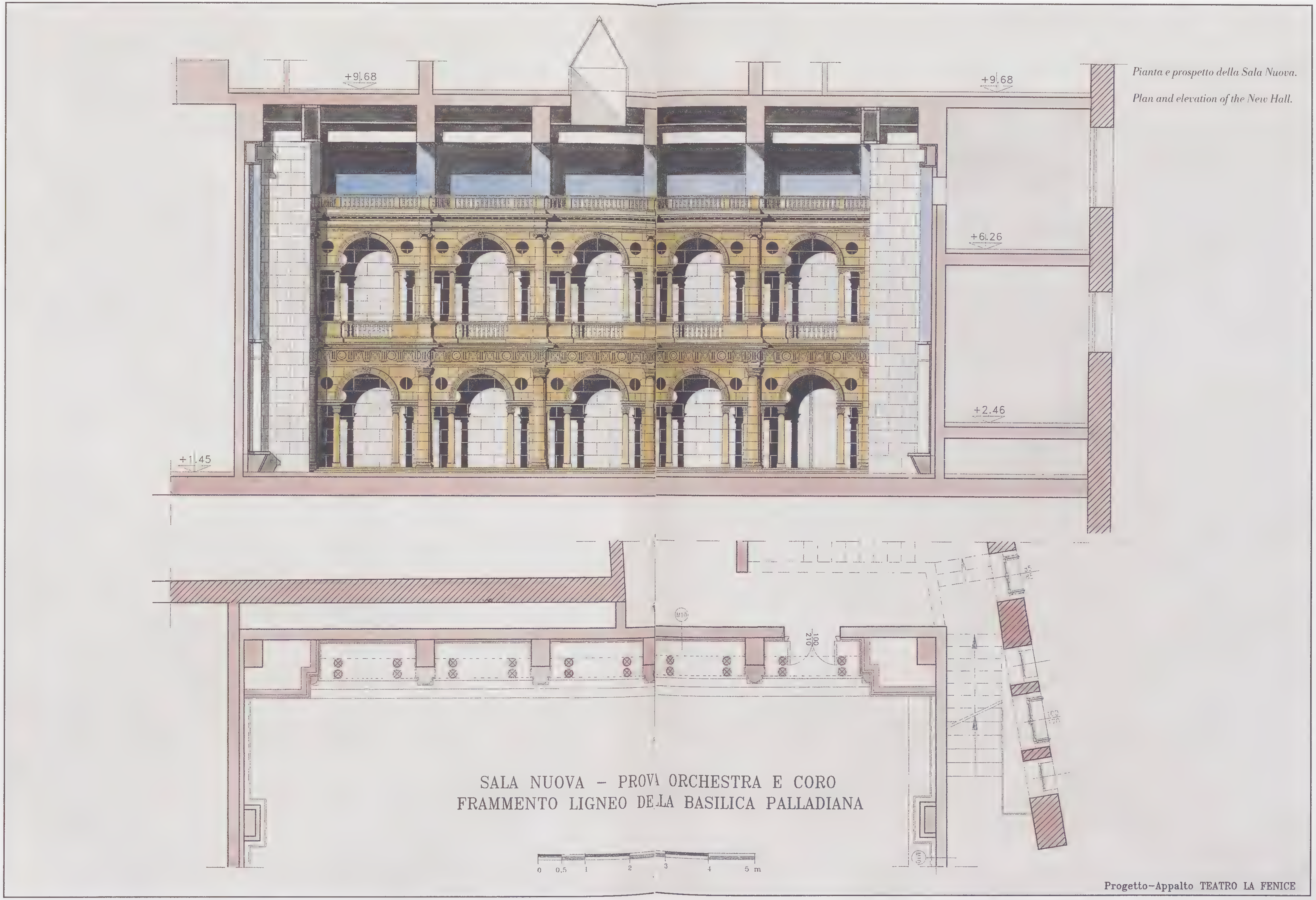

PROSPETTO SULLA GALLERIA
PROSPETTO LATERALE
PIANTA A QUOTA +1.45
PIANTA A QUOTA +6.26
SALA NUOVA - PROVA ORCHESTRA E CORO
Progetto-Appalto TEATRO LA FENICE


IMPIANTI
CENTRALE TERMICA
UNITA' TRATTAMENTO ARIA
- Servizi
- Sale prova coro
COPERTURA PALCOSCENICO
GRATICCIO
graticcio
ALA NORD
IMPIANTI
UNITA' TRATTAMENTO ARIA
- Golfo mistico
- Studi insonorizzati
- Pachi
- Ridotto
- Apollinee
- Foyer P.T
SALE APOLLINEE
IMPIANTI
UNITA' TRATTAMENTO ARIA
- Sala prova regia-ballo
- Sala Grande
ENTRATA
AL TEATRO
Campo S. Fantin
Piano, Sala delle esposizioni
Piano, Ridotto, Prova regia e ballo
1° Piano, Foyer, Sala Grande Apollinee
P.T., Ingresso, Foyer
INGRESSO
DI SERVIZIO
dalla Calle de la Fenice
IMPIANTI
UNITA' TRATTAMENTO ARIA
- Uffici
- Sala Nuova
SOFFITTONE
ALA SUD
CORPO SERVIZI
AL PALCOSCENICO
Laboratori, camerini, sale prova coro
CORPO UFFICI
Palchi, galleria, loggione
680 posti
PALCOSCENICO
MOVIMENTAZIONE SCENE
Sottoportego
S. Cristoforo
UFFICI
Amministrativo - artistico
IMPIANTI
IMPIANTO ELETTRICO P.T.
- Gruppo elettrogeno
Cabina di trasformazione
media-bassa tensione
- Cabina ricezione Enel
- Locali quadri
Platea 314 posti
Fossa
dell'orchestra
Sale prova
studi insonorizzati
IMPIANTI
IMPIANTO MECCANICO Q. -1.50
- Centrale frigorifera
- Centrale idrica
- Unità trattamento aria Platea
- Impianto di depurazione
scarichi
Palco mobile
SALA NUOVA Q. +1.45
Prova orchestra e coro
Musica da camera,
conferenze, incontri
INGRESSO
- Uffici
- Ingresso separato Sala Nuova
CARICO-SCARICO
Materiali scenografie
IMPIANTI Q. -1.55
- Vasca accumulo anti incendio
- Centrale di pompaggio
anti incendio
INGRESSO
del pubblico dall'acqua
Sottoportego
de la Fenice
Rio dietro la Fenice
Rio de la Fenice
SPACCATO ASSONOMETRICO
Progetto-Appalto TEATRO LA FENICE



Pianta e prospetto della Sala Nuova.

Plan and elevation of the New Hall.



Pianta e prospetto della Sala Nuova.

Plan and elevation of the New Hall.

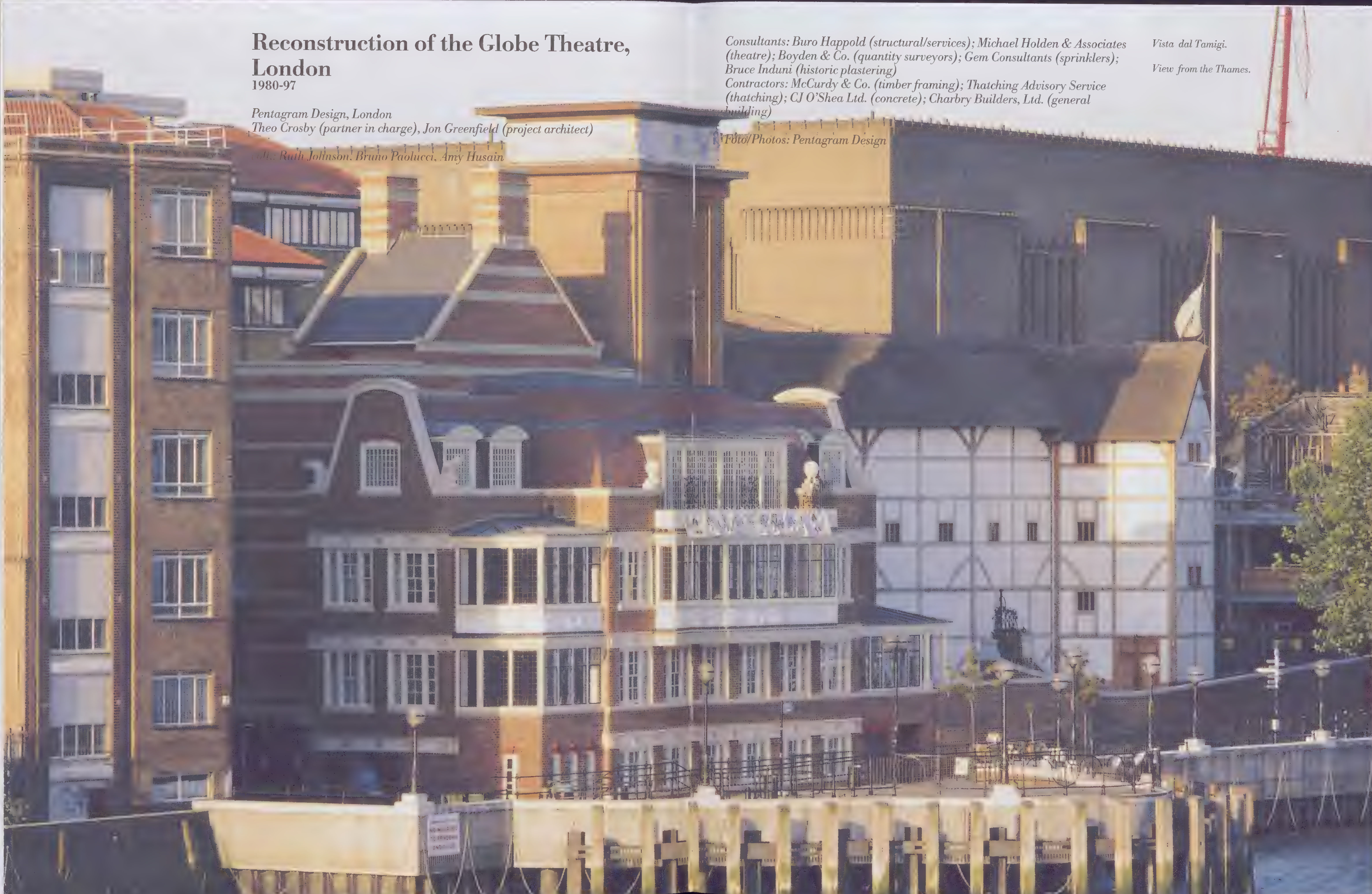
Reconstruction of the Globe Theatre, London
1980-97

Pentagram Design, London
Theo Crosby (partner in charge), Jon Greenfield (project architect)

Coll.: Ruth Johnson, Bruno Paolucci, Amy Husain

Consultants: Buro Happold (structural/services); Michael Holden & Associates (theatre); Boyden & Co. (quantity surveyors); Gem Consultants (sprinklers); Bruce Induni (historic plastering)
Contractors: McCurdy & Co. (timber framing); Thatching Advisory Service (thatching); CJ O'Shea Ltd. (concrete); Charbry Builders, Ltd. (general building)

Foto/Photos: Pentagram Design



Vista dal Tamigi.

View from the Thames.

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Foto/Photos: Pentagram Design



Vista dal Tamigi.

View from the Thames.



Theo Crosby (1925–1994) with the model of the Globe Theatre

La costruzione del Globe 1599-1995

Theo Crosby

Il Globe è il teatro più famoso del mondo, indissolubilmente legato al *Teatrum Mundi*, momento centrale del Rinascimento inglese e crogiolo di un linguaggio che si è diffuso ovunque portando echi e risonanze che ognuno riconosce e condivide.
Fu edificato con il legname recuperato dal Theatre (il primo teatro inglese commerciale, aperto al pubblico pagante, costruito nel 1576 da James Burbage), che fu trasportato attraverso il Tamigi da Shoreditch a Southwark, in un nuovo sito di fronte al Rose Theatre. Burbage aveva sperato di poter spostare la sua compagnia – "The Queen's Men" – nella più salubre località di Blackfriars e aveva speso tutto quello che aveva per trasformare in teatro la vecchia sala del convento dei frati. Ma gli abitanti del luogo si opposero. Così, poiché il contratto d'affitto del Theatre stava scadendo, egli decise di portare il Globe sulla più "progressista" sponda sud del fiume. Per finanziare questa operazione divise le quote di proprietà della compagnia con i suoi attori, fra i quali c'era Shakespeare. Il Globe riscosse un grande successo e presto eclissò il Rose.
Al Globe si tennero le prime rappresentazioni di diciassette lavori di Shakespeare e quando bruciò, nel 1613, la compagnia, che peraltro dal 1608 era riuscita a occupare anche la sede di Blackfriars, decise di ricostruirlo "*sulle stesse fondamenta e più splendido di prima*".
Il secondo Globe durò fino a quando fu ordinata la chiusura dei teatri, nel 1642, e fu demolito nel 1644. Ne restarono poche tracce visibili, ma la sua memoria sopravvive da più di trecentocinquant'anni.
L'idea di ricostruire il Globe Theatre di Shakespeare circola fin dal secolo scorso e da allora ne furono realizzate alcune pregevoli versioni. Sir Edwin Lutyens ne costruì una in occasione di una mostra nel 1912; parecchie ne furono costruite negli Stati Uniti prima della guerra. Il sito originale, in quella che nel XVII secolo era la zona dei teatri e dei divertimenti, era ormai ridotto a un labirinto di fabbriche e magazzini. Quando Sam Wanamaker fece il suo pellegrinaggio sul sacro luogo, trovò soltanto una targa di ottone sul muro di una fabbrica di birra e giurò di ricostruire la shakespeariana "O di legno".
Le bombe, una volta tanto compiacenti, avevano ripulito l'area per la quale egli intravvide quelle possibilità di sviluppo che ora si stanno mettendo in atto. Per favorirlo, concepì l'idea di creare una serie di teatri lungo la riva del fiume.
Wanamaker fece fare un modello in uno studio cinematografico e lo presentò con orgoglio all'Architectural Association, che reagì con un profondo disinteresse. Io invece fui molto attratto dalla sua idea di sviluppare un'area in modo complesso e differenziato e mi offrii di aiutarlo a migliorare e a far conoscere il progetto. Ridisegnammo il modello e lo illustrammo in un opuscolo che fu presentato alla stampa presso la New Zealand House. Ci fu una momentanea reazione positiva, poi il progetto sparì per ricomparire alcuni mesi più tardi nel Piano di Southwark. Sam aveva amici nel Labour Council: trovò presto un'area libera, i cui edifici erano stati rasi al suolo dai bombardamenti e che veniva usata come parcheggio di automobili, e propose di farne la sede di un festival estivo. Il festival si tenne nel 1971 e nel 1972, ma nel 1973 il tendone crollò durante un temporale che sommerse lo spettacolo *Antonio e Cleopatra* di Miss Redgrave. L'organizzazione andò in pezzi, ma l'idea sopravvisse. Cominciò un periodo di cinque anni di crisi, durante il quale si tentarono molte formule, tutte senza esito. Si voleva costruire il più grande teatro in onore del Bardo: ma nel frattempo furono realizzati il National Theatre e il Barbican.
Fu durante gli anni Settanta che il *flirt* di Sam con l'ambiente accademico si trasformò in un serio matrimonio. Dopo che egli ebbe deciso di costruire il primo Globe (il secondo avrebbe dovuto essere costruito a Detroit), si avviò una serie di ricerche. I lavori erano diretti da John Orrell, professore di inglese all'Università di Alberta in Canada, e del gruppo facevano parte molti altri specialisti quali Paul Nelson, Franklin Hildy, Richard Hosely, Walter Hodges e Andrew Gurr, coordinatore delle pubblicazioni.
Con una linea così definita fu possibile elaborare un meccanismo che diede buoni risultati. Il piano di massima del 1980 superò molte prove artistiche e finanziarie e praticamente è quello su cui ci si basa ancora oggi: il Globe ne è ovviamente il punto focale, ma esso prevede anche un piccolo teatro coperto per le attività invernali, un *pub* e un ristorante. Il *foyer* e i camerini collegano le varie parti e danno accesso a un vasto spazio espositivo. Questo sarà usato per lo studio del teatro del tempo di Elisabetta I e di Giacomo I, oltre che per attività di sostegno economico e per svolgere un programma educativo. Il lato ovest dell'area sarà occupato da un edificio che si collegherà alla già esistente Bankside Terrace, per salvaguardare la scala dell'area e forse anche per ottenere introiti sotto forma di affitti di appartamenti o uffici.
L'idea di una ricostruzione del Globe sembrò un po' troppo "postmoderna" agli occhi degli ideologi modernisti dell'Art Council, e fu così che ogni richiesta di sussidi restò sempre insoddisfatta. Il Globe avrebbe dovuto reggersi esclusivamente sulle proprie forze, e questa politica fu seguita anche da tutte le Amministrazioni successive. Il Governo è sempre stato prodigo di incoraggiamenti, ma non ha mai dato alcun contributo. Il progetto comunque andò avanti. Una trattativa con il Southwark Council e l'intervento di una impresa immobiliare portarono alla scelta dell'attuale area del Globe in cambio, come *planning gain*, della costruzione di circa mq 9000 di uffici in un'area contigua. Si ottenne l'approvazione del Piano, ma poco dopo il gruppo dirigente conservatore del Labour Council fu sostituito da uno di sinistra. Questo revocò l'accordo e il Globe dovette andare in giudizio. Fu un momento molto difficile, in cui fu necessario un grande coraggio: i membri del Consiglio di Amministrazione, con Sir David Orr alla guida, si accollarono personalmente le responsabilità. Alla fine il Globe vinse e ottenne il rimborso delle spese e la garanzia di un affitto per centoventicinque anni dell'area lungo il fiume. L'impresa immobiliare ebbe sette milioni di sterline. Un anno dopo Southwark vendette l'area destinata a uffici alla Midland Bank, che vi costruì un suo ufficio per le operazioni di compensazione.
Nel frattempo il Globe cominciò a raccogliere i venti milioni di sterline necessari e riuscì a metterne insieme tre. L'impresa Lovells and Taylor Woodrow partì con la costruzione di un muro di diaframma lungo il perimetro dell'area, a una profondità di circa m 12, per proteggerla dalle maree e dall'acqua sotterranea. All'interno del muro fu eseguito uno scavo e uno zatterone di calcestruzzo spesso circa m 1 fu gettato a una profondità di m 6. Poi il denaro finì, compreso un prestito di due milioni di sterline.
Seguì una pausa di diciotto mesi, finché fu perfezionato un accordo con le banche e fu fatto un tentativo di raccogliere sette milioni di sterline. Se ne ottennero soltanto quattrocentocinquantamila. Io proposi di cominciare ugualmente a costruire e il Consiglio di Amministrazione fu d'accordo. Assumemmo soltanto una persona, Ted Hampton, che era stato il nostro direttore di cantiere con Lovells e che poi era andato in pensione. Eric Vassar, in precedenza membro del Consiglio direttivo di Lovells, anch'egli in pensione, si offrì di gestire i lavori senza compenso. Così noi tre diventammo un'impresa di costruzioni. Le cose andarono sorprendentemente bene. Ai consulenti fu chiesto di lavorare senza compenso per un anno e lo fecero con buona grazia.
Dopo due anni e mezzo di costruzione autogestita abbiamo realizzato l'intera struttura di calcestruzzo e completato l'ossatura della sala del Globe. Quest'estate (1994, *N.d.R.*)saranno eseguite le finiture e le attrezzature. In inverno si edificherà la zona del palcoscenico. Il teatro dovrebbe essere terminato per l'estate del 1995. Ma siamo abituati alle sospensioni e ai ritardi: costruiamo soltanto quando c'è denaro in banca.
Questa altalena di grandi sforzi, di speranze e di profondi scoramenti è il naturale preludio a un impresa che tenta di portare avanti molte iniziative complesse e interdipendenti. Dal

punto di vista della programmazione urbana, essa darà vita a un nuovo monumento, un magnete che darà respiro alle altre attrazioni turistiche della città, sovraffollate e al limite della saturazione. Londra ha attualmente venti milioni di visitatori all'anno e il loro numero è in continua ascesa. Lo sviluppo industriale del XXI secolo sarà imperniato sul tempo libero, l'educazione e la cultura.
Il Globe fa parte di questa nuova industria e la ricaduta sulla zona che lo ospita, in termini di posti di lavoro, qualità della vita e sotto molti altri aspetti, sarà immensa. In questo senso esso avrà un impatto anche più importante di quello della maggior parte dei *Grands Projets* parigini.
Dal punto di vista architettonico, il Globe tenta un gioco parimenti complesso. Ricreare due teatri perduti: l'ultimo grande anfiteatro e il primo teatro commerciale coperto.
Il Cockpit o Phoenix Theatre di Inigo Jones, i cui disegni sono conservati presso il Worcester College, sarà ricostruito vicino al Globe. Esso sopravvisse alla Rivoluzione e nel 1666 fu dotato del primo arco di proscenio e del primo scenario mobile della storia del teatro commerciale, realizzati da John Webb in occasione delle recite di una compagnia di giro francese. È l'antenato del teatro moderno. Questi due edifici definiscono la scala del complesso, che è un esperimento con il tempo, quasi come San Pancrazio o la Corte di Giustizia, che puntano sul gioco dell'edificio d'epoca e della varietà architettonica per aggiungere spessore di significati e di interesse. Un esperimento di questo genere, condotto da Quinlan Terry a Richmond, ha conseguito uno straordinario successo di pubblico.
Prioritariamente, tuttavia, il Globe non ha a che fare né con il turismo né con l'architettura. Ha a che fare con l'essenza del teatro, i metodi di recitazione, le tecniche della messa in scena, e con il tentativo di rappresentare le opere di Shakespeare e dei suoi contemporanei negli spazi teatrali per i quali esse furono scritte. In questo senso è un viaggio di scoperta – come le incursioni nella musica antica suonata con strumenti originali – proprio nel momento in cui l'arte tradizionale dell'attore sta perdendosi nella televisione. Il Globe diventerà un "deposito" di capacità professionali, una perpetua sfida per l'attore. È già possibile percepire lo spazio e la qualità di questa sala. Conterrà millecinquecento spettatori e ogni posto disterà dal palcoscenico non più di dodici metri, in un'atmosfera di intensa concentrazione.
Il Globe avrà una sua compagnia: una compagnia di membri-soci si è già formata. Essa è composta da trenta noti attori e registi, che opereranno le scelte artistiche e hanno promesso di lavorarvi. Il programma educativo è in essere da parecchi anni e offre conferenze e lezioni, laboratori e corsi estivi nel museo e nel piccolo teatro di Bear Gardens. Questo programma, con il suo sistema di passaggi e di scambi con altre scuole del Regno Unito e della Germania, crescerà.
Il recente riconoscimento di Shakespeare come uno dei massimi caposaldi della cultura universale significa un flusso enorme di visitatori e di spettatori. Già parecchie centinaia di scuole fanno parte della organizzazione di supporto, il Globe Link.
In breve, il Globe sarà un organismo complesso e vivace, e sarà autentico per quel tanto che la cultura mondiale sarà capace di fare. Ogni fase dei disegni di progetto, infatti, viene inviata a un folto gruppo di specialisti: accademici, archeologi, ingegneri e attori. Essi vengono alle riunioni e si fanno sentire. Noi facciamo e rifacciamo, ma le cose vanno avanti.
La morte di Sam Wanamaker lo scorso anno è stata un duro colpo. Era instancabile, pieno di energia, determinato fino all'ossessione. Ha lasciato un vuoto che è stato riempito da molte figure relativamente nuove: Sir Michael Perry CBE, Sir Peter Hall e altri, che stanno validamente portando avanti il suo lavoro.
Il prossimo anno venite a vedere un teatro elisabettiano in costruzione, una costruzione splendidamente realizzata da Peter McCurdy con autentico legno di quercia e giunti perfetti, con intonaco e graticci di paglia. Peter Streete, che costruì il Globe nel 1599, lo fece in minor tempo, è vero, ma si spera che questo Globe possa durare molto più a lungo.

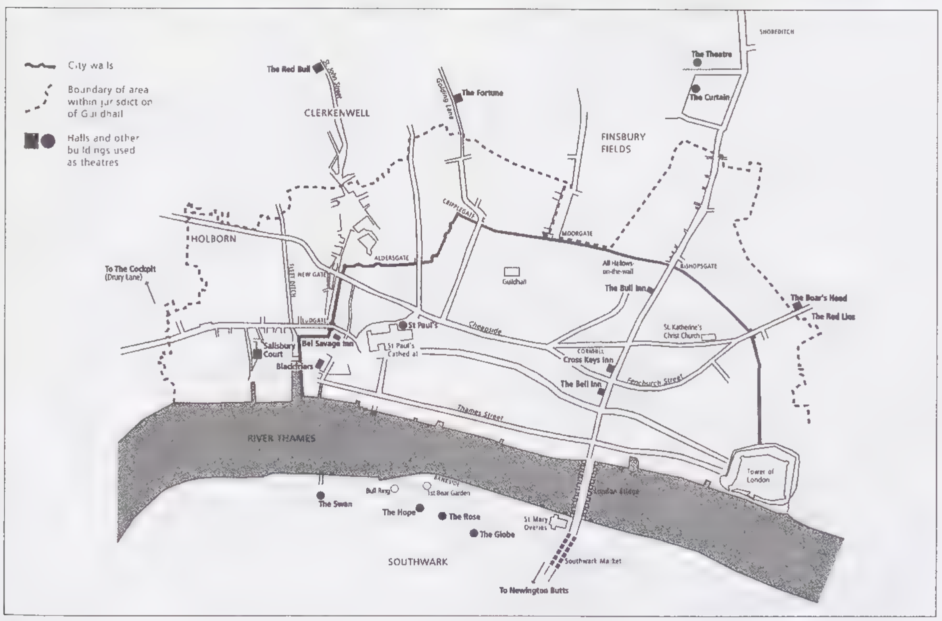
* Questo testo è stato scritto da Theo Crosby per un articolo apparso su "The Sotheby's Journal" il 16 giugno 1994.

Building the Globe 1599-1995
Theo Crosby

The Globe is the world's most famous theatre, inextricably linked to the greatest playwright, the Teatrum Mundi, *the focus of the English Renaissance and the crucible of a language that has swept the world. It carries resonances and echoes that everyone shares and recognises.*
It was built with the salvaged timbers of the Theatre, (the first commercial theatre in England built in 1576 by James Burbage), which were transported across the Thames from Shoreditch to a new site opposite the Rose Theatre in Southwark. Burbage had hoped to move his company "The Queen's Men" into the Blackfriars, a more salubrious neighbourhood, and had spent his all on converting the old monastic hall into a theatre. In the event the neighbours prevented his occupation and, as the lease of the Theatre was running out, he decided to move the Globe to the more liberal South bank, to the Liberty of the Clink. To finance the move he shared the equity with his actors, of whom Shakespeare was one. The Globe was a great success and soon eclipsed the Rose.
It saw the first performances of 17 of Shakespeare's plays and when it burned down in 1613 the Company, which since 1608 had been able to occupy the profitable Blackfriars, decided to rebuild it: "on the same foundations and more splendid than before". *The second Globe survived until the closing of the theatres in 1642 and was demolished in 1644. It left few visible traces, but an indelible memory survives across those 350 years.*
The idea of reconstructing Shakespeare's Globe Theatre has been around since the 19th century and several distinguished attempts were made. Sir Edwin Lutyens made a version for an exhibition in 1912 and several were built in the US before the War. The original site, in the 17th century theatre and entertainment district, remained a maze of factories and warehouses. When Sam Wanamaker made his pilgrimage to the hallowed place he found only a brass plaque on a brewery wall and vowed he would rebuild Shakespeare's "wooden O". The kindly bombs had largely cleared the area and he could see that there would one day be that tide of development that has now come to pass. He had a brilliant idea, to establish a chain of theatres along Bankside, to leaven this development.
Sam had a model made in the film studio and proudly showed it at the Architectural Association, to a profound disinterest. I was intrigued by the idea of complex, mixed development and offered to help him improve and publicise the project. We redesigned the model, produced a booklet and it was shown to the press at the top of New Zealand House. There was a momentary, favourable reaction







Dettaglio della Long View of London *di Wenceslaus Hollar, 1647, che mostra il Globe e il Beere Bayting con i nomi erroneamente invertiti.*
Sovrapposizione del disegno prospettico di Wenceslaus Hollar, West part o[f] Southwarke, *su una pianta topografica moderna della città di Londra. Da John Orrel,* The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe, *1983.*
Localizzazione dei teatri elisabettiani nella pianta della città di Londra: The Theatre (1576); Newington Butts (1576); St. Paul's (1576); The first Blackfriars (1576); The Curtain (1577); The Rose (1587); The Swan (1595); The second Blackfriars (1596); The Globe (1599); The Fortune (1600); The Boar's Head (1600); The Red Bull (1604); The Hope (1614); The Cockpit (1616); The Salisbury Court (1629).

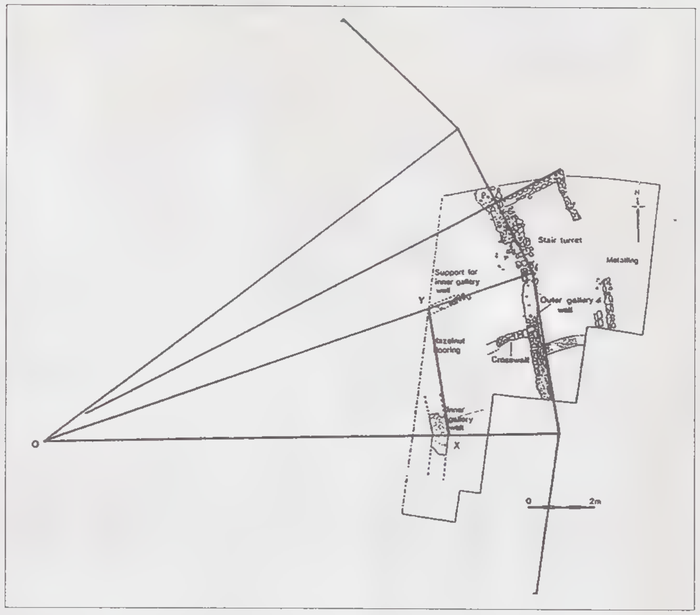
Detail of Wenceslaus Hollar's Long View of London, *1647, showing the Globe and the Beere Bayting with their names mistakenly transposed.*
Superimposition of the perspective drawing by Wenceslaus Hollar, West part o[f] Southwarke, *on a modern topographic map of London's city. From John Orrel,* The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe, *1983.*
Location of the Elisabethan theatres on London's city plan: The Theatre (1576); Newington Butts (1576); St. Paul's (1576); The first Blackfriars (1576); The Curtain (1577); The Rose (1587); The Swan (1595); The second Blackfriars (1596); The Globe (1599); The Fortune (1600); The Boar's Head (1600); The Red Bull (1604); The Hope (1614); The Cockpit (1616); The Salisbury Court (1629).

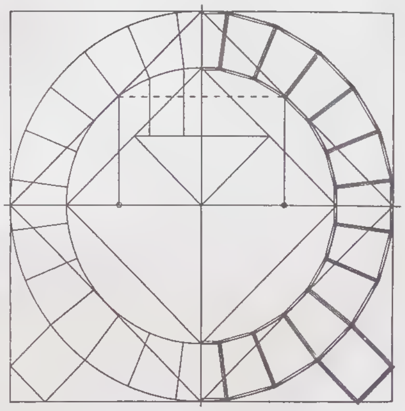
and the project disappeared, to resurface some months later in the Southwark Plan. Sam had friends in the Labour Council and he soon found a vacant bombed site, used as a carpark and proposed a Summer Festival. These took place in 1971 and 1972, but the tent collapsed in 1973 in a rainstorm, quite drowning Miss Redgrave's "Anthony & Cleopatra". The organisation was bankrupt, but it survived.
A five year depression began, during which many schemes were tried, tested and died. The idea had been, to begin with, to build the greatest new theatre to honour the Bard, but meanwhile the National Theatre and the Barbican came into being.
It was during the 1970's that Sam's flirtation with the academic scene developed into a serious marriage. He decided to build the first Globe (the second was to be built in Detroit) and a whole wave of academic research began to roll. This was headed by John Orrell, professor of English at the University of Alberta in Canada, and included many other specialists such as Paul Nelson, Franklin Hildy, Richard Hosely, Walter Hodges and Andrew Gurr who co-ordinated the papers.
With a definite direction established it was possible to work out a mechanism of related uses that would make a viable institution. The basic plan of 1980 has survived many artistic and financial tests and remains much the same today: the Globe as centrepiece, a small covered theatre for winter activities, related to a pub and restaurant. Foyer and dressing rooms link these elements and provided access to a large exhibition space. This latter would explore the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatrical phenomenon, and also establish the economic dynamic to subsidise the theatres, and an educational programme.
The west side of the site will be a building to meld the scheme into the existing Bankside Terrace, to preserve the scale, and perhaps to provide revenue as flats or offices.
The idea of a reconstruction was a rather too post-modern a concept for the modernist idealogues in the Arts Council, so that any gentle suggestions for a subsidy were always turned down flat. The Globe would have to manage on its own steam, a policy followed by all subsequent administrations. The government has always been full of encouragement but has never contributed.
The project, however, moved on. A negotiation with Southwark Council and a developer led to the present riverside site being dedicated to the Globe as a "planning gain" for a 100,000 sq ft office building adjoining. Planning Approval was obtained, but the right wing Labour Council was shortly afterwards replaced by a left wing version.
They withdrew from the contract so the Globe had to sue. It was a moment for immense courage, the Trustees led by Sir David Orr were personally responsible for the outcome. In the event the Globe won, with costs and were guaranteed a 125 year lease of the riverside site. The developers were paid £7m. A year later Southwark sold the office site to the Midland Bank who have built a cheque clearing factory.
Meanwhile the Globe began to raise the £20m required and managed about £3m. Lovells and Taylor Woodrow made a start with the diaphragm wall, 40ft deep around the site perimeter to keep out the tides and ground water. The enclosed earth was excavated and a 3ft 6ins concrete base slab was laid 20ft below ground, just as the money ran out, including a borrowed £2million.
There followed an 18 month interregnum until an arrangement was made with the banks and an attempt was made to raise £7m. This achieved only £450,000.
I proposed we begin building anyway and the Trustees were persuaded. We hired a single man, Ted Hampton, who had been our site foreman for Lovells and retired. Eric Vassar, a former board member of Lovells (also retired) volunteered to manage the works so the three of us became a building company. The work has gone astonishingly well and astonishingly efficiently. The consultants were asked to work without fees for a year, which they did with good grace.
After two and a half years of Self Build we have the main concrete structure in place, and the framework of the Globe auditorium is complete. It is being clad and fitted out this summer (1994). This winter will see the stage house rising and the theatre should be complete in the summer of 1995. But we are used to stoppages and delay; we only build if there
is money in the bank.
This saga of earnest endeavour, wild hopes and deepest tragedy is a fitting prelude to a remarkable enterprise which tries to do many complex, interlocking things. In planning terms it provides a new monument, a magnet to relieve our overworked and overrun tourist attractions. London now has 20 million visitors each year and the numbers grow steadily.
The 21st century growth industry will be entertainment and education, epitomised by a good day out at a cultural venue. The Globe is a part of this new industry, and the consequences for the area, in jobs, quality of life and much else are immense. In this sense it will work rather more effectively than most of the Paris Grands Projets.
Architecturally it attempts an equally complex game: the re-creation of two missing theatres, the last great amphitheatre and the first commercial covered theatre. Inigo Jones' Cockpit or Phœnix Theatre, for which drawings survive at Worcester College, will be rebuilt adjoining the Globe. It survived the Revolution and in 1666 saw the first proscenium arch and moving scenery fitted in the commercial theatre, by John Webb for a visiting French company. It is the ancestor of

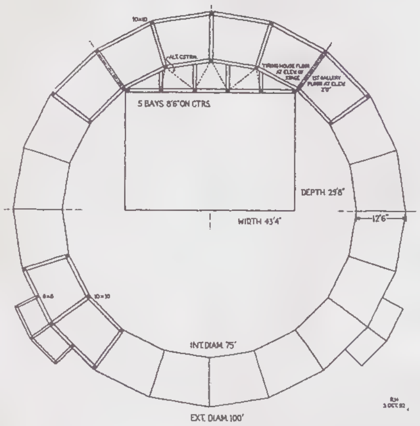
Resti delle fondazioni del Rose Theatre scoperti nel 1989.
Foto A. Fulgoni/Museum of London.
Ricostruzione geometrica delle misure del Globe basata sulla bisezione degli angoli formati dai muri di fondazione scoperti nel 1989. Il diametro della circonferenza esterna (galleria) è di m 30.48 (100 piedi).
Rilievo dei resti archeologici delle fondazioni del Globe scoperti nel 1989 e costruzione geometrica del teatro come poligono di 20 lati inscritto in una circonferenza di m 30.48 di diametro.
Costruzione geometrica ad quadratum *del Globe con 24 lati.*
Ricostruzione del Globe di Richard Hosley come poligono di 20 lati inscritto in una circonferenza di m 30.48 di diametro (1992).

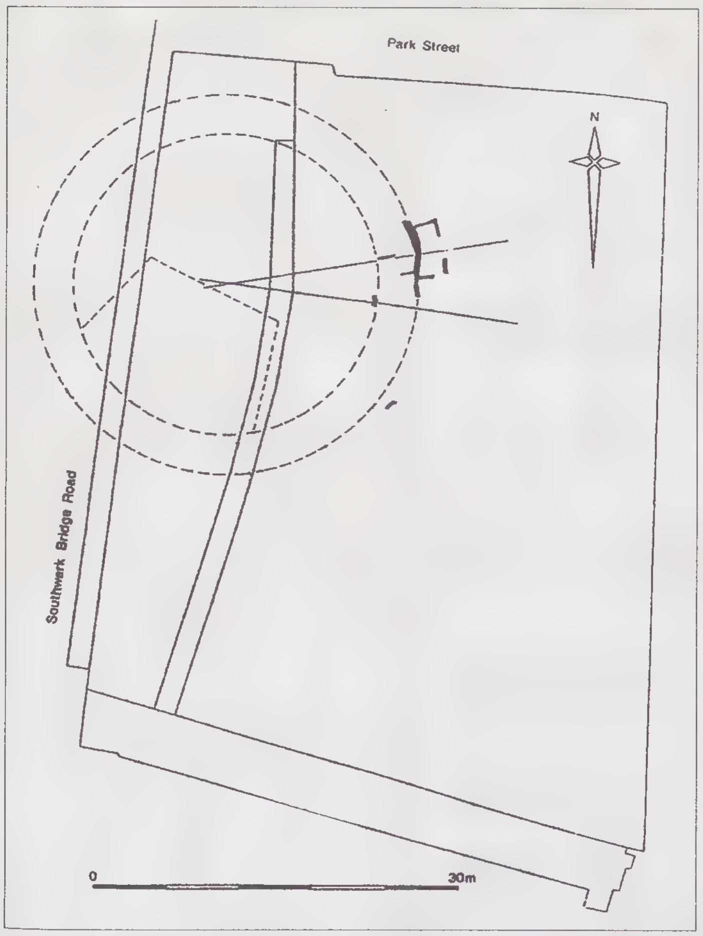
Remains of the foundations of the Rose Theatre discovered in 1989.
Photo A. Fulgoni/Museum of London.
Configuration of the Globe based on bisecting the angles of the theatre's foundations discovered in 1989. The resultant gallery circle is 100 feet in diameter.
Survey of the archaeological remains of the Globe foundations discovered in 1989 and configuration of the theatre as a 20-sided polygon inscribed in a circle of 100 feet in diameter.
Ad quadratum *setting-out of the Globe as a 24-sided polygon.*
Reconstructive drawing by Richard Hosley of the Globe as a 20-sided polygon inscribed in a circle of 100 feet in diameter (1992).




Stair turret
Metalling
Support for inner gallery wall
Y
Outer gallery & wall
Crosswall
X
Inner gallery wall
0
2m

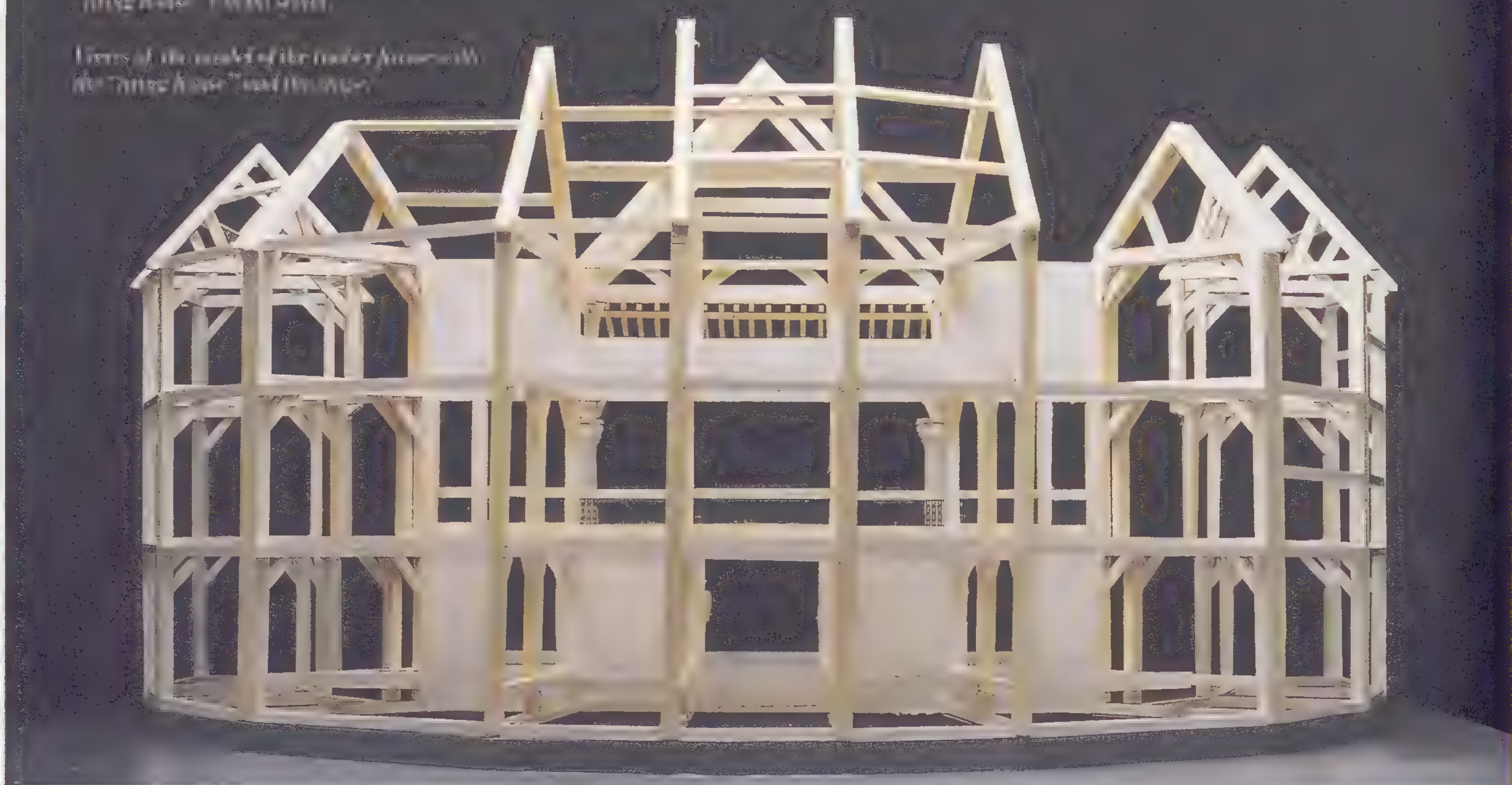



5 BAYS 8'6" ON CTRS.
DEPTH 25'8"
WIDTH 43'4"
12'6"
INT. DIAM. 75'
EXT. DIAM. 100'

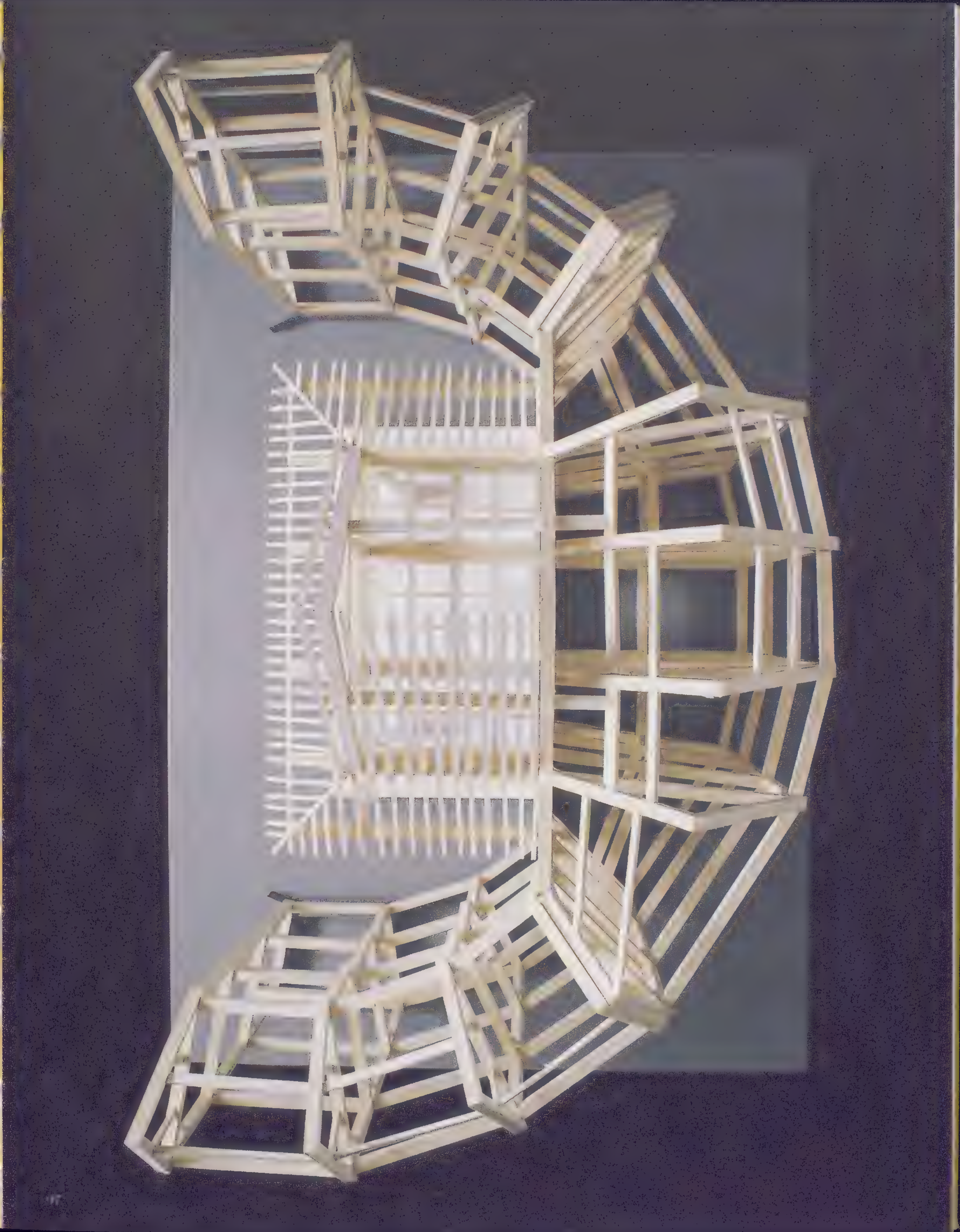

Park Street
N
Southwark Bridge Road
0
30m

[illegible] "tiring house" [illegible]

Views of the model of the timber frame with the "tiring house" and the stage.







the modern theatre. These two buildings set the scale of the complex, which is an experiment with time, rather in the same way as St. Pancras, or the Law Courts plays the game of period and variety of form, to add another layer of meaning and interest to the building. An experiment of this kind, by Quinlan Terry at Richmond is an astonishing, popular success.
The Globe is not, however, primarily about either tourism or architecture. It is about the nature of the theatre, about acting method and staging techniques, about testing the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the theatres they were written for. In this sense it is a voyage of discovery, like the forays into early music and original instruments, at the very moment when the traditional acting skills are being lost to television. The Globe will become a repository of skills, a perpetual challenge to the actor. It is already possible to feel the space and quality of this remarkable auditorium. It will hold 1500 spectators, none further than 40ft from the stage, in an atmosphere of intense concentration.
The Globe will have its own company and a company of sharers has already been formed. This consists of 30 well known actors and directors, who will choose the programmes and have promised to play in them.
The educational programme has been under way for many years, providing lectures and lecturers, workshops and summer schools in the existing Bear Gardens museum and tiny theatre. This programme, with its outreach and exchange system with schools in the UK and Germany, will grow. The recent recognition of Shakespeare as a major cultural asset means a flow of visitors to the exhibition and to the performances. Already several hundred schools have joined the Globe Link support organisation.
In short, it will be complex and lively and it will be as authentic as world scholarship can make it. Every stage of the drawings goes to a wide circle of specialists: academics, archæologists, engineers and actors. They come to conferences and are vociferous. We go away and do it all again, but it moves.
Sam Wanamaker's death last year was a great blow to the enterprise. He was tireless, energetic, obsessed. He left a vacuum which has been filled by many relatively new players: Sir Michael Perry CBE, Sir Peter Hall and others who are boldly carrying on his work. Come to the site in the next year to see an Elizabethan theatre being built, and built beautifully by Peter McCurdy with real oak and perfect joints, with plaster and thatch. Peter Streete, who built the Globe in 1599 did it quicker, but hopefully this one is going to last a lot longer.

** This text was written by Theo Crosby for an article appeared in "The Sotheby's Journal", 16 June 1994.*

Progetto come ricostruzione: ricostruzione come progetto
Jon Greenfield

È chiaro che la ricostruzione di un edificio scomparso quattrocento anni fa non può avvalersi di tecniche moderne. Nell'edificio originale, costruito artigianalmente, ogni parte era modellata dall'abilità e dalla sagace perizia della mano dell'uomo: i lavori più difficili erano eseguiti dagli artigiani più capaci ed esperti, quelli più semplici dagli apprendisti. Ovviamente anche la nostra ricostruzione doveva essere realizzata in modo artigianale, ma soprattutto doveva fondarsi sulla conoscenza specifica di una tecnica edilizia scomparsa in Inghilterra intorno al 1830.
Anche l'esito del processo progettuale era quindi insolito: esso non consisteva, come di consueto, in una serie di precise specifiche e di dettagli ben definiti, accompagnati dall'ordine all'impresa appaltatrice di non discostarsi dai documenti contrattuali. La fase finale del nostro progetto per il Globe è consistita invece in ore e ore di discussioni con la McCurdy & Co.: in esse sono state utilizzate le vaste conoscenze e l'esperienza pratica in strutture lignee antiche di Peter McCurdy e l'attiva partecipazione degli artigiani alla definizione dei particolari.
Come risulterà da questo scritto, il progetto è stato avviato da studiosi e ultimato da artigiani: visto che esso implicava molte altre discipline, che cosa restava da fare all'architetto?
Già alla fine degli anni Sessanta, prima che il suo futuro *partner* Theo Crosby fosse coinvolto nel progetto, Sam Wanamaker collaborava con un architetto. L'attività architettonica si è sviluppata quindi nell'arco di un trentennio, sforzandosi di mantenere una continuità tra la concezione iniziale del Teatro e l'esecuzione dell'ultimo incastro a tenone e mortasa. Occorreva assicurarsi che le fantasie teoriche non allontanassero la ricostruzione dalle tecniche edilizie possibili nel 1600 e che le considerazioni pratiche non la rendessero troppo opaca e banale.
L'architetto ha avuto dunque il ruolo di permettere e di garantire che la concezione potesse essere attuata e che nell'edificio finito fossero rappresentate tutte le discipline specialistiche pertinenti.

La struttura lignea, le due campate e il seguito
Nel 1992 Peter McCurdy ed io – ossia il maestro carpentiere e l'architetto – decidemmo di ricostruire nei minimi dettagli due intere campate del Globe Theatre, in un momento in cui le scoperte archeologiche avevano rimesso in discussione il progetto generalmente adottato[1]. Nella sua relazione alla conferenza di Atlanta del febbraio 1990, dopo la scoperta delle fondamenta del Globe, John Orrell aveva esposto "*alcune conclusioni provvisorie dedotte da questi scarsi resti*"[2]. Non potevamo andare oltre tali conclusioni, sia pure non definitive, e le usammo come impostazione di base per le due campate; poco dopo le conclusioni divennero meno provvisorie e furono adottate per l'intero progetto di ricostruzione. Le ipotesi allora fatte sulla forma dell'anfiteatro sono rimaste valide e le successive occasioni di riesaminare il progetto della struttura lignea hanno portato a suffragare le conclusioni relative alle due campate; la costruzione delle rimanenti tredici, dal 1993 al 1995, ha riprodotto lo schema modulare seguito nelle prime due.

La distribuzione
Lo schema planimetrico del Teatro era passato da un poligono di 24 campate a uno di 20 campate uguali inscritto in un cerchio di m 30.48 (100 piedi) di diametro. La distanza tra due lati opposti della struttura di 20 lati (misurata tra le facce esterne) è di m 30.10. Sia i resti del basamento del Globe che il contratto del Fortune Theatre indicano una larghezza della galleria di m 3.81 e quindi un diametro del cerchio inscritto (cioè dell'arena) di m 22.48 (m 30.10–m 3.81–m 3.81= m 22.48): risultato molto importante se consideriamo, come faremo qui, l'uso di una geometria *ad quadratum* per stabilire le dimensioni dell'arena. Nella sua analisi iniziale dei resti Orrell fu il primo a indicare che il diametro del Globe e la larghezza della galleria dedotti dalle rovine non sembravano concordare con l'impostazione *ad quadratum* che era stata fin allora alla base della ricostruzione: "*Se è vero, ciò dimostra che il Globe non fu progettato* ad quadratum, *come ho spesso sostenuto, perché una disposizione* ad quadratum *in un teatro di m 30.48 di diametro avrebbe fornito una larghezza della galleria maggiore di circa cm 90 rispetto a quella di m 3.81*"[3].
Prima della scoperta archeologica l'*ad quadratum* era stato un principio ordinatore fondamentale per il Teatro. Si tratta di un metodo per collegare tra loro i diametri di due cerchi concentrici mediante un quadrato inscritto nel cerchio maggiore e circoscritto al cerchio minore: si riteneva che nei teatri questo principio definisse la relazione tra l'anello interno e quello esterno alle gallerie. Nonostante i dubbi iniziali di Orrell, successive considerazioni sulla struttura tridimensionale mostrarono che l'*ad quadratum* poteva essere ancora un fattore essenziale della disposizione del Teatro. Un'esauriente analisi geometrica è stata eseguita sulle piante dei frammenti superstiti del basamento, deludenti quanto alla precisione geometrica perché appartenenti a fondazioni scavate col piccone e il badile. Questi studi tendevano a concentrare l'analisi solo sugli elementi inferiori della struttura, i telai di base. Ma Peter Streete, carpentiere

capo del Globe, deve aver avuto fin dall'inizio una visione più ampia: la sua prima azione, dopo aver abbattuto gli alberi e averli trasformati in travi, dev'essere stata quella di disporre contemporaneamente i telai di base e quelli di sommità, ossia gli elementi della struttura posti più in basso e quelli posti più in alto, sotto le capriate del tetto. In tal modo egli deve aver stabilito i punti di riferimento dell'estremità inferiore e di quella superiore, da cui partire per disporre tutti gli elementi verticali interposti. Peter Streete ebbe dunque in mente due insiemi di dimensioni di uguale importanza, quello dei telai di base e quello dei telai di sommità.
L'eventuale presenza nell'anello interno di aggetti ai vari piani implica che la disposizione dei telai di sommità e di quelli di base poteva essere alquanto diversa: ciò appare evidente se si applica la disposizione *ad quadratum* ai telai di sommità invece che a quelli di base. Impiegando l'*ad quadratum* risulta un diametro di m 21.55 tra vertici opposti e una distanza di m 21.28 tra due lati opposti. La trave interna del telaio di sommità è quindi spostata verso l'arena di cm 60 rispetto alla trave interna del telaio di base, e questa differenza può essere spiegata con due aggetti, ciascuno di cm 30 (nel contratto del Fortune Theatre erano previsti due aggetti di cm 25). Siamo convinti che questo fosse il metodo con cui Peter Streete lavorava, applicando la geometria *ad quadratum* al telaio di sommità e variandone poi le dimensioni fino a quello di base.
Questi calcoli, abbastanza complessi, mettono in luce le capacità matematiche di Peter Streete. Dopo aver determinato con grande precisione le misure dei telai di base e di sommità da costruire nel suo cantiere, e forse dopo aver anche tagliato i tronchi, Streete deve aver assunto un gruppo di operai per scavare e collocare le fondamenta secondo la disposizione da lui prevista e tracciata. È un peccato che le nostre conoscenze siano limitate a quest'unica operazione, che è la meno accurata fra tutte quelle su cui potrebbero fondarsi le nostre teorie.
A questo punto è importante soffermarsi a considerare la precisione con cui devono lavorare i carpentieri che costruiscono strutture lignee. Molte strutture di quercia sopravvissute hanno dai trecento ai cinquecento anni e sono state soggette al deterioramento naturale o a quello causato da incendi, insetti, cedimenti del terreno o modifiche sconsiderate. Tutti i principali elementi strutturali delle antiche strutture lignee inglesi sono formati da travi "*boxed heart*", ossia da tronchi la cui sezione circolare è stata ridotta a quadrata, mantenendo il nucleo centrale di anelli. Gli artigiani dell'età elisabettiana, non abituati allo spreco, sfruttavano il più possibile l'albero, utilizzando anche l'alburno, meno durevole, e forse, per gli elementi secondari, addirittura un po' di corteccia. Le strutture superstiti presentano spesso un deterioramento dell'alburno, per cui gli elementi hanno spigoli irregolari e smussati: ciò ha favorito l'erronea opinione corrente che si tratti di opere grossolane, con incastri poco accurati. In origine gli elementi non erano tagliati così, ma avevano sezioni ben definite e incastri molto solidi, specialmente negli elementi principali, come quelli dei telai di base e di sommità.
Grazie alle moderne segatrici siamo abituati a ottenere facilmente sezioni perfettamente squadrate e ciò porta spesso a un altro malinteso sull'accuratezza delle strutture lignee tradizionali. I tronchi "*boxed heart*" venivano smussati con la scure a manico curvo e le loro facce erano lisciate con l'accetta. Gli elementi secondari erano anch'essi ricavati da tronchi "*boxed heart*" e venivano segati a metà per lungo; quelli minori venivano segati per lungo una seconda volta, ossia ridotti in quarti. Tutto ciò era eseguito a mano: come ogni oggetto artigianale, gli elementi avevano piccole deviazioni e ondulazioni longitudinali, e non sempre le facce squadrate erano esattamente ortogonali tra loro. Ciò tuttavia non significa che il lavoro fosse poco accurato o che gli incastri fossero imperfetti, perché i carpentieri li realizzavano direttamente sugli elementi, tenendo conto delle suddette irregolarità. Questo metodo (*scribing*) è stato usato da noi per le due campate e in tutta la successiva ricostruzione.
Come si è detto, la larghezza della galleria è misurata tra le facce esterne delle pareti che la delimitano e non tra le mezzerie delle pareti stesse: in questo modo devono essere stati montati, quando la struttura fu eretta nel 1599, gli elementi che la componevano.
È fastidioso infatti per un artigiano dover stabilire continuamente una mezzeria nel prendere le misure, e non era certo questa la prassi corrente quando si lavorava sui telai di base, su quelli di sommità e sugli architravi. In quasi tutti i suoi edifici Peter Streete deve aver costruito i telai usando come riferimento una sola faccia dei vari elementi, per poi eseguire tutti gli incastri e prendere tutte le misure a partire da essa. Tutti gli elementi struttivi risultavano così esattamente allineati sulla faccia di riferimento, mentre le deviazioni e le diversità di sezione venivano trasferite sulle altre facce. Questo metodo è stato adottato nella ricostruzione di tutti i telai del Globe, ad eccezione di quelli radiali, perché in questi sarebbe apparso molto strano che gli elementi fossero "lavorati" su una sola faccia. Per i telai radiali si è deciso di discostarsi dal metodo più comune della faccia di riferimento e di usare quello meno comune degli assi di mezzeria: tutti questi telai sono stati disposti a partire dai loro assi. Un esempio notevole di questo metodo è dato dal tetto a travi sporgenti del Middle Temple Hall: ancora oggi sono visibili i segni dei coltelli da intaglio con cui nel 1562 i carpentieri marcarono gli assi degli elementi strutturali.

La datazione degli edifici adottati come prototipi nella ricostruzione

Sebbene il primo Globe risalga al 1599, per la sua costruzione furono utilizzati gli elementi del Teatro di Shoreditch (1576), trasportati (forse illegalmente) attraverso il Tamigi durante le feste di Natale del 1598. Quanta parte dell'edificio fu ricostruita senza modifiche? Quale data dobbiamo considerare nella ricerca dei prototipi? Nella sua analisi dei documenti legali riguardanti la controversia su questo "furto", Herbert Berry richiama l'attenzione sul resoconto del proprietario, Giles Allen, secondo cui l'edificio fu demolito da sedici persone: Cuthbert e Richard Burbage, Peter Streete, William Smyth (un vecchio amico dei Burbage) e dodici operai (presumibilmente dipendenti di Streete), sotto gli occhi di Ellen Burbage, madre di Cuthbert e Richard. Nel suo resoconto Allen afferma che gli uomini di Burbage cominciarono nel giorno di Santo Stefano del 1598 e impiegarono solo quattro giorni, ultimando il lavoro prima che egli riuscisse a farli sospendere da un suo procuratore: Allen infatti si trovava fuori Londra ed era troppo malato per farvi ritorno[4]. Quattro giorni sono un tempo molto breve anche per sedici uomini, e una simile celerità sembra essere stata possibile solo perché vennero smantellati ed eliminati tutti gli elementi secondari: la copertura di paglia, gli intonaci, i divisori e i sedili. In un tempo così ristretto solo la struttura principale può essere stata smontata con la cura e la sistematicità necessarie per il successivo riuso. D'altro canto il Globe ricostruito con gli elementi così recuperati fu terminato prima del 16 maggio 1599, posto che E.K. Chambers (seguendo C.W. Wallace) sia nel giusto quando identifica col Teatro la "casa" (*domus*) citata in un'inchiesta giudiziaria recante quella data. In ogni caso i lavori devono essere stati ultimati poco dopo, così che non vi fu tempo di far altro che ricostruire l'edificio di Shoreditch. Gli elementi secondari furono tutti rifatti *ex novo*, ma la struttura principale rimase la stessa. L'intervento di Peter Streete assume a questo riguardo una certa rilevanza, come ha sostenuto Irwin Smith: "*Se l'unica finalità fosse stata quella di recuperare il legname, qualsiasi squadra di demolizione non specializzata sarebbe stata in grado di smontare il teatro. Streete era uno dei più abili e richiesti imprenditori edili del suo tempo, e il fatto che sia stato chiamato prima a smontare l'edificio e poi a riassemblarlo fa supporre che gli sia stato affidato qualcosa di più di un semplice lavoro di demolizione*"[5].
Nella nostra ricerca di prototipi della struttura abbiamo quindi puntato con una certa sicurezza più sulla data 1576 che su quella 1599, anche se lo stile dell'arredo del primo

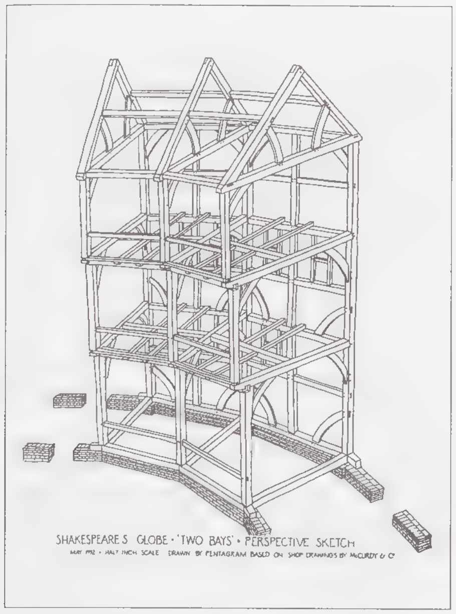
Globe è certamente posteriore.
I documenti legali del Teatro di Shoreditch indicano che l'edificio fu inaugurato nel 1576, prima ancora di essere terminato, e che nel gennaio e febbraio del 1592 ebbe bisogno di "*ulteriori lavori*", più o meno mentre Henslowe modificava sostanzialmente il Rose. Henslowe aggiunse allora al palcoscenico le colonne e la copertura, e può darsi che i Burbage abbiano fatto lo stesso al Teatro di Shoreditch. Gli accordi coinvolgevano i Burbage nella realizzazione non solo del Teatro, ma anche di un cospicuo gruppo di edifici, tra cui un enorme capannone agricolo e numerose costruzioni annesse, più volte saccheggiate per restaurare con poca spesa altri edifici, tra cui il Teatro. Tuttavia le spese sostenute nel 1592 per restaurare il Teatro (40 sterline per sei o sette settimane) non sembrano una somma sufficiente per una modifica sostanziale della struttura principale in confronto alle 700 sterline occorse per costruire l'edificio originario o alle 105 sterline spese da Henslowe per ampliare il Rose nel gennaio 1592.
Occorre quindi tener presenti i particolari costruttivi dell'ultimo quarto del Cinquecento e gli edifici costruiti nel cinquantennio che precede la data chiave del 1576: la tecnologia delle strutture lignee si sviluppò infatti lentamente, nel corso di più generazioni.
Le tecniche si tramandavano dal maestro carpentiere all'apprendista, con l'occasionale introduzione di nuovi metodi da parte di viaggiatori che li avevano appresi nei loro viaggi. Presto l'apprendimento dei metodi costruttivi italiani dai libri sarebbe diventato un aspetto importante della formazione dei costruttori e la professione di architetto sarebbe cresciuta d'importanza: ma ciò avvenne solo dopo i primi anni del Seicento, quando il Globe era ormai ultimato.

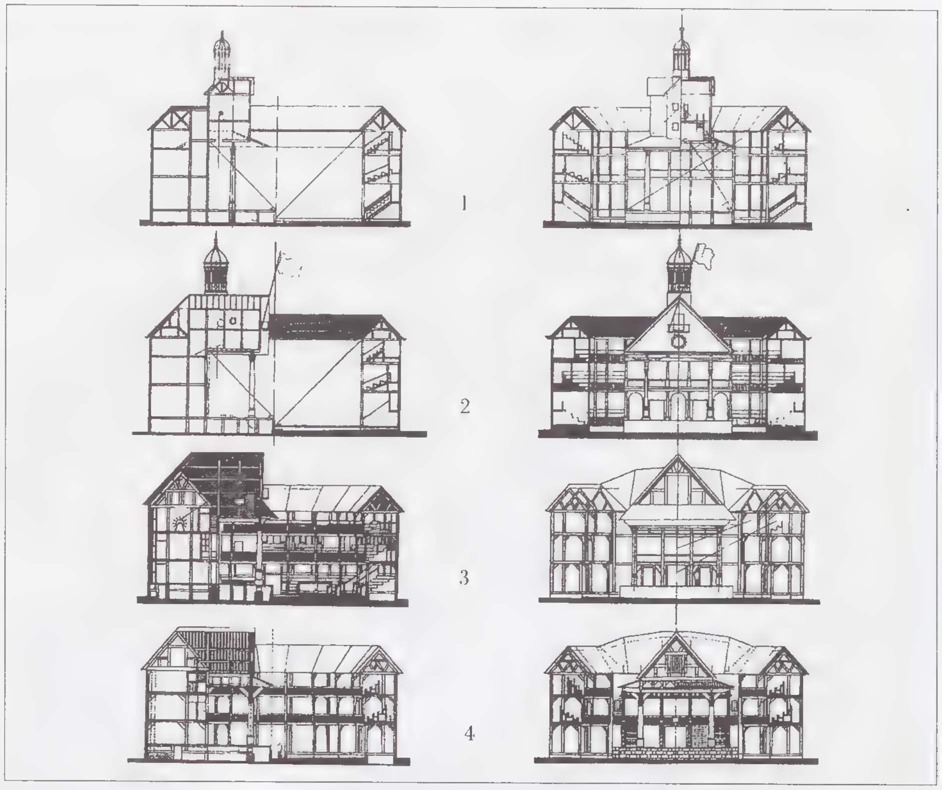
I metodi di Peter Streete

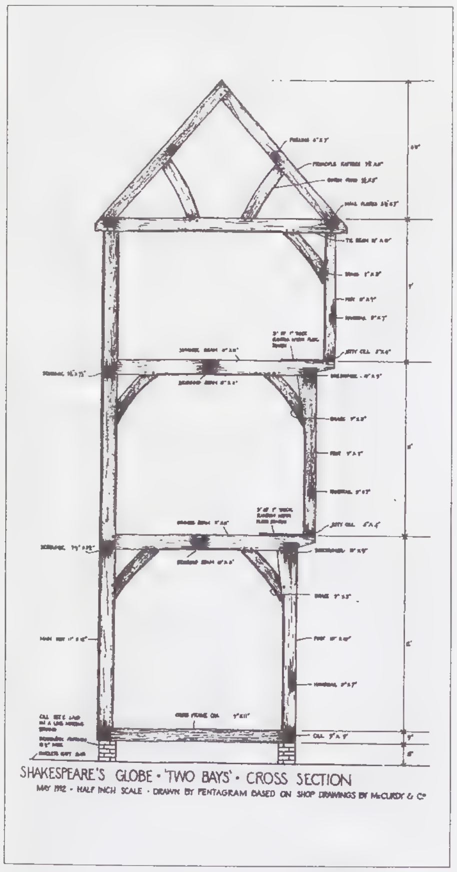
Il primo e più indicativo aspetto del lavoro di Streete è il suo collocarsi nella tradizione vernacolare. I Burbage non ricorsero né a un architetto né a un ingegnere, ma si rivolsero direttamente a un maestro carpentiere per ciò che oggi chiameremmo "un incarico di progettazione e realizzazione". Dimensioni e pianta furono concordate fra i Burbage e Streete, ma al carpentiere fu lasciata molta libertà nella tecnica esecutiva. Occorre del resto ricordare che non si trattava, come oggi, di uno fra i tanti modi di costruire, ma dell'unico modo possibile. Scrive Summerson: "*Non vi era nulla di lontanamente simile alla «professione di architetto». Quest'ultimo vocabolo era poco usato nel Cinquecento e la sua connotazione era esclusivamente ornamentale... A quanto pare, il titolo di architetto fu attribuito agli artigiani capaci di applicare a qualsiasi materiale la nuova grammatica architettonica [del rinascimento elisabettiano], o furono essi stessi ad attribuirselo. Sta di fatto che si continuava a costruire come nei secoli precedenti: il lavoro era svolto da maestri artigiani che avevano imparato il mestiere e fatto esperienza nelle cave o nelle botteghe*"[6].
In Francia e in Germania vi sono ancora piccole corporazioni specializzate in strutture lignee, molto esclusive e basate sull'apprendistato. Non è così in Gran Bretagna, dove tuttavia è stato possibile riscoprire in gran parte, soprattutto grazie alle ricerche di Peter McCurdy e del Weald & Downland Museum, i metodi inglesi tradizionali. Sarebbe fuori luogo descriverli qui nei particolari: l'uso di piani e di punti di riferimento, gli allineamenti a partire da facce segate, il tracciamento degli incastri, la scelta degli alberi, la loro trasformazione e i procedimenti usati nei cantieri dei carpentieri prima del trasferimento sul sito prescelto sono tutti argomenti complessi. Vi sono peraltro tre punti che richiedono ulteriori chiarimenti perché se ne possano cogliere gli aspetti essenziali.
Il primo punto è che la struttura veniva eretta sul posto col metodo del "pezzo dopo pezzo". Montanti, travi, travetti e puntoni erano inseriti nella struttura uno dopo l'altro, secondo un rigido schema. Tra le altre fonti, alcuni filmati che mostrano gli Amish nordamericani mentre costruiscono un capannone agricolo danno l'impressione che i telai di sommità venissero assemblati a terra e poi sollevati nella posizione finale. Questo tipo di sollevamento era comune nel Nuovo Mondo, ma non era usato in Inghilterra per gli edifici di questo tipo, in cui gli elementi strutturali venivano sollevati l'uno dopo l'altro mediante capre, gru e paranchi.
Il secondo punto è stato così riassunto da Irwin Smith: "*I falegnami del periodo Tudor sapevano bene che gli elementi uniti a incastro non erano intercambiabili, e avevano quindi cura di contrassegnare ogni elemento in modo da poterlo identificare per risistemarlo nella posizione che gli era stata assegnata e che solo esso poteva occupare*"[7].
I teatri erano edifici prefabbricati, ma non venivano costruiti come con un meccano. Gli edifici prefabbricati moderni tendono a essere un insieme di parti in cui ciascuna parte è prodotta industrialmente con dimensioni esattamente uguali; in tal caso è possibile sostituire una parte con un'altra identica proveniente da un punto analogo dell'edificio (se le campate della struttura sono modulari) o dalla medesima collocazione in un edificio simile. Nelle strutture antiche i metodi di prefabbricazione sono del tutto diversi. Si è già detto che tutti gli elementi sono tagliati o segati a mano, il che produce lievi variazioni tra un pezzo e l'altro; le sezioni degli elementi possono non essere ad angoli retti, e le loro dimensioni possono variare alquanto lungo l'elemento. In una struttura non sono quindi previsti incastri standard per travi standard, ma ciascun incastro viene tracciato per accogliere un determinato elemento, tenendo conto di tutte le sue caratteristiche e irregolarità. Pertanto in una struttura antica un elemento può essere intercambiabile solo se viene espressamente rilavorato per la sua nuova posizione. Un certo numero di incastri possono essere simili come principio (specialmente in una struttura modulare come l'anfiteatro del Globe, con le sue quindici campate uguali), ma le dimensioni esatte di ciascun elemento, e quindi di ciascun incastro, sono differenti tra loro.
In terzo luogo, la sequenza e la divisione del lavoro erano chiaramente definite. Orrell aveva già intuito le varie fasi costruttive nel contratto d'appalto del Fortune[8], accorgendosi che i termini "*eseguito, eretto e allestito*" ("*made erected and sett upp*") ed "*eseguito, eretto, allestito e completamente rifinito*" ("*made erect, settup and fully finished*") non erano soltanto, come poteva sembrare, espressioni di un linguaggio legale pletorico, ma una precisa sequenza di termini, che si adatta perfettamente ai metodi tradizionali, riscoperti di recente, di costruire "pezzo dopo pezzo". Nella terminologia di Orrell, "*eseguito*" ("*made*") indica la scelta degli alberi, l'abbattimento, la trasformazione e la formazione del telaio nel cantiere del carpentiere, forse piuttosto distante dal sito della costruzione. "*Eretto*" ("*erected*") indica l'erezione *in loco* della struttura principale (Orrell include nella fase successiva i travetti di collegamento, i controventi e le capriate, ma è più probabile che queste parti essenziali della struttura principale vadano incluse nella seconda fase). "*Allestito*" ("*sett up*") si riferisce agli elementi secondari: divisori, armatura, file di sedili, "*passaggi e divisioni interne ed esterne*", e cioè tutte le parti del Teatro di Shoreditch spietatamente eliminate per consentire un accurato smantellamento della struttura principale nel breve tempo disponibile nel Natale del 1598.
"*Completamente rifinito*" ("*fully finished*") si riferisce chiaramente all'incannicciatura, agli intonaci e alle tinteggiature.

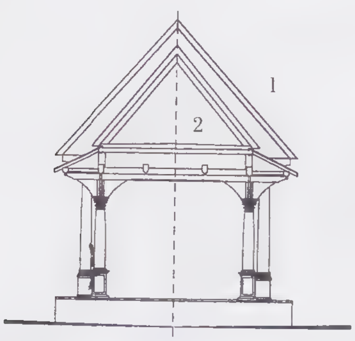
Conclusioni

Il lento avanzamento dei lavori di ricostruzione del Globe è stato frustrante per molti, ma è stato di grande aiuto nel processo di progettazione e di costruzione: il tempo si è dimostrato uno dei fattori positivi più importanti, perché ha permesso una lunga fase di consultazioni. Dopo la costruzione delle due campate (giugno 1992), tutte le decisioni sopra descritte sono state riconsiderate e valutate; tuttavia, pochissimi sono stati i cambiamenti apportati a quella che era stata assunta come la campata tipo dell'anfiteatro. Le due campate sono state trasferite in sito nel 1993 e la costruzione delle rimanenti, delle torri scalari e dell'armatura dei sedili, come pure l'intonacatura e









Prospettiva e sezione trasversale della struttura in legno.
Prospetto della scena con le variazioni introdotte nel 1996: 1) struttura realizzata in un modello al vero per la Workshop Season del 1995: l'intercolumnio è di m 10.06 e le mensole laterali sono di m 1.68 per coprire i m 13.42 di larghezza del palcoscenico; 2) effetti delle variazioni, dove l'intercolumnio è ridotto a m 8.39 comportando un incremento delle mensole a m 2.52 per parte. Due leggeri spioventi sono stati aggiunti alla base delle falde per ridurre il carico sulle mensole e per abbassare, e dunque alleggerire, la copertura della scena. Questa configurazione è stata realizzata in un modello al vero per la Prologue Season del 1996.
Le fasi di sviluppo del progetto in sezioni longitudinali e trasversali: 1) 1983, progetto basato in gran parte sulla proposta di Richard Hosley, in cui la struttura sul palcoscenico presenta una copertura a capanna; la copertura è con tegole e le gallerie sono alte m 4.11, 3.20 e 2.74; 2) 1986, progetto derivante dalla veduta di Norden del primo Globe, in cui si vede chiaramente che la struttura sul palcoscenico presenta una fronte con timpano e non una copertura a capanna; la lanterna è inclusa come riconoscimento del fatto che la copertura a tegole proveniva dalla veduta di Hollar del secondo Globe; 3) 1990, l'aver introdotto la paglia come materiale di copertura ha determinato l'aumento della pendenza del tetto da 45° a 50°; in questa fase le altezze delle gallerie sono state modificate, in conformità alle misure previste nel contratto del Fortune, in m 3.66, 3.35 e 2.74; 4) 1996, in seguito al dibattito dell'estate 1995 dopo la Workshop Season, le colonne del palcoscenico vengono spostate, l'altezza della sua copertura ridotta e viene aggiunto uno spiovente in legno.

Perspective drawing and cross section of the timber frame.
Stage elevation showing the 1996 modifications: 1) the structure that was mocked up for the Workshop Season in 1995: the columns are spaced at 33 ft between centres and there is a 5 ft 6 in. cantilever on either side to cover the full 44 ft of the stage; 2) the effect of the modifications: the column spacing was reduced to 27 ft 6 in., which increased the cantilever to 8 ft 3 in. on either side. A light pentice roof (or lean-to) was used at the lower level to both decrease the burden on the cantilever and to lower, and therefore lighten, the main stage roof. This configuration was mocked up for the Prologue Season in 1996.
The development of the design in the longitudinal and cross sections: 1) 1983, a design based largely on Richard Hosley's proposal showing a hutted stage structure; this proposal has a tiled roof and gallery heigts of 13 ft 6 in., 10 ft 6 in., and 9 ft; 2) 1986, after adopting the Norden view of the first Globe, wich clearly shows a pediment stage structure rather than a hutted structure; the lantern was included as an acknowledgment that the tiled roof came from Hollar's view of the second Globe; 3) 1990, the introduction of thatch as roofing material increased the pitch of the roof from 45° to 50°; gallery heights were also modified at this time to conform with the Fortune Contract: 12 ft, 11 ft and 9 ft; 4) 1996, following the debate in summer 1995 after the Workshop Season, the stage columns were moved together and the height of the stage roof reduced; a boarded pentice roof was also added.

l'incannicciatura, sono proseguite in maniera discontinua, secondo le disponibilità di fondi, fino al novembre 1995, quando la situazione finanziaria è cambiata.
Per il palcoscenico e per la "*tiring house*" i metodi di costruzione sono rimasti gli stessi, ma la natura del lavoro è cambiata considerevolmente. La "*tiring house*" è il più grande elemento isolato del Teatro, ma per varie ragioni è anche il più semplice. Essa riproduce, come indica il nome, un'abitazione a tre piani, senza sporti e con una copertura di circa m 7.30 di larghezza: un tipo edilizio molto comune nella Londra del 1576. La sua caratteristica più vistosa è la curvatura della parete di fondo. La copertura del palcoscenico è invece quasi senza precedenti, e l'impiego di due sole colonne per sostenere una struttura così pesante ha implicato notevoli difficoltà costruttive e una metodologia di ricerca molto diversa da quella relativa all'anfiteatro.

Note

* Questo testo è estratto da J.R. MULRYNE, M. SHEWRING (a cura di), *Shakespeare Globe Rebuilt*, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
1) Questo capitolo è ripreso, con modifiche e aggiunte, da A. GURR, R. MULRYNE, M. SHEWRING (a cura di), *The Design of the Globe*, International Globe Centre, 1993, pp. 53-88.
2) J. ORREL, *Beyond the Rose: Design Problems for the Globe Reconstruction*, in F.J. HILDY (a cura di), *New Issues in the Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Theatre*, New York 1990, p. 79.
3) *Ibid.*, p. 100.
4) H. BERRY (a cura di), *The First Public Playhouse. The Theatre in Shoreditch*, Montreal 1979, p. 33.
5) I. SMITH, *Theatre into Globe*, in "*Shakespeare Quarterly*", 3 (1952), p. 116. Chambers si riferisce all'inchiesta giudiziaria in *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 415. W.W. BRAINES, *The Site of the Globe Playhouse, Southwark*, London 1924[2], p. 13, non è convinto di questo riferimento.
6) J. SUMMERSON, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, Harmondsworth 1953, p. 56.
7) I. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
8) J. ORRELL, *Building the Fortune*, in "Shakespeare Quarterly", 44 (1993), pp. 127-144.

Design as reconstruction: reconstruction as design

Jon Greenfield

The reconstruction of a building that disappeared four hundred years ago clearly cannot use modern techniques. The original was a craft building, each part fashioned by the skill, control and dexterity of a human hand. Difficult work was carried out by the most experienced and accomplished craftsmen, the simpler parts by apprentices. Clearly our reconstruction also had to be hand crafted, but more than this, it needed to be informed by the specialist knowledge of a building craft that no longer exists; a building craft which had died out in this country by about 1830. So the end of the architectural design process was again unusual. It was not, as is normal, a series of tightly-drafted specifications and fully-developed details, accompanied by an instruction to the contractor not to deviate from the contract documents. The end point of our design of the Globe was hours of discussion with McCurdy and Co., drawing on Peter McCurdy's vast knowledge and practical experience of historic timber framing and the very active influence of the craftsmen over the final details.
The design, as this account makes clear, was started by scholars and finished by craftsmen. With so many other disciplines involved with the design, what was left for the architect to do?
In the late 1960s, even before his eventual architect-partner Theo Crosby was drawn into the project, Sam Wanamaker was working in collaboration with an architect. The task of architectural design has therefore taken place over a period of some three decades. There is a vast effort that links the initial vision of the playhouse and the final working of a mortise and tenon joint. There is the need to ensure that academic fancy doesn't take the reconstruction away from a building technology that was possible in 1600. There is the need to ensure that practical considerations don't make the reconstruction too leaden and ordinary. The architect's role has therefore been one of enabler, of ensuring that the vision is able to be achieved, and that all of the appropriate specialisms are able to be represented in the finished building.

Timber framing, the two bays and after

In 1992 Peter McCurdy and I, master carpenter and architect together, set out to make two whole bays of the Globe Theatre, in precise detail, at a time when the archaeological discoveries had thrown the generally adopted design back into a state of flux[1]*. In his presentation to the Atlanta conference in February 1990, following the discovery of the Globe's foundations, John Orrell presented what he described as* "a few tentative conclusions from these scant remains"[2]*.*
We could not improve on his conclusions, however tentative, and used them as the basic setting out of the two bays. The conclusions became less tentative and were adopted for the design of the reconstruction shortly after. Conclusions made at that time about the form of the auditorium have remained current, and subsequent opportunities to re-examine the design of the timber frame have tended to reinforce the conclusions made for the two bays. The construction of the remaining thirteen auditorium bays from 1993 to 1995 has followed a repeating pattern that was set by the first two bays.

Setting out

The setting out of the Theatre in plan had become a polygon of 20 equal bays set inside a circle of 100 ft in diameter. Across flats the twenty-sided figure measures 98 ft 9 in. from the outer face to the outer ring. Both the remains of the Globe Theatre's footings and the Fortune contract give a gallery width of 12 ft 6 in. and this simple arithmetic reveals a yard 73 ft 9 in. wide (98 ft 9 in.–12 ft 6 in. –12 ft 6 in.=73 ft 9 in.), a most significant finding when we consider, as we do below, the use of ad quadratum *geometry to establish the yard's dimensions.*
Orrell, in his initial analysis of the remains, was the first to see that the diameter of the Globe, as deduced from the remains, and the gallery width, as deduced from the same source, did not seem to concur with the ad quadratum *setting out that had been the basis of the reconstruction up to this time:* "If true, it demonstrates that the Globe was not designed *ad quadratum*, as I often suggested was the case, for an *ad quadratum* setting out in a theatre 100 ft in diameter would result in a gallery depth some three feet greater than this (12 ft 6 in.)"[3].
Ad quadratum *had been a vital ordering principle for the Theatre before the archaeological discoveries, as demonstrated in the setting out diagram. It is a method of linking the diameters of two concentric circles with a square, in which the square is set within the larger circle so that the points of the square touch the circumference of that larger circle, and the smaller circle is set within the square so that its circumference touches the sides of the square. In the playhouses this* ad quadratum *principle was thought to describe the relationship between the inner and outer ring of the galleries. Despite Orrell's initial misgivings, subsequent consideration of the frame in three dimensions showed that* ad quadratum *could still be an essential part of the theatre's setting out. Exhaustive geometrical studies were carried out on plots of the fragmentary remains, fragments which were disappointing in their geometrical precision as they were of footings that had been dug with the equivalent of pick and shovel. These studies tended to concentrate*

analysis exclusively on the lowest members of the timber frame, the sill beams. Peter Streete, the Globe's master carpenter, would have been thinking beyond this at the outset. His first task, after felling the trees and converting them to usable balks, would have been to set out sill beam and wall plate together, the sill being the lowest component of the structural frame and the wall plate being the highest (beneath the roof trusses). By this he would have established his upper and lower datum from which all of the vertical frame elements that lie between sill and wall plate could be positioned. So Peter Streete had in his mind not just one set of dimensions (those for setting out the sill) but a second set for the wall plate too, both of equal importance.

The possible presence of jetties at the storey heights on the inner ring means the setting out of the wall plate and the setting out of the sill could be quite different. If we apply an ad quadratum *setting out to the* wall plate, *rather than to the sill, we can see that this was the case. Using* ad quadratum *we produce a diameter across corners of 70 ft 8 1/2 in. and 69 ft 10 in. across flats. The inner wall plate is therefore set 23 1/2 inches further in than the inner sill beam, which can be accounted for by two jetties, each measuring 11 3/4 inches. The Fortune Theatre was contracted to have two jetties of 10 inches each. We are convinced that this is how Peter Streete would have worked, using* ad quadratum *geometry applied to the wall plate and then working his dimensions back to the sill.*

Perhaps these figures are hard to follow, which only emphasises the mental dexterity with which Streete would have been able to work the numbers. After calculating the figures for fabricating sill beams and wall plates in his yard to a very high degree of accuracy, perhaps even after cutting the timber, he would have taken on a gang of labourers to dig and lay the foundations within the setting out he had devised and marked out for them. It is unfortunate that we are only left with this, the least accurate of the operations on which to base our theories of setting out.

It is important here to pause and consider the accuracy with which carpenters making structural frames have to work. So many of the examples of oak frames left to us are three, four and five hundreds years old and have suffered natural decay, fire, beetle, subsidence or thoughtless modification. All major structural elements of historic English timber framing use "boxed heart" timbers. This means that the natural circular section of the tree was hewn to a square section with the heart of the annular rings at the centre. Elizabethan craftsmen were not wasteful, and would use as much of the trees as possible, including the outer, much less durable sap wood and perhaps, on some of the secondary timbers, they might even have included a bit of bark too. The frames that have survived the ages often show where the less durable sap wood has decayed, leaving timbers with gnarled and rounded arises (corners) which has enhanced the erroneous popular image of rough and inaccurately jointed work. The timbers were not originally cut like this, but were made in sharply defined sections with very tightly fitting joints, particularly on timbers of primary importance like the sill beams and wall plates.

With modern saw mills we are too used to squared up and easily available timber sections, which leads to the other common misunderstanding about the accuracy of traditional timber frame work.

"Boxed heart" timbers were hewn to shape with a side axe and their faces were smoothed off with an adze. Secondary timbers were also framed from "boxed heart" timbers which were sawn in a pit down their length, or "halved". Tertiary timbers were sawn down their length a second time, or "quartered". All of this was done by hand and as with all hand-crafted objects, the timbers had small undulations and deviations along their length, and the squared-off faces would not necessarily be quite perpendicular to one another. But this does not produce inaccurate work or poorly-fitting joints, as the carpenter's method of forming the joints worked directly from the timber itself and therefore took account of the deviations. This method is called "scribing" and was used on the two bays and throughout the reconstruction thereafter.

It will already have been noted that the gallery setting out dimensions referred to the outer face of the outer wall and the inner face of the inner wall, not to the centre lines of the respective walls. This is precisely how the timbers would have been set and measured when the frame was made in 1599, with measurements taken from the external face of one timber to the external face of another timber. It is bothersome for a craftsman constantly to establish a centre line when taking measurements, and it was no common practice when working with sill beams, wall plates and bressumers. In almost all building projects Peter Streete would have worked his frames from one common face, using that one side as a datum, then working all the joints and dimensions from that "fair" face. All timbers in the frame would be lined up flush on the fair face, and deviations and differences in section would be taken up on the other faces. This method was used for all of the reconstructed Globe's frames, except the radial cross frames, as it would have looked very curious to have the timbers in each radial cross frame "weighted" to one side. For these radial frames it was decided to depart from the more common "fair face" method and use the less common centre face method: all cross frames have been set out from their centre lines. A notable example of the centre line method can be found in the hammerbeam roof of the Middle Temple Hall which was set out from centre lines. Carpenters' centre line marks scribed onto the timbers with a draw knife in 1562 can still be found today.

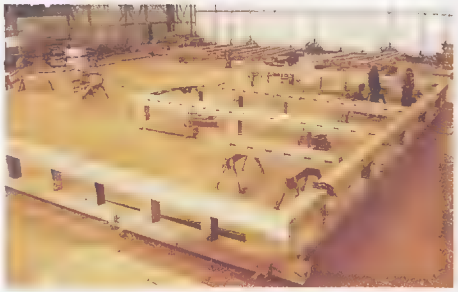
Prototype dates

Although the first Globe was erected in 1599, it used the timbers of the theatre erected in Shoreditch in 1576, which were transported across the Thames with dubious legality during the Christmas festival of 1598. How much of the building was re-erected without modification? Which date should we follow when searching for the prototypes? Herbert Berry, in his consideration of the legal documents arising from the dispute over this "theft", draws attention to the owner Giles Allen's account in which he claims that sixteen people dismantled the building. The sixteen people would have included Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, Peter Streete, William Smyth (an old friend of the Burbages) and twelve workmen (presumably Streete's men). Ellen Burbage, mother of Richard and Cuthbert, looked on. In his account Allen claims that Burbage's people started on Boxing Day 1598 and took four days, finishing before he could arrange for them to be stopped by power of attorney; Allen himself was out of London and too ill to travel back[4]. Four days is very fast work, even for sixteen men, and it seems that they could only achieve such speed by stripping out and discarding all the secondary elements: thatch, plaster, partitions and seating tiers. In such a short time only the primary structural frame could have been dismantled with the necessary care and method needed for reuse. On the other hand, the Globe was erected from the reclaimed timber by 16 May 1599, if E.K. Chambers, following C.W. Wallace, is right in identifying the "house" (domus) *in an inquisition of that date with the Globe. In any case, the work must have been finished soon after, so that there was simply no time to do anything much more than re-erect the Shoreditch building. The secondary elements were all remade as new, but the primary structure was unchanged. The involvement of Peter Streete is of some significance to this point, as Irwin Smith has suggested:* "Any crew of unskilled wreckers could have dismembered the Theatre if the mere salvage of the lumber were all that was required. Streete was one of the most skilful and sought after contractors of his day; and the fact that he was employed for the precedent dismembering as well as for the subsequent re-assembling suggests that something more than a mere wrecking job was required of him"[5].

It is with some confidence, therefore, that we have concentrated our search for prototypes of the structural frame on 1576 rather than 1599, although the stylistic treatment of the fitting out of the first Globe is certainly of the later date.

The legal records of the Theatre show that the building was opened in 1576 before it was finished and that it needed "further building" in January and February 1592, at much the same time as Henslowe made substantial alterations to the Rose. Henslowe added stage columns and a stage roof at this time; could the Burbages have done the same at the Theatre? The arrangements in Shoreditch involved the Burbages in the management of a reasonably large range of buildings as well as the Theatre, including an impressively large barn and a number of dilapidated out-buildings that were repeatedly raided to provide a cheap source of building materials for repairing other buildings, including the Theatre. However, expenditure on the Theatre in 1592 of up to £40 over six or seven weeks does not seem a large enough sum to have paid for a substantial alteration of the primary structure in comparison with the £700 total it cost to build the playhouse originally. Henslowe's expenditure on enlarging the Rose in January 1592 was over £105.
We are well advised, therefore, to bear in mind building details of the last quarter of the 16th century, and have taken note of buildings erected up to fifty years before our key date of 1576, as the development of timber frame technology was slow and occurred over generations. Skills were passed from master carpenter to apprentice, with the occasional introduction of a new method by a journeyman who had learnt a useful new skill on his travels. Book learning of Italian methods was soon to become an important part of a builder's learning and the architectural profession was soon to grow, but not until some years into the next century and after the completion of the Globe.

Peter Streete's methods
The first and most informative aspect of Streete's work is that it falls into the vernacular tradition. The Burbages did not employ an architect or engineer, but went straight to the master carpenter for what we call today a "Design and Build" service. The size and layout was agreed between the Burbages and Streete, but the carpenter was largely left to make the enclosure as he saw fit. Furthermore, it must be remembered that this was not just one way of building from many, like today, but the only way of building. Summerson states: "Nothing remotely like an «architectural profession» existed. The word [architect] was rarely used in the sixteenth century and its connotation was in every sense ornamental... The title seems to have been adopted by or applied to craftsmen who knew how to handle the new architectural grammar [of the Elizabethan renaissance] in any material. The truth is, of course, that the craft of building was still conducted as it had been for hundreds of years: that is to say, by master craftsmen who were apprenticed and trained in the quarry or the workshop"[6].
In France and Germany there are still established apprentice-based timber framing guilds, if small and highly secretive. Not so in Britain, and it is largely through the research of Peter McCurdy and the Weald & Downland Museum that it has been possible to rediscover, to a large extent, traditional English methods. It would be inappropriate to describe these in exact detail here. The use of reference planes and points, "face up" alignment from sawn faces, scribing of joints, the selection of trees, their conversion and the procedures used in the framer's yard before reaching the site are all complex matters. However, there are three aspects of framing that do need further clarification to help make the relevant points. The first is that the method of erecting the frame on site was "piece-on-piece" construction. Each post, beam, joist or rafter was set into the frame one piece after the other, following a strict sequence. Among other sources, film recordings showing the Amish raising a barn in the United States have given the impression that wall frames were assembled on the ground and hauled up into position. "Raising" in this way was common in the New World, but was not used in England for this type of building. A gin pole, sheer legs or rope and pulley would have been used to lift in one structural timber after another.
The second point is nicely summarised by Irwin Smith: "Tudor carpenters knew well that jointed timbers were not interchangeable, and because they knew it they went to considerable pains to mark each timber with a distinguishing device which would enable them to return it to one relative position which it, and it alone, was fitted to fill"[7].
The playhouses were prefabricated buildings, but they were not made like meccano. Modern machine-produced prefabricated buildings tend to be a "kit-of-parts" with each part mass produced to precisely the same dimensions. In this case it would be possible to substitute one part with another that is exactly the same from another similar position in the building (if the structural bays are repetitive) or from the same position in another similar building.
Prefabrication methods for historic framing work quite differently. It has already been noted that all of the timbers are hand hewn or pit sawn, giving deviations from one timber to the next. In section the timbers may not be square and can vary in dimension significantly along their length. When a frame is made up, therefore, it is not cut with standard joints for standard timbers, but each joint is precisely scribed to receive a particular timber, taking account of all of its special deviations and characteristics. So, for a timber to be interchanged in an historic frame it had to be uniquely re-cut for its new position. A number of joints may be similar in principle, particularly thinking of a repeating structure like the Globe's auditorium with fifteen similar






Lavorazioni della struttura in legno realizzata dalla McCurdy and Co.: parte del palcoscenico disposto nel laboratorio di carpenteria; disposizione della travi prima dell'intaglio degli incastri; posizionamento di una trave del soffitto (Paradiso); abbassamento delle travi negli incastri a tenone e mortasa.
Foto McCurdy and Co.

Timber frame construction by McCurdy and Co.: part of the stage frame laid out at the workshop; laying out of timbers before the joints cut; positioning into place one of the "heavens" timbers; lowering into position one of the timbers (mortise and tenon joint).
Photo McCurdy and Co.

bays, but the exact dimensions of each timber and therefore each joint are unique.
Thirdly, the sequence and division of work were clearly defined. Orrell had already devined the stages of building in the Fortune contract[8]*, realising that the terms* "made erected and sett upp" *and* "made erect, settup and fully finished" *were not, as they first seemed, just overly ponderous legal language but were, in fact, precisely sequenced terms. They fit exactly with the newly rediscovered traditional framing methods of "piece-on-piece" construction. Using Orrell's terms,* "making" *describes the selection of growing timber, felling and converting it and the fashioning of the frame in the carpenter's yard, perhaps a considerable distance from the building site.* "Erecting" *describes the raising of the primary structure on site. Orrell includes the binding joists, braces and roof trusses in the following stage, but as they are essential parts of the primary frame it seems more likely that they would be included in the* "Erecting" *phase.* "To set up" *refers to the secondary timbers: partitions, carcassing, seating, tiers,* "conveyances and divisions withoute and within", *indeed all of the parts of the Theatre that would have been ruthlessly smashed out to allow careful dismantling of the primary structure in the short time available over Christmas 1598.* "Finishing" *clearly refers to the lath and plasterwork, and painting.*

Conclusion

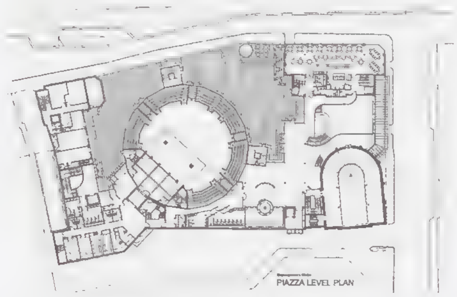
The slow advance of the project has been a frustration to many people, but for the design and construction process it has been a great help. Time has been one of the project's greatest resources and has enabled a wide consultation process. After the two bays were built in June 1992, each of the decisions recorded here were re-examined and evaluated. The result, however, was that very few changes were made to the design of a typical auditorium bay. The two bays were moved in their correct location in 1993 and construction of the remaining auditorium bays, together with the stair towers, secondary seating carcassing, plastering and thatching proceeded as and when money became available until November 1995, after which the funding arrangements changed.
For the stage and tiring house, the carpentry methods remained the same but the nature of the work changed considerably. The tiring house is the largest single element in the Theatre, but is in many ways the most straightforward. Its model is a domestic three storey structure, as the word "house" implies, without jetties, and with a roof span of about 24 feet: a form that was very common throughout London in 1576. Its curved back wall is its most striking feature. By contrast the stage roof is almost without precedent, and the use of just two columns to carry such a substantial structure provided a constructional challenge and quite a different research methodology from the one recorded here for the auditorium.

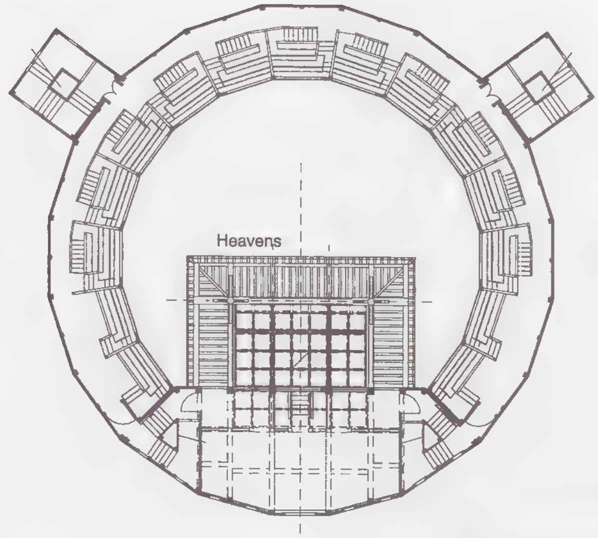
Notes

** This text is an extract from the book* Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt, *edited by J.R. MULRYNE, M. SHEWRING, Cambridge University Press, 1997.*
1) The following text is reprinted, with alterations and additions, from The Design of the Globe, *edited by A. GURR, R. MULRYNE and M. SHEWRING, International Globe Centre, 1993, pp. 53-88.*
2) J. ORRELL, Beyond the Rose: Design Problems for the Globe Reconstruction, *in F.J. HILDY ed.,* New Issues in the Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Theatre, *New York 1990, p. 79.*
3) Ibid., *p. 100.*
4) H. BERRY ed., The First Public Playhouse. The Theatre in Shoreditch, *Montreal 1979, p. 33.*
5) I. SMITH, Theatre into Globe, *in "Shakespeare Quarterly, p. 3 (1952), p. 116. Chambers refers to the inquisition in* The Elizabethan Stage, *II, p. 415. W.W. BRAINES,* The Site of the Globe Playhouse, Southwark, *2nd edition, London 1924, p. 13, is not convinced by the reference.*
6) J. SUMMERSON, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830, *Harmondsworth 1953, p. 56.*
7) I. SMITH, op. cit., *p. 116.*
8) J. ORRELL, Building the Fortune, *in "Shakespeare Quarterly", 44 (1993), pp. 127-144.*

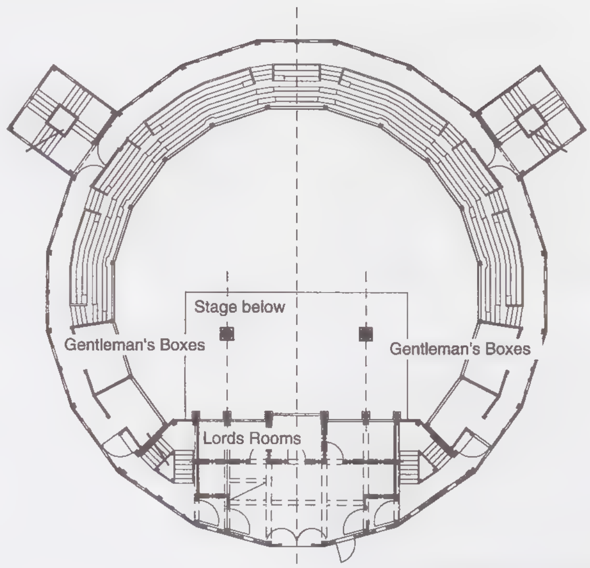
Planimetria del complesso al livello della piazza.
Piante ai livelli dell'arena, della prima galleria e della seconda galleria.
Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale.

Piazza level plan of the complex.
Yard level, first gallery level and second gallery level plans.
Cross and longitudinal sections.

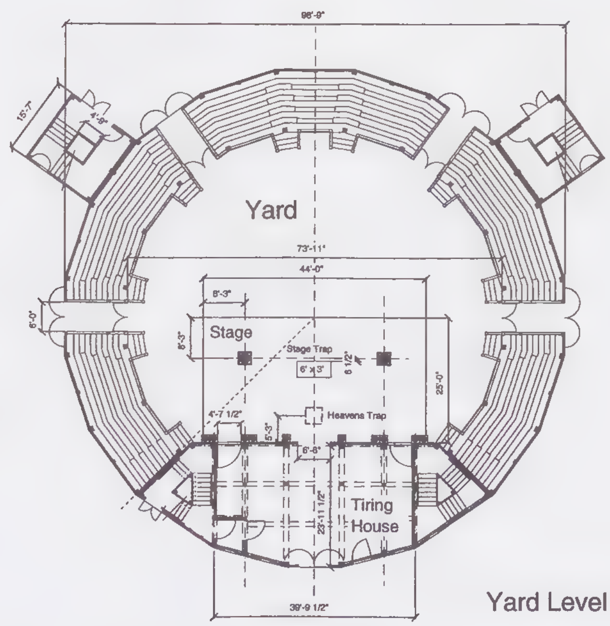




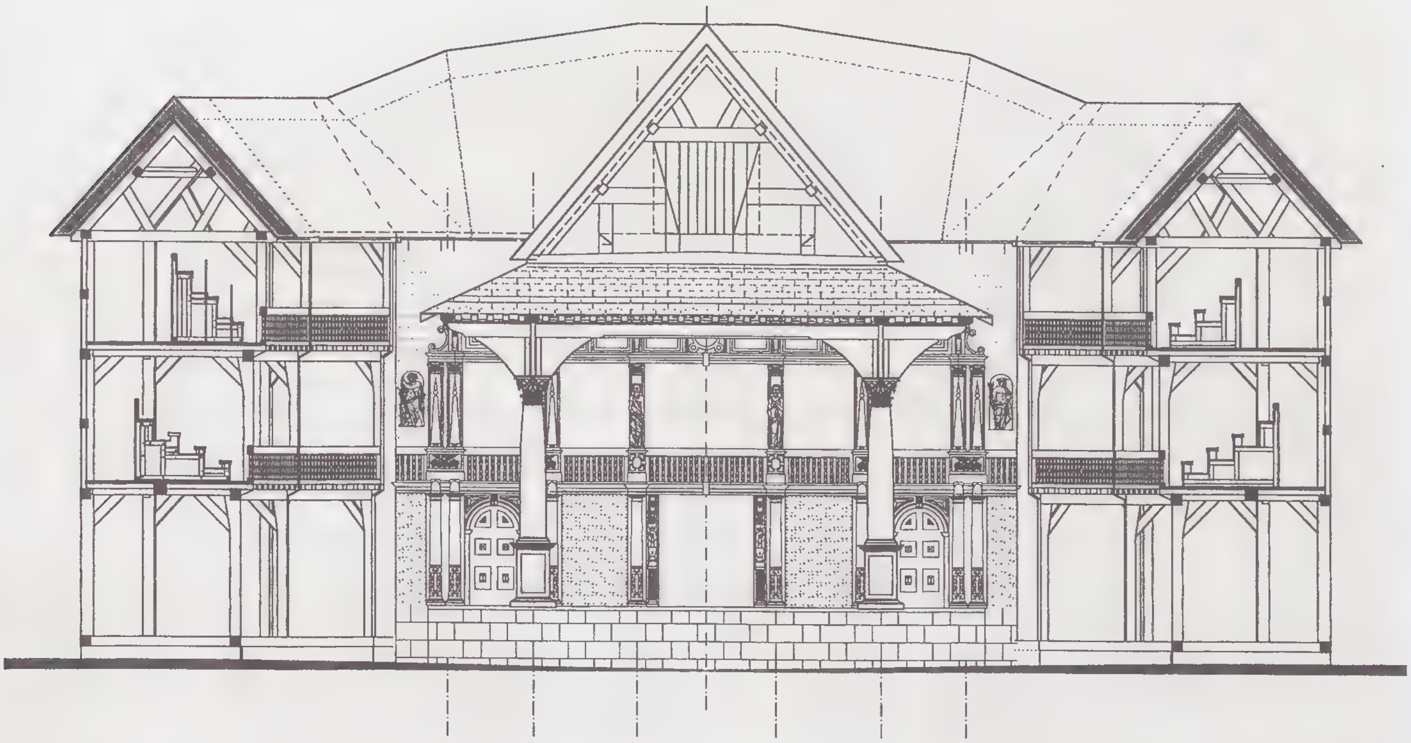
Second Gallery Plan

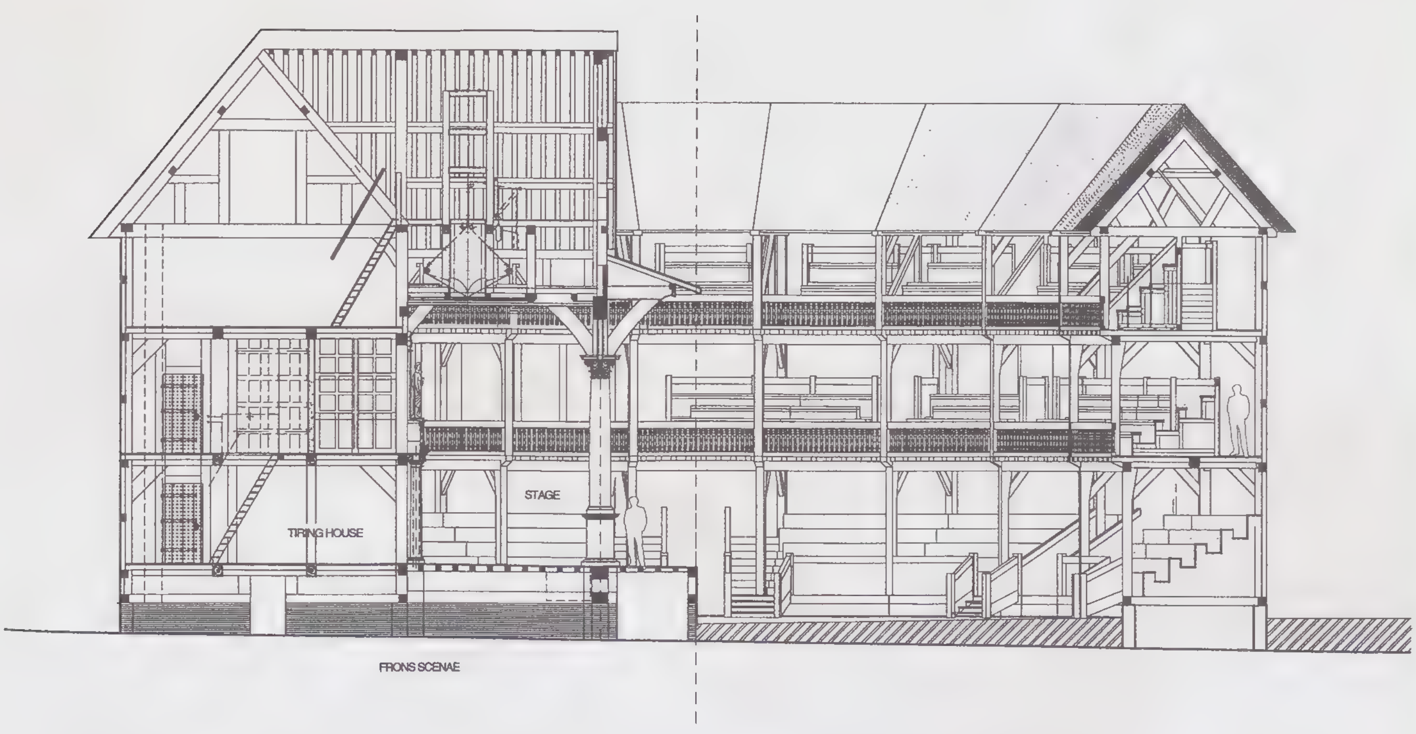


First Gallery Plan



Yard Level Plan

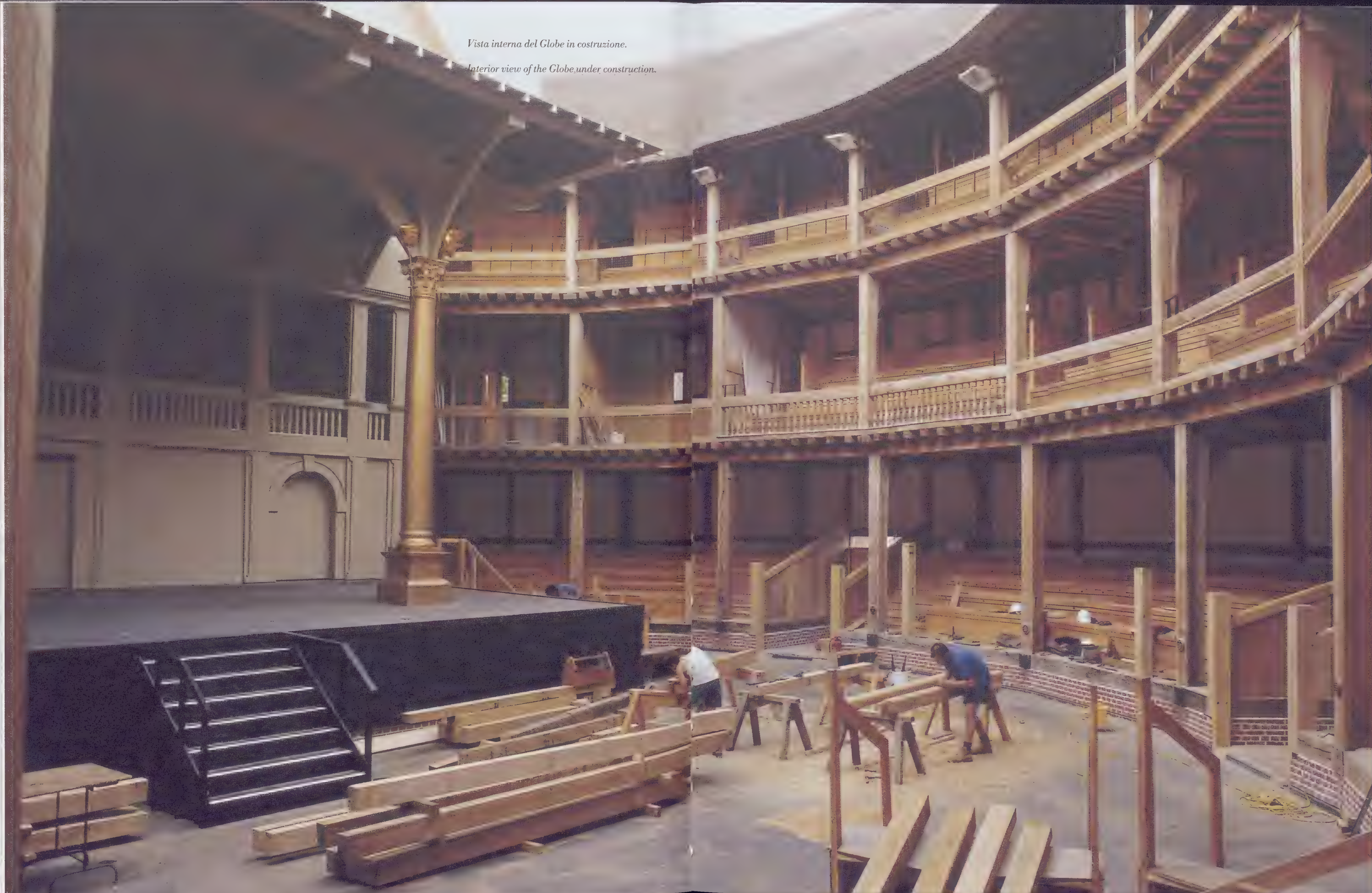



STAGE
TIRING HOUSE
FRONS SCENAE

Vista interna del Globe in costruzione.

Interior view of the Globe under construction.





Vista interna del Globe in costruzione.

Interior view of the Globe under construction.

Viste interne del Globe completato e vista della "tiring house" in costruzione.

Interior views of the rebuilt Globe and view of the "tiring house" under construction.

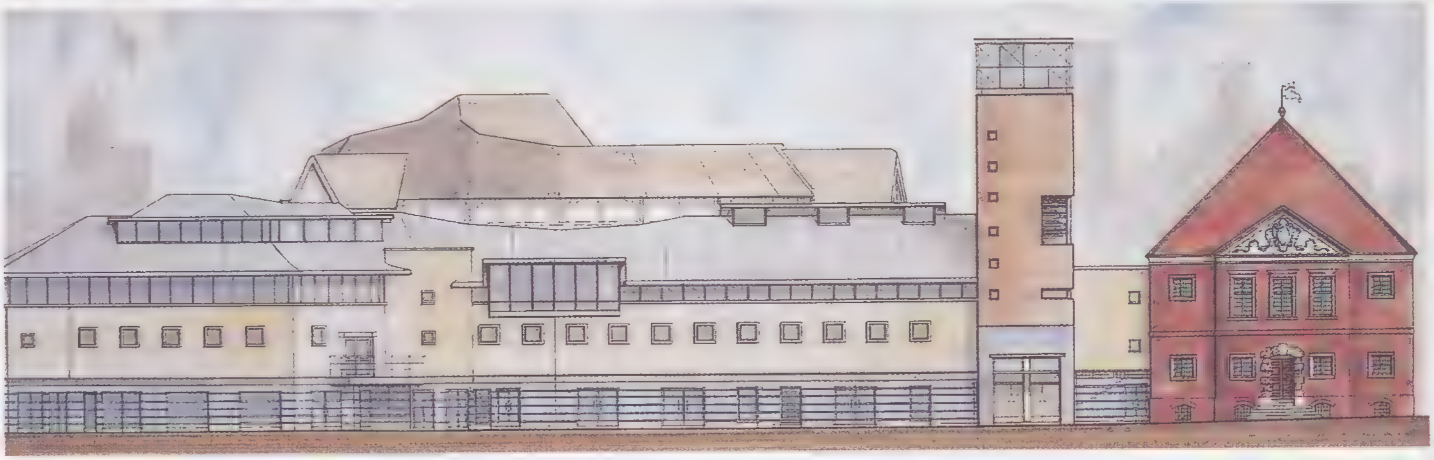












Prospetti d'insieme e viste del modello del complesso.

Overall elevations and views of the model.













Viste del fronte verso il Tamigi.

Views of the front overlooking the Thames.



Reconstrucció i ampliació del Gran Teatre del Liceu, Barcelona

1988-under construction

Ignasi de Solà-Morales, Lluís Dilmé, Xavier Fabré

coll.: Francesc Arjona, Fina Aymerich, Ramon Fitó, Anna Font, Pedro García, Gustau Gili, Javier López, Ángel Obiol, Sebastià Pieras, Juancho Quintana, Eulàlia Serra, Pau de Solà-Morales, Anna Valls, Víctor Valls

Structures: OMA. Agustí Obiol, Lluís Moya
Installations: OIT. Josep V. Martí, Miquel Camps
Security: Francesc Labastida
Acoustics: Higini Arau
Stage machinery: TECHPLAN
Sound and image: Pere Vila
Surveyors: Joan Ardèvol, Oriol Escolà, Mercè López, Valentí Moreno, Isabel Palmer, Ferran Peregrina, Francesc Xairó
Models: Models Barna
Consultants: Ove Arup and Partners



Sezione longitudinale del progetto preliminare, 1994.

Longitudinal section of the preliminary project, 1994.

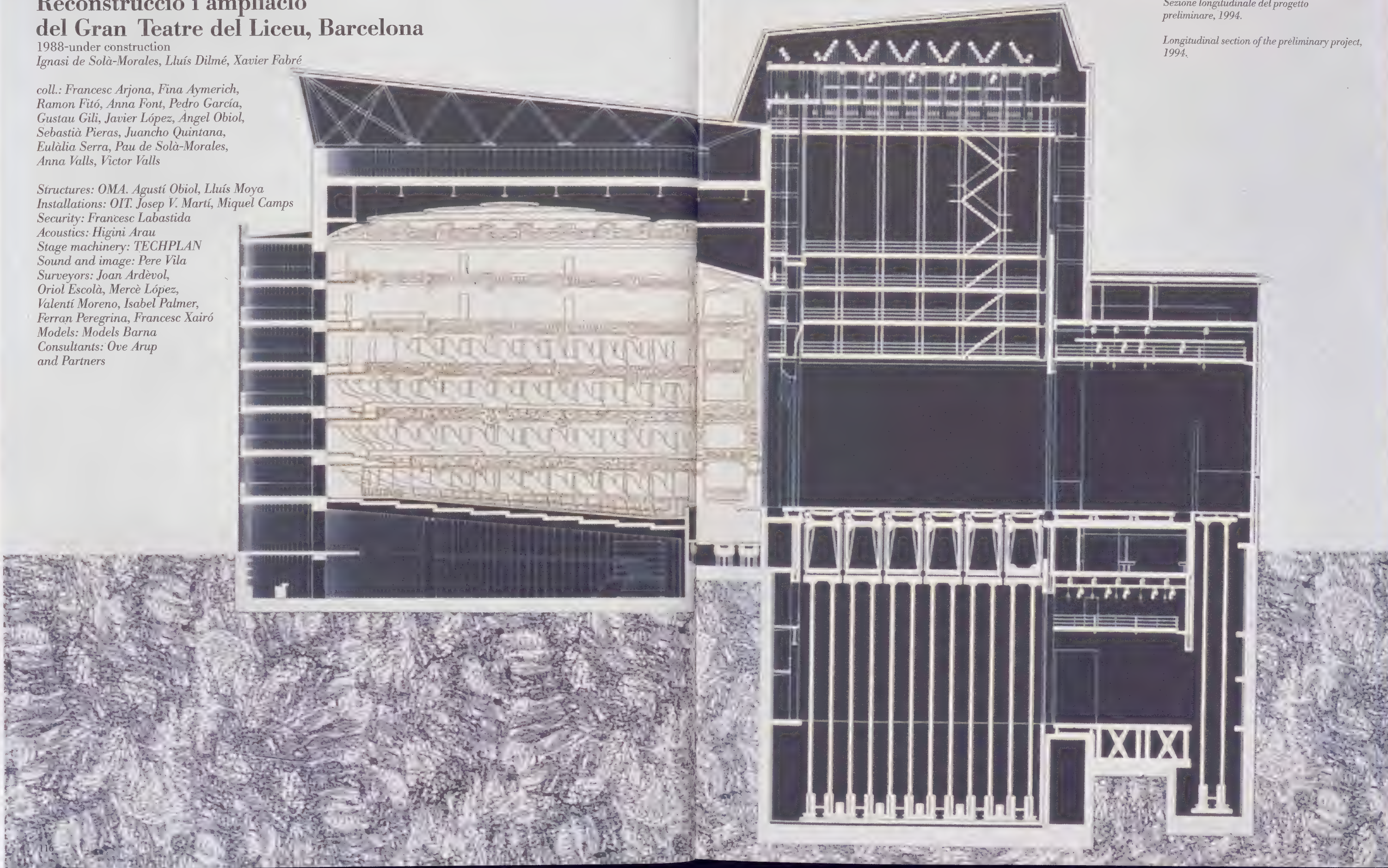
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Sezione longitudinale del progetto preliminare, 1994.

Longitudinal section of the preliminary project, 1994.

Ricostruzione e ampliamento del Gran Teatre del Liceu, Barcellona
Ignasi de Solà-Morales

Ricostruzione

La distruzione di una parte importante dell'edificio causata dall'incendio del 1994 ha portato alla determinazione di recuperare lo spazio più significativo e architettonicamente più prestigioso del complesso: la sala.
L'esperienza europea nel campo degli edifici teatrali è assai ricca di casi in cui la volontà di ricostruzione è prevalsa su quella di rinnovamento.
In effetti, le distruzioni provocate dalla Seconda guerra mondiale sono state in molti casi affrontate secondo un criterio prioritario di ricostruzione. È questo il caso di Vienna, Monaco di Baviera, Milano, Dresda, solo per menzionare alcuni tra gli esempi più celebri.
In altri casi la scelta è stata in favore di un ammodernamento stilistico. È questo il caso dei teatri d'opera di Varsavia, Genova o Torino. In entrambe le situazioni, l'esperienza ha evidenziato i condizionamenti connessi al dispositivo del teatro all'italiana, con la tipica forma a ferro di cavallo e l'organizzazione dei posti in stratificazioni verticali. Le esperienze più impegnate sul fronte dell'ammodernamento si sono scontrate con questi limiti, circostanza che ha teso a produrre situazioni ibride, dove non era possibile perseguire né un'alternativa di carattere tipologico, né soluzioni di visibilità e di distribuzione spaziale nettamente differenti.

Ampliamento

L'attuale progetto comporta un ampliamento importante dello spazio del Teatro, che passerà da mq 16.000 della situazione presente a mq 31.930.
Questo ampliamento è consentito dallo spazio guadagnato a scapito delle costruzioni confinanti. L'ampliamento incide soprattutto sulla zona del palcoscenico e dei servizi annessi, in modo che è possibile affermare che un intero blocco di nuova edificazione è previsto a partire dalla linea del boccascena fino al limite contrassegnato dal Carrer de l'Unió e dalla Rambla. È per tale motivo che nel caso del Gran Teatre del Liceu si è optato per un criterio ricostruttivo ispirato alla massima boitiana del "*dov'era, com'era*".
Le presunte difficoltà connesse alla scomparsa delle capacità artigianali tradizionali non esistono certo nel nostro Paese, per cui questo tipo di limitazione tecnica non esiste.
D'altro canto, la decisione di ricostruire si basa sul consenso sociale volto a recuperare l'immagine e l'ambiente di un luogo determinato.
È altrettanto vero che ci sono parti dell'edificio per cui non ha senso pensare ad una ricostruzione, com'è il caso del palcoscenico o degli spazi sopra o sotto la sala, ed è pur vero che la ricostruzione della sala implica una scelta culturale di continuità e di memoria, così come è avvenuto tante volte storicamente. Dalla ricostruzione del Campanile di San Marco a Venezia al Padiglione di Barcellona di Mies van der Rohe, la storia dell'architettura è costellata di ripristini di questo tipo, che si basano sulla possibilità tecnica di ricostruire un edificio o uno spazio venuto a mancare a causa di un qualunque tipo d'incidente.
Tuttavia vediamo che è altrettanto vero che ogni ricostruzione deve essere in grado di inglobare alcune innovazioni che rappresentano possibili migliorie pur all'interno dell'opzione generale di fedeltà al modello preesistente.
Nel caso del Gran Teatre del Liceu ci si scontra con serie limitazioni di carattere tecnico. Si tratta di limitazioni legate alla visibilità, alla qualità acustica che deve essere garantita alla maggior parte dei posti, alla sicurezza e conformità alle normative vigenti, alle dotazioni tecnologiche di cui è necessario disporre in un teatro che si prefigge di offrire un buon livello di prestazioni alle soglie del XXI secolo.
Il blocco di nuova edificazione rappresenta il cuore tecnico del Teatro: ad esso si dà particolare importanza, anche in termini di risorse, al fine di realizzare un teatro all'altezza dei migliori d'Europa sotto il profilo delle dotazioni tecniche.
La superficie principale di questa nuova addizione è occupata dal palcoscenico e dagli spazi complementari destinati al deposito delle scenografie montate. Con due spazi di questo tipo posti alla stessa quota del palcoscenico e due spazi ulteriori sotterranei posti a m 16 sotto la quota di scena, grazie ad una dotazione efficace e funzionale di piattaforme mobili in senso orizzontale e verticale, questo complesso offre al Gran Teatre del Liceu un dispositivo scenico versatile, particolarmente idoneo ad una programmazione di "stagione" o di "semistagione", quale sempre ha caratterizzato l'attività del Teatro nella sua storia e che si intende proseguire per il futuro.

Criteri

Ciò che oggi rimane del Liceu sulla Rambla di Barcellona è circa il cinquanta per cento di un edificio costruito nel 1847 su progetto degli architetti Garriga i Roca e Oriol i Mestres, con una facciata disegnata dallo scenografo francese Viguier. Nel 1861, dopo un incendio, l'edificio fu restaurato dallo stesso Oriol i Mestres e successivamente subì altre modifiche, sia nella sala che nell'atrio d'ingresso e nei saloni.
Di questo edificio l'incendio del 1994 ha distrutto completamente la grande sala con i suoi cinque ordini di palchi, la decorazione, tutti gli impianti tecnici e il palcoscenico, che era peraltro di piccole dimensioni, di difficile accesso e tecnologicamente superato.
L'incendio però ha lasciato intatti molti altri elementi. In primo luogo, la collocazione sulla Rambla, in pieno centro storico di Barcellona. In secondo luogo, la particolare disposizione che lega le parti superstiti: l'asse dell'insieme sala-palcoscenico, definito dai grossi muri, resta disallineato rispetto alla facciata, all'atrio, al *foyer* e alle scale monumentali che si trovano su uno dei lati. Queste zone di accesso si sono salvate – come pure si è salvato il notevole salone di ritrovo del Teatro, il Salone degli Specchi – e hanno conservato tutte le loro decorazioni fino all'ultimo dettaglio.
Ma resta qualcosa di più. Resta la memoria del Teatro, dello spettacolo d'opera, che non riguarda la singola rappresentazione, ma è una festa totale: movimento, gente, luci, colori. Resta la memoria degli spazi architettonici distrutti: l'imponenza della sala, la forza delle sue linee compositive orizzontali, la percezione dell'insieme come uno spazio accogliente anche se grandioso. E per finire resta la memoria del suono e della sua qualità, la caratteristica più segreta di uno spazio musicale, ciò che gli conferisce il suo valore intrinseco.
Questo Teatro è oggi un'istituzione culturale di proprietà pubblica che userà risorse pubbliche. Deve pertanto raggiungere un pubblico più vasto. Bisogna fare dell'edificio un luogo che i cittadini sentano proprio, aperto a iniziative diverse e capace di accogliere attività complementari alle rappresentazioni operistiche.
Al tempo stesso il Teatro deve conservare il suo carattere di luogo di festa, di luogo sociale, non proprietà di una minoranza di privilegiati, ma a disposizione di tutti gli amanti della musica e dello spettacolo. E occorre fare in modo che queste attività non siano percepite in senso specialistico, ma raggiungano una dimensione culturale socialmente riconoscibile e generatrice di partecipazione collettiva.
L'opera lirica – genere che sembra avere avuto il suo momento di fulgore nel passato – resta oggi uno spettacolo unico, che ha saputo superare la concorrenza del cinema e di altre forme di spettacolo audiovisivo. Ciò richiede mezzi sufficienti a mantenere un alto livello di spettacolarità e una adeguata differenziazione dagli altri generi teatrali e musicali. Nelle produzioni contemporanee luci, suoni, scenografie, effetti corali, orchestrali o movimenti di masse sceniche tendono a moltiplicarsi. Sia per quantità e dimensioni, sia per l'introduzione di nuove tecniche, un teatro d'opera è oggi una sofisticata macchina di sogni, una macchina precisa, capace di produrre perfezione acustica ed esattezza di movimenti scenici, costumi brillanti e spazi immaginari, risultato di effetti luminosi sempre più complessi.
Attualmente, nel campo della lirica, un teatro solo non riesce a produrre questi livelli di qualità. Il mondo dell'opera è oggi una rete

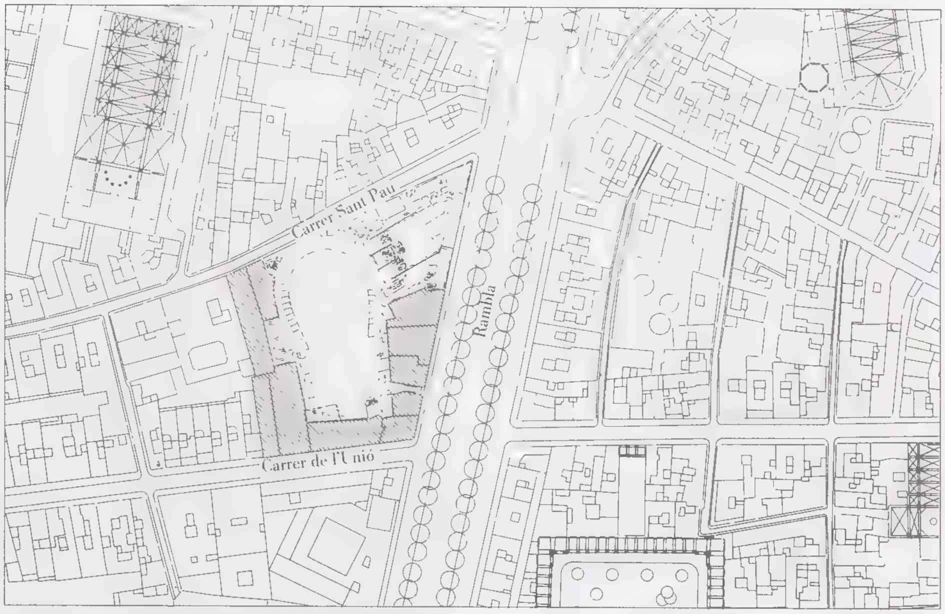
mondiale, una rete di cantanti, direttori d'orchestra, scenografi, tecnici, produttori e finanziatori. Bisogna essere inseriti nel circuito mondiale per poter godere di questa rete di scambi che rende possibili le grandi produzioni. Un teatro d'opera contemporaneo deve avere la tecnologia, le dimensioni, la flessibilità e la capacità di manovra necessarie a realizzare e a ospitare queste produzioni. Ciò si ottiene soltanto con l'aggiornamento tecnico e con impianti adeguati alla realizzazione di una programmazione che usufruisca del sistema di scambi con gli altri teatri d'opera. Il nostro progetto considera fondamentali queste esigenze: sia quelle della memoria del luogo che quelle della modernizzazione e delle nuove tecnologie. Esso vuole essere una risposta globale a queste due esigenze. Quando affrontiamo la ricostruzione della sala dandole un aspetto praticamente uguale a quella del passato, privilegiamo evidentemente ciò che il Teatro era e che vogliamo continui a essere. La forma del luogo e le tracce dell'antica sala sono troppo forti per consentire un'alternativa tipologica e una disposizione differente.

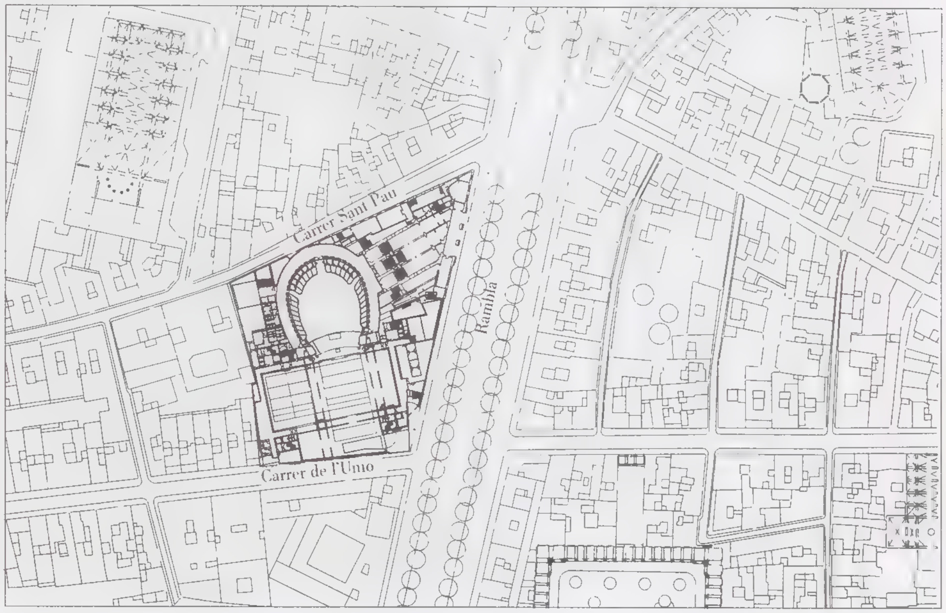
Gli spazi e l'organizzazione del Teatro. Le due aree del progetto: pubblico e palcoscenico

Il progetto di ricostruzione e ampliamento del Gran Teatre del Liceu prevede due precise aree di intervento. Da un lato l'area destinata al pubblico e tutti gli spazi e i servizi relativi. Dall'altro esso definisce tutto quanto si trova dall'altra parte dell'arco scenico: palcoscenico e servizi necessari allo svolgimento dello spettacolo operistico.
L'area riservata al pubblico comprende in primo luogo la ricostruzione della sala, ma anche la costruzione dei nuovi spazi che la circondano: *foyer* principale, corridoi dei piani, nuovo ingresso dal Carrer Sant Pau, servizi igienici, spazi commerciali e di ritrovo. Insieme a questi nuovi spazi il progetto affronta il recupero di quanto non è stato toccato dall'incendio del 1994: adattamento dell'ingresso e del *foyer* della Rambla, restauro della scalinata e del Salone degli Specchi.
L'area della scena, costruita *ex novo*, risponde a tutte le esigenze di un teatro d'opera contemporaneo. Essa comprende le sette zone essenziali alla produzione operistica: palcoscenico; servizi di palcoscenico; camerini; sale per le prove, la produzione tecnica e la produzione artistica; amministrazione; direzione; spazi di ritrovo. Per ricostruire il funzionamento e gli spazi dell'edificio come è stato progettato, bisogna iniziare dall'area riservata al pubblico per continuare con l'area della scena.

Accessi degli spettatori

L'ingresso principale per il pubblico si apre sulla Rambla attraverso il vecchio atrio e l'ingresso con le colonne. Da questo ingresso





Localizzazione del Teatro nell'isolato compreso tra Rambla, Carrer de l'Unió e Carrer Sant Pau, prima dell'incendio del 31 gennaio 1994 e nel progetto di ricostruzione e ampliamento.

Site plan with the Theatre located in the block between Rambla, Carrer de l'Unió and Carrer Sant Pau before the fire of 31 january 1994 and in the project of reconstruction and extension.

Il Teatro durante e dopo l'incendio del 31 gennaio 1994.

The Theatre during and after the fire of 31 january 1994.





parte la scala imperiale che conduce al primo piano – la sala teatrale e il Salone degli Specchi – e partono i due tratti di scala che superano il dislivello fra atrio e platea. Attraverso due nuove aperture ai lati dell'ingresso si accede a due nuove sale, diverse l'una dall'altra e collegate all'atrio, che permettono di accedere al nuovo *foyer* principale, situato sotto la platea, mediante due nuove scale laterali. La sala a sinistra dell'atrio ospita un nuovo guardaroba.
Il livello dell'atrio sulla Rambla, a metà fra quello della platea e quello del nuovo *foyer* principale, facilita il collegamento fra quest'ultimo e l'ingresso principale del Teatro. Anche il nuovo atrio verso il Carrer Sant Pau ha un guardaroba. Dal nuovo atrio si accede a tutti i piani e con facilità al nuovo *foyer* principale, che funge da collegamento fra tutti i percorsi all'interno del Teatro. Così viene conservato l'ingresso principale dalla Rambla, mentre il nuovo ingresso dal Carrer Sant Pau, con la sua grande scala e i due ascensori, contribuisce in maniera decisiva alla distribuzione e alla sistemazione degli spettatori.

Foyer principale

Lo spazio sotto la platea, recuperato come *foyer* principale, rivela la struttura del nucleo del teatro, della cavea. La parete a ferro di cavallo, che definisce lo spazio della sala e dei corridoi di ogni piano, diventa in questa zona ancora più evidente: uno spazio curvo dall'effetto maestoso, che viene rafforzato dal sistema di accesso dal seminterrato a livello del nuovo ingresso sul lato Carrer Sant Pau. Dal piano d'accesso al nuovo *foyer* principale partono le tre scale che portano ai vari piani e consentono l'uscita diretta sul lato Carrer San Pau. Dal lato della Rambla vi sono altre due scale che danno accesso all'atrio principale. Questo nuovo piano a forma di ferro di cavallo mette in luce uno spazio su due livelli sotto la platea, il quale serve da *foyer* principale del Teatro. Esso comprende il *foyer* vero e proprio, che ha la stessa superficie della platea, servizi, due bar, la zona di accesso a due ascensori e l'ingresso allo spazio commerciale. Il nuovo *foyer* principale, oltre all'uso tradizionale durante le rappresentazioni, può servire ad altri scopi: riunioni, dibattiti, presentazioni di libri, ecc. Il collegamento diretto con l'ingresso di Carrer Sant Pau ne consente un uso indipendente dal resto del Teatro. Ma la sua caratteristica più importante è quella di poter servire come sala per concerti di musica da camera, *recital* di voce e pianoforte, rappresentazioni di piccole opere da camera. L'acustica è ottima fino a quattrocento posti ed è buono il collegamento con il vestibolo della fossa dell'orchestra. Il *foyer* è inoltre dotato di sistemi audiovisivi che lo rendono adatto al ricevimento e alla diffusione di prime rappresentazioni in atto nei più diversi teatri del mondo.

Spazio commerciale

Situata sotto l'atrio principale, questa superficie si presta a ospitare una attività commerciale che abbia rapporto con la cultura e con la musica. È di fatto un negozio che comprende anche biglietteria e ufficio informazioni del Teatro. Questo spazio ha tre ingressi. Uno dalla Rambla, con un accesso che scende a partire dall'ingresso principale in maniera visibile dall'esterno. Il secondo dal Carrer Sant Pau, all'altra estremità; l'area commerciale si sviluppa pertanto fra questi due accessi opposti. Il terzo ingresso è dal *foyer* principale, al di sotto della scala imperiale, rendendo possibile l'uso di questo spazio da parte degli spettatori durante gli intervalli e all'inizio e alla fine delle rappresentazioni.

Acustica

L'acustica della vecchia sala era in generale molto buona per l'ascolto di spettacoli operistici. Lo studio eseguito nel 1991 dal dottor Higini Arau, membro della nostra *équipe*, mise in evidenza che il tempo di riverberazione era molto equilibrato e adeguato a spettacoli in cui intervenissero voci e orchestra. Lo studio identificò inoltre zone nelle quali la qualità dell'ascolto era più scadente. L'analisi computerizzata dei dati sperimentali rilevati a sala piena e a sala vuota consentì di determinare le cause di tali anomalie e di localizzare i punti in cui esse si verificavano, anche se questi punti erano già stati identificati con molta precisione dai frequentatori abituali del Teatre del Liceu, tanto che gli stessi impresari ne tenevano conto. Si diceva che se l'ascolto di una voce era buono nella decima fila, lo sarebbe stato in tutto il Teatro. Le prove d'ascolto dei cantanti venivano quindi eseguite da questa fila. Il fenomeno era dovuto all'eccessiva inclinazione dell'arco di proscenio: il suo orientamento faceva sì che quasi tutte le riverberazioni acustiche pervenissero bene ai posti intermedi e posteriori, ma lasciassero scoperte le ultime file della prima metà della platea, una zona nella quale l'onda della voce del cantante deve essere accompagnata da riverberazioni per essere perfettamente udibile. Per ovviare a questo inconveniente occorreva modificare l'orientamento dell'arco di proscenio spostando i piani del soffitto e della platea e la disposizione di tutte le strutture sospese dei piani.

Visibilità

Per migliorare la visibilità è stata studiata una serie di accorgimenti, di cui i più evidenti sono la ricollocazione di tutte le poltrone e la nuova inclinazione della platea. Un altro cambiamento rilevante è stato il nuovo orientamento dei palchi per affacciarli in modo più diretto al palcoscenico. Questo intervento ha permesso di ottimizzare lo spazio tipico dei teatri all'italiana, che hanno lo svantaggio di offrire una scarsa visibilità nelle parti laterali delle curve a ferro di cavallo.
Si è anche intervenuti su alcuni elementi decorativi, come per esempio i lampadari di bronzo a forma di ventaglio sostenuti da un drago alato. Se ne è modificata la posizione in altezza accorciando il braccio di sostegno per non ostacolare la vista da alcuni posti laterali dei piani superiori. Ma il cambiamento più evidente è probabilmente l'eliminazione delle colonnine della platea sotto l'aggetto della prima balconata, in modo da migliorare notevolmente la visibilità dai palchi di platea. Si è eseguito uno studio di visibilità da ogni poltrona e i dati risultanti sono stati elaborati su supporto informatico in modo da definire la posizione ottimale per ogni posto a sedere. Rispetto alla vecchia sala il numero dei posti non è stato aumentato, ma è stato sensibilmente migliorato il *comfort* degli spettatori. La forma a ferro di cavallo dei teatri all'italiana comporta inevitabilmente la presenza di alcuni posti senza visibilità negli ordini superiori. Questi posti, ben identificati, possono anche avere una funzione interessante: da qui gli spettatori melomani possono seguire la rappresentazione con il libretto o lo spartito illuminati da una luce di lettura integrata alla poltrona.

Illuminazione del palcoscenico

L'illuminazione del palcoscenico è un problema complesso che coinvolge l'insieme della sala. Da quando apparvero la luce elettrica e i proiettori, le sale degli antichi teatri d'opera hanno dovuto subire la non facile integrazione di questi elementi nella decorazione. Con la ricostruzione della sala, e particolarmente del soffitto, sono state identificate tre zone in cui situare i proiettori per il palcoscenico, tenendo conto della nuova altezza del soffitto, modificata anche per motivi acustici. Numerosi problemi tecnici posti dalle nuove produzioni operistiche sono stati inoltre risolti sistemando nel fondo della sala e su diversi piani varie cabine di proiezione, di regia e di controllo delle luci.
Il futuro degli spettacoli operistici dipende dalla possibilità di ammortizzare per mezzo della diffusione televisiva i grandi investimenti finanziari che essi richiedono. Bisogna facilitare l'uscita degli spettacoli dalle mura del teatro. Il progetto di ricostruzione prevede perciò l'inserimento nella sala e sul palcoscenico di tutte le attrezzature necessarie per le riprese e le diffusioni televisive.

Palcoscenico e retroscena

L'altra parte del Teatro, cioè tutta l'area situata dietro la ribalta, è un sistema molto complesso che si trova in una situazione urbanistica con grossi limiti. Riunire tutti gli elementi necessari al buon funzionamento del Teatro richiede quindi un'organizzazione formale chiara e precisa. L'edificio, in quanto

dispositivo operistico, si esprime con piena chiarezza quando l'ordine e l'interazione fra ciascuna delle sue parti si articolano in un insieme singolare ad alto contenuto specialistico.
Partendo da questo concetto, abbiamo prestato molta attenzione ai problemi dell'accessibilità e dell'interconnessione di tutte le parti legate al funzionamento dell'area del palcoscenico, realizzando quattro gruppi di scale e ascensori per il collegamento fra i vari piani e corridoi ad anello su ogni piano che girano intorno al palcoscenico, nonostante le notevoli dimensioni di quest'ultimo. In questo modo tutte le zone di lavoro si trovano alla stessa distanza dall'ingresso dalla Rambla.

Palcoscenico e macchinari di scena
Il palcoscenico non è solo la parte più voluminosa del Teatro, ma anche la zona intorno alla quale si organizza l'edificio. Situato su due piattaforme elevatrici poste al di sotto della torre scenica, esso presenta quattro ingressi, uno a ogni angolo, tutti preceduti da vestiboli indipendenti.
La scena è dotata di cinque *box* per il montaggio e i movimenti delle scenografie, di cui alcuni a livello del palcoscenico e altri al terzo piano interrato. I cinque *box* o spazi di montaggio sono collegati da due piattaforme elevatrici, che possono muovere le scenografie montate su carri. Questo sistema consente di cambiare le scene in pochi minuti e ottimizza l'uso del palcoscenico. Le zone di montaggio non potrebbero essere efficienti senza la possibilità di accesso diretto degli automezzi, i quali entrano dall'ingresso all'angolo fra la Rambla e il Carrer de l'Unió e, per mezzo di una piattaforma elevatrice, possono scaricare il materiale dietro il palcoscenico e al terzo piano interrato.
La torre scenica, i cui vari meccanismi sono separati dalla sala macchine, permette una movimentazione efficace dei sipari e delle scenografie in qualsiasi posizione. I movimenti verticali vengono trasmessi da motori di diverso tipo, da sistemi a contrappeso e a trazione manuale.
La ricostruzione dopo l'incendio non comporta un aumento dei posti, ma una maggiore capacità produttiva. Questi meccanismi e queste attrezzature permettono infatti la messa in scena di spettacoli ogni giorno diversi. Il riposo necessario ai cantanti e alle compagnie rende impossibile la stessa rappresentazione per due giorni consecutivi. È quindi necessario che si abbiano a disposizione due scenografie contemporaneamente in modo da poterle spostare e montare nel minor tempo possibile. Inoltre il montaggio e lo smontaggio delle scenografie che richiedono più giorni di lavoro non devono impegnare il palcoscenico impedendo altre rappresentazioni. Grazie alle piattaforme elevatrici, ai carri a doppio senso di marcia, alle piattaforme di interscambio e alla dotazione della torre di scena, si può ottenere un notevole aumento delle rappresentazioni e quindi degli spettatori.

Servizi di scena
Teoricamente tutti i servizi di scena – sartoria, lavanderia, attrezzeria, audio e video, sala trucco, regia, *atelier* e magazzini – dovrebbero trovarsi vicini al palcoscenico e sul suo stesso piano, ma la superficie di cui si dispone per la ricostruzione e l'ampliamento del Teatro dopo l'incendio del 1994 non lo consente. Questo vincolo spaziale dà luogo perciò a un insieme di interrelazioni la cui efficienza determina il buon funzionamento del Teatro.
D'altro canto la posizione del palcoscenico e dei servizi è determinata, in pianta, dall'asse della sala e, in sezione, dall'altezza della prima fila di poltrone. Nel nostro caso questo rapporto universale, comune a tutti gli edifici dedicati alla rappresentazione di spettacoli lirici, si interpreta nel modo seguente: nella sala, ricostruita dov'era e com'era, l'altezza della platea è stata stabilita in funzione degli ingressi della scala imperiale nella platea stessa, il che ha consentito il rialzo del palcoscenico rispetto al livello della Rambla e la possibilità di creare un piano seminterrato sotto il palcoscenico.
I problemi relativi all'ubicazione dei servizi e del palcoscenico sono stati affrontati realizzando un piano di servizi ad anello fra la parte inferiore e la parte superiore del palcoscenico. Questo anello collega tutta l'area del palcoscenico e contiene la maggior parte dei servizi, permettendo un collegamento rapido fra i quattro accessi e questa zona.
Gli *atelier* e i magazzini fungono solo da supporto al montaggio delle scenografie e alla manutenzione delle attrezzature sceniche. Gli *atelier* di produzione e i grandi depositi delle scenografie si trovano fuori città, il che spiega l'importanza dell'accessibilità al palcoscenico per il carico e lo scarico del materiale. In ultima analisi, è più logico sistemare i piccoli *atelier* multiuso per le riparazioni e i ritocchi ai livelli inferiori (dove si montano e si smontano le scenografie) che non al livello della scena, riservato puramente alla movimentazione delle scenografie.

Camerini
Gli spazi destinati agli attori, ai cantanti, ai ballerini e alle comparse hanno dimensioni e ubicazioni diverse, in funzione dell'uso. I protagonisti occupano uno spazio lungo la Rambla, che comprende dieci camerini insonorizzati di pari dimensioni, dotati di tutte le comodità necessarie alla preparazione e alla concentrazione degli artisti. I camerini destinati ai coristi si estendono su due piani vicino alla sala prove e, come quasi tutti gli ambienti del Teatro, garantiscono un facile accesso al palcoscenico. Sono stati sistemati al terzo e al quarto piano, nelle zone laterali e posteriore al palcoscenico, in modo che i coristi possano usufruire del sistema di comunicazione orizzontale e possano accedere ai quattro ingressi della scena usando uno qualsiasi dei quattro sistemi di comunicazione verticale.
I camerini dei coristi, affacciati sul Carrer Sant Pau, formano un asse verticale tangente alla zona del pubblico. Proseguendo verticalmente si trovano ai piani inferiori gli spogliatoi del personale del Teatro.
Altri camerini sono stati previsti per ospitare le compagnie invitate e le comparse.
Per cambiarsi gli orchestrali dispongono di un locale molto vicino alla fossa dell'orchestra: così, nei giorni di rappresentazione, gli spostamenti sono ridotti al minimo.

Sale prova
Nel Gran Teatre del Liceu esistono due complessi artistici stabili: il coro e l'orchestra. Per svolgere il proprio compito, ognuno ha bisogno di un proprio spazio.
Le diverse sale prova dell'orchestra gravitano intorno alle sue due aree di lavoro. Della prima abbiamo già parlato: si tratta della fossa dell'orchestra, vicino alla quale si trovano gli spogliatoi e sei sale di preparazione. Perfettamente insonorizzate, esse permettono ai musicisti di preparare gli strumenti prima della rappresentazione, ma possono anche fungere da sale di studio, individuali o per piccoli gruppi di strumentisti.
L'altra area di lavoro è situata intorno alla sala prova dell'orchestra, sul lato interno del terzo piano. La sala ha doppia altezza e dimensioni e acustica adatte a ospitare le prove dell'orchestra, sola o insieme al coro. Anche la sala prova del coro, sullo stesso piano di quella dell'orchestra ma sul lato della Rambla, ha doppia altezza. Più piccola della precedente, può ospitare coro e orchestra per le prove in comune. Nella stessa zona il coro dispone di altre sale prova di minori dimensioni. Tutto il lavoro di preparazione del coro è così concentrato sul lato della Rambla.
La preparazione di un'opera lirica richiede molte prove per le quali è necessario disporre di uno spazio simile al palcoscenico, in modo da poter riprodurre le condizioni dello spettacolo (movimenti, entrate e uscite, coreografie, spostamenti delle comparse, ecc.). È quindi essenziale prevedere una sala di grandi dimensioni per l'esecuzione delle prove di movimento. Essa si trova al di sopra dell'area destinata al pubblico che, dopo la scena, è la zona più vasta del Teatro. Completa verticalmente la cavea, cioè l'area semicircolare propria del teatro all'italiana che, nel Liceu, si estende a partire dal *foyer* principale nel sottosuolo fino al sottotetto.

Produzione tecnica e artistica
Le attività di produzione tecnica e artistica sono in gran parte concentrate al livello del palcoscenico, sul lato della Rambla. Al piano

superiore, nell'angolo fra il Carrer de l'Unió e la Rambla, si trovano gli uffici della direzione artistica, mentre gli uffici del direttore del coro e del direttore dell'orchestra si trovano vicini alle rispettive sale di prova, come pure gli archivi e il fondo di documentazione, dotati di spazi per la consultazione.

Amministrazione e direzione
La direzione generale del Teatro occupa principalmente gli uffici del secondo piano, sul lato della Rambla. Essi sono distribuiti in modo da riunire tutti i servizi amministrativi su un unico piano, si affacciano sull'esterno e godono di un'ottima posizione rispetto all'accesso centrale dell'area del palcoscenico.

Zone di riposo e di ritrovo
Le attività di un teatro d'opera riuniscono un gran numero di persone con diverse esigenze per quanto riguarda gli spostamenti, i momenti di riposo e i momenti di concentrazione. La vicinanza degli accessi al palcoscenico facilita la riunione dei gruppi di artisti, eliminando la necessità di passare dal palcoscenico. La stessa cosa accade intorno alle sale prova, soprattutto quella del coro, dove sono previste zone di riposo e di ritrovo per gruppi di artisti. Ma la zona principale di riposo e di ritrovo rimane il bar, situato al terzo e al quarto piano all'angolo fra il Carrer de l'Unió e la Rambla e dotato di una generosa galleria che domina tutta questa parte della città.

L'edificio nella città
Il progetto di ricostruzione e ampliamento del Gran Teatre del Liceu affronta tutto l'intervento come un unico edificio. Certo, la parte della facciata corrispondente al nuovo piano è diversa dalla facciata storica, ma è stata ripensata come un insieme unico: la parte nuova mantiene lo stesso rapporto fra vuoti e pieni e continua in senso verticale lo schema delle aperture. La nuova facciata ha un basamento indefinito con un ordine di aperture che permettono l'accesso in discesa all'area commerciale, l'ingresso del personale e, nell'angolo, l'ingresso degli automezzi, come pure tutte le uscite di emergenza. Il corpo superiore, di quattro piani, è finito con una cornice posta alla stessa altezza di quella dell'edificio storico e delle case circostanti. Per quanto riguarda lo sviluppo longitudinale, la nuova facciata segue un modulo costante che in determinati punti prende una forma singolare. Nell'angolo della Rambla i due piani superiori si aprono per formare una galleria (lo spazio di riposo dei lavoratori del Teatro), che sovrasta l'ingresso degli automezzi e mette in rilievo questa estremità del Teatro. Questa galleria-belvedere affacciata sulla Rambla e sottolineata dalla cornice continua è l'elemento che caratterizza il nuovo edificio, quando lo si osserva dalla Rambla stessa, dal Carrer de l'Unió o dal



Vista della sala attraverso l'arco scenico dopo l'incendio del 31 gennaio 1994.

View of the auditorium across the proscenium arch after the fire of 31 january 1994.

Viste interne della sala e dell'atrio di ingresso prima dell'incendio del 31 gennaio 1994.

Interior views of the auditorium and the main vestibule before the fire of 31 january 1994.







Carrer Ferran. La nuova facciata, che ha una struttura in profilato metallico, coniuga una pietra tipo Montjuïc con una pietra levigata più scura a livello delle finestre. L'insieme è raccordato da elementi in bronzo: grondaie, cornice superiore e modanature lungo la base. Tutti questi elementi sono disposti su diversi piani e raggiungono effetti di rilievo che, in alcune parti, lasciano vedere i profili strutturali rivestiti di bronzo. Nella parte verso il Carrer Sant Pau il gioco degli spessori e dei rilievi è più libero, soprattutto nella zona corrispondente alla curva di incontro fra i corridoi della cavea e il piano di facciata, dove il gioco compositivo si impernia sulla pietra scura e sul vetro delle finestre. A livello della strada, in una zona che sembra sprofondare all'interno dell'edificio, si stabilisce un contatto visivo con il piano di ingresso al *foyer* principale e con il nuovo atrio d'ingresso sul Carrer Sant Pau. Al di sopra della cornice si apre una terrazza che subito lascia posto ai volumi corrispondenti alla torre scenica e alla sala delle prove di scena. Alle sue spalle si sviluppa il nucleo degli impianti di tutto il Teatro, che appare come un corpo indipendente a forma di parallelepipedo esteso dal Carrer Sant Pau al Carrer de l'Unió. Il corpo unico formato dalla torre scenica e dalla sala prova sovrastante la cavea determina la direttrice del Teatro, cioè l'asse sala-palcoscenico sul quale si organizza tutta la distribuzione dell'edificio. Questo asse non coincide con quello della Rambla e della facciata del Teatro, generando così una costruzione a doppia lettura. Visto dalla strada, l'edificio si inserisce perfettamente nella trama della città antica, come nel passato; guardandolo dalle terrazze delle case vicine, dai campanili delle chiese, dalla statua di Colombo e persino dal Montjuïc, si scopre che l'edificio non modifica il gioco dei grigi ideato da Garriga i Roca per costruire la sala più grande d'Europa in un'area di dimensioni così ridotte.

* I testi qui pubblicati sono tratti dal catalogo AA.VV., *Arquitecturas para la Música* edito nel 1996 in occasione della VI Mostra Internazionale di Architettura della Biennale di Venezia e dal catalogo AA.VV., *El Gran Teatre del Liceu. Reconstrucció i ampliació*, Actar, Barcellona 1996.

Reconstruction and extension of the Gran Teatre del Liceu, Barcelona
Ignasi de Solà-Morales

Reconstruction
The destruction of a large part of the edifice caused by the fire of 1994 led to the decision to restore the most important part of the complex, that of the greatest value in architectural terms: the hall itself. In Europe, there are many examples of such reconstructions, in which the desire to re-create something from the past has shouldered aside any idea of real renewal or revitalization.
In effect the destruction caused by the Second world war was, more often than not, repaired in keeping with a desire for "reconstruction". This was the case in Vienna, Munich, Milan, Dresden, just to mention a few of the most famous examples. In other cases stylistic updating was permitted, as in the opera houses of Warsaw, Genoa and Turin. In both these situations, experience has shown that there is a focus on the influence of the Italian-style theatre, based on a horseshoe form and an organization of seating in vertical levels. The reconstruction projects that have sought to include a logic of modernization have run up against these limitations, with the result of the creation of hybrids, due to the impossibility of introducing alternatives in terms of typology, layout, visibility.

Extension
The present project calls for a significant extension of the size of the Theatre, from 16,000 to 31,930 square metres.
This expansion is possible because of the spaces that can be absorbed from the neighbouring edifices. It provides more space, above all, for the stage area and its related facilities; we can state that an entire block of the new construction will extend from the line of the proscenium to the border defined by the Carrer de l'Unió and the Rambla. This is why, in the case of the Gran Teatre del Liceu, we have opted for reconstruction criteria based on the maxim "where it was, as it was"*. In our country the difficulties created elsewhere by the lack of skilled craftsmen do not exist, so we can proceed without worries about technical factors.*
The decision to reconstruct a replica is also based on a social consensus, a desire to re-create the image and the atmosphere of the place.
It is also true that there are parts of the edifice which it would be senseless to try to reconstruct, like the stage or the spaces above and below the auditorium; and it is true that the reconstruction of the auditorium implies a cultural choice of continuity and memory, a choice which has been made repeatedly, throughout human history. From the reconstruction of the Steeple of St. Mark's in Venice to the Barcelona Pavilion by Mies van der Rohe, the history of architecture is filled with reconstructions of this type, based on the technical possibility of reconstructing a precise replica of an edifice or a space that has been destroyed. Nevertheless we can also notice that any reconstruction must also be capable of introducing certain innovations, possible improvements, while remaining within a context of fidelity of the pre-existing model.
In the case of the Gran Teatre del Liceu we have run up against serious technical constraints. These limitations have to do with visibility, acoustics, safety, compliance with regulations, and the technological plant required, today, for theatrical performances. The newly constructed block is the technical core of the Theatre: particular emphasis has been placed on this part, also in terms of investment, in order to build a theatre that will be one of the most advanced in all of Europe, in terms of technical equipment for the staging of performances.
The largest area of the new addition is occupied by the stage itself and by its auxiliary spaces for the storage of sets. Two such spaces are located at the same level as the stage, and two other spaces are located in the basement, 16 metres below; platforms moved mechanically, both horizontally and vertically, provide the Gran Teatre del Liceu with a very versatile stage system, ideal for "seasonal" or "semi-seasonal" programming, as in the tradition, and the future, of this Theatre.

Criteria
Now to be found on the Rambla of Barcelona is almost fifty per cent of a building constructed in 1847 thanks to the combined work of the architects Garriga i Roca and Oriol i Mestres, with the façade designed by the French stage designer Viguier. The whole was restored after the 1861 fire by the same Oriol i Mestres and had later ornamental alterations to the auditorium, the foyer and the lounges.
The 1994 fire completely destroyed the five-storey main auditorium, together with the décor and technical equipment as well as the stage, which was small in size, difficult to access and technologically obsolete.
But the fire left the site of the Gran Teatre intact. On the Rambla, in the middle of the Old Town of Barcelona, and with the special layout of all that has been left standing: the architectural axis of the auditorium and the stage, defined by the high walls, located on oblique position as regards the façade, the hall, the foyer, and the monumental staircase.
All the access points mentioned above have survived, together with the emblematic opera house lounge: the Mirror Room, all of whose mirrors have retained their original decoration down to the last detail.
And yet more remains. Memories of the institution remain, of the spectacle of opera which is more than just the performance of a given piece, being as it is a whole festival:

movement, crowds, brilliance. There also remain memories of those parts of the building which have been destroyed: the hugeness of the auditorium and the formal impressiveness of its horizontal lines; the perception of the whole as a warm, welcoming place, despite its magnificence. Finally, there remain memories of the sounds and their quality, the most secret characteristic of a musical venue, that which gives it its special quality.
This opera house – which is now a publicly-owned cultural facility whose activities will be carried out under the aegis of public funding – must be made available to a large number of potential spectators. This means making the building into a place which the citizens feel belongs to them, a place opened to different initiatives and capable of incorporating activities which are complementary to the opera performances themselves.
Together with all this, the opera house must preserve its festive, social nature, being not a place for a privileged minority but for everybody who loves music and spectacle; furthermore, it must not only give a specialized meaning to this declared aim, but must stress what it really means when a cultural event becomes something which is participated in collectively and recognized socially.
But opera, a genre which would appear to have had its heyday in the past, is today a unique spectacle, because it has managed to overcome the apparent competition of the cinema or other great audiovisual spectacles. This means that the opera today needs resources which will allow it to remain highly spectacular, distinguishing it at the same time from any other theatrical or musical genre. Light, sound, stage design, choral or orchestral effects or crowd scenes are on the increase in contemporary productions. Be it for the number or the size, be it because of the introduction of new techniques, an opera house today is a sophisticated dream factory, a precision machine capable of producing acoustic perfection or the precise adjustment of onstage effects; not only the brilliance of the costumes but also that of imaginatively created sets are produced by lighting and projection effects which are becoming more and more complex. An opera house cannot expect to reach this level of quality by itself. The opera world today is a worldwide network, involving singers, conductors, stage designers, technicians, production facilities and funding. It is vital to be on the international circuit so as to be able to take advantage of the permanent network of exchanges which make large scale productions viable. A contemporary opera house must have the technology, the means, the flexibility and the necessary space for manoeuvre to be able to both make and host these productions. This can only be achieved with technical updating and the necessary facilities, so that the programming of its performances can be integrated into a system of exchanges with other opera houses around the world.
Our project sees these requirements as being absolutely essential. Not only those which are linked to the memory of what went before and the site as it stands, but also those which have to do with modernization and new technology, both as regards the audience and stage production. This project is a form of continuous response to these two demands. When we are faced with the reconstruction of the auditorium in such a way that its original appearance is to be almost completely preserved, we clearly have to give priority to looking at how the theatre used to be and what we want it to go on being. The shape of the site and the lines marked by the old auditorium are too strong to allow us to create an alternative typology which would lead to a different layout.

Spaces and organization of the opera house. The two areas of the project: audience and stage

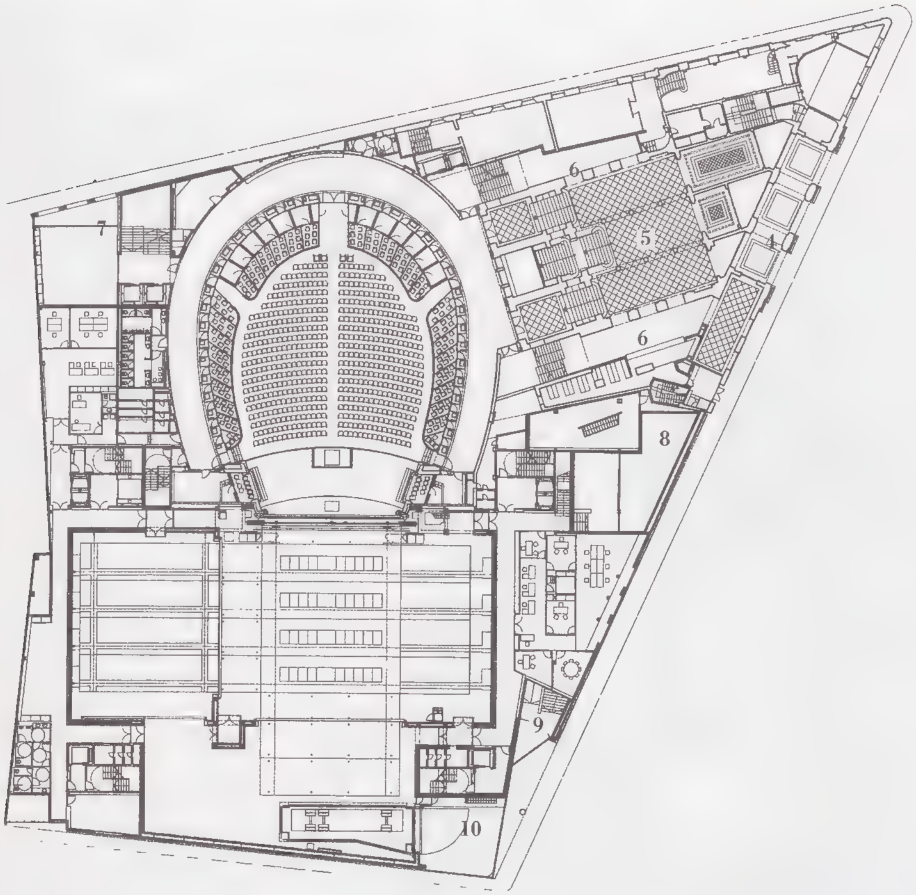
The project for the reconstruction and extension of the Gran Teatre del Liceu allows for two clearly differentiated plans of action. On the one hand, it is concerned with the area intended for the audience and all spaces and services aimed at the spectator. On the other hand, it is responsible for the entire area which lies on the other side of the proscenium: the stage and all the facilities and services required by opera production. The area conceived for the audience includes not only the reconstruction of the auditorium but also the building of newly-created spaces which will complement it: a general foyer, new corridors, a new access point on the Carrer Sant Pau, lavatories, and areas for commercial or social purposes. Together with these new facilities, the restoration of spaces which were not affected by the 1994 fire will also be carried out: the adaptation of the Rambla entrance and foyer and the restoration of the staircase and Mirror Room.
The stage area, all of it brand new, will provide solutions for the specific needs and requirements of a contemporary opera house. This area includes the seven spaces essential for opera production: stage, stage services, changing-rooms, rehearsal rooms, technical and artistic production, administration and management, meeting spaces.
In order to examine the running and the facilities of the entire building, we shall begin with the audience area and then continue with the stage area.

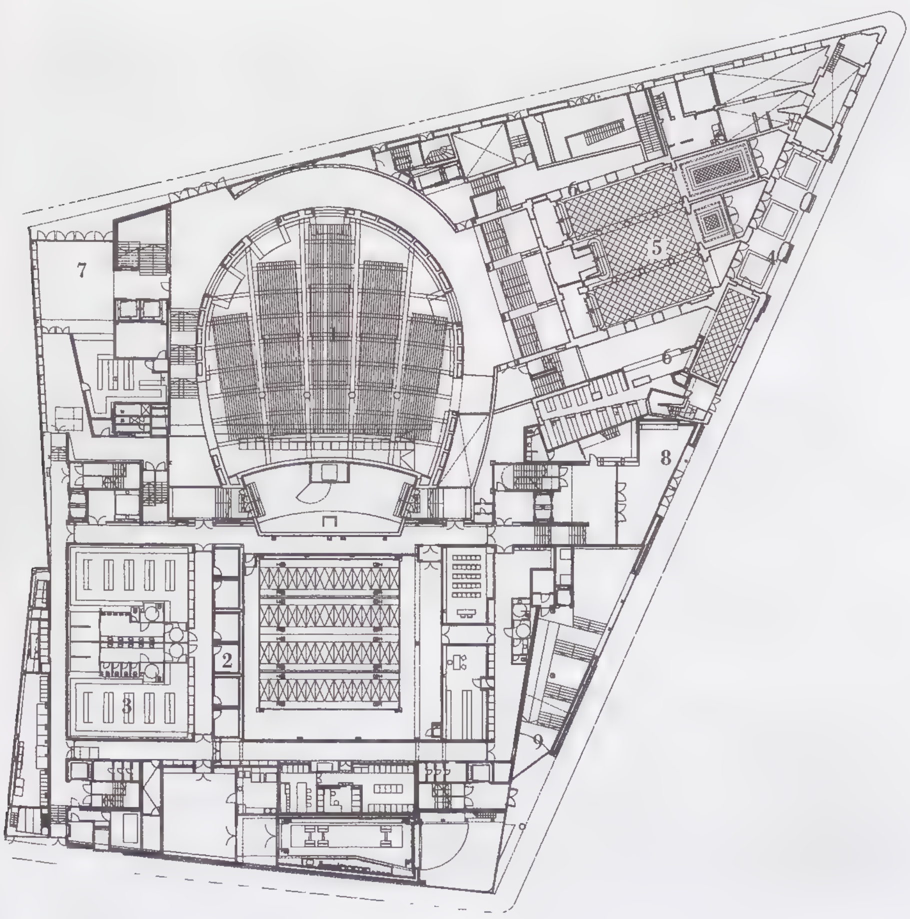
Entrances for the spectators

The main public entrance, on the Rambla, still runs under the canopy and archway until the colonnaded vestibule is reached. From this vestibule the imperial stairway ascends to the first floor – auditorium and Mirror Room – and two lateral sections of the stairways break the gap between the foyer and the stalls. On both sides of the vestibule, through new openings, access is obtained to two new rooms, each of them different, which are annexed to the vestibule and which make it possible to go down into the new general foyer, under the stalls, using the new lateral stairways. The left hand annex to the Rambla vestibule includes a new cloakroom. The level of the Rambla vestibule, half-way between the stalls level and that of the new general foyer, facilitates communication between the general foyer and the main entrance to the opera house. The new vestibule on the Carrer Sant Pau also has a cloakroom. From here it is possible to obtain access to each storey and easy access to the new general foyer which is at the heart of all the communicating arteries of the opera house. In this way, although the main entrance remains the one on the Rambla, the new Carrer Sant Pau entrance, with a wide staircase and two lifts, makes a decisive difference to the distribution and facility of access of the spectators.

General foyer

The space under the stalls, which has been recovered for use as the general foyer, shows the layout and the heart of the opera house. The horseshoe-shaped wall, which marks out the form of the auditorium and that of the aisles on each storey, is very much in evidence here. This entire curved space creates a majestic effect, strengthened by the access point from the basement at the level of the new Carrer Sant Pau entrance. From the level of the general foyer rise the three stairways which link all the levels of the opera house and allow the exit directly onto the Carrer Sant Pau. Moreover, the two Rambla stairways, as mentioned, connect up directly with the Rambla vestibule. This new horseshoe-shaped floor opens up a new double levelled area under the stalls, which serves as a general foyer for the entire opera house and which can be entered at each end of the "prongs" of the horseshoe. On this lower level the new general foyer is to be laid out, recovering the surface space under the stalls area and the corridor so as to form – together with the general service area – a space for the two bars, a point of arrival for all the new lifts and the connection with the commercial area. The new foyer, apart from playing the specific role assigned to it during the performances, may be used as a free space for different purposes: civic activities, book presentations, etc. Thanks to its contact with the Carrer Sant Pau entrance, it can be used independently from the opera house. But what makes it of special interest is its potential as a room for chamber music, concerts for voice and piano, or the staging of small-scale chamber operas. Acoustically speaking, it is suitable for up to four hundred people and it is well connected with the orchestra pit vestibules. Moreover, it is equipped with audiovisual installations which



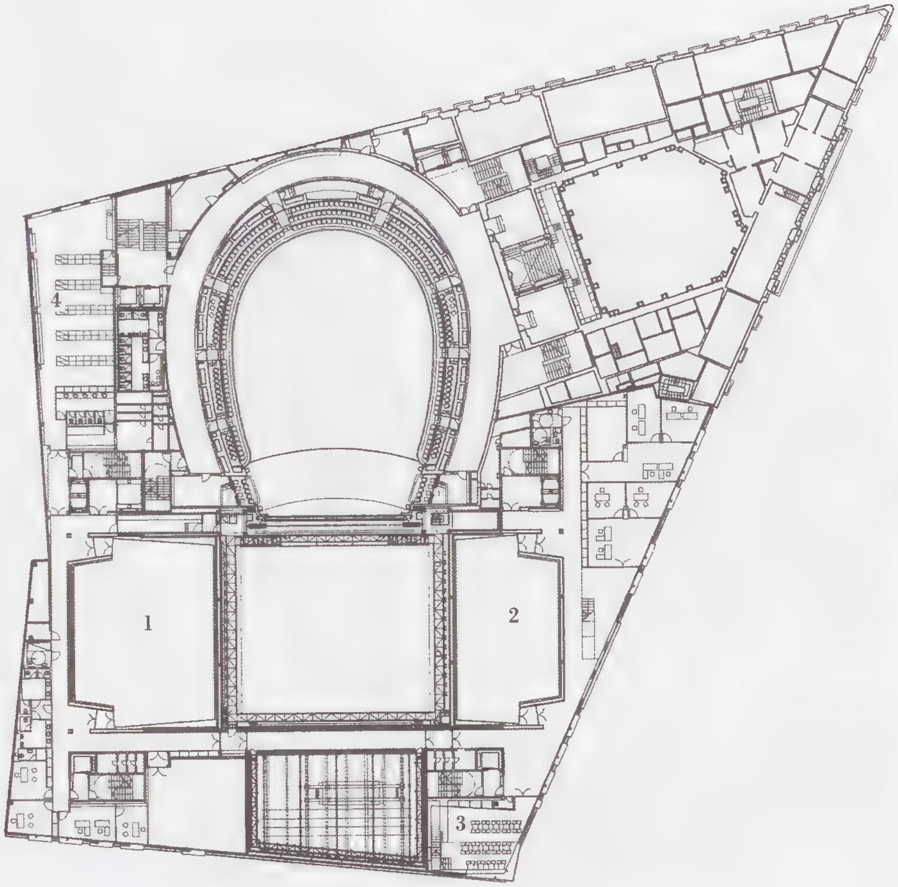


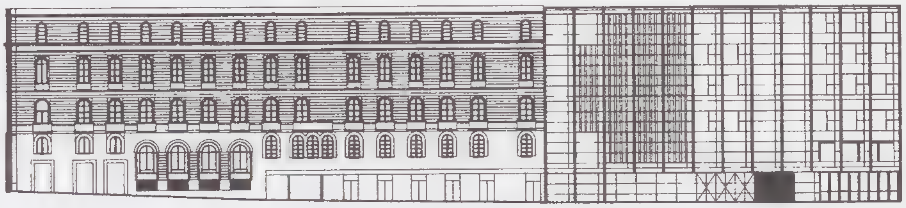
Piante del seminterrato e del livello della platea e della scena, progetto definitivo, 1996: 1) nuovo foyer generale; 2) sale di preparazione dell'orchestra; 3) camerini orchestra; 4) ingresso dalla Rambla; 5) vecchio atrio; 6) accesso al nuovo foyer generale; 7) ingresso da Carrer Sant Pau; 8) ingresso artisti e operatori; 9) ingresso agli spazi commerciali; 10) ingresso carrabile.

Semi-basement floor and stall and stage level plans, final project, 1996: 1) new general foyer; 2) tuning rooms; 3) orchestra changing rooms; 4) entrance from the Rambla; 5) old vestibule; 6) access to the new general foyer; 7) entrance from Carrer Sant Pau; 8) artist and staff entrance; 9) access to the commercial area; 10) trailer access.

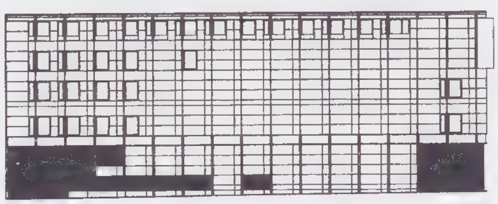
Pianta del terzo piano: 1) sala prova orchestra; 2) sala prova coro; 3) bar; 4) camerini coro.
Prospetti sul Carrer Sant Pau, sulla Rambla e sul Carrer de l'Unió, progetto definitivo, 1996.

Third floor plan: 1) orchestra rehearsal room; 2) chorus rehearsal room; 3) bar; 4) chorus changing-rooms.
Elevations on the Carrer Sant Pau, on the Rambla and the Carrer de l'Unió, final project, 1996.









will make it possible to give live broadcasts of opera premières *from any opera house in the world.*

Commercial area

The commercial area, located under the main vestibule, is a space suitable for a commercial activity related to music and culture. This area will include ticket sales and opera house information. The new space has three access points. From the Rambla there is a main entrance which goes down to the commercial area, clearly visible from the outside. The second is on Carrer San Pau, at the other end of the axis which begins at the Rambla entrance. In this way the commercial area will lie between the two entrances that are opposite each other. Apart from these entrances, there will be an interior way from the general foyer, under the imperial staircase, which will make a natural connection between the two new zones recovered for public use. This last entrance will make it possible for the commercial activity to be compatible with the intervals, beginnings and ends of performances.

Acoustics

The acoustical conditions of the old auditorium were, generally speaking, extremely good for listening to opera. Their reverberation time – analysed in the acoustic study carried out by a member of our team, Dr. Higini Arau, in 1991 – was well-balanced, and suitable for performances involving the human voice and the orchestra instruments positioned in the pit. But black patches – acoustically poor areas – were also discovered and the cause of these was determined by means of computerized modulation of data taken from experiments carried out in both empty and full conditions. It is worth pointing out that one fact – of which all those who knew the old Teatre del Liceu were already aware, and which previous managers of the opera house had even learnt how to use to their advantage – was finally proven scientifically: it had been said that if a voice could be heard correctly from the tenth row of the stalls, it could be so heard from the vast majority of seats in the auditorium, a fact which made this row the most suitable for auditioning – or voice testing – singers. This phenomenon can be explained by the excessive leaning of the proscenium arch. This arch – also known as the tornaveu *or sounding board – was disposed in such a way that most acoustic reflections reached the seats that were in the middle or at the back of the stalls, but did not reflect as they should have done back onto the last rows of the front half of the stalls, the latter being an area in which the direct sound of the singer's voice needs to be accompanied by a certain amount of reflection. Improvement of such details can be obtained by readjusting the proscenium arch, relocating the ceiling surfaces, the level of the stalls and the layout of all the supporting beams for the different storeys.*

Visibility

The most noticeable effects of the interventions intended to improve visibility can be seen in the layout of each of the seats on all levels; of all these alterations, the new inclination of the stalls area is probably the one which stands out the most. Greater advantage has been taken of the boxes by repositioning them so that they face the stage more; traditional though these spaces may be in Italian-style opera houses, their usual lateral positioning meant that they were not as convenient as they should have been when it came to seeing the performance. Improvements in visibility have had their effect on certain decorative elements, such as the auditorium's fan-shaped bronze lamps, held up by winged dragons; the height of these emblematic adornments and the length of their support arms have been adapted so as to avoid the spoiling of visibility for certain lateral seats located on the upper levels. Perhaps the most outstanding measure in this regard has been the removal of the stalls area small columns, under the overhang of the first balcony, thus improving the visibility of the ground level boxes enormously.

A study, carried out by means of a simple computer programme, has made it possible for us to calculate the ideal position for each seat, by working out the maximum degree of visibility in each case. In this way, and with respect to the seating of the old auditorium, which was also studied, the seating capacity of the opera house has not been increased, but its viewing conditions have been improved, and with them the comfort and convenience of all the spectators. The horseshoe-shaped Italianate layout of the opera house makes it inevitable that certain lateral positions on the upper floors have no view. These seats, clearly marked out and identified, are also of interest to music lovers who can follow a libretto *or score with the help of specially installed reading lights.*

Stage lighting

The auditorium is, of necessity, an element to be borne in mind as far as the lighting requirements of the set are concerned. From the time electrical illumination was first introduced through the use of projectors, the auditoria of the old opera houses have had to cope with the often difficult incorporation of such elements into their decorated interiors. The reconstruction of the auditorium and in particular of its ceiling has facilitated the earmarking of three areas for projecting light towards the stage area. The position of the booths for projection, as well as for the control and monitoring of light and sound, is at the back of the auditorium, on different levels, thus solving many of the technical problems which can arise in opera productions.

The future of opera productions, which involve large-scale investments, lies necessarily with the ability to be broadcast widely and well on TV. The spreading of opera beyond the walls of the opera house forms part of a series of aims to be achieved with a great deal of care. The reconstruction project has also included technical measures in order that the auditorium and stage be equipped as suitably as possible for television broadcasting.

Stage area

The other area of the opera house, that which begins on the other side of the stage, has to meet the needs of a somewhat complex programme within a restricted urban context. The detailing of everything required for the smooth running of the production means that organization must be formal, clear and precise. The building – as a setting for opera – is an extremely clear example of how the order and interconnection of many different elements must come together to form a single, highly specialized whole.

For this reason, special attention is to be paid to the accessibility, circulation and interconnection of all the functional spaces within the stage area. Four groups of stairways and lifts linking up all the floors have been created as well as circular corridors encircling the entire stage, despite the amount of space taken up by the latter. Thanks to this network of connections, the main entrance from the Rambla is functionally equidistant from all the work areas.

Stage and stage machinery

The stage, apart from being the largest single space in the building, is the nucleus around which all the rooms are focused. Lying on two elevatory platforms under the stage turret, it has four access points, one at each corner, all with individual vestibules. It has also five spaces for set and stage movements, located at stage level and in the third basement. The five boxes, or set spaces, are linked by two elevatory platforms which can move wheel-mounted scenery. This system allows the entire set to be changed in a matter of minutes and makes maximum use of stage space. The spaces for mounting the set could not work properly without trailer access. By means of an elevatory platform, the trailers which enter on the Rambla/Unió corner can unload backstage or in the third basement.

The stage turret, with its separate grid and motorization chamber, is an efficient tool for raising curtains or other units into any position. For vertical movement, the stage turret is equipped with free and guided precision motors, rod motors, a pulley system and manual pulling.

Although the fire may not have resulted in an increase in audience capacity, it has managed to increase production space. All these stage mechanisms and devices make it possible for

the opera house to put on productions which can alternate on a daily basis. The rest requirements of companies and singers mean that no single production can be performed on two consecutive days, and for that reason the stage needs to be loaded up with the complete scenery of two opera productions so that they can be removed or put onstage in the shortest possible time. On the other hand, it is important that the setting up and dismantling of the stage sets – work which takes several days at a time – should not take place on the stage itself, which would involve the opera house having to cancel all performances for long periods of time. Elevatory platforms, two-way trolleys, compensatory ramps for the trolleys and a fully equipped stage turret are elements which make it possible to increase output, thus increasing the number of productions and spectators.

Stage services

All stage services, tailoring, laundry, costumes, audio, video, make-up, sound and light control, workshops and storerooms, all need to be near the stage and at the same level. This is not possible on a site such as the one on which we wish to rebuild and extend the opera house destroyed in 1994 fire. This spatially obvious fact leads us to a system of priorities and specific situations for each given example determined by the relationship between the opera house and its site; if a correct relation is established, the opera house will have the framework – the space – which it requires in order to be run as efficiently as possible. On the one hand, the location of the stage and of all its appurtenances is determined by the axis of the auditorium, as regards the ground-plan, and by the height of the first row of seats, as regards the cross section. In our opera house, to take a specific example of this universal relationship affecting all buildings dedicated to theatre of one kind or another, the auditorium, rebuilt where it was and as it was, will have the height of the stalls area relocated in relation to the entrances from the imperial staircase, making it possible for the stage to be repositioned with regard to the level of the Rambla in such a way that access is at a lower and more convenient level, creating a semi-underground floor below the stage area.

In order to solve the problem of the location of services and the position of the stage with regard to the access points, the service floor was created as a ring between the upper and lower part of the stage, reconnecting the entire stage area and providing space for the above mentioned services, with easy access from them to the four entrances to the set.

The workshops and storerooms merely provide backup to the stage sets and the maintenance of all stage props. The opera house's real production workshops and large stage set warehouses all lie outside the city, which is why one of the most important aspects of the stage area is access for stage sets which require loading and unloading. The small multipurpose workshops for repairs and last minute alterations are located on the basement levels, having more to do with the level of the lower boxes – spaces for setting up and dismantling stage sets – than with the upper level of the stage area reserved for onstage movement.

Changing-rooms

The spaces earmarked for the preparation of the actors, singers, dance ensembles or walkers-on have different sizes and locations depending on the personnel for whom they are intended. The changing-rooms for main players are located next to the Rambla in a row of ten similar spaces which are soundproofed and equipped for the preparation, concentration, dressing and make-up of the most important singers. The changing-rooms for the chorus are located on two floors close by the rehearsal room, and their position, like that of almost all the facilities in the building, provides easy access to the stage. Being on the third and fourth levels – which are now once more connected horizontally, lying as they do over the lateral and rear areas of the stage – allows access to the four entrances to the stage through the four vertical communication points of the stage area.

The positioning of the changing-rooms for the chorus marks a vertical service axis tangential to the public area with a front giving onto the Carrer Sant Pau. Further down this vertical, on the lower floors, the changing-rooms for all opera house personnel are located.

The changing-rooms for guest companies and walkers-on complete the facilities of the opera house as regards this particular requirement. The orchestra has changing-rooms close by the orchestra pit so that their movements within the building are reduced to a minimum, given that they are concentrated into a single work area.

Rehearsal rooms

The full-time artistic collectives in the Gran Teatre del Liceu are the chorus and orchestra, who need suitable facilities in order to carry out their respective tasks. The largest and most specialized of these facilities are the rehearsal rooms.

The orchestra facilities are focused around the two areas where their work is concentrated. We have already spoken of the first of these: the orchestra pit, close by which the changing-rooms and the six tuning rooms are located. These six perfectly soundproofed rooms are there so that the musicians can prepare their instruments before a performance, but may also be used for rehearsal by individuals or small groups of players.

The other work area is located around the rehearsal room on the third floor. The double level orchestral rehearsal room is of a suitable size and has adequate acoustics for an orchestra to rehearse there either alone or together with the chorus.

The chorus rehearsal room, on the same floor as that for the orchestra, next to the Rambla, also has a double level. Smaller that the first one, the chorus rehearsal room makes it possible for this collective to come together for group work sessions. Moreover, the chorus also has other voice rooms for group work, located in the same zone, so that their work remains concentrated on this part of the building, next to the Rambla.

Preparation for an opera involves many rehearsals in which a space equivalent to that of the stage itself is required in order to study the movements, entrances and exits, choreography and crowd movements. These tasks involve the reproduction offstage of the set space for each production. For all these reasons, the stage rehearsal room is the largest of all three. It is located above the public auditorium, which is the largest space in the opera house after the stage area. The rehearsal room completes the vertical part of the horseshoe-shaped space typical of Italian-style opera houses; a part that begins in the new general foyer, continues with the auditorium, and is completed under cover by the aforementioned rehearsal room.

Technical and artistic production

The main centre for production and technical direction is located at stage level, on the Rambla side. The main offices for artistic direction are on the upper floor, at the corner of Rambla and Carrer de l'Unió. The directors of the chorus and the orchestra are located close by their respective rehearsal rooms, where there is also the documentary archive of the opera house, available for work and consultation.

Administration and management

The opera house general management is located mainly in the second-floor offices on the Rambla side. The building's layout ensures that all these administrative services are concentrated on a single floor which gives onto the street and which is well placed as regards centralized access to the stage area.

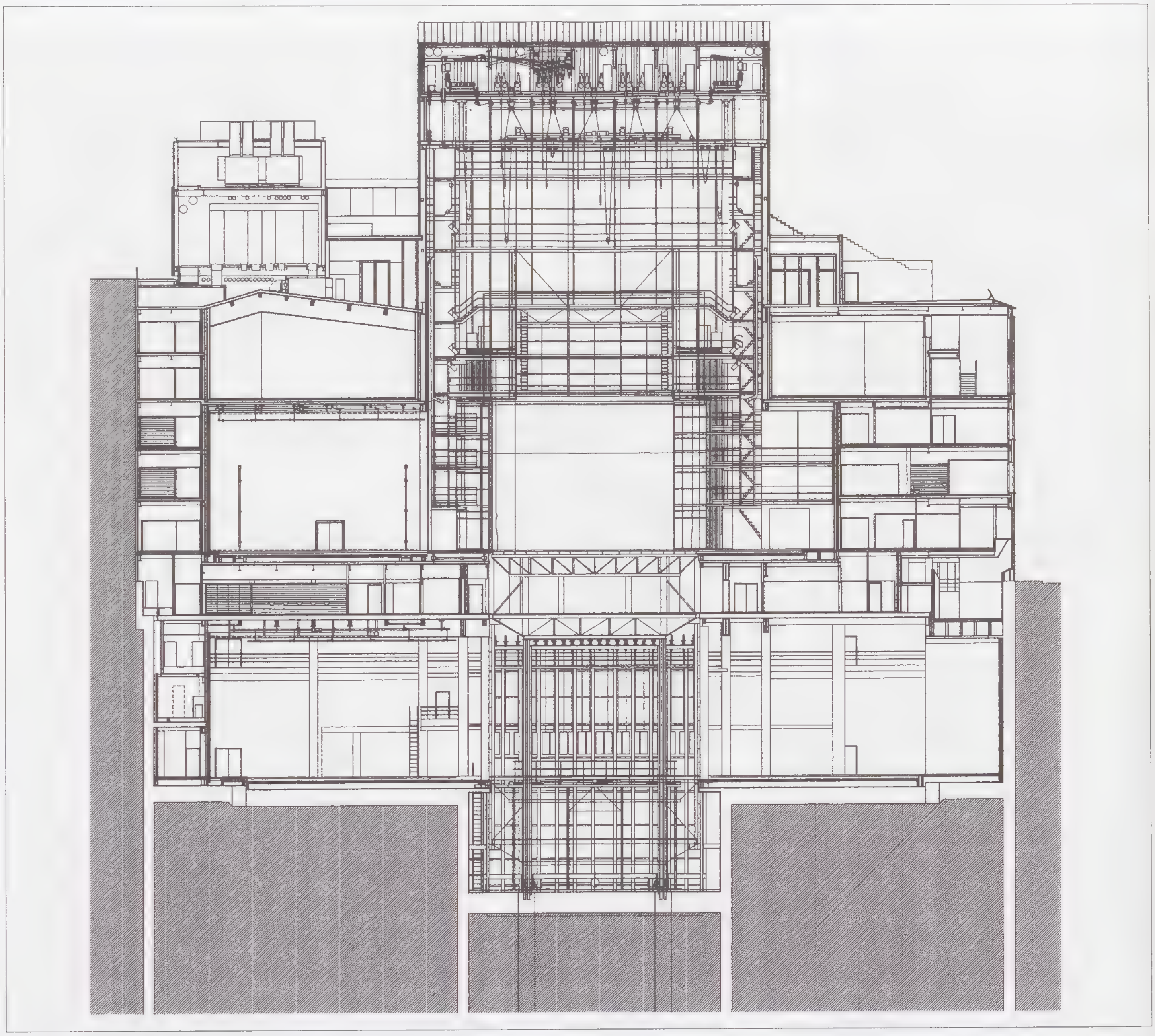
Recreational and social areas

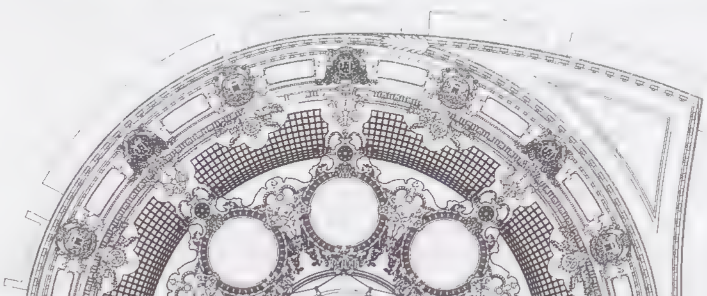
The activity of an opera house brings together many different collectives with different necessities as regards their breaks, or their concentration or dispersal around the building. The closeness of the stage access points makes it possible for groups which have to perform to come together without being backstage. It is also possible for the different artistic collectives to rest and socialize around the rehearsal rooms, in particular that assigned to the chorus. But the main area for rest and recreation is the bar, which takes up the Rambla/Carrer de l'Unió corner on two levels,

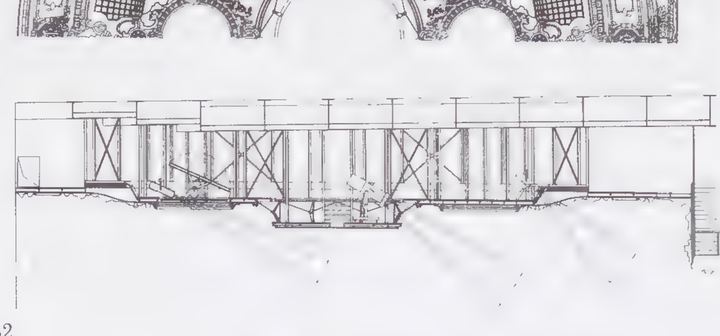
the third and fourth, with an ample closed veranda that provides a clear view of this part of the city.

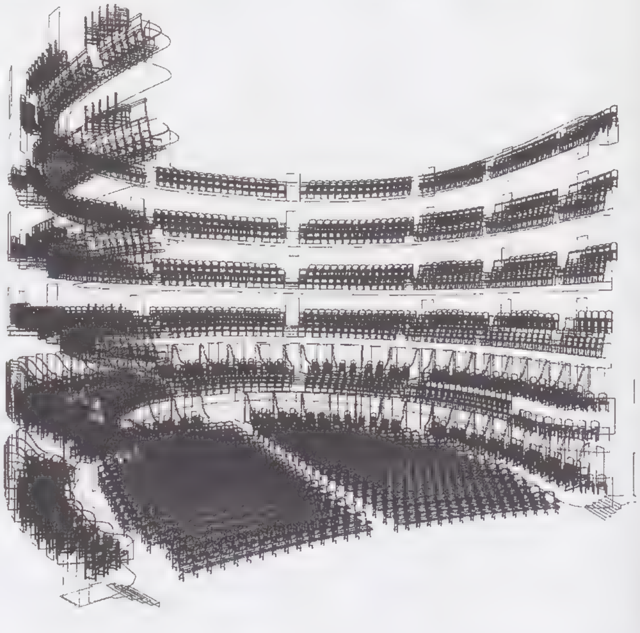
The presence of the building in the city
The project for the reconstruction and extension of the Gran Teatre del Liceu envisages the entire building as a single unit. Logically enough, the part of the façade which corresponds to the construction of the new floor is different from the old façade, but everything has been considered in overall or global terms. The same relationship between full and empty volumes is to be maintained in the new part, as is the verticality of the openings, both windows and doors. The vertical development of the new façade marks an undefined base with an ordered layout of apertures which allow descending access to the commercial area, access of all personnel and, on the corner, access for trailers as well as all the emergency exits. The upper part, consisting of four floors, is topped by a cornice at the same height as that of the old building and the surrounding houses.
As far as longitudinal development is concerned, the new façade follows a constant modulation, while marking out specific areas. On the Rambla corner, the two upper floors open up into a corner veranda – the one which forms part of the rest area for all the working collectives – projecting over the trailer access point, thus emphasizing this corner of the opera house. This veranda-viewpoint, giving onto the Rambla, and followed by a continuous cornice, is to be the emblematic element of the new building, seen either from the Rambla, or from Carrer de l'Unió or Carrer Ferran.
The new façade, supported by a structure of metal cross-sections, combines Montjuïc-type stone with a darker polished stone at the level of the windows. The gutters are of bronze, as are the uppermost cornice and the base moulding which complete the whole. All these elements are laid out on different levels, giving an effect of density and relief which stands out even when the structural forged bronze cross-sections are visible in certain places. On the Carrer Sant Pau there is a freer play of densities and reliefs, above all at the curved meeting points of the ground-plan corridors tangential to the flat plane of the façade, which is where the compositional effect is produced by the second type of stone and the window glass. On street level there is an area of visual contact with the access floor to the general foyer – as if a flat plane were sunk into the building – as well as with the entrance to the new vestibule in the Carrer Sant Pau. The roof stretches out above the cornice level, but the corresponding shapes of the stage turret and stage rehearsal room stand out immediately, and behind them stretches the group of installations for the entire opera house: an independent and parallelepiped body running from Carrer Sant Pau to Carrer de l'Unió.
The body formed by the stage turret and rehearsal room over the auditorium determines the tendency of the entire theatre, that is to say, the auditorium/stage axis which is the main organizing principle of the building. This tendency diverges with respect to the Rambla and the façade of the opera house which gives onto this boulevard, so that the entire constructed form may be read in two ways. On one side, and from street level, the opera house is a building embedded in the setting of the Old Town, just as it always has been. But beyond the line of the cornice – that is to say, if it is seen from the roofs of the neighbouring houses or from church steeples, or from the Columbus column or Montjuïc hill – it is a building which merges into its surrounding urban context thanks to the grey colour scheme used by Garriga i Roca, who thus managed to help fit Europe's largest auditorium onto such a small site.

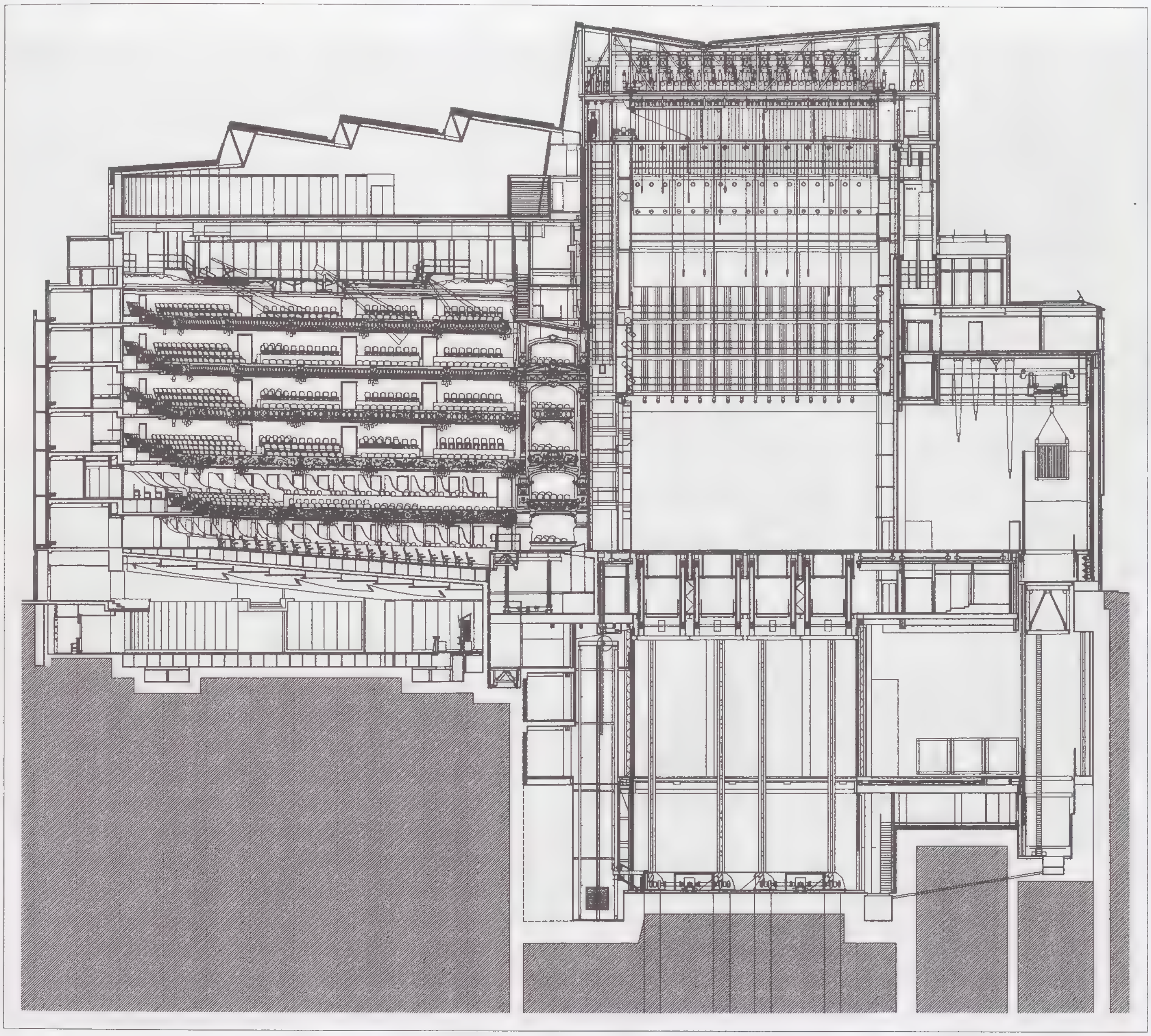
** These texts are extracts from the catalogue Various Authors,* Arquitecturas para la Música *edited in 1996 for the VI Mostra Internazionale di Architettura della Biennale di Venezia and from the catalogue Various Authors,* El Gran Teatre del Liceu. Reconstrucció i ampliació, *Actar, Barcellona 1996.*

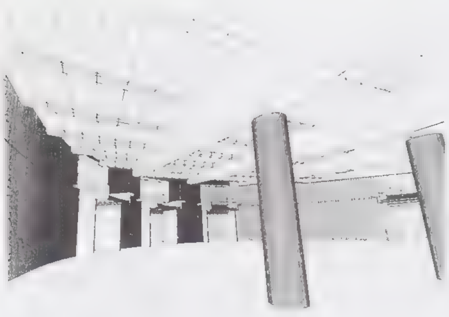












Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale, progetto definitivo, 1996.
Disegni prospettici del nuovo foyer sotto la sala e della sala con la distribuzione dei posti, progetto definitivo, 1996.
Disegno del soffitto della sala, con la decorazione originale e nuove soluzioni tecniche e acustiche, progetto definitivo, 1996.

Cross and longitudinal sections, final project, 1996.
Perspective drawings of the new foyer under the auditorium and the auditorium with the location of the seats, final project, 1996.
Drawing of the auditorium ceiling, with the original decoration and the new technical and acoustical solutions, final project, 1996.





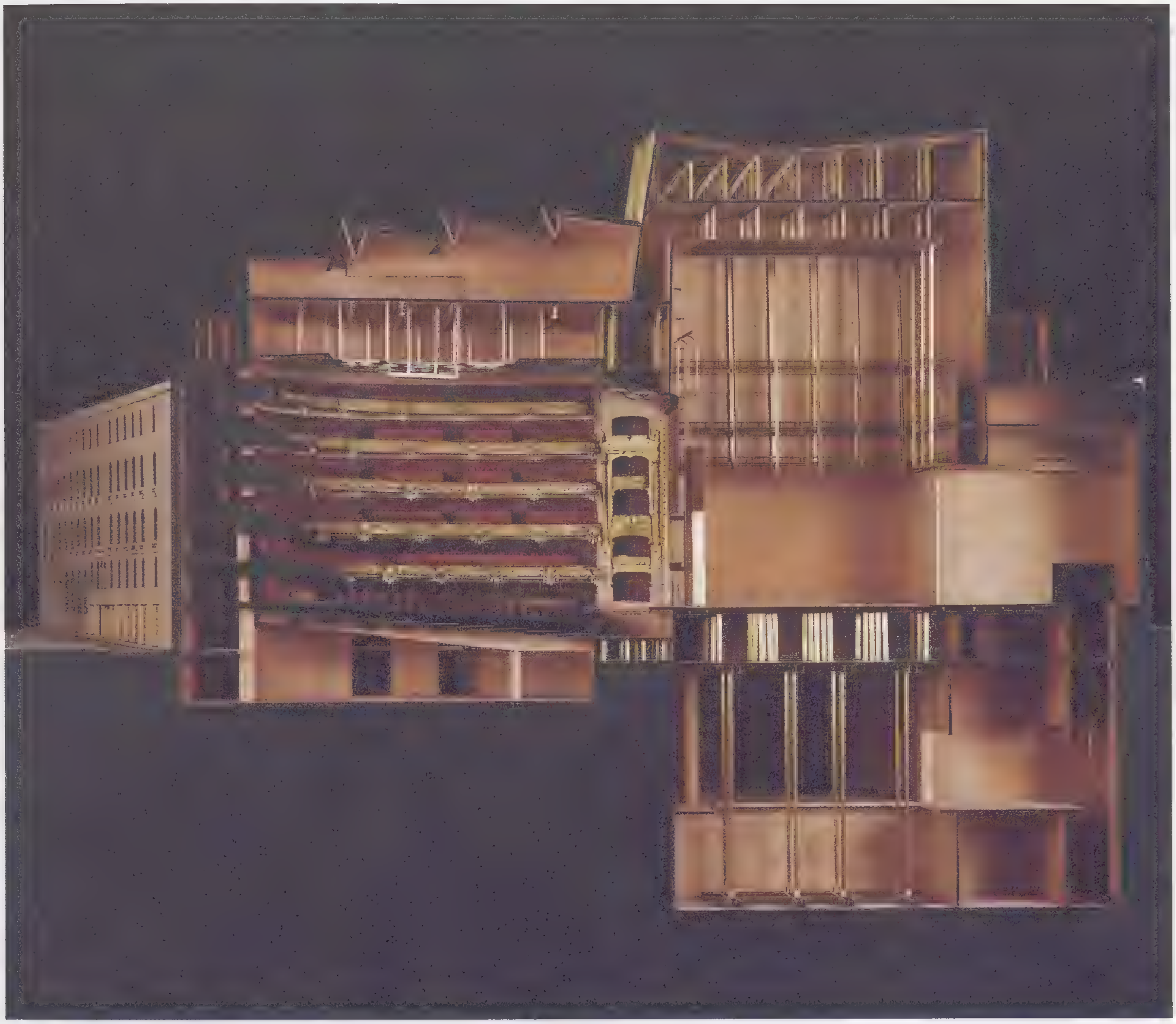


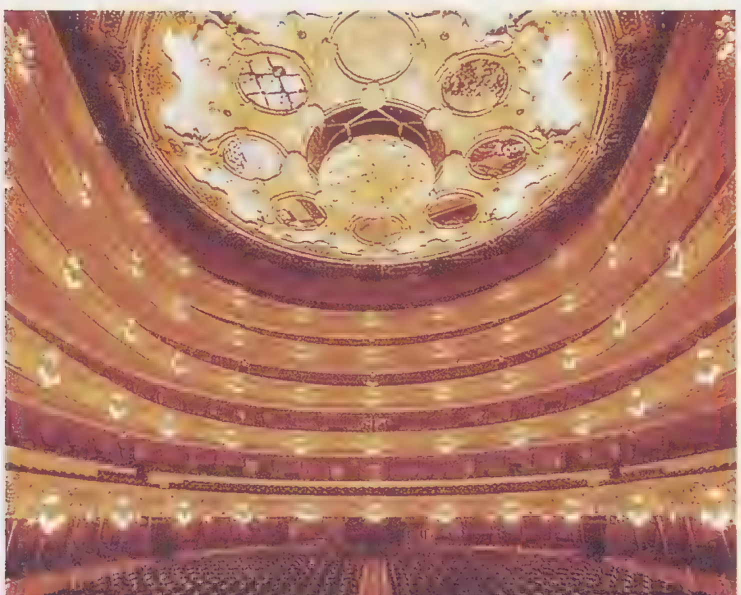


Vista del modello dall'angolo Rambla-Calle de l'Unió e vista prospettica dalla Rambla, progetto definitivo, 1996.
Fotomontaggio del modello nel settore urbano e fotomontaggio del fronte sulla Rambla, progetto definitivo, 1996.

View of the model from the corner Rambla-Calle de l'Unió and perspective view from the Rambla, final project, 1996.
Photomontage of the model in its urban context and photomontage of the facade on the Rambla, final project, 1996.



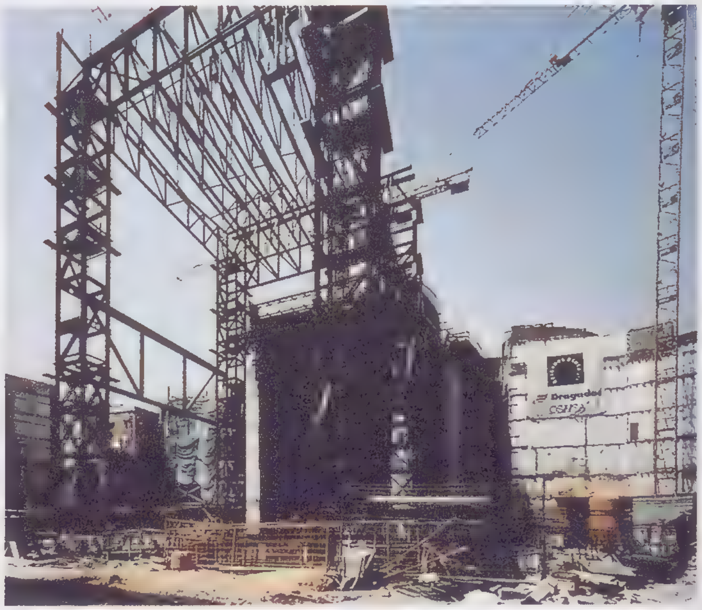




Modello d'insieme e spaccato longitudinale sulla sala e la scena, progetto definitivo, 1996. Fotomontaggio dell'interno della sala, progetto di massima, 1995.

Overall model and long-sectioned model through auditorium and stage, final project, 1996.
Photomontage of the interior of the auditorium, preliminary project, 1995.









Viste del cantiere e delle opere di ricostruzione delle decorazioni in stucco, 1997-98.

Views of the construction site and the reconstructive works of the stucco decorations, 1997-98.



Ampliació, remodelació i restauració del Palau de la Música Catalana, Barcelona
1983-89

Tusquets, Díaz & Assoc.
Project and building management: Oscar Tusquets, Carles Díaz

coll./collab.: Lluís Clotet (preliminary project), Ignacio Paricio (constructive restoration), Enric Torrent TD&4 (structures)
coll.: Eduard Permanyer TD&4, Josep Pelaia TD&4
Acoustics: Lothar Cremer, Higini Arau
Sculptures: Joan Bordes
Glass windows: Pere Valldepérez
Surveyors: Robert Ayala, Gerard Barrena

Foto/Photos: H. Suzuki

Vista dall'alto della nuova [illegible]

[illegible]



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Foto/Photos: H. Suzuki

Vista dall'alto della nuova piazza di accesso.

View from above of the new access plaza.

Ampliamento, rimodellamento e restauro del Palau de la Música Catalana, Barcellona
Oscar Tusquets

I lavori di riforma del Palau de la Música di Barcellona comprendono: a) il fedele restauro di un edificio modernista del 1903; b) la modifica e l'adeguamento degli interni relativamente a servizi, sicurezza e condizionamento termico; c) l'ampliamento tramite un nuovo edificio destinato a servizi ausiliari; d) il completamento dei lavori della Chiesa attigua, riducendo il progetto originario degli anni Quaranta; e) la creazione di un vuoto tra i tre edifici – Palau, ampliamento e Chiesa – trattato come una piazzetta di accesso agli stessi.
Lo svuotamento del piano terra, precedentemente saturato dai servizi ora trasferiti nel nuovo edificio, ha rappresentato la modifica di maggior rilievo all'edificio di Domènech i Montaner. Scopo principale di tale modifica è stato di liberare il piano terra per creare un *foyer* al quale, grazie alla presenza della piazzetta, è possibile accedere da due lati. Il nuovo accesso attraversa il vecchio patio oggi chiuso da pareti vetrate, realizzando così il sogno di Domènech: quello di progettare un edificio isolato, come in effetti sembra essere dall'interno, trattando tale patio, prima invisibile, come la facciata simmetrica che dà sulla strada.

Spazi urbani
L'idea portante del progetto prevedeva la riduzione della lunghezza della Chiesa di Sant Francesc de Paula progettata da E.P. Cendoya nel 1940, ipotizzando una nuova soluzione in grado di definire lo spazio libero rimanente.
A tale scopo si proponeva la costruzione di una nuova abside dove prima era previsto il transetto, in modo che, conservando la parte della Chiesa costruita con grande dignità, fosse possibile ridurre volume e costo di un edificio che sembrava essere eccessivo per gli attuali bisogni della parrocchia.
Nello spazio così recuperato hanno trovato posto la sacrestia e altri servizi parrocchiali, la piazzetta attraverso la quale si accede inaspettatamente al Palau e il nuovo edificio annesso.
Questa nuova costruzione ha permesso di soddisfare con grande efficacia tutte le carenze di servizi dell'edificio e ha consentito di liberare il Palau dalle successive modifiche che avevano progressivamente occultato l'opera originale di Domènech.
Dal punto di vista urbano, questo nuovo edificio di servizio impedisce di vedere il patio interno del blocco, offrendo al contempo uno sfondo visivo alla Calle Ramón Más costituito da una torre centrata sull'asse della stessa, secondo una soluzione che ricorda il tema dell'angolo dell'edificio de "la Caixa" con la Calle Jonqueres.
D'altra parte, il bizzarro tracciato della Calle Sant Francesc de Paula e della Calle Ramón Más, prodotto dall'apertura della Via Laietana, trova una sua giustificazione *a posteriori* dalla collocazione del nuovo ingresso alla piazzetta proprio in corrispondenza dell'angolo formato dalle due strade.
Il vuoto creato da questa piazzetta, insieme con la volumetria gradonata della navata della Chiesa, dell'abside e della sacrestia, permette di rendere visivamente indipendente il complesso formato dal Palau e dal nuovo edificio dei servizi. In tal modo il patio longitudinale del Palau, trattato da Domènech con la medesima dignità di un fronte importante, è stato reso visibile dalla Calle Sant Francesc de Paula, dalla Calle Ramón Más e persino dalla Via Laietana: il Palau è stato così trasformato in un edificio con fronti affacciati su tre spazi urbani.

Pianta livello 0: foyer
In corrispondenza del livello di accesso al Palau è stato creato un grande *foyer*. Sono state eliminate le *dépendance* che progressivamente avevano occupato il patio così come i tavolati che dividevano i vecchi uffici, lasciando inalterate le grandi vetrate. Questo grande spazio collega sia fisicamente che visivamente i due ingressi principali al Palau – quello vecchio e quello nuovo attraverso il patio – con le tre scale e l'ascensore. Bar e servizi annessi, guardaroba, punto vendita di libri e dischi sono stati comodamente inseriti in tale spazio. La sala prove ha recuperato la vetrata e l'illuminazione naturale che aveva originariamente. Inoltre è stata occupata anche una piccola superficie dell'edificio de "la Caixa", destinata a una scala per gli artisti e a un montacarichi per gli strumenti. La torre, appoggiata a un nucleo centrale, dispone di due entrate simmetriche, la prima sull'area di parcheggio e l'altra sulla piazza.
In corrispondenza del livello -1 è stata realizzata una nuova sala prove, caratterizzata da un rapporto volume-persone simile a quello della sala principale e totalmente isolata da questa.
All'estremità della navata già costruita in pietra, la Chiesa è stata conclusa con un'abside semicircolare e con una sacrestia che si apre sulla piazzetta. Al livello -1 è stata anche ricavata una sala cerimonie, illuminata dalla lanterna situata al centro della piazzetta.

Piante primo e secondo livello: sala, palcoscenico e artisti
Per quanto riguarda la platea, la modifica più rilevante è stata l'ampliamento in avanti del palcoscenico, che ha assorbito le prime quattro file di poltrone e due palchi.
La modifica apportata ha reso possibile:
a) una disposizione adeguata dell'orchestra e del coro; b) una migliore acustica degli strumenti a corda, tradizionalmente flebile nel Palau, collocando i violini davanti al boccascena;
c) un accesso più agevole degli strumenti al palcoscenico, anche durante il concerto.
In totale si sono persi 104 posti; tuttavia un pubblico specializzato può occupare i 123 posti dei banchi del coro, in occasione di concerti in cui questo non sia presente.
Sono stati eliminati i tendaggi del fondo della sala, recuperando la trasparenza delle vetrate a colori previste da Domènech, e sono state altresì eliminate le superfici assorbenti del suono allo scopo di prolungare il tempo di riverberazione (prove effettuate hanno dimostrato l'assenza di eco e una sonorità migliore).
Gli spogliatoi e i camerini sono stati collocati nell'edificio di ampliamento, distribuiti su due piani connessi tramite il salone degli artisti situato nella torre.

Pianta terzo livello: anfiteatro e direzione
Per i motivi di sonorità precedentemente esposti sono stati eliminati i tendaggi che ornavano la sala e i tavolati divisori dei palchi. È stato rimesso in evidenza il patio triangolare, spazio magnifico e negletto nel vecchio edificio, quale elemento di cerniera tra Palau e ampliamento.

Pianta quarto livello
La zona situata sotto i gradoni, dove prima della ristrutturazione trovava posto un piccolo bar, è stata riorganizzata convenientemente ricollocando il bar, con maggiori dimensioni, nella sala di riposo.
Il patio triangolare, che a questo livello acquista dimensioni più rilevanti, è delimitato da vetrate colorate nel segmento curvo corrispondente al Palau e da vetrate trasparenti in corrispondenza dell'edificio di ampliamento.
La scala degli artisti è stata prolungata fino a questo livello per fungere da uscita di sicurezza per il pubblico.
Nella torre è presente uno spazio doppio al di sopra della sala riunioni.

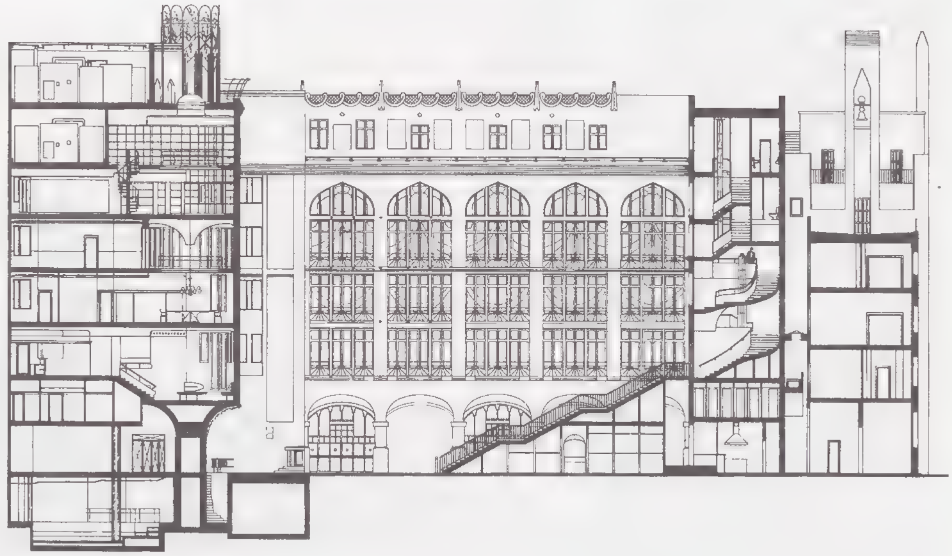
Piante quinto e sesto livello: archivio, biblioteca, uffici
Sopra la sala concerti, tra la struttura delle travi metalliche, sono stati eliminati i locali d'abitazione esistenti destinando il piano a un ufficio panoramico a pianta libera. Il vano posto al di sopra del palcoscenico, uno spazio che assorbe il suono dell'orchestra, è stato coperto in vetro.
Nella zona di ampliamento trovano sede archivio e biblioteca, con la sala di lettura a doppia altezza all'interno della torre.
Al sesto piano e sulla copertura del nuovo edificio, totalmente isolati dalle vibrazioni, sono installati gli impianti tecnici di condizionamento.
La torre pertinente alla Chiesa ha guadagnato due piani.

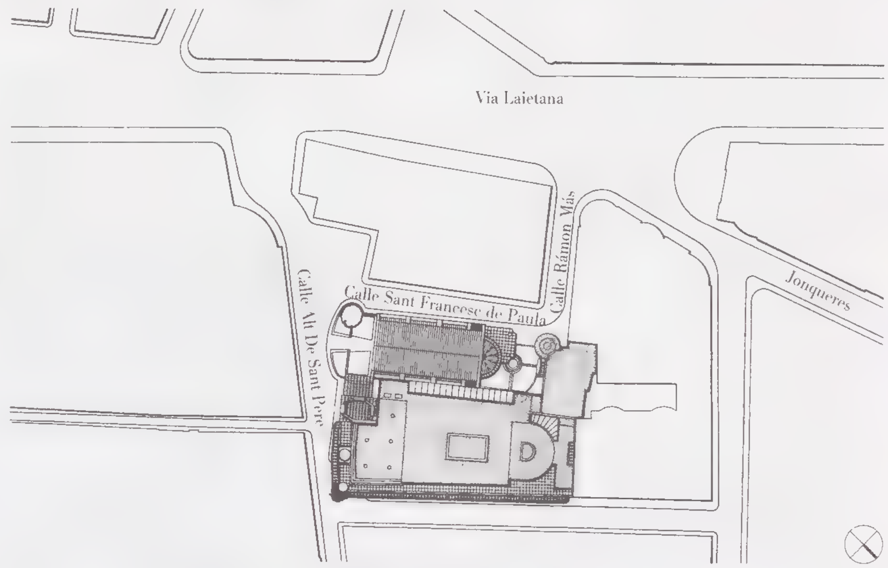
Fronte su Calle Alt De Sant Pere
Nel Palau si è cercato per quanto possibile di restaurare gli elementi originali. Ciò è risultato più agevole in alcuni casi (balaustre di fastigio, porte di ingresso), bisognoso di uno studio più approfondito in altri (lanterna del torrione, grate arrotolabili, lampioni...).
Completare la facciata di Sant Francesc de Paula con la monumentalità del progetto originario ci è sembrato alquanto arduo, e comunque di esito incerto e costoso. Abbiamo creduto che, considerato lo spazio ridotto di cui dispone la Chiesa frontalmente, la soluzione migliore consistesse nel demolire il colonnato del portico, utilizzare gli elementi in pietra della facciata (con piccole correzioni) e rivestire il resto con mattoni a vista, ottenendo così una facciata dignitosa, simile a quella di molte chiese incompiute.
Nel volume della direzione e delle abitazioni, situato tra la Chiesa e il Palau, abbiamo ripreso l'idea del progetto di Cendoya di configurare a torre la parte destra dell'edificio, allo scopo di isolare la facciata ben definita e completa del Palau.

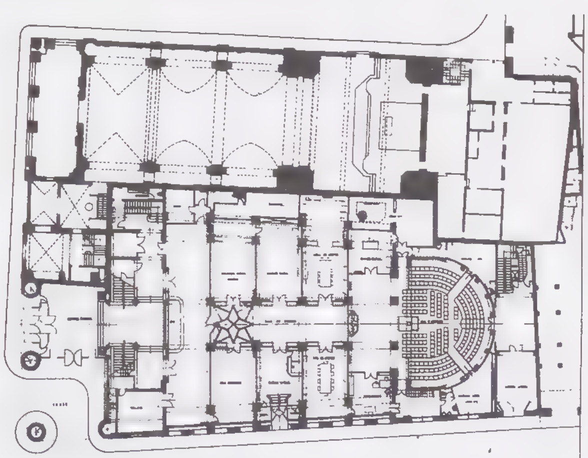
Fronte su Calle Sant Francesc de Paula
L'altezza dell'edificio di ampliamento è intermedia tra quella de "la Caixa" a sinistra e quella del Palau. Forma e decorazione della base della torre sono un'evocazione dell'architettura di Domènech.
Alla sacrestia e all'abside è stata conferita la minima altezza possibile così da permettere la vista della facciata del patio con le vetrate a colori. Sul fianco della Chiesa sono state aperte le finestre previste nel progetto di Cendoya.

Sezioni longitudinali
Il patio triangolare permette di vedere, dai corridoi e dalla scala dell'ampliamento, la facciata posteriore del palcoscenico con le incisioni serigrafiche a motivi floreali e le vetrate. La pavimentazione di questo patio è stata rifatta con materiale traslucido per illuminare la sala prove.
La lanterna che illumina la sala delle cerimonie del piano interrato può costituire un piedistallo per la statua di qualche famoso musicista.
La torre del nuovo edificio contiene tre spazi a doppia altezza simili a quelli del Palau, che corrispondono, dall'alto al basso, alla biblioteca, alla sala riunioni e al salone degli artisti.

Sezioni trasversali
Una facciata in vetro e un lucernario chiudono il patio del Palau, trasformandolo in un vestibolo a tutta altezza. La sala risulta quindi isolata dall'esterno da un doppio serramento. In platea si può vedere, come in sezione, l'ampliamento del palcoscenico, mentre a piano terra si trova la sala prove illuminata con luce naturale grazie al recupero delle vetrate originarie.



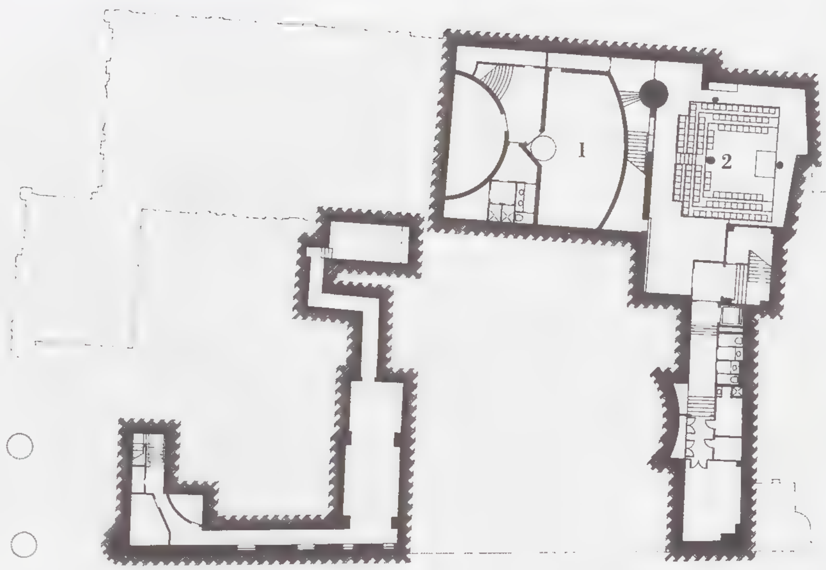


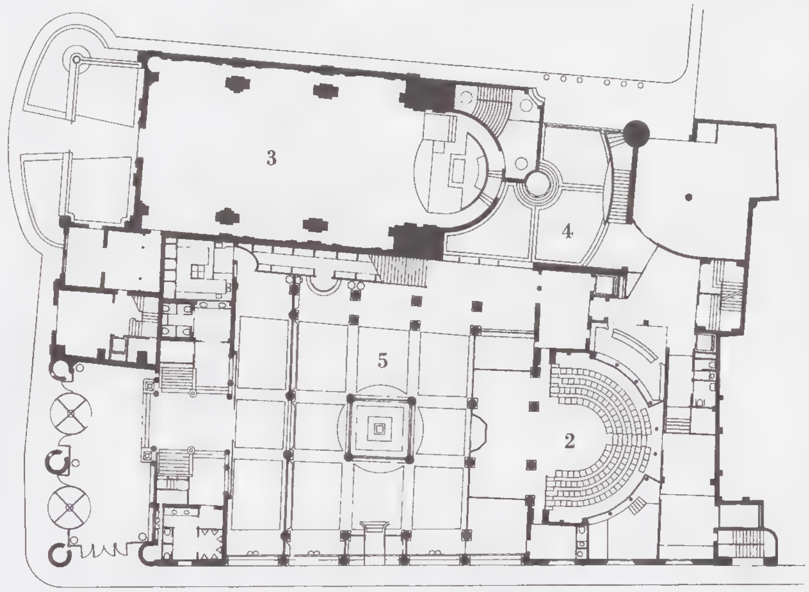


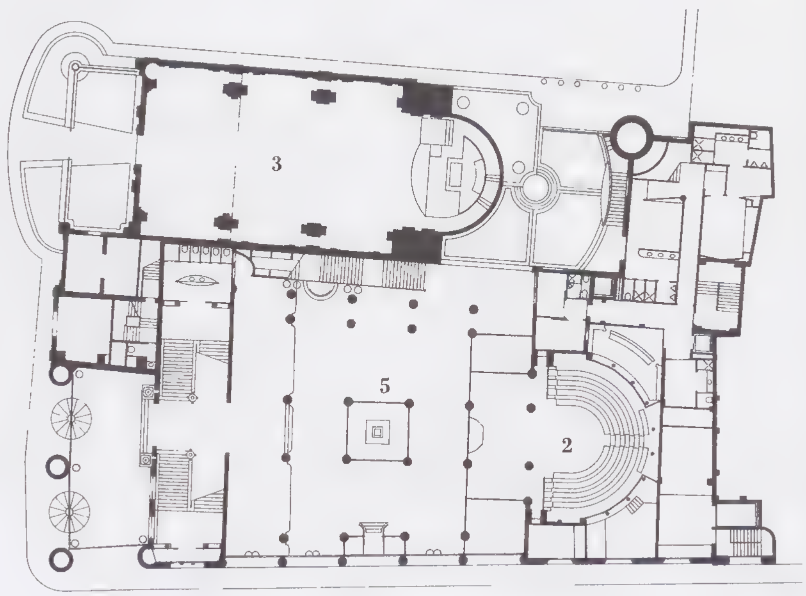
Sezione longitudinale e planimetria generale. Pianta del piano terreno prima dell'intervento di restauro.

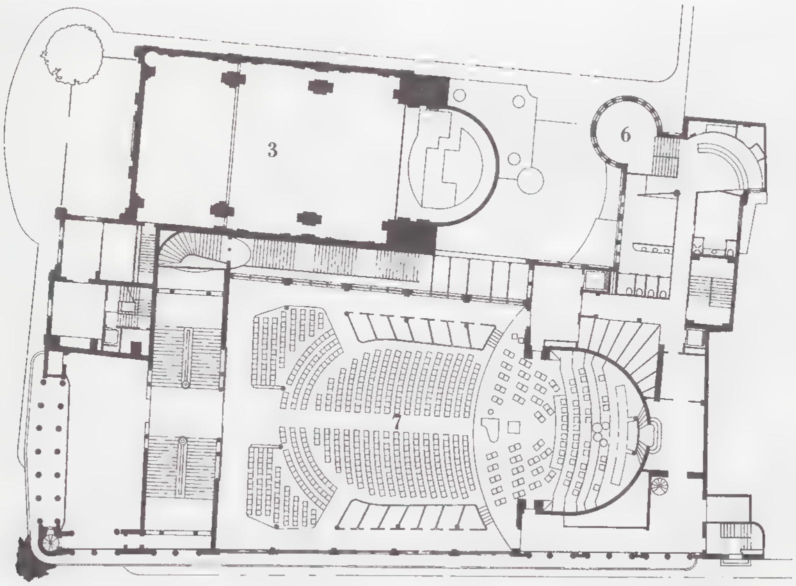
Longitudinal section and site plan. Ground floor plan before the restoration.

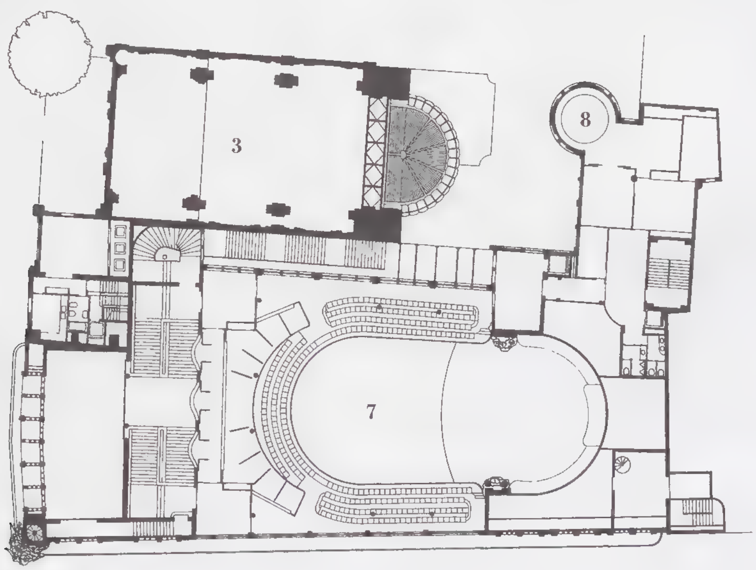
Con l'eliminazione dei tendaggi e dei tavolati il fondo della sala ha ritrovato la trasparenza originaria.
Il vano situato al di sopra del palcoscenico è stato chiuso con una vetrata per motivi di natura acustica.
L'aria condizionata viene erogata da piccoli fori praticati sul soffitto della sala e assorbita da griglie poste sul pavimento della platea. Il ritorno avviene attraverso lo spazio vuoto del patio.
La navata della Chiesa, esageratamente alta rispetto alla lunghezza, è stata raddoppiata percettivamente mediante uno specchio che la separa dall'abside. Tale membrana è caratterizzata da alcune parti trasparenti, che lasciano filtrare la luce come una vetrata barocca. Sullo sfondo si profila l'abside rivestita in pannelli dorati.
La testata della Chiesa è stata chiusa con una grande vetrata che illumina il diaframma trasparente.

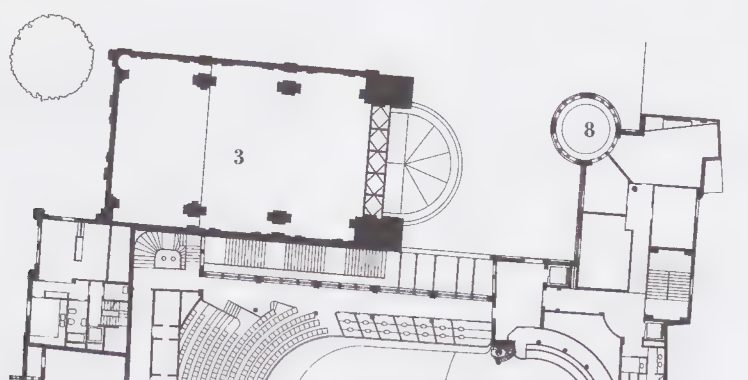








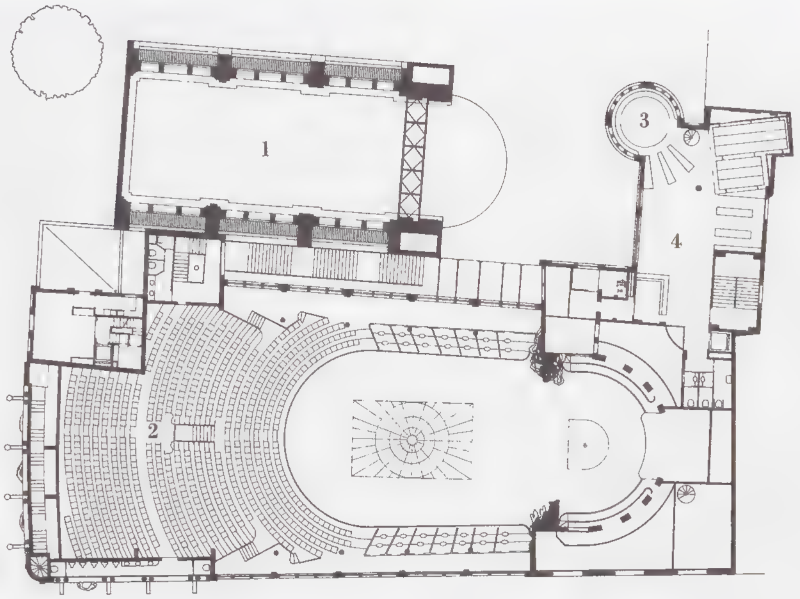


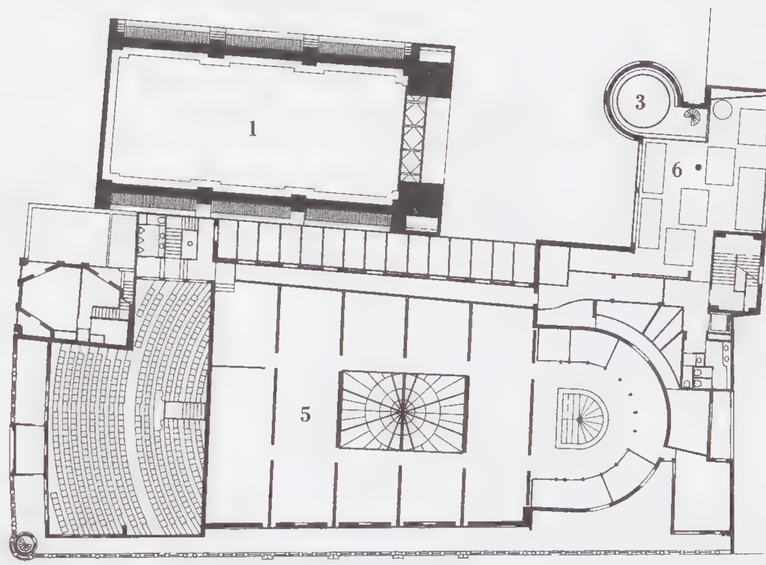


Piante livelli interrato, terreno, primo, secondo, terzo, quarto: 1) sala cerimonie; 2) sala prove; 3) Chiesa; 4) piazza; 5) foyer; 6) sala artisti; 7) sala concerti; 8) sala riunioni; 9) bar.

Basement level, ground level, first, second, third and fourth levels plans: 1) ceremony room; 2) rehearsal rooms; 3) Church; 4) plaza; 5) foyer; 6) artists' lounge; 7) concert hall; 8) meeting room; 9) bar.

Addition, remodelling and restoration of the Palau de la Música Catalana, Barcelona
Oscar Tusquets





Piante livelli quinto e sesto: 1) Chiesa; 2) sala concerti; 3) sala di lettura; 4) archivio e biblioteca; 5) uffici; 6) impianti tecnici.

Fifth and sixth levels plans: 1) Church; 2) concert hall; 3) reading room; 4) archive and library; 5) offices; 6) technical plants.

The work for the restoration of the Palau de la Música of Barcelona include: a) accurate restoration of a modernist edifice built in 1903; b) modification and upgrading of the interiors for services, security and safety, and climate control; c) expansion, with a new building for auxiliary services; d) completion of works on the nearby Church, reducing the original project from the 1940s; e) creation of a space between the three edifices – Palau, addition and Church – treated as an access plaza for all three.
The clearing out of the ground floor, previously densely filled with the services that now are located in the new addition, is the most important modification to the edifice by Domènech i Montaner. The main aim of this modification was to free the ground floor for the creation of a foyer which, thanks to the plaza, can be accessed from two sides. The new access crosses the former patio, now enclosed by glazings, making Domènech's dream come true: to design an isolated edifice, as is the impression from the inside, treating this patio, invisible at first, as the symmetrical facade on the street.

Urban spaces
The basic idea of the project called for the reduction of the length of the Church of Sant Francesc de Paula designed by E.P. Cendoya in 1940, hypothesizing a new solution capable of defining the open space thus created.
To this end, the project proposes the construction of a new apse where the transept was supposed to be, in such a way as to conserve the part of the Church that has already been built in a very dignified manner, while reducing the volume and the cost of an edifice that appears, today, to be excessive for the needs of the parish.
In the space thus liberated the project places the sacresty and other parish services, and the plaza which unexpectedly provides access to the Palau and its new addition.
This new construction resolves all the problems of services of the edifice, and has made it possible to free the Palau of successive modifications that have gradually concealed the original work of Domènech.
From an urban point of view this new service edifice impedes the view of the patio inside the block, while offering a visual backdrop for the Calle Ramón Más composed of a tower centered on its axis, in a solution similar to that of the corner of the building of "la Caixa" on Calle Jonqueres.
On the other hand the eccentric form of Calle Sant Francesc de Paula and Calle Ramón Más, produced by the opening of Via

Laietana, meets with an a posteriori *justification in the positioning of the new entrance to the plaza, right at the corner formed by the two streets.*
The void created by this plaza, together with the stepped volumetric of the nave of the Church, the apse and the sacresty, makes it possible to render the complex formed by the Palau and the new services building visually autonomous. In this way the longitudinal patio of the Palau, treated by Domènech with the same dignity as a main facade, has been made visible from the Calle Sant Francesc de Paula, Calle Ramón Más and even Via Laietana. The Palau has been transformed, in this way, into an edifice with facades on three urban spaces.

Level 0 plan: foyer
At the access level of the Palau a large foyer has been created. The additions that had progressively occupied the space of the patio, and the dividers for the old offices, have been eliminated, leaving the large glazings intact. This large space connects, both in physical and visual terms, the two main entrances to the Palau – the old one, and the new one, across the patio – with the three staircases and the elevator. A bar and related services, a cloakroom and a shop for the sale of books and records have been positioned in this space. The rehearsal room has been restored to its original condition of a space naturally illuminated by the glazings. Moreover, a small area of the edifice of "la Caixa" has also been utilized, to create a staircase for the musicians and an elevator for the instruments.
The tower, resting on a central nucleus, has two symmetrical entrances, the first on the parking area, the other on the plaza.
At level -1 a new rehearsal room has been created, characterized by a volume-capacity ratio similar to that of the main hall, and completely soundproofed.
At the end of the nave already constructed in stone, the Church has been completed with a semicircular apse and a sacresty that opens onto the plaza. At level -1 a ceremony room has also been created, illuminated by the lantern placed at the center of the plaza.

Plans of the first and second levels: hall, stage and artists
Where the main seating area is concerned, the most important modification has been the extension of the front of the stage, which has led to the removal of the first four rows of seats and two boxes. This modification has permitted: a) proper positioning of the orchestra and the chorus; b) improvements in the acoustics for stringed instruments, previously weak in the Palau, by placing the violins in front of the proscenium; c) easier access for instruments to the stage, even during the concert.
In all 104 seats have been lost; nevertheless, a specialized audience can take advantage of the 123 seats for the chorus, during concerts in which the chorus is not present. The drapes in the back of the hall have been eliminating, restoring the transparency of the colored glazings, as in the original design of Domènech; other sound absorbing surfaces have been eliminated, with the aim of improving the resonance of the hall (acoustic testing has shown that the results are good, free of echoes and with improved sonority).
The dressing rooms have been placed in the new addition, on two levels, connected by the artists' lounge in the tower.

Third level plan: amphitheatre and administration
Due to the acoustic motivations mentioned above, the drapes of the hall and the dividers for the boxes have been eliminated.
The triangular patio, a magnificent, neglected space of the old building, has been recovered as a connecting element between the Palau and the addition.

Fourth level plan
The zone beneath the large steps, where before the restructuring there was a small bar, has been conveniently reorganized by placing the bar, in a larger version, in the lounge.
The triangular patio, which at this level takes on a larger dimension, is bordered by colored glazings in the curved segment corresponding to the Palau and by transparent glazings in correspondence to the addition.
The artists' staircase has been extended to this level, to also function as a safety exit for the public.
In the tower there is a double space above the meeting room.

Plans of the fifth and sixth levels: archive, library, offices
Above the concert hall, between the structures of the metal beams, existing residential spaces have been eliminated, to set this level aside for an open-plan panoramic office. The space above the stage, a space that absorbs the sound of the orchestra, has been covered in glass.
In the zone of the addition there are an archive and a library, with a two-storey reading room inside the tower.
On the sixth level and on the roof of the new edifice, completely insulated with respect to vibrations, the air conditioning plant elements have been installed.
The tower belonging to the Church has gained two floors.

Facade on Calle Alt De Sant Pere
In the Palau an attempt has been made to restore the greatest possible number of original elements. This was rather simple in some cases (pediment balustrades, entrance doors), but required further study in others (lantern of the large tower, rolling grates, lamps).
To complete the facade of Sant Francesc de Paula with the monumental intent of the original design appeared to be a very difficult task, uncertain in its results, and undoubtedly costly. We reasoned that, considering the reduced space frontally available to the Church, the best solution would be to demolish the colonnade of the portico, to utilize the stone elements of the facade (with a few small corrections) and to face the rest in exposed brick, thus obtaining a dignified front, similar to that of many unfinished churches.
In the volume of the administration and the residential units, situated between the Church and the Palau, we have returned to the idea from the design of Cendoya to configure the right part of the edifice as a tower, in order to isolate the well-defined, complete facade of the Palau.

Facade on Calle Sant Francesc de Paula
The height of the addition is midway between that of "la Caixa" to the left and that of the Palau. The form and decoration of the base of the tower are a reminder of the architecture of Domènech.
The sacresty and the apse have been given the minimum possible height, in order to permit view of the facade of the patio with its coloured glazings. On the side of the Church windows have been placed, as in the design by Cendoya.

Longitudinal sections
The triangular patio makes it possible to see, from the corridors and the staircase of the addition, the rear facade of the stage with its floral motif silkscreen engravings and glazings. The paving of this patio has been rebuilt with translucent material to illuminate the rehearsal room.
The lantern that illuminates the ceremony room on the basement level can become the pedestal for the statue of a famous musician. The tower of the new edifice contains three two-storey spaces similar to those of the Palau, corresponding, from top to bottom, to the library, the meeting room and the artists' lounge.

Cross-sections
A facade in glass and a skylight enclose the patio of the Palau, transforming it into a full-height vestibule. Thus the hall is separated from the outdoors by a double glazing. In the stalls one can see, as in a cross-section, the expansion of the stage, while on the ground floor there is a rehearsal room illuminated with natural sunlight thanks to the recovery of the original glazings.
With the elimination of the drapes and the dividers, the back of the hall has been restored to its original transparency.
The space above the stage has been closed off with a glazing to improve the acoustics.
The air conditioning makes use of small







Fronte su Calle Alt de Sant Pere e sezioni trasversali.

Facade on Calle Alt de Sant Pere and cross-sections.

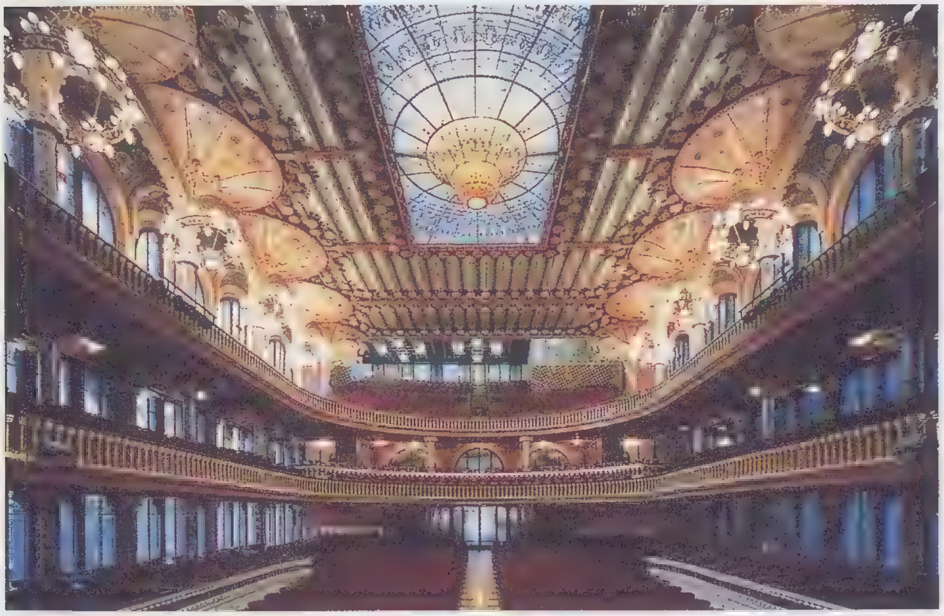
openings in the ceiling of the hall; removal of the air is performed by grills in the flooring of the seating area. The air cycle passes through the open space of the patio.
The nave of the Church, exaggeratedly high with respect to its length, has been doubled, in terms of perception, by means of a mirror that separates it from the apse. This membrane is characterized by certain transparent parts, that allow light to filter through, as in a Baroque window. In the background one can see the apse, faced in gilded panels.
The end of the Church has been completed with a large glazing that illuminates the transparent diaphragm.















Vista del piano degli uffici al quinto livello sopra la sala.
Viste delle sale prove sotto il palcoscenico e al piano interrato.
Viste del palcoscenico, della sala e del foyer.
Vista dell'ingresso su Calle Alt de Sant Pere.

View of the offices at the fifth level above the hall.
Views of the rehearsal rooms under the stage and in the basement.
Views of the stage, the hall and the foyer.
View of the entrance on Calle Alt de Sant Pere.



Vista dal patio verso l'ampliamento.
Vista dell'ingresso dalla nuova piazza con la Chiesa sulla destra.

View of the addition from the patio.
View of the entrance from the new plaza with the Church on the right.





Vista della sala di lettura a doppia altezza.
Vista da Calle Ramón Más.

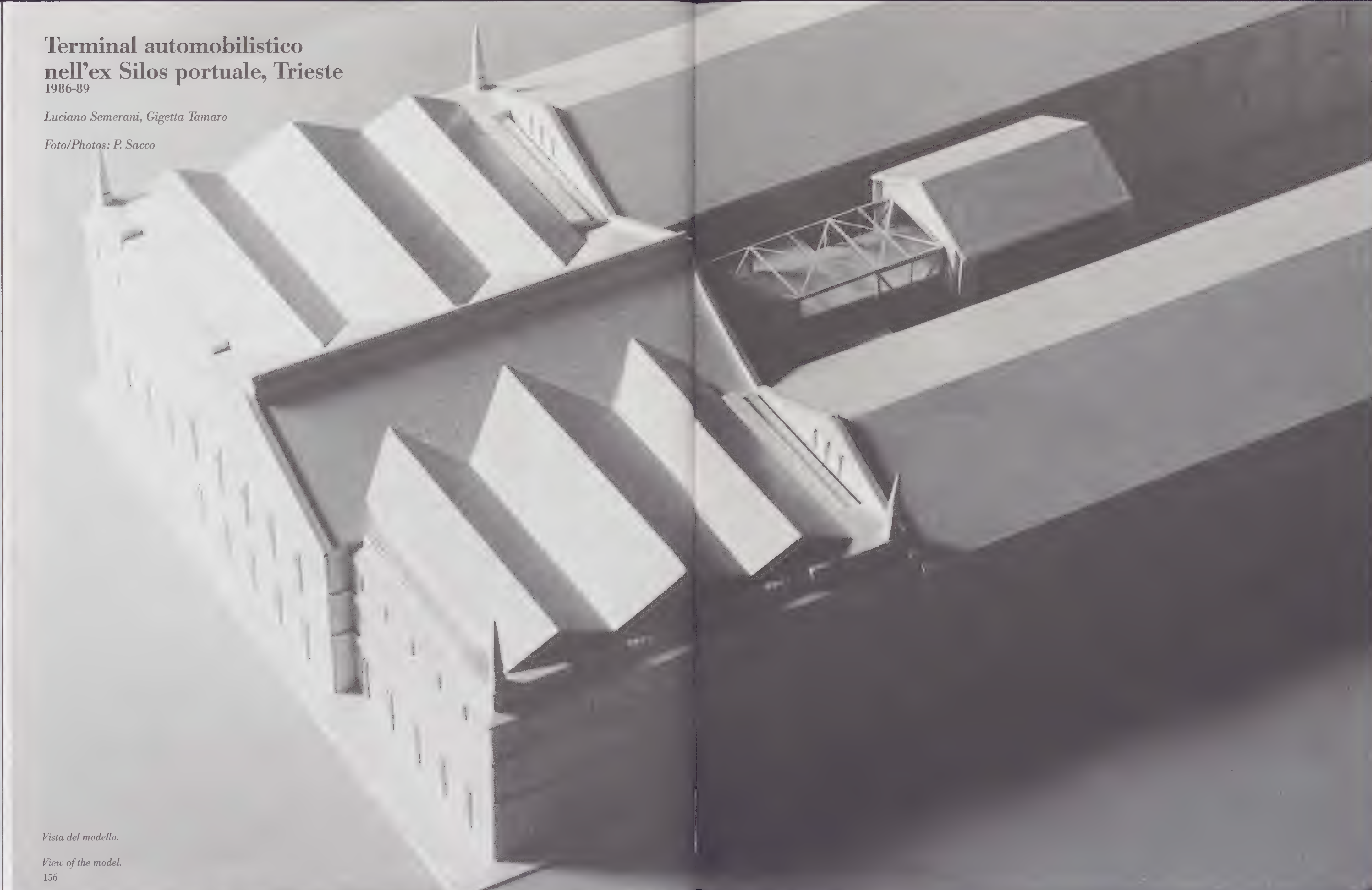
View of the two-storey reading room.
View from Calle Ramón Más.



Terminal automobilistico nell'ex Silos portuale, Trieste
1986-89

Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro

Foto/Photos: P. Sacco



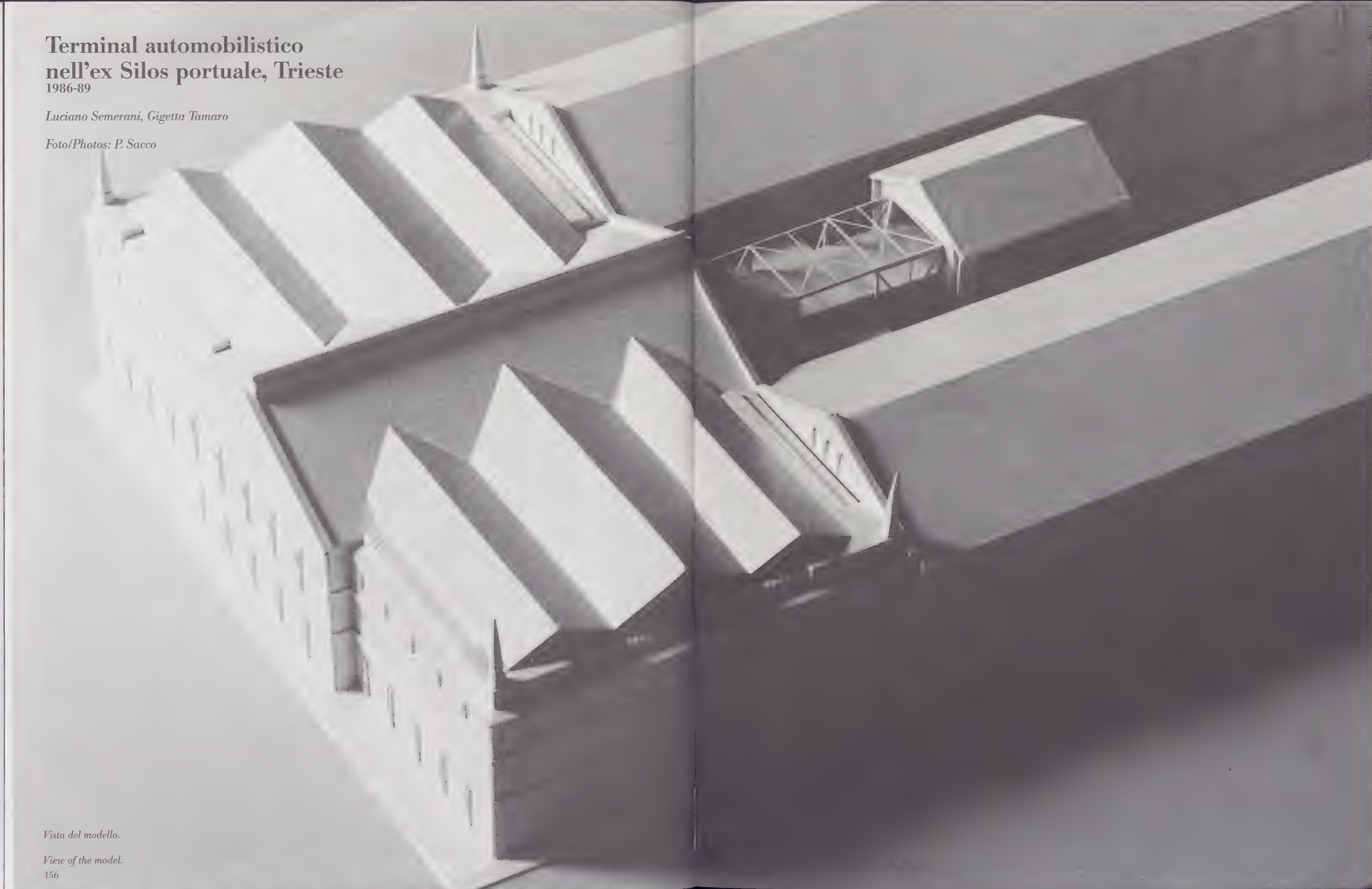
Vista del modello.

View of the model.

Terminal automobilistico nell'ex Silos portuale, Trieste
1986-89

Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro

Foto/Photos: P. Sacco



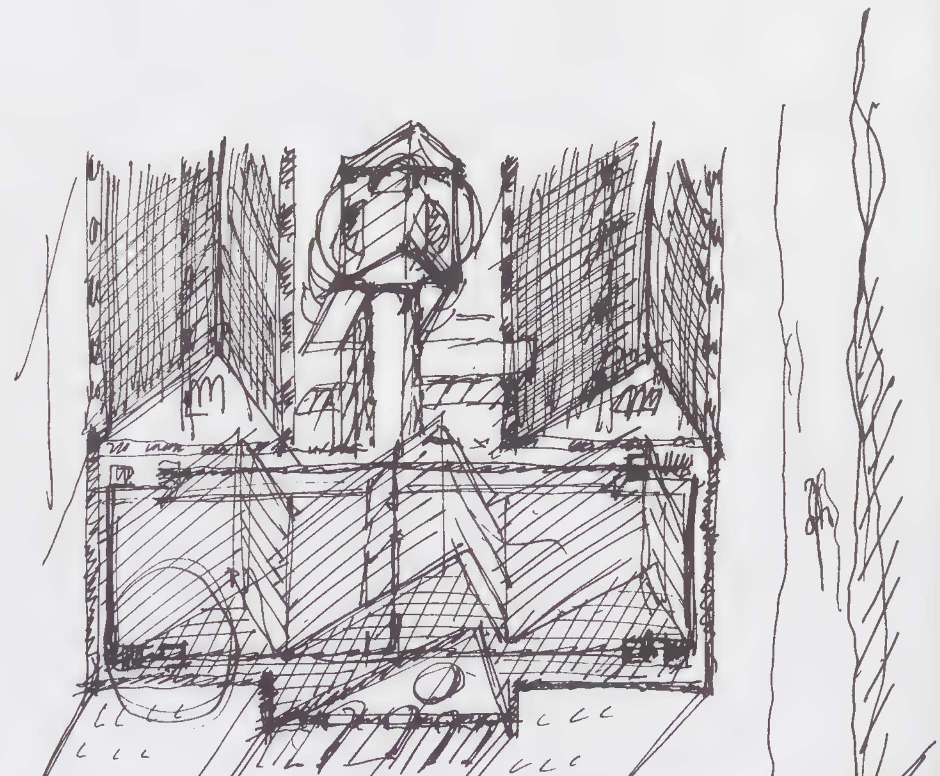
Vista del modello.

View of the model.

Disegni di studio.

Working drawings.





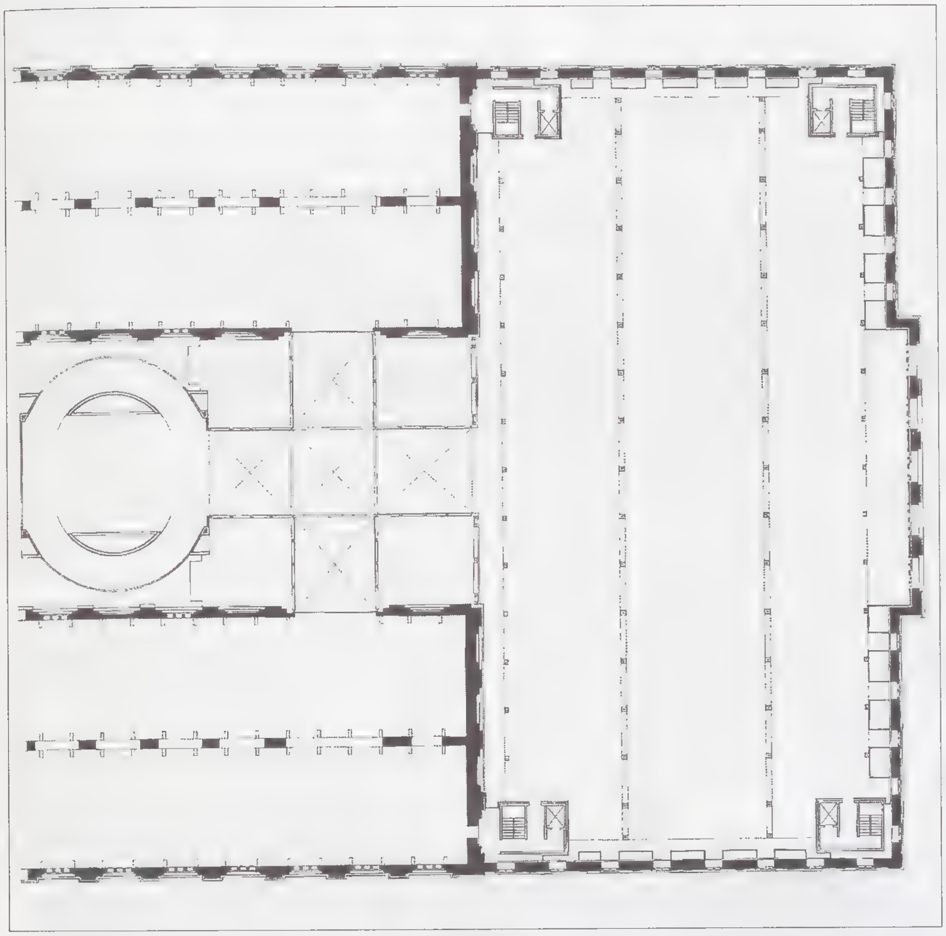
Terminal automobilistico nell'ex Silos portuale, Trieste
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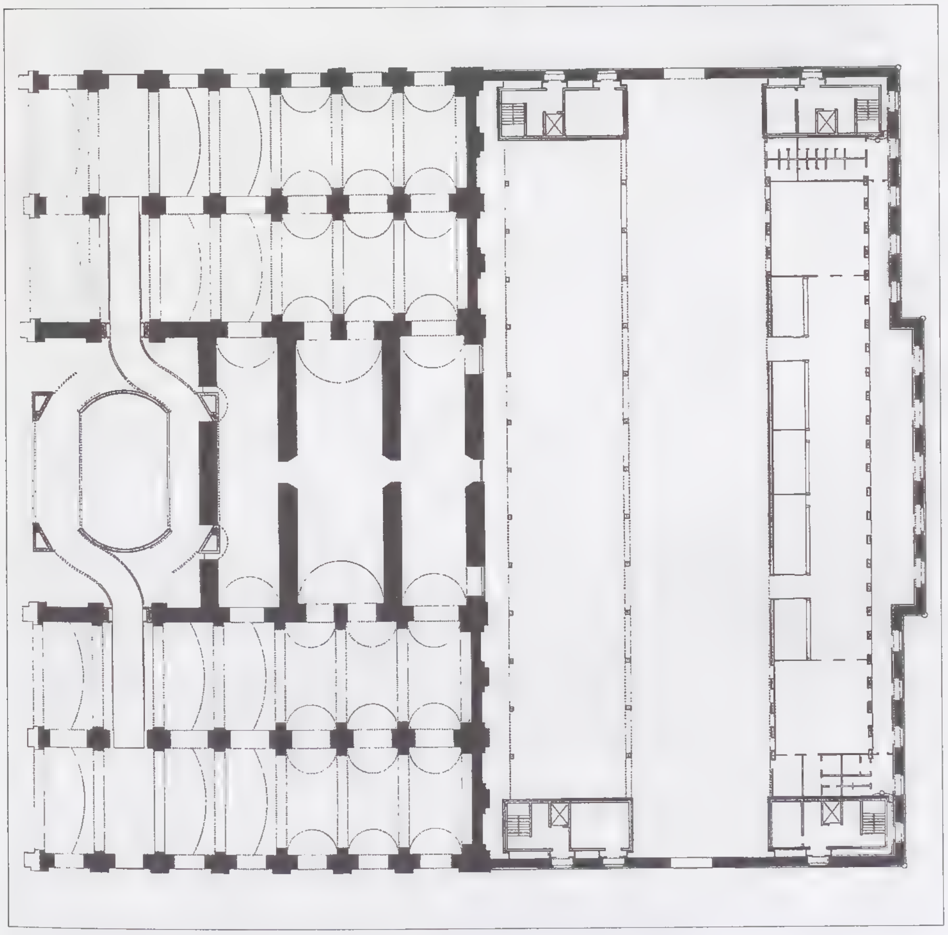
Ha senso la conservazione dell'edificio storico?
La questione della restituzione o meno, alla città, del Silos restaurato e ristrutturato, in un'immagine che lo ricordi come architettura industriale eminente nel panorama urbano di Trieste, travalica il fatto che esistano delle norme urbanistico-edilizie che noi abbiamo ritenuto opportuno e doveroso rispettare.
Bisogna infatti rispondere senza mezzi termini alla domanda retorica: un edificio costruito per scopi squisitamente pratici, costituito in realtà da due fabbricati distinti, quello sulla piazza ormai ridotto, da un incendio forse doloso, a muri ed occhiaie vuote, quello postico acquistato dal Comune solo parzialmente, edifici per i quali sono passati eserciti e profughi con le loro cimici, largamente manomessi, certo non citati nelle storie dell'architettura, possono questi manufatti miserevoli e portuali meritare un restauro?
Abbiamo trovato documenti sullo stato originale del fabbricato su Piazza della Stazione nell'originaria struttura di contenitore (Silos!): pochissime aperture arcuate entro l'alto basamento bugnato, al primo piano il solido geometrico resta interamente chiuso nella sua plastica massa muraria, il coronamento di finestrelle binate, il frontone archeggiato ed in sommità l'occhio circolare di una basilica emporiale.
Non a caso la massa potente del frontone, il lunghissimo prepotente corteo di archi quasi da acquedotto romano, hanno illustrato da quindici anni a questa parte i primi studi sulla storia urbana di Trieste e non a caso Guido Canella e Aldo Rossi si sono ispirati al Silos nel concorso per la sede della Regione in Viale Miramare. Guardandolo vien fatto di pensare ai depositi doganali di Karl Friedrich Schinkel, il maestro berlinese del Biedermeier, al suo allievo Hitzig, autore del Palazzo Revoltella, ma anche alle ironie del carcere di Würzburg di Peter Speeth, alle saline, ai dazi, alle architetture industriali del rivoluzionario Ledoux.
Bruciato, manomesso, disprezzato questo Silos di Trieste, anche se non è citato nella storia dell'architettura, la storia ce l'ha dentro.
Bisogna ammettere che dell'architettura, dell'urbanistica bisogna occuparsi risalendo dalle apparenze alle essenze: l'essenza del Silos è nella sua concezione originaria di manufatto industriale moderno: quei muri, quegli archi, un'idea di architettura, un'idea di città.
Se risaliamo a queste nozioni, per niente romantiche o decadenti, ma che unicamente considerano strettamente legati il volto delle cose, le immagini della città ad una identità, ad una storia urbana specifica, il fascino discreto di questo grandissimo manufatto dell'ingegneria ferroviaria e portuale va a competere, senza sfigurare, con altre poche grandi infrastrutture, l'Arsenale di Venezia, i *docks* di Londra, i mercati, le stazioni ferroviarie, le gallerie in ferro e vetro ed i palazzi per esposizioni del Diciottesimo e Diciannovesimo secolo. E, dentro Trieste, viene a costituire un caposaldo della sua storia e della sua fisionomia.
Non tutti devono necessariamente concordare sulla ricchezza di emozioni, di suggestioni, nella commozione che un'ipotesi di conservazione, di restauro comporta: riscoprire l'essenza di un fenomeno, riportare alla luce il profondo significato di una rovina ha nell'ingegnere, nell'architetto, nel restauratore solo i tecnici sperabilmente capaci.

Il progetto
Il progetto opera un riordino. Facendo i rilievi scopriamo una cosa molto interessante: le misure non tornano. Usando il metro porte, finestre, solai, quelli di progetto e quelli del vecchio edificio non riescono a combinare. L'edificio è stato misurato in Klafter (la tesa viennese, corrispondente a 1.89 metri) come usava l'Impero di Austria e Ungheria, nemico di Napoleone. Riscoperta questa verità, progettando a nostra volta in Klafter, tutte le cose tornano al loro giusto posto. I numeri rotti che ci risultavano con il sistema di misurazione metrico spariscono ed i numeri ridiventano interi, o basati su suddivisioni semplici. In altezza, in pianta, negli spessori incontriamo, ed è un'esperienza affascinante, un edificio fatto con misure tutte proporzionate al corpo dell'uomo.
Ed inoltre, poiché è un edificio portuale del Diciannovesimo secolo, esso è anche frutto di una manualistica internazionale, questa sì di derivazione francese, la composizione paratattica di pezzi architettonici tipizzati insegnata all'École Polytechnique da Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand.
I muri enormi dell'edificio, che reggono enormi spinte interne, hanno uno spessore pari a quello dei moduli vuoti all'interno. Il muro non è, come nella nostra esperienza usuale, un diaframma, un foglio; il muro qui è come una stanza piena. Come negli schemi di Durand si combinano qui figure finite e in certa misura autonome tra loro.
A noi viene l'idea di lavorare nel pieno e nel vuoto attraversandoli, sezionando una fabbrica che innanzitutto capiamo rileggendola come un testo.
Ridisegno e invenzione dei dettagli, delle partiture (composte paratatticamente secondo la filosofia libera dell'edificio destinato solo a fini pratici). Vecchi elementi ridisegnati (o trovati) e nuovi elementi nostri si integrano come in un restauro vero e proprio.
Le nostre regole non sono invariabili ma derivano anche da una conoscenza empirica della fabbrica costruita (che preesiste o stiamo realizzando).
Riportiamo ad una suddivisione orizzontale la facciata dove, sopra un basamento con fori d'ingresso arcuati, corre un piano intermedio interamente cieco e solo al di sopra, sotto la cornice di gronda, si aprono poche bifore gotico-quadratiche.
La personalità di questo edificio è data da un carattere di accentuata orizzontalità, di pesi che sovrastano i vuoti, di ritmi anomali e dettagli eclettici come in progetti analoghi di magazzini schinkeliani. I libri di disegni di Schinkel stavano in Europa negli scaffali dei costruttori di opere pubbliche.
Grandi arconi a tutta altezza, veri e propri contrafforti danno alla fabbrica il carattere di un acquedotto romano. In modo eclettico dentro questa grande struttura si inseriscono figure più minute, in un certo senso solo loro architettoniche vere e proprie. Le nostre figure si depositano sopra queste architettoniche e ingegneresche del passato a nostra volta parlando lingue diverse nelle diverse parti del progetto.
C'è della libertà nel nostro modo di procedere. Non direi però dell'arbitrio.
Piramidine terminali, portoni enormi costruiti con grandi conci evidentemente falsi sono stati chiamati in causa ed usati dopo molte prove e tentativi diversi, per esigenze di accentuazione figurale della traccia compositiva.
Nuove e antiche figure, gerarchie, tessiture, il colore costituiscono un piccolo compendio di quello che per noi via via diventa l'"universo Silos" e, come in tutte le opere di narrazione, ad un certo punto taluni accidenti, taluni svolgimenti sembrano imporsi per un loro interno grado di necessità, una necessità che nasce dalla piega che ha preso la storia.
Ornamenti e decorazioni trasmigrano da edifici vicini, in qualche modo tramutati, sul nostro.
Gli elementi nuovi sono molto forti come disegno ma sono anche leggeri, non danno materialità all'edificio; la costruzione resta quella che è: l'abbiamo trovata incompleta e resta incompleta.
Abbiamo varcato la soglia della falsità? Esiste nel nostro mestiere, per gli scrittori, gli artisti, la falsità? Certamente!

Scelte conservative e di riuso
Il fabbricato del Silos era in origine una costruzione portuale, conteneva depositi di grano e si trovava sul limite della banchina a mare. I treni entravano al centro di tre corpi di fabbrica ad U e scaricavano o prelevavano le merci direttamente dai due lunghi capannoni. Accanto al Silos granario si attesta la Stazione Ferroviaria Centrale della città di Trieste. Abbandonato come struttura portuale venne adoperato in tempi moderni, come abbiamo già detto, quale rifugio per le truppe in

partenza e di ritorno dal fronte italiano sui Balcani, campo di smistamento per prigionieri ebrei, luogo di raccolta di profughi dall'Istria e dalla Dalmazia. In qualche modo un edificio carico di dolore, che persino si era pensato di demolire (e perciò fu incendiato più o meno involontariamente). Riusarlo come *parking* è in qualche modo una profanazione.
Questo pensiero di profanazione era nato in noi in veste di urbanisti, al momento della elaborazione del Piano per il Centro Storico di Trieste; pensavamo fosse una scelta giusta, razionale, tecnicamente necessaria quella di riutilizzare un'area così grande, un edificio così forte.
Sono due corpi lunghi la parte più antica. Fa da testata un volume a tre navate di raccordo dei corpi lunghi retrostanti; l'incendio di questo edificio aveva risparmiato solo le facciate. Una maschera, superstite solo lungo tre lati del fabbricato.
Questo lavoro ci ha posto di fronte ad una scelta tra due strade che, continuamente, si potevano prendere, o riprendere: la strada della verità e la strada della falsità. Era abbastanza astratto pensare di ritornare all'antica architettura. Era abbastanza privo di senso, però, demolire tutto e fare un edificio completamente nuovo. Ne è venuta una ibridazione del gioco moderno e della funzionalità nuova sull'archeologia industriale.
I vecchi muri ospitavano solai e strutture che non potevano interessare più. Si trattava di trovare nuovi interpiani, nuovi modi di ingresso, osservare nuove norme di sicurezza, formule nuove di utilizzazione.
Sostanzialmente fare un nuovo edificio dentro il vecchio. Un tema classico dei nostri tempi.
I nuovi tracciati prendono le misure sui tracciati dei vecchi muri e si creano spazi grandi e spazi interstiziali che separano i nuovi luoghi, si fanno nuove gallerie dentro le vecchie, si mettono nuove aperture accanto alle vecchie, si intessono nuove partiture sopra tracce riconosciute come originarie.
Il vecchio edificio riappare, con le sue figure vere, con figure false che noi abbiamo inventato.
Apparentemente l'edificio è una combinazione casuale di un vecchio fronte e di prospetti strani. La rovina mostrava finestrature non originali.
Era come un vecchio papiro che ci arriva dall'antichità rotto, bruciato, un testo che si può decifrare o con una certa arbitrarietà completare.
L'idea era molto concreta all'inizio: entrare dietro il corpo di fabbrica che sta sulla piazza con una rampa e da qui passare con dei ponti in ferro all'edificio principale di parcheggio e alle maniche laterali.
Siccome la vecchia copertura non esisteva più, abbiamo inventato una nuova copertura, diversa da quella originaria, quella laterale a capanna, la centrale a padiglione. Essa sta arretrata rispetto ai muri di perimetro perché copre solo il nuovo edificio e tra il vecchio muro e la nuova copertura c'è quello spazio dove non si va, interstiziale, ma presente concettualmente nella nuova idea dell'edificio. Questa intercapedine è protetta in alto solo da una cancellata ricurva.
Per quanto riguarda il corpo di fabbrica, di cui sono superstiti le sole strutture murarie sul lotto antistante la Piazza della Libertà, la norma urbanistica è stata integralmente rispettata restituendo i prospetti originari alla fabbrica e pertanto murando le aperture incongrue, aperte probabilmente in occasione dell'utilizzo residenziale, ripristinando modanature e decorazioni in arenaria o in ferro battuto, rivestimenti in intonaco e serramenti in legno e vetro. Il riuso funzionale, prevalentemente a Silos per macchine è, paradossalmente, se correttamente inteso, il più coerente con l'utilizzo e l'aspetto originario del fabbricato. Il parcheggio multipiano interno è infatti da intendere, anche agli effetti delle norme di protezione dagli incendi, come un *garage* sotterraneo con ventilazione in copertura a mezzo di canne indipendenti piano per piano. Le coperture di questo corpo di fabbrica, ormai inesistenti ed estremamente povere nella costruzione originaria, sono state modificate nella geometria e nei materiali, proponendo un rivestimento in rame con qualche analogia con le coperture della vicina Stazione Ferroviaria Centrale e con quelle della Stazione di Campo Marzio. In questa parte la ristrutturazione non ha seguito i principi di un restauro filologico ma piuttosto ha reinterpretato "l'atmosfera di una città".
Per le lunghe ali arcuate latistanti la cosiddetta "cava" (nella quale penetrava un'asta di manovra ferroviaria) è stata realizzata una ristrutturazione interna dei volumi esistenti. Tra le ali è compreso il corpo di fabbrica occupato da tre spazi archivoltati (vera e propria fortificazione di testata della "cava") la cui presenza ha anche influito sulla partizione dei fronti interni dei grandi magazzini. Infatti in corrispondenza di questo volume si trova al piano superiore una grande arcata che interrompe il ritmo regolare delle facciate. È su tale arcata che noi abbiamo innestato le vie d'accesso ai parcheggi dei corpi laterali. Anche per questo corpo di fabbrica ad un piano, con tre archivolti interni, è stato curato il restauro. Va detto che più della pelle, peraltro molto raggrinzita, di questi edifici storici, noi abbiamo assunto, come elemento di base per la progettazione, la struttura profonda, la tipologia. Quindi la struttura portante, le parti murarie, in alcune archeggiature ed in alcuni dettagli di rara potenza, sono state assunte come matrici dell'intera rivisitazione. Un pensiero semplice da conservare.
In questo contesto si pone la problematica del riuso come Terminal urbano del complesso della Stazione Ferroviaria Centrale e del Silos. Con l'introduzione del nuovo Terminal automobilistico, di una Stazione autocorriere, di servizi commerciali e di ristoro, si immettono dentro il vecchio Silos granario temi narrativi che provengono da altre architetture in qualche modo note al pubblico: la rampa, il ponte come ponte, la sala d'aspetto come sala d'aspetto, eccetera.
La volumetria ed i caratteri delle parti più antiche, assunti come vincolanti, consentono di ipotizzare per i piani alti di tutti i fabbricati una destinazione a parcheggio, per i piani terreni funzioni diverse, d'accesso, di servizio e di arricchimento del Terminal con veri e propri spazi commerciali.
Queste destinazioni d'uso si possono avvalere di un sistema d'accesso che, a guisa di una torre campanaria o di un pozzo di San Patrizio, porti le macchine sopra la quota del piano terreno con accesso rispettivamente su Via Flavio Gioia e uscita sull'asse di scorrimento opposto. Tale svincolo prevede l'incontro su base rettangola di due semicilindri distaccati. Da uno degli assi di simmetria di tale figura, coincidente con i piani di distribuzione, si staccano i ponti di collegamento, ai vari piani, dei vari corpi di fabbrica. Rampe di risalita e di discesa, tra loro incastrate, e involucro a giorno delle stesse sono avventizi; i ponti sono in ferro, entrambe le strutture evocando quello stile dell'architettura industriale che, senza rinunciare ad evidenziare il divario dalle prime architetture industriali in legno e pietra, si presenta più come una combinazione di pezzi di ingegneria che come una vera e propria composizione architettonica.
Il progetto complessivo rinuncia all'unitarietà ma ciò è intenzionale perché antico e contemporaneo sono qui compresenti, "astanti", ma non possono fondersi confondendo le diversità.



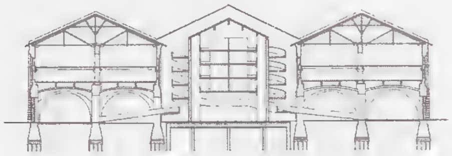


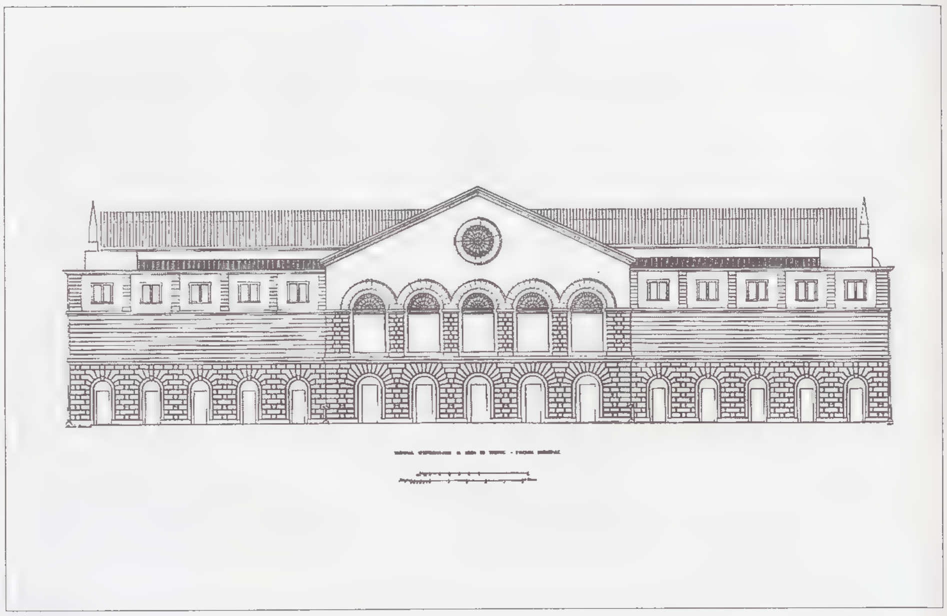
Piante dei piani terreno e primo.

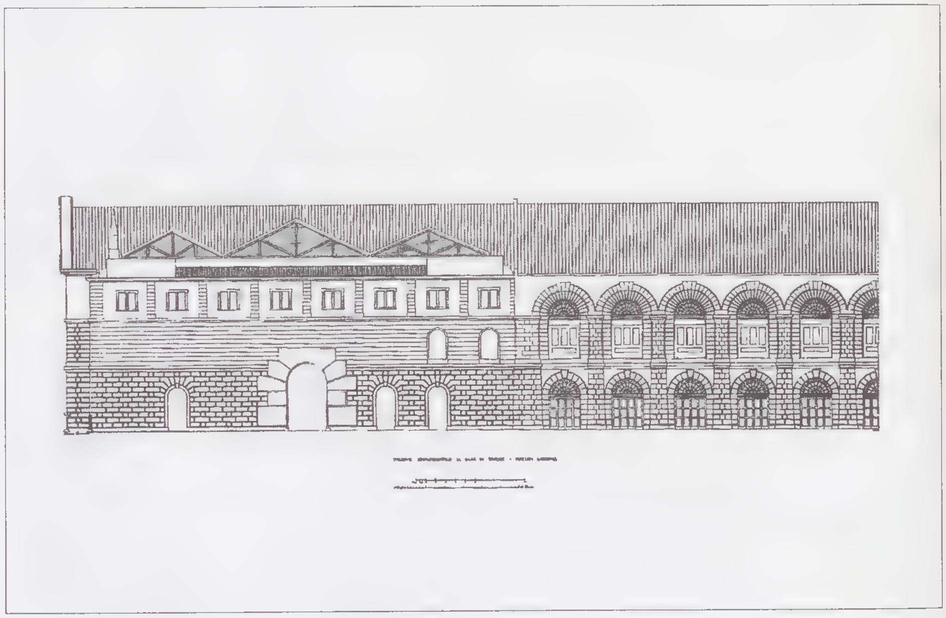
Ground floor and first floor plans.

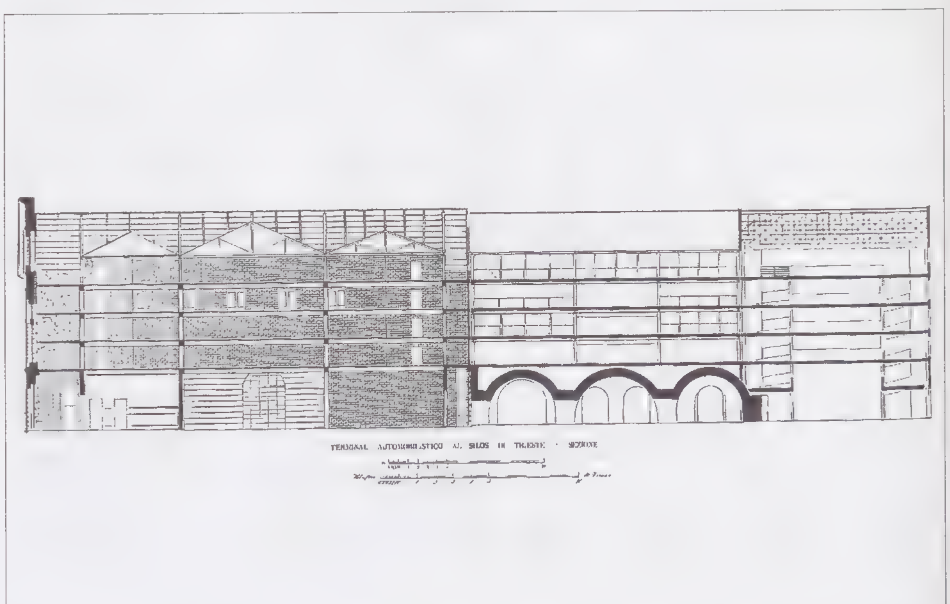
Prospetti frontale e laterale.
Sezioni trasversale e longitudinale.

Front and side elevations.
Cross and longitudinal sections.









Auto Terminal in the former port Silo, Trieste
Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro

Does the conservation of a historical building make sense?
The question of whether or not to return the restored and restructured Silo to the city – in an image that is a reminder of its role as an industrial architecture dominating the urban panorama of Trieste – goes beyond the fact that there are urban planning and construction norms which we have felt should be respected. It is also necessary to respond, clearly, to a rhetorical question: is it really worth restoring a building that was constructed for purely practical ends, actually composed of two separate pieces, one of which, on the square, has been almost totally destroyed by fire, perhaps by arson, the other only partially the property of the City – edifices which have been occupied by armies and refugees with their bedbugs; do such miserable remains truly deserve to be restored?
We have found documentation of the original state of the structure on Piazza della Stazione in its original form as a container (Silo!): a very small number of arched openings in the high rusticated base; on the first floor, the geometric solid is entirely enclosed in its plastic masonry mass with the upper row of paired windows, the arched fronton and, at the top, the circular eye of a basilica emporiale.
It is no coincidence that the powerful mass of the fronton, the very long imposing parade of arches, almost like a Roman aqueduct, have been used to illustrate, for fifteen years now, the first studies on the urban history of Trieste; and it is no coincidence that Guido Canella, and Aldo Rossi were inspired by the Silo in the competition for the Regional Headquarters on Viale Miramare. Looking at it one is reminded of the customs warehouses by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, the Berlinese master of the Biedermeier, and his student Hitzig, the architect of Palazzo Revoltella, but also of the ironies of the prison of Würzburg by Peter Speeth, not to mention the salt-works, the customs offices, the industrial architecture of the revolutionary Ledoux.
Burnt, destroyed, reviled, the Silo of Trieste, although never mentioned in the history of architecture, contain history itself.
We must admit that to work on architecture or urban planning one must trace back from appearances to essence: the essence of the Silo lies in its original conception as a modern industrial artefact: those walls, those arches, an idea of architecture, an idea of city.
If we go back to these notions, which are not romantic or decadent at all, but which simply consider the face of things, the image of the city as being closely connected to an identity, to a specific urban history, the discreet charm of this grand product of railway and port engineering can be seen as a worthy rival for a few other great infrastructures, like the Arsenal of Venice, the London docks, the markets, rail stations, gallerias in iron and glass and the exposition centres of the 18th and 19th centuries. And, within Trieste, the structure can be seen as a cornerstone of the city's history and physiognomy.
Everyone need not agree regarding the wealth of emotions and suggestions evoked by the hypothesis of conservation and restoration: the engineer, the architect, the restorer are merely, hopefully, competent technicians in the rediscovery of the essence of a phenomenon, the revelation of the deeper meaning of a ruin.

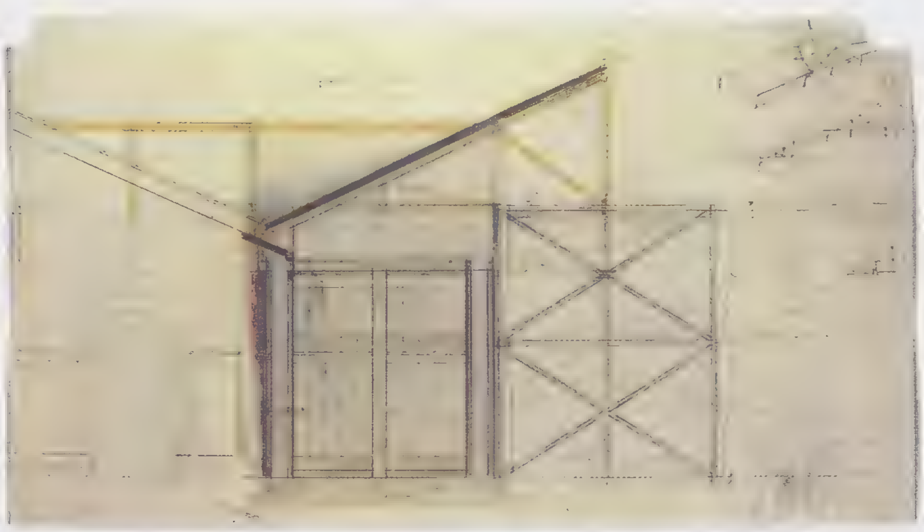
The project
The project re-orders the work. Examining the surveys, we make a very interesting discovery: the measurements do not jib. Using measurements in metres, the doors, windows, floor slabs of the old building do not match those of the design. The edifice was measured using the Klafter (the Viennese unit of measure or toise, corresponding to 1.89 metres), as was the custom in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the enemy of Napoleon. Having discovered this, and doing our own design work using the Klafter, everything falls back into place. The decimal points of our metric measurements disappear, replaced by whole numbers, or numbers based on simple subdivisions. In height, plan, thicknesses we find that this is an edifice whose proportions are based on those of the human body: a fascinating experience.
Moreover, because this is a port edifice from the 19th century, it is also the result of international manuals, in this case unavoidably of French origin, the paratactic composition of standardized architectural elements taught at the École Polytechnique by Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand.
The enormous walls of the edifice, that stand up to enormous internal stress, have a thickness equal to that of the open modules inside. The wall is not, as in our usual experience, a diaphragm, a sheet; here the wall is like a solid, filled room. As in the schemes of Durand, here finished figures, autonomous in a certain sense, are combined.
We developed the idea of working with solid and empty spaces by crossing through them, dissecting a structure which, first of all, we can comprehend by re-reading it, like a text. Redesign and invention of details, of compositional elements (composed paratactically, in keeping with the free philosophy of the edifice built only for practical purposes). Old elements redesigned (or found) and new elements designed by us are integrated in a true restoration.
Our rules are not invariable, but they are also based on an empirical knowledge of the constructed work (that already exists, or that we are building).
We go back to a horizontal subdivision of the facade in which, above a base with arched entry openings, there is an entirely windowless intermediate level; only above, just below the cornice of the eaves, there are a few other openings, gothic-quadratic pairings.
The personality of this edifice is based on an accentuated horizontal character, weights above voids, anomalous rhythms and eclectic details, as in the analogous designs for the warehouses of Schinkel. The drawing books of Schinkel could be found all over Europe, on the shelves of the builders of public works.
Large full-height arches, like true buttresses, give the structure the character of a Roman aqueduct. In an eclectic manner smaller figures are inserted in this structure; in a certain sense, only these elements are truly architectonic. Our figures are superimposed on these architectonic and engineering figures of the past, as we in turn speak different languages in the different parts of the project.
There is liberty in our way of operating. But I don't think there is anything arbitrary about it. Small terminal pyramids, enormous doors constructed with large, declaredly false blocks of stone have been called into play and utilized after many different trials and attempts, for exigencies of figure accentuation of the compositional tracing.
New and old figures, hierarchies, patterns, colours constitute a small compendium of that which for us, gradually, has become the "Silo universe" and, as in any narrative work, at a certain point a few accidents, or disruptions, seem to impose themselves due to an internal degree of necessity, a necessity that stems from the direction the story is taking.
Ornaments and decorations transmigrate from nearby buildings, somehow transported onto our building.
The new elements are very strong in terms of design, but they are also light, they don't add material substance to the edifice; the construction remains itself: it was incomplete when we found it, and it remains incomplete. Have we crossed the border between truth and falsehood? Does falsehood even exist, in our field, or for writers, or artists? Of course it does!

Choices of conservation and reutilization
The Silo was originally a port facility, containing grain, at the edge of the quay by the sea. Trains entered at the centre of the three U-shaped structures and loaded or unloaded goods directly from two long sheds. Alongside the grain Silo stands the Central Rail Station of the city of Trieste.
Having been abandoned as a port facility, in modern times, as we mentioned above, the complex was used as a refuge for troops departing or returning from the Italian front in the Balkans, as a preliminary camp for the sorting and deportation of Jews, as a holding area for refugees from Istria and Dalmatia. As a result this is an edifice with strong overtones of suffering, and for this reason demolition was considered as an option (and the fire was

perhaps a more or less intentional act in favour of this option). To reutilize this structure as a parking area is, in a certain sense, disrespectful sacrilege.
This "sacrilegious" thought occurred to us in our role as urban planners, at the moment of the development of the Plan for the Historical Centre of Trieste; we thought that the right, rational, technical, necessary choice was that of the reutilization of such a large area and such a strong edifice.
The oldest part is composed of two long volumes. At the end there is a volume with three naves, connecting it to the long volumes behind it; this edifice was almost entirely destroyed by fire, and only the facades remained. A sort of mask, surviving on three sides of the building.
This work has forced us to make a choice between two paths which could constantly be taken or to which we could constantly return: the path of truth and that of falsehood. It would have been rather abstract to imagine the possibility of returning to the original architecture. But it would also have been quite senseless to consider demolishing everything and building a completely new edifice. The result is a hybrid, combining modern factors, new functions and industrial archaeology.
The old walls housed floor slabs and structures that were no longer useful. The problem was to find new floor divisions, new entry modes, to comply with new safety standards, and new formulae of utilization. In substance, the task was to build a new edifice inside an old one. A classic theme, nowadays.
The new outlines take their form and measure from those of the old walls, creating large spaces and interspaces that separate the new facilities, creating new galleries inside the old ones, placing new openings alongside the old ones, weaving new compositions over the traces of the original composition.
The old edifice reappears, with its true figures, and with false figures that we have invented. In appearance the edifice is a random combination of an old facade and odd elevations. The ruin already contained windows that were not part of the original work.
It was like an old parchment passed down to us from antiquity, broken, burnt, a text that can be deciphered or completed, with certain arbitrary additions.
At the outset the idea was very concrete: to enter inside the volume that stands on the piazza with a ramp, passing from here, by means of iron bridges, to the main edifice of the parking facility, and its lateral branches.
Because the original roofing no longer existed, we have invented a new one, different from the original, with shed roofing for the lateral volumes, and pavilion roofing for the central volume. The roofing is set back with respect to the perimeter walls, because it covers only the new edifice; between the old wall and the new roofing there is a space no one enters, an interspace which is nevertheless a conceptual part of the new idea of the building. This interspace is protected above only by a curved railing.
Where the actual building is concerned, with its three surviving walls on the lot facing Piazza della Libertà, the urban planning regulations have been fully respected, restoring the original elevations of the structure, by closing the incongruous openings, which were probably made later for residential functions, and by restoring mouldings and decorations in sandstone or wrought iron, along with stucco facings and windows in wood and glass. The reutilization of the complex as a parking garage is, paradoxically, if correctly understood, the most consistent with the original use and appearance of the structure.
The internal multi-storey parking facility can be seen, also thanks to the fire regulations, as being comparable to an underground garage with ventilation from above, using independent air intake for each floor. The roofings of this part of the complex, by now almost completely destroyed, were very rudimentary in the original version; we have modified their geometry and materials, proposing a copper cladding, with certain similarities to the roofing of the nearby Central Rail Station and that of the Campo Marzio Station. In this part, the restructuring has not complied with the principles of a philological restoration, opting for a reinterpretation of "the atmosphere of a city".
For the long arched wings alongside the so-called "pit" (that was penetrated by track segments for manoeuvring of boxcars), the existing volumes have been internally restructured. Between the wings there is a structure occupied by three spaces with archivolts (a veritable fortification for the end of the "pit") whose presence has also influenced the subdivision of the internal facades of the large warehouses. In fact, on the upper level a large arch is aligned with this volume, interrupting the regular rhythm of the facades. We have connected the accessways for the parking areas in the two lateral volumes to this arch. The single-storey volume with three archivolts has also been restored. It should be emphasized that rather than the "skin", which was rather ruined, of these historical buildings, we have based our design work on their inner structure, their typology. Therefore the support structure, the masonry parts, in certain arches and details of rare force, have been utilized as the matrices for the entire reinterpretation. A simple thought, to conserve.
This is the context in which to examine the problems that arise from the reutilization of the complex of the Central Rail Station and the Silo as an Urban Terminal. With the introduction of the new Auto Terminal, a Bus Station, commercial and food services, narrative themes are introduced in the old grain Silo that belong to other realms of architecture that are better-known to the public: the ramp, the bridge as a bridge, the waiting room as a waiting room, etc.
The volumetrics and characteristics of the oldest parts, assumed as guidelines, permit the hypothesis of using the upper levels of all the buildings for parking, and the ground levels for different functions, access, services and auxiliary functions for the Terminal, including true commercial spaces.
These functions can make use of an access system which, like a belltower, takes the automobiles above ground level, with access from Via Flavio Gioia and exit on the opposite traffic artery. This system calls for the encounter, on a rectangular base, of two separate semi-cylinders. From one of the axes of symmetry of this figure, coinciding with the levels of circulation, bridges branch out to the various levels and the various buildings of the complex. Escalators and ramps, open to view, are adventitious; the bridges are in iron, both structures evoking that style of industrial architecture which, although displaying its differences with respect to the earliest industrial architecture in wood and stone, still appears more like a combination of engineering elements than a true architectural composition.
The overall project avoids any attempt at a unitary image, but this is intentional, because the old and the contemporary coexist here, "face to face", but cannot be joined together by means of a confusion of their differences.

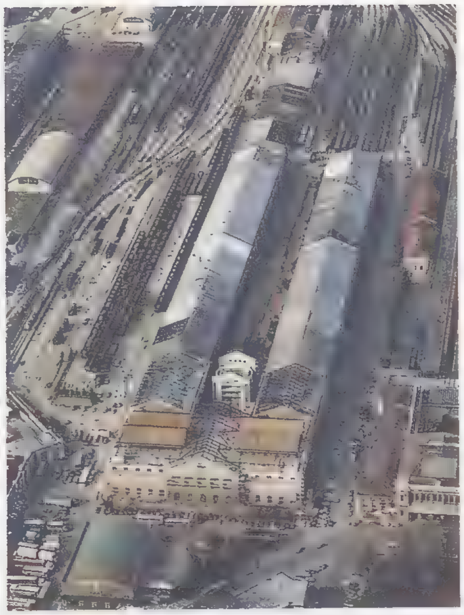






Disegni di studio dei colori di facciata e della rampa di accesso.

Working drawings of the facade's colours and the access ramp.




Piazza della Stazione



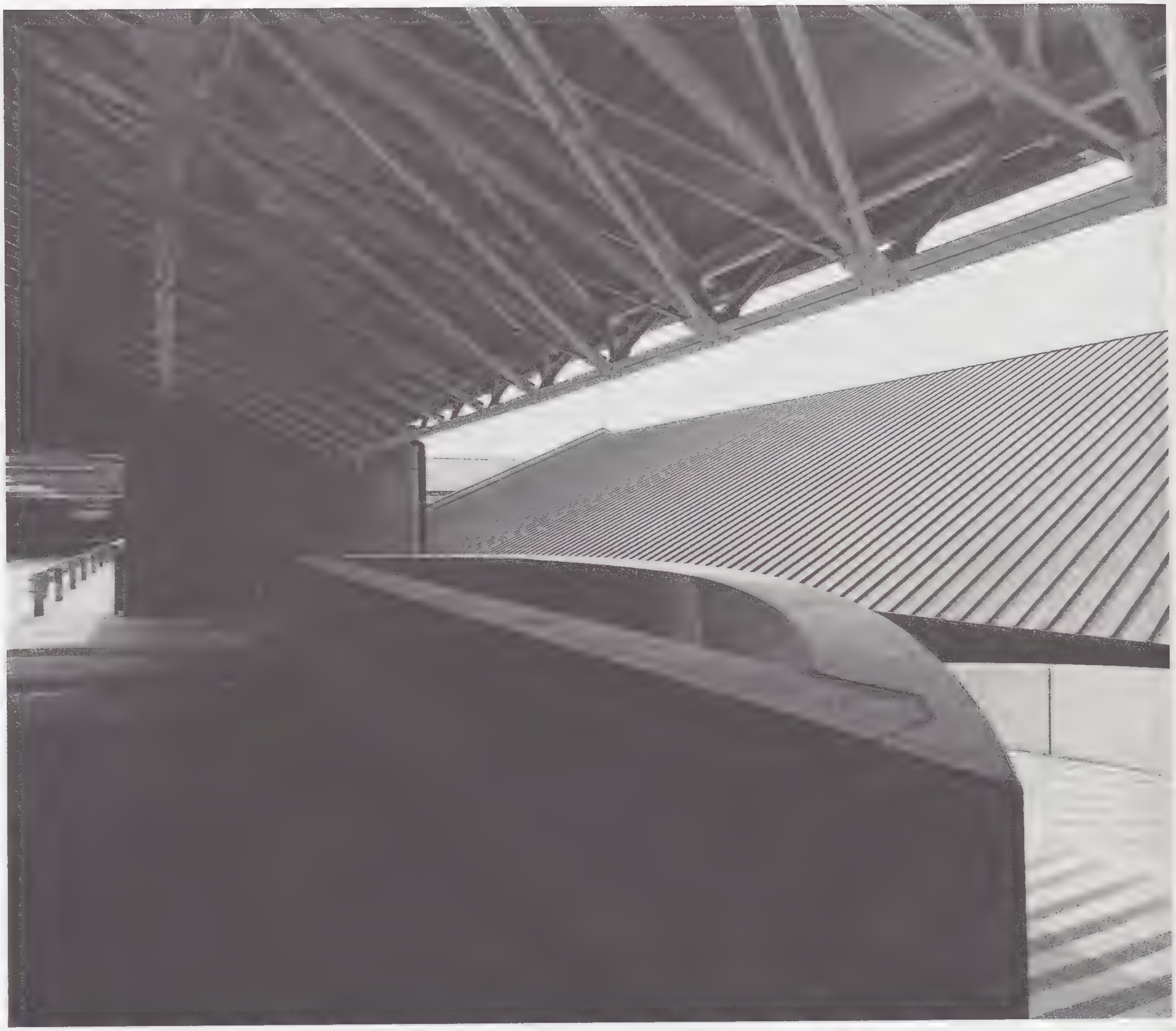






Viste del Silos nel 1904 e prima dell'intervento.
Viste d'insieme durante l'intervento.

Views of the Silo in 1904 and before the intervention.
Overall views during the intervention.











Viste di dettaglio.

Detail views.









Viste dell'atrio, delle biglietterie e della rampa di accesso.
Dettaglio dell'ingresso laterale.

Views of the entrance hall, the ticket office and the access ramp.
Detail of the side entrance.







Viste della rampa d'accesso.

Views of the access ramp.

Ricostruzione del Grand Hotel Alpino, Gignese (Novara)
1988-95

Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

con/with: Guido Drocco

Foto/Photos: M. Buzzoni, M. Davoli



Vista del fronte verso il lago.

View of the facade overlooking the lake.

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Vista del fronte verso il lago.

View of the facade overlooking the lake.





Viste del Grand Hotel Alpino (inizio '900) in attività e prima dell'intervento. Prospetto generale del fronte verso il lago.

Views of the Grand Hotel Alpino (beginning XXth century) when it was operational and before the intervention. General elevation overlooking the lake.

Ricostruzione del Grand Hotel Alpino, Gignese (Novara)
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

Abbiamo inteso il luogo come luogo di memorie: come realtà concreta per memorie protratte nel tempo. I faggi, sì, c'erano, crescevano tutt'attorno con un vigore stupefacente, voluttuoso, esplosivo quasi fossero alberi infestanti: i preziosi splendidi lisci tronchi d'argento spuntavano nelle connessioni delle pietre, fra i resti di muri a secco diruti. Tracce costruite anche ce n'erano. Il vecchio Albergo Alpino, traduzione italiana del più diffuso termine "des Alpes", non era però il riminese luogo d'*amarcord*: piuttosto luogo per bene che richiamava protocolli impalati e silenziosi. C'era la vecchia "posta", il portico della posta, dove i villeggianti potevano aspettare, anche al coperto, dato che piove di frequente, notizie sicure che venivano portate su dalla pianura, da fumanti cavalli, da corrieri ansimanti.
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Tutte le presenze possibili sono state evocate, per rendere vario il ciclo del giorno; presenze che però non devono denotarsi come necessarie in senso funzionale. E quindi sempre luoghi per il soggiorno, optati ogni volta da diversi amatori, anche solo per far fronte a singole circostanze.
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Nella memoria di noi progettisti, Gabetti e Isola, con Guido Drocco, si formava a poco a poco un simulacro architettonico, segnato da antiche presenze labili, che prendeva però corpo tessendo tecnologie adatte, volte alla realizzazione: in questo senso intervenivano puntuali gli indirizzi dell'Ufficio tecnico dell'Impresa Maciotta di Torino.
Non ci sono volute molte sedute collegiali per concordare una linea di indirizzo, poi delineata in forme architettoniche di massima: un blocco formato da un edificio a cinque piani fuori terra tutto destinato ad alloggi, affacciato verso il lago; un piano sottostante, fortemente avanzato, verso valle, così da riformare il profondo terrazzo che era già posto davanti all'ex Alpino, per ospitare il ristorante, con cucina, dispensa, eccetera, il *club* con palestre, sauna, spogliatoi, anche a servizio della piscina, e qualche alloggio a lato.
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Il corpo alto centrale riprende direttamente forma e disposizioni dell'ex Albergo Alpino: le riprende specie nelle cuffie dei tetti a copertura metallica con strutture in legno a vista; specie nel terrazzo antistante, oggi come allora attività di *loisir*. Il complesso, fra piante ed alzati, denota una conformazione semplice, *raisonnable* più che *rationaliste*: le forme, i materiali, i colori richiamano qualche memoria trascolorata, qualche forma trasognata. Tutte però, pur nelle loro diversità, denotano una loro realtà costruita, salda, disposta al facile uso: al già evocato *loisir*, cui tendono tutte le aggregazioni singole, si unisce un marcato *comfort*: i segni dei tempi che furono, coniugati ora al presente, rivisti con qualche compiacimento per ricreare stupore, effetti, combinazioni.
Quella leggera condensa atmosferica che avvolge le superfici dei prati verso sera si infittisce nel bosco dei faggi: quasi come per fare un sorpresa, si incontra lì in mezzo il tennis, sport e ritrovo. Il tennis, dove era e com'era, ripreso nelle usanze d'oggi, ricalcate sulle usanze di ieri. Da lontano emergono i muri rosati della casa, tessuti fra lievi policromie, in effetti si tratta di blocchi di Vibrapac di una pasta forte e durevole, di una superficie ruvida e compatta. Il legno naturale, tagliato a quattro fili, è quello di un tempo, lavorato come un tempo, e le capriate, gli arcarecci, gli assiti e ancora i pilastrini, le staccionate-ringhiera commentano le grandi flessibilità di quella cultura tecnica: flessibilità tramandate nel tempo da infinite catene tipologico-costruttive.
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Viste del Grand Hotel Alpino (inizio '900) in attività e prima dell'intervento.
Prospetto generale del fronte verso il lago.

Views of the Grand Hotel Alpino (beginning XXth century) when it was operational and before the intervention.
General elevation overlooking the lake.

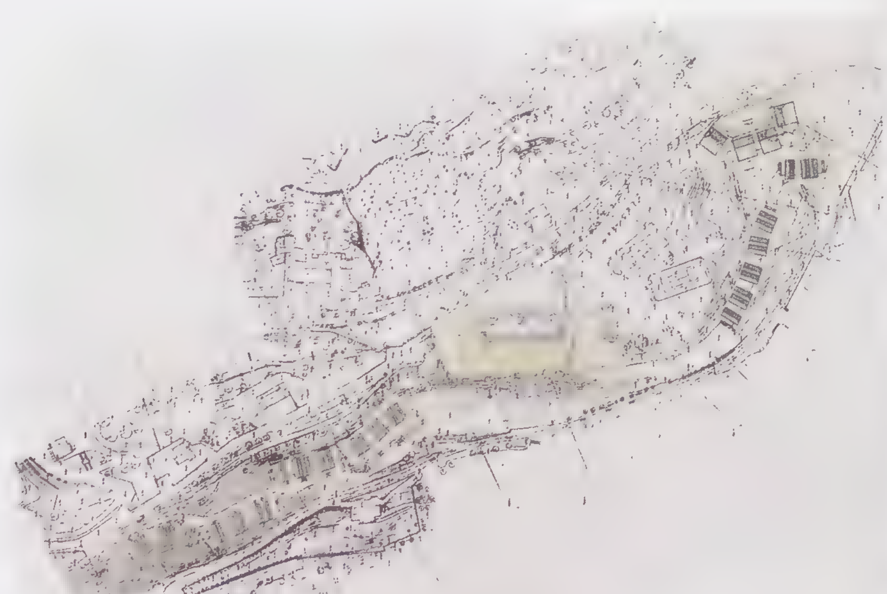


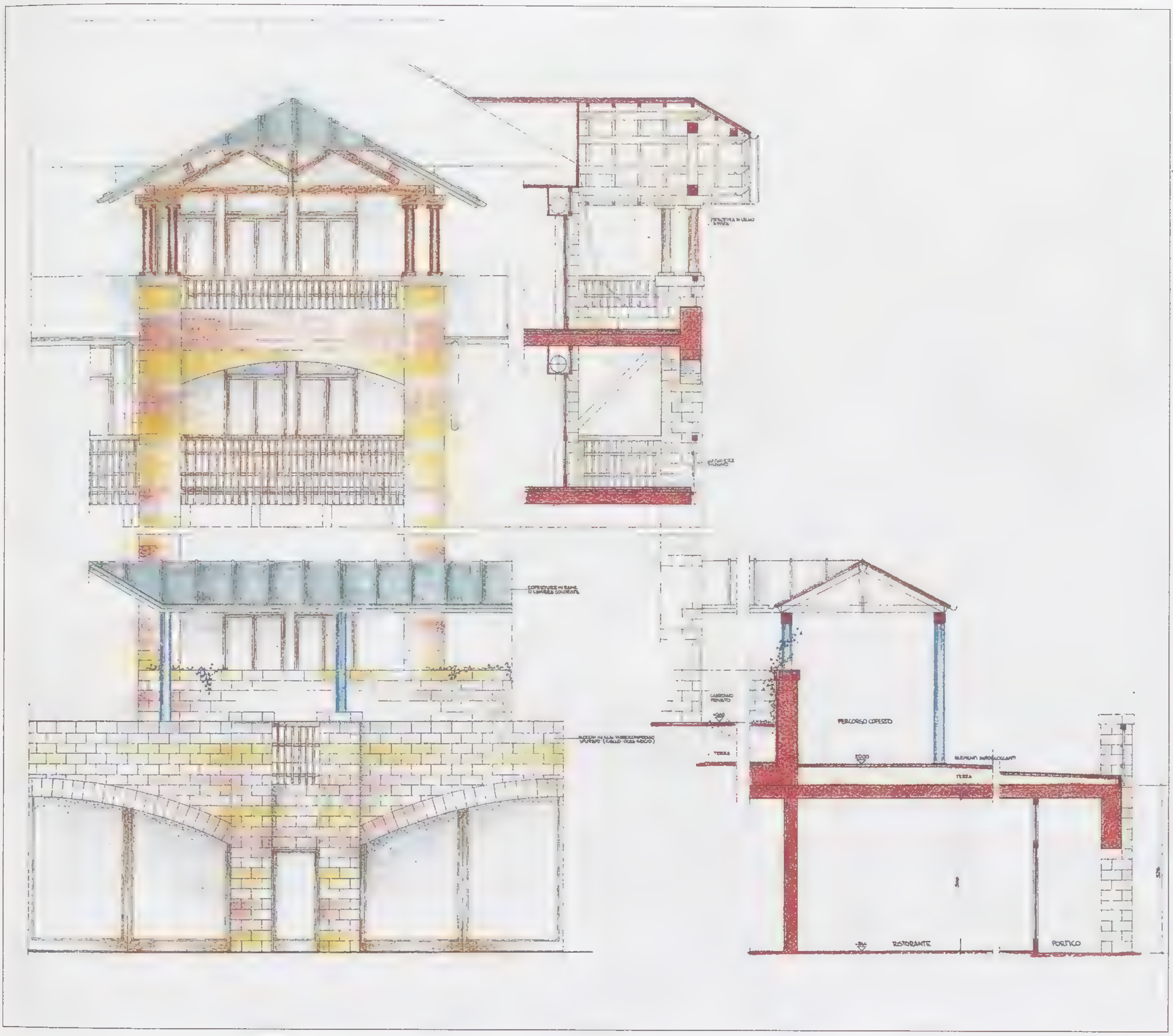
Ricostruzione del Grand Hotel Alpino, Gignese (Novara)
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

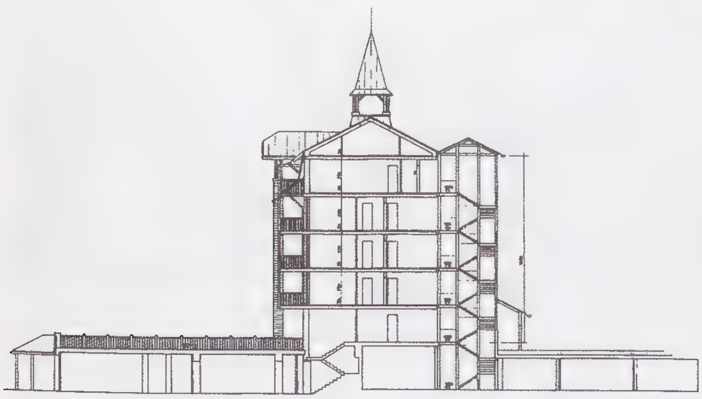
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Reconstruction of the Grand Hotel Alpino, Gignese (Novara)
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

We have interpreted the place as a place of memories, as a concrete reality for memories protracted over time. Yes, the beeches were there, they grew all around with amazing, voluptuous and explosive vigour: almost as if they were overrunning, the precious, splendid, smooth silver trunks sprouting from the joints of the stones, among the remains of crumbling dry-stone walls. There were also traces of construction. The old Alpino Hotel, Italian translation of the more common term "des Alpes", was not however the amarcord *(the Fellini memory place) of Rimini; rather a respectable place that recalled rigid, silent formality. There was the old "post", the portico of the post, where the holidaymakers could wait, under cover, since it frequently rains, for sure news that would be brought up from the plain, by steaming horses, by panting messengers. There were also paths of memory starting out from Stresa, from its hotel named after islands of chimera, with a sweater on, combed and clean; to then cross the drives of villas still inhabited by great grandchildren, acquiescent to people and places, childhoods repeated for generations.*
Our project was made up little by little, among geometries heard and sung by ear, among memories of stones, of logs of wood, roofs of green copper, made brilliant by the distilled, electric climate.
The dominating idea was always that of the "holiday", in summer, autumn, winter and spring, four seasons in a row, starting with the great heat of July, with children entrusted to their grand-parents, and with wives in the cool and husbands in the heat. The outdoor swimming pool is useful for everyone: it can be reached from the villa or from the houses, either directly or passing through the club, with saunas and gymnasiums; you can rest there, having planned to have guests at the restaurant either before or afterwards. All the possible presences have been evoked to vary the day's cycle: presences that, however, must not be denoted as being necessary in a functional sense. And then still places for a holiday, opted for each time by different enthusiasts, even just to cope with single circumstances.
But there is a holiday in any case, to be alone at home within the walls of the accommodation in the houses, an indoor holiday, and above all and in every season, but also outdoors on the covered terraces overlooking the lake, in the green gardens. In the memory of we planners, Gabetti and Isola, with Guido Drocco, little by little an architectonic simulacrum was formed, marked by ancient, unstable presences, that took form however by combining suitable technologies finalized at the creation: in this direction the lines of the Engineering Office of Impresa Maciotta of Turin punctually intervened.
It did not take many meetings of the board to agree on a line, then marked out in preliminary architectonic forms: a block formed by a building of five storeys above the ground, all destined for accommodation, overlooking the lake; a floor beneath, projecting towards the valley to form a deep terrace that already used to be in front of the former Alpino Hotel to house the restaurant, with kitchen, larder, etc., the club with gymnasium, sauna, changing rooms, also serving the swimming pool, and some lodgings to the side.
The central block was, and is, destined to expand over the heads, into a small hotel and a series of villa-houses, with double level lodgings: we have taken great care in making each one of these units independent, for their own requirements of a functional nature, and however complementary for the opportunities of many mutual relationships, suitable to make the complex come alive.
The tall, central body directly takes its shape and layouts from the former Alpino Hotel: it takes them up especially in the pendentives of the roofs with their metal covering and wooden framework in view; especially in the terrace in front, used now as then for loisir.
The complex, with its plans and elevations, denotes a simple conformation, more raisonnable *then* rationaliste*: the shapes, materials and colours recall some discoloured memory, some dreamy shape. All, however, in their diversity, denote their own construction reality, solid, disposed for an easy use: the already evoked* loisir, *that all the single aggregations tend to, is combined with marked comforts: the signs of times past, now conjugated with the present, reviewed with some pleasure to recreate amazement, effects, combinations.*
The light atmospheric condensation that envelops the surfaces of meadows towards evening thickens in the beechwood: almost as if to make a surprise, there in the middle are to be found tennis, sports and meeting place. The tennis courts, where they used to be and how they used to be, have been taken up with today's customs, traced over yesterday's customs. From far away emerge the rose-coloured walls of the villa, woven among light polychromy; in actual fact they are in blocks of Vibrapac, a hard, long-lasting material, with a rough, compact surface. The natural wood, cut into four rows, is as it used to be, worked as it used to be, and the trusses, purlins, boarding and pillars, fencing and railings comment the great versatility of that technical culture: versatility handed down over time by infinite typological construction lines.
There is even an old copper flèche *to welcome those who enter, showing fairy themes, or rather fatality of times and places. And back there, there are solemn technological stairs,*







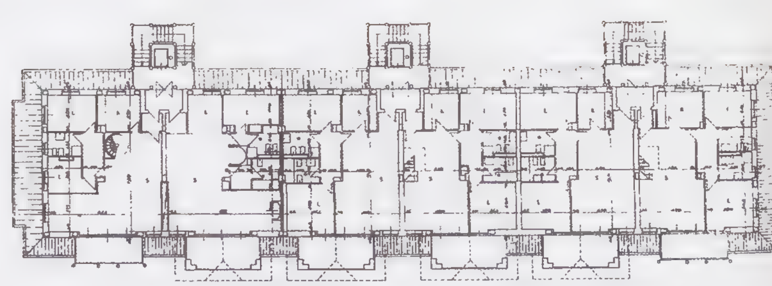
Planimetria generale, dettaglio delle logge del fronte verso il lago e sezione trasversale.

Site plan, detail of the loggias on the facade overlooking the lake and cross section.

like small temples tied to the high building, with a play of ribbed columns in blue colour flecked with yellow.
Convergence of forms and colours leads to underline a sense of blending and liquidity everywhere: a shimmering whole, played out on the hesitation more than on the force of the decisive or conclusive idea. These are effects of the places that the project watercolours evoked right from the start: as an uncertain, though constant, path leading to the project's implementation.



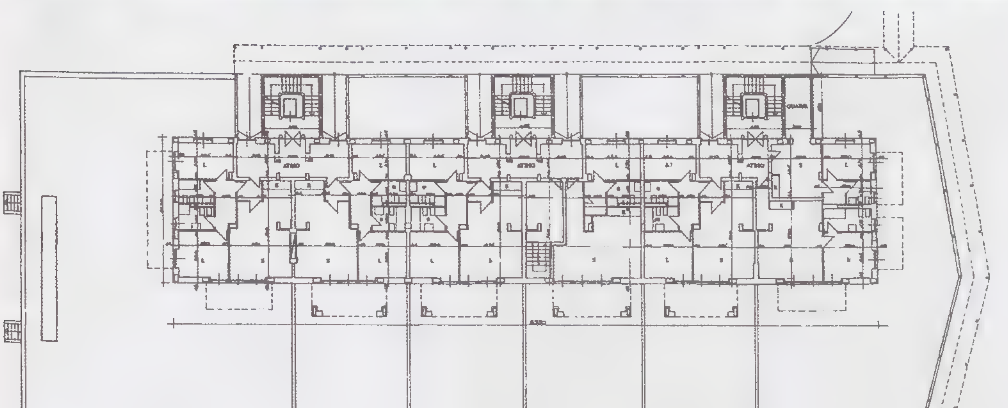




Prospetti del fronte verso il lago e del fronte posteriore e piante dei piani terreno e mansarda.
Vista del fronte verso il lago.

Front elevation overlooking the lake and back elevation; ground floor and mansard-roof plans.
View of the elevation overlooking the lake.







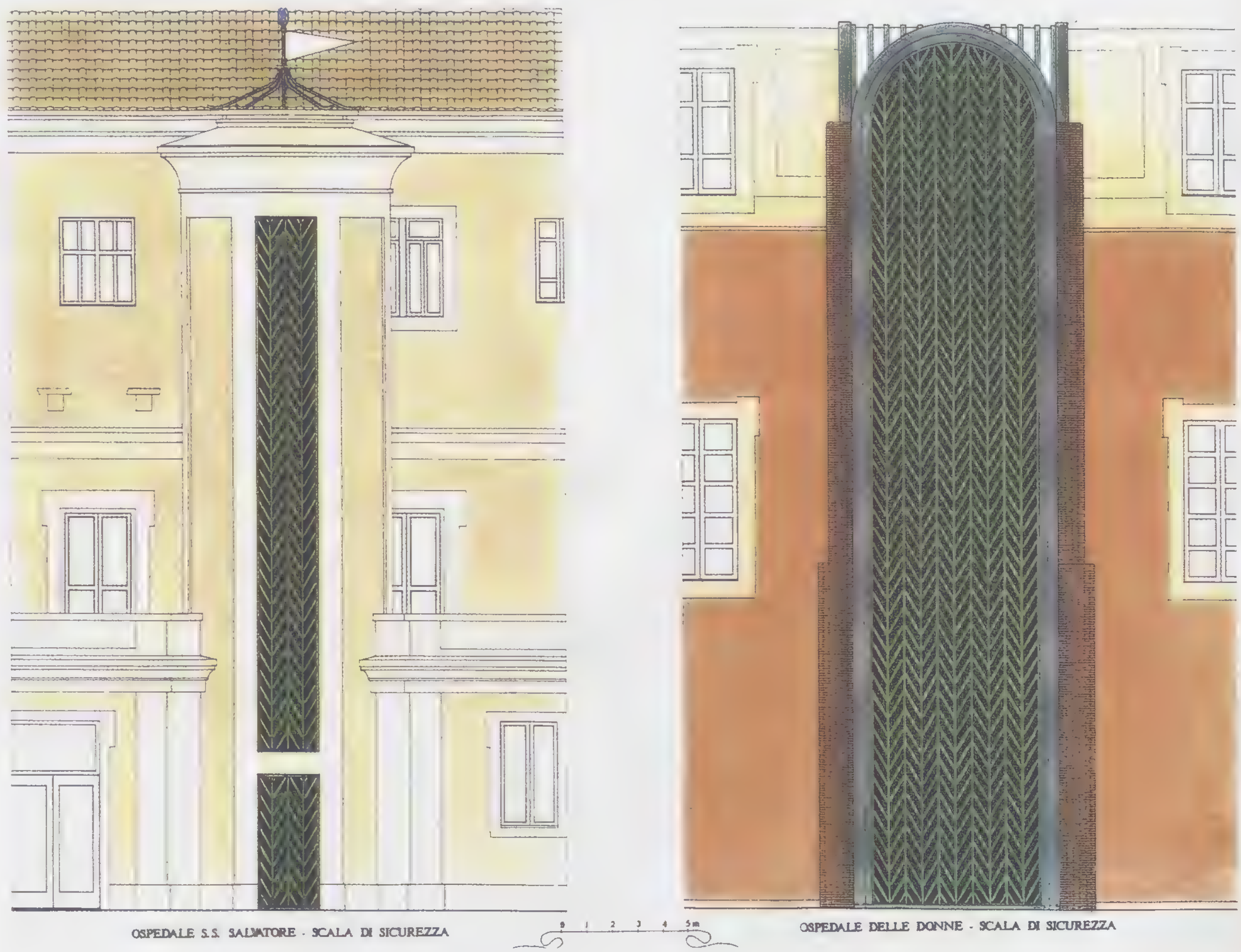




Viste di dettaglio del fronte verso il lago e del fronte posteriore e vista laterale.

Detail views of the elevation overlooking the lake and the back elevation and side view.





Recupero degli edifici storici dell'Ospedale di San Giovanni, Roma

1997-98 (in corso di appalto)

Paolo Portoghesi

coll.: Beatrice Castagna, Maurizio Checchi, Michele Di Giorgio, Cristina Di Stefano, Maria Ercadi, Sveva Labriola, Giancarlo Mancarella, Carola Panarese, Fabio Tonnarini
consulenti: Paolo Liverani (archeologia e topografia); Simone Colalucci (restauro e dipinti); Mario Pisani (storia dell'architettura); Francesco Marzullo (consolidamento e recupero); Umberto De Martinis (impianti tecnologici); Giuseppe Pezzotta (geologia)

Recupero degli edifici storici dell'Ospedale di San Giovanni, Roma
Paolo Portoghesi

Le vicende storiche dell'attuale Complesso ospedaliero di San Giovanni e delle aree su cui insiste ne fanno senza dubbio uno dei luoghi urbani di Roma in cui più chiaramente si avverte la caratteristica precipua della sua identità di "città eterna". Si tratta infatti di un vero e proprio palinsesto vivente che nei suoi strati sovrapposti documenta una continuità significativa di interventi edilizi. Tali interventi corrispondono, nell'alternarsi di periodi di floridità e di crisi, alla storia di una città che ha visto passare – come ha scritto Calvino – "*catastrofi e medioevi, ha visto stirpi diverse succedersi nelle sue case... cambiare le sue case pietra per pietra*", sapendo però ritrovare "*al momento giusto i suoi dei*".
Poter restaurare la parte più antica di tale Complesso, in occasione di un Giubileo particolarissimo come quello ormai vicino, che segna il passaggio dal secondo al terzo millennio, costituisce quindi un'occasione preziosa per "far parlare" il palinsesto, per metterne in rilievo i diversi strati, così da renderlo godibile nella sua complessità e leggibile in ogni sua parte, sottolineandone il carattere assunto, a partire dall'inizio del secondo millennio, come pubblica istituzione volta alla cura degli infermi e quindi all'esercizio della *Caritas*.
Il compito specificamente assegnato alla progettazione definitiva ed esecutiva del restauro previsto è chiaramente definito nel programma preliminare e consiste nella riattivazione delle corsie dell'Ospedale del SS. Salvatore, di quella dell'Ospedale delle Donne e di una serie di locali annessi tra cui la veneranda Chiesetta di Sant'Andrea.
Pur trattandosi di una fase parziale di un più ampio programma di valorizzazione è di grande rilevanza la possibilità in questa fase di rendere pienamente fruibili dai Romani e dai pellegrini spazi monumentali di notevole qualità architettonica che rappresentano la fase finale e conclusiva di un processo edilizio durato più di mille anni (dall'Ospizio di Sant'Andrea voluto dal Papa Onorio I, 625-638, alla costruzione dell'Ospedale delle Donne per opera di Giovanni Antonio De Rossi, 1655).
È auspicabile inoltre che per la stessa scadenza temporale possano essere compiuti quei lavori – di limitata entità – necessari per rendere fruibile insieme alla Chiesa di Sant'Andrea l'altra più antica testimonianza edilizia del Complesso ospedaliero, il portico di accesso e l'aula dell'Ospedale dell'Angelo con accesso al locale sotterraneo dove in tempi recenti è stata ritrovata una immagine sacra di grande bellezza risalente al IV secolo.
La metodologia applicata nella redazione del progetto definitivo tiene conto delle più attuali tendenze nel campo del restauro e prevede il ripristino di quelle caratteristiche dei grandi ambienti originari che sono essenziali per la comprensione della intuizione estetica che guidò i due architetti responsabili della loro configurazione: Giovan Battista Mola e Giovanni Antonio De Rossi.
Relativamente alla Chiesa di Sant'Andrea si prevede solo un riassetto superficiale che non alteri la fase finale, ottocentesca, della attuale veste decorativa.

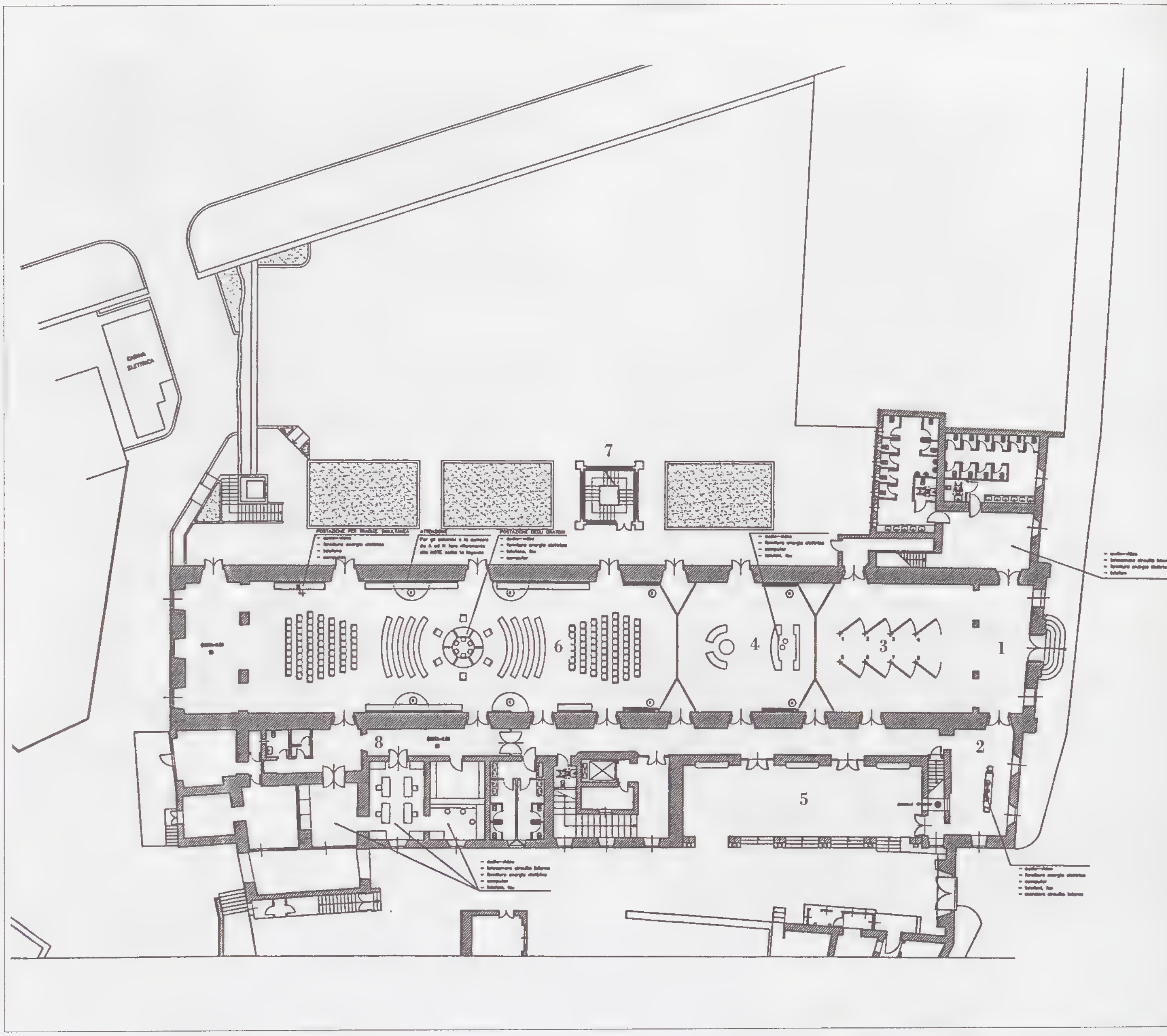






Disegni di dettaglio delle scale di sicurezza dell'Ospedale del SS. Salvatore e dell'Ospedale delle Donne nel progetto di restauro.
Planimetria generale con, in alto, l'Ospedale delle Donne e, in basso, l'Ospedale del SS. Salvatore.
Vista dei due ospedali dall'ingresso della Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano.
*Vista della Sala Santa Maria (Ospedale delle Donne) con, sul fondo, l'affresco dell'*Assunta.

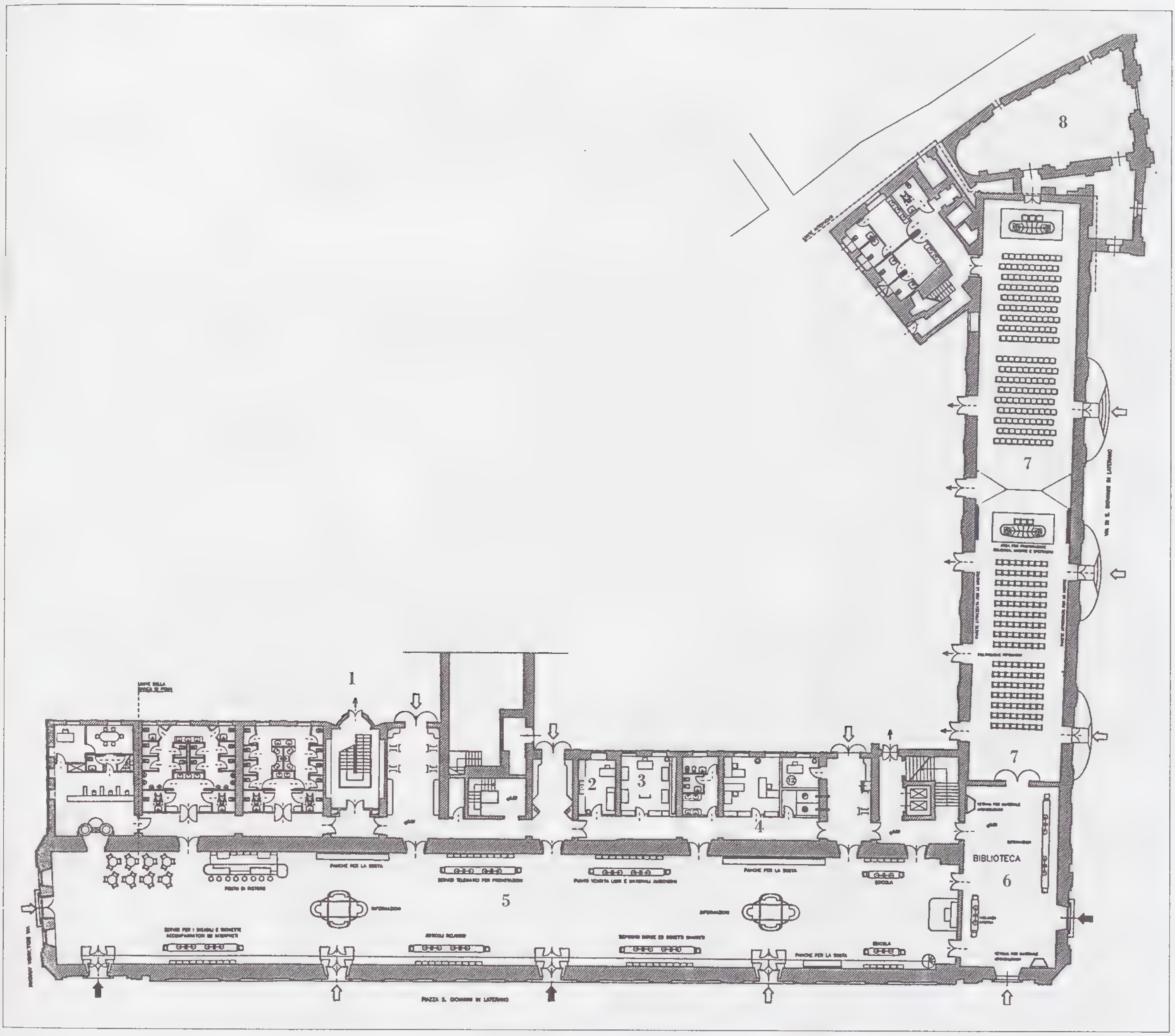
Detailed drawings of the emergency staircase of the SS. Salvatore Hospital and the Women's Hospital in the restoration project.
Site plan with the Women's Hospital (above) and the SS. Salvatore Hospital (below).
View of the two hospitals from the entrance of the Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano.
View of the Sala Santa Maria (Women's Hospital) with, in the background, the fresco of the Assunta.



Pianta del piano terreno dell'Ospedale delle Donne nel progetto di restauro: 1) atrio storico; 2) informazioni e vigilanza; 3) spazio espositivo; 4) atrio; 5) portico; 6) aula; 7) scale di sicurezza; 8) uffici.
Pianta del piano terreno dell'Ospedale del SS. Salvatore nel progetto di restauro: 1) scala di sicurezza; 2) presidio medico; 3) nursery; 4) uffici; 5) accoglienza pellegrini (Sala Mazzoni); 6) atrio storico, biblioteca; 7) preparazione religiosa (Sala Folchi); 8) Chiesa di Sant'Andrea.
Vista della facciata dell'Ospedale delle Donne in un'incisione di Giuseppe Vasi (1750 ca.).
Prospetto dell'Ospedale delle Donne nel progetto di restauro.
Vista della facciata dell'Ospedale delle Donne.

Ground floor plan of the Women's Hospital in the restoration project: 1) old vestibule; 2) information and security service; 3) exhibition space; 4) vestibule; 5) portico; 6) hall; 7) emergency staircases; 8) offices.
Ground floor plan of the SS. Salvatore Hospital in the restoration project: 1) security service; 2) surgery; 3) nursery; 4) offices; 5) pilgrims reception (Sala Mazzoni); 6) former vestibule, library; 7) religious preparation (Sala Folchi); 8) Church of Sant'Andrea.
View of the Women's Hospital facade in an engraving by Giuseppe Vasi (1750 ca.).
Elevation of the Women's Hospital in the restoration project.
View of the Women's Hospital facade.




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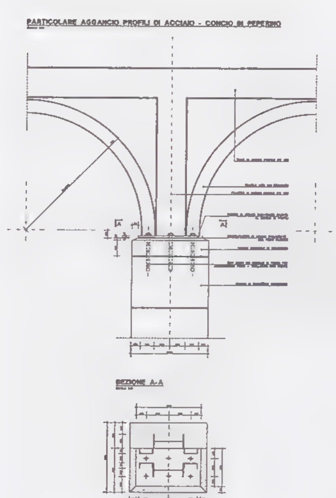


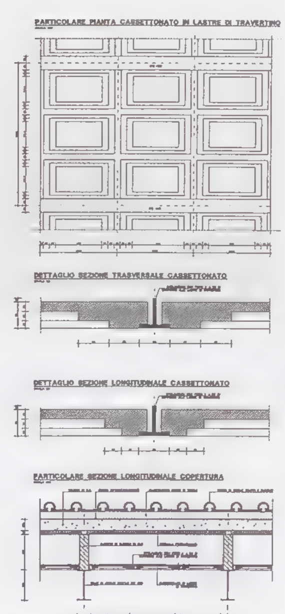
Disegni di dettaglio del portico dell'Ospedale delle Donne nel progetto di restauro.
Prospetto sulla Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano e prospetto interno dell'Ospedale delle Donne nello stato attuale.
Prospetto del fondo corsia e sezione sull'ala destra (verso Via Merulana) dell'Ospedale delle Donne nel progetto di restauro.
Viste computerizzate del portico dell'Ospedale delle Donne e della Sala Mazzoni di accoglienza dei pellegrini dell'Ospedale del SS. Salvatore, con, sul fondo, l'affresco della Piscina Probatica.

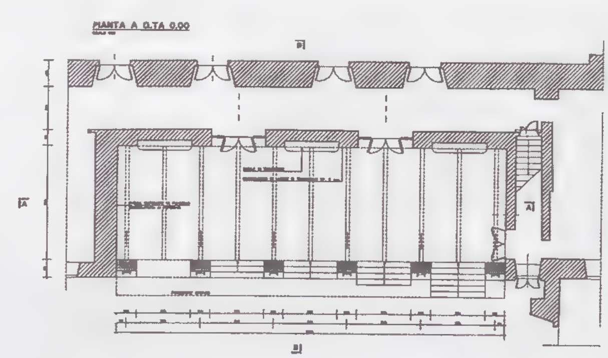
Detailed drawings of the Women's Hospital portico in the restoration project.
Facade overlooking Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano and inner facade of the Women's Hospital (present state).
Elevation of the end of the ward and section through Women's Hospital right wing (towards Via Merulana) in the restoration project.
Computer drawings of the Women's Hospital portico and the Sala Mazzoni (pilgrims reception) in the SS. Salvatore Hospital with, in the background, the fresco of the Piscina Probatica.

Recovery of the historical buildings of the San Giovanni Hospital, Rome
Paolo Portoghesi

The history of the present Complex of the San Giovanni Hospital and the area where it stands makes it undoubtedly one of the urban sites in Rome where the observer most clearly perceives the true meaning of Rome's definition as "the eternal city". In fact, this is a true living palimpsest, whose overlapping layers offer documentation of continuous building activity. These episodes of building correspond, in their alternation of periods of affluence and crisis, to the history of the city which has seen the passage – as Calvino wrote – of "catastrophes and Middle Ages, seen different families succeed one another in its houses... changing its houses, stone by stone", *but knowing how to rediscover* "at the right moment, its gods".
The possibility of restoring the oldest part of this Complex, for a very particular Jubilee like the one approaching, which will mark the passage from the second to the third millennium, is therefore a precious opportunity to allow this palimpsest "to speak", to reveal the different layers, for the enjoyment of its complexity, making it legible in all its parts, emphasizing the character it assumed, since the beginning of the second millennium, as a public institution for the care of the sick, for the practice of Caritas.
The specific task assigned to the definitive design of the restoration envisioned is clearly defined in the preliminary guidelines, calling for the re-activation of the wards of the SS. Salvatore Hospital, the Women's Hospital and a series of connected structures, including the venerable Church of Sant'Andrea.
Although this is but one phase of a wider-ranging programme, the possibility of making monumental spaces of great architectural quality fully available to the people of Rome and the visiting pilgrims – spaces that represent the final, conclusive chapter of a building process that lasted for more than one thousand years (from the Hospice of Sant'Andrea commissioned by Pope Honorius I, 625-638, to the construction of the Women's Hospital by Giovanni Antonio De Rossi, 1655) – is of great significance.
Moreover, it is to be hoped that in the same time frame it will be possible to complete the work – not such an extensive undertaking – necessary to permit use, together with the Church of Sant'Andrea, of another of the oldest features of the Hospital complex, the portico and hall of the Ospedale dell'Angelo, with access to the underground space where a very beautiful sacred image dating back to the 4th century was recently discovered.
The methodology applied in the development of the definitive design is based on the most up-to-date trends in the field of restoration, focusing on the repair of those characteristics of the original large spaces which are essential for the comprehension of the aesthetic vision that guided the two architects responsible for their configuration: Giovan Battista Mola and Giovanni Antonio De Rossi.
For the Church of Sant'Andrea, the project envisions only a superficial renovation, without altering the decorative elements added to the Church in the 1800s.



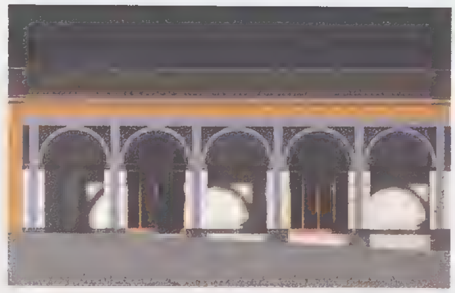


















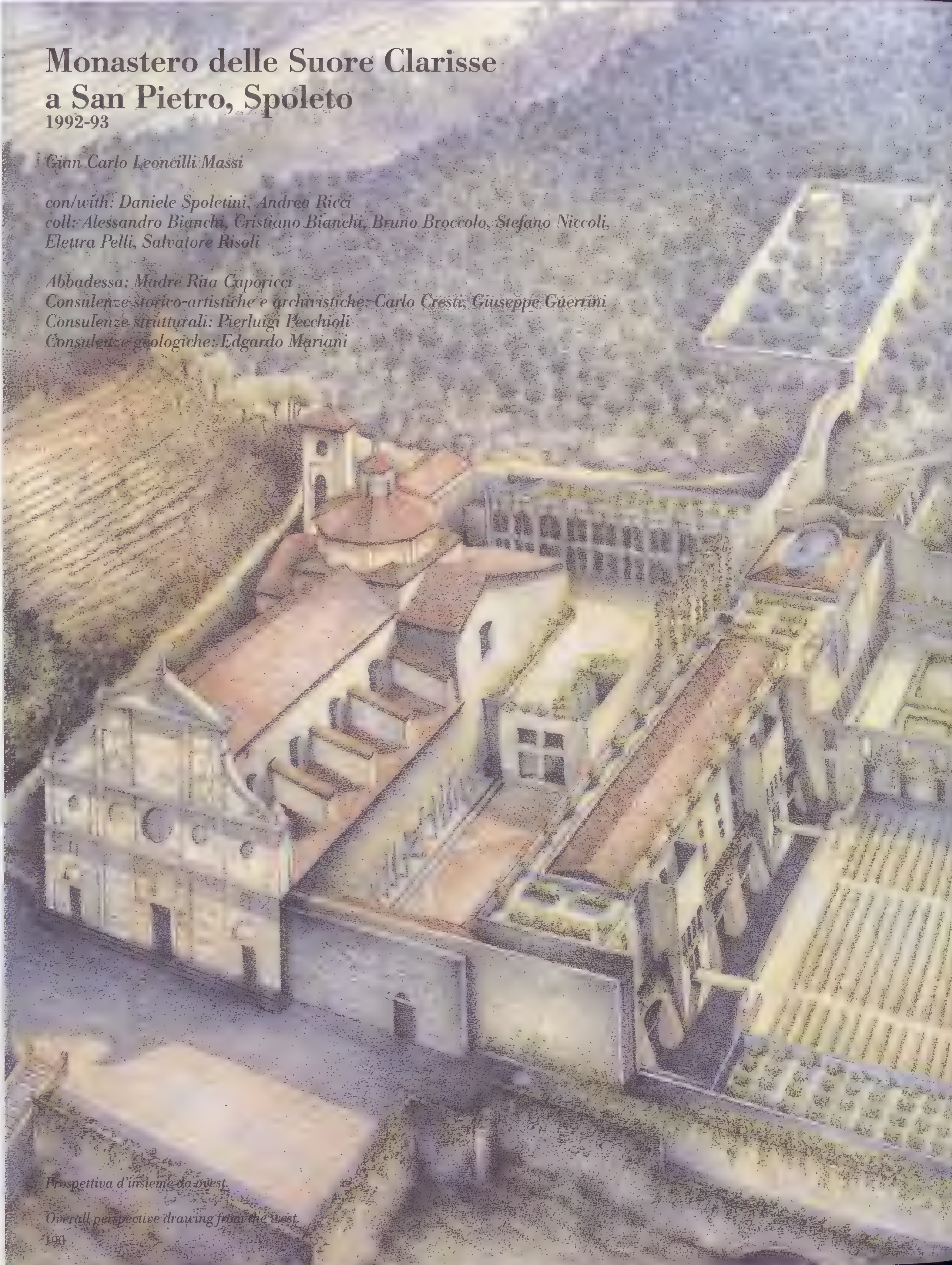


Monastero delle Suore Clarisse a San Pietro, Spoleto
1992-93

Gian Carlo Leoncilli Massi

con/with: Daniele Spoletini, Andrea Ricci
coll: Alessandro Bianchi, Cristiano Bianchi, Bruno Broccolo, Stefano Niccoli, Elettra Pelli, Salvatore Risoli

Abbadessa: Madre Rita Caporicci
Consulenze storico-artistiche e archivistiche: Carlo Cresti, Giuseppe Guerrini
Consulenze strutturali: Pierluigi Pecchioli
Consulenze geologiche: Edgardo Mariani



Prospettiva d'insieme da ovest.

Overall perspective drawing from the west.

Progetto per il Nuovo Monastero delle Suore Clarisse a San Pietro, Spoleto
Gian Carlo Leoncilli Massi

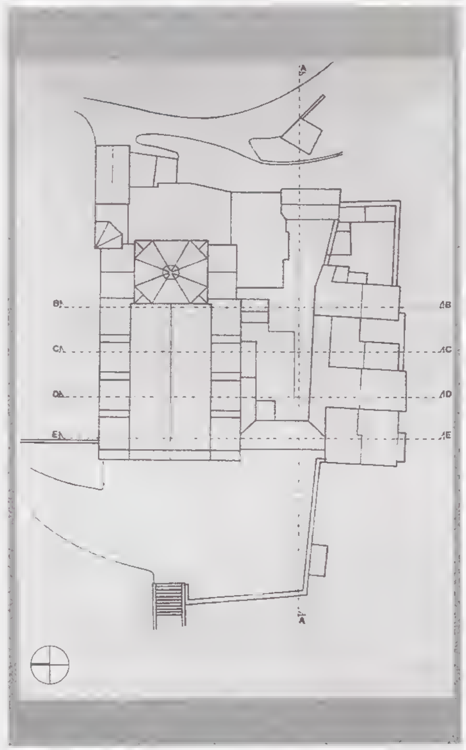
"Conservare e costruire sono atti creativi" affermava Ernesto N. Rogers.
Monsignor Antonio Ambrosiano, Arcivescovo di Spoleto e Norcia, persona di profonda cultura e sensibilità scomparsa prematuramente agli inizi degli anni Novanta, tramite Don Primo Battistoni mi mandò a chiamare e mi pose il seguente quesito: *"Professore, che ne pensa Lei di quella casa a torre affianco alla splendida facciata di San Pietro? ...Si potrebbe liberare la facciata stessa da tale intrusione? ...Sa, vorrei con l'occasione sostituire a ciò che rimane delle vecchie Canoniche un nuovo Monastero per le Suore Clarisse di Spoleto da tanto tempo atteso. Intenderei così istituire una difesa, un controllo svolto dalle Suore su tutto il complesso monumentale, restaurandolo e bonificandolo, in quanto è diventato zona di rapina".*
L'Arcivescovo era uno splendido napoletano che chiedeva ad un vecchio spoletino, architetto, cosa ne pensasse circa la sostituzione di un oggetto, tra l'altro notissimo nella tradizione popolare come "la scatola di scarpe", realizzato alla fine dell'Ottocento. Chiedere così la liberazione, il riscatto e la bonifica dell'area di San Pietro tramite l'inserimento di un Monastero non poteva che essere un'intuizione davvero molto felice; perché il vero restauro dell'area di San Pietro era proprio contenuto in questa sua idea che però i controllori non vollero ostinatamente comprendere.
Il sito è posto alle pendici del secolare verde della montagna di Monteluco. Il luogo della Chiesa di San Pietro e delle sue Canoniche si apre su uno spettacolo unico segnato dalle emergenze del settore sud della Spoleto storica: il Ponte delle Torri, la Rocca Albornoziana, il complesso di San Simone, l'antichissima Valle del Tessino.
La facciata della Chiesa di San Pietro romanico-umbra (secoli XII-XIII) è oggetto studiatissimo quanto commercializzato per il turismo di massa. Il fatto davvero paradossale è che tale facciata sembra coprire un nulla. Splendido velario in pietra che cela un volto sconosciuto: una Chiesa più volte riprogettata e ricostruita in seguito a diversi accadimenti storici, a partire dalla fine del XII e inizio del XIII secolo, fino alla sua totale ricostruzione e rinnovamento completati nel 1699. Le valenze spaziali dell'interno sono notevolissime: la cupola con impronta ellittica, la grande dimensione trasversale dell'interno, la splendida abside mai terminata che resta oggi chiusa entro "orridi" di sapore piranesiano, o il particolare campanile. Una configurazione del tutto nuova rispetto agli esempi locali, nel rapporto tra complessità dello spazio naturale e spazio artificiale. E ancora, il modo di poggiare la basilica e la sua canonica, il chiostro, secondo tipologie antichissime, i terrazzamenti etruschi-romani. Area che nel suo complesso ha visto riprogettazioni ed adeguamenti diversi durati circa cinque secoli, che hanno "conservato" ricostruendo, riprogettando.
Facciata a parte, sull'area di San Pietro e sulle sue Canoniche non esistono né studi né rilievi di nessun tipo. L'unica indicazione cartografica è una planimetria del Catasto Pontificio, databile a dopo il 1848. Di fronte alle lacune documentarie degli enti preposti alla tutela, il progetto ha aperto la strada ad una prima opera di rilievi topografici e architettonici, statici e geologici.
Oggi San Pietro è diventato soprattutto nella parte delle Canoniche una baraccopoli, uno scempio invivibile. Il progetto del riuso dello spazio delle sole Canoniche a Monastero ha significato un intervento di rimodellazione e ricostruzione entro i limiti imposti dall'esistente, che sono: conservazione dell'antico sedime delle Canoniche, conservazione quindi dell'antica impronta morfologica come degli antichi partiti architettonici superstiti (come quello del lato nord del loggiato), assunzione del colmo come massima altezza, analoga cubatura secondo i limiti di P.R.G. per un Piano di Recupero.
Il programma funzionale comprende, oltre al Monastero per 50 suore, la piccola cappella, il coro, la sagrestia, la sala capitolare, la biblioteca, una foresteria, un noviziato, i chiostri, gli orti, i giardini e una tebaide, più i muri di recinzione.
Il programma religioso voluto dalle Clarisse – ed esiste un loro disegno per il futuro Monastero – è quello di una assoluta povertà e silenzio per l'esaltazione del valore della preghiera, dello studio, del lavoro, del distacco dal mondo quotidiano. La consonanza tra riuso e unicità del contesto si attua così attraverso la restituzione della soglia compositiva segnata dalla facciata, rimodellando la "scatola di scarpe" e arretrando il suo confine edilizio dietro il frammento del muro romano altomedievale, convenientemente riportato alla luce nella sua interezza e restaurato. Il rapporto con le preesistenze superstiti e riutilizzabili, come il loggiato interno, o quello con la memoria storica degli antichi stilemi del complesso di San Simone della Rocca e del Ponte, sono coniugati, attraverso l'uso di figure quali l'insieme dei torrioni e basamenti della parete sud, con la memoria astratta di antichi campanili. I chiostri, i giardini, che diventano anche giardini pensili sulla sommità delle coperture, costruiti per terrazzamenti, segnano l'antico modo di insediarsi nella natura fino ad arrivare alla Tebaide, sorta di orto dei "Getsemani" in cui pregare. Il verde naturale secolare e il verde costruito quali gli orti servono al sostentamento del Monastero.
Il progetto fu bocciato nonostante il consenso pieno sia dell'Arcivescovo sia dell'Amministrazione Comunale.

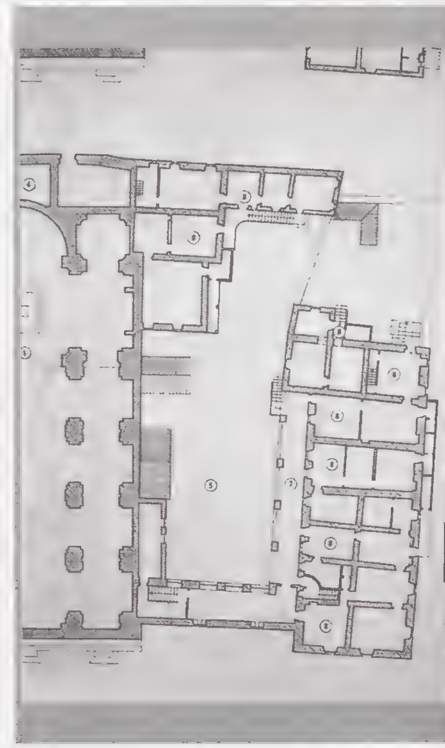
Project for the New Convent of the Clarisse Sisters at San Pietro, Spoleto
Gian Carlo Leoncilli Massi

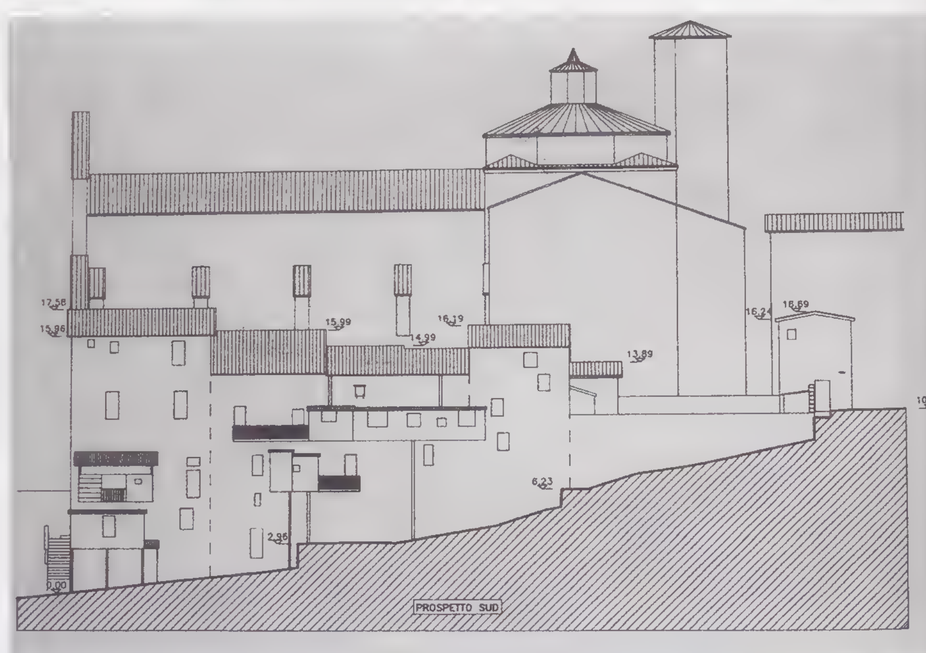
"To conserve and to construct are two creative acts"*, Ernesto N. Rogers said.*
Monsignor Antonio Ambrosiano, Archbishop of Spoleto and Norcia, a person of great culture and sensitivity, who passed away prematurely in the early 1990s, contacted me through Don Primo Battistoni, and posed the following question: "Professor, what do you think about that tall building that stands beside the splendid facade of San Pietro? ...Would it be possible to free the facade of this intrusion? ...I would like, in the process, to replace what remains of the old Presbyteries with a new Convent for the Clarisse Sisters of Spoleto, which has been sorely needed for some time now. My aim in doing so is to create a sort of defense, a supervision on the part of the Sisters over the whole monumental complex, restoring it, because it has become a zone of looting".
The Archbishop was a splendid Neapolitan, who was asking an old native of Spoleto, an architect, about the idea of replacing an object that is known to the local residents as "the shoe box" and was constructed toward the end of the last century. To demand the liberation, redemption and renewal of the area of San Pietro by means of the insertion of the Convent could not help but represent a truly positive intuition; because the true restoration of the area of San Pietro lay precisely in this idea which, however, the authorities concerned stubbornly refused to comprehend.
The site is on the slopes of the centuries-old greenery of the mount of Monteluco. The site of the Church of San Pietro and its Presbyteries enjoys a unique view, containing the landmarks of the southern part of historical Spoleto: Ponte delle Torri, Rocca Albornoziana, the San Simone complex, the very old Valle del Tessino.
The Romanesque-Umbrian facade of the Church of San Pietro (12th-13th centuries) has been assiduously studied but also exploited for the purposes of mass tourism. The truly paradoxical fact of the matter is that the facade seems to cover a void. A splendid velarium in stone, concealing an unknown visage: a Church repeatedly redesigned and reconstructed following a number of different historical events, since the end of 12th and the beginning of 13th century, until the definitive reconstruction and renovation completed in 1699. The spatial elements of the interior are noteworthy indeed: the cupola with its elliptical shape, the large width of the interior, the splendid apse, never completed, that remains enclosed today inside Piranesi-style "precipices", the very particular steeple. An utterly new configuration, with respect to local models, in the relation between the complexity of natural space and artificial space. Other noteworthy elements include the way the basilica, its Presbytery and the cloitser

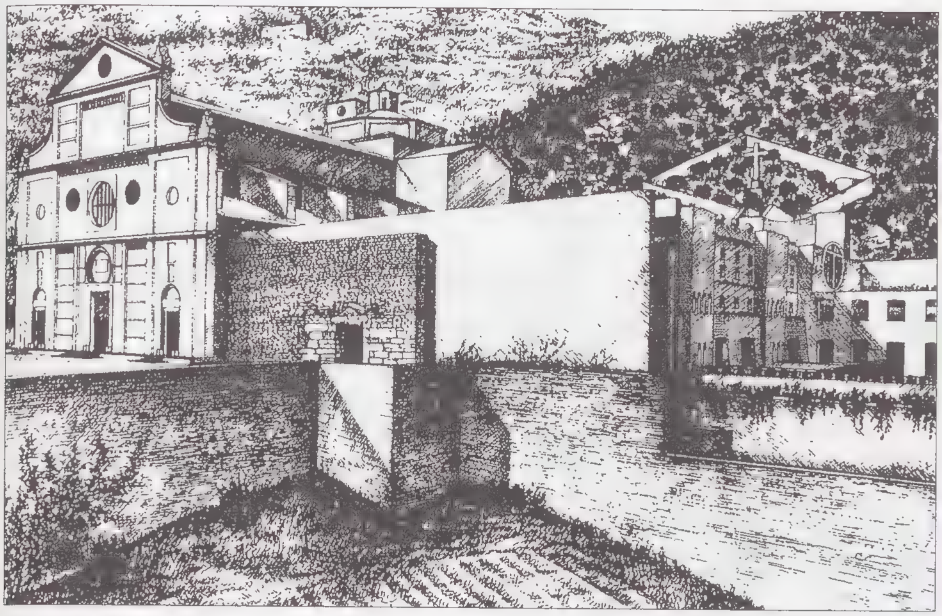
are positioned – a very ancient way following the Etruscan-Roman terracings. An area which, as a whole, has been redesigned and modified for about five centuries, in interventions that have "conserved" by reconstructing.
Apart from the facade, there is no scholarly or historical documentation on the area of San Pietro and its Presbyteries. The only cartographic indication is a planimetric of the Papal Properties Register, which can be dated to after 1848. Given the lack of documentation available for the heritage authorities, the project has opened the way for an initial work of topographical survey and architectural, structural and geological study.
Today San Pietro has become, especially in the part of the Presbyteries, a sort of shanty-town, an uninhabitable ruin. The project for the reutilization as a Convent of the spaces of the Presbyteries only has required remodelling and reconstruction, within the limits imposed by what already existed: conservation of the original remains of the Presbyteries, or their morphological outline and of the surviving architectural characters (like that of the northern side of the arcade), assumption of the peak of the roof as the point of maximum height, and compliance with the volumetric stipulations of the Master Plan. The functional programme calls for a Convent for 50 nuns, a small chapel, a choir, sacresty, capitulary room, library, guest quarters, novitiate, cloisters, vegetable gardens, flower gardens and a hermitage, as well as enclosure walls.
The religious programme desired by the Sisters – who have prepared a design for the future Convent – involves absolute poverty and silence, to exalt the value of prayer, study, work, detachment from the everyday world. The harmony between utilization and the unique context is achieved through the re-creation of the compositional threshold marked by the facade, remodelling the "shoe box" and setting its constructed border back behind the fragment of the Roman wall from the early Middle Ages, which should be entirely revealed and restored. The relationship with the surviving elements, like the internal arcade, or the relationship with the historical memory of the antique stylemes of the complex of San Simone, of the Rocca and the bridge, are resolved through the use of figures such as the grouping of towers and foundations of the southern wall, combined with the abstract memory of ancient steeples. The cloisters, the gardens, which also become hanging gardens at the top of the roofings, constructed with terracings, reflect the ancient mode of inserting a settlement in nature, all the way to the Thebaid, a sort of "Gethsemane" garden in which to pray. The natural, centuries-old vegetation, and the constructed greenery, like the vegetable gardens, serve to supply the Convent with victuals.
The project was rejected, in spite of the full support of both the Archbishop and the Municipal Administration.





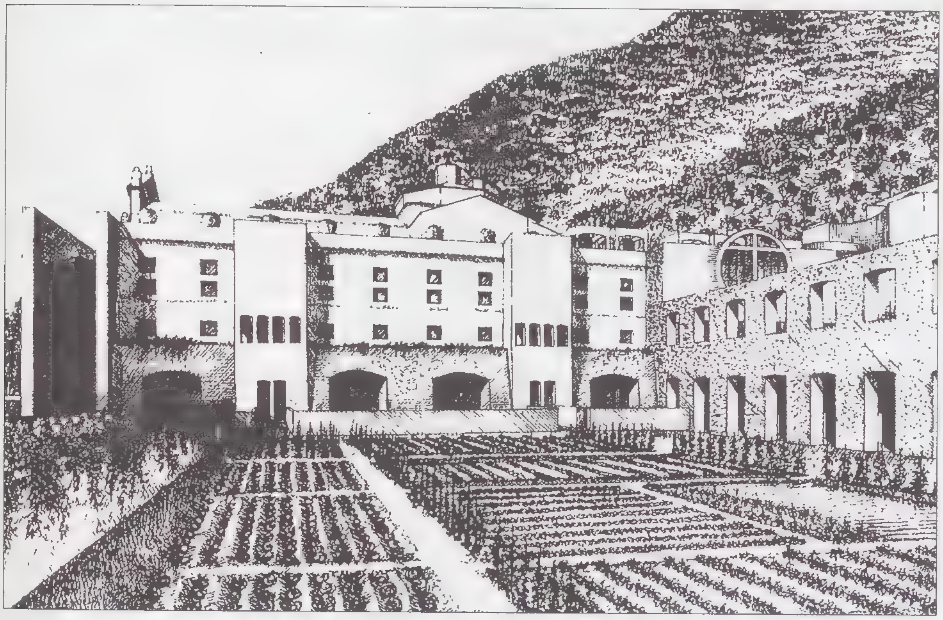




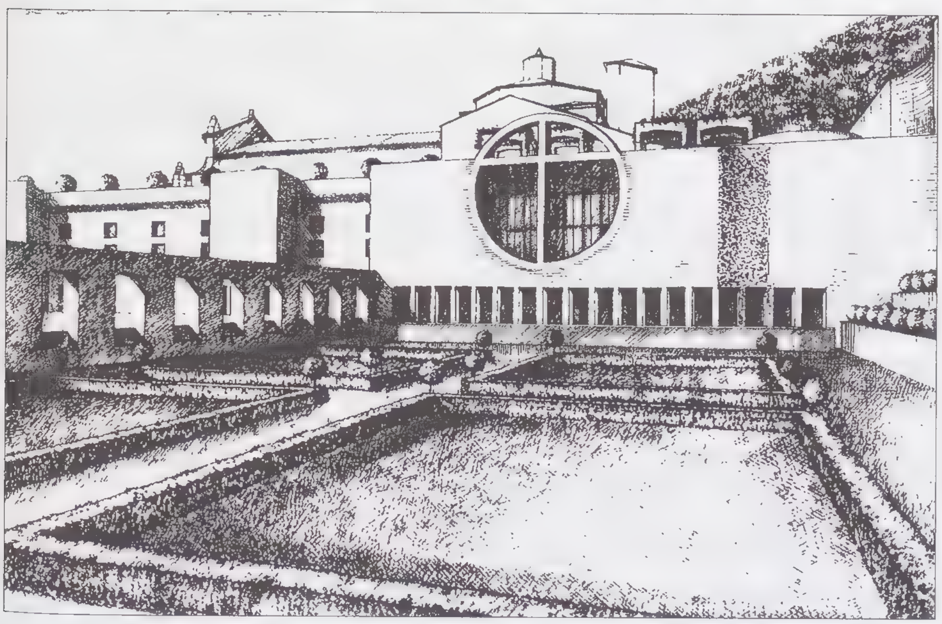








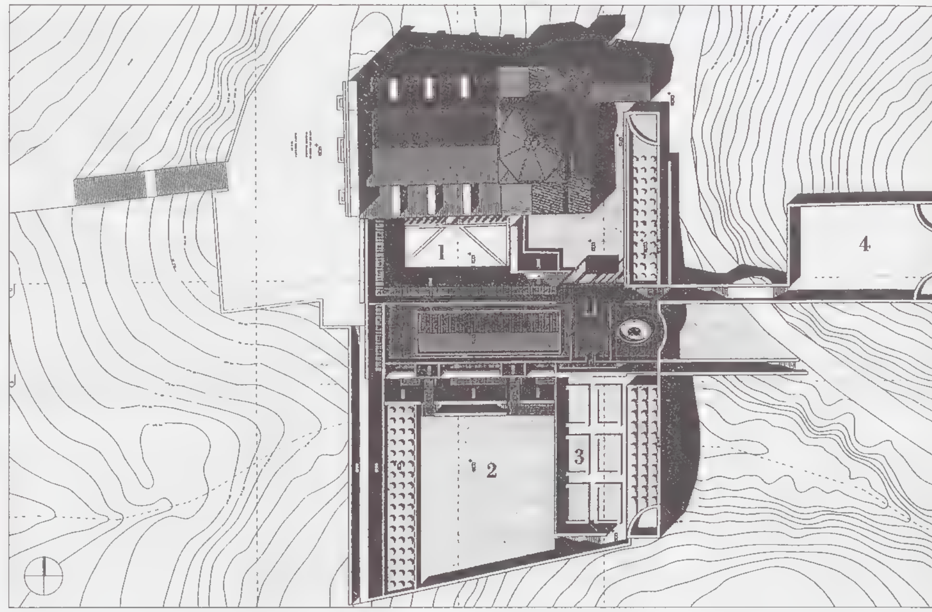


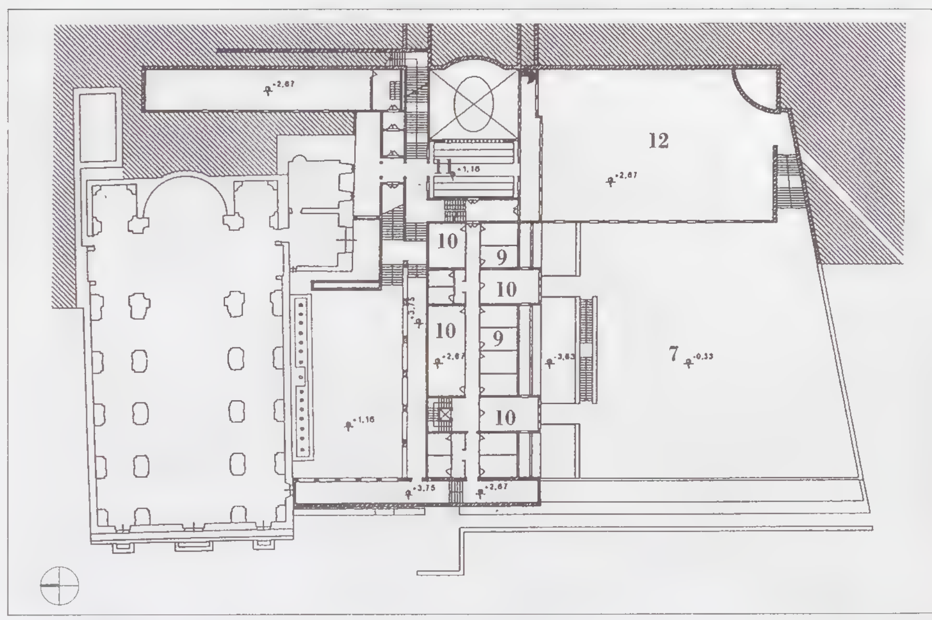


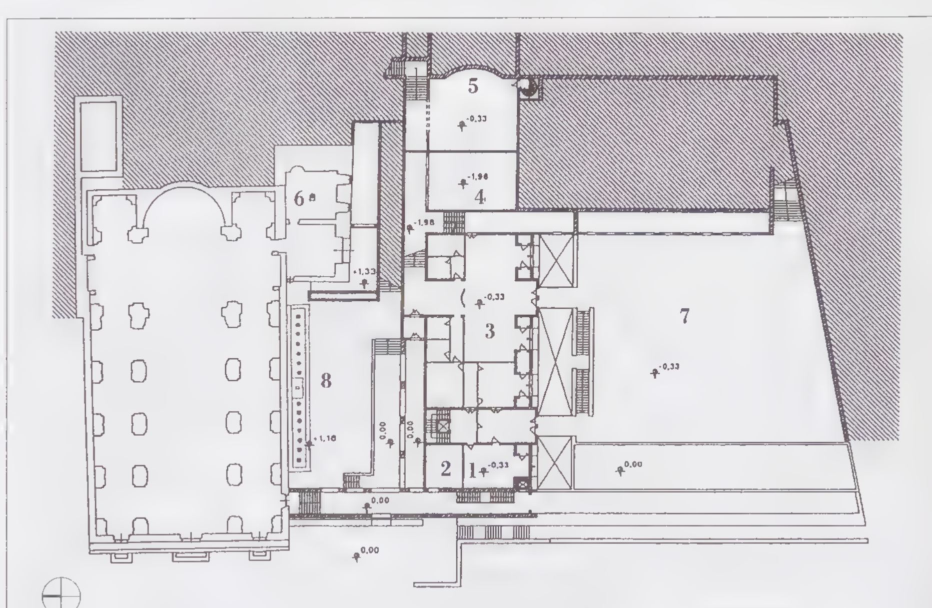
Vista con la città di Spoleto, San Simone, la Rocca Albornoziana, il Ponte delle Torri, Monteluco, la Valle del Tessino, San Pietro e le Canoniche.
Planimetria generale, pianta del piano terreno e prospetto sud (stato attuale).
Prospettive sull'ingresso da ovest, sugli orti da sud e sul Coro e il Capitolo dal chiostro-giardino.
Viste esterne e del loggiato interno (stato attuale).

View with the city of Spoleto, San Simone, Rocca Albornoziana, Ponte delle Torri, Monteluco, Valle del Tessino, Church of San Pietro and its Presbyteries.
Overall plan, ground floor plan and south elevation (present state).
Perspectives of the entrance from the west, the vegetable gardens from the south, and the Choir and Capitulary room from the garden-cloister.
Views of the outside and the internal arcade (present state).



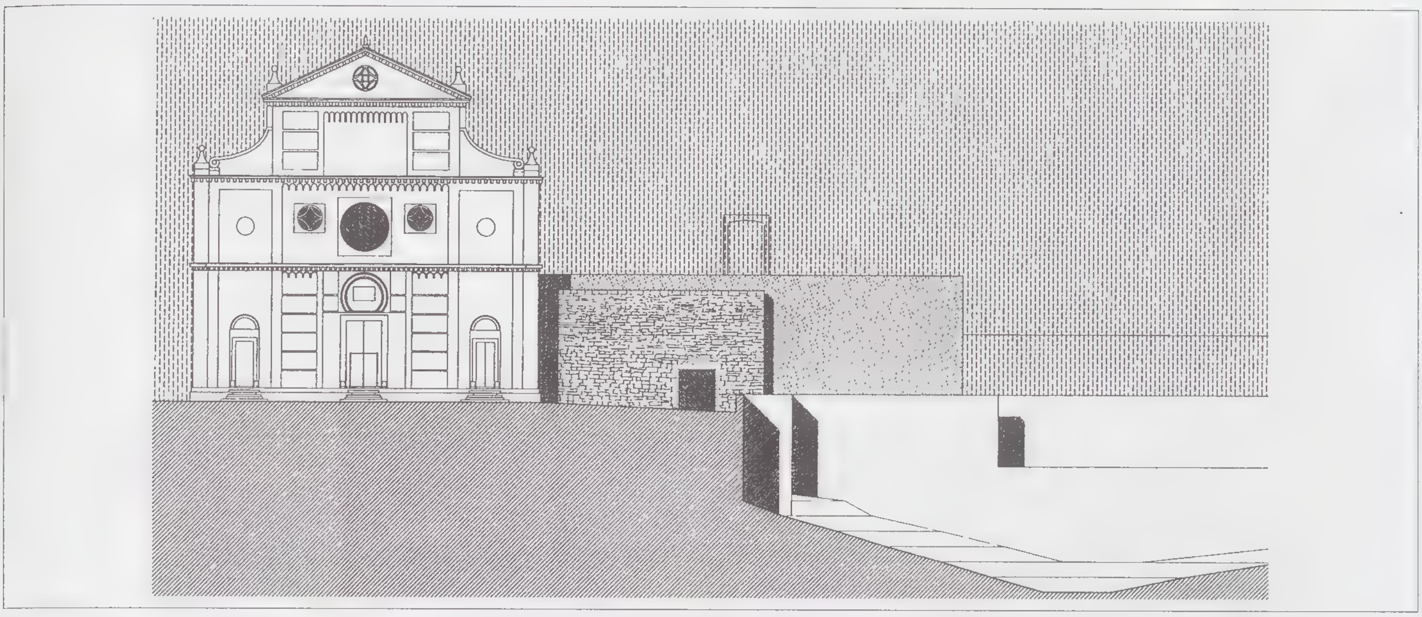




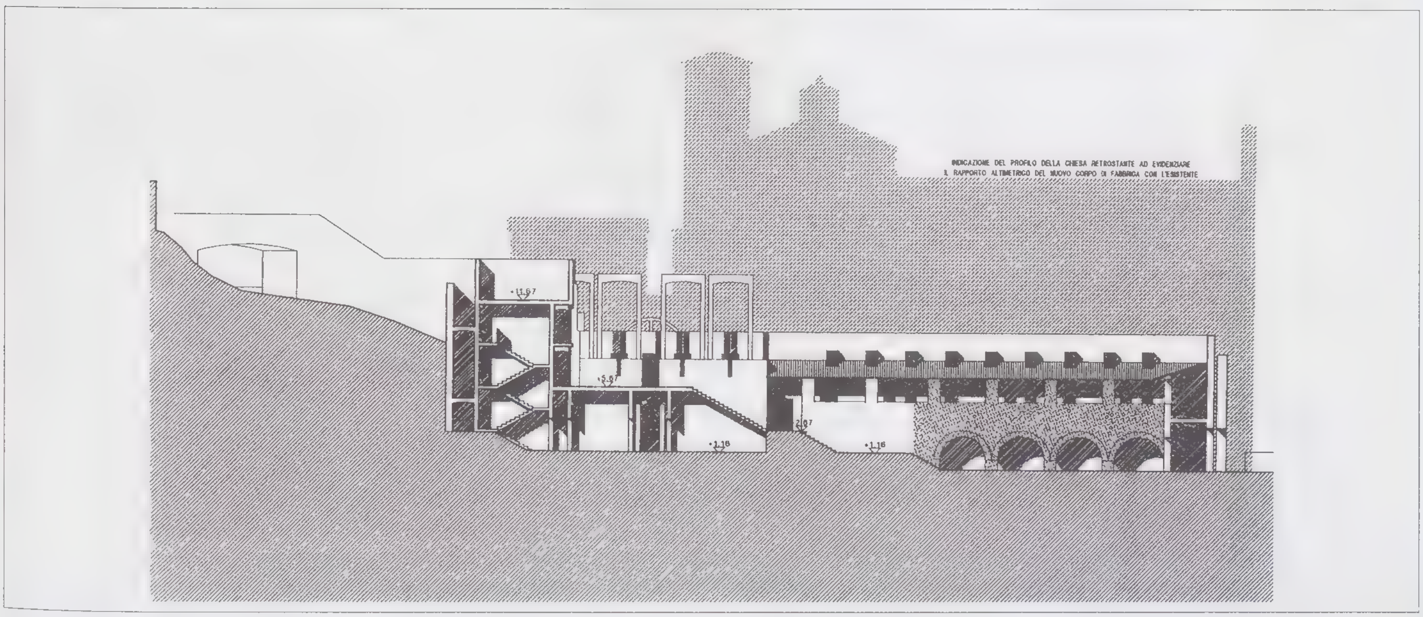


Disegno di studio.
Planivolumetria generale: 1) chiostro inferiore e Via Crucis; 2) orti; 3) chiostro-giardino; 4) Tebaide.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo: 1) ingresso e parlatorio interno; 2) parlatorio esterno; 3) refettorio; 4) coro; 5) cappella; 6) sagrestia della Chiesa di San Pietro; 7) orti; 8) Via Crucis nel chiostro inferiore; 9) celle Monastero; 10) laboratori; 11) Coro e Capitolo; 12) chiostro-giardino.
Prospetto ovest con la facciata della Chiesa e l'ingresso al Monastero.
Prospetto sud dagli orti e dal chiostro-giardino.
Sezione sul chiostro inferiore verso il loggiato interno (con il profilo della Chiesa di San Pietro alle spalle dell'osservatore).

Study drawing.
Site plan: 1) lower cloister and Via Crucis; 2) vegetable gardens; 3) garden-cloister; 4) Thebaid.
Ground floor and first floor plans: 1) entrance and internal parlour; 2) external parlour; 3) dining hall; 4) choir; 5) chapel; 6) sacresty of the Church of San Pietro; 7) vegetable gardens; 8) Via Crucis in the lower cloister; 9) cells of the Convent; 10) laboratories; 11) Choir and Capitulary room; 12) garden-cloister.
West elevation with the facade of the Church and the entrance to the Convent.
South elevation from the vegetable gardens and the garden-cloister.
Section through lower cloister towards the interior arcade (with the outline of the Church of San Pietro at the back of the observer).






INDICAZIONE DEL PROFILO DELLA CHIESA RETROSTANTE AD EVIDENZIARE
IL RAPPORTO ALTIMETRICO DEL NUOVO CORPO DI FABBRICA CON L'ESISTENTE

Restoration and renovation of Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

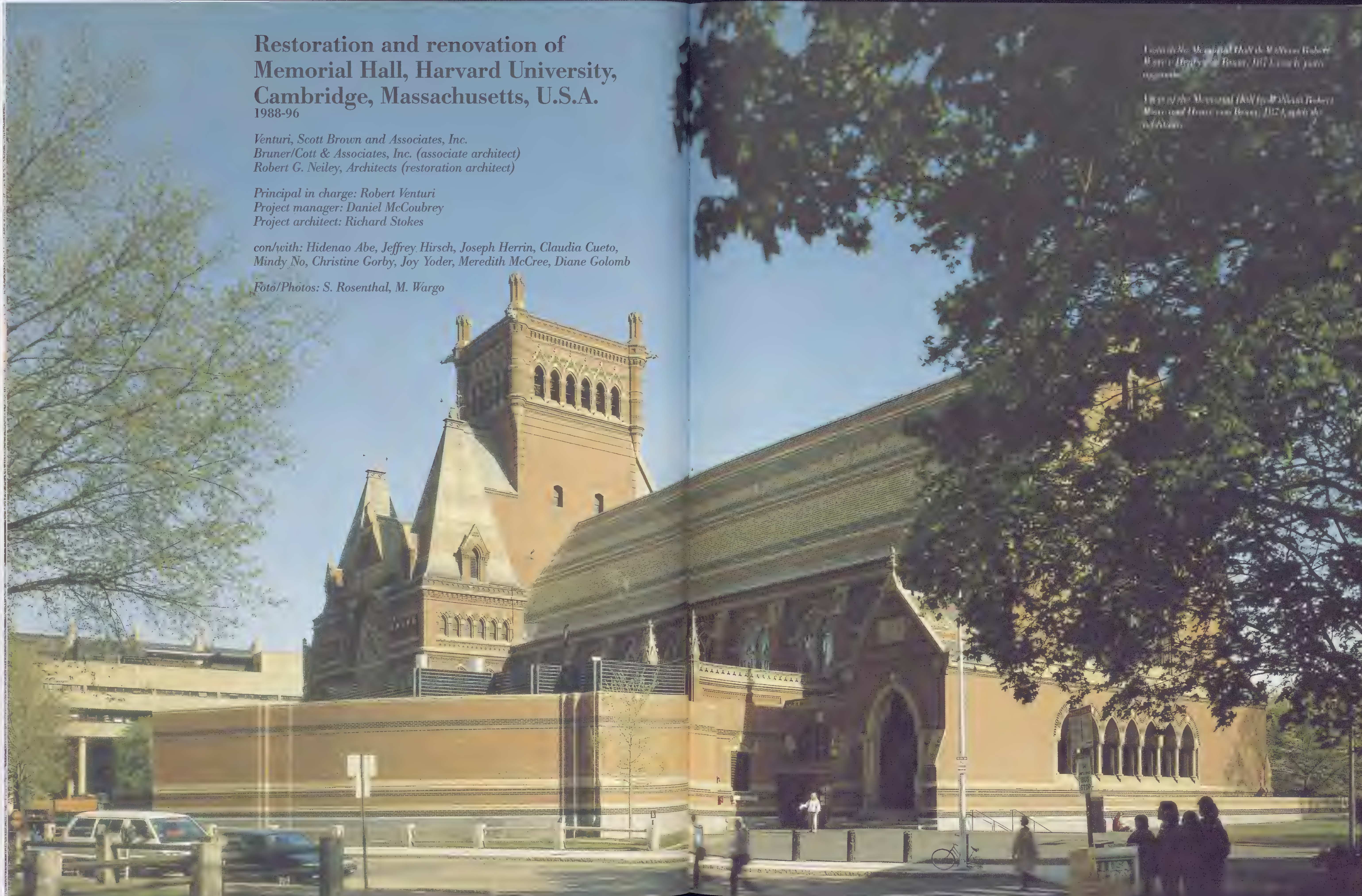
1988-96

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, Inc.
Bruner/Cott & Associates, Inc. (associate architect)
Robert G. Neiley, Architects (restoration architect)

Principal in charge: Robert Venturi
Project manager: Daniel McCoubrey
Project architect: Richard Stokes

con/with: Hidenao Abe, Jeffrey Hirsch, Joseph Herrin, Claudia Cueto, Mindy No, Christine Gorby, Joy Yoder, Meredith McCree, Diane Golomb

Foto/Photos: S. Rosenthal, M. Wargo



Restoration and renovation of Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

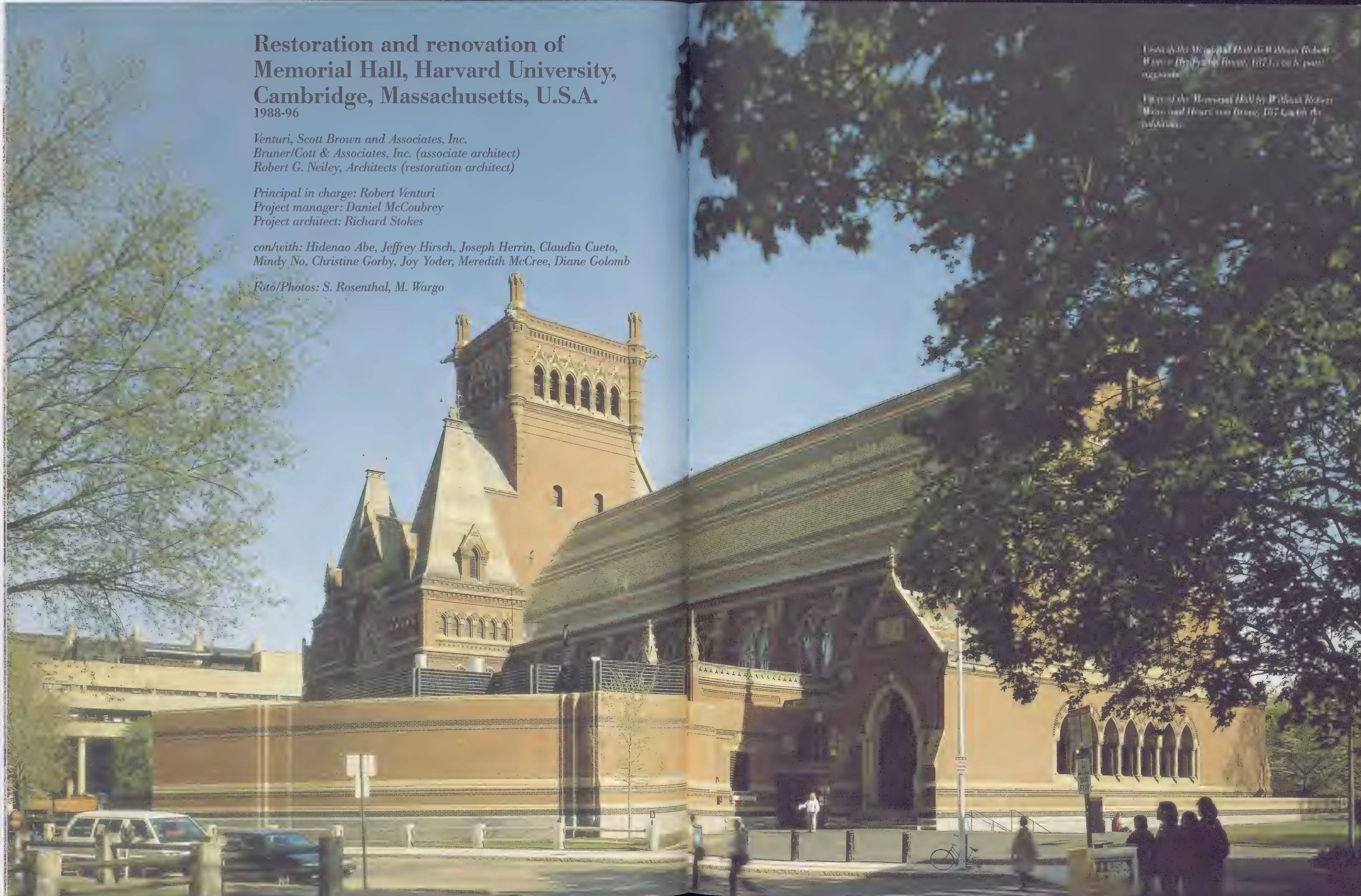
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Restauro e rinnovamento della Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

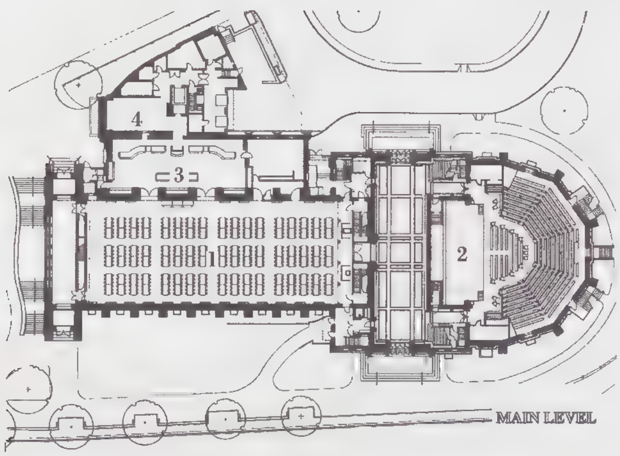
In architettura, qualcosa difficile da realizzare è la creazione di un'"aura" nello spazio interno di un edificio, un'"aura" e uno scintillio, in contrapposizione alla luce ambientale interna che deriva dal riflesso sulle superfici architettoniche.
Questa sorta di "luce nello spazio" è un carattere essenziale del livello seminterrato della Memorial Hall, per il quale il progetto non prevedeva interventi di restauro. La Memorial Hall rappresenta il massimo esempio americano di Gotico ruskiniano, stile adottato dal nostro gruppo di progettisti e consulenti per il restauro della Great Hall, ora denominata Annenberg Hall, con le sue capriate a contropuntoni incrociati e con le sue vetrate, supremo esempio della perizia artigianale del XIX secolo, che concorrono alla creazione dell'"aura" grazie al filtrare della luce esterna attraverso i vetri colorati. Questo spazio a piano terra ha riacquistato la sua funzione originaria di grande refettorio, destinato attualmente alle sole matricole, diventando così luogo istituzionale per eccellenza. Allo stesso modo, fanno parte degli spazi virtualmente restaurati "alla lettera" la Sala in memoria degli *alumni* di parte nordista caduti durante la Guerra Civile e il Sanders Auditorium, celebre per la qualità della sua acustica. Naturalmente il restauro alla fine è risultato più "virtuale" che "letterale" a causa dei vari vincoli e dei necessari cambiamenti nel programma funzionale.
Il livello seminterrato dell'edificio è stato rinnovato e trasformato nel Loker Commons, il luogo centrale di incontro per l'intera comunità accademica, uno spazio flessibile in cui soffermarsi, pranzare e comunicare, un luogo non-istituzionale nel quale trascorrere il tempo. Il progetto di questi spazi comuni incorpora riferimenti all'immaginario architettonico, in quanto la loro qualità spaziale non deriva essenzialmente dalla luce che si riflette sulle superfici e che articola i dettagli, ma dalle fonti stesse di luce che creano scintillio e accenti luminosi all'interno di un ambiente in ombra.
Le superfici architettoniche e gli arredi sono di tinta neutra e di tono scuro, così che la piccola quantità di luce ambientale proveniente dalle fonti luminose a soffitto si riflette scarsamente sulle superfici e si focalizza invece sulle persone, accentuandone la presenza.
Un'eccezione è rappresentata dalla serie dei tradizionali pannelli per l'esposizione di bollettini e di messaggi le cui superfici, illuminate dall'alto, riflettono la luce, imprimendo nel contempo un'articolazione ai movimenti nello spazio; così come accade in un'area parallela situata dietro i pannelli, in cui durante il giorno la luce naturale, proveniente da una fila di piccole e alte finestre preesistenti, filtra in una serie di nicchie laterali che contengono spazi raccolti per coloro che desiderano stare appartati. Sul lato opposto della sala, in una zona anch'essa disposta parallelamente e ampiamente illuminata dall'alto, si allineano i banchi di esposizione della mensa.
Ma in questo spazio interno l'effetto principale deriva dal gioco scintillante che si crea fra due fonti di luce: la prima costituita da una serie di tubi fluorescenti colorati disposti a soffitto, paralleli tra loro, come elementi decorativi che articolano la principale zona di passaggio; la seconda da due *display* elettronici con indicatori LED: uno a fascia, situato al di sopra del banco della mensa, sul quale scorrono immagini e al quale può capitare di rivolgere incidentalmente lo sguardo; e uno schermo posto sul fondo della zona di passaggio, al quale invece ci si rivolge intenzionalmente. Questi *display* possono innescare una forma di immaginazione "flessibile" – grafica, narrativa, astratta, e/o simbolica – e nello stesso tempo sono elementi decorativi che si rivolgono alla capacità di captare il linguaggio della pubblicità tipica del nostro tempo, mantenendo la loro funzione di trasmissione di informazioni dinamicamente complesse e multiculturali. Ed il fatto che tale luogo di incontro sia stato ricavato quasi in modo incidentale in un seminterrato di tipo convenzionale – non pseudo-architettonico ma genericamente flessibile – si adatta ulteriormente all'estetica "*grunge*" della nuova generazione. Qui l'architettura diventa non-architettura.
Si può quindi dire che lo scintillio dei *pixels* giù nel Loker Commons corrisponde alla gloria dei *vitraux* nella Annenberg Hall, al piano superiore? Che la tecnologia elettronica del XX secolo incontra la perizia storicista ottocentesca? Che l'iconografia informatica incontra quella tradizionale? Nel seminterrato della Memorial Hall l'elettronica contemporanea si avvicenda all'artigianato revivalistico.
Nota finale: i segni sono elementi meravigliosi ma nello stesso tempo difficili da trattare, dal momento che, diversamente dagli ornamenti astratti, richiedono la presenza di contenuti e che, paradossalmente, benché l'attuale era dell'informazione progetti una quantità enorme di immaginario grafico, risulta ancora molto difficile esprimere un corretto contenuto multiculturale. Ciò nonostante, riteniamo che questa dimensione/*medium* possa essere una forma di arricchimento valida e – attraverso la variazione dei segni elettronici – essenziale all'*ethos* del luogo: essa si richiama a quella tradizione grafica civico-culturale contenuta nell'architettura – classica e medievale – che nel passato ne ha arricchito le realizzazioni e che, nella sua manifestazione vittoriano-romantica, è parte essenziale della raffinata espressione architettonica della Sala al piano superiore.

Restoration and renovation of Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Something that is hard to do in architecture is to create aura, aura and sparkle, in space inside a building, as opposed to ambient light inside a building that derives from reflection from architectural surfaces. This kind of light in space is essential for the basement of Memorial Hall that included no restorative element in its design. Memorial Hall represents America's supreme example of Ruskinian Gothic in which our team of architects and consultants has restored the Great Hall, now named Annenberg Hall, with its hammer beam trusses and stained glass windows, the latter itself supremely exemplifying 19th century craft and contributing aura via the penetration of exterior light through colored glass. This ground-floor space has reverted to its original use as a great dining hall, to be limited in our era to freshmen. It has become thereby an institutional space par excellence. *Also included in the spaces that have been virtually literally restored are the Hall memorializing the fallen* alumni *of the northern side during the Civil War and Sanders Auditorium renowned for the quality of its acoustics. Of course what makes literal restoration virtual rather than literal is the need to accommodate various code restrictions and necessary programmatic changes.*
The basement of this building has been renovated to become Loker Commons – the central meeting place for the whole academic community, a flexible space to lounge and eat in and for communication of all sorts – a non-institutional kind of place for hanging out in. The design of this commons incorporates little architectural imagery because its architectural quality derives not essentially from light reflecting off surfaces and articulating details but from light sources themselves that create sparkle and accents within a recessive aura. The architectural surfaces and the furniture are neutral in hue and dark in value, so that the small amount of ambient light derived from ceiling fixtures tends to be hardly reflected off surfaces but to focus on people to make of them accents.
An exception occurs at the series of old-fashioned bulletin boards for varieties of tacked-on notices whose surfaces, spotlit from above, reflect light as they also articulate circulation through the space. Another exception occurs in a parallel zone behind the bulletin boards, where during the day an existing row af small high windows admits ambient light into a series of peripheral niches that contain booths accommodating those who enjoy being in the periphery. The other side of the room is lined with food counters and constitutes a parallel zone which is brightly lit from above.
But the essential effect in this interior derives







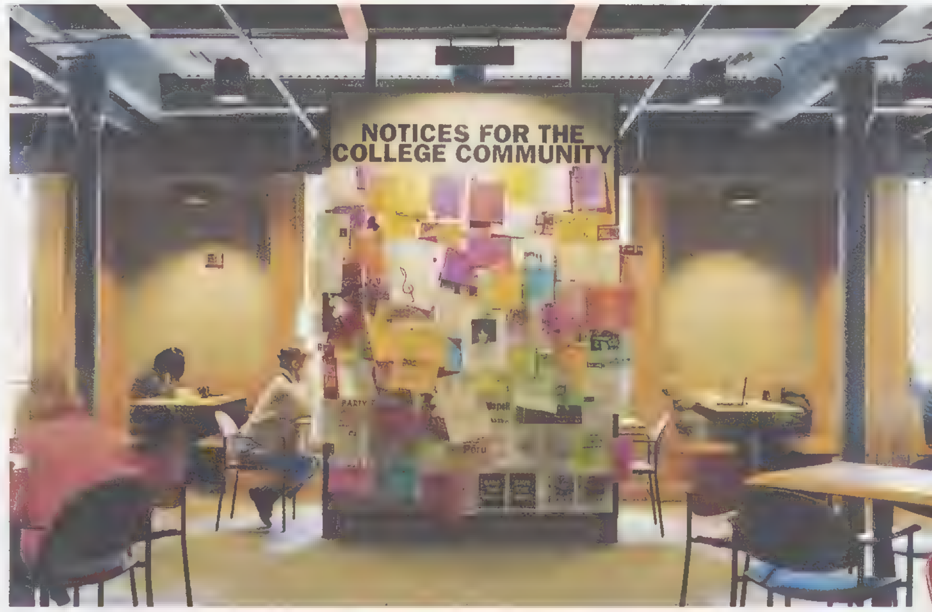


LOWER LEVEL

Sezioni longitudinale e trasversale.
Piante dei piani terreno e seminterrato:
1) refettorio Annenberg Hall; 2) Sanders Auditorium, sede della Boston Philarmonic Orchestra; 3) banchi della mensa; 4) cucina; 5) sala comune Loker Commons; 6) depositi e servizi; 7) sale riunioni.

Longitudinal and cross sections.
Ground floor and basement level plans:
1) Annenberg Dining Hall; 2) Sanders Auditorium, home of the Boston Philarmonic Orchestra; 3) servery; 4) kitchen; 5) Loker Commons; 6) storage and services; 7) seminar rooms.





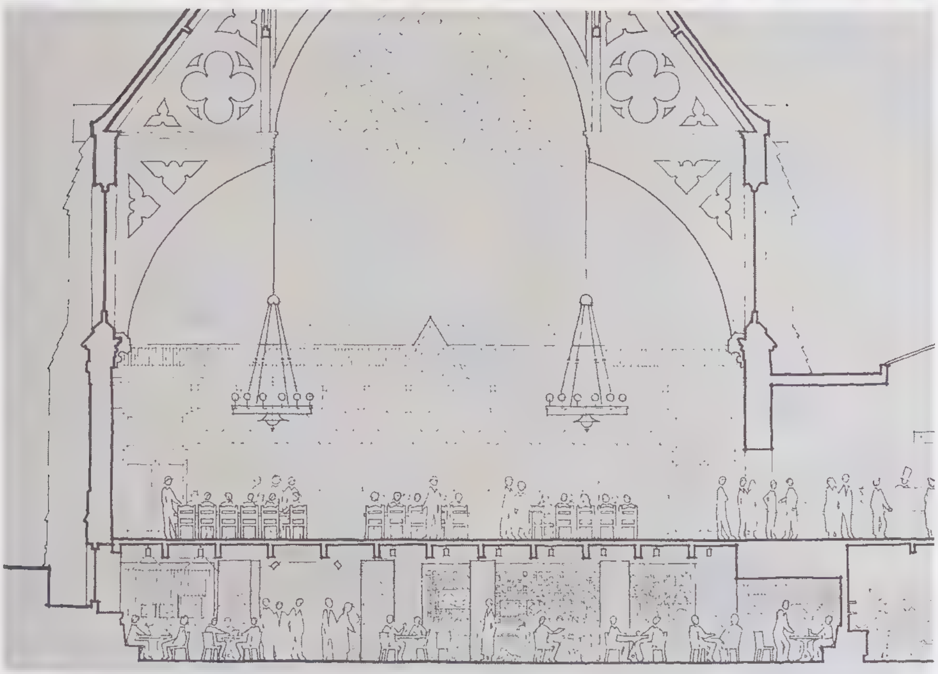
Vista dell'ingresso al piano seminterrato. Viste interne della sala comune Loker Commons al piano seminterrato e sezione trasversale sulle sale.

View of the entrance to the basement. Interior views of the Loker Commons in the basement and cross section through halls.









from sparkling interplay between two kinds of light sources – the first, a row of parallel colored fluorescent tubes arranged on the ceiling to decoratively articulate a major circulation route; the other, two electronic sources – an LED board as a frieze with moving images along and above the food counter, which you incidentally look at, and an LED board as a screen that terminates the circulation route, which you specifically look at.

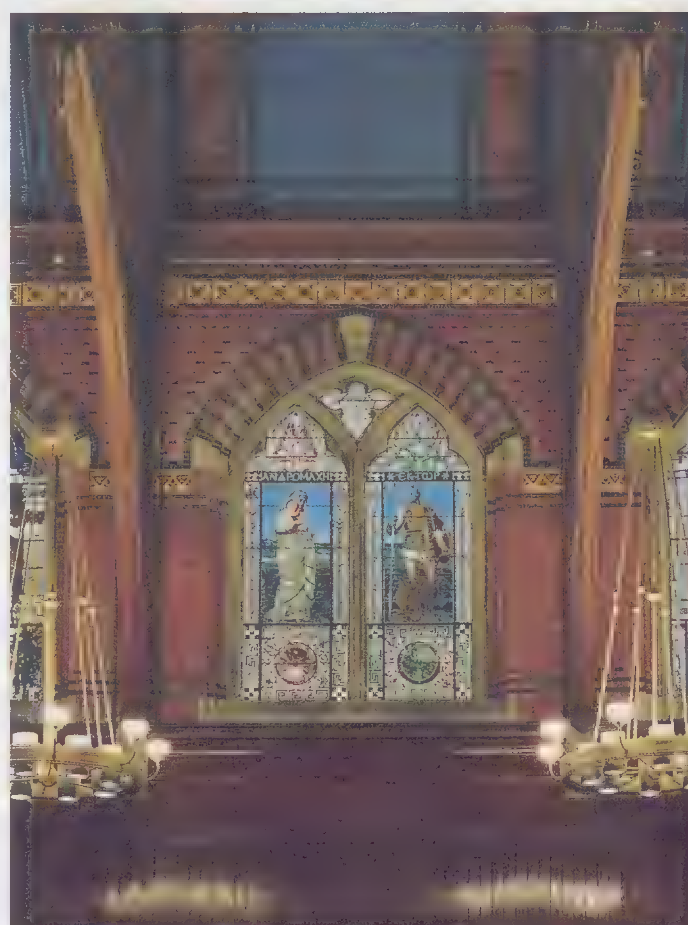
These electronic elements promoting flexible imagery – graphic, narrative, abstract, and/or symbolic – work as sources of ornaments that appeal to the hype sensibility of our time and as sources of information, dynamically complex and multicultural. And their setting as a meeting place incidentally adapted from a conventional basement – not arty-architectural but generically flexible – further adapts to a kind of grunge aesthetic for this generation. Here architecture becomes non-architecture. Can it be said that the sparkle of pixels in the Loker Commons downstairs corresponds to the glory of vitraux in Annenberg Hall upstairs – where 20th century electronic technology meets 19th century historicist craft – where informational iconography meets traditional iconography? In the basement of Memorial Hall contemporary electronics succeeds revivalist crafts.

Addendum: signs are wonderful but troublesome elements because unlike abstract ornament they require an ingredient of content and, ironically, while our information age projects lots of graphic imagery, it is still hard to organize multiculturally correct content. However, we think this dimension/medium can be enriching and valid and – via changing electronic signage – essential to the ethos of this place and it can recall the civic-cultural graphic tradition within architecture – Classical and Medieval – which has enriched architectural settings in the past and which, in its Victorian-Romantic manifestation, is an essential part of the distinguished architectural setting upstairs.

Viste interne del refettorio Annenberg Hall e del Sanders Auditorium.

Interior views of the Annenberg Dining Hall and the Sanders Auditorium.







Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *and* ***Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese*** *and* ***Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;* ***Kurt W. Forster*** *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

Guido Canella *Beyond Legitimate Preservation;* ***Ernesto N. Rogers*** *The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi*** *Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas;* ***James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Poultry n. 1 in London;* ***Colin St. John Wilson*** *Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola*** *The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *Department of Architecture in Genoa;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida;* ***Drexel Turner*** *Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America;* ***Gianugo Polesello*** *University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.*

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *and* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown*** *and* ***Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la citta? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

Who designs the city? *Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning;* ***Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek*** *60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism;* ***Bruno Flierl*** *Stalinallee in Berlin;* ***Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli*** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium;* ***Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi*** *Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London;* ***Micha Bandini*** *Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate;* ***Gian Franco Di Pietro*** *Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini*** *A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence;* ***Giovanni Klaus Koenig*** *About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers*** *Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino** II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epoché"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al deseo. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil),** Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

Guido Canella Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo; **Derek A.R. Moore** Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti; **Giovanni Testori, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Luciano Semerani,** Progetti per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona; **Philip Johnson** Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut; **Peter Eisenman** Interview with Philip Johnson; **Oscar Niemeyer** Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil; **Oscar Niemeyer** De Pampulha ao Memorial da América Latina; **Lionello Puppi** Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo; **Richard Meier** Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany; **Carlo Aymonino** Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien; **Gottfried Böhm** Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland; **Gottfried Böhm** Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland; **Aldo Rossi** Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

Zodiac 10

Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

Zodiac 11

Guido Canella Struttura urbana e destrutturazione dell'architettura: la competenza del critico e quella del comune fruitore; **Paolo Polledri** "The nearest thing to a contemporary vernacular": the Bay Area Architectural Tradition in Perspective; **Giovanni Brino** Radici dell'architettura moderna nella California meridionale; **Joseph Giovannini** L.A. Trouvée: **Thomas S. Hines** Housing, Baseball and Creeping Socialism: the Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, 1949-1959; **Kevin Roche** Charles Eames; **Kurt W. Forster** Neutra on the roof; **Charles W. Moore** O' California!; **Frank O. Gehry** Modelli di progetti californiani, 1981-1993; **Joseph Esherick, San Francisco** Sea Ranch, Sonoma County and Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey; **Holt, Hinshaw, Jones, San Francisco** Tall Buildings on Small Lots, S.F. and Visiting Artists Suite, Geyserville; **Marck Mack, San Francisco** Baum House, Berkeley, S.F. and Park and Cultural Center, Candlestick Point, S.F.; **Stanley Saitowitz, San Francisco** McDonald House, Stinson Beach and Live/Work Building, S.F.; **Daniel Solomon, San Francisco** Gleeson Residence, S.F. and Fulton Grove Townhouses, S.F.; **Coop Himmelblau, Los Angeles** Rehak House, L.A. and UFA Theater Center, Pragerstrasse Nord, Dresden, Germany; **Hodgetts+Fung, Los Angeles** Click Model Management Building, L.A. and Franklin-La Brea Proposal, L.A.; **Franklin D. Israel, Los Angeles** Raznick House, L.A. and Southern Regional Library, UCLA; **Panos Koulermos, Los Angeles** Nursery School, L.A. and West Hollywood City Hall, L.A.; **Thom Mayne, Morphosis, Los Angeles** Yuzen Vintage Car Museum, L.A. and Science Museum School, L.A.; **Eric Owen Moss, Los Angeles** Samitaur Complex, L.A. and Hercules Theater and Offices, L.A.; **Dagmar Richter, Los Angeles** West Coast Gateway, L.A. and The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark; **Michael Rotondi, Los Angeles** QWFK House, U.S.A. and Carlson-Reges Residence, L.A.

Zodiac 12

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994); Guido Canella Premiata Architettura Contemporanea; **The Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureates, 1979-94; Jay A. Pritzker** Origins and Evolution of the Pritzker Architecture Prize; **Francesco Dal Co** Il migliore architetto del mondo; **Philip Johnson, 1979** Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., Office Development, Shenzen, China; **Luis Barragán, 1980** Torres de la Ciudad Satélite, Queretaro Highway, Mexico City, Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Mexico City; **James Stirling, 1981** Faculty of History, Cambridge University, Great Britain, Engineering Building, Leicester University, Great Britain, Kyoto Centre, Kyoto, Japan; **Kevin Roche, 1982** Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A. and Extension to the Jewish Museum, New York, U.S.A.; **Ieoh Ming Pei, 1983** National Gallery of Art, East Wing, Washington D.C., U.S.A., Grand Louvre, Paris, France; **Richard Meier, 1984** The Atheneum, New Harmony, U.S.A., Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.; **Hans Hollein, 1985** Abteiberg Municipal Museum, Mönchengladbach, Germany, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Auvergne, France; **Gottfried Böhm, 1986** Church of the Resurrection, Cologne, Germany, Arbed-Saarstahl Office Building, Esch-Alzette, Luxembourg; **Kenzo Tange, 1987** Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Japan, Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Japan, American Medical Association Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.; **Gordon Bunshaft, 1988** The Lever House, New York, U.S.A., Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.; **Oscar Niemeyer, 1988** Pampuhla, Minas Gerais, Brasil, Museu de Arte Contemporânea de Niterôi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil; **Frank O. Gehry, 1989** Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, California, U.S.A. , The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain; **Aldo Rossi, 1990** Teatro del Mondo, Venezia, Italia, Porta di Ingresso e Recinzione, Centro residenziale Barialto, Bari, Italia; **Robert Venturi, 1991** Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. , RCID Emergency Services Headquarters, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A.; **Alvaro Siza, 1992** Restaurante Casa de Chá Bóa Nóva, Leça de Palmeira, Portugal, Centro de Arte Contemporanea de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, España; **Fumihiko Maki, 1993** Spiral Building, Tokyo, Japan, Center for the Arts, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A..

Zodiac 13

Guido Canella La diffusione del centro; **Marina Waisman** La ciudad descentrada; **Andrej Ikonnikov** Mosca. Dialettica centro e periferia; **Werner Rietdorf** Probleme der Stadtentwicklung in den neuen deutschen Bundesländern. Zum Zusammenhang von Aussen-und Innenentwicklung; **Klaus Theo Brenner** Heterotope, Berlin; **Moore Ruble Yudell** Housing Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin, Karow Nord Master Plan and Housing, Karow, Berlin; **Peter Eisenman** Bahnhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse Competition, Berlin; **Roland Castro** Sur la périphérie de Paris; **Henri Ciriani** Noisy II à Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, Logements à ColombesParis; **Catherine Furet** Quartier de l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve, 41/49 Rue Piat, Paris XXème; **Bernard Tschumi** "Jardin d'entreprises", Chartres; **Emilio Donato, Jesús de la Torre** Barcelona. Estructura y formación de una periferia metropolitana; **Emilio Donato** Viviendas "Baró de Viver", Barcelona; **Roberto Ferreira** Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria "La Llagosta", Barcelona; **Eduard Calafell** Nave Industrial, Poligono Pedrosa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcelona; **Enrico Bordogna** Periferia, piano o gestione?; **Carlo Aymonino** Complesso terziario sulla via Ostiense, Roma; **Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola** Piazza-Giardino a Catanzaro Lido; **Raffaele Panella** Nuovo Centro polifunzionale di Villa Fastiggi, Pesaro; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Quartiere cooperativo a Compiobbi, Firenze; **Guido Canella** Centro civico con municipio, residenze, attività terziarie e sportive, Pioltello, Milano, Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano.

Zodiac 14

Guido Canella La retorica della Giustizia; **Suzanne B. Butters, Pier Nicola Pagliara** Il Palazzo dei Tribunali e via Giulia a Roma; **Robert Jacob** La formation historique de l'architecture judiciaire; **Giorgio Muratore** Il Palazzo di Giustizia nella città moderna; **Manuela Morresi** Lezioni di architettura di Ignazio Gardella; **Ignazio Gardella** Palazzo di Giustizia di La Spezia, Italia; **Lluís Domènech** Palacio de Justicia, Lérida, España; **Richard Meier** Federal Office Building and U. S. Courthouse, Islip, New York, U.S.A.; **Carlo Aymonino** Palazzo di Giustizia di Lecce, Palazzo di Giustizia di Ferrara, Italia; **Roberto Gabetti e Aimaro Isola** Palazzo di Giustizia di Alba, Cuneo, Palazzo di Giustizia di Pinerolo, Torino, Italia; **Guido Canella, Fernando Clemente, Alberto Sandroni** Palazzo di Giustizia di Ancona; **Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto, Giorgio Morano, Ferruccio Rozza** Uffici Giudiziari Finanziari e Comunali di Legnano, Milano, Italia; **Karmi Architects** The Israel Supreme Court, Jerusalem, Israel; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani** Palacio de Justicia II, Córdoba, Argentina; **Gianugo Polesello, Giusa Marcialis** Uffici Giudiziari di Udine, Italia; **Richard Rogers** The European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France.

Zodiac 15

Guido Canella Riflettendo su funzionalità e figurazione; **Christof Thoenes** Appunti sui trattati di architettura del Rinascimento; **Daniel Sherer** *Progetto e Ricerca:* Manfredo Tafuri as Critic and Historian; **Sylvia Lavin** On the Subject of Gehry; **Frank O. Gehry** ING Office Building, Prague, Czech Republic, EMR Communication & Technology Center, Bad Oeynhausen, Germany; **Aldo Rossi** Parco Tecnologico del Lago Maggiore, Fondotoce, Verbania, Italia; **Peter Eisenman** Intervista di Luca Monica e Tito Canella, Place des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Renovation and Additions to the Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, San Diego, University of Delaware, Student Center, Newark, Delaware, U.S.A.; **Gustav Peichl** Probebühne für das Burgtheater, Wien, Österreich; **Bernard Tschumi** Le Fresnoy National Studio for Contemporary Arts, Tourcoing, School of Architecture, Marne-la-Vallée, Paris, France; **Philip Johnson** Puerta de Europa, Madrid, España, Town Hall, Clelebration, Florida, U.S.A.; **Hans Hollein** Guggenheim Museum und Volksschule, Donaucity, Wien, Österreich; **Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro** Padiglione specialistico e Dipartimento d'urgenza, Ospedale SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia.

Zodiac 16

Guido Canella Quella "terza generazione" di Giedion; **Architecture from the 1920 generation; Peter Blake** From Mies to Mickey Mouse; **Dennis Sharp** Framing the Welfare State; **Alison Smithson** A time of ferment: the Indipendent Group in its setting of the 'fifties...; **Enrico Bordogna** Intervista a Bruno Zevi; **Yoshinobu Ashihara** Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space, Tokyo; **Peter Blake** A flexible 299-seat open stage theater based on the dimension of a New York City lot, Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A., Neely Theatre and Drama School, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A.; **Eduardo Catalano** United States Embassy, Pretoria, South Africa; **Alan Colquhoun, John Miller** Church Crescent Housing, London, Great Britain, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, Great Britain; **Marcello d'Olivo** Scuola per le minoranze etniche, Gorizia, Italia; **Mario Fiorentino** Complesso residenziale pubblico al Corviale, Roma, Italia; **Ulrich Franzen** Art Collector's House, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.; **Yona Friedman** Structures en "feuilles froissées"; **Erst Gisel** World Trade Center, Zürich, Switzerland; **Romaldo Giurgola** St. Thomas Aquinas Parish Church, Charnwood, Canberra, Australia; **James Gowan** Villa at Chester, Great Britain; Istituto Clinico Humanitas, Milano, Italia; **Vico Magistretti** Centro Servizi della Cassa di Risparmio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma, Italia; **Angelo Mangiarotti** Sede della Internazionale Marmi e Macchine, Carrara, Italia; **Masato Otaka** Gunma Prefectural Museum of History, Gunma, Japan, Fukushima Prefectural Museum of Art, Fukushima, Japan; **Claude Parent** Centre d'animation l'*Aéronef*, Roissypole, Paris, France; **Leonardo Ricci** Palazzo di Giustizia, Savona, Italia; **Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo** Union Carbide Corporation World Headquarters, Danbury, Conn., U.S.A.; Merck & Co. Inc. World Headquarters, Whitehouse Station, N.J., U.S.A.; **Paul Rudolph** Bond Center, Hong Kong; **Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza** Universidad Pública de Navarra, Pamplona, España; **Alison and Peter Smithson** Second Arts Building, Arts Barn and Building 6 East, University of Bath, Great Britain; **Paolo Soleri** Arcosanti, Cordes Junction, Arizona; **Fernando Távora** Auditorium do Instituto Politécnico de Viana do Castelo, Portugal; **Clorindo Testa** Edificio S.G.I.A.R. "Auditorio de la Paz", Buenos Aires, Argentina; **Jörn Utzon** Paustian Furniture House, Copenhagen, Denmark; **Aldo van Eyck** Church for the Moluccan Community of Deventer, Netherlands; **Vittoriano Viganò** Teatro Comunale dell'Opera Carlo Felice, Genova, Italia; **Colin St. John Wilson** The British Library, London, Great Britain.

Zodiac 17

Guido Canella Il volto di Roma e il terzo millennio; **Mario Manieri Elia** I Giubilei nella storia di Roma; **Christof Thoenes** "Urbi et orbi": Roma e la Basilica vaticana negli Anni Santi; **Silvana Rizzo** Archeologia dei Fori Imperiali; **Jean-Louis Cohen** Gaston Bardet e la "Roma di Mussolini"; **Anna Mura Sommella** Il progetto "Grande Campidoglio"; **Claudia Conforti** Paradigma residenziale del professionismo romano del dopoguerra; **Progetti per la Roma del Giubileo dell'anno 2000; Tadao Ando, Frank O. Gehry, Peter Eisenman, Richard Meier** Progetti per la Chiesa del 2000; **Richard Meier** Sistemazione museale dell'Ara Pacis; **Carlo Aymonino** Sistemazione del Giardino Romano nel complesso dei Musei Capitolini; **Carlo Aymonino, Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Vittorio De Feo, Giorgio Grassi, Rafael Moneo** Ristrutturazione della Biblioteca Hertziana; **Costantino Dardi** Ristrutturazione del Palazzo delle Esposizioni; **Francesco R. Ghio** Programma Centopiazze: nuovi spazi pubblici per Roma; **Francesco Cellini, Umberto Riva, Aldo Rossi** Una piazza per il Foro Italico; **Alessandro Anselmi, Carlo Aymonino, Paolo Portoghesi, Franco Purini** Sistema Direzionale Orientale Pietralata-Tiburtina.

Zodiac 18

Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson Per/To Aldo Rossi (1931-1997); **Guido Canella** Olanda, primo amore; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht; **Auke van der Woud** Form and identity of the Randstad; **Han Meyer, Willem Hermans, John Westrik** Urban design and planning under new conditions: urban transformations in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague; **Frits Palmboom** Polycentrism and urbanized landscape in the Netherlands; **Carlo Olmo** Architettura internazionale, ricerca storica e critica operativa; **Paolo Scrivano** J.J.P. Oud e l'architettura olandese negli scritti di Henry-Russell Hitchcock; **Mario Fosso** La nostra immagine dell'Olanda; **Architecture in the Netherlands; de architectengroep** Villa KBWW, Utrecht; **Van Berkel & Bos** Museum "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen; **Erick van Egeraat** Vaktechnisch Lyceum, Utrecht; Natuurmuseum, Rotterdam; **Hubert-Jan Henket** Maastheater, Rotterdam; **Herman Hertzberger** "Anne Frank" Basisschool, Papendrecht; "De Bombardon" LOM-Basisschool, Almere; **Mecanoo architekten** Bibliotheek Technische Universiteit, Delft; Isala College, Silvolde; **MVRDV** Hoofdkantoor en studio's VPRO, Hilversum; Appartementen complex van 100 zorgwoningen, Amsterdam-Osdorp; **Wim G. Quist** Museum "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, Den Haag; CoBrA Museum, Amstelveen; Renovatie Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; **Koen van Velsen** Uitbreiding en renovatie Stadhuis/Stadskantoor, Terneuzen

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In copertina: Edoardo Persico, Schizzo di studio del Salone d'Onore alla VI Triennale di Milano, 1936.

Front cover: Edoardo Persico, Study drawing of the Salone d'Onore at the VI Triennale of Milan, 1936.

Zodiac 21

Sommario/*Contents*

Proprio nell'allestire questo numero dedicato alla critica in architettura, ci è accaduto di riflettere sulla durata vitale delle riviste di architettura sorte con il proposito di un certo impegno insieme critico e operativo. A memoria: "De Stijl" 1917-28; "Wendingen" 1918-31; "Das Neue Frankfurt" 1926-31; "SA" ("Sovremennaja Architektura") 1926-30; "AC" ("Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea") 1931-37; "ABC" ("Beiträge zum Bauen") 1924-28; "Architectural Forum" (direzione di Peter Blake) 1958-72; in Italia: le due serie autenticamente vitali di "Casabella": quella di Pagano (con il decisivo apporto di Persico fino al 1936) 1933-43 e quella di Rogers 1954-64; "Quadrante" 1932-36; "Metron" 1945-54; la prima serie olivettiana di "Zodiac", durata, pur con diversi orientamenti, 21 numeri dal 1957 al 1972.
Ora anche questa seconda serie di "Zodiac" ha raggiunto il ventunesimo numero in una decina d'anni: un limite forse da non superare per una rivista di architettura che non si proponga come rassegna di aggiornamento e promozione.
Perciò, d'accordo con l'editore e il comitato d'orientamento, che qui vogliamo ringraziare, a partire da questo numero riteniamo legittimo concedere a lui e a noi una pausa di riflessione.

Il direttore
Guido Canella

Ventun numeri "Zodiac" nella prima serie di Adriano Olivetti, ventun numeri "Zodiac" in questa seconda serie che, senza modestia, riteniamo abbia raggiunto un notevole livello.
Fatta rivivere dalla nostra casa editrice dopo che le Edizioni di Comunità l'avevano sospesa, "Zodiac" ha vissuto la sua continuità grazie alla presenza di Renzo Zorzi in entrambe le serie.
Abbiamo dovuto fare non pochi sacrifici per sostenere una rivista di tale qualità, ma da "Zodiac" abbiamo ricevuto molte soddisfazioni, soprattutto all'estero, e di ciò ringraziamo anzitutto il direttore Guido Canella e la redazione per il loro contributo.
Come dice il direttore, le riviste di impegno hanno un proprio ciclo vitale: noi speriamo di riprendere presto un terzo ciclo, sempre più aperto al progredire e al diffondersi della migliore architettura. Il nostro non è quindi un addio, ma un arrivederci.

L'editore
Renato Minetto

As we were preparing this issue on architectural criticism, we began to reflect on the life cycles of those architecture magazines created with a simultaneous commitment to criticism and operativeness. From memory: "De Stijl" 1917-28; "Wendingen" 1918-31; "Das Neue Frankfurt" 1926-31; "SA" ("Sovremennaja Architektura") 1926-30; "AC" ("Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea") 1931-37; "ABC" ("Beiträge zum Bauen") 1924-28; "Architectural Forum" (editor Peter Blake) 1958-72; in Italy: the two genuinely vital series of "Casabella": that of Pagano (with the decisive contribution of Persico until 1936) 1933-43 and that of Rogers 1954-64; "Quadrante" 1932-36; "Metron" 1945-54; the first Olivetti series of "Zodiac" which lasted, although with different orientations, for 21 issues from 1957 to 1972.
Now this second series of "Zodiac" has also reached its twenty-first issue, over the course of a decade. Perhaps this is a limit that shouldn't be crossed by an architecture magazine that avoids coverage of current events or promotion. Therefore, in agreement with the publisher and the steering committee, whom we would like to thank here, after this issue we feel it is legitimate to grant him, and ourselves, a pause for reflection.

The editor
Guido Canella

Twenty-one issues of "Zodiac" in the first series under Adriano Olivetti, twenty-one issues in this second series which, without false modesty, we feel has achieved a noteworthy level of quality.
Revived by our publishing house after having been suspended by Edizioni di Comunità, "Zodiac" has gone forward with continuity, thanks to the presence of Renzo Zorzi in both the series.
We have had to make many sacrifices to produce such a high-quality magazine, but "Zodiac" has also given us great satisfaction, especially abroad, for which we would like to thank the editor, Guido Canella, and the editorial staff for their contribution.
As the editor says, magazines with a certain commitment have their own life cycle: we hope to return, soon, with a third cycle, with even greater openness to the progress and spread of the finest architecture. Therefore this is not a "farewell", but an "arrivederci".

The publisher
Renato Minetto

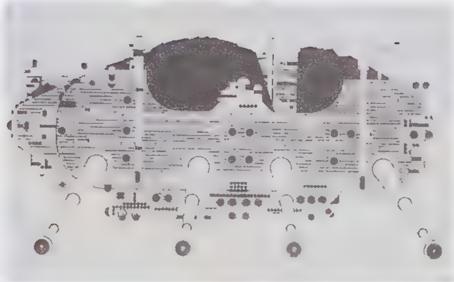
La critica di architettura dopo Zevi
Guido Canella

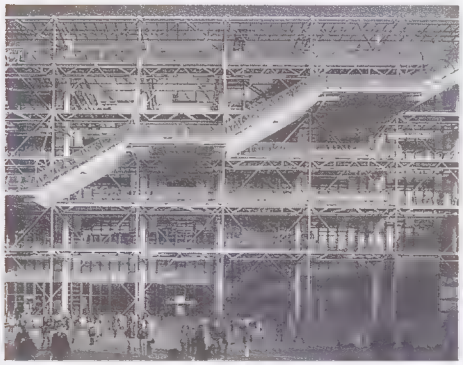
Per questo numero, dedicato in parte alla critica in architettura, abbiamo interpellato alcuni storici sulle possibili relazioni che corrono tra critica e storia. La questione si propone anche per il recente proliferare di testi dove architetti operanti si interrogano "filosoficamente" sulla crisi di identità di cui generalmente soffrirebbe oggi la ricerca progettuale.
Per la verità questo atteggiamento non è nuovo. Talvolta anche in passato, e nel corso dello stesso Movimento Moderno, architetti hanno preceduto critici e storici, accompagnando le proprie prove progettuali con impennate teoriche che chiamavano a testimone la storia. È il caso, ancora, di architetti della generazione formatasi nell'ultimo Dopoguerra quando, di seguito a una catastrofe intesa sia in senso epocale sia in senso epistemologico e di fronte al diffondersi di un Moderno ormai involgarito e al corrugarsi espressivo delle ultime opere dei maestri razionalisti, essi si chiesero se un tale sovvertimento di valori potesse lasciare intatta o corruttibile l'ideologia che il Movimento Moderno aveva postulato in una prospettiva di progresso della società.
È noto che a quella domanda corrispose una serie di risposte poetiche discordi e spesso contrastanti poiché, soprattutto in Europa, il confronto tese a prodursi sul terreno dell'ideologia politica che, particolarmente in architettura, si trovava a misurarsi sull'antinomia qualità-quantità, dissenso-complicità del progettare. Resta il fatto che, nell'imperversare della versione corriva del Moderno, l'incidenza dell'impegno rimaneva comunque circoscritta a episodi occasionali del processo di ricostruzione delle città europee e, salvo rare eccezioni, con un distacco assai marcato tra intenzioni della committenza e presunzioni culturali degli architetti; così che al progettare consapevole non rimaneva che incorporare la propria condizione di marginalità nell'intento di una rappresentatività testimoniale.
È pure riscontrabile una relazione, se non proprio una dipendenza, tra la ricerca progettuale di quegli anni e il nuovo orientamento assunto dalla ricerca storica in architettura, quando una terza generazione di storie si propose la necessità di scavare nel corpo del Movimento Moderno con più acuminata flessibilità, così da superare la semplificata contrapposizione tra avanguardia e tradizione. Tuttavia questa generazione di storici, pur riconoscendosi indirizzata da quella precedente, e in ispecie da Bruno Zevi, nelle voci più autorevoli ha teso progressivamente a separare in due percorsi incomunicanti la propria responsabilità da quella del progetto contemporaneo, rimettendo l'onere di una critica militante alla precedente generazione.
È indubbio che i contributi storici di terza generazione – dove si colloca quello di Manfredo Tafuri – hanno arricchito la storia dell'architettura di una qualità filologica che ha reso la complessità del Moderno più articolata e aderente agli scenari reali della società in cui si era trovato a diffondersi e radicarsi: ideologie, procedure, tecniche, rapporti e mezzi di produzione materiali e professionali. Ma, dacché questi storici, pur formati nelle scuole di architettura, mostrano riluttanza a farsi coinvolgere nella frammentarietà e nel disordine delle poetiche contemporanee, viene da chiedersi quale rischio correrebbe la loro autorità, se chiamata a pronunciarsi dalla prospettiva accorciata e deformante del presente, istradata perlopiù

Architectural criticism after Zevi

Guido Canella

For this issue, partially devoted to architectural criticism, we have called upon a number of historians to discuss the possible relationship between criticism and history. The question is also a timely one, due to the recent proliferation of texts in which practicing architects ask themselves, "philosophically", about the identity crisis that seems to be plaguing design research today.
Actually there is nothing new about this situation. At times in the past, and during the course of the Modern Movement itself, architects have been known to precede critics and historians, accompanying their concrete works with theoretical outbursts that called upon history for evidence. This was also the case for the architects of the generation that developed after the Second World War, when in the aftermath of a catastrophe, in both the epochal and the epistemological senses, and in the face of the spread of a by then vulgarized Modernism and the expressive wrinkling of the last works of the rationalist masters, they wondered if such a subversion of values could leave intact or corruptible the ideology postulated by the Modern Movement in a perspective of social progress.
It is well known that this query met with a series of discordant and often contrasting poetic responses since, especially in Europe, the confrontation tended to take place on the terrain of political ideology which, particularly in architecture, was grappling with the opposites of quality-quantity, dissent-complicity of design. The fact remains that, in the spread of the facile version of the Modern, commitment was a phenomenon limited to occasional episodes of the process of reconstruction of the European cities and, with rare exceptions, involved a clear gap between the intentions of the clients and the cultural presumptions of the architects so that all that remained for aware design was to incorporate its marginal condition in an exemplary representative witnessing.
A relation, if not an actual dependency, can also be seen between the design research of those years and the new orientation in historical research on architecture, as a third generation of histories probed the question of the need to dig into substance of the Modern Movement with keener flexibility, to go beyond the simplified dichotomy of avant-garde vs. tradition. Nevertheless this generation of historians, although acknowledging the influence of the preceding one, and especially of Bruno Zevi, in its most authoritative voices gradually tended to separate, in two mutually exclusive paths, its responsibility from that of contemporary design, assigning the duty of militant criticism to the preceding generation.
There is little doubt that the historical contributions of the third generation – including that of Manfredo Tafuri – have enriched the history of architecture with a philological quality that has rendered the complexity of the Modern more articulated, closer to the true scenarios of the society in which it spread and took root: ideologies, procedures, techniques, relationships and material and professional means of production. But since these historians, in spite of their training in architecture schools, display reluctance to get involved in the fragmentation and disorder of contemporary poetics, one wonders what risk there would be for their authority were they called upon to comment on the foreshortened, deforming perspective of the present, informed for the most part by the appearance of architecture and without that established context that only the passage of time can





Ron Herron, Gruppo Archigram, Cities Moving, 1964.
Renzo Piano, Richard Rogers, Centre Georges Pompidou, Parigi, 1971-77.

Ron Herron, Archigram Group, Cities Moving, 1964.
Renzo Piano, Richard Rogers, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1971-77.

dall'apparenza dell'architettura e senza quell'assestato contorno che soltanto il passare del tempo rende disponibile a una messa a fuoco. Eppure, se esiste una valenza euristica che ispira la vocazione e l'esercizio dello storico, può essa esimersi dai rischi di una critica militante che sappia dibattere e accertare valori e significati meno aleatori e sospetti? Scavare e scoprire nel passato non serve forse a trovare nel presente e viceversa?
Con Zevi dunque si è forse spenta l'ultima voce di autentica critica operativa, confortata dall'esperienza storica, che non disdegnava esporsi con tempestività sulla produzione corrente, attraverso giudizi lapidari, al limite della provocazione; un esporsi che gli ha procurato consensi o risentimenti irriducibili. Nelle ultime esternazioni egli si considerava vincente alla prova dei fatti, constatando il tramonto del cosiddetto postmoderno ornamentale e, per contro, il recente imporsi di una nuova informalità anticlassica e sradicata, da lui ritenuta espressione coerente del senso di consapevole relatività e tragico disorientamento ormai acquisito dal pensiero e dal progetto contemporaneo.
Nell'impeto polemico della sua critica Zevi non ha saputo, o voluto, distinguere il singolare valore di alcune poetiche rispetto ai fenomeni di adeguamento superficiale che esse avrebbero indotto. Tra i casi più clamorosi restano quello della mimesi allegorica di Robert Venturi (non per caso formatosi con Louis Kahn) e quello dell'affabulante ricorso alla storia di Aldo Rossi. Per questi casi, assai differenti tra loro ma del tutto esenti dallo stilismo dei cosiddetti postmoderni, generalizzando, avrebbe forse potuto soccorrere quello che nel 1953 Giulio Carlo Argan aveva definito "*il moralismo di Picasso*". Eppure, quando lo voleva, Zevi riusciva a stigmatizzare con acume e immediatezza il disvalore di espressioni e teoremi premiati da un consenso mediatico pressocché unanime. Per esempio, scoprendo predisposizioni opposte alla suggestione tecnologica nell'utopia radicale del Gruppo Archigram e nell'esteriore ammiccare del parigino Beaubourg.
Ciò che si potrebbe imputare alla sua immedesimazione critica – vissuta sempre da interprete-protagonista – è semmai l'aver ignorato o svalutato la contaminazione morale e figurativa tra avanguardia e tradizione, che spesso aveva sostenuto la *pars construens* dell'architettura moderna europea; un intreccio al quale egli pure si era avvicinato valorizzando il decisivo percorso dell'Espressionismo. Sul caso di Rossi, ad esempio, il pregiudizio potrebbe anche discendere dalla stessa riserva che Zevi ha sempre mantenuto verso la propensione a sublimarsi in stile di certo Razionalismo lombardo, e particolarmente verso quella matrice "religiosa" ma anche civile di Edoardo Persico, che ne ha ispirato le prove più pure (Albini, Gardella, Asnago e Vender, Cesare Cattaneo). Una riserva, quella di Zevi, che pure non gli aveva impedito di cogliere la sostanziale differenza di valore rappresentativo e di risentimento contestuale in due opere oggi assurte a oggetto di culto nel panorama dell'architettura milanese: il Grattacielo Pirelli e la Torre Velasca; differenza da lui colta evocando magari precedenti intuizioni di Carlo Emilio Gadda ("*...la certezza che Milano debba considerarsi perduta, irreparabilmente, alle leggi virtuali dell'armonia...*") e di Alberto Savinio ("*Città dura. Città di ferro.*"). Forse al radicale laicismo di Zevi mancò lo sforzo necessario per compatire, rispetto a

provide to put things into focus. And yet, if there exists a heuristic value behind the vocation and the practice of the historian, can it be separated from the risks of the critic active in the present, capable of debating and verifying less uncertain, less suspect values and meanings? Doesn't investigation and discovery of the past serve to find things in the present, and vice versa?
With the passing of Zevi, therefore, perhaps the last authentic voice of operative criticism based on historical experience has been lost, a voice that did not hesitate to take part in the debate on current production, with terse judgements, almost provocations; an approach that led to strong consensus at times, but also to unfading resentments. In his late declarations he felt he was vindicated by the proof of fact, witnessing the downfall of so-called ornamental postmodernism and, on the other hand, the recent rise of a new anti-classical, rootless informality he believed was the coherent expression of the sense of conscious relativity and tragic disorientation intrinsic, by now, in contemporary thought and design.
In the polemical fervor of his critique Zevi was not able, or was not willing, to distinguish the singular value of certain poetics with respect to the phenomena of superficial adaptation they are supposed to have induced. Among the most striking cases we can cite that of the allegorical mimetics of Robert Venturi (and it is no coincidence that his teacher was Louis Kahn) and that of the almost narrative use of history of Aldo Rossi. For these cases, very different from one another but utterly free if the stylistic approaches of the so-called postmodernists, to generalize, perhaps what Giulio Carlo Argan defined, in 1953, as "the moralism of Picasso" might have been of some assistance. And yet, when he wanted, to Zevi managed to stigmatize, with insight and immediacy, the lack of value of expressions and theorems sustained by a nearly unanimous media consensus. For example, by revealing tendencies opposed to the technological suggestion in the radical utopia of the Archigram Group and the coy superficial qualities of the Beaubourg in Paris.
His critical identification – always experienced in the role of the interpreter-protagonist – can, however, be accused, if anything, of having overlooked or underestimated the moral and figurative contamination between avant-garde and tradition, which often sustained the pars construens of European modern architecture; a relationship which he had approached himself, evaluating the decisive itinerary of Expressionism.
In the case of Rossi, for example, the prejudice could also have come from the reservations Zevi always held regarding the tendency toward a sublimation in style found in certain Lombard Rationalism, and particularly with regard to the "religious" but also civil matrix of Edoardo Persico, that inspired its purest works (Albini, Gardella, Asnago and Vender, Cesare Cattaneo). Reservations that did not, however, prevent Zevi from grasping the substantial difference in representative value and contextual impact of two works now raised to the level of cult objects in the panorama of Milanese architecture: the Pirelli Skyscraper and the Velasca Tower; a difference he noticed by evoking, perhaps, early intuitions of Carlo Emilio Gadda ("...the certainty that Milan must consider itself lost, irreparably, to the virtual laws of harmony...") and Alberto Savinio ("Hard city. City of iron."). Perhaps the radical secularism of Zevi lacked the force



Robert Venturi, Casa nel Nord Delaware, 1983.

Robert Venturi, House in Northern Delaware, 1983.





Aldo Rossi, Palazzo d'uffici Casa Aurora, Torino, 1984-87.
Giovanni Muzio, Ca' Brütta, Milano, 1919-22.

Aldo Rossi, Casa Aurora Office Building, Turin, 1984-87.
Giovanni Muzio, Ca' Brütta, Milan, 1919-22.

quello che egli stesso definiva lo stilismo "*libero da angosce ideologiche e impegni civili*" del Pirelli, quella afflizione morale che pone in certa sintonia poetica la Velasca tra la Ca' Brütta di Muzio e le opere del periodo più riflessivo di Rossi.

* * *

Ormai, al venir meno del pungolo di una critica operativa, il commento ai fatti specifici dell'architettura non passa più attraverso la pratica dell'autorevole recensione (come usa tuttora nell'ambito letterario, artistico, musicale), ma resta affidato ad una cronaca agiografica che agisce da sponda alle quotazioni di una sorta di borsa-valori mondiale dell'architettura, limitandosi a tradurre in persuasiva calligrafia ciò che ogni autore e iniziativa imprenditoriale o amministrativa ritiene di meritare. A ciò si aggiungono i teoremi degli stessi architetti chiamati dai mezzi di informazione a fornire un'autocertificazione del proprio operare.
Thierry Paquot, filosofo e direttore della rivista "Urbanisme", sosteneva di recente (sul numero dello scorso novembre de "Le Monde diplomatique"):
"*Allo «stile internazionale» e all'urbanistica funzionale tra le due guerre si sono succedute un'architettura* passe-partout, *che non tiene più conto né del sito né degli abitanti, che si interessa soltanto alla redditività e all'espressione formale dell'efficacia che dovrebbe rappresentare, e un'architettura monumentale, spesso piena di orpelli, che punta all'acrobazia tecnica, al «mai visto prima» (la torre più alta, la più grande gettata, l'edificio più dematerializzato, il materiale maggiormente inedito, ecc.).* [...] *Certo, la globalizzazione è in marcia, ma ogni cultura, ogni situazione, ogni professione, ogni individuo, potrebbe contrastarne gli effetti e marcarli con la propria singolarità.* [...] *Non per difendere una qualunque «eccezione culturale», ma più semplicemente il diritto a costruire a modo proprio, in accordo con il proprio desiderio di abitare il mondo. A partire da questa questione fondamentale, l'architetto e l'urbanista possono modestamente, ma precisamente, interrogare l'esercizio della propria funzione*".
Pertanto non può stupire che il confronto sul progetto di architettura risulti sempre più praticato dall'esterno della "specificità disciplinare", dove hanno voce filosofi, sociologi, urbanisti, ecologisti, amministratori, rappresentanti di associazioni, e sempre più sollecitato dai *mass-media* a dibattere secondo due questioni preminenti: innovazione o conservazione integrale della città storica e disabilità delle periferie.
Ebbene, per misurare secondo un'esperienza diretta e concreta lo stato funzionale ma anche ambientale del risiedere e praticare il territorio è necessario un tempo breve. E abbastanza breve è quello necessario per tradurre in coerenti formulazioni aspettative e offerte di chi fruisce, produce o governa la città per trarne consenso. È richiesto invece un tempo inevitabilmente più lungo, e un percorso più tortuoso e incerto, per verificare l'organicità funzionale e rappresentativa necessaria a rispettare la città nel suo innovarsi e, quindi, per delineare quel traguardo virtuale di qualità poetica per cui le sue trasformazioni, come contributo coerente e significativo alla costruzione della sua identità, possano assimilarsi a quella che lo

necessary to sympathize, in the face of what he defined as the stylism "free of ideological anguish and civil commitments" *of the Pirelli building, with that moral affliction that places the Velasca Tower in a certain poetic relation with the Ca' Brütta of Muzio and the works of the most contemplative period of Rossi.*

* * *

Today, in the absence of the prodding of any true operative criticism, commentary on the specific events of architecture no longer takes place in the form of authoritative reviews (as is still the case in the fields of literature, the visual arts and music). Instead, it is left up to a hagiographic chronicle that acts as a sort of support to the quotations of a supposed worldwide stock exchange of architecture, merely translating into persuasive calligraphy that which each author, each entrepreneurial or administrative initiative, feels it deserves. Along with this we have the theorems of the architects themselves, called upon by the media to provide their own justifications for their work.
Thierry Paquot, a philosopher and editor of the magazine "Urbanisme", recently asserted (in the November issue of "Le Monde diplomatique"):
"The «international style» and functional urban planning of the period between the World Wars have been followed by a *passe-partout* architecture that no longer takes the site nor its inhabitants into account, that is interested only in profits and the formal expression of the efficiency it is supposed to represent, and a monumental architecture, often full of tinsel, based on technical acrobatics, on the «never before seen» (the highest tower ever, the largest poured slab, the most dematerialized building, the most unusual material, etc). *[...]* Of course globalization is happening, but every culture, every situation, every profession, every individual could counter its effects and contribute to make things unique. *[...]* Not to defend just any «cultural exception», but simply to defend the right to build in one's own way, in accordance with one's desire of living in the world. Starting with this fundamental question, the architect and the urban planner can modestly but precisely investigate the practice of their function".
Therefore it is no surprise that the confrontation on the architectural design today appears to exist outside of the "specific discipline", in a zone that includes the voices of philosophers, sociologists, urbanists, ecologists, administrators, representatives of associations, and always increasingly stimulated by the mass media to debate on two main questions: innovation or integral conservation of the historical city and the negative conditions of the urban periphery.
While relatively little time is required to measure, through direct, concrete experience, the functional and environmental status of living in and using the territory and, therefore, to translate the expectations and offerings of those who use, produce or govern the city into coherent formulations, it is also inevitable that more time will be required, and a less certain, more complex itinerary, to verify the functional and representative organicity necessary to respect the city in its renewal and, therefore, to outline that virtual goal of poetic quality thanks to which its transformations, as a coherent and





BBPR (Ludovico Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti, Ernesto N. Rogers), Torre Velasca, Milano, 1951-58.
Gio Ponti, Grattacielo Pirelli, Milano, 1955-60.

BBPR (Ludovico Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti, Ernesto N. Rogers), Velasca Tower, Milan, 1951-58.
Gio Ponti, Pirelli Skyscraper, Milan, 1955-60.





Gustave Eiffel, Tour Eiffel, Parigi, 1887-89.
Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Borsa sulla Damrak, Amsterdam, 1885-1903.

Gustave Eiffel, Tour Eiffel, Paris, 1887-89.
Hendrik Petrus Berlage, The Stock Exchange at Damrak, Amsterdam, 1885-1903.

storico e sociologo Maurice Halbwachs nel 1939 definiva la "*memoria collettiva*". Ma in questo tempo lungo interagisce con effetti decisivi il fenomeno del gradimento, assimilato qui a quello del *gusto*.
Parallelamente alla linea critica che trova significativi antecedenti nella ricerca di alcuni storici dell'arte italiani (Pietro Toesca, Lionello Venturi), quando si avvalevano del concetto di *gusto* come concorso esterno al valore in sé, ma comunque partecipe al farsi dell'opera d'arte, lo storico dell'arte inglese Francis Haskell ha fondato la propria ricerca retrospettiva sulle trasformazioni avvenute nel corso dei secoli nel gusto dei committenti. Ora, supponendo che al collezionismo del passato corrispondano oggi certe comuni predilezioni indotte e diffuse attraverso i *mass-media*, viene da chiedersi perché l'osservazione sociologica dei fattori che incidono sullo stato del gusto nel vivere pubblico e privato delle cittadinanze non possa confrontarsi per via analogica con la prospettiva dello storico, tesa a motivare discontinuità di valore rinvenibili nel passato.
Se a noi, che storici non siamo, più di trent'anni fa era dato di schematizzare in *Mausolei contro computers* due concezioni del progettare che allora ci pareva si fronteggiassero, risulterebbe banale, e fino anche provocatorio, chiedere oggi alla critica degli storici di pronunciarsi secondo una schematica opposizione di termini.
E tuttavia, per esempio, è da constatare che, al di là della qualità architettonica e della ragione sociale, il Millennium Dome reclama da Londra di essere omologato come segnale di una condizione ormai apolide dell'architettura e viene pertinentemente confrontato con la Tour Eiffel, monumento allora dedicato a un raggiunto progresso tecnico senza frontiere. Lo storico però potrebbe meglio argomentare sul perché quella Torre di gusto *pompier*, esteticamente la meno riuscita tra quelle del suo geniale autore, sia assurta a simbolo di una capitale mondiale e si trovi contemporanea a un'opera storicamente radicata come la Borsa di Amsterdam di Berlage; e, a distanza di quasi un secolo, perché l'opera di Buckminster Fuller abbia perseverato in tutta ubiquità, mentre quella di Louis Kahn abbia continuato a cercare radici nella storia; o, più di recente, perché a Berlino, tra regolato-variabile dell'IBA ed effetto-"non-luogo" sulla Potsdamer Platz, sia messa in scena la fase culminante delle contraddizioni di ciò che oggi passa per nuovo in architettura.
In questi anni in Inghilterra, Spagna e Francia la critica ha contribuito a rilanciare orgogliosamente presso l'opinione pubblica il carattere di una rispettiva e autonoma ricerca poetica degli architetti, senza troppo distinguere per genere. Mentre dall'interno e dall'estero si va spesso affermando che, dopo un periodo di primato negli anni Sessanta-Settanta, l'architettura italiana sarebbe decaduta per non essere riuscita a rinnovarsi. Pertanto gli storici potrebbero contribuire a fare maggiore chiarezza su come e in che misura l'architettura possa rinnovarsi: rinnovamento comunque e fine a se stesso? rinnovamento rispetto a un gusto corrente egemone? O, ancora per esempio, chiedersi se una forte propensione all'esotismo non abbia impedito all'architettura italiana di confrontarsi esplicitamente sui limiti di validità di quella ricerca sulle

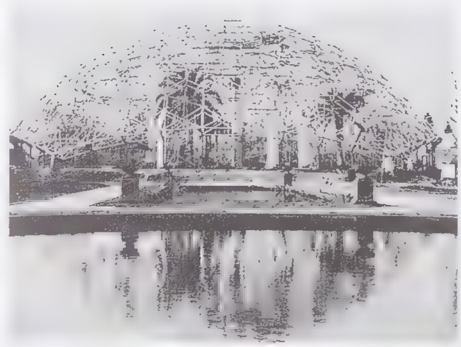
meaningful contribution to the construction of the city's identity, can be comparable to what the historian and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, in 1939, defined as the "collective memory". But over this longer term there is also the interaction, with decisive effects, of the phenomenon of approval, which in this case can be equated with that of taste.

In parallel to the line of critique whose forerunners include certain Italian art historians (Pietro Toesca, Lionello Venturi) when they made use of the concept of taste *as an element external to the value of an artwork in itself, and yet also a part of the making of the work, the English art historian Francis Haskell based his retrospective research on the transformations that have taken place over the centuries in the taste of clients. Now if we presume that the collectionism of the past has its equivalent, today, in certain commonly shared predilections induced and spread by the mass media, we may wonder why a sociological observation of the factors that effect the state of taste of the public and private living of the citizenry cannot interact in an analogous way with the perspective of the historian, aimed at identifying discontinuities of values in and with respect to the past.*

If over thirty years ago we, without being historians, were prompted to schematically oppose, in Mausolei contro computers, *two conceptions of design that we felt were in a stand-off at the time, it would be banal or even provocative, today, to demand the critique of historians to address the issues in schematic terms.*

Nevertheless we can see, for example, that apart from its architectural quality and social reasoning, the Millennium Dome boasts, from London, of being a signal of a stateless condition of architecture, for pertinent comparison with the Tour Eiffel, a monument which, in its day, was expression of achieved technical progress without borders. The historian might well consider the question of why that tower of pompier *taste, aesthetically inferior to other works by its ingenious maker, has become the symbol of a world capital, while it is a contemporary of a historically rooted work like the Stock Exchange of Amsterdam by Berlage; and, at a distance of nearly a century, why the work of Buckminster Fuller has survived as an ubiquitous presence, while that of Louis Kahn continues to seek roots in history; or, more recently, why, in Berlin between the variable regulation of the IBA and the "non-place"-effect on Potsdamer Platz, the culminating phase of the contradictions of what passes for novelty in architecture today has been staged.*

In recent years in England, Spain and France criticism has contributed to proudly refocus public opinion on the character of an individual, autonomous poetic research of architects, without too many distinctions of genre. While from inside and outside Italy we often hear it said that after a period of glory in the Sixties and Seventies, Italian architecture has declined due to the incapacity of renewing itself. In this context, the historians could help to clarify just how, and to what extent, it is possible for architecture to renew itself: renewal at all costs, innovation as an end in itself? renewal with respect to a currently predominant taste? Or, for example, they could investigate whether a strong orientation of toward the exotic has prevented Italian architecture from explicitly examining the limits of validity of that research on pre-existing environmental factors





Richard Buckminster Fuller, Climatron, *Giardino Botanico del Missouri, St. Louis, 1960.*
Louis Kahn, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, India, 1961-63.

Richard Buckminster Fuller, Climatron, *Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis, 1960.*
Louis Kahn, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, India, 1961-63.

preesistenze ambientali, teorizzata da Ernesto Rogers e messa in opera, assecondando un vero e proprio *genius loci*, dalle personalità formatesi ancora nell'ideologia internazionalista del Movimento Moderno anteguerra.
Mentre viviamo l'epoca della globalizzazione, ci accorgiamo, non tanto paradossalmente, che crescono e sempre più si diffondono le differenze e, con esse, anche i generi dell'architettura, sempre meno catalogabili per destinazione e sempre più per sofferenza o sopportazione del mondo. Così *high-tech*, Disneyland, minimalismo, museo come dispositivo non *di* esposizione ma *in* esposizione, eccetera, risultano derive di una territorialità dispersa o per sempre perduta. Tanto che sembrano numerosi gli architetti delle più recenti generazioni disponibili nel progettare a far propria la tautologia di un ormai rassegnato Jean-Luc Godard: "*Oggi la sola cosa possibile è fare i film come si pensa debbano essere fatti*". Perciò (come in letteratura, pittura, musica) anche in architettura suonerebbe anacronistico chiedere alla critica degli storici un pregiudizio di genere. Ci si potrebbe accontentare di un chiarimento: se ancora, ed eventualmente in che misura, l'opera di architettura può risultare un credibile referente di conoscenza e, semmai, di identità.

theorized by Ernesto Rogers and implemented, in keeping with a true genius loci, *by the figures who were formed by the internationalist ideology of the prewar Modern Movement.*
While we live in an era of globalization, we also notice, not so paradoxically, an increase and increased diffusion of differences and, along with them, of architectural genres, which are increasingly difficult to categorize by function, and easier to categorize in terms of suffering or endurance of the world. Thus high-tech, Disneyland, minimalism, the museum as a device not for *display but* on *display, etc., are driftings, slippages of a scattered or permanently lost territorial identity. So much so that many architects of the latest generations seem ready to embrace the tautology of a Jean-Luc Godard resigned to his fate:* "Today the only thing possible is to make a film the way one thinks films should be made". *Therefore (as in literature, painting and music) in architecture it would be anachronistic to ask critics to take a stance in favor of one genre or another. We'll have to make due with a bit of clarification: can a work of architecture – and if so to what extent – still constitute a credible referent of knowledge and, perhaps, of identity?*

Tra impegno e racconto: una generazione di storici al lavoro[1]

Carlo Olmo

Il dibattito sull'architettura contemporanea conosce in questi ultimi anni una riduzione estetica quasi obbligata. Quando si discute di paesaggio come quando si ricerca in un nuovo monumento il riscatto da una quotidianità confusa e omologante, è quasi sempre un auspicio di bellezza, il sogno di un ordine formale ancora normativo, a trasparire. A questa riduzione formalistica dell'architettura hanno contribuito fortemente anche i modi di fare storia del costruire contemporaneo. Modi che segnalano in maniera sempre più marcata l'autonomia dell'artista-architetto e persino della singola opera dalle pratiche intellettuali e tecniche che danno forma ad una casa come ad una parte di città. Anche una lunga stagione di ricerche storiche che era nata dalla convinzione che l'architettura fosse una delle testimonianze più complesse della *Kultur* e della *Civilization* e come tale andasse esaminata, sembra essersi come chiamata fuori dal dibattito. Fare storia del "*secolo breve*" richiede strumenti analitici e ermeneutici in grado di leggere almeno le quantità in gioco e le forme di circolazione di modelli anche iconografici, non rinchiuse in scuole, riviste, circoli intellettuali. Ma lo può richiedere solo se il rapporto tra interpretare e fare rimane competitivo, se è permanente la sfida sull'ermeneutica di una società, che vede troppo spesso la complessità usata per legittimare ogni frammento di indagine, al di là del suo possibile contributo al crescere cumulativo delle conoscenze. Una storiografia sul "*secolo breve*", aliena dall'impegno su ciò che discrimina il suo destino, può solo andare ad aggiungersi ai troppi echi di una ricerca che ormai sta sempre più scivolando verso una sociografia descrittiva, che non sembra neanche più interrogarsi sulla rappresentatività del proprio oggetto di indagine.

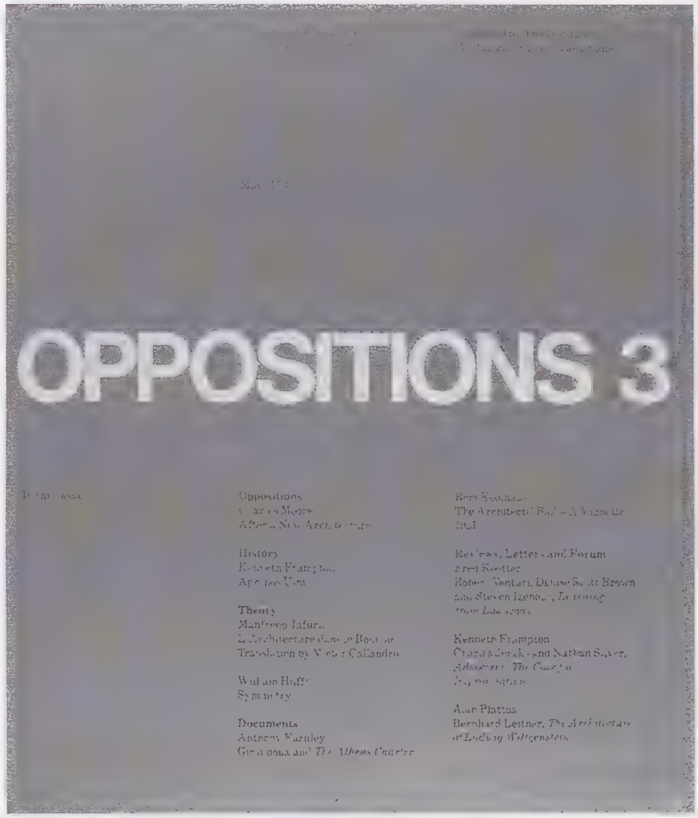
Alla fine degli anni Sessanta Manfredo Tafuri sanziona la fine di una lunga stagione per la storia dell'architettura contemporanea: quella di un *engagement* che non è solo ideologico[2]. La rottura che porta Tafuri a teorizzare una "storia antagonista" del progetto proprio sull'interpretazione del moderno, ha radici e ragioni diverse. Non è solo il riconoscimento della natura ideologica di ogni progettualità scientifica non solo artistica, che porterà un'intera generazione anche di architetti alle soglie di atteggiamenti nichilisti[3]. La rottura avviene perché la sostanziale dimensione estetica della modernità viene messa in discussione dall'affermarsi della politica come possibile, nuova ricomposizione di teoria e prassi. La forma sembra poter parlare direttamente della società da cui prende vita: ogni mediazione appare sovrastrutturale. Una radicalità politica che trova il suo oggetto storico privilegiato nello studio delle città "riformate" dalla pianificazione, sovietiche prima, americane poi[4].
È la riflessione su ideologie, politiche, crisi del riformismo e quindi delle tecniche economiche come progettuali o urbanistiche a segnare la riflessione storiografica di quegli anni, avvicinando studiosi italiani e francesi non solo al nuovo radicalismo politico europeo, ma anche ad alcune riflessioni del nascente ecologismo americano[5]. La rottura con la critica operativa si consuma per questi studiosi rendendo così ancor più "estremo" l'impegno del critico e dello storico e il loro successivo, doloroso distacco sarà prima dalle tecniche del possibile governo del mercato[6] che dalle estetiche o dalle poetiche della modernità: dall'illusione del piano più che dalle poetiche razionaliste. Un distacco che si consuma lungo tutti gli anni Settanta e di cui nel 1980 due testi (per altro estremamente diversi tra di loro anche come pubblico), di due protagonisti di questo dibattito, restituiscono i possibili percorsi: *La sfera e il labirinto* di Manfredo Tafuri e *Modern Architecture* di Kenneth Frampton[7].
Sempre alla fine degli anni Sessanta esce un libro – *Le Corbusier. Elemente einer Synthese*[8] – che sembra percorrere la strada forse più consolidata della storiografia letteraria, quella della monografia d'artista[9], per di più dedicata al mito per eccellenza dell'architettura del Ventesimo secolo. Un paradosso solo apparente.
Il testo di Stanislaus von Moos in realtà sancisce un percorso quasi obbligato della ricerca storica: l'innovazione si produce essenzialmente quando si è in grado di ridiscutere i fondamenti del proprio lavoro[10].
Il processo cumulativo della ricerca anche storiografica si interrompe perché si riesaminano fatti e avvenimenti ritenuti centrali, mentre i vecchi paradigmi non sono più considerati persuasivi e convincenti. In realtà la revisione degli strumenti analitici ed interpretativi dell'architettura contemporanea era iniziata almeno da un decennio, stimolata dai lavori di Wittkower e Pevsner[11], ma anche dalla progressiva, diversa formazione di una nuova generazione di storici che incrocia i suoi destini con quell'ultima, estrema stagione della critica operativa[12].
Ad entrare in discussione vanno assieme la costituzione dell'oggetto della storia dell'architettura contemporanea e gli strumenti utilizzati per la sua interpretazione.
A rompere il racconto di un'avventura insieme intellettuale ed artistica, contribuì lo studio dei lavori su

Between commitment and narrative: a generation of historians at work[1]
Carlo Olmo

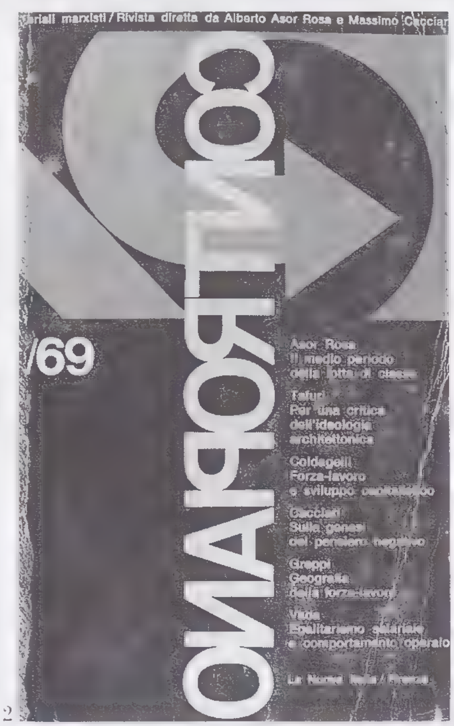
1. Copertina di "Oppositions", n. 3, maggio 1974.
2. Copertina di "Contropiano", n. 1/69, gennaio-aprile 1969.

1. Cover of "Oppositions", n. 3, may 1974.
2. Cover of "Contropiano", n. 1/69, january-april 1969.

The debate on contemporary architecture has encountered, in recent years, a nearly obligatory aesthetic reduction. When we discuss the landscape, or when we seek redemption from a confused, standardizing everyday condition in a new monument, what shines through is nearly always a hope for beauty, the dream of a formal order that can still be considered a rule. The ways of writing the history of contemporary building have also made a decisive contribution to this formalistic reduction of architecture. Ways that emphasize, in an increasingly marked manner, the autonomy of the artist-architect and even of the single work with respect to the intellectual and technical practices that give form to a house or to a part of the city. A long period of historical research that stemmed from the conviction that architecture is one of the most complex expressions of the Kultur *and the* Civilization *and as such should be examined, seems to have made its exit from the debate. Writing history of the* "age of extremes" *requires analytical and hermeneutic tools capable of at least interpreting the quantities involved and the forms of circulation of models that are also iconographic, not closed away in schools, magazines, intellectual circles. But it can require this only if the relationship between interpretation and doing remains a competitive one, only if the challenge on the hermeneutics of a society remains permanent, whereas all too often complexity is used to legitimize each fragment of investigation, apart from its possible contribution to the cumulative growth of knowledge.*
A historiography of the "age of extremes" *that is removed from the commitment regarding what discriminates its destiny can only wind up by adding itself to the excess of echoes of a research that, at this point, is increasingly slipping toward a descriptive sociography, that doesn't even seem to ask itself any longer about the representativeness of the object of its research itself.*



1



2

At the end of the Sixties Manfredo Tafuri declared the end of a long season for the contemporary architectural history: that of an engagement *that is not purely ideological*[2]*. The rupture that led Tafuri to theorize an "antagonist history" of design precisely in the interpretation of the modern has different roots and reasons. It is not only the recognition of the ideological character of any scientific, and not only artistic, project that was to lead an entire generation, including architects, to the verge of nihilistic stances*[3]*. The rupture happened because the substantially aesthetic dimension of modernity*

3. *Copertina di A. Kopp,* Ville et révolution, *Editions Anthropos, Parigi 1967.*
4. *Copertina di J.-L. Cohen, M. De Michelis, M. Tafuri,* URSS 1917-1978: la città, l'architettura, *L'Equerre Editeur-Officina Edizioni, Parigi-Roma 1979.*
5. *Copertina di G. Ciucci, F. Dal Co, M. Manieri-Elia, M. Tafuri,* La città americana dalla guerra civile al New Deal, *Laterza, Bari 1973.*

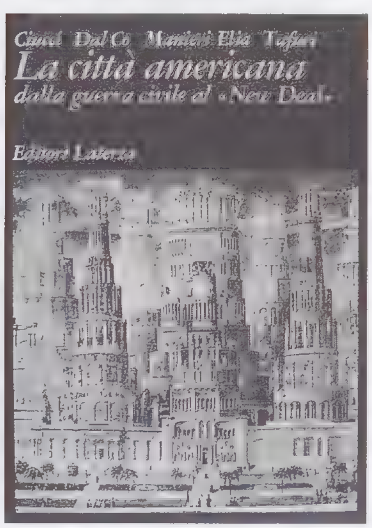
3. *Cover of A. Kopp,* Ville et révolution, *Editions Anthropos, Paris 1967.*
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5. *Cover of G. Ciucci, F. Dal Co, M. Manieri-Elia, M. Tafuri,* La città americana dalla guerra civile al New Deal, *Laterza, Bari 1973.*



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iconologie e memorie, sulla sociologia dell'arte, sulla psicoanalisi nelle espressioni artistiche, sull'antropologia strutturale e culturale[13]. Indagini tutte che mettono in luce rapporti meno intenzionalmente "determinati" tra contesti e produzione artistica, tra ricerche formali e ruolo degli artisti e degli architetti. Una biblioteca che andava arricchendosi anche di letture dedicate specificatamente al mestiere dell'intellettuale, alla distinzione tra avvenimenti e processi di lunga durata, al riconoscimento che la scala dell'osservazione non garantiva la continuità del fenomeno analizzato e non poteva autorizzare la messa in ordine dei fenomeni studiati[14]. Né potevano mancare le letture di quei filosofi, italiani, francesi, non solo tedeschi, che alla riflessione sulle fenomenologie artistiche avevano dedicato pagine importanti[15].
Una generazione al lavoro che si forma fuori dalla necessità di misurare la progettazione architettonica sull'agire dell'architetto, ma anche dagli scenari consolidati entro cui prendeva corpo l'avventura della modernità, non solo per l'architettura.
L'industrializzazione cessa così di essere la scansione temporale e la causa quasi unica del progresso[16], per venir studiata come industria che organizza anche il lavoro dell'architetto[17], mentre l'estetica diventa il piano teorico su cui si misura la capacità di generalizzare le proprie proposte progettuali, non più la dottrina che norma la sperimentazione architettonica[18].
Si studia sempre Le Corbusier nella sua formazione "prima della Maison Domino"[19], nei suoi viaggi al di fuori della recente geografia della modernità[20], nella costruzione di quelle connessioni (intellettuali come politiche) che possono dar senso ad una scelta artistica come costruttiva[21], nella definizione di rapporti spesso difficili con la committenza[22], nella sua capacità di promuovere il valore dell'architettura come elemento di una coesione sociale allora in radicale discussione[23]. L'architettura di Le Corbusier viene spiegata analizzando le relazioni che mettono in gerarchia (una gerachia fissata da un disegno o da una finestra) politiche economiche, normative edilizie, innovazioni tecnologiche, valori sociali condivisi (sull'igiene come sulla comodità, sul vivere collettivo come sulle regole del costruire). Entrano così in gioco fonti e strumenti interpretativi che finiscono con il rompere tempi e geografie della ricerca storica sull'architettura contemporanea.
Ad entrare in discussione torna ad essere la periodizzazione del moderno, non solo per le datazioni dilatate già da Kaufmann e Giedion[24] e ridiscusse nelle

was challenged by the rise of politics as a possible new recomposition of theory and practice. Form seems capable of speaking directly about the society from which it springs: any mediation is mere superstructure. A political radicalism that encountered its favored historical object in the study of the cities "reformed" by planning, first in the Soviet Union, then in America[4].
Reflection on ideologies, politics, crises of reformism and therefore of economic, design and planning techniques marked the historiographical reasoning of those years, bringing Italian and French scholars closer not only to the new European political radicalism, but also to certain reflections of the nascent American ecologism[5]*. The break with operative criticism, for these scholars, made the commitment of the critic or the historian even more "extreme", and the resulting, painful separation regarded first of all the techniques adopted to govern the market*[6] *rather than the aesthetics or the poetics of modernity: it was a separation from the illusion of the plan, rather than from the rationalist poetics. A distancing that progressed throughout the Seventies, a process whose possible paths are retraced in two texts of 1980 (texts that are very different from each other, also in terms of their audience), by two protagonists of this debate:* The Sphere and the Labyrinth *by Manfredo Tafuri and* Modern Architecture *by Kenneth Frampton*[7].
Also at the end of the Sixties, another book appeared – Le Corbusier. Elemente einer Synthese[8] *– that seems to follow perhaps the most established path of literary historiography, that of the monograph of an artist*[9]*, in this case of one of the most "mythological" figures of the architecture of the 20th century. But this is only an apparent paradox. The text by Stanislaus von Moos actually confirms an almost obligatory path of historical research: innovation is produced, essentially, when the historian is capable of questioning the foundations of his own work*[10]*. The cumulative process of research, including historiographic research, is interrupted by re-examination of facts and events considered central, while the old paradigms are no longer considered persuasive and convincing. In reality, the revision of the analytical and interpretative instruments of contemporary architecture had already begun at least ten years earlier, stimulated by the works of Wittkower and Pevsner*[11]*, but also by the progressive, different training of a new generation of historians who crossed paths with that final, extreme period of operative criticism*[12].

The questioning involved both the constitution of the object of the history of contemporary architecture and the instruments used for its interpretation. The interruption of the narration of a simultaneously intellectual and artistic adventure was brought about by the study of works on iconologies and memories, the sociology of art, psychoanalysis in artistic expression, structural and cultural anthropology[13]*. All these investigations reveal less intentionally "determined" relationships between contexts and artistic production, between formal research and the role of the artists and architects. This constitued a repertoire of writings which was continuosly growing thanks to interpretations regarding the role of the intellectual, the distinction between events and long-term processes, the recognition that the scale of observation does not guarantee the continuity of the phenomenon analyzed, nor authorize the ordering of the phenomena studied*[14]*. Neither could interpretations of those philosophers, Italian and French, not just German, who had written important works of reflection on artistic phenomenology*[15]*, be overlooked. This was a generation at work, trained outside of the necessity to measure architectural design in terms of the actions of the architect, but also outside of the established scenarios in which the adventure of modernity had taken form, and not only for architecture.*
So, industrialization ceases to be the timeframe and almost the only cause of progress[16]*, and is studied as industry that also organizes the work of the architect*[17]*, while aesthetics becomes the theoretical level on which to measure the capacity of generalizing individual design proposals, rather than a doctrine that governs architectural experimentation*[18].
Thus one continues to study Le Corbusier, in his formative years "before the Maison Domino"[19]*, in his travels outside of the recent geography of modernity*[20]*, in the construction of those connections (intellectual and political) that can give sense to an artistic or constructive choice*[21]*, in the definition of often difficult relationships, with clients*[22]*, in his capacity to promote the value of architecture as an element of a social cohesion then in a state of radical discussion*[23]*. The architecture of Le Corbusier is explained by analyzing the relations that create a hierarchy (a hierarchy established by a drawing or a window) among economic policies, building regulations, technological innovations, shared social values (regarding hygiene, comfort, collective living, rules of construction). In this way sources and interpretation instruments come into play*

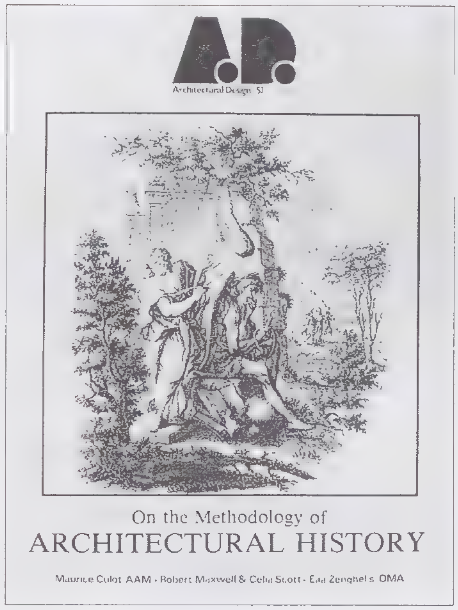
profonde riscritture che proprio in quegli anni conoscono storie dell'architettura moderna come quelle di Zevi e di Benevolo[25]. Sono soprattutto i terreni, non solo gli anni che possono identificare i First Moderns[26], ad attivare una forte polemica: non solo Piranesi ma la necessità di misurarsi con altre figure professionali e persino con la prima, riconosciuta disoccupazione artistica, non solo il rapporto con un antico che rompe i suoi confini classici, ma anche con il mercato edilizio che si appropria dei simboli che l'architettura storica ha generato[27]. Ma queste aperture possono essere considerate come la ricerca di nuovi paradigmi, perché le stesse frontiere del moderno vengono ridiscusse.
Anche in questo caso non è tanto lo studio ancora dell'architettura russa e sovietica a poter individuare una rottura, quanto l'analisi sulla circolazione dei modelli formali o distributivi, attraverso l'esperienza vissuta da singoli o il disvelamento di come furono costruite mistiche e tradizioni di un nuovo necessariamente rivoluzionario[28]. Aggiungere nuovi attori e nuovi paesi, come la stessa invenzione di una tradizione del nuovo[29] non avrebbero che anticipato una necessità del mercato (della pubblicistica come del collezionismo contemporaneo). Quegli studi consentono invece di analizzare come si definisce, viene vissuta anche individualmente e fatta circolare un'idea (in questo caso di rivoluzione) attraverso la ricerca formale e l'organizzazione spaziale. Non casualmente studi successivi ricostruiranno la fortuna di un'altra icona della modernità: l'americanismo e il pensiero fordista in architettura e urbanistica, al di qua dell'Atlantico, ma anche al di là di differenze ideologiche all'apparenza impenetrabili ad ogni suggestione culturale[30]. Un arricchimento dell'oggetto studiato che si alimenta anche di una revisione profonda degli studi urbani.
Una revisione alimentata in un primo momento dalla lettura di Foucault[31] e dal trasferimento dei suoi studi all'analisi dell'organizzazione della città contemporanea, ma che ben presto si amplia, comprendendo gli studi, recepiti in tempi e forme che sarebbe interessante poter discutere, inglesi dell'ultimo Summerson, di Dyos e del Department of Social History di Leicester, americani di Richard Sennett e Stephan Thernstrom, ancora francesi della scuola di Boulevard Raspail[32]. Il passaggio, per semplificare, da una storia dell'urbanistica ad una storia urbana, aiuta a riscoprire il valore sperimentale delle architetture effimere[33], la capacità di oggetti di uso quotidiano (una pentola, una sedia) di restituire[34] un consumo, non solo un modo di vita, la capacità di architetture con forti e ricercati significati simbolici di organizzare il mercato edilizio, anche quando in Virginia come a Parigi non è la unicità dell'opera, ma l'uso di un linguaggio artistico, a connotare un edificio[35].
La storia urbana non individua, e può sembrare un paradosso, nella scala una chiave interpretativa, recupera anzi la capacità di un mulino[36] o di un inn[37], non solo di una chiesa o di una strada, di raccontare la storia del progetto, della costruzione, dell'uso di quello spazio[38]. Anche i piani urbanistici (compiuti o non) sono così oggetto di una diversa lettura, non normativa (per chi progetta o per lo spazio che dovrebbe governare). Non solo più strumenti di riorganizzazione del mercato fondiario e tanto meno dell'organizzazione sociale, la Cité Industrielle di Tony Garnier come i piani di Algeri di Le Corbusier[39], ma anche quelli che disegnano l'anonima città industriale[40], sono interrogati per quanto aiutano a capire le funzioni della previsione e dell'analisi urbanistica, il rapporto tra i diversi attori della scena urbana[41], degli immaginari della modernità e della loro capacità di costruire consenso[42]. Ed è proprio negli stessi anni, che diventa oggetto di specifici studi la natura di costruzione narrativa più che di percorso scientifico, comunque falsabile, di storie dell'architettura moderna costruite sulla pedagogia dell'azione.
L'invenzione del Movimento Moderno viene indagata nella sua ricerca di legittimazione essenzialmente di un'estetica e dei suoi protagonisti[43], architetti e critici, come affermazione di una continuità che necessariamente deve riscrivere anche il passato[44], come costruzione di genealogie in grado di distinguere i veri e i falsi moderni[45], come definizione di un tempo storico evolutivo, che ha i suoi prodromi, il suo apice, la sua decadenza[46]. Ricerche che nascono da studi che privilegiano l'analisi semiologica e linguistica dell'architettura e, non a caso, sono in grado di smontare e ricostruire le logiche che organizzano il discorso sul moderno in architettura. Tra 1977 e 1982, anche l'ultimo atto di una definitiva rottura dei paradigmi interpretativi della critica operativa così si compie, rivelandone la natura di racconto e le scelte di campo (spesso per altro dichiarate e ricercate) delle narrazioni che legittimarono la rottura funzionalista e razionalista in architettura.

Si possono riconoscere, all'inizio degli anni Ottanta, elementi in qualche misura unificanti, in lavori storici

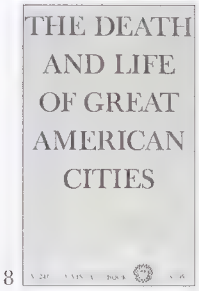
6. *Copertina di "Architectural Design", n. 51, giugno-luglio 1981.*

6. *Cover of "Architectural Design", n. 51, june-july 1981.*

that break up the timings and geographies of historical research on contemporary architecture.
The discussion returns to the definition of the periods of the modern, not only for the chronological boundaries already expanded by Kaufmann and Giedion[24] and rediscussed in the close rewritings of the histories of modern architecture, in those years, such as those of Zevi and Benevolo[25]. More than any question concerning the years which can identify the First Moderns[26], is a question of geographies which activate a harsh polemic among historians: the necessity to come to terms whith other professional figures – not only Piranesi – and with the first recognized intellectual unemployment, with a new representation of antiquity and with the real estate market which is taking possession of the symbols that have been generated by historical architecture[27]. But these perspectives can be seen as the pursuit of new paradigms, because the very frontiers of the modern are called back into discussion.
Once again, in this case, it is not so much the study of Russian or Soviet architecture that leads to breakage, as the analysis of the circulation of formal or organizational models, through the experience of individuals or the investigation of how ideologies and traditions of a necessarily revolutionary "new" were constructed[28].
To add new actors and new countries, as to invent a tradition of the new[29] would only have been the anticipation of a need of the market (of publishers and collectors). On the other hand, those studies permitted the analysis of how an idea (in this case that of a revolution) is defined, experienced on an individual level, and how it circulated through the formal research and the organization of space. It is no coincidence that later studies were to reconstruct the fortunes of another icon of modernity: Americanism and Fordist thought in architecture and town planning, on this side of the Atlantic, but also beyond ideological differences apparently impenetrable to all cultural suggestions[30].
This enrichment of the object studied was also based on a profound revision of urban studies.
This was at first sustained by the reading of Foucault[31] and the transfer of his studies to the analysis of the organization of the contemporary city; but the range soon expanded to include the studies, whose timing and forms are acknowledged in a way that would be interesting to discuss: from Summerson, Dyos and the Department of Social History of Leicester in England, to Richard Sennett and Stephan Thernstrom in America, and the school of



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sull'architettura moderna che hanno percorso sentieri così diversi per arrivare a mettere in discussione una tradizione storiografica internazionalmente consolidata e condivisa[47]? Comune è il recupero della complessità dell'oggetto architettonico e dei suoi molteplici autori, dell'uso (anche simbolico) di uno spazio come caratteristica non interna al progetto o al piano e quindi non prescrivibile attraverso un disegno o riducibile ad un'intenzionalità artistica, di un tempo non lineare ed uniforme della storia, della non consequenzialità dei rapporti tra intenzionalità artistiche e esiti costruttivi, ma comune è anche uno straordinario arricchimento, certamente non univoco, delle metodologie e delle fonti utilizzate. I debiti di questi lavori verso la "storia totale" delle "Annales", le microstorie di Ginzburg, Levi e Revel, le indagini sulle culture materiali di Andrea Emiliani e di Carlo Poni e le ricerche etnostoriche di Natalie Zemon Davis, gli studi sulle istituzioni e i mercati di Daniel Roche e Charles Tilly, si sovrappongono a ricerche iconologiche sempre più raffinate.
Un arricchimento che inizia a confliggere, proprio all'inizio degli anni Ottanta, con due crisi, destinate a pesare profondamente sulla storiografia architettonica della modernità degli anni Novanta.
La prima è la denunzia della precarietà di ogni interpretazione ed il rifugio nella *Philologhie als Philosophie*. Motivata essenzialmente dal venir meno di una presunta capacità della politica di spiegare ogni avvenimento e cambiamento[48], questa denunzia diventa il cavallo di Troia per riaffermare come il "*documento possa essere autosufficiente e non sia affatto muto*", riaprendo così la strada, anche per la storia dell'architettura contemporanea, ad un'infinita serie di studi motivati esclusivamente dal recupero di una testimonianza, sino ad allora sconosciuta. Con un'aggravante: che ben presto il documento ricercato si riduce al disegno di architettura, portando quasi inevitabilmente con sé una nuova riduzione epistemologica dell'architettura al suo progetto.
La seconda è la lenta fortuna negli Stati Uniti prima, in Europa poi, degli studi sulle città americane e su quelle californiane in particolare[49], che fanno da supporto teorico, quasi da nuovo velo di Alicarnasso, ad un post-modernismo pronto a cavalcare ogni analisi su "complessità e contraddizioni"[50] delle metropoli, per poter contestare l'utilità di ricercare gerarchie tra i processi costitutivi di uno spazio. Anche in questo caso, sofisticate riflessioni prima urbanistiche poi filosofiche[51] sulla condizione dell'abitare postmoderno, diventano

7. Copertina di R. Gabetti, C. Olmo, Le Corbusier e "L'Esprit Nouveau", *Einaudi, Torino 1975.*
8. Copertina di J. Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, *Random House, New York 1961.*

7. Cover of R. Gabetti, C. Olmo, Le Corbusier e "L'Esprit Nouveau", *Einaudi, Turin 1975.*
8. Cover of J. Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, *Random House, New York 1961.*

Boulevard Raspail in France[32]. To simplify, the passage from a history of town planning to an urban history helped to rediscover the experimental value of ephemeral architecture[33], the capacity of everyday objects (a pot, a chair) to reflect[34] a consumption, not just a way of living, the capacity of architecture with strong symbolic meanings to organize a real estate market, even when in Virginia, or in Paris, it is not the uniqueness of the work but the use of an artistic language that characterizes a building[35]. Urban history does not use – and this might seem paradoxical – the scale as an interpretative key. Instead, it recovers the potential of a mill[36] or an inn[37], not only a church or a street, to narrate the history of the design, the construction, the use of that space[38]. Urban plans too (completed or not) are subjected to a different, non-normative interpretation (in terms of who makes them, or of the space they are to govern). No longer just the instruments of reorganization of the real estate market and of social organization, the Cité Industrielle of Tony Garnier and the plans for Algiers by Le Corbusier[39], but also others that design the anonymous industrial city[40], are investigated for a better understanding of the functions of urban forecasting and analysis, the relationship among the different actors on the urban scene[41], the images of modernity and the capacity to build consensus[42]. And it is precisely in these same years that the nature of narrative construction becomes the object of specific studies, rather than of scientific path, which can in any case be falsified, of histories of modern architecture based on the pedagogy of action.
The invention of the Modern Movement is investigated in its pursuit of legitimization, both of its aesthetics and its protagonists[43], architects and critics, as the affirmation of a continuity that necessarily must also rewrite the past[44], as the construction of genealogies with which to distinguish between the true and the false "moderns"[45], as the definition of an evolutionary historical time, with its premonitory signs, apex and decline[46]. Research that stems from studies that focus on the semiological and linguistic analysis of architecture and, not coincidentally, are capable of dismantling and reconstructing the logic inherent in the discourse on the modern in architecture. Between 1977 and 1982, the final act of a definitive break with the interpretative paradigms of operative criticism is thus effected, revealing the story-like nature and partisan leanings (often openly declared and pursued) of the narrations that legitimized the functionalist and rationalist breakthrough in architecture.

Is it possible to recognize, at the beginning of the Eighties, some elements that are common to many and different works on modern architecture in order to challenge an internationally established historiographic tradition[47]? One element in common is the recouping of the complexity of the architectural object with its many different authors, of the symbolic use of a space as a characteristic that is not internal to the design or the plan, and therefore not determined simply by a drawing or reducible to an artistic intention, of a non-linear and uniform timeframe of history, of the non-causal nature of the relations between the artistic intent and the constructive results. But another common feature is also an extraordinary variegation, certainly not unambiguous, of the methodologies and sources utilized. The debts owed by these works to the "total history" of the Annales, *the microhistories of Ginzburg, Levi and Revel, the investigations of material cultures of Andrea Emiliani and Carlo Poni and the ethnohistorical research of Natalie Zemon Davis, the studies of institutions and markets of Daniel Roche and Charles Tilly, overlap with the increasingly refined works of iconological research. This has meant an enrichment in historiographic perspectives that begins to come into conflict at the start of the Eighties with two crises destined to have a profound impact on the architectural historiography of the modernity of the Nineties.*
The first one is the declaration of the precariousness of any interpretation, and the refuge in the Philologhie als Philosophie. *Motivated essentially by the shortcomings of a presumed capability of politics to explain all events and changes[48], this declaration becomes the Trojan horse with which to reaffirm that the* "document can be self-sufficient and is not by any means mute", *thus reopening the way, for the history of contemporary architecture as well, for an infinite series of studies based exclusively on the recovery of a previously unknown piece of evidence. And there is an aggravating circumstance: very soon, the document, the evidence sought is reduced to an architectural drawing, almost inevitably leading to a further epistemological reduction of architecture to its design.*
The second crisis is represented by the gradually emerging fortunes in the United States, and then in Europe, of studies on American cities, and those of California in particular[49], that offer technical support, almost like a new veil of Halicarnassus, for a postmodernism that is ready to take

9. *Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, Vista della città di Istanbul, luglio 1911 (FLC 2459, da AA.VV.,* Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée, *Parenthèses, Marsiglia 1987).*
10. *Copertina di AA.VV.,* Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée, *Parenthèses, Marsiglia 1987.*
11. *Itinerario del Voyage d'Orient di Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, maggio-novembre 1911 (da AA.VV.,* Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée, *Parenthèses, Marsiglia 1987).*

9. *Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, View of the city of Istanbul, july 1911 (FLC 2459, from AA.VV.,* Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée, *Parenthèses, Marseille 1987).*
10. *Cover of AA.VV.,* Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée, *Parenthèses, Marseille 1987.*
11. *Itinerary of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret's Voyage d'Orient, may-november 1911 (from AA.VV.,* Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée, *Parenthèses, Marseille 1987).*

occasioni per ridurre la storia a procedure, spesso senza possibilità alcuna di riprodurne il percorso interpretativo. Producendo, e non è che uno dei paradossi di questa storiografia, una nuova eterogenesi dei fini: questa volta la dimostrazione, ancora a costo di scomuniche ed eresie, dell'inevitabile fine della *civilisation machiniste.* Ma sono entrambe tendenze che si consolideranno, come si vedrà, soprattutto negli anni Novanta.
È invece ancora una scadenza quanto mai tradizionale, ad offrire l'opportunità di leggere unitariamente gli sviluppi innovativi di una ricerca storiografica, nata ormai quasi vent'anni prima.
Il 1987 si celebra l'anno centenario della nascita di Charles-Edouard Jeanneret. Mostre, testi, convegni accelerano, fissano una generazione di studi, palestra involontaria di sempre più sofisticate ricerche storiche che muovono, con ricercati paradossi, da alcune parole d'ordine dell'architetto svizzero. Così il rapporto con l'industria è l'occasione per indagare l'architetto moderno a confronto con nuove tecniche e tecnologie costruttive[52], il rinnovamento che la produzione di serie determina nel rapporto tra quantità e qualità[53], i legami che si costruiscono con singoli imprenditori o con imprese sulla promozione di un lavoro industriale riconosciuto come centro della società contemporanea[54]. L'industria è materia del progetto, serve per entrare nella società dei consumi e nelle sue retoriche, definisce i limiti della possibile innovazione architettonica.
La "ricerca paziente" porta invece a scomporre e ricomporre il cammino di Le Corbusier, evidenziando la non linearità di scelte formali o distributive che si precisano nel dialogo con movimenti artistici come con partiti e movimenti che vorrebbero riformare soprattutto i rapporti tra pubblico e privato[55]. Proprio il progetto diventa l'occasione per ricostruire un itinerario che non è solo invenzione, ma che prende forma attraverso contrattazioni, dialoghi, debiti, che danno altro spessore a ripensamenti, correzioni, soluzioni formali come distributive, imperfezioni e difformità rispetto alle iniziali intenzioni tracciate sulla carta. Un percorso critico dove lo spunto biografico serve a riconoscere la dimensione non privata del progetto, il suo essere struttura di relazioni. Ma l'"epopea" lecorbuseriana serve anche a rendere evidenti le strategie della persuasione che gli architetti si costruiscono autonomamente o in rapporto con i critici.
È studiando la "*justesse de la transmission*" o le pagine de "L'Esprit Nouveau" che nascono la comprensione e l'accettazione della nuova società di massa in cui l'architetto deve operare, una condizione di lavoro che richiede mutamenti profondi nella rappresentazione dello spazio come nella scrittura, nelle forme di presentazione dell'opera[56] come nelle reti di relazioni che l'architetto deve attivare, da quelle ancora personali con il cliente a quelle impersonali con il mercato[57]. I libri in cui Le Corbusier raccoglie i suoi tanti interventi (ed in cui semplifica il messaggio di cui essi sono portatori), le riviste che promuove o cui partecipa, facendone lo strumento privilegiato per tessere relazioni politiche o istituzionali[58], i rapporti innovativi che stabilisce tra fotografie e testo, ma anche tra immagini e percorsi progettuali, la vita di associazioni (sindacali nel senso più ampio) cui partecipa per costruire il consenso sulle sue concezioni architettoniche ed urbanistiche[59], aiutano a leggere la nuova "dimensione pubblica" dell'architetto. Un complesso processo di legittimazione che richiede a Le Corbusier la costruzione di una autobiografia romanzata dell'artista, ma anche l'invenzione di nuove tradizioni e la costruzione di non convenzionali genealogie.
I viaggi di Le Corbusier, soprattutto quelli antecedenti all'esperienza purista[60], consentono alla storico di mettere in luce la dimensione archeologica più che storica su cui si costruisce, non solo per Le Corbusier, il rapporto con l'antico[61], la natura linguistica più che culturale, delle sue letture della *maison turque* o del Partenone (come avverrà, per altro, anche per la Casbah di Algeri o per le architetture indiane[62]), l'interesse assai più largamente condiviso di quanto possa far pensare il termine classico, per l'architettura mediterranea[63].
Le Corbusier ripropone il *voyage d'instruction* come strumento di costruzione di una biografia d'artista che necessariamente riconosce e si alimenta alle "fonti" dell'architettura, negando ogni valore ad una visione lineare e progressiva della storia che pure aveva conosciuto in quegli anni le più importanti declinazioni, con i testi di Choisy e Guadet, ma anche di Richardson e Banister Fletcher[64]. La tradizione e non la storia, come *l'objet commun* non solo lo *standard* (Cocteau quindi non solo Taylor) sono elementi essenziali per segnare la diversità di percorso intellettuale che deve costruire per l'architetto l'aura necessaria a muoversi in una società che si aggrega sempre più su simbologie semplici. Una presenza dell'architetto su piani tanto diversi della

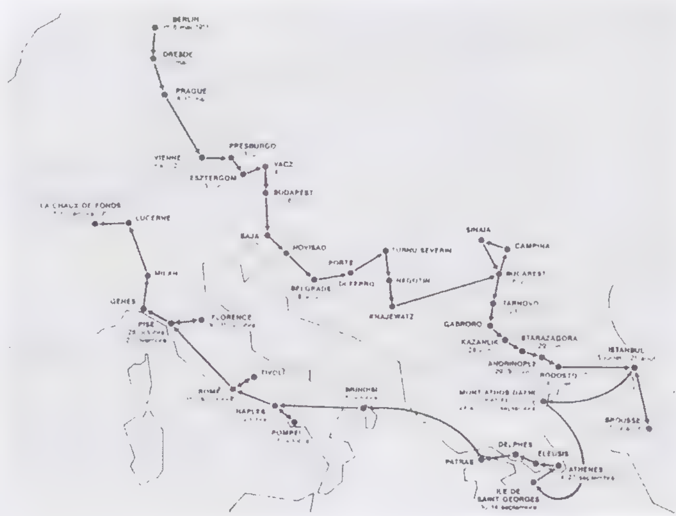


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advantage of any analysis of the "complexity and contradictions"[50] of the metropolis, in order to challenge the usefulness of seeking out hierarchies among the constituent processes of a space. In this case too sophisticated reflections, first in the urban studies and then in philosophy[51], on the condition of postmodern living become opportunities to reduce history to procedure, often without any possibility of retracing its path of interpretation. Producing – and this is but one of the paradoxes of this historiography – a new heterogenesis of ends: this time, the demonstration, again at the cost of excommunication and heresy, of the inevitable end of the civilisation machiniste. *But these are both trends that were to be consolidated, as we will see, especially in the Nineties.*
Instead, the opportunity for a unitary reading of the innovative developments in historiographic research was provided by a very traditional appointment, that had been set almost twenty years earlier.
1987 was the centennial of the birth of Charles-Edouard Jeanneret. Exhibitions, texts, conferences accelerated and established a generation of studies, an unintentional gymnasium for increasingly sophisticated historical research projects based, with refined paradoxes, on certain key words of the Swiss architect. Thus the relationship with industry becomes the opportunity to investigate the modern architect in relation to the new construction techniques and technologies[52], the renewal caused by industrial production in the relationship between quantity and quality[53], the links constructed with single entrepreneurs *or companies for the promotion of industrial work acknowledged as the center of the contemporary society[54]. Industry is design material, it serves to enter the society of consumption and its rhetoric, it defines the limits of a possible architectural innovation. "Patient research" leads, instead, to the breakdown and recomposition of the* iter *of Le Corbusier, bringing out the non-linear nature of formal and layout choices, that appear in a dialogue with artistic movements, and with parties and movements intended to reform, above all, the relations between public and private[55]. The project itself becomes the opportunity to reconstruct an itinerary that is not just one of invention, but takes form through negotiations, dialogue, debts, which give other depth to revisions, corrections, formal and layout solutions, imperfections and deformities with respect to the initial intentions traced on paper. This is a critical path in which the biographical datum serves to acknowledge the non-private dimension of the project, its*



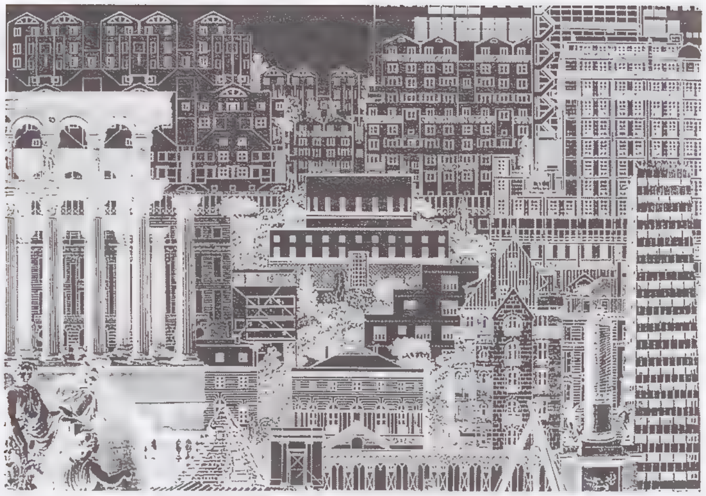
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12. Tavola di D. Bigelman, J.P. Feugas, B. Huet, B. Le Roy, S. Santelli (da B. Huet, La città come spazio abitabile. Alternative alla Carta di Atene, *in "Lotus", n. 41, 1984).*

12. Plate by D. Bigelman, J.P. Feugas, B. Huet, B. Le Roy, S. Santelli (from B. Huet, La città come spazio abitabile. Alternative alla Carta di Atene, *in "Lotus", n. 41, 1984).*


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decisione "politica" che trova riscontro anche nell'analisi dei suoi rapporti con le politiche urbane.
La *ville radieuse*, più della *ville contemporaine*, serve allo storico per rendere evidente la differenza tra testi teorici e prescrittivi[65], la crisi delle prospettive riformiste, più che l'illusione totalizzante che l'allargarsi alla scala urbana sembra implicare[66], la distanza che separa, anche in quegli anni, la riflessione (non solo la strumentazione) su ciò che è pubblico e privato nell'organizzazione della città[67], le quasi infinite strategie che possono dare valore ad una morfologia urbana, ma anche all'uso delle simbologie, neoclassiche come georgiane[68]. È questo forse il settore di studi che è più proseguito, anche dopo la fine degli anni Ottanta. Soprattutto la Carta d'Atene, la sua scrittura contrastata[69], il suo supposto ruolo di modello o causa dei modi di crescere delle città contemporanee[70], hanno favorito l'approfondimento di lavori sulla genesi di un testo, sulla circolazione dei modelli di organizzazione urbana, sui rapporti tra *élites* tecniche e politiche[71], sulla natura quasi affabulativa, non solo tecnica, del lavoro dell'urbanista[72].

L'anno centenario fissa e, in qualche modo, sembra esaurire la carica innovativa (soprattutto sul piano della costituzione dell'oggetto e della sua ermeneutica) di una "generazione al lavoro", anche se molti e importanti sono gli esiti di ricerche storiche non legate alla figura di Le Corbusier che escono negli anni successivi[73]. Si sarebbe tentati di dire che la sofisticazione cui giungono alcune indagini, induca quasi questi studiosi a chiudersi su se stessi, favorendo il più o meno aureo isolamento di intellettuali che così appaiono sostanzialmente disinteressati ad un confronto critico per altro sempre meno richiesto: ultimo, ironico, debito all'iniziale rifiuto di una qualsiasi forma di possibile pedagogia della storia?
Questo "quasi abbandono" si produce in realtà in un contesto e in un decennio (gli anni Novanta) che radicalizzano mutamenti già in atto e che potrebbero davvero far assumere in anni vicini i contorni della sconfitta ad una scommessa che era culturale, non solo pubblicistica o accademica.
Quest'ultimo decennio ha segnato il ritorno in forze della biografia e della monografia, con paradossi divertenti come la sostanziale mancanza di "monografie d'artista" su Le Corbusier o su Wright. Le ragioni sono complesse, alcune esterne alla ricerca storica e alle sue strategie, per fortuna non interamente programmabili.

essence as a structure of relations. But the Le Corbusier "epopea" also serves to reveal the strategies of persuasion that the architects construct autonomously, or in relation to the critics.

It is by studying the "justesse de la transmission" *or the pages of "L'Esprit Nouveau" that a comprehension and acceptance of the new mass society in which the architect must operate can emerge, a condition of work that requires profound changes in the representation of space and in writing, in the forms of presentation of the work*[56] *and in the networks of relations the architect must activate, from personal relationships with clients to the impersonal relations with the market*[57]*. The books in which Le Corbusier gathers his many projects (and in which he simplifies their message), the magazines he promotes or in which he participates, making them a favored tool for the weaving of political and institutional relations*[58]*, the innovative relations he establishes between photographs and text, but also between images and design paths, the life of the associations (unions, in the broadest sense) in which he takes part to construct consensus on his architectural and urban planning conceptions*[59]*, help to cast light on the new "public dimension" of the architect. This is a complex process of legitimization that requires Le Corbusier to construct a novel-style autobiography of the artist, but also to invent new traditions and to create unconventional genealogies.*

The voyages of Le Corbusier, especially those preceding the purist experience[60]*, allow the historian to cast light on the archaeological, more than the historical, dimension on which it is possible to construct, and not only for Le Corbusier, the relationship with antiquity*[61]*, the linguistic more than cultural nature of his reading of the* maison turque *or the Parthenon (as it will take place, again, for the Casbah of Algiers or Indian architecture*[62]*), the interest – much more widely shared than the classical term would lead us to believe – in Mediterranean architecture*[63]*.*

Le Corbusier reproposes the voyage d'instruction *as an instrument of construction of a biography of the artist that necessarily recognizes and feeds on the "sources" of architecture, denying any value of a linear, progressive vision of history, in spite of the fact that it had met with its most important versions, in those years, in the texts of Choisy and Guadet, but also of Richardson and Banister Fletcher*[64]*. Tradition and not history, the* objet commun *and not only the* standard *(Cocteau, therefore, and not only Taylor) are essential elements to distinguish the diversity of the intellectual path that must construct, for the architect, the aura required to operate in a society that increasingly comes together around a simple symbolism. The architect is therefore present in the society on the very different levels of "political" decision that can also be seen in the analysis of his relationships with urban policies.*

The ville radieuse*, more than the* ville contemporaine*, can be used by the historian to reveal the difference between theoretical and prescriptive texts*[65]*, the crisis of perspectives of reform, more than the all-encompassing illusion the spread of the urban scale seems to imply*[66]*, the distance that separates, even in those years, the reflection (and not only the instruments) on what is public and private in the organization of the city*[67]*, the almost infinite strategies that can give value to an urban morphology, but also the use of symbolism, albeit neoclassical or Georgian*[68]*. This, perhaps, is the sector of studies with the most activity, even after the end of the Eighties. Above all the Athens Charter, its controversial writing*[69]*, its supposed role as a model or cause for the modes of growth of the contemporary city*[70]*, have favored in-depth work on the genesis of a text, on the circulation of models of urban organization, on the relationships between technical and political elites*[71]*, on the role of the urban planner as a spinner of yarns, not just of a technician*[72]*.*

The centennial year fixes, and somehow seems to exhaust, the innovative character (above all on the level of the constitution of the object and its hermeneutics) of a "generation at work", although there have also been many important results of historical research not involving the figure of Le Corbusier, which have appeared in the years to follow[73]*. One is tempted to say that the sophistication achieved by certain investigations nearly induced these scholars to close themselves off, favoring the more or less splendid isolation of intellectuals, who thus appear substantially disinterested in a critical confrontation, for which there is also very little demand: is this the last, ironic debt to pay for the initial rejection of any form of possible pedagogy of history? This "near abandon" takes form, actually, in a context and a decade (the Nineties) that radicalize changes already in progress and that could truly lead, in the next years, to a situation of defeat for a wager that was cultural, not just a question for publishers or academics.*

This last decade has seen the forceful comeback of the biography and the monograph, and paradoxically the

Biografia e monografia costituiscono indubbiamente la risposta più rassicurante di fronte alla crisi degli affreschi tentati da tante storie (anche dell'architettura), ma sono anche la sostanziale sanzione del loro impianto narrativo. Rendendo quasi superfluo il confronto, le biografie e quelle monografie che non si configurano come microstorie[74], finiscono inoltre con il dare anche involontariamente per scontato il valore del soggetto e dell'opera studiata[75]. Sul piano della riduzione epistemologica inoltre, la natura fortemente personale e intellettuale dell'indagine, non fa che confermare la natura artistica dell'architettura, valorizzando le scritture grafiche come fonte quasi esclusiva per l'interpretazione di un edificio, aulico e non. I tempi stessi della storia appaiono costruiti su avvenimenti, sia pure spesso ricondotti a *topoi* (l'incontro con il maestro, il concorso quasi necessariamente perso, la pubblicazione di uno scritto che doveva rimanere inedito...), confermando gli impianti delle storie "canoniche" del Movimento Moderno, indebolite tuttavia dalla suggestione che possa esistere una quasi infinita declinazione di quel narrare[76]. La diffusione poi di fenomeni come la facilità di accesso alle informazioni codificate in reti e la crescente mobilità degli studiosi anche in formazione, finisce, al di là degli ovvi benefici, con il sottolineare ulteriormente la natura quasi privata della ricerca storiografica.
In realtà, biografie e monografie si scrivono anche perché promosse da diversi mercati, pubblici e privati. Mostre, convegni, musei (anche del Ventesimo secolo e dell'architettura), fondazioni, stimolano con legittimità una produzione che possa allargare il mercato dell'arte contemporanea e garantirne l'autenticità, rafforzando le forme di lavoro legate all'*expertising*. La padronanza, quando non l'esclusività di determinate biografie d'artista, costituisce d'altro canto per lo storico, soprattutto nel mondo anglosassone, ma ormai anche nell'Europa continentale, un forte elemento di riconoscimento e promozione accademici. Biografie e monografie non sarebbero tuttavia divenute la produzione storiografica prevalente, se in ambito accademico, non si fossero generalizzate *Philologhie als Philosophie* e fortuna delle riflessioni filosofiche postmoderniste.
La possibile esistenza di una storia "senza il rischio dell'interpretazione e della comparazione" trova in realtà nella mitologia del documento e nella diffusione di un'ermeneutica postmodernista, assunta troppo spesso a pretesto per negare l'utilità di tentare una qualsiasi gerarchia tra fenomeni e tra attori dell'architettura contemporanea, gli essenziali dispositivi ideologici[77].
Valorizzare l'inedito e una capacità narrativa che prescinde dalla capacità di costituire l'oggetto della propria ricerca, significa sostanzialmente minare la natura cumulativa della ricerca storiografica. È il nuovo che premia, non il suo possibile contributo al mutamento o al perfezionamento di una interpretazione condivisa, è la modalità della scrittura non la sua possibile falsazione che sembra garantire la fortuna di un testo. Ad uno sforzo forse un po' intellettualistico ed elitario di ricostituire l'oggetto di studio e di rendere più numerosi gli attrezzi della bottega dello storico, lentamente si accompagna, per poi divenire prevalente, una produzione storiografica tanto sofisticata formalmente quanto retta da dispositivi ideologici mai dichiarati e per di più difesi e rivendicati nel nome di una nuova laicità e autonomia di questa forma di lavoro intellettuale.
Raccontare si può anche senza rendere espliciti *test d'hypothèse*, senza dare conto di come si è costruito l'oggetto del proprio lavoro, senza discutere la falsità di interpretazioni precedenti. Una schizofrenia che rassicura, perché non produce accumulazione (e quindi non si devono costituire scuole) e perché esalta quell'individualismo, che appare l'unica mitografia oggi socialmente accettata, in grado inoltre di garantire uno spazio, all'apparenza eguale, quasi per tutti (architetti come storici): ennesimo specchio distorto di un'illusoria democrazia solo economica. Se la storia dell'architettura contemporanea, come è ovvio, non ha nulla a che fare con qualsiasi eterogenesi dei fini, il suo proporsi unicamente come racconto di un percorso squisitamente intellettuale sta riducendo in realtà a modesto formalismo uno dei più complessi documenti della società e della civiltà non solo moderna. La storia dell'architettura come storia necessariamente totale ed essenzialmente fatta di relazioni e di scale continuamente in movimento (tra tecnologie, economie, valori non solo simbolici che una società esprime, loro interpretazioni formali) rischia di restare così sempre più esercizio in ombra e riservato a pochi, proprio per quel secolo breve che ha mutato ogni regola e spaesato quasi ogni attore della scena architettonica e urbana.
Il bisogno di eroi e mitografie, la riduzione puntuale del tempo e il culto degli avvenimenti, la caduta del rischio dell'interpretazione e la sua sostituzione con avventure e

substantial lack of "artistic monographs" on Le Corbusier or Wright. The reasons for this are complex, often external to the historical research and its strategies, which fortunately are not entirely programmable. The biography and the monograph indubitably represent the most reassuring response in the face of the crisis of the frescoes attempted by many histories (including those of architecture), but they are also experiencing the substantial reapproval of their narrative approach. By making comparison and confrontation almost superfluous, the biographies and monographs that are not configured as microhistories[74] *wind up, moreover, by involuntarily attributing a value to be taken for granted to the subject or work in consideration*[75]. *On the level of epistemological reduction, the highly personal, intellectual nature of the investigation merely confirms the artistic nature of architecture, enhancing the value of graphic documents as a nearly exclusive source for the interpretation of a building more or less aulic. The very rhythms of history appear to be constructed on events, although often retraced to* topoi *(the encounter with the master, the competition almost always lost, the publication of a text that was to have remained unpublished…), confirming the approach of the "canonical" histories of the Modern Movement, nevertheless weakened by the implication that a nearly infinite variety of their narration can exist*[76]. *The spread of phenomena such as the ease of access to information in networks, and the growing mobility of scholars even during their training, winds up, apart from the obvious benefits, by further underlining the almost private nature of historiographic research.*

In reality, biographies and monographs are written also because they are promoted by different public and private markets. Exhibitions, conferences, museums (even those of the 20th century and of architecture), foundations legitimately stimulate an output that can widen the contemporary art market and guarantee its authenticity, reinforcing the forms of work connected to expertising. *After all, specialization, if not the exclusivity of certain biographies, is a key factor of recognition and career growth for historians, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, but also in continental Europe. Biographies and monographs, nevertheless, would not have become the prevalent historiographic form of production if the academic sphere had not generalized* Philologhie als Philosophie *and decreed the fortune of postmodernist philosophical reflections.*

The possible existence of a history "without the risks of interpretation and comparison" finds its essential ideological devices in the mythology of the document and the diffusion of postmodernist hermeneutics, all too often used as a pretext to deny the usefulness of attempting to establish any hierarchy among the phenomena and the actors of contemporary architecture[77]. *Taking advantage of novelty and a narrative capacity that has nothing to do with the capacity to construct the object of one's research means, in substance, undermining the cumulative nature of historiographic research. What triumphs is novelty, not its possible contribution to the evolution or perfecting of a shared interpretation; the success of a text is the result of the style of its writing, not its possible accuracy or distortion. Alongside an effort that is perhaps a bit intellectualistic and elitarian to reconstruct the object of study and to add to the number of tools in the workshop of the historian, we see a slow growth, and finally a dominance, of a historiographic production of great formal sophistication, based on ideological devices never declared and, what is more, defended and brandished in the name of a new secularism and autonomy of this form of intellectual work.*

Narration is possible even without explicit explanation of a test d'hypothèse, *without any discussion of how the object of one's work has been constructed, without discussing the falsity of earlier interpretations.*

A schizophrenia that is reassuring, because it does not produce accumulations (and therefore there is no need to form schools) and because it exalts that individualism that seems to be the only socially acceptable mythography, also capable of guaranteeing a space, of apparently equal size, for nearly everyone (both architects and historians): yet another distorted mirror of an illusory democracy of mere economics. If the history of contemporary architecture, as is obvious, has nothing to do with any heterogenesis of ends, its presentation solely as a narration of a purely intellectual path is, in truth, reducing one of the most complex documents of the society and the civilization as a whole to a level of mere formalism. The history of architecture as a necessarily total history, essentially composed of relationships and scales in constant motion (among technologies, economies, symbolic values expressed by society and their formal interpretation), runs the risk of becoming a neglected exercise, practiced by the very few, precisely for that brief century that has changed all the rules and disoriented almost every actor on the architectural and urban stage.

narrazioni, il documento divenuto insieme garanzia unica del lavoro storico e materiale essenziale di molti mercati cui la storia può contribuire, i profili sempre più individuali (per opportunità e per competizione) dei nuovi studiosi, sono tutte facce di una condizione intellettuale che, in assenza di terreni e forme di misura, non solo di confronto, alimenta oggi un sostanziale cinismo nei confronti del proprio lavoro come delle istituzioni o di utenti sempre più distanti e impersonali. Ed è questo, non solo l'abbandono di una storia culturale e totale dell'architettura, a poter segnare la chiusura dei cantieri di lavoro di una generazione, che aveva costruito anche sull'etica della responsabilità dell'intellettuale, non solo sulla ricostituzione dell'oggetto del proprio studio, la rottura di paradigmi interpretativi troppo consolatori e rassicuranti, anche per lo storico che vi si abbandonasse.

Note

* Carlo Olmo insegna Storia dell'Architettura Contemporanea al Politecnico di Torino, dove è coordinatore del Dottorato di ricerca in Storia dell'Architettura e dell'Urbanistica e preside della Prima Facoltà di Architettura.

1) Il termine "generazione" è utilizzato in tutto il saggio nella sua accezione temporale non associativa, nei limiti cronologici che le citazioni indicano. Per necessità di spazio i riferimenti sono limitati agli studi ritenuti assolutamente essenziali, per offrire anche solo un primo abbozzo di questa storia.

2) Tafuri sottolinea il carattere di "*progettazione di un preciso indirizzo poetico*", di "*contestazione della storia passata e profezie di quella futura*", di prescrittività, di didatticità della critica operativa ma soprattutto la sua natura ideologica: "*La critica operativa è quindi una critica ideologica (usiamo sempre il termine "ideologico" in senso marxiano): sostituisce al rigore analitico giudizi di valore già costituiti, validi per l'azione immediata*" (M. TAFURI, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, Laterza, Bari 1968, p. 182).

3) M. TAFURI, *Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica*, in "Contropiano", n. 1, 1969, pp. 31 sgg., tesi riprese e sviluppate in *L'architecture dans le boudoir*, in "Oppositions", n. 3, 1974, pp. 37 sgg., testo poi pubblicato in *La sfera e il labirinto*, Einaudi, Torino 1980. La discussione sul ruolo dell'ideologia nella riflessione storiografica di Tafuri è avviata dai critici che fanno riferimento in quegli anni a "Oppositions", ripresa da R. MAXWELL (*Tafuri, Culot, Krier. The Role of Ideology*, in "Architectural Design", n. 3, 1977, pp. 187 sgg.), poi da A.H. COLQUHOUN, *Essays in Architectural Criticism*, Oppositions Books, MIT, Cambridge 1985, sino alle più recenti considerazioni di J. OCKMAN, *Venezia e New York*, in *Il progetto storico di Manfredo Tafuri*, in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, pp. 56 sgg., dallo stesso R. MAXWELL, *The Logic of History and the Perils of Conflation*, in H. van DIJK e L. JANSON (a cura di), *Architecture and Legitimacy*, NAi Publishers, Rotterdam 1995, pp. 103 sgg. e ancora, con un impianto davvero discutibile, da P. TOURNIKIOTIS, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture*, MIT Press, Cambridge-Londra 1999. Ma la vera rilevanza di questa posizione sta nella "morte dell'arte" che negli anni Settanta si diffonde anche tra i progettisti nelle scuole di architettura, non solo italiane.

4) Studi avviati sulle tracce del famoso testo di A. KOPP, *Ville et révolution. Architecture et urbanisme soviétiques des années vingt*, Anthropos, Parigi 1962, da K. FRAMPTON (*Notes on Soviet Urbanism 1917-32*, in *Architect's Year Book*, Londra 1968, pp. 238 sgg.), da M. TAFURI (a cura di) (*Socialismo, città, architettura. URSS 1917-1937*, Officina, Roma 1972), da M. DE MICHELIS e E. PASINI (*La città sovietica 1925-1937*, Marsilio, Venezia 1976), ancora da K. FRAMPTON (*Constructivism: the Pursuit of an Elusive Sensibility*, in "Oppositions", n. 6, 1976, pp. 25 sgg.), da J.-L. COHEN (*Lurçat au pays des Soviets*, in "Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité", n. 40, 1976, pp. 16 sgg.), da J.-L. COHEN, M. DE MICHELIS, M. TAFURI (*URSS 1917-1978: la città, l'architettura*, Parigi-Roma 1979). Il testo di riferimento per tutti in quegli anni rimane comunque V.N. HAZANOVA, *Sovietskaja Architektura pervyh let Oktabra*, Mosca 1970, mentre solo oggi si comincia a riconsiderare l'influenza su queste letture di Henri Lefèvre e della rivista "Espaces et Sociétés", ma anche di A. Liepitz, M. Castells e F. Godard sempre in quegli anni. Sulla città americana, cfr. G. CIUCCI (a cura di), *La città americana dalla guerra civile al New Deal*, Laterza, Bari 1973.

5) Sulle radici complesse del nuovo ecologismo americano, M. ROSSO e P. SCRIVANO, *Introduzione* a L. MUMFORD, *La cultura delle città*, Edizioni di Comunità, Torino 1999, pp. IX sgg.

6) M. CACCIARI e P. CACCIARI, *Piano economico e composizione di classe*, Feltrinelli, Milano 1975.

7) M. TAFURI, *La sfera e il labirinto*, cit., *Introduzione*, pp. IX sgg. e K. FRAMPTON, *Modern Architecture: a critical history*, Oxford University Press, New York 1980.

8) S. von MOOS, *Le Corbusier. Elemente einer Synthese*, Verlag Huber & Co, Frauenfeld und Stuttgart 1968. Il testo ampliato e profondamente rivisto, anche nell'organizzazione dei capitoli, sarà tradotto in inglese nel 1979 da MIT Press.

9) La discussione sulla biografia nella ricerca storica accompagna tutta la vicenda della storiografia contemporanea. Cfr. G. GUSDORF, *Conditions et limites de l'autobiographie*, Editions du Seuil, Parigi 1956; J. OLNEY, *Methaphors of self. The Meaning of Autobiography*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1972; L. GALLINO, voce "Autobiografia" in *Dizionario di Sociologia*, UTET, Torino 1978, pp. 47 sgg.; M. GRIBAUDI, *Storia orale e struttura del racconto autobiografico*, in "Quaderni Storici", n. 39, 1987, pp. 1141 sgg.; A. BATTISTINI, *Lo specchio di Dedalo. Autobiografia e biografia*, Il Mulino, Milano 1990; L. PASSERINI, *Storia e soggettività. Le fonti orali sulla memoria*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1998.

10) J. REVEL, *Micro-analyse et construction du social*, in ID. (a cura di), *Jeux d'Echelles*, Editions du Seuil-Gallimard, Parigi 1996, pp. 7 sgg.

11) A.A. PAYNE, *R. Wittkower and the Architectural Principles in the Age of Modernism*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", vol. 53, n. 3, settembre 1994, pp. 322-342. Il Pevsner di cui si discute è ovviamente quello di *Buildings of England*. Già tutto il numero 6/7 di "Architectural Design" del 1981, *On Methodology of Architectural History*, è utile per precisare i termini del dibattito storiografico in quegli anni, in particolare per i saggi di G. Teyssot, A. Colquhoun, T. Llorens.

12) Per necessità di spazio è qui impossibile anche solo sottolineare le profonde differenze, proprio nei profili formativi, degli storici qui considerati. Le loro possibili biblioteche (reali o virtuali) sono ancora tutte da indagare.

13) L'unica scuola davvero studiata nella sua influenza sull'insieme della storiografia artistica è quella di Warburg. Hauser, Kris, Lévi-Strauss, ma anche Simmel, Weber, Halbwachs, Benjamin cominciano ad essere studiati. Per la storia dell'architettura frammenti di queste indagini sono in C. OLMO, *Attraverso i testi. Aldo Rossi*, Mazzotta, Milano 1985 e G. CIUCCI, *Gli anni della formazione*, in *Il progetto storico di Manfredo Tafuri*, in "Casabella", cit., pp.12 sgg.

14) M. BERENGO, *Intellettuali e librai nella Milano della Ricostruzione*, Einaudi, Torino 1980 (1956). Solo come esperimenti di metodologie di ricerca allora contaminate: F. BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée*, Flammarion, Parigi 1949; M. RONCAYOLO, *Réflexions de méthode*, in *Urban Core and Inner City*, Proceedings of the Amsterdam Congress, 1966, pp. 503 sgg.; J.P. BARDET, P. CHAUNU, S. DESERT, P. GOUDIER, H. NEVEUX, *Le bâtiment. Enquête d'histoire économique*, Parigi 1971; J.C. PERROT, *Genèse d'une ville moderne. Caen au XVIIIe*, Maritain, Parigi 1975; J.P. BARDET, J. BOUVIER, J.C. PERROT, D. ROCHE, M. RONCAYOLO, *Une nouvelle histoire des villes*, in "Annales ESC", 1977, pp. 1237-1254.

15) Le letture filosofiche costituiscono davvero *liaisons dangereuses* per critici ed architetti, che andranno studiate proprio nella loro funzione di legittimazione: M. GUSEVITH, *Architecture and its Dis-contexts*, in H. van DIJK e L. JANSON (a cura di), *Architecture and Legitimacy*, cit., pp. 47 sgg.

16) C. OLMO, *Il lavoro architettonico*, in R. GABETTI e C. OLMO, *Le Corbusier e l'Esprit Nouveau*, Einaudi, Torino 1975, pp. 13 sgg.

13. 14. Pagine da AA.VV, Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *Editions du Centre Pompidou, Parigi 1987: C. Olmo, voce* Revues, La perception du changement *e I. de Solà-Morales, voce* Espace public, Nouveaux espaces dans la ville moderne.

13. 14. Pages from Var., Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *Editions du Centre Pompidou, Paris 1987: C. Olmo, entry* Revues, La perception du changement *and I. de Solà-Morales, entry* Espace public, Nouveaux espaces dans la ville moderne.

The need for heroes and mythographies, the punctual reduction of time and the cult of events, the decline of the risk of interpretation and its replacement with adventure and storytelling, the document as both the sole guarantee of historical work and essential material for many markets to which history can make a contribution, the increasingly individualistic profiles (both for opportunity and for competition) of the new scholars, are all facets of an intellectual condition that, in the absence of territories and forms of measurement, not only of comparison, furthers a substantial cynicism today regarding one's work, the institutions and the users, who become increasingly distant and impersonal. This, and not only the abandoning of a cultural, total history of architecture, threatens to close once and for all the worksites of a generation of historians who had constructed, also on the ethic of responsibility of the intellectual, and not only on the reconstitution of the object of study, the breakdown of excessively reassuring interpretative paradigms.


Revues

La perception du changement

R

Revues

« L'Esprit nouveau », la recherche de principes ordonnateurs

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Espace public

Nouveaux espaces dans la ville moderne

De l'uniformité dans le détail, du chaos, du tumulte dans l'ensemble

E

Espace

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Notes

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1) The term "generation" is used throughout the essay in the non-associative *temporal sense, within the chronological limits of the citations. Due to spatial constrictions the references are limited to those felt to be absolutely essential, in order to offer an initial, rough overview of this history.*

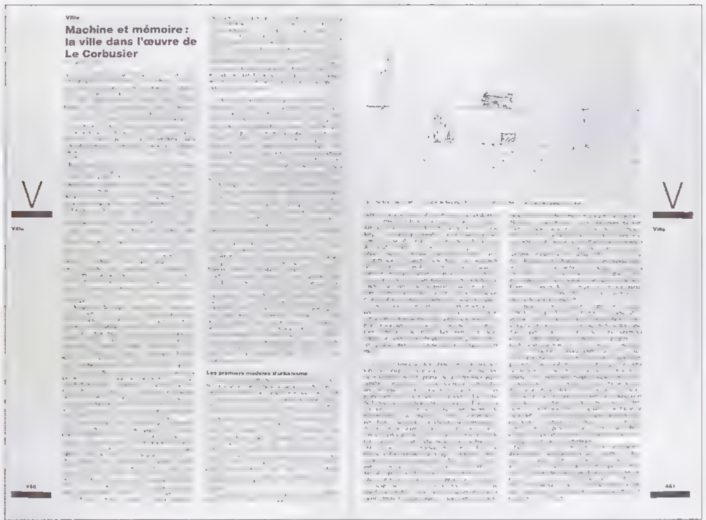
2) Tafuri underlines the character of "design of a precise political orientation", *of* "challenging of past history and prophecies of that of the future", *of prescriptiveness, the didactic approach of operative criticism, but above all its ideological nature:* "The operative critique is, therefore, an ideological critique (we always use the term "ideological" in the Marxian sense): it replaces analytical rigor with predetermined value judgments, valid for immediate action" *(M. TAFURI,* Teorie e storia dell'architettura, *Laterza, Bari 1968, p. 182).*

3) M. TAFURI, Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica, *in "Contropiano", n. 1, 1969, pp. 31 ff., arguments revised and developed in* L'architecture dans le boudoir, *in "Oppositions", n. 3, 1974, pp. 37 ff., a text later published in* La sfera e il labirinto, *Einaudi, Turin 1980. Discussion of the role of ideology in the historiographic reflections of Tafuri is undertaken by the critics who were involved, in those years, with "Oppositions", later reviewed by R. MAXWELL (*Tafuri, Culot, Krier. The Role of Ideology, *in "Architectural Design", n. 3, 1977, pp. 187 ff.), then by A.H. COLQUHOUN,* Essays in Architectural Criticism, *Oppositions Books, MIT, Cambridge 1985, and then in the more recent considerations of J. OCKMAN,* Venezia e New York, *in* Il progetto storico di Manfredo Tafuri, *in "Casabella", n. 619/620, 1995, pp. 56 ff., again by R. MAXWELL,* The Logic of History and the Perils of Conflation, *in H. van DIJK and L. JANSON (ed.),* Architecture and Legitimacy, *NAi Publishers, Rotterdam 1995, pp. 103 ff., and, with a really questionable structure, by P. TOURNIKIOTIS,* The Historiography of Modern Architecture, *MIT Press, Cambridge-London 1999. But the true relevance of this position lies in the "death of art" which in the Seventies also spread among the designers in the architecture schools, and not only in Italy.*

4) Studies begun in the wake of the famous text by A. KOPP, Ville et révolution. Architecture et urbanisme soviétiques des années vingt, *Anthropos, Paris 1962,*

15. Pagine da AA.VV., Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *Editions du Centre Pompidou, Parigi 1987: M. Tafuri, voce* Ville, Machine et mémoire: la ville dans l'œuvre de Le Corbusier.

15. Pages from Var., Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *Editions du Centre Pompidou, Paris 1987: M. Tafuri, entry* Ville, Machine et mémoire: la ville dans l'œuvre de Le Corbusier.



Ville

Machine et mémoire : la ville dans l'œuvre de Le Corbusier

V

Les premiers modèles d'urbanisme

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17) B. BRACE TAYLOR, *Le Corbusier et Pessac*, ripubblicato in *Le Corbusier at Pessac*, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. 1972.
18) S. von MOOS, *Eine Architektonische Formen*, in ID., *Le Corbusier. Elemente einer Synthese*, cit., pp. 90 sgg. (le citazioni del testo sono quelle dell'edizione americana rivista).
19) A partire da P. TURNER, *The Beginnings of Le Corbusier Education 1902-1907*, in "The Art Bulletin", giugno 1971, pp. 214 sgg. Saggio tratto da *The Education of Le Corbusier. A Study of the Development of Le Corbusier Thought 1900-1920*, Harvard Thesis, 1971, da cui poi il testo pubblicato da Garland, New York, nel 1977.
20) A partire da P. SERENYI, *Le Corbusier, Fourier and the Monastery of Ema*, in "The Art Bulletin", 1967, pp. 277 sgg., e successivamente in maniera sistematica nei lavori di G. GRESLERI, a partire da *Viaggio in Oriente*, Marsilio, Milano-Venezia 1984.
21) R. GABETTI e C. OLMO, *Le Corbusier e l'Esprit Nouveau*, cit., pp. 174 sgg.
22) Tema cui è dedicato il numero 3 di "Rassegna" del luglio 1980.
23) K. FRAMPTON (a cura di), "Oppositions", nn. 15/16 e 19/20, numeri speciali su Le Corbusier, Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies, New York 1978 e 1980.
24) In particolare nei testi E. KAUFMANN, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier*, Rolf Passer Verlag, Vienna-Lipsia 1933 e S. GIEDION, *Mechanization takes Command*, Oxford University Press, New York 1948.
25) Le nuove edizioni profondamente riviste, anche nelle periodizzazioni, sono rispettivamente del 1975 e del 1976.
26) Polemica che il testo di J. RYKWERT, *The First Moderns. The Architects of Eighteenth Century*, MIT University Press, Cambridge Mass. 1980, renderà esplicita nei suoi presupposti.
27) W. OECHSLIN, *Premesse all'architettura rivoluzionaria*, in "Controspazio", n. 1-2, 1970, pp. 2 sgg. e *Pyramide et sphère. Notes sur l'architecture révolutionnaire du XVIIIe siècle et ses sources*, in "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", n. 113, 1971, pp. 201 sgg.
28) A partire da J.-L. COHEN, *Lurçat au pays des Soviets*, cit., oggi ripreso e profondamento rivisto, in J.-L. COHEN, *A. Lurçat. Autocritique d' un moderne*, Mardaga, Liegi 1995.
29) A. ROSENBERG, *The Tradition of the New*, Horizon Press, New York 1959.
30) J.-L. COHEN, *Scenes of the World to Come*, Flammarion-Canadian Centre for Architecture, Parigi 1995.
31) P. MORACHIELLO e G. TEYSSOT (a cura di), *Le macchine imperfette. Architetture, programma, istituzioni nel XIX secolo*, Officina, Roma 1980.
32) Per una lettura contemporanea di quelle vicende, C. OLMO, *La crisi dell'area e dei soggetti della ricerca storica in architettura*, in ID., *La città industriale*, Einaudi, Torino 1980, pp. 51 sgg.
33) *Les fêtes de la Révolution*, Colloque de Clermont Ferrand, Juin 1974, Parigi 1977, in particolare i saggi di M. Vovelle, M. Ozouf, R. Etlin.
34) Sono soprattutto importanti in questa direzione i lavori di D. ROCHE sino a *Le peuple de Paris. Essai sur la culture populaire au XVIIIe*, Aubier, Montaigne, Parigi 1981.
35) R. LEDUET, *Les images de la ville*, Anthropos, Parigi 1973. Ma il discorso va esteso a tutta l'importante discussione sul ruolo degli immaginari simbolici (anche urbani) che si sviluppa lungo tutti gli anni Settanta, in Francia (a partire dal Colloque di Clermont Ferrand già ricordato), in Svizzera (il testo più importante resta B. BACZKO, *Lumières de l'utopie*, Parigi 1978), nei paesi anglosassoni. Sono gli studi di Dyos in primo luogo, poi di P. Clark, E.P. Thompson, A. Sutcliffe a costituire i primi riferimenti.
36) E.P. THOMPSOM, *L'economia morale delle classi popolari nel secolo XVIII*, Einaudi, Torino 1981 [1966], pp. 57 sgg.
37) Tema su cui si sviluppa in quegli anni un'interessante letteratura, da J.A. CHARTRES, *The Place of Inns in the Commercial Life of London and Western England, 1680-1760*, PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, a P. CLARK, *The English Alehouse: a Social History*, Longmann, Harlow 1983.
38) E. POLEGGI e F. CARACENI, *Strada Nuova. Una lottizzazione del Cinquecento a Genova*, in *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, vol. 12, *Momenti di*

*K. FRAMPTON (*Notes on Soviet Urbanism 1917-32, *in* Architect's Year Book, *London 1968, pp. 238 sgg.), M. TAFURI (ed.) (*Socialismo, città, architettura. URSS 1917-1937, *Officina, Rome 1972), M. DE MICHELIS and E. PASINI (*La città sovietica 1925-1937, *Marsilio, Venice 1976), again by K. FRAMPTON (*Constructivism: the Pursuit of an Elusive Sensibility, *in "Oppositions", n. 6, 1976, pp. 25 ff.), by J.-L. COHEN (*Lurçat au pays des Soviets, *in "Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité", n. 40, 1976, pp. 16 ff.), by J.-L. COHEN, M. DE MICHELIS, M. TAFURI (*URSS 1917-1978: la ville, l'architecture, *Paris-Rome 1979). The reference point for all, in those years, remains in any case V.N. HAZANOVA,* Sovietskaja Architektura pervyh let Oktabra, *Moscow 1970, while only recently has there been a reconsideration of the influence of Henri Lefèvre on these interpretations and the magazine "Espaces et Sociétés" but also, in the same years, of A. Liepitz, M. Castells and F. Godard. On the American city, cf. G. CIUCCI (ed.),* La città americana dalla guerra civile al New Deal, *Laterza, Bari 1973.*

5) On the complex roots of the new American ecologism, see M. ROSSO and P. SCRIVANO, Introduzione *to L. MUMFORD,* La cultura delle città, *Edizioni di Comunità, Turin 1999, pp. IX ff.*

6) M. CACCIARI and P. CACCIARI, Piano economico e composizione di classe, *Feltrinelli, Milan 1975.*

7) M. TAFURI, La sfera e il labirinto, *cit.,* Introduzione, *pp. IX ff., and K. FRAMPTON,* Modern Architecture: a critical history, *Oxford University Press, New York 1980.*

8) S. von MOOS, Le Corbusier. Elemente einer Synthese, *Verlag Huber & Co, Frauenfeld und Stuttgart 1968. The expanded and thoroughly revised text, even in terms of the organization of the chapters, was translated into English in 1979 by MIT Press.*

9) Discussion on biography in historical research accompanies the entire trajectory of contemporary historiography. Cf. G. GUSDORF, Conditions et limites de l'autobiographie, *Editions du Seuil, Paris 1956; J. OLNEY,* Methaphors of self. The Meaning of Autobiography, *Princeton University Press, Princeton 1972; L. GALLINO, in the entry "Autobiografia" in* Dizionario di Sociologia, *UTET, Turin 1978, pp. 47 ff.; M. GRIBAUDI,* Storia orale e struttura del racconto autobiografico, *in "Quaderni Storici", n. 39, 1987, pp. 1141 ff.; A. BATTISTINI,* Lo specchio di Dedalo. Autobiografia e biografia, *Il Mulino, Milan 1990; L. PASSERINI,* Storia e soggettività. Le fonti orali sulla memoria, *La Nuova Italia, Florence 1998.*

10) J. REVEL, Micro-analyse et construction du social, *in ID. (ed.),* Jeux d'Echelles, *Editions du Seuil-Gallimard, Paris 1996, pp. 7 ff.*

11) A.A. PAYNE, R. Wittkower and the Architectural Principles in the Age of Modernism, *in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", vol. 53, n. 3, September 1994, pp. 322-342. The Pevsner discussed here is obviously that of* Buildings of England. *The entire issue no. 6/7 of "Architectural Design" of 1981,* On Methodology of Architectural History, *is useful for a focus on the terms of the historiographic debate in those years, particularly thanks to the essays by G. Teyssot, A. Colquhoun, T. Llorens.*

12) Due to spatial restrictions it is impossible, here, even to underline the profound differences, precisely in terms of background, among the historians considered herein. Their possible libraries (real or virtual) remain an open question for investigation.

13) The only school that has truly been studied regarding its influence on the whole of artistic historiography is that of Warburg. Hauser, Kris, Lévi-Strauss, but also Simmel, Weber, Halbwachs, Benjamin are now beginning to be studied. For the history of architecture it is possible to find fragments of this research in C. OLMO, Attraverso i testi. Aldo Rossi, *Mazzotta, Milan 1985 and G. CIUCCI,* Gli anni della formazione, *in* Il progetto storico di Manfredo Tafuri, *in "Casabella", cit., pp. 12 ff.*

14) M. BERENGO, Intellettuali e librai nella Milano della Ricostruzione, *Einaudi, Turin 1980 (1956) Only as trials of research methodologies at that time "contamined": F. BRAUDEL,* La Méditerranée, *Flammarion, Paris 1949; M. RONCAYOLO,* Réflexions de méthode, *in* Urban Core and Inner City, *Proceedings of the Amsterdam Congress, 1966, pp. 503 ff. J.P. BARDET, P. CHAUNU, S. DESERT, P. GOUDIER, H. NEVEUX,* Le bâtiment. Enquête d'histoire économique, *Paris 1971; J.C. PERROT,* Genèse d'une ville moderne. Caen au XVIIIe, *Maritain, Paris 1975; J.P. BARDET, J. BOUVIER, J.C. PERROT, D. ROCHE, M. RONCAYOLO,* Une nouvelle histoire des villes, *in "Annales ESC", 1977, pp. 1237-1254.*

15) Philosophical readings truly represent the liaisons dangereuses *for critics and architects, and should be studied precisely for their function of legitimization: M. GUSEVITH,* Architecture and its Dis-contexts, *in H. van DIJK and L. JANSON (ed.),* Architecture and Legitimacy, *cit., pp. 47 ff.*

16) C. OLMO, Il lavoro architettonico, *in R. GABETTI and C. OLMO,* Le Corbusier e l'Esprit Nouveau, *Einaudi, Turin 1975, pp. 13 ff.*

17) B. BRACE TAYLOR, Le Corbusier et Pessac, *republished in* Le Corbusier at Pessac, *MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. 1972.*

18) S. von MOOS, Eine Architektonische Formen, *in ID.,* Le Corbusier. Elemente einer Synthese, *cit., pp. 90 ff. (the quotations in the present text are taken from the revised American edition).*

19) Starting with P.V. TURNER, The Beginnings of Le Corbusier Education 1902-1907, *in "The Art Bulletin", June 1971, pp. 214 ff. Essay from* The Education of Le Corbusier. A Study of the Development of Le Corbusier Thought 1900-1920, *Harvard Thesis, 1971, leading to the text published by Garland, New York, in 1977.*

20) Starting with P. SERENYI, Le Corbusier, Fourier and the Monastery of Ema, *in "The Art Bulletin", 1967, pp. 277 ff., and later, in a systematic manner, in the works of G. GRESLERI, starting with* Viaggio in Oriente, *Marsilio, Milan-Venice 1984.*

21) R. GABETTI and C. OLMO, Le Corbusier e l'Esprit Nouveau, *cit., pp. 174 ff.*

22) The theme of issue no. 3 of "Rassegna", July 1980.

23) K. FRAMPTON (ed.), "Oppositions", n. 15/16 and 19/20, special issues on Le Corbusier, Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies, New York 1978 and 1980.

24) In particular, in the texts by E. KAUFMANN, Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier, *Rolf Passer Verlag, Wien-Leipzig 1933, and S. GIEDION,* Mechanization takes Command, *Oxford University Press, New York 1948.*

25) The new, thoroughly revised editions, also in terms of definition of periods, are dated respectively 1975 and 1976.

26) A polemic which the text by J. RYKWERT, The First Moderns. The Architects of Eighteenth Century, *MIT University Press, Cambridge Mass. 1980, renders explicit in its premises.*

27) W. OECHSLIN, Premesse all'architettura rivoluzionaria, *in "Controspazio", n. 1-2, 1970, pp. 2 ff. and* Pyramide et sphère. Notes sur l'architecture révolutionnaire du XVIIIe siècle et ses sources, *in "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", n. 113, 1971, pp. 201 ff.*

28) Starting with J.-L. COHEN, Lurçat au pays des Soviets, *cit., today thoroughly revised, in J.-L. COHEN,* A. Lurçat. Autocritique d'un moderne, *Mardaga, Liège 1995.*

29) A. ROSENBERG, The Tradition of the New, *Horizon Press, New York 1959.*

30) J.-L. COHEN, Scenes of the World to Come, *Flammarion-Canadian Centre for Architecture, Paris 1995.*

31) P. MORACHIELLO and G. TEYSSOT (ed.), Le macchine imperfette. Architetture, programma, istituzioni nel XIX secolo, *Officina, Rome 1980.*

32) For a contemporary interpretation of those situations, C. OLMO, La crisi dell'area e dei soggetti della ricerca storica in architettura, *in ID.,* La città industriale, *Einaudi, Turin 1980, pp. 51 ff.*

33) Les fêtes de la Révolution, *Colloque de Clermont Ferrand, Juin 1974, Paris 1977, in particular the essays by M. Vovelle, M. Ozouf, R. Etlin.*

34) In this direction, the works by D. ROCHE up to Le peuple de Paris. Essai sur la culture populaire au XVIIIe, *Aubier, Montaigne, Paris 1981.*

35) R. LEDUET, Les images de la ville, *Anthropos, Paris 1973. But the issue should be extended to the entire, important discussion on the role of symbolic (also urban) images that developed throughout the Seventies, in France (beginning with the above-mentioned Colloque di Clermont Ferrand), Switzerland (the most important text is still that of B. BACZKO,* Lumières de l'utopie, *Paris 1978), in the Anglo-Saxon countries. The early references on this subject were offered by Dyos, first of all, and then by P. Clark, E.P. Thompson and A. Sutcliffe.*

36) E.P. THOMPSON, L'economia morale delle classi popolari nel secolo XVIII, *Einaudi, Turin 1981 [1966], pp. 57 ff.*

architettura, Torino, Einaudi 1983, pp. 301 sgg. Studi che Poleggi inizia a pubblicare sin dal 1966.
39) S. von MOOS, *Les femmes d'Algers*, di cui vi sono più scritture, a partire da AA.VV., *Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée*, Parenthèses, Marsiglia 1987, pp. 191 sgg.
40) C. OLMO, *La città industriale*, cit.
41) C.W. CHALKIN, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England*, Londra 1974.
42) R. ETLIN, *L'architecture et la fête révolutionnaire*, Parigi 1970, in *Les fêtes de la Révolution*, cit., pp. 131 sgg.
43) G. CIUCCI, *Il mito Movimento Moderno e le vicende dei Ciam*, prima in "Casabella", n. 463/464, 1980, pp. 28 sgg., poi in forma più completa *The Invention of the Modern Movement*, in "Oppositions", n. 24, 1981, pp. 69 sgg.
44) M. MANIERI ELIA, *Il complesso di Enea. Nicolaus Pevsner e la storiografia della continuità*, in "Casabella", n. 413, 1977, pp. 60 sgg.
45) D. WATKIN, *Morality and Architecture. The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory, from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement*, Clarendon, Oxford 1977.
46) I due testi chiave di questo percorso storiografico sono J.P. BONTA, *Architecture and its Interpretation. A Study of Expressive System*, New York 1979 e M.L. SCALVINI e M.G. SANDRI, *L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea, da Platz a Giedion*, Officina, Roma 1984.
47) Tra i molti internazionalismi di cui è necessario parlare, quando il riferimento è all'architettura contemporanea, uno, tra i più rilevanti, è la condivisione, al di là delle differenti chiavi di lettura, tra storici di nazioni e formazioni diverse del messaggio di H. READ, *The Education through Art*, Faber & Faber, Londra 1943.
48) M. TAFURI, *Introduzione* a *La sfera e il labirinto*, cit.
49) Lenta ma duratura fortuna, dagli studi di J. JACOBS, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Random House, New York 1961, sino ai più recenti e discussi lavori di M. DAVIS come *City of Quartz* e, ancor più, *Ecology of Fear*, Metropolitan Books, New York 1998.
50) Sono indubbiamente i lavori di R. VENTURI (*Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, Museum of Modern Art, New York 1966 e *Learning from Las Vegas*, MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. 1972) a conoscere la massima diffusione, anche se in Europa tardiva.
51) Sarebbe troppo lungo seguire la fortuna dei testi di Derrida nelle scuole di architettura americane. Un elenco utile delle sue conferenze americane è contenuto in calce a C. MALABAN e J. DERRIDA, *Jacques Derrida. La contre-allée*, in "La Quinzaine Littéraire", 1999.
52) S. von MOOS, *Dans l'antichambre du "machine age"*, in *L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie. 1920-1925*, Museum fur Gestaltung Zürich e Wilhelm Ernst & Son Verlag, Zurigo-Berlino 1987, pp. 12 sgg.
53) W. NERDINGER, *Standard et type: Le Corbusier et l'Allemagne 1920-27*, *ibid.*, pp. 44 sgg.
54) Studi già avviati negli anni precenti: S. von MOOS, *Le Corbusier und Gabriel Voisin*, in "Cahiers de la recherche architecturale", n. 12, 1982, pp. 77 sgg.
55) Gli studi più completi, esito di lavori in parte già pubblicati negli anni precedenti, sono T. BENTOM, *The Villas of Le Corbusier*, Yale University Press, New Haven-Londra 1987 e B. REICHLIN, voce *Solution élégante*, *L'utile n'est pas le beau*, in AA.VV., *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, Editions du Centre Pompidou, Parigi 1987, pp. 369 sgg.
56) B. COLOMINA, *L'Esprit Nouveau: Architecture and Publicity*, in "Revisions", n. 1983, poi ampliato in *Le Corbusier et la photographie*, in *L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie. 1920-1925*, cit., pp. 32 sgg.
57) T.P. HUGHES, *"Appel aux industriels"*, in *L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie. 1920-1925*, cit., pp. 26 sgg.
58) C. OLMO, voce *Revues*, *La perception du changement*, in AA.VV., *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, cit., pp. 344 sgg.
59) J.-L. COHEN, voce *Politique*, *Droite-gauche*, *"invite à l'action"*, *ibid.*, pp. 309 sgg.
60) Sull'argomento la letteratura è costruita soprattutto da G. GRESLERI, a partire da *Le Corbusier: Viaggio in Oriente*, cit. e *Les leçons du Voyage d'Orient*, in AA.VV., *Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée*, cit., pp. 37 sgg.
61) Oltre gli studi di G. Gresleri cfr. anche quelli di M. Krustrup.
62) B. BRACE TAYLOR, voce *Chandigarh, Chandigarh. Vaut-elle encore un pèlerinage?* in AA.VV., *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, cit., pp. 86 sgg.
63) Il convegno dell'anno centenario, proprio su questo tema, come il recente convegno di Napoli (B. GRAVAGNUOLO, a cura di, *Il mito mediterraneo nell'architettura contemporanea*, Electa, Napoli 1994) non esauriscono un argomento che andrebbe riletto forse nella chiave che Braudel dette della cultura mediterranea nel 1949 e delle sue successive revisioni.
64) W. OECHSLIN, voce *Allemagne, Influence, confluence et reniement*, in AA.VV., *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, cit., pp. 33 sgg.
65) F. PASSANTI, *Des gratte-ciel pour la "ville contemporaine"*, in *L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie. 1920-1925*, cit., pp. 54 sgg.
66) M. TAFURI, voce *Ville, Machine et mémoire*, in AA.VV., *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, cit., pp. 460 sgg.
67) I. de SOLÀ-MORALES, voce *Espace publique, Nouveaux espaces dans la ville moderne*, *ibid.*, pp. 460 sgg.
68) J. GUBLER, *Nationalisme et internationalisme dans l'architecture de la Suisse*, Losanna 1975. M. Mc LEOD, voce *Taylorisme*, in AA.VV., *Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie*, cit., pp. 397 sgg. Tema già sviluppato in M. Mc LEOD, *Architecture or revolution: Taylorism, technocracy, and social changes*, in "Art Journal", n. 43, 1983, pp. 133 sgg.
69) A partire da P.G. GEROSA, S. JONAS, L. MIQUEL (a cura di), *Actualité de la Charte d'Athènes*, Université des Sciences Humaines, Strasburgo 1978.
70) B. HUET, *La città come spazio abitabile. Alternative alla Carta d'Atene*, in "Lotus", n. 41, 1984, pp. 6 sgg.
71) Lavori degli ultimi dieci anni, ripresi e ridiscussi in P. DI BIAGI, *La Carta d'Atene. Manifesto e frammento dell'urbanistica moderna*, in ID. (a cura di), *La Carta d'Atene*, Officina Edizioni, Roma 1998, pp. 25 sgg.
72) B. SECCHI, *Carte*, *ibid.*, pp. 389 sgg.
73) Solo come pura indicazione, di percorsi storiografici che continuano ad intrecciare innovazioni tematiche e interpretative, cfr. J.-L. COHEN e M. ELEB, *Casablanca. Mythes at figures d'une aventure urbaine*, Hazan, Parigi 1999; S. von MOOS, *Das Neue Bauen in der Ostschweiz: ein Inventar Schweizerischer Werkbund*, Sektion Ostschweiz, 1989; C. OLMO e B. LEPETIT, *La città e le sue storie*, Einaudi, Torino 1995; W. OECHSLIN, *Stilhülse und Kern*, gta, Ernst & Sohn, Zurigo 1994; ID., *Moderne entwerfen. Architektur und Kulturgeschichte*, DuMont, Colonia 1999; I. de SOLÀ-MORALES, *Topografia de la arquitectura contemporanea*, Editorial Gustavo Gili, Barcellona 1995; E. TAVERNE e D. BROEKHUIZEN, *Het Shell-gebouw van J.J.P. Oud*, Nai Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1995.
74) J. REVEL, *Microanalyse et construction du social*, in ID. (a cura di), *Jeux d'échelles*, cit., pp. 7 sgg.
75) Esemplare a questo proposito è la discussione sollevata dalla recente monografia di Le Goff su San Luigi. Su Le Goff, J. REVEL, *L'homme des Annales*, in *L'orgre historien. Autour de Jacques Le Goff*, Gallimard, Parigi 1988, pp. 33 sgg.
76) Gli impianti temporali ciclici dei racconti storici di *Pioneers* o di *Space, Time and Architecture*, lasciano nelle tante storie dell'ultima generazione (il fenomeno della scrittura di nuove storie istituzionali è internazionale) il posto a narrazioni dove la descrizione (spesso ossessiva, sino illusoria nella sua competizione con i nuovi strumenti di rappresentazione elettronica) appare la nuova "salvezza" di una storiografia nata soprattutto per le domande di un mercato che ha consumato storie ormai troppo datate.
77) Una dimensione ideologica che si nutre, non senza paradossi, della fine delle ideologie, di affermazioni ormai rituali sul primato dei mercati, di una tarda nausea camusiana dell'eroe borghese per l'esistenza. Con altri cinismi su cui varrebbe forse la pena di discutere.

37) *A theme on which an interesting literature was produced in those years, from J.A. CHARTRES,* The Place of Inns in the Commercial Life of London and Western England, 1680-1760, *PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, to P. CLARK,* The English Alehouse: a Social History, *Longmann, Harlow 1983.*
38) *E. POLEGGI and F. CARACENI,* Strada Nuova. Una lottizzazione del Cinquecento a Genova, *in* Storia dell'Arte Italiana, *vol. 12,* Momenti di architettura, *Torino, Einaudi 1983, pp. 301 ff. Studies which Poleggi had begun to publish back in 1966.*
39) *S. von MOOS,* Les femmes d'Algers, *about which there are many texts, beginning with Var.,* Le Corbusier et la Méditerrannée, *Parenthèses, Marseille 1987, pp. 191 ff.*
40) *C. OLMO,* La città industriale, *cit.*
41) *C.W. CHALKIN,* The Provincial Towns of Georgian England, *London 1974.*
42) *R. ETLIN,* L'architecture et la fête révolutionnaire, *Paris 1970, in* Les fêtes de la Révolution, *cit., pp. 131 ff.*
43) *G. CIUCCI,* Il mito Movimento Moderno e le vicende dei Ciam *before in "Casabella", n. 463/464, 1980, pp. 28 ff., and later in a more complete form in* The Invention of the Modern Movement, *in "Oppositions", n. 24, 1981, pp. 69 ff.*
44) *M. MANIERI ELIA,* Il complesso di Enea. Nicolaus Pevsner e la storiografia della continuità, *in "Casabella", n. 413, 1977, pp. 60 ff.*
45) *D. WATKIN,* Morality and Architecture. The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory, from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement, *Clarendon, Oxford 1977.*
46) *The two key texts of this historiographical itinerary are J.P. BONTA,* Architecture and its Interpretation. A Study of Expressive System, *New York 1979 and M.L. SCALVINI and M.G. SANDRI,* L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea, da Platz a Giedion, *Officina, Roma 1984.*
47) *Among the many internationalisms that must be discussed in the case of contemporary architecture, one of the most important is the shared focus, beyond different keys of interpretation, among historians of different nations and backgrounds, on the message of H. READ,* Education through Art, *Faber & Faber, London 1943.*
48) *M. TAFURI,* Introduzione *to* La sfera e il labirinto, *cit.*
49) *A gradual but lasting success, from the studies of J. JACOBS,* The Death and Life of Great American Cities, *Random House, New York 1961, down to the more recent controversial works of M. DAVIS such as* City of Quartz *and, even moreso,* Ecology of Fear, *Metropolitan Books, New York 1998.*
50) *The most widespread works in this area, although they reached Europe with a certain delay, are undoubtedly those of R. VENTURI (*Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture, *Museum of Modern Art, New York 1966 and* Learning from Las Vegas, *MIT Press, Cambridge Mass. 1972).*
51) *It would require too much space to retrace the success of the texts of Derrida in American architecture schools. A useful list of his American lectures is contained in C. MALABAN and J. DERRIDA,* Jacques Derrida. La contre-allée, *in "La Quinzaine Littéraire", 1999.*
52) *S. von MOOS,* Dans l'antichambre du "machine age", *in* L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie. 1920-1925, *Museum fur Gestaltung Zürich and Wilhelm Ernst & Son Verlag, Zürich-Berlin 1987, pp. 12 ff.*
53) *W. NERDINGER,* Standard et type: Le Corbusier et l'Allemagne 1920-27, ibid., *pp. 44 ff.*
54) *Studies already begun in the preceding years: S. von MOOS,* Le Corbusier und Gabriel Voisin, *in "Cahiers de la recherche architecturale", n. 12, 1982, pp. 77 ff.*
55) *The most complete studies, the result of works already published, in part, in previous years, are T. BENTOM,* The Villas of Le Corbusier, *Yale University Press, New Haven-London 1987 and B. REICHLIN, entry* Solution élégante, L'utile n'est pas le beau, *in Var.,* Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *Editions du Centre Pompidou, Paris 1987, pp. 369 ff.*
56) *B. COLOMINA,* L'Esprit Nouveau: Architecture and Publicity, *in "Revisions", n. 1983, later extended in* Le Corbusier et la photographie, *in* L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie. 1920-1925, *cit., pp. 32 ff.*
57) *T.P. HUGHES,* "Appel aux industriels", *in* L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie. 1920-1925, *cit., pp. 26 ff.*
58) *C. OLMO, entry* Revues, La perception du changement, *in Var.,* Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *cit., pp. 344 ff.*
59) *J.-L. COHEN, entry* Politique, Droite-gauche, "invite à l'action", ibid., *pp. 309 ff.*
60) *On this argument the literature is composed, above all, by G. GRESLERI, beginning with* Le Corbusier: Viaggio in Oriente, *cit., and* Les leçons du Voyage d'Orient, *in Var.,* Le Corbusier et la Méditerannée, *cit., pp. 37 ff.*
61) *Apart from the studies of G. Gresleri, cf. those of M. Krustrup.*
62) *B. BRACE TAYLOR, entry* Chandigarh. Chandigarh. Vaut-elle encore un pèlerinage? *in Var.,* Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *cit., pp. 86 ff.*
63) *The conferences of the centennial, precisely on this theme, such as the recent conference of Naples (B. GRAVAGNUOLO, ed.,* Il mito mediterraneo nell'architettura contemporanea, *Electa, Naples 1994), do not treat the subject exhaustively, which perhaps should be reviewed in the perspective Braudel provided for Mediterranean architecture in 1949, and in his subsequent revisions.*
64) *W. OECHSLIN, entry* Allemagne, Influence, confluence et reniement, *in Var.,* Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *cit., pp. 33 ff.*
65) *F. PASSANTI,* Des gratte-ciel pour la "ville contemporaine", *in* L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie. 1920-1925, *cit., pp. 54 ff.*
66) *M. TAFURI, entry* Ville, Machine et mémoire, *in Var.,* Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *cit., pp. 460 ff.*
67) *I. de SOLÀ-MORALES, entry* Espace publique, Nouveaux espaces dans la ville moderne, ibid., *pp. 460 ff.*
68) *J. GUBLER,* Nationalisme et internationalisme dans l'architecture de la Suisse, *Lausanne 1975, M. Mc LEOD, entry* Taylorisme, *in Var.,* Le Corbusier, une encyclopédie, *cit., pp. 397 ff. A theme already developed in M. McLEOD,* Architecture or revolution: Taylorism, technocracy and social changes, *in "Art Journal", n. 43, 1983, pp.133 ff.*
69) *Beginning with P.G. GEROSA, S. JONAS, L. MIQUEL (ed.),* Actualité de la Charte d'Athènes, *Université des Sciences Humaines, Strasbourg 1978.*
70) *B. HUET,* La città come spazio abitabile. Alternative alla Carta d'Atene, *in "Lotus", n. 41, 1984, pp. 6 ff.*
71) *Works of the last ten years, reviewed and rediscussed in P. DI BIAGI,* La Carta d'Atene. Manifesto e frammento dell'urbanistica moderna, *in ID. (ed.),* La Carta d'Atene, *Officina Edizioni, Rome 1998, pp. 25 ff.*
72) *B. SECCHI,* Carte, ibid., *pp. 389 ff.*
73) *As a mere indication of historiographic paths that continue to intersect with thematic or interpretative innovations, cf. J.-L. COHEN and M. ELEB,* Casablanca. Mythes at figures d'une aventure urbaine, *Hazan, Paris 1999; S. von MOOS,* Das Neue Bauen in der Ostschweiz: ein Inventar Schweizerischer Werkbund, *Sektion Ostschweiz, 1989; C. OLMO and B. LEPETIT,* La città e le sue storie, *Einaudi, Turin 1995; W. OECHSLIN* Stilhülse und Kern, *gta, Ernst & Sohn, Zürich 1994; ID.,* Moderne entwerfen. Architekture und Kulturgeschicte, *DuMont, Cologne 1999; I. de SOLÀ-MORALES,* Topografia de la arquitectura contemporanea, *Editorial Gustavo Gili, Barcelona 1995.* E. TAVERNE e D. BROEKHUIZEN, Het Shell-gebouw van J.J.P. Oud, *Nai Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1995.*
74) *J. REVEL,* Microanalyse et construction du social, *cit., pp. 7 ff.*
75) *Exemplary, in this area, is the discussion raised by the recent monograph by Le Goff on St. Louis. On Le Goff, J. REVEL,* L'homme des Annales, *in* L'orgre historien. Autour de Jacques Le Goff, *Gallimard, Paris 1988, pp. 33 ff.*
76) *The cyclic temporal structures of the historical narratives of* Pioneers *or* Space, Time and Architecture *give way in the many histories of the latest generation (the phenomenon of the writing of new institutional histories is an international one) to narrations in which description (often obsessive, even illusory in its competition with the new instruments of electronic representation) seems to be the new "salvation" of a historiography born, above all, of the demands of a market that has consumed histories that, by now, are too dated.*
77) *An ideological dimension that is nourished, not without paradoxes, by the decline of ideologies, by the (at this point) ritual declarations of the supremacy of markets, and a belated Camusian nausea of the bourgeois hero in the face of existence. Along with other forms of cynicism, that might be worth discussing.*

Dall'affermazione ideologica alla storia professionale
Jean-Louis Cohen



1



2

1. *Copertina di S. Muratori,* Studi per una operante storia urbana di Venezia, *Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Roma 1959.*
2. *Copertina di B. Zevi,* Verso un'architettura organica, *Einaudi, Torino 1945.*

1. *Cover of S. Muratori,* Studi per una operante storia urbana di Venezia, *Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Rome 1959.*
2. *Cover of B. Zevi,* Verso un'architettura organica, *Einaudi, Turin 1945.*

In trent'anni il rapporto degli architetti con la storia si è profondamente trasformato. Precisiamo che in questa sede non intendiamo render conto, attraverso l'analisi di tale rapporto, delle forme con cui la storia viene messa al servizio e in qualche modo consumata nel lavoro ideativo, ma piuttosto delle modalità del lavoro storico così come viene praticato nel campo dell'architettura in senso ampio. Gli indizi di un nuovo modo di interagire sono molteplici e concordanti, e configurano uno spazio professionale eterogeneo e anisotropo in cui le posizioni sono più rigide alla fine degli anni Novanta di quanto non lo siano state in altri periodi.

Nel Secondo dopoguerra, infatti, la posizione dello storico e quella del progettista spesso si confondevano o si trovavano a essere fortemente ravvicinate, perché gli architetti attivi professionalmente si impegnavano nella storia e nella critica, diventando così – per riprendere l'espressione di Antonio Gramsci – autentici intellettuali "organici". Questa organicità, questa vicinanza alla pratica contaminavano naturalmente la "purezza" scientifica dei racconti storici prodotti da una generazione ancora vicina alla fondazione del Movimento Moderno e alle battaglie che lo formarono. Occorre ricordare a questo proposito che gli architetti si occuparono dell'analisi storica degli episodi più recenti anche perché in tutta Europa le cattedre di Storia dell'architettura si dimostravano sostanzialmente impenetrabili agli studi riguardanti la fine del Diciannovesimo secolo e l'inizio del Ventesimo: sino al termine degli anni Cinquanta i docenti che s'interessavano a questi temi erano infatti ben pochi.

Non ritornerò qui in dettaglio sulle nozioni di storia operativa e di storia operante così come vengono formulate in Italia. "Operante" è la storia nelle analisi di Saverio Muratori su Venezia e Roma, analisi che molto esplicitamente proponevano al progetto contemporaneo principi che si rifacevano ai ritmi e ai caratteri tipologici dei tessuti urbani del passato. "Operativa" è la critica di Bruno Zevi, come la definisce Manfredo Tafuri quando in *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* osserva che *"il vero parametro di verifica della sua critica storica è quello degli effetti sulla cultura degli architetti operanti"*. Tafuri aggiunge senza ambiguità che *"è qui che sembra fallire l'operazione tentata da Zevi. La storia, anche deformata e resa «operativa», non agisce, in realtà, come vitale stimolo per la progettazione"*.

Parallelamente alle analisi di Muratori e di Zevi, di una

From ideological statement to professional history
Jean-Louis Cohen

In thirty years the relationship of architects with history has been profoundly transformed. Let's begin by saying that in this article we do not intend to elucidate, through an analysis of this relationship, the forms with which history has been bent to the service, and in a certain sense consumed by, the work of creation or conception. Instead, we want to look at how the work of the historian is performed in the field of architecture, in the widest sense of the terms. The signs of a new way of interacting are many, and they combine to outline a heterogeneous, anisotropic professional zone in which the positions are more rigid, at the end of the Nineties, than they have been in other periods.

After the Second World War, in fact, the position of the historian was often mixed with that of the designer, or in any case they were very close, because architects who were active in professional practice were also involved in work on history and criticism, becoming – as Antonio Gramsci put it – genuinely "organic" intellectuals. This organicity, this vicinity to practice naturally contaminated the scientific "purity" of the historical narratives produced by a generation that was still close to the foundation of the Modern Movement and the battles that led to its formation. We should keep in mind that the architects worked in the area of the historical analysis of more recent episodes in part because of the fact that in all of Europe the academic strongholds of Architectural history remained substantially impervious to any investigation of the late 19th and early 20th centuries: until the end of the Fifties the professors who were interested in these periods were few and far between.

I will not review in detail the notions of "operative" and "operating" history as they were formulated in Italy. "Operating" history is the history found in the analysis of Saverio Muratori of Venice and Rome, an analysis that very explicitly proposed, to contemporary design, principles based on the rhythms and typological characteristics of the urban fabrics of the past.

"Operative" history is the critique of Bruno Zevi, as defined by Manfredo Tafuri when, in Teorie e storia dell'architettura, *he observes that* "the true parameter of verification of his historical critique is that of its effects on the culture of operating architects". *Tafuri adds, without ambiguity, that* "it is here that the operation attempted by Zevi appears to fail. History, even when it has been deformed and made "operative", does not really act as a vital stimulus for design".

In parallel with the analyses of Muratori and Zevi, with their extraordinary refinement and complexity, in Europe, beginning at the end of the Fifties, the output was mediocre. The history by Leonardo Benevolo, an author also involved in professional architectural practice, is of less intellectual depth, not to mention the Geschichte der modernen Architektur *of Jürgen Joedicke (1959) or the* Histoire mondiale de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme *of Michel Ragon (1971). If we opt for a wider definition of the "operative" position, stating that it tends to try to bend history to fit the needs of a design strategy, focusing on the "good" architects, the "good" constructions and the "good" solutions, through prescriptive interpretations, we must also admit that this position was practically unanimous. The attempts in the Sixties to rehabilitate Expressionism or Constructivism, which had been left out or just barely considered in most of the major historical treatises, are actions of an operative character. The rediscovery of Poelzig, Mendelsohn and even Gaudí thus permitted Ulrich Conrads, in* Phantastische Architektur *(1960), to oppose to Le Corbusier and Mies the forms of a "fantastic" architecture, in the precincts of which Saarinen and Scharoun are legitimated. The celebration of Constructivism in* Ville et révolution *(1967) and other texts of Anatole Kopp or of the other architects who had set out to rediscover, in the words of Kenneth Frampton, a* "lost avant-garde", *permitted the emergence of a radical movement that briefly established an unstable but crystal clear relationship with the Bolshevik cultural revolution.*

All these histories were based – we should recall – on processes of inclusion and exclusion, establishing an order of precedents. An order that could be changed, as can be seen for example in the different editions of Space, Time and Architecture *after 1945, in which the stature of Mies van der Rohe grew, and figures like Aalto and then Utzon entered the scene. This selective "admission policy" was aimed, in fact, at a sort of narrative falsification and fetishistic fixation with certain figures or certain works.*

The interest generated by the first "deviant" interpretations lies in the fact that they tended to rehabilitate architects who were somehow "maudits", *who had not been included in the triumphant tales of the first generation of historians of the Modern. This reassessment, however, was limited to an operative perspective, whose principal trait was, basically, always a certain moralistic intention.*

The first condition for going beyond this type of history, in

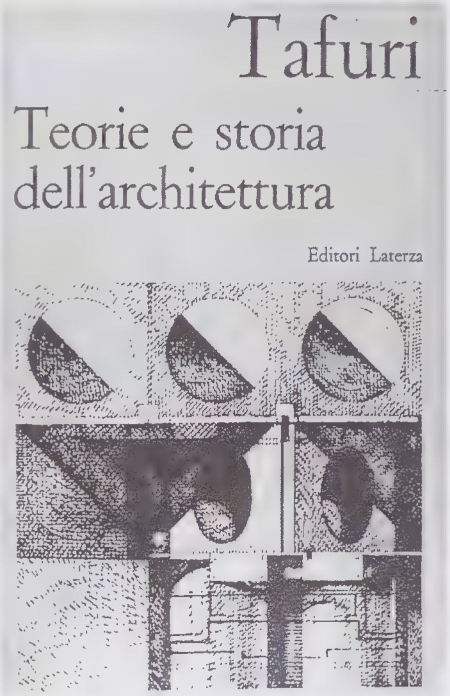
finezza e di una complessità straordinarie, si ebbe in Europa, a partire dalla fine degli anni Cinquanta, una produzione mediocre. La storia di Leonardo Benevolo, autore coinvolto nella pratica professionale, è intellettualmente meno impegnata, per non parlare della *Geschichte der modernen Architektur* di Jürgen Joedicke (1959) o de *L'histoire mondiale de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* di Michel Ragon (1971). Se si adotta una definizione ampia della posizione "operativa" e si afferma che essa tende a rendere la storia funzionale a una strategia di progetto, mettendo in evidenza i "buoni" architetti, le "buone" costruzioni e le "buone" soluzioni attraverso interpretazioni prescrittive, si deve pur constatare che tale posizione è praticamente unanime.
I tentativi degli anni Sessanta volti a riabilitare l'Espressionismo o il Costruttivismo, assenti o per lo meno poco considerati nella maggior parte dei grandi trattati di storia, sono essi stessi azioni di tipo operativo. La riscoperta di Poelzig, di Mendelsohn e persino di Gaudí permise così a Ulrich Conrads in *Phantastische Architektur* (1960) di opporre a Le Corbusier e a Mies le forme di un'architettura "fantastica", nell'ambito della quale trovano legittimazione Saarinen e di Scharoun. La celebrazione del Costruttivismo in *Ville et révolution* (1967) e negli altri testi di Anatole Kopp o degli architetti che si erano dedicati a riscoprire, secondo l'espressione di Kenneth Frampton, una *"lost avant-garde"*, consentì di far emergere l'utopia di un movimento radicale che aveva trovato per un breve momento un rapporto instabile ma cristallino con la rivoluzione culturale bolscevica.
Tutte queste storie erano fondate – occorre ricordarlo – su processi di inclusione e di esclusione, attraverso i quali veniva stabilito un ordine di precedenze. Un ordine che poteva cambiare, come dimostrano per esempio le varie edizioni di *Space, Time and Architecture* dopo il 1945, nel corso delle quali la statura di Mies van der Rohe crebbe ed entrarono in scena le figure di Aalto e poi di Utzon. Questa "ammissività" selettiva tendeva di fatto a una sorta di falsificazione narrativa e a una fissazione feticistica su alcune figure o su alcune costruzioni. L'interesse delle prime interpretazioni "devianti" consiste nel fatto che esse tendevano a riabilitare architetti in qualche modo "maledetti", che non avevano avuto posto nei racconti trionfalistici della prima generazione di storici del Moderno. Questa rivalutazione restò tuttavia confinata nell'ambito di una prospettiva operativa, il cui tratto principale era in fondo sempre un certo intento moraleggiante.

La prima condizione per il superamento di questo tipo di storia in certo senso asservita fu la ricerca di nuovi modelli di riferimento, nei quali gli architetti che praticavano la storia potessero desiderare di identificarsi. Modelli che non erano più quelli dell'architetto-profeta o fustigatore, bensì quelli dello storico, dello storico dell'arte, del critico o dell'intellettuale sovversivo, il cui intento non era più l'illustrazione edificante di una posizione dottrinale, ma la costruzione sistematica del dubbio e della critica.
Se si esamina il percorso di Manfredo Tafuri, risulta chiaro che la figura di Giulio Carlo Argan gli servì per lungo tempo come modello di riferimento nella prima fase, quella romana, della sua attività, in cui appariva anche, come in negativo, il profilo di Bruno Zevi. Ma è la posizione di altri due intellettuali che guidò Tafuri nella messa a punto di un nuovo atteggiamento verso i rapporti fra discorso storico e critico da una parte e architettura dall'altra. In primo luogo Roland Barthes, la cui "nuova critica" fu al centro di polemiche piuttosto violente a quel tempo in Francia e di rimbalzo anche in Italia, come rivelò il *pamphlet* di Raymond Picard *Nouvelle critique ou nouvelle imposture* (1965). Nella battaglia condotta da Barthes contro l'ala destra e l'ala sinistra del pensiero accademico francese Tafuri vide una sorta di compendio della lotta che egli aveva deciso di intraprendere contro il pensiero dominante in Italia. Di più: nelle analisi di Barthes Tafuri individuò un nucleo di posizioni che si potevano trasferire all'architettura, in particolare là dove Barthes rifiutava, come in *Critique et vérité* (1966), di accettare che l'oggetto della scienza della letteratura fosse quello di *"imporre un senso all'opera"*. Nella riflessione che Tafuri elaborò partendo dai saggi di Walter Benjamin quando ancora l'insieme dei frammenti del *Passagenwerk* era sconosciuto, e destinato a rimanere tale per lungo tempo, egli si identificava con la figura dell'intellettuale critico marginale, pronto a rivelare il senso politico dei processi artistici, senza peraltro profetizzare un'estetica del contenuto. In tutta la cerchia veneziana la figura dell'*Angelus novus* propose un'efficace allegoria della condizione dello storico.
Da quando il gruppo di Venezia si rafforzò con l'aumento del numero degli studenti effettivi, da quando cominciò a *far scuola*, altri modelli di riferimento emersero, che non sostituirono i primi, ma in certo qual modo vi si affiancarono. Fu questo in particolare il caso di Michel Foucault, modello tanto più accessibile in quanto alla

3. Copertina di M. Tafuri, Teorie e storia dell'architettura, *Laterza, Bari 1968.*
4. Copertina di J. Joedicke, Geschichte der modernen Architektur, *Hatje, Stoccarda 1958.*

3. Cover of M. Tafuri, Teorie e storia dell'architettura, *Laterza, Bari 1968.*
4. Cover of J. Joedicke, Geschichte der modernen Architektur, *Hatje, Stuttgart 1958.*

a certain sense one of enthrallment, was the pursuit of new models of reference, with which architects who practiced history would want to identify. Models that were no longer those of the architect-prophet or the scathing critic, but those of the historian, the art historian, the critic or the subversive intellectual, whose aim was no longer that of an edifying illustration of a doctrinal position, but the systematic construction of doubt and critical distance. If we examine the iter *of Manfredo Tafuri, it is clear that the figure of Giulio Carlo Argan offered him a model of reference for many years in the first phase, in Rome, of his activity, in which we can also see the profile in negative of Bruno Zevi. But Tafuri's development of a new approach toward the relations between historical and critical discourse, on the one hand, and architecture, on the other, was guided by the position of two other intellectuals. First of all Roland Barthes, whose "new critique" was at the center of rather violent debate at the time in France, and also as a reaction in Italy, as revealed in the* pamphlet *by Raymond Picard* Nouvelle critique ou nouvelle imposture *(1965). In the battle waged by Barthes against the right wing and the left wing of French academic thought, Tafuri saw a sort of compendium of the battle he had decided to undertake against the dominant thinking in Italy. Moreover, in the analyses of Barthes Tafuri identified a nucleus of positions that could be transferred to architecture, especially when Barthes refused, as in* Critique et vérité *(1966), to accept the idea that the aim of the science of literature is to* "impose a sense on the work"*. In the reflection developed by Tafuri beginning with the essays of Walter Benjamin when the whole of the fragments of the* Passagenwerk *was unknown, and would remain so for many years, he identified himself with the figure of the marginal intellectual critic, ready to reveal the political sense of artistic processes, without prophesizing an aesthetic of their content. In the entire Venetian circle, the figure of the* Angelus novus *provided an effective allegory for the condition of the historian. When the Venice group was reinforced by the increase in the number of students, when it began to been seen as a "school of thought", other reference models appeared, not as replacements for their predecessors, but as additions. In particular, there is the case of Michel Foucault, a much more accessible model, since in the mid-Seventies Foucault himself made an effort to approach the world of architecture, through his relations with the group of Bruno Fortier, the best expression of which is found in* Les

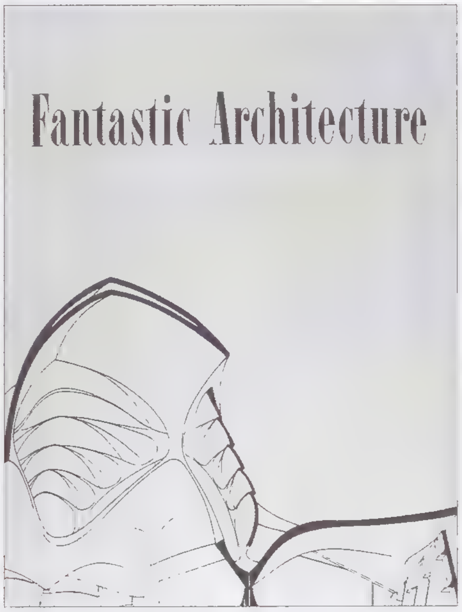


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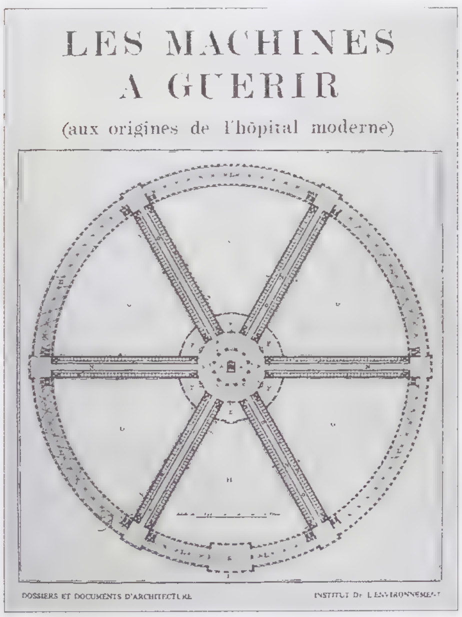


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5. Copertina di U. Conrads, H.G. Sperlich, Fantastic Architecture, *The Architectural Press, Londra 1963.*
6. Copertina di M. Foucault, B. Barret Kriegel, A. Thalamy, F. Beguin, B. Fortier, Les machines à guérir, *Institut de l'environnement, Parigi 1976.*



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metà degli anni Settanta lo stesso Foucault fece lo sforzo di avvicinarsi al mondo dell'architettura attraverso i rapporti con il gruppo di Bruno Fortier, la cui migliore espressione furono *Les machines à guérir* (1976). Il riferimento a Foucault aveva il vantaggio di portare verso una posizione politica radicale, che sfuggiva però ai condizionamenti del marxismo, tanto quello storicista di Antonio Gramsci quanto quello radicale di Mario Tronti e della sinistra italiana.
Ma la questione dei modelli di riferimento si complicò e cambiò direzione con il succedersi delle generazioni, e Manfredo Tafuri diventò a sua volta un modello per i colleghi che aveva coinvolto nella trasformazione dell'Istituto, poi del Dipartimento, di Storia dell'architettura. La sua scelta di accostarsi alla pratica professionale per poi staccarsene decisamente e consacrarsi alla professionalizzazione della Storia dell'architettura servì da percorso esemplare per alcuni giovani storici che ancora esitavano fra il lavoro professionale ai primi passi e l'impegno esclusivo nel mondo della ricerca. L'impatto di questo esempio superò di molto i confini italiani e arrivò fino in Nord e Sudamerica e in Giappone – e in fondo non si è ancora manifestato in tutta la sua ampiezza.
Se il "progetto storico" di Venezia fu così coinvolgente, ciò in fondo fu dovuto al fatto che nella sua critica della storia "operativa" – pratica militante dei proseliti del Moderno – esso proponeva un'altra pratica militante, capace di assorbire le energie di una generazione estremamente politicizzata. Si nota in effetti una ritrovata dimensione militante nell'energia con la quale, a partire dall'inizio degli anni Settanta, i giovani storici europei si impegnarono a mettere in discussione le teorie precedenti, come se si trattasse di una nuova "causa". Questa rimessa in discussione passò per una serie di capovolgimenti concettuali che toccarono tutta la storia dell'architettura e che scalzarono i fondamenti delle storie fino a quel momento considerate canoniche.
Il primo di essi toccò la storia dei movimenti architettonici del Ventesimo secolo, contestando l'immagine wölffliniana dello sviluppo ciclico degli "stili" da uno stadio primitivo alla maturità. Era precisamente questo stadio primitivo, rappresentato dal Bauhaus di Weimar, dal Dada, dagli inizi del Costruttivismo e dal Purismo, che interessava gli storici emergenti, mentre nelle precedenti storie di tipo trionfalistico questi momenti iniziali e contraddittori erano stati tenuti in ben poco conto.

5. Cover of U. Conrads, H.G. Sperlich, Fantastic Architecture, *The Architectural Press, London 1963.*
6. Cover of M. Foucault, B. Barret Kriegel, A. Thalamy, F. Beguin, B. Fortier, Les machines à guérir, *Institut de l'environnement, Paris 1976.*

machines à guérir *(1976). The reference to Foucault had the advantage of leading toward a radical political position which, however, was free of the conditionings of Marxism, from the historicist one of Antonio Gramsci to the radical one of Mario Tronti and the Italian left.*
But the question of models of reference becomes more complicated and changes direction with the passing of generations, and Manfredo Tafuri, in turn, became a model for the colleagues he involved in the transformation of the Institute, and later the Department, of Architectural history. His decision to approach professional practice, and then to retreat decisively away from it, focusing on the professionalization of the figure of the architectural historian, served as an example for certain younger historians who were still wavering between their first steps in the world of architectural practice and an exclusive commitment to the world of research. The impact of this example went far beyond the borders of Italy, reaching North and South America and Japan – and its effects have not yet been exhausted.
If the "historical project" of Venice was so intriguing, this was due, in the end, to the fact that in its critique of "operative" history – the militant practice of the proselytes of the Modern – it was proposing another militant practice, capable of engaging the energies of an extremely politicized generation. And we can notice, in effect, a rediscovered militant dimension in the energy with which, from the early Seventies on, the young European historians got involved in discussing and questioning earlier theories, as if they were involved in a new "cause". This questioning passed through a series of conceptual reversals that touched on the entire history of architecture and undermined the foundations of the histories previously considered canonical. The first reversal involved the history of the architectural movements of the 20th century, challenging the Wölfflinian concept of the cyclical development of "styles" from a primitive stage to maturity. It was precisely this primitive stage, represented by the Bauhaus of Weimar, by Dada, by the early phases of Constructivism and Purism, that interested the emerging young historians, while in the earlier histories, of a triumphalistic nature, these initial, contradictory moments were seldom taken into account.
More generally – and here Foucault is undoubtedly the most evident point of reference – the history of the "conquests" of the Moderns was replaced by operations of genealogical research, aimed at identifying the lines of connection between the architecture of the 18th and 19th centuries and contemporary issues. Thus, behind the figure of Mies van der Rohe that of Behrens appeared, and behind Behrens that of Schinkel; behind Le Corbusier, on the one hand, the continuity of French rationalism, and on the other the importance of the German experiences; and behind Loos one could notice the full breadth of the proposals of Otto Wagner.
Among the many inversions that were effected at the time there was also that of the center and the periphery, in both concrete and metaphorical terms. In the Seventies many analyses focused on the banlieues *of the large cities – the places of encounter between policies of social reform and architectural invention – as the true crux of European modernity. At the same time movements and experiences that had been seen as marginal or counterproductive in the saga of the Modern Movement, as it had previously been narrated, took on a central role. This was the case of Hannes Meyer, who did not appear in the official history of the Bauhaus, of Heinrich Tessenow and, in general, of all the architects who had operated on the outskirts of the Modern, on the borderline with tradition.*
The new history that thus emerged was not reduced to a sort of ideological rebuttal. Instead, it fed on a system of facts constructed through the careful, in-depth examination of buildings and archives. This was another inversion, a tendency to look more closely at the "losers" rather than the "winners" as defined by the official history. In this situation the Freudian figure of the counter-transfer, *the symmetrical phenomenon to that of the* transfer *between the analyst (in this case the historian) and the patient (the architect or architects under consideration) is enlightening. All this took place as if the purpose were to rehabilitate, in the view of history, architects who had been unjustly "condemned", and therefore deserved affection and attention: the examinations for this "retrial" demanded noteworthy sacrifice on the part of the historians, to put together the documentation to support their theses.*
The upsetting of the hierarchies and proposal of new historical lineages involved, in the Seventies, work that was unprecedented, unlike anything the "militant" historians of earlier decades had ever undertaken. Not only was it necessary to reveal new images; above all a foundation had to be provided for the subversive interpretations proposed, based on rigorous historical documentation. Research in archives became necessary.

Più generalmente – e qui Foucault è senza dubbio il riferimento più evidente – la storia delle "conquiste" dei Moderni venne sostituita da operazioni di ricerca genealogica, che miravano a individuare le linee di collegamento fra l'architettura dei secoli Diciottesimo e Diciannovesimo e le problematiche contemporanee. Così, dietro la figura di Mies van der Rohe si disegnava quella di Behrens e più ancora quella di Schinkel; dietro Le Corbusier si delineavano da un lato la continuità del razionalismo francese e dall'altro l'importanza delle esperienze tedesche; e dietro Loos si coglieva l'ampiezza delle proposte di Otto Wagner.

Fra le molte inversioni che allora vennero portate avanti figurava anche quella del centro e della periferia, sia in modo concreto che in modo metaforico. Negli anni Settanta fiorirono infatti le analisi che vedevano nelle periferie delle grandi città – là dove si incontravano le politiche di riforma sociale e l'invenzione architettonica – il vero nocciolo della modernità europea.

Contemporaneamente, movimenti ed esperienze considerati marginali o controproducenti nella saga del Movimento Moderno, come era stata fino ad allora raccontata, acquisirono un ruolo centrale. Fu il caso di Hannes Meyer, che non compariva nella storia ufficiale del Bauhaus, di Heinrich Tessenow e, in genere, di tutti gli architetti che avevano operato ai margini del Moderno e ai confini della tradizione.

La nuova storia che così emerse non si riduceva a una specie di contro-affermazione ideologica. Si alimentava invece di un insieme di fatti, costruiti partendo dall'esame minuzioso e approfondito degli edifici e degli archivi.

Fu questo un altro capovolgimento che tendeva a guardare più ai "vinti" che ai "vincitori" della storia ufficiale. A tale proposito è illuminante la figura freudiana del *controtransfert*, fenomeno simmetrico alla relazione di *transfert* fra analista (in questo caso lo storico) e analizzando (l'architetto o gli architetti considerati). Tutto avveniva come se si trattasse di riabilitare agli occhi della storia architetti ingiustamente "condannati", e dunque per ciò stesso degni d'affetto e d'attenzione: e l'istruzione di questo processo richiese agli storici considerevoli sacrifici per mettere insieme la documentazione a sostegno delle loro tesi.

Sconvolgere le gerarchie e proporre nuove linee storiche comportò, negli anni Settanta, un lavoro senza paragoni con quello effettuato dagli storici "militanti" dei decenni precedenti. Si doveva non soltanto far emergere nuove immagini, ma soprattutto dare fondamento, attraverso una documentazione storica rigorosa, alle interpretazioni sovversive proposte. La consultazione degli archivi diventò una necessità. Fu questa nuova esigenza a portare all'apertura di numerosi fondi o fu la nuova disponibilità a far sì che i ricercatori non si accontentassero più delle fonti stampate? In ogni caso, nacque un altro modo di fare la storia, basato non sull'uso dei disegni pubblicati, ma sul confronto delle varianti restate segrete e dei pentimenti, per scoprire i veri salti concettuali nelle strategie di progetto. Questa storia ricusò anche le agiografie del passato, per cercare nella corrispondenza dei protagonisti quei contatti anodini e quelle relazioni private che potessero far luce sulle vicende biografiche e sulle scelte architettoniche.

Con il viaggio nelle cassettiere e negli scaffali delle numerose istituzioni che aprirono i battenti fra il 1960 e il 1980 – la Fondation Le Corbusier, il Bauhausarchiv, il gta (Geschichte und Theorie der Architektur) in seno all'ETH di Zurigo, l'NDB di Amsterdam, per citare le più importanti – prese forma di fatto un mestiere differente. Tuffarsi negli archivi ancora poco o male ordinati, in un periodo in cui la fotocopiatrice era ancora una macchina rara e costosa, imponeva quasi automaticamente altri ritmi alla ricerca. A meno di avvalersi della mano d'opera non pagata di umili assistenti, diventò impossibile praticare contemporaneamente la storia e la professione rispettando i nuovi *standard* di qualità richiesti nell'uno e nell'altro campo. I tempi lenti delle mattinate trascorse negli archivi diventarono indispensabili al lavoro storico di lungo respiro, ostacolando di fatto la specializzazione e la pratica professionale.

Alcuni fecondi terreni d'incontro sono tuttavia rimasti, sui quali i giovani storici, liberati dal fardello della professione, e i nuovi architetti, ormai esclusi dal lavoro storico di base, possono ritrovarsi. Il primo è quello delle esposizioni, il cui numero è cresciuto in misura esponenziale fra l'inizio degli anni Settanta e la fine degli anni Novanta. Terreno d'incontro per eccellenza fra ricerca e progetto, perché presuppongono la "messa in scena" di una scoperta o di una dimostrazione storica, le esposizioni vedono gli architetti appassionati di storia esercitare un ruolo nuovo, in cui le loro conoscenze sono messe a profitto: il ruolo dello scenografo. È in qualche modo nella messa in scena dei saperi che essi compensano l'esclusione semi-volontaria, e in ogni caso inevitabile, dal settore della ricerca. Basterà qui ricordare, in una visione molto

Did this new necessity lead to the creation of many new foundations and sources, or was it the availability of the materials that attracted the researchers away from exclusive reliance on printed matter? Be that as it may, a new way of "making history" was born, based not on the use of published drawings, but on the comparison with variations that had remained secret, with pentimenti, *to discover the true conceptual leaps that took place in design strategies. This history also rejected the hagiography of the past, using the correspondence of the protagonists to seek out those overlooked contacts and private relationships that can shed light on biographical events and architectonic choices.*

With the voyage through the drawers and the shelves of the many institutions that opened their doors between 1960 and 1980 – Fondation Le Corbusier, the Bauhausarchiv, the gta (Geschichte und Theorie der Architektur) at ETH in Zurich, the NDB in Amsterdam, just to name a few of the most important ones – a new professional figure emerged. Immersion in archives that were still in a state of disorder, in a period in which the photocopier was still a rare, costly machine, almost automatically imposed different rhythms for research. Unless one wanted to take advantage of the unpaid labor of humble assistants, it became impossible to practice both history and architecture while living up to the new standards required in both areas. The slow pace of long mornings spent in the archives became indispensable for historical work, preventing other types of specialization and professional practice.

*Nevertheless certain fertile zones of encounter remained, in which the young historians, freed from the burdens of architectural practice, and the new architects, now excluded from the historical research, could meet: exhibitions and conferences, from the early Seventies to the present. These were perfect zones for encounter between research and design practice, because they called for the "staging" of a discovery or a historical demonstration. These exhibitions offered a new role for architects interested in history, a role that takes advantage of their specific expertise: the role of the scenographer. In a certain sense, in this staging of knowledge, this design of installations, they compensated for the semi-voluntary, and in any case inevitable, exclusion from the world of historical research. Here it will suffice to recall, in a very ecumenical overview, the installations of Paolo Portoghesi (at the Venice Biennial, 1980), Hans Hollein (*Traum und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870-1930, *1985), Vittorio Gregotti (*L'avventura Le Corbusier, *1987) or Boris Podrecca (*Carlo Scarpa, *1984, and* Mastering the City, *1998).*

Another meeting place – with a longer tradition – is that of the architecture magazines. From this point of view Italy, once again, is an exception to the rule. Practically all the European and North American magazines recruited, beginning in the Sixties, professional journalists, historians or critics with architectural training, or intellectuals from the social sciences. Only in Italy have practicing architects continued, until today, to be directly involved in the production of publications, as if the control of a magazine were, for some, a symbol of institutional power, and for others a favored means of promoting a cultural project: and these two dimensions often mingle and combine. Just consider the activities of Gregotti ("Casabella" and "Rassegna"), De Carlo ("Spazio e Società"), Portoghesi ("Controspazio" and "Eupalino"), Nicolin ("Lotus") or Canella ("Hinterland" and "Zodiac"). There is little doubt that the shades of "Domus" and "Casabella-Continuità", the two magazines that contributed to the formation of Italian postwar architectural culture, are still lurking there in this scenario. Where the question of history is concerned, we can state that the practice of publishing or directing a magazine favors the reconstruction of a relationship between architects and researchers. Being the editor of a magazine makes it possible to hand out assignments, or to promote works that interest the editorial staff, and therefore to a certain extent to shape the scientific panorama; it is similar to being the Dean of a department in a university.

One of the decisive and essential aspects of the alternative historical strategies of the second half of the Sixties was politics. Therefore the new interpretation of the most important episodes of 20th century architecture was political. The narration of the events during which "progressive" urban policy and avant-garde architecture came together, and the celebration of the affinities between radical politics and radical architecture produced a history of architecture that justifiably rejected any isolation of the sphere of design practice from that of class conflict or political challenges, although all too often this has led to discussion that is so sectarian that it becomes unproductive.

Another aspect of the politicization of historical studies was a sort of morbid pursuit of affinities between the

ecumenica, le scenografie di Paolo Portoghesi (alla Biennale di Venezia, 1980), di Hans Hollein (*Traum und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870-1930*, 1985), di Vittorio Gregotti (*L'avventura Le Corbusier*, 1987) o di Boris Podrecca (*Carlo Scarpa*, 1984, e *Mastering the City*, 1998).
Un altro terreno d'incontro – più antico – è quello delle riviste di architettura. Da questo punto di vista l'Italia fa ancora una volta eccezione. Praticamente tutte le riviste europee e nordamericane si dotarono, a partire dagli anni Sessanta, di redattori professionisti, storici o critici aventi una formazione architettonica, giornalisti di professione o intellettuali provenienti dalle scienze sociali. Soltanto in Italia l'impegno diretto dei professionisti perdura fino a oggi, come se il controllo di una rivista fosse, per alcuni, il simbolo del potere istituzionale e, per altri, il veicolo privilegiato di un progetto culturale: e le due dimensioni in qualche caso si cumulano. Basterà ricordare l'azione condotta da Gregotti ("Casabella" e "Rassegna"), De Carlo ("Spazio e Società"), Portoghesi ("Controspazio" e "Eupalino"), Nicolin ("Lotus") o Canella ("Hinterland" e "Zodiac"). Senza dubbio il fantasma di "Domus" e di "Casabella-Continuità", le due riviste che formarono la cultura architettonica italiana del Dopoguerra, aleggia ancora su questo scenario. Per quanto riguarda la questione della storia – che ci interessa in questa sede –, si può dire che la pratica della direzione di una rivista favorisce la ricostruzione di un rapporto fra architetti e ricerca. Dirigere una rivista consente di dare incarichi o di promuovere i lavori ai quali la redazione si sente prossima, e quindi in qualche modo di plasmare il panorama scientifico, allo stesso modo che dirigendo un Dipartimento universitario.
Uno degli aspetti determinanti ed essenziali delle strategie storiche alternative della seconda metà degli anni Sessanta fu la politica. La nuova lettura dei momenti più importanti della storia dell'architettura del Ventesimo secolo è stata quindi politica. La narrazione degli episodi nel corso dei quali la politica urbana "progressista" e l'avanguardia architettonica si erano incontrate e la celebrazione della convergenza fra radicalismo politico e radicalismo architettonico produssero una storia dell'architettura che rifiutava giustamente di isolare la sfera del progetto da quella dei conflitti di classe e delle sfide politiche, al prezzo talvolta di un discorso allineato al punto da diventare improduttivo.
Un altro aspetto della politicizzazione degli studi storici fu una sorta di ricerca morbosa delle affinità fra gli eroi dell'architettura moderna e i totalitarismi. Essa scaturiva non tanto dal desiderio di incrinare la figura di Le Corbusier per il suo coinvolgimento con il Governo di Vichy, o quella di Mies per le sue illusioni sul Nazismo, o quella di Terragni per le sue speranze sul Fascismo – atteggiamenti tutti peraltro pagati a caro prezzo dai protagonisti – quanto dalla volontà di denunciare indirettamente la deliberata *naïveté* delle storie precedenti, che avevano censurato questi episodi dolorosi.
Ma, fra l'inizio degli anni Sessanta – con la resistenza degli studenti francesi contro la guerra in Algeria – e l'inizio degli anni Ottanta, il rapporto con la politica fu anche un rapporto diretto, allorché l'impegno nei conflitti del mondo reale sollecitò architetti e storici. In parte, e in ogni caso in Italia e in Francia, la pratica della storia servì da alternativa alla confusione dei rapporti fra professione e politica che poteva nascere nel caso di incarichi lavorativi affidati da collettività municipali di sinistra.
Si poteva così raggiungere una doppia "purezza", sfuggendo al tempo stesso alla contaminazione della ricerca derivante dalle esigenze della professione e alla corruzione delle ideologie originata dalla gestione di situazioni pratiche.
I termini del dibattito sono radicalmente cambiati da allora, e non soltanto per ciò che riguarda il rapporto con la politica, diventato meno innocente e più reticente.
I trent'anni trascorsi hanno visto una crescita straordinaria del numero delle esposizioni, dei lavori di erudizione, degli articoli e dei libri. La pratica della storia dell'architettura ha cessato di essere marginale ed è incoraggiata nell'ambito accademico, ma anche in quello delle collettività territoriali, sempre più attente al loro patrimonio, e in quello delle istituzioni culturali di tutta Europa.
Per restare nel campo dell'insegnamento superiore, mentre i Dipartimenti di Storia dell'arte sono cambiati relativamente poco, le Scuole di architettura, tradizionalmente più instabili, hanno conosciuto mutamenti radicali che tengono conto e incoraggiano la professionalizzazione degli storici. Così le nuove procedure di reclutamento hanno favorito l'apparire di due tipi di docenti: i professionisti, legittimati dalla loro pratica, e gli intellettuali, la cui qualificazione si misura sui lavori scientifici. Da trent'anni a questa parte il rapporto fra questi due gruppi si è evoluto nell'insieme verso il secondo tipo, ma il fatto nuovo è il numero crescente di docenti che appartengono ai due mondi: un numero sempre maggiore di architetti ha infatti una

7. 8. Hans Hollein, allestimento della mostra "Traum und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870-1930", Künstlerhaus, Vienna, 1985.
9. La "Strada Novissima" alla mostra "La presenza del passato", Biennale di Venezia, 1980.

7. 8. Hans Hollein, "Traum und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870-1930" exhibition layouts, Künstlerhaus, Vienna, 1985.
9. The "Strada Novissima" at the "La presenza del passato" exhibition, Venice Biennial, 1980.

heroes of modern architecture and the tyrants of totalitarianism. This stemmed not so much from the desire to discredit the figure of Le Corbusier for his involvement with the Vichy regime, or that of Mies for his illusions of Nazism, or that of Terragni for his expectations toward Fascism – stances that were all paid for, and dearly, by those protagonists – as from an intention to indirectly denounce the deliberate naïveté *of earlier histories, that had censured these disturbing episodes.*
But between the early Sixties – with the protest of the French students against the war in Algeria – and the beginning of the Eighties, the relationship with politics was also a direct one, because commitment in the conflicts of the real world included the direct participation of architects and historians as well. To a certain extent, at least in Italy and France, the practice of history became an alternative to the confused compromises involved in professional practice, in situations of commissions from public administrations, including those on the left. By seeking refuge in the role of the historian one could achieve a sort of double "purity", escaping at one and the same time both the contamination of research based on the needs of professional practice, and the corruption of ideologies caused by the need to confront practical situations.
Since then the terms of the debate have been radically altered, and not only where the relationship with politics is concerned, a relationship that has become less innocent and more reticent. Over the course of thirty years we have seen an extraordinary expansion of the number of exhibitions, of scholarly works, articles, books. The practice of architectural history is no longer a marginal field, and it is encouraged not only in the academic world, but also in the sphere of territorial communities, thanks to an increasing awareness of the importance of their heritage, and in the cultural institutions all over Europe. In the area of higher education, while the Art History Departments have not changed very much, the Architecture Schools – traditionally less stable – have changed radically, acknowledging and encouraging the professionalization of historians. The new hiring procedures have favored the arrival of two types of professors: the professionals, successful in their practice, and the intellectuals, whose qualifications are based on their research and writings. Over the last thirty years the relationship between these two groups has evolved, as a whole, in the direction of the latter, but what is new about





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doppia formazione. In questo processo di trasformazione si può rilevare un aumento notevole delle specializzazioni accademiche, un tempo eccezionali. Esse sono diventate lo sfondo di base della ricerca storica, dell'elaborazione e della trasmissione dei metodi e delle culture scientifiche. Si è dunque creato uno spazio professionale autonomo, che ha i suoi modi di reclutamento, di promozione, di riconoscimento, e i suoi sbocchi. La sua separazione dal mondo della progettazione non è totale, e il rapporto fra i due mondi si deve misurare sul tempo lungo: un periodo dedicato alla ricerca può essere seguito da un eguale periodo dedicato al lavoro pratico di progettazione.
Il fenomeno della professionalizzazione degli storici, le cui provenienze continuano a essere varie e diverse – dalla storia *tout court* alla storia dell'arte, passando per le formazioni specifiche nel campo della storia dell'architettura –, è nel suo insieme ricco di promesse, anche se non è esente dal rischio dell'accademismo. Sarebbe increscioso che si imponesse il modello della storia dell'arte, fondato su una divisione sempre più minuta del territorio, su un'attenzione a "maestri" sempre più piccoli e in generale sul culto mutilante della monografia. Una minaccia temibile è inoltre la tentazione di sbarazzarsi delle opere o di liquidarle rapidamente a favore di una teorizzazione che si ritrae da ogni possibile "contaminazione" derivante dal compromettente impegno con l'architettura costruita.
Ciò che abbiamo sommariamente delineato è in definitiva un processo di ricostruzione di quello che si potrebbe chiamare "l'architetto collettivo". Le carte sono state ridistribuite in un gioco più allargato e la regolazione dei rapporti fra storia e pratica avviene ormai su terreni dilatati. La professionalizzazione parallela dei progettisti e degli storici, nel quadro di un'esplosione delle problematiche architettoniche e di una frammentazione dei discorsi intellettuali, rende più complessa la comunicazione e la costruzione di strategie comuni ai due gruppi. Ciò non significa che queste non esistano: ogni subcultura, poco o tanto strutturata sulla scena architettonica, si appoggia a uno o più storici che non propongono necessariamente una nuova storia operativa – anche se questa posizione sembra a volte riapparire –, ma forniscono elementi di interpretazione congruenti con le posizioni dei progetti.
Dopo più di vent'anni dedicati all'acquisizione del pensiero di autori esterni al campo specifico, da Barthes a Deleuze, da Benjamin a Habermas, la questione dell'organicità degli intellettuali dell'architettura è di nuovo sul tavolo. La specializzazione farà di loro dei pappagalli che ripetono, magari anche con talento, discorsi marginali a uso degli architetti? Oppure, grazie a una ritrovata attenzione per l'invenzione architettonica contemporanea, permetterà loro di rendere quest'ultima comprensibile in tutta la sua profondità storica, senza tuttavia sacrificare una dimensione scientifica acquisita a duro prezzo e sempre rimessa in discussione?

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Traduzione dal francese di Carla Russo.

the situation is that there is now a growing number of professors who belong to both worlds: an ever increasing number of architects who have, in fact, undertaken a dual program of studies. This process of transformation involves a noteworthy increase in the various academic specializations. They have set the backdrop for historical research, the development and transmission of specific, scientific methods and cultures. An autonomous professional space has been created, with its own modes of recruitment, promotion, recognition, fulfillment. Its separation from the world of architectural practice is not total, and the relationship between these two worlds must be evaluated over the long term: a period devoted to research can be followed by a similar period devoted to design practice.

The phenomenon of the professionalization of the historians, whose background continues to be variegated – from history tout court *to art history, by way of specific studies in the field of architectural history – is full of promise, as a whole, although there is always the risk of excessive academicism. It would be a shame were the model of art history to get the upper hand, based on an increasingly minute subdivision of the territory, on an attention to less and less important "masters", and the mutilating cult of the monograph. Another fearsome threat is the temptation to overlook the works themselves, or to rapidly liquidate them in favor of theorizing that retreats from any possible "contamination" derived from the compromising commitment to built architecture.*

What we have sketchily outlined here is, definitively, a process of reconstruction of what might be called the "collective architect". The cards have been redealt in a game involving more players, and the rules of the relationship between history and practice are looser. The parallel professionalization of the designers and the historians, in the context of an explosion of the problematic issues of architecture and a fragmentation of intellectual discourse, makes communication and the construction of shared strategies between the two groups more complex. This doesn't mean that such strategies do not exist: every more or less well-structured subculture on the architectural scene relies on one or more historians who are not necessarily proposing a new operative history – although this position does seem to resurface, from time to time – but furnishing elements of interpretation in keeping with the positions of the designs.

After more than twenty years devoted to the acquisition of the thoughts of authors extraneous to the specific field, from Barthes to Deleuze, from Benjamin to Habermas, the question of the "organicity" of the intellectuals of architecture is back in on the agenda. Will specialization make them into parrots who repeat, in case even with talent, marginal discourses for the use of architects? Or, thanks to a renewed attention with respect to contemporary architectural invention, will it permit them to make this invention comprehensible, with all of its historical background, without sacrificing the scientific dimension that has been achieved with such difficulty, and is still constantly challenged?

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Pratiche teoriche, pratiche storiche, pratiche architettoniche

Ignasi de Solà-Morales

1. L'architettura moderna si è venuta articolando su un duplice fondamento: da un lato la razionalità della tecnica, dall'altro i sentimenti e le emozioni dell'architetto come interprete dei desideri e delle speranze della società.
Gli imperativi della razionalità tecnica – efficienza, mediazione fra bisogni e risorse, analisi di questi bisogni e individuazione delle possibilità materiali di dare ad essi risposta – non erano disgiunti dalla consapevolezza, in misura maggiore o minore, che l'architettura in quanto arte a pieno titolo dovesse essere espressione dello spirito del tempo, manifestazione di aspirazioni e obiettivi di giustizia, eguaglianza e solidarietà, così come ricerca di una felice armonia tra vita del singolo e vita della collettività nelle agglomerazioni sociali costituite dalle città.
In Le Corbusier, in Gropius, in Mies van der Rohe o in Mendelsohn, per citare solo alcuni dei nomi più rappresentativi, la legittimità dell'architettura si fondava su criteri più ampi, sia di razionalità tecnica che di espressività psicologica.
La teoria dell'architettura adottava referenti e paradigmi derivati dalla teoria sociale, lasciando la storia su un piano molto più secondario, benché il riferimento storico non cessasse di essere tenuto presente a sostegno del discorso tecnico e psicologico.
La teoria abbandonava ogni intento di sistematicità per dedicarsi, al contrario, all'approfondimento di problemi specifici come l'igiene, i trasporti, l'uso del suolo, l'efficienza a tutti i livelli nella costruzione della città.
La preoccupazione per l'efficienza e il desiderio di cambiamento verso una società più giusta e felice erano giustificati da teorie estetiche il cui fondamento nella psicologia della forma o nella simpatia simbolica variava da caso a caso e a ogni nuovo tentativo di stabilire criteri o ragioni generali.
Ma, da questa nuova impostazione, derivarono altri cambiamenti. Con lo sviluppo di quella che noi chiamiamo convenzionalmente architettura moderna sparì la Trattatistica – cioè il tentativo di organizzare in forma sistematica tutta la serie dei principi generali e delle conoscenze sui quali la pratica dell'architettura doveva trovare fondamento – e il suo posto fu preso da studi parziali, manifesti, narrazioni storiche di portata circoscritta, grazie ai quali si stabilì la legittimazione della nuova architettura.
Riguardo al ruolo della storia come fondamento della

Theoretical practices, historical practices, architectural practices
Ignasi de Solà-Morales

1. *Modern architecture is articulated on the basis of the paradigm of technical rationality, on the one hand, and the expression of the feelings and emotions of the architect as interpreter of the desires and aspirations of society, on the other.*
Criteria of technical rationality based on efficiency, the matching of needs and resources, the analytical understanding of these needs, and advances in the material possibilities of responding to them, have been accompanied to a greater or lesser degree by the demand that architecture, like art in all its dimensions, should be an expression of the spirit of the time, a manifestation of the desire for and the attempt to achieve justice, equality and solidarity, as well as the pursuit of a happy harmony between individual and collective life in the social agglomerations constituted by our cities.
In Le Corbusier, Gropius, Mies van der Rohe or Mendelsohn, to cite only a few highly representative names, the legitimacy of their architectonic discourse was founded on broader criteria, be they of technical rationality or psychological expressiveness.
The theory of architecture adopted referents and paradigms borrowed from social theory, and history was relegated to a far more secondary plane, although it did not cease to be present as a specialized account which reinforced the technical and psychological discourse.
The theory was constructed by abandoning any kind of systematic intention and developing, instead, specialized discourses in relation to issues of hygiene, transport, efficient use of space, efficacy at the different levels of construction of the city. At the same time, the concern with the expression of this efficacy or of the desire to move towards a happier and more just society were legitimated by aesthetic theories whose grounding in the psychology of form or in symbolic sympathy varied from case to case and with each new attempt to establish general reasons or criteria.
But other changes are due to this approach. The development of what we conventionally refer to as modern architecture was marked by the disappearance of the Treatise: that is to say, the abandoning of any attempt to organize and set forth in an ordered form the whole series of principles and perceptions on which the practice of architecture was to be grounded, while in its place there appeared partial discourses, studies, manifestos, historical narrations of limited scope, thanks to which the legitimization of the new architecture was established.
In relation to the role of history as the grounding of theoretical principles, it is important to stress the fact that either a history of architecture survives within the history of the arts as this has been structured by the great historiography of the change of century or, alternatively, the limited histories of construction of the house and the city with new technologies and materials come to constitute a complementary discourse for the legitimization of the origins and the rationality of the techniques or processes that are to be developed in the present. The histories of Viollet-le-Duc and Muthesius, but also those of Adolf Platz or Ludwig Hilberseimer, were evidently instrumental histories: approximations to phenomena of the past with which, literally, to illuminate the present, or stories with which to explain languages and techniques in terms of their origins.
But the limited histories not only had a function as support or underpinning; in the hands of the more ambitious authors they were always an instrument for legitimating the present on the basis of a narration oriented teleologically from the past up to the present. Giedion, Pevsner, Zevi, Benevolo and many others constructed stories, all of them coinciding in the same assertion: that the process initiated in the baroque, in the industrial revolution or in the artistic avant-gardes was that of the progressive dawning of the definitive truth, the dawn of a new civilization, sensibility, art, architecture, etc., which had come to plenitude in the present. If history was an instrument linked to the new theory of architecture, the relationship was to be one of providing credibility and certitude with respect to the veracity and suitability of the psychologico-technical principles on which present architectural activity is constructed. More than providing principles, what the history of architecture contributed was to make more plausible what the theories were already proposing.

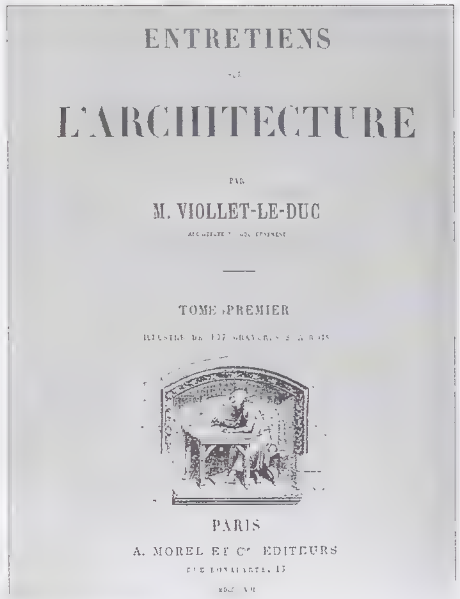
2. *In a manuscript text by Colin Rowe, from 1958, which seems to be the script for a BBC radio review of Henry-Russell Hitchcock's book* Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, *the then Cambridge professor says the following:* "The Modern architect, we might suspect, is accustomed to receive from the historian a thrill somewhat equivalent to that which the Victorian reader of novels was accustomed to receive from the contemporary novelist. He is accustomed in other words to expect a happy ending. Plots and subplots are to be

teoria, è importante ricordare che o una storia dell'architettura sopravvive nell'ambito della storia delle arti, così come questa è stata strutturata dalla grande storiografia dell'inizio del secolo, oppure le storie parziali che riguardano la costruzione della casa e delle città con nuove tecnologie e nuovi materiali servono semplicemente a illustrare le origini e la razionalità delle tecniche e dei processi che devono essere sviluppati nel presente. Le storie di Viollet-le-Duc e di Muthesius, ma anche quelle di Adolf Platz o di Ludwig Hilberseimer, erano evidentemente storie strumentali, approssimazioni a fenomeni del passato con cui illuminare il presente, oppure storie con le quali spiegare l'origine di certi linguaggi e di certe tecniche.
Ma le storie parziali non hanno avuto soltanto una funzione di supporto: per gli autori più ambiziosi sono state anche strumenti di legittimazione del presente a partire da una narrazione orientata teleologicamente dall'ieri all'oggi.
Giedion, Pevsner, Zevi, Benevolo e molti altri hanno costruito storie che coincidevano tutte su un medesimo assunto: che, cioè, il processo iniziato con il Barocco e continuato con la Rivoluzione industriale o con le Avanguardie artistiche fosse il processo del progressivo svelamento di una verità definitiva, l'aurora di una nuova civiltà, di una nuova sensibilità, di una nuova arte, di una nuova architettura, e così via, che giungeva al culmine nel presente. Se la storia era uno strumento della nuova teoria dell'architettura, la relazione tra l'una e l'altra doveva apportare attendibilità e certezza ai principi psicologico-tecnici sui quali si basava l'attività architettonica presente. Più che fornire principi, la storia dell'architettura doveva contribuire a rendere più plausibile ciò che le teorie venivano proponendo.

2. In un testo manoscritto del 1958, che probabilmente servì da base per una trasmissione radiofonica della BBC sul libro di Henry-Russell Hitchcock *Architecture. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Colin Rowe, allora docente a Cambridge, affermava quanto segue: "*Viene il sospetto che l'architetto moderno sia abituato a ricevere dallo storico un'emozione in qualche modo paragonabile a quella che il lettore di romanzi dell'epoca vittoriana riceveva dagli autori suoi contemporanei. In altre parole, che sia abituato ad aspettarsi il lieto fine. I conflitti devono essere risolti, le punizioni assegnate, i premi elargiti, mentre per l'eroe e per l'eroina (l'ingegneria e l'architettura? oppure l'architettura e la sociologia?), provati da dure esperienze, si schiude una lunga vita feconda e felice. È giusto introdurre in una discussione sull'architettura una visione teologica e parlare dell'escatologia dell'Architettura Moderna? O sarebbe più semplice pensare che le storie dell'architettura dalla rivoluzione industriale a oggi siano state formulate partendo dall'ipotesi che il presente è il fine della storia?*" (Recensione di *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* di Henry Russell Hitchcock, in Colin Rowe, *As I Was Saying. Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays*, volume I, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1996).
Questa lunga citazione, evidentemente critica nei confronti della storiografia del Movimento Moderno e della sua tendenza legittimatoria precostituita, mi sembra definire molto chiaramente quello che intorno agli anni Sessanta sarà il mutamento del paradigma teorico dell'architettura.
Negli anni Cinquanta il modello tecnologico-psicologico era in molti campi entrato in crisi. In nome della fenomenologia, dell'umanesimo, dell'antropologia e della critica storica, assistemmo allo smantellamento dell'edificio razionale-tecnico-sociale che strutturava la cosiddetta architettura moderna. Le ironiche parole di Colin Rowe non fecero altro che dare atto della fine di una "episteme", contro la quale si erano schierati sia il Team X che gli architetti scandinavi, sia i brasiliani che Louis Kahn.
La storia si trovò così la strada sgombra per occupare un posto centrale nella costruzione del fondamento teorico dell'architettura. Un nuovo paradigma, questa volta realmente storico, costituirà il fondamento teorico dell'architettura per altri vent'anni.
La cultura architettonica occidentale si appresterà a vivere un vero e proprio neostoricismo, con evidenti differenze rispetto a quello che viene definito storicismo ottocentesco, ma anche non pochi punti di contatto. Uno di questi, e non certo il meno importante, sarà il crearsi di un rapporto nuovo, di attenzione e di apprezzamento, con i materiali della storia: "*il passato come amico*", secondo la celebre espressione di Ernesto Nathan Rogers. Due grandi correnti si disputeranno l'egemonia. Da un lato, lo strutturalismo formalista discendente dalla grande tradizione purovisibilista dell'inizio del Ventesimo secolo; Warburg, Saxl, Panofsky, Wittkower saranno i referenti di una storiografia in cui l'eterno ritorno delle strutture formali tenderà a offrire strumenti di decodificazione del

1. Frontespizio di E. Viollet-le-Duc, Entretiens sur l'Architecture, *Morel, Parigi 1863.*

1. Title page of E. Viollet-le-Duc, Entretiens sur l'Architecture, *Morel, Paris 1863.*


ENTRETIENS

L'ARCHITECTURE

M. VIOLLET-LE-DUC

TOME PREMIER

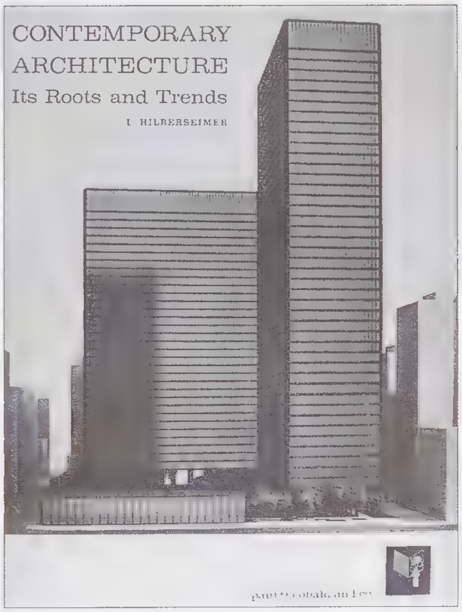
PARIS

A. MOREL ET Cie EDITEURS

resolved; punishments are to be received; rewards distributed; while the hero and heroine (could they be engineering and architecture, or are they architecture and sociology?), tried and proved by experience, are to be settled down to an extended life of infinite fecundity and unabated bliss. Is it in order in a discussion of architecture to introduce a theological concept and to speak of the eschatology of Modern architecture? Or would it be simpler to propose that histories of architectural development since the industrial revolution have usually led up to the present with the inference that the present is the end of history?" *(Review of* Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries *by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, in Colin Rowe,* As I Was Saying. Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays, *vol. I, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1996).*
This long quotation, evidently critical of the usual historiography of the Modern Movement and its predetermined legitimating destiny, seems to me to define very clearly what was to constitute, some time in the Sixties, the change in the theoretical paradigm of the architecture of that moment.
In various different spheres the technological-psychological paradigm entered into crisis in the Fifties. In the name of phenomenology, humanism, anthropology and critical history, we witnessed the dismantling of the rational-technical-social edifice which structured the so-called modern architectonic. The ironic words of Colin Rowe do no more than give formal notice of the end of an "episteme", fought against by both Team X and the Scandinavian architects, by the Brazilians and Louis Kahn.
The way was cleared for history to occupy a central place in the theoretical grounding of architecture. A new paradigm, one that was indeed historical, was to constitute the theoretical foundation of architecture for more than twenty years.
Western architectural culture threw itself into a real neo-historicism, with evident differences from what is known as 19th-century historicism but also with more than a few points of contact, one of which – and by no means the least important – would be that of establishing a new, attentive and satisfied relationship with the materials of history, "the past as a friend", *in the famous words of Ernesto Nathan Rogers.*
Two major currents struggled for hegemony over the historical discourse of architecture. On the one hand, a formalist structuralism descended from the great

2. *Copertina di L. Hilberseimer,* Contemporary Architecture. Its Roots and Trends, *Paul Theobald and co., Chicago 1964.*

2. *Cover of L. Hilberseimer,* Contemporary Architecture. Its Roots and Trends, *Paul Theobald and co., Chicago 1964.*



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presente in permanente analogia strutturale con il passato. Dall'altro lato, la "storia critica" di radice hegeliana scaturita dal neostoricismo di György Lukács e dal materialismo dialettico così come sarà sviluppato nel progetto di "storia globale" della scuola delle "Annales". Per la tradizione formalista, sia come frammento che come indizio o come residuo, l'opera dello storico chiarisce le continuità e le discontinuità del presente rispetto al passato, offrendo possibilità di interpretazione che vanno ben al di là e ben più in profondità delle apparenze evidenti. Tutta l'opera di Colin Rowe è una brillante testimonianza di questo tipo di approccio alla storia dell'architettura e anche alla storia culturale, alla ricerca di strutture più profonde, capaci di portare alla luce l'essenza dell'opera, la sua più decisiva ragion d'essere, insieme alle invarianti formali che la rendono intelligibile.
Il nuovo formalismo, con i suoi ampi echi strutturalisti, darà luogo al discorso parallelo dell'autonomia disciplinare. A differenza della consueta dipendenza della teoria architettonica dai modelli teorici delle scienze fisico-matematiche, sociali o psicologiche, e della conseguente necessità di spiegare l'architettura con strumenti interdisciplinari, in questo momento la ricerca di fondamenti storico-formali dell'architettura viene rivendicata come fatto autonomo e indipendente, come peraltro era già accaduto nel felice e brillante momento teorico dell'Eclettismo ottocentesco. L'autonomia della disciplina è una conseguenza dell'autonomia dell'analisi strutturale propugnata da questa corrente metodologica e filosofica.
Autonomia non significa che l'architettura non possa confrontarsi con altri fenomeni culturali o tecnici, né che la sua sfera d'azione non debba entrare in relazione con altri campi della realtà. Invece autonomia disciplinare significa non solo che esistono strumenti specifici dell'analisi architettonica e che questi strumenti critici possono essere oggetto di elaborazione teorica, ma anche che essi sono un punto di partenza per nuove pratiche architettoniche.
Il peso imponente delle analisi storiche di Colin Rowe nella cultura degli architetti del mondo anglosassone fino alla fine degli anni Ottanta e la componenete storica, a volte implicita e a volte esplicita, contenuta nel *corpus* teorico elaborato da Aldo Rossi aiutano a comprendere il ruolo assolutamente centrale della storia – di un certo tipo di storia, formale e strutturalista – nella teoria

pure-visual and formalist tradition of the early years of the 20th century. Warburg, Saxl, Panofsky, Wittkower would here be the referents of a historiography in which the eternal return of the formal structures would serve to put forward instruments for the decoding of the present in a permanent structural analogy with the past. On the other hand, a "critical history" with Hegelian roots, growing out of the neo-historicism of György Lukács and of dialectical materialism as this was to be developed in the "global history" project of the "Annales" school.

For the formalist tradition, be it as fragment, indicator or residuum, *the task of the historian was to reveal the continuities and discontinuities of the present with the past, putting forward possibilities of interpretation that went beyond or went deeper than those of mere surface appearances. The whole body of Colin Rowe's own work is a brilliant testimony to this kind of approach to the history of architecture and to cultural history, a search for deep structures capable of bringing to light the internal make-up of the work, its most decisive* raison d'être, *together with the formal invariables that render it intelligible.*

The new formalism with its wide-reaching structuralist resonances was to give rise to the parallel discourse of the autonomy of the discipline. In contrast to the habitual dependence of Architectural Theory on the theoretical paradigms of mathematics and the physical sciences, sociology or psychology and the resulting need to posit interdisciplinary discourses for architecture, on this occasion, as had also occurred in the rich and brilliant theoretical heyday of 19th-century Eclecticism, the historico-formal grounding of architecture was seen as autonomous, independent. The autonomy of the discipline is thus a consequence of the autonomy of the structural analysis championed by this methodological and philosophical current.

Autonomy does not mean that architecture may not compare itself with other cultural or technical phenomena, nor that its sphere of action does not enter into relation with other spheres of reality. What the autonomy of the discipline does mean is not only that there are specific instruments for the analysis of architecture and that critical instruments can be the object of theoretical elaboration, but that these will be a point of departure for new contemporary architectural practices.

The imposing weight of Colin Rowe's historical analyses within the architectural culture of the English-speaking world up to the end of the Eighties, and the historiography, at times implicit and quite often explicit, in the theoretical corpus elaborated by Aldo Rossi help us to appreciate the absolutely central position of history – of a certain kind of formal and structuralist history – between the Sixties and the Eighties, in the theoretical corpus *of architecture.*

No less decisive, first in Europe and – curiously with a décalage *of more than ten years – then in the United States, has been the siting of history at the centre of the Architectural Theory produced by Manfredo Tafuri and his collaborators from the mid Sixties on.*

The Tafurian project is that of a "critical history", a discourse constructed out of the techniques of historiography and the hypotheses of the critique of ideologies which sets up the discourse external to architectural practice as such and to its autonomous reflection as the sole legitimacy capable of explaining, discerning and, in short, evaluating architecture itself.

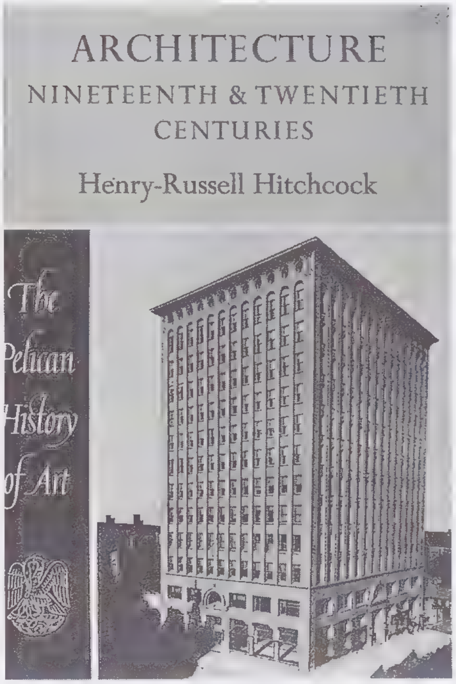
"In this light, architectural history will always seem to be the fruit of an unresolved dialectic", *Manfredo Tafuri wrote in the text* The Historical "Project", *which he published as introduction to his last great book of synthesis* La sfera e il labirinto *(Einaudi, Turin 1980; engl. transl. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1987). And he continues:* "The consideration of the interrelationship between intellectual foresight, modes of production, and modes of consumption ought to make the apparent synthesis in any given work «explode». It is precisely where this synthesis is presented as a completed whole that it is most necessary to expose the disunity, fragmentation, and «dissemination» of the work's internal unities. From these dis-aggregated components it will then be necessary to proceed to a separate analysis. Consumer relations, symbolic horizons, avant-garde hypotheses, linguistic structures, methods of restructuring production, advanced technology – all should then present themselves stripped of the ambiguity ingrained in the synthesis «demonstrated» by the work.

It is clear that no single methodology, when applied to separate components in this way, will be able to take into account the «totality» of the work. Instead, separate fields such as iconology, political economy, history of thought, of religions, of sciences, of popular traditions, will each be able to make use of individual fragments of the disassembled work. The work will have something to say for each of these disciplines. For example, by taking apart a work of Alberti, I should be able to shed light on the

dell'architettura tra gli anni Sessanta e gli anni Ottanta. Non meno decisiva, prima in Europa e poi stranamente, con uno scarto di più di dieci anni, negli Stati Uniti, è stata la collocazione della storia al centro della Teoria architettonica, così come fu proposta da Manfredo Tafuri e dai suoi collaboratori a partire dalla metà degli anni Sessanta.
Quello di Tafuri è il progetto di una "storia critica", un discorso costruito partendo dalle tecniche storiografiche e dalla critica delle ideologie imposte dall'esterno alla pratica architettonica e alla sua autonoma riflessione, e che viene considerata come l'unica possibilità legittima di spiegare, analizzare e in definitiva di valutare l'architettura.
"*A tale stregua, la storia dell'architettura apparirà sempre come frutto di una irrisolta dialettica*", scrive Manfredo Tafuri nel saggio *Il "progetto" storico* pubblicato come introduzione alla sua ultima grande opera di sintesi *La Sfera e il Labirinto* (Einaudi, Torino 1980, p. 20). E continua: "*L'intreccio fra anticipazioni intellettuali, modi di produzione e modi di consumo deve far «scoppiare» la sintesi contenuta nell'opera. Là dove questa si dà come un tutto finito, come completezza, è necessario introdurre una disgregazione, una frantumazione, una «disseminazione» delle sue unità costitutive. Di tali componenti disgregate sarà necessario procedere a un'analisi separata. Rapporti di committenza, orizzonti simbolici, ipotesi di avanguardia, strutture del linguaggio, metodi di ristrutturazione della produzione, invenzioni tecnologiche si presenteranno così denudate dell'ambiguità connaturata alla sintesi «mostrata» dall'opera.*
È chiaro, che nessuna metodologia specifica, applicata alle componenti così isolate, potrà render conto della «totalità» dell'opera. Iconologia, storia dell'economia politica, storia del pensiero, delle religioni, delle scienze, delle tradizioni popolari potranno appropriarsi separatamente dei frammenti dell'opera disgregata. Per ognuna di tali storie, l'opera avrà qualcosa da dire. Smembrando un'opera dell'Alberti, potrò illuminare i cardini dell'etica intellettuale borghese in formazione, la crisi dello storicismo umanistico, la struttura del mondo simbolico quattrocentesco, la struttura di un particolare rapporto di committenza, il consolidarsi della nuova divisione del lavoro nell'ambito della produzione edilizia. Ma nessuna di tali componenti servirà a dar ragione di quell'opera. L'atto critico consisterà in una ricomposizione dei frammenti, una volta storicizzati: nel loro «rimontaggio»".
Un primo paradosso del pensiero di Tafuri e della sua decisiva influenza sul pensiero architettonico degli ultimi trent'anni consiste nel duplice atteggiamento di distacco e di centralità. Il discorso interno della disciplina architettonica è ideologicamente contaminato.
L'architetto non è più che l'interprete, brillante o sbiadito, dell'ideologia dominante. Ma non è nella posizione di capire né di essere capito. E neppure è legittimo un uso della storia come nutrimento della pratica architettonica. Le manca il distacco: risulterebbe strumentale, "*operativa*", come Tafuri amava ripetere. Per contro, il discorso credibile, significativo, rivelatore della vera condizione dell'architettura nel presente e nel passato è il discorso della "storia critica", una pratica teorica che dalla negatività trae l'unica possibilità di un vero pensiero interpretativo. C'è una storia critica dell'architettura. Non è un'attività intellettuale isolata né uno strumento limitato esclusivamente a questa disciplina. È il discorso più onnicomprensivo di quella attività ideologica chiamata architettura e, in ultima analisi, aspira a soppiantare i tentativi di storia regionale o parziale che possano erigersi a discorso autonomo.
In Lukács – la cui influenza su Tafuri e sui suoi primi mentori come Argan, Asor Rosa o Tronti è stata fondamentale – ma anche nell'immenso lavoro di Marc Bloch, di Lucien Febvre o di Fernand Braudel, attraverso la rivista e i lavori delle "Annales", c'è qualcosa di comune: lo sviluppo di una storia fondata su basi materiali come geografia, demografia, economia, che permettono di sfociare poi nella storia delle idee, delle costruzioni ideologiche e delle formazioni sociali.
Si tratta anche di una specifica forma di strutturalismo, nel senso in cui negli scritti di Marx si trovano i termini fondamentali della distinzione fra struttura e sovrastruttura, così che il compito della storia sarebbe quello di ripercorrere il cammino all'indietro. Sgombrare il campo dai fenomeni sovrastrutturali, come le ideologie – per esempio l'architettura –, e cercare spiegazioni strutturali, fondamenti materiali per la loro interpretazione.
La storia neomarxista-tafuriana non è certamente una storia teleologica, destinata, come a volte si potrebbe supporre, a spiegare il progresso dei popoli e delle culture; al contrario, è in fondo una storia ciclica, un nietzschiano "*eterno ritorno*", per il quale la corruzione ideologica di ogni innovazione d'avanguardia si riproduce praticamente sempre con le stesse caratteristiche, in

3. Copertina di H.-R. Hitchcock, Architecture. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, *Penguin, Harmondsworth 1958.*

3. Cover of H.-R. Hitchcock, Architecture. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, *Penguin, Harmondsworth 1958.*



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foundations of bourgeois intellectual ethics in formation, on the crisis of Humanistic historicism, on the structure of the fifteenth century's world of symbols, on the structure of a particular commercial relation, and on the consolidation of the new division of labor in the building trade. But no single above component will serve to account for the whole work. The critical act will consist of the «reassembly» of the separate fragments once they have been historycized" *[english translation from "Oppositions", n. 17, summer 1979, p. 68].*

A first paradox of the thinking of Tafuri and its decisive influence on the architectural thought of the last thirty years lies in the double attitude of distancing and of central localization. The internal discourse of the architectural discipline is ideologically contaminated. The architect is no more than the interpreter, brilliant or clumsy, of this dominant ideology. But he or she is in no position either to understand or to be understood. And neither is the history that nourishes architectural practice legitimate. It lacks distance, it is instrumental, "operative", as Tafuri never tired of saying. In contrast, the discourse that is credible, consistent, revealing of the true condition of architecture in the present or in the past, is the discourse of "critical history", a theoretical practice which out of negativity assumes the one possibility of a true interpretative discourse.

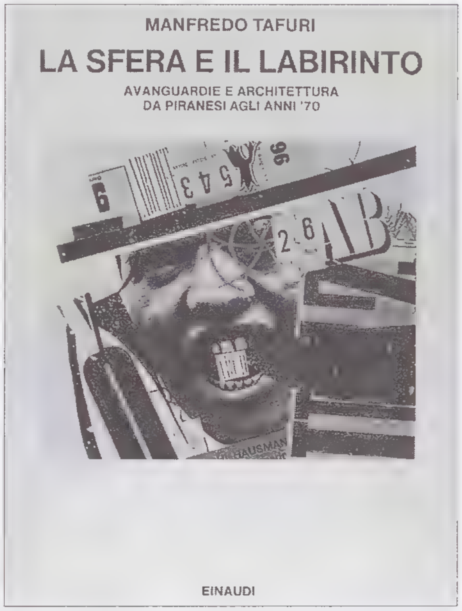
There is a critical history of architecture. This is neither an isolated intellectual activity nor an instrument pertaining exclusively to the discipline. But it is the more all-encompassing discourse of that ideological activity known as architecture and, in the last analysis, its aim is to supplant every other attempt at a regional or partial history that might constitute itself as autonomous discourse.

Both Lukács, whose influence on Tafuri and on Tafuri's early mentors such as Argan, Asor Rosa or Tronti was fundamental, and also the immense achievement of Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel in the review and the other "Annales" works, have something in common: the development of a history with its material foundations in disciplines such as geography, demography or economics, which make it possible to disembark subsequently in the history of ideas, ideological constructions and social formations.

This is also a specific form of structuralism to the extent that the writings of Marx set out the fundamental terms of the distinction between the structural and the superstructural, such that the task of history would be one

4. *Copertina di M. Tafuri,* La sfera e il labirinto, *Einaudi, Torino 1980.*

4. *Cover of M. Tafuri,* La sfera e il labirinto, *Einaudi, Turin 1980.*



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Brunelleschi come in Borromini, in Piranesi, in Le Corbusier o in Peter Eisenman. Un destino tragico, senza scampo, è alla base dell'eterna passione per gli oggetti architettonici riconosciuti come "*pura futilità*", come "*infinito intrattenimento*" (Manfredo Tafuri, cit., «*L'architecture dans le boudoir*»).

3. Ma oggi la storia è ancora il paradigma della Teoria architettonica? Che ci si ponga dalla parte della Storia o dalla parte della Teoria dell'architettura, la risposta a questa domanda sarà, chiaramente, no.
Se su un punto c'è accordo fra i pensatori contemporanei, questo è il considerare esaurito il modello esplicativo hegeliano. Sia Marx che Freud sostenevano, da ottiche diverse, che sotto i bruti fatti c'è una struttura profonda che deve essere decifrata e rivelata. Per arrivare a una conoscenza realistica delle cose bisogna andare oltre l'apparenza, l'immagine, il mondo fenomenico, bisogna immergersi in profondità, là dove è possibile scoprire la vera struttura, la vera ragione delle cose.
Almeno a partire da Foucault, sappiamo che le cose non sono altro che il punto d'incrocio delle relazioni tra di esse e che la conoscenza alla quale possiamo accedere dipende in ogni caso dalla nostra capacità di individuare il maggior numero di nessi e di relazioni che si intersecano in un evento.
Il pensiero contemporaneo parte dal disordine della realtà, dalla molteplicità e dalle differenze come dati iniziali. Da queste basi difficilmente possiamo pretendere di risalire agli inizi, o di essere in grado di ricostruire la trama originaria.
Il compito della storia oggi non è più quello delle grandi narrazioni. Come disse Paul Veyne nel suo polemico libro del 1971 [*Comment on écrit l'histoire*, trad. it. *Come si scrive la storia*, 1973], la storia viene scritta a partire dalle nostre intenzioni, dagli "*intrecci*" che guidano le nostre ricerche. Secondo questi "*intrecci*", secondo la "*cospirazione*" dei fatti che vogliamo decifrare, noi organizziamo gli strumenti, la gerarchia dei documenti che decidiamo di utilizzare e il racconto che finiremo per scrivere.
Che si tratti di storia generale o di storie parziali, sono sempre storie costruite partendo dalle ipotesi e dalla concentrazione dell'autore su un nucleo di relazioni al quale egli concede il privilegio dell'attenzione storica. C'è dunque un incremento degli elementi soggettivi, casuali, ma anche un'apertura senza preconcetti verso la

of travelling backwards down the same path. Of picking up superstructural phenomena, such as ideologies (that is to say, architecture, for example), and seeking the structural explanations for these, the material grounds for their explanation.
Neo-Marxist-Tafurian history is not, however, teleological, intended – as might perhaps be supposed – to explain the progress of peoples and cultures; on the contrary, it is ultimately a cyclical history; a Nietzschean "eternal return" in which the ideological corruption of any avant-garde innovation is reproduced with practically the same structure, whether it be in Brunelleschi, Borromini, Piranesi, Le Corbusier or Peter Eisenman. A tragic and unresolvable destiny is at the bottom of the permanent existence of a passion without limit for architectonic objects recognized as "pure futility", as "infinite distraction" (Manfredo Tafuri, cit., «L'architecture dans le Boudoir»).

3. Is history still today the paradigm of Architectural Theory? Whether we try to answer this question from the standpoint of History or from that of Architectural Theory the answer, clearly, is no.
If there is any point of agreement between contemporary thinkers it is in the exhaustion of the Hegelian model of explanation. Both Marx and Freud sustained, from their different perspectives, that underneath the brute facts there was a deep structure which it was necessary to decipher and reveal. A realistically grounded knowledge would take the trouble to go beyond the appearance, the image, the world of phenomena, and dive down into the depths in which it is possible to discover the true structures, the true reasons of things.
Since Foucault at least we have been aware that things are no more than the intersecting of their relations, and that the knowledge to which we may have access is in any case dependent on our ability to detect the maximum number of related flows which cross one another in an event.
Contemporary thought starts out from the disorder in reality, taking multiplicity and differences as its initial data. From these bases it is not easy for us to make our way back to the origins or to be capable of reconstructing the original scheme of things.
The task of history is no longer that of the great stories. As Paul Veyne declared in his polemical 1971 book [Comment on écrit l'histoire, eng. trans. Writing History, 1984], history is written on the basis of operations which depend on our own intentions, on the "plot" that guides our inquiries. Depending on the "plot", depending on the conspiracy of the facts we want to decipher, so we will organize our instruments, the hierarchy of the documents we will decide to utilize and the narrative we will end up writing.
It is not a question of their being a general history and regional histories, but that histories are always constructed from hypotheses and from a determined concentration on a nucleus of relations which are granted the privilege of historical attention.
There is an increment, then, of the subjective, random, casual elements in the story, but also an opening up, not previously determined, to the demonstrative capacity of any set of brute facts.
More than the search for new models of total explanation, what history seeks to put together are transverse routes, micro-histories, cut-outs by way of fissures not yet explored in the search for other and different meanings.
This total deregulation produces, logically, a relativizing of the stories themselves, which find themselves in open competition with other stories of an opposite or at least different nature. In these circumstances, who can expect history to be magistra vitae and fundamental ground of the architectonic discipline?
However, the conditions of theoretical thought are no less consistent. It is true that the sciences have opened the door to complexity from every point of view. In the first place the sciences accept the coexistence of different theoretical models without any need for previous protocols of falsification with respect to one another. The logic of scientific research admits progress and the acceptance of new scientific theories, above all from a pragmatic conception of their usefulness in interpreting a certain class of phenomena. Chaos theory and the Quark, to give just two scientific commonplaces that have almost become subjects for popular journalism, are not exclusive, while in many fields there is a ready acceptance of advances in knowledge based not on some new access to the nature of things but on the statistical stability of certain phenomena.
Does this mean that we are dealing with a theory without principles? In fact, quite the contrary. The apparent relaxing of theory in mathematics, physics, biology and also in the human mathematics, has a lot to do with the end of the dogmatisms, including scientific dogmatisms, and of the unitary and exclusive conception of the supposedly rational branches of knowledge. To the extent that our relational knowledge advances and, in

forza dimostrativa dei bruti fatti.
Più che dedicarsi alla ricerca di nuovi modelli che permettano una spiegazione totale, ciò che la storia tenta di mettere insieme sono dei percorsi trasversali, delle microstorie, delle sezioni attraverso vene ancora inesplorate, alla ricerca di altri e diversi significati.
Questa totale *deregulation* produce logicamente una relativizzazione delle storie, che si vengono a trovare in aperta competizione con altre storie di segno opposto o quanto meno differente. In queste circostanze, come ci si può aspettare che la storia sia *magistra vitae* e fondamento della disciplina architettonica?
Ma le condizioni del pensiero teorico non sono meno consistenti. È vero che le scienze hanno aperto la porta alla complessità. In primo luogo, esse accettano la coesistenza di differenti modelli teorici senza bisogno di preventivi criteri di falsificabilità di uno rispetto agli altri. La logica della ricerca scientifica ammette il progresso e l'accoglimento di nuove teorie partendo soprattutto da una concezione pragmatica della loro utilità per l'interpretazione di una certa classe di fenomeni. La teoria del Caos e quella dei Quark, per citare due luoghi comuni scientifici che sono quasi diventati argomenti di diffusione giornalistica, non sono esclusivistiche, e in molti campi si accetta un avanzamento delle conoscenze basato non tanto su nuove forme di accesso alla natura delle cose quanto sulla stabilità statistica di certi fenomeni. Questo significa che ci troviamo di fronte a una teoria senza principi? Tutto il contrario. L'apparente allentarsi del peso della teoria nelle scienze fisico-matematiche, biologiche e anche nelle scienze umane, ha a che fare piuttosto con la fine dei dogmatismi, compresi i dogmatismi scientifici, e della visione unitaria ed esclusiva del sapere cosiddetto razionale.
Nella misura in cui progredisce la nostra conoscenza delle relazioni tra i fenomeni – e di conseguenza nella misura in cui sia le storie che le scienze sono viste come "resoconti" diversi nell'ambito di un vero pluralismo epistemologico – sembra perdere peso l'idea che l'architettura abbia bisogno di paradigmi incontestabili per vedere garantita in modo permanente la propria identità.
In un'intervista di Michel Foucault a Gilles Deleuze, apparsa sul numero 49 della rivista "L'Arc", nel 1972, Foucault interrogava Deleuze sul suo rapporto con la politica e sull'impressione di chiusura che egli sembrava dare di fronte a certe questioni. La risposta di Deleuze è estremamente illuminante: "*So che stiamo vivendo un nuovo modo di impostare le relazioni tra Teoria e Pratica. Molto spesso in passato la pratica è stata concepita come l'applicazione della teoria, come una conseguenza; altre volte, invece, come l'ispiratrice della teoria, come la fonte creatrice della teoria a venire. In ogni caso le relazioni tra teoria e pratica venivano concepite attraverso il prisma di un processo di totalizzazione in un senso o in un altro. È possibile che, per noi, la questione debba essere posta in altro modo. Le relazioni fra teoria e pratica sono molto più parziali e frammentarie*".
"*Da un lato una teoria è sempre circoscritta, è relativa a un certo ambito, e può trovare applicazioni in un altro ambito più o meno prossimo* [...]. *La pratica è un insieme di connessioni tra un momento teorico e un altro, e la teoria è il legame tra una pratica e un'altra. Nessuna teoria può essere portata avanti senza imbattersi in una specie di muro che solo la pratica può penetrare* [...]. *Per noi l'intellettuale teorico ha cessato di essere un soggetto, una coscienza rappresentante e rappresentativa. È finito il tempo in cui coloro che agiscono e che lottano erano rappresentati da un partito o da un sindacato, pronti ad arrogarsi il diritto di essere la loro coscienza. Chi parla e chi agisce? Sono sempre una molteplicità quelli che parlano e quelli che agiscono, anche all'interno del singolo individuo. Tutti siamo tutti. Non esiste più la rappresentazione, non c'è altro che l'azione – azione teorica, azione pratica – in un insieme, in una rete di relazioni*".
Pochi paragrafi più avanti Deleuze aggiunge: "*Una teoria è esattamente come una cassa di attrezzi. Non ha nulla a che vedere con il significante. Ciò che conta è che funzioni, e che funzioni per gli altri e non per uno solo*".
Certamente queste parole sono indicative di un modo di concepire la teoria e la pratica in un'ottica ben diversa da quella che negli ultimi anni ha prodotto la insostenibile divisione tra teorici e pratici anche in architettura.
Le nostre Università e le nostre Scuole di Architettura sono piene di Dipartimenti e di Corsi di Teoria e di Storia che, mentre per se stessi rivendicano il privilegio di essere la voce che illumina la realtà e la sua coscienza critica, generano un meccanismo masochista in coloro che fanno architettura, simile alla cattiva coscienza, descritta da Marx nel suo testo sul 18 Brumaio, di "*coloro che fanno quello che sanno senza sapere che cosa fanno*".
Mentre patinate riviste di architettura e libri ricchi di illustrazioni si sforzano di presentare le opere, i fatti, le pratiche, come qualcosa di autosufficiente, che si spiega per se stesso, la cui accessibilità e intelligibilità sono immediate e il cui valore è evidente.

consequence, to the extent that both the histories and the sciences are understood as being so many different accounts within a genuine epistemological pluralism, it would seem that there is also a breaking down of the idea that architecture requires for its very survival unquestionable paradigms which serve to guarantee its identity in some permanent fashion.

In an interview between Foucault and Deleuze, published in issue 49 of the magazine "L'Arc" in 1972, Michel Foucault asked Gilles Deleuze about his relations with politics and the impression of closedness which he often gave in such matters. Deleuze's reply is extremely enlightening: "I know that we are living with a new way of setting the relations between Theory and Practice. Practice was very often thought of in the past as an application of a theory, as a consequence and, at other times, in contrast, as something which ought to inspire theory, as if it were the source of creation of a form of future theory. In any case the relations between theory and practice were conceived in terms of a process of totalization in one direction or the other. It is possible that, for us, the question should be posed in another way. The relations between theory and practice are much more partial and fragmentary".

"On the one hand a theory is always local, relating to a limited field, while it may have its application in another and more or less remote area. *[...]* Practice is a series of connections between one theoretical point and another, and theory is the link between one practice and another. No theory can be developed without coming up against a kind of wall which only practice can penetrate. *[...]* For us the theoretical intellectual has ceased to be a subject, a representing or representative consciousness. Those who act and those who fight have ceased to be represented, either by a party or a union that is willing, in its turn, to take on the right to be their consciousness. Who speaks and who acts? There are always a multiplicity of those who speak and those who act, even within the individual person. We are all all. There is no longer any representation, there is nothing but action, theoretical action, practical action within a set of relations, in networks".

A few paragraphs further on, Gilles Deleuze adds:
"A theory is exactly like a box of tools. It has nothing to do with the signifier. What matters is that it should work, that it should function, and function for others not for oneself".

Most certainly these words are an indication of a way of thinking theory and practice with a point of view quite different from that which, in the last few years, has produced the unsustainable division between theoreticians and practitioners in the realm of architecture, too.

Our Universities and Architecture Schools are full of Departments and courses devoted to theory and history which, while they claim for themselves the privilege of being the enlightening voice of reality and its critical consciousness, generate a masochistic mechanism in the people who actually make architecture, much like the unhappy consciousness, identified by Marx in his text on the 18 Brumaire, of "those who do what they know without knowing what they do".

While the glossy architecture magazines and the profusely illustrated books attempt to show the works, the facts, the practices as something self-sufficient, something which explains itself, whose accessibility and intelligibility is immediate and whose value is perfectly evident.

For years a supposedly advanced academicism has considered it to be a mark of gentility, high intellectual honesty, that the theoretician of architecture should not be contaminated with practice, in case this should sully or condition the supposed intellectual independence of the theoretician.

This situation, in which we are still living, is unacceptable even when the theory-practice schizophrenia in architecture is enriched with the extra-disciplinary contributions of those who come from other areas of knowledge.

It is useless to seek to delimit in advance the relations between theory and practice. Action without reflection is simply the putting into effect of the established ideology.

A very considerable part of the architecture that is actually constructed, and a far from negligible quantity of that which is taught, is established on the basis of clichés *that are not discussed, and on aesthetic and ethical decisions that are assumed without being submitted to any kind of revision.*

The practical action of architecture resembles an in vitro *activity, something which takes place in the interior of an atmosphere whose conditions are not modified and whose characteristics are previously determined as data which very often go unquestioned for lack of the necessary reflexive capacity. Practice thus develops within an extremely limited range of options which defines a spectrum of alternatives so restricted as to end up converting these alternatives into absolute banalities.*

Per anni un accademismo che si pretendeva avanzato ha considerato come prova di buon tono, di proba onestà intellettuale, il fatto che il teorico dell'architettura non si contaminasse con la pratica, per il caso che quest'ultima potesse offuscarne o condizionarne la supposta indipendenza intellettuale.
Questa situazione, che stiamo ancora vivendo, è inaccettabile anche quando la schizofrenia teoria-pratica sia arricchita da apporti extradisciplinari da parte di coloro che provengono da altri settori della conoscenza.
È inutile cercare di definire a priori i rapporti tra teoria e pratica. L'azione senza riflessione è semplicemente la messa in pratica dell'ideologia corrente e consolidata.
Una grandissima parte dell'architettura che si costruisce e una parte non trascurabile di quella che si insegna si basano su *cliché* che non si discutono più e su decisioni estetiche ed etiche che vengono assunte senza revisioni critiche di alcun genere.
L'azione pratica dell'architettura si può paragonare a un'attività *in vitro*, a qualcosa che avviene all'interno di un mondo le cui condizioni non si modificano e le cui caratteristiche sono predeterminate e considerate come dati: dati che molto spesso non sono messi in discussione perché mancano le capacità di riflessione.
La pratica si svolge così entro una limitatissima fascia di opzioni, che concede alternative a tal punto ristrette da diventare pure banalità.
La cosiddetta teoria, da parte sua, o si dispiega, attraverso canali accademici ed editoriali molto precisi, con finalità "decorative" (è sempre prestigioso accompagnare un servizio informativo su una costruzione con un breve testo "critico" scritto da un teorico che canta le lodi del prodotto); o, al contrario, si rinchiude in un cerchio a sé stante, sempre meno collegato alla pratica, nel quale la cosiddetta produzione teorica e storica segue leggi e orientamenti dettati dalla logica del proprio mercato "interno", volto alla produzione di testi sofisticati o di usi funambolici di opere letterarie, filosofiche e scientifiche.
L'impunità della teoria e della storia, in architettura, nasce dal fatto che esse vengono giudicate soltanto secondo i loro propri termini, all'interno del loro proprio ambito, e che ricevono ben poca attenzione da parte di chi si occupa di altre discipline come la teoria e la storia sociali, l'estetica, la filosofia, la storia politica.
Il modo in cui sono costruiti i discorsi storici e teorici ha relegato l'architettura e la sua teorizzazione in un capitolo a sé della storia dell'arte e della cultura, con una specifica terminologia, uno specifico gergo, e con referenti e metodi che spesso non sono condivisi dagli altri protagonisti delle attività intellettuali.
Questa dicotomia, questo isolamento, la produzione di discorsi a esclusivo uso interno sono i sintomi di una delimitazione artificiale dei campi del sapere e di una scarsa capacità di fecondazione e di stimolo reciproci.
Superare il dualismo teoria-pratica, elaborare un pensiero trasversale, costruire basi che consentano di guardare al presente e al passato da nuove e diverse posizioni è il compito al quale in questo momento non ci si può sottrarre.
Per raggiungere questo fine non saranno sufficienti né i giudizi sclerotici e l'autogiustificazione che la pratica dà di se stessa, né il pensiero autocompiaciuto e chiuso in sé dell'accademia teorico-storica.
Solo nuove dosi di creatività interpretativa, di capacità critica su modelli e nozioni che sono diventati ormai convenzionali, permetteranno di portare avanti un lavoro innovativo di analisi e di comprensione e di raggiungere una consapevolezza di ciò che sta accadendo, che getti luce sulle linee di lavoro, sulle strade che non conducono da nessuna parte, sui *cliché* privi di senso o, invece, sulle proposte che dimostrano una comprensione della realtà profonda, acuta e creatrice di nuovi significati.
Anche il metodo non è predeterminabile. Come il mare del Cimitero Marino di Paul Valéry, questa è un'impresa *toujours recommencée*, un progetto sempre *in progress*, una pratica senza fine.

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Traduzione dallo spagnolo di Carla Russo.

The so-called theory, meanwhile, deploys itself by way of very precise academic and editorial channels: either for decorative purposes (it is always regarded as a nice touch to accompany an informative report on a building with a short "critical" text, by some theorist who can be relied on to sing the praises of the product); or, on the contrary, the theoretical discourse locks itself in an autonomous circle, less and less related to practice, in which the so-called theoretical and historical production obeys laws and dérives *dictated by the internal market of the sophisticated production of texts, of tightrope-walking uses of literary, philosophical and scientific texts.*
The impunity of theory and history stems from the fact that it is judged only on its own terms, from within its own domain, and receives very little attention from experts in the fields of social theory and history, aesthetics, philosophy or political history.
The way in which the historical and theoretical discourses are constructed has relegated architecture and its theorizing to a separate chapter of the history of art and of culture, with its own terminology and jargon, and with referents and methods that are often not shared by other agents of intellectual activity.
This dichotomy and isolation, the production of discourses for exclusively internal use, are no more than symptoms of an artificial delimiting of territories and a poor capacity for fecundation and stimulus between one side and the other.
The bridging of the theory-practice duality, the deploying of transverse discourses, the construction of platforms from which it is possible to see the present and the past from new and different positions is the inescapable task of this moment in time.
Such an undertaking calls for more than the stagnant discourses of judgement and the self-justification that practice makes of itself; for something more than the autonomous, self-satisfied discourse of the theoretico-historical academy.
Only new doses of interpretative creativity, criticism of the models and notions that have become conventional, will make it possible to carry out an innovative task of analysis and understanding and an awareness of what is happening that can illuminate lines of work, roads that lead nowhere, clichés *devoid of sense or propositions that signify an understanding of reality that is rich, acute and creative of new meaning.*
Nor is the method fixed in advance. Like the sea of Paul Valéry's Marine Cemetery, *this is a task* toujours recommencée, *a project always in progress, an endless practice.*

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À rebours. Ovvero: la logica del cavallo di Troia
Stanislaus von Moos

Un collega americano, accademico di prestigio e curatore della più importante antologia di scritti teorici sull'architettura pubblicati dal 1968 in poi, sta preparando una serie di volumi dedicati al lavoro dei "giovani" nel campo della teoria e della critica architettonica. Tra una relazione e l'altra, durante un recente congresso, egli mi ha spiegato che saggi e manoscritti saranno selezionati e/o commissionati in base al loro grado di innovazione rispetto ai modi correnti di fare critica architettonica secondo i criteri della storia dell'arte. Questa notizia mi ha lasciato piuttosto perplesso. Innanzi tutto, lo ammetto, perché mi è suonata come "una sentenza di morte" rispetto ai miei stessi interessi in proposito, rafforzando così certi dubbi che già avevo circa i guai che può procurare una posizione che stia fra l'incudine e il martello. Come cavarsela fra Scilla e Cariddi, come evitare cioè l'imbarazzante povertà di idee propria di certi approcci tipo "storia dell'arte", senza tuttavia cadere vittima di quella crescente amnesia che caratterizza molta critica d'arte (e di architettura) di oggi? E, più in generale, come superare le differenze tematiche e terminologiche esistenti tra critica di architettura e critica d'arte?

1. Fra l'altro, tutto questo solleva una questione, anche se marginale: la questione di che cosa gli architetti – teorici e praticanti – credono che la storia e la critica d'arte si occupino. Parlando della prima metà del Ventesimo secolo, l'impatto della disciplina sulla teoria architettonica può essere dato per scontato. Riegl, Fiedler, Schmarsow, Benjamin, Giedion, Teige: il ricorrere di questi nomi (e di alcuni altri), così come il riesame delle relative posizioni critiche – oggetto di un numero speciale della rivista "Oppositions" –, sono stati dopo tutto fra gli elementi costitutivi del pensiero architettonico attuale. Eppure in questi ultimi tempi la storia dell'arte e la teoria dell'arte sembrano essere sparite dall'orizzonte dell'architettura. Né Reyner Banham né Vincent Scully sono presenti nell'antologia di cui si è detto sopra. Né questo porta all'emergere compensatorio di una generazione più giovane di artisti e/o di teorici dell'arte, che pure sarebbero importanti per la causa dell'architettura: artisti come Donald Judd, Dan Graham o Robert Smithson, scrittori come Arthur Danto, Donald Kuspit, Rosalind Krauss o Benjamin H. Buchloh, tutti *guru* della teoria e della critica d'arte odierne. Nessuno di loro fa parte della scena architettonica; i tre artisti neppure compaiono nell'indice del volume che, con le sue 808 pagine, può senz'altro essere definito corposo.
Con ogni probabilità la tendenza attuale verso l'accademizzazione consoliderà ulteriormente l'autonomia conquistata a fatica dai teorici dell'architettura non soltanto rispetto agli ambiti più "bassi" della pratica e del mestiere, ma anche rispetto alla storia dell'arte nella sua accezione più ampia, che include l'arte e la teoria dell'arte. Allo stesso tempo, mentre la disciplina è percepita da molti come sempre più estranea alle esigenze del discorso architettonico, negli scritti sull'architettura assistiamo al rinascere di una fede atavica nell'autonomia delle "fonti" che emergono dall'attuale saccheggio degli archivi. La storia dell'arte, mero ricettacolo di pregiudizi estetici, è morta: lunga vita agli archivi! I mutamenti metodologici che ne derivano non rappresentano una preoccupazione per gli architetti; ma gli storici dell'arte potrebbero a loro volta sentirsi sfidati a guardare alla storia *à rebours*, cioè in modo diverso e opposto, e potrebbero usare la loro posizione marginalizzata come punto di vantaggio per costruire una visione alternativa delle cose. E anche per meglio comprendere il ruolo dell'architettura e della teoria architettonica all'interno del più vasto laboratorio della storia dell'arte e del progetto, o piuttosto della pratica estetica, rituale e/o simbolica nella società industriale e postindustriale in generale.

2. Ho davanti a me il catalogo di una recente mostra su Andy Warhol e la fotografia [*Andy Warhol Photography*, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Amburgo/The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, 1999]. Esso illustra il lavoro di uno degli artisti *leader* del secolo, documentando e analizzando il suo operare con il mezzo fotografico. L'apertura degli archivi di Pittsburgh non soltanto ha generato una fame indiscriminata di informazioni su Warhol "sconosciuto" o "privato", ma ha anche scatenato una valanga di studi, la maggior parte dei quali ispirati, come c'era da aspettarsi, a un ideale di fedeltà descrittiva. Partendo da queste basi il volume mette a fuoco quella che è senza dubbio una delle esperienze artistiche più importanti "*nell'epoca della riproducibilità tecnica*". Nell'introduzione Uwe Schneede, direttore della Kunsthalle di Amburgo, afferma che i precedenti studi critici si erano fissati su temi di iconografia e sull'ambivalenza di Warhol nei confronti del consumismo, mentre ciò che ora di lui interessa i critici è il tema dell'uso dei *media*.
E qui ci si potrebbe aspettare l'entrata in scena di Walter Benjamin: invece il suo nome non viene mai menzionato

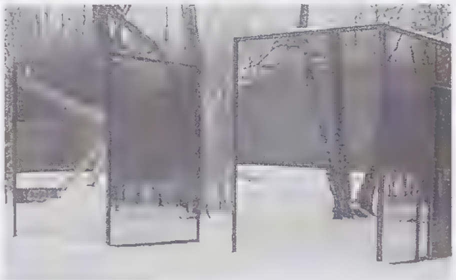
À rebours. ***Or: the logic of the Trojan Horse***
Stanislaus von Moos

An American colleague within the architectural academe, editor of the *canonical anthology of theoretical writings since 1968, is now preparing a series of publications dedicated to the work of "the young" in architectural theory and criticism. As he explained to me between two papers at a recent conference, essays and book manuscripts would be selected and/or commissioned on the grounds of their expected degree of innovation with respect to established ways of theorizing architecture along the lines of art history. The announcement left me somewhat puzzled. First, I admit, because it resembled a death-sentence with regard to whatever I myself might be up to, reinforcing in such a way rather familiar doubts about the mischief of an intellectual position between stool and bench. How to avoid the Scylla of art history's often embarrassing lack of interest in ideas while not falling victim to the Charybdis of increasing amnesia, typical of much current art (and architectural) criticism? And more generally, how to bridge the thematic and terminological gaps between architecture and art?*

***1.** Among other things all this raises the question, marginal as it may be, of what architects, either theorizing or practicing, believe art history and art criticism to be about. In retrospect, speaking of the first half of the 20th century, the discipline's impact on architectural theorizing may be taken for granted. Riegl, Fiedler, Schmarsow, Benjamin, Giedion, Teige: the recycling of those names (and others) as well as the reexamination of the critical positions involved – a one-off project by the magazine "Oppositions" – has been, after all, a constituent element of current architectural thought. Yet more recently art history and art theory seem to have faded away from the horizon of architectural deliberations. Neither Reyner Banham nor Vincent Scully are listed in the table of contents of the anthology referred to above. Nor does that imply a compensatory emergence of a younger generation of artists and/or art theorists that would be more relevant to the cause of architecture, artists like Donald Judd, Dan Graham or Robert Smithson, or writers like Arthur Danto, Donald Kuspit, Rosalind Krauss, or Benjamin H. Buchloh, all* gurus *of art theory and criticism today. None of them is part of the scene; the three artists do not even appear in the index of the book which, with its 808 pages, may be described as bulky.*
The current tendency towards academization will most likely further consolidate the sourly conquered autonomy


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1. Donald Judd, Fifteen Concrete Works, Chinati Foundation, Marfa, Texas, 1983.
2. Dan Graham, Alteration of a Suburban House, 1978.
3. Dan Graham, Two Adjacent Pavilions, 1978-81.

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nel volume. Dobbiamo essere contenti di questa omissione, dato il ruolo centrale di Benjamin nelle prime interpretazioni di Warhol? Oppure semplicemente non ci si ricorda più del suo saggio sul "*Kunstwerk*"? I saggi contenuti nel catalogo sono dimostrativi della grande varietà di generi critici attualmente praticati, molti dei quali, a quanto pare, hanno in comune un notevole disinteresse per le concezioni teoriche e la riflessione critica. Per quanto riguarda me come lettore, confesso di essere stato immediatamente attratto da quei contributi che raccontano la storia dell'impegno di Warhol nel campo della fotografia in termini di narrazione diretta di fatti. Credo che questa sia stata la scelta dei curatori fin dall'inizio, poiché la maggior parte dei saggi contenuti nel catalogo, a cominciare dall'introduzione di Christoph Heinrich, seguono la modalità accumulativa e descrittiva. Forse ciò è persino giusto: prima di cominciare a cercare sensi e significati, occorre documentarsi. Nel processo conoscitivo spesso i nudi fatti parlano più delle riflessioni critiche, per quanto pertinenti queste possano essere. E ovviamente fare storia dell'arte significa anche mettere a disposizione del lettore i nudi fatti. In un caso come quello di Warhol, in cui gli scritti "canonici" sono stati dominati dalla speculazione psicologico-estetica e dall'apologia forse più pesantemente che nel caso di altri artisti, materiali nudi e crudi possono fornire una base di lavoro più solida di opinioni belle e pronte formulate da altri.
Ritornando al catalogo, soltanto verso la fine vengono sollevati esplicitamente i temi teorici più intricati: temi che riguardano, per esempio, il segno e il significato nella ritrattistica, il ruolo della ritrattistica nell'epoca della crisi della rappresentazione, temi che coinvolgono la teoria strutturalista e poststrutturalista e, molto appropriatamente, qualche rilettura di Foucault, Buchloh e Krauss.

3. Certamente, l'esposizione opulenta e piuttosto indiscriminata di documenti e di fatti puramente aneddotici – in particolare considerata l'attenzione marginale riservata ai temi teorici – suscita interrogativi in varie direzioni. L'astensione critica è forse diventata una caratteristica della critica d'arte tedesca in generale? Stiamo assistendo alla "*chiusura dei cantieri di lavoro*" di una generazione che si era consacrata all'"*etica della responsabilità dell'intellettuale*" nei confronti dell'arte, come afferma Carlo Olmo a proposito di alcuni modi odierni di fare storia dell'architettura? Oppure la Kunsthalle di Amburgo si è astenuta volutamente dall'analisi critica, sottolineando così la propria opposizione a ciò che in Germania essa sente come un discorso sull'arte troppo dedito a moralizzare e teorizzare su posizioni e scritti (con riviste come "Texte für Kunst" quali *media* particolarmente loquaci)? E, così facendo, ha voluto pagare un tributo alle regole del genere specifico (catalogo di mostra) e del relativo mercato (di cui Andy Warhol è una *star*)?
Queste sono le considerazioni che mi vengono alla mente mentre cerco di dare un senso a quello che può essere stato il percorso del pensiero architettonico negli ultimi trent'anni (come pure al mio ruolo "casuale" di storico dell'arte in questo ambito). Per me, coinvolto simultaneamente (come succede alla maggior parte delle persone) in contesti in rapido mutamento, tanto per cominciare l'idea che ci sia un solo percorso è difficile da sostenere. Siamo tutti insegnanti e giornalisti, accademici e autori di libri, ed entriamo in un ruolo o nell'altro a seconda degli argomenti di cui scriviamo, degli intenti didattici che perseguiamo e del pubblico al quale ci indirizziamo. In tutti i casi la scelta della narrazione è determinata non soltanto da ciò che sappiamo o da ciò che vogliamo comunicare, ma anche dal contesto dato e dal genere scelto. Se è vero che ogni critico o storico partecipa delle posizioni di una "scuola di pensiero", di una *Zeitgeist* o di una "generazione", è pur anche vero che lo fa tenendo presenti gli interessi e le strategie a lungo termine delle istituzioni coinvolte nonché il proprio personale interesse per le posizioni raggiungibili all'interno di tali istituzioni.

4. Eppure la pluralità di contesti e di generi entro i quali si opera non è mai una mera questione di luoghi e di tempi. In questo numero di "Zodiac" Carlo Olmo, Jean-Louis Cohen, Ignasi de Solà-Morales e Michela Rosso danno quattro diverse "mappe" della situazione attuale. Per loro l'America non è più il mercato principale le cui quotazioni, dell'oro e di borsa, devono essere seguite in tutto il mondo: l'attenzione si sposta verso est. Se è vero, sembrano voler dire, che la teoria critica nella sua azione di demistificazione spinta è andata a volte oltre la meta, questo non significa che bisogna saccheggiare un archivio dopo l'altro soltanto per ricostruire le figure degli eroi maggiori o minori del modernismo in forma ancora mistificata, sebbene frazionata in una miriade di episodi: per esempio, inseguendo passo passo le tracce spesso ben documentate che essi hanno lasciato di sé, il tutto moltiplicato per il numero delle fonti e dei documenti disponibili.

by architectural theoreticians with respect not only to the lower realms of practice and craft, but also to what passes as art history in the wider sense of the term, i.e. including art and art theory. At the same time, while the discipline is perceived by many as increasingly alien to the needs of architectural discourse, we witness in architectural writing the renaissance of an atavistic belief in the self-sufficiency of "sources" as they emerge in the current plundering of archives. Art history, a mere repository of aesthetic prejudice, is dead; long live the archive! The methodological shifts involved need not be a core preoccupation for architects; but art historians may in turn feel challenged to look at the story à rebours, *i.e. the other way around, choosing their marginalized position as a vantage point in order to get another view of the situation. And also in order to better understand the role of architecture and architectural theory within the broader intellectual laboratory of the history of art and design, or rather of aesthetic, ritual and/or symbolic practice in industrial and post-industrial society at large.*

2. *Before me lies a recent exhibition catalogue on Andy Warhol and Photography [*Andy Warhol Photography, *Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg/The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, 1999]. It covers the work of one of the leading artists of the century, surveying, documenting and analyzing the mechanics of his expertise in dealing with photography. The very opening of the Pittsburgh archives not only generated a global appetite for information on the "unknown" and/or "private" Warhol; it also triggered off a whole avalanche of studies, mostly inspired, as was to be expected, by an ideal of descriptive fidelity. On these grounds, the book brings into focus what is no doubt one of the topical experiences of art* "in the age of mechanical reproduction". *In his introduction, Uwe Schneede, director of the Kunsthalle Hamburg, argues that previous critical approaches had focused on issues of iconography and on the work's mesmerizing ambivalence between affirmation and critique of consumism, while what now interests critics in Warhol is the issue of the use of media.*
This is precisely where one might expect Walter Benjamin to enter the picture, but his name appears not to be mentioned throughout the entire book. Should one be grateful for this abstinence, given Benjamin's centrality in earlier Warhol interpretations? Or could it be that his "Kunstwerk" article is simply no longer known? The essays in the catalog are symbolic of the wide array of critical genres currently practiced in art history and criticism, most of them, as it appears, sharing a considerable disinterest in theoretical concepts and critical reflection. As for myself as a reader, I confess to have been instantly drawn to those contributions that narrate the story of Warhol's involvement in photography in terms of straight factual accounts. I suspect that this was probably the initial critical impulse on the part of the curators since most of the essays in the catalogue, beginning with the introductory article by curator Christoph Heinrich, follow the accumulative and the descriptive mode. Perhaps even appropriately so: before one can even begin to make sense, one has to take note. Furthermore, in the process of learning the naked facts are often more inspiring than the critical ruminations, pertinent as they may be. And of course, art history is also about making these naked facts available. In a case like Warhol's, where the canonical writing has perhaps been more heavily dominated by psychological/aesthetic speculation and apology than with any other leading artist, raw materials can provide a more solid base for work than ready-made opinions chiseled out by others.
Returning to the catalogue under consideration, only towards the end are the more intricate theoretical issues explicitly raised, issues pertinent e.g. to sign and substance in portraiture, to portraiture in the age of the crisis of representation, issues involving structuralist and post-structuralist theory and, quite appropriately, some re-reading of Foucault, Buchloh and Krauss.

3. *Admittedly, the opulent and rather indiscriminate display of documents and often merely anecdotal facts, especially given the demonstratively marginal attention to theoretical issues, allows for questioning in various directions. Has critical abstinence become the hallmark of German art criticism in general? Are we witnessing the* "closing of the worksites" *of a generation committed to* "the ethic of responsibility of the intellectual" vis-à-vis *art, as Carlo Olmo asserts with respect to some current fashions in architectural history? Or did the Hamburger Kunsthalle purposefully refrain from critical analysis, underscoring in such a way its opposition to what it perceives as a German art discourse much too vested in moralizing and theorizing posturing and prose (with magazines like "Texte für Kunst" as particularly vocal media)? And, in doing so, did it want to pay tribute to the*



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Copertina di M. Tafuri, F. Dal Co, Architettura contemporanea, *Electa, Milano 1976.*

Cover of M. Tafuri, F. Dal Co, Architettura contemporanea, *Electa, Milan 1976.*

Tutti e quattro questi autori agiscono come storici, seguono cioè in genere il criterio diacronico, prendendo in considerazione un'ampia gamma di esempi significativi e di casi e sottolineando non infrequentemente le loro argomentazioni con giudizi di valore e generalizzazioni che possono apparire affrettati. Come teorici essi tendono a criticare la vecchia letteratura agiografica e le sue costruzioni storiche a "*lieto fine*" (vedi Ignasi de Solà-Morales); ma come storici non possono fare a meno di avvalorare l'idea che, a partire dal 1950, il panorama della teoria e della critica architettonica deve essere raccontato come una "favola evolutiva", come una serie di transizioni e passaggi – per esempio il passaggio dalla "critica operativa" *alla* Zevi (o *alla* Rowe, o *alla* Venturi o qualcun altro) alla "storia critica" *alla* Tafuri. Solà-Morales nel suo racconto va anche più a monte, osservando all'inizio del suo saggio come la teoria del primo modernismo abbia preso a prestito i suoi paradigmi concettuali dalle scienze naturali e dall'economia, mentre negli anni Sessanta e Settanta fu la storia che cominciò a occupare il centro della scena. È interessante il fatto che Solà-Morales descriva la storia del pensiero critico in architettura dal 1900 al 1970 come un percorso lineare: ma quando si tratta del presente immediato sembra abbandonare questa linea di pensiero, sostituendola con un altro modello.
Di fatto, parlando del passato recente e dell'oggi, la teorizzazione architettonica gli appare come un arcipelago di costellazioni concettuali che comportano una molteplicità di idee teoriche e di strategie operative, tutte messe in essere parallelamente, l'una accanto all'altra. Come spiega Jean-Louis Cohen, la logica della teoria e della critica architettonica non è autonoma, ma dipende dalla struttura delle istituzioni, in rapida evoluzione: accademie, università (con i loro programmi di dottorato in costante aumento), riviste professionali, esposizioni, mercato. Sono questi i fattori che determinano in larga misura ciò che arriva al pubblico e la forma nella quale arriva; e, quel che più conta, ciò che *non* arriva. Si può obiettare, credo, che questo succedeva prima del 1950 non meno che dopo tale data. La teorizzazione architettonica prima del 1950 non era meno sfaccettata di quanto lo sia oggi, e questa è la ragione per cui vedere l'architettura "moderna" in termini di "narrazioni sui maestri", cioè attraverso figure esemplari come Gropius, Mies e Le Corbusier, manca in parte lo scopo. Dato che, in questo passaggio di secolo, è sempre più evidente che la reale influenza di questi

predicaments of the given genre *(exhibition catalogue) and the given market (within which Andy Warhol is, first of all, a star)?*
Such are the thoughts that emerge as I try to make sense of what may have been the trajectory of architectural discourse in the last three decades (as well as my own coincidental role as an art historian within it). For myself, simultaneously involved (as most people are) in rapidly changing contexts, the idea of there being one *trajectory is hard to sustain to begin with. We are all teachers as well as journalists, academics as well as authors of books, and we slip into one or the other role depending on the subjects we write about as well as on the didactic aims pursued and the audiences addressed. In all cases the choice of narrative is determined not only by what we know or what we want to get across, but also by the given context and the chosen* genre. *While it is true that any critic or historian takes part in intellectual attitudes pertinent to a "school of thought", a* Zeitgeist *or a "generation", he or she does so by way of responding to the long term competitive interests and strategies of the institutions involved, and in response to his/her own best interest in the positions attainable within these institutions.*

4. Yet the plurality of contexts and genres *within which one operates is by no means a mere question of place and time. In the present issue of "Zodiac", Carlo Olmo, Jean-Louis Cohen, Ignasi de Solà-Morales and Michela Rosso give four different mappings of the present situation. To them, America is no longer seen as the prime marketplace whose gold standards and exchange rates are to be registered and followed worldwide; the focus of attention shifts eastward. Critical theory, they seem to argue, has at times aimed beyond the goal in its brash demystifications, but that is no reason to plunder archive after archive merely in order to reconstruct the major and minor heroes of modernism in mystified albeit pulverised form, i.e. in terms of their own often well documented self-perceptions, multiplied by the factor of available sources and documents.*
All four authors act as historians, i.e. following in general a diachronic mode, taking into consideration a wide array of significant examples and case studies, and not infrequently underscoring their argument by indulging in value judgments and generalizations which may appear rather hasty. As theoreticians, they tend to criticize the older hagiographic literature and its constructions of history that imply the "happy end" *(cf. Ignasi de Solà-Morales), yet as historians they can't help reinforcing the conception that the panorama of architectural theory and criticism since 1950 needs to be depicted as as an evolutionary tale, a series of operational shifts and transitions – e.g. the transition from "critica operativa"* à la *Zevi (or Rowe, Venturi, and some others) to "storia critica"* à la *Tafuri. Solà-Morales reaches even further back in his account, describing (at the beginning of his essay) how the theory of early modernism borrowed its conceptual paradigms from the natural sciences and from economics, whereas in the 1960s and 1970s history began to occupy center stage. Interestingly, while Solà-Morales renders the story of critical thought in architecture from 1900 to 1970 as a linear trajectory, he appears to let go of that line of thought with respect to the immediate present, replacing it with another model.*
In fact, speaking of the recent past and of today, architectural theorizing appears to him as an archipelago of conceptual constellations involving a multiplicity of theoretical concepts and operational strategies, all enacted side by side. As Jean-Louis Cohen makes clear, the logic of architectural theory and criticism is not autonomous but a tributary of the rapidly evolving structure of institutions: academies, universities (with their increasing number of doctoral programs), professional magazines and, finally, exhibitions and their markets. It is these factors that determine to a large degree what is presented to the public, and in what form; and even more so, that which is not. It must be argued, I believe, that this was the case before 1950 no less than after that date. Architectural theorizing before 1950 was no less multifaceted than it is today, which is why viewing "modern architecture" in terms of the "master accounts", i.e. via exemplary figures like Gropius, Mies and Le Corbusier partly misses the point – given the increasing evidence, at this close of the century, that these masters' actual influence has been grossly overestimated and their polemical positions unduly severed from everyday professionalism as well as the official cultural discourses within which, and partly against which, they have built up their artistic personae.
Carlo Olmo therefore rightly suggests that early 20th-century architecture and the architecture of the interwar years call for a much more inclusive approach, one that takes into account the plurality of efforts and also the communicative potential as well as the considerable level of quality of much traditionalist work.

maestri è stata molto sovrastimata e le loro posizioni polemiche sono state indebitamente disgiunte sia dalla quotidiana pratica professionale, sia dalla cultura ufficiale entro la quale, e in parte contro la quale, essi costruirono la propria personalità artistica. Carlo Olmo perciò afferma giustamente che l'architettura dell'inizio del Ventesimo secolo e quella degli anni fra le due guerre richiede un approccio molto più complessivo, che tenga conto della pluralità degli sforzi e anche del potenziale comunicativo così come del notevole livello qualitativo raggiunto da almeno una parte della produzione "tradizionalista".
La narrazione lineare di Giedion, Pevsner e persino di Rowe, largamente indifferente ai contesti socioeconomici e soprattutto politici, deve pertanto essere sostituita da una visione caleidoscopica, che consideri le situazioni come un *patchwork* di forze, interessi e personalità che si scontrano. Questa struttura è implicita in *Architettura contemporanea* di Tafuri/Dal Co (1976) anche se, quanto a scelta del materiale preso in esame, il libro non va così lontano come avrebbe potuto.

5. Dar corpo a sogni di ordine formale e di bellezza non è più fra gli intenti primari della storia dell'arte. Né questa disciplina detiene un monopolio sull'esecuzione di tali riti. La storia dell'arte è diventata essa stessa uno strumento della critica applicata a quei valori che un tempo essa era chiamata a celebrare. E allora, come risultato, viene voglia di ribattere che non c'è abbastanza storia nel dibattito architettonico attuale, e *non* che ce n'è troppa. Soltanto attraverso una adeguata contestualizzazione storica e sociologica, specie della prima fase del modernismo, sarà possibile capire come la teoria dell'architettura agisce nell'ambito delle istituzioni architettoniche, quale genere di servizio essa rende a coloro che la praticano e, infine, anche quale genere di servizio può rendere alla pratica progettuale.
Nella sua dissertazione sulle vicende della "critica operativa", Jean-Louis Cohen ci ricorda l'osservazione di Manfredo Tafuri che la storia, nonostante la sua pretesa, non può "agire" sul progetto. Né lo può la teoria, come Tafuri – il cui concetto di "storia critica" impediva ogni condizionamento reciproco – avrebbe fermamente voluto. Il Poststrutturalismo e il Decostruttivismo, come sappiamo, hanno tentato nel frattempo di colmare il *gap* fra il mondo della teoria e il mondo della pratica, in modo più o meno plausibile. Ma non sono stati capaci di evitare l'allargarsi di un altro *gap*: quello fra accademia e "mondo reale".
Sia come sia, l'architettura, o piuttosto l'industria edilizia – presa fra le tentazioni della banalità e quelle della spettacolarizzazione –, senza l'impaccio delle disquisizioni del pensiero architettonico e interessata all'architettura "alta" solo in quanto materia prima per le sue appropriazioni, continuerà a lasciare pesanti "vestigia" per molte generazioni di storici dell'arte convinti che invece di occuparsi dei soli "maestri", occorre anche prendere atto di ciò che il mare rigetterà sulla spiaggia. In funzione delle domande fatte, queste "vestigia" daranno risposte sorprendenti, se non in termini estetici, quanto meno in termini di connotazione culturale. Nonostante l'ammonimento di Jean-Louis Cohen, i complessi realizzati da maestri "minori" continueranno a essere oggetto di "monografie". Almeno fino a quando la ricerca continuerà a dipendere anche dalla volontà di studiosi e di editori di investire energie su temi apparentemente non spettacolari e fino a quando le fondazioni private, i musei locali (e persino i grandi musei) continueranno a essere disposti a investire denaro nella ricerca e nella documentazione – per non parlare degli artisti e dei progettisti interessati a vedere il proprio lavoro adeguatamente contestualizzato e pubblicato.
Nell'attuale guazzabuglio di pubblicazioni sull'architettura, libri di successo continuano ad essere prodotti in base a teorie deboli o superate, mentre l'erudizione coscienziosa continua a sfociare in letture spesso davvero poco stimolanti – e il problema non può essere risolto altrimenti che tentando di fare meglio. Così stando le cose, nell'ambito del sistema attuale, a volte ci si trova in situazioni che non offrono altra scelta che quella di usare la logica del cavallo di Troia, rivestendo la teoria con i panni della storia o viceversa. E i lettori non hanno altra scelta che quella di informarsi attingendo qua e là in una molteplicità di generi critici: critica "alta" e critica "bassa", accademica e giornalistica, risolutamente teorica e incidentalmente storica, oppure esplicitamente storica e solo marginalmente teorica. Inutile dire che, accanto a questa ridda di documentazioni e di interpretazioni, c'è ancora molto spazio sugli scaffali per pubblicazioni di valore dedicate alla teoria e alla critica "alta" dell'architettura.

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Traduzione dall'inglese di Carla Russo.

The linear narrative enacted by Giedion, Pevsner or even Rowe, largely indifferent to socio-economic and above all political contexts, needs therefore to be superceded by a caleidoscopic vision that understands the situation rather more as a patchwork of conflicting forces, interests and personalities. This structure is implied in Tafuri/Dal Co's Architettura contemporanea *(1976), although in terms of the choice of the material discussed the book does not go as far as it might.*

5. Carving out dreams of a formal order as well as longing for beauty is no longer among art history's prime preoccupations. Nor does the discipline hold a monopoly on the performance of such rites. Art history has itself become an instrument of criticism with respect to the values it once was called upon to celebrate. As a result, it may be tempting to argue that there is not enough, rather than too much, straight history involved in the current architectural discussion. Only through an adequate historical and sociological contextualization of especially the early phase of modernism will one be able to understand how architectural theory works within the structure of architectural institutions, what kind of services it offers to those who practice it, and then also what kind of services it may offer to the practice of design.
In his discussion of the vicissitudes of "critica operativa", *Jean-Louis Cohen reminds us of Manfredo Tafuri's observation that, despite its claim, history cannot "act" on the project. Nor can theory, as Tafuri, whose concept of "critical history" precluded any such reciprocal adaptations, would have insisted. Poststructuralism and Deconstructivism have, as we know, in the meantime been attempting to fill the gap between the worlds of theory and of practice, however plausibly or successfully. Yet they have not been able to avoid the widening of yet another chasm: that between an academy and the "real world". Be that as it may, architecture itself, or rather the building industry, caught between the temptations of triviality and those of spectacularization, unfettered by the academy's chiseling and finishing of architectural thought, and interested in "high" architecture only as raw material for its own appropriations, will continue to deposit weighty leftovers for many generations of art history beachcombers to live by. Depending on one's vision, most of it is* meaningful; *if not in terms of aesthetic accomplishment, then in terms of cultural connotation. Despite Jean-Louis Cohen's admonition, the estates of "minor" masters will continue to be translated into "monographs". At least as long as the economy of research depends on the willingness of scholars and publishers to invest energy in seemingly unspectacular topics, and as long as there are private foundations, local museums (as well as important ones) to invest money in thorough research and documentation – not to mention artists and designers interested in seeing their work adequately studied and publicized.*
In today's extravagant medley of architectural publishing, poor or outdated theory continues to make for successful books, while conscientious erudition continues to result in often exceedingly dull reading – the problem is not to be resolved otherwise than by trying to do better. Seen in this way, within the system as it is, one at times finds oneself in situations that offer no other choice than to exploit the logic of the Trojan Horse, unfolding theory in the guise of history or vice versa. And readers have no other choice than to pick their information by sampling a multitude of critical genres: "high" and *"low", academic and journalistic, demonstratively theoretical and incidentally historical as well as emphatically historical and only marginally theoretical. Needless to say, alongside this maelstroem of documentation and interpretation there is still plenty of room on the shelf for many more lines of publications on "high" architectural theory and criticism.*

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La storia dell'architettura del Ventesimo secolo tra divulgazione del sapere e nuova critica operativa. Note su alcuni testi recenti

Michela Rosso

Robert Williams ha recentemente pubblicato un articolo sul ritrovamento di alcune carte di John Vanbrugh che ne svelano un volto inatteso: il ruolo di agente della East India Company nel commercio di stoffe dall'India al Regno Unito tra il 1683 e il 1685: oltre a smentire l'ipotesi già considerata poco attendibile di un apprendistato francese svolto nello stesso arco di tempo da questo capitano della marina britannica autore di alcune delle commedie più applaudite nei teatri londinesi tra Seicento e Settecento, le carte aiutano a ricostruire la genealogia di indirizzi formali e ricorrenze tematiche del suo più noto lavoro di architetto. L'idea di costruire un grande mausoleo a Castle Howard appare per esempio – secondo le argomentazioni di Williams – legata ad un repertorio iconografico singolare formatosi in occasione dei viaggi in India dove Vanbrugh doveva di certo aver visto i templi e i mausolei dell'epoca imperiale costruiti come parti di grandi giardini. Nel corso del Diciottesimo secolo il tipo architettonico del mausoleo diventerà uno degli elementi costitutivi ricorrenti del giardino all'inglese e della poetica del pittoresco e le carte ritrovate del British Museum offrono una nuova chiave esplicativa di un tema architettonico tanto esotico quanto poco studiato[1].
Negli ultimi decenni l'apertura di archivi, l'accessibilità di collezioni private hanno fornito allo storico dell'architettura il materiale necessario ad assicurare al proprio lavoro il soddisfacimento tendenziale di un unico obiettivo da molti ormai perseguito quasi con ossessione: l'esaustività documentaria rispetto all'oggetto indagato troppo spesso identificata con un astratto ideale di fedeltà descrittiva. La produzione editoriale nel contempo ha dovuto misurarsi con le esigenze di mercati della lettura sempre più segmentati, ma anche con gli interessi di un mercato dell'industria culturale sempre più globalizzato. La letteratura storico-architettonica tende così a confondersi con quella dei cosiddetti libri d'arte, lussuosamente illustrati, appetibili ad un pubblico di cultori della materia, di amatori-dilettanti, feticisti e collezionisti (di libri e di architetture d'autore)[2].
Per la storia dell'architettura del Movimento Moderno, la ristampa di alcuni manifesti e testi fondativi, talvolta sotto forma di riedizioni critiche[3], ha contribuito a ristabilire il ruolo storico di quegli scritti offrendone letture arricchite e raffinate. La cosiddetta "età eroica" del Movimento Moderno viene sottoposta a dissezioni sempre più accurate che offrono letture meno agiografiche e quadri storici più sofisticati, dove ai manicheismi terminologici propri delle prime classificazioni si sostituisce via via un vocabolario più articolato in cui l'ibridazione, la contaminazione, la sovrapposizione di linguaggi mutuati da riflessioni filosofiche o letterarie, appaiono come nuove lenti di osservazione.
Dalla fine degli anni Settanta alcuni lavori sulla prima storiografia del Movimento Moderno hanno indagato vicende personali, biografie intellettuali e percorsi di formazione legatisi inestricabilmente alla scrittura e ai suoi percorsi narrativi[4]. Questi studi, nati spesso in ambito semiologico, hanno evidenziato la non casualità dell'associazione di oggetti della ricerca e autori, svelando le tracce dei diversi progetti storiografici e critici che hanno articolato i molti racconti. I testi canonici sono stati sottoposti a riletture sistematiche e contestualizzanti che ne hanno isolato ancor prima del messaggio individuale il contenuto ideologico. Le prime storie sono state riscritte, le scansioni cronologiche ristabilite, la figura e il ruolo degli architetti riprecisati. Sulla scena via via sono emersi altri attori fino ad allora negletti o sottovalutati: una storia attribuzionistica tutta concentrata sull'architetto come creatore di forme ha ceduto il passo a ricostruzioni minute della genesi dei progetti, dove regolamenti edilizi, meccanismi produttivi o modalità della circolazione dei modelli architettonici, piuttosto che intuizioni creative isolate, spiegano risultati formali. Ciò è avvenuto in nome di altri progetti critici come risultato di letture incrociate che hanno combinato una pluralità di approcci metodologici: analisi formale delle architetture, storia dei tentativi di gestione di quelle architetture, storia degli intellettuali che hanno cercato di costruire politiche e di tradurle in nuovi linguaggi, storia delle loro biblioteche e dei loro itinerari di studio, delle loro fonti scritte, iconografiche, figurative, delle loro comunità e *sociabilités*, dei loro committenti e delle imprese di costruzione, delle tecniche e delle professionalità intervenute, storia della produzione edilizia e del mercato immobiliare, delle repliche e contaminazioni, dei meccanismi di assegnazione dei progetti e delle politiche di autopromozione…
Il presente saggio intende essere una riflessione su alcuni aspetti dell'attuale produzione storiografica sull'architettura del Ventesimo secolo. Il contesto nordamericano è stato scelto come scena privilegiata di un incontro proficuo tra *History* and *Criticism*[5], ma anche per il suo essere laboratorio di sperimentazione di grandi

The history of 20th century architecture between popularization of culture and new operative criticism. Notes on some recent works

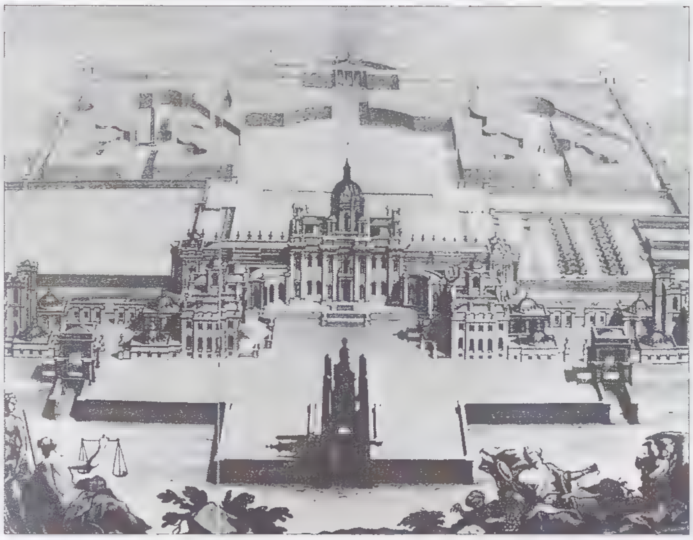
Michela Rosso

Robert Williams has recently published an article on the discovery of certain papers of John Vanbrugh that reveal an unexpected aspect of his personality: the fact that he was an agent of the East India Company for the importation of fabrics from India to the United Kingdom in 1683-1685. Apart from debunking the hypothesis, already considered rather improbable, of an apprenticeship in France for this British naval captain and author of some of the most popular comedies performed in the theaters of London in the 1600s and 1700s, the papers also help to reconstruct the genealogy of sources for the forms and themes found in his better-known work as an architect. The idea of building a large mausoleum at Castle Howard appears, for example – according to Williams – to be linked to a singular iconographic repertoire that was formed during his travels in India, where Vanbrugh must certainly have seen the temples and mausolea of the imperial era, constructed as parts of large gardens. During the 18th century the architectural typology of the mausoleum was to become one of the recurring, constituent elements of the English garden and the poetics of the picturesque, and the resurfaced papers of the British Museum offer a new explanation for an exotic architectural theme that has yet to be fully investigated[1].

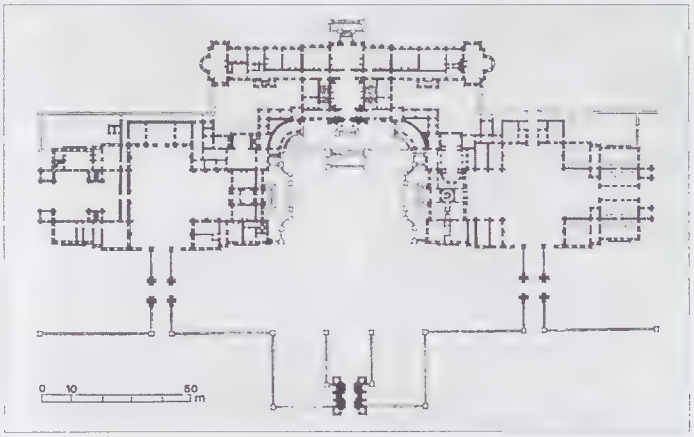
Over the last few decades the opening of archives and the access to private collections have offered architectural historians the material required to finally satisfy an objective pursued by many, in a nearly obsessive manner: the possibility of exhaustive documentation of the object studied, a possibility which all too often has been identified with an ideal of descriptive fidelity. In the meantime, the output of the publishers has had to come to grips with the needs of increasingly segmented markets, and with the interests of an increasingly globalized culture industry. Thus historical and architectural publications tend to be confused with the market for so-called art books, large illustrated volumes for an audience of connoisseurs, *but also* amateurs, *fetishists, collectors (of books and works of architecture)*[2].

For the architectural history of the Modern Movement, the reprinting of certain manifestos and fundamental texts, often in the form of editions with new critical commentary[3]*, has contributed to the reassertion of their historical role, offering readers new, refined interpretations. The so-called "heroic age" of the Modern Movement is dissected with increasing precision, to*

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1. 2. John Vanbrugh, Castle Howard, 1699: pianta e veduta prospettica in un'incisione tratta da C. Campbell, Vitruvius Britannicus, *1715-25.*

1. 2. John Vanbrugh, Castle Howard, 1699: general plan and perspective view in an etching from C. Campbell, Vitruvius Britannicus, *1715-25.*

3. Frontespizio di W.J.R. Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, *Phaidon, Oxford 1982.*

3. Title pages of W.J.R. Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, *Phaidon, Oxford 1982.*



3

trasformazioni e per la capacità di anticipare fenomeni altrove solo latenti. In una letteratura che è venuta crescendo anche come rilevanza critica in questi due ultimi decenni, emergono diversi possibili filoni esemplificati da due testi che danno corpo a due diverse letture del paesaggio architettonico contemporaneo a cui può essere utile ricondurre la riflessione.

La storia delle *landmarks* del Novecento

Uscito due anni dopo quello più noto di Frampton, il testo *Modern Architecture Since 1900* dello storico inglese William J. Curtis, pubblicato nel 1982, ristampato nel 1987 e riedito con revisioni e aggiunte nel 1996, costituisce uno dei tentativi più argomentati di costruire un racconto sintetico in un momento storico cruciale per la cultura architettonica internazionale[6]. Il libro prende forma nel clima culturale della prima metà degli anni Ottanta, accanto ai revisionismi che hanno condotto a decretare la "morte dell'architettura moderna"[7] e a diffondere un clima di disincanto di fronte ai valori operativi che la storia e la critica avevano fino ad allora teso ad assumere.

Alla fine di quello stesso decennio uno scritto già allora molto datato dello storico dell'architettura inglese John Summerson viene pubblicato da "Domus"[8]: per dar forza alle riflessioni dilaganti sulla crisi dell'architettura moderna si prende a prestito l'intuizione prematura di una delle figure più algide della storia dell'architettura del Ventesimo secolo, distintosi anche per l'estraneità alle militanze più accese proprie di alcuni suoi contemporanei, da Hitchcock a Pevsner a Giedion. "*L'analogia dannosa*", un tema già presente nella letteratura inglese dell'architettura di primo Novecento a partire dal noto testo di Geoffrey Scott[9], verrà riproposta come chiave utile a svelare le molte metafore che articolavano i manifesti delle avanguardie e che, nella lettura di Curtis, offuscano una interpretazione obiettiva del contenuto intrinsecamente artistico dell'architettura. Il libro di Curtis offre come alternativa al cinismo culturale postmoderno un discorso ancora tutto interno all'eredità dei maestri. Si tratti di George Ranalli a New York, di Bill Bruder a Phoenix, di Andreas Brandt a Berlino, ciò che lega le figure protagoniste del racconto è l'eredità del Movimento Moderno, che per questo autore è presente a Palma di Maiorca come ad Ahmedabad. La continuità di alcuni esempi selezionati dell'architettura contemporanea con i *seminal buildings* dell'architettura

provide interpretations that are less hagiographic and more sophisticated, in which the terminological manicheism of the first classification is gradually replaced by a more articulate vocabulary in which hybridization, contamination, overlapping of languages borrowed from philosophical and literary sources appear to be the new lenses of observation.

Since the end of the Seventies certain works on the early historiography of the Modern Movement have investigated personal situations, intellectual biographies and paths of formation closely connected with writing and narration[4]*. These studies, often springing from the area of semiotics, have revealed the non-random nature of the association of objects of research and authors, indicating the traces of a range of historiographic and critical aims found in many of the narrations. Canonical texts have been subjected to systematic, contextualizing rereadings, isolating the ideological content rather than their individual messages. The initial histories have been rewritten, the chronological parameters redefined, the figures and roles of the architects reevaluated. Other figures have gradually emerged, figures who had been previously neglected or underestimated: a history of attribution, entirely focused on the architect as the creator of forms, has been replaced by minute reconstructions of the genesis of designs, in which building regulations, production methods and the modes of circulation of architectural models, rather than isolated creative intuitions, are cited to explain the results. This has happened in the name of other critical objectives as the result of cross-interpretations that have combined a variety of methodological approaches: formal analysis of works of architecture, history of attempts to maintain these works, history of the intellectuals who have attempted to construct policies and translate them into new languages, history of their readings and itineraries of study, of their written, iconographic, figurative sources, of their communities and* sociabilités*, of their clients and their builders, of the techniques and professional figures involved in the realization of works, history of building production and the real estate market, of replicas and contaminations, of mechanisms of the awarding of commissions and policies of self-promotion…*

This essay is intended to be a reflection on certain aspects of the present historiographic output on 20th-century architecture. The North American context has been selected as the most favorable setting for a fertile encounter between History *and* Criticism[5]*, but also because it is a laboratory of experimentation with large-scale transformations, and for its capacity to foreshadow phenomena that elsewhere are latent at best. A literature that has grown both in quantity and in terms of critical importance in recent years reveals different possible explicative lines of reasoning, exemplified by two texts that offer two different interpretations of the contemporary architectural landscape, interpretations that deserve closer attention at this time.*

The history of 20th-century landmarks

Published two years after the better-known text by Frampton, Modern Architecture Since 1900 *by the English historian William J. Curtis, released in 1982, reprinted in 1987 and republished, with revisions and additions, in 1996, represents one of the most thoroughly reasoned attempts to construct a synthetic narrative in a crucial historical moment for the international culture of architecture*[6]*. The book takes form in the cultural context of the first half of the 1980s, alongside the revisionist positions that led to the declaration of the "death of modern architecture"*[7]*, and to the spread of disenchantment regarding the operative values that history and criticism had previously espoused.*

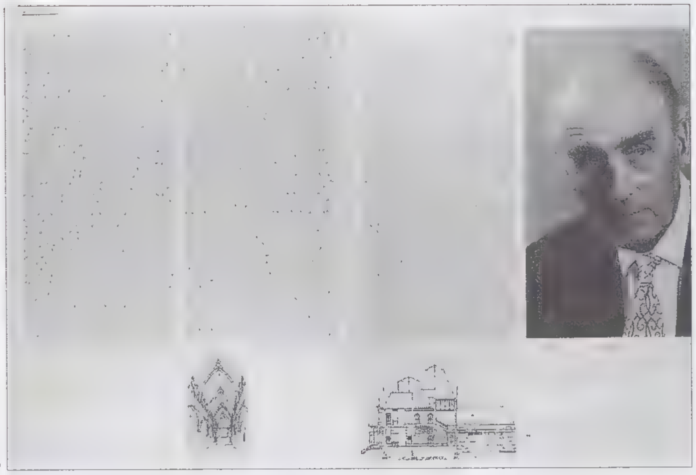
At the end of the same decade, an already dated text by the English architecture historian John Summerson was published by "Domus"[8]*: to give force to the spreading reflections on the crisis of modern architecture, this was a borrowing of the too early intuition of one of the coldest figures of the history of 20th-century architecture, who stood out for his detachment from the most ardent militant stances of his contemporaries, from Hitchcock to Pevsner and Giedion.* "The mischievous analogy"*, a theme already present in the English literature on the architecture of the early 20th century, beginning with the well-known text by Geoffrey Scott*[9]*, was to be reconsidered as a useful pretext with which to unveil the many metaphors utilized in the manifestos of the avant-gardes and which, according to Curtis, prevent an objective interpretation of the intrinsically artistic content of architecture.*

Curtis's book offers, as an alternative to postmodern cultural cynicism, a discourse that is still entirely based on the legacy of the masters. His chosen figures are George Ranalli in New York, Bill Bruder in Phoenix, Andreas Brandt in Berlin, and what links the leading players of the story is the legacy of the Modern Movement, which for

moderna è la tesi portante del libro[10]. E la narrazione avviene secondo quattro scansioni: formazione/cristallizzazione/diffusione/cambiamento. Il Movimento Moderno ha oramai una sua tradizione[11], non di forme, ma di sintassi: un'idea antica che risale almeno a Quatremère de Quincy, a Viollet-le-Duc, a William Lethaby o a Le Corbusier – per citare solo alcune delle molte riflessioni teoriche intorno a questo tema –, quando distinguono tra *lo stile* e *gli stili*[12]: una sorta di grammatica atemporale, di *langue* sovrastorica, impermeabile alle mode, indipendente dall'inoperabile nozione critica di movimento culturale, un'idea all'apparenza senza tempo e luogo. Ed è proprio alla scala dei singoli edifici, non già dei movimenti architettonici o dei loro presupposti socioeconomici, ideologici e politici, che l'autore sembra procedere, come in una *promenade architecturale*, nel suo racconto dell'architettura moderna.
Il libro si apre con una dichiarazione di non appartenenza: la storia come progetto critico è il nuovo tabù di una generazione di storici all'indomani delle grandi sintesi storiografiche degli anni tra le due guerre. Al centro viene posto un interesse per "*l'autenticità*"[13] e l'espressione di "*un carattere*", categorie ancora cariche dell'accezione etica propria di una prima critica operativa[14]. L'autore in realtà ha ampiamente riconosciuto nei primi scritti di Pevsner come di Giedion, di Kaufmann e di Behrendt, quel peccato d'origine storicista[15] che lo storico inglese David Watkin, pur con altre e più ambiziose velleità, aveva fortemente attaccato nel 1977[16]. Un testo, quello di Watkin, che nel 1979 Curtis aveva definito "*a bombastic and repetitive little book*" facilmente interpretabile come un attacco mal celato all'architettura moderna da un punto di vista convenzionalmente reazionario[17]. Ma malgrado le debolezze che riconosce agli argomenti di Watkin, Curtis non si è ancora completamente sbarazzato della polemica antipevsneriana iniziata nella seconda metà degli anni Settanta, tanto che con questo suo libro egli aspira quasi a recuperare ciò che ipotizza come un possibile terreno vergine della storia dell'architettura "prima dei *Pioneers*". La dichiarazione che precede il testo di Curtis ripropone continuamente la volontà di una presa di distanza preventiva dagli intenti propagandistici che avevano caratterizzato le storie dell'architettura del Movimento Moderno pubblicate a partire dalla seconda metà degli anni Venti. La stessa ossessiva ricerca delle origini che aveva impegnato quegli autori viene presentata come un falso problema. Non esisterebbe un vero punto d'inizio per la modernità[18]: l'inclusione dell'Art Nouveau che dai *Pioneers* di Pevsner era stata considerata come una fase di transizione tra l'eclettismo storicistico e il Movimento Moderno[19] e dal testo di Tafuri e Dal Co veniva ritenuta una sorta di malattia decorativa e deliberatamente omessa dal racconto[20], intende dar conto di quella pluralità delle origini, delle fonti e delle derivazioni linguistiche volontariamente eluse dai testi canonici della prima generazione. Tuttavia il capitolo dedicato ai movimenti che fanno capo all'Art Nouveau non fa davvero giustizia delle molte, più complesse, e poco studiate declinazioni di questa fase dell'architettura europea, una stagione che ha forse radici più solide nel secolo Decimonono di quanto si voglia riconoscere: ed è proprio sul poco spazio dedicato alle fonti, non solo teoriche, dell'architettura moderna, che si appunteranno le critiche al testo contenute in alcune prime recensioni[21].
Ad una neutralità dichiarata nell'*incipit* segue una trattazione intenzionalmente varia, che non intende essere esclusiva, ma nel contempo disdegna il manuale, l'inventario, l'elenco, il catalogo, operando alcune selezioni di cui dà ragione in termini di categorie di lettura squisitamente estetiche.
In realtà questa storia percorre i sentieri già a lungo battuti da una tradizione storiografica che, al di là delle ambizioni dell'autore, appare difficile scalfire: nonostante la varietà delle figure toccate, Curtis ritorna a riaffermare l'eccezionalità dei maestri, Le Corbusier, Gropius e Mies: un risultato che è anche il riflesso di un suo percorso individuale di ricerca, di proprie predilezioni tematiche e delle ricerche condotte in quegli anni[22].
Il testo non intende sposare un'ideologia, né promuovere l'adesione ad uno stile: si cercherà di mostrare la "*molteplicità*" e le "*contraddizioni*" dell'architettura moderna. Dell'International Style, della cristallizzazione di questo concetto nella storiografia del Movimento Moderno, si intuiscono i limiti e l'equivoco che ha portato ad identificare l'architettura moderna con alcuni requisiti formali semplificati e riproposti *ad infinitum*. Si riconoscono alcune delle retoriche e delle genealogie reiterate del discorso "filomodernista"[23] e si aspira ad una riscrittura che sia al contempo oggettiva e "*distaccata*", indifferente alle tendenze effimere del gusto, alle mode consumabili quasi istantaneamente.
L'atteggiamento di Curtis appare come qualcosa di più

4. Pagine di J. Summerson, L'analogia dannosa, *in "Domus", n. 702, 1989.*

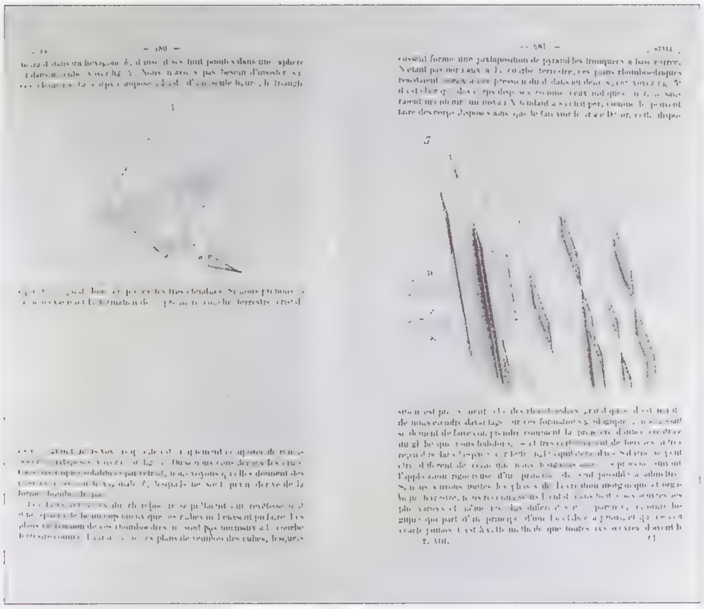
4. Pages from J. Summerson, L'analogia dannosa, *in "Domus", n. 702, 1989.*



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this writer is present in Palma, Majorca, just as in Ahmedabad. The continuity of certain selected examples of contemporary architecture with respect to the "seminal buildings" of modern architecture is the main thesis of the book[10]*. And the narration is arranged in four segments: formation/crystallization/diffusion/change. By now the Modern Movement has its own tradition*[11]*, not of forms, but of syntax: an old idea that dates back at least to Quatremère de Quincy, Viollet-le-Duc, William Lethaby or Le Corbusier, – just to mention a few of the many theoretical reflections on this theme – when they distinguish between* the style *and* the styles[12]*: a sort of atemporal grammar, a superhistorical* langue*, impermeable to fashions, independent from the unfeasible critical notion of a cultural movement, an idea of belonging without time or place. And it is precisely on the scale of single buildings, rather than the level of architecture movements and their presumed socioeconomic, ideological and political premises, that the author seems to proceed, as in a* promenade architecturale*, in his narration of modern architecture. The book begins with a declaration of non-belonging: history as a critical program is the new taboo of a generation of historians in the wake of the great historiographic syntheses of the years between the two World wars. The focal point is an interest in* "authenticity"[13] *and the expression of* "a character"*, categories that are still full of the ethical overtones of early operative criticism*[14]*. The author, actually, has fully recognized in the early writings of Pevsner and Giedion, Kaufmann and Behrendt, that historicistic original sin*[15] *that the English historian David Watkin, although with other, more ambitious aims, had vigorously attacked in 1977*[16]*. Watkin's text, which Curtis in 1979 had defined as* "a bombastic and repetitive little book"*, could easily be interpreted as a poorly concealed attack on modern architecture from a conventionally reactionary position*[17]*. But in spite of the weaknesses he perceives in the arguments of Watkin, Curtis has still not managed to completely extricate himself from the anti-Pevsner polemic that began in the second half of the Seventies, so much so that in this book he almost aspires to achieve what he hypothesizes as a possible virgin territory of an architectural history "before the* Pioneers*".*
The declaration preceding Curtis's text continuously invokes the will to take a precautionary distance from the propagandistic intentions that characterized the

5. Pagine della voce style *del* Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française du XI au XVI siècle *di E. Viollet-le-Duc, Morel, Parigi 1866.*
6. Copertina di C. Olmo, Architettura edilizia. Ipotesi per una storia, *Eri, Torino 1975.*



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dell'irritazione di uno *snob* dalla sensibilità raffinata di fronte alla mercificazione del gusto nell'età dell'*high-tech* e del *post-modern*: ciò che si contesta è la stessa nozione critica di movimento architettonico, intesa come una gabbia interpretativa che renderebbe impossibile ogni distinzione equa tra architetture di qualità ed edilizia commerciale[24]. L'alternativa metodologica del discorso di Curtis, di fronte ai tanti dilemmi anche teorici che pone l'architettura del "*secolo breve*", è la nozione di tipo edilizio utilizzata per articolare una descrizione che non appare possibile altrimenti e per accostare in parallelismi talvolta acrobatici architetture cronologicamente e culturalmente disomogenee.
Una delle ambizioni di Curtis, la ricerca dei "*significati simbolici*", dei contenuti "*mitologici*" ed "*intuitivi*" delle architetture, apre la strada ad alcuni passaggi criticamente non fondati. Un esempio: il notissimo progetto della sede della Hong Kong and Shangai Bank di Norman Foster costituirebbe un superamento del modello della scatola di vetro miesiana: con la sua espressione megastrutturale e il suo immaginario meccanicistico l'edificio si carica di forti valori simbolici connessi al suo situarsi agli estremi orientali del sistema economico capitalistico. L'idea di un filo rosso ininterrotto che da Prouvé, attraverso Le Corbusier, Wright, il Costruttivismo russo e gli ingegneri del secolo Decimonono giungerebbe fino al grattacielo di Foster appare come il tentativo forzato di rintracciare una continuità di natura esclusivamente linguistica sulla base di associazioni e di corrispondenze indipendenti da ogni considerazione sulle strategie economiche e simboliche di promotori e di architetti: una continuità ricercata per costruire una diversa "tradizione del nuovo" dal forte valore esemplare per un pubblico di lettori costituito da architetti professionisti[25].
Gli argomenti di Curtis si tingono di una tiepida preoccupazione antiliberista quando il bersaglio diventano le grandi *corporation* responsabili dell'attuale immagine delle città, di quella banalizzazione del grattacielo che caratterizza le molte *downtown* da Philadelphia a Singapore, da Atlanta a Seul.
L'assenza dichiarata di ogni taglio ideologico e una aspirazione a tracciare un quadro tendenzialmente esaustivo non giocano a favore di un più esteso accesso alle informazioni, tendendo piuttosto a semplificare le ragioni di ogni scelta tematica: il risultato è la costruzione di un senso comunemente condiviso della storia

5. Pages from the entry style *of the* Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française du XI au XVI siècle *by E. Viollet-le-Duc, Morel, Paris 1866.*
6. Cover of C. Olmo, Architettura edilizia. Ipotesi per una storia, *Eri, Turin 1975.*

architectural histories of the Modern Movement published from the second half of the Twenties on. The search for the roots that had obsessed those authors is presented as a false issue: according to his thesis, there is no true starting point for modernity[18]: the inclusion of Art Nouveau, which from Pevsner's Pioneers *was considered as a transitional phase between historicist eclecticism and the Modern Movement[19], and in the text of Tafuri and Dal Co was seen as a sort of decorative* malaise, *deliberately omitted from the story[20], is intended as a way of pointing to the multiplicity of the origins, the sources and the linguistic derivations that are willfully excluded in the canonical texts of the first generation. Nevertheless, the chapter on the movements that gravitate around Art Nouveau truly fails to do justice to the many, more complex and seldom studied variants in this phase of European architecture, a phase that perhaps has more solid roots in the 19th century than has been acknowledged to date. The lack of space devoted to the sources, theoretical and otherwise, of modern architecture, in fact, was the focus of the criticism of this text in some of the early reviews[21].*
After the declaration of neutrality in the incipit, *an intentionally variegated treatment follows, without intending to make exclusions, but also showing a certain disdain for the handbook, the inventory, the list, the catalog, making certain selections justified in terms of purely aesthetic interpretations.*
Actually this history retraces paths that had long been familiar to the historiographic tradition which, apart from the ambitions of the author, seems to be immune to such attacks: in spite of the range of figures discussed, Curtis cannot help but return to declare the exceptional qualities of the masters, Le Corbusier, Gropius and Mies: a result which also reflects his individual path of research and favored themes[22].
The text does not intend to espouse an ideology, nor to promote a particular style: it attempts to demonstrate the "multiplicity" *and the* "contradictions" *of modern architecture. Where the International Style is concerned, and the crystallization of this concept in the historiography of the Modern Movement, the text reveals the limits and the misunderstandings that have led to the identification of modern architecture with certain simplified formal prerequisites, re-presented* ad infinitum. *Certain rhetorical figures and reiterated genealogies of the "promodernist" discourse[23] are indicated, in the hope of achieving a rewriting that is simultaneously objective and* "detached", *indifferent to the ephemeral trends of taste, to instantly obsolete fashions. The posture of Curtis appears to be something more than the irritation of a refined snob in the face of the merchandising of taste in the age of the high-tech and the postmodern: what he is contesting is the critical notion of the architecture movement itself, seen as an interpretation framework that makes distinctions between quality architecture and commercial building impossible[24]. The methodological alternative of the discourse of Curtis, in the face of the many dilemmas, including theoretical ones, posed by architecture in the "age of extremes", is the notion of the building type used to articulate a description that does not otherwise appear possible, and to juxtapose, in often rather acrobatic parallels, works of architecture that are chronologically and culturally dishomogeneous.*
One of the aims of Curtis, the pursuit of "symbolic meanings", *of the* "mythological" *and* "intuitive" *contents of works of architecture, opens the way for certain critically baseless passages. For example: the famous design for the headquarters of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank by Norman Foster is seen as a way of surpassing the model of the Miesian glass box: with its megastructural expression and its mechanistic image the building is charged with strong symbolic values connected to its location at the eastern extreme of the capitalistic economic system. The idea of an uninterrupted thread extended from Prouvé, through Le Corbusier, Wright, Russian Constructivism and the engineers of the 19th century all the way to Foster's skyscraper looks like a strained attempt to retrace a continuity that is exclusively linguistic in nature, based on associations and correspondences that are removed from any consideration of the economic and symbolic strategies of clients and architects: a continuity sought out in order to construct a different "tradition of the new", with a forceful exemplary value, for an audience of readers composed of professional architects[25].*
The arguments of Curtis are tinged by lukewarm anti-free-market concerns when the target becomes the large corporations responsible for the present image of the cities, that banalization of the skyscraper that characterizes so many downtowns from Philadelphia to Singapore, from Atlanta to Seoul.
The declared absence of any ideological take, and the desire to outline an exhaustive overview do not lead to a wider access to information; instead, they seem to simplify

dell'architettura del Novecento identificabile con quel gruppo di edifici, dalla Sydney Opera House al Centre Georges Pompidou, da Fallingwater a Ronchamp, che sono quasi immediatamente riconoscibili da un vasto pubblico di non addetti ai lavori come le immagini più fortemente emblematiche di questo secolo[26]. Nell'età del postcolonialismo, il racconto di Curtis allarga i suoi confini alle geografie dei paesi in via di sviluppo o non appartenenti al mondo occidentale, inaugurando una tendenza che caratterizzerà le sintesi più recenti, ma non muta sostanzialmente le ragioni per cui gli edifici di questa storia sono ancora i monumenti del Ventesimo secolo.

Architettura e città come *world showcase*, *privatopia* e *fantasyland*

Una critica radicale e severa rivolta alle rivendicazioni di un'autonomia tutta formale alla disciplina storico-architettonica è contenuta nel lavoro complessivo e coerente di Diane Ghirardo[27]. È in un saggio del 1984 pubblicato sulla rivista dell'Università di Yale, "Perspecta", che Ghirardo esprime la propria opinione in merito alla recente storiografia architettonica del Ventesimo secolo ed è al testo di Curtis che si riferisce quando scrive[28]: "*Un giudizio equilibrato comporta l'esorcizzazione delle considerazioni politiche, sociali ed ideologiche rintracciabili nelle letture storiografiche proposte da Kenneth Frampton o Manfredo Tafuri e Francesco Dal Co, «che enfatizzano l'ideologia a scapito di altre questioni»*"[29]. Dopo l'età della critica operativa Curtis si proporrebbe di restaurare ciò che Geoffrey Scott auspicava già nel 1914: le architetture come "*oggetti estetici* par excellence *al di là di ogni rimprovero possibile*"[30]. Categorie ancora tutte nel solco di una tradizione disciplinare storico-artistica non sono suscettibili di verifica oggettiva: la storia dell'architettura privata dei suoi connotati di impegno civile è una storia monca, "*lobotomizzata*"[31], che riflette un punto di vista generalmente acquisito, un sistema di valori dominante, un racconto artificialmente pensato per essere non problematico. L'universo architettonico rassicurante che questa storia offre trova un corrispettivo eloquente nelle trame dei film di Walt Disney: "*Tranquilizzanti nel loro essere sempre a buon fine, semplicistici nella distinzione tra buoni e cattivi e seducenti nella presentazione di un mondo che da più punti di vista semplicemente non corrisponde a quello in cui viviamo*"[32]. Il variopinto mondo di *cartoons* che il nome di questa grande *corporation* internazionale evoca costituirà, per Ghirardo, il pretesto per considerazioni oggi condivise da una generazione di storici dell'architettura, critici urbani e sociologi.

Dal mondo delle infinite rappresentazioni prodotte dagli *imagineers* della Disney[33] si può allora prendere spunto per introdurre il tema centrale di *Architecture After Modernism*. Alla questione del *public space*[34] e dei crescenti processi di disneyficazione/privatizzazione dello spazio pubblico in corso oramai da qualche decennio nelle città degli Stati Uniti, dell'Europa e dell'Asia orientale e in generale nelle società dominate da sistemi economici neoliberisti è dedicato il primo capitolo del libro. Da Anaheim a sudest di *downtown* Los Angeles fino a Times Square, i parchi tematici, come le squadre sportive, le case editrici, le emittenti televisive, i giornali e intere città nuove costituiscono il luogo elettivo degli investimenti finanziari delle più grandi *corporation* internazionali[35]. Luogo tangibile, spazio percorribile, ma anche metafora urbana, il parco tematico è forse una delle rappresentazioni più efficaci dell'idea contemporanea dello spazio collettivo nella metropoli postindustriale, l'immagine forse più drammatica della riduzione progressiva di una possibile sfera pubblica reale per i cittadini[36]. Prima ancora esso costituisce una delle formule economicamente vincenti di una crescita quasi senza sosta fondata sul consumo massificato di immagini e di stili di vita e sull'uso – a pagamento ed entro una rigida cornice di regole, tariffe, confini e nel rispetto di codici di comportamento fissati preventivamente per garantire al visitatore sicurezza e *comfort*[37] – di architetture e di spazi spettacolari[38], i cui artefici materiali sono stati accuratamente scelti tra i più affermati rappresentanti di una ristretta comunità internazionale di architetti[39].

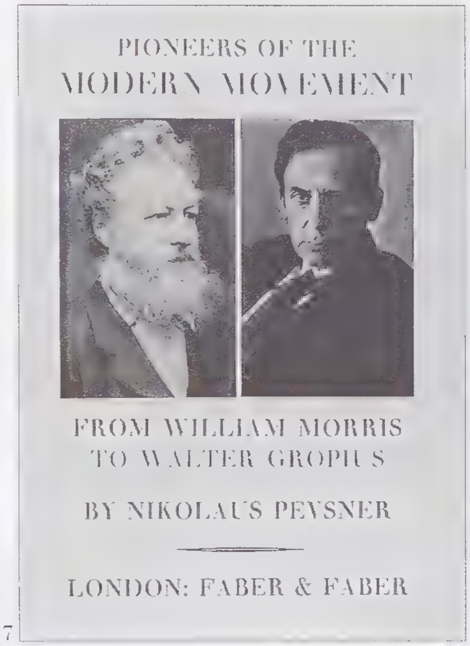
Si tratta di un tema architettonico e urbano dalle infinite possibili interpretazioni: dallo *shopping mall* come riproduzione in miniatura di un universo di valori sociali, economici ed estetici[40], al *campus* universitario dove ogni singolo edificio è firmato da un architetto alla moda[41], al museo come santuario, emporio e teatro in cui si espongono oggetti d'arte ma si organizzano anche spettacoli, si proiettano film e si tengono conferenze[42], al centro storico della città europea trasformato in parco di divertimento e di consumo permanente e in luogo esclusivo di residenze in crescenti processi di *gentrification*[43].

7. Frontespizio di N. Pevsner, Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius, *Faber and Faber, Londra 1936.*

7. Title page of N. Pevsner, Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius, *Faber and Faber, London 1936.*

the reasoning behind each thematic choice. The result is the construction of a shared sense of the history of 20th-century architecture identified with that group of buildings, from the Sydney Opera House to the Centre Georges Pompidou, from Fallingwater to Ronchamp, that are almost immediately recognizable for a vast audience of laymen, as the most strongly emblematic images of this century[26]*. In the age of postcolonialism, the narrative of Curtis widens its geographical boundaries to include developing countries or countries outside the western world, leading the way for a trend that has characterized more recent works, but without substantially altering the reasons why the buildings in this history remain firmly in their places as the monuments of the 20th century.*

7



PIONEERS OF THE
MODERN MOVEMENT

FROM WILLIAM MORRIS
TO WALTER GROPIUS

BY NIKOLAUS PEVSNER

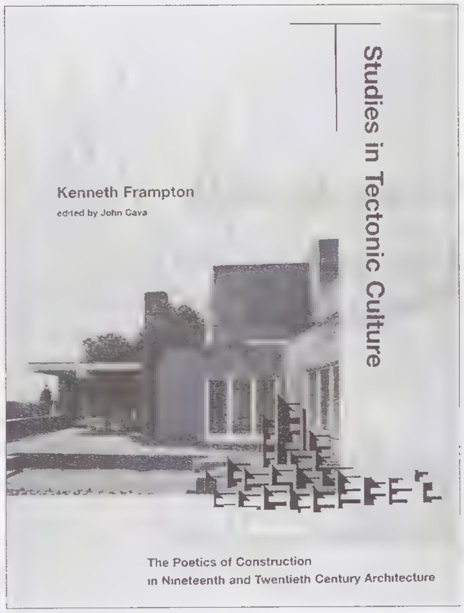
LONDON: FABER & FABER

Architecture and the city as world showcase, privatopia and fantasyland

The comprehensive, coherent work of Diane Ghirardo[27] *contains a radical, severe critique of the claims of an utterly formal autonomy for the discipline of architectural history. In an essay published in 1984 in the magazine of Yale University, "Perspecta", Ghirardo expresses her opinion on the architectural historiography of the 20th century, referring to Curtis's text as follows*[28]*:* "Balance implies exorcizing political, social, and ideological considerations of the sort that he finds in the versions of history offered by Kenneth Frampton or Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, «who emphasize ideology at the expense of other matters»"[29]. *After the age of operative criticism Curtis sets out to restore what Geoffrey Scott had already hoped for in 1914: works of architecture as* "aesthetic objects *par excellence* beyond all possible reproach"[30]. *Categories that are still all part of a historical-artistic disciplinary tradition cannot be objectively assessed: the history of architecture without its aspects of civil commitment is a mutilated history,* "lobotomized"[31], *reflecting a point of view that has been generally absorbed, a dominant value system, an artificial narrative concocted to avoid problems. The reassuring architectural universe presented by this history can be compared to the plot lines in the films of Walt Disney:* "Soothing in the promise of happy endings, simplified with clear-cut villains and heroes, and seductive in the presentation of a world that in so many ways simply does not correspond to the one in which we live"[32]. *The multicolored worlds of cartoons evoked by the name of this major multinational corporation becomes, for*

8. Copertina di K. Frampton, Studies in Tectonic Culture. The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture, *Mit Press, Cambridge-Londra 1995.*

8. Cover of K. Frampton, Studies in Tectonic Culture. The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture, *Mit Press, Cambridge-London 1995.*



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Di fronte alle difficoltà di una sintesi equilibrata in uno spazio limitato, il testo di Ghirardo abbandona saggiamente ogni pretesa di esaustività e seleziona il suo oggetto sulla base di pochi temi ritenuti significativi all'interno dei quali limita la scelta delle architetture sulla scorta di una conoscenza diretta, una scelta che, inevitabilmente, cade su alcune realtà culturali – comunque emblematiche e anticipatrici di tendenze a venire – a discapito di altre. L'autrice individua alcuni degli "*emblemi più persistenti di un decennio segnato dall'avidità e dallo spreco*"[44], operazioni edilizie a grande scala nei settori dello spazio pubblico, delle abitazioni e della ristrutturazione urbana: i parchi tematici di Disney (e le loro quasi infinite emulazioni nei progetti di centri commerciali, come di musei e di biblioteche), l'Internationale Bauausstellung di Berlino, la riconversione dei Docklands londinesi, la storia degli attori economici – pubblici e privati – di quelle operazioni, dei loro fallimenti parziali, del ruolo di legittimazione culturale svolto dagli architetti e degli inevitabili riflessi sul valore antropologico e sociale dello spazio pubblico[45]. La giustificazione di una scelta così esclusiva appare seducente: in ognuno di questi progetti il ruolo dell'architettura è stato cruciale nel fornire un universo di immagini facilmente spendibili; così, la partecipazione, ad invito o attraverso filtri fortemente selettivi, dei maggiori studi di architettura internazionali, ha fornito a queste operazioni il grado necessario di legittimazione culturale; inoltre, tutti e tre i casi, in modo diverso, sono presentati come emblematici delle modalità in cui la professione architettonica viene esercitata nelle società occidentali dagli anni Settanta in avanti.
Alcuni temi ricorrenti al centro dell'interesse di Ghirardo contribuiscono a tracciare un quadro dell'architettura del Ventesimo secolo sempre meno legato al primato dell'analisi formale. Tra questi la figura e il ruolo dell'architetto nella società[46], l'accento posto sulla produzione edilizia come campo distinto dall'architettura[47], la diffusione e la volgarizzazione del gusto insita nel fenomeno della replica e della copia dei modelli "alti"[48], la marginalità in termini quantitativi del ruolo degli architetti colti nella costruzione del paesaggio edilizio[49], le modalità di assegnazione dei progetti, i meccanismi concorsuali, di cooptazione e di esclusione[50], il rapporto, spesso inevaso, tra riflessione teorico-architettonica e istanze sociali[51], tra architettura e questione ambientale[52], i risvolti del nuovo assetto postindustriale sulla professione dell'architetto[53]. Alcune predilezioni tematiche sono identificabili nel testo

Ghirardo, the pretext for considerations shared today by a generation of architectural historians, urban critics and sociologists.
From the world of infinite representations produced by the Disney imagineers[33] *we can, therefore, find the impulse for the introduction of the central theme of* Architecture After Modernism. *The first chapter of the book is on the question of public space*[34] *and the increasing processes of its disneyfication/privatization, underway for several decades now in the cities of the United States, Europe and the Far East, and in general in societies dominated by neo-free trade systems. From Anaheim southeast of downtown Los Angeles to Times Square, theme parks, like sport teams, publishing companies, television channels, newspapers and entire new cities, represent the favored zone of financial investment for the largest international corporations*[35]. *A tangible place, a physical space, but also an urban metaphor, the theme park is perhaps one of the most effective representations of the contemporary idea of collective space in the postindustrial metropolis, perhaps the most dramatic image of the progressive reduction of a possible real public sphere for citizens*[36]. *Above all, it represents one of the economically successful* formulae *of a nearly ceaseless growth based on the mass consumption of images and lifestyles, and on the use – by payment, within a rigid framework of rules, fees, borders, and in keeping with a code of behavior defined in advance to ensure the safety and comfort of the visitor*[37] *– of spectacular spaces and works of architecture*[38], *whose makers have been carefully selected from among the most representative exponents of a limited international community of architects*[39].
This is an architectural and urban theme with an infinity of possible interpretations: from the shopping mall as a miniature reproduction of a universe of social, economic and aesthetic values[40], *to the university campus in which each single building is the work of a fashionable architect*[41], *to the museum as a shrine, emporium and theater in which art objects are displayed, but also performances, films, conferences*[42], *to the historical center of the European city transformed into a permanent amusement-consumption park, and an exclusive place of residence based on a widespread logic of gentrification*[43].
Faced with the difficulties of a balanced synthesis in a limited space, Ghirardo's text wisely abandons any attempt to be exhaustive, selecting its subject on the basis of a few themes seen as particularly significant. Within these themes, the choice of the works of architecture discussed is limited to works directly familiar to the author, a choice which inevitably orients the work toward certain cultural realities – which are nevertheless emblematic, forerunners of future trends – at the expense of others. The author identifies some of the "most enduring emblems of a decade of greed and waste"[44], *large-scale development operations in the sectors of public space, residential building and urban restructuring: the theme parks of Disney (and their nearly infinite emulations in the designs of shopping malls, museums, libraries), the Internationale Bauausstellung of Berlin, the London Docklands renewal project, the history of the economic actors – both public and private – involved in these operations, of their partial failures, of the role of cultural legitimization played by the architects and of the inevitable impact on the anthropological and social value of public space*[45].
The justification for such an exclusive choice is rather seductive: in each of these projects, the role of architecture has been crucial for the supply of a universe of easily spendable images, and thus the participation, by invitation or through other very selective filtering mechanisms, of the leading international architecture firms has provided these operations with the necessary degree of cultural legitimacy. Moreover, all three cases, in different ways, are presented as emblems of the ways in which the architectural profession has been practiced in western societies, from the Seventies to the present.
Certain recurring themes in the work of Ghirardo contribute to trace an outline of the architecture of the 20th century that is less and less connected to the emphasis on formal analysis. These themes include the figure and the role of the architect in the society[46], *the accent on building production as a field that is separate from architecture*[47], *the diffusion and popularization of taste inherent in the phenomenon of the replication and copying of "high" models*[48], *the marginal* status, *in quantitative terms, of the role of cultured architects in the construction of the edified landscape*[49], *the modes of assignment of commissions, the mechanisms of competitions, of coopting and exclusion*[50], *the relationship, often ignored, between theoretical architectural reflection and social issues*[51], *between architecture and environmental issues*[52], *and the repercussions of the new postindustrial order on the profession of the architect*[53].
Certain favored themes can be seen in the text, often

ed hanno spesso a che fare con questioni generalmente eluse dalle storie dell'architettura, legate alla sua promozione e riguardanti l'inclusione di categorie minoritarie e culturalmente svantaggiate della professione architettonica, donne[54] e professionisti non occidentali[55], l'identificazione di un gruppo di architetture ascrivibili al cosiddetto *critical regionalism*[56] e, insieme, il recupero di alcune figure poco trattate quali Mark Mack[57], Antoine Predock, Judith Scheine, Enrique Norten di Ten Arquitectos, Juvenal Baracco, Ada Karmi-Melamede, Carlos Jiménez, Abdul El-Wakil, per i quali la professione dell'architettura si identifica con la messa a punto di un mestiere, di un fare quasi artigianale[58]. L'attenzione a culture "altre" rispetto all'Occidente è in realtà una costante di molte delle ultime sintesi storiografiche, da *Modern Architecture* di Curtis[59] a *Studies in Tectonic Culture* di Frampton[60]. L'interesse per architetture solo in parte identificabili con l'etimo razionalista/funzionalista, da Dimitris Pikionis a Hassan Fathy, da Jean Prouvé a Robert Maillart, da Rex Martienssen a Oscar Niemeyer, è la risposta ad un'istanza di complessificazione di una formula, quella dell'International Style, la cui fortuna è fondata su una riduzione di senso. Il recupero dell'interesse storico per linguaggi radicati in culture locali periferiche rappresenta un allontanamento cosciente da quell'equivoco, raccoglie i suggerimenti dei ragionamenti che Frampton sviluppa alla fine degli anni Settanta sulla nozione di *critical regionalism* e articola le problematiche del *politically correct* anglosassone.
Lo stesso tentativo di Frampton di rifondare la disciplina a partire da un'idea della professione slegata dalle tendenze dominanti del gusto, concepita come esercizio modesto di un mestiere, è comprensibile essenzialmente in questo nuovo quadro culturale.
Così sono legati ai programmi formativi di *Theory* and *History* della riflessione architettonica statunitense, e alle sue contaminazioni col ricco filone della *Cultural History*, temi come la progettazione partecipativa coordinata tra utenti, architetti e istituzioni[61], le *gated communities* come una delle componenti essenziali del cosiddetto New Urbanism, da Bel Air sulle eleganti colline di Los Angeles, munito di propria pattuglia privata di polizia, dove si minaccia "armed response" a chiunque non rispetti il divieto imposto dalla siepe o dal recinto, alla *new town* di Seaside, Florida[62], celebre *set* di *The Truman Show*, film altrettanto rappresentativo di questo fine millennio.

Malgrado il forte contenuto critico, il testo è in grado di cogliere alcune prospettive di sviluppo futuro di una cultura architettonica e urbanistica attenta ad istanze diverse da quelle espresse dalle città-fortezza e dai parchi tematici, dai centri commerciali o dai diversi giardini dell'Eden che i monopoli finanziari moltiplicano in tutto il mondo. Una storia, quella di Ghirardo, che lascia intravvedere alcuni suggerimenti operativi, alcune alternative al disastro profetizzato ad oltranza dalle letture millenaristiche ed escatologiche proprie di una letteratura recente[63].
La scelta di due testi così distanti, nella struttura come nella scrittura, può aiutare a sottolineare questioni di costruzione di nuove o vecchie tradizioni nel dibattito architettonico contemporaneo. In questo dibattito si scontrano da un lato l'accettazione della riduzione dell'architettura ad arte e della storia dell'architettura a disciplina estetica e dall'altro la ricerca di una rifondazione culturale dell'architettura basata sulla sua complessità; la storia come racconto, sia pure non più finalistico, di avanguardie e l'affermazione di una dialettica serrata e mai univoca tra mercati delle società di massa e produzioni intellettuali; il primato di una tradizione ancora radicata nelle geografie che la prima metà del secolo sancisce e l'apertura verso "periferie" proposte come modelli alternativi di lettura, oltre che come riserve di esempi.

Note

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1) R. WILLIAMS, *A factor in his success*, in "Times Literary Supplement", 3 settembre 1999, pp. 13-14.

2) Si veda per tutti il caso delle *country houses* in Inghilterra e, in proposito: P. MANDLER, *The Rise and Fall of the Stately Home*, Yale University Press, New Haven-London 1997.

3) Cfr., tra i molti, i seguenti volumi pubblicati dal Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities di Los Angeles: O. WAGNER, *Modern Architecture. A Guidebook for His Students to This Field of Art*, introduzione e traduzione di H.F. Mallgrave, 1988; *In What Style Should We Build? The German Debate on Architectural Style*, introduzione e traduzione di W. Hermann, 1992; H. MUTHESIUS, *Style-Architecture and Building Art. Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and Its Present Condition*, introduzione e traduzione di S. Anderson, 1994; S. GIEDION, *Building in France. Building in Iron. Building in Ferroconcrete*, introduzione di S. Georgiadis, traduzione di D. Berry, 1995; *Hendrik Petrus Berlage: Thoughts on Style, 1886-1909*, introduzione di I. Boyd White, traduzione di I. Boyd White e W. de Wit, 1996; A. BEHNE, *The Modern Functional Building*, introduzione di R. Haag Bletter, traduzione di M. Robinson, 1996.

4) J.P. BONTA, *Architecture and Its Interpretation. A Study in Expressive Systems in Architecture*, Lund Humphries, Londra 1979; M.L. SCALVINI, M.G. SANDRI, *L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da*

having to do with questions that are generally avoided in the histories of architecture, linked to its promotion and regarding the inclusion of minorities or culturally disadvantaged categories in the profession: women[54] *and non-occidental professionals*[55]*, the identification of a group of works that can be ascribed to so-called critical regionalism*[56] *and, at the same time, the reassessment of certain overlooked figures such as Mark Mack*[57]*, Antoine Predock, Judith Scheine, Enrique Norten of Ten Arquitectos, Juvenal Baracco, Ada Karmi-Melamede, Carlos Jiménez, Abdul El-Wakil, for whom the profession of architecture means the development of a trade, an almost craftsmanlike approach*[58]*. The focus on "other" cultures, with respect to the West, is actually a constant in many of the latest historiographic syntheses, from* Modern Architecture *by Curtis*[59] *to* Studies in Tectonic Culture *by Frampton*[60]*. The interest in works of architecture that can only partially be identified with rationalist/functionalist roots, from Dimitris Pikionis to Hassan Fathy, Jean Prouvé to Robert Maillart, Rex Martienssen to Oscar Niemeyer, is the response to a need for the complexification of a formula, that of the International Style, whose success was based on a reduction of meaning. The return of historical interest in languages rooted in peripheral local cultures represents a conscious distancing from that misunderstanding, following the suggestions of the reasoning Frampton developed at the end of the Seventies on the notion of critical regionalism and articulating the issues of the politically correct. Frampton's attempt to refound the discipline based on an idea of the profession disconnected from the dominant taste trends, conceived as the modest practice of a craft, is essentially comprehensible within this cultural framework.*
Thus the formative programs of Theory and History in the United States and their contaminations with the varied range of works of Cultural History are connected with themes like partecipative design[61] *and the gated communities. These are seen as one of the essential components of the so-called New Urbanism, from Bel Air in the elegant hills of Los Angeles, with its own private police force, where the threat of "armed response" awaits anyone who dares to go beyond the boundaries established by a hedge or a fence, to the "new town" of Seaside, Florida*[62]*, famous as the set for* The Truman Show*, a film which is equally representative of this end-of-the-millennium.*
It spite of its highly critical content, the text is capable of grasping certain perspectives for future development of an architectural and urbanistic culture that would be attentive to different claims, other than those expressed by the city-fortress and the theme park, by shopping malls and the various Gardens of Eden the financial monopolies are propagating all over the world. Ghirardo's history offers glimpses of certain operative suggestions, certain alternatives the disaster so amply foreseen by the end-of-millennium doomsday ravings of recent literature[63]*.*
The choice of two such different texts, both in terms of structure and of writing, can help us to underline questions of construction of new and old traditions in the contemporary architectural debate. In this debate the clash is between, on the one hand, the acceptance of the reduction of architecture to art, and of the history of architecture to an aesthetic discipline, and on the other the pursuit of a cultural refoundation of architecture based on its complexity; history as a story, although no longer one with a pre-set moral, of avant-gardes, and the affirmation of a dense, never univocal dialectic between the markets of mass society and intellectual output; the primacy of a tradition still rooted in the geographies sanctioned by the first half of the century, and the opening toward "peripheries" proposed as alternative models of interpretation, as well as storehouses of examples.

Notes
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1) R. WILLIAMS, A factor in his success, *in "Times Literary Supplement", 3 September 1999, pp. 13-14.*
2) See the case of the "country houses" in England, and, on this subject: P. MANDLER, The Rise and Fall of the Stately Home, *Yale University Press, New Haven-London 1997.*
3) Cf., among the many works, the following publications issued by the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles: O. WAGNER, Modern Architecture. A Guidebook for His Students to This Field of Art, *introduction and translation by H.F. Mallgrave, 1988;* In What Style Should We Build? The German Debate on Architectural Style, *introduction and translation by W. Hermann, 1992; H. MUTHESIUS,* Style-Architecture and Building Art. Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and Its Present Condition, *introduction and translation by S. Anderson, 1994; S. GIEDION,* Building in France. Building in Iron. Building in Ferroconcrete, *introduction by S. Georgiadis, translation by D. Berry, 1995;* Hendrik Petrus Berlage: Thoughts on Style, 1886-1909, *introduction by I. Boyd White, translation by I. Boyd White and W. de Wit, 1996; A. BEHNE,* The Modern Functional Building, *introduction by R. Haag Bletter, translation by M. Robinson, 1996.*
4) J.P. BONTA, Architecture and Its Interpretation. A Study in Expressive Systems in Architecture, *Lund Humphries, London 1979; M.L. SCALVINI, M.G. SANDRI,* L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da Platz a Giedion, *Officina Edizioni, Rome 1984; in particular, on Giedion see* Sigfried Giedion: un progetto storico, *monographic issue of "Rassegna", n. 25,*

Platz a Giedion, Officina Edizioni, Roma 1984; in particolare su Giedion si veda *Sigfried Giedion: un progetto storico*, numero monografico di "Rassegna", n. 25, 1987; R. LANDAU, *The history of Modern architecture that still needs to be written*, in "AA Files", n. 21, 1991, pp. 49-54; F. IRACE, *Storie e storiografia dell'architettura contemporanea*, Jaca Book, Milano 1992.
5) Cfr. D. SHERER, *L'architettura nel labirinto. Teoria e critica negli Stati Uniti: "Oppositions", "Assemblage", "Any" (1973-1999)*, in "Zodiac", n. 20, 1999, pp. 36-63.
6) W.J.R. CURTIS, *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, Phaidon, Oxford 1982 (seconda ed. 1987; terza ed. riveduta e ampliata 1996; ristampa 1997; trad. it. *L'architettura moderna del Novecento*, a cura di A. Barbara e C. Rodriquez, Bruno Mondadori, Milano 1999). Qui mi riferirò al testo dell'ultima edizione in lingua originale; ID., *Contemporary transformations in Modern architecture*, in "Architectural Record", giugno 1989, pp. 108-117; ID., *Lo único y lo universal: una perspectiva de historiador sobre arquitectura reciente*, in "Croquis", n. 88-89, 1998, pp. 2-20.
7) Cfr. G. MACRAE-GIBSON, *The Continuity of the Modern*, in "Perspecta", n. 21, 1984, pp. 6-11. Questo saggio approfondisce alcune delle idee dominanti il dibattito architettonico nel decennio in questione e può costituire una premessa teorica al testo di Curtis. Si veda anche M. McLEOD, *Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: from Postmodernism to Deconstructivism*, in "Assemblage", n. 8, 1989, pp. 19-52.
8) J. SUMMERSON, *L'analogia dannosa*, in "Domus", n. 702, 1989, pp. 17-28.
9) G. SCOTT, *The architecture of humanism. A study in the history of taste*, Constable, London 1914 (trad. it.: *L'architettura dell'umanesimo*, Dedalo, Bari 1978).
10) W.J.R. CURTIS, *Contemporary transformations in Modern architecture*, cit., p. 117.
11) *Ibid.*, p. 110.
12) Cfr. C. OLMO, *La voce* style *nel* Dictionnaire *di Viollet-le-Duc*, in ID., *Architettura edilizia. Ipotesi per una storia*, Eri, Torino 1975, pp. 73-77, dove si chiarisce la distinzione tra la nozione generale e univoca di stile e la nozione fenomenologica e pluriforme degli stili propria dell'eclettismo storicistico.
13) Per "*autenticità*" si intende genuinità, appropriatezza, probità. Cfr. N.K. SMITH, *Architectural Authenticity*, in "Perspecta", n. 20, 1983, pp. 215-219; J.W.R. CURTIS, *Modern architecture, monumentality and the meaning of institutions: reflections on authenticity*, in "Harvard Architecture Review", Spring 1984, pp. 64-85.
14) Come è noto la definizione di "*critica operativa*" è in M. Tafuri, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, Laterza, Bari 1968, p. 165.
15) W.J.R. CURTIS, *Modern Architecture...*, cit., pp. 371-372.
16) D. WATKIN, *Morality and Architecture: the development of a theme of architectural history and theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement*, Clarendon Press, Oxford-Londra 1977 (trad. it. *Architettura e moralità*, Jaca Book, Milano 1982). L'importanza di questo scritto, originato da una lezione tenuta nel 1968 agli studenti di Cambridge, va ricercata nell'avere, per la prima volta, ripresa e riletta l'istanza della "*moral rigthness*", un'istanza che, secondo l'autore, percorre la storia dell'architettura, dall'Inghilterra vittoriana di A.W.N. Pugin e John Ruskin fino a una delle prime interpretazioni storiografiche "militanti" dell'architettura moderna, quella dello storico tedesco, stabilitosi in Inghilterra nel 1933, Nikolaus Pevsner, che nel testo duramente attacca. Il significato del libro appare legato anche al periodo storico e alla particolare congiuntura politica in cui viene prodotto e conosce fortuna, diventando messaggio e bandiera di un progressivo allontanamento dall'architettura moderna e dai suoi dogmi, un processo che in Inghilterra ha i suoi riflessi storiografici nella riabilitazione di figure di architetti fino ad allora escluse dalla storiografia dei maestri, come Sir Edwin Lutyens, riabilitazione completatasi con una mostra tenuta all'Hayward Gallery di Londra nel 1981.
17) W.J.R. CURTIS, *Morality and Architecture* [recensione], in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", n. 3, 1979, pp. 304-307. Si confronti anche con ID., *Le Corbusier/English Architecture 1930's*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes 1975.
18) W.J.R. CURTIS, *Modern Architecture...*, cit., p. 33.
19) Si confronti la prima edizione di N. PEVSNER, *Pioneers of Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, Faber and Faber, Londra 1936; ID., *Pioneers of Modern Design from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, MoMA, New York 1949; ID., *Pioneers of Modern Design from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1960. Si veda inoltre ID., *Introduction*, in *Art Nouveau in Britain*, catalogo della mostra, Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, 6-27 febbraio 1965, The Arts Council, Londra 1965, pp. 2-4; ID., *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design*, Thames and Hudson, Londra 1968.
20) M. TAFURI, F. DAL CO, *Architettura Contemporanea*, Electa, Milano 1976, pp. 5-6.
21) W.J.R. CURTIS, *Modern Architecture...*, cit., p. 54.
22) W.J.R. CURTIS, E.F. SEKLER, *Le Corbusier at Work: The Genesis of the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Ma)-Londra 1980; ID., *Ideas of structure and the structure of ideas: Le Corbusier's Pavillon Suisse 1930-1931*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", n. 4, 1981, pp. 295-310; ID., *Celebrating Chandigarh: 50 years of the idea. Report 1: Le Corbusier's Capitol in Chandigarh. A cosmic and political landscape*, in "A+U. Architecture and Urbanism", n. 5, 1999, pp. 116-128. Una delle figure predilette dell'universo architettonico di Curtis è Denys Lasdun e le discussioni sui rimaneggiamenti di alcuni suoi edifici lo coinvolgeranno sulle pagine di "The Architects' Journal" alla fine degli anni Ottanta. Cfr. W.J.R. CURTIS, *Letter from the South Bank: if it ain't broke...*, in "The Architects' Journal", n. 25, 25 giugno 1988, p. 30; J. MELVIN, *Letter from Lambeth: a job well done*, in "The Architects' Journal", n. 4, 23 luglio 1988, p. 30; W.J.R. CURTIS, *Denys Lasdun and his place in the modern tradition*, in "World Architecture", n. 14, 1991, pp. 34-39; ID., *Denys Lasdun*, Phaidon, London 1994; ID., *Lasdun in Luxembourg: continuation of a theme*, in "The Architects' Journal", n. 12, 28 settembre 1995, pp. 28-30.
23) W.J.R. CURTIS, *Modern Architecture...*, cit., p. 38.
24) ID., *Contemporary transformations in Modern architecture*, cit., p. 108.
25) *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.
26) P. OLIVER, *Modern Architecture Since 1900 [by] William J. R. Curtis* [recensione], in "Oxford Art Journal", n. 2, 1983, pp. 55-56; B. DONHAN, *Revisionist Modernism*, in "Progressive Architecture", n. 5, 1984, p. 185; P. SERENYI, *William J. Curtis Modern Architecture Since 1900* [recensione], in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", n. 3, 1984, pp. 274-277; D. GRAY, *William J. Curtis Modern Architecture Since 1900* [recensione], in "AA Files", n. 16, 1987, pp. 101-104; P. BLUNDELL-JONES, *Curtis' Corbusian bent: Modern architecture since 1900* [recensione], in "The Architects' Journal", n. 22, 1 giugno 1988, p. 79; J.-C. GARCIAS, *Entre Charybde et Scilla*, in "Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n. 308, 1996, p. 10; H. VAN DIJK, *Modern Architecture Since 1900 [by] William J. R. Curtis* [recensione], in "Archis", n. 6, 1997, pp. 88-89.
27) Diane Ghirardo insegna all'University of Southern California di Los Angeles, dalla fine degli anni Settanta pubblica saggi su "Perspecta", "Casabella", "Progressive Architecture", "Any", "GSD News", "JSAH", "JAE", "Werk", "Harvard Architecture Review", "The Architectural Review". Ha tradotto in inglese *L'architettura della città* di Aldo Rossi (*The Architecture of the City*, traduzione di D. Ghirardo e J. Ockman, Mit Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1982) e nel 1996 ha pubblicato una delle prime e più originali sintesi dell'architettura dal 1965 ad oggi finora disponibili: *Architecture After Modernism*, Thames and Hudson, Londra 1996. Si vedano inoltre ID. (a cura di), *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture*, Bay Press, Seattle 1991; *Past or post modern in architectural fashion*, in "Journal of Architectural Education", n. 4, 1986, pp. 2-6; *A Taste of Money: Architecture and Criticism in Houston*, in "Harvard Architecture Review", n. 6, 1987, pp. 88-97; *Authenticity or Rambo redux*, in "The Architectural Review", n. 1109, 1989, pp. 47-50; *Peter Eisenman: il* camouflage *dell'avanguardia*, in "Casabella", n. 613, 1994, pp. 22-27, 69-70; ripubblicato come *Eisenman's bogus avant-garde*,

1987; R. LANDAU, The history of Modern architecture that still needs to be written, *in "AA Files", n. 21, 1991, pp. 49-54; F. IRACE,* Storie e storiografia dell'architettura contemporanea, *Jaca Book, Milan 1992.*
5) Cfr. D. SHERER, Architecture in the Labyrinth. Theory and Criticism in the United States: "Oppositions", "Assemblage", "Any" (1973-1999), *in "Zodiac", n. 20, 1999, pp. 36-63.*
6) W.J.R. CURTIS, Modern Architecture Since 1900, *Phaidon, Oxford 1982 (second ed. 1987; third edition revised and expanded 1996; reprinted 1997). In this essay I am referring to the last original edition; ID.,* Contemporary transformations in Modern architecture, *in "Architectural Record", June 1989, pp. 108-117; ID.,* Lo único y lo universal: una perspectiva de historiador sobre arquitectura reciente, *in "Croquis", n. 88-89, 1998, pp. 2-20.*
7) Cf. G. MACRAE-GIBSON, The Continuity of the Modern, *in "Perspecta", n. 21, 1984, pp. 6-11. This essay discusses some of the dominant ideas in the architectural debate of the decade in question and can constitute a theoretical premise for the text by Curtis. See also M. MC LEOD,* Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: from Postmodernism to Deconstructivism, *in "Assemblage", n. 8, 1989, pp. 19-52.*
8) J. SUMMERSON, L'analogia dannosa, *in "Domus", n. 702, 1989, pp. 17-28.*
9) G. SCOTT, The architecture of humanism. A study in the history of taste, *Constable, London 1914.*
10) W.J.R. CURTIS, Contemporary transformations in Modern architecture, *cit., p. 117.*
11) Ibid., *p. 110.*
12) Cfr. C. OLMO, La voce *style* nel *Dictionnaire* di Viollet-le-Duc, *in ID.,* Architettura edilizia. Ipotesi per una storia, *Eri, Turin 1975, pp. 73-77, clarifying the distinction between the general, univocal notion of style and the phenomenological, multiform notion of styles belonging to historicist eclecticism.*
13) By "authenticity" *we mean genuineness, appropriateness, integrity. Cf. N.K. SMITH,* Architectural Authenticity, *in "Perspecta", n. 20, 1983, pp. 215-219; J.W.R. CURTIS,* Modern architecture, monumentality and the meaning of institutions: reflections on authenticity, *in "Harvard Architecture Review", Spring 1984, pp. 64-85.*
14) As is well-known, the definition of "critica operativa" *is in M. Tafuri,* Teorie e storia dell'architettura, *Laterza, Bari 1968, p. 165 [engl. ed.:* Theories and history of architecture, *London-New York 1980].*
15) W.J.R. CURTIS, Modern Architecture..., *cit., pp. 371-372.*
16) D. WATKIN, Morality and Architecture: the development of a theme of architectural history and theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement, *Clarendon Press, Oxford-London 1977. The importance of this text, which originated with a lecture held in 1968 for the students of Cambridge, lies in the fact that, for the first time, it returns to and reinterprets the claim of the* "moral rightness", *a claim which, according to the author, continues throughout the history of architecture, from the Victorian England of A.W.N. Pugin and John Ruskin, down to the first "militant" historiographic interpretation of modern architecture, that of the German history, who moved to England in 1933, Nikolaus Pevsner, who is harshly attacked in the text. The meaning of the book seems to also be connected to the historical period and the particular political situation in which it was produced and met with success, becoming the message and banner of a gradual rejection of modern architecture and its dogmas, a process which in England has had historiographic reflections in the rehabilitation of figures of architects excluded from the historiography of the masters, such as Sir Edwin Lutyens, a rehabilitation completed with an exhibition held at the Hayward Gallery in London in 1981.*
17) W.J.R. CURTIS, Morality and Architecture *[book review], in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", n. 3, 1979, pp. 304-307. Cfr. also ID.,* Le Corbusier/English Architecture 1930's, *Open University Press, Milton Keynes 1975.*
18) W.J.R. CURTIS, Modern Architecture..., *cit., p. 33.*
19) Cfr. the first edition of N. PEVSNER, Pioneers of Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius, *Faber and Faber, London 1936; ID.,* Pioneers of Modern Design from William Morris to Walter Gropius, *MoMA, New York 1949; ID.,* Pioneers of Modern Design from William Morris to Walter Gropius, *Penguin, Harmondsworth 1960. See also ID.,* Introduction, *in* Art Nouveau in Britain, *exhibition catalog, Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, 6-27 February 1965, The Arts Council, London 1965, pp. 2-4; ID.,* The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design, *Thames and Hudson, London 1968.*
20) M. TAFURI, F. DAL CO, Architettura Contemporanea, *Electa, Milan 1976, pp. 5-6 [engl. ed.:* Modern architecture, *New York 1979].*
21) W.J.R. CURTIS, Modern Architecture..., *cit., p. 54.*
22) W.J.R. CURTIS, E.F. SEKLER, Le Corbusier at Work: The Genesis of the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, *Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Ma)-London 1980; ID.,* Ideas of structure and the structure of ideas: Le Corbusier's Pavillon Suisse 1930-1931, *in "Journal of the Society of Architetctural Historians", n. 4, 1981, pp. 295-310; ID.,* Celebrating Chandigarh: 50 years of the idea. Report 1: Le Corbusier's Capitol in Chandigarh. A cosmic and political landscape, *in "A+U. Architecture and Urbanism", n. 5, 1999, pp. 116-128. One of the favorite figures in the architectural universe of Curtis is Denys Lasdun, and the discussions on the reworkings of some of his buildings got him involved on the pages of "The Architects' Journal" at the end of the Eighties. Cf. W.J.R. CURTIS,* Letter from the South Bank: if it ain't broke..., *in "The Architects' Journal", n. 25, 25 June 1988, p. 30; J. MELVIN,* Letter from Lambeth: a job well done, *in "The Architects' Journal", n. 4, 23 July 1988, p. 30; W.J.R. CURTIS,* Denys Lasdun and his place in the modern tradition, *in "World Architecture", n. 14, 1991, pp. 34-39; ID.,* Denys Lasdun, *Phaidon, London 1994; ID.,* Lasdun in Luxembourg: continuation of a theme, *in "The Architects' Journal", n. 12, 28 September 1995, pp. 28-30.*
23) W.J.R. CURTIS, Modern Architecture..., *cit., p. 38.*
24) ID., Contemporary transformations in Modern architecture, *cit., p. 108.*
25) Ibid., *pp. 110-111.*
26) P. OLIVER, Modern Architecture Since 1900 [by] William J. R. Curtis *[book review], in "Oxford Art Journal", n. 2, 1983, pp. 55-56; B. DONHAN,* Revisionist Modernism, *in "Progressive Architecture", n. 5, 1984, p. 185; P. SERENYI,* William J. Curtis Modern Architecture Since 1900, *[book review], in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", n. 3, 1984, pp. 274-277; D. GRAY,* William J. Curtis Modern Architecture Since 1900 *[book review], in "AA Files", n. 16, 1987, pp. 101-104; P. BLUNDELL-JONES,* Curtis' Corbusian bent: Modern architecture since 1900 *[book review], in "The Architects' Journal", n. 22, 1 June 1988, p. 79; J.-C. GARCIAS,* Entre Charybde et Scilla, *in "Architecture d'Aujourd'hui", n. 308, 1996, p. 10; H. VAN DIJK,* Modern Architecture Since 1900 [by] William J. R. Curtis *[book review], in "Archis", n. 6, 1997, pp. 88-89.*
27) Diane Ghirardo teaches at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. Since the late Seventies she has published essays in "Perspecta", "Casabella", "Progressive Architecture", "Any", "GSD News", "JSAH", "JAE", "Werk", "Harvard Architecture Review", "The Architectural Review". She is the English translator of L'architettura della città *by Aldo Rossi (*The Architecture of the City, *translation by D. Ghirardo and J. Ockman, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1982), and in 1996 published one of the first and most original syntheses of architecture since 1965 available:* Architecture After Modernism, *Thames and Hudson, London 1996. See also ID. (ed.),* Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture, *Bay Press, Seattle 1991;* Past or post modern in architectural fashion, *in "Journal of Architectural Education", n. 4, 1986, pp. 2-6;* A Taste of Money: Architecture and Criticism in Houston, *in "Harvard Architecture Review", n. 6, 1987, pp. 88-97;* Authenticity or Rambo redux, *in "The Architectural Review", n. 1109, 1989, pp. 47-50;* Peter Eisenman: il *camouflage* dell'avanguardia, *in "Casabella", n. 613, 1994, pp. 22-27, 69-70; republished as* Eisenman's bogus avant-garde, *in "Progressive Architecture", n. 11, 1994, pp. 70-73, cf. ID.,* Architecture..., *cit., pp. 132-133.*
28) ID., Architecture of deceit, *in "Perspecta", n. 21, 1984, pp. 110-115.*
29) Ibid., *p. 111; W.J.R. CURTIS,* Modern Architecture..., *cit., pp. 6-11, 389-392; W.J.R. CURTIS,* Modern Architecture [by] Manfredo Tafuri, Francesco Dal Co *[book review], in "Journal of the Society of Architectural*

in "Progressive Architecture", n. 11, 1994, pp. 70-73; cfr. ID., *Architecture…*, cit., pp. 132-133.
28) ID., *Architecture of deceit*, in "Perspecta", n. 21, 1984, pp. 110-115.
29) *Ibid.*, p. 111; W.J.R. CURTIS, *Modern Architecture…*, cit., pp. 6-11, 389-392; W.J.R. CURTIS, *Modern Architecture [by] Manfredo Tafuri, Francesco Dal Co* [recensione], in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", n. 2, 1981, pp. 168-170.
30) D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture of deceit*, cit., p. 111.
31) *Ibid.*, p. 112.
32) *Ibid.*, p. 114.
33) Cfr. S. PACE, *Castelli, città e architettura nell'immaginario della Walt Disney*, in "Architettura e Arte", n. 5, 1999, pp. 29-32.
34) D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture After Modernism*, cit., pp. 43-44, 90. A questo proposito l'autrice distingue tra "*public space*" e "*social space*". Il "*public space*" sarebbe quindi quello spazio socialmente non eterogeneo che denota i luoghi ritenuti accessibili pubblicamente, parchi tematici, centri commerciali, fiere, musei dove in realtà l'accesso è rigidamente controllato e sottoposto a pratiche di esclusione basate su criteri di rango sociale, di sesso, di razza.
35) B.R. BARBER, *Cultura McWorld contro democrazia*, in "Le Monde Diplomatique. Il Manifesto", settembre 1998, pp. 20-21. Dopo aver annesso Times Square, la Disney ha rilevato Capital Cities/Abc per 19 miliardi di dollari e possiede la squadra di baseball degli Anaheim Angels. La News Corporation di Rupert Murdoch già proprietaria del Fox Television Network ha acquistato la squadra dei Los Angeles Dodgers concorrente degli Atlanta Braves di Ted Turner, vicepresidente di Time-Warner e dei Florida Marlins di Wayne Huizinga, proprietario della catena di Blockbuster Video.
36) S. VECA, *Ridefinire lo spazio pubblico*, in "Il Sole 24 Ore", n. 307, 8 novembre 1998, p. 36.
37) Sulle "gated communities", gli spazi pubblici esistenti in virtù di una pratica di esclusione basata su criteri di classe sociale, razza, sesso si vedano: M. DAVIES, *Fortress Los Angeles: The Militarization of Urban Space*, in M. SORKIN (a cura di), *Variations on a Theme Park. The New American City and the End of Public Space*, Hill and Wang, New York 1992, pp. 164-180, ripubblicato come ID., *Fortress L.A.*, in ID., *City of Quartz. Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*, [Verso, Londra 1990] Vintage Books, New York 1992, pp. 221-263; M. D'ERAMO, *150.000 fortezze assediate*, in ID., *Lo sciamano in elicottero: per una storia del presente*, Feltrinelli, Milano 1999, pp. 74-77; E. BLAKELY, M. GAIL SNYDER, *Fortress America. Gated Communities in the US*, Brooking Institute, Los Angeles 1997; E. McKENZIE, *Privatopia. Homeowner Associations in the Rise of Residential Private Government*, Yale University Press, Yale 1994.
38) Si veda ad esempio B. EECKHOUT, *Sign-of-the-Times Square: The Spectacle of Urban Transformation in the 1990s*, Conference of the Netherlands American Studies Association, *The American Metropolis. Image and Inspiration*, Roosevelt Study Center, Middelburg, 2-4 giugno 1999, in corso di pubblicazione.
39) Le riflessioni di Ghirardo trovano una eco significativa nei lavori di un gruppo impegnato di studiosi, architetti, urbanisti, sociologi urbani facenti capo alla University of Southern California e al dipartimento di pianificazione urbanistica della University of California di Los Angeles. M. SORKIN, *See you in Disneyland*, in "Design Quarterly", Winter 1992, pp. 5-13; ripubblicato in ID. (a cura di), *Variations on a Theme Park. The New American City and the End of Public Space*, Hill and Wang, New York 1992; recensito in G. MARTINOTTI, *Il nuovo mostro urbano*, in "Casabella", n. 616, 1994, pp. 50-51; si veda anche I. RODERICK, *Consumption spaces and meeting places*, in "A/R/C/ Architecture Research Criticism", n. 5, 1994-1995, pp. 50-55; M. CRAWFORD, *Contesting the public realm: struggles over public space in Los Angeles*, in "Journal of Architectural Education", n. 1, 1995, pp. 4-9; J. HANNIGAN, *Fantasy City. Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis*, Routledge, Londra-New York 1998; J. BYERS, *The privatization of downtown public space: the emerging grade-separated city in North America*, in "Journal of Planning Education and Research", Spring 1998, pp. 189-205.
40) M. CRAWFORD, *The World in a Shopping Mall*, in M. SORKIN (a cura di), *Variations on a Theme Park…*, cit., pp. 3-30; D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture…*, cit., pp. 64-79.
41) Il caso dell'University of California a Irvine, Orange County, è analizzato brillantemente da E.W. SOJA, *Inside Exopolis: Scenes from Orange County*, in M. SORKIN (a cura di), *Variations on a Theme Park…*, cit., pp. 94-122; D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture…*, cit., pp. 48-49.
42) K.W. FORSTER, *Tempio? Emporio? Teatro? Riflessioni su due decenni di museografia americana*, in "Zodiac", n. 6, 1991, pp. 30-74; M.C. BOYER, *Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport*, in M. SORKIN (a cura di), *Variations on a Theme Park…*, cit., pp. 181-204; D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture…*, cit., pp. 69-96.
43) R. IVY, *The New City as a Perpetual World Fair*, in "Architecture", n. 76, 1987, pp. 50-55; D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture…*, cit., pp. 172-173.
44) *Ibid.*, p. 41.
45) *Ibid.*, pp. 188-194.
46) *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 37-38, 107, 122-124, 154. Si tratta di un tema già centrale nella raccolta di saggi ID., *Out of Site…*, cit., in cui viene tentata una analisi critica delle condizioni della produzione architettonica negli Stati Uniti e della responsabilità sociale dell'architetto.
47) La stessa prospettiva è assunta dalla mostra tenutasi al MoCA di Los Angeles, R. FERGUSON (a cura di), *At the End of the Century. One Hundred Years of Architecture*, The Museum of Contemporary Art, Harry N. Abrams, Los Angeles 1998, pp. 35-36, dove si distingue tra "architecture" e "built environment", una denominazione utilizzata anche per denotare specifici corsi di studi universitari nei paesi anglosassoni.
48) D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture…*cit, pp. 23, 132; *At the End of the Century…*, cit, p. 36.
49) *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 34, 38, 146.
50) *Ibid.*, p. 28, 127.
51) *Ibid.*, p. 171.
52) *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 32, 39.
53) *Ibid.*, p. 38.
54) *Ibid.*, p. 168.
55) Si tratta di un interesse riscontrabile nei più recenti tentativi di storicizzazione; ad esempio, *At the End of the Century. One Hundred Years of Architecture…*, cit., in particolare E.A.T. SMITH, *Re-examining architecture and its history at the end of the century*, pp. 23-100.
56) Come è noto, la definizione di "critical regionalism" si deve a Kenneth Frampton, *Prospects for a Critical Regionalism*, in "Perspecta", n. 20, 1983, pp. 147-162. Il concetto di *critical regionalism* pare aver avuto un forte peso nello sviluppo, negli Stati Uniti, di un filone di interesse storiografico nei confronti dell'architettura locale, tradizionale e della cosiddetta "architecture of ecology".
57) Cfr. D. GHIRARDO, *Mark Mack. A California architect*, Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, Tubinga-Berlino 1994.
58) D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture…*, cit., pp. 144-145.
59) W.J.R. CURTIS, *Modern Architecture…*, cit., pp. 371-391, 491-511.
60) K. FRAMPTON, *Studies in Tectonic Culture. The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture*, Mit Press, Cambridge-Londra 1995 (trad. it. *Tettonica e architettura. Poetica della forma architettonica nel XIX e XX secolo*, a cura di M. De Benedetti, intr. di V. Gregotti, Skira, Milano 1999); G. LEONI, *Studies in Tectonic Culture. The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture [di] Kenneth Frampton* [recensione], in "Casabella", n. 649, 1997, pp. 87-88; L. PRESTINENZA PUGLISI, *Studies in Tectonic Culture. The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture [di] Kenneth Frampton*, [recensione], in "Domus", n. 791, 1997, pp. 124-125.
61) D. GHIRARDO, *Architecture…*, cit., pp. 147-162.
62) *Ibid.*, pp. 159-162.
63) Cfr. la lettura che Eugen Weber, professore di storia alla University of California di Los Angeles dà della produzione di Mike Davis e in particolare dell'ultimo libro *The Ecology of Fear*: E. WEBER, *The last days of Los Angeles*, in "Times Literary Supplement", 9 luglio 1999, pp. 5-6.

Historians", n. 2, 1981, pp. 168-170.
30) D. GHIRARDO, Architecture of deceit, cit., p. 111.
31) Ibid., p. 112.
32) Ibid., p. 114.
33) Cf. S. PACE, Castelli, città e architettura nell'immaginario della Walt Disney, in "Architettura e Arte", n. 5, 1999, pp. 29-32.
34) D. GHIRARDO, Architecture After Modernism, cit., pp. 43-44, 90. On this topic, the author makes a distinction between "public space" and "social space". "Public space" is the socially non-heterogeneous space of places that are considered accessible to the public, such as theme parks, shopping malls, fairs, museums, where actually the access is rigidly controlled and subjected to practices of exclusion based on questions of social rank, sex and race.
35) B.R. BARBER, Cultura McWorld contro democrazia, in "Le Monde Diplomatique. Il Manifesto", September 1998, pp. 20-21. After having annexed Times Square, Disney has acquired Capital Cities/Abc for 19 billion dollars, and also owns the Anaheim Angels baseball team. The News Corporation of Rupert Murdoch, owner of the Fox Television Network, has acquired the Los Angeles Dodgers, rivals of the Atlanta Braves of Ted Turner, vice-president of Time-Warner, and the Florida Marlins of Wayne Huizinga, owner of the Blockbuster Video chain.
36) S. VECA, Ridefinire lo spazio pubblico, in "Il Sole 24 Ore", n. 307, 8 November 1998, p. 36.
37) On the "gated communities", public spaces that exist thanks to a practice of exclusion based on criteria of social class, race, sex, see: M. DAVIES, Fortress Los Angeles: The Militarization of Urban Space, in M. SORKIN (ed.), Variations on a Theme Park. The New American City and the End of Public Space, Hill and Wang, New York 1992, pp. 164-180, republished as ID., Fortress L.A., in ID., City of Quartz. Excavating the Future in Los Angeles, (Verso, London 1990), Vintage Books, New York 1992, pp. 221-263; M. D'ERAMO, 150.000 fortezze assediate, in ID., Lo sciamano in elicottero: per una storia del presente, Feltrinelli, Milan 1999, pp. 74-77; E. BLAKELY, M. GAIL SNYDER, Fortress America. Gated Communities in the US, Brookings Institute, Los Angeles 1997; E. McKENZIE, Privatopia. Homeowner Associations in the Rise of Residential Private Government, Yale University Press, Yale 1994.
38) See, for example, B. EECKHOUT, Sign-of-the-Times Square: The Spectacle of Urban Transformation in the 1990s, Conference of the Netherlands American Studies Association, The American Metropolis. Image and Inspiration, Roosevelt Study Center, Middelburg, 2-4 June 1999, now being published.
39) The reflections of Ghirardo are significantly reflected in the works of a committed group of scholars, architects, urbanists and sociologists at the University of Southern California and the department of Town Planning at the University of California in Los Angeles. M. SORKIN, See you in Disneyland, in "Design Quarterly", Winter 1992, pp. 5-13; republished in ID. (ed.), Variations on a Theme Park. The New American City and the End of Public Space, Hill and Wang, New York 1992; reviewed in G. MARTINOTTI, Il nuovo mostro urbano, in "Casabella", n. 616, 1994, pp. 50-51; see also I. RODERICK, Consumption spaces and meeting places, in "A/R/C/ Architecture Research Criticism", n. 5, 1994-1995, pp. 50-55; M. CRAWFORD, Contesting the public realm: struggles over public space in Los Angeles, in "Journal of Architectural Education", n. 1, 1995, pp. 4-9; J. HANNIGAN, Fantasy City. Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis, Routledge, London-New York 1998; J. BYERS, The privatization of downtown public space: the emerging grade-separated city in North America, in "Journal of Planning Education and Research", Spring 1998, pp. 189-205.
40) M. CRAWFORD, The World in a Shopping Mall, in M. SORKIN (ed.), Variations on a Theme Park..., cit., pp. 3-30; D. GHIRARDO, Architecture..., cit., pp. 64-79.
41) The case of the University of California at Irvine, Orange County, is brilliantly analyzed by E.W. SOJA, Inside Exopolis: Scenes from Orange County, in M. SORKIN (ed.), Variations on a Theme Park..., cit., pp. 94-122; D. GHIRARDO, Architecture..., cit., pp. 48-49.
42) K.W. FORSTER, Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building, in "Zodiac", n. 6, 1991, pp. 30-74; M.C. BOYER, Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport, in M. SORKIN (ed.), Variations on a Theme Park..., cit., pp. 181-204; D. GHIRARDO, Architecture..., cit., pp. 69-96.
43) R. IVY, The New City as a Perpetual World's Fair, in "Architecture", n. 76, 1987, pp. 50-55, D. GHIRARDO, Architecture..., cit., pp. 172-173.
44) Ibid., p. 41
45) Ibid., pp. 188-194.
46) Ibid., pp. 10, 37-38, 107, 122-124, 154. This is a theme that was already central in the collection of essays ID., Out of Site..., cit., which contains an attempt at a critical analysis of the conditions of architectural production in the United States and the social responsibilities of the architect.
47) The same perspective can be found in the exhibition held at MoCA Los Angeles, At the End of the Century. One Hundred Years of Architecture, R. FERGUSON ed., The Museum of Contemporary Art, Harry N. Abrams, Los Angeles 1998, pp. 35-36, with a distinction between "architecture" and "built environment", a name also used to indicate specific university courses in the English-speaking countries.
48) D. GHIRARDO, Architecture..., cit, pp. 23, 132; At the End of the Century..., cit, p. 36.
49) Ibid., pp. 28, 34, 38, 146.
50) Ibid., pp. 28, 127.
51) Ibid., p. 171.
52) Ibid., pp. 30, 32, 39.
53) Ibid., p. 38.
54) Ibid., p. 168.
55) This is a concern that is found in the most recent attempts at historicization: for example, At the End of the Century. One Hundred Years of Architecture..., cit., in particular E.A.T. SMITH, Re-examining architecture and its history at the end of the century, pp. 23-100.
56) As is well-known, the definition of "critical regionalism" is found in Kenneth Frampton, Prospects for a Critical Regionalism, in "Perspecta", n. 20, 1983, pp. 147-162. The concept of critical regionalism seems to have had a great influence in the development, in the United States, of a line of historiographical research regarding local and traditional architecture, and the so-called "architecture of ecology".
57) Cf. D. GHIRARDO, Mark Mack. A California architect, Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, Tübingen-Berlin 1994.
58) D. GHIRARDO, Architecture..., cit., pp. 144-145.
59) W.J.R. CURTIS, Modern Architecture..., cit., pp. 371-391, 491-511.
60) K. FRAMPTON, Studies in Tectonic Culture. The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth and Century Architecture, Mit Press, Cambridge-London 1995; G. LEONI, Studies in Tectonic Culture, The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture [by] Kenneth Frampton [book review], in "Casabella", n. 649, 1997, pp. 87-88; L. PRESTINENZA PUGLISI, Studies in Tectonic Culture. The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture [by] Kenneth Frampton [book review], in "Domus", n. 791, 1997, pp. 124-125.
61) D. GHIRARDO, Architecture..., cit., pp. 147-162.
62) Ibid., pp. 159-162.
63) Cf. the interpretation Eugen Weber, professor of history at the University of California in Los Angeles, gives to the production of Mike Davis and in particular to the last book The Ecology of Fear: E. WEBER, The last days of Los Angeles, in "Times Literary Supplement", 9 July 1999, pp. 5-6.

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1. *Carlo Levi*, Persico che legge, *1928.*
2. *Corrado Cagli*, Ritratto di Bardi, *1931.*

1. *Carlo Levi*, Persico reading, *1928.*
2. *Corrado Cagli*, Portrait of Bardi, *1931.*

Persico e Bardi
Francesco Tentori

Una breve riflessione su Pietro Maria Bardi e Edoardo Persico, anzi: su Persico e Bardi, secondo l'invito di "Zodiac".
Da un certo punto di vista, nulla potrebbe essere più opportuno: non foss'altro che per il fatto che andiamo incontro al centenario della nascita di entrambi: Persico nato a Napoli l'8 febbraio 1900 e Bardi nato a La Spezia tredici giorni dopo**.
Da un altro punto di vista, però, va detto che il suggerimento sarebbe *più utile per avviare un programma di ricerca su Persico*: dato che in Italia non si studia abbastanza la storia dell'arte contemporanea e dell'architettura contemporanea, e così i sessantatré anni intercorsi dalla sua morte sono serviti a procurarci poco d'altro oltre le tre antologie dei suoi testi: quella di Alfonso Gatto del '47 (pp. 366); quella di Giulia Veronesi in due volumi del '64 (pp. 406+364) e infine quella di Riccardo Mariani del '77 (pp. XXXV+388)[1].
È stata, comunque, una fortuna che il compito di raccogliere gli scritti sia toccato alla Veronesi – cioè a una studiosa sensibile anche alla critica letteraria e a quella delle arti figurative – perché ho avuto modo di notare di recente che la maggior parte dei critici italiani del '900 iniziano come critici letterari, ampliano l'orizzonte alle arti figurative (e per molti questo è il limite estremo), poi all'architettura, infine all'insieme degli ambienti naturali e artificiali (che mi ripugna definire "urbanistica"). E per parlare sia di Persico che di Bardi bisogna avere eguale interesse per le arti figurative come per l'architettura.
La maggior parte degli architetti, invece – e con essi molti critici di architettura – è più facile che dall'architettura rivolgano il loro interesse all'ambiente, piuttosto che alle arti figurative[2] (parlo di oggi, naturalmente, non dei tempi in cui Gino Valle entrava nella graduatoria del "Premio Bergamo").
Senza arrivare a un vero interesse ambientale, il percorso *dalla letteratura all'arte e all'architettura* è anche quello che contraddistingue l'evoluzione di Persico. La ripartizione adottata dalla Veronesi – di mettere nel primo volume tutti gli altri scritti[3] destinando il secondo soltanto all'architettura – mette in evidenza che i primi incominciano dal 1924[4], i secondi soltanto nel 1930, e diventano preponderanti negli ultimi cinque anni di vita.
Già, perché Persico è morto l'11 gennaio 1936, e l'ultimo suo lavoro fu uno straordinario libro illustrato sulla scultura romana, di cui un giornale come la "Gazzetta di Venezia" (che sto schedando in questi mesi) parla in una

Persico and Bardi
Francesco Tentori

A brief reflection on Pietro Maria Bardi and Edoardo Persico or, rather, on Persico and Bardi, as requested by "Zodiac".
*From a certain point of view nothing could be more appropriate. We are approaching the centennial of the birth of both: Persico was born in Naples on 8 February 1900, Bardi in La Spezia thirteen days later**.*
But from another point of view, it should be mentioned that this suggestion would be more useful were it to lead to a true program of research on Persico*: given the fact that in Italy the history of contemporary art and contemporary architecture is not sufficiently studied, and so during the sixty-three years since Persico's death we have be granted little more than three anthologies of his writings: that of Alfonso Gatto in '47 (366 pages); that of Giulia Veronesi, in two volumes, in '64 (406+364 pages); and that of Riccardo Mariani in '77 (XXXV+388 pages)*[1]*.*
We should be grateful, in any case, that the task of gathering the writings was handled by Veronesi – i.e. by a scholar with sensibilities that extend to literary criticism and that of the figurative arts – because I have noticed, recently, that most Italian critics of the 1900s begin as literary critics, then branch out into the figurative arts (usually stopping there), and then perhaps move on to architecture, and finally to natural and artificial environments on the whole that I am most unwilling to define as "urbanism". And for any discussion of Persico or of Bardi it is necessary to have an equal interest for the figurative arts and for architecture.
For most architects, on the other hand – and many architecture critics as well –, the most common direction of their shifting interests is from architecture toward the environment, rather than toward the figurative arts[2] *(I'm talking about the present, of course, not about those days when Gino Valle was part of the rankings of the "Premio Bergamo").*
Although he did not reach the point of real interest in the environment, the path from literature to art to architecture *was also that of the evolution of Persico. The subdivision effected by Veronesi – all the other writings in the first volume*[3]*, all the writings on architecture in the second – accents the fact that the former begin in 1924*[4]*, and the latter only in 1930, becoming the main focus during the last five years of Persico's life.*
Indeed, because Persico died on 11 January 1936, and his last work was an extraordinary illustrated book on Roman sculpture, a work that a newpaper like the

recensione del 2 gennaio 1936[5], mentre soltanto il 27 febbraio 1936 troviamo il suo necrologio[6].

Ho divagato, ma intendevo attirare l'attenzione su un fatto: essendo nati nel 1900, sia Persico che Bardi appartengono a una generazione che – dato il clima italiano – non si è "formata" già nel clima moderno, ma al moderno è arrivata all'inizio della maturità. Insomma, quel raggiungimento di una mentalità moderna che il futuro Le Corbusier conseguì sui trent'anni, attraverso l'amicizia con Ozenfant, sempre sui trent'anni, ossia nel 1930, certamente Bardi lo conseguì attraverso l'amicizia con Terragni e Persico: quest'ultimo arrivato a dargli una mano nella redazione di "Belvedere" a partire dal numero di febbraio del 1930[7].
Non è un mistero che ancora il 15 novembre 1929 "Belvedere" elogia il padiglione per il "Popolo d'Italia" di Muzio e Sironi a Barcellona (e in quell'annata il massimo della modernità, in fatti di architettura, lo si incontra negli articoli di Agnoldomenico Pica). L'anno successivo, il numero di aprile elogia il Novocomum di Terragni. E se è con il luglio del 1930 che inizia la collaborazione di Bardi a "L'Ambrosiano", bisogna però arrivare all'aprile 1931, per la seconda Mostra del MIAR[8] nella sua Galleria di Roma, e al 4 marzo 1932 per incontrare la più proficua battaglia di Bardi a sostegno dell'architettura nuova: quella per la Stazione di Firenze[9].

Più difficile è capire quando e come Persico sia arrivato all'apprezzamento dell'architettura moderna. Su una cosa sola son certo: fu negli anni di Torino e ben prima del 1930. Mi pare: in parte per le sue estese letture, in parte attraverso l'amicizia con Lionello Venturi[10].
Ricordiamo che Bardi era un giornalista estroverso ed esuberante, il quale amava che nelle sue rubriche figurasse una caricatura di Capitan Fracassa; il quale acquisiva un centesimo[11] di gusto moderno e, subito, sapeva convertirlo in dieci o cento lire nei suoi articoli, nelle sue mostre, nei suoi moltissimi libri: che son fatti – si badi bene – per parlare alla gente comune, non agli specialisti.
Al contrario – ci ricorda la Veronesi (I, p. XXIX) – "*una sera che, in casa di Giolli, Persico s'era abbandonato a ragionare di cose politiche* [...] *con un'originalità, una profondità, un'acutezza da «storico» eccezionale, più d'uno fra i presenti lo esortò a scrivere non di sola architettura* [...] *Persico rispose che aveva già materiale*

"Gazzetta di Venezia" (which I have been indexing over the last few months) reviewed on 2 January 1936[5], while the obituary appears only on 27 February 1936[6].

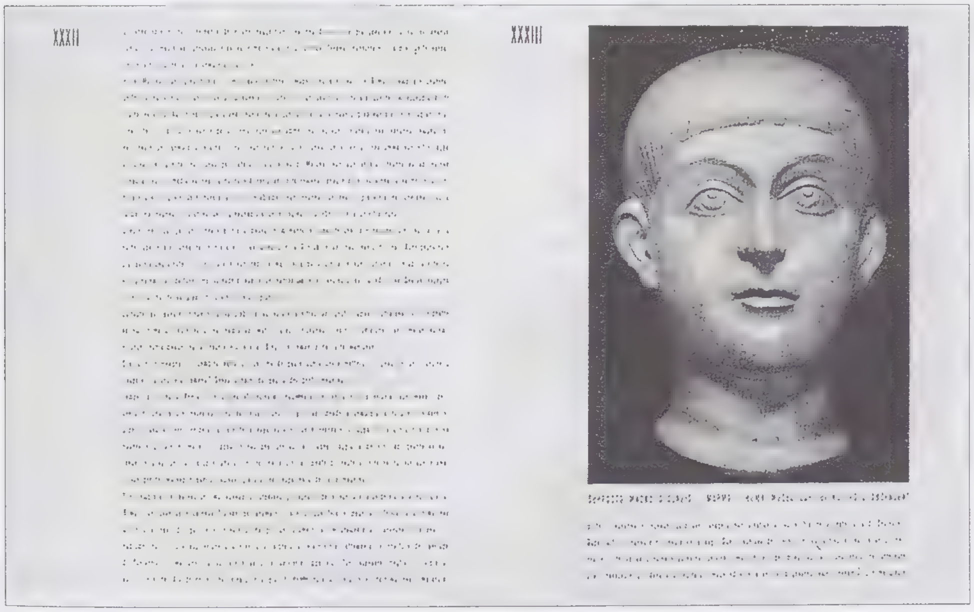
I am digressing, but I wanted to attract the attention to a particular fact: because they were born in 1900, both Persico and Bardi belonged to a generation that – given the situation in Italy – was not already "formed" in the atmosphere of the modern, but which encountered the modern in the early years of maturity. In short, that achievement of a modern mentality which the future Le Corbusier was to reach at the age of thirty, through his friendship with Ozenfant, again near the age of thirty, or namely in 1930, undoubtedly came to Bardi through his friendship with Terragni and Persico: the latter had arrived to give him a hand on the editorial staff of "Belvedere", beginning with the issue dated February 1930[7].
It is no mystery why still on 15 November 1929 "Belvedere" was singing the praises of the pavilion for the "Popolo d'Italia" by Muzio and Sironi in Barcelona (and in that year the height of modernity, in the realm of architecture, is found in the articles of Agnoldomenico Pica). The next year, in the April issue, the same magazine praises the Novocomum of Terragni. And while in July 1930 Bardi begins his collaboration with "L'Ambrosiano", we have to wait until April 1931, for the second Exhibition of the MIAR[8] in his Galleria di Roma, and until 4 March 1932 to witness his most proficuous battle in support of the new architecture: that of the Florence Rail Station[9].

It is harder to understand just when and how Persico reached an appreciation of modern architecture. I am certain of only one thing: it was during the years in Turin, and well before 1930. At least it seems to be so: partially due to his extensive reading, and partially because of his friendship with Lionello Venturi[10].
We should recall that Bardi was an extroverted, exuberant journalist, who liked to put a caricature of Le Capitaine Fracasse in his columns; a mind capable of acquiring "one cent"[11] of modern taste and immediately converting it into ten or hundred lire *in his articles, his exhibitions, his many books: which were made – and this is important – to communicate with normal people, not specialists.*
On the other hand – Veronesi reminds us (I, p. XXIX) – "one evening, at the home of Giolli, Persico had begun reasoning on political affairs *[...]* with such originality,

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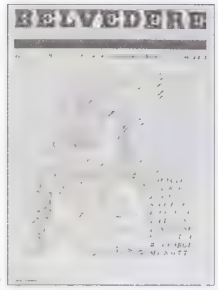
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XXXII

XXXIII

3. 4. Pagine da E. Persico, Arte Romana, *Editoriale Domus, Milano 1936.*

3. 4. Pages from E. Persico, Arte Romana, *Editoriale Domus, Milan 1936.*



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sufficiente per un volume, ma che disperava di trovar mai i tre mesi necessari per procedere al controllo e all'annotazione delle numerose e spesso lunghe citazioni di memoria, di cui si era valso [sottolineatura mia, N.d.R.] «*Sono pagine* – disse – *che andrebbero annotate come quelle di* Punto ed a capo per l'architettura»": vale a dire, l'unico saggio di Persico dotato di un apparato di note vero e proprio[12].
Tuttavia non penso che – se anche avesse trovato i tre mesi di tempo, se anche avesse ricompattato i suoi saggi e articoli e note sparse in un libro – egli sarebbe riuscito a esporre meglio la sua teoria – sull'inesistenza di un'arte e di un'architettura italiana, a causa dell'infantilismo degli italiani[13] – di quanto non riuscì a fare nel brevissimo testo, reclamatogli dagli unici due amici fascisti che Persico stimasse: Berto Ricci e Dino Garrone, per un numero unico – di apologia del personaggio Rosai, più che del pittore – e intitolato *Il Rosai*[14]. In realtà è il testo più trasparentemente cristiano di Persico, in cui afferma: "*La decadenza dell'arte italiana è legata alla mancanza di un'intima coscienza religiosa degli artisti* [...] *Rigorosamente, un'estetica italiana può trovare soltanto nella dottrina cattolica la liberazione dalle ideologie straniere, e* [attraverso la dottrina cattolica] *rappresentare la realtà di un Paese capace di sottomettersi alla vita della nazione*". Paradossalmente, proprio negando l'esistenza di un'arte e di un'architettura italiane moderne, Persico fu lo straordinario lievito per artisti e architetti che – dai Sei di Torino a Franco Albini – molti gli hanno riconosciuto, anche se noi non dobbiamo commettere l'errore di ritenerlo infallibile[15].

La figura di Persico deve essere, comunque, rimasta impressa nella mente di Bardi, come quella breve stagione in cui avevano pubblicato "Belvedere"[16] e preparato insieme le mostre per la Galleria Bardi.
Io gli scrissi la prima volta il 7 febbraio 1986; la prima lettera[17] di Bardi a me indirizzata fu scritta il 21 febbraio: vale a dire nel giorno del suo ottantaseiesimo compleanno. È una specie di breve autobiografia in cui – una volta detto delle esperienze giornalistiche che l'avevano portato alla redazione del "Corriere della Sera", e del licenziamento da parte di Ugo Ojetti – Bardi soggiunge: "*Piantai il giornalismo e con la liquidazione, a Milano, rilevai la Galleria dell'Esame di Somarè in via Brera*".
"*Cominciò la mia vita di gallerista e di mercante d'arte: fondai la Galleria Bardi, sempre a via Brera (l'ultima sua sede fu nel palazzo di fronte a* [lla Pinacoteca di] *Brera), galleria che regalai agli amici Ghiringhelli, i quali continuavano la mia attività sotto il nome di Galleria del Milione, con la collaborazione di Enrico* [sic] *Persico. Il quale Persico, io avevo chiamato, da Torino (dove aveva noie con il fascismo), come mio assistente. Mi dette qualche noia, e non si comportò 100 per 100*"[18].
"*Nella Galleria Bardi io realizzai varie esposizioni, tra le quali una*, Carlo Carrà e Ardengo Soffici, *con una pubblicazione che gli invidiosi dicono scritta da Persico, e da lui* [invece fu] *soltanto revisionata*". Tre citazioni, dunque, in poche righe.
Del reciproco entusiasmo, seguito da una reciproca delusione, Bardi non amava parlare, trincerandosi dietro l'affermazione "*Non ricordo*". Per quanto riguarda Persico, di questi sentimenti si può cogliere qualche eco nel carteggio Persico-Garrone[19], ma il testo più interessante rimane il lungo saggio *Punto ed a capo per l'architettura*[20], scritto da Persico per la "Domus" di Ponti nel novembre 1934 (ossia quando già da un anno e mezzo esisteva "Quadrante"), in cui Persico spara a zero sul *Rapporto sull'architettura (per Mussolini)* di Bardi "*libro* [che], *nelle intenzioni dell'autore, doveva essere qualcosa come il memoriale a Giulio II* [... mentre] *noi possiamo, invece, dire che in esso non c'è nessuna idea che valga la pena di essere meditata: questo «piano» di ricostruzione architettonica del paese è ancora polemica* [...] *sempre polemica e negazione*", aggiungendo però in nota: "*A proposito di P. M. Bardi, mi sia consentita una digressione che sconfina nella necessità del «fatto personale». In Bardi, apprezzo il giornalista e l'ordinatore di mostre d'avanguardia. Fino a quando i casi della vita e l'identità di vedute me l'hanno concesso, ho collaborato con lui in qualche impresa non volgare: «Belvedere» per esempio, e la mostra di Carrà e Soffici nel 1930. Questa solidarietà con Bardi è fra i miei ricordi più cari: quante volte, chiusa la galleria di via Brera, abbiamo ragionato insieme, fino ad alta notte, di un'arte italiana «indipendente»; quante volte, alle ingiunzioni degli avversari, ci siamo sentiti uniti, senza una parola, nel proposito di non cedere e di pagare di persona.* [Ma] *Allora, Bardi non doveva «realizzare» e, attorno a «Belvedere», s'erano stretti i giovani migliori del paese: il povero Garrone, prima di tutti.*
Dopo [invece] *è venuta la polemica, ed è venuto «Quadrante»: la mia avversione all'una e all'altro è un*

5. Copertina di "Belvedere", anno 3, n. 1, 1931.
6. Copertina del catalogo della mostra Carrà e Soffici, *1930.*

5. Cover of "Belvedere", year 3, n. 1, 1931.
6. Cover of the catalogue of the exhibition Carrà e Soffici, *1930.*

depth, «historian-like» brilliance that several of the persons assembled urged him to write about other subjects, not just architecture *[…]* Persico replied that he already had sufficient material for a book, but that he despaired of ever being able to find the three months time required *for the verification and annotation of the many long quotations cited from memory of which he had made use [emphasis added by the author, Ed.]* «These are pages – *he said* – that should be annotated like those of *Punto ed a capo per l'architettura*»*": in other words, the only essay by Persico that is truly, thoroughly provided with footnotes*[12]*.*
Nevertheless, I don't think – even if he had been able to find those three months of time, even if he had managed to package his scattered articles and essays in a book – that he would have been able to come up with a more convincing expression of his theory – regarding the lack of any Italian art or architecture, due to the infantile nature of the Italians[13] *– than the one provided in a brief text commissioned by the only two fascist friends who had won his esteem: Berto Ricci and Dino Garrone, in a single issue publication –, an apologia for the personage, more than the painter Rosai – entitled* Il Rosai[14]*. In truth, this is the most transparently Christian text of all the writings of Persico, in which he states:* "The decadence of Italian art is connected to the lack of a deep religious awareness on the part of the artists *[…]* Rigorously, an Italian aesthetic can only liberate itself from foreign ideologies by means of Catholic doctrine, and *[through this doctrine]* represent the reality of a Country capable of submitting to the life of the nation". *Paradoxically, precisely as he was denying the existence of Italian modern art and architecture, Persico became an extraordinary stimulus for artists and architects many of whom – from the Six of Turin to Franco Albini – have acknowledged this, although we should not commit the error of imagining that he was infallible*[15]*.*

The figure of Persico, in any case, must have remained impressed in the mind of Bardi, along with that brief period in which they had published "Belvedere"[16] *and prepared exhibitions together for Galleria Bardi.*
I wrote to Bardi for the first time on 7 February 1986; the first letter[17] *from Bardi to me was written on 21 February: his 86th birthday. It is a sort of brief autobiography in which – having described his experiences in journalism, leading to his role on the editorial staff of "Corriere della Sera", and his dismissal by Ugo Ojetti – Bardi adds:*
"I abandoned journalism and, with my severance pay, in Milan, I purchased the Galleria dell'Esame of Somarè on Via Brera".
"I began my existence as a gallery owner and art dealer: I founded Galleria Bardi, also on Via Brera (the last location of the gallery was just in front of *[the Pinacoteca of]* Brera), a gallery I then gave to my friends the Ghiringhelli, who continued my activity under the name of Galleria del Milione, with the collaboration of Enrico *[sic]* Persico. I had summoned Persico to come here from Turin (where he was having problems with the fascists) to be my assistant. He caused me some problems, and didn't give 100% on the job"[18].
"At Galleria Bardi I held a number of exhibitions, including one on Carlo Carrà and Ardengo Soffici, with a publication that envious people say was written by Persico, although he simply corrected the proofs". *Persico thrice mentioned, therefore, in just a few lines.*
Bardi didn't like to talk about the mutual enthusiasm and subsequent mutual delusion of their relationship, usually using the formula "I don't remember". *Where Persico is concerned, we can find some evidence of these sentiments in the Persico-Garrone correspondence*[19]*, but the most interesting text is still the long essay* Punto ed a capo per l'architettura[20]*, written by Persico for "Domus", when Ponti was the editor, in November 1934 (meaning that "Quadrante" had already been in existence for one and a half years). Here Persico openly criticizes the* Rapporto sull'architettura (per Mussolini) *by Bardi*, "a book *[that]*, in the intentions of its author, was supposed to be something like the memorial to Julius II *[…while]* instead, we can say that it contains no ideas worthy of consideration: this «plan» of architectural reconstruction of the country is still just polemics *[…]* always polemics and negation", *and he adds, although in a footnote:* "Speaking of P. M. Bardi, allow me to digress, trespassing in the area of «personal matters». In the case of Bardi, I appreciate the journalist and the organizer of avant-garde exhibitions. As long as the random ways of life and an affinity of views allowed me to do so, I collaborated with him in certain undertakings that were not vulgar: «Belvedere» for example, and the exhibition of Carrà and Soffici in 1930. This solidarity with Bardi is one of my most cherished memories: how many times, having locked the door of the gallery on Via Brera, we continued to discuss, until the wee hours, the idea of an «independent» Italian art; how many times, when attacked

motivo di cultura e di intransigenza [anche se] *«Ci sarà tempo – dice Bardi – per definire delle teorie»*".
In conclusione, credo che – a distanza di tempo – convenga ricordare come per il semplice fatto di aver dato l'avvio a "Quadrante", Bardi doveva essere inviso a Persico che lavorava in "Casabella", collaborando con l'allora fascistissimo Pagano e – fuori dalla rivista – collaborando con Piacentini che, invece, Bardi continuò a considerare un fastidio acre come fumo negli occhi.
Ma se prese l'avvio "Quadrante" – con l'adesione iniziale di Terragni (che però abbandonò ancora prima dell'uscita del primo numero, irritato per le beghe dei colleghi), ma anche di Figini e Pollini, di Bottoni e dei BBPR – questo vuol dire che la regia di Pagano per "Casabella" doveva essere insopportabile a molti colleghi.
Ora però lasciamo cadere queste contraddizioni e cerchiamo di apprezzare il meglio di tutti quelli che ho nominato: certamente protagonisti, tutti, di una grande stagione dell'architettura italiana.

Note
* Francesco Tentori insegna Progettazione Urbana all'Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia.
** Il testo era già stato inoltrato in tipografia quando è giunta in Redazione la notizia che Pietro Maria Bardi è deceduto a San Paolo del Brasile il 1° ottobre 1999 [NdR].
1) E. PERSICO, *Scritti critici e polemici*, a cura di A. Gatto, Milano 1947; E. PERSICO, *Tutte le opere (1923-1935)*, a cura di G. Veronesi, Milano 1964; E. PERSICO, *Oltre l'architettura*, a cura di R. Mariani, Milano 1977. L'utilità di quest'ultima consiste soprattutto nell'aver messo a disposizione degli studiosi 142 pagine di epistolari: la maggior parte già pubblicati, ma (salvo il carteggio con Gobetti) su testi marginali e introvabili.
2) Per esempio Zevi, partendo dalla iniziale critica che Giedion confondeva l'architettura con l'arte astratta, mi pare che nelle sue opere si sia sempre disinteressato delle arti figurative.
3) Di politica e letteratura, di pittura e scultura, sullo stile, la scenografia, la fotografia e infine la grafica e la pubblicità.
4) Fatta eccezione per un siparietto di poche pagine, intitolato *Torino 1927*, in cui Persico parla degli operai della FIAT.
5) "*È uscito il supplemento di Natale della rivista «Domus»: «Arte romana» (la scultura romana e quattro affreschi della Villa dei Misteri) a cura di Edoardo Persico. Non è questo un fascicolo di rivista, ma un sontuoso volume che afferra subito: per la rigorosa scelta delle opere e per l'assoluta originalità dell'aspetto grafico. Il pregio del libro è tutto in questa concezione: per cui le opere appaiono nel loro reale valore estetico, con un risultato veramente esemplare.*
Le 80 illustrazioni occupano la pagina in tutta la sua grandezza di cm. 30X40 [40x30] *separate soltanto da un costante margine verticale che si accorda perfettamente al ritmo plastico delle riproduzioni. Stupende – anche per le difficoltà tecniche superate – sono le 10 tavole a doppia pagina, riproducenti rilievi o particolari di rilievi. L'autore, come spiega nella prefazione, non ha voluto porre problemi nuovi, ma fare opera di divulgazione: proposito superato dal fatto che egli è riuscito a darci una visione originale della plastica romana, attraverso la scelta di una testa o il taglio sapiente di un particolare* [... e il discorso prosegue per altri due periodi]".
6) Dice il testo: "*«Edoardo Persico è morto». Nelle due pagine che «Casabella»*

by adversaries, we felt united, without saying a word, joined in a will to resist, to personally face the consequences.
[But] At the time, Bardi didn't have to «realize» and around «Belvedere» a group had formed, of the finest young men of the country: poor Garrone, above all.
Later *[on the other hand]* the arguments began, and «Quadrante» appeared: my aversion for both was a motive of culture and intransigence *[although]* «There will be time – Bardi says – to define theories»".
In conclusion, I believe that – with hindsight – it is worth recalling that, for the mere fact of his launching of "Quadrante", Bardi must have been despised by Persico who was working with "Casabella", collaborating with the (at the time) ultra-fascist Pagano and – elsewhere – with Piacentini, who Bardi continued to consider an trying annoyance, like smoke for the eyes.
But if "Quadrante" was launched – with the initial support of Terragni (who, nevertheless, dropped out even before the first issue was released, irritated by the squabbling of his colleagues), but also of Figini and Pollini, Bottoni and BBPR – this must have been because Pagano's direction of "Casabella" had irritated many.
Today we can well afford to let all these controversies drop away and to appreciate the best traits of all those I have named: all protagonists, indubitably, of a grand period of Italian architecture.

Notes
** Francesco Tentori teaches Town Planning at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia.*
*** This essay had already gone to press when we received the news that Pietro Maria Bardi passed away in São Paulo, Brazil, on October 1, 1999 [ed.].*
1) E. PERSICO, Scritti critici e polemici, *ed. A. Gatto, Milano 1947;*
E. PERSICO, Tutte le opere (1923-1935), *ed. G. Veronesi, Milano 1964;*
E. PERSICO, Oltre l'architettura, *ed. R. Mariani, Milano 1977. The usefulness of the latter lies, above all, in the fact that it provides 142 pages of correspondence: most of which already published but (apart from the correspondence with Gobetti) in marginal texts that can no longer be found.*
2) For example Zevi, starting with the initial criticism that Giedion confused architecture with abstract art, seems, in his works, to have overlooked the figurative arts.
3) On politics and literature, painting and sculpture, style, set design, photography and, finally, graphics and advertising.
4) With the exception of a small work, just a few pages, entitled Torino 1927, *in which Persico discusses the workers of FIAT.*
5) "The Christmas supplement of the magazine «Domus» has appeared: «Arte romana» (Roman sculpture and four frescoes of the Villa dei Misteri) edited by Edoardo Persico. This is not a magazine brochure, but a sumptuous volume that immediately attracts attention: for the rigorous selection of the works and the absolute originality of the graphics. The quality of the book lies in this concept: thus the works appear in their true aesthetic value, with truly exemplary results. The 80 illustrations occupy the entire page of 30x40 cm *[40x30]* separated only by a constant vertical margin that is perfectly suited to

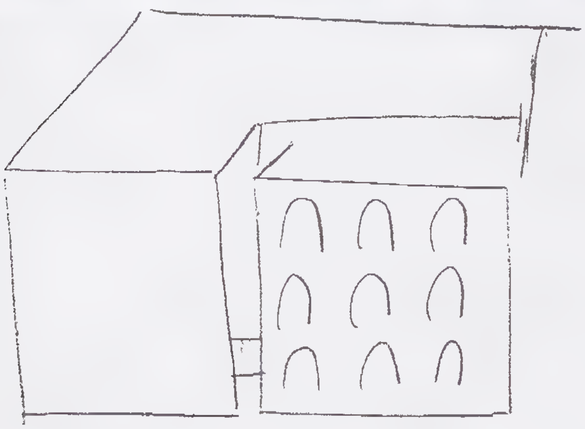
7. Redazione di "Casabella", in via San Vittore 40 a Milano, 1936.
8. Edoardo Persico, Progetto di stand per la Fiera di Milano, 1935.
9. Pietro Maria Bardi, Arquitectura brasileira, *1955. Archivio Francesco Biagi.*

7. "Casabella" editorial office in via San Vittore 40, Milan, 1936.
8. Edoardo Persico, Project of a stand for the Milan Fair, 1935.
9. Pietro Maria Bardi, Arquitectura brasileira, *1955. Francesco Biagi Archives.*

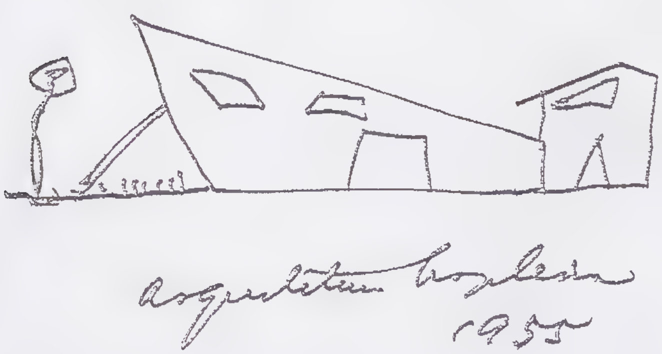
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dedica a Persico, evidentemente si è ritenuto superfluo sottolineare il vuoto lasciato dal collaboratore e dall'amico, nella certezza che tutti quanti l'amarono sono in grado di misurarlo da soli. Del resto, ogni rettorica sarebbe stata in «Casabella» fuori luogo. Gli artisti e i critici italiani più vivi dovrebbero meditare a lungo su queste pagine, dalle quali Edoardo Persico ancora ammonisce [segue il sommario del n. 97 di "Casabella", gennaio 1936]".
Ma il ricordo del grande critico scomparso ancora non si esaurisce. Ne fan fede due asterischi (testi brevi di "Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura") che la "G. di V." pubblica giovedì 6 agosto 1936:
Il primo: "*«Tra arte e pubblico verrà di nuovo stabilito quel rapporto d'amore che, per i chiari segni della civiltà attuale, si può facilmente prevedere...». Anche seguita da un se, questa è la consolante speranza che conclude uno studio di E. Rogers su una presunta incompatibilità fra pubblico e artisti, apparso su «Domus» n. 103* [...]".
Il secondo: "*Fra le riviste di architettura italiane e straniere, «Casabella» emerge per la scelta intransigente delle opere pubblicate* [...] *Il fascicolo doppio n. 102-103 si apre con il testo di una conferenza che Edoardo Persico tenne l'anno scorso all'Istituto Fascista di Cultura di Torino: «Profezia dell'architettura»* [...]".
7) Così dice la Veronesi, ma la sua firma si trova già in quello di gennaio.
8) Movimento Italiano Architettura Razionale.
9) Vale a dire la sua demolizione del progetto Mazzoni per la stazione di Firenze che – avendo già ricevuto il consenso di Ojetti e di altri papaveri – era stato presentato su "La Nazione" come cosa fatta, mentre la critica di Bardi fa nascere l'enorme polemica giornalistica che persuaderà il Consiglio dei Lavori Pubblici ad indire il concorso nazionale che – con una giuria in cui c'erano Armando Brasini, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Ugo Ojetti, Marcello Piacentini e Romano Romanelli, tutti accademici d'Italia – lascia isolato Ojetti e decreta la vittoria del gruppo Michelucci.
10) Questi aveva già compiuto il miracolo di convertire al "gusto dei primitivi" e alla modernità l'industriale-finanziere Riccardo Gualino. Ma se era stato facile fargli abbandonare l'architetto di fiducia neomedievalista Tornielli (che gli aveva adattato per le nozze un castello), non tanto facile era stata la scelta di un sostituto moderno: tanto è vero che la scelta era andata a Pagano e Levi per il palazzo degli uffici, ai fratelli Busiri Vici per la villa in riviera e per la residenza-sede della sua collezione d'arte sulla collina torinese. Entrambi gli studi erano "quel che passava il convento" in fatto di architettura nuova in Italia.
Non si dimentichi il ruolo di Gualino – attraverso gli arredi, gli allestimenti teatrali, le esposizioni – come mecenate di quella fauna mista di artisti che comprendeva Sartoris e Casorati, Gigi Chessa e Paulucci, Pagano e Levi, forse anche Fillia, che accompagnò la sua stagione come imprenditore teatrale, stupendamente rievocata in *Frammenti di vita*, scritto durante il confino a Lipari. Su questo argomento mi permetto di ricordare il mio saggio *Architettura italiana degli anni Venti*, in "ArQ", n. 11.
11) Una gazzetta, si diceva a Venezia nel '700: dal nome di una monetina di rame che serviva, prima, ad avere accesso alla sala in cui si leggevano le informazioni di pubblico interesse, poi per l'acquisto del foglio di informazioni che si chiamò all'inizio "Gazzetta Veneta" e poi "Gazzetta di Venezia".
12) Questo mi ha fatto venire in mente una mia scoperta casuale di anni fa. Mi interessavo a Semper ed agli autori italiani che ne avevano scritto. Così mi capitò di leggere quanto ne scriveva Persico e, poco dopo, quanto ne scriveva De Fusco. Quest'ultimo riferiva, tra virgolette, un commento su Semper di Borissalievitch (che Persico conosceva e che cita in *Punto ed a capo per l'architettura*). Ebbene quanto di Semper scriveva Persico, senza virgolette, era press'a poco quanto diceva Miloutine Borissalievitch. Una memoria fenomenale – dunque – e tuttavia Persico si arrendeva al pregiudizio accademico: "*Un libro è una cosa molto seria*", diceva (è sempre la Veronesi a riferire), dunque un libro o un saggio senza apparato di note, per lui non aveva valore.
13) "*Il fascismo è per gli italiani una palingenesi di leggerezza*", aveva affermato Gobetti.
14) Apparso senza data (ma luglio o agosto 1930) dalla tipografia "L'Economica" di Firenze. Il testo di Persico è intitolato – non sappiamo se con il suo consenso o no – *Supremazia dell'arte italiana* (pp. 21-22). La Veronesi lo pubblica con il titolo *Sull'arte italiana* (I, pp. 100-102).
15) Ricordiamo, a esempio, la stroncatura su "Casabella" del primo progetto di Gardella per il Dispensario Antitubercolare di Alessandria.
16) Una rivista che va solo dal maggio 1929 agli inizi del 1931, come del resto "Quadrante" va soltanto dal maggio 1933 all'estate 1936. Ma l'importanza e la centralità di molti fatti artistici non si possono confondere con fatti cronologici.
17) Dopo un biglietto breve (in cui parlava della mostra di sculture di Degas che stava allestendo per Palazzo Vecchio).
18) È questa un'espressione tipica di Bardi, ricorrente altre volte, per indicare una persona – o anche un fatto, una cosa – che lo ha deluso.
19) Edito per la prima volta da Marco Valsecchi a Forlì nel 1943; ora nell'antologia E. PERSICO, *Oltre l'architettura*, a cura di R. Mariani, cit., pp. 306-350.
20) Che suggerisco di leggere in E. PERSICO, *Tutte le opere (1923-1935)*, a cura di G. Veronesi, cit., II, pp. 303-323, perché nell'antologia di Mariani sono soppresse arbitrariamente tutte le note.

10. Copertina di E. Persico, Profezia dell'architettura, *Muggiani Editore, Milano 1945.*
11. Copertina di "Quadrante", n. 35-36, 1936.

10. Cover of E. Persico, Profezia dell'architettura, *Muggiani Editore, Milan 1945.*
11. Cover of "Quadrante", n. 35-36, 1936.

the plastic rhythm of the reproductions. Stupendous – also for the technical difficulties involved – are the ten two-page spread illustrations, showing reliefs or details of reliefs. The author, as he explains in the preface, did not want to raise new issues, but to make an educational work: but he has gone beyond this aim, offering us an original vision of Roman sculpture, through the choice of a head or the skillful isolation of a detail *[... and the discussion continues for two more paragraphs]".*

6) The text says: "«Edoardo Persico is dead». In the two pages that «Casabella» has set aside for Persico, evidently it is deemed superfluous to emphasize the void left behind by this colleague and friend, in the certainty that all those who loved him will be able to evaluate it on themselves. After all, rhetoric would be out of place in «Casabella». The most lively Italian artists and critics should meditate at length on these pages, from which Edoardo Persico still admonishes *[followed by the table of contents of issue n. 97 of "Casabella", January 1936]".*

But the memory of the great deceased critic doesn't end here. It is shown in two asterisks (brief texts of "Painting, Sculpture and Architecture") that "G. di V." publishes on Thursday 6 August 1936:

The first: "«Between art and the public once again there will be that relationship of love which, for clear signs of the present civilization, we can easily foresee...». Although it is followed by an if, this is the consoling hope that concludes a study by E. Rogers on a presumed incompatibility between the public and artists, in «Domus» n. 103 *[...]".*

The second: "Among the Italian and foreign architecture magazines, «Casabella» stands out for the intransigent selection of the works published *[...]* The double issue n. 102-103 begins with the text of a conference Edoardo Persico conducted last year at the Fascist Cultural Institute in Turin: «Prophecy of architecture» *[...]".*

7) According to Veronesi, but his name is already present in the January issue.

8) Movimento Italiano Architettura Razionale.

9) Meaning his demolition of the Mazzoni design for the Florence Rail Station which – after it received the approval of Ojetti and other bores – had been publicized on the pages of the newspaper "La Nazione" as a sure thing; instead, Bardi's critique led to an enormous journalistic controversy, which convinced the Council of Public Works to announce a national competition which – with a jury composed by Armando Brasini, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Ugo Ojetti, Marcello Piacentini and Romano Romanelli, all member of the Academy of Italy – left Ojetti out in the cold, assigning the victory to the group led by Michelucci.

10) Venturi had performed the miracle of converting the industrialist and financier Riccard Gualino to a "taste for the primitives" and the modern. But while it had been easy to convince him to abandon the neomedievalist architect Tornielli (who had renovated a castle for his marriage), it was not so easy to arrive at a decision for a modernist substitute: the choice went to Pagano and Levi for the office building, to the Busiri Vici brothers for the house on the riviera and the residence-headquarters of the art collection in the Turin hills. Both these studios were "what the market had to offer " in the area of new architecture in Italy.

We should not forget the role of Gualino – through furnishings, theater sets, expositions – as a patron of that mixed fauna of artists that included Sartoris and Casorati, Gigi Chessa and Paulucci, Pagano and Levi, perhaps even Fillia, during the period of theater promotion, stupendously re-evoked in Frammenti di vita, *written during his internment in Lipari. On this topic, I refer to my essay* Architettura italiana degli anni Venti, *in "ArQ", n. 11.*

11) A "gazzetta", they said in Venice, in the 1700s: from the name of a copper coin that was used first to obtain access to rooms in which to read posted information of public interest, and later to purchase a newsletter that was initially called the "Gazzetta Veneta" and later the "Gazzetta di Venezia".

12) This reminds me of a coincidental discovery I made a few years ago. I was interested in Semper and the Italian authors who had written about him. Therefore I happened to read what Persico had written on the subject and, shortly thereafter, what had been written by De Fusco. The latter reports, in quotation marks, a comment on Semper by Borissalievitch (with whom Persico was acquainted, and cites in Punto ed a capo per l'architettura*). Lo and behold, what Persico wrote about Semper, without quotation marks, was roughly the same thing said by Miloutine Borissalievitch. A phenomenal memory – therefore – and yet Persico was willing to give in to academic prejudice:* "A book is a very serious thing", *he said (once again this is reported by Veronesi); he felt that a book or an essay without footnotes had no value.*

13) "For the Italians fascism is a palingenesis of lightness", *Gobetti had stated.*

14) This appeared undated (but it was July or August, 1930), printed by the "L'Economica" of Florence. The text by Persico is entitled – we don't know if the title was chosen by him – Supremazia dell'arte italiana *(pp. 21-22). Veronesi publishes it with the title* Sull'arte italiana *(I, pp. 100-102).*

15) We can recall, for example, his negative criticism in "Casabella" of the first design by Gardella for the Dispensario Antitubercolare of Alessandria.

16) A magazine that survived on from May 1929 to the beginning of 1931, just as "Quadrante" existed only from May 1933 to the summer of 1936. But the importance and central value of many artistic happenings should not be confused with chronological factors.

17) After a short note (in which he spoke of the exhibition of the sculptures of Degas he was organizing for Palazzo Vecchio).

18) This was a typical expression of Bardi, often used, to indicate a person – or an event, a thing – that had disappointed him.

19) Published for the first time by Marco Valsecchi in Forlì in 1943; now in the anthology E. PERSICO, Oltre l'architettura, *ed. R. Mariani, cit., pp. 306-350.*

20) I suggest reading this in E. PERSICO, Tutte le opere (1923-1935), *ed. G. Veronesi, cit., II, pp. 303-323, because in the anthology edited by Mariani all the footnotes have arbitrarily been suppressed.*

Trabant University Center, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, USA
1992-96

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, Inc.

Principal in charge: Robert Venturi
Project Managers: James Kolker, Nancy Rogo Trainer, James Wallace

con/with: Denise Scott Brown, Stephanie Christoff, Joe Herrin, Jeff Hirsch, Elizabeth Hitchcock, Steven Izenour, Timothy Kearney, Adam Meyers, Felisa Opper, Alex Stolyarik, David Vaughan, Jon Wagner, Brian Wurst

Engineers: Tetra Tech (civil), Keast & Hood Co. (structural), Marvin Waxman Consulting Engineers (mechanical), Steven J. Lit Consulting Engineers (electrical)
Landscape Architects: Andropogon Associates
Acoustical/Theatrical consultants: George C. Izenour Associates
Lighting consultants: Grenald Waldron Associates
Audiovisual/Security consultants: Glicksman Associates

Foto/Photos: Matt Wargo



Vista da sud-ovest

View from the southwest

Trabant University Center, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, USA

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View from the [illegible].

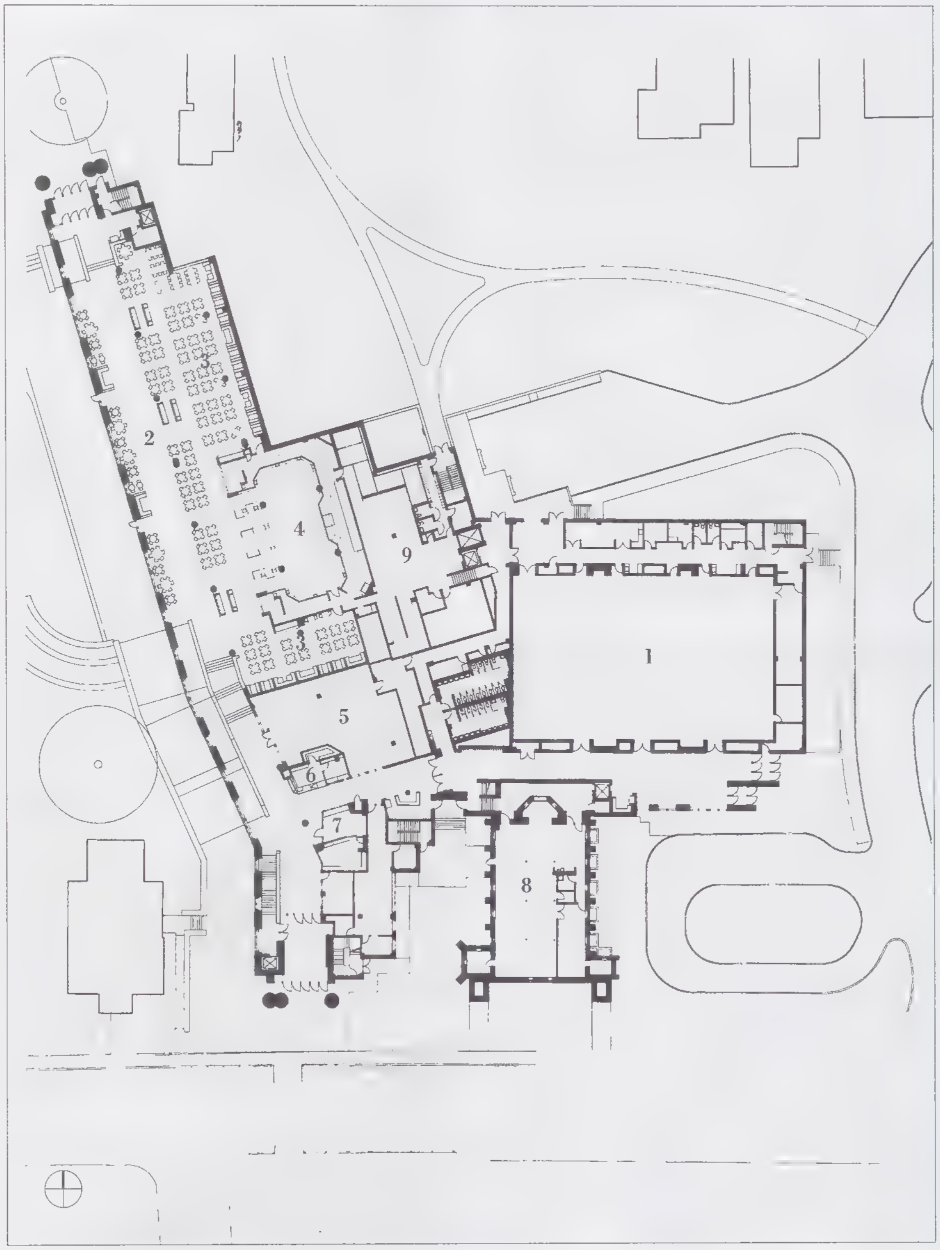
Centro per studenti Trabant, Università del Delaware, Newark, Delaware, USA
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Il progetto di questo edificio vuole essere un segno di riconoscimento delle qualità di quella parte di città e di *campus* in cui esso è situato e un modo per valorizzare l'ambiente attraverso elementi capaci di creare un'armonia tra le parti e con il contesto. Questi elementi possono essere simili oppure in contrasto con il contesto stesso. Per esempio, le facciate anteriori sono di mattoni rossi con finiture in pietra calcarea bianca: un accostamento di materiali analogo a quello che si trova nei tipici edifici che si affacciano sulla Main Street di Newark e in molti degli edifici più prestigiosi di questa parte del *campus*. Un elemento contrastante è invece la grande scala dei pilastri che scandiscono la facciata principale, sebbene anch'essi, con i loro ritmi complessi, formino una galleria nel corpo della costruzione che, sia pure in modo stilizzato e astratto, si riferisce agli edifici georgiani classici che caratterizzano il *campus*. Il disegno del Centro si rifa quindi – senza mimetismi – all'illustre tradizione architettonica del *campus*. È georgiano nello spirito, nei materiali, nei ritmi e nelle allusioni classiche, ma non in modo letterale. È invece in sintonia con il nostro tempo e appropriato per dimensione e scala. La sua destinazione d'uso richiede una struttura larga, profonda e bassa: e un volume di questo tipo non può dirsi veramente georgiano. Ma come gli architetti che costruirono gli edifici georgiani del nucleo storico del *campus* negli anni Venti ne adattarono lo stile al tempo e alle necessità di allora, così noi lo abbiamo adattato ai giorni nostri. I pilastri di grande scala ma con un'ornamentazione delicata – che contrastano, occorre dirlo, con i dettagli di piccola scala della facciata anteriore – esprimono le qualità "civiche" del Centro, che è una presenza nella città, oltre che un "luogo" all'interno del *campus*. La galleria è infatti collegata al sistema viario del *campus* e della città e rappresenta una sorta di piacevole scorciatoia lungo la quale si possono trovare interessanti occasioni di incontro e anche negozi: si tratta quindi di un "luogo", oltre che di un edificio.
Un edificio di questo tipo è nell'insieme inevitabilmente piuttosto "difficile". Nei suoi due piani deve ospitare molte funzioni e quindi, come si è detto, è largo, profondo, basso, non ha tetti inclinati né finestre sui fronti posteriori: è facile che sembri un magazzino, un supermercato, un centro commerciale. Per evitare questa impressione, abbiamo concentrato la massa della costruzione all'interno dell'isolato e soprattutto abbiamo conservato il tessuto degli edifici preesistenti lungo il perimetro dello stesso. Si tratta di edifici di piccole dimensioni orientati a sud e a ovest, per la maggior parte abitazioni, che contribuiscono a conservare la qualità di questa parte di città e il suo fascino storico e al tempo stesso nascondono il volume della parte posteriore del Centro.
All'interno del Centro si trovano le funzioni specifiche richieste dal committente – aree di incontro, zone per lavorare e per la ristorazione, spazi di servizio – ma anche una funzione essenziale, meno specifica ma estremamente importante: dare spazio, anzi facilitare gli incontri casuali tra studenti e membri della Facoltà, e quindi la comunicazione tra gli uni e gli altri, attraverso nicchie dove ci si può sedere, distribuite lungo i corridoi e la galleria stessa, quasi a formare una sorta di navata laterale.
La galleria – che si trova in corrispondenza di uno dei percorsi principali di circolazione pedonale del *campus* – è imponente ma varia e articolata. Lungo il lato esposto a est – che si affaccia sullo spazio alberato di South College Street, dal paesaggio mutevole a seconda delle stagioni – si trovano, come detto, nicchie per la sosta, oltre al sistema di rampe e scale. L'altro lato è invece animato da insegne di tipo commerciale che segnalano le aree di ristorazione, una libreria, un'edicola e altre strutture di servizio. Sopra questi "negozi" si trovano una serie di sale per riunioni che si affacciano con le loro vetrate sulla galleria. Insegne a bandiera di carattere decorativo o informativo, con scritte e motivi grafici realizzati al *computer*, rafforzano l'atmosfera allegra e festosa dell'insieme. Lungo la galleria sono appese leggere strutture ad arco decorate da tubi al neon che scandiscono lo spazio e, fluttuando, movimentano vivacemente l'ambiente.

Trabant University Center, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, USA
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

This building is designed to acknowledge the particular qualities of the part of the town and the campus it is in, as well as to enhance this setting by means of design elements that create harmony among the parts and within the context. These elements may be sometimes analogous to and sometimes in contrast to the context. For instance, the front facades of the new building are of red brick with white limestone trim, a combination of materials analogous to those of typical buildings on Main Street and to many of the distinguished buildings in this part of the campus.
A contrasting element is represented by the large scale of the piers that make up the main facade – yet these piers in turn, with their complex rhythms, compose an enclosed arcade whose historical reference, stylized and abstract, corresponds to that of the Classical Georgian style buildings that dominate the campus.
The design of the student center acknowledges without mimicry the rich architectural history of the campus. It is Georgian in spirit – in its materials, rhythms and classical allusions – but is not literally Georgian. Instead it is true to our time and appropriate to its size and scale. The uses of the student center dictate that it be large, deep, and low; such massing cannot be truly Georgian. Just as the architects of the 1920s Georgian buildings in the historic campus center adapted the style to their time and purposes, so we have adapted it to ours.
These large-scale but subtly ornamented piers – contrasting themselves, it should be noted, with accompanying small-scale detail within the composition of the whole front facade – express the civic quality of the Center, as a presence in the town as well as a place within the campus – a place whose rhythmic arcade relates to the circulation system of the campus and the town. This arcade represents, indeed, a kind of amenable short-cut along which are useful things to buy and interesting opportunities for meeting – so it is a place as well as a building.
A building like this is inevitably awkward as a whole. Because many uses have to be accommodated on two floors it is by nature big and deep but also low, without sloping roofs, and without windows in its rear facades. It can easily look like a warehouse, a supermarket, or shopping mall. To avoid this, the bulk of the building has been concentrated within the interior of the block it sits in and, most important, the fabric of existing buildings along the perimeter of the block has been maintained.
Charming little buildings, mostly houses, toward the south and west, help preserve the existing quality of this part of town and its historical aura.
At the same time they hide the bulk of the rear

of the Student Center. The interior of this building accommodates specific elements of the program including meeting, dining, working, and service spaces, but includes as well an essential function within the program that is less specific but extremely important – that of accommodating, indeed encouraging, chance or incidental meetings among students and faculty members and thereby communication, via occasional niches for sitting in along corridors and via the side aisle along the arcade gallery.
The arcade-gallery itself, as it corresponds to a dominant pedestrian circulation route of the campus, is emphatic but varied in its architectural quality. On the east are the niche and aisle spaces and the extended ramps required to accompany the stairs in the arcade. Beyond is landscaped space off South College Street where different things can happen in the spring and fall. The space on the other side of the arcade is active with commercial-like signs proclaiming its variety of eating places, a book store, kiosks, and other service uses. Above these "shops" is a series of meeting rooms that look out through windows onto the gallery. Reinforcing the gala effect of the gallery are banner-like signs that are more or less decorative or informational – parts of them contain computer-video graphics. Spanning this gallery are decorative arches depicted by repetitive floating neon tubes that vividly articulate the place as a whole.





Pianta del piano terreno e sezione della galleria: 1) sala polifunzionale; 2) galleria; 3) mensa; 4) self-service; 5) libreria; 6) chiosco-informazioni; 7) fotocopie, fax e posta; 8) sala giochi; 9) cucina.

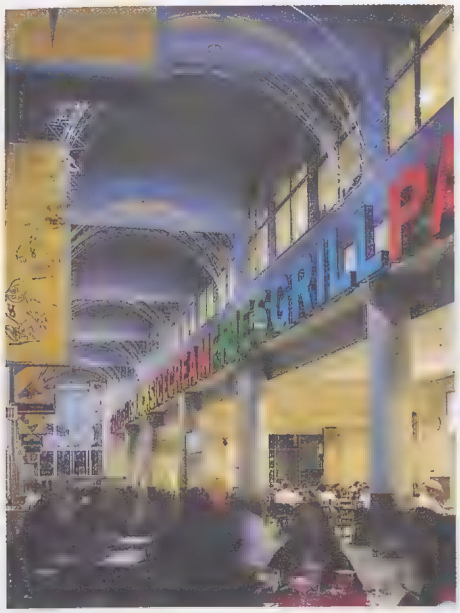
Ground floor plan and section of the gallery: 1) multipurpose room; 2) gallery; 3) dining; 4) self-service; 5) bookstore; 6) ticket, info; 7) copy, fax, mailing; 8) game room; 9) kitchen.

Viste da nord e viste interne della galleria.

Views from the north and interior views of the gallery.



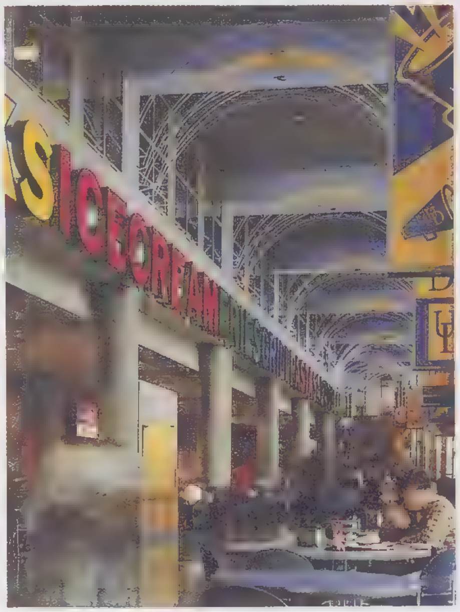


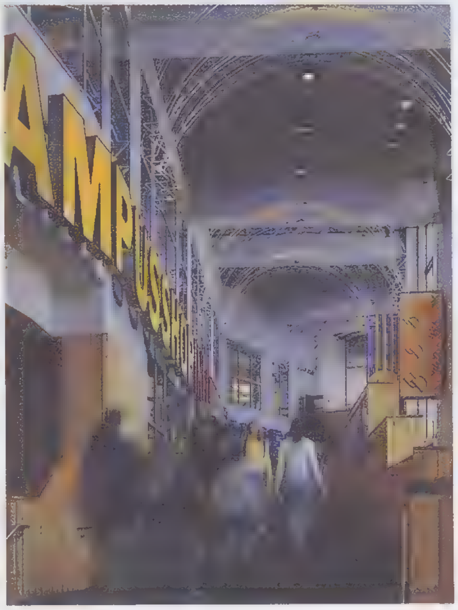

GRILL








ICECREAM









Viste della testata nord.
Vista del modello.

Views of the north head of the building.
View of the model.



The Gonda (Goldschmied) Neuroscience and Genetics Research Center, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, USA

1993-98

Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, Inc.
Principal in charge: Robert Venturi. Project Managers: Tom Purdy, Eva Lew. Project Team: Ronald Evitts, Sara Loe, Mindy No, Adam Meyers

Lee, Burkhart, Liu, Inc.
Principal in charge: Kenneth Liu. Project Manager: Wayne Low. Project Team: Curtis Bywater, Rudy Abrio, Luis Perez

Engineers: John A. Martin & Associates (structural), Hayakawa Associates (MEP), KPFF Consulting Engineers (exterior wall), RBA Partners (civil).
Laboratory Consultant: McLellan & Copenhagen. Landscape Architect: Glen C. Dake

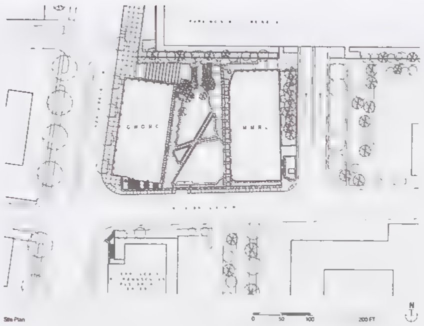
Foto/Photos: Matt Wargo

Centro di ricerca neuroscientifica e genetica Gonda (Goldschmied), Università della California, Los Angeles, USA
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

Il Centro occupa un sito scosceso all'interno del *campus* ovest dell'UCLA ed è collegato al Laboratorio di ricerca medica Gordon e Virginia MacDonald (MRLB, anch'esso realizzato da VSBA) da una piazza interna, tenuta a prato, che sbocca su una larga gradinata che raccorda il nuovo complesso alle altre parti del *campus*. L'esterno dei due edifici si ispira all'architettura dello storico *campus* nord dell'UCLA.
Sul lato settentrionale, una colonna che regge l'immagine della *mascotte* dell'Università segna l'ingresso pedonale; sul lato sud, una parete vetrata ad angolo caratterizza il complesso e definisce l'accesso meridionale. Per salvaguardare lo spazio verde fra i due edifici, la zona di carico e scarico delle merci è stata situata nel sottosuolo, in corrispondenza del prato centrale.
L'edificio del Centro Gonda, così come quello del Laboratorio MacDonald, è un generico *loft* e proprio per questo ha la versatilità spaziale e funzionale richiesta dai diversi programmi di sperimentazione scientifica.
Nel piano tipo, lungo le due pareti vetrate esterne a est e a ovest si susseguono a fascia numerose zone adatte alle funzioni di laboratorio e di studio. Nella parte centrale, parallela alle due fasce, c'è un'area che ospita spazi di supporto e attrezzature nonché i corridoi di circolazione.
A questo schema distributivo, specifico ma flessibile, fanno eccezione i due piani inferiori che ospitano il vivaio, impianti speciali, depositi, gli uffici amministrativi, sale di riunione, aree di incontro, mense e l'atrio di ingresso. Un edificio adibito a laboratori all'interno di una comunità accademica è un luogo che deve servire tanto alla concentrazione quanto alla comunicazione.
Il disegno dell'interno deve quindi dare spazio a queste funzioni, agevolandole nelle diverse combinazioni secondo necessità.
I laboratori e gli studi, in quanto luoghi di concentrazione, devono essere riparati ma anche flessibili, per favorire appunto la concentrazione delle persone o dei gruppi, ma al tempo stesso consentire anche la animata confusione che nasce dal processo creativo. Ogni piano tipo deve comprendere sia spazi come "luoghi" che spazi come "ambienti": luoghi per interazioni occasionali e spazi per attività precise quali quelle che si svolgono nelle tradizionali sale per la lettura e per i seminari. Gli spazi "occasionali" che abbiamo disegnato non sono architettonicamente troppo espliciti: non si tratta infatti di locali definiti, ma piuttosto di un'area-perno nel sistema di circolazione di ciascun piano, una sorta di lungo sedile con nicchie circondato da vetrate posto all'estremità sud dei corridoi, dove la luce naturale che entra dalle grandi finestre, modulata dai frangisole, e la vista sull'esterno costituiscono un richiamo per chi passa. Questo spazio interno è l'elemento di eccezione e un arricchimento indiretto dello schema architettonico ripetitivo del *loft*.
Il disegno dell'esterno è importante sia in rapporto al contesto generale – il *campus* dell'UCLA nel suo insieme – che in rapporto all'ambiente più prossimo, all'interno del complesso della Scuola di Medicina presso l'ingresso principale del *campus* su Westwood Boulevard: e, più prossimo ancora, il settore che esso va a completare con la sua ubicazione sulla piazza di fronte al Laboratorio MacDonald. Un generico edificio a *loft* di questo tipo non può contare, quanto all'effetto, sull'articolazione plastica della forma architettonica, ma si deve piuttosto basare sulla decorazione delle superfici esterne. L'elemento ornamentale, insieme al ritmo delle campate e alla proporzione delle aperture vetrate, deve essere espressione formale della sua qualità di edificio accademico all'interno di un ambiente accademico. Le superfici di mattoni rossi sono analoghe a quelle degli altri edifici della Scuola di Medicina. Il Centro Gonda si rapporta con il Laboratorio MacDonald replicandone la decorazione esterna, ma con una variante: i motivi del disegno originale sono semplificati e in qualche modo dilatati per accrescere la scala del nuovo edificio, in quanto da un lato esso è disposto non sulla tranquilla piazza interna, ma ai bordi del *campus*, lungo il grande spazio urbano di Westwood Boulevard. La decorazione alla base della facciata su Westwood è perciò massiccia, ma si riallaccia anche, in modo stilizzato, alla decorazione degli edifici più antichi del centro del *campus*. Essa comprende motivi di piccola scala e motivi di scala più grande, per poter essere percepita da coloro che camminano lungo il marciapiede. Per i progettisti il nuovo edificio è stata una sfida. Simile a quello più vecchio per forma e proporzioni, ma di dimensioni più piccole, correva il rischio di essere percepito come una specie di gemello "in sedicesimo", ingenerando un'ambiguità che avrebbe potuto essere spiacevole.
Il problema è stato risolto spostando gli impianti sul tetto e modificando la forma della parte superiore dell'edificio, che così è diventato più alto del MacDonald nella parte ovest e più basso nella parte est.
Questo profilo asimmetrico permette, tra l'altro, di far arrivare alla piazza interna una maggiore quantità di luce dall'alto.
Lo spazio di interazione all'estremità sud, che è un'eccezione nel sistema interno dell'edificio, si può cogliere dall'esterno per la sua particolare configurazione geometrica, con gli spigoli in pianta che creano piccoli angoli di conversazione, per i materiali (vetro trasparente e vetro opaco) e per il motivo decorativo del rivestimento.
Questi elementi formano un deciso contrasto con il corpo della costruzione e funzionano come una specie di "fanfara" che dà forza all'immagine dell'edificio via via che ci si avvicina venendo da sud.

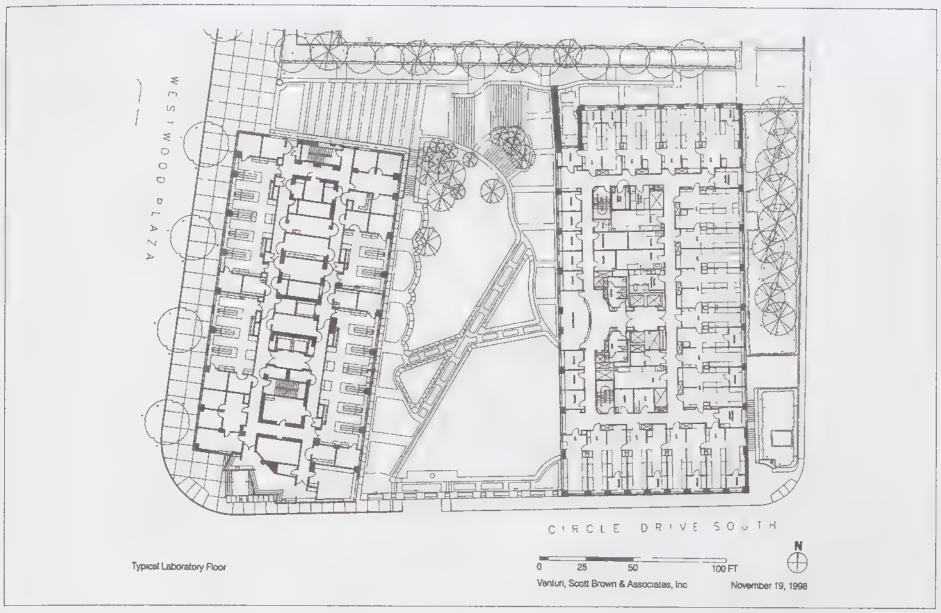
Vista da sudest, sulla destra i Gordon and Virginia MacDonald Medical Research Laboratories (MRLB).

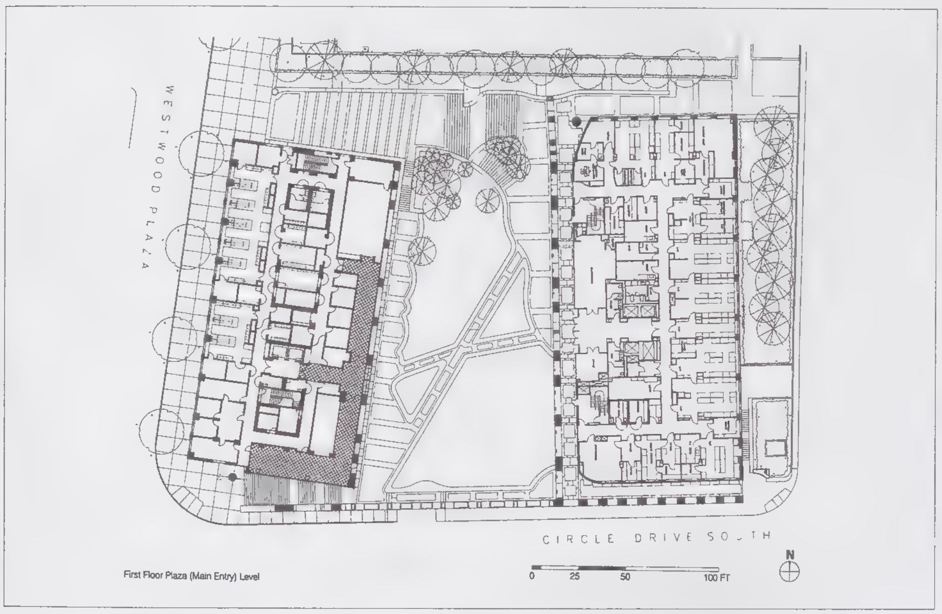
View from the southeast with, on the right, the Gordon and Virginia MacDonald Medical Research Laboratories (MRLB).

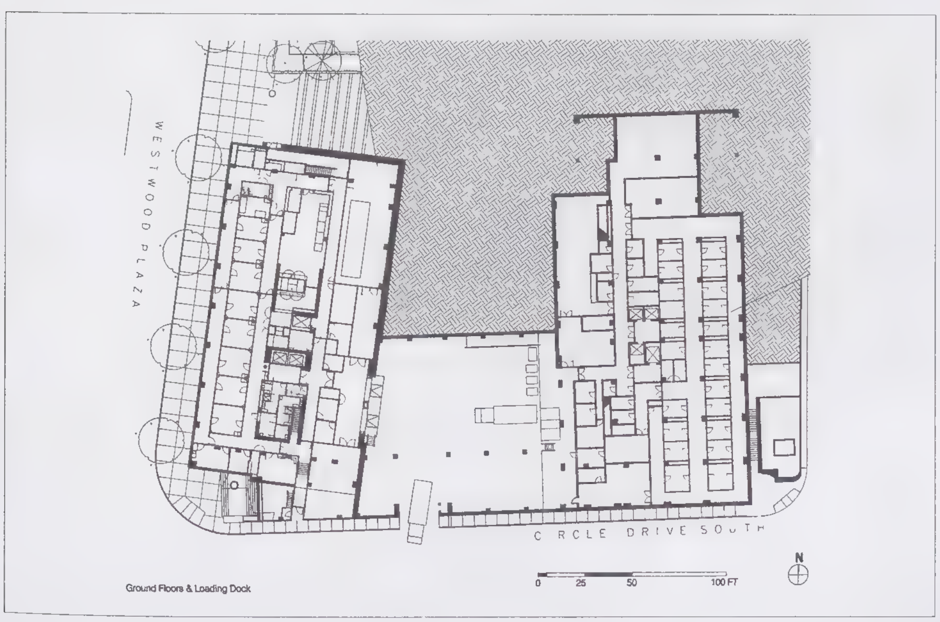


The Gonda (Goldschmied) Neuroscience and Genetics Research Center, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, USA
Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates

The Gonda Center occupies a prominent sloping site on the western UCLA campus, joined by a broad plaza to VSBA's Gordon and Virginia MacDonald Medical Research Laboratory (MRLB). The plaza abuts a wide, stepped pedestrian walk linking the new complex to other parts of the campus.
The architecture of UCLA's historic north campus inspired the buildings' exteriors.
At the northern end, a column supporting the UCLA mascot marks the walkway entrance; at the southern end, an angled glass wall identifies the complex and defines the southern access.
In order to preserve green space between the two research buildings, the loading dock has been located underground beneath this central lawn.
The design of this building – like that of the Gordon and Virginia MacDonald Medical Research Laboratory – is based on a generic loft which accommodates spatial and mechanical flexibility and is appropriate to the dynamics of science-laboratory programs. Along the windowed east and west outer walls of a typical floor are placed the structural and spatial bays appropriate for varieties of lab and office functions and configurations; within the interior space, between and parallel to these two zones, are located mechanical and support spaces and circulation corridors. Exceptions within this specific but flexible floor-system occur on the two lower floors that accommodate the vivarium, special mechanical and storage facilities, administrative offices, meeting rooms, social-dining spaces, and entrance lobby.
A laboratory building in an academic community is a place for concentration and communication and the design of the interior must accommodate these activities in different combinations and with ease.
The lab spaces and offices, as settings for concentration, are to be recessive as well as flexible in their design, to encourage concentration among individuals or groups and accommodate mess that derives from creative process.
But each typical floor must include space as place, as well as space as setting – place for incidental interaction as well as space for the explicit activities that occur in traditional lecture and seminar rooms.
The incidental place we have made not too explicit architecturally. It is not a room but, rather, an eddy within the circulation system of each floor – a kind of extended window seat with niches, at the south ends of the corridors where light from big windows plus a view – modulated by horizontal interior louvers – attracts you.
This interior space is an exception within the repetitive architectural order of the generic loft and an oblique enhancement of that order.
The exterior design of this building is important in relation to its general context – the UCLA campus as a whole – and its immediate setting, within the Medical School complex, at the main entrance to the campus on Westwood Boulevard, and most intimately within its immediate complex, which it will complete through its position across the court from the MacDonald Building.
A generic loft building like that across the court cannot depend on sculptural articulation of its architectural form for its effect; but must rely, rather, on surface ornament on a severe enclosing form.
The ornamental element, along with the rhythm of its bays and the proportion of its window openings, must establish its aesthetic quality as an academic building in an academic setting.
The red brick surfaces of this building are analogous to those of other buildings in the Medical School precinct.
The new building relates to the MacDonald building by replicating its surface ornament – but with a twist: elements of the original pattern are simplified and somewhat amplified to enhance the scale of the new building as it faces, not an intimate campus court like the MacDonald building, but an edge of the campus within the larger urban space of Westwood Boulevard.
The ornament at the base of the facade on Westwood is therefore bold – but it also refers abstractly to historical ornament on original buildings at the center of the campus.
It contains small-scale as well as bold elements, to be perceived by individuals walking close-up along the sidewalk.
A particular architectural challenge derives from the new building's being similar in form and proportion to the old but smaller in size, so that it might seem perceptually to be a kind of underdeveloped twin, and involve thereby an ambiguity that could be disturbing.
This challenge was faced by adjusting the layout of the mechanical equipment on the roof and modifying the shape of the building on top, so it becomes higher than the MacDonald building on the west and lower on the east.
The asymmetrical profile also permits more light to enter the courtyard from above.
The interaction space at the south end, that is an exception within the interior system of the building, is acknowledged from the outside via differences in the geometry of its form, whose points in plan create nooks for conversing inside; via the materials (glass and spandrel glass); and via the pattern of its surface. These form a dramatic contrast with the body of the building and act as a kind of fanfare that enhances its image as you approach from the south.







Planimetria e piante dei piani interrato, terreno e tipo.

Site plan and basement level, ground floor and typical floor plans.

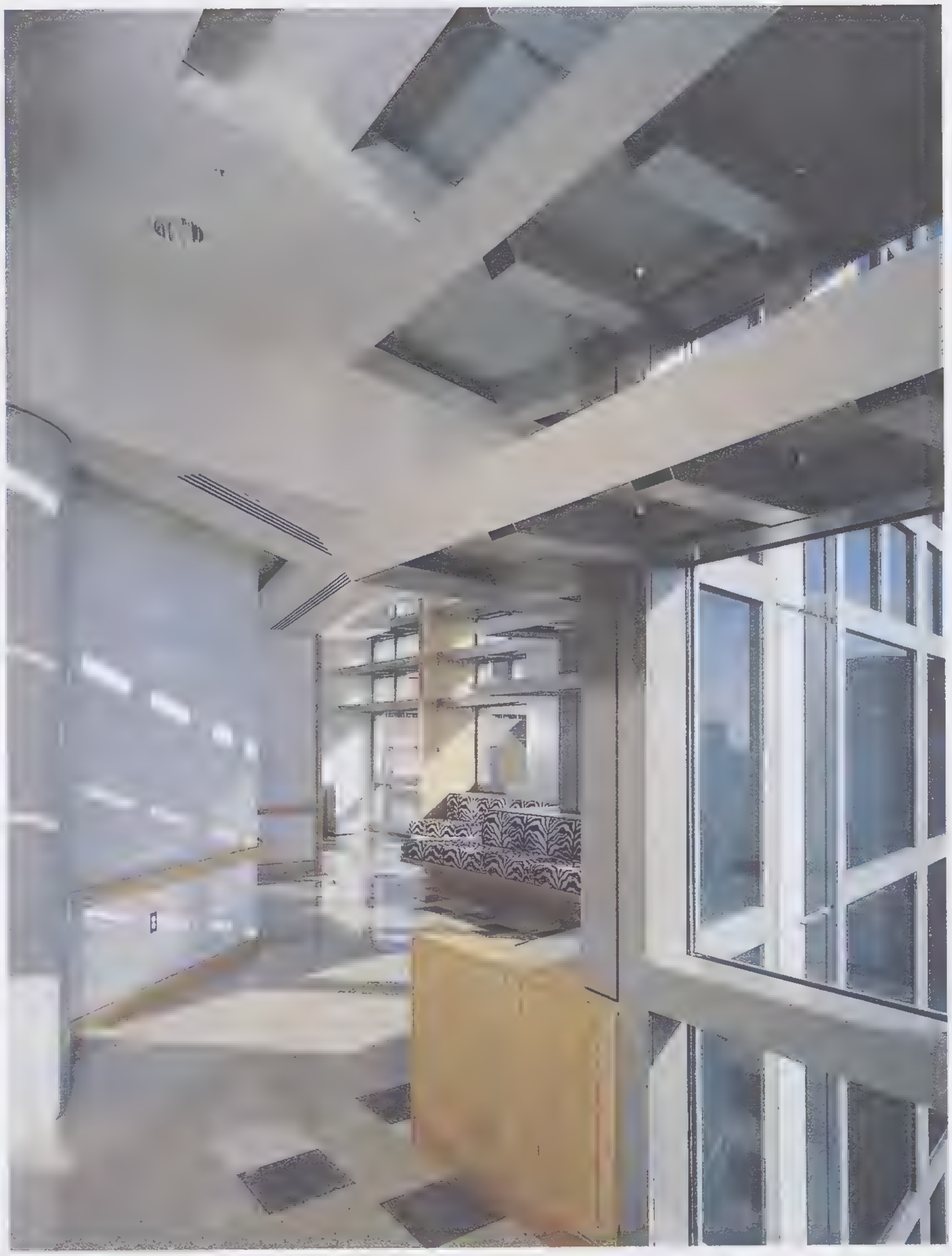


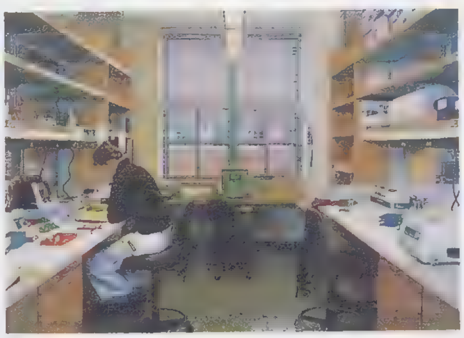
Viste da sudovest, da nordest con gli ingressi e da nordovest.

Views from the southwest, the northeast (with the entrances) and the northwest.









Viste interne degli spazi comuni sulla testata sud e di un laboratorio.
Vista da sudovest.

Interior views of the common areas (south head) and a laboratory.
View from the southwest.





Colegio de Escribanos, Buenos Aires, Argentina
1998-99

Clorindo Testa, con/with Juan Fontana
Estudio Sevi de Arquitectura (Uriel Sevi, Guido Sevi, Osvaldo Bisso, Víctor Derka)

coll.: Daniela Facal, Sebastián Fourcade, Victoria Maluf, Luciana Marteau,
Lucia Mazzaglia, Fernando Valeiras,
Structures: Curutchet y Villar, ings.
Executive management: Guido E. Sevi

Foto/Photos: Diego Troillet



Viste dell'ingresso e della facciata su Avenida Las Heras.

Views of the entrance and the facade on Avenida Las Heras.

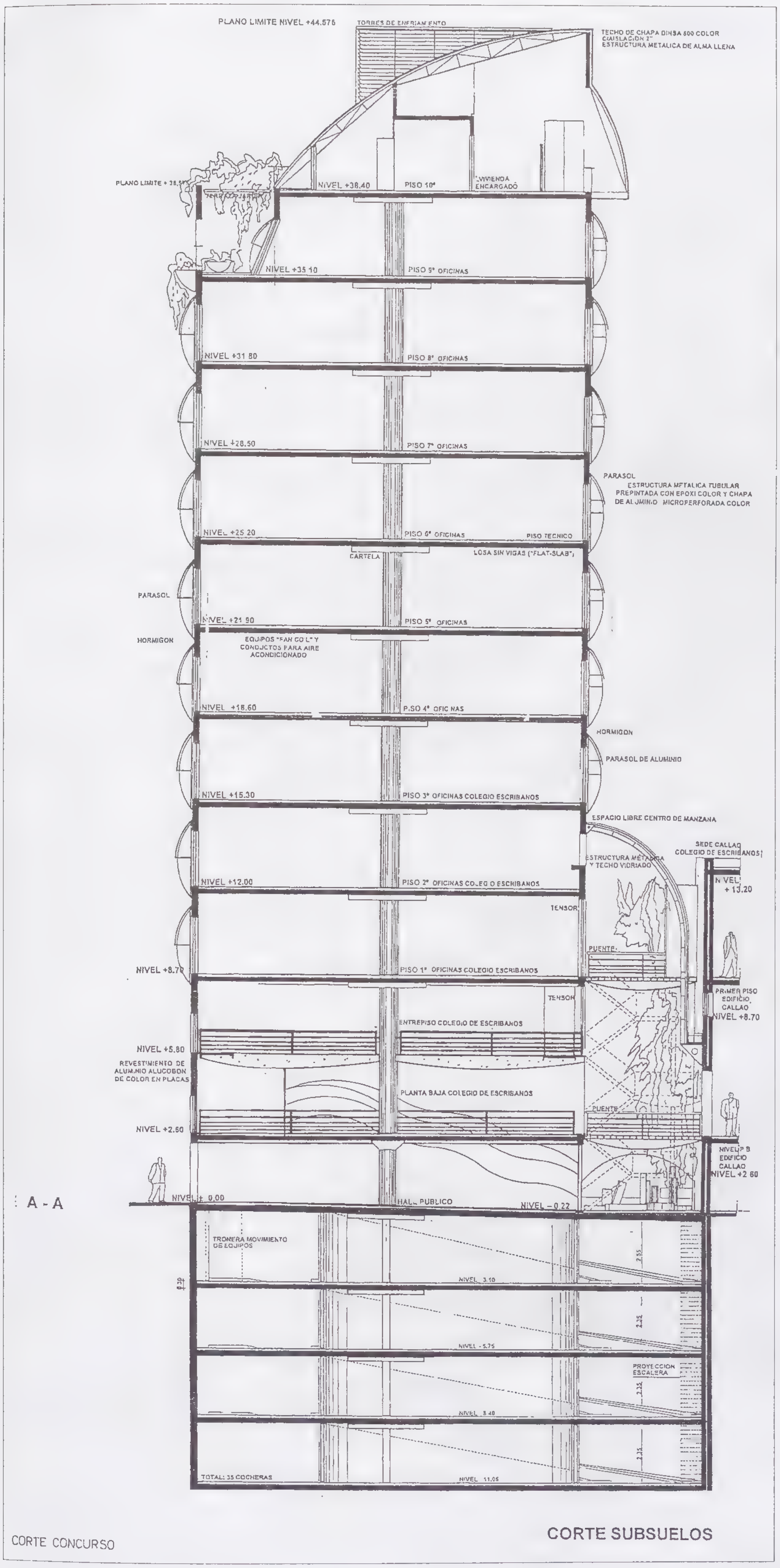


Sede del Collegio dei Notai, Buenos Aires, Argentina
Clorindo Testa

Relazione descrittiva
La progettazione della Sede del Collegio dei Notai della città di Buenos Aires ha richiesto un'analisi programmatica e una soluzione architettonica diverse rispetto a quelle necessarie per le tradizionali costruzioni destinate ad uffici, per quanto esse possano presentare una insolita morfologia o un'elevatissima qualità di materiali.
La storia dell'Ordine – moderno erede dell'Istituzione del "Notarius" Romano –, le cui radici affondano nel passato della nazione e nello spirito dei suoi fondatori, ha imposto, per la sua riconosciuta azione professionale e culturale, che le esigenze materiali fossero valorizzate e risolte con un'immagine e un disegno particolarmente rappresentativi, espressi mediante rigore, costi contenuti e tempi di realizzazione limitati.
Questo criterio ci ha condotto alla definizione di un "continente" in cui lo specifico del lavoro notarile – attività che implica un'assoluta fiducia professionale – convivesse con spazi idonei e sobri, nei quali i depositari della Fiducia Pubblica potessero svolgere il loro dovere di attestazione in un ambiente equilibrato e confortevole.
L'edificio diventa il supporto spaziale in grado di collegare operativamente la Modernità con gli alti livelli di efficienza, scrupolosità e responsabilità propri della tradizionale Corporazione.
In particolare era necessario che il progetto rispondesse ai seguenti requisiti:
1. garantire un'accessibilità differenziata all'edificio dall'esterno verso l'interno, in modo da ottenere la flessibilità necessaria per far fronte a eventuali modifiche e nuove necessità, senza nulla togliere alla chiarezza di funzioni e gerarchie;
2. risolto il punto precedente, considerato come una delle "chiavi" dell'intero progetto, garantire al contempo un collegamento – fluido, semplice e facilmente individuabile – della nuova sede con il preesistente edificio su Avenida Callao, soprattutto in corrispondenza dell'accesso da Avenida Las Heras, zona di maggiore affluenza del pubblico;
3. prevedere un nucleo di circolazione verticale in grado di consentire di adottare soluzioni operative diverse così da rispondere a eventuali esigenze che possano emergere in futuro (vedi il punto 1);
4. ottenere disposizioni planimetriche libere destinate ad accogliere gli uffici e flessibili nella divisione dello spazio per essere adattate a funzioni diverse tanto dall'Ordine dei Notai come da eventuali locatari;
5. esprimere mediante l'immagine integrale e forte dell'edificio la fisionomia unitaria e specifica dell'Istituzione, in base ai criteri enunciati inizialmente, in armonia con il linguaggio della forma urbana e nel rispetto delle indicazioni emerse dalle consulenze e del clima del luogo;
6. dotare il progetto di flessibilità d'uso per quanto riguarda i servizi infrastrutturali e i *comfort*, soprattutto nei piani destinati agli uffici;
7. individuare sistemi tecnici e costruttivi semplici, di ridotta complessità, per realizzare un edificio normale, economico, con una gara d'appalto a breve scadenza, aperta a un'ampia partecipazione di imprese, e costi di mantenimento contenuti.

L'edificio
Al livello di accesso (quota 0.00), oltre agli spazi destinati alla *reception* e al sistema di distribuzione verticale e orizzontale, sono localizzati alcuni uffici di contatto diretto con il pubblico, tra i quali la vigilanza, un servizio informatizzato di orientamento, una centralina computerizzata per il controllo dell'edificio e il cosiddetto "Panorama Storico Notarile".
Al livello superiore (primo piano ammezzato, quota +2.60), sono disposti uffici la cui necessità programmatica è stabilita dall'Ordine in virtù della continuità spaziale con l'edificio preesistente di Avenida Callao, il cui piano terra si trova alla stessa quota.
Dal momento che l'altezza è notevole, è stato possibile realizzare un secondo piano ammezzato (quota +5.80) con funzioni specifiche. Al di sopra di questi due piani si sviluppa la sequenza dei piani-tipo destinati agli uffici.
Nei 4 livelli sotterranei si trovano gli spazi destinati a parcheggio, collegati al livello di accesso da un sistema di ascensori e scala di servizio, i locali tecnici e quello per il trasformatore di energia.
La facciata dell'edificio su Avenida Las Heras ha richiesto un'attenzione speciale in virtù del suo carattere istituzionale e del particolare orientamento geografico, per cui si è esclusa l'ipotesi di ricorrere ad una soluzione accattivante quale il disegno di una superficie completamente vetrata.
Il *courtain wall*, oggi molto di moda qui e all'estero, non avrebbe infatti potuto trasmettere il carattere e il particolare rigore ricercati, essendo più adatto ad edifici di tipo molto diverso quali alberghi, uffici o fabbriche, a dimostrazione della sua "impersonale universalità", di gradevole aspetto e nient'altro.
I fronti dell'edificio sono prevalentemente in cemento a vista, un materiale espressivamente robusto, austero e durevole, utilizzato per le fasce corrispondenti alle travi marcapiano, che si alternano ai serramenti e ai frangisole in alluminio colorato.
Gli ultimi due piani, arretrati rispetto al filo del fronte dell'edificio, hanno una struttura metallica di forma parabolica, in cui la presenza dell'elemento vegetale apporta colore, ombra e la "morbidezza" propria della Natura.

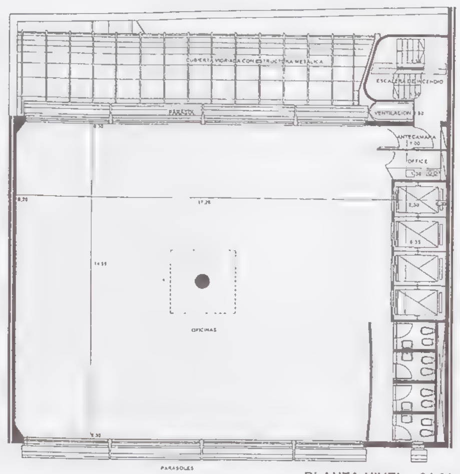
Struttura portante
In coerenza con il carattere del progetto, la struttura adottata consente una disposizione planimetrica libera, utilizzabile al meglio, che garantisce la maggiore flessibilità nel posizionamento degli impianti, dei condotti dell'aria condizionata e delle altre zone di servizio. Le solette, in cemento armato e dello spessore di 22 cm, appoggiano ai vari piani su una colonna centrale sormontata da una piastra di 20 cm di spessore che ha la funzione di migliorare la distribuzione dei carichi, così come la rigidità e la resistenza alla deformazione della soletta stessa. Questa colonna ha sezione circolare, che per esigenze di razionalizzazione interna si mantiene costante per tutto lo sviluppo in altezza dell'edificio.
Per quanto riguarda il fronte su Avenida Las Heras, una trave di 17 cm di larghezza e di circa 1.30 m di altezza appoggia su due pilastri posti alle due estremità dell'edificio, in modo che la facciata resti libera.
In corrispondenza del muro di confine a est si trovano il settore dei servizi e il nucleo di circolazione, che fungono anche da elementi portanti, mentre sul lato opposto la struttura è composta da travi e pilastri con uno spessore massimo costante di 25 cm. Per quanto riguarda il fronte posteriore, in corrispondenza di ogni soletta si trova una trave di 1.30 m di altezza, ad eccezione del 2° piano in cui la trave si unisce con quella del livello inferiore, invertita, per formare una trave unica del tipo Vierendeel, di un piano d'altezza, a cui sono appesi mediante cavi tesi le due solette inferiori, che terminano con una trave di bordo di 40 cm di altezza, permettendo così il passaggio all'altro edificio e alla scala con struttura metallica. Questa trave funge nello stesso tempo da appoggio per la struttura metallica di chiusura della scala e degli elementi di circolazione posteriori.
A piano terra la struttura è formata da pilastri metallici disposti perimetralmente sui quali appoggia la soletta e, come accennato, da una trave di bordo di 40 cm di altezza, che non ostacola la circolazione interna. Nei livelli sotterranei continua la struttura a pilastri, che qui sono realizzati in cemento armato.
Gli elementi strutturali di collegamento con l'edificio preesistente di Avenida Callao sono costituiti da profilati metallici, sia in corrispondenza del ponte che della scala, coperta da un tetto a struttura leggera con lastre di policarbonato.



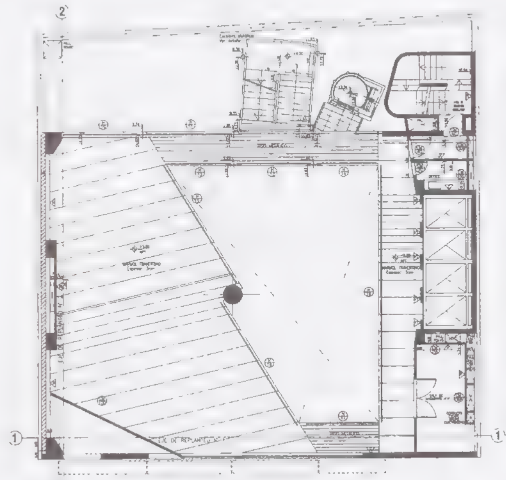


Sezione e schizzo di studio.

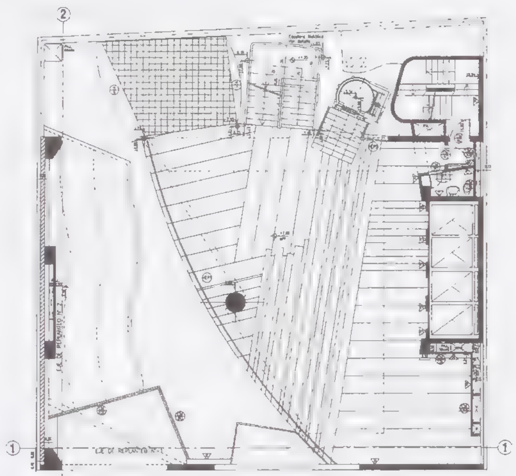
Section and study sketch.



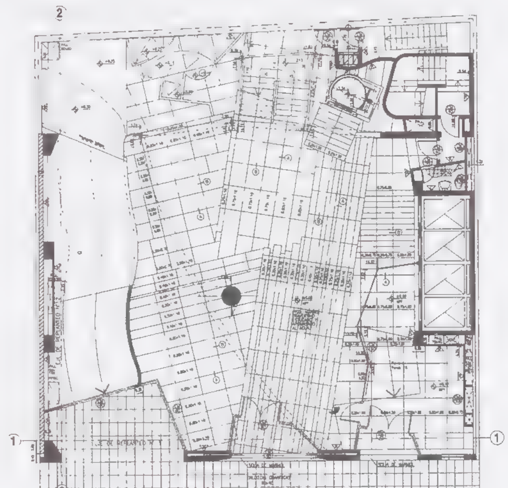
PLANTA NIVEL +21.90



PLANTA NIVEL +5.80 1er. ENTREPISO



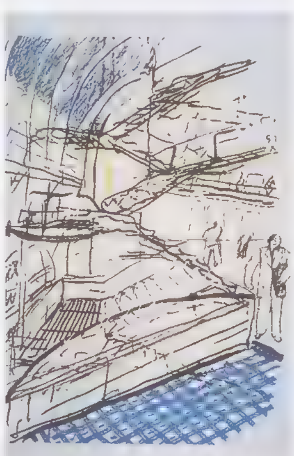
PLANTA NIVEL +2.60 PLANTA BAJA

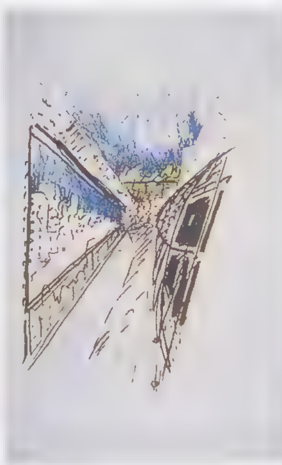


PLANTA NIVEL ACCESOS

Piante dei piani terreno, primo ammezzato, secondo ammezzato e tipo.
Disegni di studio.

Ground floor, first and second mezzanine levels and typical floor plans.
Study drawings.







Headquarters of the Association of Notaries, Buenos Aires, Argentina
Clorindo Testa

Project description

The design of the Headquarters of the Association of Notaries of the city of Buenos Aires required programmatic analysis and a different architectural solution with respect to traditional office buildings, in spite of their possibilities for unusual morphologies and high-quality materials.

The history of the Association – the modern heir of the Roman Institution of the "Notarius" –, with roots connected to the past of the nation and the spirit of its founders, has required, due to the renowned professional and cultural prestige of the Association, an evaluation and resolution of material needs based a particularly representative image, expressed by means of rigorous design, at a limited cost and on a tight schedule. These requirements led us toward the definition of a "continent" in which the specific nature of the work of notaries – an activity that implies absolute professional trust – could coexist with ideal, sober spaces, in which these paragons of public confidence can perform their tasks of validation in a well-balanced, comfortable setting. Thus the building becomes a spatial support, capable of creating an operative relationship between Modernity and the high levels of efficiency, scrupulousness and responsibility that characterize the tradition of the Association.

In particular, the design had to respond to the following requirements:

1. to guarantee differentiated access to the building from the outside, in order to achieve the necessary flexibility for future modifications and new needs, without causing confusion in the definition of functions and hierarchies;

2. once this first point was resolved, as one of the "keys" of the entire project, it was necessary to guarantee, at the same time, a fluid, simple, easily identified connection between the new headquarters and the existing building on Avenida Callao, especially at the point of the access from Avenida Las Heras, the zone of highest public traffic;

3. to provide a nucleus of vertical circulation permitting the utilization of different operative solutions, in order to respond to possible modifications in the future (see point 1);

4. to offer free planimetric solutions for the offices, with flexible spatial divisions, suitable both for the needs of the Association of Notaries and for other possible tenants;

5. to express, through the strong, complete image of the building, the unified, specific physiognomy of the Institution, in keeping with the criteria explained above, in harmony with the language of the urban form, the indications supplied by the clients, and the climate factors of the site;

6. to give the overall project a character of usage flexibility in terms of infrastructural services and comfort, especially on the floors set aside for offices;

7. to provide simple technical and constructive systems, of reduced complexity, to create a normal, economic building, within a rapid bidding schedule, open to all contractors, with a limited maintenance budget.

The building

At the access level (0.00), apart from the spaces of the reception area and the vertical and horizontal circulation elements, there are offices for direct contact with the public, including functions of security, a computerized orientation service, a computerized switchboard for building surveillance and the so-called "Historical Notarial Panorama".

On the next level (first mezzanine floor, +2.60) there are offices whose functional program has been defined by the Association in terms of the spatial continuity with the existing edifice on Avenida Callao, whose ground floor is on the same level. Given the internal height, it has been possible to create a second mezzanine level (+5.80) with specific functions. Above these levels there is a sequence of uniform floors for offices.

The four underground levels contain parking areas, connected to the access level by a system of elevators and service stairs, with technical spaces and space for physical plant elements.

The facade on Avenida Las Heras called for special attention due to its image impact and its particular geographical orientation.

The hypothesis of a spectacular solution, such as the design of a completely glazed facade, was discarded. A curtain wall, which is very fashionable here and abroad today, would not have been suitable to communicate the particularly rigorous character required. Such solutions are ideal for hotels, office buildings, factories, offering an image of "impersonal universality", a pleasant appearance, nothing more.

The facades of the building are in exposed concrete, for the most part, an expressively strong, austere, durable material, utilized for the bands corresponding to the beams that indicate the floors, which are alternated with window frames and sunscreen elements in colored aluminium.

The two upper levels, set back from the facades of the edifice, have a metal structure with a parabolic form, in which the presence of plantings adds color, shade and "softness".

The structural elements

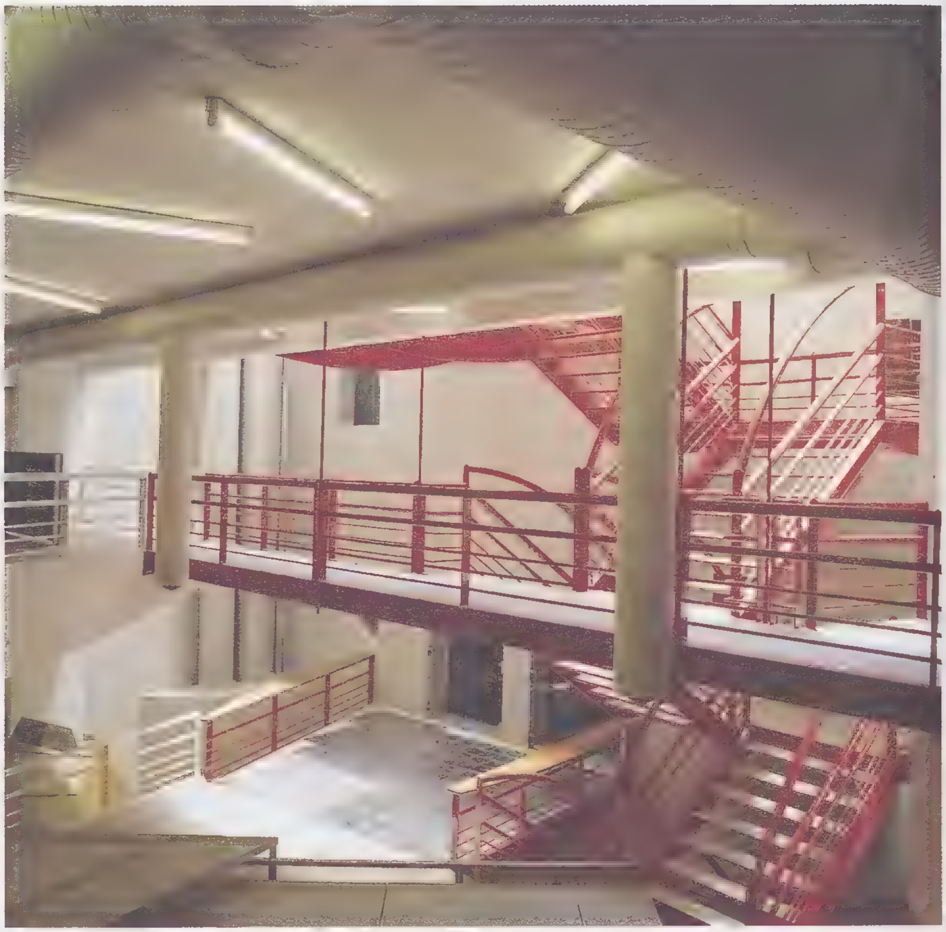
In keeping with the character of the design, the structure utilized permits free planimetric arrangements, guaranteeing maximum flexibility in the positioning of plant elements, air conditioning conduits and other service zones. The floor slabs, in reinforced concrete with a thickness of 22 cm, are supported by a central column topped by a 20 cm slab that functions to improve the load distribution, the rigidity and resistance to deformation of the floor slabs themselves. This column has a circular section, which for reasons of internal rationalization is kept constant throughout the height of the edifice.

For the facade on Avenida Las Heras, a beam 17 cm in width and about 1.3 m in height rests on two pilasters placed at the two extremities of the building, leaving the facade free.

At the point of the border wall to the east, the services sector and the circulation nucleus also function as support elements. On the opposite side, the structure is composed of beams and pilasters with a maximum constant thickness of 25 cm. For the rear facade, in correspondence to each floor slab there is a beam measuring 1.3 m in height, with the exception of the 2nd floor, where the beam is joined with that of the lower level, which is inverted to form a single Vierendeel type beam, one storey high, from which the two lower floor slabs are suspended by means of cables. The lower slabs terminate with a border beam with a height of 40 cm, thus permitting passage to the other building and to the staircase with a metal structure. At the same time, this beam functions as a support for the metal structure of the closure of the staircase and the circulation elements.

At ground level the structure is composed of metal pilasters placed along the perimeter, supporting the floor slab and the border beam mentioned above, without beeing an obstacle to internal circulation. The structure of the pilasters continues in the underground levels, using reinforced concrete.

The structural elements of connection to the existing building on Avenida Callao are composed of metal sections, for both the bridge and the staircase, covered by a light roofing structure with polycarbon sheets.











Viste interne degli ammezzati sull'atrio di ingresso, di un piano tipo per uffici e del passaggio coperto al secondo piano di collegamento all'edificio preesistente.

Interior views of the mezzanine levels towards entrance hall, of a offices typical floor and of the covered bridge of connection to the existing building (second floor).

Chiesa parrocchiale di San Giovanni Battista, Desio, Milano, Italia
1994-99

Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

con/with: Flavio Bruna
Strutture: Mario Corti, Carlo Gobbo
Direzione lavori: Dario Hueller

Foto/Photos: Václav Šedý



Vista dell'ingresso con la torre campanaria.

View of the entrance atrium with the steeple.

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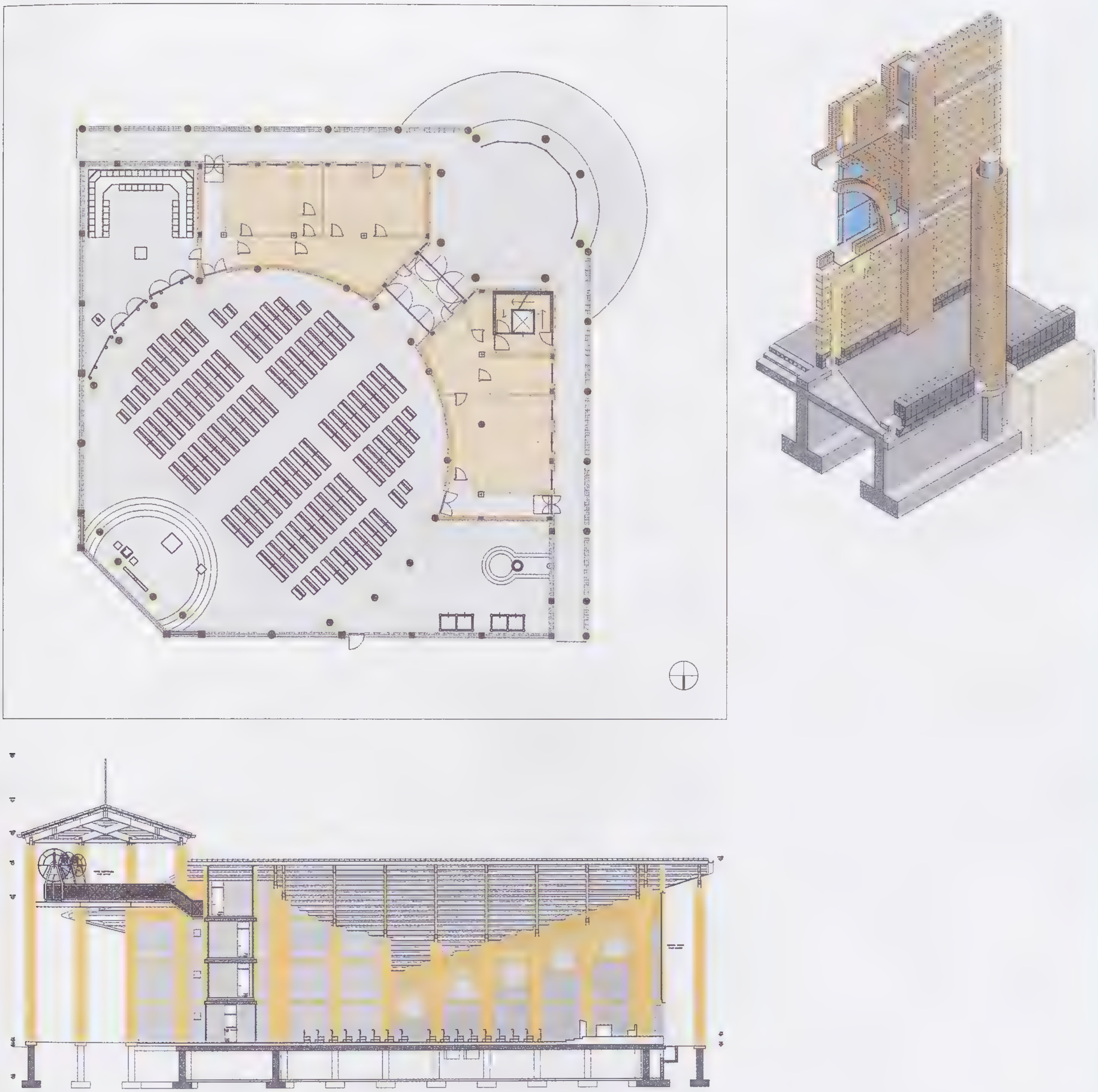


Vista dell'ingresso con la torre campanaria.

View of the entrance atrium with the steeple.

Chiesa parrocchiale di San Giovanni Battista, Desio, Milano, Italia
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

La Chiesa può dirsi sobria, classica, nelle forme e nei materiali. Un tetto a due falde – a capanna – così come lo troviamo nel tempio greco, oppure nelle basiliche paleocristiane, nelle chiese francescane…, è sorretto sui bordi da colonne cilindriche, che variano di altezza, seguendo l'inclinazione delle grondaie.
Il tema del porticato ricorre all'interno, come all'esterno della Chiesa, e si arricchisce nello spigolo tra le due vie, innalzandosi fino a reggere un ampio campanile a pianta quadrata.
A pianterreno, sotto le campane, si forma un luogo protetto, un sagrato al quale si accede dai due porticati esterni, convergenti verso il campanile.
Le facciate interne ed esterne sono composte di blocchi di cemento vibrocompresso, colorato in pasta, posti a strisce alterne, con toni di grigio, rosa e giallo ocra: le fasce marcapiano sono in mattoni faccia a vista, allineati in costa. All'esterno la finitura è ruvida e simula la pietra. All'interno la finitura è liscia. Le pareti avvolgono il grande spazio dell'unica navata con la discrezione che è richiesta a un luogo di raccoglimento, di celebrazione comunitaria.
La Chiesa sorge in una zona residenziale, nei pressi della Strada provinciale che porta da Desio a Bovisio. La disposizione del corpo di fabbrica, a pianta quadrata, è orientata secondo un asse diagonale, impostato a partire dall'incrocio tra le Vie Di Vittorio e Rosselli. Proprio in corrispondenza con tale angolo, si trova il sagrato, coperto dalla torre campanaria: è un'ampia area protetta, circondata da otto colonne poste a semicerchio, coperte da un tetto a quattro falde sostenuto da capriate in legno. Oltre l'atrio d'ingresso, si apre il vano della Chiesa (della capacità massima di 600 posti); sullo sfondo si eleva l'altare. Lo spazio interno, è circondato da colonne, secondo due semicerchi accostati: sostengono grandi capriate lignee, impostate secondo linee perpendicolari all'asse della Chiesa. Intorno, a varie altezze, dietro griglie di mattoni a *treillage* traforate a forma di lunetta, filtrano ampi raggi di luce, creando, nelle giornate di sole, contrasti netti.
Nel disegno architettonico di pianta si intrecciano due elementi, il quadrato ed il cerchio. Quadrata è la pianta complessiva dell'edificio (40 x 40 m, in tutto 1600 mq); circolare è l'aula della Chiesa, circolare il sagrato, circolare la piattaforma dell'altare.
All'esterno, elementi di forte caratterizzazione sono gli otto pilastri circolari che reggono il campanile: sono in cemento e sono rivestiti in mattoni. Altri pilastri, con altezze diverse, reggono la copertura dei porticati, su due lati opposti e convergenti. Gli stessi pilastri ricorrono lungo tutto il camminamento che circonda la Chiesa. La torre campanaria contiene un ripiano alto, sopra il sagrato: il camminamento anulare in ferro e tavole di legno che potrà far da sostegno alle campane.
Tutte le coperture sono costituite da coppi, di forma e di colore tradizionali, e si estendono sul padiglione a pianta quadrata del campanile e sulle due falde contrapposte; grandi falde che si incontrano in alto, lungo una linea direttrice diagonale, e che discendono verso il basso, fino a ricoprire, secondo un profilo curvilineo, i pilastri di varia altezza che circondano l'edificio. Tale direttrice diagonale ha una forte pendenza: va dai 20 m in alto, nel punto di incontro con il campanile, sopra l'ingresso della Chiesa, ai 5 m in basso, dietro il presbiterio.
Entrando in Chiesa, si guarda istintivamente il soffitto, segnato da una lunga serie di capriate, che hanno una minima distanza tra gli appoggi, in corrispondenza dell'ingresso e del presbiterio, ed una massima "luce" nella parte centrale. Tra capriata e capriata, un assito di abete chiaro, continuo, regge gli strati di isolamento termico e di difesa dalle infiltrazioni, e poi, ancora sopra, i coppi di copertura.
Il pavimento di tutta la Chiesa, presbiterio compreso, è di lastre di pietra di Luserna, un materiale piemontese lavorato a spacco, molto simile alla beola.
La luce del sud proviene da una grande vetrata, schermata con un *treillage*: un intreccio di mattoni, quale si ritrova spesso a protezione dei fienili lombardi.
Sui due lati opposti, orientati verso est e verso ovest, altre vetrate – ancora schermate da *treillage* – portano luce all'interno.
Al lato destro della Chiesa, è posto, presso il presbiterio, il polo per l'adorazione del Santissimo: oltre una vetrata continua, apribile in parte, si trova la cappella feriale.
Sul lato opposto la penitenziaria e, sullo sfondo dello stesso vano, il fonte battesimale: una vasca posta a pavimento, sovrastata da un tronco d'albero; sulla parete di fondo corrono rami e fronde di un grande albero in legno.
In collegamento con la Chiesa, ma con ingresso diretto dal sagrato, sono posti a destra gli uffici parrocchiali e la sacrestia, a sinistra le sale riunioni. Una scala di collegamento porta dal pianterreno al piano superiore, dove si trova l'alloggio del Parroco. La scala prosegue ancora in alto, per arrivare al camminamento anulare di sostegno per le campane.
C'è stata molta attesa per il giorno in cui l'Arcivescovo di Milano, Cardinale Martini, è venuto ad inaugurare la Chiesa, occasione per la quale era previsto che lo scultore Livio Demarchi di Venezia completasse l'altare, l'ambone, la sede – per il presbiterio –, nonché il tronco d'albero e le ramificazioni in legno – per il battistero –.
Il punto nodale dell'evento è stata la presenza del capo della più grande Diocesi d'Italia, del successore di Sant'Ambrogio, di San Carlo Borromeo. Con la sua partecipazione dovrebbe essersi denotata l'efficacia di quella impostazione liturgica che ha retto le prime idee di progetto e poi le varie fasi della sua stesura, della sua realizzazione, con la collaborazione di Don Antonio Marengo della Diocesi di Torino. La presenza di una comunità vivente, di due suoi pastori, come il Parroco Solbiati cui è succeduto il Parroco Cameroni, è stato riferimento costante: questa Chiesa dovrebbe vedere, nel momento della celebrazione liturgica, attuato un pensiero di unione tra celebrante e fedeli, nei momenti forti del rito. Saranno, allora, tutte assieme, le persone raccolte in questo luogo, a comprendere il valore, e anche i difetti, di un luogo apprestato con l'impegno di una creatività, di un'immaginazione, tese ad esiti concreti, e realizzato con l'apporto di professioni, di mestieri diversi: la risposta sarà data dalla verifica diretta sulle persone e sul sito. Possiamo sperare che l'impegno della cultura, dell'organizzazione, della competenza, regga alla prova?



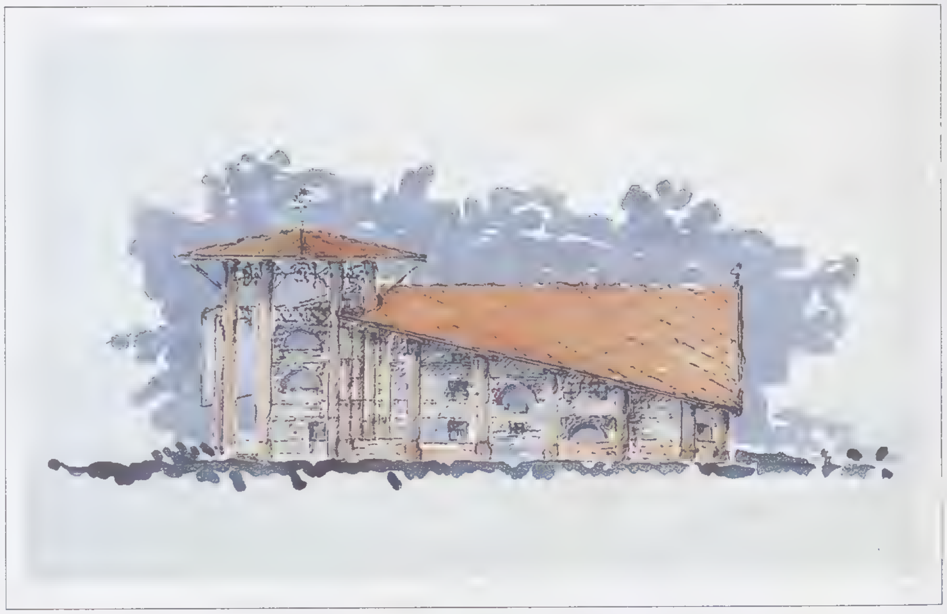
Pianta, sezione longitudinale e dettaglio costruttivo.

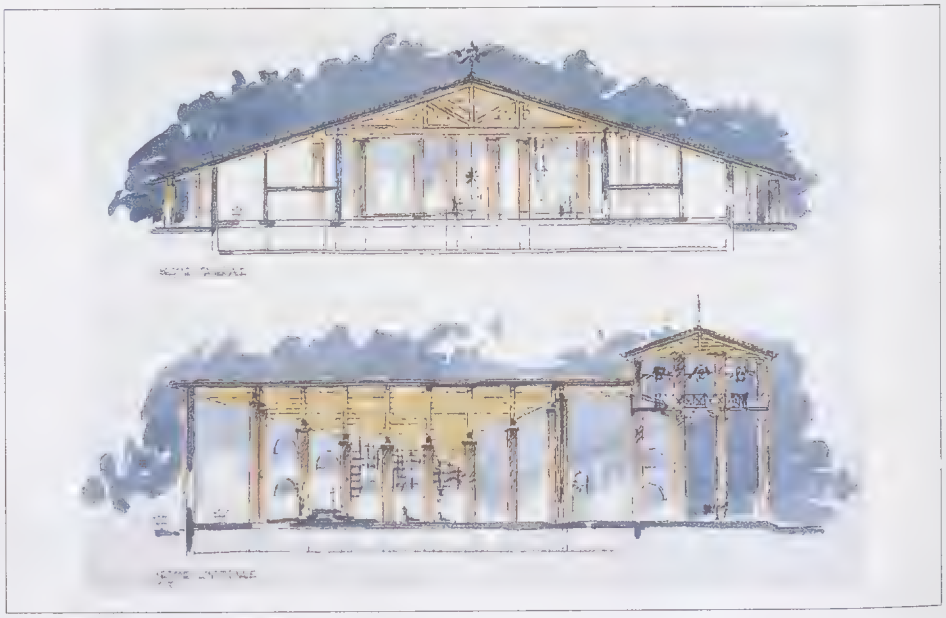
Plan, longitudinal section and constructive detail.

Disegni di studio.

Study drawings.







Parish Church of St. John the Baptist, Desio, Milan, Italy
Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola

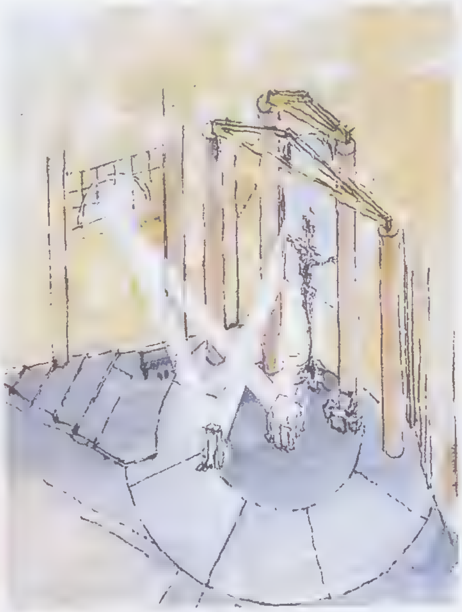
The Church can be described as sober, classical in its forms and materials. A double pitched roof – like that of Greek temples, early Christian basilicas, Franciscan churches – is supported at the borders by cylindrical columns of varying height, following the slope of the eaves.
The theme of the portico recurs in both the interior and the exterior of the Church, and is articulated at the corner of the two streets in a rising arrangement that supports a large square steeple.
At ground level, below the bells, a sheltered space is formed, a parvis with access from the two external porticoes converging toward the steeple.
The internal and external facades are composed of blocks of batch-colored vibrocompressed concrete, in alternating stripes of gray, pink and ochre yellow: the floor-marker bands are in exposed brick, laid vertically. On the exterior the finish is rough, simulating stone. Inside the finish is smooth. The walls enclose the large space of the single nave with the discretion appropriate to a place of meditation and collective celebration. The Church stands in a residential zone, near the provincial road from Desio to Bovisio. It has a square plan oriented on a diagonal axis that extends from the intersection of Via Di Vittorio and Via Rosselli. The parvis with the steeple above is located at this corner: it is a large, sheltered area, surrounded by eight columns arranged in a semicircle, covered by a quadruple pitched roof supported by wooden trusses. Beyond the entrance atrium there is the volume of the Church itself (max. capacity 600 persons); the altar rises at the other end. The internal space is surrounded by columns, arranged in two semicircles, one close to the other. The columns support large wooden trusses, arranged along lines perpendicular to the axis of the Church. All around, at various heights, behind grills of treillage *brick perforated in lunette form, large rays of light enter and create, on sunny days, strong contrast effects.*
Two elements are intertwined in the architectural design of the plan: the square and the circle. The overall plan of the building is square (40 x 40 m, for a total of 1600 sq. meters); the hall of the Church is circular, as are the parvis and the altar platform.
On the exterior, the eight circular pillars supporting the steeple are highly characteristic elements, in concrete clad in brick. Other pillars, of different heights, support the roofing of the porticoes on the two opposite and converging sides. The same pillars return along the entire passage that surrounds the Church. The steeple contains a high terrace, above the parvis: the walkway in iron and wooden planks can function as support for the bells. All the roofings are in bent tile of traditional color and form, extending over the square pavilion of the steeple and the two opposing pitches; large pitches that meet at the top along a diagonal axis, and slope downward to cover, with a curved profile, the pillars of variable height that surround the building. The diagonal axis slopes steeply: from a maximum height of 20 m, at the meeting point with the steeple, above the entrance, to a minimum of 5 m, behind the presbytery.
When entering the Church one instinctively looks up at the ceiling, marked by a long series of trusses, that have a minimum distance between the supports at the entrance and the presbytery, and a maximum span in the central part. From truss to truss continuous light fir boarding supports the layers of insulation and waterproofing and, above them, the roof tiles.
The flooring of the entire Church, including the presbytery, is in slabs of Luserna stone, a Piedmontese material, rough hewn, very similar to gneiss.
Light from the south enters through a large window, screened by a treillage*: a pattern of bricks similar to those often used for the walls of Lombard barns.*
On the two opposing sides, oriented toward the east and the west, other windows – also screened by treillages *– provide natural lighting for the interior of the Church.*
The area for the worship of the consecrated host is located on the right side of the Church, near the presbytery: beyond a continuous glazing, which can be partially opened, stands the ferial chapel. The penitentiary chapel and, in the back of the same space, the baptismal font, are located on the opposite side. The font is a basin placed on the floor, with a tree trunk above; the wall behind it features branches and leaves of a large tree, sculpted in wood. The parish offices and the sacresty are connected to the Church, but with a direct entrance from the right side of the parvis; from the left side, access is provided to the meeting rooms. A staircase leads to the upper level, containing the lodgings of the parish priest. The same staircase rises upward to join the ring walkway that supports the bells.
There was a great sense of expectation for the day when the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Martini, has inaugurated the Church. For the inauguration of the Church the altar, the ambo and the see, for the presbytery, as well as the tree trunk and branches in wood, for the baptistry were expected to be completed by the sculptor Livio Demarchi of Venice. The focal point of the event has been the presence of the leader of the largest Italian diocese, the successor of St. Ambrose and St. Charles Borromeo. His participation has been the first test of the effectiveness of the liturgical approach that has guided the project from the outset, with the collaboration of Don Antonio Marengo of the diocese of Turin. The presence of an active community of the faithful, and of its two pastors, the parish priest Father Solbiati and his successor Father Cameroni, has served as a constant point of reference in the design work: in the moment of the celebration of the mass, this Church should contribute to bring about the realization of an idea of union between the celebrant and the congregation, in the crucial moments of the rite. In those moments all the persons gathered in this place will be able to appreciate the strong points – and notice the defects – of a place designed with creative commitment and imagination, aimed at achieving concrete results, and built with the contributions of many different professionals and craftsmen. The response of those who gather here will provide the direct verification of the value of the work. It is our hope that the commitment of culture, organization and expertise involved in this project has led to results that will be worthy of their praise.

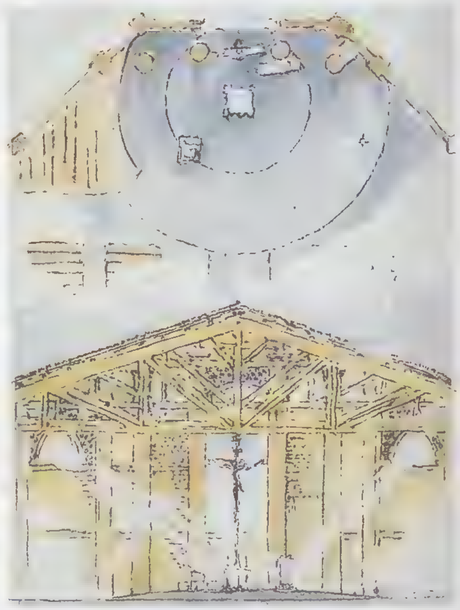
Viste interne del battistero, della cappella feriale e dell'aula.
Disegni di studio.
Schema liturgico e disegno di dettaglio della croce sulla copertura.

Interior views of the baptismal font, the ferial chapel and the hall.
Study drawings.
Liturgic layout and detail drawing of the cross on the roof.

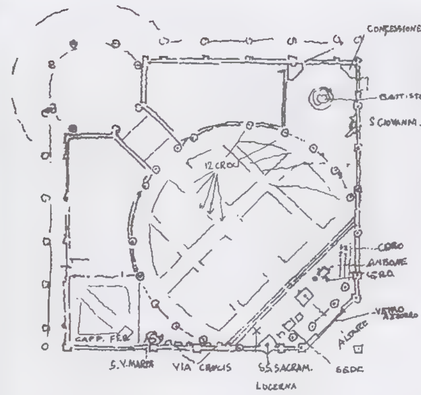


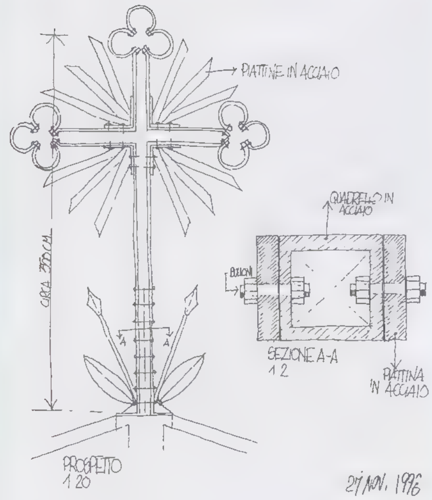









CONFESSIONE
BATTISTERO
S GIOVANNI B
12 CROCI
CORO
AMBONE
CERO
VETRO AZZURRO
ALTARE
CAPP. FER
S. V. MARIA
VIA CRUCIS
SS. SACRAM.
SEDE
LUCERNA


PIATTINE IN ACCIAIO
QUADRELLO IN ACCIAIO
BULLONI
SEZIONE A-A
1 2
PIATTINA IN ACCIAIO
PROSPETTO
1 20
27 NOV. 1996











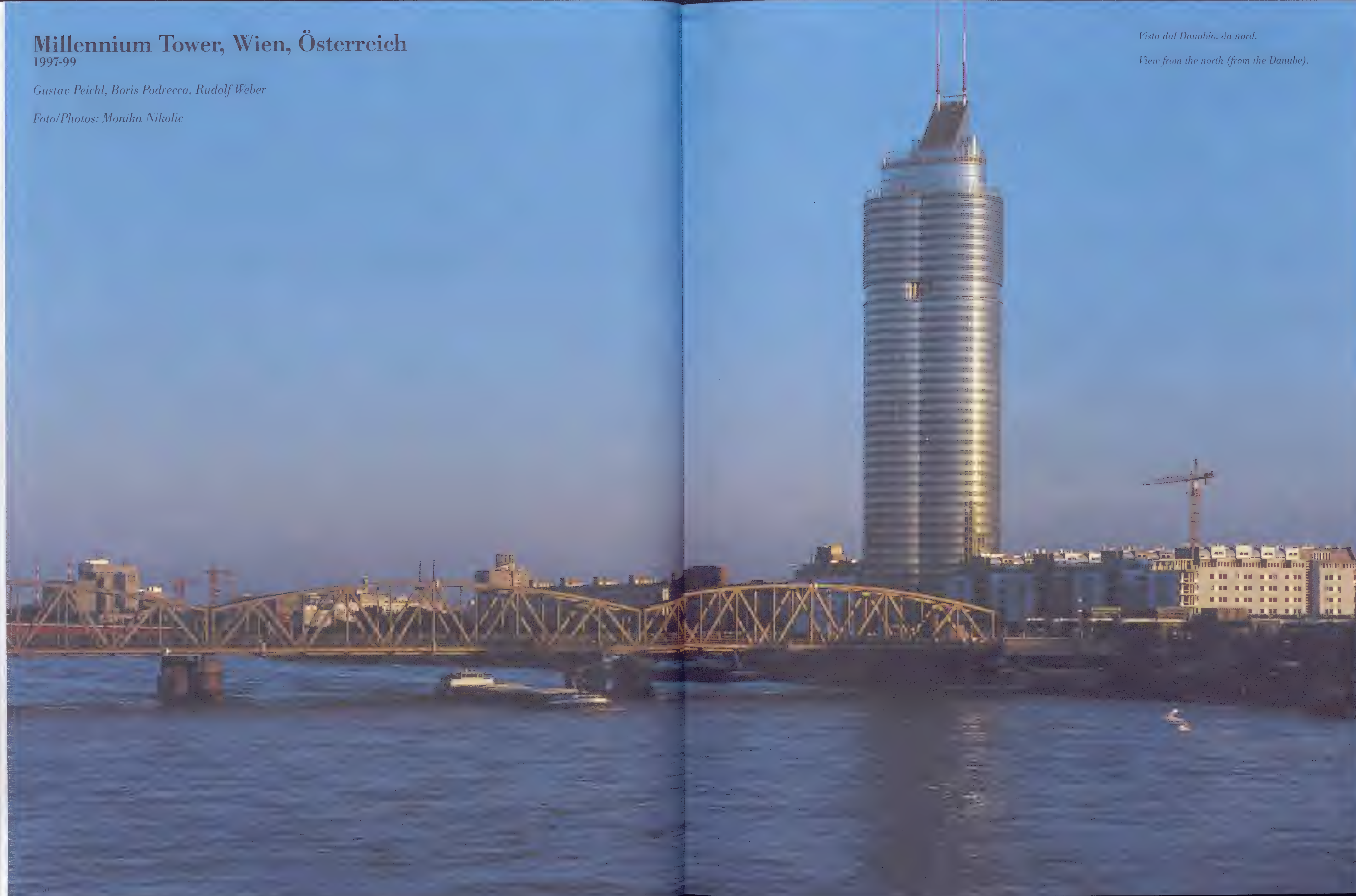
Viste di dettaglio della torre campanaria e di un porticato.
Viste esterne.

Detail view of the steeple and the portico.
Exterior views.

Millennium Tower, Wien, Österreich
1997-99

Gustav Peichl, Boris Podrecca, Rudolf Weber

Foto/Photos: Monika Nikolic



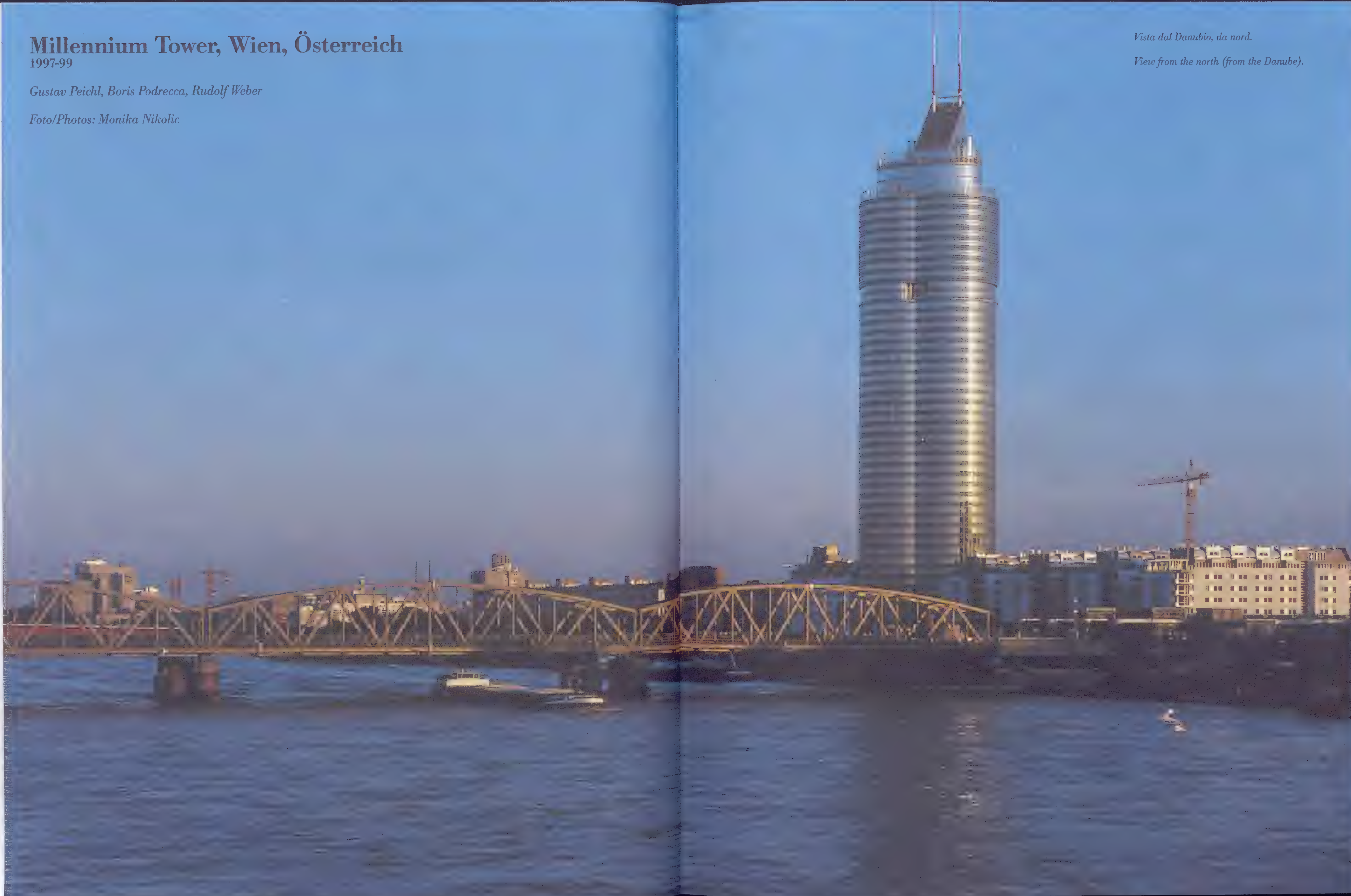
Vista dal Danubio, da nord.

View from the north (from the Danube).

Millennium Tower, Wien, Österreich
1997-99

Gustav Peichl, Boris Podrecca, Rudolf Weber

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Vista dal Danubio, da nord.

View from the north (from the Danube).

Riaffermazione della forma
Gustav Peichl

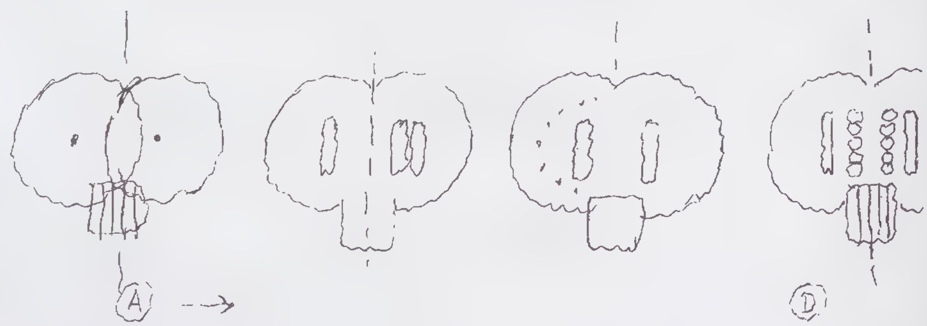
La controversia sulle "mode architettoniche" infiamma sempre gli animi di critici e docenti, e la discussione sul significato dell'architettura divide i ranghi degli studiosi. Il dizionario dice che l'architettura è "*l'arte del costruire*" – il che è vero solo parzialmente. Scrittori e architetti hanno parlato dell'architettura come "*potere*" e come "*musica trasformata in pietra*". Alcuni commentatori particolarmente audaci affermano a gran voce che "*tutto è architettura*"!
La tanto discussa questione se l'architettura sia arte, tecnologia o scienza è in ultima analisi opinabile. La questione è tutt'al più di metodo. L'architettura appartiene a tutte e tre queste categorie, non soltanto a una di esse. L'architettura abbraccia non solo la conoscenza del costruire nel senso specifico del termine, ma anche la capacità di progettare e di padroneggiare mentalmente tutto lo spazio della vita dell'uomo.
Io riduco l'architettura a un semplice denominatore. L'architettura è la somma di: SPAZIO, FUNZIONE, FORMA, MATERIALE, COLORE e LUCE.
Una mancanza dell'architettura contemporanea è il crescente rifiuto della forma. E il rifiuto della forma genera noia nella cosiddetta "architettura modesta".
Quello che è soprattutto necessario è l'affermazione della forma. Essere all'altezza di uno scopo pratico non è sufficiente in architettura. Lo stimolo del progettare deve essere l'immaginazione. Ugualmente necessari sono il livello qualitativo e, di conseguenza, l'astensione da eccessi modernisti.
È necessario far riferimento al proprio tempo, ma il riferimento alla qualità è essenziale. L'architettura deve durare più delle mode.
Dall'apparire della "architettura postmoderna" e del "decostruttivismo" la vita delle mode architettoniche è diventata sempre più breve.
Il lavoro dell'architetto non è momentanea ispirazione di un artista o esplosione emotiva: anche il *genius loci* deve entrare in gioco. Io mi permetto di dare libero corso al mio sentimento quando affermo che non ci può essere architettura senza razionalità né emozione.
Ogni edificio ha "zone erogene". Scoprirle è, per l'architetto, il compito più bello e sofisticato.

An affirmation of form
Gustav Peichl

Again and again the controversy on "fashions in architecture" excites teachers and critics, and the discussion about the meaning of architecture cuts through the ranks of scholars. The dictionary tells us that architecture is "the art of building" *– which is only partially true. Writers and architects referred to architecture as* "power" *or* "music transformed into stone"*. Some especially daring commentators cry out that* "everything is architecture"*!*
The so much debated issue of whether architecture is art, technology or science is ultimately moot. The question is at most one of method. Architecture belongs to all these categories, not only to one of them. It embraces not only the knowledge of building in the literal sense of the word, but also the design and mental mastery of the entire space of life.
I reduce architecture to a simple denominator. Architecture is the sum of: SPACE, FUNCTION, FORM, MATERIAL, COLOUR and LIGHT. A failure of contemporary architecture is the increasing rejection of form. Rejection of form creates boredom in the so-called "modest architecture".
Above all what is needed is an affirmation of form. Simply living up to some purpose is not enough in architecture. Imagination must be the stimulus of design. A standard of quality and, accordingly, the avoidance of modernist excesses are equally necessary.
Reference to its own time is necessary, but reference to quality is essential. Architecture must have a greater endurance than fashions.
Since the appearance of "postmodern architecture" and "deconstructivism", the life of architectural fashions has become shorter and shorter.
Architectural work is not the momentary inspiration of an artist or an emotional outburst: genius loci *must be involved. I allow myself to give vent to my feeling when I claim that there can be no architecture without either* ratio *or emotion.*
Every building has "erogenous zones". Detecting them is the most elegant and beautiful task for an architect.

Vista del modello e disegni di studio di Gustav Peichl.

View of the model and Gustav Peichl's study drawings.



Millennium Tower, Vienna, Austria

Gustav Peichl

Un nuovo emblema per Vienna

Vicino al ponte di Brigittenau è stata ultimata la costruzione di un nuovo emblema cittadino. Coi suoi 202 m di altezza, la Millennium Tower non solo è l'edificio più imponente di tutta l'Austria ma, con la Commerzbank di Francoforte e Canary Wharf a Londra, è anche tra i più alti d'Europa.
Il complesso di edifici si estende su una superficie complessiva di 100.000 mq ed è il primo in Austria a rispondere a ogni necessità della vita quotidiana: le diverse funzioni che assolve si integrano e completano a vicenda. Oltre all'ampia offerta di superfici per uffici e unità abitative, la Millennium City ospita più di 50 negozi, con una vasta scelta di ristoranti, bar e servizi, dall'asilo alla banca. Questa città nella città non si limita a rispondere alle esigenze di abitanti, visitatori e dipendenti delle aziende che in essa hanno sede, ma vuole essere anche un luogo di incontro, dove trascorrere il tempo libero.
Nel cuore del Centro commerciale e direzionale si trova la Millennium Plaza, una piazza di 2500 mq che rappresenta il nuovo punto di ritrovo del XX Distretto, Brigittenau, collegato dal Ponte Millennium alla Donauinsel, la più grande area ricreativa di Vienna.
L'ottima viabilità e il collegamento alla rete dei trasporti pubblici (metropolitana U6 Handelskai, 5 linee di ferrovia urbana e 3 di autobus) consentono agli abitanti dei distretti adiacenti e delle aree limitrofe di raggiungere facilmente il complesso. I ponti di Floridsdorf e Brigittenau, che si trovano nelle immediate vicinanze (200 m), garantiscono un rapido accesso alla A22, l'autostrada che costeggia il Danubio, e alla A23, che conduce all'aeroporto. L'intero complesso, con i suoi cortili aperti e la piazza sopraelevata, è rivolto verso il Danubio, con cui è stabilito un rapporto visuale nonostante gli ostacoli rappresentati da fattori quali il traffico, il rumore e l'eccessivo irraggiamento solare.
L'obiettivo consisteva nell'inserire l'edificio a torre, emblema del distretto, nel paesaggio danubiano, così da creare un collegamento tra Brigittenau, il fiume e lo spazio verde antistante.
L'ubicazione in un punto nodale della rete dei trasporti pubblici (stazione Handelskai) è ideale per un grattacielo. Un ponte collega la Millennium Tower al fiume, attraversando senza soluzione di continuità sia il quartiere Handelskai che i binari della ferrovia urbana. Il complesso è un insieme di differenti tipi edilizi (in linea, a pettine, a corte), uniti dalla costruzione a "doppio cilindro" della torre. Tutti questi elementi, tra cui il Centro commerciale e tutte le attività terziarie, poggiano su un unico basamento, a quota + 6, da cui è possibile godere della vista sul Danubio.
Sul lato di Wehlistrasse, un blocco scale-ascensore (scale mobili, ascensore per portatori di *handicap* e fontana a cascata) consente di accedere ad un'ampia passerella che si estende fino alla riva del Danubio.
I cortili del complesso residenziale a pettine si presentano come una superficie continua che lo sguardo riesce a cogliere nella sua interezza e che si articola in una sequenza di spazi a verde e di aree coperte e pavimentate. Dalla piazza si accede al primo piano del Centro direzionale. Ovviamente, le parti principali della torre sono illuminate e disposte in modo tale che da ogni piano sia possibile vedere sia il Danubio che il centro storico di Vienna, con la Cattedrale di Santo Stefano.

Millennium Tower

Si tratta di un complesso per uffici con *standard* tecnici e sistemi di comunicazione d'avanguardia. Oltre ad essere l'edificio più alto di tutta l'Austria, la Millennium Tower risponde a qualsiasi esigenza legata alle attività lavorative che si svolgono al suo interno.
Gli uffici, che occupano una superficie di 38.000 mq, sono disposti su oltre 50 piani e organizzati, a seconda della struttura aziendale, in divisioni, uffici singoli, spazi collettivi, garantendo gli *standard* tecnici più elevati.
Il settore delle telecomunicazioni ha giocato un ruolo essenziale nella progettazione. Tutte le attrezzature sono state distribuite in modo tale da garantire la massima flessibilità e da consentire l'introduzione di macchinari sempre più aggiornati. Grazie agli investimenti finanziari nella progettazione degli impianti di sicurezza, degli uffici e delle abitazioni, i locatari dispongono sin d'ora dei sistemi di comunicazione più moderni.

Millennium City

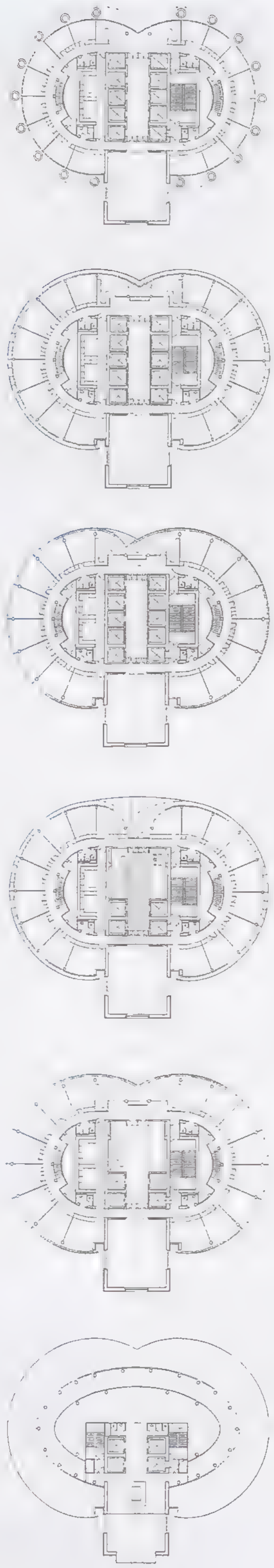
Il Centro commerciale, direzionale e ricreativo, nuovo punto di ritrovo del XX Distretto, è frequentato da più di 15.000 persone al giorno. Esso accoglie al suo interno un *mix* ottimale di settori diversi e attività terziarie, oltre a un'offerta equilibrata di servizi di ristorazione e attività per il tempo libero. Il nucleo centrale del Centro è costituito da una piazza disposta su due piani e con copertura vetrata, di 2500 mq di superficie e 14 m di altezza, alla quale si accede attraverso un sistema di scale mobili. Essa è stata concepita come uno spazio sociale ed espositivo polivalente in termini funzionali, utilizzabile come luogo di incontro anche al di fuori degli orari di apertura dei negozi.

Residenze

Il complesso residenziale è costituito da più di 400 unità abitative che occupano una superficie di 28.100 mq. Una volta ultimate, tali abitazioni verranno gestite da quattro cooperative. Le singole unità, di superficie compresa tra 45 e 112 mq, sono realizzate applicando i più innovativi criteri bioecologici e disposte in modo tale da consentire il maggior numero di affacci possibili sul paesaggio danubiano.







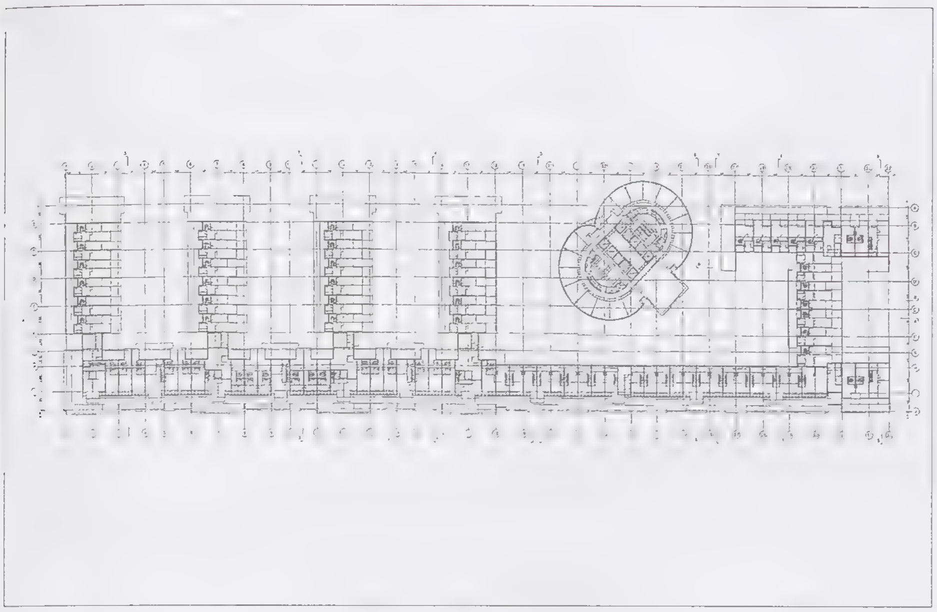
Millennium Tower, Vienna, Austria
Gustav Peichl

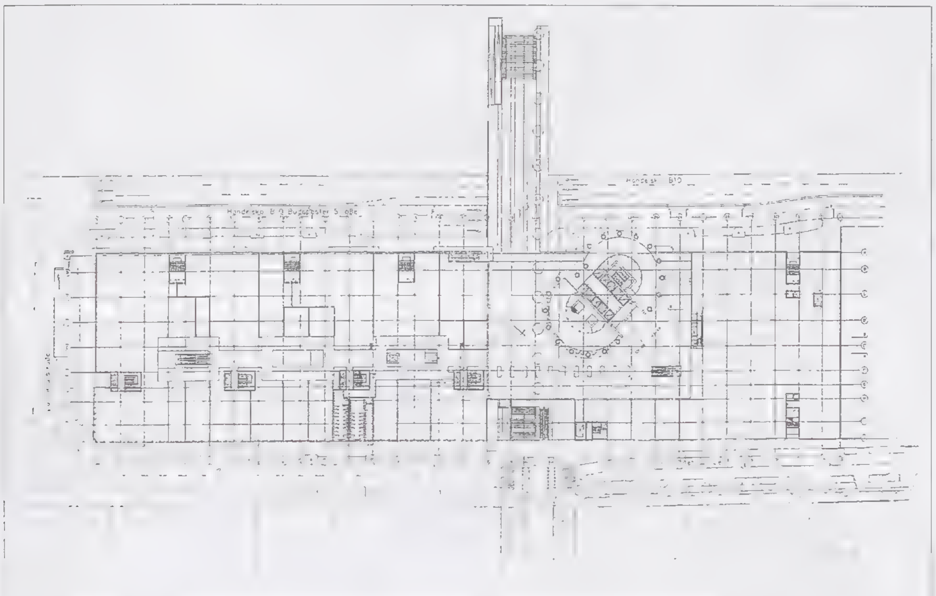
A new emblem for Vienna
Construction has been completed of a new emblem for the city, near the Brigittenau bridge. With its height of 202 m, the Millennium Tower is not only the tallest building in all of Austria, but also, with the Commerzbank of Frankfurt and Canary Wharf in London, one of the tallest in Europe. The complex of edifices stands on an overall area of 100.000 sq. m and is the first such facility in Austria to respond to all the needs of everyday life: the various functions are integrated with one another in a synergetic relationship.
Apart from offering a large amount of office and residential space, Millennium City contains more than 50 shops, and a vast selection of restaurants, bars and services, from a daycare center to banks. This city in the city does not only respond to the needs of its inhabitants and visitors, and the employees of the companies located there; it is also a place of encounter, where people can spend free time.
At the center of the Commercial and Office Center, the Millennium Plaza is a square of 2500 sq. m, representing the new meeting place of the XX District, Brigittenau, connected by the Millennium Bridge to the Donauinsel, the largest recreational area in Vienna. Excellent circulation and connection to the public transport network (U6 Handelskai subway, 5 urban rail lines and 3 bus lines) enable the inhabitants of nearby districts and areas to easily reach the complex. The Floridsdorf and Brigittenau bridges, located very close by (200 m), guarantee rapid access to the A22, the motorway along the Danube, and the A23 motorway leading to the airport. The entire complex, with its open courtyards and raised plaza, faces toward the Danube, with which it establishes a visual relationship in spite of the obstacles, including traffic, noise and excessive sunlight.
The aim was to insert the tower, the emblem of the district, into the Danube landscape, creating a connection among Brigittenau, the river and the green areas nearby.
The location at a connection point of the public transport network (Handelskai station) is ideal for a skyscraper. A bridge connects the Millennium Tower to the river, crossing both the Handelskai and the urban rail tracks. The complex is a grouping of different building typologies (in line, parallel wings, courtyard), united by the "double cylinder" construction of the tower. All these elements, including the Shopping Center and all the service industry activities, are located on a single foundation, at the level + 6, from which it is possible to enjoy the view of the Danube. On the side of the Wehlistrasse an elevator-stairwell block (escalators, elevator for the handicapped, cascade fountain) offers access to a wide walkway extending as far as the banks of the Danube. The courtyards of the residential complex, with parallel wings, are arranged in a continuous surface, entirely visible, articulated in a sequence of green areas and covered, paved areas.
From the plaza access is provided to the first floor of the Office Center. Obviously the main areas of the tower are illuminated and positioned in such a way that from each level it is possible to see the Danube and the historical center of Vienna, with the Cathedral of St. Stephen.

Millennium Tower
This is an office complex with advanced technical standards and communications systems. It is the tallest building in Austria, and responds to all the needs connected with the work activities that take place inside it.
The offices, for a total area of 38.000 sq. m, are on over 50 floors. In keeping with the wishes of the tenants, they can be organized with dividers, single offices, group spaces, while complying with the highest technical standards. The telecommunications sector has played an essential role in the design. All the equipment has been distributed to guarantee maximum flexibility and to permit the introduction of new, updated machines. Thanks to financial investment in the design of security plant, the offices and the apartments, tenants can immediately make use of the most modern communications systems.

Millennium City
The Shopping, Office and Recreation Center, a new meeting place of the XX District, is visited by more than 15.000 persons each day.
It contains an optimal mixture of different sectors and service industries, while offering a wide range of facilities for dining and refreshment and free time activities. The nucleus of the Center is a plaza on two levels, with glazed roofing, an area of 2500 sq. m and a height of 14 m, with access from a system of escalators. It has been designed as a multifunctional social and exposition space that can be used as a meeting place even when the shops are closed.

Residences
The residential complex is composed of more than 400 housing units, for an overall area of 28.100 sq. m. Once they have been completed, the residences will be managed by four cooperatives. The individual units, with areas from 45 to 112 sq. m, have been built using the most innovative bioecological criteria, and positioned to create the greatest possible number of views of the Danube landscape.







Piante della torre ai diversi livelli.
Piante del complesso al livello del piano terreno, con il Centro commerciale, e al livello delle residenze.
Planimetria.

Plans of the different levels of the tower.
Plans of the complex: ground floor plan, with the Shopping Center, and level of the residences.
Site plan.

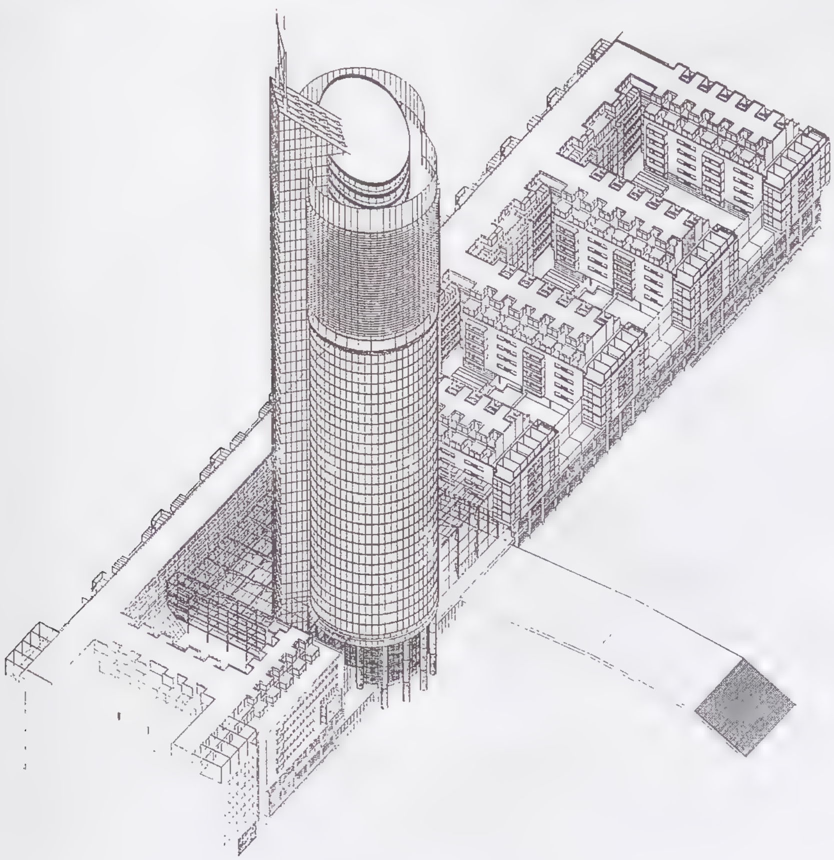
Vista di dettaglio, vista del complesso dalla Donauinsel e vista interna della piazza coperta.
Assonometria.

Detail view, view of the complex from the Donauinsel and interior view of the covered plaza.
Axonometric view.











Kindertagesstätte des Deutschen Bundestages, Spreebogen, Berlin, Deutschland
1999

Gustav Peichl

Foto/Photos: Monika Nikolic, Rudolf Weber

Asilo d'infanzia del Parlamento Federale, Berlino, Germania
Gustav Peichl

Era tra le principali intenzioni di progetto che questo asilo d'infanzia avesse un impianto chiaro e funzionale, tecnologicamente "ecologico" e, in termini di immagine, discreto anche se ben caratterizzato.
L'edificio, che occupa un lotto di forma triangolare nell'area dello Spreebogen, è costituito da una piastra dell'altezza di un piano, scavata da due patii di forma diversa e conclusa da un tetto-giardino. Questo elemento, appartenente alla "tradizione classica" dell'architettura moderna, appare qui come una quarta facciata ed è concluso da tre volumi, rivestiti di zinco al titanio, di notevole rilevanza plastica – due a forma di cuneo e il terzo costituito da due sfere abbinate –, all'interno dei quali si trovano aule per il riposo dei bambini.
Verso la Sprea, a nordest, e verso Konrad Adenauer Strasse, a nordovest, l'edificio occupa interamente l'area del lotto riprendendo lo schema tipico dell'isolato berlinese, anche se "alleggerito" in quanto ad un solo piano. Verso la Otto von Bismarck Allee, a sud, cioè sul lato più lungo della costruzione, dove si trova l'ingresso principale segnato da una "pinna" triangolare di cemento, è stata lasciata libera una larga fascia verde, in modo da scostarsi dal volume incombente del vicino ufficio governativo Alsenblock e creare un giardino soleggiato per i bambini.
Per quanto riguarda la distribuzione interna, tutte le aule sono orientate verso sud, in modo che ognuna abbia uno spazio aperto antistante e si crei un sistema di collegamenti e di organizzazione dello spazio facilmente leggibile, con una flessibilità che, a seconda delle necessità, consenta di cambiare l'uso delle singole aule o addirittura di spostarne fisicamente le pareti.
Le aule sono collocate in modo da godere di condizioni ottimali di luce e di clima attraverso grandi vetrate scorrevoli verso sud, con *brise-soleil* e con la possibilità di riscontro d'aria.
In contrasto con la disposizione elementare dello spazio interno, l'esterno dell'edificio è fortemente caratterizzato dai patii, dal giardino pensile e da diversi "spazi di azione" per i bambini, come bacini con sabbia, attrezzature per il gioco e un piccolo specchio d'acqua.
Le pareti portanti e le solette sono in cemento gettato in opera, le pareti divisorie in mattoni e generalmente intonacate. La facciata è rivestita da pannelli di legno dipinti in blu. Tutti i telai delle finestre sono in legno.
Il tetto-giardino funziona come grande superficie di raccolta di energia e l'orientamento delle finestre, disposte rigorosamente verso sud, consente di incamerare energia solare passiva e quindi di ridurre notevolmente i costi di riscaldamento.

General Federal Parliament Kindergarten, Berlin, Germany
Gustav Peichl

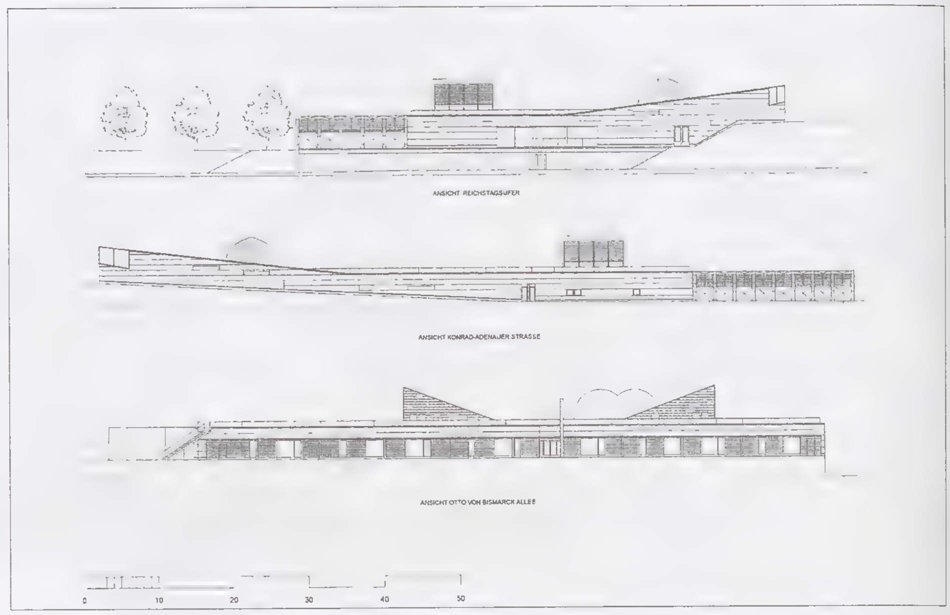
It was the architect's main intention to design this kindergarten as a clear-cut functional, technologically ecological and, in terms of image, as a discreet but highly individual building.
The given triangular plot on the Spreebogen was simply filled with a one-storey platform with a classically modern roof-garden, like a fourth elevation. The platform is punctuated by two differently shaped patios.
The roof-garden is topped by three sculptural solids, two of them shaped as wedges and the third as two fused spheres – all of them coated in titanium zink. These solids serve as sleeping rooms for the children.
Towards the Spree in the northeast and towards the Konrad Adenauer Strasse in the northwest, the building edge is pushed to the boundary of the plot to create the feeling of the familiar city block – softened by one-storey development in height. Towards the Otto von Bismarck Allee in the south, where there are the long side and the main entrance of the building, marked by a triangular concrete fin, a wide strip of green between the building edge and the property line is left free in order to move back from the overpowering Alsenblock federal office structure and to have a sunny garden for the children.
The main feature of the inner layout is to give the rooms an orientation towards south, to have open space in front of every room and to delineate an easily understandable system of interconnection and organization of space, offering flexibility either to change use of every room in future or physically move walls.
All rooms are located so as to have optimal conditions of natural lighting and climate through large glass sliding doors to the south, with brise-soieil *and the possibility of cross ventilation.*
In contrast to the radically elementary formulation of the interior space, the main emphasis was given to the exterior – the patios, the roof-garden and a high degree of differentiation also in tems of "action spaces" for children as sand pits, playgrounds and a little pond.
The bearing walls and the slabs are cast-in concrete. All non-bearing walls are brick. Interior walls are generally plastered. The facade is covered with blue board. All windows are wood construction.
The roof-garden acts as a large mass for energy storage and the strict orientation of the windows towards south (passive solar energy) helps to drastically reduce energy cost.



Vista del tetto-giardino.
Foto M. Nikolic.
Schizzo di studio.

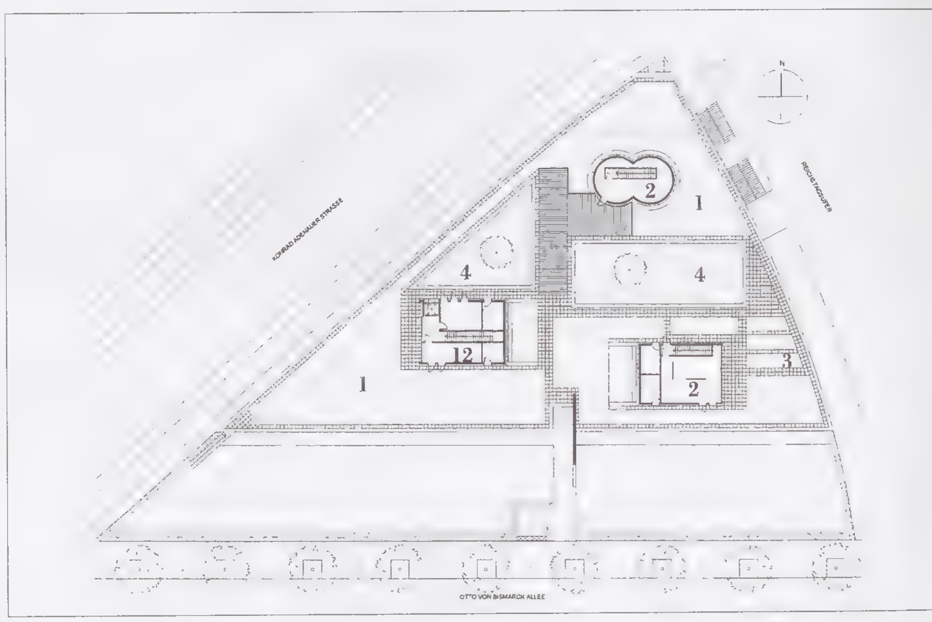
View of the roof-garden.
Photo M. Nikolic.
Study sketch.

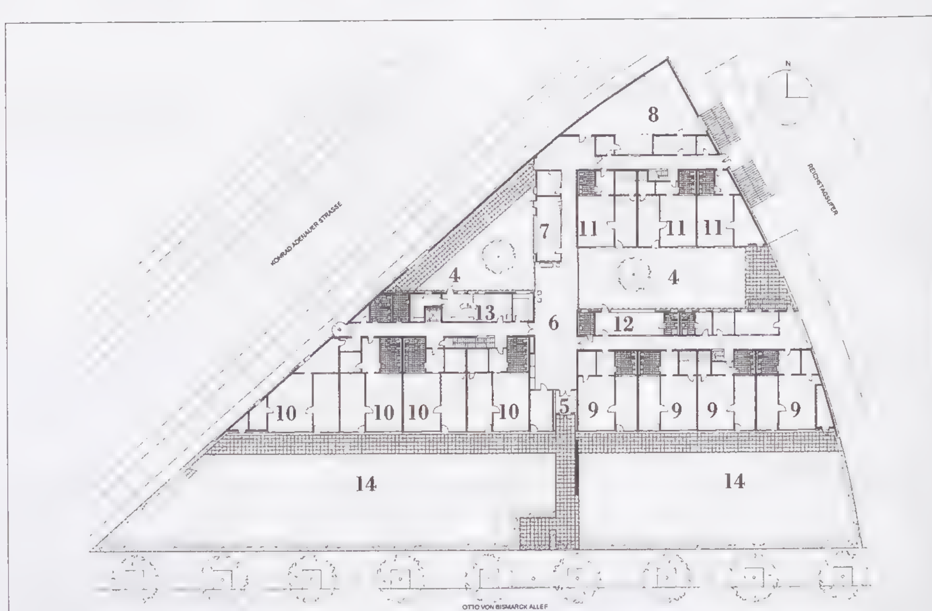




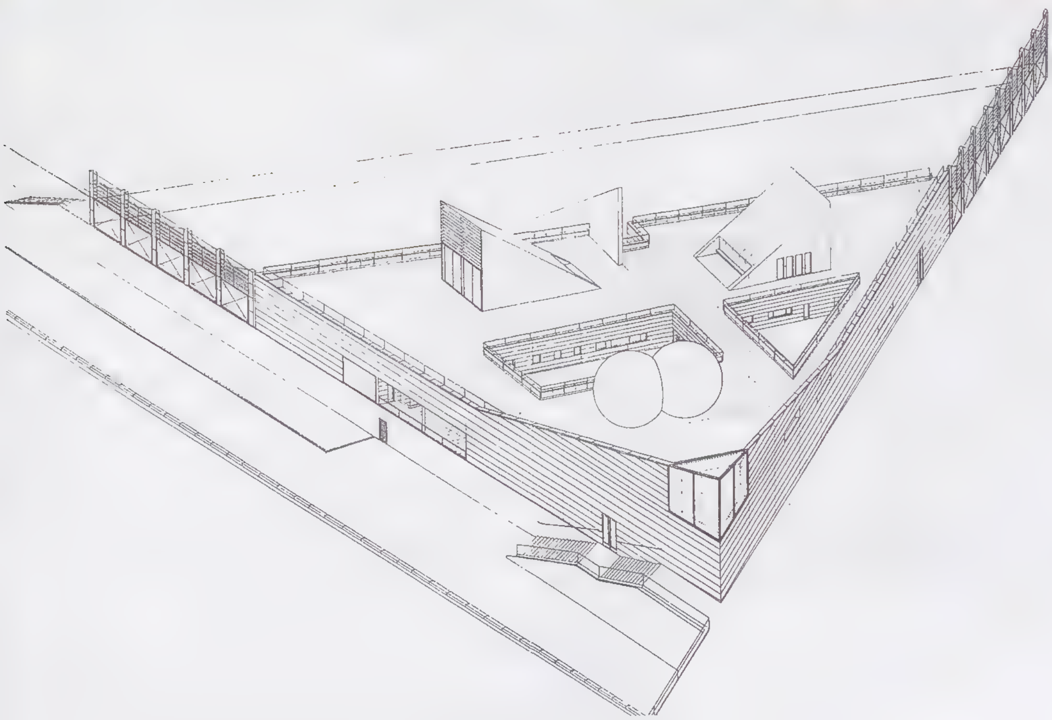
Planivolumetria, prospetti e piante dei piani terreno e primo: 1) tetto-giardino; 2) aule per il riposo dei bambini; 3) ginnastica; 4) patio; 5) ingresso; 6) sala gioco; 7) spazio di lavoro; 8) spazio polifunzionale; 9) aule scuola materna; 10) aule asilo nido; 11) aule miste; 12) spazi per il personale; 13) cucina; 14) campo da gioco.
Vista dall'alto e assonometria.
Foto R. Weber.

Site plan, elevations and ground floor and first floor plans: 1) roof-garden; 2) children rest rooms; 3) gymnastics; 4) patio; 5) entrance; 6) playing room; 7) workshop; 8) multipurpose area; 9) kindergarten classrooms; 10) day-nursery classrooms; 11) mixed classrooms; 12) staff areas; 13) kitchen; 14) playing field.
Top and axonometric views.
Photo R. Weber.

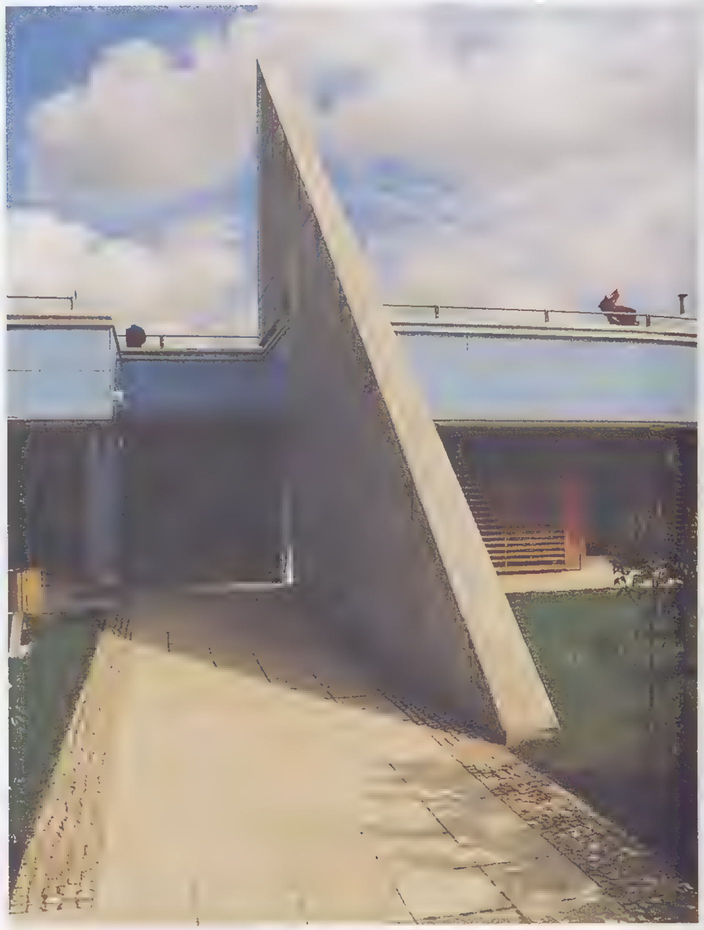


















Vista del modello.
Viste dell'ingresso e del patio rettangolare.
Foto R. Weber.
Viste del campo da gioco e del patio rettangolare.
Foto M. Nikolic.

View of the model.
Views of the entrance and the rectangular patio.
Photos R. Weber.
Views of the playing field and the rectangular patio.
Photos M. Nikolic.

Österreichische Botschaft, Berlin, Deutschland

1996-97 (competition entry). 1999-under construction

Hans Hollein

coll. (competition): [illegible], Sina Baniahmad

coll. (construction): [illegible] (job captain), Sina Baniahmad

Foto/Photos: Sina Baniahmad (Studio Hollein)

Letzbor Bau-Engineering GesmbH. St. Georgen: Ingenieurbüro Bollinger und Grohmann, Frankfurt, Berlin, Wien (structures); Ingenieurbüro Winter, Berlin (mechanical/electrical/plumbing); [illegible] GmbH. Berlin (foundations); Hosser, Hass + Partner, Berlin (firefighting); Müller-BBM, Planegg/München (acoustics).



Vista del modello da nord.

View of the model from the north.

Österreichische Botschaft, Berlin, Deutschland

1996-97 (competition entry), 1999-under construction

Hans Hollein

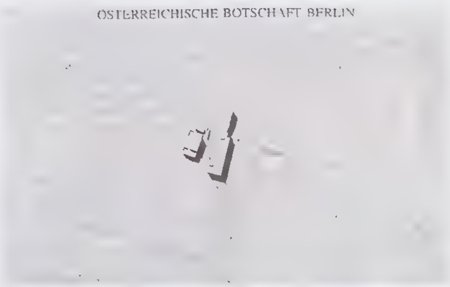
Coll. (competition): Hubert Klumpner, Sina Baniahmad

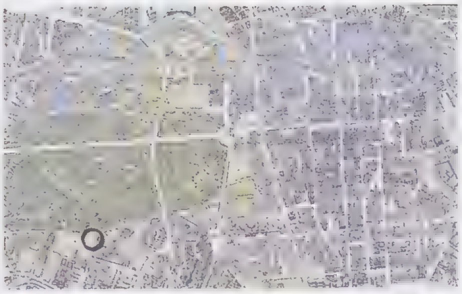
Coll. (construction): Helmut Holleis (job captain), Sina Baniahmad

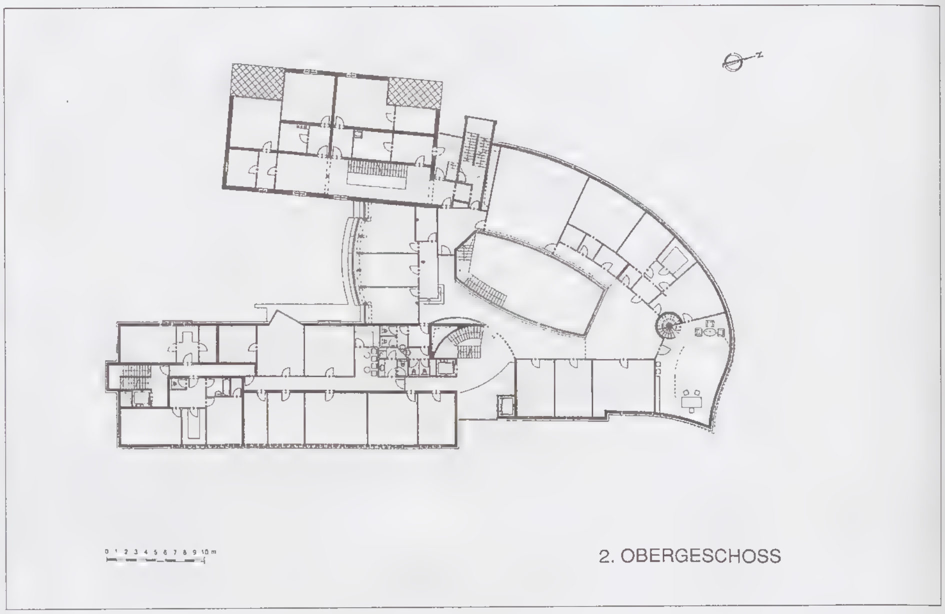
Foto/Photos: Sina Baniahmad (Studio Hollein)

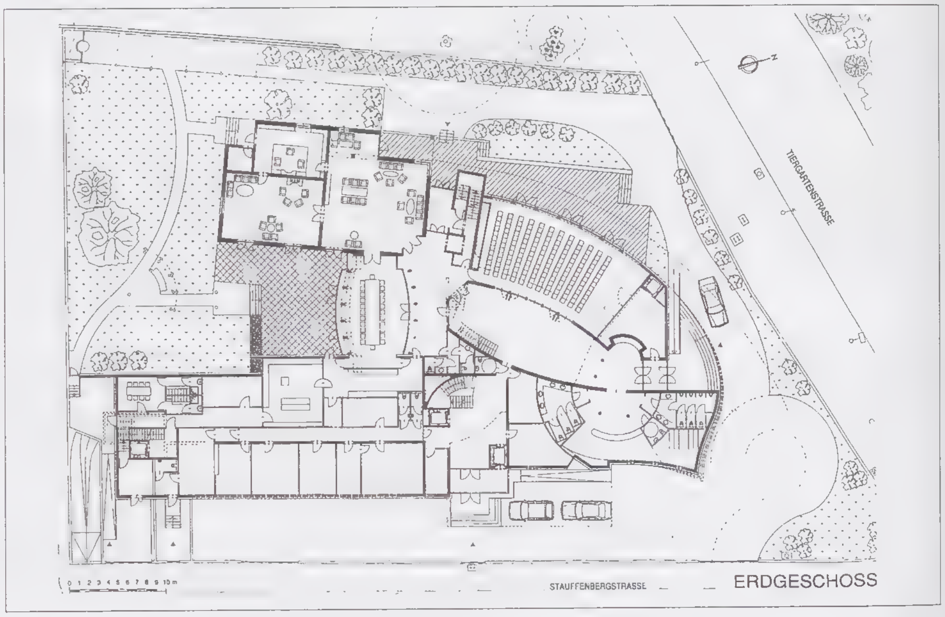
Letzbor Bau-Engineering GesmbH, St. Georgen; Ingenieurbüro Bollinger und Grohmann, Frankfurt, Berlin, Wien (structures); Ingenieurbüro Winter, Berlin (mechanical/electrical/plumbing); Ingenieurbüro Ulrich+Karstedt GmbH, Berlin (foundations); Hosser, Hass + Partner, Berlin (firefighting); Müller-BBM, Planegg/München (acoustics).





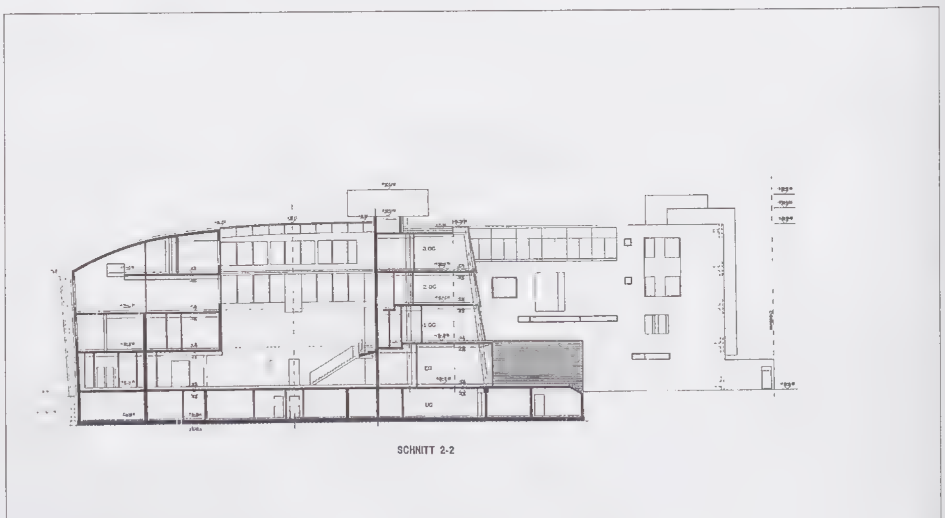






Planivolumetria e localizzazione dell'edificio sulla pianta di Berlino.
Piante dei piani terreno e secondo e sezione longitudinale verso est.

Site plan and localization of the building on the Berlin map.
Ground floor and second floor plans and longitudinal section (towards east).



Ambasciata Austriaca, Berlino, Germania
Hans Hollein

La futura Ambasciata Austriaca si collocherà nell'importante area compresa tra il Kulturforum e il Tiergarten, nel vecchio ed ora rinnovato quartiere della diplomazia berlinese e degli edifici storici lungo Stauffenbergstrasse.
Dal momento che la posizione d'angolo del lotto, delimitato da Tiergartenstrasse e da Stauffenbergstrasse, conferisce alla costruzione una particolare funzione urbanistica e spaziale nel tessuto urbano – oltre che simbolica –, si è optato per una soluzione dotata di una specifica identità. Mentre il lato orientale di Stauffenbergstrasse presenta una struttura a isolati, a occidente lo spazio si articola in costruzioni isolate. Pertanto il progetto propone una costruzione d'angolo, inconfondibile, che si inserisca in questo contesto "sconosciuto": un edificio ellissoidale che nell'*iter* progettuale si è articolato in maniera ancora più differenziata. Il complesso è composto in volumi giustapposti: forme rettangolari e cubiche si contrappongono a linee curve e meno austere. Nella dialettica tra spazi esterni e interni, e tra volumi curvilinei e squadrati, si può riconoscere una nota tipicamente austriaca. Questa soluzione presenta, inoltre, indubbi vantaggi funzionali.
Il blocco all'angolo tra Tiergartenstrasse e Stauffenbergstrasse ha una forma volutamente significativa, caratteristica: esso segnala l'inizio del quartiere della diplomazia berlinese e spicca, nel contempo, per il suo inconfondibile carattere austriaco.
I singoli volumi sono di materiali diversi. Per quanto riguarda i blocchi cubici, è previsto che i lati esterni, ad eccezione della facciata in pietra, siano intonacati. Il corpo curvilineo sarà rivestito con lastre metalliche romboidali, di titanio o rame. I lati e la copertura sono dello stesso materiale e presentano la stessa struttura. Una variante più costosa potrebbe consistere in un rivestimento integrale in pietra che sottolinei la presenza plastica dell'edificio.
A piano terra dell'edificio si trovano: un'area destinata al pubblico, con viale d'accesso indipendente e un ampio ingresso con funzione di comunicazione e disimpegno per i locali di rappresentanza; gli spazi abitativi della Residenza; l'Ambasciata vera e propria con i relativi uffici; l'area consolare integrata nel complesso; gli spazi di servizio e del personale. Le singole parti si articolano in diverse aree funzionali.
Il viale d'accesso principale al lotto e all'edificio è situato su Stauffenbergstrasse. Dall'ampio spazio di pertinenza antistante, che funge sia da parcheggio temporaneo che da area di manovra, si raggiunge l'ingresso dell'Ambasciata. Il Consolato, i locali di servizio e il *garage* sotterraneo hanno accesso autonomo da Stauffenbergstrasse. Lungo il confine occidentale del lotto, su Tiergartenstrasse, è previsto un secondo viale d'accesso, ideale per i ricevimenti più importanti perché consente di raggiungere lo spazio di pertinenza antistante alla residenza (alla quale comunque si accede anche da Stauffenbergstrasse). Viale e spazio di pertinenza sono pavimentati con blocchetti di cemento. Sul lato occidentale si trova un ulteriore ingresso laterale.
Il complesso si sviluppa sia dall'esterno, salendo dolcemente a partire dall'"angolo", che dall'interno.
L'atrio a più piani, molto luminoso, conferisce all'Ambasciata quella particolare atmosfera che si respira in ambienti dalle molteplici funzioni sociali e culturali e funge da contrappeso alle ridotte dimensioni del giardino. Era importante, per ragioni psicologiche, che l'Ambasciata fosse provvista internamente di uno spazio centrale articolato, ampio e alto, inondato di luce, non visibile all'esterno. Destinato al pubblico, esso si articola in diverse zone che, se da un lato riflettono le formalità sociali dei ricevimenti (*receiving-line*), dall'altro, grazie alle differenti altezze e condizioni di illuminazione, conferiscono una certa atmosfera e consentono una ripartizione funzionale (concerti, convegni) dello spazio.
Sono presenti diversi accessi e collegamenti con il giardino e i locali di rappresentanza sono provvisti di terrazze aggettanti parzialmente coperte. I saloni hanno disposizioni diverse, con viste differenti.
La sala per i pranzi si apre con una vetrata su un cortile ed è collegata alla cucina e ai locali per il personale.
Dall'atrio si può accedere, tramite una scala a struttura indipendente a più rampe, ai piani superiori e all'ala più privata della Residenza, che si estende su più piani in un blocco a se stante.
Dall'ingresso dell'Ambasciata, rivolto verso Stauffenbergstrasse, un *foyer* multipiano, in posizione strategica, conduce attraverso una scala e un ascensore ai diversi uffici (stampa, informazioni, cultura, eccetera).
Le aree adibite ad uffici si articolano in diverse zone e sono collegate ai rispettivi piani della Residenza dell'Ambasciata.
Al piano superiore si trova l'area di rappresentanza dell'Ambasciata, con ambiti spaziali specifici, la cui natura meno formale è sinonimo di ospitalità e dignità.
All'estremità meridionale dell'area antistante alla costruzione e del lotto si trovano la rampa di accesso al *garage* sotterraneo, l'accesso ai locali e alla corte di servizio, nonché un ingresso al Consolato, raggiungibile direttamente dal marciapiede di Stauffenbergstrasse. Il Consolato è raggiungibile dai locali dell'Ambasciata anche attraverso un collegamento interno.
Gli uffici sono rivolti essenzialmente verso Tiergartenstrasse e Stauffenbergstrasse, mentre gli spazi abitativi, in parte provvisti di ampie terrazze, logge e balconi, sono rivolti verso il giardino meridionale. Dai piani superiori si gode un'ampia vista del quartiere e della città. Anche il cortile, che non è visibile dall'esterno, è orientato a sud. Il giardino è disposto in modo tale da essere fruibile per cerimonie e ricevimenti: attraverso spazi a verde più formali si può accedere ad aree più informali.

Austrian Embassy, Berlin, Germany
Hans Hollein

The future Austrian Embassy will be located in the important area between the Kulturforum and the Tiergarten, in the old (now renovated) quarter of diplomacy, with the historical buildings on Stauffenbergstrasse. Because of the fact that the position of the lot, on the corner of Tiergartenstrasse and Stauffenbergstrasse, gives the construction a particular urban and spatial function in the city context – apart from its symbolic function – the selected solution is based on a specific identity. While the eastern side of Stauffenbergstrasse features blocks of frontage, the western side is a series of isolated buildings. Therefore the project proposes a corner construction with a strong identity, that assumes its place within this "unknown" context: an ellipsoidal building which, in the design process, has achieved a greater level of differentiation.
The complex is composed of juxtaposed volumes: rectangular and cubical forms create contrasts with curved, less austere lines. The dialectic between external and internal spaces, between curved and squared lines, reflects a typically Austrian character. Moreover, this solution offers clear functional advantages.
The block on the corner of Tiergartenstrasse and Stauffenbergstrasse has an intentionally significant, characteristic form: it indicates the beginning of the Berlin diplomatic district and stands out, at the same time, for its unmistakably Austrian character.
The individual volumes are made of different materials. The cubical blocks, with the exception of the stone facade, are finished in plaster on the external sides. The curved volume will be clad in rhomboidal metal sheet, in titanium or copper. The sides and the roofing are in the same material, with the same structure. A more expensive alternative would be total facing in stone, that would emphasize the sculptural presence of the edifice.
The ground floor of the building contains a public area, with a separate access and a large entranceway, providing access to the official spaces; the residential areas; the actual Embassy complex, with its offices; the consular area, integrated with the complex; spaces for services and personnel. The single parts are subdivided into different functional areas.
The main access drive for the lot and the edifice is situated along Stauffenbergstrasse. There is a large temporary parking area in front of the building, leading to the entrance to the Embassy. The Consulate, the service spaces and the underground garage have separate entrances from Stauffenbergstrasse. Along the western border of the lot, on Tiergartenstrasse, a second access drive is planned, which would be ideal for the most important receptions, allowing for direct access to the open space in front of the Residence (which, in any case, can also be accessed from Stauffenbergstrasse). Both the driveway and the open space are paved with concrete blocks. Another entrance is placed on the western side.
The complex features both internal and external development, rising gently from the "corner".
The very luminous multi-level atrium give the Embassy that particular atmosphere suited to multiple social and cultural functions, while compensating for the small size of the garden. It is important, for psychological reasons, that the Embassy have an articulated central internal space, a large area with high ceilings, flooded with light but not visible from the outside. This space is for public events, divided into different zones that encourage the social formalities of receptions, but also – thanks to the varying heights and lighting conditions – offer particular atmospheres and permit subdivisions for special events (concerts, conferences).
A variety of accesses and connections with the garden are provided, and the representative spaces feature partially covered overhanging terraces. The rooms have different positions and different views. The dining room opens onto a courtyard, through a glazing, and is connected to the kitchen and the spaces for the staff.
From the atrium access is offered, by means of a staircase with an independent structure and multiple ramps, to the upper floors and the private residential wing, a multistory facility in its own block.
From the entrance to the Embassy, facing toward Stauffenbergstrasse, a multilevel foyer in a strategic position leads to a staircase and an elevator for access to the various offices (press office, information, culture, etc.).
The office areas are subdivided in various zones and connected to the different levels of the Residence.
The upper level contains the reception areas of the Embassy, with specific spaces, less formal, but always designed for an atmosphere of hospitality and dignity.
At the southern extremity of the area in front of the complex and the lot there is an access ramp for the underground parking area, along with access to the service spaces and courtyard, and the entrance to the Consulate, directly accessed from the sidewalk on Stauffenbergstrasse. The Consulate can also be accessed from the spaces of the Embassy, by means of an internal connection.
The offices face, for the most part, onto Tiergartenstrasse and Stauffenbergstrasse, while the residential spaces, partially supplied with large terraces and balconies, face toward the garden to the south.
From the two upper levels a fine view is available of the quarter and the city. The courtyard, which is not visible from the outside, is oriented toward the south. The garden can be utilized for ceremonies and receptions: more formal green areas offer access to less formal zones.

Disegni di studio dell'ufficio dell'Ambasciatore e dell'atrio di ingresso.

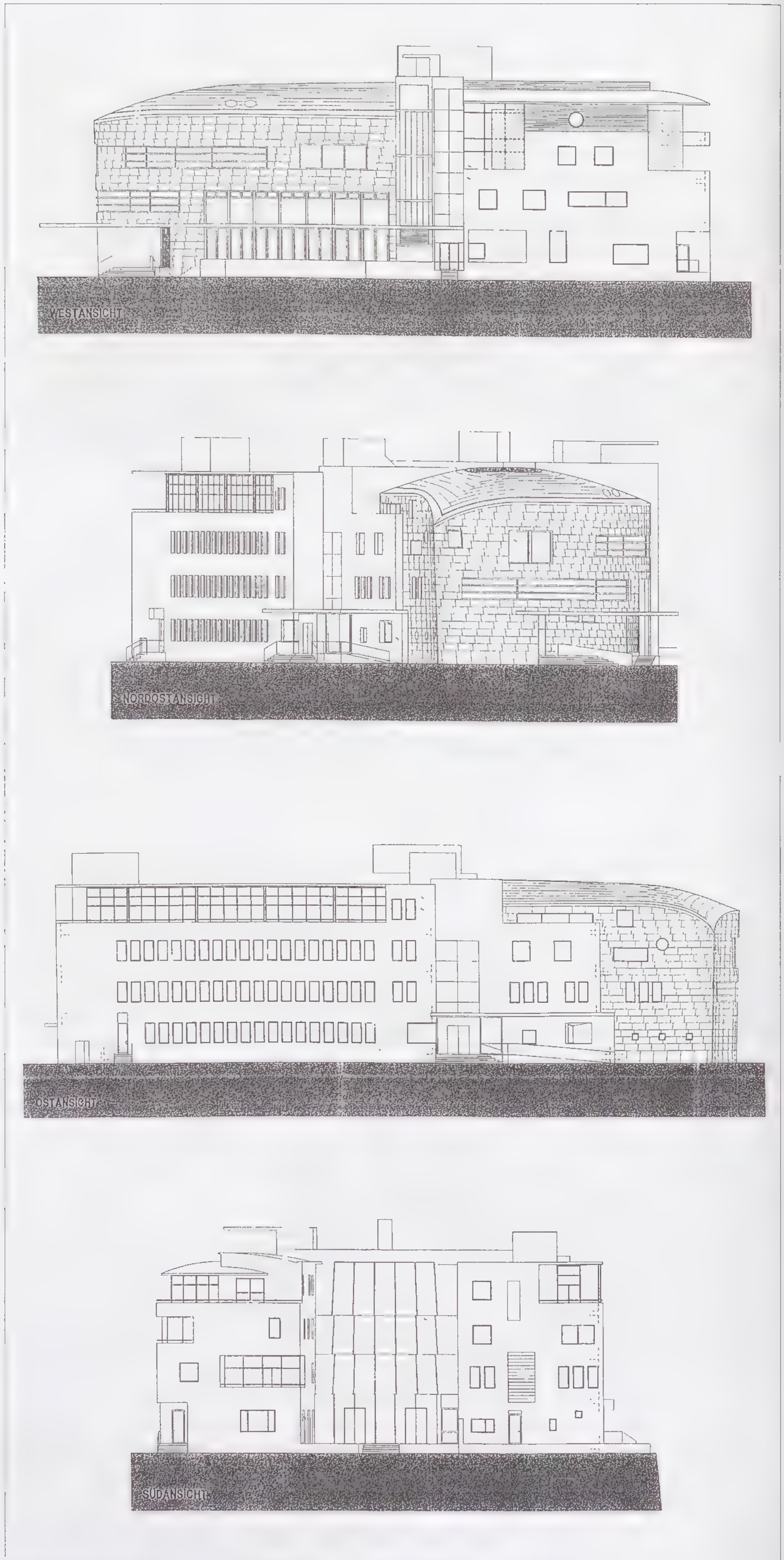
Study drawings of the Ambassador's office and the entrance hall.





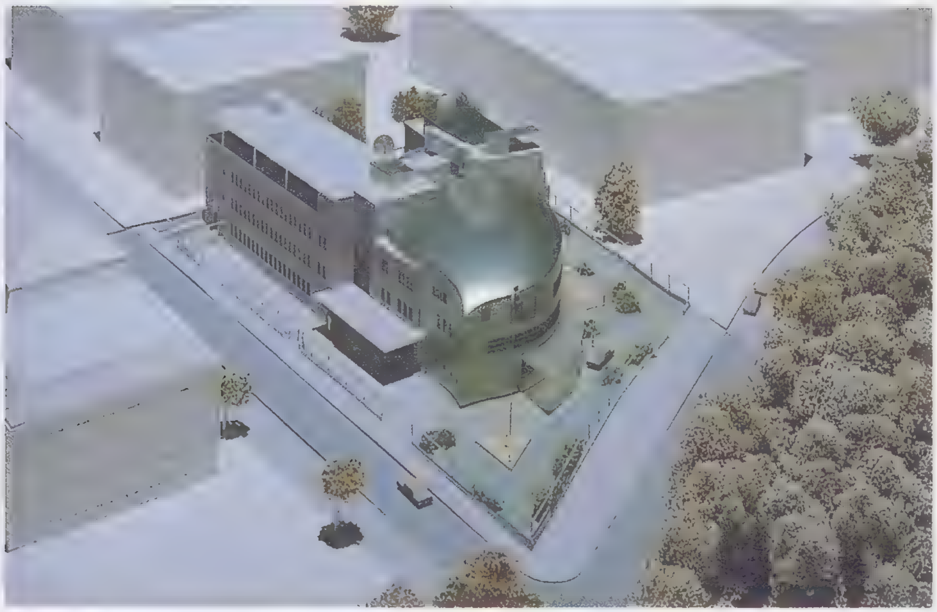
Prospetti e viste del modello.

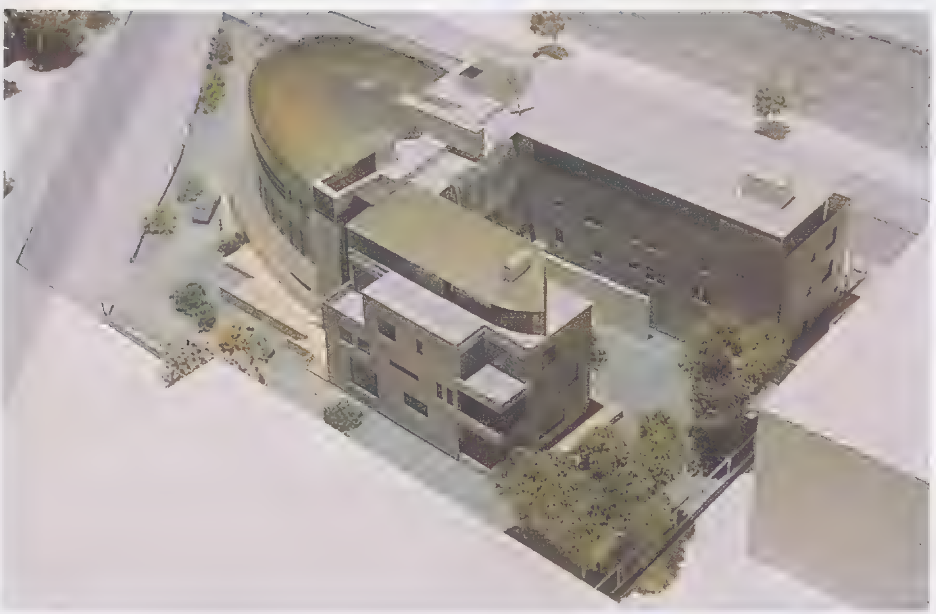
Elevations and views of the model.















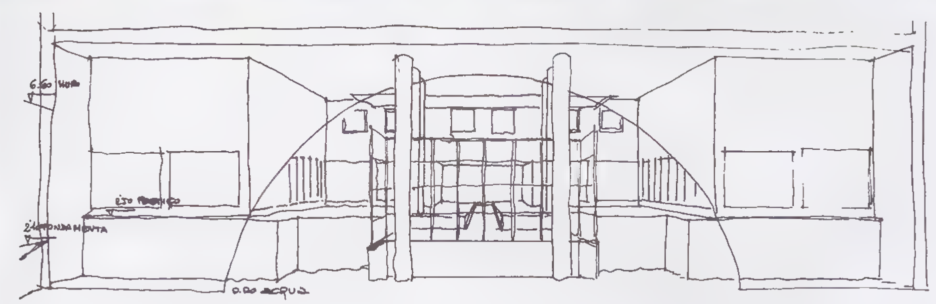
Nuova piastra di chirurgia ed emergenza, Ospedale Civile SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia

1978-99

Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro

coll.: Luigi Semerani

Foto/Photos: Daniele Resini



Vista del fronte nordest verso la laguna.
Modello e disegno di studio dell'atrio di ingresso per le lance portalettighe.

View of the northeast facade overlooking the lagoon.
Model and study drawing of the entrance for the ambulances.



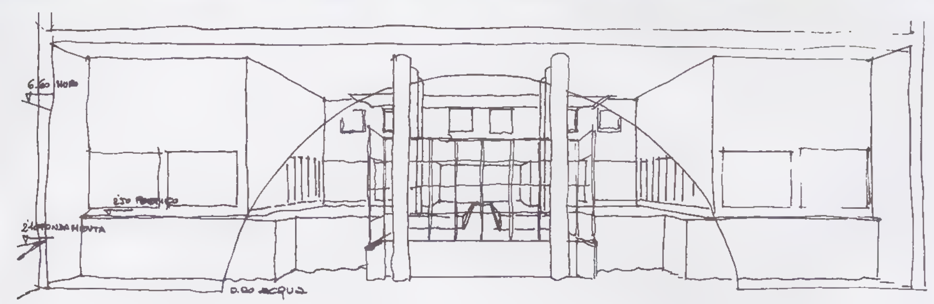
Nuova piastra di chirurgia ed emergenza, Ospedale Civile SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia
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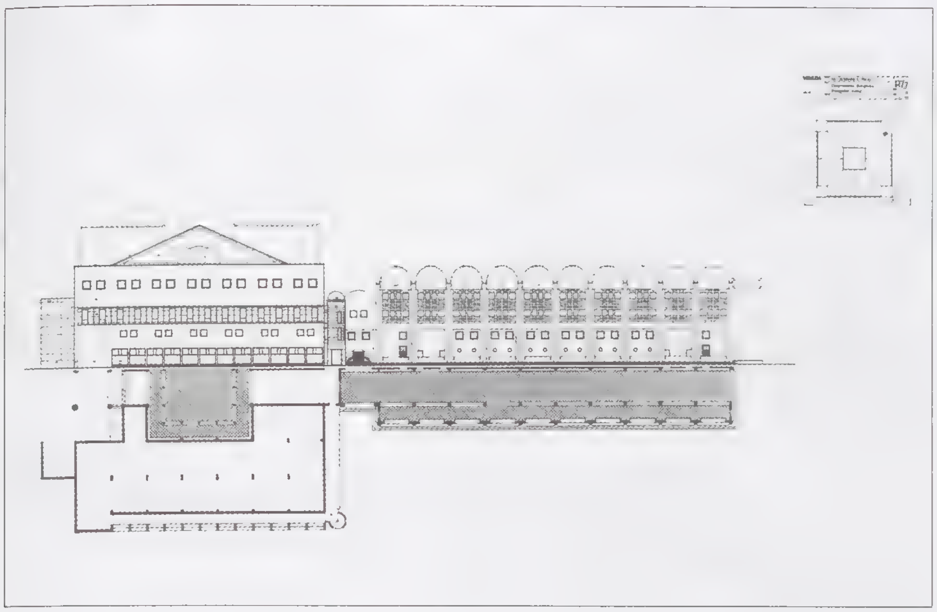


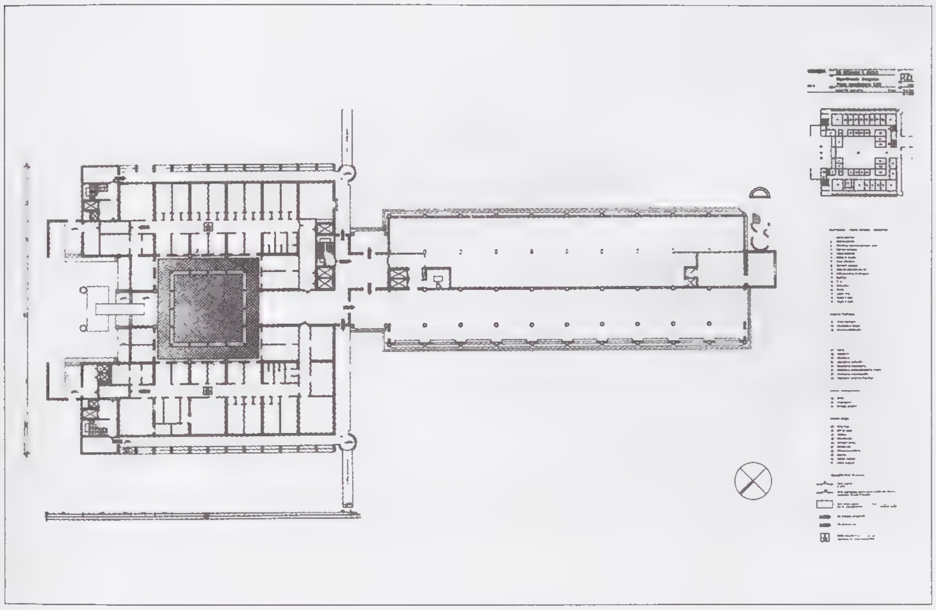
Vista del fronte nordest verso la laguna.
Modello e disegno di studio dell'atrio di ingresso per le lance portalettighe.

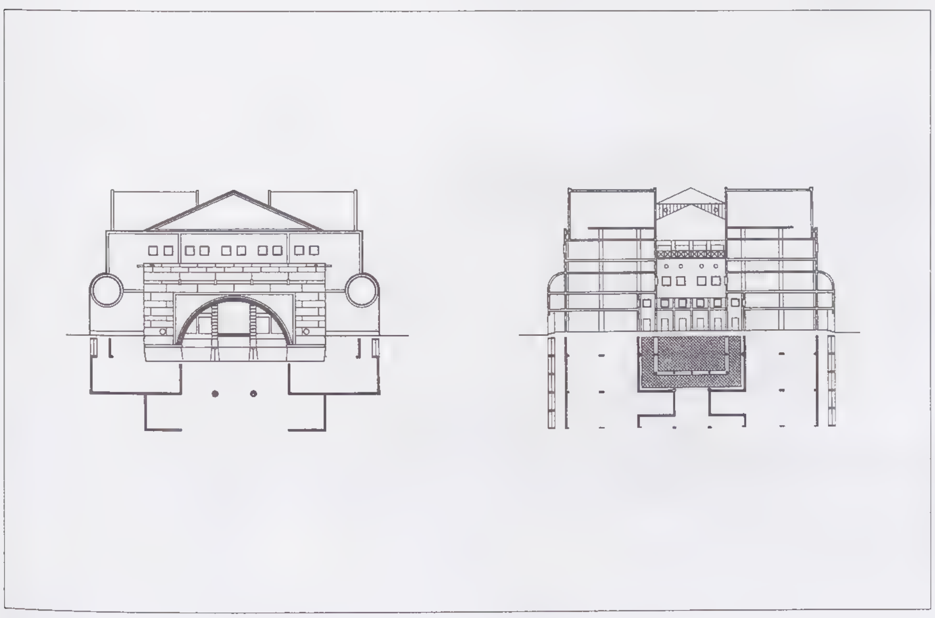
View of the northeast facade overlooking the lagoon.
Model and study drawing of the entrance for the ambulances.

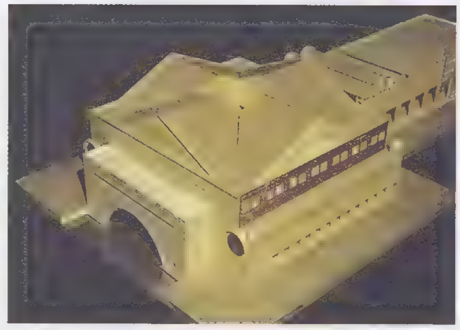
Nuova piastra di chirurgia ed emergenza, Ospedale Civile SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia
Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro

Il territorio dell'Azienda Ulss 12 veneziana è formato dai comuni di Venezia, Cavallino-Treporti, Marcon e Quarto d'Altino ed è suddiviso in sette distretti sociosanitari. L'Azienda occupa 4500 persone, complessivamente vengono assistiti oltre 310.000 cittadini. Il *budget* annuo è di 800 miliardi circa.
I tre ospedali sono caratterizzati da diverse funzioni: l'Ospedale Umberto I di Mestre e l'Ospedale Civile SS. Giovanni e Paolo di Venezia per acuti, l'Ospedale al Mare del Lido ad indirizzo riabilitativo.
L'Ospedale Civile SS. Giovanni e Paolo di Venezia ha il compito principale di fornire l'assistenza ospedaliera ai cittadini del centro storico e dell'estuario veneziano, circa 105.000 persone distribuite su un territorio molto articolato anche per l'integrazione delle tipologie di trasporto. Per l'emergenza, a questi numeri si devono aggiungere i 35.000 lavoratori pendolari che raggiungono ogni giorno la città e l'ingente flusso turistico.
Attraverso i secoli, l'area su cui sorge l'attuale ospedale ha sempre rivestito funzioni assistenziali. Al nucleo originario del Convento dei Domenicani, risalente al XIII secolo, si è affiancata dapprima la Scuola Grande di San Marco, nel 1437, e quindi l'Ospedale di San Lazzaro e Mendicanti, nel Seicento. Tre istituzioni caritative e di controllo sociale ben lontane dal concetto moderno di assistenza medica, che hanno permesso, grazie alla vicinanza di luogo e di intenti, la formazione del grande ospedale.
Nel 1807, con la ripresa da parte di Napoleone di un precedente progetto veneziano di unificazione, l'accentramento diventa effettivo e definitivo. Ha inizio così una strada in salita che, attraverso alterne vicende, porta al 1879, anno in cui viene riconosciuta la funzione scientifico-terapeutica dell'ospedale civile rispetto a quella assistenziale degli istituti pii. Nel Novecento per adeguare la struttura ospedaliera agli sviluppi della medicina, il nucleo originale si arricchisce di due nuovi padiglioni, Gaggia (1930) e Jona (1950).
Il nucleo rinascimentale, con opere di Tintoretto e di Palma il Giovane, è oggi sede della biblioteca medica (che conserva volumi antichi di particolare pregio) alla quale è aggregato un fondo archivistico di notevole interesse storico. Ciò consente alla comunità di vivere l'ospedale non solo come "macchina per la salute" ma anche come luogo di cultura aperto alla cittadinanza.
Nel 1959 si affaccia una prospettiva ben più radicale: lo spostamento della struttura ospedaliera nell'area di San Giobbe, una soluzione ambiziosa, innovativa, coraggiosa. Le Corbusier, così legato alla città di Venezia, volle occuparsene personalmente, concependo nel 1965 l'unico progetto che abbia mai ideato per un ospedale. Previsto in una posizione strategica, in quella parte di Venezia che si affaccia sulla laguna in prossimità del Ponte della Libertà, l'ospedale di Le Corbusier avrebbe avuto un duplice accesso, sia dall'acqua, sia mediante una bretella collegata direttamente al ponte. L'ospedale si sarebbe integrato con il contesto anche attraverso riferimenti simbolici: ambienti interni, denominati "calli" e "campielli", e piccoli giardini pensili in dialogo continuo con l'acqua della laguna, una sorta di richiamo alla vita. La morte di Le Corbusier e altri eventi ne fecero naufragare la realizzazione.
Si avvia così il progetto di riorganizzazione e recupero del complesso ospedaliero dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo, integrando l'antico con le attuali esigenze tecnologiche e realizzando nuovi padiglioni.
Nel 1978 lo Studio Semerani-Tamaro inizia il progetto dell'area degenze (già in funzione dal 1991) e della piastra di chirurgia ed emergenza. Una struttura articolata di rilevante impegno tecnologico in cui la diagnostica e la terapia assumono un ruolo prioritario rispetto alla degenza.
Le unità coronariche e le stanze di degenza di cardiologia sono collocate al terzo piano. Le camere prevedono da uno a tre letti e grandi finestre che si aprono sulla laguna, consentendo l'illuminazione naturale. Una barra attrezzata installata all'altezza delle testiere dei letti facilita il rapporto del malato con il personale: i medici e gli infermieri di guardia sono comodamente raggiungibili grazie ad un interfono, che ottimizza inoltre i tempi di assistenza. Ogni stanza è dotata di servizi igienici autonomi, attrezzati, ergonomici e sicuri.
Al secondo piano si trovano le unità operative di rianimazione e chirurgia. Le sale di rianimazione, grazie alla loro collocazione e alle moderne apparecchiature, forniscono al malato un'assistenza attenta e ravvicinata.
I visitatori possono vedere il malato sia attraverso apposite finestre, sia attraverso alcuni *monitor*, dotati anche di audio, situati nella torretta angolare. Al personale medico è destinata, invece, una vasta sala con apparecchiature in grado di monitorare, in tempo reale, lo stato fisico del paziente. Le sale operatorie sono all'avanguardia per funzionalità e tecnologia; i macchinari sono ancorati al soffitto dal quale scendono anche i cavi e i condotti necessari, evitandone la presenza all'interno della sala operatoria.
L'intero edificio è cablato ad alta innovazione tecnologica, i dati e le immagini possono venire trasmessi da un punto all'altro, consentendo una buona interattività tra le varie unità operative anche esterne al complesso ospedaliero. La sala operatoria vera e propria è preceduta dai locali di preparazione del personale e di induzione e risveglio postoperatorio. La completa igiene dell'ambiente è garantita sia dalle porte automatizzate a chiusura stagna, sia dalle apposite aperture che consentono, dalla sala di substerilizzazione, il passaggio degli oggetti di volta in volta necessari. Le pareti sono rivestite in acciaio *inox* per garantire ulteriormente un ambiente sicuro e asettico.
Il primo piano è riservato agli studi dei medici e agli ambulatori, ed è collegato all'area delle degenze. Parte del piano è costituita dalla centrale di sterilizzazione.
Al piano terra si trovano i servizi del pronto soccorso e del Suem (Servizio di urgenza ed emergenza medica). I numerosi ambulatori si articolano attorno all'ampio e luminoso chiostro coperto che si inserisce nella sequenza degli attigui cortili rinascimentali. La luce proviene direttamente dall'esterno attraverso la grande copertura in vetro e acciaio. Un'attenzione particolare è stata dedicata alla segnaletica: cartelli aerei e ben visibili aiutano l'utente a orientarsi guidandolo verso i vari servizi.



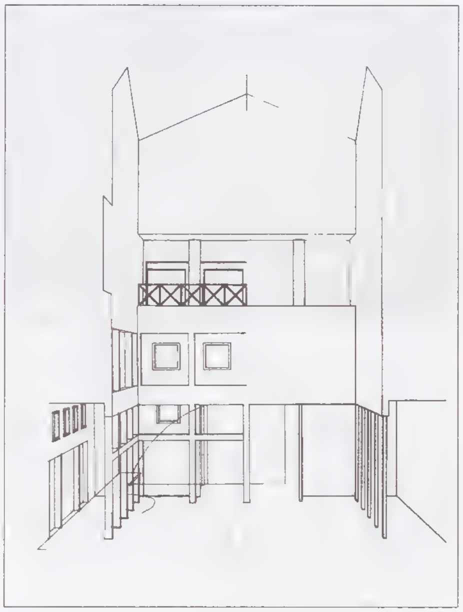


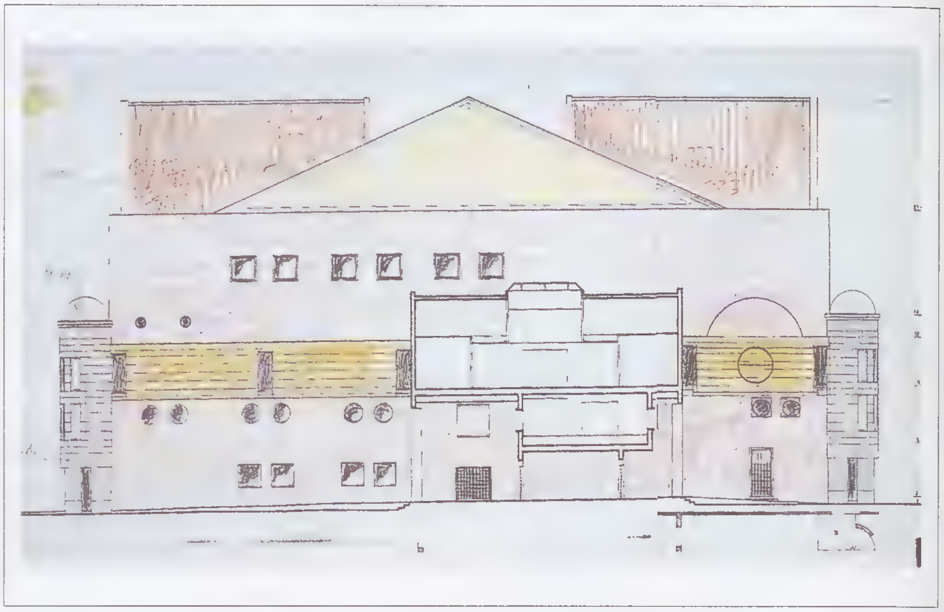




Prospetto nordovest della Piastra di chirurgia ed emergenza e del Padiglione di degenza.
Pianta a quota 2.50 della Piastra di chirurgia ed emergenza (accettazione) e del Padiglione di degenza.
Prospetto nordest e sezione sul chiostro coperto della Piastra di chirurgia ed emergenza.
IUAV - Archivio Progetti.
Vista del modello.

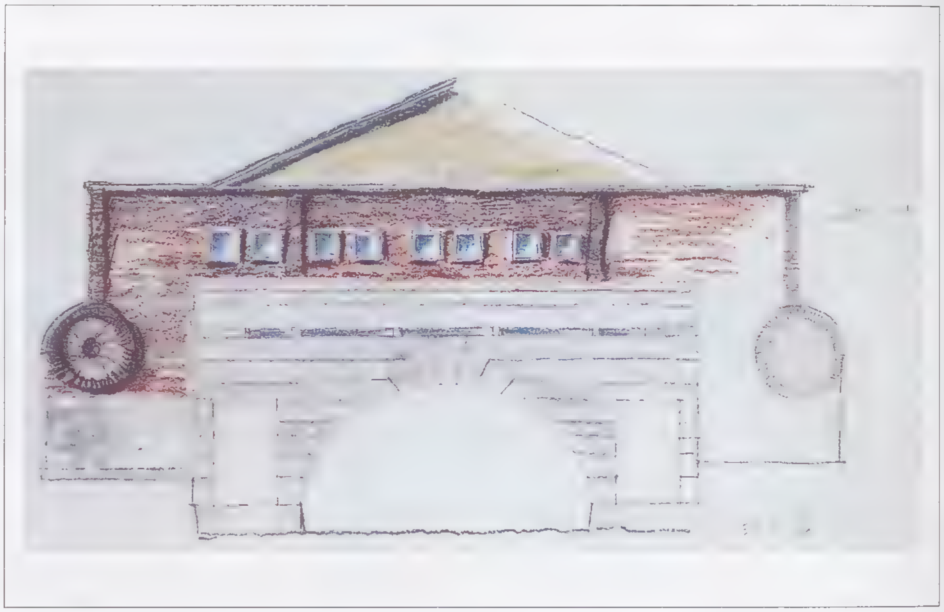
Northwest elevation of the Surgery and emergency facilities and In-patient wards.
Plan at level 2.50 of the Surgery and emergency facilities (reception room) and In-patient wards.
Northeast elevation and section through the covered courtyard of the Surgery and emergency facilities.
IUAV - Archivio Progetti.
View of the model.





Disegni di studio del chiostro coperto e dei fronti.
IUAV - Archivio Progetti.

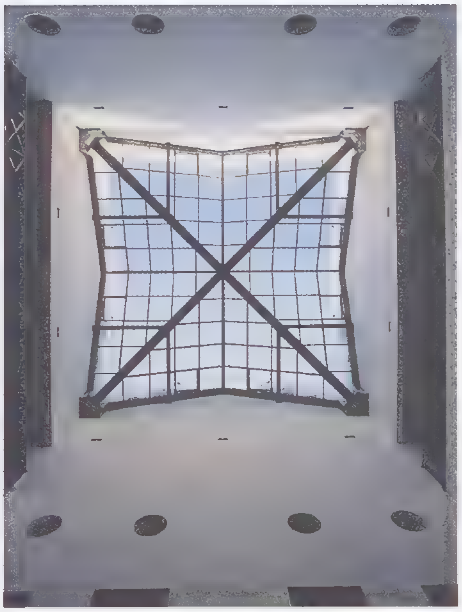
Study drawings of the covered courtyard and the facades.
IUAV - Archivio Progetti.





New Surgery and emergency facilities, SS. Giovanni e Paolo Civic Hospital, Venice, Italy
Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro

The area covered by the zone 12 of the Venetian Health Services Authority is composed of the municipalities of Venice, Cavallino-Treporti, Marcon and Quarto d'Altino, and subdivided into seven sub-districts. The Public Health Authority of the zone employs 4500 persons, providing assistance for over 310.000 citizens. The annual budget is approximately L. 800 billion. The zone contains three hospitals, with differentiated functions: the Umberto I Hospital of Mestre and the SS. Giovanni e Paolo Civic Hospital of Venice for acute cases, and the Ospedale al Mare, at the Lido, for rehabilitation.
The main task of the Civic Hospital in Venice is to provide hospital services for the citizens of the historical center and the Venetian estuary: approximately 105.000 persons, inhabiting a highly articulated area, integrated through different transportation facilities. In the case of emergency services, the Hospital must also take into account the 35.000 commuters present in Venice every day, as well as the large number of tourists.
Over the centuries the site of the hospital has always been one of functions of assistance. The original nucleus of the Dominican Monastery, dating back to the 13th century, was joined first by the Scuola Grande di San Marco, in 1437, and later by the San Lazzaro e Mendicanti Hospital, in the 1600s. Three institutions of charity and social control decidedly distant from the modern conception of medical assistance; their presence, however, led to the formation of a large hospital. In 1807, when Napoleon revived an early project for their unification, the centralization and the integration of the various parts became actual and definitive. This was followed by a long period of adjustment, until 1879, the year in which the scientific-therapeutic function of the civic hospital was officially recognized, as opposed to the social services provided by the religious institutions. During the 20th century, to adapt to new developments in medical science, the original nucleus was provided with two new pavilions, named Gaggia (1930) and Jona (1950).
Today the Renaissance nucleus, containing works by Tintoretto and Palma il Giovane, is the headquarters of the medical library (including antique volumes of great value) flanked by an archive of great historical interest. This means that the community can experience the hospital not only as a "health services machine" but also as a place of culture, open to the public.
In 1959 a much more radical proposal was advanced: the idea of moving the hospital structure to the San Giobbe area, an ambitious, innovative, courageous solution. Le Corbusier, with his close ties to the city of Venice, wanted to personally handle the project, and in 1965 he produced the only design of his entire career for a hospital. Planned in a strategic position, in the part of Venice facing the lagoon near Ponte della Libertà, Le Corbusier's hospital would have had a double access, both from the water and from a segment connected directly to the bridge. The hospital would also have been integrated with the context, thanks to certain symbolic references: internal spaces, called "calli" and "campielli", and small hanging gardens in constant dialogue with the waters of the lagoon, a sort of reminder or appeal of life. The death of Le Corbusier and other events put an end to this project.
This led to the project for the reorganization and renewal of the hospital complex of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, integrating the existing elements with new ones to meet modern technological requirements and building new pavilions.
In 1978 the Semerani-Tamaro Studio began work on the In-patient wards (already functioning in 1991) and on the Surgery and emergency facilities. A complex structure with a great deal of technological equipment, in which diagnosis and therapy are the main focus, in comparison with the in-patient function.
The coronary units and cardiology in-patient rooms are located on the third floor. The rooms contain from one to three beds, and have large windows overlooking the lagoon, providing abundant natural lighting. An accessorized bar installed at the height of the headboard facilitates patient-staff relations: the physicians and nurses can be easily reached thanks to an intercom, optimizing intervention timing. Each room has its own ergonomic, safe, accessorized bathroom facilities.
The second floor contains the operative units for reanimation and surgery. The reanimation rooms, thanks to their positioning and their modern equipment, offer constant, attentive services for patients. Visitors can see the patients through special windows or on monitors, with audio, situated in the corner tower. The medical staff is provided with a large hall containing equipment to allow them to monitor, in real time, the physical status of the patients. The operating rooms represent the vanguard of functional quality and technology; the machinery is attached to the ceiling; the necessary cables and tubes can be pulled down from the ceiling, avoiding cumbersome presences in the operating room itself. The entire edifice is cabled in the most advanced way, for data and image transmission from one point to another, permitting a high level of interaction among the various operative units, even outside of the hospital complex. The operating room itself is preceded by spaces for staff preparation and pre- and post-surgical services for patients. Total hygiene for the space is guaranteed by automatic sealed doors and special openings that permit the passage of objects, when necessary, from the sub-sterilization room. The walls are faced in stainless steel, as a further guarantee of a safe, aseptic environment.
The first floor contains the offices of the physicians and the out-patient areas and is connected to the in-patient wards. Part of this level is set aside for the sterilization plant.
The ground floor contains the emergency services. The many visiting rooms are arranged around a large, luminous covered courtyard that becomes a part of the sequence of the nearby Renaissance courtyards. The lighting comes directly from the outside, thanks to the large roofing in steel and glass. Particular attention has been paid to the signage: highly visible overhead signs help users to orient themselves, guiding them to the various services.








Viste interne del chiostro coperto.
Viste da est (con il Padiglione di degenza) e vista da sud.

Interior views of the covered courtyard.
Views from the east (with the In-patient wards) and view from the south.

"Hall of the Envoys to Tang" Community Center, Kentoushikan, Bounotsu-cho, Kawanabe-gun, Kagoshima, Japan

1987

Hiromichi Matsui

con/with: Tojyo Architects Office
Structural and mechanical engineers: Tojyo Architects Office

Foto/Photos: Shinkenchiku-sha



"Hall of the Envoys to Tang" Community Center, Kentoushikan, Bounotsu-cho, Kawanabe-gun, Kagoshima, Japan

1987

Hiromichi Matsui

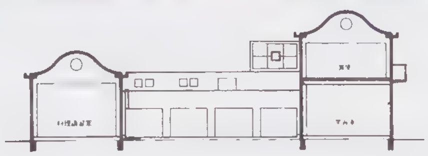
con/with: Tojyo Architects Office
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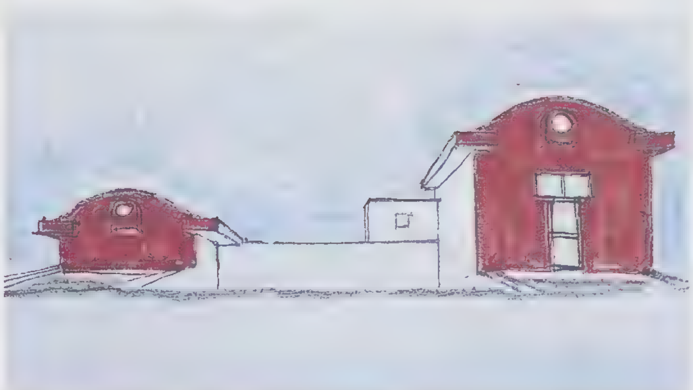


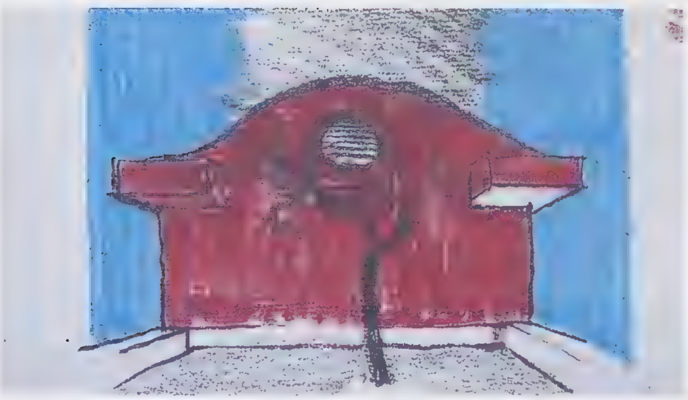
Centro Civico "Sala degli inviati a Tang", Kentoushikan, Bounotsu-cho, Kawanabe-gun, Kagoshima, Giappone
Hiromichi Matsui

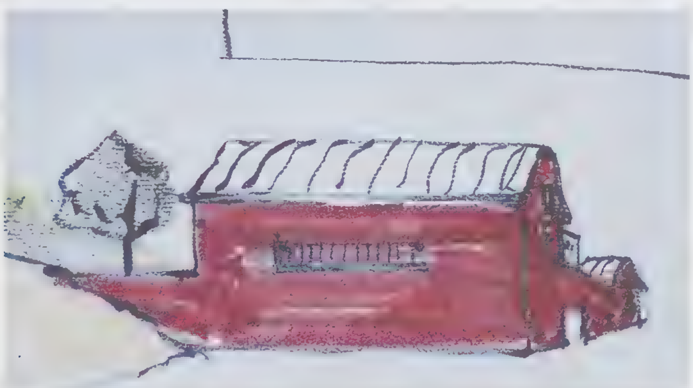
Quando lavoravo con Vittorio Gregotti, l'approccio all'architettura di cui egli mi parlava, e che più mi colpiva, si fondava sostanzialmente su due concetti: quello di "luogo" e quello di "delimitazione". Essi sintetizzano il legame tra terra e architettura e il compito dell'architetto di creare un ambiente.
Il Centro Civico è situato sul fianco di una collina, "annidato" in un bosco sempreverde a largo fogliame di fronte al Mare Orientale della Cina.
Quando vidi il sito la prima volta, decisi che era importante tenere ben presente, nel corso del progetto, il principio di non alterare minimamente la situazione ambientale. Mi venne in mente Villa Barbaro, che Andrea Palladio cita ne *I quattro libri dell'architettura*. Palladio dice: "*La posizione di questo edificio previene ogni ulteriore cambiamento nella natura*".
Accostando al pendio una struttura con pianta a "U" ho creato la "delimitazione", cioè una corte, e un impianto generale in grado di impedire la deformazione del terreno. Poi, in contrasto con il verde perenne del bosco, ho deciso di tinteggiare l'esterno dell'edificio in colore arancio e le pareti della corte in bianco.
Per quanto riguarda la forma, la sezione curva delle coperture, evidente nel fronte principale, diventa l'elemento che caratterizza il prospetto dell'edificio.
Poiché anticamente – dal VII al IX secolo – la città di Kawabe aveva contatti con la dinastia cinese Tang attraverso traffici marittimi, il nuovo edificio è stato battezzato "Sala degli inviati a Tang". La storia ha in qualche modo influenzato anche la forma di questa costruzione, il cui profilo ricorda un certo tipo di architettura cinese.
Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, parlando dell'architettura moderna, ed Edward Lucie-Smith, parlando dell'arte moderna, hanno entrambi sottolineato la centralità della cultura europea e americana, scrivendo che ciò che si è fatto in altre regioni del globo non può essere compreso nella grande corrente del Movimento Moderno.
Sono opinioni che sembrano voler attribuire un valore assoluto a queste due culture e parlano delle differenze e dei processi di evoluzione usando per così dire il criterio del fuso orario.
Ora, un cambiamento dei modelli sembra necessario e urgente e deve andare verso l'elaborazione di una visione storica della civiltà e della cultura che tenga conto di un ambito più ampio.

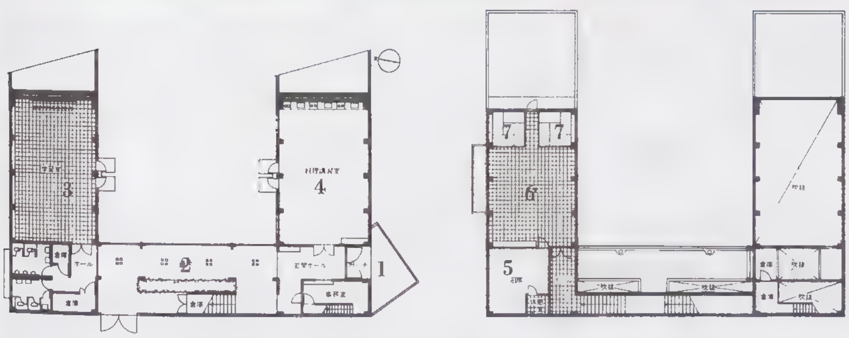












Vista da ovest. Foto Shinkenchiku-sha.
Vista da sud. Foto H. Matsui.
Disegni di studio.
Sezione trasversale e piante dei piani terreno e primo: 1) ingresso; 2) portico; 3) aula; 4) laboratorio di tirocinio didattico di cucina; 5) cucina; 6) ristorante; 7) tatami.

View from the west. Photo Shinkenchiku-sha.
View from the south. Photo H. Matsui.
Study drawings.
Cross section and ground floor and first floor plans: 1) entrance; 2) portico; 3) classroom; 4) kitchen training workshop; 5) kitchen; 6) restaurant; 7) tatami.



"Hall of the Envoys to Tang" Community Center, Kentoushikan, Bounotsu-cho, Kawanabe-gun, Kagoshima, Japan
Hiromichi Matsui

When I was working with Vittorio Gregotti, what impressed me most about his approach was the basic concept of architecture, namely that of "the place" and "the enclosure". It represented the way the earth and architecture are linked together and the architectural function of creating an environment.
This Community Center stands on a level site nestled in a hilly green forest of broadleaf trees facing the East China Sea.
When I saw this site for the first time, I decided it was important to plan this building in such a way as to leave the environmental situation as intact as possible.
I was reminded of Villa Barbaro, which Andrea Palladio mentions in his Four Books of Architecture. *He wrote,* "The position of this building prevents any further change of nature". *By bringing a "U"-shaped structure, in plan, close to the slope, I created the "enclosure" with which to form a courtyard, and the overall framework for preventing the deformation of the land. Then, in contrast with the year-round greenery of the forest, I decided to color the outside of the building orange, and the facade on the courtyard white. As to the form, it was designed so that the section of the curved roof appears on the gable side and becomes the factor that characterizes the elevation.*
From the historical fact that, in ancient times, this town was connected to the Tang dynasty through sea traffic, the building has been named the "Hall of the Envoys to Tang", for the emissaries who traveled to China from the 7th to 9th centuries.
This historical background may have influenced the building's design; some say its profile reflects a certain type of Chinese architecture.
Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, on the subject of modern architecture, and Edward Lucie-Smith, on that of modern art, have both emphasized the central importance of European and American culture, claiming that the achievements of other regions cannot be included in the mainstream of the Modern Movement.
Such opinions seem to attribute an absolute value to European and American culture, in a viewpoint that treats evolution as a question of before and after, along a timeline.
But at this point it appears urgently necessary to change this model of thinking, moving in the direction of a historical overview of civilization and culture that encompasses a wider range of societies and interchanges.





Dettaglio della facciata ovest.
Foto Shinkenchiku-sha.
Vista interna del laboratorio di cucina e vista del portico.
Foto H. Matsui.

West front detail.
Photo Shinkenchiku-sha.
Interior view of the kitchen workshop and view of the portico.
Photos H. Matsui.





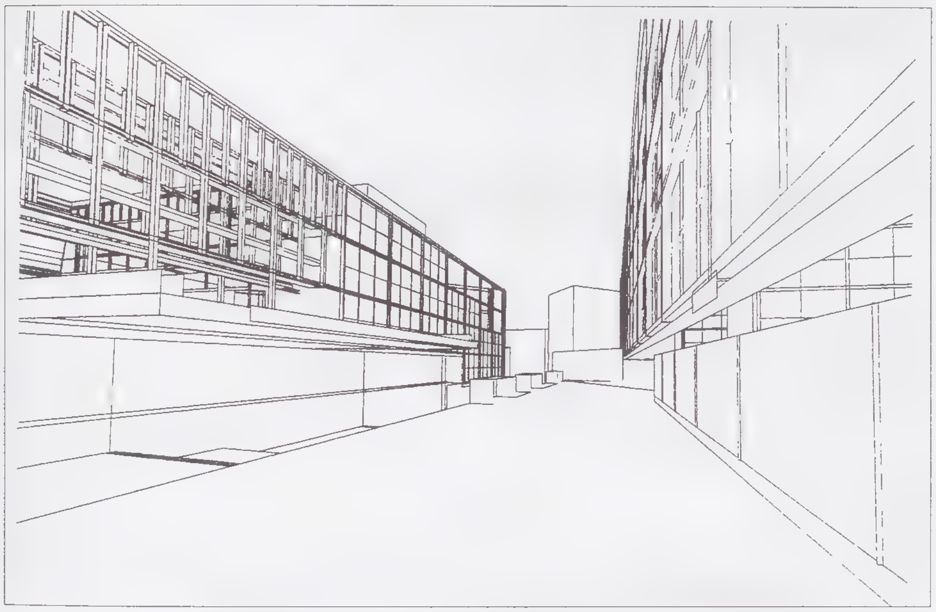


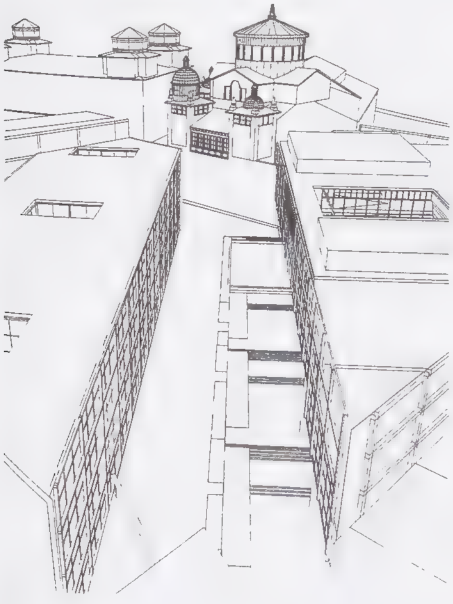
Carrer del Teatre, Barcelona, España
1996

Ignasi de Solà-Morales, Lluís Dilmé, Xavier Fabré

coll.: Carlos Fuertes, Javier López del Castillo







Prospettive del complesso dall'alto e della strada interna.

Perspective views of the complex from above and the internal street.



Piante dei livelli primo, secondo, terzo e quinto: A) Escola Superior d'Art Dramàtic i Dansa; B) Conservatori de Grau Mig de Dansa; C) Biblioteca, Museo e Centro di Documentazione; D) Servizi centrali e spazi comuni; 1) aule e laboratori; 2) dipartimenti; 3) seminari; 4) mensa; 5) biblioteca; 6) direzione; 7) bar e ristorante; 8) spazi di servizio del Teatre Ovidi Montllor; 9) atrio del Museo; 10) Teatre Ovidi Montllor; 11) Teatre de l'Institut; 12) Auditorium; 13) "La Corrala".

First, second, third and fifth level plans: A) Escola Superior d'Art Dramàtic i Dansa; B) Conservatori de Grau Mig de Dansa; C) Library, Museum and Documentation Center; D) Central Services and common areas; 1) classrooms and workshops; 2) departments; 3) seminar rooms; 4)canteen; 5) library; 6) direction office; 7) bar and restaurant; 8) service areas of Teatre Ovidi Montllor; 9) Museum vestibule; 10) Teatre Ovidi Montllor; 11) Teatre de l'Institut; 12) Auditorium; 13) "La Corrala".

Progetto di concorso per la nuova Sede dell'Institut del Teatre, Barcellona, Spagna
Ignasi de Solà-Morales

Programma funzionale
Abbiamo inteso il Bando di concorso come l'intervento su un complesso di tre aree funzionali relativamente indipendenti. Le prime due sono quelle del Conservatori de Grau Mig de Dansa, da una parte, e dell'Escola Superior d'Art Dramàtic i Dansa, dall'altra. La terza è destinata ad un complesso di uso pubblico, sia per un'utenza esterna che legata all'attività del Conservatorio e della Scuola, dove troveranno sede: il nuovo Teatre Ovidi Montllor (450 posti, a scena flessibile, con disposizione centrale o frontale); un secondo teatro di dimensioni minori (150 posti); una biblioteca per 150.000 volumi; un auditorium (120 posti); uno spazio multifunzionale con funzioni tanto di vestibolo connettivo quanto di eventuale sala espositiva; un vestibolo centrale con un bar aperto sia al pubblico esterno che a tutti i gli addetti dell'Istituto e dei Servizi centrali. Sebbene da un punto di vista funzionale tutte queste attività siano separabili e anche organizzabili in diverso modo, il progetto tende a raggruppare i complessi del Conservatorio e della Scuola, i Servizi centrali, gli spazi comuni, l'Auditorium, i Teatri e la Biblioteca in un tessuto unitario che, a partire dai due accessi agli edifici, sia innervato da un percorso su due livelli intorno al quale si distribuiscono le diverse dipendenze, la cui accessibilità – indipendente ma nello stesso tempo correlata con i flussi di studenti del Conservatorio e della Scuola – costituisce, dal punto di vista concettuale, il terzo elemento del progetto.

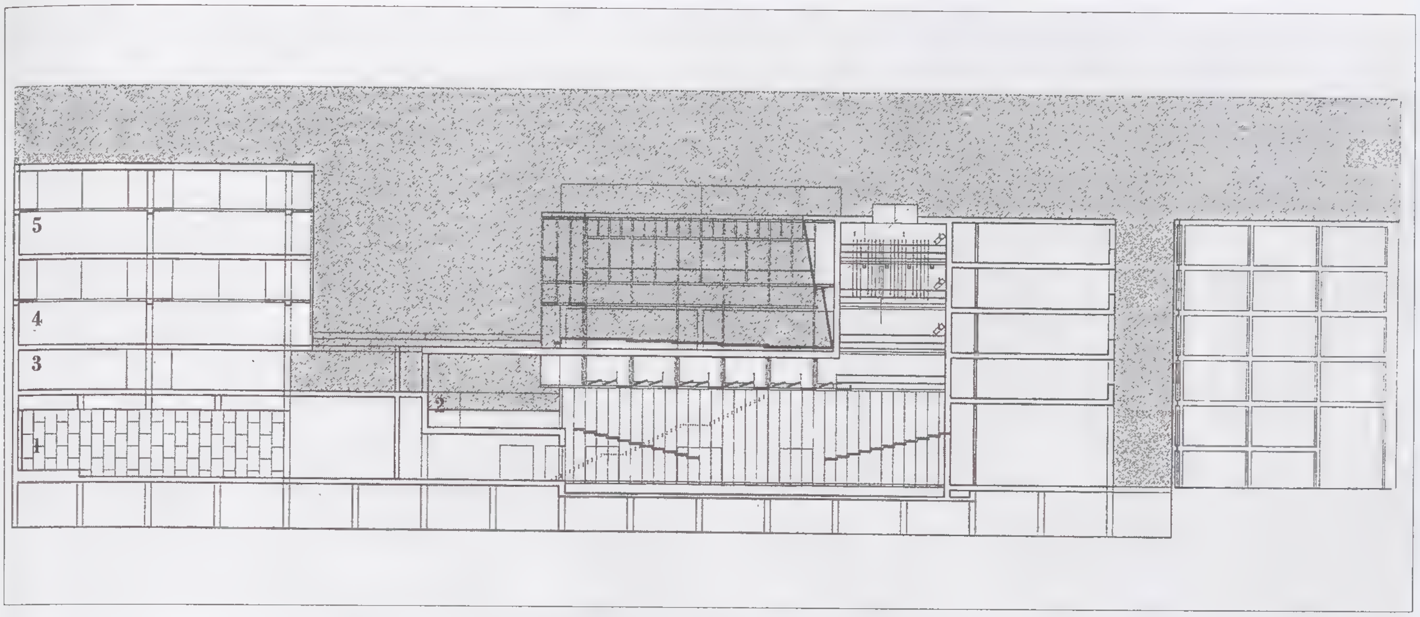
Soluzione adottata
La prima idea che configura il progetto è quella di creare un complesso assimilabile a un blocco prismatico chiuso in se stesso, isolato, che si affaccia verso l'esterno con un fronte uniforme scandito dalla modulazione del reticolo strutturale. Questo blocco, una sorta di *bunker*, risponde all'eterogeneità dell'intorno e anche ai possibili mutamenti che in esso si possono produrre. Si tratta di un elemento definito in se stesso che stabilisce la propria identità malgrado il caos che lo circonda. Nello stesso tempo la sua forma chiusa risolve in se stessa le necessità di illuminazione, ventilazione, e i requisiti di rispetto delle servitù di vista, della distanza dagli edifici circostanti, di isolamento acustico, ecc. Il blocco è secato diagonalmente da una "fenditura" che, come una strada, taglia il complesso aprendo un passaggio a cielo aperto che, sebbene "interno" e quindi in ultima analisi privato, nello stesso tempo è aperto al passaggio pedonale. Questa percorso – che congiunge il quartiere del Poble Sec, la strada verso il Parallel e la metropolitana a un estremo, e arriva alla Plaça de Margarida Xirgu con le sue attrezzature all'altro – è una strada accessibile anche ai portatori di *handicap* (con pendenza 6%) ed assai ampia (18 m di larghezza, di cui 9 in piano e 9 in pendenza), tale da costituire di per se stessa lo spazio centrale del nuovo Institut del Teatre oltre che lo spazio di comunicazione tra le differenti parti. La diagonale sbocca nella parte superiore nella Plaça de Margarida Xirgu, nel punto più visibile di connessione tra l'edificio dell'Istituto e la piazza antistante, mentre all'estremo inferiore, come prolungamento del Carrer de la Bòvila, si collega alla trama urbana più direttamente connessa al quartiere. La strada divide il blocco prismatico in due volumi di minori dimensioni, di base approssimativamente triangolare, nei quali si trovano il Conservatori de Grau Mig de Dansa e l'Escola Superior d'Art Dramàtic i Dansa, garantendo al tempo stesso l'ingresso ai due estremi ma anche alle parti di destinazione preminentemente pubblica quali il nuovo Teatre Ovidi Montllor, il Teatre dell'Institut, la Biblioteca, il Museo i Centre de Documentació, l'Auditorium e la Sala espositiva, situati al livello inferiore corrispondente all'accesso da Carrer de la Bòvila. Un livello inferiore, che si estende per tutta la superficie del blocco, è destinato a parcheggio, con una capicità di 179 automobili e con possibili accesso e uscita alternativi dalle strade de la Puríssima, Ricart e Bòvila. Il concetto del blocco prismatico secato dal "taglio" costituito dalla strada interna articola l'idea progettuale, non solo dal punto di vista funzionale ma anche dell'espressione formale degli edifici, in cui la presenza forte del rivestimento esterno, regolare e uniforme, si coniuga con un trattamento trasparente e leggero dei fronti affacciati sulla strada interna.
Nella definizione degli elementi architettonici principali è necessario riferirsi a uno spazio esterno che chiamiamo "La Corrala". Questo termine – memore chiaramente del classico spazio al tempo stesso privato e pubblico, teatrale e di vicinato – si riferisce qui ad una sorta di piazza aperta di m 18 x 33, situata a livello del primo piano, che costituisce il fulcro centrale dello spazio pubblico di relazione dell'Istituto. Questo spazio esterno di incontro, al tempo stesso elemento di connessione tra i due volumi del Conservatorio e della Scuola, è stato concepito per poter essere sia uno spazio per rappresentazioni, in cui allestire scenografie o concerti all'aperto, che un'area complementare agli altri spazi scenici dell'Istituto. Per quel che riguarda gli spazi eminentemente pubblici – la nuova Sala Ovidi Montllor, il Teatre de l'Institut, l'Auditorium e la Biblioteca, l'Archivio e il Centro di documentazione, il Museo e il vestibolo –, essi sono situati, come detto, al livello di accesso da Carrer de la França Xica-Bòvila.

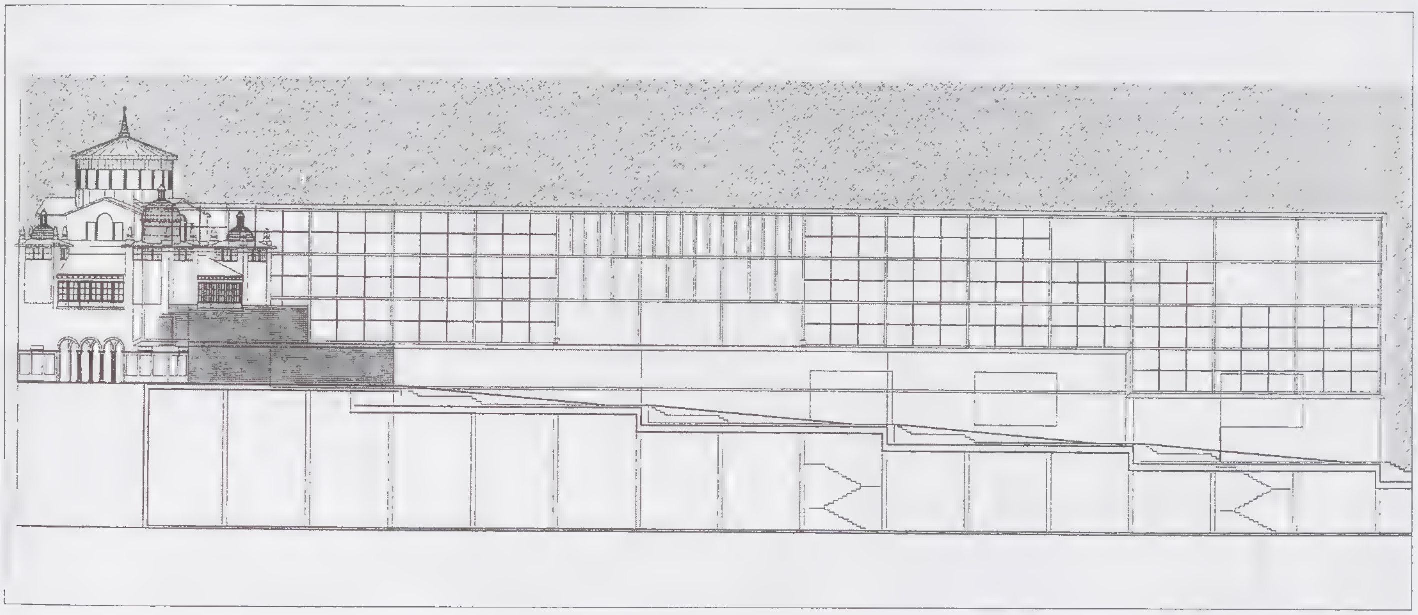
Il progetto prevede la sostituzione dell'attuale Teatre Ovidi Montllor con un nuovo spazio, incorporato nell'edificio, di dimensioni e acustica più adeguati, con torre scenica e macchinari e con una disposizione che si integri al complesso senza creare alcun tipo di deformazione volumetrica. Consideriamo questa scelta del tutto ragionevole dal punto di vista funzionale, economico e di coerenza architettonica, in attuazione di una impostazione che ritiene completamente negativo per questo edificio il criterio di conservazione. Il costo della nuova edificazione della Sala Ovidi Montllor viene compensato ampiamente dalla facilità con cui si può proporre un sistema strutturale omogeneo per tutto il complesso, evitando le spese di opere speciali di rinforzo delle fondazioni, di insonorizzazione e correzione dell'acustica, oltre a quelle, assai rilevanti, dovute alla necessità di preservare e proteggere l'edificio esistente durante il processo di esecuzione delle opere e di realizzare una superificie per parcheggi pari a quella prevista dal progetto. Per quel che riguarda il Museo, la Biblioteca e il Centro di documentazione, situati al medesimo livello dell'ingresso inferiore, è importante segnalare sia la loro disposizione ottimale, sia la facilità di accesso tanto per gli studenti che per il pubblico esterno. Ciò vale anche per la nuova Sala Ovidi Montllor, la Sala dell'Institut del Teatre e l'Auditorium – rispettivamente per 450, 150 e 120 spettatori – con un adeguato sistema acustico e con una versatilità sufficiente a garantire diverse configurazioni. Sia dall'entrata inferiore, già descritta, come dal vestibolo al livello della Plaça de Margarida Xirgu, la circolazione indipendente e/o legata al funzionamento della Scuola e dell'Istituto risulta semplice ed efficace grazie agli ascensori e ad un'ampia scalinata.

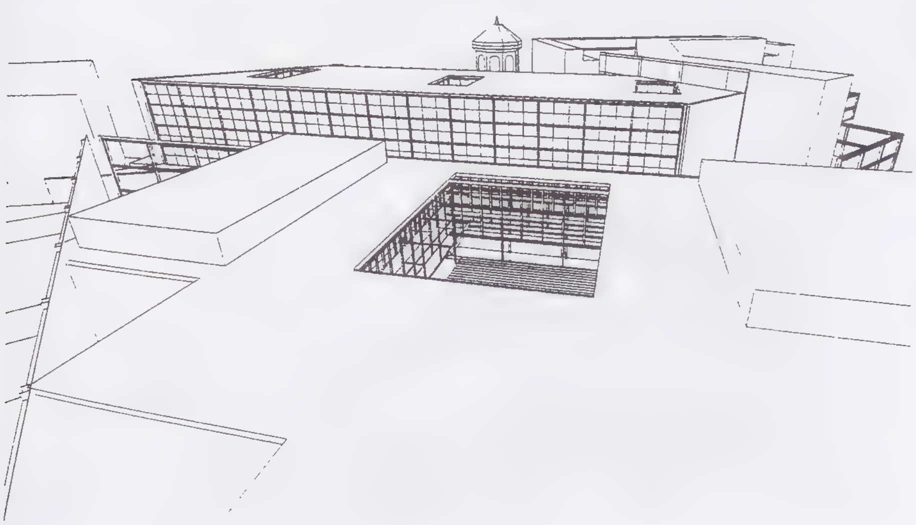
Competition project for the new Headquarters of the Institut del Teatre, Barcelona, Spain
Ignasi de Solà-Morales

Functional program
The competition guidelines called for the creation of a complex of three relatively independent functional areas. The first two are those of the Conservatori de Grau Mig de Dansa and the Escola Superior d'Art Dramàtic i Dansa. The third area is set aside for a public complex, for functions connected to both the Conservatory and the School, and for a number of other facilities: the new Teatre Ovidi Montllor (450 seats, flexible staging for central or frontal arrangements); another, smaller theater (150 seats); a library containing 150.000 volumes; an auditorium (120 seats); a multifunctional space to be used as a foyer or an exhibition area; a central vestibule with a bar, open to the public and to all the staff of the Institute and the Central Services.
Although from a functional point of view all these activities could be separated and organized in a different manner, the project aims at a grouping of the complexes of the Conservatory and the School, the Central Services, the shared spaces, the Auditorium, Theaters and Library, in a unified fabric which, beginning from the two entrances to the buildings, forms an itinerary on two levels around which the various functions are arranged, whose accessibility – autonomous, but also connected to the traffic of the students of the Conservatory and the School – represents, from a conceptual point of view, the third element of the design.

The chosen solution
The first idea behind the design is that of creating a complex that resembles a prismatic block, enclosed, isolated, facing the outside world with a uniform frontage characterized by a structural grid. This block, a sort of bunker, adapts well to the heterogeneous character of the surroundings, and to the possible changes that may take place in the area. It is an element with its own definition, that asserts its own identity in spite of the surrounding chaos. At the same time, its closed form resolves the requirements of lighting, ventilation and soundproofing, maintaining a proper distance from the nearby buildings.
The block is diagonally crossed by a "fissure" that, like a street, cuts across the complex, opening an open-air passage which, although it is inside the complex and therefore private in nature, is also open to pedestrian traffic. This walkway – that connects the Poble Sec quarter, the street toward the Parallel and the subway, on one end, with the Plaça de Margarida Xirgu and its facilities on the other – is also accessible for the handicapped (with a 6% grade) and very wide (18 m, with 9 on level and 9 sloping), constituting, on its own, the central space of the new Institut del Teatre and the space of communication among the various parts. The diagonal emerges in the upper part of Plaça de Margarida Xirgu, at the most visible point of connection between the Institute and the square; at the other extreme, as an extension of Carrer de la Bòvila, it joins with the urban fabric, in direct relation to the neighborhood.
The street divides the prismatic block into two smaller volumes with an approximately triangular footprint, containing the Conservatori de Grau Mig de Dansa and the Escola Superior d'Art Dramàtic i Dansa, guaranteeing entrance at the two extremes, and access for the primarily public parts of the complex, including the new Teatre Ovidi Montllor, the Teatre de l'Institut, the Library, the Museo i Centre de Documentació, the Auditorium and the Exhibition hall, situated on the lower level corresponding to the access from Carrer de la Bòvila.
A lower level that extends throughout the block is set aside for parking, with a capacity of 179 cars and possible alternative entry and exit to and from the streets de la Puríssima, Ricart and Bòvila.
The concept of the prismatic block crossed by the "fissure" of the internal street gives form to the design idea, not only in functional terms but also in terms of formal expression of the edifices, in which the strong presence of the regular, uniform external facing is combined with the light, transparent treatment of the facades on the internal street.
In the definition of the main architectural elements it is necessary to make reference to an external space we call "La Corrala". This term – a clear reminder of the classical space that is both private and public, theatrical and part of the neighborhood – refers here to a sort of open plaza, measuring 18 x 33 m, situated at the level of the first floor, representing the central fulcrum of the public space of relation of the Institute. This outdoor space of encounter, which is also the element of connection between the two volumes of the Conservatory and the School, has been conceived both as a space for performances and open-air concerts, and as a complementary area for the other performance spaces of the Institute.
The primarily public spaces – the new Teatre Ovidi Montllor, the Teatre de l'Institut, the Auditorium and the Library, the Archives and Documentation Center, the Museum and the vestibule – are situated at the level of access from Carrer de la França Xica-Bòvila.
The project calls for the replacement of the present Teatre Ovidi Montllor with a new space, incorporated in the building, with a more suitable size and acoustics, vertical stage space and machineries, and an arrangement that is integrated with the complex in a coherent manner. We feel that this choice is utterly reasonable in functional, economic and architectural terms, based on an approach that views any criteria of conservation as completely negative for this edifice. The cost of the new construction of the Teatre Ovidi Montllor is largely compensated by the ease of application of a homogeneous structural system for the entire complex, avoiding special work of reinforcement of the foundations, soundproofing and correction of acoustics, as well as the significant costs of preserving and protecting the existing edifice during the works and of building a parking area with a capacity equal to that of the project.
Where the Museum, the Library and the Documentation Center are concerned, situated at the same level as the lower entrance, it is important to notice their optimal arrangement, offering easy access for both the students and the general public. This is also true of the new Ovidi Montllor hall, the Institute Theater and the Auditorium – with respective capacities of 450, 150 and 120 – offering suitable acoustics, and sufficient versatility to guarantee a variety of configurations.
From the lower entrance and from the vestibule at the level of Plaça de Margarida Xirgu, circulation for the activities of the School and the Institute, or for independent reasons, is simple and effective, thanks to the elevators and a wide staircase.







Sezioni del complesso trasversale e lungo la strada interna.
Prospettiva dall'alto de "La Corrala".

Sections of the complex: cross-section and through internal street.
Perspective view of "La Corrala" from above.



Vivienda unifamiliar, El Port de la Selva, Gerona, España

1997-99

Ignasi de Solà-Morales

con/with: Javier López del Castillo
coll.: Juan Pere Ayala

Foto/Photos: Lluís Casals





Viste del fronte verso il mare, del fianco e della loggia.

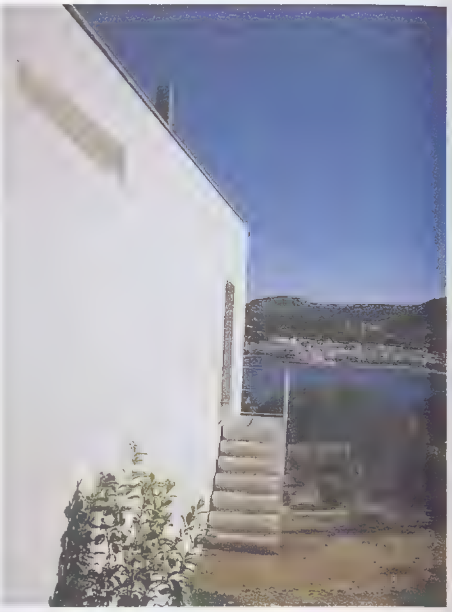
Views of the facade overlooking the sea, the side facade and the loggia.

Casa unifamiliare, El Port de la Selva, Gerona, Spagna
Ignasi de Solà-Morales

Il terreno disponibile – un lotto di 862 mq con pendenza uniforme del 30% – era in origine occupato da antichi vigneti, successivamente trasformati in bosco di pini.
L'impianto dell'edificio si sviluppa a partire da un primo muro – parallelo al confine del terreno fabbricabile e con funzione di protezione dal vento – e si articola poi in una composizione a ventaglio mediante la costruzione di altri due setti, convergenti, che per la posizione più "aperta" creano una sorta di inquadratura sul paesaggio.
Il dimensionamento di questi elementi si traduce in una gerarchia nella distribuzione interna, con differenti altezze per i differenti spazi.
A causa della pendenza del terreno l'edificio si sviluppa su due livelli, di cui il primo è quello d'accesso – con il soggiorno, la sala da pranzo, la cucina, un piccolo bagno e due grandi logge –, mentre al livello inferiore, di dimensioni più ridotte, si trovano due camere da letto e due bagni.
L'andamento lineare dei muri disposti a ventaglio – che si ripete in entrambi i livelli – non impedisce la fluidità degli spazi, in particolare al livello di accesso dove i due grandi volumi da essi delimitati sono di differente altezza. È evidente l'intenzione di creare uno spazio unitario, rafforzata anche dalla collocazione libera della scala interna.
I serramenti – in vetro, alluminio e impiallacciato artificiale – si dispongono tra muro e muro, come diaframmi, accentuando così la sensazione di leggerezza e rafforzando la percezione dell'andamento lineare dei muri, elementi generatori dell'intero impianto.

Single-family House, El Port de la Selva, Gerona, Spain
Ignasi de Solà-Morales

The available lot – 862 sq. m with a uniform slope of 30% – was originally occupied by old vineyards, later transformed into woodland of pines.
The layout of the building starts from an initial wall – parallel to the border of the terrain for edification, and serving as a barrier against the wind – and then develops in a fan-like composition thanks to the construction of two other converging walls, whose more "open" position creates a sort of framing of the landscape. The sizing of these elements reflects the hierarchy of the internal arrangement, with different heights for different spaces.
Due to the slope of the land the building is arranged on two levels. The first is the entrance level, with the living room, dining room, kitchen, a small bath and two large loggias. The smaller lower level contains two bedrooms and two baths.
The linear positioning of the two splayed walls – repeated on both levels – does not interfere with the fluidity of the spaces, especially at the entrance level where the two large volumes bordered by the walls are of different heights. The intention to create a unified space is evident, and also reinforced by the free positioning of the internal staircase.
The window frames – in glass, aluminium and artificial wood veneer – are placed between the walls, like diaphragms, accentuating the sensation of lightness and reinforcing the perception of the linear form of the walls, the generating elements of the entire design.

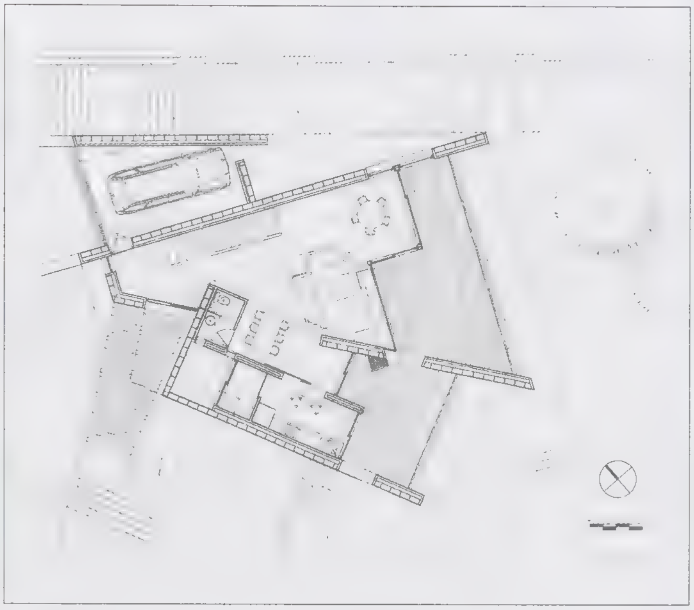






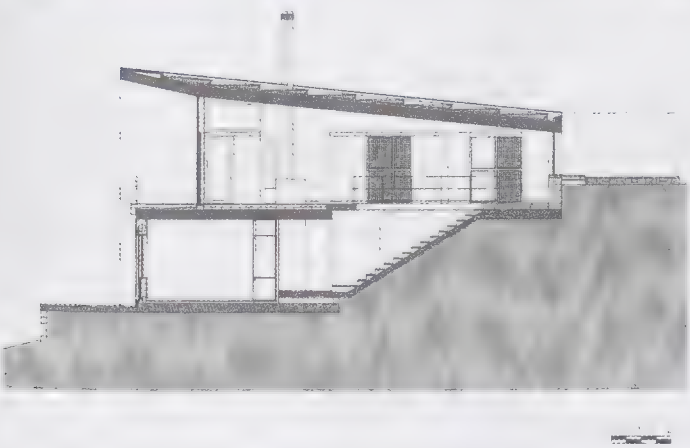












Viste interne ed esterne.
Planimetria di localizzazione.
Piante dei piani terreno e primo e sezione.

Interior and exterior views.
Site plan.
Ground floor and first floor plans and section.

Hans-Otto-Theater, Potsdam, Deutschland
1996

Gottfried Böhm

coll.: Stephan Böhm, Maria Mocanu, Franz Kilian, Markus Lücker, Federico Valda, Moustafa Akkad



Sezione longitudinale sulla sala teatrale.

Longitudinal section through theater hall.

Hans-Otto-Theater, Potsdam, Deutschland
1996

Gottfried Böhm

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Sezione longitudinale sulla sala teatrale.

Longitudinal section through theater hall.

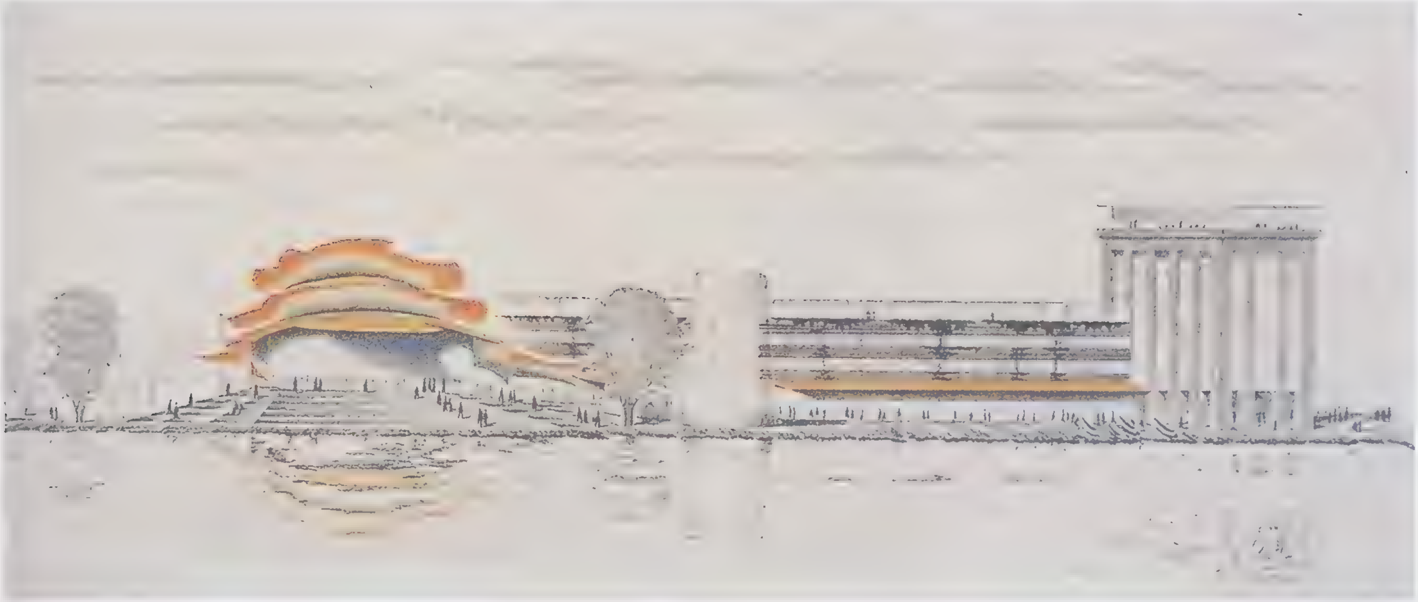
Hans-Otto-Theater, Potsdam, Germania
Gottfried Bhöm

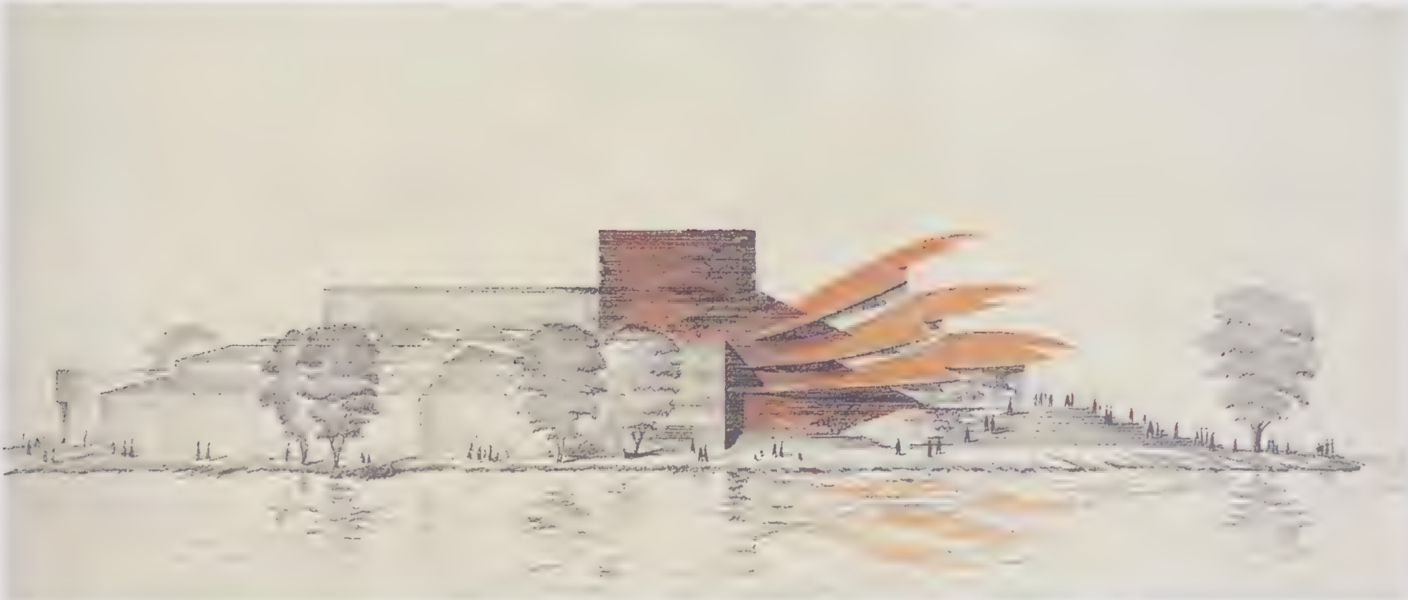
Il nuovo Teatro, con sala da 390 posti, palcoscenico per le prove, uffici della direzione, laboratori e guardaroba, sorgerà nell'area di rilevanza storica compresa tra il Parco Sanssouci e Zimmerstrasse.
La struttura esistente verrà parzialmente demolita, mentre l'ala situata lungo Zimmerstrasse, posta sotto tutela architettonica, verrà inglobata nella nuova costruzione.
L'impianto del nuovo Teatro si ispira alla tradizione architettonica di Potsdam.
Per laboratori, palcoscenico, direzione e guardaroba è previsto l'impiego di fronti con aperture semplici che nella loro composizione creino un *continuum* con l'edificio esistente.
Le parti del Teatro accessibili al pubblico, come il *foyer*, il palcoscenico per le prove e soprattutto la sala teatrale, nelle quali saranno utilizzati materiali leggeri e trasparenti, si contrappongono agli elementi più compatti della struttura esistente.
Il progetto, nel suo complesso, privilegia i rapporti visuali tra interno ed esterno: dal *foyer*, attraverso ampie vetrate, si potrà godere della vista del viale alberato e soprattutto di uno spazio a verde, una sorta di collina artificiale modellata plasticamente, che potrà fungere da secondo *foyer*.
La sala per il pubblico e il *foyer* sono sovrastati da tre coperture di cemento armato a superficie curva, rivolte e "aperte" verso il Parco Sanssouci.













Viste dei modelli di studio. Prospetti, spaccato assonometrico e planimetria.

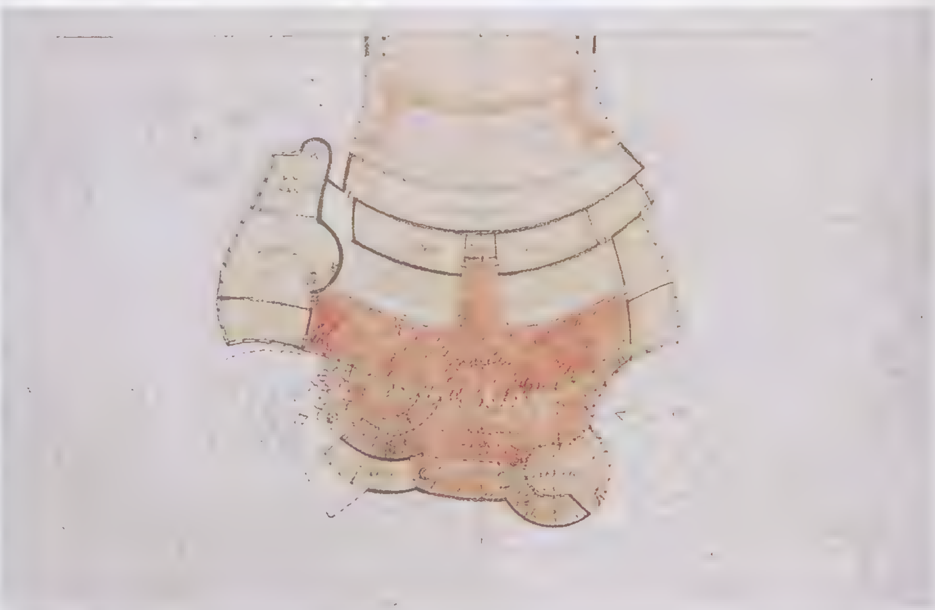
Views of the study models. Elevations, axonometric cut-away and site plan.

Hans-Otto-Theater, Potsdam, Germany
Gottfried Böhm

The new Theater, with seating for 390 spectators, a rehearsal stage, and artistic administration offices, workshops and wardrobe facilities, will be located in the historically important area between the Sanssouci Park and Zimmerstrasse.
The existing structure will be partially demolished, while the wing on Zimmerstrasse, protected by heritage regulations, will be incorporated in the new construction.
The structure of the new Theater is based on the architectural tradition of Potsdam.
The workshops, the stage, the artistic administration area and the wardrobe will have facades with simple openings, whose composition creates a sense of continuity with the existing building.
The areas of the Theater open to the public, like the foyer, *the rehearsal stage and, above all, the hall of the Theater itself, will feature light, transparent materials, in contrast with the more compact elements of the existing structure.*
The design, as a whole, encourages visual relations between the interior and the exterior: from the foyer, *large windows offer a view of the tree-lined avenue and, above all, of a green area, a sort of sculpturally modeled artificial hill, that can function as an auxiliary, open-air* foyer.
The hall for the public and the foyer *are covered with three curved reinforced concrete roofing elements, aimed and "opened" toward the Sanssouci Park.*













Disegno di studio.
Piante del piano terreno con l'ingresso e del piano secondo con la galleria.
Prospetto sull'ingresso e sezioni trasversale e longitudinale.

Study drawing.
Plans of the ground floor with the entrance and the second floor with the balcony.
Elevation of the entrance and longitudinal and cross sections.



Philarmonie in Luxembourg
1996

Gottfried Böhm

coll.: Maria Mocanu, Christofer Schroeer, Peter Krebs, Markus Lücker, Petra Klose, Stefan Abelen

Prospettiva del lato di ingresso.

Perspective view of the entrance.

Filarmonica di Lussemburgo
Gottfried Böhm

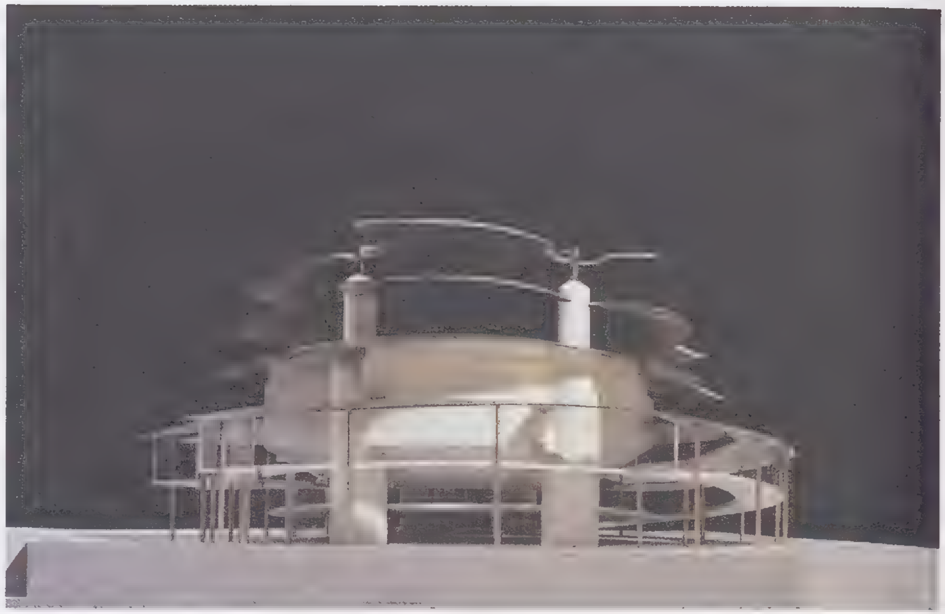
Sebbene non sia facile definire il rapporto esistente tra musica e architettura, vorremmo che esso trasparisse dal nostro progetto per la Filarmonica di Lussemburgo.
Il complesso si inserisce nel paesaggio urbano ripartendo l'ampia piazza circostante in aree di diverse dimensioni, senza tuttavia alterarne la percezione come spazio unitario. La trasparenza di ampie parti dell'edificio, costituito da due sale che poggiano su sei elementi a torre all'interno dei quali si trovano le rampe di scale che collegano i vari livelli, rafforza l'unitarietà della piazza.
L'edificio si articola in due corpi di differenti dimensioni collegati da *foyer* e ambienti di comunicazione multipiano vetrati, con rampe di scale, scale mobili e ascensori. In quello più grande, a sud, si trova l'Auditorium, mentre nell'altro, a nord, si trova la Sala per la musica da camera.
L'Auditorium ha una copertura a "gusci" sovrapposti dei quali il primo, relativamente basso per garantire una resa acustica ottimale, in quanto parzialmente vetrato permette la vista di quelli sovrastanti, per cui volumetria e illuminazione risultano amplificate. Questi "gusci", illuminati prima degli eventi musicali e durante le pause, attireranno l'attenzione del pubblico anche dalla piazza esterna.
Dall'ingresso principale, situato sul lato nord dell'edificio, si accede ad uno spazio di attesa ed alla biglietteria, collegati alla *hall* centrale – accessibile anche da un altro ingresso, situato a sud – nella quale si trovano il banco informazioni, il guardaroba, i servizi e la videoteca. Gli ingressi per gli artisti e lo *staff* tecnico sono invece disposti, rispettivamente, sui lati orientale e occidentale dell'edificio. In quest'area verranno collocati anche i guardaroba per il personale e una parte degli uffici amministrativi.
Al primo piano, nel settore meridionale si trovano le sale prova, la direzione artistica della Filarmonica e i camerini per direttori d'orchestra e solisti; nel settore settentrionale, sotto la Sala per la musica da camera, si trovano i camerini per orchestrali e coristi. Tra queste due aree sono collocati i *foyer* e gli spazi di attesa per gli artisti, dai quali è possibile accedere direttamente alle sale attraverso scale interne.
Entrambe le sale si trovano al secondo piano, il più importante dell'edificio. La pianta dell'Auditorium ha conformazione mista – rettangolare e semicircolare – e i singoli settori sono estremamente articolati in termini spaziali, differenziandosi notevolmente anche in altezza. Ognuno di essi è collegato al *foyer* principale con un proprio ingresso, scale o rampe. Abbiamo optato per questo impianto sia perché figurativamente più suggestivo, sia per gli indubbi vantaggi acustici derivanti da sporgenze e rientranze delle pareti dei singoli settori. Le sale di regia, nella zona posteriore dell'Auditorium, sono disposte su due livelli. L'Auditorium è circondato da una corona di *foyer*, nei quali si trovano bar e banchi di vendita.
La Sala per la musica da camera, di pianta semicircolare, è accessibile dal *foyer* principale.
L'edificio presenta anche un accesso diretto dal *garage* sotterraneo, situato sotto il percorso che dall'ingresso principale sale gradatamente verso il *foyer* del livello superiore. Da quest'ultimo, raggiungibile anche con due ascensori e una scala mobile, si gode una vista a 360 gradi verso l'esterno.

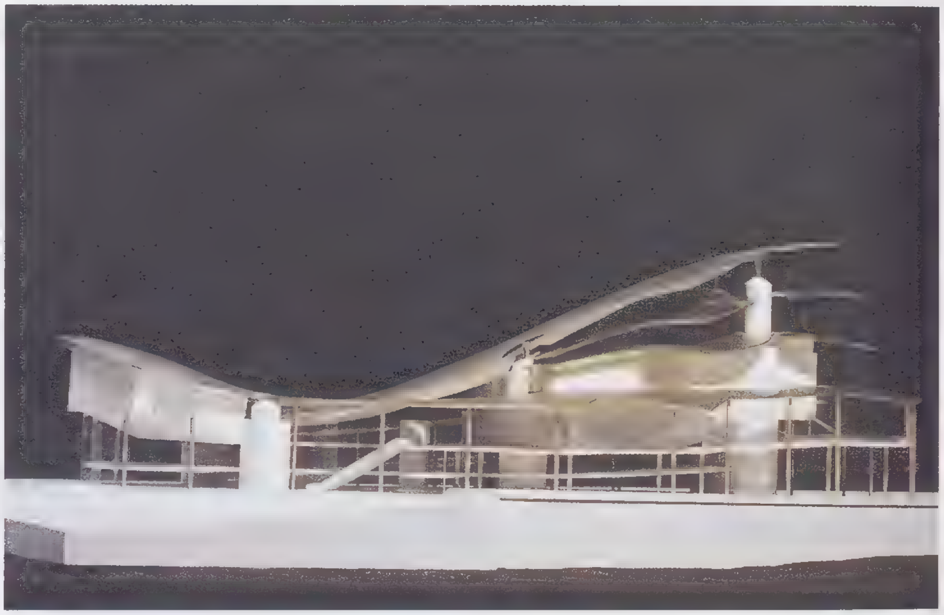
Philharmonic Hall of Luxembourg
Gottfried Böhm

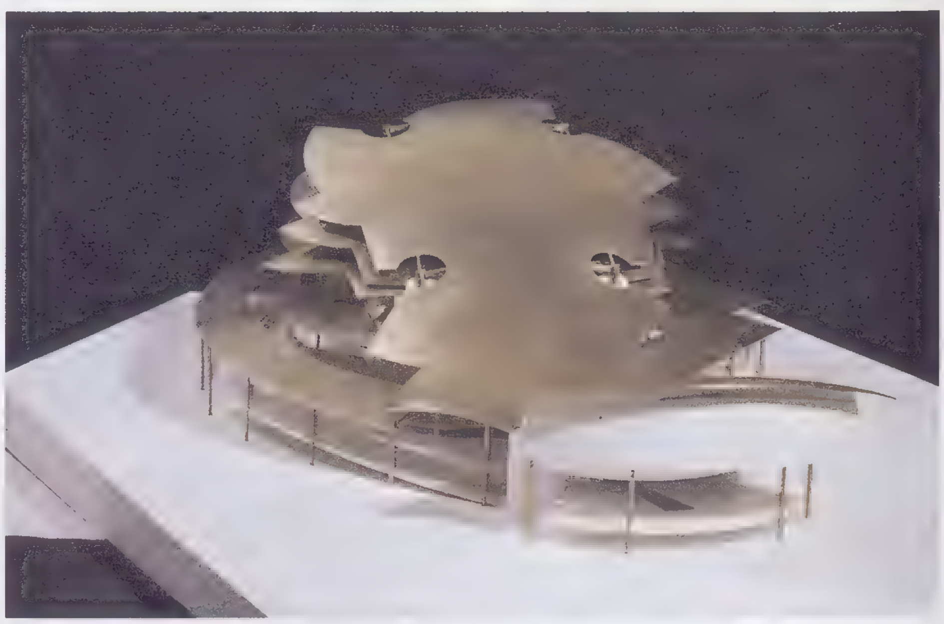
Although it is far from easy to define the relationship that exists between music and architecture, we hope that it will somehow be evident in our design for the Philharmonic Hall of Luxembourg.
The complex takes its place in the urban landscape by dividing the large surrounding square into spaces of different sizes, without altering the perception of the square as a unified place. The transparency of large portions of the edifice, composed of two halls supported by six towers containing the stairwells, reinforces the unified appearance of the square.
The building is subdivided into two volumes of different sizes, connected by foyers *and multilevel access spaces with staircases, escalators and elevators. The larger volume, to the south, contains the Auditorium, while the smaller volume, to the north, contains the Hall for chamber music.*
The Auditorium has a roofing of layered "shells". The inner "shell", designed for optimal acoustic performance, has relatively low height but, being partially glazed, offers a view of the higher shells that creates an effect of spaciousness and luminosity. These "shells", which are illuminated before the concerts and during the intermissions, also attract the attention of passers-by in the external square.
From the main entrance, located on the northern side of the building, access is provided to a waiting area and the box office, which are connected to the central hall – also accessible from another entrance, to the south – which contains the information counter, the wardrobe, rest rooms and a video archive. The entrances for the performers and the technical staff, on the other hand, are located, respectively, on the eastern and western sides of the building. These areas will also contain the staff wardrobe and a part of the administration offices.
On the first floor, the southern sector contains the rehearsal studios, the artistic administration of the Philharmonic and the dressing rooms for the conductors and soloists; the southern sector, beneath the Hall for chamber music, contains the dressing rooms for the musicians and the chorus. Between these two areas there are foyers *and waiting areas for the performers, offering direct access to the halls by means of internal staircases. Both the concert halls are located on the second floor, which is the most important of the building. The plan of the Auditorium has a hybrid form – rectangular and semicircular – and the individual sectors are extremely varied in spatial terms, including significant variations in height. Each sector is connected to the main* foyer *by means of its own entrance, staircase or ramp. We have selected this type of layout because it is more suggestive, in figurative terms, and because of the indubitable acoustic advantages caused by the protrusions and recessings of the walls of the individual sectors. The spaces for the direction, in the rear zone of the Auditorium, are arranged on two levels. The Auditorium is surrounded by a series of* foyers, *containing bar areas and retail spaces.*
The Hall for chamber music, with a semicircular plan, is accessed from the main foyer.
The building also has direct access from the underground garage, situated below the accessway that ascends from the main entrance to the foyer *of the upper level. From the* foyer, *which can also be reached by means of two elevators and an escalator, visitors can enjoy a 360-degree view of the surrounding cityscape.*

Viste del modello.
Sezioni longitudinale e trasversale e pianta piano terreno

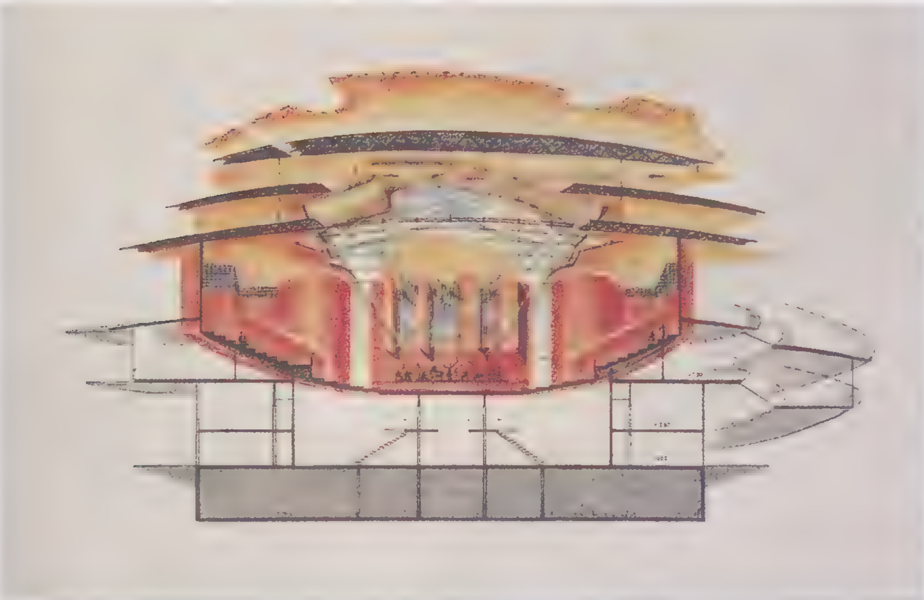
Views of the model.
Longitudinal and cross sections and ground floor plan.

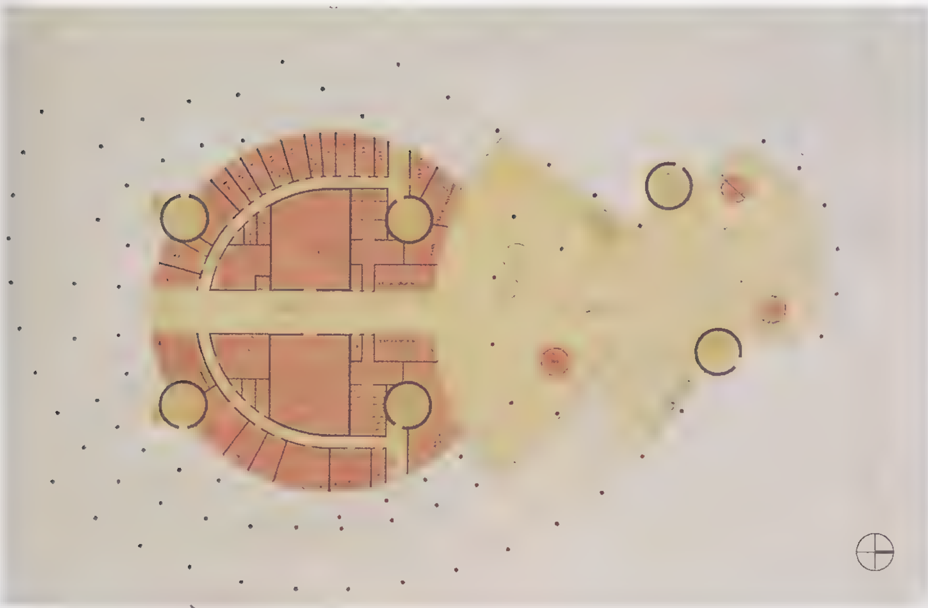






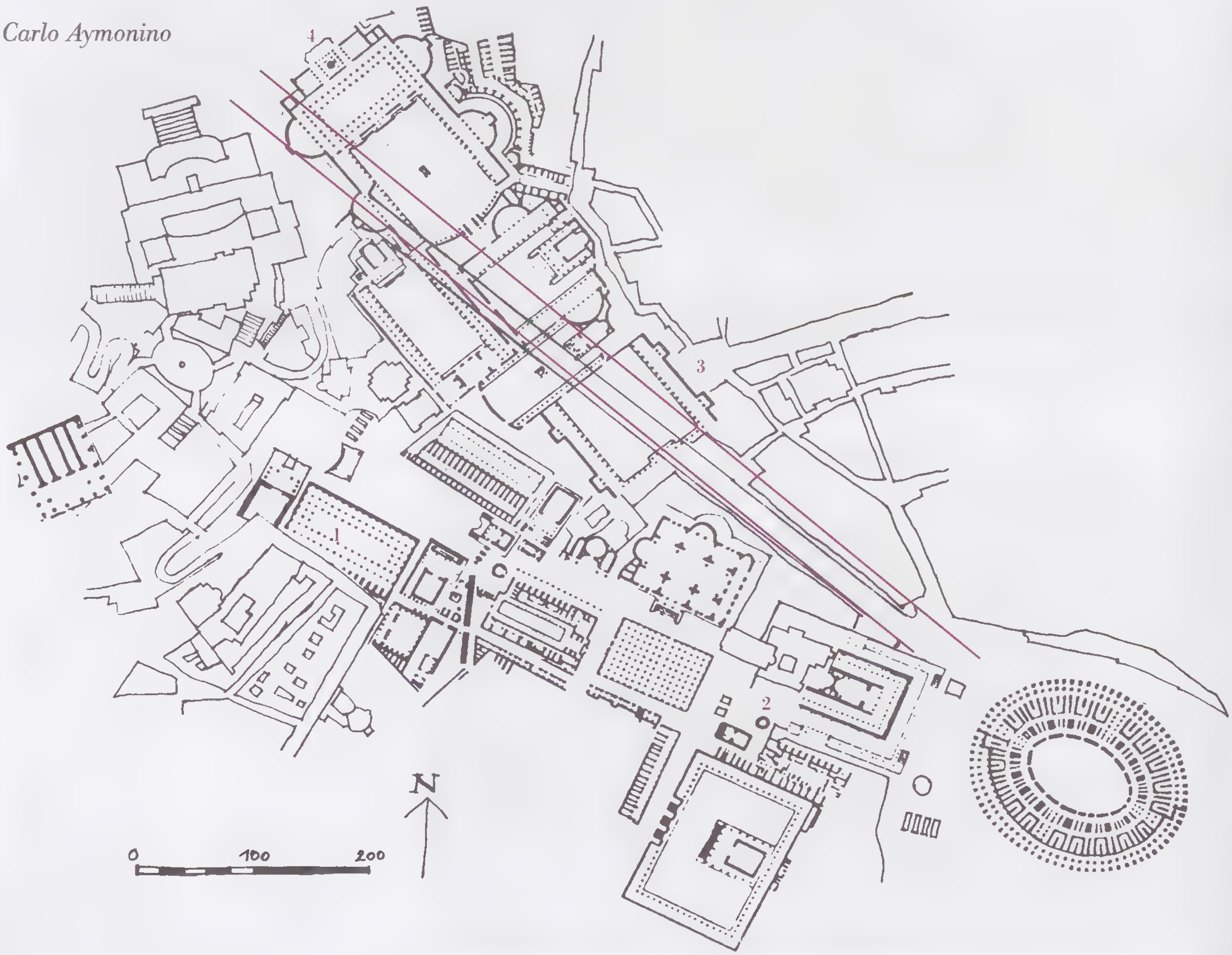






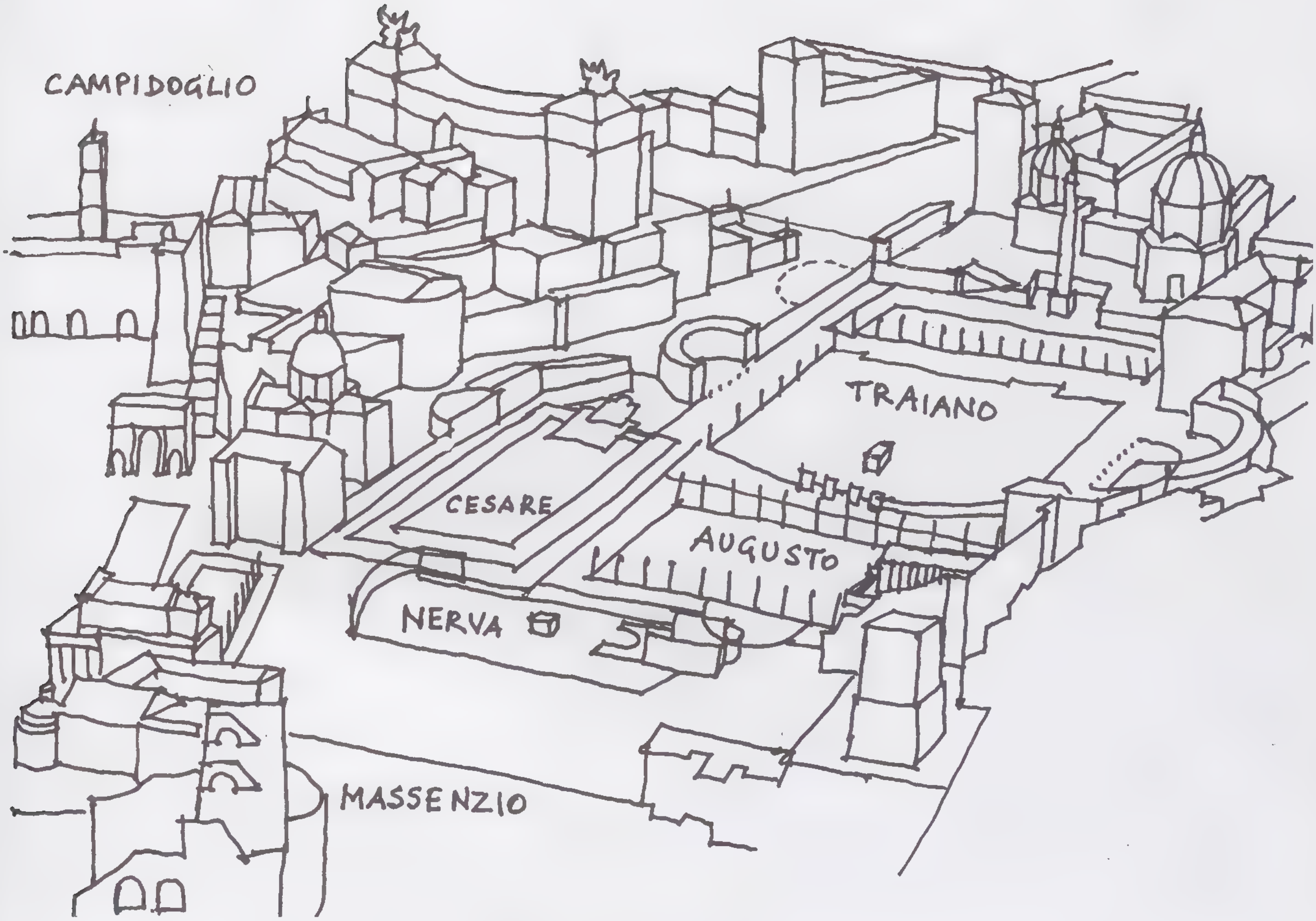
Progetto di sistemazione dell'area dei Fori, Roma, Italia
1999

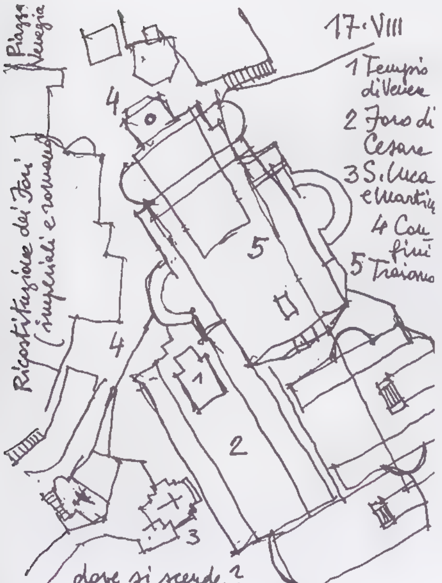
Carlo Aymonino



Disegni dell'area dei Fori Imperiali e Romano con indicati in rosso la Via dei Fori Imperiali e i punti di ingresso: 1) da Via del Foro Romano; 2) dal Colosseo; 3) da Via Cavour; 4) da Piazza Venezia.
Appunti di progetto per la ricostituzione dei Fori Imperiali e Romano: 1) Tempio di Venere; 2) Foro di Cesare; 3) Chiesa dei Santi Luca e Martina; 4) confini; 5) Foro di Traiano.

Drawings of the Imperial and Roman Forums area with the indication in red of the Via dei Fori Imperiali and of the entrances:
1) from Via del Foro Romano; 2) from the Coliseum; 3) from Via Cavour; 4) from Piazza Venezia.
Project notes for the ordering of the Imperial and Roman Forums: 1) Venus Temple; 2) Ceasar Forum; 3) Santi Luca e Martina Church; 4) boundaries; 5) Trajan Forum.


CAMPIDOGLIO
TRAIANO
CESARE
AUGUSTO
NERVA
MASSENZIO


17·VIII
1 Tempio di Venere
2 Foro di Cesare
3 S. Luca e Martina
4 Confini
5 Traiano
Piazza Venezia
Ricostituzione dei Fori (imperiali e romano)
dove si scende?

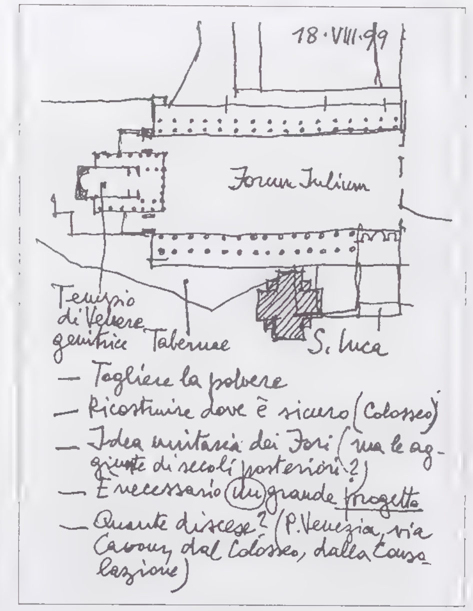
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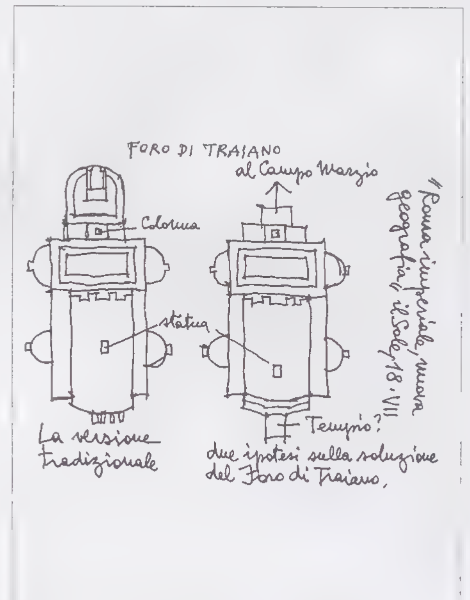
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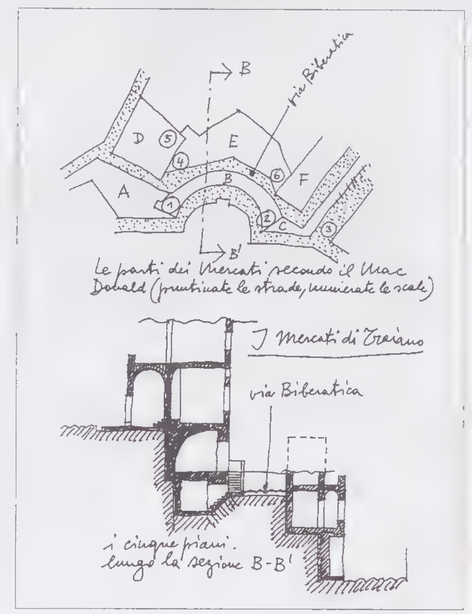
Project for the ordering of the Forums area, Rome, Italy
Carlo Aymonino

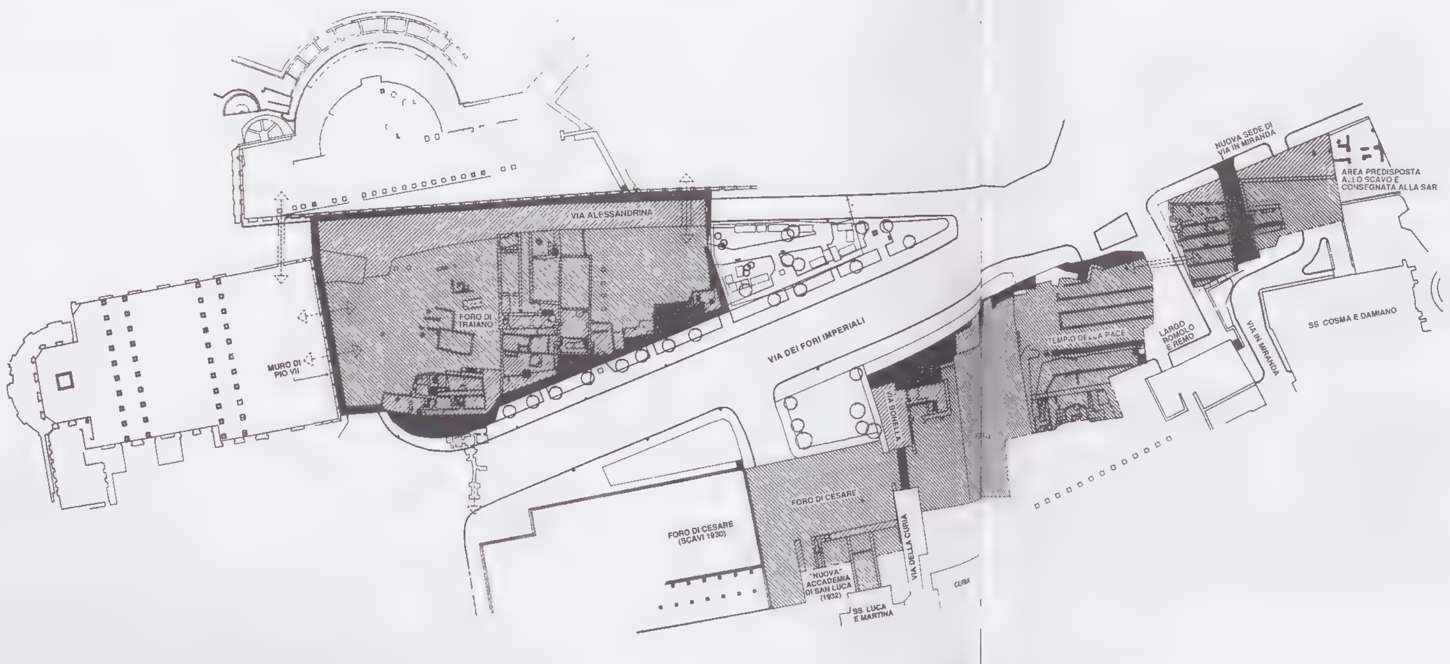
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Appunti di progetto.

Plan of the new ordering of the excavation areas, Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali, City of Rome, july 1999.
Project notes.

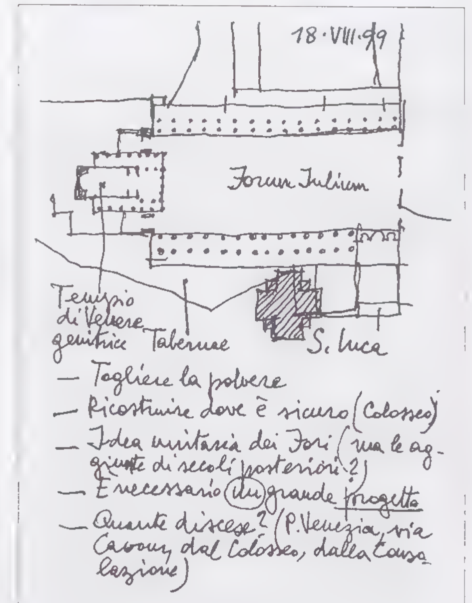
Progetto di sistemazione dell'area dei Fori, Roma, Italia
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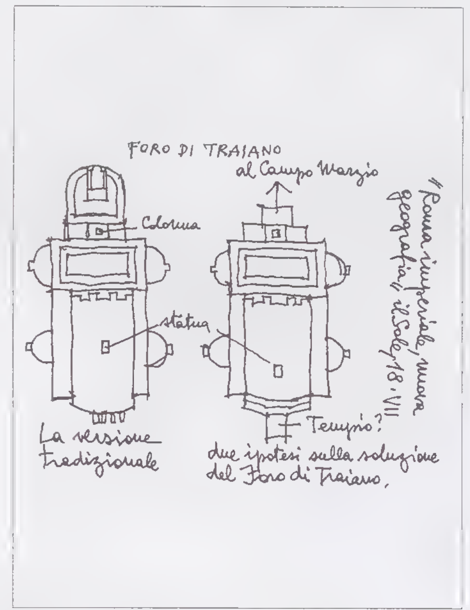
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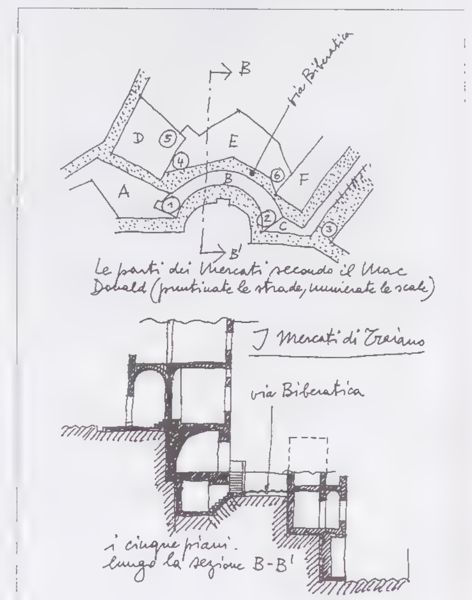
Project for the ordering of the Forums area, Rome, Italy
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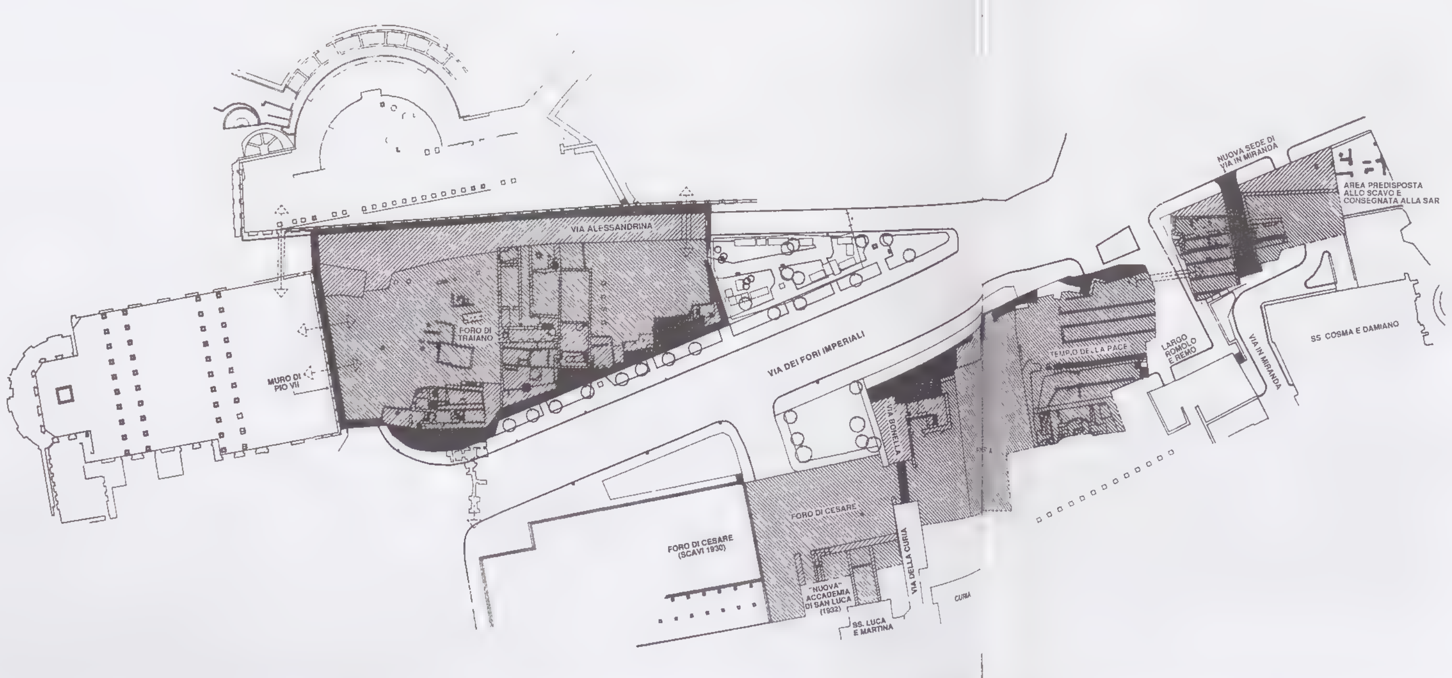
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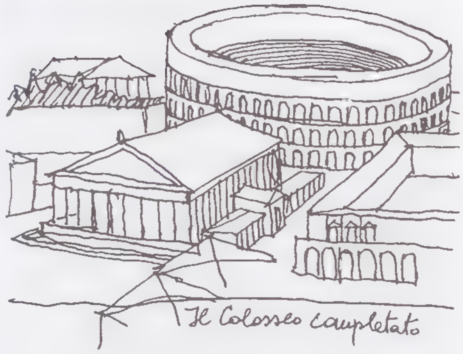




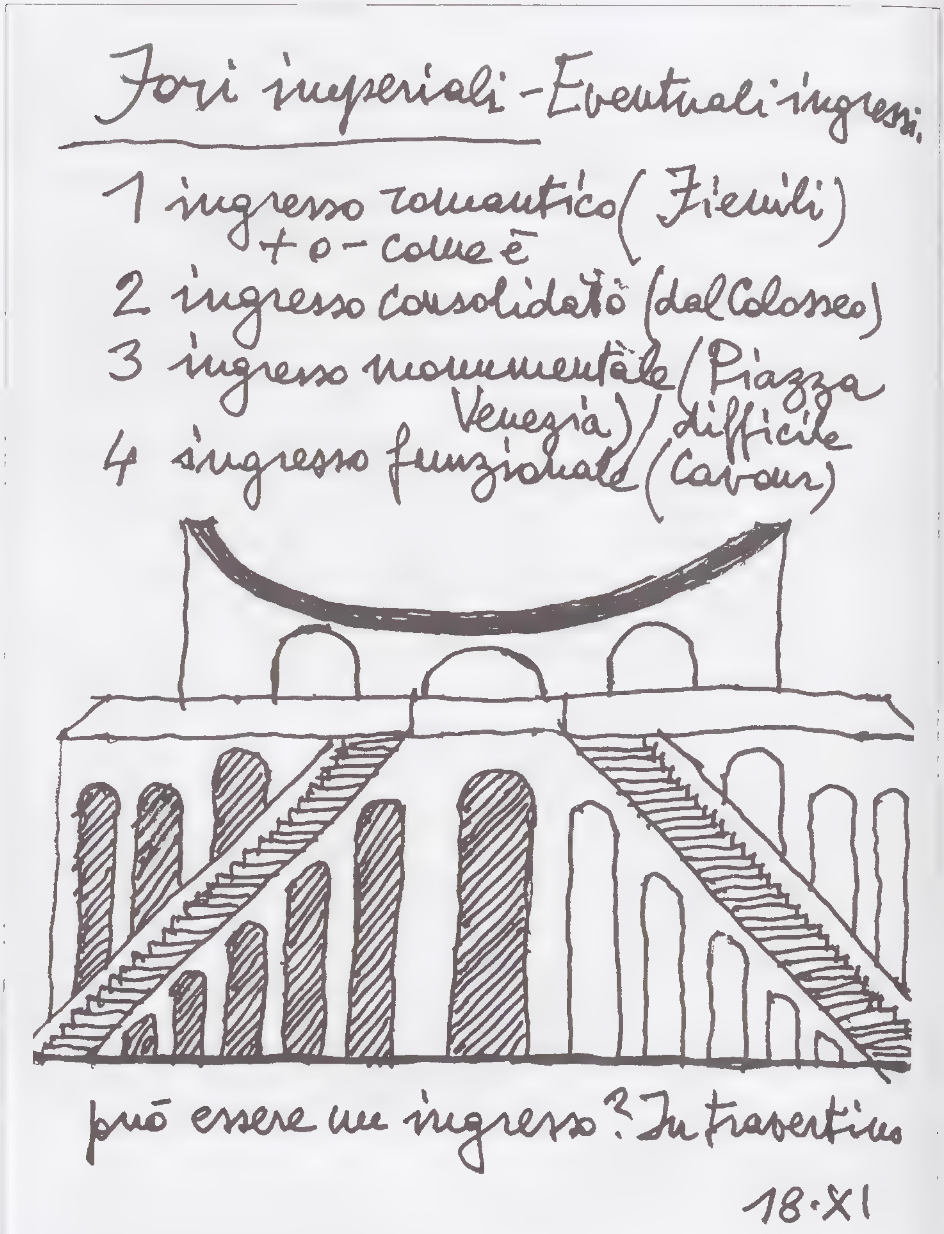


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Proviamo a esaminarli uno per uno.

È stato detto – ed è facile crederci – che è l'area archeologica più grande del mondo in pieno centro storico. Da qui nasce l'idea di unificarla nella sua interezza, abolendo gradualmente tutti i "segni" lasciati negli ultimi due secoli. (La soluzione del traffico è già avviata, almeno parzialmente, con il rendere pedonale l'intera area nelle giornate di sabato e di domenica).

Il dislivello è forse il problema più complesso, soprattutto dalla parte di piazza Venezia e via Cavour, e tenuto conto che l'intera area – con la sua estensione del Palatino – debba essere

1

percorribile e fruibile da parte di tutti come una qualsiasi altra "parte di città" sia pure archeologica.

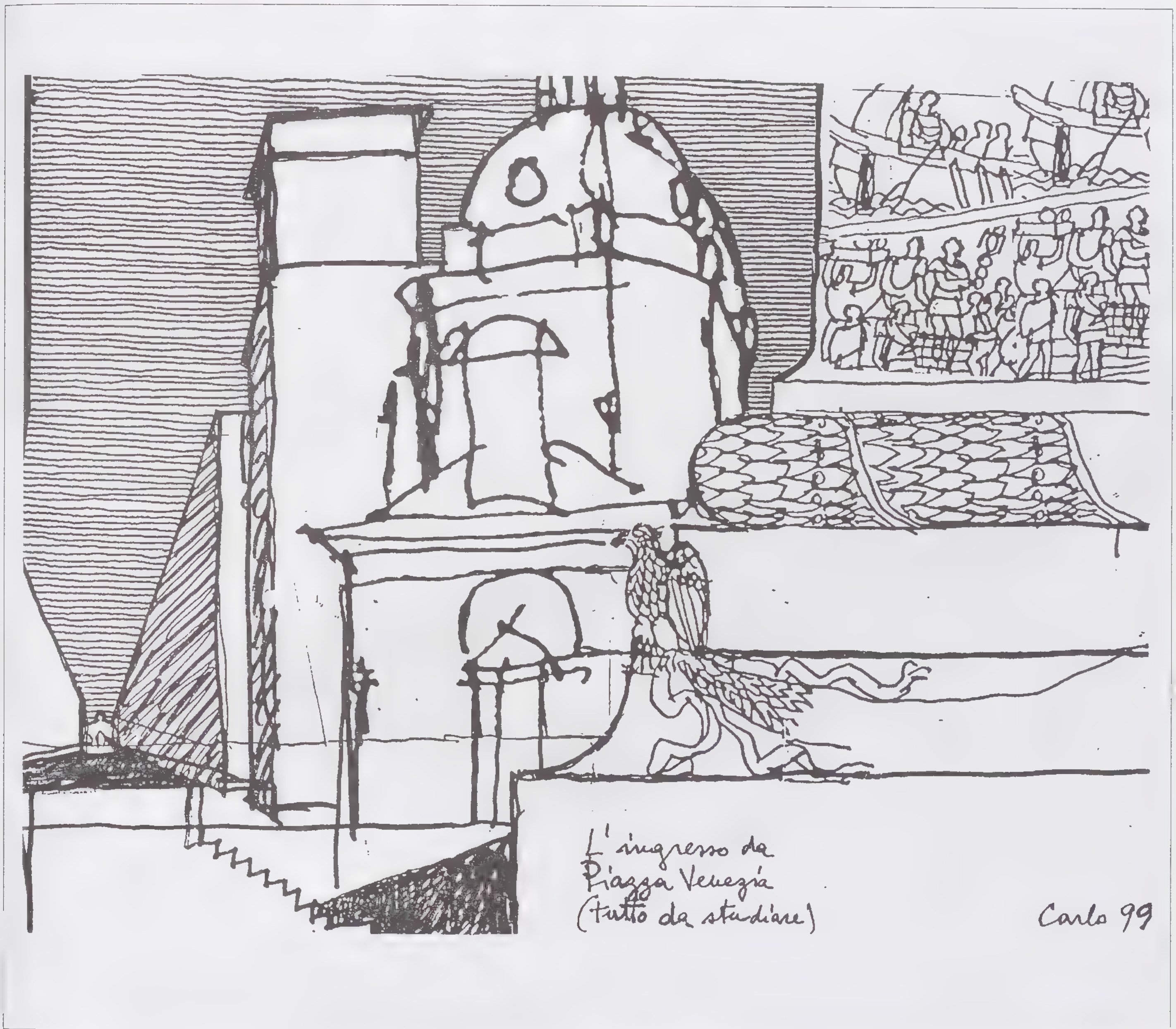
Date le caratteristiche assai differenziate della città all'intorno, si è pensato – in via di prima approssimazione – di differenziare i quattro ingressi (o discese) a seconda del luogo in cui si trovano.

Partendo da via del Foro Romano (1) si potrebbe lasciare l'attuale aspetto romantico dell'ingresso, a ricordo dell'attuale "carattere" dei resti antichi, e cioè acanti, sassi sparsi, ricostruzioni parzialissime ecc. Tenuto conto soprattutto del luogo, abbastanza appartato all'esterno e all'interno dell'area.

Vi è poi un ingresso consolidato, quello dal lato del Colosseo, assai frequentato e in ottima posizione sia per proseguire nei Fori, sia per salire al Palatino. Si tratterà di escogitare un "segnale" architettonico più incisivo e di studiare i rapporti (di percorso e di valorizzazione con il Colosseo) (2).

L'ingresso al termine della via Cavour (3) è molto importante per la sua centralità ma anche per l'attraversamento dell'area. Praticamente è l'ingresso nel "cuore" dei Fori ed è utile e necessario che esso sia sottolineato da un "segnale"

2



simile a quello appena terminato, contenente tutte le informazioni culturali, le pubblicazioni, lo svago di pertinenza.

Infine l'ingresso più difficile, quello su piazza Venezia (4), vero e proprio "monumento" che indichi l'ingresso alla zona dei Fori imperiali e del Foro romano, tenuto conto anche della presenza della colonna traiana.

Da ultimo, e non è il problema minore, vi è la necessità di studiare e dare volto a tutta l'area archeologica, in modo da garantirne la comprensibilità delle singole parti, la unitarietà dell'insieme e soprattutto i modi della rappresentazione, che non può più essere soltanto di tecnica.

Ecco allora che sorgono una serie di nuovi interrogativi, collegati al tema e utili per la soluzione.

Non c'è verde – perlomeno in modo determinante; ci sono invece molti "avanzi archeologici" che possono e devono essere completati, almeno parzialmente, per rendere l'area più comprensibile al pubblico; da ultimo tutta una serie di aggiunte — dall'illuminazione al ristoro, alla sosta, possibilmente all'ombra.

A tutti gli interessati buon lavoro.

Carlo Aymonino.

3

Appunti di progetto per i nuovi ingressi all'area dei Fori.

Project notes for the new entrances to the Forums area.



Progetto per l'Isola dei Granai, Danzica, Polonia
1989

Gianugo Polesello

con/with: Armando Dal Fabbro, Maroun El Daccache, Raimund Fein, Massimo Iori, Serena Maffioletti, Marina Montuori, Patrizia Valle

Progetto per la ricostruzione dei Souk, Beirut, Libano
1994

Gianugo Polesello

con/with: Piotr Barbarewicz, Armando Dal Fabbro Massimo Iori, Francesco Polesello, Giovanni B. Polesello







Progetto per l'Isola dei Granai,
Danzica, 1989.
Planimetria generale, viste del modello
e collage.

Project for the Island of Granaries,
Danzig, 1989.
Site plan, views of the model and collage.

Trasferibilità, trasformazioni.
Due casi di simbiosi tra antico e nuovo
Gianugo Polesello



Progetto per l'Isola dei Granai,
Danzica, 1989.
Planimetrie dello stato di fatto e di progetto.

Project for the Island of Granaries,
Danzig, 1989.
Plans of the existing situation and project.

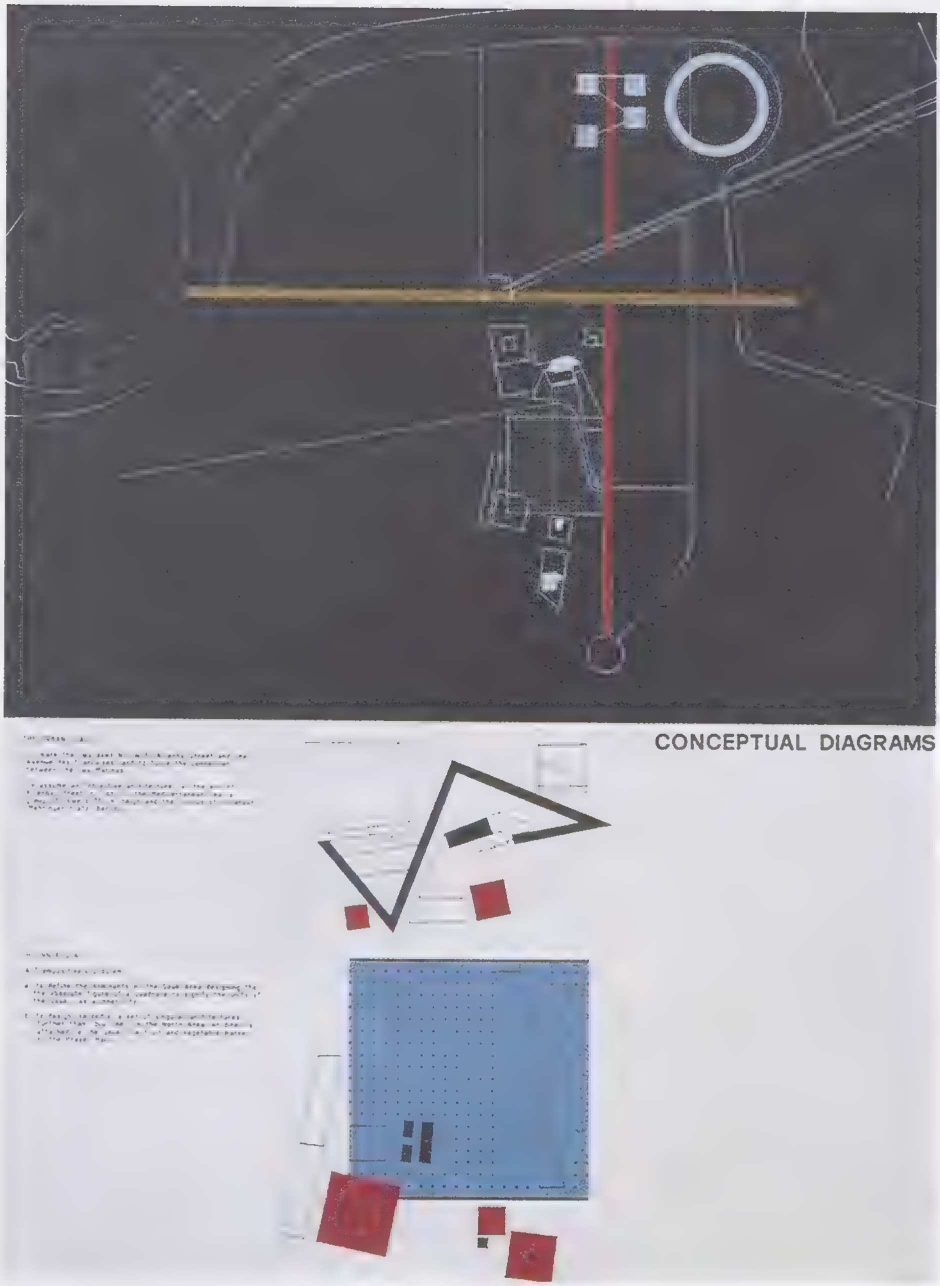
L'Isola dei Granai a Danzica nel 1989 stava ancora nelle condizioni di distruzione in cui era alla fine della Seconda guerra mondiale. Danzica era stata ricostruita nella parte antica, all'interno dei bastioni, e nella parte antica era stato utilizzato un criterio "duro", di distinzione tra esterno ed interno delle architetture, con ricostruzione filologica degli esterni e con costruzione separata, funzionalmente "moderna" degli edifici che stavano dietro le facciate.
Ma il nuovo non riguardava solo il costruito relativo ai corpi di fabbrica, rispettosi della profondità, delle altezze, delle norme per le nuove costruzioni, eccetera, secondo gli *standard* edilizi applicati nella nuova democrazia polacca.
Con gli interni degli isolati trasformati in giardini, in spazi aperti, eccetera.
Una decisione crudele, opposta a quella tenuta per Varsavia, dove tutto era stato ricostruito "com'era e dov'era". Almeno per la parte più antica, molto limitata.
Varsavia e Danzica hanno rappresentato i corni di un dilemma, tra "conservazionisti" (i conservatori di tutto, tendenzialmente, del "com'era e dov'era" dentro la grande città ottocentesca e dentro la nuova area metropolitana al centro della nuova Polonia) ed i "nuovi".
Ma Varsavia non era solo nell'episodio dello *Stari Miasto*, la città vecchia. Era anche l'autostrada est-ovest, che passava (e passa) dentro la città, era il grande teatro italiano, il grattacielo "staliniano" nei pressi della stazione ferroviaria, eccetera.
La ricostruzione postbellica, in Polonia, è stata anche, e soprattutto, una ricostruzione di un'architettura "nazionale", in qualche modo appartenente alla categoria del "nazionale-popolare" immesso in una grande, importante tradizione accademica.
Questa, in ogni modo, era la condizione storica della cultura polacca e dello stato fisico delle maggiori città: Danzica era un mare di macerie, la cattedrale inclusa, Varsavia stava in una condizione simile.
L'Isola dei Granai, a Danzica, rappresentava una condizione atipica: non era un'area abitativa, era un "reperto" collocato dentro l'area urbana, apparteneva ad uno stadio economico antico, oramai abbandonato, molto vasto, molto grande.
Era, sostanzialmente, un documento legato alla storia della cultura materiale, ma di dimensioni fisiche tali da essere insostenibile una sua riproposizione. Non era pensabile riproporla come "Isola dei Granai". Che fare? La domanda era molto aperta, luogo di una "discussione"; riguardava il "che fare", certamente, ma un "che fare" che comprendesse figure architettoniche, il rapporto con l'area più antica, con il centro, con la città murata, con il porto. Riguardava,

in sostanza, il rapporto con la città e, quindi, il senso di queste nuove figure.
Sul rapporto con la "storia-da-scrivere", sull'autonomia, come obbligo estetico-morale, della nuova architettura, come nuova storia, eccetera, è già stato detto, proposto, scritto, disegnato, eccetera.
La storia di questo progetto, in forma esplicita, il quadro di una situazione intellettuale/poetica, rappresenta una lunga riflessione ed una dichiarazione.
Un altro progetto (ancora conseguente ad eventi bellici) ricordo come vicino a questo: la ricostruzione dei Souk di Beirut, in Libano. Entrambi, Danzica e Beirut, sono luoghi di una condizione eccezionale, segnati eccezionalmente nella storia, prodotti della distruzione e della forza della guerra.
E, in queste condizioni, rievocavano storie proprie, nazionali o individuali, constatazioni o rievocazioni, dubbi, dolore, reazioni.
Ma soprattutto ponevano sostanzialmente una questione che era sempre stata presente nell'origine del "Movimento Moderno" in Europa: il rapporto tra architettura e città, la "dimensione architettonica" degli interventi nelle città e delle città. Sostanzialmente una "via architettonica" nella progettazione/costruzione delle città.
"Che fare?" diventava sostanzialmente chiaro, ma il "come fare?" s'intrecciava strettamente alla prima domanda. La prima e la seconda domanda, dunque, richiedevano una elaborazione di idee, di figure architettoniche utili, proponibili e volute.
Nella forma di risposte. Ma anche di costruzione delle domande.
Gli "sbandamenti" e la pochezza delle risposte architettoniche nella città contemporanea io credo (ancora) che venga da questo non voluto riscontro tra risposte e domande nelle forme, per entrambe, di architetture.
Due progetti "vecchi" di dieci anni (come quello per Danzica o anche quello per Beirut), efficaci, io credo, al di là delle occasioni per cui sono stati realizzati, per descrivere una riproposizione di intenzioni, di teoria che sono segnate nel nome di Le Corbusier, ma anche di Piranesi.
Il cumulare o radunare intorno alla pianta di Roma i resti della Tavola Marmorea evoca con efficacia la sola possibile constatazione dei reperti di una costruzione come "unità" nei suoi termini materiali e, nello stesso tempo, la "potenza", la fissità di un luogo. E questo, "nello stesso tempo", indica l'operazione di connessione tra l'architettura delle singole figure, delle singole architetture valutate e assunte nella loro autonoma fissità, e l'architettura del luogo dove si intende operare, attraverso questo coinvolgimento di luogo e figure.
Le Corbusier proponeva, lo ricordiamo, una non-esistenza alla pari tra l'architettura mostrata attraverso archetipi, o coincidente con essi, e luoghi fissi ridotti alla loro esistenza geografica e quindi diversa, di volta in volta, nelle forme di montagna, di collina o di pianura, indicando sostanzialmente un primato dell'architettura nella forma di figure-significati. Contro (di fatto) i condizionamenti della natura, affermando o riaffermando l'architettura come segno impresso sulla natura dalla presenza umana.
Il progetto-disegno per Danzica (ed anche quello per Beirut) proponeva, nella sostanza, questa questione della rottura e della riunificazione di una "Tavola Marmorea".
È proprio alla Tavola Marmorea di Piranesi, io credo, che si deve far riferimento, alla fissità della geografia/topografia (del Tevere, dei sette colli, eccetera) e alla "questione combinatoria" degli elementi che riproducono sui pezzi della Tavola Marmorea gli elementi/architetture che erano la città di Roma. Nel disegno di Piranesi le varie parti (città-planimetria e architetture-piante) hanno differenti scale, come se si trattasse di usare punti di stazione differenti per "vedere" due problemi e due differenti scale dentro una unica "cosa", una unica architettura.
Le due differenti scale possono alludere al diverso valore degli elementi o luoghi del progetto, della invenzione, come se si trattasse di un binomio con una parte sostanzialmente fissa, immodificabile, una sorta di regno delle stelle fisse.
È rispetto a questa parte che l'azione può essere svolta, segnando luoghi/intervento.
A Danzica tutte le architetture sono di vetro, involucrano, concludono con il vetro strutture in acciaio. Proprio secondo Paul Scheerbart. Questa può essere una prima spiegazione del tipo di architettura, dei materiali. Il discorso sull'origine della Composizione va però più lontano. In fondo Scheerbart non parla mai, non illustra il tipo dell'architettura di vetro. A me, invece, pareva che il problema di una costruzione di architetture, di più architetture nella città non potesse ripetere il "già stato". Nel caso di Danzica, granai che non ci sono più e che nessuno domanda (e forse nessuno, fra un tempo non lontano, ricorderà). Il problema, io credo e con me i miei amici che si sono cimentati nel "Seminario" del 1989, era diverso. Riguardava l'uso possibile di una porzione della città edificata/edificabile che sta nel centro, che può essere o è il centro. Con quanto, tutto quanto, la moderna architettura e la moderna urbanistica hanno proposto e propongono.
Io, noi, ho/abbiamo optato per una ricerca o, meglio, per una affermazione "figurativa", "compositiva", cimentandoci in una operazione di progettazione architettonica di grande scala. Oltre Paul Scheerbart, G.B. Piranesi e la sua "Tavola Marmorea".
I distinti pezzi della città fantastica come monumenti, come evocazioni di cose che sono state e che possono ancora radunarsi con altri pezzi, anch'essi già-stati, già-dati e apparire come in una rappresentazione di Raymond Roussell.
I pezzi, sono tutti, tra di loro, autonomi. Anche due delle nove torri che compaiono nel raduno ordinate (Firenze, il concorso per il Centro direzionale) sono diverse nel gruppo, mostrano una individualità, anche se al gruppo appartengono.
E poi gli altri "personaggi": un foro di vetro, una *boîte à miracles* (proprio una copia, un *revenant*), un luogo complesso di architetture che evoca una cittadella che comprende/cintura anche un tratto del fiume. Sono tutti individui isolati, composti in un raduno dentro un parco.
A Beirut l'azione, invece, è stata diversa, ma solo in parte diversa. Si trattava di ricostruire i Souk distrutti dalla guerra, la infelice guerra. In sostanza un caso simile a Danzica, parlando solo di esperienze autobiografiche. Esperienze, comunque, che richiamavano tutta la nostra attenzione, le nostre idee, la nostra forza inventiva sulla città. Perché, Beirut nelle sue parti più antiche, più identificanti, come una stratigrafia storica, non esisteva più. Anche la geografia della città era mutata: il rapporto col mare, le leggere scogliere, il porto... La necessità di una sintassi imponeva di dover scegliere non solo singole, distinte figure ma anche i distinti e complessi rapporti fra esse.
Affascinante, a Beirut, il principio di ordinamento e di accumulazione di tutto quello che, nella storia, è transitato attraverso la città. Come in tutte le città antiche, ma Beirut, più antica. E ora, privata dei segni poteva riproporli, evocarli, immaginarli, inventarli. Ho pensato che proprio di una invenzione si dovesse trattare. Di proporre segni (segnali) di futuro e di antico, in un mischiamento di tempi, di origini, come in una "Commedia" in cui incontrare "esistenze" che duravano fisse nei loro significati atemporali.
Naturalmente le vicissitudini avevano modificato nel profondo la natura della città, la sua figura. E, soprattutto, il rapporto col mare (che esisteva in un rapporto di necessità con la presenza della città, come se si trattasse di un luogo deputato).
L'azione era sostanzialmente descritta: costruire un polittico (ancora come a Danzica) riunendo, al di là della storia, evocando o citando, persone, cose, eccetera, come una biblioteca, dando quindi un ruolo ed un senso alle distinte parti che dovevano essere svolte. Così il complesso dei Souk poteva usare il principio di ordinamento geometrico ortogonale (capace di esistere indipendente dagli usi che degli spazi che esso definiva e involucrava venivano proposti); e così gli elementi che contornavano quella cittadella dei Souk potevano esistere o essere riproposti come "accidenti" o "trovanti"; le parti nuove, sottratte al mare, dovevano essere segnate da figure assolute e nuove, un *circus* (Scharoun, Le Corbusier...), un complesso di quattro torri (un mio progetto per Napoli di quegli anni) che costituissero un nuovo segnale sul Mediterraneo, diventassero la porta della città dal mare.

Transfer potential and transformation. Two cases of old-new symbiosis
Gianugo Polesello

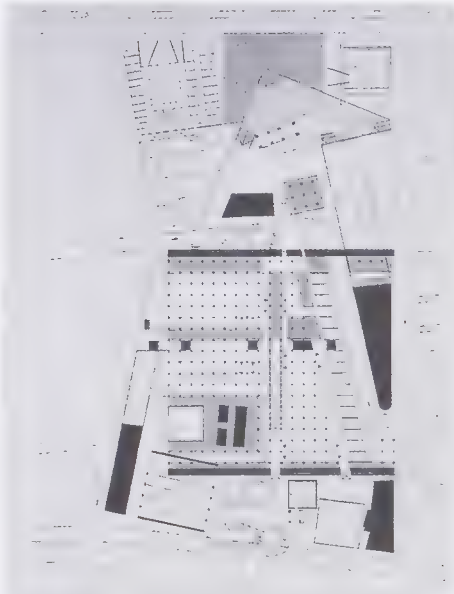
In 1989 the Island of Granaries in Danzig was still in a state of destruction, as it was left after World War II.
The older parts of Danzig, inside the bastions, had been reconstructed based on a "hard" criterion that distinguished between the exteriors and the internal parts, with a philological reconstruction of the exteriors and a separate, functionally "modern" construction of the buildings behind the facades.
The transformation went beyond the modification of the interiors. Changes were also made in depths and heights, based on the regulations for new construction, in keeping with the standards applied by the new Polish democracy. The interior parts of blocks were transformed into gardens, open spaces, etc.
A cruel decision, the opposite of the approach applied to Warsaw, where everything was reconstructed "as it was, where it was". At least in the very limited older part of the city.
Warsaw and Danzig have represented the horns of a dilemma between "conservationists" (those who want to preserve, as a rule, everything "as it was, where it was" in the 19th-century city and in the new metropolitan area at the center of the new Poland) and the proponents of the "new".
But Warsaw was not only the episode of the Stari Miasto, *the old city. It was also the east-west highway, that passed (and passes) through the city, it was the large Italian theater, the "Stalinist" skyscraper near the rail station, etc.*
The postwar reconstruction in Poland was also, and above all, a reconstruction of a "national" architecture, somehow belonging to the category of the "national-popular" inserted in a ponderous academic tradition.
This, in any case, was the historical condition of Polish culture and the physical state of its major cities: Danzig was a sea of rubble, including the cathedral, and Warsaw was in a similar predicament.
The Island of Granaries, in Danzig, represented an atypical situation: it was not a residential area, it was a "relic" located within the city limits, belonging to an ancient economic phase, by now abandoned, but nevertheless very vast indeed.
It was, in substance, a document linked to the history of material culture, but also far too large to be re-proposed. It couldn't possibly be renewed as the "Island of the Granaries". So what was to be done?
This was a very open question, leading to a "discussion"; a discussion of "what to do", but also of architectural figures, the relationship with the older parts of the city, the center, the walled city, the port. It had to do, in substance, with the relationship with the city and, therefore, with the meaning of these new figures.
Much has already been said, proposed, written, designed regarding the relationship with the "history to be written", on the autonomy, as an aesthetic-moral obligation, of the new architecture, as new history, etc.
The story of this project, explicitly, as the picture of an intellectual/poetic situation, represents a lengthy reflection, and a declaration.
I am reminded of another project (once again, the result of wartime events) that is similar: the reconstruction of the Suqs in Beirut, Lebanon. Both cities, Danzig and Beirut, are exceptional places, marked by history, by the destruction and force of war.
And, in these conditions, they also evoked their own histories, national and individual, awareness and claims, doubts, suffering, reactions.
But above all they seem, in substance, to pose a question that has always been present in the origins of the "Modern Movement" in Europe: that of the relationship between architecture and the city, the "architectural dimension" of interventions in cities. In other words, that of an "architectural path" in the design/construction of cities.
"What should be done?" became quite clear, but "how to do it?" was also an integral part of the problem. Both these questions, in any case, required a development of ideas, of useful, feasible, desirable architectural figures. In the form of answers. But also of the construction of questions.
The disorder and poverty of the architectural responses to the contemporary city is the result, I (still) believe, of this undesired correspondence between responses and questions in the forms of architecture.
Two projects that are ten years "old" (like that of Danzig or that of Beirut) can be effective, I believe, beyond the specific reasons of their implementation, to describe a re-proposal of intent and theory, evoking the name of Le Corbusier, but also that of Piranesi.
The accumulation or creation of an array, around the plan of Rome, of the remains of the Marble Table evokes, very effectively, the only possible awareness of the relics of a construction as a "unity" in its material terms and, at the same time, the "potency", the fixity of a place. And this, "at the same time", indicates the operation of connection between the architecture of the single figures, of the single works of architecture assessed and assumed in their fixed autonomy, and the architecture of the place where we have decided to operate, through this reciprocal involvement of place and figures.
Le Corbusier proposed, we can recall, an equal non-existence between architecture displayed through archetypes or coinciding with them, and fixed places reduced to their geographical existence and therefore different, case by case, in the forms of the mountains, the hills, the plains. In substance, he indicated supremacy of architecture in the form of figures-meanings. Against (in practice) the conditionings of nature, affirming or reaffirming architecture's place as a sign of human presence impressed upon nature.
The project-design for Danzig (like the one for Beirut) proposed, in substance, this question of the breaking and the reunification of a "Marble Table".
I believe that we should make reference precisely to the Marble Table of Piranesi, to the fixed quality of the geography/topography of Rome (the Tiber, the seven hills, etc.) and the "combinatory question" of the elements that reproduce on the pieces of the Marble Table the architectural elements that were the city of Rome. In Piranesi's drawing the various parts (city-planimetric and architectural plans) have different scales, as if the idea were to use different vantage points to "see" two problems and two different scales within a single "thing", a single architecture.
The two different scales may allude to the different value of the elements and places of the project, of the invention, a sort of symbiosis with a substantially fixed, permanent part, a sort of kingdom of fixed stars.
This is the part where the action can be effective, marking the places of intervention.
In Danzig all the works of architecture are in glass, they are envelopes, they conclude steel structures with glass. Precisely as indicated by Paul Scheerbart.
This can be seen as an initial explanation of the type of architecture involved, the materials. But the question of the origin of the Composition goes much further. In the end, Scheerbart never talks, never illustrates the typology of glass architecture. I, on the other hand, felt that the problem of an architectural construction, of a number of such constructions in the city, could not simply repeat what has "already been". In the case of Danzig, the granaries that no longer exist, that no one desires (and that no one, perhaps, in the near future, will even remember). The problem, I believe, as do my friends who have taken part in the "Seminar" of 1989, is a different one. It has to do with the possible use of a portion of the edified or edifiable city, in its center, that can be or is its center. Using everything that has been made available to us by modern architecture and modern urbanism. Therefore I, we, have opted for a research, or perhaps a statement, that is "figurative", "compositional", delving into an operation of architectural design on a large scale.
Beyond Paul Scheerbart, G.B. Piranesi and his "Marble Table".
The separate pieces of the imaginary city as monuments, as evocations of things that have been, or that can still enter an array with other pieces, that have also already existed, are already given, as in a description by Raymond Roussell.
The pieces are all autonomous. Just as two of the nine towers that appear orderly in the array (Florence, competition for the Business Center) are different in the group, demonstrating individuality, although they

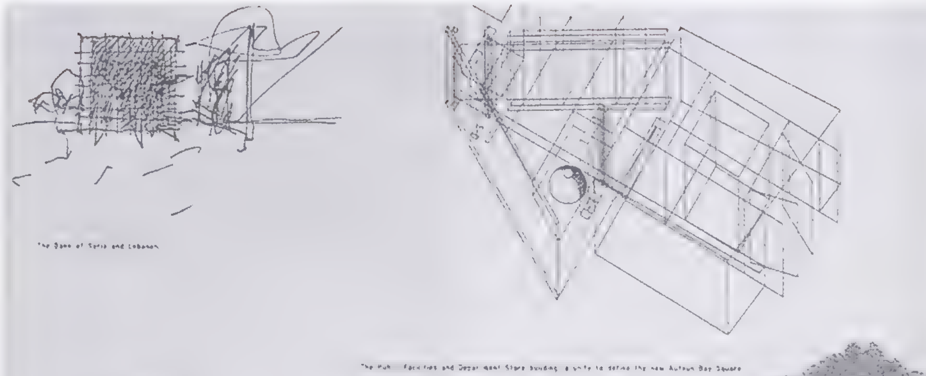
belong to the group.
And then come the other "characters": a glass forum, a boîte à miracles *(indeed a copy, a* revenant*), a complex place of architecture, evoking a citadel that encompasses/encloses also a stretch of the river. They are all isolated individuals, arranged in an array inside a park.*
In Beirut, on the other hand, the action was different, but only partially so. The idea was to reconstruct the Suqs destroyed by the war, the unfortunate war. In substance, the case is similar to that of Danzig, if only in terms of autobiographical experiences. Experiences, in any case, that required all our attention, our ideas, our capacity for invention in the city. Because Beirut, in its most ancient, most identifying parts, its historical strata, no longer existed. Even its geography had been changed: the relationship to the sea, the stony shores, the port… The need for a syntax meant the need to select not only single, distinct figures, but also the distinct, complex relationships among them.
In Beirut the principle of ordering and accumulation of everything that in history has passed through the city is very fascinating. As in all ancient cities, but Beirut is even more ancient. And now that it has been deprived of its signs, its traces, it becomes possible to reevoke them, to imagine them, to invent them. I thought that invention was precisely what was called for. The proposal of signs (signals) of the future and of antiquity, a mingling of times and origins, as in a "Comedy" in which to encounter "existences" that continue, captured in their atemporal significance. Naturally events had profoundly modified the nature of the city, its figure. And, above all, its relationship to the sea (which existed as a matter of necessity with the presence of the city, like an assigned place).
The action was essentially clear: to construct a polyptych (again, as in Danzig) for the reuniting, beyond history, evoking and citing, of persons, things, etc., as in a library, giving a role and a sense to the separate parts that had to be played.
Thus the complex of the Suqs could make use of the principle of orthogonal geometric order (capable of existing, independently from the uses proposed for the spaces it defined and enclosed); and thus the elements surrounding that citadel of the Suqs could exist, and be re-proposed, as "accidents" or "erratic blocks"; the new parts, subtracted from the sea, would have to feature absolute, new figures, a circus *(Scharoun, Le Corbusier…), a complex of four towers (one of my projects, for Naples, in those years) that would represent a new signal on the Mediterranean, becoming the gate to the city from the sea.*

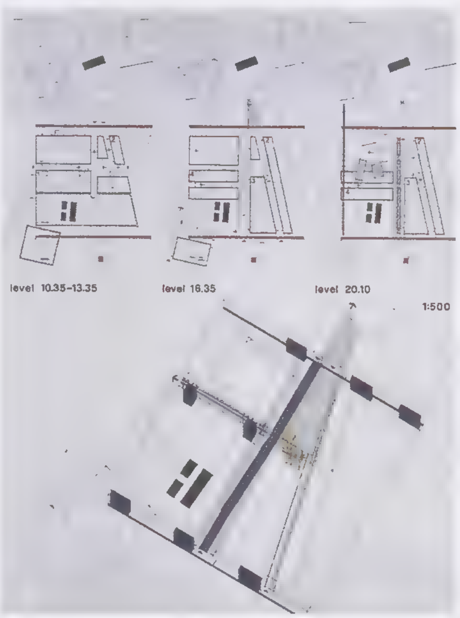


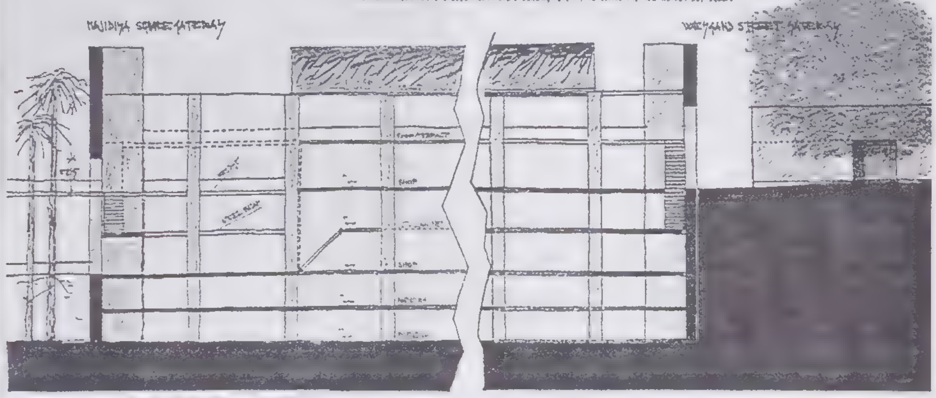
Concorso per la ricostruzione dei Souk, Beirut, 1994.
Diagrammi concettuali.

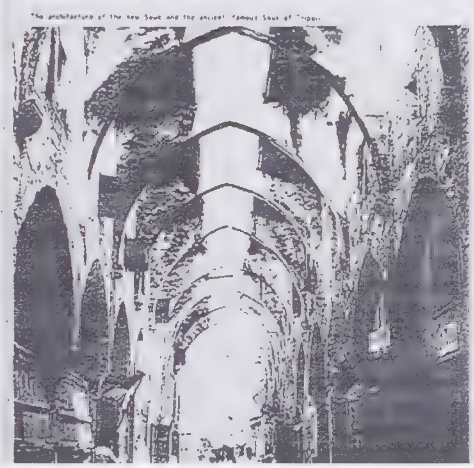
Competition for the reconstruction of the Suqs, Beirut, 1994.
Conceptual diagrams.







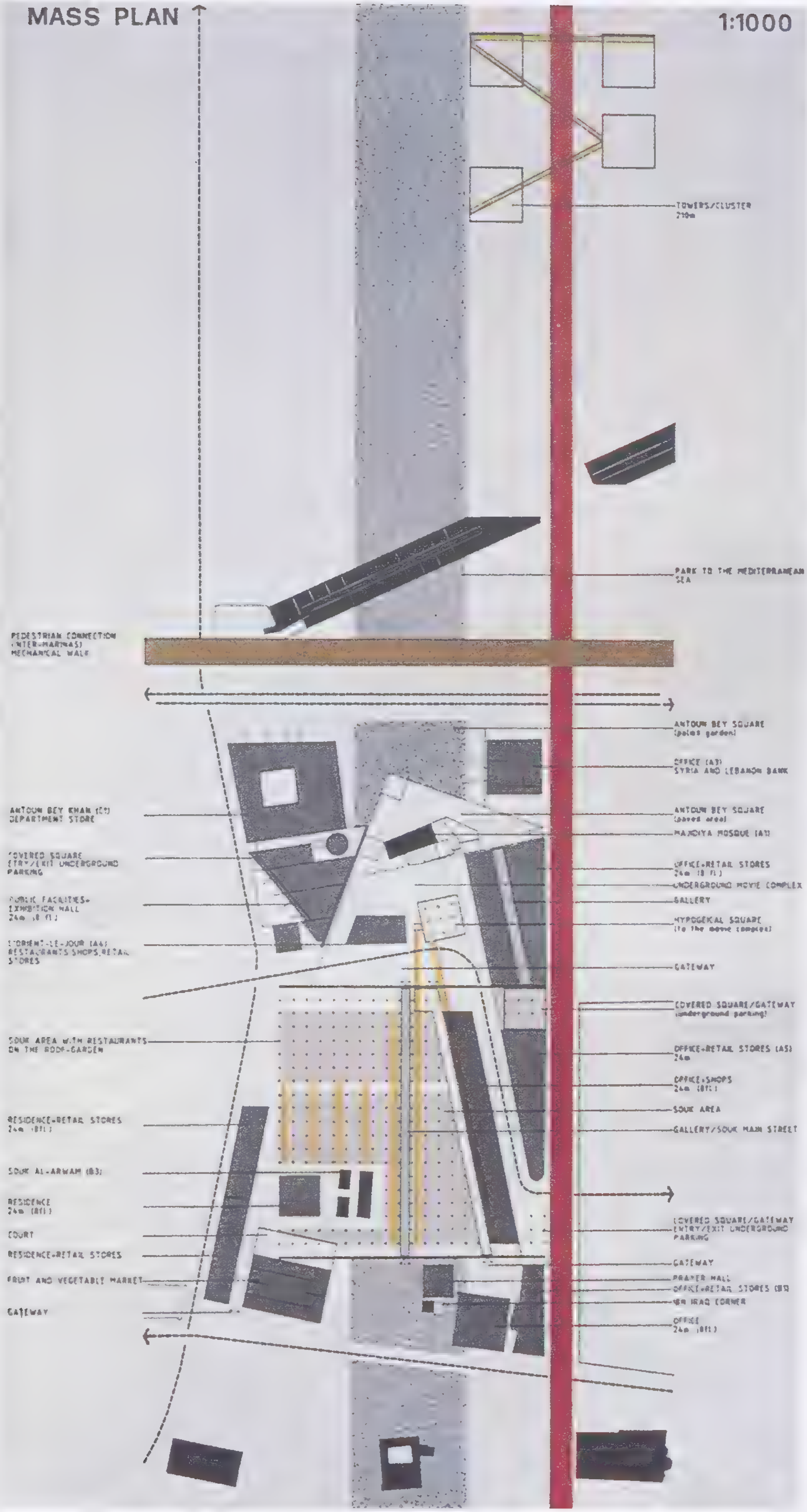


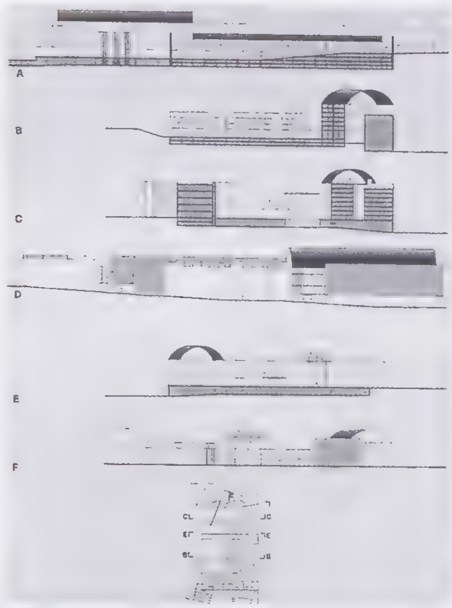


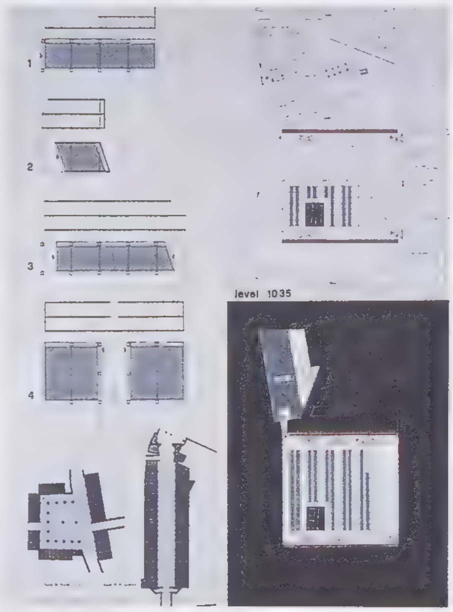


Concorso per la ricostruzione dei Souk,
Beirut, 1994.
Elaborati di concorso.

Competition for the reconstruction of the Suqs,
Beirut, 1994.
Competition plates and drawings.


MASS PLAN
1:1000
TOWERS/CLUSTER
PARK TO THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PEDESTRIAN CONNECTION
MECHANICAL WALK
ANTOUN BEY SQUARE
OFFICE (A3)
SYRIA AND LEBANON BANK
ANTOUN BEY SQUARE
ANTOUN BEY KHAN
DEPARTMENT STORE
COVERED SQUARE
PARKING
OFFICE+RETAIL STORES
UNDERGROUND MOVIE COMPLEX
GALLERY
HYPOGEICAL SQUARE
RESTAURANTS SHOPS RETAIL STORES
GATEWAY
COVERED SQUARE/GATEWAY
SOUK AREA WITH RESTAURANTS ON THE ROOF-GARDEN
OFFICE+RETAIL STORES (A5)
OFFICE+SHOPS
SOUK AREA
RESIDENCE+RETAIL STORES
GALLERY/SOUK MAIN STREET
SOUK AL-ARWAM (B3)
RESIDENCE
COVERED SQUARE/GATEWAY
ENTRY/EXIT UNDERGROUND PARKING
COURT
RESIDENCE+RETAIL STORES
GATEWAY
PRAYER HALL
FRUIT AND VEGETABLE MARKET
GATEWAY
OFFICE


A
B
C
D
E
F


1
2
3
4
level 1035

Zodiac 1

Renzo Zorzi La rinascita di Zodiac; **Guido Canella** Fondazione e ripresa di una testata; **Manfredo Tafuri** Strategie di sviluppo urbano nell'Italia del Rinascimento; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto per il nuovo Ospedale di Mestre, Venezia; **Gottfried Böhm** Ponte pedonale e stazione ferroviaria a Neulussheim, Karlsruhe; **Richard Meier** Centro terziario a Bridgeport, Connecticut; **Gustav Peichl** Progetto per la Stazione radiofonica di Francoforte sul Meno; **Aldo Rossi** Progetto per il nuovo Palazzo dello Sport di Milano; **Claudio Dini** Dal cantiere della Metropolitana Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Per la stazione Duomo a Milano; **Aldo Rossi** Per la Stazione Croce Rossa a Milano; **Guido Canella** Per la Stazione Crocetta a Milano.

Renzo Zorzi *The Rebirth of Zodiac;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Foundation and Return of a Magazine;* ***Manfredo Tafuri*** *Urban Development Strategies in Renaissance Italy;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *Plan for the New Ospedale in Mestre, Venice;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *The Pedestrian Bridge and Railway Station in Neulussheim, Karlsruhe;* ***Richard Meier*** *Bridgeport Center in Bridgeport, Connecticut;* ***Gustav Peichl*** *Plan for the Hessischer Rundfunk Radio Station in Frankfurt am Main;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *Plan for the New Palazzo dello Sport in Milan;* ***Claudio Dini*** *Building Sites of the Milan Subway System;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *The Duomo Station;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Croce Rossa Station;* ***Guido Canella*** *The Crocetta Station.*

Zodiac 2

Storie e progetti di teatri; **Julius Posener** La costruzione del teatro a Berlino da Gilly a Poelzig; **Daniel Rabreau** Il teatro-monumento: un secolo di tipologia "alla francese", 1750-1850; **Guido Canella** Teatri e pseudoteatri; **Theo Crosby** Il Globe Theatre: la ricostruzione del teatro di Shakespeare a Londra; **Gottfried Böhm** e **Stefan Böhm** Sala da concerti a Essen; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Lighthouse Theatre a Toronto; **Guido Canella** Un teatro di tradizione per Taranto; **Carol McMichael Reese** e **Thomas Ford Reese** Böhm, Gehry, Hollein e Stirling a Los Angeles; **Gottfried Böhm, Frank O. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling** Progetti per il concorso della Walt Disney Concert Hall; **Kurt W. Forster** Il pesce e il serpente al vertice, a proposito del progetto Gehry.

Theatre History and Design; ***Julius Posener*** *Theatre Construction in Berlin from Gilly to Poelzig;* ***Daniel Rabreau*** *The Theatre-Monument: a Century of "French " Typology, 1750-1850;* ***Guido Canella*** *Theatres and Pseudotheatres;* ***Theo Crosby*** *The Globe Theatre: Shakespeare's Theatre Reconstruction in London;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *and* ***Stefan Böhm*** *Concert Hall in Essen;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *Lighthouse Theatre in Toronto;* ***Guido Canella*** *Plan for a 'Teatro di Tradizione' for Taranto;* ***Carol McMichael Reese*** *and* ***Thomas Ford Reese*** *Böhm, Gehry, Hollein and Stirling in Los Angeles;* ***Gottfried Böhm, Frank 0. Gehry, Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *Projects for the Walt Disney Concert Hall;* ***Kurt W. Forster*** *The Snake and the Fish on the Hill, According to Gehry's Project.*

Zodiac 3

Guido Canella Oltre la legittima conservazione; **Ernesto N. Rogers** Il problema del costruire nelle preesistenze ambientali. Verifica culturale dell'azione urbanistica; **Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi** Testimonianze su Ernesto N. Rogers a vent'anni dalla morte; **Christof Thoenes** San Pietro come rovina. Note su alcune vedute di Maerten van Heemskerck; **James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Poultry n.1 a Londra; **Colin St. John Wilson** Testimonianza presentata all'Istruttoria pubblica sul progetto di Stirling e Wilford; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola** Il Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam a San Donato Milanese; **Ignazio Gardella** Facoltà di architettura a Genova; **Gottfried Böhm** Carlsburg Hochschule a Bremerhaven; **Aldo Rossi** e **Morris Adjmi** Scuola di architettura dell'Università di Miami, Florida; **Drexel Turner** Tra due mari: la piccola città di Aldo Rossi in Nordamerica; **Gianugo Polesello** Campus universitario a Las Palmas, Canarie.

Guido Canella *Beyond Legitimate Preservation;* ***Ernesto N. Rogers*** *The Problem of Building Within an Exhisting Environment City Planning; a Cultural Assessment;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Renzo Zorzi*** *Testimonials for Ernesto N. Rogers Twenty Years After his Death;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *St. Peter's as a Ruin. Notes on some of Maerten van Heemskerck Vistas;* ***James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Poultry n. 1 in London;* ***Colin St. John Wilson*** *Evidence Submitted at the Public Enquiry in Favour of Stirling and Wilford Project;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola*** *The Quinto Palazzo Uffici Snam in San Donato Milanese;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *Department of Architecture in Genoa;* ***Gottfried Böhm*** *Hochschule Carlsburg in Bremerhaven;* ***Aldo Rossi*** *and* ***Morris Adjmi*** *School of Architecture at the University of Miami, Florida;* ***Drexel Turner*** *Between Two Seas: Aldo Rossi's Small City in North America;* ***Gianugo Polesello*** *University Campus in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.*

Zodiac 4

Guido Canella Autenticità e falsificazione, oggi; **Dieter Leistner** Bagni popolari in Germania tra 1873 e 1918; **Ignazio Gardella** e **Aldo Rossi** Teatro Carlo Felice a Genova; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Philadelphia Orchestra Hall; **Carlo Aymonino** Teatro di Avellino; il concorso per la Compton Verney Opera House; **Hans Hollein, James Stirling** e **Michael Wilford** Progetti per il concorso della Compton Verney Opera House; **Peter Eisenman** Residenza per studenti della Cooper Union a New York; **Richard Meier** Stazione televisiva Canal +, Parigi.

Guido Canella *Authenticity and Falsification, Today;* ***Dieter Leistner*** *Public Baths in Germany, 1873-1918;* ***Ignazio Gardella*** *and* ***Aldo Rossi*** *The Carlo Felice Theatre in Genoa;* ***Venturi, Scott Brown*** *and* ***Associates*** *Philadelphia Orchestra Hall;* ***Carlo Aymonino*** *The Theatre of Avellino; The Competition for the Compton Verney Opera House;* ***Hans Hollein, James Stirling*** *and* ***Michael Wilford*** *Projects for the Compton Verney Opera House Competition;* ***Peter Eisenman*** *Cooper Union Student Housing in New York;* ***Richard Meier*** *The Canal + Headquarters, Paris.*

Zodiac 5

Chi disegna la città? Discussione tra Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi, Guido Canella; **Christof Thoenes** Piazze romane: pianificazione e no; **Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek** I sessant'anni della Siedlung Dammerstock, cantiere del Movimento moderno; **Bruno Flierl** La Stalinallee a Berlino; **Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli** Canary Wharf: Londra nel terzo millennio; **Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi** Complesso per uffici a Canary Wharf, Londra; **Micha Bandini** Canary Wharf: verso il dibattito; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Polo multifunzionale di Castello, Firenze; **Giovanni Klaus Koenig** Per una storia del progetto Fiat a Novoli, Firenze; **Roberto Gabetti** e **Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers** Complesso terziario e residenziale sull'area Fiat a Novoli, Firenze.

Who designs the city? *Round Table Discussion Between Carlo Aymonino, Enrico Bordogna, Franco Camarlinghi and Guido Canella;* ***Christof Thoenes*** *Roman Squares: Planning and Non-Planning;* ***Günter Uhlig, Michael Peterek*** *60 Years of Siedlung Dammerstock, a Building Site of Modernism;* ***Bruno Flierl*** *Stalinallee in Berlin;* ***Rosaria Angrisano Piomelli*** *Canary Wharf: London in the Third Millenium;* ***Cesar Pelli, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates, Skidmore Owings & Merrill, Aldo Rossi*** *Office Complex, Canary Wharf, London;* ***Micha Bandini*** *Canary Wharf: Towards a Debate;* ***Gian Franco Di Pietro*** *Detailed Planning Project for a Multi-Functional Area in the Castello District, Florence;* ***Carlo Aymonino, Gabriella Barbini, Paolo Martini*** *A Study of a Town-Planning Variant for the Area Known as San Lorenzo a Greve, in Florence;* ***Giovanni Klaus Koenig*** *About the History of the Fiat Project in Novoli, Florence;* ***Roberto Gabetti*** *and* ***Aimaro Isola, Leonardo Ricci, Gunnar Birkerts, Ralph Erskine, Richard Rogers*** *Commercial and Residential Complex in the Fiat Area, Novoli, Florence.*

Zodiac 6

Guido Canella Su certe devianze dell'archetipo museale; **Lionello Puppi** Antonio Pizzocaro. Itinerari di un architetto ingegnere vicentino del secolo XVII; **Kurt W. Forster** Shrine? Emporium? Theater? Reflections on Two Decades of American Museum Building; **Elisabetta Terragni** Inediti del Danteum: verso l'attività della Fondazione Giuseppe Terragni; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London; **Robert Venturi** From Invention to Convention in Architecture; **Richard Meier** Museum of Contemporary Art, Barcelona; **Gottfried Böhm** Museo d'Arte Contemporanea a Stoccarda; **Gustav Peichl** Städel Museum a Francoforte sul Meno; **Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello** Progetti per il concorso del Padiglione Italia alla Biennale di Venezia; **Guido Canella** Teatro-museo della "forma urbis" ad Aosta; **Aldo Rossi** Centro d'Arte Contemporanea a Vassivière, Clermont-Ferrand; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum a Maastricht; **Marcello D'Olivo** Monumento al Milite Ignoto a Bagdad.

Zodiac 7

Guido Canella Università e città; **Antonio Acuto** Università e territorialità: lo Studium generale a Pavia; **Philip Johnson** University Buildings in Houston, Texas, and in Greensburg, Pennsylvania; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** University Buildings at UCLA, Los Angeles, and in Princeton, New Jersey; **Robert Venturi** Some Words Concerning Designing for Architecture on American Campuses; **Peter Eisenman** College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; **James Stirling, Michael Wilford** Performing Arts Centre, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore; **Alcino Soutinho** Departamento de Engenharia da Cerâmica e do Vidro, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal; **Carlo Aymonino** Progettare l'università; **Carlo Aymonino** II Università degli Studi a Tor Vergata, Roma; **Gianugo Polesello** Facoltà di Agraria, Ingegneria e Scienze, Udine; **Roberto Gabetti, Sisto Giriodi, Lorenzo Mamino, Elena Tamagno** Ristrutturazione e completamento della sede centrale del Politecnico, Torino; **Roberto Gabetti** Una protratta "epoché"; **Guido Canella** Progetto Bovisa, XVII Triennale di Milano; Nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Guido Canella, Giorgio Grassi** Edifici per il nuovo Politecnico alla Bovisa, Milano; **Emilio Pizzi, Gian Paolo Valenti** Nuovo polo universitario, Como; **Aldo Rossi** Libero Istituto universitario Carlo Cattaneo a Castellanza, Varese.

Zodiac 8

Carlo Aymonino, Manfredo Tafuri Per/To James Stirling (1926-1992); **Guido Canella** Laboratorio Latinoamerica; **Mario Sartor** La città latinoamericana tra antecedenti precolombiani, leggi di fondazione e tradizione; **Juan Pedro Posani, Alberto Sato** Reflexiones desde el Tropico; **Jorge Francisco Liernur** Un nuevo mundo para el espiritu nuevo: los descubrimientos de America Latina por la cultura arquitectonica del siglo XX; **Roberto Fernández** Desierto y Selva: de la abstracción al desco. Notas sobre el dilema del regionalismo en la arquitectura latinoamericana; **Sergio Baroni** Reporte de La Habana; **Alberto Cruz, Cooperativa Amereida (Chile)** Ciudad Abierta a Valparaíso, "Travesías" a Santiago y la Pampa; **Christian de Groote (Chile)** Casas a Zapallar y Santiago; **Clorindo Testa (Argentina)** Balnearios a Mar de Plata; **Aslan y Ezcurra (Argentina)** Edificio Hoechst a Buenos Aires; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani (Argentina)** Centro Shopping a Córdoba; **Lina Bo Bardi (Brasil)** Centro de Lazer de São Paulo; **Luiz Paulo Conde (Brasil),** Escola a São Paulo; **Severiano Mário Porto (Brasil)** Centro de Proteção Ambiental de Manaus; **Rogelio Salmona (Colombia)** Casa de Huespedes Ilustres a Cartagena de Indias, Centro Cultural y Museo a Armenia; **Laureano Forero (Colombia)** Casas a Antioquia, Pereira y Medellin; **Fruto Vivas (Venezuela)** Casas y Remodelación del Barrio "Los Erasos" a Caracas; **Jimmy Alcock (Venezuela)** Edificio de apartamentos y casas a Caracas; **Jesús Tenreiro-Degwitz (Venezuela)** Abadía Benedictina a Güigüe; **Abraham Zabludovsky (México)** Teatro de Guanajuato; **Domingo Alvarez** Imágines de "La invención del Caribe".

Zodiac 9

Guido Canella Note per una critica dell'Espressionismo; **Derek A.R. Moore** Carlo Borromeo, Milan and the Sacri Monti; **Giovanni Testori, Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson, Gianugo Polesello, Aldo Rossi, Luciano Semerani,** Progetti per il completamento del Sacro Monte di San Carlo ad Arona; **Philip Johnson** Orientation Pavilion, New Canaan, Connecticut; **Peter Eisenman** Interview with Philip Johnson; **Oscar Niemeyer** Memorial da América Latina, São Paulo, Brasil; **Oscar Niemeyer** De Pampulha ao Memorial da América Latina; **Lionello Puppi** Oscar Niemeyer. Il Memorial dell'America Latina a San Paolo; **Richard Meier** Exhibition and Assembly Building, Ulm, Germany; **Carlo Aymonino** Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien; **Gottfried Böhm** Bezirksrathaus Köln-Kalk, Deutschland; **Gottfried Böhm** Stadttheater Itzehoe, Deutschland; **Aldo Rossi** Scenografia e costumi per *Elettra*, Taormina

Zodiac 10

Guido Canella Contesto *versus* modello; **Christof Thoenes** Architettura e società nell'opera del Vignola; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Toward a Local Idiom: a Brief History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey; **Suha Özkan** Fifty Years of Modern Turkish Architecture: a Search for Identity; **Sedad Hakki Eldem** Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Instanbul University; **Antonella Gallo** La Facoltà di Scienze e Lettere dell'Università di Istanbul di Sedad H. Eldem; **Mario Ridolfi, Volfango Frankl** Palazzo degli Uffici Comunali a Terni; **Christoph L. Frommel** Sul progetto di Mario Ridolfi e Volfango Frankl a Terni; **Peter Eisenman** Max Reinhardt Haus, Berlin; **Kurt W. Forster** The Max Reinhardt Haus: a New Landmark for Berlin; **Hans Hollein** Il concorso per il nuovo Palazzo dei Congressi di Salisburgo; **Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Fumihiko Maki, Bernard Tschumi** Kongresshaus, Salzburg; Vitra Gelände, Weil-am-Rhein, Deutschland; **Tadao Ando** Vitra Konferenzhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Alvaro Siza** Vitra Fabrikationshalle, Weil-am-Rhein; **Zaha M. Hadid** Vitra Feuerwehrhaus, Weil-am-Rhein; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** The Charles P. Stevenson Jr. Library, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; **Emilio Donato** Cementerio Municipal de Gavá, Barcelona.

Zodiac 11

Guido Canella Struttura urbana e destrutturazione dell'architettura: la competenza del critico e quella del comune fruitore; **Paolo Polledri** "The nearest thing to a contemporary vernacular": the Bay Area Architectural Tradition in Perspective; **Giovanni Brino** Radici dell'architettura moderna nella California meridionale; **Joseph Giovannini** L.A. Trouvée: **Thomas S. Hines** Housing, Baseball and Creeping Socialism: the Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, 1949-1959; **Kevin Roche** Charles Eames; **Kurt W. Forster** Neutra on the roof; **Charles W. Moore** O' California!; **Frank O. Gehry** Modelli di progetti californiani, 1981-1993; **Joseph Esherick, San Francisco** Sea Ranch, Sonoma County and Monterey Bay Aquarium, Monterey; **Holt, Hinshaw, Jones, San Francisco** Tall Buildings on Small Lots, S.F. and Visiting Artists Suite, Geyserville; **Marck Mack, San Francisco** Baum House, Berkeley, S.F. and Park and Cultural Center, Candlestick Point, S.F.; **Stanley Saitowitz, San Francisco** McDonald House, Stinson Beach and Live/Work Building, S.F.; **Daniel Solomon, San Francisco** Gleeson Residence, S.F. and Fulton Grove Townhouses, S.F.; **Coop Himmelblau, Los Angeles** Rehak House, L.A. and UFA Theater Center, Pragerstrasse Nord, Dresden, Germany; **Hodgetts+Fung, Los Angeles** Click Model Management Building, L.A. and Franklin-La Brea Proposal, L.A.; **Franklin D. Israel, Los Angeles** Raznick House, L.A. and Southern Regional Library, UCLA; **Panos Koulermos, Los Angeles** Nursery School, L.A. and West Hollywood City Hall, L.A.; **Thom Mayne, Morphosis, Los Angeles** Yuzen Vintage Car Museum, L.A. and Science Museum School, L.A.; **Eric Owen Moss, Los Angeles** Samitaur Complex, L.A. and Hercules Theater and Offices, L.A.; **Dagmar Richter, Los Angeles** West Coast Gateway, L.A. and The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark; **Michael Rotondi, Los Angeles** QWFK House, U.S.A. and Carlson-Reges Residence, L.A.

Zodiac 12

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994); **Guido Canella** Premiata Architettura Contemporanea; **The Pritzker Architecture Prize Laureates, 1979-94; Jay A. Pritzker** Origins and Evolution of the Pritzker Architecture Prize; **Francesco Dal Co** Il migliore architetto del mondo; **Philip Johnson, 1979** Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, U.S.A., Office Development, Shenzen, China; **Luis Barragán, 1980** Torres de la Ciudad Satélite, Queretaro Highway, Mexico City, Casa Egerstrom, Cuadra San Cristobal, Los Clubes, Mexico City; **James Stirling, 1981** Faculty of History, Cambridge University, Great Britain, Engineering Building, Leicester University, Great Britain, Kyoto Centre, Kyoto, Japan; **Kevin Roche, 1982** Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A. and Extension to the Jewish Museum, New York, U.S.A.; **Ieoh Ming Pei, 1983** National Gallery of Art, East Wing, Washington D.C., U.S.A., Grand Louvre, Paris, France; **Richard Meier, 1984** The Atheneum, New Harmony, U.S.A., Rachofsky House II, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.; **Hans Hollein, 1985** Abteiberg Municipal Museum, Mönchengladbach, Germany, Museum and European Vulcanism Centre, Auvergne, France; **Gottfried Böhm, 1986** Church of the Resurrection, Cologne, Germany, Arbed-Saarstahl Office Building, Esch-Alzette, Luxembourg; **Kenzo Tange, 1987** Hiroshima Peace Center, Hiroshima, Japan, Yamanashi Press and Broadcasting Center, Yamanashi, Japan, American Medical Association Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.; **Gordon Bunshaft, 1988** The Lever House, New York, U.S.A., Albright Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.; **Oscar Niemeyer, 1988** Pampuhla, Minas Gerais, Brasil, Museu de Arte Contemporânea de Niterôi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil; **Frank O. Gehry, 1989** Schnabel Residence, Brentwood, California, U.S.A. , The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain; **Aldo Rossi, 1990** Teatro del Mondo, Venezia, Italia, Porta di Ingresso e Recinzione, Centro residenziale Barialto, Bari, Italia; **Robert Venturi, 1991** Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. , RCID Emergency Services Headquarters, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida, U.S.A.; **Alvaro Siza, 1992** Restaurante Casa de Chá Bóa Nóva, Leça de Palmeira, Portugal, Centro de Arte Contemporanea de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, España; **Fumihiko Maki, 1993** Spiral Building, Tokyo, Japan, Center for the Arts, Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, California, U.S.A..

Zodiac 13

Guido Canella La diffusione del centro; **Marina Waisman** La ciudad descentrada; **Andrej Ikonnikov** Mosca. Dialettica centro e periferia; **Werner Rietdorf** Probleme der Stadtentwicklung in den neuen deutschen Bundesländern. Zum Zusammenhang von Aussen-und Innenentwicklung; **Klaus Theo Brenner** Heterotope, Berlin; **Moore Ruble Yudell** Housing Recreation and Cultural Facilities Complex, Tegel Hafen, Berlin, Karow Nord Master Plan and Housing, Karow, Berlin; **Peter Eisenman** Bahnhofsbereich Friedrichstrasse Competition, Berlin; **Roland Castro** Sur la périphérie de Paris; **Henri Ciriani** Noisy II à Noisy-le-Grand, Marne-la-Vallée, Logements à ColombesParis; **Catherine Furet** Quartier de l'Orme Seul, La Courneuve, 41/49 Rue Piat, Paris XXème; **Bernard Tschumi** "Jardin d'entreprises", Chartres; **Emilio Donato, Jesús de la Torre** Barcelona. Estructura y formación de una periferia metropolitana; **Emilio Donato** Viviendas "Baró de Viver", Barcelona; **Roberto Ferreira** Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria "La Llagosta", Barcelona; **Eduard Calafell** Nave Industrial, Poligono Pedrosa, l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Barcelona; **Enrico Bordogna** Periferia, piano o gestione?; **Carlo Aymonino** Complesso terziario sulla via Ostiense, Roma; **Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola** Piazza-Giardino a Catanzaro Lido; **Raffaele Panella** Nuovo Centro polifunzionale di Villa Fastiggi, Pesaro; **Gian Franco Di Pietro** Quartiere cooperativo a Compiobbi, Firenze; **Guido Canella** Centro civico con municipio, residenze, attività terziarie e sportive, Pioltello, Milano, Quartiere residenziale con centro servizi, auditorium e complesso parrocchiale, Peschiera Borromeo, Milano.

Zodiac 14

Guido Canella La retorica della Giustizia; **Suzanne B. Butters, Pier Nicola Pagliara** Il Palazzo dei Tribunali e via Giulia a Roma; **Robert Jacob** La formation historique de l'architecture judiciaire; **Giorgio Muratore** Il Palazzo di Giustizia nella città moderna; **Manuela Morresi** Lezioni di architettura di Ignazio Gardella; **Ignazio Gardella** Palazzo di Giustizia di La Spezia, Italia; **Lluís Domènech** Palacio de Justicia, Lérida, España; **Richard Meier** Federal Office Building and U. S. Courthouse, Islip, New York, U.S.A.; **Carlo Aymonino** Palazzo di Giustizia di Lecce, Palazzo di Giustizia di Ferrara, Italia; **Roberto Gabetti e Aimaro Isola** Palazzo di Giustizia di Alba, Cuneo, Palazzo di Giustizia di Pinerolo, Torino, Italia; **Guido Canella, Fernando Clemente, Alberto Sandroni** Palazzo di Giustizia di Ancona; **Guido Canella, Antonio Acuto, Giorgio Morano, Ferruccio Rozza** Uffici Giudiziari Finanziari e Comunali di Legnano, Milano, Italia; **Karmi Architects** The Israel Supreme Court, Jerusalem, Israel; **Gramática, Guerrero, Morini, Pisani, Urtubey, Pisani** Palacio de Justicia II, Córdoba, Argentina; **Gianugo Polesello, Giusa Marcialis** Uffici Giudiziari di Udine, Italia; **Richard Rogers** The European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France.

Zodiac 15

Guido Canella Riflettendo su funzionalità e figurazione; **Christof Thoenes** Appunti sui trattati di architettura del Rinascimento; **Daniel Sherer** *Progetto e Ricerca:* Manfredo Tafuri as Critic and Historian; **Sylvia Lavin** On the Subject of Gehry; **Frank O. Gehry** ING Office Building, Prague, Czech Republic, EMR Communication & Technology Center, Bad Oeynhausen, Germany; **Aldo Rossi** Parco Tecnologico del Lago Maggiore, Fondotoce, Verbania, Italia; **Peter Eisenman** Intervista di Luca Monica e Tito Canella, Place des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Renovation and Additions to the Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, San Diego, University of Delaware, Student Center, Newark, Delaware, U.S.A.; **Gustav Peichl** Probebühne für das Burgtheater, Wien, Österreich; **Bernard Tschumi** Le Fresnoy National Studio for Contemporary Arts, Tourcoing, School of Architecture, Marne-la-Vallée, Paris, France; **Philip Johnson** Puerta de Europa, Madrid, España, Town Hall, Clelebration, Florida, U.S.A.; **Hans Hollein** Guggenheim Museum und Volksschule, Donaucity, Wien, Österreich; **Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro** Padiglione specialistico e Dipartimento d'urgenza, Ospedale SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia.

Zodiac 16

Guido Canella Quella "terza generazione" di Giedion; **Architecture from the 1920 generation; Peter Blake** From Mies to Mickey Mouse; **Dennis Sharp** Framing the Welfare State; **Alison Smithson** A time of ferment: the Indipendent Group in its setting of the 'fifties...; **Enrico Bordogna** Intervista a Bruno Zevi; **Yoshinobu Ashihara** Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space, Tokyo; **Peter Blake** A flexible 299-seat open stage theater based on the dimension of a New York City lot, Ford Foundation, New York, U.S.A., Neely Theatre and Drama School, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A.; **Eduardo Catalano** United States Embassy, Pretoria, South Africa; **Alan Colquhoun, John Miller** Church Crescent Housing, London, Great Britain, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, Great Britain; **Marcello d'Olivo** Scuola per le minoranze etniche, Gorizia, Italia; **Mario Fiorentino** Complesso residenziale pubblico al Corviale, Roma, Italia; **Ulrich Franzen** Art Collector's House, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.; **Yona Friedman** Structures en "feuilles froissées"; **Erst Gisel** World Trade Center, Zürich, Switzerland; **Romaldo Giurgola** St. Thomas Aquinas Parish Church, Charnwood, Canberra, Australia; **James Gowan** Villa at Chester, Great Britain; Istituto Clinico Humanitas, Milano, Italia; **Vico Magistretti** Centro Servizi della Cassa di Risparmio di Parma e Piacenza, Parma, Italia; **Angelo Mangiarotti** Sede della Internazionale Marmi e Macchine, Carrara, Italia; **Masato Otaka** Gunma Prefectural Museum of History, Gunma, Japan, Fukushima Prefectural Museum of Art, Fukushima, Japan; **Claude Parent** Centre d'animation l'*Aéronef*, Roissypole, Paris, France; **Leonardo Ricci** Palazzo di Giustizia, Savona, Italia; **Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo** Union Carbide Corporation World Headquarters, Danbury, Conn., U.S.A.; Merck & Co. Inc. World Headquarters, Whitehouse Station, N.J., U.S.A.; **Paul Rudolph** Bond Center, Hong Kong; **Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza** Universidad Pública de Navarra, Pamplona, España; **Alison and Peter Smithson** Second Arts Building, Arts Barn and Building 6 East, University of Bath, Great Britain; **Paolo Soleri** Arcosanti, Cordes Junction, Arizona; **Fernando Távora** Auditorium do Instituto Politécnico de Viana do Castelo, Portugal; **Clorindo Testa** Edificio S.G.I.A.R. "Auditorio de la Paz", Buenos Aires, Argentina; **Jörn Utzon** Paustian Furniture House, Copenhagen, Denmark; **Aldo van Eyck** Church for the Moluccan Community of Deventer, Netherlands; **Vittoriano Viganò** Teatro Comunale dell'Opera Carlo Felice, Genova, Italia; **Colin St. John Wilson** The British Library, London, Great Britain.

Zodiac 17

Guido Canella Il volto di Roma e il terzo millennio; **Mario Manieri Elia** I Giubilei nella storia di Roma; **Christof Thoenes** "Urbi et orbi": Roma e la Basilica vaticana negli Anni Santi; **Silvana Rizzo** Archeologia dei Fori Imperiali; **Jean-Louis Cohen** Gaston Bardet e la "Roma di Mussolini"; **Anna Mura Sommella** Il progetto "Grande Campidoglio"; **Claudia Conforti** Paradigma residenziale del professionismo romano del dopoguerra; **Progetti per la Roma del Giubileo dell'anno 2000; Tadao Ando, Frank O. Gehry, Peter Eisenman, Richard Meier** Progetti per la Chiesa del 2000; **Richard Meier** Sistemazione museale dell'Ara Pacis; **Carlo Aymonino** Sistemazione del Giardino Romano nel complesso dei Musei Capitolini; **Carlo Aymonino, Juan Navarro Baldeweg, Vittorio De Feo, Giorgio Grassi, Rafael Moneo** Ristrutturazione della Biblioteca Hertziana; **Costantino Dardi** Ristrutturazione del Palazzo delle Esposizioni; **Francesco R. Ghio** Programma Centopiazze: nuovi spazi pubblici per Roma; **Francesco Cellini, Umberto Riva, Aldo Rossi** Una piazza per il Foro Italico; **Alessandro Anselmi, Carlo Aymonino, Paolo Portoghesi, Franco Purini** Sistema Direzionale Orientale Pietralata-Tiburtina.

Zodiac 18

Carlo Aymonino, Ignazio Gardella, Philip Johnson Per/To Aldo Rossi (1931-1997); **Guido Canella** Olanda, primo amore; **Aldo Rossi** Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht; **Auke van der Woud** Form and identity of the Randstad; **Han Meyer, Willem Hermans, John Westrik** Urban design and planning under new conditions: urban transformations in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague; **Frits Palmboom** Polycentrism and urbanized landscape in the Netherlands; **Carlo Olmo** Architettura internazionale, ricerca storica e critica operativa; **Paolo Scrivano** J.J.P. Oud e l'architettura olandese negli scritti di Henry-Russell Hitchcock; **Mario Fosso** La nostra immagine dell'Olanda; **Architecture in the Netherlands; de architectengroep** Villa KBWW, Utrecht; **Van Berkel & Bos** Museum "Het Valkhof", Nijmegen; **Erick van Egeraat** Vaktechnisch Lyceum, Utrecht; Natuurmuseum, Rotterdam; **Hubert-Jan Henket** Maastheater, Rotterdam; **Herman Hertzberger** "Anne Frank" Basisschool, Papendrecht; "De Bombardon" LOM-Basisschool, Almere; **Mecanoo architekten** Bibliotheek Technische Universiteit, Delft; Isala College, Silvolde; **MVRDV** Hoofdkantoor en studio's VPRO, Hilversum; Appartementen complex van 100 zorgwoningen, Amsterdam-Osdorp; **Wim G. Quist** Museum "Beelden aan Zee", Scheveningen, Den Haag; CoBrA Museum, Amstelveen; Renovatie Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; **Koen van Velsen** Uitbreiding en renovatie Stadhuis/Stadskantoor, Terneuzen

Zodiac 19

Guido Canella Cantieri milanesi; **Walter Veltroni** Tutela del patrimonio culturale e progettualità contemporanea; **Carlo Aymonino** Tra scavi, conservazione e completamenti: quali interventi per i Fori Imperiali?; **Silvana Rizzo** I Fori Imperiali a Roma: la memoria dell'antico tra guerre, sterri e scavi; **Paolo Marconi** Restauro e ricostruzione: com'era, dov'era?; **Aldo Rossi** Ricostruzione del Teatro La Fenice, Venezia; **Theo Crosby** Reconstruction of the Globe Theatre, London; **Ignasi de Solà-Morales, Lluís Dilmé, Xavier Fabré** Reconstrucció i ampliació del Gran Teatre del Liceu, Barcelona; **Tusquets, Diaz & Assoc.** Ampliació, remodelació i restauració del Palau de la Música Catalana, Barcelona; **Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro** Terminal automobilistico nell'ex Silos portuale, Trieste; **Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola** Ricostruzione del Grand Hotel Alpino, Gignese (Novara); **Paolo Portoghesi** Recupero degli edifici storici dell'Ospedale di San Giovanni, Roma; **Gian Carlo Leoncilli Massi** Monastero delle Suore Clarisse a San Pietro, Spoleto; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Restoration and renovation of Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Zodiac 20

Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Gianugo Polesello, Luciano Semerani, Francesco Tentori, Renzo Zorzi Per/To Ignazio Gardella (1905-1999); **George Baird** The Work, Teaching and Contemporary Influence of Colin Rowe. A 1999 Status Report; **Daniel Sherer** Architecture in the Labyrinth. Theory and Criticism in the United States: "Oppositions", "Assemblage", "Any" (1973-1999); **Intervista a/Interview with Rodolfo Machado and Jorge Silvetti** Paolo Bercah e Tito C.; **Rodolfo Machado and Jorge Silvetti** Robert F. Wagner, Jr. Park, Battery Park City, New York, USA; Princeton University Scully Hall and Parking Structure, Princeton, New Jersey, USA; **Richard Meier** Museum of Television & Radio, Beverly Hills, California, USA; **Bernard Tschumi** Lerner Student Center, Columbia University, New York, USA; **Tod Williams, Billie Tsien and Associates** Museum of American Folk Art, New York, USA; **Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates** Mielparque Nikko Kirifuri Resort, Nikko National Park, Japan; **Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown** Learning from Tokyo and Kyoto and Nikko; **Luciano Semerani** Dimenticare Venezia; **Antonio Monestiroli; Gianugo Polesello** Concorso per l'ampliamento del Cimitero nell'Isola di San Michele, Venezia; **Vittorio Garatti e Riccardo Canella; Semerani, Gallo, Marras, Semerani; Clorindo Testa e Armando Dal Fabbro** Concorso per una nuova sede IUAV nell'area dei Magazzini Frigoriferi a San Basilio, Venezia; **E.B.** Elogio della provincia?; **Antonio Acuto** Palestra comunale, Sale Marasino, Brescia; **Salvatore Bisogni** Nuova piazza municipale con mercato e edifici pubblici, Villa di Briano, Caserta; **Alberto Caruso** Centro sportivo municipale "Paolo Borsellino", Peschiera Borromeo, Milano

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Guido Canella La critica di architettura dopo Zevi; **Carlo Olmo** Tra impegno e racconto: una generazione di storici al lavoro; **Jean-Louis Cohen** Dall'affermazione ideologica alla storia professionale; **Ignasi de Solà-Morales** Pratiche teoriche, pratiche storiche, pratiche architettoniche; **Stanislaus von Moos** *À rebours*. Ovvero: la logica del cavallo di Troia; **Michela Rosso** La storia dell'architettura del Ventesimo secolo tra divulgazione del sapere e nuova critica operativa. Note su alcuni testi recenti; **Francesco Tentori** Persico e Bardi; **Robert Venturi** Trabant University Center, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, USA; The Gonda (Goldschmied) Neuroscience and Genetics Research Center, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, USA; **Clorindo Testa** Colegio de Escribanos, Buenos Aires, Argentina; **Roberto Gabetti, Aimaro Isola** Chiesa parrocchiale di San Giovanni Battista, Desio, Milano, Italia; **Gustav Peichl, Boris Podrecca, Rudolf Weber** Millennium Tower, Wien, Österreich; **Gustav Peichl** Kindertagesstätte des Deutschen Bundestages, Spreebogen, Berlin, Deutschland; **Hans Hollein** Österreichische Botschaft, Berlin, Deutschland; **Luciano Semerani, Gigetta Tamaro** Nuova piastra di chirurgia ed emergenza, Ospedale Civile SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venezia, Italia; **Hiromichi Matsui** "Hall of the Envoys to Tang" Community Center, Kantoushikan, Bounotsu-cho, Kawanabe-gun, Kagoshima, Japan; **Ignasi de Solà-Morales, Lluís Dilmé, Xavier Fabré** Carrer del Teatre, Barcelona, España; **Ignasi de Solà-Morales** Vivienda unifamiliar, El Port de la Selva, Gerona, España; **Gottfried Böhm** Hans-Otto-Theater, Potsdam, Deutschland; Philarmonie in Luxembourg; **Carlo Aymonino** Progetto di sistemazione dell'area dei Fori, Roma, Italia; **Gianugo Polesello** Progetto per l'Isola dei Granai, Danzica, Polonia. Progetto per la ricostruzione dei Souk, Beirut, Libano

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